

INTRODUCTION.

1. Parachi is first mentioned by Babur in his Memoirs¹: "Many other of the villages and districts (of Kābul) are occupied by Pashāis, Parāchis, Tājiks, Berekiis and Afghans." "There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kābul: Arabic, Persian, Türki, Moghuli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashāi, Parāchi, Geberi, Bereki and Lamghāni."

Later in the 16th century the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali mentions the Farāsī tribe as living in the vicinity of Parwan, which is close to Shutul².

Elphinstone³ tells us that "the Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees, seem to have been considered as a separate people in Bauber's time: they are now only remarkable for being great carriers, and conductors of caravans."

And according to Masson⁴: "the Perāncheh is spoken by a few families of the same name, resident in or near Panjshír". Cf. p. 221: "The Perānchehs, besides the few families at Panjshír who preserve their ancient dialect, are found over a large tract of country, and it is well known that their conversion to Islām is of comparatively recent date. At the city of Kābal some of the more eminent merchants are Perānchehs. They occupy a considerable village in Kāmeḥ; they also inhabit Makkad on the Indus, and again are

¹ Transl. Leyden and Erskine, ed. King, I, 224 f.

² Marquardt, Eranshahr, 287.

³ An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, new ed., I, 418.

⁴ Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan etc., I, 219.

found at Atak, and the towns between it and the Jélam river. In all situations they are a commercial people."

Till recently this was all that was known about Parachi, and, in a note on Babur's Memoirs (l. c.), Sir George Grierson explained the name as "Prāchi": "Eastern", denoting a language of Eastern India, brought to Kabul "through the Purbyas (of Oudh) who were and are great travellers."¹

2. When staying in Kabul in 1924, on a linguistic mission from the Norwegian "Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture", I made, however, constant inquiries about Parachi, relying on the authority of Babur and Masson, who described it as a local dialect.

Towards the end of July a Pashai, whom I had brought to Kabul from his native village of Kohnadeh (Sāthā) near Gulbahar, told me that a friend of his, living in the valley of Shutul, spoke a curious language called *Parāči*. He could also repeat a few sentences in this language: *na'γūn 'xureman, 'au tēreman* "I eat bread and drink water"; *kān'jai* "from where art thou"; *'ušti 'pareman* "rise and let us go", etc. Another Pashai, hailing from Tagau, confirmed this information by the statement that in the dialect of Pachaghan in Nijrau, about which he had already roused my curiosity, "bread" was called *na'γūn*.

This information made it clear that Parachi was an unknown Iranian language, and *tēr* "to drink" reminded me of Orm. *tr*. When I sent the Kohnadeh Pashai home, I promised him a good bakbshish, if he would bring his Parachi friend to Kabul. He did not, however, appear, and I had to send another messenger to Shutul. This man duly returned with a grey-beard, who professed to speak Parachi. But it at once appeared that his language was the north-western dialect of Pashai, which I had recently had occasion to study. He, of course, had imagined that Pashai and Parachi

¹ Grierson also explains Babur's "Geberi" as Gabri, the dialect of the Paraces of Yezd and Kirman. But it seems more probable that Geberi, too, denotes an ancient local language of Kabulistan, cf. Gawar Bati.

would have the same market value with a "majnūn" Firengi, and I shall never forget the expression of his face, when I started reading out to him the parable of the Prodigal Son in his own dialect.

Fortunately, the malik of Shutul, together with the other maliks of Kohistan, had just that day come to Kabul to discuss conscription with the government. I wrote down, in Persian letters, the Parachi sentences which I had heard, together with a Persian translation, and sent my messenger to the malik, asking him if any such language were spoken in Shutul. The malik confirmed this, and mentioned the name of some speakers of Parachi.

The messenger started again, and after some nine days returned with a genuine Parachi shepherd. When I asked him to count, the very first numerals, *zū*, *dī*, *šī* etc., proved that Parachi was an Iranian language, occupying a rather independent position.

