

LAṆḌA, ZOR WĒLA! WANECĪ

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Introduction

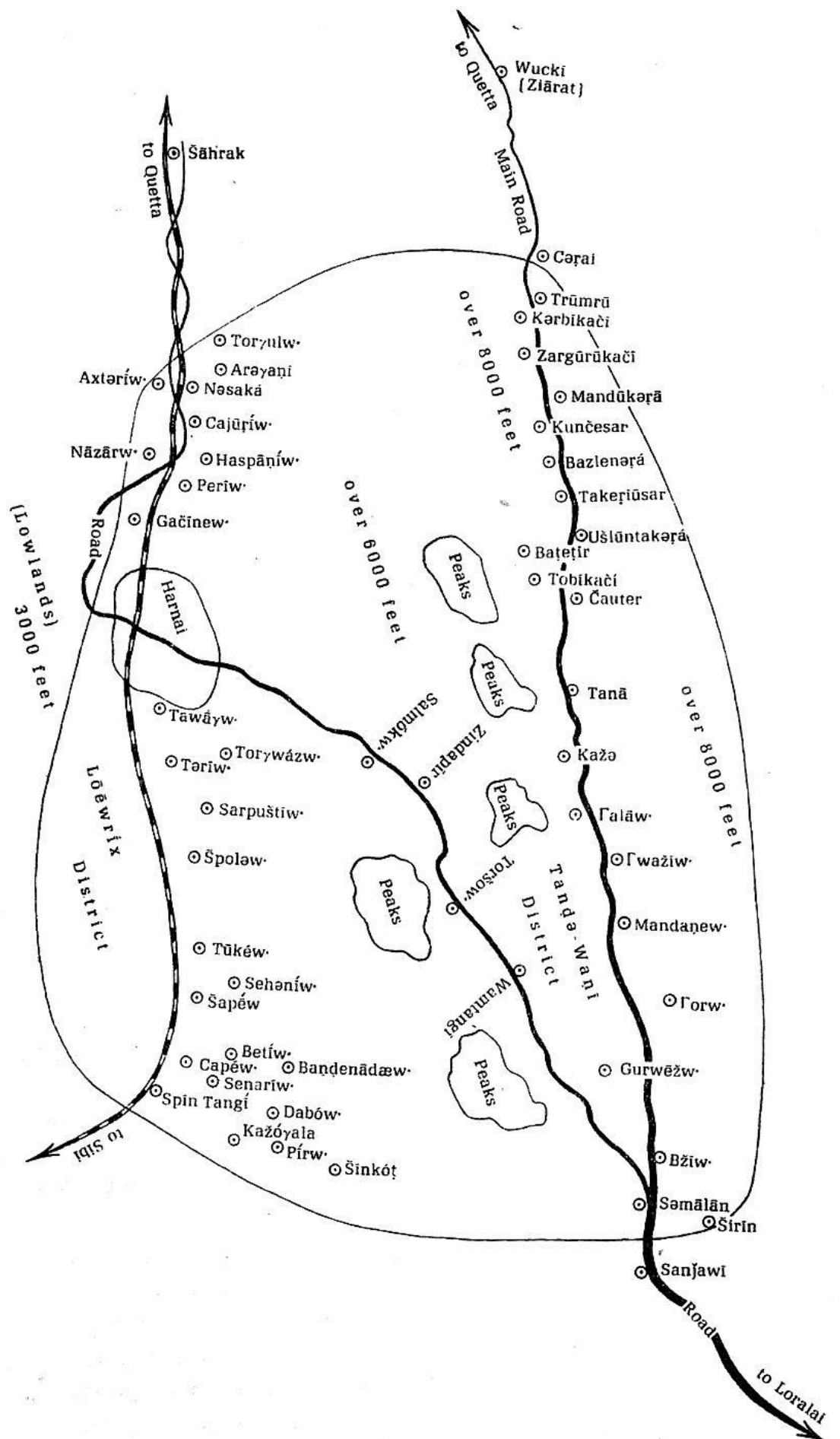
The dialects of Pashto (abbr. Pš), in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, present a complicated and fascinating picture to the student of Modern Iranian, and the relative dearth of material for their study has always been a source of regret. The comparative geographical isolation of many of these dialects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

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

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

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

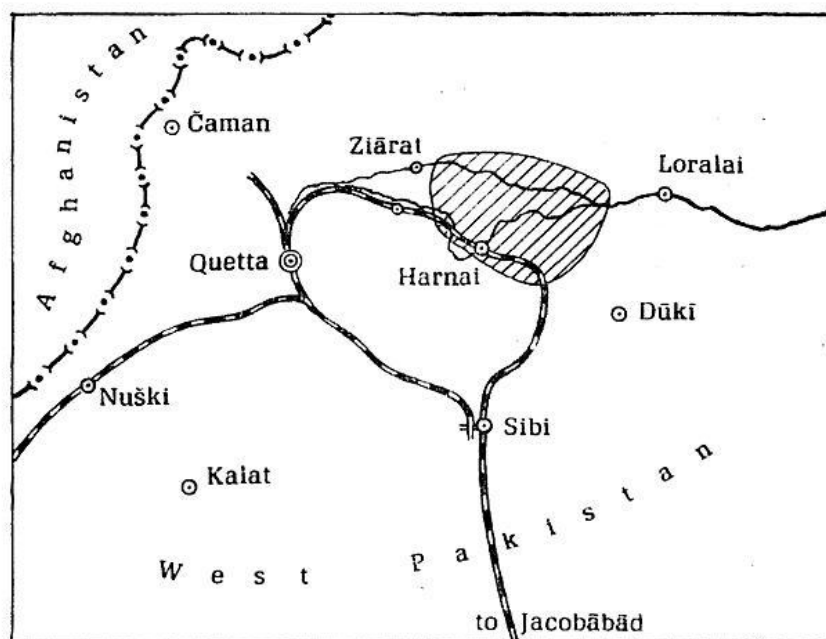
The present study has some claim to completeness, containing as it does the results of my work among native speakers as well as much unpublished material of Professor Morgenstierne, which he has been kind enough to allow me to include. I should like to record here my profound gratitude to him for his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



Map of the Territory in Which Waṇecī is Spoken
[Scale approx. 1 inch = 3 miles]

Harnai District:

Zərmānīw·	Kāṇw·
Mānzw·	Aspāṇīw·
Sār·w·	Xadrāṇīw·
Sayānw·	Urbuzūw·
Trūw·	Šāxānw·
Roγīw·	Bīšexānw·
Γwūṇḍəw·	Kamāndūw·
Γalāw·	Ləndīw·
Guḍeywažīw·	Zawīw·
Cokīw·	(w· = wāguṛa)
Kalēywažīw·	



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

Geographical Remarks

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

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

The southern part of the territory extends roughly along the railway line (the loop-line Sibi-Bostān, now closed), from *Šāhrīg* (Pš *Šāhrāk*) about 40 miles east of Quetta, for about 20 miles up to Spīn Tangī. *Šāhrīg* itself is now Pš-speaking, and at present Wan territory begins about 5 miles east of it, though in 1929 *Šāhrīg* lay in Wan territory.

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

It is difficult to make any reliable estimate of the number of Wan speakers, but it is very unlikely to exceed a few thousands. They are nearly all shepherds, and most are semi-nomadic. While they belong to a number of different Pš tribes, the majority are Spīn Tarīns. In the north the language is universally called *Tarīnō*, though some informants thought *Waṇecī* a better name, with its reference to the Taṇḍə Waṇī district where they thought the best Wan is spoken. The language is also referred to as *Calgarī* by speakers living in Quetta (who often refer to themselves as *Məxyānī*).

Dialects and Informants

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

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

Principal native sources are as follows:

E: Mullah Sayyid Mohammed, a Neknāmzai from Čauter, very well informed, and something of an amateur folklorist; Maulana Nūr Mohammed from Ziārat, an itinerant 'doctor'; Sultān Mohammed Pānī, a Pānīzai Pashtun from Quetta, indefatigable in searching out informants and helping to deal with them.

M: Informants not named, but all except one were from the Harnai district. Words marked MS are from an India Office manuscript.

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

Phonology

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

The Pš present in Wan comes from the South-Eastern 'soft' dialects, with further š, ž < Pš Š, Ž and with s, z (like SE Pš s, z) < Kandahārī standard c, j.*

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

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

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

The short and long e-phonemes, written e and ē (phonetically /ɛ/ and /e/) are kept apart;

The same is true of the o-phonemes, written o and ō (phonetically /ɔ/ and /o/);

The vowels written ī and ū have approximately cardinal values and are not distinguished phonemically from ē and ō respectively.

The sounds written in Pš ž and Ž merge in Wan into a single phoneme ž (/ʒ/). The same is true of the sounds written š and Š in Pš, which merge in Wan to š (/ʃ/).

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

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

* *Editorial note.* Owing to technical difficulties, it was not possible to print š and ž with a dot under the line; Š and Ž are printed instead. In the same way, it was not possible to print the accent ' over ī, ū, ē, ō, ā.

- a) Words accented differently in Wan and Pš:
- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>angīn</i> 'honey' | Pš <i>gabīna</i> |
| <i>or-</i> 'there' in compounds, < <i>ávaθra-</i> ; | Pš <i>war-</i> < <i>aváθra-</i> |
| <i>kubīr</i> 'pigeon' | Pš <i>kautar</i> |
| <i>awlūn</i> 'bridle' | Pš <i>mlūn</i> (but cf. Waz. <i>wlīn</i>) |
- b) Metathesis is to be seen in
- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>awər, owr</i> 'fire' | Pš <i>or</i> (but cf. also Afr. <i>wor</i>) |
| <i>aur-</i> 'hear' | Pš <i>ār-w-</i> |
| <i>spər-la</i> 'yearling' | Pš <i>pšar-lai</i> |
| <i>swar-la</i> 'spring' | Pš <i>psar-lai</i> |
- c) Vocalisation of initial *w-*:
- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| <i>ušə</i> (but also <i>wuš</i>) 'grass' | Pš <i>wāšə</i> |
| <i>užen-z</i> (also <i>wžen-j, wužen-z</i>) 'comb' | Pš <i>žman-j</i> , etc. |
- d) Labialisation
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>wuš</i> 'grass' | Pš <i>wāšə</i> |
| <i>wušt</i> 'hair' | Pš <i>wešt</i> |
| <i>špož</i> 'six' | Pš <i>špaž</i> |
- e) Voicing of stops
- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| <i>pordug</i> 'trousers' | Pš <i>portuk</i> |
| <i>taḍ, tad</i> 'thick' | Pš <i>tat</i> |
- f) Other changes
- | | |
|--|------------------|
| <i>γū, γō-/γwa-</i> : <i>or-γwala</i> 'hearth' | Pš <i>-γolai</i> |
| <i>-rṇ-</i> > <i>-r-</i> : <i>borə</i> 'flour' | Pš <i>borṇə</i> |
- g) *-d-* drops in certain verbal stems
- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>nəš-</i> 'stick' | Pš <i>nšatəl</i> ; Wan pres. <i>zə nəši</i>
'I stick' < <i>ni-šad-</i> |
|---------------------|---|
- h) Wan preserves *r* in the clusters *-rš-*, *-rz-*:
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>lirš-, ləršədəl</i> 'load up' | Pš <i>ležəl</i> |
| <i>murža</i> 'garlic' | Pš <i>ūžə</i> |
| <i>tərš-</i> 'flee' | Pš <i>təš</i> |
| <i>wriš</i> 'awake' | Pš <i>wiš</i> |
- i) Perhaps a shift **xš* > *s* is indicated in *spa* 'night', if genuine; *špa*, also used, is then LW < Pš; *lwes-* 'to milk' < **daoxša-*
- j) Perhaps the most important puzzle upon which Wan throws light is that of the palatalisation in Pš. While in general the rule runs that Pš palatalises when it can (though sporadically in several dialects), the opposite is true of Wan, which tends to avoid palatalisation. In Morgenstierne, 'Ling. Miss. ... India', 11 it was thought that the evidence made necessary a hypothesis of *depalatalisation* in Wan and those

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

OIr *ǰ, č > *Pš z, s > $\begin{cases} \text{Wan } z, s \text{ (also some Pš diall.)} \\ \text{Pš (mostly) } \check{z}, \check{s} \end{cases}$

Wan *zāwlə* 'wax', *zawrə* 'leech', *wez-* 'to kill', *zəba* 'tongue', *zia* 'bow-string', *zərgā* 'quickly', *zar-* 'to weep', all have *z* < *ǰ, and the corresponding Pš forms (mostly) show *ž*, though sporadic unpalatalised forms such as e. g. Ghilz. *zəba*, and Ormuri (K.) *zaw^arī*, *zāī*, *wazn-* (all LW < Pš) show how involved the picture really is, in Pš at least.

Wan *sunda* 'nose' is probably LW < Hi. *sūṇḍ* while Pš (and Wan LW < Pš) *šūṇḍ* is probably from some Dardic language. Wan *səga* 'sand' (Pš *šəga*, but Ghilz. *səga*) is probably a LW from some Indian language, cf. Skt. *sikatā-*. While Pš has palatalised, for this word many Dard languages have forms in *s-* (cf. EVP s. v. *šəga*); Skt. *śi-* > regularly Hi. *si-*, though this word does not seem to occur in Hi. Note also Orm (K.) *sag^a* (< Pš).

Wan *sungūṇ* 'porcupine' < *sikurna* (Pš *škūṇ* and *skūṇ*) shows a labialisation in Wan, while possibly Pš *š* < *si-*?

