

CHAPTER TWELVE

PARACHI

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1 INTRODUCTION

Parachi (Parāčī) is spoken north-east of Kabul in three valleys in the southern foothills of the western Hindukosh by a total of approximately 3,500 speakers (as of 1981): in the Shotol valley, north of Golbahār, with approx. 1,500 speakers; in the Pacheghān branch of the Nejraw valley, north-east of Golbahār, with approx. 1,200 speakers; and in the Ghochūlān branch of the same valley, with approx. 700 speakers (see Map 14a.1). These represent remnant linguistic pockets of an earlier dialect continuum (cf. Morgenstierne 1970: 350–2; Kieffer 1979a: 45–47; 1983: 512).

The earliest references to the Parachi date to the sixteenth century. One is by the emperor Babur (Beveridge 1922: 207) in his memoirs, where they are mentioned in a list of tribes in the region of Kabul. The other is by the Ottoman admiral Ali Reīs (1899: 65) in his travelogue to the eastern regions. They are next mentioned in the nineteenth century by the travelers Elphinstone (1815: 316) and Masson (1842 I, 219: 221–22). The earliest reference to their specific location, though without mention of their name, also dates to the sixteenth century, and is found in an eyewitness report on an Islamic jihad in Kafiristan by Qadi Muhammad Salim (Scarcia 1965: 73), who cites “the pagan populations of Nejraw and Pacheghān”.

Georg Morgenstierne is the true discoverer of Parachi. Having collected extensive materials in 1924, he established the dialectological position of Parachi, together with Ormuṛi, as a South-East Iranian group which is historically closely related to North-West Iranian (1932: 18–39), and three years later published his masterly grammatical and philological description with extensive texts and glossary (1929 [1973]; dialect position: 8–17), which was followed some 50 years later by a succinct summary (Morgenstierne 1983). E. Benveniste collected materials in 1947 in the valleys of Shotol and Nejraw, which remain unpublished (Kohzad 1954; 1957). Charles Kieffer conducted field research in all Parachi-speaking locations between 1961 and 1973, and in 1978; in 1981, he worked with refugees in Kabul (1977a; 1979a, 1980a; 1977b, 1977c, 1978, 1979b, 1980b, 1981; 1983; 1986; 1989). Four questionnaires collected by him in 1965 for the Linguistic Atlas of Afghanistan are in the archives of the latter (Kieffer 1989: 445).

Kieffer established that Parachi is still spoken in the same separate locations as in 1924, but is confined to use among members of extended families, who are bi- and multilingual, and even individually show considerable variation. Nevertheless, he found relatively few substantial changes in phonology and grammar between 1924 and today, except for an increase in Persian patterns as could be expected. It should also be noted that the medium of data collection then and now was the Persian of Afghanistan.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels

The system of vowel phonemes has not been established with certainty, and may be shown as follows:

TABLE 12.1: PARACHI VOWELS

Qualitative Characteristics			Quantitative Characteristics					
	Front	Back	Long	\bar{i}	\bar{e}	\bar{a}	\bar{o}	\bar{u}
High	\bar{i}	\bar{u}	Short	e	a	o		
Mid close	e	o						
Mid open	\bar{e}	\bar{o}						
Low	a	\bar{a}						

The long back rounded vowels tend to be fronted: $\bar{u} > \bar{ü}$, and in Shotol particularly long $\bar{o} > \bar{o} [\emptyset]$ in most instances. Low back \bar{a} tends to be rounded, and raised pre-nasally. Mid front \bar{e} is tense and tends to be raised.

The long vowels are fairly stable, but tend to be shortened in unstressed position. Thus, the unstressed mid vowels $\bar{e} \bar{o}$ tend to merge with $e o$, and $\bar{i} > i$, $\bar{u} > u$.

The short vowels show considerable variation: $e o$ vary between high and mid-high position, [$e \sim i$, $o \sim u$]; e is reduced to $[\text{ə}]$ in unstressed position; a is often fronted and raised to $[\text{ä}]$.

Length distinction appears to be upheld only in Persian loans. While there is strong systemic interference from Kaboli Persian, the system of Parachi appears to be more determined by vocalic quality than length, and thus tends toward a system similar to Pashto, except for phonemic ə in the latter.

Note: For practical purposes, in the following discussion vowels will be represented in a broad transcription, and umlaut will only rarely be indicated.

2.1.1.1 Diphthongs

Diphthongs do not appear to have phonemic status, and are best analyzed as vowel + semivowel. They tend to be reduced particularly in rapid speech, thus final $aw > a$, and final ow , $\bar{o}w > \bar{o}$: personal enclitics 2s $-aw \sim -a$, 2p $-\bar{o}w \sim -\bar{o}$. Medial ay and aw , $\bar{a}w$, which only occur in loans, are mostly reduced to $e \sim \bar{i}$ and \bar{o} , respectively. The causative infix $\bar{e}w$ + vowel often contracts to e : $dal-\bar{e}w-em \sim dal-\underline{e}-m$ 'that I tear'.

2.1.2 Consonants

Like its neighbor languages, Parachi has developed a series of retroflex phonemes. What distinguishes Parachi most is the frequency of aspiration, which is confined to initial and medial position. It is found in loans from Indian: $ph\bar{o}r$ 'fruit', $dh\bar{a}r$ 'hill', but also originates in Iranian word-initial voiceless fricatives, mostly $x > kh$: $kh\bar{a}n-$ 'to laugh', $kh\bar{a}r$ 'donkey'. It is prominently the result of the metathesis of earlier medial h : $\check{c}h\bar{e}$ 'to

go' < *čēh- < OIr. *čiyuta-, but may also be quite recent: *mhetar* 'groom' < Persian *mehtar*. There is also secondary aspiration. Even though the phonemic status of the aspirates remains to be determined, they are listed in the following chart. Two of the phonemes, *q* and *y*, are confined to loanwords, where *q* alternates with *k*.

TABLE 12.2: CONSONANTS

		Labial	Dental	Retro.	Palatal	Velar	Uv.	Glott.
Stops	voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>(q)</i>	
	aspirate	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ʈh</i>	<i>čh</i>	<i>kh</i>		
Stops	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>		
	aspirate	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>ǰh</i>	<i>gh</i>		
Fricatives, voiceless		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>h</i>
	aspirate		<i>sh</i>					
	voiced	<i>(v)</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>	<i>ɣ</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>(ŋ)</i>		
	aspirate	<i>mh</i>	<i>nh</i>					
Trills			<i>r</i>	<i>ʀ</i>				
	aspirate		<i>rh</i>					
Laterals			<i>l</i>					
	aspirate		<i>lh</i>					
Semivowels		<i>w</i>			<i>(y)</i>			

2.2 Non-segmental features, stress

The accent in Parachi is one of intensity, and is free to the extent that it may fall on any one of the last three syllables of a word. This system is obscured by two main factors, coupled with the different chronological levels: One is the large loan component from the Kohestani Persian koine, with its different system of stress, in particular final stress in nominals, and the liberal switch of these bilinguals between the two languages, and thus their stress patterns. The other is that fact that during the elicitation of materials, researchers tend to pay less attention to suprasegmental aspects. For practical purposes, in the following accent is indicated by the underlining of the respective vowel.

Stress alternation is particularly evident with nominal inflectional endings, which appear to have been unstressed. Instructive examples are the plural marker and the singular ablative ending *-ī*: The unstressed general plural ending *-ān* alternates with the stressed ending *-ān̄*, on the model of the Persian plural ending *-ān̄*. The optional stress on ablative *-ī* is most likely due to the stressed *-ī* in Persian adverbial noun phrases (*be zīd-ī* 'in quickness, quick', *az khoshhāl-ī* 'from ~ out of happiness').

In general, it appears that word stress is superseded by a yet unexplored indigenous pattern of rhythmic, if not prosodic, sequences of stressed and unstressed syllables.

2.3 Morphophonemic changes

Like other Iranian languages, Parachi inherited the morphophonological changes between present and past stems of many verbs. Singular-plural ablaut is found in remnants. The only regular morphophonemic change is that of *a* > *ō* in closed syllables. It is

most prominent in the 3s forms of the past tense: *nhašt-em* ‘I sat down’ vs. *nhōšt* ‘he, she sat down’.

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender

There is no morphological distinction of gender. As elsewhere, natural gender may be expressed lexically by different etyma, and by classifiers such as *nar* ‘male’, *māda* ‘female’ for animals, either as a regular N₂-N₁ compound, or *ezāfe* construction: *nar-gu* vs. *māda-gu*, *māda-γasō* or *γasō-e māda* (*gu* ‘cow, bull’, *γasō* ‘calf’).