3. The name of the shepherd was Mahmād Ghānī (abbreviated: M), and his home was Rūidarra above Shutul, at the foot of the Arzū Pass. He said that he was about fifty years old (being one year old "at the time of the great earthquake"). He was very dull, and exceedingly trying to work with; but in the course of the week which he agreed to stay with me, I managed to get an idea of the main features of his mother-tongue. When the Parable had been translated into Parachi, he felt very proud and insisted upon my writing it down in Persian letters, that he might show the mulla of his village that he, Mahmād Ghānī, had produced this piece of Parachi literature.

In September I got into touch with two Parachi recruits, staying in the cantonment of Sherpur. They were Ghulām Maheuddīn (G) and Tabakkal Shāh (T), both probably about thirty years old. The latter came from Rūidarra, and was the poet laureate of the Parachis. The home of the other was Deh-i Kalān in Shutul (or Chutul, which he asserted to be the correct form). He was comparatively fair-haired. He seemed to be really interested in my linguistic work, and was intelligent and always cheerful and reliable.

He tried with some success to apply his knowledge of Persian

writing to his mother-tongue (at my suggestion he introduced some differentiated letters from the Pashto alphabet). Of an evening in his tent he wrote down the songs which his poet friend recited to him. The next day, when they came to see me, one of them recited the poem, and I got the manuscript, by the help of which I could afterwards to some extent check my own phonetical transcription. They said that there existed in Shutul one Parachi book, containing legends about Ali; but it was impossible for me to get hold of it.

I worked with G and T for about one hour daily for over a month.

All the three persons mentioned above spoke very nearly the same dialect.¹ But in Kabul I also, for a short time, got hold of a soldier from Ghujulān in Darra-i Ghush (*Dārriyūš*) in Nijrau. He would not disclose his name; but he is indicated by the letter D. He said that his dialect was similar to that used in Pachaghān, and this was confirmed by Pashais from the neighbouring village of Ishpī.

In Peshawar, at the beginning of November, I had occasion to meet Mahmaddīn from Pachaghān (P), and to write down a short vocabulary of his dialect.

The Nijrau and Pachaghān dialect has a pure *ā* instead of Shutulī *ā* (v. 16), *ō̄* instead of *ō̌*, and, in some cases, postvocalic *c* instead of *č*. The vocabulary differs considerably from that of Shutul, and contains a still greater number of Pashai loan-words.

An account of the linguistic position and chief characteristics of Parachi is given in my "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan", pp. 18 ff., and I have provided a short vocabulary for the Addenda in Vol. I of the LSI.

¹ M's *ā*'s were less rounded than G's and T's, and he generally used the 1st pl. of verbs, instead of the 1st sg. In lw.'s he usually had *-ā* for Prs. *-a*. T had a stronger tendency than G to broaden stressed *u* into *ō* or even *ā*; and he did not employ the oblique case of the pronouns as a subject with past tenses of transitive verbs. The vocabulary of all three varied slightly.

4. In 1926 Panjshir was visited by the Russian scholar Professor M. S. Andreev, who has published a preliminary report on his journey (in Russian)¹. He collected some materials about Parachi (op. cit. p. VI), but has not yet published any account of the language.

According to him (p. 3, note) Parachi is spoken in the village of Kuroba (Koraba of the survey maps, in Panjshir, about five miles above Gulbahar), in Nijrau and in three of the eight villages of the Shutul valley, viz. De-i Kalon (100 houses), Mo'ra (20—30 houses) and Andosot (40 houses). The other villages in Shutul speak Persian. According to the traditions of the Shutulis their ancestor Shutul migrated from Nijrau together with Kuroba and Solang (: Sālang). Solang went to the valley above Parwan, which bears his name; but his descendants speak Persian. The dialect of Kuroba, Shutul and Nijrau is said to be the same (их язык общей). They call themselves Tajiks; those who have preserved their own language occasionally also Parachis.