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

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

Wan	Pš (various dialects)	OIr
<i>are</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>āerya-</i>
<i>atā</i>	<i>atiā</i>	<i>aštāiti-</i>
<i>awā</i>	<i>awiā</i>	<i>haftāiti-</i>
<i>ba</i>	<i>bya</i>	<i>apaya-</i>
<i>bartə</i>	<i>byarta</i>	<i>apari-štā-</i>
<i>darlas</i>	<i>dyarlas</i>	<i>ərayō-dasa-</i>
<i>γwasyā</i>	<i>γušāya</i>	<i>γwa-sakya-</i>
<i>kasər</i>	<i>kašr</i>	<i>kasyah-</i>
<i>mīr</i>	<i>myer</i>	<i>miərya-</i>
<i>maṛə</i>	<i>myaṛə</i>	<i>martya-</i>
<i>mesə</i>	<i>myāšai</i> (but Afr., Waz. <i>myāsai</i>)	<i>masya-</i>

<i>muser</i>	<i>mašar</i>	<i>masyah-</i>
<i>māst</i>	<i>myāst</i>	<i>māsti-</i>
<i>rās-</i>	<i>rāš-</i>	?
<i>sāze</i>	<i>siāja</i>	<i>asačya-</i>
<i>tārə</i>	<i>tyārə</i>	<i>tanərya-</i>
<i>təs</i>	<i>taš</i>	<i>tusya-</i>
<i>wālə</i>	<i>wyāla</i> (but diall. <i>wālə</i>)	<i>vadya-</i>
<i>-wust</i>	<i>-wīšt</i>	<i>vīsaiti</i>
<i>xez-</i>	<i>xež-</i> (diall. <i>xez-</i>)	<i>xaiz-</i>
<i>zyānzī</i>	<i>žyanzgī</i>	?

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

Outline of Wanetsi Morphology

Nouns

Wan

Comparable Pš forms

1. Masc. ending in a consonant

a) Animate

Sing. N.	<i>ās</i>	<i>uš</i>
Prep.	<i>āsə, lewa</i>	<i>uša, levə</i>
Pl. N.	<i>lewān</i>	<i>ušan</i>
Obl.	<i>lewāno</i>	<i>ušāno</i>

b) Inanimate

Sing. N.	<i>kor</i>	<i>kor</i>
Prep.	<i>kabrə</i>	<i>kora</i>
Pl. Prep.	<i>korūnə</i>	<i>korūno</i>

2. Fems. ending in a consonant

Sing. N.	<i>māst</i>	<i>lār</i>
Obl.	<i>māste</i>	<i>lāre</i>
Pl. N.	<i>γwaže</i>	<i>lāre</i>

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

Sing. N.	<i>stərg, zəbə, špa</i>	<i>xulā</i>
Obl.	<i>stərgə, špe</i>	<i>xule</i>
Prep.	<i>mzəke</i>	<i>xula</i>
Pl. N.	<i>stərgə, āre</i>	<i>xule</i>
Obl.	<i>pūnde</i>	<i>xulo</i>
Prep.	<i>āro, špo</i>	<i>xulo</i>

4. Masc. ending in -ā

Sing. N.	<i>spərlā, sarā, waguṛā</i>	<i>spāi</i>
Obl.	<i>saṛī, waguṛī</i>	<i>spaya, spī</i>
Prep.		
Pl. N.	<i>saṛī, saṛiān</i>	
Obl.	<i>saṛiāno, saṛiwo, saṛiyū</i>	<i>spī</i>
		<i>spo, spio, spīāno</i>

5. Fems. in -ī

Sing. N.	<i>špažmī, gərwī</i>	<i>spāi</i>
Pl. N.	<i>mlesī, gerwī</i>	<i>spīāne</i>

6. Certain mascs. in -ūn

Sing. N.	<i>špūn</i>	<i>pəštūn</i>
Obl.	<i>špūnə</i>	<i>pəštāne</i>
Prep.	<i>špūnə</i>	<i>pəštūna</i>
Pl. N.	<i>špūnān, špənān</i>	<i>pəštānə, ɣo/abūnān</i>
Obl.	<i>špūnānū</i>	<i>pəštāno</i>

7. Certain masc. monosyllables

Sing. N.	<i>ɣaš, wah, lās</i>	<i>ɣar</i>
Pl. N.	<i>ɣašə, wahə, lāstə</i>	<i>ɣrə</i>

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

W a n		P š
Sing. N.	<i>mor</i>	<i>mor</i>
Pl. N.	<i>mendī (S), myende (N)</i>	<i>mainde, myānde, etc.</i>
Sing. N.	<i>xor, xūr</i>	<i>xor</i>
Pl. N.	<i>xyendī (S), xūrī (N)</i>	<i>xwainde</i>
Sing. N.	<i>nžor</i>	<i>nžor</i>
Pl. N.	<i>nžendī (S), nəžyānde (N)</i>	<i>nžainde</i>
Sing. N.	<i>lūr</i>	<i>lūr</i>
Pl. N.	<i>lūṇī</i>	<i>lūṇi</i>
Sing. N.	<i>yor</i>	<i>yor</i>
Pl. N.	<i>yendī (S), yande (N)</i>	<i>yūṇe</i>
Sing. N.	<i>ndror</i>	<i>ndror</i>
Pl. N.	<i>endrāinde</i>	<i>endrāinde</i>
Sing. N.	<i>tror</i>	<i>tror</i>
Pl. N.	<i>trandī</i>	<i>trandye</i>
Sing. N.	<i>wror</i>	<i>wror</i>
Pl. N.	<i>wṛūṇa</i>	<i>wṛūṇa</i>
Sing. N.	<i>ɣarīb</i>	<i>ɣarīb</i>
Pl. N.	<i>ɣarībānān (cf. GrIrPh II, 223)</i>	<i>ɣarībān</i>

Vocatives usually in *-a*: *laṇḍa* 'O tailless ox! (= Pš). But note also *xūre* 'O sister!'

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

loṭa oboya ḍaka ka! 'fill the jar with water!'
tər aya draxtaya 'up to that tree'
ze ɣreya prewatī 'I fell from the hill'
ze pāneya prewazī 'I fall from the cliff'
loṭaya obə to ka! 'pour water from the jar!'
Harnayīya lež lere da 'it is a short distance from Harnai'
ze xōbēya porta swī 'I rose from sleep'
ze xūbīa wrīš swī 'I woke from sleep'
ze xūbīa čīnastī 'I sat up from sleep'
aya šāya 'from his back'
tər šāya kātə 'he looked behind himself'
ze tāya puštəna kī 'from thee I ask'
špeya 'at night'
ze caṭ waɾī-zūya še yī 'I am better than many boys'
ze gaḍīya pāta swī 'I missed the train'
zɣarda ka! gaḍīya de pāta sʷe! 'Hurry, you will miss the train!'

Sometimes the suffix appears as *-a*:

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

Adjectives

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

W a n		P š	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
<i>zoɾ</i>	<i>zaɾə</i>	<i>zoɾ</i>	<i>zaɾa</i>
<i>tow</i>	<i>tawá</i>	<i>tod</i>	<i>tawda</i>
<i>šin</i>	<i>šna</i>	<i>šin</i>	<i>šna</i>
<i>xurž</i>	<i>xwaržə</i>	<i>xož</i>	<i>xwāžə</i>
<i>drūnd</i>	<i>dɾna</i>	<i>drūnd</i>	<i>drana</i>
<i>pox</i>	<i>pīxa</i>	<i>pox</i>	<i>paxa</i>

Pronouns

1. Personal

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

Independent (used with prepositions)

	I <i>rā-</i>	II <i>dər-</i>	III <i>wur-</i>
Enclitic			
Sing.			Pl.
I. <i>-me, -mə</i>			<i>-mā, -ū</i> (?)
II. <i>-dī, -de, -də</i>			<i>-mo</i>
III. masc. <i>-e, -ī</i>			<i>-e</i>
fem. <i>-a, -ya</i>			

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

2. Demonstrative

Like Pš, with the following exceptions:

haṇa, daṇa (sing. and pl., N. and Obl.) 'this, that, the, he'

daṇə; daṇe (fem. pl.); *daṇo* (pl. obl. prep.) 'she, it'

dā (uninfl.) 'this, that'

de (uninfl.) 'these, those'

də (fem. sing.) 'this, that, she'

aṇa 'of that', 'that'; fem. *aṇə*; pl. obl. *aṇū, aṇo*

Two pronouns not in Pš:

ai 'this aforesaid, this here'

indī (*əndī, ndī*) (obl. only) 'this here'—follows noun.

3. Indefinite article

Suffixed: *-e, -ī*

Independent: *ī* (precedes noun)

4. Other pronouns

cə (NP ki) 'that, when, what'

čok 'who'; *čaṇa* 'whose'; *ča* (obl.)

čī 'when, any'

cəna 'how much, so much' (Pš *cangə*)

če nə 'how much, so much'

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

zān 'self' (Pš *jān*)

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

Enclitics, Postpositions, Prepositions

čī 'in' (Pš *kšē*) (postpos.)
minde, mände 'on, on top of'
γa (postpos.) 'of' (Pš *də*)
(wa)ta 'to' (*at, tə, t*)
zdare 'into'
de, dī 'indeed'
sarā, sara 'with, by, near'
tər 'to, across'
pas 'after'
bande 'up, out'

Adverbial Formations

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

Verbs

Personal endings (present)

	Sing.	Pl.
1	-ī	-ū
2	-e	-o
3	-ə, -ī	-īn, -ī

Optative

All persons: -e, -ə

Imperative

Sing. 2 -a, -ə

Pl. 2 -o, -e

Substantive verb (present)

1	ī	yū	Optative 3 Pl. <i>wīn</i>
2	ye	yo	
3	[M] <i>da</i> [F] <i>də</i>	<i>dī</i> ; -(ī)n (suffixed)	

sta 'is, exists'; *nəsta, nəstə* 'is not', etc.

Substantive verb (past)

1	wī	wyū
2	we	wī, wyo
3	[M] <i>wī</i> [F] <i>wya</i>	wī

'To become':

Pres. 1	<i>sī</i>	<i>sū</i>	Past 1	<i>swī</i>	<i>swū</i>
2	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>	2	<i>swe</i>	<i>swe, swo</i>
3	<i>sə</i>	<i>sīn(a)</i>	3	(M) <i>sū, sə</i>	<i>swū</i>
				(F) <i>swa, sa</i>	<i>swe</i>

Optative *sī*

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

Examples.

<i>zə rāwī</i> 'I lead'	past: anim. <i>rāwast</i> inanim. <i>rāwur</i> pl. <i>rāwī</i>
<i>zə kī</i> 'I do'	past: (M) <i>kəṛ</i> pl. <i>kṛə</i>
	(F) <i>ka, kə</i> pl. <i>kəṛe</i>
<i>zə rāsī</i> 'I come'	past: (M) <i>rāya</i> pl. <i>rāye, rāyī</i>
	(F) <i>rāyyā</i> pl. <i>rāyye, rāyī</i>
<i>zə wāyī</i> 'I say'	past: (M) <i>kəṛ</i> pl. (M) <i>wī</i>
	(F) <i>wā</i>
<i>zə kəsī</i> 'I see'	past: (M) <i>līd</i> pl. <i>līde</i>
	(F) <i>līda, līdə</i> pl. <i>līde</i>
<i>zə lī</i> 'I give'	past: (M) <i>lawūr</i> pl. <i>lawe</i>
	(F) <i>lawā</i> <i>lawe</i>

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

1. Present stems in *-edəl*

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

2. Present stems in *-awul*

<i>āč-, w-āča</i> (F. S.),	
<i>w-āčawya</i> (F. S.),	
<i>w-āč(aw)əṛ</i> (M. S.)	
<i>āṛ, w-āṛew-</i>	turn
<i>čalaw-, čalawiya</i> (F. S.)	govern
<i>činaw-, činawur</i> (M. S.)	cause to sit
<i>l-, lwa</i>	give
<i>lwes-, wu-lwa</i> (F. S.)	milk
<i>(rāw-), rāwur</i> (M. S.)	lead
<i>wādaw-, u-wādawya</i> (F. S.)	marry
<i>wāṛaw-, wāṛawya</i> (F. S.)	shovel
<i>wāṛawī</i> (M. S.)	
<i>zow-, wu-zo</i>	be born

3. Present stems in *-en-* (examples due to Morgenstierne)

<i>od-</i>	weave
<i>ar-en-</i> (also <i>aŋ-</i>)	grind
<i>āraw-en</i>	flay
<i>bar-en-</i>	sweep
<i>cak-en-</i>	taste
<i>cing-en-</i> (past <i>wə-cingī</i>)	pull, draw
<i>carx-en-</i>	spin
<i>caṭ-en-</i>	lick
<i>čič-en-</i>	chew
<i>gaṇḍ-en-</i>	sew
<i>kor-un-</i>	plough
<i>kurot-en-</i>	dig
<i>lik-en-</i>	write
<i>lun-en-</i>	winnow
<i>lor-en-</i>	have
<i>lorye?</i> 'hast thou?'	
<i>lwand-en-</i>	weave
<i>leždaw-un-</i>	load
<i>murš-en-</i>	rub
<i>neγār-en-</i> (Imv. <i>wu-neγāra</i> , <i>wu-neγārena</i>)	wrap up
<i>priz-en-</i>	take out
<i>puždal-en-</i>	squeeze
<i>šaraw-en-</i>	stir (soup)
<i>ṭakaw-en-</i>	knock
<i>wi/unz-en-</i>	wash
<i>wres-en-</i>	spin
<i>wez-en-</i>	kill
<i>wurxay-in-</i>	shave
<i>yaṛ-en-</i>	show

4. Pasts in *-st-*

<i>āxl-</i> , <i>w-āxst-</i>	take
<i>cemul-</i> , <i>cəmlast</i>	lie down
<i>čiw-</i> , (<i>čəw-</i>), <i>čīost</i>	throw
<i>čin-</i> , <i>činost</i>	sit down
<i>rāw-</i> , <i>rāwast</i>	lead
<i>wul-</i> , <i>wust</i>	hit

5. Pasts in *-št-*

<i>alwuz-</i> , <i>ālut</i>	fly
<i>č-ūz-</i> , <i>čəwat</i>	enter
<i>kəs-</i> , <i>kātə</i>	see
<i>nəš-</i> , <i>nəšət</i>	stick
<i>pre-ūz-</i> , <i>prewat</i>	fall
<i>γoz-</i> , <i>γot</i>	drink
<i>xez-</i> , <i>xot</i>	rise up

6. Pasts in *-xt-*, *-ft*

* *, <i>wu-na</i>	seize
<i>winzen</i> , <i>wa</i> (M. S.), <i>wya</i> (F. S.)	wash
<i>wī</i> (M. Pl.), <i>wī</i> (F. Pl.)	

