

Ossetic and Balochi in V. I. Abaev's *Slovar'* *

1. Particularly in the half-century between the appearance of G. Morgenstierne's *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* (1927) and the publication of H. W. Bailey's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (1979), V. I. Abaev's *Slovar'* has long been the only Iranian etymological dictionary that has made the most of the new material deriving from research on Old and Middle Iranian languages in the first half of the 1900's (Manichean, Buddhist-Sogdian and Khwarazmian texts; re-editions of Pahlavi and Avestic texts; Old Persian inscriptions, etc). This explains why the first of the four volumes of the *Slovar'*, which appeared in 1958, fourteen years before the second (1973), was immediately sold out and became a bibliographic rarity in the international book market.

The extraordinary difficulty of V. I. Abaev's undertaking, complete in 1989 after 31 years and now further perfected with the appearance of the volume *Ukazatel'* is all the more evident if we consider that the only other descriptive and etymological Iranian dictionary of this century, the *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* appeared only in 1979, and M. Mayrhofer's *KEWA* 'heimlich' project to add an exhaustive treatment of Iranian terms to his Old Indian etymologies changed with time, even though it produced a more than distinguished and well-documented collection of etymologically organized Iranian material (now being updated and expanded with the publication of *EWA*), which was progressively being made available with the parallel

publication of *KEWA* and the *Slovar'*, often with positive reciprocal influence on their respective choices.

Thus, especially during the compilation of the first two volumes of the *Slovar'*, V. I. Abaev bore the onerous burden of being the first in the history of Iranological studies to make use of the results achieved in the study of Old and Middle Iranian languages in the interval between the *Grundriss* and the 1960's as well as of the great mass of material coming from the description of modern Iranian languages. The result is imposing, and all the domains of Iranian linguistics are represented with a single exception (probably deriving from the poor availability of Fārsi source materials in Russia) of the history and dialectology of Persian and the central languages of Iran. The more than 16,000 Indo-Iranian items out of a total of 30,000 items belonging to languages other than Ossetic that appear in the four volumes of the *Slovar'* give an idea of the breadth of material used and the results achieved, making it possible to place Ossetic firmly in its actual historical and dialectological context for the first time, both with regard to its original linguistic affiliation and its present geographical location (Caucasic, Turkish, etc).

2. As far as Balochi, the language that is the object of this paper, is concerned, besides Geiger's and Morgestierne's concise etymological lists, the two volumes of folk tales in the Rakhshani dialect of Marw were available to Abaev. These were published by Zarubin between 1932 and 1948, but were the result of work with informers carried out between the 1920's and 1930's. Professor Abaev utilized them after direct confrontation with the original texts which supplied a very broad, coherent corpus based on a single dialect and representative of a central variety (in comparison to the general dialectal division of Balochi). To these was added the use of single words deriving from the studies of authors such as H. W. Bailey, E. Benveniste and I. Gershevitch, traditionally aware of the importance of Balochi in Iranian etymology; as well as various types of Brahui and Balochi material deriving from long-term exchange of scientific reports between V. I. Abaev and me. To these latter are due on the one hand a

part of a series of suggestions made on the preliminary draft of my *Iranian lexical elements in Brahui* with a letter dated April 23, 1977 (from my personal archive) and which I have indicated with "Abaev (p.c.)" in the definitive text and on the other hand the reference in the text of the *Slovar'* to a series of Brahui or Balochi items with the abbreviation "soobščenie A. V. Rossi". The practically complete reconstruction of the sources Professor Abaev used for Balochi, which the reader will find below, indicated under the individual lexical items, has made it possible in some cases to correct the errors and inaccuracies which may derive from the original source (which are actually very few, considering the great precision of the references used by the author and the admirable correctness even on the part of the printers, with which the enormous mass of material coming from all the languages quoted is treated in the four volumes).

3. The interesting indications that emerge from the comparison of two languages so far from each other that they have never been treated in a direct comparison are numerous and range from the confirmation of the particular semantic intuition with which Abaev connects an Ossetic item with its proto-Iranian source, to the individuation of a missing link among the modern Iranian and Indo-Aryan words deriving from a particular lexical family; from the confirmation of the existence in a living Iranian language of a reconstructed form attributed only to proto-phases, to the recognition of the Iranian attribution of an item previously attributed to the (Turkish, Caucasian, etc.) adstrate of Ossetic. The reference to the items of the analogous list compiled by J. Elfenbein for Balochi in the *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (about 170 items in this case, besides the 400 in the *Slovar'*) was systematically observed in all cases in which there were additional corrections or observations of any kind potentially useful to the users of major dictionaries to improve the treatment of a language which, like Balochi, does not yet have a standard reference dictionary. For similar reasons, reference to the *Glossary* of J. Elfenbein's *Anthology* has always been indicated, insofar as it

might be considered the most recent (1990) lexicographic tool available for Balochi.

4. For greater understanding of the notes that follow, the reader should keep in mind the following conventions:

- (1) the first of the Bal. words quoted by Abaev is used as head-word if there is a set of similar words in the *Slovar'*, and the indication of the specific dialect affiliation is indicated in round parentheses in case the item quoted belongs only to areal subdivisions of the Balochi domain;
- (2) Ossetic is mentioned in the same order as in the *Slovar'*, that is, with the Iron item separated from the Digoron item by a slash;
- (3) the English gloss to the Balochi term is repeated for the Ossetic item if the meaning of this latter differs, otherwise the conventional abbreviation "id." appears (even if at times the specific reference of Abaev's Russian glosses after long lists of words coming from different languages is not clear);
- (4) the proto-form indicated by Abaev is conventionally marked "OIr." even if it is not labelled like that by the author;
- (5) after the dash "—" the transcription of the Balochi item appears according to the phonematic system used by the Project for the Etymological and Comparative Dictionary of Balochi (PECDB), for which see Rossi xx-xxii; the items deriving from Abaev and those from sources different from PECDB are kept in their original transcription (which improperly presents Balochi as a long- as opposed to short-vocalic opposition language);
- (6) the items marked "NPrs." derive (with rare, specifically indicated exceptions) from Steingass; their transcription, which is not easily attributed to a geographically determined linguistic situation (cf. Rossi xvii), has been adapted to that of the modern language (with *ô* and *ê* instead of *u* and *i* in cases in which the comparison makes Steingass' vocalization likely);
- (7) note "j" = [dʒ], "č" = [tʃ], but "c" = [ts] and "dz" = [dz] everywhere.

The present contribution is intended to constitute the homage of a devoted and friendly admirer of the scientific works of V. I. Abaev, whose incommensurable contribution to the studies of general linguistics, Ossetology and Iranistics is destined to remain the heritage of many generations of future scholars. It is also a sort of inauguration gift on the occasion of the formalization of the scientific collaboration between the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, the North-Ossetian Institute of Humanities, Vladikavkaz, and the University for Oriental Studies, Naples, long-standing center of Oriental studies of which I have been a part for the last thirty years, when on the occasion of this tribute to Vasilij Ivanovič Abaev, fertile channels of collaboration are renewed between Russian, Ossetic and Italian Iranists.

1. *ādēn*, *ādēnk* 'mirror' (Oss. *ajdæn/ajdænaæ*, 1.41), OIr. **ā-dayana-*, cf. OIr. **dī-*, *day-* 'to look at oneself' — *aden*, *adenk*; GE10. Bal. forms in *Glossary*; *aden* is mostly EHBal., *adenk* rather common (→ Br.). Cf. Rossi 1971.407 fn. 32 for Morgenstierne's opinion on Bal. *aden/adenæg/k*.
2. *als* 'tears' (Oss. *syg/sug*, 3.186), OIr. **asru(-ka)-* — *als*; GE431; also *ørs*.
3. *āmenī* 'lo!' (Oss. *mænaæ*, *æmonæ* id., 2.91) — *ameni*. Also written *amenī* in Zarubin 1932.165, l. 15; any conn. with Ar-Prs. *āmen*?
4. *angul* 'finger' (Oss. *æng"yldz/ænguldzæ*, 1.161), OIr. **angur-ti-* — *ængvōl*; MB3, from a Noshke informant (rare). Cf. also *ængvōri* (Nasirabad), *ængri* (Mastung).
5. *aps*, *hasp* 'horse' (Oss. *jæfs/æfsæ*, 1.563), OIr. **aspa-* — *aps*, *hasp*; GE4.
6. *apt* 'seven' (Oss. *avd*, 1.82-83; 5.4), Ir. — *əpt*.
7. *ār-* 'to bring' (Oss. *aryn*, *waryn/erun* 1. 'to find'; 2. 'to generate', 1.73-74), OIr. **var-/vair-* — *ar-*; GE14. Further Ir. languages including Bal. have the same metaphor 'to find' → 'to generate' (MwBal. [IUO Ar-

chives] *amməy əmrəngen ɣəribani jinen šə jinikk v bəčəkka diğə čewə karənt butti pikra* ‘what do you think, what does a wife of a poor man such as I am give birth to, a male or a female?’; EHBal. [Dames 1891 Part I, 11 § 14] *bādšāh mastūr dogin biḥa, dahmī mähá zátħo, árthai bachhe* ‘the king’s wife became pregnant and in the tenth month she was delivered and gave birth to a child’.

8. *ārt* ‘flour’ (Oss. *aryng* ‘trough for kneading, corn-bin’, 1.74-75), OIr. **ar-* ‘mallet, flour’
— *art*; GE15.
9. *arī*¹ ‘rabid’ (Oss. *ærra* ‘mad’, 1.179 and 5.6)
— *ari*. Abaev 1.179 cf. (with a query) Sogd. **ārāk* (𐰽𐰺𐰍) (now confirmed in MacKenzie 1970.42 and Gharib 236). *Ispr.* (5.6) connects OPrs. *arika-* ‘restless’ and Bal. *ari* ‘rabid’ (from Rossi E2, where the RaBal. variant in Barker–Mengal is mentioned), and quotes Bailey 1961.473-79 and 1963.89. To the Bal. (and poss. Sogd.) word (prob. of the same Ir. origin as Av. *ara-* ‘mad’ (?) in *Yašt* 5.93) one may now connect further NWIr. words with the special meaning ‘rabid’: besides Bal. *ari* ‘rabid, mad, insane’ (IUO Archives), Bal. *harri* ‘mad, of dogs’ Mayer 110, *harri* id. Gilbertson 406 (where ← Si.), *haraka* ‘hydrophobia’ Pierce, cf. NPrs. *hār* ‘mad, of dogs’ (Dehxodā), Kurd. *hār* id., Awr. *hār* ‘wild, mad’ (MacKenzie 1966), (poss.) Knd. *hāzwāž* ‘mad’ (Mann–Hadank 1930.252, notwithstanding Monchi-Zadeh 1990 no. 547); note that Phl. *halag* ‘foolish, imprudent’ (which may be conn. to this word) is translated in Skt. both as *vikala-* ‘silly’ (*Mēnog-i Xrad*) and *grahila* ‘mad’ (*Škand Gumānīg Wizār*), cf. Nyberg 90, and *Saka* 33. The latest lit. on OPrs. *arika-* (which seems to be of different origin) is now in *EWA* 1.128 s.v. *alika-*.
- For IA cf. Ur. *harak* ‘rabies, hydrophobia’, Si. *harak*^a id., Sir. *hariār* ‘an animal that wanders’.
10. *āsin* ‘iron’ (Oss. *æfsæen/æfsæen*, 1.481), Oss. < OIr. **safna-*, **spana-*, Bal. < some WIr. form; prob. conn. with **span-* ‘saint’
— *asin*; GE18.

