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Problem of Archaism and Innovation in the Eastern Iranian Languages

K problému archaismu a inovace ve východoíránských jazycích

Disertační práce

vedoucí práce – Doc. PhDr. Petr Vavroušek, CSc.

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prnʾm βγy ðʾmðʾnk

(Mugh Letter 1.I)

I would like to thank to my family and to my friends for support. My thanks also belong to Mgr. Lucie Schürerová for proofreading and to Mgr. Jan Bičovský, Ph.D. for proofreading and for valuable comments on phonology and other issues. My special thanks belong to Reiner Lipp, Ph.D. who read the text and corrected many of my mistakes. My gratitude belongs to Doc. PhDr. Petr Vavroušek, CSc. who inspired me to write this thesis.

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Ľubomír Novák
Prague, 2nd April 2013

Ľubomír Novák

PROBLEM OF ARCHAISM AND INNOVATION IN THE EASTERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES

K PROBLÉMU ARCHAISMU A INOVACE VE VÝCHODOÍRÁNSKÝCH JAZYCÍCH

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Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
arch.	archaic
C	any consonant
coll.	collective
colloq.	colloquial
dat.	dative
dial.	dialect, dialectal
dir.	direct case
du.	dual
encl.	enclitic
gen.	genitive
GMS	GERSHEVITCH 1954
imper.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
itr.	*intransitive verb*
lit.	literary
loc.	locative
nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique case
occ.	occasionally
opt.	optative
pers.	person
pf.	perfect
pl.	plural
poet.	poetical
postp.	*postposition*
prep.	*preposition*
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
sbjn.	*subjunctive*
sg.	singular
tr.	transitive verb
V	any vowel
voc.	vocative
○	mark of an incomplete word, *e.g. the symbol "○" is used to omit a part of compound word*

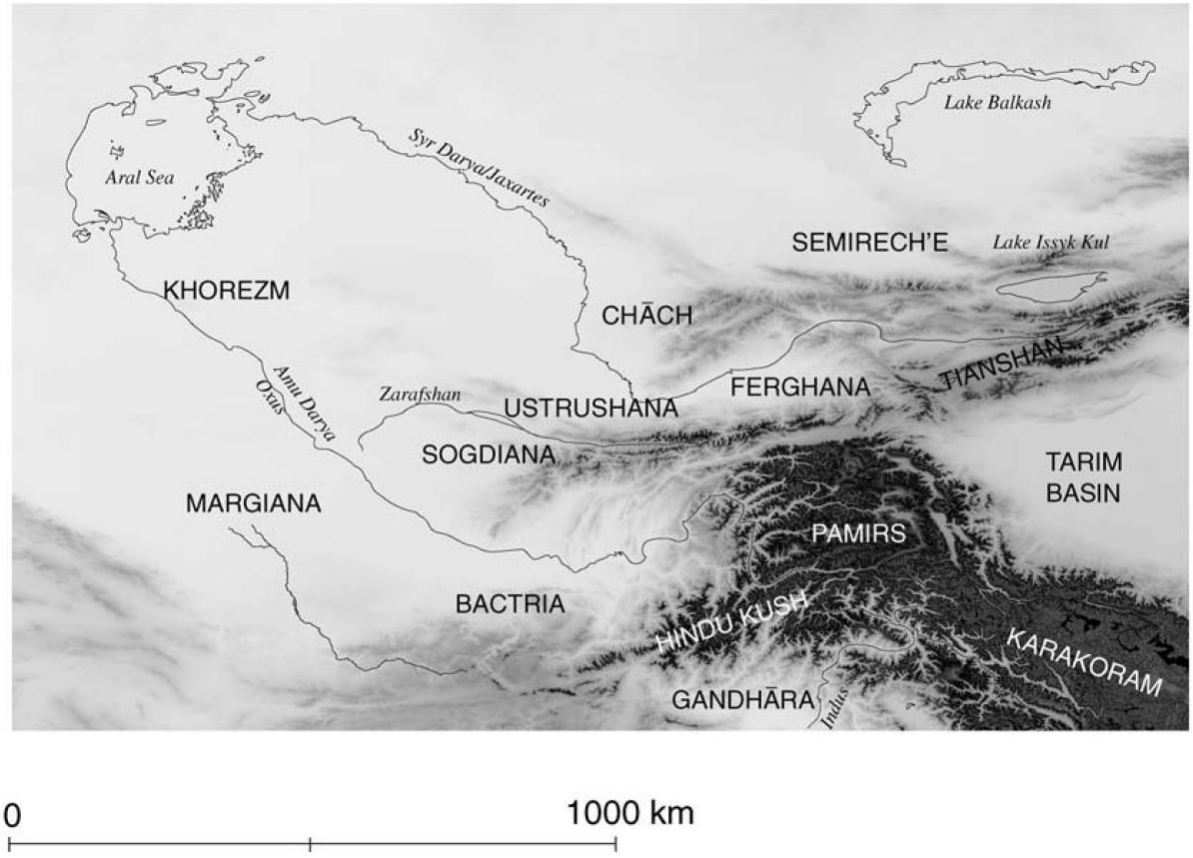
Languages

AfghP.	Afghan Persian, Darī
Ar.	Arabic
Ave.	Avestan
Azərb.	Azərbayjanian
Bactr.	Bactrian (in Greco-Bactrian alphabet)
M	Bactrian in Manichaean script
Baj.	Bajūwī
Balōch.	Balōchī
Bart.	Bartangī
Beṅgāl.	Beṅgālī
Bret.	Breton
KLT	'KLT' dialects (i.e. Kerneweg/*Cornouaillais* – Leoneg/*Léonard* – Tregerieg/*Trégorrois*)
GW	Gwenedeg/*Vannetais* dialect
BukhAr.	Bukhāran Arabic
ByzGre.	Byzantine Greek
C., Class.	*Classical*
Chaghat.	Chaghatāy
Chin.	Chinese
Cimm.	Cimmerian
Corn.	Cornish
Cr.Goth.	Crimean Gothic
Cr.Tatar.	Crimean Tatar
CSl.	Church Slavic
Dard.	Dardic
Elam.	Elamite
Eng.	English
Fārs.	Contemporary Persian of Iran
Fr.	French
Gael.	Scottish Gaelic
Georg.	Georgian
Ger.	German
Gmc.	Proto-Germanic
Goth.	Gothic

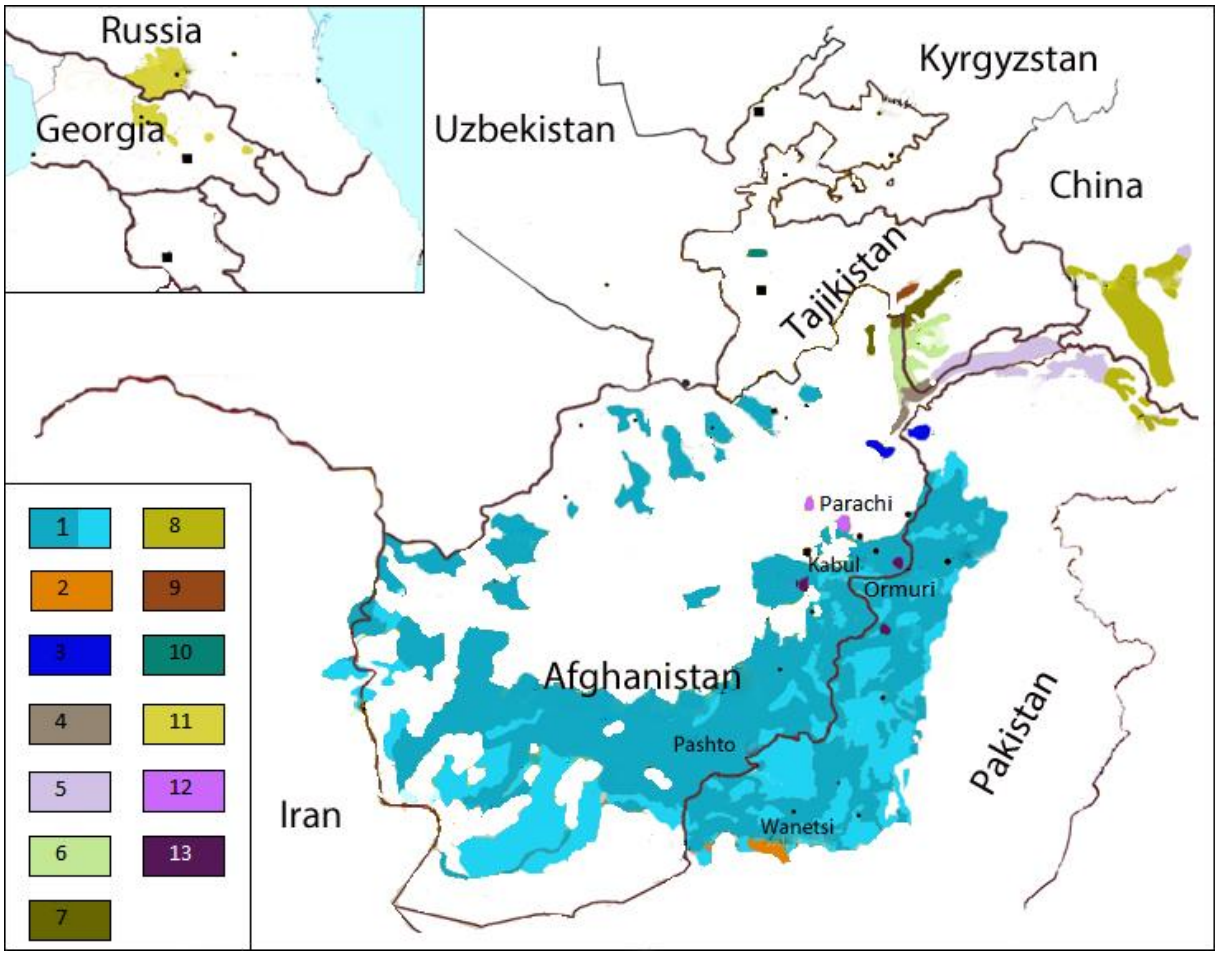
Gre.	(Attic) Greek
D	Doric
I	Ionic
K	Hellenistic Koine
Hazār.	Hazāra(gī)
Hind.	Hindī
Hitt.	Hittite
Hung.	Hungarian
IAr.	Indo-Aryan
Ide.	(Proto-)Indo-European
IIr.	Indo-Iranian
Ir.	(Proto-)Iranian
Irl.	Modern Irish
Ishk.	Ishkāshmī (Ranī)
Jass.	Jassic
Kāb.	Fārsī-Kābulī
Kāmvir.	Kāmviri
Khōt.	Khōtanese
Khūf.	Khūfī
Khwār.	Khwārezmian
Kurd.	Kurdish
Lat.	Latin
Latv.	Latvian
LHChin.	Late Han Chinese
Lith.	Lithuanian
LKhōt.	Late Khōtanese
Māzand.	Māzanderānī
MChin.	Middle Chinese
MGre.	Modern Greek
Mid.	*Middle*
Mod.	*Modern*
Munj.	Munjī
C	Central dialect
N	Northern (Lower) dialect
S	Southern (Upper) dialect
Nūr.	Nūristānī
O.	*Old*
OChin.	Old Chinese
OCS.	Old Church Slavic
OHG.	Old High German
OIcel.	Old Icelandic
OIrl.	Old Irish
OKhōt.	Old Khōtanese
OPers.	Old Persian
Ōrm.	Ōrmuṛī
B	Barakī-Barak dialect
K	Kānīgurām dialect
OScand.	Old Scandinavian
Oss.	Ossetic
D	Digoron dialect
I	Iron dialect
Ott.	Ottoman Turkish
OUygh.	Old Uyghur
Pahl.	Middle Persian, Pahlavī
M	Middle Persian in Manichaean script
Parāch.	Parāchī
Parth.	Parthian
Pasht.	Pashtō
Pers.	(Classical) Persian
Prkt.	Prakrit
Pruss.	Prussian
Qāraqalp.	Qāraqalpāq
Qashq.	Qashqāyī
Rāshrv.	Rāshārvī
Roman.	Romanian
Rōsh.	Rōshānī
Rus.	Russian
Sangl.	Sanglēchī
Sargh.	Sarghulāmī
Sarghul.	Sarghulāmī
Sarīq.	Sarīqōlī
Sarm.	Sauromatian, Sarmatian
Scyth.	Scythian
Shākhd.	Shākhdaraī
Shugh.	Shughnī
Shugh.-Rōsh.	Shughnī-Rōshānī language group
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
AL	Sogdian in Sogdian script – 'Ancient Letters'
B	Buddhist Sogdian
Br	Brāhmī Sogdian
C	Christian Sogdian
Č	Sogdian in Sogdian script –

	Chilhujra documents
H	Sogdian in Sogdian script – Ḥiṣōrak documents
M	Manichaean Sogdian
Mg	Sogdian in Sogdian script – Mount Mugh documents
S	Sogdian in Sogdian script
Z	Sogdian in Sogdian script – Zhetisu documents
Tālysh.	Tālyshī
TBukh.	Tajik dialect of Bukhārā
Tehr.	Teheran dialect of Modern Persian
TFalgh.	Tajik dialect of Falghar
Thrac.	Thracian
Tjk.	Tajik
TMast.	Tajik dialect of Mastchōh
Tokh.	Tokharian
A	"A" dialect
B	"B" dialect, Kūchean
Tr.	Turkish
Tü.	Turkic
Tumsh.	Tumshuqese
Turkm.	Turkmen
TVanj.	Tajik dialect of Vanj
TVarz.	Tajik dialect of Varzōb
TYagh.	Tajik dialect of Yaghnōb
Urd.	Urdū
Ustr.	Ustrōshanian
Ved.	Vedic, Old Indic
Wakh.	Wakhī
Wanj.	Wanjī
Yagh.	Yaghnōbī
C	Central (Transitional) dialect
E	Eastern dialect
W	Western dialect
Yazgh.	Yazghulāmī
Yidgh.	Yidghā
Zēb.	Zēbākī

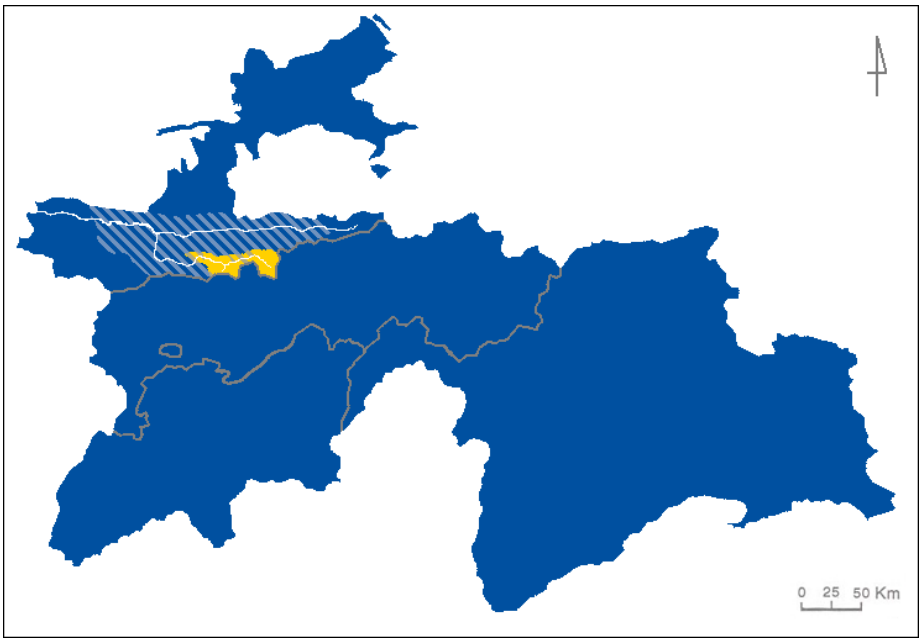
Maps and figures



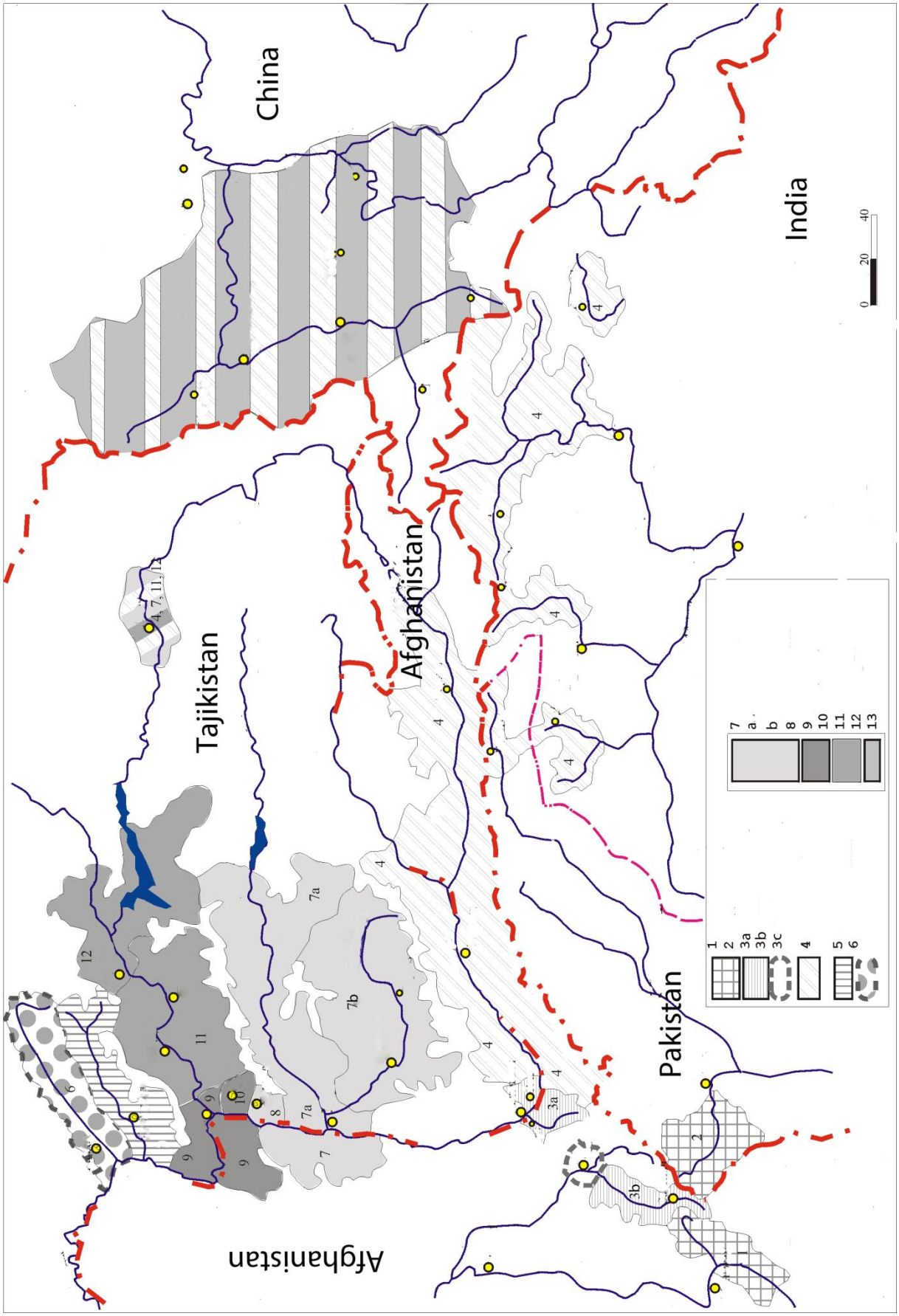
Map 1 Historical territories of Central Asia (DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2005, 14, Map 1)



Map 2 Distribution of Modern Eastern Iranian Languages (1 Pashtō, 2 Waṇetsī, 3 Munjī-Yidghā, 4 Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī, 5 Wakhī, 6 Shughnī, 7 Rōshānī, Bartangī, Rāshārvī, 8 Sarīqōlī, 9 Yazghulāmī, 10 Yaghnōbī, 11 Ossetic, 12 Parāchī, 13 Ōrmuṛī), URL: <http://www.ljplus.ru/img4/b/a/bahmanjon/Iranian_lang_rus.jpg> [quot. 02. 01. 2013 21:52], *edited by Mgr. Veronika Mikešová*.



Map 3 Location of the Yaghnōb valley in Tajikistan (yellow) and an approximate distribution of Zarafshān Tajik dialects (grey).



Map 4 Iranian languages of Pāmīr and adjacent regions. 1 Munjī, 2 Yidghā; 3a Ishkāshmī, 3b Sanglēchī, 3c Zēbākī; 4 Wakhī; 5 Yazghulāmī; 6 Wanjī; 7a Shughnī, 7b Shākhdaraī, 8 Bajūī, 9 Rōshānī, 10 Khūfī, 11 Bartangī, 12 Rāšārvī, 13 Sarīqōlī (by Yuriy Borisovich KORYAKOV, Russian Academy of Sciences 2001), URL: <http://lingvarium.org/maps/asia/pamir-lgs.gif> [quot. 02. 01. 2013], *edited by Mgr. Veronika Mikešová*.

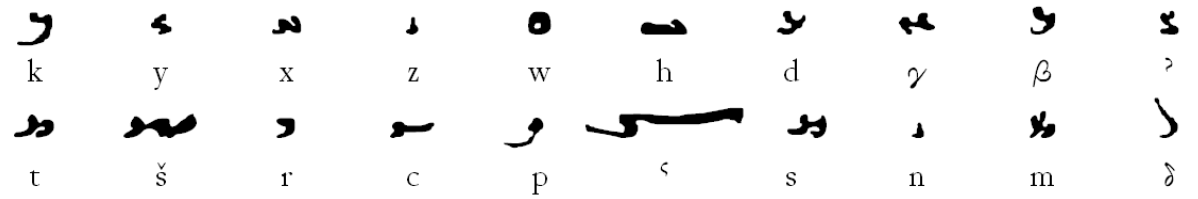


Figure 1 Sogdian alphabet of the *Ancient Letters*.

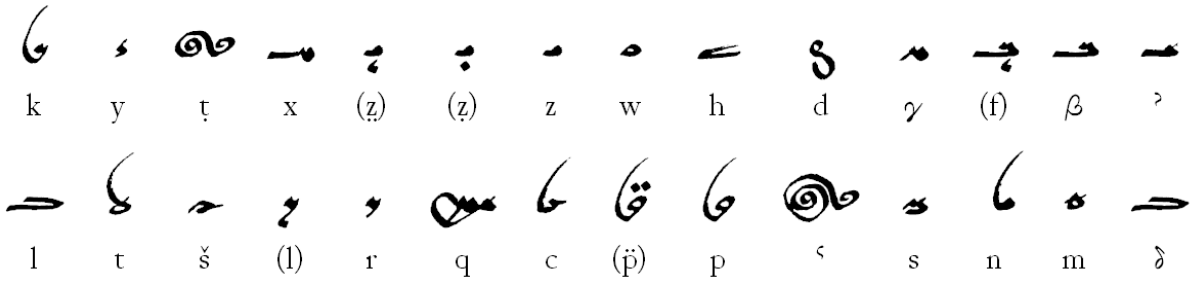


Figure 2 Sogdian cursive script.

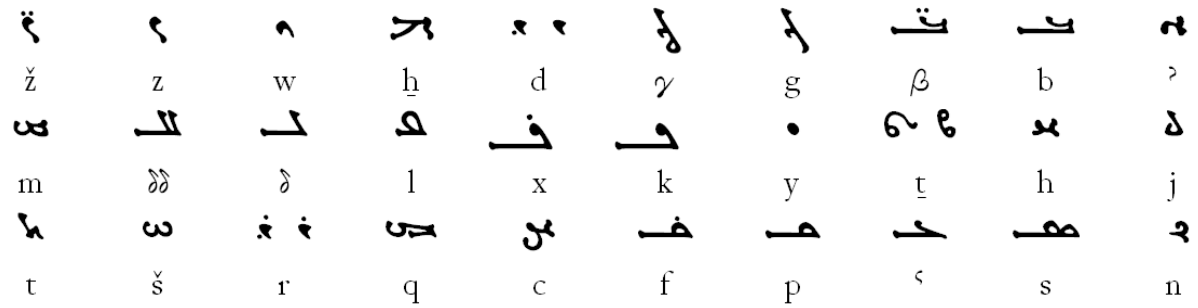


Figure 3 Manichaean Sogdian alphabet.

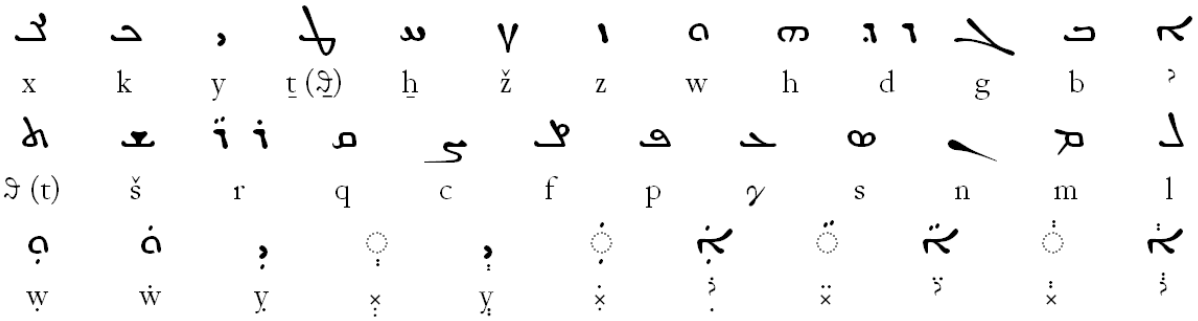


Figure 4 Syriac Sogdian alphabet.

Abstract

The presented dissertation aims to bring new information concerning the classification of the Eastern Iranian languages. Instead of commonly accepted two branches of Eastern Iranian (Northern and Southern) it seems that there can be classified at least five branches of Eastern Iranian languages, moreover, Avestan can form its own branch, which possibly may include also Khwārezmian. The main issue of the presented thesis was to show archaisms and innovations of the language group in focus. Such task is an issue for numerous studies so the main attention was paid to historical development of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – two closely related Eastern Iranian languages.

Linguistic proximity of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī has been observed shortly after discoveries of the first Sogdian documents in Chinese Turkestan on the beginning of the 20th century, for a long time it has been supposed that Yaghnōbī is a modern descendent of Sogdian. By analysis of phonology, grammar and vocabulary of both languages I tried to find clues that may answer this question. From diachronic view there is no much difference between Sogdian and Yaghnōbī, individual changes may be interpreted as "dialectal", but there is one phenomenon that influenced different development of both languages – operation of the so-called *Rhythmic Law* in Sogdian, but not in Yaghnōbī. For this reason I have 'reconstructed' an older common ancestor of both languages – *Proto-Sogdic, i.e. proto-language before the operation of the *Rhythmic Law*.

Abstrakt

Předkládaná disertace si klade za cíl přinést nové informace ohledně klasifikace východoíránských jazyků. Místo obecně akceptovaných dvou východoíránských větví (severní a jižní) se zdá, že by bylo vhodnější tyto jazyky rozdělit minimálně na pět skupin. Možnou šestou skupinu pak může tvořit avestština, spolu s ní případně i chórezmština. Hlavním tématem předkládané práce však byl záměr sledovat archaismy a inovace ve východoíránských jazycích. Důkladné zpracování této problematiky by si zasloužilo řadu odborných studií, proto bylo dané téma zúženo zejména na sledování historického vývoje sogdštiny a jaghnóbštiny – dvou blízce příbuzných východoíránských jazyků.

Vzájemná blízkost sogdského a jaghnóbského jazyka byla zpozorována krátce po objevení prvních sogdských textů z Čínského Turkestánu začátkem 20. století. Jaghnóbština byla dokonce po dlouhou dobu považována za moderního pokračovatele sogdštiny. Rozborem fonologie, gramatiky i lexika obou jazyků jsem se pokusil najít odpověď na otázku vzájemného vztahu těchto jazyků. Z diachronního pohledu můžeme považovat rozdíly mezi oběma jazyky jen jako nářeční odlišnosti, je zde však jeden jev, který způsobil rozdílný vývoj v obou jazycích – působení tzv. *rytmického zákona* v sogdštině, ke kterému však nedošlo v jaghnóbštině. Z tohoto důvodu jsem ‚rekonstruoval' staršího společného předchůdce obou jazyků – *protosogdičtinu, tj. prajazyk z doby před působením *rytmického zákona*.

I. Introduction

The Eastern Iranian languages form an independent group within the Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages. The presented thesis aims to present an outline of development of the Eastern Iranian languages – as languages develop, they usually start to differ from its relatives by development of various innovations and/or by preservation of archaisms. The spread of innovations and preservation of archaisms may vary in individual languages or dialects and study of sets of common innovations and/or archaisms may characterize grouping of languages of a given branch. To see the Eastern Iranian archaisms and innovations I have decided to focus on three fields of study – 1) an outline of the Eastern Iranian languages, 2) historical grammar of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī and 3) lexical study.

The first part will be dedicated to the description of attested Eastern Iranian languages and dialects – each language (or a subgroup) will be briefly described with focus on common data about the individual language(s), with an overview of main phonetic changes and grammar outline. For the overviews I will mark only some archaic and innovative features of the individual languages as for each language can be written separate book on its historical grammar and phonology. I would also like to (re)examine commonly accepted grouping of the Eastern Iranian languages into the Northern and Southern branches as it seems to me that this grouping needs a new revision.

The second part will present comparation of development of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – i.e. two languages that are considered closely related by many scholars (e.g. BOGOLYUBOV 1956; KLIMCHITSKIY 1935; SKJÆRVØ 1989a, 375-376), but none of them has ever presented thorough study of their differences – Yaghnōbī was in common just considered as a dialect quite different from literary Sogdian. By comparation of phonology and morphology of both languages I would like to show main differences between them and if possible I would like to try to define interrelationship of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. The comparative study of Yaghnōbī and Sogdian has been taken intentionally – as both languages are comparable from diachronic point of view, their comparison may answer more questions than just their "dialectal" relationship. Historical development of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī will be compared with the other Eastern Iranian languages with focus on the Pāmīr group. The Pāmīr languages will be used as a comparative material for two reasons – 1) it seems that the Pāmīr languages and Yaghnōbī share some historically non-documented areal contacts and 2) for I have collected many material on the Pāmīr languages so I can better use this material in my study. I have not compared development of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī much with related Ossetic because of a probable early split of "Pontic Scythian" and "Central Asian Scythian" dialects of North Eastern Iranian branch and also because of long-standing intensive contact of Ossetic with the Caucasian languages, which caused different development of this branch of Scythian. Materials on other Eastern Iranian languages such as Pashtō or Saka dialects were also available to me, but I focused mainly on study of the Pāmīr languages – there can be supposed a common development also in the Middle Iranian period. Example can be seen in many common features shared in Bactrian (as

Bactrian can be considered as a relative of *Proto-Pāmīr languages) and Sogdian on one hand and some features shared by Bactrian with the Pāmīr group (mainly with Yidghā and Munjī).

The third part will present a study of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī lexicon. I have originally intended to compare Yaghnōbī and Sogdian lexicon according to the "Swadesh List" of 207 words. Later I found "Standard Word List Items" presented in the five-volume *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan* (see http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/ssnp.asp) by the *National Institute of Pakistani Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University* and *Summer Institute of Linguistics*, so I decided to combine both lexical lists to present a more thorough study of *basic vocabulary* of both languages. In the lexical parts lexical items of both languages will be supplemented by their etymology. The choice of the Swadesh List was not motivated by attempts of glottochronological study of both languages – I just wanted to exploit an accepted list of basic vocabulary, this motivation also led to supplement the Swadesh list by the SIL "Standard Word List Items". Both lists try to present unbiased choice of basic vocabulary so in this issue I have also to study eventual loans (mainly in case of Yaghnōbī).

As can be seen from outlines of all three parts, my study of the Eastern Iranian archaisms and innovations aims to present new classification of the Eastern Iranian branch with focus on position of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī within this language branch.

I.1. An outline of history and classification of the Eastern Iranian languages

The Iranian languages form a group of genetically related languages and dialects that developed from the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages. By use of methods of historical and comparative linguistics we can explain the origin of the Iranian languages as a split of the Indo-Iranian branch of *Proto-Indo-European language. The original *Proto-Indo-Iranian language broke up into the four main branches: Iranian, Nūristānī (or Kāfir), Dardic and Indo-Aryan. Particular prehistoric dialects of Indo-Iranian share with *Proto-Indo-European (and also with many other Indo-European languages) many common features – so called archaisms as well with series of innovations that set them apart from the proto-language. Some of the innovations can be observed in more branches of the Indo-European languages, but are not phenomena proper to the original system of reconstructed *Proto-Indo-European.

The Iranian languages are divided into two main branches – Western and Eastern. Their division is based on agreed conventional brake up of two Old Iranian dialects according to their geographical location to the East and West respectively from the deserts of Central Iran (ÈDEL'MAN 1986, 3; about the classification of the Iranian languages see Chapter I.1.2. of presented work). Present geographical spread of the Eastern and Western Iranian languages and their speakers has changed due to historical migrations of the Iranian peoples (e.g. Western Iranian Balōchī is nowadays located in Eastern Iran and Western Pakistan or the Eastern Iranian Ossetic is to be found on the Caucasus), the contemporary location of the Iranian languages is not relevant for their classification. The Iranian languages can be thus considered as an offspring

of the Indo-European proto-language with which they are connected by genetic relationship and a preservation of some (*Proto-)Indo-European archaisms, on the other hand they differ from *Proto-Indo-European by several innovations which define this language family from historical point of view.

We are informed about the history of the Old Iranian languages by means of indirect sources. Herodotus for example mentions several Scythian words, in one case he even presents an etymology (HERODOTUS IV, 110; HINGE 2006). He also mentioned that the Sauromatians speak the language of Scythia, but they do not speak it well because the Amazons did not learn properly the Scythian language – Herodotus mentioned that the Amazons married some Scythians and by this the Sauromatian nation came into being (HERODOTUS IV, 117). Herodotus also writes about an older poem, *Arimaspea*, written by Aristeas of Proconnesus (HERODOTUS IV, 13). It is said that Aristeas described the habits and the language of Scythian Issedonians (Issedones) and Arimaspians (Arimaspi) who dwelled in regions to the North-East of the Pontic or Black Sea (ALEMANY I VILAMAJÓ 1999). Unfortunately, Aristeas' *Arimaspea* has not came down up to these days, it is only mentioned in the Histories of Herodotus and also in *Περὶ ὕψους* by Longinus and in *Chiliades* (or *Book of Histories*) by John (Ioannes) Tzetzes (TZETZES, Chil. VII, 686-692). In the *Anabasis* of Arrian there are mentioned several local tribal and personal names of Central Asia, but we miss any reference to the languages of the region, the only relevant information is that the river *Ἰαξάρτης* (Sīr Daryā) was called *Ὀξάντης* in a language of barbarians of Sogdiana (Arrian III, 30.13). In Strabo's *Geography* is mentioned, that the northern part of *Ἀρειανή* (i.e. approximately area of modern Afghanistan, Eastern Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and North-western Pakistan) is inhabited by Bactrian and Sogdian peoples who do speak similar languages (STRABO, Geography, XXV, 2:8). The city of Kūrkat in present northern Tajikistan is known from the antiquity – it is spelled either as *Κῦρούπολις* or as *Κῦρέσχατα*; we can discover more about the local Iranian dialect by the analysis of both Greek names: *Κῦρούπολις* is probably a calque of Iranian appellative **Kūruš-kąϑā-* 'city of Cyrus' (i.e. Gre. *Κῦρούπολις* < *ἡ τοῦ Κύρου πόλις*). What is even more interesting is the form *Κῦρέσχατα*, it can be an attempt to render the local name **Kūruš-kąϑā-* (cf. Tjk. and Pers. *Kūrkát*)[1]; the Greek name is probably contaminated by another Greek word *ἐσχάτη* 'the farthest' (probably by an influence by the name of the city of *Alexandria the Farthest* – *Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ἐσχάτη*, present Khujand, in the Soviet period known as Leninabad, Tjk. *Lèninōbód*). City of *Ῥωξανάκη* mentioned by Ctesias of Cnidus can be connected with city of Rōshān (Rōsh. *Rix̌ūn*, Tjk. *Rūšón*) in Tajik Badakhshān (ABAEV 1949, 178).

I.1.1. Overview of the Eastern Iranian languages

Within following pages I present a short overview of the Eastern Iranian languages and dialects. The description of individual languages is not meant to be absolute; it contains just basic

[1] But see Greek popular etymology *«τὰ Κῦρα, ἔσχατον ὂν Κύρου κτίσμα»* (STRABO, Geography, XI, 11:4).

information about the history of each language supplemented with an outline of its grammar and main traits of its development. The aim is to present the most important innovations and archaism of each language in focus. The innovations and archaisms will be presented also in (historical) phonology and also in (historical) morphology. The examples of archaisms and/or innovations will be presented in general; the documentation of changes on examples will be (with a few exceptions) waived.

I.1.1.1. *Proto-Indo-Iranian and *Proto-Iranian periods[2]

The Iranian languages separated from the older Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages. The formation of Indo-Iranian proto-language can be characterised by a series of changes that which caused that this branch started to differ from its parent proto-language – the *Proto-Indo-European language. Characteristic phonetic differences include following chain of changes: 1) merger of Ide. *k, *$k^{\underline{u}}$ > *k; *g, *$g^{\underline{u}}$ > *g; *g^{h}, *$g^{\underline{u}h}$ > *g^{h}; 2) aspiration of *p+h_2, *t+h_2, *k+h_2 > *p^{h}, *t^{h}, *k^{h}; 3) palatalization of *k, *k^{h}, *g, *g^{h} > *c, *c^{h}, *$\underline{j}$, *$\underline{j}^{h}$ before *$\breve{e}$, *$\breve{i}$, *$\underline{i}$; 4) Brugmann's law: *$\breve{o}$ > *$\bar{o}$ in an open non-final syllable; 5) merger of *$\breve{e}$, *$\breve{a}$, *$\breve{o}$ > *$\breve{a}$. In addition to this chain of changes we can mention a number of others: rhotacism *l > *r; effect of the *RUKI* rule: *s > *$\underline{\breve{s}}$ > *$\breve{s}$ following *r, *$\breve{u}$, *$\underline{u}$, *$k^{(\underline{u})}$, *$g^{(\underline{u})(h)}$, *$\hat{k}$, *$\hat{g}^{(h)}$, *$\breve{i}$, *$\underline{i}$; satəmization *$\hat{k}$, *$\hat{g}$, *$\hat{g}^{h}$ > *$\acute{c}$, *$\acute{j}$, *$\acute{j}^{h}$ but *$\hat{k}$, *$\hat{g}$, *$\hat{g}^{h}$ (or *$\acute{c}$, *$\acute{j}$, *$\acute{j}^{h}$) next to a stop > *$\underline{\breve{s}}$, *$\underline{\breve{z}}$, *$\underline{\breve{z}}^{h}$ and later development, previously thought as the *"thorn problem"*: *$t\hat{k}$, *$d\hat{g}$, *$d^{h}\hat{g}^{h}$ > *$t\acute{c}$, *$d\acute{j}$, *$d^{h}\acute{j}^{h}$ > *$t\underline{\breve{s}}$, *$d\underline{\breve{z}}$, *$d^{(h)}\underline{\breve{z}}^{h}$; merger of the laryngeals *h_1, *h_2, *h_3 > *H and subsequent vocalization *H > *$ə$ > *i in certain positions; vocalization of *$\underline{n}$, *$\underline{m}$ > *$\underline{a}$ > *a; *$\underline{n}H$, *$\underline{m}H$ > *$\bar{\underline{n}}$, *$\bar{\underline{m}}$ > *$\bar{\underline{a}}$ > *$\bar{a}$ and so on. Probably already in the Indo-Iranian period we can also expect the creation of opposition *a × *$\bar{a}$ *[a × ɑː ~ ɒː] (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, 357, 357[31]), this change is evident in the New Iranian languages (mainly in the New Eastern Iranian languages we can see change *$\bar{a}$ > *(*)$\bar{o}$*[3]).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	p b b^{h}			m $\underline{u}$	i ī … u ū
dentals	t d d^{h}		$\underline{s}$ ($\underline{z}$)	n r l	
palatals	$\hat{k}$ $\hat{g}$ $\hat{g}^{h}$			$\underline{i}$	
velars	k g g^{h}		h_2		e ē … o ō
labiovelars	$k^{\underline{u}}$ $g^{\underline{u}}$ $g^{\underline{u}h}$				
pharyngeals			h_3		
glottals			h_1		a ā

Table 1 Sound system of *Proto-Indo-European.

[2] I would like to thank to Reiner Lipp, Ph.D. for his valuable comments on the development of Ide. sound system in *Proto-Indo-Iranian and *Proto-Iranian.

[3] This change is spread over a wide area of Central Asia, such as we find it in Yaghnōbī, Pashtō, Shughnī-Rōshānī group, Munjī and Yidghā, Ishkāshimī, Sarghulāmī (?), but also in the South-West Iranian Tājīk and Hazāra(gī), in Turkic Uzbek or in Central Asian Arabic dialects.

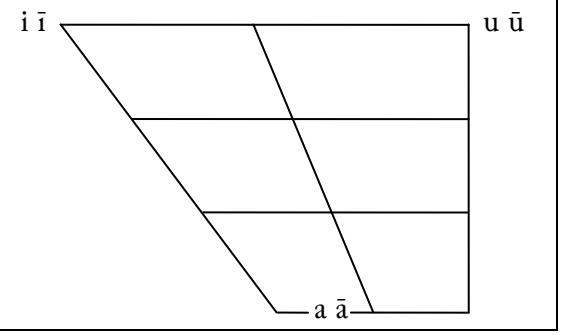
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	p p^h b b^h			m u̯	
dentals	t t^h d d^h				
alveolars			s z	n r	
postalveolars		ć $ć^h$ ǰ $ǰ^h$			
retroflexes			š (ž)		
palatals		c c^h j̵ $j̵^h$		i̯	
velars	k k^h g g^h				
glottals				H	

Table 2 Sound system of *Proto-Indo-Iranian.

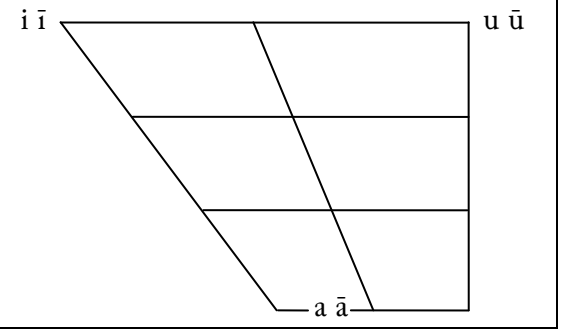
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	p b		f	m (m̥) u̯	
dentals	t d		θ		
alveolars		ʦ ʣ	s z	n (n̥) r (r̥)	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals				i̯	
velars	k g		x		
labiovelars			x^u		
glottals			h	(H)	

Table 3 Sound system of *Common Iranian.

The Iranian languages later underwent further changes, that differentiate them from the Indo-Aryan branch: the loss of aspiration of voiced stops **b^h*, **d^h*, **g^h*, **$ǰ^h$*, **$ǵ^h$*, **$dǵ^h$* > **b*, **d*, **g*, **ǰ*, **ǵ*, **dǵ*; **c*, **ǰ(ʰ)* > **č*, **ǰ*; the change of the "satəm" and "thorn" consonants **(t)ć*, **(d)ǵ(ʰ)* > **ʦ*, **ʣ*; fricativization of **p^h*, **t^h*, **k^h* > **f*, **θ*, **x* and also fricativization in front of another consonant **pC*, **tC*, **kC* > **fC*, **θC*, **xC*[4]; change of **tć*, **dǵ(ʰ)* > **š*, **ž*; shift of **s* > **h* (but not **s* in front of a stop) and subsequently **hu̯* > **x^u*; change **T-T* > **T^sT* > **ST*; and probably also **r̥H* > **r̄* > **ār* (i.e. diphthong *(?)* **[ar̥(ː)]) and loss of **H*. The vocalic system recognises four short (**a*, **i*, **u*, **r̥*[5]) and three long (**ā*, **ī*, **ū*) vowels and three short (**ai̯*, **au̯*, **ār*) and two long (**āi̯*, **āu̯*) diphthongs – however, it is possible that diphthongs (and triphthongs) could also consist

[4] It is probable, that the fricativization of **p^h*, **t^h*, **k^h* > **f*, **θ*, **x* took place in a *post-Proto-Iranian stage of *Common Iranian – there is no such change in Wakhī, Balōchī and in the Saka dialects. Martin Kümmel suggests, that *Proto-Iranian possessed voiceless aspirated stops, so Wakhī, Balōchī and Saka present an archaic state (KÜMMEL 20. 11. 2012, lecture *"On historical phonology, typology and reconstruction"*, Lectures at Charles University, Prague 19-20 November 2012).

[5] The syllabic **r̥* is in fact not a vowel but a syllabic core – as it often behaves as vowels it will be for simplification considered as a vowel in this theses.

of consonants **r*, **m* and **n*, after a stressed (?) vowel in front of a stop or fricative; i.e. **V̥r̥*, **V̄r̥*, **Vm̥*, **Vn̥* and so on.[6]

According to the development of the Eastern Iranian languages in the Middle and New Iranian periods it can be assumed that a number of dialectal differences has its source already in the Old Iranian period. Based on a non-existent comparative material we cannot establish a deeper division of these dialects yet, but it seems that by the end of the Old Iranian period the two main Eastern Iranian groups (Northern and Southern) begin to appear.

I.1.1.2. Old Iranian period

There is only one Eastern Iranian language directly attested from the Old Iranian period – Avestan, but we know also some other languages like Scythian and Sauromatian dialects attested in glosses, mainly onomastic. Classification of Avestan within the Eastern Iranian branch has not been successfully solved yet (cf. ÈDEL'MAN 1986, 6-7 with bibliography) I will not attempt to solve the problem of Avestan classification in this thesis and Avestan will be considered as the oldest preserved member of the Eastern Iranian branch.

Grammatical system of the *Proto-Indo-Iranian and *Proto-Iranian languages is not much different from the proto-language state. It has preserved a rich inflectional system of nouns, pronouns and verbs, also there are many archaisms compared with the other Indo-European languages, notably the preservation of the verbal injunctive. *Proto-Indo-Aryan grammar is reconstructed mainly on the basis of Vedic Sanskrit, similarly the reconstruction of *Proto-Iranian is based mainly on Avestan – proto-languages of both branches are then confronted with the *Proto-Indo-European state.

I.1.1.2.1. Avestan

Avestan (in older sources also *Old Bactrian*) is one of the Eastern-Iranian languages. It is closely related to Old Persian, and also comparable with the Indo-Aryan Vedic language, although differences with Vedic go to greater extensions then compared to Old Persian[7]. Unlike Old

[6] I will briefly describe the development in Vedic Sanskrit: **c*, **cʰ*, **ǰ*, **ǰʰ* > *c*, *cʰ*, *j*, *jʰ*; **ś̌* > *ṣ*; **tć*, **dǰ(ʰ)* > *kṣ*; **ć*, **ǰ*, **ǰʰ* > *ś*, *j*, *h* (but **ć* before a stop > *ṣ*); **tˢt*, **dᶻt*, **dʰᶻt* > **tˢt*, **dᶻd*, **dᶻdʰ* (Bartholomae's Law) > **tt*, **dd*, **ddʰ*; **zd(ʰ)* > *dd(ʰ)*; **s* > *ḥ* word finally of before a pause; **sć(ʰ)* > **(c)cʰ*; **n*, **m* > *ṃ* in front of *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*; emergence of retroflex sounds *ṭ*, *ṭʰ*, *ḍ*, *ḍʰ*, *ṇ*; nasal assimilation: **n* > *ṅ* in front of *k(ʰ)*, *g(ʰ)*; **n* > *ñ* in front of *c(ʰ)*, *j(ʰ)*; **n* > *ṇ* in front of *ṭ(ʰ)*, *ḍ(ʰ)*; **-n* > *-m̐* in front of *l*. Dialect origin are probably sounds *l*, *(l)*, *l̥*. The vowels continue entirely consistent with Indo-Aryan, just the diphthongs change: **aį*, **au̯* > *e*, *o*; **āį*, **āu̯* > *ai*, *au*.

[7] For better documentation of similarities of Avestan and Vedic we have to look at a short Avestan text converted into Vedic: Ave. *Təm amauuaṇtəm yazatəm, | sūrəm dāmōhu səuuištəm, | Miθrəm yazāi zaoθrābiiō* (Yasht 10.6a-c); Ved. *Tám ámavantam yajatám, śúram dʰámasu śáviṣṭʰam, Mitrám yajai hótrābʰyaḥ* (Indo-Iranian **tám *ámaṷantam *i̯ajatám, *ćúram *dʰámasu *ćáṷiṣtʰam, *Mitrám *i̯ajāi̯ *ǰʰáṷtrābʰi̯as*), in English *«This powerful deity strong among the living the strongest Mithra, I honour with libations»* (JACKSON, 1892, xxxi-xxxii). Similarly other Avestan texts can be converted into Sanskrit or vice versa without losing any the basic metrical principles of both languages (VAVROUŠEK 2007, 23-24).

Persian, Avestan has no modern successor. This fact is not overshadowed by the relative recency of the surviving Avestan manuscripts, because Avestan is in fact much older than Old Persian. In contrast with the other Iranian languages, we do not know which Iranian tribe or ethnos used the language or in which territory it was spoken. We even do not know the time-span when Avestan was used and we also do not know the original name of the language itself or in primary either in secondary sources. These questions can be answered only generally: Avestan was a language of an unspecified Iranian tribe (or tribes) that lived in the east part of the territory inhabited by the Iranian-speakers. We can suppose that Avestan was spoken in what is called *Aⁱriianəm Vaēǰō*[8] in Avestan (Vīdēvdāt 1.1-2) and probably Avestan was the mother-tongue of Zarathushtra. Dating is controversial, we can assume roughly the period of 1200-700 BC. The name of the language is also questionable; we do not know the original name[9]; *"Avestan"* is based on the name of the Holy Book of Zoroastrism – *The Avesta*. But this name is not original, it dates back to the Middle-Iranian period and comes from Middle Persian (Pahlavī) *ʾp(y)stʾk* /abestāk ~ aβestāg/ 'praises' < Ir. **upa-stā̆u̯ă-kă-* (KELLENS 1987); Pers. *Avestā́* (*Aβestā́*). Another plausible etymology is that the (Middle) Persian form comes from Ir. *upa-stā́-ka-* 'foundation, base (text)' (Reiner LIPP, pers. comm.).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	p b		f (β)	(m̥) v/uu	i ī u ū
dentals	t t̠ d		ϑ (ð)		
alveolars			s z	(n̥) r hr ș̌	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		e ē o ō
alveopalatals			ś̆ (ź̆)		
palatals			ś (ẏ)	ń ńh y/ii	ə ə̄
velars	k g		x (ɣ)	ŋh	a ā ā̊
labiovelars			xᵛ	ŋᵛh	
glottals			h		

Table 4 Sound system of Avestan (values in parentheses represent allophones)[10].

The Avestan language as it is known today had undergone a complex development, part of which we cannot document according to known sources. One of the most important facts we have to realise is that the preserved form of the language had been already dead at the time

[8] It is not known where exactly was the territory of *Aⁱriianəm Vaēǰō*, but it may be comparable with area of *Ἀχειανή* (area of Afghanistan, Eastern and South-eastern Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and North-western Pakistan) mentioned by Strabo.

[9] The language was probably called **"Aryan"* i.e. Iranian (Ave. *aⁱriia-* < Ir. **arį̆a-*) by its speakers; similarly Old Persian has been called *"Aryan"* (OPers. *ariya-*; OPers. *ariyānām*; Ave. *aⁱriianąm*, Aryan, Iranian (gen. pl.) > Pers. *Ērā́n*, Fārs. *Īrā́n*, Iran; Ave. *aⁱriianəm (adj.)*) in the times of Darius I. according to the Bīsotūn (Behistun) Inscription (DB IV 98).

[10] For a detailed description of Avestan sound-system see MORGENSTIERNE 1973.

when it was put down in writing (for the first time in the Sāsānian period, 224-651 AD). Individual parts of the Avesta were originally passed on orally; the oldest preserved Avestan manuscripts come from the end of the 13th century AD. Linguists divide Avestan into two dialects – Older Avestan (or Gāthā Avestan, Gāthic) and Younger Avestan. Those two "languages" do not primarily represent two chronologically different stages of one language but they are two dialects of the same language – Old (Gāthic) Avestan being spoken in an older period and Young Avestan from the younger (KELLENS 1987; see also FRYE 1972).

Avestan was passed on orally for a long time, perhaps for more than one thousand and five hundred years. The oldest preserved manuscript (K 7a) dates from AD 1288, but there was probably older tradition, the Sāsānian archetype from the 5th century AD (KELLENS 1987) were written in a new script created by an extension of the Pahlavi cursive script (this script was derived from the Aramaic alphabet). The Avestan script was been occasionally used to write in Middle Persian, such documents are called *Pāzand* (or *Pāzend*). Avestan alphabet consists of fifteen graphemes for vowels and forty graphemes for consonants, some phonemes can be written using multiple graphemes. Avestan script, regardless of graphical doublets, contained more graphemes than phonemes, the orthographical difference between the original phonetic system and writing was caused by a long oral tradition but also by inclusion of sub-phonemic material (e.g. the *Schwa* etc.). Since Avestan has already been registered as dead language, and there was no firmly codified spelling of the language, many words are often written in different ways in the same text – some notations therefore express different varieties of pronunciation that may have arisen in a later period.

Avestan differs from *Proto-Iranian mainly in the following phonetic innovations: **´rt-*, **´rϑ-* > *ṣ̌* *[ɬ] (cf. MACKENZIE 1988, 90), **ʦ*, **ʣ* > *s*, *z*; **ʦu̯* > **(t)sφ* > *sp*; **či̯* > *šii*; palatalization or labialization of **h* > *x́*, *xᵛ*[11], but **h*, *x́*, *xᵛ* between vowels often > *ŋh*, *ŋ́h*, *ŋᵛh*; **nh* > *ṇg* (or *ŋh*); allophonic realisations *x* ~ *γ* / *g* ~ *γ*; *ϑ* ~ *δ* / *d* ~ *δ*; *v/uu* ~ *β* / *b* ~ *β*; emergence of *t̰* *[d̥][12]; nasalization of vowels (mainly **a* > *ą*); **ā̆* in front of a nasal often *ə*; **r̥* > *ər(ə)*, in front of voiceless consonant *əhr*; **r̥̄* > **ā̆r* > *ar(ə)*; **ai̯*, **āi̯*, **ā̆u̯* > *aē*, *āi* ~ *ōi* ~ *aē* ~ *ə̄i*, *āu* ~ *ə̄u* ~ *ao*; *i*- and *u*-Umlaut; shortening of **ā* > *ă* in front of **.i̯*, **.u̯*. In Gāthā Avestan also lengthening of word-final vowels (perhaps a feature of recitation?). In Young Avestan there is often documented change of intervocalic **b*, **d*, **g* > *β*, *δ*, *γ* typical for the Middle Iranian period.

Avestan grammar preserves much from *Proto-Indo-Iranian, majority of grammatical categories is similar to Old Persian and/or Vedic. Avestan preserved eight cases in three numbers (singular, dual, plural), declension is based on stem system, with vocalic stems (terminating in *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-u*, *-ū*) and consonantal stems (terminating

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11 *x́* and *xᵛ* (also transliterated as *h́*, *hᵛ*) were in complementary distribution with *hii* and *huu*.

12 There was threefold opposition of dental stops in Avestan: *t* : *t̰* : *d* [t : d̥ : d] (i.e. *t: +tense -voice*, *t̰: -tense -voice*, *d: -tense +voice*; Reiner LIPP, pers. comm.) was probably an allophone of *d* word finally after a vowel, **r* and **g* (*-Vt̰*, *-rət̰*, *-gət̰*) and word initially before **k* and **b* (*t̰k-*, *t̰b-*).

in *-n*, *-nt*, *-s*, *-z*, *-t*, *-d*, *-r*, *-r*/*-n*, *-m*, *-p*, *-k*, *-g*, *-h*/*-š*). There was no difference in declension of the nouns and the adjectives. Avestan verbal categories are almost the same as they are in Vedic – the verb distinguishes three persons in three numbers, four tenses (present, imperfect, aorist, perfect and injunctive), five moods (indicative, conjunctive, optative, and imperative) and four voices (active, middle, stative and passive). Individual verbal forms are formed by connecting primary or secondary endings to a stem, and/or by adding augment or by reduplication of the stem. Each form can differ a lot from another because they may be influenced by position of stress. Avestan is in many respects more archaic than Old Persian and it provides better evidence for the state of *Proto-Iranian, on the other hand, the reconstruction of *Proto-Iranian is in many aspects based on Avestan.

I.1.1.2.2. Scythian and Sauromatian[13] dialects, Cimmerian

We have the information on the languages or dialects of the Scythians, Sauromatians (Sarmatians) and Cimmerians from Greek and to a lesser extent, from Latin, Old Persian and Assyrian sources. Language material is relatively modest, several dozen personal and ethnic names and a few glosses are known. When analysing the Scytho-Sauromatian data we can reconstruct some three hundred Scythian and/or Sauromatian roots (ABAEV 1949, 151-190), but their phonology is problematic. Since neither Greek nor Latin graphic system was suitable for accurate representation of Iranian languages phonology. In addition to personal names known from Scythian cities in the Northern Pontic region and some glosses in secondary sources we also know one Scythian inscription written in Hittite hieroglyphs from the 7th century BC found at Saqqez (Kurd. *Seqiz*) in Ostān-e Kordestān, Iran (HARMATTA 2002b). It is also believed that an undeciphered inscription in an archaic Kharoṣṭhī script *(?)* found on a silver bowl from Yesik *(Issyk*[14]*)* kurgan, Kazakhstan dated to the end of the 6th/beginnings of the 5th century BC is also Scythian (MENGHIN – PARZINGER – NAGLER 2007, 167, Abb. 131; AKISHEV 1978, 53-61). There are probably some Scythian inscriptions written in Aramaic script in the Northern Pontic region (HARMATTA 2002a). Herodotus noted that the Sauromatians spoke the language of Scythia but they did not speak the language well. There was a legend that the Sauromatian nation was formed after the Amazons married Scythian men, the Amazons initially did not learn the Scythian language properly and thus the Sauromatian language differed from the Scythian, *«Φωνῆι δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῆι, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῆι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες.»* (HERODOTUS IV, 117).

Sound system of Scythian is reconstructed approximately as for *Proto-Eastern Iranian – vowels and diphthongs probably continue *Proto-Iranian system without a change **a*, **ā*, **i*, **ī*,

[13] For the purposes of this thesis, I decided to divide dialects of the Sauromatians / Sarmatians according to the historical sources into two chronological phases – I call the Old Iranian dialects as *Sauromatian*, by *Sarmatian* I mean the follower of "Sauromatian" in the Middle Iranian period.

[14] Not to be confused with the lake Ïsïq-köl in Kyrgyzstan, Russian *Иссы́к-Ку́ль*; Kazakh *Ïstïq-köl*.

*u, *ū, *ă̯i and *ă̯u; consonants also quite conservatively continue *Proto-Eastern Iranian stage, but we can observe several innovations: change *d > *ð > l; change *-rn- > l(l) (a dialectal feature?). Sauromatian has a similar evolution as Scythian but there are some different innovations: palatalization *r and subsequent shift to l before *ĭ, *i̯; disappearance of *f before *r; transition *p > f; and probably no change *d > l. Both dialects share the change *ʦu̯, *ʣu̯ > sp, zb (later in Sarmatian *sp > *sf > *fs, *zb > *zv > *vz), loss of word-initial *h- (but not before *ĭ, *ŭ, *u̯), palatalization *t > c before *ĭ, change *θ > t (?), often loss of word-initial *u̯- and metathesis *Cr > *rC (ABAEV 1979; HARMATTA 1970; VITCHAK 1992). It is difficult to assess whether merger of quantity of high vowels: *i, *ī > ĭ and *u, *ū > ŭ (difference in quantity of *a and *ā remained preserved) and monophthongization *ă̯i, *ă̯u̯ > ē, ō started already in the Old Iranian period.

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	p b		f	m w	
dentals	t d		θ	l	
alveolars		c	s z	n r	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals				y l	
velars	k g		x	(ŋ)	
labiovelars			x^w		
glottals			h		

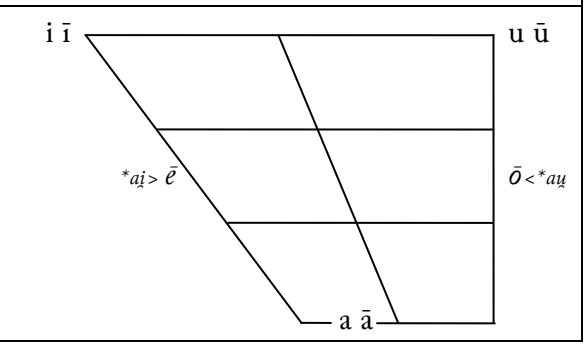

Table 5 Sound system of the Scytho-Sauromatian dialects.

Documented data also provide poor evidence for Scytho-Sauromatian morphology. According to the Greek transcription we would assume that the Scythian nominal system maintained thematic vowels in the nominative, but they slowly started to disappear in the first centuries AD. Noun plural was formed by adding the ending *-tā- derived from abstract suffix *-t(u̯)ă-/*-θu̯ă-. The analysis of Scythian and Sauromatian personal names shows a number of word formation suffixes, many personal names were formed as *tatpuruṣa* composites (ABAEV 1979). In the Saqqez inscription we can recognise two forms of the preterite tense (HARMATTA 2002b).

Scytho-Sauromatian dialects were developing through approximately 1000 years. Based on preserved material we cannot determine the exact chronology of individual changes. In the materials dated into the Christian era we can see changes that are typical for languages of the Middle Iranian period.

It is questionable whether we can consider Cimmerian an Old (Eastern) Iranian language. From the rather scarce data we can assume that the Cimmerian language was a relative of Scythian, to which point shared innovations e.g. the same development *d > l. Apart from that, no much else can be said about the language.

It is highly probable that already in the Old Iranian period there were some Scythian dialects which gave rise to ancestor(s) of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. Unfortunately we have no data that could confirm this theory. On the other hand there are three Central Asian Scythian (Saka) personal names recorded in the Bīsotūn inscription (OPers. *Skuⁿxa-*, king of the *Sakā tigraxaudā* defeated by Darius I.; DB V 27) and in the Histories of Herodotus (*Τόμυρις*, queen of the Massagetae and *Σπαργαπίσης*[15], son of Tomyris, Massagetian general; HERODOTUS I 207, 221). Those names do not give us much information about the language/dialect, but we may observe a similarity in *Τόμ[υρις]* and Sogd. *toxmí*; Yagh. *taxm* 'egg' < Ir. **táu̯xman-* 'offspring, family' (but see OPers. *taumā-*[16]).

I.1.1.3. Middle Iranian period

Languages of the Middle Iranian period can be characterised by four main innovations that took place throughout the Eastern Iranian language area: 1) monophthongization of diphthongs **ăi̯*, **ău̯* > **ē*, **ō*; 2) change **b*, **d*, **g*, **ǰ* > **β*, **ð*, **γ*, **ž* [17]; 3) transition of **xt*, **ft* > **γd̯*, **βd̯* and **ʂ*, **dz* > **s*, **z* and **ʂu̯*, **dzu̯* > **sp*, **zβ* (but in Saka and Wakhī > **ś(ś)*, **ź(ź)*). Another common feature is a reduction or syncopation of unstressed vowels and gradual tendency to simplify nominal inflection. Verbal inflection also undergoes gradual changes, especially in past tenses where we observe a tendency to replace the original system by preterite formed from past participle. Together with the development of preterite the importance of ergative construction emerges.

There are five rather well attested Eastern Middle Iranian languages – Sogdian, Khwārezmian, Bactrian, Khōtanese and Tumshuqese; to a lesser extent we have information on the other languages and dialects such as Sarmatian and Alanic, Sogdian dialects of Bukhārā, Zhetisu and Ustrōshana, or several Saka (Śaka) dialects from Chinese Turkestan (Uyghuristan, Xinjiang), Eastern Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

I.1.1.3.1. Sogdian

Sogdian (*Sughdian*, *Soghdian*; B swγδyʾw zβʾk /səγʷδyā́u̯ ˀzβā́k/) occupies a special position among the Eastern Iranian languages – its uniqueness can be viewed at two levels. From historical point of view it was probably the most successful Eastern Iranian language – it served

[15] Cf. Scythian *Σπαργαπείθης*, king of the Scythians and king of the Agathyrsians (two kings with this name are known; HERODOTUS I 78, IV 76).

[16] It is questionable whether *Massagetian and Old Persian shared the change **xm* > **m* or whether should we read Tomyris' name **Tóh/xmyris*; see also *Θάμυρις* (< **Táh/xmyris ???*) by POLYAENUS (Stratagems of War, 7.11.8), by other authors also *Τώμυρις*, *Ταμύρᾱ* (JUSTI 1895, 328, 330), cf. also Ujjayinī and Mālvā Saka *•tʰuma* /tʰūma/, offspring (HARMATTA 1989, 305). Classical Persian form of the name is *Tahm-rayīš*; Tomyris may be connected to Pers. Tahmīna, daughter of Samangān, king of Tūrān, mother of Suhrāb in Firdau̯sī's Shāhnāma (ibid., 328, 319).

[17] This change took place in all positions except Parāchī and Ōrmuṛī where the change did not took place word-initially. In Ossetic there is no change **b-* > **β-* word-initially; in the Saka dialects there is no change of word-initial **g-*. In some languages there is a change **d* > (**ð̣* >) **l*, see Excursion 5.

as a *lingua franca* on Central Asian route of the Silk Road (cf. DE LA VAISSIÈRE 2005), it was not just a language of trade, many documents concerning three different religions – Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity were also translated into Sogdian. From present point of view we can consider Sogdian as a language that is preserved by a large amount of texts and it is also the language for which we know a closely related offspring – Yaghnōbī (see I.1.1.4.1). Despite its outstanding status Sogdian practically did not survive Arab invasion to Central Asia, its influence slowly declined from the second half of the 8th century, during the 10th and 11th centuries it was gradually replaced by Persian, and Sogdian language enclaves survived only on the peripheries of Sogdiana. Geographically the Sogdian documents are attested from quite vast areas of Central Asia and its surroundings – majority of texts comes either from Sogdiana itself or from Sogdian colonies in Eastern Turkestan and Western China, other texts come from Mongolia, Zhetisu in Kazakhstan, Merv in Turkmenistan, or from Ladākh and Ḳarāḳoram in Pakistan; some ancient Turkic monumental inscriptions were also written in the Sogdian language. The language of Sogdian literal monuments appears to be relatively homogeneous despite the fact that the period between the oldest and the youngest documents is approximately five centuries long. Linguistic homogeneity can be observed mainly due to texts written in the so-called Sogdian script – orthography in this script was based on archaic form of Sogdian and emerged in 4th or 5th century AD and was preserved until the 8th century (or even up to the 11th century). Orthographies in Manichaean script and Syriac *Esṭrangēlā* script document "classical" stage of the language, but Sogdian of the 6th to 9th centuries did not differ much from its oldest attested form[18]. Archaic form of the language is known from so called *Ancient Letters* found in Chinese Dunhunag, other archaic features can be observed in Christian manuscript C 2; on the other hand, the Christian Sogdian texts contain many late-Sogdian features, such as the reduction of nominal inflection as it is documented in Christian manuscript C 5. Although the Sogdian documents are preserved in three different alphabets – Sogdian, Manichaean and Syriac[19] (and even fragmentary in North Turkestan variety of the Brāhmī script), we cannot speak about three different dialects.

Sound system of Sogdian is known only fragmentally – the language was written in consonantal alphabets of Semitic origin so there were no special graphemes for vowels[20], for

[18] An exception is a Sogdian translation of the Zoroastrian prayer *Aṣəm vohū* found in manuscript Or. 8212/84 (Ch. 00289) – this short text presents really archaic stage of the language (GERSHEVITCH 1976).

[19] To mark the script of Sogdian documents I will use following abbreviations: S for orthography in the Sogdian script (AL for the *Ancient Letters*, MG for texts in the Sogdian script found at the Mount Mugh, H for texts in the Sogdian script from fortress of Ḥiṣōrak, Z for texts in the Sogdian script from Zhetisu), B for Buddhist texts in the Sogdian script, M for orthography in the Manichaean script, C for Christian texts in the Syriac script and BR for Sogdian texts written in the Brāhmī script.

[20] Vowels were written by so-called *matres lectionis* – *ā* by the letter *ālaf* <ʾ>, *ō* and *ū* by the letter *waw* <w> and *ē*, *ī*, *ə* and *i* by the letter *yuḏ* <y>, diphthongs *üi* and *üē* were written by digraph *waw-yuḏ* <wy> or eventually as *waw* alone. By orthographical conventions in each script the letters *ālaf*, *waw* and *yuḏ* could have been doubled, or some vowels could have been written by combination *ālaf-waw* or *ālaf-yuḏ* even word-internally. For word-final *-ā* also

consonants often no distinction was made between voiced and voiceless sounds[21]. Despite the difficulties with interpretation of the Sogdian graphic systems, we can reconstruct Sogdian sound system. With the help of methods of historical and comparative linguistics, for more accurate reconstruction of phonology we can also utilize Sogdian fragments written in the Brāhmī script. Sogdian vocalism was strongly influenced by position of stress – we can observe two main stress shifts: the first took place in an early stage of the language and its results can be seen not only in Sogdian but also in Yaghnōbī, the second shift is the so-called Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* – position of stress within a word depended on quantity of stem vowels. Both stress-shifts caused reduction, shortening or syncopation of unstressed vowels or even syllables. Basic development of Iranian vowels in Sogdian can be described as following: **a* > *a*, *ə* (under the influence of *i*-Umlaut > *e*; due to a contact with a labial sound > *u*; under the influence of *u*-Umlaut > *o-u*); **ā* > *ā*, *a* (under the influence of *i*-Umlaut > *ē*, due to a contact with a labial sound > *ū*); **u* > *u*, *ə*, *i̯* (under the influence of *i*-Umlaut > *ü̯i̯* > *i̯*); **ū* > *ū*, *u*, **au̯* > *ō* (in front of **xšn*, **xm* > *o*); **āu̯* under the influence of *i*-Umlaut > *ē*; **i̯au̯* under the influence of *i*-Umlaut > *i̯*; **u̯i* > *ü̯i̯*; **u̯ai̯*, (or palatalized **u̯a*, **au̯*) > *ü̯ĕ* (later > *ō*); **i* > *i*, *ə*, *i̯*; **ī* > *ī*, *i*; **ai̯* > *ē*; **r̥* > *ər*, *ir*, *ur*. It is also necessary to add some diphthongs to the vocalic system of Sogdian, apart from rising diphthongs *ü̯ĕ* and *ü̯i̯* there were probably falling diphthongs *āi̯* and *āu̯*. Also nasals and *r* in front of a consonant in closed syllable (i.e. diphthongs like /Vṁ, Vṙ/, phonetically probably [Vm̃/Vn̥, Vɚ]) were of diphthongal nature. Consonantal system does not differ much from the form reconstructed for "common" Middle Iranian, significant changes include **θr*, **ðr* > *šˇ*, *žˇ*; **tr*, **tsi̯* > *š*; **dzr*, **r̥dz*, **dzi̯* > *ž*; **mp*, **nt*, **nk*, **nč* > *ṁb*, *ṁd*, *ṁg*, *ṁǰ*; **xt*, **ft* > *γd̨*, *βd̨* and in some cases palatalization of **k*, **t* > *č* when in contact with **ĭ*, **i̯* (or *ir* < **r̥*). Iranian **xᵘ* (< **hu̯*) usually keeps its labial characteristics when word-initial before **ă*, in other positions it changes to non-labial *x*; in rare cases, however, there is a change **xᵘa-* > *xu-*. Unclear is the development of Iranian **d*, the sound is written in the Sogdian script by an Aramaic letter *lāmaḏ* <l> (in Sogdian it is transcribed as <ð>), in the Manichaean script letter <ð> is based on the shape for *lāmaḏ*, but in the Syriac script the letter ð is written by *dālaṯ* <d>. It is possible that **d* changed to a dental approximant [ð̞], which continued in some dialects as ð and in some others as *l* (see excursion 5).

The above mentioned Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* did not have an impact just on phonology – although it was originally a phonological rule, it strongly effected also morphology: Sogdian words split into two groups, so-called *light* and *heavy stems* according to the position of stress.

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the letter *hē* <h> could have been used in the Sogdian (and occasionally in the Syriac) script. The Syriac script also utilised diacritic marks for vowels: *a* <◌̤, ◌̇> or <◌̈, ◌̈>, *ā* <◌̣, ◌̇>, *ĕ* <◌̭, ◌̇>, *ĭ* <◌̭>, *ŏ* <◌̇>, *ŭ* <◌̭> *('×' means any letter)*, but those diacritics were used rarely in Christian documents.

[21] In the Sogdian alphabet there were only separate graphemes for *γ* and *x*, but forms of these letters usually merged together. The only script that had graphic symbols for both voiced and voiceless sounds (except ð and θ) was the Manichaean alphabet. In all three alphabets there was a clear distinction just between *z* and *s* and partially between *žˇ* and *šˇ*.

Light stem endings were retained because they bore stress, unstressed endings of the *heavy stems* were lost or transformed. Substantives had three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter; neuter, however, survives only in a few relict forms. Nouns also maintain three numbers, the original dual was transformed into numerative (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1979). In the *light stem* inflection Iranian stem system continues in a transformed way (i.e. *a*-, *ā*-, *i*-, *ī*-, *ū*-, *ū*-, *ya*-, *yā*-, and *r*-stems and also so-called contracted *aka*- and *ākā*-stems), *heavy stem* inflection consists just of three cases – nominative (direct case), vocative and oblique case; the *light stems* had six cases – nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive-dative, locative and instrumental-ablative. Plural was formed by adding the ending *-t(a)*, animates have can have endings in *-(y)ă* or *-ĭšt*. Adjectives are declined as nouns, but they gradually turn to uninflected forms. Personal pronouns had forms just for first and second person singular and plural, they were declined in two cases (direct and oblique), enclitic forms distinguished within oblique accusative, genitive-dative and instrumental-ablative. Demonstratives distinguished triple deixis and were used also for the third person of personal pronouns. The definite article evolved from forms of the demonstratives of *III.* deixis.

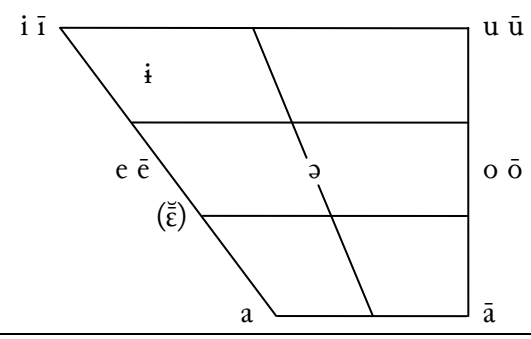
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p (b̥)		β	m w	
labiodentals			f		
dentals	t (d̥)		ϑ ð	(l)	
alveolars		(c) (ʒ̊)	s z	n r	
postalveolars		č (ǰ)	š ž		
retroflexes	*(ṭ) (ḍ)*		ṣ ẓ	*(ṇ)*	
palatals				y	
velars	k (g̊)		x γ	(ŋ) (ü̯)	
uvulars	*(q)*				
labial velars	(kʷ) (g̊ʷ)		xʷ (γʷ)		
labial uvulars					
labiovelars			xᵒ		
labiouvulars					
glottals			*(h)*		

Table 6 Sound system of Sogdian (consonants in italics mark sounds appearing only in loan-words).

Verbal system is based on present and perfect stems. Imperfect tense was originally formed by addition of augment to a present stem, in Sogdian augment was preserved only as so-called *internal-augment* between verbal prefix and stem, augment of non-prefixed verbs disappeared due to operation of stress. Perfect stem is derived from participles in **-ta-(ka-)*. Perfect distinguishes transitivity and intransitivity. Transitive verbs form perfect from the perfect stem and auxiliary verb *ðʾr,* to have; perfect stems of the *heavy stems* have no ending, *light stems* end in *-ú* < **-am* (< accusative singular of masculine). Intransitive verbs form perfect from the

perfect stem and copula (but in forms of the third person singular there is no copula at all), forms of the *light stems* end in *-í* < **-ah* (< nominative of masculine), the *heavy stems* have no ending.

(excursion 1) Sogdian dialects of Bukhārā, Ustrōshana and Zhetisu

Sogdian seems to be a homogeneous language. It is quite difficult to observe several dialect differences – features that distinguish the "languages" of individual documents can be interpreted as developmental stages rather as dialects. We can observe some dialectal features in the preserved Sogdian texts; e.g. durative suffix *ʾštn* (cf. Yagh. *-išt*) appears in some Buddhist texts (e.g. *Vessantara jātaka*) but in the majority of Sogdian texts there is the suffix *ʾskwn* and its forms. The phenomenon of the Sogdian dialects was solved by Walter Bruno HENNING (1958, 105-108) who notes that many differences between the language of the Christian documents in the Syriac script and the documents recorded in Manichaean and Sogdian alphabets can be in the case of Christian Sogdian interpreted rather as colloquial forms of later stages of the Sogdian language (HENNING 1958, 105).

There is mention of a Sogdian dialect of Bukhārā in scientific literature. There are several inscriptions in the Old Bukhāran (or Sogdian-Bukhāran) dialect (cf. LIVSHITS – KAUFMAN – D'YAKONOV 1954; LIVSHITS – LUKONIN 1964), the authors unfortunately do not mention the differences between Literal Sogdian and Bukhāran-Sogdian. Based on my own analysis of several Bukhāran inscriptions I suppose that in Bukhāran the *Rhythmic Law* was not applied and thus the Bukhāran dialect was similar to a dialect of Ustrōshana. The *Ustrōshanian dialect has been premised by Al'bert Leonidovich KHROMOV (1987, 645) and after him also by some other Tajik scholars (e.g. BUZURGMEHR 2005, 117). *Ustrōshanian is not attested in known sources, the premise of its existence is based on a hypothesis that from this dialect the Yaghnōbī language could have developed (KHROMOV, ibid.). Sources for knowledge of *Ustrōshanian may be taken from the fortress of Chilhujra in the South-Western part of the Ferghāna valley. The texts from Chilhujra have been published by Vladimir Aronovich LIVSHITS (2003). By my opinion these texts do not differ from other Sogdian texts. According to recent discoveries in Tajikistan we can suppose also a variety of Ushrōshanian of the Mastchōh region – documents found at the fortress of Ḥiṣōrak yet need a detailed analysis to be done (cf. LUR'E 2011; 2012).

Apart from the above mentioned dialects we can also assume a Sogdian dialect of the Zhetisu (*Semirech'e*) region. We have several Sogdian documents from Zhetisu from the 6th century, the use of a local Sogdian vernacular can be supposed till after the half of the 11th century (LIVSHITS 2008, 350-352). Zhetisu Sogdian is attested by two sources – the first are several rock inscriptions and ostraca, the other notes concerning (Zhetisu?) Sogdian in the Old Turkic lexicon *Kitābu dēvānu lughāti 't-türk* by Maḥmūd bin Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad AL-KĀSHGHARĪ. There are also some clues that show similar development of Zhetisu Sogdian and Yaghnōbī, e.g. Zhetisu Sogdian word *pwn* /pun(n)/ corresponds to Yagh. *pun(n)* × Sogd. B M C *pwrn-y* /puʳní/ 'full' < **pr̥na-*; also the change **ϑ* > *t* is similar to development of **ϑ* in the

Western dialect of Yaghnōbī. Zhetisu definite article is recorded as *ʾyny* /ə́nə̆/ instead of Literal Sogdian *ʾxʾ́*. We have no more precise clues then the above mentioned, therefore a precise reconstruction of the dialect of Zhetisu is still questionable. It is known from the historical sources that local Sogdian population adopted Turkic clothing and customs, but they had preserved their own language for quite a long time – e.g. Sogdian influence on lexicon and phonology of local Turkic dialects has been recorded (cf. LIVSHITS 2008, 350-351).

I.1.1.3.2. Sarmatian, Alanic and Jassic

Sarmatian and Alanic represent a dialect continuum based on Sauromatian dialects, it can be considered as language(s) of the Sarmatian, Alans, Roxolani, Jazyges, Aorsi, Siraces and Asi. The beginnings of these languages can be dated from the 3rd century AD (HARMATTA 1970), their development continues on Caucasus up today as the Ossetic language, or more precisely, it presents two dialects – Iron, the literal and standard form, and the quite archaic Digoron. Under Mongolian pressure together with the Cumans (Ḳypchāḳs) the Alanic Jassians migrated into Hungary. Both Sarmatian and Alanic material is scarce, we have mainly onomastic material and some borrowings in languages such as Hungarian or Chŭvash. Besides Sarmatian and Alanic glosses there is also a short Alanic inscription on a grave-stone from the 10th century from Zelenchuk in Kuban' district in Russia and two Alanic phrases were recorded in the 13th century by a Byzantine poet John (Ioannes) Tzetzes in his poem *Theogonia*. With regard to the scarce material it is difficult to draw the line between Sarmatian and Alanic, the label for the languages has been taken from the ethnic names of its speakers as they are known from historical sources.

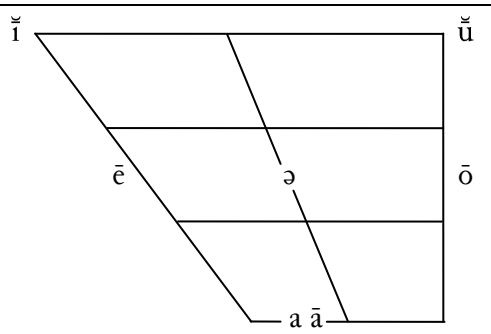
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	p b		f v	m w	
dentals	t d		ð		
alveolars		c ʒ	s z	n r	
postalveolars		*č ǰ*	*š ž*		
palatals				y l	
velars	k g		x ɣ	(ŋ)	
labiovelars			x°		
glottals			(h)		

Table 7 Sound system of Sarmatian and Alanic dialects.

Development of Sarmatian continues directly from Old Iranian Sauromatian, phonetic changes observed in Sarmatian show completion of the development outlined for Sauromatian above (I.1.1.1.2.); Sarmatian and Alanic vowels are reconstructed as *a*, *ā*, *ē*, **ĭ* > *i*, *ō*, **ŭ* > *u*. In front of word-initial consonantal clusters there appears **ə*. Consonant system can be described as follows: **f* (< **p*), **t*, **θ*, **k*, **č*, **c* > *v*, *d*, *t*, *g*, *ǰ*, *ʒ*; development of intervocalic clusters **θr*, **ðr*, **fr*, **xr*, **ɣr* > *rt*, *rð*/*rd*, *rv*, *rx*, *rɣ* as well as **sf*, **zβ* (< **ʁu̯*, **ʒu̯*) > *fs*, *vz* (HARMATTA 1970, 58-

97). A question is whether the change **ð* > **d* took place already in Sarmato-Alanic period or whether it was an Ossetic development.

On morphology we have just fragmentary information. From the attested material we ascertained genitive singular ending *-i*, and nominative plural ending *-ta*. Original genitive plural ending **-ānam* > **-ān* lost its original function and became a suffix of some adjectives derived from nouns. Endings of the nominative singular disappear except *a*-stem feminines where **-ā-* > **-ă̄* (> Oss. D *-æ*) remained (but Oss. I > *-ø*). In phrases recorded by John Tzetzes there can be recognised some Alanic words, their grammatical forms have not been thoroughly analysed yet.

Jassic is attested in one manuscript from the year 1422 which contains a brief Jassic word-list with their Latin and/or Hungarian translation. Forty three words are attested, while in the first part of the document there is a Jassic phrase and then a brief glossary follows, some other Jassic lexemes can be found in toponymy and onomastic of Hungarian district of Jászberény. The language extinction can be dated before the year 1693. Jassic is formally very similar to the Digoron dialect of Ossetic, the main feature that distinguishes Jassic from Ossetic is the preservation of **ă̄* before nasals, in Ossetic there is an innovation *o* < **ā* /_{*m*, *n*}. The exact phonetic form of Jassic cannot be reconstructed on attested material – Jassic words are written in a similar way as medieval Hungarian, on one example we can suppose an ejective sound *k'* <kh>, we can also suppose change **š*, **ž*, **č*, **ǰ* > *s*, *z*, *c*, *ʒ* known also from Ossetic[22] (see NÉMETH 1959).

I.1.1.3.3. Khwārezmian

Khwārezmian (*Khōrazmian*) was a language of ancient Chorasmia, i.e. region of Khwārezm located in the Khīva oasis (present Qoraqalpog'iston Autonomous Republic in Uzbekistan) on lower reaches of Āmū Daryā near to its estuary to the Aral Sea. Historically there are two stages of the Khwārezmian language – Middle[23] and Late Khwārezmian. Middle Khwārezmian is attested from two short inscriptions on ceramic vessels from the 3rd or 2nd century BC from Qoy-Qirilg'an-Qal'a, other texts are known from inscriptions on coins, from silver-bowls from the Ural-area, documents written on wood and skin from To'proq-Qal'a and Yakka-Porson, from ossuary at To'q-Qal'a and from an ostracon from Xumbuz-Tepa. The Middle

[22] Proximity of Ossetic and Jassic can be illustrated also on ethnic names of both peoples – the name Jassian (forms of plural: Lat. *Jazones* / *Jassones*, *Jazyges* / *Jaziges*, Gre. *Ἰάσωνες*, *Ἰάζυγες*, Hung. *jászok*, Russ. *ясы*, Roman. *iáșĭ*, Ger. *Jassen*) and Ossetian (from Russian *Осети́ны*, the Russian name comes from Georgian *Oseti*) have the same origin, see also Greek names of Scytho-Sarmatian tribes *Ἀσαῖοι*, *Ἄσιοι*. In contemporary Ossetic *Асы* ‖ *As(s)i* labels Caucasian Balkars and Balkaria, in Abkhaz the region of Northern Caucasus is called *Aś* (ABAEV 1958, 479-480; NÉMETH 1959, 5-13). The Ossetians call themselves either *Ir* ‖ *Īræ* or *Дыгур* ‖ *Digor* according to their language and ethnicity.

[23] Helmut Humbach proposes for the oldest attested from of Khwārezmian a label *Middle Khwārezmian* (HUMBACH 1989, 193), the term *Old Khwārezmian* remains untapped, it probably serves as a label for the oldest, unattested form of the language from the Achaemenid period.

Khwārezmian texts were written in a local variety of the Aramaic alphabet. Late Khwārezmian is a language of documents written in adapted Perso-Arabic script. Main sources of the Late Khwārezmian language are the following works: interlinear translation of encyclopaedia *Muqaddimaï al-adab* by Jārullāh Abū-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd bin ʿUmar az-Zamakhsharī from the year 1135, glosses in a legal document *Qunyaï al-munyaï li-tatmīm al-ghunyaï* by Najmiddīn Abū Rajā Mukhtār bin Maḥmūd az-Zāhidī al-Ghazmīnī from the 13th century (*Qunyaï al-munyaï* contains also Khwārezmian quotations from *Yatīmaï ad-dahr fi fatāwâ ahl al-ʿaṣr* by Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd ʿAlāʾuddīn ʿAbdurraḥīm at-Tarjumānī al-Makkī al-Khuwārazmī), glosses from *Qunyaï al-munyaï* and *Yatímaï ad-dahr* were collected in *Risālaï al-alfāẓ al-khuwārazmiyyaï allatī fi qunyaï al-mabsūṭ* by Jamāliddīn al-ʿImādī al-Jurjānī around the year 1350. Calendar, astronomical and medical terms together with names of kings of Khwārezm are attested from the works of Abū-r-Rayḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Bērūnī *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiyaï ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliyaï* and *Kitāb aṣ-ṣaydana fi-ṭ-ṭibb* from the beginnings of the 11th century (HUMBACH 1989, 193-194, ZARSHENĀS 1357, 57-59). Khwārezmian became extinct sometime in the 14th century when it was replaced by Oghuz-Ḳypchāḳ variety of Turkic. In the so-called *Khwārezm-Türkī* language there were numerous influences of Khwārezmian substrate, some of the Khwārezmian words can be heard in Uzbek dialects of Xorazm (Khwārezm) even today (LIVSHITS 1962, 140). Classification of Khwārezmian is unclear – Dzhoy Iosifovich Èdel'man assignes it to Northern group of the East Iranian languages (ÈDEL'MAN 2000a, 95; ÈDEL'MAN 2008, 6), but in her older work she claimed Khwārezmian to be the South Eastern Iranian language (ÈDEL'MAN 1986, 6). Khwārezmian shares some features with Alano-Ossetic dialects, some other features link it with the Pāmīr languages; many similarities with Sogdian are also interesting. Cherāgh-ʿAlī AʿẓamI and Gernot Windfuhr see some similarities between Khwārezmian and North Western Iranian Sangesārī (AʿẒAMĪ – WINDFUHR 1972).

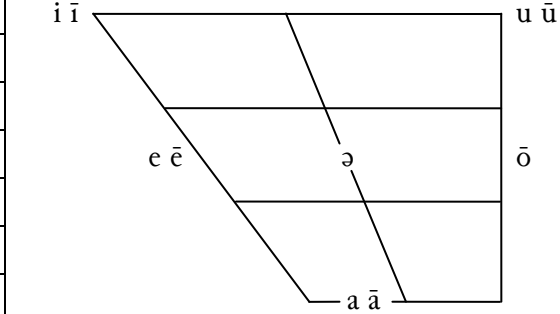
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b		β	m w	
labiodentals			f		
dentals	t d		θ ð		
alveolars		c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals				y	
velars	k g		x γ	(ŋ)	
labiovelars			xʷ		
glottals			h		

Table 8 Sound system of Khwārezmian[24].

[24] In the Khwārezmian adaptation of the Perso-Arabic script there are also letters used only in Arabic (i.e. *ḥ*, *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ* *(ḍ)*, *ʒ*, *ʿ*, *q*), but their pronunciation in Khwārezmian in not known, they were probably pronounced in a similar way as in Classical Persian.

Since Khwārezmian is recorded by alphabets of Semitic origin, we have no clear idea of Khwārezmian vowels, vocalic system is reconstructed as follows: *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, *ə*[25]. In development of Khwārezmian vocalic system it is important to understand operation of stress – short unstressed vowels (including **r̥*) were reduced, long unstressed vowels were probably shortened. Vowels that were not affected by operation of stress generally did not differ much from the Middle Iranian stage. The only exception was **a*, that often changed to *i*. Besides oral vowels there were also nasalized vowels that emerged after deletion of nasals in front of a consonant or in word-final position, nasalization was often not marked in writing. The stress was mobile, it remained on word-stem. Due to the stress shift vowels within a word changed, some changes were also influenced by *sandhi*. In Khwārezmian some consonants were palatalized in front of **ĭ* and **i̯* (or even **ai̯*): **ḱ*, **t́* > *c*; **ǵ*, **d́* > *ʒ*/*z*; **θ́*, **ś*, **ś̌* > *s*; some other consonants were depalatalized **č*, **ǰ*, **ž* > *c*, *ʒ*/*z*, *z*. After palatalization and depalatalization has been completed, voiceless consonants were probably sonorized when post-vocalic or after a nasal: **-p-*, **-t-*, **-k-*, **-c-* > **-b-*, **-d-*, **-g-*, **-ʒ-*[26]. Other differences from the Middle Iranian consonant system are: **θu̯* > *f*; **ðu̯* > *ꝑβ*; **fš* > *f*; **fr* > *f*, *fr* (word-initially also *r-*, *š-*, *h-*); **šm* > *m*; **ðr-* > *θ-*; **-θr-* > *r*; **θr-* > *š-* (in other cases *hr-*, *Vr-*, *rc-*); **θn*, **rn* > *n*; **tr̥* > *c*, *č*; **rs*, **rš*, **sr*, **štr* > *š*; **rz* > *ž*; **š* > *x*, *f*, *h*, *s*, *y*[27]; **xš*, **xšu̯* > *x*; **xu̯* > *x°* (in front of **ă*), *x*. (ÈDEL'MAN 2008, 13-26)

Khwārezmian nouns and adjectives distinguished two genders (masculine and feminine) and two numbers (singular, plural; for nouns as a relict also dual). Nouns were inflected in three cases in singular: direct (nominative-accusative), oblique (labelled also as ablative, locative or instrumental) and genitive (possessive), in plural there are just two cases: direct and oblique. Personal pronouns of the first and second persons singular have four cases (nominative, accusative-dative, ablative-locative and genitive), in plural there are again just two cases (direct/nominative and oblique/genitive), and for personal pronouns of the third person demonstratives were used. Demonstratives have triple deixis, they do distinguish gender but inflectional system was greatly simplified. Khwārezmian has a definite article (one form for masculine and plural, the other just for feminine singular). The definite article originates in forms of the demonstratives of III. deixis. Verbal system preserves quite a large range of moods: indicative, imperative, conjunctive, irrealis, optative and injunctive, there are also grammatically expressed categories of transitivity and intransitivity and aspect. The verb has three stems –

[25] Long vowels were written with *matres lectionis*: *alif* <ʾ> – *ā*, *wāw* <w> – *ō*, *ū*, *yāy* <y> – *ē*, *ī*; short vowels were occasionally marked by Arabic vocalic signs (*harakāt)*, *kasra* was used for *i* and also for *e* and *ə*. To mark the position of stress Arabic sign *tashdīd* (transcribed as <¨> or <ˉ>) could have been used. (ÈDEL'MAN 2008, 12)

[26] Sounds *g* and *ʒ* are not marked by special letters, about their voiced pronunciation is considered analogous to the evolution of **-p-* and **-t-*.

[27] Development of Iranian **š* is diverse in Khwārezmian – in vicinity of **au̯*, **ŭ* it changes to *x*, however, after labial consonants **š* > *f* (e.g. **gau̯ša-,* ear, **mūš-*, mouse, > *ɣwx* /ɣōx/ × *mwf* /mūf/); when palatalized or in front of suffixed **s* it changes to *s*; word-internally (after a palatal *??*) **š* > *y* (e.g. **fra-piša-*, to thrash, > *špy-*); in other cases **š* > *h*.

present, imperfect and preterite. Present tense comes from Iranian present stems, imperfect stem is formed from the present stem with addition of reflexes of augment; perfect is based on Iranian participles in **-ta-(ka-)* and auxiliary verb *ðʾrȳ-* < **dār-*, to have. Characteristic feature of Khwārezmian verbs is use of postverbs – enclitic particles determining direct or indirect object of a clause. Postverbs were derived either from enclitic pronouns or from particles or prepositions. (ÈDEL'MAN 2008, 26-54)

I.1.1.3.4. Bactrian

Bactrian (also called *Eteotokharian*, *Tokharian*, *Kushānian* or *Kushāno-Bactrian*), language of Bactria, is attested from several dozen inscriptions written in a local adaptation of the Greek alphabet and also from several texts written in the Manichaean script from a period from the 2nd to the 9th centuries AD mainly from Northern Afghanistan and Southern Tajikistan, to a lesser extend from Qalʿa-yi Afrāsiyāb near Samarkand, from the Turfān oasis in Eastern Turkestan or form the Hunza Valley in Pakistan. Some scholars believe that Bactrian can be closely related to Munjī and Yidghā. By comparing words attested in the Greco-Bactrian alphabet with those written in the Manichaean script we can quite well reconstruct the phonology of Bactrian – the advantage of Greco-Bactrian alphabet is especially the ability to record vowels, which writing systems derived from the Aramaic alphabet do not allow well enough.

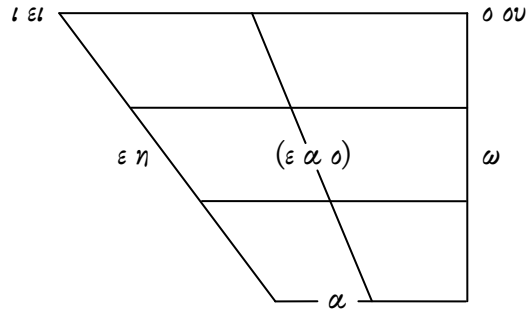
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
labials	π (β)		φ β	μ ο	
dentals	τ δ		(θ)	λ	
alveolars		σ ζ	σ ζ	ν ϱ	
postalveolars			ϧ (ʒ)		
palatals				ι	
velars	κ γ		χ γ	γ	
labiovelars			χο		
glottals			υ		

Table 9 Sound system of Bactrian (given in letters of the Greco-Bactrian alphabet).

Phonological development of Bactrian can be characterised as follows: **ð* > *l*; **θr* > *hr*; **p*, **t*, **k* > *β*, *d (~ ð)*, *g (~ γ)*; **č*, **ǰ* > *ʃ*, *dz* (> *s*, *z*); in Manichaean Bactrian **θ* > *h*. In later stages of the language articulation of *h* is lenited or even lost. Comparison of texts in the Manichaean and Greco-Bactrian alphabets proves maintaining differences in quantity of vowels.

In morphology there was ascertain a reduction of Old Iranian inflectional system into two cases – direct and oblique, dual was lost and neuter merges with masculine. Attested is a definite article that distinguishes gender, reflexive article *ī* (m) / *ya* (f) performs a function similar to Persian iẓāfaï. Verbal morphology is based on a system of two stems: present and past; inflection is based on stem endings in **-aẓa-*, which is comparable with the Western Middle

Iranian languages. Past tense is formed by ergative construction (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1981; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989c; LIVSHITS 2000).

I.1.1.3.5. Khōtanese and Tumshuqese, Saka dialects

Khōtanese (*Khōtan Saka*; OKhōt. hvatanau; LKhōt. hvaṇau, hvaṃ) and Tumshuqese (*Tumshuq Saka*, *Gyāźdese*, *Gyāźdian*[28], in older works also *Maralbashi Saka*; gyāźdiyā- *?*) are two closely related languages of the Saka (Śaka) of Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan. Both languages were written in Turkestan varieties of the Brāhmī script, but each language had its own orthographical conventions – Khōtanese used mainly digraphs to represent sounds not present in Brāhmī but Tumshuqese used new *akṣaras* (so called *Fremdzeichen*). Tumshuqese was a language of the Gyāźdi region/kingdom, it is attested in fifteen texts from the 7th and 8th centuries AD (or even from the 4th and 5th centuries; cf. EMMERICK 2009, 379; EMMERICK 1989, 204) found on archaeological sites Tumshuq, Maral-bashi (Barchuq) and Bäzäklik (Murtuq). Tumshuqese is more archaic relative of Khōtanese – a language attested form Buddhist texts from the 7th to the 10th century from territory of ancient kingdom of Khōtan (OKhōt. *Hvatäna-*, LKhōt. *Hvaṃ(na-)*, Chin. *Yutien*, *Hetian*), from the Turfān Oasis and from Chinese Dunhuang. In Khōtanese there can be observed two stages of language development: Old Khōtanese (language of the kingdom of Khōtan) and Late Khōtanese (language of the Turfān oasis)[29].

Phonological development of Khōtanese is quite complicated so I will mention just its basic features. The vocalic system has been largely rebuilt, there is a reduction of vowels on one side and compensatory lengthening on the other side, primary or secondary diphthongs were monophthongized, many vowels were also palatalized, labialized or contracted. The development of Iranian **r̥* is also complex. Old Khōtanese had ten different vowels: /i, ī, ẹ, ɛ, a, ā, o, u, ū, ə/, these are reduced to four vowels and one diphthong in the later stage of the language: /ɛ/ < OKhōt. /ĩ, ẹ, ɛ/; /a/ < OKhōt. /a/; /ɔ/ < OKhōt. /ā, o, ŭ/; /ə/ < OKhōt. /ə/ or an unstressed vowel, and diphthong /o̯ɔ/ < OKhōt. /ū/. Development of consonants is just as complex: word-initial consonants remained unchanged (except **f-*, **θ-*, **x-* > /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/; **fr-*, **θr-*, **xr-* > /br, dr, gr/ and **i̯-* > OKhōt /ǵ/ > LKhōt /ǰ/), voiceless consonants (except **s*) were sonorized in word-internal and word-final positions and later they have undergone other changes such as syncopation, palatalization or they may have formed a diphthong (which was later usually

[28] Rong Xinjiang proposes instead of naming Tumshuqese (made by modern place-name Tumshuq in Eastern Turkestan, where the documents in the language had been first found) a more appropriate name derived from the historical region of Gyāźdi (Tumsh. *Gyāźdi-*, Chin. *Jushide*, Tibetan *Gus-tig*) – *Gyāźdese* or *Gyāźdian* (RONG 2005). In this work I am going to keep the label *Tumshuqese* as it is customary in other scientific works.

[29] Leonard Georgievich Gertsenberg characterizes interrelationship of Old and Late Khōtanese as relationship of Latin and Modern Italian (GERTSENBERG 1981, 234). He sees the archaicity of Old Khōtanese possibly in an older scribal tradition in Khōtan and Late Khōtanese is explained as a variety of colloquial language of the Khōtanese people in Turfān (ibid.). Ronald Eric Emmerick claims, that according to palaeographic analysis the oldest Khōtanese texts can be dated already to the 5th and 6th centuries AD (EMMERICK 2009, 378), it is possible that the orthography of Old Khōtanese developed in that period.

monophthongized). Palatals **č*, **ǰ* are depalatalized to /ʦ, ʣ/ when preceding back vowels (but **čį* > /ʦʰ/); **ʦu̯*, **ʣu̯* changes into /ś, ź/[30] etc. In the development of consonants there is also a significant difference between the Old and Late Khōtanese. There are also evident Indo-Aryan influences on Khōtanese consonantism – emergence of retroflex sounds[31] and a transition of non-sibilant voiceless fricatives into aspirate stops **f*, **θ*, **x* > p^h, t^h, k^h[32] (see EMMERICK 1989, 209-216 for details). Syncopation of consonants could have caused changes in tonal colours of surrounding vowels, such feature could be expected especially in cases of **-r-* and **-š-* (> /ẓ/ > ø or /ʾ/), instead of those sounds there is a hook < ◡ > written beneath a letter in the Brāhmī script – the hook is usually transliterated as an apostrophe at the end of a syllable or as subscribed hook (i.e. *a'* or *a̧*). Question is what sound does this "hook" represent: Leonard Georgievich Gertsenberg supposes that it marks some tonal quality (GERTSENBERG 2000, 49) or even a glottal stop /ʾ/ (GERTSENBERG 1981, 237), Ronald Eric Emmerick does not specify its phonetic value (EMMERICK 1989, 209) or claims it to be a marker of a breathed syllable (EMMERICK 2009, 381).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p p^h (b)		b	m v	
dentals	tt t^h d		t		
alveolars		tc ts js	s ys	n r rr l	
postalveolars		c c^h j	śś ś		
retroflexes	ṭ $ṭ^h$	kṣ	ṣṣ ṣ	ṇ (ḍ)	
palatals		ky gy		ñ y ḍ	
velars	k k^h gg		h: g	ṅ/ṃg	
labiovelars			hv		
glottals	’		h		

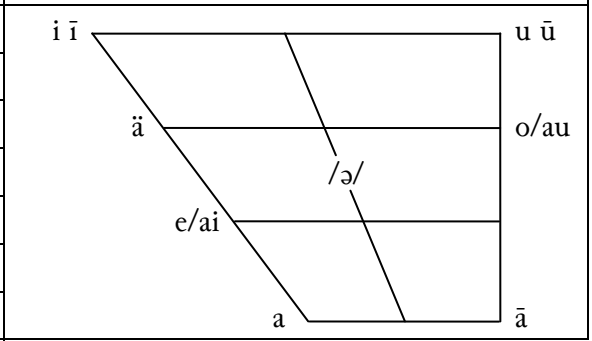


Table 10 Sound system of Old Khōtanese (values in the table are based on transliteration of the Brāhmī script)[33].

A series of changes occurred also in morphology. In nominal inflection the Old Iranian stem system was heavily transformed into a new system of almost two dozen inflectional classes. Genitive case merged with dative, and instrumental merged with ablative. Neuter usually merged with masculine but in some cases neuter was preserved as newly-build *n*-stems. Dual was lost, with some exceptions. Number of cases has been further reduced in Late Khōtanese, prepositions or postpositions were used to a greater extent to express cases.

[30] Similar change is attested also in Pāmīr Wakhī: Ir. **áʦu̯a-*, horse > Khōt. *aśśä* [aʃ(ː)ẹ], Wakh. *yaš* × Ave. *aspa-* (but OPers. *asa-*), Ved. *áśva-*.

[31] Due to contact with the Indo-Aryan languages the retroflex consonants can be met also in other Iranian languages, e.g. in Pashtō, Wakhī, Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī, Yidghā or Balōchī.

[32] Similar feature can be seen also in Parāchī, Ōrmuṛī and North-West Iranian Balōchī.

[33] In Late Khōtanese /ś, ź/ are usually written as <ś>, <ś’/ʂ> (× OKhōt. <śś>, <ś>) and /š, ẓ/ as <ṣ>, <ṣ’/ʂ> (× OKhōt. <ṣṣ>, <ṣ>). For OKhōt <$ṭ^hṭ^h$> and <kṣ> /$ṭʂ^h$/ stands just <kṣ> in Late Khōtanese.

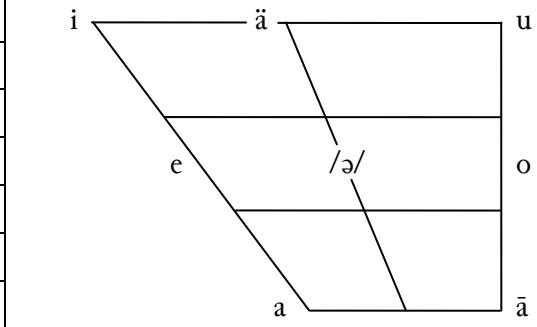
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p p^h b		w	m v	
dentals	t t^h d d^h		d̲		
alveolars		ts dz	s z	n r r̲ l	
postalveolars		c c^h j	ś ź		
retroflexes			ṣ ẓ	ṇ	
palatals		ky gy		ñ y	
velars	k g		kh g̲	ṅ	
glottals			h		

Table 11 Sound system of Tumshuqese (values in the table are based on transliteration of the Brāhmī script).

Verb distinguished all inherited moods as well as active and middle voice. Also verbal endings continue from *Proto-Iranian, in this case the forms of the endings may differ due to Khōtanese sound changes. Innovative is transformation of tenses – Khōtanese distinguishes just opposition of present and perfect. Perfect is based on opposition of transitive and intransitive verbs – each of these categories has its own set of endings (EMMERICK 1989; GERTSENBERG 1981).

Knowledge of Tumshuqese is poor in comparison to Khōtanese. Tumshuqese is generally much more archaic, both in phonology and in morphology; there is e.g. no sonorization of word-internal voiceless vowels or no palatalization of vowels (EMMERICK 1989, 204-205).

As was observed by Jånos Harmatta, beside Khōtanese and Tumshuqese there are also some other Saka dialects, so-called dialects of Southern Saka – Sīstān Saka, Gandhāra Saka, Mathurā Saka and Ujjayinī and Mālvā Saka. The dialects of Southern Saka are attested mainly on onomastic material in some Prakrit texts written in the Brāhmī and Kharōṣṭhī scripts, occasionally there are some glosses in the Greek alphabet (HARMATTA 1989), another Saka dialects of the Eastern Turkestan attested by several glosses are Murtuq Saka (a variety of Tumshuqese?), Krōraina Saka, Kāshghar Saka (Kanchakī, Kanjakī) and Indian Saka (GERTSENBERG 1981, 234). Question is whether unattested languages of *Sakā tigraxaudā* and *Sakā haumavargā* known from Old Persian sources were the proper languages of the Saka, or whether they were spoken by Central Asian Scythians.

I.1.1.4. New Iranian period

In the New Iranian period is attested majority of the known Eastern Iranian languages. Three languages – Wanjī, Zēbākī and Sarghulāmī – died in on the beginning of the last century. There are now 20 living Eastern Iranian languages spoken by approximately 32˙809˙000 people (excluding Pashtō some 809˙000 people). Only Ossetic and Pashtō have orthography of its own, the other languages have no written tradition.

Modern Eastern Iranian languages differ considerably one from the other. All the languages have simplified nominal declination to maximally three cases system. Verbal inflection was in many languages much simplified, majority of past tense verbal forms is based on ergative

construction. Typical Iranian subject-object-verb word order continues in all Eastern Iranian languages.

I.1.1.4.a. North Eastern Iranian

I.1.1.4.1. Yaghnōbī

Yaghnōbī (*Yaghnābī*, incorrectly also *Neo-Sogdian*[34]; yaɣnōbī́ zʲvṓk, yaɣnōbī́ lavz[35]) is a language originally spoken in a high-mountain valley on the upper reaches of the river Yaghnōb in Aynî district in North-Western Tajikistan. In the 18th century some of the Yaghnōbīs settled southern slopes of the Ḥiṣār range in northern parts of the Varzōb district South of Yaghnōb and several villages in Ghōnchî district in the Ferghāna Valley; later in the half of the 20th century some Yaghnōbīs settled southern parts of Varzōb and Northern Ḥiṣōr regions (BUZURGMEHR 2005). In the years 1970 and 1971 all the population of the Yaghnōb valley was forced to move to the Zafarōbōd district in the Hungry Steppe (*Mīrzōčūl*; LOY 2005), some of the Yaghnōbīs returned back to their homeland in the early 1990's, today there are approximately 500 people living in the Yaghnōb Valley[36] (MĪRZŌZŌDA 2008, 6). There are some 12˙500 people who consider themselves Yaghnōbī, of which approximately 8000 speak Yaghnōbī

[34] Designation 'Neo-Sogdian' was rarely used in older scientific literature (cf. BOGOLYUBOV 1956). Nowadays Yaghnōbī is also called *suɣdī́ (zʲvṓk)*, Sogdian by some of its speakers. This is a quite recent phenomenon caused by the emerging national self-awareness of the Yaghnōbīs.