3.1.1.2 Number

The plural marker is *-ān* (*ā* strongly rounded, [â]) for both animates and inanimates. It is mostly stressed (after Pers. *-ān*), but may alternate with unstressed *-ān*, which appears to be the original pattern: *γos-ān* ‘houses’, but *ketāb-ān* ‘books’, *biyār-ān* ‘brothers’ (sg. *biyār*). The rare ending *-a* occurs only after numerals, including indefinites, and is probably a numerative (cf. Sogdian): *hodī biyār-a* ‘both brothers’. Paired nouns may inflect as a group: *dūst o rafiq-ān* ‘friends and comrades’.

The marker *-hā* (unstressed) is found in the elliptic duals *bāw-ehā* ‘father and son’, *māw-ehā* ‘mother and daughter’.

Ablaut plural is found in two loans: sg. *phōr*, pl. *phar* ‘fruit, grain’ (cf. Pashai *phāl*), also itemizer (Pers. *dāne*, *tā*), and the progressive participial suffix sg. *-tōn*, pl. *tan* (cf. Pashai *-tō*).

3.1.1.3 Declension

There are three inflectional cases in singular and plural: direct (DIR), oblique (OBL), and ablative (ABL). The singular oblique has the variants *-eka*, *-ikī*, but *-ān* for personal names (and pronouns, cf. below). The oblique *-āna* and ablative *-ān* are rarely distinguished. For the numerative *-a* see section 3.1.6 Numerals, specifically 3.1.6.5a.

TABLE 12.3: NOMINAL DECLENSION

	Singular	Plural
DIR	<i>ōsp</i>	<i>ōsp-ān</i>
OBL	<i>ōsp-eka</i> , <i>Alī-ān</i>	<i>ōsp-āna</i> ~ <i>ōsp-ān</i>
ABL	<i>ōsp-ī</i>	<i>ōsp-ān</i>
NUM		<i>ōsp-a</i>
Adpositional Cases (singular)		
ACC, spec.	<i>ma ōsp</i>	
DAT	<i>ōsp-kon</i>	
LOC/DIR	<i>ōsp-tar</i>	
INST/COM	<i>ōsp-pen</i>	

Other case relations are expressed by unstressed adpositions. These include prominently (1) the preposition *ma* for specific direct object (ACC), (2) the postpositions *kon* for dative (DAT), *tar* for locative-directive (LOC/DIR), and (3) *pen* for instrumental-comitative (INST/COM). The basic paradigms are shown above, with *ōsp* ‘horse’.

The vocative may be indicated by particles such as *ai*, *wō* preceding the direct case.

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are morphologically unmarked, unless functioning as a noun. There is no comparative or superlative marker: *biyā-e ghaṇḍ* ‘elder brother’. The referent is marked by *-tar* ‘from, than’, and *kol-tar* ‘than all’, respectively: *kaštē-tar ghaṇḍ-a* ‘he is bigger than the girl’. Note *godar-* ‘to pass, surpass’ in *ān [tō]-tar ham godar-em*, [*Māmad Hanīfa*]-*tar na* ‘I (*ān*) surpass even (*ham*) thee, but not M.H.’.

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns distinguish direct and oblique case, and the direct object. The personal enclitics of the 1p, 3p have mostly coalesced. In synopsis, the inflectional forms of personal and demonstratives pronouns are as follows:

TABLE 12.4: PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
DIR	<i>ān</i>	<i>tū</i> (<i>tō</i>)	<i>ō</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>ō-ān</i>
OBL	<i>mon</i> , <i>mun</i>	<i>t-ō</i> (<i>tū</i>)	<i>ōd-ē</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>ōd-ān-ān</i>
DAT	<i>mon kon</i>	<i>t-ō kon</i>	<i>ōd-ē kon</i>	<i>mā kon</i>	<i>wā kon</i>	<i>ōd-ān-ān kon</i>
ACC	<i>ma mun</i>	<i>ma tō</i>	<i>m-ond-ē</i>	<i>ma mā</i>	<i>ma wā</i>	<i>m-ond-ān-ān</i>
POSS	<i>man-ān</i>	<i>t-ān</i>	<i>od-ān</i>	<i>māk-ān</i>	<i>wāk-ān</i>	<i>od-ān-ān</i>
ENCLITIC	<i>-(o)m</i>	<i>-(w)a(w)</i>	<i>-(w)-ē</i>	<i>-(w-)an</i> ~ <i>V-n</i>	<i>-(w)ō(w)</i> ~ <i>V-wlu</i>	<i>-(w-)an*</i> ~ <i>V-n</i>

* *-(w)-* = postvocalic glide

3.1.3.1a Exclusive forms

A singular pronoun may combine with another to form quasi-exclusives: *dāl [mon o tō]* ‘with us’ (we and thee); [*mā o tū*] *par-a-man* ‘let us go’ (we and thou).

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives show binary deixis. Of the two, the far member has largely become the independent 3s pronoun, while the near member has become the general, deictically neutral referent, often with article-like function in noun phrases (see examples in section 8 Sample text). A typologically prominent feature is various degrees of focus, which may re-combine. The basic deictics and two of the combinatory ones are shown here.

TABLE 12.5: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative and Deictic Patterns						
	Independent		Attributive		Location-Direction	
	far	near	far	near	far	near
Unmarked	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>hō</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>ōk</i>	<i>ēk</i>
Selective	<i>hōwyak</i>	<i>hēwyak</i>	<i>hōwī</i>	<i>hawī</i>	<i>ōnhāk</i>	<i>ēnhāk</i>
Emphatic	<i>ok-wīyak</i>	<i>ek-wīyak</i>	<i>ōk-ō</i>	<i>ēk-ē</i>	<i>ōk-enhāk</i>	<i>ēk-enhāk</i>
Note also <i>pū</i> , <i>pī</i> ‘that, this side’.						
Independent Demonstrative Inflection						
	‘that’	‘this’	‘those’	‘these’		
DIR	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō-ān</i>	<i>ē-ān</i>		
OBL	<i>ōd-ē</i>	<i>ēd-ē</i>	<i>od-ān-ān</i>	<i>ed-ān-ān</i>		
DAT	<i>ōd-ē kon</i>	<i>ēd-ē kon</i>	<i>od-ān-ān kon</i>	<i>ed-ān-ān kon</i>		
ACC	<i>m-ond-ē</i>	<i>m-end-ē</i>	<i>m-ond-ān-ān</i>	<i>m-end-ān-ān</i>		
POSS	<i>od-ān</i>	<i>ed-ān</i>	<i>od-ān-ān</i>	<i>ed-ān-ān</i>		
Demonstrative Inflection, Selective Focus						
	‘that same’	‘this same’	‘those same’	‘these same’		
DIR	<i>hōwyak</i>	<i>hēwyak</i>	<i>hōwyakān</i>	<i>hēwyakān</i>		
OBL	<i>odhēk</i>	<i>edhēk</i>	<i>odhēkān</i>	<i>edhēkān</i>		
DAT	<i>odhēk kon</i>	<i>edhēk kon</i>	<i>odhēkān kon</i>	<i>edhēkān kon</i>		
ACC	<i>m-ondhēk</i>	<i>m-endhēk</i>	<i>m-ondhēkān</i>	<i>m-endhēkān</i>		
POSS	<i>odhēk(-ān)</i>	<i>edhēk(-ān)</i>	<i>odhēkān(-ā)</i>	<i>edhēkān(-ā)</i>		

3.1.3.3 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is *xō* ‘self’, obl. *xō-k-ān*; emphatic form: *xōxo*.

3.1.3.4 Interrogative-indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

Interrogatives mostly function also as indefinites, either by themselves or in combination with others:

- pronoun: animate, *kī*, obl. *k-ān* ‘who’ (sg. and pl.); *ka* + copula; inanimate, *čī*, *če* + N ‘what’;
- selective: *khāin* (+ N), obl. *-eka* ‘which one, some one’; *khāin-zā* ‘which thing, something’ (*zā* ‘thing’); *khān-ja-ī* ‘from what place, from some place’;
- location: *kū* ‘where’; *kučend* ‘from where, somewhere’; *kā-wanō* ‘where to, somewhere to’;
- time: *kabī* ‘when’;
- manner & measure: *čā* ‘how, why’; *čā(war)* + N ‘how many’; *čeqa* ‘how much’ (see also 3.1.6 Numerals);
- kind: *zanēng* ‘what kind’; *zanēng-ī* ‘how, what manner’.
- inclusive: *har* ‘every, each’ + interrogative: *har kī* ‘every one’; *har khān* ‘every which one’; *har kū* ‘everywhere’; *har kābī* ‘anytime’;
- exclusive: *hēč* ‘any’ + interrogative-indefinite: *hēč kābī* ‘anywhere’.