11. *ašt* '8', *haštumī* 'eighth' (Oss. *æstæm* 'eighth', 1.191, 5.4), Ir. — *ašt*, *həštumi*.
12. *āwānī* 'their, of them' (Dig. *oni* 'their, them', 4.13), OIr. **ava-hya*, gen. of **ava-* 'this' — *awani*; GE8.
13. (EHBal.) *awarzā* 'pleasant, agreeable' (Oss. *xorz/xwarz* 'good', 4.218), OIr. **hwarza-* 'sweet' — *əwərza*.
**awāz*, see *gwāz*
14. *āzmān* 'sky' (Oss. *az/anz* 'year', 1.95), OIr. **āsmān-* — *ažman*; GE22; EHBal. form (also *əz*^o); other dialects *a/əs/zman*.
15. *bā kan-* 'to sell' (Oss. *wəj kæn-*, 4.67), OIr. **wah-* — *ba kæn-*.
16. *band-* 'to tie, band' (Oss. *bæddyn*, 1.244), OIr. **band-* — *bænd-*; GE12.
17. *barzī* 'large sack' (Oss. *baz* 'cushion', 1.241), OIr. **barziš-* — *bərzi*; MB16.
18. *bašk-* 'to forgive' (Oss. *byxsyn* 'to bear, endure, tolerate', 1.283-84), OIr. **baxš-* (thus Abaev 1979b.284; “**bæxs-*” Abaev 1.284) — *bəšk-*; GE24. Add the meaning 'to give, to bestow'; also *bəkš-*, *bəxš-*. *bəškət* (past form) is by no means “very strange” (as stated in *Glossary*), but quite normal (cf. also *baxšātag* in *Anthology's* texts, p. 360).
19. *baz* 'thick', *bāz* 'much' (Oss. *bæz-* 'thick', 1.257), OIr. **bazu-* — *bəz*, *baz*; against conn. of *bəz* and *baz* cf. Rossi H165; in favour, *Saka* 270, *Glossary* 25 (where the quotation from Rossi is incorrect).
20. *bāzk* 'upper arm'² (Oss. *bazyg/bazug* 'upper arm, above the elbow', 1.242), OIr. **bāzu-ka-* — *bazk*; GE35. The meaning of Bal. is as Oss., but also 'limb' (*Glossary* 23; transcriptions with ^o*sk* or ^o*zk* are equivalent, the latter being widely adopted to mark the special half-voiced character of the cluster). Note that while for some informants

- (IUO Archives) *bask* is '(whole) arm', *VMB* 'hand' is definitely wrong (and corrected in *Glossary* s.v.).
21. *bāzul* 'wing'³ (Oss. *bazyr/bazur*, 1.242-43), OIr. **bāzu-ra* — *bazul*.
22. *bēnəγ* 'honey, beehive'⁴ (Oss. *byndz/bindzæ* 'fly', 1.280), *bēnag-makask*⁵ 'bee' (Oss. *mydybyndz/mudbynzæ*, 2.136). — *benəγ*, *benəg-makask*; GE36 + GE222; °əγ EHBal. form, elsewhere °əg; cf. *Glossary*.

Excursus 1

Abaev explains Oss. *byndz/bindzæ* 'fly' as *bin* + *če(r)*, (1.280) but this et. is not convincing in view of Shgh. *cevīndz* 'wasp' (also °nc, cf. *EVSG* 24, where Tur. *čib/vin* 'horse-fly' is quoted with the remark: "Orig. Tur. or cf. Pam.?" and Morgenstierne 1962.164 fn. 26) and of the many Ir. words meaning 'bee' or 'wasp' to be related to Oss. *byndz* of yet unexplained origin: Khor. *būj*, *bōj*, *bovč* 'wasp', (*zanbūr*) *bangak* 'small green wasp', Yzd. *bowz* 'wasp', Kav. *vej* id., Bast. *bez* 'small brown wasp', Far. *bez* 'wasp', Lar. *bāz*, *biz* id., Qai. *bouj* id., AfgPrs. *bingak* 'green fly (*zanbūr*-e *sabzak*)', NPrs. *bez* 'wasp' (*Borhān*), NPrs. *monj* 'bee, wasp' (cf. also Monchi-Zadeh 370).⁶

An alternative explanation would suggest a sem. extension from 'honey' to 'bee' involving the Indo-Ir. base **pay-* 'to flow with abundance' cf. Skt. *paya-* 'milk, fluid', Av. *paēnaēna-* 'made of honey' (already Bartholomae 817 and lit.), as suggested in *KEWA* 2.212, *EWA* 2.84; however, hardly Oss. or Bal. ← IA **bhēna-* 'honey' (so Tu9614 and *Glossary*), which seems an artificial entry invented by Turner to associate not-IA words prob. borrowed ← Ir. such as Dam. *bin* 'honey', *binaka* 'bee'; Pash. *bēn* 'honey'.

Shgh. *cevīndz* 'wasp' (isolated in Ir. and analyzed *ce-vin-dz* by Abaev) could be explained as a nominalization in *-īndz/c* (cf. e.g. Paxalina 1989.210-11, and Édél'man 1987.331-32, 344) from the verbal base Yd., Mnj. *cəb-*: *cəvd* 'to pinch' (*EVSG* 24), in view of the widespread sem. description of 'bee' and 'wasp' as 'the piercer, pincher' (Gil. *haftgaz*, *garzak*, Khuns. *dindā*, Khor. *penduk*, *dendak* etc.).

Khot. *biñji* 'sparrow' quoted by Abaev (now *Saka* 281) < **wi/anj-*, to be compared with NPrs. *wanj* (not convincing Schapka 727), could be ultimately conn. to Oss. *byndz*, as hinted by Abaev, and/or to MPrs. *gw-mnč* 'cow fly' (quoted by Abaev, but where attested?), NPrs. *monj* 'bee, wasp, hornet' (Steingass), *mung* 'bee', Khor. *munj*, *mūnj* 'wasp', *mūnjak* 'small wasp' (Shalchi, Monchi-Zadeh 370), RaBal. (Panjur) *mvingi* 'small wasp' Morgenstierne-Rossi

1982.179, Br. *munġi* 'wasp' (Br. → Bal. acc. to Elfenbein 1966.19, and Bal. ← NPrs. acc. to *Glossary*; but the word is widespread in NWIr., see above).

Oss. *byndz/bindzæ* 'fly' could also be attested in the Scytho-Sarmatian female name from South Russia Бевѣт (Abaev 1979b.284).

23. *bōd*, *bōδ* 'scented plant' (Oss. *būd/bodæ* 'perfume, 1.269), OIr. **bauda-* 'smell'
— *bod*, *bod*; GE46. Bal. besides 'scented plant' (a specialized meaning from GE46) commonly 'smell' as in *Glossary* 14 (following OIr. **bauda-* 'smell').
24. *bōjag* 'to open' (Oss. *byȳdæg/buȳdæg* 'open', 1.277), OIr. **buxtaka-*, **buxta-* 'open'
— *bojæg*; GE48.
25. *brāt*, *brās* 'brother' (Oss. *ærvad/ærvadæ* id.; 'relative', 2.438), OIr. **brātar-*
— *brat*, *bras*, GE38; dial. distribution in *Glossary*.
**brēp-*, see *rēp-*
26. *brēsay*, *rēsay* 'to spin' (Oss. *alvisyn*, 1.132), OIr. **abi-raiš-*
— *bresay*, *resay*, GE40. EHBal. form; other dial. °*æg*.
27. *būag*, *bīag* 'to be' (Oss. *wyn/un (wun)*, 4.115), OIr. **bu-*, *baw-*
— *buæg*, *biæg*, GE45; *bi-* in EHBal. and CoBal.
28. *bunā* 'below' (Oss. *byn/bun* 'bottom; under', 1.279), Ir.
— *bvna*; GE42.
29. *burag* 'to cut' (Oss. *ælvynym/ælvinum*, 2.48), OIr. **brin-* 'to cut'
— *bvræg*, GE43; better *bvrr-* (*bvr-* 'to cut' only in transcriptions from EHBal., Dames and Lewis); cf. *bvr-* 'to be broken to pieces, to crumble' and causative form *bor-* and *boren-* 'to breake in pieces'. Cf. *diræg* below.
30. *burvān*⁷ 'brow' (Oss. *ærfyg/ærfug*, 2.405-06), OIr. **brūka-* (or **abrūka-*)
— *burwan*; GE44. RaBal. also *bvrwank* (*Glossary* 23, Rossi 1971.402); all Ir. formatives in *EVSG* 85; Bal. would represent the only Ir. language to preserve a °*n*-theme besides °*k*-themes, unless nasalization be considered secondary.
31. *bušk* 'mane' (Oss. *barc/barcæ*, 1.237), OIr. **barsā-*

- *bvšk*; *GnPE* 220. Acc. to *Glossary* only EHBal.; however *bvks̄* is rec. in Kechi texts in the IUO Archives; also *bvčk*. The original OIr. form **brz-* ‘back of a horse’ resulted in Av. *baraša-*, common to Oss., NPrs., Psht.; Bal. *bvšk* goes back to a different development with **-ka-*, cf. Rossi 1977 Br2.
32. *čap-* ‘dance’ (Oss. *kafyn*, 1.567), ← Cauc.
 — *čəp-*. *Ispr.* 5.16 now adds “Professor Elfenbein sblīzaet s bel. *čap-* ‘pljasat’, ‘prygat’”. Derivatives with a base **čap-* ‘open hand; blow with the open hand’ are widespread over a vast Indo-Ir. area documented by Tu4673, 4674, 4696 for IA and Kieffer 104 for Ir. As for Bal. (and Br., Sist., Khor. etc., where the act of dancing is related to this base through the sound produced by clapping hands, cf. also Kurd. *čəp* ‘palm of the hand; clapping’; *čəpī* ‘collective dance’; for different Ir. labels for ‘dance’ derived from dance gestures cf. NPrs. *dast afšāndan*, *pāy kubidan* etc.), we have Gilbertson: *čəper* ‘buffet’, *čəpo*, *čəpo* ‘oar’, *čəpol*, *čəpol* ‘slap’, *čəp jənəg* ‘to clap the hands’, *Glossary*: *čəppəg* ‘rowing gloves’, *čəp* ‘classical dance in which hands are clapped’ etc.; note that Bal. *čəp-* does never mean ‘to jump’ (Rus. *prygat’*) as stated in Abaev 5.16. Oss. *kafyn* may be conn. to NPrs. *kaf* ‘palm of the hand’ (commonly considered Ar. loanword, but poss. of Ir. origin), and contain the same metaphor as Bal. does.
33. *čār* ‘4’ (Oss. *cyppar/cuppar*, 1.322), OIr. **čətvār-*
 — *čar*.
34. *čarag* ‘to graze’ (Oss. *cəryn* ‘to live’, 1.303), OIr. **čar-* ‘to lead a nomadic life’
 — *čərəg*; GE55.
35. *čark* ‘wheel’ (Oss. *calx*, 1.288), OIr. **čaxra-*
 — *čərk*, GE56; commonly *čərx*.
36. *čərp* ‘fat’ (Oss. *carv* ‘butter, fat’, 1.290), OIr. < IE **selp-*
 — *čərp*; GE57.
37. *čāθ* ‘well’ (Oss. *cad/cadæ* ‘lake’, 1.285), OIr. ‘well’, Oss. < OIr. **čāta-*, NPrs. < OIr. **čāθa-*; cf. OIr. **kan-* ‘to dig’
 — *čaθ*; GE59; EHBal. form, elsewhere *čət*. Bal. same et. as Oss.