[35] The language is called also *yaɣnōwī́* or even *yaɣdnōwī́* by some of its speakers. The name of the language is derived from the name of the Yaghnōb river and its valley (Tjk. *Yaɣnṓb*, Yagh. *Yáɣnōb*, *Yáɣnōu̯*). The original name of the river and its valley has two possible etymologies:

1) it either comes from Yagh. *yaɣd ~ yaxt* 'wide' (Sogd. B *yɣ(ʾ)rt-y*, *yrɣt* C *yɣrt̰-y* /yə(ʳ)ɣḍí/) and *nōu̯* 'valley, dale' > **yaɣd-nōu̯* > *Yáɣ(d)nōu̯* > Tjk. *Yaɣnṓb* (but also *Yáɣ(d)nōu̯*);

2) or it comes from Tājīk *yaxín* 'cold, icy' or *yaxnī́* 'cold place' (cf. Sogd. S *yxn(w)* /yəxnú ~ ʸɛ́xn(u)/ 'ice') and *ōb* 'water' (Yagh. *ōp*) > **yaxín/yaxnī́-ōb* > **Yaxnṓb* > *Yaɣnṓb* (change /ɣn/ > /ɣn/ can by explained as voice assimilation, but such a change is attested neither in Tājīk nor in Yaghnōbī; it may be explained as development caused by Tājīk-Yaghnōbī contact *??*) – this etymology can be supported by Yaghnōbī toponymy. In the Qūl Valley there is a brook called *Ɛ́xi Nōu̯* (or *Ɛ́xnōu̯*) 'Ice Dale' in Yaghnōbī (Yagh. *ēx*, *īx*, ice, Tjk. *yax* < Ir. **aixa-*). The Ēkhi Nōw brook is located in the southern part of the Yaghnōb Valley and it flows into the Shōwkhōn river (i.e. main tributary of the Yaghnōb river in the Yaghnōb Valley itself). Along the river Shōwkhōn runs one of the (historically) most important paths connecting the valley with the Varzōb region, so maybe the Yaghnōb valley received its name through Tājīk reanalysis of Yagh. *Ɛ́x(i) Nōu̯*: the Tājīks analysed the Yaghnōbī hydronym as **Ɛ̄x(.i)n-ōu̯* and it was later calqued as Tjk. **Yax(ī)n-ōb* [Tājīk does not distinguish vowel quantity of *i/ī* and *u/ū* inherited from Persian] > *Yaɣnṓb*.

Both theories i.e. Yaghnōb as 'Wide Dale' or 'Ice Dale' can be considered correct, or maybe the name of the Yaghnōb Valley/river emerged from a combination of both names, since it is considered that the name as it is known today has been adopted by the Tājīks. Phonetically **yaɣd-nōu̯* is more accurate than *Ɛ́x(i) Nōu̯* or **yaxnī́/yaxín-ōb*.

[36] Before the forced migration there were approximately 2500 people (KHROMOV 1972, 4), 1794 of them were Yaghnōbī-speakers in 1952 (ibid.: 6).

(MĪRZŌZŌDA pers. comm.). Yaghnōbī splits into three dialects – Western, Transitional (or Central) and Eastern[37]. The language does not have any literary tradition. First books written in Yaghnōbī (dictionaries, text-books etc.) began to appear in the 1990's, today the task to create Yaghnōbī orthography is in progress. A Tajik form of the Cyrillic alphabet serves as the basis for written Yaghnōbī.

Yaghnōbī sound system is relatively archaic – vowels have not been affected much by Umlaut, consonants continue from the Middle Iranian stage, with only little changes. The development of vowels is closely related with stress, it seems that *Proto-Yaghnōbī stress corresponds to position of stress in archaic Sogdian before operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law*. Under the influence of stress many Iranian vowels were changed in unstressed positions: **ī* and **ū* were shortened to *i*, *u*; also short vowels (or even all syllables) were lost when preceding a stressed syllable. Compared to Sogdian in Yaghnōbī there took place a *chain shift* of *ā*, *ō*, *ū* > *ō*, *ū*, *ȳ*/*ū*, (Middle) Iranian **ā* changes to Sogdian *ē* under *i*-Umlaut, in Yaghnōbī there is *ɛ̄* ‖ *a̯i̯*. Consonants do not differ much from Sogdian, major difference may be **β*, **ð* > *v*, *d*; transition of *γ*, *x*, *x°* from velars to uvulars; quite recent is a development of **ϑ* > *s̯* ‖ *t̯*[38]. Unlike Sogdian there is no change **ϑr*, **ðr* > *š̯*, *ž̯*, in Yaghnōbī, there is "regular" development to *s̯(ⱽ)r* ‖ *t̯(ⱽ)r*, *d(ⱽ)r*; Yaghnōbī *mp*, *nt*, *nk*, *nč* respond to Sogdian *ṁb*, *ṁd*, *ṁg*, *ṁǰ*; and perhaps (*Proto-)Sogdian *(*)γd̯*, *(*)βd̯*, *(*)zd̯* > Yaghnōbī *xt*, *ft*/*vd* ‖ *ft*, *st* ‖ *zd*. (KHROMOV 1987, 653-661)

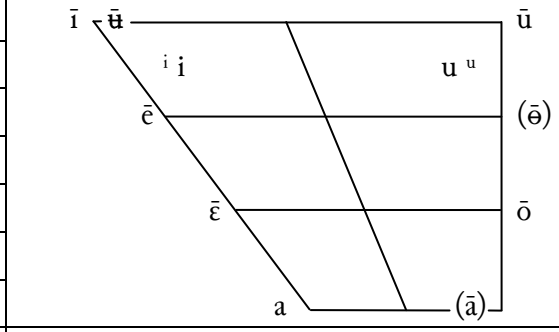
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
alveolars	t d		s z	n r l	
alveopalatals		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals				y	
velars	k g			(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		x γ		
labiouvulars			x̊		
pharyngeals			(ḥ) (ʕ)		
glottals			h		

Table 12 Sound system of Yaghnōbī.

[37] From now on I will distinguish different forms in the Eastern and Western dialect by double vertical line: i.e. {*Eastern dialect*} ‖ {*Western dialect*}. The Transitional dialect stands between the Western and the Eastern one – some of its features correspond with the Western dialect, some other with the Eastern (for more information on the Yaghnōbí dialects see KHROMOV 1972, 97-105; NOVÁK 2010, 243-246). At the present time the majority of speakers use the Western dialect, its speakers settled also areas in the Ghōnchî and Upper Varzōb districts.

[38] Before the year 1913 there was still ϑ in Yaghnōbī (JUNKER 1930, 126, 128-129). See chapter II.1.3.10.

Yaghnōbī nouns have two numbers and two cases (direct and oblique), the distinction of gender has been lost[39]. Plural is formed with the ending *-t* (in words ending in *-a* the final vowel was prolonged before the plural ending: *-a+t* > **-āt* > *-ōt*) < **-tā-*; oblique case ending originates in Iranian *a*-stem genitive singular: **-ḫ̯a* > *-i* (after vowels *-i̯*, if a word ends in *-a*, this *-a* is palatalized: *-a+i* > *-ē* ‖ *-ai̯*). Adjectives are indeclinable; they have neither case nor gender. Personal pronouns have forms for first two persons, for the third person demonstrative pronouns are used. Personal pronoun of the second person singular and demonstratives of both numbers are declined in two cases[40]; demonstratives distinguish double deixis. Verbs have two stems – present and imperfect, there is a similar pattern also for participles – i.e. present and past participles. The present stem comes from Old Iranian present stems; the imperfect stem is formed from the present stem with addition of augment *a-*. Personal endings of the present tense correspond to Old Iranian primary endings (but the ending of the third person plural was replaced by original perfect ending), imperfect endings come from Iranian optative and imperfect endings. By adding a suffix *-išt* to personal endings was originally formed durative of verbs, later this old durative was reanalyzed: in present the durative ending serves as "new" present, the "old" present than changed its function as a dependent verb; durative of imperfect was reanalyzed as preterite. Perfect tense is derived from the Iranian past participle. Perfect is connected with split ergativity: perfect of intransitional verbs is formed from the past participle and copula, transitional verbs have subject in oblique followed by copula of the third person singular. Forms of progressive (durative) present and perfect are formed from the infinitive, these forms are also influenced by the ergative (formed analogically as in the perfect tense). (KHROMOV 1987, 662-694)

(excursion 2) Yaghnōbī dialects

There are recognised two common Yaghnōbī dialects – Eastern and Western Yaghnōbī. Al'bert Leonidovich Khromov recognises also third, Transitional, dialect which shares some features of Eastern Yaghnōbī and some other of the Western variety. I will not describe the differences between the dialects as this issue has been described well in Khromov's Yaghnōbī Grammar (KHROMOV 1972, 97-105), an outline of Yaghnōbī dialects with a short dialectal word-list is also presented in the grammatical appendix of the Yaghnōbī-Czech dictionary (NOVÁK 2010, 243-246).

In many works that mention Yaghnōbī dialects there are observed basic differences of development of historical **ϑ* (and **ϑr-*) and *i*-Umlauted **ā*, i.e. development such as **mái̯ϑa-* > *mēš* ‖ *mēṯ* 'day'; **ϑrăi̯a-* > *šaráy* ‖ *ṯ'ráy* 'three' and **u̯ástri̯a-* > *wēš* ‖ *wai̯š* 'grass'. Less often

[39] Some feminine forms were introduced via Tājīk from Arabic or from Russian (cf. 'colloquial' *māallimá*, teacheress; *uzbéčka*, Uzbek woman).

[40] Robert Gauthiot provides direct case of the first person singular *az*. Such form is not mentioned in other works on Yaghnōbī, there is just single form *man* for both cases (originally *man* < **mana* is oblique *(*< genitive*)* of *(*)az* < **ázu* < **ázam* < **adzám*; cf. GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 108-109).

differences in verbal endings are given, e.g. for present indicative of the third person singular *-či* ‖ *-tišt*. All the above mentioned examples are distinct in contemporary Yaghnōbī dialects, but they are not as important from diachronic point of view (see e.g. BIELMEIER 1989, 487; VINOGRADOVA 2000b, 309-310; JUNKER 1930, 123-131; BOGOLYUBOV 1966, 359 etc.).

What is more interesting than the above mentioned isoglosses *ş* ‖ *ţ*, *ē* ‖ *aį* and *-či* ‖ *-tišt* is imperfect and simple preterite ending of the first person plural *-īm(išt)* ‖ *-ōm(išt)* – Eastern Yaghnōbī *-īm* is derived from optative **-aima* (KHROMOV 1987, 681)[41], but the Western Yaghnōbī ending *-ōm* continues from imperfect **-āma*. This feature was unfortunately left unnoticed by majority of scholars. The two different sets of Yaghnōbī imperfect/simple preterite endings of the first person plural show deeper history of the language, even deeper than the other commonly presented dialectal differences. In this case Eastern Yaghnōbī shares innovation with Sogdian while Western Yaghnōbī (which should be geographically closer to literary Sogdian) preserves archaic Iranian imperfect. This observation may be another clue that proves that Yaghnōbī was not dialect of Sogdian but Sogdian and Yaghnōbī split much earlier.

(excursion 3) Sogdo-Yaghnōbī substrate in the Zarafshān-Tajik dialects

It is not exactly known when the territory of present Tajikistan underwent language shift in favour of Persian; it can be supposed that Persian gained its prestigious position during reign of the Sāmānid dynasty (819-999). Sogdian was then gradually displaced by Persian, but its dialects survived several centuries in mountainous regions on upper reaches of the Zarafshōn river. Nowadays Tajik is spoken in these regions, respectively its Central (of Zarafshān) dialects (RASTORGUEVA 1964). Zarafshān Tajik can be split into three (sub)dialect groups – dialects of historical regions of Mastchōh (cf. KHROMOV 1962), Falghar (cf. KHROMOV 1967; KERIMOVA 1963) and Fōn (RASTORGUEVA 1964, 8; the last two mentioned regions form together with the Yaghnōb Valley present Aynî district, the first mentioned region forms present district Kůhistōni Mastchōh). Substrate words from a Sogdian dialect survived in these dialects. Sogdian substrate in Zarafshān dialects can be observed in phonology, lexicon and in toponymy.

In phonology the Zarafshān dialects share similar features with Yaghnōbī, mainly in a change of vowels initiated by labialization of **ā* and subsequent *chain-shift* of **ō* and **ŭ* (Figure 5). In the Zarafshān dialects as in Northern Tajik merged **ī*, **i* > *i* and **ū*, **u* > *u* probably before the *chain-shift*, but this feature is not observed in Yaghnōbī (development in Yaghnōbī is a kind of compromise between the schemes *(a)* and *(b)* at Figure 5, the development **u*, **ū*, **ŭ́*, **i* > [ʊ, u(ː), yː, ɪ]) differs. Substrate consonantism generally does not differ from Tajik, Zarafshān dialects mostly retain clusters *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, *nǰ*, in Yaghnōbī there is *mp*, *nt*, *nk*, *nč* instead.

[41] And is directly related to Sogdian ending *-ēm*.

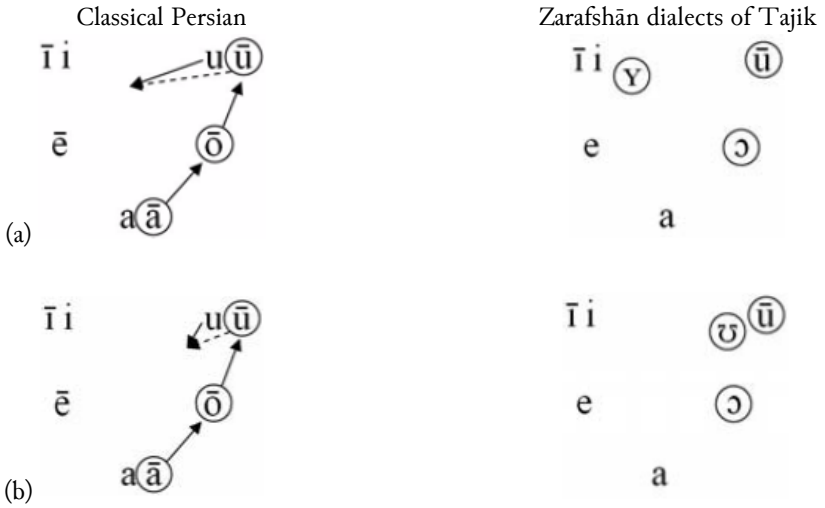


Figure 5 *Chain-shift* of back vowels in the Zarafshān dialects of Tajik: (a) dialects on the right bank of Lower Mastchōh, several dialects of Upper Mastchōh and majority of Falghar dialects[42] (including Tajik dialect of the Yaghnōb Valley), (b) majority of Upper Mastchōh dialects, dialects on the left bank of Lower and several Upper Falghar dialects; dashed arrow represents conditioned change (IDŌ 2009, 68).

The Sogdian substrate can be recognised in lexicon – problem of Sogdian loan-words in Persian was solved by Walter Bruno HENNING (1939). The list of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī words in the Zarafshān dialects and in Tajik was studied by Al'bert Leonidovich KHROMOV (1962; 1388). In the Zarafshān dialects there are 74 words of Eastern Iranian origin – nine of them are of Sogdian origin without attested responses in Yaghnōbī; 16 words are attested both in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī; 28 are attested only in Yaghnōbī and other 21 words are of Eastern Iranian origin, but their Sogdian and/or Yaghnōbī source cannot be found.

Another important source for the study of Sogdo-Yaghnōbī substrate is toponymy, from Sogdian sources there are known some place-names of North-Western Tajikistan that are used even today e.g. *Anzőb* (Sogd. MG *ʾnzʾβh*), *Iskōdár* (Sogd. MG *ʾskʾtr*), *Farmētán* (Sogd. MG *prnmyδn*◌), *Falγár* (Sogd. MG *prγrh*), *Madm* (Sogd. MG *mδmh*), *Darγ* (Sogd. MG *δrγh*, Yagh. *Darγ*), *Rarz* (Sogd. MG *rzrh*), *Falmōűt* (Sogd. MG *ʾβtmʾwt*◌, Yagh. *Fatmōűt*, TFalgh. *Falmōűt*), *Xušēkát* (Sogd. MG *(ʾ)γsyknδh*, *ʾγsykt*◌, TFalgh. *Xᵘšēkát*), *Mardūškát* (Sogd. MG *mrtškt-*; TMast. *Mardüškát*, *Mardüškát*; today generally called Mastchōh), *Zarōváth* (Sogd. MG *zrʾwδkh*), *Varz(-i Mⁱnőr)* (Sogd. B *βrz-*; present Aynî), *Vōdíf* (Sogd. H *wʾtyβ*◌); other toponyms are known also from neighbouring areas: Γ*arm*[43] (Sogd. MG *γrm*◌), *Varzőb* (Sogd. B *βrz-* + *ʾʾp(h)*) etc. (cf. KHROMOV 1966; BOGOLYUBOV – SMIRNOVA 1963, 101-108; SMIRNOVA 1963; BUSHKOV – NOVIKOV 1992; LUR'E 2004; NOVÁK [in print], NOVÁK 2009).

[42] In majority of the Upper Falghar dialects (with an exception in dialect of Rarz) and in some Lower Mastchōh dialect of right bank of the river Zarafshōn there [ʏ] later changed to [ɪ] (KHROMOV 1962; KHROMOV 1967b). In the presented thesis the Zarafshān Tājīk vowels [ʊ] and [ʏ] will be transcribed as *u̇*, *ü*.

[43] It is either city of Gharm in Rasht district in Qarōtegīn, or it could be village of Gharmēn in Yaghnōb (BUSHKOV – NOVIKOV 1992).

On the basis of the substrate in the Zarafshān dialects it can be assumed that the local dialect originated from the same basis as Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – this hypothetic language (dialect) can be called *Zarafshānī. It is possible that Zarafshānī could originate in a dialect (?) attested in documents from fortress of Ḥiṣ̱ōrak in by Mardūshkat in Mastchōh (cf. LUR'E 2011; 2012, 455-456).

I.1.1.4.2. Ossetic

Ossetic (*Ossetian*) needs to be understood as two varieties of one language – *Iron* (iron ævzag, ironau̯ ‖ īron ævzag, īronau̯; in older works also *Tagaur* – Northern Iron and *Twal* – Southern Iron) and *Digoron* (*Digor*; dɪguron ævzag, dɪguronau̯ ‖ digoron ævzag, digoronau̯)[44]. Iron is official language in North Ossetia-Alania and South Ossetia (formerly autonomous region of Georgia), Digoron is spoken in western parts of North and South Ossetia. Iron is considered as a literal form of Ossetic, total number of speakers of Ossetic vernaculars is estimated to 542˙000 people (ISAEV 1987, 539). Both dialects are historically close one to the other, but due to sound changes that started in Iron approximately two hundred years ago both languages are intelligible with difficulties (THORDARSON 1989, 457); to these two dialects also a transitional dialect of Wællagkom can be added (ISAEV 1966, 101-111). The oldest book written in Ossetic was a translation of catechism by Gay Takaov in the year 1798, the language was written in old (i.e. Church Slavic) variety of the Cyrillic alphabet, in the past Ossetic was written in various modifications of Cyrillic, Georgian alphabets Khutsuri and Mkhedruli or in modified Latin alphabet (THORDARSON 1989, 457-459); Digoron speaking Muslims also used the Arabic script. Modern Ossetic nowadays uses the Cyrillic alphabet extended by a letter *æ* and nine digraphs (in Digoron there is also digraph *iy* for /ī/ and also a letter *h* may be used).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p ṕ b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
alveolars	t t́ d	ć	c ʒ	n r l	
postalveolars		č č́ ǰ	s z		
palatals				y	
velars	k ḱ g			(ŋ)	
labiovelars	kʷ ḱʷ gʷ				
uvulars	q		x ɣ		
labiouvulars	qʷ		xʷ ɣʷ		

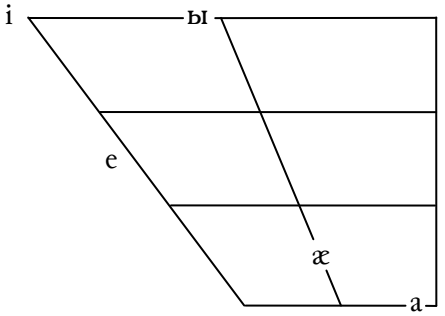


Table 13 Sound system of Iron Ossetic.

[44] In this work Ossetic words will be marked in three ways – words that are the same in form will marked just as 'Oss.', when there are different forms in the Iron and Digoron dialects, those forms will be separated by double vertical line: *{Iron}* ‖ *{Digoron}*. If a word exists only in one Ossetic dialect, it will be marked by a small capital letter: I = Iron, D = Digoron.

Ossetic is a direct descendent of Alanic, which originates in Scytho-Sarmatian dialects. Though the origins of Ossetic can be traced to the 7th century BC, we have no satisfactory linguistic data concerning its ancestor(s) – the problem lays mainly in an insufficient graphical system in which the old Scytho-Sarmatian languages were recorded and also in a fragmentariness of data which do not provide us with much information concerning morphology and syntax.

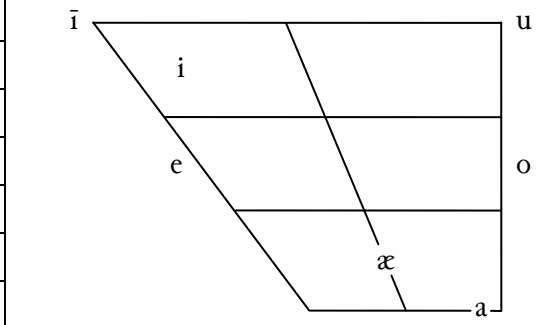
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p p̣ b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
alveolars	t t̰ d	c c̰ ʒ	s z	n r l	
alveopalatals					
palatals	k k̰ g			y	
velars				(ŋ)	
labiovelars					
uvulars	q		x ɣ		
labiouvulars					
glottals			(h)		

Table 14 Sound system of Digoron Ossetic.

Vocalic system of Ossetic, mainly of its Digoron dialect, is rather archaic – reduction of unstressed vowels in Alano-Ossetic dialects did not occur to such extent as it is known in other Eastern Iranian languages. The development of vowels was as follows: **a* > *æ*, *a*, *o*; **ā* > *a*, *o*; **ă̯i(a)* > *i* ‖ *e*; **ă̯u(a)* > *u* ‖ *o*; **ĭ* > ы ‖ *i*; **ŭ* > *(ʷ)*ы ‖ *u*; **r̥* > *ær*, *ar*; palatalized **a(i̯)* > *i* ‖ *ī*, *e*; **u̯a* after a velar or uvular > *o*, *æ* ‖ *wa*, *wæ*; and *e* from contraction: *-æ + æ-* or *-æ + i-* ‖ *ye-*. In Alano-Ossetic, the quantity of high vowels was lost: **i*, **ī* and **u*, **ū* developed to *i* and *u* in Digoron, in Iron they all merged into ы. Qualitative changes can be observed for low vowels **a* and **ā*, in this case quantitative difference was replaced by difference in quality: **a* = *æ* /ɐ/, **ā* = *a* /ɑ/, **a* in front of two tautosyllabic consonants merges with /ɑ/ and this "new" /ɑ/ later changed to *o* when followed by a nasal. Consonant system continues from Alanic without major changes, but it has been enriched by contact with Caucasian languages, so in Ossetic there are also glottalized consonants *p̣*, *t̰*, *k̰*, *c̰*, and in Iron also *c̰̆*. Ossetic innovation when compared to Alanic is the switch **š*, **ž*, **č*, **c̆*, **ǰ* > *s*, *z*, *c*, *c̰*, *ʒ*[45]. Velars and uvulars were labialized in front of old *o* and *u* (Iron *u*, ы): *k*, *k̰*, *g*, *q*, *x*, *ɣ* > *kʷ*, *k̰ʷ*, *gʷ*, *qʷ*, *xʷ*, *ɣʷ*. Iron differs from Digoron in two

[45] Development of *s*, *z*, *c*, *c̰*, *ʒ* continues also recently, in (Northern) Iron they are realized as [ʃ, ʒ, s, ʦ', z]; in Digoron they remain as [s, z, ʦ, ʦ', ʣ] when followed by back vowels (i.e. *æ*, *a*, *o*, *u*), before front vowels *e* and *ĭ* they are palatalized: [ʃ, ʒ, ʧ, ʧ', ʤ]. Different development can be observed in some southern dialects of Iron: sibilants and **c̆* develop the same way as in northern Iron, palatal affricates probably retained their pronunciation until half of the 19th century, nowadays pronunciation of **č*, **ǰ* remained when geminated or when following *n*, in all other positions they changed to palatal sibilants: **č*, **ǰ* > /š, ž/ × *(*)čč*, *(*)ǰǰ*, *(*)nč*, *(*)nǰ* (THORDARSON 1989, 457).

fundamental changes: change of word-initial *ɣ(ʷ)-* > *q(ʷ)-* and affrication of palatal velars before front vowels *e* and *ĭ*: *ḱ*, *ḱ̔*, *ǵ* > *č*, *č̔*, *ǰ* (in southern Iron dialects > *c*, *c̔*, *ʒ*, in Digoron they remain *ḱ*, *ḱ̔*, *ǵ*). It should be noted that labialization and palatalization preceded change *(*)i*, *(*)u* > *ы*[46] (ISAEV 1987, 552-580; THORDARSON 1989, 459-466). Bilabial approximants *w* [β̞ ~ u̯] and *y* [j ~ i̯] are non-phonemic and often form falling or rising diphthongs.

Ossetic distinguishes nine (D eight) cases: nominative, genitive, dative, allative, ablative, inessive, superessive (/adessive), elative (/equative) and comitative (the last mentioned case is not present in Digoron), it has two numbers (singular and plural) and does not distinguish gender. Ossetic is by the number of cases comparable to Old Iranian, nevertheless Ossetic cases do not respond to the Old Iranian cases functionally; only endings of four cases – nominative, genitive, ablative and inessive (< locative) are considered to be inherited from Old Iranian. All the other case endings newly emerged from prepositions, adverbs or due to contact with languages of Caucasus (BELYAEV 2010). There is also an opinion that Ossetic originally possessed only two inherited Old Iranian cases: nominative and genitive (> oblique) and the other cases are an innovation due to contact with Caucasian languages (KIM 2003; 2007).

Ossetic verbal morphology is quite conservative, it preserves most of Old Iranian verbal moods, an innovation is shift of past tenses into single past tense – preterite, also the forms of future tense are new. Conservativism can be observed clearly also in personal endings which are in many cases inherited (THORDARSON 1989, 473-477; ISAEV 1987, 664-632). There are distinguished transitional and intransitional verbs, transitivity is expressed morphologically in preterite – to a past stem (formed originally from **-ta-* past participles) are added personal endings, for transitional verbs formed from copula, for intransitional verbs formed from verb *to have* (ISAEV 1987, 619). It is evident that the preterite endings confirm ergative construction which have been lost in modern Ossetic, but it has just preserved its trace in two sets of the preterite personal endings[47]. For Ossetic is characteristic the use of preverbs – calque from the

[46] Velars were probably palatalized quite recently, some 150 or 200 years ago. In the first book printed in Ossetic there are no marks of palatalization in orthography (but see notation of palatalized and non-palatalized velars in the Romance languages), either the change *i*, *u* > *ы* has not taken place although the book was written in the Iron dialect (KOZYREVA 1974, 64). The issue of Ossetic phonology at the end of the 18th century is complicated – Tamara Zaurbekovna Kozyreva in her analysis of Ossetic Catechism does not deal with phonology and notes that the analysis needs a separate study (ibid.: 14). Palatalization of velars had to be completed before the year 1844, when had Andeas Johan Sjögren published the first grammar of Ossetic (SJÖGREN 1844). The solution perhaps may be found in translations of religious texts to Southern Ossetic (written in the Khutsuri alphabet), which were published in the early 19th century by Ivane Yalghuzidze (THORDARSON 1989, 458), unfortunately I have not seen those sources. The clue for the issue of velar palatalization can be found in different results of palatalization in the Southern and Northern Iron dialects, or possibly in the development of the transitional Digoron-Iron dialect of Wællagkom – according to Vsevolod Fëdorovich Miller the velars were seldom palatalized before the year 1880, but before the year 1957 palatalization was fully implemented (ISAEV 1966, 106-107).

[47] The comparation of ergative with Ossetic inflectional system could be interesting – there are many "new" cases formed due to contact with Caucasian languages but it has not preserved or borrowed ergative as a separate case, by

Caucasian languages, but morphologically formed from Iranian sources; preverbs have two functions – locative and modal (THORDARSON 1989, 475; ISAEV 1987, 612-616).

I.1.1.4.b. The Pāmīr languages

The Pāmīr languages (or *Badakhshānī languages*) form a significant group within the Southern branch of the Eastern Iranian languages[48]. The Pāmīr languages can be divided into two groups: Northern Pāmīrī (or "Shughnī-Yazghulāmī") group and Southern Pāmīrī group. To the Southern group belong Wakhī and Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī, all the other Pāmīr languages belong to the Northern group[49]. Formerly it was supposed that the languages come from a *"Proto-Pāmīrī" proto-language (cf. PAKHALINA 1983), nowadays it seems that sources for these languages vary, maybe the languages of the Shughnī-Yazghulāmī group may have a common ancestor (cf. ÈDEL'MAN – DODYKHUDOEVA 2009, 773; PAYNE 1989, 420-423; SOKOLOVA 1967; SOKOLOVA 1973).

We do not have much information about the (pre)history of the Pāmīr-Hindūkush area before the Middle Ages, but it seems that Pāmīr was settled by Iranian speaking people in several waves. We do not know from where the Iranian-speaking Pāmīrians came, there may be a clue only for Wakhī which shares some isoglosses with the Saka dialects. Martin Kümmel suggests that (Old) Wakhī was originally a Western Saka dialect (KÜMMEL 2008, 1) – nowadays Wakhī certainly belongs to the Pāmīr group, a study of the Wakhī material shows that there may be two (or even more) language layers[50]. It can be supposed that a "Saka-Wakhī" language

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contrast, it completely dropped it, despite the fact that ergative is present in languages such as Georgian or Svan (BELYAEV 2010, 309-310).

[48] The most widely accepted classification of the Eastern Iranian languages divides those languages into two branches – Northern and Southern. I have not found any exact criteria by which both branches are defined. It can be assumed that the inner development especially in the Southern branch could have been much more difficult. It seems that the Eastern Iranian languages should be reclassified. They can be newly divided into five branches: **I** Northern (or Scythian group; *to this group belong Sogdian, Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, Ossetic and Yaghnōbī*), **II** North-eastern (or Saka; *Saka dialects, maybe also Wakhī*), **III** Central (or Pāmīr; *Yazghulāmī, Shughnī-Rōshānī group, Munjī-Yidghā*, *Wakhī*, *Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī*), **VI** Southern (or Paṭhān; *Pashtō and Waṇetsī*; maybe *Munjī-Yidghā* and *Sarghulāmī* can belong to this group) and **V** South-eastern (*Ōrmuṛī and Parāchī*). Questionable is a position of Bactrian (member of the Paṭhān group or Munjī-Yidghā Pāmīr subgroup *??*) and Khwārezmian within the above mentioned groups. The proposed classification is based mainly on contemporary (often geographically conditioned) proximity of the languages. Such classification needs to be based on more thorough study of isoglosses within all members of the Eastern Iranian group, some criteria will be shown later in this thesis.

[49] The position of Munjī and Yidghā within the Pāmīr group may be questionable, there are some authorities who do not recognise them Pāmīr languages and link them with Pashtō and Waṇetsī. More complicated is the position of Sarghulāmī. I will treat them all as members of the Pāmīr group in this work.

[50] They can be observed mainly in different development of intervocalic voiceless consonants – in some cases they remain voiceless, but in some other instances they were voiced. There are even some examples of roots with forms with both voiced and voiceless responses in Wakhī.

was "Pāmīrized", i.e. overlaid by a Pāmīr superstrate[51]. It is quite difficult to determine the development of the Pāmīr languages. As I have mentioned above, there is no reason to reconstruct a *Proto-Pāmīrī language, when a proto-language of the Pāmīr area is needed then it should be reconstructed just for the Shughnī-Yazghulāmī languages. Also Munjī-Yidghā (and Sarghulāmī *??*) probably belonged to this group, but they probably split earlier[52]. The Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī languages are quite close to the Northern Pāmīr languages, but they differ in some aspects, some authors even suppose that Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī differ more from Yazghulāmī and Shughnī-Rōshānī than does Munjī and Yidghā (ÈDEL'MAN – DODYKHUDOEVA 2009, 773, 775-777; PAYNE 1989, 420-423; SOKOLOVA 1973). Genetic affiliation of the Pāmīr languages is thus problematic.

To explain similarities between the individual languages of the area we can postulate Pāmīr linguistic area (*Sprachbund*), i.e. the Pāmīr languages of Badakhshān (excluding Munjī and Yidghā). The Pāmīr linguistic area then belongs to a wider linguistic area of the Pāmīr-Hindūkush region that includes all the Pāmīr languages (with Munjī and Yidghā) and the Dardic and Nūristānī languages. There can be even a wider linguistic area – Central Asian or Himālayan Sprachbund that includes the languages of the Pāmīr-Hindūkush Sprachbund, other Iranian languages (i.e. Pashtō, Waṇetsī, Parāchī, Ōrmuṛī, Balōchī), some Indo-Aryan languages (Ḍōmākī, Western Pahāṛī, Panjābī and maybe Lahndā and Sindhī), some Sino-Tibetan languages (Baltī, Ladākhī, West Himālayish languages), Dravidan Brahūī and the language isolate Burūshaskī (PAYNE 1989, 422-423).

Some place names in Pāmīr show probable non-Iranian origin, according to Tat'yana Nikolaevna Pakhalina the name of Ishkāshim should be Indo-Aryan[53] and Yazghulām and Sarghulām probably contain a non-Indo-Iranian continuant of Ide. **dʰéĝʰōm ~ *dʰĝʰém-* 'earth'[54] (PAKHALINA 1976b).

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[51] Ivan Mikhaĭlovič STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY (1976) sees some pre-Wakhī traces in toponymy of Western part of the Wakhī-speaking territory: Khandūt (Wakh. *Xə̆ndʊ́t* < Ir. **xᵘan-dāta-*, given by the Sun; Tjk. *Xandűt*) and Namatgūt (Wakh. *Nəmətgʊ́t* < Ir. **namata-gāt-/gāϑ-*, place of prayer/adoration; Tjk. *Namatgűt*, earlier also *Namōzgáh* which is Tājīk calque of the Wakhī name). *«It is possible that the names Khandūt and Namatgūt originate in some* [unknown] *Eastern Iranian dialect that was close or even identical with an ancestor of the contemporary Wakhī language and they* [i.e. the place-names] *were formed in a period when Old Iranian form- and word-formation models were still preserved.»* (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1976, 185)

[52] It is even possible that an ancestor of Munjī and Yidghā was a 'Pāmīrized' dialect similar to Bactrian.

[53] The name of Ishkāshim (originally name of a territory, later on also name of the cites of Eshkāshem and Nut): Ishk. *Š(ъ)košъm*, Pers. *Iškāším*, Tjk. *Iškōším*, AfghP. *Eškāšém*; Wakh. *Š(ə)kōšum*; Shugh. *Šikōšum*) has probably derived from Indo-Aryan **śakă-samă-* (sic! PAKHALINA 1976b, 178; probably **śakă-ṣamă-*) 'Land of the Saka', cf. Ved. **śakă-kṣam-* (PAKHALINA 1976b, 178-179). Probable etymon for *Š(ъ)košъm/Iškāším* should be (Old) Indo-Aryan **śakă̆-kṣamă-* with loss of **k* in **kṣamă-* as a result of dissimilation: **śak̆ă̆-kṣamă-* > **śakă̆ṣamă-* > *Proto-Ishk. **š(ă)kăš(ă)m-* > Ishk. *Š(ъ)košъm*, *š(ъ)košmí*; Pers. *Iškāším*, *iškāš(i)mí* (Wakhī and Shughnī forms are loans from Ishkāshmī or Persian).

[54] Tat'yana Nikolaevna Pakhalina sees development of Ide. **dʰĝʰém* (IIr. **ǵd̑ʰă̆m-*; Ir. **dzam-*; Ave. *zam-*; Pers. *zamín*; Ved. *kṣam-*; Gre. *χϑών* and adv. *χαμαί*, on the earth; Lat. *humus*; Hit. *tēkan*; TokhA. *tkaṃ*; TokhB. *kaṃ*;

The Pāmīr languages share many similar features in phonology and morphology. Vocalic similarities can be seen in operation of *i*- and *ā*-Umlaut. Almost in all of the Pāmīr languages there were secondary palatalized tectals prior to front vowels (including **ă* and often **r̥*), also postalveolar fricatives were depalatalized in almost all of the languages. Palatal sibilants tended to change to retroflex sounds or even to velar fricatives. Intervocalic voicing of voiceless stops and sibilants appeared in all languages, except Wakhī where this feature appears partly, probably due to influence of substrate or adstrate. In morphology we can see also many common features – gradual reduction of cases into two case system (but this development historically differs from one language *(subgroup)* to another) and its replacement with adpositional constructions,

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OCS. *zemlja*; Lith. *žẽmė*) in several responses that exclude Iranian development: Yazghulām can be translated as 'Land of the **Asi* people'. The root **ăs̆ĭ-* (*??*) can be compared with the name of the Ossetians or Jassians or the *Ἀσιανοί*, *Ἀσαῖοι* (PTOLEMY, Geography V 9:16) or *Ἄσιοι* (STRABO, Geography XI, 8:2) or with Ave. *asu*-, fast (ABAEV 1958, 79). The Ide. root **dʰĝʰém* changed to **(ĝ)d̂(ʰ)ăm-* > **gdăm-* > **g/ɣʸðăm*. This **g/ɣʸðăm* was borrowed as **ɣŭlắm* in Persian and besides *Yazɣulắm* it also appears in the name *Sarɣulắm* (i.e. '*Upper Land'; cf. also Sarghulāmī development **d* > *ð* > *l* – so the Persian form was probably borrowed from Sarghulāmī or another related but otherwise unknown language). Yazghulāmī name of the Yazghulām Valley is *Yůzdom*, its origin is the same as of Pers. *Yazɣulắm* (Tjk. *Yazgulóm*, in Southern dialects *Yazgъlóm*) < **Ἄσιοι/Ἀσαῖοι/Ἀσιανοί-*ĝ̓d̂(ʰ)ăm-* > **ʸás-(g)dăm-* > *Yůzdom*. There lays also the origin of the name of the Yazghulām river, Yazgh. *Z(ə)ĝ̓amenǰ* < **ʸas-(d)ǵămắna-čĭ-* (also Yazgh. *z(ə)ĝ̓amiǵ*, a person from Yazghulām < **ʸas-(d)ǵămắ-ḱă-*); probably there were lately two (or even three) continuants of **ĝ̓d̂(ʰ)ăm-* in the Yazghulām-Sarghulām area: **(g)dăm-* and **(d)ĝ̓ăm-/*g(d)ăm-*. (cf. PAKHALINA 1976b, 179-181)

A variety of **(d)ăm-/*g(d)ăm-* < Ide. **dʰĝʰém* appears also in several (Dardic?) toponyms in Hindūkush: *Ṣiṇe-gam* 'Land of the Ṣiṇā', *Kalaṣ-gum* 'Land of the Kalāṣa', *Verši-gum* < **Veršik-gum* 'Land of the Verchik (=B(u)rūshō) people' (PAKHALINA 1976b, 179), but Martin Kümmel connects *ga/um* with Skr. *grāma*-, troop > village (KÜMMEL, pers. comm.). In zero-grades Ide. **dʰĝʰm̥ʸ-* appears as *kṣm*-, *gm*-, *jm*- in Vedic, see declination of Ved. *kṣam*- (f): sg. nom. *kṣās*, gen.-abl. *gmas / jmas / kṣmas*, dat. *kṣe*, acc. *kṣam*, loc. *jman / kṣámi*, instr. *jmā*; du. nom. *kṣắmā*; pl. nom. *kṣắ(mā/ī)s*, acc. *kṣās*, loc. *kṣắsu* (MAYRHOFER 1992, 424-425; MONIER-WILLIAMS 1964, 326); cf. Avestan *zam*-: sg. nom. *zā̊*, gen. *zəmō*, acc. *ząm*, loc. *zəmē* / *zəmō*; du. nom. *zā̊*; pl. acc. *zəmas*, voc. *zəmō* (BARTHOLOMAE 1961, 1662-1665). For the Iranian languages there is no attested zero-grade *†gm*- as in Vedic, according to Avestan there had to be Iranian zero-grade **ʤm*-. For Dardic we can suppose zero-grade (or a reduced form) **g(V)m*-. These examples do not explain origin of *[Yůz]dom*, *[Yaz]ɣulắm* and *[Z(ə)ĝ̓am[enǰ]/[z(ə)ĝ̓am[iǵ]*. Is it a form of an otherwise unknown *centum (?)* Indo-European language (*Eteo-Pāmīrī *??*) that was different from *Proto-Tokharian (: **tkam*-). The **ʤm*- and **g(V)m*- roots can be compared with Greek *χαμαί* (× *χθών*).

The above mentioned examples are an extension to proposal given by Tat'yana Nikolaevna PAKHALINA (1976b) in a short study on Pāmīr toponymy. This issue is still opened for further discussion, but it seems that the Pāmīr region was once linguistically richer than it is today. Question is whether my postulation of the centum *Eteo-Pāmīrī is correct or whether the development of the Ide. root **dʰĝʰém* in *Yůzdom*, *Z(ə)ĝ̓amenǰ*/*z(ə)ĝ̓amiǵ*, *Yazɣulắm* and *Sarɣulắm* can be observed in Dardic (or maybe Nūristānī) languages, in Dardic the outcome of the 'thorn clusters' should be **ç̌*, **ǰ* (KÜMMEL, pers. comm.).

The names *Yůzdom*, *Yazɣulắm*, and *Sarɣulắm* can be also connected with IIr. **dʰāman-* 'place', but this does not explain the initial parts of the presented toponyms. Yazghulām may be explained as **azga-dāman-* 'branch-place' (KÜMMEL, pers. comm.), but Ir. **azga-* (IIr. **ʜazgʰa-*) is attested only in Western Iranian (Pahl. *azg*, Pers. *azáɣ*).

development of ergative construction, which later tends to be lost. From demonstratives emerged definite article which became one of the most important part of speech since it determines gender (in those languages, where it is preserved), case and often subject, the demonstratives preserve triple deixis (except Yazghulāmī, where the system of deixis has been innovated). The Pāmīr languages are also very similar in means of syntax.

I.1.1.4.3. Wanjī

Wanjī (*Vanjī* or *Old Wanjī*; w/vanǰi, vanǰiwor*(i)*, vanǰivor) is an extinct language of the Vanj Valley in northern part of the Vanj district in Tajik Badakhshān. The first information on Wanjī as the language differing from Tajik comes from the year 1906 from a book *Vostochnaya Bukhara* by Andreĭ Evgen'evich' Snesarev" (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 61), first linguistic data were brought by Ivan Ivanovich Zarubin, who wrote that: *«The inhabitants of valley of the Vanj river, pouring into the river Panj northwards of Yazghulām* [and] *where is now* [spoken] *one of the Mountain-Tajik dialects, do remember that their ancestors used to speak a different language. In the year 1915 there were living some elders who had used to hear the Wanjī language from their grandfathers in childhood and could tell several words which were preserved in their memories. Despite their small number they* [i.e. the words] *allow to consider the lost language as one of the Pāmīr* [languages]*»* (ZARUBIN 1924, 79-80) – those *several* Wanjī words represent a list of 33 words and phrases (ibid.: 80). Ten years later the Vanj Valley has been visited by Mikhail Stepanovich Andreev who confirmed that already in a half of the 19th century the language was spoken only in the furthermost villages of Upper Vanj. Andreev even met one of the informants of Ivan Ivanovich Zarubin – an old man of advanced age, who hardly recalled two-three dozen words of the forgotten language (ANDREEV 1945, 66). There are attested 64 Wanjī words altogether (ZARUBIN 1924, 80; ROZENFEL'D 1964, 141) and one derisive couplet recorded by Hannes SKÖLD (1936, 18-19; LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 62[2]), some lexemes can be observed by an analysis of the Vanj toponymy and other words can be found in Tajik dialect of Vanj; together we can reconstruct some 500-600 Wanjī lexemes (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 63).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
dentals	t d		ϑ ð		
alveolars		(c) (ʒ)	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals				y	
velars	k g		x̌ γ̌	(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		x γ		
glottals			h		

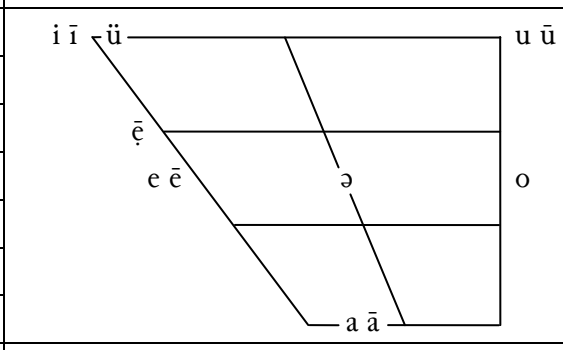


Table 15 Sound system of Wanjī.

Reconstruction of Wanjī phonology carries its own pitfalls – the main problem is real phonological inventory which has been influenced by Tajik adstrate; for the reconstruction of Wanjī phonology closely related Yazghulāmī and Shughnī-Rōshānī languages are helpful. The development of vowels can be summarized as follows: **i*, **u* > *i*, *ə*; **ī* > *i*; **ū* > *u*; **aį* > *i*, *e*, *ai*; **auų* > *au*, *aw-av*; **r̥* > *ø*, *ir*; **a* > *a*, *u*, *e*, *ə*; **ā* > *o*; **ī* > *i*; **įa* > *e*; **r̥*, **ar*, **ā* before a nasal > *ai*; **a*, **ā* under *i*-Umlaut > *i*, *e*; **a*, **ā* in vicinity of a labial > *o*, *u*. For consonants is typical sonorization of voiceless stops when they follow sonors of voiced consonants and shifts **š* > *x̌*[55]; **ϑr-* > *r*; **-ϑr-* > *c-č*[56]. It seems that Middle Iranian sounds **ϑ*, **ð*[57] remained in Wanjī, but in some cases there may be observed shift **ð* > *l* (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 64-89). Realization of *v* and *w* is disputable – whether they were two separate phonemes or free varieties of one sound as in Tajik[58] (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 75-77).

Wanjī morphology can be reconstructed only partially from the attested material. Wanjī probably distinguished masculine and feminine genders, some feminines were formed with *i*-Umlaut of the root vowel similarly as in other Shughnī-Yazghulāmī branch of the Pāmīr languages. Plural of nouns was probably formed by adding an ending *-ev*. There is no information about the inflectional system of Wanjī. For adjectives there is attested the comparative ending *-tar* < Ir. **-tara-*. Also information about verbal morphology is very poor. Several verbal stems are attested, for some of them we also know a past stem in **-ta-(ka-)*. Infinitive was formed by adding an ending *-ak*. Neither personal endings are attested, except imperative of the second person singular which was equal to the present stem. Marginally are attested also several demonstrative and relative pronouns and few postpositions (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 95-103). A reconstruction of morphology is difficult, though there has been recorded one Wanjī coupled *(bayt)* – this couplet can be interpreted as Tajik with Wanjī lexicon (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 62[2]).

I.1.1.4.4. Yazghulāmī

Yazghulāmī (*Yazgulāmī*; yůzdom*(i)* z*(ə)*vəg, z*ʽ́*g*ʼ*amíǵi z*(ə)*vəg, z*ʽ́*g*ʼ*amiǵáyi z*(ə)*vəg)[59] is a language spoken approximately by 3000 people in the Yazghulām valley in southern part of the Vanj

[55] In words recorded by Zarubin and Andreev *x̌* appears either as <š> or as uvular <x>, in the Tājīk dialect of Vanj there is also either *š* or *x* for Wanjī *(*)x̌*.

[56] In records of Zarubin and Andreev instead of *c* there is <č>, in Vanjī Tājīk there is no /c/ phoneme, it is consistently replaced by /č/.

[57] In words recorded by Zarubin and Andreev *ϑ* is spelled as <s> and *ð* is mostly spelled <d>, sporadically <z>. In the same way the continuants of **ϑ* and **ð* are realized in Vanjī dialects of Tājīk.

[58] Modern Tājīk has just one /v/ phoneme with positional allophone /w/ (PERRY 2005, 24-25), contrary Afghan Darī has just single /w/ sound (KISELEVA 1985, 27).

[59] Persian name of the language sounds *yazɣulāmī*, in Tājīk there are two varieties of the name: *yazɣulōmî* (quite archaic) and *yazgulōmî* (the second variety can be influenced by Russian *язгулямский* or *язгулёмский*; but see Tājīk dialectal *yazgъlomî*). Yazghulāmī derives its name from either the local name of the river Yazghulōm – *Z(ʽ́*g*ʼ*aménǰ*, or the name of the valley – *Yůzdóm*.

district in Tajikistan (ÈDEL'MAN 2000b, 274), from the year 1954 some Yazghulāmīs live in Kuĭbyshevsk district (nowadays Abduraḥmōn Jōmī district). There are no historical records about Yazghulāmī. The language does not have its own written form; the role of literary language is played by Tājīkī Persian. Yazghulāmī has two dialects – Lower (Western) and Upper (Eastern), there is no clear border between these two dialects; internal differences are minimal, both dialects differ mainly in lexicon and pronunciation – especially in articulation of palatal tectals *ḱ* and *ǵ* (in the Upper dialect [c, ɟ], in the Lower dialect > [ʨ, ʥ] or even [ʧ, ʤ]) etc. (ÈDEL'MAN 1966, 9-11).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
dentals			ϑ ð		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals	ḱ ǵ			y	
velars	k g		x̌ γ̌	(ŋ)	
labiovelars	k° g°		x̌°		
uvulars	q		x γ		
labiouvulars	q°		x° γ°		
glottals			(h)		

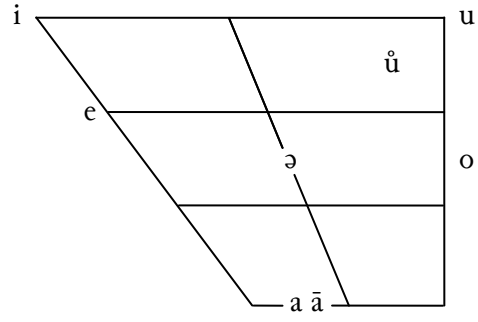


Table 16 Sound system of Yazghulāmī.

*Proto-Iranian vocalic system was completely remodelled in Yazghulāmī, various transformations of vowels in stressed and unstressed positions occurred, and many changes were influenced also by *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut. Vowels *a* and *ā* do distinguish quantity, vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *ů*, *u* are all short and *ə* is a super-short vowel. Peculiarity of Yazghulāmī is the opposition of palatal, velar and labial series of tectals – *ḱ* : *k* : *k*°, *ǵ* : *g* : *g*° and the opposition of labialized and plain (non-labialized) sounds continues also for velar fricatives (*x̌* : *x̌*°) and uvulars (*q* : *q*°, *x* : *x*°, *γ* : *γ*°). Palatal tectals originate in plain velars that were palatalized by **ă̄* and **r̥* in so-called neutral position or under *i*-Umlaut. Labialization is a result of historical exposure to **ŭ* and **u̯* (**ŭ* has later underwent other sound changes, previous tectal was not labialized if **ŭ* has been changed by *i*- or *ā*-Umlaut). Tectals in front of front vowels (*i*, *e*) were also palatalized, on the other hand labialized sounds before back vowels (*u*, *ů*) often lose their labial character. Original voiceless stops (together with **č*) were sonorized between vowels. *Proto-Iranian **š*, **ž* through stage **s̬*, **z̬* changed into *x̌*, *γ̌* (but intervocalic **-š-* > **-z̬-* > *w*, *x̌*); consonant groups **sp-*, **st-*, **sk-* changed to > **s̬p-*, **s̬t-*, **s̬k-*/**s̬ḱ-* before **ă̄* and later came the change **s̬* > *x̌* and in word-initial clusters an epenthetic vowel was inserted between *x̌* and *p*/*t*/*k*/*ḱ*. Among other sound changes should be mention **šm* > *m*; **dr-*, **ϑr* > *c*; **xš* > *x̌*, *š*; or palatalization *-d'-*, **-t'-*, **-ḱ-* > *y*. In consonant groups **r̥d* and **r̥n* the **r̥* after a vowel formed a diphthong, such diphthong

could have been monophthongized: **Vrd* > **Vwð/ůð* (when palatalized > **Vyð/ið*), **Vrn* > **Vwn/ůn*; group **ɾ̥t* through intermediate **ḍ* changed into *g*. (ÈDEL'MAN 1987b, 353-381)

Yazghulāmī nouns distinguish two genders – masculine and feminine, but the original gender system was transformed: the masculines include male names and persons and nouns denoting things and inanimate entities; female names and persons and animals (irrespective of their natural gender) are feminines. There can be traced some relics of old gender diversity, e.g. 1) plural ending *-ežg* appears with some feminines, 2) words ending in *-enǰ* are old feminines; 3) in many words original feminine form can be observed due to reflexes of *ā-* and *i*-Umlaut and 4) the difference between original masculines and feminines can be seen in diverse reflexes of suffixes **(-a)-ka-* × **(-ă)-kā-*, **(-ă)-čĭ-*. Plural of nouns is formed by adding an ending *-áϑ* < **-ϑu̯a-*, plural of animate nouns can be also formed by adding an ending *-én* (with varieties *-gén* and *-yén* for words ending in *-a* or *-i* respectively) derived from old genitive plural ending **-ānām*. Another, yet non-productive plural endings are: *-ežg* for old feminine and rarely appears also an ending *-án*[60]. Old kinship terms in **-tar* – *ðəɣd* 'daughter' and *v(ə)rád* 'brother' form plural by adding an ending *-ár* : *ðəɣdár*, *v(ə)radár*. Yazghulāmī has two cases – direct and oblique, case is not expressed morphologically, it is expressed by a form of demonstrative pronoun; in singular there can appear attributive suffix *-(y)i* which is a reflex of Iranian genitive singular **-hi̯a*. Adjectives are indeclinable, they do distinguish neither number, nor case nor gender, but gender categories are preserved in remnants – some adjectives have feminine forms that differ from masculine by operation of *ā-* or *i*-Umlaut of a root vowel. Personal pronouns distinguish direct and oblique cases in singular, in plural there is just one form for both cases; moreover, there is a possessive pronoun, which has separate forms for the first and second persons singular, in other cases it is formed with a suffix *-i*. Personal pronouns in the third person have two forms – one of them marks the third person in common and the other has an emphatic function – it points to a closer object. Oblique forms of the personal pronouns of the third person distinguish gender. Demonstrative pronouns originally had a system of triple deixis, this system changed to double deixis in course of the development of the language. From the original forms of demonstrative pronouns further developed forms of the third persons personal pronouns (for emphatic personal pronouns there fused the forms of I. and II. deixis – direct case is based on the I. deixis, oblique of masculine and feminine and of plural comes from the II. deixis; form of "common" third person pronoun originates in forms if the III. deixis); demonstrative pronouns *yu(k)* and *du(k)*, which also serve as definite article, are based on the forms of the I. and II. deixis.

[60] Plural ending *-án* is, similarly as above mentioned ending *-(g/y)én*, a reflex of old genitive plural ending of *a*-stems. It seems, that the original *-én* was contaminated by Persian animate plural ending *-ấn*; the ending *-án* should be genuine Yazghulāmī, nowadays it appears just with the word *wex*, man, pl. *wexán*, men (ÈDEL'MAN 1987b, 382-383).

Yazghulāmī verbal system is based on two stems – present and past. Present stems continue form Old Iranian verbal stems, but in forms of the third person the root vowel often undergoes *i*-Umlaut. Past (or preterite) stem originates in Iranian past participles in **-tă*. To the present stem are added personal endings derived from Iranian primary endings, past tenses have endings derived from forms of copula – these endings are often added to the subject of clause. In past tenses ergative construction is applied, personal endings of the third person singular have different forms for transitive and intransitive verbs; intransitive verbs can even have no ending – it is often replaced by a subject in oblique case. (ÈDEL'MAN 1987b, 381-401)

I.1.1.4.5. The Shughnī-Rōshānī group

The Shughnī-Rōshānī language group is a family of eight mutually related languages and dialects which can be divided into four main dialect subgroups, individual languages/dialects are divided as follows: 1) Shughnī (*Shughānī*, *Shighn(ān)ī*; xuɣ̌nů̄n*(i)* ziv, xuɣ̌ni ziv), Shākhdaraī (*Shakhdaraī*; xōx̌darā ziv, xax̌darā ziv)[61] and Bajūī (*Bajūwī*; baǰū*(w)* ziv); 2) Khūfī (xūf ziv) and Rōshānī (*Rūshānī*; rix̌ů̄n ziv)[62]; 3) Bartangī (bārtāng ziv)[63] and Rāshārvī (or *Oroshorī*; rōšōrv ziv); 4) Sarīqōlī (*Tāshqōrghānī*, wrongly *(Sarīqōlī) Tajik*[64]; tuǰik ziv, Sarīquli ziv)[65]. The languages of the Shughnī-Rōshānī group are altogether spoken by more than 177˙000 people: Shughnī is spoken by more than 100˙000 speakers in the Shughnōn and Rōsht-Qalʿa districts of Tajikistan (ÈDEL'MAN – YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000a, 225) and some 30˙000 people in Afghan district of Sheghnān (BAKHTĪBĒKOV 1979, 3); Rōshānī is spoken by 18˙000 people on right bank of the river Panj in the Tajik Rů̄shōn district (ÈDEL'MAN – YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000b, 242) and 2000-3000 speakers live on the opposite bank of the river Panj in the northern part of Afghan Sheghnān district (FAYẔOV 1966, 5), Khūfī is spoken by more than 2300 people in the Khūf river valley in the Rů̄shōn district (ÈDEL'MAN – YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000c, 254); Bartangī is spoken by approximately 2500 speakers on the middle reaches of the river Bartang in the Rů̄shōn district (ÈDEL'MAN – YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000d, 259) and Rāshārvī is used by some 2000 speakers on the upper reaches of the Bartang river in the Rů̄shōn district (ÈDEL'MAN – YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000e, 264); Sarīqōlī is a mother-tongue of more than 20˙000 speakers in the Tāshqōrghān Tajik Autonomous County (*Tashiku'ergan Tajike Zizhixian*) in the Chinese Turkestan (ÈDEL'MAN – YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000f,

[61] With already dead Barwāz subdialect (barwōzi ziv).

[62] With Upper (ðērtāng ziv) and Lower (pōytaxt ziv) subdialects.

[63] With Basīd (basīd ziv), Bardara (bārdarā ziv); Sipānj (sipōnǰ ziv) and Rawmēd (rawmēd ziv) subdialects.

[64] Chinese authorities officially accept only one Iranian language in the Xinjiang-Uyghur autonomous region – the Tājīk language (*tajike-yu*), however, under this designation fall two Pāmīr languages – Sarīqōlī (*seleku'er-yu*) and Wakhī (*wahan-yu*). Nevertheless, these two languages have nothing in common with Tājīk (i.e. Central Asian variety of Persian), there are no Persian-speaking Tājīks in Uyghuristan. Labelling of the Sarīqōlīs and Wakhīs as Tājīks is based on a local label of the Sarīqōlīs as *tuǰik* (< Pers. *tāǰ̌ik*) (cf. GAWARJON 1996, 257-266). In the past the term *Tājīk* was used for Iranian-speaking population of Central Asia.

[65] With Tāshqōrghān (tošqɨrɣoni ziv, varšide ziv), Wacha (wača ziv) and Burungsāl (b*(ů)*růngsol ziv, b*(ɨ)*rɨngsol ziv) subdialects.

269). The first historical record about the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages can be found in the Travels of Marco Polo – he writes that the inhabitants of province of *Balas(c)ian* or *Badas(c)ian* (i.e. Badakhshān) have their own language (MARCO POLO, XLVII), Shughnī is not mentioned directly, but there are mentioned ruby-mines under the mountain *Sighinan* (i.e. Shughnān). The languages have no written tradition of their own, the only exception is Shughnī for which was created a Latin alphabet based on Tajik (and Pan-Turkic) variety of the Latin alphabet in the 1930's[66] (cf. ŞAMBIZODĀT 1931; ŞAMBIZODA 1937), but this alphabet has not been used for a long time. Currently there are some efforts to create a custom alphabet for each of the languages on basis of the Tajik Cyrillic alphabet (either by adding new diacritical marks or using digraph when letters ҭ and ҕ substitute diacritics)[67], in the case of Sarīqōlī there has been created a local variety of the Latin alphabet based on Chinese Pinyin[68] (cf. GAWARJON 1996).

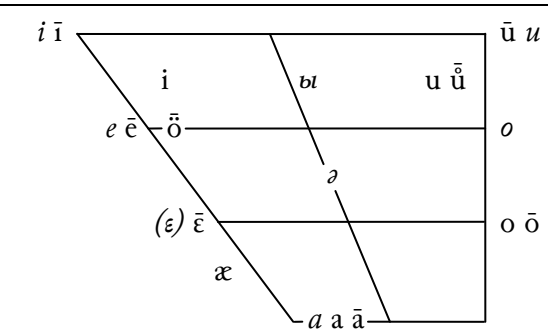
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
dentals	t d		ϑ ð		
alveolars		c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals				y	
velars	k g		x̌ γ̌	(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		x γ		
glottals			(h)		

Table 17 Sound system of the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages (values in *italic* represent Sarīqōlī vowels).

Individual languages and dialects of the Shughnī-Rōshānī group are mutually very close one to each other, substantial differences can be observed especially in vowels – Shughnī dialects and Rōshānī have ten vowels, Khūfī has eleven vowels[69], Bartangī and Rāshārvī just nine vowels and in Sarīqōlī there are only seven vowels and two diphthongs[70]. Valentina Stepanovna

[66] Shughnī Latin alphabet looked as follows (in parenthesis there are values of the letters corresponding to their scientific transcription used in the presented work): a ā b~в *(b)* c *(č)* ç *(j)* є *(c)* d đ *(ð)* e *(ē)* ə *(ə̄)* f g ɣ *(γ̌)* h i ī j *(y)* k l m n o *(ō)* ɵ *(ů)* p q ɳ *(γ)* r s ş *(š)* t ƀ *(ϑ)* u ū v w x ɤ *(x̌)* z ɤ *(ž)* ɜ *(ʒ)*.

[67] For varieties of the Cyrillic alphabet for the Pāmīr languages of Tajikistan see ÈDEL'MAN – DODYKHUDOEVA 2009a, 778 – Table 14a.1.

[68] Sarīqōlī pinyin (*'Tujik Zivan Pinyin'*) looks as follows (values given in parenthesis show standard transcription of Sarīqōlī as it is used in presented work): a b c *(x̌)* d dz *(ʒ)* e f g gc *(γ̌)* gh *(γ)* h *(x)* hy *(h)* i j *(j)* k kh *(q)* l m n o p q *(č)* r s ss *(ϑ)* t ts *(c)* u ü *(ʉ)* v w x *(š)* y z zy *(ž)* zz *(ð)* (GAWARJON 1996, 1-2).

[69] Khūfī *æ* and *o* are rather rising diphthongs [i̯æ] and [u̯ɔ] respectively.

[70] There were also long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ə̄*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ʉ̄* in Sarīqōlī, but difference in quantity has been lost (CIT). Instead of an opposition in vowel quantity, there is nowadays an opposition of stable (*a*, *e*, *ə*, *o*, *u*) vs. unstable (*i*, *ʉ*) vowels. From the stable vowels *e*, *o*, *u* may be prolonged in speech. Schwa (*ə*) is considered an allophone of *ʉ*. (PAKHALINA 1966, 6)

Sokolova reconstructs *Proto-Shughnī vocalism as follows: **a* > **ö*, **ā*; **ā* > **ȫ*; **ŭ* > **a*, **u*; **ĭ* > **i*; unstressed **i*, **u* > **ə*; **ăi̯* > **ei̯*; **ău̯* > **ou̯* (SOKOLOVA 1967, 63-78), in later development there took place other changes of vowels as effects of *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut, operation of stress and openness/closeness of syllable. The relationship of vowels in the Shughnī-Rōshānī group can be seen in scheme in Table 18. Consonantal system shares many common features: postalveolar affricates were depalatalized **č*, **ǰ* > *c*, *z*-/*ʒ*; there happened second palatalization of velars **k*, **g*, **x* > **ḱ*, **ǵ*, **x́* > *č*, *ǯ*, *š* in front of original front vowels (including **ă*); *Proto-Shughnī post-vocalic voiceless sounds were sonorized **p*, **t*, **k*, **ḱ*, **c* > *b*, *d*, *g*, *ǰ*/*ǯ*, *ʒ*/*z*; **š*, **ž* changes through **s̬*, **z̬* into *x̌*, *ɣ̌*, but post-vocalic **-š-* changes firstly to **-z̬-* and it has later underwent different development in individual dialects: Shugh. *ɣ̌*, Bajū. *ɣ̌* or *w*; Rōsh., Bart., Rāshrv. *w*, Sarīq. *ɣ̌* or *l* (only occasionally *w*). Some other changes took place in consonantal groups: **šm* > *m*; **ϑr* > *r* (but word-initially *ar*-); **ʁr*-, **ʤr*- > **š̬*-, **z̬*- > *x̌*-, *ɣ̌*-; **ʁi̯*, **č̬i̯* > *s*; **gt*, **kt* > *yd*/*wd*; **ɾ̥t* > **ḍ* > Shugh. *d*, Rōsh., Bart., Rāshrv., Sarīq. *g* (rarely also **ɾ̥t* > *rð*/*Vð*); **rn* > *(w)n*; **ɾ̥ʁ*, **ɾ̥ʤ* > Shugh. *x̌c*, *ɣ̌ʒ*/*ɣ̌z*, Rōsh., Bart., Rāshrv. *ws*, *wz*, Sarīq. *rs*, *rz*. Old suffixes **-ka*-, **-čī*- usually changed to *-ǰ* and *-ʒ* (in the second case also with *i*-Umlaut of stem vowel). (SOKOLOVA 1967, 63-78; ÈDEL'MAN 1987a, 238-284)

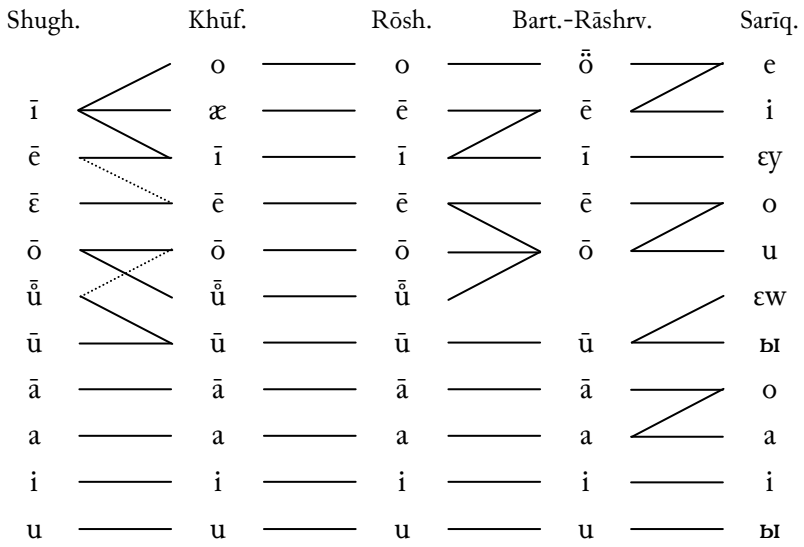


Table 18 The relationship of vowels in the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages (after: SOKOLOVA 1953b, 135; modified).

There is distinguished masculine and feminine gender in the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages. Gender differentiation is expressed in three ways: 1) morphologically – gender affiliation is maintained in reflexes of root vowels: masculines are words with reflexes of vowels in so-called neutral position and words ending in *-ǰ* < **-ḱa* < **-ka*-, feminines are words with reflexes of *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut and words ending in *-ʒ* < **-cĭ* < **-čī*-; 2) lexically – this way natural gender of animals and human beings is expressed as well as place-names, which belong to the masculine; 3) syntactically (or semantically) – syntactically gender is applied for majority of majority of nouns: feminines are entities perceived as individual unit, masculines can be the same words when perceived as collectives (morphologically in singular) – e.g. *'apple'* is feminine, if it is

perceived as a single unit – *'(one/this) apple'*, but when it is perceived as *'apples (in a common sense), many apples'* it is masculine[71]. In Sarīqōlī there remained some reflexes of gender in morphological and lexical level, in this case it is preservation of distinction of natural gender, syntactically the category of gender typical for the other Shughnī-Rōshānī languages was completely lost. Nouns distinguish two cases – direct and oblique, cases are often not expressed morphologically, in singular the direct and oblique cases are the same, formally they are equal to stem, in plural the situation is comparable – both cases are formed by adding a plural ending, only in Sarīqōlī there are two different endings for direct and oblique case plural (under Wakhī influence?). Cases are expressed syntactically often with use of demonstratives. Plural can be formed by use of several endings. Plural of inanimate (and optionally animate) nouns is in Shugh., Rōsh., Bart. formed by adding an ending *-ēn* (following a vowel *-yēn*; in Rāshrv. the ending *-(y)ēn* appears rarely), and in Rāshrv. *-īf* (following a vowel *-yīf*) and Sarīq. *-ef* (following a vowel *-yef*; used only in the oblique case), some animate nouns form plural from other endings: Shugh. *-yū̯n*, *-gū̯n*, *-ǰū̯n*, Rōsh., Bart., Rāshrv. *-yōn*, *-gōn*, *-ǰōn*; Shugh. *-ɛ̄rʒ*, *-ōrǰ*, Rōsh. *-ērʒ*, *-ōrǰ* (Khūf. also *-ārʒ*), Bart. *-ārz*, *-ērz*, *-ōrz*, Rāshrv. *-ārʒ*, *-ārǰ*[72]. Plural of some words is formed not just by adding the plural ending but also with an Umlaut of a root vowel. There is another set of collective plural endings: Shugh. *-xēl*, Rōsh., Bart., Rāshrv. *-xīl* (> Sarīq. *-xɛyl* for "plain" plural ending in direct case); Shugh., Rōsh., Rāshrv. *-galā*, Bart. *-gală*; Shugh. *-guftā*, Bart. *-guftă* and relict Shugh. *-īč*, Rōsh. *-ēč*; forms of collective plural can also take plural endings in *-ēn*. Adjectives do not differ in number or case, but some adjectives have different forms for masculine and feminine. Personal pronouns have forms just for the first and second persons, the third person is expressed by demonstrative pronouns. Both personal and demonstrative pronouns have two cases and two numbers (but the first and second persons plural have the same forms in the direct and oblique cases), the demonstratives distinguish gender in the oblique case (in Shughnī there are masculine and feminine forms also in forms of demonstrative pronouns of III. deixis). Demonstratives distinguish triple deixis and they fill a syntactic function of definite article and they govern case of a noun besides the function of demonstratives and the third person personal pronouns. Sarīqōlī demonstratives have preserved

[71] See the use of the word *māwn*, apple in following Rōshānī examples: *dum* {this: *f. obl. sg. II. deixis*} ***māwn*** {apple: *f. sg.*} *mu-r* {to me} *dāk* {give!} 'give me this apple'; *dum* {this: *f. obl. sg. II. deixis*} ***māwn*** {apple: *f. sg.*} *bāx̌ ki* {share!} 'share this apple' × *day* {this: *m. obl. sg. II. deixis*} ***māwn*** {apple(s): *m. sg.*} *tar* {to} *bōzōr* {bazaar, market} *yōs* {carry!} 'carry these apples to the bazaar'; *day* {this: *m. obl. sg. II. deixis*} ***māwn*** {apple(s): *m. sg.*} *tar* {to} *zastāv* {gate} *yōs* {carry!} 'carry these apples to the gate' (ÈDEL'MAN 1987a, 289; PAYNE 1989, 428).

[72] Apart from the above mentioned plural endings there are many other endings, which are used only marginally: Rōsh. *-ʒēn*, Shugh. *-ʒin-ēn*; Bart. *-ʒōn*, *-ʒanōn*, Rāshrv. *-ʒōn*; Bart., Rāshrv. *-zōr*; Bart., Rāshrv. *-ōn*; Bart. *-iyā*; Shugh., Rōsh., Bart. *-ār* (this ending is added only to the word *virōd* 'brother' : *virōdār*). In Bajūī (and partly in other dialects of Shughnī) and in Bartangī there is also the ending Baj., Shugh. *-(j)ēv* (Shākhd. *-(j)ēf*), Bart. *-īf*, which is used in adverbial function indicating multiplicity of action, the same ending appears also in many place-names (it is the same ending as plural ending in Rāshārvī and Sarīqōlī). (ÈDEL'MAN 1987a, 291-295)

forms of masculine and feminine, but the feminine forms are used rarely. (ÈDEL'MAN 1987a, 284-316)

Shughnī-Rōshānī verbal system is based on four stems: present, preterite, perfect and infinitive stems. The present stems continue from Old Iranian present stems, the preterite stem originates in Iranian past participles in **-ta-* (m.), **-tā-* (f., pl.) > *-t/-d/*-ḍ* (in feminine and plural forms there is *ā*-Umlaut of a root vowel), the perfect stem originates in extended perfect stem: **-ta-ka-* (m.) // **-ta-čī-* (f.) // **-ta-kā-* (pl.) > *-(C)č/-ǰ // -ʒ/-c // -(C)č/-ǰ* (in feminine forms there is *i*-Umlaut of a root vowel, in plural *ā*-Umlaut takes place)[73]. Preterite and present stems distinguished gender and number, such distinction remained in majority of intransitive verbs forms, and transitive verbs are based on form of masculine, same as Sarīqōlī preterite and perfect stems of intransitional verbs. Infinitive stem comes from Iranian verbal noun ending in **-ti*, infinitive itself has two forms, short infinitive, which is equal to the infinitive stem and long infinitive – i.e. infinitive stem with the ending Shugh., Rōsh., Rāshrv. *-ōw*, Bart. *-ō(w)*, Sarīq. *-ɛw*. Personal endings of the present tense are consistent with Old Iranian primary endings, just the second person plural comes from optative ending **-aiṯa*, forms of the third person singular often use *i*-Umlaut of root vowel with the ending *-d/-t* < **-ti*. Past tense endings originate in forms of copula. The Shughnī-Rōshānī languages had originally ergative construction in the past tenses, ergative has been preserved in Rōshānī, Khūfī and Bartangī, however, in these languages the ergative construction tend to be substituted by absolutive construction as it is in Shughnī, Rāshārvī and Sarīqōlī. Although the category of ergative has been lost in some languages (or it is slowly substituted by absolutive), the difference in transitive and intransitive verbs remains – in Shughnī, Rōshānī, Khūfī, Bartangī and Sarīqōlī the transitional verbs have an enclitic ending *-i* in forms of the third person singular (in Rōshānī and Khūfī use of the ending is optional, it is used mainly in phrases, in which there is not expressed subject; in Sarīqōlī use of the ending is also optional, but it can be used also for intransitive verbs; in Rāshārvī and in the Basīd dialect of Bartangī there is no ending at all), the intransitive verbs have no ending for the third person singular. Bartangī (and earlier also Rāshārvī) has special forms of enclitic ending for the third person plural. (ÈDEL'MAN 1987a, 317-337)

[73] Reflexes of participles in **-ta-* se do differ in individual dialects in front of preterite endings **-kă-/*-čī-* e.g.: **tak-ta-kă-/-čī-* (preterite stem of the verb *'to leave'*) > Shugh. *tūyǰ // tīc // tōyǰ* (m. // f. // pl.), Rōsh. *tuyǰ // tayc // tāyǰ*, Khūf. *tuyǰ // tiyc/tīc // tōyǰ*, Bart. *tūyǰ // tayc // tōyǰ*, Sarīq. *тыуǰ* (single form); **čiu-ta-kă-/-čī-* (preterite stem of the verb *'to go'*) > Shugh. *suðǰ // sic // saðǰ*, Rōsh. *suǰ // siʒ // saǰ*, Khūf. *suǰ // sic // saǰ*, Bart. *suǰ // sic // saǰ*, Sarīq. *seðǰ*; transitive verbs have a single form based on masculine: **bṛ-ta-ka-* (preterite stem of the verb *'to bring'*) > Shugh. *vūɣǰ*, Rōsh. *(a)vūǰ*, Khūf. *vugǰ*, Bart. *vūǰ*, Sarīq. *vəɣǰ* (ÈDEL'MAN 1987a, 320).

I.1.1.4.6. Sarghulāmī

Sarghulāmī (or *Saraghlāmī*)[74] is a dead language from upper reaches of the Sarghulām (or Saraghlām) river in Afghan Badakhshān. The language became extinct at the beginning of the 20th century, the only reference about the language has been published by Ivan Ivanovich Zarubin, who in the year 1916 recorded several Sarghulāmī words from a Munjī person, who claimed that he knew the Sarghulāmī language. From the list of Sarghulāmī words majority were Persian or Munjī lexemes; Zarubin notes, that only three words could have been identified as Sarghulāmī words[75] – *wolikė / wolikí* 'water'; *kišó* 'cow', and *zoīk* 'boy', and he quotes these words with selected responses from other Eastern Iranian languages (ZARUBIN 1924, 79). Despite poorly documented linguistic material, we can get many valuable information about the language if we thoroughly analyse the attested words[76].

From the attested material we cannot judge much about Sarghulāmī – one can only guess that it is one of the Northern Pāmīr languages, obviously related to Munjī. However, we can observe two certain Sarghulāmī innovations: change **d* > *l* (thus a phenomenon that is known also in Bactrian, Munjī or Pashtō) and semantic shift of Ir. **u̯ādi-*, irrigation channel > water[77] (ZARUBIN 1924, 79; MORGENSTIERNE 1974, 99). Iranian suffix **-kă-* should be attested je in words *wolikė/wolikí* < **u̯ādi-kā-* and *zoīk* < **ʒaha-ka-* (or **ʒāta-ka-* ??) 'child' (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003, 103-104). Voiceless consonants were probably retained in intervocalic positions, in addition to example of suffix **-kă-* similar feature can be seen in the word *kišó*[78] < **kau̯š-ă-/*kŭš-ă-* 'cow'[79] (cf. PAKHALINA 1987b, 484). Word-final long vowels were probably preserved; about the effects Umlaut as it is known in other Pāmīr languages, on the basis of the preserved material can be suggested only with reservations. By comparison with some other Pāmīr languages we can come to a conclusion that (oblique?) plural ending was **-ĭ/ĕw* or **-ĭ/ĕv*.

---

[74] The language was also known as *lafẓ-i mazā́r* i.e. 'the speech of mazār *(shrine)*' after a mazār located in village of Sarghulām (Sar Ghulām) near to Afghan Fayẓābād.

[75] One can only say that it is a great pity that Zarubin did not specify also those words he did not consider Sarghulāmī – even from the study of borrowings we could deduce more about this language, the issue of Munjī borrowing might be interesting – could they be a contamination caused by the first (?) language of the informant or were the Sarghulāmī and Munjī words so similar, that Zarubin identified them as Munjī words, or their original Sarghulāmī form was garbled by their Munjī responses.

[76] Moreover there are several place-names in the Sarghulām Valley that can be identified as of Sarghulāmī origin: *Malangāu̯* or *Malangāb*, *Lučīw* and *Gharālīw* (MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 439), I will not analyse them in detail in this work.

[77] For a similar semantic shift see Wanj. *wol* 'water' × Yazgh. *wað*, Shugh. *wēð*, Wakh. *wod/ð* 'brook, stream, (irrigation) channel', Ave. *vaiδi-* 'irrigation channel' < **u̯ādi-* (LASHKARBĒKOV 2008, 83); Yazgh. *xeǩ*, Vanj. *xĭk* 'water' < Ir. *xāha-* 'well, spring' (MORGENSTIERNE 1974, 99) or Oss. *don* 'water, river' < Ir. **dānu-* 'river' (ABAEV 1958, 366-367).

[78] In Munjī, Shughnī-Rōshānī languages, Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī or in Pashtō intervocalic **-š-* changed to **-ž-* and later has undergone other phonetic changes.

[79] Cf. Munj. *kŭ́wō/kŭ́yō* 'bull', Ishk. *kьžů́k*, Yagh. *kⁱšǿ́k*.

I.1.1.4.7. Munjī and Yidghā

Munjī (*Munjānī* or *Minj(ān)ī*; mənǰ́ rōy, mənǰīwar, mŭnǰīwar) is spoken by some 2000-2500 people in valley of the river Munjān in Korān wa Monjān district in Afghan Badakhshān[80] (GRYUNBERG 2000, 154; DECKER 1992, 54), Yidghā (*Yŭdghā*; yıd*(ə)*γ̊ā, lūṭkūhwar; Munj. U yədgṓnə rōy) is spoken by 5000-6000 speakers in the Lūṭkōh Valley in Pakistani Chitrāl (Yidgh. *Čitréyo*) (DECKER 1992, 48). The Munjān and Lūṭkōh Valleys are divided by the Hindūkush massif, the only path connecting both areas goes through the Dōrāh Pass in the Hindūkush, through which it is possible to pass further to the Sanglēch Valley. Both languages are closely related[81], though both languages are hardly mutually intelligible today. Among the Yidghās there is a legend, that they came from Munjān – this fact can be also compared with the fact that majority of place-names in the Lūṭkōh Valley is unlike in Munjān a non-Iranian (mainly Dardic) origin and also that Yidghā does not split into dialects, but Munjī has three dialects – Upper (Southern), Central and Lower (Northern). It is assumed that the Yidghās came to the Lūṭkōh Valley sometime in the 11th-13th centuries (DECKER 1992). History of Munjān is unknown, the only historical record dates to the 7th century from the pen of Chinese traveller Xuan Zang, who within Tokharistān mentions kingdom of *Mungjin* in Badakhshān (XUAN ZANG, I, 24, XII, 6; MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 7). Both languages do not have a written tradition of their own. Both languages are often classified as the Pāmīr languages[82], Valentina Stepanovna Sokolova classifies Munjī and Yidghā as members of the Northern Pāmīr group (other members of this group are Shughnī-Rōshānī languages, Yazghulāmī, Wanjī and probably Sarghulāmī; see SOKOLOVA 1973).

Differences between Munjī dialects and Yidghā can be seen mainly in phonology, correlation of vocalic system is summarized in Table 21. Munjī vowels *ă (å)* and *ŭ (ы)* merge with *ə* in colloquial speech. Munjī vocalic system was enriched by Persian, vowels *a* and *u* were introduced together with Persian loans (GRYUNBERG 1972, 400-401; GRYUNBERG 1987, 163-164), but these 'Persian' sounds usually merge with similar sounds in Munjī *a* ~ *ă* and *u* ~ *ŭ* (~ *ə*). Historical development of vocalism can be outlined as follows: **a* > *ă* (-*ə*) ‖ *o* (in closed syllable > *ō* ‖ *a*; under *i*-Umlaut > *ī*); **ā* > *ī* (U *ū*) ‖ *ī* (in open syllable > *ō* ‖ *a*; in various positions > *ā/ă* ‖ *ă̄/o*; under *i*-Umlaut > *ē*); **i* > *ə* ‖ *i*; **ī*, **aį* > *ī*; **u* > *ŭ* (C ы) ‖ *ŭ*; **ū* > *ū*; **aų* > *ū* (under *i*-Umlaut > *ī*). Consonantal system of both languages has undergone many changes, which have comparable analogies within other Eastern Iranian languages. Development of voiced stops is the same as in

[80] According to the latest information, most of the Munjīs left Munjān after the start of Afghan Civil War (1989-1992) and they moved to different places in Pakistani Chitrāl, many Munjīs might be killed, and many of their villages destroyed. Refugees themselves say that they would like to return to Munjān after the war ends. (DECKER 1992, 50)

[81] For simplicity, in the following text the examples will be given in both languages and Munjī form will be separated from Yidghā by double vertical lines ‖ ; to indicate the Lower, Central and Upper dialect I will use shortcuts in the form of small capitals: L, C, U.

[82] On the other hand, Munjī and Yidghā share several similar features with Waṇetsī and Pashtō.

the Middle Iranian period, in a later period there was a shift **d* (> **ð*) > *l*; other characteristic changes are: **ϑ* > *x̌*; **-p-*, **-t-*, **-k-*, **-č-*, **-š-* > *v/w* ‖ *v*, *y/ø*, *ɣ* (U *g*) ‖ *ɣ*, *ž/y* (U *g*) ‖ *ø/y*; **rt* > *r* (L *ṛ*) ‖ *ṛ*; **št*, **rst*, **ršt* > *šḱ* ‖ *šč*; **rn*, **ršn*, **ržn* > *ńǵ* ‖ *ṇ*; **šm* > *m*. One of the typical changes presents a loss of a nasal before (voiced) stop in Yidghā and Upper Munjī. Denominal abstract suffix **-(a-)ka-* changed to *-əy* (*-iy*) ‖ *-ë/-ə*. Secondary palatalization of word-initial **k* links both languages with Yazghulāmī and the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages. Due to the contact with Dardic and Indo-Aryan languages cerebral sounds emerged in Yidghā. (GRYUNBERG 1987, 171-180; SKJÆRVØ 1989c, 412-413; MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 36-109)

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
retroflexes		č̣ ǰ̣	ṣ̌ ẓ̌	ṛ	
alveopalatals		č ǰ	š ž		
palatals	ḱ ǵ		x̌	ń y	
velars	k g		x	(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		χ ɣ		
glottals			h		

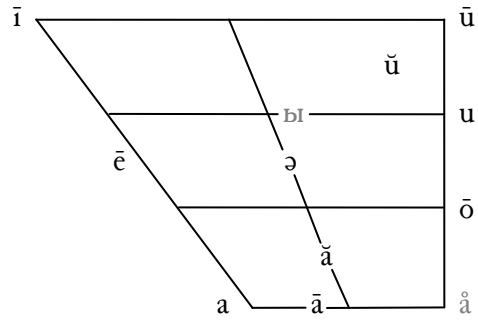


Table 19 Sound system of Munjī.

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b		ɸ	m w	
labiodentals			f v		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r ɾ l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ	č̣ ǰ̣	ṣ̌ ẓ̌	ṇ ṛ	
palatals	kʸ gʸ		x̌	y	
velars	k g		x ɣ	(ŋ)	
uvulars	(q)				
glottals			h		

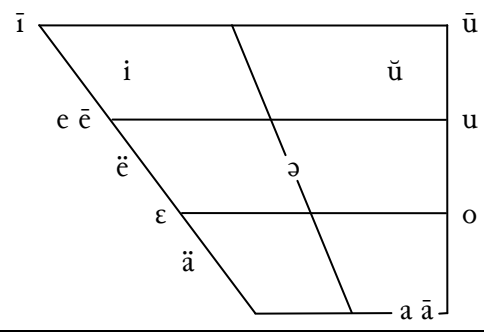


Table 20 Sound system of Yidghā.

Munjī and Yidghā nouns have two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular, plural) and two cases (direct and oblique), Munjī has additionally predicative genitive and vocative. Adjectives have categories of gender and number but they do not distinguish case. Pronouns retain system of the direct and oblique cases together with the predicative genitive, demonstratives distinguish triple deixis. Verbal system is based on three stem system: present, preterite and perfect. Munjī forms of past tenses distinguish transitional and intransitional verbs, in Yidghā the categories of (in)transitivity have been lost. Moreover Yidghā forms durative

present and some verbal forms in Yidghā originate from forms calqued from Dardic Khowār (Chitrālī). (GRYUNBERG 1987, 180-229; SKJÆRVØ 1989c, 413-415; MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 110-167)

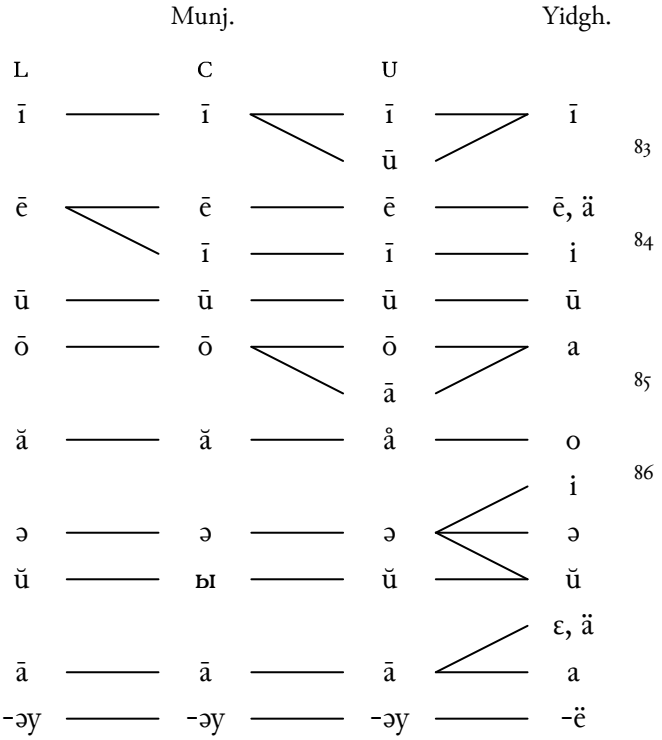


Table 21 The relationship of vowels in Munjī dialects and in Yidghā (after: GRYUNBERG 1987, 169; modified).

I.1.1.4.8. Ishkāshmī, Sanglēchī and Zēbākī

Ishkāshmī (or *Ishkāshimī*, *Ranī*, *Rınī*; š*(ь)*košmi zьvůk, rьni zьvůk), Sanglēchī (*Sanglīchī*; sanglę̌či lavz, sanglę̌či zəvŭk) and Zēbākī are three closely related languages[87] [88] of the Southern Pāmīr group. They are spoken in south-eastern part of Tajik and north-western part of Afghan Badakhshān. Ishkāshmī is spoken by approximately 2000 speakers, majority of them lives in the village of Ran (Ishk. *Rьn*), several Ishkāshmī speaking families live also in places such as Ishkōshim (Ishk. *Nьt* or *Š(ь)košьm*), Sumjin, Mulvōj and Namatgūt (Wakh. *Nəmətgьıt*) on the Tajik bank of the river Panj and in vicinity of Afghan city of Eshkāshem (PAKHALINA 1987b, 474-475; PAKHALINA – QURBŌNOV 2000, 197). In Afghan Badakhshān there live more than 1300 speakers of Sanglēchī (YŪSUFBĒKOV – DODYKHUDOEVA 2008, 110) in the Sanglēch Valley

[83] < **ā*.

[84] In suffix *-ēka* // *-ĭka*.

[85] In ending of masculine nouns.

[86] < **i*.

[87] All three languages are often referred to as Ishkāshmī, if necessary to distinguish Ishkāshmī proper, i.e. the variety spoken on right bank of Panj the language is often called *rьni zьvůk* – *'Ranī / Rınī'*, or *'Ran Ishkāshmī'*.

[88] According to information given by Naẓar Naẓarzōda (an Ishkāshmī native speaker, member of the Rŭdakî Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan) who has visited the Sanglēch valley in Afghanistan in 2007, Sanglēchī and Ishkāshmī are mutually intelligible languages.

southwards from the city of Zēbāk (Zēb. *Izivṷ́k*); Zēbākī dialect/language has been quite recently replaced by Afghan Persian and by Lower Sanglēchī dialect (YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000, 186-187). In addition to the above mentioned language varieties it is necessary to mention a mixed Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī-Wakhī dialect of the village of Warg in Afghan Wakhān (MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 287, 291-292). Of all the three vernaculars only Sanglēchī splits into two dialects – Lower (Northern) and Upper (Southern) Sanglēchī, both dialect differ slightly one form the other. There are not many information concerning Ishkāshmī in historical sources, probably the first mention of the language can be from the Travels of Marco Polo, he mentions an indigenous language of province of *Casem* (or *Scasem*, *Scasunen*; MARCO POLO, XLVI) – it was either some today unknown language of region around the city of Keshem or it was a language of Ishākāshim[89]. All three languages do not have written tradition of their own, in recent years there are efforts in Tajikistan to create Ishkāshmī alphabet based on Tajik variety of the Cyrillic alphabet.

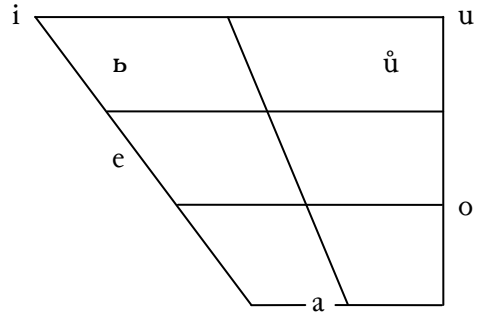
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ	ċ	ṣ ẓ	ṇ ḷ	
palatals				y	
velars	k g			(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		x ɣ		
glottals			(h)		

Table 22 Sound system of Ishkāshmī.

Sound system of all the three dialects differs only a little bit, mainly in vowels. Vowel system of Sanglēchī appears to be the most archaic of the three vernaculars, it retains distinction of five long and short vowels *ă*, *ĕ*[90], *ĭ*, *ŏ*, *ŭ* and a reduced vowel *ə*; on the opposite side stands Ishkāshmī vowel system, which does not distinguish vowel quality[91] – it has been replaced by opposition of stable versus unstable vowels, the stable vowels include *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *ů*, *u*; vowel *ь*[92] is

[89] The interpretation of the name *Scasem* or *Scasunen* is quite complicated, in the Travels there is attested also form *Casem* – this can be the Afghan city of Keshem or Eshkāshem in Afghan Badakhshān (cf. YULE – CORDIER 1993, book 1, chapter 28, note 4; LENTZ 1933), it seems that probably two similar place names merged into interchangeable forms: *Casem* = Keshem ~ *Scasem/Scasunen* = Ishkāshim/Eshkāshem.

[90] Sanglēchī *e̯ē̯* is often realised as rising diphthong /i̯ē̯/; status of short *e* is unclear (YŪSUFBĒKOV – DODYKHUDOEVA 2008, 116-117).

[91] In descriptions of Ishkāshmī by Georg Morgenstierne and George Abraham Grierson were recorded also long vowels (GRIERSON 1920; MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 283-427), in the description of Ishkāshmī phonology by Valentina Stepanovna Sokolova there is no mention about vowel length (SOKOLOVA 1953c).

[92] Ishkāshmī *ь* is also spelled *ı* or *I*, mainly in non-Russian works.

unstable. Zēbākī vowel system is closer to the Sanglēchī one, but in many aspects there can be seen transitions from Sanglēchī to Ishkāshmī; unfortunately Zēbākī vocalism needs a more detailed study, which is impossible due to the fact that Zēbākī gave way to Persian and remained as a substrate in Lower Sanglēchī (YŪSUFBĒKOV 2000, 186). I tried to indicate the relationship of vowels of all the three vernaculars in Table 24. Due to a complex development of *Proto-Iranian vowels in the Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī languages their evolution cannot be characterised briefly; the individual changes were influenced by *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut, openness or closeness of syllables and position of stress also played its part. The consonant system is in contrast to the vowels more or less the same in all the three dialects. There can be observed several similar features such as e.g. sonorization of voiceless stops in intervocalic position and their subsequent spirantization, partial shift **č, *ǰ* > *c-/ʒ/z*, *ʒ/z*; sonorization of intervocalic **š* and its later change in *ļ* or change **šm* > *m*, **št* > *t* (in Ishk. also *ṭ*), **θr* > *r* etc. In Ishkāshmī and Sanglēchī secondary palatalization of velar stops took place, its results vary: **ḱ, *ǵ* > *č-, ǰ-/ž-/y-*, intervocalically *y/i/ǰ/ž*. Some other changes did not take place consistently in all languages: **ð* (< **d*, **-t-*) changed into *d* word-initially in all the three vernaculars, in Ishkāshmī and Zēbākī (and often in Lower Sanglēchī) this change continued also word-internally but in Sanglēchī *-ð-* is often preserved after vowels; **θ* changed to Sanglēchī and Zēbākī *t* but in Ishkāshmī to *s*; **rn* > Ishk. *r(n)*, Sangl. *ṇ*; **nd*, **nt* > Ishk. *nd*, Sangl. *ṇd/nd*; **ʂšt* > Ishk. *ʂt*, Sangl. *št*; in Sanglēchī there is *ļ* (< **-rd-*, **-rt-*, **-š-*) preserved better than in Ishkāshmī (there often *ļ* > *l*); in Upper Sanglēchī *š, ʂ* often change to *x̌* and *ž, ʐ* to *γ̌*. (PAKHALINA 1987b, 476-496; YŪSUFBĒKOV – DODYKHUDOEVA 2008, 117-174; MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 228-333; GRIERSON 1920)

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
dentals			ð		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ		ʂ ʐ	ṇ ļ	
palatals				y	
velars	k g		(x̌) (γ̌)	(ŋ)	
uvulars	(q)		x γ		
glottals			(h)		

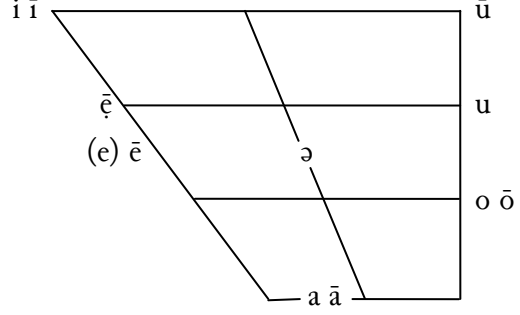


Table 23 Sound system of Sanglēchī.

The Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī languages do not distinguish gender or case, original gender has been preserved only in several nouns; case is expressed syntactically by use of demonstratives. Sanglēchī and Zēbākī maintain *Proto-Ishkāshmī plural ending derived from Old Iranian genitive plural ending **-ānām*, in Ishkāshmī such ending is used only with several animate nouns; Ishkāshmī forms plural with ending *-o* (in Sanglēchī *-ō*), which is a loan from

Persian *-hā*. Adjectives, same as the nouns, do not have categories of gender and case, moreover they do not distinguish number; in Ishkāshmī forms of comparative in **-tara-* were lost. Personal pronouns distinguish direct and oblique case and a predicative genitive; the same categories are distinguished by demonstrative pronouns, which also distinguish triple deixis. Verbal system is based on two stems – present and past, the present stem continues from *Proto-Iranian present stems, the past (preterite) stem is derived from Iranian past participles in **-tă*. Ishkāshmī forms past tenses by adding endings derived from copula; in Sanglēchī past tenses of transitional verbs are formed by ergative construction, for intransitional verbs the situation is analogous to Ishkāshmī. (PAKHALINA 1987b, 496-536; YŪSUFBĒKOV – DODYKHUDOEVA 2008, 175-227)

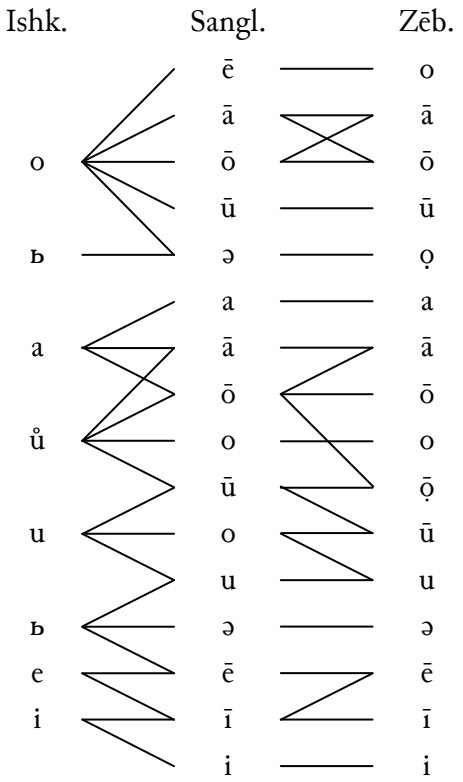


Table 24 The relationship of vowels in Ishkāshmī, Sanglēchī and Zēbākī.

I.1.1.4.9. Wakhī

Wakhī (*Wakhānī*; x̌ĭk zĭk, x̌ĭkwor; *in Pakistan also* guhǰali/guhyali – *"Gōjalī"*) is the second most used Pāmīr language after the Shughnī language. Its speakers live on territory of four states – Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Pakistan. The total number of Wakhī speakers is estimated at 40˙000 people (REINHOLD 2006, 1), this number appears to be exaggerated. In Tajikistan there are 7000-10˙000 Wakhī speakers living in the Ishkōshim district (PAKHALINA 1987a, 408); in Afghanistan roughly 7000 speakers live in the Wakhān district; in Pakistan there are 7500-10˙000 Wakhīs in the Gōjal (Upper Hunza), Ishkōman, Yāsīn and Yārkhūn Valleys; and approximately 6000-7000 Wakhīs live in Sarīqōl in the

Tāshqōrghān Tajik Autonomous County in Chinese Uyghuristan (BACKSTROM 1992, 61-62). The Wakhīs that live in the valleys of Northern Pakistan started to settle those areas sometime after the year 1880, the second wave of immigration continued between the years 1935 and 1940 (BACKSTROM 1992, 60). The Wakhī language is quite homogenous on all of its territories, it splits into three dialects – Lower (Western) and Upper (Eastern; including Sarīqōl Wakhī) in Badakhshān and Gōjal (Hunza) dialect of Pakistan (Gōjal Wakhī is often not considered as individual dialect and it is often considered as a variety of Upper Wakhī), between the Upper and Lower dialects there is sometimes distinguished Central Wakhī dialect (PAKHALINA 1987a, 408-409; PAYNE 1989, 419-420; BACKSTROM 1992, 65-69). The first historical record on Wakhī comes from Marco Polo; he notes that inhabitants of province of *Vocan* (i.e. Wakhān) have a speech of their own (MARCO POLO, L). Wakhī does not have its own written tradition, in Tajikistan there are efforts on to create Wakhī alphabet based on the Tajik Cyrillic alphabet, in Pakistan there is used a modified Latin alphabet based on scientific transcription of Wakhī, sometimes the Urdū alphabet may be used.

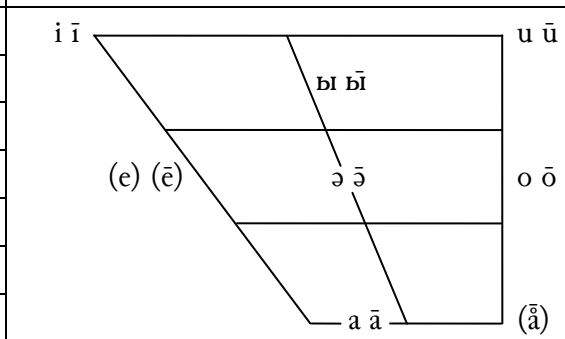
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			f v		
dentals	t d		ϑ ð		
alveolars		c ʒ	s z	n r (ṛ) l (ḷ)	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ	ċ ǰ̣	ṣ ẓ	(ṛ) ḷ (ḷ̂)	
palatals			x̌	y (y̰)	
velars	k g		γ̌	(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		x γ		
glottals			(h)		

Table 25 Sound system of Wakhī.

Vowel system of Wakhī is in common based on six short (*a*, *ə*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ɒɪ*) and seven long (*ā*, *ē*, *ə̄*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ɒ̄ɪ̄*) vowels[93]; historically *Proto-Iranian vocalic system has been influenced by series of changes, e.g. vowels in so called neutral position changed as follows: **ā* > *ō*, *ū*, *ɒ̄ɪ̄*; **a* > *o*, *u*, *ɒɪ*;

[93] The vowel *ē* appears only in Lower Wakhī, in the other dialects there is *ī* instead. Pakhalina claims that also *ē* can have its short counterpart (PAKHALINA 1987a, 410). Pronunciation of *ɒɪ*, *ɒ̄ɪ̄* varies, in the Central and Upper dialects as their pronunciation shifts from [ʊ(ː)] through [ʉ(ː)] to [ɨ(ː)] (PAKHALINA 1987a, 410; BACKSTROM 1992, 410). Wakhī *ɒɪ* was variously transcribed *ʉ*, *ɨ* or *ω* in non-Russian works, *ʉ* is also used in the Wakhī Latin alphabet in Pakistan. Some scholars believe that in Wakhī there is no opposition of long and short vowels (PAKHALINA 1987a, 410), with certainty it can be said that the length was not recorded during the latest researches on Gōjal Wakhī (BACKSTROM 1992). In contemporary Wakhān Wakhī there is instead of opposition in quantity opposition of stable (*(e)*, *ə*, *i*, *o*) vs. unstable (*a*, *u*, *ɒɪ*) vowels (ÈDEL'MAN – DODYKHUDOEVA 2009a, 778). Persian *ā* (in Darī [ɒ̟ː], in Tājīk [ɔː]) is often realised as *ŏ* in Wakhī, in the Gōjal dialect it is realised like *å̄* [ɒ̟ː] (written *â* in the Latin alphabet used for Wakhī in Pakistan).

*ă̯i > ē (/ī); *ă̯u > ō; *ĭ, ŭ > ъ, ə; but due to *i*-Umlaut the vowels shifted towards close front vowels, under *ā*-Umlaut there was a shift towards back open vowels (PAKHALINA 1987a, 412-419). Wakhī consonantism in quite conservative in some aspects, mainly due to the fact that the voiceless stops are usually retained (but in some cases they are sonorized or even spirantized), other archaic feature is preservation of Indo-Iranian clusters **tr* and **kr* (in *Proto-Iranian they shifted to **θr*, **xr*)[94], partially there is preserved also Indo-Iranian group **kš > kš̯* (in *Proto-Iranian > **xš̌*), or > *ṣ̌*. Similarly to the other Pāmīr languages, there occurs a second palatalization of velars. There is an interesting feature that links Wakhī with Khōtanese: **ʁu̯ > š̌* (Khōt. /ś-, -ź-/ × other Eastern Iranian **sp*). Together with some other Pāmīr languages Wakhī shares change **č*, **ǰ > c*, *ʒ*. For many consonants there is often difficult to determine their development clearly, there are many alternations, e.g. **š̌ > š̌-*, *ṣ̌-*, *-š̌-*, *-ṣ̌-*, *-ž̌-*, *-ẓ̌-*, *-x̌-*; **g > g*, *ɣ*, *ɣ̌*, *ǰ*, *ǰ̌*, *ž̌*, *(z)*; **p > p*, *b*, *v*, *(f)*; **št > st*, *št*, *ṣ̌t*, *x̌t*, *ṣ̌-*, *t* etc. Scholars who dealt with historical phonology of Wakhī (PAKHALINA 1983, 24-56; PAKHALINA 1987a, 420-438; MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 450-476), do not explain this curious feature, the exception is Ivan Mikhaĭlovich Steblin-Kamenskiy, who explains certain alternations as a result of *sandhi* and as an influence of areal contacts with neighbouring languages (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1999, 17-40). Specifics of Wakhī development can be interpreted as the influence of contacts within the Pāmīr-Hindūkush ethnolingvistic region (or in a wider view in Central Asian Sprachbund), John Payne offers a hypothesis that Wakhī was the oldest (Iranian) language in the Pāmīr region and later it was superstrated by the other Pāmīr languages (PAYNE 1989, 421-423), Valentina Stepanovna Sokolova connects Wakhī closely with the Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī languages and proposes that they can together form their own subgroup of the Pāmīr languages (cf. SOKOLOVA 1973). In case of Wakhī there can be supposed early and intensive contact with Persian, many Persian loans had undergone intra-Wakhī development (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1999, 17-40), similarly was Wakhī in quite intensive contact with some Indo-Aryan language(s), there may have been some really old Indo-Aryan influences on Wakhī (PAKHALINA 1976a).

Wakhī appears to be archaic not only from phonological point of view, but also in morphology we can observe survivals of some archaic features that have not been preserved in other Eastern Iranian languages. Nouns do not distinguish gender, but according to operation of *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut there can be observed forms of feminine that certainly existed in older stages of Wakhī (relicts of neuter are unclear; PAKHALINA 1987a, 444-446). Unique archaism presents the preservation of traces of Old Iranian dual forms in Wakhī: some nouns which denote(d) paired body parts and some other appellatives culturally perceived as pair (e.g. yoke or door) are in contemporary Wakhī considered as singular, but their forms are based on historical dual forms (plural of such words is then formed by standard addition of Wakhī plural endings). Formally the survivals of dual do not differ from forms derived from historical singular, traces of dual can

[94] The origin of groups *tr*, *kr* in Wakhī can be considered as an innovation rather as archaism: IIr. **pr*, **tr*, **kr* > Ir. **fr*, **θr*, **xr* (> *(Saka) *pᵇr*, **tᵇr*, **kᵇr*) > Wakh. **(f)r*, **tr*, **kr* (cf. STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1999, 17-18).

be observed in operation of a root vowel Umlaut (PAKHALINA 1987a, 447). Nouns are inflected in two cases – direct and oblique. Case is formally not distinguished in singular, in plural there are two endings: *-īš(t)* for the direct case, and *-əv* for the oblique; the ending of oblique plural has parallels in other Pāmīr languages; the ending of the direct case can be related to Sogdian non-productive nominative plural ending *-ĭšt*. In addition to the above mentioned there are also other plural endings in Wakhī, some of them come from Old Iranian genitive plural: *-ōn/-ūn*, *-īn* (< **-ānām*, **-īnām*); endings *-ūrg*, *-ōrč* (< **-ā-tra-ka-*) have analogies in the Shughnī-Rōshānī group (e.g. Shugh. *-ōrǰ*); and there are also some other endings: *-āl*, *-ōl* (< **-ătra-*); *-īf* (< **ai̯-fi̯a-* < **ai̯-bi̯a-*). The other plural endings except *-īšt : -əv* are non-productive and they appear only in forms of few nouns. According to the results of Umlaut can be assumed that some Wakhī nouns that are currently considered as direct forms could have been derived from other cases than from nominative (PAKHALINA 1987a, 446-447). Adjectives distinguish neither gender (traces of original gender distinction in Wakhī can be similarly as for nouns observed in effects of Umlaut), nor number or case. Comparative is formed by adding the ending *-tər* < **-tara-* but it can be formed analytically, there is not a separate form for superlative – it is expressed only analytically. Personal pronouns have forms just for the first and second persons singular and plural. Demonstratives distinguish triple deixis and they are used also for the third person of personal pronouns and as definite article. Pronouns are inflected in two cases – direct and oblique.

Wakhī verbal system is primary based on opposition of present and preterite stem, from the preterite stem are derived some other forms of past tenses. Present is formed by adding personal endings to verbal stem, in the past tenses the endings are substituted by enclitic forms of copula. Preterite stem is normally formed by adding an ending derived from *Proto-Iranian preterites in **-tă-*, occasionally, however, there are also forms derived from the suffix **-n(i̯)ă-/*-nĭ-* (PAKHALINA 1987a, 459-466).

I.1.1.4.c. South and Southeast Eastern Iranian

I.1.1.4.10. Pashtō and Wazīrī

Pashtō (or *Pakhtō*, *Pushtū*, *Paṭhān*, *Afghan*; pəšt̋ū žə́bə // paxt̋ó žə́ba) is an Eastern Iranian language. Number of its speakers is the greatest among all Eastern Iranian languages – the language is spoken by more than 23 million people (ROBSON – TEGEY 2009, 721); speakers of Pashtō live mainly in Southern Afghanistan and in North-western Pakistan, to a lesser extent there are some Pashtūn enclaves in Northern regions of Afghanistan and in Eastern Iran; Pashtō is together with Afghan Persian (Darī) recognized as official language of Afghanistan. Pashtō distinguishes four main dialect groups: North-western and North-eastern (i.e. Hard or Eastern dialects – *paxtó*) and South-western and South-eastern (Soft / Western dialects – *pəštú*), noteworthy is also Wazīrī (dialect of the Wazīrī tribe, remarkable dialect within South-eastern Pashtō; wazīray žəbba), which markedly differs from other Pashtō dialects. The Pashtūns may

be connected with the tribe *Πάρσιοι* mentioned by Ptolemy in area around *Ἀραχωσίᾱ* (Ave. *Harax^{v}a^{i}tī*, OPers. *Hara^{b}uvatiš*) and the river *Ἐτύμανδρος* (present Hilmand; cf. SKJÆRVØ 1989b, 384), from historical sources we know also some Pashtūn tribes, e.g. the Afrīdī tribe can be connected with the *Ἀπαρύται* mentioned by Herodotus. Pashtō is written in the Perso-Arabic script supplemented by graphemes for Pashtō sounds. The oldest written monuments come from the 8th century AD (GRYUNBERG – ÈDEL'MAN 1987, 7), literary tradition evolves from end of the 16th century (ROBSON – TEGEY 2009, 721).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			(f)		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ		ṣ̌ ẓ̌	ṇ ṛ	
palatals	ǵ			y	
velars	k g		x̌	(ŋ)	
uvulars	(q)		x ɣ		
glottals			(h)		

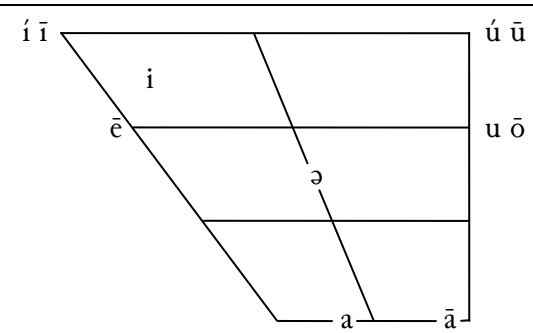


Table 26 Sound system of Pashtō.