5. My informants differed considerably regarding the number of persons speaking Parachi. According to M they were in all 100 persons; G said that there were 2—300 houses in Shutul, 100 of which were inhabited by Parachis, while the poet T held that his tribe occupied 400 houses in Shutul and 600 in Nijrau. Finally, D told me that there were 100 Parachi houses in Nijrau.

Both M and G agreed that the Parachis came from Nijrau a few generations ago (or: "6—700 years ago"! G), and that the two branches of the tribe still intermarried and were one people (*yak kaum*). According to G, when they saw the uninhabited valley of Shutul they exclaimed: *chū, tul* "go and look (*buru, säil ku*)". He said that a couple of generations ago Parachi was spoken in Panjshir, in the villages of Ferâj, Zamōnkōr and Dōstomkhēl.

It may also be noted that there is a village called Parachi in the Paghman district, some fifteen miles west of Kabul.

¹ On the Ethnology of Afghanistan. The Valley of the Panjshir (The Society for Studies of Tajikistan and Iranian Peoples beyond its Borders). Tashkend 1927.

6. It seems doubtful whether these Iranian Parachi-speaking peasants and hill-men are connected with the commercial communities mentioned by Elphinstone and Masson. Regarding this latter group, cf. Pashto *parā(n)ča* "a mercer, draper, cloth-merchant", Waziri *parūča*, *parōča* "a Hindu convert to Muhammedanism, n. of a caste", Panjabi *parāīcā* "a caste of Muhammedans engaged ordinarily in peddling". At any rate the hill-Parachis did not know about any such connexion.

It may be that the name is the same (cf. Skr. *parācī-* f. "averted, outside of, distant", applied in the sense of "western" to the nearest Iranian neighbours of the Pashais and other Indian tribes?), and that it originally denoted more than one pre-Pathan Iranian community of Kabulistan. And, very probably, the language formerly extended over a greater territory than at present. It is also, however, quite possible that we have to do with two different words.

7. In the absence of any historical information regarding the origin of the Parachis, we must depend on linguistic evidence only, if we want to determine the position of their language within the Iranian family.

As indicated in my Report (pp. 28 ff.), Par. agrees in several respects with the W. Ir. dialects, and not with the eastern ones. One important point is that Par. and W. Ir. have initial voiced stops (*b*, *d*, *g*) and the palatal affricate *ʃ*, unlike the eastern dialects which have fricatives (*β* (*ʋ*), *ð*, *ɣ*, *ʒ*). This seems to be a very ancient distinction between S. (W. and S.E.) Ir. and N.E. Ir., and I do not think there is sufficient reason for assuming a general secondary transition of initial voiced fricatives to voiced stops in S. Ir.¹ Like W. Ir. Par. treats initial and intervocalic *ʃr* in the same way.

With the N.W. Ir. dialects Par. (but also Wkh.) shares the development of *dw* > *b* (Tedesco 12). The loss of intervocalic *-d-*, *-t-* is also characteristic of Par. and most of the modern N.W. dialects. We do not find this change in the N.W. Turfan texts; but the

¹ The *ʒ-* of NW. Ir. dialects is probably due to a secondary development of *j-* parallel to that which must have taken place in the case of intervocalic *č* > *j* > *ʒ*.

common tendency may be ancient. The change of $\vartheta r > \delta$ is found both in Par. and in the N.W.Ir. dialect of Sängsari; but there is not necessarily a direct connexion between the development in the two dialects.

Moreover, we find points of resemblance to the N.W. dialects in the formation of words and in the vocabulary. Cf. e. g. the numerals Par. *žūwās* "11", *d(u)wās* "12": N.W. Turfan 'ēvandas (Zaza *žüendä's*), *duwādēs* (Ted. 24) β); Par. (*h*)ō "that": N.W. Turfan *han* (Ted. 22); Par. *nhīn-, nhašt* "to sit down": Säm. *-nīn-: -niäst*; *ēn-* "to bring": Kurd., Zaza *ān-*; *dah-* "to give" N.W. Turf. *dah-* (Ted. 25) β); Par. *pēš, pešti* "behind, afterwards": Säm. *pāšti*.

