

**The Ormuri Language
in Past and Present**

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The Ormuri Language in Past and Present

by

V.A. Efimov

English translation edited by
Joan L.G. Baart



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Editor's foreword

Dr. V.A. (Valentin Aleksandrovič) Efimov was born on 22 March, 1933, in the interior countryside of Russia. As a young man he moved to Moscow to study at the State University there. He successfully pursued an academic career at the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, where he worked for the larger part of his life as an expert of the languages of Afghanistan, and of Iranian linguistics in general. He died on 27 March, 2007, after a painful illness, at the age of 74. At the time of his death, he was professor and chair of the Iranian languages department of the Institute of Linguistics, as well as a member of the academic council of the Institute.

Dr. Efimov conducted his fieldwork on the Ormuri language in the summer of 1971 in the Logar valley in Afghanistan. One of his Ormuri language consultants from Logar, Mr. Khalilullah Ormur, came to Moscow for university studies during the 1970s, thus providing Dr. Efimov with the opportunity for further work with a native speaker.

Dr. Efimov's main work on Ormuri was published as a monograph in 1986, written in Russian. A literal translation of its title is, *The Ormuri Language in a Historical and Synchronic Light*. True to its title, the book pairs an in-depth synchronic analysis and description of Ormuri phonology and morphology to an equally in-depth historical-comparative analysis of the same. In the book, Dr. Efimov announces the publication of an additional volume (an Ormuri dictionary) that was under preparation at the time, but to my knowledge this dictionary has not yet appeared.

The purpose of publishing an English translation of *The Ormuri Language* is, on the one hand, to enhance the accessibility of Dr. Efimov's important work to the professional linguistic community outside of Russia. On the other hand, the purpose is also to call attention once again to the fate of this interesting language. It has, amazingly, persisted over many centuries in the face of pressure from the surrounding predominant Persian and Pashto languages. Nowadays, however, it is on the verge of extinction in Afghanistan (where only a few members of the older generations are still able to speak it), and it is still alive but seriously endangered in Pakistan.

Dr. Efimov enthusiastically endorsed the translation of his monograph when I set out to work on it in 2002. Communication between the two of us was kindly facilitated by Dr. V.V. Moškalo (many thanks for all your help!), who was — like me — posted in Islamabad at that time. Sadly, Dr. Efimov has not been able to see the result.

Due to my other responsibilities, initial progress on the translation was slow. To my delight, around 2004, when I had still not gotten much beyond chapter 1, a small team of volunteer translators from a group called “Wycliffe Associates UK” (WA-UK) was found willing to help with the translation. Between 2004 and 2006, they completed the translation of the major chapters (2 and 3) and also of the text materials and the extensive set of endnotes. I cannot thank and commend the WA-UK translators enough for their contribution. They gave many hours of their free time, and they produced excellent work. Their Russian-to-English translations were of high quality, while they also painstakingly

keyboarded all the Ormuri texts and illustrative words and sentences (tens of thousands of phonetic symbols, many of them adorned with one or more diacritic markers), and all the etymologies, with hardly any mistakes. The volunteers consider all this to be a work of love, and do not wish to be mentioned by name at this place. Certainly, without them this English edition of *The Ormuri Language* would not have seen the light of day, and they have my deepest respect and gratitude.

My own primary role, then, in bringing out this volume has been that of an editor. In that capacity, I did carry through some changes to Dr. Efimov's original work. A minor change is the use of a slightly different set of phonetic transcription symbols, explained below under "Transcription conventions". At the same time, I have rendered Efimov's phonetic descriptions as much as possible using the terminology (but not necessarily the symbols) of the International Phonetic Alphabet. A perhaps more drastic modification is that all the detailed etymological information on Ormuri words has been moved out of the main text and into an appendix. This should increase the readability of the text, while at the same time making it much easier to look up specific Ormuri vocabulary items. Furthermore, the layout of the text and its division into paragraphs has been much altered from the original work, again in the hope that this will improve readability.

I would like to express gratitude to my colleagues in the West Eurasia Group of SIL International, who allowed me to be relieved from my administrative duties during the second half of the year 2009, thereby enabling me to focus fully on linguistic study and publication for a while, including the work on the current volume. Thanks are due to Mark Karan in particular, who carried the larger part of the administrative burden during my time away.

My favourite colleague in SIL is my wife, Esther Baart-Bremer, whose love and whose contribution to my life and work is invaluable, as is the love of our children Victor, Theo, Hanneke, and Judith. You are all wonderful!

I am privileged to know Mr. Rozi Khan Burki, who is one of the leaders of the Ormuri community in Pakistan and an active writer, poet, and promoter of the Ormuri language. This book is for you, and for your people (your "kith and kin"). At the same time this book is also for professor Khalilullah Ormur, now in Kabul, whom I have not yet met, whose assistance has been of such vital importance to the research efforts of Dr. Efimov, as well as to the work of another prominent student of the Ormuri language, the highly-esteemed French-Swiss linguist and dialectologist Dr. Charles M. Kieffer.

Having mentioned Dr. Kieffer, I should also mention the recent publication of his grammatical description of Ormuri (written in French).* As a student of the works of both scholars, I can confidently say that in no way does the work of the one render the work of the other redundant. On the contrary, with their different personalities, their different interests, and their different ways to go about their research, their insights

* Charles M. Kieffer. 2003. *Grammaire de l'ormuri de Baraki-Barak (Lōgar, Afghanistan)*. (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 22). Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Foreword

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complement one another. Neither does their work, even when combined with the earlier publications by Morgenstierne and Grierson, exhaust the study of the Ormuri language. It is my hope that the publication of the current volume may inspire a fresh wave of research on this fascinating language.

Lastly, I would like to point the reader to the web page for this book, where additional Ormuri materials are made available, including Dr. Efimov's Ormuri texts in a format showing morpheme breaks and interlinear translations and annotations. The page can be accessed at:

www.fli-online.org/documents/publications/ormuri-book.htm.

Joan L.G. Baart

October, 2011

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| 1pl. | 1 st person plural |
| 1sg. | 1 st person singular |
| 2pl. | 2 nd person plural |
| 2sg. | 2 nd person singular |
| 3pl. | 3 rd person plural |
| 3sg. | 3 rd person singular |
| acc. | accusative case |
| adj. | adjective |
| Ar. | Aryan (= Indo-Iranian) |
| Arm. | Armenian |
| Av. | Avestan |
| Avr. | Avromani (Hawrami) |
| Bal. | Balochi |
| caus. | causative |
| comp. | comparative degree |
| conj. | conjugation |
| Dav. | Davani (a language variety in Fars Province) |
| dem. | demonstrative |
| dir. | directional |
| erg. | ergative case |
| Far. | Farizandi (language variety of Farizand) |
| fem. | feminine gender |
| fsg. | feminine singular |
| G | Grierson |
| Gath. | Gathic (Old Avestan) |
| gen. | genitive case |
| Gil. | Gilaki |
| Grk. | Greek |
| id. | idem (used in this work to indicate that an item has the same meaning as the previously listed item) |
| IE | Indo-European |
| imper. | imperative |
| inch. | inchoative |
| indic. | indicative |
| intrans. | intransitive |
| Ir. | Iranian (Old Iranian) |
| iter. | iterative |
| Kan. | Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri |
| Kesh. | Keshe (a language variety in the Kashan area) |
| Keur. | Keuroni (a language variety of central Iran) |

Abbreviations

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| | |
|------------|---|
| Kharz. | Kharzani (a language variety of NW Iran) |
| Kief. | Kieffer |
| Kohr. | Kohrud (a language variety in the Kashan region) |
| Kurd. | Kurdish |
| Lasg. | Lasgerdi (a language variety of central Iran) |
| lit. | literally |
| Log. | Logar dialect of Ormuri |
| M | Morgenstierne |
| Man. | Manichaean script |
| masc. | masculine gender |
| Maz. | Mazanderani |
| Med. | Median |
| mid. part. | middle participle |
| Mid. Pers. | Middle Persian |
| msg. | masculine singular |
| n. | noun |
| Nat. | Natanzi (a language variety of central Iran) |
| neut. | neuter gender |
| nom. | nominative case |
| O.Ir. | Old Iranian |
| O.Pers. | Old Persian |
| obj. | (grammatical) object |
| obl. | oblique case |
| Orm. | Ormuri |
| Oss. | Ossetic (Ossetian) |
| Pahl. | Pahlavi script |
| Par. | Parachi |
| part. | participle |
| Parth. | Parthian |
| pass. | passive |
| Paz. | Pazend script |
| perf. | perfective aspect |
| Pers. | Persian |
| pl. | plural |
| poss. | possessive |
| pres. | present tense |
| pron. | pronoun |
| Psht. | Pashto |
| Russ. | Russian |
| Rv. | Raverty |
| Sang. | Sangisari |
| Sar. | Sarikoli |
| Sed. | Sedehi (language variety in Sede, a place near Esfahan) |

| | |
|---------|--|
| Semn. | Semnani |
| sg. | singular |
| Shahm. | Shahmirzadi |
| Shug. | Shughni |
| Siv. | Sivandi |
| Skt. | Sanskrit |
| Sogd. | Sogdian |
| sth. | something |
| subj. | (grammatical) subject |
| suff. | suffix |
| Sul. | Suleimani (variety of Kurdish) |
| superl. | superlative degree |
| Surkh. | Sorkhei (a language variety in central Iran) |
| Tal. | Talysh |
| Talakh. | language variety of Talakhedeshk |
| trans. | transitive |
| Von. | Vonishun (a language variety of the Kashan area) |
| W. Bal. | Western Balochi |
| Waz. | Waziri (a variety of Pashto) |
| Yazg. | Yazgulami |
| Zef. | Zefre (a language variety in the Kashan area) |

Transcription conventions

For the transcription of Ormuri sounds the current work uses the international, Roman-based Iranian transcription system, extended with the Greek letter γ for the transcription of the voiced uvular fricative.

For the transcription of some sounds, Roman characters are used in combination with a diacritic: \check{c} for the voiceless postalveolar affricate, \check{j} for its voiced counterpart, \check{s} for the voiceless postalveolar fricative, \check{z} for its voiced counterpart, \check{x} for the voiceless velar fricative, and \check{r} for the peculiar voiceless fricativized trill that occurs in the Kaniguram dialect (see section 2.3). In the original work, Efimov followed Morgenstierne in using \check{r}^r to represent this sound, which has been replaced here with the typographically simpler \check{r} . Note, furthermore, that in the current edition, the Ormuri voiceless dental affricate is represented by the digraph **ts** (instead of **c** which is used in the original work), while its voiced counterpart is represented here by the digraph **dz** (instead of **z** in the original work).

Regarding the symbols used for the transcription of vowel sounds, special mention is made here of \check{a} (representing an open back rounded vowel), and \bar{a} (representing a long open central unrounded vowel).

As is customary in linguistics, a reconstructed, unattested proto-form of a word is marked by a leading asterisk, as in ***báva-**.

Modern Ormuri word forms that are cited from the literature but transcribed according to Efimov's own phonological interpretation are marked with a leading superscripted plus-sign, as in **⁺spek**.

Truncated forms (strings of phonemes that are only a part of, rather than a complete, word or morpheme) are marked by a superscripted small circle that indicates the truncated part, as in **^onéšt**. Note, however, that a raised vowel **o** indicates labialization of a preceding velar fricative, as in **x^o** and **γ^o**.

1. Introduction

Ormuri is the language of a small Iranian tribe, part of which lives in Afghanistan — in Logar province around Baraki-Barak and in separate pockets in a number of other regions of the country (Mazar-e-Sharif, Wardak, Kandahar, Ghazni, Butkhak) — while the other part lives in Pakistan, in South Waziristan in the area of Kaniguram, which is to the northwest of Dera Ismail Khan and to the southwest of Bannu.

The name ‘Ormur’ (*ormər*) is originally from Pashto (*or* ‘fire’, *mər* ‘extinguished’). It can be interpreted as implying an alleged connection of the Ormur people with fire worship (Bellew 1862:63), an allegation, by the way, that has not been confirmed by contemporary scholarship. The other name that is used for the Ormur people, *Baraki*, has without doubt a toponymical origin (Oranskij 1960:339).

We have no precise information about the current size of the Ormur population. It is thought that there were around eight to ten thousand families in the Logar area at the beginning of the 19th century and around four to five hundred families in Kaniguram at the beginning of the 20th century (Oranskij 1960:339, which was in turn based on Elphinstone 1815:411 and Bellew 1862:52). Claims that there might be as many as five thousand Ormur people in Afghanistan (Bruk 1981:381) have been superseded by more recent data.

The Ormur people do not occupy an ethnically homogeneous territory. In Afghanistan they live in mixed communities with Tajiks and Pashtuns; in Pakistan they live with Pashtuns.

In Afghanistan, Ormuri is on the verge of complete extinction. Among the Ormur people, who have assimilated to a significant degree to the Pashtuns and to a lesser degree to the Tajiks, probably only some one or two hundred people still speak their mother tongue actively and, according to some, this number is even lower than fifty as far as the Logar area is concerned (Kieffer 1972:116). These speakers mostly belong to the older generations. The men (and a number of the women) are bilingual in Ormuri and Dari, or in Ormuri and Pashto, and sometimes they are proficient in three languages at the same time (although not always to the same degree), and depending on the situation they freely switch from one language to another. Probably the majority of the Ormur people of Kaniguram, too, are bilingual (in Ormuri and Pashto).

In Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan, the domain of use of the Ormuri language is very narrow, being restricted mostly to the home. Even in the home the language is not always used, as members of the youngest and some of the middle generations can no longer speak the language (Kieffer 1972).

The speakers of the Ormuri language are settled mainly in two locations: Logar and Kaniguram, and correspondingly the language is divided into two major dialects, that we shall also call Logar (Log.) and Kaniguram (Kan.). Even though the two dialects share a significant number of lexical elements and even though their phonetics overlap to a great

degree and the basic features of their grammars are the same, still the differences between the dialects are significant enough to exclude complete mutual intelligibility between their speakers. Differences between the dialects occur at several levels of the language system, as is shown in the examples below.

1. Lexical differences:

| | Log. | Kan. |
|------------|--------------|---------------|
| 'blind' | <i>kor</i> | <i>ond</i> |
| 'soft' | <i>narm</i> | <i>noř</i> |
| 'fox' | <i>robá</i> | <i>rawas</i> |
| 'flea' | <i>kayk</i> | <i>řak</i> |
| 'shepherd' | <i>čopán</i> | <i>šwān</i> |
| 'comb' | <i>šáná</i> | <i>šak(k)</i> |
| 'place' | <i>jáy</i> | <i>jikak</i> |
| 'to fly' | <i>parók</i> | <i>buryék</i> |

2. Differences in the phonetic form of particular words, which in some cases reveal the divergent reflexes of the original vowel and consonant phonemes. Compare the differences in vowels:

| | Log. | Kan. |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 'to go' | <i>tsok</i> | <i>tsek, ts^yek</i> |
| 'one' | <i>še</i> | <i>sa</i> |
| 'house' | <i>ner</i> | <i>nar</i> |
| 'dry' | <i>wuk</i> | <i>wyok</i> |
| 'water' | <i>wok</i> | <i>wak</i> |
| 'to sit' | <i>nóstok</i> | <i>nástak</i> |

and the differences in consonants:

| | Log. | Kan. |
|---------|----------------|----------------|
| 'one' | <i>še</i> | <i>sa</i> |
| 'three' | <i>šo</i> | <i>ři</i> |
| 'six' | <i>řo</i> | <i>ša</i> |
| 'above' | <i>pa-bega</i> | <i>pa-beža</i> |
| 'snow' | <i>yoš</i> | <i>yoř</i> |

For a more detailed account of the differences in vowels and consonants between the dialects, see chapter 2.

3. Differences in the morphology — in the retention by the Kaniguram dialect of a range of archaic features that have been lost in the Logar dialect:

In the nominal morphology: remnants in Kaniguram of grammatical gender, which has been completely lost in Logar.

In the verbal morphology: a) a greater variety of conjugations of modal and tense-aspect forms based on the present-tense stem; b) a distinction between masculine and feminine forms based on the past-tense stem; c) a greater number of distinctions within the system of tense-aspect forms; d) different types of ergative constructions.

Ormuri is an unwritten language. For business, education, etc., Dari and Pashto are used.

Due to a total absence of documented evidence¹ it is difficult to say anything for certain about the origin of the Ormur people and their early history. Only the linguistic data (more precisely, their historical-linguistic analysis) allow us to shed some light on this topic. However, among the experts there exist different points of view about the history of the tribe. There is even no agreement about the place of the Ormuri language in the historical-dialectological classification of Iranian languages as determined on the basis of historical-phonetic correspondences. The discussion in this regard focuses in particular on the reflexes of the Old-Iranian initial voiced plosives, which have been retained in the western-Iranian languages and have changed in the eastern-Iranian languages into the corresponding fricatives β (v , w), δ , and γ (Oranskij 1960:217-218, 347-349; 1963:176-178; 1979b:131-140; OIJ 1979:91-94; Rastorgueva 1966:196).

According to one point of view, the Ormur people, along with the Parachi — another small, Iranian-speaking tribe of contemporary Afghanistan — are the aboriginal inhabitants of the region to the south of the Hindu Kush, who have been living there from time immemorial, and their languages are the only surviving representatives of a south-eastern subgroup of Iranian languages, that at some time must have included other members, of whom, however, no trace has been preserved (Morgenstierne 1926:26ff, 1929:316ff, and also Meillet & Cohen 1915:33-34; Kieffer 1972, 1979).

According to the other hypothesis, the ancestors of the present-day Ormur people, and also the ancestors of the Parachi and Baloch, originated from areas to the south of the shores of the Caspian Sea, from where they migrated to the south-eastern part of the Iranian territory relatively recently. Accordingly, the Ormuri language must be related to the north-western subgroup of the Iranian languages (Oranskij 1979b:148, 166; OIJ 1979:91ff).

Let us review in more detail the arguments that are used by the adherents of these two opposite views. We will begin with the hypothesis of an eastern-Iranian origin of the

¹ Unless we take into consideration conflicting evidence apparently based on oral tradition, according to which the Ormur people are said to descend either from the Tajiks or Arabs, or from the Kurds or Afghans (Grierson 1918:vii-ix; 1921:123-124; Morgenstierne 1926:14-18; 1929:307-318). The only point worth attention is what is current among the Ormur people themselves, having seemingly been handed down from generation to generation, that they appeared on Afghan territory during the time of Mehmud of Ghazni (i.e. in the 11th century).

Ormuri language, which is, in our opinion, the less convincing option. Morgenstierne, who was the first to propose this hypothesis as an alternative to the older proposal of a western-Iranian origin, started from a number of presuppositions that he himself postulated. These can be summarized as follows:

- a) The preservation of initial voiced plosives **b-*, **d-*, **g-* is not a specific feature of the western-Iranian languages;
- b) these voiced plosives may have been present from early on in the south-eastern Iranian languages as well (to the south of the Hindu Kush);
- c) the only surviving representatives of the south-eastern subgroup are Ormuri and Parachi, languages that are closely related to one another; other languages in this subgroup have become extinct without leaving behind any traces;
- d) the Afghan language (Pashto), as well as other Iranian languages allegedly belonging (according to the traditional classification) to a south-eastern subgroup, in reality belong to the north-eastern subgroup, as would also follow from their geographical distribution (with the exception of Pashto), spread as they are over areas to the north of the Hindu Kush; as far as Pashto is concerned, the speakers of this language have come from the same areas to the north and spread to their current locations in more recent times.

As we see, the assignment of Ormuri (and also Parachi) to the eastern-Iranian languages affects not just these specific languages; essentially this classification necessitates a drastic revision of the previous classification of the Iranian languages, including on the one hand their division into western and eastern languages, and on the other hand — for the eastern-Iranian languages — into north-eastern and south-eastern languages. However, this revision rests, as it seems to us, on a very shaky foundation, which lies, furthermore, outside the framework of the Iranian languages proper: Morgenstierne counts Ormuri and Parachi among a number of remnant south-eastern languages, while, conversely, he considers Pashto and other languages (Munji, Pamir languages), to be north-eastern languages, mainly because there were no voiced spirants in the neighbouring Dardic and Indo-Aryan languages (to the south of the Hindu Kush).

It would seem that such an explanation, even if expressed very cautiously,² cannot be viewed as constituting a sufficient foundation for such a radical departure from the established view on the original western Iranian — and more precisely north-western Iranian — nature of Ormuri (and Parachi). It is noteworthy that the later work by Morgenstierne on these languages (Morgenstierne 1929) does not contain any categorical claims about their place in the classification; in that work, however, one finds some further specification with respect to the place of Parachi as a language that, apparently, belongs to the north-western subgroup and has only later taken on (as a result of extended contact) many features of the south-eastern languages (mainly in the lexicon).

² Hadank had good reason for deciding that Morgenstierne was set against assigning Ormuri and Parachi to the north-western languages, (see Hadank 1931).

At the same time it is observed that Ormuri has less of a similarity with the western-Iranian languages, showing a closer connection with Pashto, that cannot be explained from later contacts. Pointing to the closeness of Ormuri and Pashto, Morgenstierne contradicts his own hypothesis of Pashto as a north-eastern language.

In his last, general work on the modern Iranian languages, which also deals with the question of the place of Parachi and Ormuri, Morgenstierne returns once more — however without adducing any new evidence — to his original standpoint that these languages belong to a south-eastern subgroup (Morgenstierne 1958:169). This point of view has been uncritically replicated (without conducting any additional research) in a number of other works about Ormuri and Parachi and also in works concerned with more general issues of Iranian linguistics (see, for instance, Meillet & Cohen 1915:33-34; Kieffer 1972, 1979).

Summarizing what was said above, the assignment of Ormuri (and Parachi) to the western-Iranian (north-western) languages agrees for the most part with the current level of our knowledge of the history of Iranian languages. The attempt to find another place for these languages inevitably leads to the necessity of a radical revision of the currently received classification of the Iranian languages into western and eastern (and within the latter into northern and southern), but sufficiently convincing arguments for such a move do not exist (unless we consider as such an appeal to non-Iranian facts).

Therefore the classification assumed here, which does not go outside the framework of Iranian data and which is mainly based on time-tested historical-phonetic features — the Ormuri reflexes of Old-Iranian consonants — highlights the dominance in Ormuri of western-Iranian (north-western) features (Oranskij 1960:342-345, 1979a:99-104, 106-115, 1979b:147-164, 166-176; Rastorgueva 1966:197).

The classification of Ormuri in the *western* group of Iranian languages is based on the presence of the following reflexes of Old-Iranian sounds (for detailed etymological information on the words cited below and further on, please consult the appendix in the back of this book):³

1) Ir. **b-* > Orm. *b-*, as in:

- Log., Kan. **b-** pres. stem of ‘to be’
< Ir. **báva-* pres. stem of ‘to be’
- Log. **búma**, **bóma**, Kan. **búm(b)a** ‘earth’
< Ir. **búmā*
- Log. **baḫ-**, Kan. ***báš-** (G **baṣ-**) pres. stem of ‘to donate’
< Ir. **baxš-* ‘to provide’

2) Ir. **d-* > Orm. *d-*, as in:

- Log. **dāk**, Kan. **dok** masc., **dāk** fem. ‘to do’ (past stem)
< Ir. *dā-* ‘to give, to put, to do’

³ More light is thrown on this issue below, in section 2.4.

- Log., Kan. **dar-** pres. stem of ‘to have’
< Ir. **dr-* : *dar-* ‘to hold’
 - Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
< Ir. **dása*
- 3) Ir. **g-* > Orm. *g-*, as in:
- Log. **ganóm**, Kan. **gunúm** ‘wheat’
< Ir. **gantúma*
 - Log., Kan. **goy** ‘ear’
< Ir. **gáuša*
 - Log., Kan. **gal-** pres. stem of ‘to bind’
< Ir. **gr̥θ-* : *gar̥θ-* ‘to tie together’
- 4) Ir. **-č* > Orm. *ž/z* (Log. *ž*, Kan. *z*), as in:
- Log. **-rož** (as in **nimrož** ‘midday’), Kan. **ryoz** ‘day’
< Ir. **ráuča(h)* ‘light’
 - Log. **nemâž**, Kan. **nmâz** G. ‘prayers, namaz’
< Ir. **námah* + **-či* ‘worship, veneration’

A specific property of Ormuri, which distinguishes it from other western-Iranian (and eastern-Iranian) languages, is the development of the Old-Iranian consonant clusters **-xt-* and **-ft-* into Ormuri \emptyset (instead of western Ir. *-xt-*, *-ft-* and eastern Ir. *-vd-* and *-yd-*, see Oranskij 1979b:145), as in:

- Log., Kan. **dúka** ‘girl’
< Ir. **duxtā-* ‘daughter’ + suffix **-kā*
- Log. **mok**, Kan. **myōk** M ‘to open, to untie’
< Ir. **muxtá* ‘to free’ + **-ka*
- Log., Kan. **wo** ‘seven’
< Ir. **haftá*

The classification of Ormuri in the *north-western subgroup* of the western-Iranian languages is based on the reflexes of Old Iranian **z/*d*, **s/*θ* and **sp* corresponding with Ormuri *z*, *s*, *sp*, respectively, as in:

- Log., Kan. **pazán-** pres. stem of ‘to know’
< Ir. **zan-/dan-* ‘to know’ + preverb **pati-*
- Log. **zómok**, Kan. **zímak** ‘winter’
< Ir. **zimá* + **-ka* ‘cold (n), frost, cold (adj)’
- Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
< Ir. **dása*
- Log. **asól**, Kan. **asál** ‘this year, in this year’
< Ir. **sard-* ‘year’ + **ā-* < Ir. **hā-* ‘this’
- Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’
< Ir. **spáka*

- Log. **yāsp**, Kan. **yāsp** ‘horse’
< Ir. **aspa-*

Further evidence of the affinity of Ormuri with the north-western Iranian languages is found in the reflex of Ir. **θr/*θr* as Log. *š*, Kan. *ř*, as in:

- Log. **šistu**, Kan. **řistu** ‘thirty’
< Ir. **θrisátam*
- Log. **yoš-**, Kan. **y^wař-** pres. stem of ‘to be afraid’
< Ir. **vi-θráha-* from Ir. **θrah-* ‘to be afraid’ + preverb **vi-* ‘away’
- Kan. **dāř** ‘sickle’
< Ir. **dāθram*

(The historical Ormuri consonant correspondences will be examined in more detail below.)

Thus the basic historical-phonetic features of Ormuri testify to its membership in the north-western subgroup of Iranian languages. The special position of Ormuri in this group (the presence in its consonant inventory of the dental affricates /*ts/* and /*dz/* — a feature that is typical of the eastern-Iranian languages in contradistinction to the western-Iranian languages that normally have the postalveolar affricates /*č/* and /*ǰ/*,⁴ etc.) has been caused by a range of factors, which will be discussed below.

Ormuri is one of those languages that until the present time have not been studied in sufficient detail. The first European scholarly publication containing information about the Ormuri language is the work of R. Leech (1838), which includes a word list and a number of phrases in the Logar dialect of Ormuri (with an English translation). After that, the work of H. Raverty was published (1864), which was mostly a repetition of the lexical material published by Leech. Both these works present merely fragmentary information about the language and use inadequate transcription systems, for which reasons they are not very useful for scholarly purposes.

Serious scholarly research on Ormuri started in the first quarter of the 20th century and is closely connected with the names of George Grierson and Georg Morgenstierne.

In 1918 and 1921 two works of George Grierson on the Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri were published (Grierson 1918, 1921), containing detailed descriptions of the phonetics, grammar and lexical inventory of this dialect; the former work also included etymological studies. Grierson as a matter of fact laid the foundation for the study of Ormuri in its synchronic, areal and diachronic aspects. He was the first to make an attempt — and quite a successful one, if we take into account the state of development of Iranian linguistics at that time — to provide a basis for the classification of Ormuri in the western branch of Iranian languages. At the same time it is not difficult to notice some essential shortcomings of Grierson’s work. These were connected with the circumstance that Grierson himself had not had an opportunity to hear natural, spoken Ormuri.

⁴ See section 2.4 of this work.

Grierson's work on Ormuri is based for the larger part on the materials contained in a manuscript entitled *Qawā'id-i Bargistā* 'The rules of Bargista', which included a grammar and vocabulary of the Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri. The author of this manuscript was Ghulam Muhammad Khan, a school inspector in Dera Ismail Khan (in current-day Pakistan) and a speaker of Ormuri, who wrote the manuscript in two languages: partly in Pashto and partly in Urdu. These languages, of course, are written in a form of the Arabic script supplemented with a number of additional characters to indicate sounds that do not occur in the Arabic language. Ghulam Muhammad Khan himself created a further special character for the representation of the typical Kaniguram Ormuri consonant *ř*.

Grierson clearly recognized the inadequacies of the scripts used in the *Qawā'id-i Bargistā*, aggravated by the inconsistent use by Ghulam Muhammad Khan of the vowel diacritics, which, naturally, gave rise to some well-founded doubts about how precisely they are to be transcribed (in particular with regard to the so-called *ma'rūf* and *majhūl* vowels; cf. Grierson 1921:128). Thus, in the works of Grierson we essentially have a case of a mixture of an idiosyncratic phonetic transcription, namely the method of recording material employed by the author of the *Qawā'id-i Bargistā*, and a transliteration into the Roman alphabet which precisely reproduces the spelling of the original.

In 1929 the work of Georg Morgenstierne on the Logar dialect of Ormuri was published (Morgenstierne 1929). This work consists of an introduction followed by chapters on issues regarding Ormuri phonetics, historical phonology, and morphology (in the latter case with rather fragmentary information about the current state of the Logar dialect). Attached to the work are a number of short texts and also a vocabulary with etymological annotations. In addition to the Logar lexical materials, which were recorded by Morgenstierne himself, and partly also by Leech and Raverty, the vocabulary also refers to lexical parallels with the Kaniguram dialect, drawn from the work of Grierson.

In 1932 another work of Morgenstierne was published, this time on the dialect of Kaniguram (Morgenstierne 1932a). This work consists of a vocabulary that includes, among other things, a number of items not recorded in Grierson's work. There is a brief preface to the vocabulary containing short phonetic descriptions of the individual consonants and vowels, and historical-phonetic comments. The vocabulary cites a considerable number of etymologies of Ormuri words, among which there are a number that constitute revisions of earlier etymological analyses by Grierson and Morgenstierne himself. Some conclusions about Ormuri grammar may be deduced from the illustrative materials in the vocabulary (which are often presented without a translation), but only to a very limited extent, given the paucity of this material.

In all, the works of Morgenstierne constitute a major step forward in the study of Ormuri, especially with regard to the diachronic aspect. Unfortunately, though, they do not enable one to construct a precise representation either of the phoneme inventories of the Ormuri dialects (all the linguistic materials are presented by the author in a phonetic transcription) or of their grammatical structure. The absence of a phonological approach to the analysis of the data, and also the lack of a sufficiently strict delimitation of

phenomena that are originally Ormuri and are connected with the effects of intra-systemic factors, from phenomena that are the result of extra-linguistic factors, did affect some of Morgenstierne's etymological derivations and also constituted an important obstacle in his attempts to determine Ormuri's place in the historical-dialectological classification of the Iranian languages.

At the present time the Swiss linguist Charles Kieffer is engaged in synchronic research on Ormuri (its Logar dialect). In his published works one can find, apart from extralinguistic information, a number of observations about the vowel system of Ormuri, about its vocabulary and, very fragmentarily, about its grammar (see Kieffer 1972, 1979⁵).

Some brief items of information on the Ormur people and their language can also be found in an article by the Afghan scholar Dost Shinwari, published in 1972 in the journal *Kabul* (written in Pashto).⁶

⁵ There are major differences between the interpretation of the phonetics of the Logar dialect put forward in this work and that in Kieffer's articles. We shall only mention here those that have a bearing on the depiction of the Logar vowel system — the system of vowel phonemes and their qualitative and quantitative characteristics. Kieffer postulates a set of eight vowel phonemes for the Logar vocalic system: *i, é, è, a, â, ò, ó, u* (Kieffer 1979:51). When transcribing the illustrative material, the author did not really take into consideration the six-phoneme vowel system, which arises from acknowledging quantity (length) to be immaterial (Kieffer 1972:118). This was firstly because of mixing phonological and phonetic approaches to recording material (the close-mid and open-mid vowels — *ó* and *ò* and *é* and *è* — are not independent phonemes but variants of phonemes /o/ and /e/ respectively), and secondly because the heterogeneous nature of the Logar vowel system was ignored. Kieffer nowhere includes a table of correspondences to show how other vowel systems (Dari and Pashto) produce changes. It is difficult to agree with the author's hypothesis about register variation supposedly present in the Ormuri vowel system, by which bilingual and trilingual speakers (Ormuri, Dari and a local Dari dialect) are able to change from one phonological "register" to another (in relation to vowels) depending on the language in use, i.e. to shift from one phonological "register" to a second or even a third. Kieffer has extended this not only to borrowings from Dari, Pashto and their local dialects recognised as such by native-speakers of Ormuri (which is quite justified), but also to original Ormuri vocabulary, old, long-since adapted borrowings, and to words of uncertain etymology, but perceived as original by native-speakers of Ormuri.

⁶ In December 1984, when this book was on the way to publication, Kh. Ormur defended a candidate of sciences dissertation, carried out under our supervision, at the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The subject of the dissertation was "Finite verb forms in Ormuri (based on material in the Logar dialect)". For a synopsis of the dissertation see Ormur 1984.

The current book is devoted to a description of the Ormuri language, its sound system and its grammatical structure (morphology with some elements of syntax) in its synchronic and historical aspects. The book also includes illustrative texts in the Logar and Kaniguram dialects with translations into English.

It is necessary to say a few words about some peculiarities of the Ormuri language as an object of research, which will have an impact on the way the data are laid out, their selection and their interpretation. This concerns problems that we ran into during our research on the various components of the linguistic system of Ormuri — especially its phonetics — and it also concerns the methodological difficulties connected with the solution of these problems. These complications, which already arise in a synchronic approach to the data and grow manifold in its study on a diachronic plane, are, generally speaking, entirely typical for a language which, on the one hand, has never been written and, on the other — and this is clear even from a superficial acquaintance with the language — underwent a strong influence from neighbouring languages and dialects.

However, in the case of Ormuri we have to deal with a significantly more complex range of problems: as one analyses the linguistic data, it is important not to lose sight of the circumstance, connected with the affiliation of Ormuri as a north-western Iranian language and the hypothesis based on it, namely that the Ormur people, similarly to some other Iranian tribes living in the south-eastern parts of the Iranian linguistic territory, do not constitute the original population of that area (see above). As a consequence, the important methodological conclusion is drawn that the historical development and evolution of Ormuri proceeded in two different linguistic and geographical regions, i.e. in heterogeneous linguistic and dialectological settings.

In an earlier, pre-immigration, phase the ancestors of the Ormur people, as far as can be judged, lived in the north-western regions of the Iranian plateau — an arena of interaction mainly between north-western and south-western Iranian languages. After the above-mentioned migration, which would have taken place at least seven or eight centuries ago, they appeared in the far south-east of the Iranian language territory — an arena of interaction with the most varied languages, mainly Dari and Pashto and dialects related to them (i.e., south-western and south-eastern Iranian languages), as well as with other languages (both Iranian and non-Iranian) that are established in the various parts of this area.

It seemed to us in this situation that the most effective approach would be to disentangle the problems retrospectively, i.e. from the present to the past, especially as such a research method had already been successfully tried before in Soviet linguistics, including Iranian linguistics (see OIJ 1979, 1981, 1982), on the basis of data from various languages, including unwritten ones.

An important sociolinguistic factor, which draws our attention and may function to some extent as a point of departure for the investigation of Ormuri, is the gradual diminution of its area of distribution, which seems to have started around the end of the 19th century. Thus, Ormuri has gone out of use in a whole range of places where it used to be spoken even relatively recently: in Butkhak (east of Kabul), in the offshoots of the Hindu Kush

(between Bamian and Gorbant) and to the north of it (in the Kunduz region), and also in several places around Peshawar. Such facts need not surprise us: they are simply the final traces of a process, the source of which lies in the past.

The many centuries that have passed since the time of the migration of the Ormur people from the west to the east could not, of course, remain without any effect on their language, as during that entire period it was in close contact with the many Afghan (Pashto) and Tajik-Persian (Dari) dialects and speech varieties spoken in that area. Dari and Pashto were the dominant and socially and functionally most important languages of this multilingual region, so for the Ormur people, as for other groups (Iranian and non-Iranian), they were the media of intertribal communication, a kind of lingua franca (Oranskij 1979b:91); depending on the composition of the population in a certain part of this region, either the one or the other might be predominant in that location (Pashto, for instance, is the predominant language in the area of Kaniguram).

The linguistic contacts with these languages resulted in the development of bilingualism and multilingualism among the Ormuri speakers, the extent of which grew more and more. In this way the conditions emerged for the appearance in the Ormuri lexical inventory of a massive number of loans from Dari and Pashto, which served as the beginning of a gradual, but very significant, process of replacing original vocabulary items with corresponding Afghan-Tajik ones.⁷ However, the influence of the new linguistic environment on Ormuri was not restricted to this. As a result of the processes of convergence, inevitable in a situation of active Ormuri multilingualism, there were multi-faceted consequences for the structure of the language in its various components, including its phonetic component.

With respect to phonetics, together with the use of widely distributed, general Iranian vocabulary, there was also an appropriation of the norms of pronunciation and articulatory habits of speakers of the local forms of Dari and Pashto, or rather of the general colloquial *koiné* that had developed from these forms. A similar influence from the linguistic environment, not identical for the different groups of Ormuri speakers, can be observed in both the vowel system and the consonant system, although it is more obvious in the latter. This is particularly apparent in the adaptation of the pronunciation of various vowels and consonants in words originally Ormuri, especially in those which appeared to the speakers of Ormuri as genetically related to Pashto and Dari and which therefore permitted the interchangeability of pronunciation of sounds in those languages with a similar articulation. In this way the conditions for a gradual incorporation of new sounds into the phonetics of Ormuri arose (at first only affecting pronunciation).

The consequences of this might vary from situation to situation. In some cases the borrowed sounds functioned (and continue to function to the present day) in parallel with the original sounds in the very same words (with a more or less clear awareness of “own” and “alien”). In other cases such a situation existed only at the beginning, while later the

⁷ Similar processes are also characteristic of other unwritten languages in this region.

original sounds were completely replaced by the borrowed ones. As a result, phonological oppositions among various series of phonemes that had formed on a western-Iranian basis in earlier stages of the history of Ormuri now fell apart. This led in the end to various reconstructions of the former phonological system. As a matter of course, such phenomena, which influence dynamic evolutionary processes, are of the utmost importance to us.

Thus the peculiarities of Ormuri as an object of research include the following: a) the presence of two distinct dialects at the present time; b) the absence of writing and written records for the language; c) an early isolation from the genetically closely-related north-western languages and dialects resulting from an assumed migration of the ancestors of the Ormur people from the west to the east; d) a long-time presence in a heterogeneous linguistic environment — with a functionally limited domain of use — with a strong influence from the dominant languages of the area; e) active bilingualism or multilingualism of the speakers of Ormuri, connected with convergence and interference phenomena in their language.

In this way there arises a vital need in the investigation of Ormuri for the delimitation of original elements of this language from features it acquired during the various later stages of its history — especially from those acquired during the post-immigration period and — as far as possible — from those acquired in more distant times.

We consider two kinds of phenomena to be original elements: a) archaic elements, inherited from ancient times; b) innovations that emerged in the course of the evolution of the language as a result of natural, internal changes to its system.

The problem of distinguishing between “own” and “alien” is important at all levels of the linguistic system. The problem is particularly relevant, however, for the sound inventory of Ormuri, since, as the experience of Iranian linguistics has shown (Oranskij 1963:125, Rastorgueva 1966:196, etc.), only with the support of phonetic features — the regular sound correspondences between Ormuri and other Iranian languages — can the question of the classification of this language, such a thorny problem till now, be decided.

It is a matter of course that for a language with such a history as Ormuri, a solution to the problem of identifying original elements can in many respects only be tentative, and with different degrees of approximation to reality for different chronological layers. Nevertheless, at the current stage of development of the science of Iranian linguistics, the posing of this question seems to us to be fully justified. The basis for this is the growing body of knowledge in the area of Iranian languages (both extinct and living languages), their historical and comparative phonetics and grammar (OIJ 1979:3-5). The absence of written records in Ormuri may, to a certain degree, be compensated for by the adduction of comparative material from closely related languages and also by the knowledge of its sociolinguistic, areal and dialectological character — assuming, of course, a differentiated use of such data for the different periods in the history of the language.

In this book, an attempt is undertaken to solve the problem of original elements by means of applying a sophisticated research methodology, which consists of the consecutive

execution of several stages of work at the synchronic and diachronic levels (assuming that the results are simultaneously cross-checked), namely:

Step 1) a tentative selection of a number of native Ormuri words, that can be clearly determined through an initial comparison with the vocabulary of neighbouring languages, especially Dari and Pashto, and the establishment from this material of an inventory of vowel and consonant phonemes for both the dialects;

Step 2) the establishment of sound correspondences between the dialects (including convergences and divergences);

Step 3) the reconstruction of the phonemic inventory of Ormuri in previous stages of development with the help of a contrastive analysis of the contemporary dialects of Ormuri and of the testimony of closely related languages with a simultaneous account of the basic phonetic phenomena, characteristic for the given linguistic-geographical area;

Step 4) a specification and broadening of the corpus of native Ormuri vocabulary, serving in the beginning as the starting material for synchronic and diachronic research, and growing steadily as we obtain a fuller body of information of a comparative-historical and areal character (in the initial stages of the study our ability to differentiate between native and borrowed vocabulary is extremely limited because of the very scanty amount, and in some cases even complete absence, of information available on such facts).⁸

Language data collected by the author himself served as the principal source for the current study. Data on the Logar dialect, which has been the focus of our study, were gathered in fieldwork carried out in the valley of the river Logar in Afghanistan in the summer of 1971; further data were collected in the following years in Moscow with our principal informant on this dialect, Kh. Ormur, who came there for study purposes.

Data on the Kaniguram dialect (a list of words for establishing the phonological inventory of vowels and consonants, a large number of conversational phrases and several folkloric texts) were recorded on magnetic tape on the basis of a grammatical questionnaire prepared by the author. The recording was made in the summer of 1971 in Kaniguram by a teacher of Pashto, Mr. Zardel. A locally born law student, R.Kh., was our source. He turned out to be a great expert on his mother tongue, as was confirmed by a comparison of the recordings with earlier data on this dialect (Grierson 1918, 1921; Morgenstierne 1932a).

In addition to our own materials, we have also made extensive use of the published works of Morgenstierne on both the Logar and Kaniguram dialects (1929, 1932a, 1973b), and of Grierson on the Kaniguram dialect (1918, 1921). The lexical material for the Logar

⁸ Of course only final results of the analysis carried out appear in this book. We have depended on linguistic material contained in works of both a general and specific nature. The following are some of them: Žukovskij 1888:1922b, Oranskij 1960:1979b, Rastorgueva 1975a and b, OIJ 1979, 1981, 1982, JAA 1978, Christensen 1930, GIPh 1895-1901, Mann & Hadank 1930, Morgenstierne 1958, 1960, Tedesco 1921, Yarshater 1969, etc.

dialect contained in the publications of Leech (1838), Raverty (1864), and Kieffer (1972, 1979) was used only occasionally, when no alternatives were available.

For the etymological aspect we have used the investigations of Grierson and Morgenstierne. As is known, these scholars in their etymological studies on the Ormuri lexicon on the one hand extensively referred to the results of preceding historical and etymological research in Iranian linguistics (especially for Persian, Tajik, Pashto, Balochi, Ossetic, etc.) and on the other hand proved the Iranian descent of a whole series of originally Ormuri words that had not been observed in other Iranian languages. Explicit references to these works are usually given only in controversial cases (when there is a divergence between the researchers in determining the etymology of an Ormuri word and also when a new etymological solution is proposed).

Apart from this, we also used a range of more recent works on separate Iranian languages, particularly the etymological dictionary of Ossetic by Abaev (1958-1979) and the dictionary of Khotan Saka by Bailey (1979). In the majority of cases we tried to avoid the reconstruction of roots or root bases for Old Iranian when these did not find independent confirmation in Old-Iranian or Sanskrit records; exceptions to this rule are rather rare and these relate mainly to reconstructions by Morgenstierne, to which references are given. The Old-Iranian and Sanskrit data that we are drawing on have been taken (usually without reference to the source) from the following dictionaries and scholarly works: Abaev (1958-1979), Kočergina (1978), Barrou (=Burrow) (1976), Zaliznjak (1978), Sokolov (1964), Bartholomae (1904), Bailey (1979), Brandenstein & Mayrhofer (1964), GIPh (1895-1901), Kent (1953), Monier-Williams (1976), Mayrhofer (1953-1970), Mylius (1980), Reichelt (1909), Pokorny (1959-1969), Turner (1962-1966), Whitney (1879, 1885).

The linguistic material is presented in the following manner. Examples are given first from the Logar and then from the Kaniguram dialect. Words and forms taken from our own data are given without further remarks. Only in some necessary cases do we indicate the informant (see the introduction to chapter 4 for a list of informants). Illustrative material from other works on the Ormuri language is presented with preservation of the transcription of the source (deviations from this rule have only been allowed for unification purposes when there were inconsistencies in the representation of various sounds). In those instances where our own phonological interpretation of certain data is given, this is marked with a leading superscript ⁺, while the description of the source is given next to it in round brackets. Examples taken from other works are accompanied by the following abbreviations: M (Morgenstierne), G (Grierson), L (Leech), Rv. (Raverty), Kief. (Kieffer); the abbreviation precedes the example when it immediately follows our own, but when the example does not occur in our own data, then the abbreviation is given after the word or form.

In all sections containing an etymological analysis of the data (see, e.g., sections 2.2 and 2.5) its presentation is based on a number of assumptions that are explained in sections 3.1, 3.2 (esp. the subsection dealing with the historical aspects of the present and past stems), and section 2.6. This concerns issues that are connected with the reconstruction of

proto-forms, as well as issues connected with the selection of illustrative material: from Old Iranian and Sanskrit on the one hand and from Iranian languages of the Middle and Modern periods on the other.

Thus, when citing the reconstruction of a proto-form of a modern noun or verb (with the abbreviation “Ir.” and an asterisk *), we usually present it in a concrete grammatical form. For nouns that used to have a thematic stem, the etymon is reconstructed in the nominative singular form, which served for them (and also for nouns ending in $*-\bar{a}$) as the basis for following inflections; masculine forms are presented with the truncated ending $*-a$ (< Ir. $*-ah$), but neuter forms are presented with the ending of the nominative-accusative case $*-am$. For nouns that used to have an athematic stem in the ancient period, the etymon is reconstructed, as far as possible, on the basis of that case form on which the noun was thematised at a later stage of common Iranian.

Verbs are presented using their present or past stem. If a verb is presented using its present-tense stem, then it is derived from an Old-Iranian present-tense stem of a given conjugational class (corresponding with the classification used in this work, which is based on Sanskrit grammars) or of a given word-formational type; for verbs with historically athematic stems the stem is taken to be of that ablaut grade which is represented in the third-person plural form, functioning as a basis for thematisation and subsequently yielding reflexes in the modern language. If a verb in this work is presented as a past-tense stem, then it is derived from an Old-Iranian passive participle ending in $*-t\check{a}$, extended with the suffix $*-k\check{a}$.

Following the reconstructed proto-forms we also present examples — usually in the form of the nominal or verbal stem — from Old Iranian languages (Avestan, Old Persian, Median) and from Sanskrit;⁹ after that follow examples from Iranian languages and dialects of the Middle and Modern periods, relating predominantly to the north-western — and, more rarely, to the south-western — groups. The examples from languages that have no established tradition of transcription (Kurdish, Balochi, etc.) are presented in the transcription in which they appear in the source used, but with the necessary transliteration into the Roman alphabet.

(By no means all the work undertaken by the author on the Ormuri language is in this publication. We intend publishing at a later date a dictionary (with elements of etymological analysis); if possible, all the vocabulary in our recordings will be in it, examples of phrases not in the book will be included as illustrative material, and new texts will be added. Apart from lexical material proper, the dictionary will contain information of grammar and word-formation which have been dealt with only partially in this work because of limited space.)

⁹ Sanskrit is especially important for the accenting of proto-forms.

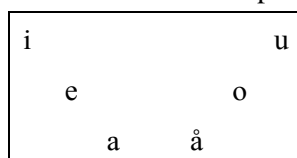
2. Phonology

2.1 The vowel system

The vowel system of Ormuri is heterogeneous. It includes a subsystem of vowels that are found in inherited (native) Ormuri vocabulary, as well as a subsystem (or even more than one) of vowels that occur in borrowed vocabulary.¹⁰ The presence of several vocalic subsystems in one language inevitably entails their interdependence and interaction.¹¹ We begin here with a discussion of vowels in the native stratum of the Ormuri lexicon.

In both the Logar and Kaniguram dialects, phonemic contrasts between vowels in native vocabulary are primarily based on vowel quality, rather than quantity (length).

The vowel system of the Logar dialect consists of six phonemes:¹²



The phoneme /i/ in its basic variant is a close front unrounded vowel (pronounced slightly below the uppermost height level): /diš/ 'milk!', /šin/ 'green', /šipi/ 'milk' (noun), /píri/ 'now'. In open and closed syllables before stress the sound /i/ is somewhat lowered and centralized, which in a number of cases leads the hearer to confuse it with a close variant of the phoneme /e/: /šinók/ [šɛnok] 'he bought' (cf. /šin/ [šin] 'buy!').

¹⁰ In connection with this, compare the heterogeneity of the vowel systems in unwritten languages such as Munji (Grjunberg 1972:398) and Wakhi (Grjunberg & Steblin-Kamenskij 1976:541,526).

¹¹ This occurs frequently in cases when one and the same word, usually common to Pashto and Dari, and sometimes also to Ormuri proper, is not pronounced uniformly. In the case of bilingual and trilingual speakers, such a characteristic is conditioned above all by the degree of competence in the mother tongue and the secondary languages.

¹² In this work, when presenting material of the Logar dialect, including its phonetics, we have mainly been guided by those speakers whose speech most clearly shows the characteristics of this dialect. Mixed dialectal features which are found in the speech of some informants who have kept closer links with speakers of Kaniguram and which are in the accompanying texts (see texts XXXVII-LI in this work) have been dealt with only partially. This is firstly because of our aim to show the characteristics of each dialect more clearly and secondly because of the limited size of the work. These forced omissions will, if possible, be considered on publication of the dictionary.

The phoneme /e/ is a close-mid front unrounded vowel, pronounced slightly above the medium height level, as in /beg/ (the nominal part of the compound verb /beg dāk/ 'to raise'), /ner/ 'house', /peč/ 'from behind', /pé-wa/ 'his father'. Adjacent to consonants with a dorsal articulation, a raised variant of /e/ occurs: /alšér/ 'give to him', /kép/ 'dig!', /kém e/ '(there is) little'. A lowered variant of /e/ occurs when adjacent to non-dorsal consonants at the beginning of a word: /mendz/ 'middle (centre)', /erwár/ 'bring (me)', /mey/ 'sheep'.

As has already been said, in syllables before stress the qualitative opposition of /e/ and /i/ is neutralised to a significant degree and in some instances it is very difficult to differentiate between these sounds: /brešók/ [brišók] 'to burn' (cf. /breš/ 'burn!'), /mezók/ [mizók] 'to get broken, become smashed' (cf. /mez/ 'be broken!'). See also /keré/ (or /kire/ ?) [kiré] – the demonstrative pronoun 'this' (in the accusative case), /kerží/ (or /kirží/ ?) [kirzi] 'hen', where it is impossible to verify the vowel of the unstressed syllable. In strong position, however, i.e. under stress, the qualitative opposition of /e/ vs. /i/ is fairly clear: /be/ – 3sg. aorist of *buk* 'to be' vs. /bi/ – 2sg. aorist of the same verb; /ben/ 'throw!' vs. /biž/ 'prepare!, cook!'; /dek/ 'to see' vs. /diž/ 'ask!'.

The phoneme /a/ in its basic variant is an open front unrounded vowel: /az/ 'I', /afó/ 'that', /gam/ 1sg. aorist of /wótok/ 'to lay'. After uvular consonants /a/ moves further back: /xar/ 'ass', /xaw/ 'sleep'.

In unstressed syllables, including open syllables preceding stress, /a/ hardly suffers any reduction, although it is slightly shortened: /kapók/ 'to dig', /a-wók/ 'the water' (/a/ being the definite marker), /banók/ 'to throw', /ganóm/ 'wheat', /xaní/ 'laughter'.

The phoneme /ã/ is a near-open back rounded vowel. In quality it is close to the vowel /ã/ of Dari and several Afghan dialects: the ear hears it as a vowel slightly higher than Pers. /ã/, but nevertheless it does not go beyond the range of the quality of *a*. A peculiarity of Ormuri is that this sound occurs only in stressed positions. For example: /nâk/ 'wife', /dâk/ 'to do', /mâwa/ 'mother', /mâli/ 'husband', /erzâk/ 'to come', /marzâ/ 'brother'.

The phoneme /o/ is a close-mid back rounded vowel. As distinct from the Dari vowel /ũ/, Ormuri /o/ is not characterised by fronting or lengthening in any phonetic position. For example: /tos/ 'you (pl.)', /goy/ 'cow', /goy/ 'ear', /alčók/ 'to go away', /towa/ 'sun', /ganóm/ 'wheat', /sónok/ 'breast, udder'. Following labial consonants, /o/ is much higher, approximating in sound to a very open /u/: /wótok/ 'to lay', /póxok/ 'ripe', /mox/ 'face', /wost/ 'stand up!'.

Before stress, familiar difficulties arise in differentiating /o/ and /u/ (see below).

The phoneme /u/ is a close back rounded vowel (pronounced slightly below the uppermost height level). Compared to the vowel /u/ of Dari, it is considerably less fronted and is not a long sound. For example: /buk/ '(he) was', /spuy/ 'louse', /suš/ 'red', /duš/ '(too) little', /jistu/ 'twenty', /tu/ 'you (sg.)', /dúwa/ 'daughter'.

The phoneme /u/ differs from the basic (higher) variant of the phoneme /o/ [o] in that in its articulation the tongue is raised a little higher yet than for the articulation of /o/. The qualitative opposition /o/ vs. /u/ is clear when these vowels are in strong position, i.e.

under stress; cf. /ron/ ‘fire’ vs. /run/ ‘melted butter’, /wok/ ‘water’ vs. /wuk/ ‘dry’, /šom/ ‘forward’ vs. /šun/ ‘(too) little’. But in weak position, especially in syllables preceding stress, the opposition /o/ vs. /u/ is neutralised to a significant degree, as these sounds suffer some reduction and shortening: /mořók/ ‘to lose’ vs. /duřák/ ‘a little, slightly’ (cf. /moř/ 2sg. aorist of the verb *mořok* vs. /duř/ ‘(too) little’), /morgá/ ‘sparrow’ vs. /kumún/ ‘me’ (in this pair of oppositions the /o/ and /u/ before stress cannot be verified). Therefore for a certain number of lexemes and grammatical forms the confusion of /o/ and /u/ found in weak position (especially in open, pre-accentual syllables) is unavoidable and their representation by one grapheme (or rather, transcription symbol) or the other is arbitrary to a certain degree. This also applies in the same way to the representation of the phonemes /e/ and /i/ in unstressed position.

The vowel system of the Kaniguram dialect, too, consists of six phonemes:

| | |
|---|---|
| i | u |
| e | o |
| a | ā |

The vowels /i/, /e/, /u/, and /o/ do not differ in quality from the corresponding vowels of the Logar dialect (although etymologically they are not always identical, see section 2.2). We cite some examples with these vowels in stressed and unstressed positions:

/i/ – /pin/ ‘honey’, /gri/ ‘mountain’, /idá/ ‘here’, /kirdzí/ ‘hen’, /māli/ ‘husband’;

/e/ – /peč/ ‘far’, /p(i)yé/ ‘father’, /yékin/ ‘(they) said’, /šóles/ ‘sixteen’;

/u/ – /suř/ ‘red’, /búmba/ ‘earth’, /tu/ ‘you (sg.)’, /dúka/ ‘girl’, /jístu/ ‘twenty’;

/o/ – /o/ ‘this’, /tok/ ‘hot’, /góra/ – 3sg. aorist of /yoryék/ ‘to rain’, /pon/ ‘roof’.

The open front vowel /a/ and the open central vowel /ā/, etymologically identical with Logar /a/ and /ā/, are characterised by the following features. /a/ in its basic variant equals the corresponding vowel of the Logar dialect. It differs from it only at the end of a word and also in positions adjacent to a labial, where it becomes slightly rounded: *idá* ‘here’, *afā* ‘that’, *ša* ‘six’, *búmba* ‘earth’, *wak* ‘water’, *dzwast* ‘span’, *x^way* ‘one’s own’, *y^was* ‘to speak’. In other positions Kan. /a/ is identical with Log. /a/: /jikák/ ‘place’, /sándaš/ ‘eleven’, /asál/ ‘in this year’.

The phoneme /ā/ differs from Log. /ā/ by the absence of lip rounding, by its more forward position and by a greater openness: *čān* ‘year’, *dāř* ‘sickle’, *čāštu* ‘forty’, *māwa* ‘mother’. See below for discussion of the quantitative opposition of /a/ vs. /ā/.

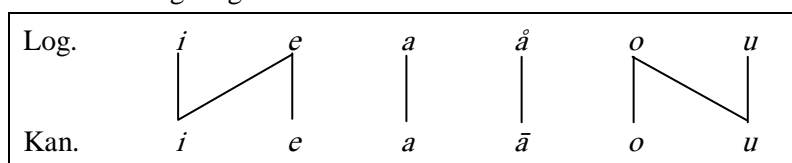
A characteristic feature of the Kaniguram dialect (as opposed to Logar) is the presence of nasalised vowels in a number of words. However, from the material at our disposal, we cannot establish the phonological status of this nasalisation. We only note that the nasalised vowels *ã*, *ā̃*, *ẽ*, and *õ* are usually found before the consonant groups *sp*, and *št* with adjacent nasals, which have sometimes been elided but can be determined by etymological means; they occur in both native Iranian vocabulary (*yāšp* ‘horse’, *ālk*

‘egg’, *āšt* ‘eight’, *āzyok* ‘to remain’, *ē(y)*- pres. stem ‘to sit’), as well as in borrowed words (*māndrasta* ‘madrasa’, *ōnd* ‘blind’).¹³

So, as far as the native, inherited Ormuri vocabulary is concerned, the primary phonemic contrasts among the vowels are quality-based. The quantity-based vowel oppositions that were characteristic of the Old-Iranian languages, and are also postulated by us as existing in Proto-Ormuri, have been lost in both dialects.¹⁴

In stressed positions the vowels are pronounced longer, while they are shortened to a smaller or greater degree in unstressed positions. Only in Kaniguram did the quantitative feature retain some of its phonological significance, namely in the pair of vowels *a* vs. *ā*, of which the first is short and the second long. The length difference between these vowels appears in all phonetic positions except at the end of a word: *dār* ‘sickle’ (34.5 measurement units on the oscillogram) vs. *das* ‘ten’ (17.0); *čāk* ‘cold’ (32.0) vs. *řak* ‘flea’ (18.0); *čāštu* ‘forty’ (16.0) vs. *gástak* ‘to carry away’ (0.9); *yāsp* ‘horse’ (38.6) vs. *dzwast* ‘span’ (12.4) etc. But: *tā* ‘paternal uncle’ (37.0) vs. *ša* ‘six’ (37.5).

The Logar-Kaniguram vowel correspondences for inherited Ormuri vocabulary are presented in the following diagram:



Characteristic of a certain part of the native lexicon are individual divergences from the basic lines of correspondences of vowels in both dialects, see section 2.2.

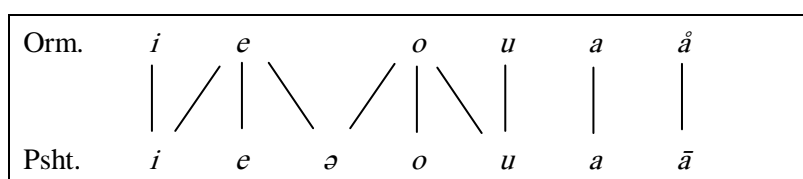
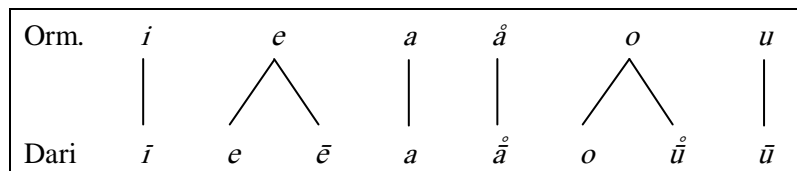
The vowel system seen in borrowed words (for Logar from Dari and Pashto, and for Kaniguram from Pashto) is unstable, greatly dependent on the degree of mastery of the foreign language (or languages) by the Ormuri speaker. In view of this, the vowel system of the borrowed lexicon either retains the qualitative-quantitative nature of the vowels of

¹³ Nasalised vowels occur widely in neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages (JAA 1976:168-173; Egorova 1966:15-16). In addition they are found in some Iranian languages: Parachi, Yidgha and the eastern dialects of Pashto (Morgenstierne 1926:12; 1938:31; 1929:320; Rastorgueva 1975a:63).

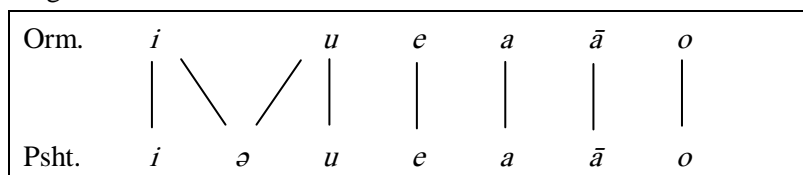
¹⁴ A mechanical investigation of the length of vowels was carried out on an oscillograph on the basis of special programs recorded on a tape-recorder. A quantitative opposition of a few vowels found in individual cases was not confirmed by repeated checks. As became clear, the arbitrary character of such an opposition was caused by the informant's efforts somehow to underline the semantic differences between words with the same type of phonetic structure and sometimes homonyms (for example, Log. *yoš* 1. 'snow', 2. 'speak!', 3. 'be afraid!'; Log. *dek* 'to see', *kep*, 'dig!' etc.). In the absence of such a situation the opposition of vowels by length in similar words was lost.

the source language¹⁵ or becomes adapted to each of the dialects according to existing rules, of which the following diagrams give a general picture:

a) In the Logar dialect:



b) In the Kaniguram dialect:



We should also mention that Kaniguram has a number of Persian loans for which it is difficult to say whether they came into this dialect via Pashto or directly from the local variant of Farsi, widespread in Pakistan. The latter supposition is the more likely inasmuch as the loans noted in Kaniguram retain the opposition by length of the vowels *i* vs. *ī* (= Dari *e* vs. *ī*) and *u* vs. *ū* (= Dari *o* vs. *ū*), present in the local variant of Farsi, an opposition which would doubtlessly have been lost if the loans had come from Pashto.

On the whole it is possible to state that the interrelation of Ormuri and Dari (Farsi) and Pashto is not limited in this case to preserving the features of the source language vowels nor, on the other hand, to completely adapting to the peculiar models of each dialect. For an Ormuri bilingual or trilingual, who can change from one language to another depending on the social situation and can actively use the qualitative-quantitative vowel

¹⁵ In Dari – the eight-phoneme vowel system, in which *ā*, *ū*, *ē*, *ī*, and *ū* are long vowels and *a*, *e*, and *o* are short.

In Pashto – the semi-phonemic vocalism: *ā*, *o*, *u*, *e*, *i*, *a*, and *ə*. In this language the quantitative characteristic (opposition by length or shortness) has a phonological significance only for the pair *a* vs. *ā*, while in Logar, instead of the long Afghani *ā*, there is a labialised *á* (under the influence of Dari). Another feature of Pashto is the ultra-short vowel *ə* (so-called “svarabhakti”), found only in a stressed position.

oppositions (Dari *e* vs. \bar{e} , \bar{i} ; *a* vs. \bar{a} ; *o* vs. \bar{u} , \bar{u} and Pashto *a* – \bar{a} and short ə), this phenomenon can sometimes have consequences by its transference into the original lexicon also (probably not always clearly recognised as such), creating the preconditions for the non-uniform multi-variant pronunciation of individual words.¹⁶

2.2 Vowel correspondences

An analysis of the convergences and divergences in the vowel system of Logar and Kaniguram permits us to postulate an eight-phoneme vowel system for Early Ormuri, identical in composition to Parthian (OIJ 1981:158-159) and Middle Persian (OIJ 1981:19-20), i.e. a western Middle-Iranian system, as it is classified in current research in Iranian historical linguistics (see, for example, OIJ 1982:471-474). It includes three pairs of vowels that are contrasted by length, $*i$ vs. $*\bar{i}$, $*a$ vs. $*\bar{a}$, $*u$ vs. $*\bar{u}$ and two long vowels deriving from Old-Iranian diphthongs, $*\bar{e}$ < Ir. $*ai$, $*\bar{o}$ < Ir. $*au$. These have been inherited from ancient times (i.e. from Proto-Ormuri, by which we mean the initial Old-Iranian dialect from which Ormuri came).

The following factors, usually occurring in various combinations,¹⁷ have influenced the development of individual historical vowels in Early Ormuri:

- a) occurrence in stressed vs. unstressed position;
- b) the effect of umlaut, occurring in three different types:
 - a-umlaut*: when in a stressed syllable, ending in two consonants, followed (immediately or later in the word) by $*\bar{a}$;
 - i-umlaut*: when in a stressed syllable, followed by a syllable containing $*\bar{i}$, $*y$ or the front consonant $*\check{c}$;
 - neutral position*: when in a stressed syllable in the remaining instances;
- c) the structure of the syllable (open or closed; by one or more consonants);
- d) the position in the initial (Old-Iranian or Proto-Ormuri) word form;
- e) adjacent consonants.

Fundamental changes marked the development of the Ormuri vowel system in the post-immigration period, when conditions arose for the language to divide into dialects. Common to both dialects was the loss of the phonological significance of the length distinction between vowels and the rising prominence of the quality distinction.

At the same time, certain differences between the dialects began to appear as well, mainly caused by the reflexes of Old-Iranian short $*i$ and $*u$ in these dialects: in Kaniguram the

¹⁶ This probably explains the presence of phoneme ə in such genuine Orm. words as Log. *zle/zlə*, Kan. *zli/zlə* ‘heart’, Log. *šer/šər* ‘good’ etc.

¹⁷ Cf. these characteristics in the Shughni and Rushani group of languages (Sokolova 1967:25).

reflexes of **i* and **u* merged with the reflexes of long **ī* and **ū*, giving /i/ and /u/ respectively (irrespective of length), while in Logar they merged with the reflexes of Proto-Ormuri **ē* and **ō* (the historical *majhuul* vowels), giving /e/ and /o/ respectively (irrespective of length). See below for inter-dialectal divergences in the development of Early Orm. **ā* < Ir. **ā*.

These divergences in the vowel system may be explained to a significant degree by the influence of the linguistic and dialectal environment (different for each Ormuri dialect). So, under the undoubted influence of Afghan Dari, changes (shifts) have occurred in the quality of some Logar vowels, see for example:

1) rounded Log. /ā̃/, which corresponds to unrounded /ā/ in Kan. < Early Orm. **ā* < Ir. **ā*;

2) the more open quality of Log. /e/ and /o/ (= Kan. /i/ and /u/), continuing Early Orm. **i* and **u* (< Ir. **i* and **u*), cf. Dari /e/ and /o/ (OIJ 1982:25).

Part of the native lexicon exhibits other (more specific) dialectal divergences, according to the internal structural developments that each of them underwent. In our presentation of the linguistic material we focus on the vowel system of the Logar dialect, specifying in each concrete case its convergences with and divergences from Kaniguram. Kaniguram words that have no cognates in Logar are usually presented in those sections that are concerned with the basic lines of phonetic correspondences.

The vowel /a/

Log. /a/ usually corresponds to Kan. /a/, only in certain phonetic positions (for example, in syllables ending in several consonants, see below) Kan. /a/ ~ Log. /o/ (see phoneme /o/).

As a rule, Log., Kan. /a/ can be traced back to Ir. **a* in an open syllable or in a syllable ending in one consonant:

- Log., Kan. **bar** ‘door’
< Ir. **dvar-* ‘door, gate’
- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirgá** ‘sparrow’
< Ir. **mrgá* ‘bird’
- Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
< Ir. **dása*
- Log., Kan. **az** ‘I’
< Ir. **ázam*
- Log., Kan. **dzán-** pres. stem ‘to beat’
< Ir. **jána-* ‘to beat’
- Log., Kan. **nawár-** pres. stem ‘to take out, pull out’
< Ir. **ni-bára-* from **br-* : *bar-* ‘to carry’ + preverb **ni-*

- Kan. **amár-** pres. stem ‘to hear’
 < Ir. *ā-mára-* from **mṛ-* : *mar-* ‘to notice’ + preverb **ā-*

In syllables ending in two consonants, Ir. **a* (in a neutral position) > Kan. *a*, but Log. *o* (see phoneme /o/).

In the reflexes of fem. participles in **-tā* (+ **-kā*) from roots in **-a* (< *n*, **m*) there is a contraction from Ir. **atā* > Orm. *a* (not observed in Logar):

- Kan. **dzak** (from *dzok* masc. ‘to beat’)
 < Ir. **jatā* from **gan-* ‘to beat’ + **-kā*
- Kan. **nayak** (from *nayok* masc. ‘to go out’)
 < Ir. **ni-gatā* + **-kā* from **gam* ‘to arrive/come’

Kan. /a/ in /al/ (in the given forms) has developed from **irt*, **urt* < Ir. **rt* in the position of a-umlaut, as in:

- Kan. **dalk** G fem. past stem of *dīlak* ‘to squeeze, harvest’
 < Ir. **drtā-* + **-kā* from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to chop, tear’
- Kan. **malk** (fem. past stem of *múl(l)ak* ‘to die’)
 < Ir. **mṛtā* + **-kā* from **mṛ-* : *mar-* ‘to die, to perish’

In a neutral position in analogous cases we have Log. /o/, Kan. /u/ (see phoneme /o/). See also in several nouns Kan. /a/ < Ir. **u* in a-umlaut position:

- Kan. **řak** fem. ‘flea’
 < Ir. **řuš-kā* from Ir. **řušī-* ‘a variety of harmful insect’ + **-kā*
- Kan. **sukal** G ‘porcupine’
 < Ir. **sūkúrnā*

We shall examine cases where Kan. /a/ corresponds to other Log. sounds — in particular /o/ and /e/ — in the appropriate sections of this book.

Log., Kan. /a/ in unstressed syllables:

a) from unstressed Ir. **ā*; this is regularly seen in the pres. stems of the verb, which are derived from the ancient causative or iterative in **-áya-* where the root **ā* was the lengthened grade of vowel *a* in the alternation **a* : **ā*, as in:

- Log., Kan. **dar-** ‘to have’
 < Ir. **dāráya-* from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to hold/keep’
- Kan. **yaf-** pres. stem ‘to weave’
 < Ir. **vāfāya-* pres. stem (caus.) of **vaf-*
- See also Kan. **ayók** ‘to appear, to be born’
 < Ir. **ā-gátaka-* from **gátaka* past part. of ‘to arrive’ + preverb **ā-*

b) from unstressed **a* (in pres. stems of the verb, coming from ancient stems in **-áya-* from roots in **r* and **n*), as in:

- Log., Kan. **ban-** pres. stem ‘to throw, to place’
 < Ir. **dvanáya-*

- Log., Kan. **gal-** pres. stem ‘to bind’ (Kan. also ‘to weave’)
 - < Ir. **garθáya-* from **grθ-* : *garθ-* ‘to tie, to braid’
- c) from Ir. **i* (in unstressed preverbs), as in:
 - Log., Kan. **nawar-** ‘to take out; to pull out’
 - < Ir. **ni-bára-* from **bar-* ‘to carry’ + preverb **ni-*
 - Kan. **wayyok** ‘to enter’
 - < Ir. **abi-gáta-ka* from **gam-* ‘to arrive’ + preverb **abi-*
 - see also Kan. **ṽar̥-** pres. stem ‘to fear’
 - < Ir. **viθráha-* from **θrah-* ‘to fear’ + preverb **vi-*

The vowel Log. /ǎ/ and Kan. /ā/

In the majority of cases Log. /ǎ/ and Kan. /ā/ come from Ir. **ā*, see for instance:

- Log. **mǎy**, Kan. **māy** ‘month’
 - < Ir. **māha(m)*
- Log. **mǎx**, Kan. **māx** ‘we’
 - < Ir. **ahmāxam* ‘us, our’
- Kan. **dār̥** ‘sickle’
 - < Ir. **dāθram* ‘sickle, scythe’

Logar /ǎ/ and Kan. /ā/ were preserved when occurring in the following historical phoneme clusters:

a) **aθvǎ:*

- Log. **tsǎr**, Kan. **tsār** ‘four’
 - < Ir. **čaθvára*
- Log. **tsǎxtu**, Kan. **tsāštu** ‘forty’
 - < Ir. *čaθvár-satam*

b) **āda:*

- Log. **dwǎs**, Kan. **dwās** ‘twelve’
 - < Ir. **dvādasa*

c) **ātā:*

- Log. **dǎk** past stem ‘to do, make’, Kan. **dāk** (fem. from *dok*)
 - < Ir. *dātā* + **-kā*

d) **avā:*

- Log. **nǎk**, Kan. **nāk** ‘wife’
 - < Ir. **nāvā* ‘new’ + **-kā*

Log. /ǎ/ and Kan. /ā/ < Ir. **a* in a historical cluster **ah* occur in the following word:

- Log. **azǎr** and Kan. **zār** ‘thousand’
 - < Ir. **hazáhram*

Log. /ā/ and Kan. /ā̄/ also occur in the following cases:

a) from Ir. *a in a stressed syllable ending in two consonants usually in the a-umlaut position:

- Log. **yāsp** ‘steed, horse’, Kan. **yāsp** masc., *yāspa* fem. ‘mare’
< Ir. *āspā
- Log. **āxt**, Kan. **āšt** ‘eight’
< Ir. *āštā
- Kan. **ḡwāšk** M, **ḡwāšk** G fem. past stem ‘to fall’
< Ir. *vaštā- + *-kā from *vaz- ‘to move’

b) in the phoneme clusters Log. *āl* and Kan. *āl* < Ir. *art in an a-umlaut position:

- Log. **zāl**, Kan. **zāl** masc., **zāla** fem. ‘old’
< Ir. *zarta- ‘old’
- Log. **sāla**, Kan. **ṣāla** (G *sāl^a*) subst. adj. ‘cold’
< Ir. *sarta- ‘cold’
- Kan. **xwālk** fem. past stem ‘to eat’
< Ir. *xvartā (+ *kā) from *xvar- ‘to eat, to devour’

The vowel /e/

Log. /e/ corresponds to /e/, /a/ and /i/ in Kaniguram.

Log., Kan. /e/ can be traced back to Early Orm. */ē/ < Ir. *ai:

- Log. **spew**, Kan. **spew** (as well as **spiw**) ‘white’
< Ir. *spāita from the earlier *spaitā
- Log. **ṣpek** (M *ṣpek*), Kan. **ispēk** M, G ‘barley’
< Ir. *spik- : *spaik-*

As for /ē/ > /i/ before *n*, see below.

In a number of words, Log., Kan. /e/ resulted when phoneme clusters were contracted (see also tables 2 and 3):

a) from Ir. *-iya-:

- Log., Kan. **tsen** ‘what (sort of)’
< Ir. *čīyan-tam*

b) from Ir. *-itā-:

- Log. **dek**, Kan. **dyek** ‘to see’
< Ir. *dītā + *-kā

c) from Ir. *-itī-:

- Log. **be**, Kan. **bye**, **bi** (G *bi*, *biyē*, *bihē*) ‘another’
< Ir. *dviṭīya

d) from Ir. **-ída-/*-áyada-*:

- Log. **šes**, Kan. **řes** ‘thirteen’
< Ir. **θrídasa* or **θráyadasa*

e) from Ir. **-ada-*:

- Log., Kan. **pandzės** ‘fifteen’
< Ir. **pánčadasa*

f) from Ir. **-ada-*, **-adi-*:

- Kan. **mex** ‘locust’
< Ir. **madixa* or **madaxa*
- Log. **nemék**, Kan. **mek** (*ṛmēk*, *mēk* M) ‘salt’
< Ir. **nimádaka*

Log., Kan. /e/are also found in place of Ir. clusters **-aftada-* and **-avada-*:

- Log., Kan. **awės** ‘seventeen’
< Ir. **haftádasa*
- Log. **nes**, Kan. **anės** ‘nineteen’
< Ir. *navádasa*

Log., Kan. /e/have developed from Ir. **i* in closed syllables:

- Log. **pa-néxta**, Kan. **pa-nešta** (M *ē*, G *ī*) ‘outside, on the outside’
°néxt, *°nešt* < Ir. **níštyā(h)*
- Log. **+meš** (M *mēš*), Kan. **meř** ‘sun’
< Ir. *míθra* (from the earlier **miθrá*)

In addition, Log., Kan. /e/in many cases came from Ir. **a* (stressed) in i-umlaut positions:

- Log. **°beg**, Kan. **°bež** (in *pa-béga*, *pa-béža* ‘upwards’)
< Ir. **bárzyā(h)* comp. ‘higher’
- Log. **kem** ‘(too) little’
< Ir. **kámbyā(h)* comp. **kamná-* ‘small, insignificant’
- Log., Kan. **pendz** ‘five’
< Ir. **pánča*
- Log. **+zeš** (M *zēš*), Kan. **zeř** ‘thorn, prickle’
< Ir. **jāθrī* from **gan-* + **θrī*
- Log. **nezdék** ‘near, nearby’
nezd < Ir. **názdyā(h)* ‘nearer’
- Log., Kan. **pets** ‘back, in return’
< Ir. **pásča*

In the late period, under the influence of i-umlaut in the 2sg. of the aorist, present and imperative of 4th conjugation verbs (including the numerous class of causative and transitive verbs in *-aw-* / *-ay-*), *a* in the root > *e*, for instance:

- Log. **der**, Kan. **der**, **déran** 2sg. imper. of Log. *dar-* : *drónok/dórnok*, Kan. *dar-* : *drának* ‘to have’ (**dar-* ‘to hold’), etc. (see section 3.2 on verb conjugation)

A radical *a* could be umlauted when the stress was transferred to it from the ending *-í* < **-áyahi* or **-yáhi* (by analogy with the 2sg. imper. of class 1 stems in **-a*).

In Log. *e* < Early Ormuri **a* < Ir. **a* is seen in the middle of some nouns and verbs (in the pres. stem); the fact that Kan. keeps /a/ in that position is evidence that the feature developed later and is probably explained by the influence of adjacent sounds: vowel *i*, palatal *y* and consonants *č*, *ř* and *š*, see:

- Log. **ner** (from *néri* plural), Kan. **nar** (plural *nári*) ‘house’ < **antára*
- Log. **néxči** sg. and pl., Kan. **naxk**, pl. **náxči** ‘nail’
naxk < Ir. **naxá* + **-ka*
- Log. **ney-**, Kan. **nay-** pres. stem ‘to sit down’ < Ir. *ni-š/háda-*
- Log. **breš-**, Kan. **bras-** pres. stem ‘to burn’ < Ir. **brásya-* from **brās-*
- Log. **mez-**, Kan. **maz-** pres. stem ‘to break’ < Ir. **mázya-* from **maz-*

Log. /e/ and Kan. /i/ come from Ir. **i*, see:

- Log. **+zémak** (M *zémāk*; now usually *zómok*), Kan. **zimak** ‘winter’ < **zímaka* from Ir. **zimá* + **-ka* (with accent shift)
- Kan. **+pis-** (G *pis-*) pres. stem ‘to write’ < Ir. **písya-* pres. stem of **pis-* : *pais-* ‘to adorn’

Log. /e/ and Kan. /i/ occur in combinations that have arisen from Ir. **r*, see:

Log. *er* and Kan. *ir* < Early Orm. **ir* < Ir. **r*:

- Kan. **đír-** pres. stem ‘to reap’ < Ir. **đíya-* pres. stem of *đr-* : *dar-* ‘to chop’
- Log. **kerží**, Kan. **kirdzí** ‘hen, hens’ < Ir. **krká*

Log. *+el* and Kan. *il* < Early Orm. **il* < **ir* (< Ir. **r*) + **t* or **d*:

- Log. **+gélak** (M *gólak*), Kan. **gílak** M ‘rat’ < Ir. **grdáka* from **grd-* : *gard-* + *-ka*¹⁸

Log. /e/ and Kan. /i/ < Ir. **i* (as a result of vowel shortening):

¹⁸ Log. *e* and Kan. *i* (in clusters Log. **eg* and Kan. **iž* < Early Orm. **iž*), probably occurred in an unstressed initial syllable (but were later elided) in present stem Log. *g-*, and Kan. *z-* ‘to let go’ (in Log. also ‘to lay’) < **hirzá-* Class VI pres. stem *hrz-* : *harz-*, cf. Parth. *hyrz-* /*hirz-*/ ‘to leave’.

- Log. **šer**, and Kan. **sir(r)** ‘good’
< Ir. **sríra* (from the earlier **srīrá*)
- Log. **nezdék** ‘near, nearby’ (see above)
where *-ek* < W. Mid. Iranian **-īk*

See section 3.2 concerning the ending *-e* (stressed and unstressed), which has been generalised in Logar in the 3sg. present and aorist, and which corresponds to stressed and unstressed *-i* and *-a* in Kaniguram (depending on the conjugation).

The vowel /i/

Log., Kan. /i/ come from Iranian **ī*:

- Log. **rízan**, Kan. **†rízan** (*rízən* M, *rídzan* G) ‘cleaned rice’
< Ir. **vrījī + *-āna* (with stress shift)
- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řín-** (G *řín-*) pres. stem ‘to buy’
< Ir. **xrīná-* from the 3pl. **xrīnánti* of **xrī-*
- Log., Kan. **řistu** (M, G *ř*) ‘twenty’
< Ir. **vīsati*

Log., Kan. /i/ < Early Orm. **ē* < Ir. **ai* before *n*:

- Log. **šin**, Kan. **šin** ‘pale blue, green’
< Ir. **axšáina*
- Kan. **†pīn** (G *pīn*) ‘honey’
< Ir. **paina*
- Log. **biž-**, Kan. **biz-** ‘to boil, to bake’
< Ir. **braijáya-* from **brij-* : *braij-*
- Log. **°is-** (B *al-isok*), Kan. **wēs-** pres. stem ‘to enter’
< Ir. **upa-ísa-*

Log., Kan. /i/ come from Ir. **i* in:

- Log. **šistu**, Kan. **řistu** ‘thirty’
< Ir. **θrísatam* from **θrísátam*

Log., Kan. /i/ were formed from Ir. *ṛ* in the combination **ṛs*:

- Log. **tiš-**, Kan. **†tišt** ‘to escape, to run away’
< Ir. **tṛsya-* from **θrah-*

In certain cases Log., Kan. /i/ resulted from the contraction of phoneme clusters (see tables 2 and 3):

a) from Ir. **aya*:

- Log. **g(i)rí**, Kan. **gri** masc. ‘mountain’
< Ir. **garáya* nom. pl. of *gari-* : **garay-*

- See also Log., Kan. **pikák** ‘curdled milk’
pi^o < Ir. **páyah-* ‘milk’
- b) from Ir. **ya*:
 - Log., Kan. **zarí** ‘small’
< Ir. **zāra* ‘weakening, weak’ + suf. **-ya* (with stress shift)
 - Kan. **mrik** (G *mri̯k*) ‘slave, captive’
< Ir. **márya* + suf. **-ka* (with stress shift)
- c) from Ir. **ifta*:
 - Log. **ǰípi**, Kan. **šípi** ‘milk’
ǰi^o, *ši*^o < Ir. **xšviftá*, but *pi*^o < Ir. **páyā(h)* (see above)
- d) from Ir. **ati*:
 - Log. **nawí**, Kan. ***nawí** (G *nawī*) ‘ninety’
< Ir. **navátí*

See also the archaic ending *-i* of the 2sg. present and aorist of 2nd and 4th conjugation verbs, which can be traced back to **-áhi* and **-yáhi* respectively. As for Kan. *-í* and *-í* (the respective endings of the 3sg. pres. and aorist of 4th and 6th conjugations), see section 3.2.

Log., Kan. /i/ < Ir. **u* are found in:

- Log. **dríxi**, Kan. **dríši** ‘a lie’, which is the fossilised pl. of Early Orm. **druš* sg.
< Ir. **druxš* nom. sg. of **drug-* : *draug-* fem.

Log., Kan. /i/ < **ũ* < Early Orm. **ō* / < Ir. **au* (before **n*):

- Log. **šiní**, Kan. **siní** ‘needle’
< **sūžní* < Ir. **saučaní* fem. of **sáučana* from **suk-* : *sauk-* ‘to burn’
- Cf. also Log. **díš-**, M **dūs-**, Kan. **dús-** M pres. stem ‘to milk’
< **dúšya-* < Ir. **dúčya-* or **dáučya-* from **duč-* : *dauč-* ‘to milk’¹⁹

In Log. nouns with a root containing **a*/ this changes to /i/ in the plural formed with ending *-i*:

- Log. **gíši** ‘tooth, teeth’, cf. Kan. **gas** ‘tooth’ (from Ir. *gástra-*), pl. *gási*
- Log. **tsími** ‘eye, eyes’, cf. Kan. *tsom* ‘eye’ (from Ir. **čášman-*, cf. Av. *čašman-* ‘eye’), pl. *tsámi* etc.

¹⁹ We also note Log. *dim-*, Kan. *dum-* pres. stem ‘to be ill’ (of uncertain derivation). However, the *i/u* feature must not be counted among the interdialectal divergences (Log. /i/ - Kan. /u/), since there are words in Kaniguram with /i/ instead of /u/ or /o/. For example: *nuw-* R.Kh., but *nīw-* G, *new-* M pres. stem ‘to lay’, *čo* R.Kh. ‘go! (sg.)’, but *tsīw* G id.; *šyo* R.Kh., *šyōu*, *šīo*, but *šīw* G ‘night’; *řīw* G ‘cry!’ (cf. Log. *šon* id.), *surwā* R.Kh., but *sīrwā* G, M ‘soup’ etc.

- See also Kan. **míši** ‘fly, flies’
< Ir. **máxšī*

The vowel /o/

In certain phonetic environments in the Kaniguram dialect, /u/ and /a/, and less commonly /i/ and /e/, as well as /o/, can correspond to Log. /o/.

Log., Kan. /o/ are derived from Early Orm. **ō* < Ir. **au* and **āu*:

- Log. **goy**, Kan. **gyoy** (fem.) ‘cow’
< Ir. **gāuš* nom. sg. of **gav-* : **gāv-*
- Log., Kan. **goy** ‘ear’
< Ir. **gáuša*
- Log. **°rož**, Kan. **ryoz** ‘day’
< Ir. **ráuča*

Furthermore, in many cases Log., Kan. /o/ (< Early Orm. **ō*) has resulted from several phoneme clusters (see tables 2 and 3):

a) from Ir. **ava*:

- Log. **now**, Kan. **nyow** ‘new’
< Ir. **náva*
- cf. also Log. **žo**, Kan. **šyo** ‘night’
< **xšavā* < Ir. **xšapā*

b) from Ir. **uva*:

- Log. **do**, Kan. **dyo** ‘two’
< Ir. **duvá*

c) from Ir. **áta*, **áta* (in neutral position):

- Kan. **dok** masc. ‘to do’ (past stem)
< Ir. **dātá-* + **-ka* from **dā* ‘to do’
- Log., Kan. **dzok** ‘to beat’ (Kan. masc.)
< Ir. **játá-* + **-ka* from **gan-*

d) from Ir. **afta* (in neutral position):

- Log., Kan. **tok** ‘hot’
< Ir. **taftá-* + **-ka* from **tap-* ‘to (become) warm’
- Log., Kan. **wo** ‘seven’
< Ir. **haftá*

e) from Ir. **axta* (in neutral position):

- Log. **yok** (M *ō*) ‘to say’
< Ir. **vaxtá* + **-ka* from **vak-* ‘to speak’

- Kan. **+pyok** (M *pyək*) ‘to boil’
< Ir. **paxtá* + **-ka* from **pak-*

Log., Kan. /o/ < Early Orm. **ō* / < Ir. **ā* / when adjacent to labials:

- Log., Kan. **ȳór-** ‘to rain’
< Ir. *vāra-* pres. stem from **vār-*
- Log., Kan. **boy** ‘near’
< Ir. *upāya* (with early loss of initial **u-*)
- Log., Kan. **pon** ‘roof’
< Ir. **pāna* from **pā-* ‘to guard, to protect’

Log., Kan. /o/ < Early Orm. **ō* from **ā* < Ir. **a* in syllables ending in labial and nasal consonants in the following instances:

a) for Ir. **a* in consonantal groups including initial **h* in the Early Orm. stage of development: Early Orm. **hr* (> Log. *š*, Kan. *ř*), **hm* (> Log., Kan. *m*), in neutral position (**a* > **ā* as a result of group simplification):

- Log. **ȳoš**, Kan. **ȳoř** ‘snow’
< Early Orm. **ȳ^wáhr* < Ir. **váfra*
- Kan. **noř** ‘soft’
< Early Orm. **nahr* < Ir. **námra* (from earlier **namrá*)
- Kan. **tsom** ‘eye’
< Early Orm. **čahm* < Ir. *čášma* nom. sg. neut. from **čašman-*
- Log. **+pom** (M *pōm*), Kan. **+pom** (M *pōm*) ‘animal hair’
< Early Orm. **pahma* < Ir. **pášma* nom. sg. of **pášman-*

b) in Kaniguram replacing Ir. cluster **arštā* (+ **-kā*), in a-umlaut position, which is characteristic of fem. formations; i.e. past stems of strong verbs and verbal nouns:

- Kan. **+hotk** (G *hōtk*) fem. ‘to leave’ (masc. *hatak*)
< Ir. **harštā* + **-kā* from **hrz-* : *harz-*
- Kan. **+totk** (G *tōtk*) fem. ‘to drink’ (masc. *tatak*)
< Ir. **tarštā* + **-kā* from **trš-* : *tarš-* ‘to feel thirsty’

c) replacing Ir. combination **anā* – the mid. part. fem. suff. of athematic stems (GIPh Vol. I Pt. I:109) + **-kā*:

- **+dronk** (G *drōnk*) fem. of *drānak* ‘to have’
< Ir. **dṛanā* + **-kā*
- **+xronk^o** (M *xrōnk^o*) fem. of *+xrānak* ‘hungry’, pl. *+xrónki*
- **+tronk^o** (M *trōnk^o*) fem. of *+trānak*, pl. *+trónki* ‘feeling thirsty’ (see below)

Log. /o/, corresponding to Kan. /a/ < Early Orm. **a*, is derived from Ir. **a* / in a closed medial syllable in neutral position (the following syllable often began with a consonant, i.e. **a* was followed by at least two consonants). This is often noted in masc. past stems of strong verbs and verbal adjectives:

- Log. **nóstok**, Kan. **nástak** ‘to sit down’
< Ir. **ni-h/šastá* + **-ka* from Ir. **had-* ‘to sit down’
- Log. **mořtok**, Kan. **máštak** ‘to break’
< Ir. *maštá-* + **-ka* from **maz-* ‘to weigh on’

See also:

a) for Ir. combinations **aršta*, **rašta*, **arsta* (?) + **-ka* (subsequently simplified):

- Log. **wótok** ‘to lay’, Kan. **hatak** G, M ‘to leave, to lay’
from Ir. **hrz-* : *harz-*
- Kan. **tatak** ‘to drink’
from **trš-* : *tarš-* ‘to feel thirsty’
- Log. **bróřtok**, Kan. **bráštak** ‘to burn’
< Ir. **braštá* + **-ka* from **brás-* ‘to burn, to shine’
- see also the homonymous form Kan. **bráštak** ‘to burn up’
< Ir. **braštá* + **-ka* from **bráz-*
- Log. **°góstok**, Kan. **°gástak** ‘to carry’
< Ir. **garstá-* + **-ka* from **gřd-* : *gard-*

b) for Ir. combination **ana* masc. mid. part. suff. of athematic stems:

- Log. **drónok**, Kan. **dranak** ‘to have’
< *draná* + **-ka*

See also adjectives formed from ancient middle participles from athematic stems:

- Log. **xrónok**, Kan. **+xrának** (M *xrának*) ‘hungry’
< Ir. **xřaná* + **-ka* from **xř-* : *xřar-* ‘to eat’
- Log. **trónok**, Kan. **+trának** (M *trának*) ‘feeling thirsty’
from **tr-* : *tar-* ‘to drink’?

Log. /o/, Kan. /a/ < Early Orm. **a* < Ir. **a* is found in the following:

a) in the cluster Log. *ol*, Kan. *al* < Ir. **ar* + **t* or **d*:

- Log. **°sol**, Kan. **°sal** ‘year’
< Ir. **sárdam* acc. sg. of **sard-* ‘year’

b) after initial Ir. **x^v* (> Early Orm. **x^w*) and **v* (> Early Orm. **y^w*):

- Log. **xólok**, Kan. **x^wálak/xólak** ‘to eat’
< Ir. **x^vartá-* + **-ka* from **x^var-* ‘to eat, to drink’
- Log. **yoz-** : **yóřtok**, Kan. **y^waz-** : **+yóřtak**, **y^wařtak** G ‘to fall’
< **y^wařtaka* < Ir. **vařtá* + **-ka* from **vaz-* ‘to move’
- Log. **xoy**, Kan. **x^way** ‘self, one’s own’
< Ir. **x^váta*

We note in particular Log. /o/, Kan. /a/ < unstressed Ir. **i/* (via unstressed **a/* > stressed **a/* as a result of change of stress) in the historical preverb **vi-*:

- Log. **γóš-**, Kan. **γ^wár-** pres. stem ‘to fear’
< Early Orm **γ^wáhra-* < Ir. **vi-θráha-*

Log. /o/, corresponding to Kan. /u/, is derived from Early Orm. **u* < Ir. **u/* (in neutral position):

- Log. **(w)óste**, Kan. **wústi** ‘let (it) rise up’
< **ús-staya-* < Ir. **us-stáya-* from Ir. **stā-* ‘to stand, to place’ + preverb **us-*
- Log. **angóšt**, Kan. **ngušt** ‘finger’
< Ir. *angúšta*
- Log. **šóstok**, Kan. **řústak** ‘to cry’
< Ir. **fra-rustá + *-ka* from **rud-* : *raud* with preverb **frā-*

Log. /o/, Kan. /u/ is found in the masc. past stem in the clusters *ol*, and *ul* < Early Orm. **ul* < **ur* (< Ir. **r*) + **t* in neutral position next to labials:

- Log. **mól(l)ok**, Kan. **múl(l)ak** ‘to die’
< Ir. *mrtá + *-ka* from Ir. **mr-* : *mar-* ‘to die’
- Log. **wól(l)ok**, Kan. **wúl(l)ak** ‘to bring’
< **ā-brtá + *-ka* from **br-* : *bar-* + preverb **ā-*

Kan. /u/ (= Log. **o*) in the cluster *už* < Early Orm. **už* (< Ir. *rž*):

- Kan. **spužak** M (accent not indicated) ‘spleen’
< Ir. **spržā* nom. sg. of **spržan-*

In certain words in Logar when adjacent to nasals, /o/ is found for Ir. **i/* and **ai/* (/i/ in Kaniguram):

- Log. **zómok** (as well as *zémak*), cf. Kan. **zímak** ‘winter’
< **zímaka* < Ir. **zimá* + suff. **-ka*
- Log. **sónok** ‘breast, udder’
< **siná* (where **i* < **ai*) + **-ka*

The vowel /u/

Logar /u/ corresponds with Kaniguram /u/; in certain cases Kan. /u/ corresponds with Log. /o/ (see above).

Log., Kan. /u/ goes back to Early Orm. **ū* < Ir. **ū*:

- Log. **búma**, **bóma**, Kan. **búmba**, **búma** ‘earth’
< Ir. **búmā*
- Log. **guy**, Kan. **+guy** ‘excrements’
< Ir. **gūθa*

Log., Kan. /u/ < Ir. **u* before consonant clusters that developed into **hr* in Early Orm.; the change from **hr* > Log. *š*, Kan. *ř* was accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding **u* (which fact explains the similarity of the reflexes in both dialects):

- Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** ‘red’
< Early Orm. **suh* < Ir. *súxra* (from earlier **suxrá*)

Log., Kan. /u/ < Early Orm. **ō* < Ir. **au*, **ava*, **uva* (usually together with nasals and labials):

/u/ < Ir. **au*:

- Log., Kan. **run** ‘melted butter’
< Ir. **ráugna*
- Kan. **+řibuk** (G *řibūk*) ‘smelling’
°buk < Ir. **bauda*

/u/ < Ir. **ava*:

- Log., Kan. **un** ‘this much’
< **avántam* acc. sg. of Ir. **avant-* ‘such’
- Log., Kan. **tsun** ‘how much’
< Ir. **čvantam* acc. sg. of Ir. **čvant-* ‘how much’

/u/ < Ir. **uva*:

- Log., Kan. **tu** ‘you (sg.)’
< Ir. *tuvám* ‘you (sg.)’

Also see:

- Log. **su**, rarely **so**, Kan. **su** ‘hundred’
< Ir. **satám*

In many cases Log., Kan. /u/ is a continuation of Early Orm. **ū*, which resulted from contraction of phoneme clusters (see tables 2 and 3):

a) from **uxtā̃*:

- Log., Kan. **dúka** ‘girl’, **dúwa** ‘daughter’
du- < Ir. *dúxtā* (from earlier **duxtā̃*) nom. sg. of **duxtar-*

b) from Ir. *ūta*, **uta*:

- Log. **buk**, Kan. **byuk** masc. ‘to be’
< Ir. *būtá* + **-ka*, Ir. **bu-* : *bav-*, perf. part. **būtá-*
- Log. **šuk**, Kan. **syuk** masc. ‘to become’
< Ir. *š(y)utá* + *-ka*, Ir. **šyav-* ‘to go’, perf. part. **š(y)utá-*

Furthermore, Log., Kan. /u/ (< Early Orm. **ā*) occurs in the following cases:

a) in Kaniguram in feminine past-tense stems, resulting from cluster simplification of Ir. **raštā* + **-kā* (in extreme simplification):

- Kan. **brušk** (fem. of *bráštak* ‘to burn’)
< Ir. **braštā̃* + **-kā* from **brās-*

b) from Ir. **ā*:

- Kan. **+dyúra** (G *dyūr^a* fem.) ‘firewood’
< Ir. **dāru* nom. sg. neut. of Ir. **dāru*, *dārav-*

Log., Kan. /u/ may also result from:

a) Ir. **i*, **ī*:

- Log. **spuy**, Kan. ***spuy** (M *spūī*, G *spōī* fem.) ‘louse’
< Ir. **spiš* nom. acc. sg. neut. of **spiš-*
- Kan. **+dúka** (M *dúkə*) ‘pupil (of the eye)’
< Ir. **dītā* + **-kā* from **dī-* : *dāy-* ‘to see’

b) Ir. **ai* (> Early Orm. **ē* > **i* before *n*):

- Kan. **dzun-** pres. stem ‘to see’
< **jīnā* < Ir. **vainā-* thematised stem of **vain-*

Log. *uš*, Kan. *uš* < Early Orm. **ūš* < **a^wurs* < Ir. **idrs*:

- Log. **juš-**, Kan. **dzuš-** pres. stem ‘to see, to look’
< Ir. **vi-drsya-* from **drs-* : *dars-* + **vi-* (> **va-*)
- also Kan. **duš-** ‘to see, to look’
uš < **urs* < Ir. **rs*

In conclusion, the following tables 1-3 summarize the sound correspondences between Proto-Iranian and modern Ormuri.

Table 1: Historical correspondences for the Ormuri vowels

| Pr.- Iran. | Ormuri | | Remarks |
|---------------|----------|-------------|--|
| | Log. | Kan. | |
| <i>*a</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | default correspondence |
| | <i>o</i> | <i>a</i> | word-medially before two consonants, in neutral position |
| | <i>ā</i> | <i>ā</i> | word-medially before two consonants, in a-umlaut position |
| | <i>o</i> | <i>a, o</i> | after <i>x^w</i> , <i>x-</i> (< <i>*x^v-</i>), <i>y^w</i> , <i>y-</i> (< <i>*v-</i>) |
| | <i>o</i> | <i>o</i> | in a historically closed syllable with labial or nasal consonants |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | under the influence of <i>i</i> , <i>y</i> ; before Ir. <i>*zy</i> , <i>*sy</i> |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>e</i> | in i-umlaut position |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>a</i> | in the plural form of nouns |
| <i>*ā</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>ā</i> | default correspondence |
| | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | in unstressed positions |
| | <i>o</i> | <i>o</i> | adjacent to labials |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | sometimes in i-umlaut positions |
| | - | <i>u</i> | sometimes in u-umlaut positions |
| <i>*i</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>i</i> | default correspondence |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>e</i> | in historical syllables that are closed by two consonants |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | sometimes in closed syllables |
| | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | in historical preverbs <i>*ni-</i> , <i>*abi-</i> |
| | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | sometimes when adjacent to labials |
| <i>*ī</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | default correspondence |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>i</i> | as a result of shortening (<i>*ī</i> > <i>i</i>) |

| Pr.- Iran. | Ormuri | | Remarks |
|---------------|--------|------|---|
| | Log. | Kan. | |
| *ai | e | e, i | default correspondence |
| | i | i | in closed syllables before nasal consonants (*ai > *ē > *ī > i) |
| | u | u | before nasal consonants (*ai > *ē > *ī̇ > u) |
| | o | i | in open syllables before m, n |
| *u | o | u | default correspondence |
| | u | u | rarely (mainly in closed syllables) |
| | i | i | in a few cases in i-umlaut position |
| | i | u | in a few words |
| | - | a | word-medially before two consonants, in a-umlaut position |
| *ū | u | u | default correspondence |
| *au, *āu | o | o | default correspondence |
| | u | u | before nasals |
| | i | i | before nasals (*au > *ō > ū̇ > ī > i) |

Table 2: Reflexes of Proto-Iranian *r̥

| Pr.- Iran. | Ormuri | | Remarks |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|---|
| | Log. | Kan. | |
| *r̥ | er, or | ír, ur | in neutral positions; rounded vowels: usually when adjacent to labial consonants (or previous labials); elsewhere: unrounded vowels (see below) |
| *rd, *rt | el, ol | il, ul | in neutral positions (as in the previous case) |
| | - | al | in a-umlaut positions |
| *rz | eg, og | iž, už | from Early Orm. *(i, u)ž; in neutral positions |
| *rst | - | it, ut | in neutral positions |
| *rst | - | ist, ust | in neutral positions |
| *ard | ol | al | in neutral positions |
| | āl | āl | in a-umlaut position; in unstressed positions āl, āl > Log., Kan. al |
| *arz | - | až, *āž | in neutral positions = Kan. až (in unstressed positions); in a-umlaut positions. |
| *aršt | ot | at | in neutral positions |
| | - | ot | from Early Orm. *ōt in a-umlaut positions |
| *rašt | ošt | ašt | in neutral positions |
| | - | uš | from Early Orm. *ūš in a-umlaut positions |
| *arst | ost | ast | in neutral positions |
| | - | ā(s) | in a-umlaut positions |
| *ār | *ār | *ār | = Log. Kan. ar in unstressed positions |

| Pr.- Iran. | Ormuri | | Remarks |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|---|
| | Log. | Kan. | |
| | <i>or</i> | <i>or</i> | from Early Orm. *ā after <i>ɣ</i> (< *ɣ ^{w-}) |
| *ārd | *āl | *āl | = Log., Kan. <i>al</i> in unstressed positions |
| *ārz | - | *āž | = Kan. <i>až</i> in unstressed positions |

Table 3: Contractions and other changes in phoneme clusters

| Pr.- Iran. | Ormuri | | Remarks |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|--|
| | Log. | Kan. | |
| *atā | - | <i>a</i> | in the reflexes of fem. participles in *-tākā, possibly, *atā > *aδa > *aha > <i>a</i> |
| *ātā *āftā *axtā | <i>a</i> | <i>ā</i> | in the reflexes of fem. participles in *-tākā (*atā > *aδa > *aha > <i>a</i>) |
| *aθvā *āda *āta *ah *avā | <i>a</i> | <i>ā</i> | in some cases *āda > *āδa > <i>ah(a)</i> > <i>ā</i> *āta > *āδa > *aha > <i>ā</i> |
| *īta | <i>e</i> | <i>e</i> | a frequent type of correspondence, which includes masc. and fem. participles in *-tākā (*īta > *īδa > <i>īha</i> > *ē > <i>e</i>) |
| *itī *iya *ida | <i>e</i> | <i>e</i> | frequent type of correspondence (*itī > <i>iδi</i> and so on) *ida > *iδa > *iha > *īa > *ē > <i>e</i> |
| *ya *atī | <i>í</i> | <i>í</i> | word-finally *atī > *aδi > *ahi > *ī > <i>i</i> |
| *áya *ífta | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | word-medially *ífta > *ihta > *īta > *iδa > *ih > *ī > <i>i</i> |
| *āta *āfta *āxta | <i>o</i> | <i>o</i> | in reflexes of masc. participles in *-taka (neutral position); *ft, *xt > *ht > *t > *δ > *h > Ø |
| *ava *uvá | <i>o</i> | <i>o</i> | frequent type of correspondence |
| *ava *ata *uva | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | before nasals *ata > *aδa > *aha > *a ^v a > *ō > *ū > <i>u</i> |
| *uta *uxta *ufta | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | in reflexes of masc. participle in *-taka (neutral position); see above for the development *-t-, -xt-, -ft- |
| *upa (*uva) | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | in preverbs |
| *adu | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | *adu > *aδu > *ahu > *a ^v u > *ū > *u |

2.3 The consonant system

The consonant phonemes of the Ormuri language are shown in table 4. The two dialects have slightly different consonant systems, both in the native as well as in the borrowed strata of the lexicon. The Logar native consonant system has 25 phonemes while the native Kaniguram system has 27. The fricative /ɣ/ occurs only in Logar, and /ɣ̃/, x^w (or x^o), y^w (or y^o), the phonological status of which is not completely clear, only in Kaniguram (see below). The affricates, the fricatives /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/ and the sounds mentioned above, from either dialect, need further comment.