Sound system of Pashtō has undergone a complex development; its characteristic feature is syncope of unstressed vowels, due to syncopation of unstressed vowels consonant clusters appear often syllable-initially. Development of Pashtō vowels can be summarized as follows: **a* > *a*, *ə*, *ā*, *ō* (under *i*-Umlaut > *(y)ă*); **ā* > *ō*, *ā*, *a* (under *i*-Umlaut > *(y)ā*); **i*, **ī* > *i*; **u*, **ū* > *u*, *ə*; **ău̯* > *wa*, *ū*; **ău̯a* > *ō*, *ū*; **ăi̯* > *i*, *ē*; position of stress influenced quality and quantity of vowels in *Proto-Paṭhān. Voiceless consonants were voiced after a vowel (also **-f-* > **β* > *w*, but **-t-* > **d (*> **ð* > *l)*, *ø*); **č* was depalatalized to *c-*, *-ʒ(-)*; **d* > **ð* > /l/ and **š* > *ṣ̌-~x̌-*, *-ẓ̌(-)--ǵ(-)*. From consonant groups containing **r* or **š* emerge cerebral sounds, e.g. **sr-*, **str* > *ṣ̌-x̌*, **rd*, **rt* > *ṛ*, **rn*, **xšn* > *ṇ*, **rs* > *ṣ̌t-x̌t*. Clusters are often simplified, in some cases one of the consonants disappears or a consonant is changed into another one. Due to *i*-Umlaut the vowel **ă* can have prothetic *y*, which can cause secondary palatalization, e.g. **kă…i(-)* > *čă(-)*, *čē(-)*; a frequent phenomenon is also metathesis, assimilation or dissimilation and pre-nasalization of consonants (SKJÆRVØ 1989b, 398-406; GRYUNBERG – ÈDEL'MAN 1987, 21-38). In Pashtō there is mobile stress, words are divided into two stress patterns: barytones (words with a stressed root) and oxytones (words with a stressed ending or suffix). Study of operation of stress in Pashtō can help in reconstruction of stress in *Proto-(Indo-)Iranian – in some cases position of stress in Pashtō appears to be more archaic than stress attested in Vedic (GRYUNBERG – ÈDEL'MAN 1987, 38-39).

Pashtō nouns and adjectives distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers, in plural is also distinguished animacy or inanimacy. Nomina are inflected in three cases: direct, oblique and vocative, some masculines can moreover form *oblique II*. Nouns are

inflected in eleven paradigm classes (seven masculine and four feminine classes), the adjectives form four inflectional classes; there are also inflectional subgroups in each of the classes, inflectional forms often differ due to operation of stress. Verbal system has triple structure similar to other Eastern Iranian languages: present, preterite and prefect. In past tenses there is distinguished transitivity and intransitivity. Aspect of verbs is formed either by prefix *wə́-* or by suppletive forms or stress shift (SKJÆRVØ 1989b, 390-398; GRYUNBERG – ÈDEL'MAN 1987, 44-135).

I.1.1.4.11. Waṇetsī

Waṇetsī (*(*spīn*)* tarī́nō, waṇecī z*(i)*bə/zəbō, ʿčʾalgari) has been for a long time considered a dialect of Pashtō (it was often called "corrupted Pashtō" and is recognised as "a kind of Pashtō" by its own speakers, see ELFENBEIN 1984a, 54-55), nowadays it is mostly considered to be an independent language closely related to Pashtō (HALLBERG 1992, 45-47). Waṇetsī shares many features with Pashtō, mainly with Kākaṛī dialect and "Soft" Pashtō in Quetta area, Pakistan. On the other hand Waṇetsī *«differs from all other Pš̌* [Pashtō dialects] *in phonology, morphology, and lexicon so much as to be quite unintelligible to other Pš̌* [Pashtō] *speakers (in a way that e.g. Wazīrī is not)"* (ELFENBEIN 1984a, 55). The supposed number of speakers exceeds 25˙000 people living in Harnāy (Waṇ. *Arna(h)ī*) and Sanjāvī taḥṣīls in Sibī district eastwards from Quetta, province of Balōchistān, Pakistan; many of the speakers live also in Quetta (HALLBERG 1992, 47-48). The language is spoken by Məkhyāṇī and Waṇetsī tribal subdivisions of Spīn Tarīn tribe[95]. The language itself does not possess any prestige in its socio-linguistic area, even among its own speakers it does not enjoy adequate prestige and is even disdained by the Pashtūns. Preservation of the language in such socio-linguistic situation is connected with tribal matters as each tribe identifies itself through its own dialect. (ELFENBEIN 1984a, 55-56) The language has no written tradition, nor was thoroughly described in scientific literature. All Waṇetsīs are bilingual with Pashtō and recently, as the importance of Urdū rises, many Waṇetsīs speak also Urdū.

Phonologically Waṇetsī does not differ much from neighbouring Kākaṛī dialect of Pashtō. Historical development of vowels is quite similar to that of Pashtō: **a* > *ă̄*, *ə*; **ā* > *ă̄*, *ŏ̄*; **i*, **ī* > *ĭ̄*; **u*, **ū* > *ŭ̄*, *ə*; **ău̯* > *wa*, *ŏ̄*; **ăi̯* > *ĕ̄*, *ĭ̄*; just *i*-Umlaut or epenthesis of *-y-* is not as common as in Pashtō. Stressed *a* is often lengthened, unstressed *ā* is shortened, word-final unstressed *a* and *ə* usually merge in pronunciation. Vowels *-ī-* and *-ĕ̄-* tend to be prepalatalized /-yī-, -yĕ̄-/ and *-ō-* and *-ū-* prelabialized /-wū-, -wō-/, but word-initial *wū-*, *wō-* are often delabialized. *"Majhūl"* vowels *ē*, *ō* are not kept apart from *"maʿrūf"* *ī*, *ū*. Consonants have comparable development with Pashtō: voiceless consonants were voiced word-internally (**-p-*, **-k-*, **-č-*, **-f-*, **-š-* > *b*, *g*, **ǰ* > *ʒ*, *w*, *ǯ*); **č* and **ǰ* were depalatalized; **β* and **u̯* merged as *w*; **ð*, **ϑ* > *l* as in

[95] The Waṇetsī-speaking Spīn ('White') Tarīn tribe forms a minority of a larger Tarīn tribe – its major group are the Tōr ('Black') Tarīns, another small group are the Bōr ('Brown') Tarīns. The Black and Brown Tarīns are all Pashtō speakers (ELFENBEIN 1984a, 56).

Pashtō; but **-t-* > *y*, *ø* as in Munjī (or in a way as in Parāchī and Ōrmuṛī). Different from Pashtō is retention of *r* in **rž* > *rž*; development **šk*, **ft* > *k*, *w* (Pasht. *č*, *(w)d*) or retention of **nd* in *ɣandəm* 'wheat' < **gántuma-*, Pasht. *ɣanə́m*. Often *C*r*VC > C*r̥*C. Cerebral *(*)ṣ̌*, *(*)ẓ̌* merged with *š*, *ž* in Waṇetsī, but they may be occasionally "reintroduced" in speech under Pashtō influence. As in colloquial Pashtō, there are no /f/, /q/ and /h/ sounds in Waṇetsī, these sounds are usually realised as *p*, *k*, *ø* (rarely *x*) respectively, they can appear only in "educated" speech. Phonological changes show that *Proto-Waṇetsī developed quite early from *Proto-Paṭhān ancestor and *Proto-Waṇetsīs were probably forerunners of the Pashtūns towards the East. (MORGENSTIERNE 1983a; ELFENBEIN 1984a, 56-57; ELFENBEIN 1984b; MOSHKALO 2000, 150)

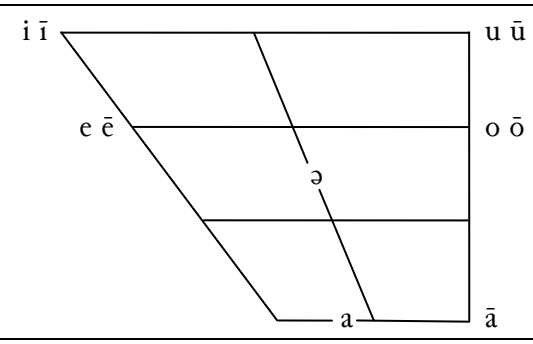
consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b			m w	
labiodentals			(f)		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ		(ṣ) (ẓ)	ṇ ṛ	
palatals				y	
velars	k g			(ŋ)	
uvulars	(q)		x ɣ		
glottals			(h)		

Table 27 Sound system of Waṇetsī.

Waṇetsī nouns distinguish gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural) and three cases (direct, oblique and vocative), vocative is usually the same as the direct case. There are eight inflectional classes – five for masculines and three for feminines, only masculine and feminine class I nouns have different vocative forms. As a fourth case can be considered ablative formed by agglutination of *-(ē)ya*. Waṇetsī has forms for all three persons; first and second persons singular and third person for both numbers distinguish direct and oblique cases, forms of the third person also retain gender distinction. Unlike Pashtō, Waṇetsī demonstratives have triple deixis. Verbal system is based on two stems – present and past, past stems are formed from old past participles as in other Iranian languages. The past tense is formed by means of ergative construction. (MORGENSTIERNE 1983a; ELFENBEIN 1984a; MOSHKALO 2000)

Waṇetsī phonology and morphology is from historical point of view very similar to Pashtō, many forms were also influenced by language contact. Main differences between both languages can be seen in syntax and lexicon.

I.1.1.4.12. Parāchī

Parāchī (paŕáčī) is one of the New Iranian languages closely related to Ōrmuṛī, its accurate classification has not been successfully explained: some scholars claim Parāchī (and Ōrmuṛī) as

Eastern Iranian, some other as (North) Western Iranian language (see MORGENSTIERNE 1929; KIEFFER 1989; EFIMOV 1999a). Parāchī is spoken by approximately 5000 speakers in the Shotol, Pachaghān and Ghochūlān valleys[96] in Nejrāb district south-eastwards from Kābul (EFIMOV 1999a, 257). The oldest reference about the language quoted as *"parāǰī"* comes from the 16th century from the Bāburnāma, memories of Mughal sultan Ẓahīruddīn Muḥammad Bābur (KIEFFER 1989, 445-446). The language does not have its own written tradition.

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p p^h b b^h			m m^h w	
labiodentals			f (v)		
alveolars	t t^h d d^h	c ʒ	s s^h z	n n^h r r^h l l^h	
postalveolars		č $č^h$ ǰ $ǰ^h$	š ž $ž^h$		
retroflexes	ṭ $ṭ^h$ ḍ			ṇ ṛ	
palatals				(y)	
velars	k k^h g g^h			(ŋ)	
uvulars	(q)		x ɣ		
glottals	(ʾ)		h		

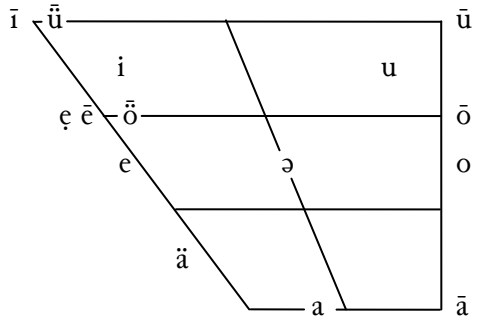


Table 28 Sound system of Parāchī.

Historical phonology shows some similarities with Pashtō and with Saka dialects, but preservation of word-initial voiced stops is similar with the North Western Iranian languages. Word-initial (voiceless) fricatives changed to voiceless aspirated stops (as in Saka or Balōchī): **f-*, **θ-*, **x- > p^h, t^h, k^h*. Characteristic changes are **u̯-*, **i̯ > *g^w-*, **ǰ > ɣ-*, *ž-* (with certain similarities in Khōtanese and Balōchī); **s(t)r*, **ʂr > š*; sonorization of intervocalic voiceless stops **-p-*, **-t-*, **-k-* and their merger with voiced fricatives (< Old Iranian voiced stops) **-β-/*-b̌-*, **-ð-/*-ď-*, **-ɣ-/*-g̑-* > *w*, *ø-w~y-*^{h}[97], *ɣ*; **št > šṭ*, **st* following **i > št*, **rt*, **rd > ṛ*, **u̯i- > ɣu-*. Intervocalic **-š-* is lost. There is often metathesis of *h* and subsequent development of aspirated consonants. Consonantal system is very similar to Pashtō, moreover Parāchī has aspirated sounds including nasals, sonorants or sibilants. In vowels there are following significant changes: stressed **a > ō̈-ō*; **ū*, **ai̯ > ī*; **au̯ > ū*; **ǎi̯a > ē*; **āi̯u̯a > ȫ-ō*; **r̥ > ur*; **a*, **ā* under *i*-Umlaut > *ǎ*, **a* under *a*-Umlaut > *a*. Parāchī long back rounded vowels tend to be fronted: *ū*, *ō > ǖ*, *ō̈*; *ā* is strongly rounded and often raised in front of a nasal. Long vowels are shortened in unstressed position. Diphthongs tend to reduce its non-syllabic part, mainly in fast speech. Besides oral vowels there are also nasalized vowels. (MORGENSTIERNE 1929, 22; KIEFFER 2009, 694-695; SKJÆRVØ 1989a; EFIMOV 1999a, 258)

[96] Each of these valleys has its own dialect – Shotolī, Pachaghānī and Ghochūlānī.

[97] In some cases "old" and "new" **ð/*ď* continued as **h*, it is preserved as aspiration of consonants, cf. Parāch. *$d^hī$* < **dūh* < **dūð/ďa-* < **dű́ta-* 'smoke'; *$b^hām$* < **buhām* < *buð/ďām* < **budāma-* 'smell'; Ave. *baoδa-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1929, 36).

Parāchī nouns do not distinguish gender, plural is formed by adding an ending *-ān*, but there is also a elliptic dual in *-hā* and numerative in *-a*. There are three cases: direct, oblique and ablative, other cases (accusative, dative, locative-directive and instrumental-comitative) are formed analytically with pre- or postpositions. Adjectives are not morphologically marked. Pronouns distinguish five cases: direct (nominative), oblique, dative, accusative and possessive. Verbal system is based on an opposition of present and past stems (past stems are alike in other Iranian languages formed from past participles in **-ta-*). Verbs have perfective and imperfective aspect, past tenses transitional and intransitional verbs are formed with ergative construction (KIEFFER 2009, 696-708).

I.1.1.4.13. Ōrmuṛī

Ōrmuṛī (ōrmuṛ́ī, ōrmuḷ́ī, bargistā, barakī) is a New Iranian language variously treated as a member of the Eastern or Western Iranian group (see MORGENSTIERNE 1929; HALLBERG 1992, 53-66; EFIMOV 1999b). It is closely related to Parāchī, both languages are now mutually unintelligible. Ōrmuṛī is spoken by some 100-200 people of city of Barakī-Barak (Ōrm. *Grām*; Pasht. *Ōrmaṛ*, *Ōrmuṛ*) in Afghan province of Lōgar and approximately of 5000 speakers in city of Kānīgurām[98] in South Wazīristān, Pakistan (EFIMOV 1999b, 276). The language has been mentioned for the first time in the 16th century as *"bīrkī"* together with some other regional languages in vicinity of Kābul in the *Bāburnāma* of Mughal sultan Ẓahīruddīn Muḥammad Bābur (KIEFFER 1989, 445-446). Ōrmuṛī has no written tradition, in recent time there was created an alphabet for Lōgar Ōrmuṛī based on Pashtō variety of the Arabic alphabet (BURKI 2001).

consonants	stops	affricates	fricatives	sonorants	**vowels**
bilabials	p b		ɸ w	m	
labiodentals			(f)		
alveolars	t d	c ʒ	s z	n r l	
postalveolars		č ǰ	š ž		
retroflexes	ṭ ḍ		ṛ̌ ṣ̌ ẓ̌	ṇ ṛ (ḷ)	
palatals				y	
velars	k g		x̌	(ŋ)	
uvulars	q		x ɣ		
labiouvulars			x° ɣ°		
glottals			h		

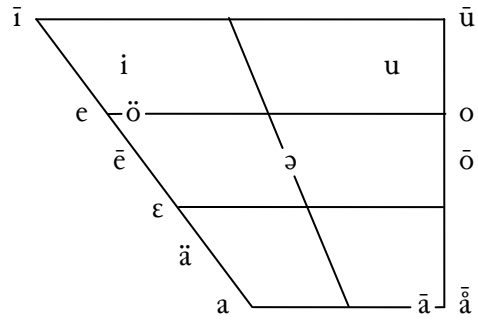


Table 29 Sound system of Ōrmuṛī.

Ōrmuṛī vowels developed as follows: **a* > **a*, *ā* (labialized > *u*, *ō*; palatalized > *ē*); **ā* > *ā* (unstressed > *a*; palatalized > *ē*); **i* > *i*, *e* (unstressed > *a*; before *ṛ̌* > *ē*); *ī* > *ī*; **u* > *u* (unstressed >

[98] Ōrmuṛī has two varieties – Kānīgurām dialect of Pakistan and Lōgar dialect of Barakī-Barak, both vernaculars differ quite a lot, there are differences in phonology, morphology and in lexicon.

a); **ū* > **ū*; **ă̯i(a)* > **ē* (before **n* > *ī*; unstressed > *i*); word-final **-a̯ia-* > **-ī*; **ă̯u̯* > **ō* (before **n* > *ū*); **ă̯u̯a* > **ā*, *ō* (word-finally > *ū*); **r̥* > *ar*, *ᵃr*, *ur*. There are some differences between Afghan and Pakistani varieties of Ōrmuṛī – in Afghanistan there is under the influence of Darī/Kābulī tendency to realize short *i*, *u* as *e*, *o* and *ā* is labialized *å*. Development of consonants shares some similar features with Parāchī, and in a wider range also with Saka dialects or North Western Iranian. Word-initial voiceless fricatives **f-*, **θ-*, **x-* were probably preserved (attested is only *x-*), **f*, **x* were preserved word-internally, but **-θ-*, **-θu̯-*, **-θi̯-* > *ø*. Voiceless stops (except **k*) were sonorized, they later merged with **β*, **ð*, **ž* and then changed to *w*, *ø*, *ž/ʒ*; **č*, **ǰ* were often depalatalized > *c-č*, *ʒ-ǰ*. Word-initial **u̯-* changes to *γ(°)-* or to *ǰ-* when palatalized; **-fr-*, **-θr-*, **-xr-* > *ṛ*[99]; **ft*, **xt* > **tt* > *ø* (but **xt* sometimes > *k*); **rt*, **rθ*, **rd* > *l*; **xš*, **rʦ*, **rš* > *š*; **xšn* > *ṇ*; intervocalic **-š-* > *y*, *ø*; **h* is lost, but initial **h-* may be preserved before a stressed vowel in the dialect of Kānīgurām. (MORGENSTIERNE 1929, 322-339; EFIMOV 1999b, 278; SKJÆRVØ 1989a). Except sibilants, there are no retroflex sounds in genuine Ōrmuṛī words, beside palato-alveolar affricates there are also alveolar affricates (the second mentioned are not present in Parāchī). To the sound *š* in the dialect of Kānīgurām corresponds *x̌* in Lōgar Ōrmuṛī (EFIMOV 1999b, 278).

Ōrmuṛī dialect of Kānīgurām distinguishes masculine and feminine gender; in plural animates and inanimates are distinguished. Umlaut or palatalization occurs quite frequently in inflection, cases are often expressed syntactically. Personal pronoun of the first person has direct and oblique cases, other persons have just one form for both cases. Demonstratives are used also for the third person pronouns, they are declined in three cases: nominative, accusative-objective and possessive. Verbal morphology is in common very similar to Parāchī and Pashtō – there are two verbal stems: present and past. (EFIMOV 1999b, 281-296; KIEFFER 1989, 454-451). Morphology of Lōgar Ōrmuṛī was considerably simplified when compared to the Kānīgurām variety (MORGENSTIERNE 1929, 313).

I.1.1.5. Other Eastern Iranian languages

Apart from the above mentioned languages, various scholars mention some other languages that can be considered as members of the Eastern Iranian branch. Project Ethnologue lists Wardōjī [100] – a language of the Wardōj river valley northwards from Zēbāk in Afghan

[99] This sound can be transcribed also *š̥ʳ*, the sound should be similar to Czech voiceless *ř* (BURKI 2001), phonetically [ʂ̊]: voiceless retroflex non-sibilant fricative. Similar sound but voiced occurs also in the Nūristānī languages.

[100] However, it is possible that this is may be another name of the Zēbākī language – the city of Zēbāk lays on the river Wardōj. On the website http://globalrecordings.net there is given a record of biblical story about the Great Flood in Wardōjī (with an alternative name Zēbākī; URL: http://globalrecordings.net/en/language/3400, cit. 24. 3. 2012, 13:37). When I compared this recording with Ishkāshmī and Sanglēchī I can tell that Wardōjī sounds much different from Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī (which should not happen in case of Zēbākī as a dialect of Ishkāshmī and Sanglēchī). To my ears Wardōjī sounds more like a language of the Shughnī-Rōshānī group.

Badakhshān with approximately 4000 speakers. The language is not classified precisely, but it may belong to the Pāmīr languages (ETHNOLOGUE, 318). Based on analysis of toponyms of Tajik Qarōtegīn and Darvōz and Afghan Darwāz can be assumed that also in these regions there has been some Pāmīr languages or dialects (or languages/dialects closely related to them) spoken in the past (PAYNE 1989, 420), in case of *Darwāzī we can analyse toponymy of both Tajik and Afghan Darvāz but also there are some substrate words in Darvōz dialects of Tājīkī, some other substrate words appear in Qarōtegīn Tajik dialects[101].

Georg Morgenstierne lists a hypothetical group of Southeast Eastern Iranian languages, from which could have developed *Proto-Parāchī and *Proto-Ōrmuṛī, relicts of this language may be observable in lexical borrowings in Pashtō and in the Nūristānī languages (MORGENSTIERNE 1926, 14-39; MORGENSTIERNE 1983b; KIEFFER 1989, 451-454), There is also an assumption that the 3rd and 5th version of inscription from Afghan Dasht-e Nāwor could have been attempt to write this unknown language with an adaptation of the Kharōṣṭhī script (MORGENSTIERNE 1983b; FUSSMAN 1974), Gérard Fussman suggests for this hypothetical Southeast Eastern Iranian language label *Kambojian* (*Kamboǰī*), after Iranian tribe of the *Kambojians*, who probably dwelled in area of western Hindūkush (FUSSMAN 1974, 32-34).

I.1.2. Classification of the (Eastern) Iranian languages

The Iranian language family is conventionally divided into two basic groups – Eastern and Western Iranian. Differences between these two groups begun to appear probably in the Old

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My assumption was confirmed by Shughnī speaker Fōkhir Yūsufbēkov (son of Tājīk linguist Shōdīkhōn Yūsufbēkov, with whom was this matter consulted) and Rāshārvī speaker Ghulōmshō Alīnazarov – the informants have stated that the language of the record is Shughnī mixed with Rōshānī – this Wardōjī can be characterized as Shughnī with Rōshānī accent and some Rōshānī vocabulary, on the other hand both informants stated that they have never heard about Wardōjī (both of them come from the Tājīk bank of the river Panj), according to words of Ghulōmshō Alīnazarov there are some villages on the Shughnī–Rōshānī language border where the people speak in a mixed language that is not so different from Bajūī (Fōkhir YŪSUFBĒKOV and Ghulōmshō ALĪNAZAROV, pers. comm., 24.-26. 3. 2012).

Another informant – Ishkāshmī speaker Muḥammad Bōdurbēkov – stated that the language of the record is quite similar to Ishkāshmī of Tajikistan, but there are differences mainly in lexicon, which is common in Sanglēchī and Yidghā (sic!, the informant probably meant Munjī; Muḥammad BŌDURBĒKOV, pers. comm., 2. 4. 2012).

If this theory is correct then Wardōjī is not a Shughnī–Rōshānī mixed language but it is rather a Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī language with Shughnī and Rōshānī admixture, such theory may be supported by witness of George Abraham Grierson, who stated that: *«The tract of Zēbak is one of the most polyglot spots in this part of Asia.»* (GRIERSON 1920, 3). Based on the above mentioned facts, it is necessary to critically examine the source of the recording; a question is how credible is the source published on the Web, how reliable was the informant (especially with regard to the designation of Zēbākī as an alternative name), or to what extent was the author of the recording competent in linguistics.

[101] Darvōz dialects are close to other Tājīk dialects of the Pāmīr area (e.g. dialect of Vanj or Vakhiyōyi Bōlō; see RASTORGUEVA 1964, 4, 162). Question of classification of *Qarātegīnī substrate within the Eastern Iranian languages – Qarōtegīn Tājīk belongs to Southern Tājīk dialects (RASTORGUEVA 1964, 5, 161), it has some ties with Upper Mastchōh dialects of Tājīk (KHROMOV 1962, 16).

Iranian period and became more distinctive in the Middle Iranian period. Each of these groups later split into two subgroups – South and North subgroup. In the North Western Iranian languages we can find e.g. Median (Old Iranian period), Parthian (Old and mainly Middle Iranian period), Old Āẓarī, Balōchī, Kurdish, Zâzâki (Dimli), Gōrānī, dialects of Semnān (Semnānī, Sangesarī), dialects of Central Iran (Āshtīyānī, Vafsī, Khwānsārī/Khūnsārī, Naṭanzī, Borūjerdī, Yazdī, Kermānī, Sīvandī, Khūrī etc.), Caspian dialects (Māzanderānī, Gīlakī, Gorgānī), Tālyshī/Tāləshī, Tātī, Khōʾīnī and many others. South Western Iranian languages are represented by Old Persian, *Old Shīrāzī (in the Old Iranian period), Middle Persian–Pahlavī (in the Middle Iranian period); in the New Iranian period there are varieties of Modern Persian (Classical Persian *(Fārsíi-yi darí)*, Contemporary Persian of Iran *(Fārsí)*, Afghan Persian *(Pārsíi-ye Darí)* and Tajik Persian (*Tōjīkī*), and non-literal or sub-standard forms of Persian such as Hazāragī, *(Chār-)*Aymāqī, Herātī/Haravī, Kābolī, Sīstānī, Bukhār*(āy)*ī, Pārsī of Pāmīr etc.), dialects of Fārs (Tājīkī of Iran, Būshehrī, Dashtakī, Kondāzī, Māsaramī, Samghānī/Somghūnī), Lārī/Lārestānī, Shīrāzī, Lurī/Lorī, Bakhtiyārī, Bandarī, ʿḴumzārī, Kāzerūnī and others. Among the North Eastern Iranian are classified Scythian dialects and *Sauromatian (in the Old Iranian period), Sarmatian, Alanic, Sogdian (Middle Iranian period) and Ossetic and Yaghnōbī (New Iranian period). South Eastern Iranian languages are represented by dialects of the Saka (mainly Khōtanese and Tumshuqese), Bactrian (Middle Iranian period), the Pāmīr languages (Shughnī-Rōshānī group, Yazghulāmī, Wanjī, Wakhī, Ishkāshmī-Sanglēchī and Munjī-Yidghā), Pashtō and Waṇetsī (New Iranian period). Questionable is classification of the Avestan language – it is probably one of the South Eastern Iranian, Khwārezmian is variously classified as North or South Eastern Iranian; the most complicated is classification of Parāchī and Ōrmuṛī – some scholars claim them as North Western Iranian but some other hive off new – Southeast branch within Eastern Iranian.

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>South Western Iranian</th><th>North Western Iranian</th><th>Southeast Eastern Iranian</th><th>North Eastern Iranian</th><th>Pāmīr / Central (?) Eastern Iranian</th><th>South Eastern Iranian</th></tr>
<tr><td>*ʂ, *d͡z, *ʂu̯</td><td>*ϑ, *d, *s</td><td>*s, *z, *sp</td><td>*s, *z, *sp</td><td>*s, *z, *sp</td><td>*s, *z, *sp</td><td>*s, *z, *sp</td></tr>
<tr><td>*-b-, *-d-, *-g-</td><td>*β>*b, *ð>*y, *γ>*g</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td></tr>
<tr><td>*i̯-</td><td>*ǰ</td><td>*ǰ *y</td><td>*y</td><td>*y</td><td>*y</td><td>*y</td></tr>
<tr><td>*ft, *xt</td><td>*ft, *xt</td><td>*ft, *xt</td><td>*βd, *γd</td><td>*βd, *γd</td><td>*βd, *γd</td><td>*βd, *γd</td></tr>
<tr><td>*b-, *d-, *g-</td><td>*b, *d, *g</td><td>*b, *d, *g</td><td>*b, *d, *g</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td><td>*β, *ð, *γ</td></tr>
<tr><td>*-š-</td><td>*š</td><td>*š</td><td>*š</td><td>*š</td><td>*ž</td><td>*ž</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘mountain’</td><td colspan="2">*kau̯fa-</td><td colspan="4">*gari-</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘fish’</td><td colspan="2">*măʂi̯a-</td><td rowspan="2">?</td><td colspan="3">*kapă-</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘arrow’</td><td colspan="2">*tigra-</td><td colspan="3">*pāϑa-</td></tr>
<tr><td>‘dog’</td><td colspan="3">*ʂu̯ą́-ka-</td><td colspan="2">*kuta-, *kutī</td><td>*ʂu̯ą́-ka-</td></tr>
</table>

Table 30 Basic isoglosses of the Iranian languages.

South Western Iranian languages and dialects differ from other Iranian languages by significant isogloss Ir. *ʁ, *ʣ, *ʁu̯ > *ʒ, *d (< *ð ??), *s; such isogloss, however, does not separate North Western Iranian languages from Eastern Iranian, cf. development of Ir. *ʁ, *ʣ, *ʁu̯ > *s, *z, *sp[102]. Differences between the (North) Western Iranian and Eastern Iranian have to be looked up within other features. Some basic isoglosses between the branches of the Iranian languages are summarized in Table 30.

However, according to the isoglosses shown in Table 30, distinctive features cannot be found only on phonological level. There were not many phonological differences between the Eastern and Western Iranian in the Middle Iranian period, one of the essential features was development of word-initial voiced stops *b-, *d-, *g- and development of clusters *ft and *xt. To establish a border between the Eastern and Western Iranian, lexical (e.g. in many works presented example *gari- × *kau̯fa- 'mountain' and *kapă- × *măʁi̯a- 'fish'; cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a, 168-169) and grammatical differences should be also taken into account. There can be mentioned some other words from lexicon that can be considered typical for the Eastern Iranian area:

*abi-ar- 'to find, to obtain' > Sogd. S B M √βyr C √byr /√βīr/, Khwār. βyr-, Bactr. M ʾβyr-, Yazgh. vir-, Yagh. vīr-;

*(h)ánda- 'blind' > Khōt. hana-, Sogd. B ʾnt M ʾnd /aṁd/, Munj. yāndəy, Pasht. ṛūnd, Ōrm. hōnd (but cf. Parth. hand);

*au̯a-súxta-(ka-) 'clean, purified' > Khōt. Tumshuq. vasuta-, Sogd. B ʾwsγty, ʾws(ʾ)wγtʾk M ʾwsγtyy /ő́suγdĕ́/, Bactr. ωσογδο /ōsuγd/, Oss. (without prefix) sʁiγdæg ‖ suγdæg, Khwār. (with other prefix) (ʾ)fsγd;

*dráu̯a- 'hair' > Khōt. drau-, Sogd. B ẓw-y /ẓ̌əwí/, Yagh. daráu̯ ‖ dⁱráu̯, Oss. ærdu ‖ ærdo, Shugh. cīw, Rōsh. cōw, Yazgh. ců Ōrm. drī × Pers. mōi̯ < *mau̯da-;

*gári- 'mountain' > Khōt. ggara-, ggari-, Sogd. B M γr-y /γərí/, Bactr. γειϱο, γαϱο /γīr, γar/, Yagh. γar, Shugh. žīr, Wakh. γar, Munj. γār, Pasht. γar, Ōrm. grī, Parāch. gir × Pers. kōh < *kau̯fa-;

*kápă- 'fish' > Khōt. kavā-, Sogd. B M C kp-y /kəpí/, Khwār. kŷb, Scyth. (Παντι)κάπης, Oss. kæf, Wakh. kūp, Munj. kōp, Pasht. kab × Pers. măhī́ < *măʁi̯a-;

*ką́ta- 'house' > Sogd. B ktʾy, ktʾk M qt, qty(y), ktyy C qi̯y /kətḗ/, Bactr. καδ(α)γο /kad(a)g/, Yagh. kat, Shugh. čīd, Rōsh. Khūf. čod, Bart. čŏd, Rāshrv. čŭd, Sarīq. čed, Yazgh. kůd, Munj. ḱay, Yidgh. kʸɛi, Ave. kata- (+ Parth. Pahl. kdg) × Pers. xānā́ < *xā́na-ka- (but Sogd. S B γʾnʾk(h) M xʾnʾ /xā́nắ/, Wakh. xun, Ishk. xon, Sangl. xān);

*kúta-, *kutī- 'dog' > Sogd. S B ʾkwt-y M kwt-y, qwt-y /ᵊkʷətí/, Bactr. κοδο /kud/, Yagh. kut, Oss. kʷʁiʒ ‖ kuy, Shugh-Rōsh. kud, Sarīq. kʁid, Yazgh. k°od, Ishk. kʁd × Pers. sag < *ʁu̯ą́-ka-, Med. σπάκα (but Khōt. śve, Wakh. šač, Pasht. spay (f. spəi̯), Waṇ. spa (f. spī), Ōrm. ᵊspuk, Parāch. ᵊspŏ̈);

[102] But in Wakhī *ʁu̯ > š and in Khōtanese *ʁu̯ > śś [ʃ].

**mái̯ϑa-* ‘day’ > Sogd. S *myδ* B *m(ʾ)yδ* M *myδ*, *my(y)δδ* C *myϑ*, *myϑ*, *myd* /mēϑ/, Khwār. *myϑ* /mēϑ/, Yagh. *mēš* ‖ *mēt̰*, Shugh. *mēϑ*, Rōsh. Khūf. Bart. Rāshrv. *mīϑ*, Sarīq. *maϑ*, Yazgh. *miϑ*, Ishk *may*, Sangl. *mēi̯*, Zēb. *mī*, Munj. Yidgh. *mīx̌* × Pers. *rōz* < **ráu̯ča-* (but Pasht. *wraʒ*, *rwaʒ*, Waṇ. *wrez*, Ōrm. *wriez*, *wrioz*);

**pati-gadz-* ‘to accept’ > Khōt. *pajāys-*, Sogd. B *√pcγʾ(ʾ)z* /√pəčγā́z/, Khwār. *pcγʾz-*;

**θā́na-* ‘enemy’ > Khōt. Tumshuq. *sāna-*, Sogd. S B M C *sʾn* /sān/, Oss. *son* × Pers. *dušmán* < **duš-mana-* (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a, 169; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996b [online]).

Eastern Iranian languages also borrowed some Indo-Aryan words (in this case old loans are meant, not loaned Buddhist terminology, which appear in several Eastern Middle Iranian languages): Skt. *ākāśa-* ‘heaven’ > Khōt. *ātāśa-*, Sogd. B *ʾʾkʾc(h)* /ā́kāč/; Skt. *maraṇa-* ‘death’ > Khōt. *maraṇa-*, Bactr. (adj.) *μαρανιγγο* /mara(ṇ)iŋg/; Skt. *markaṭa-* (Prkt. *makkaḍa-*) ‘monkey’ > Khōt. *makala-*, Sogd. B *mkkr(ʾ)* M *mkrʾ* /makká(ṛ)(á)/, Khwār. *mrk*; Skt. *puṇya-* ‘merit’ > Khōt. *puña-*, Sogd. B S *pw(r)nyʾn(h)*, *pw(r)nyʾnyh* /pu(ṇ)yā́n(ya)/, Bactr. M *pwwn* /pu(ṇ)/. Some of the above mentioned Indo-Aryan words are found in North Western Iranian Parthian (*ākāśa-* > Parth. *ʾʾgʾc* /āgāč/; *maraṇa-* > Parth. *mrn* /mara(ṇ)/; *puṇya-* > Parth. *pwn* /pu(ṇ)/; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a, 169), Parthian also borrowed Eastern Iranian word **pāϑa-* ‘arrow’ > Parth. *pʾẖ* /pāh/ (SUNDERMANN 1989, 112) – such fact is probably due to a long-time contact of historical Parthia (modern date South-western Turkmenistan and North-eastern Iran) with Khwārezm, Bactria, Sogdiana and Gandhāra.

Division of Eastern Iranian languages into Northern and Southern branch (and eventually South-eastern branch if we will consider Ōrmuṛī and Parāchī as members of the Eastern Iranian languages) is often used by many scholars, only few of them explain the criteria of such classification, so it seems that this division was more based on (modern) geographical distribution of the Eastern Iranian languages. For example Vera Sergeevna Rastorgueva lists the following criteria for dividing the Eastern Iranian languages:

> *«Basic features of the North Eastern* [Iranian] *languages:*
>
> *1) ending of plurals of nouns -t (in Khwārezmian -c < -t): Sogd. βrʾtrt ‘brothers’, Khwār. nikanc ‘stakes’, aβrāc ‘eyebrows’, Oss. xæʒærttæ ‘houses’, bælæstæ ‘trees’, Yagh. odamt ‘people’, žutot ‘sons’;*
>
> *2) preservation of Iranian post-vocalic d; e.g. Ir. pāda ‘foot’ is reflected as Sogd. pδ, Yagh. podá, Oss. fad;*
>
> *3) preservation of Old Iranian cluster dv word-initially; e.g. Ir. dvara ‘door’, is reflected as Sogd. δwr, Yagh. dⁱvar, Oss. dwar;*
>
> *One of the basic features of the South Eastern group is sonorization of Old Iranian consonant š; e.g. Ir. word gauša ‘ear’, is reflected as Shugh. γůγ̌, Rōsh. γōw, Pasht. γwaž, Yazgh. γəvón and other.»* (RASTORGUEVA 1966, 198)

From the above mentioned characteristics only two can be confirmed – typical feature for the North Eastern languages is formation of plural with originally abstract suffix **-tă̄* (such suffix

can be found also in Yazghulāmī and in some non-productive forms in Ishkāshmī) and sonorization of intervocalic *-š- in South Eastern Iranian. Other presented features are not distinctive for both groups. Comparation of selected sound changes and other features can characterize some isoglosses in the Eastern Iranian languages. As can be seen in Table 31, some changes are common for many of these languages regardless to their ranking to the Northern or Southern branch. Based on a comparison of isoglosses listed in Table 31, instead of classification of the Northern and Southern branch, there can be better postulated a dialect continuum than two different branches; the only (?) branch that seems to show more distinctive features is the South-eastern branch which continues in the Ōrmuṛī-Parāchī subgroup. As distinctive features of the South Eastern Iranian branch can be considered 1) preservation of archaic formation of plural (i.e. absence of innovation of plural form by adding an abstract suffix *-tă̄); 2) sonorization of intervocalic *-š-; 3) change of Ir. *rd, *rt; 4) change of Ir. *rǯ, *rʂ and 5) emergence of innovated form of the second person plural personal pronoun from combination of forms of the second person singular and first person plural. All the above mentioned changes have not emerged in all South Eastern Iranian area: feature *1)* have not took place in Yazghulāmī (and except some non-productive forms in Ishkāshmī); intervocalic *-š- has not been sonorized in Bactrian and probably also in Sarghulāmī; changes under the point *3)* have not taken place in Bactrian and Wakhī; in Munjī, Yidghā and Wakhī (and probably also in Bactrian) has not taken place change point *4)*; innovated forms of plural the second person plural (point *5)*) are present in all South Eastern Iranian languages, but in Parāchī they come from different source than from the above mentioned.

		I				III						III	III	II	IV	V
	Ave.	Sogd.	Yagh.	Oss.	Khwār.	Wanj.	Yazgh.	Shugh.-Rōsh.	Sargh.	Munj.-Yidgh.	Bactr.	Ishk.-Sangl.	Wakh.	Khōt.	Pasht.-Waṇ.	Parāch.-Ōrm.
preservation of *rd, *rt,	±	+	+	+	+		−	−		−	+	−	+	+	−	−
preservation of *rz, *rs < *rǯ, *rʂ	+	±	+	+	−		−	−		+	?	−	+	?	−	−
innovated form of 2nd pers. pl. pers. pronoun	−	−	−	−	−		+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	±
preservation of *VšV	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	±	−	−	−
ā-Umlaut	−	−	−	−	−		+	+	?	+		+	+			+
plural ending in *-t(u̯)ă̄-/*-ϑu̯ă̄-	−	+	+	+	±	−	+	−		−	−	±	?	−	−	−
*u̯- > *gw-	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	+
preservation of diphthong in *ϑrăi̯a-	+	?	+	*	?		+	+		+	+	+	+	−	*	−
*β, *u̯ > *w	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	+
palatalization of *t	−	±	±	+	+	−	+	−	?	±	−	−	−	±	±	±
second palatalization of velars	−	−	−	±	±	−	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	±	−
sonorization of *p, *t, *k, *č	−	−	−	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	±	−	+	±
depalatalization of *š, *ž, *č, *ǰ	−	−	−	+	+	?	−	+	−	−	+	±	±	±	+	
emergence of cerebral sounds	−	±	−	−	−	?	*	*		±	−	+	+	+	+	+
augment	+	±	+	−	±	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	?	−	−

		I				III						III	III	II	IV	V
	Ave.	Sogd.	Yagh.	Oss.	Khwār.	Wanj.	Yazgh.	Shugh.-Rōsh.	Sargh.	Munj.-Yidgh.	Bactr.	Ishk.-Sangl.	Wakh.	Khōt.	Pasht.-Waṇ.	Parāch.-Ōrm.
labialization of tectals	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-	-	-	-	±	-
ergative	+	+	+	-	+		±	±		±	+	±	-	+	+	+
preservation of gender	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	±		+	+	-	-	+	+	+
*ϑų > *sp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
preservation of *dų	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+		+	-	-	±	-
i-Umlaut	+	+	+	?	+		+	+	?	+		+	+		+	+
u-Umlaut	+	+	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-			±
preservation of *ϑ	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	-	+	-	-	-
*b, *g, *ǰ > *β, *γ, *ž	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*ð > *d	-	-	+	+	-	?	-	-				±	±	-		±
*ð > *l	-	±	-	-	-	±	-	-	+	+	+	±	±	-	+	±
preservation of word-initial *b, *d, *g, *ǰ	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	+
*šm > *m	-	±		-	+		+	+		+		+	±	+	-	+
voicing of initial *fr, *ϑr, *xr	-	-	-	-	-		-	-		-	-	-	-	+	+	-
3rd pl. verbal ending *-ār-	+	-	+	-	+		-	-		-	-	-	-	+	-	-
preservation of initial *h-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-		-	-	-	-	+	+	+
vocalic outcome of *-ă-kă-stems	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	

Table 31 Isoglosses in the Eastern Iranian languages (plus *(+)* or minus *(-)* signs mean operation/absence of such change; asterisk *(*)* means that this change can be observed only with regard to the historical development of the language(s); plus-minus sign *(±)* indicates, that such change has not operated in full extent; question mark *(?)* means that according to attested material it is impossible to judge about operation of such change; text in gray indicates innovation when compared to the older state).

I have outlined new classification in the note nr. 48 (Chapter I.1.1.4.b.). The Eastern Iranian languages can be divided into five branches: **I** Northern (*Sogdo-Scythian*) group; **II** North-eastern (*Saka*) group, **III** Central (*Pāmīr*) group, **IV** Southern (*Paṭhān*) group and **V** South-eastern (*Hindūkush*) group. Group **I** can be defined by innovated plural ending **-tă-* (comparable to Yazghulāmī), preservation of intervocalic **-š-* (shared with Bactrian and Wakhī but excluding Ossetic). Groups **III**, **IV**, **V** have undergone common change of form of the second person personal pronoun, in languages of these groups there are innovated forms of plural, they may be influenced by Indo-Aryan or Dardic pronouns. Innovated forms of the second person plural often comes from combination of personal pronoun of the second person singular with form of the first person plural **ta/u-*ahmắ-(k/xam-)*, or **ta/u-ʂma-* copied from Indo-Aryan (cf. Maiyã̄ *tus*; Ṣiṇā *tsa/o*; Lahndā *tus*) different form is just in Parāchī. Groups **II** and **IV** share sonorization of word-initial **fr-*, **ϑr-*, **xr-*.

II. Archaism and innovation in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī

According to the outline of the Eastern Iranian languages presented in the previous chapters one can state that there are four dozen extinct or living Eastern Iranian languages and dialects. Majority of those languages can be studied mainly from synchronous point of view – these languages and dialects are attested as individual stages of the Eastern Iranian branch but with some exceptions we do not know their older development stages. There is exception within the North Eastern Iranian branch – in this case both Yaghnōbī and Ossetic can be compared with their closely related ancestors. The development of Ossetic can be continuously observed from the Old Iranian period – there are many similar features in the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects and in Alanic that can be compared with Ossetic and we can even suppose that Ossetic is a modern descendent of one of Alanic (or Sarmatian or even Sauromatian) dialects. Similar situation applies for Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – these two languages are very similar from many points of view, Yaghnōbī has been even labelled *'Neo Sogdian'* by some authors (BOGOLYUBOV 1956; KLIMCHITSKIY 1935; SKJÆRVØ 1989a, 375-376), nowadays many scholars are inclined to believe that Yaghnōbī may come from some non-attested non-literary dialect of Sogdian (BIELMEIER 1989, 480; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 173), Al'bert Leonidovich Khromov expressed an opinion that Yaghnōbī could have originate in a non-attested Sogdian dialect of Ustrōshana (KHROMOV 1987, 645), unfortunately there is no relevant data to confirm this hypothesis. Some other New Eastern Iranian languages share several isoglosses with the Middle Iranian languages: Khōtanese and Tumshuqese share some isoglosses with Wakhī and sporadically also with the other Pāmīr languages; Bactrian shares many isoglosses with Munjī and Yidghā and also with Pashtō and Waṇetsī or even with the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages. Khwārezmian (whose affiliation to the North or South Eastern Iranian languages remains unsolved; see ÈDEL'MAN 2000a, 95; ÈDEL'MAN 2008, 6; ÈDEL'MAN 1986, 6) is similar to Ossetic from one point of view and to Pashtō and the Pāmīr languages from another; an ending of the third person plural of subjunctive connects Khwārezmian together with the Saka dialects and with Yaghnōbī ending of the third person plural of present, imperfect and non-durative preterite (SKJÆRVØ 1989a).

On the basis of the above mentioned data we can declare that a thorough diachronic and synchronic study of the Eastern Iranian languages is possible in its Northern branch – but in the case of Ossetic comparable material lies mainly in lexicon, development of grammar and syntax is blurred (cf. ABAEV 1949). It is of course possible to outline historical development of other (New) Eastern Iranian languages, but in these cases it is necessary to deal only with methods of historical and comparative linguistics because there are not attested direct ancestors of these languages.

Based on the above mentioned facts the main theme of this thesis will be the comparison of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – information on Sogdian are available in a large corpus of texts from which we can learn about Sogdian grammar, lexicon and syntax; Yaghnōbī as a living language is so far undrawn repository of knowledge – to linguists Yaghnōbī is known a little bit more than

hundred years, within that period of time some texts, grammars and lexicons have been published, at the present time a research on the Yaghnōbī language and ethnography is under patronage of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan, where under the Rūdakî Institute of Language and Literature falls the *Department of Yaghnōbī Studies* (Tjk. *Gurūhi yaghnōbshinōsî*). The study of the Sogdian and Yaghnōbī languages certainly cannot be separated from study of the other Eastern Iranian languages therefore I will also pay attention to interpretation of relevant innovations and archaisms in other languages and dialects of the Eastern Iranian branch. In case of Yaghnōbī (and the other Modern Eastern Iranian languages except Ossetic) it is also necessary to follow development of Modern Persian, mainly its varieties in Tajikistan and Afghanistan[103]. A comparison of the Sogdian and Yaghnōbī material can solve the issue of the relationship of both of these languages. It can be supposed that both languages developed from one common North Eastern Iranian proto-language or proto-dialect, such proto-language will be labelled **Proto-Sogdic* (i.e. a Central Asiatic variety of "Scythian/Saka" of the late Old Iranian period) here. Later *Proto-Sogdic split into two (or even more) main dialects – **Proto-Sogdian* and **Proto-Yaghnōbī*. Both *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī are reconstructed as predecessors of the attested languages – Sogdian and Yaghnōbī, besides those two languages there may have been Sogdian dialects of Bukhārā, Ustrōshana and Zhetisu – *Bukhāran Sogdian is attested by several short texts, *Zhetisu Sogdian is attested on several inscriptions and from historical sources while *Ustrōshanian remains to be a hypothetical Early Mediaeval ancestor of Yaghnōbī, *Ustrōshanian is also thought to be an ancestor of hypothetic *Zarafshānī language/dialect which remained as substrate in Tajik dialects of Mastchōh, Falghar and Fōn.

[103] Development of Persian as a member of the South Western Iranian branch is surely not the theme of this work. For simplification the development of Persian will be observed on basis of following works – general development of Persian and its vernaculars was described by Valentin Aleksandrovich Efimov, Vera Sergeevna Rastorgueva and E. N. Sharova (EFIMOV – RASTORGUEVA – SHAROVA 1982); Tājīk grammar is thoroughly described by John PERRY (2005), grammar of Afghan Darī is described by Lidiya Nikolaevna KISELEVA (1985). Thorough description of Tājīk dialects was published by Vera Sergeevna RASTORGUEVA (1964).

II.1. Historical phonology[104]

The *Proto-Sogdic language split into two reconstructible dialects – *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī. For description of the historical phonology of Sogdian it is necessary to outline several stages of development of the Sogdian language (see Table 32).

	*Proto-Sogdic	
	*Proto-Sogdian / *Proto-Yaghnōbī	
	*Old Sogdian	*language of Sogdian translation of Aṣəm vohū*
4th-5th cent.	Preclassical Sogdian	*the Ancient Letters*
	Early Classical Sogdian	*Christian document C 2*
7th-9th cent.	Classical Sogdian *(& Bukhāran dialect)*	*majority of texts*
	Postclassical Sogdian *(& Zhetisu dialect)*	*Brāhmī documents, Christian document C 5*
half of the 11th (?) cent.	*(death of Sogdian)*	
(middle ages)	*Zarafshānī	*preserved only in central Tajik dialects*
up to cca. 1900	Early Modern Yaghnōbī	*preservation of "majhūl" ō and ə*
from cca. 1900	Contemporary Yaghnōbī	

Table 32 Relative chronology of *Proto-Sogdic dialects.

Yaghnōbī and Sogdian phonology will be outlined in a comprehensive view. I will try to present all phonological changes of both languages. The main sources for the study of historical phonology of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī were outlines of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī historical grammar (LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 373-116; KHROMOV 1987, 653-660) and GMS §82-530. In many case I have tried to find same responses both in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī for better demonstration of similar development of both languages. Before I start with historical phonology I will describe Sogdian orthographical system in order to explain possibilities of reconstruction of Sogdian phonology.

(excursion 4) Sogdian orthographical systems

Sogdian texts have been written in three various graphic systems: in the Sogdian, Manichaean and Syriac alphabets (see Table 33 to compare transliteration of the alphabets). The Sogdian script was a locally developed variety the Aramaic alphabet, this script was used in Sogdian documents from approximately the first third of the 4th century AD (so-called *Ancient Letters* found at Dunhuang in China) up to the 9th-10th centuries. The Manichaean alphabet was also a

[104] In the presented work the majority of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī words will be supplemented by their *Proto-Iranian form – in this reconstruction I will transcribe continuants of some sounds in rather archaic state: **ə̨̆* for continuants of *Proto-Indo-European vocalic nasals, **ʁ*, **ʣ* for *Ide. **ḱ*, **ǧ(ʰ)* and sometimes I will use **ʜ* for *Proto-(Indo-)Iranian continuant of *Proto-Indo-European laryngeals.

Stress will be shown on majority of examples, but stress will usually marked in position of *"Stress II"* (see chapter II.1.1.), only in several cases position of *"Stress I"* (i.e. *Proto-Iranian stress) will be marked – such only in cases where it was known to me. I decided for such notation of stress for two reasons – 1) original position of stress in *Proto-Iranian is not marked in majority of reconstructed forms, and 2) marking of the position of *Stress II* is preferable for explanation of *Proto-Sogdic development.

modification of the Aramaic alphabet, according to legends the creator of this script was a prophet Mānī (216-276 AD), founder of Manichaeism; the Manichaean alphabet differs from the Aramaic original by number of new consonant graphemes – this alphabet was quite widespread, apart from the Sogdian texts there are attested also Middle Persian (Pahlavī), Parthian or Bactrian (or even non-Iranian Tokharian B and Old Turkic) documents written in the Manichaean script. Sogdian translations of Christian texts were written in Eastern (Nestorian, Estrangēlā) variety of the Syriac script, Sogdian adapted Syriac script was supplemented by three new consonant graphemes. All three scripts originated in the Aramaic alphabet so Sogdian orthographies were based on the model used for Aramaic and for other Semitic languages – alphabets of Semitic origin do not have special signs for vowels, vowels were either not written or written with consonant graphemes (*"matres lectionis"* – in Sogdian *ʾ*, *y*, *w*; and also *ʿ (M)*, *h*, *k (S B)*). In the Syriac script diacritic vowel signs occasionally appear. Besides documents written in the Sogdian, Manichaean and Syriac scripts, there are also some Sogdian documents written in North Turkestan variety of the Brāhmī script – reading of the Sogdian documents in the Brāhmī script can considerably help with reconstruction of Sogdian sound system. In Abū-r-Rayḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Bērūnī's *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiyaï ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliyaï* there are some Sogdian glosses written in the Arabic alphabet, also in an unnamed manuscript from the 13th century by Muḥammad bin Manṣūr bin Saʿīd Mubārak Shāh (*Fakhr-i Mudīr*) we can find Sogdian adaptation of the Arabic alphabet together with several Sogdian glosses (ROSS – GAUTHIOT 1913), moreover Sogdian letters are also transliterated (in this case rendered for Old Turkic) by Maḥmūd bin Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī in *Kitābu dēvānu lughāti 't-türk*.

Aramaic alphabet	*Sogdian alphabet*		*Manichaean alphabet*		*Syriac alphabet* [105]	
	< >	/ /	< >	/ /	< >	/ /
ʾālap̄	*ʾ*	*ă̄, ə, i̯*	*ʾ*	*ă̄, ə, i̯*	*ʾ*	*ă̄, ə, i̯*
bēt̲	*β* *f (β)*	*β, f* *f*	*b* *β (b)*	*b* *β*	*b*	*β, b*
gāmal	*γ*	*γ, x, h, q*	*g* *γ*	*g* *γ*	*g*	*g, (γ)*
dālat̲	*d*	-	*d*	*d*	*d*	*ð, (d)*
hē	*h*	*-ă̄, ø*	*h*	*h, x*	*h*	*h, (-ă̄)*
waw	*w*	*w, ʷ, u̯, ŭ, ŏ, ü̯*	*w*	*w, ʷ, u̯, ŭ, ŏ, ü̯*	*w*	*w, ʷ, u̯, ŭ, ŏ, ü̯*
zayn	*z* *ẓ* *z̤*	*z, ž, ẑ* *z, ž, ẑ* *z, ž, ẑ*	*z* *ž (ẑ)*	*z* *ž, ẑ*	*z*	*z*

[105] In the Syriac script can be observed some differences in reading of the letters *ṭēṯ* and *taw*: *ṭēṯ* is usually used for writing *t* (eventually *d*), but in several cases it is used also for ܛ <ṯ>; *taw* normally serves as a grapheme for ܬ, but it can be used also for *t* (*d*) <*t*>. Whether one of the other variant was used, it was consistent throughout the document, i.e. if *ṭēṯ* = *t/d*, thus *taw* = ܬ and vice-versa, if *ṭēṯ* = ܬ, then *taw* = *t/d* (the second variety is not common according majority of Christian texts).

(žayn)			*j*	*ǯ, ǯ̣, ǰ*	*ž*	*ǯ, ǯ̣*
ḥēṯ	*x* *(ẍ)*	*x, h, q* *(q)*	*h̲*	*-ă, ø*	*h̲*	*h*
ṭēṯ	*ṭ*	-	*ṯ*	*t, d*	*ṯ (𐡕)*	*t, d (𐡕)*
yuḏ	*y*	*y, i̯, ĭ, ĕ, ə, i*	*y*	*y, i̯, ĭ, ĕ, ə, i*	*y*	*y, i̯, ĭ, ĕ, ə, i*
kāp̄	*k*	*k, g, -ă, -ĕ*	*k* *x (k)*	*k* *x*	*k* *x*	*k* *x*
lāmaḏ	𐡋	*l*	*l*	*l*	*l*	*l*
(𐡋ālaṯ)			𐡀 𐡋𐡋	𐡀, 𐡕 𐡕, 𐡋𐡋		
mim	*m*	*m, ṁ*	*m*	*m, ṁ*	*m*	*m, ṁ*
nun	*n*	*n, ṁ*	*n*	*n, ṁ*	*n*	*n, ṁ*
semkaṯ	*s*	*s, (š)*	*s*	*s*	*s*	*s*
ʿayin / ʿē	ʿ	-	ʿ	*i, ĭ, ĕ*	*γ (ʿ)*	*γ*
pē	*p* *p̄*	*p, b, f* *f*	*p* *f (p̄)*	*p, b* *f*	*p* *f*	*p, b* *f*
ṣāḏē	*c*	*č, ǰ, (ʦ), (ʣ)*	*c*	*č, ǰ, (ʦ), (ʣ)*	*c*	*č, ǰ, ʦ, (ʣ)*
qop̄	*q*	-	*q*	*k*	*q*	*k, g*
rēš	*r* *l (ṛ)*	*r, ṙ, ʳ, l* *l*	*r*	*r, ṙ, ʳ*	*r*	*r, ṙ, ʳ*
šin	*š*	*š, ṣ̌*	*š*	*š, ṣ̌*	*š*	*š, ṣ̌*
taw	*t*	*t, d*	*t*	*t, d*	𐡕 *(t)*	𐡕, *(t, d)*
(𐡀āmaḏ)	𐡀	𐡀, 𐡕				

Table 33 Overview of transliterations of Sogdian from the scripts derived from the Aramaic alphabet (after SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 176 and KÜMMEL 2006; edited).

Sogdian orthography of the *Ancient Letters* (written in an archaic non-cursive variety of the Sogdian script) corresponds to a rather archaic (*"Pre-Classical"*) form of the language, in which the **-ăkă*-stems were neither contracted yet nor there have been change **𐡕r*, **𐡀r* > /ṣ̌, ǯ̣/ occurred. From Aramaic ductus was adopted writing of word-final *-ă* with letter *hē*, but it cannot be judged whether already in the language of the *Ancient Letters* operated *Stress III* and the *Rhythmic Law*. Younger (or *"Classical"*) Sogdian texts from the 8th-9th centuries come from the orthography similar to the orthography of the *Ancient Letters*, but in these younger texts appear some orthographic doublets – word-final *-ĕ* (originally masculine *aka*-stems) was written either archaic as <*-(ʾ)k*> or phonetically as <*-(ʾ)y*> and word-final *-ă* (from originally unstressed feminine *ākā*-stems) was written as <*-(ʾ)kh*> or according to its pronunciation as <*-ʾ(ʾ)*> or <*-(ʾ)h*>, even *-ŏ* (in forms of adverbs, and accusative of masculines and nominative/accusative of neuter) was written as <*-(ʾ)kw*> and word-final *-ă* of old *ā*-stems is often written as <*-h*> in endings of later *heavy stems*[106]; also sounds *ṣ̌*, *ǯ̣* (< **𐡕r*, **𐡀r*) were often written archaically as <*𐡀r*> or by phonetically similar graphemes <*ṣ̌, z/z̤/ǯ̣*>. Texts in the Manichaean and Syriac alphabet

[106] It means that the grapheme *hē* had two functions: 1) it marked word-final *-ă* in forms of the *light stems*, and 2) it was used as a common marker of feminine nouns and adjectives (with no phonetic value); later also the third function was emerged – it was used as filler at the end of the line.

use rather phonetic spelling (if we can really use the term "phonetic spelling" in a case of a consonant script which does not have separate vowel graphemes) – reflexes of the unstressed *ākā*-stems were written by use of the letter *ālap̄* and reflexes of the *aka*-stems with the letter *yuḏ*; continuants of old **𐬔r* and **𐬛r* were written with the letters *šin* and *"žayn"*. Interesting is an adoption of a grapheme for 𐬛 (and 𐬔) – In the Sogdian alphabet 𐬛/𐬔 was written by Aramaic letter *lāmaḏ*, in the Manichaean script with the letter *"𐬛ālaṯ"*, which is morphologically derived from the letter *lāmaḏ*, but in the Syriac alphabet the sound 𐬛 is written as *dālaṯ* and 𐬔 as *taw* (i.e. only in the Syriac script there are two separate graphemes for 𐬛 and 𐬔), problem of Sogdian 𐬛 < **d : <l>* (*"lambda Sogdica"*) will be discussed in *excursion 5* in chapter II.1.3.6.

With the exception of sibilants there were no different graphemes for opposition of voiced and voiceless consonants in the Sogdian script – voiced stops (which have been rather rare in Sogdian) were written with graphemes for voiceless stops; on the contrary voiceless fricatives were written with graphemes for voiced fricatives, an exception presented only *x* and *γ*, which had two separate graphemes: letters *gāmal* and *ḥēṯ*, these graphemes slowly merged and their forms were distinguishable only word-finally, word-initially and word-internally was the difference in shapes of *gāmal* and *ḥēṯ* hardly evident. Labial fricative *f* was written with two graphemes – with the letters *bēṯ* and *pē*, the first mentioned was used also for *β*, the second letter was used also for labial stops *p* and *b*; occasionally the letters *bēṯ* and *pē* were supplemented with diacritics to spell *f* – *bēṯ* was supplemented by a subscribed dot or hook beneath the original letter, *pē* could have two dots written over the original letter (such way was used in Manichaean texts written in the Sogdian script). The letter *zayn* could have been also supplemented by diacritics – by either one dot/hook or two dots beneath the letter – these diacritic marks (without a distinction of *<ẓ>* and *<ẕ>)* had two meanings – they either distinguished *ž*-sound or they kept apart the letter *zayn* from the letter *nun* (*nun* was always written without diacritics). In a later period a subscribed hook under the letter *rēš* for *l* appears, this new grapheme is of Turkic origin and in Sogdian it has been used rarely (as there was no *l* in Sogdian). The Syriac alphabet has special graphemes for voiced and voiceless fricatives; and also the voiced velar stop *g* had its own grapheme *gāmal* (but *g* could have been written as *qop̄*), the other voiced stops were written either as voiceless stops or as voiced fricatives (i.e. *d* = *ṭēṯ* or *dālaṯ*; *b* = *pē* or *bēṯ*). Only the Manichaean script had quite a full range of graphemes to represent Sogdian consonants (but the letter *šin* was used for *š* and *ṣ̌* and *"žayn"* for *ž* and *ẕ̌* and except the letter *"𐬛ālaṯ"* which served both for 𐬛 and 𐬔, but occasionally double 𐬛ālaṯ <𐬛𐬛> was used for 𐬔[107]), it was possible to distinguish stops clearly in writing, but voiced stops were often written as their voiceless counterparts.

Moreover Aramaic had some phonemes that do not appear in the Iranian languages, mainly emphatic *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *q* and pharyngeal *ḥ*, ʿ. Letters for those sounds were used in different ways in

[107] Compare similar way of graphic representation of /θ/ and /ð/ in Modern English – both sounds are written with a single digraph <th>.

Sogdian. The letter *ṣāḏē* was used in all three alphabets for *č* and *ǰ* (and possibly for *ʦ* and its allophone *ʣ*). In the Sogdian alphabet the letter *ḥēṯ* was used for *x*, in the Manichaean alphabet *ḥēṯ* served as a line-filler and in the Syriac script it was used for *h*. The letter *ṭēṯ* was not used in the Sogdian script, in the Manichaean script it was interchangeable with the letter *taw* and in the Syriac script it was used for *t* (as *taw* has been used for ܬ). The letter *qop̄* had no use in the Sogdian alphabet, in the Manichaean and Syriac scripts it was interchangeable with the letter *kāp̄* (while *kāp̄* was used rarely in the Syriac script). The letter *ʿayin* was used in the Manichaean script for vowels *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *i̇*; in the Sogdian alphabet it was not used and in the Syriac alphabet it was used for *γ*. The Sogdian alphabet had no use for the letter *dālaṯ*[108].

The alphabet order is known from the attested material – the order was the same as in Aramaic[109]. The collation of the Sogdian alphabet was found on an ostracon from Panjakent and on a fragment from the Ōtani collection from Japan (LIVSHITS 2008, 305), the alphabet order was as follows: *ʾ β γ d h w z x ṭ y k l m n s ʿ p c q r š t δ*[110]. The alphabet order of the Manichaean alphabet is attested in the Middle Persian (Pahlavī) and Parthian documents: *ʾ b g d ḥ w z j h ṯ y k l δ m n s ʿ p c q r š t* – the graphemes <*β*>, <*γ*>, <*ž*>, <*x*> and <*f*> were not considered as separate letters of the alphabet, but as varieties of <*b*>, <*g*>, <*z*>, <*k*>, <*p*>, from which they differed only by supplemented diacritic marks (cf. BOYCE 1952). Unlike its Semitic original the Manichaean alphabet differed in collation of the letters *hē* and *ḥēṯ* which switched their positions. In the Syriac script the alphabet order is the same as in Aramaic, the collation of the Sogdian letters *"žayn"*, *"xāp̄"* and *"fē"* is not known but it can be suggested that they followed after the letters *zayn*, *kāp̄*, *pē* from which they were derived.

The Sogdian alphabet was not used only for recording Sogdian language – it served also for Old Uyghur and later for Mongolian, Oyrat, Manchu or Sibe (Xibe) who use it up today. In

[108] In the Sogdian alphabet the non-used letters *dālaṯ*, *ṭēṯ*, *ʿayin* and *qop̄* appear only in Aramaic ideograms.

[109] Thus *ʾ b g d h w z ḥ ṭ y k l m n s ʿ p ṣ q r š t*.

[110] Another interpretation of the collation is also … *y k δ m n … š t l*, by analogy after the Old Uyghur alphabet, where the collation is as follows: *ʾ*, *v (Sogd. β)*, *γ*, (*h* /ø/), *w*, *z*, *q (Sogd. x)* /q/ *(rarely* /x/*)*, *y*, *k* /k, g/, *d (Sogd. δ)* /δ-d?/, *m*, *n*, *s*, *p*, *c*, *r*, *š*, *t* /t, d/, *l (Sogd. ṛ)*. In case of Old Uyghur digraph <*nk*> should be mentioned, which was used for a velar nasal *ŋ*. The Uyghur variety of Sogdian script used some other letters supplemented by diacritics – *ḥēṯ*, and *kāp̄* could have been written with two superscript dots, *šin* and *zayn* with two subscribed dots and *nun* used single superscript dot – <*q̈*> was used to distinguish the letter *ḥēṯ* from the letter *gāmal*; <*s̈*> to distinguish *šin* form *semkaṯ*; <*ṅ*> distinguished *nun* from *ālap̄*; <*ẕ*> was used for *ž* in Sogdian loans; the use of <*k̈*> is not known to me.

The Uyghur variety of the Sogdian alphabet has been adopted by the Mongolians, who changed the collation as follows: *a (‹ʾ(ʾ)›)*, *e (‹ʾ›)*, *i (‹(ʾ)y›)*, *o/u (‹(ʾ)w›)*, *ö/ü (‹(ʾ)w(y)›)*, *n (‹n/ṅ›)*, *ŋ (‹nk›)*, *b (‹p›)*, *p (new graphic variety of ‹p›)*, *q (‹x›)*, *γ (‹ẍ/x› < ‹γ›)*, *k/g (‹k›)*, *m*, *l (‹ṛ›)*, *s*, *š (‹s̈› < ‹s̈́›)*, *t/d (according to a shape of surrounding letters shape of the letter is based either on original ‹t› or ‹δ›)*, *č (‹c›)*, *ǰ (‹z›)*, *y*, *r*, *v/w (‹β›)*, *f (‹ṕ›)*, *ḳ (new graphic variety of ‹k›)* and also letters *c*, *ʒ* and *h* were probably adopted from the Tibetan script for Tibetan and Sanskrit words. The Sogdo-Uyghur alphabet has spread from the Mongolians to other nations such as the Oyrats, Manchus or Sibe; the Mongolian variety of the Sogdo-Uyghur alphabet and its local varieties are used even in the present time.

Sogdian translation of the Buddhist text *Avalokiteśvarasyanāmāṣṭaśatakastotra* a Sanskrit quatrain is recorded in the Sogdian script (Figure 6):

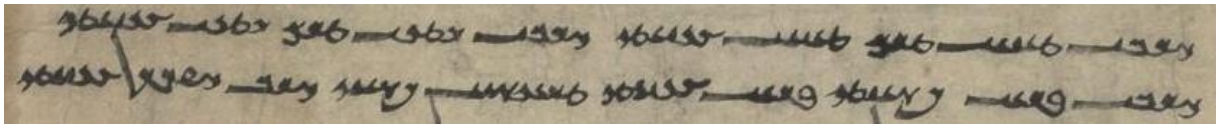

Figure 6 Sanskrit inscription in the Sogdian script (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Pelliot chinois nº 3520, lines 53-54; http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8305780t/f2.image.r=pelliot+3520.langEN, cit. 12.9.2012, 10:16)

(53)	*srβn*	*tʾnʾn*	*trm tʾnʾn*	*cynʾty*		*srβn*	*rtym*	*trm rtym*	*cynʾty*
	sarvaṃ	dānaṃ	dʰarmadʰānaṃ	jināti	|	sarvaṃ	ratiṃ	dʰarmaratiṃ	jināti
(54)	*srβn*	*prʾn*	*kšʾnty prʾn*	*cynʾty*		*trʾyšnʾ kšʾʾy*		*srβ swkk*	*cynʾty*
	sarvaṃ	balaṃ	kṣāntibalaṃ	jināti	|	tṛṣṇākṣayaḥ		sarvasukʰa	jināti

«The greatest of gifts is the gift of the law; the greatest of delights is delight in the law, the greatest of strengths is the strength of patience; the greatest happiness is the destruction of desire.» (GAUTHIOT 1911, 94). In this example characteristics of the Sogdian script can be seen – by comparison with Sanskrit whose sound system is well known, reading of individual graphemes can be verified – an effort to mark vowels *i* and *u* regardless their quantity is evident, but *a* similarly as in Sogdian is marked rarely; voiced stops were written with graphemes for their voiceless counterparts. Neither aspiration was marked (orthography <*kk*> for *kʰ* cannot be interpreted as an effort to mark aspiration – the first <*k*> probably marks velar, the second <*k*> probably stands for vowel *-a*). In case of the word *tṛṣṇākṣayaḥ* <*trʾyšnʾ kšʾʾy*> we can presume that it is a scribal error for **<trʾyšnʾ kšʾyʾ>*[III]. The sound *l* was written with the letter *rēš*, in many Sanskrit loans in Sogdian there is *l* often written with the letter *lāmaḏ*: Sogd. в ðwkʾ, *rwk* /lṓk(ă)/ 'world, *loka*' < Ved. *loká-*.

Sogdian texts written in the Brāhmī script are quite different from the text in Aramaic-derived scripts – Sogdian has adopted Central Asian variety of Brāhmī as it has been used by the ancient Uyghurs, but in the case of Sogdian cannot speak about Sogdian literature in this script, only a dozen texts are known. The main advantage of the Brāhmī script is its ability to mark vowel quality, however quantity is not marked. The Sogdian Brāhmī documents are not dated well, but they can come from the later period of Sogdian and thus they can bring valuable information about the development of the language.

In case of Sogdian written in the Brāhmī script we cannot speak even about developed orthography, it is rather an effort to record Sogdian words in an orthography created for some Turkic language, presumably Old Uyghur, but there are several features that can tell more about the Sogdian sound system; reading of the Brāhmī Sogdian documents have to be compared with

[III] The orthography of this word informs also about pronunciation of Sanskrit <ṛ> /ri/ sometimes after the 8th century.

other records in the Sogdian, Manichaean and Syriac alphabets. The North Turkestan Brāhmī script used nine graphemes (*akṣara*[112]) for vowels and diphthongs: *a* /a, ə, (ɨ)/, *ā* /ā, -ă̄/, *i* /ĭ/[113], *u* /ŭ/[114], *ṛ* /ər/, *e* /ĕ/, *ai* /āi̯/, *o* /ŏ/, *au* /āu̯, ĕu̯/. Other 33 *akṣara*s were used for consonants: *ka* /k/, *kʰa*, *ga*, *gʰa*, *ṅa*, *ca* /č/, *cʰa*, *ja* /ǰ, č/, *jʰa*, *ña*, *ṭa* /ṭ, ṭʰ/, *ṭʰa* /ṭʰ/, *ḍa* /ḍ/, *ḍʰa*, *ṇa* /n, ṇ, ṁ/, *ta* /t/, *tʰa* /ϑ-/, *da*, *dʰa* /ð/, *na* /n, ṁ/, *pa* /p/, *pʰa*, *ba*, *bʰa*, *ma* /m, ṁ/, *ya* /y/, *ra* /r/, *la*, *va* /w/, *śa* /š, š̡, ž, ž̡/, *ṣa* /š, š̡, ž, ž̡/, *sa* /s/, *ha* /x, ɣ/ and there were 13 new graphemes: *ϑ* /ð/, *ɣ* /ɣ/, *w* /β, f/, *z* /z/, *ź* /ž, ž̡/, *k̲* /k/, *t̲* /t, ϑ/, *p̲* /p/, *m̲* /m/, *r̲* /r/, *l̲*, *u̲* /w/, *s̲* /š, š̡/ and three diacritic marks – *anusvāra* (*ṃ* /n/), *virāma* (sign that marks that after a consonant *akṣara* does not follow a vowel) and *ä* /-i, ø/. Beside the above mentioned *akṣara*s there were used some digraphs, e.g.: *ar* /ar, ər/, *ccʰ* /č/, *tt* /t/, *yu* /ü̆ĕ/, *yue* /ü̆ĕ/, *ve* /ü̆ĕ/, *hk* /q~x/, *hv* /x°/, *hṣ* /xš/, *hu̲* /x°/, *wt* ~ *wdʰ* /βḍ̊/, *wt̲* /βḍ̊/, *wv* /f/, *u̲e* /ü̆ĕ/ etc.

Based on the present state of knowledge we can hardly talk about literature in the Sogdian Brāhmī script, yet even there we can trace certain orthographic conventions; e.g. for *ə* (and/or its allophone *ɨ*) existed two different spellings – 1) in an open syllable of a disyllabic word the vowel *ə/ɨ* was not marked: Sogd. Br *knā* (B M *kwnʾ* C *qwnʾ*) /k(ʷ)ənă̄/ 'do!' *(2nd pers. sg. imper. pres.)*; Sogd. Br *mdʰu* (S B M *mδw* C *mdw*) /məðú/ 'wine'; Sogd. Br *prau* (S *prʾ(y)w* B *prʾ(y)w*, *pryw* M *pryw* C *prw*) /pərĕu̯/ '(together) with'; Sogd. Br *hji* /xəčí/ '[(s)he/it] is'; Sogd. Br *nδā-m̲* (C *nydʾm*) /nɨðắm/ 'husk, bark'; 2) in a closed syllable it has been written as *a*: Sogd. Br *hṣa wdʰi*, *hṣa wt̲i* (B *ʾxšyβt-y*) /ᵊxšɨβḍ́i/ 'milk'; Sogd. Br *dʰa wdʰi-k*, *dʰa wt̲i-k* (S *δβtyk* B *δβtyk*, *δβtʾyk(w)* M *δβt(t)yk*, *δβtyq*, *δδβtyk* C *dbt̲yq*) /ðɨβḍ́ík/ 'again'; Sogd. Br *pa tyā-p̲* (S B M *ptyʾp*) /pᵊtyắp/ 'part'). Interesting issue presents pronunciation and orthography of ϑ – it is written as the letter *tʰa-kāra* (Sogd. Br *tʰau* /ϑāu̯/ 'shoot *(2nd pers. sg. imper. pres.)*'), in other positions it is written as *"Fremdzeiche" t̲a-kāra*, which is used either for ϑ or for *t*: Sogd. Br *me-t̲* (AL Mg *ʾmyδ* S (ʾ)*mʾyδ* B *mʾyδ* M *mʾyδ(δ)* C *myϑ*, *myϑ̲*) /mēϑ/ 'thus' × Sogd. Br *pcai-t̲*, *pcā-ytä*, *pcā-yt* /pᵊčắi̯t/ (B M √*pcʾy* /pᵊčắi̯/) 'is beneficial' – it is possible that in Sogdian dialect recorded by the Brāhmī script ϑ changed to *t* (i.e. similarly as e.g. in Sogdian dialects of Zhetisu; see Excursion 1), or it is determined by the fact that there was no *akṣara* for the voiceless dental fricative ϑ in the Old Uyghur Brāhmī and thus this sound has been written with an *akṣara* for voiceless dental stop *t* (*ta-kāra*).

In some words we find *i* and *u* instead of (etymologically) expected *ĕ* and *ŏ*, Nicolas Sims-Williams explains this change with an assumption that there was a stress shift to the last syllable (see *Stress IV* in chapter II.1.1.4.) and newly unstressed *ĕ* and *ŏ* were shifted towards *ĭ* and *ŭ* (Sims-Williams 1996a, 310). Moreover, the Brāhmī script shows pronunciation of the numeral '*one*' in Sogdian – it is attested as Sogd. S B *ʾyw* M *ʾyw*, *ʿyw* C *yw*, *ẏw* in the Aramaic

[112] After each *akṣara* will be shown its phonetic value as it was pronounced in Sogdian.

[113] In unstressed position probably also /ĕ/.

[114] Maybe /ŏ/ in an unstressed position.

derived alphabets but written *yau* in Brāhmī, so it could have been pronounced as /ʸɛ̆u̯/[115] (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 313); also reading of Sogdian digraph (S B) <*wy*> have been corrected – Nicolas Sims-Williams originally suggested reading either *ōi̯* or *ō*, after Brāhmī orthography <*yu, yue, ve, u̯e*>, the reading has been corrected as a rising diphthong *ü̯ē* or *ü̯e* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 313-314).

Sogdian documents in Brāhmī still wait for a thorough study, since just one Sogdian–Sanskrit bilingual document has been published (MAUE – SIMS-WILLIAMS 1991) together with some words quoted by Nicolas Sims-Williams to evaluate Sogdian phonology (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a).

II.1.1. Stress

Development of stress in the *Proto-Sogdic language is essential to understand phonology of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī and also to discover differences between both languages. It is not necessary to focus on position of stress in *Proto-Iranian because there was a stress shift in *Proto-Sogdic from which both languages developed. The reconstruction of *Proto-Iranian stress is complex – it can be supposed that the *Proto-Iranian stress was mobile and its position was similar to Vedic. For the reconstruction of Old Iranian stress is essential to study stress in Pashtō (GRYUNBERG – ÈDEL'MAN 1987, 38-39). Position of stress changed also in the other Eastern Iranian languages, mainly in the Pāmīr languages where stress shifts caused either syncopation of unstressed vowels or changes of stressed vowels under operation of *ā-* or *i*-Umlaut; nowadays all Pāmīr languages of Badakhshān have stress on the last syllable.

It seems that predecessors of both Yaghnōbī and Sogdian underwent the same or very similar stress shifts, the results of operations of stress slightly differ in both languages. Some Sogdian words point to original *Proto-(Eastern-)Iranian stress, the place of this stress (*Stress I*) can be reconstructed after operation of *i*-Umlaut, e.g. Sogd. S M C *zyrn* /zeṙn/ < **dzáraṇia-* 'gold' (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181). Stress later shifted to another position (*Stress II*): the stress fell on penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. Words with penultimate stress were either disyllabic words or words with a penultima containing long syllable i.e. syllable containing either long vowel (long either naturally or rhythmically) or a diphthong (diphthong could have been formed also by a nasal or *(*)r*) in a closed syllable; in other positions the stress shifts on antepenultima. Position of stress in Yaghnōbī comes from the results of operation of the *Stress II*, this stress can be observed in Sogdian in results of operation of *i*-Umlaut of several words. Such stress shift is also probably related with change of its strength – many unstressed vowels (in Yaghnōbī often all syllables) were reduced or even syncopated, mainly short vowels directly preceding or following a stressed syllable.

Other stress shift (*Stress III*) took place in Sogdian, and this change is related operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law*; but no such shift has taken place in Yaghnōbī. The *Rhythmic Law*,

[115] See also Sogd. Br *prau* /pərɛ̆̈u̯/ mentioned above.

which was originally only a phonological feature caused many other changes in Sogdian morphology – this problem will be discussed in following parts of this thesis. The *Rhythmic Law* divides Sogdian words into two groups – in so-called *light* and *heavy stems*[116] (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984; GMS §484-530; TEDESCO 1926). As the *heavy stems* we can classify words with stressed root syllable, in fact stress falls on the first possible rhythmically long syllable (i.e. either on a long vowel or on a diphthong – in this case diphthongs are considered groups *V̰i*, *V̰u*, *V̰r̥*, *V̰r̥̄* in closed syllable), the *heavy stems* end with a consonant in majority of words. In the *light stems* stress shifted to the ending – the *light stem* words do not have rhythmically long root syllables and the stress shifted towards the end of the word, and thus *Proto-Sogdian endings have been preserved. Emergence of the *Rhythmic Law* also influenced reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables, mainly when they followed stress – in the *heavy stems* the original endings disappeared but they remained in the *light stem* forms. Subsequently the last stress shift (*Stress IV*) appears – this stress shifts to the ultimate syllable (Nicolas Sims-Williams suggests this development after an analysis of Sogdian documents in the Brāhmī script, some evidence of this feature can be found in several vocalized documents in the Syriac script; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 312-313)

As indicated above, mere shifts in stress position presented a significant feature which resulted in further sound changes in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī. Both languages probably shared similar changes of stress for quite a long period of time during their common development. Yaghnōbī retained original stress on (ante)penultima (i.e. *Stress II*) Sogdian, however, was more progressive and there developed another innovation in stress (*Stress III*), this shift was motivated by rhythmical weight of a syllable – the operation of *Stress III* and the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* is one of the most important distinctive features distinguishing Yaghnōbī from Sogdian.

The following parts present analysis of stress operation reflexes from the *Proto-(Eastern-)Iranian state up to (*Proto-)Sogdian and (*Proto-)Yaghnōbī, and subsequent Sogdian innovation in the form of the *Rhythmic Law*. We can distinguish three development stages of stress changes: *Stress I*, *Stress II* and *Stress III* – the first two stages can be observed in both languages (there are sources for position of the *Stress I* mainly in Sogdian, but they can be suggested in Yaghnōbī), *Stress III* is just Sogdian development – in the scientific literature the *Stress III* is labelled as the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law*. In the presented thesis I will use the term *"Rhythmic Law"* just for the outcome of the operation of the *Stress III* in all its complexity, mainly as a feature influencing Sogdian grammar; the label *Stress III* means only phonological shift of stress. In Late Sogdian *Stress IV* followed. A good example of all stress shifts can be seen in the following example: *Stress I *aʒám* 'I' (Pasht. *zə*; Waṇ. *ze*; Munj. *za*; Yidgh. *zo*, *zə*; cf. Ave. *azəm*, Ved. *ahám*; Ide. **h₁eĝʰóm*, Gre. *ἐγώ*) > *Stress II *ázam* (Proto-Sogdic **ázu*; Yagh.

[116] The *light stem* words can be also labelled *"oxytones"* as they had stressed ending; the *heavy stem* words can be regarded as *"barytones"* i.e. words with a stressed root.

(*)az; Wakh. *wuz*; Ishk. *az(i)*; Sangl. *azə*; *azi*; Yazgh. *az*; Shugh. *(w)uz*; Rōsh. *az*; Khūf. Rāshrv. Sarīq. *waz*; Bart. *āz*) > *Stress III* Sogd. S B M *ʾzw*, /əzú/ > *Stress IV* Sogd. C *zw* /zu/ (*?*).

II.1.1.1. *Stress I*

Stress I corresponds to the position of stress in *Proto-(Eastern-)Iranian. Its responses are preserved only in rare cases, examples can be found mainly in Sogdian words, in Yaghnōbī there are no direct traces, but its operation can be also presumed. The position of the *Stress I* is not attested but it can be reconstructed in several words due to reflects of *i*-Umlaut in some roots, Nicolas Sims-Williams presents several examples: Sogd. S M C *zyrn* /zeɨn/ 'gold' < **ʒ́aranią-*; Sogd. S *rypδβ-* /repϑβá/ 'noon' < **rápiϑβā*; Sogd. S *prʾyδ* C *pryϑ* /prēϑ/ 'to sell' < **parā́-daϑią-*. In some cases stress can be found even on some nominal prefixes: Sogd. S *py(t)δʾr* M *pyδʾr* C *pydʾr* /peδár/ 'because (of)' < **pátiʰtδārⁱ* < **páti-rādi-*; Sogd. *pyrδnn* /péɨδan/ 'saddle' < **pári-dāna-*; Sogd. S *wzγʾm*, *ʾwzγʾm* /uzγám/ 'absolutely, ever' < **úʒ́-gāman-* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181). The position of the *Stress I* can be better reconstructed from Pashtō.

On the position of *Stress I*, cannot be presumed much, we can just conclude that under its influence some unstressed vowels were syncopated and/or reduced, this feature can be observed in the first three above mentioned examples – there can be seen a syncopated intermediate stage (**zárᵃnią-*, **ráp^iϑβā-*, **părā́δᵃϑią-*), the syncopation of unstressed vowel subsequently caused *i*-Umlaut of the stressed root vowel (**záⁱrn(į)a-*, **ráⁱpϑβā-*, **pərā́ⁱϑ(į)a-*). The *Stress I* can be supposed also in the word **ráupātsa-* 'fox' (cf. Ved. *lopāśá-*, Gre. *ἀλώπηξ*) > ProtoSogd. **ráǫpăsa-* > Sogd. B M *rwps* /rṓpəs/, Yagh. *rűpas*: in this case there was no syncope but shorting of **ā* > **a*, this change was probably *Proto-Sogdic, in Persian there is *rōbâh* < Elam.-OPers. **raupāϑa-* (cf. MAYRHOFER 1996, 482). Regarding later development in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī it can be suggested, that the *i*-Umlaut occured later, probably in the stage of the *Stress II* – the crucial reflex of the *Stress I* was probably result of syncopation of some short vowels preceding a stressed syllable.

The position of *Stress I* is attested from some words in Sogdian, traces of the *Stress I* can be better found in Pashtō and also in Munjī-Yidghā and Wakhī (here the position of the *Stress I* can be observed in results of Umlaut), many of examples of the *Stress I* can be compared with Vedic:

Pasht. *áspa* 'mare' < **átsuā-*; Ved. *áśvā-*;
Pasht. *zắma* 'jaw' < **ʒ́ámbā-*; Ved. *jámbʰa-*;
Pasht. *tőra* 'black (f)'; Munj. *tírō*; Yidgh. *tűro* 'darkness' < **tánϑra-*; Ved. *támisrā-*;
Pasht. *sxər*; Waṇ. *xwsar*; Wakh. *x̌urs* 'father in law' < **xᵘatsúra-* × Ved. *śváśura-*;
Pasht. *xwắšē-xwắx̌ē*; Wakh. *x̌aš* 'mother in law' < **xᵘátsr(u)-* × Ved. *śvaśrú-*;
Pasht. *drē*; Wakh. *trū(y)* 'three' < **ϑrắią-*; Ved. *tráyaḥ*;
Pasht. Waṇ. *špa* 'night' < **xšapắ-*; Ved. *kṣapắ-*;
Pasht. *lūná* 'corn, uncer' < **dānắ-*; Ved. *dʰānắḥ*;
Pasht. *paxá* 'cooked, ripe (f)' < **paxᵘắ-*; Ved. *pakvá-*;

Pasht. *zə*; Waṇ. *ze*; Munj. *za*; Yidgh. *zo*, *zə* 'I' < **adzám-*; Ved. *ahám-*;

Pasht. *atə́*; Waṇ. *otá*; Munj. *ōšḱá*; Yidgh. *ašč́ó*; Wakh. *at* 'eight' < **aštá-*; Ved. *aṣṭā́* (MAYRHOFER 1989, 13; MORGENSTIERNE 2003; STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1999).

II.1.1.2. *Stress II*

Stress shift marked as *Stress II* characterizes another development in *Proto-Sogdic[117]. The original *Proto-(Eastern-)Iranian stress shifted to penultimate or antepenultimate syllable according to its rhythmic weight: stress was on penultima if this syllable contained naturally or metrically long vowel (i.e. either a long vowel or a short vowel/diphthong in a closed syllable), in other circumstances stress fell on the antepenultima (that implies that rules of stress were similar to those in Latin or Sanskrit). The shift towards *Stress II* position brought about several significant features, which were characteristic for the development in *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī, notable are following four phenomena: 1) stress shift was probably related also with its strength, the new *Stress II* being probably stronger than *Stress I*; 2) after the operation of *Stress II* some unstressed vowels (or even whole syllables) were reduced or lost; 3) after the reduction of unstressed vowels the syllabic structure was rearranged, and 4) after loss of unstressed **i* (or **ī* and **i̯*) the stressed root vowels and some consonants were palatalized.

The results of the changes caused by *Stress II* have different reflexes in *Proto-Yaghnōbī (and probably in Ustrōshanian Sogdian) and in *Proto-Sogdian, it is possible that at this stage the Sogdian dialects of Bukhārā and Zhetisu started to split. The majority of dialects developed from *Proto-Sogdic probably retained the position of the *Stress II*, but clear evidence can be found just for (*Proto-)Yaghnōbī. For *Bukhāran Sogdian, *Ustrōshanian and *Zhetisu Sogdian we can only suppose the preservation of *Stress II* and no shift towards *Stress III*.

The shift of *Stress II* resulted mainly in a change of stress strength which led to the reduction of unstressed vowels – short vowels were reduced or changed into *Schwa* (*ə*). Long vowels were shortened when unstressed – in Yaghnōbī it can be said with certainty that *Proto-Sogdic unstressed **ī* and **ū* changed to *i*, *u*; in Sogdian a similar development can be presumed, but there is no clear evidence due to unsuitable graphic representation of vowels in the Aramaic-derived alphabets. One knows for certain that in Sogdian long vowels **ī* and **ū* were retained in syllables that later bore *Stress III*; but *Proto-Sogdic **ā* usually remained unchanged, although there some examples of shortening of **ā* > **ă* are attested.

The transition from *Stress I* to *Stress II* must have been regular, the original *Stress I* being preserved only in rare cases, mainly in cases of old syncopation of vowels, but also under some other circumstances (see examples given above); and some words have double forms that either preserve an archaic state with *Stress I* or show *Stress II* innovations: **údz-gāmam- (Stress I)*

[117] *Proto-Sogdic as a reconstructed language can be interpreted as a development stage of a North Eastern Iranian language just in a period when *Stress II* operated, but the features caused by effects of *Stress II* are different for the development of *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī.

‘absolutely, ever’ > **uz-γάmam (Stress II)* > **ŭz-γámu* > Sogd. S *wzγʾm*, *ʾwẓγʾm* /ʷəzγ́ám/ *(Stress I)* × S C *zγʾm* /(ə)zγ́ám/ *(Stress II)* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 182).

For many forms we cannot exactly conclude whether there was any shift from *Stress I* towards *Stress II*, but there is better evidence for the *Stress II* from a later stage, so I will interpret the position of stress according to position of the *Stress II*. The fundamental change related to the stress shift has been the above mentioned vowel reductions in unstressed positions, this change can be shown on many examples: Sogd. S *zrʾync* M C *zrync* /zriṁǰ/ < **udz-ríńčaia-* ‘to save, deliver’; Sogd. S B *mʾγ(h)*, *mʾγw* M C *mʾx* /māx < mā́xu/, Yagh. *mōx* ‘we’ < **ĭmā́xu* < **ahmā́xam*. Together with the reduction and loss of vowels a whole syllable can also disappear, such feature is characteristic for Yaghnōbī, but it can be rarely traced in Sogdian): Sogd. C *γwrʾt̰y* /γʷəráťě/ < M *wγrʾtyy* /wəγráťě-ụ̈i̯γráťě/, Yagh. *γᵘrőt(a)* ‘awake’ < **u̯igrā́ta-(ka-)*; Sogd. B *ctβʾr* M *ctfʾr* C *ct̰fʾr*, *št̰fʾr* /čətfā́r/, Yagh. *t̰afőr*, *t̰ᵘfőr* ‖ *t̰ⁱfőr*, *t̰ᵘfőr* ‘four’ < **čaϑu̯á́r-*; Yagh. *žavár-* ‖ *žⁱvár-* ‘to bring, to produce, to invent’ < **nij-bára-*; moreover, the whole first syllable was reduced in Yaghnōbī when two short and open syllables preceded the stressed one: Sogd. S M C *√ptγwš* B *√ptγ(ʾ)wš* /pətγő́š-/, Yagh. *dᵘγű́š-* ‘to hear’ < **pati-gáu̯ša-* (KHROMOV 1987, 661).

The vowel loss is related to an Umlaut of stressed root vowels. Operation of *i*-Umlaut causes palatalization of a stressed vowel or diphthong after loss of **i* or **i̯*. Outcomes of palatalization differ in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – in Sogdian there are palatalized vowels and diphthong **ă*, **u*, **ău̯*, in Yaghnōbī there is attested palatalization of **ă* and **u*: Sogd. S *β(y)z-y*, *ʾβ(y)z-y*, M *β(y)j-y*, *ʾβj-y* /əβží < βeží/ < **βéži* < **bázdi̯a-* ‘bad, evil’; Sogd. S *wyzp-* B *wzp-* M *wjp-* C *ʾwžb-* /ụ̈i̯žḅá/ < **úbǰi̯ā* ‘terror’; Sogd. C *fnyš-* /fneš-/ < **fra-nási̯a-* ‘to be deceived’; Sogd. S *xwtʾyn* C *xwt̰yn* /xutḗn/ < *hu̯a-tā́u̯nī-* ‘queen’; Sogd. S M *ptβyð-* C *√pt̰byd-* /√pətβụ̈i̯ð-/ < *pati-búdi̯a-* ‘to perceive’ (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b); Sogd. S *√ʾzwʾyrt* B *√(ʾ)zwʾyrt* M *√zwʾyrt* C *√zwyrt̰* /√əzwíṙt/, Yagh. *zⁱwírt-* ‘to turn’ < **udz-u̯árt(a)i̯a-*; Sogd. B *wyš(h)* /wēš/, Yagh. *wēš* ‖ *wai̯š* ‘grass’ < **u̯ā́θtri̯a-*, Ave. *vāstriia-*; Sogd. B *frʾʾwyšcy* M *frʾwycyh̰* /frāwɨ(š)či/, Yagh. *farőmič* ‖ *fᵘrőmič* / *fᵘrőmič* ‘obliviousness’ < **frāmúšti-*.

The issue of syllabic structure transformation in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter II.1.9., now we need to outline only the basic features of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī syllable – due to loss of unstressed vowels consonant clusters emerged, in later stages of the language consonant clusters were not allowed in word-initial positions – the clusters have been reanalysed by prothesis (in Sogdian there are reconstructed two prothetic vowels *ə* and *i*), or epenthesis (in Yaghnōbī *a*, *i*, *u*); an anaptyctic vowel appeared in Yaghnōbī in several word-final positions if the word ended in **xm*, **xn*, **βn*, **šm*, **(x)šn*, **čn*, **fr* and **zm*: *ráxšⁱn* ‘dawn’ < **ráu̯xšna-*; *wáfⁱr* ‘snow’ < **u̯áfra-*; *wáxⁱn* ‘blood’ < **u̯áhuni-*; *ízⁱm* ‘firewood’ < **ái̯zma-* (cf. KHROMOV 1987, 661), both in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī a svarabhakti vowel in inserted in word-final cluster **γn*: Sogd. S B M C *rwγn* Br *ro haṃ*, *ro γaṃ* /rő́ᵊn/, Yagh. *rű́γⁱn*, *rű́γan* ‘oil, butter’ < **ráu̯gna-* [Ave. *raoγna-*, Pahl. *rōγn*, Pers. *rōγán*, Tjk. *rau̯γán*, Fārs. *roᵘγä́n*].

II.1.1.3. *Stress III and the Sogdian Rhythmic Law*

The last of significant stress shifts in the languages derived from *Proto-Sogdic is *Stress III* – this change took place in (literary) Sogdian, where it is generally known as the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law*; the *Stress III* has not developed in Yaghnōbī and probably it did not operate in the Sogdian dialect of Zhetisu, its impact can be excluded less likely in the Sogdian dialects of Bukhārā and Ustrōshana. Together with the operation of *Stress III* the morphology of Sogdian words was completely rebuilt – stress shifted on the first possible rhythmically long syllable. A long syllable was defined as a syllable containing either a long vowel or a diphthong in a closed syllable. Together with the operation of the *Rhythmic Law* transformation the loss of unstressed endings took place. If a word contained no rhythmically long syllable, stress shifted to the ending, which under these circumstances remained. According to the position of stress either on the root or on the ending, Sogdian words split into two groups: in the so-called *heavy* and *light stems*.

The *Proto-Sogdian endings of the *heavy stems* were reduced or lost due to the stress shift; the *light stems* when compared to the *heavy stems* are richer in morphology – in the *light stems* the original endings were retained as they bore stress. The difference between the *light* and *heavy stems* can be demonstrated in the following examples (all forms are in nominative singular): M *βʾγ* C *bʾγ* /βāγ/ < **βā́γi* < **bā́gah* 'garden' × S B M *βγ-y* C *bγ-y* /βəγí/ < **βáγi* < **bágah* 'god'; BS *mrγh* S M C *mrγ* /maṙγ/ < **máṙγi* < **márgah* 'forest, meadow' × B ʾ*mrγ-y* /ᵊm(ər)γí/ S B M *mrγ-y* /məʳγí/ < **mṓ̊γi* < **mṓ̊gah* 'bird'. Apart from the transformation of endings in forms of the *heavy stems* also other transformations occurred – mainly **ū* and **ī* were shortened in unstressed positions > *ŭ*, *ĭ*; rarely also **ā* has been shortened to *ă*: Sogd. S *ʾʾmʾtʾy* B *ʾʾmʾt(ʾ)k* M *ʾʾmʾt̰yy* C *ʾmʾt̰y*, *ʾmi̯ty* /ắmātĕ̆/ × M *ʾʾmt̰yy* /ắmatĕ̆/ < *ā-mā́ta-ka-* 'ready'.

As I have mentioned above, the rhythmically long syllable was every syllable containing rhythmically long vowel – i.e. either a quantitatively long vowel, or a vowel as the first part of a diphthong[118] in a closed syllable, or a vowel followed by a labialized velar (uvular) fricative *x*ʷ; other syllables are considered as rhythmically short (i.e. vowels followed by clusters *mt*, *ny*, *my*, *tkw/tkʷ*, *xšn*, and *rw*). However, if there was a *light stem* word terminating either in *-y*, *-w*, *-r* or a nasal supplemented by an ending beginning with a stop or an affricate, the *light stem* changed to a *heavy stem* (this feature can be observed mainly with verbs), e.g.: Sogd. B M √*βr-* C √*br-* /√βər-/ 'to bear, to carry' : *βərám* '[I] bear *(1st pers. sg. pres.)*' × *βaṙt*[119] '[(s)he] bears *(3rd pers. sg. pres.)*'; Sogd. S B M C √*šw-* /√šəw-/ 'to go' : *šəwám* '[I] go *(1st pers. sg. pres.)*' × *šōt* '[(s)he] goes *(3rd pers. sg. pres.)*'; such a feature is not attested in forms of the plural in **-tá*: Sogd. S *wn(ʾk)h* M *wnʾ* /wəná/ 'tree *(nom. sg.)*' : S B *wntʾk(h)* M *wndʾ* /wənḍá ~ wəntá/ 'trees *(nom. pl.)*'.

[118] Apart from the "inherited" falling diphthongs terminating in *-i̯* and *-u̯* also vowels followed by *-ṙ* and *-ṁ* were classified as diphthongs, and in such case it is necessary to say that *ṙ* and *ṁ* had to be followed by a stop or a fricative (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984, 206, 209-212).

[119] By analogy also Sogd. *βərtí*.

II.1.1.4. *Stress IV*

According to analysis of late Sogdian texts/words written in the Brāhmī script it can be supposed that after the operation of *Stress III* another stress shift (*Stress IV*) took place in Sogdian – in this case the stress shifted to the ultimate syllable. The position of *Stress IV* can be seen in the graphic representation of phonemes *ĕ* and *ŏ* versus *ĭ* and *ŭ* in the Brāhmī script: the graphemes <e> and <o> were used only in the last (i.e. stressed) syllable of a polysyllabic word, in monosyllabic words or in proclitics; the graphemes <i> and <u> appear instead of (etymologically) expected *ē*, *ō* in another than the last (i.e. unstressed) syllable of a polysyllabic word or in enclitics. The main evidence for the shift towards the *Stress IV* comes from the documents in the Brāhmī script, and some indications can also be seen in some vocalized Christian Sogdian texts in the Syriac script[120] (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 312-313). It is possible that there was a transitional stage between operation of *Stress III* and *Stress IV*, when stress shifted from the first rhythmically long syllable towards the last possible rhythmically long syllable – Nicolas Sims-Williams states that according to the analysis of the Sogdian texts written in the Brāhmī script it will be necessary to revise the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 312). Elio Provasi analysed the metre of Sogdian verses in a Sogdian translation of the Middle Persian hymn cycle *Huyadagmān*, and he supposed that in a *heavy stem* word with two rhythmically long syllables the stress shifted towards the last rhythmically long syllable (PROVASI 2009, 351-353), which seems to be inconsistent with the definition of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* according to Nicolas Sims-Williams.

As is evident from the Sogdian documents written in the Brāhmī script, the shift from *Stress III* towards *Stress IV* was not only a stress shift but also a cause of sound system changes in late Sogdian – after the operation of *Stress IV* the sounds *ĕ* and *ŏ* could not remain in an unstressed position and so they have been changed to *ĭ* and *ŭ* respectively. Unfortunately, in the "Sogdian variety" of the Brāhmī script (originating in the Central Asian variety of Brāhmī as it has been used for Old Uyghur; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1966a, 309) the quantity of the vowels *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŏ* and *ŭ* was not distinguished, therefore it cannot be assessed whether the shift towards *Stress IV* was related to the change of quality of *ĕ* and *ŏ* witch probably also changed in their quantity. Examples of the *Stress IV* can be shown in the following examples: Sogd. Br *ine* C *ʾy̰nẏ* /ĭnĕ̊/ (× S *ʾyny*, *ʾynʾk* M *ʿyny(y)*, *ʾyny(y)* C *ʾy̰nẏ* /ĕnĕ/) 'this' < **ái̯na-ka-* [Ved. *ena-*, Pahl. *ēn*, Pers. *īn*]; Sogd. Br *zā u̯a rkeṃ* /zāwaṙkĕ́n/ (× S B *zʾwrkyn* M *zʾwrk(ʾ)yn*, *zʾwrqyn* C *zʾwrqyn* /zā́waṙkēn/) 'strong'; or enclitics: Sogd. Br *ni-st* /nĭst/ (× S B *nyst(y)* M *ny(y)st(t)* C *nyṣ̱t(y)* *ny̰ṣ̱t*, *ṇyṣ̱t*, *ṇṣ̱t* /nĕst(ĭ)/) '[(s)he/it] is not' < **nai̯(d)-ásti* [Yagh. *nēst*, Pers. *nēst*] a Sogd. Br *wu-ṯ* /βŭt/ (× S B M *βwt* C *bwṯ* /βōt/) '[(s)he] is' < *báu̯a-ti* [Pers. *buvád*].

[120] In the documents appear primarily vocalic signs <y̰, ẏ> and <y̰>, i.e. *ĕ* and *ĭ*, vocalization of *ŏ* <ẇ> and *ŭ* <ṿ> have been used rarely (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, 356; 1996, 307).

II.1.2. Vowels and diphthongs

The original Old Iranian system of seven vowels (**a*, **i*, **u*, **r̥*, **ā*, **ī*, **ū*) and four diphthongs (**aį*, **aų*, **āį*, **āų*) has considerably changed in course of the development of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. In Sogdian there can be reconstructed 17 (or even 19) vowels (*a*, *ə*, *ə*^{r} [ə̰], *e*, *i*, *i*^{r} [i̭], *ɨ*[121], *o*, *u*, *u*^{r} [ṷ], *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ṁ*[122], *ṙ*[123]; eventually *ă*/*ə̆* [ə̆] and *ą* [ã]), two super-short prothetic vowels (*ᵊ*, *ᵻ*) and eight diphthongs (*aį*, *aų*, *āį*, *āų*, *ēų*, *ɛ̤̄ų*, *üɨ*[124], *üĕ*[125]), to these old diphthongs are added 19 "new" diphthongs (*aṙ*, *aṁ*, *iṙ*, *iṁ*, *ɨṁ*, *eṙ*, *eṁ*, *uṙ*, *uṁ*, *āṙ*, *āṁ*, *ēṙ*, *ēṁ*, *īṙ*, *īṁ*, *ōṙ*, *ōṁ*, *ūṙ*, *ūṁ*). In Yaghnōbī the situation corresponds more to the Middle Iranian stage: in every dialect there are eight (nine) vowels (*a*[126], *i*, *u*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, furthermore *ə̄* in the Western dialect, and in the Eastern dialect *ɛ̄*; peripheral sound is *ā*), two super-short svarabhakti vowels (*ⁱ*, *ᵘ*) and one true diphthong (*aį*, in the Eastern dialect it is pronounced *ɛ̄*, in the transitional dialect there is *ɛ̂*^{i} [ɛ̭·]) and three newly built diphthongs (*aų*, *ēų*, *ōų*).

*Proto-Sogdic vowel system developed differently in these two languages, the most significant difference was mainly Sogdian reduction of all historical short vowels in unstressed position (i.e. **a*, **i*, **u* > *ə* or *ɨ*), in Yaghnōbī the historical short vowels were also reduced in unstressed positions, but not to such extent as in Sogdian (In Sogdian the unstressed short vowels were neutralized, in Yaghnōbī the reduction resulted in emergence of super-short vowels in an open syllable preceding a stressed syllable).

Vowel system of Sogdian needs to be based mainly on the study of historical phonology – as mentioned above, Sogdian was written in alphabets derived from Aramaic which was not able to sign vowels properly and thus their appearance have to be reconstructed – as a valuable source here serve s few documents written in the Brāhmī script and several vocalized Christian texts in the Syriac script, on their basis we can evaluate the reconstructed data (see Table 34). Analysis of Sogdian phonology has been studied by Nicolas Sims-Williams, basic outline of Sogdian vowel system can be found in his basic outline of Sogdian grammar (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b,

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[121] The vowel *ɨ* is interchangeable with *ə* (in majority of occurrences they are allophones; the exception is *ɨ (ɨ ??)* as a reflex of palatalized **i̯au̯*).

[122] Sound marked as *ṁ* is a vocalic nasal prolongation of preceding vowel appearing as the second part of a diphthong, its realisation changed according to the pronunciation of preceding vowel e.g.: *aṁ* [aũ̯ ~ aə̃̄] (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181).

[123] The sound represented as *ṙ* is something like syllabic *r̥* as second parts of a diphthong, it was realized as rhotacized vowel *ə*^{r}, in this case the rhotacized vowel was non-syllabic [ə̯] (or [r̯]), e.g. *aṙ* [aə̯^{r} ~ aə̯ ~ ar̯] (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181).

[124] Or probably monophthong *ü* (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181).

[125] Nicolas Sims-Williams interpreted development of **u̯i*, **u̯au̯* and palatalized **u̯a*, **au̯* as > *ō̤*, eventually *oį* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1984, 206-207), but according to the Brāhmī spelling <yue, yu, u̯e, ve> he revised his reconstruction towards rising diphthong *üĕ* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 313-314). Ilya Gershevitch does not solve this problem, only in the case of the word for the 'sun' **x*^{u}*árr̥ia-* > B *γw(y)r*, C *xwyr*, M *xwr* he reconstructs reading /xuwər/ (GMS §223), correctly /xüĕr/, later /xōr/, cf. Yagh. *xūr*.

[126] With positional allophone *â* i.e. half-long *a* [a· ~ ɑ·].