38. *čawaŋt* 'leather sandal' (Oss. *zævæt/zæbæt* 'heel; rear hoof', 4.306), ideophone
 — *čawaŋt*. Widely represented in Ir.: besides Psht. *čapaŋa* quoted by Abaev, cf. e.g. Khor. (Qai.) *čapat* id., Rossi A64 Br. *čawaŋt* id. Note that Bal. *čəwəŋt* refers to the men's leather sandal with a heel strap ('heel strap' is entered as *phinz* in Mayer s.v. 'sandal').
39. *či* 'what' (Oss. *cy/ci*, 1.319), Ir.
 — *če*.
40. [*čirāy*] 'lamp' (Oss. *cyraγ/ciraγ*, 1.324), broad Near-Eastern diffusion
 — *čiraγ*; GL45. Orig. Ir., Doerfer 1074.
41. *dantān* 'tooth' (Oss. *dændag* 1. id.; 2. 'spoke', 1.355), OIr. **dantan-*
 — *dəntan*; GE70. *dəntan* is common Bal. (*Glossary* 37, MB18); *dendānk* taken by Abaev from MB18 is only Br. (Rossi H276). Ir. formatives for this word are listed in *EVSG* 31; if Br. *dendānk* reflects a Bal. form, Bal. shows mixing of *⁰n*-theme (as Shughni group) and **⁰ā/ak*-theme (as Oss.), unless nasalization be considered secondary. The meaning 'stick', 'spoke', 'pointer' (cf. NPrs. *dande* 'rib; notch in a gear') seems widespread in connection with a prob. der. from IA (Tu6128 *danda-* 'stick, stalk, stem'), existing in a vast area including Bal. *dəndə*, (Gilbertson 675 s.v. 'thick'), *danda* 'thick stick, club', Psht. *danda* 'stick; spoke', Kurd. *dende* 'plough-share', Khor. *danda* 'stick; pointer'.
42. *dārag* 'to possess, hold' (Oss. *daryn/darun* 'to hold, contain, bear, last', 1.346), OIr.
 — *darəg*; GE75.
43. *daxt^ca* 'branded' (Oss. *tæxsyn/tæxsun* 'to have a sharp pain', 3.285), OIr. **daxš-* < **dag-s-* 'to burn'
 — *daxt^ca*; GE433. Bal. *daxt^ca* is the EHBal. past form of *dəž-* (*diž-*) 'to burn' (cf. EL41). Also *daz-*.
44. *dəag, dāt-* 'to give' (Oss. *dæddyn*, 1.351), OIr. **da-*, Oss. < **dada-*
 — *dəəg, dat-*; GE79.

45. *diræg* ‘to tear, rip’ (Oss. *dæræn* ‘scattered hay’, 1.357), OIr. **dar-*
 — *diræg*; GE78. Acc. to Barker–Mengal (1.408, cf. also *Glossary*) *diræg* intr. contrasts with *durræg* trans.; to this “unique in the language” regarding trans. vs. intrans. also add *bʋr-* vs. *bʋrr-* (no. 29 above)?
46. *dista* ‘seen’ (Oss. *wynyn* ‘to see’, 4.117-19), OIr. **wain-* ‘to see’
 — *dist-*, GE105; past to *gind-*, mostly RaBal., but also used in KeBal., LaBal., CoBal. where it alternates with *ditə*; EHBal. *diθə*.
47. *dō* ‘2’ (Oss. *dywwæ/duw(w)æ*, 1.385), Ir.
 — *do*.
48. *dōčag* ‘to sew’ (Oss. *ævduzyn/ævdozun* ‘to sew buttonholes’, 1.200), OIr. **dauz-*, *duz-*, Oss. with *æv-* (< **abi-*?)
 — *dočæg*; GE91.
49. *dōšay* ‘to milk’ (Oss. *dūcyn/docun*, 1.371-72), OIr. **daug-*, *dauj-*, poss. parallel to **dauk-*, **dauč-* (1.371 fn.)
 — GE94; EHBal. °əγ, elsewhere °əg. Gershevitch (*Addenda*, 1985.279-80) seems now to be in favour of Henning’s et. < **daučya-* for Oss. *docun*.
 — *došəγ*.
50. *dōšī*, *došī*⁸ ‘last night’ (Oss. *dyson/ædosæ*, 1.384), OIr. **dauša-*
 — *doši*; GE95. All Bal. forms in Elfenbein 1991 § 13.
51. *dreš* ‘clothes’ (Oss. *daræs*, 1.344, 5.10)
 — *dreš*. Bal. certainly ← English, as Par. *drēši* (*Index* s.v. ‘dress’), Bal. *dreši* ‘dress uniform’ (*Glossary*), Psht. *dreši* ‘kostjum’ (Aslanov), Br. *dreš* (Bray), etc.
52. *drīn* ‘rainbow’ (Oss. *ærdyn/ærdunæ* ‘bow’, 2.403-04), OIr. **druna-* ‘bow’, conn. with **dāru-*, *dru-* ‘tree’
 — *drin*; GE85. *Glossary* (correcting EL38) also *dron*, but the common form is *drin*; Bal. *dron* and *drīn* are not documented in the literature.
53. *druš-* ‘to crush, grind’ (Oss. *ærdūzyn/ærdozun* ‘to castrate’, 2.403), OIr. **drauš-* ‘to break’

— *druš-* MB23; also *drušš-* in Zarubin 1932.98; *dvrš-* is attested in different dialects.

Excursus 2

A considerable literature is now available on the Ir. words conn. to Bal. *druš-* 'to crush, grind' (Bartholomae 1913.352-53; Bailey 1930-32.594-95, Benveniste 1940.176, Pagliaro 52-56, Cardona, lastly Molé 234-35). The IE base **dhreus-* proposed by Abaev seems extraneous to IA; of Indo-Ir. origin appears on the contrary the base IA **drau-* 'niederscheiden' (Vedic, later 'schädigen, verletzen', cf. MPrs. *drūdan* 'to cut'; it could represent the un-expanded form of **drau-š-*) in EWA 2.756; see the same base in Khot. words (*Saka* 169-71). Av. *draoša-* 'mutilation' (according to Benveniste 1940.176; 'Bezeichnung einer sündigen Tat', Bartholomae 770) and *društa-* 'mit einem Bruch (Leibesschaden) behaftet' (Bartholomae 782) could point to an unattested OIr. verb **drauš-* 'to cut' (so seemingly Bartholomae). Sogd. *δrʷšyh* (discussion in Benveniste 1940.176, who suggests to separate the outcomes from the base 'to brand' from those from a base 'to cut'), BSogd. form corresponding to Christian and Manichaean Sogd. *juš-*, could represent an Av. loan in the religious language; but Gershevitch 1954.229A, and Gharib 3573, 11502 assume a Sogd. derivation (with meaning 'sacrifice') < OIr. **zauθra-*, as accepted in EWA. Phl. *drōšīdan* 'to mark' (MacKenzie), *drōšom* 'mark' (-*ōm* with -*ō-* as MacKenzie, not -*ō-* as Cardona 490, cf. *apud* Rossi E34; Perixanjan 467 has *drōš*; on Phl. **šm* see also Nyberg's opinion *apud* Cardona 490 fn. 3) seems close to Arm. *drošel* and NPrs. *drōš* (*druš*) 'lancet; the mark left by cautery'. Molé 234-35 connects Phl. *pad društāg* 'en partie' (*Dēnkard* V 1, 6, 8), *društāgihā* 'en fractions' (*DkM* 402.15 etc.) to Phl. *drōš* 'mutilation' and cf. Av. *društa* 'mit einem Bruch behaftet' and Bal. *drušag* 'to grind'; Messina 133 connects Phl. *drōšag* 'oppression' (MacKenzie 'desolation') with Phl. *drōš* 'fire-brand'; Perixanjan 218 confirms that *drōš* should be interpreted as 'klejmo [brand]' in the MHD passage (731): *ka cahār bār drōš kard ud pas-iz an wināh i pad ēwēnag kunēnd hagriz az zindān bē nē hilišn* (already Bailey 1930-32.595) and connects all MPrs. forms to the OIr. base **drauš-* of Av. *draoša-*, *društa-*. Bailey 1930-32.595 adds that *drōših* and *drōšīšnih* (*Dēnkard*; both translated as 'brand' by Sanjana) confirm the verbal origin of *drōš* in Phl.

Among modern Ir. languages, NPrs. *darōš* (also *dorōš* acc. to Dehxodā) meaning 'surgical instrument to do incisions, awl' (syn. *neštar*, *šast*, *kalak*) mingles with *derowš* alternant to *derafš* '(1) id., 'instrument to brand cattle'; (2) 'banner'; (3) 'cattle brand' (cf. annotations by Said Nafisi *apud* Dehxodā); Steingass' treatment of the matter, cf. *dirafš* 'cobbler's awl; scalpel; standard, ensign, colours, banner; anything glittering'; *diravš* 'awl; banner; lobe of the

ear'; *dariš* 'wound or impression made by a cautery or surgical instrument'; *duroš* 'lancet' (Steingass) should be taken with care. Among languages which could have been influenced by NPrs., Bal. and Br. have *drōš* 'ear-marking, ear-mark, ear-marked' (Rossi H329; Br. also *droši* 'ear-marked'), *drošum* 'features, countenance' (Rossi E34); Bal. *dərəšp*, *drəšp* 1. 'adze, awl'; 2. 'shine' (*Glossary*), Psht. *darwağ* 'earmark'. All Ir. documentation seems well linked with outcomes of IE **dhreus-* (as hypothesized by Abaev), perhaps with exclusion of Bal. *drušš-* 'to grind' (on Bal. *Glossary* 41 remarks: "cf. perhaps Av. *društa-*"; cf. already MB23 and Morgenstierne 1942.266-67 with Benveniste 1951.120 n. 3). Bal. *druššəg* (also *dvršəg*; rare in EHBal.) only means: 1. 'to grind flour'; 2. 'to grind the teeth' (notwithstanding Gilbertson 300 acc. to whom 'to grind the teeth' is *gršəg* for animals and *kršvəg* for human beings), but is always recorded with *v*. Note that Bal. *drušə(m)p* 'groaning of camels' (*Glossary*), could be a further ideophonic counterpart of the words under discussion.

54. *dummag* 'tail-fat', *dīm* 'back, hinder part'⁹ (Oss. *dymæg* 'tail; fat tail [kurdjuk]', 1.381), OIr. **duma-ka-*
— *dummæg*, *dīm*; GE87; *dumm/dummæg* instead of *dumb/dumbæg* is mostly MwBal. Bal. *dīm* may be et. conn. with *dumm* 'tail' (from a private comm. by Dames to Horn, cf. *GnPE* 128) but never means 'tail' (cf. Filippone 1996.307). *dummæg* means commonly 'tail-fat', and also 'fat-tailed sheep' (the only meaning given in *Glossary* 36).
55. *dūr* 'far' (Oss. [æ-rægi-] *durægi* 'at the end [v konce koncov]', 1.377), OIr. **duraka-*, **dū-ra-*, cf. 1.372
— *dur*, GE89; EHBal. and CoBal. *dir*.
56. *du-tag*, *duxtar* 'daughter' (Oss. (xo-) *dyγd* 'sister-in-law [zolvka]', 4.210), OIr. **dugdar-* 'daughter'
— *dvtəg*, *dvtər*; MB27. Bal. *dvtər* is a NPrs. loanword; the common form is *dvtəg* with *-tt-* (*Glossary* 43).
57. *e* 'this' (Oss. *e* 'he, that', 1.410), OIr. **ay-*
— *e*; GE170.
58. *ēyōk*¹⁰ 'alone' (Oss. *īw/ew* '1', 1.558), OIr. **aiva-*
— GE171; RaBal. (*h*)*iwəkk*, elsewhere *ewəkk* (EHBal. also *hekwa*, Mayer). "ēyōk" (Marston 29 and Mockler 118), to disregard acc. to EL7, may exist as a peculiar CoBal. pronunciation.