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Prepositions

The preposition *ma* marks (1) the specific direct object, and specific location, time and goal (cf. Ormuri *ku-*): *ma dur* ‘at the river’; *ma dōwās* ‘at 12 o’clock’; *ma [žū qāter] suwār nhōšt* ‘he sat down on/mounted [a mule]’. It also marks (2) the recipient, or dative, with ‘to give’ and ‘to say’ (similar to *kon*): [*ma gu-γ-ōn*] *āo dhay-m* ‘I shall give water [to the cows (*gu-*)]’.

Other prepositions include: *men* ‘in, among’, *men yanir* ‘in the middle of the terrace’, *men āwγān* ‘among (the) Afghans’; *dāl* ‘in front of, before, with’: *dāl mon* ‘in front of me, with me’ (Kb. *pēš-e man*).

3.1.4.2 Ablative -ī and postpositions

Ablative *-ī*, direction ‘from’ (singular): *mhawr-ī* ‘out of the garden’; *qala-ī narγ-ō* ‘he left the farm’; *kābol-ī āγ-ō* ‘he has come from Kabul’; *xōm-ī čīd-ī* ‘he woke up from sleep’; *hawī waxt-ī* ‘from that time on’.

kon, direction ‘to, towards; till’: *sāt-kon* ‘to the village’, *žā sar-kon* ‘till next year’; *tū M-kon āšeq čh-ē* ‘thou becamest a lover to/of M.’; [*mon-kun*]-*e yār-aw* ‘for me, your friend’ (*ezāfe*); *gu-γ-ōn-kun-ē dā* ‘he (-ē.AG) gave to the cows’.

tar, bi-directional general location and direction, ‘in, to’ and ‘from’: *tar-ē* ‘before him’; *dārū-tar hos mor* ‘all (*hos*) died from the medicine (*dārū*)’.

pen, instrumental, comitative: DIR, *rafīq-pen-ē* ‘with his (-ē) friend’; *pašō-pen* ‘with the axe’; OBL *-ān* of person: [*Māmad Hanīf*] *-ān-pen* ‘with M. H.’.

The locative adpositions frequently combine with each other, and may form circumpositions (for prepositional adverbs with *ezāfe*, see 4.2 Noun phrase structure): [*men*] *xō [-tar]* ‘in, among themselves’; [*ma*] *γōs [-ī] čhī* ‘he left/went from, the house’; [*dāl mā[-ī] čhī*] ‘he went away from (before) me’ (often in allegro form: *dāmāi* ‘from us’); *ē [sōr ōsp]-ī čhar-ī [dharma]-tar* ‘she fell from the top of the horse to the ground’; [*dōs sar]-tar-ī* ‘ten years ago, earlier’ (= Kb. *pēš az da sāl*).

3.1.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are not morphologically marked, except for focus *-k*: *bete* ‘again’, *badē* ‘now’, *nī* ‘now, today’, *nī-hēk* ‘right now’, *nī xawān* ‘tonight’; *aze* ‘yesterday’, *sabā* ‘tomorrow’, *āsoṛ* ‘this year’; *wakhē*, *wačhanē* ‘up’; *pastō* ‘down’ (for further locative and temporal adverbs, cf. pronouns above).

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

The decades 60–90 are based on the vigesimal system, *γōšt-ak* ‘unit of twenty’; note Indic *lal*:

TABLE 12.6: NUMERALS

1–9	11–19	10–90	100+	
<i>žū</i>	<i>žūwōs</i>	<i>dōs</i>	<i>sō</i>	hundred
<i>dī</i>	<i>dowās</i>	<i>γōšt</i>	<i>hazār</i>	thousand
<i>šī</i>	<i>šidōs</i>	<i>šos</i>	<i>lak</i>	hundred-thousand
<i>čōr</i>	<i>čadōs</i>	<i>čhel</i>	<i>dōs lak</i>	ten lak = one million
<i>pōnč</i>	<i>paes</i>	<i>penjā</i>		
<i>xī</i>	<i>xodōs</i>	<i>šīγōštak</i>		
<i>hōt</i>	<i>hatōs</i>	<i>šī nīm γōštak</i>		
<i>ōšt</i>	<i>aštōs</i>	<i>čōr γōštak</i>		
<i>nō</i>	<i>nams</i>	<i>čōr nīm γōštak</i>		

Digits follow the decades: *γōšt o žū* ‘21’; hundreds have *-sōy*, or Kaboli *-sat*: *dī-sōy*, *čōr-sōy*; *dōs-sōy* ‘ten-hundred’ = ‘one thousand’, or *dī-sat* ‘200’, *šī sat* ‘300’, etc.

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers include: *avvalī* ‘first’, *āxer* ‘last’; others have the suffix *-om-ī*: *šī-om-ī* ‘third’; substantive *-gī*: *čōr-om-gī* ‘the fourth one’.

3.1.6.3 Distribution

Distribution is indicated by repetition: *žū žū* ‘by one, one each’.

3.1.6.4 Other numerals and measure

These include (1) preposed: *hodī*, pl. *hodī-n-ān* ‘both’; *hos*, pl. *hosi-n-ān* ‘all’; *kol* ‘all’; *γalaba* ‘many, very’; *γolū* ‘many, very’; *čāvar*, *čā* ‘several’; and (2) postpositional *dal* ‘a crowd, many’; and others. Examples: *kol-e wā-k-ān* ‘all of you’, *čāvar mazdur* ‘several servants’, *γalaba sāl* ‘many years’; *mā dal* ‘we all’.

3.1.6.5 Numerals and case marking

3.1.6.5a Numerative *-a*

Numerals larger than one may take what appears to be a numerative ending *-a*: *γalaba biyār-a* ‘many brothers’, *dī bāl-a bēn* ‘there were two boys’ (sg. *bāl-ō*).

3.1.6.5b Genitive of measure

The partitive genitive is used with measure: *γōšt sīr bīz-eka* ‘20 sirs of grain’; *hazār nafar-eka* ‘one thousand persons’; *hos-e seb-eka* ‘all of the apples’.

3.1.6.5c Plural of specificity

Numerals implying specificity as a rule take the plural: *hodī puš-ān* ‘both sons’; *hawī γulū* *ōsp-ān* ‘these many horses’; *hos dōš-ān* ‘all the hair’, *[hosi-n-ān]-an-a* ‘it is (-a) all (pl.) of theirs (-an)’.

3.2 Verb morphology

3.2.1 Stem formation

The verbal system is based on two stems, present and past. Past stems originate in a dental (except for two verbs: *pēc-lp(h)ak-* ‘to cook’, *?lhušk-* ‘to dry’), which may be retained, or lost (examples are cited as: present/past).

Regular verbs (‘weak’) have past stems in *-ī* (< **-īd*): *berkh-lberkhī-* ‘to fear’.

Irregular (‘strong’) verbs mostly show morphophonemic change. The dental may be retained, contracted to *r* < **urd*, or post-vocally lost: (a) *pān-lpānt-* ‘to know’, *bež-lbast-* ‘to bind’, *nhīn-lnhašt-* ‘to sit down’; (b) *kan-lkor-* ‘to do’ (< **kurd* < **krtá-*); (c) *ošt-l oštā-* ‘to stand (up)’ (cf. Pers. *īstād*); *dah-ldā(-w)-* ‘to give’ (cf. Persian *dād*) vs. regular *deh-l dehī-* ‘to hit’. Note that short *a* is rounded before clusters in pause: *nhašt-am* ‘I sat down’, but *nhōšt* ‘he sat down’.

Suppletive stems are *žē-lāya-* ‘to come’ (cf. Pers. *ā-lāmad*), while *čh-lčhī-* ‘to go, to become’ takes the present stem of *par-a-* ‘to go, walk, wander’ as a suppletive in the present-future.

Causative stems are regular, and marked by *-ēw/-ēw-ī-*: *berkh-ēw-lberkh-ēw-ī-* ‘to frighten’; in context: pres. *ān-e.SBJ dal-ēw-em* ‘that I (*ān*) tear’, past *mun dal-ēw-ē* ‘I (*mun*.AG) tore’.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

There are a good number of nominal forms (for their individual use, see discussions below):

3.2.2.1 Forms based on the present stem

- (1) The progressive participle in sg. *-tōn*, pl. *-tan* (cf. Pashai *-tō*): *kan-tōn* ‘be doing’.
- (2) The verbal noun, or infinitive, in *-en*, only with *nar-* ‘to be able’: *kan-en* ‘doing, to do’.
- (3) The passive participle in *-en* in the passive construction (cf. Pashai *-en*): *kan-en* ‘be done’.
- (4) The present conjunctive participle in *-en*, *-īn*, mainly with verbs of movement (cf. Pashai *-mana*).
- (5) The absolutive in *-amān*.
- (6) The attributive gerundive in *-ānē*: *čhem-ānē* ‘to be done’ (*čhēm-lčhemī-* ‘to go, move, wander, become’).
- (7) The deverbal noun in *-ō*: *mer-ō* ‘death’ (*mer-lmur-* ‘to die’).