175-181), in the paper *The Sogdian sound-system and the origin of the Uyghur script* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a) he compared spelling in the Sogdian script with sound system of Old Uyghur and in the paper *The Sogdian manuscripts in Brāhmī script as evidence for Sogdian phonology* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a) he evaluated Sogdian phonology with the help of Sogdian glosses in the Brāhmī script. Other studies of Sogdian phonology can be found in following works: GMS §82-483; GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1914-1923; LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 373-416; QARĪB 1383, xxix-xxxii.

vowel	Sogdian alphabet	Manichaean alphabet	Syriac alphabet	Brāhmī script
a	*ʾʾ-, -(ʾ)-, -ʾ(h), -h, -(ʾ)k(h)*	*ʾ-, -(ʾ)-, -ʾ(-), -(ʾ)ḫ*	*ʾ-, ܐ̇-, -(ʾ)-, -ẋ-, -ʾ(-), -ܐ̇, (-h)*	*a, -a, -ā*
ā	*ʾʾ-, -ʾ(ʾ)-, -(ʾ)h, -(ʾ)k(h), -ʾ(ʾ)*	*ʾʾ-, -ʾ-, -ʾ(ʾ), -(ʾ)ḫ*	*ʾ-, ܐ̈/ܐ̇-, -(ʾ)-, -ܐ̈/ܐ̇-, -ẍ/ẋ-, -ʾ, -ܐ̈/ܐ̇, (-h)*	*ā*
ə	*ʾ-, -ø-, -y-, -(w)-*	*ʾ-, -ø-, -y-, -(w)-*	*ʾ-, ܐ̇-, -(ẋ)-, -y-, -(w)-*	*a, -ø-*
ɨ	*ʾy-, -(y)-*	*ʾy-, ʿ(y)-, -(y)-, -ʿ(y)-*	*ʾy-, ʾẏ-, -y(-), -ẏ(-)*	
i	*ʾy-, -(ʾ)y(-)*	*ʾy-, ʿy-, -(ʾ)y(-), -y(y)(-)*	*ʾy-, ʾẏ-, -y(-), -ẏ(-)*	*i, -i, -ä*
ī				
e	*ʾy-, -(ʾ)y(-), -(ʾ)k*		*ʾy-, ʾẏ-, -y(-),-ẏ(-), -ẋ-*	*e, i*
ē				
u	*ʾw-, -(ʾ)w(-)*	*ʾw-, -w(w)(-)*	*ʾw-, ʾẉ-, -w(-), -ẉ(-)*	*u*
ū				
o	*ʾw-, -(ʾ)w(-), -(ʾ)kw*		*ʾw-, ʾẇ-, -w(-), -ẇ(-)*	*o, u*
ō				
āɨ̯	*ʾʾy-, -ʾ(ʾ)y(-)*	*ʾʾy-, -ʾ(ʾ)y(-)*	*ʾy-, -(ʾ)y(-)*	*ai, āy*
āu̯	*ʾʾw-, -ʾ(ʾ)w(-)*	*ʾʾw-, -ʾ(ʾ)w(-)*	*ʾw-, -(ʾ)w(-)*	*au*
üɨ̯	*(ʾ)wy-, (-)w(y)-*	*(-)w(y)-*	*(-)w(y)-*	*i*
üe̯	*(-)w(ʾ)y-, (-)w(y)-*			*yu(e), u̯e, ve*
əʳ	*(ʾ)r-, -r-*	*(ʾ)r-, -r-*	*(ʾ)r-, -r-*	*ar, r̥*
iʳ	*-yr-*	*-yr-*	*-yr-*	
uʳ	*-wr-*	*-wr-*	*-wr-*	
ṙ	*r*	*r*	*r*	*r, r̥*
ṁ	*m, n*	*m, n(n)*	*m, n*	*m, ṃ, n, ṇ*

Table 34 Spelling of vowels in the Sogdian, Manichaean nad Syriac alphabets and in the Brāhmī script.

By comparison of Sogdian documents in the Sogdian, Manichaean and Syriac alphabets along with a few fragments in the Brāhmī script and with use of methods of historical linguistics it is possible to reconstruct the Sogdian vowel system. Another important source, which can be used to validate values of reconstructed vowels, are Sogdian words shared with Yaghnōbī, moreover the data can be compared also with Sogdian loanwords in some other languages, especially in Persian (primarily in Tājīkī Persian and in Tajik dialects), in Old Uyghur (and also in other Turkic languages – some Sogdian words have been recorded for example by Maḥmūd bin Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī).

Nicolas Sims-Williams in his study *The Sogdian sound-system and the origin of the Uyghur script* compared the Sogdian alphabet (with regard to the Manichaean and Syriac alphabets) with the so-called Uyghur script, which originates from cursive version of the Sogdian script. The

speakers of Old Uyghur adopted the already established Sogdian alphabet to record their language, however, they simplified its (in many aspects archaic) orthographical rules (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a; on the contrary the Old Uyghur variety of the Brāhmī script was taken over by the Sogdians from the Uyghurs, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 309). Since Old Uyghur vowel system can be quite easily reconstructed by comparation with other Turkic languages, in the following lines I will summarize a short outline of the Old Uyghur vowel system as compared to Sogdian. Old Uyghur had nine vowels: *a* *[ɒ], *ä* *[æ] ~ *ė* *[e], *ï* *[ɯ], *i*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü* – there were four pairs of front/back vowels in mutual opposition and moreover vowel *ė*, which was a positional allophone of *ä*; question of quantity of Old Uyghur vowels is unclear, in *Proto-Turkic there are reconstructed also long counterparts of the above mentioned Old Uyghur vowels, reflexes of *Proto-Turkic quantity have remained in languages such as Turkmen or Khalaj (cf. RÓNA-TAS 1998, 69-71). For graphic representation of Old Uyghur vowels Sogdian spelling rules were adopted: OUygh. *a* has been written <ʾʾ-, -ʾ(-)> i.e. same as Sogd. *ā*; OUygh. *ä* <ʾ-, -ø-, -ʾ> = Sogd. *a*, *ə*; OUygh. *ė*, *i*, *ï* <ʾy-, -y(-)> = Sogd. *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *i̯*; OUygh. *o*, *u* <ʾw-, -w(-)> = Sogd. *ŏ*, *ŭ*; OUygh. *ö*, *ü* <ʾwy-, -wy(-) /in the first syllable of a word/, -w(-) /in other then the first syllable of the word/> = Sogd. *u̯i̯* (*ü*), *u̯ĕ*. Apart from the above mentioned spelling rules for vowels, the Old Uyghur spelling took over some Sogdian orthographical conventions, mainly spelling of word-initial *a* as <ʾ-> prior to a nasal and *r*; on the other side Old Uyghur took over neither the archaic writing of *-ă* and *-ĕ* by the letter *kāp*, nor spelling of *-ă* with the letter *hē* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a). To precise the reading of the Old Uyghur alphabet (traditional) Mongolian alphabet can help as it has been adopted from the ancient Uyghurs (see excursion 5).

By combination of the methods of historical and comparative linguistics with the study of Sogdian orthographies in the Aramaic-derived scripts and in the Brāhmī script together with comparation of the material with Old Uyghur documents and with a study of Sogdian loans (i.e. study of the Sogdian loans in neighbouring languages and also study of Sogdian borrowings from other languages such as Sanskrit and Prakrits, Pahlavī, Turkic or Chinese) basic patterns of the Sogdian vowel system can be reconstructed. None of the graphic systems utilized for writing Sogdian for example does not mark vowel quality (with an exception of *a* × *ā*, in this case, as will be seen later, the difference between those two sounds was not in quality but in quantity), but due to operation of *Stress III* it can be supposed that long *ī* and *ū* have been preserved only in stressed positions: Sogd. M *ðwr* /ðūr/ 'far' < **dűra-*, Sogd. B √*γrʾyn* C √*xryn* /√xrīn/ 'to buy' < **xrína-*; otherwise the historical long *ī*, *ū* was shortened in unstressed positions, similarly in Yaghnōbī there is no *ī* and *ū* in other than stressed position, so Yaghnōbī and Sogdian development are comparable in this case. More complicated is a situation of Sogdian *ē* and *ō*, we can state with certainty that their long varieties occurred in stressed positions, but according to etymology there is attested also *ĕ* and *ŏ* in unstressed positions (in majority of cases in endings of masculine *aka*-stems; e.g. Sogd. *zátĕ* < **dzáta-ka-* 'son'). No texts in the Brāhmī script can help to solve problem of quality of unstressed *ē*, *ō*, but according to the

Brāhmī documents in a late (*"Post-Classical"*) Sogdian it can be surmised that in the Late Sogdian language vowel quantity was not as important as vowel quality, as can be demonstrated on some examples in the vocalized Syriac texts: Sogd. C *ʾy̰nẏ* BR *ine* /ĭnĕ̊/ < Sogd. S *ʾyny*, *ʾynʾk* M *ʿyny(y)*, *ʾyny(y)* C *ʾy̰nẏ* /ĕnĕ/ 'this' < **ái̯na-ka-* – in this case stress just shifted towards the last syllable, but neither Syriac vocalization nor Brāhmī vowels show vowel quantity. The problem of word-final *-ĕ* and *-ă* was commented by Walter Bruno Henning in his study *Sogdian Loan-Words in New Persian* – all the Sogdian *ăkă*-stem endings are rendered as *-a* in Persian (HENNING 1939, 98), i.e. consistently with development of the *ăkă*-stems in Persian (OPers. *-ă-kă-* > Pahl. *-ag* > Pers. Tjk. AfghP. *-a*, Fārs. *-e (-ä)*), and thus Henning suggests that the Sogdian unstressed word-final *-e* and *-a* were realized as short vowels (ibid.).

Much more evident is the difference between *a* and *ā* – both vowels differed not only quantitatively but also qualitatively: *a* was a front open short vowel, while *ā* was a back open (rounded) vowel similar to Modern Persian and Darī *å̄* or to long *å* in Scandinavian languages; different quantity of *a* and *ā* can be presumed also from the adoption of the Sogdian script for Old Uyghur. The North Turkestan Brāhmī script did not distinguish in quantity of *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* but retained distinction between *a* and *ā*, and similarly vowel diacritics in the Syriac script express rather vowel quality then quantity (i.e. *a*, *ā*, *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŏ*, *ŭ*) – it can be assumed that both Brāhmī letters *a-kāra* and *ā-kāra* as well as Syriac ◌̤/◌̇ (◌̈/◌̇) and ◌̣/◌̣̇ and Manichaean and Sogdian *ʾ-/-ø(-)* and *ʾʾ-/-ʾ(-)* primarily did not distinguish vowel quantity but vowel quantity[127] (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, 355-358; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 310-311). Just the difference in quality of *a* and *ā* motivated adoption of spelling of *ä* and *a* in Old Uyghur – Sogd. *a* (and its allophone *ə*) and OUygh. *ä* were front vowels, whilst Sogd. *ā* and OUygh. *a* were both back vowels (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, 358).

After the operation of the *Stress III* (as a phonological feature) Sogdian morphology and phonology underwent other changes labelled as the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law*. From the phonological point of view the *Rhythmic Law* can be characterized by a change of syllabic structure (this feature will be discussed in chapter II.1.9.) and by a split of vocalic system according to their rhythmic length to short (reduced) and (rhythmically) long (i.e. long vowels and diphthongs) vowels – according to the syllabic weight the Sogdian words distinguished rhythmically *light* and *heavy stems*. Words with initial unstressed syllables could start only in reduced vowels *ə*, *i̯* or *ə*^{r}; words beginning in vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, *ō*, *u* and *ū* belonged to the *heavy stems* as they always bore stress. Word-internally the situation is similar, but the vowels *a*, *i*, *o*, *u* can stand also in an unstressed position without being considered rhythmically long (i.e. that in such change they do need not to be the first part of a diphthong) – the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are shortened varieties of originally long **ā*, **ī* and **ū*; the vowel *o* comes either from a

[127] A similar difference in vowel quality can be observed in continuants of Iranian vowels **a*, **ā* in other Iranian languages: Fārs. *ä (< *a)* [æ] × *å̄* [ɒː]; Tjk. *a* [a] × *ō (< *ā)* [ɔː], Yagh. *a* [a] × *ō (< *ā)* [ɔː], Os. *æ (< *a)* [ɐ] × *a (< *ā)* [ɑ], Kurd. *e (< *a)* [æ] × *a (< *ā)* [ɒː]; Pasht. *a* [a] × *ā* [ɒː] etc.

diphthong **aṵ* prior to **xm*, **xš(ṵ)* or from labialization of **a* in front of **xᵘ* or **Cṵ*. From all the (historically) long vowels only *ā* can appear also in an unstressed position.

In Sogdian there were probably two reduced vowels *ə* and *ɨ* both originating in *Proto-Sogdic short unstressed vowels **a*, **i* and **u*. In the Aramaic-derived alphabets these vowels were usually unmarked, rarely they were written by the letter *yuḏ*. Both vowels can be considered as allophones of the *Schwa* sound (*ə*), I will use the letter *ɨ* (i.e. allophone of *ə*) in Sogdian words where *Schwa* is written with the letter *yuḏ*. Moreover the vowel *ɨ* can originate in palatalization of **i̯aṵ* in the Sogdian word S *ʾync(h)*, *ynch* B MG *ʾync(h)* M *ʿync* C *ʾync* /ʸɨm̌ǰ/, Yagh. *inč* 'wife, woman' < **i̯áṵni-kā-* – in such case *ɨ* was probably not an allophone of *ə*, but it is a separate phoneme. In some words it is difficult to interpret a vowel recorded by the letter *yuḏ*. *Yuḏ* often appears instead of expected *a* in front of a nasal (e.g.: Sogd. M *√β(y)nd : √β(y)sṯ-* /√βɨm̐d *: √β*ɨst-/, Yagh. *vant- : vásta* 'to bind *(present : past participle)*' < **bánda- : *bą́sta-(ka-)*): here *yuḏ* appears to be an attempt to record a similar sound change that can be observed in Avestan, where **a* is often realized as *ə* in front of a nasal (cf. Ave. *asəngа-* 'stone' < **aʦánga-*).

In Sogdian there was at least one rising diphthong – *ӱ̆*, which emerged either from diphthongs **ṵi* and **ṵă̯i̯* or as a result of palatalization of **ă̯ṵ* or **ṵa* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, 206-207; 1989b, 180; 1996a, 313-314). With less certainty, we can assume a second rising diphthong *ӱɨ* that emerged from palatalization of **u*; Nicolas Sims-Williams interprets the result of palatalization of **u* as *ü* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181; however a development **ṵi* > *ӱɨ* can be expected rather than Sims-Williams' **ṵi* > *ӱ̆*). Both diphthongs can be phonetically interpreted as follows: *ӱ̆* [y̯e(ː) ~ u̯̣e(ː) ~ u̯e(ː)], *ӱɨ* [y̯ɨ ~ u̯̣ɨ ~ u̯ɨ][128]. In the presented work I will interpret the result of development of **ṵi* and palatalization of **u* as *ӱɨ* (although the development outlined by Nicolas Sims-Williams can be seen as an alternative), e.g. Sogd. B *√ɣwys* /√xӱɨs/ *(according to Sims-Williams* /√xӱ̆s/*)* 'to sweat' < **hṵisa-*; Sogd. S *wyzp-* B *wzp-* M *wjp-* C *ʾwžb-ʾ* /ӱɨžb̥á/ *(according to Sims-Williams* /üžbá/*)* < **úbĭ̯ā* 'terror' (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181). One of the reasons for *ӱɨ* instead of *ü* is the spelling of this diphthong in the Aramaic-derived alphabets, in which is spelled either as <wy> or <w>, just in the Syriac alphabet there is <ʾw>, so it was rather a diphthong, when *ӱ* has been marked by the letter *waw* but the letter *yuḏ* for *ɨ* has been used inconsistently (similarly as on other occasions). On the contrary, later pronunciation of the diphthong *ӱɨ* was spelled with *i-kāra* in the Brāhmī script, this probably means delabialization of either *ӱɨ* or *ü* (delabialization is evident from some younger Sogdian texts): Sogd. Br *icā-ṯ* /ɨčā́t < ӱɨžčyā́t/ 'comfortable' (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 308; SIMS-WILLIAMS – HAMILTON 1990, 42-43). It can be supposed that the diphthong *ӱ̆* was later monophthongized into a back vowel (Sims-Williams presumes *ō*; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981a, 207) – such change is attested in Manichaean and Syriac orthographies written as *waw* (but its diphthongal character remained in the Brāhmī documents).

[128] Even [y̯ə ~ u̯̣ə ~ u̯ə] if the sounds *ə* and *ɨ* were allophones in this case.

Nicolas Sims-Williams postulates one more diphthong: ɛ̆u̯. This diphthong is reconstructed according to Brāhmī spelling of two words: Sogd. Br *yau* /ʸɛ̆u̯/ 'one' and (from the previous word derived) Sogd. Br *prau* /pərɛ̆u̯/ '(together) with'. In the Aramaic-derived alphabets there are different forms of spelling of those words: 'one' – Sogd. S B *ʾyw* M *ʾyw*, *ʿyw* C *yw*, *ẏw*; Yagh. *ī*; and '(together) with' – Sogd. S *prʾ(y)w* B *prʾ(y)w*, *pryw* M *pryw* C *prw* (Sims-Williams 1996a, 313). However, it is possible that Brāhmī <*au*> was not read as /ɛ̆u̯/ but as /au̯/ or /ɔ̆u̯/ – according to vocalized record in the Syriac script: Sogd. C *ẏw*[129] /yŏ ~ yɔ̆u̯/: Sogd. Br *prau*, *yau* /pərau̯ ~ pərɔ̆u̯, yau̯ ~ yɔ̆u̯/ (cf. Sims-Williams 1996a, 313). In this thesis I will tend to mark pronunciation of Brāhmī *au-kāra* as /ɛ̆u̯/, even though according to the spelling in the Semitic-derived alphabets it is possible to read these words as /(ʸ)ɛ̆u̯ ~ yɔ̆u̯/ and /pərɛ̆u̯ ~ pərɔ̆u̯ ~ pəraŭu̯/.

a	[a]	basic pronunciation of the phoneme	pad
	[æ]	allophonous pronunciation after a "palatal" consonant, mainly in the word *ǰax*	ǰax
	[ɑ]	allophonous variety in vicinity of an uvular	xar
â	[a·]	half-long vowel, only in the word *vânt*	vânt
	[ɑ·]	half-long vowel, only in the word *ɣâr*	ɣâr
ā	[ɑː]	result of compensatory lengthening in case of loss of *ɛ*, *h* or *ḥ* after *a* before a consonant	tārí́x < taɛrí́x, kādə́n < kahdə́n, ǰām < ǰamɛ
e	[e·]	half-long variety, in native words or in Tajik loans it originates from **i* prior to *ɛ*, *h* and *ḥ* in a closed syllable; pronunciation of *e* in Russian loans	mehmə́n, abə̂éd
ē	[eː]	basic pronunciation of the phoneme, in inherited words it appears only in a stressed position	pēn, sēb
	[iː]	in vicinity of *š*, *ž* or a nasal	šēr, mēṯ
ē ê̯ a̯i	[ɛː] [ɛ̯·] [a̯i]	pronunciation of historical diphthong **âi* is preserved as a diphthong in the Western dialect, In the Eastern dialect it is pronounced *ē* (and often merges with *ə̄*); in the transitional dialect it is pronounced rather as half-long semi diphthong *ê̯ʲ*	mēn ‖ mê̯ʲn ‖ ma̯in, wēš ‖ wê̯ʲš ‖ wa̯iš
i	[ɪ]	basic pronunciation of the phoneme	pit
	[ĭ]	super-short pronunciation (mainly in an open syllable before a stressed vowel)[130]	xʲšíft, tʲráy; rŭ́ɣʲn
	[i]	allophonous pronunciation either near to fricatives or in a closed syllable following a palatal *k̑*, *ĝ*	iš, ĝi̯rd, k̑i̯šak
	[ẹ]	in unstressed position or in closed stressed syllable	tírak, amír, nížak, áxtit
	[e]	allophonous variety word-finally or before a pharyngeal or an uvular	mə́rti, áwi, ix, díhak, qizíq
ī	[iː]	basic pronunciation of the phoneme	
	[eː]	allophonous pronunciation between stops	rīš, pīr, tīr
	[ʲi̯ː]	pronunciation after a stop	t̂ī k̂, t̂īs
	[i̯ʲː]	pronunciation after a fricative	fī k̂

[129] See Sims-Williams 1996a, 313[27]. It is possible that Sogd. C *ẏw* was a scribal error or an abbreviation for **ẏẇw* (?).

[130] Super-short */i/* will be transcribed *ʲ*, its pronunciation is consistent with an allophonous realizations of a non-reduced *i*: [ĭ ~ ŭ ~ ẹ̆ ~ ə̆].

o	[ɔ·]	half-long pronunciation of *ō* appearing only in Russian loans	folklór
ō	[ɔː]	basic pronunciation of the phoneme	Yáɣnōb, yaɣnōbḯ
	[oː]	in a closed stressed syllable or in front of a nasal	zʲvṓk
	[ʊː]	allophonous pronunciation in a closed stressed syllable	rōt̰, dʲrṓt̰
ō̵	[uː]	allophonous variety of *ō* in front of a nasal	nō̵m, mehmḗn
u	[ụ]	basic pronunciation of the phoneme	buqqá
	[ŭ]	super-short pronunciation (mainly in a syllable in an open syllable before a stressed vowel)[131]	sᵘtű́r, šᵘmő́x
	[u̯]	allophonous pronunciation near to a fricative	šuft
	[ọ]	allophonous realization in closed syllable containing a stop	urk, kut, pul, kun
	[ʊ]	allophonous pronunciation of *u*, mainly before an uvular sound	uxš
ū	[uː]	sound that emerged from historical **ō* (and **ū*), in the native words it appears only in a stressed syllable	rű́pas < *rő́pas, rű́ɣʲn, rű́ɣan < *rő́ɣn
ū̵	[yː]	allophonous pronunciation of historical **ū* in a stressed syllable – such pronunciation appears only in the Western dialect, in the Eastern and transitional dialects it merged with Yagh. *ū*	kabű́d ‖ kabū̵́d < *kabű́d, xūr ‖ xū̵ʲr < *xūr
ū̵ʲ	[yi̯ː]		

Table 35 Yaghnōbī vowel system (NOVÁK 2010, 220-221).

Yaghnōbī vowel system is considerably easier to interpret due to the fact that Yaghnōbī is a living language, but the situation is complicated by number of allophones of the basic vowels. Yaghnōbī vowel system is in contrary to the (reconstructed) Sogdian state much poorer, however Yaghnōbī gives an impression of a more archaic language than Sogdian. I do not want to discuss the phonology of Yaghnōbī vowels – this issue has been dealt with by Valentina Stepanovna SOKOLOVA (1953a), a shorter overview is outlined in the grammatical overview attached to the *Yaghnōbī–Czech dictionary* (NOVÁK 2010, 220-221 – see Table 35).

Yaghnōbī vowel system is practically the same as the vowel system of the Zarafshān dialects of Tajik (see excursion 3; NOVÁK [in print], Table 1, Table 2; NOVÁK 2009), it may be in a way influenced by a vowel system of literary and colloquial Tajik. The basic difference of Yaghnōbī and neighbouring dialects of Tajik (i.e. Zarafshān dialects of Mastchōh, Falghar and Fōn and Southern Tajik dialects of Varzōb) is pronunciation of short *u* – in Yaghnōbī (mainly in rapid speech) there is a tendency of front articulation of *u*[132] (SOKOLOVA 1953a, 69; this feature can explain development of **ű́* > *ū̵́*), but neither in literal Tajik nor in its Varzōb dialect there has not been described such change. Yaghnōbī shares another feature with the neighbouring dialects of Tajik – rising of (**ā* >) *ō* > *ū (in this work marked <ō̵>)* in front of a nasal. Roland Bielmeier explained this change as a Tajik influence (BIELMEIER 2006 [online]; after him NOVÁK [in print]); similar change appears also in other Iranian languages and dialects – in the Zarafshān dialects (**ā* > *ō_{m, n}* > *ū*), in Southern Tajik dialects (**ā* > *ō_{m, n}* > *ū* ~ *ū̃*); in

[131] Super-short */u/* is transcribed here as ᵘ, its allophonous pronunciation is similar to a non-reduced *u*: [ŭ ~ u̯ ~ ọ̆ ~ ʊ̆].

[132] There is no tendency of fronted pronunciation of long *ū* (< **ō*) – this feature can be explained as a result of the *chain-shift *ā* > *ō* | **ō* > *ū* | **ū* > **ụ̄* > *ū̵* | **u* > *u̯*.

Teh(e)rānī colloquial Persian (*ā_{m, n}* > *ū*), in Herāt dialect of Afghan Darī (*ā_{m, n}* > *ū*; IOANNESYAN 1999, 21), in the Hazāra language (i.e. Persian dialect of descendants of Ǧenghis Khān's Mongolian soldiers; **ā* > *ō_{m, n}* > *o̅o̅*; EFIMOV 2008, 355), similarly in Tātī, dialects of Fārs or in Yazdī (**ā_{m, n}* > *u*; GRYUNBERG – DAVYDOVA 1982, 224; KERIMOVA 1982, 319; MOLCHANOVA 2008, 253, 260), in Shughnī (**ā* > *ō_{m, n}* > *o̅o̅*) etc., this feature is probably characteristic for development of the Western Iranian languages[133] with a partial projection into the Eastern Iranian language area. Other feature borrowed from Tajik is lowering of articulation of *ĭ* > *ĕ* before tautosyllabic *h*, *ḥ* a *ع* – this feature is typical for Tajik, but it rarely appears in Uzbek or in Shughnī; in Yaghnōbī this development is attested in one example – on the Yaghnōbī verb *díhak* 'to hit' – in forms of the third person singular and in the second person plural there are forms *déhči* ‖ *déhtišt* respectively *déhʂišt* ‖ *déhʈišt* (both examples are shown in the present tense), and forms of present and past participles *déhna* and *déhta*, in other cases there are forms with *dih-* (although in the contemporary language forms derived from the innovated root *deh-* by analogy begin to appear in all verbal forms; such feature cannot be shown in other Yaghnōbī examples because the sound *h* appears rarely in genuine Yaghnōbī words; NOVÁK [in print]); analogical feature is lowering of *ŭ* > *o̅o̅/ů* before *h*, *ḥ* and *ع* in a closed syllable, which can be observed in Tajik (and Uzbek), but it is not directly demonstrable in Yaghnōbī – as mentioned above, the *h* sound is rare in Yaghnōbī (and the sounds *ḥ* and *ع* appear only in Arabic loans), so such changes are observable only in Tajik loans in Yaghnōbī (in Yaghnōbī the results of *ŭ* lowering are the same as in the Zarafshān dialects; i.e. *ŭ* > *ū* but does not change in > *ù/ü* in Zarafshān dialects or > *u̿* in Yaghnōbī). Peripheral vowel is long *ā* (or eventually *ō*), which is a result of compensatory lengthening of *a* before *h*, *ḥ*, *ع* in a closed syllable (e.g. *baعd* > *bād* 'later'; *kahdéʼn* > *kādéʼn : kōdéʼn* 'mow, hayloft'; *Yaعqúb* > *Yāqúb : Yōqúb* 'Yaʿqūb, Jacob'); similar development can be seen not only in neighbouring Tajik dialects but in other languages/dialects such as Teh(e)rānī colloquial Persian, Afghan Darī, Shughnī, Uzbek, Urdū etc.

*Proto-Yaghnōbī short vowels **a*, **i* and **u* were reduced in an open syllable and they changed into super-short vowels ^{i} and ^{u}. These ultra-short vowels are also of svarabhakti origin as they were inserted to break word-initial consonant cluster (See chapter II.1.5.). As an epenthetic svarabhakti vowel may appear either super-short vowels ^{i} a ^{u} or short *a* (svarabhakti *a* mainly in the Eastern dialect, instead of svarabhakti *a* often there is ^{i} in the Western dialect). Super-short vowels ^{i}, ^{u} and short *a* thus may have twofold origin: 1) < **ă*, **ĭ*, **ŭ : #C_.Cx́*; 2) < #C_C- < *#CC-. We can observe some regularities reduction of short vowels and epenthesis of svarabhakti vowels there – they can be better observed mainly in the Western Yaghnōbī: in majority of examples the super-short vowel is realized as ^{i}, e.g. **βyára* > *v^{i}yóra* 'evening'; **βrā́t* > Yagh. *v^{i}rót* 'brother'; *ϑβar- > Yagh. *ʈafár-* ‖ *ʈ^{i}fár-* 'to give'; **ϑray* > Yagh. *ʂaráy* ‖ *ʈ^{i}ráy* 'three'; but when the reduced or svarabhakti vowel was followed by a labial sound or *h* and a stressed back vowels (i.e. **ā́*, **ó*, *ŭ́*), the short/epenthetic vowel has been labialized: **(čə)ϑβā́r* > Yagh. w

[133] There is no such change in Afghan Darī (KISELEVA 1985, 23[14]), same as in Kābulī Persian (DOROFEEVA 1960, 13).

ʇᵘfə̑r (also *ʇⁱfə̑r*; E *ʇafə̑r*, *ʇᵘfə̑r*) ‘four’; **nămə̑č* > Yagh. W *nᵘmə̑č* (also *nⁱmə̑č*; E *namə̑č*) ‘prayer’. The super-short vowels emerged also in loan-words, e.g. Pers. *bahə̑r* > Yagh. *bᵘhə̑r* ‘spring(time)’; Arab. *ḫabar* > Pers. *xabár* > Yagh. *xapár* ‖ *xⁱpár* ‘news, report’; Rus. *минýта* > Yagh. *mᵘnə̑̆t* ‘minute’; Rus. *трáктор* > Yagh. *tⁱráktⁱr* ‘tractor’. As for articulation of *ⁱ* and *ᵘ* it is qualitatively identical with their “non-reduced” varieties *i*, *u*, i.e. *ⁱ* can be realized as [ĭ̯ ~ ĭ ~ ĕ̯ ~ ĕ] and *ᵘ* [ŭ̯/ŭ ~ ŏ̯/ŏ ~ ŏ̯/ŏ]. Yaghnōbī super-short vowels are basically very similar to the super-short vowels *ᵊ* (< *ă*), *ⁱ* and *ᵘ* in Zarafshān dialects (cf. KHROMOV 1958; KHROMOV 1962, 17-26; KHROMOV 1969, 306), and do not considerably differ from pronunciation of short vowels in an open unstressed syllable in Standard Tajik (PERRY 2005, 15-22), the only exception is Yaghnōbī *a*, which does not reduce either in quality or in quantity, it remains stable regardless of stress position.

In contemporary Yaghnōbī (probably under influence of Tajik) distinction of opposition long × short vowel gradually disappears which led to quantitative reform of the vowel system – historical long and short vowels in stressed position behave as long vowels, long or short vowels in closed syllable or historical long vowels in open syllable behave as short vowels; and short vowels in an unstressed open syllable are realized as super-short. Thus a new opposition comes to existence: from the historical opposition short × long vowel there is super-short (reduced) × short (non- reduced) × long (stressed) vowel, while the difference in the quantity of the latter two is given only by the position of stress.

Development of Iranian vowels in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī can be characterized as follows:

II.1.2.1. **a*, **ą*

i. (in a stressed position or as a part of a diphthong) > Sogd. *a*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. B *snk(ʾ)* M *sng* /sáṁg(ă̆)/, Yagh. *sánk(a)* ‘stone’ < **aʦánga-(ka-)*, Ave. *asəṇga-*, OPers. *aϑanga-*, Pers. *sang*;

ii. (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *ə*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. S B M *ʾsp-y* /əspí/, C *(ʾ)sp-y* /(ə)spí/, Yagh. *asp* ‘horse’ < **áʦu̯a-*, Ave. *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*, Ved. *áśva-*;

iii. (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. B *√pnʾyš* /√pəné̊š/, Yagh. *pⁱné̊š-* ‖ *pⁱnáĭ̯š-* ‘to lose’ < Ir. **apa-náʦaĭ̯a-*;

iv. (word-initially in an unstressed position before a syllable containing **ĭ* or **ĭ̯*) > Sogd. *ĕ*, Yagh. *ē*: Sogd. B *zyrt(ʾ)k* M *zyrtyḥ* /zĕ̊rtĕ̊/, Yagh. *zé̊rta* ‘yellow’ < **dzárita-ka-*, Ave. *zaⁱrita-*; Sogd. B *√npʾyϑ* /√nəpĕ̊ð/, Yagh. *nⁱpé̊d-* ‘to sleep’ < **ni-pád(a)ĭ̯a-*, Ave. *nipaⁱðiia-*;

v. (word-initially before **nk* or **ng* under influence of a following syllable containing **ĭ* or **ĭ̯*) > Sogd. *a*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. B *ʾnkʾyr* /áṁgir/, Yagh. *ínkir* ‘fireplace’ < **ham-gárĭ̯a-*;

vi. (word-initially, mainly before a nasal or **s*, **š* or after **j́*) > Sogd. *ĭ̯ ~ ə*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. M *√β(y)nd : √β(y)sʇ-* /√βɨ̆nd *: √*βɨ̆st-/, Yagh. *vant- : vásta* ‘to bind *(pres. : past part.)*’ < **bánda- : *bą́sta-(ka-)*, Pers. *bastán : band-*; Sogd. M *√jyʇ-* /√žɨ̆t-/ ‘to strike *(past part.)*’ < **j́áta-*, Pers. *zadán : zan-* (GMS §106-113);

vii. (word-initially in an unstressed reduced syllable before a syllable containing **ĭ* or **i̯*) > Sogd. *i*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. M *myðʾn* C *myd(ʾ)n* /miðǎn/, Yagh. *bⁱdőn* 'middle' < **madi̯ā́na-*, Ave. *maⁱδiiāna-*;

viii. (under effect of *i*-Umlaut before a syllable containing **a̯ia* > **i̯ia*) > Sogd. *i*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. S *√ʾzwʾyrt* B *√(ʾ)zwʾyrt* M *√zwʾyrt* C *√zwyrt̰* /√ᵊzwírṫ/, Yagh. *zⁱwírt-* 'to turn' < **udz-u̯ártⁱa-*;

ix. (under effect of *u*-Umlaut) > Sogd. *ŏ*, Yagh. *a* (?): Sogd. AL *šʾtyxw* S *šʾtwɣ(w)*, *šʾtxw* B *šʾtʾwɣ*, *šʾtwɣ(w)*, *šʾtwx* M *šʾtwx* C *šʾt̰wx* /šǎťŏx(°)/ 'happy' < **šáťəx°* < **šáťa-áxu̯ā-*; Sogd. M *fswx* C *fsx* /fᵊsŏ̊x/ 'parasang' < **fra-ʦá(n)xu̯a-*, Pers. *farsáx*[134]; Sogd. B *kwf* /kŏf/, Yagh. *xaf* 'foam' < **káfu̯a-*, Ave. *kafa-*;

x. (before **rt*, in verbal stems also before **rϑ*, **rč*) > Sogd. *a* (> *ā*?), Yagh. *ō*: Sogd. B Mg *mrty* M *mrtyy* /márṫĭ/, Yagh. *mőrti* 'man' < **mártⁱi̯a-*, OPers. *martiya-*; Sogd. B *srt* /saṙt/, Yagh. *sōrt* 'cold'; Sogd. S *√βy(ʾ)rt*, *√ʾβyʾrt* B *√βy(ʾ)rt* M *√βyrt* C *√byrt̰* /√ᵊβyáṙt/, Yagh. *vⁱyőrta* 'to find *(past part.)*' < **abi-ar-ta-(ka-)*;

xi. (word-initially before **n{k, g, x, xᵘ}* under influence of a following syllable containing **ŭ* or **u̯*) > Sogd. *a*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. B *ʾnkwšt* M *ʾngwšt* /aṁgʷəšt/, Yagh. *unkúšt* 'finger' < **ángušta-*, Ave. *angušta-*; Sogd. B *ʾnɣwsty* /áṁxᵒəstĕ̊/, Yagh. *unx̊astagī́* < **hám-xᵘasta-ka-*;

xii. (in vicinity of a labial sound) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. /√pᵊðufs-/, Yagh. *bᵘdúfs-* 'to attach, to glue' < **upa-dáfʦa-*;

xiii. (result of metathesis) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. S *wxwšw*, *wɣwšw*, *ʾɣwšw* B *wɣwšw*, *ʾɣwšw* C *xwšw* /ʷəxšú, ᵊxʷəšú/, Yagh. *uxš* 'six' < **xúšu* < **xᵘášu* < **xšu̯ášam*;

xiv. **ah* > Sogd. *i (i̯)*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. S B M *ʾsp-y* /əspí/, C *(ʾ)sp-y* /(ᵊ)spí/, Yagh. *asp* 'horse' < **áʦu̯a-*, Ave. *aspa-*; Sogd. B *ʾym* M *ʿym* /ɨm/, Yagh. *im* '[I] am' < **áhmi*, OAve. *ahmī*, OPers. *ahmiy*, Ved. *ásmi*; Sogd. *ky* /ki/, Yagh. *ki* 'which' < **kah*, Ave. *kō*;

xv. **ahi̯a* (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *ī* (*ē* ?), Yagh. *i*: Sogd. S *ɣntmy* C *ɣnt̰my* /ɣáṁdəmī/, Yagh. *ɣámtuni* (< *ɣántumi*) 'wheat *(obl. sg. < gen. sg.)*' < **gántumahi̯a* (GMS §204);

xvi. **am* (in an ending) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u/ɨ̄/ø*: Sogd. B *(ʾ)pw* M *pw* /ᵊpú/, Yagh. *pɨ̄ⁱ* 'without' < **apám*; Sogd. S B M *ʾzw* C *zw* /(ə)zú/, Yagh. (arch.) *az*[135] 'I' < **ádzam*, Ave. *azəm*, OPers. *adam*; Sogd. S *wxwšw*, *wɣwšw*, *ʾɣwšw* B *wɣwšw*, *ʾɣwšw* C *xwšw* /ʷəxšú, ᵊxʷəšú/, Yagh. *uxš* 'six' < **xšu̯ášam*;

xvii. **anϑ* > Sogd. *ā*, Yagh. *ō*: Sogd. B *tʾrʾk* /tārē/, Yagh. *tőra* 'darkness' < **tánϑra-ka-*, Ave. *tąϑraka-*, Pers. *tārík*;

xviii. **(a)i̯ă* (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *ī*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. B *mʾny(h)* C *mʾny* /mắnī/ 'mind *(loc. sg.)*' < **mắni̯a* < **mắnai̯ā*;

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[134] But cf. Sogd. B *ʔβsʾnɣ* M *f(n)sʾx* (and also C *fsx*) /ᵊfsáṁx/ < *fra-ʦánx(u̯)a-*, Pers. *fasráng, parsáng*.

[135] See GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 108-109.

xix. **u̯a* (following **x*, **h*, **r*) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. B *γwβn-* M *xwβn-* /xuβní/, Yagh. *xuvn/xumn* 'dream' < **hu̯áfna-*, Ave. *x^{v}afna-*;

xx. **u̯a* (affected by *i*-Umlaut) > Sogd. *ü̯ĕ* (> *ō*), Yagh. *ū̆*: Sogd. B *γwyr* C *xwyr* /xü̯ĕr/ (later B *γwr* M *xwr* /xōr/), Yagh. *xū̆r* 'the sun' < **hu̯ári̯a-*;

xxi. **u̯ă* (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. Mg *γwtʾrnk* /xutárn̆ĕ/, Yagh. *xutánna* 'water-mill' < **hu̯at(a)-árana-ka-*;

(ad *ii.*) Reduction of unstressed **a*, **i*, **u* and their merger to *ə* (/*i̯*) is similar to Munjī, where unstressed *ə*, *ă*, *ŭ* (< **i*, **a*, **u*) phonetically all merge to *Schwa*: Munj. *wórfă (~ wórfə)* 'snow' < **u̯áfra-*; Sogd. B *wβr-y* M *wfr-y* /wəfrí/; Yagh. *wáfʳ* 'snow';

(ad *x.*) Similar development can be seen in several Avestan examples, e.g. *vāṣ̌əm* 'chariot' < **u̯árta-*, *ϑβāṣ̌əm* 'quickly' < **ϑu̯árta-* or *bāṣ̌ārəm* 'horseman' < **bártāra-*; comparable can be also Pers. *sāl* 'year' < OPers. *ϑarda-* < **ʁarda-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1973, 46)[136];

II.1.2.2. **ā*, **ą̄*

i. (in majority of cases) > Sogd. *ā*, Yagh. *ō*: Sogd. S *ʾʾph* B *ʾʾp(h)* M *ʾʾp* C *ʾp* Br *ā-p̲* /āp/, Yagh. *ōp* 'water' < **āp-*, Ave. *āp-*; Sogd. B M *pʾð* /pāð/, Yagh. *pốda* 'foot, leg' < **pắda-(ka-)*, Ave. *pāδa-*, OPers. *pāda-*; Sogd. S C *zʾy* M *zʾy(y)* /zāi̯/ 'earth', Yagh. *zōy* 'field' < **dzą̄i̯a-*;

ii. (shortened when following a preceding long vowel) > Sogd. *a*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. B M *rwps* /rőpəs/, Yagh. *rűpas* 'fox' < **ráu̯pắʁa-*, Pers. *rōbāh*, Ved. *lopāśá-*;

iii. (unstressed before **.i̯ă*) > Sogd. *ə*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. B *syʾʾk(h)* M *syʾk* C *syʾq* /səyắk/, Yagh. *sʲyóka* 'shadow' < **aʁāi̯á-kắ-(ka-)*, Ave. *asaiia-*, Pahl. *sāyag*, Ved. *cʰāyā-* (GMS § 123-124);

iv. (before **.i̯ă*) > Sogd. *a*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. S *ʾðry* Mg *ʾðryw* B *(ʾ)ðry* M *ʾðry(y)* C *šy* /ᵊšai̯/, Yagh. *s̲aráy* ‖ *t̲ʲráy* 'three' < **ϑrắi̯a-*; Ave. *ϑrāiiō*, Pers. se;

v. (before **.u̯ă*) > Sogd. *ə*, Yagh. ʔ: Sogd. S *nwʾʾz* M *nʾwzyy (a scribal error?)* /nəwắz(ĕ)/ 'sailor' < **nāu̯ắdza-(ka-)*, YAve. *nauuāza-*, Parth. *nāwāz*, Ved. *nāvājá-* (GMS § 123, 125);

vi. (before a syllable containing **i̯* or **ĭ*) > Sogd. *ē*, Yagh. *ɛ̄* ‖ *ai̯*: Sogd. B *wyš(h)* /wēš/, Yagh. *wɛ̄š* ‖ *wai̯š* 'grass' < **u̯ắʁtri̯a-*, Ave. *vāstriia-*; Yagh. *nɛ̄s* ‖ *nai̯s* 'nose' < **nắsni̯a-*;

vii. (in original causative stems before an ending **-(a)i̯a-*) > Sogd. *ē*, Yagh. *ɛ̄* ‖ *ai̯*: Sogd. S C M *√syn* /√sēn/, Yagh. *sɛ̄n-* ‖ *sai̯n-* 'to ascend, to raise' < **ʁắnai̯a-*; Sogd. B *√pnʾyš* /√pᵊnḗš/, Yagh. *pʲnɛ́š-* ‖ *pʲnái̯š-* 'to lose' < Ir. **apa-nắʁai̯a-*, (LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 388);

viii. (shortened/reduced) > Sogd. *a* / *ə*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. M *pšnʾ* /pəšnắ/ 'heel', Yagh. *pášna* 'heel of a shoe' < **pášna-ka-* < **pắšna-ka-* 'heel', Ave. *pāšna-*, Pers. *pāšná*, Ved. *pā́rṣṇi-*; Sogd. S *ʾʾmʾtʾy* B *ʾʾmʾt(ʾ)k* M *ʾʾm(ʾ)t̲yy* C *ʾmʾt̲y*, *ʾmi̯ty* /ắmắtĕ/ < *ā-mắta-ka-* 'ready';

[136] Georg Morgenstierne quotes also comparable development in Eastern Norwegian: *gāḷ* 'yard' (Norwegian *gar(d)*, Danish *gård*) < OScand. *garðʀ* (MORGENSTIERNE 1973, 46).

ix. **(ă)hă* (after loss of **h*) > Sogd. *ā*, Yagh. *ō*: Sogd. B √*ptγw(ʾ)y* M √*ptxwʾy* C √*pt̰xwʾy*, √*pt̰wxʾy* /√pᵊtxᵒā́y/, Yagh. *tᵘxo̊́y-* 'to kill' < **pati-xᵘāhaia-*; Sogd. M *xwʾr* /xᵒār/, Yagh. *xo̊r* 'sister' < **huahar-*, Ave. *xᵛaŋhar*;

x. **ām* (in *ā*-stem obl. pl. ending) > Sogd. *ŭ*, Yagh. *ʾ*: Sogd. S *wyšnw* /wə́šənŭ/ 'they' < **auáišanām*;

xi. **u̯ā* (affected by *i*-Umlaut) > Sogd. *ü̯ĕ*, Yagh. *ʾ*: Sogd. B √*γwʾyr* M C √*xwyr* Br √*hyu(e)-r̲*, √*hu̯e-r̲*, √*hve-r̲* /√xü̯ĕr/[137] 'to feed' < **hu̯áraia-*;

II.1.2.3. **i*

i. (in a stressed position or as a part of a diphthong) > Sogd. *i*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. B *ʾyntkʾw* /índ̥ku/ *(< *índuk)* 'Indian, Indic' < **híndu-ka-*, OPers. *hiⁿduya-*, Pahl. *hindūg*, Pers. *hindū́*;

ii. (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *(ʸ)ə/(ʸ)i̯*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. S *ʾxš(ʾ)yβt-y* Br *hṣa wdi* /ᵊxši̯βd̥í/, Yagh. *xⁱšíft* 'milk' < **xšu̯ífta-*, Ave. *xšuuipta-*; Sogd. S √*z̰yβ-* B √*zyβ-*, √*z̰yβ-* M √*jβ-* /√ži̯β-/ 'to chew', Yagh. *živ-* 'to sew, to stitch' < **žíba-*; Sogd. B *ršk-ʾ*, *ršk-h* /rəšká/, Yagh. *rišk* 'nit' < **ríškā-*, Pers. *rišk*, Oss. I *lъısk'*D *liskæ*, Skt. *likṣā́-* (GMS § 114);

iii. (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ø*: Yagh. *žavár-* ‖ *žⁱvár-* 'to bring, to produce, to invent' < **nij̆-bára-*;

iv. **ĭu̯a* > Sogd. *ĭ*, Yagh. *ĭ*: Sogd. S B M √*βyr* C √*byr* /√βīr/, Yagh. *vīr-* 'to find' < **abi-ar-*; Sogd. B Mg *mrty* M *mrtyy* /márṫĭ̆/, Yagh. *mo̊́rti* 'man' < **mártiu̯a-*, OPers. *martiya-*;

v. **i(i̯)i* > Sogd. *ī*, Yagh. *ī*: Sogd. B M *tys* /√tīs/, Yagh. *tīs-* 'to enter' < **ati-íta-*;

vi. **ihi* > Sogd. *ī*, Yagh. *ī*: Sogd. S B M √*nyð* C √*nyd :* S B M √*nyst* C √*nyst̰* /√nīð : √nīst/, Yagh. *nīd-* 'to sit' < **nihida-*;

vii. **u̯i* > Sogd. *ü̯i̯*, Yagh. *ʾ*: Sogd. B √*γwys* /√xü̯i̯s/ 'to sweat' < **hu̯isa-*, Ave. *xᵛīsa-*;

(ad *ii.*) Reduction of unstressed Ir. **a*, **i*, **u* and their merger to *ə* (/i̯) show similar development in Munjī, where stressed or unstressed **i* and unstressed **a*, **u* change to *ə*, *ă*, *ŭ* and nowadays they all merge to *Schwa*: Munj. *s(ᵊ)páyă* 'louse' < **θu̯íša-*; Ave. *špiš-* Sogd. B *špšh* /špəšá/, Yagh. *šᵘpúš*/*šⁱpúš*; Munj. U *yədgo̊́nə [rōy]* 'the Yidghā language' < **hindŭ-ka-ka-*; Sogd. B *ʾyntkʾw*, *ʾyntʾwk* /índ̥ku, índuk/ (cf. modern loans: Yagh. *hundú* 'Indian'; Munj. *Ŭndūstā́n* 'India' < Pers. *hindū́*/*Hindūstā́n*);

(ad *iv.*) The change **ĭu̯a* > Sogd. *ĭ*, Yagh. *ĭ* probably took place after lengthening of **a* before **rt* (see II.1.2.1.x.): Sogd. S B M √*βyr* C √*byr* /√βīr/ *:* S √*βy(ʾ)rt*, √*ʾβyʾrt* B √*βy(ʾ)rt* M √*βyrt* C √*byrt̰* /√ᵊβyárṫ/, Yagh. *vīr- : vⁱyo̊́rta* 'to find *(pres. stem : past part.)*' < **(ă)βíy(ă)r- : *(ă)βiyárta(ka)-* < **abi-ar- : *abi-ar-ta-(ka-)*; other explanation of different forms of the present stem and of past participle of the word **abi-ar-* can be explained as difference in stress (in such case probably

[137] See Sogd. C √*xwy̰rdʾry̰m* /√xü̯ĕ̯r-ðārīm/ 'we have caused you to drink' (Sims-Williams 1996a, 314).

Stress I, which remained on preverb in the present stem: **abí-ar-*[138], but shifted towards the *Stress II* in the past participle: **abí-ar-ta-* > **abi-ár-ta-*);

II.1.2.4. **ī*

i. > Sogd. *ī*, Yagh. *ī*: Sogd. B √*γrʾyn* C √*xryn* /√xrīn/, Yagh. *xⁱrín-* 'to buy' < **xrína-*, Ved. *krīṇā́ti*;

ii. **-īm* (in *i*-stem accusative ending ?) > Sogd. *ǐ*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. M *xwrnyy* /xoʳnǐ̯/ 'blood *(acc. sg.)*' < **u̯áhu(r)nīm* (GMS §350.iv);

II.1.2.5. **u*

i. (in a stressed position or as a part of a diphthong) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. B √*nγ(ʾ)wnt* /√nəγúṁd/, Yagh. *nᵘγúnt-* 'to dress' < **ni-gúnda-*;

ii. (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *⁽ʷ⁾ə/⁽ʷ⁾ɨ́*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. S *γntm* C *γnt̲m* /γáṁdəm/, Yagh. *γámtun* (< *γántum*) 'wheat' < **gántuma-*, Ave. *gantuma-*; Sogd. S ○*pyδrʾk*, ○*pδr* B ○*pyδrʾk*, ○*pδr*, ○*pšy* M ○*pšy (as a part of compounds)* /pɨšə́/ 'son', Yagh. *púl(l)a* (?) 'boy, child; little, small' < **púϑra-(ka-)*, OPers. *puça-*; Sogd. S B *ʾkwt-y* M *kwt-y*, *qwt-y* /ᵊkʷətí/, Yagh. *kut* 'dog' < **kúti-*, Os I *kʷʁɪʒ* D *kuy* (GMS § 119);

iii. (in an unstressed position) > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. S √*ʾzwʾyrt* B √*(ʾ)zwʾyrt* M √*zwʾyrt* C √*zwyrt̲* /√ᵊzwɨ́rt/, Yagh. *zⁱwírt-* 'to turn' < **uz-u̯ártia-* < **udz-u̯ártaia-*;

iv. (reduced sound in an initial syllable) > Sogd. *ə/ɨ*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. S *myδrh* Mg *myδr-y* /mɨžá, mɨžə́/ B *mwẓʾkk* /muẓə̄/, Yagh. *mírda* 'bead, pearl' < **múδra-(ka-)*, Ved. *mudrā́-*;

v. (in a stressed position under effect of *i*-Umlaut) > Sogd. *u̯ɨ́*[139] (>*⁽ʷ⁾ɨ́/⁽ʷ⁾i*), Yagh. *i*: Sogd. C √*nyγwynt̲* /√nɨ́γu̯ɨṁd/ '[(s)he] dressed *(3rd pers. sg. impf.)*' < **ni-ʜa-gúndaia-t*, Khwār. /(ə)nγwind/; Sogd. B *frʾʾwyšcy* M *frʾwycyẖ* /frāwɨ(š)či/, Yagh. *farómič* ‖ *fᵘrómič* / *fᵘrómič* 'obliviousness' < **frāmúšti-*; S *wyzp-* B *wzp-* M *wjp-* C *ʾwžb-ʾ* /u̯ɨžḭ̯á/ < **úbžia* 'terror';

vi. **uu̯a* (following **x*) > Sogd. *ū*, Yagh. *ū*: Sogd. Sogd. B *γwr* M *xwr* /xūr/, Yagh. *xūr* 'sun' < **huu̯ár-*, Ved. *suvár-*;

vii. **hu-* (followed by more than one consonant) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. S M √*ʾwβt-* C √*ʾwbd-*, √*ʾwft̲-* /√uβḍ-/, Yagh. *úfta* 'to sleep *(past part.)*' < **húfta-(ka-)*;

(ad *ii.*) Reduction of unstressed Ir. **u* together with **a*, **i* and their merger to *ə* (/*ɨ*) can be compared with Munjī, where unstressed **i*, **a* and **u* changed to *ə*, *ă*, *ŭ* and nowadays they all merge to *Schwa*: Munj. *γő(n)dŭm (~ γő(n)dəm)* 'wheat' < **gántuma-*; Sogd. S *γntm* C *γnt̲m* /γáṁdəm/, Yagh. *γámtun*/*γántum*. In Munjī *ŭ* shifted to *ə* does not cause labialization of velars as in Sogdian. In the Iron dialect of Ossetic there is merger of *Proto-Ossetic **i* and **u* (Ir. < **ǐ*,

[138] Position of stress on **i* can be also caused by operation of *Stress II* after a syncope of word-initial **a-*: **abí-ar-*/**abi-ár-* (with *Stress I* either on a second syllable of prefix or on a root) > **βíyar-* > **βír-*.

[139] According to Nicolas Sims-Williams *ü* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181).

*ŭ) > ы (in Digoron they remained unchanged), but *u following a velar or uvular sound caused labialization of the preceding tectal: *{k, k', g, q, x, γ}u > {k, k', g, q, x, γ}ʷы;

II.1.2.6. *ū

i. > Sogd. *ū*, Yagh. *ʉ̄*: Sogd. B *γwδ* /γūϑ/, Yagh. *γʉ̄s̱* ‖ *γʉ̄ⁱṯ* 'faeces' < *gū́ϑa-*, Ave. *gūϑa-*; Sogd. M *δwr* /δūr/, Yagh. *dʉ̄r* 'far' < **dū́ra-*, Pers. *dūr*;

ii. (in ablaut) > Sogd. *ū*, Yagh. *ū*: Sogd. S *(ʾ)kw* B *ʾkw*, *kʾw* M *k(ʾ)w* /ᵊk(ʷ)ū/, Yagh. *kū* 'where', OAve. *kū*;

II.1.2.7. *r̥

i. > Sogd. *əʳ*, Yagh. *ar* (?): Sogd. S *krpsʾk* /kəʳpəsḗ/, Yagh. *kalpása*[140] *(dissimilation r > l)* 'lizard' < Ir. **kŕ̥pasa-ka-*, Ave. *kahrpuna-*, Pers. *karbás*, Tjk. *kalpēsá*;

ii. > Sogd. *əʳ*, Yagh. *ur* (?): Sogd. B *ʾmrγ-y* /ᵊm(əʳ)γí/, Yagh. mʉrγ[141] 'bird, fowl' < Ir. **mŕ̥ga-*, Ave. *mərəγa-*, Ved. *mr̥gá-*;

iii. > Sogd. *iʳ*, Yagh. *ir*: Sogd. M *kyrm-y* C *qyrm-y* /kiʳmí/, Yagh. *kír(ⁱ)m* 'snake' < Ir. **kr̥mi-*, Ved. *kŕ̥mi-*;

iv. (in front of *i̯) > Sogd. *iʳ* (*ir*), Yagh. *ir*: Sogd. C √*ṯr-* /√tir-/, Yagh. *tir-* 'to go' < **tŕ̥i̯a-*; Sogd. S B M C √*myr-* /√mɨr-/, Yagh. *mir-* 'to die' < **mr̥i̯a-*;

v. > Sogd. *iʳ*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. **tiʳšpḗ*, Yagh. *tíšpa* 'sour' < **tŕ̥špa-ka-* (Khromov 1987, 653); Sodg. B *krm(ʾ)yr*, *kyrmyr* M *qrmyr* C *qyrmyr* /kiʳmḗr/, Yagh. *kamḗr* ‖ *kⁱmḗr* 'red', Palh. *karmīr*;

vi. (following a labial sound) > Sogd. *uʳ*, Yagh. *ur*: Sogd. B √*βwrt-* /√βuʳt-/, Yagh. *vúrta* 'to bring *(past part.)*' < **bŕ̥ta-(ka-)*; Sogd. B M √*mwrt-* C √*mwrṯ-* /√muʳt-/, Yagh. *múrta* 'to die *(past part.)*' < **mŕ̥ta-(ka-)*;

vii. (in present stem of the verb *kar- 'to do') > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *u*: Sogd. S B M √*kwn-* C √*qwn-* /√kun-/, Yagh. *kun-* 'to do, to make' < **kr̥nau̯a-*, Ave. *kərənaoⁱti*; Ved. *kr̥nóti* 'he does';

viii. (before *t, *ʦ, *ʣ, *š, *ž, *γ < *g) > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. S √*(ʾ)krt-* B √*ʾkrt-* M √*(ʾ)kt-* C √*(ʾ)qṯ-* /√ⁱkt-/, Yagh. *íkta* 'to do, to make *(past part.)*' < **kŕ̥ta-(ka-)*; Sogd. B *yγ(ʾ)rt-y*, *yrγt* C *yγrṯ-y* /yə(ʳ)γdí/, Yagh. *yaxt (yaγd)* 'wide' < **u̯i-gŕ̥ta-*;

ix. (before *š (< Ide. *tk̑)) > Sogd. *ə₍ʳ₎š̌*, Yagh. *?*: Sogd. B *ʾššh* /ə₍ʳ₎š̌šá/ 'bear' < **Hŕ̥ša-*, YAve. *arša-*, Khwār. *hrs*, Pers. *xirs*, Ved. *ŕ̥kṣa-*, Ide. **h₁r̥tk̑o-* (GMS §155);

x. (before *nt/*nd, *nk/*ng, *xt, *xs, *g) > Sogd. *ra*, Yagh. *?*: Sogd. B √*ʾnkrʾnt* M √*ʾngrnd* /√áṁgraṁd/ 'to cut' < **ham-kŕ̥nta-*; Sogd. M *βṯrnng-* /βᵊtráṁg-/ 'oppression' < **abi-tŕ̥nga-* (**abi-tŕ̥nka-*) (GMS § 152);

[140] The Yaghnōbī form was probably influenced by Tjk. *kalpēsá* (this word itself can be of Sogdian origin), Pers. *karbás*.

[141] A Persian loan: Pers. *murγ* 'bird, fowl'?

xi. (before **ft*, **nč*) > Sogd. *ri*, Yagh. *ri*: Sogd. AL √*ptɣryβt-* /√pᵊtɣriβḍ̥-/ 'to take *(past part.)*', Yagh. *ɣⁱrífta* 'to know, to understand *(past part.)*' < **(pati-)gr̥fta-(ka-)* < **gr̥b-* 'to know, to understand, to take', Ave. *gərəbiia-*, OPers. *gr̥bāya-*, Pers. *giriftán : gīr-* 'to take' (GMS §153a);

xii. (before **fš* or in the cluster **mr̥š*) > Sogd. *ru*, Yagh. *?*: Sogd. S √*zɣrwβs-* /√zᵊɣrufs-/ 'to be raised' < **udz-gr̥fša-*; Sogd. M √*pcmrws-* /√pᵊčmrus-/ 'to touch' < **pati-mr̥šta-* (GMS §153b);

xiii. **r̥n* > Sogd. *ʳn*, Yagh. *n(n)*: Sogd. B M C *pwrn-y* /puʳní/[142], Yagh. *pun(n)* 'full' < **pr̥na-*;

xiv. **u̯r̥-* > Sogd. *wiʳ*, Yagh. *ur*: Sogd. B *wyrk-y* C *wyrq-y* /wiʳkí/, Yagh. *urk* 'wolf' < **u̯r̥ka-*, Ave. *vəhrka-*, Pers. *gurg*, Ved. *vr̥ka-*;

xv. **u̯r̥* (before **t*, **s*, **z*, **š*, **ž*, **ɣ* < **g*) > Sogd. *u*, Yagh. *?*: Sogd. M *wšn-y* /ʷušní/ 'hungry' < **u̯r̥šna-*, colloq. Tjk. *gušná*, Tehr. *gošné* < Pers. *gurusná*;

II.1.2.8. **ă̯i̯*[143]

i. > Sogd. *ē*, Yagh. *ī*: Sogd. S B M *ʾyð* /ēð/, Yagh. *īd* 'this' < **á̯ita-*;

ii. **(h)ai̯* (word-initially) > Sogd. *i*, Yagh. *ī/ē*: Yagh. *īx/ēx* 'ice' < **á̯ixa-*, Ave. *aēxa-*; Sogd. B *yyðɣn* /ʸiðxán/ 'glacier' < Ir. **á̯ixa-dāna-*; Sogd. Mg *yttkw* B *ytkw* M *ytqw* /ʸitkú/ < **itúk*, Yagh. *ētk/ītk* 'bridge' < **háu̯itu-ka-*; Sogd. B Č *ʾzm-y* /izmí/, Yagh. *ízⁱm* 'firewood' < **á̯izma-*, Ave. *aēsma-*, Khwār. *ʾzm*, Pers. *hēzúm*, Ved. *idᵇmá-*;

iii. **ai̯(a)* > Sogd. *ē*, Yagh. *ē*: Sogd. B *ɣrʾyk(ʾ)* M *ɣryk* /ɣrék(ă)/, Yagh. *ɣⁱrék* 'clay, earth' < Ir. **grái̯a-ka-*; Sogd. B *ʾspʾyt(ʾk)*, *ʾsp(ʾ)ytk*, *(ʾ)spʾytk*, *(ʾ)spʾyty* C *spyt̰y* /ⁱspét(ĕ)/, Yagh. *sⁱpéta* 'white' < **θu̯ái̯ita-(ka-)*, Ave. *spaēta-*;

iv. **-ă̯i̯a-* (in the word **θrăi̯a-*) > Sogd. *ai̯ (?)*, Yagh. *ay*: Sogd. S *ðry* Mg *ðryw* B *(ʾ)ðry* M *ðry(y)* C *šy* /ᵊšai̯/, Yagh. *ʂaráy* ‖ *t̰ⁱráy* 'three' < **θrăi̯a-*; Ave. *θrāiiō*, Pers. se;

v. **ai̯t* (in the word **bai̯t-*) > Sogd. *ē*, Yagh. *ē*: Sogd. S B *βyk* M *βyk*, *βyq* C *byq* /βēk/, Yagh. *vēk* 'side, outside; external' < Ir. **bai̯t-kă-*, Ave. *bōit̰*, *bā*, *bē*;

vi. **u̯ă̯i̯* > Sogd. *üĕ̯*, Yagh. *?*: Sogd. S B *ɣwyštr* M *xw(y)štr* C *xwšt̰r* /xü̯ĕ̯štər > xə̯̆štər/ 'chief' < **hu̯ă(i̯)-išta-tara-*, Ave. *hᵛōišta-* 'the higher (one)';

(ad *iv.*) Preservation of the diphthong in the cluster **-ă̯i̯a-* in forms of the numeral *θrăi̯a-* 'three', is similar in the other Eastern Iranian languages, e.g.: Bactr. *ναϱηιο* /hərēy/, Shugh. *aray*, Rōsh. Bart. *arāy*, Sarīq. *aroy*, Ishk. *rů(y)*, Sangl. *rōy*, Yazgh. *cůy*, Wakh. *trū(y)*, Munj. *x̌iray*, Yidgh. *x̌iray*, *x̌uroy* × Oss. *ærtæ*, Pasht. *drē*, Khōt. *drai*, Tumshuq. *dre*, Khwār. *šy* /šē/; cf. Tjk. dial. of Tafkōn *ɯρau* (MALLITSKIY 1924). Such feature is related to shortening of

[142] In Sogdian dialect of Zhetisu **r̥n* > *n(n)*: *pwn* /pun(n)/ 'full' < **pr̥na-* (LIVSHITS 2008, 351-352).

[143] In *Proto-Sogdic there we can observe instead of the expected diphthong **ă̯i̯* its innovated form **aĕ̯*, or even **æĕ̯*; cf. also spelling of this diphthong in Avestan: *aē*.

**ā* shown in II.1.2.2.*iv-v.*, it is an Eastern Iranian isogloss **ā* > **ă* in front of **i̯* or **u̯* (cf. MACKENZIE 1988, 88-89), in majority of the Eastern Iranian languages this "new" **ă* has not been contracted **ai̯(a)* > **ē*, the diphthong has been usually preserved, but it could have undergone some later changes in various languages.

According to spelling of the umeral "three" in the Mount Mugh documents as *ʾθryw* (< **θrái̯am ??*) It can be supposed, that the mumeral "three" was pronounced **ʾšai̯*, which may later changed to **ʾš̌ē*.

II.1.2.9. **ău̯*[144]

i. > Sogd. *ō*, Yagh. *ū*: Sogd. B *βwδδh* M *βwδ* /βōδ/, Yagh. *vūd* 'scent' < *báu̯da-*, Ave. *bao^{i}ði-*; Sogd. B M *šwk* C *šwq* /šōk/, Yagh. *šūk* 'silent' < **a-ϯráu̯ka-*; Sogd. B M *rwps* /rṓpas/, Yagh. *rúpas* 'fox' < **ráu̯pă̆ϯa-*, Pers. *rōbāh*, Ved. *lopāśá-*; Sogd. S B M C *rwγn* Br *ro haṃ*, *ro γaṃ* /rṓγ^{ə}n/, Yagh. *rúγ^{i}n*, *rúγan* 'oil, butter' < **ráu̯gna-*, Ave. *raoγna-*, Pers. *rōγán*, Tjk. *rau̯γán*;

ii. (preceding **xm*, **xš(u̯)*) > Sogd. *o*, Yagh. *a*: Sogd. S B *tγm-y* C *t̲xm-y* /toxmí/, S B *tγmy* C *t̲(w)xmy* /toxmḗ/, Yagh. *taxm* 'egg, seed' < **tă̆o̯xma-(ka-)* < **táu̯xman-*, Ave. *taoxman-*, OPers. *tau̯mā-*, Pahl. *tōm*, Pers. *tuxm*; Sogd. S B *rwγšn-y* M C *rwxšn-y* /roxšní/ 'light *(of colour)*', Yagh. *ráxš^{i}n* 'dawn' < **ră̆o̯xšna-* < **ráu̯xšna-*, Ave. *raoxšna-*;

iii. (affected by *i*-Umlaut) > Sogd. *ü̆ě̆*, Yagh. *ē* ‖ *ai̯ (?)*: Sogd. B *√tw(y)ẓ*, *√twz* M *√twj* C *√t̲wž* /√tü̆ě̆ž > √tōž/ 'to pay' < **tau̯ǰai̯a-*; Sogd. S *√pckwyr* /√pᵊčkü̆ě̆r/, Yagh. *č^{i}kḗr-* ‖ *č^{u}kái̯r-* 'to fear' < **pati-kắu̯rai̯a-* (?);

iv. (affected by *i*-Umlaut after dissimilation or in vicinity of a labial sound) > Sogd. *ě̆*, Yagh. *ē*: Sogd. B *γwt(ʾ)ynh* /xutḗn/ < *xu̯ətü̆ě̆n* 'queen' < **hu̯a-tắu̯nī-*; Sogd. Sogd. B Mg *γypδ* M *xypδ(δ)* C *xy̯pϑ* Br *he-p̲* /xḗp(ə)ϑ/, Yagh. E *xēp* 'own, self' < **xü̆ě̆pϑ* < **hu̯ắ-paϑi̯a-*, Ave. *x^{v}aēpaϑiia-* (× Yagh. W *xap* < **hu̯ắ-paϑa-*);

v. **i̯au̯* (affected by *i*-Umlaut) > Sogd. *i̊*, Yagh. *i*: Sogd. S *ʾync(h)*, *ynch* B Mg *ʾync(h)* M *ʿync* C *ʾync* /ʸi̊ṁǰ/, Yagh. *inč* 'woman, wife' < **i̯áu̯ni-kā-*.

II.1.3. Consonants

The (Eastern) Old Iranian system of 24 (26) consonants (**p*, **t*, **k*, **č*, **b*, **d*, **g*, **ǰ*, **f*, **θ*, **x*, **x^{u}*/**hu̯*, **š*, **ž*, **m*, **n*, **r*, *(*l)*, **s*, **h*, **z*, **ϯ*, **dz*, **i̯*, **u̯*, *(*ʜ)*) underwent a number of changes during its development towards Sogdian and Yaghnōbī, Sogdian had 25 consonants (*p*, *t*, *k*, *č*, *ϯ*, *f*, *ϑ*, *x*, *x°*, *š*, *š̤*, *β*, *δ*, *γ*, *ž*, *ž̤*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *h*, *z*, *y*, *w*)[145] and Yaghnōbī has 28 consonants (*p*, *t*, *k*, *č*, *q*,

[144] Instead of the original diphthong **ău̯* we can expect an innovated form **aŏ̯*, or **åŏ̯* in *Proto-Sogdic; see spelling of this diphthong in Avestan: *ao*.

[145] With five voiced allophones *b*, *d*, *g*, *ǰ*, *dz* and four labialized allophones (originating from unstressed **u* > ^{w}ə/^{w}i̊) $^{(ə)}k^{w}$, $^{(ə)}g^{w}$, $^{(ə)}x^{w}$, $^{(ə)}\gamma^{w}$. In Sanskrit and Turkic loan-words may appear *ṭ*, *ṭ^{h}*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *q*; and in Aramaic loans (less) possibly *ʔ*, *ʕ*, *s^{ʕ} (~ ϯ^{ʕ})*, *t^{ʕ}*, *ḥ*. Status of *l* and *h* in inherited lexicon is unclear.

b, *d*, *g*, *ǰ*, *f*, *x*, *x̊*, *š*, *v*, *γ*, *ž*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *h*, *z*, *y*, *w*, *ḥ*, *ɛ*)[146]. For the Eastern Middle Iranian languages (at least in their early stages) is characteristic a phonemic opposition of voiceless stops and voiced fricatives **p : *β, *t : *ð, *k : *γ, *č : *ž* which emerged after spirantization of voiced stops (**b*, **d*, **g*, **ǰ* > **β*, **ð*, **γ*, **ž*)[147]. This led to threefold opposition of consonants (see Table 36), other *Proto-Sogdic consonants (except voice opposition **s : *z*) do not have any phonemic opposition. The threefold opposition was replaced by fourfold opposition (i.e. voiced × voiceless stop and voiced × voiceless fricative) in both languages, but origin of new voiced stops differ. In Sogdian the new voiced stops emerged from voicing of voiceless stops after voiced fricatives or after a nasal (or better after a vocalic nasal prolongation *ṁ*), in Yaghnōbī voiced stops emerged from voice assimilation (certainly for *b* and *d*), later Yaghnōbī voiced stops were borrowed from Tajik, Arabic and Uzbek.

**p*	**t*	**k*	**č*
**f* **β*	**θ* **ð*	**x* **γ*	**š* **ž*

Table 36 Threefold opposition of consonants in *Proto-Sogdic.

In total (i.e. with allophones) Sogdian consonant system consisted of 34 consonants (excluding consonants appearing only in loans), outline of consonantal sounds with their representation in alphabets utilized for Sogdian is presented in Table 37. Real number of consonants was certainly smaller, e.g. voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g*, *(g^{w})*, *ǰ* (and *ʒ*) can be classified only as allophones of their voiceless counterparts *p*, *t*, *k*, *(k^{w})*, *č*, *ʦ*; phonemes *k^{w}*, *g^{w}*, *x^{w}*, *γ^{w}* can be also considered as allophonous. Questionable is whether these sounds were labiovelars or (secondary) labialized velars. Stress shift (probably *Stress III*) caused reduction of historical short vowels in unstressed position, following a velar this historical unstressed reduced **u* was still spelled by the letter *waw*. It can be supposed that *Proto-Sogdic (or *Proto-Sogdian) velars were secondary labialized when they preceded **ŭ* and most likely also before **ŏ*; later when **u* was reduced to *ə* – the change was not reflected in spelling after velars, and continues to be written with the letter *waw*, in this case it is either archaic spelling or an attempt to spell labialized characteristics of a preceding velar. There were probably two /x^{w}/ sounds in Sogdian, respectively it was of two sources: 1) it is a continuant of Iranian **x^{u}* (< **hu̯* < IIr., Ide. **su̯*), and 2) it is a result of secondary labialization of *Proto-Sogdic **x*. In documents written in the Sogdian script an indirect result of labialization of velars can be marked word-initially by spelling with a prothetic *Schwa* *ʾ* <ʾ>: Sogd. S B *ʾkwt-y* (× M *kwt-y*, *qwt-y*) /ᵊkʷətí/, Yagh. *kut* 'dog'; Sogd. S *ʾxwštr-y* B *ʾγwštr-y* (× M *xwštr-y*) /ᵊxʷəštrí/ 'camel' < **uxštra-*; Sogd. AL *ʾxwmtʾn* /ᵊXʷəmdā́n/ 'Khumdān, *Xianyang* (city in China)' [Khōt. *Humdān*, Syr. *hwmdʾn*]; prothesis of *ʾ* does not appear before vowels beginning in historical **x^{u}* (**hu̯*), e.g. Sogd. S B √*γwr-* /√xᵒər-/, not †/√ᵊxʷər-/, Yagh. *x̊ar-* 'to eat'. According to documents in the Brāhmī script the labialized velars later lost their

[146] While the consonants *q*, *g*, *ǰ*, *l*, *h*, *ḥ*, *ɛ* appear only in borrowed lexicon, *b* is rare in genuine Yaghnōbī words. It is possible that *l* and *h* can be inherited in some cases.

[147] See analogical situation in Hellenistic Greek: π /p/ : β /β/, τ /t/ : δ /ð/, κ /k/ : γ /ɣ/ (BROWNING 1983, 26-27).

labial character, e.g. Sogd. Br *knā* /kənā̋/ × Sogd. B M *kwnʾ* C *qwnʾ* /kʷənā̋/, Yagh. *kun* 'do!, make! *(2nd pers. sg. imper. pres.)*'; delabialization can be better seen in the case of *x°* – for the stem *x°ər-* (Yagh. *x̊ar-*) 'to eat', there are attested following forms: Sogd. Br *ho-rt* /xŏṙt/[148] × B √*γwrt* /x°aṙt/ *(inf.)*, *hu rā-t̲* /xuŕāt/ < /x°əŕāt/, Yagh. *x̊arōt (3rd pers. sg. sbjn.)*, *hu re* /xuŕ̋ē/ < /x°əŕ̋ē/ *(3rd pers. sg. opt.)*; similarly delabialization can be seen also on Sogd. Br *hu tte* /xuṯ̋ē/ × Sogd. S *xwty*, *γwty* B *γwtʾ(ʾ)y*, *γwty* M *xwty* C *xwt̲y*, *xwdy* /x°ətí/, Yagh. *x̊at* 'own, self'.[149]

In Sogdian there may be assumed special treatment of clusters *γd* and *γð* following a reduced **u*: this phenomenon can be well demonstrated on doublets in following examples[150]: Sogd. AL *ðwγðr*, *ðwγth* S *ðwxth* M *ðwγt(ʾ)* C *dwγt̲(ʾ)* × S B *ðγwth* 'daughter' < **duxtar-*; Sogd. S *swγð(ʾ)yk* × S *sγwðyk* 'Sogdian' < **ϯug(u)diia-kă-*[151]. These examples show probable development **CuγD* (*D* = voiced dental stop or fricative) > **Cəγʷ D* (certainly not **Cγʷəd* as there is no prothesis preceding the consonant cluster), i.e. the *γd/γð* cluster was probably realised as **C{uγ}ʷD* > **C{əγ}ʷD* or even **C{uγD}ʷ* > **C{əγD}ʷ*. Similar development may be assumed also for Sogdian words S *sγwtmʾn* 'all' (C *swγt̲mʾn* S M *sγtmʾn*) I suppose that the letter *waw* marks labialization i.e. **səγʷdəmā́n*, unfortunately, etymology of this word is not given in GMS and is neither known to me, Ilya Gershevitch interprets the letter *waw* as epenthesis of *u* (GMS §482).

consonant	Sogdian alphabet	Manichaean alphabet	Syriac alphabet	Brāhmī script[152]
p	*p*	*p*	*p*	*p*, *pᵇ*, *p̲*
t	*t*	*t*, *t̲*	*t̲ (/t)*	*t*, *tt*, *ṭ*, *t̲*
k	*k*	*k*, *q*	*k*, *q*	*k*, *k̲*
č	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*, *ccᵇ*, *j*
ʦ	*(c)*, *ts*	*(c)*, *ts*	*c*	
b	*p*, *(β)*	*p*, *b*	*p*, *b*	*b*
d	*t*, *(ð)*	*t*, *t̲*, *d*, *dt*, *dt̲*	*t̲ (/t)*, *d*	*d*, *dᵇ*, *t*, *t̲*
g	*k*, *(γ)*	*k*, *q*, *g*	*k*, *q*, *g*	*g*

[148] Here is an interesting similarity with Tājīk (and Darī?): Pers. *xᵛarđán* > *xᵛurđán :* Tjk. /xu̎rdán/, AfghP. /x(ʷ)ŏrdán/, Fārs. /xordán/. In the case *ho-rt* /xŏṙt/ can be seen a feature similar to lengthening of **a* before *r_{č, t, *ϑ}* in Yaghnōbī verbal roots – e.g. Yagh. *x̊ar- : x̊ŏŕči* 'to eat *(present stem : 3rd pers. sg. pres.)*'.

[149] Delabialization is unclear in these cases – in the word *kənā̋* < *kʷənā̋* this feature can be seen well. In examples *xŏṙt* < **xʷaṙt*; *xuŕāt* < **xʷərā́t*; *xuŕ̋ē* < **xʷərā́̋* and *xuṯ̋ē* < **xʷətí* labial character of *xʷ* is of different origin – it continues from Iranian **xᵘ* and not from secondary labialization caused by reduction of unstressed **u*. It is possible that the spelling *ho-rt*, *hu rā-t̲*, *hu re* and *hu tte* should be read with initial *xʷ-*: /xʷŏṙt, xʷərā́t, xʷərĕ́, xʷətí/, i.e., graphemes *ho* and *hu* represented *xʷŏ* and *xʷə*; in the second case there thus can be seen again the omission of spelling of *Schwa* in an open syllable (see excursion 4).

[150] In most cases I will put down only spelling varieties in the Sogdian script (i.e. secular texts in the Sogdian script or Buddhist texts), in the Manichaean and Syriac scripts there are no attested such examples of metathesis. In majority of example I will not give phonetic transcription.

[151] Spelling like S *swγð(ʾ)yk* or *sγwðyk* can be also explained as development from **ϯugudiia-ka-*, cf. OPers. spelling <*sᵃ-u-gᵘ-dᵃ*>, <*sᵃ-u-gᵘ-u-dᵃ*> or <*sᵃ-u-gᵃ-dᵃ*>. In Manichaean spelling is attested spelling like M *swγðyʾw* × S *sγwðyʾw*.

[152] Here will be given only consonantal part of *akṣara*.

consonant	Sogdian alphabet	Manichaean alphabet	Syriac alphabet	Brāhmī script[152]
ǰ	*c*	*c, j*	*c*	*j*
(ʒ)	*(c)*	*(c)*	*(c)*	
f	*β, f, p, p̄*	*f*	*f*	*w, wv*
𐼳	𐼴	𐼴, 𐼴𐼴	𐼳 *(/𐼳)*	*tʰ-, ṭ, t̲*
x	*x, (γ)*	*x*	*x*	*h*
x°	*xw, (γw)*	*xw*	*xw*	
xš	*xš, (γš)*	*xš*	*xš*	*hṣ*
β	*β*	*β*	*b*	*v, wv*
βd	*βt*	*βt*	*bṭ, bd*	*wṭ, wt, wdʰ*
𐼴	𐼴	𐼴	*d*	𐼴, *ḍʰ*
γ	*γ*	*γ*	*γ*	*γ, h*
γd	*γt, γ*𐼴	*γt*	*γṭ, γd*	
s	*s*	*s*	*s*	*s*
š	*š*	*š*	*š*	*ś, ṣ, ṣ̲*
z	*z, ẓ, z̲*	*z*	*z*	*z*
ž		*j, ž*	*ž*	*ź, ś, ṣ*
š̌	*š, 𐼴r*	*š*	*š*	*ś, ṣ*
ž̌	*z, ẓ, z̲, 𐼴r*	*j, ž*	*ž*	*ź, ś, ṣ*
m	*m*	*m*	*m*	*m, m̲*
n	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n, ṇ, (-)ṃ*
ṁb	*mp, np*	*mp, mb*	*mp*	*mp*
ṁd	*nt*	*nt, nt, nd, ndt, ndṭ*	*nṭ*	
ṁg	*nk*	*n(n)g, nk, nq*	*ng, nk, nq*	
ṁǰ	*nc*	*nc, nj*	*nc*	
r	*r*	*r*	*r*	*r, r̲*
[l]	*r, l,* 𐼴	*l,* 𐼴	*l*	*l, l̲*
y	*y*	*y*	*y*	*y*
ʸ				
w	*w*	*w*	*w*	*v, u̲*
ʷ				*ø (ʔ)*
[h]	*x*	*x, h*	*h, h̲*	*h*
[ṭ]	*r, rt*			
[ṭʰ]				*ṭ, ṭʰ, ṭ̲*
[ḍ]	*r*			*ḍ*
[ṇ]	*rn*	*rn*		*ṇ*
[q]	*x, (ẍ)*			*(hk)*
{ṭ}			*ṭ*	
{q}			*q*	
{ṣ}	*(c)*		*c*	
{ʔ}	*x, (ʾ)*		*(ʾ)*	
{ḥ}	*(x)*		*ḥ*	
{ʕ}	*(ʿ)*		*γ*	

Table 37 Spelling of consonants in the Sogdian, Manichaean and Syriac script and in the Brāhmī script.

In Yaghnōbī there are no traces of *Proto-Sogdian labialization of velars (but it is possible that this feature was already *Proto-Sogdic), the only possible example of a reflex of labialization can be found in Yaghnōbī verb W *čᵘkái̯rak* (E *čⁱkɛ́rak*) 'to fear' – a precise etymology of this verb is not known to me, it may have been derived from **pati-kă̆u̯raia̯-*?; in Sogdian there is attested s √*pckwyr* /√pᵊčkʷy̆̆er ~ √pᵊčkü̯y̆̆er/, so probably svarabhakti ᵘ in Western Yaghnōbī can be a reflex of original *kʷ* (according to development of reduced vowels in Western Yaghnōbī we should expect *†čⁱkái̯r-* as in Eastern Yaghnōbī, although here ⁱ can be influenced by palatalization of *k* before *ɛ́*).

The Manichaean alphabet as the only Aramaic-derived alphabet could spell voiced stoops *b*, *d*, *g*. The original voiced stops changed in *Proto-Sogdic to fricatives, in Sogdian voiced stops appear from secondary development – either as a result of voice assimilation or from loan words.

/p/	[pʰ]		pó̆da
	[p]	allophonous pronunciation in front of another consonant	ípti
/b/	[b]		bⁱdé̆n
/t̯/	[tʰ]		tírak, mēt̯, xⁱšíft
/t/	[t]	allophonous pronunciation in front of another consonant	ētk
/d/	[d]		díndak̂
/č/	[ʧʲ]		čaɣz, čínak
/ǰ/	[ʤʲ]		ǰa̯xak
/k/	[kʰ]		kōy
	[k]	allophonous pronunciation in front of another consonant	bŭktár
	[cʰ]	allophonous pronunciation in vicinity of a front vowel	t̂īk̂, fīk̂, šarí̆k̂, káxik̂
	[c]	allophonous pronunciation following a front vowel in front of another consonant	íḱta
/g/	[g]		gᵘzárak
	[ɟ]	allophonous pronunciation in vicinity of a front vowel	ĝird
/q/	[qʰ]		haq
	[q]	allophonous pronunciation in front of another consonant	maqsád
	[ʁ]	voiced variety of *q* (not †[ɢ])	qōq ['qʰoːʁ] dayró̆
/m/	[m]		mēxk
	[ɱ]	allophone of *m* in front of *v*, *f*	čúmfak
/n/	[n]		nēn
	[ŋ]	allophone of *n* preceding a velar	īránka
/f/	[f]		fúšma
/v/	[v]		vⁱró̆t
/s/	[s]		s̯aráy, sōrt, sⁱnó̆yak
/s̯/			
/z/	[z]		zōy, zēnk
/š/	[ʃ]		šíš̆a
	[ʧʲ]	in some loans from Tajik can be pronounced as *č*	ōč < ōš, čapaló̆q < šapaló̆q
/ž/	[ʒʲ]		žŭ́ta
	[ʤʲ]	mainly in non-native words it can be pronounced *ǰ*	aždahó̆r [a(d)ʒʲdaˈhoːr], ráu̯ǰna [ˈrau̯(d)ʒʲna]

/x/	[χ]		xa̰r
/ɣ/	[ʁ]		ɣayk
/x̊/	[χʷ]		x̊a̰rak, x̊a̰t, x̊ōr
	[χ]	often loses its labialized character when followed by *ō*	x̊ōr
/h/	[h]		hámma, naháx
/ḥ/	[ħ]	archaic pronunciation of *ḥ* of Arabic origin, in common speech it merges with *h*	ḥiss > hiss, suḥbát > suhbát
			aḥmáq
/ʕ/	[ʕ]	pronunciation of *ʿayn* in Modern Yaghnōbī is preserved only in a word *šaʕmák*	šaʕmák
	ø	the *ʿayn*-sound usually disappears in pronunciation, it often prolongs preceding vowel, following a consonant it may be realized as slight stop in speech	ʕúdda > údda; qalʕá > [qʰɑl.ˈæ]
/w/	[β̞]		wáfir, wə́nak
/u̯/	[u̯]	allophonous pronunciation of *w* following a vowel	dēu̯ [ˈdeːu̯]
	[β̞]		sau̯dí̯ [saβ̞ˈdiː], sarkű̯u̯ [sarˈkʰuːβ̞]
y	[j]		yau̯
r	[r]		čarx, rə́ta
l	[l]		púl(l)a

Table 38 Yaghnōbī consonant system (NOVÁK 2010, 222-223).

Historically Yaghnōbī consonant system differs only a little from the state reconstructed for Sogdian. The main differences can be seen in lack of labialization of velars in front of a labial vowels and different development of voicing[153]. In comparison to Sogdian it can be said that in Yaghnōbī there are no voiced stops (and affricate) in diachronic view, the voiced consonants emerged from positional allophones. From synchronic point of view Yaghnōbī there is developed opposition of voiceless and voiced stops and affricates, the only exception is uvular stop *q* which has no voiced counterpart in voiced uvular stop †[ɢ] – voiced counterpart of *q* is voiced uvular fricative *ɣ*. Yaghnōbī consonant system is the same as consonant system of the Zarafshān Tajik dialects – only voiced alveopalatals fricative *ž* appears more often in Yaghnōbī in contrast to Zarafshān Tajik[154] (mainly dialects of Mastchōh; cf. KHROMOV 1962, 27). Yaghnōbī consonant system is also comparable to consonant system of literary Tajik, but the standard Tajik language lacks voiceless pharyngeal fricative *ḥ* which merged with voiceless glottal fricative *h* (*ḥ* appeared together with voiced pharyngeal fricative *ʕ* both in Yaghnōbī and Mastchōhī in speech of older generations, nowadays *ḥ* is usually realised as *h* and *ʕ* is either lost or it prolongs preceding vowel in Yaghnōbī). Interesting feature is a common change of Tajik (and colloquially Russian) *ž* to *ǰ* both in Mastchōhī and in Yaghnōbī, this feature is observable also in

[153] And also lack of *ʁ* in Yaghnōbī, but it is a question whether *ʁ* was a separate phoneme in Sogdian. Nowadays *ʁ* can appear in some Russian loans in Yaghnōbī, but it is usually realized as *s*: Yagh. *revalúsiya* 'revolution' < Rus. *революция*, *gastínisa* 'tavern' < *гости́ница*, *kansért* 'concert' < *конце́рт*, *sigán* / *ʁigán* 'Gypsy' < *цыга́н*.

[154] As *ž* appears rarely also in Persian, in the Zarafshān dialects *ž* appears only in words of Eastern-Iranian (*Zarafshānī) origin.

colloquial Tajik and in many Tajik dialects (RASTORGUEVA 1964, 44-45) or Uzbek: Pers. Tjk. *mižá* 'eyelash' > Yagh. *míǰ(ǰ)a*, TMast. *miǰá*, Pers. *žālá*, Tjk. *žōlá* 'hail' > Yagh. *ǰóla*, TMast. *ǰōlá*; in Yaghnōbī also Tajik *š* occasionally changes to *č*: Tjk. *ōš* 'pilaf' > Yagh. *ōč* (KHROMOV 1987, 656), Uzb. *šapałåq* 'slap' > Tjk. *šapalóq* > Yagh. *čapalóq*.

Development of Iranian consonants in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī can be characterized as follows:

II.1.3.1. **p*

i. > Sogd. *p*[155], Yagh. *p*: Sogd. S *ʾʾph* B *ʾʾp(h)* M *ʾʾp* C *ʾp* Br *ā-p̲* /āp/, Yagh. *ōp* 'water' > **āp-*, Ave. *āp-*; Sogd. B M *pʾδ* /pāδ/, Yagh. *póda* 'foot' < **páda-(ka-)*, Ave. *pāδa-*, OPers. *pāda-*; Sogd. S B *ʾγšp-h* M *ʾxšp-ʾ(h)*, *xšp-ʾ* C *xšp-ʾ* /ᵊxšəpá/, Yagh. *xⁱšáp* 'night' < **xšapā́-*, Ave. *xšapā-*;

ii. (voice assimilation) > Sogd. *p*, Yagh. *b*: Sogd. B *√pδwβs-*, *√pδwfs-* M *√pδwfs-* /√pᵊδufs-/, Yagh. *bᵘdúfs-* 'to glue, to stick' < **upa-dáfθa-*;

iii. (before **i̯a*) > Sogd. *b*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. M *byʾmnwrz* /byā́m◌/ '*personal name*' (× Sogd. S B M C *√pyʾm* /√pyām/ 'to heal') < **upa-i̯ā́ma-*◌ (GMS §306);

II.1.3.2. **t*

i. > Sogd. *t*[156], Yagh. *t*: Sogd. S *βrʾt* B *βrʾt*, *ʾβrʾtr* M *βrʾt* C *brʾt̲* /ᵊβrāt(ər)/, Yagh. *vⁱrót* 'brother' < **brā́tar-*; Sogd. B M *tys* /tīs-/, Yagh. *tīs-* 'to enter' < **ati-íθa-*; Sogd. B *krt* /kaṙt/, Yagh. *kōrt* 'knife' < **kárta-*, Ave. *karəta-*, Pers. *kārd*; Sogd. B *√ptγw(ʾ)y* M *√ptxwʾy* C *√pt̲xwʾy*, *√pt̲wxʾy* /√pᵊtx°ā́y/, Yagh. *tᵘxšóy-* 'to kill' < **pati-xu̯ắhaia-*;

ii. (voice assimilation) > Sogd. *t*, Yagh. *d*: Sogd. S M *√ptγwš* B *√ptγ(ʾ)wš* C *√pt̲γwš* /√pᵊtγ́ōš/, Yagh. *dᵘγúš-* 'to hear' < **pati-gáu̯ša-*;

iii. (palatalized) > Sogd. *č*, Yagh. *č* (?): Sogd. S *√pckwyr* /√pᵊčkŭ̯ĕr/, Yagh. *čⁱkɛ́r-* ‖ *čᵘkái̯r-* 'to fear' < **pati-kā́u̯rai̯a-* (?); Sogd. B *√pcβʾnt* C *√pcbnt̲* /√pᵊčβáṁd/ 'to answer' < **pati-bánda-*; Sogd. B Mg *√pcγrβ-* /√pᵊčγrəβ-/ 'to accept' < **pati-grába-*; Sogd. B *γcy* M *xcy*, *ʿycy* Br *hji* /xəčí, ɨčí/ '[(s)he/it] is' < **ásči* < **ásti*; Yagh. *-či* '*ending of the 3rd pers. sg. pres.*' < **-ti-*[157];

[155] Later when following a vowel (mainly in younger Christian texts) > Sogd. *b* (~ *β*?): Sogd. C *ʾb* /āb/ (× Sogd. S *ʾʾph* B *ʾʾp(h)* M *ʾʾp* C *ʾp* Br *ā-p̲* /āp/) 'water' < **ā́p-*; Sogd. M *ʾʾbwx rwc* /ā́būx rōč/ 'name of the 10th day of a month' (× Sogd. S *ʾʾpwγʾ rwc* M *ʾʾpwx* /ā́pūx(ă) (rōč)/) < **āpa-u̯ai̯uh-rau̯ča-*, Ave. *āpō-vaiiuhīš* (GMS §305).

[156] Later in post-vocalic position and after **r* (mainly in younger Christian texts) > Sogd. *d* (~ *δ*?): Sogd. C *xwdy* /xʷədí/ (× Sogd. Br *hu tte* /xʷət-í/), Yagh. *x̊at* 'own, self' < **hu̯áta-*, Ave. *xᵛatō*; Sogd. C *xwd(ʾ)w* /xudā́u̯/ (× Sogd. S *γwtʾw* B *γwtʾ(ʾ)w* M *xwtʾw* C *xwt(ʾ)w* /xutā́u̯/) 'lord' < **hu̯a-tā́u̯an-*, Pers. *Xuδā́(i)* 'God'; Sogd. C *mrdxmy* /mā́ṙdoxmĕ/ 'human, mankind' (× Sogd. AL *mrtʾxmk* S B *mrtγmʾk(w)*, *mrtγmʾy* M *mrtxmy(y)* C *mrtxmy* /mā́ṙtoxmĕ/) < **màrtii̯a-táu̯xman-ka-*, Pers. *mardúm* (GMS §269-270).

[157] Different explanation of development of the ending *-či*: *-či* < *-čit* < **-tšit* < *-t-išt* (cf. KLIMCHITSKIY 1940, 99-100).

iv. (rarely after a vowel) > Sogd. *d* (ð ʔ), Yagh. *d*: Sogd. B M *ʾyð* C *yd* /ēd/, Yagh. *īd* 'this' < **ái̯ta-*, Ave. *aēta-*; Sogd. B *ktʾ(ʾ)m* M *ktʾm*, *kðʾm* C *qdʾm* /kədə́m/, Yagh. *kadóm*[158] 'which' < **katáma-*, Ave. *katāma-*, Pers. *kađám* (GMS §269);

v. (in secondary contact with **ð* < **d*) > Sogd. ϑ, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. B *√kðʾr* /√kəϑár/ 'to do, to work *(stem of a transitive preterite)*' < **i̯ktú-ðár-* < **kr̥tam dára-* (GMS §279);

vi. **tr̥* (word-initially) > Sogd. *čə* (ʁə ʔ), Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. B *cšn-y* M C *cn-* /čə(š)ní ~ ʁə(š)ní/ 'thirst' < **tr̥šna-*, Pers. *tašná*;

II.1.3.3. **k*

i. > Sogd. *k*[159], Yagh. *k*: Sogd. B *ktʾy*, *ktʾk* M *qt*, *qty(y)*, *ktyy* C *qt̲y* /kətə̆̄/, Yagh. *kat* 'house' < **káta-(ka-)*; Sogd. B *γʾðwkʾ* M *γʾðwk* /γáϑuk(ă)/ 'throne', Yagh. *γōt̲k* 'nest' < **gáϑŭ-kā-*, Ave. *gātu-*, OPers. *gāϑu-*; Sogd. *ky* /ki/, Yagh. *ki* 'which' < **kah*, Ave. *kō*; Sogd. B *wyrk-y* C *wyrq-y* /wirkí/, Yagh. *urk* 'wolf' < **u̯r̥ka-*, Ave. *vəhrka-*, Ved. *vr̥ka-*;

ii. (in several cases) > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *x*: Sogd. B *√γrš-*, *√γnš-* M *√xrš-*, *√xnš-*, *√xš-* /√xərš-, √xąš-/, Yagh. *xaš-* 'to pull' < **kr̥š-*, Ave. *karš-*, Ved. *kárṣati*; Sogd. B *mʾγ(w)* M C *mʾx* /mə́x(u)/, Yagh. *mōx* 'we' < **ahmə́kam-*, OPers. *ahmāxam-*;

iii. (before *-i̯ă̆*) > Sogd. *g*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. M *wβʾstgyʾẖ* /wɨβă̆stəgyă̆/ 'narrative' < **○-ka-i̯ă̆-* (GMS §246.2);

iv. (rarely) > Sogd. *č*, Yagh. ʔ: Sogd. S B M *crks* /čárkəs/ 'vulture' < **kŕ̥ka-ʁa-*, Ave. *kəhrkāsa-*, Pers. *kargás*; Sogd. C *crxwšt̲* /čárxušt/ 'wine-press' ~ cf. Pahl. *karxōš* (GMS §249);

v. (before a reduced labial vowel) > Sogd. *(ə)kʷ*, Yagh. *k*: Sogd. S B *ʾkwt-y* M *kwt-y*, *qwt-y* /ᵊkʷətí/, Yagh. *kut* 'dog' < **kúta-*, **kutī-*; Oss. *kʷыʒ* ‖ *kuy*;

vi. **-a-ka-* (denominal abstract suffix **-ka-* in ending of masculine *a*-stems) > Sogd. *-ĕ̄*, Yagh. *-a*: Sogd. B *ʾspʾyt(ʾk)*, *ʾsp(ʾ)ytk*, *(ʾ)spʾytk*, *(ʾ)spʾyty* C *spyt̲y* /ⁱspə́tĕ̄/, Yagh. *sⁱpə́ta* 'white' < **ʁu̯ái̯ta-ka-*;

vii. **-a-ka-* (denominal abstract suffix **-ka-* in ending of neuter and adverbial *a*-stems) > Sogd. *-ŏ̄*, Yagh. *-a* (ʔ): Sogd. S B M *cʾn(ʾ)kw*, *cʾnʾw* /čə́nŏ̄/ 'as, if' < **hača-ana-kam*; cf. Yagh. *čūn* < **hača-ana-(ka-)*);

viii. **-ắ-kā-* (denominal abstract suffix **-kā-* in ending of *ā*-stems) > Sogd. *-ā*, Yagh. *-a*: Sogd. M *ryrʾkh* /rə́rā/, Yagh. *rə́ra* 'saliva'; Sogd. S B *ʾʾph* /ə́pă̆/, Yagh. *ə́pa* 'water' < **ə́pă̆-kā-*, Wakh. *yupk*;

ix. **-ə́-kā-* (denominal abstract suffix **-kā-* in ending of *ā*-stems) > Sogd. *-ə́k*, Yagh. *-ə́k*: Sogd. B *(ʾ)zβʾ(ʾ)k(h)* M *zβʾk* C *zbʾq* /ᵊzβə́k/, Yagh. *zⁱvə́k* 'tongue, language' < *hiʒu̯ə́-kă̆-*,

[158] Yaghnōbī form may be borrowed from Persian.

[159] Later in post-vocalic position (in younger Christian texts) > Sogd. *g*: Sogd. C *√γwžtgʾ* /√γə́ždəgă̆/ 'to ask *(2nd pers. pl. fut.)*'; Sogd. M *nwgrwc* /nə́grōč/ 'New Year*('s day)*' < **nau̯a-ka-rau̯ča-*, Pers. *Nau̯rə́z*, Fārs. *Noᵘrúz* (GMS §246.3).

Ave. *hizū-*, *hizvā-*, *hizvah-*, Ved. *jihvā́*; Sogd. B *syʾʾk(h)* M *syʾk* C *syʾq* /səyā́k/, Yagh. *sʲyóka* ‘shadow’ < **atsāi̯ā́-kă-(ka-)*, Ave. *asaiia-*, Pers. *sāyá*;

x. **-ǐ-kă-* (denominal abstract suffix **-kă-* in ending of *ǐ*-stems) > Sogd. *-č(ă)* (*-ǰ(ă)*), Yagh. *-č*: Sogd. S *ʾync(h)*, *ynch* B Mg *ʾync(h)* M *ʿync* C *ʾync* /ʸɨṁǰ/ *(< *ɨṁč)*, Yagh. *inč* ‘woman, wife’ < **i̯áu̯ni-kā-*; Sogd. B *ʾʾrʾync* M *ʾʾrʾnj* C *ʾrync* /árɨṁǰ/ *(< *árɨṁč)*, Yagh. *ōrínǰ* ‘elbow’ < **ăráϑni-ka-*; Sogd. B *nyc* /nēč/ ‘nostrils’ < **nā́hi-kā-*, Khwār. *nʾc* /nāʒa/, Ved. *nā́sikā-*;

xi. **-u-ka-* (denominal abstract suffix **-kā-* in ending of *u*-stems) > Sogd. *-ku*, Yagh.*-k*: Sogd. Mg *yttkw* B *ytkw* M *ytqw* /ʸɨtkú/ < **ɨtúk*, Yagh. *ētk/ītk* ‘bridge’ < **hái̯tŭka-* < **hai̯tu-ka-*, Oss. I *xid* D *xed*; Sogd. S B *ʾyntk(ʾ)w* /íṁd̥ku/ ‘Indian, Indic’ < **(h)índŭka-* < **híndu-ka-*, OPers. *hiⁿduya-*, Pahl. *hindūg*, Pers. *hindú* (> Yagh. *hundú*)

xii. **-ū-kā-* (denominal abstract suffix **-kā-* in ending of *ū*-stems) > Sogd. *-uk(ă)*, Yagh. *-k*: Sogd. B *ɣʾϑwkʾ* M *ɣʾϑwk* /ɣā́ϑuk(ă)/ ‘throne’, Yagh. *ɣōt̨k* ‘nest’ < **gā́ϑŭkă-* < **gā́ϑū-kā-*, Pers. *gāh* ‘place’; Sogd. B *zʾnʾwk*, *znʾwkʾ*, M *znwq* /zănuk(ă)/, Yagh. *zōnk* ‘knee’ < **zā́nŭkă-* < **ʒā́nū-kā-*, Pers. *zānú*, Pahl. *zānūg*; Sogd. B *ʾyntʾwk* /íṁduk/ ‘Indian, Indic’ < **(h)índŭkă-* < **híndū-kā-*;

(ad *iv.*) There is a “secondary” palatalization of velars attested in some Eastern Iranian languages, mainly in the Pāmīr branch, and as a recent feature in Iron dialect of Ossetic. It is possible that the examples showing secondary palatalization **k* > *č* in Sogdian show possible loans from a Middle Iranian Pāmīr (*?*) language.

(ad *vi.-xii.*) A typical feature of the Iranian languages is extension of a nominal stem with denominal abstract suffix **-kă-* (or its variety **-čī-* for feminines). By extending the stem with the denominal abstract suffix the original nomina got a new modified meaning, but most of words did not change their meaning significantly. In individual Iranian languages various reflexes of the suffix **-kă-* can be observed: in most languages the suffix is more or less maintained (of course, with regard to its further development in various languages). However in some of the Iranian languages it leads to its peculiar transformation – its consonantal part disappears and vowels emerge into new vocalic or diphthongal ending of a nominal stem (such development may be observed in Sogdian, Yaghnōbī, Munjī-Yidghā[160], Pashtō-Waṇetsī, Saka dialects or in New Persian[161]).

Development of denominal abstract suffixes in *Proto-Sogdic had to start before operation of the *Stress II*: suffix **-kă-* became part of the stem and position of *Stress II* was governed also by presence or absence of the denominal abstract suffix: Sogd. S *ʾpsʾkkh* M *(ʾ)psʾk* C *ʾpsʾq* /ᵊpsā́k/

[160] For development of the denominal abstract suffix **-kă-* in Munjī-Yidghā see MORGENSTIERNE 1938, 114-115.

[161] “Vocalic” development of the **a-ka-*suffix can be shown on following example: Sogd. B *(ʾ)stʾrʾk* M *(ʾ)stʾry*, *ʾstry* /ⁱstā́rĕ/, Khōt. *stāraa-*, Munj. *stōráy*, Yidgh. *stárë*, Pasht. *stóray (f)*; Pers. *sitārá* × Khwār. *(ʾ)stʾrɣ̌k* /(ə)stāreg/, Ishk. *strůk*, Sangl. *ustᵊrŭk*, Shugh. *x̌itērʒ*, Bajū. *x̌itērʒ*, *x̌itērǰ*, Khūf. Rōsh. *x̌itērʒ*, *x̌ituǰ*, Bart. Rāshrv. *x̌itōrǰ*, Sarīq. *x̌ʉturǰ*, *x̌ituǰ*, Yazgh. *x̌(ə)tarag*, Ōrm. *starrak*; Parth. *ʾstʾrg* < **stāra-kă-* ‘star’.

'wreath, crown' < **pusā́kă-* < **pútʂā-kā-* (*:* Yagh. *†pᵘsṓk* × without the **-kă-* suffix may be supposed following development: **†pútʂā- (Stress II) :* Yagh. *†pus* > *†pŭsá (Stress III) :* Sogd. *†pᵊsá*). The change of the denominal abstract suffix **-kă-* in an innovated word-stem has two responses: 1) forms preserving **-k-*, or 2) contracted forms, in which internal **-k-* disappeared and subsequently underwent other sound changes.

(1) The original consonant was retained in some feminine *ā*-stems and in forms of *ŭ*-stems. In case of feminine *ā*-stem, **-k-* was retained when the suffix **-kā-* followed a stressed syllable (that emerged from the *Stress II* shift): Sogd. B *(ʾ)zβʾ(ʾ)k* M *zβʾk* C *zbʾq* /ᵊzβā́k/, Yagh. *zⁱvṓk* 'tongue, language' < **hĭzβā́kă-* < **hiʒu̯ā-kă-* [cf. Pers. *zaβā́n* < **zbā́n* < **hiʒu̯ā-nă-*]; Sogd. B *syʾʾk(h)* M *syʾk* C *syʾq* /səyā́k/, Yagh. *sⁱyṓka* 'shadow' < **sai̯ā́kă-(ka-)* < **aʦă̆i̯ā-kā-* [Pers. *sāyá* < Pahl. *sāyag* < **aʦā́i̯ā-kā-*]. Forms of denominal abstract suffix of the original *ŭ*-stems have a different outcome in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī: Sogdian forms retain thematic *-u-* (for feminines **-ŭ-kā-* > *-uk(ă)*; for masculines **-u-ka-* > *-ku*, *-uk*), in Yaghnōbī **-ŭ-* was syncopated: Sogd. Mg *yttkw* B *ytkw* M *ytqw* /ʸɨtkú/ < **ɨtúk*, Yagh. *ētk/ītk* 'bridge' < **háe̯tŭka-* < **hai̯tu-ka-* [Oss. I *xid* D *xed*]; Sogd. S B *ʾyntk(ʾ)w* /iṁ̩ku/ 'Indian, Indic' < **(h)índŭka-* < **híndu-ka-* (× Sogd. B *ʾyntʾwk* /iṁduk/ < **(h)índŭkă-* < **híndu-kā-*) [OPers. *hiⁿduya-*, Pahl. *hindūg*, Pers. *hindú* > Yagh. *hundú*]; Sogd. B *ðʾr(ʾ)wk(ʾ)*, *ðʾrʾwkh* M *ðʾrwk(ʾ)* C *dʾrwq* /ðā́ruk(ă)/, Yagh. *dōrk* 'wood' < **ðárŭka-* < **dáru-ka-*; Sogd. B *γʾðwkʾ* M *γʾðwk* /γā́ðuk(ă)/ 'throne', Yagh. *γōt̰k* 'nest' < **γáðŭkă-* < **gáðu-kā-* [Pers. *gāh* 'place']; Sogd. B *zʾnʾwk*, *znʾwkʾ*, M *znwq* /zănuk(ă)/, Yagh. *zōnk* 'knee' < **zánŭkă-* < **ʒánŭ-kā-* [Pers. *zānú*, Pahl. *zānūg*]. Similar development can be observed also for other substantives: Sogd. B *γrʾyk(ʾ)* M *γryk* /γrḗk(ă)/, Yagh. *γⁱrḗk* 'clay, earth' < **γráe̯kă-* < **grái̯a-ka-*; Sogd. S *sγwδyk*, *swγδ(ʾ)yk* /səγʷδī́k/ 'Sogdian' < **suγδī́kă-* < **ʦug(u)di̯a-kă-* [Pers. *suγdī́*; cf. OPers. *Sug(u)da-* 'Sogdiana']; Sogd. Mg *pʾrsyk* /pā́rsīk/ 'Persian' < **pārsíkă-* < **pārʦi̯a-kă-* [Pers. *fārsí*, *pārsí* < Pahl. *pārsīg*]. Nicolas Sims-Williams interprets this development as a result of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* (i.e. *Stress III*) and presents two examples, which show different development as should be expected for the *Rhythmic Law*: Sogd. S *γntʾk(ʾ)*, *γntʾkk* B *γntʾ(ʾ)k(ʾ)*, *γntʾkk* M *γndʾk* C *γnṯʾq* /γámdāk(ă)/ 'bad' < **gand-āka-* 'stinking' and Sogd. S M *ʾwtʾk* B *ʾwtʾ(ʾ)k* C *ʾwṯʾq* /ṓtāk/ 'place' < **au̯a-tāk-a-* (Sims-Williams 1981b, 13); both these examples can be systematically explained as a result of the *Stress II*, and subsequently the stress shifted to the *Stress III*: **gandā-kā-* > *γandā́kă-* > *γámdāk* [Yagh. *gandá* 'bad' < Pers. *gandá* 'bad < stinking'; Parth. *gndʾg*; Ved. *gandʰá-* 'smell']; **au̯a-tā-kā-* > *au̯tā́kă-* > *ótāk* [> Turkic *otaq* (Uzb. *ůtåq*) > Pers. *oṭā́q* 'room'].

(2) Forms of *a*-stem masculines and *ā*-stem feminines with stress on antepenultima delete the original **-k-* of the denominal abstract suffix, after the loss of **-k-* there is a further development which has different responses in both languages: in Sogdian can be observed development **-a-kah* (nominative singular) > **-a'i* > **-ĕ* and **-ā-kāh* (nom. sg.) > **-ā'ă* > **-ă*; in Yaghnōbī there is the same development for both *a-* and *ā*-stems: **-a-kah* (nom. sg.) > **-a'i* > *-a* and **-ā-kāh* (nom. sg.) > **-ā'ă* > *-a*:

Sogd. B *ʾspʾyt(ʾk)*, *ʾsp(ʾ)ytk*, *(ʾ)spʾytk*, *(ʾ)spʾyty* C *spyty* /ˢspə́tə̆/, Yagh. *sʲpə́ta* ‘white’ < **spáə̯ta’i* < **ʁu̯ái̯ta-ka-* [Munj. *spī*, Pasht. Waṇ. *spīn*, Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*];

Sogd. Mg *ɣwtʾrnk* /xutárnə̆/, Yagh. *xutánna* ‘water-mill’ < **xu̯atárna’i* < **hu̯at(a)-árana-ka-* [Yazgh. *x°ayerg*, Shugh. *xidōrǰ*, Rōsh. *xadū̆rǰ*, Sangl. *xuðári*, Wakh. *xədōrg*, Munj. *xīrga*, Yidgh. *xĭrɣo*];

Sogd. S B *βʾrʾk* M *βʾryh* C *bʾry* /βárə̆/ ‘rider; riding animal’, Yagh. *vóra* ‘rider’ < *βára’i* < **bára-ka-* [Pahl. *bʾrg* /bārag/, Pers. *bārá*, Shugh. *vōrǰ*, Rōsh. *vūrǰ*, Yazgh. *varāg*, Ishk. *vьrůk* ‘horse’; Oss. *baræg* ‘rider’];

Sogd. M *ryrʾkh* /rə́rə̆/, Yagh. *rə́ra* ‘saliva’ < **ráə̯rə̆’ə̆* < **rə̆i̯(ə̆)rə̆-kā-*[162] [Pers. *lēr*, Pasht. *lā́ṛa*][163];

Sogd. S B *ʾʾph* /ə́pə̆/, Yagh. *ə́pa* ‘water’ < **ə́pə̆’ə̆* < **āpə̆-kā-* [Khōt. *ūtcā-*, Ishk. *vek*, Wakh. *yupk*, Munj. *yə́wɣā*, Yidgh. *yowɣo*, Pasht. *ōbə́*, Tjk. *ōbá* ‘water’; Oss. *avg* ‘glass’].