59. (EHBal.) *gānaγ* 'to slay' (Oss. *qæn/γænaæ* 'damage, wound, damaged, decayed', 2.290-91), OIr. **gan-* 'to beat'
— *ganəγ*; MB31.
60. *gandag* 'bad [skvernyj]' (Dig. *iyændun* 'to profane', 1.542), OIr. **gand*, Oss. < **vi-gand-*
— *gəndəg*; GE97. 'to profane' also in Bal. "*ganda*" [*gəndə*] (Mayer 145).
61. *gapal* 'piece, slice' (Oss. *gæppæl/qæppæl*, 3.330-35), ideophone (pattern *KPL*)
— *gəpəl*. *Ispr.* (5.21) adds to Bal. *gəpəl*, Br. *gappal* (Rossi I95) two more representatives of the Indo-Ir. type *KPL*, *TPL*, *CPL*, viz. Skt. *kapola-* 'cheek', *kapāla-* 'skull'. Cf. Bal. *khopar* 'skull' (Mayer), *kopri* (Miṭha-Surat), *kopārī* (*Glossary*), *kampol* id., -*kəpəl* in *kunkəpəl* "buttocks" (IUO Archives) [cf. NPrs. *kapal/kafal* "buttocks, rump"], Br. *kopārī* 'skull' (Rossi I167), Sar. *kapāl* id., Khowar *kapal* 'id.', head' (*Index*), and mod. IA words quoted in Tu2744, with meanings (1) 'skull, head' → 'bowl, pot' → 'broken pot, potsherd'; (2) 'stocky' (Taj. [+ Tur.] *qopal*, Doerfer 1547) → 'fleshy parts of the body'.
62. *garm*, *garmag* 'warm' (Oss. *qarm/γar(m)*, 2.267), OIr. **garma-*
— *gərm*, *gərməg*; GE100.
63. *gar* 'precipice' (Oss. *γærong*, *γæron* 'ravine', 1.535)
— *gər*, GE434; also *gər*.

Excursus 3

Abaev quotes only Psht. *garang* 'abyss [propast]' and Bal. *gər* 'precipice' in connection (with query) with Dig. *γærong*, *γæron* 'ravine'. Perhaps conn. with formations from an OIr. base **gar-* 'throat' (Oss. *q^wyr/qur*, cf. Abaev 2.329-30) widely attested in Ir. with semantics (1) 'throat' (anat., then → 'voice', as in Dig., or 'gargle, gurgling' as the Ir. words quoted by Abaev sub Oss. *qælqælag/γælyælagə* 'throat' 2.289-90) (2) 'abyss', 'mountain gorge' (cf. Psht. *garang* 'abyss', Bal. *gər*, *gər*, *gət* 'precipice, chasm' → Br. *gar* 'gorge' Rossi A110; Bal. *gər* 'cave, pit' < ?) and then prob. 'narrowing' (→ 'difficulty'), as in Waz. *garang* 'impassable place in the bed of a ravine' (*EVP*) and prob. Bal. *gətt* 'impassable; trackless mountain', Br. *gət* 'inaccessible place' (Rossi B12, with hint to Tu4414 *ghatta*⁻¹, basic mean. 'passage'). *EVP* rejects Geiger's conn. with Av. *gərδa-* 'cave' (< OIr. **gard-*) and considers Bal. as "prob. borr. from Ind.",

comparing Panj. *garhā* 'pit, cavern, any deep place, chasm, abyss', Sir. *gar̥k* 'ravine formed by water'. Oss. *-ong* could be a formative similar to that occurring in *qaræg/γarængæ* 'lament' from OIr. omophonous **gar-* 'to shout' quoted by Abaev 2.266 in conn. with Psht. *γarānga* 'weeping'.

Pamir outcomes of OIr. **gar-* 'gorge' in *EVSG* 110-11; cf. also Bal. *gəræg* 'to cut, cleave, hack to pieces' Ahmedzai 90?

64. *gaz* 'tamarisk'¹¹ (Oss. *qæz/qæzæ*, 2.302), OIr. < IE **gegh-*, **ghegh-*
 — *gæz*; GL72. Bal. *gæz* means 'tamarisk' in all dialects, also in the MwBal. texts quoted by Abaev (*bę yak gazze tā putrit*, Zarubin 1932.211; *šipānk ša gazā*, Zarubin 1930.671).
65. *gēcag* 'to sift' (Oss. *wīdzyn/wedzün* 'to pick', 4.108), OIr. **waik-*, *waič-* 'to separate'
 — *gečæg*; GE112. Cf. EL44.
66. *gējag* 'to swing' (Oss. *wīγγyn/weγγun*, 4.109), OIr. **waig-*, Bal. < **wajj-* 'to move quickly'
 — *gejæg*; GE113. Note et. remarks in EL44.
67. *gidān*¹² 'tent' (Oss. *widon*, *idon/jidonæ* 'bridles', 4.106-07), OIr. **wi-dā-na-*, cf. **dā-* 'to put'
 — *gidan*; MB28. Bal. everywhere *gidan* with *°an*; the meaning 'tent' is not limited to Phl., Prth. and Bal. as stated in Abaev, but is also present in Sogd. *wiyān* (*wyʷn*) 'tent' (Gharib 10289), Khwar. *wzʷm* 'building' (Benzing 1983), Shgh. *wiḍam* 'ceiling' (*EVSG* 88); to the literature quoted in Abaev add Asmussen 1969 and Rossi A117.
68. *gidist*, *gidisp* 'large span' (Oss. *wyḍisn*, *ḍisny/udzesnæ*, *udzestæ*, *idzestæ* 'measurement of length', 4.113), OIr. **witasti-*, **witasni-* (Oss. *ḍisny*), **witaisti-*
 — *gidist*, *°sp*; MB30. Rossi A119 (wherefrom Abaev); cf. now Elfenbein 1992.250-51
69. *girag* 'to catch, seize' (Oss. *ærγævyn/ærγuvun* 'to grasp, grip', 2.408), OIr. **grab-* 'to catch, seize'
 — *giræg*; GE106.
70. *gis* 'house, household' (Oss. *siaxs* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law', fiancé', 3.102), Oss. < **isiaxs*, **visi-āxša-*, cf. OIr. **vis-* 'household'

- *gis*; GE108.
71. *gīst, bīst* '20' (Oss. *yssædz/insædz*, 4.277-78), OIr. **winsati-*, **wisati-*
— *gist, bist*; GE111.
72. *goar* 'breast' (Oss. *bwar/bawær* 'body', 1.275), OIr. **upa-*
vara-, cf. **var-* 'tegere'
— *goær*; GE135-36; also 'neck, throat' in EHBal. The common
Bal. form is *gwær*; *goær* reflects a type of pronunciation of
/wə/ tending to a diphthong with a beginning point corre-
sponding to the [o] variant of /o:/, rather usual in many idio-
lects.
73. *gōk* 'cow' (Oss. *qūg/γog*, 2.312), OIr. **gau-ka*, **gava-ka*
— *gok*; GE123.
74. *gōš* 'ear' (Oss. *qūs/γos*, 2.316), OIr. **gauš-*
— *goš*; GE125.
75. *gōšag, ni-* 'to hear' (Oss. *qūsyn/iγosun*, 2.318), OIr. **vi-gauš-*
— *gošag, ni-*; GE126.
76. *grām*¹³ 'a man's load of any grain crop' (Oss. *æryom/æryon*,
^o*m* 'wood load', 2.410), OIr. **grāma-*
— *gram*.

Excursus 4

Prth. *grāmag* 'possessions, wealth' Henning-MacKenzie 20-21, not 'load
[ves]' as Abaev.

Phl. *grāmag* id., MMPrs. *grāmag* id.; conn. to MPrs. *grāmig* 'dear', NPrs.
gerāmi id.?

Benzing 290 has *γ²m* 'Gewicht' (Turkm. *ayram* id. and Khwar. *γrk*
'schwer' are conn.).

Saka 442 treating Khot. *hamgrama-* 'assembly (court, market)' (from *ham-*
gram-) points to an OIr. base **gar-* 'bring together' and cf. Oss. *æryom/æryon*,
Bal. *grām*, IA *grāma-* 'gathering, village' < IE **ger-*, *grem-* Pokorny 382-83 'to
gather', adding a possible parallel < IE **gr-es-* in Av. *grāhma-* glossed by Phl.
pārak 'money', Parsi-Skt. *lañcā-*.

Acc. to Abaev, to Bal./Oss. could be conn. Sogd. *γ²m²k* 'possessions,
wealth', BSogd. *γ²m²k* (in *Dhūtasūtra* = 'the eighteen things a monk should
carry in the performance of his duties'); in BSogd. it translates Chinese *wu* and

Skt. *upādhi-/dravya-/dhana-* (cf. MacKenzie 1976.II.46 and 102 s.v.); cf. also Ragoza 63 *mṛty γrβ γr²m²k* 'very rich man'.

Abaev does not quote Av. *grāhma-* proper name, Bartholomae 530 (et. unknown), acc. to Henning 1944.139 fn. 5 conn. to Prth. and Sogd.; no further analysis in Mayrhofer 162. To be compared also Av. *gram-* 'ergrimmen' (Bartholomae 529; et. unknown acc. to Kellens)?

Possible Nlr. cognates with sem. 'hump, clump' are NPrs. *gorm* 'glandular process' (Haim), *gorm* 'the middle of the back, the flesh of the nape of the neck' (Moin), Psht. *grum* 'swelling on trees' (Aslanov), also 'clump of trees' (Raverty), *garum* id.; Yaghn. *gurum* 'knotty branch', *gurnak* 'small branch, bud' (Andreev-Peščereva), AfgPrs. *gurm* 'Hals- u. Nackenfleisch des Schafs' (Monchi-Zadeh 199: but why should forms with *gur²* be conn. to Av. *grīvā-*, MPrs. *grīw?*); Shusht. *gorm* 'neck, flesh of the neck', Khor. *gurm* id. ('kolofti-e gerdan'), Kav., Biz., Raj. *gorm* 'neck'.

A sem. extension of 'heap' is perhaps to be recognised in Lar. *gorm* 'spoil' (ie. 'heap of plundered belongings', and in measure expressions such as Lar. *gorm-gereta* 'to take things in spoil in little quantity', NPrs. *gorm* 'taking little when much is required' (Steingass, from *Borhān*). Cf. also NPrs. *gorm* 'rainbow' (Steingass)?

To the isolated Bal. *gram* quoted in Morgenstierne 1946-48.288 one should add IrBal. *grām* 'piles of *gwap/čak* made at reaping' (Spooner 66) with EL49, and prob. EHBal. *gəɾəy kənəy* 'to heap together' (*gəɾəg* in *Glossary*, but from a EHBal. text in *Anthology* 78 § 14).