It is natural that Par. does not share any phonetical innovations with S.W.Ir. (Prs.). The numeral *šus* "30" shows the same formation as Prs. *sih*; but similar forms are found in E.Ir., too (Ted. 24) β). Regarding *ān*: "I": S. Turf. 'an v. 113. The past participles in *-i* (203) resemble the S. Turf. and Prs. in *-id* (N.W. Turf. *-ād*, Ted. 26); but a similar type is found in Bal. (borr. from Prs.) and in Minj.¹

8. The points of resemblance between Par. and Orm. have been mentioned in my Report (p. 26 f.). As regards the phonology the most characteristic point is the change of $w > \gamma(w)$ ². The development of ϑr into Par. *š*, Orm. *šr* is not exactly parallel in the two languages, and the loss of intervocalic *-t-*, *-š-*, and the development of *tw > b-*, *nt, nd > n* is found in other dialects, too.

A number of words are more or less peculiar to these two dialects (cf. Report p. 27):

¹ If the Minj. forms in *-iy-*, eg. *xādiy* = Prs. *xandūd*, Par. *khanī* "laughed" is bor. from Prs., the borrowing must have taken place early.

² Traces of this development are found in other dialects, too. Cf. Wkh. (*lw.s?*) *niš* "male" (**wyšan-?*), *γōr* "wool" (Av. *varəna-*), Prs. (dial.) *γēša* "forest" (Prs. *ēša*, Phl. *wēšak*), Tsakhur (Caucasus) *γarg* "lamb" (< Ir.? Cf. Prs. *barra*, Kurd. *cark*, Shgh. *warg* etc.) It is not, however, possible to determine the geographical distribution of this transition outside Par. and Orm. Possibly Greek $\Upsilon\text{N}\Delta\text{O}\Phi\text{E}\rho\text{P}\rho\Upsilon$, Charoshthi *Gudapharnasa* on the coins of Gondophares point to a pronunciation with fricative $\gamma(u)$.

Par. <i>an'darf</i> "to sew":	Orm. <i>undərəw-</i> .
» <i>ga'p-âr</i> "fireplace":	» <i>gap</i> "stone".
» <i>'mindut</i> "apricot":	» <i>matat</i> .
» <i>mât</i> "killed":	» <i>mât</i> "withered".
» <i>nî-: nar'γō</i> "to go out":	» <i>nîs-: nar'ōk</i> .
» <i>nēr-: nōf</i> "to take out":	» <i>naw^ar-: naw^alak</i> .
» <i>pha'rât</i> "to sell":	» <i>prawak</i> .
» <i>rū</i> "iron":	» <i>rō</i> (but Prs. <i>rōi</i> etc. "copper").
» <i>ter-: thōr</i> "to drink":	» <i>tr-: tatak</i> .
» <i>zə'mâ</i> "winter":	» <i>'zemāk</i> .
» <i>zut</i> "very":	» <i>(d)zut</i> "very much" (?).

Some of these words have the appearance of being loan-words; but other cases of lexical agreement between Par. and Orm. will be found in the list of E.Ir. words in Par. given below.

On the other hand Par. and Orm. differ on several important points of phonology and morphology (e. g. preservation of *-k-* in Orm.).

9. The Par. development of *rt, rd > r* reminds us of Psht., and *str > š* is found in several E.Ir. dialects. Apart from these, possibly late, changes, the Par. phonetic development does not present any special E. Ir. features. Some of the enclitic pronouns resemble the forms found in the Pamir dialects (v. 116); but it is in the vocabulary that Par. shows the greatest similarity to its E. Ir. neighbours, as will appear from the following list (cf. Rep. p. 31):

â'γun-: *â'γust* "to dress": Psht. *āγustəl* etc.