Table 4: The Ormuri consonant system

(* Occurs only in the Logar dialect; ** occurs only in the Kaniguram dialect)

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|------------------|-----|-----|---|---|
| p b | t d | (t) (d) | | k g | (q) | |
| m | n | (n) | | | | |
| | ts dz | | č ĵ | | | |
| w f | s z | (š) ** (ž) ** | š ž | ɣ * | x ɣ x ^{o**} y ^{o**} | h |
| | l r | (r) | y | | | |
| | | ɣ ** | | | | |

The consonant system of both dialects is characterised by the dental (“sibilant”) affricates /ts/, /dz/ and the postalveolar (“shibilant”) affricates /č/ and /ĵ/ (the last two being present in only a very narrow range of native Ormuri vocabulary). Examples:

a) /ts/:

- Log. **tsími** ‘eye, eyes’, Kan. **tsom** ‘eye’
- Log., Kan. **tsun** ‘how much’, ‘how many’
- **pets** ‘back, backwards’

b) /dz/:

- Log., Kan. **dzan-** (pres. stem) ‘to strike’
- **pandzes** ‘fifteen’
- Log. **mendz**, Kan. **man(dz)** ‘middle’

c) /č/:

- Log. **čân** ‘year’
- Log., Kan. **inč-** (pres. stem) ‘to be able’

d) /ĵ/:

- Log., Kan. **ĵistu** ‘twenty’

- Log. **ǰuxǰ-** (pres. stem) ‘to see’
- Kan. **ǰikák** ‘place’
- Log. **injǰán** ‘the day before yesterday’

It must be noted, however, that in both dialects free variation of dental and postalveolar affricates was widespread (both among each other: *ts/č*, *dz/ǰ*, as well as with *z*: *dz/z* and more rarely *ǰ/z*); this is all the more noticeable when one considers all the Ormuri material available in addition to our own (Leech 1838; Raverty 1864; Grierson 1918, 1921; Morgenstierne 1926, 1927, 1929, 1973a; Kieffer 1972, 1979).

Our attempts to link this phonetic phenomenon with dialect membership were not crowned with success: the general picture of free variation obtained is characterised by inconsistency and contradiction; see, e.g., on the one hand, Log. *čǰán*, Kan. *čǰán* ‘year’, but, on the other, Log., Kan. *tsaw-*, *ts-* ‘to go’, with the isolated 2sg. imperative *čo* ‘go!’, found in our materials on Kaniguram. See also Log. *tsími* (sg. and pl.), Kan. *tsom*, ‘eye’, but Log. *čím* from one of Morgenstierne’s informants. Furthermore: Log. *ǰusp* M, Kan. *dzwast* (in our material), but *ǰbasp*, *zbast* M ‘span’; Log. *injǰán*, Kan. *inzǰán* M, *indzǰán* G, M ‘the day before yesterday’, etc., etc.

There are two series of coronal fricatives in each dialect, namely the dental /s/, /z/ and postalveolar /š/, /ž/ (in Kaniguram the voiceless fricative /ř/, to which Log. /š/ corresponds, is included in the latter series, see below). The range of pronunciation of these fricative consonants, however, is not the same in both dialects. This is evident especially before front vowels or /y/. In Logar the postalveolar /š/ and /ž/ are shifted slightly forward, because of which they are perceived as “soft” (palatalised); however, by comparison with analogical sounds in Dari, Tajik or Persian, this softening is insignificant and it is impossible to mistake these for dental /s/ and /z/. Going by auditory impressions, there is no such clear distinction in Kaniguram between the sibilant and shibilant fricatives; in many positions, especially next to front vowels *i* and *e* and also before dorsal *y*, the sounds /s/ and /z/ sound like “lispings” sounds, midway between *s* - *š* and *z* - *ž*.

A similar phenomenon, to judge by the description, is observable in the Ossetic language among speakers from the village of Lesken; according to Sokolova, the “lispings” *s* and *z* found in their speech “may be given the articulatory definition of palatal, single-focused, labialised fricative consonants”, i.e. as palatal *ś* and *ž* (Sokolova, 1953:44).

This “lispings” sound, close to a very soft /s/ [ś] is present in Kaniguram, for example, in the words *ǰrǰsi* (pl. of *ǰrǰs*, fem. *ǰrǰsa* ‘black’, in which /s/ is “plain”); *ǰási* (pl. of *ǰas* ‘tooth’ with plain *s*), *syuk* (masc. past stem of the verb “to become”) vs. fem. *suk* (with plain *s*).²⁰

²⁰ In our informant’s spelling the lispings sound /s/ is represented by the letter *Sad* (ص) as distinct from “pure” /s/, represented by the letter *Sin* (س). In very rare cases “lispings” /s/ is represented by the letter *Šin* (ش), which exemplifies the lack of distinction between palatalised /š/ and lispings /s/, cf. the spelling of the masc. and fem. forms of the verb “to

In other cases, too, /s/ sometimes has a lisp ing tinge: *spak* ‘dog’, *ustāz* ‘teacher, instructor’, *spe/iw* ‘white’, but: *dzwast* ‘span’, *yāsp* [*yā̃sp*] ‘horse’, *pandzāstu* ‘fifty’ (with “pure” *s*). Examples of “lisp ing” /z/ [ž’]: *zímak* ‘winter’, *zeř* ‘thorn’, *wázyok* ‘to kill’, *ázyok* [*āž’yok*] (انژیوک) ‘to remain’, but *zli* ‘heart’, *zār* ‘thousand’, *az* ‘I’, *pyoz* ‘mouth’ (with “pure” *z*).

The velar, labialised fricative *ǰ* in Logar (to which the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ in Kaniguram usually corresponds) is clearly distinct from uvular /x/; to the ear it sometimes has a weak “shibilant” tinge, which, however, does not give grounds for the transcription /ʃ/, which Morgenstierne uses.²¹ The pronunciation of this sound varies

become”: شیوک [*š’yuk*] masc., but سوک [*suk*] fem. It is characteristic that, because the Arabic alphabet has no special graphemes, our informant does not distinguish in writing between lisp ing variant /z/ and palatalised /ž/, but represents both by the letter *Že* (ج).

²¹ This same sign is used in transcribing the Kaniguram dialect by Grierson except that the *š* sound, identical with West-Pashto retroflex بن, alternates freely in Ormuri with palatal *ṣ̌* (Grierson 1918:2). The custom of rendering the Pashto retroflex (written as بن) with *š* without reference to territory and dialect (see below) causes unbelievable confusion, and not only in connection with Pashto proper, but also with the Ormuri dialects, where, as Grierson observed, there is a *ṣ̌/š* fluctuation. In fact, hidden behind this grapheme are two sounds with completely different phonetic characteristics – Log. /ǰ/ and Kan. /š/ (see below for the retroflex/non-retroflex quality of these sounds). See, e.g., Log. *ǰo*, Kan. *ša* [*šā*] ‘six’ (= Log. *ṣ̌o/ṣ̌ū* M, Kan. *ṣ̌^ah* G, *ṣ̌ō/ṣ̌o* M); Log. *šo*, Kan. *ři* ‘three’ (= Log. *ṣ̌ō* M, Kan. *řē* G, *ři* M) etc. Thus *š* M = Log. /ǰ/, /š/, Kan. *š*. See further in section 2.5.

An analysis of the graphic representation of the Log. *ǰ* – Kan. *š* correspondence in the works of Leech and Raverty, undoubtedly pertaining to Logar, as Morgenstierne established, is very revealing (IIFL:315). They contain the well-known inconsistency in representing Log. /ǰ/. On the one hand their spelling conveys the velar, *x*-like character of this sound (their transcription being inadequate, as shown by the use of the same signs to denote different phonemes):

1) gh : ghíp ‘curds’ (cf. *ǰípi* ‘milk’), whereas ghwash ‘grass’ (= *ywáǰí*); 2) kh : dukh ‘a little’ (= *duǰ*), whereas khar ‘ass’ (= *xar*), darakht Rv. ‘tree’ (= *draxt*); 3) ksh : ksha ‘six’ (= *ǰo*), whereas shales ‘sixteen’ (= *ǰalés*). On the other hand, in the works of Leech and Raverty, this character is also represented as having a *š*-like character: wrosht ‘beard’ (= *wroǰt*), ànsht ‘eight’ (*ǰǰt*) (but cf. paneght ‘on the outside’ = *panéǰta*) whereas sh = *š* in gishey ‘teeth’ (= *gíší*), pusht ‘back (spine)’ (= *pošt*), shíst ‘thirty’ (= *šístu*). Such inconsistency in the representation of one and the same sound may be evidence either that the material was gathered from different informants or that the speech of one informant (especially when living a nomadic existence) has a mixture of different norms of pronunciation. See, for example, a series of “Kaniguram” features found in the speech of B.M., one of our informants on the Logar dialect, a lorry driver, who had made many journeys to Kaniguram.

somewhat, depending on its position: before the front vowels *i* and *e* it is noticeably softened. Examples are: *ǰípi* ‘milk’, *ǰo* ‘night’, *ǰalés* ‘sixteen’, *dríǰi* ‘falsehood’, *duǰ* ‘a little’, *beǰ* ‘give!’.

The Kan. voiceless fricative /ǰ/, clearly distinguishable from /š/, is specific to Ormuri and seems not to occur in any other Iranian language; it usually corresponds to /š/ in Logar. The articulation of this consonant is not completely clear to us and therefore its place in the table of consonants needs further definition. According to Morgenstierne’s description this “compound” consonant “contains a short but clearly defined voiceless *r*-sound; the first part of it is pronounced with a greater bending backwards of the tip of the tongue than with the usual *š*” (Morgenstierne 1932a:9).²² Examples: *ǰi* ‘three’, *ǰak* ‘flea’, *ǰin-* ‘to buy’, *ǰámand* ‘barn’, *ǰamot* ‘oblivion’, *ǰaw-* ‘to weep’, *suǰ* ‘red’, *noǰ* ‘soft’, *ǰoǰ* ‘snow’, *ǰāǰa* ‘niece’, *teǰ* ‘bitter’, *meǰ* ‘sun’ etc.

One of the controversial questions of Ormuri phonetics — as also of the phonetics of a number of other Iranian languages, including Ossetic, Kurdish and Pashto (Sokolova 1953 Vol. 2:48-49; Vol. 1:97-98; Isaeu 1966:18; Bakaev 1962: 16, 19; Cabolov 1976:34; Èdel'man 1922:81-88) — is the issue of the phonological status of the labialised uvular consonants in Kaniguram.

The point is that it is not completely clear whether we are dealing here with consonant clusters *xw*, *ǰw* + vowel *a* or *ā*, appearing in their rounded variant, or with the labialised consonants *x^o* (*x^v*, *x^w*), *ǰ^o* (*ǰ^v*, *ǰ^w*) + vowel. These sounds (or sound clusters), which go back to Ir. **x^v* and **ǰ^v*- respectively (before **a*, **ā* or **ǰ*), occur in the modern language only in initial position, when the reflexes of words with the historical combinations **x^va*- and **ǰ^va*- differ between the dialects.

²² Our auditory perception of this consonant shows that its range of pronunciation is very great and varies considerably depending on its position in a word: initially and intervocally the lisping sound seems to predominate with only a hint of *r*, whereas at the end of a word the *r* in *ǰ* is quite clearly audible. Grierson’s informant Ghulam Muhammad Khan spells *ǰ* with the digraph *ڤر* but our informant R. Kh. uses the Arabic letter *Ra* double underlined.

In the opinion of D. I. Èdel'man, who has heard our tape-recordings, a phoneme of similar sound and etymology exists in a number of Dardic languages of this region (it is usually depicted as a lateral *λ*, *λ*, *hl*, *tl* etc.); it may therefore be evidence of a non-Iranian substratum influence on Ormuri.

In the materials of Leech and Raverty, in the majority of cases, the Kan. *ǰ* = Log. *š* correspondence is corroborated.; see, e.g., *shes* ‘thirteen’ (= *šes*), *shîst* ‘thirty’ (= *šîstu*), *shera* Rv. ‘give it!’ (= *šer-a*). At the same time we have *ghe* ‘three’ (= *šo*, cf. above *shes* = *šes* ‘13’, formed from the same root!), *sùgha* ‘red’ (= *susǰ*). It is possible to explain the very strange correspondence Kan. *ǰ* = Log. *ǰ* (gh) only by the inexact representation of Kaniguram (but not Logar!) forms of these words, which were obtained from an informant having mixed pronunciation norms.

Thus, in this case Logar has the combination of a non-labialised uvular with rounded vowel /o/. In Kaniguram the situation is different. On the basis of (a) our auditory impression from tape-recordings and (b) an analysis of how these sounds are represented in Morgenstierne's phonetic transcription, the provisional conclusion may be drawn that Kaniguram has (1) combinations of labialised consonants and vowel /a/, and (2) a clear tendency for these to change into the combination: simple consonant (without labialisation) + back vowel /o/ or /u/;²³ in Logar a similar phenomenon (with a */a/ to /o/ shift) is evidence that these combinations have already evolved through this stage (see below the subsections dealing with /x^o/(x^w), /x/, /ɣ^o/(ɣ^w), /ɣ/).

Examples:

- Kan. x^way /x^oay/, G, M *xwai* 'one's own, oneself', cf. Log. **xoy**, M *xui*
- Kan. x^wāř /x^oāř/, G, M *x^war* (and *x^war* M) 'sweet', cf. Log. +/x^oāš/ (M *x^war*š)
- Kan. x^waš /x^oaš/, G *x^waš*, 'pleasant, joyful', cf. Log. **xoš**, **šoš**, M *xūš*
- Kan. x^wāw /x^oāw/, G *x^waw* 'sleep'
- Kan. +/xranak/, /xuranak/ (M *xranak*, *xuranak*, cf. G *axwaranak*) 'hungry', cf. Log. **xrónok**
- Kan. ɣ^was- /ɣ^oas-/, G *ɣwats-*, M *ɣ^was-*, *ɣos*, *ɣos*, *ɣus-* pres. stem 'to speak', cf. Log. **ɣoš-**, M *ɣuš-*
- Kan. +/ɣoštak/, +/ɣ^oaštak/ (ɣ^waštak), M *ɣoštak* past stem 'to fall', cf. Log. **ɣóxtok**, M *ɣuštuk*

The sounds in brackets (see table 4) occur mainly in loan words from other languages and dialects. Kan. phoneme /r̥/ does not occur in loans. Retroflex *ɮ*, *ɖ*, *ɳ*, and *ʀ* are found in loans from Pashto and Indian languages (the latter in Kaniguram may also arise from direct contact);²⁴ *ɮ* and *ɖ* may also have come from Hazara words, see Efimov 1965:13. Retroflex *ʂ* and *ʐ* are found in loan words in Kaniguram, but they are usually adapted *ʂ* > /š/, *ʐ* > /ž/, cf. Grierson 1918:2; 1921:127, but in Logar, which is surrounded by other dialects of Pashto, /š/ and /g/ correspond to them (see below). The sound /q/ occurs in loans from Turkic languages (through Dari and dialects of Hazara or Pashto, with the *q/k* fluctuation characteristic of the last). The degree to which consonants in loan words have

²³ Cf. the presence in Dari of a small number of words with initial labialised uvular /x^o/ (before *ā* and also, in the colloquial language of Kabul, before *ē* and *ū*), which can always be replaced, however, by the sound /x/: *x^oāndan/xāndan* 'to read', *x^oāb/xāb* 'sleep' etc. (OIJ 1982:57-58).

²⁴ Retroflex sounds also occur in other languages of the area covered by the south-eastern sub-group of languages – in Parachi, Balochi, Munji, Yidgha and also in Wakhi and Ishkashmi (and not merely in loan-words either, but in the native vocabulary). Researchers suggest that this is evidence that the development of retroflex sounds in the languages of this area is of considerable antiquity and is apparently explained by the pre-Aryan substratum (Rastorgueva 1975a:75; Èdel'man 1963; Oranskij 1979b:178).

been adapted varies, depending on the degree of mastery of Dari and Pashto; in addition it is connected with the time of adoption of the words: old loans, unlike new ones, are completely adapted.

2.4 Basic lines of historical development in the consonant system

The external and internal factors which influenced the development of the Ormuri sound system at various times in history are seen more clearly in its consonant system than anywhere else. In addition, when synchronic and historical approaches are closely coordinated and socio-linguistic and areal phenomena are taken into account, analysis of the consonant phonemes permits us to draw important conclusions about the language as a whole, its history, its areal connections and its relationship to other Iranian languages. The theory concerning the location of the original homeland of the Ormuri was advanced chiefly on the basis of data on the Ormuri reflexes of historical consonants (see chapter 1).

When attempting to reconstruct the history of the Ormuri consonant system retrospectively — from the currently-spoken dialects backwards in time to the Old-Iranian parent dialect — it is necessary to establish at least two intermediate stages. The first intermediate stage is *Early Ormuri*, i.e. Ormuri as it was spoken in the New-Iranian period (roughly from the 8th or 9th century CE) up to the time of the division into dialects (which may coincide with the pre-immigration and initial post-immigration period). The second intermediate stage (further back in time) is Ormuri of the “Middle-Iranian” period. The consonant system of Early Ormuri is established by historical analysis of the similarities and differences between the contemporary dialects; it may be presented as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| voiceless stops: | */p/, */t/, */k/ |
| voiced stops: | */b/, */d/, */g/ |
| affricates: | */č/, */ǰ/ |
| voiceless fricatives: | */f/, */s/, */š/, */x/, */xʰ/, */h/ |
| voiced fricatives: | */w/, */ɣ/, */ɣʰ/, */z/, */ž/, */y/, */l/ |
| nasals: | */m/, */n/ |
| trill: | */r/ |

It is much more difficult to reconstruct the inventory of consonant phonemes at the earlier, “Middle-Iranian” stage of development of the Ormuri language. Having no written records in Ormuri, we are forced in this case to fall back on indirect data — the evidence of Parthian and also (to a limited extent) of Middle Persian — western-Iranian languages of the Middle-Iranian period, reliably enough documented by records; the first of these belongs to the north-western sub-group and the other to the south-western one.

It is hard to overestimate the role which these languages play, especially Parthian, in the reconstruction of the missing link in the history of Ormuri. Analysis of historical and phonetic consonant correspondences between Ormuri and Parthian leads to the proposition that the evidence from Parthian can serve in many cases as a distinctive reference point for the study of the developmental processes which took place in some north-western languages and dialects of the middle period, including the ancient Ormuri dialect of that period

The importance of Parthian increases yet more if we take into account the prolonged period of its consolidation, amounting to several centuries; it permits researchers to distinguish at least two stages in its history — the earlier and the later (OIJ 1981:159) — and thus to build up a clear picture of developmental tendencies traceable for this period of time.

Comparing data from Parthian and Middle Persian, then, is of considerable importance for studying the history of Ormuri; it throws light on the processes of interaction and convergence of the north-western languages of the middle period. At this point it is worth noting that, so far as can be judged by the preliminary results of the investigation, adducing evidence from these languages for the purposes of method is acceptable and its degree of reliability is confirmed by the material of several contemporary north-western Iranian languages and dialects.²⁵

The starting point of our investigation was a systematic comparison of consonants in cognate Logar and Kaniguram vocabulary items belonging to the inherited (native) lexical stratum. This brought to light a whole series of heterogeneous phenomena, some of which occur in both dialects, i.e. they are common to both, while others are divergent between the dialects.

We shall begin with a discussion of the latter. This concerns the type of inter-dialectal phonetic divergences that occur when a historical consonant or consonant cluster is replaced with a different consonant phoneme (not conditioned by position) in the dialects. The following inter-dialectal correspondences of consonants are examples of this phenomenon:

- (1) Log. *š* – Kan. *š*
- (2) Log. *g* – Kan. *ž*
- (3) Log. *š* – Kan. *s*
- (4) Log. *ž* – Kan. *z*
- (5) Log. *š* – Kan. *ř*

Analysis of these correspondences showed that they are the result, on the one hand, of linguistic change, due to the influence of various developmental factors within the system and, on the other hand, of prolonged interaction (contact) with numerous languages and dialects, which varied in composition at different stages of the history of Ormuri.

²⁵ See below and also section 2.5.

This can best be traced in the inter-dialectal correspondences:

Log. *š* ~ Kan. *š* (Ir. **fš*, **xš*, **xšV*, **rš*, **rš*, **rš*, **rs*),

Log. *g* ~ Kan. *ž* (Ir. **rZ*, **rZ*) and, closely connected with them,

Log. *š* ~ Kan. *s* (Ir. **šy-*, **sy-*, **str*, **sr*) and

Log. *ž* ~ Kan. *z* (Ir. **ž-*, **ž-*, **-č-*).

These phenomena may be explained as follows. If we proceed from the evidence of Parthian and Middle Persian and also of a whole number of other western (including north-western) Iranian languages, then there was a common phoneme */š/, which had two allophones (not of the same origin): a non-palatalised (“hard”) [š] and a palatalised (“soft”) [šʲ]. This accounts for the inter-dialectal correspondences /š/ ~ /šʲ/ and /šʲ/ ~ /s/.

Similarly, there is reason to suppose²⁶ that the Early Orm. phoneme */ž/, with etymologically heterogeneous allophones non-palatalised [ž] and palatalised [žʲ], accounts for the inter-dialectal correspondences /g/ ~ /ž/ and /ž/ ~ /z/. There can be no doubt that the distinct development of Early Orm. */š/ and */ž/ in Logar and Kaniguram was closely connected with the specific dialects (of Pashto) surrounding each of them. We refer in particular to those dialect groups of Pashto which do not adequately distinguish between retroflex and non-retroflex sibilants.²⁷

The ancestors of the Logar speakers lived next to Afghan tribes, in whose language non-retroflex *š* and *ž* were preserved and the retroflex fricatives became *š* and *ž* (*g*). Correspondingly, in the language of the Logar Ormur the palatalised allophones of Early Orm. */š/ and */ž/ became associated with non-retroflex *š* and *ž* in Pashto (and, of course, Dari, in which the phonological series of retroflex sounds was altogether lacking), palatalisation becoming irrelevant; at the same time the non-palatalised allophones of Early Orm. */š/ and */ž/ became associated with retroflex *š* and *ž*, in Pashto and later passed into the velars /š/ and /g/.

²⁶ See, on the one hand, the sound /ž/ for Ir. **rZ* in Parth. *xwj* /*xōž*/ ‘pleasant, good’ (Boyce 1977:100), cf. Av. *xʷarəzišta-* ‘tastiest’, and, on the other hand, for Ir. **č* and **ž* in late Parthian, Kurdish and several Balochi dialects (partially).

²⁷ These characteristics vary somewhat from dialect to dialect, entering into one branch or another. According to the phonetic character of these sounds Logar is closest to the north-eastern “mashriqi” dialects of Rustamkhel and Purkhel (IIFL:335), and Kaniguram – to its neighbouring dialect of Pashto, Waziri, which has lost the contrast of sibilants with regard to retroflexion (see Lorimer’s uniform representation of sibilants in this dialect by *sh* and *zh* in Lorimer 1902); our materials, gathered in the summer of 1971 in Kabul, are also evidence of this; our informant was Zardel, a speaker of the Waziri dialect, a native of Kaniguram and a teacher of Pashto.

The ancestors of the speakers of Kaniguram Ormuri lived next to the Waziri Pashtun tribes, in whose speech the retroflex fricatives were not present.²⁸ This circumstance had important consequences for the distribution of the “soft” and “hard” allophones of Early Orm. */š/ and */ž/ in Kaniguram, where the former became /s/ and /z/, but the latter retained the “shibilant” status of /š/, /ž/.

Historical roots of at least similar depth can be traced for the inter-dialectal correspondence Log. /š/ ~ Kan. /ř/ (Ir. *θr, *fr, *xr). This corresponded in Early Ormuri with the consonant cluster */hr/, as evidenced by the analogous development (although with a differing final result) of the above Old-Iranian clusters in both dialects. As is known, the development of Ir. *θr > hr (> r) is characteristic of the north-western languages (Oranskij 1979b: 168-169). However, the transition *θr > hr (and later to r in the individual languages) does not complete the development of this consonantal group: to judge by the evidence of several languages,²⁹ the final developmental stage of this group is the sibilant š (as in Logar). Thus hr and š may be regarded as two links in one evolutionary chain of Ir. *θr.

It is very likely that Ir. *fr and *xr took a line of development similar to Ir. *θr (although, taking everything into account, not at the same time): this conclusion may be made on the

²⁸ The Waziri dialect of Pashto features the partial preservation of a contrast between the pronunciation of the non-palatals š and ž (corresponding to š and ž in the Kandahar dialect) and that of the palatals š and ž (= Kand. š, ž), acoustically reminiscent in some positions (especially before the front vowels *i*, *e*, *ü* and *ö*) of the lispings variant of Kaniguram /s/. See, e.g., Waz. špež [š'] and [ž] ‘six’, written by our informant, Zardel, (henceforward abbreviated as Zar.) in the Perso-Arabic script as شپېژ; Lorimer, 1902 (henceforward Lor.) shpézh; compare with literary Pashto špaž/ġ. See also:

Waz. boləšt ([št]) ‘pillow’ (Zar. بولشت), but lit. Pashto bālš/xt, Waz. lwešt ([št]) ‘span’ (Zar. لويشت, Lor. lwésht), lit. Pashto lwešt ([št]); Waz. žəba ([ž]) ‘tongue’ (Zar. ژبه, Lor. zhebba), lit. Pashto žəba ([ž]); Waz. žmandz ([ž]) ‘comb’ (Zar. ژمنغ, Lor. zhmanz), but lit. Pashto ž/ġmunz etc.

Judging by our observations, however, this opposition is no longer phonological; the palatalised variants š and ž recorded by us, correspond in literary Pashto to retroflex š, and ž, (or š and ž in the eastern branch). See Waz. xwošye ([š]) ‘mother-in-law (husband’s mother and wife’s mother)’ (Zar. خوشی, Lor. khwoshyé, Morg. xwošyē (Morgenstierne 1932a:35), but literary Pashto xwāš/xē, Waz. yiš ([š]) ‘camel’ (Zar. یش, Lor. yísh), but literary Pashto uš/x; Waz. wüžay ([ž]) ‘ear (of cereal)’ (Zar. ویزی, Lor. wézhai, Morg. wēžai), but literary Pashto waž/ġay etc.

²⁹ This refers to Parachi (IIFL:38), Balochi (in the dialects), and Sangisari (Oranskij, 1979b:155).

basis of evidence from several north-western languages, in which one or another reflex of the *hr* stage appears in place of Ir. **fr*, **xr*.³⁰

As for the Log. /š/ ~ Kan. /ř/ inter-dialectal divergence, the reason for its emergence is not completely clear today. Two explanations are possible:

(1) Early Orm. **hr/* > Log. /š/ as a result of an independent (post-immigration) development (similar to Parachi, Sangisari and possibly some Balochi dialects, in which Ir. **θr* > š), while Early Orm. **hr/* > Kan. /ř/ under the influence of the Indo-Aryan substratum of the area, see Oranskij 1979b:127;

(2) Early Orm. **hr/* > Kan. /ř/ — as mentioned above with, presumably, an earlier migration of some Ormur tribes — the ancestors of the Kaniguram Ormur to the East, but **hr/* > Log. /š/ = NW **š/*, which could have developed from Ir. **θr* (and then, possibly, from Ir. **fr* and **xr*) in one of the dialect groups of the north-western Iranian languages; it is assumed that in such a case the ancestors of the Logar Ormur migrated eastwards later than the Kaniguram Ormur.

Another important and distinctive phonetic phenomenon in Ormuri is free variation, i.e. the use of different phonemes in the same word or word form. Unlike the phonetic phenomena already mentioned, which are dialect differences, free variation is present in both dialects to an equal degree, though irregularly, as we shall see. In the modern language there are three fundamental types of this phonetic phenomenon: *č/ts*, *ǰ/dz*, *ǰ/z*, as well as mixed (“hybrid”) types which appeared later (see below). Historically speaking free variation is an exceptionally complicated interweaving of genetic and areal features, the latter being connected with various chronological epochs, both pre- and post-immigration.

In the modern language the *č/ts*, *ǰ/dz* alternation has above all a clearly expressed areal character: it has arisen from general regional phonetic trends due to interaction with the two main languages of the region where Ormuri is spoken, namely Dari (Farsi) and Pashto, with the postalveolar affricates *č*, *ǰ* characteristic of the former and the dental *ts*, *dz* characteristic of the latter.³¹

In Ormuri only traces of the western-Iranian type (*č*, *ǰ*) have been preserved, while the dental affricates (*ts*, *dz*) occur in the majority of cases. Early Ormuri phoneme **ts/* derived from Ir. **č-* and **ǰ/* derived from Ir. **ǰ-*, **vǰ-*, **vai-*, **vy-*, **y-* and also (rarely) **-č-*. Comparison with Parthian and Middle Persian and some modern western-Iranian

³⁰ See the examples from the north-western languages cited by Oranskij (1979b:154-155).

³¹ Cf. 1) Dari *čahār*, coll. *čār*, Pashto *tsalor* (in loan-words from Dari also *čār/tsār*; see, e.g., *čārpāy* ‘quadruped, animal’ and *tsārway* ‘beast, animal’), ‘four’; Dari *čarx*, Pashto *tsarx* ‘skin’; Dari *čāh*, Pashto *tsā(h)* ‘well’;

2) Dari *ǰān*, Pashto *dzān* ‘soul, body’; Dari *ǰāy*, Pashto *dzāy* ‘place’; Dari *ǰawān* (Raz. *ǰowān*), Pashto *dz(ə)wān* ‘young man, youth’ etc. In dialects and subdialects the peculiarities often become levelled out, paving the way for transitional dialectal types.

languages and dialects shows that Early Orm. **j̄-/* < Ir. **j̄-* is a north-western type of development but **j̄-/* < Ir. **vī̄-*, **vai-*, **vy-* and also **y-* are south-western.³² This is evidence of how strongly the north-western and south-western Iranian languages influenced each other in the pre-immigration period of development of Ormuri.

The roots of the variation *j̄/z* go back just as far into history: it shows the different reflexes of Ir. **j̄-* in the western-Iranian languages, namely, north-western *j̄-* (preserving Ir. **j̄-*, as cited above, as distinct from Ir. **j̄-* > *ž* which developed later) and south-western *z*; in the new area of diffusion this type of variation received “support” (by means of superposition on it) from the dialectal correspondence *z – dz* in Pashto.³³

Mixed (“hybrid”) types of variation began to appear, based on the types of free variation mentioned above, as a result of contamination. They occur in a language when there are mediating (connecting) links which give rise to a longer (usually three-member) chain of variation, although any one of them — including the original (etymologically motivated) and the one which performs the role of connector — may be real for any specific word and yet not be present; this occurs either because available material is incompletely recorded or because for some reason one link or another of the chain has passed out of use by the present time.

See, e.g., the three-member chain *j̄/dz/z*, a result of contamination of types of free variation such as *j̄/dz*, *j̄/z* and dialectal Pashto *z-dz* via connecting link *dz*: Log. *injān*, Kan. *indz/zān* M, *indzān* G ‘the day before yesterday’; if the suggested etymological solution is correct (**ányai + čit/čiy + asnī > *in-čān* ‘on the next day’, i.e. an attributive construction with **anya-* and *azan-* : *asn-* in the locative singular, with the intensifying particle *čit/čiy* and compensatory lengthening of the vowel cf. Morgenstierne 1932a: 11), then it follows that the original link of this variation in Ormuri must be the one in which the affricate *č* occurs (a north-western type of development of group **-nč* to **-n̄j̄*, cf. Oranskij 1979a:144; OIJ 1981:35).³⁴ In another example of three-member

³² See a) the north-western type of development: *j̄* < Ir. **j̄* (Oranskij 1979b:158-160; OIJ 1982:486); *j̄* < Ir. **-č-* (Oranskij 1979b:142-143; OIJ 1982:486); b) the south-western type of development: *j̄* < Ir. **vy-* etc. (via > *gy*) (OIJ 1982:64); *j̄* < Ir. **y-* (OIJ 1981:34; 1982:64).

³³ The fluctuation *dz/z* in various Pashto dialects was noted by Morgenstierne (EVP) and N.A. Dvoryankov (Dvoryankov 1964) and widely reflected in M.G. Aslanov’s “Pashto-Russian Dictionary” (Aslanov 1966); it is recorded in our materials (Waziri, Dzodzi, Matuni etc.). However, since questions of interaction both between the literary language and the dialects and between dialects have hitherto been insufficiently clarified, the isoglosses for this phenomenon have not yet been fully traced.

³⁴ Incidentally, in this case we may have one of the few examples of the reflex in Ormuri of the group **nč* not distorted by later eastern Ir. influences, where there is usually the group *-ndz* instead of *-n̄j̄*.

variation connecting link *dz* was recorded only in our materials: Log. *ǰusp* M, Kan. *ǰbasp* M (< **ǰwasp*), *zbast* M, but *dzwast* R.Kh. ‘span’ (Ir. **vitasti-*, later **vitaspi-*, cf. Av. *vīstasti-* (EVP:86), Bal. W. *gidist*, E. *gidisp* id.)

Mixed types might have arisen also as a result of the mutual “superposition” of heterogeneous phenomena. See, e.g., the mixing of inter-dialectal correspondences and free variation in the case of the postposition:

- Log. **-že** and **-je(r)**, L *-ǰar*, Kan. **-zar**, indicating ‘position above’, from Ir. **hača-upari* (here, probably, several lines of development of intervocalic Ir. *č* have been contaminated in Ormuri:
 - (a) Early Orm. **ž*, Log. *ž*, Kan. *z*
 - (b) Early Orm. **ǰ*, Log., Kan. *ǰ/dz*

A similar explanation applies also to other formations based on Ir. **hačā*:

- Log. **dzóma**, M *dz/zem*, Kan. **dzéma**, G, M *dzēm* ‘below, under’ (< Ir. **hača-adama*)
- Log. **wažera**, M *wāǰer-a* (IIFL:411), Kan. **wizar** ‘from above, over, on it, on them’, and Log. **dažéra** ‘from above, over, on me/us, on you (sg. and pl.)’, where *žer*, *žar*, *ǰer* < Ir. **hača-upari*

See also nouns (and in Kaniguram adjectives also) in the plural form of which “superposition” of free variation *č/ts* and *ǰ/dz* takes place on the alternation of the original stem consonants */k/* : */č/* and */g/* : */ǰ/*, which arose at a late stage of development (see section 3.1). As an example we cite here only:

- Log. **kerží** (= M), *kirǰi* Rv., M, Kan. **kirdzí**, *kirzí* ‘hen, chickens’ which contain a fossilised plural form from Early Orm. **kirgá* < Ir. *krká* (**g* < **k* by analogy with **murgá* ‘bird, hen’)

The most complicated problems do not come from a lack of connecting links (as shown above, they can often be worked out from other links in the chain), but when words containing sounds predisposed to free variation have been recorded in only one form, often with signs of eastern-Iranian type. The question which naturally arises at the etymon of a given word — whether we are dealing with an original word which has acquired its eastern-Iranian colouring on local soil or with a loan — can still receive a more or less satisfactory solution (see, e.g., the small number of words recorded only with the sound *dz* (without link *ǰ*) which go back to Ir. **y*).

And as for those words of non-established derivation, clearly the etymology of such words cannot be decided at this stage in the study of Ormuri. We will simply remark that, even in the absence of reliable etymological evidence, the very number of established types of dialectical divergence and free variation sometimes enables the derivation of a word to be identified as western or eastern, thereby paving the way for an etymological solution and to some extent facilitating discrimination between original, native vocabulary and that which has been borrowed at various stages of development; figuratively speaking, in so doing we remove the areal “coating” from the original appearance of the word.

In the light of this, the solution to the question raised in chapter 1 on how to classify Ormuri within the Iranian group of languages receives an additional argument in favour of a western, and in particular a north-western, Iranian origin. This is confirmed by the analysis of the development of various series of the Old-Iranian consonant system in Early Ormuri, i.e. in Ormuri free from the areal “overlays” of the post-immigration period. The fundamental features of the reflexes of Old-Iranian consonants in Early Ormuri are given below.

1. Iranian plosives — both voiced and voiceless — are retained in initial position, as in other western-Iranian languages (see above). In intervocalic and postvocalic positions they display a clear tendency toward spirantisation (with simultaneous voicing of voiceless consonants), sometimes ending with the syncope of a consonant or the appearance in its place of inserted sounds. Thus:

Ir. **p, *b* > *w*;

Ir. **g* > *y*;

Ir. **t, *d* > \emptyset (probably through the stages **t, *d* > **δ > h*)³⁵;

Only Ir. **k* is retained in this position.

Cf. similar processes of spirantisation (with some differences in the various languages), e.g. in Late Parthian:

**p, *b* > *β*; **g* > *y*; **d* > *δ*, where *β, δ* are variants of phonemes *b, d* (OIJ 1981:153, 169, 170-171, 181-182);

in Parachi:

**p, *b* > *w*; **g, *k* > *y*; **t, *d* > \emptyset through the stage **δ > *h* (IIFL:34-35);

in Balochi:

**p* > *w*; **g* > *y* – in the northern dialect (Geiger 1891: 434, 419);

in Kurdish:

**p, *b* > *v, w*; **g* > \emptyset ; **t, *d* > \emptyset , *y, h* (Cabolov 1976:18, 23, 46, 48, 65; Geiger 1891: 441, 443; GIPh Vol. 1, Part 2: 262-264).

Note the retention of intervocalic **k* in Early Parthian and Balochi (OIJ 1981:153, 168; Geiger 1891:417).

2. The Iranian postalveolar affricates **č* and **ǰ* have various reflexes in Early Ormuri, as in the north-western languages as a whole. This seems to have been caused firstly by the presence in the development of Ir. **č* and **ǰ* in the north-western languages of at least two different stages: early and late (the reflexes of both often being present in the same language); secondly, the diversity of the reflexes of these sounds is linked to a significant degree with the close interweaving of the various dialect groups into which the north-western languages were differentiated (see Oranskij 1979b:166), both true north-western and the south-western type of their development (this is evident from the intensive mutual

³⁵ See section 2.5 below.

influence of the dialects and sub-dialects of this language region, in particular the exceptionally strong influence of Persian, which creates not a few difficulties in the identification of the original lexicon of small languages and dialects).

Ir. *č and *ǰ are preserved at an early stage of development in all positions in the north-western languages. At the later stage the lines of development of the voiced and voiceless affricate diverge: Ir. *č is preserved in initial position; in inter- and postvocalic position it passes into ž or ĵ and after *n into ĵ; Ir. *ǰ > ž in all positions (ǰ is only retained in Balochi, where the consonant system is most conservative). Judging by the reflexes of Iranian affricates in modern dialects, č and ĵ occurred in Early Ormuri as follows:

1. Ir. *č- > Early Orm. *č- (as in other western-Iranian languages); Ir. *-č- > Early Orm. *-č (as in Early Parthian, in Parachi or Balochi, cf. OIJ 1981:169, 177; IIFL:34; Geiger 1891:423-424, 441); Ir. *-č- > Early Orm. -ž (see Late Parthian and Kurdish, cf. OIJ 1981:177; Cabolov 1976:37, 64); Ir. *-č- > Early Orm. *ǰ (rarely) (as in Gilyani, Zaza, Khuri, Farizandi, etc.), and also Ir. *-č- > Early Orm. *ǰ after *n (see [ǰ] – a variant of phoneme /ž/ in Parthian (OIJ 1981:177); *-nč- > nǰ, as in many western-Iranian languages, cf. Oranskij 1979b:144).

2. Ir. *ǰ- > Early Orm. *ǰ- (as in Parachi, Balochi, Zaza and many dialects of Central Iran, cf. IIFL:34; Geiger 1891:424, 441; Oranskij 1979b:158-159; Rastorgueva 1966:197, and it is very probable also — although not all specialists are of the same mind — in Early Parthian, cf. Oranskij 1979b:158, 169 and footnote 17 to p. 141; cf. Tedesco 1921:190, 193-194); Ir. *ǰ-, *ǰ- > Early Orm. *ž-, *ž- (as in Late Parthian, Kurdish, Gurani, Talysh and some dialects of North-Western and Central Iran, cf. OIJ 1981:176; Cabolov 1976:64; Oranskij 1979b:169); Ir. *ǰ- > Early Orm. *ǰ- when after *n (as in Parthian, where [ǰ] is a positional variant of phoneme /ž/, and in other western-Iranian languages, cf. OIJ 1981:177, 35; OIJ 1982:486, 64). In the modern dialects there are no examples for Ir. *ǰ- > Early Orm. *ǰ between vowels (cf. Balochi), but such a development was quite possible (cf. Ir. *-č- > Early Orm. *ǰ in this position). For the representation of Early Orm. *č, *ǰ and *ž in the modern dialects see above and also the section “Historical Correspondences in the Consonant System”.

3. Iranian *x^v was retained in Early Ormuri (see above on Kan. x^w [x^o ?] or /x/, Log. x + Log. /o/, Kan. /u/). An analogical reflex of Ir. *x^v has been noted in north-western Iranian languages such as Parthian, Kurdish, Parachi, Gilaki, Shahristani and some others, cf. OIJ 1981:178; Cabolov 1976:34-35; IIFL: 44; Oranskij 1979b:170. See below for the development in Ormuri of y^w (the voiced correlative of this sound).

4. Iranian *v (*[w]) has two lines of development in Ormuri:

a) *v > Early Orm. *y^w /y^o/ (Kan. y^w /y^o/ or /y/, Log. /y/ + a labialised vowel) before *ā, *ǰ. Observe the similar development of Ir. *v in Parachi (> *y^w > y), (IIFL:33), cf. also Ir. *v > g(v) in Balochi, Ferrokhi and Khuri (Geiger 1891:413; GIPh Vol. 1, Part 2:236; Oranskij 1979b:170) and in Dari (> g) (OIJ 1982:63);

b) *v > Early Orm. *ǰ (Log., Kan. ĵ/dz) before *ī, *ē or *y. Possibly the *v > *ǰ shift in this position was connected with the parallel use of *v (like *y and *h) as a prothetic

sound (this appears widely in Ormuri and in the other north-western languages). In such a case in words with initial Early Orm. **j̄-* (Log., Kan. *ǰ/dz*) an intermediate step with initial **y-* (instead of the original **v-*) in the place of Ir. **v-* may have taken place and then the development **y- > j̄-* under the influence of the south-western languages.³⁶ It is well known that the **y- > *j̄-* shift in these languages appeared earlier compared with the transformation of initial Ir. **v-* (see below).

5. Iranian **y* has two lines of development in Ormuri:

- a) Ir. **y-* > Early Orm. **y-* (Log., Kan. *y*);
- b) Ir. **y-* > Early Orm. **j̄/* (Log., Kan. *ǰ/dz*) at a later time.

A similar development (**y- > y-, *j̄-*) is characteristic of the late period of Middle Persian and of Modern Persian (Dari) (Tedesco 1921:193; Oranskij 1979b:165; OIJ 1981:44-45; OIJ 1982:64). In an intervocalic position **y* is preserved; cf. the analogical reflex of **y* in western-Iranian languages (Parthian, Middle Persian, Balochi, Kurdish, Semnani, etc.) (OIJ 1981:177, 44; Geiger 1890:413; Tedesco 1921:193; Cabolov 1976:79); it is sometimes used as an insertion in place of consonants that were elided (to avoid hiatus); cases of the loss of **y* have been noted.

6. Iranian **-š-* in intervocalic and postvocalic positions is not retained; in its place we find Orm. *-y*, not likely to be etymological, but rather an insertion to replace the dropped consonant *h < *š*³⁷ (see below for evidence in Kurdish). Cf. a similar phenomenon in Kurdish, where in the place of syncopated Ir. **š* or **t* we have *h* or \emptyset (Cabolov 1976:65; GIPh Vol.1, Part 2:256; Geiger 1891:442) and in Parachi, where in place of these Iranian sounds \emptyset is found (IIFL:43).

And thus, comparison of western Iranian — and especially the north-western languages — with Ormuri shows that the reflexes of the Old-Iranian consonants which are most important for classification purposes took a common route. In the original Ormuri vocabulary (i.e. not borrowed and not subjected to the influence of a substratum) the inventory of consonants changed little from Old Iranian; this is because the shifts that classes of consonants or individual consonants underwent (chiefly in inter- and post-vocalic position) were not generally accompanied by new, previously unknown, sounds.

In Early Ormuri the changes in the remainder of phonemes amounted to the following:

- 1) resonant **r* lost its syllabic function and broke up into two sounds (Early Orm. **ř*, **řr*);
- 2) Ir. phoneme **θ* > Early Orm. **h* with subsequent loss or replacement by inserted *y*;
- 3) wider diffusion of phoneme /š/, derived from various combinations of sounds (**fš*, **xš* etc.) and of /ž/, derived from Ir. **j̄*, **č*;

³⁶ This assumption, however, needs further investigation.

³⁷ See Kan. *š^ah G '6'* (Ir. **xšvaš*)

4) at the beginning of a word there arose a new phoneme **/y^o/*, not known in Old Iranian, but based on it (from Ir. **v* before **ā̃* and **r*), the voiced counterpart of labialised */x^o/*, retained in Ormuri from the Old Iranian.

Old-Iranian consonant groups underwent significant changes, from which there developed in early Ormuri various simple consonant sounds (see, e.g., the development of consonants */s/*, */š/*, */z/*, */ž/*, */n/*, */m/*, */r/*, */l/* in section 2.5).

Note that in the evolution of the consonant groups of Ormuri are many features which link it with western (mostly north-western) Iranian languages. Of the consonants which have arisen in this way it is worth singling out:

a) **/š/* and **/ž/*; it was these consonants in the eastern-Iranian linguistic medium, new to the Ormur, that formed the link in the Early-Ormuri consonant system onto which were laid the corresponding retroflex sounds of the substratum, and their further evolution was linked with the poly-semantic development of these retroflexes in various groupings in the Pashto-speaking dialect chain (see above);

b) */l/*, which in the same way diffused more widely than in Old Iranian.

Note, finally, the Early Orm. group **/hr/* (Log. */š/*, Kan. */ř/*), from Ir. **θr* and other consonant groups of the type, voiceless fricative + assimilated **r*.

The features of the Ormuri consonant system examined above (that is, dialectal divergences in the reflexes of historical consonants, and the free variation of some consonant phonemes) have left a definite mark on the account and presentation of the material in the sections devoted to analysing the historical development of the Ormuri consonant system. As mentioned above, Logar is the dominant language in the material; when there is free variation of phonemes with a common origin, the whole chain is taken into account, even when the original (etymological) link is not recorded in any dialect. It is assumed that in these cases the material is best presented by following this principle.

2.5 Consonant correspondences

Consonants */p/* and */b/*

Log., Kan. */p/* comes from Ir. **p* in the following positions:

a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Log. **pe**, Kan. **pye** ‘father’
< Ir. **pitā́* – nom. sg. of *pitár-*
- Log., Kan. **pets** ‘back, backwards’
< **pásčā* (from Ir. **pasčá*)
- Log., Kan. **pa** – preposition ‘in, on, towards’
< Ir. **pati*

b) in the sequence **sp*:

- Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’
< Ir. **spáka* from **span-* + **-ka*
- Log., Kan. **spew** ‘white’
< Ir. **spaitá*
- Log. **yásp**, Kan. **yāsp** ‘horse’
< Ir. **áspā* fem. of **aspa-* masc. ‘horse’

Log., Kan. /b/ is derived from Ir. **b* in the following positions:

a) at the beginning of a word:

- Log., Kan. **b-** ‘to be’
< Ir. **báva-* from Ir. **bū-* : *bav-* ‘to be’
- Log. **búma**, **bóma**, Kan. **búmba** ‘earth’
< Ir. **búmā* (from **būmǐ-*)
- Log. **°beg**, Kan. **°bež** (in *pa-béga*, *pa-béža* ‘above, upwards’)
< Ir. **bárzyā(h)* nom. sg. masc. of **barzyah-*
- Log. **baš-**, Kan. **báš-** pres. stem ‘to give (a present)’
Log. *baš-* < Ir. *baxšáya-*, Kan. *baš-* < Ir. *baxšya-* from Ir. **baxš-*

b) in the group **br-*:

- Log. **bróxtok**, Kan. **bráštak** ‘to burn’
< Ir. *brasťá-* + **-ka* from Ir. **brās-* ‘to burn, to shine’
- See also the homonym Kan. **bráštak** ‘to burn’
from Ir. **brāz-*

In Kaniguram there are isolated instances of phoneme /b/ from Ir. **p*:

a) after **m*:

- **imbāi** G ‘friends’
< Ir. *hampáθya-* (?)

b) before **r*:

- **bruš-** G pres. stem ‘to shine’
< Ir. **upa-ruxšya-* from **ruk-* : *rauk-* + preverb **upa-*

Possibly, Log., Kan. /b/ < Ir. **br-* appears in the pres. stem of the verb “to cook, to bake”:

- Log. **biž-**, Kan. **biz-** G, M
< Ir. **braižáya-* from **briž-* : *braiž-*

Log., Kan. phoneme /b/ has also come from Ir. **dv* in initial position:

- Log., Kan. **bar** ‘door’
< Ir. **dvar-*
- Log. **be**, Kan. **bye**, **bi** ‘other’
< Ir. **dviťya*
- Log., Kan. **ban-** (pres. stem, unstressed) ‘to throw’
< Ir. Ir. **dvan-* to fly’

Consonants /t/ and /d/

Log., Kan. /t/ comes from Ir. *t in the following positions:

a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Log., Kan. **tu** ‘you (sg.)’
< Ir. *tuvám ‘you (sg.)’
- Log., Kan. **tar** – a preposition expressing possession
< Ir. *tará
- Log., Kan. **tok** ‘hot’
< Ir. *taftá + *-ka from *tap- ‘to (grow) warm’
- Log. **tówa**, Kan. **+tówa** (M tōwə) ‘sun, sunlight’
< Ir. *tāpa, the fem. verbal noun from *tap- (see above)

b) in the consonant cluster *st:

- Log., Kan. **jistu** ‘twenty’
< Ir. *vīsati
- Log. **wóst-**, Kan. **wust-** ‘to rise’
< Ir. *ús-stāya from Ir. *stā- + preverb *us-

c) in the consonant cluster *št:

- Log. **móxtok**, Kan. **máštak** ‘to break (intrans.)’
< Ir. *maštá + *-ka from Ir. *maz-
- Log. **angóxt**, Kan. **ngušt** ‘finger’
< Ir. *angúšta

d) in the consonant cluster *ršt:

- Log. **wótok** ‘to lay (down)’, Kan. **hátak** ‘to leave’
< Ir. *harštá + *-ka from Ir. *hrz- : harz-
- Kan. **pat** G, M ‘upper part of the back’
< Ir. *parštá (with accent shift)

e) possibly in the consonant cluster *rst:

- Log. **°góstok**, Kan. **°gástak** (as well as *glastak* G) ‘to carry’
< Ir. *gárstá + *-ka from Ir. *grd- : gard- (?)

Log., Kan. /d/ comes from Ir. *d in the following positions:

a) at the beginning of a word:

- Log., Kan. **dar-** ‘to have’
< Ir. *dārāya- from Ir. *dar-
- Log. **dek**, Kan. **dek**, **dyek** ‘to see’
< Ir. *dítá from *dī- : dāy-
- Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
< Ir. *dása

- Log. **dríxi**, Kan. **drísi** ‘lie’
< Ir. **druxs̃* – nom. sg. of **drug-* : *draug-* fem. ‘lie’
- b) after **z*:
- Log. **nezdék** ‘near (adj. & adv.), nearby’,
nezd^o < Ir. **názdyā(h)* ‘nearer’ from **nazdyah-*
 - Kan. **yozd** ‘suet’
< Ir. **vázdā*
- c) in the consonant cluster **nd*, of which the only word not reduced to *n* is:
- Kan. **ond** ‘blind’
< Ir. **andá*

Consonants /k/ and /g/

Log., Kan. /k/ comes from Ir. **k* in the following positions:

a) at the beginning of a word:

- Log. **kem** ‘little/few’
< Ir. **kámbyā(h)*
- Log., Kan. **kar-** to sow’
< Ir. **kārāya-* pres. stem of Ir. **kr-* : *kar-*
- Log. **+káli** (M *kālī*), Kan. **káli** M ‘knife’
< Ir. **kártā*

b) after a vowel:

- Log. **syáka**, Kan. **syáka** fem. ‘shadow/shade’
< Ir. **sāyā* fem. + **-kā*
- Kan. **túsak** M, **tusk** M (adj.) ‘empty’
< Ir. **tusá-* – pres. inch. stem from **tuš-* : *tauš-* + **-ka*
- Kan. **sukál** M ‘porcupine’
< Ir. **sukúrnā*

c) in the consonant cluster **šk* (> Orm. /k/):

- Log. **wuk**, Kan. **wyok** ‘dry’
< Ir. **hušká*

Log., Kan. /g/ is derived from Ir. **g* in the following positions:

a) at the beginning of a word:

- Log., Kan. **goy** ‘ear’
< Ir. **gáuša*
- Log. **gáka**, Kan. **gáka** ‘meat’
< Ir. **gāuš* nom. sg. of **gāv-* + **-kā*

- Log., Kan. **gal-** pres. stem ‘to bind’
< Ir. **garθáya-* from Ir. **garθ-*

b) in the consonant cluster **gr-*:

- Log., Kan. **gran-** ‘to bite’
< Ir. **grah-*

c) after **n*:

- Log. **angóxt**, Kan. **ngušt** ‘finger’
< Ir. **angúšta*
- Log., Kan. **rang** ‘colour’
< **ranga*

d) after **r*:

- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirgá** ‘sparrow’
< Ir. **mrǵá*

Also in:

- Log. **góda**, Kan. **gúda** ‘whither; where’
go^o, gu^o < Ir. **ku-*, an interrogative particle meaning ‘where’
- Kan. **gān**, *kān* G (Log. **kān**) ‘when’
gā^o, ka^o < **kaḍa*
- Kan. **mrīg**, **mrīk** G ‘slave’
< Ir. **márya + *-ka*

Log. /g/ ~ Kan. /ž/ (< Early Orm. **ž*, see section 2.4) comes from Ir. **rz* (Av. *rz*, O.Pers. *rd*):

- Log. **g-** ‘to lay’, Kan. **ž-** ‘to leave’ (pres. stem)
< **hiržá-* < Ir. **hrzá-* from Ir. **hrz-*
- Log. **°beg**, Kan. **°bež** (in *pa-béga*, *pa-béža* ‘up(ward)’)
< Ir. **bárzyā(h)*

Cf. also forms which are found only in Kaniguram:

- **+daž-** (*daž-* G) pres. stem ‘to load’
< Ir. **darzáya-* pres. stem. (caus.) from Ir. **darz-*
- **+ywaž-** (*ywaž-* G, in *ywar ywaž-* ‘to give an oath’)
< Ir. **várza-* from **varz-*
- **ažan** ‘millet’
< Ir. **arzan*

Consonants /č/, /ts/, /j/, /dz/

The voiceless and voiced affricates are recorded in a rather limited section of native Ormuri vocabulary, and are generally seen in loan words from Dari (*č* and *ž*) and Pashto

(*ts* and *dz* and, more rarely, *č* and *ǰ*). Before passing on to consider the lines of development of the affricates, we shall mention some details of their distribution, since this is linked to the way the material in this work has been presented.

1. /č/ and /ts/. In some words it seems the distribution of /č/ and /ts/ can be differentiated according to dialect, as the postalveolar affricate occurs in Logar, and the dental affricate in Kaniguram:

- Log. **čân**, Kan. **tsān** ‘year’
- Log. **kičawok**, Kan. **kits^ɤek** G ‘to ask, to invite’
- Log. **ɣūči** M – a species of bird, Kan. **ɣits^a**, pl. **ɣits^ai** G ‘Indian badger’
- Log. **čixaɬ**, Kan. **tsxaɬ** ‘fatty’

However, the phenomenon is inconsistent and possibly arises from insufficient recording of material. See, for example, the verb ‘to be able’, previously written as Log. *čok* M, Kan. *hints^ɤek* G, but which we have recorded as Log., Kan. *inč-* (pres. stem); see also Kan. *čéla*, M *čēlɔ*, *čēlɔ*, G *tsēl^a* ‘left (hand)’. These examples, (as well as Log. *tsími*, *čim* ‘eye’ and Kan. *ts(aw)-* ‘to go’, imper. *čo*, as noted above) are evidence that the parallel use of /č/ and /ts/ in one and the same dialect is possible.

The voiceless affricates in the free variation *č/ts* have the following lines of development:

1) from Early Orm. *č < Ir. *č (at the beginning or in the middle of a word):

- Log. **tsími** (sg. and pl.), M *tsímī* and *čim* (!), Kan. **tsom**, pl. **tsámi** ‘eye’
tsom < Ir. **čašma* nom. sg. neut. of Ir. **čašman-*
- Log. **tsâr**, Kan. **tsâr** ‘four’
< Ir. **čaθvára*
- Log. **mlič** M, Kan. **milits** M (as well as forms ending in *-ž* and *z*, see below) ‘apple’
possibly from Ir. **mṛná-či*
- Kan. **martsói** M, *mārtsōi* G ‘ant’
probably from **marviča* from Ir. **marvi-*
- Kan. +**čiw** (G *čiw*) ‘cave, hollow in a rock’
< Ir. **čaftiš-* – nom. sg. abstract noun from **čafti-*

2) from Early Orm. *č (< Ir. *č) after *n (an early stage of development, as in Par. and Bal., instead of later Early Orm. *nǰ < Ir. *nč):

- Log. **pēnts** M, Kan. **pēnts** M ‘five’
< Ir. **pānča*

3) from Ir. *čv (at the beginning of a word):

- Log. **tsun**, M *tsūn(d)*, Kan. **tsun** ‘How much/many’
< Ir. **čvantum* – acc. sg. of Ir. **čvant-*

4) from Ir. *č(i)y-:

- Log., Kan. **tsen** ‘what (adj.)’
< Ir. **čiyantam* acc. sg. of **čiyant-*

- Kan. **y^wats-** G (as well as *y^was-*) pres. stem of ‘to say’
< Ir. **váčya-* from **vak-*
- Log., Kan. **tsaw-** pres. stem of ‘to go’ (but Kan. *čo* ‘go! (sg.)’ in our materials)
< Ir. **č(i)yáva-* from Ir. **č(i)yav-*

See also (Abaev 1958:308), where the author rightly assumes that verbal forms exist in the Iranian languages that relate to Skt. *cyav-* on the one hand, and on the other hand with the Av. and O.Pers. root with initial *š*; Ormuri is probably the only Iranian language in which the reflexes of both etymons of a given verb occur, see:

- Log. **šuk**, Kan. **syuk** ‘to become’
from Ir. **s(i)yav-*
- See also Log. **kičaw-**, Kan. **kitsaw-** ‘to invite, to call upon’
where *°čaw-* / *°caw-* possibly from **č(i)yav-*
- Kan. **+°prets** (in *meř-prēts* G ‘sunrise’)
possibly from **prāč*, Ir. **frāč*

Ir. **sč* > Orm. *č/ts* in inlaut (the examples in *č* are not recorded):

- **pets** ‘backwards, back’
< Ir. **pasča-*

The shift of /k/ to /č/ before /i/ in the plural forms of nouns (and of adjectives in Kaniguram), which arose as a result of palatalisation, should be considered a later phenomenon chronologically, although it does not always occur at the right stage, especially in Logar. See:

- Log. **spíči**, Kan. **spáči-** pl. of Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’
< Ir. **spa + -ka*
- Log., Kan. **dúči** – pl. of Log., Kan. **dúka** ‘little girl’
< Ir. **duxtā + -kā*
- Log. **néxči** (sg. and pl.), Kan. **náxči** – pl. of **naxk** ‘nail’
< Ir. **naxá + *-ka*

Cf. however:

- Log. **zarká** ‘woman’ – pl. **zarkíyi**
- **kanák** ‘ankle’ – pl. **kaníki**
- Kan. **pingrak** G ‘butterfly’ – pl. **pingraki**

In Kaniguram there is one word ending in *-ts* with *-č* instead in the plural:

- **tsāts** G – a species of partridge – pl. **čatsī**
- **sats** M – a species of bird – plural **sāts/sači**

See also the only example of a plural ending in *-tsi*, where *ts* < *g*:

- Kan. **krātsī** G (< *krādzi*?) from *krāg^a* ‘hyena’

However, in Kaniguram the *ts* < *k* shift regularly occurs in nomina agentis formed from the past stem with suffix *-an*, G *-in^a*: *ayotsan* from *ayok* ‘to appear (in the world), to be born’, *etsan* from *ek* ‘to say’.

The **k* > *č* shift before **y* or front vowels in words such as:

- Kan. **čiw** G, pl. *čiai* ‘roof, ceiling’
< Ir. **kati* (EVP:18) (cf. Kan. *čō* M ‘ceiling’, probably another phonetic variant of the same word)

should probably be considered evidence of palatalisation that has arisen on eastern Iranian soil, cf. Av. *kata-* ‘structure/construction’, Parth. *kdg* /*kadag*/ ‘house’, Bal. *čat* ‘roof’, Shugn. *čid* ‘house’;

- Log., Kan. **inč-** (Kan. *hints-* G) ‘to be able’
possibly from **hakya-* from Ir. **hak-*, cf. Av. *hak-* (*hača-*, *hačaya-*) ‘to take part in something’ (IIFL:332,391)

See the section on phoneme /š/³⁸ for the intermittent *s/ts* (Log. *š*) that is observed in Kaniguram.

2. /j/ and /dz/. As in point 1 above, the *j/dz* variation occurs very inconsistently. Although the assumption made previously that material was not always adequately recorded also holds true here, it is nevertheless possible to identify the following examples of how this phenomenon occurs:

1) only postalveolar *ǰ* (without link *dz*) appears in both dialects: Log., Kan. *ǰistu* ‘twenty’; it is observed only in this word, probably owing to its general use, although the variant **dzistu* is theoretically quite possible (see below);

2) Log. /j/ and Kan. /dz/: Log. *ǰuǰ-* ‘to see’, Kan. *dzuš-* (G *dzuš-*) ‘to look’. However, Kan. *ǰ/dz* (and sometimes even a three-linked chain made up of *ǰ/dz/z*) occurs more often when there is Log. /j/:

- Log. **ǰusp** M, Kan. **dzwast** R.Kh., *zwast*, *ǰbasp* (< **ǰwasp*) M ‘span’
- Log. **inǰān**, Kan. **indz/zān** (the link with *ǰ* is not recorded) ‘the day before yesterday’
- Log. **ǰāy** (from Dari ?), Kan. **ǰikák**, G *dzāk* ‘place’
- Log. **ǰ(o)wār**, Kan. **dzudzār** (also G *dōdzār*, M *duǰ/dzār*) ‘maize, corn’
- Log. **rīzan** (that is with link *z* of chain *ǰ/dz/z*), Kan. **ridzan** G, *rīzən* M ‘rice’

3) phoneme /dz/ (without link *ǰ*) in Kaniguram: *dza* M ‘wife of the husband’s brother’; *dzun-* ‘to see’, *dzāř* ‘liver’.

Free variation of this type (*ǰ/dz* and more rarely *ǰ/dz/z*) partially intersects the *dz/z* variation (without link *ǰ*) which occurs in both dialects: Log. *dzan-*, M *zan-*, Kan. *dzan-* (= M), *dz/zan-* G ‘to beat’; Log. *zarká* (= M), Kan. *dzarka* (= M), *z/dzark^a* G ‘woman’; Log. *zot*, M *zut*, Kan. *zut*, G *z/dzut* ‘much, very’.

³⁸ Examples of /ts/ for /s/ occur mostly in Grierson’s material.

The voiced affricates, when in free variation *j/dz*, have the following lines of development:

1) from Ir. **ǰ* at the beginning or in the middle of a word (> Early Orm. **ǰ*, Orm. **j/dz* or *dz/z*):

- **dz/zan-** (pres. stem) ‘to beat’
< Ir. **ǰána-* (Class I) from **gan-*
- Kan. **řidzan** G (*řízən* M, Log. *řízan*) ‘rice’
< Ir. **vrǰǰí + *ǰána*

If our semantic reconstruction is admissible, then it is possible that in one case Ir. **ǰ* is reflected as Orm. *j/dz*:

- Kan. **ǰiraw-** the pres. stem of the denominative verb ‘to examine intently’ (see *dzir kayēk* G ‘to look at somebody’), where *ǰir/dzir* may be compared with Av. *ǰǰra-* ‘lively, intelligent, ingenious’

2) from Ir. **č* after **n* (> Early Orm. **nǰ*):

- Log., Kan. **pendz/z** ‘five’
< Ir. **pánčā*
- Log. **inǰán**, Kan. **indz/zān** ‘the day before yesterday’
from the Iranian sequence of words **anyai + čit + asnī* literally ‘the next day’ (> **in + čān*, where **n + *č* > **nǰ/ndz*)
- Log. **ǰunǰ** (M *yūnǰ*), Kan. **ǰunǰ** (G *yūndz*) ‘clothes’
< Ir. **a-gūnda-čī*, where **ǰ-* is a prefix, **gūnda* < **gūdá* (with infix *n*) is the verbal adjective ‘hidden’ formed from Ir. **gud-*
- Kan. **škindz** M ‘adze’
< Ir. **skand-* ‘to break’

3) from Ir. **v* before **ǰ*, **ē* (< **ai*), **y* (> Early Orm. **ǰ*, Orm. *j/dz*):

- Log., Kan. **ǰistu** ‘twenty’
< Ir. **vīsati* (from earlier **vīsati*)
- Log. **ǰusp** M, Kan. **dzwast**, M *zbast*, **ǰbasp** ‘span’
where the endings in *st* < Ir. **vītasti(š)*, but endings in **sp* resulted from dissimilation
- Log. **ǰuǰ-** ‘to see’, Kan. **dzūš-** G pres. stem of ‘to look’
< Ir. **vi-dǰsya-* from Ir. **dǰs-* with prefix **vi-*
- Kan. **dzun-** (pres. stem) ‘to see’
< **ǰuná-* < **ǰiná-* < Ir. **vainá-* (*nti*) 3pl. of **vain-*
- See also Kan. **dzāk** G ‘place’
< Ir. **vyāka-* or **vyākah-*

4) from Ir. **y* (> Early Orm. **ǰ*, Orm. **j/dz* and *dz/z*) in the later period:

- Kan. **ǰzāř** (M *dzāř*) ‘liver’
< Ir. **yāxr-* – neut. nom. sg. of **yākar-*

- Kan. **dza** M ‘sister in law, wife of the husband’s brother’
< Ir. **yātā* – fem. nom. sg. of **yātar*-

There is also a verb on the origin of which researchers disagree:

- Log. **°zey-**, Kan. **z(ay)-** G *dz/z(aw)*- pres. stem of ‘to come’
Grierson is probably correct to trace this verb back to Ir. **yā-*, Av. *yā-* ‘to go’
(Grierson, 1918:58), despite (IIFL:414) < Ir. **yāti* – 3sg. pres. (with weakening of **ā*
> **a*, typical of open roots, and with an inserted *y/w*)
- See also Kan. **ziy** M (as well as Log. **yoŷ**, M *yux* ‘plough’) ‘burden, yoke’
< Ir. **yugám* from **yug-*

Log. *ǰwān*, Kan. *dzwān* ‘young’ and Log. *ǰān*, Kan. *dzān* ‘soul, body’, where *ǰ/dz* < Ir. **y*, which are widely used in Ormuri, could be regarded as either the result of independent development or Dari-Pashto loan words.

In Kaniguram there are a number of cases where */ǰ/* (G *dz*) < */g/*, */y/* in the plural of certain nouns (in Logar no alternation is noted); palatalisation doubtless occurred somewhat later (cf. *-č/* < */k/* in the plural of nouns ending in *-k/*). For example: Kan. *tsénǰi* – the plural of *tsānga* ‘branch’, *pínǰi*, G *pīndzi* – the plural of *ping* ‘cock’, *dréǰi* – the plural of *drāy* ‘long’, *krǰǰi* M, but *kṛadzi* G – the plural of *kṛāy* G, M ‘crow’. However the palatalisation of phoneme */g/* (as with phoneme */k/*), is inconsistent in such cases — see, for example, Kan. *mirǰi* M, but *mirǰi* G — plural of *mirǰá*, M *mirǰo*, G *mirǰ^a* ‘sparrow’ (cf. this word in compounds: *tāk-mirdzi* from *tāk-mirǰ^a* G ‘wagtail’ and *gōn^a-mirdzi* from *gōn^a-mirǰ^a* G ‘skylark’).

Consonants /f/ and /w/

Only a few words contain phoneme */f/*. This sound occurs in a limited range of words because the Old-Iranian consonant clusters of which the sound was part were significantly transformed in a later period. As a result of this, */f/* was either assimilated by other sounds (see */š/* and */ř/*) or was elided.

At least two cases have been noted where Orm. */f/* is a continuation of Ir. **f* (Indo-Aryan **bh*):

- Kan. **yaf-** (pres. stem) ‘to weave’
< Ir. **vāf(āya)*- from Ir. **vaf-*
- Log. **nǎf** (also *néfak* M) ‘gizzard’
< Ir. *nāfā*

In the demonstrative pronoun Log. *afō*, Kan. *afā*, *afō* ‘that’ the origin of intervocalic */f/* is unknown, although researchers rightly see a definite link between the form in Ormuri and Pashto *haya* ‘that’ (IIFL:350). In Kan. *řyuf* ‘stream’ */f/* is possibly the result of the dissimilation of final **ř* from the initial one: Ir. **frá-frāva* (from Ir. **frav-*, cf. Av. *frav-* ‘to swim, to fly’ + preverb *fra-* ‘forwards’) > **řúr* > *řuf* > *řyuf* with u-umlaut of **a* in the preverb and the later insertion of */y/*.

Orm. /w/ reflects O. Ir. *v in two or three words in intervocalic position:

- Log., Kan. **tsaw-** pres. stem ‘to go’
< Ir. *čiyáva- from *č(i)yav-
- Log. **now**, Kan. **nyow** ‘new’
< Ir. *nava

However, as a rule, Ir. *v in this position and adjacent vowels are contracted (see table 3).

In most cases Orm. /w/ in intervocalic position comes from Ir. *p and *b:

a) /w/ < Ir. *p-:

- Kan. **xwāw** ‘sleep’
< Ir. *x^vāpa verbal noun from *x^vap-
- Log. **wok**, Kan. **wak** ‘water’
< *āp-á-kā from Ir. *āp-
- Kan. **nwá-stak** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’
< Ir. *nī-pastá + *-ka from Ir. *pad-
- Kan. **párawak** ‘broom’
< Ir. *pára-raupa-ka, where *ráupa is *rup- : raup-
- Kan. **šwān** ‘herdsman’
< Ir. *fšu-pāna

b) /w/ < Ir. *b-:

- Log., Kan. **nawar-** pres. stem ‘to extract’
< Ir. *ni-bára- from *br- : bar- ‘to carry’
- Log., Kan. **war-** pres. stem ‘to bring’
< Ir. *ā-bára-
- Kan. **wayyók** ‘to enter’
< Ir. *abi-gatá + *-ka from *gam-

In some words /w/ is inserted in place of consonants that were elided between vowels, viz.:

a) for Ir. *-t- (apparently through an intermediate stage *-t- > *δ > h, as in Parachi and in Kurdish, cf. IIFL:36; Cabolov 1976:18, 65); for example:

- Log. **máwa**, Kan. **máwa** ‘mother’
< Ir. *mātā from *mātár- ‘mother’
- Log., Kan. **spew** ‘white’
< Ir. *spaitá

See below Kan. **dwast** ‘span’ < Ir. *vitásti(š), cf. Kurd. *bihust* id. etc.;

b) for Ir. *-d- (apparently through an intermediate stage *-d- > *δ > h, in Parthian as in Middle Persian influenced by Parthian, and in Parachi, cf. Tedesco 1921:194-195; OIJ 1981:44; IIFL:36); for example:

- Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** pres. stem ‘to give’
< Ir. **fra-* + **dádā-* from **dā-* ‘to give’
 - Log. **šaw-**, Kan. ***řáw-** pres. stem ‘to cry’
< Ir. **frā-* + **rudá-* or **ráuda-* (with change of stress)
- c) for Ir. **-ft-* apparently through an intermediate stage **ft* > **t* > **δ* > **h*; see **-ft-* > *t* in Parachi, Talysh, Zaza (a dialect of the settlement of Siverek), and Shahrudi (Oranskij 1979:168); concerning the earlier assimilation of **f* in the group **ft* and of **x* in the group **xt* see IIFL:333; for example:

- Log. **awāy**, Kan. **awāy** ‘seventy’
< Ir. **hafīāti*
- Log., Kan. **awés** ‘seventeen’
< Ir. **hafīādasa*

d) for Ir. **-xt-* (apparently through an intermediate stage **-xt-* > **t* > **δ* > **h*; see **-xt-* > *t* in many north-western Iranian languages and dialects, cf. Oranskij 1979b:145-146, 168; IIFL:333); for example:

- Log., Kan. **dúwa** ‘daughter’
< Ir. **dúxtā*

Sometimes /w/ acts as a prothesis (with *w/h/y* as a possible interfix) or appears instead of etymological *h*:

- Log. **wostók**, Kan. **wustʔék** ‘to rise’
from Ir. **uz-*, **us-* (preverb) and **stā-* ‘to stand’
- Log. **wuk**, Kan. **wyok**, M *wyōk*, *yō^uk* ‘dry’
< Ir. **húška*
- Log. **wótok**, Kan. **hátak** ‘to put, to leave’
< Ir. **harštá* + **-ka* from Ir. **harz-*
- Log. **(w)ožnaw-** pres. stem ‘to kill’
wožn^o < **abi-šana-* pres. stem from Ir. **gan-* + **ava-*

Consonants /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/ and Kan. /ř/

These consonants correspond in the Ormuri dialects in the following ways:

1. Log. /s/ - Kan. /s/;
2. Log. /z/ - Kan. /z/;
3. Log. /š/ - Kan. /s/;
4. Log. /š/ - Kan. /ř/;
5. Log. /ž/ - Kan. /z/.

The postalveolar fricative Kan. /ž/ is in the section on consonant /g/.

1. Log., Kan. /s/ (< Early Orm. **s*) comes from Ir. **s* with different origins:
 - 1) /s/ < Ir. **s* (Av., O.Pers. and Med. *s*) < IE **s* before voiceless occlusives:

- Log. **wostók**, Kan. **wust^oék** ‘to rise’
< Ir. **ús-stāya-* from Ir. **stā-* + **-ka*
 - Kan. **+styun** (M *styōn*) ‘column’
< Ir. **stūna*
 - Log. **stor**, Kan. **stur** ‘big’
< Ir. **stūra*
 - Log. **stor^o** (in *storga* ‘a stable’)
< Ir. **staura*
 - Kan. **sparaw-** pres. stem ‘to blink’
spar^o < Ir. **spāra-*
 - Log. **+spek** (M *spēk*), Kan. **ispēk** M, G ‘barley’
< Ir. **spaik-*
 - Kan. **spužak** M ‘spleen’ (stress not indicated)
< Ir. **spržā* nom. sg. of **spržan-*
 - Log. **stešak** (from **stežak*) ‘star’
**stež^o* < Ir. *stā-či*
 - Kan. **+skindz** (M *škindz* – with the “lispings” variant of phoneme /s/, see section 2.4) ‘adze’
< Ir. **skand-*
 - Kan. **dzwast**, M *zwast* ‘span’
< Ir. **vitásti(š)*
- 2) /s/ < Ir. **s* (Av. and Med. *s*, O.Pers. *θ*), Indo-Ir. **ć/s̄* < IE **k̂*:
- a) in initial position before vowels:
- Log. **sol**, Kan. **sal** (in *asol*, *asal* ‘in this year’)
< Ir. **sard-*
 - Log. **sála**, Kan. **+sála** (G *sāla*) ‘cold (n.)’
< Ir. **sarta-*
 - Log., Kan. **su** ‘hundred’
< Ir. **satám*
 - Log. **sónok**, **sínak** ‘breast, udder’
< Ir. **sēna* < **saina* + **-ka*
 - Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** ‘red’
< Ir. **suxrá*
 - Kan. **sukál** ‘porcupine’
suk^o < Ir. **sūka*
 - Log. **skan** ‘dung (of cattle)’
< Ir. **sak-* + **-āna*

b) in intervocalic and postvocalic positions:

- Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
< Ir. **dása*
- Kan. **rawas** ‘fox’
< Ir. **raupasa*
- Log. **res-**, M *ras-*, Kan. *ras-* G, M ‘to spin’
< Ir. **raisáya-* pres. stem (caus.) from Ir. **ris-* : *rais-*
- Kan. **řas-** pres. stem ‘to swell’
Ir. **frã-suyá-* from Ir. **su-* : *sav-*
- Kan. **pis-** G pres. stem ‘to write’
< Ir. **písya-* from Ir. **pis-* : *pais-*

3) /s/ in the group *sp* < Ir. **sp* (Av. and Med. *sp*, O.Pers. *s*) < IE **k̂u*:

- Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’
< Ir. **spá-ka*
- Log. **yásp**, Kan. **yásp** masc., **yáspa** fem. ‘horse’
< Ir. **ásp-*
- Log. **spew**, Kan. **spe/iw** ‘white’
< Ir. *spaitá*

4) /s/ < Ir. **ss* (Av., O.Pers. and Med. *s*) < IE **sk̂* in verbal stems (inchoate) ending in Ir. **-sa* < IE **-sk̂e-* / *-sk̂o-*:

- Log., Kan. **rás-** ‘to reach’
< Ir. **rása-* pres. stem from Ir. **r-* : *ar-* ‘to go, to reach’
- Kan. **tusk** G ‘empty’
< Ir. **tuš-* + **-ka*

5) /s/ in the sequence *st* < Ir. **-st* < Indo-Ir. **t*, **th*, **d*, **dh* + **t* < IE **t*, **d*, **dh* + **t*:

- Log. **nóstok**, Kan. **nástak** (masc.) ‘to sit down’
< Ir. **ni-hástaka* from Ir. **had-*
- Kan. **nwástak** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’
< Ir. **nĩ-pástaka* from Ir. **pad-*
- Log. **šóstok**, Kan. **řústak** (G *řustak*) ‘to cry’
< Ir. **frã-rustá* from Ir. **rud-* with preverb **frã-*

Log., Kan. /s/ in pres. stem *s-* ‘to become’ is not completely clear; it is possibly a generalised Kaniguram form (see below Log. *šuk*, but Kan. *syuk*, *suk* (fem.), past stem ‘to become’ from Ir. **š(i)-yav-*. However, it cannot be ruled out that Log. and Kan. /s/ here is a continuation of Ir. **š(i)y-* after the loss of **(i)y-* (GIPh, Vol. I, Pt. I:37-38); cf. Av. *šav-* together with *šyav-* (AIW:1714), cf. IIFL:406.

Log., Kan. /s/ may be a continuation of Ir. **θs* < Indo-Ir. **ts* (late stage):

- Log. **yoskák**, Kan. **+ywas** (M *γwαs*, *γwαs*, as well as *γwats* G) ‘calf’
yos^o, **γwas* < Ir. **vatsá*

It is also worth noting Kan. /s/ < /z/ as a result of dissimilation (in voicing):

- **las-** G ‘to lick’
< Ir. **rāizáya-* from Ir. **raiz-* : *riz-*
2. Log., Kan. /z/ (Early Orm. **z*) comes from Ir. **z* (Av. and Med. *z*, O.Pers. *d*, Skt. *ḷ* or *h*) < IE **ǵ* or **ǵh* irrespective of its position.

1) Log., Kan. /z/ < Ir. **z* < IE **ǵ*:

- Log. **zay-** pres. stem ‘to be born’
< Ir. *zāyá-* pres. stem (pass.) of Ir. **zan-* ‘to give birth’
- cf. also Log. **marzā**, Kan. **marzā** ‘brother’
< Ir. **mātar-zāta-* or **ha[ma]-mātar-zāta* ‘born of the same mother’
- Kan. **braz-** pres. stem ‘to burn’
< Ir. **brāzāya-* from Ir. **brāz-*
- Log. **mez-**, Kan. **máz-** pres. stem ‘to break (intrans.)’
< Ir. **māzya-* from Ir. **maz-*
- Log., Kan. **pazán-** pres. stem ‘to know’
< Ir. **patí-zānya-* from Ir. **zan-* + **patí-*
- Kan. **iz** M ‘water-skin’
< Ir. **ízya* from Ir. **iza-*

2) Log., Kan. /z/ < Ir. **z* < IE **ǵh*:

- Log. **zómok**, M *zemāk*, Kan. **zímak** ‘winter’
< Ir. **zimá* + **-ka*
- Log., Kan. **az** ‘I’
< Ir. **ázam* (earlier **azám*)
- Log. **yož-**, Kan. **y^waz-** G, M ‘to fall’
< Ir. **vaza-* pres. stem. of Ir. **vaz-*
- Log. **+mezí** (M *mizí*), Kan. **+mizí** (M *mizí-*) ‘urine’
from Ir. **māiza-* pres. stem of Ir. **maiz-*
- Kan. **zār** ‘thousand’
< Ir. **hazáhram*

Log., Kan. /z/ is found in the following clusters:

1) /zd/ < Ir. **zd*:

- Log. **nezd°** (in *nezdék* ‘near’)
< Ir. **nazdyā(h)* ‘nearer’

2) /zb/ < Ir. **zb* (Av. *zb*, *zv*, Med. *zb*, O.Pers. *z*, Skt. *hv* < IE **ǵhy* (OIJ 1981:175):

- Kan. **zbān** ‘tongue/language’
< **hizbān-a(m)* – acc. sg. of **hizbān-*

In a few cases Log., Kan. /z/ comes from:

a) Ir. **z* < IE **k̂*:

- Log. **zle**, **zli**, Kan. **zli** ‘heart’
< Ir. **zrdíya* from Ir. **zrd-* ‘heart’
- b) Ir. **z* < IE **gh*:
- Kan. **bazar** G. ‘arm (from elbow to wrist)’, *bizar* M
< Ir. **bāzu-ra* from Ir. **bāzú-*

Note that Log., Kan. /z/ derived from Ir. **z* is in free variation with /dz/ in only a few words, for example:

- Log. **zarka**, Kan. **dzarka**, G *z/dzarka* ‘woman’
< Ir. **zāra* from Ir. **zar-* + **-kā*
- Kan. **windzōk** G ‘son of a wife’
< Ir. **hapaθnī-zātaka*, where *zātaka* is from **zātá* + **-ka*

3. Log. /š/, Kan. /s/ (from the palatalised variant [šʹ] of Early Orm. phoneme **šʹ*) is the reflex of Ir. **sy* and **šy* (of different origin) and also of Ir. **sr*, **str*.

1) Log. /š/, Kan. /s/ from Ir. **sy* < IE **k̑i*:

- Log. **brěš-**, Kan. **brás-** pres. stem ‘to burn’
< Ir. **brásya-* from Ir. **brās-*
- 2) Log. /š/, Kan. /s/ < Ir. **šy* < IE **k̑i*:
- Log. **šuk**, Kan. **syuk** masc., **suk** fem. ‘to become’
< Ir. **š(i)yutā* + **-kā* from Ir. **š(i)u-* : *š(i)yav-*

3) Log. /š/, Kan. /s/ < Ir. **sr* < IE **kr*:

- Log. **šer**, Kan. **sir(r)** ‘good’
< Ir. **srirā*
- See also Kan. **hěntsčī** G (sg. and pl.), **yěstsak** (sg.), **yěščī** M (pl.) ‘tear, tears (from the eye)’
where *hěntsč°* and *yěsts°* are reflexes of the pl. form of Log. **ošk*, Kan. **ōsk* < Ir. **ásru-ka*

4) Log. /š/, Kan. /s/ < Ir. **str*:

- Log. **beš**, Kan. **bēs** M ‘cord’
< Ir. **bástram* from Ir. **bnd-* : *band-* ‘to tie’
- Log. **gíši** sg. and pl., Kan. **gas** sg., **gási** pl. ‘tooth’
where Log. **gaš*, Kan. *gas* < Ir. **gástram*
- Log. **γ^wáši**, Kan. **γ^wási** (sg. and pl.) ‘grass’
γwáš, *γwās°* < Ir. **vástram*

In a few words Log. /š/ and Kan. /s/ come from Ir. **šy* (from earlier **čy*):

- Log. **γóš-**, Kan. **γ^was-**, **γus-** ‘to speak’
< Ir. **vášya-*
- Log. **diš-**, M *düš-* Kan. **dus-** pres. stem ‘to milk’
< Ir. **dúšya-*

Log. /š/, Kan. /s/, which resulted from the assimilation of Ir. *s – *žn > Early Orm. *š – *(ž)n, can be seen in:

- Log. **šiní**, Kan. **siní** ‘needle’
< Ir. *saučaní

4. Log. /š/, Kan. /ř/ (< Early Orm. */hr/) is the reflex of Ir. *θr, *xr, *fr (in all positions).

1) Log. /š/, Kan. /ř/ (< Ir. *θr (Av. and Med. θr, O.Pers. ç) < IE *tr):

- Log. **šo**, M **šō**, Kan. **ři/e** ‘three’
< Ir. *θraya(h)
- Kan. **dāř** ‘sickle’
< Ir. *dāθru(m)
- Kan. **rāři** ‘nephew’
< Ir. *brāθrvya
- Log. **meš** (M *meš*), Kan. **meř** ‘sun’
< Ir. *miθra
- Kan. **žān-řak** G ‘knee’
< Ir. *žānu- + *-θra-ka (Grierson 1918:83) (see above on phoneme /z/)
- Kan. **yīři** M ‘interior, intestines’
< Ir. *ānθrá + *-ya

2) Log. /š/, Kan. /ř/ < Ir. *xr (Av. and O.Pers. xr):

- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řin-** pres. stem ‘to buy’
< Ir. *xríná-
- Kan. **řámand** ‘threshing floor’
probably from Ir. *xram-
- Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** ‘red’
< Ir. *suxrá
- Kan. **teř** ‘bitter’
< Ir. *tixra

3) Log. /š/, Kan. /ř/ < Ir. *fr; see a number of words, of which the earliest form used to contain the prefix (from the preverb) *frā, Av. *frā*, *fəřā*, O.Pers. *fra*^o –forward movement, Skt. *prá* < IE *prō* (IEW:813):

- Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** pres. stem ‘to give’
< *fra-dadā- from Ir. *dā-
- Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** pres. stem ‘to weep’
< Ir. *fra-ráuda- (or *rudá-) from Ir. *rud- : *raud-
- Cf. also Kan. **řamót** ‘oblivion’
< Ir. *fra-máršta from Ir. *mřš- : marš-
- Kan. **řas-** pres. stem ‘to swell’
< Ir. *frā-suyá- from Ir. *su- : sav-

- Kan. **řitsaw-** G ‘to send’
< Ir. **frā-* + **č(i)-yāváyá-* pres. stem (caus.) of Ir. **čyav-*
- cf. also Log. **yoš**, Kan. **yoř**, M *γōř*, *γōř* ‘snow’
< Ir. **váfra*

The Kan. word **noř** ‘soft’, contains the only instance of /ř/ as a reflex of O.Ir. **mr* (< **námrá*, cf. Av. *nam-*, Skt. *nam-* ‘to bow (down)’, *namrá-* ‘complaisant, submissive’, Parth. *namr* ‘weak’, Zaza *namr* ‘soft, tender’ (Abaev 1973:28).

5. Log. /ž/, Kan. /z/ (< the palatalised variant [ž'] of Early Orm. phoneme */ž/) goes back to Ir. *č* and **ǰ*.

Log. /ž/, Kan. /z/ < Early Orm. */ž/ (late period of development) < Ir. **č* (non-initial):

- Log. **°rož**, Kan. **ryoz** ‘day’
< Ir. **ráuča(h)*
- Log. **nemâž**, Kan. **nmâz** ‘prayer’
< Ir. **námâ-či*
- Log. **móž-**, Kan. **myuz-** M ‘to open’
< Ir. **múčya-* pres. stem of Ir. **muk/č-*
- Log. **wâžéra**, **wažéra**, Kan. **wizar** ‘on, above’
where *°žer*, *°zar* < Ir. **hača-upari*

Cf. also derivative nouns with the historical suffix **-či*:

- Log. **mliž** (Kieffer 1972:122), Kan. **miliz** G ‘apple’
< Ir. **mṛná-či*
- Log. **stežáy** ‘star’, +**stežák** (> *stešák*)
stež° < Ir. **stā-či*

Log. /ž/, Kan. /z/ < Early Orm. */ž/ (late period of development) < Ir. **ǰ* is found on rare occasions medially between vowels and initially before a vowel sound:

- Log. **wožn°** (in *wožnáv-* pres. caus. stem), Kan. **wazn-** G pres. stem ‘to kill’
< Ir. **abi-ǰana-* from Ir. **gan-* + **abi-*
- Log. **biž-**, Kan. **biz-** G, M pres. stem ‘to bake, to roast, to boil’
this probably resulted from the contamination of two pres. stems:
a) Early Orm. **brij/ž-* < Ir. **braiǰáya-* (from **brij-*)
b) Early Orm. **páčáya-* from **pak-*
- Log. **žay-**, Kan. **z(ay)-** pres. stem ‘to ask (someone for something), to entreat, to demand’
< Ir. **jādáya-* pres. (caus.) stem of Ir. **gad-*
- Kan. **zay-** G pres. stem ‘to chew’
< Ir. **jāváyá-* from Ir. *gav-*

Consonants /x/, /ɣ/, Kan. /x^o/ (x^w), /ɣ^o/ (ɣ^w)

Log., Kan. /x/ < Ir. *x in all positions:

- Log. **xaní**, Kan. **xanī** M ‘laughter’
< Ir. **xan(d)-* + **-ya*
- Kan. **xáka** ‘well, spring’
< Ir. **xā-kā*
- Log., Kan. **xar** ‘ass’
< Ir. **xára*
- Log. **néxči** sg. and pl., Kan. **naxk** sg., **náxči** pl. ‘finger-nail’
< Ir. **naxá-* + **-ka*
- Log., Kan. **máx** ‘we’
< Ir. **ahmāxam*
- Log. **mox**, Kan. **mux** ‘face’
< Ir. **múxam* – acc. sg. of **muxa-*
- Kan. **waxa(y)-** G, M pres. stem ‘to dig, to burrow’, where *wax^o*
< Ir. **apa-xada* pres. stem of **xad-* + preverb **apa-*

Log. /x/, Kan. /x/, /x^o/ (x^w) < Ir. *x^v (Av. *x^v*, *hv*, O.Pers. *huv* < IE **su(e)*, **suu*) initially before vowels:

- Log. **xoy**, Kan. **x^way** ‘one’s own, oneself’
< Ir. **x^vata(h)*
- Log. **xólok**, Kan. **x^wálak** masc., **x^wálk** fem. ‘to eat, to consume, to drink’,
masc. from Ir. **x^vartá* + **-ka* and fem. from Ir. **x^vartá* + **-kā*
- Log. **xrónok**, Kan. **+xrának** ‘hungry’
< Ir. **x^vraná* + **-ka*
- Log. **xoǰ**, **ǰoǰ** (with assimilation of initial *x*), M *xūš*, Kan. **x^waš**, G *xwaš*, ‘pleasant, giving pleasure’, cf. Log. *xwáš* M (**x^oáš*), Kan. *xwāř*, G *xwař* ‘sweet’, and also Kan. *xwařawi* M, *xwāžāwi* G ‘sweetness’

As regards phonetic development, the three series of consonants:

1. Log. -ǰ, Kan. -š,
2. Log. -š (= M -š), Kan. ř,
3. Kan. -ř-, -ž- (= G -ž-),

which were noted in these forms, are the result of Orm. sounds interacting with Pashto and Dari; cf. Dari *xoš* ‘pleasant, good; cheerful, merry, kind’,³⁹ to which correspond Pashto *xwaš/š* (EVP:99) (with a slightly wider range of meaning: ‘preferable, desired, satisfactory’ etc.), and Pashto *xož* ‘sweet’.

³⁹ Bailey derives this word from **hvašša-* (Bailey 1979:73).

Morgenstierne quite justifiably distinguishes between the origin of Pashto *xwaš/x̌* and that of *xož/ǰ* (he compares the latter with Av. *x^varəzišta-* ‘sweetest’); contrary to phonetic rules, however, he links *xož/ǰ* with Orm. (Kan.) *x^war̄* ‘sweet’, cf. also (Bailey 1979:504) (Ir. **rz* > Log. *g*, Kan. *ž*);

Log. *+x^wāš* (*xwāš* M), Kan. *x^wār* is the regular reflex of Ir. **x^vāθra(m)* neut. ‘good health, well-being’ < Ir. **hu-* (or **x^va-*) + **āθra-* (AIW:1876)⁴⁰, but was semantically contaminated by Ir. *x^varzišta*, acquiring the meaning of ‘sweet’ (like Pashto *xož/ǰ*), Kan. *xwāžāwī* G, as well as original *xwārawī* M (< **xwārawī*), doubtless influenced by Pashto;

- Kan. **x^wāw** ‘sleep’
< Ir. **x^vāpa*, the verbal noun of Ir. **x^vap-*
- Log. **xwār**, Kan. **x^wār** ‘sister’
< Ir. **x^vāhāra(m)*, the acc. sg. of Ir. **x^vahār-*

See also Log., Kan. /x/ < Ir. **xv*:

- Log. **póxok**, Kan. **paxak** G ‘cooked, ripe’
< Ir. **paxvá* + **-ka* from Ir. **pak-*

Log. /y/ ~ Kan. /y/, /y^o/ (*y^w*) goes back to Ir. **g* between vowels and after a vowel; in the vast majority of cases, however, this phoneme is the reflex of Ir. initial **v* before Ir. **a*, **ā*, and **r*:

Log., Kan. /y/ < Ir. **g* in intervocalic position:

- Log. **poryon-**, Kan. **paryūn-** G ‘to dress (oneself)’
< Ir. **gud-* : **gaud-* + *pari-*
- Log. **+yūnj**, Kan. **yūnj** ‘clothing’
< Ir. **ā-gūnda-čī*
- Log., Kan. **naýók** ‘to go out’
< **ni(š)-* + *gata-ka* from Ir. **gam-*, past part. **gatá-*
- Log. **drāy**, Kan. **drāy** ‘long’
< Ir. **dārgišta* – superl. of Ir. **dargá-* (with metathesis)

Log. /y/, Kan. /y/, /y^o/ (*y^w*) < Ir. **v* initially before **ā*, **r*:

- Log. **°yoz-**, Kan. **+y^waz-** (G and M *ywaz-*) pres. stem ‘to fall’
< Ir. **váza-* from **vaz-*
- Kan. **yaf-** pres. stem ‘to weave’
< Ir. **vafáya-* pres. stem (caus.) from Ir. **vaf-*
- Log., Kan. **yor-** pres. stem ‘to rain’
< Ir. **vāra-* pres. stem of Ir. **vār-*

⁴⁰ Pokorny compares Av. *x^vāθra-* ‘desire’ with Anc. Gk. εὐθυμία and Skt. **su-ātra* (IEW:344).

- Kan. **yulkák** M ‘kidney’
yulk^o < Ir. **vrtká* from **vrt-* : *vart-* (with primary suffix **-ka*)
- Log. **yoš**, Kan. **yoř** ‘snow’
< Ir. **váfra* from Ir. **vap-*
- Log. **yoš(kák)**, Kan. **+y^wats/s** (*ywats* G, *ywas* M) ‘calf’
< Ir. **vatsá*
- Kan. **+y^waž-** pres. stem (in *ywar ywaž-* G ‘to take an oath’)
< Ir. **várzya-* pres. stem of Ir. **vrz-* : *varz-*
- Kan. **+y^war** (G *ywar*) ‘oath’
< Ir. **vara(h)* from Ir. **var-* ‘to choose’
- Log. **yoš-**, Kan. **yůř-**, G *ywař-* pres. stem ‘to fear, to be afraid’
< Ir. **vi-* + **óráha-* pres. stem of Ir. **órah-*
- Log. **yošaw-**, Kan. **ywašaw-** G, *ywaša-* M ‘to wash’
< Ir. **vi-frāváya-* pres. stem of Ir. **fru-* : *frav-*

The consonant /y/

In isolated cases Log., Kan. /y/ is an extension of initial Ir. **y*; as is well known, in the latter era Ir. **y* became an affricate in this position (see above). The following words are examples where Ir. **y* has been retained:

- Kan. **yás-** pres. stem ‘to boil’
< Ir. **yasa-* (inch.) from Ir. **yah-*
- Log. **yūx** M (+**yux** < ***yuy**) ‘yoke’
< Ir. **yugam* (verbal noun) nom. sg. neut. from Ir. **yug-* ‘to harness, to yoke’

Log., Kan. /y/ < Ir. **y* in intervocalic position:

- Log., Kan. **boy** ‘around, near’
< Ir. **upāya* (with early loss of initial **u*)
- Log. **zay-** pres. stem ‘to be born’
< Ir. **zāyá-* (< **zŋ-yá-*) pres. stem of Ir. **zan-*

/y/ (as well as /h/ and /w/) is frequently used as a prothesis or infix. When /y/ is added at the beginning of a word before vowel **a*, there is a distribution of /y/ and /h/ (although inconsistent) according to dialect: Log. /y/ and Kan. /h/; in Logar vowel /a/ next to prothetic /y/ is usually raised to /e/:

- Log. **yāsp**, Kan. **yāsp** ‘horse’
from Ir. **āspā-* fem.
- Kan. **yānak** G, **yānk**, **yāk** M ‘ash’
from Ir. **āha-* (+ *-na-ka*)
- Log. **yez-** (but Kan. **haz-** with original **h*) pres. stem ‘to stay, to leave’
< Ir. **han-záya-* from Ir. **zā(y)-* (with metathesis)

- Kan. ***yětsak**, pl. *yěšči* M, *hěntsčī* G (sg. & pl.) ‘tear’
< Ir. **ásru-* + **-ka*
- Log. **yew°r** (but Kan. **ábar** M) ‘cloud’
< Ir. *abrá(m)*, cf. Av. *awra-*, Kurd. *awr-*, *aur-* id., Bal. *haur* ‘rain’
- Kan. **yīri** M ‘intestines, giblets’
< **ānθra-ya* from Ir. **āntrá-* neut. ‘intestines’

The following are examples of the use of /y/ as an epenthesis in place of elided intervocalic sounds (cf. the analogous use of /w/):

a) in place of Ir. **t*:

- Log. **awây**, Kan. **awây** ‘seventy’
< **haftātī(m)*
- Log. **aštây**, Kan. **aštây** ‘eighty’
< Ir. **aštātī(m)*
- Log. **xoy**, Kan. **x°ay** ‘one’s own; oneself’
< Ir. **x°ata(h)*

b) in place of Ir. **θ*:

- Log. **rây**, Kan. **rây** ‘road’
< Ir. *rāθa* (from **raθa-*)
- Kan. +**gāy** (M, G *gāi*) ‘bed’
< Ir. **gātú(š)* – nom. sg. of Ir. **gātu-* masc. ‘place, bed’, O.Pers. *gaθu-* id.
- Log. **guy**, Kan. +*guy* (M *gūi*) ‘excrement’
< Ir. **gūθa*

c) in place of Ir. **d*:

- Log. **ney-**, Kan. **nay-** pres. stem ‘to sit down’
< Ir. **ni-š/hada-* from Ir. **had-*
- Log. **žay-**, Kan. **zay-** pres. stem ‘to ask’
< Ir. **jādáya-* from Ir. **gad-* ‘to ask/beg’

d) in place of Ir. **š*:

- Log. **spuy**, Kan. +**spuy** (*spūi* M, *spōi* G) ‘louse’
< Ir. **spiš* – nom. and acc. sg. of Ir. **spiš-* neut.
- Log. **goy**, Kan. **goy** ‘ear’
< Ir. **gauša*
- Log. **goy**, Kan. **gyoy** ‘cow, bull’
< Ir. **gāuš* – nom. sg. of **gāv-* masc. ‘bull’, fem. ‘cow’

e) in place of Ir. **v*:

- Kan. **zay-** G pres. stem ‘to chew’
< Ir. **jāváya-* from **gu* : *gav-*

f) in place of Ir. **h*:

- Log. **māy**, Kan. **māy** ‘month’
< Ir. **māha(m)* – acc. sg. of Ir. **māh-* masc.

Prothetic /y/ (/h/ may also be found in Kaniguram) is sometimes used in verbal copulas: 1sg. Log. (*y*)om, Kan. (*y*)um, (*h*)um etc. (see section 3.2).

A phonetic feature exclusive to Kaniguram is /y/ inserted after a consonant and before a vowel from the influence of the neighbouring Waziri dialect of Pashto (Grierson 1918:7); with rare exceptions, this is usually a feature of closed syllables:

- **ryoz** ‘day’ (Log. *roz*, °*rož*)
- **pyoz** ‘mouth’ (Log. *poz*)
- **tyos** ‘you (pl.)’ (Log. *tos*)
- **wyok** ‘dry’ (Log. *wuk*)
- **dyo** ‘two’ (Log. *do*)
- **gyoy** ‘cow’ (Log. *goy*)
- **myūz-** M pres. stem ‘to open’ (Log. *mož-*)

An inserted /y/ is found in past stems before the suffix of the masc. gender:

- **ban^yék** masc. ‘to throw’, but fem. *banak* (Log. *banók*)
- **wust^yék** masc. ‘to rise’, but fem. *wustak* (Log. *wostók*)
- **byuk**, G *byōk* masc ‘to be’, but fem. *buk* (Log. *buk*)
- **dyek** masc. and fem. ‘to see’ (Log. *dek*)
- **řyuk**, G *řiyōk* masc. ‘to give’, but fem. *řuk*, G *řūk* (Log. *šuk*)

The causative suffix *-aw-* often appears as the variant *-ay-*, see Grierson 1918:46; 1921:154:

- **amar-aw-/amar-ay-** ‘to make (s.o.) listen’ (Log. *mar-aw-*)
- **γwař-aw-/γwařay-** G ‘to wash’ (Log. *γoš-aw-*)⁴¹

Consonants Log. /š/ and Kan. /š/

As demonstrated above, these phonemes are derived from the hard variant of Early Orm. *š, a reflex of O.Ir. consonant clusters **xš*, **xšV*, **fš*, **rš* and **rs*, and also of Ir. *š in the cluster **št*.

Log. /š/ and Kan. /š/ < Ir. **xš*:

- Log. **šin**, Kan. **šin** ‘green’
< Ir. **axšáina*

⁴¹ In Morgenstierne’s materials the suffix *-aw-/ay-* is usually recorded as *-a-* : *γwařa* ‘to wash’ and so on.