7. Pasts in -ršt-	
ān-, aret	leave
γwār-, wu-γušta (F. S.)	want
wu-γušte (F. Pl.)	
kān-, wu-kriš (M. S.), -krši (M. Pl.)	pull
-kərša (F. S.), -kəršye (F. Pl.)	
mān-, māret	stop
muršen-, wī-murš	rub
8. Pasts in -rt-	
k-, kər (M. S.), krə (M. Pl.)	do
ka (F. S.), k(ər)e (F. Pl.)	
lawr-, wa-lawər (M. S.), -lāwrə (M. Pl.)	bring
-lawə (F. S.), -lawe (F. Pl.)	
rāw-, rāwur-, -ər (M. S.), rāwrə (N. Pl.)	lead
rāwa (F. S.), rāwe (F. Pl.)	
wr-, wre	take away
xwar-, xūr (M. S.), xwārə (M. Pl.)	eat
xwāra (F. S.), xwāre (F. Pl.)	
* *, mər	die
9. Pasts in -t-	
aur-, w-auriā (F. S.), w-auri (F. Pl.)	hear
cang-, wu-cangya (F. S.)	drag
reb-, rebī (F. Pl.)	cut grain
rās-, rāγya, rāya (F. S.)	come
wāy-, wāi	say
wezen-, weza (M. S.), weziyā (F. S.)	kill
10. Pasts in -an-	
cek-, wu-cekan ^e	milk
11. Pasts in -yad-	
man-, wə-manyadə	accept
12. Stems in -aya-	
qərz-, u-qərzya (F. S.)	jump out
saz-, * *	burn (tr.)
13. Stems in -k-	
swaz-, swaz	burn (intr.)
14. Stems in -nt-	
kan-,	dig
xānd-, xandī	laugh
15. Uncertain types	
* *, idy-	went
cīng-,	smoke
tos-,	descend
wanc-,	let graze

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

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

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

I

A story, unfortunately incomplete

(Sayyid Sardar Šāh, Harnai)

Da wī wrātī dre xyende wī. Ye špe bāčā dayo kor ta rāya, put wəlār da, γwaž-e wəna, dā musere xor žay kər ke, mā ya kassāb mārə wī, če ne γwaše be mə xwařel! Dā manjwī wāi, ka mā ya nānwāyī mārə wī, če ne bořə ba mə xwařel! Kaserī u-wī, ka mə bāčā mər^ə u-wī, ayal ya ba mə, sar-oštān saro-zaro ya wīn.

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

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

No zaypa linga swa, zoē ye wu-zo. Dā aya sar-oštān saro-zaro ya wīn; dā xyende wulāre swe, dā čorā ye koki čī band kər. Daryāb čī ye tēs kər.

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

Dā xyende bartə wiyārī, xpul kor ta wiyārī. Da kōkə daryāb prewā, ye zāy ta i mālī wu-kərša, če xalāsa ka, kōke manj čī čorā wī. Mālī caṭ xušāl sū, čorā-e kor ta prewur, zaype ta u-we, cə daryāb^ə mə dā kōkə wu-kərša, če me xalāsa ka, dā čorā wata manj čī prot wī. Dā zaype caṭ xušāl swa, wāi, ša da; mā wata ya olad nəsta, day mā wata ya¹ zoē. Dayā satənə šurū ka.¹

*

II

A narrative

(Mullah Sayyid Mohammed, Čauter)

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

*

III

Lullaby

Lārolā, lārolā,
 Šer Xān lōē ke Maulā,
 Dardemə wlē Haronā!

*

IV

The story of Haronā, a local Pīr

Waṇeci Dumaṛ ce ṅang wī, byār ayū Dumaṛāṇū² Haronā nəmanya, byār Dumaṛāṇ rāyī ṅang ta. Waṇeciū Ya dre špūnān wī, byār rāyī, ayū Dumaṛāṇū Haronā ta harmaze wālawe, wī tə, pīrə nī-ye! Biyār orepas, daṅa Haronā kubirī swa, asmān ta wu-xātə, dā Dumaṛāṇū sar mənde wu-tərzda, byār orepas dre špūnānū ṅang wu-kəṛ Dumaṛāṇū səra. Dumaṛāṇ-e ṭole mṛə kṛə, oreypas Dumaṛāṇū Haronā wō-manya.²

*

V

A famous song

Lāṇḍa,³ zór wəlá wəžó-t
 Xálko wəníw tléməngá;
 Mádək wá-kṛə pəsātə!

Ráhman wəyəl Slémanā:
 Də xūdāy pāre, yáxta wanə!
 Ká spír xár lewāno wuxór,
 Byār be wáxlū káčkolə;
 Mádək wá-kṛə pəsātə!

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

Rahman wəyəl Slemanā
 Də xūdāy pāre, yaxta wanə!
 Ka spír xar lēwāno wuxor,
 Byār be waxlū kačkolə;
 Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

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

Ĵār sī šnə léždi tá,
 Cə wēnce sām bəni ta;
 Yāra, mzēki dē prekē,
 Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

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

Ĵār sī šna léždī tá,
Cə wənce səm bənī ta;
Yāra, mzekī də prekə,
Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

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

Málək Āmīr Āfzālā,
Báxt-dī nésta lōē lá serā!
Mohámmed Ākbar cə tá degān də,
Páēwandē de gárboṛē;
Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

Malək Amīr Afzāla,
Baxt-dī nəsta lōē la sərā!
Mohammed Akbar cə tā degān də,
Paēwandə de garboṛə;
Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

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

*

VI

A song

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

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

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

*

VII

Three riddles

1. Bāndē xwā dwē lēwān rāyī; yow ɣuɬ da, bī ɣwaž-e nəsta?
Bāndē dow šelē rāyī; yow wuča, bī čī obə-n.
2. Tā mor sahār čīnə, muɾ andū mand-a prou də?
Pelmūná də.
3. Tā mor sahār čīnə, sur de špalawə?
Awər da.

*

VIII

A song

Wrātī wī Bodō, os pa kawin ke Mangō;
Zərgā tē rāsa, wrātī da mokā!

*

IX

Proverbs (Ramzān, Wamtangī)

1. Yow par bī armazē lawrəle,
Ce na leṛ kār dai, də Madək ū də Torgul.
2. Yow bī xūlē čī lūṇḍə zor-ləl,
Tabār langray dē, də Šāgul.
3. Spīn rebūn, tor lengī; Zarbī tē wəlē sarxākī!

*

X

A Song

Haḡī Sayndadāl Haḡ ta idiē, də Sarwar,
Maṇa Malək cat day xar;
Da Məkē wəgā ləgya sū,
Sta pa šūnd ū pa sar.
Wərža-yī sta də špo, də xāwr, ū də ārō,
Hāl dər-ta lāwṛī bərabār.

*

XI

A Yazal (Maulana Nūr Mohammed, Ziārat)

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

*

XII

A song

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

*

XIII

Riddles (Mohammed Šāh, Nəsaka)

1. Čarga da, marmar ɣa da, calor tangē, yaē stərɣa da?
Ranglūn.
2. Nə mā līdē, nə tā līdē; kūbī čī wāzɣī ča līdē?
Sar čī mastrāyzē dī.

*

XIV

Badals (Kunčesar villagers)

1. Xūre zaɣa! Yo pahār da, xware zaɣa! Ce da yo pahār la ter sū, nīlāi zyərə zaryūn wēlār da.
2. Pākistān mēlē de cə w-kē? Mā drawī ša da; cə wə-kē, mā drawī ša da; ce wə-kē?
3. Xor! Pa sar de, spīn sābūn da, pa sābūnə ɣalatə ma-sə! Pa sābūnə ɣalatə ma-sə! La yamzōlī de beltūn da, la yamzōlī beltūn da.
4. Təl bī na wī xūšālī, yo wraz bē-ɣama, lēwān, nay-wī; yo wraz bē-ɣama, lēwān, nay-wī.
5. Pa dunyā nəsta bawār; parən la ɣor wī sarāban, parən la ɣor wī sarāban.
6. Xula mī dā də, wī-yəxura! Zyātə grānai nə dī, mā zdā; zyātə grānai nə-dī, mā zdā.

*

XV

A story (Mullā Sayyid Mohammed, Čauter)

1. Wrāti yə gidar də, cāhə čī prewātə də. Byā mərɣalī nəsta, no ya zan mərɣalī krə. 2. Byārə wo-wāye lēwā ta, wāi: Ta rāsā dānī! Lemān prātə dī, ɣwar ɣwar; ta bī mī landī prewzē! 3. Lēwī ɣop krə lənt. Yo xē ɣa mərɣalā krə. 4. Dera pas ya byā plangā ta wo-wī: dalta ša ɣwar ɣwar ləmān prātə dī! Aya mī ur-ta ɣop sū, aya ya mī mərɣale krə. 5. Dore pas ē kotərā ta uwi; aya-i mī mūrɣale krə. Šayālə mī ɣop sū, aya-i mī mūrɣale krə. 6. Do bī wrezī wərže swū. Byārə u-wāyī plange ta, plangā akā! Zə yī zə, ta ye ta; ai šayāl kus cə šai da? 7. Aya u-nəšt, šayāl-ē u-xur, gidar-i mī wur-sarā u-xur.

8. Bī wrezī, ba u-wərži sū, ba u-wāyī: plangā akā! Zə yī zə, tə yə tə; lēwə cə šai da? 9. Aya ba wēlār sū, lēwī mī wū-xur, gidar-i mī wur-sarā u-xur.

10. Dore pas ba gidar-i war-ta u-wāi: zə-y zə, ta-y tə; ai kautor-ē cə šai da? Aya ba wēlār sū, aya mī wu-xur.

11. Špa aw wrezī ter sū, ter sū, ter sū ... daye ləže daɣa putkēre wī, dā lərɣanī. 12. No dā lərɣanə ta prewātə, dā lərɣanī kanī dī, mjəki yē xurə dī. 13. Plangā wur-ta u-wē: Dā cə šai dī? Aya u-wē, Dā xū zə xpulī kūkē daɣa kanī, lərɣanī kanī. 14. Aya wur-ta u-wī: No sarī mrē dī, ya žina dī? uWī, na. 15. Paskə planga mex, xula, wārewya, xpule gaddī ta, xpule gaddī ta, xpule gaddī lərɣanī wu-krši. 16. Plang aya tūn ta mər sū. Gidarī dā, mī u-xur.

17. Yo co umər ye ter krə, bī wrez špūn rāyī, wī gidarī ta: Dā ndī, cə kē? 18. Wāyī, postinān dī, ɣor kī. uWī, mā ta postin ɣor kē? 19. uWī, hō! Tā tə postin ɣor kī! Tora urā tēs ka! Aya u-wāyī, tora urā bandī xwā-ē tēs kər.

20. Aya wa-rsa, aya wra-ya u-xuṛ. Bī wrezi aba tē bī urā tēs kəṛ. Aya ya mī u-xuṛ.
 21. Bī wrezi špūn rāyi, postin dā cuna kəṛ dē? uWī, postin mā joṛ kə, dai, postki dī.
 22. Cə post sī, sahār rāsa, bya ba ta sarā sə!
 23. Sahār či špūn rāya, u-wī, postin əndī, joṛ kə dī? 24. Postin mī joṛ də, ta mē-ta mlastān tēs ka; mā landī xwā-ra u-kana! Zə ba ta sarā postin kača kī.
 25. Aṇə wur-ta mlastān tēs kə, gidaṛi ye landī xwā-e wu-kerš, yāri. 26. Cə gidaṛ yāri ta wu-kirš, gidaṛ wu-qərzya də, špūn ye aya tūn ta, wārit. 27. Tər dori zə wur-sarā yī, nor xūdāi xair kəṛ.

*

XVI

Songs [Ghulam Mohammed, Kaṇəwagura]

Anjo nara təl-mudām,
 Pər gaṛangūnō či wəlāra;
 Tosa wə-sam-ta, či ndī wu-wīnəm
 Pər gaṛ-larəlyi-yaṛa.
 Tosa wə-sam-ta, či ndī wu-wīnəm
 Pər gaṛ-larəlyi-yaṛa.

*

XVII

Šoraži da Saləm dī;
 Ka šoraži səm Saləm,
 Tərxī šoreži.
 Adəm aw Alīm mər dī,
 Par ewāri səm Saləm wu-naṛaži.
 Adəm aw Alīm mər dī,
 Par ewāri səm Saləm wu-naṛaži.

*

Translations and Notes

I

Once there were¹ three sisters. One night the King went to their house, hid himself, lent an ear, (while) the eldest sister cried out, If my husband will be a butcher, how much meat I shall eat! The middle one said, If my husband will be a baker, how much bread I shall eat! The youngest said, If my husband will be a king, the hair of my offspring will be of gold!