'âmar "apple": Psht. *maṇa* etc.

âr'zun "millet": Mj. *yūrzan*, but Prs. *arzan*.

'stēč "star": Shgh. *š'tērj* < **stārōi-*.

a'star- "to smear": Mj. *āster-*.

ušt- "to rise": Mj. *wušk'-*.

'šten, 'šte'nūk "kid": Ishk. *štunuk* etc.

'stāwō "cold": Shgh. *še'tâ* etc. "frozen".

'ūzeh-: *ū'zâ* "to remain, be left behind": Yd. *ūzaiyah*, Orm. *ōzuk* "left behind" etc.

- bhām* "smell": Sak. *bvāma-ta* "intelligence".
bhān "tree": Shgh. *vēγzn* etc. "birch"?
bānapa'i "pillow": Mj. *vēznī* etc.?
berkh- "to fear": Psht. *wēra*, *yēra* (Waz. *wyāra*) "fear"?
bās "rope": Psht. *wāš*, Orm. *bēš* etc.
'bištō "long": Psht. *ūžd* etc.
čā "how many": Psht. *cō*.
dūč- "to milk": Shgh. *δūj-*, Mj. *lūž-* etc.
dhōr "saw": Mj. *ləšky*.
derz- "to take on one's back": Psht. *lēžəl* "to load", Orm. *daž-* etc.
'dusara "kid, two years old": Psht. *dōšaral*.
dōš "hair": Wkh. *δīrs* "goat's hair" etc.
gī'nō "hair": Psht. *γūna* etc.
gir "stone": Shgh. *žir* etc.
γuh-: *γušt* "to throw": Psht. *wištəl* etc.
γan "oak": Psht. *wana* "tree" etc.
'γanukō "short": Sak. *vanda-*, but also Bal. *gwand*.
γa'nīr "field": Wkh. *wūndr*.
γarw- "to be boiling": Mj. *wurv-*, Sar. *wārav-* etc.
γu'γōk "child": Psht. *wuγ* "small", *wōrkai* "boy".
γāzd "fat": Psht. *wāzda*.
hī "bridge": Shgh. *yēd* etc.
harw- "to hear": Psht. *arwēdəl*.
jar- "to say": Psht. *žarəl* "to cry".
kō "roof": Wkh. *kūt* etc.
khūf- "to cough": Yd. *kofah* etc.
ka'mā "throat": Psht. dial. *kūmai* "Adam's apple".
mē'hī "month": Psht. *-māi*, Orm. *māi*.
mux "face": Psht. *max*, Orm. *mux*.
na'γōn "bread": Psht. *naγan*, Orm. *tran* etc.
nōrk "nail": Sangl. *narzak* etc.
pē "milk": Psht. *paī* etc.
p(h)ī "spade": Shgh. *fē*, Wkh. *pāy* etc.
pen "with, by help of": Psht. *bāndē* "on" etc.?

- pa'nân* "road": Shgh. *pând* etc.
pa'rîč- "to shake a sieve": Shgh. *parwîz-*.
pa'râsur, pa'râsur "last year": Wkh. *pard*, or Psht. *parôs*.
ruč "flea": Mj. *fârîga*, Orm. *š'ak* etc.
rha'γâm "spring": Psht. *waryūmai* "male kid"?
'rhînē "fire": Zeb. *rōšnī*, Orm. *rūn*.
rhâz- "to fly": Shgh. *rewâz-* etc.
sūγ "word, affair": Sar. *saug* "proverb, tale"?
sa'hōk "hare": Psht. *sōe*, Orm. *sikak*.
su'nī-: *su'nâ* "to wash": Shgh. *ze'nē-*: *ze'nâd* etc.
šī "horn": Sar. "shaw" etc.
šī'čak "female": Zeb. *šēč* etc.
tōγ "male mountain goat": Wkh. *tuγ* "goat".
thī- "to burn": Wkh. *θau-*, *θi-ūw-* etc.
tar- "in, to, from": Ishk. *tar* "into" etc.
xēr "hay": Oss. *xor* "fodder".
'xēra "mill": Mj. *xîrgá* etc.
'xâra "summer": Psht. *wōrai* etc.
zâγ "son": Psht. *zōe*, Soghd. *zāk*.
zâm "son-in-law": Psht. *zūm*.
žōx "firewood": Wkh. *yax* "twig".