- Log. **baḡ-**, Kan. **báš-** pres. stem. ‘to give’
from Ir. **baxš-*
- Log. **dríxi**, Kan. **dríši** ‘a lie’ – pl.
< Ir. **druš(a)* from **drug-*
- Log. **ḡo**, M *žō*, Kan. **šyo**, G *šiw*, M *šyɔu*, *što* ‘night’
< Ir. *xšapā*
- Kan. **míši** sg. and pl. ‘fly’
< Ir. **máxšī* – nom. sg. from **máxšī-* fem.
- Kan. **brúš-** pres. stem. ‘to shine’
< Ir. **upa-rúxšya-* (with early loss of initial Ir. **u*, and **p > b*) from Ir. **ruk-* : *rauk*

Log. /ḡ/, Kan. /š/ < Ir. **xšv*:

- Log. **ḡo**, Kan. **šo** ‘six’
< Ir. **xšvaš*
- Log. **ḡípi**, M *šīpi(i)* (< Kan.), L *ghíp*, Kan. **šípi** ‘milk’
ḡi^o and *šī^o* < Ir. **xšviftá*

Log. /ḡ/, Kan. /š/ < Ir. **fš*:

- Kan. **šwān**, G *šwān* ‘shepherd’
< Ir. *fšu-pāna* from Ir. **pasú-* ‘livestock’ and *pāna* nom. stem from Ir. **pā(y)-* ‘to protect, to defend’

Log. /ḡ/, Kan. /š/ < Ir. **rs*, **rš*:

- Log. **ḡuḡ-**, Kan. **ḡzuš-** (*dzuš-* G) pres. stem ‘to look’
< Ir. **vi-dḡsya-* from Ir. **dḡs-* (+ **vi-*)
- Kan. **ḡāš** M ‘goat hair’
< Ir. **darsā*

Log. /ḡ/, Kan. /š/ from Ir. **š* in the cluster **št*, where **š* has different derivations:

a) from Ir. **s* < IE **k̂*:

- Log. **ḡxt**, Kan. **āšt** ‘eight’
< Ir. **aštā*
- Log. **angóxt**, Kan. **ngušt**, G *angušt* ‘finger’
< Ir. **angúšta*
- Log. **bróxtok**, Kan. **bráštak** masc., **brúšk** fem. ‘to burn’
< Ir. **braštā* + **-kā* from Ir. **brās* ‘to shine, to burn’
- Kan. **ḡpištak** (G *pištak* masc), **ḡpišk** (G *pīšk* fem.) ‘to write’
< Ir. **pištā* + **-kā* from **pis-* : *pais-*

b) from Ir. **s* < IE *s*:

- Kan. **ašt-** G pres. stem ‘to stand, to stand up’
< Ir. **ā-híštā-* from Ir. **stā-* + *ā-*

c) from Ir. **z* < IE **ǵ* and **ǵh*:

- Log. ^o**yoštok** Kan., ⁺**yoštak** M, *ywaštak* G masc., *ywāšk* M, *ywāšk* G fem. ‘to fall’
< Ir. **vaštā* + **-kā* from **vaz-*
- Log. **móxtok**, Kan. **máštak** masc., ⁺**māšk** (G *māšk*) fem. ‘to break’
< Ir. *maštā* + **-ka* from Ir. **maz-*
- Kan. **braštak** masc., **brušk** (G *brūšk*) fem. ‘to burn’
< Ir. **braštā* + **-kā* from Ir. **brāz-*

d) from Ir. *rsat* (< IE **rkat*):

- Log. **tsāxtu**, Kan. **tsāštu** ‘forty’
< Ir. **čaθvar-satam*

xt/št in Log. *pandzāxtu* (as well as *pandzāstu*) and Kan. *pandzāštu* ‘fifty’ is by analogy with *cāxtu/cāštu* ‘forty’.

See also Log. *xt*, Kan. *št* < Ir. **št* (> Early Orm. **št*) in the following cases:

- Log. **pa-néxta**, M *pa-néšta*, Kan. **pa-néšta**, ‘outside, from the outside’
^o*next*, ^o*nešt* < Ir. *ništya*
- Log. **poxt-** pres. stem (from past stem) ‘to ask’
< Ir. **pṛs-* + **-ta* (**rs* + *t* > Early Orm. **st*, but **rš* + *t* > Early Orm. *t*)

Consonants /r/ and /l/

Log., Kan. /r/ in any position is derived from Ir. **r* < Indo-Ir. **r* (< IE *r*):

- Log., Kan. **run** ‘melted butter’
< Ir. **raugna*
- Log. **rówon**, M *ruṇ*, Rv. *aroṇ*, Kan. **rāwan** ‘fire’
< Ir. *rāuxšna*, verbal adjective from **ruk-* : *rauk-*
- Log. ^o**rož**, Kan. **ryoz** ‘day’
< Ir. **rauča(h)* from **raučah-*
- Log. **rāy**, Kan. **rāy** ‘road’
< Ir. **rāṭa* from *raṭa-*
- Log., Kan. **tar** a preposition denoting possession
< Ir. **tará(h)*

Ir. **r̥*⁴² (< Indo-Ir. **r̥* in various ablaut grades) is the base for Log., Kan. /r/. In Early Ormuri, as in other Iranian languages from the time they have existed separately, syllabic Ir. **r̥* was not preserved but became a group consisting of a short vowel plus non-syllabic

⁴² The vocalic environment in the reflexes of words containing Ir. **r̥* was greatly affected by the ablaut grade in which Ir. *r̥* arose and phonetic factors such as whether a syllable was closed by one consonant or by a group of consonants and whether it was in a position of a-umlaut or in a neutral position.

*r (GIPh, Vol. I, Pt. I:24). To judge from the reflex of Ir. *r̥ in the modern language, these vowels were short *i and *u (= Log. *e* and *o*, Kan. *i* and *u*), the quality of the vowel depending on the surrounding consonants: *u next to labials and *i (with a few exceptions, see below) in other positions. We will adduce some examples of reflexes of Ir. *r̥.

1) Log., Kan. /r/ < Ir. *r̥ (> Early Orm. *ir, and *ur in stressed or unstressed position):

- Kan. **dir-** M, G pres. stem ‘to reap, to cut’
< Ir. *d̥rya- pres. stem (Class IV) of *d̥r-
- Log., Kan. **mr-** pres. stem ‘to die’
< *muryá- < Ir. *m̥ryá- pres. stem (pass.) of *m̥r̥ : mar-
- Log., Kan. **xr-**, G x^wur- ‘to eat, to drink, to take food’
< *xurá < Ir. *x̥r̥á- pres. stem (Class VI) of *x̥r̥- : x^var-
- Log., Kan. **tr-** pres. stem ‘to drink’
< *tiryá- < Ir. *t̥ryá- pres. stem (pass.) of *t̥r̥- : tar-
- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirgá** ‘sparrow’
< *murgá < Ir. *m̥rgá, *m̥rgám
- Log. **drónok**, **dórnök**, Kan. **drának** ‘to have’
< *diraná- < Ir. *draná from Ir. *d̥r̥- : *dar- ‘to have, to hold’
- Log. **xrónok**, Kan. ***xrának** (M *xrának*) ‘hungry’
< *xuraná < Ir. *x̥raná from Ir. *x̥r̥- : x^var- ‘to eat’ + *-ana
- Log. **trónok** ‘thirsty’
< *tirana < Ir. *traná- from tr- : tar-

2) Log., Kan. /r/ in the sequence ar < Ir. *ar:

- Log., Kan. **nawar-** pres. stem ‘to take out, to pull out’
- Log., Kan. **wár-** pres. stem ‘to carry, to bring’
< Ir. *ni-bára-, *ã-bára- from *br̥- : bar- and preverb *ni-, *ã-
- Log. **dár-** pres. stem ‘to linger, to come to a stop’
< Ir. *d̥rya- from *dar- ‘to have, to hold’
- Kan. **amar-** pres. stem ‘to hear’
< Ir. *ã-mára- from *m̥r̥ : mar-

3) Log., Kan. /r/ in the sequences ar and or < Ir. *ār:

- Log., Kan. **yor-** pres. stem ‘to rain’
< Ir. *vára- pres. stem (denominative) from *vār- ‘rain’
- Log., Kan. **dar-** pres. stem ‘to have’
< Ir. *d̥r̥áya- pres. stem (caus.) from Ir. *d̥r̥- : dar-

Log., Kan. /r/ < Ir. *r in consonant clusters *dr, *br, *gr:

- Log. **dri**, Kan. **dra**, pl. **dri** ‘hair’
- Log. **dríxi**, Kan. **drísi** ‘lie/falsehood’

- Log. **breš-**, Kan. **bras-** ‘to burn’ (intrans.)
- Kan. **braz-** ‘to burn’ (trans.), Kan. **gran-** ‘to bite’
etc. (see /d/, /b/, /g/ in the section on phonemes).

In isolated cases in Kaniguram initial /r/ is the reflex of the historical consonant cluster *br- (via *br- > *wr-, probably influenced by Pashto, see IIFL:330):

- Kan. **rāri** ‘nephew, brother’s son’
< Ir. *brāθrvya* or *brāθrvyā*
- Kan. **rīn-** G pres. stem ‘to shave, to scrape’
< Ir. **brīnā-* from **brī-* : *brāy-*

Log., Kan. /r/ may also be derived from:

a) Ir. *rv:

- Log. **ayéra** ‘all, everything’, where *a-* is the indefinite article, *-y-* an epenthesis, *er* < **ar* (influenced by *-y-*)
< Ir. **hárva-*

b) Ir. *rb:

- Kan. **gurú** M ‘kid’
< Ir. **grbu(š)*

The phoneme /l/ is one of those sounds which arose comparatively late in Iranian itself, in the Middle-Iranian period. In Ormuri, /l/ developed from various consonantal clusters.

/l/ < Ir. *rt and *rθ:

- Log. **wólok**, Kan. **wúlak** fem. **walk** ‘to carry/bring’
< Ir. **a-brtā* + **-kā* from **br-* : *bar-*
- Log. **xólok**, Kan. **x^wálak**, G fem. **x^wálk** ‘to eat, to drink’
< Ir. **x^vartākā* from **x^var-*
- Log. **mólok**, Kan. **múl(l)ak**, fem. G **malk** ‘to die’
< Ir. **mrtā* + **-kā* from **mṛ-* : *mar-*
- Kan. **dilak** G, M fem. **dalk** G ‘to reap, to cut’
< Ir. **drtā* + **-kā* from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to tear apart, to tear off’
- Log. **máli**, Kan. **máli** ‘husband’,
mál^o, *mál^o* < Ir. **mártā* from Ir. **mṛ-* : *mar-* ‘to die’
- Log. **†káli** (*kālī* M) ‘knife’
< Ir. **kártā* from **kṛt-* : *kart-*
- Log. **sála**, Kan. **sāl^a** (**sála*) ‘cold’ (noun)
< Ir. **sáltā* fem. of **sarta-*
- Log. **zál**, Kan. **zāl** masc., **zála** fem. ‘old’
< Ir. **zártā* – fem. form of **zarta-* from Ir. **zṛ-* : *zar-*
- Log., Kan. **gal-** pres. stem ‘to tie’ (Kan. also ‘to weave’)
< Ir. **garθáya-* from **grθ-* : *garθ-*

/l/ < Ir. *rd̥:

- Log. **zle**, **zli**, Kan. **zli** ‘heart’
< *zrd̥íya < Ir. *zrd̥- ‘heart’ + *-ya
- Log. °sol, Kan. °sal (in Log. *asol*, Kan. *asal* ‘in this year’, Kan. *prasəl* M ‘last year, the last year’)
< Ir. *sárdam acc. sg. of *sard-
- Log. **gəlak** M, Kan. **gɪlak** M ‘rat’
< Ir. *gɪdaka, the nomen agentis of *gɪrd- : *gard-* (+ *-ka)

/l/ < Ir. *rn̥:

- Log. **mlič** M, **mliž** (Kieffer 1972:122), Kan. *milīž* G, M *milīts* M ‘apple’
< Ir. *mɪrn̥áči
- Kan. **sukál** ‘porcupine’
< Ir. *sukúrnā

/l/ < Ir. *žd̥:

- Log. **ḫalés**, Kan. **šóles**, **š^walés**, G *šuwēs* ‘sixteen’
< Ir. *xšvaždasa

Special mention should perhaps be made of the only case where Orm. /l/ is the reflex of Ir. *r (< IE *l):

- Kan. **las-** pres. stem ‘to lick’
< Ir. *rāizáya-* from Ir. *riz- : *raiz-*

Consonants /m/ and /n/

Log., Kan. phoneme /m/ comes from Ir. *m (irrespective of the phonetic environment):

- Log. **māy**, Kan. **māy** ‘month’
< Ir. *māha(m), acc. sg. of *māh-
- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirgá** ‘sparrow’
< Ir. *mɪgá or *mɪgám
- Log. **māwa**, Kan. **māwa** ‘mother’
< Ir. *mātā nom. sg. of *matár-
- Log. **māx**, Kan. **māx** ‘we’
< Ir. *ahmāxam
- Log. †**meš** (*mēš* M), Kan. **meř** ‘sun’
< Ir. *miθrá
- Log. **zómok**, Kan. **zímak** ‘winter’
< Ir. *zimá + *-ka
- Log. **búma**, **bóma**, Kan. **búmba** ‘earth’
< Ir. *būmā (from Ir. *būmī-)

- Log. **nemék**, Kan. **mek** ‘salt’
< Ir. **nimádaka*

/m/ < Ir. **šm*:

- Log. **tsími** sg. and pl., Kan. **tsom**, pl. **tsámi** ‘eye’,
tsom^o < Ir. **čašma*, acc. sg. neut. of **čašman-*

- Log. **pōm** M, Kan. **pom**, M **pōm** ‘fleece’
< Ir. **pašma*, nom. sg. of **pášman-*

/m/ < Ir. **θm*:

- Kan. **+mémni** (*mēmni* G) ‘guests’
memn^o < Ir. **máiθman-* from **miθ-* : *maiθ-*

/m/ < Ir. **mb*:

- Log. **kem** ‘little, a little’
< Ir. **kambyā(h)*

Log., Kan. phoneme /n/ is the reflex of Ir. **n* and of various O.Ir. consonantal clusters.

/n/ < Ir. **n*:

- Log. **ney-**, Kan. **n-**, **nay-** pres. stem ‘to sit down’
< Ir. **ni-šada* or **ni-háda* from **had-* + preverb **ni-*
- Log. **nemâž**, Kan. **nmâž** G ‘worship, namaz (Muslim prayer)’
< Ir. **namā-čī*
- Log. **now**, Kan. **nyow** ‘new’
< Ir. **náva*
- Log. **néxči** sg. and pl., Kan. **naxk**, pl. **náxči** ‘finger-nail’
< Ir. **naxá + *-ka*
- Log., Kan. **ban-** pres. stem ‘to throw away, to stow away’
< Ir. **dvanáya-* pres. stem (caus.) of Ir. **dvan-*
- Log. **drónok**, **dornok**, Kan. **drának** ‘to have’
< **draná* < Ir. **dṛaná* from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to have, to hold’
- Kan. **dzun-** pres. stem ‘to see’
< Ir. **vainá(nti)* from **vainā* from **vin-* : *vain-*

/n/ < Ir. **nd*, **nt*:

- Log. **ganóm**, Kan. **ganúm** ‘wheat’
< Ir. **gantúma*
- Log. **xaní**, Kan. **xani** M ‘laughter’
< Ir. **xánda-* pres. stem of Ir. **xan-*, *xand-*
- Log. **poryon-**, Kan. **paryūn-** G pres. stem ‘to dress (oneself)’ from Ir. **gud-* : *gaud-* + **pari-*
- Log. **yūnj** M ‘rag’, Kan. **yunj** ‘clothing’
< Ir. **a-gúndá + *-čī*

- Kan. **škindz** M ‘adze’
< Ir. **skanda-čī* from **skand-*
- Log. **tsen**, Kan. **tsen** ‘what’ (adj.)
< Ir. **čiyantam*, acc. sg. of **čiyant-*

In a number of cases, however, the consonantal cluster **nd* has been preserved, see phoneme /d/, as well as:

- Log. (**w**)**ondraw-**, M *undərəw-* pres. stem ‘to sew’
from Ir. **dɾb-* : *darb-* + **han-*
- Log. **tsun**, but M *tsun(d)*, Kan. **tsun**, G *tsōn* ‘how many; a few’
< Ir. **čvantam* – acc. sg. of **čvant*⁴³

/n/ < **sn*:

- Kan. **yānak** G, **yāŋk**, **yāk** M ‘ashes, cinders’
from **āha-* (+ *-na-ka*), cf. Skt. *āsa-* ‘ashes, cinders, dust’

/n/ < Ir. **xšn*:

- Log. **rówon**, Kan. **ráwan** ‘fire’
< Ir. **ráuxšna* from **ruk-* : *rauk-*

The consonant /h/

Phoneme /h/ is a very unstable sound in Logar; initially it is usually dropped or is replaced by a prothetic *y* or *w*. In Kaniguram /h/ occurs more widely, possibly as a reflex of Ir. **h*, but much more frequently as a prothesis. Examples of Kan. /h/ < Ir. initial **h* are:

- Kan. **hátak**, fem. **hōtk** G ‘to leave; to lay down’ (= Log. **wótok** ‘to lay down’)
< Ir. **háršta-kā* from Ir. **hrz-* : *harz-*
- Kan. **ho**, **o**, G *hō*, *ō*, M *ō* masc., **hā**, **ā** (= G) fem. (more rarely also masc.) dem. pron. ‘this’, ‘these’,
where the masc. form is from Ir. **ha-h*, cf. Av. *hō*, *hə*, *hā* – nom. sg. of *ha-* masc. ‘this’

It is possible Leech recorded etymological /h/ in the numerals ‘seventeen’ and ‘seventy’, which now lack initial /h/ according to our records (and those of Grierson and Morgenstierne):

- Log. *haves* L (= **awés**, M *awés*), Kan. **awés**, G, M *awēs* ‘seventeen’
< Ir. **haftādasa*

⁴³ In loan words there are frequent cases of *n* → *nd* (IIFL:331); in Kaniguram this occurs in the middle of a word as well as finally: *mandrasta* ‘madrasa’ (Dari *madrasá*), *zin*, *zind* ‘saddle’ (Dari *zīn*), *mayndān* ‘square’ (Dari *maydān*) etc.

- Log. *hawai* L (= **aw**áy, M *awáitu*), Kan. **aw**áy, M *awáí*, G *awāi* ‘seventy’
< **haftā́tīm*⁴⁴

We will adduce also a few examples of the use of /h/ in Kaniguram as a prothesis, recorded chiefly in the materials of Grierson:

- *hānšt*, *hāšt* G, **āšt** (in our records), *hāšt* M (= Log. **āšt**, M *āšt*) ‘eight’
< Ir. **aštā́* (with forward shift of stress)
- *haz*, *az* G, **az** (in our records), *az* M (= Log. *az*) ‘I’
< Ir. **ázam*
- *hōnd* G, **ond** (in our records), *ōnd*, *hond* M ‘blind’
< Ir. **andā́* (with forward shift of stress)
- *hēntsčī* G, **yēstsak**, pl. **yēšči** M ‘tear, tears’
< Ir. **ásru-ka*

The reflexes of the Proto-Iranian consonants, including consonant clusters, are summarised below.

Proto-Iranian/Ormuri consonant correspondences

*Ir. *p* >

- 1) Log., Kan. /p/initially before a vowel;
- 2) Log., Kan. /p/in an initial cluster *sp*;
- 3) Log., Kan. /w/between vowels and after a vowel;
- 4) Log., Kan. /b/when word-initial (in a few cases).

*Ir. *t* >

- 1) Log., Kan. /t/:
 - a) initially before a vowel;
 - b) in the consonant cluster **st* > Log., Kan. *st*;
 - c) in the consonant cluster **št* > Log. *št*, Kan. *št*;
 - d) in the consonant cluster **ršt* > Log., Kan. /t/;
 - e) in the consonant cluster **rst* > Log., Kan. *st*;
- 2) Log., Kan. Ø in intervocalic position (in the sequences **-ātā́, -aftā́, *-axtā́, *-ītā́, *-itī,* etc., see table 3;
- 3) Log., Kan. /w/as an epenthesis in place of syncopated Ir. **t, *ft, *xt* in intervocalic position;
- 4) Log., Kan. /y/as an epenthesis in place of syncopated Ir. **t* in intervocalic position.

⁴⁴ It is not impossible, however, that in the word for ‘seven’ (Log. *wo*, M *wō*, L *wo*, Kan. *wo*, G *hō*, M *hō*, *hō*) the initial /h/ in Kaniguram (= /w/ in Logar) was inserted in place of the medial syncopated group **-ft-*, in which case the unstressed first syllable **ha-* of this oxytone has been lost.

*Ir. *k >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /k/:
 - a) initially before a vowel;
 - b) between vowels and after a vowel;
 - c) in the consonant cluster *šk > Log., Kan. /k/;
- 2) Kan. /g/occasionally word-final and in a few cases initial;
- 3) Log., Kan. /č/, as the result of palatalisation (before the plural marker of nouns and in some other cases).

*Ir. *b >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /b/initially before a vowel;
- 2) Log., Kan. /b/in the cluster *br* when initial;
- 3) Log., Kan. /w/between vowels and after a vowel.

*Ir. *d >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /d/initially before vowels;
- 2) Log., Kan. /d/in the cluster *dr* when initial;
- 3) Log., Kan. Ø in intervocalic position (in the sequences *āda, *ida, *avada, see table 3);
- 4) Log., Kan. /w/initial in place of syncopated *Ir. *d* in intervocalic position;
- 5) Log., Kan. /y/in place of syncopated *Ir. *d* in intervocalic position.

*Ir. *g >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /g/initially before a vowel;
- 2) Log., Kan. /g/in the cluster *gr* (in a few cases);
- 3) Log., Kan. /y/in intervocalic position and after a vowel when word-final.

*Ir. *č >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /ts/initially and medially after *n* and before a vowel;
- 2) Log., Kan. /č/(in a few cases) initially before a vowel;
- 3) Log. /ž/, Kan. /z/intervocalically and postvocally;
- 4) Log., Kan. *dz/z* or, in a few cases, *ǰ* after *n*.

*Ir. *ǰ >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /dz/initially;
- 2) Log. *ž*, Kan. /z/intervocalically.

*Ir. *f > Log., Kan. /f/*

*Ir. *v >*

- 1) Log. /y/, Kan. /y/, /y^o/ (y^w) initially (before historical vowels (except *ī and *y) or before *r*);

- 2) Log., Kan. /j/ or /dz/ initially (before historical, * \check{t} , * $\check{a}i$ and * \check{y});
- 3) Log., Kan. /w/ intervocalically (rare);
- 4) Log., Kan. /y/ intervocalically (rare).

*Ir. *s (of more than one origin) > Log., Kan. /s/:*

- 1) < IE s (Av. and O.Pers. s) before voiceless plosives: * $st(h)$, * $sk(h)$, * $sp(h)$;
- 2) < IE * \hat{k} (Av. δ , O.Pers. ϑ) initially before a vowel;
- 3) < IE * $\hat{k}u$ (Av. and Med. sp , O.Pers. s) in the cluster * sp (in any position);
- 4) < IE * $s\hat{k}$ (Av., O.Pers. and Med. s) > Ir. * ss (in suffix *- sa of inchoative pres. stems);
- 5) < IE * t , * d , * dh before * t in the cluster * st .

*Ir. * ϑ > Log., Kan. /y/ finally after a vowel.*

*Ir. *z (of more than one origin) > Log., Kan. /z/:*

- 1) IE * \hat{g} , * $\hat{g}h$ (Av. z , O.Pers. δ) in any phonetic environment;
- 2) < IE * s/z before * d (Av. and O.Pers. z).

*Ir. * \check{s} >*

- 1) Log., Kan. s initially before a vowel;
- 2) Log., Kan. /y/ intervocalically and postvocalically when final.

*Ir. * \check{z} – see the cluster * $\check{z}d$.*

*Ir. *y >*

- 1) Log., Kan. /y/ initially before a vowel and also medially between vowels;
- 2) Log., Kan. /dz/ (< * \check{y}) initially before a vowel (late stage of development).

*Ir. *x > Log., Kan. /x/ (regardless of phonetic environment).*

*Ir. * x^v > Log. /x/ (rare, x^w), Kan. / x^o /, / x^w /, /x/ initially before a vowel.*

*Ir. *h >*

- 1) Kan. /h/ initially before a vowel (it was not retained in Logar) or replaced by /w/ see below;
- 2) Log. /w/ (rare in Kaniguram) in place of h (< Ir. * h) initially before a vowel;
- 3) Log., Kan. /y/ finally after a vowel.

*Ir. *r > Log., Kan. /r/.*

*Ir. *l > Kan. /l/.*

Ir. **m* > *Log.*, *Kan.* /*m*/ (regardless of phonetic environment).

Ir. **n* > *Log.*, *Kan.* /*n*/ (regardless of phonetic environment).

Reflexes of consonantal clusters

**br-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *br-*

*-*br-* > *Log.* -*wr-*

**č(i)y-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* **č-/c-*

**čn* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *n*

**čv-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* **č-/c-*

**dr-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *dr-*

**duv-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *d-*

**dv-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *b-*

**fr-* > *Log.* *š*, *Kan.* *ř*

**fš-* > *Log.* *š*, *Kan.* *š*

*-*ft-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* \emptyset

**gr-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *gr-*

*-*gn-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *n*

*-*hr-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *r*

**mp* > *Kan.* *mb*

*-*mr-* > *Kan.* *ř*

*-*nd-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *n*

*-*nč* > *Log.*, *Kan.* -*nĵ* / -*ndz*, -*nts*, -*nz*

*-*nt-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *n*

*-*ng-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *ng*

*-*rb-* > *Log.* *raw*

*-*rd-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *l*

*-*rg-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *rg*

*-*rn-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *l*

*-*rp-* > *Kan.* *rw*

*-*rsat-* > *Log.* *št*, *Kan.* *št*

*-*rs-* > *Log.* *š*, *Kan.* *š*

*-*rš-* > *Log.* *š*, *Kan.* *š*

*-*ršn-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *n*

*-*ršt* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *t*

*-*rt-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *l*

*-*rθ-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *l*

*-*rv-* > *Kan.* *r*

*-*rz-* > *Log.* *g*, *Kan.* *ž*

*-*sat-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *st*

*-*sč-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* **č/ts*

*-*sk-* > *Log.*, *Kan.* *sk*

- **sp* > Log., Kan. *sp*
- **sr* > Log. *š*, Kan. *s*
- **st* > Log., Kan. *st*
- **str* > Log. *š*, Kan. *s*
- *-*sy-* > Log. *š*, Kan. *s*
- **šk* > Log., Kan. *k*
- **šm* > Log., Kan. *m*
- **št* > Log. *št*, Kan. *št*
- **š(i)y-* (< Indo-Ir. **č(i)y-* <IE **k_i*) > Log. *š*, Kan. *s*
- **θm* > Kan. *m*
- **θn* > Kan. *n*
- **θr* > Log. *š*, Kan. *ř*
- **θs* > Log., Kan. *s* (also *ts* in Kan., rare)
- **θy* > Log., Kan. *Ø*
- **vĩ-* > Log., Kan. *ǰ/dz*
- **vai-* (< **vē-*) > Log., Kan. *ǰ/dz*
- **vã-* > Log., Kan. *ɣ^w, ɣ*
- **vɹ-* > Log. **ɣor-*, Kan. *ɣur-*
- **vr-* (< **br-*) > Kan. *r*
- **vr* > Log., Kan. *r*
- **xr* > Log. *š*, Kan. *ř*
- **xš* > Log. *š*, Kan. *š*
- **xšn* > Log. *Ø*, Kan. *n*
- **xšv* > Log. *š*, Kan. *š*
- **žd* > Log., Kan. *l*

2.6 Stress

Stress in Ormuri is dynamic, non-mobile, and may fall on any syllable in the word, as is shown in disyllabic words where it may be on either syllable, and in tri- and quadri-syllables (of which there are considerably fewer) where it is on the second, third or fourth syllable from the beginning of the word. The following are examples of all types of word structure found in Ormuri: Log. *šo*, Kan. *ři* ‘three’; Log., Kan. *das* ‘ten’, Log. *wok*, Kan. *wak* ‘water’; Log. *máwa*, Kan. *máwa* ‘mother’; Log. *afó*, Kan. *afá* ‘that’; Log., Kan. *dzok* ‘to beat’; Log. *búma/bóma*, Kan. *búm(b)a* ‘earth’; Log., Kan. *nayók* ‘to go out’; Log. *nawólok*, Kan. *nawúlak* ‘to take out’; Log. *algóstok*, Kan. *algástak* ‘to carry away’; Log. *wostawók*, Kan. *wustawyék* ‘to rouse’; Log. *alisawók* ‘to place’, etc.

As regards its position in the word, stress in Ormuri is non-mobile; that is to say, it falls on a specific syllable. The only exceptions are the finite forms of the present and aorist tenses of the 2nd and 4th conjugations, where it regularly moves from the ending onto the root in the 2sg. forms (see section 3.2).

The following morphemes are unstressed:

- 1) Articles (definite article *a-* and indefinite article Log. *šē*, Kan. *sa* masc., *syē* fem.);
- 2) Enclitic pronouns: Log. *ketāb-a*, Kan. *kitāb-a* ‘his book’;
- 3) Prepositions and postpositions (see the relevant sections);
- 4) The predicative copula: Log. *afo moallem e*, Kan. *afā muallim (h)a* ‘He is a teacher’.

Some particles (including verbal particles *bu* and *su*) are also unstressed, as are the pronominal directional particles.

Morgenstierne used the well known hypothesis of Meillet and Gauthiot on the consolidation (phonetically conditioned) of the place of stress in order to explain the historical system of accentuation in the Old-Iranian dialect which was the ancestor of Ormuri. According to this hypothesis, the stress in Old Iranian was dynamic and fell on the penultimate syllable of the word form if its vowel was long, or on the antepenultimate if the vowel of the penultimate syllable was short (IIFL:327-328, 360), although in his later works Morgenstierne expressed doubt whether this explanation of accentuation in Ormuri was correct. He even seemed to be of the opinion that there were traces of the ancient, variable stress in Old Iranian, as in Pashto (Morgenstierne 1942:95-97), but this has not been substantiated in detail in his works (Morgenstierne 1958:158; IIFL:428).⁴⁵

We paid particular attention to word stress when collecting and analysing the material on Logar and Kaniguram. Our material confirms that Meillet and Gauthiot’s hypothesis is of doubtful applicability to stress in Ormuri.⁴⁶ Stress in the modern language is truly

⁴⁵ The idea of free stress in Old Iranian is not new. Iranian studies traditionally started from the assumption that in their prehistory Old Iranian and Sanskrit were closer in the early stages of the development and existence of tonal oppositions (and, possibly, of free stress, see Jackson 1892:78-79, § 265): this may be assessed on the basis of the classification of morphological and word formation types which have specific prosodic markers among other characteristics, and of their subsequent comparison with Old Iranian and Sanskrit (GIPh, Vol. I, Part 1; Reichelt 1909, see also Kuryłowicz 1925). Although the Meillet-Gauthiot hypothesis relegated these theories of stress to the background, there were studies in Iranian linguistics which substantially restricted its sphere of application and which showed that there were other possible explanations for the system of stress in the ancestral dialects of various Iranian languages (Abaev 1924; 1949:385-386, 531-532; Isaev 1959:64ff.; 1966:27; Tedesco 1926:102ff.), including relating it to a Vedic type of variable stress (Morgenstierne 1942:95-97; Dybo 1970; 1972; 1974 (for another opinion see Herzenberg 1981); Rastorgueva & Èdel'man 1981:128). Èdel'man’s article ‘The Common Iranian System of Stress’ (with a detailed bibliography) (Èdel'man 1985; see also Èdel'man 1973; 1978; 1979; Rastorgueva & Èdel'man 1981:128) examines the issue of Common Iranian stress and associated questions on stress in the individual Iranian languages.

⁴⁶ In addition to our own materials we have widely adduced Morgenstierne’s materials on the Logar and Kaniguram dialects. Unfortunately he did not always indicate the position of the word stress. It should be added that some of Morgenstierne’s materials on Logar

dynamic. However, as with the Old-Iranian dialect to which Ormuri can be traced back, its position is not determined by counting back the long and short syllables from the end of the original word form, that is to say, it does not depend on quantitative factors. From analysis of the material available it can be postulated with sufficient confidence for the original, Old-Iranian dialect that there was a Vedic type of free stress, the reflexes of which may be observed in both the verb and noun systems in varying degrees, although in a more limited and sometimes altered form. When accepting this postulate of free stress, inherited historically in Ormuri, we still should not ignore, as we shall see below, the innovations in its stress system that emerged through later linguistic processes. (See the sections on noun and verbal stems for an analysis of processes such as the thematisation of stems, interaction of ancient stress and gender paradigms, weakening of word endings and reduction in noun and verb inflections).⁴⁷

Thus, taking into consideration what has been said about the innovatory processes in the history of Ormuri, its stress system can be said to be heterogeneous, comprising several chronological strata; in the complete absence of any historical, written records in Ormuri, we must restrict ourselves to distinguishing only two strata.

1. Nouns and verbs with stress on the same syllable as in their etyma constitute the more archaic stratum. These are reflexes of nouns and verbs, non-derivative either originally or perceived as such at least in early Proto-Ormuri, that preserve Old-Iranian stems with stress on the root and on the suffix. In nouns they are mainly reflexes of barytones (non-final stress), and reflexes of oxytones (final stress) that have been preserved only in rudimentary form (see the discussion of noun stems in section 3.1 for the reasons for this disproportion). See nouns of type:

a)

- Log. **yāsp**, Kan. **yāsp** ‘horse’ (Ir. **áspā*)
- Log. **yoš**, Kan. **yoř** ‘snow’ (Ir. **váfra*)
- Log. **now**, Kan. **nyow** ‘new’ (Ir. **náva*)
- Log. **wuk**, Kan. **wyok** ‘dry’ (Ir. **húška*)

b)

- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirga** ‘sparrow, little bird’ (Ir. **mrgá*)
- Log. **pe**, Kan. **p(i)yé** ‘father’ (Ir. **pitá*)

obtained in Kabul from his principal informant, Din Muhammad, must be treated carefully, especially when they deal with such a specific and subtle linguistic feature as accentuation. The point is that Ormuri was not really Din Muhammad’s native language, as we ascertained from old people living in Logar in 1971.

⁴⁷ Our article in the yearbook ‘Iranian Linguistics. Yearbook 1981’ (Efimov 1985) is devoted to the historical interpretation of the system of noun and verb stress in Ormuri; see also Efimov (1979).

- Kan. **tā** ‘uncle (father’s brother)’ (Ir. **(pi)tā́*)
- Log. **g(i)rí**, Kan. **gri** ‘mountain’ (Ir. **giríš*)

In verbs, stress falls on the same syllable as in ancient times in finite forms that continue verb formations from the ancient present stem (without preverbs), which, as is generally known, were also differentiated by the place of the stress. See the present stems of verb types:

a)

- Log. **yóz-**, Kan. **y^wáz-** ‘to fall’ (Ir. **váza-*),
- Log., Kan. **tsaw-** ‘to go’ (Ir. **č(i)yáva-*),
- Log. **brěš-**, Kan. **brás-** ‘to burn’ (Ir. **brášya-*),
- Log. **méz-**, Kan. **maz-** ‘to get broken, to break’ (Ir. **mázya-*);

b)

- Log., Kan. **xr-** ‘to eat, to drink’ (Ir. **x^rrá-* or **xurá-*)
- Log. **g-**, Kan. **ž-** ‘to lay, to leave’ (Ir. **hrzá-*)
- Log., Kan. **dar-** ‘to have’ (Ir. **daráya*)
- Log., Kan. **mr-** ‘to die’ (Ir. **mryá-*)

2. Nouns and verbs with secondary stress: this was caused by various phonetic, grammatical and word-formative processes stretching chronologically from the disintegration of Common Iranian and ending with the late Proto-Ormuri period. (The chronology of these processes which have had, amongst others, an effect on stress will be explained below.)

Examples of these nouns are:

a) non-derivatives with noun reflexes with final stress (i.e. falling on the thematic section) originally (or by the Old-Iranian period perceived as such), which only later joined the category of nouns with root stress. See nouns such as:

- Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** ‘red’ (Ir. **suxrá*)
- Log., Kan. **spew** ‘white’ (Ir. **spaitá*)
- Kan. **y^was M** ‘calf’ (Ir. **vatsa*)
- **awas** ‘fox’ (Ir. **raupāsa*) etc.

b) derivatives with non-final and final stress, the type of stress depending on which word-formative model they belong to.⁴⁸ In section 3.1 on noun and adjective stems, see the adjectives and nouns that continue formations in **-kā̃*, the most widely occurring in the modern language, e.g.

⁴⁸ For example, see the many derivative nouns which differ in stress from their source nouns. Sometimes, even without any information on the place of the stress in the source stem, it is possible to deduce it from the principles on stress in a derivation model, see the law of selection of stress ‘by contrast’ formulated by V. A. Dybo (1974:90).

- Log. **zómok**, Kan. **zímak** ‘winter’ (Ir. **zimá + *-ka*)
- Log. **gáka**, Kan. **gáka** ‘meat’ (Ir. **gāwá + *-kā*)
- Kan. **+mrik** ‘slave, captive’ (Ir. **márya + *-ka*)
- Log. **zarka**, Kan. **dzarká** ‘woman’ (Ir. **jāra + *-kā*), etc.

Two different past stems with contrasting stress ought to be mentioned here, traceable historically to verbal nouns with a perfect participle ending in **-ta-ka*. In verbs, words with innovatory accentuation also occur in finite forms with so-called preverbs, later transformed into verbal prefixes, sometimes (but not always) with retraction of the stress from the root or suffix; see, for example,

- Log. **yoš-**, Kan. **y^wař-** G ‘to be afraid’ (Ir. **θráha-* + preverb **vi-*)
- Log. **(w)ost-**, Kan. **(w)ust-** ‘to rise’ (Ir. **stāya-* + preverb **us-*), etc.

2.7 The syllable

True Ormuri words have the following syllabic patterns: V, VC, CV, CCV, (C)VCC, CVC, CCVC, CCVCC. See the following examples which, with a view to brevity, are taken only from Logar:

- **a** ‘this’
- **un/wun** ‘so much’
- **pe** ‘father’
- **gri** ‘mountain’
- **āxt** ‘eight’
- **māx** ‘we’
- **spok** ‘dog’
- **breš** ‘burn!’
- **broxt** ‘burned’
- **wroxt** ‘beard’

At the end of words CC occurs as ‘spirant/sonant + occlusive’. When separating a word into syllables, a medial CC will be divided:

- **al-goř-tok** ‘to fall’
- **kir-ží** ‘hen’
- **er-zák** ‘to come’

Syllabic structure in Kaniguram is as in Logar.

3. Morphology

Ormuri is an inflecting language with some agglutination, in accordance, basically, with the grammatical development of most Iranian languages. It is known that the ancient languages had a highly synthetic morphology with a developed system of noun and verb inflections. Nominal parts of speech (nouns, adjectives and pronouns) distinguished eight cases, three numbers (singular, dual and plural), and three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter). The verb had two voices (active and middle) with different personal endings for each; as well as the meanings of person, number and voice, the personal endings expressed time (in the indicative mood) and mood (in the imperative and injunctive). The variety of synthetic noun and verb inflections in Old-Iranian languages was further complicated by a rich system of stems with different structures which added certain characteristics to noun declensions and verb conjugations. As the Iranian languages, including the Old-Iranian forerunner of Ormuri, continued to develop, nominal and verbal inflections (especially the former) gradually broke down, although to a different extent in each language.

In Ormuri and many other Iranian languages, analytical development prevailed; many inflected grammatical categories, which distinguished various parts of speech in ancient languages, changed significantly and were partly or completely lost. So, in the evolution of the grammatical structure of Ormuri, the following may be noted:

- a) in the nominal system: the elimination of the category of case (total loss in nouns, adjectives and numerals, and significant in the case of pronouns, apart from the 1sg. personal pronoun); loss of the category of gender, different for each dialect (complete loss in Logar, rudimentary masculine and feminine forms remaining in Kaniguram); the category of number reduced to two forms (singular and plural);
- b) in the verbal system: the elimination of previous forms of differentiation of voice, mood and aspect in the present, aorist and perfect stem systems and in some personal endings.

Although it is obvious that some elements of ancient synthesis have collapsed and been destroyed, it still needs to be said that some archaic features of (inflected) Iranian have been retained in Ormuri, which are not narrowly local, purely Ormuri, but which we regard as of interest also in an overall view of Iranian, if the historical-grammatical information they contain is considered.

In the first place the reflexes of some structural and morphological varieties of ancient present stems were not contaminated in the course of later development and were better preserved than in other languages, both western and eastern Iranian. These reflexes were the initial link in establishing the forms of present or present-future indicative and conjunctive tenses in a number of Middle- and Modern-Iranian languages. This morphological characteristic of the verb in Ormuri allows more confidence in postulating that Old Iranian had a system of present stems, similar to that in Sanskrit, with a

distinctive morpheme structure and free stress (contrary to the hypothesis of Meillet and Gauthiot); by taking this archaism into consideration some light is thrown on how an important part of the verbal system of Iranian languages was restructured internally in the early stages of development (post Old Iranian). This has been only vaguely known until now, especially in the area of stress.

In the second place, there are morphological features of the noun in Ormuri which are linked to the retention in Kaniguram of the rudiments of gender and which are connected with Ormuri accentuation – in this case, of the noun; by taking these features into account we can reconstruct the system of nominal stems — although there are more problems in doing this than in the case above — with regard given to their specific structural and morphological characteristics and their stress patterns.

New means developed for expressing grammatical relationships, which were primarily analytical in character instead of categories of inflection which were lost as the language evolved; furthermore, the verb retained a partial and restructured inflectional system to express grammatical meaning. The category of definiteness/indefiniteness is one of the innovative grammatical features which developed after the ancient period.

The parts of speech in Ormuri, as in other languages with a predominantly analytical means of expressing grammatical relations, are distinguished on the basis of both morphological and syntactic criteria. Within the class of words with lexical meaning, nouns and verbs are the two most commonly occurring parts of speech. They contrast sharply in grammatical terms, each having their own set of morphological markers and performing different functions within the sentence (often with various auxiliary means).

The verb in Ormuri has morphological categories of person, number, tense, mood, voice and transitivity/intransitivity; their morphology is expressed through inflected finite forms, along with the use of auxiliaries. Participial and adverbial verb forms in Ormuri are rather weakly developed compared with other Iranian languages.

The verb's principal syntactic function is as a predicate which can take various complements and modifiers. By the character of its verbal system Ormuri belongs to those Iranian languages in which the past tenses of transitive and intransitive verbs conjugate differently; accordingly, the syntax has different types of sentence construction, nominative and ergative. Ergative constructions differ quite markedly in the Ormuri dialects, as is shown by the different forms of the predicate as well as by the different forms of the direct object.

Nominal parts of speech are divided into nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals; adverbs can also be included in this group. They have the categories of number, definiteness/indefiniteness and case, but not all occur to the same extent in all nominal parts of speech.

Nouns have the categories of number and of definiteness. Additionally, in Kaniguram nouns (and adjectives) have the rudiments of gender which is expressed morphologically, although this is inconsistent and has numerous exceptions.

The syntactic relationships of nouns in a sentence — and they can play any role in it, primary or secondary — can be expressed in a number of ways: a) by their place in the sentence; b) by intonation and other prosodic means; c) by combining with prepositions, postpositions and special particles, which can be on their own or in combinations; some of these means of expression occupy a position somewhere between strictly auxiliary words and an agglutinating type of inflecting morpheme ('case').

Syntactical linking of the component parts of attributive combinations is accomplished only by syntactical means: either by putting the attribute before what is qualified, using adjectives (Log. *šer ādam*, Kan. *sir ādam* 'good person'), or by forming a non-adjectival attribute by means of the preposition *tar* (in this case the attribute may be before or after the noun). Another way of linking an attribute of any type is to use an *ezafe*, in which the attribute is placed after what is to be qualified, which in this construction is indicated by the enclitic *ezafe* Log. *-e*, Kan. *-i*. This method is taken from Dari.

In contrast to nouns, adjectives do not have the categories of number and definiteness/indefiniteness. Instead of relational adjectives which are almost completely absent, nouns are used (in combination with prepositions and/or postpositions). The degrees of comparison are expressed periphrastically or, more rarely, with the suffixes *-tar* (comparative) and *-tarin* (superlative), which have been borrowed from Dari. Attributive adjectives always go before what is qualified; the *ezafe* attributive construction which often occurs is borrowed from Dari, as mentioned above.

In their morphology and syntax the pronouns are heterogeneous groups of words, made to correlate with nouns, adjectives, numerals and adverbs, which also serves to determine their functions in a sentence.

Adverbs are differentiated from other nominal parts of speech only by syntax, depending on whether their function in the sentence is adverbial or predicative (the nominal part of the predicate). Morphologically it is often impossible to distinguish them from nouns combined with a preposition and/or postposition, or from adjectives, which are also almost totally invariable, except that occasionally some adverbs take the comparative marker *-tar*.

The numerals are differentiated from other nominal parts of speech on the basis of their semantics. Morphologically they are subdivided into cardinals and ordinals; like the adjectives, the numerals are invariable; when used attributively, they occur before the word they qualify.

The boundaries between different parts of speech are fluid. For nominal categories it is frequently difficult to differentiate between nouns, adjectives and adverbs, especially when the semantics of a word allow it to be used to designate either an object or the characteristics of an object or action. This is facilitated both by the absence of cases for nouns and adjectives (thus causing the line between them and adverbs to be blurred) and by the almost complete absence of relative adjectives, in place of which nouns are used (thus reducing the differences between nouns and adjectives).

The nominal parts of speech and the verb are interlinked, as shown in the use of non-finite verb forms (although, as noted above, only to a small extent in Ormuri) in the function of nouns, and in the very wide use of the noun in verbal word-formation.

Apart from full content words (with lexical meaning) grouped around the verb and noun, there are auxiliary (function) words — prepositions, postpositions, particles and conjunctions — which are important in expressing grammatical relationships, when the characteristics of the Ormuri grammatical structure mentioned earlier are taken into account.

The overlap of content words and function words is shown by the wide-spread use of nouns in auxiliary functions.

3.1 Nominal parts of speech

Noun and adjective stems

The Ormuri system of nominal inflection, especially of nouns and adjectives, has undergone considerable change in comparison to its Old-Iranian ancestor. The category of case and, in Logar, the category of gender, have been lost in the course of this historical change. There are only remnants of grammatical gender in Kaniguram.

In Logar most original Ormuri nouns and adjectives have a simple stem ending in a consonant; a few nouns end in unstressed (or, more rarely, stressed) *-a* or *-i*. In Kaniguram the stem usually ends in a consonant, but both nouns and adjectives may end in *-a* or *-i*. The morphology of these endings is different in each dialect and will be dealt with later.

Another characteristic of noun and adjective stems is their stress pattern. Stress in nouns (as in verbs) can fall on different syllables, final or non-final. Of course, these two types of accentuation can occur only in words of no fewer than two syllables; in the main, only derived nouns and a very limited number of non-derived (disyllabic) nouns are polysyllabic in the modern language. However, as we shall see below, even those nouns that are monosyllabic (which is currently the majority) had a different syllable structure and variable stress in the Old-Iranian dialect that is the forerunner of Ormuri.

Comparison with cognate nouns (with fixed stress) in Sanskrit shows that in a number of non-derived nouns there are clear traces of ancient barytones (having the last syllable unaccented) and oxytones (having an accent on the last syllable), although significantly fewer of the latter. At the same time, comparison with Sanskrit reveals a group of nominal stems in Ormuri with the stress on the root, but with etymons which were evidently oxytones. Retraction of the stress is also to be found in a number of historically derived nouns, which, according to the stress patterns of one or the other derivational model, ought to have the stress one syllable further from the beginning of the word. (For examples of nouns with this type of stress see below.)

These divergences in the accentuation of non-derived and derived words render indispensable a general outline at least of processes in the past that have influenced the modern appearance of the Ormuri noun — especially its ending — and the position of the stress in the word form. We start from the large body of inflectional and word-formative structures among nouns and adjectives, the sources of which can be traced as far back as the Indo-European era.

As we have tried to show in the past (Efimov 1975:7-116), adjectives (including participles) as early as the Old-Iranian period played a substantial role in reorganising nominal inflection on an essentially new basis, particularly in adapting it to the new classification of nouns in three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) that was taking place. These nouns were the result of previous linguistic development of the various structural types (classes). These classes had animate or ‘active’ nouns, with no distinction between masculine and feminine, and inanimate or ‘inactive’ neuter nouns, though the morphological differentiation was slight. They also had adjectives and other adjectival words which were invariable in gender.

While the new system of grammatical gender was taking shape, suffixes with corresponding gender forms began to be used to form the structure of adjectives and participles; this was possible because the feminine gender gradually became associated with adjectival stems ending in **-ā* and **-ī*, and masculine and neuter genders with stems ending in the thematic vowel **-a*. Several gender paradigms of adjectives with different structures and accentuation emerged. Adjectives and participles have influenced gender in the nominal system in two ways:

- (a) within some nominal classes more specific gender features developed;
- (b) within nominal inflection as a whole some classes of nominal stems were distinguished from others on the basis of grammatical gender. (This led to the subsequent differentiation of declensions according to gender.)

Thus, adjectives and participles with the same structure as nouns, which resulted from gender paradigms with various structures being ‘imposed’ on the system of nominal inflection as a whole led to a distinctive ‘gender paradigm’ of a general nominal nature. Both adjectives and nouns either had a strictly defined place in this paradigm, or became archaisms. As will be clear from what follows, the concept of a gender paradigm within the nominal system as a whole has importance for the methodology of investigating the structure of nominal inflection whether synchronically or diachronically, when analysing the evolutionary stages of certain types of noun structure.

Now that we have given this account of nominal gender paradigms, we can return to the question posed earlier about which linguistic processes in late Old Iranian and then in Proto-Ormuri exerted a decisive influence on the morphological formation of modern noun and adjectival nominal stems. We would, however, point out that this actually involves dealing with a whole series of problems, in particular:

- (a) how the thematisation of nouns which began in the Old-Iranian period developed in Proto-Ormuri;

- (b) which case forms have reflexes in the modern noun;
- (c) what phonetic and morphonological processes affecting word endings (including at the junction of stem and inflection) characterised stages of the language preceding the current one.

For Ormuri, the question of the thematisation of nouns with different structures develops into the more general question of what nominal inflection was like and how it developed in the ancestral dialect where the category of gender was firmly established. In this, two points need to be considered:

1) Noun thematisation took place against the “background” of nouns being arranged on the basis of grammatical gender, so it was only one strand of the process of rebuilding nominal paradigms, in this case, the transformation of athematic masculine nouns, and possibly also of a vestigial neuter noun still existing in that period, into nouns with a stem in **-a*. Inevitably the question of what happened to the feminine correlate for these nouns and its structure has arisen.

When searching for an answer to this question, it is important first of all to remember that masculine and neuter stems tend to end in **-a* and feminine in *-ā*, as can clearly be seen in the development of gender even in Old-Iranian languages (especially Old Persian) and in its gradual increase in importance, see Efimov 1975:34-38.

To judge from current information, reflexes of this structural type of nominal classification by gender predominated even in Proto-Ormuri nominal inflections, (though with the qualification that the neuter gender had by that time most probably already been eliminated). Traces in Ormuri of nouns with stems ending in **-ī* were the feminine correlate in Old Iranian in models where the masculine and neuter were usually nouns with athematic stems, but sometimes thematic ones (see Efimov 1975:35-38). These traces show that the final element of these stems lost the function of a marker of the feminine gender and began to be a marker of plurality (in those cases where it was not apocopated); these nouns ending in *-ī* have lost the singular form.⁴⁹

2) Broadly speaking, thematisation of stems has undoubtedly taken place over a fairly long period of time. This could not fail to have an effect on the structural formation of gender correlates, for during this time the language continued to develop. There were various phonetic, morphonological and other processes which affected the whole system of nominal inflection in many ways (with a reduction in cases, number and gender) and also the structure of words, including their final segment (the recomposition of stems and inflections, the change of syllable structure as the result of syncope of internal syllables, apocopation of initial and final syllables, etc.).

⁴⁹ The marker **-ī* ceased to have relevance for grammatical gender, as can be seen from several nouns whose etymons used to end in it, until it was either apocopated (cf. Kan. *wan* ‘one of the wives (of a polygamist)’ < Ir. **hapáθnī*, Log. *mey* ‘sheep’ < Ir. **máišī*) or replaced by the fem. marker **-ā* (see Log. *bú/óma*, Kan. *búm(b)a* ‘earth’ < Ir. **búmā* from Ir. **búmī-*).

Morphonological developments caused more serious structural changes in the designation of gender, which weakened the end of the word. In particular, the number of gender case endings was reduced, though in different ways depending on the noun's type of accentuation (see below). Thus, looking first at the end of the word, at least two stages in the development of gender paradigms of nouns with stems ending in **-a* and **-ā* can be determined: the earlier stage (before the weakening of word endings) and the later stage (after the weakening).⁵⁰ These stages are important for understanding how nouns with different structures with archaic elements (i.e. with features of the former nominal classification), came to be influenced by the gender differentiation of **-a* and **-ā* stems or their reflexes in later stages of linguistic development.

From this we can now move on to consider exactly which Old-Iranian case-form was the source, i.e. the proto-form, from which nouns in the modern language are possibly derived. From analysis of the material we can state that reflexes of nouns with stems in **-a* and **-ā* have the form of the nominative singular as their etymon, from which we can establish that Proto-Ormuri masc. ending **-a* < Ir. **-ah* and fem. **-ā* < Ir. **-ā*.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The weakening of the word ending at this point in time took place in all the Iranian languages, but differently in each. This phenomenon also occurs in other groups of Indo-European languages. It is not our task here to analyse the phonetic and morphonological processes which led to the weakening of word endings in the Iranian languages. We will just note that questions connected with researching the phonetic nature of stress relate at the present time to the least developed languages. (It is significant that not all researchers agree on the phonetics of stress, even for modern Persian and Tajik, see OIJ 1982:92-93). Nevertheless, preparatory to raising the question of what caused this phenomenon, we may adduce the opinion of E. A. Makaev that for a word-ending in Indo-European languages it was particularly important "what type of accentuation we are dealing with: whether musical or dynamic, free or fixed stress" (Makaev 1962:290). In the light of this view the postulate that Old Iranian had a tonic (musical) system of accentuation, which was later replaced by a dynamic one (among other things, making a reduction in post-tonic syllables more likely) might well provide a suitable basis for researching the similar development of word endings in other Iranian languages.

⁵¹ In contrast to the pronouns, in some of which the reflexes of the old genitive can be seen, the genitive case of nouns and adjectives did not leave any perceptible traces in Ormuri, contrary to Morgenstierne's initial assumption. However, he postulates the nom. sg. as the original case form (i.e. the proto-form) for some nouns and adjectives, as well as the gen. sg. masc. ending in **-hya* (IIFL:327). So far as can be deduced now, his uncertainty and doubts arose from insufficient information on the accentuation of past tense verbal stems coming from historic perfect participles in **-taka*. He correctly observed that they may contain a reflex of the stressed or unstressed suffix *-ok* (which he transcribed as *-ōk* and *-uk* respectively; *ibid.* 358-359), but he missed the rules governing their distribution, either because some speakers used variations in stress (the non-Ormuri origin of the main informant may have converted the occasional lapses of stress of a

The two types of accentuation mentioned above for the gender paradigms of nouns with stems in $*-a$ and $*-\bar{a}$ at an early stage of their development, i.e. before the weakening of the word ending, can be represented schematically as

(a) $*-\acute{a}_{m,n} \sim \bar{\acute{a}}_f$ (barytone paradigm) and

(b) $*-\acute{a}_{m,n} \sim *-\acute{\bar{a}}_f$ (oxytone paradigm),

where $*-a$ and $*-\bar{a}$ are the nom. masc. and fem. case endings, respectively, as they were in the late stage of development of the Old-Iranian dialect, the forerunner of Ormuri (the neut. ending $*-am$, if it was still actually present at that time, is also represented here by the symbol $-a$); m , n , and f are masc., neut. and fem. respectively; where the accent is on the hyphen the ending was unstressed.

Later, after the word ending had been weakened, there was a major change in the marking of the gender correlates, different for each of the two types of stress. In barytone nouns the unstressed $*-\acute{a}$ of the masc. (and neut.) form was elided and thus the noun came to resemble a simplex stem with zero marker by analogy with the fem. form; the unstressed $*-\bar{a}$ of the fem. form was shortened, becoming an unstressed $-a$, which is retained in nouns today. In oxytone stems a few nouns have kept the fem. $*-\acute{\bar{a}} > -\acute{a}$ with a reduction in length; but the masc. (and neut.) marker $*-\acute{a}$ in the modern language has usually become \emptyset and only in a few cases (of the type Log. *morgá*, Kan. *mirgá* 'sparrow') has it remained unchanged. In this event the gender of the word changed from neuter or masculine (whichever it was in Old Iranian) to feminine.

native Ormuri into permanent ones, leading to error), or because at that time he did not have available the data on stress in Kaniguram necessary for comparison. Later (Morgenstierne 1958:158, and the second edition IIFL:428), Morgenstierne seems to have renounced his original interpretation of the gen. sg. as the basic form for the reflex in Ormuri, in favour of the nom. sg. Two examples of perfect participles adduced by him in these works lead us to this conclusion: $*hw\acute{r}tako > xwalak$ masc. 'to eat', but $*hw\acute{r}tak\bar{a} > *xwal\bar{a}ka > xw\bar{a}lk$ fem. (see a different interpretation of the ablaut grade of the root in the proto-form in section 2.2, vowels $/\acute{a}/$ and $/\bar{a}/$). The ending $*-a$ for the masc. form (as in Old Persian) appears preferable to his reconstruction of an $*-o$ ending by analogy with Avestan; we come to this conclusion on the basis of the reflex Ir. $*m\acute{r}g\acute{a} >$ Orm. *murgá*, *mirgá* 'sparrow, small bird'. An $-o$ ending instead of $-a$ ($<$ Ir. $*-ah$) is noted only in monosyllabic words of the type Kan. $(h)o$ 'this' $< h\bar{o} <$ Ir. $*hvah$ (or $*hah$?); Log. *kok*, Kan. *ko/uk* 'who' (interrogative pronoun) $< *k\bar{o}-ka(h)$, where $*k\bar{o} < *kah$ from $*ka-$, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *ka-*, Av. *k\bar{o}* – nom. sg. masc.

Morgenstierne also changed his mind over the original proto-form for fem. nouns: sometimes he seemed to be determined to avoid reconstructing the original case form out of caution, preferring to deal with the stem (IIFL:327), while in other cases, especially fem. perfect participles, he refers to the nom. sg. form (though he has to defy logic in postulating different case forms for the masc. and fem. etymons in order not to disturb the basic principles of the law of three morae; *ibid.* 327, 360).

Thus, how the two historical types of accentuation in Ormuri **a-* and **ā-* nouns evolved in expressing differentiation by gender may be represented diagrammatically:⁵²

| | barytone paradigm | oxytone paradigm |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| early stage | $\acute{a}_{m,n}$ $\acute{ā}_f$ | $\acute{a}_{m,n}$ $\acute{ā}_f$ |
| late stage | $\acute{\emptyset}_m$ \acute{a}_f | $\acute{\emptyset}_m$ $\acute{ā}_f$ |

There is no doubt that in the proto-dialect of Ormuri the transition to **-a* and **-ā* classes as in Avestan and Old Persian took place in the main by attaching a suffix or, more rarely, a stem-forming element **-a* or **-ā* immediately to the athematic stem. The fact that these nouns were originally part of another morphological type of fairly clear structure did not prevent this transition, see Efimov 1975:37-38.

It would, however, be an oversimplification to suppose that all stems of different structures were turned into thematic ones (in the above-mentioned sense) without exception. No doubt the stems of a significant number of nouns, especially at the early stage, were not thematised, but kept their earlier structural appearance. However, as case endings continued to disintegrate and grammatical differentiation, including that of gender, was gradually reduced, it is probable that conditions were favourable fairly early on for these nouns to approximate to and be assimilated into the thematic ones.

⁵² The reflexes of barytones and oxytones are slightly different in Pashto, in which the nominal inflections of some nouns are better preserved, though altered. There is a greater 'depth' to the paradigm, especially for the reflexes of oxytones, to include forms of the direct nom. pl. and obl. sg. and pl. (Efimov 1975:59-62). The reflex of barytone nouns is the same here as in Ormuri, with the masc. inflections completely eliminated and the unstressed fem. inflections retained. The reflex of oxytone nouns is of great interest; as the nominal paradigm evolved in Pashto, it seems a way out of the deadlock connected with the weakening of the word ending was 'found': it was not only when the gender changed that the shift of Ir. **-ā́* > Pashto *-ā́* fem. was accompanied by the elision of Ir. **-ā́* masc. or its retention, as happened in Ormuri. When 'svarita' appeared — a qualitatively new type of stress (in which merged, however, not only the reflexes of Ir. **-ā́*, but those of other stressed final short vowels too, and also, possibly, of **ī*; Dybo 1974:71, 89) — the vocabulary could be retained to a greater extent, including reflexes of former oxytones. (On word stress in modern Pashto see Dvoryankov 1960:16-17; Asmati 1969.)

Also of interest is the occurrence of nouns with non-final and final stress in Avromani and the southern Tati dialects (MacKenzie 1966; Yarshater 1964; see also Efimov 1975:82-84). However, until there are studies in the history and etymology of stress in these languages, they cannot with confidence be identified with the reflexes of ancient barytones and oxytones nor, if this hypothesis should be confirmed, can it be determined how regularly this reflex occurs.

Avestan and Old-Persian material shows that as early as the Old-Iranian period the nom. sg. of some athematic nouns differed little in its ending from that of nouns with stems in **-a* and **-ā* because of changes from sandhi, some of which can be traced to the Aryan period.

For example, noun groups with stems ending in the resonants **r* and **n* had an apocopated nom., i.e. without the consonantal resonants, which led to the present reflexes of these nouns (see nouns of the type Log. *pe*, Kan. *p(i)yé* ‘father’, Log. *māwa*, Kan. *māwa* ‘mother’, Log. *tsími*, Kan. *tsam* ‘eye’, Log. *pōm* M ‘wool’ etc.); there is no need to mention here nouns with stems in **-ah*, in which the pharyngeal **h* weakened very early on or was elided.

In a whole range of athematic nouns the change to thematic ones was based on the acc. sg., where the vowel **a* in the ending **am* became regarded as thematic and the word changed to a thematic type of declension. In a few instances other case endings with the vowel **a* or **ā* could probably also have been the initial form.⁵³

At the late stage, with elision of case endings and a ‘reduction’ in grammatical differentiation, including that of gender, these nouns of archaic structure were isolated groups of gender models (because others were lost) which at one time existed in the language. They were able to be assimilated to the masc. nouns, provided the lexical meaning allowed; both the zero marker of masc. nouns and the ending of nouns with other structures, which had become superfluous in the $-\emptyset \sim -a$ paradigm (except for words ending in *-a*), contributed to a redistribution of nouns like this according to their places in the gender paradigm.⁵⁴

⁵³ See the reconstruction of a few nouns cited below. Thematisation of stems took place in the same way when the conjugation of verbs was reformed: athematic present stems changed to thematic ones with the 3pl. form having the ending **-anti*, to which **a* was added (see section 3.2).

⁵⁴ It is quite possible that modern nouns with a zero marker include reflexes of former athematic fem. nouns which have not been converted into **ā*-stems but which at the same time have retained their traditional gender meaning. This may be seen, for example, in some animate substantives (see below Kan. *wan* ‘one of the wives’), which is feminine because of the subject matter. However, to judge by the list of fem. substantives with a zero marker drawn up by Grierson (Grierson 1921:130), those nouns with no grammatical gender expressed morphologically are mostly loan words from Pashto and Dari, as well as a few of obscure etymology, rather than native Ormuri words. The fem. gender of some substantives with inanimate meaning, not having the marker *-a*, is probably secondary and occurred because the word in question joined a thematic series in which the gender of new entries is determined, not by a formal sign, but by the gender of a key word in that series (cf. a similar phenomenon in the languages of the Shughnano-Pamiri group; Karamšoev 1978:209 ff.). It is possible that in odd cases the grammatical gender

This in turn could have been accompanied by the reinterpretation of nouns according to their gender (bearing in mind the restrictions mentioned above), because weakening the marker was hardly conducive to retaining the traditional gender of a noun; see for example: Log. *morgá*, Kan. *mirgá* ‘sparrow’ (masc./neut. → fem.), and Log. *daská* ‘woollen thread’, where the grammatical gender of the etymon is masculine or neuter.

As we can see, by the later stage it is no longer a question of thematisation as such (i.e. developing **-a* and **-ā* stems), as the masc. correlate loses its thematic element, but of nouns with different structures long ago changing into the $-\emptyset$ masc. ~ *-a* fem. paradigm which naturally continued the distinction from ancient times between nouns with stems in **-a* and those in **-ā*.

We have already mentioned that reorganising the structure of the nominal paradigm, which had already begun in the Old-Iranian period,⁵⁵ led to the dominance of nouns with stems in **-a* and **-ā* in the system of nominal inflection by the end of this period, before the various Iranian languages separated, or rather their groups and subgroups. But unification of the nominal declension did not stop there: it continued in the ancestral dialect of Ormuri and in Proto-Ormuri in the area of regularising stress.

From a structural and morphological point of view weakening the word ending could not fail to change the morphology itself of gender differentiation of nouns with stems in **-a* and **-ā* and of their later reflexes. The fact that Ormuri, unlike Pashto, had not developed its own ‘svarita’, i.e. marker of the masc. correlate of the oxytone paradigm, was an important structural and morphological reason why this type of noun differentiation was curtailed. Probably not the last role in this process was played by adjectives structurally of the same type as nouns; even if the model $-\emptyset$ masc. ~ *-á* fem. is fully possible for nouns which do not have inflections determined by gender, a model with a zero marker

of a substantive becomes established in the consciousness of the speaker by analogy with the gender of the corresponding word in Pashto.

⁵⁵ The key stages in the reorganisation of the nominal inflection, beginning from earliest times up to the present state of the language, may be summarised as follows: (1) within the original twofold classification of nouns into animate or inanimate there were classes of nominal stems with different structures and meanings undifferentiated by grammatical gender; (2) a threefold classification of nouns by grammatical gender developed as a result of the differentiation of nominal stems: endings in **-ā* and **-ī* (mostly part of particular suffixes) which give a fem. meaning, and the remaining stems for a masc. or neut. meaning; several types of declension (based on stems of diverse structures) have been formed, which, however, are related grammatically to one another by gender because of the uniform structure of the stems of nouns and adjectives, which also makes possible a structural correlation of nouns (of various genders) with clear gender forms of adjectives, making a single gender paradigm; (3) nominal stems were unified into the paradigm ‘ $a_{m,n} - \bar{a}_f$ ’ which later became ‘ $-\emptyset_m - a_f$ ’; (4) nouns ceased to be differentiated by grammatical gender and most became stems with zero marker.

on the masc. correlate in distinction to a stressed *-á* fem. was impossible for adjectives with the model $-\emptyset$ masc. \sim *-a* fem. as the norm.⁵⁶ Clearly there was an impact through analogy here: adjectives which began as oxytones became barytones, and in turn strongly influenced the same type of oxytone nouns.

A variation of this paradigm, which is in Proto-Ormuri and partially in Kaniguram ($-\emptyset$ masc. \sim unstressed *-a* fem.), reflected the considerable typological shifts that took place in noun inflection as the language evolved: the noun lost the category of case and the retained morphological markers (*-a* in the sg. and *-i* in the pl.) were no longer case inflections but became suffixes of a different sort with grammatical meaning (of gender and number respectively).

From this interpretation of several earlier linguistic processes affecting noun inflection we believe we can state to some extent what factors shaped the modern noun, especially its ending, and what influenced its accentuation in many respects, which, as noted, sometimes was allowed to deviate from that of its etymon.

In studies of a similar nature historical analysis of noun stems assumes above all that there is a precise structural type (membership of a class) of Old-Iranian stem from which the modern noun is derived. In this case analysis is somewhat complicated, as we must take into account also the accentuation of the noun and its etymon. Before looking at the reflexes of different types of ancient stems, we will first adduce examples of modern nouns with variable stress.

In Kaniguram the influence of stress in forming paradigms, by which we mean how nouns of uniform structure came to belong to gender paradigms with differing stress patterns (in the sense indicated above), is seen in nouns such as: (1) fem. nouns in *-a*; (2) fem. nouns in *-ka*; (3) masc. nouns in *-k*; (4) masc. adjectives which are reflexes of historical perf. participles in **-ta-ka*, **-va-ka* or middle participles in **-ana*;⁵⁷ in the modern language they appear mainly as verbal past stems or, more rarely, as adjectives (usually substantivised). These types of noun with contrasting accentuation exist in Logar, but with no differentiation of nouns by gender at all. The following nouns are examples:⁵⁸

⁵⁶ It is significant that this is not permissible in Pashto either: although there is no *svarita* in the direct sg. case in adjectives such as *sur* 'red' (Efimov 1975:59-60) it is present in other forms. However, the fact that there was a group of words like these is a strong indication: this is probably the start of that process of reduction of the structural model of oxytone nouns which had already been completed in Ormuri (where only the rudiments of oxytone substantives have been preserved).

⁵⁷ As a result of syncope of the vowel before the stress, the fem. forms of this type have become monosyllabic.

⁵⁸ See below for how nouns with non-final and final stress relate to historical barytones and oxytones.

| Non-final stress | Final stress |
|--|---|
| Fem. nouns in <i>-a</i> : | |
| Log. <i>dúwa</i> , Kan. <i>dúwa</i> ‘daughter’ Kan. <i>rāra</i> ‘niece’ Kan. <i>yāspa</i> ‘mare’ Log. <i>bóma</i> , Kan. <i>búm(b)a</i> ‘earth’ Kan. <i>*dyúra</i> ‘firewood, brushwood’ Log. <i>sála</i> , Kan. <i>sála</i> ‘cold’ | Log. <i>morgá</i> , Kan. <i>mirgá</i> ‘sparrow’ |
| Fem nouns in <i>-ka</i> : | |
| Log. <i>gáka</i> , Kan. <i>gāka</i> ‘butter’ Log. <i>syáka</i> , Kan. <i>syāka</i> ‘shadow’ Kan. <i>xāka</i> ‘source’ | Log. <i>zarká</i> , Kan. <i>z/dzarká</i> ‘woman’ Log. <i>daská</i> ‘woollen thread (twisted together from ten threads)’ |
| Masc. nouns in <i>-k</i> : | |
| Log. <i>gálak</i> M, Kan. <i>gílak</i> ‘rat’ Log. <i>sónok</i> ‘breast’ Kan. <i>túsak</i> ‘the iliac region’ Log. <i>zómok</i> , Kan. <i>zímak</i> ‘winter’ | Log. <i>stešák</i> ‘star’ Kan. <i>jikák</i> ‘place’ Log., Kan. <i>pikák</i> ‘thick sour milk’ |
| Reflexes of masc. adjectives: | |
| a) <i>*-ta-ka</i> | |
| Log. <i>góstok</i> , Kan. <i>gástak</i> ‘to carry’ Log. <i>wótok</i> , Kan. <i>hátak</i> ‘to leave’ Log. <i>xólok</i> , Kan. <i>x^walak</i> ‘to eat’ | Log. <i>banók</i> , Kan. <i>ban^yék</i> ⁵⁹ ‘to throw’ Log. <i>galók</i> , Kan. <i>gal^yék</i> ‘to bind’ |
| b) <i>*-ana-ka</i> | |
| Log. <i>drónok</i> , <i>dórnok</i> , Kan. <i>drának</i> ‘to have’ Log. <i>xrónok</i> , Kan. <i>xrának</i> , ‘hungry’ Log. <i>trónok</i> , Kan. <i>trénak</i> M ‘thirsty’ | |
| c) <i>*-va-ka</i> | |
| Log. <i>póxok</i> ‘cooked’, Kan. <i>paxak</i> ‘ripe’ | |

On further exposition the material falls into groups originating from the basic structural features of Old-Iranian nominal stems, whose reflexes can be seen in the modern language. So we can distinguish thematic stems (in the above-mentioned sense, i.e. with

⁵⁹ Words like this formed from pres. stems with root stress (+ suffix **-ka*) (so-called weak verbs) may be derived from historical barytones. Those formed from the perfect participles of causative verbs (*banók* < **banīta* + **-ka*), however, are reflexes of oxytones.

regard both to stems ending in **-a* and to the stems correlating by gender and ending in **-ā*) and athematic stems. The former comprise:

1. Stems in **-a* (further divided into non-derived and derived⁶⁰);
2. Stems in **-ā* (subdivided into stems with stem-forming **-ā* and those with the suffix **-kā*);

The latter comprise resonant stems, consonant stems and stems in **-ī*. Within these structural types, stems are differentiated (as far as possible) according to the stress in the proto-form and its reflex in the modern noun.

⁶⁰ The concept of derived/non-derived types is of limited application when dealing with native Ormuri vocabulary. When looked at synchronically, the overwhelming majority of modern nouns (except, perhaps, nouns in *-k*, and *-ak*) are non-derived or have affixes that can only be distinguished etymologically. The terms ‘derived’ and ‘non-derived’ are used here for methodological purposes and the following should be understood: (1) non-derived nouns are those which may be regarded as such even in the Old-Iranian period (root stems and stems in which the stem-forming elements or prefixes had accreted with the root); (2) derived nouns are those which have an historical etymology, starting from Old-Iranian in which the word-forming affixes are clearly distinguishable to some extent.

We would note that the accentuation of historically derived nouns which clearly correlate with the accentuation of the derived stem varies according to the word-forming model.

Thematic stems

1. Old-Iranian stems in *-a

1.1 Non-derived nouns

1) Barytone nouns. Nouns:

- Log. **angóxt**, Kan. **°ngušt** ‘finger’ < Ir. **angúšta*
- Log. **yoš**, Kan. **yoř** ‘snow’ < Ir. **váfra*
- Log., Kan. **goy** ‘ear’
< Ir. **gáuša*
- Log. **ganóm**, Kan. **gunúm** ‘wheat’ < Ir. **gantúma-*
- Kan. **dāř** ‘sickle’
< Ir. **dāθram*

Adjectives (masc.):

- Log. **wuk**, Kan. **wyok** ‘dry’
< Ir. **húška*
- Log. **now**, Kan. **nyow** ‘new’ < Ir. **náva*
- Log., Kan. **boy** ‘close by, near’ < Ir. **upāya*

2) Secondary barytone nouns. Nouns:

- Kan. **meř** ‘sun’
< Ir. **miθrá*
- Log. **yos^o** (in *yoskák*), Kan. **+y^was/ts** ‘calf’
< Ir. **vatsá*
- Log. **dri** sg. and pl., Kan. **dra** sg. ‘hair’
< Ir. **dravá* from Ir. **drav-*
- Kan. **pat** ‘upper part of the back’ < Ir. **parštá*
- Log. **yew^r**, Kan. **+áb^r** (M *ábar*) ‘cloud’ < Ir. **abrám*
- Kan. **rawás** M ‘fox’
< Ir. **raupāsá*

Adjectives:

- Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** ‘red’
< Ir. *suxrá*
- Log. **spew**, Kan. **spe/iw** ‘white’ < Ir. **spaitá*
- Log. **šer**, Kan. **sir(r)** ‘good, kind’ < Ir. **srīrá*
- Kan. **noř** ‘soft’
< Ir. **namrá* from **nam-* ‘to bend, to yield’

3) Nouns with final stress:

- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirgá** (fem. in Kan.) ‘sparrow’
< Ir. **mrgá* or **mrgám* (with change of gender)

1.2 Derived nouns

Stems in **-ka*:

Nouns with this suffix, and with the corresponding feminine **-kā*, (see below) are the most numerous group of derived nouns in Ormuri, which includes nouns and adjectives formed from both nominal and verbal stems (including nominal stems of verbal origin: gerunds and nomina actionis and agentis) and past stems, which are reflexes of ancient participles. Derived adjectives, including participles, often become nouns.

The stress for nouns with this suffix follows the rule called selection ‘by contrast’, which was already operating in the Indo-Iranian period: derivatives of oxytone productive nouns are stressed on the root (type A), but those from barytone productive nouns have the stress on the stem-forming segment (type B). This contrast in stress for stems with the *-ka* suffix seems to have occurred most widely in early Proto-Ormuri. Later on, this rule operated less widely owing to the principles on word endings noted above and the advancement of the **-a ~ *-ā* paradigm with non-final stress. This is evident particularly in the significant reduction of the number of derivatives with stress on the suffix; as with **-a* stem non-derived nouns considered above, the reflexes of these formations in the overwhelming majority of cases in modern Ormuri (see above for exceptions) clearly display stress retraction onto the preceding syllable. Therefore, these nouns, with etyma derived from different types of stress have now basically lost any formal difference between them. For example:

1) Nominals with non-final stress (type A). Nouns and adjectives:

- Log. **zómok**, Kan. **zimak** ‘winter’
< Ir. **zimá* + **-ka*
- Log. **gólak** M, Kan. **gílak** M ‘rat’
< Ir. *gřdaka* from Ir. *gřd-* ‘to solicit, to desire’ + **-ka*
- Kan. **túsak** M ‘iliac cavity’, **tusk** G ‘empty’ (with syncope of the post-stress vowel)
< Ir. **tusá-* pres. inchoative stem from **tus-*
- Log. **sónok**, **sínak** ‘breast, udder’
< Ir. **siná-* + **-ka*
- Kan. **naxk** (pl. *náxči*; Log. sg. and pl. *néxči*) ‘finger-nail’
< Ir. **naxá* + **-ka*

See also *γosk^o* in Log. *γoskák* ‘calf’: if one allows a two-stage derivation of this word to be possible, then:

- a) Ir. **vatsá* + **-ka* > Orm. **γ^wás(a)k*, cf. Kan. *+γ^was*, *γwats*, and
- b) **γ^was(a)k* + *-ak* etc.

See also, in section 3.2, past stems which in origin are historically perfect participles in **-ta*, more rarely **-va*, and middle participles in **-ana*, compounded with the secondary suffix **-ka*; from these types of formation which still have a nominal significance in the present time we note the following:

- Log. **xrónok**, Kan. **†xurának**, **†xrának** (M *xʷrának*, *xrának*) ‘hungry’
< Ir. **xʷraná* + **-ka* mid. part. from **xʷar-* ‘to eat, to take food’
- Log. **trónok**, Kan. **trónak** M ‘experiencing thirst, thirsty’

2) Oxytone nouns (type B with stress retraction onto the previous syllable). In the odd case where the stress was retained on the thematic vowel, the word also changed in gender, i.e. it changed to a noun of the feminine gender (see the analogous change in gender in the non-derivative noun *morgá/mirgá*). A similar example is also recorded for derivative nouns in **-ka*:

- Log. **daská** ‘woollen thread (twisted from ten threads)’ (lit. ‘a group of ten’), according to its form it is fem.
< Ir. **dása* + **-ka*

Certain nouns, with a proto-form stressed on the suffix, are monosyllables in the modern language, although it is not impossible that even in the recent past they could have retained at least a disyllabic structure (as in the case above with *tusk*, *túsak*). See:

- Kan. **†mrik** (*mrik/g* G) ‘slave’
< Ir. **márya* + **-ka* (> **marík* > **mrik*)

Two more cases of derivations with suffix **-ka* merit special consideration:

- a) when the productive words were monosyllabic, and
- b) when **-ka* was part of a compound suffix.

With regard to nouns of the first group, which are monosyllables in the modern language, there are difficulties determining the stress of the derivation at the proto-form stage: was the accent retained on the productive stem, or did the reflex in the modern language result from stress retraction onto the productive part when the word ending was weakened? Here are two examples of this:

- Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’
< Ir. **spáka* from **span-*
- Log. **°spēk** M, Kan. **ispēk** M, G ‘barley’
< **spái-ka* or **spai-ká* (the lack of documented facts makes it impossible to answer the question of where the proto-form carried the stress)

A lack of documentary material also affects the examination of derived nouns formed by means of combined suffixes and the final component **-ka*. Difficulties arise when dealing with the obvious question of whether the derivation occurred in stages (and, if so, what was the stress at each stage) or whether the derivation consisted of a productive stem compounded with a complex suffix (and, if so, whether the principle of contrasts was retained when the stress was differentiated). The following examples of nouns with the reduplicated suffix *-k-ak*, the second element of which always takes the stress and

undoubtedly is of later origin, would seem to support the operation of selection by contrast within the initial segment of the word as far as the final component *-ak*. See for example:

a) type A:

- **yosk^o** (in Log. *yoskák* ‘calf’)
from **yósak^o* < Ir. **vatsá* + **-ka* (although the word is not attested in this form in Ormuri, its existence in the past, possibly the recent past, can certainly be postulated if one relies on data from the Balochi language, which has the lexeme *gvask* id., cf. Geiger 1891:424; 1890:22, identical with the Ormuri one according to the type of word-forming model and nature of syncopated post-stress vowel)

b) type B:

- **pik^o** (in Log., Kan. *pikák* ‘buttermilk’)
< Ir. **páya* nom. sg. of **páyah-* neut. ‘milk’ + *-ak*

The various stages of the derivation may be traced back also in *stešák* (< **stežák*) (as recorded by us in Logar) or *stešáy* (the Pashto-ised form of the same word) ‘star’, where the initial segment *stež^o* < **stā-čī* from Ir. **star-* masc. ‘star’ + **-čī* or **-ča* which had produced umlaut of the root vowel (the productive word is monosyllabic, as are the examples already mentioned, so it is impossible to state definitely where the stress was in the derivation, although from Parachi *estéč* it would seem that it was on the root), second stage:

**stéži* or **stéža* + *-ak* (= Pashto *-əy* → Orm. *-ey*)

Finally, we would mention two more derived nouns with a combined suffix, where **-ka* is the second component. Their stress can be established by the reflex of the historical vowels:

- Kan. **+zanřák**, (G *zānřak*, *zanžak* Grierson 1918:83; 1921:324) ‘knee’ (where the suffix **-θra-ka* < **-tra-ka* is postulated (Grierson 1918:83), probably as a single complex)
< Ir. **zānu(š)* - nom. sg. from **zānu-* neut. or masc. + **-θra-ka* (> **zānuθraká*, accent type B)
- Kan. **+yānak** (G *yānak*, M *yāñk*, *yāñk*) ‘ashes, cinders’, where the suffix **-na-ka* is possible, with a two-stage derivation:
 - a) Ir. **āha* + **-na* > **āhaná* (with a stress shift, despite word-forming *vṛddhi* in the productive word) and
 - b) **āh(a)-ná* + **-ka* > **yānak* (with prothesis as in *yāsp* ‘horse’)

Other thematic suffixes:

Since there are only isolated examples in Ormuri of reflexes of derived nouns with other suffixes, including thematic ones, we have a less than complete picture of the overall processes of word-formation and particularly of the correlation of stress in productive and derived nouns. We will adduce some formations with the following suffixes:

1) The suffix **-ya* (> Orm. *-í*, *í* and *íØ*). Derivations with this suffix are nouns and adjectives, formed either from verbal stems (which often have the same form as verbal nouns and nomina agentis/adjectives derived from verbs), or from nouns. The reflexes found in Ormuri are usually derived from verbs with final stress (as opposed to the root stress of the stem from which they are derived):

- Log. **mezi** (M *mizí*, in our materials *mesyá*), Kan. **miži** M ‘urine’
< Ir. **máiza-*, pres. stem (Class I) from **maiz-* + **-ya*
- Log. **xaní**, Kan. **xaní** (M *xanī*, sg. *xan* G, clearly incorrect) ‘laughter’
from Ir. **xánda-*, pres. stem (Class I) from **xan-*, *xand-* + **-ya*
- Log., Kan. **zari** ‘small’ from Ir. **zāra* ‘weakening, weak’ (verbal adj. from **zar-*, as also Log., Kan. *dz/zarká* ‘woman’, see below).

The de-nominal formations which also have final stress as opposed to the initial stress of the words from which they are derived include, for example:

- Log. **zlé**, **zli**, Kan. **zli** ‘heart’
< **zřdíya* from Ir. **zřd-* ‘heart’ + **-ya*

Unstressed **-ya* > Orm. *-Ø*:

- Kan. **iz** M ‘water-skin, wineskin’
< **ízya* from Ir. **iz-* or **íza-*
- Kan. **yíři** (M *yīři* with no indication of stress) pl. ‘innards, guts’
< Ir. **ānθrá* + **-ya* (with a prothesis) (*-i* < **ya* in an unstressed position was not elided, because it was the same as pl. marker *-i*)
- Kan. **rāri** ‘nephew, brother’s son’
< Ir. **brāθryya* or Ir. **brāθryyá* (Dybo 1974:83) (with a stress-shift on the analogy of *máli*, *máli* ‘husband’ < Ir. **mártā*)

2) The suffix **-ana*:

- Log. **skan** ‘dung (of cattle)’
< *sakána* < **sakaná* from Ir. **sáka* neut. ‘dung’ the concrete noun from **sak-* + **-ana*

It is possible that the suffix **-ana* (or **-āna*, cf. Whitney 1879:445) occurs in Log. *rízan*, Kan. *rízən* M, *rīdzan* G ‘polished rice’, from Ir. **vrījī-*, Skt. *vrīhí-*.

2. Old-Iranian stems in **-ā*

2.1 Feminine nouns in **-ā*

1) Barytone stems:

- Kan. **yášpa** ‘mare’
< Ir. **áspā* (Log. *yásp*, Kan. *yāsp* masc. ‘horse, steed’ is from the fem. form; the expected masc. form would have been: **ášpa* > Orm. **(y)asp* or **yesp*)
- Log. **bó/úma**, Kan. **búmba**
< Ir. **būmā* (with a transition from the **-ī* to the **-ā* class)

- Kan. ***dyúra** (G *dyūr^a* fem.) ‘brushwood, firewood’
< Ir. *dāru-* neut. ‘tree, wood’
- Log. **tówa**, Kan. **tōwə**, *tōwə* M, *tūwā* ‘sun, sunshine’
< Ir. **tāpā* fem. verbal noun from **tap-* ‘to heat’
- Log. **sála**, Kan. ***sāla** (G *sāl^a* fem.) ‘cold (noun)’
< Ir. **sáltā*, a substantivised fem. form from **sálta-*

2) It is possible that reflexes of fem. oxytone stems in **-ā* may include:

- Log. **šo**, Kan. **šyo/u**, G *šīw*, M *šyōu*, *šīo* ‘night’
< Ir. **xšpā*

Fem. reflexes in **-ā* in non-productive adjectives corresponding to masc. forms in $-\emptyset$ < Ir. **-a* (including those oxytones which have become barytones, see below) end in unstressed *-a*; significantly, judging by the reflexes of the historical vowels, they are sometimes a continuation of the masc. forms, i.e. they were a result of generalisation by analogy: see Kan. *wyóka* (for **wáka*) and *súra* (for *sára*) – fem. forms from *wyok* ‘dry’ (Ir. **húška-*) and *suř* ‘red’ (Ir. *suxrā-*) respectively.

2.2 Feminine derived nouns in **-kā*

This suffix is usually (but not always) represented by the reflex *-ka*⁶¹ on nouns and the reflex *-k* on adjectives and participles.⁶² Examples of nouns with stress determined by the rule of ‘selection by contrast’, as well as of derivative nouns formed from monosyllabic productive stems are:

1) Barytone nouns (type A):

- Log. **syáka**, Kan. **syáka** ‘shadow’
< Ir. **sāyā* fem. + **-kā* (> **sāyākā* with stress-shift and metathesis of **y*)
- Log., Kan. **dúka** ‘girl’
< **duxtā* (based on the nom. sg. of Ir. **duxtar-* fem.) + **-kā*
- Kan. **xáka** ‘well, spring’
< **xā* (on the basis of nom. or acc. pl. of Ir. **xan-*) + **-kā*
- Log. **gáka**, Kan. **gáka** ‘meat’
< **gā* (on the basis of the acc. sg. of Ir. **gav-* : *gau-*) + **-kā*

2) Oxytone nouns (type B):

⁶¹ See the various fem. and masc. nouns in *-ka* in the southern Tat dialects (Yarshater 1969:69ff.).

⁶² The loss of final **-ā* by fem. past stems, which are reflexes of perfect participles in **-tā-kā*, was apparently caused by assimilation to the masc. form, because the verbal sense was reinforced by the suffix ending in *-k*. As opposed to the masc. forms, the vowels of the fem. forms were subject to a-umlaut, which in many, not all, cases contributed to their formal divergence.

- Log. **zarká**, M *zarkā/ī*, Kan. **dzarká**, G *z/dzark^a* ‘woman’
< Ir. **zāra*, verbal adj. from **zar-* ‘to grow old, to weaken’ + the diminutive suffix **-kā* fem. from **-ka* (with subsequent weakening to *-ká*)

At this point we would also mention:

- Log. **wok**, Kan. **wak** fem. ‘water’
< **āpa* + **-kā* (**āpakā* > Orm. *a-wák*)

Athematic stems

The reflexes of these nouns include historical stems in a resonant, a consonant or **-ī*, both non-derived and, often, derived.

Stems in a resonant

1) **i*-stems:

- Log. **ǰusp** M (from **ǰ^wast*), Kan. **dzwast**, M *zbast*, *ǰbasp* ‘handspan’
< Ir. *vításti(š)*
- Log. **giri**, **gri**, Kan. **gri** masc. ‘mountain’
< Ir. **ga/iráya(h)*, nom. pl. of **gari-* : *garay-* masc.

2) **u*-stems:

- Kan. **dyura** ‘brushwood, firewood’
< Ir. **dāru(š)*
- Kan. **hēntsčī** G ‘tears’, M **yěscak**, pl. *yěsčī* ‘tear’
where *hēntsč^o*, *yěsts^o* < Ir. **ásru* + **-ka*
- Log. **zenáq**, Kan. **zēnī** G fem., M *zániē* ‘chin’
where *zēnī* < Ir. **zānu(š)*

3) **r*-stems. Kinship terms in **-tar* are usually reflexes of nom. sg. forms (without **r*) with root stress, which in some cases is at variance with Sanskrit, where there is oxytone stress, but which corresponds to the barytone stress in the Latin, Celtic and Balto-Slavonic languages:⁶³

- Log. **máwa**, Kan. **máwa** fem. ‘mother’
< Ir. **mátā*, nom. sg. of **matár* fem.
- Log., Kan. **dúwa** fem. ‘daughter’
< Ir. **dúxtā* nom. sg. of **duxtár-* fem.

⁶³ See Dybo 1974:85-87, where the author regards these cases as deviations from original oxytone stress; see especially Dybo 1961:18-19 on this feature. In Ormuri it is found in words such as *máwa* ‘mother’, *dúwa* ‘daughter’, which continue the form of the nom. sg. with initial stress, probably in contrast to the oxytone forms of the oblique cases, cf. Efimov 1985:50, as, for example, in Classical Greek (μήτηρ - μητρός, θυγάτηρ - θυγατρός) (Dvoreckij 1958:798, 1094). Pokorny attributes the barytone accentuation of the word ‘mother’ to the influence of θυγάτηρ (IEW:700).

- Kan. **dza** M ‘wife of husband’s brother’
< **yáha* < Ir. **yáta* from **yátar-* fem.

There are possible traces of oxytones in:

- Log. **pe**, M *pē*, *pyē*, Kan. **pié**, *pye*, G and M *piē* ‘father’
< Ir. *pitā* from **pitár-* masc.
- Kan. **zum** M ‘brother-in-law’
< **zām* < Ir. **zāma*, nom. sg. of **zāma-*, with the broadening of **-tar* on the model of terms of family relationships, *zāmātar-* masc. ‘son in law, daughter’s husband’

Nouns in *-r* which are not kinship terms are:

- Log., Kan. **bar** ‘door’
< Ir. *dvāra* ‘door, gate’
- Kan. **dzař** M ‘liver’
< Ir. *yāxr*; nom. sg. of *yākar-* neut.

A stem in *-r* is found in productive stems of the word for ‘star’:

- Log. **stešak** (**stā-čī* + **-ak*) and Kan. *starrak*, *stirrak* M
(+ *star*^o < **staram* from **stār-*) ‘star’

4) **n*-stems:

- Log. **tsími** sg. and pl., Kan. **tsom** (pl. *tsámi*) ‘eye’
where *č/tsom* < Ir. **čašma*, acc. sg. of *čašman-* neut.⁶⁴
- Log., Kan. **pōm** M
< Ir. *pášma*, nom. sg. of **pášman-*

There are also traces of stems in **-n* in

- Log. **injān**, Kan. **indz/zān** ‘the day before yesterday’
< Ir. **anyai* + **čit* + **asne*, lit. ‘on the next day’
- Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak**
< **span-* + **-ka*

Stems ending in a consonant

Root stems:

- Log. **māy**, Kan. **māy** ‘month’
< **māha(m)*, acc. sg. from **māh-*
- Log. **spuy**, Kan. **spūi** M fem. ‘louse’
< Ir. **spiš*, nom. and acc. sg. of **spiš-* neut.
- Log. ^o**sol**, Kan. ^o**sal** (B *asol*, *asal* ‘in this year’)
< Ir. **sárdam*, acc. sg. of Ir. **sard-* fem.

⁶⁴ Neuter nouns in *-man* are usually barytone, cf. Whitney 1879:414-415.

- Log. **zle**, Kan. **zli** ‘heart’
from **zrd-* neut. + **-ya*, see stems in **-ya*
- Log. **wok**, Kan. **wak** ‘water’
from **āp-* fem. + **-ka*, see stems in **-ka*

Stems in **-ah*:

- Log. **°rož** (in *nimrož* ‘midday’), Kan. **ryoz** fem. ‘day’
< Ir. **rauča(h)*, nom. and acc. of **raučah-* neut.
- Log., Kan. **sar** ‘head’
< Ir. **sara(h)*, nom. sg. of **sarah* neut.
- Kan. **dzāk** G ‘place’
< Ir. **vyāka-* or **vyākah-*

Stems in **-yah* (comp. adj.):

- Log. **kem** ‘a little’
< Ir. **kambyā(h)*, nom. sg. of **kamná-*
- Log. **nezdek** ‘near’
where *nezd°* is < Ir. *nazdyā(h)* from *nazdyah-*
- Log. **°beg**, Kan. **°bež** (in *pa-bég/ža* ‘upwards, above’)
< Ir. **barzyā(h)* from **barzyah-*

Stems ending in **-ī*

Nouns in **-ī* (barytones):

- Kan. **wan** ‘one of the wives (in polygamy)’
< Ir. **hapáθnī*
- Log. **mey**, M *mēi*, Kan. **maī** G, M, *mai* M ‘ewe’
< Ir. **máišī*
- Kan. **míši** ‘fly, flies’
< Ir. **máxšī*
- Log. **beš**, Kan. **bēs**, *bēs* M ‘rope’
probably from **baš/s* + pl. marker *-i*
- Log. **bóma**, Kan. **búm(b)a** ‘earth’
from Ir. **būmī-*

Nouns in **-čī*:

- Kan. **+skindz** (škindz) ‘adze’
< Ir. **skandá*, nomen agentis from **skand-* ‘to break’ + **-čī*
- Log. **nemāž**, Kan. **nmāz** G ‘worship, namaz’
< Ir. *námā(h)-*, nom. sg. of **námah-* neut. + **-čī*
- Log. **mendz**, Kan. **mandz** ‘middle’
< Ir. **man* (< **madyāna*) + **-čī*

- Log. **ḡunġ** M, Kan. **ḡunġ** ‘clothing’
< Ir. **a-gūndá* + **-čī*
- Log. **stešák** ‘star’
< *steš-* < **stež-* < **stá* + **-čī*

Nouns in **-anī*:

- Log. **šíní**, Kan. **siní** ‘needle’
< Ir. **saučanī* fem.⁶⁵

Nouns

Gender

In the Ormuri language only Kaniguram has retained the category of gender, shown in masculine and feminine forms. Grammatical gender does not exist in Logar, but vestiges of fossilised gender forms can be observed indirectly by comparison with corresponding words in Kaniguram, traces of nominal gender differentiation that must have existed quite recently in this dialect.⁶⁶

In parts of the native Ormuri vocabulary there are morphological signs of grammatical gender:

- a) a gender marker which is a reflex of an ancient feminine inflection but which no longer signifies a case ending;
- b) mutation of the root vowel, resulting from historical umlaut.

The first method of gender marking is also a feature of some loan words from Pashto and, to a lesser extent, from Dari.

Finally, in some Pashto nouns, assimilated into Kaniguram, which are reflexes of historical nouns ending in **-ka* masc. and *-(a)kī* and **-yā* fem., Pashto gender markers are used to indicate gender, though in an adapted form.

First, we shall give examples of original and borrowed words of which the masculine have no marker and the feminine have an unstressed or, more rarely, stressed *-a* marker:

⁶⁵ The stress is as in Skt. *cetanī-* fem. of *cétana-* masc. and neut. ‘apparent, visible’ (Whitney 1879:405; Mylius 1980:159).

⁶⁶ The clearest evidence that the masculine and feminine genders were still distinct comparatively recently in Logar is that separate masculine and feminine adjectival forms were recorded by Leech and Gaverty: masc. *ispeuk* ‘white’, *shîn* ‘green’, fem. *sturra* ‘big’, *súgha* ‘red’, *gharàsa* ‘black’. See also in Morgenstierne’s works Log. *wōkā*, the fem. form of **wōk* (in our records *wuk*) ‘dry’ (IIFL:411).

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>zāl</i> | old man | <i>zāla</i> | old woman |
| <i>dzawān</i> | youth, lad | <i>dzawāna</i> | girl |
| <i>kulān</i> | boy | <i>dúka</i> | little girl |
| <i>yāsp</i> | horse, steed | <i>yāspa</i> | mare |
| <i>spak</i> | dog | <i>dzarká</i> | woman |
| <i>píng</i> | cock | <i>mirgá</i> | sparrow |
| <i>gílak</i> | rat | <i>búmba</i> | earth |
| <i>mux</i> | face | <i>sāla</i> | cold |
| <i>rídzan</i> | rice | <i>gāka</i> | flesh |
| | | <i>xāka</i> | source, spring |

However, this method of expressing gender by no means extends to all nouns. A whole group of feminine nouns exists with a stem ending similar to the nouns cited above, but without the *-a* marker. For example: Kan. *sank* ‘stone’, *nar* ‘house’, *txan* ‘bread’, *ālk* ‘egg’ etc. (see below).

In the section on noun and adjective stems we have already touched on the historical aspect of the morphological differentiation of gender. For nouns in Kaniguram there are two types of gender marker — barytone and oxytone — from an ancient paradigm of substantival and adjectival masculine and neuter stems ending in **-a* and feminine nouns in **-ā*. This paradigm took shape as other gender structures and models were gradually replaced or absorbed, something that occurred unevenly in different periods of time, before and after the word ending was weakened, which was common to all Iranian languages.⁶⁷

The loss of unstressed **-a* as a masculine marker and the change of unstressed and stressed **-ā* feminine markers into unstressed and stressed short **-a* respectively (= Log., Kan. *-a*) had definite grammatical consequences, especially for noun gender in Ormuri. The zero final marker of the masculine contrasts with the inflected feminine ending. It seems to have steered those nouns which did not end in *-a* and were odd ‘remnants’ of

⁶⁷ Structurally speaking grammatical gender in ancient times was expressed in many different ways. Starting with Sanskrit, it is possible with regard to the stress of Old Iranian to postulate the following models of gender opposition in thematic nouns:

- 1) *-ā* masc. ~ *-ā* fem.
- 2) *-a* masc. ~ *-ī* fem.
- 3) *-ā* masc. ~ *-ī* fem.
- 4) *-ā* masc. ~ *-ā* and *-ī* fem.
- 5) *-ā* masc. ~ *-ī* fem.

Intermediate ‘hybrid’ methods of differentiation offered wide possibilities for contaminating the various structural types of distinguishing gender.

other types of gender differentiation, yet not affected by the $a \sim \bar{a}$ paradigm, to become masculine, so long as the meaning of the word allowed it.⁶⁸

This is what happened to odd nouns that were previously athematic: they became masculine nouns with a zero final marker (e.g. Kan. *māy* masc., Log. *māy* ‘month’, cf. Av. *māh*- masc., O.Pers. *māh*- masc., *māha*- masc. id.).⁶⁹

However, it was far more common for other factors, especially semantics or association, to determine the gender differentiation of nouns that were athematic in ancient times (if the influence of the gender of analogous nouns in Pashto is taken into account) rather than structure and morphology, i.e. despite the morphological expression of gender already mentioned. So, many feminine nouns belonged in the past to a different athematic stem class and had a different gender, but are nouns with a zero marker in Kaniguram. Thus:

a) Some nouns retain their former gender:

- Kan. **wan** ‘one of the wives (in polygamy)’
a class of feminine stems in **-ī*, cf. Av. *ha-paθnī*- fem. and Skt. *sapātnī*- fem. ‘junior wife’

b) Some nouns changed from neuter to feminine:

- Kan. **ryoz** ‘day’ (= Log. **°rož**)
a class of neuter stems in **-ah*; cf. Av. *raočah*- neut. ‘light’, O.Pers. *raučah*- neut. ‘day’; but Pashto *rwadz* fem. ‘day’
- Kan. **spuī** M, **spoī** G fem. ‘louse’ (= Log. **spuy**)
a class of stems ending in a consonant, cf. Av. *spiš*- neut., ‘a harmful insect’; but Pashto *špāza* fem. ‘louse’

c) Some nouns changed from masculine or common gender to feminine:

⁶⁸ The appearance of a zero marker on masculine nouns as opposed to markers *-a* and *-ā* on feminine nouns changed what to look for in determining the relevance or otherwise of the final segment of the word (the noun) to its grammatical gender.

⁶⁹ Exactly the same applies to neuter nouns. For example, see how former neuter nouns became masculine in the following cases: Kan. *tsom* masc. ‘eye’ (Log. *tsimi* with no sg. form) < Ir. *čašma*, nom. and acc. sg. of Ir. **čašman*- neut. ‘eye’; Kan. *nām* masc. (Log. *nām*) ‘name’ < Ir. *nāma*, nom. sg. of Ir. **nāman*- neut. Log. *pōm* M ‘wool’ is traceable to an ancient neuter stem, not recorded in Kaniguram (Ir. **pašma* masc. nom. and acc. sg. of Ir. **pašman*- neut.) etc. We have already cited Kan. *mirgá* fem. ‘sparrow’ (= Log. *morgá*) as an example of nouns which changed gender in accordance with the new structural model of nominal gender differentiation; this word is derived from the old masculine or neuter nominal stem **mṛgá-*, nom. sg. masc. **mṛgah* or nom. and acc. sg. neut. **mṛgám*. However, gender change of a noun through apocope of the final segment of the word may be seen also in Kan. *dra* fem. ‘hair’ (Log. *dri* sg. and pl.), derived from Ir. **dravá* – the verbal noun of Ir. **dru-* : *drav-* ‘to run, to flow’ (cf. Skt. *dravá-* masc. and neut. ‘running, flowing’).

- Kan. **rāy**, G **rāī** ‘road, way’
a class of stems in **-a*: cf. Av. *raθa-*, masc. ‘vehicle’, but Pashto *lār* fem. ‘road’
- Kan. **gyoy**, G *giyōy* ‘cow’ (= Log. **goy**)
a class of stems ending in **-u*; cf. Av. *gāv-* masc. and fem. ‘bull, cow’; Pashto *γwā* fem. ‘cow’

Thus, where the traditional way of expressing gender differences morphologically has extensively disintegrated and diminished, as nominal inflection developed, and has largely lost its capacity as a marker (mainly because there are no gender suffixes for the masculine), other non-morphological ways of indicating the assignment of gender have been adopted in many cases.

The gender of nouns in Kaniguram is not infrequently determined by lexico-semantic features of the word. So, for animate nouns special lexemes are used to denote the different sexes (*marzā* ‘brother’, *xwār* ‘sister’) or compound words in which the words *nar* ‘male’ or *šídza*, *šiza* ‘female’ are the first part: *nargyōy* ‘bull’, but *gyoy* or *šidzagyoy* ‘cow’.

Whether an inanimate noun is masculine or feminine is frequently decided by reference to the corresponding word in Pashto (*sank* ‘rock, stone’ – Pashto *tíža* fem. ‘stone’, *nar* ‘house’ – Pashto *xānā* fem. id. from Dari; *sā’at* ‘moment, instant’ – Pashto *lahzá* fem. ‘instant’ etc.), or possibly because it belongs to a definite thematic series of words whose gender is related (i.e. ‘motivated’) to the gender of the root or pivot word for a lexical series; for example, see feminine nouns that are the names of fruits, etc.: *miliz* ‘apple’, *waṭk* ‘walnut’, *matat* ‘apricot’, *syuy* ‘vine’; D. Karamšoev observed a similar feature in the Shughni-Rushani group of languages (Karamšoev 1978:209).

These loan words from Pashto with gender signs occur in Kaniguram as nouns (and adjectives) ending in *-ay*, *-áy* masc. (= Pashto *-ay*, *-áy* < Ir. **-aka*), *-ye*, *-yé* fem. (= Pashto *-ōy*, Waziri dialect *-ye*, *-ay* < Ir. **-yā* and **-akī*, cf. Morgenstierne 1932a:8). For example: *x^warkáy* ‘sister’s son’, *x^warkyé* ‘sister’s daughter’, *stóray* ‘star’ and *kewčíye* ‘plait’ (of hair).