Acc. to EWA 1.507-8 (ref. to KEWA 1.353, 3.699, with further lit.), Skt. *grāma-* is "Iir., wohl zu mp. *grāmag* Reichtum, Besitz, parth. *gr²mg*, buddh. sogd. *γr²m²k* 'riches', u. a.; vielleicht auch oss. iron *ærjom* 'Bündel, Gepäck, Bürde, Ladung', baluči *grām* 'Bürde'". Acc. to EWA, "die Herleitung aus **gr-em-* ... russ. *gromada* 'grosser Haufen' ... bleibt wahrscheinlich"; for sem. parallels in Ir. cf. Morgenstierne 1942.263, where Psht. *čam* 'cluster, group, clan'; *čū/am* 'clod of earth' < **kā/ami-* and cf. Rus. *kom* 'lump' etc., IE **gem⁻¹*; "semantically cf. Skt. *grāma-* village; Oss. *ærjom* bundle". With Khot. *hamgrama-* compare Skt. *saṃgrāma-* 'Versammlung' (EWA 507-08). Poss. Indo-Ir. conn. with Tu4363 *graha-* 'as much as can be taken' and *grabha-* 'taking possession of'; in this case, Oss. *ærjuwun* 'aufheben, aufbürden' (Miller 1903.62) < **grab-* 'saisir' (as analyzed by Benveniste 1959.91 in conn. with *ærjævæg* 'boucle (de ceinture)' < **grabaka-*, Dig. *ærjævnæ* 'pince' < **ā-grabana-*) should be added to the list.

An ultimate conn. could be envisaged with the first element of Skt. *grumuṣṭi-* 'schwere Handvoll' (KEWA 1.354) conn. by Monchi-Zadeh 199 with Khor. *gūr-mūšt* 'Faust': add Kurd. *germişk* 'pimple', *gurmik* 'buttocks', *gurnik*, *gurmist* 'fist (clenched)' (Rizgar), Kermsh. *gurmīča* id., Sist. *gomošt*, *qāmušt* id., Lak. *gormeč*, *gomiča* id.

77. *granč*, *garanč* 'knot' (Oss. *ælxync*/'ælxij, 2.51-52), OIr. **granθi*-id.
— *grənč*, *gərənč*; GL75. *Saka* 91; Indo-Ir., IA has **grantha-*, cf. *EWA* 1.504-5.
78. *grēt* 'he wept' (Oss. *ælyityn*/*ælyetun* 'to insult, execrate', 2.42-43), OIr. **graiθ-*, cf. **graid-*, *grid-*, also **grai-*, *gri-*— *gret*; GE117.
79. *gurk* 'wolf' (Oss. [only antropon.] *wærg-*, *wærx-*, 4.93), OIr. **wrka-*— *gvrk*; GE140; cf. also *gwærk* below.
80. *guttīy* 'kidney' (Oss. *wyrg/urg*, 4.123), OIr. **wrtka-*, cf. **wrt-* 'to turn'
— *guttīy*. EHBal. form (also *guttəy*); elsewhere *guttig*, *guttæg* (cf. also *Glossary*). An original conn. with OIr. **wrt-* 'to turn' should be looked for in further Bal. words: (1) *guttig* 'kidney' (2) *gutt(t)* 'throat; neck'; *guttō* 'strangled'; *guttu/ilu* 'throat', all organs displaying circular features, linked to a widely represented base with areal Ir./IA/Dravidian et. (Rossi G3, I105). Besides *guttæg*, one may quote (rare) Bal. *gurdæg* (1) 'calf of the leg' (Mayer, Gilbertson); (2) 'kidney' (Morgentierne-Rossi 1982; also *EVP* s.v. *γarəl*, but doubts should be removed in view of the wide use for 'calf of the leg' of terms for inner organs (sem. universal).
81. *gvabz* 'bee, wasp' (Dig. *ævz-*, *æfs-* in *ævzæn* 'swarm of bees', etc., 1.208), OIr. **wabza-*, **wapsa-*— *gwəbz*, GE132; also *gwənz* (not only EHBal. as in *Glossary*), and *gwəwz* (SaBal., Spooner).
82. *gwahar*, *gōhar*, *gwār* 'sister' (Oss. *xo/xwæræ*, 4.209), OIr. **hwahar-*— *gwəhər*, *gohər*, *gwar*; GE131. Bal. dialectal distribution in EL52.
83. *gwajag* ['root out, pull out'] (Oss. *awædz/awædzæ* 'furrows', 1.86), Oss. < **awærč* < OIr. **ā-varča-*— *gwəjæg*.

Excursus 5

EL53 separates Bal. *gwəjəg* 'creeper weed' from *gwəjəg* 'to uproot' (the last being "of genuine Ir. origin" acc. to MB44); cf. RaBal. *gužg*, Br. *gužy* 'root' Rossi B17, Psht. *wuža* 'nerve, senew, tendon'?

OIr. **warz-* 'to work the ground' (= Tu11334 **varjati* 'works', Tu11335 *varjayati* 'removes') attested in various Ir. languages (cf. Av. *varəz-* 'to work, till' Bartholomae 1374-77, Arm. *gorc* 'Werk' [apud *GnPE* 197], NPrs. *barz*, *varz* 'field works', Phl. *warz* id.) has poss. three separate developments: (1) **warz-* 'to work' (Tu11334 **varjati* 'works', Tu11335 *varjayati* 'removes'); (2) **warc-* 'to drag' (Skt. *VRJ*-¹ 'bend' Tu12066, *EWA* 2.516-17; *VRKNA*-² 'bent' Tu12065, *VRKNA*-¹ 'cut down, broken', compared in Tu12080 (and also Abaev) with Av. *varəca-* 'to drag' (Bartholomae 1366-67); cf. further Tu1416 *āvarjana-* 'propitiating', Tu1417 *āvarjayati* 'turns over, bends' RV); (3) **waj-* 'to pull out, uproot' (Skt. *vāja-* 'something torn out, booty', OPrs. *vaj-* 'put out', Nat. *vojon* 'I drag off', Zaz. *wāj-* 'to take out', Khalkh. *ēvaj-* id., *Saka* 252, cf. also Bailey 1967.209; but a different explanation, conn. Av. *vāz-* 'to be vigorous', is in *EWA* 2.540-41). It could prove useful to study in conn. with these intricate families Psht. *wurz-* 'to fly' (*EVP* 90-91) and *garzədəl* 'to dig furrows'.

Add also Bal. *gwəjəjə* 'half-cooked' (*Glossary* 57, but not attested in the IUO Archives)?

84. *gwak* 'bark'¹⁴ (Oss. *wac/wacə* 1. 'news'; 2. (in epic lit.) 'divinity', 4.26-28), OIr. **wāč-*
 — 'Voice' in Bal. is *gwank*, *gwak* (GE145). The "gwak" quoted by Abaev is not a misprint for "gwāk" (so Elfenbein corrects *VMB* in *Glossary* s.v. *gwānk*), but simply another word, of onomatopoeic origin. The only occurrence of *gwək* ("gwak") in Zarubin's texts is *tī kucak gwak kant* 'your dog is barking' (Zarubin 1930.672). Cf. also *gwəkkəg* 'to bark' which alternates with *wəkkəg* (both in *Glossary*: *kučakk wakkīt*, *kārwān watī rāhā rawt/kučakk gwakkīt*, *kārawān watī rāhā bārt* 'the dog barks, (but) the caravan proceeds on its way' [*Anthology* 438 no. 30; RaBal.]).
85. *gwāla(g)* (Oss. *gollag* 'large sack', 1.523) ← (?) NPrs. *govāl* — *gwalə(g)*.

Excursus 6

MB16 explains Bal. *gw°* as ← NPrs. *b°* in *bālā* (< **barz-*) 'bag, sack', but this does not explain the existence of several Ir. cognates with *gum°*, *gw°*, *juw°* etc.; Morgenstierne 1946-48.288 points to (Kharan) Bal. *gwaləg* 'goat-skin sack' ← NPrs. *govāl* 'sack' and quotes NPrs. *gāle* 'bag made of wool and hair'; cf. already IIFL 1.241 Par. *bānapāi* 'pillow' < OIr. **barz-*, where Psht. *bān* 'saddle-bag' (← Par.?) and Bal. *bərzi* are connected.

As to the suggested origin of Oss. *gollag* 'sack' (through Georg. *gvalagi*, on which see now Andronikashvili 302) from NPrs. *govāl* (but today's pronunciation is *javāl*, *javāl*, *juāl*) 'large sack' suggested by Abaev, the following NPrs. words are to be taken into consideration: (1) *jol*, *joll* 'covering for a horse; rough cloth'; (2) *gāle* 'large sack, made of wool and hair'; (3) *govāl/jovāl* (also *javāl*, *jōāl*; *jehōr*, *jehāl* (Horn 1898-1901.257) 'large sack; cloth for sacks'; (4) *jōlāh* 'weaver' (but also 'spider', not in Steingass); (5) *jōlax* 'woollen cloth worn by religious mendicants' (also 'cloth for saddle-bags', not in Steingass); furthermore the following words are recorded in Steingass (all from lexica, not clear status): (6) *jal* 'sail' (Steingass: ← Ar.); (7) *jawāleq* 'large corn-sacks'; (8) *jevāleq/jovālaq/jovāleq* 'sack'; (9) *jovāleq* ("for Prs. *jōlax* q.v.") 'religious tunic, dervish's mantle of a blue colour'; (10) *jōlaq*, *jowleq* 'dress of a monk'. Furthermore (11) *bāle* 'a kind of *javāl*' quoted by Morgenstierne is recorded in many classic NPrs. lexx. (cf. Dehxodā), but it is unattested in any form of spoken NPrs. In Taj. *javol*, *juvol*, *jüvol*, *juvul*, *jol*, *jul* 'large sack' are attested, cf. Rastorgueva 1963.

All mentioned words are missing in *GnPE*; treatments of the NPrs. et. are in Horn 1898-1901.256-57, 264, de Lagarde 58, Junker 78, Ebeling 64, Mann-Hadank 1930.237, Mashkour 1968.43, Schapka 393, Mashkour 1978.149, Monchi-Zadeh 269 (and fn. 111).

The following cognates of the NPrs. words are attested in Bal.: (1) RaBal. *gwaləg* 'flour-sack made of goats' hair' (Barker-Mengal), IrBal. *gwal* 'donkey pannier' (Spooner 66), MkBal. *gwal*, *gwali* (Iranšahr), RaBal. *jəwal* (Zahedan, Coletti); (2) RaBal. *jal* (also *jar* Mayer) 'net' (Barker-Mengal, also *jəl* *Glossary*, EHBal. *jali* (Dames 1891, in the Texts section but not in the *Glossary*), *jala* (Miṭha-Surat); (3) RaBal. *jəll* 'case, cover' (Barker-Mengal), EHBal. *jəl* 'bag' (Mayer), 'clothes' (Miṭha-Surat); (4) EHBal. *jhəl* 'fan' (Gilbertson, Mayer); (5) EHBal. *jhəlli* 'sail' (Gilbertson, Mayer); (6) RaBal. *joll* 'cloth cover thrown over animals to keep them from the cold' (but in poetry 'tent-cover, cloth covering of a *gdar*') (Barker-Mengal); MwBal. 'clothes' (so *VMB*, but in the Texts also 'cloth for animals': *marḍ arānā jul kurti* Zarubin 1948.76); EHBal. *jhvl* 'carpet', Dames 1891; (7) EHBal. *jul* 'large bag' (Dames 1891), 'carpet for horse' (also *jhül*, Mayer); (8) *jullək* 'clothes, rags' (*VMB*); (9) (EH)Bal. *jəllək* 'spinning wheel' (*Glossary*), Gilbertson 'spinning-wheel, spindle'; EHBal. *jəlləki* id.

(Dames 1891, Texts section); (10) MkBal. *jəllək* 'spindle'; (11) RaBal. *julaok* 'spider' (Zahedan, Coletti).