According to examples of contracted (or *aka-* and *ākā-*) stems shown in the unit *(2)* mentioned above, it can be suggested that words derived from denominal abstract suffix **-kə̆-* retained its semantic value in subsequent stages of *Proto-Sogdic. If we did not consider the **-ə̆kə̆-* suffix this way, we would not be able to convincingly explain the development of originally suffixed **-k(ə̆)-* from the development of **k* in all other cases – Iranian (and *Proto-Sogdian) **k* is usually retained as *k* both in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī (e.g. except Sogdian change **nk* > *ṁg* etc.), but *Proto-Sogdian denominal **-k-* disappears between unstressed **ə̆…ə̆*. Different development of this suffixed **-k-* can be seen in other forms of the *aka*-stems, e.g. in neuter (and in adverbs): **-a-kam* (nom. and acc. sg. neuter and acc. sg. masculine) > **-a’u* > Sogd. *-ŏ* (cf. Sogd. S B M *cʾn(ʾ)kw*, *cʾnʾw* /čánŏ/ ‘as, if’ < **(hə̆)čána’u* < **hača-ana-kam*; cf. Yagh. *čūn*[164] < **hača-ana-(ka-)*). Some features of development of *aka-* and *ākā*-stems will be shown later in analysis of *Proto-Sogdic inflectional system.

Apart from the denominal abstract suffix **-kə̆-* there was a similar suffix **-ka-*, which was used to form diminutives – this suffix did not morphologically distinguish the original stem system and thus its development considerably differs from the denominal abstract suffix: responses of the diminutive suffix give both in Yaghnōbī and Sogdian regular form in *-(a)k*.

(ad *ix.*) This suffix belongs also to the denominal abstract suffixes in **-kə̆-*, in this example can be seen its development with the *i*-stems. See also an analogical development in the Slavic languages: Ide. **h₃eu̯i-keh₂-* > **ou̯i-kā-* > PSl. **ou̯ĭca-* > OCS. *овьu̯а* ‘sheep’ × Ved. *avikā́*.

[162] Precise etymology of this word is not known to me.

[163] Cf. etymologically unrelated Hebrew *rīr*, Aramaic *rīrā* of the same meaning.

[164] The root *-ū-* in *čūn* emerged either from **čōn* < **čān* (i.e. “regular” Yaghnōbī change *ō* > *ū* in front of a nasal) or by labialization of **ā* after disappearance of **-ŏ* < *a-kam* or **-u* < **-am*; but influence of Persian cannot be excluded *čūn* < **či-gau̯na-*.

II.1.3.4. **č*

i. > Sogd. *č*[165], Yagh. *č*: Sogd. S *rwcn* /rőčən/, Yagh. *rűča* 'window' < **ráu̯ča-na* // **ráu̯ča-ka-*;

ii. (in front of **k*, **t*, **n*) > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *č*, *š*: Sogd. M *st̰ryšt̰* /ⁱstrĭ́št/ 'women *(pl. from /ⁱstrĭ́č/)*' < **strĭ́č-ta-* < **(H)strĭ́-kā-tă-*; Sogd. B *ʾyškt̰ʾyh* M *ʿyškt̰yḥ* /í̯škətĕ/ 'harem' < **i̯áu̯ni-kā-kata-ka-* (GMS §259); Yagh. *šūč- : sűšta* 'to burn (pres. stem : past part.);

iii. **či̯* > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. M √*šw-* /√šəw-/, Yagh. *šau̯-* 'to go' < **či̯áu̯a-*, Ave. *š(ii)auu-*, OPers. *šav-*,Ved. *cyav-*;

II.1.3.5. **b*

i. > Sogd. *β*, Yagh. *v*: Sogd. S *βrʾt* B *βrʾt*, *ʾβrʾtr* M *βrʾt* C *brʾt̰* /ᵊβrāt(ər)/, Yagh. *vⁱrőt* 'brother' < **brắtar-*;

II.1.3.6. **d*

i. > Sogd. *ð (l?)*, Yagh. *d*: Sogd. B *ðʾr(ʾ)wk(ʾ)*, *ðʾrʾwkh* M *ðʾrwk(ʾ)* C *dʾrwq* /ðắruk(ă)/, Yagh. *dōrk* 'wood' < **dắru-ka-*, Ave. *dāru-*; Sogd. B *βwððh* M *βwð* /βōð/, Yagh. *vūd* 'scent' < **báu̯di-*, Ave. *baodi-*, Khwār. /βōð/;

ii. (in secondary contact with **š*) > Sogd. *č* (but older *ð*), Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. B *čstwʾn*, *ðštwʾn* C *dyšt̰wʾn* /čᵊštwắn < ðištwắn/ 'poor' < **duš-tu̯ắna-* (GMS §286);

iii. **dr* > Sogd. *ž̰*, Yagh. *dᵛr* ‖ *dᵛr* (word-initially): Sogd. B *ẓw* /ž̰ō/, Yagh. *daráu̯* ‖ *dⁱráu̯* 'hair' < **dráu̯a-*;

iv. **dr* > Sogd. *ž̰*, Yagh. *rd* (word-internally): Sogd. S *myðrh* Mg *myðr-* /miž̰á/ B *mwẓʾkk* /muž̰ē/, Yagh. *mírda* 'bead, pearl' < **múðra-(ka-)*, Ved. *mudrắ-*;

v. **du̯* > Sogd. *ðβ*, Yagh. *d(ᵛ)v*: Sogd. B M *ðβr-y* C *dbr-y* /ðβərí/, Yagh. *davár* ‖ *dⁱvár* 'door' < **du̯ár(a)-*, Ave. *duuar-*;

(excursion 5) ***Lambda Sogdica?***

In many Eastern Iranian languages there can be seen a development of Iranian voiced dental stop **d*: it appears in some of the Eastern Iranian languages and dialects as *(*)l*. The development **d* > *(*)l* is attested already in the Old Iranian period –in Scythian and Cimmerian, in the Middle Iranian Bactrian and in the New Iranian Pashtō, Waṇetsī, Munjī and Yidghā (and probably in Sarghulāmī and in some words in the Pāmīr area).

Several personal names are attested from Cimmerian, one of them was recorded as *Tugdammē* or *Dugdammē* in Assyrian, in Greek the same name was recorded either as *Δύγδαμις* or as *Λύγδαμις*, *Λυγδάμιος* (HERODOTUS I, 61). The name of the Cimmerian king

[165] Later in post-vocalic position > Sogd. *ǰ* (often not reflected in spelling, the only example can be spelling in the Brāhmī script): Sogd. Br *hji* /xəǰí/ (× Sogd. B *γcy* M *xcy* /xəčí/) '[(s)he/it] is' < **(x)ásči* < **hau̯-ásti*.

Dygdamis/Lygdami(o)s (reigned between the years 660 and 640 BC) demonstrates that the change **d* > *(*)l* took place already in the first half of the 7th century BC (or even at the end of the 8th century BC). Similar feature is documented also for the name of the Scythians: in Greek they are known as *Σκύθαι* (and from there Latin *Scythae*), which is derived from their own ethnic name **Skuda-* < Ir. **skuda-* 'archer' (< Ide. **skud-o-*, cf. Eng. *shoot*; Old English *sċēotan*; Ger. *schiessen* 'to shoot'; ABAEV 1965, 25). Herodotus quoted that the Scythians called themselves *Σκόλοται*[166] (i.e. **Skula-tă-*) after a king called *Σκύλης* (i.e. **Skula-* '*Archer*'). If we compare the Greek (nom. sg.) *Σκύθης* 'Scythian' and "Scythian" *Σκύλης* 'Scyles', we can see the only difference θ × λ, it is the feature we observed already in the Cimmerian name Dygdamis/Lygdamis. The Histories of Herodotus were written in the second half of the 5th century BC. In this period the change **d* > *(*)l* was probably finished already – the Greek name for the Scythians (*Σκύθαι*) was probably of an older date[167], the later names of the king Scyles and the Scythians-Scolotians (*Σκύλης* a*nd* *Σκόλοται*) was recorded in innovated forms by Herodotus.

If we compare once more the spellings of the Cimmerian name *Tugdammē : Dugdammē : Δύγδαμις : Λύγδαμις* with the Scythian ethnic names *Σκύθαι : Σκόλοται* we can see changing of lateral *l* with dentals (or less possibly alveolars). Dental pronunciation of Iranian **d* can better explain a dichotomy in development of Ir. **d* > *(*)ð* / *(*)l* in the Eastern Iranian languages. The development can be summarized as follows: (dental) stop > (dental) approximant > (dental-alveolar) lateral approximant × (dental-alveolar) fricative, i.e. *[d̪] > *[ð̪] > *[l̪>l] × *[ɗ>ð][168]. Similar development can be assumed not only for dentals, but also for labials and velars: thus we can better explain a shift of **b* towards labiodental fricative or labialized velar approximant and **g* towards uvular fricative (i.e. *[b] > *[β̞] > *[v~w]; *[g] > *[ɰ] > *ɣ* [ʁ]).[169]

The change **d* > *l* which is typical for some Eastern Iranian languages is nothing unusual when compared with other Indo-European languages. Apart from Iranian Pashtō, Waṇetsī, Munjī, Yidghā, Sarghulāmī (?), Bactrian this change is attested as substrate in some Pāmīr languages; in other Indo-European languages such as Nūristānī Prāsūn (*Pārūn/Vāsivari*; e.g. *ləz* < IIr. **dáća-* 'ten', *lü* < IIr. **du̯a-* 'two')[170]; Indo-Aryan Romani (Gypsy; e.g. *pʰral* < **bʰrădˀ(a)-* < **bʰrắta-*; Ved. *bʰrātṛ* 'brother'; cf. Eng. *pal*); change **d* > *l* can be partly observed in Latin (in

[166] *«… σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὔνομα Σκολότους· τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπωνυμίην Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες ὠνόμασαν»* (HERODOTUS IV, 6).

[167] For a relatively older origin of the name *Σκύθαι* (and not *†Σκύθαται* or *†Σκύλαται*) can testify also an absence of a plural ending in **-tă-* typical for the Scythian language of the period of Herodotus.

[168] Other explanation of the development **d* > *(*)l* offers Ivan Mikhaĭlovich Steblin-Kamenskiy: **d* > **ḍ* > **ḷ* > **l* (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1999, 22[2]) – he supposes that the intermediate stage was a cerebral sound instead of an approximant. Such explanation does not make sense as cerebral sounds are peripheral in the Iranian languages and when they appeared it was always caused by a contact with **r* and they never emerged randomly.

[169] I would like to thank to Mgr. Jan Bičovský, Ph.D. for his remarks on phonology.

[170] Probably due to contact with neighbouring Munjī *(?)*.

such case in Sabine loan-words[171] *(?)*; PULJU 2000) and in Greek, although it concerns a Mediterranean substrate words[172], and in Hittite (e.g. *tabarna* × *labarna* 'king'; see also *nāman* × *lāman* 'name'). Among non-Indo-European languages a similar feature can be observed in Siouan (North American Indian) Lakota language (which differs from mutually relative Dakota by operation of the shift **d* > *l*; e.g. Lakota *ločhíŋ* × Dakota *dočhíŋ* 'hungry').

The problem of development **d* > *l* in Sogdian can be difficult to assess. The Sogdian script used the 'Aramaic' letter *lāmaḏ* for a continuant of Ir. **d*; this grapheme was used to spell mainly dental fricatives 𐼇 and 𐼈, but occasionally it was used also for *l* in words borrowed from Sanskrit (see excursion 4); although the Aramaic original of the Sogdian alphabet possessed also the letter *dālaṯ* to spell *d* ~ 𐼇, in Sogdian this letter was used only in an Aramaic ideogram Sogd. AL 𐼉𐼄 = S ʾt /ət/ 'to, towards, in'. In the Manichaean script the letter *"𐼇ālaṯ"* used to spell 𐼇 (and 𐼈), *"𐼇ālaṯ"* was derived from a shape of the letter *lāmaḏ*, which was normally used to spell *l*. Only the Syriac script used the letter *dālaṯ* to spell 𐼇. Moreover, the Old Uyghur alphabet used the "Sogdian" letter *lāmaḏ* to spell 𐼇 (or *d*; in the modern Turkic languages with outcome as *y*, *z* or in Chŭvash *r*).

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[171] In Latin there are following words showing the (Sabine?) change **d* > *l*:

Lat. *lēvir*, *laevir*; ProtoItal. **daiwēr*, Ide. **deiḫ$_2$-u̯er-*, Skt. *devár-*, Pasht. *lēwar*, Yagh. *ş̌ə́wir*, Gre. δαήρ, Armen. *taygr*, Lith. *díeveris*, *dieverìs*, Latv. *diẽveris*, CSL. *děverъ*, Rus. *gévereь*, Srb.-Cro. *ђȅвер* // *đȅver*, Balt.-Slav. **daʾiu̯er-*, OHG. *zeihhur*, OEng. *tācor*, ProtoGerm. *taiḫkura-*(?), Lith. *láigonas*;

Lat. *lingva*, *dingva*; ProtoItal. **dn̥χ(u)wā-*, Osc. *fangvam*, *fancua* < **fənχu̯ā* < **dʰ-*; Ide. **dn̥ĝʰuh$_2$*, OIrl. *teṅgæ*, Irl. *teanga*, Gael. *teanga(dh)*, OWelsh. *tauawt*, MidWelsh. *tavawt*, *tauaʊt*, Welsh *tafod*, OCorn. *tauot*, MidCorn. *taves*, *tavas*, *tawes*, MidBret. *te(a)ut*, Bret. *teod* < **tn̥ĝʰwāt-*, Ved. *jihvā́-*, Ave. *hizuuā-*, Armen. *lezow*, Pruss. *insuwis*, Lith. *liežuvìs*, OCS. *językъ*, Goth. *tuŋgo*, OHG. *Zunga*, OIcel. *tunga* < **dʰn̥ĝʰ-*, TokhA. *käntu*, TokhB. *kantwo* < **tänkwo*;

Lat. *lacrima*, *lacruma*, *dacrima*, *dacruma*; ProtoItal. **d(r̥)(k)akrunā-*, Ide. **dr̥k̂-h$_2$(e)k̂ru-*, OIrl. *ɔéṛ*, Welsh *deigr*, Hitt. *išḫaḫru-* < **s-h$_2$ek̂ru-*, Ved. *áśru-*, YAve. *asrū*, Gre. δάκρυ*(μα)*, δάκρῡμα, Armen. *artasuk'*, Lith. *ãšara*, OGH. *zahar*, TokhB. *akrūna*;

Lat. *larix -cis*; Ide. **dr-u-*;

Lat. *lautia*, *dautia*, ProtoItal. **dawetio-*, Ide. **doi̯ʜ-ó-*, OIrl. *ɔúaṛ*, Skt. *dúvas-* < **duʜ-es-*;

Lat. *ūlīgo*, *ūdus* < Ide. **u̯ed-*;

Lat. *lēns -endis*; ProtoItal. **dlind-*?, Ide. **dl̥k(o)n-i-d-*; OIrl. *ɾneɔ*, Welsh *nedd(en)*, Corn. *nedhen*, Bret. *nez(enn)* < **snidā-*; Gre. κονίδες, Alban. (Gheg.) *thënî* < **k̂on-id-*, Lith. *glìnda*, Latv. *gnīda*, Rus. *гнúда*, Srb.-Cro. *гњȕда* // *gnjȉda*, Sloven. *gnída* < Balt.-Slav. **gniʾdaʾ* < **knid-* < Ide. **k̂nid-*; OEng. *hnitu*, Eng. *nit*, OHG. *(h)niz* < **k̂nid-*; Armen. *anic*;

Lat. *olor*, *odor* :: *olĕre : oleō : oluī*; ProtoItal. **ode/o-*, **odōs*, Ide. **h$_3$(e)d-*, Gre. ὄζω *:* ὀδώδει, ὀδμή, ὀσμή, Armen. *hot* < **h$_3$ed-*, Lith. *úosti : úodžia*, Latv. *uóst*, OCze. *jadati* (cf. PULJU 2000; WALDE 1906; DE VAAN 2008).

[172] In the Mediterranean substrate in Greek it probably was a dental sound with lateral articulation **[d̪ˡ]*?, its presence shows the *d*-series of the Linear B script and different outcomes of **[d̪ˡ]* in Greek and other languages: Gre. Ὀδυσσεύς × Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς, Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς, Οὐλιξεύς, Οὐλίξης, Ὀλισεύς, Ὤλυσσεύς; Etruscan *Utʰuze*, *Utʰste*, *Ut(ʰ)ustʰe* × Lat. *Ulyssēs*, *Ulixēs* 'Ulysses' < **Minoan /'Oθutse ~ 'Oθutʃe/, see also Sumerian *Utu-zi*; further in Mycenaean *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* (gen. sg.) /d̪ˡaburintʰojo/ × Gre. λαβύρινθος *:* λαβυρίνθου 'labyrinth'; Gre. δίσκος × λίσκος 'disc'; Gre. δάφνη × λάφνη; Lat. *laurus* 'laurel'; Lat. *lōrica* × Mycenaean *to-ra-ke* (nom. pl.) /t̪ʰōrākes/ /pl./; Gre. θώραξ 'lorica, armour' (cf. BARTOŇĚK 2009, 39).

By comparison with Yaghnōbī a similar development in Sogdian might be expected: Sogd. **d* > ẟ : Yagh. **d* > (**ẟ* >) *d*. So why the issue of *"lambda Sogdica"* then? There are several Sogdian (or in common Eastern Iranian) loans in Persian, in which ẟ (and also ϑ) appears as *l*[173]:

الفغدن (الفختن) : الفنجد *alfaɣdán (alfaxtán) : alfanǰ-* 'to acquire, gain, earn, collect, save' < Sogd. B √ẟβʾɣšt- C √ϑfxšt̰- /√ϑfəxšt-/ 'to collect, gain *(pret.)*' < **ϑu̯qxš-ta-*;

بلاد(ه) *balắd, balādá,* بلایه *balāyá* 'contemptible, corrupted, depraved, perverted' < Sogd. S *ʾpẟʾty* B *(ʾ)pẟʾty* M *pẟʾty* C *pdʾt̰y* /ᵊpẟắtĕ/;

پالیك *pālík* (/ بالیك *bālík*) 'leather shoes' < Sogd. B *pʾϑyk* /pắðĭk/ 'related to foot' < Sogd. B *pʾϑ(h)* M *pʾϑ* C *pʾd* /pāð/ 'foot, leg';

پل *pil* 'heel' < Sogd. S *pẟ-y* M *pẟ(ẟ)-y* /pəðĭ/ 'foot'; Yagh. *pad* × Pers. *paį*;

پلندین *palindín, palandín, pilandín* 'door-frame, lintel' < Sogd. M *pẟynd* /pəðín̈d/ 'treshold' < **pati-antā-*, Shugh *piðīnd*;

غولین *ɣōlín* 'a jug with a wide mouth' < Sogd. B *ɣwẟʾk(h)* C *ɣwðy* /ɣṓðĕ/ 'vessel, container, pitcher, (a dry) measure'; Ave. *gaoⁱði-, gaoδana-*;

لنجد (لینجد) *lĭnǰ-* 'to pull, to extract' < Sogd. B √ẟync /√ϑiṅǰ/ 'to pull out' < **ϑanǰaį̄a-* × inherited Pers. *haxtán (hanǰídán) : hanǰ-* of the same meaning;

مل *mul* 'wine' < Sogd. AL S *mwẟ* S B M *mẟw* C *mwd*, *mdw* Br *mdʰu* /mūð > məðú/; Oss. *мыd* ‖ *mud* 'honey';

نال *nāl* 'reed(-pen)' < Sogd. *(?)* /nāð/ × Pers. *nắį̄* 'reed flute'; Yidgh *nəl*, Wakh. *nālčik* 'tube, pipe' (HENNING 1939);

In addition to the above shown forms there are some other Eastern Iranian words in Persian that show the change **d* > *l*, e.g. *maláx* 'grasshopper, locust'; *bilíst* 'span'; *lōɣīdán* 'to milk'; *žālá* 'hail'; also in a place-names *Hilmánd* in Afghanistan (cf. Ave. *Haētumant*, Greek *Ἐτύμανδρος*) and probably *Saryulắm* and *Yazɣulắm* in Badakhshān (see chapter I.1.1.4.b., note 54). There is also double form with both *l* and *d* in the word *Balaxšắn* / *Bađaxšắn* 'Badakhshān' in Pāmīr (Tjk. *Badaxšṓn*; cf. *Balas(c)ian* and *Badas(c)ian* mentioned by Marco Polo) and *Āmū́į̄* (< **Āmū́ð*) / *Āmū́l Daryá* 'Āmū Daryā, Oxus' (cf. QARĪB 1965, 63). In Persian there in attested a loan that shows preservation of "Sogdian" ẟ without any change: Pers. خذوك *(خدوك) xađū́k (xuđū́k)* 'disappointment, grief, anger' < Sogd. S *ɣðwk* M *xðwk* /xəðū́k/ 'anger' (HENNING 1939, 93-94).

[173] In Persian *l* normally originates from OPers. **rd* < Ir. **rd*, **rdz*. However, in the Early Classical Persian there has been the sound ẟ (nowadays realized as *d* < ẟ < **t*, **d*; only in few words there is *z* < ẟ < **t*, **d*; e.g. Pers. *guđaštán : guđar-* > Fārs. *gozāštắn : gozār-*; Tjk. *guzaštán : guzar-*; AfghP. *gozaštán : gozar-* 'to pass' × Pers. *Xuđáį̄* > Fārs. AfghP. *Xodā́*; Tjk. *Xudṓ* 'God'). Question is why Persian borrowed Sogdian ẟ as *l*, when the same sound has already been present in Persian. Persian (or Pahlavī) *l* appears unchanged in Sogdian, as can be seen in an example of (Middle?) Persian *pahlavānī́* (Pahl. M *pahlawānīg* < Parth. **parϑaw-* > Sogd. C *prϑwʾyq* /pár̈ϑəwĭk/) loan in Sogdian in the Sogdian script – *pxlʾwʾnʾk*, *pɣlʾwʾnʾk* (also S *pɣrʾwʾnʾk*) /pəhlắwānē/ 'Parthian' – to the Sogdians there probably was a difference in pronunciation of (Middle) Persian *l* in contrast to Sogdian ẟ.

Given the above mentioned facts, the issue of the nature of Iranian **d* in Sogdian is difficult to assess. To make it more difficult, I will show responses of Sogdian S *swγδ(ʾ)yk*, *sγwδyk* /səγʷδ́ĭk/ 'Sogdian, belonging to Sogdiana' and Sogd. AL *sγwδykstn* /Səγʷδ́ĭkɨstan/ 'Sogdiana' in the neighbouring languages:

> OPers. *sᵃ-u-gᵘ-(u-)dᵃ*, *sᵃ-u-gᵃ-dᵃ* /Sug(u)da-/ 'Sogdiana'; Pers. *Suγd*, *suγdī́* 'Sogdian(a)'; Pahl. *swt* /sūδ/, *swptyk* /suβδīg/ 'Sogdian'; Ave. *Suγda-*, *Suxδa-* 'Sogdiana'; Parth. *swgd* 'Sogdian'; Bactr. *σογδιαν(αγ)ο* /suγδiyăn(ag) ~ suγdiyăn(ag)/ 'belonging to Sogdiana'; Tumshuq. *suḍana-*, pl. *suḍananā* 'Sogdian(s)'; Gre. *Σογδιᾶνή*, *Σόγδοι* (pl.) 'Sogdiana, Sogdians'; Elam. *Šú-ug-da* 'Sogdiana'; Akkad. *Su-ug-du* 'Sogdiana'; Syr. *Sōḏ*, *Sōḏiqāyē* (pl.) 'Sogdian(s)'; Arab. *aṣ-Ṣuġd* 'Sogdiana'; Tü. *soγdaq*, *soγduq*, *suγdaq*, *soγ(u)d* 'Sogdian(a)'; Armen. *Sōdik'* 'Sogdian'; Chin. 粟特 *Sùtè* 'Sogdian(a)'; MidChin. **Siok-dək* 'Sogdian(a)'; Tibet. སོག་དག *Sog-dag* 'Sogdian(a)';
>
> ×
>
> Pahl. *swl(y)k* /sŭlĭg/ M *swγlyy* /suγlī/ 'Sogdian'; Khōt. *sūlī*, pl. *sūlya* 'Sogdian'; North-western Prkt. *suliġa-* 'Sogdian'; Chin. 窣利 *Sùlì* 'Sogdiana'; MidChin. **Sa(k)-lis* 'Sogdian(a)'.

As wa can see in the above shown examples (which I have divided into two groups), the name for the Sogdians and for Sogdiana differed variously in neighbouring languages – in some of them there is development **d* > *δ* and in the other there is **d* > *l*. Interesting is mainly the Bactrian form *σογδιαν(αγ)ο* (LIVSHITS 2008, 324) – in Bactrian should be excepted a form *†σογλιαν(αγ)ο*. Had the Bactrian form found on an inscription from Qalʿa-yi Afrāsiyāb reflected local Sogdian pronunciation? Or was the attested form contaminated by Greek *Σογδιᾶνή*? Bactrian certainly needed to have its own name for the neighbouring countries that was probably inherited from Old Iranian, so why the attested form looks non-Bactrian?

According to the above shown examples, there is a majority of forms with attested *δ*, not with *l*, and because of Yaghnōbī (and *Zarafshānī) *d* it can be assumed that pronunciation /*δ*/ was more common (or standard?) in Sogdian, also the "borrowed" Bactrian word *σογδιαν(αγ)ο* shows development **d* > *δ* in Sogdian. It is possible that the *l*-forms attested in Persian may have been borrowed via Bactrian (or) with *Bactrian-like* pronunciation.

How can be *"lambda Sogdica"* explained? 1) It is possible that Sogdian loans in Persian with *l* instead of **δ* may be interpreted as "scribal (or copyist) errors", i.e. that these words were recorded according to the written form, not according to the spoken language[174]. 2) In Sogdian

[174] See e.g. realisation of Sogdian *β* as *f* in many Persian words (HENNING 1939) – Sogdian *β* was spelled as ڤ in the Perso-Arabic script, but due to its resemblance with ف this grapheme has been replaced by the letter *f*: ف (فژ, ژ *faž* 'sordidness, impurity, filth' < Sogd. S *β(y)z-y*, *ʾβ(y)z-y*, M *β(y)j-y*, *ʾβj-y* /ʾβží < βeží/ 'evil' < **béži* < **bázdi̯a-*). Then letter ڤ was used also in Classical Persian to write *b* /β/, this sound has been lost in later stages of the language and changed to *b*, e.g. زڤان *zaβắn* > زبان *zabắn* 'language'.

there were several dialects, from which a majority (*delta*-dialects) underwent a development **d* > *ð*, but some dialects (*lambda*-dialects) changed **d* (and perhaps also **ð*) > *l*[175] – those *lambda*-dialects were probably in contact with Persian – this can explain the dichotomy of forms with *l* not only in Persian but also in Chinese *Suli* (× *Sute*), in Pahlavī *sŭlĭg*, *suɣlī* (× *sūð*, *suβðīg*) and in other languages (cf. QARĪB 1965, 62-64). There is, however, one problem – whether a postulation of the *lambda*-dialect is not just a purposeful attempt to solve this issue. There is also another explanation: 3) in Sogdian there was retained pronunciation of **d* as a dental approximant *[ð̪], which appeared as (*[ð̞] ~) *[ð] ~ *[ɗð] to speakers of some other languages, but as *[d̪] ~ *[d] or even as *[l̪] ~ *[l] to speakers of other neighbouring languages. The adoption of the Sogdian dental approximant **ð̞* in various languages differed according to how it was perceived by non-Sogdian speakers who borrowed Sogdian lexemes. Indeed preservation of **ð̞* can explain the "preservation" of pronunciation of **d* as such in Yaghnōbī. Similar example can be found in Danish pronunciation of *"soft" d*, i.e. dental approximant (or alveolar voiced sonorant; see HABERLAND 1994, 320) as in *mad* ['mað̞] 'food', *dydig* ['d̪y:ð̞i] 'virtuous', or *huset* ['hu:ʔsəð̞] 'the house'. *«Its auditive impression is quite close to [l] and it is often confused with it by non-native learners of Danish.»* (ibid.)

Finally a theme for reflection – do we really know what kind of sound has been spelled by the Aramaic letter *lāmaḏ* in the period when the Sogdians adopted the Aramaic alphabet for their language[176]? In the presented work I will not deal with this problem, I will leave it to the Semitic scholars ...

II.1.3.7. **g*

i. > Sogd. *ɣ*, Yagh. *ɣ*: Sogd. B √*ɣʾʾr* /√ɣār/ 'to guard', Yagh. *ɣōr-* 'to look' < **gār-*, Ave. *gār-* 'to be awake, to protect'; Sogd. /ɣāu̯/, Yagh. *ɣōu̯* 'cow' < **gā́u̯a-*, Ave. *gāuš*;

ii. (before a labial vowel) > Sogd. *ɣʷ*, Yagh. *ɣ*: Sogd. C *ɣwrʾty* /ɣʷrā́tĕ/ < M *wɣrʾtyy* /wᵊɣrā́tĕ/, Yagh. *ɣᵘrṓt(a)* 'awaken' < **u̯igrā́ta-(ka-)*;

II.1.3.8. **ǰ*

i. > Sogd. *ž*, Yagh. *ž*: Sogd. S √ʾzw(-) B √(ʾ)zw(-) M √jw(-) C √žw(-) /√ᵊžū, ᵊžau̯-/, Yagh. *žū-* 'to live' < **ǰáu̯a-*, Ave. *ǰ(a)uua-*;

II.1.3.9. **f*

i. > Sogd. *f*, Yagh. *f*: Sogd. B *wβr-y* M *wfr-y* /wəfrí/, Yagh. *wáfᵘr* 'snow' < **u̯áfra-*, Ave. *vafra-*; Sogd. B *βrʾʾk* /frāk/, Yagh. *fᵘrṓk* 'tomorrow' < **frā́(n)ka-*, Ave. *frā̊nk-*, *frāka-*, Ved. *práṅk-*, *prāk-*; Sogd. B *βrʾn* M *frʾʾn* /frān/ 'breath', Yagh. *fᵘrṓn* 'smell' < **frā́na-*; Skt. *prāna-* 'breath';

[175] It is possible that in those *lambda*-dialects, if we accept its existence, there has been an opposition of voiced and voiceless *l*.

[176] And also on the time when Mānī created the Manichaean script.

ii. **fn* > Sogd. *βn*, Yagh. *vn*, *mn*: Sogd. B *γwβn-y* M *xwβn-y* /xuβní/, Yagh. *xuvn*/*xumn* 'dream' < **hu̯áfna-*, Ave. *xᵛafna-*;

iii. **fn̥i̯* > Sogd. *m*, Yagh. *m*: Sogd. M C *xšʾm* /xšām/ 'evening', Yagh. *xⁱšőm* 'diner' < **xšáfn̥i̯a-* 'evening', Ave. *xšāfniia-*, Parth. *šʾm* (GMS §313);

iv. **ft* > Sogd. *βd̥*, Yagh. *ft* (*vd*?): Sogd. B *ʾγšyβt(-y)* S *ʾxšʾyβt* M *xšyβt* Br *hṣa wdᵇi*, *hṣa wt̥i* /ᵊxšĭβd̥(á) ~ ᵊxšɨβd̥í/, Yagh. *xⁱšíft* 'milk' < **xšu̯ífta-*; Sogd. Br *a wta* /aβd̥, əβd̥á/, Yagh. *aft (avd)* 'seven' < **háfta̯*, Ave. **hapta*, Oss. *avd*, Pers. *haft*;

v. **fra-* (before **s*, **š*, **t*, **r*, **n* and probably before **i̯ă*) > Sogd. *f(ⱽ)-*, Yagh. *fⱽ-*: Sogd. S B *√(ʾ)βšʾm*, *√ʾpšʾm* B *√ʾβšʾm*, *√ʾpšʾm* M C *√fšʾm* /√ᵊfšắm/, Yagh. *fⁱšőm-* 'to send' < **fra-šáma-*; Sogd. S B *ʾβtm-y*, *(ʾ)prtm-y* M *ʾftm-y* C *f̱tm(ʾ)* /ᵊftəmí/ 'first' < **fra-táma-*; Yagh. *fᵘtű(m)mēs̱* ‖ *fᵘtű(m)mēṯ*, *fⁱtűmēṯ* 'day after tomorrow' < **fratā-mái̯ϑā-*, **fra-tama-mái̯ϑă-* (GMS §315-322);

vi. **fra-b-* > Sogd. *ϑβ-*, Yagh. *ṯⱽf-*: Sogd. S B M *√ðβr-* C *√ϑbr-* /√ϑβər-/, Yagh. *ṯafár-* ‖ *ṯⁱfár-* 'to give' < **f(ə)βáră-* < **fra-bára-*;

vii. **fru-* (before **š*) > Sogd. *fⱽ-*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. B *ʾβš-ʾh* /ᵊfšá/ 'flea' < **frúšā-*, Pasht. *wrəžẓa* (GMS §323);

II.1.3.10. **ϑ*

i. > Sogd. *ϑ*, Yagh. *s̱* ‖ *ṯ* (< *Early Modern Yaghnōbī* ϑ[177]): Sogd. S *myð* B *mʾyð* M *myð my(y)ðð* C *myϑ*, *myd* /mēϑ/, Yagh. *mēs̱* ‖ *mēṯ* 'day' < **mái̯ϑa-*; Sogd. B *pʾð(ð)* Mg *pʾðð* C *pʾϑ* /pāϑ/, Yagh. *pōs̱* ‖ *pōṯ* 'arrow, bullet' < **pấϑa-*;

ii. (before **k*) > Sogd. *ϑ*, Yagh. *ṯ*: Sogd. B *γʾðwkʾ* M *γʾðwk* /*γ*ấϑuk(ă)/ 'throne', Yagh. *γőṯk* 'nest' < **gấϑŭ-kā-*, Ave. *gātu-*, OPers. *gāϑu-*, Pers. *gāh*;

iii. (before **n*) > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. M *pnʾnc* /pənấṁǰ/, Yagh. *pⁱnőnč* 'co-wife' < **hapaϑnī-ánča-*, Oss. *bīn[oynag]*, Pahl. *ʾbwg* ; Sogd. B *ʾʾrʾync* M *ʾʾrʾnj* C *ʾrync* /ấrɨṁǰ/ *(< *árɨṁč)*, Yagh. *ōrínǰ* 'elbow' < **ăráϑni-ka-*;

iv. (before **ʁ*) > Sogd. *t*, Yagh. *t*: Sogd. B *mrtsʾr* C *mcʾ*, *msʾ* /má(ṙ)tsă̆(ṙ)/, Yagh. *máṯstar* 'here' < **ĭmárϑă-sār-* < **imáϑra-ʁār-*; Sogd. S *ʾw(r)tsʾr* B *ʾwrtsʾr* M *ʾwtsʾr* C *ʾwcʾ*, *ʾwsʾ* /ő(ṙ)tsă̆(ṙ)/, Yagh. *wáṯstar* 'there' < **ău̯árϑă-sār-* < **au̯áϑra-ʁār-* (GMS §301.1);

v. (before **š*) > Sogd. *t* (> **č*), Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. S *ðtš rwc* M *ð(y)ščy(y)* /ðətš-rőč ~ ðeščí/ 'name of the 15th day of a month' < **ðátši* < **dáϑuša-*, Ave. *daϑušō* (GMS §301.2);

vi. (after **ð* < **d*) > Sogd. *t*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. M *√ptwyð̱* /√pᵊtwé̋ðt/ 'to transmit *(impt. 2. os. pl.)*' < **pati-u̯ái̯daia-ϑă-* (GMS §302);

vii. (occasionally before **i*) > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. B *γrʾnš* /*γ*rắṁš/ 'tie' < **granϑi-* (GMS §302.vi);

[177] Around the year 1913 still ϑ (JUNKER 1930, 126, 128-129), the dental aspirate ϑ is attested in Yaghnōbī certainly in the year 1877, but in this period there are double forms with a sibilant *s* (DE UJFALVY DE MEZŐ KÖVESD 1882, 276; TOMASCHEK 1880, 735; cf. JUNKER 1930, 4-5). In this work continuants of **ϑ will be marked *s̱* ‖ *ṯ*.

viii. *ϑr (word-initially) > Sogd. *š̰*, Yagh. *ʂ^{V}r* ‖ *ʈ^{V}r (< Early Modern Yaghnōbī ϑ^{V}r)*: Sogd. s *ʾϑry* mg *ʾϑryw* b *(ʾ)ϑry* m *ʾϑry(y)* c *šy* /ˀšaɨ̯/, Yagh. *ʂaráy* ‖ *ʈ^{i}ráy* ‘three’ < **ϑrā̆ɨ̯a-*, Ave. *ϑrāiiō*; Pers. *se* < *sih*;

ix. *ϑr (word-internally) > Sogd. *š̰*, Yagh. *l(l)* (?): Sogd. s ○*pyδrʾk*, ○*pδr* b ○*pyδrʾk*, ○*pδr*, ○*pšy* m ○*pšy (as a part of compounds)* /piš(ḗ)/ ‘son’, Yagh. *púl(l)a* (?) ‘boy, child; small, little’ < **púϑra-*, Pers. *pisár*;

x. *ϑu̯ > Sogd. ϑβ (ϑf), Yagh. *?* Sogd. s √*pδβyr* m √*(ʾ)pδβyr* /√ᵊpᵊϑβér/ ‘to hasten’ < **upa-ϑu̯ā́raɨ̯a-* (GMS §293);

xi. *ϑu̯ (after *č*) > Sogd. *tf*, Yagh. *ʈ(V)f*: Sogd. b *ctβʾr* m *ctfʾr* c *cʈfʾr*, *štfʾr* /čᵊtfă̆r/, Yagh. *ʈafőr*, *ʈ^{u}fő̆r* ‖ *ʈ^{i}fő̆r*, *ʈ^{u}fő̆r* ‘four’ < **čaϑu̯ă̆r-*, Ave. *čaϑuuă̆r-* (GMS §295)

xii. *ϑu̯ (word-initially) > Sogd. *tf* (*tβ*, ϑβ), Yagh. *?* Sogd. s b √*δβʾyz* m √*δβj* c √*ϑfyž*, √*ʈfyž*, √*ʈbyž* /√tfēž/ ‘to collect’ < **ϑu̯ā́ǰaɨ̯a-* (GMS §296);

xiii. *ϑu̯ (occasionally) > Sogd. *f*, Yagh. *?*: Sogd. m *=f(y)* /=f(i)/ ‘*encl. pron. of the 2nd pers. pl.*’ < **=ϑu̯ā*, Ave. *-ϑβā* (GMS § 297);

(ad *ix.*) Development of Iranian **-ϑr-* > *l(l)* (instead of expected *ʈrʂ* ‖ *ʈrʈ*, cf. KHROMOV 1972, 127) in Yaghnōbī is rather problematic – there are not many attested continuants of **ϑr*. This development is for the first time mentioned by Wilhelm Geiger: *«ϑr is preserved word-initially in tirāi (t^{i}r-) ‘three’ = Ave. ϑrāyō. Word-internally it is l in āl ‘fire’ = Ave. āϑr-, pula ‘son, child’ = Ave. puϑra-.»* (GEIGER 1898-1901, 336). Al’bert Leonidovich Khromov sees such development as less acceptable, he notes, that Yaghnōbī *ōl* ‘fire’ is attested only in verb *ōlxáš-* ‘to light up’ and that in all other cases ‘fire’ is called by Tajik loan *ōlő̆u̯* (Tjk. *alő̆w*, *ōláw*, *aláw*, Pers. *ă̆lă̆v*)[178]. Yaghnōbī *ōl(xáš-)* can be connected with Kābulī *ā̄l zadan* ‘to emit heat’. Khromov also assumes that Yaghnōbī *púl(l)a* may not be connected with Iranian **puϑra-* as in Yaghnōbī it is used mainly in the sense ‘(young) child, young boy’ rather than ‘boy’ and the word can be taken from child’s speech (KHROMOV 1972, 127). The development of **-ϑr-* > *l(l)* in Yaghnōbī can be confirmed in other example: Yagh. *kat(t)ōlá*, *kattalá* ‘(1) stone shelter made with no wood; (2) ruin(s)’ < **kata-āϑra-ka-* ‘*house-fire*’ (RASTORGUEVA – ÈDEL’MAN 2000, 321) and TMast. *katől*. Katōlas are used by herdsmen in mountains far from their villages – this term is connected with semi-nomadic life of the Yaghnōbīs so it can be assumed that the word can be of old origin. It is certainly not a borrowing as I have not found similar word in various Tajik, Uzbek and Kyrgyz dictionaries. Mastchōhī Tajik has, similar to Yaghnōbī, *katól* for a herders’ shelter – the *“Ghalcha”* (i.e. Mountain Tajik*(s)*) of Mastchōh share a similar pastoral style of life, so Mastchōhī *katól* may be *Zarafshānī substrate word in this Tajik dialect. The word for ‘fire’ *-ōl* (cf. Sogd. s b m *ʾ(ʾ)š* /āš/) quoted by Geiger thus can be considered archaic, nowadays replaced by the Tajik word *ōlő̆u̯*. Cf. also development **rt*, **rϑ* > *š̰ (ש)* *[ɬ] in Avestan (MACKENZIE 1988, 90).

[178] I have neither heard *ōl* for ‘fire’ during my stays with the Yaghnōbīs.

II.1.3.11. **x*

i. > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *x*: Sogd. B Mg *ɣr-y* C *xr-y* /xərí/, Yagh. *xar* 'ass, donkey' < **xára-*, Ave. *xara-*; Sogd. /xāx/, Yagh. *xōk* 'spring' < **xā́ha-*;

ii. (non-etymological intrusive *x* before **šC*) > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. M *√npxšt-* /√nəpɨxšt-/, Yagh. *nⁱpíšta* 'to write *(past part.)*' < **nipíšta-(ka-)*, OPers. *nipišta-*; Sogd. S *ʾxwštr-y* B *ʾɣwštr-y* M *xwštr-y* /ᵊxʷəštrí/ 'camel' < **uxštrí* < **uštra-*, Ave. *uštra-*, Pers. *šutúr* (GMS §256);

iii. (before a labial vowel) > Sogd. *xʷ*, Yagh. *x*: Sogd. B *(ʾ)ɣw* M *xw(w)* C *xw* /ᵊxō/, Yagh. *ax*, he, that < **ahau̯-*;

iv. **xt* > Sogd. *ɣd̯*, Yagh. *xt* (*ɣd* ?): Sogd. B *yɣ(ʾ)rt-*, *yrɣt* C *yɣrt̯-* /yəɣd̯í/, Yagh. *yaxt (yaɣd)* 'wide' < **u̯i-gd̯́ta-*; Sogd. B M *√swɣt-* /√suɣd̯-/, Yagh. *súxta* 'to burn *(past part.)*' < **ʁúxta-*, Ave. *-suxta-*;

v. **xš* > Sogd. *xš*, Yagh. *x(ⱽ)š*: Sogd. S B *ʾɣšp-h* M *ʾxšp-ʾ(h)*, *xšp-ʾ* C *xšp-ʾ* /ᵊxšəpá/, Yagh. *xⁱšáp* 'night' < **xšápā-*, Ave. *xšapā-*;

vi. **xšu̯* > Sogd. *xš*, Yagh. *x(ⱽ)š*: Sogd. B *ʾɣšyβt(-y)* S *ʾxšʾyβt* M *xšyβt* Br *hṣa wdʰi*, *hṣa wt̯i* /ᵊxšĭβd̯(á) ~ ᵊxšɨβd̯í/, Yagh. *xⁱšíft* 'milk' < **xšu̯ífta-*, Ave. *xšuuipta-*; Sogd. /(u)xušu/ (< **xᵘašu*), Yagh. *uxš* 'six' < **xšu̯ášam*;

(ad *ii.*) Intrusive *x* before **š* is attested also in Avestan: Ave. *uruuixšna-* 'rope', Sogd. C *ʾrwxš* /ərü̯ɨ́xš/ 'bandage', Yagh. *ő́r(w)ísna*, *ő́rusna* 'wax-end, thread' (GMS §256), YAve. *zixšnā̆ŋhəmnā̆* 'kennen lernen wollend', OAve. *frāxšnənəm* 'Unterweisung', YAve. *xšuuaš* 'six', YAve. *xštāt̯* '[(s)]he stands', YAve. *fraxštāⁱte* 'er soll hervortreten', YAve. *ašauuaxšnuš* 'den Frommen zufrieden stellend', Ave. *xšnūtó* 'zufrieden gestellt' and in Old Persian *xšnāssātiy* 'er wird kennen' (Bartholomae 1895-1901, 36 §86). Similar feature can be found also in Bactrian *ναδιχτο*, *ναδιχτι*, *ναδοχτο*, *νιδιχτο*, *νιδοχτι*, *νοδιχτο* M *ṇβyxt-* 'to write *(past part.)*' or in Munjī *nəwuxt-* 'to write *(past stem)*' (Sims-Williams 1988 [online], 348).

II.1.3.12. **xᵘ*, **hu̯*

i. > Sogd. *x°*, Yagh. *x̊*: Sogd. M *xwʾr* /x°ār/, Yagh. *x̊ōr* 'sister' < **hu̯ahar-*, Ave. *xᵛaŋhar*; Sogd. S B *√ɣwr-* /√x°ər-/, Yagh. *x̊ar-* 'to eat' < **xᵘára-*, Ave. *xᵛara-*; Sogd. S *xwty*, *ɣwty* B *ɣwt(ʾ)(ʾ)y* M *xwty* C *xwt̯y*, *xwdy* Br *hu tte* /x°ətí/, Yagh. *x̊at* 'own, self' < **hu̯áta-*, Ave. *xᵛatō*, Pers. *xᵛad* > *xud*;

ii. > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *x*: Sogd. B Mg *ɣypδ* M *xypδ(δ)* C *xy̯pϑ* Br *he-p̲* /xḗp(ə)ϑ/, Yagh. *xēp* (‖ *xap*) 'own, self' < **hu̯ái̯paϑi̯a-*, Ave. *xᵛaēpaϑiia-*; Sogd. Mg *ɣwtʾrnk* /xutárnĕ/, Yagh. *xutánna* 'water-mill' < **hu̯at(a)-árana-ka-*; Sogd. B *ɣwβn-y* M *xwβn-y* /xuβní/, Yagh. *xuvn/xumn* 'dream' < **hu̯áfna-*, Ave. *xᵛafna-*;

(ad *i.*) See analogical development in the Brythonic branch of the Celtic languages: Ide. **su̯* > Brythonic **hu̯* > **xu̯*; cf. Mid. and Mod. Welsh *chwaer*; Mid. Bret. *hoer, hoar*; Mod. Bret. KLT

c'hoar // GW *hoér*; Old Cornish *huir*; Modern Revived Cornish *(Kernewek Kemmyn) hwoer* < Ide. **sṷesōr*, sister; OIrl. *ɾıuɲ*; Manx *shuyr*; Ir. **hṷahar-*; Pers. *xᵛāhár*; Ved. *svásar-*;

II.1.3.13. **š*

i. > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. S B M C *ɣwš* /ɣōš/, Yagh. *ɣūš* 'ear' < **gáṷša-*, Ave. *gaoša-*; Sogd. B *ʾɣšyβt(-y)* S *ʾxšʾyβt* M *xšyβt* Br *hṣa wdʰi*, *hṣa wṯi* /ᵊxšɨ̆βḍ(á) ~ ᵊxšɨβḍí/, Yagh. *xⁱšíft* 'milk' < **xšṷífta-*, Ave. *xšuuipta-*;

ii. (occasionally after **č(a)* in front of a nasal) > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. S *cm-y* M *cm-y(y)* C *c(y)m-y* /čimí/ (× Sogd. S B M C *čšm-y* /čišmí/) 'eye' < **čášman-*, Khwār. *cm-*, *cm-* /camma/, Khōt. *tse'ima-*, *tsaima-*, Ishk. *com*, Ōrm. *cimī*; Sogd. M C *cn-* /čəní ~ ʦəní/ (× Sogd. B *čšn-y* /čəšní ~ ʦəšní/) 'thirst' < **tṛ̊šna-*, Pers. *tašná*, Ōrm. *trunuk* (GMS §385-386);

iii. **št(i)* > Sogd. *č* (simplification of ProtoSogd. *šč*), Yagh. *č*: Sogd. B *prch* /paṙč/ 'spine', Yagh. *párča* 'rim, edge' < **páršta-(ka-)*, Ave. *paršti-*; Sogd. B *frʾʾwyščy* M *frʾwycyẖ* /frā́wɨ(š)či/, Yagh. *farőmič* ‖ *fⁱrőmič* / *fᵘrőmič* 'obliviousness' < **frāmúšti-* (GMS §382);

iv. **štr* (occasionally) > Sogd. *šč*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. S *ʾzrʾwšc* /ᵊZrū́šč/ B M *zrwšc-y* /ᵊZruščí/ 'Zarathushtra' < **dzaraϑúštra-* < IIr. **ɟarat-ʜuṣtra-*, Ave *Zaraϑuštra-*, Parth. *zrhwšt*, Pers. *Zardúšt*;

The development of Ide. **s* > **š* under the operation of the *RUKI*-rule is recorded not only in the Indo-Iranian languages, it is known also in Slavic (in Slavic later **š* > **ʃ* > *š* ~ *x*) and partially in Baltic and Armenian (cf. BEEKES 2011, 137; MEIER-BRÜGGER 2003, 102-105; MARTIROSYAN 2008, 536-538).

II.1.3.14. **ž*

i. > Sogd. *ž*, Yagh. *ž*: Sogd. S √*ẓyβ-* B √*zyβ-*, √*ẓyβ-* M √*jβ-* /√žɨβ-/ 'to bite, to chew', Yagh. *živ-* 'to sew, to stitch' < **žíba-*;

II.1.3.15. **m*

i. > Sogd. *m*, Yagh. *m*: Sogd. B M C √*myn* /√mēn/ 'to be similar', Yagh. *mɛ́(n)ta* ‖ *má(i)nta* 'similarly, (like) as' < **mắnaia-* 'to be similar';

ii. (occasionally) > Sogd. *m*, Yagh. *b*: Sogd. M *myϑʾn* C *myd(ʾ)n* /miϑắn/, Yagh. *bⁱdőn* 'middle' < **madiắna-*, Ave. *maⁱδiiāna-*;

iii. (following **ā* in front of a vowel) > Sogd. *āw*, Yagh. *ōm*: Sogd. B *frʾʾwyščy* M *frʾwycyẖ* /frā́wɨ(š)či/, Yagh. *farőmič* ‖ *fⁱrőmič* / *fᵘrőmič* 'obliviousness' < **frāmúšti-*; Sogd. C **mrʾw* /mrāṷ/ 'weeping' < **brắma-*;

iv. **mp*, **mb* > Sogd. *ṁb*, Yagh. *mp*: Sogd. B *(ʾ)škʾnp* /ᵊškáṁb/ 'world', Yagh. *šⁱkámpa* 'belly' < **škámba-(ka-)* (Khromov 1987,);

(ad *ii.*) cf. Gre. *ϐοϱτός* < *μοϱτός* 'mortal', *ἄμϐοϱτος* 'immortal' < Ide. **(n̥)mr̥to-s*;

(ad *ii.-iii.*) cf. opposite development **w* or **β/*b* > *m* in Zâzâkî and Kurdish: Zâzâ. *zıman*, *zıwan*, *zun*, Kurd. *ziman* < **hizbān-* 'language';

II.1.3.16. **n*

i. > Sogd. *n*, Yagh. *n*: Sogd. /nāf/ 'human kind', Yagh. *nōf* 'navel' < **nā́fa-*, Ave. *nāfa-* 'navel';

ii. (in some cases before **č*, *ɣ* < **g*, **k*, **m*, **ʁ*, *š* (< **č_t*, **-i-kă-_t)*, **ϑ*, **x*) > Sogd. *ø ~ n*, Yagh. *n ~ ø*: Sogd. в *ʾyškt'yh* м *ʿyškt̰yh̰* /i̯škətĕ/ 'harem' < **ímč-kata'i* < **i̯áu̯ni-kā-kata-ka-*; Sogd. с *xɣr* /xą́ɣər/ (× Sogd. м *xnɣr* /xámɣər/) 'sword' < **xángara-*, Sogd. с *kϑ*, *qϑ* /kąϑ/ (× Sogd. s в *knδ(h)* м *knδ(δ)* с *knϑ*, *qnϑ* /kamϑ/) 'city, town', Yagh. *Kánz̰i* 'Kansi *(name of a village in Yaghnōb)*', Yagh. *[Panǰi]kát̰* 'Panjakent' < **kánϑă-*; Oss. ı *kænt* 'building', Khōt. *kanthā-*, *ka(m)tha-* 'town' (GMS § 334-341);

iii. (non-etymological intrusive **n* before **s*) > Sogd. *n ~ ø*, Yagh. *ø* (?): Sogd. м *ʾnsδʾ* /ámsϑa/ (× Sogd. в *ʾsδ*, *sδ(δʾ)*, *sδ(δh)* /ą́sϑ, ᵊsϑ(á)/), Yagh. *ő̰s̰(i)* ‖ *ōt̰* '[you] are *(copula of the 2nd pers. pl. pres.)* < **sϑá-*;

iv. **nt*, **nd* > Sogd. *ṁd*, Yagh. *nt*: Sogd. s *ɣntm* с *ɣnt̰m* /ɣáṁdəm/, Yagh. *ɣámtun* (< *ɣántum*) 'wheat' < **gántuma-*, Ave. *gantuma-*;

v. **nt*, **nd* (occasionally) > Sogd. *ṁd*, Yagh. *nd*[179]: Sogd. в *δnt(ʾ)k* в м *δntʾkh* с *dnt̰ʾ* /δɨṁdă(k), δaṁdă(k)/, Yagh. *díndak* 'tooth, teeth' < **dántu-ka-*;

vi. **nk*, **ng* > Sogd. *ṁg*, Yagh. *nk*: Sogd. в *snk(ʾ)* м *sng* /sáṁg(ă)/, Yagh. *sánk(a)* 'stone' < **aʁsánga-(ka-)*, Ave. *asəngа-*, OPers. *aϑanga-*; Sogd. в *ʾnkʾyr* /ámgir/, Yagh. *ínkir* 'fireplace' < **hám-gar̥ia-*;

vii. **nč*, **nǰ* > Sogd. *ṁǰ*, Yagh. *nč*: Sogd. s в с *pnc* м *pnc*, *pnž*, *pnǰ◌͒* /paṁǰ/, Yagh. *panč* 'five' < **pánča-*, Ave. *pančа-*, Pers. *panǰ*;

viii. **n* + **-ik(ă)-* > Sogd. *ṁǰ*, Yagh. *nč*: Sogd. вs *ʾync(h)* м *ʿync* с *ʾync* /ɨṁǰ/ *(< *ɨṁč)* 'woman', Yagh. *inč* 'wife' < **i̯áu̯ni-kā-*;

ix. **n* + **-ik(ă)-* (rarely) > Sogd. *ṁǰ*, Yagh. *nǰ*[180]: Sogd. в *ʾʾrʾync* м *ʾʾrʾnj* с *ʾrync* /ár̥ɨṁǰ/ *(< *árɨṁč)*, Yagh. *ōrínǰ* 'elbow' < **ăráϑni-ka-*, Pers. *āránǰ*;

II.1.3.17. **r*

i. > Sogd. *r*, Yagh. *r*: Sogd. в s *rʾϑ(h)* м *rʾϑ(δ)(h)* с *rʾϑ* /rāϑ/, Yagh. *rōz̰* ‖ *rōt̰* 'path, road' < **rā́ϑ(a)-*;

[179] In Yaghnōbī *nd* is attested just in one inherited word: *díndak* 'tooth', the form can be contamined by Persian *dandán* of the same meaning (KHROMOV 1987, 659).

[180] In Yaghnōbī *nǰ* is attested only in one inherited word: *ōrínǰ* 'elbow' but its form can have been influenced by Persian *āránǰ*.

ii. (non-etymological intrusive **r* before **n*, after *β* < **b* or after a long vowel) > Sogd. *r* (ʳ) ~ *ø*, Yagh. *ø* (?): Sogd. B *ɣwrn-w*, *ɣwrn-y* M *(y)xwrn-y* C *xwrn-y* /(yə)xʷəʳní, xʷəʳnú/ (× Sogd. B *yɣwn-w*, *wɣrn-h* M *yxwn-y* C *ywxn-y* /yəxʷəní, yəxʷənú, yoxní, wəxəʳná/, Yagh. *wáxⁱn*) 'blood' < **u̯áhu(r)na-*, Ave. *vohunī-*; Sogd. M *βrywr* /βrēwər/ 'ten thousand' < **bái̯u̯ar-*, Ave. *baēuuar-*; Oss. *biræ* ‖ *be(u̯)ræ* 'many, much' (GMS §359-362);

iii. (in several cases before **ž*, **n*, **š*, **ʁ* or after **ā*) > Sogd. *ø̆*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. M *kj* C *qž* /ka̯ž/ (× Sogd. S B *krz*, *krẓ* M *krj* C *qrž* /kařž/) 'miracle' < **kárǰa-*; Sogd. M C *pʾ* /pă̯/ (× Sogd. S B M *pʾr* /pă̯ř/, Yagh. *par*) 'for, because of' < **pār-*; Sogd. C *=sʾ* /=să̯/ (× Sogd. S B M C *=sʾr* /=să̯ř/), Yagh. *=sa* '(towards) to' < **ʁār-* (GMS §354-358);

iv. **rn* > Sogd. *ṙn*, Yagh. *n(n)*: Sogd. B *prn* /paṙn/ 'feather', Yagh. *pan(n)* 'blade of a wheel of a watter-mill' < **párna-* 'feather'; Sogd. B M *krn* /kaṙn/, Yagh. *kan(n)* 'deaf' < **kárna-*, Ave. *karəna-*;

II.1.3.18. **l* (?)

i. > Sogd. *l* (?) / *r* (?), Yagh. *l* (?): Sogd. B *√rys* /√rēs ~ √lēs/, Yagh. *lēs-* 'to lick' < **ra̯i̯dz-* (**la̯i̯dz-*), Ave. raēz-, Pers. *lēsīdán : lēs-*; Sogd. S *√wyrʾrz* C *√wlrz*, *√wdrz* /√wilářz/, Yagh. *larz-* (< Pers.?) 'to tremble' < **(u̯i-)rardz-* (**(u̯i-)lardz-*), Khōt. *rrīys-*, Pers. *larzīdán : larz-*;

II.1.3.19. **s*

i. > Sogd. *s*, Yagh. *s*: Sogd. S *ʾst* B *ʾsty* C *sṯy* /(ə)stí, ást(ɨ)/, Yagh. *ást(i)* '[(s)he/it] is' < **ásti*, OAve. *astī*, OPers. *astiy*, Ved. *ásti*, Ide. **h₁ésti*;

ii. **sp* (often stem-initially) > Sogd. *šp*, Yagh. *šp* (?): Sogd. B M *√ʾnšpr* /√áṁšpər/ 'to walk' < **hám-spar-* (GMS §370);

iii. **sk* (often stem-initially) > Sogd. *šk*, Yagh. *šᵛk* (?): Sogd. B *(ʾ)škʾwrð* M *(ʾ)škwrð* C *šqwrϑ* /ᵊškōřϑ/ 'difficult' < **skáu̯ϑra-*, OPers. *škau̯ϑi-*; Sogd. B *√(ʾ)škʾyr* C *√šqyr* /√ᵊšḱěr/ 'to be driven', Yagh. *šⁱkél(l)-* 'to push' < **skắra̯i̯a-* (GMS § 366-367)

iv. **sč* (outcome of simplification of a *clusteru*) > Sogd. *č*, Yagh. *č* (?): Sogd. B *ɣcy* M *xcy*, *ʿycy* Br *hji* /xəčí, ɨčí/ '[(s)he/it] is' < **(x)ásči* < **ásti* (GMS §372);

v. **sč* (in forms of preposition **pasča-*) > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *ʔ*: Sogd. S *pyš-* B *pyš-*, *ʾpyš* M *pš-(ʾ)*, *pšyy* C *pš-(ʾ)*, *pšy* /pɨš(ə), ᵊpɨš, pɨši/ 'after, later' < **pásča-*, Ave. *pasča-* (GMS §373);

II.1.3.20. **h*

i. (in front of **ŭ*, **u̯*, **ău̯*) > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *x*: Sogd. /(ə)xú, (ə)xṓ/, Yagh. *ax* 'he' < *áhau̯*; Sogd. B *ɣwrn-w*, *ɣwrn-y*, *yɣwn-w*, *wɣrn-h* M *(y)xwrn-y*, *yxwn-y* C *xwrn-y*, *ywxn-y* /(yə)xʷə(ʳ)ní, xʷəʳnú, yəxʷənú, yoxní, wəxəʳná/, Yagh. *wáxⁱn* 'blood' < **u̯áhu(r)na-*, Ave. *vohunī-*, *vohuna-*; Sogd. B *ɣw(y)r*, C *xwyr*, M *xwr* /xu̯ĕr/ (later /xōr/), Yagh. *xa̅r* 'sun' < **hu̯ár̥i̯a-* (GMS §389-396);

ii. (following a long vowel) > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *x* ~ *k* (?): Sogd. S B *ɣʾɣh* /xāx/, Yagh. *xōk* 'spring' < **xā́xa-*; Sogd. S B *mʾɣ(h)* M *mʾx* /māx/ 'moon' < *mā̆h-*, Pers. *māh*, Ved. *mā́s(a)-* (GMS §394-396);

iii. (word-initially, mainly before **ǐ*, **i̯*) > Sogd. ø, Yagh. ø: Sogd. B *(ʾ)zβʾ(ʾ)k* M *zβʾk* C *zbʾq* /ᵊzβāk/, Yagh. *zⁱvṓk* 'language' < *hiʒu̯ā́-kă-*, Ave. *hizū-*, *hizvā-*, *hizvah-*, Ved. *jihvā́-* (GMS §397);

iv. (often word-internally) > Sogd. ø, Yagh. ø: Sogd. M *xwʾr* /xᵒār/, Yagh. *x̊ōr* 'sister' < **hu̯áhar-*, Ave. *xᵛaŋhar*; Sogd. S B M *√nyð* C *√nyd* : S B M *√nyst* C *√nyst̲* /√nīð : √nīst/, Yagh. *nīd-* 'to sit' < **nihida-* (GMS §398-401);

v. (occasionally when palatalized) > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. M *ʿyš* /iš/, Yagh. *išt*[181] '[thou] art' < **áhi*, OAve. *ahī*, Ved. *ási* (GMS §405);

vi. (in some forms of the verb **ah-* 'to be') > Sogd. *x*, Yagh. *x*: Sogd. S *xnt* B *ɣnt* M *xnd* C *xnt̲* /xaṁd/ '[they] are' < **hánti*, OAve. *həṇtī*, OPers. *haⁿtiy*, Ved. *sánti* (GMS §770); Sogd. B *ɣcy* M *xcy* Br *hji* /xəčí/, Yagh. *xást(i)* '[(s)he/it] is' < **ásti*; Sogd. S M C *xʾy* B *ɣʾy*, *xʾy* /xāi̯/, Yagh. *xōy* '[(s)he] was *(copula 3rd pers. sg. impf.)*' < **ā́i̯ă* < **ā́ʾa* < **ā́ha* (GMS §770-771);

Iranian **h* originates from Ide. **s*, except when it is followed by another obstruent. Similar development **s* > **h* can be seen also in Greek, Armenian, Celtic, Phrygian, Lycian or Albanian, and marginally in Vedic. In Greek Ide. **s* changed to **h* (but remained when adjacent to a stop or word-finally), later on it was subject of Grassmann's Law word-initially or disappears word-internally. In Celtic original **s* following a vowel was lenited to **h* when no obstruent followed, in Brythonic there has been the change **s* > **h* also word-initially[182], later word-internal **h* disappears. In Armenian the development was the same as in Brythonic Celtic; in Albanian **s* changes to *h* between vowels. In Vedic Ide. word-final **s* changes to *'visarga'* (*ḥ*) before a pause (cf. BEEKES 2011, 137; MEIER-BRÜGGER 2003, 102-105; KÜMMEL 2010, 12; MARTIROSYAN 2008, 536).

II.1.3.21. **z*

i. > Sogd. *z*, Yagh. *z*: Sogd. Sogd. B *zmy* /zmə̆/ B Č *ʾzm-y* /izmí/, Yagh. *ízⁱm* 'firewood' < **á i̯zma-(ka-)*, Ave. *aēsma-*, Khwār. *ʾzm*, Pers. *hēzúm*, Ved. *idʰmá-*;

ii. (prothesis before **m-*) > Sogd. *z*, Yagh. ø (?): Sogd. B *zmʾwrc*, *zmʾwrʾk* /zmōrč, zmṓrə̆/, Yagh. *mű́rčak*[183] 'ant' < **(z)máu̯ri-ka-(ka-)*, *(z)máu̯ra-ka-*, Ave. *maoiri-*, Tjk. *mū̄rčák*, Pers. *mōrčá* (GMS §380)[184];

[181] Yaghnōbī *išt* < **iš=t* < **нábi + =t (encl. pron. 2nd pers. sg.)* (GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 52).

[182] See OIrl. *ṛęn*; Irl. *sean*; Gael. *sean(n)*; Manx *shenn* × Welsh *hen* (*hên*); Bret. *hen*; Cornish *hen* 'old' < Ide. **seno-s*; cf. Ved. *sánaḥ*; Lat. *senex*; Goth. *sineigs*; Lith. *sẽnas*; Latv. *sęns* × Gre. *ἕνος*; Armen. *hin*.

[183] Yaghnōbī *mű́rčak* can originate either from Tājīk *mū̄rčák* (× Pers. *mōrčá*), or the Tājīk form originates from a Sogdo-Yaghnōbī dialect.

iii. **zd* > Sogd. *zd*, Yagh. *zd* ‖ *st*: Sogd. S *pzt-* /pəzd-á/, Yagh. *pazd* ‖ *pa(i̯)st* ‘smoke’ < **pázda(i̯a)-*, Ave. *pazdaiia-*;

iv. **zd* (palatalized) > Sogd. *ž*, Yagh. *ž* (?): Sogd. S *β(y)z-y*, *ʾβ(y)z-y*, M *β(y)j-y*, *ʾβj-y* /ᵊβží < *βeží/* ‘bad’ < **béži* < **bázdi̯a-* (GMS §379);

II.1.3.22. **ʂ*

i. > Sogd. *s*, Yagh. *s*: Sogd. B *snk(ʾ)* M *sng* /sáṁg(ẵ)/, Yagh. *sánk(a)* ‘stone’ < **aʂánga-(ka-)*, Ave. *asəngа-*, OPers. *aϑanga-*; Sogd. B M *rwps* /rṓpəs/, Yagh. *rúpas* ‘fox’ < **ráu̯păʂa-*, Pers. *rōbâh*, Ved. *lopāśá-*; Sogd. B M *sr-y* /sərí/, Yagh. *sar* ‘head’ < **ʂára-*, Pers. *sar*, Oss. *sær* (GMS §364);

ii. (palatalized) > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. B *√pnʾyš* /√pᵊnḗš/, Yagh. *pⁱnḗš-* ‖ *pⁱnái̯š-* ‘to lose’ < Ir. **apa-náʂai̯a-* (LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 388 ; GMS §374);

iii. **ʂtr* > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. B *wyš(h)* /wēš/, Yagh. *wēš* ‖ *wai̯š* ‘grass’ < **u̯ā́ʂtri̯a-*, Ave. *vāstriia-*;

iv. **ʂr* > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. B M *šwk* C *šwq* /šōk/, Yagh. *šūk* ‘silent’ < **a-ʂráu̯ka-* (GMS §371);

v. **ʂi̯* > Sogd. *š*, Yagh. *š*: Sogd. S B M *šʾw* C *šw* /šāu̯/, Yagh. *šōu̯* ‘black’ < **ʂi̯āu̯a-*, Ave. *siiāuua-*, Pers. *siyâh* (GMS §194);

vi. **ʂu̯* > **ʂɸ* > Sogd. *sp*, Yagh. *sp*: Sogd. S B M *ʾsp-y* /əspí/, C *(ʾ)sp-y* /(ᵊ)spí /, Yagh. *asp* ‘horse’ < **áʂu̯a-*, Ave. *aspa-*; Sogd. B *ʾspʾyt(ʾk)*, *ʾsp(ʾ)ytk*, *(ʾ)spʾytk*, *(ʾ)spʾyty* C *spyt̯y* /ⁱspḗtĕ̆/, Yagh. *sⁱpḗta* ‘white’ < **ʂu̯ái̯ta-ka-* (GMS §364);

(ad *vi.*) Development **ʂu̯* > **sp* is common in majority of Eastern Iranian languages, an exception is the South Western (*“Persian”*) branch, Wakhī and Saka dialects. In the Nūristānī and Dardic langauges there is IIr. **ću̯* > Nūr./Dard. **šp*, in the Indo-Aryan languages there is expected development IIr. **ću̯* > Ved. *śv*. The development of Ir. **ʂu̯* (IIr. **ću̯*, Ide. **ku̯*) can be demonstrated in an example of Ide. **h₁éku̯o-s* ‘horse’: IIr. **ʜáću̯a-s*; Ir. **(ʜ)áʂu̯a-h*; Ave. *aspa-*, Sogd. *əspí*, Khwār. *ʾsb/ʾsp* /asp/, Bactr. ασπο /asp/, Yagh. *asp*, Oss. *yæfs* ‖ *æfsæ*, Munj. *yōsp*, Yidgh. *yasp*, Pasht. *ās* *(m.)* // *áspa (f.)*; Wazīrī dial.: *wōs* // *wōspa*; Afrīdī dial. *wa͞s* // *wa͞spa* < *Proto-Paṭhān **ásp̄ă-* // **áspā-*), Waṇ. *ās*, Ōrm. *yāsp*, Parāch. *ōsp*; Med. **aspa-*, Balōch. *(h)aps*, *(h)asp*, Kurd. *(h)esp* × OPers. *asa-* (but Pers. *asb/asp* and Pahl. *asp* is probably of Median or Parthian origin[185]); Wakh. *yaš*, Khōt. *aśśa-*[186];

[184] See also Gre. *σμύρνα* × *μύῤῥα* ‘myrrh’; Gre *σμάραγδος* × Skt. *marakata-* ‘smaragd’.

[185] Similarly in other New South Western Iranian languages: Bakhtiyārī, Samghānī, Davānī *asp*, Lārestānī *(ʾ)asp* etc. In this case they are loans Persian loans (Fārs. *äsb*).

[186] Development of **ʂu̯* > *š* (Wakhī) / *śś* (Khōtanese) is surely not archaic preservation of palatal character of IIr. **ću̯*, but development */ʂ/ > /š ~ ś/ is caused by rounding assimilation by the bilabial fricative */ɸ/, i.e. IIr. **ću̯* > Ir. **ʂu̯*

(Indo-Aryan responses) Ved. *áśva-ḥ*, Pāli *assa*, Beṅgālī *aśba*; cf. *āššu[šš anni]* 'horse trainer' in Mitanni Indic;
(Nūristānī responses) Kati (Bashgalī): *úšpa* (Kāmviri) / *vašúp* (Kātəviri);
(Dardic responses) Ṣiṇā *ãšpo*, Kalāṣa *hãš*;
(other Ide. responses) Gre. *ἵππος* (Aeolic *ἴκκος*), Lat. *equus (m.)* // *equa (f.)* > Romanian *iapă*, Spanish *yegua* 'mare'; Celtic **epos ~ *ekᵘos*, OIrl. *ęc*, Irl. Gael. *each*; OBret. *eb*; Goth. *aíhva-*, OEng. *ēoh*, OIcel. *jór*, Tokh. A *yuk* B *yakwe*, Armen. ēš; Lith. *ašvà/ešvà* 'mare'.

II.1.3.23. **ʣ*

i. > Sogd. z, Yagh. z: Sogd. S C *zʾy* M *zʾy(y)* /zāi̯/ 'earth', Yagh. *zōy* 'field' < **ʣą́i̯a-*;
ii. (palatalized) > Sogd. ž, Yagh. ž: Sogd. C √*pryž* /√pərə́ž/, Yagh. *pⁱrə́ž-* ‖ *pⁱrái̯ž-* 'to escape' < **upa-rā́ʣaia-* (GMS §201);
iii. (dissimilated) > Sogd. ð, Yagh. *d*: Sogd. B MG M *ðst-y* C *dsṯ-y* /ðəstí/, Yagh. *dast* 'hand' < **dásta-* < **ʣásta-*, Ave. *zasta-*, Ved. *hásta-*;
iv. (before *γ* < **g*) > Sogd. ž, Yagh. ž (?): Sogd. B √*ʾwzγð* M √*ʾwjγð(ð)* /√ǒžγəð/ 'to dismount' < **au̯a-zgád-*, Ave. *zgad-* (GMS §376.2);

v. **ʣr* > Sogd. ž, Yagh. ž (?): Sogd. S *ẓyðn(h)* /žə́ðən/ 'hail' < **ʣrā́dunĭ-*, Ved. *hrādúnī-*, cf. Pers. *žālá*[187];
vi. **ʣu̯* > **ʣβ* > Sogd. *zβ*[188], Yagh. *zᵛv*: Sogd. B *(ʾ)zβʾ(ʾ)k* M *zβʾk* C *zbʾq* /ᵊzβāk/, Yagh. *zⁱvə́k* 'tongue, language' < *hiʣu̯ā́-kă-*, Ave. *hizū-*, *hizvā-*, *hizvah-*, Ved. *jihvā́* (GMS §377);

(ad *vi.*) Development of **ʣu̯*[189] is rather complicated in comparison with the above mentioned development of **ʦu̯* (II.1.3.22.*vi.*). There are no many examples, the best one

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*/ʦɸ ~ sɸ/ > Khōt. *śś* [ʃ(:)] / Wakh. *š*. Similar development of rounding can be observed e.g. in Avestan: YAve. *drafša-* 'banner' × Ved. *drapsá-*; OAve. *nafšu*○ 'grand-child *(loc. pl.)*' < **nafšu-* < IIr. **nápt-su-* (Reiner LIPP, pers. comm.).

[187] Most likely a borrowing from some Eastern Iranian language which changed **d* to *l*, but there was no *i*-Umlaut of the root vowel; probably a Bactrian loan, see Yidgh. *žīlo* 'hail'.

[188] Dialectally also **ʣu̯* > *žβ*: Sogd. C *žβʾq* /žβāk/ 'tongue' (GMS §378).

[189] It was claimed by Khromov and Livshits that there was also a development **ʣu̯* > *ž* in Sogdian Yaghnōbī: Sogd. M √*jʾy* C √*žʾy* /√žāy/ 'to discuss, to talk', Yagh. *žōy-* 'to read, to sing, to learn' < **ʣu̯ą́i̯a-*, Ave. *zbaiia-*, Skt. *hvayati* (KHROMOV – LIVSHITS 1981, 412; KHROMOV 1987, 567). On contrary, Ilya Gershevitch claims Sogd. /√žāy/ can be connected with Pahl. *drāy-* (GMS § 285) < Ir. **drăi̯-* / **drau̯-* (the same explanation also in RASTORGUEVA – ÈDEL'MAN 2003, 464). Yaghnōbī *ž* cannot come from Ir. **dr* so if this root comes from **drăi̯-* we would expect Yagh. *†darə́y-* ‖ *†dⁱrə́y-*.

Both etymologies are wrong – there are comparable examples for another source of Sogd. and Yagh. *ž* in this case, cf. Wakh. *ǰoy-* or Munj. *ẓ̌ōy-*. Ivan Mikhaĭlovich Steblin-Kamenskiy connects this verb with Ave. *gāϑa-* 'song, Gāthā' and Ved. *gāyati* 'he sings' ~ (I)Ir. **ǰāi̯-* < Ide. **gēi̯-* (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIY 1999, 200). Other "comparable" examples with different etymology are Shugh.-Rōsh. *x̌ōy-*, Sarīq. *x̌uy-* 'to speak' and Pasht. *x̌ōwól* 'to show' are from Ir. **srāu̯ai̯a-* (ibid.).

is an Iranian word for *tongue*, *language*, but unfortunatelly its responses are attested from two stems: **hiʒu̯ā́-* and **hiʒū́-*.

**(hi)ʒu̯ā́-(kă-)* > Sogd. /ʾɜβāk ~ žβāk/, Yagh. *zⁱvők*, Oss. *ævzag*, Ave. *hizuuā-*[190], Khwār. *zᵘβʾk*, ʾzβʾk /zuβā́g, əzβā́g/, Bactr. ɛζβαγο /əzβāg/, Munj. *zəvíγ* U *zəvū́g*, Yidgh. *zᵊvīγ, zɪbēγ*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *ziv*, Yazg. *zəveg*, Ishk. *z(ь)vůk*, Sangl. *zəvŭk*, Pasht. *žə́ba*, Wazīrī *žəbba*[191], Waṇ. *z(i)bə*, *zəbō*; Ved. *jihvā́*;

**hiʒu̯ā́-nă-* > OPers. *hizānm* (acc. sg.), Pahl. ʾwzwʾn M ʿzwʾn /uzwān, izwān/, Pers. *zabā́n*, Parth. ʿzbʾn /izbān/, Med. **hizbān-*;

**(hi)ʒū-(kă-)* > Ave. *hizū-*, Wakh. *zĭk*, OPers. *hizū-*[192]; Ved. *juhū́-*;

Unexplained is Khōt. *biśā* /βiźā/, Vera Sergeevna Rastorgueva and Dzhoy Iosifovich Èdel'man claim it can result from methatesis of **ʒu̯ā-n- ??* (RASTORGUEVA – ÈDEL'MAN 2007, 405);

II.1.3.24. **i̯*

i. > Sogd. *y*, Yagh. *y*: Sogd. S M *yw-y* /yəwí/, Yagh. *yau̯* "barley < **i̯áu̯a*, Ave. *yauua-*; Sogd. B *syʾʾk(h)* M *syʾk* C *syʾq* /səyā́k/, Yagh. *sⁱyóka* 'shadow' < **atʂāi̯ā́-kă-(ka-)*, Ave. *asaiia-*;

ii. (hiatus) > Sogd. *y*, Yagh. *y*: Sogd. S B M *ʾʾy* /āi̯/, Yagh. *ōy* '[(s)he] was *(3rd pers. sg. impf.)*' < **ā́i̯ă* < **ā́'a* < **ʜa=ʜáha*, Ave. *ā̊ŋha* (GMS § 401);

(ad *i.*) **i̯* often disappeared in *Proto-Sogdic. The loss of **i̯* caused *i*-Umlaut of **ă*, **u*, **r̥*, **ău̯* (II.1.2.1.*iv-v*, *vii-viii.*; II.1.2.2.*iii-iv*, *vi-vii.*; II.1.2.5.*vi-v.*; II.1.2.7.*iii-v.*; II.1.2.9.*iii-v.*) or palatalization of **zd*, **ʂ*, **ʒ* (II.1.3.21.*iv.*; II.1.3.22.*ii.*; II.1.3.23.*ii.*). Palatalization of consonants is widespread mainly in Khōtanese. In Sogdian the result of palatalization of vowels and/or consonants might gave different phonetic forms of verbal stems originating either form **-ai̯a-*causative or from **-i̯a-*passive, thus the difference cannot be judged from spelling of Sogdian words (GMS §548-550);

II.1.3.25. **u̯*

i. > Sogd. *w*, Yagh. *w*: Sogd. B *wβr-y* M *wfr-y* /wəfr-á/, Yagh. *wáfⁱr* 'snow' < **u̯áfra-*, Ave. *vafra-*; Sogd. B *wyš(h)* /wēš/, Yagh. *wēš* ‖ *wai̯š* 'grass' < **u̯ā́ʂtri̯a-*, Ave. *vāstriia-*; Sogd. S B *√prw(ʾ)yδ* M *√prwyδ* C *√prwyd* /√pərwḗδ/ 'to seek', Yagh. *parwéd-* 'to beg' < **pari-u̯ā́i̯da-*;

Avestan *zbaiia-* and Vedic *hvayati* is connected with Pasht. *zwaž-*, OCS. *zъvati* : *zovǫ* 'to call, to invite' < Ide. **ĝʰeu̯ʜ-* / **ĝʰu̯eʜ-* / **ĝʰuʜ-*, Tokh. B *kwā-* (MAYRHOFER 1996, 810).

[190] Instead of expected *†hizbā-* (or maybe *†hizβā-*). Maybe *-zuu-* is to be understood as an allophone of **-zβ-* < **-zb-*.

[191] *ž* emerged from palatalization of **z* < **dz*: *žə́ba/žəbba* < **zⁱba* < **izbā* < **(hi)ʒu̯ā-*, but Pasht./Wazīrī *žə́ba/žəbba* may be a loan (or influence?) from Sindhī *jibʰa* (RASTORGUEVA – ÈDEL'MAN 2007, 404-405)

[192] Instead of expected *†hidū-* < **hiδū-* < **hiʒū-*. Probably a Median loan.

II.1.3.26. **H*[193]

i. > Sogd. *ø*, Yagh. *ø*: Sogd. S *ʾst* B *ʾsty* C *sṯy* /(ə)stí, ást(ɨ)/, Yagh. *ást(i)* '[(s)he/it] is' < **Hásti*, OAve. *astī*, OPers. *astiy*, Ved. *ásti*, Ide. **h₁ésti*; Sogd. S B M *ʾsp-y* /əspí/, C *(ʾ)sp-y* /(ə)spí /, Yagh. *asp* 'horse' < **átʂu̯a-* < Ir. **Hátʂu̯a-*, Ave. *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*, Ved. *áśva-* < IIr. **Hácu̯a-* < Ide. **h₁éḱu̯o-s*; Sogd. M *xwštr-y* /xuštrí/ 'camel' < **uxštrí* < **Huštra-*, Ave. *uštra-*, Ved. *úṣṭra-*;

ii. (in forms of internal augment) > Sogd. $\bar{V}$, Yagh. $\bar{V}$ ~ *ø*: Sogd. S M *√ptγwš* B *√ptγ(ʾ)wš* C *√pṯγwš:* S B *√ptyγwš*, *√ptʾyγʾwš* M C *√ptyγwš* C *√pṯyγwš* /√pᵊtγőš *:* √ptíγōš/ 'to hear *(pres. stem : impf. stem)*' < **pătĭ-γáu̯ša- : *pătí-γau̯ša-* < **pati-gáu̯ša-* : **pati-Ha=gáu̯ša-* (× Yagh. *dᵘγűš- : adᵘγűš-* < **(pă)tĭ-γáu̯ša- : *à=(pă)tĭ-γáu̯ša-* < **pati-gáu̯ša- : *pati-Ha=gáu̯ša-*); Sogd. B *√ʾwzγδ* M *√ʾwjγδ(δ) :* B *√wʾzγδ* M *√wʾcʾγδ* /√őžγəδ *:* √wắžγəδ/ 'to dismount *(pres. stem : impf. stem)*' < **áu̯-žγăδ- : * ău̯ắ-žγăδ-* < **Hau̯a-dzgád-* : **Hau̯a-Ha=dzgád-*; Sogd. S B M *ʾʾy* /āi̯/, Yagh. *ōy* '[(s)he] was *(3rd pers. sg. impf.)*' < **ắi̯ă* < **Hắ(h)a* < **Ha=Háha*, Ave. *āŋha*;

iii. **aHa* > Sogd. *ā*, Yagh. *ō*: Sogd. *wʾt* /wāt/, Yagh. *wőt(a)* 'wind' < **u̯aHąta-(ka-)*, Ave. *vāta-* (trisyllabic) < Ide. **h₂u̯eh₁n̥to-*, Lat. *ventus*.

II.1.4. Syncope and reduction

Syncope and reduction are phenomena related to stress changes (see chapter II.1.1.), mainly with the *Stress I* and *Stress II*. Examples of old vowel syncope can be observed in a few Sogdian examples, e.g. Sogd. S M C *zyrn* /zeŕn/ 'gold' < **dzáraṇia-*; Sogd. S *rypδβ-* /repϑβá/ 'noon' < **rápiϑβā* etc. (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989b, 181) – these examples show loss of an unstressed vowel already in a *Pre-Proto-Sogdic period (i.e. probably in the late Old Iranian period, but dating is really uncertain in this case). Of old date can be also a reduction (shortening) of **ā* > *(*)a* in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī word for "fox": Sogd. B M *rwps* /rőpəs/, Yagh. *rűpas* < ProtoSogd. **ráo̯păsa-* < **ráu̯pātʂa-* 'fox' [Ved. *lopāśá-*, Pers. *rōbắh*]. More certain examples of syncope can be observed in *Proto-Sogdic development – due to shift to the *Stress II* unstressed vowels (in an open syllable) were lost (or reduced): Sogd. S *√ʾzwʾyrt* B *√(ʾ)zwʾyrt* M *√zwʾyrt* C *√zwyrṯ* /√ᵊzwíŕt/, Yagh. *zⁱwírt-* 'to turn' < **øzwáⁱrtø-* < **udz-u̯árt(a)i̯a-*; Sogd. S B *mʾγ(h)*, *mʾγw* M C *mʾx* /māx < mắxu/, Yagh. *mōx* 'we' < **ømắx(ʷ)ø* < **ĭmắxu* < **ahmắxam*. In Yaghnōbī whole first syllable was reduced when two short open syllables preceded a stressed syllable: Sogd. S M C *√ptγwš* B *√ptγ(ʾ)wš* /pᵊtγőš-/, Yagh. *dᵘγűš-* 'to hear' < **(pø)tøγáo̯šø-* < **pati-gáu̯ša-*; Yagh. *žavár-* ‖ *žⁱvár-* 'to bring, to produce, to invent' < **(nø)žβárø-* < **niǰ-bára-* (KHROMOV 1987, 661).

Vowel reduction continued later on in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī in different ways. In Sogdian all historical short vowels **a*, **i*, **u* (and also Sogd. *e* from *i*-Umlaut of short **a*; cf. Sogd. S *β(y)z-y*, *ʾβ(y)z-y*, M *β(y)j-y*, *ʾβj-y* /ᵊβží < βeží/ < **βéži* < **bázdi̯a-* 'bad, evil') could have been

[193] With some exceptions, I will not mark *Proto-Iranian laryngeals in the presented work.

reduced to *Schwa* (*ə*) or to its allophone *ɨ*, only old **u* after a velar changed to **ʷə* (i.e. old **u* caused labialization of a preceding velar; see chapters II.1.3.3.*v.*, II.1.3.11.*iii.*, II.1.3.7.*ii.*). In Yaghnōbī short **a*, **i* and **u* (of *Proto-Sodgic origin or from loans from or via Persian/Tajik) tend to be reduced in an open syllable when they directly precede a stressed syllable – the short vowels probably changed to **Schwa* in (late) *Proto-Yaghnōbī, this **Schwa* later developed into short (non-reduced) *a* or ultra-short (reduced) *ⁱ* or *ᵘ*. Ultra-short *ᵘ* developed from **Schwa* which was followed by a labial consonant or *h*, *ḥ*, *ɛ* and a stressed labialized vowel *ó*, *ú*, *ŭ*/*u̯* (< **á*, **ó*, *ŭ*): Yagh. W *nᵘmóč* (also *nⁱmóč*; E *namóč*) 'prayer' < **nămắč* [Pers. *namắz*]; Yagh. *bᵘhór* 'spring(time)' < Pers. *bahắr* [TMast. *bᵘhór*]; Yagh. *mᵘnŭ́t* 'minute' < Rus. *минýта*. In other cases **Schwa* usually changes to *a* ‖ *ⁱ*: Yagh. *xapár* ‖ *xⁱpár* 'news, report' < Pers. *xabár* < Arab. *ḫabar*; Yagh. *kamōdá* ‖ *kⁱmōdá* '*Angelica* plant', cf. Tjk. *kamól* (there are no many indigenous Yaghnōbī examples of development of **Schwa* as the unstressed short vowels have been lost in *Proto-Sogdic or *Proto-Yaghnōbī).

Another example of reduction in *Proto-Sogdic is loss of **ɣ* under several circumstances (see chapters *II.1.2.7.vii.-viii.*, II.1.3.17.*iii.*, II.1.3.9.*v.-vii.* and for Yaghnōbī also *II.1.2.7.v.*): Sogd. S √*(ʾ)krt-* B √*ʾkrt-* M √*(ʾ)kt-* C √*(ʾ)qṯ-* /√ⁱkt-/, Yagh. *íkta* 'to do, to make *(past part.)*' < **kɣ́ta-(ka-)*; Sogd. M *kj* C *qž* /ka·ž/ (× Sogd. S B *krz*, *krẓ* M *krj* C *qrž* /kařž/) 'miracle' < **kárǰa-*; Yagh. *kamḗr* ‖ *kⁱmḗr* 'red' × Sodg. B *krm(ʾ)yr*, *kyrmyr* M *qrmyr* C *qyrmyr* /kiʳmḗr/; Sogd. S B √*(ʾ)βšʾm*, √*ʾpšʾm* B √*ʾβšʾm*, √*ʾpšʾm* M C √*fšʾm* /√ᵊfšắm/, Yagh. *fⁱšṓm-* 'to send' < **fra-šắma-* etc.

In Yaghnōbī all word-final vowels were lost, in Sogdian *heavy-stem* word-final vowels were lost also, but they have been preserved in *light-stem* endings.

As syncope can be explained origin of indicative present and imperfect ending of the third person plural *-ōšt*. It originates in older *-ōr-išt*[194] (attested as *-ōrišt* by JUNKER 1930, 107). The development of the ending can be reconstructed as follows: *-ōr(-)išt* > *-ō(y)išt* > *-ōyšt* (attested in speech of village of Marghtimayn; KLIMCHITSKIY 1940, 99-100) > *-ōšt* (cf. NOVÁK [in print], note nr. 23).

II.1.5. Prothesis and epenthesis

Syllabic structure of *Proto-Sogdic permitted presence of word-initial consonant clusters, this feature slowly appears to change in *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī after the split of *Proto-Sogdic – in both of the derived (proto-)languages the word-initial consonant clusters were not allowed so they were transformed: Yaghnōbī shows epenthesis – a svarabhakti vowel *a*, *ⁱ* or *ᵘ* was inserted to break the original initial consonant cluster; Sogdian shows prothesis rather than epenthesis – the prothetic vowel is spelled as *ᵊ* in the presented thesis, but in front of *s* often appears its allophone *ᵻ* (we can suppose presence of *ᵻ* according to texts written in the

[194] From Iranian perfect indicative active voice **-ɣ(š)* > **-āri*; and (originally) durative ending *-išt* (cf. Sogd. B *ʾštn* attested in Vessantara Jātaka).

Manichaean script, where the epenthetic vowel is often spelled by *ʿayin* before *s* instead of more common *ālap*; cf. GMS §157).

After the split of *Proto-Sogdic two kinds of prothesis/epenthesis appeared – vocalic and consonantal:

1) As have been mentioned above, vocalic prothesis appears in Sogdian, in Yaghnōbī there is vocalic epenthesis observable in analogous positions. Sogdian prothetic ^{ə} (and ^{i}) usually appears before inherited word-initial clusters (cf. GMS §157), prothetic vowel can appear also before a historical single consonant – this feature is observable mainly for Sogdian *k* and *x* (GMS §159-160), peripherally also for Sogd. *γ* preceding historical **ŭ* – the *Proto-Sogdic velars were probably labialized and labialization was then reanalyzed as a consonant cluster (see chapters II.1.3.3.*v.*, II.1.3.11.*iii.*, II.1.3.7.*ii.*). There are also other examples of prothesis before a historically single consonant – some examples are given in GMS §159-161 – in all those cases the prothetic vowel emerged from secondary built clusters of **Cu̯* or **Ci̯*: S B *ʾky* /^{ə}kḗ/ 'who' < **ki̯ă-* < **káh(i̯ā)-*; S *ʾδw(ʾ)*, B M *ʾδw(ʾ)* /^{ə}δ$^{(w)}$ŭ, ^{ə}δwā́/ 'two' < **du̯a-*; S B *ʾcw* /^{ə}čṓ/ 'what' < **čі̯ākam* < **či-āka-*. Different example of prothesis before a single consonant may be seen in Sogdian: *ʾpkš-y* 'side' < **upa-kaša-*, Skt. *pakṣa-* (claimed as a Sanskrit loan in Buddhist Sogdian by Gerschevitch (GMS §161), but cf. Yagh. *kapáš* ‖ *k^{i}páš*) – in this case we can assume pronunciation *^{ə}pkəší* (cf. Qarīb 1383, 50 §1277) rather than **^{ə}pəkší* (cf. GMS §161; but see the same example in chapter on metathesis II.1.7.); comparable example may be Sogdian word for "father": B *ʾptr-y* M *(ʾ)ptr-y(y)* C *(ʾ)pt̯r-y* /^{ə}pt(ə)rí/ < *pitá-r*[195]. It should be noted that there are no many examples of prothesis in Christian Sogdian texts.

In Yaghnōbī there are three epenthetic svarabhakti vowels *a*, ^{i} and ^{u}. Svarabhakti *a* appears mainly in Eastern Yaghnōbī, in the Western and Transitional dialects there is ^{i} instead (but ^{i} appears in many Eastern Yaghnōbī words also). Svarabhakti ^{u} is quite rare, it can be considered as allophonous variant of *a* or ^{i}. It can be said that svarabhakti ^{i} is a typical epenthetic vowel in Yaghnōbī, it appears in majority of words, e.g. *v^{i}yṓra* 'evening' < **βyā́ra* < **abi-a̯i̯āra-ka-*; *v^{i}rṓt* 'younger brother' < **βrā́t* etc., see also Russian *трáктор* > Yagh. *t^{i}rákt^{i}r* 'tractor'. In other cases there appears *a* in the Eastern dialect and ^{i} in the Western and Transitional dialects – this often happens in clusters beginning in **ϑ* and **δ* (< **d*): *t̯afár-* ‖ *t̯^{i}fár-* 'to give' < **ϑβar-* < **fra-bára-*; *s̯aráy* ‖ *t̯^{i}ráy* 'three' < **ϑrā̆i̯a-*; *daráu̯* ‖ *d^{i}ráu̯* 'hair'< **dráu̯a-*; *darṓs̯* ‖ *d^{i}rṓt̯* 'sicle' < **δrāϑ* < **dā́ϑra-*. The third svarabhakti vowel – ^{u} was originally an allophone of ^{i} and *a*, it appears only when a following syllable contains a labial consonant followed by a stressed back vowel (i.e. *ṓ*, *ú*, *ŭ*/*ú̯* < **á*, **ó*, **ŭ*): *t̯^{u}fṓr* ‖ *t̯afṓr*, *t̯^{u}fṓr* 'four' < **(čə)ϑβár* < **čaϑu̯ár-*; *t̯^{u}fṓrči* ‖ *t̯^{u}fórtišt* '[(s)he] gives'[196] < **ϑβar-t-išt* < **fra-bára-ti-*$^{\bigcirc}$.

[195] But emergence of the prothetic vowel can be interpreted also in a different way – the Sogdian root may originate from a stem comparable to Avestan *(p)tā* (nom.), *ptarəm* (acc.) or *fəδrōi* (dat.).

[196] For the change *a* > *ō* see chapter II.1.2.1.*x*.

In Yaghnōbī is attested also vowel epenthesis in some word-final clusters ending in **xm*, **xn*, **βn*, **šm*, **(x)šn*, **čn*, **fr*, **zm* and **γn*: *ráxšⁱn* 'dawn' < **ráu̯xšna-*; *wáfⁱr* 'snow' < **u̯áfra-*; *wáxⁱn* 'blood' < **u̯áhuni-*; *ízⁱm* 'firewood' < **ái̯zma-*; Yagh. *rű́γⁱn*, *rű́γan*[197] 'oil, butter' < **ráu̯gna-* (cf. KHROMOV 1987, 661). Anaptyctic vowel in word-final clusters might appear also in Sogdian, but due to Sogdian spelling there are no many clues to prove it, the only example can be seen in a word for "butter, oil" which is attested also in the Brāhmī spelling: *ro haṃ*, *ro γaṃ* /rṓγⁿn/. Some other examples of anaptyxis are shown in GMS §482-483: e.g. S *sγ(w)tmʾn* /saγ(ʷə)dmā́n/ 'earth, soil', but examples given by Ilya Gershevitch may be also interpreted as metathesis (see chapter II.1.7.)

In Yaghnōbī there are not allowed clusters *Cy*, so an anaptyctic *ⁱ* is inserted to break the cluster: *Cⁱy*: Yagh. *dunⁱyṓ* 'world' < Pers. *dunyā́* < Ar. *dunyā*, Yagh. *bis(s)ⁱyṓr* 'much, many' < Pers. *bisyā́r*, Yagh. *samalⁱyṓt* 'airplane' < Russ. *самолёт*. Some of the *Cy* clusters often undergo metathesis *yC*: *duynṓ*, *samaylṓt*.

2) Consonantal epenthesis (excrescence) is attested only in a few Sogdian words. In several words intrusive *x* before *šC* is attested: Sogd. M *√npxšt-* /√nəpɨxšt-/ 'to write *(past part.)*' < **nipíšta-(ka-)*; Sogd. S *ʾxwštr-y* B *ʾγwštr-y* M *xwštr-y* /ᵊxʷəštrí/ 'camel' < **uxštrí* < **uštra-* (see chapter II.1.3.11.*ii.*; GMS §257). Before **n* can appear intrusive *r* as is attested in Sogd. B *γwrn-w*, *γwrn-y* M *(y)xwrn-y* C *xwrn-y* /(yə)xʷəʳní, xʷəʳnú/ 'blood', intrusive *r* appears also after *β* < **b* in Sogd. M *βrywr* /βrḗwər/ 'ten thousand' < **bái̯u̯ar-* (see chapter II.1.3.17.*ii.*; GMS §359-362). As intrusive can be considered also *n* which appears in a form of present copula of the second person plural in Manichaean Sogdian: *ʾnsδʾ* / ą́sϑa ~ ámsϑa/ (see chapter II.1.3.16.*iii.* but cf. GMS §784). There are no attested examples of consonantal epenthesis in Yaghnōbī.

II.1.6. Assimilation and dissimilation

There can be found some examples of dissimilation or assimilation in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. At first should be mentioned really old dissimilation **dz–st* > **d–st* in Iranian **dzásta-* 'hand' (Ved. *hásta-*, Ide. **ǵʰés-to-*) – it appears as *zasta-* in Avestan, in Old Persian is attested *dasta-* (here *d-* can originate either from **dz-* or from **d-*), but in all other Iranian languages the word for "hand" comes from dissimilated stem **dásta-*: Sogd. B Mg M *δst-y* C *dst̰-y* /δəstí/, Yagh. *dast*; Khwār. *δst*, Khōt. *dasta-*, Bactr. λιστο */list/, Shugh. *δust*, Rōsh. *δost*, Khūf. *δūst*, Sarīq *δɯst*, Wakh. *δast*, Yazgh. *δůst*, Munj. *lost*, Yidgh. *last*, Pasht. *lās*, Parāch. *dös̈t*, Pers. *dast*, Pahl. *dst* */dast/, Parth. *dst*. The dissimilated form of the word *dásta-* may have been influenced by past participle of the verb **dā-* 'to give' – **dad-ta-* > **dasta-* '(the) giving (one) *[= hand]*'.

*Proto-Sogdic dissimilation can be seen in example of the numeral "six" which comes from Ir. **xšu̯ášam* and which was dissimilated in *(Pre-)Proto-Sogdic as **xu̯ášam* > **xu̯ášu* > Sogd. S B *ʾγwšw* C *xwšw* /xʷəšú/. Another example of dissimilation can be seen in Sogdian C **mrʾw* /mrāu̯/

[197] Yagh. form *rű́γan* may be a loan from Mastchōhī Tājīk (cf. Tjk. *rau̯γán*, TMast *rūγán*, Pers. *rōγán*, Fārs. *roᵘγā́n*, Pahl. *rōγn*), or the epenthetic *a* was taken from/influenced by Tājīk.

'weeping' < **brā̆wa-* (see chapter II.1.3.15.*iii.*) < **brā̆ma-*, similar, but opposite development is attested in Yaghnōbī *bⁱdṓn* 'middle' < **madi̯ā́na-*, Sogd. M *myδ'n* C *myd(')n* /miδā́n/ (see chapter II.1.3.15.*ii.*).

Voice assimilation of stops following a homorganic nasal is typical for Sogdian. This development probably stared in *Proto-Sogdic, where groups *{m/(n)}{p/b}, *{(m)/n}{t/d}, *{(m)/n}{k/g}, *{(m)/n}{č/ǰ/ǩ} changed to *Proto-Sogdic **mḇ*, **nḍ*, **ŋǧ*, **nǰ*. In Sogdian these clusters changed to *ṁb*, **ṁd*, **ṁg*, **ṁǰ*; in Yaghnōbī they changed to *mp*, *nt*, *nk*, *nč* (see chapters II.1.3.15.*iv.*, II.1.3.16.*iv.-ix.*).

In Yaghnōbī voiceless consonant were voiced when they directly preceded a voiced consonant – such voicing appeared after syncope of unstressed vowels as can be demonstrated in following examples: Yagh. *dᵘγúš-* 'to hear' < **dγōš-* < **(pᵊ)tγōš-* < **pati-gáu̯ša-*, Sogd. S M C *√ptγwš* B *√ptγ(')wš* /pᵊtγṓš-/; Yagh. *bᵘzə́n-* ‖ *bⁱzə́n-* 'to know' < **bzān-* < **pzān-* < **apa-dzā́n-*; Yagh. *bᵘdúfs-* 'to glue, to stick' < **bδúfs-* < **pδúfs-* < **upa-dáfθa-*, Sogd. B *√pδwβs-*, *√pδwfs-* M *√pδwfs-* /√pᵊδufs-/ (see chapters II.1.3.1.*ii.*, II.1.3.2.*ii.*).

II.1.7. Metathesis

There are attested several examples of metathesis in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. I will mention only a few of them – some of the below given examples show interesting development in Sogdian, other given examples are my re-interpretations of phenomena incorrectly interpreted by Ilya Gershevitch in his *Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian* (GERSHEVITCH 1954).

In Sogdian there is well attested progressive metathesis of **ŭ* or **u̯* and a velar sound: this phenomenon can be well demonstrated on doublets in following examples[198]: Sogd. AL *δwγδr*, *δwγth* S *δwxth* M *δwγt(')* C *dwγt(')* × S B *δγwth* 'daughter' < **duxtar-*; Sogd. S *swγδ(')yk* × S *sγwδyk* 'Sogdian' < **θug(u)diu̯a-kă-*[199] or These examples show probable development **CuKC* (*K* = any velar) > **CəʷKC ~ *CəKʷC* or even **CKʷəC*, i.e. probably there was no metathesis of **ŭ* but after reduction of **ŭ* the reduced sound retained its labial character, and later *ʷ* caused labialization of following velar. Ilya Gershevitch interprets Sogdian words S *sγwtm'n* 'all', S *γwrwm* 'soil', B *wγwšw* 'six', all with svarabhakti vowel recorded by the letter *waw* (GMS §482). I suppose that those examples show metathesis of **ŭ* or **u̯*. Sogd. S *sγwtm'n* 'all' is attested also as C *swγ̲tm'n* S M *sγtm'n* I suppose that the letter *waw* marks labialization i.e. **səγʷdəmā́n*, unfortunately, etymology of this word is not given in GMS and is neither known to me.

Sogdian S *γwrwm* 'soil' is also attested as B *γwrm(h)* M *xrwm*, *xwrm* C *xwrm* /xʷrúm/ < **xruma-* – in the attested spellings it is certain, that the letter *waw* does not mark epenthesis but metathesis of **u* and/or labialization of *x*. Sogdian S *wxwšw*, *wγwšw* B *wγwšw* 'six' is attested

[198] In most cases I will put down only spelling varieties in the Sogdian script (i.e. secular texts in the Sogdian script or Buddhist texts), in the Manichaean and Syriac scripts no such examples of metathesis are attested. In majority of example I will not give phonetic transcription.

[199] Spelling like S *swγδ(')yk* or *sγwδyk* can be also explained as development from **θugudiu̯a-ka-*, cf. OPers. spelling <*sᵃ-u-gᵘ-dᵃ*>, <*sᵃ-u-gᵘ-u-dᵃ*> or <*sᵃ-u-gᵃ-dᵃ*>. In Manichaean spelling is attested spelling like M *swγδy'w* × S *sγwδy'w*.

also as S B *ʾγwšw* C *xwšw* /ʷəxšú, ᵊxʷəšú/ < **xšu̯ášam* – in this case the letter *waw* again marks metathesis of **u̯*.[200] Metathesis in case of numeral "six" proves also Yaghnōbī *uxš*, compared to Sogdian we can reconstruct following development: Ir. **xšu̯ášam* > by dissimilation **xu̯ášam* > *Proto-Sogdic **xu̯ášu* > Sogd. S B *ʾγwšw* C *xwšw* /ᵊxʷəšú/ > by metathesis > **u̯áxšu* > Sogd. S *wxwšw*, *wγwšw* B *wγwšw* /ʷəxšú/, Yagh. *uxš*. Another example of metathesis attested in both languages is Sogd. C *γwrʾt̰y*, Yagh. *γᵘrṓta* × Sogd. M *wγrʾtyy* 'awake' < **u̯igrấta-ka-*.

Gershevitch also mentions insertion of *r* in Sogd. M *škwrδ* 'difficult' (GMS §361) which he compared with Old Persian *škau̯θi-*, but this etymology should be unacceptable because after loss of final *-i- *-au̯-* should be influenced by *i*-Umlaut. According to spelling of **škōrθ* in Sogdian scripts: B *(ʾ)škʾwrδ* M *(ʾ)škwrδ* C *šqwrθ* I suppose a different etymology from Ir. **skáu̯θra-* with metathesis **θr* > **ʾ(ʾ)rθ*. For other examples of metathesis in Sogdian see GMS §406-447.

In Yaghnōbī should be mentioned metathesis of **pk-* > **kp-* in *kapáš* ‖ *kⁱpáš* 'armpit' < **øpøkašø* < **upa-káša-*. This Yaghnōbī word also proves reading of Sogd. B *ʾpkš-* 'side', which is interpreted as a word with prothetic *ālaf* by Ilya Gershevitch: *«B. ʾpkš- (əpakš-, light stem) 'side' VJ 8, borrowed from Skt. pakṣa-»* (GMS §161), but development from **upa-kaša-* seems to be more probable, thus the word should be read **ᵊpkəší* instead of **ᵊpəkší* as may be presumed from the Sanskrit form.

Essential example of metathesis presents Yaghnōbī present tense ending of the third person singular *-či* (originally ending used only in Eastern Yaghnōbī, nowadays it spread also into other dialects, in the Transitional and Western dialect there is ending *-tišt*). The ending *-či* in Eastern Yaghnōbī is from diachronic point of view the same as Western Yaghnōbī *-tišt* < *-t-išt*[201]. In Eastern Yaghnōbī the ending underwent metathesis: *-t(-)išt* > **-tšit* > *-čit* (attested in speech of village of Nōmitkōn; KLIMCHITSKIY 1940, 99-100) or *-čiš* (in the Transitional dialect of village of Qūl; ANDREEV – LIVSHITS – PISARCHIK 1957, 236) > *-tši* (dialect of Qūl; ibid.) > *-či* (cf. NOVÁK [in print], note nr. 23).

II.1.8. Analogy

I have not found much examples of analogy in the languages derived from *Proto-Sogdic, in Sogdian there is problem with spelling, so I will present two examples I have recorded in Yaghnōbī.

Present stem form of the Yaghnōbī verb *γⁱríf-* ‖ *γⁱrív-* 'to know, to understand' < **g̰rb-* 'to know, to understand, to take, to grab' probably emerged by analogy from past participle

[200] In some cases thus can be assumed that in Sogdian appeared also progressive labialization. Orthography of labialized *xʷ* or *γʷ* appears as <*xw*>, <*γw*>, <*wx*> or <*wγ*> depending on spelling customs in each script utilized for Sogdian. Orthography similar to Sogdian <*wx*> or <*wγ*> can be compared with Parthian spelling <*wx*> or <*xw*> for *xʷ* (RASTORGUEVA – MOLCHANOVA 1981, 178-179).

[201] *Id est* Iranian indicative present ending of the third person singular **-ti* and (originally) durative ending *-išt* (cf. Sogd. B *ʾštn* attested in Vessantara Jātaka).

γⁱrífta < **γrífta-ka-* < **gŕfta-ka-* < **gr̥b-ta-ka-*. In Sogdian there is attested present stem S B M √*γrβ-* C √*γrb-* /√*γᵊrβ-*/ (in Yaghnōbī thus can be assumed present stem form *†γirv-* or *†γarv-* if there was no analogy). For the Yaghnōbī past participle *gⁱrífta* see Sogd. AL √*ptγryβt-* /√pᵊtγriβḍ-/ 'to take *(past part.)*' – **r̥* normally develops into *əʳ* (with allophones) in *Proto-Sogdic (see chapter II.1.2.7.*i.-vi.*), but before **ft* it changes to *ri* (chapter II.1.2.7.*xi.*; GMS §153a). Analogous is also *-f-* of the verb in focus in Eastern Yaghnōbī instead of etymologically expected *-v-* in Western Yaghnōbī.

Another example of analogy in Yaghnōbī is development of augment. I will discuss this problem later in chapter on verbal inflection (chapter II.2.4.), now I will mention the phenomenon briefly. In *Proto-Sogdic the imperfect tense has been formed by prefixation of an augment in front of a verbal root. If a verbal stem contained a prefix and a root, the augment followed the prefix – i.e. there was so-called *internal augment*. In Sogdian augment was preserved only in reflexes of the internal augment, original augment of non-prefixed verbs disappeared due to operation of stress (probably *Stress III* as there is a different development in Yaghnōbī), but augment of non-prefixed verbs is preserved in Yaghnōbī. As the language developed further there have been lost awareness of Iranian (or *Proto-Sogdic) verbal prefixes and by analogy the augment have been placed in front of the original prefix. See following examples to demonstrate this phenomenon: Yagh. *dᵘγűš- : adᵘγűš-* 'to hear' *(pres. stem : impf. stem)* < **(pă)tĭ-γáo̯šă- : *à=(pă)tĭ-γáo̯šă-* < **pati-gáu̯ša- : *pati-*ʜa*=gáu̯ša-* (× Sogd. √*pᵊtγő̆š* : √*ptő̆γōš* < **pătĭ-γáo̯šă- : *pătī-γáo̯šă-* < **pati-gáu̯ša- : *pati-*ʜa*=gáu̯ša-*); Yagh. *var- : avár-* 'to bear' *(pres. stem : impf. stem)* < **βar- : *à=βár-* < **bara- :* ʜa*=bára-* (× Sogd. √*βər- :* √*βər-* < *βar- : ăβar-* < **bara- :* ʜa*=bára-*).