Number

Singular and plural forms are differentiated. The singular form has a stem with no marker. We need to make special mention of nouns ending in *-a*, which in Kaniguram must be considered a feminine marker (see above). With this in mind the singular word endings may be identified as follows:

In Ormuri most nouns end in one or more consonants:

- Log., Kan. **gap** ‘stone’
- Log. **ner**, Kan. **nar** ‘house’
- Log., Kan. **draxt** ‘tree’
- Log. **xwār**, Kan. **x^wār** ‘sister’
- Log., Kan. **goy** ‘ear’

- Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’
- Log. **ganóm**, Kan. **gunúm** ‘wheat’
- Log. **yâsp**, Kan. **yâsp** ‘horse’

A vowel at the end of nouns is rarer:

- Log. **pe**, Kan. **p(i)yé** ‘father’
- Log. **marzá**, Kan. **marzá** ‘brother’
- Log. **máwa**, Kan. **máwa** ‘mother’
- Log., Kan. **dúka** ‘daughter’
- Log. **kerží**, Kan. **kirz/dzí** ‘hen’
- Log. **ywáxi**, Kan. **ywáši** ‘grass’

The plural of nouns is formed by means of an agglutinating marker *-i*; in addition, some Logar nouns take the marker *-in* in the plural (see below). Very often the plural is formed with an accompanying change in the stressed root vowel (when there are two vowels, in the one nearer the stem ending) and sometimes also final consonant *k* alternates (or *k* before final *-a*) (in Kan. *g* and *y* also do this). Each dialect reflects in its own way this phonological feature which sometimes leads to differences between the singular and plural stems.

In Logar, *-i* (*-yi* after vowels) is the universal marker; it is the plural form of every noun, regardless of the phonetic stem ending; from our records, it is always unstressed.⁷⁰

- **pe** ‘father’ pl. **péyi**
- **madgóy** ‘cow’ pl. **madgóyi**
- **čân** ‘year’ pl. **tsâni**
- **ketâb** ‘book’ pl. **ketâbi**
- **kerží** ‘hen’ pl. **keržíyi**
- **šiní** ‘needle’ pl. **šiníyi**

The plural marker quite often replaces the final vowel of a noun stem ending in *-a*:

- **máwa** ‘mother’ pl. **máwi**
- **dúwa** ‘daughter’ pl. **dúwi**
- **dri** sg. and pl. ‘a hair, hairs’ (cf. Kan. *dra* sg., *dri* pl.)

When *i* is added to nouns having *a*, *á*, *o* or *u* in the root or final syllable of the stem, including right at the end of the word, these vowels often alternate with *i*, while some nouns have doublet forms of the plural with or without the alternating vowel:

- **gap** ‘stone’ pl. **gápi/gípi**

⁷⁰ The stressed variant of the plural marker *-i* in Logar is found only in certain monosyllables which are fossilised plural forms. For example, see Log. *dri* ‘a hair, hair (pl.)’, cf. Kan. *dra* sg. ‘a hair’, pl. *dri*; Log. *gri* ‘mountain, mountains’ (= Kan.).

- **xat** ‘letter’ pl. **xáti/xíti**
- **ketáb** ‘book’ pl. **ketábi/ketíbi**
- **čân** ‘year’ pl. **čâni/číni**
- **xwár** ‘sister’ pl. **xwári/xwíri**
- **gon** ‘stick’ pl. **gíni**.

Alternation of *k* : *č* often, but not always, occurs in nouns ending in *-k* or *-ka*:

- **yoskák** ‘calf’ pl. **yoskíči**
- **klanák** ‘boy’ pl. **kłaniči**
- **spok** ‘dog’ pl. **spíči**
- **dúka** ‘little girl’ pl. **dúči**

But:

- **zarká** ‘woman’ pl. **zarkíyi**
- **morgá** ‘sparrow’ pl. **morgíyi**
- **wolk** ‘egg’ pl. **wólki/wílki**

The marker *-in* is used in Logar (in parallel with *-i*), to form the plural of animate nouns, chiefly kinship terms. In addition it is used with nouns designating paired parts of the body. When *-in* is added to nouns ending in *-a*, or more rarely *-á*, the final vowel of the stem is elided (irregularly):

- **pe** ‘father’ pl. **péyin**
- **máwa** ‘mother’ pl. **máwin**
- **marzá** ‘brother’ pl. **marzáyin/marzín**
- **xwár** ‘sister’ pl. **xwárin**
- **mámá** ‘uncle’ (mother’s brother) pl. **mámáyin**

see also

- **mollá** ‘mullah’ pl. **molfyin**

furthermore:

- **páy** ‘foot’ pl. **páyin**
- **dest** ‘hand’ pl. **déstin**
- **goy** ‘ear’ pl. **góyi(n)**

In Kaniguram the *-i* marker can be unstressed or stressed. (The latter is rare and is mainly found in feminine nouns ending in a stressed *-á*.) The following are some points about the plural form in this dialect:

1) A single consonant at the end of masculine and feminine nouns tends to be converted to a geminate (though this is not regular):

- **nar** ‘house’ pl. **nárrī** (alongside *nári*)
- **kamar** G ‘precipice, abyss’ pl. **kamarri**

- **matat** G ‘apricot’ pl. **matattī**
- **rīdzan** G ‘polished rice’ pl. **rīdzannī**

But:

- **dist** ‘hand’ pl. **dīsti**
- **(n)gušt** ‘finger’ pl. **(n)gúšti**

2) Where nouns of either gender have long \bar{a} before a final single consonant, vowel alternation $\bar{a} \sim a$ takes place, but when nouns are disyllabic or polysyllabic in structure, the final consonant (or rarely the middle consonant) is geminated:

- **kitāb** ‘book’ pl. **kitābbi**
- **daryāb** ‘river’ pl. **daryābbi**
- **bāzār** ‘market’ pl. **bāzarrī** G
- **kulān** ‘son’ pl. **kul(l)ānni**

But:

- **šwān** ‘herdsman’ pl. **šwāni**
- **bāy** ‘garden’ pl. **bāyi** (G *bayyī*)
- **yār** ‘cave’ pl. **yāri**

See also:

- **yāsp** ‘horse’ pl. **yāspi**

3) There are other types of vowel alternation in the sg. and pl. forms, e.g.:

a) $\bar{a} \sim e$

- **tsān** ‘year’ pl. G **tsēni**
- **tsāngo** M ‘branch’ pl. **tsēnjī**, in our material **tsénjī**
- **ālk** ‘egg’ pl. **énči** (< **ēlčī*), cf. *hanwalk/hāwalk* G, pl. *hēnlčī/hēlčī*, M *ōlk, hōŋk*, pl. *ēlčī, hēnčī*

b) $o \sim a$

- **šor** ‘town’ pl. **šāri** (*š/šōr* G pl. *šērī*)
- **pon** ‘roof’ pl. **pāni**
- **gyoy** ‘cow, bull’ pl. **gway** (< **gwāyi*)
- **tsom** ‘eye’ pl. **tsāmi**

but:

- **goy** ‘ear’ pl. **goy** (< **gōyi*);

c) $e \sim a$

- **mez** ‘table’ pl. **māzi**

d) $i \sim a$

- **mrīg/k** G ‘slave’ pl. **mradzī**

e) $u \sim a$

- **syūy** G ‘mother-in-law’ pl. **sayī**
- **gurū** G ‘kid’ pl. **gurai** (i.e. ***guráy**)

But:

gurū M, pl. **guri** (irregular)

f) *a* ~ Ø, i.e. ‘fleeting vowels’ that disappear when forming the pl. of words of more than one syllable:

- **řámand** ‘threshing floor’ pl. **řámdi** (with an accompanying reduction of the cluster *nd* > *d*)
- **sukár** masc. ‘horn, small horn’ pl. **sukri** (*r* instead of *r* in the sg. form is secondary)
- **gílak** M ‘rat’ – pl. **gílči**

4) Suffix *-a* in fem. nouns is replaced by the *-i* marker:

- **máwa** ‘mother’ pl. **máwi**
- **dúwa** ‘daughter’ pl. **dúwi**
- **dra** ‘hair’ pl. **dri**
- **tra** ‘aunt (on the father’s side.)’ pl. **tri**
- **wza** ‘nanny goat’ pl. **wzi**

However, in some cases, mostly loan words, but sometimes also native vocabulary, the final *-a* is retained, while the plural indicator *-i* changes to *-y*:

- **wúna** ‘tree’ pl. **wúnay**
- **būmm^a** G ‘earth’ pl. **būmm^ai** (+ *bumay*)

5) For nouns ending in *-k* and *-g* masc. and *-ka* and *-ga* fem. there is often consonant alternation in the plural:

a) *k* ~ *č*

- **spak** ‘dog’ pl. **spáči**
- **nyāk** ‘uncle (on the mother’s side)’ pl. **nyāči**
- **tāk** ‘mountain stream’ pl. **táči**
- **kulák** ‘boy’ pl. **kuláči**
- **naxk** ‘nail’ pl. **náxči**
- **dúka** ‘little girl’ pl. **dúči**

But:

- **dzarká** ‘woman’ pl. G **dzarkī** (*dzéli* in our material).

b) *g* ~ *ř* or *dz*

- **mirgá** ‘sparrow’ pl. **mirři** (= M, but G *mirgi*, °*mirdzi* in compounds, Grierson 1921:136)
- **ping** ‘cock’ pl. **pínři** G *pīndzi*
- **mriř** G ‘slave’ pl. **mradzi**

Less frequently there are the following alternations of consonants at the end of a noun:

a) *y* ~ *ǰ* or *dz*

- **kṛāy** G, M ‘crow’ pl. G **kṛadzī**
- **maryūy** G ‘frog’ pl. **maryūdzi**

b) *ts* ~ *č*

- **tāts** G a species of partridge pl. **tsači** (cf. *sāts* M a species of bird pl. *sāts, sači* Morgenstierne 1932a:28)

c) *g* ~ *ts*

- **kṛāg**^a G ‘hyena’ pl. **kṛātsi** (< *kṛādzi*?)

6) Nouns ending in *-ā* also have irregular pl. forms:

- **tā** ‘uncle (on the father’s side)’ pl. **tay**
- **marzá** ‘brother’ pl. **marzáw(w)i**

7) Nouns ending in a stressed or unstressed *-i* or *-e* have homonymous sg. and pl. forms:

- **kirdz/dzi** ‘hen’ (sg. = pl.)
- **míši** ‘fly’
- **pāri** ‘foot’
- **máli** ‘husband’
- **nóri** a sort of bread
- **g(i)rí** ‘mountain’
- **ywáši** ‘grass’
- **p(i)yé** ‘father’⁷¹

The plural markers Log., Kan. *-i* and Log. *-in* have an ancient origin. The *-in* marker is a reflex of the genitive plural ending in **-i* (and possibly in **-ī*), i.e. Ir. **-īnām*, Av. *-inām*, cf. pl. forms in some Parthian lexemes ending in *-in* (Tedesco 1921:222; OIJ 1981:188-189). The *-i* marker has resulted from contamination of reflexes of both the nom. pl. stem ending in **-i*, i.e. Ir. **-ayah*, Av. *-ayō*, and the gen. sg. stem ending in **-a*, i.e. Ir. **-ahya*, Av. *-ahē* and *-ahyā* and O.Pers. *-ahyā*. This question is discussed below in the context of the general development of noun inflection in Ormuri.

So far, students of Ormuri have not given an explanation of the vowel alternation in noun stems between the sg. and pl. forms. Comparing the two dialects enables us to draw the preliminary conclusion that vowel alternation in the modern language is often something that has arisen at a comparatively late stage of development. For example, let us compare the alternation in such words as:

1) Log. **tsími** sg. and pl. ‘eye, eyes’, but Kan. **tsom** sg., pl. **tsámi**;

⁷¹ Some nouns in *-a*, borrowed from Pashto and Dari (see above), and nouns ending in *-y* (*goy* ‘ear’, pl. = sg.) also have homonymous sg. and pl. forms.

2) Log. **gíši** sg. and pl. ‘tooth, teeth’, but Kan. **gas** sg., pl. **gási**;

3) Log. **ner** ‘house’ pl. **néri**, but Kan. **nar** sg., pl. **nári**.

It would seem that the sg. forms in early Ormuri were **čam* (< **čašm* < Ir. *čášma* from **čašman-*), *gaš* (< Ir. **gástram* from *gástra-*), **nar* (< **antára* from Ir. **ántara-*) respectively, which also passed into Kaniguram sg. forms in regard to the root vowel. (Kan. *tsom* < **čam*, influenced by the consonant cluster with a labial in **čašm*; however, when the consonants fall into different syllables in the plural **čás-mi* > **čámi*, the historical vowel is restored.)

In Logar we have the following results:

a ~ *e* or *i* in *néri* and *gíši*, with umlaut of the stressed root vowel under the influence of the final *-i*; in the latter case the plural form supplanted the singular form (*gíši*) and in the former it affected the quality of the root vowel (*ner* from *ner-i*). See also Log. *spok* ‘dog’ pl. *spíči*, but Kan. *spak*, pl. *spáči* (the *o* in Log. *spok* is from **a*, influenced by the adjacent labial).

The fact that alternations *a* ~ *i* and *á* ~ *i* in Logar were secondary and late, the result of levelling by analogy, is corroborated by the following examples of loan words:

- **ketáb** ‘book’ pl. **ketíbi**
- **mol(l)á** ‘mullah’ pl. **mol(l)iyin**
- **draxt** ‘tree’ pl. **dríxti**
- **nám** ‘name’ pl. **ními**

See also in Kaniguram the *e* ~ *a* alternation (*mez* ‘table’ pl. *mázi*) and *i* ~ *a* (*mrīg G* ‘slave’ pl. *mradzī*), where the *a* vowel in the pl. forms emerged by analogy with the pl. of other nouns.

In loan words — mostly from Dari and Pashto, but also through them from Arabic — nouns form the pl. by the methods already mentioned or by grammatical means in the source language (often in an altered form). For example, see:

- Log. **bây** ‘garden’ pl. **bâyi/biyi**, and **bâyât**
- **mewa** ‘fruit’ pl. **mewáyi** and **mewaját**
- Log. **dewâl**, Kan. **diwāl** ‘wall’ pl. Log. **dewáli/dewíli**, Kan. **diwalli**;
- Log. **bázár**, Kan. **bázār** ‘market’ pl. Log. **bázári**, Kan. **bazarri**

In Kaniguram nouns ending in *-ay* masc. and *-ye* fem. usually have the same form in both numbers, but sometimes the *-i* marker occurs in the masc.:

- **x^warkáy** ‘sister’s son’ (= pl.), **x^warkyé** ‘sister’s daughter’ (= pl.)
- **lmasáy** ‘grandson’ (= pl.), **lmasyé** ‘granddaughter’ (= pl.)
- **kílay** ‘village’ (= pl.)
- **kewčíye** ‘plait’ (= pl.)
- **wořkay** ‘small child’ pl. **wořkay/wořkayi** (cf. Log. *saray* ‘person, man’ pl. *sarí/sarayi/saríyi*).

Some animate nouns take the pl. marker *-ani* (from Dari *-ān + i*) in Kan.:

- **insān** ‘person’ pl. **insānāni**
- **hewān** ‘animal’ pl. **hewānāni**
- **xsir** ‘father-in-law’ pl. **xsirāni**

The sg. form has two functions:

1) It designates a single definite object or event:

- Log. *dúka-b píri-tomnak nak-inče ka rây čawe*
‘The little girl cannot walk yet’
- Kan. *o saray ond a*
‘This person is blind’

2) It is used to express a wider general concept of an object or of a whole category of objects, e.g.

- Log. *maĵnunbed ka bland bu tsawe...*
‘When the weeping willow grows...’
- Kan. *insān ye bu ziyāt umr nak-dari*
‘Man does not live long’

The pl. form is used to designate separate, i.e. countable, objects:

- Log. *maktabíyi-wa xod-gađi algostok*
‘They took the school children with them’
- *maĵnunbed ka bland bu tsawe, pets bu šāxči-wa dzom arzeye* ‘When the weeping willow grows, its branches hang down’
- Kan. *ta mandrasta a-worĵkay (i)-wa di girađ bukin*
‘The children from the madrasa were with them’
- *kye-m bu a-zeli lafi nak-wrukin*
‘(And) why did I not take the greasy (literally ‘decrepit’) notes?’
- *a-tsapli-l-a pāri-lāsta nawalkin*
‘He took off his sandals’

Grammatical relations of the noun

Ormuri belongs to the group of nominative/ergative languages with a predominance of nominative features. As in other Iranian languages with this construction (see Pireiko 1968; Rastorgueva 1975a:181 ff., 1975b:258 ff.; JAA, 1978:141-144, 152, 240-242, 248), the ergative occurs only in sentences with a past tense of a transitive verb. Thus Ormuri has two types of sentence, ergative and nominative, each with their own way of relating logical and grammatical subjects and forming the predicate. In the Ormuri dialects, as we have already stated, there are different types of ergative construction; this is evident above all in the morphology of the predicate (see below for more details) and, to a lesser extent, of the logical object. Finally, it is worth noting that both nouns and other nominal

parts of speech (when used as nouns in these constructions) have special characteristics in each dialect (see table 5).

Nouns without a preposition or postposition are used to express the subject of a nominative construction, the logical subject of an ergative construction, the indefinite direct object/logical object in these constructions, or a specific predicate:

- *mard-a-b nak-ke, zarkiyi-b ken*
'Men (lit. 'man') don't do this – women do it'
- *kadu-b tos bižay?*
'Are you cooking a pumpkin?'
- *še-di majnunbed e*
'One of them (three species of willow) is a weeping willow'
- *yoskak bu goy-ki ela ke*
'They let the calf approach the cow'
- *mir-e barak pa asl ormor buk*
'Mir Barak was of Ormuri descent'
- *še sařay...diče-wa pây-di nawolok*
'One man ... took his shoes off his feet'
- *šetsun nafar...maktabiyi-wa xod-gađi algostok*
'Some men took schoolboys with them (on their way)'
- Kan. *a-đim-am bu zut dumi*
'My stomach really hurts'
- *a-tabib di puština dāk*
'The physician asked him'
- *đim wār-wa a-tsámi buđ dākin*
'He shut his eyes for the second time'
- *a-yāsp zin ke-wan*
'Saddle (this) horse!'
- *ta sābiráni aw ta šākiráni a-řikak ye řannat ha*
'The place of those suffering (torture) and thanking (God) is heaven'

When functioning as the definite direct object in a nominative construction or the logical object in an ergative construction, nouns in Logar (but not in Kaniguram) are used, though not consistently, with the prepositional object particle *ku-* or with the demonstrative pronoun in the objective case, which then loses its lexical meaning to some extent:

- *towa ku-tsimi-m roxšawok*
'The sun blinded me' (lit. 'my eyes')
- *ku-řag bu alyošawi, řirin-a-b ke; ka a řirin řuk, kere řoryot bu kere řage-ne bane*
'They wash the jug (a pitcher with handles), warm it (on the fire). When it is warm, they pour *jorgot* (fermented milk) into the jug' (lit. 'This *jorgot* ... into this jug')

But:

- *afo ketâb-am* (or: *kufo ketâb-am*) *awōk*
'I have read (that) book'
- *a ketâb* (or: *kere ketâb*, or: *ku-ketâb*) *mez-že gon!*
'Put (this) book on the table'

Cf. Kan.:

- *az bu a-noři fa tsâku-zar landem*
'I (shall) cut (this) loaf with that knife'
- *o kulak m-ar nar-lâsta zek a*
'I called (this) boy out of the house'

When combined with prepositions and, generally, postpositions, nouns are used to express indirect objects and adverbs of place, direction etc. (see section 3.3). When occurring in oblique functions, nouns can (optionally) take the following morphological elements:

- 1) the unstressed suffix Log. *-e*, Kan. *-i* (usually *-y* after vowels in both dialects);
- 2) preposed object particles:
 - a) Log. *ku-/ko-*, Kan. *ku-/ka-*;
 - b) Log. *e-*, Kan. *i-*;

The oblique marker is frequently found in combination with one of the object particles. The grammatical context of the object particles is different in each dialect:

a) in Logar both particles are used in parallel with nouns combined with postpositions:

- *ta masxara (ku-)šânay-že / (e-)šânay-že*
'onto the shoulder of a clown'
- *ta xoy ku-pe-ki / e-pe-ki*
'to one's (own) father'
- *wok (e-)čâ(y)-di / (ku-)čâ(y)-di nawar*
'Get some water from the well'
- *tar mâx ku-qawm-že / e-qawm-že ormoř nâm wotok*
'They called our tribe Ormuri'

Cf., however, the use of the particle *ku-* with a nominal direct object/logical object, which is possible only if the item concerned is definite (see below under 'Definiteness/Indefiniteness');

b) in Kan. the distribution of particles *ku-* and *i-* is different, to judge by Grierson's data: *ku-* and *i-* only govern nouns in oblique functions (in combination with postpositions), *ku-* being used only with personal names (and with personal pronouns, see above), and *i-* in all other instances (Grierson 1921:137, 188-189, 255, 281). We have no record of these particles in our data (except *ku-/ka-* which is used in conjunction with personal and demonstrative pronouns). Examples:

- *az ahmad-giraḍ bāzār-ki tsekam*
‘I went to the bazaar with Ahmad’
- *šor-nar di zut xalək aw moṭr in*
‘In the town there are many people and vehicles’
- *a-logar di kāniguram-lāsta zut pets (h)a*
‘Logar is very far from Kaniguram’

Nouns are used with the preposition *ta* to express definiteness through possession:

- Log. *ta soltān māmud e-waxte-ne*
‘in the time of Sultan Mehmud’
- *ta tsimi a-dāru*
‘ocular medicine’ (lit. ‘medicine of the eyes’)
- Kan. *tar mun ta nyāk a-klān*
‘my uncle’s son’
- *ta spew yāsp a-zin*
‘the saddle of the white horse’

It is significant that nouns with the preposition *ta*, or, much more frequently, with the possessive form of a personal or demonstrative pronoun, are used to express the possessor in presentational constructions⁷² as in:

- Log. *piri ta goy ta wok a-waxt e*
‘Now it is time to water the cows’ (lit. ‘the cows have the time of water’)
- *tafo yrās yāsp a-dom zot drāy e*
‘That black horse has a very long tail’
- Kan. *ta sa badrang saray ye sra šāista maašuka buk*
‘A certain man with an ugly appearance had a very beautiful lover’
- *tar tu ta pye tsun kulān (h)in?*
‘How many sons has your father?’

⁷² Possessive constructions go back by their roots to the O.Ir. period. The idea of possession by someone or something in the O.Ir. languages, in which the verb **dṛ-* : *dar-* had not yet developed the abstract meaning of ‘to have’, was expressed by special constructions of the sentence; their predicate was a verbal copula or the verb ‘to be’, the possessor was a noun in the genitive or a pronominal enclitic, the object possessed was a noun in the nominative (Édel'man 1974:25-29).

Ormuri has a direct unbroken link with the ancient model of the possessive construction in those cases where the possessor is expressed by enclitic pronouns. In other cases new formations are found, i.e. combinations of a noun or the full form of a pronoun with the preposition *ta* or *tar*, which in function correspond to a noun’s oblique case, genitive in origin. In Ormuri presentational and possessive constructions such as ‘I have’ exist side by side: Log. *māyi tsimi dare*, Kan. *māyi bu tsami dari* ‘the fish has eyes’.

Analysis of the material shows that the ancient nominative and genitive sg. and pl., reflexes of which can be traced in the Ormuri dialects, were the original case forms of the noun. In the Middle-Iranian period in the ancestral dialect they formed the basis for the direct and oblique cases, respectively: two forms of the noun in which they were basic (nominal) components of the nominative and ergative constructions of the sentence (see section 3.2, which deals with the origin of the ergative construction). The direct case was used to express the subject in nominative sentences (with either a verbal or nominal predicate) and the logical object in ergative sentences. The oblique case (the old genitive) was used to express the logical subject of an ergative construction.⁷³

The morphological characteristics of the sg. direct case of nouns — and it is precisely this form that has a reflex in the language — have been given in the section on noun and adjective stems, where there is a historical interpretation of the shaping of modern nouns; here we will mention only the early tendency toward the generalisation of the ancient stems in **-a* and **-ā* resulting in a zero marker on masc. nouns and a stressed or unstressed *-a* on fem. nouns. The reflexes of the other case-forms mentioned may be outlined as follows.

The marker of the pl. direct case on reflexes of historical nouns with stems in **-a* and **-ā* probably fell together with the analogical sg. marker, i.e. on the former it has become zero (< Ir. **-ah*) and on the latter, stressed and unstressed **-a* (< Ir. **-ā*). The fact that the number markers were homonymous contributed to their being replaced in this form by the endings mentioned above in historical nouns with stems of other structures. Thus the stem marker ending in **-i*⁷⁴ had a reflex in Ormuri: Ir. **-ayah* > early Orm. **-ī* > Log., Kan. *-i* (see below).

⁷³ In addition the genitive or the genitive/dative was used in other constructions which have reflexes in the modern language. We have in mind the presentational construction already mentioned and a particular indirect construction conveying the physical or psychological condition of the subject. In both constructions the logical subject was expressed by a noun in the oblique case, originally genitive, which corresponds to a combination of noun and prepositions or postpositions in the modern language. Examples of the latter type of construction are: Log. *yāspi ta pāčā yorxok* ‘The king liked the horses’; Kan. *māwa-zar b-a-x^way kulani greni ben* ‘A mother loves her children’ (lit. ‘to a mother her sons are dear’).

In Ormuri there are traces of the old genitive or genitive/dative in the 1sg. and pl. forms of the personal pronouns and in the enclitic pronouns. Reflexes of the old genitive do not occur in other nouns, though we are of the opinion that some data, which we shall cover later, point indirectly to its existence in the past.

⁷⁴ Cf. the analogical ending in the pl. direct case in Semnani, Zaza and Sangisari (Rastorgueva 1975b: 172, 173, 212).

Early in its development the oblique case seems to have retained in part different gender suffixes, continuing the gen. sg. inflections of historical nouns with stems in **-a* and **-ā*:

**-ē* (or **-ī*?) masc. (< Ir. **-ahyā*, Av. *-ahe*, *-ahya*, O.Pers. **-ahyā*),

**-ē* (or **-ī*?)⁷⁵ fem. (< Ir. **-āyāh*, Av. *-ayā*, O.Pers. *-āyā*),

**-a* fem. (< Ir. **-āh*, Av. *-ā*, cf. Av. *čiθā* from *čiθā* ‘redemption’).

Subsequently the early Ormuri common oblique case marker **-i* (> Log. **-e*, Kan. *-i*) developed from the two former formatives. Traces of it may be seen in the suffixed unstressed marker Log. *-e*, Kan. *-i* used (optionally) by nouns when combined with prepositions and postpositions and, possibly, in the prefixed object particle Log. *e-*, Kan. *i-* which is optionally used in the same instances.

Our view is that the particle came into being as use of an attributive phrase with a prepositional determiner of possession declined: the oblique case marker **-i*, which had a noun determiner, changed to relate to the determined noun which followed it.⁷⁶ The **-a*

⁷⁵ Cf. the ending of the sg. obl. case: a) in the Kurdish dialects Bahdinani, Sorani and Mukri: *-ī* (*-y*) masc., *-ē* fem.; b) in the southern dialects of Tat: *‘e* (*-ē*) masc., *-a* fem. (Rastorgueva 1975b:164, 169,181).

⁷⁶ Especially significant were those nouns with a meaning which allowed them to be widely used in an auxiliary function, i.e. as denominative postpositions. Once determined as an attributive combination, they ‘drew’ to themselves the unstressed marker of the oblique case of the preceding noun, i.e. the possessive determiner formed by the preposition *ta/tar*. This sort of ‘attraction’ of another noun’s marker was completely natural in those instances where the defined noun was itself used in oblique functions in combination with postpositions. We shall illustrate this in the following examples: **ta kulāni* (obl.) *nar* ‘the son’s house’ (lit. of the son the house), **ta kulāni nari-nar* → *ta kulān i-nar(i)-nar* ‘in the son’s house’. In this way the oblique case marker *-i* (< **-a-hya*) became the object particle *i-* (Log. *e-*, Kan. *-i*), which came to be used with the noun (*nar* ‘house’) in oblique functions when it had no possessive determiner (the determinative role in this was played by the *i- ~ ku-* correlation). A condition for restructuring of this sort must doubtless have been the frequent use of the oblique case derived from the genitive combined with prepositions and postpositions, together with their gradual growth in functional importance.

In related languages reflexes of the old genitive are also found in postpositional combinations, see e.g. Gilaki (OIJ 1982:505).

A different explanation of this phenomenon was proposed by Morgenstierne, who connects the *-i* marker with the ancient ending of the locative (Av. *-ē*, *-aē*, *-aya*), and the particle *i-* with Ir. **adi-* ‘to, in, on’ or **ida* ‘here’ (IIFL:344). According to our observations, the particle *i-* is used only when there is a noun with a postposition. The examples adduced by Grierson of *i-* with a noun and no postposition are not convincing, as they are mostly taken out of context.

marker (< Ir. **-ā*) of the oblique case changed in the same way, though in contrast to the **-i* marker it began to act as a definite article where the noun was accompanied by a possessive determiner because its homonymy with the definite article *a-*, assisted their contamination).⁷⁷

On the evidence of closely related languages, the pl. oblique case probably had several formatives: reflexes of the gen. pl. of stems in **-a* and **-ā* and of other types of nominal stems.⁷⁸ The ending *-in*, which occurs in Ormuri, is a reflex of Ir. **-inām*, Av. *-īnam* (from stems in **-i-* and **-ī-*). We may suppose that the generalisation of this marker, which replaced the **-ān* marker (< Ir. **-ānām* from stems in **-a* and **-ā*) and **-ūn* (< Ir. **-ūnām* from stems in **-u* and **-ū*), was connected with the fact that the direct case had the **-ī* marker, also the reflex of **-i-* stems (see above). In the process of elimination of the category of case, contamination of these formatives took place, while the sphere of use of the *-in* marker became significantly reduced.

Definiteness/Indefiniteness

Ormuri uses articles, though irregularly, to express the category of definiteness/indefiniteness, while Logar also has a different grammatical form of noun denoting definite/indefinite objects when they function as the direct object of a nominative construction or the logical object of the action of an ergative construction (see above and table 5). Thus the dialects have different grammatical means to express this category.

Full words are used as articles and they then sometimes partly lose their lexical meaning. A noun without an article may, depending on the context, denote either a definite or indefinite object.

For a definite article with sg. or pl. nouns, the proximate demonstrative pronoun Log. *a*, Kan. *a* ‘this’ is generally used, in which case it loses its independent stress and becomes proclitic. Other demonstrative pronouns sometimes have this role: Log. *afō*, Kan. *afō* masc., *afa* fem., masc. pl. ‘that, those’; Log. *a*, Kan. *(h)o* masc. ‘this’, *(h)ā*, *a* fem., masc., pl. ‘this, these’.

The numeral ‘one’ is used as an indefinite article: Log. *še*, Kan. *sa* masc., *syē* fem.

Articles are used with a noun when it is defined qualitatively or by possession; in the first case, the article is attached to the attribute which comes before, and in the second case directly to the noun:

⁷⁷ This is hinted at by the sporadic use, recorded in our notes on the Logar dialect, of the article *a-* (alongside the objective particles *e-* and *ku-*) with a nominal indirect object, when it is determined in a possessive attributive combination. See, e.g., *tar māk a-* (// *ku-/e-*) *mendze-ne* ‘among us’, *ku-duwa-t tar mun a-klān-ki eršer!* ‘Give your daughter for my son’.

⁷⁸ For example, see Parth., in which the pl. suffixes continue the inflections of the gen. pl. of stems in **-ā* and **-ī* and possibly in **-ū* (OIJ 1981:188; Nyberg 1974:68).

- Log. *a-baxil saray*
'the miserly person'
- *še baxil saray*
'a (some) miserly person'
- *a-tsâr klaniči*
'the four sons'
- *tar mun a-kâkâ*
'my uncle'
- *še nafar ta afoyin*
'a (some) person from among them'
- Kan. *a-sa baxil saray*
'a (certain) miserly person'
- *a-dyo dzarka*
'the two women'
- *tar mun a-pye*
'my father'
- *a-zeli lați*
'the old (paper) money'
- *a-tsârgađ kulani*
'the four sons'

When Logar nouns function as a direct object or logical object, they take (irregularly) the objective particle *ku-/ko-*:

- *ku-duwa-t tar mun a-klân-ki eršer*
'Give your daughter (in marriage) to my son!'
- *az ta ahmad ku-marzâ dek*
'I saw the brother of Ahmad'
- *ku-ketâb mez-že gon*
'Put (this) book on the table!'

When the noun is used obliquely, it may take any or no particle:

- *ta xoy (ku-)nâk-ki / ta xoy (e-)nâk-ki*
'to one's wife'

Adjectives

In Logar adjectives are indeclinable: like nouns they have no categories of gender or case, and unlike nouns they have no category of number. The only morphological categories which distinguish adjectives from nouns are the degrees of comparison (see below). The positive degree of adjectives is the same as the bare stem, at the end of which, as with

nouns, there may be either a consonant or (more rarely) the vowel *i*: *sus* ‘red’, *wuk* ‘dry’, *šer* ‘good’, *drāy* ‘long’, *zari* ‘small’ etc.

In Kaniguram the adjectives have retained remnants of gender and number; however, they occur in only a comparatively small group of adjectives, while others with the same type of stem-endings and no difference in meaning are indeclinable. The adjectives in Kaniguram are divided into two groups according to the gender and number forms.

To the first belong inflected adjectives with a feminine form made by adding unstressed *-a* to the masc. form which has a zero marker. It is homonymous with the pl. form, which is the same for both masc. and fem. genders:

| msg. | fsg. | pl. | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>šin</i> | <i>šina</i> | <i>šina</i> | ‘green’ |
| <i>suř</i> | <i>súra</i> | <i>súra</i> | ‘red’ |
| <i>spe/iw</i> | <i>spé/iwa</i> | <i>spé/iwa</i> | ‘white’ |
| <i>wyok</i> | <i>wyóka</i> | <i>wyóka</i> | ‘dry’ |
| <i>roy</i> | <i>róya</i> | <i>róya</i> | ‘healthy’ |
| <i>yūn</i> G | <i>yūna</i> | <i>yūna</i> | ‘hidden, secret’ |

In the second group of inflected adjectives the feminine is different from the plural. The feminine is formed in the same way as that of adjectives in the first group, i.e. with an unstressed gender ending *-a*, but the pl. form has an unstressed *-i* ending, the same as the pl. marker of nouns; these adjectives with root vowel *a*, *ā* or *o* in the sg. and pl. typically have the same alternations as in nouns of similar structure:

| msg. | fsg. | pl. | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>yrās</i> | <i>yrāsa</i> | <i>yrési</i> | ‘black’ |
| <i>drāy</i> | <i>drāya</i> | <i>dréji</i> | ‘long’ |
| <i>ond</i> | <i>óna</i> | <i>éni</i> | ‘blind’ |
| <i>zāl</i> | <i>zāla</i> | <i>zéli</i> | ‘old’ |
| <i>grān</i> | <i>grāna</i> | <i>gréni</i> | ‘beloved’ |

There are both native Ormuri and loan words in the group of uninflected adjectives: *árat* ‘wide’, *tok* ‘hot’, *yandz* G ‘bad’, *lanđ* ‘short’, *pets* ‘distant’, *zari* ‘small’ etc. So, *zari nar* ‘small house’ (*nar* fem. ‘house’), *zari id* ‘little eid’ (the name of the festival) (*id* masc. ‘festival’), *tok wak* ‘hot water’ (*wak* fem. ‘water’). (Unfortunately, there are not many examples of this sort of adjectival phrase, either in our materials or elsewhere; usually they occur with masculine nouns.)

Adjectives are used in a sentence as an attribute, adverb or nominal part of the predicate. When used attributively, the adjective comes before the noun qualified:

- Log. *šer ádam* ‘a good man’
- *šer zarká* ‘a good woman’
- *šer ádami/zarkin* ‘good men/women’

In addition, an *ezafe* construction, borrowed from Dari, is occasionally used to connect the defining adjective with the noun to be defined, the attribute being placed after the noun qualified, which carries the *ezafe* marker Log. *-e*, Kan. *-i*:

- Log. *âdam-e šer*, Kan. *âdám-i sir* ‘a good man’

The *ezafe* link is widely used in Logar. In Kaniguram inflected adjectives used as predicates (or, rarely, as attributes) agree in gender and number with nouns.

Examples from Logar:

- *a tsâr klaniči ayera tandor^ost e*
‘These four sons (of hers) are all well’
- *še sařay ka zot baxil buk, diče-ye now-a šinok, raý-ne-b altsok*
‘A man who was very stingy bought some new shoes (and) was walking along the road’
- *a sařay kor e, nâk-a kar e*
‘This man is blind and his wife is deaf’
- *ner-ne-wa spew wolki ye*
‘She has white eggs in her nest (of a hen)’
- *logar kâbol-di dur e?*
‘Is Logar far from Kabul?’

Examples from Kaniguram:

a) masc.:

- *o sařay ónd a*
‘This man is blind’
- *tar tu a-pye wiš ha*
‘Your father is awake’ (lit. ‘being awake’)
- *a-sa baxil sařay di nyowa (pl.) tsapli wruk bukin*
‘A stingy man bought new sandals’
- *tar mun a-tsami ye stur gunāh dok ha*
‘My eyes are very sinful’ (lit. ‘... have committed a great sin’)
- *ta spew yāsp a-zin nar-nar ha*
‘The white horse’s saddle is at home’

b) fem.:

- *tafa a-dzarká kwána ha*
‘His wife is deaf’
- *a dzarka blárba buk*
‘This woman was pregnant’
- *a-sun súřa ha*
‘Blood is red’

c) plural:

- *mā́wa-zar bu a-x^way kulánni greni ha*
‘To a mother her sons are dear’
- *a-yeđi ta gap pa šān yéya hín*
‘Bones are firm, like stone’
- *a-wúna di bu šína puxay kayi*
‘Green leaves are growing on the tree’
- *tafā tānđ-nar di spēwa enči hin*
‘He has little white eggs in his nest’ (of a sparrow)
- *tar mun a-pye fā zari nar-nar bu pinđi*
‘My father lives in that little house’ (*nar* fem. ‘house’, *zari* ‘little’ indecl. adj.)

Consider also adjectives borrowed from Pashto, ending in *-ay*, *-áy* masc., *-ye*, *-yé* fem. (with homonymous plural forms):

- *narye byān*
‘belt’, lit. ‘thin waist’ (*byān* fem. ‘waist’)
- *a-dri dređi aw narye hin*
‘The hair is long and thin’ (*dri* ‘hair’ is the pl. of *dra* fem. ‘a hair’)

The section on diachronic analysis of noun and adjective stems has already dealt with the importance of adjectives in the process of reconstructing the system of noun declension. Adjectives and other adjectival words were better able than nouns to standardise, that is to unify, the various structures and stress for expressing grammatical gender. This was particularly apparent at the final stage of developing models with differentiated gender, when the oxytone gender paradigm, which included reflexes of historical nouns in **-á* and **-ā́*, affected only a limited section of nouns, if we take into account the original Ormuri vocabulary.

It is probably appropriate at this point to mention again the question we touched on earlier, about why the structural model *-Ø* masc., *-a* fem. became less able to carry a marker; as we have seen, this is because noun gender is often not morphologically expressed, and because there was a group of adjectives (including some with a stem ending in a consonant) which was invariable in gender (and number). Historical nouns in **-ka* with an adjectival meaning seem to have been influential among the factors, including formally structural ones, that helped to create features like this. This sort of formation, which most easily associated with the perfect participles in **-tā́kǎ́* of similar structure and which often became an adjective or noun, was likely to lose gender (and number) inflection early, as did the participles.

Of great assistance was the fact that there were often gender distinctions despite the elision of external inflection, because of changes to root vowels by umlaut, which were not the same in the masc. and fem. genders (nor in the plural): in the feminine and in the pl. the quality of the vowel was determined by the action of a-umlaut, while in the masc. the root vowels were in the neutral position and they changed in a different way (see chapter 2).

This ‘dying out’ of inflections (in gender and number) in adjectives in **-ka* increased in the later stages of development and could not fail to have an effect on other nouns ending in a consonant. It should be noted that fossilisation of previous gender forms could have occurred with the masculine as the base form as with the feminine. For example, consider the following formations:

a) from the masc. form:

- Log., Kan. **tok** ‘hot’
< Ir. **taftá* past part. of **tap-* ‘to heat’ + **-ka* (in the fem. and pl. **tāk* would have been expected)
- Kan. **tusk** G ‘empty’
< Ir. **tusá* pres. (inchoative) stem of **tuš-* : *taus-* ‘to be empty’ + **-ka*; consider the same form, substantivised, without syncope of the post-stress vowel *túsak* M ‘the iliac region’ (in the fem. the expected form would be **tásak*, **task*)
- Log. **xrónok**, Kan. **xrónak** M ‘hungry’
< Ir. *x^vraná*, middle part. of **x^vr-* : *x^var-* ‘to eat’ + **-ka*
- Log. **trónok**, Kan. **trónak** M ‘thirsty’
< Ir. **tr-aná*, middle part. by analogy with **x^vraná* + **-ka*

b) from the fem. form:

- Kan. **māk** G ‘withered’
< Ir. **marxtá* perf. part. of **mrk-* : *mark-* ‘to perish’ + **-kā*

There are substantivised adjectives and participles here also, continuing the previous fem. form but without the **-ā* marker; in Kan. the gender of these words is determined: in animate substantives on the basis of biological gender, and in inanimate ones by association, as they relate to a thematic category or semantic field:

- Log. **nāk**, Kan. **nāk** fem. ‘wife’
< Ir. *nāvā*, the fem. of Ir. **náva-* masc. and neut. ‘new, young’ + **-kā*
- Kan. **tāk** masc. ‘mountain stream’
< **taxtá* perf. part. of *tak-* ‘to run, to flow’

However, although this feature tended to occur, it did not always happen. In parallel with the fossilised, invariable forms of adjectives there were secondary ones which are reflexes of a gender form taken as the original masculine stem ending in a consonant, which gives rise to the homonymous fem./pl. form according to the first inflectional model of adjectives. Thus the following adjectives are derived from the historical masc. form:

- Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** masc., **súřa** fem. and pl. ‘red’
(from Ir. **suxra*; **sářa* would have been expected in the fem. and pl., as in Kan. *řak* ‘flea’ < Ir. **fruškā*)
- Log. **wuk**, M **wōka** (< fem.), Kan. **wyok** masc., **wóka** fem. ‘dry’
(from Ir. **huška*, cf. Av. *huška-* masc. and neut. id., in the fem. **wāk* would have been expected)

- Kan. **ond**, G **hōnd** masc., **honda** fem. ‘blind’
(from Ir. **anda*, in the fem. **(h)ānda* would have been expected); the pl. form *hēndā*
G is secondary; it is the result of the influence of nouns of corresponding structure,
something which is easily explained by this adjective’s tendency to
substantivisation)⁷⁹

The feminine form is continued, for example, in:

- Kan. **dzak** masc., **dzak** fem. G ‘maimed, wounded’
(from Ir. **jatā* fem. perf. part of **gan-* ‘to beat’ + **-kā*; in the masc. **dzok* would
have been expected, cf. Log. *dzok* Kan. *dzok* masc., *dzak* fem. past stem of ‘to beat’
from the same root)

Degrees of comparison

The comparative degree of the adjective is formed in Logar, influenced by Dari, by adding the suffix *-tar* to the positive degree, which is the same as the bare stem:

- **šertar** ‘better’ from **šer** ‘good’
- **zaritar** ‘smaller, less’ from **zari** ‘small’

However, it is more common for a comparative adjective to be in the positive degree, i.e. without *-tar* (see below). The substantive denoting the object that is compared takes the postposition *-di*:

- *rāst dest čap dest-di qawi ye*
‘The right hand is stronger than the left hand’
- *marzā-wa xwār-di-wa stortar e*
‘His brother is older than his sister’

In Kaniguram adjectives have no comparative degree. Comparison with anything is expressed periphrastically: the adjective has the simple stem and the object of comparison takes the postposition *-lāsta*:

- *a-x^warentsa wúlay ye čela wúlay-lāsta qābudār (h)a*
‘The right hand (lit. ‘shoulder’) is stronger than the left hand’
- *a-spožmay stóray(i)-lāsta stura ha*
‘The moon is bigger than a star’

The superlative degree is expressed periphrastically in both dialects by the use of adverbs meaning ‘much’, ‘very’ (Log. *zot*, *ziyāt*; Kan. *zut*, *ziyāt*), which go before an adjective in the positive form, or by a phrase Log. *ayera-di*, Kan. **i-harra-lāsta* ‘best of all, most of all’ etc.:

- Log. *a zarka ayera-di šer e*
‘This woman is the best/most beautiful’

⁷⁹ Kan. *noř* ‘soft’ belongs to this type (from Ir. **namra*; in the fem. **nāř* would have been expected), but it may also be included among the uninflected adjectives, as other forms of it have not been recorded.

- Kan. *i-harra lāsta dī sir hā*
‘This is the best’ (Grierson 1921:140)

In Logar there is sometimes a superlative of the adjective formed with the suffix *-tarin* (from Dari):

- *xodāy-an bad e-badtarin-dī sāton*
‘O God, keep us from the most evil one’

Numerals

Cardinal numbers

The Ormuri numerals are of common Iranian origin, but the phonetic appearance of many of them is different because of the distinctiveness of the reflexes of the Old-Iranian sound system. Dari numerals are also widely used as well as the native ones. The Ormuri numerals are based on the decimal counting system, i.e. the words for numbers one to ten are used (with a few phonetic exceptions) in composing the other numerals; in everyday speech, however, a vigesimal counting system also sometimes occurs, probably because of the influence of Pashto.

The first ten numerals, except for number ‘one’, are reflexes of corresponding Old-Iranian prototypes:

- Log. **še**, Kan. **sa (sā)** masc., **syē** fem. ‘one’
according to Morgenstierne, from Ir. **sya-*, **syā* ‘this’
- Log. **do**, Kan. **dyo** ‘two’
< Ir. **duvá*
- Log. **šo**, Kan. **ři** ‘three’
< Ir. **θráya(h)*
- Log. **tsâr**, Kan. **tsâr** ‘four’
< Ir. **čāθvára*
- Log., Kan. **pendz** ‘five’
< Ir. **pánča*
- Log. **žo**, Kan. **ša/šâ** ‘six’
< Ir. **xšvaš*
- Log., Kan. **wo** ‘seven’
< Ir. **haftá*
- Log. **âxt**, Kan. **āšt (āšt)** ‘eight’
< Ir. **aštá*
- Log. **no**, **nə**, Kan. **na (nâ)** ‘nine’
< Ir. **náva*
- Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
< Ir. **dása*

Numerals 11 to 19 are formed using the name of a unit + ten:

- Log. **šándas**, Kan. **sándas**, **sandás** ‘eleven’
the first part shares its derivation with number ‘one’ + **dasa* (the inserted **n* is by analogy with Ir. **aivandasa* ‘eleven’)
- Log. **dwās**, Kan. **dwās** ‘twelve’
< Ir. **d(u)vādasa*
- Log. **šes**, Kan. **řes** ‘thirteen’
< Ir. *θrídasa* or **θráyōdasa*
- Log., Kan. **tsarés** ‘fourteen’
from **čaθrudasa* ‘fourteen’
- Log., Kan. **pandzės** ‘fifteen’
< Ir. **pāncādasa*
- Log. **řalės**, Kan. **šóles**, **řwalės** ‘sixteen’
< Ir. **xšvāždasa*
- Log. **awės**, Kan. **awės** ‘seventeen’
< Ir. **haftādasa*
- Log. **ařtes**, Kan. **ařtés** ‘eighteen’
< Ir. **ařtādasa*
- Log. **nes** (and **a-nės**), Kan. **a-nes** ‘nineteen’
< Ir. **nāvādasa-*

The names of the decades in the modern language appear to be non-derived words, but historically they are formed from the names of the corresponding unit numeral either with Ir. **sat-* : **sant-*, which in origin is cognate with **dasa-* ‘ten’ (from the twenties to fifties inclusive), or with the suffix Ir. **-ti* (from the sixties to nineties), cf. GIPh, Vol. 1, Pt. 1:111-112:

- Log. **řístu**, Kan. **řístu**, **a-řístu** ‘twenty’
< Ir. **vīsati*
- Log. **řístu**, Kan. **řístu** ‘thirty’
< **θrísatam*
- Log. **tsāřtu**, Kan. **tsāřtu** ‘forty’
< **čaθvár-satam*
- Log. **pandzāřtu**, **pandzāřtu**, Kan. **pandzāřtu** ‘fifty’
< Ir. **pančāsatam*
- Log. **řóřtu**, Kan. **řwėřtu**, **řwířtu** ‘sixty’
< Ir. **xšvařtí* (with stress shift and the subsequent replacement of *í* by *u* by analogy with other numerals), cf. Av. *xšvařtí-*, Skt. *řařtí-* id., Parth. *řřt /řařt* id.
- Log. **awāy**, Kan. **awāy** ‘seventy’
< Ir. **haftāřtí(m)*

- Log. **aštáy**, Kan. **aštáy** ‘eighty’
< Ir. **aštātí*
- Log. **nawí**, Kan. **nawī** G ‘nineteen’
< Ir. **navatí*

The intermediate numerals between the decades, starting from the third decade, i.e. from twenty-one, are formed syntactically:

In Logar the units come last and combine with tens, hundreds, thousands, etc., using the conjunction (*w*)*o*, (*w*)*u* ‘and’, and with decades ending in *-u* by simple juxtaposition:

- **ǰístu še** ‘twenty-one’
- **še su šístu do** ‘one hundred and thirty-two’
- **tsár azár-o ášt** ‘four thousand and eight’

In Kaniguram:

a) by the use of *wi* or *i*, after consonants (in origin a pronominal directional particle with a locative meaning ‘on it, on them’) or by the pronominal adverb *wizar* (derived from it and with the same meaning):⁸⁰

- **sa-wi-ǰístu** ‘twenty-one’
- **ři-wi-tsáštu** ‘forty-three’
- **sa-wizar-su** ‘a hundred and one’
- **dyo-wizar-su** ‘a hundred and two’

b) by juxtaposition (according to Grierson’s findings):

- **sō-ǰístū** ‘twenty-one’
- **šō-ǰístū** ‘twenty-six’ (Grierson 1921:140)

The names of the hundreds are formed by combining the names of units with Log., Kan. *su* ‘hundred’

- Log. **su**, Kan. **su** ‘hundred’
< Ir. **satám*
- Log. **do su**, Kan. **dyo su** ‘two hundred’
- Log. **šo su**, Kan. **ři su** ‘three hundred’
- Log. **tsár su**, Kan. **tsār su** ‘four hundred’

‘Thousand’:

- Log. **azár** (may be a loan word from Dari), Kan. **zār**
< Ir. **hazáhrām*

⁸⁰ See in Morgenstierne’s materials: *šəwǰístu* ‘26’, *řiwǰístu* ‘23’, *tserǰístu* ‘24’ (where *tser*^o < **tsar* < **tsār* ‘four’ in unstressed position + *i* < *wi* + *ǰístu* ‘twenty’) etc. (Morgenstierne 1932a).

A vigesimal counting system is occasionally used (especially in the speech of older people):

- Log. **šo jǐstu** ‘sixty’
- Log. **tsār jǐstu** ‘eighty’
- Log. **tsār-o nim jǐstu** ‘ninety’
- Kan. **aštāy-wi- das** ‘ninety’

In Logar nouns with cardinal numbers in front may be either sg. or pl.:

- *še saṛay* ‘one man’
- *pendz goy* ‘five cows’
- *tsār marzā* ‘four brothers’
- *tsār klaniči* ‘four sons’

but in Kaniguram they are generally pl. and more rarely sg.:

- *ša zéli* ‘six women’
- *tsār kulán(n)i* ‘four sons’
- *tsār kulān* id.

In Kaniguram the numeral ‘one’ has a masculine and feminine form:

- *sa saṛay* ‘one man’

but:

- *sye dzarka* ‘one woman’

This numeral is used in both dialects as an indefinite article.

Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinals by adding a suffix Log. *-óm*, Kan. *-úm* (< Ir. **-ama*), which produces phonetic changes in some numerals. For the ordinal ‘first’ the Arabic *aw(w)ál* is used, borrowed through Dari and Pashto. Here are the first ten ordinal numbers:

| | Logar | | Kaniguram |
|------------------|--------------------|--------|------------------------|
| 1 st | <i>aw(w)ál</i> | | <i>aw(w)al, awwalí</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>dowóm/doyom</i> | | <i>dim</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>šowóm</i> | (rare) | <i>řim</i> |
| 4 th | <i>tsārom</i> | | <i>tsārúm</i> |
| 5 th | <i>pendzóm</i> | | <i>pendzúm</i> |
| 6 th | <i>řowóm</i> | | <i>řawúm</i> |
| 7 th | <i>wowóm</i> | (rare) | <i>owúm</i> |
| 8 th | <i>aštóm</i> | (Dari) | <i>aštúm</i> |
| 9 th | <i>nəwóm</i> | | <i>nahúm</i> |
| 10 th | <i>dasóm</i> | | <i>dasúm</i> |

Ordinal numerals usually come before the noun they are defining:

- Log. *tsārom ketāb*, Kan. *tsārúm kitāb* ‘the fourth book’
- Log. *dasom ner*, Kan. *dasum nar* ‘the tenth house’
- Kan. *dim wār* ‘the second time’.

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

There are personal pronouns only in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural. Two types of demonstrative pronouns (proximate and remote) are used as 3rd person sg. and pl. personal pronouns (see below).

The 1sg. personal pronoun has a direct form and an oblique one; the other pronouns are indeclinable:

| | singular | plural |
|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1 st | Log., Kan. <i>az</i> , obl. <i>mun</i> | Log. <i>māx</i> , Kan. <i>māx</i> |
| 2 nd | Log., Kan. <i>tu</i> | Log. <i>tos</i> , Kan. <i>tyos</i> |

Personal pronouns function somewhat differently in each dialect, in connection with the fact that ergative constructions differ between the dialects.

In Logar the direct form (= direct case) of the 1sg. personal pronoun is used to express:

a) the subject in a nominative construction:

- *az bu erzeyom*
‘I am coming/shall come’
- *az bu, ka tar tu e-šāyestagi-ki sayl kem, az bu šúkər kaḡdem*
‘When I look at your beauty, I thank (the creator)’
- *az na ĵend om, na pari yom – az tordalay om, ta xord-kābol om, ta bewazan a-klān-om*
‘I am neither a djinn nor a peri – I am Turdalai, I am from Khord Kabul, the son of a widow’
- *az ta xoy ta pe ner-ne paydā šukom*
‘I was born in my father’s house’
- *az pa zobān ta ormoři poy sam*
‘I understand Ormuri’

b) the logical subject in an ergative construction:

- Log. *az ta xoy a-duwa ta flāni klān-ki aršuk*
‘I gave my daughter (in marriage) to the son of so-and-so’
- *az ku-Ahmad dek*
‘I saw Ahmad’

- *az nela-di-wa poxtāna dāk*
'I asked of him'
- *az kere ketāb awok-e*
'I have (already) read this book'.

The oblique form (= oblique case) of the 1sg. personal pronoun (with the object particle *ku-*) is used to express the following:

a) the direct object in a nominative construction:

- *afo-b ku-mun juxē*
'He sees me'
- *Ahmad bu ku-mun dzane*
'Ahmad is beating me'

b) the logical object in an ergative construction:

- *tos ku-mun dek?*
'Did you (pl.) see me?'
- *ku-mun-a dzok*
'He beat me'
- *afo ku-mun dzok*
'He beat me'

c) an oblique complement in a sentence of any type; in this context *mun* is used with postpositions to express the syntactical functions of a noun in a sentence:

- *tu ku-mun-ki če-ki sayl kon?*
'Why are you looking at me?'
- *afo ku-mun-di kere ketāb nak-žayok*
'He did not ask me (to give him) this book (to read)'
- *Ahmad ku-mun-qađi bāzār-ki erzāk*
'Ahmad came to the bazaar together with me'
- *ku-mun-ki maalum nak-e*
'It is unknown to me'
- *afo-b ku-mun-že e'tebār dare*
'He trusts me'

d) personal possession (used with the preposition *tar*):

- *tar mun a-pe*
'my father'
- *tar mun ta kākā a-stor klân*
'the eldest son of my uncle'
- *tar mun (ku-)māwa-ki*
'of my mother'

The other personal pronouns with one, indeclinable form have the same functions as the direct and oblique forms of the 1st person singular personal pronoun. Thus they may denote:

a) the subject in a nominative construction:

- *mâx ku-tu juxen*
'We see you'
- *tos bu kere ketâb away* 'You are reading this book'
- *tu-b bad surat tar mun jux aw sabər bu ki*
'You (sg.) see my ugliness (but) you endure it'

b) the logical subject in an ergative construction

- *mâx ku-tu dek*
'We saw you (sg.)'
- *tos ku-ketâb awok?*
'Have you (pl.) read the book?'
- *mâx kere ketâb awok-e*
'We have (already) read this book'
- *tos kufo dzok*
'You (pl.) beat him'
- *tu (ku-) Ahmad dek?*
'Did you (sg.) see Ahmad?'

c) the direct object in a nominative construction (with the particle *ku-*):

- *Ahmad ku-mâx dzane bu*
'Ahmad is hitting us'
- *az ku-tos juxim bu*
'I see you (pl.)'

d) the logical object in an ergative construction (with the particle *ku-*):

- *tos ku-mâx dek*
'You (pl.) saw us'
- *Ahmad ku-tu dek*
'Ahmad saw you'

e) personal possession:

- *tar mâx a-qawm goda-di erzâk-e?*
'Where has our tribe come from?'
- *tar tu a-ner boy e*
'Your house is near'
- *prasol tar mun a-giši-b dimok*
'Last year I had toothache'

- *az bu roxsar-e šer tar tu juxim, šokər bu kam*
‘I see your beautiful face (and) thank (God)’

In Kaniguram the direct form of the personal pronoun *az* ‘I’ may be:

a) the subject of a nominative construction

- *az bu o saray dzunem*
‘I see this man’
- *az bu nar jorem*
‘I am building a house’
- *az bu a-kitāb y^wasam*
‘I am reading (this) book’
- *az bu a-xat pa qalam likim*
‘I am writing the letter with a pen’
- *az bu pa ormaṛo poy awasam*
‘I understand Ormuri’
- *a-prān az kābul-ki tsekam*
‘Yesterday I travelled to Kabul’
- *az-z-ar san kānigrām-lāsta zokam*
‘Today I came from Kaniguram’

b) the logical subject in an ergative construction:

- *az afā san dyek*
‘I saw him today’
- *az tyos san dyekay*
‘I saw you today’
- *az kura-ki yekin*
‘I said to him’

c) the logical object in an ergative construction:⁸¹

- *afā az dyekam*
‘He saw me’
- *Ahmad az dzok*
‘Ahmad beat me’

The oblique form of the 1sg. personal pronoun *mun* in Kaniguram (together with the optional use of the object particle *ku-/ka-*⁸²) has some indirect functions when combined with a preposition or postposition:

⁸¹ Cf. Kurd. *āwi āz dīt̄m* ‘He saw me’ (JAA 1978: 142).

⁸² This variant is used only with 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns.

- *afā-r mun-ki zok*
'He came to me'
- *afā-l ka-mun-giraḍ tsek*
'He went with me'
- *a nar ye ka-mun-lāsta ḡor suk a*
'The house was built by me'

In addition, *mun* can express personal possession when combined with the preposition *tar*:

- *tar mun ta nyāk a-k(u)lān*
'the son of my uncle' (on my mother's side)
- *tar mun dyo pāri*
'my two legs'
- *tar mun a-pye fā zari nar-nar bu pinḍi*
'My father lives in that little house'
- *tar mun bu a-ḍim dumi*
'My stomach hurts'

In presentational constructions this form designates the possessor:

- *tar mun ye o yaqin ha...*
'I have such confidence...' (i.e. 'I am sure')

Other personal pronouns with no oblique form have all the functions given above of the direct and oblique forms of the 1st person personal pronoun. They can be used as:

a) the subject in a nominative construction:

- *māx bu pa ormaḡo zbān xabəray kyan*
'We speak Ormuri'
- *tyos bu poy ga awasay ka nak bu poy awasay?*
'Do you (pl.) also understand (Ormuri) or do you not understand?'
- *tu-r zok e, ay Ahmad*
'Have you (already) arrived, Ahmad?'
- *māx-al peri bāzār-ki tsekyen*
'We are now walking (down) to the bazaar'

b) the logical subject in an ergative construction:

- *tu o kitāb yekin*
'Have you (sg.) read (through) this book?'
- *tu san tar mun a-pye dyek a*
'Have you (sg.) seen my father today?'
- *...tyos brušk nori xwālk*
'... would you (pl.) really have eaten the slightly burnt bread?'

c) the direct object in a nominative construction:

- *az bu tyos dzunem*
'I see you (pl.)'

d) the logical object in an ergative construction:

- *afā tyos dyekay*
'He saw you (pl.)'
- *afā tu dyek e*
'He has (already) seen you (sg.)'
- *tu-m san mandrasta-nar dyek e*
'I have (already) seen you (sg.) today in the madrasah'
- *az tyos san dyekay*
'I saw you (pl.) today'

e) the indirect object (with the particle *ku-/ka-* and, optionally, a preposition or postposition):

- *afā-l ka-tu-giraḍ tsek*
'He went with you'
- *Ahmad ka-tu-lāsta a-kitāb wryuk*
'Ahmad took the book from you'
- *afā-r tu-ki zok*
'He came to you'
- *afā-l ka-māx-giraḍ tsek*
'He went with us'
- *tu māx-ki yekin*
'You said to us'

In combination with the preposition *tar* these personal pronouns signify personal possession:

- *tar tu a-māwa*
'your (sg.) mother'
- *tar tyos a-pye*
'your (pl.) father'
- *tar māx a-nar*
'our house'

In presentational constructions they express the possessor:

- *tar māx dyo pāri...hin*
'With us there are (we have) two legs'

Personal pronouns in Ormuri are derived in most cases from either the nominative or genitive case of the corresponding personal pronoun in Old Iranian.

Singular, 1st person:

- Log., Kan. **az** (direct form) ‘I’
< Iran. **azam*, nom.
- Log., Kan. **mun** (oblique form)
< Ir. **mána*, gen.

2nd person:

- Log., Kan. **tu** ‘you (sg.)’
< Ir. **tuvám*, nom.

Plural, 1st person:

- Log. **māx**, Kan. **māx** ‘we’
< Ir. **ahmāxam*, gen.

2nd person:

- Log. **tos**, Kan. **tyos** ‘you (pl.)’
undoubtedly cognate with Pashto *tāsu* ‘you (pl.)’, Waziri *tus*, *tose*

Enclitic personal pronouns

Apart from the independent personal pronouns detailed above, Ormuri also has enclitic personal pronouns. In Logar they are *enclitic*, i.e. they are pronounced together with the preceding word. In Kaniguram these markers can be either enclitic or proclitic.

| Singular | Logar | Kaniguram |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 st | -am (-om)/-m | -am/-m |
| 2 nd | -at/-t | -at/-t |
| 3 rd | -a/-wa | -a/-wa |
| Plural | | |
| 1 st | -an/-n (-en ?) | -an/-n |
| 2 nd | -an/-n | + -an/-n |
| 3 rd | -a/-wa | -a/-wa; + -an/-n ⁸³ |

Enclitic pronouns have the following functions:

a) the logical subject in an ergative construction:

- Log. *ku-mun-a dzok*
‘He beat me’
- *kufo-t dek? – na, nak-am dek*
‘Did you (sg.) see him? No, I did not see (him)’

⁸³ The forms cited are taken from Grierson’s work (Grierson 1921:146); they are not recorded in our materials.

- *ku-goy-at tarok? wāya, tarok-am*
‘Did you (sg.) tether the cow? Yes, I tethered (it)’
 - Kan. *a-bi tsān-am bu a-gas dumak aw nawalk-am-al aw yam-lāsta-wa di xlās syukam*
‘Last year my tooth was hurting and (then) I pulled it out and escaped (from the pain)’
 - *san-am ye ta zāl a-zanquči dyek*
‘Today I saw a rainbow’ (lit. ‘the cradle of Zal’)
- b) the direct object of a nominative construction:
- Log. *afo-b žaye, ka ku-xoy-at juže*
‘He wants to see you yourself’
 - *har tsa-b ka yoš, az-a-b manim*
‘I agree with everything you (sg.) say’
(lit. ‘Everything you say, I approve of it’)
 - *xram-a su*
‘I know this inside out!’
 - *xodāy-an bad e-badтарin-di sātōn*
‘God, protect us from harm’ (lit. ‘from the very worst’)
 - Kan. *afā sir dzan aw pa pəri-wa teran*
‘Beat him thoroughly and tie him up with rope’
 - *a-pye-m o kitāb yek a aw peri dal-a-b tu-ki wapās řyuk-a inči*
‘My father has (already) read this book and now he can return it to you (sg.)’
 - *az-di-b, ka xabóray k’em, tu-wa bu amar?*
‘Can you (sg.) hear me when I speak?’
(lit. ‘When I say words, do you hear them?’)
- c) an attribute attached to a noun where the attribute indicates ownership of the object or person:
- Log. *māwa-m*, Kan. *māwa-m* ‘my mother’
 - Log. *marzā-t*, Kan. *marzā-t* ‘your brother’
 - Log. *nām-am Ahmad e*
‘My name is Ahmad’
 - *ahwāl-an šer e*
‘How are you?’
 - *az ku-marzā-wa dek*
‘I saw his/their brother’
 - Kan. *a-dim-am bu zut dumi*
‘My stomach hurts a lot’

- *ka a-tsimi-t roya bukun, bye tyos brušk noři tsā xwālk?*
'If your (sg.) eyes had been healthy, would you (lit. 'you' pl.) really have eaten the slightly burnt bread?'

We must mention the use of enclitic pronouns in presentational constructions to express a possessor:

- Log. *tsun yāsp-a da ye?*
'How many horses does he have?'
- Kan. *šāyidi-wa di nak-bukin*
'...they had no witnesses'
- *tsa matlab-at ye ha*
'What is your intention?'
- *tsa hāl-at ye ha?*
'How are you? (lit 'What is your condition?')

The enclitic pronoun used this way can be separated from the attribute by other words, i.e. it can be positionally distant from it:

- Kan. *a-bi tsān-am bu a-gas dumak*
'Last year my tooth hurt'
- *a-prān-at ye ta pye tsa kār byuk?*
'What pursuit did your father have yesterday?'
(i.e. with what was he occupied?)
- *pa zari nar-nar-am bu a-pye žwand taray*
'My father lives in this little house'
- Cf. Log. *kere kār-ne-m zle poxok šuk*
'I am fed up with this' (lit. 'In this matter my heart is baked')
- *xronoki-di-m zle altsok*
'I am dying of hunger'
(lit 'My heart has gone away because of hunger')

d) an indirect object:

- Log. *tsa-m ka poř-ne nawešta ye, be-b nak se*
'What is determined for me by fate, that will happen'
(lit. 'What is written on my forehead will not become different')
- *afo-m bu pa kār, se*
'It is useful for me'
- *tsam bu, pořtəna-wa-b kam*
'I will go (and) ask him'

Enclitic pronouns can be used *proclitically* in Kaniguram:

- *o šay t-ye kuk-lāsta wryuk?*
'From whom did you buy this thing?'

- *az o kitāb yekin, xo xatm m-a nak-dok*
'I was reading this book but did not finish (reading it)'
- *čiya m-ye dok M*
'I sneezed'

Enclitic pronouns in the singular go back to the gen./dat. case form of the corresponding Old-Iranian enclitic pronoun (IIFL:348):

- Log., Kan. **-am** 1st pers.
< Ir. **-a-mai*, cf. Av. *mē*, O.Pers. *mai* 'my, to me'
- Log., Kan. **-at** 2nd pers.
< Ir. **-a-tai*, cf. Av. *tē*, O.Pers. *tai* 'your, to you'
- Log., Kan. **-a (-wa)** 3rd pers.
< Ir. **-a-šai*, cf. Av. *šē*, O.Pers. *šai*, or
< Ir. **-a-hai*, cf. Av. *hōi*, *hē* (IIFL:348)

In the plural the enclitic pronouns are different in each dialect. 1pl. Log., Kan. *-an* may be a reflex of the gen./dat. case of the corresponding Old-Iranian enclitic pronoun **-a-nah*, cf. Av. *nā* (gen./dat.), *nō* (dat.) (Reichert 1909:213).

However, if this is the case, it is difficult to explain the origin of enclitic pronouns of similar form which occur in other persons of the plural. (See for example, Log. *-a/-wa* in the 3pl. which undoubtedly shares its origin with the sg. form.)

If *-an* is extended to all persons of the pl., it is a great help in explaining the new formations which appeared later, as in Parthian (OIJ1981:203), which were compounds of the corresponding sg. enclitic with the pl. nominal suffix *-ān* < Ir. **-ānām*:

1st pers. **-mān*, 2nd pers. **-tān*, 3rd pers. **-šān*.

In accordance with the rules of Ormuri phonetic development, intervocalic **t* and **š* were elided, and unstressed long **ā* reduced its length, as a result of which the 2pl. and 3pl. enclitic pronouns had the homonymous form *-an*. The 1pl. enclitic pronoun was levelled by analogy with them (in line with the trend in syncretising the category of person in the pl.).

Demonstrative pronouns

There are two types of demonstrative pronouns: *proximate* and *remote*. Demonstrative pronouns are used either independently, having the function of 3rd person personal pronouns, or attributively; their grammatical characteristics depend on their function.

In Logar demonstrative pronouns used as nouns have number and case. The origin of the cases shows them to be a feature of secondary synthesis resulting from the formalisation of the demonstrative pronouns combining with prepositions. This process, however, must not be considered complete, especially with respect to some case forms of remote demonstrative pronouns. With this in mind, it is possible to distinguish the following cases in Logar: *direct*, *objective* and *possessive*:

| Case | Proximate | | Remote | |
|--------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| Direct | <i>a</i> | <i>ay(i)n/ay(i)</i> | <i>afo</i> | <i>afoy(i)n/afoy(i)</i> |
| Obj. | <i>k(e)re</i> | <i>k(e)rey(i)n/ k(e)rey(i)</i> | <i>k(u)fo</i> | <i>ku(a)foy(i)n/ ku(a)foy(i)</i> |
| Poss. | <i>tare</i> | <i>tarey(i)n/ tarey(i)</i> | <i>tafo</i> | <i>tafoy(i)n/ tafoy(i)</i> |

The functions of the direct and the objective cases overlap. The direct case is used to designate:

a) the subject in a nominative construction:

- *afo-b ar roz ku-tabila pāk ke*
'He cleans the cattle shed every day'
- *afo erzāk?*
'Has he come?'
- *afo-b erzeve*
'He is coming, will come'
- *a zot qeymat e*
'This is very expensive'
- *a-b xat nawešta ke*
'He is writing a letter'

b) the logical subject in an ergative construction:

- *afo zot xolok e*
'She ate a lot (said of a cow)'
- *prân afoyin bu xat nawešta dāk*
'Yesterday they wrote a letter'

The objective case denotes:

a) the direct object in a nominative construction:

- *az bu kere/kufo jušim*
'I see him'
- *šâyad prân-a kere âxer-tomnak awok be*
'Perhaps he read it (a book) to the end yesterday'

b) the logical object in an ergative construction:

- *az kere/kufo dek*
'I saw him'
- *Ahmad kere/kufo dzok*
'Ahmad hit him'

At the same time, the direct case as well as the objective case may be used to express the direct object and the logical object:

- *še ketâb eršer, ka a-wa-b awe*
'Give me the book that he is reading'
- *az das ketibi erwolok, ka ayn-a-b awe*
'I brought the ten books that they are reading'
- *az afo dek, or: afo-m dek*
'I saw him'
- *afoyin-a erwolok*
'He brought them'

In oblique functions (in combination with a postposition) the objective case is more often used:

- *az kere-ki/kufo-ki yok*
'I said to him'
- *kufoyin-ki yoš*
'Tell them'
- *kufo-di poxtâna kon*
'Ask him'
- *kereyn-ki juš*
'Look at them'

However, when functioning as an indirect object, a demonstrative pronoun is sometimes also used without an objective particle:

- *kufo-že-wa (afo-že-wa) ku-mořar yošawok*
'He made him wash the car'
- *tos afo-ki (afoyin-ki) še ketâb alšuk*
'You gave him (them) one book'
- *Ahmad kufoyin-ki (afoyin-ki) tsa alyok?*
'What did Ahmad tell them?'
- *afo-ne wok da ye*
'There is water in it (the well)'
- *afoyn-ne kok stor e?*
'Which of them is older?'

When demonstrative pronouns are used with a substantival meaning in the possessive case,⁸⁴ the noun qualified by them takes the form appropriate to its syntactic function; it can combine with a preposition, postposition, article or the object particles *ku-* or *e-*:

⁸⁴ In addition to the forms mentioned above, Morgenstierne and Grierson note also an 'instrumental' case of these pronouns, which we regard as a combination of pronoun and the Log., Kan. preposition *pa*. See section 3.3. It may be that only the proximate pronoun Log. *pare*, Kan. *para* (with epenthetic *r*, see below) has this particular form.

- *tafō ta marzā a-ner*
'his brother's house'
- *kok mez-di tafō ku-ketāb nok?*
'Who took his book from the table?'
- *tareyn a-ner boy e*
'Their house is nearby'
- *tafō e-mox-ki-wa dek*
'She looked at his face'
- *tareyn a-kār xalās kon*
'End your conversation with them' (lit. 'end their business')

In presentational constructions this form is used to designate the possessor:

- *tafō ner wal e* 'He (has) a house there'
- *tare še dewāna spok buk* 'He had a mad dog'

Demonstrative pronouns used as adjectives come before the noun, as do adjectives. The case form (always sg.) in which the pronoun in question occurs is usually determined by the syntactic function of the qualified noun:

- *a/afō saṛay* 'this/that person (man)'
- *a/afō zarka* 'this/that woman'
- *a/afō saṛayi* 'these/those men (people)'
- *a/afō zarkiyi* 'these/those women'
- *a-zarka kere ner-di ernisok*
'The woman came out of this house'
- *az kufō saṛay-ki ketāb alšuk*
'I gave this person a book'
- *az bu pare qalam rasm kam*
'I draw with this pen'
- *kere xār-tomnak zot rāy e*
'It is a long way to this town'

As in independent use, demonstrative pronouns may be used in these instances in the direct form when the qualified noun acts as a direct or indirect object:

- *afō ketāb-am awok* 'I have read that book'
- *afō-di (/kufō-di) poxtāna kon* 'Ask him'
- *afō-ne (/kufō-ne) wok da ye* 'There is water in it'

When used as nouns, demonstrative pronouns in Kaniguram (see the table below) have the categories of case, number, gender, person/non-person and animate/inanimate (the last three are not clearly marked).

| Case | Proximate | | Remote | |
|--------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| Direct | (h)o masc. (h)ǎ fem. & masc. | (h)ǎy | (h)afo masc. (h)afa fem. & masc. | (h)afay |
| Obl. | (ku)ra pa | (ku)ray pay | (ku)fa | (ku)fay |
| Poss. | tara tapa | taray tapay | tafa | tafay |

When used as a noun the direct case of this pronoun can indicate:

a) the subject in a nominative construction:

- *a ye gyoy ha*
'This is a cow'
- *tar tu a-pye wiš ha; afa bu anduški xra, aw wak di bu zut tri*
'Your father does not sleep; he eats little, but he drinks much water'
- *afay begunā hin*
'They are innocent (sinless)'
- *afay-r dal-ki zākin*
'They came here'
- *afa-r dal-ki zok*
'He came here'
- *a tar mun ta pye nar a*
'This is my father's house' (*nar* fem. 'house')

b) the logical subject in an ergative construction:

- *afa-l yekin*
'He said (to him, to them)'
- *afay-l yekin*
'They said (to him, to them)'
- *afa tyos dyekay*
'He saw you (pl.)'
- *afa-l ka-mun-lāsta kitāb wryuk*
'He took the book from me'
- *ay san afa dyek*
'They saw him today'

c) the direct object in a nominative construction:

- *afa sir dzan aw pa pəri wa teṛan*
'Beat him well and bind him with rope'

d) the logical object in an ergative construction

- *afā afay dyekin*
'He saw them'
- *afā-t dyek*
'You (sg.) saw him'
- *az afā san dyek*
'I saw him today'
- ... *peri-toskye afā az nak-yek a*
'... I have not read it (the book) yet'
- *peri-toskye afā nak-dyek a*
'... (I) have not seen him (father) yet'

The oblique case of this pronoun is used (with a postposition) in various oblique functions; in this use person and non-person are partially differentiated. Thus the proximate demonstrative pronoun is used to denote a person; it takes the particle of the indirect object *ku-* (optionally?):

- *afā-r kura-ki zok*
'he came to him'
- *az kura-ki yekin*
'I said to him'
- *az kuray-ki yekin*
'I said to them'
- *afā-l kura-girađ tsek*
'He went with him'

We have not recorded the form **i-ra*, which figures in Grierson's materials where a pronoun stands for an animate noun with a non-person meaning. In our materials the form with *ku-* is in contrast with the form *pa* (without the particle *i-*), which is used for inanimate nouns.

The oblique form of the remote demonstrative pronoun *fā*, pl. *fāy* (without the particles *ku-* or *i-*) is used for animate and inanimate alike:

- *az fā-ki (fāy-ki) yekin*
'I said to him (them)'
- *tu fā-ki (fāy-ki) yekin*
'You (sg.) said to him (them)'
- *sā-b ywasam, ka pa sa šay ye azāb řom, ka fā-lāsta ye ziyāt azāb nak-ba aw pa-lāsta ziyāt saxt azāb m-ye nak dyek ha*
'(And) I want to torment them (the eyes) with this (lit. with such a thing), worse (more) than which (*fā-lāsta*) cannot be, (but) worse torture (torment), than (to see) your face, I have not yet seen' (lit. a more terrible torment than this' (*pa*))

The possessive case is used to express personal ownership (in presentational constructions it denotes the possessor), and then there is some differentiation between

animate and inanimate. The proximate pronoun *tara*, pl. *taray* is only used where it stands for an animate noun:

- *tara kitāb* ‘his book’
- *taray a-duā bu sira qablawak sa*
‘Their prayer will be heard sooner’
- *... ye zeř tara pāri-ki wayyuk*
‘... One thorn pierced (lit. went into) his leg’

There are no examples in our texts of the use of the oblique form *tapa* standing for inanimate nouns (Grierson 1921:148). The remote pronoun *tafa* ‘his’, pl. *tafay* ‘their’ may stand for any noun, animate or inanimate:

- *tafa tānḍ-nar di spewa enči hin*
‘In its nest (it has in the nest) are little white eggs’
- *tafa a-marzā ye tafa xwār-lāsta čig ha*
‘His brother is taller than his sister’

but:

- *tafa a-qiyamat ye dyo-wu-nim rupyē ha*
‘Its price is two and a half rupees’

When used attributively, demonstrative pronouns are placed before the qualified noun and agree with it in case. Only proximate pronouns have some expression of gender and number. Thus the direct case of the pronoun *(h)o*, *(h)ā* is used as follows: *(h)o* only with masc. nouns, and *(h)ā* with fem. nouns and plurals of both genders. For example:

- *o yāsp ye ta tsun tsān-a ha?*
‘How old is this horse?’
(lit. ‘This horse – how many years has it?’)
- *o ping bu pa-wrikye buri*
‘This cock flies badly’ (lit. ‘slowly’)
- *a gyoy bu daryāb-ki tsawa*
‘This cow is going to the river’
- *a nar daryāb-ki boy a*
‘This house is near to the river’
- *o ta gunum a-yunday bu mořar-ki glim*
‘I will take (away) this bag of corn to the car’
- *o kitāb-ar bu nar-lāsta waram*
‘I will bring this book from home’
- *o řay t-ye kuk-lāsta wryuk ha?*
‘From whom did you buy this thing?’
- *ā ta mandrasta a-wořkay(i) bu guda-ki tseli?*
‘Where are you taking these schoolchildren?’

- *aḥa bu a dzarka dzuna*
'He sees this woman ...'

To judge by our materials, the remote type of demonstrative pronoun in the direct case does not differentiate between gender or number:

- *aḥa saṛay bu a-xway māli ta gri saṛ-zar payi*
'That person pastures his cattle on the top of the mountain'
- *az bu aḥa saṛay dzunem*
'I see this person'
- *aḥa kulak-al bu nar-ki čalim*
'I (will) take that boy home'
- *kye-m bu aḥa zeli lati nak-wrukin?*
'(And) why did I not take that soiled (paper) money?'

The oblique (*pa* and *fā*) and possessive (*taḥa* and *tafā*) cases are used with both animate and inanimate nouns (usually with no number expressed), cf. Grierson 1921:148:

- *fā zari nar-nar*
'In that small house'
- *a rupyē fā saṛay-ki řeri*
'Give this money to that man'
- *az bu pa nar-nar (fā nar-nar) piṇḍam*
'I live in this (that) house'
- *dalāsta fā wuna-toskye su gaz-a rāy ha*
'From here to that wood is a hundred *gaz* (journey)'
(a *gaz* is a measure of distance)
- *da ye taḥa (tafā) saṛay nar ha*
'Here is the house of this (that) man'

(see section 3.3 for the 'instrumental' case of pronouns).

The demonstrative pronouns in Ormuri are of different origins:

- Log. **a**, Kan. **(h)a** 'this' (early Orm. **hā*)
probably a reflex of Ir. **hā* nom. sg. fem. of **ha-* 'this', fem. *hā-*, cf. Av. nom. sg. fem. *hā* 'this'
- Kan. **(h)o** 'this' (early Orm. **hō*)
< Ir. **hvah* nom. sg. masc. of **hva-*, cf. Av. *hvō* (contamination with Ir. **hah* from **ha-* 'this' is possible, cf. Av. *hō* nom. sg. masc.)
- Log. **afo**, Kan. **(h)afo** masc., **(h)afa** masc. and fem. 'that'
possibly the result of contamination of several ancient pronouns, both remote Ir. **ava-* masc. and neut., *avā-* fem. and **hāu* masc. and fem., and proximate Ir. **hva-* masc. and neuter. To explain the sound *f* in this pronoun a comparison may be drawn with Parth., where initial *f* in */farrah/* 'fame' corresponds to Ir. *x^v* (*x^varnah-*, Av. *x^varənah*, Med. *farnah* id., cf. OIJ 1981:172)

The other cases of the demonstrative pronouns have new forms; they are the result of the direct form merging with various auxiliary elements: the object particle *ku-* and the prepositions *tar* and *pa*.⁸⁵

Pronominal directional particles

1st pers. Log. *er-*, *ar-*, *re-*, Kan. *(h)ir*, *ar*

2nd pers. Log. *dar-*, Kan. *dal*

3rd pers. Log. *al-*, Kan. *(h)al*

Pronominal directional particles have no category of number or gender. In Logar they usually come before the verb and may only rarely be separated from it by other words; in Kaniguram, on the other hand, it is usual for the pronominal directional particles to be at a distance from the verb, although they may be adjacent, before or after. The pronominal directional particles are used:

a) to designate the indirect object of a verb (including the recipient of the action):

- Log. *kere ketāb-at erbařok*
'You gave me/us this book'
- *tsa bala su erřom se?*
'And what misfortune awaits us/me?'
- *zle-m albreřok*
'I am very sorry for him/them'
- *kere rope ařo saray-ki alřer*
'Give this money to that man'
- *ka goda tu erzey, az su ketāb darřam*
'If you come (to me/us), I shall possibly give you the book'
- *Ahmad ku-tu-ki tsa daryok*
'What Ahmad told you'
- Kan. *dzawāb-al ye řyuk*
'He answered him'
- *dzawāb-a-r di-s řawi...*
'(And) he, no doubt, will answer me ...'
- *pye-m o ketāb yek a, o peri dal-a-b tu-ki wapas řyuk inči*
'My father has (already) read this book, now he can return it to you'
- *wak ar di kuway-lāsta nawar*
'Fetch me/us some water from the well'

⁸⁵ Epenthetic *r* in the objective case (in Logar) and oblique case (in Kaniguram) of the proximate pronouns were formed by analogy with the possessive case (Log. *tare*, Kan. *tara*), where *tar*^o < Ir. **tara(h)*, Av. *tarō*, *tarə*, O.Pers. *tara*.

b) to indicate the direction of the action with some verbs of motion; see the examples above and the following:

- *afoyin erzâk(in)*
‘They came to me/us’
- *az altsokom*
‘I went to him/them’
- *čây al-erwar*
‘Bring me/us some tea’
- *az bu altsam*
‘I am going to him/them’
- Kan. *Ahmada! dal arzay*
‘O Ahmad, come here’ (*dal* = ‘hither’)
- *aġa-l ka-tyos-girađ tsek*
‘He went/departed with you’

In origin the pronominal directional particles are closely connected with similar particles in Pashto.⁸⁶

Interrogative pronouns

- 1) Log. **kok**, Kan. **kok/kuk** ‘who’ (early Orm. **kō-ka(h)*)
< Ir. **kah*, nom. sg. masc. of **ka-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *ka-*, Av. *kō* nom. sg.)

This is used only for people. It has the same functions as other pronouns used as nouns:

- Log. *afo sařay bu ka tar tu e-petsa-di tsawe ta kok a-klân e?*
‘That man who is walking behind you, whose son is he?’
(lit. ‘the son of whom?’)
- Kan. *aġa ye kok a?*
‘Who is he?’

In Kaniguram this pronoun may also be used as an adjective:

- *kok kal ye*
‘Some bald person’
- 2) Log., Kan. **tša** (Log. also **tse**) ‘what sort of; which’
< Ir. **čahya* gen. sg. of *ka-*, cf. Parth. *tsy, tšy /čē/* ‘what sort of, which, who’

This is used only with inanimate objects, plants and all living creatures (except people):

- Log. *a tša e?*
‘What is this?’

⁸⁶ According to V. A. Livšic, *rā, dar* and *var* in Pashto are reflexes of the ancient demonstrative pronominal adverbs **ara, *aitara, *avara* (with an adverbial suffix *-r*) (Livšic 1959:102-103; cf. Morgenstierne 1926:35).

- *Ahmad afo-ki tsa alyok?*
'What did Ahmad tell him/them?'
 - *tsa-b jux?*
'What do you (sg.) see?'
 - Kan. *tsa-t ye x^walak a?*
'What did you (sg.) eat?'
 - *tsa matlab-at ye ha?*
'What do you (sg.) want?'
 - *tsa-ye bu xri?*
'What are you (sg.) eating?'
- 3) Log., Kan. **tsen** 'which'
< Ir. *čiyantam acc. sg. of *čiyant-, Av. *čiyant- (AIW: 597-598)

Examples:

- Log. *tsen ner-ne-b zendagi ki?*
'In which house do you live?'
 - Kan. *tsen taraf-ki?* 'in which direction?'
 - *aŋa bu a-tsen kitāb γ^wasi*
'He was reading a book of some sort'
(with *tsen* as an indefinite pronoun)
- 4) Log., Kan. **tsun** 'how many; how much'
< Ir. *čvantam acc. sg. of *čvant- 'how much', Av. čvant-, čavant-, Parth. *tswnd /čvand, čond/*id.

Examples:

- *tsun ketāb-at erwolok?*
'How many books have you brought?'
- Kan. *ta tsun tsāna-a ha?*
'How old is she?' (lit. 'How many years has she?')

Reflexive and quantifying pronouns

- 1) Log. **xoy** and Kan. **x^way** 'self, one's own'
< Ir. *x^vata(h), Av. x^vatō 'self', Parth. *wxd /x^vad/*id.

xoy in Logar is used in combination with the preposition *ta*; *x^way* in Kaniguram is prefixed to the qualified noun (with no preposition). This pronoun can be:

a) a determiner:

- Log. *xoy-am erzākom*
'I myself came'
- Kan. *x^way-at guda he?*
'Where are you yourself?'

b) possessive:

- *ta xoy ku-ketâb-om nok*
'I took my book'
- *x^way šāgird-ki yekin*
'(He) said to his pupil'

c) reflexive:

- Log. *ku-xoy-a dek*
'He saw himself'

2) Log. **ayéra** 'all, everything'

This is used independently and as part of a compound attribute:

- *ayera xâr-ki altsok(in), az ner-ne ezokom*
'They all went to the town, (but) I remained at home'
- *ayera xalq kere faysala qabul dâk*
'All the people approved this decision'

Kan. **i-harra lāsta** G in the phrase *i-harra lawsta di sir ha* 'This is the best of all' (Grierson 1918:32). The element *yer^o/har^o* < Ir. **harvah* from **harva-*, Av. *haurva-*, O.Pers. *haruva-* 'whole, all', Parth. *hrw /harv/* 'all, every, each'.

The following are used as indefinite pronouns: Log., Kan. **tsun** 'some, several':

- *tsun roz bad afo be erzâk*
'After several days he came again'

Log. **hets/heč**, Kan. **hets** 'any':

- Log. *maktab-ne-m hets kok nat-dek*
'I saw no one in the school'
- Kan. *az prân hets kâr nak-dranak*
'Yesterday I had no work'

Table 5: Syntactic functions of the noun phrase

1) In the Logar dialect:

1a) Personal pronouns:

| Syntactic function: | Personal pronouns | | | |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| | 1 st pers. | 2 nd pers. | 3 rd pers. | |
| | | | Proximate | Remote |
| Subj. of a nom. construction; logical subj. of erg. construction | <i>az</i> , pl. <i>mâx</i> | <i>tu</i> , pl. <i>tos</i> | <i>a</i> , pl. <i>ay(i)n</i> | <i>afo</i> , pl. <i>afoy(i)n</i> |
| Dir. obj. of nom. construction, logical obj. of an ergative construction | <i>ku-mun</i> , pl. <i>ku-mâx</i> | <i>ku-tu</i> , pl. <i>ku-tos</i> | <i>k(e)rê</i> , pl. <i>k(e)rêy-(i)n</i> , <i>a</i> , pl. <i>ay(i)n</i> | <i>ku-(a)fô</i> , pl. <i>ku-(a)foy(i)n</i> <i>afo</i> , pl. <i>afoy(i)n</i> |
| Possession | <i>tar mun</i> , pl. <i>tar mâx</i> | <i>tar tu</i> , pl. <i>tar tos</i> | <i>tare</i> , pl. <i>tarey(i)n</i> | <i>ta (a)fô</i> , pl. <i>ta (a)foy(i)n</i> |
| Oblique functions (+ post- position) | <i>(ku-)mun</i> , pl. <i>ku-mâx</i> + postposition | <i>(ku-)tu</i> , pl. <i>(ku-)tos</i> + postposition | <i>k(e)rê</i> , pl. <i>k(e)rey-(i)n</i> <i>a</i> , pl. <i>ay(i)n</i> + postposition | <i>ku-(a)fô</i> , pl. <i>ku-(a)foy(i)n</i> <i>afo</i> , pl. + postposition |

1b) Nouns:

| Syntactic function: | Nouns | |
|--|---|---|
| | Definite | Indefinite |
| Subj. of a nom. construction; logical subj. of ergative construction | <i>Ahmad</i> <i>a-klân</i> <i>a-duwa</i> <i>a-ner</i> | <i>še klân</i> <i>še duwa</i> <i>še ner</i> |
| Dir. obj. of nom. construction, logical obj. of an ergative construction | <i>(ku-) Ahmad</i> <i>ku-/a- klân</i> <i>ku-/a- duwa</i> <i>ku-/a- ner</i> | <i>(še) klân</i> <i>(še) duwa</i> <i>(še) ner</i> |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Possession | <i>ta Ahmad(i)</i> <i>ta klân(i)</i> etc. |
| Oblique functions (+ postposition) | <i>(ku-)Ahmad(e)</i> <i>(ku-/e-) klân(e)</i> etc. + postposition |

2) Kaniguram dialect:

2a) Personal pronouns:

| Syntactic function: | Personal pronouns | | | |
|---|--|--|---|---|
| | 1 st pers. | 2 nd pers. | 3 rd pers. | |
| | | | Proximate | Remote |
| Subject/ direct obj. of a nom. construct- ion; logical subj./obj. of an erg. construction | <i>az</i> , pl. <i>māx</i> | <i>tu</i> , pl. <i>tyos</i> | <i>(h)o</i> masc. <i>(h)a</i> masc. fem. pl. <i>ay</i> | <i>afo</i> masc. <i>aġa</i> masc., fem. pl. <i>aġay</i> |
| Possession | <i>tar mun</i> , pl. <i>tar māx</i> | <i>tar tu</i> , pl. <i>tar tyos</i> | <i>tara</i> , pl. <i>taray</i> (of persons), <i>tapa</i> , pl. + <i>tapay</i> (in other instances) | <i>tafa</i> , pl. <i>taġay</i> |
| Oblique functions (+ postposition) | <i>(ka-)mun</i> , pl. <i>(ka-)māx</i> + postposition | <i>(ka-)tu</i> , pl. <i>(ka-)tyos</i> + postposition | <i>kura</i> , pl. <i>kuray</i> (of persons), <i>pa</i> , pl. <i>pay</i> (in other instances) + postposition | <i>fa</i> , pl. <i>faġay</i> + postposition |

2b) Nouns:

| <i>Syntactic function:</i> | <i>Nouns</i> | |
|---|--|---|
| | Definite | Indefinite |
| Subj./obj. of a nom. construction; logical subj./obj. of an erg. construction | <i>Ahmad</i> <i>a-klān</i> <i>a-duwa</i> <i>a-nar</i> | <i>sa klān</i> <i>sye duwa</i> <i>sye nar</i> |
| Possession | <i>ta Ahmad(i)</i> <i>ta klān(i)</i> , etc. | |
| Oblique functions (+ postposition) | <i>Ahmad(i)</i> <i>klān(i)</i> , etc. + postposition | |

3.2 The verb

The radical restructuring of the Old-Iranian language system, which began in ancient times and continued in the Proto-Ormuri period, also affected the Ormuri verb to a great extent. Nothing remains of the former differentiation of the present, aorist and perfect with their network of aspects, tenses and voices.

Finite and non-finite verb forms in Ormuri have one of two stems in their structure: the present tense or the past tense, of which only the former is the reflex of ancient (present) stems; the past stem is secondary and analytical in origin: it came from the ancient perfect participle passive in **-ta*, fem. **-tā*, compounded with the suffix **-ka*, fem. **-kā*. The separable particles *bu* and *su* are also used for some aspect-tense forms.

Verb inflection came about when the sentence structure was reorganised, during which time a distinction between nominative and ergative constructions developed; the latter is typical in sentences where the predicate is a transitive verb in the past tense (see below).

Present-tense stems

Morphologically the present-tense stem (abbreviated as *pres. stem*), is typified by its consonantal ending and stress pattern:

a) stressed stems, e.g.:

- Log., Kan. **dzán-** ‘to beat’
- Log. **ǰóš-**, Kan. **ǰ^wás-** ‘to say’
- Log. **wóst-**, Kan. **wúst-** ‘to rise’
- Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** ‘to cry’

b) unstressed stems, e.g.:

- Log. **agl’-**, Kan. **gl’-** ‘to carry off’

- Log. **g-** ‘to put’
- Kan. **ž-** ‘to leave’
- Log., Kan. **dar-** ‘to have’
- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řin-** ‘to buy’
- Log., Kan. **ban-** ‘to throw’
- **gal-** ‘to bind’

Stems ending in *-w*, *-y* and *-h* in some finite forms often have two variants: a full and a short form, which may also differ in stress:

- Log. **š-**, Kan. **ř-** ‘to give’, as well as Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** id.
- Log., Kan. **k-** ‘to make’, as well as **kaw-**, **kay-** id.
- Kan. **n-** ‘to sit down’ (< **náy-*, Log. *néy-* id.)
- Kan. **d-**, M **dé(h)-** ‘to beat, to strike’ (< **deh-*, cf. Morgenstierne 1932a:14)

The relationship between modern and ancient present stems should be considered in the general context of how verb conjugation developed in Ormuri, during which time structural elements at the junction of ancient stems and endings disappeared.

Kaniguram has more archaisms, and has four types of conjugation on the basis of the position of the stress. Logar has only two types of conjugation which can be fairly clearly distinguished with a stressed or unstressed stem (see below), because the endings are being streamlined, though this is not yet completely finished.

Etymological analysis indicates that ancient verbs with thematic stems played a key role in how the Ormuri verbal paradigms were formed. Their reflex in the modern language, however, is greatly influenced by factors which occurred as the language developed, such as weakening of the word ending of which we have already spoken and the reorganisation and simplification of stems and inflections. This has led to changes at the boundaries of morphemes and to new inflections emerging (see below under ‘Personal endings’). Thus a consonant immediately preceding an inflection has become the final element of a new stem.

Original, i.e. historical, types of thematic present stems which have a reflex in the modern language and which have played a significant role in the formation of verbal paradigms in Ormuri are:

1) for modern stressed stems:

a) ancient class I stems⁸⁷ – with unstressed thematic **-a* in the ending and a root vowel with medium grade of ablaut; reflexes of verbs with these stems make up the 1st conjugation;

⁸⁷ The classification of Old-Iranian present stems used here and below conforms with Sanskrit stem classification and with the traditionally accepted nomenclature of derived stems (causative, passive etc.). The more detailed verb stem classifications of

b) ancient class IV stems with unstressed suffix **-ya* and a weak grade of root vowel (zero grade with resonants; medium grade in other cases); reflexes of verbs with this type of stem form the 3rd conjugation.

2) for modern unstressed stems (i.e. historical stems with a stressed suffix which lost the stress after the stems and inflections were restructured):

a) ancient class VI stems⁸⁸ – with stressed thematic **-á* in the ending and a weak grade of root vowel (no vowel with resonants: reflexes of these very roots have been recorded in Ormuri); their reflexes form the 2nd conjugation;

b) ancient stems of various structures, with an ending containing some sort of stressed suffix varying in structure, but including **-y-* : **-áya* (causatives, iteratives, and class X stems) or **-yá* (passives) in their composition; in early Ormuri **-áya*, **-yá* > **í* = Kan. *-í*, Log. *-é*, *í*. The grade of the root vowel depends on the root structure and the derivational type – **áya-* stems have lengthened or medium grade and **yá-* stems weak grade (zero grade with roots containing a resonant); the reflexes of these stems form the 4th conjugation.

Reflexes of these thematic stems have made up the ‘framework’ of modern, verbal paradigms, although this does not exclude the possibility of contamination between stems of different classes. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that present stems with an athematic ending also have reflexes in the language. As with the nouns, verb stems with other structures (athematic stems) began to be thematised quite early on.

The material in Ormuri leads to the conclusion that the 3pl. form, in which the vowel **a* of the ending **-anti* was transferred to the stem (see below), was the basis for the thematisation of other (athematic) stems, as a result of which stress (mobile in this type of stem) was attached to one syllable and alternation of the root vowel or of the stem-forming suffix was lost.

These changes in stem structure have led to a considerable reduction in the number of stem-forming suffixes, of which some were not only a formal marker of a class of stem, but were also word-forming or bore a grammatical or lexico-grammatical meaning (that is, suffixes and markers with an inchoative, desiderative, intensive or future meaning, as well as what are known as modal stem markers: the conjunctive **-a-*, **-ā-* and optative **-*

Bartholomae and Reichelt (GIPh, Vol. 1:67-85; Reichelt 1909:96-121), which have to be used at times, are given special mention.

⁸⁸ Stems with other structures which have been thematised also belong here: the vowel **-a-* in the 3pl. ending **-anti* was usually stressed. This ending appears as *-ánti* (< IE **-énti*) in many athematic verbs in Sanskrit; it is cognate with Av. *-antī*, O.Pers. *-aⁿtiy* (GIPh, Vol. 1:61; Reichelt 1909:130, 135-142; Kent 1953:76; Rastorgueva 1978: 48). In class III verbs (with reduplicated stem and the ending *-ati*) the stress in the 3pl. fell on the 1st syllable.

yā-, **-ī-*). They were all completely neutralised and eliminated and have had hardly any effect on the semantics of the newly-structured stems in Ormuri.

Only causative stems in **-áya* and passive in **-yá* and later in *-ya*⁸⁹ have definite reflexes in the morphology of the verb: the reflexes of both can be observed in the 4th conjugation, differing from each other in form by the stem vowing, the position of the stress and whether the meaning is transitive (for former causatives) or intransitive (for former passives).

The following are examples of different types of present stems:

1) Stressed stems:

a) 1st conjugation:

- Log., Kan. **dzan-** ‘to beat’
< Ir. **jána-*
- Log., Kan. **°war-** ‘to bring’, ‘to carry’
< Ir. **ā̃- + bára-* from **bar-* ‘to bring, to carry’
- Log. **yož-**, Kan. **y^waz-** G ‘to fall’
< Ir. **váz-*, from **vaz-* ‘to move’
- Log., Kan. **tsaw-** ‘to go’
< Ir. **č(i)yáva-* from **čyav-*

b) 3rd conjugation:

- Log. **méz-** Kan. **+maz-** ‘to break (intrans.)’
< Ir. **mázya-* from **maz-* ‘to break’
- Log. **brěš-**, Kan. **+bras-** ‘to burn’
< Ir. **brásya-* from **brās-*
- Kan. ***dír-** ‘to reap’
< **dřya-* from **dar-*
- Kan. ***pís-** ‘to write’
< **písya-* from **pis-* : *pais-*

See also:

- Log. **dřš-**, Kan. **dús-** ‘to milk’
possibly from Ir. **dúšya-* < **dúčya-*
- Log. **yoš-**, Kan. **y^was-** ‘to say’

2) Unstressed stems:

a) 2nd conjugation:

⁸⁹ Passive stems and class IV verbs originally differed only in the position of the stress; their similarity in form (and semantics) eventually led to their complete merger (as the passive was assimilated). The future passive participle ending in unstressed **-ya* may have played an intermediary role in this process.

- Log., Kan. **xr-** ‘to eat, to take food’
< Ir. **x^vrrá-* (or **xurá-* ?) (class VI) from **x^vr-* : *x^var-*
- Log. **g-** ‘to put’, Kan. **ž-** ‘to leave’
< Ir. **hrzá-* (via **hirzá-*) (class VI) from Ir. **hrz-* : *harz-* ‘to let’
- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řin-** ‘to buy’
< Ir. **xrīná(nti)* from **xrī-*
- Kan. **dzun-** ‘to look’
< **zūná-* < **řiná-* < Ir. **vainá(nti)*

b) 4th conjugation:

- Log., Kan. **dar-** ‘to have’
< Ir. **dāráya-* from **dar-*
- Log., Kan. **ban-** ‘to throw’
< Ir. **dvanáya-* from **dvan-*
- Log., Kan. **gal-** ‘to bind’
< Ir. **garṭháya-* from *garṭ-*
- Log., Kan. **mr-** ‘to die’
< Ir. **mṛyá-* (pass.) from **mṛ-* : *mar-* ‘to die’
- Log. **zay-** ‘to be born’
< Ir. **zāyá-* (< **zṇ-yá*) from Ir. **zan-* ‘to give birth to’

Those verbs with a stem which in the past had a ‘preverb’ (which later became a verbal prefix) are worth special attention. In time the preverb (prefix) merged with the root and was no longer taken to be an independent morpheme; however, in its original form it occasionally influenced how the stress fell, sometimes on the vowel of the former preverb and sometimes on the segment of the ancient stem that followed it (including the suffix, which led to unstressed stems in the modern language, see below).⁹⁰

So, for example, the following are derived from stressed stems with the stress on the prefix (in the past):

- Log. **yoš-**, Kan. **y^wāř-** ‘to be afraid’ (1st conj.)
< **y^wāṭra-* < **vī-ṭraha-* (class I) from Ir. **ṭrah-* ‘to be afraid, to tremble’ + **vi-* movement in different directions, movement away

⁹⁰ The rules of stress for verb forms with preverbs are not completely clear; however, it is probable that there is a link with factors such as the position of the verb in a sentence (though, as the preverb could be positioned anywhere in relation to the finite form of the verb, the only position considered is that which facilitated the preverb becoming a prefix, i.e. immediately before the verb form) and the mutual influence of finite and non-finite verb forms. For the rules of stress in Sanskrit in these instances see (Whitney 1879:377-378; Zaliznjak 1978:890-891).