The Br. documentation is similar to Bal.: (1) *jallak* 'spinning-wheel, spindle' (= Bal., Psht.); (2) *jār*¹ 'snare, net' (= Bal.; Psht. *jāl*, Skt. *jāla*); (3) *jār*² 'web, cobweb' (Si., Psht. *jālaī*); (4) *jōlā* 'spider's web' (Psht. *jōlā*, NPrs. *julah* 'spider'); (5) *jōrī* 'country-made cloth' (Sir., Si.); (6) *jul* 'horse cloth' (NPrs.); (7) *jwāl* 'sack made of goats' hair' (NPrs.); (8) *gwāla* 'pack-saddle for oxen; grain-bag made of goats' hair'.

Psht. dictionaries (viz. Aslanov) give what follows: (1) *jalak* 'bobina'; (2) *čilak* 'bidon'; (3) *jwāl*, *juwāl* 'mešok, kul'; (4) *jāl* 'set'; (5) *jālī*, *jālay* 'setka'; (6) *dzæl* 'popona; potnik'; (7) *jāla* 'pautina'; (8) *jōlā* 'tkač; pauk'; (9) *tsōla* 'rubaxa iz gruboj plotnoj tkani na podkladke'.

Kurdish materials are collected in Mann-Hadank 1930.237 and Mann-Hadank 1932.152, 282, 284: Gur. *jil* 'Satteldecke, Decke'; Zaz. (of Kor) *čūāl* 'Sack'; Zangana Kurd. *šūl* 'Sack' (← NPrs. *joyāl*, *jol* acc. to Houtum-Schindler 1884.76), Awr. *jal*, *jul* 'Decke, Kleid' (Mann-Hadank 1930.237); Benedictsen-Christensen 1921.123 cf. Awr. *jala* (= *yala*) 'Kleidung' with Semn. *hāla*, cf. also Gur., Senna and Kurm. *jil* 'Kleid, Anzug' (Mann-Hadank *ibid.* "Arabisch *jal* ist selbst pers. Herkunft").

To the Kurd. documentation in Mann-Hadank one should add (1) *gūwāla* (Kermsh.), *jawāl* (Mahb.), *gowāl*, *gowāla* (Lor.) etc. 'large sack', Kurd. *juhāl* (Jaba-Justi 121), "*cūwāl*, *giowalk*" (written down by Garzoni acc. to the Italian spelling) 'grand sac' (*ibid.* 133) and (2) *jol* (Kermsh.), *jil* (Mahb.), *jol* (Lor.) etc. 'piece of cloth, rug, beggars' clothes', both widespread; both patterns are widely attested in all NW and SW dial.

Among NW and SW Ir. languages the following forms are remarkable: Lar. *jolaha* 'cobweb', *jolū* 'small mattress'; Sorx. *julik* 'old cloth'; Birj. *jebāl*, *jevāl* = *govāl* 'large sack', *jel* 'saddle cloth', *jelāk* 'spindle' (also Qāini); Nai. *gālavār* 'transport sack made of goats' hair', *juāl* 'sack for food', *vāl* = *juāl*; Khur. *vāle* 'sack' (= *tīvār*); Rav. *jāle* 'sack to cover the udders of milk animals'; Khor. *jelak* 'spindle', Sist. *jolak* id., *jollāka* (Weryho *jüllāka*) 'small poisonous spider', *jollāi* 'tool for weaving'; AfgPrs. *jūlī* 1. 'jawāl-e dahan-e gošāde'; 2. 'parčei ke dar ān mive az deraxt takānand'; Demaw. *jullī* 'made of cloth'; cf. further Yaghn. *jul* 'tolstaja popona' (← Tur. acc. to Andreev-Peščereva); *jullak*, *juhuk* 'loxmot' ja; obrezki'; *juwol* 'mešok' (← Tur. acc. to Andreev-Peščereva).

It is interesting to remark that in Oss. two further items of this group are attested: Dig. *colaq* (1.313) 'čelnok v tkackom stanke' (not directly ← NPrs. *čōlā*, *jōlā* 'tkač', as Abaev 1.313, but from some NWIr. derivatives with °ak or °āk [on the same pattern of Rosh. *čālak*, as now suggested by A. Z. Rozenfel'd in *Ispr.* 5.9], cf. Sist. *čolak* and IrBal. *julaok*; and Oss. *qædzdzūl* 'odejalo' if ← NPrs. *γāz-jul* as suggested by Abaev 2.286.

Interchanges Ar. ↔ Ir. in this specific semantic field should be very old. Mashkour considers certainly ← Ar. both NPrs. *joll* 'horse-cloth' (145, Ar. *jull*, pl. *ajlāl* and *jilāl*; cf. Syr. *gālālā*) and *jowlaq* 'sack' (149, Ar. *jawlaq*, pl. *jawālaq*, *javāliq*; cf. Aram. *gw³lq*, Syr. *gulaqā*); Asbaghi has *jul* ← 'Decke, Pferddecke; Schleier' ← NPrs., Syr. *jull* (88, from Brockelman); *jawāl* 'grosser Kornsack' ← NPrs. *gawāl*, MPrs. *gōāl* (97, from Jamaspi); *javāliq*, 'īq 'grosser Kornsack' ← NPrs. *gavāle* (ibid.); *jūx* 'Tuch' ← NPrs. (so Asbaghi, but where attested?); Partow has (1.510) NPrs. *joll* 'sackcloth; garments of rough cloth'; (1.511) *jall* 'sail; cuirass'; (1.521) *javāl* 'sack', *jovāleq* 'sack; one of two bilateral packs', *javāliqi* 'julaxi, julax [thick wool]' (also interesting ibid. [1.521] *javvāla* 'gardande, besyār gardande').

Considering the IA documentation (Tu5213 *jāla-* 'net, snare'; Tu5258 *jūta-* 'twisted hair' + Tu5401 **jhuṇṭa-*² (but also **jhōṇṭa-*, **jhūṭa-*, **jhōṭṭa-*) 'tangle'; Tu5415 **jhōla-* (also **jhōlla-*) 'bag'; Tu10489 *yugala-* 'pair, couple'; Tu11929 *vivṛddha-*² 'grown, large', *VRDH-* 'increase', the following picture could be drawn:¹⁵

(1) 'net', 'veil', also 'sail' (**jāla-*), with many borrowings IA ↔ Ir. ↔ Ar.; 'cobweb' seems to be an autonomous development in Ir.;

(2) 'old rugs', 'quilt', 'rough carpet', 'saddle-cloth' (**jūl-*, **jul-*), mainly Ir. development, with mix-up among outcomes of **jūl-* < **jūṭa-* and outcomes of **jōl-* < **jhōla-*;

(3) 'packsaddle (**yugā/ala-*); any coupled element', cf. in IA Pahari *jaol* 'cloth joining corner of bride's scarf with the groom's', Mar. *dzūwaḷ*, *dzūl* 'pair of twins', with poss. mix-up among outcomes of Ir. **jūl-* < **yugā/ala-* and < **jōl-* < **jhōla-*;

(4) 'to grow', 'to become larger' (< **(vi-)vṛddha-* EWA 2.520-21), Av. *varəḍ-aya-* Bartholomae 1368-69), with semantic specializations:

(a) 'to grow, to spindle', then 'to weave': cf. NPrs. *govālidan*, *gav^o* 'to grow' *GnPE* 939 (and prob. *govāridan* in Hübschmann 1895.95, line subsequent to no. 938, where "no. 939" is err. missing; *GnPE* 939 "schon im Pehlevi verschwunden" is uncorrect: the verb is still in use today (synonyms: *anduxtān*, *ruidān* and *nemow kardān*, cf. Haim s.v. *govālidan* 'to amass, to lay up, also to increase', Moin s.v. etc.), *balidan* id. (*GnPE* 173, also *bāludan* id., fn. 2 on p. 39-40) and the caus. *balinidan* (Hübschmann 1895 no. 173 cf. Phl. *wālin-* translating in *Vd.* 9,6 (Justi) Av. *varəḍaya-*, cf. Bartholomae 1368-69); NPrs. *vālā* 'big, large' could be conn., as suggested by *GnPE* 173; also Nai. *vāl* 'sack for food' and Khur. *vāle* 'sack';

(b) with early differentiation from *govālidan* 'to grow' (cf. Steingass' listing of English counterparts to *govāl*, *ga^o*: 'increase, augmentation, growth; gain, acquisition; a sack; a rubbing, polishing'), designations for 'expanded' tools and objects of everyday's life: 'mass', 'bulk', 'large shapeless sack' (as Tu11929). NPrs. *bālin* 'cushion' could have the same derivation of NPrs. *gavāli* (see above),

instead of originating from the OIr. base *brz- 'to spread out' (Benveniste 1959.12 and Gershevitch 1971.276 and fn. 31-33). Both bases could ultimately be identical; if so, to NPrs. *nehāl* 'mattress' (Gershevitch < *ni-barz-: "nihāl seems to be the only Persian word so far identified in which an h goes back to OIran. intervocalic b"; same composition with *ni- in Oss. *nyværdæn* 'izgolov'e', Abaev 2.213; cf. *baz* 'poduška' Abaev 1.241-42), whose first meaning (the only one in contemporary NPrs., where 'mattress' is *nehāle*) is 'shoot, sucker', one could conn. Semn. *hāla* 'clothes'. One could explain forms such as NPrs. *gāle* (Steingass *gāle* 'bag' but also 'ball of carded cotton', and *gāl* 'a species of spider; dung hanging to the wool of a sheep's tail') also found in central dial. (eg. Mazandarani) having intensive interchange with NPrs., with Morgenstierne 1946-48.288 (differently from MB16 quoted by Abaev), acc. to whom initial *b-* in NPrs. *bāle* 'bag made of wool and hair' (on which see above) is an inner-Prs. development. The passage *Frahang i pahlawīg* XXX, 23-24: "gwb²l/gw²l^o" — traditionally interpreted (Junker, Haug) as "gawāl: gōāl", and passed through Dehxodā to the modern studies — seems to confirm the existence of MPrs. *goāl/guwāl* (or *jowāl*, if one accepts the punctuation of ms. J of the *Frahang*), even if the reason for the inclusion of the gloss in the *Frahang* at ch. XXX remains obscure (not convincing Nyberg 1988.110 no. 23 acc. to whom the writing < گوبل / گول > would render a NW *yōwāl* < *yawa-barθra-glossed for purely didactic reasons in < گوبل >).

The Ir. forms underlying Georg. *gvalagi* and *gvardak'i* (Abaev 1.523 reconstructs MPrs. **guwārdāk* for the latter) and OIr. borrowings in Semitic (Aram. *gw²lq*, *gwwlq²*, then Syr. *gulāqā* etc., then Ar. *jawāliq*, cf. de Lagarde) point to verbal forms such as *guwārd-* (*guwāl-*) mentioned above.

From the point of view of the comparative semasiology the reference to the sem. area 'to turn/spin' – 'to grow up' – 'to spindle' — to be found in Ar. *jalla* and in many words of the series examined — is interesting (the lexica commonly refer *jull* 'larger part', *jilla* 'dung ball', *jilla* 'ball; bomb; clothes' to the Sem. root *GLL*; cf. *jāvāla* = *gardande* quoted above).

86. *gwang* 'twig, sapling, branch' (Oss. ¹*ong* (*wæng*)/*iong* 'limb', 2.229), OIr. **vi-vanka-* 'sinuosity, winding'
— *gwæng*.

Excursus 7

gwæng 'offset' quoted in Morgenstierne 1946-48.288¹⁶ from the *Makran Gazetteer* seems confirmed for Bal. by *Glossary* quotations from *Dosten o Širin*, and by *gwæng* 'sapling of date' in Ahmedzai n.p. Gershevitch, in agreement with Benveniste's "convincing amendment to GMS § 220 n." (Gershevitch 1970).