II.1.9. Syllabic structure

Syllabic structure of *Proto-Sogdic was probably very similar (if not identical) to Old Iranian syllabic structure. After stress-influenced changes in phonology (and morphology), mainly after vowel syncopation and reduction, the syllabic structure of Sogdic daughter-languages changed considerably. Unfortunately there are no many clues to reconstruct syllabic structure of *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī, we can assume, that already after split of *Proto-Sogdic there slowly emerged a tendency to avoid word-initial consonant clusters, however, this development is not typical only for Sogdic dialects as it appears in many other Iranian languages, especially in the New Iranian period.

I have not met many attempts to reconstruct Sogdian Syllabic structure – there are probably only two outlines of the Sogdian syllabic structure. The first outline was presented by Sof'ya Petrovna Vinogradova: *«The specific structure of the syllable: CCVCC:* C *škwrϑ [škōrϑ] 'difficult', cf.* B *(ʾ)škʾwrδ-,* M *(ʾ)škwrδ [(ə)škōrϑ-], CV (probably also CCV, CCCV, CVC, VCC, VC):* B *ʾrδkw [arδuk, arδku] 'sincere',* S *[δastya] 'hand' (locative), martəxmeti 'people' (oblique), [prāmana] and [prāmandi] 'Brahman' (vocative singular and plural),* B *[nərδβe-] 'scorpion'.»* (VINOGRADOVA 2000a, 64). The other outline of Sogdian syllabification was presented by Elio Provasi in his

study of Sogdian versification: *«Sogdian, then, had syllabification rules which were quite different from those of Western Middle Iranian. In Sogdian, inside a word, a group of consonants between two syllabic peaks (i.e. vowels or diphthongs) is not divided between the two syllables, but belongs to the second one, constituting its onset*.[note 33: *Cf. the observations, from a historical-comparative point of view, by* GERCENBERG *1980, pp. 48-49.* (= Gercenberg, L. G. 1981: "Ob afganskom udarenii." In: *Iranskoe jazykoznanie: ežegodnik 1980*, pp. 48-56.)] *In other words, a syllable boundary ($) must be inserted immediately after a (short or long) vocalic nucleus*[note 34: *Including in the definition of "long vocalic nucleus", besides the long vowels /āēīōū/, also the complex nuclei ("diphthongs") /Vr/ and /Vn/ (where /V/ = any vowel).*] *whenever it is followed by any number of consonants, followed in their turn by another vocalic nucleus: ∅ > $ / V_C(C(C))V (e.g. /ðа$ste/ "hand (gen.)", /wi$žpya/ "terror (abl.)").»* (PROVASI 2009, 350).

It seems that both descriptions of Sogdian syllabic structure are correct, thus the description given by Provasi seems to be more elaborate. Elio Provasi analyzed Sogdian poetic translation of Middle Persian Manichaean hymn cycle *Huyadagmān* – by the analysis of metrical text there can be assumed much about Sogdian phonology, syllabification and stress (cf. chapters on Stress, II.1.1.4. ff.). According to Provasi's description it seems that Sogdian preferred open syllables, so syllables starting in consonant cluster were quite often – this situation can be compared to syllabic structure in *Proto-Slavic (cf. SCHENKER 1993, 67) or in contemporary Belarusian (BIRILLO – BULAKHOV – SUDNIK 1966, 163). I am not aware of a tendency for open syllables in other Eastern Iranian languages, I am not sure whether it may appear in Pashtō (it can be suggested by Provasi's comparation of Sogdian syllabic structure with Gertsenberg's study on Pashtō stress – unfortunately I was not able to get this article; cf. PROVASI 2009, 350[33]).

Syllabic structure of Yaghnōbī has not been described by many scholars either, the only description can be found in an outline of Yaghnōbī by Sof'ya Petrovna Vinogradova: *«Prevailing syllabic patterns: 1) CVC, (C)VCC (for monosyllabic nouns): kat 'house', pōt 'arrow', mēt 'day', vūd 'smell', ark 'work', urk 'wolf', ētk 'bridge', pun 'full', nays 'nose'; 2) CV-, CVC- (for di- or trisyllabic nouns): tőra 'dark', ɣúrda 'eye', divár 'door', zivők 'tongue, language', dirōt 'sicle'. xutánna 'water-mill', xiníšta 'butter', nipáyšin 'nephew'.»* (VINOGRADOVA 2000b, 293-294). In Yaghnōbī there are also monosyllabic words like *CV*, *VC* or even *V* (e.g. *či* 'from', *ax* '*(*s*)*he', *ī* 'one'), but they are not so frequent as the above mentioned *CVC* and *(C)VCC* monosyllabic words. Yaghnōbī syllabic structure is the same as syllabic structure of neighbouring Tajik or Uzbek, but I suppose that in this case the similarity is not due to language contact.

II.2. Historical grammar

In following chapters I would like to present basic features of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī grammar. Both languages differ considerably, but from diachronic view they can be seen gradual development towards simplification of Old Iranian system. I will focus mainly on description of nominal and verbal systems – with primary attention to description of features inherited in both languages. Many grammatical features will be compared with development in the Pāmīr languages as there may be seen many common tendencies in development of Sogdic dialects and languages of the Pāmīr group.

II.2.1. Nominal inflection

The Old Iranian system of nominal inflection was radically transformed in majority of the Eastern Iranian languages. In Avestan and in Old Persian original eight cases, three numbers and three genders are preserved. Inflection distinguished two inflectional categories – thematic and athematic nouns. The thematic nouns distinguished vocalic *a*-, *ā*-, *ī*-, *i*-/*aį*-, *u*-/*aų*- and *ū*-stems, the athematic stems ended in a consonant (i.e. *p*-, *b*-, *t*-, *d*-, *n*-, *nt*-, *s*-, *š*-, *h*-, *r*-, *r*-/*n*-, *k*- and *g*-stems). In the Middle Iranian a syncretism of cases emerged, which resulted in three cases system (nominative/direct case : oblique case : vocative)[202] and gradual merger of gender (in many languages remained distinction of masculine *(< originally masculine + neuter)* and feminine, however, some languages do not distinguish gender at all). The three-case system was preserved Munjī-Yidghā, Pashtō and Waṇetsī, in the other New Iranian languages the vocative case merged with the nominative. Such outlined development of cases and gender is typical almost for all Eastern Iranian languages (except Ossetic[203]), it can be found in the Western Iranian languages too[204].

Case syncretism was certainly a gradual process, from the Middle Iranian languages only Old Khōtanese fully preserved a six-case system with series of inflectional classes (however in Late Khōtanese the case system has been reduced). Somewhat simpler six-case system (for the *light-stem* words) is attested in Sogdian – a gradual reduction towards three-case inflection can be seen. Khwārezmian had three cases, in Bactrian there were just two cases. In all Eastern Iranian languages masculine merged with neuter, only Khōtanese developed a "new" neuter from old

[202] By comparation of preserved inflectional endings in Yaghnōbī, in the Pāmīr languages and in Pashtō we can suggest four-case system: nominative-accusative : vocative : genitive-possessive : inessive-oblique (by syncretism of old locative, ablative, dative and instrumental) – see Table 40.

[203] The development of Ossetic has been different – we can certainly think about emergence of two-case system based on opposition of nominative/direct case : genitive/oblique, original seems to be ablative and inessive (derived from the locative case); other Ossetic cases emerged anew, probably due to contact with Caucassian languages (cf. KIM 2003; 2007; BELYAEV 2010; chapter I.1.1.3.2.).

[204] In the Western Iranian languages there is majority of vernaculars with two- or three-case system, some other languages, such as Persian, lost its inflectional endings, but nominal endings show simplification of the two-case system.

n-stems; in Sogdian there are few relicts of *a*-stem neutres. Dual began to lose its original function too; it was marginally preserved in Khōtanese and Khwārezmian; in Sogdian dual shifted to numerative.

In Pāmīr Wakhī also operated the syncretism of cases (in singular there is just one case, in plural there is direct case, oblique and objective), nowadays several relicts of the original inflectional system still can be seen. Reflexes of several old cases are shown by Tat'yana Nikolaevna Pakhalina in her comprehensive study of Wakhī (PAKHALINA 1987a) – archaic inflectional system was preserved in reflexes of *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut in several Wakhī words:

dat. sg.: *pətr* 'son' < **púϑraḭ* (but also < nom. sg. **púϑrah ?*);
ðəγ̌d 'doughter' < **dúgtraḭ*;
instr. sg.: *andarč* 'husband's brother's wife' < **i̯ánt(a)rā-kā*;
kaṣ̌ 'boy' < **káršnā*;
ðāy '(hu)man' < **dă̄yā* / **dă̄hā*;
war 'ram' < **u̯árnā*;
loc. sg.: *pər-cəng* 'bracelet' < **upari-čángaḭ*;
pəlingəṣ̌t 'ring' < **upari-angúštaḭ*;
pōlīz 'garden' < **upara-daḭdzaḭ* (PAKHALINA 1987a, 444-445, 449).

By means of operation of *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut in Wakhī there are not preserved only the reflexes of the original cases but also reflexes of nominatives of old dual (mainly in appellatives labelling paired entities or things culturally perceived as pair) and plural (for collective number):

nom.-acc. du.: *bār* 'door' < **du̯ă̄rā*;
pāð / *pād* 'leg(s), loins' < **pắdā*;
ðast 'hand(s)' < **dástā* < **dzastā*;
ṣ̌uṣ̌ 'kidney(s) < **ʁúši*;
č̣ə(ẓ̌)m 'eye(s)' < **čášmaḭ*;
vьrəw '(eye)brow(s)' < **brúu̯aḭ*;
γ̌īṣ̌ 'ear(s)' < **gáu̯šaḭ*;
tūxm 'seed' < **táu̯xmaḭ*;
kak 'eye(s)' < **kákšā*;
ṣ̌əw 'horn(s)' < **ʁrúu̯aḭ* / **ʁrúu̯ī*;
wəl̤tk 'lung(s)' < **u̯ẓ́ta-kaḭ*;
bərət 'spoke(s)' < **du̯i-aráϑni*;
yuγ 'yoke' < **i̯úgaḭ*;
nom. pl.: *zā* 'children' < **dzắϑāh*;
yopč 'sheep *(coll.)*' < **paʁ(u)u̯ā-kāh*;
yangl 'finger(s)' < **áng(u)rāh*;
(y)ayč 'bone(s)' < **ásta-kāh* (PAKHALINA 1987a, 444-447, 449-450).

As outlined above, the Middle Iranian languages distinguished two genders: masculine and feminine (and some of them relicts of neuter). In the New Iranian period there are many languages which still retain gender (e.g. Pashtō, Waṇetsī, Yazghulāmī, Munjī and Yidghā, languages of the Shughnī-Rōshānī group except Sarīqōlī), but some of them lost gender (Yaghnōbī, Ossetic, Wakhī, Sarīqōlī, Ishkāshmī and Sanglēchī). The original gender system has been in fact preserved only in Pashtō, Waṇetsī and Munjī-Yidghā; in Yazghulāmī and Shughnī-Rōshānī languages the difference in gender was replaced by semantic-syntactic distinction.

	Ir.	OAve.	ProtoSogdc.	Sogd.	c Sogd. Cϛ	Yagh.
sg.						
nom.	**aϑuah*	aspō	**áspa'*	*əspí*	*əspí*	asp
voc.	**aϑua*	*aspā*	**áspa*	*əspá*		
acc.	**aϑuam*	aspəm	**áspm̥*	*əspú*		
gen.	**aϑuahi̯a*	aspahē, *aspahiiā*	**áspa'i̯ă*	*əspḗ*	*əspíī*	áspi
dat.	**aϑuāi̯*	*aspāi*	**áspāi̯*			
abl.	**aϑuā'at*	*aspā(a)ṯ*	**áspā'*	*əspā́*		
instr.	**aϑuā*	*aspā*	**áspā*			
loc.	**aϑuai̯(ă)*	*aspōiiā*	**áspăi̯ā*	*əspyā́*		áspi
du.				numv.		
nom.	**aϑuā*	aspā	**áspā*	*əspā́*	?	
voc.						
acc.						
gen.	**aϑuai̯āh*	aspaiiā̊	**áspăi̯ā'*	**əspyā́*		*áspi (?)*
dat.	**aϑuābi̯ā*	aspaēⁱbiiā, aspōibiiā	?			
abl.						
instr.						
loc.	**aϑuai̯ah*	aspaiiā̊, aspōiiō				
pl.						
nom.	**aϑuāh(ah)*	aspā̊, aspā̊ŋhō	**áspā'*	*əspyā́*	?	?
voc.						
acc.	**aϑuănh*	*aspāŋg*	**áspān*	**əspā́n*		
gen.	**aϑuāna'ăm*	*aspanąm*	**aspā́nm̥*	*əspā́n(u)*		
dat.	**aϑuai̯bi̯ah*	*aspaēⁱbiiō, aspōibiiō*	**áspai̯βă'*	*†əspḗβ*		*†aspḗv, †áspīf*
abl.						
instr.	**aϑuāi̯š*	*aspāiš*	?	?		?
loc.	**aϑuai̯šu*	aspaēšū				

Table 39 Development of *a*-stem inflection of masculines (given on example **áϑua-* 'horse') in Avestan, Sogdian and Yaghnōbī.

Yazghulāmī masculines mark male names and inanimate things; the feminines include female names and animals regardless their natural gender (the feminines also contain several words that have retained its gender in relict forms). In the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages (except Sarīqōlī) did not appear such a radical transformation of gender as in Yazghulāmī: as masculines

are perceived some original masculines, some male names, male animals and geographical names and in means of collective noun; as feminines are considered female names, female animals and majority of substantives perceived as a single unit (see Chapter I.1.1.3.5.).

Reflects of Old Iranian gender are morphologically preserved not only in the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages (in this case partially including Sarīqōlī) and in Yazghulāmī, but some traces of gender have been preserved in Wakhī or Ishkāshmī. Remains of morphologically (i.e. originally with different ending) expressed gender can be observed in outcomes of effect of *ā*- and *i*-Umlaut on originally stressed root vowel; such feature can be documented on the following example: Ir. **xara-ḥ* × **xarā-ø (nom. sg.)* 'ass × she-ass' > Rōsh. *šor* × *šār*, Bart. *šör* × *šār*, Rāshrv. *šur* × *šār*, Wakh. *xur* × **xar* (in *močxar*, lit. female-ass); but Sarīq. *šer*, Yazgh. *xůr*, Yagh. *xar* (< *m.*) × Munj. *xắra* (U *xắrå*), Yidgh. *xárō* (< *f.*). (PAKHALINA 1987a, 444-446)

Transformation of the inflectional system, gender and number was probably iniciated by stress shifts. Probably a gradual syncretism and loss of inflectional endings emerged as a consequence of stress strength and its shift on a root (?). Simultaneously with the transformation of the inflectional system also masculine merged with neuter (the neuter differed from the masculine only in different endings in nominative and vocative of all three numbers) and with reconstruction of athematic stems as *ắ*-stems. Case endings of the *ắ*-stems gradually generalized also in other vocalic (thematic) stems, the original thematic stems were retained marginally. The above outlined development can be demonstrated quite well in an example of masculine *a*-stem inflection in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – by comparison of both languages with Old Iranian and Avestan is possible to reconstruct also *Proto-Sogdic inflection (see Table 39). As a result of ending loss it was necessary to revise inflectional syntax – the "loss" of forms of cases of location and direction was syntactically replaced with adpositional constructions (it is possible that Old locative and ablative cases of location or direction joined with adpositions already before the loss of inflectional endings in these cases). Development of genitive and accusative was quite different – both cases have an important role in syntax. Accusative as a case of direct object gradually merged with nominative. But genitive in the Indo-Iranian languages gained a new function when compared to the Indo-European proto-language – it became the case of the verb object in ergative construction.

The loss of inflectional endings and case syncretism caused two say undesirable morphological phenomena: 1) the nominative plural endings were lost (in case of absence of *ā*-Umlaut) and thus forms of nominative plural and singular merged; and 2) genitive and accusative cases were reanalyzed. In singular the form of genitive merged with dative, but in plural the difference between genitive × dative(-ablative) remained. In case of accusative there is well attested the difference between accusative × genitive in singular, but it is possible that in plural both cases started to merge both in function and in pronunciation. Such feature is observable in Sogdian (respectively in texts younger than the *Ancient Letters*), where the archaic form of accusative plural *-ān* behaves as oblique. The archaic accusative in *-ān* resembles to genitive in *-ān* (in the *Ancient Letters* still *-ānu*). The syncretism of genitive with some cases in

singular and with some other in plural probably led to the dichotomy of function of genitive, dative and accusative: in singular there was opposition accusative × genitive-dative, in plural, however, accusative-genitive × dative(-ablative).

		Yagh.		Wakh.		Shugh. / Rōsh. / Bart.		Rāshrv.		Sarīq.		Munj.		Ishk.		Yazgh.	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	*m.* sg. *f.*	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
voc.		-ø	*-t*	-ø	*-ī́št*	-ø	-ēn	-ø	-ēn	-ø	*-xɛyl*	-(y)ō | -ī	-ī	-ø	*-ó* *-ṓn*	-ø	*-áϑ* *-en*
rec.	nom.											-ø | -a					
	acc.																
obl.	gen.	-ī́	*-ti*	-i	*-əvi*						-ef	-ān | -īn	-āf	-i, -y	*-óyi*	-i	*-áϑi*
	dat.		-ēv, -īf		-əv		-ēv, -ēf / / -īf		-īf								
	abl.																
	instr.																
	loc.	-ī́															

Table 40 Summary of endings in Yaghnōbī and in the Pāmīr languages with account of historical development of individual endings (values in *italic letters* present endings derived from endings other than those derived from *a*-stem endings in individual cases; values in grey letters mark change of meaning of the ending; underlined letters label archaisms).

In singular the three-case system emerged from reanalysis of nominative, vocative and genitive – nominative merged with accusative (> direct case), and genitive merged with all other oblique cases (> oblique). As mentioned above, vocative remained as individual case only in Munjī-Yidghā, Pashtō and Waṇetsī, in all other languages it was replaced by nominative. In the Pāmīr languages of Badakhshān gradually ceased or changed functions of genitive/oblique – in Wakhī and Ishkāshmī it changed to objective case, in Yazghulāmī changed to possessive case; and in the Shughnī-Rōshānī group it disappeared completely.

Different changes occurred in plural than in singular. Due to the loss of the original endings of nominative plural there can be observed two tendencies: 1) emergence of new ending of nominative plural (see endings in Yaghnōbī, Wakhī, Ishkāshmī, Yazghulāmī and Sarīqōlī in Table 40); 2) there was reanalyzed the original ending of genitive(-accusative) plural, whose ending passed transferred to nominative (see forms of plural endings in Shughnī, Rōshānī, Bartangī, Rāshārvī and Yazghulāmī in Table 40). After the genitive form began to function instead of the nominative plural, it was necessary to create a new form of the oblique case – this has become the dative-ablative ending.

Sogdian inflectional system preserves a rich stem system, however, it was transformed a lot in comparison to the Old Iranian stage; it distinguishes *ă-*, *ĭ-*, *ŭ-*, *ăkă-* and *i̯ă-*stems, but there are no consonant stems – they were revised and according to their gender they merged with either *a-* or *ā-*stems. Inflection of the *ă-*stems became dominant and later on many *ŭ-* and *ĭ-*stem words were inflected as *ă-*stems. In the North Eastern Iranian languages essential innovation operated, which separates this branch from other Eastern Iranian languages: from Iranian abstract suffix **-ϑu̯ă-/*-t(u̯)ă-* emerged new plural ending **-tă-*. This new ending was added after the thematic vowel in Sogdian and it was inflected as *ā-*stem singular feminines.

The plural ending in **-tă-* uniquely appears in Southern Pāmīr languages – in Ishkāshmī and Wakhī: Ishk. *-d* in words ***sʁγůnd*** 'hair *(pl.)*' < **ʁārịa-gaụna-tă-*; ***mend*** 'apples, apple-trees' < **amarnịa-tă-* and *čʁwend* 'apricots, apricot-trees' < **◯ụanĭ-tă-* 'trees'; and Wakhī ending of direct case plural *-íšt* originating in Iranian **-ī-ʁụa-tă-* or **-iš(n)-tă-*. From Iranian **-ϑụă-* comes Yazghulāmī plural ending *-áϑ*; *nota bene* Persian plural ending *-hā́* (> colloq. Tjk. *-(h)ó* > Ishk. *-o*) is also of the same origin.

	*Ir.		Sogd.		c Sogd. C5	Sogd.	Yagh.	*Ir.	Sogd.	c Sogd. C5	Sogd.	Yagh.
	a-stems							*ā*-stems				
sg.	*m.*	*n.*	*light stems*			*heavy stems*	-	*f.*	*light stems*		*heavy stems*	-
			m.	*n.*	*m.n.*	*m.n.*			*f.*	*f.*	*f.*	
voc.	-a	-am	-a	-ú	-í	◌́ø	◌́ø	-aị	-é, -á	-á	◌́ø	◌́ø
nom.	-ah		-í					-ā	-ă̋			
acc.			-ú					-ām	-ŭ̋, -ă̋			
gen.	-ahịa		-ē		-íī	◌́ī	◌́i	-āị̄āh	-yă̋	-áī	◌́ī	◌́i
dat.	-āị		-ē		-íī	◌́ī	◌́*i*	-āị(āị)	-yă̋	-áī	◌́ī	◌́*i*
loc.	-aị		-yă̋		-íī	◌́ī	◌́*i*	-āị̆ă	-yă̋	-áī	◌́ī	◌́*i*
abl.	-āt		-ă̋					-āị̄āt	-yă̋	-áī	◌́ī	◌́*i*
instr.	-ā		-ă̋					-(aị)ā	-(y)ă̋	-áī	◌́ī	◌́*i*

Table 41 Overview of *ă*-stem inflection in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī.

	*Ir.		c Sogd. C2		Sogd.	Yagh.	*Ir.	Sogd.	Yagh.
	a-ka-stems						*ā-kā*-stems		
sg.	*m.*	*n.*	*m.*	*n.*	*m.n.*	-	*f.*	*f.*	-
voc.	-aka	-a-kam	-ā	-ŏ	-ĕ	-a	-ākaị	-e, -a	-a
nom.	-akah		-ĕ				-ākā	-ă̆	
acc.	-akam		-ŏ			-*a*	-ākām	-ă̆	-*a*
gen.	-akahịa		-ē		-ē	-aị / -ɛ̄	-ākāị̄āh	-ē	-aị / -ɛ̄
dat.	-akāị		-ē		-ē	-*aị* / -*ɛ̄*	-ākāị(āị)	-ē	-*aị* / -*ɛ̄*
loc.	-akaị		-ē		-ē	-*aị* / -*ɛ̄*	-ākāị̆ă	-ē	-*aị* / -*ɛ̄*
abl.	-akāt		-ă̆				-ākāị̄āt	-ē	-*aị* / -*ɛ̄*
instr.	-akā		-ă̆				-āk(aị)ā	-ē	-*aị* / -*ɛ̄*

Table 42 Overview of *ăkă*-stem inflection in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī.

	*Īr.	Sogd.		Yagh.	*Īr.	Sogd.	Yagh.	*Īr.	Sogd.		Yagh.
	ŭ-stems				*ĭ*-stems			*iị-ă*-stems			
sg.	*m.f.*	*m.*	*f.*	-	*m.f.*	*m.f.*	-	*m.*	*f.*	*m.*	*f.*	-
voc.	-aụ	-a		-ø	-i, -aị	-i	-ø	-iịa	-iịaị	-iya	-yā	-i
nom.	-uš, -āụš	-u			-i(š), -ā			-iịah	-iịā	-ī		
acc.	-um, -āụam	-u			-īm, -āị̄am	-ī		-iịam	-iịām		-yā	
gen.	-aụš, -ụah	-(w)ī, -wyă̆	-wyă̆	-i	-aị̄š, -ị̄ă̆h	-ī	-i	-iịahịa	-iịāị̄āh	-(i)ī	-yā(ī)	-iị
dat.	-(a)ụaị				-(a)ị̄aị	-*ī*	-*i*	-iịāị	-iịāị(āị)	-*(i)ī*	-*yā(i)*	-*iị*
loc.	-aụ, -ø				-ă̆			-iịaị	-iịāị̆ă	-*(i)ī*	-*yā(i)*	-*iị*
abl.	-aụt, -ụat				-aị̄t, -ị̄āt	-*ī*	-*i*	-iịāt	-iịāị̄āt		-*yā(i)*	*(-iị)*
instr.	-ū, -ụā				-i	-*i*	-*i*	-iịā	-iị(aị)ā		-*yā(i)*	*(-iị)*

Table 43 Overview of *ŭ*-, *ĭ*- and *iị̆*-stem inflection in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī.

Sogdian, similarly to some other Eastern Iranian languages, preserves peripheral relicts of *r*-stem inflection. The relicts of *r*-stem inflection can be observed in a few plural forms continuing from Indo-European *nomina agentis* in *-ter-* (or more correctly from continuants of Ide. **ph₂-tér-*, *meh₂-tér-*, **bʰréh₂-ter-*, **dʰugh₂-tér-* 'father, mother, brother, daughter'; moreover by semantic analogy also in **su̯esór-* 'sister' > Ir. **pitá-r*, **mā́ta-r*, **brā́ta-r*, **dúxta-r*, **xᵘáhar-*): Yazgh. *v(ə)radā́r*, *ðəɣdā́r* 'brothers, daughters'; Shugh. Rōsh. *virōdā́r* 'brothers' (> Shugh. *a rō(dā́)r!* 'bros!'); Sangl. *vrudā́r* 'brothers'; in other languages the "*r*-stem plural" is extended by normal plural ending: Sogd. M *βrʾt̲rt*, S *δwɣtrth*, *δɣwtrt* /ᵊβrā́tȧṙt, δəɣʷdā́ṙt/ 'brothers, daughters'; Ishk. *vrudarṓn* (sg. *vru(d)*), *ixodarṓn* (sg. *ixó*), *wůdůɣdarṓn* 'brothers, sisters, daughters'; Oss. *fъɪdæltæ* ‖ *fidæltæ* (sg. *fъɪd* ‖ *fidæ*), *mæd(t)æltæ* (sg. *mad* ‖ *madæ*), *ærvad(t)æltæ* (sg. *ærvad* ‖ *ærvadæ*) 'fathers, mothers, relatives‖brothers'.

Plural ending in **-tă-* needs to be reconstructed already for the North Eastern Old Iranian dialects as it is attested in several Scytho-Sarmatian tribal names: ***Σκόλοται***, ***Μασσαγέται***, ***Θυσσαγέται*** and ***Σαυρομάτοι/Σαρμάτοι/Σαρμάται***.

Apart from the innovated (and say unified) plural ending **-tă-* there are marginally preserved old plural forms in Sogdian – these forms are preserved mainly in *ă-* and *ŭ*-stem inflection. In the *ă*-stem direct cases there is the ending *-a* (with allomorph *(?) -ya*), which often appears with animate substantives (e.g. *ʒspyă̆* 'horses'). Some animate substantives and majority of *ŭ*-stem nouns have plural ending *-ĭšt* (< originally probably an agglutination of abstract suffixes **-iš(n)-*[205] and **-tă-*; cf. Wakh. *-íšt*). In the oblique cases of the *ă*-stems (and also masculine *aka*-stems) there appears a continuant of old genitive(-accusative) ending *-ān(u)*, this ending can be used to express the oblique case of plural of animate nouns.

As marginal and really archaic case can be considered dative-ablative plural of the *ă*-stems. In Sogdian there is attested the ending *-yβ* /-ēβ/ in some toponyms: Sogd. Mg *(ʾ)βtmyβh* /ᵊFtmḗβ/ – present *Fatmév* in Falghar and Sogd. H *wʾtyβc* /wā́tĭβᵊč/ 'of *Wā́tĭβ*', present *Vōdíf* in Mastchōh; other place-names terminating in *-ēv*/*-ēf*, *-ĭv*/*-ĭf* can be found in a wider area on upper reaches of the Zarafshōn river in historical regions of Falghar and Mastchōh, e.g. *Imbḗf*, *Rōgíf*, *Rēzgif*, *Xüdgíf*, *Müždíf*, *Pakšíf*, *Langlíf*, *Γōríf*, *Pičḗf*, *Guskḗf*, and also in the Yaghnōb Valley: *Bidév*, *Mū̯štif*, *Rúpif* and most likely also *Maryéb* < **Maryév*[206]. Function of the original dative-ablative case changed, topoformant **-ēβ*/**-ĭβ* was used to express locative function, e.g.

[205] Compare Slavic **-ъs(t)* in a suffix **-ьstvo*: OCS. *bratrьstvo*, Cze. *bratrstvo* 'brotherhood' (LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 425).

[206] In Varzōbī (and some other) Tājīk dialects and also in the Tājīk dialect of the Yaghnōb Valley there is often recorded change *-b(-)* > *-w(-)*/*-v(-)*, but such change is not attested in the Tājīk dialects of Mastchōh and partially in the Falghar dialects. The form *Maryéb* has been probably reanalyzed (and "Tājīkized") and then emerged "reversal" change **-v* > *-b*, probably by analogy with some other Yaghnōbī place-names: Yagh. *Xᵘšórtōu̯* × Tjk. *Xišōrtób*, Yagh. *Farkóu̯* × Tjk. *Farkób*, Yagh. *(*)Yáɣ(d)nōu̯* > Tjk. *Yaɣnób*. Indeed, the original form **Maryév* / **Maryĭf* is indicated in Russian orthography *Маріиф(ъ)* in Russian maps from the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.

Marɣ́ēb < **Marɣ́ēv* < dat.-abl. **margaiβiah : *marga-* 'forest, meadow' i.e. 'in meadows / in forests'. For other place names the etymology is not known, but it can be supposed that the ending **-ēβ/-*ĭβ* might have another function – it could have served as possessive, it is that in some place-names can be attested personal names of founders of such villages – e.g. Imbēf can be interpreted as *a village founded by a man called *Imb-*, i.e. *Imbéf* could mean '[the] *†Imbs'* (??) (settlement)'. In case of Fatmēv its meaning can be supposed as *'(village) of the first(s)' < **fratamáiβiah* and Vōdif can mean '(village) of the wind(s)' < **uaнątaiβiah*. Place-names terminating in etymologically the same ending can be found also on Pāmīr: *X̌ūvx̌éf*, *Xidōrx̌éf*, *Sumx̌éf*, *Bōɣ́ef*, *Pōrx̌ⁱnév* in Tajik Shughnōn and Shākhdara; in Afghan Sheghnān *Yastéw*, in Tajik Růshōn *Pastév* and probably also *Lučiw* and Γ*arālíw* in the Sarghulām Valley. See also Rāshārvī plural ending *-(y)īf* and in Wanjī there can be supposed plural ending *-ev*. The old dative-ablative ending can be found in oblique plural endings in Munjī and Yidghā *-āf* ‖ *-əf*, in Wakhī *-əv*, in Sarīqōlī *-(y)ef*, and in Pashtō *-ō*, Waṇetsī *-ū*.

After the *Stress III* shift and operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* there emerged differentiation of the *light* and *heavy* (*ă*-)stem endings. This change can be observed well mainly in *ă*-stem endings – according to position of stress there emerged two different declinations – *light* and *heavy*; in the other stems there have remained only the *"light"* endings, the *heavy* stems morphologically merged with the *heavy ă*-stems. Number of case endings was reduced, mainly in the *heavy stems*, where virtually remained only one ending[207] – gen.-dat. sg. /-ī/, endings of the direct cases was lost, the endings of the oblique cases merged with the original genitive-dative ending(s), the vocative endings of the *heavy stems* were taken over by analogy from the *light stems*.

The inflectional system was later simplified, e.g. the archaic endings of masculine (and neuter) *aka*-stems are attested in Christian Sogdian manuscript C 2 (and also in the *Ancient Letters*), but in all other documents there is attested much simplified inflection (Table 42). Similarly the *light ă*-stem declination is preserved in majority of documents in the form developed from Old Iranian *ă*-stem inflection, but the Christian Sogdian manuscript C 5 shows a new innovated inflectional system in which oblique ending is agglutinated to a reflex of a thematic vowel. The Christian Sogdian manuscript C 5 presents agglutinative inflection in

[207] Questionable is the ending of the feminine *heavy ā*-stems – in documents written in the Brāhmī script the *ā*-stem feminines *light* and *heavy stems* do terminate in the letter *hē*: *-h* (the *light stems* also end in *-ʾh* or just *-ʾ*). Question is how to interpret the terminal letter *hē*. There are several possibilities how to explain this orthography: 1) it is an archaic spelling of terminal vowel *-ă* in *all forms of nom. sg. of feminine *ā*-stems, 2) it is a spelling of word-final *-ă* adapted from Aramaic orthography, where in Aramaic words ending in *-ă* <-*h*> have been feminines; or 3) it is a combination of both above shown examples. Outcome is the state attested in documents in the Manichaean and Syriac scripts – form of feminine *heavy ā*-stems with no ending. In the documents written in nthe Sogdian alphabet there has been pertained (archaic) spelling with the letter *hē* in feminine forms regardless whether the thematic ending remained preserved or whether it has been lost due to operation of the *Rhythmic Law*. The development of Sogdian nominative singular forms of the *heavy ā*-stem feminines can be shown on following example: Ir. **mātar* 'mother' > ProtoSogdc. **mātă* > after the *Stress III* shift **māta (*Sogd. AL *mʾth)* > "Classical" Sogdian" **māt (*Sogd. M C *mʾt* × archaic spelling Sogd. S *mʾth)*.

Sogdian in a state similar to Yaghnōbī, the only difference is a presence or absence of operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* (see Table 41). In the case of the plural ending *-tă* (for the *light stems*) or *-t* (for the *heavy stems*) there is good example of agglutination too – both masculine and feminine plural is declined as singular *ā*-stem feminine, but the inflectional endings are not added to stem but they follow the plural marker *-t-*, e.g. Sogd. *rəmí* 'people *(m)*' : nom. pl. *rəmḍă̆* : obl. pl. *rəmḍyă̆*; Sogd. *wənă̆* 'tree *(f)*' : nom. pl. *wənḍă̆* : obl. pl. *wənḍyă̆*; Sogd. *āp* 'water *(f)*' : nom. pl. *āpt* : obl. pl. *ā́ptī*; Sogd. *δēu̯* 'demon *(m)*' : nom. pl. *δēu̯t* : obl. pl. *δḗu̯tī*. Inflectional system of the Sogdian *heavy stems* in principle does not differ from inflection in Yaghnōbī: *ōp* 'water' : *ōpt* : *ṓpti*; *dēu̯* 'demon' : *dēu̯t* : *dḗu̯ti* (only in Yaghnōbī outcomes of the *ă̆kă̆*-stems the terminal *-a* has been lengthened before *-t* and it changed to *-ō*: *žűta* 'son' : *žűtōt* : *žűtōti* < **žűta'ah* : **žűta'a-tah* : *žūta'a-ta'i̯ă̆*). As can be seen from the previous lines and from the Tables 39, 41, 42, and 43, Sogdian nouns gradually changed from inflection towards agglutination.

Inflection of adjectives is diachronically the same as noun inflection. In the Middle Iranian period also the adjective inflection was rebuilt. Such development is observable in Sogdian. Initially Sogdian adjective corresponded with its noun in gender, number and case. By simplifying of the inflectional system a new phenomenon emerged – so-called *group inflection*, where the bearer of the main grammatical information remained to be the noun, but adjective corresponded with it often just in number an later on it remained in form of nominative singular. The origin of the *group inflection* can be seen in the *heavy stem* endings, but it later spread to the *light stems* too. Such change is probably older than "agglutinative" inflection of the *light stems* as it is attested in the Christian Sogdian document C 5. The emergence of the *group inflection* caused that the adjectives became uninflected and they have been fossilized mostly in form of nominative singular masculine. This innovation corresponds with emergence of agglutination of substantives and it is comparable with the *group inflection* in agglutinative languages such as the Turkic languages[208].

In a reduction of adjective inflection probably for the longest period of time survived gender distinction, which is preserved for some adjectives in Pashtō, Waṇetsī, Yazghulāmī and in the Shughnī-Rōshānī languages. In Pashtō-Waṇetsī the adjectives are usually distinguished by different ending, in the Pāmīr languages feminine adjectives can be distinguished by results of *ā-* or *i*-Umlaut, e.g. Pasht. *spīn : spḯna* 'white'; Shugh. *kut : kat* 'short', *rūšt : rōšt* 'red'; Bart. *čōw : čaw* 'motley'. In contemporary Yazghulāmī there is no gender distinction of adjectives, but reflexes of gender are attested in several fossilized nominalised forms, e.g. *čůš* < *čáxša-* 'bitter *(adj.* < *adj. m.)*' × *čaš* 'sagebrush (< **čáxšā-* 'bitter *(adj. f.)*')'; ÈDEL'MAN 1987b, 384). In Sogdian gender distinction remained in forms of the *light stems*, e.g. *šir-ă̆́* 'good *(f)*' × *šir-í* 'good *(m)*'; or in

[208] See Uzbek nom. sg. *qåra sū* 'black water' (with the same meaning also in all the other examples) : gen. sg. *qåra sūnïŋ* : nom. pl. *qåra sū**ł**ar* : gen. pl. *qåra sū**ł**arnïŋ* × Sogd. *šāu̯ āp* : *šāu̯ ā́pī* : *šāu̯ āp**t*** : *šāu̯ ā́p**t**ī*; Yagh. *šōu̯ ōp* : *šōu̯ ṓpi* : *šōu̯ ōp**t*** : *šōu̯ ṓp**t**i*.

endings of the *aka*-stems which end in *-č(ă̆)*[209] in Sogdian, e.g. *ⁱspétč* 'white *(f)*' × *ⁱspétə̆* 'white *(m)*' < **ʂu̯ái̯ta-ka-*; *ⁱktčă̆* 'done *(f)*' × *ⁱktté* 'done *(m)*' < **kṛ̥ta-ka-*.

In Sogdian there are two sets of comparative endings: *-tər(-í/-ă̆)* < **-tara-* for the *light* and *heavy stems* and *-stər* for *ăkă̆*-stems. Both endings may be used also for superlative forms. Special superlative forms are formed with ending **-tama-*, occasionally accompanied by Sogdian ending *-čč̆k*. (GMS §1280–1296) Formation of comparatives and superlatives is analytic in Yaghnōbī, but calqued forms with Tajik *-tar* < *-*tara-* may be found. Some forms with ending *-star* are quoted in the *Yaghnōbī Texts* by Mikhail Stepanovich ANDREEV – Elena Mikhaĭlovna PESHCHEREVA (1957): *rítistar* 'more in front' or *sarḥáddistar* 'higher' < Perso-Arabic *sar-ḥad(d)* 'border' + Yagh. *-star*. (KHROMOV 1972, 20–21; Novák 2010, 225–226)

II.2.2. Pronominal inflection

Iranian pronominal inflection shows many similarities in development in many of the languages of the Eastern Iranian branch. Almost all languages preserve archaic system with forms just for the first and second person personal pronouns singular and plural, separate forms of the third person emerged only in a few Eastern Iranian languages, in majority of them they are expressed by demonstratives. Personal and demonstrative pronouns developed into three- or two-case system (See Tables 44 and 45 for the Pāmīr languages). All languages inherited triple deixis of the demonstrative pronouns, such system is preserved in majority of the Eastern Iranian languages, but in some of them the deictic system has been reduced into double deixis (e.g. in Yaghnōbī or Yazghulāmī, the tendency may be observed probably also in Sogdian). Enclitic forms the personal pronouns have been widely used as they were employed for personal endings in ergative construction – in majority of the Pāmīr languages the enclitics are used no more there, they have merged with forms of copula.

The North Eastern Iranian languages differ from the other Eastern Iranian by retention of archaic form of the second person pronoun: Sogd. *ⁱšmā́x*, Yagh. *šᵘmṓx*, Oss. *ъымах* ‖ *sumax* < **i̯ušmáxam : *i̯ūžam* 'you *(gen. : nom.)*'[210]. In the Eastern Iranian languages both the first and the second persons plural pronouns emerged from old accusative, in the Southern branch, probably after the change **šm* > *m* took place, the pronouns phonetically merged: **ahmā́xam* > **(ə)mā́ˀxˀam* 'we' × **(i̯)ušmā́xam*[211] > **(ə)mā́ˀxˀam* 'we'. The Southern branch had to differentiate the first and the second person plural, so for the second person the "South Eastern-Iranian" form has been augmented by prefix **tu-*, **ta-* taken from the second person singular: **ta-(h)mā́ˀxˀam* or **tu-(š)mā́ˀxˀam* – both etymologies can be considered correct, but also the etymologies do not tell whether such innovation of the form of the second person plural really

[209] Feminine "*aka*-stem" adjectives distinguish *light* and *heavy stems*.

[210] See Modern English *you* which is originally dative-accusative form of *ye*.

[211] Certainly not from **xšmáxam* as it is claimed by some scholars (cf. GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 115), it would give something like *†xⁱšmṓx* in Yaghnōbī, *†xšmāx* in Sogdian and in the Pāmīr languages the proto-form should be based on *†xmā́ˀxˀam* so the forms of the first and second persons plural would not merge together.

took place after the change **šm* > **m* (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1929, 62). The innovation of the second person pronoun can be explained either as an areal feature (even caused by a Burūshaskī-like substrate language?) or as a contact with the Indo-Aryan languages (PAKHALINA 1976a). Wakhī shows that this innovated pronoun can be of an early date *sā́(y)iš(t) : sav* originates from **təsa* (**tusą* / **tasą* < Middle IAr. **tusma* < **tuṣma-*; PAKHALINA 1976a, 80) + Wakh dir. pl. suffix *-išt* or obl. pl. *-əv*. Also Wakhī pronoun of the first person plural *sak* shows Indo-Aryan influence < **asma-* (gen.; ibid.). Forms of the personal pronoun of the second person in Pashtō *tā́sē*, *tā́sō*, Waṇetsī *tās* and Ōrm. *tǭs*, *tyūs* can be compared with Wakhī. Exception from the South Eastern Iranian languages are Parāchī and Saka dialects: in Parāchī *wå* comes *«from Av[estan] encl[itic] vā̊, with peculiar treatment of w.»* (MORGENSTIERNE 1929, 62); Khōtanese *uhu* (later *uma*, *ama*) 'you' which has been influenced by Khōt. *muhu* 'we' (GERTSENBERG 1981, 269).

	Wakh.	Ishk.	Sangl.	Yazgh.	Munj.	Yidgh.	Shugh.	Rōsh.	Bart.	Rāshrv.	Sarīq.
1st sg.											
dir	wəz, (w)uz	az(i)	azə, azi	az	za	zo, zə	wuz	az	āz	waz	waz
obl.	māẓ	mak	mak	mů(n)	mən	mun,	mu	mu	mu	mu(n)	mы(n)
poss.	ẓə, ẓы	mь(n)	mən	ni		mən					
encl.	*-(ə)m*	*-ьm*	(-əm)	*-əm*	-(y)əm	-əm	*-um*	*-um*	*-um*	*-(u)m*	*-(y)am*
2nd sg.											
dir	tu	tь	tōw	tow	tu	tu, tə	tu	tu	tū	tu	tɛw
obl.	tow, taw	fak	təfak	tu	ta	to, ta		tā	tā	tā	ta, tы
poss.	ti	ti	tō	ti							
encl.	*-(ə)t*	*-ьt*	-et	*-at*	-(y)ət	(-t)	*-at*	*-at*	*-at*	*-(a)t*	*-(y)at*
3rd sg.											
encl.	*-(i)*	*-(i)*	-š	*-ay*	-(y)əš	*?*	*-(i)*	*-(i)*	*-i*	*-ø*	*-(y)i*
1st pl.											
dir	sak	mьx(ó)	aməx, amax	mox	mōx	mă̆x,	māš	māš	māš	māš	maš
obl.		mь́čьv(o)	mičəf			mŏ̆x					
poss.	səpo	mьš	mič	moxi	āmōx	amax, amŏ̆x					
encl.	*-(ə)n*	*-on*	-mōn	*-an*	-(y)əmōn	*?*	*-ām*	*-am*	*-an*	*-(a)n*	*-(y)an*
2nd pl.											
dir	sā́(y)išt	tьmьx	təməx	təmox	mōf	mă̆f, mŏ̆f	tama	tama	tamāš	tamāš	tamaš
obl.	sav	tь́mьx(ьv)	təməx(əf)								
poss.		tьmьx	təməx	təmoxi	āmōf	amaf, amŏ̆f					
encl.	*-(ə)v*	*-ьv*	*?*	*-əf*	-(y)əfōm	(-f)	*-ēt*	*-af*	*-at, -af*	*-(a)f*	*-(y)af*
3rd pl.											
encl.	*-(ə)v*	*-on*	-šōn	*-an*	-(y)əšōn	*?*	*-ēn*	*-an*	*-an, -af*	*-(a)f*	*-(y)af*

Table 44 Personal pronouns of the first and second persons in the Pāmīr languages. Enclitic forms given in *italics* are used as copula.

Another possible archaism can be seen in Wakhī – oblique case of the first person singular pronoun *māẓ* can originate 1) either from Ir. dat. **mádz̥iam* < IIr. **máǰʰi̯am* < Ide. **meĝʰi̯-om*, 2) or it is an Indo-Aryan loan **máǰʰi̯am*. If Wakh. *māẓ* is Iranian origin, it should be rather archaic feature, even more archaic then Avestan *maⁱbiiā*, *maⁱbiiō* which is an innovation (cf. VAVROUŠEK 2007, 43), or it is an early loan from Indo-Aryan **máǰʰi̯am*, Ved. *máhyam* (see

oblique forms in Hindī and Urdū *muj*, Marāṭhī *maʒ*; PAKHALINA 1976a, 83). Tat'yana Nikolaevna Pakhalina rather accepts the Indo-Aryan hypothesis, which can also better explain Wakhī possessive forms *ẓə*, *ẓʊ* < **mẓan* < **məẓán* < **maẓán* (ibid., 82), other clue for the Indo-Aryan origin can be ignorance of *i*-Umlaut, i.e. there is no *†mäẓ*.

	case	I. deixis		II. deixis		III. deixis	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Shugh.	dir.	yam	māð	(y)id	dāð	yu / yā	wāð
	obl.	mi / mam	mēv	di / dam	dēv	wi / wam	wēv
Rōsh.	dir.	(y)im	māð	(y)id	dāð	yā	wāð
	obl.	may / mum	muf	day / dum	duf	way / (w)um	wuf
Bart.	dir.	yim	māð	yid	dāð	yā	wāð
	obl.	mī / mim	mif	dī / dim	dif	wī / um	uf
Rāshrv.	dir.	yim	māð	yid	dāð	yā	wāð
	obl.	mi / mam	maf	di / dam	daf	wi / wam	waf
Sarīq.	dir.	yam	yam, (moð)	yad	yad, (doð)	yы	yы, (woð)
	obl.	mi / mem	mef	di / dem	def	wi / wem	wef
Wakh.	dir.	yəm	yə́miš(t)	yət	yə́tiš(t)	yow, yaw	yá(w)iš(t)
	obl.		yə́məv		yə́təv		yá(wə)v
Ishk.	dir.	am(í)	amón(on)	ad(í)	adónd(on)	aw(í)	awónd(on)
	obl.	man	mánьv(o)	dan	dánьv(o)	wan	wánьv(o)
Yazgh.	dir.	–		du		yu	
	obl.						
Munj.	dir.	ma	māy	ya	yāy	wa	wāy
	obl.	mān / māy	māf	yān / yāy	yāf	wān / wāy	wāf

Table 45 Inflection of demonstrative pronouns in the Pāmīr languages.

Sogdian and Yaghnōbī pronominal inflection is very similar one to each other, the main differences were caused by operation of the *Rhythmic Law* in Sogdian, the system is also comparable to the Pāmīr languages. In both languages the first and second persons plural were based on forms of accusative and are not inflected. The personal pronouns for the first and second person singular are both inflected in direct and oblique cases, in Yaghnōbī the direct case form of the first person gave place to its oblique form, it has been attested once by Émile Benveniste (GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, p. 108-109), but all other sources have just one form for both direct and oblique case: *man*. In Yaghnōbī the oblique form infiltrated the direct case probably under Tajik influence (Pers. Tjk. *man* 'I') and maybe also some impact of Turkic can be suggested (cf. Uzbek *mėn*, colloq. *mản*, Kyrgyz *men* etc.). There can be seen a tendency to develop distinct inflectional forms for all personal pronouns both in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī – by analogy innovated forms of oblique can be formed from the original personal pronouns by adding a "*heavy stem*" oblique ending (cf. Tables 46 and 47). *Proto-Sogdic has inherited pronominal system without independent forms of the third person personal pronouns – their function has been fulfilled by demonstratives. Such pattern continued in Sogdian and still goes on in Yaghnōbī.

The Iranian triple deictic system has been inherited from the Indo-European proto-language. Demonstrative pronouns distinguished *I.*, *II.* and *III.* deixis (of also *ich-*, *du-* and *er*-deixis or *hic-*, *iste-* and *ille*-deixis), the inflectional pattern has been based on two suppletive forms – nominative in **i̯a-/ai̯a-* (*I.*), **ai̯ša-* (*II.*) and **(a)hau̯-* (*III.*) and oblique stem in **ima-*, **ai̯ta-* and **au̯a-* (cf. Tables 45, 46 and 47). In Yaghnōbī the original near *I.* deixis disappeared so there is only double deictic system (cf. the same development in Yazghulāmī). In Sogdian complete system is attested, but according to preserved forms can be judged that forms of the *II.* deixis started to disappear or were of lesser importance.

	sg.								pl.				
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	*I. deixis*		*II. deixis*		*III. deixis*		1st pers.	2nd pers.	*I. deixis*	*II. deixis*	*III. deixis*
			m	*f*	*m*	*f*	*m*	*f*					
nom.	əzú	t(ᵊɣ)ú	yu	yŭ	ⁱšú	ⁱšā	ᵊxṓ	ᵊxā́	māx [212]	ⁱšmā́x [213]	yu	ⁱšā	ᵊxā́
acc.	mənā́	təwā́	ⁱmú	ⁱmā́	ⁱtú	ⁱtā́	ō, ᵊwú	ᵊwā́			ⁱmú	ⁱtā́	ᵊwā́
gen.-dat.			ⁱmén	ⁱmī́, ⁱmyā́			ᵊwén(ē)	ᵊwī́, ᵊwyā́			mḗšən		wḗšən [214]
instr.-abl.													
loc.													
encl. acc.	-m	-f(ī)	-šu						-mən	-fən, -tən	-šən		
encl. gen.	-mī	-t(ī)	-š(ī)										

Table 46 Inflectional system of personal and demonstrative pronouns in Sogdian.

	sg.				pl.			
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	*near deixis*	*far deixis*	1st pers.	2nd pers.	*near deixis*	*far deixis*
dir.	*(az)* [215]	*tu*	*īš*	*ax*	*mōx* [216]	*šᵘmṓx* [217]	*íštit*	*áxtit*
obl.	*man* [218]	*tau̯* [219]	*íti*	*áwi*			*ítiti*	*áu̯titi*
encl.	*-(ⁱ)m*	*-(ⁱ)t*	*-(ⁱ)š*		*-(ⁱ)mōx*	*-šint*		

Table 47 Inflectional system of personal and demonstrative pronouns in Yaghnōbī.

[212] Occasionally nominative *mā́xu*, oblique *mā́xī*.

[213] Occasionally nominative *ⁱšmā́xu*, oblique *ⁱšmā́xī*.

[214] Cf. Pahl. *awēšan* 'they'.

[215] The form *az* is quoted only by Émile Benveniste in his *Essai de grammaire Sogdienne, Deuxieme partie, Morphologie, syntaxe et glossaire* (GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 108-109); in all other sources there appears only single form of 1st person singular *man* for both cases.

[216] Occasionally analogically formed oblique *mṓxi* can appear.

[217] Occasionally by analogy formed oblique *šᵘmṓxi*.

[218] In colloquial speech appears analogically formed oblique *máni*.

[219] The oblique form can *per analogiam* appear as *táwi*.

*Proto-Sogdic pronouns started to develop independent pronominal system of inflectional endings with rich suppletive system. Pronominal inflection developed differently in both languages. In Sogdian it can be seen in inflectional forms of the demonstrative pronouns (cf. Table 46) and also on an adjective 'all' – *wispú* (Table 47) and a numeral 'one' - *ʸɛ̆́u̯* (Table 50). Yaghnōbī developed independent system based on ending *´-tit* for direct case and *´-titi* for oblique (originating in reduplication of the plural ending **-tă*; KHROMOV 1987, 674). Such ending can be added to interrogative pronouns (Table 49). The pronominal plural ending *-tit(i)* can be also added to numerals to express number of people, e.g. Yagh. *úxš-tit(-i)* '*(of)* six individuals', *s̱aráytit* ‖ *ṯⁱráytit* 'three individuals', cf. Pers. *šaš-tắ* 'six individuals', *haft-tắ* 'seven individuals'.

	sg.		pl.
	m	*f*	
nom.	wispí	wispắ	wispé
acc.	wispú		
gen.-dat.	wispəné		wispḗšən
instr.-abl.	wispəná		

Table 48 Inflection of *wisp-* 'all'.

The demonstratives can be both in Yaghnōbī and in Sogdian extended by prefixed or suffixed particle **nah*, **nă-(kă-)* – in Yaghnōbī the particle is proclitics and it can be used with various forms derived from the demonstratives; in Sogdian the particle is enclitic: *-nĕ*, *-nəx*; e.g. Sogd. M *xwny*, *xwnx* 'xṓ-nĕ, xṓ-nəx', Yagh. *nah-áx* 'THAT *(III. deixis)* one', cf. Yagh. *nah-id-ṓka* 'THIS place here'.

	Sogd.	*Yagh.*	*Sogd.*	*Yagh.*	*Sogd.*	*Yagh.*	*Sogd.*	*Yagh.*	*Sogd.*	*Yagh.*
	'who'		*'what'*		*'which'*		*'how much'*		*'where'*	
rec.sg.	ᵊkḗ	kax	ᵊčṓ	čō	kədā́m	kēm	čāf	čōf	ᵊkū́	kū
obl.sg.	kyā́	kai̯, káyi		čōi̯, čṓyi		kḗmi		čṓfi		kūi̯, kū́yi
rec.pl.	–	káxtit	–	–	–	kḗmtit	–	čṓftit	–	–
obl.pl.		káytiti				kḗmtiti		čṓftiti		

Table 49 Iterrogative pronouns in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī.

Sogdian has also developed a definite article – it was formally the same as the demonstrative pronouns of *III.* deixis, but in plural all forms of the definite article were inflected as feminine singular. The definite article has been widely used during the development of the Sogdian languages, but in late Christian texts it is inflected only in two cases (dir. < nom., obl. < acc.) and its forms gradually merged. In really late texts there can be no definite article. As it is attested in several Sogdian documents of Zhetisu, there were probably more ways to express the definite article in *Proto-Sogdian, the dialect of Zhetisu shows the definite article *énĕ* based on extended form of the demonstrative pronoun of the *I.* deixis **ai̯a-nă-kă-*. In Yaghnōbī there is no definite article, according to known history of the Yaghnōbī language it cannot be judged whether there have been also a definite article that disappeared during the development of the language or if there has been no definite article in *Proto-Yaghnōbī. In the Pāmīr languages the

demonstrative pronouns serve also as the definite article, but they are used also syntactically and grammatically to express gender or subject of a clause.

*Proto-Sogdic enclitic pronouns originate from enclitics inherited from *Proto-(Indo-)Iranian, in *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī the enclitics were simplified. In Sogdian the enclitic pronouns distinguished accusative and genitive forms; in Yaghnōbī the enclitics have just one form (see Tables 46, 47). Yaghnōbī plural enclitics have been innovated – enclitic pronoun of the first person plural has been taken from original Iranian accusative (i.e. Yaghnōbī direct-oblique). The inherited forms of enclitics of the second person plural were lost in Yaghnōbī and were replaced by forms of the third person. Inherited Yaghnōbī enclitic pronoun of the second and third persons plural *-šint* originates from the *Proto-Sogdic (or *Proto-Yaghnōbī) third person enclitic **-šan* extended by plural ending **-tă* (cf. KHROMOV 1987, 675). See also merger of the forms of enclitic forms of copula (< enclitic pronouns) of the second and third persons in Bartangī, Rāshārvī and Sarīqōlī (Table 44).

II.2.3. Numeral inflection

*Proto-Iranian numerals were inflected similarly as nouns. The numeral inflection was present also in *Proto-Sogdic, but the inflectional system changed during later development. In Sogdian there are attested inflectional forms just for numerals *"one"* and *"two"* (Table 50) – for the numeral *"one"* both cases were formed analogically (i.e. accusative by adding oblique case ending, genitive-dative ending is taken from pronominal inflection), the numeral '*two*' preserves inherited genitive ending. Both Sogdian numerals *"one"* and *"two"* distinguished masculine and feminine forms (feminine form *ʾywh* /ʸɛ̆wă/ 'one' is attested only in the Sogdian documents from the Mount Mugh; cf. BOGOLYUBOV – SMIRNOVA 1963, 21). Some forms of numerals can have old genitive ending in *-nu* (YOSHIDA 2009a, 295).

	'one'		*'two'*	
	m	*f*	*m*	*f*
nom.	ʸɛ̆u̯	ʸɛ̆wă[220]	ᵊδwá, ᵊδú	ᵊδwé
acc.	ʸɛ̆wī			
gen.-dat.	ʸɛ̆wən[221]		δiβnú	

Table 50 Inflection of the numerals *'one'* and *'two'* in Sogdian.

Yaghnōbī numerals do not distinguish gender and they are normally uninflected, but in occasional cases they can be inflected the same way as nouns, the numerals can even take plural ending *-t* when necessary. Inherited Yaghnōbī numerals from "*two*" to "*ten*" can also take pronominal plural endings to express number of people (see chapter II.2.2. above). The Yaghnōbī language has two sets of numerals – inherited and borrowed. Inherited are only the numerals from *"one"* to *"ten"* (see numerals presented in lexical part of the presented thesis,

[220] Feminine form of the numeral 'one' is attested only in the Mount Mugh documents.

[221] In Christian Sogdian oblique *ywy* /ʸɛ̆wī/.

chapter III.2.), the borrowed numerals are taken from the Zarafshōn Tajik dialects. The Tajik numerals are used to count entities of more than ten items, but with words of Tajik origin (as considered by the Yaghnōbīs, i.e. also Arabic and/or Uzbek loans) Tajik numerals are used even for entities less than *ten*.

When counting, entities of more than one item are not presented in their plural form, but numerative form is used. Sogdian numerative originates from *Proto-Sogdic (or Iranian) dual (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1979; cf. table 39). In Yaghnōbī the counted entities are in oblique singular (it is possible, that the oblique ending comes from *(oblique)* dual, but due to formal similarity of continuants of both oblique singular and oblique dual > numerative it can be only difficult to judge[222]). In other (Modern) Eastern Iranian languages counted entities often appear in singular – this can be interpreted as development influenced by a development of group inflection, interpretation as influence of Persian or Turkic seems to be less probable in this case.

Yaghnōbī has lost inherited numerals from eleven up to the "infinity" – those numerals have been replaced by Tajik forms. Al'bert Leonidovich KHROMOV (1987, 671-672) notes, that elder Yaghnōbīs (i.e. in the time of his field-work in the Yaghnōb valley in the first half of the 1960's) counted in vigesimal system (vigesimal system of counting is attested also in the Zarafshōn Tajik dialects or in some of the Pāmīr languages). Nowadays the vigesimal system is not used in Yaghnōbī, but some speakers use synthetic counting using inherited Yaghnōbī numerals, e.g. *das ī* 'eleven' (or borrowed *yǒzdáʰ*), *uxš das* 'sixty' (vigesimal *s̲aráy* ‖ *t̲ʲráy bīst*, borrowed *šast*). Sogdian numerals continue from Iranian numerals, but units precede decades, e.g. *əβd-wīst* 'twenty seven (literally *'seven-twenty'*)', numbers close to a higher decade can be expressed by subtraction, e.g. *ʸɛ̆u̯ kámbī pámǰās* 'forty nine (literally *'one less fifty'*)' (YOSHIDA 2009a, 295).

Distributive numerals in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī have comparable ending: Sogd. *-kī*[223], Yagh. *-ki*. In *Proto-Sogdic there have been archaic forms of ordinal number *"first"*, *"second"* and *"third"*, ordinal numerals higher than four were formed by addition of endings. Such system has been preserved in Sogdian[224], where ordinal numerals beginning from four were formed by adding an ending *-əm(i) ~ -am(i)* or *-mīk*. Yaghnōbī uses ordinal numerals borrowed from Tajik (and in case of the ordinal *"first"* also Arabic form can be used), occasionally ordinals can be formed from Yaghnōbī numerals with Tajik ending *-(y)um* (this Tajik ending is of the same origin as Sogdian *-əm(i) ~ -am(i)*).

II.2.4. Verbal inflection

Sogdian preserved complex conjugation system which in the active voice continues from the Old Iranian pattern, but in the middle voice there is attested conjugation only for indicative present

[222] See also comparable Ossetic ending *-ы* ‖ *-i* used for counting entities of more than one item which probably comes from Iranian genitive ending (ISAEV 1987, 593).

[223] In Sogdian also *-kankī ~ -kaṁgī*.

[224] Iranian **fra-táma-* 'first' (Sogd. S B *ʾβtm-y*, *(ʾ)prtm-y* M *ʾftm-y* C *f̲tm(ʾ)* /ᵊftəmí/) is preserved in Yaghnōbī *fᵘtú́(m)[mēs̲]* ‖ *fᵘtú́(m)[mēt̲]*, *fᵗtú́m[ēt̲]* 'day after tomorrow' < **fratā-máiϑā-*, **fra-tama-máiϑă-*.

and imperfect. Yaghnōbī conjugation also continues from the Old Iranian pattern, but there has been completely lost the middle voice and also optative present. Moreover both languages lost Iranian indicative perfect. The endings have undergone several changes in both Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – *Proto-Sogdic verbal stems have been all "thematized" and the verbal endings were based on Iranian thematic endings. The Old Iranian endings changed a little bit in *Proto-Sogdic, the main change can be seen in spread of -ϑ to all forms of the second person plural. In *Proto-Sogdic there were two sets of endings of the third person plural – in the indicative mood there has been used either ending in *-*ant*- or in *-*ār*- < *-*r̥*-. The *-*ant*- forms have been preserved in Sogdian, in Yaghnōbī the endings are based on *-*ār*- (such endings are comparable to Khwārezmian, similar *-*ār*- endings can be found in Khōtanese[225]; and in Avestan[226]) originating in endings of the third person plural of the lost forms of perfect indicative. In Yaghnōbī there remain preserved transformed forms of perfect which continue from endings of peripheral Indo-European middle voice perfect: primary ending *-*(o)ror*, secondary ending *-*(o)ro* (cf. BIČOVSKÝ 2012, 109-111). Sogdian present and subjunctive forms were contaminated by causative *-*aia*- endings in the first person plural (see also Bactrian endings influenced by *-*aia*-causative, such feature links Bactrian with development observed in Middle Persian), there may also be observed tendency to differentiate present indicative ending from other tenses in Christian Sogdian, where the ending of the second pers. pl. is -*t(a)* in present indicative, and in all other tenses and moods there remained *-ϑ-. In Yaghnōbī the optative mood has been lost, or better: optative has merged with imperfect – in Yaghnōbī dialect there have up today survived both optative and imperfect endings in forms of the first person plural: in the Eastern dialect the ending -*īm* continues from optative *-*aima*, in the Western dialect there continues imperfect ending *-*āma* > -*ōm*. (See Table 51)

		*Ir.	Sogd.	Yagh.	*Ir.	Sogd.
		Active			*Middle*	
Indicative present	1st sg.	-*āmi*	-ă̆m ‖ -ám	-ēm	-*aia*	
	2nd sg.	-*ahi*	-(ă̆) ‖ -ə̆̆	-ø	-*ahaia*	
	3rd sg.	-*ati*	-t ‖ -tí	-t	-*ataia*	-tă̆
	1st pl.	-*āmahi*	-ēm[227]	-īm[228]	-*amadaia*	
	2nd pl.	-*aϑa*	-ϑ(a) ‖ -ϑá[229]	-s̱ ‖ -ṯ	-*aduaia*	
	3rd pl.	-*anti*	-aṁd	-ōr[230]	-*antaia*	

[225] Indicative present middle voice -*āre* < *-*āraia*, subjunctive present active voice -*āro* < *-*ārām*.

[226] Perfect indicative active voice -*arə* < -*ar*, middle voice -*are* < *-*araia*.

[227] From causative *-*aia*-conjugation < *-*aiamah*; or from optative *-*aima*. In the *Ancient Letters* there is attested 1st plural ending -*ʾymn* /-ēmən/, cf. Khōt. -*amne*.

[228] From causative *-*aia*-conjugation < *-*aiamah*; or from optative *-*aima*.

[229] In Christian Sogdian often -*t(a)* ‖ -*tá*.

[230] From perfect indicative active voice *-*r̥(š)* > *-*āri*; cf. Khwār. -*āri* (3rd pers. sg. present indicative & subjunctive).

		*Ir.	Sogd.	Yagh.	*Ir.	Sogd.
		Active			*Middle*	
Indicative perfect	1st sg.	*-a*			*-aḭ*	
	2nd sg.	*-ϑa, -ta*			*ʔ*	
	3rd sg.	*-a*			*-aḭ*	
	1st pl.	*-ma*			*-madaḭ*	
	2nd pl.	*ʔ*			*-duaḭ*	
	3rd pl.	*-r̥(š)*			*-raḭ*	
Subjunctive present	1st sg.	*-āni*	-ă̄n[231]	-ō̆m	*-ā(ʾa)ḭ*	
	2nd sg.	*-āhi*	-ā	-ø	*-āhaḭ*	
	3rd sg.	*-āti*	-āt	-ōt	*-ātaḭ*	
	1st pl.	*ʔ*	-ēm[232]	-īm[233]	*-āmadaḭ*	
	2nd pl.	*-āϑa*	-ϑa	-s̱ ‖ -ṯ	*-āduaḭ*	
	3rd pl.	*-ānti*	-aṁd	-ant	*-āntaḭ*	
Optative present	1st sg.	*-aḭ(a)m*	-ē[234]		*-aḭa*	
	2nd sg.	*-aḭš*			*-aḭša*	
	3rd sg.	*-aḭt*			*-aḭta*	
	1st pl.	*-aḭma*	-ēm		*-aḭmadi*	
	2nd pl.	*-aḭta*	-ēϑ[235]		*-aḭduam*	
	3rd pl.	*-aḭant*	-ēnt[236]		*-aḭanta*	
Indicative imperfect	1st sg.	*-am*	-(u) ‖ -ú[237]	-im[238]	*-aḭ*	-tu
	2nd sg.	*-ah*	-(i) ‖ -í	-ĭ̆[239]	*-aha*	-ti
	3rd sg.	*-at*	-ø ‖ -á	-ø	*-ata*	-t(a) ‖ -tá
	1st pl.	*-āma*	-ēm[240]	-īm[241] ‖ -ō̆m	*-āmadi*	
	2nd pl.	*-ata*	-ϑ(a) ‖ -ϑá	-s̱ĭ̆ ‖ -ṯĭ̆ [242]	*-aduam*	
	3rd pl.	*-ant*	-ant	-ōr[243]	*-anta*	

[231] In Christian Sogdian *-ām*.

[232] From causative **-aḭa*-conjugation < **-aḭamah*; or from optative **-aḭma*.

[233] From causative **-aḭa*-conjugation < **-aḭamah*; or from optative **-aḭma*.

[234] In the Mugh documents for one of persons also ending *-yʾ* /-ya/, the second person also *-yš* /-ēš/. Probably from the middle forms.

[235] Mugh documents *-yϑy* /-ēϑi/.

[236] In the *Ancient Letters* *-ʾyʾnt* /-ăyă̆ṁd/, in one Buddhist document *-yʾnt* /-(ə)yă̆ṁd/.

[237] Also used as injunctive and irrealis.

[238] From optative **-aḭ(a)m* (KHROMOV 1987, 681).

[239] Either from imperfect **-ah* or from optative **-aḭš* (KHROMOV 1987, 681).

[240] Also *-ēmu* (Mugh documents) or *-ēmən* < optative **-aḭma* (?).

[241] From optative **-aḭma ʔ* (KHROMOV 1987, 681).

[242] From optative **-aḭϑa* (KHROMOV 1987, 681) influenced by present indicative/subjunctive; with metathesis **-aḭϑa* > **-ēϑ* > *-ϑĭ̆* > *-s̱ĭ̆* ‖ *-ṯĭ̆*.

[243] From perfect indicative active voice **-r̥(š)* > **-ār*; cf. Khwār. *-āra* (3rd pers. sg. imperfect).

		*Ir.	Sogd.	Yagh.	*Ir.	Sogd.
		Active			*Middle*	
Imperative present	1st sg.					
	2nd sg.	*-a*	-(a) ‖ -á	-ø	*-axᵘa*	
	3rd sg.				*-atām*	
	1st pl.					
	2nd pl.	*-ata*	-ϑ(a) ‖ -ϑá	-ṣ ‖ -ṭ	*-aduam*	
	3rd pl.	*-antu*			*-antām*	

Table 51 Overview of Old Iranian thematic conjugation and its development in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī.

*Proto-(Eastern-)Iranian verbal stem system has been simplified in *Proto-Sogdic, there emerged new conjugation system based on the present augmented or un-augmented stem, present and past participle and infinitive stem. The difference between thematic and athematic stems has been lost and all verbs were formed as "thematic". The difference between individual verbal stems gradually merged and the stem system has become quite regular, there are only several irregular verbs both in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī.

The main difference between Sogdian and Yaghnōbī is different treatment of augment in forms of imperfect tense. In Sogdian the original augment has been lost in non-prefixed verbs and remained only as so-called *internal augment* in between verbal prefix and stem. In Yaghnōbī augment is preserved in all positions, but there is no *internal augment*, in the contemporary language augment of prefixed verbs is placed by analogy with non-prefixed verbs before the prefix as if the prefix was integral part of a verbal stem (see also chapter II.1.8.)[244]. According to development of stress in *(Post-)Proto-Sogdic it is probable, that *"non-internal"* augment should have been lost both in *Proto-Sogdian and *Proto-Yaghnōbī, but probably due to merger of optative and imperfect endings in *Proto-Yaghnōbī and their formal similarity with endings of present indicative (cf. ISKHAKOV 1977, 30-31) the augment possibly acquired a secondary stress and thus was not lost due to operation of stress changes (on the other hand later in Christian Sogdian the imperfect has been gradually replaced by periphrastic perfect).

The survival of the augment in Yaghnōbī (regardless of its change by analogy) is a striking archaism within all modern Indo-European languages. Augment is peripherally preserved in Modern Greek – only accented augment is preserved, but it disappeared in unaccented positions: MGre. *έλυσα* 'I loosened', *ølύσαμε* 'we loosened' × Gre. *ἔλυσα*, *ἐλύσαμεν* (cf. SOPHRONIOU 1962, 79). According to R. L. Turner there are some traces of augment also in Dardic Khowār and Kalāṣa (TURNER 1927, 538-541).

Both in *Proto-Sogdian and in *Proto-Yaghnōbī emerged secondary endings that may have been used with verbs to modify their syntactic or temporal meaning. In Sogdian there are attested several compound formations from present stem – durative in *-(ᵊ)skun* (see QARĪB 1965, 167-169), future in *-kām* (ibid., 174), or preterite in *-āz* (ibid, 179-180). In Yaghnōbī there is a

[244] See also Old Persian *a=pari-āy-* 'to behave *(augmented stem)*' with augment preceding prefix (SKJÆRVØ 2005, 50).

*durative suffix *-išt* (cf. Sogd. B *-ʾštn* in Vessantara Jātaka). Durative suffixes further developed in Christian Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī, where present durative replaced present indicative (QARĪB 1965, 168). In Yaghnōbī the original durative suffix *-išt* (< **hi(-)šta-* < **stā-* 'to stand') was agglutinated to personal endings, and some forms have changed: *(*)-t+išt* > (E) *-či(t)*, *(*)-ōr+išt* > *-ō(y)št*, *(*)-i+išt* > *-išt*; *(*)-ø+išt* > *-išt*. The suffix *-išt* is agglutinated also with endings of imperfect tense. The original forms non-suffixed of indicative present and imperfect tense change their meaning: non-*išt* present serves as a so-called "dependent paradigm"[245] and non-*išt* imperfect is used as simple past (simple perfect) tense.

Infinitive developed different forms in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī. In Sogdian present infinitive distinguishes *light* and *heavy stems*: the *light stems* have ending *-y(y)* in nominative and oblique (but in Christian, Buddhist Sogdian and Sogdian in the Sogdian script also abl. *-ʾ* and acc. *-(ʾ)w* (GMS §905-913), the *heavy stems* have no ending in nominative and *-y* in oblique (GMS §905, 914-921). Past infinitive has ending *-y* (or *-ʾ*) in the *light stems* and no ending (or *-y*) in the *heavy stems* (GMS §922-934). Yaghnōbī has two forms of infinitive – short infinitive (i.e. equal to verbal stem) and infinitives in *-ak* (cf. infinitive endings in other Iranian languages: Ishk. *-(ʾ)ůk*; Sangl. *-ōk*, *-uk*, Wakh. *-ak*, *-ыk*; Ōrmuṛ. *-ak*, Parāch. *-o*; Balōch. *-ag*).

	person	present tense	past tense	
			tr.	itr.
Munjī	1st sg.	-(y)əm	-(y)əm	-(y)ām
	2nd sg.	-(y)əy	-(y)ət	-(y)āy
	3rd sg.	-d/-t/-ø	-(y)a	-ø
	1st pl.	-(y)ām	-(y)ām	
	2nd pl.	-(y)āf	-(y)āf	
	3rd pl.	-(y)āt	-(y)āt	
Ishkāshmī	1st sg.	-ьm	-ьm	
	2nd sg.	-i	-ьt	
	3rd sg.	-u	-(i)	
	1st pl.	-on	-on	
	2nd pl.	-ьv	-ьv	
	3rd pl.	-on	-on	
Wakhī	1st sg.	-əm	*-əm*	
	2nd sg.	-(i)[246]	*-ət*	
	3rd sg.	-d	*-(i)*	
	1st pl.	-ən	*-ən*	
	2nd pl.	-əv	*-əv*	
	3rd pl.	-ən		

	person	present tense	past tense	
			tr.	itr.
Yidghā	1st sg.	-em	-əm	-ōm
	2nd sg.	-ë	-ət	-it
	3rd sg.	-d/-t	-ø	-ø
	1st pl.	-am	-em	-ōm
	2nd pl.	-əf	-ef	-ōf
	3rd pl.	-et	-et	-ōt
Sanglēchī	1st sg.	-ən	-əm	
	2nd sg.	-ī	-i	
	3rd sg.	-ō	-ø	
	1st pl.	-əm	-ăn	
	2nd pl.	-əf		
	3rd pl.	-ăn		
Yazghulāmī	1st sg.	-in	*-at*	
	2nd sg.	-ay	*-(ay)*	
	3rd sg.	-d/-t	*-an*	
	1st pl.	-əm	*-əf*	
	2nd pl.	-it		
	3rd pl.	-an		

[245] "Dependent paradigm" is a characteristic feature of Yaghnōbī syntax – dependent forms are used after another verb in sentences like Yagh. W *ax ǰáx-t-išt saḥári tⁱráy ōdámi ī lāʒlí tⁱfŏr-t-ø, nēn tⁱfŏr-t-ø, čōy tⁱfŏr-t-ø* 'he wakes up and in the morning [*he*] give[s] dish to three persons, [*he*] give[s] bread (and) [*he*] give[s] tea' (cf. KHROMOV 1972, 42).

[246] Ending *-i* appears only in Western Wakhī.

	person	present tense	past tense	
			tr.	itr.
Shughnī	1st sg.	-um	*-um*	
	2nd sg.	-i	*-at*	
	3rd sg.	-t/-d	*-i*	*-ø*
	1st pl.	-ām	*-ām*	
	2nd pl.	-ēt	*-ēt*	
	3rd pl.	-ēn	*-ēn*	
Bartangī	1st sg.	-um	*-um*	
	2nd sg.	-(i)	*-at*	
	3rd sg.	-t/-d	*-(i)*[247]	*-ø*
	1st pl.	-an	*-am*	
	2nd pl.	-at/-af	*-af*	
	3rd pl.	-an	*-af*/*-an*	*-an*
Sarīqōlī	1st sg.	-am	*-am*	
	2nd sg.	-ø	*-at*	
	3rd sg.	-t/-d	*-i*	*-(i)*
	1st pl.	-an	*-an*	
	2nd pl.	-it	*-af*	
	3rd pl.	-in		

	person	present tense	past tense	
			tr.	itr.
Rōshānī & Khūfī	1st sg.	-um	*-ø*	*-um*
	2nd sg.	-i		*-at*
	3rd sg.	-t/-d		*-i*
	1st pl.	-am		*-am*
	2nd pl.	-at/-af		*-af*
	3rd pl.	-an		*-an*
Rāshārvī	1st sg.	-um	*-um*	
	2nd sg.	-ø	*-at*	
	3rd sg.	-t/-d	*-ø*	
	1st pl.	-an	*-an*	
	2nd pl.	-at/-af	*-af*	
	3rd pl.	-an		

Table 52 Basic personal endings of the Pāmīr languages (values in *italic* represent enclitic endings usually added to a subject of a clause).

Sogdic forms of copula continue from Proto-Iranian **(ʜ)ah-* (IIr. **ʜas-*, Ide. **h₁es-*). Both in Sogdian and in Yaghnōbī some of the forms changed from the *Proto-Iranian state (see Table 53). Sogdian forms of the second person singular and the first person plural originate either from *aḷa*-conjugation (GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 60-61) i.e. *aḷa*-conjunctive forms of personal endings or they can be taken from optative personal endings **-aḷš* (> Mug *-ēš*) '2nd pers. sg. opt.'[248] and **-aima* > *-ém* '1st pers. pl. opt.'. Yaghnōbī plural forms of copula have forms which may be based on *Proto-Yaghnōbī personal endings of **-ām* < **-āma* '1st pers. pl. impf.' and **-ār* '3rd pers. pl. impf.' < **-ār(i)* **-ār* '3rd pers. pl. perf.' and by analogy also **(-)āϑ*; analogical form is also in Christian Sogdian *ēšta* '[you] are' < *ēš* '[thou] art' + *-t(a)* < **-aϑa* '2nd pers. pl. ind. pres.'. The development of some forms of copula from verbal endings shows, that copula was probably more often used as an enclitic form and thus some of its forms were taken from verbal endings in order to regularize conjugation. Sogdian non-enclitic copula of the second person plural *ʾnsδʾ* /ąsϑ(ă)/ may come from a stem *ʾn-* of an unclear origin (GMS §784), such stem may be compared with Pahl. *ʾnʾd*, *ʾnʾnd* (ibid.).

Not only verbal endings affected copula forms – copula was also influenced by pronominal enclitics. The main feature is prefixation of *x=* to forms of copula of the third persons singular

[247] Forms of the third person differ in Bartangī dialects – in Basīdī there is no ending, in Sipānjī *-i* is used (cf. SOKOLOVA 1966, 379-380), I have no information concerning Rawmēdī and Bardaraī.

[248] Or maybe by occasional palatalization of **h* (GMS §405; see chapter *II.1.3.20.v.*).

and plural. In Sogdian this "pronominal" *x*= appears in present and imperfect indicative and in subjunctive, in Yaghnōbī only in the third person singular forms of indicative present and imperfect. In all forms there this *x*= is "optional", i.e. there are forms with *x*= or without it. The *x*= originates in the third deictic demonstrative **(a)hau̯* (cf. GMS §1398.b, §1405)[249]. Yaghnōbī *išt* comes from combination of the second person singular copula with the second person singular enclitic, i.e. *iš-t*. The use of pronominal elements in forms of copula can be observed in some Eastern Iranian languages such as Ossetic, Pashtō or Wakhī (KORN 2011). Comparable is also merger of copula with pronominal enclitics in verbal endings in the Pāmīr languages.

	indicative					*subjunctive*	*optative*	*irrealis*
	present			*imperfect*				
	Sogdian	Yaghnōbī	*Iranian	Sogdian	Yaghnōbī	Sogdian		
1st sg.	*ɨm*	im	**áhmi*		ő́yim	*xān*		
2nd sg.	*ēš*	išt[250]	**áhi*	*āi̯š*	ő́y(i(št))			
3rd sg.	*əstí*[251], *(x)ɨčí*	(x)ást(i), =x	**ásti*	*(x)āi̯*[252]	(x)ő́y	*(x)āt*[253], *əstā́t*	*yāt*[254]	*əstā́i̯*
1st pl.	*ēm*[255]	ōm	**hmáhi*		ɨ́yōm			
2nd pl.	*ą́sʊ(ă)*[256]	ōs̱ ‖ ōṯ	**stā*		ɨ́yōs̱ ‖ ɨ́yōṯ			
3rd pl.	*(x)aṁd*[257]	ōr	**hánti*	*(x)ā́yaṁd*	ɨ́yōr		*əstā́yaṁd*	

Table 53 Copula.

Copula also serves as a verb *"to have"* – in this issue only form of the third person singular is used with oblique forms of subject. Such construction is typical also in the Pāmīr languages or in Turkic (see NOVÁK [in print], note 22).

Negative forms of copula have analytic forms in Sogdian based on (historical) negative of the third person singular Sogd. B *nyst* M *nyst̰t̰* C *nyst̰*, *nyṷst̰*, *nyṷst̰*, *ṇst̰* /nēst, =nist/ '[(s)he] is not' < **na-ásti* [Pers. *nēst*, cf. Eng. *isn't*]: M *nystym* /nḗstɨm/ '[I] am not' (GMS §784). In Yaghnōbī

[249] Initial *x*- in forms of copula can be also explained as analogical spread of *x*- from the third person plural indicative present copula Sogd. SC *xnt* B *ɣnt* M *xnd* /xaṁd/ < **(ʜ)hánti* < Ide. **h₁sénti* (cf. GMS §770-774; HORN 1988, 245). I believe that pronominal origin of *x*= is the most probable explanation. See also Persian forms *ast* and *hast*.

[250] From **iš=t*, i.e. with suffixed enclitic second person singular pronoun (GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 52).

[251] In Sogdian in the Sogdian Script also enclitic *əst*/*ast*; in Christian Sogdian *sti* (cf. QARĪB 1965, 224).

[252] From optative (QARĪB 1965, 225).

[253] From Ir. **ahat* (QARĪB 1965, 225).

[254] From Ir. **hi̯at* (QARĪB 1965, 225).

[255] In Sogdian in the Sogdian Script also *ém̐an*; in Christian Sogdian also *ém̐ă(x)* (cf. QARĪB 1965, 224; VINOGRADOVA 2000a, 89).

[256] In Sogdian in the Sogdian script and in Manichaean Sogdian also enclitic *=(ə)sʊ(ă)*; in Christian Sogdian *ém̐šta* (cf. QARĪB 1965, 224). Both forms are probably reanalysed forms of the second person singular copula with second person plural ending (cf. KHROMOV – LIVSHITS 1981, 480).

[257] In Sogdian in the Sogdian Script also *əstā́ṁd* (cf. QARĪB 1965, 224).

negative prefix *ná-* is added in front of copula, there can be also the third person copula short form *na=x*.

For a more comprehensive study of Sogdian verb see the *Analysis of the Verbal System in the Sogdian Language* by Badrezzamān QARĪB (1965).

(excursion 6) ***Ergative***

So-called *ergative construction* [258] appears to be one of the most important features of development of the Iranian languages – it gradually developed into a primary way to express past tense(s). Antje Wendtland connects Iranian ergativity with development of periphrastic perfect which is known also in many (Western) European languages (WENDTLAND 2011). Iranian ergative construction is formed with past participle and auxiliary verb *to be* or *to have*, the ("European") periphrastic perfect is formed with a passive participle and auxiliary verb *to have* (ibid., 39)[259]. The periphrastic perfect formed with *-nt*-participles and auxiliaries *to be* (*eš-*) and *to have* (*ẖar(k)-*) is found also in Hittite, similar construction is attested also in Latin and in Old Indic (ibid., 39-42; cf. also GARRETT 1990).

	intransitive: *'I … have come'*			transitive: *'I … have given'*		
1st sg.	*ʾʾγtʾym*	*ā́γət-im*	*je suis venu*	*δβrt(w) δʾrʾm*	*ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δárăm*	*j'ai donné*
2nd sg.	*ʾʾγtʾyš*	*ā́γət-ēš*	*tu es venu*	*δβrt-δʾrʾy*	*ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δár(ĕ)*	*tu as donné*
3rd sg.	*ʾʾγt*	*ā́γət*	*il est venu*	*δβrt(w) δʾrt*	*ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δárt*	*il/elle a donné*
	ʾγtʾ	*ā́γət-ă*	*elle est venue*			
1st pl.	*ʾʾγtʾym*	*ā́γət-ēm*	*nous sommes venus*	*ϑbrdʾrym*	*ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δárēm*	*nous avez donné*
2nd pl.	*ʾʾγtsδ*	*ā́γət-qsϑ(ă)*	*vous êtes venus*	*ϑbrdʾryštʾ*	*ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δáršťă* *ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δárϑ(ă)*	*vous avez donné*
3rd pl.	*ʾʾγtʾnt*	*ā́γət-amd*	*ils sont venus*	*ϑbrdʾrnt*	*ϑβár[t(ŭ)]δáramd*	*ils ont donné*

Table 54 Ergative construction in Sogdian, forms are given in various orthographies (after Wendtland 2011, 43, Table 1, edited)

For the Iranian languages the periphrastic perfect is attested yet in the Old Iranian period (see examples given in CARDONA 1970). The Iranian periphrastic perfect emerged from forms of past participle and copula – as there was no independent form for verb *to have* it was also expressed by copula with subject in genitive case[260]. The ergative construction emerged from difference of transitive and intransitive verbs – the periphrastic perfect of transitive verbs emerged from a past participle and verb *to be* (i.e. subject in nominative + copula that agrees with subject in form), the intransitive verbs emerged from a past participle and verb *to have* (i.e.

[258] *«An S*[plit]*E*[rgative] *language is one in which some transitive clauses, but not all, are ergative constructions. … I will define an ergative construction as a transitive clause in which a special case-form or adposition marks the semantic agent, or verb-agreement is with patient in preference to agent»* (DELANCEY 1981, 627).

[259] There are two kinds of periphrastic perfect in the European languages – *be*- and *have*-languages, e.g. (Old High) German, Dutch, Frisian, Icelandic, Norwegian, Danish, French, formerly Catalan; and *have*-languages; e.g. English, Swedish, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Romanian, Albanian (cf. WENDTLAND 2011, 40 Map 1).

[260] E.g. in Latin or Latvian the subject of such possessive construction is in dative case.

subject in genitive *(*oblique*)* case and copula in form of the third person singular). The difference of case of the subject and form of copula influenced the development of the ergative construction, in many cases e.g. Old Persian forms are very similar to Latin: OPers. *ima tya manā kr̥tam*, Lat. *hoc (est) quod a me factum est* 'I have done' (cf. CARDONA 1970, 1). The forms of "ergative-like" periphrastic perfect served as a base for further development of past tenses in all other Iranian languages.

stage	verbs	patterns of the perfect	example	texts
1	itr	past participle + form of *be* attached	*ʾʾγtʾym*	e.g. Ancient Letter II
	tr	past participle, no aux., enclitic pronoun	*-m ptγwšt*	
2	itr	past participle + form of *be* attached	*ʾʾγtʾym*	e.g. Ancient Letter V
	tr	past participle, no aux., enclitic pronoun	*-m ptγwšt*	
		past participle in *-w* + form of *have*	*ẟβrtw ẟʾrt*	
3	itr	past participle + form of *be* attached	*ʾʾγtʾym*	Buddhist texts *(mainly in direct speech)*
	tr	past participle in *-w* + form of *have* regular	*wytw ẟʾrʾnt*	
4	itr	past participle + form of *be* attached	*ʾʾγtʾym*	Manichaean texts *(also used in the narrative)*
		first intransitive verbs with *have*	*rʾtẟʾrt*	
	tr	past participle in *-w* or *Ø* + form of *have*	*ptγwštw ẟʾrʾm*	
5	itr unacc	past participle + form of *be* attached	*ʾʾγtʾym*	Christian texts *(begins to replace the imperfect)*
	itr unerg	past participle + form of *have*	*žwʾdʾrt*	
	tr	past participle without *-w* + *have* attached	*ptwysdʾrnt*	
6	itr unacc	past participle + form of *be* attached	*ʾʾγt-ʾym*	Christian Gospels, KG 2 *(used as simple past)*
	itr unerg	past participle + form of *have*	*wywsdʾrt*	
	tr	past participle without *-w* + *have* attached	*wydʾrt*	

Table 55 Stages of development of the *have-* and *be*-perfect in Sogdian (Wendtland 2001, 50 Table 2)
(tr = transitive verb; itr = intransitive verb; unacc = unaccusative; unerg = unergative; aux. = auxiliary).

Nearly in all Modern Iranian languages the past tenses are formed with later developments and reanalysis of the ergative construction – e.g. in the Pāmīr languages the ergative construction was reanalyzed for transitive verbs – there has been lost form of copula of the third person singular and oblique forms of subject were gradually replaced by enclitic personal pronouns. Later "*have*-preterite" predominated e.g. in majority of the Pāmīr languages; in several instances the enclitic-based endings influenced personal endings of present tense (see Table 52). In the languages of the Shughnī-Rōshānī group, in Yazghulāmī and Wakhī the "past tense" endings are usually connected to subject, not to verb, e.g. Shugh. *wuz lῡ́v-um* 'I say' × *wúz=um lῡ́vd* 'I said'; Rōsh. *az lúv-um* 'I say' × *mu luvd* or *áz=um luvd*[261] 'I said'; Rōsh. *āz lúv-um* 'I say' × *ā́z=um luvd* 'I said'; Yazgh. *az laf-ín* 'I say' × *můn laft* or *áz=əm laft* 'I said'; Wakh. *wuz x̌án-əm* 'I say' × *wúz=əm x̌at(əy)*[262] 'I said'. In Ishkāshmī the past tense personal endings may

[261] In Rōshānī transitive prefect *mu luvd* (literary *"me said"*) is used only by elder speakers, younger generations use construction *áz=um luvd* (literary *"I=my said ~ I=am said"*) similar to Shughnī or Bartangī.

[262] *Wúz=əm x̌at* in Western Wakhī, *wúz=əm x̌atəy* in Eastern and Central Wakhī (PAKHALINA 1969, 100).

be connected to a verb or, more often, to subject: *azí ɣáž-ьm* 'I say' × *azí=m ɣažd* or *azí ɣážd=ьm* 'I said' (the "personal" ending may be even doubled: *azí=m ɣážd=ьm*); Munjī intransitive verbs show typical ergative construction: *zə žōy-əm* 'I say' × *mən ⁱštəm* 'I said' (all the above presented examples are taken from PAKHALINA 1969).

Development of split ergativity can be seen also in Sogdic dialects – in both Sogdian and Yaghnōbī we can see development of the original periphrastic perfect in *"live broadcast"*. As shown by Antje WENDTLAND (2011) there can be observed six stages of development of perfect in Sogdian, in Yaghnōbī there took place reanalysis of the original ergative construction quite recently. According to attested personal endings it seems that already *Proto-Sogdic lost inherited forms of Iranian perfect and it was replaced by a new periphrastic perfect based on split ergativity.

Sogdian development of periphrastic perfect shows gradual extension of the ergative construction inherited (?) from *Common Iranian. The oldest attested examples of the ergative construction come from the *Ancient Letters* – in the *Ancient Letter II* there are simple archaic forms – past participles of intransitive verbs are formed with subject in nominative and with inflected copula, for transitive verbs the subject takes enclitic form of a personal pronoun (see WENDTLAND 2011, 44 – examples 10-11). In all other *Ancient Letters* (mainly in the *Ancient Letter V*) also new forms of periphrastic perfect appear – the transitive past participle has ending in *-ŭ* < **-ăm* (i.e. accusative singular) followed by inflected form of the verb √ð*ār* 'to hold' (> semantically 'to have', but this meaning of the verb √ð*ār* is used only for transitive forms, in all other cases the verb *to have* is expressed by subject in genitive/oblique and copula of the third person singular; cf. WENDTLAND 2011, 45 – examples 12-16), but the archaic form of perfect with enclitic pronouns are still attested together with the innovated forms (ibid., 45 – example 17). Later the periphrastic perfect changes its function form direct speech past through narrative past to expression of past tense in common and replaces imperfect (see Table 55; ibid., 46-50). It should be noted that the oldest attested formation of the periphrastic perfect (Wendtland's *Stage 1*) is very similar to (yet rather archaic) formation of periphrastic perfect in Yaghnōbī; on the other hand, the most innovative forms (i.e. Wendtland's *Stage 6*) shows similar formation of perfect in Ossetic[263].

[263] Ossetic has two sets of preterite endings – intransitive endings are based on forms of copula, transitive endings come from forms of verb *to have*, see following scheme for the Ossetic Iron dialect:

person	present	perfect		copula
		tr.	itr.	*(present)*
1st sg.	*-ьın*	*-(t/d)on*	*-(t/d)æn*	*dæn*
2nd sg.	*-ьıs*	*-(t/d)ay*	*-(t/d)æ*	*dæ*
3rd sg.	*-ьı*	*-(t/d)a*	*-(is)*	*u / is / i*
1st pl.	*-æm*	*-(t/d)am*	*-ьıstæm*	*stæm*
2nd pl.	*-ut*	*-(t/d)at*	*-ьıstut*	*stut*
3rd pl.	*-ьınc*	*-(t/d)oy*	*-ьıstьı*	*stьı*

(ISAEV 1987, 619)

The intransitional periphrastic perfect is formed from past participle in *-*tă*- to which is are added inflected forms of copula, only forms of the third person singular have no copula, instead of copula nominative singular endings are used – masculine *light stems* add ending -*í* < *-*ah*, but *heavy stems* have no ending, feminine forms add -*ă* < *-*ā* (with no distinction of *light* and *heavy stems*). Transitional perfect forms have ending in -*ŭ* and auxiliary verb √*ðār* 'to have'; the "ending" -*ŭ* probably comes from accusative singular of preterite in *-*ăm*. There are attested forms in <-*w*> and in -*ø* in Sogdian, Ilya Gershevitch interprets them as *light* and *heavy stem* endings respectively (GMS §878-879), but Antje Wendtland interprets the forms with -*w* as older than those without -*w* (WENDTLAND 2011, 43)[264]. In later development the auxiliary verb √*ðār* merges with the past participle stem ending -*t* into single agglutinated form: -*t(ŭ) ðār*- > *-*t(=)ðār*- > -*ðār*-, this feature can be clearly observed in Christian Sogdian texts.

	transitive verb		intransitive verb	
1st sg.	wḗta=m=x	*I saw him (lit. by me seen)*	tṓrta=im	*I went*
2nd sg.	wḗta=t=x	*thou saw him (lit. by thee seen)*	tṓrta=išt	*thou went*
3rd sg.	wḗta=š=im	*he saw me*	tṓrta=x(ast)	*he went*
	wḗta=š=išt	*he saw thee*		
	wḗta=š=x	*he saw (him)*		
1st pl.	wḗta=m=ōr	*I saw them (lit. they by me saw)*	tṓrt(a)=ōm	*we went*
2nd pl.			tṓrt(a)=ōš ‖ tṓrt(a)=ōṯ	*you went*
3rd pl.	wḗta=š=ōr	*he saw (them) (lit. they by him saw)*	tṓrt(a)=ōr	*they went*

Table 56 Ergative construction in Yaghnōbī according to BOGOLYUBOV (1966, 354).

In Yaghnōbī the development of the ergative construction was quite different and is more similar to the ergative construction of the *Stage 1* as observed by Wendtland. Mikhail Nikolaevich BOGOLYUBOV (1966, 354) quoted typical ergative construction in Yaghnōbī, on the other hand Al'bert Leonidovich KHROMOV (1972, 36) noted only "intransitive" inflection for perfect and in the latest Yaghnōbī grammar by Sayfiddīn Mīrzōzōda and Bahriddīn Alavî there is presented only "intransitive inflection" (see Tables 56 and 57). Forms of the ergative construction changed a little bit during past fifty (?) years – this state was probably caused by intensive contact of Yaghnōbī with Tajik. The forms of intransitive verbs retained unchanged form and they are practically identical with (unaccusative) intransitional perfects in Sogdian. The transitive perfects have two forms – the first (nowadays rather archaic) is quite similar with the forms presented by Bogolyubov (Table 56), but I have not met forms such as *wḗta=š=išt*,

[264] Antje Wendtland claims that the non-auxiliary part of the transitive periphrastic perfect originates from a past stem in -*tw* (WENDTLAND 2011, 43), I suppose that accusative form of the past participle is more accurate interpretation.

The interpretation of the origin of the participial ending -*ŭ* from accusative singular *-*ăm* may have analogies in Latin: *litteram (f) scrīpt**am** (f) habeō* > *litteram (f) scrīpt**um** (m) habeō* (loss of agreement) 'I have written a letter' (WENDTLAND 2011, 40). Maybe that the two different form in -*ŭ (√ðār)* and -*ø (√ðār)* are not connected with the *light* or *heavy stems* but with gender. Such issue has to be analysed yet, the loss of -*ŭ* then may be interpreted as loss of gender agreement.

wə́ta=š=ōr (but it does not mean they are not used even today); the other is consistent with system presented by Mīrzōzōda and Alavî (Table 57) and is more used among the Yaghnōbīs with whom I have spoken – outline of positive and negative forms of ergative construction in contemporary Yaghnōbī is presented in Table 58; it is evident that there is a tendency to simplify the ergative system in contemporary Yaghnōbī.

	"intransitive conjugation" *(Khromov)*		"transitive conjugation" *(Mīrzōzōda – Alavî)*		
			Cyrillic	*romanized*	
1st sg.	wə́fta=im	*I said*	ман хирита	*man xⁱrə́ta*	*I bought*
2nd sg.	wə́fta=išt	*thou said*	тав хирита	*tau̯ xⁱrə́ta*	*thou bought*
3rd sg.	wə́fta=xast, wə́fta=x	*he said*	ави хирита	*áwi xⁱrə́ta*	*he bought*
1st pl.	wə́ft(a)=ōm	*we said*	мох хирита	*mōx xⁱrə́ta*	*we bought*
2nd pl.	wə́ft(a)=ōš ‖ wə́ft(a)=ōṯ	*you said*	шумох хирита	*šᵘmə́x xⁱrə́ta*	*you bought*
3rd pl.	wə́ft(a)=ōr	*they said*	автити хирита	*áu̯titi xⁱrə́ta*	*they bought*

Table 57 Periphrastic perfect according to Khromov (1972, 36) and MĪRZŌZŌDA – ALAVÎ (2008, 57).

	positive			negative	
	transitive		intransitive	transitive	intransitive
1st sg.	*wə́ta=m=x(ast)*	man wə́ta=x(ast)	tə́rta=im	ná=m wə̀ta=x(ast)	ná tə̀rta=im
2nd sg.	*wə́ta=t=x(ast)*	tau̯ wə́ta=x(ast)	tə́rta=išt	ná=t wə̀ta=x(ast)	ná tə̀rta=išt
3rd sg.	*wə́ta=š=x(ast)*	áwi wə́ta=x(ast)	tə́rta=x(ast)	ná=š wə̀ta=x(ast)	ná tə̀rta=x(ast)
1st pl.	*wə́ta=mōx=x(ast)*	mōx wə́ta=x(ast)	tə́rt(a)=ōm	ná=mōx wə̀ta=x(ast)	ná tə̀rt(a)=ōm
2nd pl.	*wə́ta=šint=x(ast)*	šᵘmə́x wə́ta=x(ast)	tə́rt(a)=ōš ‖ tə́rt(a)=ōṯ	ná=šint wə̀ta=x(ast)	ná tə̀rt(a)=ōš ‖ ná tə̀rt(a)=ōṯ
3rd pl.		áu̯titi wə́ta=x(ast)	tə́rt(a)=ōr		ná tə̀rt(a)=ōr
	'I / thou / (s)he … saw'		*'I / thou … went'*	*'I … did not see'*	*'I … did not come'*

Table 58 Overview of ergative construction forms of resultative perfect in contemporary Yaghnōbī.

II.2.5. Adpositions

There are several prepositions and postpositions both in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. Sogdian shows archaic state of pre- and postpositional system, Yaghnōbī preserves only some inherited adpositions: *čɨ* 'from' (Sogd. B *cy* /čɨ/; Khwār. *cy*), *=sa* 'towards, to' (Sogd. S B M *=sʾr* C *=sʾ(r)* /=sə̆, =sə̆ṙ/; Khwār. *sʾr*), *=pi* 'with' (cf. Khwār. *py*), *=rə̀ti* 'on, by' (Sogd. B *ryty* M *ryṯyy*), *=nə̄ṯt* 'in', *=čə̀ntə̀r* 'in, inside' (Sogd. B *c(y)ntr* M *c(y)ndr* /čɨ́ṁdər/); archaic adpositions are Yagh. *par* 'for, because of' (Sogd. S B *pʾr* M *pʾ(r)* C *pʾ* /pə̆, pə̆ṙ/), and *pu* 'without' (Sogd. B *(ʾ)pw* M *pw* /ᵊpú/).

	Sogdian			Yaghnōbī
	1st person	2nd person	*(definite article)*	3rd person
to	*tə́mā*	*tə́fā*		
from	*čə́mā*	*čə́fā*	*čə̆ṁn*	čau̯
with	*ðə́mā*	*ðə́fā*	*ðə̆ṁn*	
about	*pərə́mā*	*pərə́fā*		

Table 59 Prepositions combined with pronouns.

Some prepositions can be combined with pronouns – good examples are attested in Sogdian, in Yaghnōbī there is attested just one combined preposition *čaų̯* 'from this' (see Table 59).

I will not describe here the adpositional system on both languages – comprehensive description of Sogdian adpositions is in GMS §1610-1632 and LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 503-510), for Yaghnōbī see KHROMOV 1972, 53-62.

II.2.6. Conjunctions

Yaghnōbī and Sogdian preserve Iranian conjunction **utā* > Sogd. *=ət(í)*, Yagh. *=(a)t* 'and'. In Sogdian this conjunction is often used clause-initially standing after another archaic conjunction Sogd. C *ʾr* /ə/ 'and' < **r̥* < Ide. **h₁(e)r* [Gre. ἠέ, ἠ', ἄἔρ(α), Lith. *ir̃/ar̃*, Latv. *ìr/ar*; TokhB *ra=* '*emphatic particle*'] (GAUTHIOT – BENVENISTE 1929, 171): Sogd. AL *ʾrty* B *(ʾ)rty*, *rt(ty)* M *(ʾ)rt̲y*, *ʾrtty*, *rty* C *ʾrt̲* /ətʲ(í)/ < **r̥=utā*. In Yaghnōbī same as in Tajik, Uzbek and many other languages of Central Asia is widely used Arabic conjunction *wa* 'and' > Yagh. *va* (occasionally *wa*).

III. Lexicon

In the third part of the presented thesis there will be presented a short comparative dictionary of "basic" vocabulary of Yaghnōbī and Sogdian. The lexicon is based on the extended Swadesh List (i.e. list of 207 words) supplemented by a list of 210 vocabulary of the "Standard Word List Items"
presented in the five-volume *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan* (see http://www.sil.org/sociolx/pubs/ssnp.asp) by the *National Institute of Pakistani Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University* and *Summer Institute of Linguistics*. By combination of both word-lists I have studied 298 lexical items, but some items have not been translated into Yaghnōbī and/or Sogdian due to cultural and/or historical reasons (e.g. there are presented terms such as *eggplant* or *mango* but I have not translated them because there was no need to search meaning of these words in Sogdian as they are non Central Asian origin, also there is no Yaghnōbī translation of such words because there is only a little possibility that the Yaghnōbīs will have to name such items, and if so, they will be referred to in Russian or less likely in Tajik), the only exception are words for *potatoes* and *tomatoes* – potatoes are planted nowadays in Yaghnōb and tomatoes can be bought on markets in centres adjacent to the Yaghnōb Valley (but these words come from Russian via their colloquial Tajik forms).

The items are aligned according to the Swadesh List, items of the *standard word-list* are usually ordered according to their semantic relations with the Swadesh List, in cases when the *standard word-list* items do not correspond to the Swadesh List I have kept their alignment as in the SIL publications (see BACKSTROM 1992, 273-284; HALLBERG 1992; DECKER 1992, 177-211). For better work with the vocabulary I have split individual words into 21 units which better group their common semantic values. Some of the words (mainly in case of Sogdian) were left untranslated as I have not found their meanings in Sogdian and/or Yaghnōbī (unfortunately I have not made the Yaghnōbī translations during my stays with the Yaghnōbīs). The numbers of individual lexical items respect their number on both lists: words of the Swadesh List are left unmarked, the *standard word-list* items are given in brackets.

The lexical items that have been borrowed into Yaghnōbī are marked in *italics* in the vocabulary, but words that appear similar both in Yaghnōbī and in Tajik (and where precise origin cannot be judged) are considered as inherited. Also some parts of a word can be in *italics* – I marked such way borrowed elements of compounds (e.g. Yagh. van*linká* 'spider' < Yagh. *van(n)* 'long' and borrowed *link* 'leg' + Yagh. suffix *-á*) or sounds that changed probably due to Tajik influence (e.g. Yagh. dín*d*ak 'tooth' – instead of the second *d* we should except *t* in Yaghnōbī).

The analysed lexicon is supplemented by etymologies of the translated items, etymology is given in cases when it was known to me. Many words were unfortunately left without their etymologies.