With Minj., its nearest neighbour towards the north-east, Par. shares the treatment of the secondary group of consonants **rt*, cf. Par. *zītō*, Minj. *sīt* "yellow" < Av. *zairīta-*. The present stem *kan-* from the root *kar-* "to do", which is alien to N.W. Ir., is found in Par. and Minj., but also in other E. Ir. dialects. Further, the re-partition of the stems in Par. *žê-*: *âγa* "to come" (**âyāya-*: *âgata-*) is found in Minj., too, and not only in N.W. Ir., as stated by Ted. (p. 231).

10. This survey shows that Par. occupies a rather central position among the Ir. languages. The points of agreement with E. Ir., which we found especially in the vocabulary, may be due to a protracted contact with these dialects. But the agreements with the W. (especially N.W.) Ir. dialects, probably date from a very early time,

when an unbroken series of dialects (in Hazarajat, Herat etc.) connected Parachi with Western Iran.

If, as I think probable, both Par. and Orm. are the remains and descendants of the original Ir. languages of Afghanistan¹, the points of resemblance between the two languages can easily be explained. The profound divergences in some respects indicate that the connexion between the two was severed at an early date, probably on account of an Indian expansion towards the West, which partly embedded the Par. tribe in Nijrau and Tagau, and perhaps created a Parachi diaspora of pedlars (cf. 6).

II. The very strong Ind. influence to which Par. has been subject shows also that this dialect has been spoken for a long time in, or near, its present home.

A great number of Ind. loan-words of Hind. and Lhd. origin have reached Par., probably to a great extent through the medium of Prs. and Psht. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *bham'bur*, *čur'i*, *dər'āk*, *'ghana*, *ga'ri* (*ga'ri*), *gaʃ*, *haḍḍ*, *'jumkī*, *jōr*, *jo'wārī*, *ka'čārī*, *kačera-phōr*, *kāl*, *kanč'a'nī*, *kuʃ*, *luŋgi*, *lanḡō'ta*, *'lundu*, *lūr-*, *lata'i*, *'maila*, *mai'nā*, *'maṭṭa*, *na'ti*, *'phunḍō*, *pher-*, *pa'ilān*, *'paise*, *peʃ*, *puʃ*, *rupa'i*, *sir*², *tēl*, *tōl*, *tōk*, *wēh-*.

The Engl. words in Par. have also come through Ind. (e. g. *kār'nail*, *'ardalī*, *pa'l'tūn*, *'wāskat*).

Ind., but borrowed from sources not easy to define in each case, are such words as *'āyeš*, *bučh-*, *bumbū'rū*, *čhar-*, *čaʃ'tō*, *čiv'nō*, *dha'ram*, *dhēw-*, *da'lēw-*, *ghāḅḅ*, *'hanu*, *jāl*, *ka'čō*, *'khandi*, *'kaṭṭō*, *lam*, *'lāwər*, *'māneš*, *pen'di*, *'penḍar*, *pa'rōn*, *patt*, *ra'hō*, *se'ya*, *šēl*, *šiv'nā*, *šun!*, *'tekku*, *wīl*, *wāš*. Prob. of Ind. origin are also: *ba'lūr*, *ḍumb*, *'ḍōnas*, *'khānas*, **kuṭur(ika)*, *'lāḅḅā*, *le'rē*, *lū'ta'kī*, *'paddō*, *pal-*.