306), now outlines (Gershevitch 1971.291 fn. 55) a series of Ir. counterparts to Ved. *vakra-* 'crooked' without *n*-infixation (Phl. *w³hl*, Prth. *wxydg*, NPrs. *x^uahl*, Psalter Phl. *hwhtly*). One should poss. add Par. *yunča*, NPrs. *yonče* 'bud', with *-č* < **gwan-či-* (IIFL 1.256), if not ← Psht. *γēn* 'penis' (← 'protruding stiff') (EVP 26).

If Bal. *gwəng* 'bud [otrostok], branch [vetv']' and Oss. ¹*ong* (*wəng*)/*iong* 'member of the body' should derive < OIr. **vi-vanka-* 'sinuosity [izgib]' (Benveniste 1959.14-15, now EWA 2.492-93, with KEWA 3.127), et. preferred by Abaev to IA *anga-* 'member of the body' (Hübschmann) or to IA *yu-* 'twist' (Gershevitch 1954 § 220), one could add a series of denominations for 'winding, crooked, wrinkled, humped' objects, therefore 'branches', 'arms', 'wings', 'joints' similar to *gwəng*: Bal. *kanəg* *Glossary* 82 'joining pin'; *gwəng* *ibid.* 57 'sapling'; EHBal. *gəng* 'branch of watercourse' (Mayer); Siv. *kəng* 'branch' Andreas-Christensen 92, *ga^ug-* id. Žukovskij 2.263; NPrs. *gəng* 'anything bent', (?) *yonče* 'bud' (notwithstanding Monchi-Zadeh 75); *kənk* 'hump-backed', *kəng* 'wing, arm', *kanj* 'uvula'; Psht. *wənkəy* 'grown together'; Psht. *cəngə*, Orm. *cəngə*, Waz. *cəngə* 'branch' etc.

Ispr. 5.20 adds borrowings (through Scythian) to the Balto-Finnic area.

87. *gvapag*, (EHBal.) *gvafay* 'to weave' (Oss. *wafyn*, 4.40), OIr. **waf-*

— *gwəpəg*, *gwəfəy*; GE134.

88. *gvarband* 'chest-trappings of a horse' (Oss. *bændæn* 'rope', 1.250), OIr. **bandana-* 'rope'

— *gwərbənd*; GE135.

89. *gvardāg*¹⁷ 'quail' (Oss. *wærcc/wærccæ* 'quail, *coturnix*', 4.91), OIr. **warti-*(*kā-*)

— *gwərdag*; GE139. *Glossary* s.v.: "hill partridge?; 'quail (?)'". Acc. to Schapka 858, Oss. *wærcc* follows the more developed pattern of NPrs. *walč*, while Bal. with preserved ^o*rd*^o is closer to the Indo-Ir. prototype; note that in this word the formative **-aka-* (← IA acc. to KEWA 3.155) is found nowhere in the form *-ā-ka* as in Bal.

90. *gwark* 'lamb' (Oss. *wær*, 4.87-88), OIr. **wara-* 'agnus, lamb'
— *gwərk*; GE137. *gwərk* and *gwərak* are common forms (cf. *Glossary* for further variants). Note that in CoBal. (as well as EHBal. and SaBal. acc. to Elfenbein 1966.13; 20) *gwərk* is a variant of *gvrk* 'wolf'.

91. *gwask* 'calf' (Dig. *wæs*, 4.97-98), OIr. **was(s)a-*
— *gwask*; GE142. The form *gwask* is mostly KeBal.; also *gwæč*
and *gwāšk*; cf. *Glossary* for dialect distribution. The meaning
'hen, chick' is widely documented.
92. *gwāt* 'wind' (Oss. *wæt*, 4.33), OIr. **vāta-* 'to be windy'
— *gwat*; GE148.
93. *gwaz* 'water-channel' (Oss. *awazyn* 'to embank a river', 1.85-
86), OIr. **waz-* 'to flow'
— *gwaz*, MB44; Bal. *gwaz* *Glossary*, Ashfaq, Aṭa 1968.152, Mi-
ṭṭa-Surat; Br. *gwaz* 'flood channel' Rossi A137. Abaev sug-
gested to me (in a letter dated 23 April 1977) a derivation of
the Br. word < OIr. **waz-* 'to flow'; many Ir. cognates <
**waz-* with reference to liquids are in *Saka* 218, 270, 478-79.
Note that Bal. *gwaz* quoted in Abaev 1.86 is now confirmed
by the new sources mentioned above; MB44 (Abaev's source)
had only Br. *gwaz* 'flood-channel'.
94. *gwāz*¹⁸ 'sažen', fathom' (Oss. *ivaz(n)/ivaznæ* 'distance
measured by both arms outstretched [maxovaja sažen']',
1.553-54), Oss. < OIr. **vi-bāz(a)na-*
— *gwaz*; cf. Elfenbein 1992.252.
95. *gwazag* 'to cross over' (Oss. *wazæg/iwazæg* 'guest', 4.60-61),
OIr. **wi-wāzaka-*, cf. OIr. **waz-* 'to be in movement', also
trans. 'to take away'
— *gwazæg*; GE144.
96. *haik* 'egg', MwBal. *aig* 'yolk' (Oss. *ajk/ajkæ* 'egg', 1.41), OIr.
**āyaka-* (not **āwyaka-* as *IIFL* 1.237)
— *hæk*, *æg*; GE159. Bal. *həyk* is the common form; also
RaBal. *aig*, *ayæg*.
97. *ham* 'also'; as prefix 'together' (Oss. *æmæ/æma* 'also', Oss.
æm-/æn- 'with' 1.133-34), OIr. **ham*
— *həm*; GE150.
98. *hāmāg*, *āmāg* 'raw' (Oss. *xom*, 4.213), OIr. **āma-*
— *hamæg*; *amæg*; GE155.
99. *haur* 'rain' (Oss. *arv* 'sky', 1.72), OIr. **abra-* 'cloud', Oss. <
**avr*
— *həwr*; GE163; *hor* is also common.

100. *hēd* 'sweat, perspiration' (Oss. *xid/xed*, 4.199), OIr. **hwaida-* — *hed*; GE158. Bal. *hed* (*Glossary*) → Br. *xēd*; cf. Morgenstierne apud Rossi A206: "the *x-* in Brah. and Oss. must be due to quite independent development. Possibly influence of Prs. *x^w??*".
101. *hīk*¹⁹ 'swine' (Oss. *xwy/xu*, 4.254), OIr. **hu-* — *hik*, GE157; *hik* is EHBal., elsewhere *huk*. While *Glossary* rejects the forms with °*x*, they are widely documented for EHBal.
102. *hīz* 'goatskin bag to churn milk for butter' (Oss. *xyz/xizæ* 'net; muslin handkerchief, bridal veil', 4.273), OIr. *(*h*)*iz-* 'goat' — *hiz*. Bal. also *hizakk* (as EL75; *Glossary* s.v.) and *hinz*, with nasalized *ɪ* (Rossi B22; cf. also *Glossary*); Bal. → Br. *hīzak*. Initial *x*^o also in Tal. *xəz* 'fur' (if related); but Oss. *x*^o and isolated sem. may point to a different (non-Ir.?) origin for Oss. *xyz*.
103. *hušay* 'to dry' (Oss. *sysyn/isusun* 'to evaporate', 3.212), Oss. < OIr. **wi-šuš-*, cf. **huš-* 'dry' — *hʊšəy*; GE160.
104. *hušk* 'dry' (Oss. *xwysk'/xusk'æ*, 4.269), OIr. **huš-ka-* — *hʊšk*; GE160.
105. *istār* 'star' (Oss. *st'aly/(æ)st'alu*, 3.161), OIr. **stāra-/stārya-* — *istar*; GL102. It alternates with *istal*, which is not necessarily "better" (EL14) than *istar*; acc. to Barker-Mengal, *istal* denotes literary style.
106. (EHBal.)²⁰ *istūr* 'fat, coarse, thick' (Oss. *styr/(æ)stur* 'big', 3.159). OIr. **stūra-* — *istur*; GE167.
107. *iškar* 'coals' (Dig. *æsk'ærnæg* 'spark', 3.122), OIr. **skara-naka-* — *iškər*.
108. *jagar* 'liver' (Oss. *igær*, 1.541), OIr. **yakar-* — *jəgər*; GE173.
109. *jaw*, *jō* 'barley' (Oss. *jæw* 'millet', 1.564), OIr. **yava-* — *jəw*, *jō*; GE179.

110. *javān* 'young' (Oss. *wænyg/iwonug* 'bull-calf, *juvencus*', 4.87), OIr. **ya/uwanuka-* 'young, *junior* [junyj]' — *jāwan*, GL111; *Glossary*. RaBal. *jāwan*, *jwan* is 'good, nice'. To the denominations for 'young animal' add Lar. *jovang* 'gusāle-ye javān va kamsāl'.
111. *juzay* 'to move slowly, go, walk'²¹ (Oss. *ūzyn/ozun* 'to swing, shake', 4.24), OIr. **yauz-* 'to set in motion', also **yauš-* — *jvzəγ*; MB119. EHBal. *jvzəγ*; *jvzəg* elsewhere (in poetry); perhaps better *jvzz-*, cf. EL79 and *Glossary*.
112. *kadi*, *kade* 'when' (Oss. *kæd*, 1.575), OIr. **kada-* — *kædi*; GE182. Common forms are *kædi* and *kæden*.
113. *kanag* 'to make, do' (Oss. *kæny*, 1.580), OIr. **kryn-*, **kr-*, **kar-* — *kənəg*; GE185.
114. *kandag*, (EHBal.) *xanday* 'to laugh' (Oss. *xūdyn/xodun*, 4.245-46), OIr. **xand-* id. (or **xud-* < IE **kud-*?) — *kændəg*, *xændəγ*; GE186. *k*^o also in EHBal., where forms with *x*^o are marginal; RaBal. (*h*)*ənd-*, but occasionally also *k*^o, cf. Barker-Mengal, EL69 and *Glossary* s.v.
115. *kap* 'foam' (Oss. *xæf/xæfæ* 'pus', 4.162), Indo-Ir. **kapha-* — *kəp*, GE188; also *kəf*.
116. *kap-* 'to fall' (Oss. *xawyn/xawun*, 4.148), OIr. **kap-* — *kəp-*, GE189; cf. *Glossary*.
117. *kapar-* in *kapardil* 'cruel' (Oss. *qæbærzærdæ*, 2.278), *qæbær* 'hard' — Tur. *qabar* 'protruding' — *kəpərdil*. Abaev does not mention his source, but it is probably Zarubin 1932.178 ll. 5-6, where however there is a different vowel in the first syllable: *äi kəpar-dilen mullā*, translated by Zarubin 'stone-hearted master' (*žestokoserdyj učitel'*). *kapər* ("kəpar") also occurs in Zarubin 1948.118 (ll. 16-17: *ay bedinen kəpar, pa-če demā na kəay?* 'Hey infidel without God, why you do not come on?'), where it is prob. to be considered as a variant of *kəpīr* (ibid. 106 l. 7: *ay kəpīr ki ta-wəy ta če-wa gušay?* 'you scoundrel of an infidel, what are you saying?'; the addressee is the same as the previous example), and both variants of the more frequently attested

(in Zarubin's texts) *kāper* 'infidel' (*VMB* 'dirt'). Since 'to have the heart of an infidel' is the same as being cruel, one could suppose that this *bahuvrīhi* adjective should be analyzed differently than in Abaev; however a deeper investigation is required. *kəpər* is found in Bal. with reference to something hard: cf. *kapar* 'salt ground', *kaparo* 'salts of soda in land' (Mayer), to which one could conn. the toponym *Kappar* (Dames 1891 Part II p. 17, l. 54; *Anthology* 302, l. 40). The line *karē karkhā zamīn kappar* (Dames 1907.2.104, l. 51), translated by Dames 'the hard ground rattled under them' (Dames 1907.1.104) should poss. be reinterpreted as containing this same toponym.