3.2.2.2 Forms based on the past stem

- (1) The perfect participle in *-ō*: *nhašt-ō* ‘having sat down’ = ‘seated’.
- (2) The verbal noun in *-ō*: *rhīnt-ō* ‘weeping’ (*ruh-lrhīnt-* ‘to weep’).
- (3) The perfect adjective in *-ō-ī*.

3.2.3 Person marking and ‘to be’

The three persons in the singular and plural are indicated by distinct endings. The endings of the 2s, 3s show some irregularity, as shown in the following synoptic table:

TABLE 12.7: PERSON MARKING

Existential Verb						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PR	(h)ē-m	(h)ē	(h)ā	(h)ē-man	(h)ē-r	(h)ē-n
PT	(h)ast-am	(h)ast-a	(h)ōst	(h)ast-aman	(h)ast-ar	(h)ast-an
PR inan.			sī			sī (cf. PT)
PT inan.			sō bō-n			sē bē-n (cf. PP)
Copula and 'to be'						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PR	-eml-ēm	-ī	-al-ā	-eman	-ēr	-an
PT	bē-m	bē	bī-n	bē-man	bē-r	bē-n
SBJ	bi-m	bī	b-ē	bī-man	b ^r -ōr	b-ēn
Personal Endings, intransitive						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PR	-em	-ē	-a	-eman	-ēr	-an
PT	-T-am	-T-ē	-T	-T-eman	-T-ēr	-T-an
PP	-T bē-m	-T bē	-T bō-n	-T bē-man	-T bē-r	-T bē-n
PT	-ē-m	-ē	-ī	-ē-man	-ē-r	-ē-n
PP	-ē bē-m	-ē bē	-ō bō-n	-ē bē-man	-ē bē-r	-ē bē-n

The imperative 2s is generally the bare present stem, while the ending of the 2p is *-ōr*: *da(h), dch-ōr* 'give (2s, 2p)!'.¹

3.2.4 Negation

There is only one general marker *na*: *na xoṛ-om* 'I did not eat'; *na hēm* 'am not', *nā* 'is not'. The negation usually precedes the verb form immediately, but the copula and the personal ending may be attached to it: *na-m boč-etōn* 'I am not seeing (it)', *na-m narī* 'I could not'. Persian prohibitive *ma* is rarely used. Note that apprehension, such as 'to fear', requires the negation:

ān-em berkhi-tōn-em, če mēri-en [na] par-ī
 I-am fearing-am that killed not he go
 'I am afraid, that he may be killed';

ḡgar-om xūn koṛ, [na]-ī če xešem koṛ-ō b-ē
 liver-my blood made not-he.AG that anger he have done-SUBJ
 'I am distressed, that he may have gotten angry',

3.2.5 System of tenses and moods

The basic system is defined by the opposition between present and past tense, and continuous (imperfective) and perfect (perfective) aspect. The perfect also distinguishes temporary state. There are corresponding non-indicative moods. Transitive past tenses have the ergative construction.

3.2.5.1 General present and past

The simple present and past forms are based on the bare present and past stems. The subject is either marked by the personal ending, or, in the ergative transitive past, by the agent enclitic:

<p>Intransitive pres., <i>ān nhīn[-em]</i> ‘I (shall) sit down’ past, <i>nhašt[-em]</i> ‘I sat down’;</p>	<p>Transitive pres., <i>kan[-em]</i> ‘I (shall) do’ past, <i>koṛ[-om], [-om] koṛ</i> ‘I did’.</p>
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3.2.5.1a Past immediacy marker

In familiar speech, the enclitic *-(n)a*, attached to the past of the 3s appears to indicate immediacy: *āy-a-na* ‘he arrived, there he is’ (cf. Kb. *āmad-ak* ‘the “guy” is here’).

3.2.5.1b Continuous present and past

The continuous, i.e. ongoing or habitual, present and past is a participial construction. It is marked by the formant sg. *-tōn*, pl. *-tan*, added to the present stem. The copula marking the subject may be attached to the participle, or precede it:

<p><i>kan-tōn[-em]</i> or <i>ān[-em] kan-tōn</i> ‘I am doing’; <i>ān fārsi [hast-am] xān-tōn</i></p>	<p>‘I was studying, used to study, Persian’.</p>
---	--

While the continuous present expresses ongoing and habitual action, the general present may express: (1) unspecific present and future action, including suggestions and intention, as well as (2) dependent potential action, i.e. the subjunctive.

The unmarked past expresses the completion of an action, which may include repeated action seen as a whole. A distinctive use of this form is to express completion or anticipated certainty of an action in dependent clauses, most conspicuously in conditional clauses (see section 5.5.2).

3.2.5.1c Temporary state present and past

State is expressed by the perfect participle with the copula in the present, and *hasta-* in the past. It is mostly found with change-of-state verbs: *nhašt-ō (h)ēn*, *nhašt-ō (h)asta-n* ‘they are, were sitting’ (‘to sit (down)’). The distinction between temporary state and the perfect forms is clearly seen in the past perfect *čh[-ē] bē-n* ‘they have sat down’ vs. *čh[-ō] bē-n* ‘they were seated’.

3.2.5.2 Present perfect and past perfect

The forms of the present and past perfect are based on the perfect participle and the present and past forms of the copula with intransitive verbs, and the agent enclitic with transitive verbs:

Intransitive,

perfect, *ō āy[-ō]* ‘he has arrived’, *ō dal[-ō]* ‘he has been torn, he burst’;

Ergative transitive,

perfect, *[-om] koṛ-ō* ‘I have done’;
past perf., *[-om] kōr-a bōn* ‘I have done, I had done’.

3.2.5.3 Dubitative

3.2.5.3a Dubitative-future, *xō*

Dubitative is marked by the particle *xō* preceding the unmarked present and past forms:

present, *m-ond-ē [xō] mēr-a* ‘he may, might kill him (*m-ond-ē*)’
 (cf. Kb. *xāt ū-rā be-koš-eš*, *xāt košt-eš*);
 past, *bālō [xō] bin* ‘it may, could be the boy (*bālō*)’ (cf. Kb. *xāt būd*).

3.2.5.3b Dubitative future perfect, *xāhāt*

An apparent future perfect form, with *xāhāt* followed by the past stem, is found in the following:

ma mā ham [xāhāt dehī] ‘you will indeed (*ham*) have beaten us’.

3.2.5.4 Subjunctive and conditional

3.2.5.4a Present subjunctive and conditional

The only verb to distinguish the subjunctive is ‘to be’ (see section 3.2.3 Person marking). With other verbs the subjunctive is identical with the unmarked present-future, used prominently in dependent clauses: *bōčh(ē)-em* ‘that I see’ (cf. Kb. *be-bin-am*). To it corresponds the rare conditional with the invariant conditional of the copula, *bā*:

na-m koṛ [bā] ‘if only I had not done (it)’ (cf. Kb. *na-mē-kad-om*).

3.2.5.4b Continuous subjunctive

A further, apparently continuous, subjunctive is constructed with the present participle in *-en*:

xoxo-e.SBJ raḥīq-pen-ē aiš kan[-en] b-ē
 ‘may she be enjoying herself (*xoxo*) with her friend’.

3.2.5.4c Perfect subjunctive and conditional

(1) The perfective subjunctive is marked by the subjunctive forms of ‘to be’:

magam mardum-ikā nhāmōṛ [čh-ō b-ē]
 perhaps people-EZ memory it will have gone
 ‘people will probably have forgotten (me)’.

(2) The perfect conditional is expressed by the past perfect:

aze āya b-ē, mon žū čhaṭak-ī dā bē
 yesterday hadst thou come I.AG one rupee had given-us

‘had thou come yesterday, I would have given thee a rupee (*čhaṭak*)’,

where *bē* is 2s past of ‘to be’ (< *bē-ē*).

3.2.5.5 Note on contracted past and perfect forms

Verbs with past stems in *-ī*, prominently the regular verbs, distinguish past and perfect forms clearly only in the 3s. These stems derive from **-īd*, e.g. **čhīd* ‘gone’ (< **čiyuta-*), and show contraction with the personal endings due to the loss of intervocalic **-d-* as follows: **-īd* before vowel > *-ē-*, but > *-ī* in pause.