- Log. **wost-**, Kan. **wust-** ‘to rise’ (3rd conj.)
< Ir. **ús-stāya-* (class IV) from Ir. **stā-* ‘to stand, to put’ + the preverb **us-* movement upwards
- Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** ‘to weep’ (1st conj.)
< Ir. **ráuda-* (class I) or *rudá-* (class VI) from Ir. **rud-* : *raud-* ‘to yell’ + **fra-* movement forwards

Probably the verbs below also had stress on the prefix, although the contraction of medial syllables somewhat obscures the general picture of where stress occurs:

- Kan. **nu(w)-**, **+níw-** ‘to lay’ (3rd conj.)
< Ir. **dāya-* (class IV) from **dā-* ‘to put’ + the preverb **nī-* movement downwards
- Log. **(w)úr-**, Kan. **wur-** ‘to lift, to take’ (3rd conj.)
< Ir. **brya-* from **br-* : *bar-* ‘to carry’ + preverb **úpa-* ‘nearer, towards’
- Log. **júš-** ‘to see’, Kan. **dzúš-** ‘to look’
< Ir. **dřsya-* from **dřs-* : *dars-* + *vi-*

Stressed present stems include reflexes of verb forms with unstressed preverbs, e.g.:

- Log., Kan. **nawár-** ‘to pull out’ (1st conj.)
< Ir. **ni(š)-bára-* from **br-* : *bar-* ‘to carry’ + **ni(š)-*
- Log., Kan. **war-** ‘to carry’ 1st conj.)
< Ir. **ā-* (‘hither, towards’ – drawing near) + **bára-* (class I) from Ir. **br-* : *bar-* ‘to carry’
- Log. **néy-**, Kan. **nay-** (in the imperative) ‘to sit down’
< Ir. **nī-háda-/nī-šáda* (class I) from **ni-* (movement downwards) + **had-* ‘to sit down’

Also listed here are some examples of unstressed stems (in ancient times they had the stress on the suffix) that are reflexes of verb forms with preverbs:

- Log. **amar-** M, **mar-** ‘to hear’ (4th conj.)
< Ir. **māráya-* (caus.) from **mṛ-* : *mar-* ‘to notice’, *ā-* (‘hither, towards’)
- Kan. **nw-** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’ (4th conj.)
< Ir. **ni-padyá-* or **ni-paṭyá-* (class IV) from **pad-*, *paṭ-* ‘to fall’, **ni-* (movement downwards)
- Kan. **+řas-** ‘to swell’
< Ir. **sūyá-* from **su-* : *sav-* + preverb **fra-*

Finally, mention should be made of those present stems derived from ancient thematic stems (or those with a thematic suffix) with root stress, which, however, were apocopated and became unstressed stems:

- Log., Kan. **b-** ‘to be’ (2nd conj.)
< Ir. **báva-* (class I) from **bū-* : *bav-* ‘to be’

- Log., Kan. **s-** ‘to become’ (2nd conj.)
< Ir. *šyáva- (class I) from *šyu- : šyav- ‘to become’
- Kan. **n-** ‘to sit’ (2nd conj.)
< Ir. *ni-h/šáda- from *had- ‘to sit down’

Past-tense stems

Morphologically the stem of the past tense has an ending in *-k* (which may be preceded by various vowels, see below) and a certain stress pattern. The past stem has two types of stress: a) non-final and b) final. In origin they are both nominal formations: they are derived from ancient perfect passive participles in **-tá*, fem. **-tā*, combined with the secondary suffix **-ka*, fem. **-kā*. **-ta* or **-tā* became attached directly to the root (in the weak or medium grade) in the first type (A) and to the causative present stem (where **-áya* > **-ī*) in the second type (B). When the participles combined with the suffix **-ka*, fem. **-kā*,⁹¹ the stress pattern changed: the stress moved by one syllable toward the beginning of the word, i.e. it fell either on the root (type A) or on the suffix **-ī* < **-áya* (type B).

These formations developed in a particular way so that with the passage of time the final vowels were lost both in the masculine and feminine, resulting in all past stem forms in Ormuri having a zero ending.⁹² Gender distinction (retained in Kaniguram⁹³) in past stems is indicated by changes in the stressed vowels – historically root (type A) or suffixal (type B); in addition, the pre-stress vowel in the feminine forms is syncopated in some stems formed from the root. The alternation of past stem vowels is the result of different umlaut on the part of the vowel in the following syllable (i.e. **-ta-ka*, **-tā-kā*): vowels in the masculine forms were in the ‘neutral’ position, while those in the feminine forms were in a-umlaut. For example:

a) stems formed directly from the root (‘strong’ verbs):

⁹¹ Although **-ta-ka* is not recorded in the remnants of Old-Iranian writings, Old-Iranian material gives support to its antiquity, see (Dybo 1974:90, 102). There are participial reflexes in **-ta-ka* in Parthian (see past participles in *-ag*; OIJ 1981:226); for example in the sentence: *bastag būδ hēm u-tān wišāδ hēm /Šābuhraḡān/*, cited in Bogoljubov 1982:4; and in a number of other Iranian languages of the middle and new periods (Rastorgueva 1975b:453-455).

⁹² In order to avoid confusion the masculine form is reconstructed using **-ta-ka* and the feminine **-tā-kā*, although in fact it was probably much more complicated because the word ending weakened in Ormuri, with an accompanying elision of **-a* in the masculine and contraction, then elision, of **-ā* in the feminine.

⁹³ In Logar, where there is no category of gender, the past stems have forms derived from the historical masculine or feminine.

- Log. **nóstok**, Kan. **nástak** (masc.) ‘to sit down’
< Ir. *ni-h/šastá* + **-ka*, but Kan. *nāšk* (fem.) < Ir. *ni-h/šastá* + **-kā* from Ir. **had-* ‘to sit down’
- Log. **móxtok**, Kan. **máštak** (masc.) ‘to break’
< Ir. **maštá* + **-ka*, but Kan. **māšk* (fem.) < Ir. **maštá* + **-kā* from Ir. **maz-*
- Log. **xólok**, Kan. **x^wálak** (masc.) ‘to eat, partake’
< Ir. **x^vartá* + **-ka*, but Kan. *x^wālk* (fem.) < Ir. **x^vartá* + **-kā* from **x^var-* ‘to eat’
- Kan. **+đflak** (masc.) ‘to reap’
< Ir. **đřtá* + **-ka*, *dalk* G (fem.) < Ir. **đřtá* + **-kā* from **đř-* : *dar-* ‘to tear’

Other stems which belong to this type of word formation but have a ‘stressed’ suffix should be mentioned here; in fact, the stress of the original form also fell on the root, but later, when the medial syllables contracted, the stress patterns became obscured. These were formations from ancient roots ending in vowels, syllabic **n*, **m* and in **k*, **g*, **p* and **b*, since intervocalic **-t-*, **-d-*, **-xt-* and **-ft-* were elided in the perfect participles. For example, see:

- Log., Kan. **dzok** (masc.) ‘to beat’
< Ir. **jātá* + **-ka*, Kan. *dzak* (fem.) < Ir. **jātá* + **-kā* from **gan-*
- Kan. **dok**, **duk** (masc.) ‘to do’
< Ir. *dātá* + **-ka*,
Log. **dák**, Kan. **dāk** (fem.)
< Ir. **dātá* + **-kā* from **dā-* ‘to do’
- Log. **buk**, Kan. **byuk** (masc.) ‘to be’
< Ir. **būtá* + **-ka*, Kan. *buk* (fem.) from **bū-* : *bav-* ‘to be, to become’
- Log. **yok** ‘to say’
< Ir. **vaxtá* + **-ka* from **vak-* ‘to speak’
- Kan. **+pyok** (masc.) ‘to cook’
< Ir. *paxtá* + **-ka* (the fem. form has not been recorded) from Ir. **pak-* ‘to cook, to bake’
- Log., Kan. **+wok** ‘to receive’, (Log.) ‘to find’
< Ir. **āřtá* + **-ka*, Kan. *wāk* (fem.) < Ir. **āřtá* + **-kā*, from **āř-* + **abi-* ‘to reach, to attain’

b) stems causative in origin (‘weak’ verbs):

- Log. **banók**, Kan. **ban^vék** (masc.) ‘to throw’
< Ir. **dvanitá* + **-ka*
Kan. **banák** (fem.)
< Ir. **dvanitá* + **-kā* from *dvan-* ‘to fly’
- Log. **galók**, Kan. **gal^vék** (masc.) ‘to bind’
< Ir. **garθitá* + **-ka*, Kan. *galák* (fem.) < Ir. **garθitá* + **-kā* from **garθ-*

The past stems of many weak verbs, which are especially common in Logar, have probably developed by analogy with the stems of this stress pattern, i.e. outside the **-taka* model. Examples of these stems are:

- Log. **šinók** ‘to buy’, from pres. stem *šin-* (= Kan. *řin-*)
< Ir. **xrīná* from **xrī-* ‘to buy’
- Log. **yorók**, Kan. **yor^yék** (masc.), **yorák** (fem.) ‘to rain’
from pres. stem Log., Kan. *yor-* < Ir. **vāra-* from **vār-*

Finally, we must make special mention of the past stem which, unlike the others, is derived from the ancient middle participle in **-ana* and belongs to the non-final stress group:

- Log. **drónok**, **dórnok**, Kan. **drának** (masc.) ‘to have’
< Ir. **draná* + **-ka*, Kan. **dronk* (fem.) < Ir. **draná* + *-kā* from **dr-* : *dar-* ‘to hold’

In the light of what has been said about the stress pattern of the stem, the effect of umlaut on the stressed vowel of the ancient root or suffix and possible contractions of medial syllables in **-taka* participles, as determined by root type or syncope of intervocalic consonants or consonant clusters, we can set out the final suffixes of the various subtypes of past stems in modern Ormuri in the following way:⁹⁴

Table 6: Past stem suffixes

| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Strong verbs | <i>-ók</i> | <i>-ák</i> | = (cons.) + <i>k</i> |
| | <i>-ók</i> | <i>-ók</i> | <i>-ák</i> |
| | <i>-ák</i> (< fem.) | <i>-ók</i> | <i>-ák</i> |
| | <i>-úk</i> | <i>-yók, -yúk</i> | – (<i>-úk</i>) < masc. |
| | <i>-ék</i> | <i>-ék, -yék</i> | – (<i>-ek, -yek</i>) < masc. |
| Weak verbs | <i>-ók</i> | <i>-yék</i> | <i>-ák</i> |

How present and past stems correlate depended on the original root consonants (or clusters of them)⁹⁵ and vowel alternation and was shaped through the history of Ormuri by factors such as the nature of the historical root (open or closed, with or without resonants), the type of stem-forming model and, finally, the phonetic development of the medial syllables (syncope of some intervocalic consonants or consonant groups, the

⁹⁴ Cf. Grierson and Morgenstierne’s doubts as to the possibility of establishing rules for which final suffixes occur in different types of past stem (Grierson 1918:37, §76; IIFL:325, §35).

⁹⁵ For past stems this only applies to the segment before final *-k* < **-kǎ* (much later in origin).

contraction of vowels and changes in some consonant clusters). This point of view only allows of divergence between stems in strong (or irregular) verbs.⁹⁶ We will first outline the basic types of historical alternation of the final consonants of present and past stems.

A large group of strong verbs has a past stem with a zero ending. They are formations from open roots (ending in **ā*, **ī*, **ū* and **a < *n* and **m*) and from roots in **p*, **b*, **k* and **g*: the consonant **t* in suffix **taka*, **tākā* dropped out in intervocalic positions; the same happened with the consonant clusters **ft* and **xt* which were formed when these labials and dorsal sounds in the root met with **t*. For example:

1) Log., Kan. *n* : Ø, where the *n* in the present stem may be the final consonant of the root, or the consonant of a suffix or even of a prefix:

- Log., Kan. **dzan-** : **dzok**, Kan. fem. **dzak** ‘to beat’
- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řin**: Kan. **řyek** ‘to buy’
- Kan. **hazn-** : **hanzyōk**, fem. **hanzuk** G (but Log. *yézn-* : *yéznok*) ‘to remain; to leave, to forget (something)’

2) Log. *ž* : Ø, Kan. *z* : Ø :

- Log. **móž-** : **mok**, Kan. **myuz-** : **myōk** M (no known fem.) ‘to open, to untie’
- Log. **biž-**, Kan. **biz(z)-** G : **pyok** M (no known fem.) ‘to cook, to bake’, where the pres. stem is from Ir. **brij-* : *braj-*, but the past stem is from **pak*

3) Log. *š* : Ø, Kan. *s* : Ø :

- Log. **diš-**, M **düš-** : **dōk** M, Kan. **dús-** M : **dūk** M (no known fem.) ‘to milk’

4) Log., Kan. *w* : Ø :

- Log. **šaw-** : **šuk**, Kan. **řaw-** : **řyuk**, fem. **řuk** ‘to give’
- Kan. **waw-** G : **wok** masc., **wāk** fem., Log. **wāk** ‘to obtain, to find’

Several strong (irregular) verbs have past stems ending in Log. *-xt*, Kan. *-št*, Log., Kan. *-st*.

The final root consonants of verbs with past stems in *-xt*, *-st* alternate in two ways:

1) Log. *z* : *ž*, Kan. *z* : *š*, where Log., Kan. *z* has two possible origins:

a) *z* in the present stem from Ir. *z < IE *ǵ*, or **z + *t > Ir. *št > early Orm. *št > Log. *žt*, Kan. *št* in the past stem:*

- Log. **mez-** : **mōžtok**, Kan. **maz-** : **maštak**, fem. **māšk** G ‘to break (intrans.)’
- b) *z* in the pres. stem from Ir. *z < IE ḡh* or **z + *t > Ir. *št* — as in the previous example;*
- Log. **yož-** : **yōžtok**, Kan. **y^waz-** : **y^waštak**, fem. **y^wašk** M ‘to fall’

2) Log. *š* : *ž*, Kan. *s* : *š* (< **š*), where Log. *š*, Kan. *s* < Ir. *sy < IE k̂i*, *š + *t > Ir. *št > Proto-Orm. *št > Log. *žt*, Kan. *št* in the past stem:*

⁹⁶ Synchronically the only difference between present and past stems of weak (i.e. regular) verbs is that the latter have a suffix Log. *-ók*, Kan. *-(y)ék*, fem. *-ák*.

- Log. **brěš-** : **bróřtok**, Kan. **brás-** : **brařtak**, fem. G **brūřk** ‘to burn’
- Kan. **+pís-** (G *pis-*) : **+pířtak** (G *piřtak*), fem. **piřk** ‘to write’

The final consonants in verbs with a past stem in *-st* alternate in three different ways:

1) Log. *y* : *st*, Ø : *st*, Kan. -Ø : *st*, *y* : *st*, where *y* is an epenthetic consonant in place of deleted intervocalic Ir. **d* in the present stem, and *st* < **d* + **t* (in the past stem):

- Log. **ney-** : **nóstok**, Kan. **n-** (**nay-** in the imperative) : **nástak**, fem. **nāřk** ‘to sit down’

2) Log., Kan. *w* : *st*:

a) *w* < **-p-*, *st* < **d* + **t*:

- Kan. **nw-** : **nwástak** fem. **nwāřk** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’

b) *w* is an epenthetic consonant in place of deleted intervocalic **d*, and *st* < **d* + **t*:

- Log. **řáw-** : **řóstok**, Kan. **řáw-** : **řústak**, fem. = masc. ‘to weep’

3) Log., Kan. *l* : *st*, where *l* in the present stem is from Ir. **rd* (< IE **rdh-*) and *st* in the past stem is from **rst* (< **rd* + *t*): Log. *agl-* (< *al-gl-* where *al-* is the 3rd person pronominal directional particle):

- **°góřtok**, Kan. **gl-** : **gástak** (also G *glastak*, with *l* from the pres. stem), fem. **gāřk** G ‘to carry away’

Ormuri also has past stems ending in *-l*, *-t* and *-n*.

Verbs with a past stem in *-l* have two types of alternation of final root consonants:

1) Log., Kan. *r* : *l*, where *l* < Ir. **r* + **t*:

- Log. **war-** : **wólok**, Kan. **war-** : **wúlak**, fem. **walk** ‘to carry’
- Kan. **dir-** : **dílak** M, fem. **dalk** G ‘to reap’
- Log. **xr-** : **xólak**, Kan. **xr-** : **x^wálak**, fem. **x^wálk** ‘to eat’

2) Log., Kan. *n* : *l*, where *l* in the past stem is from Ir. **r* + **t*:

- Log. **kin-** (pres. stem), Kan. **kin-** : **+kwúlak** (G *kwulak*), fem. **+kwálak** (G *kwalak*); (irreg. fem. form for **kwalk*, probably from the influence of weak verbs) ‘to impregnate’

The final root consonants of verbs with a past stem in *-t* alternate in two ways:

1) Log. *g* : *t*, Kan. *ř* : *t*, where *g/ř* in the present stem is from Ir. **rZ* and **t* is from Ir. **rřt*:

Log. **g-** : **wótok** ‘to put’, Kan. **ř-** : **hatak** G, M, fem. **hōtk** G ‘to leave’

2) Kan. *r* : *t*:

- **tr-** : **tatak**, fem. **tōtk** G ‘to drink’

Verbs with a past stem in *-n*:

Log., Kan. *r* : *n*:

- Log. **dar-** : **drónok**, **dórnok**, Kan. **dar-** : **drának**, fem. G **drōnk** ‘to have’

Some verbs in Ormuri have suppletive stems (formed from more than one root), e.g.:

- Log. **juš-** : **dek**, Kan. **dyek** masc. and fem. ‘to see’
- Log., Kan. **nis-**: Kan. **naḡók**, fem. **naḡák** ‘to go out’
- Log. **yoš-** : **ḡok**, Kan. **ḡ^was-**, G **ḡ^wats-** : **yek**, G **ḡwēk** ‘to say, to speak’
- Log. **k-** : **dāk**, Kan. **k-**, **kaw-**, **kay-** : **dok**, fem. **dāk** ‘to do’, (where k-, kaw-, kay- are from Pashto)

Alternation of final root consonants in present and past stems is often (though not always) accompanied by root vowel alternation proceeding from different grades of ablaut of the vowels in the original word-forming models. Note that in perfect past participles of roots with **r*, from which past stems are derived, this resonant sometimes appears not in the weak, but in the strong grade,⁹⁷ as is shown in its reflexes in the modern language. Moreover, the contraction of medial syllables (mainly in past stems of some verbs, see above) also affected how the vowels alternated. Naturally, when this happens, the contraction masks the root vowel alternation, and a vowel in the past stem may be derived from either the root or stem suffix.

We cite first the basic types of vowel alternation in the present and past stems of strong (irregular) non-contracted verbs. When classifying alternations we start with the various alternations in masculine and feminine past stem forms which are the result of different umlaut:

- feminine forms derived from participles in **-tākā* have a-umlaut,
- masculine forms (in **-taka*) take the neutral position, as do the masculine and feminine forms from roots in **-ī̃* and **-ū̃*.

Of course, we shall start first of all with Kaniguram material, where stems are distinguished according to gender, while in Logar there are reflexes of isolated masculine or feminine forms. The following types of vowel alternation are the most common.

1) Verbs with root vowel alternation in masc. and fem. past stems Kan. *a : ā* have two types of root vowel alternation in present and past stems:

a) Kan. *a : (a : ā)*, Log. *e, o : o*:

- Kan. **maz-** : **maštak** G, fem. **mašk** G, Log. **mez-** : **móxtak** (masc.) ‘to break’
- Kan. **ḡ^waz-** : **ḡ^waštak** (*ḡ^waštak* G), fem. **ḡ^wašk**, Log. **ḡóz-** : **ḡóxtok** (masc.) ‘to fall’

⁹⁷ Reflexes of the ancient perfect past participles of roots with **r* show that this resonant occurs in Proto-Ormuri in the sequence **ar* (i.e. in the medium grade) instead of the expected syllabic **ṛ*, characteristic of resonant roots in the weak grade; cf. Kan. *dilak* masc., *dalk* fem. ‘to reap’ < **dṛtā̃* + **-kā̃* from **dṛ-* : *dar-*, but Log. *xolok*, Kan. *x^walak* masc., *x^walk* fem. ‘to eat’ < Ir. **x^vartā̃* (for **x^vṛtā̃*) + **kā̃* from Ir. **x^vṛ-* : *x^var-*. Similar anomalies may also be observed in Avestan; see, for example, the perfect past participles of Av. *harəz-*, *varəz-* etc. (AIW:1792, 1374-1375). For another opinion see IIFL:325; see also Rastorgueva 1975a:23-24.

- Kan. **nay-** (imperative mood), **n-** : **nástak**, fem. **nāsk**, Log. **ney-** : **nóstok** (masc.) ‘to sit down’
- b) Kan. Ø : (*a* : *ā*), Log. Ø : *o*:
- Kan. **gl-** : **gastak**, fem. **gāsk**, Log. **gl-** : **góstok** (masc.) ‘to take away’
 - Kan. **xr-** : **x^walak**, fem. **x^wālk**, Log. **xr-** : **xólok** (masc.) ‘to eat’
- 2) Verbs with root vowel alternation Kan. *a* : *o* in the masc. and fem. past stem have two types of root vowel alternation between the present and past stems:
- a) Kan. Ø : (*a* : *o*), Log. Ø : *o*:
- Kan. **tr-** : **tatak**, fem. **tōtk** G ‘to drink’
 - Kan. **ž-** : **hatak** G and M, fem. **hōtk** G, Log. **g-** : **wótok** (masc.) ‘to lay’
- b) Kan. *a* : (*a* : *o*), Log. *a* : *o*:
- Kan. **dar-** : **drának**, fem. **+dronk**, G **drōnk**, Log. **dar-** : **drónok**, **dórnok** (masc.) ‘to have’
- 3) Verbs with root vowel alternation Kan. *a* : *u* in the masc. and fem. past stem have the following two types of root vowel alternation between the present and past stems:
- a) Kan. *á* : (*á* : *ú*), Log. *é* : *ó*:
- Kan. **brás-** : **bráštak**, fem. **brušk**, G *brūšk*, Log. **bréš-** : **bróřtok** (masc.) ‘to burn’
- b) Kan. *a* (< unstressed **ā*) : (*á* : *ú*):
- Kan. **braz-** : **bráštak**, fem. **+brušk**, G *brūšk* ‘to burn’
- 4) Verbs with root vowel alternation Kan. *u* : *a* in the masc. and fem. past stem have three types of root vowel alternation between the present and past stems:
- a) Kan. Ø : (*ú* : *á*), Log. Ø : *ó*:
- Kan. **mr-** : **múl(l)ak**, fem. **+malk** (G *malk*), Log. **mr-** : **mól(l)ok** ‘to die’
- b) Kan. *a* : (*ú* : *a*), Log. *á* : *ó*:
- Kan. **war-** : **wúlak**, fem. **walk**, Log. **war-** : **wólok** (masc.) ‘to carry’
- c) Kan. *i* : (*u* : *a*):
- Kan. **kin-** : **kwulak**, fem. **kwalak** G ‘to impregnate’
- 5) Verbs with root vowel alternation Kan. *i* : *a* in the past stem have the following type of root vowel alternation between the present and past stem: Kan. *i* : (*i* : *a*):
- Kan. **dír-** : **dílak**, fem. G **dalk** ‘to reap’

For verbs in which the medial syllables of the past stem have been contracted, the following alternations in present and past stems are usual.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ The only cases under consideration here are inlaut contractions of the stem, not those in verbal prefixes (former preverbs) on which the stress may fall and which are sometimes the only vowels in the stem, nor those in formations from suppletive stems.

Verbs with a past stem from a root containing **a* (< Ir. **ṇ*, **ṇ*) or **ā* have two basic types of masc. and fem. vowel alternation:

- 1) Kan. *o* : *a*;
- 2) Kan. *o* : *ā*.

In the first case the vowel alternation in present and past stems is as follows: Kan. *a* : (*o* : *a*), Log. *a* : *o*, e.g.:

- Kan. **dzan-** : **dzok**, fem. **dzak**, Log. **dzan-** : **dzok** (masc.) ‘to beat’

Secondly, there is Kan. *a* : (*o* : *ā*); see, for example:

- Kan. **waw-** G : **wok**, fem. **wāk** (Log. **wāk** fem.) ‘to obtain, to find’

Preverbs

As already stated, Old-Iranian preverbs which have had phonetic changes have merged with stems and cannot now be distinguished morphologically. Reflexes of ancient preverbs can be seen in the following examples:

- 1) Initial Log., Kan. *a*^o < Ir. preverb **ā-*, Av. and O.Pers. *ā̃-* in the verbs:

- Log. **amarok** M, Kan. **amaryék** ‘to hear’
< Ir. **m̥-* : *mar-* + **ā-*
- Kan. **ayók** ‘to appear, to be born’
< Ir. **gam-* + **ā-*

It is probable that the same prefix was found in the proto-form, but was later dropped in Log. *marók* ‘to hear’ (in our materials); see also

- Log. **wólok**, Kan. **wúlak** ‘to bring’
< Ir. **br̥-* : *bar-* + **ā̃-*

- 2) Initial Log. (*w*)*o*^o, Kan. *wa*^o, *ha*^o < Ir. **abi-*, Av. *aiwi-*, O.Pers. *abi-* in the verbs:

- Log. (**w**)**oźnawók**, M *uźnawōk*, Kan. **wázyok**, G *waz/dzyōk* ‘to kill’ from Ir. **gan-* + **abi-*
- Kan. **wayyók** ‘to enter’
< Ir. **gam-* + **abi-*

See also

- Log. **awók**, Kan. **haw-** : **hištak** G ‘to read’, where *aw-*, *haw-* is presumably from Ir. **ah-* + **abi-* (IIFL:388)

- 3) Initial Log. *š*^o, Kan. *ř*^o < Ir. **frā̃-*, in the verbs:

- Log. **šóstak**, Kan. **řústak** ‘to cry’
from Ir. **rud-* : *raud-* + **fra-*
- Log. **šuk**, Kan. **řyuk** ‘to give’
from Ir. **dā-* + **fra-*

- Kan. **řasyĕk** G ‘to swell’
from Ir. **su-*: *sav-*: *spī-* + **fra-*
- 4) Initial Log. *ye*^o, (*w*)*o*^o; Kan. *ha*^o, *a*^o < Ir. *ham-*, Av. *ham-*, *han-*, O.Pers. *ham-*:
- Log. **yeznoĕk**, Kan. **ázyok**, G *hanz/dzyōk* (pres. stem *hazn-*) ‘to remain, to leave’ from Ir. **zā(y)-* + **ham-*, **han-*
- Log. (**w**)**ondrawoĕk**, M *undəraw-* (pres. stem) ‘to sew’
from Ir. **drb-* + **ham-*, **han-*
- 5) Initial Log., Kan. *n*^o < Ir. **nī-*, Av. *nī-*, *ni-*, *ny-*, O.Pers. *niy-* in the verbs:
 - Log. **nóstok**, Kan. **nástak** ‘to sit down’
from Ir. **had-* + **nī-*
 - Kan. **n^wástak** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’
from Ir. **pad-*, **paθ-* + **nī-*
 - Kan. **nok**, G *niyok* ‘to put, to place’
from Ir. **dā-* + **nī-*
- 6) Initial Log., Kan. *n*^o < Ir. *niš-*, Av. *niš-*, *niž-*, O.Pers. *nij-*:
 - Log., Kan. **nayóĕk** ‘to go out’
from Ir. **gam-* + **ni(š)-*
 - Log. **nawóĕk**, Kan. **nawúĕk** ‘to pull out’
from Ir. **br-*: *bar-* + **ni(š)-*
- 7) Initial Log. *por*^o, M *par*^o, Kan. *par*^o < Ir. **pári-*, Av. *pairī-*, O.Pers. *pariy-*:
 - Log. **poryonóĕk**, M *parjánōk*, Kan. **paryūn^wĕk** G ‘to dress (trans.), to get dressed’ from Ir. **gud-*: *gaud-* + **pari-*
- 8) Initial Log. *pr*^o, Kan. *par*^o, *pr*^o < Ir. **párā-*, Av. *parā-*:
 - Log. **prák**, Kan. **párawak**, G *prawak* ‘to sell’
from Ir. **parā-waxtaka* (IIFL:279, 405)
- 9) Initial Log., Kan. *pa*^o < Ir. **pati-*, Av. *paiti-*, O.Pers. *patiy-*:
 - Log. **pazanóĕk**, Kan. **pazanyĕk** ‘to know’
from Ir. **zan-*, **dan-* + **pati-*
- 10) Initial Log. (*w*)*u*^o, Kan. *wu*^o, *w*^o < Ir. **úpa-*, Av., and O.Pers. *upā-*:
 - Log. (**w**)**juróĕk**, Kan. **wr(i)yúĕk** (pres. stem *wur-*) ‘to take, to raise’ from Ir. **br-*: *bar-* + **upa-*
- 11) Initial Log. (*w*)*os*^o, Kan. *wus*^o < Ir. **us-*, Av. *us-*, *uz-*, O.Pers. *us-*, *ud-*:
 - Log. **wostok**, Kan. **wustyĕk** ‘to rise’
from Ir. **stā-* + **us-*
- 12) Initial Log. *ř*^o, *ř*^o, Kan. *dz*^o, *ř*^o < Ir. **vī-*, Av. *vī-*, O.Pers. *vi-*, *vij-* in the verbs:
 - Log. **řuř-** (pres. stem) ‘to see’, Kan. **dzuš-** (G *dzūř-*) (pres. stem) ‘to look at’
from Ir. **drs-*: *dars-* + **vi-*

- Log. **yošók**, Kan. **ywařyĕk** G ‘to fear’
from Ir. **ŋrah-* + **vi-* (> *ywa*)

Personal endings

In Ormuri, there are personal endings in:

- the present-future tense of the indicative and subjunctive moods;
- all forms of the past tense;
- the imperative mood.

Table 7: Personal endings of the present-future tense⁹⁹

| Conj.: | | 1 st | 2 nd | 3 rd | 4 th |
|---------|------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Person: | | | | | |
| 1sg | Kan. | -am | -ém | -am | -ím, -ém |
| | Log. | -om, -im | -ám | -im, -om | -ím |
| 2sg | K. | -Ø | -i, -í | -Ø | -í, -i |
| | L. | -on/ -Ø | -ón, -í | -on/ -Ø | -í, -ón/ -Ø +uml. |
| 3sg | K. | -a | -á | -i | -í |
| | L. | -e | -é | -e | -é |
| Conj.: | | 1 st , 3 rd | | 2 nd , 4 th | |
| 1pl | K. | -yen | | -yén | |
| | L. | -en | | -én | |
| 2pl | K. | -ay | | -áy | |
| | L. | -ay | | -áy | |
| 3pl | K. | -in | | -ín | |
| | L. | -e | | -é | |

The personal endings of this group of forms, subsequently called present endings, are classified into four conjugations according to inflection and whether or not they are stressed. Archaic Kaniguram shows the conjugations most clearly for which the 3sg. is

⁹⁹ We have included only those endings which we recorded. In speech some Logar speakers use *í* and *-í* as a 3rd person singular ending (alongside *-e* and *-é*). These are recorded in the texts and will be included in the dictionary.

the decisive form; as Logar has made great progress in consolidating personal endings, the conjugations are differentiated mainly by their stress; consequently Logar has only two distinguishable conjugations strictly speaking, with stressed or unstressed inflections. In fact, sometimes the 1sg. ending may determine the initial conjugation to which the verb belongs; however, this way of distinguishing is unreliable, as the endings of different conjugations are mixed together.

A second way of distinguishing types of conjugation in both dialects, is when there is a certain correlation of the singular personal endings, particularly of the 2nd and 3rd persons and to some extent (with the reservation already mentioned regarding Logar) of the 1st person. For plural personal endings, only stress, or the absence of it, is of importance.

Finally, one of the features of the conjugation of verbs formed from the present stem, which affects how they are classified, is that some verbs can have two forms, a full one and a short one. When this occurs, some verbs have a paradigm for each type of finite forms, derived from different verb inflections; others have some persons (mainly 1st and 2nd persons sg. and pl. and 3rd person sg., as well as the relevant 3pl., in Logar and in the corresponding plural) usually in the short form, and the remaining persons in the full form, (we regard the latter as verbs with incomplete conjugation paradigms which are derived from different types.)

Etymologically, the present personal endings are a heterogeneous system that has resulted from the historical interaction and contamination of:

- a) the final segments of finite verb forms in the Old-Iranian present tense (including the suffix and determiners of the present stems);
- b) the endings of the imperative mood (secondary in origin) and;
- c) the past-tense endings (also formed later).

As mentioned above, the 3sg. was the decisive form and the basis for the differentiation of verbs according to conjugation. It is derived from the Old-Iranian form of the 3sg. present indicative, while the stem suffix, or, more precisely, the vowels it contains, was also involved in the formation of new inflections (from the restructuring of the final segments of stems and old inflections which dropped off). Thus, the 3sg. has the following endings:

1st conjugation:

- Kan. **-a**
< Ir. **-a(ti)*, cf. Av. *-a-itī*, O.Pers. *-a-tiy*, Skt. *-a-ti*
- Log. **-e**
(from contamination with the 3rd conjugation ending)

2nd conjugation:

- Kan. **-á**
< Ir. **-á(ti)*, cf. Av. *-a-itī*, O.Pers. *-a-tiy*, Skt. *-á-ti*

3rd conjugation:

- Kan. **-i**, Log. **-e**
< Ir. **-ya(ti)*, cf. Av. *-ye-iti*, Skt. *-ya-ti*

4th conjugation:

- Kan. **-í**, Log. **-é**
< Ir. **-áyá(ti)*, **-yá(te)*, cf. Av. *-aye-iti*, O.Pers. *-aya-tiy*, Skt. *-áya-ti*, Av. *-ye-ite* Skt. *-yá-te*

As we can see, genuine verbal inflection — whether active (in brackets), or middle — has not affected the formation of new 3sg. endings.

The other personal endings are derived as follows:

1sg.:

1st conjugation:

- Kan. **-am**, Log. **-om**
< Ir. **-ā-mi*, cf. Av. *-ā-mi*, O.Pers. *-ām-iy*, Skt. *-ā-mi*
- Log. **-im**
(from contamination with the 3rd conjugation ending)

2nd conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-ám**
< Ir. **-ā́-mi*, cf. Av. *-ā-mi*, Skt. *-ā́-mi*
- Kan. **-ém**
(from contamination with verb endings with a contracted stem)

3rd conjugation:

- Log. **-im**
< Ir. **-yā-mi*, cf. Av. *-ye-mi*, O.Pers. *-yā-miy*, Skt. *-yā-mi*
- Kan. **-am**, Log. **-om**
(from contamination with the 1st conjugation ending)

4th conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-ím**
< Ir. **-áyā-mi*, **-yá́-mi*,¹⁰⁰ cf. O.Pers. *-ayā-miy* and Skt. *-áyā-mi* (caus.)
- Kan. **-ém**
(from contamination with endings of verbs with a contracted stem)

¹⁰⁰ Our reconstruction has Ir. **ā* as the final vowel of the ancient present stem for all conjugations, cf. IIFL:355-357. In post-tonic position we have the regular **ā* > Orm. *a*; the development of **á* > Orm. *á* was probably by analogy. Ir. **-mi* (for **-ai*) in **-yā-mi* is evidence of the fairly early replacement of middle endings with active ones.

2sg.:

1st conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-Ø**
(from contamination with the zero imperative ending from old stems ending in **-a*)
- Log. **-on**
(from contamination with the secondary ending of the imperative)

2nd conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-í** (in monosyllabic forms)
< Ir. **-á-hi*, cf. Skt. *-á-si*
- Kan. **-i** (in disyllabic forms)
< Ir. **-á-hi* (the stress probably shifts on to the root from the influence of the 2sg. imperative of the 1st conjugation)
- Log. **-ón** (from contamination with the secondary ending of the imperative of monosyllabic forms)

3rd conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-Ø**
(from contamination with the zero ending of the imperative of old stems in **-a*)
- Log. **-on**
(from contamination with the secondary ending of the imperative)

4th conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-í** (in monosyllabic forms)
< Ir. **-yáhi*, cf. Skt. *-yá-si*
- Kan. **-i**, Log. **-Ø**, with the mutation of root *á* : *é* (in disyllabic forms)
< Ir. **-áya-hi*, cf. Skt. *-áya-si* (the 2sg. imperative of the first conjugation no doubt influenced the shift of stress onto the root¹⁰¹)
- Log. **-ón**
(from contamination with the secondary imperative ending)

1pl.:

1st and 3rd conjugation:

- Kan. **-yen**, Log. **-en**
(from contamination with the corresponding past-tense ending)

¹⁰¹ i-umlaut on root *a*, onto which the stress was transferred from the ending, is evidence of the stability of this ending (which had become unstressed) (compared to, for example, the same ending in the 3rd conjugation, where Ir. **-ya-hi* > early Ir. **-í* > Kan., Log. **-Ø**). This inflection disappeared later in Logar after i-umlaut had taken place.

2nd and 4th conjugation:

- Kan. **-yén**, Log. **-én**
(the stressed variant of the 1st and 3rd conjugation endings, which have typological differences between stressed and unstressed endings, clearly observable in the plural)¹⁰²

2pl.:

1st and 3rd conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-ay**
(by analogy with the corresponding ending of 2nd and 4th conjugation verbs, but unstressed as are the other endings of these conjugations)

2nd and 4th conjugation:

- Kan., Log. **-áy**
< *-ái < Ir. *-áya-ta (retaining stressed *á > a and *ya-ya > *ī > y (IIFL:355); in the 2nd conjugation the ending has been levelled by analogy with the 4th conjugation), cf. Skt. -áya-tha

3pl.:

1st and 3rd conjugation:

- Kan. **-in**
< Ir. *-ya-nti, cf. Skt. -ya-nti
- Log. **-e**
(from contamination with the ending of the 3sg. of the 1st conjugation)

2nd and 4th conjugation:

- Kan. **-ín**
< Ir. *-áya-nti, *-yá-nte, cf. Av. -ye-inte, Skt. -áya-nti, -yá-nte (the 2nd conj. ending is by analogy with that of the 4th conj.)
- Log. **-é** (from contamination with the ending of the 3sg. of the 2nd and 4th conjugations)

Finally, we list the endings of verbs with a present stem in *-w*, *-y* or *-h*: they tend to occur (although not always) in a contracted or apocopated form as well as in the full form. These verbs usually have 1sg. and 3sg. endings Kan. *-ém*, *-óm*, and *-á* and Log. *-ám* and *-e* respectively where the vowels in the endings *-ém* and *-óm* are the result of medial syllabic contraction, but their root vowel becomes an inflection in the endings *-am* and *-a* (= Log. *-e*).

¹⁰² Morgenstierne derives *-en*, *-yen* from *-ēm < *-ayāmah (IIFL:355); however, *m > n is not usual for the end of a word in Ormuri. In addition, this etymology does not take into account the effect of the stress. If this is done, it would be as follows: *-en*, *-yen* (1st and 3rd conjugations) < *-yā-mahi, cf. Skt. -yā-mas(i); *-én*, *-yén* (2nd and 4th conjugations) < *-áyā-mahi, *-yā-mahi, cf. O.Pers. -yā-mahy, Skt. -áyā-mas(i), -yā-mahe.

Log., Kan. auxiliary verbs *b-* ‘to be’ and *s-* ‘to begin, to become’ always appear in the short form (see below).

Past-tense endings occur:

- a) in Logar in intransitive verbs in past tenses formed from the past stem;
- b) in Kaniguram in both intransitive and transitive verbs, also formed from a similar stem, transitive verbs having endings which agree with the direct object rather than with the logical subject (as in the case of intransitive verbs). The ending is dropped in the 3sg. (and in Logar often in the 3pl. as well).

The past-tense endings originated from a copula, derived from the ancient verb *ah-* ‘to be’ in the present active voice of the indicative (see below p. 204). When copulas are turned into endings, the initial prothetic consonant (usually optional in copulas) Kan. *h-* or *y-*, Log. *y-* is dropped. We cite the full paradigm of the past-tense endings:

1sg.:

- Log. **-om**, Kan. **-am**
(the vowel *a* in the Kaniguram ending is the result of contamination with the 1st conjugation present ending)

2sg.:

- Log. **-on**
(from contamination with the ending *-on* in the present imperative)
- Kan. **-e** (G *-ē/-a*)
< Ir. **áhi*

3sg.:

- Log., Kan. **-Ø**

1pl.:

- Log. **-en**, Kan. **-yen**

2pl.:

- Log., Kan. **-ay**

3pl.:

- Log., Kan. **-ay**
- Log. **-Ø**
(from contamination with the 3sg. ending)
- Log., Kan. **-in**
< Ir. **hánti* (seldom used in Logar)

In the modern language the imperative mood only has 2nd person forms.

Table 8: Personal endings of the imperative mood

| Conj.: | | 1 st | 3 rd | 2 nd | 4 th |
|--------|------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| sg. | Kan. | -Ø | -Ø (-an) | -Ø (-an), -ón | -Ø, -an, -ón |
| | Log. | -Ø | | -Ø, -ón | |
| pl. | | -ay | | -áy | |

There are some differences between the dialects only in the 2sg. In Logar, verbs with unstressed present endings (= Kan. 1st and 3rd conjugations) have zero endings.

Judging from Grierson's materials, 3rd conjugation verbs in Kaniguram may occasionally take the ending ⁺-an (G ^{-a}n) (Grierson 1921:179). The ending -ón is found with monosyllables (in Kaniguram 2nd and 4th conjugations), whereas inflected disyllables (in the aorist and present) in the 2sg. have two alternatives:

- a) a zero ending with mutation of the root vowel *a* (*a* → *é*); this form occurs in Logar;
- b) an unstressed ending -an (G ^{-a}n) (in the 4th conjugation the stressed root vowel mutates *a* → *é*).

In our materials there are some (very rare) cases of 3sg. and pl. forms of the imperative in -ón in Logar and Kaniguram. (Grierson 1921:179f. presents it as a regular form.¹⁰³)

The derivation of the imperative endings is as follows (IIFL:354):

- 1) -Ø (1st conjugation) < ^{*}-a + -Ø (the ending of the 2sg. imperative of Class I verbs);
- 2) -Ø (2nd, 3rd & 4th conjugation), from contamination with the ending above;
- 3) Log. -on (2sg. aorist and present with unstressed inflections), Kan. -an¹⁰⁴ (2sg. imperative of the 3rd & 4th conj.) from contamination with the ending of the 3sg. & pl. imperative of 1st conjugation verbs;

¹⁰³ Consider *bon* from *byuk* 'to be', *son* from *syuk* 'to become', *kon* from *dok* 'to do'. Grierson gives -un as well as -on (G ^{-ō}n) (Grierson 1918: 45). This ending probably occurs in the various conjugations as follows: a) ^{*}-on (1st and 3rd conj.) and b) -ón (2nd and 4th conj.). In Logar the ending -on is found in the 2sg. of the present and aorist; sometimes the 3sg. and pl. of the imperative has the ending -on: *yošon* 'let him/them speak'. 4th conjugation verbs have two parallel forms in the 2sg.: *der* and *darón* from *dórnok/drónok* 'to have', *ben* and *banón* from *banók* 'to throw' etc. In Kaniguram the 4th conjugation does not have a form in -ón.

¹⁰⁴ Morgenstierne is doubtful about setting Kan. -an alongside the ending of the old imperative -āna, which is found in Class IX verbs (IIFL:354). Yet some verbs in Ormuri are reflexes of this structural type: Log. *šin-*, Kan. *řin-* 'to buy', Kan. *dzun-* 'to look at', *rīn-* G 'to shave, to scrape'; hence, we do not consider the etymology suggested for this ending to be unfounded. However, in Logar this ending has been completely replaced by -on.

- 4) Log., Kan. *-ón* (2sg. imperative of the 2nd & 4th conj.) from contamination with the ending of the 3sg. & pl. imperative of 2nd conj. old Class VI verbs;
- 5) Kan. *-un, -on* (G *-un, -ōn*) (3sg. & pl. imperative) < Ir. **-a-ntu* (3pl. imperative of old Class I verbs), cf. Skt. *-antu*;
- 6) Kan. *-ón, -ún*, Log. *-ón* (3sg. & pl. imperative of monosyllabic verbs) < Ir. **-á-ntu* (3pl. imperative of old Class VI verbs), cf. Skt. *-á-ntu*;
- 7) Log., Kan. *-ay* (2pl. of the 1st & 3rd conjugation), *-áy* (2nd & 4th conjugation) from contamination with the corresponding ending of the aorist-present.

Auxiliary verbs

The following are used as auxiliary verbs to make analytical forms:

- a) the copula (or verb substantive);
- b) the verb 'to be': Log. *b-* : *buk*, Kan. *b-* : *byuk* masc., *buk* fem. 'to be';
- c) the verb 'to become': Log. *s-* : *šuk*, Kan. *s-* : *syuk* masc., *suk* fem.¹⁰⁵

The copulas are reflexes of the ancient verb **ah-* 'to be' in the present indicative active; some finite forms of the copula are the result of contamination with the corresponding endings of the present and imperative.

The forms of the present indicative of the copula are:

¹⁰⁵ For the conjugation of the verb *b-* 'to be' see the paradigm for the past-tense subjunctive of intransitive verbs, as well as the paradigm for the pluperfect indicative of intransitive verbs.

We give here the paradigm of the verb *s-* 'to become' in the present and aorist (without the particles *bu* and *su*):

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | Log. | Kan. | Log. | Kan. |
| 1 st | <i>sam</i> | <i>sem</i> | <i>sen</i> | <i>*syen</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>son</i> | <i>sun</i> | <i>say</i> | <i>*say</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>se</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>sen</i> |

Cf. the 2sg. form according to Grierson (Grierson 1921:161, 311): *sī, sū* (aorist and present), *sun* (imperative).

The conjugation of this verb in the simple past is analogous to that of the verb 'to be': 1sg. Log. *šúkom*, Kan. *syúkam* masc., *sukam* fem. etc.

1sg.:

- Log. **(y)om**, Kan. **(y)um**, **(h)um**
 < Ir. **áhmi* (with an optional prothetic consonant Log. *y*-, Kan. *h*- or *y*- in all persons), cf. Av. *ahmi*, O.Pers. *amiy*, Skt. *ásmi*

2sg.:

- Log. **(y)on**
 (from contamination with the ending of the present which in turn is derived from the secondary ending of the imperative)
- Kan. **(y)e**, **(h)e**
 < Ir. **áhi* (Ir. **a* > *e* as a result of i-umlaut), cf. Av. *ahi*, Skt. *ási*

3sg.:

- Log. **(y)e**, Kan. **(h)a**
 < Ir. **ásti* (Log. *-e*, probably influenced by an initial *y*-, which later became facultative, however), cf. Av. *asti*, O.Pers. *astiy*, Skt. *ásti*

1pl.:

- Log. **(y)en**, Kan. **yen**,
 < early Orm. **ēm* < Ir. *áhmahi* (**m* > *n* from the influence of the 1pl. enclitic pronoun **-nah*, cf. Av. *nā̎*, *nō̎*; the *y* in Kan. *yen* is prothetic), cf. Av. *mahi*, O.Pers. *amahy*, Skt. *smási* (with strong grade of the root vowel, as in O.Pers., and shift of the stress onto it), cf. IIFL:352

2pl.:

- Log. **(y)ay**, Kan. **hay**
 (from contamination with the ending of the present, cf. IIFL:352)

3rd pers pl.:

- Log. **(y)e**
 (from contamination with the 3sg. of the copula)
- Kan. **(h)in**
 < Ir. **hánti* (with i-umlaut of root **a*), cf. Av. *hənti*, O.Pers. *haⁿtiy*, Skt. *sánti*

The conjugation system

The conjugation of verbs in Ormuri varies considerably between the dialects. The first reason for this is that there is no category of gender in Logar, whereas there is in Kaniguram and it has a considerable effect upon verb formation in the past tenses; secondly, the dialects have different types of ergative construction, which also affects the formation of the past tense (of the various moods) and, thirdly, there are differences to some extent in the verb inflections (of aspect and tense).

Leaving aside the mobile verb particles *bu* and *su* (the latter is sometimes omitted), which are part of some forms, all the finite forms of the verb may be divided into simple and

compound, according to how they are formed. The simple forms are composed directly from stems with a personal ending. The compound forms are made up of the basic verb (which has the lexical meaning) in the infinitive (the same form as the past stem) and an auxiliary verb.

The following are formed from the present stem in both dialects:

- 1) the present-future tense, occurring in two conjugations:
 - a) the indicative (with the particle *bu*), and
 - b) the subjunctive (with the particle *su*).
- 2) the imperative

From the past stem are formed:

- 1) the simple past.
- 2) the continuous (iterative) past, occurring in two conjugations:
 - a) the indicative (with the particle *bu*), and
 - b) the subjunctive (with the particle *su*).
- 3) the irrealis.

The system of compound verb forms made with an auxiliary verb (with or without a particle) does not correspond exactly between the dialects.

Compound verb forms in Logar are as follows:

- 1) the pluperfect indicative;
- 2) the perfect;
- 3) the past subjunctive (with the particle *su*);
- 4) the passive.

Kaniguram has the following:

- 1) the pluperfect indicative;
- 2) the perfect;
- 3) the past subjunctive (with the particle *su*);
- 4) the pluperfect subjunctive (with the particle *su*);
- 5) the compound form of the unfulfilled mood;
- 6) the passive.

The indicative mood

The Ormuri verb has four moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and irrealis. The indicative mood has the following tense-aspect forms: present-future, simple past, continuous (iterative) past, perfect and pluperfect. All these tense-aspect forms occur in both dialects.

The present-future tense

The present-future tense, which has two types of accentuation — stressed and unstressed — is formed from the present stem of the verb, with personal endings attached to it plus the particle *bu*, which has no fixed position in the phrase (except that it cannot occur in initial position). We have already remarked that, when taking into account stress and ending, Kaniguram, which is a truer reflection of Proto-Ormuri, can be said to have four conjugations, and Logar, in which the unifying processes have been much stronger, two, differentiated basically by whether or not the stem is stressed (see above under ‘Personal endings’).

We shall start with Kaniguram, when classifying the conjugations, to cover more fully the important archaic features of verb inflection in Ormuri in which some structural and morphological characteristics of Old-Iranian present stems, including stress, are more striking and less weakened in comparison with other Iranian languages.

We should point out that, when all the synchronic and historical characteristics are taken into account, it is comparatively easy to work out the relationship of Logar to Kaniguram. Only sometimes do we have to deal with difficulties impossible to overcome even with etymological analysis (in which cases a Logar verb is allocated to a conjugation based on hypothesis).

Some verbs in Logar and Kaniguram are reflexes of different classes of ancient present stems, derived from the same root, cf. e.g.

- Log. **mar-** ‘to hear’ < Ir. **mārāya*

and:

Kan. ***amár-** id. < Ir. **ā-māra-* from **mar-*

In odd cases verbs formed from the same root have different meanings in the dialects:

- Log. **juš-** ‘to see’, Kan. **dzuš-** ‘to look, to seek’
< Ir. **vi-dṛsya-* from **dṛs-* : *dars-*

When setting out a conjugation, a complete inflectional paradigm of a verb with a basic structure is given for greater clarity: four conjugations in the sections on the present-future tense of the indicative and subjunctive moods and two in the other sections; this is sufficient to show the basic structural features of a tense-aspect or modal form; it is natural that in doing this some parts of a paradigm will have to be given in a reconstructed form (by analogy with verbs of a similar type). Homonymy of endings, which occurs especially in the 1sg. (from contamination of different conjugations), is not usually shown in the paradigms given.

The following verbs have been chosen to illustrate the paradigms of conjugation:

- Log., Kan. **dzán-** ‘to beat’
- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řin-** ‘to buy’
- Log. **wóst-**, Kan. **wúst-** ‘to rise’
- Log., Kan. **ban-** ‘to throw’

As the forms of the present-future indicative and subjunctive differ only by the use of different particles (*bu* in the former, *su* in the latter), the paradigms of verb conjugation are given without the particle *bu* for clarity.

| 1 st conj. | Logar | Kaniguram |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1sg | <i>dzánom</i> | <i>dzánam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>dzán(on)</i> | <i>dzan</i> |
| 3sg | <i>dzáne</i> | <i>dzána</i> |
| 1pl | <i>dzánen</i> | <i>dzányen</i> |
| 2pl | <i>dzánay</i> | <i>dzánay</i> |
| 3pl | <i>dzáne</i> | <i>dzánin</i> |

| 2 nd conj. | Logar | Kaniguram |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1sg | <i>šiním</i> | <i>řinám</i> |
| 2sg | <i>šin(on)</i> | <i>řini</i> |
| 3sg | <i>šiné</i> | <i>řiná</i> |
| 1pl | <i>šinén</i> | <i>řinyén</i> |
| 2pl | <i>šináy</i> | <i>řináy</i> |
| 3pl | <i>šiné</i> | <i>řinín</i> |

| 3 rd conj. | Logar | Kaniguram |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1sg | <i>wóstim</i> | <i>wústim</i> (-am) |
| 2sg | <i>wóst(on)</i> | <i>wust</i> |
| 3sg | <i>wóste</i> | <i>wústi</i> |
| 1pl | <i>wósten</i> | <i>wústyen</i> |
| 2pl | <i>wóstay</i> | <i>wústay</i> |
| 3pl | <i>wóste</i> | <i>wústin</i> |

| 4 th conj. | Logar | Kaniguram |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1sg | <i>baním</i> | <i>baním</i> (-ém, -ám) |
| 2sg | <i>ben, banón</i> | <i>béni</i> |
| 3sg | <i>bané</i> | <i>baní</i> |
| 1pl | <i>banén</i> | <i>banyén</i> |
| 2pl | <i>banáy</i> | <i>banáy</i> |
| 3pl | <i>bané</i> | <i>banín</i> |

Examples of other Kaniguram verbs (and the corresponding verbs in Logar):

1st conjugation:

- **yor-** ‘to rain’ (= Log.)
- **tsaw-** ‘to go’ (= Log.)
- **y^waz-** ‘to fall’ (Log. **voz-**)
- **war-** ‘to carry’ (= Log.)
- **nawar-** ‘to pull out’ (= Log.)
- **řaw-** ‘to weep’ (Log. **řaw-**)
- **xan-** ‘to laugh’
- **awas-** ‘to know, to understand’
- **amar-** ‘to hear’ (Log. **mar-** 4th conj.)
- **y^wař-** ‘to fear’ (Log. **yoř-**)

- **haw-** G, M ‘to read’ (Log. **aw-** 4th conj. by analogy with causative verbs in *-aw-/-ay-*)
- **ašt-** ‘to stand, to stand up’
- **waxay-** G, M ‘to dig’
- **baš-** ‘to give’ (Log. **baš-** 4th conj.)

2nd conjugation:

- **xr-** ‘to eat’ (= Log.)
- **ž-** ‘to put’ (Log. **g-** ‘to leave’)
- **dzun-** ‘to see’
- **k-** ‘to do’ (= Log.)
- **s-** ‘to become’ (= Log.)
- **b-** ‘to be’ (= Log.)
- **kin-** ‘to impregnate’ (= Log.)
- **z-** ‘to come’ (Log. **zey-** 1st conj.)
- **rīn-** G ‘to shave’
- **n-** ‘to sit down’ (Log. **ney-** 1st conj., cf. Kan. 2sg. imperative *nay* ‘sit down!’)

3rd conjugation:

- **γ^was-** ‘to speak’ (Log. **γoš-**)
- **bras-** ‘to burn’
- **bruš-** G ‘to shine’
- **maz-** ‘to get broken, to be smashed’ (Log. **mez-**)
- **γ^warš-** ‘to please’ (Log. **γorš-**)
- **myūz-** M ‘to open’ (Log. **mož-** < Ir. **mučya*, but possibly also **mauča*- Class I?)
- **nuw-**, G *nīw-* ‘to put’
- **dir-** G, M ‘to reap’
- **γir-** G ‘to growl’
- **hazn-** G ‘to remain’ (Log. *yezn-*)
- **pis-** G ‘to write’

4th conjugation:

- **kaw-, kay-** ‘to do’
- **zay-** ‘to request, to wish’ (Log. **žay-**)
- **tsal-** ‘to lead/conduct’
- **dar-** ‘to have’ (= Log.)
- **gal-** ‘to bind’ (= Log.)
- **pay-** ‘to pasture’
- **γaf-** ‘to weave’

- **řitsaw-** ‘to send’ (Log. **kičaw-** ‘to invite’)
- **braz-** ‘to burn’
- **biz-** G, M ‘to cook, to bake’ (Log. **biž-**)
- **řas-** ‘to swell’
- **ay-, ey-,** G *hāy-* ‘to sit’
- **mr-** ‘to die’ (= Log.)
- **tr-** ‘to drink’
- **gl-** ‘to carry away’ (= Log.)
- **nw-** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’

Some 1st conjugation verbs, by analogy with the 4th conjugation, have root vowel alternation in the 2sg.: Kan. *īšt* G from *ašt-* ‘to stand’, *wīw* G from *haw-* G, M ‘to read’ (in Logar this became a 4th conjugation verb).

The present-future tense is used:

1) To denote an action taking place habitually or continually:

- *ar čān bu ku-māx-ki kere šāx-dī wok er erzeye*
‘Every year water comes to us from this tributary (river)’
- *tafoyn e-bāy-ki mak-tso, ka dāyeman sāyeb-a bu be*
‘Do not go into their garden, because its owner is always there’
- *tar māx a-qawm bu baraki-barak-ki grām yoše*
‘Our tribe says “Gram” to Baraki-Barak’
- Kan. *insān ye bu ziyāt umr nak-dari*
‘Man does not live long’
- *kye pa pa, ka tu bu tar mun a-badrang tsera dzuni aw sabʳr bu kewi aw az bu tar tu a-šāista mux dzunem aw šukʳr bu lakandem*
‘... Because you (always) see my ugly face and suffer/endure, but I see your (sg.) beautiful face and give thanks (to God)’

2) To denote an action taking place at the current time:

- Log. *yoše bu, ka āwāz tar mun dur-dī šer e aw dangim bu, ka ta xoy ku-āwāz dur-dī marim*
‘They say that my voice is pleasant at a distance, (so) I am running off in order to hear my voice from afar’
- *tu-b tsa yošʳ?*
‘What are you (sg.) saying?’
- *sā(a)t-am bu šom tsawe*
‘My watch is fast now’
- Kan. *az bu o sařay dzunem*
‘I see this man’

- *afa dúka-r bu dal-ki trapay dzana*
'That girl is running here'
 - *afa saray, ka tar tu petsa tsawa-b, afa ye kuk (h)a?*
'Who is that man walking behind you?'
- 3) To denote an action in the future:
- Log. *kân bu tu erzey?*
'When will you come?'
 - *...ayn beqonâ ye aw do^{wâ}-wa-b raw qabul se*
'They are sinless and (therefore) their prayer will be heard sooner'
 - Kan. *afay begunâ hin aw tarây a-du^{wâ} bu sira qablawak sa – id.*
 - *az o kitâb yekin, o peri dal-a-b pa čut řom*
'I have (already) read this book and will give it back to you now'

In Logar the present-future is occasionally used in a subordinate conditional clause:

- *ka goda afo-b ketâb nak-awe, ku-tu-gađi-b bâzâr-ki tsawe*
'If he is not (now) reading the book (i.e. not doing the lessons), he will go to the bazaar with you'
- *...aw ka tu-b žey, az bu sinamâ-ki ku-tu-gađi tsam*
'... and if you wish, I will go to the cinema with you (sg.)'

The present-future tense of Log., Kan. *dar-* 'to have', Kan. *ašt-* 'to stand', *ay-*, *ey-* 'to sit' may be used without the particle *bu*:

- Log. *ay zarka! tsa maqsad der?*
'O woman, what do you want?' (lit. 'what intention have you?')
- Kan. *ta tsami a-dâru tsa matlab dari?*
'What is eye medicine necessary for?'
(lit. 'what aim has (the use of) eye medicine?')
- *tar mun ta marzâ a-yâsp tar mun ta gâwandî nar-ki boy ašta*
'My brother's horse is standing near my neighbour's house'
- *az eyim* 'I am seated'

The simple past tense

As in the other Iranian languages which have both nominative and ergative constructions, which are differentiated mainly through the morphology of the verbal predicate, the past tenses in Ormuri conjugate differently depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

In a nominative construction the verbal predicate agrees with the subject in person and number (and in Kaniguram also in gender); in an ergative construction the morphological shape of the verbal predicate, or predicate of action, depends on the different ways the ergative construction is formed in the dialects.

In Logar the predicate in an ergative construction does not agree with anything: the transitive verb always appears as the past stem with a zero ending, which is the same as the 3sg. form of the intransitive verb, whatever the person and number of the noun denoting the subject or object of the action is.

In Kaniguram the predicate in an ergative construction agrees with the object: a transitive verb in any form of the past tense agrees in person, gender and number with the logical object and, if there is none, it is used in the 3sg. Thus in the context of verb conjugation in the past tenses person and number are linked to whether the verb has a transitive or intransitive meaning:

1) Intransitive verbs in both dialects express the person and number of the subject (the logical subject).

2) Transitive verbs in Logar do not express the person and number of the logical subject or of the logical object (on a few exceptions to this rule, see below); in Kaniguram transitive verbs in an ergative construction express person and number and the grammatical gender of the logical object.

The simple past tense of intransitive verbs is formed from the past stem to which are added personal endings, set out here as one word, as with the other past tenses. As noted above, the stress in the past stem may fall either on the root part (non-final stress) or on the vowel of the suffix (final stress); when the personal endings are added, the stress remains on the same syllable; thus the personal endings of the past tenses are unstressed. See the paradigm of the conjugation in the past simple of the intransitive verb Log. *wóstok*, Kan. *wustyék* masc., *wusták* fem. ‘to rise’:

| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
|-----|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1sg | <i>wostókom</i> | <i>wustyékam</i> | <i>wustákam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>wostókon</i> | <i>wustyéke</i> | <i>wustáke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>wostók</i> | <i>wustyék</i> | <i>wusták</i> |
| 1pl | <i>wostóken</i> | <i>wustákyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>wostókay</i> | <i>wustákay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>wostók(in)</i> | <i>wustákin</i> | |

The simple past tense of transitive verbs is formed:

a) in Logar from the past stem plus a zero marker (the person and number of the logical subject and object are not shown by the verb form; they are expressed by other means);

b) in Kaniguram from the past stem plus a personal ending (in the 3sg. there is a zero ending); the stem and the endings are governed by the logical object. We give as an example the paradigm of the conjugation of Log., Kan. *dzok* ‘to beat’:

| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
|-----|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1sg | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzókam</i> | <i>dzákam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzóke</i> | <i>dzáke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzak</i> |
| 1pl | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzákyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzákay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>dzok</i> | <i>dzákin</i> | |

The simple past tense denotes an action in the past without specifying its course, whether long or short duration, complete or incomplete. When not used in distinction to the past continuous and in the absence of explanatory adverbial words, it denotes a single, completed action:

- Log. *prasol tar mun a-giši-b dinok: nawolok-am – xalās šukom*
‘Last year I had toothache: I pulled it out and recovered (from the pain)’
- ...*diče-wa pây-di nawolok, ta xoy dâman-ne-wa pečawok*
‘... He took his slippers off his feet (and) wrapped (them) in the tail (of the shirt)’
- *še saray dâktar-ki altsok, yok-a...*
‘A man went to the doctor, said to him ...’
- *qâzi pa yaqin poy šuk, ka mâwa ta klanak a zarka ye. ku-klanak kere zarka-ki alšuk. afo be-wa pa dorra dzok aw ayi dâk*
‘The *qazi* was immediately convinced that the boy’s mother was this woman. He returned the boy to this woman, but that one, the other one, he lashed with a whip and drove away’
- Kan. *a-bi tsân-am bu a-gas dumak aw nawalk-am al aw yam-lâsta-wa di xlās syukam*
‘Last year I had toothache, (then) I pulled it out and saved myself from the torment’
- *dyo tsân-a mux-ki bu az o kitâb yekin, xa xatm m-a nak-dok*
‘As far back as two years ago I was reading (began to read) this book, but did not finish (it)’
- *a-prân az kâbul-ki tsekam*
‘Yesterday I travelled to Kabul’
- *az tyos san dyekay*
‘I saw you today’
- *aŋa-l ka-mun-girađ tsek*
‘He went with me’

Depending on the context and whether the sentence contains adverbial words, the simple past tense may denote a long-lasting or repeated action:

- Log. *kānigrām-ne tar mǎx e-qawm-ki-wa sayed yǎ stāna yok*
‘In Kaniguram our tribe was called “Sayyed” or “Stana”’
- *ar waxt bu, ka ta wazir aw mas’ud e-mendze-ne ĵang šuk, ta ormor e-mendz-di-b še nafar ta afoyin ku-māmela-wa-b faysala dāk*
‘Every time that differences arose between the Wazirs and the Mehsuds a (some) person from the Ormur settled their dispute’

Sometimes the simple past tense, like the perfect, has the meaning of a result or a completed action in the past; (this is no doubt connected with the fact that historically it is derived from the past participle); see, e.g. in Logar:

- *...še nafar ta afoyin ku-māmela-wa-b faysala dāk, faqat ka ku-rowon ta ĵang wožnawe; ende-di tar mǎx ku-qawm-že-wa ormər nām wotok yāni “or mər”*
‘... One man of them (the Ormur) settled the dispute, – if only to extinguish the fire of war. Therefore (lit. ‘whence’) they gave our tribe the name of “Ormur”, i.e. “the one who extinguished the fire”’
- *mǎx ta soltān māmud e-waxte-ne kānigrām-di awal yazni-ki aw yazni-di logar-ki erzāken*
‘In the times of sultan Mehmud (Ghaznavi) we came from Kaniguram first to Ghazni and from Ghazni to Logar’

In conditional and temporal subordinate clauses this form is used to denote a future time preceding the action of a verb in the present-future tense or imperative mood in the main clause:

- Log. *az bu pīri deqāni kem, kordi-ki bu wok aršerem. afo ka watar šuk, kfō-b qolba kem, be-wa-b mǎla kem*
‘I am now occupied with agriculture (lit. I am occupied with farming). I irrigate plots of land. When it (the land) becomes moist, I will plough, then harrow it’

When there is a sequence of several actions in the past (A, B, C etc.), in which B takes place after the completion of A, and C after the completion of B, etc., the simple past tense (in the subordinate clause) and the present-future tense (in the main clause) may be translated into English to correspond to the pattern “(when I) have done A, I do B, (when I) have done B, I do C” etc. E.g.:

- *mǎx bu nasen, ka ganəm-an drǎw dāk, ku-kord-ki-b wok aršeren. a ka watar šuk, kere-b nasen qolba-wa-b ken. be-wa-b mǎla ken. mǎla-n ka dāk, kere-ne-b taxminan še – še-wo-nim mǎy ter se, kere-b nasen, duspāra-wa-b ken. be-wa-b rākol ken. pets-di-wa-b sespāra ken, be-wa-b qarār gen mizān-tumadi*
‘When we have (already) reaped the wheat, we irrigate the field. When it has become moist, we plough the field. Then we harrow it (with a “mal”). We harrowed (it), – about one to one and a half months will pass, ... we plough it up (loosen it) a second time. Then we level it (with rakes). After this we plough it up a third time and then we leave it (in peace) until the month of Mizan’

It should be noted that in the speech of some Logar speakers the morphology of the predicate in the ergative construction breaks down at times. From our observations this

occurs when the logical subject is the enclitic 3rd person pronoun *-a/-wa*, which is the same in the singular and plural, and, to express a plural, the speaker uses a transitive verb in the past tense with the ending *-in*, which is uncharacteristic, but is used optionally (as an alternative to the zero ending) with intransitive verbs in the past tense. E.g.:

- *ku-marzâ-m-a dékin*
'They saw my brother'
- *ku-marzâ-t-a dékin*
'They saw your (sg.) brother'
(The transitive verb 'to see' is in the past simple tense, with the 3rd person enclitic pronoun *-a* as the logical subject in both sentences.)

As already mentioned, the past tense of transitive and intransitive verbs developed in Ormuri as the sentence was restructured, with the result that two constructions emerged – the nominative, and the ergative which evolved from the heart of the former based on phrases with a participle in **-tā̃*. It seems appropriate to add more details here about the historical preconditions for the emergence of the ergative construction, in that it relates not only to the verb itself, i.e. the predicate, but also to other categories of words which may be part of this construction, the logical subject or object (that is, nominal parts of speech used as substantives).

Studies in Iranian linguistics have already concluded on the basis of Old Persian that four original analytical models for a predicate in participial phrases with **-ta* can be distinguished, which were the base for the formation of the past tenses of transitive verbs in Middle and Modern Iranian:

- 1) *manā kartam*
- 2) *-maiy kartam*
- 3) *manā kartam astiy*
- 4) *-maiy kartam astiy*

(Rastorgueva 1975a:206).

The differences in the typology of the ergative construction in Ormuri show that its development diverged between the dialects mainly because each dialect used different original models of predicate: Logar took the first two (without the copula), and Kaniguram the last two (with the copula). If we compare the basic parts of the ergative construction which are three in all (subject, object and predicate) with their prototypes in the Old-Iranian participial phrase (oblique object, subject and nominal predicate respectively), we can draw the following conclusions about how this construction developed in Ormuri.

We shall begin by examining its pivotal component, the predicate, which will mean of necessity dealing with the nominative construction as well as with the ergative, since the development of the past tenses of transitive and intransitive verbs was closely interwoven.

Comparative and historical analysis of the Iranian languages shows that a synthetic past tense was formed with historical perfect participles in **-ta* as the base,¹⁰⁶ which had the categories of gender, number and case. It also shows that the participle itself finally became the past stem (see Rastorgueva 1975a:199f). It is possible that at an early stage of development formations with a participle in **-ta* had a perfect meaning and that only when secondary participles in **-ta-ka* developed did they enter the domain of the past tense as Sogdian material shows, while the latter participles (with **-ta-ka*) were firmly in the domain of the perfect (Rastorgueva 1975b:365).

In Ormuri further development ended with the former perfect stem (from the participle in **-ta-ka*) becoming the general stem of the past tense, common to the past and perfect; in the end, the dialects used different methods of forming the past and the perfect (see below).

As the reflexes of the participles in **-ta-ka* in Ormuri demonstrate, the past tense in the ancestor dialect was formed with the nominative case of either gender and number as the base. It followed the original analytical models, which were not completely the same for transitive and intransitive verbs:

1) with intransitive verbs the participle had to be accompanied by the copula, inflected for person and number, and both components were grammatically governed by the logical subject, which in this case was the grammatical subject of the original participial phrase;

2) with transitive verbs the participle might be:

a) in combination with the copula and with the same grammatical agreement of both components as for intransitive verbs, with the important difference, however, that here they referred not to the logical subject (the oblique object in the participial phrase), but to the logical object (= the grammatical subject in the original model);

b) without the copula, but with grammatical agreement of the participle with the logical object in gender, number and case.

Subsequently, a well-developed system of forms evolved in Ormuri on the past stem with differences between aspect, tense and mood, by which the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs continued to be distinguished.

On the whole the predicate of the ergative construction in Ormuri may be said to have evolved in a completely regular way; it took place within the framework of the original system and is the outcome of two viable, genetically “pre-planned” routes of development.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. traces of formations in **-ta* in the following words: Kan. *řamotaw* ‘forgetting’ (*řamot-* < Ir. **fra-maršta* from **mṛš-* : *marš-* ‘to forget’); Log. *marzā*, Kan. *marzā* ‘to take’ (< Ir. *mātar-zāta*, where **zāta* is from **zan-* ‘to give birth to’), Kan. *mutaw-* pres. stem ‘to grind’ (*mut-* < **muršt* < Ir. **mṛšta* from **mṛz-* : *marz-*, IE **merǵ-*, **melǵ-*, cf. Abaev 1973:101; IEW:722).

Of course, the predicate of the Kaniguram ergative construction is of special interest. By comparing all verb forms recorded in this dialect we can conclude that the components of the analytical formations containing the copula gradually merged and became inflected syntactical forms (morphemes), a process which seems to have begun as long ago as Proto-Ormuri and which proceeded unevenly in transitive and intransitive verbs; it probably took place earlier in the latter than in the former.

To judge by our material, so far as transitive verbs are concerned, Kaniguram has at present this very system of past-tense forms, distinguished by the complete merger of the predicative copula with the participle; as a result of this the latter became the past stem, still able to inflect for gender and number, and the copula became the personal ending and agrees with the object.

However, when Ghulam Muhammad Khan's grammar was written (in 1886) from whose materials Grierson's works were compiled, the past tense in Kaniguram was an analytical formation with relatively independent component parts, the participle and copula: in spite of the established position of the predicative copula, the enclitic pronoun of the logical subject could be inserted between it and the participle (see examples of the type of *x^walak-at-am* 'you (masc./fem. sg.) ate me (masc.)' etc. (Grierson 1921:163).

Logar took a different model of ergative construction without the copula. In time the participle lost all the inflectional categories it used to have — gender, number and case¹⁰⁷ — and became purely a stem, neutral in person and number with regard to the logical subject, as was characteristic of this construction from the start, and to the logical object, the former subject in the original expression, with which it had formerly been in full agreement.

The transitive verb here has lost even its zero marker, for instance, in the 3sg. past of the intransitive verb, where its position is established by comparison with other finite forms. In the speech of some speakers of the dialect the predicate is occasionally restructured along nominative lines by adding *-in* (also optional for intransitive verbs, incidentally), but only in constructions where the logical subject is an enclitic 3rd person pronoun, undifferentiated as to number.¹⁰⁸

The logical subject (of an ergative construction): There are various means of expressing this in Ormuri but only one is close to the original model, when enclitic pronouns are used. In the other methods, when the logical subject is a noun or independent pronoun, there is a significant departure from the traditional manner of expressing it, where the nouns are without inflection and so the logical subject does not have the basic means of expressing its morphology. Taking the use of the 1sg. pronoun as an example: although

¹⁰⁷ Gender and number were lost in Logar participles comparatively recently, as is shown by their fossilised gender (and number) forms, if we start with root vowelings.

¹⁰⁸ We could not confirm the 1st person sg. transitive form with *-om* (M *-um*) in an intransitive verb recorded by Morgenstierne (1929:362).

the language still has an oblique form *mun* of dative-genitive origin (the same case-form used to express the logical subject in the original participial phrase), the basic (direct) form *az* is used as a logical subject. An undoubted innovation is also that, as is possible in Logar, an enclitic pronoun can duplicate a logical subject which is already represented by a noun or independent pronoun.

And finally, the logical object. The way of expressing this, now archaic in Kaniguram, is with the basic (direct) form of a noun or personal pronoun, typologically closest to the nominative, used for its prototype, the subject in the original participial construction. By contrast, the ‘accusative’ formation of the direct object in Logar (with the particle *ku*), where it denotes a definite object, attests to similar pressure from the nominative construction.

If we take into account the impact of this construction, which is evident, as we have seen, in both dialects and in the formation of the logical subject, then it is clear that the neutral form of the predicate in Logar is the most important morphological sign of the ergative construction. Of course, use of a finite verb form (of the nominative type) with a logical subject in the 3pl. is a strong indication that the ergative construction is being replaced with a nominative one. However, so far this has not been widespread.¹⁰⁹

The continuous (iterative) past tense

The continuous (iterative) past tense of intransitive verbs is formed from the past stem in combination with personal endings and the mobile particle *bu*:

| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1sg | <i>bu wostókom</i> | <i>bu wustyékam</i> | <i>bu wustákam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>bu wostókon</i> | <i>bu wustyéke</i> | <i>bu wustáke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>bu wostók</i> | <i>bu wustyék</i> | <i>bu wustak</i> |
| 1pl | <i>bu wostóken</i> | <i>bu wustákyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>bu wostókay</i> | <i>bu wustákay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>bu wostók(in)</i> | <i>bu wustákin</i> | |

The continuous (iterative) past tense of transitive verbs is formed from the past stem; in Logar it has a zero ending, and in Kaniguram it has personal endings in agreement with the logical object; this verb form has the mobile particle *bu*, as does the present-future tense:

¹⁰⁹ There is agreement of the predicate object in the ergative construction (in all persons and numbers) in north-west languages such as Parachi (see the Pachagan dialect of this language; Efimov:1981) and Kurdish, as well as partial agreement (in the 3rd person plural) in Balochi.

| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1sg | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzókam</i> | <i>bu dzákam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzóke</i> | <i>bu dzáke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzak</i> |
| 1pl | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzákyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzákay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>bu dzok</i> | <i>bu dzákin</i> | |

The past continuous tense is used for a prolonged action that took place in the past and, when explanatory words are present, a repeated action also. For example:

- Log. *moazen azân ta nemâž-a-b dâk, yok-a-b aw dangok bu. poxtâna-wa dâk*
'A muezzin calling to prayer shouted and ran. They asked (him)'
- Kan. *syé dzarka wa-mux-ki tak aw ta mux-ki-wa-b žerawak*
'A woman stopped opposite him and stared him in the face'
- *ta sa kon a-zli bu a yekin...*
'A deaf man wanted ...'
(lit. 'the heart of a deaf man was saying this')
- *a-bi tsân-am bu a-gas dumak*
'Last year I had toothache'

In addition the past continuous tense may be used in subordinate clauses:

a) in conditional clauses, to express an irrealis context:

- Log. *alhamdolellâ ka diče-m pây-ne-m nak-da buk, kini afo-b ko šuk*
'Praise the Lord that I was not wearing shoes or they would have developed holes'
- Kan. *ka tsami-t roya bukun bye tyos brušk noři tsâ x^wâlk?*
'If your eyes had been healthy, would you really have eaten burnt bread?'
- *az o kitâb nak-yek a, o-m ka yek bukun, ner-am bu tu-lâsta peri nak-zek*
'I have not read this book, but if I had read (it), then I should not ask you for it (now)'

b) in temporal clauses:

- Log. *ar waxt bu ka ta wazir aw mas'ud e-mendze-ne žang šuk, ta ormor*
e-mendz-di-b še nafâr ta afoyin ku-mâmela-wa-b fâysala dâk
'Every time that clashes arose between the Wazirs and the Mehsuds, someone from the Ormur (lit. one man from the Ormur) settled their quarrel'

The perfect

The structure of the perfect is considerably different in each dialect. In Logar the perfect has new forms which are probably comparatively recent. In Kaniguram the perfect continues along the traditional lines of how it developed in Iranian languages (see above);

transitive verbs agree in gender, number and person with the logical object, and intransitive ones with the logical subject.

In Logar the perfect of intransitive verbs is formed by adding *-e* to the finite forms of the simple past tense (or of the past stem + personal endings). This suffix historically probably comes from the 3sg. present of the copula. There are differences between intransitive and transitive verbs in the conjugation of the perfect in person and number, as in other past tenses formed from historical perfect participles:

| Intransitive verbs | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | singular | plural |
| 1 st | <i>wostókom-e</i> | <i>wostóken-e</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>wostókon-e</i> | <i>wostókay-e</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>wostók-e</i> | <i>wostók-e</i> |

The perfect of transitive verbs is formed by adding *-e* to the infinitive (the past stem). Thus, for example, the verb **dzok** ‘to beat’ has the form **dzók-e** in the perfect, the verb **awók** ‘to read’ – **awók-e**, the verb **dek** ‘to see’ – **dek-e** etc. The enclitic pronoun which indicates the logical subject can be inserted between the infinitive and suffix *-e* (see below).

In Kaniguram the perfect is formed from the infinitive (the past stem) and the copula derived from Ir. **ah-* ‘to be’. Below are the paradigms of intransitive and transitive verb conjugations in the perfect:

| Intransitive verbs | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | masc. | fem. |
| 1sg | <i>wustyek (h)am</i> | <i>wustak (h)am</i> |
| 2sg | <i>wustyek (h)e</i> | <i>wustak (h)e</i> |
| 3sg | <i>wustyek (h)ã</i> | <i>wustak (h)ã</i> |
| 1pl | <i>wustak (h)yen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>wustak (h)ay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>wustak (h)in</i> | |

| Transitive verbs | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | masc. | fem. |
| 1sg | <i>dzok (h)am</i> | <i>dzak (h)am</i> |
| 2sg | <i>dzok (h)e</i> | <i>dzak (h)e</i> |
| 3sg | <i>dzok (h)ǎ</i> | <i>dzak (h)ǎ</i> |
| 1pl | <i>dzak (h)an</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>dzak (h)ay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>dzak (h)in</i> | |

Basically the perfect conveys the meaning of completion:

- *tu kere kār dāk-e? – wāya, dāk-am-e*
'Did you do this? Yes, I did (it)'
- *gīši-m bu dime. – ke – tare pārak, ka mezok-e*
'My tooth hurts. – Why? – Because it has broken'
- *tar mǎx a-qawm goda-di erzāk-e?*
'Where has our tribe come from?'
- Kan. *a-tabib di puština dāk, ka "tsa-t ye x"alak a?" dzawāb al ye řyuk, ka "brušk noři ye x"ālk a"*
'The physician asked him: "What have you eaten?" (The sick man) answered him: "I have eaten burnt bread"'
- *tar mun a-tsāmi ye stur gunā(h) dok ha*
'My eyes have committed a great sin'
- *a-ša ryož bu sen, ka kulak ye syuk a*
'It's already six days since (her) baby (boy) was born'
- *o šay t-ye kuk-lāsta wryuk ha?*
'Who did you buy this thing from?'
- *e kulak m-ar nar-lāsta zek a*
'I called this boy out of the house'
- *a-dyo tsān-a wa bu sen, ka az ye a-nar řoř dāk a*
'It is already two years since I built the house'
- *tu-m san mandrasta-nar dyek e*
'Today I saw you in the madrasah'
- *marzā-m o ketāb yek a, o peri dal-a-b tu-ki wapās řyuk inči*
'My brother has (already) read this book; now he can return it to you'

Stative verbs in the perfect have the meaning of the present tense at a given moment, i.e. they designate a state which is the result of a completed action:

- Log. *tar kok a-ketâb ende alyořtok-e?*
'Whose book is lying here?'
- *mâx nostoken-e*
'We are sitting'
- *mâx daroken-e*
'We are standing'
- *az alyořtokom-e*
'I am lying (down)'
- *tu xaw dâk-e*
'You are sleeping'

Note that there is a clear tendency in Kaniguram towards homonymy in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural and in the 3rd person plural of the simple past form, on the one hand, and of the perfect on the other.¹¹⁰ There is a distinct contrast between these forms only in the 3rd person singular, where the simple past has a zero marker in contrast to the copula *hã*, more frequently found without the initial *h-*, which also preconditions its complete union with the participle and its conversion from an analytical form to a synthetic one, as happened in the simple past forms (see above).

The pluperfect

The pluperfect tense is formed the same way in both dialects with the infinitive and the auxiliary verb: Log. *buk*, Kan. *byuk* masc., *buk* fem. 'to be' in the simple past tense. The conjugation of both intransitive and transitive verbs has the same characteristics as in the other past tenses:

| Intransitive verbs | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
| 1sg | <i>wostok bukom</i> | <i>wustyek byukam</i> | <i>wustak bukam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>wostok bukon</i> | <i>wustyek byuke</i> | <i>wustak buke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>wostok buk</i> | <i>wustyek byuk</i> | <i>wustak buk</i> |
| 1pl | <i>wostok buken</i> | <i>wustak bukyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>wostok bukay</i> | <i>wustak bukay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>wostok buk(in)</i> | <i>wustak bukin</i> | |

¹¹⁰ There is a similar tendency in Parachi also (Efimov 1981:129).

| Transitive verbs | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
| 1sg | <i>dzok buk</i> | <i>dzok byukam</i> | <i>dzak bukam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>dzok buk</i> | <i>dzok byuke</i> | <i>dzak buke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>dzok buk</i> | <i>dzok byuk</i> | <i>dzak buk</i> |
| 1pl | <i>dzok buk</i> | <i>dzak bukyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>dzok buk</i> | <i>dzak bukay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>dzok buk</i> | <i>dzak buk</i> | |

The pluperfect tense is used when it is necessary to indicate the completion of an action in the past before the beginning of another past action (the latter may only be implied). Examples:

- Log. *šo yāsp-am da ye, ka tu dek buk*
‘I have three horses, which you saw (earlier)’
- *afo ner so čān šomtar jor šuk buk*
‘That house had already been built one hundred years ago’
- Kan. *a-sa baxil saray di nyowa tsapli wruk bukin aw rāy-zar rawān byuk*
‘A miserly man bought new sandals and set off on his way’
- *dyo tsān-a mux-ki az o kitāb yek bukin*
‘I had read this book two years ago’

This form can also be used in conditional irrealis clauses (instead of the past continuous, see above):

- Log. *alhamdolellā ka diče-m pāy-ne-m nak-dāk buk, kini afo-b ko šuk*
‘Thank God that I did not put on the shoes, otherwise they would have become full of holes’
- Kan. *ka ta zari wořkay(i) a-duā sira qablawak sukun, ta dunyā mux-zar ye sa ālim ga nak-azyok byuk (or: su nak-azyok byuk)*
‘If the prayer of the little children had been heard sooner, there would no longer be (long since) a single teacher left in the world’

The subjunctive mood

Present-future tense (aorist)

The aorist, or the present-future tense of the subjunctive mood, is formed from the present stem by adding personal endings plus the mobile particle *su*. When the sentence contains special modal words and phrases, or where the context gives the impression of the subjunctive, the particle *su* is usually omitted in the aorist and other tense and aspectual

forms of this mood. The aorist has the same conjugation classes as the present-future tense of the indicative mood, and so we shall not set out their paradigms in full; see the 3sg. of Log., Kan. *dzan-* ‘to beat’, Log. *wost-* ‘to rise’, Log. *šin-*, Kan. *řin-* ‘to buy’, Log., Kan. *ban-* ‘to throw’:

1st conjugation: Log. *su dzáne*, Kan. *su dzána*, etc.

2nd conjugation: Log. *su šiné*, Kan. *su řiná*, etc.

3rd conjugation: Log. *su wóste*, Kan. *su wústi*, etc.

4th conjugation: Log. *su bané*, Kan. *su baní*, etc.

The aorist is also very close to this form of the indicative mood in temporal meaning but is different in modality. In contrast to the present-future tense of the indicative mood, which is used to express a real action, the aorist is used to indicate possibility, desire, permissibility, obligation, doubt, indirect command or motivation to act.

The aorist can be used in independent and subordinate clauses. Usually it is used to designate action in the future, having then the meanings mentioned above:

- Log. *erzey ka ta xoy ku-wazifa badal ken*
‘Let’s exchange our responsibilities’
- *goda su ku-tu juřim?*
‘Where shall I see you?’
- *xram-a su?*
‘perhaps I should eat this’
- *tsa balá su eršom?*
‘What will become of us?’ (lit. ‘what is in store for us/me?’)
- *čân-ki kâbol erzeyom*
‘Next year I may go to Kabul’
- Kan. *a-marzâ-t ye-s sabâ tsa kayi?*
‘What will your (sg.) brother do tomorrow?’
- *a-tsami-m bu dumin. tsa kyem?*
‘My eyes hurt. What should I do?’
- *afay su ustâzanni kawak sen*
‘Possibly they will become teachers’

However, the aorist may also designate a situation in the present:

- Log. *aftâdčana su bem*
‘I may be seventy years old’

The aorist has an especially wide sphere of use in subordinate clauses. It is used in particular:

a) in conditional clauses to designate action in the future or the present:

- Log. *aga marzâ-m erzeye, az bu wa-ğadi-wa tsam*
‘If (my) brother comes, I will go with him’

- Kan. *ka marzā-m arza, bye-l o kitāb řa*
‘If my brother comes, give him this book!’

b) in object clauses:

- Log. *mak-kon pa be, ka āxer su pa tu se*
‘Don’t do to another (that) which possibly will happen to you!’
- *yaqin darim, ka az-o-tu ađugađ su ĵannat-ki tsen*
‘(I) am sure that we shall both get to heaven’
- *xodāy dižen, ka tu-wa su paydā ki yā nak-a su paydā ki*
‘God knows whether or not you will find him’
- *har tsa-b, ka yoš, az-a-b manim*
‘I agree with all that you are saying’
- Kan. *tar mun ye o yaqin ha, ka az-(u)-tu su a-dyogađ ĵannat-ki tsyen*
‘I am sure that we shall both get to heaven’

c) in purpose clauses:

- Log. *az ku-xat afo-ki alšuk, čun ka tar mun e-māwa-ki agle-wa*
‘I gave him the letter so he would take it to my mother’
- *afo-b žaye, ka ku-xoy-at ĵuče*
‘He wants to see you yourself’
- Kan. *ā ta mandrasta a-wořkay bu guda-ki tseli? ... ka duwā ye kyen, ka bārān yora*
‘Where are you taking these schoolchildren? (We are taking them) to pray for rain’
- *....trapay bu dzanam ka x^way bāng petsa-lāsta amaram*
‘... I am running to hear my voice from a distance’

d) in temporal clauses:

- Log. *guša ka zle-ne-m yam ta yār be, tsa su xaw ke?*
‘Is it really possible to sleep when there is yearning in one’s heart for a friend?’

Past tense

The past subjunctive is formed from the infinitive (the past stem) and the aorist of the auxiliary verb: Log. *buk*, Kan. *byuk* masc., *buk* fem. ‘to be’ (with the mobile particle *su*).

| Intransitive verbs | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
| 1sg | <i>su wostok bim</i> | <i>su wustyek +bem</i> | <i>su wustak +bem</i> |
| 2sg | <i>su wostok bon</i> | <i>su wustyek bi</i> | <i>su wustak bi</i> |
| 3sg | <i>su wostok be</i> | <i>su wustyek ba</i> | <i>su wustak ba</i> |
| 1pl | <i>su wostok ben</i> | <i>su wustak byen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>su wostok bay</i> | <i>su wustak bay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>su wostok be</i> | <i>su wustak ben</i> | |

| Transitive verbs | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
| 1sg | <i>su dzok be</i> | <i>su dzok +bem</i> | <i>su dzak +bem</i> |
| 2sg | <i>su dzok be</i> | <i>su dzok bi</i> | <i>su dzak bi</i> |
| 3sg | <i>su dzok be</i> | <i>su dzok ba</i> | <i>su dzak ba</i> |
| 1pl | <i>su dzok be</i> | <i>su dzak byen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>su dzok be</i> | <i>su dzak bay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>su dzok be</i> | <i>su dzak ben</i> | |

The past subjunctive conveys the same modality as the aorist; unlike the latter, however, it is used for an action or event relating to the past:

- Log. *afo su kâbol-di erzâk be*
'Perhaps he has (already) come from Kabul?'
- *prân šâyad afo ku-keštâr qolba dâk be*
'Possibly he ploughed the field yesterday'
- *fek^r bu nak-kam, ka ku-qalam-a (su) prâk be*
'I do not think that he has sold (his) pen'
- *prân su az tsa kâr dâk be? – nak bu poy sam: yâ-t su ku-boma qolba dâk be, yâ su kâbol-ki altsok bi*
'(Do you know what) I did yesterday? – No, I do not know: you either ploughed the land or went to Kabul'
- Kan. *sa bu ka afa ketâb-a xatm dok ba*
'It is possible that he has finished (reading) that book'
- *sa bu ka a-yiwye dâk ba*
'Perhaps he has ploughed (the field)'

The continuous past tense

The continuous-past subjunctive is formed from the past stem with a personal ending and the mobile particle *su*.

| Intransitive verbs | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
| 1sg | <i>su wostókom</i> | <i>su wustyékam</i> | <i>su wustakam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>su wostokon</i> | <i>su wustyeke</i> | <i>su wustake</i> |
| 3sg | <i>su wostok</i> | <i>su wustyek</i> | <i>su wustak</i> |
| 1pl | <i>su wostóken</i> | <i>su wustákyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>su wostókay</i> | <i>su wustákay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>su wostók(in)</i> | <i>su wustákin</i> | |

| Transitive verbs | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Log. | Kan. masc. | Kan. fem. |
| 1sg | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzókam</i> | <i>su dzákam</i> |
| 2sg | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzóke</i> | <i>su dzáke</i> |
| 3sg | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzak</i> |
| 1pl | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzákyen</i> | |
| 2pl | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzákay</i> | |
| 3pl | <i>su dzok</i> | <i>su dzákin</i> | |

As with the analogous form of the indicative mood, the past continuous tense in the subjunctive mood is used for a prolonged or repeated action in the past:

- Log. *ahmad ku-mun-di poxtəna dāk, ka jistu roz šomtari tsa kār dāk-e? az alyok: fekre-ne-m nak-ke; yā-m su ku-boma qolba dāk, yā su kabol-ki altsokom*
‘Ahmad asked me: “What were you doing twenty days ago?”. I said to him: “I do not remember; I was either ploughing the land (the field) or going to Kabul”
- Kan. *a-prān-at ye bu a-marzā tsa dok? – mun-ki-r maalum nak-a: yā-ye-s kitāb yekin, yā-ye-s yiwye dāk*
‘What was your brother doing yesterday? – I do not know (exactly): possibly he was either reading a book or ploughing (a field)’

The past continuous tense is used also to express an irrealis situation, the verb in this form being in the main clause, while the subordinate clause has the verb in the irrealis mood or the past continuous tense indicative:

- Log. *ka tar tu a-tsimi roḡan bukon, soxta txan-at su nak-xolok*
'If your eyes had been healthy (lit. 'clear'), you would probably not have eaten the burnt bread'
- *ka tareyn (a-)do^{wa} raw qabul šuk, bāyad ka še nafar moallem ta boma e-mox-ne nak-ezok*
'If their prayer had been heard sooner, then possibly not even one teacher would have remained on earth!'
- *ka az kere ketāb awokon, nak-am su šayok*
'If I had read this book, perhaps I would not have asked (for it)'
- Kan. *a-pye-m o ketāb nak-yek a: o ka yek-a bukun, ner-wa-di-s tu-lāsta afā nak-zek*
'My father has (still) not read this book: if he had read it, he probably would not have asked you for it'

The pluperfect

There is also a pluperfect subjunctive in Kaniguram, but not in Logar; it is not recorded in Grierson's material. It is made in the same way as the pluperfect indicative, except that it is used with the particle *su*. It is employed, as is also the past tense, in the main clause of a complex sentence which has a subordinate clause with an irrealis meaning. In contrast to the past tense, it may convey a sense of being distant in time from the present or being more categorical:

- *tsapli-m pa pāri nak-(h)in: ka pa pāri-m bukun, nən sā rek su bukin*
'(It is good that) there are no sandals on my feet: if (they) were on my feet, they would (doubtless) have been torn now!'

(See also the examples in the section on the irrealis mood).

The imperative mood

The imperative mood has 2sg. and 2pl. forms. It is formed by adding to the present stem personal endings which vary depending on:

- the conjugation within each dialect to which a given verb belongs (see the discussion above on the present-future tense of the indicative and subjunctive moods);
- the dialect (see the discussion above of the historical analysis of verb inflection). Some examples:

- Log. *xodāy-an bad-e badtarin sāton*
'O God, keep us from misfortune' (lit. 'from the very worst')
- *mār-ki nefā-ne ġāy mak-alšer!*
'Do not keep a snake in the house'
(lit. 'Do not make room for a snake at your waist')
- *kere rope afō saray-ki alšer*
'Give this money to that man'

- *afo rope afo saray-di nas*
'Take this money from that man'
- *šer-a dzan aw pa beš-a ter*
'Beat him well and tie him up with rope'
- Kan. *tar mun mux-ki čo!*
'Go before me'
- *ta tsami a-dāru irwar!*
'Bring some eye medicine'
- *a-x^way mux-ye x^way yunji-ki plaṭaway, ka yli-l-a glin-nak*
'Turn your face towards your clothing, lest thieves take it away'

A 3rd person form in *-on* (common to both numbers) sometimes occurs:

- Log. *afoyin, ka poy bu se, bāyad afoy-ki, ka nak bu poy se, yošon*
'Let those that know tell those that do not know'
- *xudāy tafo ku-morād alšawon*
'May God fulfil their wish'
- Kan. *dāru-t son*
'May she be medicine for you!'

The irrealis mood

In Logar there is only a simple form of the irrealis mood, whereas in Kaniguram there is also a compound form.

The former is made from the past stem and suffix Log. *-on*, Kan. *-un* (G *-an^a*). The Logar verb (transitive and intransitive) in this form is not marked for agreement at all; in Kaniguram it inflects for gender and number, but not for person: Log. **wostókon**, Kan. **wustyekun** masc. sg., but **wustakun** fem. and masc. and fem. plural.

The compound form of the irrealis mood in Kaniguram is formed from the pluperfect tense with a suffix *-un* added to the auxiliary verb *byuk* masc., *buk* fem.; **wustyek byukun** masc., **wustak bukun** fem. and masc. and fem. plural.

The verb in the irrealis mood expresses an unrealised action in the present or past. It is used in unfulfilled conditional clauses, with the verb in the main clause in the continuous-past tense indicative or subjunctive:

- Log. *ka darok bu nak-inčokon, ke-b wostokon*
'If it was not permitted to stand (here), then why would (he) have stood up?'
- *ka šomtar-am kere ketāb awokon, piri-m bu kere ku-tu-di nak-žayuk*
'If I had read this book before, then I would not have asked you for it now'
- Kan. *ka tsami-t roya bukun, bye tyos brušk noři tsā x^wālk?*
'If your (sg.) eyes had been healthy, would you (in the text 'you' is plural) really have eaten burnt bread?'

In Kaniguram, a compound form is occasionally used instead of this simple one, which probably conveys the sense of further in the past:

- *ka ta zari workay a-du^{wā} sira qablawak sukun, ta dunyā mux-zar ye su sa ālim ga nak-azyok byuk*
‘If the little children’s prayer had been heard sooner, then (long since) there would not have been a single instructor (i.e. teacher) left on earth’
- *ka prān-am tu dyek byukun, o kitāb-am dal su řyuk byuk*
‘If I had seen you yesterday, I would probably have given you this book (then)’

The passive

The passive voice is formed from the infinitive of a basic verb and the auxiliary verb: Log. *šuk*, Kan. *syuk* masc., *suk* fem. ‘to get, to become’, which may occur in various tenses and aspects of some conjugations. The passive is very rarely used. Examples:

- Log. *a-saray dzok šuk*
‘(This) man has been beaten’
- Kan. *a-nar bu pa mun jōrawak sa*
‘The house is being built by me’
- Kan. *a-ner ye ka-mun-lāsta jōř suk a*
‘The house has been built by me’
- *afay su ustāzanni kawak sen*
‘Perhaps they will become (lit. be made) teachers’
- *az bu ustāz jōryek syukam*
‘I became (lit. was made) a teacher’

3.3 The adverb

There are comparatively few genuine adverbs; on the whole, they are a small group of pronominal adverbs, reflexes of Old-Iranian adverbs or derived from them:

- Log. **ke**, Kan. **kye** ‘why’
< Ir. **kim*, cf. Skt. *kim* id.
- Log. **kān**, Kan. **gān**, **kān** G ‘when’
where *kā-*, *gā-* < Ir. **kada*, cf. Av. *kaḍa*, O.Pers. *kay* id.
- Log. **goda**, Kan. **guda** ‘where’
in which the element *go-* or *gu-* < Ir. *ku-* cf. Av. *kū*, Parth. *kw /kū/* id.
- Log., Kan. **un** ‘so much’
< Ir. *avāntam* acc. sg. of **avant-* ‘such’, cf. Av. *avant-* id.

In Logar there are special pronominal adverbs of place with the deictic value of the 1st/2nd person **dāžera/dažera** ‘above’ (relative to me/us, or you sg. & pl.) and of the 3rd person

wāžera/wažera id. (relative to him/them), **wānera/wanera** ‘inside him/them, inside’ (the prefixes *dā-/da-* and *wā-/wa-* are in derivation apocopated forms of pronominal directional particles, see above and also the section on ‘Particles’; *žer* < Ir. **hača-upari*, *ner* < Ir. **antara*, *-a* is a suffix).

In the majority of instances, however, nouns (native Ormuri or loan words) with a meaning of time, quality or different circumstances, etc., are used as adverbs, usually combined with prepositions and postpositions and with a pronominal inflection; some of them have degrees of comparison.

The Ormuri adverbs most often used are:

Adverbs of time:

- Log. **píri**, Kan. **péri** ‘now, at present’
- Log. **šan**, Kan. **san** ‘today’
- Log. **sabâ**, Kan. **sabā** ‘tomorrow’
- Log. **prân**, Kan. **prân** ‘yesterday’ (Ir. **parāna*, Skt. *parāṇa* EVP:58)
- Log. **asol**, Kan. **asal** ‘in this year’ (*sol*, *sal* < Ir. **sardam*)
- Log. **be**, Kan. **bi**, **bye** ‘anew, again’ (< Ir. **bitya*)

Adverbs of place:

- Log. **i/ende**, Kan. **(i)da** ‘here’
- Log. **i/ende-ki**, Kan. **dal-ki** ‘hither’, **inde-di** ‘hence’, Kan. **dalāsta** ‘hence’
- Log., Kan. **wal** ‘there’, **wal-ki** ‘thither’
- Log. **pa-dzoma**, Kan. **pa-dzema** ‘below, down’ (Ir. **hača-adam* + the preposition *pa*)
- Log. **pa-bega**, Kan. **pa-beža** ‘above, upwards’ (Ir. **barzyā(h)* + *pa*)
- Log. **pa-nešta**, Kan. **pa-nešta** ‘on the outside’ (Ir. **ništa* + *pa*)
- Log. **šom**, ‘forwards, in front’
- Log., Kan. **pets(a)** ‘backwards, behind’
- Kan. **pets** ‘far’
- Log., Kan. **boy** ‘nearby’

Adverbs of manner:

- Log., Kan. **raw** ‘quickly, soon’
- Log. **âwâr**, **qarâr**, Kan. **pa-wrikye** ‘slowly’
- Kan. **pa pa rang** ‘thus’, Log. **guša**, **ša**, Kan. **să** ‘so, thus’

Adverbs of amount and degree:

- Log. **zot**, Kan. **dzut** ‘very, much’
- Log. **šun** ‘a little’
- Log. **kem/kam**, Kan. **kam** ‘little’, cf. Ir. **kambyā(h)*
- Log. **ziyât**, Kan. **ziyât** ‘much’

- Log. **duš(ak)**, Kan. **anduški** ‘little, a little’

Interrogative adverbs:

- Log. **tša-ki, čē-ki** ‘why’ (*tša* and *čē* come from the Common-Iranian stem **ka-*, cf. Parth. *čē* < Ir. **čahya* gen. sg., cf. OIJ 1981:207)
- Log., Kan. **tša rang** ‘why’
- Log. **ta tša e-pārak** ‘what for’

Also see below Log. **ke**, Kan. **kye** ‘why’, Log. **kān**, Kan. **kān, gān** ‘when’, Log. **goda**, Kan. **guda** ‘where’

Postpositions

The postposition Log., Kan. **-ki** is used:

a) to denote the recipient:

- Log. *ta xoy nāk-ki-wa yok*
‘He said to his wife’
- *afoyin-ki-b ketāb alšam*
‘I will give them the book’
- *ku-tu-ki kok yok?*
‘Who told you (sg.)?’
- *še qala-wa kere-ki banok*
‘He built a fort for her’
- Kan. *a-tabib x^way šāgird-ki yekin*
‘The doctor said to his pupil’
- *az fay-ki yekin*
‘I said to them’
- *a rupyē fā saray-ki řeri*
‘Give this money to that man’

b) to convey space – direction and location:

- Log. *afo kābol-ki altsok*
‘He went off to Kabul’
- *še e-be-ki-wa dek*
‘They looked at each other’
- *māx...kānigrām-di awal yazni-ki aw yazni-di logar-ki erzāken*
‘We came from Kaniguram first to Ghazni and from Ghazni to Logar’
- *ku-mořar-a qala-ki gerzawok*
‘He brought the car back home’ (lit. ‘to the fort’)
- Kan. *sabā su az kābul-ki tsom*
‘Tomorrow I shall probably go to Kabul’

- *kok kal ye tabib-ki zok*
'A certain bald man came to the doctor'
- *az-u-tu su a-dyogaḍ ḡannat-ki tsyen*
'(I am sure that) you and I will get to heaven'
- *aḡa kulak al bu nar-ki tsalim*
'I (will) take that boy home'

c) purpose:

- Log. *še kar bu žayok, ka ta še naḡoḡ poxtəna-ki tsawe*
'A certain deaf man decided to visit a sick man'
- Kan. *sa tolay ye ta bārān zetsan-ki rawān byuk*
'A group [of people] set off to pray for rain'

From its derivation the postposition *-ki* is probably connected with a similar postposition in the Indo-Aryan languages: see Hindi and Urdu *-ko*, Sindhi *-khē*.

The postpositions Log. **-di**, Kan. **-lāsta** (usually in combination with the particle *di*); their basic meaning is "source" in the broadest sense of the word. The different strands are as follows:

a) the place from which there is movement:

- Log. *tar mǎx a-qawm goda-di erzāk-e?*
'Where has our tribe come from?'
- Kan. *a-pye-m ar san kābul-lāsta zok*
'My father came from Kabul today'
- *a-logar ye kābul-lāsta pets ha?*
'Is Logar far from Kabul?'

b) the time at which an event starts:

- Log. *afo-b šo baḡa-di kār ke*
'He has been working since 3 o'clock'

c) the object from which or out of which anything is obtained:

- Log. *kere-b ḡipi-di ḡoda ke*
'(The mother) weans him (the child) from the breast'
(lit. 'from milk')
- *kfo-di run dest-ki erzeye*
'From it they get melted butter'
- Kan. *aḡa rupyē (di) ḡa saḡay-lāsta wur*
'Take that money from that man'
- *wak ar di kuway-lāsta nawar*
'Get (me/us) some water from the well'
- *o kitāb ar a-nar-lāsta wulak a*
'He has already brought this book from home'

d) cause:

- Log. *nas-om wok-di pondok*
'My stomach has become bloated from water'
- *xronoki-di-m zle altsok*
'I am dying of hunger' (lit. 'From hunger my heart has gone away')

e) the object of comparison:

- Log. *mâtawi towa-di zari ye*
'The moon is smaller than the sun'
- *râst dest čap dest-di qawi ye*
'The right hand is stronger than the left hand'
- Kan. *a-x^warentsa wulay ye tsela wulay-lāsta qabudar ha*
'The right hand is stronger than the left hand'
- *a-spožmay ye storay-lāsta stura (h)a aw ta meř tsom-lāsta ye zari ha*
'The moon is larger than a star but smaller than the sun'
(lit. 'the eye (i.e. the disc) of the sun')

In Kaniguram the postposition *-lāsta* marks the logical subject in passive clauses:

- Kan. *a nar ye ka-mun-lāsta jor suk a*
'This house was built by me'

In origin the postposition Log. *-di* is linked with the 2nd person pronominal directional particle *dar*, cf. the particle *di* in Kaniguram (see below). Kan. *-lāsta* has been borrowed from Pashto.