Words such as *'kānō* and *'wāyār* (cf. Rep. p. 25), which have their nearest parallels in the Kafir languages, render it possible that some of the words mentioned above may be of Kafiri origin. And it is very probable that many of them have been borrowed

¹ The question whether Orm. was introduced from the West will be discussed in the section below.

from Pash., even if they do not at present exist in, or have not been traced in that language. We know that e. g. *l'iwōn* and *phōr* have been borrowed from an earlier stage of Pash. and the same is probably the case with *dha'mān* etc. (v. Voc.).

But the number of words certainly borrowed from Pash. and still found in that language is quite large. Cf. the voc. s.v.v. *ā'i*, *uē*, *aṇḍi'wāl*, *ira*, *bhār*, *bālō*, *'būru*, *čūr*, *ča'tak*-, *'dādā*, *dhar*-, *dhār*, *dhā'ri*, *dhāw*-, *dāk*, *dāk*, *dīwū'rūk*, *ḍak*-, *ḍal*, *gaṇḍā*, *ga'rāt*, *hā*, *hey'gas*, *hu'pēr*-, *juṭ*, *ku*-, *kheṇ*, *khur*, *ku'ri*, *kun*, *kō'pān*, *kōr*, *ka'sāyan* (Pash. < ?), *kausa'yrā* (Pash. < Prs.), *kaṭ*, *ka'wār*, *kīza'ṛē*, *leḷ*-, *ma'či*, *'māma*, *maṇ'dō*, *muṇḍa'rān*, *'maruk* (?), *'māwul*, *muž*, *pōč* (?), *pača'gī*, *pa'pō*, *par*-, *par*-, *sī*, *sāt*, *šāp*, *šor*, *ta'pō*, *ta'rānī*, *taḡ*, *tōṅgōk*, *w(i)'yār*.

12. But the Pash. influence upon Par. is by no means restricted to the vocabulary. Like most Pash. dialects Par. changes *y*- into *ž*- and the distribution of this development (cf. Gawar-Bati *y* > *ž*, Traieguna Waigeli *y* > *z*-) shows that it originates from Pash.

The treatment of intervocalic *-t-* and *-č-* is identical in the two languages (v. 50, 55) (*t* is elided, but *č* retained). The development of *-p-*, however, differs (Par. *-w-*, Pash. *-p-*), while the fate of *-k-* in Pash. is uncertain, and the two languages have probably developed on independent lines as regards intervocalic stops.¹

But the most important result of Ind. (prob. Pash. or pre-Pash.) influence on the phonetical system of Par., is the introduction (or preservation) of aspirates which will be discussed below (73). Even if we admit that the aspirates may in some cases have been inherited directly from a pre-Ir. stage, the preservation and extended use of them is undoubtedly due to a strong Ind. influence.

13. If we turn to the morphology of Par., we find that this language has borr. from Pash. the pl. suffix *dal* and the case suf-

¹ Pash. is the only Ind. language in which intervocalic *t* is preserved in some cases, owing to an early vowel-contraction. E.g. Pash. L *vost* "20" < **visati* (but e.g. *trāivā* "60" < **trāvōvisāti*), *hanata* "you shall beat" < **hanāthana* (Turner, JRAS, 1927, 237); but e.g. Waig. *wiṣī*, *-ē* (< *-athana*). The contraction of an unstressed vowel in similar position is common to most Ir. dialects, and it is possible that Pash. may have been influenced by the Ir. system of accentuation.

fixes *kun* and *wanō* (v. 82, 97, 103). Probably forms such as Par. *bāwəhā* "father and son" etc. (v. 83) are of Pash. origin (cf. Pash. L. *bāwyā*).