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

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

² n in plural is probably due to influence of preceding r.

³ The accent marks indicate stress.

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

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

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

Notes: ¹ Lit., 'this was'.

² Lit., 'in truth'.

*

II

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

*

III

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

*

IV

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

*

V

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

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

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

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

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

*

VI

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

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

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

*

VII

1. Q: From above two wolves came, one is fat, the other has no ears.

A: Above two nullahs came; one is dry, in the other is water.

2. Q: Your mother sits up in the morning; a dead Hindu lies on her.

A: It is a sheep's-wool rug.

3. Q: Your mother sits up in the morning, the red hisses.

A: It is fire.

*

VIII

Once you were in Bodo; now you at the wedding of Mango;

Come quickly, there is still a chance.¹

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

*

IX

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

Notes: ¹ Charity begins at home.

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

*

X

Haji Sayndada! You went on the Prophet's haj,
(But) Mana Malik is a great ass.
The wind of Mecca has touched
You on the nose and on the head.
I am hungry for your feet, your soil, and your ashes,
I bring news to you true.

*

XI

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

*

XII

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

*

XIII

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

*

XIV

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

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

² When proceeding to the washing-place girls put soap and clothes on their heads, and for their last washing before marriage they use white soap. After marriage they are separated from their former companions.

³ Lit., 'wolf'.

⁴ Nos. 5 and 6 are girls' songs.

*

XV

1. Once there is a fox, he has fallen into a well. But there are no companions, so herself she made companions. 2. So she spoke to a wolf; she said, Come down here! Some sheep intestines are lying, very very fat; you too jump down! 3. The wolf jumped down. So then one companion was made. 4. After that then she spoke to a leopard: Here very good fat intestines have fallen! He also jumped down to them, he also was made a companion. 5. After that she spoke to a hyena; he also became a companion. A jackal also jumped, and was also made a companion. 6. Two days later they got hungry. So she said to the leopard, Uncle leopard! I am I, you are you; this jackal, who the devil¹ is he? 7. He seized, ate the jackal; the fox also ate with him.

8. Another day they got hungry, again she said, I am I, you are you; what is this wolf? 9. He stood up again, and ate the wolf too; the fox also ate with him.

10. Afterwards again the fox said to him: I am I, you are you; this hyena, what is he? He again stood up, and ate him.

11. Night and day passed, passed ... passed ... (she thought of) a few of what she had hidden: those intestines. 12. So she fell to those intestines, she is pulling at those intestines, she is eating the earth. 13. The leopard said to her, What are those? Those are only my own ribs i am pulling, I am pulling at my intestines. 14. He said to her, But are they dead or alive? She said, No. 15. Then the leopard turned aside his face, mouth, into his own stomach, into his own stomach; in his own stomach he pulled out his own intestines. 16. The leopard died on the spot. The fox ate him too,

17. Some time passed; another day some shepherds came, said to the fox: You there, what are you doing? 18. She said, These are posteens; I am preparing them. They said, Will you prepare posteens for us? 19. She said, Yes! I will prepare posteens for you; Throw me a black lamb! She spoke, and a black lamb was thrown down from above.

20. She came, ate that lamb. Another day another lamb was thrown down. She ate it too. 21. Another day the shepherds came, (and asked), Of the posteen how much work is there? She said, I have made the posteen, this one is softening. 22. When it becomes soft, come in the morning; then it will be yours!

23. In the morning the shepherd came, said: That posteen there, is it ready? 24. (She answered), the posteen is ready, you throw your turban to me, from my side downwards raise it up! I will measure the posteen for you.

25. He threw down his turban, and pulled up the fox to his side, on the edge. 26. When the fox was pulled up to the edge, the fox jumped out, left the shepherd on the spot. 27. Up to that time I was with them; the rest God made good.

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

*

XVI

(Like) the middle branch of the Anjo tree, always
above the gorges you stand;
Come down to the plain, so that I may see
Your neck, bearing an ivory ornament.

*

XVII

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

*

Vocabularies: Part I

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

Abbreviations:

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

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

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

PšQ = 'Pashto Qāmūs', Kābul 1954.

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

Pš *āčawul*, pres. *āčaw-*, with same semantics. Cf. also NP *andaxtan* 'throw, build'

adē pl. *adēganī* 'mother' (= Pš)

aka (E) 'uncle' (= Pš)

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

ān-, *aret* 'let go, allow', pres. *zə āni*; past *mā wārit* 'I left'; *wāretya* fem.; imv. *wanə*

'let do!' Pš *aratəl* < *a-hṛšta*

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

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

- 'bee', and Orm. *pīn* 'honey'
angīnmečā 'bee' cf. *meč*
anjo (E) 'a sweet-smelling tree'; Et. unknown
arē, prep. pl. *arō* 'ashes'; Pš *ērē*. Both Wan and Pš < *āerya-*, with pal. in Pš from *-ya-*
ār-, past *wārew-* (E) 'turn'; Pš *āwuštāl*, pres. *āwr-* Wan. metathesis
aṛwendə, pl. *aṛwendī* (E) 'dyke, bund'; Pš *wand*. For *aṛ-* cf. EVP s. v. *ār* 'stoppage'
 (< Hi.); *wand* < Av. *banda-* 'chain' etc., while *wend* < *bandya-*. Wan has sing. *e*
 from. pl.: cf. common pl. *-endī*
atā 'mother's or father's sister'; cf. NP *atā* 'papa?'
atā 'eighty' Pš *atiā*; both from *aštāiti-*, with Wan unpal.
awā 'seventy', Pš *awiā*; both < *haftāiti-*, with Wan. unpal.
awlūn 'bridle', Pš *mlūna*, but cf. Waz. *wlina*; < Av. *aiwi-δāna-* Wan has older form.
aur-, *aurī* 'hear', pres. *zə aurī*, also *arwī*; past *wawrī* FP, *wawriā* FS; Pš *ārwedəl*, *ārw-*;
 < Av. *haur-*. The Wan is older
awər, *aur owr* 'fire', Pš *ōr*; < *āer-*. EVP s. v. does not think Kurd. *awōr* more than
 a coincidence; in fact cf. Afr. *wōr*. Probably Wan is a metath. < *wor* < *owr* < *awr*
āxl-, *wāxst* 'to take', past also *wāxəst*, *āx'ist*; *wāxlū* 'let us take'. Pš *āxistəl*, *āxl-*
ayal (E) 'child, son'; Ar.-NP 'iyāl
ēždən 'millet'; Pš *Ždan* < *arzana-*, NP *arzan*. Wan seems < *arzanya-*, but semantics
 are odd. Perhaps < *ēžden* with initial vowel epenthesis?
īdī- 'went' (only past): *īdyī* 'I went', *īdəyū* 'we went', *īdīē* 'thou wentest'
obə(h) 'water' Pš *óbə*
or- 'there', in compounds: *orəpas* 'then, thereupon', *oreyapas*; *hor-ta* 'in that place',
 < *ávaəra-*, Pš *war* (EVP s. v. *dələ*, *war*²), < *aváəra-*. Cf. Part II *orə*
ospandə 'iron', also *ospənd*; Pš *óspanə*
otə 'eight', Pš *atə*; < *ašta-*. Wan *o-* is from *ōwə* 'seven' (Cf. NTS)
ōwə 'seven' (= Pš *owa*)
ūmə 'unripe fruit' (cf. also *wōzak*), Pš *ūm*, pl. *ūmə*
umər 'time', Pš *umr* 'age'. Cf. for semantics Bal *umr* 'age, time' (all < NP)
ur-γula 'hearth', Pš *or-γālai*; *γālai* 'place' < *gātū*. There is the usual change *ā* > *ō*
 in *γōlai* 'courtyard', but *ā* is preserved in Pš compound forms, and in Wan. The
 alternation *γwa/γo/γu* is common. Cf. Part II *wurγwolla*
ust- 'hit', cf. *wul*; Pš *wištəl*, < Av. *vaēda-* 'javelin'? If an old *wid-* / *wist*, then Wan
 preserves old *-st-* (> Pš *-št-*), but some Pš dial. also have *-st-* in this word
ušə 'grass' (in the North *wuš*), Pš *wašə*; < *vāstrya-*
ūšt 'hair', pl. *wūštān*, *ōštān*, Pš *weštə* < *wṛsa-tā-*, Wan has labialised; cf. Part II (*w*)*ūšt*
užd 'long', also *wužd*; Pš *užd*
uženz comb' v. *wženj*
ba (E) 'again, then', Pš *bya*; < *apaya-* 'again'
bī, fem. *byā* 'other', < *bitya-* (-t- drops; cf. NTS, 160)
bəl 'other' (= Pš)
beltūn (E) 'longing' (= Pš), but some Pš diall. also *byeltūn*
bəlwē 'shoes made of mazarī'; Et. unknown
bən 'co-wife' (= Pš)
bən (E) 'small field', Pš *baṇ*
bānde 'up, out', cf. Pš *bānde* 'on', and also *mānde*
barkat (E) 'heap of wheat on threshing floor'; probably NP *barakat* 'blessing'

brēstəŋ 'blanket', Pš *brastan*; < *upari-starani-*. Wan *-e-* probably from a fem. in *-ī* *barte* 'again, back again', Pš *byarta*; < Av. *apari-štā-*, *apara* 'posterior'. Cf. also Wan *abata brt*, pl. *brta*, *brtə* 'moustache', Pš. *bret*

boṛə 'flour, bread', Pš (PšQ) *bōrṇə*, EVP *bōrnə* 'dried flour' with *n* for *ṇ*; but cf. Raverty both *n* and *ṇ*.

byā 'again', also *byār* (= Pš)

bazang (E) 'tethering rope'; Et. unknown

cabəl 'lawn'; Et. unknown

cāh (E) 'well'; Pš *cā(h)*

cek- 'to milk'; vbl. *cekanəl*, imv. *wu-cekana* 'milk!'; cf. Pš (PšQ) *cekana* 'a drink'?

The Wan word corresponds to Pš *lwašəl*

calor 'four' (= Pš)

cemul- 'to lie down', past fem. *cəmlastə*; Pš *caml-*, *camlāstəl* < *hača-ni-pada-*

cuna 'how much, so much', Pš *cone*

cang- 'to drag', pres. *zə cangi*, past *mā wu-cangyā*, cf. Pš *cang* 'flank'? NP *čang* 'claw'?

cīng- 'to smoke' probably a phon. variant of *cang-*, *cəng-* (Pš *ckəl*, *ckawəl*). Cf.

Part II *čing-*

cenji (E) 'parting in the hair' (Pš *sindai*); Et. unknown

cəpli 'sandals', Pš *capləy*

cərma (E) 'side, near, towards'; cf. *zarma*

cutki (E) 'woman's side-plaits' (Pš *pəštəy*); Et. unknown

cat, *caṭ* 'many, very' (Pš *qer*); Et. unknown

cwī 'also' (E); Et. unknown

cwārlas 'fourteen' (= Pš)

či-, *čəw-* 'to throw' past *čiōst*; cf. *āč-*

čok 'who', Pš *cok*; Wan *č-* prob. from obl. *ča*

čuk 'butter'; metath. from Pš *kuč*

čalaw- 'to govern', pres. *zə čalawī*, past *čalawiyā*; Pš *čalawəl*

čamba 'back of hand'; said to be < NP.

čin- 'sit down, sit up', past *činost*; caus. pres. *zə činawī*, past masc. *činawur*; Pš *kše-nāstəl*

čəre, *čəṛē* 'knife' (= Pš)

čirag, *čərag* 'cock', Pš *cirg*

čerwust 'twenty-four', Pš. *calerwišt*

češkū 'tear gland' (E); Et. unknown. Cf. Pš *uška* 'tear'?

čwara, *čwarā* 'child, son'; E also heard *čorā* 'son', but never as in NTS 'girl'. Cf. also

Bal *čoro* 'child' (< Hi. *č°orā* 'boy'), Si. *č°orī* 'girl'.