The postposition Log. **-ne**, **-ner**, Kan. **-nar** (Ir. **antara*) is used to denote:

a) the direction of a movement:

- Log. *dest-am šāna-ne-wa wotok*
'I laid my hand on his shoulder'
- *bad tafo pikak bu nase, jag-ne bane*
'After this they pour the sour clotted milk into a jug (an earthenware pitcher)'
- *soltān māmud kereyn-a yazni-ne nak-wotok*
'Sultan Mahmud did not allow them into Ghazni'
- Kan. *bumba-nar bu na*
'(She) sits down on the ground'

b) location:

- Log. *ner-ne-b az pa ormoři ksi kam*
'At home I speak Ormuri'
- *wok bu daryāw-ne tez tsawe*
'The water in the river flows quickly'
- *afo-ne wok da ye*
'In it there is water'

- *az kere ner-ne paydâ šukom*
'I was born in this house'
- Kan. *tu-m san mandrasta-nar dyek e*
'Today I have (already) seen you in the madrasah'
- *x^way paray-nar di bu ȳresi puxay dari*
'On its wings it (fem.) has black feathers'
- *tafâ tând-nar di spewa enči hin*
'There are white eggs in its nest'
- *ta spew yāsp a-zin nar-nar ha*
'The saddle of the white horse is at home'

c) time:

- Log. *ta soltân mâmud e-waxte-ne*
'in the time of sultan Mehmud'
- *še čân-ne*
'during the year'
- *kere šo roze-ne*
'during these three days'
- *afo das bajā-ne erzāk*
'He came at ten o'clock'

The postposition Log. **-že**, Kan. **-zar** (Ir. **hača-upari*) denotes:

a) direction and location (in the broad sense of the word):

- Log. *a sařay ta gri sar-že ta xoy ku-mâl bu tsarawe*
'This man pastures his cattle at the top of the mountain'
- *a ketibi mez-že ye*
'These books are on the table'
- *ku-ketâb mez-že gon*
'Put the book on the table'
- Kan. *a-sa baxil sařay ... rây-zar rawân byuk*
'A miserly man ... set out on a journey'
- *a-dri bu sar-zar drayawak sen*
'Hair grows on the head'
- *az a kitâb mez-zar nok ha*
'I put this book on the table'
- *afo sařay bu a-x^way mali ta gri sar-zar payi*
'That man pastures his cattle at the top of the mountain'
- *bumba-zar bu na*
'(She) sits down on the ground'

- *aḥa saṛay ta wuna dzema yāsp-zar suwār ha*
‘That man under the tree, mounted on a horse’

b) instrument:

- Log. *az bu kere qalam-že rasm kam*
‘I draw with this pencil’
- *rope-že prāk*
‘to sell for money’
- *dest-a sabun-že yošawok*
‘(He) washed his hands with soap’
- *xayāt-že-wa kāliyi wondrawok*
‘He had his clothes made by the tailor’
- *moṭar bu tel-že gerze*
‘The car runs on petrol’
- Kan. *az bu a-noṛi ḥa tsāku-zar lanḍem*
‘I cut bread with that knife’

c) cause:

- Log. *do zarka še klanak-že ḥang dronok*
‘Two women quarrelled over a boy’
- Kan. *a-dyo dzarka sa kulān-zar wirawn bukin* (id.)

In Kaniguram **-zar** is also used in some expressions to denote the indirect object – really the logical subject:

- *māwa-zar bu a-x^way kulani greni ben*
‘A mother loves her children’ (lit. ‘to a mother her sons are dear’)
- *aḥa ye māli-zar grāna ha*
‘Her husband loves her’ (lit. ‘she is dear to the husband’)

The postposition Log. **-gaḍi**, Kan. **giraḍ** has a comitative and instrumental meaning:

- Log. *māx bu tar tu e-askari-gaḍi šeḥay hend-gaḍi ḥang ken*
‘Together with your army we shall go to war with India’
- *aḥo ku-māṛ bu wok-ne dest-gaḍi laṛe*
‘She kneads the dough (lit. ‘the flour in water’) with her hands’
- Kan. *aḥa-l ka-mun-giraḍ tsek*
‘He went with me’
- *az ahmad-giraḍ bāzār-ki tsekam*
‘I went to the bazaar with Ahmad’
- *aḥo-l ta sawdāgar kulān-giraḍ šor-ki tsek*
‘He went to town with the merchant’s son’

In Logar **-gaḍi** occurs with the deictic prefixes *da-* (for 1st or 2nd person) and *wa-* (for 3rd person) and the corresponding pronominal enclitic: *wa-gaḍi-wa* ‘(together) with

him/them', *da-gaḍi-m* '(together) with me', *da-gaḍi-t* '(together) with you (sg.)'; *da-gaḍi-n* '(together) with us/you (pl.)/them'. E.g.:

- *aga marzā-m erzeye, az bu wa-gaḍi-wa tsam*
'If my brother comes, I will go with him'

The postpositions Log. **-tomnak**, **-tomna-di**, Kan. **toskye** indicate a limit in time or space:

- Log. *kere ketāb-am bu awok, aw āxer-tomnak-am nak-awok-e*
'I was reading this book, but have not read to the end of it'
- *duka-b piri-tomnak nak-inče ka rāy tsawe*
'The little girl cannot walk yet'
- Kan. *a-duka bu peri-toskye bu nak-tsyek inči*
'The little girl cannot walk yet'
- *da lāsta fā wuna-toskye su gaz-a rāy ha*
'From here to that tree (the distance) is a hundred gaz'

The postpositions Log., Kan. **-yondak**, Kan. **pa-šān** (from Pashto) denote similarity:

- Log. *afo tar mun-yondak e*
'He is like me'
- Kan. *a-yaḍi ta gap pa-šān yeya hin*
'The bones are strong like stone'

The postposition Log. **-nela**, Kan. **-nel^a** G (cf. Parth. *nyrd /nerd/* 'beside, around' (OIJ 1981:229) denotes ownership by someone or something:

- Log. *tar tos e-nela-di paysa nak-da buk*
'You had no money'
- *tar mun-nela das rope ye*
'I have ten rupees'
- Kan. *+ mun i-nela ha*
'I have [this thing]'

The postposition Log. **-pārak**, Kan. **-pār^a** G (from Pashto) denotes a goal or a purpose:

- Log. *tare pārak*
'for him, for his sake'
- *tafo e-pārak*
'for him, for his sake'
- *tar tu pārak*
'for you (sg.), for your sake'
- Kan. G *taf^a pār^a*
'for him, for his sake'

The wide use of full nouns in syntactic functions is typical of Ormuri; when they combine with other nouns, in form they are attributive constructions in which the postpositional nouns are in the role of a predicate and the nouns referring to them are an attribute by possession (with the preposition *ta*). Though some lose their connection with the original

noun, postpositions derived from nouns, like full nouns, may take the object particles Log. *ku-/ko*, Kan. *ku-/ka-*, Log. *e-*, Kan. *i-*, and may combine with basic prepositions and postpositions. Words such as Log., Kan. **petsa** ‘from behind’, Log. **mox**, Kan. **mux** ‘face’, Log. **mendz**, Kan. **mandz** ‘middle’, Kan. **tsang** ‘side’ etc. are very frequently used syntactically. For example:

- Log. *ta wazir aw mas'ud e-mendze-ne*
‘between the Wazirs and the Mehsuds’
- *ta yâsp sar-ne*
‘on horseback’
- *ahmad ta txan e-petsa altsok*
‘Ahmad went for bread’
- *tar mun mox-ne tso!*
‘Go in front of me’
- *ta ner e-mendze-ne*
‘in the middle of the room’
- *ta draxt e-dzoma*
‘under the tree’
- Kan. *a-ninni ye ta mux man(dz) -nar ha*
‘The nose is in the middle of the face’
- *a-zbân, a-gasi ta pyoz man(dz) -nar hin*
‘The tongue, the lips are in the mouth’
- *ta wuna dzema*
‘under the tree’
- *tar mun mux-ki čo!*
‘Go in front of me’
- *dyo tsân-a mox-ki*
‘two years ago’

Prepositions

There are only a few genuine Ormuri prepositions; usually prepositions from Dari and some from Pashto are widely used: **be** ‘without’, **ba yayr-** ‘without, excluding’, **tsak^a** G ‘like, similar to’ etc.

Two native Ormuri prepositions are **pa** and **ta** (**tar** before personal pronouns).

The preposition *ta, tar* (Ir. **tarah*, Av. *tarō, tarē*, Parth. *tar*) is used to express possession (in the broad sense of the word):

- Log. *tar tu a-tsími*
‘your (sg.) eyes’

- *bad surat tar mun*
'my ugly face'
- *ta xoy nâk-ki yok*
'He said to his wife'
- *tar mâx ta bâbâ a-nâm mir barakatollâ buk*
'The name of our forefather (lit. grandfather) was Mir Barakatulla'
- Kan. *â ta mandrasta a-worxay bu guda-ki tséli*
'What are you taking these child pupils to the madrasah for?'
- *tu tar mun a-badrang tsera dzuni*
'You see my ugly face'
- *ta mirga teza mašuka (h)a*
'The sparrow has a sharp beak'
- *tar tu a-nâm ye tsa ha?*
'What is your name?'

In Logar the preposition *ta* can denote the indirect object (= the logical subject) in an idiom with the verb *yorxok* 'to please':

- Log. *ta mâli-wa-b yorxe*
'She pleases (her) husband'
- *a duka-m bu yorxe*
'This girl pleases me'

The preposition *pa* (Ir. **pati*, Av. *paiti*, O.Pers. *patiy*, Parth. *pad*) is used for an instrumental meaning:

- Log. *mâx bu pa ormoři ksi ken*
'We are conversing in Ormuri'
- *az bu pa afo qalam nawešta kam*
'I write with that pen'
- Kan. *o ta gunum a-yunday bu pa yâsp-a glim*
'I (will) take this bag of wheat by horse'
- *mâx bu pa ormařo z(a)bân xabəray kyen*
'We speak Ormuri'
- *az bu a-xat pa qalam likim*
'I am writing the letter with a fountain-pen'
- *ařa sir dzan aw pa pəri-wa teran*
'Beat him thoroughly and bind him with rope'

In Kaniguram the use of the preposition *pa* as the logical subject of a passive construction has been recorded:

- *a-nar bu pa mun řorawak se*
'The house is being built by me'

In Logar the preposition *pa* is often used to express:

a) time or space:

- Log. *pa ŋo tarik e*
'It is dark at night'
- *bāyad kere boz pa še mex-e goni tařen*
'We must tether this goat to a wooden peg'

b) the addressee:

- *mak-kon pa be, ka āxer su pa tu se*
'Do not do to another (that) which, after all, may happen to you.'

In both dialects, the preposition *pa* is widely used to form adverbs, (in particular, adverbs of place and manner) see above.

When prepositions are combined with demonstrative pronouns, they can be contracted e.g. Log. *pa afo* → *pafō*, Kan. *pa afa* → *pafā* (for the distant group of pronouns); pronouns of the proximate series have a prothetic /r/ from the influence of the possessive case: Log. *pare*, Kan. *para* < *pa-r-a*, formed from *pa* + *a*. (Grierson traces these forms back to the 'instrumental' case without, in our opinion, sufficient grounds.) For example:

- Log. *az bu pare qalam aw afo bu pa afo* (or: *pafō*) *qalam nawešta ke*
'I (am writing) with this pencil, but he is writing with that one'
- *az bu pafō čāku beš kapim*
'I am cutting/will cut the rope with that knife'

Sometimes in our materials on Kaniguram instead of the contracted forms of the pronouns mentioned above (with the preposition *pa*), there are combinations of the oblique form of a pronoun with a noun compounded with the postposition *-zar*:

- *az bu a-noři fa čāku-zar / pa čāku-zar lanđem*
'I am slicing the bread with that (*fā*) knife/ this (*pa*) knife'.
(*fā* and *pa* are the singular oblique case of the demonstrative pronouns *afa* 'that' and *o* 'this')

There is one instance of a combination of *pa* with itself: *pa pa rang* 'thus'.

Particles

The affirmative particles Log. **wāya**, Kan. **(h)ā** 'yes' are used when answering a question in the affirmative:

- Log. *ta afo ner wal da ye?* – *wāye, da ye*
'Has he a house there?' 'Yes, he has'
- Kan. *tyos bu poy ga awasay, ka nak bu poy awasay?* – *ā, az bu pa ormařo poy awasam*
'Do you also understand (Ormuri) or do you not understand it?' 'Yes, I understand Ormuri.'

The Log., Kan. negative particle **na** ‘no’ is used when giving a negative answer to a question:

- Log. *e xalq! poy bu say, ka az šan ku-tos-ki tsa yošim? – na, nak bu poy sen*
‘O people! Do you know what I will say to you today?’ ‘No, we do not know’
- Kan. *tu a-prān o kitāb yek a? – na, péri-toskye afa az nak-yek a*
‘Did you read through this book yesterday?’ ‘No, I have not read it through (yet)’

The verbal particle of negation Log., Kan. **nak** (<Ir. **na* + **-ka*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *na*^o) usually comes before the verb, and rarely after it; it may be separated from the verb by enclitic pronouns, or the particles *bu* or *su*; see the examples above and also the following:

- Log. *kufo-t dek? – na, nak-am dek*
‘Did you see him?’ ‘No, I did not see /him/’
- Kan. *a-x^way mux ye x^way yunji-ki plaṭaway, ka yli-l-a glin-nak!*
‘Turn your face towards your clothes, so that thieves do not take them away’

The prohibitive particle is Log., Kan. **mak** (<Ir. **mā* + **-ka*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *mā*, Parth. *m*’ /*mā*/) and Log., Kan. **ma** (from Pashto, but possibly also from apocope of the final /*k*/, especially before a word with initial /*k*/); e.g.:

- Log. *mār-ki nefā-ne jāy mak-alšer!*
‘Do not put a snake around /your/ waist!’
- *ma(k)-kon pa be, ka āxer su pa tu se*
‘Do not do to another /that/ which will possibly happen to you too!’

Cf. also:

- Log. *še dest bu kiči na(k)-ke*
‘You do not clap with one hand’ (lit. ‘One hand will not shout’)

In presentational constructions (‘I have / he has / there is’) with a copular or existential verb, the particle Log. **da**, Kan. **di**, is quite often used to convey a sense of being more categorical:

- Log. *šo yāsp-am da ye, ka tu dek buk*
‘I have three horses, which you have already seen (before)’
- *wal txan da buk*
‘Bread was (available) there’
- *wal su txan da be?*
‘There is bread there, possibly’
- *alhamdulillah, ka diče-m pāy-ne-m nak-da buk, kini afo-b ko šuk*
‘Praise God that I did not have shoes on my feet, or else they would have worn through’
- Kan. *tar māx dyo pāri aw har dist-nar-an di pendz-pendz ngušt hin*
‘We have five toes on two feet and five fingers on each hand’
(lit. ‘With us there are’)

- *tafa tānḍ-nar di spewa enči hin*
'In its nest there are white eggs'

The question of particles of availability in Kaniguram needs further consideration. Grierson is of the opinion, which, by the way, is not corroborated by enough convincing examples of phrases, that the particle *-a/-wa* may be used in Kaniguram in these cases, as well as *di*, (Grierson 1921:209, 319). From our material, it seems to be a question here not of a particle of availability, but of the 3rd person sg. and pl. enclitic pronoun *-a/-wa*,¹¹¹ acting as the possessor in possessive constructions. See, for example:

- Kan. ...*šāyidi-wa di nak-bukin*
'... with them (*-wa*) there were no (*di nak-bukin*) witnesses'
- *goy-a di nak-di (h)a*
'...(well), ears (*goy ... di*) on her (*-a*) there are none (*nak-di(h)a*)',
(the intensifying particle *di* comes before the particle of availability *di*)
- *ta mandrasta a-workay-wa di giraḍ bukin*
'With them (*-wa*), there were together (*di giraḍ bukin*) the children – pupils of the madrasah'
- *ta mirga tera mašúka (h)a aw zari wa-likye (h)a*
'The sparrow has a sharp beak and [in addition] it has (*wa-... ha*) a small tail'
- ... *tseñji-wa di (bu) ben*
'... on it (the tree) (*-wa*) there are (*di bu ben*) branches'

The origin of the particle of availability Log. *da*, Kan. *di*, is probably connected with the pronominal directional particles that appeared inOrmuri through the influence of Pashto dialects (see above). In this case, of course, we mean the 2nd person pronominal directional particle *dar*, in the reduced form *da*. It is possible that the pronouns of other persons also had reduced forms; for example, the 1st person could be **a* (from *ar*), and the 3rd person *a/wa* (from *hal* < **har* < Pashto *war*).

The specialised, locative meaning of availability, existence and being was consolidated through the reduced forms of pronominal directional particles used in presentational constructions. The form *da/di* lost the 2nd person deictic reference, became a universal (impersonal) particle and was used with a predicative copula and a verb of being in presentational constructions; its generalisation can probably be explained as follows: the reduced forms of the 1st and 2nd person pronominal directional particles were contaminated by the unstressed personal marker of the 3rd person singular and plural *a/wa*, which could be enclitic or proclitic, standing for the possessor in these constructions.

In Kaniguram one more specialised meaning has been consolidated through the particle *di*: when in combination with the postposition *-lāsta*, it signifies 'source' in the broadest

¹¹¹ This conflicts with Grierson, who gives *-an (-n)* as the enclitic pronoun of the 3pl. with a genitive (i.e. possessive) meaning; Grierson, 1921:146 § 20 (d).

sense of the word; in Logar this particle has joined the ranks of postpositions with that meaning (see below).

According to Grierson, *di* may even occasionally be used on its own, meaning ‘from him/them’ etc. (Grierson 1921:210). Judging by our materials, this particle may when used on its own simply contain an idea of ‘source’, although this need not always be expressed lexically. See, for example, sentences such as these:

- *sa saṛay-r di bāzar-ki zok*
‘Some man came [from some place] to the bazaar’
- *sye dzarka-r di bāzar-ki zāk*
‘Some woman came [from some place] to the bazaar’

(N.B. the phrases presented in our questionnaire for translation into Ormuri gave no hint or indication at all of the source of the movement).

Apart from these, there are other particles in Kaniguram that are absent from Logar. Thus, **ye** (G *aī*, M *e*, *ye*¹¹²) and **di** (G *ḍī*, M *ḍī*) are in fairly widespread use in Kaniguram. (The latter must be distinguished from *di*, the homonymous particles of availability and source, see above.) These particles are used, though irregularly, to express indefiniteness, when it is necessary to emphasise that something is indefinite.

The particle *ye* is used with nouns in the singular and *di* with nouns in the plural, as well as with abstract nouns, liquids (such as ‘water’ and ‘milk’) and dry substances (‘sand’, ‘grain’ etc.). The rules for their use are: in sentences where the predicate is a transitive verb, the particles *ye* and *di* refer to the direct object/logical object of a nominative or ergative construction respectively:

- *tu ye bu pēri tsa kewi? – az ye bu peri kitāb ḡ^wasam*
‘What are you doing now?’ ‘Now I am reading a book’
- *az ye bu a-prān kitāb yekin*
‘Yesterday I was reading a book /and did not occupy myself with anything else/’ (cf. *az a-prān o kitāb yekin* ‘Yesterday I read through this book’)
- *tsa-t ye x^wālk a?*
‘What have you eaten?’
- *brušk nōri ye x^wālk a*
‘(I) have eaten some burnt bread’ (cf. the following phrase without *ye* in this narrative: *...bye tyos brušk nōri tsā x^wālk?* ‘... would you have eaten /that/ burnt bread?’)
- *aḡa... wak di bu zut tri*
‘He drinks a lot of water’

¹¹² See Grierson 1921:184-186, 199-201, 219-222. The author notes many contradictions in Ghulam Muhammad Khan’s grammar in the rules for use of these particles (ibid. p. 219).

- *wak ar di kuway-lāsta nawar!*
‘Get us some water from the well!’
- *a-wuna di bu šina puxay kayi*
‘On the tree grow (lit. the tree makes) green leaves’
- *a-luḡay, lamba aw skar di-b māx dzunyen*
‘We see smoke and a flame’
- *x^way paray-nar di bu yresi pu-xay dari*
‘(The cock) has black feathers on its wings’
- *a-māyi di bu tsami dari* ‘A fish has eyes’
- *a-sa baxil saray di nyowa tsapli wruk bukin*
‘A miserly man bought new sandals’

Where an intransitive verb forms the predicate, the particles *ye* and *di* refer to the subject:

- *kok kal ye tabib-ki zok*
‘A certain bald man came to the doctor’
- *a-šyo ye yrāsa ha aw ryož ye ruḡa ha*
‘Night is dark, but day is light’
- *a-ša ryož bu sen, ka kulak ye syuk a*
‘It is already six days since a child (lit. ‘a boy’) was born (to her)’

When used in presentational constructions, the particles *ye* and *di* usually refer to the possessed object:

- *tša matlab-at ye ha*
‘What is your aim?’ (lit. ‘With you what aim is there?’)
- *ta sa badrang saray ye sye sra šāista maašuka buk*
‘A man with an ugly appearance had a very beautiful lover’

However, in cases like this there are quite often difficulties distinguishing between the particle *di* and the homonymous particle of availability *dī*, referring to a predicative copula or a verb of being. For example:

- *fā jīkak-nar di gapi aw zāři bukin*
‘In that place there were (many) stones and thorns’

See also the example above:

- *tar māx dyo pāři aw har dist-nar-an di pendz-pendz ngušt hin*
‘We have five toes on two feet and five fingers on each hand’

Solving the problems connected with the rules for use of the particles *ye* and *di* is greatly complicated by the fact that these particles are often in an intensifying or emphatic function, as well as those uses already described; on this point Grierson quite rightly establishes an analogy between *ye* and the intensifying particle *hī* in Hindi (Grierson 1918:53; 1921:199).

When in an emphatic role, *ye* and *di* are used with nouns denoting definite and indefinite objects:

- *tar mun ye o yaqin ha*
'I am convinced' (lit. 'With me there is just such a conviction')
- *o yāsp ye ta tsun tsān-a ha?*
'How old is this horse?'
(lit. 'This very horse – how many years has it?')
- *aḞa saray ka tar tu petsa tsawa-b, aḞa ye kuk (h)a?*
'That man who will walk behind you, who is he?'
- *o šay t-ye kuk-lāsta wriyuk ha?*
'From whom did you buy this thing (here)?'
- *a-x^way mux ye x^way yunĵi-ki plaṭaway*
'Turn your face towards your clothes'

Refer to the section on the indicative and subjunctive moods for the mobile verbal particles **bu** and **su**.

Refer to the sections on nominal, personal and demonstrative pronouns for the objective particles Log. **e-**, Kan. **i-** and Log. **ku-/ko-**, Kan. **ku-/ka-**. The only point to be added is the possible connection of *ku-* with a postposition widespread in Indo-Aryan languages, which constitutes a definite direct object and refers to the recipient of the action or the direction of the action, see Hindi *-ko* (Katenina 1960:75, 85), Sindhi *-khō* (Egorova 1966:86) and Urdu *-ko* (Dymšic 1962:85-86, 119).

3.4 Conjunctions

The following are used as co-ordinating conjunctions, joining homogeneous parts of a sentence and the constituent parts of a complex sentence:

a) copulative conjunctions:

- Log., Kan. **wa, aw** 'and', 'but'
- Log. **(w)o**, Kan. **(w)u** id.
- Log., Kan. **(h)am ...** 'also', 'and'
- Log. **ge**, Kan. **ga** 'also', 'and'
- Log. **be**, Kan. **bi, bye** 'also', 'still'
- **(h)am... (h)am** 'both ... and'
- Log. **ge... ge**, Kan. **ga... ga** 'both ... and'

b) adversative conjunctions:

- Log. **ammā**, Kan. **ammā**, Log., Kan. **lekin** 'but', 'however'
- Log., Kan. **magar** 'however', 'but'
- Log., Kan. **balki** 'but', 'however'
- Log., Kan. **xo, xu** (Kan. also **xa/xā/**) 'but', 'however'
- Log., Kan. **wa** 'and', 'but'

- Kan. **ner** ‘otherwise’

c) disjunctive conjunctions:

- Log. **yâ**, Kan. **yā** ‘or’
- Log., Kan. **ka** ‘or’
- Log. **yâ... yâ**, Kan. **yā... yā** ‘either ... or’
- Log., Kan. **ka... ka**, ‘either ...or’

Subordinators are used in complex sentences to join subordinate clauses to the main clause. Log., Kan. **ka** is one of the most common; it is used to connect the most diverse types of subordinate clauses – conditional, temporal and object etc. – with the main clause; in addition, it introduces direct speech.

Subordinators are divided into different groups (temporal, conditional, causative, concessive etc.), according to the type of subordinate clauses. Some of the most widely used are:

- Log., Kan. **agar** ‘if’
- Log. **tâ**, Kan. **tā** ‘while’, ‘until’, ‘in order that’
- Log. **ka goda** ‘if’
- Log. **man ka** ‘if’
- Log., Kan. **(h)ar tsun ka** ‘in spite of the fact that’
- Log. **tare pârak** ‘since’, ‘because’
- Log., Kan. **tsun ka** ‘while/until’, ‘in order that’
- **tsa rang ka** ‘as soon as’, ‘when’, ‘since’
- Log. **guša ka** ‘if’, ‘since’

4. Texts

Specimen texts in Logar (I-LI) and Kaniguram (I-XII) are given. The Logar texts were recorded from the following informants:

- 1) Khalilullah Ormur (Kh. O., see 'Introduction'): I-XXIV.
- 2) Janbaz (J.B.), a 70-year old village headman from Nuralla-qala: XXV-XXVII, XXX-XXXII and XXXVI.¹¹³
- 3) B.M., a 50 year old owner of a lorry and shop, from the settlement of Taki-qala: XXXVII-LI.

The records were made in 1971 in Logar, except texts XVI-XXIV, which were written in Moscow in 1978-1979.¹¹⁴

The Kaniguram texts were recorded on tape from the informant R.Kh. (see 'Introduction').

In the translations of the texts we have tried to include the Ormuri names for local items, as well as terms for everyday, agricultural, cattle-breeding, etc., activities, as these provide information of ethnographic, as well as linguistic, interest. They are presented in the following way:

- a) where there is an English equivalent, we use it in the text of the translation and in round brackets we give the Ormuri word in italics (at its first mention in the text).
- b) when there is no English equivalent, the words are in italics and a rough translation or explanation is given in round brackets. Words which are not in the original but are implied by the speaker are put in square brackets.

4.1 Texts from Logar

Text I

(1) *tar mun a-kākā, ka zenda buk az néla-di wa poxténa dāk, ka tar máx a-qawm góda-di erzák-e? kākā-m yok, ka máx kånigrám-di erzáken.* (2) *az poxténa dāk ka ormór (=ōrmór) kók-(k)i-b yóše? afo eryok: kånigrám-ne tar máx e-qawm-ki-wa sayéd yá stáná yok.* (3) *ar waxt bu, ka ta wazir aw mas'ud e-mendze-ne jang šuk, ta ormor e-*

¹¹³ Texts XXVIII-XXIX and XXXIII-XXXV were recorded on a tape-recorder by Kh. Ormur in the summer of 1971 in Logar from two women – Mr. (texts XXVIII, XXIX) and Bg. (texts XXXIII- XXXV).

¹¹⁴ The texts were recorded in a phonetic transcription. They were first deciphered in Logar with the help of Kh. Ormur. Later we transcribed the texts phonologically and translated them into Russian.

mendz-di-b še nafar ta afóin ku-mâmelá-wa-b faysala dâk, faqat ka ku-rówon ta jang wožnawé, endé-di tar mâx ku-qawm-že-wa ormor nám wotok, yâni ‘ôr mər!’

(4) mâx ta soltân mâmud e-waxte-ne kânigrâm-di awal yazni-ki aw yazni-di logar-ki erzâken. tar mâx ta bâbâ a-nâm mir barakatollâ buk, ka šan bu baraki-barâk tar mâx ta bâbâ e-nâm-že yâd se “barakí”-b čawk-ki yoše, mesâl: baraki-děburí yâ baraki-ražân, baraki-barak. (5) qesa gušâ buk, ka mir barakatullâ tsun nafar-qađí kânigrâm ta wazirestân-ne xal^oq-qađí xafa šuk, aw ta xoy ku-ramá-wa mox-ne dâk aw yazni-ki erzâkin. (6) soltân mâmud bu afo waxt hend-qađí jang drónok, ta mâx a-bâbâ alyok, ka “mâx bu tar tu e-askári-qađí šejây hend-qađí jang ken”. tar mâx a-bâbâ-yen kučí buk. afo ta rama e-gardan-ne-wa zang awzân dâk, ku rama-wa še taraf râyí dâk aw áin ta soltân e-askári-qađí be taraf-di amla dâk. (7) ta hend a-askar, ka tsarang rama-že amlá dâk, t'afóin a-wasla ayéra xalâs aw áin askare-že amlá dâk, ku-ayéra askar-a raw – raw nok aw fat^ha taréin a-nasib šuk. (8) soltân mâmud tar mâx e-bâbâ-ki logar-ne jây alšuk, ka píri-b tar mâx ta bâbâ e-nam-že yâd se.

(1) When my (paternal) uncle was alive, I asked him: “Where did our tribe (people) come from?”. My grandfather said: “We came from Kaniguram”. (2) I asked: “Who are these Ormuri?” (lit. ‘Who are called Ormuri?’). He said to me: “In Kaniguram our tribe was called “Sayyed” or “Stana”. (3) Every time that disputes arose between the Wazirs and the Mehsuds, a man from the Ormur settled their quarrel, if only to put out the fire of war. Because of this they gave our tribe the name “Ormor”, i.e. “the one who quenched the fire”.

(4) At the time of Sultan Mehmud [Ghaznevid] we came first to Ghazni and from Ghazni to Logar. The name of our forefather (ancestor) was Mir Barakatullah, so Barakibarak is called after him. A crossroads is called (by the word) “Baraki”, e.g.: Barakideburi or Barakirajan, Barakibarak. (5) There was a legend that Mir Barakatullah and some other people took offence at the inhabitants (here: ‘the people’) of Kaniguram and Waziristan, drove away their own flocks (here: ‘herd’) and came to Ghazni. (6) Sultan Mehmud at that time was at war with India. Our grandfather said to him: “We will make war on India with your army”. Our forefather was a nomad. He hung little bells on the necks of his flock, drove the herd in one direction and he himself (here: they) with the soldiers of Sultan Mehmud attacked [the Indians] from another direction. (7) When the Indian army attacked the flock, all their arrows (here: weapons) were exhausted (i.e. were used up on the herd), and [meanwhile] they (i.e. Mehmud’s soldiers) attacked the army [of the Indians], quickly took [as prisoners] the whole army and gained the victory (lit. ‘the victory fell to them’). (8) Sultan Mehmud rewarded our forefather with land (lit. ‘gave him a place’) in Logar, which now bears the name of our forefather.

Text II

(1) bázi xálak bu yoše, ka ormor ta soltân mâmud e-waxte-ne kânigrâm ta wazirestân-di ende-ki erzâk-e. awal yazni-ki erzâk. (2) a-nafar mir-e barak nám dórnoq. mir-e barak pa asl ormór buk aw wal tafoyñ ádât e, ka mir bu afo nafar-ki yoše, ka jang aw barxelâfi ta tsun nafar e-mendze-ne-b pa jerga faysala ke, ka ta mir ta qawm e-taraf-di xalâs se.

(3) *ĵango-o barxelâ-fi ka mendz-di-b agle, yôše bu, ka “ron-a woŝnawók”, min afyâni-ne-b alyôše, ka “ormór e”.*

(4) *mir-e barak-gađí mas’ud, zaqúm ge erzâk buk. aw ka yazní-ki erzâkin, soltân mâmud kereyn-a-b yazni-ne nak-wótok. áyn alyok, ka “tos bu ka ar tsa yôšay, mâx bu eĵra ken”. keréyn-ki-wa yok, “ka tos ĵang-ki tsay!”.* (5) *áyn šo nafar buk. ta xoy ku-rama-wa šom dák, ta gardan-(n)e-wa zang-o ar šay banok, ka baĵaxâna-ye askarí-yondak joĵ dák. afò došman wâžéra amla dák, ta xoy ku-kartus aw aslaha-wa ayéra wâžéra xalâs dák. be taraf-di soltân mâmud wâžéra amla dák, aw fátha ta soltân mâmud nasib šuk.*

(6) *be-wa keréyn barakí-barak-ki, ka ende ayéra azâra buk, ráyí dák. be mir-e barak kere ĵây-ki erzâk aw kere-wa soltân mâmud-e yazniwí-di šinok. soltân-e mâmud-ki-wa yok, ka “še post ta sar ta goy ku-mun-ki tos grâm-ne ĵây eršáway!”.* aw soltân mâmud kere qâbul dák. *ayn post ta sar ta goy-a nok, kfo šer târ nawólok, båd ta tsun waxt kfo wunisaydân-di sang-e wardak-tomnak kere-wa dangawók.*

(7) *bázi bu yóše, ka grâm, yâni barakí-barak-ki dwâs qawm erzâk-e: sangtoyí, torâxel, qâzixel, mâsud, gučór, qâderxel, fâzuxel, šeyxânxel, qezelbâš, darweš, áyingarxel, xarmenĵân (xermanĵân).* (8) *sangtoyí, yâ qawm ta ormoĵ, tar mâx e-barakí-barak-ne-b zindagi ke aw ta čandâl a-qala-ne (yâ ta abdol-sammadxân a-qala-ne) aw ta nurullâxân a-qala-ne-b be.* (9) *to-râxel bu ta taqi a-qala-ne aw barakí-barak-ne aw ta haydar a-qala-ne zindagi-b ke. qâzixel xoy ta barakí-barak-ne ye.* (10) *masud kere atrâf-ne nak-da ye, tanhâ pol-e ĵadid-ne, ka ta nâlband a-qala-ki-b alyôše, afoyn bu wal zindegí ke.* (11) *sang- toyí, yâni ormoĵ, pa ormoĵi-b ksi ke. afoyn ta čandâl a-qala-ne ta samadxân aw ta nurullâxân a-qala-ne aw beyn grâm-barakí-barak-ne be.*

(12) *sarnawešt ta ormoĵ píri-tomnak šer maalum nak e: bázi-b še ksi ke aw bázi-b be ksi ke. magar un maalum šúk-e, ka kânigrâm ta waziristân-di erzak-e aw hatmi aw zaruri-b ende be. píri-tomnak šer sarnawešt-a maalum nak-e.*

(1) Some people say that the Ormuri [tribe] came here from Kaniguram, [which is] in Waziristan. First (they) came to Ghazni. (2) This man [our ancestor], was called Mir Barak. Mir Barak was an Ormur by descent. And there [in Waziristan] it was their custom (lit. ‘they have such a custom’) that a man who settles conflicts and strife between a number of people by means of a *jirga* [i.e. at a meeting] is called a ‘mir’ and they cease, thanks to the chief of the tribe. (3) Since the quarrels and strife are eliminated, they say: “He put out the fire [of hostility]”. That is [why] the Pashtuns also say: “[He] is an Ormur’ (i.e. ‘an extinguisher of fire’, lit. Pashto ‘one having extinguished the fire’).

(4) Together with Mir Barak (at that time) there also came Mehsud (and) Zakum. But when they came to Ghazni, Sultan Mehmud did not allow them into Ghazni. They said to him: “We will do all that you say”. He said to them: ‘Go and fight!’ (lit. ‘go to war’). (5) There were three of them. They drove their flock in front (of them) (and) on the necks of their sheep (here: ‘flock’) they hung bells and various articles, – as if making (something) like an arms dump. The enemy attacked them [i.e. the flocks of livestock] and expended all their weaponry on them. Sultan Mehmud fell upon him [i.e. on the enemy] from another direction, – and the victory was won by Sultan Mehmud.

(6) Then he (Sultan Mehmud) sent them to Barakibarak, where there were Hazaras everywhere. Mir Barak came to that place and bought it from Sultan Mehmud Ghaznevid. He said to Sultan Mehmud: ‘Give me a plot of land (lit. ‘a place’) in Gram [i.e. in Barakibarak] [the size of] a hide from the head of a bull!’. Sultan Mehmud agreed. They [i.e. Mir Barak] took the hide from the head of a bull, stretched it into a thin (lit. ‘good’) thread and then extended it [to enclose the space] from Unisaidan to Sang-e Vardak.

(7) Some say that twelve tribes came to Gram, i.e. to Barakibarak: the Sangtoy, Tora Khel, Qazi Khel, Mehsud, Guchar, Qader Khel, Fazu Khel, Sheikhan Khel, Qizilbash, Darwesh, Ayingar Khel and Kharmenjan. (8) The Sangtoy, or the tribe of the Ormuri, live in our Barakibarak and in Qala Chandal (or Qala Abdulsamajan) and in Qala Nurullakhan. (9) The Tora Khel live in Qala Taqi and in Barakibarak and in Qala Haidar. The Qazi Khel are in Barakibarak itself. (10) There are no Mehsud in this region (lit. ‘neighbourhoods’); (they) only live in Pol-e Jadid, which they call Qala Naalband. (11) (The tribe of) the Sangtoy, i.e. the Ormuri, speak Ormuri. They are found in Qala Chandal (Samadkhan), Qala Nurullakhan and in other [qalas] in Gram, Barakibarak.

(12) The origin (lit. ‘fate’) of the Ormuri is not yet properly known: some say one thing (and) some another. Only one thing is known, that they came from Kaniguram (from Waziristan) and always (lit. ‘without fail and certainly’) reside here. Up to now their destiny is not known.

Text III

(1) *keré txan bu, ka máx xren, zot saxtí-že-b dest-ki erzéye.* (2) *awal bu ku-bóma golba ke – dowár(a), šowár(a), ka máx bu dospára aw šospára-ki alyóšen.* (3) *bâd tafó-b bómane ku-toxəm tit ke. [mendze-ne-wa] bu ganom řin se, ka afó-ki-b maysa yóše.* (4) *zómok bu yóš wažéra yóre aw ta yóš e-dzóma-b se.* (5) *aw bâr, ka yóš parók, ganom bu qarâ-qarâ stor se.* (6) *aw wóray bu ku-ganom draw ke aw xarman-a-b ke.* (7) *xarman bu čapar-že mayda ke.* (8) *be-wa-b xará ke, bâd-a-b ke, xoša ta ganom bu ywâši-di jeda ke.* (9) *tsarang ka xoša ganóm-di jeda šuk, yobal-a-b (or: joyol-a-b) ke.* (10) *bâd tafó-b ganom gonđi-di bâd-že jeda ke.* (11) *ku-ganom bu ásyâ-ne mâr ke. ku-mâr bu xamirá ke aw tandúr-ne-wa-b bižé.*

(1) The bread which we eat is obtained with great effort. (2) First of all the ground is ploughed up two or three times, – which we call *dospára* and *šospára* (the second and third ploughings). (3) After this the seeds are sown (lit. ‘scattered on the earth’). [Then] (the shoots) of wheat, which are called *maysa*, become green. (4) In the winter snow falls on them and they are under the snow. (5) In spring, when the snow melts, the wheat gradually [begins] to grow. (6) And in summer the wheat is harvested and laid on the threshing-floor. (7) The grain is threshed with a rake. (8) Then it (the threshed grain) is laid in heaps, winnowed, the ears are separated from the straw. (9) When the ears of wheat are separated (from the straw), it is (again) threshed. (10) After this the grain (lit. ‘the wheat’) is winnowed, separated from the ears remaining on the threshing-floor. (11) Then the wheat is ground in a mill; from the flour dough is made and baked in a *tandoor* oven.

Text IV

(1) *goy ka zayok, kfō-b dišen. awal-an ka dišok, ta še roz a-šipi tafo ayera dzok e. ku-dzok bu nase, šer-a-b tok ke, bād tafo-b bā afo xorāk xre. (2) wa bād ta še roz – do roz šipi-wa-b pa xayī šipi nase, še deg-ne-b još dawē. kfō-ne dužak tōpi bane. ka tōpi banok – afo-b māya se. (3) bād tafo pikak bu nase, jag-ne bane. ta jag poš bā sarjagiband sarjagi-že mākam – mākam taṛe (še beš yak šiša, ka afo-ki-b sarjagiband yoše, kfō sar mākam – mākam taṛe). (4) kere-b šor dawē. bād ta še sāt – ta du sāt afo-b pa topi aw maska badal se. maska aw topi-b dest-ki erzeye. maska-b jodā se, topi jodā se. (5) topi jodā xorāk se wa maska-b nase, ta tsun a-mask-a-b yakjāy ke. afo-b še stor dege-ne još dawē – još dawē. kfō-di-b run dest-ki erzeye, ku-run-a-b bā xorāk xre-wo práye-b ge.*

(1) When a cow has calved we milk her. When we have milked for the first time, all the milk of the (first) day is beestings (*dzok*). They take the *dzok*, boil it well and after that eat it with food. (2) They ladle out (lit. ‘take’) the milk (collected) over a day or two with a bowl (*xayī*) and boil it in a vat (*deg*). They add to it a little buttermilk (*topi*). They added the *topi* – it ferments. (3) After this they take *pikak* (thick soured milk), pour it into a *jag* (an earthenware pitcher). They tie down the lid of the pitcher, [covered on top] with a skin, extremely tightly with a (special) cord, which they call a *sarjagiband*. (4) They stir it [to churn it into butter]. In two or three hours it (the thick soured milk) turns into buttermilk and butter (*maska*). [In this way] they obtain *topi* and *maska*. The *maska* (butter) separate, the *topi* (buttermilk, whey) separate. (5) They drink the buttermilk separately but they take the butter [and] collect a certain quantity. They heat (lit. ‘boil’) it for a long time in a large vat. From it they get *run* (melted butter). They eat the melted butter with [some sort of] food and also sell it.

Text V

(1) *še kar bu žayok, ka ta še najōṛ poxtāna-ki tsáwe. (2) zṛə-ne-wa-b x(e)yāl dāk, ka “tsam bu, poxtāna-b kam: ka tsa ahwāl der?” albatta yoše su, ka “alhamdolellā!”*. (3) *aw bā(d) ta afo poxtāna-b kam: “tsa-b xri?” pa yaqin su yóše ka “šorwā” aw az su alyóšim, ka “noš-e jān!”*. (4) *aw be su poxtāna kam, ka “tabib-at kók e?” albatta yoše su: “mirzā felān”. yóšim su: “xodāy ku-qadam-a mobārak ke!”*.

(5) *tsa rang ka afō saray kar buk, čandān goy-a-b nak-marok, jawāb ta-sawāl bu zlə-ne mašq dāk. (6) tsun ka erzāk, ta najōṛ ta bālext sar-ne nostok. aw poxtāna-wa-b dāk ka “ahwāl-at tsa rang e?” najōṛ alyok: “mram bu”. kar yok: “alhamdolellā”. (7) be-wa poxtāna dāk: “xorāk-at tsa ye?” najōṛ alyok: “zār-e mār”. kar yok: “noš-e jān!”*. (8) *be-wa poxtāna dāk: “tabib-at kok e?” yok-a: “malak-al-mawt (yā ezrāyil)”. kar yok: “xodāy ku-qadam-a mobārak ke!” kere-wa yok-o darok.*

(1) A deaf man decided to visit (lit. ‘to go and ask about’) a sick man. (2) He thought to himself: ‘I shall go (and) ask: ‘How are you?’ Obviously (he) will say: ‘Praise God!’’. (3) And then I will ask: ‘What do you eat?’ Doubtless (he) will say: ‘Soup’, and I will say: ‘Enjoy it!’’. (4) And again I will ask: ‘Who is your doctor?’ He will of course say: ‘Mirza so-and-so’ and then I will say: ‘God bless him!’”

(5) As this man was deaf and could not hear at all (lit. 'his ears did not hear'), he repeated to himself (lit. 'practised) the questions and answers'. (6) As soon as he arrived [at the sick man's], he sat down at the head of the bed [of his bed] and asked: 'How are things?' The sick man replied: 'I am dying'. The deaf man said: 'Praise God!'. (7) Again he asked: "What are you living on?" (lit. 'what is your food?'). The sick man replied: 'Snake venom'. The deaf man said: 'Enjoy it!'. (8) He asked again: 'Who is your doctor?' He said: 'The angel of death (Israel)'. The deaf man said: 'God bless him!'. He said that and stood up.

Text VI

(1) še tsun nafar pa do^{wá} ta bårån bu altsok(in); maktabiyi-wa xod-gađi algostok. (2) še faqir poxtəna dāk, ka "kere klaniči bu goda agli?" yok-a: "ka doá ke, ka bårån yore, tare pårak ka ayn begoná ye aw do^{wá}-wa-b raw qabul se". (3) faqir yok, "ka tareyn (a-)do^{wá}-b raw qabul šuk, báyad ka še nafar moallem ta boma e-mox-ne nak-ezok".

(1) Some people set off [for a holy place] to pray for rain; they took some young boys (lit. 'schoolboys') with them. (2) A fakir asked: "Where are you taking these little children?" (They) said: "To pray for rain, for they are without sin and their prayer will be heard sooner". (3) The fakir said: "If their prayer was heard sooner, then probably there would not be one teacher left on earth!"

Text VII

(1) še saray-ye badsurat še zarka-ye šersurat-a dórno. (2) še roz ta xoy nāk-ki-wa yok: "yaqin darim, ka az-aw-tu ađu-gađ su jannat-ki tsen". (3) zarka yok ka "tsa-di-b poy son?". yok, ka "tu-b bad surát tar mun juč aw sabər bu ki aw az bu roxsār-e šer tar tu jučim, šokor bu kam. (4) man jáy ta sáberån aw šákerån jannat-ne ye".

(1) An ugly man had a pretty wife. (2) One day he said to his wife: I am sure that we shall both get to heaven!" (3) The woman said: "How do you know [that]?" (4) He said: "You see my ugly appearance and [nevertheless] endure it, but I see your beautiful face [and] I thank [God]. And the place for the tolerant and the thankful is in heaven!"

Text VIII

(1) še badqawára saray ta bázár e-sar-ne darok buk. še zarka mox-ki-wa erzák aw alšóstok-a. (2) zarka ka zot bu aldek, saray poxtəna dāk ka "ay zarka! tsa maqsad der aw tsi-mi-t mun-ki nok-e, tez tar mun e-mox-ki-b juč?". (3) zarka yok: "tsi-mi-m stor goná dāk buk. žayim bu, ka afo pa azáb kam – ba tsa šay ka badtar afo-di nak-da be. heč badtar afo-di-m nak-dek, ka tar tu e-mox-ki-m dek".

(1) An ugly man stood in the middle of the bazaar. (2) A [some] woman came up to him and burst into tears. As the woman looked at him closely (lit. 'very much') and for a long time, the man asked: "O woman! Why have you fixed your eyes on me and [so] intently (lit. 'keenly') look at my face?" (3) The woman said: "My eyes are very sinful (lit. 'have committed [in the past] great sin'). [And now] I want to torment them with something worse than anything else. I have never seen anything worse than your face".

Text IX

(1) *še sařay ka zot baxil buk, diče-ye now-a šinók, rây-ne-b altsok. (2) aw še jây-ki ka rasók, ka xâr aw gap-a (gipi-wa) zot dornok, diče-wa pây-di nawolok, ta xoy dâman-ne-wa pečawók. (3) dáfatán še xâr e-pây-ne-wa alisok, ka be taraf-di nayók. (4) yok-a: alhamdolelá ka diče-m pây-ne-m nak-da buk (or: nak dâk buk), kini afo-b ko šuk.*

(1) A man who was very miserly bought some new shoes (and) walked along the road. (2) And, when he reached a place where there were many thorns and stones, he took the shoes off his feet [and] put (lit. wrapped) [them] in the hem [of the shirt]. (3) Suddenly a thorn pierced him in the foot – (so) that it came out on the other side of the foot. (4) He said: “Praise God that my shoes were not on my feet; otherwise they would have been pierced!”

Text X

(1) *še sařay ta xoy dost-ki yok: “tsimi-m bu dimi. elâj-a tsá ye?”. (2) yok-a: “prasol tar mun a-giši-b dimók. náwolok-am – xalâs šúkom”.*

(1) A man said to his friend: “My eye hurts. What am I to do? (lit. ‘what is the way out of the situation?’). (2) He said: “Last year my tooth ached. I pulled it out – [and] was delivered [from the pain]”.

Text XI

(1) *moazen azân ta nemâž-a-b dâk, yók-a-b aw dangók bu. poxtâna-wa dâk, ka “ke-b dang?”. (2) yok-a: “yóše bu, ka âwâz tar mun dur-di šér e aw dângim bu, ka ta xoy ku-âwâz dur-di marim”.*

(1) A muezzin calling to prayer was shouting (lit. ‘saying’) and running [at one and the same time]. They asked [him]: “Why are you running?” (2) He said: “They say that my voice is [very] pleasant at a distance. So I am running to hear my voice at a distance”.

Text XII

(1) *še âlem-di-wa poxtâna dâk ka “tsen waxt az ta češma e-sar-ki rasim aw žayim, ka yosəl kam, ta xoy ku-mox tsen taraf-ki kam?”. (2) âlem yok, ka “ta xoy ku-mox ta kâli e-taraf-ki kon, ka dozd-a nak-aglé”.*

(1) A wise man was asked: “If I go to a spring and want to perform my ablutions, in which direction should I face?” (2) The wise man said: “Face your clothes, lest a thief take them!”

Text XIII

(1) *še sařay dâktar-ki altsok. yok-a: “nas-om bu dime”. (2) dâktar poxtâna dâk: “tsa-t xolok-e?” yok, ka “soxta txan-om xolok-e”. (3) tabib ta xoy šâgerd-ki yok: “ta tsimi dawâ erwar!” sařay alyok: “nas-om bu dime. ta tsimi dawâ tsa mânâ daré?” (4) dâktar yok: “ka tar tu a-tsimi rožan bukon soxta txan-at su nak-xolok?”*

(1) A man went to the doctor; he said (to him): “My stomach hurts”. (2) The doctor asked: “What have you eaten?”. He said: “I ate some burnt bread”. (3) The doctor said to

his pupil: "Bring the eye salve!". The man said to him: "My stomach hurts. What is the sense of eye salve?" (4) The doctor said: "If your eyes had been clear, you probably would not have eaten burnt bread".

Text XIV

(1) *do zarka še klanak-že žang dornok aw šâyed-a nak-dornok. ađugađ-a qâzi-ki altsokin, ka keré pa ensáf hal ke. (2) qâzi ku-qasáb-a žayók aw yók-a, ka keré klanak dujây kon aw ađugađ zarkiyi-wa-ki alšer. (3) še zarka ka kere ksi marók, qarâr šuk aw be zarka yálmaýál dák, ka ta xodây párak tar mun ku-klanak dujây ma-kon. ka a-raqam ensáf be, ku-klanak bu nak-žaim. (4) qâzi pa yaqin poy šuk, ka mâwa ta klanak á zarka ye. ku-klanak kere zarka-ki alšuk, afo be-wa padorrá dzok aw ay-a dák.*

(1) Two woman quarrelled over a boy, but they had no witness. They both went to the *qazi* so that [he] would justly resolve [their dispute]. (2) The *qazi* called the executioner and said: "Divide this boy into two pieces and give a piece to each woman!" (3) One woman, hearing this, remained calm, but the other woman began to shout (lit. 'made a noise'); "For God's sake, do not divide the boy into two pieces! If this is justice, then I do not want the boy!" (4) The *qazi* was immediately convinced that this [very] woman was the mother of the boy. He gave this woman the boy and that one, the other, he whipped and sent away.

Text XV

(1) *še saray xaw-ne dek ka afo-ki-b mayda paysa-b alšáwe aw afo-b nak-náse, telá aw noqra-wa-b x^wáheš dák. (2) tsa rang ka xaw-di bedâr šuk, poy šuk, ka "xaw-om dek-e". (3) pešemân šuk, ka "ke-m ku-mayda paysa-wa nak-nok?!". (4) be-wa ta xoy xaw-ne banok tsimi-wa ta xoy poť dák. ta xoy ku-dest-a drây dák, ka "pa afo mayda paysa rázi yom, eršer-a". (5) har tsa-wa žayok, fáyeda-wa nak-dák. zot-a armân dák, ka ke-wa ku-mayda paysa xoy-di ela dák.*

(1) A man dreamt that he was given some small coins but did not take them. He demanded gold and silver coins. (2) As soon as he awoke, he understood. "It seems I dreamed it". (3) He was upset: "And why did I not take the small coins?" (4) He tried to fall asleep again (lit. 'sank into sleep'), shut his eyes, stretched out his hand: "I agree even to this small change, give it to me!". (5) However much he asked, it was no good. He began to be very upset that he had let the small coins slip out of his hand.

Text XVI

(1) *še roz faqír šâer dawlatman(d) saráy-ki altsók, gušá nezdék waqađf-wa nóstok, ka tafóyin e-mendzi-ne še blest jây buk. (2) dawlatmand keré kâr-di zot qâr šuk aw pořtána-wa dák, ka: "tar tu aw xar e-mendze-ne tsa farq e?". (3) šâer alyók ka: "tar mun aw ta xar e-mendze-ne še blest jây". (4) worz-a žayok. dawlatman(d) kere ksi-di šarmok.*

(1) One day a poor poet went to a rich man [and] sat down so close to him that between them there was [a distance of] one inch. (2) The rich man became very angry [with him] at this and asked: "What is the difference between you and an ass?" (3) The poet said to

him: “Between me and an ass there is only one inch”. (4) The rich man was shamed by these words and he asked forgiveness.

Text XVII

(1) *še šâér ku-dawlatmand-a zot sefât dâk – madh-wa nawešta dâk, mágar dawlatman(d) baxšéši-wa nák-alsúk. (2) be wâr a-hóýwa-wa nawešta dâk, dawlatman afó-ki hets-a nak-ýok. (3) be roz šâer altsok ta dawlatman e-ner-ki aw wal nóstok. (4) dawlatman ýok: “šâer! tu sefâtnâma-t nawešta dâk, az hets šay ku-tu-ki nak-daršuk, be-t hóýwa nawešta dâk, az hets nak-ýok, píri tsa-ki ku-mun-ki erzâkon?” (5) šâer alyok: “píri bu az dârim, ka tsun tu umron, be-b fâte^hânâamá nawešta kam”.*

(1) A poet very much praised a rich man (in verse) – he wrote a eulogy to him, however the rich man did not reward him (for it). (2) The second time he wrote a satire on him, (but) the rich man said nothing to him. (3) The next day the poet went to the rich man’s house [and] sat down there. (4) The rich man said: “Poet! You wrote a eulogy; I gave you nothing. then you wrote a satire (on me); I said nothing. Why have you come to me now?” (5) The poet said to him: “Now I will wait until you die and then I shall write an epitaph”.

Text XVIII

(1) *še roz páčâ aw šâzâdá ku-masxará-wa xoy-gađí xkâr-ki algóstok. (2) tsarang ka awâ tok šuk, páčâ aw šâzâdá ta-xoy ku-kâlíyi-wa náwolok, ta masxara e-šânay-že-wa dâk. (3) páčâ ýok: “ay masxara! ta še xar a-bâr tar tu e-šânay-ne ye?” (4) masxara jawâb-ne-wa ýok: “ta do xar a-bâr”.*

(1) One day the king and the crown prince took (lit. ‘drove’) a jester with them to the hunt. (2) Since the weather became warm, the king and the crown prince took off their (outer) garments and laid them on the jester’s shoulder. (3) The king said: “Hey, jester! You have the burden of one ass on your shoulder!” (4) In reply the jester said: “Of two asses”.

Text XIX

(1) *še kor pa xo târikí-ne čerây a-dest-ne aw garay a-šâna-že bâzâr-ki ráyí buk. (2) še sarây néla-di-wa poxtóna dâk ka “ay dewâna! xo aw roz tsími-ki-t še ye. čerây ku-tu-ki tsa fâýdá dare?” (3) kor xaní dâk aw ýok-a: “a čerây tar mun e-pârak nák-e, tar tu e-pârak e, ka pa xo e-târikí-ne garây-am nak-mizéw”.*

(1) One dark night a blind man went to the bazaar with a torch in his hand and a pitcher on his shoulder. (2) A man asked him: “Madman! [You know], for you (lit. for your eyes) day and night are both alike. Of what use to you is the torch?” (3) The blind man laughed and said: “This torch is not for me, but for you, so that in the dark night you will not break my pitcher”.

Text XX

(1) *še sarây kâteb-ki altsok, ka “ku-mun-ki xat nawešta kon!” (2) kâteb alyok, ka “tar mun a-pây bu díme”. (3) sarây alyok: “ku-tu-b góda ráyí nákam (< nak-kam), ka guša*

wozr-at šom dāk". (4) *kāteb alyok*: "tu-b a-ráxa yoš, mágar ar waxt bu ka kok-ki xat nawešta kam, ku-mun bu žaye, ka ku-xat awim, – taré párak, ka tar mun a-xat bu kok awók nák-inče".

(1) A man went to a scribe [and asked him]: "Write a letter for me!" (2) The scribe said to him: "My foot hurts". (3) The man said to him: "I am not sending you anywhere that you should think up such an excuse". (4) The scribe said to him: "You are speaking the truth. Yet every time that I write someone a letter I am asked to read (this) letter, because nobody can read what I have written" (lit. 'my letter').

Text XXI

(1) *še saráy ku-totí-wa tarbiya dāk, ku-fársí-wa yád alšuk*. (2) *totí-b ar k(i)sí-ki še jawáb alšuk*: "keré-ne tsa šak e?". (3) *še roz afó saráy ku-totí-wa bázár-ki algóstok, ka práye-wa; su ropé bayá-wa wótok*. (4) *še be saray néla-di-wa poxtóna dāk*: "mágar su ropé báya daré?". (5) *totí yok, ka "keré-ne tsa šak e?"*. (6) *saráy xoš šuk, ku-totí-wa šinók, ner-ki-wa algóstok*. (7) *ar tsa-wa-b ka totí-ki yok, afó-b še jawáb alšuk, ka "k(e)ré-ne tsa šak e?"*. (8) *áxer a saráy qár šuk aw yok-a*: "az xar búkum, ka ku-tu-m šinók!". (9) *toti alyok, ka "keré-ne tsa šak e?"*. (10) *a saray xaní-wa dāk aw ku-totí-wa ela dāk*.

(1) A man kept a parrot [and] taught [it] Persian. (2) The parrot gave one answer to every word: "What doubt can there be of that?" (lit. 'what doubt is in this?'). (3) One day the man took the parrot to the bazaar to sell it [and] fixed the price at 100 rupees. (4) A man asked him: "Does (it) really cost 100 rupees?" (5) The parrot said: "What doubt can there be of that?" (6) The man was satisfied [with the answer], bought the parrot [and] took it home. (7) Whatever was said to the parrot, it gave one reply: "What doubt can there be of that?" (8) Finally this man became angry and said: "[Now what] an ass I was to buy you!" (9) The parrot said to him: "What doubt can there be of that?" (10) The man burst out laughing and let the parrot go (free).

Text XXII

(1) *še waxt temor-e lang páčá še weláyat-ki altsok aw ku-sázenda-wa ta xoy nér-ki žayók aw yok* "az marók-e, ka tar tos e-weláyat-ne šer sázendiyi ye". (2) *še kor robábí erzák aw robáb-a dzok*. (3) *páčá zot xošhál šuk aw poxtóna-wa dāk, ka "tar tu a-nám tsá ye?"*. (4) *đom jawáb-ne-wa alyok, ka "tar mun a nám dawlat e"*. (5) *páčá yok, ka "dawlat bu ge kor se?"*. (6) *đom jawáb alšuk* (or: *jawáb-ne-wa yok*): "ka góda dawlat kor nak-bukon (or: *nak-be*), ta lang e-ner-ki-b nak-erzák". (7) *páčá keré kisi-di zot xoš šuk aw zot enám-a alšuk*.

(1) One day, King Timur went to a province and summoned musicians to his house and said: "I have heard that there are good musicians in your province". (2) A blind *rubab* player came [to him] and began to play on the *rubab*. (3) The king was very pleased [with the playing] and asked: "What is your name?". (4) The musician told him in reply; "My name is Dawlat". (5) The king said: "Surely wealth (*dawlat*) is not blind as well?". (6) The musician said to him: "If wealth were not blind, it would not have come to the home

of a lame man". (7) Such a reply pleased the king and he generously rewarded the musician.

Text XXIII

(1) *še yáspwálá yíspi-wa páčá-ki algóstok (= alxám-a dák).* (2) *páčá ku-yáspi-wa yorxawók* (or: *yáspi ta páčá yorxok*) *aw šinók-a.* (3) *azár ropé-wa wážéra alšuk, ka ta xoy molk-di be yáspi erware.* (4) *yáspwálá altsok.* (5) *tsun roz bád páčá wazír-ki-wa yok: "ta woláyat ta dewáníyi ku-nám nawešta kon!"*. (6) *wazír al-yok, ka "šom tar tu e-kisí-di awal-am ta aláhazrat ku-nám nawešta dák-e"*. (7) *páčá poxtóna-wa dák: "ke?"*. (8) *wazír alyok: "ka ta yáspwálá ku-jây-at poxtóna nak-dák aw šom-di-t ropé alšuk, a-jây ta dewánaqi ye"*. (9) *páčá yok: "ka góda yáspwálá ku-yáspi erwáre, afo waxt bu tsa ki?"*. (10) *wazír alyok ka: "afo waxt bu ta páčá ku-nám gol kam aw ta yáspwálá ku-nám bu wážéra nawešta kam"*.

(1) A horse-dealer took some horses to the king [to show him]. (2) The king chose [several] horses (or: the king liked the horses) and bought them. (3) On top of that he gave him a thousand rupees so that he would bring other horses that he possessed. (4) The horse-dealer went away. (5) After some days the king said to the vizier: "Write down for me the names of all the fools in the province!". (6) The vizier said to him: "Before your order (lit. 'word') I had already written first your majesty's name". (7) The king asked: "Why?" (8) The vizier said to him: "Because you did not ask where the horse-dealer lived (lit. 'about the [dwelling] place of the horse-dealer') and gave him money in advance, [that is] madness". (9) The king said: "[Well,] but if the horse-dealer brings some horses, what will you say then? (lit. 'what will you do?')". (10) The vizier said to him: "Then I will cross out the king's name and above [it] I will write the name of the horse-dealer".

Text XIV

(1) *še roz molá nasrodín mombar-že nayok aw yók: "Ay xalq! poy bu say, ka az bu šan ku-tos-ki tsa yošim?"*. (2) *xalqin alyókin: "na, nak bu poy sen"*. (3) *molá qár šuk aw yok, ka "tos wun-tomuak dewána yay, hets bu nak-daryóšim"*. (4) *sabá-wa-že molá be mombar-že nayók aw ta prán ku-sawál-a tekrár dák.* (5) *xalq ta xoy e-mendze-ne mašwara-wa dák, ka "šan bu jawáb-ne-wa yošen, ka wáya, ka molá-b tsa yóše?"*. (6) *mola alyók: píri-b ka poy say, ájat tar mun nak-e.* (7) *mombar-di dzom šuk aw altsok.* (8) *be roz xalq ta xoy e-mendzi-ne faysala dák, ka awár góda molá be ta xoy ku-sawál tekrár ke, nimayí tar máx bu alyošén "wáya", aw ni-mayí-b alyošén, ka "na"*. (9) *sár molá be mombar-že nayok aw ta prán aw inján ku-sawál-a tekrár dák.* (10) *nimayi xalq yókin "wáya", nimaí xálqin yókin "na"*. (11) *molá yok: "zot šer! afo-yin, ka poy bu se, býad afoy-ki, ka nák bu poy se, yošon"*.

(1) One day mullah Nasruddin mounted the rostrum and said: "O people! Do you know what I will say to you today?" (2) The people answered "No, we do not know". (3) The mullah became angry and said: "You are so stupid that I will not say anything to you." (4) The next day the mullah again mounted the rostrum and repeated his previous day's question. (5) The people discussed amongst themselves: "Today we shall give him the answer: 'Yes'. What will the mullah [then] say?". (6) The mullah said to them: "Now, if

you know (everything), I have no need [to speak].” (7) He came down from the rostrum and went away. (8) The next day, the people decided amongst themselves [thus]: “If the mullah again repeats (his) question, half of us will say (literally: ‘(we) shall say’) ‘Yes’, and half will say ‘No’”. (9) In the morning the mullah again mounted the rostrum and repeated his question of the previous day, and the day before that. (10) Half of the people said “Yes”, and half “No”. (11) The mullah said: “Very well! Let those [of you] who know tell those [of you] who do not know”.

Text XXV

(1) *tar mâx xo ša-wa âdât e, ka awlâd-an nere-ne paydâ šuk – yâ klân, yâ duwa. klân ka buk, kfo-b tsun waxt mâwa-wa xipi-b aršawe. bâd tafô ka do çân - yâ kem, ya ziyâd – ter šuk, kere-b xipi-di jodâ ke. (2) a ka xipi-di jodâ šuk, be-b nase, kere-ki-b tamâm-e roz ta xoy pa lawz ksi ke. tsun waxt ka ter šuk, pen(dz)çâna yâ xočâna ka šuk, á-b xâpořay kere-di xalâs se, pa pây bu gârzi. (3) pe-wa be, mâwa-wa be bayal-ne-wa-b nase, kere-b sârâ-ki agle, kere-b wal nawe. a xoy-a-b ge wal arneye. a-klanak bu gorgor-gorgor ke, kere-ki-b maraka ke, tare-b zot yorxe. (4) be a-b nase – yâ-b mollâyi-ne bane, yâ tâlebî-ne, yâ maktâbe-ne bane. a ka maktab-di xalâs šuk, a-molâyi-di ge xalâs šuk, stor šuk, xâyeš bu ke, ka kerî-ki nâk ke. (5) tsawe bu ta še-di duwa-ki, ta še saray duwa-ki, ka šenâxta-wa be, kfo-ki aryoše, ka “erzey ku-mun-qađi kere xešî kon! ku-duwa-t tar mun a-klân-ki eršer!”.* (6) *afo-b awal aryoše, ka “nak bu se. tsa rang e? tsa rang e?” âxer ka šuk, be-b aryoše, ka “šer e. az bu daršam, lekin mâr-a mâlum kon!” man mâr-a ar tsun ka mâlum šuk, afo-b mâlum se. (7) be-wa-b nase kere-ki – še wo yâ âxt safedriš, ar tsa ka wotok, – kufô-b erware inde tare ner-ki. txan bu aršawe, be-b še šini arjor ke, kere-b aršawe še çapo-xak-qađi, ka “az ta xoy a-duwa ta flâni klân-ki aršuk”.* (8) *a ka še tsen waxt-a ter šuk, be-b kere nase – xosrâni ke. be-b artsawe, ka “– erzey az-o tu pâywâzi ken! – šer e besmellâ, pâywâzi-b ken. – tsen bu se? inun gâka, inun rîzan erwar, ka poxta-wa ken, ka xalak-ki aršu!”.* (9) *be-wa kere ka arwolok, nafar bu a ge ta xoy žayi, afo-b ge ta xoy žayi (dâmât bu ge žayi, xosor bu ge žayi). dâmât ka žayok – ta dâmât e-ner-ki-b erzeye, xosor ka žayok – ta xosor e-ner-ki-b erzeye. a-b ayera-š ađugađ šejây se - ta xosor e-nere-ne. ku-klanak bu agle, pâywâz-a-b ke, a-beyn xo pâywâz e!.* (10) *pâywâz dâk, xayr, xo-b ter se, ena ta xoy a-nâmzât bu juxe, ta xoy a-nâk bu juxe. du xo-b waqađi be. be-b ka ta xoy e-ner-ki pets erzeye, be man a-xosor-wa-b woste, a xošu-wa-b woste – ar tsun royanjôši-wa ka dâk, kfo-b arke. dâmât-ki-b ta xoy šer kâli-b arke, e-jâne-wa-b ke, ta xoy ner-ki-wa-b râyi ke. (11) a-a-a, ka tsun waxt-a ter šuk, be man ta klanak a-pe-b artsawe, ka “az bu xo ta xoy a-toy kam”. tsun ser mâr bu ke, be-wa-b yâ rîzan nase – ar šay ka šuk – kere-b nase, tare a-toy bu bâr ke (?). (12) a-b ge žaye, afo-b ge žaye. xo ta hena-b ge dâmât ke. sabâ ka šuk, dol bu dzok se, tsawe bu, ku-âros-a bu erware wal-di ta xoy ner-ki.*

(13) *a-b ka duka ye, ka xosrâni-wa-b ke: duwâsçâna, šesçâna, tsaresçâna xosrâni-ki se. pandzes çân ka šuk, xales çân, – kere-b toy ke. a-klanak ka sen, ge-b pandzes çân, xales çân kere-ki xosrâni ke. awes – axtese-ne-b toy-a ke. ta xoy toy ka ye, rîzan bu poxta ke yâ gâka-b poxta ke, úna naware bu, xalak-ki-b aršawe.*

(1) We have this custom, when children come into a home – either a son or a daughter. When a son is born (lit. ‘was’) his mother breast feeds him (lit. ‘gives him milk’) for some time. After two years have passed – whether he is smaller or bigger – she weans him from the breast (lit. ‘from milk’). (2) She has weaned him from the breast – (and) for days on end she speaks to him in her own language. Some time has gone by, he has reached 5 or 6 years, he stops crawling, stands on his feet (lit. ‘moves around on his feet’). (3) And his father and mother take him in their arms, carry him into the field and seat him there. He even sits down there himself. The little boy babbles and prattles, they talk to him – he likes it very much. (4) Then they take him and send him either to the school attached to the mosque (*molayi, talebi*), or to the ordinary school (*maktab*). [And well], when he has finished ordinary school [or] the school attached to the mosque and become an adult, he wants to be married. (5) [His father] goes to a man he knows well who has a daughter (lit. ‘to the daughter of [some] man who is his acquaintance’) and says to him: “Become related to me! Give your daughter to my son in marriage!” (6) At first, the other man says to him: “Well, no. How can I [right away]?” But in the end he says: “All right, I shall give her [to your son] but [first] fix her bride price!” As soon as [the amount] of the bride price is fixed, everything is in place (literally: ‘it is fixed’) (7) Then he brings seven or eight – [as many] as are decided – old men here, to him in the house. He (the girl’s father) arranges the food (lit. ‘gives bread’); [the girl] embroiders a *shini* (a sort of embroidery) for him [that is for the young man], [and her father] gives this [to the young man’s father], together with a veil for her face (*chapoxak*). He says: “I have given my daughter (in marriage) to the son of such and such”. (8) Some time passed – they arrange the matchmaking (*xoshrani*). [The young man’s father] goes [to his relatives]:– “Let us arrange the engagement (*paywazi*)”: – “A good beginning. We shall arrange the *paywazi* – “How much will [the expenses] be?” – “Bring this much meat and this much rice for cooking [and] to entertain the people”. (9) When they have brought (all) this, the one invites his people, (and) the other his, (i.e.), both the bridegroom invites and the bride’s father invites. [Those whom] the bridegroom (the son in law) invited, come to the house of the bridegroom, (and those whom) the bride’s father invited come to the house of the bride’s father. [Then] they gather together in the bride’s father’s house. They lead the young man, make him a ‘*paywaz*’ (lit. ‘with free feet’) [i.e. admitted into the bride’s house], for others were *paywazi* [long before] [i.e. admitted]. (10) They have made (him) a *paywaz*; good, the night passes by, [and] so [she] sees her betrothed and he sees his wife. For two nights they are together [in the bride’s father’s house]. When he returns to his house, both the bride’s father and the bride’s mother give him [themselves] everything that they have baked (lit. ‘however many pies – *rojanjoshi* – they have made’), they make good clothes for the bridegroom, put them on him, send him home. (11) Some time has passed – the young man’s father again goes [to the girl’s father] and says: “I am arranging the wedding at my house”. They bake [pancakes] from several *seers* of flour; then they take rice – they take everything that there is and everything goes to the wedding. (12) The one invites [guests] [and] the other invites. The son-in-law arranges the food on the occasion of dyeing the hair and the palms of the hands with

henna (lit. ‘makes the night of henna’). (And) in the morning, they beat the drums, and (he) goes [into the bride’s house] and brings the bride from there to his home.

(13) As regards girls, they arrange their engagement at the age of 12, 13, or 14. When [she] is 15 or 16 years old, they perform their wedding. They arrange the engagements of young men at 15 or 16 years old, and at 17 or 18, they perform their wedding. When the wedding takes place, they cook rice or meat, take it [out of the cooking pot], entertain people.

Text XXVI

(1) *mâx bu nasen, ka ganəm-an draw dâk, ku-kord-ki-b wok aršeren. a ka watar šuk, kere-b nasen qolba-wa-b ken. be-wa-b mâla ken. mâla-n ka dâk, kere-ne-b taxminan še – še-wo-nim mây ter se, kere-b nasen duspâra-wa ken. be-wa-b râkol ken. pets-di-wa-b sespâra ken, be-wa-b qarâr gen mizân-tumadi.* (2) *mizâne-ne-b ganəm nasen – šer-a-b pâk ken: ša-wa-b pâk ken, ka ta xoy ta zle a-šak-an nela-di arnise. kere be mizâne-ne šora-b ge kere-ne banen – ta xoy a-watani, ta xarğuja. kere-b be nasen – tit-a-b ken ku-šora-wa. toxom bu tit ken, be-wa-b nasen – max yešâwol daren, ta âyini – kere-b nasen, mâx-a-b yešâwol ken.* (3) *yešâwol-an ka dâk, ka wok zot buk, – pafô sât wok bu aršeren, ka nak-da buk, – xo ta xoy nawbat-ki-b juxen. ar waxt ka nawbat-an šuk, kere-ki-b wok aršeren. kere-n ka wok aršuk, kere-di-b sen xalâs!.* (4) *aqrabe-ne be mâx kere-b še wok yaxaw aršeren. a yaxaw bu yezne, yezne, yezne – be man yoš bu ge se, bârân bu ge se, ar šây bu se – yezne, yezne e-sawr-tumadi. tserang ta sawr a-mây dâxel šuk, bârân bu ge zot be, ta bârân a-wok bu nawaren, ta daryâw a-wok bu ela ken. be wok bu ta sawr e-pandzese-ne aršeren.* (5) *be wok bu ta jawzâ e-pandzese-ne aršeren. man ka kok duš ... nafakaši-di afo-b tsâr wok aršere, kok bu nak [da] be, afo-b šo wok aršere. šo wok-di-b beg nak-aršere. be ka dâna-wa-b mâkam ken, eč wok-wa nak-tsawe.* (6) *a wâda ka šuk, ta ganəm e-drawe-ne, kere-b draw ken ... yâ-b xoy draw ken, yâ-b drawqar-ki-b aršeren: ka ta xoy dest-di-n pura buk, xoy-an draw ken, ka ta drawgâri dest-di pura buk, drawqari-ki-b aršeren.* (7) *be-b kere tol ken gayendaye-ne. gayendayan ka tol dâk, kere-b guša gâyendamâl ken, beland. gâyendamâl-an ka dâk, čapar bu petsa-di-wa banen, nargoyi-b tarên (nargoyi bu arwaren, čapar bu tarên). kere-b čapar ken-ken-ken. wâna (?) xwâri-b kan: “hála, ku lab-a ben” – o “gerzew!” – o “a kon! jârob kon!”, ka tâ a mayda se.* (8) *a ka mayda šuk, kere-b pets nasen tol-a-b ken. ka tol-a-n dâk, be-b kere nasen, båd-a-b ken: dâna-wa-b mox-ki arzeye, ywâši-wa-b pets-ki bu tsawe. be kere bâdi ka xalâs šuken, ku-ywâši ta xoy bu ner-ki rwaren. kâdân bu alyošên, – a kâdâne-ne-b banen. be-b kere xoša tare ka yezok, še tsâr roz – pendz roz čapar ken.* (9) *be-b kere tol ken. ka tol-an dâk, xara-n dâk, afo gašta-n pa čârčâx båd dâk, a gašta-b pa râši-wa båd ken. kere bâde-ne xalâs šuken.*

(10) *be-b gerzen ta nargoyi petsa. nargoyi-b paydâ ken. ar tsun-an ka paydâ dâk, ganəm bu awâr ke, kere-b jöyol ken. jöyol-an ka dâk, be-b kere nasen – tol-a-b ken. be-b båd ken.* (11) *båd-an ka dâk, kere-b erwaren, čeyel bu ken aw bâzi ganəm, ka xâke-ne be, kfo-b xâk-di pa xâkbezi nawaren. xâkbezi-n ka nawolok, kere-b peymâna ken (kok-a-b tol ke, kok-a-b peymâna ke). kere-b be ner-ki aglen.* (12) *a-wazn-a-b ku-mâx-ki mâlum se, ka inun šuk. kereyn ka ner-ki argostok, be-b kere nasen še andâza, ka ta xoy a-*

mónay-tomadi. ar tsun ka keřáf buk, křo-b páf ken, máf-a-b ken (ásyá ka-b aglen, máf-a-b ken). kereyn ka máf dáf, pets-a-b arwaren kanduye-ne-b banen. kanduye-ne-n ka banok, kere-b xren, xren, ka tá boy ta zámak se. zámak ka řuk, be-b nasen ře xarwáf – ře-wo-nim xarwáf, řistu ser – ar tsun ka ta sařay nere-ne be, křo-b nase ta zámak ku máf bu ken, kanduye-ne-b řáf ken.

(1) When we have harvested the wheat, we irrigate the field. When it has become wet, we plough the field. Then we harrow it using a harrow (*mala*). We have harrowed it – approximately one to one and a half months go by – [and] we plough (loosen) it a second time. Then we level it using a different harrow (*rakol*). After this we plough it a third time [and] then we leave it until [the month of] Mizan. (2) In Mizan we take the wheat [and] clean it thoroughly [of weeds]: we clean it so that no doubt whatever remains (lit. ‘so that doubt has left our heart’). Also in Mizan we put fertiliser into it (the earth) – its country of origin being Kharguja. We take it [and] spread the fertiliser. [Then] we sow (lit. ‘scatter seeds’). Then we take – we have [these] iron rakes (*gheshawol*) – we take them, level [the field] with them. (3) We levelled the field with iron rakes – if there has been plenty of water, we give water (to the land) immediately, but, if there has been no [water] – we await our turn at night [to let water into our field from the channel]. When our turn comes, we irrigate [our field]. We have irrigated it – [and] there is an end to it! (4) In the month of Aqrab we do the watering *yaxaw* (lit. ‘the icy melted water’) once (lit. ‘one water’). The *yaxaw* remains for a very long time (lit. ‘remains, remains’), whether it snows or rains – whatever it is – until the month of Sawr. As soon as the month of Sawr has begun, [usually] there is plenty of rain – we use rainwater, and not river water (lit. ‘we leave alone the river water’). We give water again on the fifteenth of Sawr. (5) Then we give water [only] on the fifteenth of Jawza. Somebody will dodge somewhat (lit. ‘from excessive zeal’) [and] will water [his field] four times (lit. ‘will give four waters’), but somebody who does not have [a disposition to deception] waters it [only] three times. [Usually], they do not irrigate more than three times. Then we cover the *dana* (the outlet from the main channel to the side ones), so that the water does not pass through it at all. (6) The time for harvesting the wheat has come, we harvest it.... Either we harvest it ourselves or we hire harvesters (lit. ‘we let the harvesters [harvest]’). If we ourselves are able to finish, then we ourselves harvest, but if [this] is possible [only with hired] harvesters, we hire harvesters. (7) Then we pile it (the sheaves of wheat) onto barrows (*gayenda*). We piled it onto barrows – [after this] we heap it into ricks (*gayendamal*), high ones!. We heaped it into ricks – we tie a buck rake (*chapar*) behind [a pair of oxen], yoke the oxen (drive the oxen [and] tie the buck rake). We thresh it (the wheat) for a very long time with the buck rake. This is how we work [on the threshing floor]: “Go on then, throw [the straw] aside!” and “Turn it over!”, “Do this!”, “Sweep!”, until it is threshed. (8) When the threshing is finished, we take it again and gather it together. We have gathered it together – we take it again and winnow it: the grain goes forward, but the straw remains. (lit. ‘goes’) behind. We have finished winnowing — we transport the straw home. [In the barn which] we call a *kadan* (hayloft), we pile it into the *kadan*. But we thresh its ears that remained with a buck rake for another four or five days.

(9) We rake it (the wheat) together [into a pile] again. We have raked it together into a pile (*xara*), this time we winnow it with a pitchfork (*charchax*), and then with a wooden shovel (*rashi*). With this our winnowing is over. (10) Later, we follow [a team of] oxen. We find the oxen. We have found the oxen, we level the wheat and thresh it using the oxen [which we drive around the threshing floor] (*jogal dak*). We have threshed it, we again rake it into a pile and winnow it with a wooden shovel. (11) We have finished winnowing – we bring it, winnow [throwing it] on a sieve (*chegel*), and we clean the part of the grain (of wheat), which is from off the ground, using a small sieve (*xakbezi*). We have finished winnowing with a sieve – we measure the quantity [of grain] using a special container (*peyman*). (Somebody weighs [the grain], and somebody measures with the container). [Then] we transport it home. (12) Its weight is made known to us – that it is such an amount. We have transported it home – [and] then part of the amount of it – as much as will suffice until autumn – we clean [from straw dust], grind, transport to the mill and grind. We have ground it – we bring it (home), pour (lit. ‘throw’) it into the *kandu* (a big, clay or wooden container). We have poured it – we eat [the bread] until the approach of winter. Winter has set in – we take one to one and a half *xarvara* [or] twenty seers [of grain] (as much as is needed for whoever there is at home) [and] grind for the winter (lit. ‘make the winter flour’), and put it into the *kandu*.

Text XXVII

(1) *mādgoy ka boyatalab šuk, e-ṭunḍa-ki-b nasen. ṭunḍa-ki-n ka nok, tare-b nə mǎy, nə roz, nə sāt, nə gari ka ter šuk, a-b ku-mǎx-ki zaýi; yǎ-b nar arware, yǎ mǎda. a ka zayok, be-b kere nasen – gawdiši-b yošen – gawdiši-b arwaren, ta xoy zǎnuy-ne-b tar mǎx a-zarkiyi gen (mǎx-a-b xoy-an nak-ken, mard-a-b nak-ke, zarkiyi-b ken), kere-b be nasen zǎnuye sar-a-b gen.* (2) *yoškak bu goy-ki ela ke, ka sǎnak – sǎnak ena dzane, dzane, ka tafo xipi ela ke. nola ka-b dest-ki arware, kere-b diše. ka dišok-a, kere xipi begǎ-wa-b nasen, kere-b tok ke. kere-ya ka tok dǎk, a-b be fila se.* (3) *be-b kere nasen, diše-wa-bu, sǎnak bu nase, yoškak bu agle. tsǎr nolay-ne-b ku-dest baní, kere-b diši. gawdiši-b ḍak ke. ka ḍak-a dǎk – agle aw dege-ne-wa bane. begǎ ka šuk, kere-b tok ke. kere-ya ka tok dǎk, be-b kere nase, še be gortsoke-ne-wa-b bane.* (4) *be gortsoke-ne ka banok, kere-ne-b be a-še doý paydá ke, kere-ne-b doý bane. a be mǎya se, nǎm-a ye – joryát. joryát bu se. ku-ḷag bu alyošawi, širin-a-b ke, tandure-ne-a-b ge. ka a širin šuk, kere joryát bu kere ḷage-ne bane.* (5) *kere ḷage-ne a ka banok, mašk ta koč-di-b šini – sarḷagi-b ge (kere sarḷagi wažera ge). kere-b nase – xol-tawi-a bu. wal bǎdkaš dari (a-ḷag yǎ e, kere yǎr-a-b ke, ka bǎd arnise). nǎxun bu alisawi: tok e yǎ yax e? ka yax buk, tok wok bu bane, ka tok buk, yax wok bu bane. kere-b dzane.* (6) *a ka dzok šuk, kere-ne-b maska paydá se. xǎli-wa-b ke deg. deg gortsoke-ne ka xǎli dǎk, kere maska pa dest-a-b ṭol ke, woke-ne-b bane. woke-ne ka banok, be-b kere nase, kok-a-b xamirdǎn-gađi, kok-a-b ar šay-gađi kfoyn-a ge. še mǎy yǎ jistu roz wotok, be-b kere maska nase, dege-ne-a bane. kere wok ke, kere run-a-b ke.*

(1) When its heat begins, they lead a cow to the bull. We have led it to the bull – [and] when nine months have passed (lit. ‘nine months, nine days, nine hours, nine minutes’), it has a calf – either a bull (lit. ‘a male’), or a heifer (lit. ‘a female’). It has calved – we take

the milking pail, our women stand it near the knees. (we ourselves, the men, do not do [this] – the women do it). (2) They allow the calf to approach the cow, so that it sucks and sucks and the cow begins to give milk. [Then] they take the teats and milk it. They have milked it – they take [and leave] the milk until evening. In the evening they warm it (in the hearth). When they have warmed it, it becomes *fila* (food made of the beestings). (3) They milk it again, lead the calf away [from the cow], take the cow by the teats (lit. ‘put hands on four teats’), milk it, fill [with milk] the milking pail (standing nearby). They have filled it – they carry [it] away and pour it into a pot (*jag*, see 4 below). In the evening they warm it. They have warmed it – they pour it into a clay pot (*gortsok*). (4) They have poured into the clay pot – they take (lit. ‘find’) the butter milk (*dogh*), they pour it into it. It ferments – becomes *jorghat* (fermented milk, mast). They wash the *jag* (a big clay pitcher with handles, see 3), temper it – they stand it in a *tandoor*. They have tempered it – they pour the *jorghat* into the *jag*. (5) They have poured it into the *jag*... (they buy a skin (*sarjagi*) from the nomads, they put it on top of it (that is, on the *jag*) [and tie it]. [Then] they move it about. There is an opening (*badkash*) there: a *jag* with a hole, they pierce it so that air comes out. They test it with a finger (lit. ‘they push a finger in’): is it warm or cold? If [the finger] was cold, they pour in warm water; if it was hot, they pour in cold water. They churn (the butter). (6) When it has been churned, there is butter in it (in the *jag*). They empty the pot (*jag*) into the *gortsok*. They have emptied the pot - they collect the butter by hand, throw (put) it into [cold] water. They have thrown it into the water – some put it in the kneading-trough (*xamirdan*) again, some into something else (lit. ‘into anything’). They have collected (lit. ‘put’) [a certain quantity] for a month or twenty days – then they take this butter (*maska*), put it in the pot, melt it, make melted butter (*run*) [from it].

Text XXVIII

(1) (Kh.O.: *a-mâr bu tseraqam sařay řur ke?*). *awal bu xamirdân nase, pâk-a-b yořawe. be-b ku xamira nase, wok bu wařera bane. be-b kfo řer dzane, řangâl-a-b ke, řangâl-a-b ke, ka tâ afo aýera pâk wane wok se.* (2) *bâd e-kfo-di woke-ne-b mâř bane. mâř bu nase darxo-ye ta yakrangî. ka yakrang se, afo-b řangâl ke. be-b kfo qarâr-qarâr-qarâr mořt dzane, gađ-a-b ke. wok bu arřawe: duř-duř-duř, ka afo tâ lat se.* (3) (Kh.O.: *nemek bu ge bane?*). *wâya, nemek bu tsarang nak-bane? be ta nemek-a-b, xo, nak-xre. nemek zarur e.* (Kh.O.: *tsa waxt řúřay, ka xamira řuk-e yâ truř řuk-e?*). *afo waxt dare pa xoy.* (4) (Kh.O.: *yâne truř řuk-e yâ tsarang řuk-e?*) *na, afo-b wařera poy sen: pafo waxt-o wâda-wa-ře.* (Kh.O.: *tsa řay-ne-b biřay?*) *tandur-ne. run bu banen. xâkeřtar-a-b nawaren.*

(1) (Kh.O.: How is dough kneaded?; lit. ‘How does a person mix flour?’) First of all they take a kneading trough (*xamirdan*), they wash it clean. Then they take yeast, pour water into it. Then they stir it thoroughly, knead it until it all entirely dissolves (lit. ‘becomes water’). (2) Then they add the flour to water [with the mixed yeast]. They take the flour [in the quantity] necessary for [forming] the dough (lit. ‘for smoothness of the dough’). When (it) becomes smooth, they take it in their hands and very gently slap it with their hands, knead it. Little by little, they add water – while it can [still] be slapped [with their

hands]. (3) (Kh.O.: Do they add salt?). Yes, how could they not add it? They do not eat without salt, salt is necessary (Kh.O.: And when do you determine that the dough is ready or has become sour?) It takes a certain length of time (lit. ‘for itself’). (4) (Kh.O.: That is, is it sour or what?) No, we shall find out about this in time. (Kh.O.: In what do you bake [bread]?). In a *tandoor*. We put in butter. We rake out the ashes.

Text XXIX

(1) (D.M.: *a-mâdgoy tar mâx ka zaye, tare a-zok bu ka na-say, tse raqam bu kay tos?*). *a-goy-an ka šân-sar zayok, ta sa- bâ-sar-a kere pendz čášt xipi-wa-b nasen, yakjãy-a-b ken.* (2) *bâd e-kfo-di-b be nasen, ta še xo-roz bu xipi be nasen. tare-di grefta, mâya-b kere-yne-b banen, kere-di-b dzok jor ken.* (D.M.: *kok-di-b xipi nasay?*). *gujĩ kere ta še xo-roz ta goy-di-b – kere-di, mâya kere-yne banen.* (3) (D.M.: *mâya če ye?*). *a-goy-di-b ka destĩ dišawen, kere-b sâten.* (D.M.: *afo zok e?*). *afo dzok e, kere, baxt-o tále, ka ar tsun-an mâya dâk, kere mâya kada tsen.* (4) *bâd e-kfoy-di tá wo roz-a ka pák šuk, be-b nasen, xipi-b tol ken. xipi-n ka tol dâk, be-b šun-šun wok ge wáne banen. afo-b be nasen, mâya-wa-b ken. topi ta be saray ner-di erwaren. be ta topi-b mâya nak-se.* (5) *kfo-b nasen, mâya-b wane banen. gortsok-ne šer-a-b još ken ku-xipi. be kere gorčoke-ne-b banen, kfo topi-di-b še čamča – nimčamča kere wáne banen, ka mâya se.* (6) *kere-b nasen, ku-řag bu ar-širin ken. řag bu pak yošawen. be-b kere nasen, řage-ne banen. be-b kere še sât – do sât yâ šo sât, yâ še-wo-nim sât kere dzánen. sarřagi-b arâxa erwaren, kusar-a-b taræn wažéra.* (7) *sarřagi post-e wray-di-b jor se, koč-wa-b erware, poy šokon? yâ ta boz. sar ta řag-an ka tarok, be-b šuřa ge kere nol-a ta řage-ne aršen, ku-yâre-ne-wa.* (Kh.O.: *a-yâr ta tsa řay ye?*) *ta bâd e-xâter-di.* (Kh.O.: *afo-ki-b bâdkaš yoše?*). *bâdkaš. še – do sar-an ka ku-řag xoltawok, a-b be bâd ke. be-b kere šuřa-n ka nawólok, bâd-a-b ernise.* (8) *be-b ka kere še tsun sar-a-b dzanen – dzanen – dzanen, be-b še kozalu yax wok wáne banen. poy šokon?* (Kh.O.: *wâya. šor-a-b daway yâ pa mošt-a-b dzánay?*). *na, řa-wa-b xoltawen. a ka dzok suk, a na? gortsok bu pák aryošawen.* (9) *ta topi gortsok alâyedagi ye. kere-yne-n ka banok, be-b a koč dornok be kfo-ydi. koč-a-b nasen, désti-b pák aryošawen, kere-b nasen...* (Kh.O.: *koč yâ maska?*). *koč. kere-b be še pák kâka-yne nasen – tol-a-b ken. kere-b be še tsâr woke-ne yošawen, fekr-at e? be-b še řayi pák bu nasen. kere náte-ne-b nemek páš ken. be-b kere koč wáne řapawen.*

(1) (D.M.: When our cow calves and you obtain *dzok* (the first milk after calving) from her, what do you do [with it]?). If our cow has calved this morning, then we take milk from it five times until the following morning, we pour it [into one vessel]. (2) After this we take the milk [that has been collected] during the twenty four hours [and] having taken the leaven (*maya*), we pour it into it – we prepare *dzok* from it. (D.M.: From what do you take milk [to prepare the *dzok*]?). [We take milk] from the cow only for the first twenty-four hours and we pour leaven (*maya*) into it. (3) (D.M.: What is this *maya*?). As soon as we milk the cow, we do not use it up (lit. ‘we keep it’). (D.M.: Is it *dzok*?). It is *dzok*. However much we have fermented, [that is how much] we make sour. (4) After this, when seven whole days have gone by, we again take and collect milk [in one vessel]. We have collected [plenty of] milk – then we add a bit of water to it. Then we take it [and] ferment it. We bring buttermilk (*topi*) from somebody (lit. ‘from the house of another

person'). Without buttermilk it does not ferment. (5) We take it [the milk], pour the leaven into it, thoroughly boil this milk in a pot (*gorchok*). Then we pour it into another pot, add a ladleful or half a ladleful (*chamcha*) of this buttermilk, so that (it) ferments. (6) Then we take and temper (in the fire) a jug (*jag*) and wash it clean. Then we pour it (the milk) into the jug, churn the butter (lit. 'stir up') for one, one and a half or two hours. We bring a goat's or a lamb's skin (*sarjagi*) and tie it up (the jug) on top. (7) (D.M.: What is *sarjagi*?). They make a *sarjagi* from a lamb's skin – nomads bring them – do you understand? Or from a goat's skin. When the jug is tied on top, we stop up the spout of the jug – its opening – with a corn cob (*shuta*). (Kh.O.: What is this opening for?). To [let out] gas (air). (Kh.O.: Do they call it a *badkash* (a ventilator)?). A *badkash*. When you swing (lit. 'we swing') the jug two or three times, it lets out air. We pull the *shuta* [out of the spout] – air comes out. (8) Then, when we swing it several times, we pour a small jug of cold water into it. Do you understand? (Kh.O.: Yes. Do you swing it or shake it?) No, this is how we shake it up. When [the butter] is churned, we wipe the pot clean. (9) There is a separate pot for the buttermilk. When we have poured [the contents] into it, butter (*koch*) is obtained from it. We take the *koch* [and] cool it at once in cold water (lit. 'we wipe it clean [in cold water]'). We take it... (Kh.O.: Is it *koch* or *maska*?) [No], *koch*. We take it from the water into a clean cloth, we gather it together. We wash it thoroughly in three or four lots of water. Do you grasp the meaning? Then we get a clean bowl (*xayi*) for it and sprinkle the bottom with salt. Then we pile (lit. 'knead') the butter into it.

Text XXX

(1) (Kh.O.: – *ta še mard, ta še zarka kâr tsen farq dare?*) – *farq dari, farq bu se, páre nesbat farq bu se ta zarka-wo ta mard, ka mard xodây paydâ dá-k-e, nekrozi-ne-b zâmatkaši ke, ka zâmat ta xoy naware. aw ku-zarka-wa ka paydâ-wa ke, zâmat ka paydâ nak-šuke.* (2) (Kh.O.: *tserang e, jân?*) *ena ye mard, juš ka tamâm-e a-dwâs mâyi čânâna. šo mây ta zomak tar mâx, tar tos bekâri ye, ka yoše-b: zomak e. kfô-ne qarâr nak-en. pa qarâri-wa tserang e?* (3) *awal-e bâr-ka šuk, niâl bu nawî, båd ta nawroz. še mây be šâx, đand – kere jer bu naware, wal-a-b kord ke (ka kord-ki bane). a-sawr kere-nye ter šuk.* (4) *jawzâ mây ka šuk, kere jer bu nase, ku-kordi-ne-b bane, wok bâr šawe. ka wáter se, jowâri-wa-b kari: a ka wátar šuk, toxom ta jowâri-b naware, tit-a-b ke. toxom ta jowâri-b tit ke, qolba pets bu nase, kere-b qolba ke, mâla-wa-b ke.* (5) *kok bu šospâr dzane, kok bu duspâr dzane. kere-ya ka karok-a, a-mây ta jawzâ kere-nye ter šuk – ta mard. arzâken kere-ki, ka saratân a-mây šuk (jawzâ, xo, ter šuk, saratân arzâk, a na?) saratâne-ne še šora ta xoy bu mard ke. še mây-ne-b ela kere barâbar ke, ka narm-a ke (kere taraf – kfô taraf bu barâbar ke). še mây kerey-ne-b ter se.* (6) *še mây bê-b xarmande-ne, juš, ter se, asad. sambola šodyâr-ne-b ter se. mizân ka arzâk, pets-di a-jowari karok se, draw se, ganum bu kešt se. i, xo, márd e-sar e, a na? aqrabe-ne ka šuk, ku-ywâši-b alisawi ta jowâri.* (7) *qawze-ne ka šuk, bázi-b ganom-ki wok aršawe, bázi-b ta xoy kere jer ner-ki ta zomak, ka pa kâr be erware bu, še jây-ne, ka yoš, bârân wažera nak-se, wal-a-b kob ke. kawa kere-nye ter šuk. jadi-ne-b pára yoš yori, dalw-a-b ge yoš yori. mard če šay? goy nawar! yoš arbel! wok aršer!* (8) *dzarka ka pa ayšat e. če šay bu ke? še – poxta: ka txan poxta kon! katex poxta kon! ka širwa ye yâ rizan e – kere poxta*

kon! a? ta xoy kere wórkay, ka nere-ne-wa paydâ šuke, kere-b sâti. se goy bu diše. ena kâr ta dzarka ye. bekâr dzarka na. ena še kâli-mâli-b yošawi, dreši-b ondrawi. bas xalâs.

(1) (Kh.O.: Is there any difference between a man's work and a woman's?) – There is, (they) are different. There is a difference [in occupations] between a man and a woman in that a man lives in harmony with God (lit. 'has found God') and displays hard work. But, if we consider a woman, (then) for her [such] an occupation (lit. 'work') has not been found. (2) (Kh.O.: Why, Jan?). Here is a man, just look [at his work] for a year (lit. 'yearly'). We have three winter months, for you, there is "no work" – they say: "It is winter [you know]". [But] even during that time we have no rest. What rest is there here? (3) From the beginning of spring they sow seedlings – after Nawruz (New Year). Then for one month [they are occupied] with ditches and channels [to retain water], they take earth [soil, clay], they make vegetable patches [a *kord* is a plot of ground banked up] – they put earth on the plot. [So] with this [activity] [the month of] Sawr has passed. (4) The month of Jawza has come – they take earth, put it on the plots, they water them in the spring. When [the soil] becomes moist, they sow maize: when it is moistened they take the maize seeds [and] scatter them. They scatter the maize seeds, take the plough again, plough them [into the earth], harrow it. (5) One man ploughs it three times, another – twice. They sowed it – in this men's [occupation] the month of Jawza has passed. We have come to the point when the month of Saratan has begun (Jawza has already passed, Saratan has begun, hasn't it?). In [the month of] Saratan a man fertilises [the earth]. The month levels it, so that [the earth] becomes soft. [Another] month passes in this [activity]. (6) [Another] month, you see, passes on the threshing floor – Asad. [The month] of Sonbola is spent ploughing. [The month] of Mizan has come – again they sow maize, they harvest, they sow wheat. And, you see, this [is the duty] of a man, is it not? [The month of] Aqrab has come – he piles up the green of the maize [in the hayloft]. (7) In the month of Qaws some water [the fields] of wheat, others take home clay (*jer*), which is useful in the winter, [they store it] somewhere, so that snow or rain cannot spoil it. The month of Qaws has passed in this activity. In the month of Jady it rains. In the month of Dalv it also rains. How about the man? Send the bull out! Shovel the snow away! Water the field! (8) The woman does not live to please herself. What does she do? Firstly she cooks: bake the bread! Cook the *katex* (a food like cheese). And? She brings up the children who have been born at home. She milks the cow. That is a woman's work. A woman is never without work. Now she is doing the washing, now she is making clothes. And that's all.

Text XXXI

– *bed tsun raqam e?*

– *bed? šo raqam. šo raqam bed e. še-di majnun bed e. majnun-bed ka bland bu tsawe, pets bu šaxči-wa dzom arzeye. a – še. še-di siyâbed e. siyâbed bu bland, konđay – konđay šaxči ke. neyâl-a drây-drây e, stor – stor e. lekin šaxči-wa konđay – konđay e, ka ta majnun-yondak bu dzom nak-erzâk inči. še-wa ye – moškbed. moškbed kok bu moškbed aryoše, kok bu sorxbed aryoše, afo duš kamdawâm e ... ka zot boy waxte-ne goyâ kere-ne-b kerm jây nase. a-b wuk se, a moškbed. leken niâl ka šer e (niâl ka šer e,*

juǰ), *ayera niǎli šer e. leken bǎfǎyz kere, ka ku máx-ki fǎyeda rasawi, arar bu zot rasawi. awal e-bǎre-ne, bǎd ta nawroz, kere še máy ta amale-ne a nawok se. wok-di nak-breše: ka wok-di broǰtok, eǰ ge nak-se.*

“How many types of willow are there?”

“Willow? Three types. One of them is *majnunbed* (the weeping willow). When it grows, the weeping willow, its branches hang down. That is one [type]. Another of them is *siyabed* (the black willow). The black willow is tall with thick branches. Its shoots are very long and very thick. Its branches, too, are huge; they do not hang down (lit. ‘cannot hang down’), like the weeping willow’s. Another one [type] is the *moskbed*. Some call it *moskbed* and some – the red willow. It [does not live] long, as some sort of worm very soon infests it. It withers, this *moskbed*. However, if it has good shoots (if the shoots are good, – pay attention (lit. ‘look’), then [also] all the trees [are] healthy (lit. ‘good’). However, the juniper (*arar*) yields the most benefit. They plant it (lit. ‘it is planted’) at the start of spring, after Nawruz, in the month of Hamal. It does not suffer from drought: [others] have dried up, [but] it is not used for anything.

Text XXXII

– *draxt tsun raqam e?*

– *draxt, xo: bed ge ye, sanǰet ge ye, juǰ? rima ge ye – spedǎr, arar ge ye – ǰangal ge ye, juǰ? raqam-raqam bu daryošim, ku-draxti. mewajǎti arzǎke: nǎk ge da ye, šaftǎlu ge da e, buyi ge da ye, sew ge da ye, anǎr ge da ye.*

“How many types of tree [have you in the garden]?”

“Trees: [this is] a willow, and a *sanǰet* tree – do you see it? [and] a poplar and a juniper – [complete] full grown, do you see? I am telling you about the types of tree [separately]. [Now the turn] of fruit has come: there are pears and there are peaches and there is a quince and there are apples and there are pomegranates.

Text XXXIII

(1) (Kh.O.: *bǎnǰǎn bu tsaraqam poxok kay?*) *bǎnǰǎn bu nasen, kapen-a bu, post-a-b ken, tafǎ-b ar-šuš ken. piyǎz beryǎn-a-b ken. (2) be-b še zara wok bu wǎne banen, kfo-b wažéra banen, šuš-a-b ken. halil-o kasir tafǎy-ne run-ne-b šuš se.*

(1) (Kh.O.: How do you cook aubergines?) We take the aubergines, cut, clean and fry them in butter with onion: we heat some butter, fry the onion. (2) Then we add a little water to it, put [the aubergines] on it, fry it. All this is fried [together] (lit. big and small) in the butter.

Text XXXIV

(1) (Kh.O.: *xarman xalás šuk-e yǎ yezok-e?*). *xodǎy, lǎlǎ-b yoše, ka mayda nak-šuk-e, máx bu yošen, ka mayda šuk-e. (2) (Kh.O.: be ganom yézok-e yǎ guǰi a ganom buk?) na, ganom-an xalás šuk-e. (3) (Kh.O.: panéǰta-di ayera-n ǰol dǎk-e ta xoy?). wǎya, ku-ayera-wa xalás dǎk-e. (4) (Kh.O.: mollǎ sǎyeb góda ye?). nawbat-že-b awdǎri ke.*

(1) (Kh.O.: Has the corn been gathered on to the threshing floor yet or has it remained [unharvested in the field]?). God knows, his father¹¹⁵ says that [the corn] has not been threshed yet, but we say that it has been threshed. (2) (Kh.O.: Is there more wheat [unharvested] or was there only this wheat?). No, [the harvesting] of our wheat has already finished. (3) (Kh.O.: Have you gathered all your own beyond this plot (lit. ‘from outside’)?). Yes, he (i.e. the boy’s father) has already finished [gathering]. (4) (Kh.O.: Where is the mullah sahib?). [Having waited for] his turn, he is letting water on to his plot (lit. ‘he is watering’).