In some cases we find strikingly similar forms. in Par. and Pash. Cf. Par. *ān* "I": Pash. *ā* (v. 113); the enclitic pronouns (v. 116); Par. and Pash. S *a, ā* "he, it is" (v. 194); Par. and Pash. *bīn* "he was" (v. 182); poss. Par. 1 pl. *-man*: E. Pash. 1 pl. konj. *-man* (v. 193). In each of these cases, viewed separately, the similarity might be due to a parallel but independent development; but the number of these morphological points of resemblance peculiar to Par. and Pash. renders it probable that they are not all of them accidental. No borrowing of forms need have taken place; but forms which resembled those of the neighbouring language may have had a better chance of being retained. Considering the numerical superiority of the Pashais and the great number of Pash. loan-words in Par., we may safely assume that the source has been Pash.¹

At any rate, Par. *sī* "it exists" and the suffix of the present in *-tōn* (v. 176, 198) have been borrowed from Pash. In particular the latter instance, the borrowing of a purely inflexional element, shows how deeply Pash. has influenced Par. This is certainly not due to the existence of a Pash. substratum in Par., seeing that Par. is the language which has lost ground; but it indicates a former social or cultural superiority on the part of Pash. and a close connexion between the two languages during an extended period.

14. The influence of Prs. dominates the Par. vocabulary completely. Among the words which I collected, the words of Prs. origin by far outnumbered the genuine Par. ones. A certain number of Prs. words, however, occurred only in the poems, and were probably not much used in the ordinary language.

But Par. seems to be approaching a state where the Prs. influence becomes altogether overwhelming. Most, if not all, of the men are bilingual, and any word wanting in Par. may be supplied from Prs.

¹ Regarding a few possible Par. loan-words in Pash. v. Rep. p. 26 (*par-* is probably borrowed into Par. from Pash.).

It is frequently impossible to decide whether we should consider a word to be naturalized as a loan-word in Par., or not. In many cases a Prs. word is used even where a Par. word with the same meaning exists. E.g. *'âdam* "man" is used along with *'mâneš*, and sometimes *'sar-i'xud* "his own head" is said instead of *xu'sör*, or *'xâna* "house" instead of *γus*. This shows that Par. has reached a state when the resistance to the introduction of Prs. elements is very weak. In some cases, however, the Prs. words have been "translated" into Par., v. Voc. s.v.v. *'âwə-i dīdai'ka*, *khörə'bu*, *khörə'gū*.

The syntactical system, the "innere Sprachform" of Par. has a strong Prs. stamp, and most idioms are formed after Prs. patterns, as will be apparent from the Prs. translations of Par. sentences given in the Texts and in the Vocabulary.

Through the influence of Prs. the Ar. *qâf* has been introduced into Par., although *k* is frequently heard in unguarded speech, and even the *'ain* occurs occasionally. The pronunciation of *â* in Shutul (G and T; M, who was some 25 years older, had a less rounded pronunciation), compared with *ā* in Nijrau, is certainly due to Prs. In Shutul the Parachis are surrounded by a Prs. population, and the men probably often speak nearly as much Prs. as Par., and easily adapt their pronunciation to that of Prs.

The morphological system of Par. is nearly intact. But the use of the *izâfat*, which was probably introduced in loan-words such as *band-e 'dest* "wrist" (also *band-e' döst*, *band-e dösti'ka*), has been fully established. It is possible that the pl. in *-ân* is of Prs. origin, the genuine pl. being found in *phör*, pl. *phar* etc. (v. 83). T's tendency to employ the nom. (e.g. *ân* "I" instead of *mun*) with past tenses of transitive verbs is certainly a Persianism.

15. A language like Par. — this applies also to Orm., some dialects of Pash. etc. — is therefore not a comparatively self-sufficient and complete unity like the great languages of civilization. Nor does it occupy the independent position of e.g. the Kafir languages, which till recently had a separate civilization of their own, and

were, in the main, able to express the ideas known to them by means of indigenous, or completely assimilated, linguistic elements.

It is, of course, impossible to consider Par. as a dialect of Prs. in the ordinary, genealogical sense, since it has retained a morphological system and, to a considerable extent, a vocabulary which differs very much from Prs. But it might, in a certain sense of the word, be called a "cultural" dialect of Prs.

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