č-ūz 'to enter'; cf. *pre-ūz-*. Prob. *č-* < *či* 'in'; past *čəwat*. Cf. Pš. *kše-watəl* 'get into trouble'

dē particle denoting the present; also 'indeed'. Prob. < some form of *da* 'this'

dōba 'summer', Pš *dōbai* (< *han-tāpa-*)

degān 'worker, ploughman' < Pers. *dehgān* (NP *dehqān*)

dayal 'thus', < *da-ya-əa-*; cf. Pš *daya*

dela, *dəla* 'here'; Pš *dələ*

dānī (E) 'hither, down here'; cf. *dānī*, *dānā*, *dāin* 'until, while' (< Si. *dāin*)

dre 'three' (= Pš)

dora pas (E) 'after that', also *dəra pas*; < *da ore*. Cf. *ore pas*; *ore* < *ávaəra-*, *tər dori* 'to that time' < *ta-ore*; *ta*: cf. Pš *dā?*

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

darlas 'thirteen', Pš *dyārlas*; < *ərayō-dasa-*, but note Pš *dre* 'three' without pal.
drām- 'to go' Pš *drūmēdāl*; *drāmū* 'we go'; past *wiyār* 'he went'; imv. *drma* 'go!'
drund (m.), *drna* (f.), 'heavy', Pš *drūnd*, *drana*; < *grāna*?
drawī 'tryst', cf. Pš (PšQ) *drāwī* 'assembly place'
dwārə, *dwahrī* 'both': -h- unexplained; cf. Pš *dwārə*
gā, *gāi* 'word, promise', Pš *gāi* 'promise'
guc (E) 'cradle, cradle song'; Et. unknown
gadda (E) 'belly', Pš *geḍa*; I also heard *gaḍḍa*
gidar (E) 'fox', Pš *gīdara* 'jackal' (!). Both words < Hi.; I cannot explain the change of meaning in Wan.

guḍḍi 'skin for churning milk'; Et. unknown
gaḷ (E) 'enamelled ornament, worn by women'; < Hi. *gaḷ* 'ivory, elephant'
gekū, *gyeko*, *kekū* 'span between thumb and forefinger'; Et. unknown
garboṛə (E) 'clod of earth'; context transl. 'broken plough-share', whence *garboṛə* 'broken bit'; poss. Pš (PšQ) *garboṛa* 'ground made of clods' is another word, though this was denied

garwī 'collar', Pš *garwāi*; cf. NP *gire*
garz- 'to approach', past *garzed*; Et. unknown
garang (E) 'ravine, gorge' (= Pš); prob. LW < Indian
gata 'wages in kind, paid to artisans', cf. Pš *gaṭṭa* 'wages'
gaṭṭi (IIFL, 53*) 'span'; Et. unknown
γabūn, *γōbūn* 'cowherd', cf. Pš *γoba*, *γobə*; -būn < Av. *pā*?
yuca, *γucā* (*yuča* IIFL, 13*) 'cheek'; Et. unknown
yal 'thief', Pš *yal*
yalbuz 'bee', cf. Pš *γlawza*; Et. unknown
γandəm 'wheat', Pš *γanəm*. The Wan is prob. the genuine Pš form, the Pš being LW;
 cf. Orm. *ganum*, NP *gandum*

γārī (E) 'edge', obl. of Pš *γāra* 'edge'? -r- was insisted upon; cf. Part II *γarī*
γara 'throat', Pš *γarai* (< Av. *garah-*)
γorsēm, *γwarsēm* 'packing needle', cf. Pš *γund-stən*; Et. unknown
γarz- (NTS, 167) 'wander, go away', cf. Pš *garzēdāl*, Orm. *girz-* 'walk about', NP *gardīdan*; if Pš < NP, then necessarily at a very early stage when Pers. was *garḍīdan*: cf. also possibly Pš *γarəl*, *γaštāl* 'turn, twist'. If Wan, like other langs with forms in -rz-, is borrr. from Persian, why γ-? Or do Wan, Orm. show a separate development?

γorži 'milk pail', cf. Pš *γoži* 'water sack', < **γorzya*? If so, Pš -ž- is odd
γəṛə 'calf of leg', Pš *γarai*
γarzə (NTS, 168) 'small cloud'; Et. unknown
γaš, pl. *γašə* 'tooth', Pš *γāš*
γuṭ (E) 'fat'; cf. Orm. *γuṭ*, Pš *γaṭ*; Et. unknown
γwalūn, *yalūn* 'female breast'; cf. Pš *lawayūna* 'milk pail', < *γwalūna* < *gaudānā*, Av. *gaodana*; Bal *godān*

γwalānz 'udder', Pš *γwa-lanja*
γwar 'fat', Pš *γwər* (< *ghrta*?)
γwurži 'kiss' (E), Pš *yež* [< *gauši* < Av. *gaoz-* 'hide, cover' (EVP)]. But cf. also Pš *yuž* 'embrace': perhaps only the latter is to be connected with *gaoz-*, so that Wan, and Pš *yež*, are rather < **gūzray-* 'secret, hidden'. Cf. also *xorža*

ɣwār- 'to want, call', past FS *u-ɣušta*, FP *u-ɣušte*, pres. *zə ɣwārī*; cf. Pš *ɣwara* 'chosen'?

The Wan form unexplained: expect past **-ɣuršt*?

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

ɣwaž, pl. *ɣwaže* 'ear', Pš *ɣwaž*

ɣoz- 'to drink', pres. *zə ɣozi*, past *ɣot*; cf. perhaps Skt. *gāh-* 'drown'?

ɣuž, *ɣwuž* (E) 'embrace, kiss'; prob. LW < Pš *ɣež*. Cf. also *ɣwurži*

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

heki 'collar bone', < *huška-ka-* 'dry [bone]'? NTS, 161

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

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

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

hoša, *hoškī*, *hoška* 'tear', Pš *ōšā*; cf. *wōši*

hōya 'egg'; Pš *hagəy* < *āya-ka-*, but Pš diall. *hā*, *hōya* < *āyā*: Bal. *ā* is LW < Pš *hā*

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

k- 'do': pres. *zə kī*, past MS *kəṛ*, MP *kṛə*; FS *ka*, *kā*, *k*; FP *k(əṛ)e*; Pš *kṛāl*, *kaw-*

kūbī (E) 'sheepskin in which fat is hung', Pš (PšQ) *kūbī* 'skin in which lamb is dried in summer to be eaten in winter'

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

kucaṇa, *kucaṇī* 'armpit'; NTS, 168, < Khet. *kučəṇī*

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

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

kokə (E) 'box', cf. Pš (PšG) *koka* 'fruit-box'

kūkē 'ribs'; Et. unknown

kukkūr(ā) 'puppy', LW < Hi. *kūkar*

kān- 'to pull', past *u-kriš*, *wu-kriš* (masc.), fem. *wu-kərša*, *wu-kirše*; MP *wu-kərši*,

FP *wu-kəršye*; Pš *kšəl*, *kāž-*; < Av. *karš-*

kunaṛī 'milk pail'; Et. unknown; but. cf. Par. *kizaṛē*, Orm. *kuzeli* (and ultimately NP *kūzē*)?

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

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

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

koṛī (E) 'bad' < Pš 'leprous'?

kəs- 'to see', past *līd*; pres. *zə kəsī*, inv. *wūksa* 'see!' The use of *kəs-* (< Av. *kas-*) in the pres. and *līd* in the past (< NP *dīdan*) is different from Pš, which has 1. *wīn-*, *līdəl* 'to see',

2. *kas-* / *gər-*, *katəl* 'to look at'

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

kasər, *kasir*, *keser*, *kasyar* 'younger'; Pš *kašr* < Av. *kasyah* (with *-r* from the forms in *-tar*). Wan shows two different types of pal. from **-yah-*.

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

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

kuṭa(w) (E) 'donkey colt', cf. NP *koṭāh*?

kawīn (E) 'wedding ceremony', Pš *kāwīn* (< NP *kābīn*)

kož 'crooked', Pš *kož*

kažə, pl. *kəžə* 'fish', < *kašā*-. Oss. *kəsag* may be connected, but [cf. NTS, 168] Wan points to š < *k's. Cf. Part II *kəžə*

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

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

la 'even', adv. (= Pš)

lew, pl. *lewān* 'wolf', Pš *lēwə*; *lewān* 'lover' [cf. Pš *lewanai* 'mad']; < Av. *daēvya-leč* 'upper arm', Pš *leča*; < *daus-či*-

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

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

likən- (NTS 166) 'to write', pres. *zə likənī* with a stem in *-ən*-; < Hi. *likhnā*, cf. Bal. *likag*

ləmanī 'skirts', Pš *laman*; < NP *dāmān*, actually Pš < **dāmānī*; cf. Part II *ləmən lande* 'down', Pš *lānde*; *lande-t*, *lənt* 'downwards'

linga 'giving birth', Pš *langa* 'puerperal'

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

laṇḍ 'tailless ox', LW < Indian, cf. Bal. *laṇḍī* 'a crop-tailed dog' [Lhd. *luṇḍo*]; Pš *laṇḍa* 'cut short', Hi. *laṇḍ* 'crop-tailed'

lūṇḍe 'bread, nān'; Et. unknown

lār 'road'; Pš *lār*, *lyār*

lūr, pl. *lūṇī* 'daughter'; Pš *lūr*, pl. *lūṇa*

larəlyī 'having, possessing', cf. Pš *larəl* 'have', < *dar*-; *-yī* adj. suffix

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

lərxaṇī, pl. *lərxoṇe* (E), 'intestines'; cf. Pš *lerai*?

leṛə, *ləṛ*, *leṛe* (E) 'bad'; Et. unknown

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

lōša 'dress'; cf. Pš *lošai*?

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

lewār 'husband's brother', (= Pš)

lawṛ- 'to give', past stem to *l-*, q. v.

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

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

ləž 'little, a little', < Pš *ləž*

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

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

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

mlā 'waist' (= Pš)

mālī (E) 'a gardener', < Hi.

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

mālgē (pl.) 'salt', Pš *mālga*

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

- mēlmustyā* (E) 'hospitality', Pš *melmastyā*
mlēsa [*nmesa* in north] 'grandson', Pš *nmasai*, *nwasai*; < Pers. *nawāsa*, common LW into Indian
- mlāst* 'lying down' < *ham-vast*-? Connexion with *vad*- 'lead' has poor semantics
mlastaṇ [*mlastūna* NTS] 'turban' < *mal-wast*- 'kamarband'?
- mom*-, past *mūnd* 'to find'; pres. *zə momī*; Pš *mundəl*, *mūm*-
man- 'accept, believe', past *wa-manyā* (F), *manyād*-; Pš *manəl*, *man*-; LW < Indian, cf. Bal. *mannag* 'obey, listen' < Lhd. *manaṇa* 'obey'
- mān*- 'to stop', past *māret*; pres. *zə mānī*. Cf. NP *mān*ⁱ 'impediment, obstacle'? Also in Hi., < NP
- mana*, *mənī* 'autumn', Pš *manai*
mena 'dwelling', Pš *mena*
- mand(e)*, *minde* NTS 163, 'on, on top of', cf. Pš *bānde*? See also *bānde*
- maṇjwī* (E) 'middle, middle one', Pš *myanḥ*; LW < Indian, cf. Panj. *māj*. Note lack of pal. in Wan: is Pš < NP *myān*- while Wan < Indian? See also Part II *manzwā*
- mīr* 'sun', Pš diall. *mer*, *myer*
- mor* 'mother', pl. *myende*, *mendī* with two different pals.; Pš *mor*, pl. *mandī*, *mendī*, *mainde*, *myānde* with three. All pls. ultimately < *-āntayah*
- mērmən(a)* 'lady of the house', Pš *mermana*
- muršen*- 'rub', past *wī-murš*, pres. *zə murši*; Pš *mušəl*, < **mṛś*-; cf. also Bal. *mušag*
- merža* 'ant', Pš *mežai* < *marwičaka*-; cf. also Orm. *marčōi*, NP *morča*
- murža* 'garlic', Pl. *murži*, cf. Pš *ūža* (EVP conjecture now to be emended); also IIFL 25* *mərj*, *mur* 'dead', Pš *maṛ*, < *mṛta*-?
- mārə*, *mār* 'husband', Pš *meṛə*, *myārə*, < *martya*-
- mərgalī* (E) 'a companion', Pš *malgərai*, < *ham-adwa*- 'fellow-traveller'
- mesə*, *mesī* 'mosquito', Pš *māšai*, *myāšai*, < *masya-ka*-
- muser* 'elder', Pš *mašar*; < *masyah*-
- māst* 'month', Pš *myāst*, *myāšt*, < *māsti*-
- mastrāyze* [pl.] (E) 'brains', cf. Orm. *mastərγ*, Av. *mastrəyan*-, Pš (Waz.) *maxrəze*, all with *-r*-
- mīt* 'fist', Pš *mušt*, *muṭ*; cf. NTS, 168: Wan is the genuine Pš word, while Pš is LW < NP-Indian
- mətiā*, *mətyā* 'urine', Pš *mitiāzə* < *miti-yāz*-; Wan < *miti*-
- mūz*, *mūnz* 'prayer', Pš *nmunj*, but diall. *mūnz*, < *namānč*-
- mzək*, *mjək* 'earth', Pš *zmaka*, < *zama-ka*-; cf. also Waz. *mzəka*
- mež* 'ewe', LW < Pš *mež*; cf. following
- myāž* 'ram', *myež* 'ewe' (E), Pš *maž*, resp. *mež*; *myāž* < *maēša*; *myež* < *maēši*; cf. EVP, 49 on the history of **-aiša*-, **-aiši*-, and Part II *maž*
- mžak* 'rat', Pš *məžak*, Bal. *mušk*: cf. Skt. *mūṣ*; Part II *məža*
- ndror*, pl. *endrāinde* 'husband's sister' (= Pš)
- nguṭā* 'thumb', also '1st or 2nd fingers'; Pš *guta* 'finger', < *anguṣṭa*-; Part II *nogut*
- nika* 'great-grandfather'; cf. Pš *γar nīkə* < *nyāka*-? But the *-k-* is difficult: cf. also Bal. *nāko* 'uncle'?
- nīla* (E) 'steed, horse' < Pš *nīlai*
- nūm* 'name' (= Pš)
- nara* 'fine, slender', Pš *narai*, Oss. *nareg*
- naṛaž*- (E) 'to collapse' < Pš *naṛədəl*, *naṛaž*-