Text XXXV

(1) (Kh.O.: *kadu-b tos bižay?*). *wāya, kadu-b tsarang saray poxta nak-ke?* (Kh.O.: *tsaraqam-a-b biže saray?*). *nase-wa-b, post-a-b ke, mayda-wa-b ke, tafay-ne-b šuš ke. be-b poxta se, be-b kfō xre.* (2) (Kh.O.: *gandana, xo, ge daray?*). *wāya, gandana darem. gandana-b nasen, draw-a-b ken, šora-b arbanen. afo-b bu rase.* (3) (Kh.O.: *ka draw-an dāk, yošaway afo-b?*). *wāya, ka draw-an dāk, be-b aglen, daryawe-ne pāk yošawen. be-b erwaren, mayda-wa-b ken, tafa-wa-b ken, šuš-a-b ken. be-wa-b pirakí ken, be-wa-b xren.* (4) (Kh.O.: *sew-an, xo, nak-póxok šuk-e?*) *na, kok poxta šuk-e, kok – nak-šuk-e: afo ka kerm dzoke, – afo poxta šuk-e, afo ka šer e – táza-táza ye, men šer poxta nak-šuk-e.* (5) (Kh.O.: *lálá su az piri góda wák kam?*). *man xodáy-ki an maalum e. xodáy, ka tu paydá ki yá nak-a ki paydá! afo su piri pabéga artsok be: awbaxče-že afo band-e bázak-ki artsok-e.* (6) (Kh.O.: *mollá abibullá goda ye?*). *walá kfo-di xabar nak-darim.*

(1) (Kh.O.: Are you cooking [some] pumpkin?) Who then is not cooking some pumpkin? (lit. ‘How then can a person not cook pumpkin?’) They take it, remove the skin, cut it into pieces, fry it in butter [with onion]. Then they braise it (lit. ‘it is fried’) [and] then they eat [it]. (2) (Kh.O.: Do you also have leeks?). Yes, we also have leeks. We take the leek, cut up [the leaves]. We put fertiliser [in the earth]. It is [already] ripening. (3) (Kh.O.: When you have cut [it], [before using it in food] do you wash it? Yes, when we have cut it, – after that we carry [it and] wash [it] clean in the river. Then we bring it, slice [it], heat some butter, fry it [in it]. Then we make *piraki* (little pies filled with vegetables) and eat [them]. (4) (Kh.O.: Have your apples not ripened yet?). No, some have already ripened, (but) some have not yet ripened (lit. ‘someone ... someone’): those which a worm has spoilt have already ripened, (but) those which are not spoilt by the worm (lit. ‘which are good’), are [still] completely green (lit. ‘quite fresh’), up to now they have not ripened as they should. (5) (Kh.O.: Where can I find uncle now?). God (alone) knows [where he is]. God [knows], whether you will find [him] or not. Now he, surely, has gone up: he has gone to the Bazak dam to irrigate [the plot of land] (lit. ‘to distribute water’). (6) (Kh.O.: Where is Mullah Habibullah?). By God, I know [nothing] about him [either].

¹¹⁵ The conversation takes place in the presence of a young boy, the son.

Text XXXVI (A tale)

(1) še pãčã buk. pãčã tar mãx, tar tos xodãý e. a pãčã klãn dronók. tsun waxt-a ka ter šuk, taré nere-ne še dúwa paydã šuk bã(d) ta klãn. a kere dúwa ta xoy nok, maktab-ne-wa banok. elem tare maktab-a kãmel wãžéra xalãs dãk. ka xalãs-a dãk, yók-a ka "píri az če rang kam?". (2) še qala-wa kere-ki banók. tãdaw-a ta gap beg dãk: an sar-tomadi kere-wa taxminan das meter yã åxt méter ta gap beg dãk. duka ta xoy wal ta qala e-mendze-ne nawók ka "tu ende bi!" wal-a draxt, hawz, ar šay jor dãk: mewá ge buk, hawz ge buk, kuŕí ge buk – če šay buk, ka tare duka pa kãr šuk. (3) a-pe-wa še kaftar-a åmoxta dãk buk. ka pe-wa če šay zarurat dronók, xat-a-b nawešta dãk, ta kaftar a-gardane-ne-wa-b tarók, endé-di-wa ela dãk, afo-b artsawok, kere qala-ye-méndze-ne-b nóstok. (4) dúka ta pãčã ka buk, afo-b erzák, kere kaftar-a-b nok, xat ta gardan-di-wa-b mok, kere-ya-b awók, če šay ta dúka ka pa kãr buk, afo-b arnawešta dãk, ka "iná šay tar mun pa kãr e". be-b afo kaftar parok, erzák bu ta pãčã e-arãmsrãyi-ki. be-b afóyin kere kaftar nok aw xat-a-b gardan-di-wa mok. awok-a bu, ka "a-šay tar mun ta dúwa pa kãr e". (5) xálak endé wãžéra xabar šuk, ka pãčã dúwa daré (aw) a-dúwa ta pãčã ta qala e-mendze-ne buk. ar saray pãčã-ki erzák, ka "tu dúwa der", afo-b yok, ka "az dúwa nak-darim. be-b ka tos yóšay, ka az dúwa darím, tsáway paydã-wa kay!" (xalak-ki mãlum buk, ka kere qala-y-ne ye). "še sar-di be sar-tomadi tos-ki taxfif e. tsaway paydã-wa-b kay!". (6) ayn bu xwãri dãk ... hala-ala-ala ... sar-tomadi, tare [qala] še gap wostawok nak-inčok. wostawok-a-b nák-inčok, sar-a pãčã kereyn dižok, ka "če rang-an dãk?" ayn bu yok-a, ka "paydã-n nak-dãk", "ála kere kalamonãr ar-kay!" tare a-nãm a-xunkãr-pãčã wotók. nafar bu, ka ar-erzák, (yok-a, ka) "goda ye?" – "paydã-wa kon!". erzák bu, ka "az bu kere dewãl yãr kam, alisim bu". afo-b, ka ar tsun xwãri dãk, dewãl-a yãr nak-inčok. gap buk. kere-ya-b ar-wolok, yaryara-wa-b dãk. (7) kereyn-ne buk-e, berãdar, ka tordaláy e (ta še saray a-nãm tordalay e). yok, ka "bača-wa dam ki, če rang kam? če rang kam?". (8) sar-e ŝo-di kere dewãl-ki ka časpok, ála-ála-ála, ta nemãž e-waxt-tómadi ku-še gap tare-b pets dãk. ta nomãž a-waxt ka šuk, a tižók. a tordalay xoy-gađi-wa fêker dãk, ka "az če šay kam? če rang kam, ka az kere dewãl yãr kam?". (9) a taraf, afo taraf gerzók. še gri-ki artsawók, ka še mãr-a paydã dak. afo mãr pa šuřmãr mařawúr e, ka pãy dari. beř-a nok. kere mãr e-kamare-ne beř-a tarok. kere-ya táqe-ne banok. táqe-ne banok, kere beř-a kař dãk, kař kãk, kař kãk. kere táqe-ne-wa ku-xoy beg dãk. (10) be roz ka šuk, řun blandtar-a kere banok. tãlim-a-b arřuk, ãn ka åmoxta se. ála-ála-ála, kere mãr-ki ku-xoy-a rasawók. beg šuk. (11) ge roz ka šuk, še řa pon buk, ta pon e-sar-ki-wa banók. ka banók-a, kere beř-a řa nok, xoltawók-a, ka dek-a, ka mãr mãkãm e. ende kere beř-a nok, ála-ála-ála, ta pon e-sar-ki beg šuk. (12) fekr-a dãk, ka "píri, xo, tar mun a-kãr raw žuk". a, ka raw šuk, ende-di-a nok, řo ka šuk, artsawók tare qala e-bex-ki, ka a-duka e-mendze-ne tare qala ye, – ta pãčã a-duwa. ende ka rasok, kere mãr-a nok, učit-a qulãž dãk: a dewãl ta qala kini du metãr bar dari, ta gap; a-sar-a ge das metãr. (13) kere-ya ka beg dãk, ta dewãl ta dewãl e-sare-ne banok, kere-ya řa xoltawok – keré mãr-a xoltawok – beř-a kař dãk. mãr ta xoy a-pãy kere dewãle-ne časpawók. ka časpawók-a, a pãy šuk, ka mãr mãkãm e. ende-di kere beř-a nok (mãkam nok), ala-ala-ala, ta qala e-sare-ne (for sar-ki) beg šuk.

(14) *Kh.O.:* a mâr bu ku-kok nak-xre?

Janbaz: a-b ku-kok nak-xre. a šušmâr e, a-b gazawi-nak. ende-di tse waxt šuk, ka motal-a dâk? ka ta nemâž a-waxt šuk, ta sar, ta pâčâ a-duwa ner-di ta xoy nayok, kuza-wa e-deste-ne, áwz-ki erzâk. a pabéga-di guša še gapak nok, guša arbanok kere awze-ne. (15) a taraf, afo taraf sayl dâk, ka "bača-wa dam ki! a če šay buk, ka ende kere woke-ne aryóxtok?" be-wa yok, ka "xodây! če šay buk?". (16) be-wa ta xoy ku-kuza dzom dâk, ka đak-a ke, be a še gap now ša arbanok, a yok, ka "wallâ! xo, če šay ye, ar šay, ka ye?" a taraf, afo taraf sayl dâk: eč málum nak-arse. a tordalay ta dewâl e-sare-ne ye. be gašta ku-tse dzom dâk? – kuza ta xoy, ka awdas-ki wok nawáre. be gap arbanok. ende wâžera yok, ka "ar šay on? ka bani ádam on? ka ens on? ka jenn on? tar mun a-rafiq on? erzey! tu kok on?". (17) aryok, ka "az na jend om, na pari yom. az tordalay om, ta xordkábol om, ta bewazan a-klân om". a ende-di dzom šuk, tordalay dzom šuk. artsókin, ta pâčâ e-dúwa-qađi-wa extelât-extelât dâk, ka kaftar arzâk [ta] pâčâ e-taraf-di. kaftar arzâk, endé nóstok. a-dúka kere kaftar nok, kere xat-a gardan-di-wa mok, ker(e)-ya awok. (18) a desti nok, še xat-a nawešta dâk (xat-a ta xoy pe-ki nawešta dâk): ka "xata kay xam buk, – xarbuza šuk. čâku-wa ge gušâ wané(ra) wotok. éna poxta šuk. taré-a lázém če šay e?" (ta xoy pe-ki nawešta dâk. ena mesâl-a á yok, ka "az, xo, piri-tomadi xâm bukom, xata kay bukom, piri xarbuza šúkome"). (19) a endi-di xat-a nawešta dâk ta xoy pe-ki. kere-wa ta kaftar e-gardan-ne tarók. a kaftar artsawok, arâmsarây-ne nóstok. pâčâ dest drây dâk, kere kaftar-a nók, ku-xát-a gardan-di mók. ... ka mók-a, a kere xat-a awók, ende-di a pâčâ poy šuk: "tar mun a-dúwa-b máli žayi". (20) desti xat-a nawešta dâk, ka "tu xâyěš dâke ta máli. tu ku-máli déke?". alyóke: "wáye, máli-m ku-mun-qađi šejây nóstoke". (21) sabâ ka šuk, amr-a dâk, ka "kere dewâl-e gapi berân kay!" kere-wa nok, berân-a dâke. darwâza-wa wâne(ra) kapók. pâčâ ka aliyok, juže bu, ka a-duwa-wa še jowangađi nóstoke. a-pâčâ fekr dâk: "bača-wa dam ki! kere če rang kam?". (22) erzâk, ku-tordalay-a ge erwólok. tordalay alyok, ka "tu-b yok, ka "az duwa nak-darim". éna tar tu a-dúwa az paydá dâk. a wâad-at ka dâke, kufó-wa rasew!" ende-di â-pâčâ pa qâr šuk, ka "na, "erzey kere tordalay wožnawe!". (23) a-wazir-o a-wakili ayn alyok, ka "na, tu-b, ka kere wožnew, sabâ-b dawlate-ne badnâm son. na, tu ša kâr kon, ka kere-ki tu šart gon, ka "tar mun a-šo šart ye. kere tu pa jây kon, ka az ku-tu-ki ta xoy ku-duwa daršam". aryok: doróst ye. (24) ku-tordalay pâčâ žayok, ta xoy a-duwa ge žayok, ka "šer! tu, xo, tar mun a-dúwa paydá dâk, lékin tar mun a-duwa šo šart be ge darí. še šart-am-at pa jây dâk, šo šarti be ge pa jây kon! kere šo šart-at ka pa jây dâk, az bu ku-tu-ki ku-dúwa ta xoy daršam". (25) aryok bu, ka "zot šer e! raw eryoš!" (tordalay aryok, ka "raw yoš ku-mun-ki, ka az bu ta xoy a-šart pa jây kam"). "tar mun a-awal šart ená ye ka tu ta akbar-pâčâ... (še pâčâ ye, akbar-pâčâ nám-a ye) tafó ku-xazâna ku-mun-ki erwar, a dawlat-a, a-rupéi-wa". (26) a yok: "šer". ende-di ráyi šuk, ála-alá. ta pâčâ e-duwa-ki-wa yok: "az bu tsam. az bu (e)rzeyom, der bu nak-kam. juž, ka wârxatâ nak-so!" a yok-ka: "šer". (27) ende-di ráyi šuk. artsok ... ala-ala-ala, ka ta akbar-pâčâ e-žâr-ki rasok. ende še daryáw e, ka tar máx, tar tos, tare daryaw- [yondak], ka a taraf-[ta] akbar-pâčâ a-žâr e, afo taraf – ta xoy xálak e. arzâk ende-ki, [ta] pol e-sar-[že] darok. "če waxt e? mážâm e. daryaw ge mast e. be ta pol bu ge kok ter nak-se". (28) payradâr-ki zâk. payradâr yók: "goda-b tso?" yok: "ta akbar-pâčâ e-žâr-ki tsam". a aryok, ka "tu kočwâlâ yon yâ bekoč

on?" arýok, ka "na, bekoč om". ýoše bu, ka "máx bu ku-bekočwálá kok nak-gen. pa ar ráy, ka arzákone, pets tso!". (29) ša pabega artsawok, ka tare daryaw e-zey-ne-b júxe ša lox daroke – pa qodrat-e xodáy! – ka mak-kon poxtena! a-b nay-a nok, šo geđay-a draw dák. kere awwal geđay-a kere daryawe-ne banok. če rang ka ta akbar-páčá e-kere xár-ki (a)rzák, pabega-di ta top-o mášindár-o malteý a-wár šuk. fayr-a wážera šuk – eč ge nak-buk. (30) kere be-wa petsa-di-wa banok. a-payradári ýoše-b: če šay e? siyáyi ye? man ku-tse ken? ýon-a nak-kon! kere-že ke kártúsi ge xarý ken bemonáseb?". (31) a kere šowom geđay-sar ta nay ka nóstok, rásán artsawok. ta akbar-páčá e-xár-ki rasok, ka xazána buk. awal dzom šuk kere geđay-a wotok ta nay. ala-ala-ala, xwári-wa dák, dák, dák. kere dewál-a ýár dák. artsawok, dáman-a ta xoy e-rope-di-(y)a – ar šay ka buk, ta akbar páčá e-xazána-ne – ku-dáman-a dak dák. pets arzák keré geđay-sar nóstok. (32) a taraf ka ter šuk daryaw-di, arzák páčá-ki, ka "éna hay ta akbar-páčá a-dawlat, ka tu ku-mun-di žayok buk". ende a ýok, ka "piri če rang kam? ker(e)wa, xo, erwólok"; ýoše-b: "na, a gaštá tso pets, berádar, ku-mun-ki do xešt ta tellá, ta akbar páčá, erwar!" be (a)r-zák ta páčá e-duwa-ki. ýok-a ta xoy nák-ki, ka "az bu tsam, a gaštak ásán e. eč warxatá mak-so, raw bu (a)rzéyom". (33) be wal-di ka ráyi šuk, arzák. máxám kere pol-ki rasok. endé payradár nák-wotok. tordalay arýok, ka "az kočwálá yom". ýoše-b, ka "kočwálá ýá bekočwálá – tare párak ka ta akbar-páčá xazána ýal dzók-e, ku-kok bu xár-ki wáne(ra) – panéxta nak-gen". (34) pets arzák-e. be ende kere náye-ki, darók-e .. ala-ala-ala, kere-ya draw dák-e, be-wa šo geđay tayár dák-e. ende ka (a)rzak, ka še geđay-a banók-e, be pabega-di [ta] malteý-o ta top-o mášindár-a fayr šúk-e, bambarí šúk-e. ka júxe-b: éna ýrás náyi padzóma-ki-b dange. ayn šer fekr dák: "a če šáy e?" ýoše-b: "wallá! eč ge nak-e". (35) dowomín á petsa-di banok. šer-an ša fekr dák, ka "na, a, xo, še, qiyá ye, ter bu se daryawe-ne. če ýalat šúken-e". (36) kere šowomin-ne be suwár šuk ... ka suwár šuk, erzák, erzák. be gašta afo xár-ki rasok kere wóke-ne. ka (a)rzák, ende a-bege-ne ku-nay-a wótok. kere jáy be ýár dák. artsawok. šo xešt ýá do xešt ka ta tellá buk, kfo-wa ta xoy dámane-ne nok. gují kere ýár-di nayok. kere naye-sar nóstok. pets arzák, daryaw-di ter šuk. kere-wa xun-kár-páčá-ki banok: "a ta akbar-páčá ye, a xešt". (37) [afó ýok]: "bača-wa dam ki! guša a, xo, ge nak-šuk! xo, a gašt tso – ena šart tar mun yezok-e – ta akbar-páčá ta nák a-kawči su ku-mun-ki erwar!" a ýok: "šer e". pets arzák-e, ta xoy kere nák-ki-wa ýok-e, ka "a gašt tar mun-o tar tu a-didan nak-da ye". ýok, ka "če rang?" – "a saxt didan šuk, taré párak, ka a šart-a saxt šuk". (38) ende--di ka artsawók, be-wa kere daryawe-ne kere lox banok. endé-di ráyi šuk, ta akbar-páčá e-xár-ki rasok. ende be payradár nák-wotok. be-wa lóxi ta xoy draw dák. kere še lox-a banok, kere be-wa banok, kere be-sar suwár šuk. (39) be kere ýár-ki ka artsawok buk, xodáy-ki ýoš, keré ýár-ki barábar dák. a-wár ka kere xazána ýár dák, wal artsawak. ka júxe bu: akbar-páčá-wo a-nák-a še čárpáyi-sar xaw dák-e. a ýok, ka "piri če rang kam?" áxer nak-šuk, dest-a ta xoy jibe-ne dák, qa(y)či-wa nawólok. kere kawči-wa ta akbar ta páčá ta nák nok, – káčkači-wa dák. (40) kere-wa, ka qači dák, a ende-di nayók, ku-ráy-a ýalat dák, ... ka "az pa tsen ráy arzákom?" a, ka ráy-a ýalat dák, kučay-ne sam šuk. ka wal še zariyak spok-e bekára buk, afó pa yaw-yaw šuk. payradár desti dangok, kere-wa mákam [nok], ku-tordalay-a nok. (41) ku-tordalay-a ka nok, awál-a páčá-ki rasawok, ka "ena hay! ende kere dawlate-ne, ka ar tsun ýle šuk buk kere xár tar tu-di, ku-ýal-an nók-e". ýoše-b: "tos-

a sar-ki sâtay!'. (42) sar ka šuk, ku-tordalay-a žayok, "čerang-at yle dâk? tordalay ta xoy ku-aqiqat-o arâxa yok, ka "eni ša: az ta xunkar-pâčâ e-dúwa-sar âšoq bukom. afo ku-mun-ki ša yok, ka "tu tso, ta akbar-pâčâ ku-dawlat ku-mun-ki arwar! šo šart pa jây kon!" axer šart-a enâ buk, ka tar tu ta nâk a-qawči buk. ka xodâwand-e âlam rây ku-mun-di yalat dâk, az be kuča-ki aliyokom. ena spok tar tos yaw-yaw-a dâk. payradâr ku-mun nok. wâya, yle az dâk-e inpâré šo šart. (43) [afo] yok, ka "kere siyâčây-ne banây! tare kâr bu ken". tsun waxt a siyâčây-ne buk.

ende-di tare xunkâr-pâčâ, ta xunkâr-pâčâ ta dúwa piri qesa-wa-b ken. ksi-wa-b ken. ta xunkâr-pâčâ a-dúwa ta xoy pe-ki arzâk, ka "o pe! tar mun a-saray tu kots dâk?". (44) afo aryok, ka "tar tu a-saray, xo, mólók-e, zinda nak-e". a-dúwa aryok, ka "na, pe, az bu qattân-at bu nak-gam, ka tar mun ku-saray nak-aršer". âxer aryok-e, ka "tar tu a-saray ta akbar-pâčâ e-bandi-xânay-ne ye. be góda nak-e".

(45) a yok, ka "šer". ende-di yâsp-sar suwâr šuk ... ala-ala-ala, ka wal-ki rasok. moĵarrâde ka a ta xunkâr-pâčâ dúwa-b rasé, ku-tordalay-a siyačâ-di nawólok-e, amr ta yaryara-wa dâk-e ...

(46) yaryara-wa nak-dâk-e, spok-a dâk-e. Akbar-pâčâ yok, ka "yaryara-wa mak-kay! spok-a kay" tare zot dewâna spok búke. akbar-pâčâ ku-saray-a-b ka darawok, ela-wa-b dâk. ku-tordalay ende darawóke, berâdar, kfo taraf-di-b ku-spok ela ke. še sâte-ne-wa-b toĵa-toĵa dâk, xolok-a-bu.

(47) ende-di ta xunkâr-pâčâ a-dúwa dest beg dâk-e xodây-ki, ka "e xodây! tu kere spok ta xoy mendze-ne âyošta ki, ka ta xoy mendze-ne sará xre, ka tordalay xalâs se". tare a-sawâl xodây qabul dâke, ta xoy mendz-e-ne sará čangaw šukin-e. (48) a destí ku-yâsp dangawók-e. tordalay-ki aryoke, ka "suwâr son!" afoyn ta xoy mendze-ne jang dâk. a ku-tordalay ta xoy pošte-ne suwâr dâk, – ta xunkar-pâčâ a-dúwa.

(49) ka tsun waxt-a berâdar, pets ta xoy pâčâyí-ki rasawok. ta xoy pe-ki-wa yok, ka "ena a-saray-am e". wal-a desti ku-mollâ žayók. nekâ-wa tarok. xodây tafo ku-morâd wal alšawon, tar mâx – endé.

(1) There was a king. Our king and your king [for you] is a god. This king had a son. Some time passed; a daughter appeared in his home after the son. He took the girl and sent her to school; he instructed her in all scholastic subjects. When he had instructed her, he said: “(And) what shall I do now?”. (2) He built a fort for her with a foundation of stone: he built it to the [very] top, about ten or eight metres. He put his daughter in the fort, [saying]: “Live here” (lit. “you sit here!”). He [planted] trees there, built a pool and everything else: there were fruit trees there, and there was the pool and there was the palace – all that his daughter needed.

(3) Her father tamed a dove. When a need arose, he wrote her a letter, attached it to the dove’s neck (and) let it go from there. It flew (and) settled in the fort.

(4) The king’s daughter, she would take the dove, detach the letter from the dove’s neck (and) read it. The daughter used to write to him about everything that she needed: “I need this (lit. ‘here is this thing’). Then that dove would fly (and) arrive in the king’s rooms.

They (i.e. the king) then would take the dove, detach the letter from its neck [and] read: “This is what my daughter needs”.

(5) The people knew that the king had a daughter and that the princess was to be found (lit. ‘was’) in the fort. Each person, when he came to the king, [would say]: “You have a daughter”; he [then] replied: “I have no daughter. And if you say that I have a daughter, then go and find her!”. (The people knew that (she) was in this fort). “From this morning to the next morning – that is your time limit (lit. ‘indulgence’). Go and find her!”.

(6) They suffered many torments till the morning, but they could not [ever] move (lit. ‘lift’) even one stone [of the wall] of her fort. They could not move [them]. In the morning the king came [and asked]: “How are you getting on?”. They answered: “We have not found [her]”. – “Then make a minaret of their heads!” [the king ordered]. [After that] he was called the blood-shedding king (i.e. bloody king). [And again], when a man came to him [and asked]: “Where is she?”, [he would say:] “Find her!” [This one] came [thinking]: I will make a hole in the wall [and] go in”. But, however much he strove, he could not make a hole in the wall, for it was of stone (lit. ‘was stone’). He was taken [to the king] and hanged on the gallows.

(7) Among them, brother, was Turdalay. [This] is the name of a man – Turdalay. He said: “A curse on him! (lit. ‘cast a spell on his son!’). What shall I do? What is to be done?!”

(8) Although he [apparently] stuck to this wall from night, [nevertheless] by (morning) prayers he had moved only one stone. When the time came for [performing] the prayers, he fled. Turdalay thought to himself: “What am I to do? How am I to make a hole in this wall?”

(9) He rushed in this and that direction. [Finally] he went up a mountain, where he found a snake. This snake is known [by the name of] “shushmar” (monitor lizard), as it has legs. He took a rope, tied it to the snake (and) threw it into a recess [in the wall of the fort]. He threw it into the niche [and] began to pull and pull and pull this rope. He pulled himself into this niche.

(10) When the next day came, he threw it (the snake) a little higher. He trained the snake until it became tame. [Then again] he pulled himself to the snake. [And at last] he got up [on to the wall].

(11) When the next day began – (there) was a sort of roof – he threw it (the snake) on to the roof. When he threw it, he took the rope thus – twisted it until he could see that the snake [was holding on] firmly. Then he took the rope and so climbed on to the roof.

(12) He thought: “ Now my affair has gone well”. When (it) had gone well, he took [it] and went from here, when night fell, to this fort, where the girl was, the king’s daughter. When he came here, he took the snake and threw it up high: for the wall of (this) fort is about two metres thick, made of stone, and ten metres high.

(13) When he had picked it (the snake) up, he threw (it) onto the top of the wall and so he twisted it (twisted this snake), pulled the rope. The snake clung fast to the wall with its feet. When it clung fast, he knew that the snake was holding tight. He took the rope, grasped it firmly [and] – so – so – so – raised himself onto the top of the fort.

(14) X.O.: “Won’t the snake eat anyone?”

D.B.: “No, it will not eat anyone; it is a monitor lizard; it does not bite anyone. How long has passed since that time, while he waited? – When the time came [to perform] the morning prayers, the king’s daughter came out of her house, came to the pool with a pitcher in her hand. He took a pebble from the top, threw it into the pool.

(15) [The princess] looked all round (lit. ‘in this direction – that direction’), [exclaiming]: “Damnation! Whatever was it that fell into the water? [Then] she said again: “O God, whatever was it?” (16) Again [she] let down the pitcher to fill it [with water and] again another stone fell near her. She said: “O God! What can it be? But there is something”. [Again] she looked in this and that direction: nothing was to be seen. [But] Turdalay [during this time] is on the wall. Once more what did she let down? – her pitcher – to collect water for washing. He threw another stone at her. She said to him up there: “Whoever you are – of a human tribe, man [or] jinn, [or] my friend, come! Who are you?” (17) He said to her: “I am neither a jinn nor a peri. I am Turdalay, from Khord-Kabul [a district of Kabul], the son of a widow”. He let himself down [from the wall]. They went, he struck up a conversation with the king’s daughter [and continued it], until the dove flew in from the king. The dove arrived, (it) perched here. The king’s daughter took the dove, detached the letter from its neck, read it. (18) She immediately wrote a letter (wrote a letter to her father): “A little melon was unripe – it became a [ripe] melon, a knife was plunged deep into it. Lo, (it) has ripened. What does it need now?” ([Thus] she wrote to her father; she drew [this] example: [she said], up to now I have been unripe, I was a little melon, but now I have become a melon).

(19) [And so] she wrote from here a letter to her father, attached it to the dove’s neck. The dove flew (and) perched in the king’s rooms. The king stretched out his hand, took this dove, detached the letter from [its] neck. When he had detached [it], he read the letter. From it the king understood: “My daughter wants to get married”. (20) He immediately wrote a letter [in reply]: “You wanted to get married. But have you seen a husband yet?” [The princess] answered him: “Yes, my husband is sitting next to me”. (21) When morning came, [the king] ordered [TurDALay]: “Demolish this wall [the fort]!” He went [and] demolished it. He dug a pathway through it. When the king went out [from his rooms], he sees: his daughter sitting with some young man. The king thought: “Damnation! What shall I do?” (22) [The king] came, Turdalay was also brought. Turdalay said to him: “You said: ‘I have no daughter’. See, I have found your daughter. Now keep the promise that you made”. At this the king became enraged. “No, better now to kill this Turdalay!” (23) [His] ministers and advisers said to him: “No, if you kill him, tomorrow you will be disgraced in [your] country. No, do this: set him a condition. [Say to him]: “I have three conditions. You must fulfil them for me to give you my daughter”. He [TurDALay] said: “Done!” (lit. “Correct”). (24) The king summoned Turdalay and summoned his daughter also. [He said:] “Very well. You found my daughter, but my daughter has three more conditions. You have fulfilled [only] one condition of mine. Fulfil [all] three conditions. When you have fulfilled these three conditions, I will give you my daughter”. (25) He said to him: “Very good! Tell me more quickly!” (TurDALay

said to him: “Tell me more quickly, so that I may perform what is required”) (lit. your conditions). [The king said to him:] “This is my first condition: Bring me the treasury of Akbar Pacha (there is [a certain] king, his name is Akbar Pacha) [all his] wealth, money”. (26) He said: “Right” [and] set off thence on his way. He said to the king’s daughter: “I am going away, [but] I shall come [soon], I shall not stay long (lit. “I shall not detain [you]”). Look, don’t be upset!” She said: “All right”. (27) [And he] left there. He walked and walked until he reached the town [of Akbar Pacha]. Here the river [is like] our, your [or] his river.¹¹⁶ On this side is the town of Akbar Pacha [himself], on that side is that of his subjects (lit. ‘his people’). He came here, stopped by the bridge. [He thought:] “What is the time (now)? It is [already] evening. [But] the river is [like] a lunatic (lit. a drunk); without a bridge no one could cross. (28) He went up to the sentry. The sentry said: “Where are you going?” (He) said: “I am going to the town of Akbar Pacha”. (The sentry) said to him: “Are you a nomad or not a nomad?” (He) said to him: “No, I am not a nomad”. (The sentry) [also] says: “We do not admit non-nomads. By which route (lit. ‘by whichever route’) you have come, return by it!”

(29) (He) began to get up, [when suddenly] he sees – on the other bank of the river (there are) such [thickets] of reed that – my God! – [better] not to ask!

He went and cut the reeds [into] three rafts [lit. ‘three bundles’]. He let (lit. ‘threw’) the first [empty] raft go down the river. As soon as (it) floated to the town of Akbar Pacha, it was fired upon from above from cannon, guns, muskets. They opened fire on it – all in vain (lit. ‘it was nothing’). (30) He let a second [raft of reeds] go immediately after this one. The sentries say [one to another]: “Whatever is that? Something black?” What shall we do? It [surely] is not worth any attention. Why waste bullets on it?”

(31) When he got on to the third raft of reeds, he floated at once (and) reached the town of Akbar Pacha, where (its) treasury was. First, he got off [from the raft], put this raft of reeds [on the bank]. And for a long time he toiled: he made a hole in this [town] wall. He went, he filled the skirts [of his clothing] with money – with everything that was in the treasury of Akbar Pacha. He came back, got onto this raft. (32) He floated across the river to this side, came to the king: “Here is (all) the wealth of Akbar Pacha, which you demanded of me”. Then he [the king] said [to himself]: “What shall I do now? [For] he has brought this [the money of Akbar Pacha]”. [And lo] he says [to Turdalay]; “No, this time, brother, go back, bring me two bars of gold from Akbar Pacha. He said: “Very well”. Again he went to the king’s daughter. He said to his [future] wife: “I am going away. This time [it will be] easy. Don’t worry! I will soon come back.

(33) He set off again from there. He arrived. In the evening he approached this bridge. (And) here the sentry stopped him. Turdalay said to him: “I am a nomad”. [And he] says: “Whether [you are] a nomad or not, (but) as the treasury of Akbar Pacha has been stolen, we do not let anyone into the town or out of it”.

¹¹⁶ The storyteller is thinking of the river Logar, in the valley of which this recording took place (V.E.). Kh. Ormur was present at the recording.

(34) He came back; he again stopped before [the thickets of] reed. He cut some of it, again made three rafts. When he came here [to the bank] (and) let it go [down the river], one raft was again shot at from above from guns, cannon and ordnance (and) showered with bombs. [The guards] again see – something black (here: ‘black reed’) is floating down [with the current]. They thought as follows: “Whatever is that?” “By God, – they say – it is nothing after all”. (35) [Then] he let the second raft go [down the river]. They [again] thought as follows: “No, it is [some sort of] grass floating down the river! [Earlier], it seems, we were mistaken”. (36) [Turdalay] got on to the third [raft]. He got on, floated and floated and for the second time he arrived in that town on this river. When he arrived, he laid his raft (here ‘the reed’) on the bank (lit. ‘above’). He again made a hole here [in the wall]. He went [into the town]. He took two or three gold bars into his skirt hem. He went out through exactly the same hole. He got on to the raft of reeds. He floated back. He went across the river. He brought (here: ‘laid’) them [i.e. the gold bars] to the “blood-shedding” king; “These are the [gold] bars of Akbar Pacha”. (37) [The latter exclaimed]: “Damnation! Again it has not worked out! Right, this time get going – [this is] my [last] remaining condition – and bring me a lock of hair [from the head] of the wife of Akbar Pacha!” [Turdalay] said: “Very well”. He went back, [but before that] he said to his [future] wife: “This time we shall not meet again”. (She) said: “Why?” – “It is difficult to meet, because this condition of his is a very difficult one.” (38) And so he went away, again threw [a raft of] reed into the river. He set off, reached the town of Akbar Pacha. Here the sentry again did not allow [him into the town]. [Then] he again cut himself some reeds [for three rafts]. One raft (here ‘reed’) he let go [down the river], he let a second go, but [he himself] got on to the other one.

(39) When he went again to the hole [in the wall], praise God (lit. ‘speak [thanks] to God’), [that] he had again guided him [directly] to the hole. (And) this time, when he had made an opening into the treasury, he entered (lit. ‘went’) there. He sees: Akbar Pacha is asleep in bed with his wife. He said [to himself]: “What am I to do now?” Nothing remained but to put his hand in his pocket; he pulled out the scissors. He took hold of a lock of hair of Akbar Pacha’s wife (and) cut it off.

(40) When he had cut (it and) got out of there, he lost his way: “By which road did I come [here]?” When he lost his way, he found himself in [a] street. When a small stray dog appeared (lit. ‘was’) there, it began to bark [at him]. Immediately a guard ran up, arrested him – seized Turdalay.

(41) When he had seized Turdalay, he reported to the king about him: “Here he is (lit. ‘here it is’)! Here, in this realm, in which so much has been stolen from your town, we have caught the thief!”

[Akbar Pacha] says: “Guard him till morning!”

(42) When morning came, he demanded of Turdalay: “How did you commit the theft?” Turdalay told him the whole truth: “This is how: I was in love with the daughter of the “blood-shedding” king. He said this to me: ‘Go and bring me the riches of Akbar Pacha! Fulfil three conditions’. His last condition was this – [to cut off] a lock [from the head] of your wife. As the ruler of the world made me lose my way, I found myself on a different

road and then your dog began to bark [at me] (and) the guard arrested me. Yes, I committed the theft just because of these three conditions [of the king]”.

(43) [Akbar Pacha] said: “Throw him into a pit (lit. ‘into a black well’). We will deal with him”. For some time he was in the pit.

Then [again] let us tell of the “blood-shedding” king, of the king’s daughter. Let us speak of her.

The daughter of the “blood-shedding” king went to her father: “Father! What have you done with my man?”

(44) He answered her: “Your man has already died, he is dead (lit. ‘not alive’). The daughter said to him: “No, father, I am determined not to leave you [in peace] until you return my man to me”.

In the end he told her: “Your man is in Akbar Pacha’s prison. [He] is nowhere else”.

(45) She said: “All right [then]”. She immediately mounted a horse. And galloped [and] galloped [until] she got there. During this time, while the “blood-shedding” king’s daughter was getting there, Turdalay was pulled out of the pit [and] the order was given to hang him.

(46) [But], it seems, they did not string him up on the gallows, – they gave him to the dog to be torn to pieces. Akbar Pacha said: “Do not hang him (but) give him to the dog”.

He (Akbar Pacha) had a very fierce dog.

When Akbar Pacha stood (this) man (Turdalay) [before him], he released it [from the chain]. [And look], brother, they stood Turdalay [before Akbar Pacha], and from that direction they [already] let the dog go.

For an hour it tore him to pieces, it bit (here: ‘ate’).

(47) Then the “blood-shedding” king’s daughter raised her hands to God: “O God! Set this dog on the others, so that they will devour one another (and) so that Turdalay will be freed.”

God heard (lit. ‘approved of’) her request (lit. ‘question’). [The dogs] seized one another.

(48) She immediately urged the horse on. She said to Turdalay: “Come up!” And they (the dogs) began to fight among themselves. She mounted Turdalay [on the horse] behind her. (49) After a while, brother, she brought him back to her realm. She said to her father: “Here is my man!” Then he immediately called the mullah, performed the betrothal. May God grant their wish there and ours here.

Text XXXVII

(1) *nâm-um mâmad e, wurmur, ta akbar a-klân um. ta taqi ta qala-ne-m tawallod šük.*
 (2) *az šawk ta muřarwâni drunuk, ka az kre yâd nâsem. az ka duřak stor šükum, kre qesme-ne y^wařtakum, kre-m yâd nok. ku-waxt tâ pirna-m (<piri-tom-nak-um) bu muřarwâni dâk. pîri pa nisbat ta besarparasti ta ner kfo qesm-um ela dâk, pîri ner-ne yum.*

(1) My name is Mamad. [I] am an Ormur, son of Akbar. I was born in the fort of Taki. (2) [From childhood] I dreamt of learning to drive cars (lit. ‘had an inclination for driving vehicles, to learn that’). When I grew up a little, I was in this profession, I learnt it. I have been driving cars up to now. Now, not having to think about farming (here: ‘about the house’), I have left that profession. Now I [am] at home.

Text XXXVIII

(1) *az bu píri deqání kem. kórđi-ki bu wok aršérem. afo ka watar šük, kfo-b qolba kem, be-wa-b mála kem.* (2) *be-b tóxəm wáne dzánem. be-wa-b qulba kem, be-b mála kem, be-b wok aršérem. a ka stor-stor šük, be-b wok aršérem.* (3) *kre-b draw kem. be-wa-b tol kem. kre-b irwárem, mayda-wa-b kem. be-wa-b bád kem. be-wa-b yalbel kem.* (4) *be-wa-b ner-ki irwarem. be-wa-b pák kem. be-wa-b ásyá-ki aqlem.* (5) *mâr-a-b kem, irwárem-a bu ner-ki. be-wa-b kanđu-ne jáy kem. kre-b řur ken. kre-b bižén, kre-b be xren.*

(1) Now I am occupied with agriculture (lit. ‘with farming’). I irrigate plots of land (fields). When it [the land] has become moist, I plough and then harrow it. (2) Then I throw seeds onto it. Then I plough them in [and] again harrow [and] again give water. When it [the wheat] has grown, I again water [the field]. (3) [Then] I reap it, gather it in. I bring it [to the threshing-floor], thresh [it]. Then I winnow it. Then I sift it through a *galbel* (sieve, bolter). (4) Then I bring it home. I winnow it again. Then I clean it [of straw dust]. Then I take it to the mill. (5) I grind it, bring it home. I put [it] in an earthen or wooden vessel – a *kandu*. From it [i.e. from the flour] we knead dough, bake [and] eat [the bread].

Text XXXIX

(1) *máx ka mâr nawúlak, xamirá-b nasen, tsangál-a-b ken. mâr bu řur ken.* (2) *mâr-an ka řur dák, be-b yor řilawén. yor-an ka sáf dák, bád tafo-b tandur pák ken, mâr bu zyála ken.* (3) *zyála-n ka dák, tandur-ne-wa-b dzánen, tandur bu šuš ken. tandur-ne-wa-b dzánen, bižén-a-bu. tandur-di-wa-b nawáren, be-wa-b xren.*

(1) When we have got the flour, we take yeast, we knead it. With the flour we make dough (*mar xur dak*). (2) We have made the dough – we light the fire. The fire is smokeless (lit. ‘we have cleansed the fire’) – after this we clean the *tandoor* (the oven built in the ground), we divide the dough (lit. ‘the flour’) into portions. (3) We have divided into pieces – we temper (*shush dak*) the *tandoor*, we stick [the dough rolled out into a flat cake] to [the wall] of the *tandoor*, we bake it. [Then] we take it [the flat cake] out of the *tandoor*, then we eat it.

Text XL

(1) *goy bu ka máx dúšen, tafo a-řipi-b nasen, tok-a-b ken. kfo-n ka tok dák, ku-b še das – řistu daqıqa níwen.* (2) *bád tafo-b kfo-ne še qášuq tópi banen. be-b sar-a pets pəř ken. še ř^wa ka kfo-že ter šük, pa sár bu a pikak se.* (3) *ku-pikak bu be řag-ne banen. ku-řag bu sar-a tarén, ku-b xawawén, ku-b xultawén, bád tafo-b a tópi se.* (4) *kre-n ka pets xáli dák, afo sar-a-b tol ken, maska-wa-b tol ken. bád tafo-b maska-wa wok ken. kre-di bu*

run se. kre-b ge xren. (5) tópi-wa-b ge xren. tópi-wa-b be tok ken. ún ka tok dák, još b-aršéren. afo-b xoy saxt ke: wok-a-b še taraf-ki se, a-spewí-wa be taraf-ki. (6) ku-wok-a-b i-dal ken, kfo-gađi-b nemek gađ ken. kfo-b ge qurut joř ken. xipi-di-b paner joř ken.

(1) When we milk a cow, we take its milk and warm it (*tok dak*). We have warmed it, we let it stand (lit. ‘we stand it’) for about ten to twenty minutes. (2) After this we add to it a ladle of buttermilk, then we cover it again. The night passes – by morning there is thick soured milk (*pikak*). (3) Then we pour the soured milk into an earthenware vessel with handles (*jag*). We tie up the jug on top, [then] we shake it; after this *topi* is obtained. (4) When we have drained (emptied) it [the jug], we collect the cream (*sar*), the butter (*maska*) from it. After this we melt the butter. From it we make melted butter (*run*), we eat it. (5) We drink the *topi* also. We warm up the *topi*. As soon as we have warmed it, we boil it. It thickens up; the whey separates from the curds (lit. ‘the whey – wok – in one direction, the white clots – *spewi* – in the other). (6) We pour off the whey, add salt, make *qurut* (cheese dried in a round shape). From the milk we [also] make cheese (*paner*).

Text XLI

(1) še kar saray ta še mariz i-puřtana-ki altsawok. a kar bu yoše, ka "az kire-ki-b alyošim, ka "tsarang on? a-b reyoše, ka "píri šir um". az bu alyošim, ka "alhamdulillah, šükər, ka šir on". (2) be alyošim, ka če šay bu xron?". afo-b yoše, ka "parezana ya širwá". az kire-ki alyošim, ka "noš-i jân-at". (3) be alyošim, ka "tabib-at kok e? a-b reyoše, ka "tabib-um flâni ye". az bu yošim, ka "ilâyi, šükər! qadam-a xudây mubârak ki". (4) a-kar ta xoy zli-ne-wa a-swâl-u juwâb-a zut tkrâr dák. altsawok, mariz-gađi nâstak. mariz-ki-wa alyok, ka "tsarang on?" mariz alyok: "az bu mrem". afo alyok: "ilâyi, šükər!". (5) be kar alyok: "če šay bu xron?" afo alyok, ka "ta mâr a-zâr". afo alyok, ka "nos-i jân-at!". (6) kar kre mariz-ki alyok, ka "tabib-at kok e?" mariz alyok, "malik-ul-mâwt". kar alyok, ka "qadami-wa mubârak bon". kar altsawok.

(1) A deaf man went to visit a sick man. [On the way] this deaf man says [to himself]: I shall say to him: “How are you getting on?” He will say to me: “Well, now”. I shall say to him: “Praise God that you are well”. (2) Then I shall say to him: “What are you eating?” He will say: “Invalid’s soup or sweet soup”. I shall say to him: “Enjoy it!” (3) Then I shall say: “Who is your doctor?” He will say to me: “My doctor is so-and-so”. I shall say: “Praise the Lord! May God help him!” (4) The deaf man repeated the questions and answers many times to himself. He went [and] sat down [beside] the sick man. He said to the sick man: “How are you getting on?” The sick man said: “I am dying”. He said: “Praise God!” (5) Again the deaf man said: “What are you eating?” He said: “Snake poison!” He said: “Enjoy it!” (6) The deaf man said to the sick man: “Who is your doctor?” The sick man said: “The angel of death [the devil]”. The deaf man replied: “May he be successful!” [Having said this], the deaf man departed.

Text XLII

(1) du zarka buk. še mâšum-že-wa jang drúnukín: afo-b alyok, ka "ta mun e". afo-b yok, ka "ta mun e". šâyed-a ge nak-drunuk. (2) dugađ altsawok qâzi-ki, ka "erzey ka adâlat kin!" qâzi jallâd žayok, ka "kre mâšum dujâj kon! nim-a še-di-ki aršer, nim-a be-ki!".

(3) *še zarka, ka kre ksi marok, ku-xoy-a yəlay nok. a-māwa-wa, ka kre kisi marok, yok, ka "az barā-yi xudā, a tsi adālat e, ka tu-b ta mun a-māsum dujāy kon? ka a adālat be, az-a-b nak-žayem, kfo-ki waršer!". (4) a-qāzi poy šük, ka a māšum tare zarka ye, alyok, ka "kre-ki waršer!" kfo zarka-wa nok, ay-a dāk, pa durra-wa dzok, nawūlak-a.*

(1) There were two women. They quarrelled about a baby: one says: “[He] is mine”, [but the other (here: ‘that one’) says: “[He] is mine”. [They had] no witness. (2) They both went to the *qazi*: “Let it be decided in justice!” The *qazi* summoned the executioner: “Divide this baby in two! Give [one] half to one, [the other] half – to the other!” (3) One woman, hearing this, restrained herself. When his mother heard these words, though, she said: “For God’s sake, [say]: what sort of justice is this, if you divide my child in two? If [this is] justice, then I do not need it, give her [the baby]!” (4) The *qazi* understood: the baby is this woman’s. He said: “Give [him] to her!” [But] he drove that woman away, lashing with a whip.

Text XLIII

(1) *az še wuxyar sařay-di puřtəna dāk: "sārā-ne še čina ye, az bu zli-m se, ka indé yos^ol kem, az məx tsen taraf-ki kem?" (2) afō reyok, ka tu məx ta kāli taraf-ki kon, ka a-ylī-wa nak-agle".*

(1) I asked a wise man: “In the steppe there is a spring. I am about to perform ablutions. In which direction should I turn my face?” (2) He said to me: “Turn [your] face toward your clothes, lest thieves take them”.

Text XLIV

(1) *še sařay še tabib-ki altsawok, ka "ta mun a-nas bu dēme". afō tabib alyok, ka "tu če xólak-e?" afō yok, ka "az txan-i soxta xólak-e". (2) afō ta xoy nafar-ki-wa alyok, ka "tu tso! kre-ki ta tsimi dawā arwar!". (3) afō sařay alyok, ka "ta mun bu nas dēme. ta tsimi dawā az kots kem?" afō yok, ka "tu tsiimi drunu-kun, heč waxt-at su soxta txan nāk-xolak".*

(1) A man went to the doctor [with a complaint]: “I have stomach ache”. The doctor said to him: “What have you eaten?” He said: “I have eaten some burnt bread”. (2) He [the doctor] said to his servant: “Go, bring him some eye salve”. (3) That man said to him: “It is my stomach that hurts. What do I need with eye salve?” He said: “If you had [good] eyes, you surely would never have eaten burnt bread”.

Text XLV

(1) *še ʔolgay buk. māšumi-wa-b algástak dašti-ki. še wuxyār sařay alyok, ka "kre māšumi-b góda aglon?" alyok, ka "kre māšumi-b aglen wal, ku-dašti-ne, ka še duwā ki, ka xudāy še bārān ki. ay begunā ye". (2) afō alyok, ka "ay begunā ye, ka ta buma i-múxa su še moallem nak-wizuk".*

(1) There was a group [of people]. There were carrying babies [with them] into the steppe. A sensible man said [to someone]: “Where are you taking these little children? They said to him: “We are taking these little ones into the steppe for them to pray [and]

so that God will send rain. They are innocent, you see". (2) He said to them: "They are [so] innocent that [if it were their will] perhaps not a single teacher would remain on earth".

Text XLVI

(1) *še sařay-i badrang buk, nâk-a řâyista buk. (2) a ta xoy nâk-ki yok, ka "mâx-u tu-ki-b xudây jannat erřeri". (3) a zarka alyok, ka "pa tsə poy řükun, ka mâx-u tu-ki-b xudây jannat erřeri?". (4) a alyok, ka "az badrang um aw tu řâyesta yon. ta mun i-badrangí-ki-b ka tu řux, tu-b sâbər kon. az bu ka tar tu i-řâyestagí-ki sayl kem, az bu řükər kandém. kok bu ka řükər kanđe, tafo a-řây jannat e. kok bu, ka sabər ki, – tafo a-řây jannat e.*

(1) There was an ugly man whose wife, however, was beautiful. (2) One day he said to his wife: "God will bestow heaven on us". (3) This woman said to him: "How do you know that God will bestow heaven on us?" (4) He said to her: "I am frightful, but you are beautiful. When you see my ugly appearance, you [nevertheless] tolerate it. When I look at your beauty, I thank [the Creator]. [And] he who thanks [God], – his place is in heaven. [And] he who tolerates [torture], – his place is in heaven.

Text XLVII

(1) *bâzâr-ne zókum, ře badrang sařay-um dek. ře zarka zâk, kre badrang sařay-ki-wa-b sayl dâk. (2) a-sařay alyok, ka "tu ku-mun-ki ře-ki sayl kon?" a alyok ka "ta mun a-tsími zút gunâ daré. az bu tar tu pa didan ta xoy tsími-ki zut azâb arřerim.*

(1) I came to the bazaar, [there] I saw an ugly man. A woman came and began to look (lit. looked) at this ugly man. (2) This man said to her: "Why are you looking at me?" She said to him: "My eyes are very sinful. I am tormenting my eyes with your face (lit. 'with the sight of you')".

Text XLVIII

(1) *še baxil sařay buk. ře now řapli-wa nok. a-wa pây dâk, rây-ne râyí řük. (2) wal gípi mæx-a warzâk. kre ta xoy a-řapli-wa nawúlak, dâman-ne-wa nok. (3) řom ka altsawok, pây-ne-wa xâr altsawok. xâr puřt ta pây-di-wa nayok. (4) a xudây-ki řükər dâk, ka "ilâyi, řükər, ka ta mun a-řapli pây-ne-m nak-buk, ka řapli-m yâr nak-řük".*

(1) There was a miserly man. He bought (lit. 'took') some new sandals. He put them on his feet, set off on the way. (2) There [on the road] he came across some [sharp] stones. He took off these sandals of his, put them in the hem [of his shirt]. (3) When he went further, a thorn penetrated his foot. The thorn came out of the other side of the foot. (4) He thanked God: "Praise God that my sandals were not on my feet and that my sandals were not pierced".

Text XLIX

ře sařay ta xoy rafiq-di puřtəna dâk, ka "ta mun a-tsumi-b dəme. az tserang kem?" afo alyok, ka "prasul bu ta mun a-gíří dəmok, az nawúlak – řir řük. tu ge kre tsimi-t nawar, ka řir se".

A man asked his friend: “My eye hurts. What am I to do?” He replied: “Last year my tooth ached. I got rid of it [lit. ‘pulled it out’] – it was all right. You also get rid of that eye, so that it will be all right”.

Text L

(1) *še moazen bu, ka âzân-a dâk, dangok bu. (2) še saray puxtêna nela-wa dâk, ka "góda-b dang? a alyok, ka "ta mun a-awâz bu dur-di ku-mun-že šir xre. az ta xoy a-awâz dur-di marem".*

(1) A certain muezzin who was calling to prayer was running [at the same time]. (2) A man asked him: “Where are you running to?” He answered: “I like [to listen to] my own (here: ‘my’) voice at a distance. [So] I [want] to listen to my voice at a distance”.

Text LI

(1) *še saray xaw dek, ka xaw-ne-wa yrâs paysa waršyuk (zâl luṭ aršyuk). alyok, ka "ku-mun-ki šuš zar-u spew zar aršer!" kre-ne bedâr šük. (2) yok, ka "wây! az xaw dek!" a saray pets ta xoy a-tsîmi pəṭ nok, dest-a drây dâk, ka "har šer – bur šer! mar aršer-a!" afo eč ge nak-šük! a saray pets pešaymân šük, ka "tse bad-um dâk, ka nak-um nok!"*

(1) A man had a dream [that] in his dream he was given some small copper coins (variant: ‘worn out paper money’). He said: “Give me some nice clean gold!” At that [moment] he awoke. (2) He said: “Oh, I was having a dream!” The man again closed his eyes, held out his hand: “Whatever it may be, give it me!” But nothing was repeated (lit. ‘nothing came of it’). The man was very upset: “How mistakenly I behaved not to take [the copper coins]!”

4.2 Texts from Kaniguram

Text I

(1) *sa-lâsta di kok puština dâk, ka "tsa waxt sâma-nar xâka-ki rasay aw á ɣ^wasay, ka rambyen, a-mux tsen taraf-ki plaṭ^yen?"*

(2) *a-sa yékin: "a-x^way mux ye x^way yunji-ki plaṭaway, ka yli-l-a glin-nak".*

(1) Someone asked a person: “When [being] in the steppe you meet (here: ‘reach’) a spring and say: “We must have a wash, (but) in which direction should we turn our face?”

(2) He said: “Turn your face to the direction of your clothes, so that thieves do not carry them off.”

Text II

(1) *kok kal ye tabib-ki zok, ka "a-đim-am bu zut dúmi". (2) a-tabib di puština dâk, ka "tsa-t ye x^walak a?". (3) dzawâb-al ye řyuk, ka "brušk nóri ye x^wâlk a". (4) a-tabib x^way šāgird-ki yekin, ka "ta tsâmi a-dâru irwar!". (5) a-saray yékin, ka "tar mun bu a-đim dúmi, ta tsami a-dâru ye tsa matlab darí?". (6) a-tabib yékin: "ka a-tsami-t roya búkun, bye tyos brušk nóri tsâ x^wâlk?"*

(1) A certain bald man came to a doctor [with a complaint]: “My stomach hurts a lot”. (2) The doctor asked him: “What have you eaten?” (3) [He] gave him the answer: “[I] have eaten burnt bread”. (4) The doctor told his student: “Bring me eye salve!”. (5) The [ill] man said: “It is my stomach that hurts, why is eye salve necessary?” (lit. ‘what purpose can eye salve have?’). (6) The doctor said: “If your eyes were healthy, surely you (sg.) (lit. ‘you (plural)’) would not have eaten burnt bread?”.

Text III

(1) sa tolay ye ta bārān zetsan-ki rawān byuk aw ta mandrasta a-worḡkay(i)-wa di girad bukin. (2) sa tukmār di puština dāk, ka "ā ta mandrasta a-worḡkay (i) bu gūda-ki tséli?". (3) afay alyékin: "ka duā ye kyin, ka bārān yora, kye pa pa, ka afay begunā(h) hin aw taráy a-duā bu síra qablawak sa". (4) a-tukmār yekin: "ka ta zari worḡkay(i) a-duā síra qablawak súkun, ta dunyā mux-zar ye [su] sa ālim qa nak-āzyok byuk".

(1) A group [of people] set off to pray for rain, with them were child pupils at the madrasah. (2) One joker asked (one of them): “Where are you (pl.) taking these child pupils? (here: ‘are you (sg.) taking?’). (3) They answered him: “To pray (lit. ‘so they may pray’), for rain because they are innocent, and their prayer will be heard the sooner (lit. ‘will be better accepted’). (4) The joker replied: “If the prayer of children was heard sooner, there would (long) have been not a single teacher (here: ‘wise man’) in the world”.

Text IV

(1) ta sa badrang saṣay ye sye sra šāista maašuka buk. (2) sye ryoza x^way dzarka-ki yékin, ka "tar mun ye ó yaqin ha, ka az-(u)-tu su a-dyogaḡ ḡannat-ki tsyen". (3) a-dzarka-wa yekin, ka "tu bu tsa poy awas?" (4) a-māli ye dzawāb řuk: "kye pa pa, ka tu bu tar mun a-badrang tsera dzúni aw sabər bu kéwi aw az bu tar tu a-šāista mux dzuném aw šukər bu lakandem. aw ta sābirāni aw ta šākirāni a-ḡikak ye ḡannat ha".

(1) A man with an ugly appearance had a very beautiful wife (here: ‘sweetheart’). (2) Once he said to his wife: “I am sure that we shall both go to heaven”. (3) His wife said: “Why do you think this?”. (4) The husband replied: “Because you see my ugly face and bear it, and I see your beautiful face and thank [God]. And the place for the tolerant and grateful is in heaven”.

Text V

(1) sa badrang saṣay ye sye ryoza bāzār-nar aštyek. (2) sye dzarka wa-mux-ki tak aw ta mux-ki-wa-b řerawak. (3) aw pa pa rang a-řeraw drāy syuk, a-saṣay di puština dāk, ka "dzarka, wāy! tsa matlab-at ye ha, ka tar mun mux-ki bu sā řerewi?". (4) a-dzarka yekin, ka "tar mun a-tsāmi ye stur gunāh dok ha. sā-b ḡ^wasam, ka pa sā šay ye azāb řom, ka fa-lāsta ye ziyāt azāb nak-ba, aw pa-lāsta ziyāt saxt azāb m-ye nak-dyek ha, b ḡayr tar tu mux di."

(1) A man with an ugly appearance was standing in the market square (lit. ‘in the bazaar’). (2) A woman was standing opposite him and was staring at his face. (3) But as this scrutiny dragged on, the man asked her: “O woman! Why (lit. ‘for what purpose of

yours') are you scrutinising my face?". (4) The woman said: "My eyes are very sinful (lit. 'have committed a great sin'), (and) so I want to torture (them) with this (lit. 'with this thing'), there cannot be worse than this, and I have not [ever] seen worse than (to see) your face".

Text VI

(1) *a-sa baxil saṛay di nyówa tsapli wruk bukin aw rāy-zar rawān byuk. (2) ka tsa waxt sa jikak-ki rasyek, ka fa jikak-nar di gápi aw zāri bukin, a-tsapli-l-a pāri-lāsta nawalkin aw dāman-nar-a palaštákin. (3) ta niyām (?) ye zeř tará pāri-ki waṣyuk aw a-pāri-l-a rek. (4) šukuriyat-a lakandak, ka "tsapli-m pa pāri nak-(h)in, ka pa pāri-m bukun, nən sā rek su bukin! (= rek sukin ga)".*

(1) A miserly man bought new sandals and set off on a journey. (2) When he reached a place where there were [many] stones and thorns, he took his sandals off his feet and wrapped them up in the hem [of his shirt]. (3) [Suddenly] a thorn pierced (lit. 'went in') his foot and wounded it. (4) He gave thanks [to God]: "[It is good that] I have no sandals on my feet: if [they] had been on my feet, they would now be broken".

Text VII

(1) *ta sa kon a-zli bu á yékin, ka "ta sa randzur puština-ki tsom". (2) aw x(i)yāl-a dok: "ka tsom-al su aw puština di-s k(y)em, ka "tsa hāl-at ye ha?", o dzawāb-a-r di-s řawi, ka "alhamdulillah, sir am". (3) aw bye di-s puština k(y)em, ka "tsa ye bu xri?" o-r di-s yaqiní dzawāb řawi, ka "surwā", az al su ṡasam, ka "dāru-t son". (4) bye di-s puština kem, ka "tabib-at ye kuk a?". dzawāb-a-r di-s řawi, ka "plānáy mirzā". ṡasam-al su, ka "qadam-a nekmuryá bon!". (5) tsāl ka o saṛay kon byuk, un bu nak-amaryek, o dzawābi-r-a di bu zli-nar ṡorawákin. (6) un-tuskye ka ta randzur sar-ki nástak, puština-wa di dāk, ka "tsa hāl-at ye ha?" a-randzur yékin, ka "mrim bu". o saṛay yékin, ka "alhamdulillah". (7) bye-wa di puština dāk, ka "tsa ye bu xri?" a-randzur yékin, ka "ta māngor zor". a-kon yékin, ka "dāru-t son!". (8) bye-wa di puština dāk, ka "tabib-at ye kuk a?" a-randzur yékin, ka "ta marg a-farišta". a-kon yékin, ka "xudāy dāl-a a-qadam nekmurya ye kon!". (9) aw pa pá rang-a yékin. o čig syuk aw tsek-al.*

(1) A deaf man wanted to visit a sick man. (2) And he thought: When I go and ask him: "How are you?" he will answer me, "Praise God! All right!" (3) And then I shall ask him: "What are you eating?" He will doubtless answer me: "Sweet soup". (And) I shall say to him: "May it be medicine for you!" (4) Again I shall ask him: "And who is your doctor?" He will answer me: "Such-and-such a *mirza*", and I shall say to him: "May success accompany him! (lit. 'May his step be safe')". (5) As this man was deaf [and] could not hear so well, he prepared his answers to him in his mind (lit. 'in his heart'). (6) When he sat down near the sick man [and] asked him: "How are you?", the sick man said: "I am dying". This man said: "Praise God!" (7) Again he asked him: "What are [you] eating?" The sick man said: "Snake venom!", [whereupon] the deaf man said: "May it be medicine for you!". (8) Again he asked him: "And who is your doctor?" The sick man said: "The angel of death!" [And] the deaf man said: "May God help him! (lit. 'May God make his step favourable for you'). He said this, got up and went away.

Text VIII

kuk di x^way mulgéray puština dāk, ka "a tsámi-m bu dúmin, tsa kyem? "afā (a)l-yékin, ka "a-bi tsān-am bu a-gas dumak aw nawálk-am-al aw yam-lāsta-wa di xlās syukam.

Somebody asked his friend: "My eyes are hurting. What am I to do?" The latter answered him: "Last year I had toothache, and [then] I pulled it out and rid myself (of my torment)".

Text IX

(1) a-sa saray ta nmāz pa nāra bāng dāk aw trapay-wa-b dzakin. (2) kuk di puština dāk, ka "kye bu trapay dzan?" a bāngi yékin, ka "xal^ok bu y^wasin, ka tar mun a-āwāz ye pétsa-lāsta x^wāř ha. aw trapay bu dzánam, ka x^way bāng pétsa-lāsta amáram.

(1) A man was running, while loudly calling to prayer. (2) Somebody asked him: "Why are you running?" The man who was calling to prayer said: "People say that my voice is very nice at a distance. And I am running in order to hear my call to prayer at a distance".

Text X

(1) kuk ye x^wāw dyek, ka kuk al di bu zéli laři řawin aw afā-wa bu wuri-nak aw di bu sur-o-spew zar zayi. (2) tsa waxt wiš syuk, poy syuk, ka "x^wāw ye bu dzuném". lep x^wār syuk, ka "kye-m bu a-zéli laři nak-wrukin?". (3) dim wār-wa a-tsámi buđ dākin aw dzān-a pa x^wāw dok aw a-dísti-wa dréři dākin, ka "a-zéli laři-m x^wāw dok aw a-dísti-wa dréři dākin, ka a-zéli laři-m x^waš in! ar řerr-a!". (4) zut kušiš-a dok, xo fāyida ye dāk-nak. zut xafā syuk, ka "kye-m bu afā zéli laři nak-wrukin!".

(1) A certain person dreamed that somebody was giving (here: 'were giving') him some worn-out (paper) money, but he did not take it and demanded gold and silver. (2) When he awoke, he realized: "But I was dreaming!" (He) was very upset: "And why did I not take the worn-out money?" (3) He closed his eyes a second time, tried to fall into a deep sleep and stretched out his hands: "I agree (lit. 'I like worn-out money'), give it to me!" (4) But, however much he tried, it was useless. He grieved (lit. 'was upset') a great deal: "Why ever did I not take that worn-out money?!"

Text XI

(1) a-dyo dzarka sa kulān-zar wirān bukin aw šāyidi-wa di nak-bukin. (2) a-dyogad qāzi-ki zākin aw insāf-an di bu zek. (3) a-qāzi a-řallād kits^yek, ka a kulān sara nim kawi aw ar sye-ki-wa a-nimtořká řawi. (4) a-sye dzarká a xabóra amarák, yle suk. a-bye dzarka ye šor řor dok, ka ta xudāy pa nārā: "o kulák-a nimaway! ner bu az insāf nak-zem!". (5) qāzi pa yaqin-sara [poy syuk, ka kullak ye tafā i-dzarka kulān ha. a-kulak-a-l-fā-ki řyuk. a-bye dzarka-wa dzak aw wurāřawak].¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ We have restored the text in square brackets from the informant's summary in the Arabic script.

(1) Two women had an argument about a boy (lit. ‘a son’), but they had no witnesses. (2) They both came to the *qazi* and demanded that he judge between them justly. (lit. ‘demanded justice’). (3) The *qazi* called for the executioner, so that the latter should divide the boy between them and give half to each of them (lit. ‘a half piece’). (4) One woman heard this (and) kept silence, but the other raised a clamour, appealing to God: “Show mercy to the child (lit. ‘condescend to this boy’)! Otherwise I do not want justice!” (5) The *qazi* realised at once (here: ‘with confidence’) that the child was this woman’s son. He gave her back her child, (but) gave orders to beat and drive away (here: ‘he beat and drove away’) the other woman.

Text XII: Phrases

1. *insān ye bu ziyāt umr nak-dari*
‘Man lives a short time’ (lit. ‘does not live long’)
2. *māwa-zar b-a-x^way (< bu a-x^way) kulāni grēni ben*
‘A mother loves her children’ (lit. ‘to a mother her children are dear’)
3. *čiči-nar bu a-šipi zut ba*
‘In (her) breasts there is plenty of milk’
4. *aḡa ye māli-zar grāna ha*
‘Her husband loves her’. (lit. ‘she is dear to her husband’)
5. *ā dzarka blārba buk*
‘This woman was pregnant’
6. *a-ša ryoza bu sen, ka kulāk ye syuk a*
‘It is already six days since the child (lit. ‘boy’) was born (here: ‘appeared’)’
7. *aḡa pēri-toskye randzūri ha*
‘She is still sick’
8. *a-dúwa-wa mux-ki āyi aw řáwa bu*
‘Her daughter sits in front of her and cries’
9. *a-kulak bu a-nák-zayi, ka ámara*
‘The boy does not obey (her)’. (lit. ‘does not want to listen’)
10. *aḡa ye sa tsān pa-lāsta mux-ki ayók a*
‘He came into the world a year ago’
11. *a-duka bu pēri-toskye bu nak-tsek inči*
‘The little girl is still not walking (here: ‘cannot go’)’
12. *a-tsār-qaḡ kulāni-wa roya hin*
‘Her four sons are healthy’
13. *awwali bu trapay dzana, a-dim bu trānḡay kayi, a-řim bu sabaq ḡ^wasi, a-tsarum bu xana*
‘The first (of them) is running, the second is jumping, the third is studying his lessons, the fourth is laughing’
14. *o saray ónd a, tafa a-dzarka kwána ha*
‘This man is blind; his wife is deaf’
15. *az di-b ka xabóray k^yem, tu-wa bu amár?*
‘When I am speaking, can you hear?’

16. *tar tu a-marzā bu prúnji*
'Your brother is sneezing'
17. *tar tu a-x^wār bu x^wāw kayi*
'Your sister is asleep'
18. *tar tu a-pye wiš ha*
'Your father stays awake'
19. *afa bu andúški xra aw wak di bu zut tri*
'He eats little, but drinks plenty of water'
20. *a-ninni ye ta mux man(dz) -nar ha*
'The nose is in the middle of the face'
21. *tar māx dyo pāri aw har dist-nar-an pendz – pendz ngušt (h)in*
'We have five toes on our two feet and there are five fingers on each of our hands'
22. *a-dri bu sar-zar drāyawak sen*
'Hair grows on the head'
23. *a-z(a)bān, a-gási ta pyoz man[dz]-nar hin*
'The tongue and the teeth are in the mouth'
24. *a-x^warentsa wúlay ye čéla wúlay-lāsta qābudār ha*
'The right hand is stronger than the left hand'
25. *a-dri dréji aw narye hin*
'Hair is long and thin'
26. *a-sun súra ha*
'Blood is red'
27. *a-yađi ta gap pa-šan yéya hin*
'Bones are strong, like stone'
28. *a-māyi di bu tsámi dari aw goy-a di nak-di (y)a*
'Fish have eyes but they do not have ears'
29. *o ping bu pa-wrikye buri*
'The cock flies badly (lit. 'slowly')
30. *búmba-zar bu na*
'He sits down on the ground'
31. *x^way paráy-nar di bu yresi púxay dari*
'It has black feathers on its wings'
32. *a-wúna di bu šina puxay kayi aw tsenji-wa di (bu) ben*
'On the tree green leaves are growing (lit. 'the tree is making), (and also) it has branches'
33. *ta mirga (tapa mirga) téra mašúka (h)a aw zari walikye (h)a*
'The sparrow has a sharp beak and it (also) has a small tail'
34. *tafa tānđ-nar di spéwa énci hin*
'There are white eggs in its nest'
35. *a-ráwan bu bálła, a-lugay, lambá aw skar di-b māx dzunyén*
'The fire is burning, and we can see smoke and flames'
36. *a-wak bu daryāb-nar tez tsáwa*
'The water in the river is flowing quickly'

37. *a-spožmay ye stóray-lāsta stúra (h)a aw ta meř tsom-lāsta ye zari ha*
‘The moon is bigger than a star, but smaller than the sun’
38. *pa šyo bu bārān yoryek*
‘This night (i.e. ‘last night’) it rained’
39. *san-am ye ta zāl a-zangúči dyek*
‘Today I saw (caught sight of) a rainbow’ (lit. ‘the cradle of Zal’)
40. *a-šyo ye yrāsa ha aw ryož ye rúna ha*
‘The night is dark, but the day is light’
41. *māx bu pa ormařo z(a)bān xabáray kyen*
‘We are speaking in the Ormuri language’
42. *tyos bu poy ga awasay, ka nak bu poy awasay?*
‘Do you also understand (Ormuri) or not understand it?’
43. *a, az bu pa ormařó poy awasam*
‘Yes, I understand Ormuri’
44. *tar tu a-nām ye tsa ha?*
‘What is your name?’
45. *o yāšp ye ta tsun tsān-a ha?*
‘How old is this horse?’
46. *a-logar ye kābul-lāsta pets ha?*
‘Is Logar far from Kabul?’
47. *tar tu pye tsun kulān (h)in?*
‘How many sons does your father have?’
48. *az-z al san pets tsekam*
‘Today I went far away’
49. *tar mun ta nyāk a-k(u)lān tafā a-duwa tsalak a*
‘My uncle’s son (on my mother’s side) married his daughter’
50. *ta spew yāšp a-zin nár-nar ha*
‘The white horse’s saddle is at home’
51. *a-yāšp zin kéwan!*
‘Saddle this horse!’
52. *ařa sařay bu a-x^way máli ta gri sar-zar payi*
‘That man grazes his cattle at the top of the mountain’
53. *ařa sařay ta wúna dzema yāšp-zar suwār ha*
‘That man under the tree is on horseback’
54. *tafā a-marzā ye tafā x^wār-lāsta čig ha*
‘His brother is taller than his sister’
55. *tafā a-qi^ymat ye dyo-wu-nim rupye ha*
‘Its price is two and a half rupees’
56. *tar mun a-pye řa zari nar-nar bu piñđi*
‘My father lives in that small house’
57. *ā rupye řa sařay-ki řéri*
‘Give this money to that man!’

58. *aḡa rupyē [di] ḡa saḡay-lāsta wur!*
‘Take that money from that man!’
59. *aḡa sir dzan aw pa pōḡay-wa tēran!*
‘Beat him thoroughly and bind him with a rope!’
60. *wak ar di kuwáy-lāsta nawar!*
‘Get (me/us) some water from the well!’
61. *tar mun mux-ki čo!*
‘Go in front of me!’
62. *aḡa saḡay, ka tar tu pētsa tsáwa-b, aḡa ye kuk (h)a?*
‘That man who is walking behind you – who is he?’
63. *o šay t-ye kuk-lāsta wriyuk ha?*
‘From whom did you buy this (very) thing?’
64. *aḡa-r dal-ki zok*
‘He came here’.
65. *aḡay-r dal-ki zākin*
‘They (masc. & fem.) came here’.
66. *aḡa-r dal-ki zāk*
‘She came here’.
67. *aḡa mun-ki zok*
‘He came to me’.
68. *aḡa-r tu-ki zok*
‘He came to you (sg.)’.
69. *aḡa-r kura-ki zok*
‘He came to him’.
70. *aḡa-r kuráy-ki zok*
‘He came to them’.
71. *tu-r zók e, ay ahmad?*
‘Have you come, Ahmad?’
72. *tu-r zāk e, ay torpekye?*
‘Have you come, Torpekye?’
73. *a-pye-m ar san kābul-lāsta zok*
‘Today my father arrived from Kabul’.
74. *az-z-ar san kābul-lāsta zókam*
‘Today I came from Kabul’.
75. *sabā su az kābul-ki tsom*
‘Tomorrow I am going to Kabul’.
76. *a-prān az kābul-ki tsékam [tseikam]*
‘Yesterday I went to Kabul’.
77. *aḡa-l ka-mun-giraḡ tsek*
‘He went with me’.
78. *aḡa-l ka-tu-giraḡ tsek*
‘He went with you (sg.)’.

79. *afā-l kura-giraḍ tsek*
‘He went with him’.
80. *afā tu dyek (h)e*
‘He saw you (sg.)’.
81. *afā-t dyek*
‘You (sg.) saw him’.
82. *afō tyos dyékay*
‘He saw you (pl.)’.
83. *afā afāy dyekin*
‘He saw them’.
84. *tu-m san mandrasta-nar dyek e*
‘Today I saw you (sg.) in the madrasah’.
85. *az afā san dyek*
‘I saw him today’.
86. *az tyos san dyekay*
‘I saw you (pl.) today’.
87. *afā-l ka-mun-lāsta kitāb wryuk*
‘He took the book from me’.
88. *afā-l ka-tu-lāsta kitāb wryuk*
‘He took the book from you (sg.)’.
89. *az kura-ki yékin*
‘I told him.’
90. *az fay-ki yékin*
‘I told them’ (remote).
az kuray-ki yekin
‘I told them’ (proximate).
91. *az bu o saṛay dzuném*
‘I can see this man’.
92. *az bu afā saṛay dzuném*
‘I can see that man’.
93. *da ye tapa (tafā) saṛay nar ha*
‘Here is this (that) man’s house’.
94. *az bu a-nori čāku-zar (fā čāku-zar) lanḍém*
‘I am slicing this bread with a knife (that knife)’.
95. *az bu pa nar-nar (fā nar-nar) piṇḍam*
‘I live in this house (in that house)’.
96. *da-lāsta fā wúna-toskye su gaz-a rāy ha*
‘From here to that tree – it is a hundred gaz’ (lit. ‘a journey of a hundred gaz’).
97. *afā-r bu dal trapay dzana*
‘He runs here’.
98. *afā dúka-r bu dal-ki trapay dzana*
‘That girl is running here’.

99. *aḫa-r dal-ki trap dāk*
‘He ran here’.
100. *o kitāb ar bu nar-lāsta wáram*
‘I shall bring/am bringing this book from home’.
101. *o kitāb ar a-nar-lāsta wúlak a*
‘He has already brought this book from home’.
102. *o kulák m-ar nar-lāsta zék a*
‘I called this boy from home’.
103. *aḫa kitāb bu nar-ki glim*
‘I am taking/shall take that book home’.
104. *aḫa kulák al bu nar-ki tsalím*
‘I shall take/am taking that boy home’.
105. *o ta gunum a-yúnday bu moṭar-ki glim*
‘I shall carry/am carrying this sack of wheat to the car.’
106. *o ta gunum a-yúnday m-al moṭar-ki gástak*
‘I carried this sack of wheat to the car’.
107. *o ta gunum a-yúnday bu pa yāšp-a glim*
‘I shall transport/am transporting this sack of wheat by horse’.
108. *o ping ar bu dal-ki burí*
‘This cock is flying here’.
109. *o ping wal-ki bur^{yek}*
‘This cock flew there’.
110. *o muryān bu pa jikák-lāsta fa jikák-ki wústi*
‘This hen is going up from this place to that one’.
111. *o ping kuk bur^{yek}? (for burayek?)*
‘Who drove this cock [from this place]? (lit. ‘forced to fly’).
112. *az ye bu nar jōrem*
‘I am building a house’.
113. *a-nar ye ka-mun-lāsta jōr suk a*
‘The house was built by me’.
114. *a-dyo tsān-awa bu sen, ka az ye a-nar jōr dāk a*
‘It is now two years since I built the house’.
115. *a-dyo tsān-awa bu sen, ka ka-mun-lāsta ye a-nar jōr suk a*
‘It is already two years since the house was built by me’.
116. *– tu o kitāb yekin? – a-dyo tsān-awa bu sa, ka az o kitāb yek a*
‘Have you read this book!’ ‘It is already two years since I finished reading this book’
117. *dyo tsān-a mux-ki az o kitāb yek bukin*
‘I finished reading (read) this book (as early as) two years ago’.
118. *dyo tsān-a mux-ki bu az o kitāb yekin, xa xatm m-a nak-dok*
‘As long as two years ago I was reading (began to read) this book, but did not finish it’
119. *az o kitāb yekin, o peri del-a-b pa čuṭ řom*
‘I have finished reading this book and now I am returning (will return) it to you’.

120. *az o kitāb nak-yeḵ a, o-m ka yeḵ bukun, ner-am bu tu-lāsta peri nak-zek*
‘I have not read this book, and if I had read /finished reading it, I would not ask you for it’
121. *a-prān-am bu a-pye o kitāb yekin*
‘Yesterday my father was reading this book’.
122. *a-pye-m o kitāb nak-yeḵ a; o ka yeḵ-a bukun, ner-wa-di-s tu-lāsta afā nak-zek*
‘My father has not read this book: if he had read/was reading it, he would not ask you for it’
123. *pye-m o ketāb yeḵ a, o péri dal-a-b tu-ki wapās řyuk inči*
‘My father has (already) read this book, now he can return it to you’.
124. *a-marzā-t ye bu san tsa kawī? – mun-ki-r maalum nak-a: šāyad yā kitāb ẏ^wasi, yā ye-s yíwye kayi*
‘What is your brother doing today?’ ‘I don’t know. Possibly he is either reading a book or ploughing (a field)’
125. *marzā-t-ye-s sabā tsa kayi? – yā ye su ketāb ẏ^wasi, yā ye su yiwye kayi. mun-ki-r maalum nak-a*
‘What will your brother be doing tomorrow?’ ‘Possibly he will read (a book) or plough (a field). I do not know’
126. *a-prān-at ye bu a-marzā tsa dok? – mun-ki-r maalum nak-a: yā-s kitāb yekin, yā ye-s yíwye dāk. sa bu, ka afā a-kitāb xatm dok ba*
‘What did your brother do yesterday?’ ‘I do not know: (possibly) he either read a book, or ploughed [a field]. It may be he has already finished [reading] (this) book’
127. *ka marzā-m arza, bye-l o kitāb řā*
‘If my brother comes, give him this book!’
128. *ka prān-am tu dyek byukun, o kitāb-am dal su řyuk byuk*
‘If I had seen you yesterday, I would (already) have given you this book’
129. *tu a-prān o kitāb yeḵ a? – a, az afā a-prān yeḵ a*
‘Did you finish reading this book yesterday?’ ‘Yes, I finished it yesterday’
130. *tu a-prān o kitāb yeḵ a? – na, peri-toskye afā az nak-yeḵ a*
‘Did you finish reading this book yesterday?’ ‘No, I have not yet finished it’
131. *tu san tar mun a-pye dyek a? – na, peri-toskye afā nak-dyek a*
‘Did you see my father today?’ ‘No, I have not seen him yet’
132. *a-prān-at-ye ta pye tsa kār byuk? – nak-bu poy awasam: yā-wa ye-s kitāb yekin, yā-wa-s ta nar a-pon řoř dok byuk*
‘What did your father do yesterday? (lit. ‘what work did your father have?’)’ ‘I do not know: either he (possibly) read a book or he was repairing the roof (of the house)’

Appendix: Ormuri etymological vocabulary

- Kan. **ayók** ‘to appear, to be born’
< Ir. **ā-gátaka-*, where **gátaka* is the secondary past part. of Ir. **gam* ‘to arrive’, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *gam-* id., perf. part. *gata-*, Skt. *gan-*, perf. part. *gatá-*, **ā-* preverb, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *ā-*, Parth. *ā-*.
- Kan. **amár-** pres. stem ‘to hear’
< preverb **ā-* + Ir. *mára-* pres. stem of **mr̥-* : *mar-* ‘to notice’, cf. Av. *mar-*, pres. stem *mara-* (class I) ‘to notice’, Skt. *smar-* ‘to remember, to think’, pres. stem *smára-* (class I), IE **(s)mer-* (IEW:969).
- Log. **angóxt**, Kan. **ngušt**, G *angušt* ‘finger’
< Ir. *angúšta*, cf. Av. *angušta-* ‘finger’, Skt. *aṅgúṣṭha-* ‘thumb’, Mid. Pers. *angušt* ‘finger’ (Nyberg 1974:19), Par. *yošt* ‘finger’.
- Log. **asól**, Kan. **asál** ‘this year, in this year’
< Ir. **sárdam* acc. sg. of **sard-* fem., Av. *sarəd-*, O.Pers. *vard-* ‘year’ + **ā-* < Ir. **hā-* fem. from *ha-* ‘this’.
- Kan. **ašt-** G pres. stem ‘to stand, to stand up’
< Ir. **ā-hístā-* from Ir. **stā-* + *ā-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *stā-* ‘to stand’, pres. stem *hišta-*, Skt. *sthā-* id., *āsthā-* ‘to stand, to stand up, to rise up’, pres. stem *tíṣṭha-* < IE **stā-*, **stə-* (IEW:1004), Bal. *ōstag*, *vuštāg* (from **hišta-* + **ava-*; Geiger 1890:150), Tal. *aište* ‘to stand up’.
- Kan. **āšt** (in our records), *hānšt*, *hāšt* G, *hāšt* M (= Log. *āxt*, M *āšt*) ‘eight’
< Ir. **āštā* (with forward shift of stress), cf. Av. *ašta-*, Skt. *aṣṭā-* id., Parth. *hšt* /*hašt*/ in the compound /*haštum*/ ‘eighth’.
- Log. **awây**, Kan. **awây** ‘seventy’
< Ir. **haftātī(m)* (after intervocalic **-t-* fell out the word ending was reconstructed: **-ātī* > **-āyi* > *-ây*, but the oxytone stress has been retained), cf. Av. *haptāiti-*, Skt. *sapatatī-* id, Mid. Pers. *hft’d* /*haftād*/ id.
- Log., Kan. **awés** ‘seventeen’
< Ir. **haftādasa*, where /w/ is an inserted sound instead of **h* (**afta* > **ata* > **aḍa* > **ah[a]*), and /e/ < **ada* (> **aḍa* > **aha* > **aya* > **ē* > *e*), cf. Av. *haptadasa-* ‘seventeenth’, Skt. *saptādaśa-* Par. *hatos* id.
- Log. **āxt**, Kan. **āšt** ‘eight’
< Ir. **āštā* from the earlier **aštā*, cf. Av. *ašta-*, Skt. *aṣṭā-* id., nom. *aṣṭá* and *aṣṭān*, < IE **oktō(u)* (IEW:775), Parth. *hšt* /*hašt*/ id. (in the compound /*haštād*/ ‘eighty’).
- Log. **axtây**, Kan. **aštây** ‘eighty’
< Ir. **aštātī(m)*, cf. Av. *aštāti-*, Skt. *aṣītī-*, cf. Parth. *hšt’d* /*haštād*/, Kurd. *heistē* id.

- Log. **aḫtes**, Kan. **aštés** ‘eighteen’
< Ir. **aštádasā*, cf. Av. *aštadasa-*, ‘eighteenth’, Skt. *aṣṭádaśā-* ‘eighteen’.
- Log. **ayéra** ‘all, everything’, where *a-* is the indefinite article, *-y-* an epenthesis, *er* < **ar* (influenced by *-y-*)
< Ir. **hárva-*, cf. Av. *haurva-*, O.Pers. *haruva-* ‘every, all, everything’, Skt. *sárva-* id.
< IE **sol(e)u-* (IEW:979), Parth. *hrw /harv/* ‘all, every’.
- Log., Kan. **az** ‘I’
< Ir. **ázam* (earlier **azám*), cf. Av. *azəm*, O.Pers. *adam*, Skt. *ahám* < IE **eǵhem* (IEW:291), Parth. *ʔ /az/*, Kurd. and Zaza *áz*, Tal. *áz* id.
- Log. **azār**, Kan. **zār** ‘thousand’
< Ir. **hazáhrām*, cf. Av. *hazajrəm*, Skt. *sahásram*, Parth. *hzʔr /hazār/* id.
- **ažan** ‘millet’
< Ir. **arzan*, cf. Par. *ârzun* M.
- Log., Kan. **b-** ‘to be’
< Ir. **báva-* (pres. stem) from Ir. **bū-* : *bav-* ‘to be’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *bava-* from *bav-* ‘to be, to become’, Skt. *bháva-* from *bhū-* ‘to be, to become’, Parth. *bw- /bav/* ‘to happen, to become’.
- Log., Kan. **ban-** pres. stem ‘to throw, to place’
< Ir. **dvanáya-* pres. stem (caus.) from **dvan-*, cf. Av. *dvan-* ‘to fly’, pres. stem (caus.) *dvanaya-*, Skt. *dhvan-* < IE *dh̥uen(ə)-* (IEW:266).
- Log., Kan. **bar** ‘door’
< Ir. **dvára* nom. dual masc. or < **dváram* acc. sg. masc. of **dvar-*, cf. Av. *dvar-*, O.Pers. *duvar-* masc. ‘door, gate’, Skt. *dvāra-* neut., Parth. *br /bar/* id.
- Log. **baš-**, Kan. ***báš-** (G *baš-*) pres. stem ‘to give (a present)’
Log. *baš-* < Ir. **baxšáya-* and Kan. *baš-* < Ir. **báxšya-*, two different forms of the pres. stem from Ir. **baxš-* ‘to provide’, cf. Av. *baxš-* (AIW:923-924), pres. stem (iter.) *baxšaya-*, Parth. *bxš /baxš-/*, Bal. *baškay*, Kurd. *baxšîn* ‘to give’ (Geiger 1890:115); cf. Skt. *baks-* ‘to eat, to take food, to swallow’; for the convergence of Av. and Skt. roots from Ir. **bag-* < IE **bhag-* see IEW:107, cf. Av. *bag-* ‘to distribute’, Skt. *bhag-* ‘to divide, to share out’ AIW:921.
- Kan. **bazar** G ‘arm (from elbow to wrist)’, **bizar** M
< Ir. **bāzu-ra* from Ir. **bāzú-*, cf. Av. *bāzu-* ‘arm’, *°bāzura-* in *snāvarə-bāzura-* ‘having sinewy arms’, Skt. *bāhú-* ‘arm’ < IE **bhaghú-s* (IEW:108), Parth. *bʔzwr /bāzūr/* ‘wing’, Bal. *bāzūl* id. (Elfenbein 1963:25; Abaev 1958:242-243), Kurd. *bāsk* ‘arm, wing’ (Cabolo, 1976:30-31).
- Log. **be**, Kan. **bye**, **bi** (G *bi*, *biyē*, *bihē*) ‘other’
< Ir. **dviťiya*, cf. Av. *daibitya-*, O.Pers. *duviťiya-* ‘second’, Skt. *dviťiya-*, Parth. *byd /bid/* id.

- Log. **°beg**, Kan. **°bež** (in *pa-béga*, *pa-béža* ‘above, upwards’) < Ir. **bárzyā(h)* nom. sg. masc. of **barzyah-*, cf. Av. *barəzyah-* comp. of *bərazant-* ‘high’, Parth. */burz/* ‘tall’.
- Log. **beš**, Kan. **beš** M ‘cord’ where the root vowel *e* < **a* is influenced by the plural indicator *-i* (**báši*, **bási*), cf. IIFL:390, but Log. **baš*, Kan. **bas* < Ir. **bástram* nom. sg. neut. (noun with the meaning of nomen instrumenti) from Ir. **bnd-* : *band-* ‘to tie’, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *band-*, Skt. *bandh-*, Parth. *bnd-* /*band-*/, Kurd. *band-* id., Bal. *bandag* id., cf. Par. *báš* ‘cord’ (EVP:87).¹¹⁸
- Log. **biž-**, Kan. **biz-** G, M pres. stem ‘to bake, to roast, to boil’ this probably resulted from the contamination of two pres. stems:
 - a) Early Orm. **brij/ž-* < Ir. **braijáya-* (from **brij-*), but Skt. *bhṛjj-* ‘to roast’ < IE **bherəg/ǵ* without **i*, *ei* (IEW:137), Mid. Pers. *briz-*, Class. Pers. *b^arēz-* (inf. *b^arēzan*), Bal. *bri/ej-*, Gil. *bij-* ‘to bake, to roast’, cf. Grierson 1918:70;
 - b) Early Orm. **páčáya-* from **pak-*, cf. Av. *pak-*, Skt. *pak-*, pres. stem (caus.) *pācaya-* < IE **pek^u-* (IEW:798), Bal. *páč(ag)*, Par. *pheč-*, Gil. *pāj-*, *paz-*, Kurd. *pēž-* id.
- Log., Kan. **boy** ‘around, near’ < Ir. *upāya* (with early loss of initial **u-*), cf. Skt. *upāya-* ‘approach’ and *upāyana-* id. (IIFL:390).
- Kan. **bráštak** masc., **brušk** (G *brūšk*) fem., past stem ‘to burn’ < Ir. **braštá + *ka* from **bráz-*, cf. Av. *brāz-*, Skt. *bhrāj-* ‘to shine, to beam’ < IE **bherǵ-*, **bhrēǵ-* (IEW:139);
- Kan. **braz-** pres. stem ‘to burn’ < Ir. **brázáya-* from Ir. **brāz-*, cf. Av. *brāz-*, Skt. *bhrāj-* ‘to shine, to beam’ < IE **bhrēǵ-* (IEW:139), Parth. *br’z-* /*brāz-*/in /*brāzāy/* ‘shining’;
- Log. **brěš-**, Kan. **brás-** pres. stem ‘to burn’ < Ir. **brásya-* from Ir. **brās-*, cf. Skt. *bhrās-* ‘to burn, to shine’ < IE **bherǵ-*, **bhrēǵ-* (IEW:141, IIFL:356, 390).
- Log. **bróxtok** past stem ‘to burn’ < Ir. **braštā + *kǎ* from Ir. **brās-* ‘to shine, to burn’, cf. Skt. *bhrās-* id. < IE *bherǵ-* (IEW:141).
- Kan. **brúš-** pres. stem. ‘to shine’ < Ir. **upa-rúxšya-* (with early loss of initial Ir. **u*, and then **p* → *b*) from Ir. **ruk-* : *rauk* (contaminated by the extended stem **rauxśa-* from the same root), cf. Av. *raok-* ‘to shine, to give light’, Skt. *ruc-* : *roc-* id. < IE **leuk-* ‘to shine, to beam’, see the pres. (caus.) stem in Parth. *r’cyn-* /*rōšēn-*/from the same root (Ghilain 1939:53).
- Kan. **brušk** (fem. of *bráštak* past stem ‘to burn’).

¹¹⁸ Cf. the Skt. word *yóktra-* neut. ‘cord, rope’ from *yuj-* ‘to join’ (CDIAL:608), which is analogous in structure and meaning.

- Log. **buk**, Kan. **byuk** masc. ‘to be’
 < Ir. *būtá* + **-ka*, Ir. **bu-* : *bav-*, perf. part. **būtá-*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *bav-* ‘to be, to become’, perf. part. *būta-*, Skt. *bhū-* ‘to be, to become’ perf. part. *bhutá-*, Parth. *bwd*, *bwt* /*būd*/ ‘to be’.
- Log. **búma**, **bóma**, Kan. **búm(b)a** ‘earth’
 < Ir. **búmā* nom. sg. from **būmā-* (from Ir. **būmī-*), cf. O.Pers. *būmā-*, Av., O.Pers. *būmī-* ‘earth’, Skt. *bhūmī-* id., Keur. *būm*.
- Kan. **+čiw** (G *čiw*) ‘cave, hollow in a rock’
 < Ir. **čaftiš-* – nom. sg. abstract noun from **čafti-* (< **čmp-ti*), from **kam-p-* ‘to bend’ (EVP:18; IEW:525), cf. Pers. *čafta* ‘vaulted roof’ (EVP:18).
- Kan. **čiw** G, pl. *čiai* ‘roof, ceiling’
 < Ir. **kati* (EVP:18) (cf. Kan. *čō* M ‘ceiling’, probably another phonetic variant of the same word).
- Log. **dāk**, Kan. **dok** masc., **dāk** fem. ‘to do’ (past stem)
 < Ir. **dātá* + **-kā* from Ir. *dā-* ‘to give, to put; to do’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *dā-* id., perf. part. *dāta-*, Skt. *dā-* ‘to do, to produce’, perf. part. *hitá-*, Parth. perf. part. *d’d* /*dād*/.
- Kan. **dalk** G fem. of *dílak* past stem ‘to squeeze, harvest’
 < Ir. **drtá-* + **-kā* (with accent shift) from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to chop, tear’, cf. Av. *dar-*, perf. part. *dərəta-*, Skt. *dṛ-*, *dar-* ‘to tear, be torn’, Pahl. *dritan*.
- Log., Kan. **dar-** pres. stem of ‘to have’
 < Ir. **dārāya-* pres. stem (caus.) from Ir. **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to hold’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *dar-* id., pres. stem caus. *dārāya-*, Skt. *dhar-* id., pres. stem *dhārāya-*, Parth. *d’r-* /*dār-*/ (Ghilain 1939:75), Bal. *dārag*.
- Log. **dār-** pres. stem ‘to linger, to come to a stop’
 < Ir. **dārya-* (for **dṛya-* Class IV) pres. stem from Ir. **dar-* ‘to have, to hold’, cf. Oss. *ævdælyn* ‘to be idle, unoccupied, to have leisure time’, where *dæł-* ‘to hold’ is the regular middle form of Ir. **dar-* meaning ‘to live in peace’ (Abaev 1958:195-196).
- Kan. **dāř** ‘sickle’
 < Ir. **dāθram*, cf. Skt. *dātram* neut. ‘sickle, scythe’ < IE **dā-tro-m* from **dā-* ‘to cut’ (IEW:175), Bal. *dās*, Kurd. *dās*, Par. *dēš* id.
- Log., Kan. **das** ‘ten’
 < Ir. **dāsa*, cf. Av. *dasā*, O.Pers. **davā*, Skt. *dāsa-* < IE **dek̑m* (IEW:191), Parth. *ds* /*das*/, Par. *dos*.
- Log. **daská** ‘woollen thread (twisted from ten threads)’ (lit. ‘a group of ten’), according to its form it is fem.
 < Ir. **dāsa* + **-ka*, cf. Av. *dasa-*, Skt. *dāsa-* ‘ten’, *daśaka-* (stress not indicated) ‘consisting of ten, group of ten’ (CDIAL:356), Bal. *dasag* ‘cord’ (Geiger 1890:33).

- Kan. **dāš** M ‘goat hair’
< Ir. **darsā*, cf. Par. *dōš* ‘hair, also Munji *lurs*, Sar. *δors*, Yazg. *δus* id. (Morgenstierne 1974:32);
- **+daž-** (*daž-* G) pres. stem ‘to load’
< Ir. **darzáya*- pres. stem. (caus.) from Ir. **darz-* cf. Av. *darəz-* ‘to tie/tether, to strengthen’, pres. stem (iter.) *darəzaya-*, Parth. */darz-/* pres. stem ‘to load (pack horse)’ (Ghilain 1966:52; Boyce 1977:36), Par. *derz-* pres. stem ‘to put (sth.) on a back’;
- Log. **dek**, Kan. **dek**, **dyek** ‘to see’
< Ir. **dītā* + **-kā* from **dī-* : *dāy-*, cf. Av. *dā(y)-*, O.Pers. *dī-* ‘to see’, perf. part. Av. *dīta-*, Skt. *dhī-* ‘to think’, perf. part. *dhītā-*, Parth. *dyd /dīd/* ‘seen’.
- Log. **der**, Kan. **der**, **déran** 2sg. imper. of Log. *dar-*, *drónok/dórnoK*, Kan. *dar-*, *drának* ‘to have’ (**dar-* ‘to hold’), etc. (see section 3.2 on verb conjugation).
- Kan. **dilak** G, M fem. **dalk** G ‘to reap, to cut’
< Ir. **drtā* + **-kā* from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to tear apart, to tear off’, cf. Av. *dərə-*, *dar-* id., perf. part. *dərəta-*, cf. Skt. *dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to tear’, perf. part. *dṛta-*, Mid.Pers. (Pahl.) *darītan* (AIW:689).
- Kan. **dír-** M, G pres. stem ‘to reap, to cut’
< Ir. **dṛya-* pres. stem (Class IV) of **dṛ-*, cf. Av. *dar-*, Skt. *dar-* ‘to chop, to tear’ < IE **der-* (IEW:206), Bal. *dīrag* ‘to tear up’.
- Log. **dīš-**, M *dūs-*, Kan. **dús-** M pres. stem ‘to milk’
< **dúšya-* < Ir. **dúčya-* or **dáučya-* from **duč-* : *dauč-* ‘to milk’ (Ir. **daug-*, **dauk-* with **-j-*, *-č-* in the pres. stem), not from **dauššya-* but from **dúčya-*, on account of the position of the stress and the reflex of Ir. **xš* in Orm., cf. Abaev 1958:371-372; Henning 1958:111; but IIFL:393, cf. Par. *duč-* pres. stem, Bal. *dōšag* ‘to milk’.
- Log. **do**, M *dō*, Kan. **dyo**, G *dyō*, M *dyō*, *dyū*, *dió* ‘two’
< Ir. **duvá*, cf. Av. *dva*, Skt. *dvá-*, *duvá-* id. from IE **duō(u)* (IEW:228); Parth. *dw /dō/* id.
- Kan. **dok** masc. ‘to do’ (past stem)
< Ir. **dātá-* + **-ka* from **dā* ‘to do’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *dā-* id., perf. part. *dātá-*, Skt. *dā-* ‘to carry out, to undertake’, perf. part. *dattá-*.
- Log. **drāy**, Kan. **drāy** ‘long’
< Ir. **dārgišta* – superl. of Ir. **dargá-* (with metathesis) or from **dārgā-* – nom. sg. fem. from the same stem (with early shift of stress and the lengthening of *a* > *ā* in the position of a-umlaut), cf. Av. *darəga-*, *darəya-*, O.Pers. *darga-* ‘long’, Skt. *dīrghá-* id., superl. *drāghīṣṭha-* < IE **delēgh-* (IEW:197), Parth. *dry /dary/* ‘long’, Kurd. *dārg*, *derg* id.
- Log. **dri** sg. and pl., Kan. **dra** sg. ‘hair’
< Ir. **dravá* from Ir. **drav-*, cf. Skt. *dravá-* ‘running, current’

- Log. **dríxi**, Kan. **drísi** ‘a lie’
fossilised pl. form of Early Orm. **druš* < Ir. **drušš* – nom. sg. of **drug-* : *draug-* fem. ‘lie’, cf. Av. *drušš* nom. sg. of *drug-* : *draog-* id. (Reichelt 1909:183), Skt. **drugh-* fem. ‘harm’ < IE *dreugh-* (IEW:276), Parth. *drwg /drōy/* ‘lie’ (Boyce 1977:35).
- Kan. **+dronk** (G *drōnk*) fem. of *drának* past stem ‘to have’
< Ir. **dṛanā* (mid. part. of Class II pres. stem) + **-kā* (with a change in stress when derived from **dṛ-* : *dar-* ‘to hold’, Av., O.Pers. *dar-* id., Av. *dramna-* is a similar participle but from Class VI pres. stem cf. IIFL:393).
- Log. **drónok**, **dórnok**, Kan. **drának** past stem ‘to have’
< **diraná-* < Ir. **draná* (from *dṛaná*) mid. part. Class II from Ir. **dṛ-* : **dar-* ‘to have, to hold’, cf. IIFL:393.
- Log., Kan. **dúci** – plural of Log., Kan. *dúka* ‘little girl’
< Ir. **duxtā* + *-kā*.
- Log., Kan. **dúka** ‘girl’, **dúwa** ‘daughter’
with *du-* < Ir. *dúxtā* (from earlier **duxtā*) nom. sg. of **duxtār-*, Av. *dugədar-*, *duyḍar-* ‘daughter’, Skt. *duhitār-*, Par., Sang. *dot*.
- Kan. **+dúka** (M *dúkɔ*) ‘pupil (of the eye)’
< Ir. **dītā* + **-kā* from **dī-* : *dāy-* ‘to see’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *dāy-* id. (Morgenstierne 1932a:14).
- Kan. **duš-** ‘to see, to look’
with *uš* < **urs* < Ir. **rs*, cf. Av. *darəs-*, Skt. *darś-* ‘to look’.
- Log., Kan. **dúwa** ‘daughter’
< Ir. **dúxtā* from Ir. **duxtār-*, cf. Av. *dugədar-*, *duyḍar-*, Mid. Pers. *dwxt/duxt/*, Par. *dot*, Bal. *duxtār/dutak*, Maz. *detər*, Sang. *dot*, Shahrudi *dət* id.
- Log. **dwās**, Kan. **dwās** ‘twelve’
< **dುವಾದಸಾ* < Ir. **dvādasā*, cf. Av. *dva.dasa*, Skt. *dvādaśa*, Parth. *dw'ds /dvādes/* id.
- Kan. **+dyúra** (G *dyūr^a* fem.) ‘firewood’
< Ir. **dāru* nom. sg. neut. of Ir. **dāru*, *dārav-* (with a later shift to a fem. noun in **-ā*; according to IIFL:326, a root vowel **ā* > *u* under the influence of u-umlaut), cf. Av. *dārav-*, neut. ‘tree’, Skt. *dāru-*, neut. id., Mid. Pers. **d'rw /dāru/* ‘tree’, Lasg. *dār-*, *dōre*, Talakh *dōr* id. (Žukovskij 1922a:213).
- Kan. **dza** M ‘sister in law, wife of the husband’s brother’
< Ir. **yātā* – fem. nom. sg. of **yātar-*, cf. Skt. *yātar-* id. (with the stress of the strong cases and the vocalism of the weak ones (IEW:505), Russ. ятровь, ятрóва, ятровка (*jatrov'*, *jatróva*, *jatrovka*).
- Kan. **dzak** (from *dzok* masc. ‘to beat’)
< Ir. **jatā* + **-kā* from **gan-*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *jata-* perf. part. from *gan-* ‘to beat’.
- Kan. **dzāk** G ‘place’
< Ir. **vyāka-* (IIFL:397) or **vyākah-* (Rossi 1975:61), cf. Parth. *wy'g /vyāg/*; in *jikák*

‘place, hamlet’ which is cited by us, there is a contraction (**yā > ī̃*) + the secondary suffix *-ák*; cf. Sang. *ǰīgō*, Bal. *ǰāg*, Kurd. *ǰī, ǰih* ‘place’.