The perfect forms of these verbs show further contraction due to the loss of intervocalic *-g-* in the participial form **-īd-ag-* as follows: before vowel > *-ē-ē-* > *-ē-*, but > *-ō/ō* in pause. Thus, in the past, **čhīd* with the personal endings *-am*, *-ē*, *-Ø*, *-aman*, *-ēr*, *-an*, and in the perfect **čhīd-ag-* (< **čiyutaka-*) with the personal endings, have the following forms:

‘to go’	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
Past	<i>čhēm</i>	<i>čhē</i>	<i>čhī</i>	<i>čhēman</i>	<i>čhēr</i>	<i>čhēn</i>
Perfect	<i>čhēm</i>	<i>čhē</i>	<i>čhōlčhō</i>	<i>čhēman</i>	<i>čhēr</i>	<i>čhēn</i>

3.2.5.6 Overview of past and perfect forms

The past perfect forms are subject to similar contractions. The following table shows the patterns of the various strong verbs ending in a dental or vowel, and of the weak verbs:

TABLE 12.8: PAST AND PERFECT FORMS

Past					
	‘to sit down’ strong	‘to die’ strong	‘to stand up’ strong	‘to come’ strong	‘to go’ weak
<i>*-tld-</i>	3s <i>nhošt</i> 1s <i>nhašt-am</i>	<i>moř</i> <i>moř-om</i>	<i>oštā</i> <i>oštā-ē-m</i>	<i>āγ-a</i> <i>āγ-ē-m</i>	<i>čh-ī</i> <i>čh-ē-m</i>
Perfect					
<i>*-tld-ag-</i>	3s <i>nhašt-ō</i> 1s <i>nhašt-ē-m</i>	<i>moř-ō</i> <i>moř-ē-m</i>	<i>oštā-w-ō</i> <i>oštā-w-ē-m</i>	<i>āγ-ō</i> <i>āγ-ē-m</i>	<i>čh-ō</i> <i>čh-ē-m</i>
Past Perfect					
<i>*-tld-ag-</i>	3s <i>nhašt-a bōn</i> 1s <i>nhašt-a bē-m</i>	<i>moř-a bōn</i> <i>moř-a bē-m</i>	<i>oštā bōn</i> <i>oštā bē-m</i>	<i>āγ-a bōn</i> <i>āγ-a bē-m</i>	<i>čh-ō bōn</i> <i>čh-ē bē-m</i>

3.2.5.7 Overview of tenses, moods, and aspect

The following synoptic table shows 1s forms of the transitive verb *kan-lkoř-* ‘to do’ for the basic pattern here ergative (see section 4.3.3 Subject and object marking, and 3s forms of the change-of-state verb *nhīn-lnhašt-* ‘to sit down’ for temporary state.

TABLE 12.9: SYSTEM OF TENSE, MOOD, AND ASPECT

Indicative		Non-Indicative	
PR <i>kan-em</i>	‘(will) do’	<i>kan-em</i>	‘that I do’
PT <i>-om koṛ</i>	‘did’		
PF <i>-om koṛ-ō</i>	‘have done’	<i>-om koṛ-ō b-ē</i>	‘may have done’
PP <i>-om koṛ-a bōn</i>	‘had done’	<i>-om koṛ-a bōn</i>	‘would have done’
Temporary State			
PR <i>našt-ō a</i>	‘is sitting’		
PT <i>našt-al-ō (h)ost</i>	‘was sitting’		
Continuous			
PR <i>kan-tōn-em</i>	‘am doing’	<i>kan-en bi-m</i>	‘may be doing’
PT <i>kan-tōn (h)ast-am</i>	‘was doing’		
Dubitative			
PR <i>xō kan-em</i>	‘may do’		
PT <i>-om xō koṛ</i>	‘might do’		

3.2.6 Aktionsart and modal constructions

3.2.6.1 Incipient action

Incipient action is expressed by the perfective verbal noun in *-ō + da(r) into* ‘and verbs of movement, such as *čh-* ‘to go, become’, *čhaṛ-* ‘to fall’: [*da naγōn xoṛ-ō*] *čh-ē-n* ‘they began to eat (bread)’; [*da deh-ō*] *čhaṛ-ī* ‘he fell to = started striking’ (*deh-ldehī* ‘to hit’).

3.2.6.2 Intention

Intention is expressed by phrases such as *benā kan-* ‘to begin, intend’ and *xāeš dēr-* ‘to have the wish’ in *ezāife* constructions with the oblique of the verbal nouns in *-ō*:

benā [-e udhēk-ān māt-ō-eka] koṛ
‘he has the intention [of killing that one];

xāeš [-e jīnč bar-ō-eka] dēr-a
‘he has the wish [of taking a wife].’

3.2.6.3 Ability and possibility

Ability or possibility is expressed by the verb *nar-/narī* ‘be able, be possible’ and the verbal noun in *-en*. The construction may be (1) personal, marked by the subject endings, or (2) impersonal, marked by the personal enclitic in experiencer (‘dative’) function:

Personal ending,

[*jang kan-en-ē*] *nar-ē* ‘canst thou fight him (*kan-en-ē*)?’;
[*xar-en-ē*] *te na nar-em* ‘I cannot eat it (-ē)’.

Personal enclitic,

nā-m nar-ē xar-en ‘I cannot eat it (-ē)’, where *nā-m* < *na-om*, lit. ‘not-to me’.

3.2.6.4 Necessity and obligation

Necessity is expressed by the impersonal *bāyat* ‘is necessary, must’, also *bāyat as(t)* ‘should’ followed by the subjunctive (cf. local Persian *bāyat*; *me-bāyest*):

[*bāyat as*] [*če xoxo feker kan-eman*]
‘it should be that self thought we make’, i.e. ‘think ourselves’.

Obligation may be expressed by the verbal noun in *-ō* (past stem) together with terms implying appropriateness, such as *rawā* ‘agreeable’, *bakār* ‘appropriate’:

[*čh-ō*]-*aw rawā nā*
‘thy going is not appropriate’, i.e. ‘thou shouldst not go’;

[*malāmat koṛ-ō*] *bakār nā*
‘(thy) reproaching (him) is not good’, i.e. ‘appropriate, necessary’.

3.2.7 Passive and causative formations

3.2.7.1 Passive and gerundive

3.2.7.1a Passive

Passive is expressed periphrastically by the passive participle in *-en* and the verb *čh- / čhī* ‘to go, become’ (present-future *par-a-*), alternating with *čhēm- / č(l)ēmi-* ‘to go, move, wander’:

[*mēr-en*] *čhī*
‘he was killed’;

ān-em berkhi-tōn-em če [mēri-en na parī]
‘I am afraid that he may be killed’.

3.2.7.1b Potential passive

Passive with potential connotation: *howī ker-a [čhēm-tōn]* ‘that work can be done’ (*-a* ‘is’, continuous present). Note that both uses (and the etymology) correspond to that of *šodan* in Persian (*košte mišavad, mišavad kard*).

3.2.7.1c Adjectival gerundive

The gerundive, present stem + *-āne*, is only found in adjectival position:

ker-e [čēm-āne] bin, čhī
‘there was work [to be done], (and) it was (done)’.

3.2.7.2 Causation

Direct causation is indicated by the marker *-ēiv* (see section 3.2.1 Stem formation). Other-agent causation may be expressed by the verb *dah- ba* ‘to give to’, and the imperfective verbal noun in *-ō*:

[*ba mer-ō*]-*aw te dah-em*
to be killed-thee will I give
‘I will give thee over to be killed, will have thee killed’.

Together with inherited intransitives and transitive-causatives, there thus may be four forms:

Intransitive: *mer-lmoř* ‘to die’; *mēr-en čhčhī* ‘to be killed’;
 Transitive: *mēr-lmāt* ‘to kill’; *ba mer-ō dah-l-dā* ‘to have s.o. killed’.

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Conjunctions and clitics

The coordinating conjunction is *o*, postvocalic *wo*. The enclitic connector is *ham* ‘also, even’. Alternates include *na-na* ‘neither-nor’. An emphatic particle is *xō, xu*. There are two modal particles *te* and *e* used with the general present (see section 4.3.5). The general subordinating conjunction is *če*.

4.2 Noun phrase structure

Parachi belongs to those languages which are basically left branching, that is, the head noun follows dependent nominals. However, due to interference from Persian, the inverse order is equally found.

4.2.1 Noun and adjective

- (1) Adjectives may immediately precede the noun, ADJ – N: *činō puš* ‘little boy’.
- (2) More frequently they follow the noun in an *ezāfe* construction, N-*e* ADJ: *puš-e činō*. In that case, the nominal case marker is attached to the adjective as a phrase clitic: (*ōsp-e čhatō*)-*eka zīn* ‘[the white horse]’s saddle (*zīn*)’.
- (3) The inverse *ezāfe* is also found, Adj-*e* N: *aga bad-e gonākār ham čh-ēm* ‘even if I become an evil (*bad*) sinner’.