The analyzed word items are as follows, for comparison I have added their translations into modern literary Tajik (the Tajik forms are transliterated as if they were written in the Perso-Arabic script; *î* transliterates Tajik Cyrillic word-final *"stressed ī"* <ӣ>):

Pronouns

1. (202.) I *man*
2. (203.) thou *tu*
3. (205. & 206.) he, she *ӯ(i), vaị*
4. (207. & 208.) we *mō, (mōhố, mōyố́n)*
5. (209 & 204.) you *šumố, (šumōhố, šumōyố́n)*
6. (210.) they *ōnhố, vaịhố*

(171.) this *īn*
(172.) that *ōn*
(173.) these *īnhố*
(174.) those *ōnhố*

9. here *īnjŏ́(i)*
10. there *ōnjŏ́(i)*
11. (165.) who? *kĭ*
12. (166.) what? *čĭ*
13. (167.) where? *kujố*
14. (168.) when? *kaị*
15. how? *čĭ-xél, čĭ-ṭauṛ*

(169.) how many? *čand*
(170.) which? *kadố́m*

16. not *na*
17. (181.) all *hamá*
18. (180.) many *bisyố́r, ziyố́d, xélē*
19. some *yagố́n*
20. (179.) little / few *kam*
21. other *kam*

(176.) different *dīgár*

Numerals

22. (151.) one *yak*
23. (152.) two *du*
24. (153.) three *se*
25. (154.) four *č(ah)ố́r*
26. (155.) five *panj*

(156.) six *šaš*
(157.) seven *haft*
(158.) eight *hašt*
(159.) nine *nůh*
(160.) ten *dah*
(161.) eleven *yōzdáh*
(162.) twelve *duvōzdáh*
(163.) twenty *bīst*
(164.) (one) hundred *sad*

Adjectives (i)

27. (142.) big *kalố́n, buzúrg*
28. (134.) long *darố́z, baláṇd*
29. wide *farố́x, vaséʿ, pahn*
30. thick *γafs*
31. (144.) heavy *vaznín, sangín, garáng*
32. (143.) small *xurd, kŭ̄čík, maị́dá*
33. (135.) short *kŭ̄tóh, past*
34. narrow *tang*
35. thin *tunúk*

(145.) light *sabúk*

People

36. (103.) woman *zan*
37. (102.) man *mard*
38. human *ōdám, insố́n, nafár, šaxṣ*
39. (104.) child *kŭ̄dák, bač(č)á*
40. (114.) wife *zan*
41. (113.) husband *šauḥár*
42. (106.) mother *mōdár*
43. (105.) father *padár, pidár*

(107.) older brother *akố́, aká*
(108.) younger brother *dōdár*
(109.) older sister *ap(p)á*
(110.) younger sister *xᵛōhár*
(111.) son *pisár*
(112.) daughter *duxtár*
(115.) boy *bač(č)á, pisár*
(116.) girl *duxtár*

Animals

44. animal *ḥaị́vố́n, ǰōnvár*
45. (86.) fish *mōhí́*
46. bird *muṛγ, parrandá*

(87.) chicken *muṛγ, čŭ̄já*

47. (95.) dog *sag*

(89.) cow *gōw*
~~(90.) buffalo~~
(94.) goat *buz*
(97.) monkey *maị́mŭ́n*
48. louse *šipíš*
49. (96.) snake *mōr*
50. worm *kirm*

(98.) mosquito / fly *paššá / magás*

(99.) ant *mū̄rčák*
(100.) spider *tōrtanák*

Plants

51. (61.) tree *daráxt*
52. forest *ǰangál, bēšá*
53. stick *čū̄b*
54. (66.) fruit *mēvá*
55. seed *dōná, tuxm*
56. (62.) leaf *barg*
57. (63.) root *rēšá*
58. bark *pū̄st-i daráxt*
(64.) thorn *xōr*
59. (65.) flower *gul*
~~(67.) mango~~
~~(68.) banana~~
(69.) wheat *gandúm*
(70.) barley *ǰaų̱*
(71.) rice *birínǰ*
(72.) potato *kartóška*
~~(73.) eggplant~~
~~(74.) groundnut~~
(75.) chilli / pepper *murč*
~~(76.) tumeric~~
(77.) garlic *sīr*
(78.) onion *piyóz*
~~(79.) cauliflower~~
(80.) tomato *pomidór*
(81.) cabbage *karám*
60. grass *ʿalaf, sabzá*
61. (36.) rope *arɣamčín*

Body parts

62. (84.) skin *pū̄st, čarm*
63. (84.) meat *gū̄št*
64. (22.) blood *xūn*
65. (20.) bone *ustux^{v}ón*
66. (85.) fat *čarb*
(82.) oil *rauɣán*
(91.) milk *šēr*
67. (88.) egg *tuxm*
68. (92.) horn *šōx*
69. (93.) tail *dūm*
70. feather *par*
71. (3.) hair *mū̄(i)*
72. (2.) head *sar, kallá*
(4.) face *čehr*
73. (6.) ear *gū̄š*
74. (5.) eye *čašm*
75. (7.) nose *bīnī́*
76. (8.) mouth *dahón*
77. (9.) teeth *dandón*
78. (10.) tongue *zabón*
79. (17.) fingernail *nōxún*
80. foot *pō(i)*
81. (18.) leg *ling*
82. knee *zōnú*
83. armband *dast*
(14.) elbow *ōrn̆ínǰ*
(15.) palm *panǰá*
(16.) finger *angúšt*
84. wing *bōl, qanót*
(1.) body *badan, tan*
85. (12.) belly *šikám, iškám*
86. guts *rū̄dá*
87. neck *gardán*
88. back *pušt*
89. (11.) breast *sīná*
90. (21.) heart *dil, qalb*
91. liver *ǰigár*
(23.) urine *pēšób, mēzá*
(24.) feces *gůh*

Verbs

92. (185.) to drink *nū̄šīdán : nū̄š-*
93. (182.) to eat *x^{v}ůrdán : x^{v}ůr-*
94. (183.) to bite *gazīdán : gaz-*
95. to suck *makīdán : mak-*
96. to spit *tuf kardán*
97. to vomit *qaį kardán*
98. to blow *puf kardán, vazīdán : vaz-*
99. to breathe *nafás kašīdán*
100. to laugh *xandīdán : xand-*
101. (201.) to look / to see *dīdán : bīn-*
102. (200.) to hear / to listen *šunīdán : šunav-/šunaų̱-*
103. to know *dōnistán : dōn-*
104. to think *andēšīdán : andēš-, fikr kardán*
105. to smell *bū̄(i) kardán*
106. to fear *tarsīdán- : tars-*
107. (187.) to sleep *x^{v}uftán/x^{v}ōbīdán : x^{v}ōb-*
108. to live *zīstan : ziy-, zindagī́ kardán*
109. (192.) to die *murdán : mir-*
110. (193.) to kill *kuštán : kuš-*
111. to fight *ǰangīdán : ǰang-, ǰang kardán*
112. to hunt *šikór kardán*
113. to hit *zadán : zan-*
114. to cut *burrīdán : burr-*

115. to split *šikōftán : šikōf-*
116. to stab *kōrd zadán*
117. to scratch *xanǰól kardán, xarōšīdán : xarōš-*
118. to dig *kandán : kan-, kōftán : kōv-/kōw-*
119. to swim *šinó kardán*
120. (194.) to fly *parrīdán : parr-*
121. (195.) to walk *gaštán : gard-, rōh raftán*
122. (198.) to come *ōmadán : ōy-/ō(ī)-*
(196.) to run *davīdán : dav-/daų̄-*
(197.) to go *raftán : rav-/raų̄-*
123. (188.) to lie (down) *xᵛuftán/xᵛōbīdán : xᵛōb-, daróz kašīdán*
124. (189.) to sit *nišastán : nišīn-, šištán : šīn-*
125. to stand *ǐstōdán : ǐst-*
126. to turn *čarxīdán : čarx-, gardōn(ī)dán : gardōn-*
127. to fall *aftōdán : aft-*
128. (190.) to give *dōdán : dih-/deh-*
129. to hold *giriftán : gīr-, dōštán : dōr-*
130. to squeeze *fišór kardán*
131. to rub *mōlīdán : mōl-*
132. to wash *šustán : šǖy-/šǖ(ī)-*
133. to wipe *pōk kardán*
134. to pull *kašīdán : kaš-*
135. to push *tēlá dōdán*
136. to throw *partōftán : partōv-/partōw-, andōxtán : andōz-*
137. to tie *bastan- : band-*
138. to sew *dǖxtán : dǖz-*
139. to count *šumurdán : šumōr-*
140. to say / to speak *guftán : gǖy-/gǖ(ī)-*
141. to sing *surūdán : sarōy-/sarō(ī)-, xᵛōndán : xᵛōn-*
142. to play *bōxtán : bōz-, bōzí kardán*
143. to float *šinōvár šudán*
144. to flow *ravón šudán*
145. to freeze *yax kardán*
146. to swell *ōmōsīdán : ōmōs-*
(184.) to be hungry *gurusná būdán*
(186.) to be thirsty *tašná būdán*

Celestial objects

147. (41.) sun *xᵛuršéd, ōftób*
148. (42.) moon *mōh(tób)*
149. (44.) star *sitōrá*

Nature (i)

150. (46.) water *ób*
151. (45.) rain *bōrón*
152. (47.) river *daryó, rǖdxōná*
153. lake *kǖl*
154. sea *daryó, baḥr*
155. (83.) salt *namák*
156. (52.) stone *sang*
157. (54.) sand *rēg, qum*
158. (59.) dust *čang, xōk*
159. earth *zamín*
(58.) mud *lōy*

Weather

160. (48.) cloud *abr*
161. fog *tūmán*
162. (43.) sky *ōsmón*
163. (51.) wind *bód, šamól*
164. snow *barf*
165. ice *yax*
(49.) lightning *barq, ōtašák*
(50.) rainbow *kamón-i Ḥasán-u Ḥusáįn*

Fire

166. (56.) smoke *dūd*
167. (55.) fire *ōtáš, ōzą́r, alów, ōláw, aláw*
168. (57.) ash *xōkistár*
169. (191.) to burn *sǖxtán : sǖz-*
(29.) firewood *hēzúm*

Settlement

170. (53.) road / path *rōh*
(25.) village *deh(á), qišlóq, rūstó*
(26.) house *xōná*
(27.) roof *bōm*
(28.) door *dar*

Tools

(30.) broom *ǰōrǖb*
(31.) butter churn *guppí*
(32.) pestle *čaxčǖb*
(33.) hammer *bōlɣá*
(34.) knife *kōrd*
(35.) axe *tabár*
(37.) thread *tōr*
(38.) needle *sǖzán*
(39.) cloth *lattá*
(40.) ring *anguštarín, anguštpōná*

Nature (ii)

171. mountain *kǖh*
(60.) gold *ţillóq, zar(r)*

Colours

172. (150.) red *surx*
173. green *sabz*
174. yellow *zard*
175. (148.) white *safěd*

176. (149.) black *siyőh*

Time

177. (118.) night *šab*
178. (117.) day *rūz*
(119.) morning *ṣubḥ, saḥár*
(120.) noon *nīmrūz*
(121.) evening / afternoon *bēgőh, bēgōhī́*
(122.) yesterday *dirūz*
(123.) today *imrūz*
(124.) tomorrow *pagőh*
(125.) week *haftá*
(126.) month *mōh*
179. (127.) year *sōl*

Adjectives (ii)

180. (136.) hot *garm*
181. (137.) cold *sard, xunúk*
182. full *pur(r)*
183. (129.) new *nauɣ*
184. (128.) old *qadī́m, qadīmá, kůhná; pīr*
185. (130.) good *xūb, naγz*
186. (131.) bad *bad, gandá*
187. rotten *pūsīdá*
188. dirty *čirkī́n, iflős*
189. straight *rōst*
190. round *gird*
191. sharp *tēz*
192. dull *kund*
193. smooth *suftá*
194. (132.) wet *tar*
195. (133.) dry *xušk, qōq*
196. correct *durúst*
197. (140.) near *nazdī́k*
198. (141.) far *dūr*
199. (127.) right *rōst*
200. (139.) left *čap*
(175.) whole *tamőm, purrá*
(178.) broken *šikastá, šikastagī́*

Adpositions

201. at *ba*
202. in *(an)dár*
(146.) above *bōlő, sar*
(147.) below *pōyőn, tag*
203. with *bō, kátî, qátî*

Conjunctions

204. and *va, -(y/v)u*
205. if *agár*
206. because *zḗrō, čűn-ki*

Name

207. name *nōm, ism*

Swadesh List and *standard word-list* with Yaghnōbī and Sogdian translation and with etymological notes:

III.1. Pronouns

1. (202.) I

man (arch. az*)* : man *(occ.* máni*)* ❖ S B M ʾ*zw* C *zw* : obl. S B *mn*ʾ /(ə)zú : mənā́/

< **adzám*; Ave. *azəm*, Khōt. *aysu*, *a(ysä)*, Tumshuq. *asu*, *azu*, Oss. *æz*, Shugh. *(w)uz*, Rōsh. *az*, Khūf. Rāshrv. Bart. *āz*, Sarīq. *waz*, Yazgh. *az*, Ishk. *az(i)*, Sangl. *azə*, *azi*, Wakh. *wuz*, Munj. *za*, Yidgh. *zo*, *zə*, Pasht. *zə*, Waṇ. *ze*, OPers. *adam*, Pers. man, Hazār. ma, Kurd. *ez*, Ved. *ahám*, Ide. **h₁eĝh₂óm*, Gre. *ἐγώ*, Lat. *egō*, OCS. *azъ*, OCze. *já(z)*, ORus. я(зъ), Lith. *àš*, OScand. *ek*, Ger. *ich*

(cf. formally similar but etymologically unrelated Uzb. *mən*, colloq. *mán*, Chaghat. *mən*, Uygh. *män*, Kyrg. *men*, Tü. **bən*, **mən*, Eynu. *män*)

2. (203.) thou

tu : taų *(occ.* táwi*)* ❖ S B *tγw* Mg M *t(γ)w* C *ṯ(γ)w* : obl. *tw*ʾ /t(ʾγ)ú : təwá/

< *tuų́am*; Ave. *tū*, Oss. *dы*, Shugh. Rōsh. Khūf. Rāshrv. *tu*, Bart. *tū*, Sarīq. *tɛw*, Yazgh. *tow*, Ishk. *tъ*, Sangl. *tōw*, Wakh. *tu*, Munj. *tu*, Yidgh. *tu*, *tə*, Pasht. *tə*, Pers. *tō* > *tŭ*, Hazār.

Kurd. *tu*, Ved. *tvam*, Ide. **tuʜ*, Gre. *σύ*, Lat. *tu*, OCS. *ty*, Lith. *tù*, OScand. OEng. *þū*, Eng. *thou*, Ger. *du*

3. (205. & 206.) **he, she**

ax : áwi ❖ B *(ʾ)ɣw* : *ʾw* M *xw(w)* : *(ʾ)ww* C *xw* : *ʾw*, *w-* /(ə)xú : (ə)wú, ō/

Ir. **(a)haų̯* : **aų̯am*, Bactr. *ω* /ō/

4. (207. & 208.) **we** *(inclusive & exclusive)*

mōx ❖ S B *mʾɣ(h)*, *mʾɣ(w)* M C *mʾx* /māx(ʷ)/

< **ĭmā́xu* < **ahmā́xam* < Ir. **ahmā́kam*, Bactr. *(α)μαχο* /(ə)māx/ Oss. *max*, Shugh. Rōsh. K̲ūf. Bart. Rāshrv. *māš*, Sarīq. *maš*, Yazgh. *mox*, Munj. *mōx*, Yidgh. *mă̆x*, *mŏ̆x*, Ishk. *mьx(o)*, Sangl. *amax*, *amәx*, Pasht. *mū(n)ġ*, Waṇ. *moš*, Ōrm. *mâx*, OPers. *a(h)māxam*, Pers. *mā*, Hazār. *mū̄*; IIr. **asmā́kam*

5. (209 & 204.) **you** *(pl. & honorific)*

šᵘmṓx ❖ S B *(ʾ)šmʾɣw*, *ʾšmʾɣh* M *ʾšmʾx(w)*, *šmʾx* C *šmʾx* /ⁱšmā́x(ʷ)/

< **ʸŭšmā́xu* < **i̯ušmā́xam*; Ave. yūžəm, Oset. *ъымax* ‖ *sumax*, Pers. *šumā́*, *ašmā́*, Tjk. *šumṓ*, Fārs. AfghP. *šomā̄́*, Hazār. *šimū̄́*

6. (210.) **they**

áxtit : áų̯titi ❖ B S *ɣh*, *ɣh* M C *xʾ* /ᵊxā́/

< **ahaų̯*; Yagh. *ax : aų̯-* + *pronominal pl. ending -tit(i)*

(171.) **this**

❖ B M *yw :* S *(ʾ)mw* M *mw* /yu : ᵊmú/

< **i̯i̯am*, **ai̯am* : **imam*; OPers. *iyam : imam*

iš : it ❖ S B *(ʾ)šw* : *ʾtw* /ⁱšú : ⁱtú/,

< **ai̯šam* : **ai̯tam*; Ave. *aēša-* : *aēta-*; Bactr. *(ε)ιδο* /īd/, OPers. *ai̯ta-* (obl.)

īd ❖ S B M *ʾyð* /ēð/

< *ai̯ta-* (obl.); Bactr. *(ε)ιδο* /īd/

(172.) **that**

ax : áwi ❖ B *(ʾ)ɣw* : *ʾw* M *xw(w)* : *(ʾ)ww* C *xw* : *ʾw*, *w-* /(ə)xú : (ə)wú, ō/

< **(a)haų̯* : **aų̯am*; Bactr. *ω* /ō/

aų̯ ❖ B *ʾw* M *(ʾ)ww* C *ʾw* /ō/

< **aų̯a-* (obl.); Bactr. *ω* /ō/

(173.) **these**

❖ M *yw* /yu/

< **i̯i̯a-*, **ai̯a-* : **ima-*

íštit (: ítiti) ❖ /ⁱšā : ⁱtā́/

< **ai̯ša-* : **ai̯ta-*; Yagh. *iš : it-* + *pronominal pl. ending -tit(i)*

(174.) **those**

áxtit : áų̯titi ❖ B S *ɣh*, *ɣh* M C *xʾ* /ᵊxā́/

**(a)haų̯* : **aų̯a-*; Yagh. *ax : aų̯-* + *pronominal pl. ending -tit(i)*

9. **here**

másṯar ❖ B *mrtsˀr* C *mcˀ*, *msˀ* /márṫsaṙ/

< **ĭmárϑă-sār-* < **imáϑra-ʇār-*

10. **there**

wásṯár ❖ S *ˀw(r)tsˀr* B *ˀwrtsˀr* M *ˀwtsˀr* C *ˀwcˀ*, *ˀwsˀ* /ő́ṙtsaṙ/

< **ău̯árϑă-sār-* < **au̯áϑra-ʇār-*, cf. Tjk. ustár

11. (165.) **who?**

kax (: káyi̯, káxtit : káytiti), -k ❖ S B *(ˀ)ky*, *kyˀ* M *ky(ˀ)*, *qy(ˀ)* C *qy(ˀ) :* Mg *kyˀ* /ᵊkḗ : kyā/

< **káh(i̯ā)-*[265]; Ave. *kō*, Khōt. *kye*, *kyi*, Oss. *či* ‖ *ka*, Wakh. *kūy*, Shugh. Rōsh. Khūf. *čāy*, Bart. *čī*, Rāshrv. *či*, Sarīq. *čoy*, Ishk. *kůy*, Sangl. *kō(y)*, Pers. *kī*, Kurd. *ki*, Balōch. *kē*, *kai̯*; Ved. *kásya-*, OCS. *kъto*

12. (166.) **what?**

čō : čōi̯ ❖ S B *(ˀ)cw* M C *cw* /ᵊčṓ/; B *cˀ* /čā/ ‘ellative prefix’

< **či-āka-*; Ave. *čit*, Oss. *сы* ‖ *ci*, Bactr. *σι* /ci/, Khōt. *cu*, Khwār. *ciya*, Pasht. *cōk*, *ca*, Shugh. *ca*, cf. TVarz. *čo* (only with verb *kardán*), OPers. *čiy*, Pers. *čī*, Kurd. *çi*, Balōch. *či*; Ved. *cid*, Lat. *quid*, Gre. *τι*

13. (167.) **where?**

kū ❖ S *(ˀ)kw* B *ˀkw*, *kˀw* M *k(ˀ)w* /ᵊk(ʷ)ū/

Ave. gen. *kū*; Pers. *kŭ*, *kuǰā́*, cf. TVarz. *gŭǰó*; Gre. *ποῦ*

14. (168.) **when?**

kad ❖ S B *kð(ˀ)* M *kð* C *qd* /kað, kəðá/

Ave. *kaða-*; Bactr. *καδο* /kad/, Oss. *kæd*, Pasht. *kəla*, Pers. *kai̯*; Ved. *kadá-*

-(ⁱ)k *(encl.)* ❖

cf. Pers. ki

15. **how?**

čŭ́t(t)i ❖ S *ˀcwty* B *(ˀ)cwty* M *cwty* C *cwṯy* /ᵊčŭ́tĭ́/

< Ir. **čahi̯a-uti-*; Bactr. *σιδο*, *σιδι* M *ˀcyd* /ᵊčĭ́d/

(169.) **how many?**

čōf ❖ S B *cˀβ* M C *cˀf* /čāf/

čandī́n, *čandṓn* ❖ M *cndn* /čaṁdan/

cf. Pers. *čandī́n*, *čandā́n*, Ave. *č(a)uuant*, *čuuaṯ*

(170.) **which?**

kōm (: kṓmi, kṓmtit : kṓmtiti) ❖

< **kāma-*; Khōt. *kāma-*, Wakh. Pasht. *kum*

kadṓm ❖ B *ktˀ(ˀ)m* M *ktˀm*, *kðˀm* C *qdˀm* /kədā́m/

< **katā́ma*; Ave. *katāma-*, Bactr. *καδαμο* /kadām/, Ishk. *kъdъm*; Pers. *kaďā́m*, TMast. *kŭdū́m*

[265] Yaghnōbī *kax* is form **káh(i̯ā)-* ‘who’ + *ax* ‘*personal pronoun of the third person singular / demonstrative pronoun of far (< III.) deixis*’.

kī, -k (encl.) ❖

< Pers. *kī*; cf. Gre. *τι*(ς)

16. **not**

na(ɛ̯), ná(ɛ̯)a, na^{h}, nɛ̄ ‖ naḭ, nĕ ❖ S *n*ʾ*y* M C *ny* /nĕ/

< **na*; Bactr. *να*, Oss. I *næ*, Pers. *na*, Tjk. colloq. *na*, *na(ɛ̯)á*, *nĕ*, *nĕ(ɛ̯)ĕ́*, Kurd. *na*

17. (181.) **all**

hám(m)á ❖

< Pers. *hamá*, TVarz. *hámma*, *hamá*, Uzb. *hámmà*. Qāraqalp. *häma*

b^{u}tű́n ❖

< Uzb., Tjk. *butű́n*, TMast. *b^{u}tű́n*, *pütű́m*, Sarīq. *рытын́*

❖ S B *wysp-y* / *wysp-h*, *wysp-*ʾ M C *wysp-y*, *wysp-*ʾ /wispí, wispá/

< **u̯itʂu̯a-*; Ave. *vispa-*, OPers. **visa-*, Med. **vispa-*

18. (180.) **many**

bis(^{i}*)yő́r* ❖

< Pers. *bisyā́r*, Shugh. *bisyōr*, Wakh. *bəsyor*, Uzb. *bisyår*, Eynu. *bisyar*

z^{i}yő́t, *z^{i}yő́d* ❖

< Ar., Pers. *ziyā́d*, Hazār. *ziyőt*, *ziyát*, Shugh. *ziyōt*, Pasht. *ziyā́t*, Urd. *zyādā*

xɛ́́lē ❖

< Pers. *xáḭlē*, Tjk. AfghP. *xɛ́́lē*, Fārs. *xéḭlī*, Sarīq. *xɛyli*

*ɣ*albalá ❖ S B *ɣrβ* M C *ɣrf* /*ɣaṙf*/

< **ɣáṙfu* < **fárɣu* < **fáruwu* < **faru̯am*; OPers. *paruvam*, cf. Wakh. *ɣafč*, Parāch. *ɣalaba*

ĭpő́rá *(arch.)* ❖ S B *ʾyw pʾrʾyk* M *ʾy pʾryk* /ī-pā́rĕ(k)/

cf. Sogd. C *pʾr* /pār/ ‘unit of liquid volume *(120 galons)*’

19. **some**

čōf ❖ S B *cʾβ* M C *cʾf* /čāf/

čandĭ́n, *čandő́n* ❖ M *cndn* /čaṁdan/

cf. Pers. *čandĭ́n*, *čandā́n*, Ave. *č(a)uuant*, *čuuaṯ*

20. (179.) **little / few**

kávⁱn *(arch.)*, *kam* ❖ B M *kβn-y* C *qbn-y* /kaβní/,

< **kábna-*; Oss. *k^{w}ынæg* ‖ *kunæg*, Pers. *kam* < **kamna-(ka-)*; Wakh. *kam*; Uzb. *kàm*, Kyrg. *kem*, Tr. *kem*, Urd. *kam*, NMong. *гам*

21. **other**

áni ❖ S *ʾnyʾ*, *ʾnyh*, *(ʾ)nyw* B *ʾnyʾ*, *ʾnyh*, *ʾnyw* M C *(ʾ)nyw* /(ə)nyā̆́, (ə)nyú/

< **áṇia-*, Ave. *aⁱniia-*, Khwār. *ʾny* /ĩnī/, Bactr. *(α)νιγο*, *ανιιο*, *ανιυο*, Khōt. *aña-*, Oss. *innæ*, *annæ*, Ishk. *an*, Wakh. Sarīq. *yan*, Pahl. Parth. *ʾny*, OPers. *aniya-*, Kurd. *henî*; Ved. *anya-*, Pālī *añña*

(176.) **different**

áni ❖ S *ʾnyʾ*, *ʾnyh*, *(ʾ)nyw* B *ʾnyʾ*, *ʾnyh*, *ʾnyw* M C *(ʾ)nyw* /(ə)nyə̆̄, (ə)nyú/

< **áṇi̯a-*, Ave. *aⁱniia-*, Khwār. *ʾny* /ĭnī/, Bactr. *(α)νιγο*, *ανιιο*, *ανιυο*, Khōt. *añа-*, Oss. *innæ*, *annæ*, Ishk. *an*, Wakh. Sarīq. *yan*, Pahl. Parth. *ʾny*, OPers. *aniya-*, Kurd. *henî*; Ved. *anya-*, Pālī *aññа*

dĭ̄gá(r) ❖

< Pers. *dīgár*, Tjk. colloq. *dĭ̄gá*, TMast. *digá*, *diyá*, TVarz. *digá*, *digí*, cf. Fārs. *dīĝā́r*, colloq. *dīĝé*, Hazār. *digá*, Ishk. *digar*, Wakh. *digār*, Uzb. *digár*, Tr. *diğer*

III.2. Numerals

22. (151.) one

ī ❖ B *ʾyw(h)* M *ʿyw* C *yw*, *ẏw* Br *yau* (m) *:* Mg *ʾywh* (f) /ʸĕ̯u̯ : ʸĕwă/

< **ái̯u̯a-*; Ave. *aēuuō*, Khwār. *ʾyw* /ēw/, Oss. *iu̯* ‖ *yeu̯*, Khōt. *śśa(u)*, Bactr. *ιωγο* M *ywg* /yōg/, Pasht. *yaw (f. yawá)*, Munj. Yidgh. *yū*, Shugh. Rōsh. Bart. Rāshrv. *yīw*, *yi*, Sarīq. *i(w)*, Wakh. *(y)ī(w)*, Yazgh. *wůg*, Ishk. *ůk*, Sangl. *wok*, Pers. *yak*, Tjk. *yak*, colloq. *ya(g)*, Fārs. *yek̄*, colloq. *ye(i̯)*, Kābulī *yak*, *yag*, OPers. *aiva-*, Pahl. *ʾywʾk* /ēwak/ M *yk* /yak/, Parth. *ʿyw* /ēw/, Kurd. *yek*; Ved. *éka*; Eynu. *yäk*, Kyrg. (Southern dial.) *yäk*

23. (152.) two

dŭ̆ⁱ ❖ S *ðw(ʾ)*, B M *ðw(ʾ)*, *ðw* C *dw(ʾ)* (m) *:* S Mg M *ðwy* C *dwy* (f) /ᵊðŭ, ᵊðwə̆̄ : ᵊðwí/

< **d(u)u̯a-*; Ave. *duua-*, Khwār. *ðẙw* /aðwi/, Bactr. *λοο*, *λο(ο)ι* /lu/, Khōt. *d(u)va-*, *dvi*, Oss. *dыwwæ* ‖ *duw(w)æ*, Shugh. *ðiyū̆n*, *ðu*, Bajū. *ðuyū̆n*, *ðō*, Rōsh. Bart. Rāshrv. *ðaw*, Khūf. *ðaw(yōn)*, Sarīq. *ðɛw*, *ða*, Wakh. *bu(y)*, Yazgh. *ðow*, Ishk. *dь(w)*, Sangl. *daw*, *dow*, Munj. *lu*, Yidgh. *lo*^{b}, Pasht. *dwa (f. dwē)*, Pers. *dō* > *dŭ̆*, Tjk. *du*, TMast. *dü*, *du*, Tjk. dial. *dů*, dial. Takfōn (arch.) *gyau*, AfghP. *dū*, *dū̆*, Fārs. *do*, Pahl. *dō*, Kurd. *du*, Balōch. *dō*, Ved. *d$_{u}$vā(u)-*, Lit. *dù*, Pruss. *duai*, OCS. *dva*, *dvě*, Gre. *δύο*, MGre. *δυ̯ο*, Lat. *duo*, Gót. *twai*; Eynu. *du*

24. (153.) three

ş̧aráy, ş̧ⁱráy ‖ ţⁱráy ❖ S *ðry* Mg *ðryw* B *(ʾ)ðry* M *ðry(y)* C *šy* /ᵊšai̯/

< **θrăĭ̯a-*; Ave. *θrāiiō*; Khwār. *šy* /šē/, Bactr. *υαęηιο* /hərēy/, Khōt. *drai*, Tumshuq. *dre*, Oss. *ærtæ*, Shugh. *aray*, Rōsh. Bart. Rāshrv. *arāy*, Sarīq. *aroy*, Ishk. *růy*, Sangl. *rōy*, Yazgh. *cůy*, Wakh. *trū(y)*, Yidgh. *x̌ⁱray*, *x̌uroy*, Munj. *x̌iray*, Pasht. *drē*, Waṇ. *dre*, Ōrm. *ş̧ō̆*, *ř̆ī*, Parāch. *šī*, *šu*, Tjk. dial. Takfōn (arch.) *тирau*, Pers. *sē*, *sih* > *se*, Tjk. AfghP. Fārs. *se*, Kurd. *sê*; Eynu. *si(h)*

25. (154.) four

ţafó̆r ‖ ţᵘfó̆r, ţⁱfó̆r ❖ S B *ctβʾr* M *ctfʾr* C *cţfʾr*, *štfʾr* /čᵊtfă̆r/

< **čaθu̯ă̆r-*; Ave. *čaθuuă̆r-*, *čaθβārō*, Khwār. *cfʾr* /cafār/, Bactr. *σοφαęο* /cufă̆r/, Khōt. *tcūra-*, *tcohora-*, *tcahora-*, Oss. *cыppar* ‖ *cuppar*, Shugh. Bajū. *cavōr*, *cavū̆r*, Rōsh. *cavū̆r*, Bart. Rāshrv. *cavō*r, Sarīq. *cavur*, Wakh. *cəbыr*, *cыbыr*, Yazgh. *čer*, Ishk. *cьfur*, Sangl. *cəfūr*, Munj. *čfir* / *č(ⁱ)fūr*, Yidgh. *čšir*, Pasht. *calór*, Tjk. dial. Takfōn (arch.) *тифор*; Pers. *čahár*,

Tjk. *čōr* (lit. *čahōr*), Fārs. *čāhār̄*, colloq. *čār*, AfghP. *č(ah)ār̄*, Pahl. *chʾl* M *chʾl* /čahār/, Parth. /čafār/, Kurd. *çar*, Ved. *catvāras*, Hind. *cār*; Eynu. *čar*

26. (155.) five

panč ❖ S B C *pnc* M *pnc*, *pnž*, *pnǰ*◌̆ /paṅǰ/

< **pánča-*; Ave. panča-, Khwār. *pnc* /panʒ/, Bactr. πανζο /panʒ/, Khōt. *paṃjsa*, Oss. *fonʒ*, Shugh. Rōsh. Bart. Rāshrv. *pīnʒ*, Sarīq. *pinʒ*, Wakh. *pānʒ*, Yazgh. *penǰ*, Ishk. *půnʒ*, Sangl. *pōnz*, *pōnʒ*, Munj. *pōnč*, *pōnǰ*, Yidgh. *pānš*, Pasht. *pinʒə́*; Tjk. dial. Takfōn (arch.) *поңдж*; Pers. *panǰ*, Kurd. *pênc*, Ir. *panča-, Ved. *pañca*; Eynu. *pänǰ(ä)*

(156.) six

uxš ❖ S *wxwšw*, *wɣwšw*, *ʾɣwšw* B *wɣwšw*, *ʾɣwšw* C *xwšw* /ʷəxšú, ᵊxʷəšú/

< **xúšu* < **xᵘášu* < **(x)šu̯ášam*; Ave. *xšuuaš-*, Khwār. /uxˉ, uxs-/, Khōt. *kṣä(tä')*, Oss. *æxsæz*, Shugh. *xōɣ̌*, Bajū. Rōsh. Khūf. *xů̄w*, Bart. Rāshrv. *xō̆w*, Sarīq. *xel*, Wakh. *šād* / *šāð*, Yazgh. *x̌u(w)*, Ishk. *xų̊l̨*, Sangl. *xāl̨*, Munj. *ōxša*, Yidgh. *uxšo*, Pasht. *špaǵ*, Pers. *šaš*, Tjk. *šaš*, colloq. *šiš*, TMast. *šaš*, *šiš*, *šaị*, Fārs. *šäš*, colloq. *šiš*, *šeš*, Kurd. *şeş*, Ide. **s(u̯)éḱs*, Ved. *ṣaṣ*; Eynu. *šäš*

(157.) seven

avd̨ / aft ❖ S B *ʾβt-ʾ*, *ʾβt-h* M *ʾβt-ʾ*, *(ʾ)bt-ʾ* Br *aw ta* /(ə)βdá/

< **haftą-*; Ave. *hapta-*, Sarm. αϐδ(α)-, Khwār. *ʾβd* /aβd/, Bactr. ηϐο◌̆ /ēβ/, Khōt. *haudo*, Oss. *avd*, Shugh. Rāshrv. *(w)ūvd*, Rōsh. Bajū. *wūvd*, Bart. *ūvd*, Sarīq. *ыvd* Yazgh. *uvd*, Ishk. *ůvd*, Sangl. *ōvd*, Wakh. *ыb*, Munj. *ōvdá*, Yidgh. *ávdo*, Pasht. *ōwə́*, Pers. *haft*, Tjk. colloq. *haf*, TMast. *haf(t)*, Kurd. *heft*, Ved. *saptá-*; Eynu. *häp(t)*; cf. Bactr. ηϐοδαλο /ēβ(u)dal/, 'Hephthalite'

(158.) eight

ašt ❖ S *ʾšt(ʾ)*, *ʾšth* B *ʾšt(ʾ)* M *ʿšt* C *šṯʾ* /ašt, (ə)štá/

< **ášta-*; Ave. *ašta-*, Khwār. *ʾšt*, Bactr. ατασο /ata/, Khōt. *haṣṭa*, Oss. *ast*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *waxt*, Sarīq. *woxt*, Yazgh. *uxt*, Wakh. *at*, Ishk. *ot*, Sangl. *ōt*, Munj. *ōšḱá*, Yidgh. *áščo*, Pasht. *atə́*, Pers. *hašt*, Tjk. colloq. *haš*, TMast. *haš(t)*, Kurd. *heşt*; Ved. *aṣṭá(u)*; Eynu. *häš(t)*

(159.) nine

nau̯ ❖ S *nw*, *nwʾ* B *nwh*, *nwʾ* C *nwʾ* /nau̯, nō, n(ə)wá/,

< **nau̯a-*; Ave. *nauua-*, Sughn. *nōw*, Rōsh. Bart. Rāshrv. *nāw*, Sarīq. *new*, Wakh. *nāw*, Yazgh. *nu(w)*, Ishk, *naw*, *nu*, Sangl. *nōw*, Munj. *naw*, Yidgh. *now*, Pasht. *nə*, Khōt. *nau*, Pers. *nu(h)* < *nō*, Tjk. *nůh*, TMast. *nü*, *nu*, TFalgh. *nu*, TVarz. *nuh*, *nůh*, AfghP. *noh*, colloq. *nů̄*, Fārs. *noh*, Pahl. *naum*, Kurd. *ne*, Ved. *náva*; Gre. *ἐννέα*, Armen. *inn*; Eynu. *noh*

(160.) ten

das ❖ S B *ðs(ʾ)*, *ðsh* M *ðs(ʾ)* C *dsʾ* /ðəs(á)/

< **dáśą-*; Ave. *dasa-*, Khwār. *ðў̆s*, Bactr. λασο /las/, Khōt. *dasau*, Oss. *dæs*, Shugh. *ðīs*, Rōsh. *ðos*, Bart. Rāshrv. *ðus*, Sarīq. *ðes*, Wakh. *ðas*, Yazgh. *ðůs*, Sangl. *dōs*, Yidgh. *los*, Pasht.

Waṇ. *las*, Parāch. *dös*, Pers. *dah*, TMast. TFalgh. *da*, TVarz. *da(h)*, Pahl. *dah*, OPers. **daϑa-*, Kurd. *deh*, Ved. *dáśa*; Gre. δέκα, Armen. *tʻasn*, OCS. *desętь*, Lat. *decem*, Goth. *táihun*; Hung. *tíz* < Scyth.?; Eynu. *dah*, *däh*

(161.) **eleven**

yőzdáʰ ❖ C *ywnṯs(nw)*, *ywṯsnw* /yőṁʒ(nu)/

< **aiu̯a(n)-daꜱą-(anām-)*; Ave. *aēuuandasa-*, Pers. *yāzdáh*, TMast. *yo(n)zdá*, *yūnzdá*, Fārs. colloq. *yā̊zä́*. Kurd. *yanzdeh*

(162.) **twelve**

dᵘwőzdáʰ ❖ M ϑwʾts C *dwʾṯs* /ϑwāꜱ/

< **duu̯ā-daꜱą-*; Ave. *duuadasa-*, Pasht. *dwólas*, Pers. *duvāzdáh*, Fārs. *dävā̊zdä́h*, colloq. *dävā̊zä́*, TMast. *dŭvo(n)zdá*, *dŭvūnzdá*

(163.) **twenty**

bĭst ❖ C *wyst* /wĭ́st/

< **u̯ĭ̆ꜱatī* < **u̯inꜱati*; Ave. *vīsaⁱti-*, Khwār. *ʾwsўc* /əws(e)ʒ, ūs(e)ʒ/, Bactr. ΟΙΣΤΟ /wĭst/, Khōt. *bistä*, Oss. *(ы)ssæʒ* ‖ *insæy*, Sarm. *ʾΙνσάζ[αγος]*, Wakh. *wīst*, Yazgh. *wast*, Sarīq. *vist*, Sangl. *wišt*, Yidgh. *wisto*, Pers. *bīst*, Tjk. *bĭst*, Pahl. *vīst*, Kurd. *bîst*, Balōch. *gīst*; Ved. *viṃśatí*, *viñśatí*, Armen. *kʻsan*, Gre. εἴκοσι; Eynu. *bist*

(164.) **(one) hundred**

(yak)sád ❖ C *sṯ-w* /sətú/,

< **ꜱatam-*; Ave. *satəm-*, Khwār. *sўd*, Bactr. ΣΑΔΟ /sad/, Oss. *sædæ*, Sarīq. *sad*, Pers. *(yak)ṣad*, OPers. *ϑata*◌; Ved. *śatám*, Ide. **(h₁)ḱm̥tóm*, **dḱm̥tóm*, Lat. *centum*, Gre. ἑκατόν, OCS. *sъto*; Cr.Goth. *sada*; BukhAr. *sât*, Eynu. *säd*

III.3. Adjectives (i)

27. (142.) **big**

kátta ❖

< Uzb. *kättä*, Uygh. *katta*, Kyrg. *kette*, Tatar. *kättä*, Qašq. *kätä*, Bašk. *kəttə*, Chŭvash *kačča*, TMast. TVarz. *kattá*, AfghP. *kattá*, Hazār. *kaṭá*, Shugh. Rōsh. *katta*, *katanak* < IAr. *kattā-* ???; cf. Gre. Κατάνης, name of Bactrian nobleman (4th century BC), the word can be of Bactrian origin and in tan explain etymology of Tjk. *kalőn*

kalőn (occ.) ❖

< Tjk. *kalőn*, TMast. *kŭlűn*, Parth. M *kalān* < Bactr. ???

bᵘzúrĝ ❖ B *wzʾrk* /wəzárk/ M *wzrg* /wəzárg/

< Pers. *buzúrg*, Pahl. *wcwlg* /waʒurg, waʒarg/, OPers. *vazṛka-*, Māzand. *bazarg*, Bactr. ΟΑΖΟϱΚΟ /wazurk/; Ott. *büzürg*, Elam. *azzaka*, *haz(z)ak(k)a*

28. (134.) **long**

van(n) ❖ S ʾβn-ʾy C *bn* /ᵊβní, βən(i)/

baländ ‘high, long’ ❖ S в *βrz* /βəʳzí/ ‘high, long’

< **bṛdźa-*; Ave. *bərəz-*, *barəz-*, Bactr. 𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀- /βurz-/, Khōt. *bulysa-*, Yazgh. *vəz*, Shugh. *vūγ̌ʒ*, Rōsh. *vūz*, Wakh. *vʁırz*, Ishk. *vʁžd̊ůk*, Sangl. *vəžduk*, Munj. *vańǵ*, Yidgh. *väṇ*, Pasht. *(w)ūǵd*, OPers. personal name *Bṛdiya*; cf. Pers. *buländ*, Tjk. *baländ*, Fārs. *bolā́nd*, Hazār. *bilán* < **bṛdźánt-* and Pers. *[Al]búrz* ‘Alborz mountains’, Fārs. *[Äl]bórz* (< Pahl. *Harburz* < Ave. *Harā Bərəzaⁱtī*), Wakh. *bland*; Turkm. *belend*; Ved. *bṛhánt-*; cf. Khwār. *βžk (m) βžc (f)* /βažeg- : βažeʒ-/

dūᵘr ‘long, far’ ❖ S в *ðwr(h)* M *ðwr* C *dwr* /ðūr/ ‘long, far’

< **dūra-*; Ave. *dūra-*, Khōt. *dura-*, Wakh. *ðir*, Sarīq. *ðar*, Pers. *dūr*, TMast. *dür*, *dir*, TFalgh. *dir*, OPers. *dūra-*; Ved. *dūrá-*, Hind. *dūr*

darőz ❖

< Pers. *dirā́z*, Tjk. *darőz*, Fārs. *derā̄́z*, Ave. *drāǰah-*, Sarīq. *darúz*, Pahl. Balōch. *drāǰ*, Kurd. *dirêj*

❖ в *mzʾyγ(h)* M *mzy(y)x*, *mzyγ* C *mzyx* /məzḗx/

cf. Ave. *maziia-*

29. wide

yaγd, yaxt ❖ в *yγ(ʾ)rt-y*, *yrγt* C *yγrṯ-y* /yə(ʳ)γḍí/)

< **u̯i-gṛta-*

paᵇm ❖ в *pðnʾy* /paϑnē/

< **paϑana-*; Ave. *paϑana-*, Oss. *fætæn* ‖ *faťan*, Pasht. *plan*, Pers. *pahn*, Pahl. *pahan*, *pahnāī*, *pahnāk*, Kurd. *pan*, Balōch. *patan*

30. thick

farbéh, farbḯx ❖ Mg *βrpyγ* /frəpḯx/

Ave. *pīvah*, Pers. *farbíh*, TMast. *farbí*, Pahl. *farbīh*

*γ*afs ❖ S *γβsw* /γəfsú/

Tjk. *γafs*

31. (144.) heavy

wazmḯn ❖

< Ar. WZN, Pers. *vaznḯn*, TMast. *vazmín*

garáng ❖ в *γrʾn(h)* M C *γrʾn* /γrān/

cf. Uzb. *gäräŋ*, Tjk. *garáng*, Hazār. *girán(g)*, *girán(k)*

32. (143.) small

púl(l)a ❖

< Yagh. *púl(l)a* ‘child’ < **puϑra-* ‘son’, Ave. *puϑra-*, Sogd. S ◌*pyðrʾk*, ◌*pðr* в ◌*pyðrʾk*, ◌*pðr*, ◌*pšy* M ◌*pšy (as a part of compounds)* /pɨšḗ)/, Khwār. *(ʾ)pr*, Scyth. **purϑa-*, Bactr. 𐬀𐬉(𐬎)𐬁𐬀 /pŭ(h)r/, Khōt. *pūra-*, Alan. *φουṛτ*, Sarm. **furϑa-*, Oss. *fʁırt* ‖ *furt*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *puc*, Sarīq. *pʁıc*, Yazgh. *poc*, Munj. *pūr*, Yidgh. *pūr*, *pūḷ*, Wakh. *pətr*, Parāch. *puš*, Pers. *pisár*, *pūr*, *pus(ár)*, Fārs. *pesä́r*, Tjk. *pisár*, AfghP. *pesár*, Pahl. *pus*, *puhr*, OPers. *puça-*,

Med. **puϑra-*, Kurd. *pisir*, Balōch. *pʰusaɣ*, Parth. *pūr*; IIr. **putrá-*, Ide. **putló-*, Ved. *putrá-*, Pāli *putta-*, Hind. *pūt*, Bengāl. *put*; cf. Lat. *puer*

maydá ❖

< Tjk. *maḭdá*, Uzb. *mȧydȧ*, Kyrg. *mayda*

❖ S *ryncʾk(k)*, *ryncyk* B *ryncwk(k)*, *ryncwk* C *rynʾq* /rím̆j̆ǎk, rím̆j̆ěk, rím̆j̆ǔk/

< **ranǰă-ka-*, **ranǰa-ka-ka-*, **ranǰu-ka-*; Ave. *rənǰiia-*, Khwār. *rnc*, Khōt. *raysga*, Pasht. *rangay*

33. (135.) short

kaltá ❖

< Uzb. *kȧltȧ*, Tjk. *kaltá*

❖ B *mwrzk-y* /muʳzkí/

< **mr̥dzuka-*

❖ B *ɣrʾwš* /ɣrūš ~ ɣrōš/

❖ B *snʾr* /snār/

< **snāra-*; Wakh. *sənōr*

34. narrow

bōŕík ❖

< Pers. *bāŕík*

tank, *tang* ❖

< Pers. *tang*, Pahl. *tang(īh)*, Ave. *taṇčišta-*, Wakh. Sarīq. *tang*, Kurd. *teng*, Balōch. *tank*, Chaghat. *täŋ*, Uzb. *tȧŋ*

35. thin

tank, *tang* ❖

< Pers. *tang*, Pahl. *tang(īh)*, Ave. *taṇčišta-*, Wakh. Sarīq. *tang*, Kurd. *teng*, Balōch. *tank*, Chaghat. *täŋ*, Uzb. *tȧŋ*

tᵘnúk, *tᵘnukák* ❖

< Tjk. *tunúk*, Ishk. *тьпьk*, Oss. *tænæg*, Sarīq. *tanьk*, Kurd. *tenik*, Balōch. *tanak*; Ved. *tanú-*, *tánuka-*

(145.) light

sabúk, *sᵘbúk* ❖

< Tjk. *sabúk*, Hazār. *subúk*

III.4. People

36. (103.) woman

za(ɛ)íf(a) ❖

< Ar. ḌʕF *ḍaʿīfaï*, Pers. *ẓaʿīfá* ‘weak’ > BukhAr. *zaʿīfa*, TMast. *zaɛ́íf*, Tjk. dial. Chust, Ůrōteppa *zaíf*, Waṇ. *zaypa*, *zaypə* ‘woman’

❖ B *ʾstʾyrch* M *(ʾ)stryc*, *ʿstryc* C *st̰ryc* /ⁱstrīč/

< **strī-kā-*; Ave. *strī-*, Ishk. *ṣ̌ьc* 'female animal', Yazgh. *wenǰ*, Shugh. *wānīc* 'calf *(f)*'; Oss. *wænыg* ‖ *iwænug* 'calf, bullock'

37. (102.) man

mǿrti ❖ B MG *mrty* M *mrtyy*, *mrt̰yy* /márṫĭ/

< **mártiia-*; Ave. *maṣ̌iia-*, Khwār. *mrc(y)*, Bactr. μαϱδο /mard/, Munj. *maṛa*, Pers. *mard*, OPers. *martiya-*, Kurd. *mêr*, Ved. *mártiya-* < Ide. **mr̥to-* 'mortal', Gre. μοϱτός, ϐοϱτός

38. human

ōdám ❖

< Ar. *ādam*, BukhAr. *ādəmi*, Hebrew *adam*, Pers. *ādám*, Oset. *adæm*, Ishk. *odam*, Shugh. *ōdam*, Tr. *adam*, Turkm. *ādam*, Tatar *adäm*, Chŭvash *etem*; cf. Sogd. M *ʾδʾm* C *ʾdm* /Ādam/ 'Adam' < Ar. *Ādam*, Pers. *Ādám*, Yagh. *Ōdám* etc.

mardúm ❖ AL *mrtʾxmk* S B *mrtɣmʾk(w)*, *mrtɣmʾy* M *mrtxmy(y)* C *mrt̰xmy*, *mrdxmy* /márṫoxmĕ̆/

< **màrtiia-táu̯xman-(ka-)*; Pers. *mardúm*, Shugh. *mardum*, Ishk. *mardьm*

39. (104.) child

púl(l)a ❖ S ○*pyδrʾk*, ○*pδr* B ○*pyδrʾk*, ○*pδr*, ○*pšy* M ○*pšy (as a part of compounds)* /pɨš(ḗ)/ 'son'

< **puθra-* 'son', Ave. *puθra-*, Khwār. *(ʾ)pr*, Scyth. **purθa-*, Bactr. πο(υ)ϱο /pŭ(h)r/, Khōt. *pūra-*, Alan. φουϱτ, Sarm. **furθa-*, Oss. *fыrt* ‖ *furt*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *puc*, Sarīq. *pыc*, Yazgh. *poc*, Munj. *pūr*, Yidgh. *pūr*, *pūḷ*, Wakh. *pətr*, Parāch. *puš*, Pers. *pisár*, *pūr*, *pus(ár)*, Fārs. *pesā́r*, Tjk. *pisár*, AfghP. *pesár*, Pahl. *pus*, *puhr*, OPers. *puça-*, Med. **puθra-*, Kurd. *pisir*, Balōch. *pʰusaɣ*, Parth. *pūr*; IIr. **putrá-*, Ide. **putló-*, Ved. *putrá-*, Pāli *putta-*, Hind. *pūt*, Bengāl. *put*; cf. Lat. *puer*

gŭdák ❖

Pers. *kōδák*, Tjk. *kŭ̄dák*, TVarz. *gudák*, AfghP. *kūdák*, Fārs. *kūdā́k̆*, Pahl. *kwtkʾ* M *qwtk* /kōδag/, Uzb. *gŭ̈dak*, Uygh. *gödäk*, Ott. *kūdek*, Tr. (arch.) *kûdek*

farzánd ❖

< Pers. *farzánd*, Pahl. *frazand*, *farzand*, Parth. *frzynd*, Bactr. φοϱζινδο, φοϱζανδο, φϱοζινδο, φαϱζινδο, Ave. *frazaⁱṇti-*, Ir. **fra-zanti-*

40. (114.) wife

inč ❖ S *ʾync(h)*, *ynch* B MG *ʾync(h)* M *ʿync* C *ʾync* /ʸɨṁǰ/

< **i̯áu̯ni-kā-*; Yazgh. *wenǰ*, Shugh. *wānīc* 'calf *(f)*'; Oss. *wænыg* ‖ *iwænug* 'calf, bullock'

ayól ❖

< Ar. *ʿayāl*, Pers. *ʿayā́l*

41. (113.) husband

wīr, vīr ❖ S B C *wyr* /wīr/

< **u̯īrá-*; Ave. *vīra-*, Pahl. *wīr*, Scyth. οἰόϱ, Ved. *vīrá-*, Ide. **u̯iHró-s*, Lat. *vir*, OIrl. ɾɛn pl. ɾɪn, Irl. Gael. *fear* pl. *fir*, Welsh *gŵr* pl. *gwŷr*, Bret. *gour*, Lith. *výras*, Latv. *vīrs*, Goth. *wair*, OEng. *wer*, OScand. *verr*, cf. Engl. (arch.) *wer(e)*, Ger. *Wehr*

42. (106.) mother

ōčá ❖

< Uz. *ȧčȧ*, *åčȧ*, Turkm. *eǰe*, Tjk. *ōčá*, *ačá*

mōdár ❖ M *mʾt* C *mʾṯ* /māt/

**mātar-*; Ave. *mātar-*, Khwār. *mʾd* /mād-a/, Bactr. 𐬨𐬀𐬉𐬐 /mād/, Khōt. *māta*, *māvä*, Oss. *mad* ‖ *madæ*, Shugh. Bajū. *mōd*, Bart. Khūf. Rōsh. Rāshrv. *mud*, Munj. *māyā*, Pasht. *mōr*, Pers. *māđár*, OPers. **mātar-*, Pahl. *māt*, *mātar-*, Balōch. *māt*, Ide. **meh₂tḗr-*, Ved. *mātár-*, Gre. 𐌼𐌰𐌽𐍂 D 𐌼𐌰̄𐌽𐍂, OCS. *matь*, OEng. *mōdor*, OIrl. *máṫir*; Eynu. *madär*, *mėdär*

43. (105.) father

dōdṓ ❖

< Tjk. *dōdṓ*, *dadá*, Oss. I *dadá*; Uzb. *dada*; cf. Fārs. *bā̊bā̊*, Oss. I *babá*

padár ❖ B *ʾptr-y* M *(ʾ)ptr-y(y)* C *(ʾ)pṯr-y* /ᵊpt(ə)rí/

< **pitar-*; Ave. *(p)tā* (nom.sg.), Khwār. *pc* /pica/, Bactr. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬐 /pid/, Khōt. *pätar-*, Oss. *fыd* ‖ *fidæ*, Shugh. *ped*, Khūf. Rōsh. Rāshrv. Bart. *pīd*, Sarīq. *pit*, Pasht. *plār*, Waṇ. *pyār*, Pers. *piđár*, Tjk. *padár*, *pidár*, TMast. *pədár*, Fārs. *pedā́r*, *pädā́r*, Pahl. *pit(ar)* > *pid̲ar*, OPers. *pitar-*, Balōch. *pit*, *pʰis*, *pʰiϑ*, Ide. **p(ₔ)h₂tḗr-*, Gre. 𐌿𐌰𐍄𐍂, Armen. *hayr*, Eng. *father*, OEng. *fæder*, OIrl. *aṫir*; Eynu. *padär*, *pėdär*

(107.) older brother

akṓ, *aká* ❖

< Uz. *ȧkȧ*, Uygh. *aka*, Tjk. *aká*, *akṓ*, TMast. *akó*, Shugh. *akā*, Tr. *ağa*, Kyrg. Kazakh. Qāraqalp. *aɣa*, BukhAr. *akā́*

(108.) younger brother

vⁱrṓt ❖ S *βrʾt* B *βrʾt*, *ʾβrʾtr* M *βrʾt* C *brʾṯ* /ᵊβrāt(ər)/[266]

< **brātar-*; Khwār. *βrʾd* /βrād/, Bactr. 𐬆(𐬀)𐬉𐬐 /β(ə)rād/, Khōt. *brāte*, Tumshuq. *brāḍe*, Wakh. *vrыt*, Yazgh. *v(ə)rád*, Shugh. Rōsh. *virōd*, Ishk. *vru(d)*, Sangl. *vrud*, Pasht. *wrōr*, Pers. *birādár*, Tjk. *barōdár*, TMast. *bŭrodár* (> Yagh. *bᵘrōdár*), Fārs. *berā̊dā́r*, Hazār. *birṓr*, Kurd. *bera*, Ide. **bʰrātar-*, Ved. *bʰrátar-*, Gypsy *pʰral*, OCS. *bratrъ*, OIrl. *bṛáṫir*, Welsh *brawd*, OEng. *brōðor*, Lat. *frāter*; Oss. *ærvad* ‘relative’ ‖ *ærvadæ* ‘brother, relative’; Gre. 𐌿𐍂𐌰̈𐍄𐍂 I 𐌿𐍂𐌰́𐍄𐍂 D 𐌿𐍂𐌰̄𐍄𐍂́ ‘member of a community’

dōdár (occ.) ❖

< Tjk. *dōdár*

(109.) older sister

ap(p)á ❖

Uzb. *åpa*, Kyrg. *apa*, Tjk. *apá*, TMast. *apá*, BukhAr. *apā́*

(110.) younger sister

[266] Meaning both older and/or younger brother in Sogdian.

x̊ōr ❖ B *γwʾrh* M *xwʾr* /xᵒār/[267]

< **hu̯ahar-*; Ave. *xᵛaŋhar*, Khwār. *ʾᵘxᵃ*, Bactr. *χοαυο* /xʷāh/, Oss. *xo* ‖ *xʷæræ*, Yazgh. *x̌ᵒarǵ*, Ishk. *ixó*, Pasht. *xōr*, Pers. *xᵛāhár*, TMast. *xū(v)ár*; AfghP. *xʷā̆r*, Hazār. *x(ʷ)ōr*, Pahl. *xwah*, Parth. *wxʾr*; Ide. **su̯esōr*, sister, Ved. *svásar-*; Mid. and Mod. Welsh *chwaer*; Mid. Bret. *hoer, hoar*; Mod. Bret. KLT *c'hoar* // GW *hoér*; OCorn. *huir*; Corn. *hwoer*, OIrl. *ɾiuŋ*; Manx *shuyr*, Ger. *Schwester*; BukhAr. *ẖā̆ẖar*

(111.) son

žű́ta ❖

< past part. of the verb *žū-* 'to live', Sogd. S √ʾ*zw(-)* B √(ʾ)*zw(-)* M √*jw(-)* C √*žw(-)* /√ᵊžū, ᵊža̯u̯-/, Ave. *ǰ(a)uua-* ???

❖ S B *zʾt(ʾ)k* M *zʾty(y)* C *zʾt̲y* /zātē/

< **dzāta-ka-*; Ave. *zāta-*, Khwār. *zʾδ̌k*, Bactr. ζαδο /zād/, Pasht. *zōy*, Pers. *zāđá*, Ide. **ĝn̥h₁tó-*

púl(l)a 'child' ❖ S ◌*pyδrʾk*, ◌*pδr* B ◌*pyδrʾk*, ◌*pδr*, ◌*pšy* M ◌*pšy (as a part of compounds)* /pɨšə̄/

< **pu̯θra-* 'son', Ave. *pu̯θra-*, Khwār. *(ʾ)pr*, Scyth. **pur̥θa-*, Bactr. πο(υ)ϱο /pŭ(h)r/, Khōt. *pūra-*, Alan. φουϱτ, Sarm. **fur̥θa-*, Oss. *fɨrt* ‖ *furt*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *puc*, Sarīq. *pɨc*, Yazgh. *poc*, Munj. *pūr*, Yidgh. *pūr*, *pūḷ*, Wakh. *pətr*, Parāch. *puš*, Pers. *pisár*, *pūr*, *pus(ár)*, Fārs. *pesä́r*, Tjk. *pisár*, AfghP. *pesár*, Pahl. *pus*, *puhr*, OPers. *puça-*, Med. **pu̯θra-*, Kurd. *pisir*, Balōch. *pʰusaγ*, Parth. *pūr*; IIr. **putrá-*, Ide. **putló-*, Ved. *putrá-*, Pāli *putta-*, Hind. *pūt*, Bengāl. *put*; cf. Lat. *puer*

(112.) daughter

γayk ❖

cf. Yazgh. *γačaǵ*, Shugh. *γāc*, Rōsh. *γac*, Sarīq. *γoc*

duxtár (occ.) ❖ AL *δwγδr* S *δwxth*, *δγwth* B *δγwth* M *δwγt(ʾ)* C *dwγt̲(ʾ)* /δəγʷd(á)/

< **duxtar-*; OAve. *dugədar-*, YAve. *duγδar-*, Khwār. *δᵘγ̊dᵃ* /δuγda/, Bactr. λογδα /luγd(a)/, Khōt. *dutar-*, Yazgh. *δəγd*, Ishk. *wůdůγd*, Yid̲gh. *luγdo*, Pasht. *lūr*, Pers. *duxtár*, TMast. *düxtár*; Ved. *duhitár-*; Eynu. *tuxtär*

(115.) boy

púl(l)a ❖ S ◌*pyδrʾk*, ◌*pδr* B ◌*pyδrʾk*, ◌*pδr*, ◌*pšy* M ◌*pšy (as a part of compounds)* /pɨšə̄/

< **pu̯θra-* 'son', Ave. *pu̯θra-*, Khwār. *(ʾ)pr*, Scyth. **pur̥θa-*, Bactr. πο(υ)ϱο /pŭ(h)r/, Khōt. *pūra-*, Alan. φουϱτ, Sarm. **fur̥θa-*, Oss. *fɨrt* ‖ *furt*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *puc*, Sarīq. *pɨc*, Yazgh. *poc*, Munj. *pūr*, Yidgh. *pūr*, *pūḷ*, Wakh. *pətr*, Parāch. *puš*, Pers. *pisár*, *pūr*, *pus(ár)*, Fārs. *pesä́r*, Tjk. *pisár*, AfghP. *pesár*, Pahl. *pus*, *puhr*, OPers. *puça-*, Med. **pu̯θra-*, Kurd. *pisir*, Balōch. *pʰusaγ*, Parth. *pūr*; IIr. **putrá-*, Ide. **putló-*, Ved. *putrá-*, Pāli *putta-*, Hind. *pūt*, Bengāl. *put*; cf. Lat. *puer*

[267] Meaning both older and/or younger sister in Sogdian.

žűta ❖

< past part. of the verb *žū-* ‘to live’, Sogd. S √ʾzw(-) B √(ʾ)zw(-) M √jw(-) C √žw(-) /√ᵊžū, ᵊžaṷ-/, Ave. *ǰ(a)uua-* ???

❖ S B zʾt(ʾ)k M zʾty(y) C zʾṯy /zātē/

< **dzāta-ka-*; Ave. *zāta-*, Khwār. *zʾdy̌k*, Bactr. ζαδο /zād/, Pasht. *zōy*, Pers. *zāđá*, Ide. **ĝn̥h₁tó-*

(116.) girl

ɣayk ❖

cf. Yazgh. *ɣačaǵ*, Shugh. *ɣāc*, Rōsh. *ɣac*, Sarīq. *ɣoc*

duxtár (occ.) ❖ AL δwɣδr S δwxth, δɣwth B δɣwth M δwɣt(ʾ) C dwɣṯ(ʾ) /δəɣʷd(á)/

< **duxtar-*; OAve. *dugədar-*, YAve. *duɣδar-*, Khwār. δᵘɣ̊dᵃ /δuɣda/, Bactr. λοɣδα /luɣd(a)/, Khōt. *dutar-*, Yazgh. δəɣd, Ishk. *wůdůɣd*, Yiḏgh. *luɣdo*, Pasht. *lūr*, Pers. *duxtár*, TMast. *düxtár*; Ved. *duhitár-*; Eynu. *tuxtär*

III.5. Animals

44. animal

ḥayv́n ❖

< Ar. ḤYY *ḥaywān*, Hebrew *ḥayah*, Syr. *ḥaywatā̊*, Pers. *ḥai̯ván*, Oss. *xáywan*, Uzb. *hayvån*

ḥayvānőt ‘fauna’ ❖

< Ar. ḤYY *ḥaywānāt* (sg. *ḥaywān*) Pers. pl. *ḥai̯vānát*, Hazār. *aywānőt*

(ǰőᵇ-ʉ) ǰəndőr ❖

< Tjk. *ǰōndőr*, TMast. *ǰūndór*

ǰarmár ❖

< Tjk. *ǰarmár*

❖ B M δt-w /δətú/

Ave. *daitaka-*

❖ B ʾstwrpδʾy, ʾstʾwrpδʾʾy, ʾstʾwrpδʾk M stwprδy /ᵊstő̆rpəδə̆/

< **staṷra-pada-ka-*; cf. Sogd. S B ʾstʾwr(h) ‘cattle’, Yagh. *sᵘtűr* ‘sheep’

45. (86.) fish

mōhī́, *mahī́* ❖

< Pers. *māhī́*, Tjk. *mōhī́*, *mahī́*, TMast. *mi(y)í*, TVarz. *mií*, Kābul. *mā̆yī́*, Hazār. *mōí*, Pahl. *mʾhyg* /māhīg/, OPers. **maϑya-(ka-)*, Shugh. *mōyi*, Wakh. *mo(h)í*, *mahí*, *moyí*, Parth. *mʾsyʾg*, Kurd. *masî*, Ir. **mắṯi̯a-*; Ved. *mátsya-*

❖ B M C *kp-y* /kəpí/

< **kápă-*; Khōt. *kavā-*, Khwār. *kў̆b*, Scyth. *(Παντι)κάπης*, Oss. *kæf*, Wakh. *kūp*, Munj. *kōp*, Pasht. *kab*

46. bird

mʉrɣ ❖ S M *mrɣ-y* B *(ʾ)mrɣ-y* /ᵊm(ᵊʳ)ɣí, məʳɣi/

< **mźga-*; Ave. *mərəya-*, Khwār. *(ʾ)mɣ-*, Bactr. *μιϱγο* /mirɣ/, Khōt. *mura-*, Oss. I *marɣ*, Pers. *murɣ*, TMast. *mürɣ*, Hazār. *murq*, Parth. *mwrg*, Ishk. *mьrɣ*; Ved. *mr̥gá-*;

par(r)andá ❖

Pers. *parrandá*, Wakh. *prinda*, Shugh. *parindā*, *parandā*

ǰarmár ❖

< Tjk. *ǰarmár*

(ǰő^{b}-ʉ) ǰəndőr ❖

< Tjk. *ǰöndőr*, TMast. *ǰündór*

qūš ❖

< Uzb. *quš*, Tr. *kuş*, Tü. **quś*; Chaghat. *quš* 'animal'

sĺčа ❖ B *syc'kk* C *sycy* /sĺčăk, sĺčĕ/

< **ʇīka-ka-*, **ʇi̯akā-ka-*

(87.) chicken

mʉrɣ ❖ S M *mrɣ-y* B *(ʾ)mrɣ-y* /ᵊm(ᵊʳ)ɣí, məʳɣi/

< **mźga-*; Ave. *mərəya-*, Khwār. *(ʾ)mɣ-*, Bactr. *μιϱγο* /mirɣ/, Khōt. *mura-*, Oss. I *marɣ*, Pers. *murɣ*, TMast. *mürɣ*, Hazār. *murq*, Parth. *mwrg*, Ishk. *mьrɣ*; Ved. *mr̥gá-*;

čűǰá (occ. čűžá) ❖ B *cwz'kk* /čőžăk/

Khwār. *twžk*, Yazgh. *čiγ̌kg*, Wakh. *čьıča*, Yidgh. *čužiya*, Pasht. *čuγəka*, Pers. *čōǰá*, Fārs. *ǰūǰé*, *ǰou̯ǰé*; Uzb. *ǰŭǰà*, Tr. *cüce*, Qashq. *ǰüǰà*

47. (95.) dog

kut ❖ S B *ʾkwt-y* M *kwt-y*, *qwt-y* /ᵊkʷətí/

< **kúta-*, **kutī-*; Bactr. *κοδο* /kud/, Oss. *kʷьıʒ* ‖ *kuy*, Yazgh. *k°od* (fem. *kid*), Shugh.-Rōsh. *kud* (f. *kid*), Sarīq. *kьıd*, Ishk. *kьd*, Sangl. *kud*; Tjk. colloq. *kučák*, Hazār. *kuṭá*, Ir. *kuta-, *kutī-; Hind. *kuttā*, Tokh. *ku*

ráu̯žna, ráu̯ǰna ❖

< pres. part. of the verb *rau̯ǰ-*, *rau̯ž-* 'to bark', Sogd. S B √*rβz-* /√rəβž-/, Munj. *rav- : rivd-*

(89.) cow

γōu̯ ❖ S B M *γ'w* C *γw* /γāu̯/

< **gă̆u̯a-*; Ave. *gă̆uu-* (nom. *gāuš*), Scyth. **gă̆u̯-*, Khwār. *γwk* /γōk/, Bactr. *γαο(ι)* M *γ''w* /γāw/, Khōt. *ggūhī*, Oss. *qug* ‖ *γog*, Shugh. Rōsh. Khūf. *žōw*, Bart. *žaw*, Rāshrv. *žāw*, Sarīq. *žɛw*, *žaw*, Yazgh. *γɛw*, Wakh. *γ̌ıw*, Ishk. *γu*, Sangl. *uγūi̯*, Munj. *γőwa*, Yidgh. *γavo*, Pasht. *γwā*, Parāch. *gū*, Ōrm. *gōī*, Pers. *gāv*, TYagh. TFalgh. TVarz. *gou̯*, Hazār. *gaw*, Pahl. *gāv*, *gō*, OPers. **gau̯-* (*Gau̯brūva-* = Γωβρύας), Kurd. *ga*, Balōch. *gōk*, Tālysh. *gug*; Ide. **gʷōu̯-s*, Ved. *go-*, *gau-*, *gāv-*, Gre. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bōs*, Armen. *kov*, OScand. *kýr*, OEng. *cū*, *cȳ*, Eng. *cow*, dial. *kye* (pl. *kine*), OHG. *chuo*, Ger. *Kuh*, Irl. *bó*, OCS. *gov[ędo]*

kⁱšő̀k ‘bull’ ❖

< **kr̥š-āka-* ‘bull’ // **kauš-ă-/*kŭš-ă-* ‘cow’; Bactr. *γαο κιϧαγο* /gāw kišāg/, Ishk. *kъž̊ůk*, Sangl. *kuǰūk*, Munj. *kű́wō*, *kű́yō*, Parāch. *kâšagū*; Sarghul. *kišó* ‘cow’

~~**(90.) buffalo**~~

(94.) goat

vʉz ❖ C *bzyšṯ* /(ᵊ)βzɨ́šṯ/ (pl.); Mg. *ʾβzynch* /ᵊβzɨ̈́ṁǰ/ ‘kid’

< **bŭdza-*; Ave. *būza-*, Khwār. *ʾβz* /aβza/, Khōt. *buysa-*, Yazgh. Shugh. Rōsh. *vaz*, Ishk. *vъz*, Munj. *və́za*, Pasht. *wuz* (*f.* *wuza*), Pers. *buz*, TFalgh. *büz*, Pahl. *vuz*, Zázá. *bıze*; Thrac. *buza*

(97.) monkey

maymű́n ❖

< Pers. *maı̯mű́n*, Oss. I *maymuli*, Kyrg. *maymïɬ*, Tatar. *maymıl*, Tatar. dial. *mäymun*, Uygh. *maymun*, MGre. *μαϊμοῦ*

❖ B *mkkr(ʾ)* M *mkrʾ* /makká̯r̥̯(á)/

< Skt. *markaṭa-*, Prkt. *makkaḍa-* > Khōt. *makala-*, Khwār. *mrk*

48. louse

šᵘpúš, šⁱpúš ❖ B *špšh* /špəšá/

< **ʦu̯íša-*; Ave. *špiš-*, Khwār. *spʾh*, Oss. *sʏıst* ‖ *sistæ*, Yazgh. *səpaw*, Shugh. *sipáɣ̌*, Rōsh. *sipaw*, Sarīq. *spal*, Ishk. *s(ъ)puḷ*, *s(ъ)pъl*, Wakh. *šiš*, Munj. *s(ᵊ)pə́yă*, Yidgh. *spūo*, *špūo*, Pasht. *spə́ġa*, *špə́ġa*, Parāch. *espō*, Ōrm. *spōī*, Kurd. *sipi*, Māzand. *isfīǰ*, Pahl. *spiš*, Tjk. *šupúš*, *šubúš(k)*, *šabúš(k)*, TMast. *sübű́s*, Hazār. *išpíš*

49. (96.) snake

mōr ❖

< Pers. *mār*, Kurd. *mar*

kír(ⁱ)m ❖ *kyrm-y* C *qyrm-y* /kiʳmí/

< **kr̥̯mi-*, Oss. *kalm* ‖ *kælmæ*, Pers. *kirm* ‘worm’; Ved. *kŕ̥mi-*

50. worm

kírmák ❖

< **kr̥̯mi-* + diminutive suffix *-ak*

(98.) mosquito / fly

páš(š)á ‘fly’ ❖

< TMast. TVarz. *paš́á*, TBuch. *paš́ša* ‘fly’; Tjk. *paššá* ‘mosquito’

púžna, púǰna ‘fly’ ❖

ǰūnčurák ‘mosquito’ ❖

< Tjk. *čur(ču)rák* ‘whiz’

❖ S *mwxšk* ‘mosquito’

< **maxšika-*

(99.) ant

mű́rčak ❖ B *zmʾwrc*, *zmʾwrʾk* /zmōrč, zmő́rĕ́/

< **(z)máu̯ri-ka-(ka-)*; Ave. *mao^{i}ri-*, Oss. *mælʒыg* ‖ *mulʒug*, Pasht. *mēǧay*, Waṇ. *mēržai̯*, Pers. *mōrčá*, Tjk. *mű̄rčák*

(100.) spider

wő́fkak ❖

< derived from verb *wōf- : wő́fta* ‘to weave‘, Sogd. M *√wʾf* /√wāf/ *: √wft-*, Oss. I *wafын*, Pers. *bāftán : bāf-*

val*link*á, van*link*á, vanpő́da ❖

< *van(n)* ‘long’ + *link* (< Turkic?) / pő́da (Sogd. *pʾδ̂(ĕ)*) ‘leg’, i.e. ‘long-legged’

tōrtanák ❖

< Tjk. *tōrtanák* < Tjk. *tōr* ‘web’

III.6. Plants

51. (61.) tree

daráxt / *d^{i}ráxt* ❖

< Pers. *diráxt*, Tjk. *daráxt*, TMast. *dəráxt*, Wakh. *daráxt*, Shugh. *diráxt*; Uzb. *daraxt*, Kyrg. *daraq*

❖ S *wn(ʾk)h* M *wnʾ* /wəná/

< **u̯anā-*; Ave. *vanā-*, Shugh. *wān* ‘weeping willow’, Pasht. *wə́na*, *wúna*, Parāch. *ɣan* ‘oak’; cf Ishk. *[čʊ]wen* ‘apricot, apricot-tree’

52. forest

mar*ɣ* ‘grass’ ❖ BS *mrɣh* S M C *mrɣ* /mar̥ɣ/ ‘meadow, forest’

< **márga-* ‘meadow’; Ave. *marəɣa-*, Bactr. *μαϱγο* /marɣ/ ‘meadow’, Sangl. *mērɣ*, Yidgh. *mīrɣo*, Pasht. *marɣa*, Tjk. *marɣ*, *marɣző́r* ‘meadow’

ǰangál ❖

< Pers. *ǰangál*, Shugh. *ǰingāl*, Hind. *jaṅgal*, Pali. Prkt. *jaṅgala*, Eng. *jungle*, Ger. *Dschungel*

❖ S B *wntʾk(h)* /wənḍ̥ák/

< **u̯anā-* ‘tree’

53. stick

šōx ❖ M *šʾɣh* /šāx/

< **šāxa-*; Wakh. *ṣ̌ōx*, Pers. *šāx*, Parth. *šʾx*

šáppa ❖ M *xwšyp* /x^{o}ᵊšĕ́p/ ‘whip’

< Pers. *šappá*, TMast. *šap(p)á* < **xšu̯ai̯pa-* ‘whip’; Ave. *xšuuaēβaiiat* ‘whip’, Rōsh. *x̌abēʒ* ‘whip, stick’

dōrk ‘wood, stick’ ❖ B *ðʾr(ʾ)wk(ʾ)*, *ðʾrʾwkh* M *ðʾrwk(ʾ)* C *dʾrwq* /ðáruk(ă)/ ‘wood’

< **ðárŭka-* < **dáru-ka-* ‘wood’; Yazgh. *ðerk*, Shugh. *ðōrg*, Rōsh. *ðů̄rg*, Ishk. *dʊrk*, Sangl. *durk*, Pasht. *largáy*, Waṇ. *lergá*, Parth. *dʾlwg*, Pers. *dār* ‘wood, tree, pillar

54. (66.) fruit

mēvagī́, *mēvá* ❖ S B *mɣdʾk* /məɣdə̄́/

< **migda-ka-*; Pers. *mēvá*, Pahl. *mēβ(ag)*, Parth. *mygdg* /miɣd(ag)/; Balōch. *nīwag*, *nībag*; Uzb. *mėvà*, Tr. *meyve*, Azərb. *meyvə*

55. **seed**

táx(ⁱ)m, *túx(ᵘ)m* ❖ S B *tym-y* C *t̲xm-y* /toxmí/, S B *tymy* C *t̲(w)xmy* /toxmə́/

< **ta᷒o᷒xma-(ka-)* < **táu̯xman-*; Ave. *taoxman-*, Bactr. τοχμανο /tuxman/, Wakh. *taɣm*, Ishk. *tъxm*, Pasht. *tōma*, Pers. *tuxm*, TMast. *tüxm*, Hazār. *túxᵘm*, Pahl. *tōm*, Parth. *tw(x)m* /tō(x)m/, OPers. *taumā-*, Kurd. *tom*; Ved. *tókman-*

56. (62.) **leaf**

barg ❖ B M *wrkr* C *wrqr* /wárkar/,

< **u̯arka-*; Pers. *barg*, Hazār. *balk*, Pahl. *barg* > Ar. WRQ *waraq(aï)* ‘page (of a book)’, BukhAr. *u̯araḳa*, Pers. *varáq* (> Yagh. *waráq*)

57. (63.) **root**

ríša ❖

< Pers. rēšá, Ave. *raēša-*

58. **bark**

pūst ❖ S *pwst(h)* /pōst/

< **pau̯(a)sta-*; Ave. *pąsta-*, Shugh. *pū̄st*, Rōsh. Khūf. Bart. *pūst*, Sarīq. *past*, Yazgh. *pəst*, Wakh. *pist*, Sangl. *pask*, Munj. *pūstá*, Yidgh. *pisto*, Pers. *pōst*, Pasht. Kurd. *post*; Skt. *pustaka-* ‘book’

pūčőq ❖

< Uzb. *půčåq*, Tjk. *pū̄čőq*

(64.) **thorn**

xōr ❖

< Pers. *xār*, Pahl. *xār*; Skt. *kʰara-* ‘sharp’

59. (65.) **flower**

gꞩl ‘rose, flower’ ❖ M *wrð* /waṙð/ ‘rose’

< *u̯arda-*, **u̯r̥da-*; Ave. *varəda-*, Oss. I *wardi*, Pers. *gul*, TMast. *gül*, *gəl*, *gůl*, Wakh. *gul*, *gəl*, Kurd. *gul*; Uzb. Tr. *gül*, Kyrg. *gül*, *kül*, Tatar. *göl*, NGr. γῶ͡u̯ούλι

❖ B *ʾsp(ʾ)rymy(y)*, *ʾsprym(ʾ)k*, *spʾrymy* M *ʾsprymy(y)*, *spʾrymy* /ⁱspáṙɣ(ə)mə̆/

Ave. *sparəya-*, Parth. Pahl. *ʾsprhm*

~~**(67.)** **mango**~~

~~**(68.)** **banana**~~

(69.) **wheat** *(husked)*

ɣámtun, *ɣántum* ❖ S *ɣntm* C *ɣn̰tm* /ɣáṁdəm/

< **gántuma-*; Ave. *gă̈ntuma-*, Khwār. *ɣndy̆m*, Bactr. γανδομο /ɣandum/, Shugh. *žindam*, Wakh *ɣədim*, Ishk *ɣundum*, Munj. *ɣő(n)dŭm*, Pasht. *ɣanə́m*, Waṇ. *ɣandəm*, Pers. *gandúm*, TMast. *gandŭ́m*, Pahl. /gandum/, *gnwm* /gannum/; Gre. γάνδομα, γανδόμην

(70.) **barley**

yaų̯ ❖ s mg m *yw-y* /yəwí/

< **i̯auu̯a-*; Ave. yauua-, Bactr. ιαοι, ιαο(ο) /yaw/, Oss. i *yæų̯* 'millet', Shugh. *ǰav*, Wakh. *žaw*, *žow*; Munj. *you* 'grain', Pers. *ǰau̯*, Pahl. *ǰaw*; Ved. *yáva-*

(71.) rice *(husky)*

bʲrínǰ ❖ m βrync /βrĭ̈mǰ/

< **u̯rīdʒi-*; Ave. *verenǰa*, Khwār. *βnc*, Khōt. *rrīysū-*, *rrīysua-*, Pasht. *(w)ríža*, Waṇ. *wríza*, Wakh. *gurunǰ*, Ōrm. *rījan*, Pers. *birínǰ*, *gurinǰ*, Pahl. *brinǰ*, Tālysh. *birz*, Sivandi. *birǰi*; Ved. *vrībī-*, Elam. *mi-ri-zi-iš*, Gre. *ὄϱυζα*, *βϱίζα*, Cze. *rýže*, Eng. *rice*, Kāmvir. *wrúji*, Qashq. *birinǰ*

(72.) potato

kartušká, *kartiška* ❖

< Rus. *καρτόшκα*, Tǰk. *kartoška*, TVarz. *ka(r)tuška*, Kyrg. *kartöškö* < Fr. *cartouche*

~~**(73.) eggplant**~~

~~**(74.) groundnut**~~

(75.) chilli / pepper

qalamfűr ❖

Tjk. *qalamfűr*, *qaranfűl*, TMast. *qəlamfűr*, *qəlamfír* < Hind.

zanǰabíl ❖ s *snkrpyl* /síṁgəʳbīl/ 'ginger'

< Tǰk. (regionally) *zanǰabĭ́l* 'red pepper' < Pers. *zanǰabíl* 'ginger', Pahl. *sngypyl* /singaβēr/, Kurd. *zencefil*, Ujgh. *zänǰiwil*, Tr. *zencefil*, Ázerb. *zəncəfil*, Ar. *zanǰabīl*, Gre. *ζιγγίβεϱις*, Mediaeval Lat. *gingiber*, *zingiber* < Palī. *siṅgiv* 'ginger'

~~**(76.) tumeric**~~

(77.) garlic

kámčun *(arch.)* ❖

cf. TMast. *kamč* 'wild onion'

sīr ❖

< Pers. *sīr*, Kurd. *sîr*

(78.) onion

pʲyőz ❖ b *pyʾk* /pyāk/

< Ir. **piu̯āka-*; Yidgh. *pīγ*, Wakh. *piūk*, Yazgh. *piyēγ*; Bactr. πιωζο /piyōz/; Pers. *piyáz*, Pahl. *paδāz*, Kurd. *pîvaz*; Uygh. *piyaz*, Kyrg. *pïyaz*

~~**(79.) cauliflower**~~

(80.) tomato

pamadúr, *pamadór* ❖

< Rus. *помидóр* < Ital. *pomi d'oro*; TMast. *famildorű*

(81.) cabbage

vʉzγūšák ❖

< *vʉz* 'goat' + *γūš* 'ear'

60. grass

wēš / waiš ❖ B *wyš(h)* /wēš/

< **u̯āθtri̯a-*; Ave. *vāstra-* 'pasture, provender', Khwār. *wš*, Bactr. ΟΑϸΟ M *wš* /wăš/, Yazgh. *wex̌* 'grass, hay', Shugh. Rōsh. Rāshrv. Khūf. *wōx̌*, Sarīq. *wux̌*, Ishk. *(w)uš*, Sangl. *wuṣ*, Wakh. *wʉiṣ*, Munj. *wəṣ*, *wūš*, Yidgh. *wuṣ*, Pasht. *wāx̌ə́*, Parāch. *γīš*, Ōrm. *γwāšī*, Parth. *wāš* 'provender'

mar*γ* ❖ BS *mrγh* S M C *mrγ* /mar̈γ/ 'meadow, forest'

< **márga-* 'meadow'; Ave. *marəγa-*, Bactr. ΜΑϱΓΟ /marγ/ 'meadow', Sangl. *mērγ*, Yidgh. *mīrγo*, Pasht. *maryа*, Tjk. *maryˊ*, *maryzőr* 'meadow'

61. (36.) rope

wi̋ta ❖

< **u̯īta-ka-*, Oss. I *biyын* 'to bind'

vânt ❖

< **banta-*, Bactr. ϐανδο /βand/, Oss. I *bændæg*, Pers. *band*

III.7. Body parts

62. (84.) skin

pūst ❖ S *pwst(h)* /pōst/

< **pau̯(a)sta-*; Ave. *pąsta-*, Shugh. *pū̄st*, Rōsh. Khūf. Bart. *pūst*, Sarīq. *past*, Yazgh. *pəst*, Wakh. *pist*, Sangl. *pask*, Munj. *pūstá*, Yidgh. *pisto*, Pers. *pōst*, Pasht. Kurd. *post*; Skt. *pustaka-* 'book'

čarm ❖ S B *crm* /čar̈m/,

< **čarman-*; Ave. čarəman-, Khwār. *crm* /carm/, *črm* /čarm/, Khōt. *tcārman-*, Oss. *ćar(m)*, Pasht. *carman*, Pers. *čarm*, Kurd. *çerm*; Ved. *cárman-*

63. (84.) meat

yő́ta ❖ B yˀtˀk, yˀtk M yˀty /yǻ́tē/

< **i̯āta-ka-*; Khwār. *yātti*; cf. etymologically non-related Uygh. Uzb. *ėt*, Kyrg. *it*

64. (22.) blood

wáx(ⁱ)n, wáx(ⁱ)m ❖ B *γwrn-w*, *γwrn-y*, *yγwn-w*, *wγrn-h* M *(y)xwrn-y*, *yxwn-y* C *xwrn-y*, *ywxn-y* /(yə)xʷəʳní, xʷəʳnú, yəxʷəní, yəxʷənú, yoxní, wəxəʳná/

< **u̯áhu(r)na-*; Ave. *vohunī-*, *vohuna-*, Khwār. *hwny*, Khōt. *hūnä*, Shugh. Rōsh. *wixīn*, Bart. *waxin*, Rāshrv. *waxĭ̌n*, Yazgh. *x°an*, Ishk. *wẹn*, Wakh. *wʉix̌ən*, Munj. *yīna*, Pasht. *winē*, Pers. *xūn*, TFalgh. *xin*

65. (20.) bone

siták ❖ S B M *ʔstk-y*, C *sti̯q-y* /ˀstəkí/

< **asta(-)ka-*; Khwār. *ʔstk* /əstag/, Khōt. *āstaa-*, Oss. I *ыstæg*, Ishk. *wůstůk*, Sangl. *ostŏk*, Wakh. *(y)ayč*, Munj. *yostīy*, Yidgh. *yastë*, Pahl. *astag*, cf. Pers. *ustuxᵛā́n*

66. (85.) fat *(of meat)*

čárpa ❖ B *crp* /čaṙp/

< **čarp(a)-*; Khwār. *crb*, Oss. *carv*, Jass. *carif*, Tjk. *čarb*

(82.) **oil**

rū́γⁱn, rū́γan, rū́γna ❖ S B M C *rwγn* Br *ro haṃ, ro γaṃ* /rṓγᵊn/

< **ráu̯gna-(ka-)*; Ave. *raoγna-*, Khwār. *rγy̌n*, Bactr. M *rwgn*, Khōt. *rrūṇa-*, Yazgh. *roγ(ə)n*, Shugh. *rūγan*, Ishk. *reγ(u)n*, Wakh. *rūγn*, *rūγ̌ən*, Munj. *rūγna*, Yidgh. *rūγən*, Pers. *rōγán*, Tjk. *rau̯γán*, TMast. *rūγán*, TVarz. *růγán*, TYagh. *rūγín*, AfghP. *rau̯γán*, colloq. *rū̆γán*, Hazār. *ruγū̆́*, *rū̆γū̆́*, Fārs. rou̯γ Fārs. *roᵘγǟ́n*, Pahl. *rōγn*

(91.) **milk**

xⁱšíft ❖ B *ʾγšyβt(-y)* S *ʾxšʾyβt* M *xšyβt* Br *hṣa wdʰi*, *hṣa wṯi* /ᵊxšī̆́βd̥(á) ~ ᵊxšɨβd̥í/

< **xšu̯ífta-*; Ave. *xšuuipta-*, *xšuuīd-*, Khwār. *xwfcy* /xū̆βʒī̆/, Khōt. *ṣvīdä-*, Yazgh. *x̌ᵒovd*, Shugh. Rōsh. *x̌ūvd*, Sarīq. *x̌ɛwd*, Yidgh. *xᵘšuvd*, Pasht. *šawdə́*, Ōrm. *šīpī*, Parth. *šyft*, Zâz. *šit*, cf. Pers. *šaftālū́*

šīr ❖

< Pers. *šīr*, Oss. I *æxsыr*

67. (88.) **egg**

táx(ⁱ)m; *túx(ᵘ)m* ❖ S B *tγm-y* C *ṯxm-y* /toxmí/, S B *tγmy* C *ṯ(w)xmy* /toxmḗ/

< **tắo̯xma-(ka-)* < **táu̯xman-*; Ave. *taoxman-*, Bactr. *τοχμανο* /tuxman/, Wakh. *taγm*, Ishk. *tъxm*, Pasht. *tōma*, Pers. *tuxm*, TMast. *tüxm*, Hazār. *túxᵘm*, Pahl. *tōm*, Parth. *tw(x)m* /tō(x)m/, OPers. *taumā-*, Kurd. *tom*; Ved. *tókman-*

xṓya ‘testicles’ ❖

< Pers. *xāyá*, ‘egg(s)’ Pahl. *xāyag*, Khwār. *yʾk* /yāg/, Ir. **āu̯i̯a-ka-*, Ave. *aēm*, Ide. **h₂ōu̯i̯om*, OCS. *ajьce*, Rus. *яйцó*, Cze. *vejce*; Lat. *ōvum*, Gre. *ᾠόν*, Gót. *ada*, OEng. *ǣġ*, OScand. *egg*, Ger. *Ei*

68. (92.) **horn**

šōx ❖ M *šʾγh* /šāx/

< **šāxa-*; Wakh. *ṣ̌ōx*, Pers. *šāx*, Parth. *šʾx*

❖ C *krnʾ* /kaṙnā̆/

< **kárnā-kā-*; Ave. *karəna-* ‘ear’; Ved. *śŕ̥ṅga-*, Lat. *cornu*, Goth. *haúrn*

69. (93.) **tail**

dʉⁱm, *dʉmbá* ❖ M *δwnp-* /δūmb-/; B *δwnpʾk* /δumbē/ ‘[having a] tail’

< **dŭma-*; Ave. *dŭma-*, Khwār. *δwm* /δū̆m/, Khōt. *dumaa-*, Oss. *dымæg* ‖ *dumæg*, Yazgh. *δom*, Shugh. Rōsh. *δum*, Ishk. *dům*, Munj. *lum*, Pasht. *ləm*, Pers. *dūm*, Tjk. *dūm(bá)*, TMast. *dümb(á)*, Kurd. *duw*, *dunk*, Balōch. *dummag*

70. **feather**

pan(n) *(arch.)*; *par* ‘feather, wing’ ❖ B *prn* /paṙn/

< Ir. **parna-*; Ave. *parəna-*, Khwār. *pn̄*, Shugh. *pūn*, Rōsh. *pūn*, Bart. *pōnt*, Sarīq. *pun*, Yazgh. *půn*, Wakh. *pār*, Munj. *pūŋ(ǵ)*, Yidgh. *pūṇa*, Pasht. *bə́ṇa*, Perc. *par* cf. Tjk. *parrá*

71. (3.) **hair**

daráu̯ ‖ dⁱráu̯ ❖ B *ẓw-y /ž̦əwí/*

< **dráu̯a-* ‘hair’; Khōt. *drau-*, *dro*, Oss. *ærdu* ‖ *ærdo*, Shugh. *cīw*, Rōsh. *cōw*, Yazgh. *ců*; Ōrm. *drī*; Ved. *drav-*, Khowār. *dro*, Ide. **dreu̯-*

72. (2.) **head**

sar ❖ *sr-y*, *sˀr* /sarí/

< **ϯára-*; Bactr. *σαϱο* /sar/, Oss. I *sær*, Ishk. *sar*, Pers. *sar*, Kurd. *serî*, Hind. *sar*, *sir*, Eynu. *sär*

kallá, *sàrkállá* ❖

< Pers. *kallá*, Tjk. *(sàr)kallá* BukhAr. *kalla*, Uzb. *kàllà*, Karakaplak. *gelle*, Turkm. *kelle*

(4.) **face**

rīt ❖ S B *ryt(h)* M *ry(y)t* C *ryṯ* /rīt/

rūʸ ❖

< Pers. *rōi̯*, TMast. *rū*, Hazār. *ruy*, Kurd. *rû*, Ave. *raoδa-*; Goth. *ludja*

lunǰ ❖

< Tjk. *lunǰ*

čeᵇrá ❖

< Pers. *čihr(á)*; Ir. **čiϑra-* ‘sign’; Khōt. tcira- ‘image’; Ave. *čiϑra-* ‘picture’; Pasht. *cēr* ‘alike’; Alan. *τζηϱϑε*, *τζιϱτ* ‘tombstone’, Oss. *сыrt* ‖ *cirt*; Ved. *citra-* ‘visible’; Tatar. *çıray* ‘face’

73. (6.) **ear**

*γ*ūš ❖ S B M C *γwš* /*γ*ōš/

< **gau̯ša-*; Ave. *gaoša-*, Khwār. *γwx* /*γ*ōx/, Khōt. *gguv'a-*, *ggū'*, Oss. *qus* ‖ *γos*, Scyth. ○*γωσος*, Wakh. *γ̌iš*, Ishk. *γůḷ*, Shugh. *γůγ̌*, Rōsh. *γōw*, Sarīq. *γawl*, Yazgh. *γəvon*, Munj. *γūy*, *γūĭ̯*, Yidgh. *γū*, Pasht. *γwaǵ*, Ōrm. *gōī*, *gōy*, Parāch. *gū*, Pers. *gōš*, Pahl. Parth *gōš*, OPers. *gau̯ša-*, Balóč *gōš*, Kurd. *goh*; Ved. *gᵇoṣa-* ‘neck’

74. (5.) **eye**

*γ*úrda ❖

< **gr̥da-ka-*; cf. Ave. *gərəδa-* ‘hole, pit’

čáš(ⁱ)m ❖ S *c(š)m-y* M *cm-y(y)*, *čšm-y* C *c(y)m-y*, *cšm-y* /čɨ(š)mí/

< **čášman-*; Ave. *čašman-*, Khwār. *cm-*, *cm̄-* /camma/, Khōt. *tcei'man-*, Oss. *cæst* ‘eye’, *casm* ‖ *cans* ‘window-opening’, Ishk. *com*, Sangl. *cāṃ*, Zēb. *cōm*, Munj. *čōm*, Yidgh. *čam*, Shugh. Baj. *cēm*, Rōsh. Khūf. *cām*, Bart. *cēm*, Rāshrv. *cīm*, Sarīq. *cem*, Yazgh. *čă̄m*, Wakh. *č̣ə(ž̦)m*, Ōrm. *cimī*, *čīm*, *cɔ̄m*, Pers. *čašm*, TMast. *čišm*, Fārs. *češm*, Hazār. *číšⁱm*, Kurd. *çav*

75. (7.) **nose**

nēs / nai̯s ❖ B *nns* /naṁs/, M *ns* /nąs/; B *nyc* /nēč/

< **āsn(i̯a)-*, **náhi-kā-*; Ave. *nā̊ŋhan-*, Khwār. *nˀc* /nāʒa/, Yazgh. *neǰ*, Shugh. *nāʒ*, Rōsh. Khūf. *nēʒ*, Bart. Rāshrv. *nōʒ*, Sarīq. *noz*, Ishk. *nic*, Parāch. *nēšt*; Ved. *nā́sikā-*

76. (8.) **mouth**

rax ❖ S *rɣʾk* /rəxā́/

77. (9.) teeth

dín*d*ak ❖ B *ðnt(ʾ)k* B M *ðntʾkh* C *dnṯʾ* /ðɨm̀dǎ(k), ðam̀dǎ(k)/

< **dāntu(-)ka-*; Khwār. *ðnck* /ðanʒig/, Khōt. *dandaa-*, Oss. I *dændag*, Shugh. *ðindū̄n*, Khūf. Rōsh. Bart. Rāshrv. *ðindōn*, Sarīq. *ðandan*, *ðandun*, Yazgh. *ðand*, *ðān*, Wakh. *dəndʊık*, *dendik*, Ishk. *dond*, Sangl. *dānd*, Munj. *lod*, Pers. *dandā́n*, TMast. *dandū́n*, Pahl. *dandān*, Kurd. *didan*, Balōch. *dāntān*; Lat. *dens*, Gre. *ὀδών*, Gót. *tunþus*, Ger. *Zahn*, OEng. *tōð*, Lit. *dantís*, OIrl. *ḋét*, Irl. *déad*, Welsh Bret. *dant*, Ide. **h₁dónt-*

78. (10.) tongue

z^{i}vṓk ❖ B *(ʾ)zβʾ(ʾ)k* M *zβʾk* C *zbʾq* /ᵊzβāk ~ žβāk /

< **hiʒuṷā́-kă-*; Ave. *hizuuā-*, *hizū-*, Khwār. *zᵘβʾk*, *ʾzβʾk* /zuβā́g, əzβā́g/, Bactr. *εζλαγο* /əzβāg/, Khōt. *biśā* /βiźā/, Oss. *ævzag*, Munj. *zəvíγ* U *zəvṹg*, Yidgh. *zᵊvīγ, zɪbēγ*, Shugh.-Rōsh. *ziv*, Yazg. *z(ə)veg*, Wakh. *zĭk*, Ishk. *z(ʊ)vůk*, Sangl. *zəvŭk*, Pasht. *žźəba*, Wazīrī *žəbba*, Wazīrī *žəbba*, Waṇ. *z(i)bə*, *zəbō*; Pers. *zaẖā́n*, TMast. *zŭbū́n*, *zuγū́n*, *zəbū́n*, TBukh. *zavon*, Hazār. *zibṹ́*, Pahl. *ʾwzwʾn* M *ʿzwʾn* /uzwān, izwān/, Parth. *ʿzbʾn* /izbān/, OPers. *hizānam* (acc. sg.), *hizū-*, Med. **hizbān-*, Zâzâ. *zıman*, *zıwan*, *zun*, Kurd. *ziman*, Māzand. *ziwŭn*, *ziwan*, Balōch. *zubān*, *zuvān*, *zavān*, Talysh. *zəvon*, Khōʾīnī *zuan*, Tātī *zuhun*; Ōrm. *zobån*; Urd. *zabān*; IIr. **siǰʰu̯ā-*; Ved. *jihvā́*, *juhū́-*, Sindhī *jibʰa*; Ide. **dn̥ĝʰū-*, **dn̥ĝʰu̯ā-*, OCS. *językъ*; Lat. *lingua*, OIrl. *tenɣ(e)*, *tenɣæ*, Goth. *tuŋgō*, Armen. *lezu*, Tokh. A *käntu* B *käntvo*

79. (17.) fingernail

náxna ❖ B *nʾγ(ʾ)n* /nā́xən/

< **năxa-na-*; Khōt. *nāhane*, Yidgh. *anaxno*, Pers. *nāxún*, Ved. *nakʰá-*

80. foot

pṓda ❖ S *pʾðʾk* B *pʾð(y)*, *pʾðh*, *pʾð(ʾ)k* M *pʾð(y)* C *pʾd(y)* /pā́ðĕ/

< **pā́da-(ka-)*, Ave. *pāδa-*, Khwār. *pʾð*, Khōt. *pāa-*, Oss. *fad*, Wakh. *pʊīð*, Shugh. *pōð*, Yazgh. *peð*, Ishk. *pud*, Munj. *pāla*; Pers. *pāi̯*, Pahl. *pāī*, OPers. *pāda-*, Kurd. *pê*; Gre. *πούς*, cf. Pasht. *calōrbōlai* 'four-legged'

81. (18.) leg

link ❖

< Tü. *??*, Kurd. *ling*

pṓda, *pō(y)* ❖ S *pʾðʾk* B *pʾð(y)*, *pʾðh*, *pʾð(ʾ)k* M *pʾð(y)* C *pʾd(y)* /pā́ðĕ/

< **pā́da-(ka-)*, Ave. *pāδa-*, Khwār. *pʾð*, Khōt. *pāa-*, Oss. *fad*, Wakh. *pʊīð*, Shugh. *pōð*, Yazgh. *peð*, Ishk. *pud*, Munj. *pāla*; Pers. *pāi̯*, Pahl. *pāī*, OPers. *pāda-*, Kurd. *pê*; Gre. *πούς*, cf. Pasht. *calōrbōlai* 'four-legged'

82. knee

zēnk ❖ B *zʾnʾwk*, *znʾwkʾ*, M *znwq* /zănuk(ă)/

< **zā́nŭkă-* < **ʒā́nū-kā-*, Ave. *žnu-*, Khwār. *zʾnwk*, Khōt. *ysānū-*, *ysānua-*, Oss. I *zonʊg*,

Ishk. *zong*, Waṇ. *zuŋg*, Parāch. *zanuk*, Pers. *zānú*, TMast. *züní*, Pahl. *zʾnwk* /zānūg/, Parth. *zʾnwg*, Balōch. *zanūk*; Ved. *jā́nu-*, Gre. *γόνυ*, Lat. *genu*, OEng. *cnēo(w)*

83. **armband**

dast ❖ S B M gM *ðst-y* C *dst̠-y* /ðast-í/

< **dásta-* (disslimilation or contamination of past part. of verb *dăd-* 'to give' **dăsta-* < **dăd-ta-*) < **ʤásta-*; Ave. *zasta-*, Khwār. *ðst* /ðast-/, Bactr. λιστο /list/, Khōt. *dasta-*, Shugh. *ðust*, Khūf. *ðūst* Rōsh. *ðost*, Sarīq *ðʉst*, Wakh. *ðast*, *dast*, Yazgh. *ðůst*, *dast*, Munj. *lōst*, Yidgh. *last*, Pasht. *lās*, Parāch. *dōst*, Pers. *dast*, Pahl. *dst* /dast/, OPers. *dasta-*, Parth. *dst*, Kurd. *des;* Ved. *hásta-*, Ide. **ĝʰes-to-*; cf. Gre. χείρ D χήρ, Hitt. *keššar*, Tokh. A *tsar* B *ṣar*

*yőz*na ❖

< pres. part. of the verb *yōz-* 'to stretch', Pers. *yāzīđán : yāz-*

(14.) **elbow**

ōríný, ōrúný ❖ B *ʔʔrʾync* M *ʔʔrʾnj* C *ʾrync* /ā́rɨm̓ǰ/

< **ărá∋ni-ka-*; Ave. *ara∋na-*, Khōt. *ariñe* 'belonging to elbow'; Oss. *[ælm-/ærm-]ærin* ‖ *[cæng-]ærinæ*, Shugh. *ārenǰ*, Sarīq. *yorn*; Sangl. *ărinǰ*, Wakh. *ōrīnǰ*; Munj. *rā́zən*, *rázen*, Yidgh. *razín*, Pers. *ărán(ǰ)*, Tjk. *ōrī́nǰ*, Northern dial. *olínǰ*, *olű́nǰ*, AfghP. *ā̆rónǰ*, Fārs. *ā̆rā́nǰ*; Ved. *aratní-*, Gre. *ὠλήν*, OEng. *eln*

(15.) **palm** *(of hand)*

panǰá(ra) ❖

< Tjk. *panǰará*, *panǰá* < **panča-* 'five'

kaf ❖

< Pers. *kaf*

nišk ❖ S *nnšky*

cf. Khōt. *nänārra-* < Khōt. *näna-* / *nina-* 'within' + *ārra-* < **arma-* 'arm'

páx(x)a ❖

cf. Yagh. *pax* 'finger'

(16.) **finger**

unkúšt, *angúšt* ❖ *ʾnkwšt* M *ʾngwšt* /aṁgʷəšt/

< **ángušta-*; Ave. *angušta-*, Oss. I *ængʷʁlʒ*, Khōt. *āṣṭia-*, Pers. *angúšt*, Pahl. *angušt*, Kurd. *enguşt*; Ved. *aṅgʰúṣṭʰa-*

pax ❖

cf. Yagh. *pax(x)á* 'palm'

84. **wing**

qanőt, *qanát* ❖

< Uzb. *qanåt*, Uygh. Kyrg. *qanat* < Tü. **qāńat*; Tjk. *qanőt*, *qanát*

bal ❖

< Pers. *bāl*

par ❖ B *prn* /paṙn/

< Ir. **parna-*; Ave. *parəna-*, Khwār. *prn̄*, Shugh. *pūn*, Rōsh. *pūn*, Bart. *pōnt*, Sarīq. *pun*, Yazgh. *půn*, Wakh. *pār*, Munj. *pūŋ(ǵ)*, Yidgh. *pūṇa*, Pasht. *bə́ṇa*, Pers. *par*

❖ M C *wʾz* /wāz/

cf. Sogd. B M √*wz-* /√wəz-/ 'to fly'; Pers. *vazīđán : vaz-*, Ved. *vah-* 'to blow'

(1.) body

tan ❖ S B *tnpʾr*, M *tanbʾr*, *tambʾr*, *tampʾr* C *t̰anbʾr*, *t̰anpʾr*, *t̰am(b)ʾr*, *t̰mfʾr* /tám̀bār/

< Ir. **tanū-(pāra-)*; Ave. *tanu-*, Khwār. *tn* /tan/, Bactr. ταvο /tan/, Pers. *tan*, Parth. *tnbʾr*, Pahl. *tnβʾr*; Uzb. *tán*, Uygh. *tän*, Kyrg. *ten*, BukhAr. *tan*

badán ❖

Ar. BDN, Pers. *badán*

ǰasád ❖

Ar. ǰSD *ǰasad*, Pers. *ǰasád*

85. (12.) belly

šⁱkámpa, iškampá ❖

< **škamba-ka-*; Pers. *šikám*, Tjk. *šikambá*, *iškambá*, TVarz. *šikám*, *iškám*

dára 'belly, guts' ❖ B *kðʾr(ʾy)*, *kðʾrʾk* C *qɔʾry*, *kɔʾry* /kᵊðā́rĕ, kᵊɔā́rĕ/

< **udára-(ka-)*; Khwār. *ʾwðyr* /uðír/, Ishk. *dēr*, Wakh. *dūr*; Tjk. *dará* 'stomach of a domestic animal', Ved. *udára-* 'stomach'

86. guts

dára 'belly, guts' ❖ B *kðʾr(ʾy)*, *kðʾrʾk* C *qɔʾry*, *kɔʾry* /kᵊðā́rĕ, kᵊɔā́rĕ/ 'belly'

< **udára-(ka-)*; Khwār. *ʾwðyr* /uðír/, Ishk. *dēr*, Wakh. *dūr*; Tjk. *dará* 'stomach of a domestic animal', Ved. *udára-* 'stomach'

bándil 'heart, guts' ❖

< Tjk. colloq. *bandíl* < *bánd-i dil* '*bundle* of heart'

ǰⁱgár 'liver, guts' ❖

< Pers. *ǰigár*, Pahl. *ǰakar*, *yakar*, Ave. *yākar-*, Khōt. *gyagarra-*, *jatärra-*, Oss. *igær*, Yidgh. *yēγən*, Pasht. *(y)īná*, Ōrm. *ʒə̌ř*; Ved. *yákr̥t-*, Ide. **ʜi̯ĕkᵘr̥t-*, Gre. *ἧπαρ*

rū́ta ❖

< Tjk. *rūdá*, Rōsh. *rūd*, Yazgh. *rəd*, Ishk. *růčik*, Munj. *rūyəy*, *rūyī*

87. neck

γalk ❖

< Ar. HLQ; Tjk. *halq*, Shugh. *alq*

kám(á), *kōm* ❖ S *kʾkh* B *kʾγʾʾkh*, *kʾγk* C *qʾx* /kā́xă(k), kā́x, kā́k/

< **kāh-man-*, **kāha-ka-*; Oss. *kom*, *gom*, Yazgh. *mă̄k*, Rōsh. *mă̄k*, Munj. *kāγəko*, Pasht. *kumai*; Parāch. *kāma*; Tjk. *kōm*, Pers. *kāk*

88. back

árqá ❖

Uzb. *årqa*, Tü. **arqā*; Yazgh. Shugh. Rōsh. Ishk. Wakh. *arqá*, Sarīq. *arqó*, Yidgh. *harkŏ*

sʲtám, satám ❖

pušt ❖ в *prch* /pařč/

< **páršta-(ka-)*; Ave. *paršti-*, Pasht. *puxt*, Pers. *pušt*, Kurd. *piṣt*; Ved. *pr̥ṣṭí-*

89. (11.) breast

čič, *ǰiǰí* ❖

cf. Tjk. *čuč*, *čoč*, *ǰiǰ*, Oss. *ʒiʒi* ‖ *ʒeʒe*, Khōt. *tcījsa*, Ishk. *čiči*, Sangl. *čičī*, Shugh. *ǰiǰ*, Armen. *cic*, Ger. *Zitze*, Cze. *cecek*, Ital. *zizza*, Gre. *τιτθός*, Georg. *ʒuʒu*

vu̍na ❖

sína ❖

< Pers. *sīná*, Shugh. *sīnā́*

90. (21.) heart

dil ❖ в *ðrzy* м *ðrjy(y)* /ðəʳžē/

< **dz̥r̥daia-*; Ave. *zərəðaiia-*, Khōt. *ysära-*, Pers. *dil*, TMast. *dil*, Ishk. *dьl*, Ved. *hr̥daya-*, Lat. *cor*, Gre. *καρδίᾱ*, *κῆρ*, St.Sl. *sьrdьce*; Ide. **ḱr̥d-*

bándil ‘heart, guts’ ❖

< Tjk. colloq. *bandíl* < *bánd-i dil* ‘*bundle* of heart’

91. liver

ǰʲgár ‘liver, guts’ ❖

< Pers. *ǰigár*, Pahl. *ǰakar*, *yakar*, Ave. *yākar-*, Khōt. *gyagarra-*, *jatärra-*, Oss. *igær*, Yidgh. *yēɣən*, Pasht. *(y)īná*, Ōrm. *ʒāř*; Ved. *yákr̥t-*, Ide. **ḥi̯ḗḱᵘr̥t-*, Gre. *ἧπαρ*

(23.) urine

gaz(z)ák, *gʲz(z)ák* ❖

< Tjk.?

(24.) feces

ɣūs̱ / *ɣūʲt̨* ❖ s *ɣwð* /ɣūϑ/

< **gūϑǐ-*, **gūϑ(i̯)ắ-*; Ave. gūϑa-, Khwār. *ɣwϑ* /ɣūϑ/, Yazgh. *ɣ°oϑ*, Shugh. Rōsh. *ɣaϑ*, Wakh. *gi*, Munj. *ɣūw*, Pasht. *ɣ(w)ul*, Pers. *guh*, Tjk. *gůh*

xērdák ❖

Wakh. *xʁırdəx*; cf. Yagh. verb *xērd-* ‘to shit’ : Khwār. *-xrð-*, Shugh. *šarð- : šuxt-*, Rōsh. Bart. *šarð-*, *širð- : šuxt-*, Sarīq. *šarð-*, Yazgh. *xawð- : xaxt-*, Yidgh. *xawd-*, Pasht. *xaṛə́l*

III.8. Verbs

92. (185.) to drink

žau̯- (ažáu̯ : žáu̯ta : žáu̯na : žáwak) ❖

< **ž̥iau̯-*; Pasht. *žōwə́l*, Balōch. *ǰāyag*, Pers. *ǰāvīđán : ǰāv-*

❖ в √ʔʔšʔm /√ášām/

Ave. *šam-*

93. (182.) to eat

x̌ar- (ax̌ár̨ : x̌ő̱rta : x̌árna : x̌árak) ❖ S B √ɣwr- Br *hor-*, *hur- :* S B √ɣwrt /√x°ər- : √x°aṙt/

< **xᵘar-*; Ave *xᵛar-*, Khwār. *x(w)r-*, Bactr. χοαϱ- : χοαϱδο : /xʷar- : xʷard/, Pers. *xᵛardán : xᵛar-*, Tjk. *xᵛůrdán : xᵛůr-*, Fārs. *xᵛordä́n : xᵛor-*, AfghP. *xʷordán : xʷor-*; *Eynu. xorla-*

94. (183.) to bite

xⁱš̋óy- (axⁱš̋óy : xⁱš̋óyta : xⁱš̋óyna : xⁱš̋óyak) ❖ B √ʾɣšyʾk *(inf.)* /ᵊxšayé̋/

< **xšau̯-*; Ishk. *šāw- : šāwůd*, Wakh. *šɯw- : šōwd*, Yazgh. *šaw-*, Munj. *axšōw- : axšēvd-*

živ- (ažív : žívta : žívna : žívak) 'to sew, to stitch' ❖ S √ẓyβ- B √zyβ-, √ẓyβ- M √jβ- /√žɨβ-/

< **žíba-*

95. to suck

zamák-, zamáq- (azamák : zamákta : zamágna : zamákak) ‖ zⁱmák- (azⁱmák : zⁱmákta : zⁱmágna : zⁱmákak) ❖

< **udz-mak-*, cf. Pers. *makīđán : mak-*

dīy- (adí̋y : dí̋yta : dí̋yna : dí̋yak) ❖

< **dāi̯-*; Oss. *dæуын ‖ dæyun : dad*; Ved. *dʰāy-*, Gre. θάω, OCS. *dojiti*, Goth. *daddjan*

96. to spit

xūf- (axű́f : xű́fta : xű́fna : xű́fak) 'to cough' ❖ B √ɣwʾʾβ /√x°āf/

Oss. xʷыfын ‖ *xufun* 'to cough', Yidgh. *xof- : xofāi-*, Parāch. *kʰūf-*, Parth. *wf-*

97. to vomit

qay kun- (*qáy*i kárak) ❖

< Pers. *qai̯ kardán*

ūrt kun- *(ű́rt*i kárak) ❖

cf. TMast. *ūrt kašidán*; cf. TMast. *ɛ̈ür(r)idán* 'to shout'

kōu̯- (ak*ő́u̯* : *kő́u̯*ta : *kő́u̯*na : *kő́w*ak) 'to search; to vomit; to touch; to dig' ❖

< Pers. *kāftán : kāv- / kāb-*, TVarz. *koftán : kou̯-*

❖ B *ɣwrtsnty* /x°ər-sáṁdĕ̋/ 'vomiting'

❖ C *qʾxwšʾt̯y* /ka̋x-wišātĕ̋/ 'vomiting'

98. to blow

dam wīd- (*dám*i wī́dak) ❖

< Tjk. *dam* 'breath' + Yagh. *wīd-* 'to pour'; cf. Oss. *дытын ‖ dumun*

99. to breathe

dam I xaš- (*dám*i xášak) ❖

< Tjk. *dam* 'breath' + Yagh. *xaš-* 'to pull'

100. to laugh

xant- (axánt : xántta : xántna : xántak) ❖ B √ɣnt /√xaṁd-/

< **xand-*; Yazgh. *xənd- : xant-*, Shugh. Rōsh. *šānd- : sīnt-*, Ishk. *xond-*, Wakh. *kānd-*, Munj. *xåd-*, Pers. *xandīđán : xand-*

101. (201.) to look / to see

wēn- (awé̋n : wé̋ta : wé̋nna : wé̋nak) ❖ S B M C √*wyn :* S B M √*wyt* C √*wyt̯* /√wēn : √wēt/

< **u̯ai̯na-*; Ave. *vaēna-*, Khwār. *wyn- : wynў̆d*, Bactr. οην-, οι(η)ν- M *wyn- :* * λιδο /wēn- :

lĭd/, Shugh. Bart. Rāshrv. *wīn- : wīnt*, Khūf. *win- : wīnt*, Rōsh. *wun- : wunt*, Sarīq. *wɛyn- : wand*, Yazgh. Wakh. Sangl. *wīn- : wīnd*, Pers. *dīđán : bīn-*, Pahl. *wēn- : dīd-*

*ɣ*ōr- (a*ɣ*ór : *ɣ*órta : *ɣ*órna : *ɣ*órak) ❖ B √*ɣʾʾr* /√*ɣ*ār/

< **gāra-*; Khwār. *ɣʾr-*; cf. Oss. *[æn]qælын : [æn]qæld* ‖ *[æn]ɣælun : [æn]ɣald* ‘to hope’

102. (200.) to hear / to listen

d^{u}*ɣ*ű̀š- (ad^{u}*ɣ*ű̀š : d^{u}*ɣ*ű̀šta : d^{u}*ɣ*ű̀šna : d^{u}*ɣ*ű̀šak) ‘to hear’ ❖ S M √*ptɣwš* B √*ptɣ(ʾ)wš* C √*ptɣwš* /√p^{ə}t*ɣ*ő̀š/ ‘to hear’

< **pati-gáu̯ša-*

*ɣ*ūš dōr- / kun- (*ɣ*ű̀ši dő̀rak / kárak) ‘to listen’ ❖

< Pers. *gōš dāštán*, TYagh. *ɣūš dóštan*, Oss. I *qus darын*

103. to know

b^{u}zé̋n- (ab^{u}zé̋n : b^{u}zé̋nta : b^{u}zé̋nna : b^{u}zé̋nak) ‖ b^{i}zé̋n- (ab^{i}zé̋n : b^{i}zé̋nta : b^{i}zé̋nna : b^{i}zé̋nak) ❖ S B √*(pt)zʾn* M √*ptzʾn* C √*pt̲zʾn* /√(p^{ə}t)zá̋n/

< **apa-dzān-*, **(pati-)dzān-*; Ave. *pāti-zāna-*, Khōt. *paysān-*, Oss. *(ba)zonын : (ba)zын̆d*, ‖ *zonun : zund*, Yazgh. *vəzan- : vəzant-*, Shugh. *wizůn- : wizůnt*; Rōsh. Khūf. *wizōn- : wizēnt*, Sarīq. *wazon- : wazont*, Ishk. *pъzin- : pъzint-*, Wakh. *pazdan-*, Munj. *vzōn- : vzōd-*, Pasht. *pēžōn-*, Pers. *dānistán : dān-*; cf. Bactr. *πιζινδδι* ??