- Log., Kan. **dz/zan-** pres. stem ‘to beat’
< Ir. **ǰána-* (Class I) from **gan-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *gan-*, pres. stem of Av. *ǰana-* (in *ǰanaiti*) (AIW:490), Skt. *han-*, pres. stem *hana-* (Class I), Parth. *ǰn- /ǰan- /* (Oranskij 1979b:158, 169), Par., Bal. and Far. *ǰan-*, Zaza and Nat. *ǰān-* id., Kesh. and Kohr. *ǰǰin*, Soi *ǰǰe* (imper.).
- Kan. **+dzāř** (M *dzāř*) ‘liver’
< Ir. **yāxr* neut. nom. sg. of **yākar-*.
- Log., Kan. **dzok** ‘to beat’ (Kan. masc.)
< Ir. **ǰatá- + *-ka* from **gan-* id., cf. Av., O.Pers. pres. stem *ǰan-* id., perf. part. *ǰata-*, cf. Skt. *han-* ‘to beat’, perf. part. *hatá-*.
- Log. **dzóma**, M *dz/zem*, Kan. **dzéma**, G, M *dzēm* ‘below, under’
(< Ir. **hača-adama*).
- Kan. **dzun-** (pres. stem) ‘to see’
< **ǰuná- < *ǰiná- < Ir. *vainá- (nti)* 3pl. of Ir. **vain-* (with early **ai > *ē* and later **ī* before **n*), cf. Av. *vaena-*, O.Pers. *vaina-* pres. stem Class IX (AIW:1323), Skt. *ven-* ‘to see’ (CDIAL:701), Parth. *wyyn /vēn- /*, Sang., Shahm., Von., Kesh., Kohr., Zef. *ǰvīn-* id. (Žukovskij 1888:129; 1922a:224), cf. IIFL:397, Efimov 1985:39 which is less reliable.
- Kan. **dzwast**, M *zwast* ‘span’
< Ir. **vitásti(š)-* nom. sg. of Ir. **vitásti-*, cf. Av. *vī-tasti-* fem., Skt. *vítasti-* masc. or fem. id., where *ǰtas* is from IE **tens* (IEW:1068), Bal. *gidist*, Kurd. *bihust* id.
- Log. **g-** ‘to lay’, Kan. **ǰ-** ‘to leave’ (pres. stem)
< **hīrǰá- < Ir. *hǰǰá-* from Ir. **hǰǰz-*, cf. Av. *harez-* ‘to let go’, pres. stem (class VI) *hərəza-*, cf. Skt. *śǰj- : sarj-* ‘to free, to let’, pres. stem (class VI) *śǰǰá-*, Parth. */hīrǰz- /* ‘to leave’.
- Log. **gǰka**, Kan. **gǰka** ‘meat’
< Ir. *gǰúš* nom. sg. or **gǰ(m)*, acc. sg. of **gǰv- + *-kǰ*, cf. Av. *gǰv-*, Skt. *gō-* ‘bull, cow’, Parth. *g’wo /gōv/ in /gǰvzǰdag/* ‘calf’.
- Log., Kan. **gal-** pres. stem ‘to tie’ (Kan. also ‘to weave’)
< Ir. **gǰrǰáya-* from **gǰrǰ- : gǰrǰ-*, cf. Skt. *grath- : granth-* ‘to connect, to weave’ < IE **ger-* (IEW:386).
- Kan. **gǰn, kǰn** G (Log. **kǰn**) ‘when’
where *gǰ^o, ka^o* < **kaǰa*, cf. Av. *kaǰa*, (Gath.) *kaǰā*, Skt. *kaǰā* ‘when’, cf. */g/ < *k* in Bal. *gǰǰǰ* ‘where, whither’ (Sokolov 1956:74), *gǰǰǰ* ‘then (at that time)’ (Elfenbein 1963:35).
- Log. **ganóm**, Kan. **ganúm** ‘wheat’
< Ir. **gantúma*, cf. Av. *gantuma-*, Skt. *godhúma-* id., Par. *ganóm, ganém*, Kurd. *genim* id.

- Kan. **+gāy** (M, G *gāi*) ‘bed’
< Ir. **gātú(š)* – nom. sg. of Ir. **gātu-* masc. ‘place, bed’, O.Pers. *gaθu-* id., Skt. *gātú-* id. (IE **gūā-tu-*; IEW:463), Parth. *g’h /gāh/* ‘throne, seat’.
- Log. **+gélak** (M *gélak*), Kan. **gílak** M ‘rat’
< Ir. **grdáka* – nomen agentis from **grd-* : *gard-* + *-ka* (with stress shift), cf. Av. *garəða-* ‘avid’, Skt. *gr̥ddha-* ‘longing for’ from *gardh-* ‘to solicit’ < IE **gheldh-* (IEW:434), cf. IIFL:395.
- Log. **g(i)rí**, Kan. **gri** masc. ‘mountain’
< Ir. **garáya* nom. pl. of *gari-* : **garay-* masc. id. (less probably < Ir. *gariš* nom. sg. of the same nominal stem), cf. Av. *garayō* nom. pl. of *garay-*, Skt. *giri-* id.
- Log. **gísi** sg. and pl., Kan. **gas** sg., **gási** pl. ‘tooth’
where Log. **gaš*, Kan. *gas* < Ir. **gástram* nom. sg. neut. (nomen agentis with the meaning of nomen instrumenti), cf. Av. *gah-*, Skt. *ghas-* < IE **ghōs-* ‘to eat, to swallow’, cf. Parth. *gšt /gašt/* – perf. part. of the same root with the meaning ‘to bite’ (Ghilain 1939:99; EVP:28).
- In Log. **góda**, Kan. **gúda** ‘whither, where’
go^o, *gu^o* < Ir. **ku-*, an interrogative particle meaning ‘where’, cf. Av. *kū*, Skt. *kū* ‘where, whither’, Parth. *kw /kū/* ‘where’.
- Log. **°góstok**, Kan. **°gástak** (as well as *glastak* G) ‘to carry’
< Ir. **gárstá* + **-ka* from Ir. **grd-* : *gard-* (?), cf. Skt. *gardh-* ‘to thirst for’, cf. Av. *garəða-* ‘greedy (for)’ from **garəd-* ‘to want’, cf. IIFL:394.
- Log. **goy**, Kan. **gyoy** (fem.) ‘cow’
< Ir. **gāuš* nom. sg. of **gav-* : *gāv-*, cf. Av. *gāuš(-čā)* id. from *gav-* : *gāv-* ‘bull, cow’, Skt. *gāus* (nom. sg.), Parth. *g’w- /gāv-/*, Par. *gu* id.
- Log., Kan. **goy** ‘ear’
< Ir. **gāuša*, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, O.Pers. *gauša-* ‘ear’, Skt. *ghóša-* ‘noise, cry’ < IE **ghous-* (IEW:454), Parth. *gws̄ /gōš/* ‘ear’, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*.
- Log., Kan. **gran-** ‘to bite’
< Ir. **granáya-* from **grahna-* with the caus. suff. **-áya-* from Ir. **grah-*, cf. Skt. *gras-* ‘to grasp with the mouth, to devour’ (IIFL:395).
- Kan. **gurú** M ‘kid’
< Ir. **grbu(š)*, cf. Av. *garəbuš* neut. ‘young animal’, *garəwa-* ‘mother’s womb, foetus’, Skt. *gárbha-* ‘womb, foetus’ < IE **g^uelbh-* (IEW:473).
- Log. **guy**, Kan. **+guy** (M *gūi*) ‘excrements’
< Ir. **gū^uθa*, cf. Av. *gū^uθa-*, Skt. *gū^utha-* ‘impurities’, Par. *go^h*, Kohr. *gūh*, Sang. *gūi* ‘excrements’.
- Kan. **yaf-** pres. stem ‘to weave’
< Ir. **vāfāya-* pres. stem (caus.) of **vaf-* (< **vab-* < IE **uebh-*), cf. Av. *ubdaēna-* where **ubda-* < IE *úbh-tó-* (IEW:1114), Skt. *ubh-*, **vabh-* (CDIAL:109), Parth. *wf- /vaf-/*, Par. *yaf-*, Bal. *gvapag*, Oss. *vafun*, *vafin* (V.F. Miller 1962:63).

- Log. **yok** (M *ō*) ‘to say’
 < Ir. **vaxtá* (for **úxtaka*) + **-ka* from **vak-* ‘to speak’, cf. Av. *vak-* id., perf. part. *°úxta-*, cf. Skt. *vats-* id., perf. part. *uktá-* (Kan. *yek* id. – undoubtedly influenced by *dek* ‘to see’ and the forms of weak verbs in *-yek*, cf. IIFL:361).
- Log., Kan. **yor-** pres. stem ‘to rain’
 < Ir. **vāra-* pres. stem (denominative) from **vār-* ‘rain’, cf. Av. *vār-* masc. ‘rain’, **vār-*, pres. stem (Class I) **vāra-* ‘to rain’, Skt. *vār-* neut., *vāri-* neut. ‘water’ < IE **uēr-*, **uer-* (IEW:80) (the /o/ in *yor-* is from **ō* < Ir. **ā*); Parth. *w’r-* /*vār-*/ ‘to rain’, Par. *yār-* M id., *yār* ‘rain’, Bal. *gwāriš* id.
- Log. **yoskák**, Kan. **†y^was/ts** (M *ywəs*, *ywas*, as well as *ywats* G) ‘calf’
 where *yos^o*, **ywas* < Ir. **vatsá*, cf. Skt. *vatsá* ‘one year old animal, calf’ < IE **uet-*, **uetes-* ‘year’ (IEW:1175), Bal. *gwask* ‘calf’.
- Log. **yoš-**, Kan. **y^wař-**, **y^wř-** pres. stem of ‘to be afraid’
 < Early Orm **y^wáhra-* < Ir. **vi-θráha-* from Ir. **θrah-* ‘to be afraid’ + preverb **vi-* ‘away’ (with accent shift), cf. Av. *θrah-*, pres. tense stem Av. *tars-*, *tərəs-*, O.Pers. *tars-* ‘to be afraid’, Parth. *tyrs-* /*tirs-*/ id.
- Log. **yoš**, Kan. **y^wř** ‘snow’
 < Early Orm. **y^wáhr* < Ir. **váfra*, cf. Av. *vafra-* ‘snow’, cf. Skt. *vápra-* masc., neut. ‘embankment’ (Dybo 1974:74), Parth. *wf^r* /*vaf^r*/, Par. *yarp* M ‘snow’, Kohr. *vaf^r*; Shahrudi *var*, Siv.-Z. *vaur* id.
- Log. **yóš-**, Kan. **y^was-**, **yus-** ‘to speak’
 < Ir. **vášya-* (from **váčya-*, not from **vaxšya-* (IIFL:396), because **xš* > Log. /*š*/, Kan. /*š*/) from **vak-* ‘to speak’ (the form with **čy-* is reflected in Kan. as *y^wats-* G id.), cf. Av. *vak-*, pres. stem *vaš-*, Skt. *vak-* ‘to speak’, Bal. *gvašag*, *gušag* id., Kohr. and Kesh. *vōj-*, Zef. *vōž-*, Keur. *vōž-* (where *j* and *ž* < **č-*), Lasg. *bāč-*, *bōj-*, Siv. *boš-*, Abdui *veš-* id. (for Ir. **čy-* > **šy-* see below).
- Log. **yošaw-**, Kan. **y^wašaw-** G, **y^wařa-** M ‘to wash’
 < Ir. **vi-frāvāya-* pres. stem of Ir. **fru-* : *frav-*, cf. Av. *frav-* ‘to swim, to fly’ (pres. stem caus. *frāvaya-*) (IIFL:396), Skt. *plav-* id. < IE **pleu-* (IEW:836), etc.
- Log. **yóxtok**, Kan. **†yóštak** M, **y^waštak** G masc., **y^wāšk** M, **y^wāšk** G fem. ‘to fall’
 < Ir. **vaštā* + **-kā* from **vaz-*, cf. Av. *vaz-*, Skt. *vah-* ‘to move’ < IE **ueǵh-* (IEW:1118), Parth. *frwšt* /*fravašt-*/ ‘to fly away’.
- Log. **yoz-**, Kan. **y^waz-** G, M ‘to fall’
 < Ir. **vaza-* pres. stem of Ir. **vaz-*, cf. Av. *vaz-*, Skt. *vah-* ‘to move (intrans.)’ < IE **ueǵh-* (IEW:1118), Parth. *wz-* /*vaz-*/ ‘to blow, to fly’, Bal. *gwazag* ‘to pass’.
- Kan. **yozd** ‘suet’
 < Ir. **vāzdā* (EVP:95; IIFL:258), cf. Av. *vazdvar-* ‘constancy, firmness’ (AIW:1391), Par. *yāzd*, Pashto *wāzda* ‘suet’.
- Kan. **yulkák** M ‘kidney’
 where *yulk^o* < Ir. **v^rtká* from **v^rt-* : *vart-* (with primary suffix **-ka*), cf. Av. *vərəðka-*, Skt. *v^rkká-* id.

- Log. **+yunj** (M *yūnj*), Kan. **yunj** (G *yūndz*) ‘clothes’
 < Ir. **a-gūnda-či*, where **ā-* is a prefix, **gūnda* < **gūdā* (with infix *n*) is the verbal adjective ‘hidden’ formed from Ir. **gud-*; cf. Skt. *gudh-* ‘to hide’, *gūdhā-* ‘hidden’, Parth. **gwnd-* /*gund-*/ the pres. stem of the verb ‘to hide’, Bal. *gud, guḍ* ‘clothes’; preverb **ā-* was dropped after the spirantisation of intervocalic **g* (like **-b-* > *w* in Log. *wólak*, Kan. *wúlak* ‘to bring’ < **ā-bṛta-ka*) had taken place, cf. EVP:9-10.
- Kan. **+ywar** (G *ywar*) ‘oath’
 < Ir. **vara(h)* from Ir. **var-* ‘to choose’, cf. Av. *var-* id., *varah-* masc. ‘temptation, trial’, Skt. *var-* ‘to choose’ < IE **uel-* (IEW:1137).
- Kan. **ywarš-** pres. stem ‘to fear’
 < **y^wáhra-* < Ir. **viθráha-* from **θrah-* ‘to fear’ + preverb **vī-*, Av. *vī-*, O.Pers. *vi-*, *vij-* ‘away’, Parth. *wy-*, *w-* /*vi-*/, Paz. *va-* (Nyberg 1974:264).
- Kan. **ywas-** /*y^oas-*/, G *ywats-*, M *y^was-*, *yos*, *yos*, *yus-* pres. stem ‘to speak’, cf. Log. **yoš-**, M *yuš-* id.
- Log. **y^wáši**, Kan. **y^wási** (sg. and pl.) ‘grass’
 where *ywáš^o*, *ywás^o* < Ir. **vástram* nom. sg. neut. – the verbal noun of Ir. **vah-* < IE **ues-* (IEW:1171); there is probably no alternation of the root vowel in the pl. because of the influence of Pashto *wāšə* ‘grass’, cf. Av. *vāstra-* ‘pasture’, *vāstar-* ‘shepherd’ (AIW:1413-1414), cf. EVP:93; IIFL:334, 396.
- Kan. **y^wāšk** M, **y^wāšk** G fem. from the past stem **y^waštak* (G *y^waštak*), Log. **°yóxtok** ‘to fall’
 < **y^wáštākā* < Ir. **vaštā-* + **-kā* from **vaz-* ‘to move’, cf. Av. *vaz-* id., perf. part. *vašta-*, Skt. *vah-*, ‘to carry, to take away’, Parth. *frwšt* /*fira-vašt*/ ‘to fly (away)’.
- Kan. **y^wats-** G (as well as *y^was-*) pres. stem of ‘to say’
 < Ir. **váčya-* from **vak-* (see below).
- Kan. **+y^waž-** pres. stem (in *ywar ywaž-* G ‘to take an oath’)
 < Ir. **várzya-* pres. stem of Ir. **vrz-* : *varz-*, cf. Av. *varəz-* (IIFL:396) < IE **uerǵ-*, Parth. *°varz-*/, in *prwrz-* /*parvarz-*/ ‘to care for, to occupy oneself (with something)’, Kurd. *warz* ‘cultivated land’ (Cabolov 1976:70).
- Kan. **hátak**, fem. **hōtk** G ‘to leave; to lay down’ (= Log. **wótok** ‘to lay down’)
 < Ir. **háršta-kā* from Ir. **hrz-* : *harz-*, cf. Av. *harəz-* ‘to allow’, Skt. *sarj-* id. < IE **selǵ* (IEW:900), Parth. *hyšt* /*hišt*/ id.
- Log. **haves** L (= *awés*, M *awēs*), Kan. *awés*, G, M *awēs* ‘seventeen’
 < Ir. **haftádasā*, cf. Av. *haptadasa-* ‘seventeenth’ (AIW:1765), Skt. *saptádasā-* ‘seventeen’.
- Log. **hawai** L (= *awáy*, M *awáitu*), Kan. *awáy*, M *awái*, G *awái* ‘seventy’
 < **haftāitīm*, cf. Av. *haptāitīm* (AIW:1766), Skt. *saptatí-* id., Mid. Pers. *hft’d*, *hpt’d* /*haftād*/ id.

- Kan. **haz, az** G, *az* (in our records), *az* M (= Log. *az*) ‘I’
< Ir. **ázam*, cf. Av. *azəm*, O.Pers. *adam*, Skt. *ahám* (IE *aǵhem*; IEW:291), Parth. *ʾz* /*az*/id.
- Kan. **hēntsčī** G (sg. and pl.), **yēstsak** (sg.), **yēsčī** M (pl.) ‘tear, tears (from the eye)’
where *hēntsč°* and *yēsts°* are reflexes of the pl. form of Log. **ōšk*, Kan. **ōsk* < Ir. **ásru-ka*, cf. Av. *asru-*, Skt. *ásru-* ‘tear’, Mid. Pers. *ars* (GIPh, Vol. I, Pt. II:267), < IE **akru* (IEW:23, 179).
- Kan. **ho, o**, G *hō, ō*, M *ō* masc., **hā, ā** (= G) fem. (more rarely also masc.) dem. pron. ‘this’, ‘these’
the masc. form is from Ir. **ha-h*, cf. Av. *hō, hə, hā* – nom. sg. of *ha-* masc. ‘this’, Skt. *sás, sa* – the same case-form of *sa-* < IE *so(s)* (IEW:978-979), but the fem. form is from Ir. *hā*, cf. Av. *hā*, Skt. *sā* (IE **sā*); cf. *ha°* in Par. *hawí* ‘this’.
- Kan. **hōnd** G, **ond** (in our records), *ōnd, hond* M ‘blind’
< Ir. **andá* (with forward shift of stress), cf. Av. *anda-*, Skt. *andhá-* id., Buddhist Sogd. *ʾnt* id.
- **imbāi** G ‘friends’
< Ir. *hampāθya-* (?) (IIFL:331).
- Log., Kan. **inč-** (Kan. *hinc-* G) ‘to be able’
possibly from **hakya-* from Ir. **hak-*, cf. Av. *hak-* (*hača-, hačaya-*) ‘to take part in something’ (IIFL:332,391).
- Log. **injān**, Kan. **indz/zān** ‘the day before yesterday’
from the Iranian sequence of words **anyai + čit + asnī* lit. ‘the next day’ (> **in + čān*, where **n + *č* > **nj/ndz*), cf. Av. *anya-*, O.Pers. *aniya-* ‘another’; Av. *čīt*, O.Pers. *čiy* – an intensifying particle; Av. *azan-, asn-* ‘day’. See also later formations with the suffix **-či* (Morgenstierne 1973b:159).
- Log. ***is-** (B *al-isok*), Kan. **wēs-** G (possibly **wis-*?) pres. stem ‘to enter’
< Ir. **upa-isa-*, where **isa-* is the inchoat. pres. stem of **i-* : *ay-* ‘to go’, Av., O.Pers. *ai-* id. + preverb **upa-* or **abi-* (IIFL:411; cf. Tedesco 1921:231).
- Kan. **īz** M ‘water-skin’
< Ir. **izya* from Ir. **iza-*, cf. Av. *izaēna-* ‘of (goat-)skin’ < from IE **aiǵ-* ‘goat’ (IEW:13), Kurd. *hīz*, Talakh. *xīzá* ‘wine/water-skin’.¹¹⁹
- Kan. **ǰiraw-** the pres. stem of the denominative verb ‘to examine intently’ (see *dzīr kayēk* G ‘to look at somebody’)
where *ǰir/dzīr* may be compared with Av. *ǰīra-* ‘lively, intelligent, ingenious’ (from Av. *ǰī-* : *ǰay-* ‘to live’ + **-ra*), Skt. *ǰīrá-* ‘adroit’, Parth. *ǰyr /ǰīr/* ‘clever’ Kurd. *ǰir* ‘adroit, intelligent’, Dari *zīrak* id.

¹¹⁹ Cf. also Oss. *xizin* ‘bag’, Pahl. *azak* ‘nanny-goat’, Skt. *aja-* ‘billy-goat’ (Abaev 1985:8-9), IE *ǵǵ-* (IEW:6).

- Log., Kan. **įistu** ‘twenty’
< Ir. **vīṣati* (from earlier **vīṣatiš*), cf. Av. *vīṣaiti*, Skt. *vimśatáy-* from IE **ṷi-k̑mt-i* (IEW:1177), Parth. *wyst /vīst/*, Par. *yōšt*, Bal. *gist* id.; the final *-u* is by analogy with the word for ‘thirty’
- Log. **į(o)wār**, Kan. **dzudzār** (also G *dōdzār*, M *duj/dzār*) ‘maize, corn’.
- Log. **įusp** M, Kan. **dzwast**, M *zbast, įbasp* ‘span’
where the endings in *°st* < Ir. **vītasti(š)*, cf. Av. *vītasti-*, Skt. *vitasti-* id. (cf. IIFL:329, 397; 1932a:6), but endings in **sp* resulted from dissimilation (IIFL:332; Gershevitch 1954:70), cf. Kohr. *vedas*, Kurd. *bihust, bist*, Bal. *gidist, gídisp* id.
- Log. **įuṣ-**, Kan. **+dzuš-** (*dzuš-* G) pres. stem ‘to look’
< Ir. **vi-dīṣya-* from Ir. **dīṣ-* : *dars-* + **vi-* (> **va-*), cf. Av. *darəs-* ‘to look’, Skt. *darś-* id. < IE **derk-* (IEW:213) (in Avestan the class IV stem of this root has not been recorded, while there is a supplet. pres. stem *pāśya-* in Sanskrit, cf. IIFL:397).
- Log. **+kāli** (M *kāli*), Kan. **kāli** M ‘knife’
probably a fossilised pl. form of *+kāla* < Ir. **kártā* (stressed as in **márta-* ‘mortal, person’; **-a-* > Early Orm. **ā* in the position of a-umlaut) nom. dual masc. of **kárta-* ‘knife’ (from **krt-* : **kart-*), cf. Av. *karəta-* masc. ‘knife’, Skt. *kṛtí-* id. < from IE **ker-t-* (IEW:938, 941), Skt. *kartarī-* ‘hunting knife’ (AIW:454), Mid. Pers. *kārt* ‘knife’, Bal. *kārč*, Kurd. *kerd* id.
- Log., Kan. **kar-** to sow’
< Ir. **kārāya-* pres. stem of Ir. **krt-* : *kar-*, cf. Av. *kar-* ‘to cultivate the earth’, Skt. *kar-* ‘to work (the land), to cultivate’, Parth. *k’r-* /*kār-* ‘to sow’.
- Log. **kem** ‘(too) little’
< Ir. **kámbyā(h)* – comp. (masc. nom. sg.) of **kamná-*, cf. Av., Skt. *kamna-* ‘small, insignificant’ (the stress is reconstructed according to the pattern of comp. adjectives formed with suffix **-yah*), cf. also Mid. Pers. *kēm* ‘the least, (too) little’, Kurd. *kēm* ‘(too) little’.
- Log. **kerží** (= M), *kirji* Rv., M, Kan. **kirdzí, kirzí** ‘hen, chickens’ fossilised plural form from Early Orm. **kirgá* < Ir. *kṛká* (**g* < **k* by analogy with **murgá* ‘bird, hen’), cf. Av. *kahrka-*, Pahl. *kark*, Kurd. *kerk, kerge, kurk*, ‘chicken’, Par. *kory* (M *kury*) (Abaev 1958:572; Cabolov 1976:30; cf. IIFL:332, 399).
- Log. **kičaw-**, Kan. **kitsaw-** ‘to invite, to call upon’
where *°čaw-* / *°tsaw-* can possibly be traced back to the same Ir. root **č(i)yav-*.
- Log. **kičawok**, Kan. **kitsyek** G ‘to ask, to invite’.
- Log. **kin-** (pres. stem), Kan. **kin-** : **+kwúlak** (G *kwulak*), fem. **+kwálak** (G *kwalak*); (irregular fem. form for **kwalk*, probably from the influence of weak verbs) ‘to impregnate’
< Ir. **krt-* : *kar-*, pres. stem **kunvá-* (the thematised class V stem is from the 3pl. pres. indic. **kunvánti*); the *i/u* alternation is as in Log. *šiní*, Kan. *siní* ‘needle’ < **saučani*, Log. *diš-*, Kan. *dus-* (pres. stem) ‘to milk’ from Ir. **duk-*, past part. **krtá-* (*kw-* for **k-* influenced by the pres. stem? cf. IIFL:398-399), cf. Av. and O.Pers. *kar-* ‘to do’.

pres. stem Av. *kəṛənav-*, *kunav-* : *kəṛənv-* (class V), Skt. *kr-* : *kar-* id., past part. *kr̥tá-*.

- **las-** G ‘to lick’
 < Ir. **rāizáya-* from Ir. **raiz-* : *riz-* (with dissimilation in the voicing of **z* → **s* and the levelling of root **e* < **ai* as in causative verbs with roots containing **a*; these verbs have an *a* : *e* alternation in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. aorist, see section 3.2: Log. *der* - *daré*, Kan. *déri* - *darí* from Log. *dórnok*, Kan. *drának* ‘to have’ etc.), cf. Av. *raēz-*, Skt. *reh-*, *leh-* id. < IE *leiǵh-* ‘to lick’ (IEW:668), Par. *l(h)is-*, Kurd. *ālā/ēs*, Sang. *lis-* id., Russ. лизать (*lizat'*) ‘to lick’ (Fasmer 1967 Vol. II:494-495).
- Kan. **māk** G ‘withered’
 < Ir. **marxtá* perf. part. of **mr̥k-* : *mark-* ‘to perish, die’ + **-kā*, cf. Av. *marək-* id. (IIFL:400).
- Log. **māli**, Kan. **māli** ‘husband’,
 where *māl^o*, *māl^o* is from Ir. **mártā* (or possibly **martā*; Dybo, 1974:87) from Ir. **mr̥-* : *mar-* ‘to die’, cf. Av. *maša-* ‘mortal, human being’ (IE *mórto-*), *mašya-*, O.Pers. *martiya-* id. (IE *mórtyo-*), Parth. *myrd* /*merd*/, Par. *meṛ*, M *mēr* ‘man, human being, husband’.
- Kan. **malk** (fem. past stem of *múl(l)ak* ‘to die’)
 < Ir. **mr̥tá* + **-kā* from **mr̥-* : *mar-* ‘to die, to perish’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *mar-* id., perf. part. Av. *mərəta-*, Skt. *mar-* id., perf. part. *mr̥tá-*, Parth. *mwrđ-* /*murd*/, Par. *moṛ* id.
- Kan. **martsōi** M, *mārtsōi* G ‘ant’
 probably from **marviča* from Ir. **marvi-*, IE **morwi*, Av. *maoirī-*, Skt. *vamrī-*, Pahl. *mōr*, Zaza *mōrjilä*, Par. *mučó* id. (Abaev 1973:87).
- Log. **marzā**, Kan. **marzā** ‘brother’
 < Ir. **mātar-zāta-* or **ha[ma]-mātar-zāta* ‘born of the same mother’, where **zāta* is the perf. pass. part. of the above-mentioned root, cf. O.Pers. *hamātar-* ‘of the same mother’.
- Log. **māwa**, Kan. **māwa** ‘mother’
 < Ir. **mātā* nom. sg. of **matár-*, Parth. *m'dr* /*mād*/, /*mādar*/ id.
- Log. **māx**, Kan. **māx** ‘we’
 < Ir. **ahmāxam* – gen. pl. of **vayam* ‘we’, cf. Av. *ahmākəm*, O.Pers. *amāxam*, Skt. *asmākam* ‘us, our’, Parth. *'m'h* /*amāh*/ ‘we’, Par. *makhān* ‘our’, Bal. *māx* (Abaev 1973:78).
- Log. **māy**, Kan. **māy** ‘month’
 < Ir. **māha(m)* – acc. sg. of Ir. **māh-* masc. cf. Av. and O.Pers. *māh-*, O.Pers. *māha-*, Skt. *mās-* < IE **mēs-* (IEW:731), Parth. *māh*, Bal. *māh*, *maha* id.
- Kan. ⁺**mēmni** (*mēmni* G) ‘guests’, where *mēm^o*
 < Ir. **māiθman-* from **miθ-* : *maiθ-* (from Ar. **maith-* with the original meaning of ‘to meet each other, to meet together’ (see Abaev 1973:120), IE **meit(h)-* (IEW:715), cf. Nyberg 1974:123-124, cf. the derivative from this root Av. *maēθana-* ‘dwelling, house’, and also Parth. *myhm'n* /*mehmān*/ ‘guest’ (Boyce 1977:59).

- Log. **mendz**, Kan. **man(dz)** ‘middle’
< Ir. **man* (< **madyāna*) + **-čī*.
- Log. **+meš** (M *meš*), Kan. **meř** ‘sun’
< Ir. **miθra* (from **miθrá*), cf. Av. *miθra*- masc. ‘agreement’; Mithra (Aryan deity), O.Pers. *miθra*- (*miça*-) id., Skt. *mitrá*- masc. ‘friend’, *mitrá*- neut. ‘agreement’ < IE **mi-tro*- (IEW:710), Parth. *myhr* /*mihr*/ ‘sun’.
- Kan. **mex** ‘locust’
< Ir. **madixa* or **madaxa*, see Abaev 1979:108.
- Log. **mey**, M *mēi*, Kan. **maī** G, M, *mai* M ‘ewe’
< Ir. **máisī*, the base for the original barytone stress of the fem. stem and oxytone stress of the masc. stem meaning ‘ram’ (Dybo 1974:85-86), cf. Av. *maēšī*- fem. id., *maēša*- masc. ‘ram’, Skt. *meṣī*- fem. ‘ewe’, *mēśá*- masc. ‘ram’.
- Log. **mez-**, Kan. **máz-** pres. stem ‘to break (intrans.)’
< Ir. **mázya*- from Ir. **maz-* (*a* > *e* by analogy ?) < IE **maǵ-* ‘to crumple, to crush’ (IEW:696, IIFL:356, 401), cf. Munji *maz-*, Yidgha *maš-* ‘to kill’ (EVP:48).¹²⁰
- Log. **+mezí** (M *mizí*), Kan. **+mizí** (M *mižī*) ‘urine’
from Ir. **máiza*- pres. stem of Ir. **maiz-*, cf. Av. *maēz-*, Skt. *meh-* ‘to urinate’ < IE **meiǵh-* (IEW:713), Kurd. and Par. *mīz* ‘urine’, Bal. *mižag* ‘to urinate’.
- Kan. **míši** sg. and pl. ‘fly’
< Ir. **máxšī* – nom. sg. from **máxšī*- fem., cf. Av. *maxši*- fem. ‘fly’, Skt. *makṣika-*, *mákṣ-* ‘mosquito’ < IE **makó-*, **mokó-* (-*ko-*) (IEW:699), Mid. Pers. *maxš* (AIW:1112), Kurd. *mēš* ‘fly, bee’.
- Log. **mlič** M, **mliž** (Kieffer 1972:122), Kan. **miliž** G, M **milits** M ‘apple’
< Ir. **mṛnáči*, cf. Par. *āmaṛ*, id., Pashto *maṇa* id. (EVP:45), Par. *āmaṛ* id., cf. IIFL:331-332.
- Log. **mok**, Kan. **myōk** M ‘to open, to untie’
< Ir. **muxtá* + **-ka* from **muk-*, cf. Skt. *muc/k-* ‘to free’, perf. part. *muktá-*.
- Log. **mól(l)ok**, Kan. **múl(l)ak** ‘to die’
< Ir. *mṛtá* + **-ka* from Ir. **mṛ-* : *mar-* ‘to die’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *mar-* id., perf. past part. Av. *mərəta-*, Skt. *mar-* id., perf. past part. *mṛtá-*;
- Log. **morgá**, Kan. **mirgá** ‘sparrow’
< **murgá* < Ir. **mṛgá*, **mṛgám*, cf. Av. *mərəga*- masc., neut. ‘bird’, Skt. *mṛgá*- masc. ‘wildfowl; bird’ < IE **merag^h-* (?) (IEW:734); Parth. *mwrǵ* /*mury*/ ‘bird’, W.Bal. *murg* /*γ* id.

¹²⁰ Word formations from this root are present in Western Iranian languages; cf. Pashto *māt* ‘broken, smashed’, Munji *maz-* ‘to kill’, Kh.S. *vameys* ‘massage, twist’ (Bailey, 1979:375).

- Log. **mox**, Kan. **mux** ‘face’
 < Ir. **múxam* – acc. sg. of **muxa*- neut., cf. Skt. *múkha*- neut. ‘mouth, face’ (CDIAL:585), Par. *móx* ‘face, cheek’, see EVP:48-49.
- Log. **moř-** pres. stem ‘to rub (oneself)’, **mořaw-** pres. stem (caus.) ‘to grind, to rub’ (= Kan. **muxaw-** ‘to rub; to knead dough’, where Log. *ř* / Kan. *š* → *x*, cf. also Kan. **mutaw-** ‘to rub, to spread’); these forms have a common origin and can be explained only by the contamination of two O.Ir. roots:
 1) **mṛs-*, cf. Skt. *mṛś-* ‘to touch, to stroke’: Log. *moř-*, Kan. **muš* (→ *mux^o* in *muxaw-*) < *múrsya-* < Ir. **mṛsya-*;
 2) **mṛz-*, south-west **mṛd-* (IE **mel-d-*; IEW:718) ‘to touch, to stroke’, cf. Av. *maraz-* ‘to touch’, Skt. *mṛj-* ‘to rub’ < IE **mēlǵ-*, **melǵ-* (IEW:722), Mid. Pers. *mṛz-/marz-*, *marž-* ‘to touch, to stroke’ (Nyberg 1974:144); this root is reflected in Kan. *mut^o* (*mutaw-*) < Ir. **mṛšt-* (Ir. **ršt* > Orm. *t*) (see IIFL:335; EVP:48; Abaev 1973:101).
- Log. **mořtok**, Kan. **mářtak** ‘to break’
 < Ir. *mařtá-* + **-ka* from **maz-* ‘to weigh on’ < IE **mag^h-id.*, cf. Pashto *māt* ‘broken’, Munji *mořk-* ‘to kill’ (Bailey 1979:375, IEW:696-697).
- Log. **móř-**, Kan. **myuz-** M ‘to open’
 < Ir. **múčya-* pres. stem of Ir. **muk/č-*, cf. Skt. *muc-* ‘to liberate’, Parth. *pdmwo-/padmōž-* with the preverb **pati-* ‘to put (clothes) on’ (Ghilain 1939:62; Bailey 1979:201-202).
- Log., Kan. **mr-** pres. stem ‘to die’
 < **muryá-* < Ir. **mṛyá-* pres. stem (pass.) of **mṛ* : *mar-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *mar-* id., Skt. *mar-* id. < IE **mer-* (IEW:735), Parth. *myr-/mīr/id.*, Bal. *miraq*, Par. *mer-*, Kurd. *merin* id.
- Kan. **mriq**, **mrik** (G *mrik*) ‘slave, captive’
 < Ir. **márya* + suff. **-ka* (with stress shift), cf. Skt. *márya-* ‘man’ *maryaká-* masc. ‘young man’, with the stress according to CDIAL:569; Mylius 1980:360; IEW:737-738; cf. Nyberg 1974:132. The shift **-k* > *-g* is characteristic of Late Parthian, cf. OIJ 1981:168.
- Log., Kan. **mun** ‘I’ (oblique form)
 < Ir. **mána*, gen. cf. Av. *mana*, O.Pers. *manā*, Parth. *mn /man/*.
- Kan. **n-** ‘to sit’ (2nd conj.)
 < Ir. **ni-h/šáda-* from **had-* ‘to sit down’
- Log. **náf** (also *néfak* M) ‘gizzard’
 < Ir. *nāfā*, Av. *nāfā-*, Skt. *nābhī-*, fem. and masc. id., Parth. *n’fǵ*, *n’pg /nāfaq/* ‘centre, middle’, Kurd. *nāv(ik)* ‘gizzard’ (Abaev 1979:297; Édel'man 1982:38).
- Kan. **nayak** (from *nayok* masc. ‘to go out’)
 < Ir. **ni-gatā* + **-kā* from **gam*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *gata-* perf. part. of *gam-* ‘to arrive/come’.

- Log., Kan. **nayók** ‘to go out’
 < **ni(š)- + gata-ka* from Ir. **gam-*, past part. **gatá-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *gam-* ‘to come’ (perf. part. *gata-*), Skt. *gam-* id. < IE **g^uem-* (IEW:464), Par. *nařyó* ‘to go out’; cf. the analogical formation (with preverb **ā-*) of Kan. *ayók* ‘to appear, to be born’, cf. Parth. *’gd /āyad/* pres. stem ‘to come’ (Ghilain 1939:47).
- Log. **nāk**, Kan. **nāk** ‘wife’
 < Ir. **nāvā* + **-kā*, cf. Av. *navā-* fem. of *nava-* ‘new’, Skt. *nāvā-* id., Parth. *nw’g /navāg/* ‘new’.
- Log., Kan. **nawár-** pres. stem ‘to take out, pull out’
 < Ir. **ni-bára-* from **by-* : *bar-* ‘to carry’, Av., O.Pers. *bar-*, pres. stem *bara-* (class I), Skt. *bhar-*, pres. stem *bhára-*, Parth. *br- /bar-/* + preverb **ni-*, Av. *nī-*, O.Pers. *niy-*, Parth. *ni-*, Skt. *ni-*, *niṣ-*, or with preverb *niš-* ‘movement away from something’ (at some stage **niš-* was probably contaminated with **ni-* ‘movement downwards’, cf. IIFL:403).
- Log. **nawí**, Kan. ***nawí** (G *nawī*) ‘ninety’
 < Ir. **naváti* (where **atí* > *í*), cf. Av. *navaiti-*, Skt. *navatí-*.
- Log. **nemāž**, Kan. **nmāz** G. ‘prayers, namaz’
 < Ir. **námah* nom. sg. neut. from **námah-* (with **-ah* > **-ā*) + **-čī* < **-kī* (with accent shift and early loss of final **ī*), cf. Av. *nəmah-* ‘worship, veneration’ from *nam-* ‘bend, bow’, cf. Skt. *námas-* ‘worship’, Parth. *nm’c /namāž/* ‘bow’.
- Log. **nemék**, Kan. **mek** (*n^omēk*, *mēk* M) ‘salt’
 < Ir. **nimádaka* (IIFL:325), Mid. Pers. *nmyhq*, Par. *namá* id. etc.
- Log. **ner** (from *néri* plural), Kan. **nar** (plural *nári*) ‘house’
 < **antára* (from the earlier Ir. **ántara* ‘internal’ with the stress shifted to the second syllable by analogy with Ir. **antár* ‘inside’), cf. Av. *antara-*, Skt. *ántara-* ‘internal’, Av. *antarā*, O.Pers. *antar* ‘inside’, Skt. *antár* id., Parth. *’ndr /andar/* the preposition ‘into, in’.
- Log. **nes**, Kan. **anés** ‘nineteen’
 < Ir. *navádasa* (from the contraction of **ava* > *āu* via **āda* > **āda* > **āha* with **y* replacing **h*, whereupon **āya* > **ē* > *e*), cf. Av. *nava.dasa-* ‘nineteenth’, Skt. *nāvadaśa* ‘nineteen’ (CDIAL:402).
- Log. **néxči** sg. and pl., Kan. **naxk** sg., **náxči** pl. ‘finger-nail’
 where *naxk* < Ir. **naxá-* + **-ka* from Ir. **naxá-* masc. ‘nail’ < IE **nokh-* (Abaev 1973:217-218), cf. Skt. *nakhá-* ‘talon’, Bal. *nakyn*, *naxun* ‘nail’.
- Log. **ney-**, Kan. **nay-** pres. stem ‘to sit down’
 < Ir. *ni-š/háda-* from **had-* + **ni-*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *had-* ‘to be seated, to sit down’, Parth. *nšyd (nišīd-)* id. (Ghilain 1939:50). Cf. Av. *nī-*, *ny-*, O.Pers. *niy-* meaning ‘motion downwards’. See also Kan. *ay-*, G *hāy-*, M *ē-*, pres. stem ‘to sit’ < Ir. **hadyá-* from the same root (Morgenstierne 1932a:10).

- Log. **nezd°** (in *nezdék* ‘near’)
 - < Ir. **nazdyā(h)* ‘nearer’, where **zd* < **sd*, that is IE **sed-* ‘to sit’ in zero grade (IEW:884-886; OIJ 1981:39), cf. Av. *nazdo* ‘nearer’, Parth. *nzd /nazd/* ‘near’.
- Log. **nezdék** ‘near, nearby’
 - where *nezd* < Ir. **názdyā(h)* ‘nearer’ is from **nazdyah-*, cf. Av. *nazdyō* ‘nearer’ (from **nazdyah-*, superl. *nazdišta-*), cf. Skt. *nédīyah-* ‘nearer’, Parth. *nzd /nazd/* ‘around’, Kurd. *nēzīk* ‘near’ (Cabolov 1976:15); *-ek* < W. Mid. Iranian **-īk* < Ir. **ya-ka* (GIPh Vol. I Part 2:279; OIJ 1981:195), cf. Parth. *-yg /-īg/*.
- Log. **no, nə, Kan. na (nâ)** ‘nine’
 - < Ir. **náva*, cf. Av. *nava*, Skt. *náva* id., from IE **neun̥* (IEW:318).
- Kan. **noř** ‘soft’
 - < Early Orm. **nahr* < Ir. **námra* (from earlier **namrá*) ‘complaisant, submissive’ from **nam-*, cf. Av. *nam-*, Skt. *nam-* ‘to bend’, *namrá-* ‘complaisant’ (Grierson 1918:70).
- Log. **nóstok, Kan. nástak** ‘to sit down’
 - < Ir. **ni-h/šastá + *-ka* from Ir. **had-* ‘to sit down’, cf. Av., O.Pers. *had-* id., perf. past part. Av. *šta*, inf. *šasta*, Skt. *sad-* id. < IE **sed-* (IEW:884);
- Log. **now, Kan. nyow** ‘new’
 - < Ir. **nava*, cf. Av. *nava-* ‘new, fresh’, Skt. *nava-* (or *no°* < Ir. **náva +* inserted *-w* from the fem. form), Parth. *nw’g /nawag/*, Par. *no*, Kurd. *nū*, Dari *naw* id.; cf. Kan. *nyówa* fem.
- Kan. **nu(w)-, +níw-** ‘to lay’ (3rd conj.)
 - < Ir. **dāya-* (class IV) from **dā-* ‘to put’ + the preverb **nī-* movement downwards, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *dā-* ‘to stand (trans.)’, pres. stem *dāya-*, cf. Skt. *dhā-* ‘to lay’, pres. stem *dhāya-* (class IV).
- Kan. **nw-** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’ (4th conj.)
 - < Ir. **ni-padyá-* or **ni-paθyá-* (class IV) from **pad-, paθ-* ‘to fall’, **ni-* (movement downwards), cf. Av. *pad-, paθ-* id.
- Kan. **nwástak** ‘to lie down (to sleep)’
 - < Ir. **nī-pastá + *-ka* from Ir. **pad-* < IE **pěd-, *pōd-* (IEW:790-791), cf. Av. *pad-* ‘to fall’, with preverb *nī-* ‘to lie down’, Parth. *’mbd /am-baδ-/* ‘to fall down’ (Ghilain 1939:53);
- Kan. **ond** ‘blind’
 - < Ir. **andá*, cf. Av. *anda-*, Skt. *andhá-*, Parth. *hnd /hand/* id.
- Log., Kan. **pa** preposition ‘in, on, towards’
 - < Ir. **pati*, cf. Av. *paiti*, O.Pers. *patiy*, Parth. *pd /pad/* id.
- Log. **pandzáxtu, pandzástu, Kan. pandzástu** ‘fifty’
 - < Ir. **pančāsata-*, cf. Av. *pančāsata-* id., Grk. *πεντήκοντα* id., but Skt. *pañtsāsát-* id. (the stress is secondary; Dybo 1974:85); several forms of this word have the cluster *xt/št* (instead of *st*) by analogy with the word for ‘sixty’, cf. Parth. *pnj’st /panjāst/* id.

- Log., Kan. **pandzės** ‘fifteen’
< Ir. **pāncadasa*, cf. Av. *pančadasa-*, Skt. *pañcadaśa-* id.
- Log. **pa-néŋta**, Kan. **pa-nešta** ‘outside, on the outside’
where *°néŋt*, *°néšt* < Ir. **níštyā(h)*, cf. Av. *ništara-* ‘outward’, and Skt. *nīštya-* ‘someone else’s’.
- Kan. **párawak** ‘broom’
< Ir. **párā-raupa-ka*, where **ráupa* is a verbal noun from **rup-* : *raup-*, cf. Av. *“rūp-* ‘to lay waste’ (?), Skt. *lup-* ‘to break’, Russ. лупить (*lupit*) ‘to thrash’ < IE *leup-*, *reup-* (IEW:690; Abaev 1973:435), cf. Parth. *pdrwb-* /*padrōb-*/ pres. stem ‘to rout’ (Bailey 1979:298) (from this same root, but with the preverb **pati-*), Bal. *rōpag*, Par. *rūy-* M ‘to sweep’.
- Kan. **pat** G, M ‘upper part of the back’
< Ir. **parštá* (with accent shift), cf. Av. *paršta-* ‘back’, Skt. *pr̥sthá-*, Parth. *pwšt* /*pušt*/ id.
- Log., Kan. **pazán-** pres. stem ‘to know’
< Ir. **patí-zánya-* from Ir. **zan-* + **patí-*, cf. Av. *zan-*, O.Pers. *dan-* ‘to know’, Av. *paití-zān-* ‘to recognise’ (Sokolov 1964:357), Skt. *jān-* < IE **ǵen-* (IEW:376), Parth. *z’n-* /*zān-*/, Bal. *zānaq*, Kurd. *zānīn* ‘to know’;
- Log. **pe**, Kan. **pye** ‘father’
< Ir. **pitā-* – nom. sg. of *pitár-*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *pitár-*, Parth. *pyd* /*pid*/, *pydr* /*pidar*/ id.
- Log., Kan. **pendz** (*pēnts* M) ‘five’
< Ir. **pānča*, cf. Av. *panča*, Skt. *pāñca* id. from IE **penk^ue* (IEW:808), Parth. *pnj* /*panj*/, Kurd. *pēnj*, Bal. *panč*, Par. *penč*, Gil. *pənj* id.;
- Log., Kan. **pets** ‘back, in return’
< Ir. **pāsča* (from the earlier **pasčá*), cf. Av. *pasča* ‘after’, Skt. *paścá* ‘back, late’, Parth. *pš* /*paš*’ ‘after, then’; see **sč* > *č* in Caspian dialects *peč* /*peš* /*pes* (Geiger 1890:140, No. 287), as well as Kesh. *peč*, *pač* ‘then, backwards’ (Žukovskij 1888:85).
- Log., Kan. **pikák** ‘curdled milk’
where *pi* < Ir. **páyā(h)* masc. nom. sg. of Ir. **páyah-* ‘milk’, cf. Av. *payah-* id., Skt. *páyas-* ‘drink, milk’ from IE **pej(ə)-* (IEW:793), Pahl. *pīg*, *pīk*, Bal. *pīg/y* (= Orm. *pik^o* in *pikák*).
- Kan. **+pīn** (G *pīn*) ‘honey’
< Ir. **paina*, cf. Av. **paēnaēna-* ‘prepared from honey’ from Av. **paēna-* masc. ‘honey’ (AIW:817).
- Kan. **pis-** G pres. stem ‘to write’
< Ir. **písyā-* from Ir. **pis-* : *pais-*, cf. Av. *paēs-*, O.Pers. *paīθ-* ‘to decorate’, Skt. *piś-* id. < IE **pik-*, **peik-* (IEW:794-795; Abaev 1958:501; Bailey 1979:241), Parth. *nbys-* /*nīβēs-*/ ‘to write’ (Ghilain 1966:61).

- Kan. **+pištak** (G *pištak* masc), **+pišk** (G *pīšk* fem.) ‘to write’
< Ir. **pištā + *-kā* from **pis-* : *pais-*, cf. Av. *paēs-*, O.Pers. *paiθ-* ‘to paint, to decorate’ < IE **peik-* (IEW:794), Parth. *nbyšt /niβišt/* ‘to write’ (Ghilain 1939:61).
- Log. **+pom** (M *pōm*), Kan. **+pom** (M *pōm*) ‘animal hair’
< Early Orm. **pahma* < Ir. **pāšma* nom. sg. of **pāšman-*, cf. Av. *pašna-* neut. ‘eyelid’, Skt. *pakṣman-* ‘eyelash’.
- Log. **pōm** M, Kan. **pom**, M **pōm** ‘fleece’
< Ir. **pāšma*, nom. sg. of **pāšman-*, cf. Av. *pašna* neut. ‘eyelid’, Skt. *pākṣman-* ‘eyelash’.
- Log., Kan. **pon** ‘roof’
< Ir. **pāna* from **pā-* ‘to guard, to protect’, cf. Av. *pāna-* ‘guard, defence’ (in compounds), Skt. *pāna-* id., Mid. Pers. *°pān* (in *puštēpān*), Pahl. *pānak* ‘that which guards, protects’ (Abaev 1958:433; Nyberg 1974:163).
- Log. **poryon-**, Kan. **paryūn-** G pres. stem ‘to dress (oneself)’
< Ir. **gud-* : *gaud-* (south-western form), **guz-* : *gauz-* (north-western form) < IE **gheuǵh-*, *ghūǵh* (IEW:450) + **pari-*; Skt. *gudh-* ‘to wrap up’ (Geiger 1890:124), *guh-* ‘to hide, to conceal’, Parth. *ngwnd-* /*ni-yund/* ‘to dress’, Par. *ā-yun-* ‘to dress’ (Abaev 1958:38-39).
- Log. **póxok**, Kan. **paxak** G ‘cooked, ripe’
< Ir. **paxvá + *-ka* from Ir. **pak-*, cf. Av. *pak-* ‘to boil, to bake’, Skt. *pak-* id., perf. part. *pakvá-*.
- Log. **poxt-** pres. stem (from past stem) ‘to ask’
< Ir. **pṛs-* (pres. stem from **fras-* < IE **pṛk-*; IEW:821) + **-ta* (**rs + t >* Early Orm. **st*, but **rš + t >* Early Orm. *t*) – probably an independent development, and not the influence of Pashto *puštēdəl*, *puštəm* (EVP:42, cf. p. 61).
- Kan. **+°prets** (in *meř-prēts* G ‘sunrise’) possibly from **prāč*, Ir. **frāč* (*pr* instead of **fr*, evidently from the influence of Indian languages; *ā > é* as a result of i-umlaut from adjoining **č*), cf. Av. *frača*, *fraš* ‘forward’, Skt. *prañc-*, *prāc*, Parth. *frāž* id., Class. Pers. *fārā(z)* ‘forward to, to’ (OIJ 1982:520).
- Kan. **+pyok** (M *pyok*) ‘to boil’
< Ir. **paxtá + *-ka* from **pak-*, cf. Av. *pak-* ‘to boil, to bake’, Skt. *pak-*, id. Pahl. *puxtan*, Kurd. *pahtan*, *pātan* id., Sang. *bepaten*, Siv. *paten*, Kohr. *paxtemūn* id. (another type of perf. part. from this root gives Log. *póxok*, Kan. *paxak* G ‘baked, boiled’ < Ir. **paxvá + *-ka*).
- Log., Kan. **rang** ‘colour’ < **ranga*, cf. Skt. *raṅga-* ‘colour, paint’, O.Pers. *rang* id.

- Kan. **rāři** ‘nephew’
< Ir. **brāθrvya*, cf. Av. *brātruya-*, Skt. *bhrātrvyá-* id. from Av. and O.Pers. *brātar-*, Skt. *bhrātar-* ‘brother’ < IE **bhrāter-* (IEW:163).¹²¹
- Log., Kan. **rás-** ‘to reach’
< Ir. **rás-* pres. stem from Ir. **r-* : *ar-* ‘to go, to reach’, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *rasa-* inch. pres. stem ‘to go, to arrive’ from *ar-* ‘to move, to go, to make for’, Av. *ar-* id., Mid. Pers. *rs-* /*ras-* / ‘to arrive, to come’, Skt. *ar-* id., pres. stem (inch.) *ṛcchá-* < IE **re-ské-* (IEW:326-327).
- Kan. **rawas** ‘fox’
< Ir. **raupāsá*, cf. O.Pers. (as transcribed in Elamite) Raubasa – a proper noun, Skt. *lopāsá-* ‘fox, jackal’ (Abaev 1973:434; Mylius 1980:416) < IE **ulp-*, **lup-* (IEW:1179), Parth. *rwb*’s /*rōbās*/, Bal. *rōpask*, Par. *rūyasōk* M, Kurd. *rūwí*, *ruwás* (Abaev 1973:433)
- Log. **rāy**, Kan. **rāy** ‘road’
< Ir. *rāθa* (from **raθa-*), cf. Av. *raθa-* ‘cart’, Skt. *rātha-* ‘chariot’ < IE *ret(h)-* (IEW:866), Parth. *r’h* /*rāh* / ‘road’, Par. *rā*, Bal. *rā* id.;
- Log. **res-**, M *ras-*, Kan. **ras-** G, M ‘to spin’
< Ir. **raisáya-* pres. stem (caus.) from Ir. **ris-* : *rais-*, cf. Skt. *rēs-* ‘to tear, to pinch’ from IE **reik-* (IEW:858), Bal. *brēsay*, *rēsay* ‘to spin’.
- Kan. **rīn-** G pres. stem ‘to shave, to scrape’
< Ir. **brīná-* (from the 3pl. pres. **brīnánti*) from **brī-* : *brāy-*, cf. Av. *brī-* : *brāy-* ‘to cut (of hair), to shave’ (AIW:972), pres. stem *brīn-*, Skt. *bhrī-* ‘to injure’, pres. stem *bhrīnā-*, 3pl. pres. *bhrīnánti* (CDIAL:553) < IE **bhrēi-*, **brī-* (IEW:166), Bal. *burag* ‘to cut’, Kurd. *birīn* id. (Geiger 1890:116).
- Log. **rīzan**, Kan. **†rīzan** (*rízən* M, *rídzan* G) ‘cleaned rice’
< Ir. **vrījī* + **-āna* (with stress shift), cf. Skt. *vrīhī-* ‘rice’;
- Log. **rówon**, Kan. **ráwan** ‘fire’
< Ir. **ráuxšna*, verbal adjective from **ruk-* : *rauk-*, pres. stem **ráuxš-* (+ suffix **-na*), cf. Av. *raok-* ‘to shine, to beam’, **raoxšna-* ‘bright’, Skt. *roč-* id. < IE **lauk-sno-* / *-nā* (IEW:687), cf. Av. *raoxšna-* ‘bright’, Parth. *rwsn* /*rōsn* / ‘bright, clear’ (Boyce 1977:79; Nyberg 1974:171), Kurd. *fon* id., Par. *rhīnē* M ‘light, fire’.
- Log. **-rož** (as in **nimrož** ‘midday’), Kan. **ryoz** ‘day’
< Ir. **ráuča(h)* nom. sg. neut. from **ráučah-* ‘light’, cf. O.Pers. *raučah-* ‘day’, Av. *raočah* ‘light’, Skt. *rócas-* ‘light’ < IE **leuk-* (IEW:687), Parth. *rwc*, *rwz* /*rōš* / ‘day’, Kurd. *rūž*, Bal. *rōč* id., Par. *r(h)oč* ‘day, sun’.

¹²¹ Kan. *rāři* G id. is the Pashto-ised form of this word; the final *-i* and the development of Ir. **θr* > *ř* is purely Ormuri, but initial *r-* < Ir. **br* (via **wr*) shows that this word did not escape the influence of Pashto, cf. IIFL:329-330.

- Log., Kan. **run** ‘melted butter’
< Ir. **ráugna*, cf. Av. *raoyna-* ‘fat’, IE **reugh-men-* (IEW:873), Kurd. *rūn*, Sul. *rōn*, Bal. *rōgan*, Sed. *rūn*, Talakh. *rūn* ‘oil’.
- Kan. **řak** fem. ‘flea’
< Ir. **frúš-kā* from Ir. **frúši-*, cf. Skt. *plúṣi-* masc. ‘a variety of harmful insect’ (Monier-Williams 1976:715), IE **plou-* (+ **s* (IEW:102) + **kā* with the elision of the final -a (< **-ā*) through analogical levelling with fem. past stems in -k, cf. IIFL:409; Dybo 1974:72, Par. *roč* id.
- Kan. **řámánd** ‘threshing floor’
probably the verbal noun (with the suffix **-ana* + excrescent -d) from Ir. **xram-*, cf. Skt. *kram-* ‘to stride’, Par. *khamōr* id. (Morgenstierne 1932a:31; Bailey 1979:501).
- Kan. **řámót** ‘oblivion’
< Ir. **fra-máršta* from Ir. **mṛš-* : *marš-*, cf. Skt. *mṛṣ-*, with the preverb *pra* ‘to forget’ (Mylius 1980:378) (IE **mer-s-* (IEW:737), Parth. *fr’mwš-*, *pr’mwš-* /*frāmōš-*/, ‘to forget’, past part. *fr’mwšt* /*frāmušt*/, Av. *marša-* (in *maršō-kara-* ‘rubbing out’; Bailey 1979:325), Par. *nhāmur*, ‘oblivion’, Bal. *šamu/ōšag* ‘to forget’ (Geiger 1890:43).
- Kan. **řas-** pres. stem ‘to swell’
< Ir. **frā-suyá-* from Ir. **su-* : *sav-*, cf. Av. *sav-* ‘to be fit (for), to be useful’, pres. stem (pass.) *suya-* (AIW:1561), Skt. *sū-*, *śvi-* ‘to swell’, pres. stem (pass.) *sūya-* (IE **ku-*, *keu-*, *kūā-* ‘to swell’, Bal. *sīay* ‘to swell’ (Abaev 1973:381; IEW:592-593).
- Kan. **+řibuk** (G *řībūk*) ‘smelling’
with *°buk* < Ir. **bauda*, cf. Av. *baōda-* ‘smell’, Parth. *bwy* /*bōy*/id.
- Kan. **řitsaw-** G ‘to send’
< Ir. **frā-* + **č(i)-yāváyá-* pres. stem (caus.) of Ir. **čyav-*, cf. Av. *šyav-*, *frašāvaya* pres. stem (caus.) ‘to set in motion’, O.Pers. *šiyav-*, Skt. *cyav-* ‘to go’, Parth. *frš’aw-* /*frašāw-* / ‘to send’ (Ghilain, 1939:77).
- Log., Kan. **s-** ‘to become’ (2nd conj.)
< Ir. **šyáva-* (class I) from **šyu-* : *šyav-* ‘to become’, cf. Av. *šyav-*, O.Pers. *šiyav-* ‘to move, to go’, pres. stem (class I) O.Pers. *šiyava-*, cf. Skt. *cyu-* : *cyav-* ‘to go’, pres. stem (class I) *cyáva-*.
- Log., Kan. **sar** ‘head’
< Ir. **sara(h)*, nom. sg. of **sarah* neut., cf. Av. *sarah-* neut., Skt. *śíras-* neut. id.
- **sats** M – a species of bird – plural *sāts/sači*.
- Log. **sála**, Kan. **+sála** (G *sāl^a*) n., adj. ‘cold’
< Ir. **sártā-* – fem. of the adj. **sarta-* masc. ‘cold’, cf. Av. *sarəta-* masc. < IE *kel-* (IEW:551), Parth. *srd* (Nyberg 1974:174), Bal. *sart/d*, Kurd. *sur* ‘cold (n.)’ (Farizov 1957:738).
- Log. **skan** ‘dung (of cattle)’
< Ir. **sáka* concrete noun from **sak-* (IE **keku-* ‘to excrete’ (IEW:544) + **-āna*, cf. Skt. *śáka-*, neut., **chaka-* ‘dung’ (CDIAL:271, 709) or from Ir. **sakana* from **sakan-*

- , cf. Skt. *śaknás* gen. of *śákṛt-* ‘dung, droppings’ (Abaev 1958:392), cf. Par. *sayōn* M, Bal. *sayan* id. (Stress as for concrete nouns of the type Skt. *odana* masc. and neut. ‘boiled rice’, see Elizarenkova 1982:140; Mylius 1980:96; cf. IIFL:340 & 287).
- Kan. **+skindz** (M *škindz* – with the “lispings” variant of phoneme /s/) ‘adze’ < Ir. **skandá* – nomen agentis from Ir. **skand-*, cf. Av. *skand-* ‘to break’, Skt. *skhad-* id. (IE **skhed-* : **skhe-n-d-* (IEW:918-919), Bal. *sind-* ‘to break’ (Abaev 1979:54).
 - Log. **°sol**, Kan. **°sal** (in *asol*, *asal* ‘in this year’) < Ir. **sárda(m)* acc. sg. of **sard-* fem., cf. Av. *sarəd-*, O.Pers. *θard-* fem. id., Av. *sarəða-* masc. name of a deity (AIW:1567), Skt. *sárád-* fem. ‘autumn, year’ from IE *ḱel-* (IEW:551), Parth. *s’r /sār/* and **sard* (in an Arm. loan word), Par. *sar*, Bal. *sāl*, Tal. *sor* ‘year’, Kurd. **sar* in *nav-sarā* ‘elderly’ (Cabolov 1976:9-10).
 - Log. **sónok** ‘breast, udder’ from **siná*, where **i* < **ai* (Abaev 1979:200) + **-ka*, cf. Av. *saēni-* ‘prominent, summit’ < IE **ḱēno-* : **ḱō-no-* (IEW:541-542), Class. Pers. *sīna* ‘breast’, Bal. *sīnag*, Kurd. *sīnag* ‘breast’.
 - Kan. **sparaw-** pres. stem ‘to blink’ where *spar*^o < Ir. **spára-* cf. Av. *spara-* pres. stem from *spar-* ‘to step, to push’, Skt. *sphur-* id. < IE *sp(h)er-* (IEW:922), Mid. Pers. *spar-* ‘to step, to push’ (OIJ 1981:36).
 - Log. **+spek** (M *°spek*), Kan. **ispēk** M, G ‘barley’ < Ir. **spik-* : *spaik-* < IE **sphēi-* : *sphī-* (IEW:981) + **-ka*.
 - Log. **spew**, Kan. **spew** (as well as **spiw**) ‘white’ < Ir. **spáita*, (from the earlier **spaitá*), cf. Av. *spaēta*, Skt. *śvetá-* < IE *ḱwei-to* (IEW:628-629), Parth. *spyd /ispēd/* id., Bal. *spēt*, Kurd., Sul. *spī* (< **spēh* Cabolov 1976:18), Sang. *espí*, Sed., Kesh. *esbē*, Tal. *sipi* id.
 - Log. **spíči**, Kan. **spáči-** pl. of Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’ < Ir. **spa* + *-ka*.
 - Log. **spok**, Kan. **spak** ‘dog’ < Ir. **spá-ka*, where Ir. **spa* from the stem **span-* masc. ‘dog’ with truncated **-n*, cf. Av. *spaka-*, Skt. *śvan-*, Med. *σπάκα* id. from IE **ḱuon-* (IEW:632), Parth. *’spg* (Oranskij 1979b:156), Tal. *səpa*, Semn. *espa*, Sang. *espé*, Kohr. *espá*, Par. *espó*;
 - Log. **spuy**, Kan. **+spuy** (*spūī* M, *spōī* G) ‘louse’ < Ir. **spiš* nom. and acc. sg. of Ir. **spiš-* neut., cf. Av. *spiš-* neut. – a harmful insect, M.Pers. *spiš*, *spuš*, Kurd. *s(i)pī*, Par. *espó* ‘louse’.
 - Kan. **spužak** M ‘spleen’ (stress not indicated) < Ir. **spržá* nom. sg. of **spržan-*, cf. Av. *spərəzan-*, Skt. *plīhán-* < IE **sp(h)elǵh(en, -ā)* (IEW:987), Mid. Pers. *sparz*, Class. Pers. *supurz*, Tal. *sīparz*, Gil. *ispərz*, Sang. *uspúl*, Bal. *isphulk* id.
 - Log. **stežáy**, **stešak** (from **stežak*) ‘star’ where **stežo* < Ir. *stā-či* (**stā* nom. sg. or truncated stem from *star-* ‘star’), cf. Av.

star-, Skt. *star-* id. (Mylius 1980:558) < IE **stēr-* (IEW:1027), Parth. *'st'rg /astārag/*, Bal. *istār*, Kurd. *isterka, istirk*, Par. *estéč* id.;

- Log. **stor**, Kan. **stur** 'big'
< Ir. **stūra* cf. Av. *stura-* 'vast, powerful', Skt. *sthūrā-* < IE *steu-ro-* (IEW:1010), Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *stūr*, Par. *estōrō* M 'fat'.
- Log. **stor**^o (in *storga* 'a stable')
< Ir. **staura*, cf. Av. *staora-* 'large animal', Parth. *'stwr /istōr/* 'horse', Mid. Pers. *stōr-gāh* 'stable', Kurd. *hastur* 'horse, mule', Zaza (*a*)*stōr* 'horse' (Abaev 1979:155).
- Kan. **+styun** (M *styōn*) 'column'
< Ir. **stūna*, cf. Av. *stūna-* masc., *stunā-* fem. 'column', Skt. *sthūnā-* fem id. < IE *st(h)ū-* a variant of the root **stā-* mentioned above (IEW:1008; Abaev 1958:79), cf. Parth. *'stwn* 'mast' (Nyberg 1974:181), Par. *ustūn* M 'column', Kurd. *astū* 'neck' when *ustu(n)*.
- Log. **su**, rarely **so**, Kan. **su** 'hundred'
< Ir. **satām*, cf. Av. *satəm*, O.Pers. *ṡata*^o, Skt. *śatām* id. from IE **k̑mto-m* (IEW:192: < **(d)k̑m̑tóm*), Parth. *sd /sad/* id., Par. *so*, Sed. and Keur. *so* id.;
- Kan. **sukál** 'porcupine'
< Ir. **sukúrñā*, cf. Av. *sūkā-* 'needle', *sukurāna-* 'porcupine' (pejorative name for a dog), Skt. *sūka-* 'awn' < IE **ku-* (IEW:626), Av. *varānā-*, Skt. *ūrñā* 'fleece' < from IE **uel-*, **uelō-* (IEW:1139), Par. *šuyúr* id.
- Log. **suš**, Kan. **suř** 'red'
< Early Orm. **suhr* < Ir. *súxra* (from earlier **suxrā*), cf. Av. *suxra-*, O.Pers. *ṡuxra-*, Skt. *śukrá-* 'bright' < IE **keuk-* (IEW:597), Bal. *suhr*, *sōr*, Sang. *sūr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Par. *sork(o)* 'red', Tal. *sj*.
- Log. **syáka**, Kan. **syáka** fem. 'shadow/shade'
< Ir. **sāyā* fem. + **-kā* (> **sāyāka* with metathesis of **y*), cf. Av. *a-saya-* 'not having shade', Skt. *chāyā-* fem. 'shadow/shade' (Grierson 1918:75) from IE **skai-*, **sk̑ai* (IEW:917), Mid. Pers. *sāyak* (Nyberg 1974:175), Man. *s'yg /sāyag/* id., Bal. *siāig* (Elfenbein 1963:72).
- Log. **šándas**, Kan. **sándas, sandás** 'eleven'
the first part shares its derivation with number 'one' + **dasa* (the inserted **n* is by analogy with Ir. **aivandasa* 'eleven').
- Log. **šáw-**, Kan. **řáw-** pres. stem 'to give'
< Ir. **fra-* + **dádā-* – pres. stem Class III from **dā-* 'to give', cf. Av., O.Pers. *dā-* id., Parth. *dh-* /*dah-*/ (Ghilain 1939:78), Par. *dah-* id.
- Log. **řaw-**, Kan. ***řáw-** pres. stem 'to cry'
< Ir. **frā-* + **rudá-* or **ráuda-* (with change of stress), cf. Av. *raod, raov-* 'to howl', pres. stem *uruṡa-*, Skt. *rud-* : *raud-* 'to shout, to sob', pres. stem *roda-, ruda-*, Par. *roh-, rho-* pres. stem 'to cry', etc.

- Log. **še**, M *šē*, Kan. **sa** (**sā**), G *sō*, *s^o*, M *sə* masc., *syē*, G *syī*, M *syē* (*šyē*), *siē* fem. ‘one’
according to Morgenstierne, from Ir. **sya(h)* masc., **syā* fem. from **sya-*, **syā* < IE **k(i)jo-* from **ko-*, **ke-*, pron. stem ‘this’ (IEW:609; IIFL:407)
- Log. **šer**, Kan. **sir(r)** ‘good’
< Ir. **srīrā*, cf. Av. *srīra-*, Skt. *srīrā-*, *srīlā-* ‘beautiful’ from IE **krei-* (IEW:618), cf. Bailey 1979:400-401, cf. Parth. *šyr /šīr/* ‘good’ (OIJ 1981:409), Bal. *šarr* ‘kindness’, *šarīyā* ‘well’ (Elfenbein 1963:74).
- Log. **šes**, Kan. **řes** ‘thirteen’
< Ir. **θrīdasa* or **θrāyadasa*, cf. Av. **θrīdasa-* ‘thirteenth’, Skt. *trāyōdaśa-* ‘thirteen’.
- Log. **šin-**, Kan. **řin-** (G *řín-*) pres. stem ‘to buy’
< Ir. **xrīnā-* (from the 3pl. **xrīnānti*) from Ir. **xrī-*, cf. Skt. *krī-* ‘to buy’ (3pl. *krīnānti*) < IE **k^urei-* (IEW:648), Parth. *xrīd-* (past part.) (Abaev 1973:50), Mid. Pers. *xrīn-*, Kurd. *kerin* id., Sang. *əršīnændi* ‘(I) bought’, Kesh., Kokh. *xrīn-*, Von., Zef. *rīn-* ‘to buy’, Gil. *heen-* ‘to buy’, Sed. *biyrīn* ‘buy (imper.)’.
- Log. **šiní**, Kan. **siní** ‘needle’
< **sūžnī* < Ir. **saučanī* fem. of **sáučana* masc. nomen instrumenti from **suk-* : *sauk-* ‘to burn’ (→ ‘to prick’ : ‘needle’ = ‘pricking’ Abaev 1979:164-165) + **-ana* masc., **-anī* fem., cf. Av. *saok-* id., *sūkā-* ‘needle’, Skt. *sūka-* ‘the sting of an insect’, IE *k^u-* ‘pointed, spear’ (IEW:626), Pahl. *sočan* (with assimilation *s - žn > š - žn*) (>*n*), as in Kurd. *sužin*, *šužin*, Munji *šižna*, Par. *si/učin* ‘needle’, Bal. *sižin*, *sučin*, *sičin* id. (IIFL:286; Mayer 1975:121; Oranskij 1979b:184).
- Log. **šistu**, Kan. **řistu** ‘thirty’
< **hrīsatam* from Ir. **θrīsatam*?, cf. Av. *θrīsat-* : *θrīsant-* id., Skt. *trīmśāt-* and *trīmśat-* id. (see IEW:1091), Parth. *hryst /hrist/*, Par. *šos* id.
- Kan. **škindz** M ‘adze’
< Ir. **skanda-čī* from **skand-* ‘to break’ (**nd > n*), cf. Av. *skand-* ‘to break’ < IE **skhe-n-d-* (IEW: 918-919), Bal. *sind-* ‘to break, to split’ (Elfenbein 1963: 70).
- Log. **šo**, M *šō*, Kan. **ři/e**, G *řē*, M *řī* ‘three’
< Ir. **θraya(h)*, cf. Av. *θray-*, Skt. *trayas*, *trī* from IE **trei-* ‘three’, nom. masc. **trejes* (IEW:1090), Parth. *hry /hrē/*, Par. *še*, North. Bal. *say*, *še*, Sang. *šə*, *šō* id., Tal. *hai(é)* (Kerganrud.), Lasg. *hæiræ*, Zaza *hīrē* id.
- Log. **šóstok**, Kan. **řústak** (G *řustak*) ‘to cry’
< Ir. **fra-rustá* + **-ka* from **rud-* : *raud* with preverb **frā-*, cf. Av. *raod-*, *raoθ-* ‘to wail’, Skt. *rud-* ‘to cry, to sob’ < IE **reud-* (IEW:807).
- Log. **šuk**, Kan. **syuk** masc., **suk** fem. ‘to become’
< Ir. **š(i)ytá* + **-kā* from Ir. **š(i)u-* : *š(i)yav-*, Av. *šyav-*, O.Pers. *šiyav-* ‘to go’, Skt. *cyav-*, perf. part. *cyutá-* id. < IE **kⁱ-eu-* (IEW:539), Parth. *šw /šav-/*, Bal. *šutān* ‘I went’ (Abaev 1958:308).
- Kan. **šwān**, G *šwān* ‘shepherd’
< Ir. *fšū-pāna* from Ir. **pasú-* ‘livestock’ and *pāna* nom. stem from Ir. **pā(y)-* ‘to

protect, to defend', cf. Av. *pasu-*, *fšu-*, Skt. *paśú-* 'livestock, small livestock' < IE *pekú-* (IEW:797), Bal. *pas* 'sheep', Kurd. *pas/z*, *pes/z* id., Parth. *šwb'n /šubān/* 'shepherd', Kurd. *šwān* id.; cf. Parth. *šwb'n /šubān/*, Kurd. *šwān* 'herdsman', Par. *xuwān* M.

- Kan. **tāk** masc. 'mountain stream'
< **taxtā* perf. part. of *tak-* 'to run, to flow', cf. Skt. *taktá-*, perf. part. of *tak-* 'to hasten, to rush', Av. *tak-* 'to run, to flow', *taka-* 'stream' (EVP:79; Abaev 1979:245-246).
- Log., Kan. **tar** preposition denoting possession or relationship
< Ir. **tará(h)*, cf. Av. *tarō*, O.Pers. *tara^h* 'across, through', Skt. *tiras* 'through, past' < IE **ter-* (IEW:1075), see IIFL:344.
- Kan. **tatak** 'to drink'
from **tṛš-* : *tarš-* 'to feel thirsty' < IE **ters-* (IEW:1078), cf. Par. *thor* 'to drink'.
- Kan. **teř** 'bitter'
< Ir. **tixra*, possibly from original **taxra-* (EVP:83), cf. Skt. *takra-* 'buttermilk', Parth. *txl /taxl/* id., Par. *tarku*, *takku* id.
- Log. **tiř-**, Kan. **+tiřt** (G *tiřt-* with excrement **t*) 'to escape, to run away'
< Ir. **tṛsya-* from **vrah-* (Class IV inch. stem **tṛsa-*, ending in **-ya*¹²²), cf. Av. *tərəsa-* from *vrah-* 'to be afraid', Parth. *tyrs-* /*tirs-* id.
- Log., Kan. **tok** 'hot'
< Ir. **taftá-* + **-ka* from **tap-* 'to (become) warm', cf. Av. *tap-* id., perf. past part. *°tafta-*, Skt. *tap-* id., perf. past part. *taptá*, Parth. *tftq /taftaq/* 'scorched'.
- Log. **tos**, Kan. **tyos** 'you (pl.)'
undoubtedly cognate with Pashto *tāsu* 'you (pl.)', Waziri *tus*, *tose*. Morgenstierne also compares it with the Indo-Aryan (Lahnda) *tus* (?) (IIFL:348).
- Log. **tówa**, Kan. **+tówa** (M *tōwə*) 'sun, sunlight'
< Ir. **tāpa*, the fem. verbal noun from **tap-* (see above), cf. Skt. *tāpa-* masc. 'heat, heating, burning', *tāpana-* masc. 'sun', Parth. *t'b-* /*tāb-*/'to shine', Kurd. *tāv* 'the sun's warmth'.
- Log., Kan. **tr-** pres. stem 'to drink'
< **tiryá-* < Ir. **tṛyá-* pres. stem (pass.) of **tṛ-* : *tar-* (possibly connected with Ir. **tṛš-* : **tarš-* 'to be thirsty', IE **ters-* (IEW:1078), cf. Par. *ter-* 'to drink'.
- Log. **trónok**, Kan. **+trának** (M *trának*) 'feeling thirsty'
probably formed by analogy with a previous word from pres. stem *tr-* 'to drink' < **tṛya-* from IE **ter-* 'to drink' (IIFL:295) (with the same semantic transition 'to drink (greedily)' → 'to experience thirst' influenced by desiderative IE **ter-s* 'to want to drink, to experience thirst'); or: *taršná* 'thirsting/craving' (with stress as Skt. *tṛšnáj* id.

¹²² By form Kan. *tiřt* is a past stem. The formation of the past from inchoative stems was also characteristic of Parthian (see Ghilain 1939:80, note 51).

(a comparison suggested by Dybo) (cf. IIFL:410, 412, 413), cf. Skt. *ṭṛṣṇaka-* id. (CDIAL:339).

- Log., Kan. **tu** ‘you (sg.)’
< Ir. **tuvám* ‘you (sg.)’, cf. O.Pers. *tuvam*, Av. *tvēm, tūm* ‘you (sg.)’, Skt. *tuvám*, Parth. *tw /tō/* id.
- Kan. **túsak** M, **tusk** G ‘empty’
< Ir. **tusá-* pres. stem (inch.) from **tuš-* + **-ka*, cf. Av. *taoš-* ‘to be empty’, inch. pres. stem *tusa-* < IE **tus-skō* (IEW:1085), Skt. *tucchá-*, *tucchya-* ‘empty, insignificant’, Parth. *twsyk /tusik/* ‘empty’, Bal. *tusag* ‘to become abandoned, solitary’ (Geiger 1890:46, No. 397).
- Log. **tsār**, M *tsār*, Kan. **tsār** ‘four’
< Ir. **čaθvāra*, cf. Av. *čaθwārō*, Skt. *catvāra-* id. from IE **k^uetuōr-* (IEW:642), Parth. *č^rr /čafār/*, Bal. *cār*, Kurd. *čār*, Kesh., Sang., Sed. and Gazi *čōr*, Par. *čor*, but Kharz. *cō* (Morgenstierne 1958:174) and Dav. *cār* id. (Morgenstierne 1960:125).
- Log., Kan. **tsarés** ‘fourteen’
a secondary formation, cf. Av. *caθrudasa-* ‘fourteenth’ from **čaθrudasa* ‘fourteen’, Skt. *caturdaśa-* id., Parth. *ts^rrδs /čafārδas/* id.
- Log. **tsāxtu**, Kan. **tsāštu** ‘forty’
< Ir. *čaθvár-satam* (from **^osatám*), cf. Av. *čaθvarə-satəm*, Skt. *catvārimśátam* id.
- Log., Kan. **tsaw-** pres. stem of ‘to go’ (but Kan. *čo* ‘go! (sg.)’ in our materials)
< Ir. **č(i)yáva-* from Ir. **č(i)yav-*, cf. Skt. *cyav-* ‘to go’, Av. *šyav-*, O.Pers. *šiyav-* id.
- Log., Kan. **tsen** ‘what (sort of)’
< Ir. *číyan-tam* (acc. sg. of **číyant-*, **kay-*), cf. Av. **číyant-*, O.Pers. *+čiya^h* (AIW:597-598), cf. Skt. *kíyant-* < IE **k(i)ei-* (IEW:646).
- Log. **tsími** (sg. and pl.), M *tsímī* and *čim* (!), Kan. **tsom**, pl. **tsámi** ‘eye’
tsom < Ir. **čašma* nom. sg. neut. of Ir. **čašman-*, cf. Av. *čašman-* ‘eye’, Skt. *cákṣaṇ-* neut. id., Parth. *čšm /čašm/*, Bal. *čam*, Kurd. *čav*, Von., Abdui and Avr. *čam*, Gazi *čöš*, Zaza *čim*, Kesh. *čem*.
- Log. **tsun**, M *cūn(d)*, Kan. **tsun** ‘how much/many’
< Ir. **čvantum* – acc. sg. of Ir. **čvant-*, cf. Av. *čvant-*, Skt. *kīvant-* ‘How big’, Parth. *čwdn /čvand, čond/*, Bal. *čunt*, Mod. Bal. *čon*, Sang. *čun*, Par. *čhā*, Par. *čhā* id.;
- Log., Kan. **un** ‘this much’
< **avántam* acc. sg. of Ir. **avant-* ‘such’, cf. Av. *avant-* id., see IIFL:326.
- Kan. **wayyók** ‘to enter’
< Ir. **abi-gatá* + **-ka* from **gam-*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *gam-* ‘to arrive’, with preverb *abiy-* O.Pers., Skt. *abhi-*, Parth. */ab-/*, */avi-/* ‘to approach’.
- Kan. **wan** ‘one of the wives (in polygamy)’
< Ir. **hapáθni* (with early **-ī* > **-i* and later **-i* > \emptyset , but with no transition to the class of fem. **ā*-stems), cf. Av. *ha-paθni-* fem., Skt. *sapátni-* fem. ‘junior wife’ (EVP:15).

- Log., Kan. **wár-** pres. stem ‘to carry, to bring’
< Ir. **ni-bára-*, **ā-bára-* pres. stem (Class I) from Ir. **br-* : *bar-* (with the preverbs **ni-*, **ā-*), cf. Av. and O.Pers. *bar-* id., cf. Skt. *bhára-* pres. stem (class I).
- Kan. **waxa(y)-** G, M pres. stem ‘to dig, to burrow’
wax° < Ir. **apa-xada* pres. stem of **xad-* (with the preverb **apa-*), cf. Av. *xad-* ‘to squeeze, to injure’, pres. stem *xada* (Class 1), Skt. *khad-* ‘to injure’ (Monier-Williams 1976:336).
- Log. **wažéra**, **wažera**, Kan. **wizar** – the pronominal adverb ‘on him, on them; above him, above them; about him, about them; for him, for them’
žer, *žar* < Ir. **hača-upari*, cf. Av. *hača-upairi*, Mid. Pers. *až-var*, Pers. *zabar*, Gil. -*žor* – a postposition denoting position above, Kurd. *žor* ‘top’ (it is also worth mentioning Log. *dážéra*, *dažera*, a pronominal adverb with the meaning of deixis of the 1st or 2nd pers. ‘above, on, over’, that is, with respect to me/us or to you sg. or pl. and Log. *-že*, Kan. *-zar*, postposition with the meaning of position on the surface of something).
- Kan. **windzōk** G ‘son of a wife’
< Ir. **hapaθni-zátaka*, where *zátaka* is from **zātá + *-ka*, Ir. **zan-*, Av. *zan-*, Skt. *jan-* ‘to give birth to’ < IE **ǵen-* (see Log. *zay-* ‘to be born’ and Log. *marzá*, Kan. *marzā* ‘brother’).
- Log., Kan. **wo** ‘seven’
< Ir. **haftá*, cf. Av. *hapta*, Skt. *saptá-* id. from IE **septm* (IEW:909), Parth. *hft /haft/* id.
- Log., Kan. **+wok** (M *wōk*, G *wōk*) (masc.) ‘to receive’, (Log.) ‘to find’
< Ir. **āftá + *-ka*, Log. *wák* (in *wák dák* ‘to find’), Kan. *wāk* (fem.) < Ir. **āftá + *-kā*, from **āp-* + **abi-* ‘to reach, to attain’, cf. Av. *ap-* id.; Skt. *āp* id., perf. part. *āptá-*
- Log. **wok**, Kan. **wak** ‘water’
< **āp-á-kā* from Ir. **āp-* (**āpakā* > Orm. *a-wák*, with the transformation **-kā* > *-k* by analogy with fem. past stems, by altering the morphemic structure of the word and changing the meaning of initial *a-* < **ā-* to a definite article, contrary to IIFL:327, 331: **āpakā*), cf. Av. *āp-* fem. ‘water’, Skt. *ap-*, *āpa-*, Parth. *’b /āb/*, Par. *’awó*, *’aw*, Zaza *aúkā* id.¹²³

¹²³ The form *wak* (but not **wáka*) is probably by analogy with the fem. form of the perfect participles (→ past stem) of the type Kan. *dzok* masc. (< **jataká*), but *dzak* fem. (< **jatākā*) ‘to beat’. It is clearly an error to connect *wak* to the masc. gender (Grierson 1918:12), cf. Grierson 1921:319, where the fem gender is indicated (see section 3.2). By analogy with formations in **-tā-kā* fem. adjectives in *-kā* also lost their final vowel; that these adjectives had zero endings is evidence that gender had been eliminated from them and that they had become words of invariable gender, derived from isolated masc. or fem. forms (see section 3.1 on ‘Nouns’ and ‘Adjectives’).

- Log. **wól(l)ok**, Kan. **wúl(l)ak** ‘to bring’
 < * \check{a} -*bṛtá* + *-ka from **bṛ-* : *bar-* + preverb * \check{a} -, cf. Av., O.Pers. *bar-* ‘to carry’, perf. part. Av. *bərəta*, Skt. *bhar-*, *bhṛ-* id., perf. past part. *bhṛtá-*.
- Log. **(w)ondraw-**, M *undərəw-* pres. stem ‘to sew’
 < Ir. **dr̥b-* : *darb-* + **han-* (i.e. the cluster **nd* is a result of derivation), cf. Skt. *dr̥bh-* : *darbh-* ‘to tie up, to link together’ (IIFL:234).
- Log. **(w)óste**, Kan. **wústi** ‘let (it) rise up’
 < **ús-staya-* < Ir. **us-stāya-* from Ir. **stā-* ‘to stand (intrans.), to place’ + preverb **us-*, cf. Av., O.Pers. *stā-* ‘to stand (intrans.)’, Av. with preverb *us-* ‘to get up, to rise’, pres. stem Av. *stāya-* (Class IV = Class XXVI, according to C. Bartholomae).
- Log. **wostók**, Kan. **wustʷék** ‘to rise’
 < Ir. **ús-stāya-* (class IV) from Ir. **stā-* + *-ka, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *stā-* ‘to stand (trans. and intrans.)’ (in Av. with preverb *us-* ‘to get up, to rise,’), Skt. *sthā-* id. < IE **stā-* (IEW:1004).¹²⁴
- Log. **wótok** ‘to lay (down)’, Kan. **hátak** ‘to leave’
 < Ir. **harštá* + *-ka from Ir. **hr̥z-* : *harz-*, cf. Av. *harəz-* ‘to let go’, Skt. *sarj-* id. Parth. *hyšt /hišt/* ‘to leave’.
- Log. **(w)ožnáv-** pres. stem ‘to kill’
 where *wožnʷ* < **abi-ǰana-* pres. stem from Ir. **gan-* + **ava-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *gan-*, Skt. *han-* ‘to beat’, with *ava-* – ‘to kill’ (AIW:491), Parth. *ʷjn-* /*ōžan-*/ ‘to kill’ (Ghilain 1939:55).
- Log. **wuk**, Kan. **wyok**, M *wyōk*, *yōʷk* ‘dry’
 < Ir. **húška*, cf. Av. *huška-*, O.Pers. *ʰuška-*, Skt. *śušká-* ‘dry’, Parth. *hwšk /hušk/*, Par. *hušk* M id.;
- Log. **(w)úr-**, Kan. **wur-** ‘to lift, to take’ (3rd conj.)
 < Ir. **bṛya-* from **bṛ-* : *bar-* ‘to carry’ + preverb **úpa-* ‘nearer, towards’, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *bar-* ‘to carry’, Skt. *bhar-* : *bhṛ-* id. (IIFL:387).
- Kan. **xáka** ‘well, spring’
 < Ir. **xā-kā*, where **xā* is from the nom. or acc. pl. of **xan-* fem., cf. Av. *xan-* fem. id., Skt. *khan-* ‘to dig’, cf. Parth. *xʷnyg /xānig/* ‘well, spring’ (Boyce 1977:99), Kurd. *kānī*, Pers. *xānī* id.
- Log. **xaní**, Kan. **xanī** M ‘laughter’
 < Ir. **xánda* verbal noun (= Class I pres. stem) of Ir. **xan(d)-* + *-ya, cf. Parth.

¹²⁴ For 3rd conjugation verbs with a stressed prefix it is very difficult to establish the class of the original present stem, as unstressed vowels in the root and suffix were reduced. Therefore, it is quite possible to propose an original present stem with *-y- in the suffix other than a class IV stem, as postulated, (for which a transitive meaning was unusual, but not impossible).

xand^o in *xndynd* /*xandend*/ ‘laughing’, Par. *khan-* ‘to laugh’, Bal. *hand-*, *kand-* id., Kurd. *kān-*, *kan-* id. (Oranskij 1979b:171; Bailey 1979:71)

- Log., Kan. **xar** ‘ass’
< Ir. **xára*, cf. Av. *xara-* id., Skt. *khára-* id.
- Log. **xólok**, Kan. **x^wálak** masc., **x^wálk** fem. ‘to eat, to consume, to drink’
masc. form (*xólok*, *x^walak*) < Ir. **x^vartá* + **-ka*, fem. form (*x^wálk*) < Ir. **x^vartá* + **-kā* from Ir. **x^var-*,¹²⁵ cf. Av. *x^var-* pres. stem ‘to eat’ (IE **suel-*), Parth. *wxrd-* /*wxard-* / (Boyce 1977:99), Par. *xar-*, Kurd. *xūrin*, Bal. *varag* id.
- Log. **xoy**, Kan. **x^way** ‘one’s own, oneself’
< Ir. **x^vata(h)*, cf. Av. *x^vatō* ‘of one’s own volition, oneself’, Skt. *svátas* ‘by oneself, spontaneously’ < IE *sue-* (IEW:882), Parth. *wxd* /*x^vad*/ ‘self’ (OIJ 1981:178), Par. *xu*, Bal. *vat*, *va^o*, *vas*, Kurd. *xū* (Geiger 1890:151).
- Log. **xoǰ**, **ǰoǰ** (with assimilation of initial *x*), M *xūǰ*, Kan. **x^waš**, G *xwaš*, ‘pleasant, giving pleasure’, cf. Log. *xwâš* M (**x^oâš*), Kan. *xwār*, G *xwar* ‘sweet’, and also Kan. *xwařawi* M, *xwāžāwi* G ‘sweetness’.
- Log., Kan. **xr-**, G *x^wur-* ‘to eat, to drink, to take food’
< **xurá* < Ir. **x^vra-* pres. stem (Class VI) of **x^vra-* : *x^var-*, cf. Av. *x^var-* ‘to eat’ < IE **suel-* (IEW:1045), Parth. *wxr-* /**x^var-*, *xwar-* / (Ghilain 1939:57; Boyce 1977:94).
- Log. **xrónok**, Kan. **+xrának** (M *xrának*) masc., **+xronk^o** (M *xrónk^o*) fem., ‘hungry’
< **xuraná* < Ir. **x^vraná*, middle part. Class II from Ir. **x^vra-* : *x^var-* ‘to eat’ + suffix **-ana* (see above Log., Kan. *xr-* pres. stem id.).
- Log. **xwâr**, Kan. **x^wâr** ‘sister’
< Ir. **x^váhāra(m)*, the acc. sg. of Ir. **x^vahār-* fem., cf. Av. *x^vařhar-* id., Skt. *svásar-* < IE **suesor-* (IEW:1051), Parth. *wx^vryn* /*x^vārin*/ pl. ‘sisters’, Bal. *gwār* ‘sister’ etc.
- Kan. **x^wāw** /**x^oāw**/ ‘sleep’
< Ir. **x^vāpa* verbal noun from **x^vap-*, cf. Av. *x^vap-* ‘to sleep’, Skt. *svap-* id., *svāpa-* masc. ‘sleep’ < IE **suep-*, **sup-* (IEW:1048), Kohr., Kesh., Sed. and Keur. *xōv* (*xōu*), Sang. **xāv* (*xāu*), Tal. *xov* id.
- Kan. **x^way** /**x^oay**/, G, M *xwai* ‘one’s own, oneself’, cf. Log. **xoy**, M *xui* id.
- Log. **ǰalés**, Kan. **šóles**, **š^walés**, G *šuwēs* ‘sixteen’
< Ir. **xšvaždasa*, cf. Av. *xšvašdasa-* ‘sixteenth’ < IE **ksueks* ‘six’ (IEW:1044) and **dek^m* ‘ten’ (IEW:191).
- Log. **ǰin**, Kan. **šin** ‘green’
< Ir. **axšáina*, cf. Av. *axšaēna-* ‘dark-coloured’, O.Pers. **axšaina-* id. (lit. ‘not shining’) (AIW:51; Abaev 1958:220); this word may also have a different etymology (EVP:74, Bailey 1979:26-27), Kurd. *šin*, Mid. Pers. *axšēn* (AIW:51).

¹²⁵ The participle root is in the medium grade (possibly by analogy with the infinitive), cf. Av. *x^varātāe* (AIW:1865).

- Log. **ǰípi**, Kan. **šípi** ‘milk’
ǰi, *ši* < Ir. **xšviftá*, but *pi* < Ir. **páyā(h)* (see above), cf. Av. *xšvipta* (in *xšviptavant-*) – following the perf. past part. of **xšjp-*, cf. Skt. *kṣip-* ‘to throw, to drop’ (AIW:562; IE **kseip-* IEW:625), Parth. *šyft /šift/* (Boyce 1977:85), *šyft-xw’rg* ‘milk-drinker, child’ (Bailey 1979:416), Tal. *šjt* ‘milk’.
- Log. **ǰo**, Kan. **šyo** ‘night’
 < **xšavá* < Ir. **xšapā* id., cf. Av. *xšapā-*, Skt. *kṣapā-* id. < IE **kusep-* (IEW:649), Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šaw* id.
- Log. **ǰo**, Kan. **šo** ‘six’
 < Ir. **xšvaš*, cf. Av. *xšvaš*, Skt. *śaṣ* < IE **syeḱs*, **seḱs*, **ksyeḱs* (IEW:1044), Parth. *swh /šoh/*, Par. *xu*, Bal. *Šaš*.
- Log. **ǰóxtu**, Kan. **šwéštu**, **šwíštu** ‘sixty’
 < Ir. **xšvaští* (with stress shift and the subsequent replacement of *í* by *u* by analogy with other numerals), cf. Av. *xšvašti-*, Skt. *ṣaṣtí-* id., Parth. *ššt /šašt/* id.
- Kan. **yānak** G, **yāṅk**, **yāṅk** M ‘ashes, cinders’
 < Ir. **áha-* (+ *-na-ka*), cf. Skt. *áśa-* ‘ashes, cinders, dust’ < IE **as-* ‘to burn’ (IEW:68), cf. IIFL:327.¹²⁶
- Kan. **yás-** pres. stem ‘to boil’
 < Ir. **yasa-* (inch.) from Ir. **yah-*, cf. Av. *yah-* ‘to boil, to cook’, Skt. *yas-* id.
- Log. **yāsp**, Kan. **yāsp** masc., **yāspa** fem. ‘horse’
 < Ir. **áspā* nom. sg. fem. from Ir. **ásp-* (the masc. form of Early Ormuri **yāsp* came from the fem. form by discarding the marker *-a* < Ir. **-ā*), cf. Av. *aspā-* fem, O.Pers. *aspa-* in *Aspačanah-* a proper noun (the Median form replacing *asa-*), Skt. *áśvā-* < IE **ekūō-*, Bal. *asp*, Surkh. *ásb*, *ásm*, Yazdi *āsp*, *asb*, Kurd. *h’sp*, Tal. *asp*, Semn. *āsp*, Sang. *asb*, Par. *osp* id.
- Kan. **+yēstsak**, pl. **yēščí** M, **hēntsčí** G (sg. & pl.) ‘tear’
 < Ir. **ásru-* + **-ka*, cf. Av. *asru-*, Skt. *ásru-* ‘tear’, Mid. Pers. *ars* (GIPh, Vol. I, Pt. II:267), < IE **akru* (IEW:23, 179).
- Log. **yew*r** (but Kan. **ábar** M) ‘cloud’
 < Ir. *abrá(m)*, cf. Av. *awra-*, Kurd. *awr-*, *aur-* id., Bal. *haur* ‘rain’.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ We consider it unwarranted to reconstruct the nom. pl. as the protoform: the use of *yānak* ‘ash’ (as also of *wak* ‘water’) with the particle *dí* (Grierson 1921:322), commonly used with nouns in the pl., can be explained by the meaning of these words (designation of matter). A later etymology of this word, suggested by Morgenstierne in the supplement to the second edition (IIFL:428), in which the transition of IE **s* > Ir. *h* is considered, is no more convincing, because he tries to explain the presence of **n* in this word as a secondary process of nasalisation as in /*yāsp*/; usually only vowels followed by two consonants are subject to nasalisation.

- Log. **yezn-** (but Kan. **hazn-** with original **h*) pres. stem ‘to stay, to leave’
< Ir. **han-záya-* from Ir. **zā(y)-* (with metathesis), cf. Av. *zā(y)-* ‘to fling, to throw’, pres. stem *zaya-* (class IV, according to Bartholomae; AIW:1688), cf. Skt. *hā-* ‘to leave, to abandon’, with the preverb *sam-* ‘to leave together’ (Mylius 1980:576), past participle *hāta-*, cf. Grierson 1918:62; IIFL:238), Parth. *zys-* /*zis-*/ pres. stem (inch.) ‘to refuse’.
- Kan. **yīři** M ‘interior, intestines’
< Ir. **ānθrá + *-ya*, cf. Av. *antarθ̄*, O.Pers. *aⁿtar* ‘inside’, Skt. *antar-* id., *āntrá-* neut. ‘giblets’ < IE **en-tero-* (IEW:313).
- Log. **yūx** M (+ *yux* < **yuy*) ‘yoke’
< Ir. **yugam* (verbal noun) nom. sg. neut. from Ir. **yug-* ‘to harness, to yoke’, cf. Skt. *yugá-* neut. ‘yoke, pair (of harnessed oxen)’, IE **ju-go-m* ‘yoke’ (IEW:508).
- Log. **zāl**, Kan. **zāl** masc., **zāla** fem. ‘old’
< Ir. **zártā* – fem. form of **zarta-* from Ir. **zr̥-* : *zar-* (with the change by a-umlaut of the stressed root **a*; the masc. is formed by analogy with the fem.), cf. Av. *zarəta-* ‘decrepit, infirm’ from *zar-*, Skt. *jṛ-* : *jar-* ‘to become infirm, decrepit’ < IE **ĝer-*, *ĝerə-*, *ĝrē-* (IEW:390-391), Par. *zāl* ‘old woman’, Bal. *zāl* ‘woman, wife’.
- Kan. **zān-řak** G ‘knee’
< Ir. **zānu-* + **-θra-ka* (Grierson 1918:83; 1921:324), cf. Skt., *jánū-* neut. (or masc.; Mylius 1980:167), Parth. *z’nwg* /*zānūg*/.
- Kan. **zār** ‘thousand’
< Ir. **hazáhrām*, cf. Av. *hazaṅrəm*, Skt. *sahásrəm* < IE **sm-ĝhéslom* (IEW:446), Parth. *hz’r* /*[hazār]*/id.
- Log., Kan. **zari** ‘small’
< Ir. **zāra* ‘weakening, weak’, from **zar-* ‘to grow old, to weaken’ + suff. **-ya* (with stress shift), cf. Av. **zar-*, Skt. *jar-* ‘to weaken, to grow decrepit’, Skt. *járā-* ‘ageing’.
- Log. **zarká**, Kan. **dzarká**, G *z/dzarka* ‘woman’
< Ir. **zāra* from Ir. **zar-* + **-kā*, cf. Av. **zar-*, Skt. *jar-* ‘to weaken, to wither’ < IE **ĝer-*, **ĝerə-* (IEW:390), Yidgha *zoriko* ‘old woman’, Pers. *zar* ‘old man, old woman’.
- Log. **zay-** pres. stem ‘to be born’
< Ir. *zāyá-* pres. stem (pass.) of Ir. **zan-* ‘to give birth’, cf. Av. *zan-*, pres. stem (pass.) *zaya-* (< **zn-yá-*), Skt. *jan-* pres. stem (pass.) *janya* < from IE **ĝen-* (IEW:373), Parth. *z’y-* /*zāy-*/, Bal. *zāyag* id.
- Kan. **zay-** G pres. stem ‘to chew’
< Ir. **jāváyā-* from Ir. **gu* : *gav-* < IE **g(i)eu-*, **ĝ(i)eu-* ‘to chew’ (IEW:400), cf.

¹²⁷ Probably Log. /é/ < **a* was a result of the influence of prothetic /y/, because the original form did not have **-ya*, cf. IIFL:413. Cf. Log. *yezn-* ‘to remain’, but Kan. *hazn-* id.

Mid. Pers. *jūtan*, *jōy-* ‘to swallow, to absorb’, Man. Pers. *žūt*, *žau* ‘to chew’ (Nyberg 1974:108), Bal. *žāyag-* (Geiger 1890:130), Kurd. *jūn-* id., Russ. жевать (*ževat* ‘to chew’) (Fasmer 1967, Vol. II: 39).

- Kan. **zbān** ‘tongue/language’
 < **hizbān-a(m)* acc. sg. of **hizbān-*, masc. (Med.) id., corresponding to O.Pers. **hizan-* masc. ‘tongue/language’ (Brandenstein-Mayrhofer 1964:125; KEWA, Vol. I:436), cf. Av. *hizvā-*, *hizū-*, Skt. *jihvā-* < IE **ǵiǵh₂uā-* < **daǵh₂uā-* (IEW:223), Parth. *’zb ’n [izβān]* (Boyce 1977:25), Kurd. *zimān* id.
- Log. **°zey-**, Kan. **z(ay)-** G *dz/z(aw)-* pres. stem of ‘to come’
 Grierson is probably correct to trace this verb back to Ir. **yā-*, Av. *yā-* ‘to go’ (Grierson, 1918:58), despite (IIFL:414) < Ir. **yāti-* 3sg. pres. (with weakening of **ā* > **a*, typical of open roots, and with an inserted *y/w*).
- Log. **+zeš** (M *zēš*), Kan. **zeř** ‘thorn, prickle’
 < Ir. **jaθrī* from **gan-* + **θrī* (IIFL:414), cf. Parth. *jhr /žahr/* ‘poison’ (< **jaθra-*) (GIPh Vol.1 Part 1:258; Nyberg 1974:228), Kurd. *žahr*, *žār* id.
- Kan. **ziy** M (as well as Log. **yoṽ**, M *yux* ‘plough’) ‘burden, yoke’
 < Ir. **yugām* from **yug-*, cf. Skt. *yuj-* ‘to harness, to tie together’, *yugā-* ‘a pair (of yoked oxen)’, Bal. *žōy* ‘yoke’.
- Log. **zle**, **zli**, Kan. **zli** ‘heart’
 < Ir. **zrdīya* < Ir. **zrd-* ‘heart’ + **-ya*, cf. Av. *zərəd-*, Skt. *hṛd-* id., *hṛdyā* (Whitney 1879:438, § 1212 d 1) ‘situated in the heart’ < *hṛd-* ‘heart’ < IE **kṛd* (IEW:579), Grk. καρδία, Parth. *zyrd /zirδ/*, Par. *zor*, id. (cf. EVP:103).
- Log. **zómok**, M *zemāk*, Kan. **zímak** ‘winter’
 < Ir. **zimá* + **-ka*, cf. Av. *zəmaka-* ‘blizzard’, Skt. *himá-* ‘cold (n.), hard frost, cold (adj.)’ < IE **ǵhimo-* (IEW:426), Mid. Pers. *zim* (GIPh, Vol. I, Pt. I:263), *damistān* (Nyberg 1974:57), Par. *zéma* id., Bal. *zamistān*, Kurd. *zavistān* ‘winter’.
- Kan. **zum** M ‘brother-in-law’
 < **zām*¹²⁸ < Ir. **zāma*, nom. sg. of **zāma-*, IE *ǵem(e)* ‘to marry’ (IEW:369), cf. Av. **zāma-* (AIW:1689), with the broadening of **-tar* on the model of kinship terms, *zāmātar-* masc. ‘son in law, daughter’s husband’, Skt. *jāmātar-* masc. id.
- Log. **žay-**, Kan. **z(ay)-** pres. stem ‘to ask (someone for something), to entreat, to demand’
 < Ir. **jādāya-* pres. (caus.) stem of Ir. **gad-*, cf. Av. and O.Pers. *gad-* ‘to ask for’ < IE **ǵ^uhedh-* (IEW:488), Parth. *nyz’y- /nizāy-/* with the preverb *ni-* ‘to honour, to esteem’ (Ghilain 1939:70; Boyce 1977:66), Mid. Pers. *zāy-* ‘to ask for’, Pahl. *žadītan* (AIW:487).

¹²⁸ **ā* > *u* was influenced by Pashto *zum* ‘son-in-law’ which itself is a loan-word (possibly from Ormuri), judging by its reflex in the nom. sg. (instead of ending in **-tar*). In Pashto **zūmōr* or **zamōr* (?) (EVP:102) would have been expected.

- Log. **-že** and **-je(r)**, L **-jar**, Kan. **-zar**, indicating ‘position above’
< Ir. **hača-upari*, cf. Av. *hača-upairi*, Parth. *’c(’ž)’br* ‘from above’ (Nyberg 1974:88), Gil. *-jor* id. (OIJ 1982:547), Kurd. *žor*, Sul. *žūr* ‘top’, Lasg. *žor* ‘above’ (here, probably, several lines of development of intervocalic Ir. *č* have been contaminated in Ormuri: (a) Early Orm. **ž*, Log. *ž*, Kan. *z*; (b) Early Orm. **j*, Log., Kan. *j/dz*).

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