- nis-* (E) 'put, plant' past *wənīw*; Pš *niwəl*, *nis-nāst* 'seated, sitting', Pš *nāst-əl*, < *ni-hasta-*
nəš- 'to stick', pres. *zə nəši*, past *wu nəsət*, *-nəšt*; Pš *nšatəl*, < *ni-srišta?* (Av. *sraēš-* 'stick'). Pš pres. *nšaləm* < *ni-šad-*; *-d-* drops in Wan, > *-l-* in Pš
- noṭə* (E) 'money' < Hi. *noṭ* (ultimately < English)
- nōw*, f. *nawa* 'wet', Pš *nūmd*; < *nambda-*: *-b* > *-w* regularly in Wan
- nōw*, *nōv* 'navel', Pš *nū*, *nūm*, < *nāb-*
- nāzək* (E) 'lover' < NP *nāz-ak* 'tender, soft'
- nžor*, pl. *nžendī*, *nəžyānde* 'daughter-in-law'; Pš *nžor*, pl. *nžainde*, < **hnuša-*; cf. also Bal. *našar*, prob. LW < Pš
- pahār* 'watch, time' < Hi. *pahrā* 'season, watch'
- pahiž-*, past *u-payēdə* 'recognise, understand, admit', pres. *zə pahēži*; Pš *poh* 'aware, intelligent'; Bal. *poh* 'intelligence'; Wan denom. in *-iž-* not in Pš
- pukə* [pl. *puke* NTS, 161] 'sheep's dung'; Pš *pača* < *puškā-*, NP *pušk*. Normally old *šk* > Pš *č*; possibly the Wan words showing *č* < *šk* (*rəč*, *wuč*, *leč*, etc.) are all LW < Pš, and the gen. Wan development is *šk* > *k* as in *pukə*
- palī* 'a plough blade' (= Pš)
- pelmūna* 'carpet, blanket of sheep's wool'; Et. unknown
- plang* (E) 'leopard' < NP *palang*; cf. Part II *prang*
- palasta* 'bridegroom', cf. also Bal. *palast*; Et. unknown
- pūndə* 'ankle, heel' < Pš *pūnda*
- pārə* 'for the sake of, for': only in *də ... pārə*, < Pš
- pur* 'over, above' < Pš *par*
- prou*, *prow* 'asleep' < *para-huṭta-*; Pš *udə* < *huṭta-*
- pordug* (E) 'trousers, shalwar': cf. Pš, Orm. *partūk*, and Part II *pōrdəg*
- prek-* (E) 'plough a furrow', past *prəkə*; < *pre-kṛəl* 'cut up', Pš *pre-kawəl*
- pārən*, *pārənd* 'yesterday'; Pš *pārūn*, < *parah-* 'over, beyond', Bal. *paran-*, in compounds like *parampoši* 'three days hence'
- prez-en-* (E) 'take, seize', 1st pl. *presnū* < *prezenū*; past *preniw-*. Pš *preniwəl*, *prenis-porta* 'risen' (= Pš)
- prot*, fem. *prātə* [pl.] 'lying down' [cf. *pre-wāt-*]; < *para-wašta-*, Pš *prot*
- prew-* 'carry' past *prewur*, fem. *prewā*; < *pre-wṛ-*, Pš *wṛəl* without prefix
- parewārī* 'on both sides'; Et. unknown
- prewat-* (E) 'fall', past *prewat-*, *prewata*, *prewā* (last only is gen. Wan; others from Pš) pres. *zə pre-ūzī*, inv. *pre-wze*; Pš *prewatəl*
- pəsātə* (E) 'a mischief', cf. Pš *pasāti*
- postin* 'posteen' < NP *postin*
- post* (E) 'soft' (= Pš); *postkī* 'softening' (also Pš)
- puṭ* 'behind, hidden', also *putkəre* (E) 'hidden', < *puṭ-kəṛ-*? Cf. NP *pušt* for which this is the gen. Pš-Wan cognate, but does not exist in Pš. Also Bal. *put* 'back', LW < Pš? Cf. Part II *puṭ*
- pəṭ* (E) 'burial', cf. Pš *pəṭawəl*, < Hi. *paṭ* 'covering'? Cf. part II *puṭ*
- piṭə* (E) 'load'; Et. unknown
- paewandə* (E) 'joinings, joints, esp. plough-pieces', < NP *pēwandah?*
- paxē*, f. *pīxē* 'near, close to': cf. Pš *ja-xa?*
- pox*, f. *pixa* 'ripe, cooked' (= Pš)

piyār 'father', < *pitar-* (Pš *plār*)

pīza 'nose', Pš *pōza paza*, < NP *poz* 'snout'; Bal. *ponz*, etc. 'nose'. Wan < **pēz-*:
cf. Pš *pezvān* 'nose-ring'

qarz- (E) 'jump; aut', past *u qarzya*; cf. Pš *kažəl* 'pull'?

rēb- 'to cut grain, harvest', past *rēbī*; < Pš *rēbəl*

rebūn 'shirt'; Et. unknown

rēbūn (E) 'shepherd of young kids', < *re-pāna-*; for *re-* cf. Av. *raē-vant-* 'beautiful, rich', Skt. *rai* 'wealth', NP place name *Revand*

rəč 'lick', Pš. *riča*

ranglūn (E) 'antimony container, surmedan', < *rang-dān-*?

ruṇā, urṇā 'light', Pš *rūn*; < *raoxšna-*

ruṇa, ruṇə 'clarified butter, ghee' < *raoyna-*, NP *rōyan*

rās- 'to come', pres. *zə rāsī*, past *rāya* (m.) *rāyyā* (f.), inv. *rāsa*; Pš *rāš-*, *rāyləl*:
note Wan s: Pš š; Et. unknown

rištgoē (E) 'a truthful person' < *rišt-gū-*, Pš *rištūnai*

rā-w- 'bring, lead', pres. *zə rāwī*, past *rāwast*, *rāwur*, *-əṛ* (MS), *rawṛə* (MP), *rawa* (FS),
rāwye (FP); Pš *rā-wastəl*

sī 'hundred', Pš *səl*, < *sata-*; *dwe sū*, *sōu* '200'; *ter sū* '300'; *cūn sū* '400'

səga 'sand'; Pš *šəga* is LW < Indian, < something akin to Skt. *sikatā*; cf. also Bal. *sik*,
six 'barren land', Pš prob. < Dard., while Wan < Indian?

sahār 'next day, in the morning', Pš *sahār*; < Arb.-NP *saḥar*

salā 'counsel, advice' (= Pš)

sām, səm (E) 'plain, plains' (= Pš); Pš meaning 'direct' is perhaps < 'plain, plainly'?
Cf. also Orm. *samo* 'plains'

sunda 'nose', Pš *šunḍa*; cf. *šund*, *pīza*, and part II *sunḍa*

sū, sūn 'lip', pl. *sūṇān*; < *sund*. Pš *šunḍa* < Dardic form of Skt. *śunḍa* 'elephant's trunk';
Wan < an Indian form (Skt. ś > s in many langs, cf. Hi. *sūṇḍ*)

sungūn 'porcupine', < *sikurna-*; Pš *škūn*, Bal. *sinkūr*, *sikūn*

sunzən, sənjan 'needle' (< *sunt-* < *sutn* < *stun-*); Pš *stən*, < *stūnī*

spa (E) 'night'. Cf. also *špa*; if gen., shows perhaps xš > s

spāhata 'down, downstream'; cf. also *lāntə*. Et. unknown

spīn 'white' (= Pš)

spīr 'grey', Pš *spera*, < *spaiəra-*

spərļa (E) 'one-year-old kid' < *upa-saradya-ka*, Pš *pšarlai*; cf. also Pš *serlai* 'yearling',
< *sarada-ka*?

spyesta, spesta 'lucerne', < *aspō-asti-*; Pš *špešta*

spuž 'flea', cf. Pš *spaža* 'louze' < *spiš-*

sar 'head' (< NP); *la ... sarā* 'from the beginning'

sur 'red' (= Pš), obl. pl. *saro*

saraban (E) 'carefree', 'lover'? NP *sārbān* 'camel driver' seems unlikely

serļa 'two-year-old goat', Pš *serlai*

sarā 'man', Pš *sarai*

sīstə (South), (North *səga*) 'grain of sand'; < Av. *-sista-* 'split'

satənə (E) 'care', Pš *sātənə*

stūnstax 'lying on back', Pš *stūn*; cf. also Pš *stūnī-stay* 'lying stiff', < Av. *ustāna-*
stərg, pl. *stərgē* 'eye'. < Pš *starga*

swamb, swam, spam 'eye of needle'; Pš *swam, spam*

swarla 'spring season', < *sparla* < *psarla*; Pš *psarlai* (but diall. *sparlai*) < *upa-sarada-ka-swaz-* (E) 'to burn' (intr.), pres. *zə swazī*; Pš *swəl, swaj-sxa*, fem. *sxī* 'small calf', Pš. *sxai, xsai*
sxur, sxər 'father-in-law', Pš *sxar, xusər*
saz- (E) 'to burn' (tr.), pres. *zə sazi*; Pš *sejal, səj-*. Orig. an *-aya-* caus., with no pal. in Wan

sāzə 'stone', Pš *siāja*, < *asa-či-*? NP *sān* 'whetstone'?
šica, šī 'right hand'; Pš *šəy* < *srayah-ka-*? Wan < *srayah-či-*?
šukar 'horn', Pš *škar*
škara k- (E) 'to show', Pš *škāra kawəl*
šelē (E) 'small nullah', Pš *šēla* (< NP?)
šemžə, pl. *šəmžē* 'nostril', Pš *spažma*; Et. unknown
šamže (E) 'sour milk', cf. Pš *šomle? šlombe?* Cf. part II *šamze*
šin (m.), *šna* (f.) 'blue' (some informants also insisted on 'grey': E), Pš *šin, šna*
šund, šond (E) 'nose', *spīnašund* 'white-nosed'. Cf. *sunda*
špa 'foot', prep. pl. *špo*; < *pša*, cf. Pš diall. *špa*
špa 'night', Npl. *špō*, Obl. pl. *špe*; (= Pš), but cf. also *spa*
špol 'sheepfold' (= Pš)
špelaw- (E) 'to hiss', cf. Pš *špelai* 'a whistle, hiss', PšQ *špel(aw)əl* 'hiss'; < *xšwaida-ka-špānahār* (M) 'Charles' Wain'
špāros 'sixteen', Pš *špāras*
špož 'six', Pš *špaž*, diall. *špež*
špəžə, špəž 'louse' (E); Pš *spəžə* < *spiš-*
špožmī, špažmī 'moonlight', Pš *spožmai*
šoraž- (E) 'to shake' (instd.) Pš *šoredəl*
šwə, šōe 'milk', Pš *šaudə*, < *xšvīpta-*; -pt- drops in Wan
šwī 'twenty', Pš *šəl*, < *visaiti-*
šaža 'lung', Pš *sažai*, < Av. *suši-*
taw (m.), *tawā* (f.) 'hot', Pš *tōd, tawa*, < *tafta-*; -ft- drops in Wan, > Pš -d-
tabār (E) 'household', < NP *tabār*
tabiyat (E) 'health, condition' < NP *tabī'at*; common in greetings formulae
tad (E) 'thick, cf. *taḍ*
təl (E) 'always': *təl-mudām* 'always' (= Pš)
tlemāngā (E) 'nursery for seedlings', perhaps < *temən-gāh-*: Pš *tomna* 'seed'
tūn 'place', < *stāna-*; Pš -tūn only as suffix; Part II *tūna*
tandə 'forehead', Pš *tandai*
təndar (E) 'father's brother's wife', Pš *tandor, tandyāra*
tang (E) 'leg', pl. *tangē*, Et. unknown
tārə 'darkness', Pš *tyāre*; < *tqərya-*
tər k- 'to send'; *tər swəl* 'to pass': cf. Pš *ter* 'passed', < *tṛya-*
tōr 'black' (= Pš)
trobī 'millrace', cf. Pš *trai* 'small stream', < *taraka-*?
tror 'aunt', pl. *trandī*, Pš *tror*, pl. *trainde, trandyā*; < *ptṛwya-*, Bal. *trū*
tərš- (M) 'fled' (past); Pš *tšəl*, < Av. *tərəsa-*. Cf. Part II *tešt-*
təṛəw, tṛwə, pl. *təṛaw* 'sour', Pš *triw*
tərxi 'name of a bush', cf. Pš *trīx* 'bitter', NP *Talxūn*, a place near Shiraz
tərz- (E) 'to turn around, circle', past *wu-tərzda*; < *tar-sya-*? Bal. *tarag*, < Av. *ṭar-*
 'turn, return'
tərža 'thirsty', Pš *təžai*, < *taršna-*

tarəžmi 'moonless night', Pš *tarožmai*; < *tār-* on model of *špožmi*, q. v.

tos- 'descend' inv. *tosa*; Et. unknown

təs (E) 'empty'; Pš *taš* < *tusya-ka-*; cf. Orm. *tusk*. Perhaps Orm. and Wan < *tusa-ka-*?

Part II *tes-*

tūwa, *təwā* 'mulberry', < *tūdyā-* < *tūtyā-*? Pš *tūt* is LW < NP (Pš would be **tūl*)

taḍ 'thick' (E; cf. also *tad*); Pš *tat* < *taxta-*

tol, *tolə*, pl. *tole* 'all', Pš *tol* 'whole group', < Hi. *ṭoli* 'group, society'

top 'jump' (= Pš), Et. unknown

wāy- 'say', past *wāi* (sg.) *wī*, *wē* (pl.), Pš *wāy-*, *wāyəl*, past *wel-*

wāca 'jam'; Et. unknown

wuč 'dry' (= Pš)

wādaw- 'marry', past *u-wādawya* (f.): (= Pš, < Ar.) *wādə* 'married'

wagā 'wind', cf. Pš (Kākaṛi) *wō*, < *vāta-*; Wan < *vāta-ka-* (Usual Pš *bād*, < NP)

waguṛa 'village', cf. Pš (PšQ) *wugaṛai* 'people'; Et. unknown

wayūna, *wəyūna* 'a mountain plant'; Et. unknown; Part II *wayūna*

wah, pl. *wahə* (E) 'dyke, bund'; Et. unknown

wālə 'canal', Pš *wālə*, *wyāla*; Part II *wālə*

wala (E) 'ear-ring', Pš *walai*

wel 'bread'; Et. unknown

wul- 'to hit', pres. *zə wəlī*, past *wulide*, *wūst*; Pš *wahəl* LW < Ind.

wəlār, f. pl. *wālāre* 'standing', Pš *wəlyār*, *wəlār* < *ava-dar-ta-*

wīnja 'slave girl' (= Pš)

winz- 'to wash', pres. *zə winzenī*, past MS *wā*, Mpl *wī*; FS *wya*, Fpl *wī*: *wā* < *wixtaka-*

(NTS, 160, 166); Pš *wīnjəl*, past **wixt-* drops in Wan. Cf. also NP *bextan*, Skt. *vinakti*

war 'door' (= Pš)

wra, *urá* 'he-lamb', Pš *wrai*

wuryawa 'palm of the hand', Pš *wayōwai*; < *fra-gava-*

wurmand (E) 'wrist', < *fra-banda-*; Pš *maṛwand* is a metath. form, rather than as in EVP < *mṛdu-banda-*; cf. also Part II *muṛwan*

wrəndārə 'brother's wife', Pš *wrandār-*, < *wrōr* by analogy with e. g. *tandōr*

wrārə 'nephew' (= Pš)

wrēra 'brother's daughter', Pš *wrera* < *brāoryā-*; cf. *wrārə*: difference in treatment of *-yā* and *-ya*. Cf. also Part II *wrarə* and prec.

wrīš (M) 'awake', Pš *wiš*

wereš- (E) 'to fear', past *weredī*; denom. in *-ež-* < e. g. Pš *wera* 'fear'; cf. also *yērēž-*

wrāte 'at first, formerly', also *wṛāte*, *wṛāti*; < *ṛta-*, but the preserved *-t-* is puzzling.