4.2.2 Noun and dependent noun

There are three options: The dependent noun in the oblique case:

- (1) immediately precedes the head, OBL – N: [*hōwī ādam-eka*] *ōsp* ‘[that man’s] horse’;
or
- (2) immediately follows the head, N – OBL: *ōsp* [*hōwī ādam-eka*]; or
- (3) the dependent noun follows the head by *ezāfe*. In this case, it is usually in the oblique case, N-*e* OBL: *pā-n-ān [-e bāw-eka]* ‘the feet of father’s’; but it may also be in the direct case, N1 -*e* N2: *ōsp [-e hōwī ādam]* ‘the horse of that man’.
- (4) There is also a focused construction marked by an anaphoric enclitic: [*žū-eka*] *nām-[ē]* *Air bīn*, lit. ‘one’s, his name was Air’.

These options may lead to ambiguity: the sequence

ma zīn ōsp-eka pōt-tar lam da may be interpreted as
[ma zīn ōsp-eka] pōt-tar lam da ‘put the saddle of the horse on its back’, or
ma zīn [ōsp-eka pōt-tar] lam da ‘put the saddle on the horse’s back’.

4.2.3 Functions of the oblique

In overview, the functions of the oblique in noun phrases include the following:

- (1) possession, genitive: [*Māmad Hanīfa Sāheb-eka*] *ōsp* ‘M. H. Saheb’s horse’;
- (2) genitive of kind and measure: [*naḡōn-eka*] *thōī-ān* ‘burnt pieces of bread’;
- (3) object of adpositions, alternating with the direct case: [*Māmad Hanīf-ān*]-*pen* ‘with M. H.’; but [*rafiq*]-*pen-ē* ‘with his (-ē) friend’;
- (4) object of adverbial *ezāfe* constructions: *nazdik* [-*e ma ḡos-eka*] *āya* ‘he came near the house’; *pešt-e* [*Māmad Hanīfa Sāheb-eka* *ōsp-eka*] ‘behind M. H. Saheb’s horse’; *pošt-[-e pā-n-ān -e bāw-eka]* ‘behind father’s feet’; *mōx-tar* [-*e Mīrzā, biyā-e ghaṇḍ-eka*]-*ī* ‘on the face (*mox*) of M., his elder brother’s’.

4.3 Clause structure and word order

4.3.1 Order of constituents

Parachi is basically a SOV language. Generally, any part of speech that is determined by the semantic range of the verb occurs in immediate preverbal position. However, adverbial phrases giving a particular direction, as well as direct objects, and more rarely subjects, may be found in postverbal position.

4.3.2 Semantics and use of nominal forms

4.3.2.1 Animacy

While there is no distinction of masculine and feminine gender, there is a distinction of animacy. This includes the following:

- (1) the interrogative-indefinite pronoun, animate *ki*, inanimate *čē*;
- (2) the existential verb, general and animate sg. *hā*, pl. *hēn*, inanimate pres. *sī*, past sg. *sō bōn*, pl. *se bē-n*;
- (3) the singular oblique *-ān*, with high agency pronouns and named persons as opposed to *-eka* with all others.

4.3.2.2 Plurality and agreement

Plural is as a rule not marked after numerals and numbers: *žū, dī* *ōsp* ‘one, two horses’, *čā phar sēb* ‘several items apples’ (but see 3.1.6.5a Numerative *-a*). It is, however, mostly marked after the implicitly indefinite specific *hos* ‘all’, *hodī* ‘both’ (see 3.1.6 Numerals).

Bare nouns may function as collectives. In that case, the plural is generally marked in the verb, if subject:

ganem-ōw āsor bakār chē-n
wheat-2p this year good became-3p
‘your wheat has become good this year’.

Otherwise, it is understood by context:

man-ān xat ko xān-en na-nar-a
‘no one (*ko na-*) can read my letters (sg. *xat*)’.

Conversely, plural items or persons may have singular personal endings or pronominal referents, apparently when seen as a set:

juwān-ān-e kārī-a ‘they are (-a ‘is’) good young men’;
hō čōr-ē čhē-n ‘those four of them (-ē ‘its, of it’) went’.

In turn, singular items or persons may be expressed by plurals:

mā-tar gur-ē ‘take it from us = me’.

4.3.2.3 Definiteness and specificity

The unmarked noun may be definite or indefinite, depending on the context. Similarly, the plural may be indefinite: [*jalāt-ān*]-ē *dhēwī* ‘he (-ē.AG) called for (some) executioners’.

Specific indefiniteness may be indicated by the unstressed numeral *žū* ‘one’: *žū ošp* ‘one, a (certain) horse’. Also found is the Persian indefinite -ī: *čhil suwār-ī* ‘some forty horse-men’. Its attachment is still rather free: *jangal-tar* ~ *jangal-ī tar* ~ [*jangal-tar*]-ī *zahī* ‘he came to a (certain) forest’.

Definiteness may be indicated by the stressed demonstrative, usually the near demonstrative adjective: *hē ošp* ‘this/the horse’.

Specificity is obligatorily marked in case of the direct object, mostly with the preposition *ma*.

4.3.3 Subject and object marking ergative

Parachi is an ergative language. The subject in the present, and in the past of intransitives, is in the direct case, but the agent/subject of past transitive verbs is in the oblique case if pronominal, either independent or attributive: *ōd[-ē.AG] pānt če* . . . ‘he understood that. . .’; *ēd[-ē.AG] mīrža jāri* ‘this scribe said’; else it is unmarked:

dukāndār *žāri ma kaṭṭō zāif*
 ‘the shopkeeper.AG said to the old woman’.

The direct object of transitive verbs is marked by the oblique case in both the present and past. This may be the bare oblique, particularly with personal pronouns, but usually the object is marked by *ma*: present, [*mōn*] *poṭ kan* ‘hide me’; *ān zanēng [ma xā-m] gom kan-em* (subj.) ‘how can I lose my husband?’; past, [*ma mōn*] *dhōr* ‘he saw me’; *mon [ma wā] dhōr* ‘I saw you.p’, with agent oblique *mon*.

4.3.3.1 Patient ending

As seen in the examples above, the ergative in Parachi has “decayed”: patient marking in past tenses is the same as in the present, and the verb ending is usually that of the unmarked 3s. However, the materials contain several instances of the full ergative construction; in particular, the patient is expressed in the verb by the personal ending, even though the direct object/patient is marked by the oblique and *ma*:

žū espō [*ma mon*] *šoṇḍ-pen* *danān koṭ[-am]*
 one dog.AG me muzzle-with tooth did-Is
 ‘a dog bit me with his muzzle’.

4.3.3.2 Indirect object

The indirect object as experiencer and beneficiary may be expressed by the plain oblique case, i.e. without adposition:

(a) with *čh-* ‘to happen’:

[*puš-eka*] *zā na čhō bō*
‘nothing had happened [to the son]’;

(b) emotions and sensations:

feyān oštā [kašt-eka] *ešq sōr-tar-ē āya [šekār-eka]*
‘lament (*feyān*) rose [from the girl]; fancy (*ešq*) [for a hunt] came to his head’;

[*mon o tān*] *jang-ahē ketāb [hōwī ādam-ikā]*
‘there is quarrel to/between [us]’; ‘this book is [that man’s]’,
lit. ‘to me and thee’.

4.3.3.3 Indirect object raising

There are likewise instances where the indirect object (‘indirect affectee’) may be raised and be marked by the personal ending as is shown in the following example:

aze āy-a b-ē, *mon žū čhaṭak-ī dā bē*
yesterday come be-2s (perf. subj.), I.AG one rupee-a given be-2s (past perf.)
‘hadst thou come yesterday, I would have given thee a rupee’.

4.3.3.4 Attachment of personal enclitics

The personal enclitics function as general oblique case markers. This includes the genitive, dative, direct object, and object of adpositions, and the agent in past tenses of transitive verbs.

Their leftmost attachment includes interrogatives or conjunctions:

č-ē jar-tōn ‘what art (-ē) thou saying’;
če-om qasam xor ‘that I (-om) have sworn an oath’.

Sequential person marking occurs frequently:

general present, *mēr[-an-om] te* ‘they (-an) will kill me (-om)’;
imperfective present, *larz-ēw-tōn[-om-a]* ‘he (-a ‘is’) making me (-om) tremble’;
perfect, *lam-ēw-ō[-ī-a]* ‘thou hast (-a) hung it (-ī) up’.

In the ergative, and in the absence of any other parts of speech, the agent enclitic is attached to the verb form: *xor-[a]* ‘thou (-a) atest’. Otherwise, it is mostly attached to the preverbal phrase, but may be attached to any other phrase for selective emphasis. For example, in the following sentence the parentheses indicate possible positions of 2s -a ~ aw:

tū nī xawān(-a) nāgōn(-a) čē-pen(-a) xor
thou to-night bread what-with ate
‘with what atest thou the bread tonight?’