ɣ^{i}ríf- (a*ɣ*^{i}ríf : *ɣ*^{i}rífta : *ɣ*^{i}rífna : *ɣ*^{i}rífak) ‖ *ɣ*^{i}rív- (a*ɣ*^{i}rív : *ɣ*^{i}rífta : *ɣ*^{i}rívna : *ɣ*^{i}rívak) ❖ S B M √*ɣrβ-* C √*ɣrb-* /√*ɣ*i^{r}*β-*/

< **gr̥bi̯a-* ‘to grab, to take’; Ave. *gərəbiia-*, Khwār. *ɣiβya-*; Khōt. *grauna-*, Oss. *ærɣ^{w}ævын : ærɣævd* ‖ *ærɣuvun : ærɣuvd*, Ishk. *ɣurv- : ɣurd*, Munj. *ɣərv- : ɣərivd*, OPers. *gr̥bāya-*, Pers. *giriftán : gīr-*, Pahl. *graftan*, Kurd. *girtin*, Balōch. *girag* : *gipt*; Ved. *grab^{h}- : gr̥b^{h}ṇāti*, OCS. *grebǫ : grabiti*

104. to think

fikr kun- (*fikr*i kárak) ❖

Pers. fikr kardán < Ar. *fikr* ‘mind, opinion’

andéša kun- (*andéša*i̯ kárak) ❖

< Pers. *andēšīđán : andēš-* ‘to think’

❖ S B C √*myn* /√mēn/

Ave. *ma^{i}niia-*, Pahl. *menīdan*

105. to smell

vūd xaš- (vű́di xášak) ❖

calque of Tjk. *bű̄i̯ kašīdán* < Yagh. *vūd*, Sogd. B *βwδδh* M *βwδ* /βōδ/ ‘scent’ < Ir. **báu̯di-*, Ave. *baodi-*, Khwār. *βwδ* /βōδ/, Oss. *bud* ‖ *bodæ*, Wakh. *vūl*, Parāch. *b^{h}ām*, Pers. *bōi̯*, Pahl. *bōy*; Hung. *bűz* + Yagh. *xaš-*, Pers. *kašīđán* ‘to pull’

❖ M √*pcβwš*, √*ptzβwš* C √*pcbwš* /√p^{ə}čβő̀š/

106. to fear

čⁱkɛ́̄r- (ačⁱkɛ́̄r : čⁱkɛ́̄rta : čⁱkɛ́̄rna : čⁱkɛ́̄rak) ‖ čᵘkái̯r- (ačᵘkái̯r : čᵘkái̯rta : čᵘkái̯rna : čᵘkái̯rak) ❖ S *√pckwyr* /√pᵊčkŭ̯ĕ̄r/

< **pati-kā́u̯raia-* (?)

tūr- (atū́r : tū́rta : tū́rna : tū́rak) ❖

cf. Southern Tjk. *tūridán : tūr-*

❖ B *√trs-* /√təʳs-, √trəs-/

< **tr̥ʂ-*; Ave. *tras-*, Pers. *tarsīdán : tars-*

107. (187.) to sleep

ŭ̄fs- (aʷŭ̄fs : ŭ̄fta : ŭ̄fsna : ŭ̄fsak) ❖ S *√ʾwβs(-)* C *√ʾwfs(-)* : S M *√ʾwβt(-)* C *√ʾwbt̲(-)*, *√ʾwft̲(-)* /√ōfs, √ufs- : √ōβd, √uβd-/

< **(au̯a-)hufʂa-*; Khōt. *hūs-*, Oss. xʷыssын ‖ *xussun*, Rōsh. *x̌ofs- : x̌ůvd-*, Yazgh. *pəxas- : pəxovd*, Pers. *xuftán : xᵛāb-*, Balōch. *vafsag-*; cf. Pasht. *udé́* 'sleeping'

108. to live

žū- (ažū́ : žū́ta : žū́na : žū́ak, žū́ʷak) ❖ S *√ʾzw(-)* B *√(ʾ)zw(-)* M *√jw(-)* C *√žw(-)* /√ᵊžū, ᵊžau̯-/

< **ǰ(a)u̯a-*; Ave. *ǰ(a)uua-*, Khwār. *zyw-*, Khōt. *jū*

zindagī́ kun- (*zindagī́*i̯ kárak) ❖

< Pers. *zindagī́ kardán*; *zindagī́* 'life', past part. of verb *zīstán : zīy-* 'to live', OPers. *ǰīv-*, Pahl. *zīwastan*; Pasht. *žwand(ūn)* 'life'

109. (192.) to die

mir- (amír : mu̍rta : mírna : mírak) ❖ S B M C *√myr-* : B M *√mwrt-* C *√mwrt̲-* /√mɨr- : √muʳt-/

< **mŕ̥i̯a- : mŕ̥ta-*; Khwār. *(ʾ)my- : ʾmyd*, Bactr. *μιῳ-* : *μοῳδο* (mīr- : murd), Khōt. *mär- : muḍa-*, Pers. *murdán : mīr-*, Pahl. *mīr- : murd-*

110. (193.) to kill

tᵘx̌ő́y- (atᵘx̌ő́y : tᵘx̌ásta : tᵘx̌ő́yna : tᵘx̌ő́yak) ❖ B *√ptɣw(ʾ)y* M *√ptxwʾy* C *√pt̲xwʾy*, *√pt̲wxʾy* /√pᵊtxᵒā́y/

< **pati-xᵘ̯ă̄hai̯a-*

pakk- (apákk : pákkta : pákkna : pákkak) 'to cut, to kill' ❖

111. to fight

ǰang- (a*ǰáng* : *ǰáng*ta : *ǰáng*na : *ǰáng*ak) ❖

< Pers. *ǰangīdán : ǰang-* < Pers. *ǰang* 'war'

ǰang kun- / nōs- (*ǰáng*i kárak / nő́sak) ❖

< Pers. *ǰang kardán*, Pers. *ǰang* 'war' + *kardán* 'to do'; cf. Uzb. *ǰaŋ qïlmåq*

ɣūštī́n / gūštī́n nōs- (*ɣūštī́*ni / *gūštī́*ni nő́sak) ❖

Tjk. *gū̄štī́n giriftán* < Tjk. *gū̄štī́n*, Fārs. *koští* 'fight, wrestling'

fūrúš- (afūrúš : fūrúšta : fūrúšna : fūrúšak) ❖

bⁱdé́n nōs- (bⁱdé́ni nő́sak) ❖

Yagh. *bidé́n* 'waist' + *nōs-* 'to take'

❖ B *√rnβ-*, *√rnp-* /√rənb-/

112. to hunt

šⁱkő́r kun- (*šⁱkő́r*i kárak) ❖ S M √ʔškʔr, B √(ʔ)škʔr /√ⁱškā́r/

Bactr. αᵬ(α)χαᵩ-ðο, εᵬχαᵩ- : αᵬχαᵩðο /əš(ə)kār- : əš(ə)kārd-/; Pers. šikā́r kardán (Pers. *šikā́r*, BukhAr. *šikā̄r* 'hunt')

nūk kun- (nű́ki kárak) ❖

113. to hit

deh-, dih- (adíh : déhta : déhna : díhak) ❖

< **dā(h)-* 'to give, to hit'; Ave. *dā-*, Khwār. *dah-*, *dih-*, Khōt. *dū-*, Yazgh. *day- : ðed-*, Shugh. *di(y)- : ðōd*, *dēt*, Khūf. *di(y)- : dēt*, Rōsh. Bart. *dē(y)- : dēt*, Sarīq. *de- : det*, Ishk. *de- : ded-*, Sangl. *deh- : dēð-*, Wakh. *dē-*, *di- : dəyt*, *dēx̌t*, Munj. *dẹ-, də-*, Yidgh. *dah-*, Parāch. *dah-, deh-*, Pers. *dādán : dah-*, Kābul. *dē-*, TVanj. *deh kardán*; Khowār. *dik*

114. to cut

pᵘx̊ő́y- (apᵘx̊ő́y : pᵘx̊ő́yta : pᵘx̊ő́yna : pᵘx̊ő́yak) ❖ S √*pɣwʔy* B √(ʔ)*pɣwʔy* M √*pxw(w)ʔy* C √*pxwʔy* /√pᵊxᵒā́y/

< **apa-/upa-xᵘā̆haia-*

pakk- (apákk : pákkta : pákkna : pákkak); pákka kun- (pákkai̯ kárak) ❖

burr- (a*búrr* : *búrr*ta : *búrr*na : *búrr*ak) ❖

< Pers. *burrīđán : burr-*

115. to split

ǰᵘdő́ / ǰⁱdő́ kun- (*ǰᵘdő́i̯ / ǰⁱdő́i̯* kárak) ❖

< Pers. *ǰudā́ kardán*

116. to stab

čumf- (ačúmf : čúmfta : čúmfna : čúmfak) ❖ B *βstɣwnp* C *fs̱txwmp* /fᵊstxúṁb/

cf. Khwār. *xwmb-*

117. to scratch

rūčő́n- (arūčő́n : rūčő́nta : rūčő́nna : rūčő́nak) ❖

kīr(r)- (*akí́r(r)* : *kí́r(r)ta* : *kí́r(r)na* : *kí́r(r)ak*) ❖

118. to dig

kan- (akán : kánta : kánna : kának) ❖ B M √*kn- : √knt* C √*qn-* /√kən- : √kaṁd-/

< **kan-*; Pers. *kandán : kan-*

kōu̯- (a*kő́u̯* : *kő́u̯*ta : *kő́u̯*na : *kő́w*ak) 'to search; to vomit; to touch; to dig' ❖

< Pers. *kāftán : kāv- / kāb-*, TVarz. *koftán : kou̯-*

119. to swim

ō(b)bōzí́ kun- (*ō(b)bōzí́i̯* kárak) ❖

< Pers. *ābbāzí́* (< *āb* 'water' + *bāzí́* 'game') *kardán* 'to swim'

❖ M √*fsnʔy-* /√fəsnā́i̯/

< **fra-snāia-*; Khōt. *haysnāta-*

120. (194.) to fly

fur(r)- (*afúr(r)* : *fúr(r)ta* : *fúr(r)na* : *fúr(r)ak*); *par-* (a*pár* : *pár*ta : *pár*na : *pár*ak) ❖ B √*prn²y* /√párṅāy, √frənā́y/

cf. Pers. *parrīđán : parr-*

paywőz kun- (*paywőz*i kárak) ❖ B √*βrwz* M √*frw(²)z* C √*frwz* /√frəwā̆z, pərwā̆z/

Tjk. *parvőz kardán*; cf. Sogd. C *prw²z* /parwā́z/ 'winged'

❖ B M √*wz-* /√wəz-/

121. (195.) to walk

šaų- (ašáų : ḗta, šáųta, šū́ta : šáųna : šáwak) ❖ S B M C √*šw-* /√šəw-/

< **čiaų-*; Ave. *š(ii)auu-*, TYaghn. *šaw-*, Khwār. *ciyy-*, Khōt. *tsu-*, Tumsh. *cc^{h}ami* 'I go', Bactr. ϧαο(ι)-, ϧο(ο)- : ϧοδο /šaw- : šud/, Oss. *cæwын : сыd*, ‖ *cæwun : cud*, OPers. šyav-; Pers. *šuđán : šaų- / šav-* 'to walk' > *from the 11th-12th century* 'to become' (Tjk. *šudán : šaų- / šav-*, AfghP. *šodán : šaų- / šaw-*, Fārs. *šodā́n : šoų- / šäv-* 'to become'), OPers. šiyav-; Skt. *cyavati*

122. (198.) to come

vōų- (avő́ų : vő́ųta : vő́ųna : vő́wak) ❖ S B M √*β²w* C √*b²w* /√βāw/

(196.) to run

daų- (a*dáų* : *dáų*ta : *dáų*na : *dáw*ak) ❖

Pers. *davīđán : daų- / dav-*; Ir. **daų-*, Ave. *dauu-*, Oss. *dawын* ‖ *dawun : dawd*, Ved. *d^{h}ă̆v- : d^{h}āvati*, Gre. *θέω*

(197.) to go

tir- (atír : tő́rta : tírna : tírak) ❖ C √*t̲r-* /√tir-/

< **tŕ̥ia-*; Bactr. *να-τιϱινδο* 'they do not come'; cf. Sogd. S B √*²βtyr-* M √*ft(y)r-* C √*f̲t(y)r-* /√ᵇftir-/ 'to go through, to pass' < **fra-tŕ̥ia-*; Pers. *guđaštán : guđar-*, Tjk. *guzaštán : gudar-* 'to go through, to pass' < **ų̇i-tŕ̥ia-*

123. (188.) to lie (down)

napī́d- (anapī́d : napī́sta : napī́dna : napī́dak) ‖ n^{i}pī́d- (an^{i}pī́d : n^{i}pī́sta : n^{i}pī́dna : n^{i}pī́dak) ❖ B √*np²yð* /√nəpē̆ð/

< **ni-pád(a)i̯a-*; Ave. *nipa^{i}ðiia-*, Khwār. *²nbzy-*, Khōt. *nuvad-*, Munj. *nīlv- : nuwåst*, Pahl. nibastan

124. (189.) to sit

nīd- (anī́d : nī́sta : nī́dna : nī́dak) ❖ S B M √*nyð* C √*nyd :* S B M √*nyst* C √*nyst̲* /√nīð : √nīst/

< **ni-hĭda-*; Khwār. *nīϑ-*, Khōt. *näd-*, Yazgh. *niϑ- : nust*, Shugh. Khūf. *niϑ- : nust*, Rōsh. *niϑ- : nōst*, Bart. *niϑ- : nȫst*, Rāshrv. *niϑ- : nūst*, Ishk. *nid- : nьl̥ůst*, Munj. *nix̌- : n^{i}yōst-*, Yidgh. *nix̌- : nūst*

125. to stand

ūšt- (a^{w}ū́št : ū́šta : ū́šna : ū́štak) ❖ S B M √*²wšt* C √*²wšt̲* /√ōšt/

< **aų̇a-hišta-*; Khōt. *vaṣt-*, Oss. *(ы)stын* ‖ *istun*, Part. *²wyšt-*, Balōch. *ōštag*, *vuštag*; cf. Pers. *īstādán : īst*, Hazār. *istōdū́*

126. to turn

zⁱwṓrt- (azⁱwṓrt : zⁱwṓrta : zⁱwṓrna : zⁱwṓrtak) ‖ zᵘwṓrt- (azᵘwṓrt : zᵘwṓrta : zᵘwṓrna : zᵘwṓrtak) ❖ S √*zwʾrt* B √*(ʾ)zwʾrt* M C √*zwrṯ* /√ᵊzwə̆̄rt/

**udz-u̯árt(a)-*; Parth. Pahl. *ʿzwrd- : ʿzwšt-*; cf. Pers. *gaštán : gard-* < **u̯r̥t-*; Cze. *zvrtnout*, *vrtět*

zⁱwírt- (azⁱwírt : zⁱwírtta : zⁱwírtna : zⁱwírtak) ❖ S √*ʾzwʾyrt* B √*(ʾ)zwʾyrt* M √*zwʾyrt* C √*zwyrṯ* /√ᵊzwírt/

**udz-u̯árt(a)-i̯a-*

laks- (a*láks* : *láks*ta : *láks*na : *láks*ak) ❖

cf. Ar. RQṢ, Pers. *raqṣīdán : raqṣ-* ‘to dance’

tōb x̌ar- (*tṓb*i x̌árak) ❖

< Pers. *tāb xᵛardán*, TVarz. *tou̯ xůrdán*

127. to fall

E dⁱwī́- (adⁱwī́ : dⁱwī́ta : dⁱwī́na : dⁱwī́yak) ❖

< **du̯ai̯a-*; Ave. *duuan-* ‘to fly’, Pasht. *lwēǵ- : lwēd-*; Ide. **dʰu̯n̥-i̯o-*

W tⁱra(i̯)š- (atⁱrá*(i̯)*š : tⁱrá*(i̯)*šta : tⁱrá*(i̯)*šna : tⁱrá*(i̯)*šak) ❖ B √*ptrz-*, √*ptrʾyz :* M √*ptršt-* /√pᵊtrəž-, √pᵊtrə́ž : √pᵊtrəšt-/

< **pati-radz̯i̯a-*, **pati-rā́dz̯a̯i̯a-ʔ*; cf. Ave. *raēš-*, Khōt *birata-*

❖ S √*ʾnpt* B √*ʾnp(ʾ)t* M √*ʾmpt* C √*ʾmpṯ*, √*ʾmpd* /√ámbat/; S M C √*ʾwpt* B √*ʾwp(ʾ)t* C √*ʾwpṯ* /√ṓpat/

< **ham-pata-*, **au̯a-pata-*; Khōr. *ʾnpd-*

128. (190.) to give

ṯafár- (aṯafár : ṣaráfta, ṯafṓrta : ṯafárna : ṯafárak) ‖ ṯⁱfár- (aṯⁱfár : ṯⁱráfta, ṯⁱfṓrta : ṯⁱfárna : ṯⁱfárak) ❖ S B M √*ðβr-* C √*ϑbr-* /√ϑβər-/

< **f(ə)βárə̆-* < **fra-bára-*; Khwār. *hiβ°r- : hʾβryd*, Khōt. *haur-*, *hor- : hoḍa-*, Tumshuq. *ror- : rorda-*

129. to hold

dōr- (adṓr : dṓrta : dṓrna : dṓrak) ❖ S B M √*ðʾr* C √*dʾr :* S √*zɣt-*, √*ẓɣt-* B √*ðrɣt-*, √*zɣt-*, √*ẓɣt-* M *jɣt-* C *žɣṯ-* /√ðār : √ž̌əɣd-/

< **dāra- : dr̥xta-*; Bactr. *ληϱ-* : *λϱιγδο*, *δδϱιγ(α)δο*, *δδϱαγδο*, Khwār. *ðʾrx̌-*, Oss. *darɨn*, Pers. *dāštán : dār-*, Ide. **dʰer-*

čak dōr- (*čak* adṓr : *čak* dṓrta : *čak* dṓrna : *čák*i dṓrak), *čág*dōr- (a*čág*dōr : *čág*dōrta : *čág*dōrna : *čág*dōrak) ❖

< Tjk. *čak dōštán*

130. to squeeze

ɣilī́č- (aɣilī́č : ɣilī́čta : ɣilī́čna : ɣilī́čak) ❖

čōu̯- (a*čṓu̯* : *čṓu̯*ta : *čṓu̯*na : *čṓw*ak) ❖

cf. TMast. *čovidán*, *čoftán : čov-*

131. to rub

mūll- (*amúll* : *múllta* : *múllna* : *múllak*) ❖

< Pers. *mālīdán : māl- ??*

132. **to wash**

sⁱnṓy- (asⁱnṓy : sⁱnṓyta : sⁱnṓyna : sⁱnṓyak) ❖ B √*sn²(²)y*- M C √*sn²y*- : B √*sn²²t* /√snāi̯ : √snāt/

< **snāi̯a- : *snāta-*; Ave. *snaiia-*, Khōt. *haysnā-*, Khwār. *snādak* ‘washed’, Oss. *æxsnыn : æxsnad* ‖ *æxsnun*; Yazgh. Yidgh. Ishk. *zənay-*, Rōsh. *zẹnay-*, Munj. *wūzn-*, Ved. *snā-*

133. **to wipe**

rant- (aránt : ránta : rán*(t)*na : rántak) ❖

Oss. *rændыn : rænsd-*, Balōch. *randag*

134. **to pull**

xaš- (axáš : xášta : xášna : xášak) ❖ B √*ɣrš-*, √*ɣnš-* M √*xrš-*, √*xnš-*, √*xš-* /√xəš-, √xąš-/

< **kr̥ša-*; Ave. *karš-*, Khwār. *xš-*, Oss. *xæssыn*, Yazgh. *xəráx- : xaráxt-*, *kəxán- : kəxánt-*, Ishk. *xaṣ- : xaṣt-*, *kreṣ-*, Wakh. *xāṣ- : xāṣt-*, Munj. *xaš- : xiṣk-*, Pasht. *kx̌əl : x̌kī-*, Pers. *kašīđán : kaš-*; Ved. *kárṣati*

135. **to push**

šⁱkél(l)- (ašⁱkél*(l)* : šⁱkél*(l)*ta : šⁱkél*(l)*na : šⁱkél*(l)*lak) ❖

čumf- (ačúmf : čúmfta : čúmfna : čúmfak) ❖ B *βstɣwnp* C *fs̱txwmp* /fˢstxúṁb/

cf. Khwār. *xwmb-*

136. **to throw**

❖ B √*²βs²yp* /√ˢfsēp/

cf. Ave. *aēvi-sipa-*

137. **to tie**

vant- (ávánt : vásta : vánna : vántak) ❖ M √*β(y)nd : √β(y)s̱t-* /√βɨṁd : √βɨst-/

< **bánda- : *bą́sta-(ka-)*, Khwār. *βncy-*, Khōt. *ban- : bast-*, Oss. *bættыn : bast*, Yazgh. *vand- : vůst-*, Rōsh. *vind- : vost-*, Wakh. *vānd- : vāst-*, Yidgh. *vad- : vă̄st-*, Ishk. *vond- : vůst-*, Pers. *bastán : band-*, Kurd. *bastin*, Balōch. *bandag*

138. **to sew**

šīy- I (ašḯy : šḯta : šḯyna : šḯyak) ❖ M C √*šwm* /√šūm/

Munj. *žīy-*, Ved. *syūtá-* ‘sewn’; Lit. *siúti*, OCS. *šiti*

živ- (ažív : žívta : žívna : žívak) ❖ S √*ẓyβ-* B √*zyβ-*, √*ẓyβ-* M √*jβ-* /√žɨβ-/ ‘to chew’

< **žíba-*

139. **to count**

ḥⁱsṓb kun- (*ḥⁱsṓb*i kárak) ❖

< Pers. *ḥisā́b kardán*; Pers. *ḥisā́b* < Ar. ḤSB *ḥisāb*, BukhAr. *ḥisāb* ‘count’

❖ AL √*ptšmr* S B M √*ptšm²r* C √*pcmr* /√pᵊtšmā́r/

< **pati-šmā́ra-*; cf. Pers. *šumārá* ‘number’

140. **to say / to speak**

wō*(v)*- (awṓ*(v)* : wṓ*(v)*ta : wṓ*(v)*na : wṓ*(v)*ak) ❖ S B M √*w²β* C √*w²b* /√wāβ/

< **u̯ă̄b/f-*; Ave. *uf-* ‘to sing’, Pasht. *wayə́l : wāy-*

gap deh- (*gáp*i díhak) ❖

< Tjk. *gap zadán*; Shugh. *gāp di(y)-*

141. **to sing**

žōy- (ažóy : žóyta : žóyna : žóyak) ❖ M √*j'y* C √*ž'y* /√žāy/

< **ǰāi̯-*; Wakh. *ǰoy- : ǰoyd*, Munj. *ẓ̌ōy-*, Ide. **gēi̯-*; cf. Ave. *gāϑa-* 'song, Gāthā', Ved. *gāyati* 'he sings'

142. **to play**

bōzí kun- (*bōzíi̯* kárak) ❖

< Pers. *bāzí kardán*, cf. Pers. *bāxtán : bāz-*

143. **to float**

144. **to flow**

145. **to freeze**

šīy- II (ašíy : šóta : šíyna : šíyak) ❖

Oss. *siуын*, Yazgh. *šay- : šed*, Shugh. Baj. *x̌ici(y)- : x̌icōd*, Rōsh. Khūf. *x̌icay- : x̌icū̯d*, Bart. *x̌icī- : x̌icōd*, Rāshrv. *x̌icay- : x̌icōd*, Sarīq. *хыcɛy- : хыcud*, Ishk. *ṣ̌tiw- : ṣ̌tud*; cf. Sarīq. *iš* 'cold'

ósir- (a^{w}ósir : ósirta, ósōrta : ósirna : ósirak) ❖

< Ir. **āsr̥i̯a-*; Ave. *sarəta-*, Oss. D *sælun : sald*, Wakh. *wasér- : wasért*, Tjk. Wanj *siridán*, Pahl. *'ps'r-*; Parth *sald*; cf. Sogd. M *(p)syr' mndyy*, 'freezing'; cf. Wakh. sʙīr 'cold'

146. **to swell**

❖ C √*tϑm-*, √*ftm-* /√f^{ə}ϑəm-/

< **fra-dmā-*

(184.) **to be hungry**

daváz ‖ d^{i}váz vī- (davázi ‖ d^{i}vázi víyak) ❖

Yagh. *daváz ‖ d^{i}váz* 'hunger', Sogd. S B *(')ꬲz-y* C *dbz-y* /^{ə}ꬲəzí/, Chót. *debīśa*, Pašt. *lwáǧa*, Parth. *'dbz*

(186.) **to be thirsty**

tašná vī- (*tašnái̯* víyak) ❖

< Tjk. *tašná būdán*

III.9. Celestial objects

147. (41.) **sun**

xü̯r *(arch. x̊ar)* ❖ B *γw(y)r* M *xw(')r* C *xwyr* /xü̯ěr, xōr, x°ār/

< **hu̯árr̥i̯a-*; Ave. *hūrō-*, Khwār. *'xγ̌r*, *xr*, Oss. *xur ‖ xor*, Yazgh. *xəwúr*, *xůr*, Wakh. *(y)īr*, Shugh. *xīr*, Rōsh. *xor*, Bart. *xō̈r*, Sarīq. *xer*, Ved. *suvár-*, *sū́rya-*; cf. Pers. *x^{v}ar[šéd]* > *x^{v}ur[šéd]*, Tjk. *x^{v}ur[šéd]*, Pahl. *x^{v}ar[šēt]*, Ave. *huuare-xšaeta-*; Scyth. *Κολά*[ξαϊς]; Ide. **s(u)u̯él-*, **sūl-*, Gre. *ἥλιος*, Lat. *sōl*, Lit. *sáulė*, OCS. *slъnьce*

ōftób , *aftób* ❖

< Pers. *ăftā́b*, TMast. *aftób*, TVarz. *aftów*, *oftów*, Hazār. *aftḗw*, *ōftḗw*, Kurd. *extaw*, cf. Skt. *āb^{b}ā-tāpa-*

148. (42.) **moon**

mahtőb, *mōhtőb* ❖ S B *mʾɣ(h)*, *mʾx* M C *mʾx* /māx/

< **māh-*; Ave. OPers. *māh-*, Bactr. *μα(υ)ο* /mā(h)/, Khōt. *māstä*, Oss. *mæi̯* ‖ *mæyæ*, Shugh. *mēst*, Rōsh. *mēst*, Sarīq. *most*, Yazgh. *mast*, Wakh. *mьīy*, Pasht. *myāšt*, Kurd. *meh*, Ved. *más-*; Pers. *măh[tấb]*, TVarz. *mohtób*, Hazār. *mōtḗw*, *mōtáw*, BukhAr. *mahtā̆b*

149. (44.) **star**

sⁱtőra ❖ B *(ʾ)stʾrʾk* M *(ʾ)stʾry*, *ʾstry* /ⁱstấrĕ/

< **stāra-kă-*; Khwār. *(ʾ)stʾrўk* /(ə)stāreg/, Khōt. *stāraa-*, *stāray*, Shugh. *x̌itērʒ*, Bajū. *x̌itērʒ*, *x̌itērў*, Khūf. Rōsh. *x̌itērʒ*, *x̌iturў*, Bart. Rāshrv. *x̌itōrў*, Sarīq. *x̌ьiturў*, *x̌iturў*, Yazgh. *x̌(ə)tarag*, Ishk. *strůk*, Sangl. *ustᵊrŭk*, Wakh. *s(ə)tōr*, Munj. *stōráy*, Yidgh. *stấrë*, Pasht. *stőray (f)*, Ōrm. *starrak*, Pers. *sitārá*, Parth. *ʾstʾrg*

bildíng(a) ❖

unknown origin, in Yaghnōbī this word is known only in dialect of village Qūl; cf. Wakh. *piðing (perf.) : piðic-, pidic-* ‘to glitter’

III.10. Nature (i)

150. (46.) **water**

ő́p(a), *ōu̯* ❖ S *ʾʾph* B *ʾʾp(h)* M *ʾʾp* C *ʾp* Br *ā-p̱* /ấp(ă)/

< **ă̆pa-(ka-)*; Ave. *āp-* (nom. sg. *āfš*), Khwār. *ʾb* /āb/, Bactr. *αϕ(ϕ)ο* M *yʾβ* /āb, āβ/, Khōt. *ūtcā-*, Oss. *avg* ‘glass’, Ishk. *vek*, Sangl. *vē(k)*, Wakh. *yupk*, Munj. *yőwɣā*, Yidgh. *yowɣo*, Pasht. *ōbə́*, Parāch. *āwə*, Ōrm. *wōk*; Pers. *āb*, Tjk. *ōb(á)*, TVarz. *ow*, TMast. TFalgh. *ob*, TYagh. *ob*, *ow*, Hazār. *aw*, Pahl. *āp* > *āβ*, OPers. *āp-*, Kurd. *aw*, Balōch. āp; Ide. **h₂ep-*; Ved. *ấpa-*, *ap-*, Hit. *ḫa-pa-a*, *ḫa-ap-pa* ‘to the river’; Eynu. *ab*; Gre. ○*ωπ*○ *(in geographical names)*; OIrl. *aba*, ‘river’, Irl. Gael. *abhainn* ‘river’, Welsh *afon* ‘river’; Lith. *ùpė* ‘river’, cf. Cze. (substrate?) hydronyms *Op[ava]*, *Úpa*

xōk ‘spring’ ❖ B *ɣʾɣh*, M *xʾx* /xāx/ ‘spring’

< **xấxa-*, *xấka-* ‘spring’; Ave. *xāo*, Khōt. *xāha-*, Yazgh. *xex̌*, Wanj. *xi̯k*, ‘water, spring’, Shugh. Rōsh. *x̌ac* ‘water’; Rāshrv. *xāy* ‘brook’, Wakh. *kьik*, Munj. *xūga*; Ōrm. *xāko*

151. (45.) **rain**

bōrḗn ❖ B M C *wʾr* /wār/

< **u̯āra-*; Ave. *vāra-*, Khwār. *wʾr* /wār/, Oss. *warьın* ‖ *warun*, Pers. *bārấn*, TBuch. *boroŋ*, Shugh. *bōrū̆n*, Ishk. *boron*, Munj. *bōrōn*, Kurd. *barin*, *barî*

152. (47.) **river**

dayrő, *dar(ⁱ)yő* ‘(great) river, (sea)’ ❖ M *zry* /zrē/ ‘sea’

< **dzraia-*; Ave. *zraiia-* ‘sea’, OPers. *draya-*, Pers. *daryấ(b)* ‘sea, (great river)’; Tjk. *daryő* ‘(great) river, sea’, TMast. *dai̯ró*, TVarz. *dai̯ró*, *daryó*, Sarīq. *daryú*; cf. Kyrg. *darïya*, *dayra*, Kazakh. *darïya*, Uzb. *daryå*, Uygh. *därya*, Tatar. *därya*, Eynu. *därya*; cf. BukhAr. *baḥar* ‘river’< Ar. BḤR *baḥr*

na^{b}r ❖

< Ar. NHR *nahr*, Pers. *nahr*; BukhAr. *nahr* ‘(irrigation) channel’

rūd ❖

< Pers. *rōđ*; cf. Yagh. *rōu̯t*, *rő(w)ut* ‘ravine *(arch.)*’, Sogd. B *rʾwʾth* /rāwat/, M *rw(w)t* C *rwt̰* /rōt/, TMast. *rowűt*, TYaghn. *rōu̯d*, Pers. *(Luɣát-i Furs) rʾwd* /rāv(a)d/ < Ir. **rāu̯ati-*, Ave. *rauuan-* ‘valley’, Khwār. *rʾwyn* ‘earth’; Oss. *ran* ‖ *ræwæn* ‘place’; cf. Kyrg. place-names *Ravat*, *Raut*

nōu̯ ‘dale’ ❖ B *nʾwn* /nā́wᵊn/

< *nāu̯a-*; Shugh-Rōsh. *nūw*, Sarīq. *nɛw*, Yazgh. *nɛw*

153. lake

ḫau̯z, *ḫau̯d* ❖

< Ar. *ḫawḍ*; Pers. *ḫau̯ẓ*, TVarz. *ḫau̯z*, TMast. *hau̯z*, *hau̯d*, Shugh. *awʒ*, *awz*, Tr. *havuz*, Rus. *кáуз*, *коýз*, *хóуз*; cf. *(etymologically /un/related?)* Sogd. B *ʾʾwzʾk*, *ʾʾwzyy*, *ʾʾwʾzh* /ā́waz(ē)/ ‘pool, lake’

❖ B *ʾʾwzʾk*, *ʾʾwzyy*, *ʾʾwʾzh* /ā́waz(ē)/

kūl ❖

< Uzb. *kŭ̈l*, Kyrg. *köl*, Tr. *göl*, Tü. **köl*, Tjk. *kū̄l*, Bulg. *гьол*

ózira ❖

< Rus. *óзеро*, OCS. *jezero*, *jezerъ*, Srb-Cro. *jȅzero*, Lith. *ẽžeras*, Tjk. colloq. *ozirá*

154. sea

dayrő, *dar(ⁱ)yő* ‘(great) river, (sea)’ ❖ M *zry* /zrē/ ‘sea’

< **dzraia-*; Ave. *zraiia-* ‘sea’, OPers. *draya-*, Pers. *daryā́* ‘sea’; Tjk. *daryő* ‘(great) river, sea’, TMast. *dai̯ró*, TVarz. *dai̯ró*, *daryó*, Sarīq. *daryú*; cf. Kyrg. *darïya*, *dayra*, Kazakh. *darïya*, Uzb. *daryå*, Uygh. *därya*, Tatar. *därya*, Eynu. *därya*

baḥr ❖

< Ar. BḤR *baḥr*, Malt. *baħar*, Pers. *baḥr* ‘sea’; BukhAr. *baḥar* ‘river’

❖ S B *smʾwtr* M *smwtr-y*, *swmtr* C *smwt̰r-y*, *swmdr* /sumudr(í)/

< Skt. *samudra-*

155. (83.) salt

namák ❖ B *nmʾðk(h)* M *nmʾðk* /nəmā̆̀ðk/

< **namadkā-*; Ave. *nəmaδka-*, Khwār. *nmꭦk* /namaꭦk/, Bactr. *ναμιλγο* /namilg/, Pasht. *mālga*, Pers. *namák*, Parth. *nmydk*

156. (52.) stone

sank(a), *sang* ❖ B *snk(ʾ)* M *sng* /sáṁg(ă̆)/

< **atsánga-(ka-)*, Ave. *asəŋga-*, Khwār. *snk* /sang(a)/, Bactr. *ασαγγο* /asaŋg/, Ishk. *sůng*; OPers. *aꭦanga-*, Pers. *sang*, Hazār. *san(g)*, *san(k)*; Eynu. *saŋ*

157. (54.) sand

rēg ❖

< Pers. *rēg*, Kurd. *rîk*, *rêg*, Pasht. *rēg*

158. (59.) **dust**

xōk ❖

< Pers. *xāk*

ɣᵘbŏ́r ❖

< Ar. ĠBR *ġubā́r*, Pers. *ɣubā́r*

čank, *čang* ❖

< Pers. *čang*, BukhAr. *čang*

gard ❖

< Pers. *gard*

❖ S *ɣwrwm* B *ɣwrm(h)* M *xrwm*, *xwrm* C *xwrm* /xʷrúm/

< **xruma-*; Ave. *paxruma-*

159. **earth**

ɣⁱrḗk ❖ B *ɣrʾyk(ʾ)* M *ɣryk* /ɣrḗk(ă)/

< **grái̯a-ka-*; Khwār. *ɣrʾk*, Khōt. *grika-*, *gruikyā-*, Oss. *ælыg* ‖ *ærɣæ*, Munj. *ɣərəy*, Yazgh. *xərik*; cf. OCS. *glina*, Eng. *clay*

xōk ❖

< Pers. *xāk*

zōy ‘field’, *zamḯn* ‘earth, land’ ❖ S C *zʾy* M *zʾy(y)* /zāi̯/

< **dzᵍ̑ái̯a-*; Ave. *zam-*, Bactr. *ζαμιγο*, *ζαμιο*, TMast. *zoyák*, TYagh. *zoyók* ‘cultivated land’ Pers. *zamḯn*, Hazār. *zimí*, Wakh. *zəmin*, Sarīq. *zamín*; Ide. **dʰeĝʰō-m* : **dʰeĝʰm-*, Chet. *te-e-kán (tēkan)*, Tokh. A *tkaṃ* B *kaṃ*, Gre. *χθών*, Ved. *kṣam-*, Lat. *humus*, OCS. *zemlja*, Lit. *žẽmės*

(58.) **mud**

lōy ❖

< Pers. *lāy*

zaᵇ, za*ɣ* ❖

< Tjk. *zah*

❖ S *ɣrʾy* /ɣrī/

< **griḭa-*; Khōt. *grīha-*, Gre. *γλοιός*

III.11. Weather

160. (48.) **cloud**

abr ❖

< Pers. *abr*, TVarz. *au̯r*, Hazār. *aúr*, Shugh. *ᵇábri*, Kurd. *awr*, Balōch. *(h)au̯r*, Ir. **abr(i̯)a-*, Ave. *aβra-*, Khōt. *ora-* ‘sky’, Oss. *arv* ‘sky’, *ævrag* ‘cloud’, Pasht. *ōrə́*, Ved. *abʰrā-*

❖ C *myɣ* /mēɣ/

< **māi̯gá-*; Ave. *maēɣa-*, Oss. *miɣ* ‖ *meɣæ*, Pers. Pahl. *mēɣ*, Ved. *megʰá-*

161. **fog**

tūmán ❖

< Tjk. *tūmőn*

162. (43.) sky

ōs(ᵘ)mə́n ❖ B *smʾnh* M *(ʾ)smʾn* C *smʾn* /ⁱsmə́n/

< **ástmăn-*; Ave. *asman-*, Khwār. *yʾsmª* /yā-(a)smā/ 'the heaven', Pers. *āsmə́n*, Fārs. colloq. *ā̄semű́n*, Tjk. colloq. *osᵘmű́n*, *osᵘmón*, TMast. *ospű́n*, TVarz. *osmón*, *ospón*; OPers. *asman-*, Pahl. *āsmān*, Kurd. *esman*; Ved. *áśman-*, Pruss. *asman-*, Eng. *heaven*; Qashq. *åssïmån*, *åsmån*

163. (51.) wind

wőt(a) ❖ S B C *wʾt* M *wʾt*, *wʾʾ𐭕*, *wʾ𐭅𐭅* /wāt/,

< **u̯āu̯ąta-(ka-)*; Ave. *vāta-* (trisyllabic), Bactr. 𐬬𐬁𐬌𐬀 /wād/, Oss. *wad*, Pers. *bāđ*, Kurd. *ba*; IIr. **ʜu̯aʜąta-* < Ide. **h₂u̯eh₁n̥to-*, Lat. *ventus*

šamől ❖

< Ar. ŠML *šamāl* 'northern wind', Pers. *šamə́l*, Fārs. *šemā̄l*, dial. of Khorāsān *šumol* 'wind'; Tjk. *šamə́l*, 'wind'; Uzb. *šamåł* 'wind', Kyrg. *šamał* 'wind', Kazakh. *samał* 'wind', Turkm. *šämāł* 'wind'

164. snow

wáf(ⁱ)r, warf ❖ B *wβr-y* M *wfr-y* /wəfrí/

< **u̯áfra-*; Ave. *vafra-*, Khwār. *wfȳrk*, Khōt. *borā-*, Sangl. *varf*, Munj. *váfră*, Pasht. *wāwra*, Pers. *barf*, Kurd. *vafr*, *befir*, *bafer*, *berf*

165. ice

ēx, ī̯x ❖ S *yxn(w)* /yəxnú, ʸə́xn(u)/

< **a̯ixa-*; Ave. *aēxa-*, Khwār. *yyx*, Oss. *ix* ‖ *yex*, Yazgh. *yax*, Shugh. Rōsh. *yāx*, Wakh. *yix̌*, Pers. *yax*; cf. Sogd. *yyδγn* < **a̯ixa-dāna-* 'glacier', Khwār. /ēxmēnʒa/ 'icy *(f)*'

(49.) lightning

tunturák 'thunder, thunder and lightning' ❖ B *twntr* /túndər/ 'thunder'

Pers. *tuntúr*, *tunturák*, Tjk. *tundár*, *tundúr*, dial. Shaydan *tündű́r*

ōtašák 'lightning' ❖

< Tjk. *ōtašák*, TMast. *otəšák* < Pers. *ātáš* 'fire', Fārs. *ā̄téš*

barq 'lightning' ❖

< Ar. BRQ *barq*; Pers. *barq*

rā̄ʒd(ák) 'thunder' ❖

< Ar. RʕD *raʿd*, Pers. *raʿd*

(50.) rainbow

kamə́n-i Ḥasán-at *Ḥusá̯in*, *kamə́n-i Ḥasán-~~ı~~ Ḥusá̯in* ❖

< Pers. *kamắn-i Ḥasán-u Ḥusá̯in* '*Ḥasan and Ḥussein's bow*'

III.12. Fire

166. (56.) **smoke**

pazd ‖ pa(i̯)st ❖ s *pzt-* /pəzd-á/

< **pázda(i̯a)-*, Ave. *pazdaiia-*; Oss. ɪ *fæzdæg*; Hung. *füst*

dɯ̄ʲd ❖

< Pers. *dūd*, TMast. *düd*, *did*, TFalgh. *dūd*, TYagh. *düd*, Sarīq. *ðыd,* Ir. **dűta-*, Parāch. *dᵇī*

167. (55.) **fire**

ōl ❖ s в м *ʾʾt(ʾ)r(h)*, *ʾ(ʾ)š*, *ʾrt* с *ʾṯr* /ā́tar, āš/

< **āϑr-*, **ātr̥š*; Ave. *ātar-*, *āϑr-*, Khwār. *ʾ(t)rw*, Bactr. 𐬀𐬌(𐬀)𐬨𐬀 /āϑ(u)š/, 𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬨𐬀 /ātar/, Oss. *art*, Shugh. Bartang. *yōc*, Rōsh. *yůc*, Sarīq. *yuc*, Yazgh. *yec*, Munj. *yūr*, Yidgh. *yūṛ*, Pasht. *ōr*, Parāch. *âṛ*, Pers. *āðár*, *āðúr*, *ātíš*, Tjk. *ōl(ów)*, *ōzár*, *ōtáš*, AfghP. *ā̊l*, *ā̊ẓár*, *ā̊téš*, Fārs. *ā̊ẓā́r*, *ā̊téš*, Pahl. *ʾtwr* /āður/, Kurd. *ar*; Eynu. *atäš*

ōlṓu̯, *alṓu̯* ❖ в *ʾʾrʾβ* /ālắβ/ ‘flame’

< Tü. **ałắw* < **yałaγ*, **yaław*; Uzb. *ålåu̯*, Tr. *alev*; Pers. *ālā́v*, *āláu̯*, Tjk. *alṓu̯*, *ōláu̯*, *ōlṓu̯*, *aláu̯*, TVarz. TYaghn. *alóu̯*, TMast. *alób*, Shugh. *alōw*,

168. (57.) **ash**

xōkistár ❖

< Pers. *xākistár*, Yazgh. *xəkistůr*

dɯ̄ʲda ❖

< Pers. *dūdá*

šaɕmák ❖

cf. Ar. ŠMʕ *šamʿaï* ‘candle’, Pers. *šamʿ*, TMast. BukhAr. *šaɕm*

169. (191.) **to burn**

sūč- (asúč : súčta, súšta : súčna : súčak) ❖ s в с √*swc*: s в √*swγt-* с √*ʾswγṯ-* /√sōč : √suγd-/

< *ʦau̯ča-*; Ave. *saoča-*, Khōt. *sūtc-*, Oss. ɪ *suʒын* : *soγd*, Pers. *sōxtán : sōz-*

suxs- (asúxs : súxta : súxsna : súxsak) ❖ в м √*swγs-* /√suxs-/

cf. Khōt. *vasus- : vasut*; Pers. *sōxtán : sōz-*

(29.) **firewood**

íz(ⁱ)m ❖ в *zmy* /zmĕ́/ в č *ʾzm-y* /ızmí/

< **ái̯zma-(ka-)*, Ave. *aēsma-*, Khwār. *ʾzm*, Munj. *ízmō*, Pers. *hēzúm*, TMast. *(h)ezű́m*, *(h)ezím*, TYagh. *ezím*, TVarz. *ezúm*, Gīlānī *hīzəm*,Ved. *idᵇmá-*

III.13. Settlement

170. (53.) **road / path**

rōs̱ / rōṯ ❖ в s *rʾϑ(h)* м *rʾϑ(ð)(h)* с *rʾϑ* /rāϑ/

< *rāϑa-*, *rāϑi-*; Ave. *raⁱϑīm (acc.)*, Pasht. *lār* < **rāl*, dial. *lyār* < **rāϑī-*; Ōrm. *rāī*, Pers. *răh*, *răs*, TMast. *ra*, TVarz. *ro(h)*, *ra(h)*, Pahl. *rās*, Kurd. *rê*, Balōch. *rā(h)*; Ved. *ratᵇyá-*, Armen. *ṙah*

(25.) village

mēn ‖ *maiṇ* ❖ B M *ðmʾ(ʾ)n* /ðmān/ ‘house, dwelling’

< **dmān(i)a-* ‘house, dwelling’; Ave. *dᵊmă̆na-*, *dᵊmąna-*, *nmāna-*; *nmāniia-* ‘belonging to house’, Bactr. *μανο* /mān/, Pasht. *mḗna* ‘house, fatherland’, Pers. *mān*, Pahl. *mān*; Ved. *mā́na-*; cf. Gre. *δόμος*, Lat. *domus*, OCS. *domъ*, Lith. *nāmas*

qišlōq ❖

< Uzb. *qïšlåq*, Uygh. *qïšlaq*, Kyrg. *qïšlaq*, *qïštaq*, *qïštō*, Kazakh. *qïstaw*, Tatar. *qışlaq*, Turkm. *gïšlaγ*, Azərb. *qışlaq*, dial. *qışlax*, Qashq. *qïšlåγ*, Turk. *kışla(k)*, Ott. *ḳïšla(ḳ)* < Tü. **qïš-*łāγ/*łāq* = ‘winter=place’; Hazār. *qišlṓq*, Pers. *qišlā́q*, Munj. *kəšlōk*, Shugh. *qišlōq*

deh ❖ C *dyx(ʾ)w* /ðexā́u̯/

< **dahi̯āu̯-*; Pers. *dih*, OPers. ‘land, province, district’

(26.) house

kat ❖ B *ktʾy*, *ktʾk* M *qt*, *qty(y)*, *ktyy* C *qty* /kətḗ/

< **ką́ta-(ka-)*; Ave. *kata*-Bactr. *καδ(α)γο* /kad(a)g/, Yagh. *kat*, Shugh. *čīd*, Rōsh. Khūf. *čod*, Bart. *čōd*, Rāshrv. *čūd*, Sarīq. *čed*, Yazgh. *kůd*, Munj. *ḱay*, Yidgh. *kʸɛi*, Pasht. *kə́laị* ‘village’, Parth. Pahl. *kdg*; cf. Ide. Ide. **kn̥ta- : *kan-* ‘to dig’

xēn ‘summer pasture’ ❖ B *γʾn* M *xʾn* /xān/

< **xā́na-*; Bactr. *χανο* /xān/, Wakh. *xun*, Ishk. *xon*, Sangl. *xān*, Parth. *xʾn*; cf. TMast. *dūxūná* ‘summer pasture’

xḗná ‘room’ ❖ S B *γʾnʾk(h)* M *xʾnʾ* /xā́n(ā)/

< **xā́na-ka-*; Pers. *xānā́*, TMast. *xūná*, TYagh. *xű́ná*, Kurd. *xanî*; Uzb. *xånà*, Uygh. *xanä*, Kyrg. *qana*, Ott. *ḫāne*, Tr. *hane*, Tatar. *xanä*, Eynu. *xani*

mēn ‖ maiṇ ‘village’ ❖ B M *ðmʾ(ʾ)n* /ðmān/

< **dmān(i)a-*; Ave. *dᵊmă̆na-*, *dᵊmąna-*, *nmāna-*; *nmāniia-* ‘belonging to house’, Bactr. *μανο* /mān/, Pasht. *mḗna* ‘house, fatherland’, Pers. *mān*, Pahl. *mān*; Ved. *mā́na-*; cf. Gre. *δόμος*, Lat. *domus*, OCS. *domъ*, Lith. *nāmas*

(27.) roof

kű́s(ar) ❖

bōm ❖

< Pers. *bām*

šamp ❖

< **skamb-*; cf. **upa-skamb-* ‘to attach’ **fra-skamb-* ‘to attach, to build’; Khōt. *ṣkam-* ‘to lift up’, Munj. *škōb- : škabəy-* ‘to rise’, Pasht. āčawə́l ‘to overthrow’

(28.) door

davár ‖ dʲvár ❖ B M *ðβr-y* C *dbr-y* /ðβərí/

< *du̯ár(a)-*; Ave. *duuara-*, Khwār. *ðβўr-*, Khōt. *vara-*, Oss. I *dwar*, Wakh. bār, Pasht. *war*, Munj. *luwår*, Pers. *dar*, Pahl. *dar*, OPers. *duvar-*, Kurd. *derî*, Ir. *du̯ar-; Ved. *dvār-*, Armen. *durn*, OCS. *dvьrь*, Cze. *dveře* ‘door’, *dvůr* ‘(court)yard’, Lit. *dùrys*, Goth. *daur*, Ger. *Tür*, *Tor*, Gre. *θύρᾱ*, OIrl. *dorn*

III.14. Tools

(30.) **broom**

rūpč ❖

< **ra-upa-čī-*, Yazgh. *rəbág*, Wakh. *drepč*, Pasht. *rēbźʒ*; cf. Tjk. *ǰōrūb* < *ǰōy* + *ruftán* : *rūb-*

(31.) **butter churn**

kuppī́ ❖

< Tjk. *guppí*, TMast. *küp(p)í*, *kip(p)í*, TFalgh. *kuppí*

túɣla ❖

cf. TYaghn. *tulɣá*

(32.) **pestle**

puškák ❖

cf. TMast. *püškák*

(33.) **hammer**

bőlɣá ❖

< Tjk. *bōlɣá*

(34.) **knife**

kōrt, *kōrd* ❖ в *krt(h)* /kaṙt/

< **karta-*; Ave. *karəta-*, Khwār. *krc* /karʒ-/, Oss. ɪ *kard*, Wakh. *kāž*, Yidgh. *kɛ̣ro*, Munj. *kḗra*, Pasht. *čāṛə́*, Pers. *kārd*; Eynu. *kard*; Cze. *kord* 'epée', Hung. *kard* 'epée'

(35.) **axe**

tabár ❖

< Pers. *tabár*, TVarz. *tavár*, Hazār. *tawár*, *tabár*, Pahl. *tabrak*; cf. Rus. *monóp*, Cze. *toporo* 'helve, haft', Ar. *ṭabar*

tī́ša, *tēšá* 'adze' ❖ s в *tš* /taš/

< **taša-*, Ave. *taša-*, Tjk. *tēšá* 'adze'

(37.) **thread**

pūd ❖

< Tjk. *pūd*

tōr ❖

< Tjk. *tōr(á)*

(38.) **needle**

sī́nčⁱn ❖

< **sī́nčn* < **ʁínčana-*; cf. Oss. *suʒin* ‖ *soʒīnæ*, Ishk. *šʁtun*, *šṭʁn*, Munj. *šīžna*, Yidgh. *šĩ̄nǰo*, Waṇ. *sunzən*, *sənǰə́n*, Pasht. *stən*, Kurd. *suzîn*, *şûjin*, Pers. *sōzán*, Hazār. *sizū̃́*, Pahl. *sōʒan*

(39.) **cloth**

lát(t)a ❖

< Pers. *lattá*

(40.) **ring**

angušták, *anguštarī́n*, *anguš(t)pə́na* ❖

< Tjk. *angušták*, *anguštarī́n*, *anguštpōná*

III.15. Nature (ii)

171. mountain

ɣâr 'mountain, mountain pass' ❖ B M *ɣr-y* /ɣərí/

< **gári-*; Ave. *gaⁱri-*, Bactr. *ɣειῳο*, *ɣαῳο* /ɣīr, ɣar/, Khōt. *ggara-*, *ggari-*, Shugh. Rāshrv. *žīr* 'stone', Rōsh. Bart. *žēr* 'stone', Khūf. *žær* 'stone', Sarīq. *žer* 'stone', Wakh. *ǯ̌ar* 'stone', Munj. *ɣār* 'pass', Yidgh. *ɣar* 'stone, mountain', Pasht. *ɣar*, Ōrm. *grī*, Parāch. *gir*, Pahl. *ɣar*, Ved. *girí-*, OCS. *gora*, Ide. **gʷorʜ-*; Alb. *gur* 'rock'; Gre. *βοῳέᾱς* 'northwind (< *mountain wind; MALLORY – ADAMS 2006, 121)'; Lith. *girià* 'forest'[268]; cf. Burūshaskī *ɣoro* 'stone'

kᵻ̄ʰ ❖

< Pers. *kōh*, TMast. *kü*, TVarz. *kuh*, Pahl. *kwf* /kōf/, OPers. *kauᵴfa-*, Ave. *kaofa-*, Munj. *kifa*, Wanj. *kub*, *kup*, Ir. **kauᵴfa-*; Eynu. *kox*

(60.) gold

tillə́ʰ ❖

< Ar., Pers. *ṯillā́*

zar (occ.) ❖ S M C *zyrn* /zeɍn/

< **dzáraṇia-*; Ave. *zaraniia-*, Khwār. *zrny* /zirnī/, Bactr. *ζαῳο* /zar/, Pers. *zarr*, Pahl. *zarēn*, OPers. *daraniya-*; Ved. *híraṇya-*, Ide. **ĝʰleṇio-*; cf. Gre. *δᾱῳεικός [στατήῳ]* '*daric* – gold coin introduced by Darius I.', Sogd. s *δʾryk* /δā́rīk/ 'gold coin' < OPers.

III.16. Colours

172. (150.) red

kⁱmḗr, kamḗr *(arch.)* ❖ B *krm(ʾ)yr*, *kyrmyr* M *qrmyr* C *qyrmyr* /kiʳmḗr/

Pahl. *karmīr*, Armen. *karmir*; cf. ByzGre. *Κῳρμι[χίωνες]*; cf. Ar. QRMZ *qirmiz*, Fārs. *qerméz*, Tr. *kırmız*

sʉrx ❖

< Pers. *surx*, Pahl. *suxr*, TMast. *sürx*, OPers. *θuxra-*, Kurd. *sor*, Balōch. *suhr*, *sōhr*; Ir. **θuxra-*; Ave. *suxra-*, Bactr. *σοῳχ◌* /surx/, Khōt. *surai*, Oss. *sъırx* ‖ *surx*, Wakh. *səkr*, Ishk. *sъrx*, Munj. *sərx*, *surx*, Yidgh. *surx*, Pasht. *sūr*, *srə*, Parāch. *súrku*, Ōrm. *šuš*, Ved. *śukrá-*

173. green

zarɣű́na *(arch.)* ❖ S *zrɣwnʾk* M *zrɣwnyy* /zárɨɣōnĕ̆/

cf. Sogd. B *zrɣwn* /zarɣōn/ 'plant, vegetable'

[268] See also Slovak *hora* 'mountain // forest // mountain covered with forest'.

sabz, *saų̈z* ❖

Pers. *sabz*, TVarz. *saų̈z*, Hazār. *saúz*, Shugh. *sāvʒ*, Ir. **ʁapačia-*

kapʉ̋t(a) ‖ kᵘpʉ̋t(a) *(arch.)*, *kabʉ̋t* ‘green, blue’ ❖ B *kpwt(k)* /kəpʊ́t(ē)/ ‘blue, green’

< **kapauta-ka-* ‘blue’; Pers. *kabūd*, TMast. *kəbūd*, Pahl. *kabōt*; Armen. *kapoit*

174. yellow

zḗrta *(arch.)*, *zard* ❖ Sogd. B *zyrt(ʾ)k* M *zyrtyh* /zḛ̄ṛtĕ/

< **dzárita-ka-*; Ave. *zaⁱrita-*; Yazgh. Wakh. *zărt*, Shugh. Rōsh. *zĭrd*, Ishk. *zord*, Munj. Yidgh. *zīt*, Parāch. *zītŏ*, Pers. *zard*, Kurd. *zer*; Hung. *zöld*

175. (148.) white

sⁱpḗta *(arch.)*, *safḗd*, *sapḗd* ‖ *sⁱpḗd* ❖ B *ʾspʾyt(ʾk)*, *ʾsp(ʾ)ytk*, *(ʾ)spʾytk*, *(ʾ)spʾyty* C *spyty* /ⁱspḗt(ĕ)/

**ʁų́ąita-(ka-)*; Ave. *spaēta-*, Khwār. *spydy̆k*, Khōt. *śśīta-*, *śśīya-*, Munj. *spī*, *safīd*, Pers. *sipḗd*, *ispḗd*, *safḗd*, Tjk. *safḗd*, *sapḗd*, TMast. *səfḗd*, Fārs. *sefīd*, Hazār. *safít*, Shugh. *safēd*, Ishk. *safed*, Yazgh. *səpid*, Kurd. *spî*, Ved. *śvetá-*, OEng. *hwīt*, Gót. *hveit-s*, OCS. *světъ* ‘light’

176. (149.) black

šōų̈ *(arch.)*, *sⁱyṓᵇ*, *sⁱyáᵇ* ❖ Sogd. S B M *šʾw* C *šw* /šāų̈/

< **ʁą̈āų̈a-*, Ave. *siiāuua-*, Sarm. *Σαυ[ϱομάτοι]*, Khwār. *sʾw* /sāw/, Oss. *saw*, Ishk. *ṣu*, *su*, Wakh. *šʊw*, Pers. *siyā̆h*, Hazār. *siyá*, *siyṓ*; Tr. *siyah*, Cr.Tatar. *siya*

mazáng ❖

cf. *Malang[áb/ų̈]* in Sarghulām (i.e. ‘Black water’, the second part is probably Persian as ‘water’ is *wolikė́* or *wolikí* in Sarghulāmī, but it is uncertain whether **malang* is a Sarghulāmī word or if the element really means ‘black’)

III.17. Time

177. (118.) night

xⁱšáp; *šab*, *šaų̈* ❖ S B *ʾγšp-h* M *ʾxšp-ʾ(h)*, *xšp-ʾ* C *xšp-ʾ* /ᵊxšəpá/

< **xšapā́-*; Ave. *xšapā-*, Khwār. *ʾxy̆b*, *xb*, Khōt. *ṣṣavā-*, *kṣap-*, Oss. I *æxsæv*, Shugh. *x̌āb*, Rōsh. *x̌ab*, Sarīq. *x̌ob*, Yazgh. *x̌əb*, Ishk. *ṣ̌ab*, Yidgh. *xšovo*, Munj. *xšawå*, Pasht. *x̌ab*, Pers. *šaƀ*, TVarz. šaų̈, Pahl. *šap* > *šaβ*, Kurd. *ṣev*; Ved. *kṣapā́-*; Eynu. *šäb*

178. (117.) day

mēṣ / mēṭ ❖ Sogd. S *myδ* B *m(ʾ)yδ* M *myδ*, *my(y)δδ* C *myϑ*, *myϑ*, *myd* /mēϑ/

< **máiϑā-*; Ave. *maēϑa-* ‘unstable, changing (with night)’, Khwār. *myϑ* /mēϑ/, Yazgh. *miϑ*, Shugh. *mēϑ*, Rōsh. Khūf. Bart. Rāshrv. *mīϑ*, Sarīq. *maϑ*, Ishk. *may*, Sangl. *mēi̯*, Zēbāk. *mī*, Munj. Yidgh. *mīx̌*

nūr ‘(day)light, day’ ❖ B C S *nwr* /nūr/

< **nūra-* ‘(day)light, day’, Ave. *nūrəm*, Khwār. *nwr* /nūr/, Pers. *nūr*, TMast. *nir* ‘light’; BukhAr. *nūr* ‘day’

rūz ❖ S M *rwc* /rōč/

< **rau̯ča-*; Bactr. *ϱωσο* /rōc/, Pasht. *rwaʒ*, colloq. *wraʒ*, Pers. *rōz*, Hazār. *rə̄z*, Pahl. *rōʒ*, Kurd. *roj*, Shugh. *rūz*

(119.) morning

fʲrə́nta ‖ fʲrə́k ❖ S *βrʾ(ʾ)k* B *βrʾ(ʾ)k* M *frʾk* C *frʾq* /frāk/

< **frāka-*; Oss. *rag*, Wakh. *vərōk*; cf. Ved. *prā(ñ)k-* 'in front', Welsh *rhag* 'in front', Corn. *rag* 'in front', Bret. *rak* 'in front'

saḥár ❖

< Ar. SḤR saḥar, Pers. *saḥár*, TMast. *səḥár*, *səhár*, Wakh. *sahār*

čəštagáʰ(i) ❖

Tjk. *čəštgə́h*, *čəštgəhə́*

pagə́ʰ, *pagəhə́* ❖

< Tjk. *pagə́h*, *pagəhə́*, TMast. *pəgá*, Ave. *upa-gāϑ-*

bəm 'morning, dawn; time of the first morning prayer' ❖ C *bʾm* /βām/ 'morning, dawn'

cf. Pers. *bām*

❖ B *wyʾws* M *wyws* /wyūs/

Ave. *viiusa-*

❖ C *ʾwcʾq* /ōčə́k/

Ave. *vītara*, *vičāk* < *u̯it(a)rāk-*

(120.) noon

nīmrə́z, *nīmrūzə́* ❖ S *nymyð(h)* M *nymyð* /nə́m(m)ēϑ/

< **nai̯ma-mái̯ϑā-*, **nai̯ma-rau̯ča-* 'midday'; Pers. *nīmrə́z*, *nīmrōzə́*

ɣarnám ❖

Pasht. *ɣarmá* < Ir. **garma-* 'warm'

pəšə́n ❖

< Tjk. *pəšə́n*

❖ S *rypðβ-* /repϑβá/

< **rápiϑβā*

(121.) evening / afternoon

vʲyə́ra ❖ S *βyʾrʾk* M *βyʾryy* /βyə́rə̌/

< **abi-ai̯āra-ka-*, Khwār. *biyāri* < **apa-ai̯āra-*; Yazgh. *biyir*, Shugh. Rōsh. *biyōr*; Parāch. *wyār*

bēgə́ʰ ❖ večer

< Tjk. *bēgəh*

xʲšə́m 'diner', *šəm* 'evening, afternoon' ❖ M C *xšʾm* /xšām/

< **xšáfni̯a-*; Ave. *xšāfnaiia-*; Shugh. *xə̄́m*, Yidgh. *xšēma-* 'diner', Pasht. *šə́ma*; Parth. *šʾm*, Pahl. *xšām*, Pers. *šām*; Tatar. *axşam* 'evening prayer', Georgian *vaxšami*

(122.) yesterday

pʲyə́n ❖ S *pyˀˀnˀkh* /pyə́nā/

< **apa-aiā-na-(ka-)*; cf. Pasht. *parún*, Waṇ. *pə́run(d)*, *pə́rən(d)*, Sangl. *pāruzd* < **para-adzna-/adzni-*

(123.) today

íən(n)ʉ̄r / ídnʉ̄r ❖

< Yagh. *īt* / *īd núr* 'this day'; cf. Shugh. *nūr*

(124.) tomorrow

fʲrə́nta ‖ fʲrə́ok ❖ S *βrˀ(ˀ)k* B *βrˀ(ˀ)k* M *frˀk* C *frˀq* /frāk/

< **frāka-*; Wakh. *vərōk*; cf. Ved. *prā(ñ)k-* 'in front', Welsh *rhag* 'in front', Corn. *rag* 'in front', Bret. *rak* 'in front'

pagə́ʰ, *pagōhí* ❖

< Tjk. *pagə́h*, *pagōhí*, TMast. *pəgá*, Ave. *upa-gāϑ-*

(125.) week

háftá ❖ B *ˀβt(ˀ)myð* M *ˀβtˀmyð* /əβdəmé̞ϑ/

< *haftą-máiϑā-*; Ir. **haftą-ka-* > Pers. *haftá* > Shugh. *aftā*, Tr. *hafta*, Kazakh. *apta*; cf. Gre. *ἑβδομάς*, MGre. *εβδομάδα*, Fr. *semaine*

(126.) month

mōʰ, *maʰ*; mōx *(arch.)* ❖ S B *mˀγ(h)*, *mˀx* M C *mˀx* /māx/

< **māh-*; Ave. OPers. *māh-*, Bactr. *μα(υ)ο* /mā(h)/, Khōt. *māstä*, Oss. *mæi̯* ‖ *mæyæ*, Shugh. *mēst*, Rōsh. *mēst*, Sarīq. *most*, Yazgh. *mast*, Pasht. *myāšt*, Wakh. *mʉ̆y*, Pers. *mə́h*, TVarz. *mo(h)*, *ma(h)*, Kurd. *meh*, Ved. *más-*

179. (127.) year

sōl ❖ S B *srð-y* M *srð(ð)-y* C *srd-y* /seʳðí/

< **ʁṛd-*; Ave. *sarəd-*, Khwār. *srð* /sarð-/, Bactr. *σαϱλο* /sarl/, Khōt. *salī-*, Pers. *sāl*, Kurd. *sal*, OPers. *ϑard-*, Ved. *śarád-* 'autumn'

yə́sō *(arch.)* ❖

< **āʁaka-*; Oss. *az* ‖ *anz*

III.18. Adjectives (ii)

180. (136.) hot

*γ*arm ❖ B M *γrm* /*γ*aṙm/

< **garma-*; Ave. *garəma-*, Khwār. *γrm*, Khōt. *grāma-*, Oss. *qarm* ‖ *γarm*, Ishk. *γorm*, Sangl. *γōrm*, Pers. *garm*, Munj. *gərm*, Shugh. *gārm*, Ishk. *garm*, Kurd. *germ*, Balōch. *garm(ag)*, Skt. *gʰarma-*, Gre. *ϑερμός*, Lat. *formus*, Eng. *warm*, Ger. *warm*, Cze. *žár*; Urd. *garm*

181. (137.) cold

sōrt ❖ B *srt* /saṙt/

< **ʁarta-*; Ave. *sarəta-*, Khōt. *sāḍa-*, Wakh. *sʉr*, Pasht. *sōṛ (f. saṛa)*, Ōrm. *sālᵃ*, Pers. *sard*,

Pahl. *sart*, Balōch. *sart*, *sard*, Kurd. *sar*, Goth. *kalds*, Eng. *cold*, Ger. *kalt*, Rus. *хóлод*, Cze. *chlad*, Lit. *šáltas*; Urd. *sard*

182. **full**

pun(n), púnna ❖ Sogd. *pwrn-y* C *pwn-y* /puʳní/, Z *pwn* /pun(n)/

< **pŕ̥na-(ka-)*; Ave. *pərəna-*, Bactr. *πορῳι* /purr/, Khōt. *purra-*, Pasht. *pur*, Pers. Kurd. Balōch. *pur*, Ved. *pūrṇá-*, OCS. *plъnъ*, Rus. *пóлный*, *пóлон*, Cze. *pln(ý)*, Lit. *pìlnas*, Gót. *fulls*, Ger. *voll*, Eng. *full*; cf. Lat. *plēnus*

183. (129.) **new**

náwa ❖ B *nwʾkw* M *nwyy* /nəwə́/

< **náu̯a-ka-*; Khwār. *nwʾk* /nawāg/, *nwγ̌k*, Bactr. *νογο*, *ναγο* /nug, nag/, Oss. *nog (arch. næwæg)* ‖ *næwæg*, Ishk. *nuwůk*, Sangl. *nuwōk*, Shugh. *naw*, Yidgh. *nowoγo*, Pasht. *nə́waḭ* (f. *nə́wē*), Parth *nawāg*, Pers. *nau̯*

184. (128.) **old**

pīr ‘old (of age)’ ❖

Pers. *pīr*, Bactr. *πιῤο* /pĭr/, Ir. **parya-*; Ave. *parō* ‘previous’; BukhAr. *pīr*

kúʰná ‘old (inanimate)’ ❖

< Pers. *kuhná*, *kuhán*, Tjk. *kůhná*, *kuhán*, TMast. *küná*, Pahl. *kahwan*, Uzb. *kŭhnə̀*, *kühnə̀*, Kazakh. *könė*, Tr. *köhne*, Qashq. *köhnə̀*, *kohnå*

qadím(á) ❖

< Ar. QDM *qadīm(aẗ)*, BukhAr. *ḳadīm*, Malt. *qadim*, Pers. *qadím*, *qadīmá*, Wakh. *qadim*

❖ M *wtcny(y)*, *wcny* C *ʾwcny* /ü̯ɨ́tčnĕ > ő́tčnĕ/

< **u̯i-tačina-ka-*

185. (130.) **good**

xūb ❖ B S *γwp* M C *xwp* /xūp/

< Ir. **hu-apa-*, **hu̯apa-*; Khwār. xwb /xūb/, Bactr. *χοϐο* /xūb/, Pers. *xūb*, Fārs. colloq. *xob*, Skt. *svapa-s*, Uzb. *xůb*, *xůp*

naγz ❖ Sogd. B *nγz-y* /nəγzí/

> Pers. *naγz*, TMast. *naxs*

186. (131.) **bad**

gánda ❖ S *γntʾk(ʾ)*, *γntʾkk* B *γntʾ(ʾ)k(ʾ)*, *γntʾkk* M *γndʾk* C *γnṯʾq* /γámdāk(ă)/

< **gand-āka-*; Tjk. *gandá*, Ishk. *ganda*; Parth. *gndʾg* /gandắg/ ‘stinking’, Balōch. *gandag*; Ved. *gandʰá-* ‘smell’; Uzb. *gə̀ndə̀*, BukhAr. *ganda*

❖ S *ϐ(y)z-y*, *ʾϐ(y)z-y*, M *ϐ(y)j-y*, *ʾϐj-y* /ʾβží < βeží/

< **béži* < **bázdi̯a-*; Pers. *faž*, *βaž* < Sogd.

187. **rotten**

pű́ta ❖ C *pwṯky* /pű́təkĕ/

< **pūta-ka-(ka-)*; Ave. *pūti-*

188. **dirty**

ɣažd ❖

cf. TMast *ɣažd*

čirkín ❖

< Pers. *čirk(ín)*, Shugh. *čirkin*

❖ B *rym(nyk)* M *rym*, *rymny(y)* C *rym* /rém(nĕ)/

Parth. Pahl. *rēm*

❖ S *ʾʾɣwst* B *ʾʾɣwstk* /ǽɣʷəst(ĕ)/

Parth. *ʾgwd*, *ʾgwst*, Pahl. *ʾgwh-*

189. straight

razk, *rōst* ❖ B *ršt(h)* /rəšt/ 'right, true'

< **ɣ́ʣuka-*; Yazgh. *razǵ*, Sangl. *rōsk*, Munj. *wurzug*, Ide. **reĝ-to-*, Lat. *rectus*, Ger. *Recht*

< ** rāšta-*; Ave. *rāšta-*, Khwār. *ršt* /rašt/, Khōt. *rraṣṭa-*, Pers. *rāst*, Hazār. *rōs*, Pahl. (Turfān) *rāšt*, OPers. *rāsta-*, Kurd. *rast*, Oss. *rast*; Uzb. *råst*, colloq. *rås*, Kyrg. *ïras*

❖ C *frš̱ty* /frəštɛ́/

< **fərášta'i* < **fra-rašta-ka-*, cf. Sogd. B √*frʾyẓ* C √*fryž* : M √*fršt-* /√frēž : √fršt/ 'to straighten'

< **fra-raʣaia- : *fra-rašta-*

❖ B *przpʾr* /párzpār/

190. round

lű́nda ❖

< Tjk. *lū́ndá*

ɣ́íla ❖

cf. Yagh. *ɣīl-* 'to roll' < Tjk. *ɣēlīdán : ɣēl-*

kᵘlű́lá ❖

< Pers. *gulōlá*, Tjk. *kulū́lá*; TVarz. *kulolá*, Fārs. *golūlé* 'round'

❖ B C *ɣwrs* /ɣuṙs/

< **gar(t)ʂu-*; cf. etymologically unrelated Ar. QRṢ *qurṣ* > Tjk. *qurṣ(ák)* > Yagh. *qurs(ák)*

❖ S *ʾskwrnkh* /ˢskúṙnă̆/

Ave. *skarənā-*

❖ B *prɣrsʾy* / párɣəʳsɛ̆/

< **pari-gr̥ʂ-aka-*; cf. Ave. *gərəsna-*

191. sharp

tīr 'arrow' ❖ S B M *trɣ-y* C *t̰rɣ-y* /tiʳɣí/

< **tigra-*; Ave. *tigra-*, *tiɣra-* 'sharp', *tiɣri-* 'arrow', Khwār. *čɣr* /ciɣr/, Khōt. *ttīra-*, Oss. *ʦырɣ* ‖ *cirɣ*, Ishk. *tirɣ*, Munj. *tərɣa*, Pers. *tīr* 'arrow', OPers. *tigra-*

tēz ❖

< Pers. *tēz*, Kurd. *tûj*

192. dull

kunt ❖ tupý

Pers. *kund*, BukhAr. *kund*

193. **smooth**

lę́xna ❖

hamwőr ❖

< Pers. *hamvā́r*, Shugh. *amwōr*, *anwōr*

fit ❖

< Tjk. *fit*

194. (132.) **wet**

tan(n), *tar* ❖ B M S *trn* /taṙn/

< *tau̯rna-*; Ave. *taorna-*, Khwār. *trn* /tarn/, Pers. *tar*

195. (133.) **dry**

qōq ❖

< Uzb. *qåq*, Kyrg. Tatar. *qaq*, Tjk. Shugh. *qōq*

xušk ❖ B *ʾšk-w* M *(ʾ)šk-w*, *škwy(y)*, *šqwy(y)* /ⁱškú, ⁱškəwə́/

< **huška-*, **hišku-*, **hiškuu̯a-ka-*; Ave. *hišku-*, Oss. *xʷʁsk‘*‖ *xusk‘*, Pasht. *wuč*, Pers. *xušk*

196. **correct**

dᵘrɨ́st ❖ správně

< Pers. *durúst*

razk, *rōst* ❖ B *ršt(h)* /rəšt/

< **ŕd̯zuka-*; Yazgh. *razǵ*, Sangl. *rōsk*, Munj. *wurzug*, Ide. **reĝ-to-*, Lat. *rectus*, Ger. *Recht*

< ** rāšta-*; Ave. *rāšta-*, Khwār. *ršt* /rašt/, Khōt. *rraṣṭa-*, Pers. *rāst*, Hazār. *rōs*, Pahl. (Turfān) *rāšt*, OPers. *rāsta-*, Kurd. *rast*, Oss. *rast*; Uzb. *råst*, colloq. *rås*, Kyrg. *ïras*

tŭ̄ɣrḯ ❖

< Uzb. *tůɣrï*, Tr. *doğru*, Kypch. *ṭoɣru*, Kyrg. *tūra*, Kazakh. *tura*, Karakalp. *tuwrï*, Tjk. *tŭ̄ɣrḯ*, TMast. *tūɣrí*, Hazār. *tŭ̄ɣrí*

197. (140.) **near**

nazdḯk ❖ AL *nzt-w* /nəzdú/

< *nazdĭi̯ah-*; Ave. *nazda-*, *nazdiiah-*, Bactr. *ναζδο* /nuzd/, Sarīq. *nizd*, Pasht. *nizdé*, *niždé*, Pers. *nazd(īk)*, TMast. *naz(z)ík*, Pahl. *nazdīk*, Kurd. *nizûk*, *nêzîk*, *nazik*, Balōch. *nazīk*, *nazīx*, *nazī*, Ved. *nédīyas-*

qarḯb ❖

Ar. QRB *qarīb*, BukhAr. *ḳarīb*, Pers. *qarḯb*, TMast. *qəríb*

❖ B *βʾw* /βāw/

❖ S *nβʾnt* B *nβʾnt*, *nβʾynth* M *nβnd* C *nbndy*, *nbnṯ(y)*, *nbnt* /nɨβáṁd(ə̆), nɨβémd/

198. (141.) **far**

dūr ❖ S B *ðwr(h)* M *ðwr* C *dwr* /ðūr/

< **dūra-*; Ave. *dūra-*, Khōt. *dura-*, Wakh. *ðir*, Sarīq. *ðar*, Pers. *dūr*, TMast. *dür*, *dir*, TFalgh. *dir*, Ved. *dūrá-*, Hind. *dūr*

199. (127.) **right**

rázk(a), *rōst* ❖ B *ršt(h)* /rəštá/

< **ŕ̥dzuka-(ka)*; Yazgh. *razǵ*, Sangl. *rōsk*, Munj. *wurzug*, Ide. **reĝ-to-*, Lat. *rectus*, Ger. *Recht*

< ** rāšta-*; Ave. *rāšta-*, Khwār. *ršt* /rašt/, Khōt. *rraṣṭa-*, Pers. *rāst*, Hazār. *rōs*, Pahl. (Turfān) *rāšt*, OPers. *rāsta-*, Kurd. *rast*, Oss. *rast*; Uzb. *råst*, colloq. *rås*, Kyrg. *ïras*

❖ B *wrzr-w*, *wyzr-w* M C *wyzr-w* /wiʳzrú/

Ave. *vərəzra-*

200. (139.) left

čap(p)á, *čap* ❖

Tjk. *čap*, Sarīq. *čop*, Kurd. *çep*, BukhAr. *čappa*

❖ B C *sʾpt(w)* C *sʾpṯ* /sáp̄t(u), sápʾt/

(175.) whole

tamőm ❖

Ar. TMM *tamām*, Pers. *tamā́m*

(178.) broken

unx̌astag*ī́* ❖ S *ʾwxwsty* B *ʾnɣwsty* M *xwsty* C *ʾwxs̱ty* / ő̆xᵒəstĕ̆, ámxᵒəstĕ̆, xᵒəstĕ́/

< **(aṷa-/ham-)xᵘasta-ka-*; cf. Pahl. *xwastan*; cf. Pers. suffix *-gī́*, e.g. *šikastagī́* 'broken' < *šikastán : šikan-* 'to break'

kalőt ❖

< Tjk. *kalőt*, TMast. *kĭlét*, TVarz. *kalét*; Pers. *(Luɣát-i Furs) klʾt* < Sogd. ???

vayrḗn ❖

Pers. *vaḭrā́n*, TMast. *verű́n*, *vaḭrű́n*, Hazār. *bērū̃*, Pahl. *apērān*, Ishk. *veron*; BukhAr. *beḭrān, ṷaḭrā̃n*

III.19. Adpositions

201. at

-sa ❖ S B M *-sʾr* C *-sʾ(r)* /-sa̍r̆, -sa̍·/)

< **ʁār-*; Khwār. *-sʾr* /-sār/, Pasht. *-sara*

pa- ❖

cf. Sogd. M *βʾ* C *bʾ* /βā/

par ❖ S B M C *pr* /pər/

< **upari-*; Ave. *upari-*, Khwār. *(-)par*, Pasht. *pər*, Pers. *bar*

❖ S *kw* B *kʾw* M *kw*, *qw* C *qw* /kō/

cf. OCS. *kъ*

202. in

číntír ❖ B *c(y)ntr* M *c(y)ndr* /čámdər, čı́mdər/

< **hačā-antar-*; Waṇ. *zdáre*; cf. Pers. *(an)dár*, Tjk. *dar*, Fārs. *där*, TVarz. *da(r)*, *-da*

-nŭ̆t ❖

(146.) **above**

-sár(i), -sáraḭ ❖ na, nad, u

Oss. I *-særы*

šī◌ *(arch.)* ❖ S M *ʾsk-(ʾ)* B *ʾsk-ʾ(ʾ)* C *ʾsk-(ʾ)*, *sky* /əskə̆̄, ᵊskə̄́/

Ave. *uskáṯ*, Khwār. *ʾsk*, Pasht. *hask*; cf. Yagh. *Šīmə́n* 'upper village; *upper part of village of Gharmēn in Yaghnōb*'

❖ S B M C *cwpr* /čə́pər/

< **hačā-upari-*

(147.) **below**

-táki, -*tág*i ❖

cf. Tjk. *tag* 'below'

❖ S *cʾðr*, *cʾ(ð)rʾr* B *cʾðr(rʾr)* M *cʾðr(pʾr)*, *cʾ(ð)rʾr* C *cʾpʾr*, *cʾrʾ(r)* /čə́ðər, čə́(ðər)pə̆r, čə́(ðər)sə̆r/

< **hačā-adari-*

203. **with**

-pi ❖ AL *py(š)* /pi(š)/

Khwār. *py* /pi/

kát(t)ī́, *qát(t)ī́* ❖

< Tjk. *kátī̆*, *qátī̆*, TMast. *qətí*, Shugh. *qati*

❖ S *prʾ(y)w* B *prʾ(y)w*, *pryw* M *pryw* C *prw* Br *prau* /pərə̄̆u̯/

< **upari-áiu̯a-* 'at once'

III.20. Conjunctions

204. **and**

-(a)t; -*(y)ʜ*, -*(v)ʜ*, -*(y)i* ❖ S B M *ʾt(y)* C *ʾṯ* /ət(i)/

< **utā*; Ave. *uta*, Khwār. *ʾwd* /ud/, Bactr. *οδο*, *οτο*, *οτι* M *ʾwd*, *ʾwṭ* /ud, ut/, Oss. *-ta*, Yazgh. *-ata*, *-at*, *-a*, Ishk. *-ъt*, Shugh. *-(a)t*, Pasht. *aw*, Pers. *-́u*, (*-́yu*, *-́vu*), TMast. *-ü*, *-i*, Pahl. *uð*, OPers. *u-tᵃ-a* /utə̆/, Kurd. *û*

❖ C *ʾr* /ə/

< **r̥*; Ide. **h₁(e)r*; Gre. *ἐα*, *ἐ᾽*, *ἄῥ(α)*, Lith. *iñ/añ*, Latv. *ìr/ar*; Tokh. B *ra*= '*emphatic particle*'

va, *wa* ❖ C *w-* /wə-/

< Ar. *wa*, BukhAr. Malt. *u*, Hebrew *ve*, Syriac *ū*; Pers. *va*, Kurd. *ve*, Pasht. *wa*, Uzb. *va*, Tr. *ve*, Azərb. *və*

205. **if**

kad 'when' ❖ Sogd. S B *kð(ʾ)* M *kð* C *qd* /kaδ, kəδə́/ 'when, if'

Ave. *kaδa-*; Bactr. *καδο* /kad/, Oss. *kæd*, Pasht. *kəla*, Pers. *kaḭ*; Ved. *kadá-*

agá(r) ❖

< Pers. *agár*, poet. *gar*, Tjk. colloq. *agá*, TYagh. *agá(r)*, Fārs. *ə́ĝə́r* colloq. *ə́ĝe*, Hazār. *agá*;

OPers. *hakaram* ‘once’, Ave. *hakərəṯ*, Shugh. *aga(r)*, Bart. *agar*, *agi*, Sarīq. *agár*; Uzb. *ägär*, colloq. *äyär*, Chaghat. *ägär*, Tr. *eğer*, Qashq. *äyär*, *ägär*, Turkm. *eýer*, Kyrg. *eger*, jižn. dial. *äger*, Tatar. *ägär*, Kypch. *ėgär*, BukhAr. *agár*, *agál*

206. because

nahḯpiti *báxša* ‖ nⁱhḯpiti *báxša* ❖

< Yagh. *nah-* ‘encl. particle of demonstratives’ (Sogd. *-nax*: B *ɣwnɣ*, *ɣwnʾɣ* M *xwnw*, *hwnx* C *ʾwnw nʾx* /hőnax, xőnax, őnō-nax/) + *ípti* ‘thus’ + Tjk. *baxš* ‘for’, AfghP. *báxč-e čűnki* ❖

< Pers. *čűn-ki* < **či-gauna-* + **kábiā-*

❖ C *cʾnwṯ* /čánŭt/

❖ S B *pʾrwty* C *pʾrwṯy* /páruti/

III.21. Name

207. name

nēm ❖ S B M C *nʾm* /nām/

< *nā́man-*; Ave. *nąman-*, *nāman-*, Khwār. *nʾm* /nām/, *nʾmўk* /nā́mag : nāmég/, Bactr. *ναμο* /nām/, Khōt. Tumshuq. *nāma-*, Oss. *nom* ‖ *non*, Pasht. *nūm*, Sarīq. *num*, Pers. *nām*, Pahl. *nām*, OPers. *nāman-*, Kurd. *nav*, Balōch. *nām*, Ide. **h₃néh₃men-*, Ved. *nā́man-*, Armen. *anun*, Gre. *ὄνομα* D *ἐνυμα-*, Lat. *nōmen*, Ger. *Name*, OCS. *jьmę*, OCze. *jmě*, Rus. *и́мя*, OIrl. *ainm(m)*, Irl. Gael. *ainm*, Bret. *hañv*, Welsh *enw*, Hitt. *lāman-*

Vocabulary of Yaghnōbī and Sogdian considerably differ – the difference is caused by several factors such as non-existent contact between both Sogdic dialects for approximately 1000 years, intensive contact of Yaghnōbī with Tajik (and to a lesser extent contact with Arabic and Turkic, presumably via Tajik) on one hand, on the other hand some Sogdian words show contact with Sanskrit (mainly Buddhist terminology), Aramaic (in Christian and to a lesser extent in Manichaean texts)[269], and Turkic (which appears in secular texts, namely from documents found at the Mount Mugh). There are also observable Sogdian contacts with Classical Persian, but it seems to me that there was much more Sogdian influence on Persian than Persian influence on Sogdian. In contemporary Yaghnōbī there is a great amount of loans from (or via) Tajik – there are approximately 48% loan-words and some 6% word are Yaghnōbī–Tajik compounds and other approximately 19% words are so-called compound verbs (presumably majority of them calqued from Tajik) – remaining 27% of words are genuine Yaghnōbī (NOVÁK [in print]).

Both languages also show similar patterns of word-formation, even Yaghnōbī calques from Tajik show some Sogdic patterns of word-formation. In Yaghnōbī there still remain many

[269] In this case I do not take in account Aramaic ideograms used in texts written in the Sogdian script – such ideograms were very likely read as Sogdian words as they show e.g. Sogdian inflectional endings.

suffixes attested in Sogdian, unfortunately many of such suffixes are unproductive in the contemporary language (cf. GMS §935-1166; LIVSHITS – KHROMOV 1981, 434-449; KHROMOV 1987, 665-670).

Some Yaghnōbī words have no Sogdian responses, Sof'ya Petrovna Vinogradova quotes several of them: *ɣúrda* 'eye', *ɣayk* 'daughter', *rax* 'mouth'[270], *nōs-* 'to take' (VINOGRADOVA 2000b, 310), there are many other words without Sogdian etymology, but some of those words have etymology in the Pāmīr languages, e.g. Yagh. *ɣayk* 'daughter, girl' may be connected with Yazgh. *ɣačaǵ*, Shugh. *ɣāc*, Rōsh. *ɣac*, Sarīq. *ɣoc*; Yagh. *ǒd(ⁱ)ma* '*Saponaria Griffithiana Boiss.* plant' ~ Khūf. *wuðm*; Yagh. *parám* '*Cousina umbrosa Buge* plant' ~ Khūf. *piram*, Yagh. *šawḗn* ‖ *šⁱwḗna* 'home-made paper-like thin cotton cloth' ~ Shugh. *x̌iwīnǰ*, Bart. *x̌iwīnč*, Khūf. *x̌iwīnč*, *x̌uwanǰ*, Rōsh. *x̌iwūnč*; Yagh. *xᵘšű́pa* 'crow, magpie' ~ Shugh. Khūf. *kix̌épc* and many other. The Yaghnōbī–Pāmīrī vocabulary may be connected with local ecology and semi-nomadic lifestyle or it may even be associated with the Pāmīr-Hindūkush Sprachbund mentioned in chapter I.1.1.4.b.

Some other Yaghnōbī words have been recorded in past years, but they are not used in the modern language: *man* 'apple', *kⁱmḗr* 'red', *zḗrta* 'yellow', *šōu̯* 'black', *sⁱpḗta* 'white', *vᵘrū́k* 'eyebrow', *īpṓra*, *ɣalbalá* 'much, many' and many other (cf. BOGOLYUBOV 1966, 359; KLIMCHITSKIY 1940; NOVÁK [in print]), some other *Early Modern Yaghnōbī words that were also similar in Sogdian were replaced by their Tajik similar-sounding counterparts: **vōɣ* (Sogd. *βāɣ*) 'garden' × Tjk. > Yagh. *bōɣ*, **mōx* (Sogd. *māx*) 'moon, month' × Tjk. > Yagh. *mōh* 'month' (cf. BOGOLYUBOV 1966, 359) or **vīm* (Sogd. *βīm*) 'fear' × Tjk. > Yagh. *bīm*.

[270] Yagh. *rax* has attested Sogdian form s *rɣʾk* /rəxā́/.

IV. Conclusion

In the presented thesis I tried to present main development features of the Eastern Iranian languages. The main attention was paid to the development and interrelation of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – two closely related languages of the Northern branch of the Eastern Iranian languages. Yaghnōbī and Sogdian were studied together with other Eastern Iranian languages, primarily with the languages of the Pāmīrs. I have compared all documented Eastern Iranian languages to the sketch of contemporary development of the languages in focus – I have tried to outline their basic development in phonology and morphology in the first part of the presented thesis. By a thorough study of the Eastern Iranian languages I have found another phenomenon, which should be carefully investigated – (re)classification of the Eastern Iranian languages. As I have mentioned in the chapter I.1.2. there is commonly accepted grouping of the language group in focus into the Northern and Southern branch, but as I have observed, there are no given criteria for such grouping. In the Table 31 I put down some thirty isoglosses that I have observed among the Eastern Iranian languages, but according to the isoglosses presented in the Table 31 there are no many really distinct features that can differentiate the "Northern" and "Southern" branches. According to a preliminary analysis of Eastern Iranian isoglosses there can be defined at least five groups/branches: I Northern *(Sogdo-Scythian)*, II North-eastern *(Saka)*, III Central *(Pāmīr)*, IV Southern *(Paṭhān)* and V South-eastern *(Hindūkush)* groups. Problematic is classification of Avestan (cf. ÈDEL'MAN 1986, 6-7 with bibliography), Khwārezmian (cf. ÈDEL'MAN 2000a, 95; ÈDEL'MAN 2008, 6; ÈDEL'MAN 1986, 6) and Bactrian – presented classification was based mainly on Modern Eastern Iranian languages. Some of isoglosses presented in the Table 31 can be demonstrated on following four examples (all examples are supplemented by forms in Classical Persian):

**čášman-* 'eye'

I Sogd. S *c(š)m-y* M *cm-y(y)*, *čšm-y* C *c(y)m-y*, *čšm-y* /čɨ(š)mí/; Oss. *cæst*, *casm* ‖ *cans* 'window-opening'
II Khōt. *tse'iman-*
III Ishk. *com*, Sangl. *cāṃ*, Zēb. *cōm*, Munj. *čōm*, Yidgh. *čam*, Shugh. Baj. *cēm*, Rōsh. Khūf. *cām*, Bart. *cēm*, Rāshrv. *cīm*, Sarīq. *cem*, Yazgh. *čăm*, Wakh. *ċə(ʒ)m*
V Ōrm. *cimī*, *čīm*, *cəm*
? Khwār. *cm-*, *cmī-* /camma/, Ave. *čašman-* [Pers. *čašm*]

**θrăi̯a-* 'three'

I Sogd. S *θry* MG *θryw* B *(ʾ)θry* M *θry(y)* C *šy* /ᵊšai̯/, Yagh. *ʂaráy* ‖ *ɻʲráy*, Oss. *ærtæ*
II Khōt. *drai*, Tumshuq. *dre*
III Yidgh. *x̌ʲray*, *x̌uroy*, Munj. *x̌iray*, Shugh. *aray*, Baj. Bart. Rōsh. *arāy*, Sarīq. *aroy*, Ishk. *růy*, Sangl. *rōy*, Yazgh. *cůy*, Wakh. *trū(y)* {Bactr. υαᵩηιο /hərēy/}
IV Pasht. *drē*, Waṇ. *dre*
V Ōrm. *ʂ̌ō*, *ɾ̌ī*, Parāch. *šī*, *šu*
? Khwār. *šy* /šē/, Ave. *θrāiiō* [Pers. *sih* > *se*]

*ɻušmā́xam ‘you’

I Sogd. S B *(ʔ)šmʾγw*, *ʾšmʾγh* M *ʾšmʾx(w)*, *šmʾx* C *šmʾx* /ⁱšmā́x(ʷ)/, Yagh. *šᵘmṓx*, Oss. *сымах* ‖ *sumax*

II Khōt. *uhu*, *umă*, *umä*, LKhōt. *ama*

III Wakh. *sā́(y)išt*, Ishk. *тъmьх*, Sangl. *təməx*, Munj. *mōf*, Yidgh. *mă̆f*, *mŏ̆f*, Shugh. Rōsh. Khūf. *tama*, Bart. Rāshrv. *tamāš*, Sarīq. *tamaš* {Bactr. *τωμαχο*, *τομαχο*, *ταμαχο*, /tōmāx, tumāx, tamāx/}

IV Pasht. *tā́sē*, *tā́sō*, Waṇ. *tās*

V Parāch. *wā*, Ōrm. *tọ̄s*, *tyūs*

? Ave. *yūžəm*, Khwār. *hβy* [Pers. *šumā́*]

*gaɻša- ‘ear’

I Sogd. S B M C *γwš* /γōš/, Yagh. *γūš*, Oss. *qus* ‖ *γos*, Scyth. ○*γωσος*

II Khōt. *gguv'a-*, *ggū'*

III Wakh. *γ̌iš*, Ishk. *γůl̥*, Sangl. *γōl*, Shugh. *γ̄ŭγ̌*, Rōsh. *γōw*, Sarīq. *γawl*, Yazgh. *γəvon*, Munj. *γūy*, Yidgh. *γū(ĭ)*

IV Pasht. *γwaǵ*, *γwaž*

V Ōrm. *gōī*, *gōy*, Parāch. *gū*

? Khwār. *γwx* /γōx/, Ave. *gaoša-* [Pers. *gōš̆*]

The issue of reclassification of the Eastern Iranian languages was only outlined in this thesis, the question still waits for its thorough examination. Valentina Stepanovna Sokolova studied genetic relations of Yazghulāmī and the Shughnī-Rōshānī group (SOKOLOVA 1967) and later relations of the Shughnī-Yazghulāmī group with Munjī[271] (SOKOLOVA 1973). Studies of genetic relations of Munjī and Yidghā with Bactrian and also interrelations of Bactrian with the Paṭhān languages can answer the question of position of Bactrian within the Eastern Iranian group. In a similar way can be studied relationship of Wakhī and the Saka languages – Wakhī appears to share several isoglosses with the Saka languages, but the language shows probable adstrate or substrate phenomena that link it closer to the languages of Pāmīr. Classification of the language of Khwārezm remains to be rather complicated – Khwārezmian shares several isoglosses with Alano-Ossetic languages and with the languages of Pāmīr on one hand, on the other hand there are some similarities with North-Western Iranian Sangesārī (cf. AʿẒAMĪ – WINDFUHR 1972), there are also some isoglosses shared with Sogdian (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a, 170); summary of possible connections of Khwārezmian with Avestan have been presented by David Neil MACKENZIE (1988) and by Vladimir Aronovich LIVSHITS (1962, 140).

I tried to solve the issue of mutual affinity of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī. Some scholars assumed that Yaghnōbī is a language continuing an unattested non-literary dialect of Sogdian, Yaghnōbī was even labelled *Neo-Sogdian* by some of them (cf. BOGOLYUBOV 1956; KLIMCHITSKIY 1935;

[271] In this case also position of Ishkāshmī and Wakhī is discussed.

SKJÆRVØ 1989a, 375-376), some other scholars suppose that Yaghnōbī is a successor of (in texts unattested) Sogdian dialect of Ustrōshana (KHROMOV 1987, 645, BUZURGMEHR 2005, 117). Contemporary studies tend to see rather greater differences between Yaghnōbī and Sogdian – the main differences quoted in scientific literature is absence of operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* in Yaghnōbī, different development of augment and Yaghnōbī (archaic) verbal ending of the third person plural *-ōr* instead of Sogdian *-aṁd* (cf. YOSHIDA 2009a, 327), another thorough study on relationship of Yaghnōbī and Sogdian was recently presented by Nicolas SIMS-WILLIAMS (2012).

For definition of interrelation of Yaghnōbī and Sogdian it is important to define both languages. Sogdian retains many archaic features in morphology and is, in comparison to Yaghnōbī, morphologically richer. For Yaghnōbī there is no direct evidence of development of its morphology during its history, but it can be assumed, that *Proto-Yaghnōbī possessed similar morphological forms as those attested in Sogdian. I have decided to "reconstruct" a proto-language common for both Sogdian and Yaghnōbī for the purposes of this thesis. Reconstruction of *Proto-Sogdic seems to be the best way to answer questions concerning interrelations of Yaghnōbī and Sogdian. The main difference appears not to be seen in morphology, which is much simplified in Yaghnōbī, neither in phonology, which has to be carefully reconstructed for Sogdian, but it is the development of stress that can the source of divergent features in both languages.

In the chapter II.1.1. there is outlined development of stress in languages derived from *Proto-Sogdic. I have outlined four stages of stress: *Stress I* (chapter II.1.1.1.) corresponds with original position of stress in *Proto-Iranian, *Stress II* (chapter II.1.1.2.) presents stress shift that defines position of stress in *Proto-Sogdic and subsequent shifts labelled as *Stress III* and *Stress IV* (chapters II.1.1.3. and II.1.1.4.) represent development of stress as it can be reconstructed for Sogdian. Position of stress in Yaghnōbī continues from the position of the *Stress II* (i.e. Yaghnōbī stress preserves archaic position of stress as can be reconstructed for *Proto-Sogdic), such position of stress can be also reconstructed for oldest stages of Sogdian before operation of the *Stress III*. The Sogdian language[272] can be defined as a language that developed after shift of the *Stress III* and subsequent operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* – it is the operation of the *Rhythmic Law* that defines Sogdian as against other Iranian languages, such as this innovation has not been attested in other Iranian languages. As *Proto-Sogdic stress remained on the same position in Yaghnōbī, Yaghnōbī and Sogdian developed differently. The operation of the *Rhythmic Law* divided Sogdian words into two groups – so-called *light* and *heavy stems*, the *light stem* words retained rich inflectional system, but the *heavy stems* developed three-case system (i.e. oblique cases phonetically merged into a single form). Development in Yaghnōbī was comparable with development of the Sogdian *heavy stems*.

[272] I.e. its literary form attested in various texts from territory of Sogdiana, Chinese Turkestan, or from other regions of Central and Inner Asia.

There are also several phonetic differences in development of Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – these features can be considered dialectal and probably they originally led to the assumption that Yaghnōbī may be a dialect of Sogdian. According to the analysis of stress shifts in languages derived from *Proto-Sogdic it can be suggested, that phonological development was also influenced by stress, namely in *(Proto-)Sogdian, where original short unstressed vowels changed to *Schwa* (*ə* or its allophone *i*), but remained unchanged in Yaghnōbī (for development in phonology see chapters II.1.2. and II.1.3.).

In morphology the differences between Yaghnōbī and Sogdian arise, mainly due to the operation of the *Rhythmic Law*, but there are also other phenomena that have not been influenced by stress. Fundamental is development of augment in Sogdian and Yaghnōbī – in Sogdian augment has been lost for all non-prefixed verbs, but it has been preserved as so-called internal augment for prefixed verbs (i.e. reflects of augment can be seen after a verbal prefix, in this case prefix usually changes its phonetic form when followed by augment), but in Yaghnōbī augment remained as a distinctive feature of imperfect and was reanalysed by analogy for all verbs as a prefix even for those containing historical verbal prefixes (see chapters II.2.4., II.1.3.26.*ii*. and II.1.8.). Other essential morphological features are two archaisms preserved only in Yaghnōbī – preservation (and reanalysis) of peripheral preterite ending *-ōr* < **-ār* < Ide. **-(o)ro / -(o)ror* and preservation of imperfect ending of the first person plural *-ōm* < **-āma* in Western Yaghnōbī (in Eastern Yaghnōbī and in Sogdian the imperfect ending of the first person plural has been replaced by original optative ending **-aim̯a* > Yagh. E *-īm*, Sogd. *-ēm*; see Table 51). The fact that Yaghnōbī dialects developed two different imperfect endings of the first person plural may indicate an early split of *Proto-Yaghnōbī and *Proto-Sogdian, and subsequent innovation of imperfect endings in (*Proto-)Sogdian and *Proto-Eastern Yaghnōbī.

During the development of the Sogdian language, Sogdian nominal morphology gradually simplified inflectional cases and *light stem* nouns changed their case endings and analogically switched to agglutinative inflection as is attested for *heavy stems* – the *light stems* formed minority of nominal roots and as there was double system of nominal inflection in Sogdian the language tended to avoid such dichotomy. As the *light stem* inflection switched by analogy towards the *heavy stem* inflection, there remained system of three cases – direct, oblique and vocative, i.e. case system similar to *Proto-Yaghnōbī. This reduced inflectional system is attested in late Sogdian Christian document C 5 (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1982). Also verbal endings tended to be unified for both *light* and *heavy stems*. Similarity in "agglutinative" system of late Sogdian inflectional system with Yaghnōbī is striking, but only formally (or say on synchronic level), but diachronically the development in both languages differ. The late Sogdian (or "C 5-Sogdian") system of nominal inflection cannot be considered as a source for development of Yaghnōbī inflectional system as there are still different patterns of stress development in both languages – diachronically Yaghnōbī still preserves stress on its position as it was in *Proto-Sogdic (i.e. *Stress II*), but (*Proto-)Sogdian certainly developed later stress shift – *Stress III* that influenced also morphology of the language (i.e. so-called *Rhythmic Law*), and

probably later on another stress shift appeared in (late) Sogdian – *Stress IV*. The shift towards the *Stress IV* can be probably connected with the above mentioned simplification of nominal inflectional cases as attested in the document C 5 – the tendency to equalize the three-case system of the *heavy stems* and the six-case system of the *light stems* led towards a *heavy stem*-like agglutinative system. There was probable opposite tendency in stress – it tended to shift towards the end of a word, such tendency can be seen in analysis of Sogdian versification by Elio PROVASI (2009, 351-353) whereas the final state of the *Stress IV* shift can be seen in the Sogdian documents written in the Brāhmī script (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a, 312-313).

Lexicon of both Sogdian and Yaghnōbī differs. This fact can be caused by two facts – 1) Sogdian is attested in various documents, but majority of texts are religious texts so the vocabulary often does not describe "basic" vocabulary connected with everyday life of peasants and other common people in Sogdiana, but such vocabulary is well attested in Yaghnōbī as the Yaghnōbīs are semi-nomadic pastoralists and their language preserves many "indigenous" terminology connected with animal husbandry and life in the mountains[273]; and 2) there is approximately a thousand years long gap between Sogdian and (Modern) Yaghnōbī, during this period the "world of the Sogdians" changed considerably and this development may be observed in development of Yaghnōbī lexicon.

After the fall of Sogdiana and gradual disuse of the Sogdian language (Arabic and) Persian became the *lingua franca* of Central Asia and Persian strongly influenced not only (Pre-Modern) Yaghnōbī, but also many other languages such as the Pāmīr languages, Pashtō, Indo-Aryan Urdū, the Nūristānī and the Dardic languages or Turkic Uzbek, Kyrgyz etc. Modern Yaghnōbī preserves approximately 27% of indigenous vocabulary, other parts of lexicon are borrowings, calques, or Yaghnōbī-Persian (Yaghnōbī-Arabic etc.) compounds. Sogdian lexicon contains also number of borrowings, mainly from Sanskrit, Old Turkic and Aramaic (but excluding "Sogdian" words written with Aramaic ideograms).

Yaghnōbī shows some lexical similarities with the Pāmīr languages, e.g. *ɣayk* 'daughter, girl', *ǒd(ⁱ)ma* '*Saponaria Griffithiana Boiss.* plant', *xᵘšŭpa* 'crow, magpie' and many others (see end of the chapter III) – these words can be connected either with local ecology and comparable semi-nomadic lifestyle or with the Pāmīr-Hindūkush Sprachbund mentioned in chapter I.1.1.4.b. Unfortunately there are no attested counterparts in Sogdian.

From the above mentioned points it thus can be suggested, that Sogdian and Yaghnōbī are closely related languages, but there is no evidence that shows that Yaghnōbī developed directly from Sogdian. If we assume that Yaghnōbī developed from a Sogdian dialect we have to define such dialect – I tried to sum up our knowledge of possible Sogdian dialects in the excursion 1,

[273] As Yaghnōbī is an unwritten language there is no elaborate terminology connected with say political and religious life for these fields are domains of Tājīk Persian (but also in Persian many words connected with religious life are taken from Arabic).

but the evidence of the dialects is quite deficient. It is certain that both Sogdian and Yaghnōbī developed from the same proto-language, but this proto-language equally differs from both languages in focus – I labelled the proto-language as *Proto-Sogdic which I find appropriate for explanation of development of both Sogdian and Yaghnōbī rather than *Proto-Sogdian as there has to be suggested a an intermediate development stage between *Proto-Sogdic and (literary) Sogdian.

As can be seen in the part II of the presented thesis, Yaghnōbī appears in some aspects more archaic in comparison to Sogdian – Yaghnōbī preserves archaic position of stress, it preserves augment (though the augment has been innovated in Yaghnōbī), it better preserves Iranian vowels (i.e. there is no reduction of unstressed vowels to *Schwa* as there was no *Stress III* shift) and Yaghnōbī dialects show that origins of both dialects can be of an old date. Archaic is also formation of ergative construction in Yaghnōbī and another archaism shared with Avestan, Khōtanese and Khwārezmian is preservation of archaic preterite ending of the third person plural **-ār*. On contrary, Sogdian shows archaic features mainly in morphology – the operation of the Sogdian *Rhythmic Law* preserved archaic inflectional system for *light stem* words, and also verbal morphology – Sogdian preserves more inherited verbal forms then does Yaghnōbī.

Both languages share some innovations – main similarity is development of nominal inflection in Yaghnōbī and in case of the *heavy stems* in Sogdian – development of direct and oblique cases is comparable, moreover, Yaghnōbī lost vocative case. Another shared innovation (typical also for other North Eastern Iranian languages) is formation of plural with the abstract suffix **-t(u̯)ă-*. Sogdian innovated ergative construction as it replaced copula by the verb **dār-* 'to hold' for transitive verbs (cf. similar development in Khwārezmian), another innovations can be seen in new suffixed forms of verbal inflection. The most important innovation in Sogdian was the shift towards the *Stress III* and subsequent operation of the *Rhythmic Law* – in this case originally phonetic change strongly influenced morphology and phonology of the language (the later shift towards the *Stress IV* was probably connected with a tendency to simplify inflectional dichotomy between the *light* and *heavy stems*). Yaghnōbī innovations show spread of prefixed augment by analogy to all verbal forms regardless of their original prefixes and also reanalysis of verbal endings – original durative ending *-išt* serves to form simple present and future tenses or as durative marker for the imperfect. Original indicative endings remained in Yaghnōbī, but they changed their function – they are used as forms of so-called dependent paradigm, i.e. they are used in a clause where appear more than one verb – for indicative present only the first verb is inflected in the present(/future) tense (i.e. historical present + *-išt*), all other verbs appear in forms of the dependent paradigm (i.e. in forms of historical present). Yaghnōbī has lost formation of causatives from Iranian **-aia-*stems′, there are preserved only several verbs in Yaghnōbī that originate from such causatives, nowadays Tajik causative suffix *-ōn-* is used. Tajik has influenced Yaghnōbī verbal morphology also in many other aspects, this issue can be considered as contact phenomenon rather as innovation (cf. NOVÁK [in print]).

* * *

Both Yaghnōbī and Sogdian show many differences, some of them are caused by approximately thousand years of discontinuity of development of both language as Sogdian has been replaced by Persian in the 10th and 11th centuries AD. After the Arabic conquest of Sogdiana both languages were gradually influenced by Persian, strong influence of Persian is visible mainly in Yaghnōbī. As both languages differ according to their attested forms, it can be said that from diachronic point of view they are two similar dialects/languages, both comparable in historical development as Sogdic dialects within the North Eastern Iranian language group.

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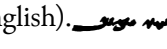

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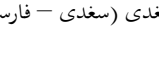

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