Pš *wṛānde* 'before' < *ṛta-* also, with an intrusive *n* from *wṛumbai* (< *fratama-*) if correct; but then the Pš treatment of **-ṛt-* is odd: usually *-ṛt-* > Pš *-ṛ*

wəryāz 'cloud'; also *oryāz*. Pš *wryaj*, < *abra-či*

wṛūzī (E) 'eyebrow', Pš *wṛūzai*

wrez 'day', pl. *wreze*, *wrezi*; < *raočya-*; also *wraz* (Pš *rwaj*) < *raoča-*. Perhaps *-e-* is gen. Wan, while *wraz* < Pš.

wrez 'net'; Et. unknown

warža 'hunger, hungry', Pš *wəžai* < *wṛšaka-*

wṛ- 'to take away', pres. *zə wṛī*, past *wṛe*; Pš *wṛəl*

wṛakī 'small': *wṛakiya čarga* 'chick'; cf. Pš *worṛkai* 'young' < *wṛta-ka-*

- wṛūn*, pl. *uṛnān*, *wṛūnān* 'thigh' (E); Pš *rūn*, *wṛūn*; cf. Part II *wṛūn*
wāṛaw- (E) 'to shovel', past FS *wārawya*; manusc. *w-āṛawī*. Cf. also Part II: 'roll on/off'
-wust 'twenty-' in compounds. Pš *wišt*
woši 'a tear'; cf. *hoša*
wāwrə, *wāwra* 'snow'; Pš *wāwra*
wawri (E) 'gums', Pš *wawrai*
wiye 'root' < *waityā-*; Pš *wula* [cf. NTS, 160]
wiyār- 'to show', cf. Pš (PšQ) *wiṛawul* 'unroll', and Part II *wiyeṛ* 'opened, spread out'
wiyār (past) 'went', FS *wiyāra*, Fpl *wiyāre*; Pš *wə-lār*; Et. unknown
wazā 'willow' < *vaēti-* (Pš *wala*)
wēza 'killed', fem. *weziya*; Pš *waželo*, -a: < *jan-*, but Wan *z* < *ǰ*?
wazgī 'fat from sheep's stomach', < *wāz-ki-*? Pš *wāzda* 'fat', diall. *wāzga*; Par.
γāzd < *vazda-*. Cf. Part II *wāzda*
wozak 'unripe fruit' (NTS 169); Et. unknown
wəzen- 'kill', past FS *wyēza*, *wēzā*; M, Fpl *wyēzawī*. Cf. *zen-* 'to kill': Pš *-žal*, *-žan*
 only in compounds: prob. < *jan-*. Cf. also *wēza*
wužə 'shoulder', Pš *wužai*
wženj 'comb', also *uženz* (Harnai), *žmenz* (North), often *wužənz*: Cf. Pš *žmanj* <
ǰšan-čī- (Pš diall. also exhibit nearly every possible arrangement of the con-
 sonants)
xū (E) 'even more' (adv.) Probably < Afgh. Pers. *xō*, *xū* (NP *xūb*)
xəčəka 'small-, little-', in compounds like *x. ngut* 'little finger': cf. Pš *xača guta*
xulə 'mouth', Pš *xūla*; Et. unknown. Cf. Part II *xwə*
xālək (E) 'helpless, ruined', prob. < NP *halāk*, but why *x-*?
xuleya 'true'; Et. unknown: cf. *xul?*
xānd- 'laugh', past *xāndī*; Pš *xandəl*
xpul, also *xpal* 'own, self', Pš *xpal*
xūr, *xor* 'sister', pl. *xūri*; also *xwār* (< NP). North pl. is *xyendī*. Cf. Pš *xor*, pl. *xwainde*.
xūri is prob. older; *xyendī* < *-ayantah* (cf. *mor*, etc.)
xūrž 'sweet', < *xvarəz-*; Pš *xož*. Cf. *xwārž*
xwā 'side, direction' (= Pš); Et. unknown
xwala 'sweat' (= Pš)
xāwr 'earth, soil', Pš *xāwra*: Et. unknown
xwarə (E) 'duty, contribution, offering': Et. unknown
xwārž 'sweet', fem. *xwāržə*: cf. *xūrž*; Pš fem. *xwāžā*; cf. Part II
xwar- 'eat', past MS *xūr*, MPl *xwārə*, FS *xwāra*, FPl *xwāre*, Pš *xwarəl*; cf. Part II *xur-*
xwāšālī (E) 'happy', < Afgh. Pers. *xwāš-hālī* (NP *xūš-*)
hez- 'rise up', pres *zə hezi*, past *xot*; Pš *xatəl*, *xež-*. Is Wan < *xiz-*? Pš *-ež-* < *-aiz-*,
 cf. NP *xāstan*, *hez-* (Parth, Sogd., etc.)
xōzi 'small spring' (NTS, 169 < *xā-čī-*), Av. *xā-*, etc.
yo xe, *yo co* 'so then', 'some, a little'; < *yow xō*, etc. Cf. *xō*
yaxt, *yaxta* 'plough(ing), one day's ploughing'; cf. Orm. *yūx?*
yor, pl. *yendī*, *yānde* 'husband's brother's wife': Pš *yor*, pl. *yūnē*, < *yāor-*. The Wan
 pl. is prob. on the model of *mendī*, but the *e / ā* alternation is curious
yerež- 'to fear'; cf. *wereš-*; cf. Part II *yērež-*

yiržə 'bear', Pš *yaž*, < *arša*-; cf. Part II *yiržā*

zāi 'place', Pš *jay* (diall. *zai*). Cf. also *tūn*

ziā, *zyā* 'bowstring', Pš *žai*, < *ḡya*-

zəba 'language, tongue', Pš *žaba*: EVP, LW < Si. *jibha*-, because of -b- instead of the expected -w-. But then Wan -z is odd: unless all *ḡ*- > Wan z- regardless of origin?

zda 'known', in phrases like *mā zda* 'I know'; Pš *zdə*

zyānzī 'a kind of louse', Pš *žyanzgī*; Et. unknown

zʔar 'large stone'; Et. unknown

zʔar, *zʔarḡa* 'quick', Pš *zʔard*; cf. Part II *zʔarda*

zōm, *zūm* 'son-in-law' (= Pš)

zəma 'winter', Pš *zimai*

zmenj (E) 'comb', cf. *wženj*

zān (E) 'body, self', cf. Pš *ḡān* (< NP), diall. *zān*

zənī, *znī* 'chin', Pš *zənāi*, *zana*

zūng 'knee', Pš *zangūn*

zunga 'threshing'; Et. unknown

zaipə 'wife', prep. sing. *zaipe*, pl. *zaipo*: < Pers.-Ar. *ḡaʔif* 'frail, weak'; Bal. *zayp*, *zayf* 'woman'

zārī 'prayer, entreaty' (= Pš)

zīra (E) 'last night', cf. Pš (PšQ) *zerənay* 'left-over from preceding night, stale', and IIFL II, 265, Ydgh. *wuzīr* 'yesterday'

zərgā (E) 'quickly'; Pš *zər*, *žir*, < *ḡira*-? Perhaps NP *zīrak*?

zaryūn (E) 'green', also 'colour of a horse' (= Pš)

zarma, *cərma* 'side, near, towards', Pš *carma*, < *čarman* 'skin, leather', Av. *čarəman*;- semantics prob. skin > outside > side. EVP (s. v. *carma*) notes Pš *j* < *c* sometimes

zarūr (E) 'needful [of hard work]' < NP *ḡarūr*

zəraž, *žəraž*, fem. *zərža*, *žərža* 'rough', Pš *ziž* < *zḡša*-; Wan *ž* < *z* by assim.; Pš diall. also have *žiž*

zar- 'to weep', Pš *žarəl* (< Av. *gar-* 'praise'); < *ḡar*-; cf. also Oss. *zarun*

zarə (n. pl.) 'old', Pš *zor*, fem. *zara*

zow- 'be born', past *wu-zo*, Pš *zowul*

zāwlə, pl. *zāwle* 'wax, resin', Pš *žāwla*; < Skt. *jatu*-

zawre, pl. *zewrī* 'leech', Pš *žawara*; < *ḡarū*- (Bal. *zarāg* < NP)

ziyar, *zyar* 'yellow' (= Pš)

zyātə 'much, more' (= Pš) < NP *zyād*, ultimately; with regard to such forms as Bal. *zyāt*, it seems to me that many in Bal. are LW < Afgh. Pers., where final devoicing of final *d* is normal, rather than a preservation of old *t*; further support for this idea is e.g. Hi. *ziyāt*, hardly < Bal.

žab (E) 'at once'; Et. unknown

žay (E) 'call', Pš *Žaγ*, < *yaž*- < Av. *garəz*-

žinā (E) 'alive', cf. Pš *žwand*-, *žəwai*; < *ḡiw*-, but Wan -*nā*- is puzzling. Cf. Part II *zwendā*

-*žina* (E) 'behind-' in compounds like *γwažəžina* 'behind the ear', cf. Pš *war-čine* 'outside', etc.?

Part II: A Word list by G. Morgenstierne

All informants are from the Southern part of the region, except where noted 'North' (= Čauter). MS = manuscript in the India Office Librray.

obúšta, obəšta 'juniper'

učkūl 'lamb'

akyi 'sister, husband's sister'

agá 'aware, knowing'

ekār 'alone': *ze ekār yi* 'I am alone'

alwuz- 'fly', past *w-ālut*

amā 'father's sister'

omān 'shrub, 1—1½ metres high, with small leaves, used medicinally; Kākar Pš *ōmā*

anā 'grandmother'

əni 'somebody' [*fəḷāni*]; (North) *heni* 'this': *əni kōr da* 'it is somebody's house';

heni saṛi kōr da = Pš *da daṛa saṛi kōr dai* 'it is that man's house'.

insli 'yarn': *insli de ɣəri* 'I spin'

insāp 'right, right measure'

anzār, pl. *anzərə* 'fig'

aṇ- 'grind', past *āni*, *hārōwe*: *ze de ɣāndəm āni* 'I grind wheat'; *aṛeni de*; *mā de āndəm*

wú-wāni; *mā ɣandəm wo-hārōwe* 'I ground wheat'

aṇḍā 'one-sided saddle bag'

angelī 'chimney', 'fire place' (against a wall)

opiw-ung (MS *shing*) 'beads', etc.

ūr 'rain': *wūr* 'cloud'

arbási, -*usi*, -*ase*, -*asē*: sing. *urbúsa* 'barley'

ōrə 'there': *ōrə ɣrūno če* 'there, in the hills'; *hōr čī*; (*h*)*ōrta* (further off than *dōrčī*) 'there yonder'

wurɣwollá, *warɣwolá* (women's language), *warɣwolāi* (men's language) 'fireplace in the middle of the floor'

urmēž, *wurmaz* 'back of the neck'

irzha (MS) 'fart'

aṛ k- 'to bind'

ōṛ k- 'to crush'

ōṛa 'summer' (June—July); obl. *wōṛi*; also 'autumn'

ōṛə 'flour'

āṛaw- 'to skin, flay', past *wāṛawi*: *ze de carmán āṛawēni*; *carmán wāṛawuna!*; *mā carman wāṛawi*

uṛum 'penultimate': *uṛma wrezi* 'on the day before yesterday'

ost ung (MS) 'plough'

ost-ung (MS) 'plough'

ašār 'ten persons coming together to help one of them in his work'

axroṭ 'walnut'

āxš, *āxša*, pl. -*i* 'wife's brother'

ōy- *odél-* 'to weave': *ze di kapra ōyi*; *mā kapra odélyi di*

bač 'to bleat': *wuz de bačež*

badeni 'water jar'

baḍūḍa 'kidney'

- bājār* 'rain'; *bājār di ōrēži*
bar- 'sweep': *ze de mzeka barēnī*; *mā mzeka wú-baryā*; (perf.) *mā mzeka baryā da barī* 'broom'
barγwālai (men's language), *-γwála* (women's language) 'lock of hair'
bork-un (MS) 'crush'
brúnga 'piece of meat'
bōr 'a dish made of meat and pumpkins boiled together'
bāsi, pl. *bāsyānī* 'yawn(ing)'
bēṭē 'small hill'
bəzāṛá, *-āṛá* 'fan'
cing-(en)- 'pull, draw, smoke', past *cingyā*: (past) *ze γwā wā-cingyī*; *mā γwā wā-cingya*; (pres.) *ze di γwā cingenī*; *čīlām di cingī*
cərmūṇa 'spring'
cūṛī 'sparrow'
čamargōl 'crab'
choosh-un (MS) 'to suck'
dōmba 'so many'
dəng 'bottle'
dōr čī 'here'
gōg (North) 'smoke-hole'
gamáh (MS) 'hoar-frost'
gaṇḍa 'urine'
gāsī 'harrow'
gōṭ 'shoe'
gwət, pl. *gwəti* 'finger'
γēṛ-(ēž)- 'to roll down'
γaṅga, pl. *γaṅgye* 'spider'
γērgūnī 'twins'
γarī 'rocky precipice'; cf. Part I *γārī*
γar-(ēž)- 'to graze'
γāṛa k- 'to put on clothes'
γārbbōž 'dewlap'
γēs 'plough-pole'
gházae (MS) 'grey partridge'
γoz- 'to stretch arms or legs': *ze de γozēži*; *ze de ōbā γōzī* 'I drink this water'
γuže-lārgi (*ghozha* MS) 'centipede'
hal-maṣṭī 'plough-handle' (cf. *muṣṭī*)
hārk-(ēž)- 'to bray'
hīri, *yīri* 'dried curds (*kurūt*)'
hēṛa, pl. *-i*; *hēṛa* 'clod of earth'
jāi 'cover' (*bistar*)
jár (r!) 'garden wall, fence, hedge' (North)
kuḍēl 'tent (*kiždar*)'
kōḍāl 'hoe'
kaha 'itch' (Pš)
kalér (= *šōra*) 'hoar-frost'
kanjār 'quilt, coverlet'
kunḷete 'sesamum' {-t-!}
kanga 'cough, flu'; Pš *kānga* 'gripes', etc.