4.3.4 *Types of possession*

- (1) The copula with the oblique marks possession: *man-ān-a* ‘it’s mine’; *hē ketāb ālī-ān a* ‘that book is Ali’s’; *hē ketāb [hōwī ādam-ikā]* ‘this book is that man’s’; plural, *hē [ādam-āna]-en* ‘these are the men’s’.
- (2) In addition, there is a locative construction with *ba* ‘with’, probably indicating temporary possession: [*ba bāw-om*] *čāvar mazdūr hēn*, lit. ‘with my father are several servants’.
- (3) Possession may also be expressed by the verb *dēr-ldērē b-*, subj. *dērē b-* ‘to have, hold’: *aze ker dērē bīm* ‘I had work (to do) yesterday’.

4.3.5 *Future and modal clause clitics te and e*

The clause enclitics *te* and *e* disambiguate the future and potential future function of the unmarked present (cf. Northern Kurdish *dē, ē*, MacKenzie 1961, I: 180–182). Both occur mostly adjacent to pronominal markers, or in clause final position, which points to their focusing function.

4.3.5.1 *Future clitic te*

The future function of *te* is shown in the following sentence:

γos-tar ĵar-em dāl xā-m [te], če žū xī-γoγōk-om mhēmān-om āγō
 house-in I will tell to husband-my [will] that one sister-son guest-my has come
 ‘In the house I will tell my husband, that my sister-son has come as my guest’.

This sentence is part of an extended direct speech, where a cheating wife tells a Molla what she is going to do, and where every main clause is likewise marked by *te* (text: Morgenstierne 1929: 209).

Similar to English ‘will’ as in ‘that will be Harry’, implying probability, *te* may also connote supposition:

khāin-zā-m [te] gas-a ‘something [seems] to be biting (*gas-*) me (*-m*)’.

4.3.5.2 *Assertive clitic e*

The function of the enclitic *e* (< 3s opt. **hē* ‘may be’) is similar to that of *te*, but implies assertion (cf. section 4.5.3.2 Factual enclitic *ta* in Chapter 14):

žē, če ma tō [-e] gap ĵan-em ēr-em [-e] ān [-e]
 come that to thee [let] talk I hit ‘I [shall] kill (thee)’;
 ‘come, let me say a word to thee’;

The uncertainty implied may be emphasized by the addition of dubitative *xō*:

bī rafiq-om ma šār na [(-e)] (xō) par-a-m
 without friend-my to town not [shall perhaps] I go
 ‘perhaps I will not go to the town (*šār*) without my friend’.

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordination of clauses is by far the dominant way of combining two or more clauses, with or without overt coordinating conjunctions, clitics, or conjunctive phrases. Such patterns are seen in the Sample Text below. In both coordination and subordination there is a strong tendency to follow the Persian patterns.

5.2. Subordinate clauses

The indigenous pattern appears to have been that the conjunction is placed immediately before the verb phrase. This is still found, as in the following example from the sample text below:

tar-e ē žū-ika žu bālō če bin,
 from-EZ this one-OBL one boy CONJ he-was
 ‘that one who was someone’s only child . . .’

5.3 Relative clauses

Following the Persian pattern, the head noun phrase of the restrictive relative clause is often preceded by *-ī*, with or without demonstrative: *dāl howī zaīf-ī, če* ‘near that woman, who’; *hawī māneš (-ī) če* ‘this man, who’. The relative *-ī* follows postpositions: *žangal-tar-ī če* ‘to the forest which’.

če may be absent:

ker-a koṛ-ō, xūb ker-ā
 ‘the work thou (*-a ~ -aw*, agent) did, is good work’.

5.3.1 Generalized clauses

Such is often the case with generalized clauses:

harkī-an γont, mēr-tan-en
 ‘whomever they (*-an*) found, they used to kill’,
 lit. ‘they are killing’ (note the present tense).

5.3.2 Anaphoric pronouns

The syntactic relationships are indicated by anaphoric pronouns and similar means, and may be so even if in subject function:

molā nasroddīn žū māneš bin, če ē ma mhawṛ riz-ō hōst
 ‘Molla Nasroddin was a certain man, that he was sleeping in a garden’.

Similarly, an anaphoric pronoun often follows in the main clause:

ma šēr, če wā dhoṛ-ō, ō ham tāb-e manān-a
 ‘the lion that you saw, **it** also is my subject’.

5.3.3 Case attraction

Case attraction, that is copying the syntactic function of the head within the relative clause onto the head, is not infrequent:

havī kašt-eka če dōst-ān-ē bastō bōn, thārī če . . .,
lit. 'the girl's **that** you tied her hands, said that . . .';

ma šēr če wā dhor-ō, ō ham tāb-e manān-a
'the lion (dir. obj.) that you saw, **it** also is my subject' (cf. Payne 1982: 351 ff.).

5.4 Object clauses

Object clauses follow the main clause, with or without *če*. The dependent verb is as a rule in the present or present perfect of the observed action:

dhor-an, če onhāk žū māneš našt-ō a
'they saw, **that** a man (*māneš*) was sitting there', lit. 'is sitting'.

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses precede the main clause and are marked by the enclitic *če* attached to the first part of speech. The verb may be in the indicative or non-indicative, depending on the degree of reality:

sabā če čhī, wāda barābar čhī
'when the next day came, the marriage union (*wāda*) became due';

ma maktab če hast-am, fārsī hast-am xān-tōn
'when I was in school, I was studying Persian'.

5.5.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are mostly introduced by *aga(r)* 'if'. In the protasis, most frequently found is the general present or the unmarked past, followed in the apodosis by the present-future or imperative, with or without *te* and *e*. The apodosis may be introduced by the particle *xō*:

aga ēn-en-ē na nar-em, xō xar-em te
'if I cannot bring it, I will eat it'.

In the following example, the verb *narī-m* is in the unmarked past, implying real possibility and anticipated completion, followed by the unmarked present-future *žī-m*:

agar narī-m, sabā žī-m
'if I can, I go tomorrow'.

Unfulfilled conditions are indicated by the past perfect:

aze āy-a bē, mon žū čhaṭak-ī dā bē
'hadst thou come yesterday, I would have given thee a rupee'.

5.5.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses usually follow the main clause, and are introduced by *če*:

na čaṭak-ōr, če ē šēr moṭ
‘don’t flee-1p, because that lion has died’.

Another frequent conjunctions is *čo-kon (če)*, lit. ‘what for’ (cf. Persian *zī-rā (ke), cūn-ke*).

5.5.4 Final clauses

Final clauses, implying intended or potential action, are in the general present in its subjunctive function. They may or may not be introduced by *če*:

γax kan-em, (če) mēr-an-aw
‘I will call, that they kill thee (-aw)’;

ān zanēng ma xā-m gom kan-em-SUBJ, če kā-wanō parī-a
‘how (*zanēng*) may I get rid of my husband, so that he goes somewhere else (*kā-wanō*)?’

5.5.5 Other clauses and conjunctions

Other conjunctions include *tā, tā če* ‘till, until’, and complex conjunctive relative phrases such as *ēdē az xāter-ī če* ‘in the thought that’, ‘in order to’; or topicalized *ēdhēk-tar . . . če*, ‘from this that’, ‘because’:

ēdhēk-tar-om pānt, če tamām-e jān-eka-ē tā zānū šor ōsp larzī
‘I understood (-om) it for that reason, that all of her body (*jān*) to the knees (*zānū*) trembled on the horse (*ōsp*)’.

More complex subordination is occasionally found. Thus, the following example includes a relative clause embedding direct speech:

molā-ē (če jaṭ-ō “bōn če xī-γoṭōk-om-a”) alāhedī yos-tar nhānt
‘she (-ē, agent) put the Molla that she had said that “he is my sister-son” in another house’.

5.6 Nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses are participial or infinitival, and prominently express temporal relations between two actions.

5.6.1 Coordinating participle in -en

This construction appears to express simultaneous or immediately successive actions:

bī-γam nhīn (khān-en)
‘sit down without worry, laughing’;
(m-endān-ān gurī-n) hā dhār-tar whē-tōn
‘taking these with him, he is going to the mountains (*dhār*)’.

5.6.2 Subordinating participle in *-amān*

This construction expresses prior action if unmarked, or subsequent action indicated by the preposition *tā*:

(*naγōn xar-amān*) *ošta-eman*
 ‘having eaten the bread, we got up’,
 cf. the finite clause
naγōn-an čē xor ‘when we (-an.AG) had eaten (lit. ‘ate’);

tā dāda-m *jōr čē-amān*
 ‘until my father having gotten better’.

An example of embedded subordination is found in

(*čēm-amān*), (*jar-amān*) *xō-pen-om oštā*
 ‘having told (*jar-*) him, upon leaving (*čēm-*), he got up together with me’.

5.6.3 Verbal noun + *tar* ‘from’

The ablative of the verbal noun in *-ō* may function similarly:

(*hē ker kor-ō*)-*tar* *m-onde-m dhōk*
 ‘after doing this work, I (-M.AG) said to him’.

6 LEXIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS

6.1 Word formation

Word formation in Parachi is similar to that of Persian and other Iranian languages. Both derivation and composition are well documented in the Shotol data. Prefixation is rare, with the exception of Persian *bī*, *bē* ‘without’: *bī-bān* ‘dumb’, lit. ‘without tongue’. Typical derivative suffixes are the adjectival *-ī* and the abstract *-ī*: adjective from noun, *dhār* ‘mountain’ > *dhār-ī* ‘mountain-’, and noun from adjective, *γorča* ‘hungry’ > *γorčagī* ‘hunger’. Other suffixes include diminutive *-ōk*: *biyā-k-ōk* ‘younger brother’, *bārīk-ōk* ‘very slender’; and *-ak*: *kamān* ‘gun’ > *kamān-ak* ‘forearm’; note, *γōšt-ak*, the vigesimal unit for the higher decades.

Composition is prominently found with kinship terms: *biyā-γorōk* ‘brother-son’, and plant names. It includes largely obscured old compounds such as *gū-mān* ‘stable’ (*gū* ‘cattle’, and the obsolete *mān* ‘dwelling’), and loaned neologisms such as *alī-kafstar* ‘helicopter’, lit. ‘Ali’s pigeon’, which includes sound-play with the English term, with probable reference to the white doves of Mazār-e Sharif.

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects and loan component

The loan component consists of two major historical layers (cf. the overview in Morgenstierne 1983: 524): Indic, specifically the neighboring Dardic language Pashai, which can be traced back to antiquity; and Persian, specifically its Kaboli variety, the main impact of which began with the Islamization of the Parachi-speaking areas in the sixteenth century. Both thoroughly affected not only the lexicon, but also phonology and grammatical structure. The Indic impact resulted in the integration of retroflex and

aspirated consonants in phonology, and in grammatical restructuring, particularly in the verb system, including loan morphemes, such as the progressive *-tōn*, and participial *-en*. The impact from Persian is evident throughout, affecting the vowel system and stress patterns, and syntax on all levels. This impact gained new impetus during the efforts of Amir Abdur Rahman at unification between 1885 and 1901, and the subsequent increasing centralization and modernization, including the building of roads into the valleys. More recently, impact comes from the expanding regional variety of Persian, known as Kohestani. The impact from Pashto, as one of the two official languages, is fairly recent and has been relatively limited. Smaller components include loans from Western languages, in particular English.

These processes of progressive acculturation are reflected throughout the lexical domains. They include both the spiritual-religious domain: *ḥarām* ‘forbidden’, *ḡen(d)* ‘jinn’, *nemāz* ‘prayer’ *parda* ‘curtain, chastity, virtue’, and the material domain, with doublets such as Kb. *čōb* ‘wood for carpentry’ vs. Par. *žōx* ‘firewood’. A distinct sub-type are partially integrated loans and calques: *khōr-e-gū* ‘hare’ < Par. *khōr* ‘donkey’ and *gū* ‘ear’, patterned after Persian *xar-gūš*; *tī-e bē-dāna* < Par. *tī* ‘mulberry’ + *ezāfe* + Kb. *bē-dāna* ‘seedless’; and poetic *ezāfe*-compounds such as *āwe-e dāda-eka* ‘tear’ < Par. *āwe* ‘water’ and Persian *dāda* ‘eye’, with Par. oblique suffix *-eka*, after Persian *āb-e dāda* ‘water of the eye’.

On the whole, the loan component is freely used, often without phonetic or morphological modification, while indigenous neologisms either in form or meaning are rare, and increasingly unlikely.

7 DIALECTOLOGY AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Internally, the sub-dialects of Parachi differ relatively little from each other (cf. Phonology). Given their relative locations, Shotol is in a Perso-phone environment and thus more exposed to Persian than are the others. As indicated, the number of speakers of Parachi is approximately 3,500, and is decreasing under the impact of the steadily increasing dominance of the regional and national languages, which is fostered by obligatory military service and other factors contributing to population mixture, and the impact of the media. It appears that the younger generation, already thoroughly multilingual like the older generation, has ceased to use Parachi as their preferred language of communication, even locally, and no longer regards it as part of their ethnic identity (Kieffer 1977, 1979, 1980).

8 SAMPLE TEXT

The following is a tentative broad phonemic transcription of the Pacheghan text in Kieffer 1977c: 251–252 (CONJ = conjunction; EZ = *ezāfe* construction; INAN = inanimate; INDEF = indefinite; NUM = numerative case; OBL = oblique case).

ē žu qesa a če e di bāl-a bē-n;
 this one story is CONJ this two boy-NUM they-were
 ‘This is a story, that there were the two boys;’

ma maktab hast-an.
 in school they-used-to-be
 ‘they used to be in school.’

ē di bāl-a žu-y hōdi ham-senf bē-n, žu senf.
 this two boys-NUM one-EZ both same-class they-were, one class
 ‘The two boys were both classmates, in the same class.’

tar-e ē ži-ika žu bālō če bin,
 from-EZ this one-OBL one boy CONJ he-was
 ‘Of these one who was someone’s only child,’

ēd-ān bāb-ān γolu hasti zyāt sē bōn.
 this-OBL father-OBL very wealth much was-INAN
 ‘his father had great wealth’ (lit., ‘to the father was’)

e hēžā(-m) leḡē če bin, ēd-e γolu bi-čāra bin.
 this other-also lad CONJ was, this-OBL very poor was
 ‘and the other lad, who was there, as to him, he was very poor.’

e hōdihewi aṇḍiwāl bē-n.
 this both comrade they-were
 ‘Both were comrades.’

waxt-e če ehewi γarib hōst,
 time-OBL CONJ this-same unfortunate was-being
 ‘While he who was very unfortunate,’

hēwi bi-čāra hōst če γolu kušēš kan-ta,
 this-same poor was-being CONJ very effort making
 ‘the one who was poor, he was working very hard,’

zyāda tar e hēžāy če γolu pōl-dār bin.
 more than this other CONJ very wealthy was
 ‘more than the other one who was very rich.’

ē wōs kušēš na-kant-ta. (note *wōs* < *hōst* and *-ta* < *-ton*)
 this was effort not-making
 ‘That one made no efforts.’

ē wōs sor ēd-e khaṇ-ta u maskaragi
 this was on this-OBL laughing and ridicule
 ‘He used to laugh at and ridicule the other one,’

wos khaṇ-ta sor hēwi bi-čāra-tar
 was laughing on this-same poor-to
 ‘laughed at the poor one.’

žu waxt-e čhī če ē bi-čāra awal-nōmra čhī.
 one time-INDEF came CONJ this poor first-number became
 ‘A time came when the poor one became the first of the class.’

āxer ē hewi edānek-ān če hasti sē bon,
 finally this same this-very-OBL CONJ wealth was-INAN
 ‘In the end, the one who had great wealth,’

e edānek-ān hāzer-bāš moqarar čhī.
 this this-very-OBL attendant appointed became
 ‘he was appointed attendant of the other one (in the army).’

e bi-čāra lerē feker kor
 this poor lad thought made
 ‘The poor lad thought’

če ē hasti u ē zendagi ēdānek-ān
 CONJ this wealth and this life this-very-OBL
 thus: ‘The wealth and (good) life for him’

če ba kār āya-n-a?
 what-Q good has-come?
 ‘what good has come?’

aw mun če zyāmat nōt, aw zyāmat-om kašēyi.
 and me-OBL CONJ trouble endured and trouble-me drawn
 ‘And because I have pained myself, and have endured pain,’

mon kon e če-qadar fāyda-e zyāt čhi!
 me-OBL for this how-much profit-EZ plenty came
 ‘so much good has happened to me!’

če e tō edh-ān hasti u zendagi,
 CONJ this thee this-OBL wealth and life
 ‘i.e. this thy wealth and (good) life’

u zendagi u zendagi tō seyl kan
 and life and life thou, look make
 ‘and at thy life and wealth look’

če-ē bay āy-ō
 CONJ-him now come-has:
 ‘what has happened to him now?’

man-ān nafar-xesmati yā kan-ta.
 my-OBL person service he is doing
 ‘He is my personal attendant.’

bāyat as če mā xōxō feker kan-eman
 necessary is CONJ we self thought we-make
 ‘We ourselves must think’

m-endhēk xo-k-ān gap.
 this-OBL own-OBL talk
 ‘talk about this our story.’

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