- kāngəl* 'ice'
kungār (North) 'woman's hair'
kāṇa 'trowel'
kāṇḍōli, *kāṇḍōla/i-kasi* (fem.) 'tortoise'; cf. *kāṇḍōla* 'saucer'
kōr- 'cultivate, sow': *γándəm wu-kōrunū* 'let us sow wheat'; *ze de γándəm kōri*;
u-mā-kōria (North)
kərla 'sweet scent'
kōrarī 'rope'
kərōt- 'to dig'
kuṛkuṛ-(ēž)- 'to cackle'
kuteī 'bitch'
kōwa 'small-pox'
kawara 'basket for grapes'
kəžžē (fem.), pl. *-žē* 'large fish'
kəž-wēšta 'middle-aged man (about 40)'
lahá, lahār 'ravine' (smaller than *gaḍ*) 'river'
lemən, ləmən, lamán 'skin, hide'
lun- 'to winnow'
lon-golá (MS) 'soup'
lárŋ-ghi (MS) 'centipede'
larū 'span' (to third finger)
lōr- 'to have'
lērgá, pl. -ī 'stick'
laṛ-(ēž)- 'to ache'
lāt urum kāl (North) 'three years ago'
lwaγza, pl. -i 'wasp'
lwand- 'to weave'; *lwandə* 'loom'
lwuž 'aching': *nōw me lwuž da* 'my belly aches'
min (MS) 'also'; cf. Part I *mī*
mlā-γurɣ 'back of the waist' (< *-grtaka?)
māndē 'a broad river in spate'
manzwá 'middle'; cf. Part I *manjwī*
məryái 'a kind of vessel' (?)
mārza 'dwarf-palm'; cf. Waz. *mazərraī*, etc.
mīrža-zūn, tūn 'anthill'
muṛwán, urmánd 'wrist'; *urmán* 'upper arm'; cf. Part I *wurmand*
múza 'strong'; Pš *mazai*
māzyē 'brain'; *mezγá* 'neck'
maž, pl. məžē 'ram'; cf. Part I *myaž*
māža, múža 'rat'; cf. Part I *mžak*
ne, na: used as interr. particle: *kahal su né?* 'has he got tired?' *aya ba nən Kwaṭē*
ta rasēdə wī, ná? 'will he have arrived in Quetta today (or not)?'
nec-, ns-, nc- 'to take, seize': *ze de tā lās nēcī; mā lās wú-nca!; wúnca!; wúnsa!*
(North); *mā wu-na*
nəgíndə 'seam'; Waz. *nginda*
negucūrī (North), *-ūrī* 'finger-ring'
nogút, nəgút, pl. -te 'finger'; cf. Part I *ngūṭa*
nəhār 'shallow'; *nahara* 'ford'

nəpēr- 'squeeze'

nargōra 'pomegranate tree'

narli 'blossom at the time it develops into fruit'

puk 'small lizard'

puk^a i 'apricot'

pārə 'horse's mane'

Pērmūṇa, *Pairmoni* (MS), *Prewūna Pērwan̄ye* 'Pleiades'

parsānda 'dried meat used in the cold season'

parēra 'last [year]' etc.

pr(y)ēz- 'take out': *ze di yau še-i pryēzi* 'I'll take one of them'; *mā yau še-i pryēzō*;
ze de myaž prezēni; *mā ... wū-prezya*

pērā 'rock, foot of a hill'

pōrdəg 'trousers'; cf. Part I *pordug*

prōkā (MS) 'ankle-bone'; Pš *paṛkaī*

prāng 'leopard'; cf. Part I *plang*

pishāw-un (MS) 'twist, spin'; *pešawar* 'weaver'

puṭ 'hidden, buried'; cf. Part I *put*, *pəṭ*

pēzn-, past *pezāndē* 'recognise'

puždal-: *puždalī* 'squeeze' (Pš *naṣtējam*)

rēbūn, pl. *rēbnān* 'shirt' (**warai-pāna*?)

raṇγ-(ēž)- 'bleat' [of a sheep]

sāgār 'whetstone'

skwal- 'to shear'

sālya, pl. *sīlyi*; also *sāla* 'brick': < Lhd. *silh* (> Orm. K. *silō*)

spā (masc.), pl. *spī* 'dog'; *spī* (fem.)

suṇḍa 'nose'; cf. Part I *sunda*, and *sūṇ*: *suṇān* 'lip'

spōnd(ə) 'plough'

sapār 'trowel'

sa-pārā (MS) 'net, snare'

sire (North) 'dung, manure'

surlūng 'eel'

sarwa 'rice-culling time': after *māna*, before *zəma*

sarwāl, *sərwēl* 'copper'

sxan 'dirty, bad-smelling'; *sakḥan* (MS) 'rotten'

šāmze, *shamzae* (MS) 'sour milk'; cf. Part I *šamže*

šinkā 'clay'

šaraw- 'stir' (soup, etc.). Cf. Orm. *šar*?

špāras 'sixteen'; cf. Part I -os

šartālū 'peach'

šwarē [pl.?] 'curse'. Cf. *šarā*

tō k- 'pour out'

téltak 'cover, bedding'

tūna, pl. -i 'place, abode' (for stopping a short time); cf. Part I *tūn*; *tā tūna čarta da?*

tāndə 'heifer'

tārə (North) 'lock of hair'

tarkā, pl. -ké 'twig'

trūž, *trūš*, pl. *trūše* 'sour'

tuṛ- 'to fall': *stōra wū-tuṛēt* 'a star fell'

tes k-, *təs k-*, *tus k-*, *tustob* (MS) 'to throw': *ze de yo šai tes ki, tā tās kər* 'you threw';
ze tus kēni; *tus ka!*; *mā you šai tās kər*; *mā ... tesa* (fem.) *ka*

tēšt-, past *tərš* 'to flee': *ze de dešmāna tēšti*; *ze wū-tərši*; *ze pārənd dešmāna wū-terši*
tēta 'whether'? *Mullāyān kitāb wū-ksin, tēta dayā ma xūr marg rawā da* 'let the Mullah
 look in the book, whether/if this my sister's death is lawful'.

tawarā, pl. *tawari* 'palm-leaf mat'

tozh-ung (MS) 'to scratch'. Cf. Pš *toğəl* 'to shave, plane'?

ṭapura 'bedding' ('real Wan word, used in the hills'); *ṭapuri* 'carpet, blanket'

wayūna 'small tree with narrow, willow-like leaves' (Kāk. Pš *wala-γūne*); 'a mountain
 plant'; 'a tree with small grains of šnə; MS 'a plant poisonous for locusts'; cf.

Part I *wayūna*

wahēc '3—4 yr. old calf'; MS *wáhech*; *wahēca* 'heifer'; *wəhēcī* 'young bull'

wal, pl. *-ūna* 'slope'; cf. Pš *wal* 'coil, twist'?

wālə 'spring, fountain'; 'rivulet'; *wala* (fem.) 'irrigation channel'; *wyālə* 'canal'; cf.

Part I *wālə*

wil-, *wul-*, past *(w)ūst* 'to beat'

(w)ūn, *wun*, MS *woon* 'naked': *ūn šwi*; *špe me unē dī*

wira 'fear'

wurlán 'breadth, width'; *wurlun* MS 'wide, broad'; *indī tawurī a cō wurlán da?*

wrūn, pl. *wrūnān*, *urnān* 'thigh'. Cf. Part I *wṛūn*

wrará 'brother's daughter'; also *wrēra* (cf. Part I)

wrēs- 'to spin'; MS *orisana* 'weave', Pš *wrēšəl*

wərsō 'grazing ground in the jungle'. Cf. Pš *waršō*, *warsō*

wurtē 'woolen cord, thread'

wurxay-: *wurxayā*; MS *warkháyán* 'to shave': *ze de žiřa wurxayini*; *mā žira wūrxayā*

wāraw-, past fem. sg. *wārawya* 'roll on/off'; *kāpila-e ... wārawya* 'he unloaded the
 caravan'. Cf. Part I: 'to shovel'

waṛāi, *wárake*, *waṛəkye* 'unshorn wool'

**waṛi-zōi* 'small boy'; *waṛə kṛetī sara* 'with a small ladle'

(w)ūšt: *wu/əštān*; *wṛə/əštān* 'hair'; *št* (Pš *št*) <rs. Cf. Part I *ūšt*

wa-ta, *wuta* 'to him'; *wa-sara* 'with her'

waṭák 'roof beam'

wowúz, *ōbēz*, pl. *ōbūzye* (fem.) 'a wool-eating insect', Pš *lwayz*; MS *wabuz* 'white ant'

wyēṛ 'opened, spread out': *ze de brēstəṇ wyēṛa ki*; inv. *wyāṛa*; *pārənd mā dā šai bā*
ta wiyāṛo 'I showed you this thing yesterday'. Cf. Part I *wiyāṛ-*

wāzda, *wāzdə*, *wāzga*, pl. *wāzgi* 'fat'. Cf. Part I *wazgi*

uzγūn, pl. *wuzγwūne*, *wuzγúne* 'goat's hair'

wuzγúṛa (North) 'kid with 4—6 teeth'. Cf. Pš *wuzgarai* 'kid'

wēždān 'one-sided saddle bag'

xōl 'plough-share'

xulə, *xulá* 'mouth'. Cf. Part I *xul*

xamazūr(a) 'a plant with small grains put into cheese'

xūna 'room, house'

xūnē-sár 'roof'

xur-, past *u-xūr* (MS), *u-xwāṛe* (MP), *ú-xwāṛa* (FS), *u-xwāṛē* (FP) 'eat'; cf. Part I
xwāṛ-, *xur-*

khorá (MS) 'soft'

xūr, *xōr*, pl. *xyende*, *xwēndī*, *xwyende* (North), *xwyānde* 'sister'. Cf. Part I *xūr*

xurāyāi 'sister's son'

xoržā 'kiss'. Cf. Part I *γ-*

xworž, fem. *xwarža*, FP *xwərži* 'aching'. Cf. Pš *xūž* 'lame, wounded' (faise rž?)

xūrž, MP *xwāržə*, FS *xwaržā*, FP *xwaržē* 'sweet'; cf. Part I

xatāk, *xatākā* 'melon', Pš *xatakai*

xwai 'self, own': ze *xwai rāyī*; mā *γa xwai kor da*, transl. 'dā zmā xpəl kōr dai';
xwāyī kōr ta

xwāšk, *xwāš*, *xwāši*, *xwāše* 'mother-in-law'

yaγ 'yoke'; *yaγ-aṛi* 'yoke-pegs'

yī-ma/ux 'together': *dayū uímax salā wū-kəṛ* 'they consulted together'; *dwāriwu yímax wū-rēbī* 'they both reaped together'

yárae-dánae (MS) 'apricot'

yēr-(ēž)- 'to fear'; *yērejan* 'coward'. Cf. Part I *yerež-*

yiržā (M.), pl. *yiržián*; *yirža*; *yiržáh* (MS); *yérža-*, *-ān*; *yerž(a)*; *yirž* 'bear'. Cf. Part I
yiržə

yiržə (F.), pl. *yirže*; *yirža* 'she-bear'

yast: *kāpila-ē tēr yasta* 'he let the caravan pass through'

zdare, (MS) *zadrae* 'inside'

zəγa 'a big tree growing in hilly country, with small, but not sharp needles, and hard wood': Kāk. Pš *zəγ*; MS *zagħa* 'sesame, a plant eaten by animals'

azghám-un (MS) 'bear, stand, endure'

zyarda, *zyard* 'haste'; *zyaṛ* 'quickly'. Cf. Part I *zyaṛ*

zāṇ(-ēž-) 'be hanging'; *zāṇaw-* 'hang up'. Cf. Pš *zwaṛand* 'hanging'

zār k- 'to put on clothes': *pōṛdug de zār kī*; mā *kapryē zār yustye*

zorlo (MS) 'buried'

zranda 'water-mill'

zwendā, fem. *zwēndī*, *zwindī* 'alive'. Cf. Part I *žtnā*

žyal 'gravel'

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