118. *khār*, (EHBal.) *xar* 'ass' (Oss. *xæræg*, 4.176-78), OIr. **xaraka-*, cf. **xara-*, Indo-Ir. **khara-* 'grey'
— *khār*, *xār*; GE192. *khār* = *k^cār*, with asp. initial; commonly *hār*, *kār*.
119. *kārc̣* 'knife' (Oss. *kard* id.; 'sabre', 1.571), OIr. **kart-* 'to cut'
— *karč̣*; GE195.
120. *kāsib*²² 'tortoise' (Oss. *xæfs* 'frog', 4.162-63), OIr. **kasyapa-* 'tortoise'
— *kasīb*; GE196. *kasīb* everywhere, not only CoBal. as stated in *Glossary*.
121. *kašag* 'to drag' (Oss. *xæssyn/xæssun* 1. 'to bring'; 2. 'to nourish'; 3. 'to last', 4.188-90), OIr. **karš-* 'to drag', Oss. < parall. form **xarš-*
— *kəšəg*; GE 193.
122. *kē*, *kai* 'who' (Oss. *kyī/ka*, 1.595), OIr. **ka-*, Iron < **kahya* (obl.)
— *ke*, *kəy*; GE200.
123. *kēnay* 'thirst for revenge'²³ (Dig. *kīnæ*, *kenæ*, 1.596), OIr. **kainā-*
— *kenəy*; GE201. The form is EHBal., *kenəg* elsewhere.
124. *kučak* 'puppy, small dog' (Oss. *kwydz/kuj* 'dog', 1.605-06), Oss. < OIr. **kuti-*, Bal. ← Tur. *küçük* 'puppy, small dog'
— *kučək*, GE203; Bal. *kučəkk* with °*əkk* (cf. no. 227 below). *Ispr.* adds Khwar. *kut* (°*kt*, *kt* Benzing 46, 364) and Tu3275

kutta- ‘dog’, where Nep. *kuti* < IA (cf. Abaev 1.605 fn. 1 “nepali *kuti* ‘sobaka’ ... iz iranskogo?”). Literature and materials in Doerfer 1664 (where a prob. ideophonic origin is suggested).

125. *kūnd* ‘near, short’ (!) (Oss. *k’wyndæg/k’undæg* ‘narrow’, 1.650), OIr. **kuntaka-*
 — *kund*; GE209. Bal. *kund* only means ‘piece of ground enclosed by a bend in a torrent bed’ (sense (2) in *Glossary*); Elfenbein’s sense (1) ‘near, short’ never occurs in the *Anthology* texts (cf. Filippone 1996.347 fn. 200), and might originate from GE209 *kund*, *k^cvnd* ‘kurz; nahe’, where reference is to Av. *kutaka-* etc. The sem. given by Geiger comes from the usage of *k^vvnd* (more common form of *ku/vnd*) ‘corner, edge’ as a locative functional (cf. Filippone 1996.72 ff.). Bal. *k^vvnd* (in both senses) and poss. Oss. *k’wyndæg/k’undæg* should anyway be separated (against GE209, hencefrom *GnPE* 871) from derivatives < Av. *kuta-* ‘small’ (cf. *EWA* 1.326-27), and merged with Tu3898 *khunṭa-* ‘corner’ (+ Tu14393). Cf. also NPrs. *qondāq* ‘swaddling-clothes’, etc. (Doerfer 1533, where Bal. *kundə* ‘stump’ [Gilbertson etc.] is quoted?)
126. *lōli*²⁴ ‘lullaby’ (Oss. *lolo* ‘lullaby [bain’ki, span’e (detskoe slovo)]’ 2.47 and 5.18), ideophone
 — *loli*; *Ispr.* suggests to compare Bal. *loli* (Abaev’s *loli* is from Rossi 1979) with Oss. *lolo*, originally alleged in 2.47 to be “Ammensprache, ne svjazano s opredelennoj jazykovej gruppoj”; substancial Ir. correspondences (NPrs. *lālā*, AfgPrs. *lalu*, Tat., Tal. *lala*, Bast. *lālay*, etc., all babytalk for ‘sleep’, cf. Filippone n.p.) show in any case that the ideophonic prototype is well established in Ir.
127. *mā*, *amā*, *ammā*, *māx* ‘we’ (Oss. *max*, 2.78), OIr. **ahmākam* or *ahmāxam*
 — *ma*, *əma*, *əmma*, *max*; the last is recorded only in EHBal. epics, cf. *Glossary*.
128. *ma* ‘not’ (Oss. *ma*, 2.60), OIr. **mā*
 — *mə*.

129. *madag*, (EHBal.) *maḏay* 'locust' (Oss. *mætyx*, 2.108), OIr. **mad-ika-/mad-aka-*, Oss. < **maθika-*
— *mədæg*, *məḏəγ*; GE221. Bal. *mədək*, with preserved *-ək* (*Glossary*) is doubtful; the word is recorded as *mədæg* in *Anthology* and everywhere else.
130. *mäh*, *maha* ['moon'] (Oss. *mæj/mæjæ* 1. 'moon'; 2. 'month', 2.83). OIr. **mäh-*
— *mah*, *məhə*; GL158.
131. *majg*, (EHBal.) *mažg* 'brain' (Oss. *maγz*, 2.66), OIr. **mazga-*
— *məjg*, *məžg*; GE229.
132. *malag*, *mušag* 'to smear, rub', *marz* 'clod-crusher log' (Oss. *mærzyn/mærzun* 'to clean', 2.100-01), OIr. **marz-* 'to smear'
— *məlæg*, *mυšæg*, *mərz*; GE223, 244. Note Bal. *malæg* 'level' with a ("ā"), *Glossary*, and *er-malæg* 'to writhe' (*Elfenbein* 1966.47), otherwise unattested.
133. *man* 'I', *manā/mnā* 'me', *manī/mnī* (Oss. *mæn* 1. 'me', 2. 'my', 2.90), OIr. **mana* (gen.)
— *mən*, *məna*, *mna*, *məni*, *mni*.
134. *mark* 'death' (Oss. *marg* 'poison', 2.72-73), OIr. **mar-ka-* 'death', cf. **mar-* 'to die, kill'
— *mər̥k*; GE225. For Oss. sem. (< OIr. **mar-ča-* 'to injure') cf. *EWA* 2.323-324, *Maggi* 99-100, *Sims-Williams* 122-123; Bal. *mark* < **mark-a-*?
135. *mastag* 'curds, sour milk' [tvorog, kisloe moloko], *madag* (RaBal.) 'coagulated milk'; *maḏay* (EHBal.) 'to curdle' (Oss. *mæstæg* 'dense', 2.103; Oss. *mast/mæst-* 1. 'bitter', 2. 'bile', 3. 'pain', 2.77), OIr. **masta-ka-* < **mad-ta*, cf. **mad-* 'to fatten'
— *məstæg*, *mədæg*, *məḏəγ*. Bal. also *bəstæg* EL15, *Glossary*.
136. *mašk* 'goatskin' (Oss. *mæxæl* 'leather bag', 2.109) — Semitic
— *məšk*. Oss. *-æl* may represent a derivation similar to Gur. *məškāl* 'goatskin', Kurd. *məškāle* id.
137. *māt*, *mās*, (EHBal.) *māθ* 'mother' (Oss. *mad/madæ*, 2.62), OIr. **mātar-*
— *mat*, *mas*, *maθ*, GE234; dialectal distribution in *Glossary*.
138. *mātal kan-* 'to delay' (Oss. *mæt'æl* 'dejected, depressed', 2.109), ← Ar-Prs. *mu'aṭṭal* 'slowed down'

- *matəl kən*-.
 139. *mī, mīk, mēx* ‘peg’ (Oss. *mīx/mex*, 2.125), OIr. **mayuxa-*
 — *mi, mik, mex*; GE239. Also *meh* and *mek* (*Glossary*).
 140. *mirag*, (EHBal.) *miray* ‘to die’ (Oss. *mælyn/mælung*, 2.89),
 OIr. **mar-* ‘to die’
 — *mirəg, mirəy*; GE 225.
 141. *mēzay, mīžay* ‘to urinate’ (Oss. *mīzyn/mezun* 1. ‘to flow,
fluere’ (middle), 2. ‘to urinate, *mingere*’ (active), 2.126-27),
 OIr. **maiz-* ‘to urinate’
 — *mezəy, mižəy*, GE238; EHBal. forms, all dialects have
mezəg. Acc. to EL101 in EHBal. only *mēžay*, but cf. *mezəy* in
 Miṭha-Surat.
 142. *mok* ‘*Phoenix dactylifera*’ (Oss. *mūgæ/mogæ* ‘medlar, *me-*
spilus germanica’, 2.131), Ir.
 — *mok*.
 143. *mōr, mōrik, mōrink* ‘ant’ (Oss. *mældzyg/muldzug*, 2.87), OIr.
 **marwi-*, Oss. < **marwičaka-*
 — *mor, morik, morink*; GE248; note ^o*i/ink* in *mornk*.
 144. *murg*, (EHBal.) *mury* ‘bird’ (Oss. *mary*, 2.73-74), OIr.
 **mrga-*
 — *mʊrg, mʊry*; GE243.
 145. *mušk* ‘mouse’ (Oss. *myst/mistæ*, 2.142), OIr. **mūš-*
 — *mʊšk*; GE245. As regards Ir. ^o*k/°t* alternance after sibi-
 lants, add to Abaev’s remarks Rossi 1977.47-48 (and Ba26
ibid.).
 146. *na* ‘not’ (Oss. *næ*, 2.164), OIr. **na*
 — *nə*.
 147. *nāpag, nāfag*, (EHBal.) *nāfay* [‘navel’] (Dig. *næf(f)æ*, 2.149),
 Indo-Ir. **nābh-* id., then ‘kinship, family, stock, people’
 — *napəg, nafəg, nafəy*, GE259; Bal. also *nap, naf* (*Morgen-*
stierne-Rossi 1982; IUO Archives).
 148. *nakun*, (EHBal.) *naxun* ‘fingernail’ (Oss. *nyx, nik* ‘nail, claw’,
 2.217-18), OIr. **naxa-* ‘nail’
 — *nəkʊn, nəkʊn*; GE257. RaBal. commonly *na(h)ʊn*; all dia-
 lects commonly have *na*^o; cf. also *Glossary*; *nə*^o Gilbertson and
 Mayer.

149. *nām* 'name' (Oss. *nom/non*, 2.188), OIr. **nāman-*
— *nam*; GL181.
150. *napas* 'soul' (Oss. *nyfs/nifs*, 2.196), ← Ar-Prs. *nafs, nafas*
— *nəpəs*; GL176.
151. *nar* 'male', *naryān* 'stallion', *nerək* 'cock' (Oss. *næl* 'male',
2.165-67), OIr. **narya-*, cf. **nar-*, IE *(*a*)*ner-*
— *nər, nəryan, nerək*; GE253. Bal. *nerək* 'cock' not in IUO Ar-
chives; where attested?
152. *nāra*²⁵ 'bellow, roar' (Oss. *næryn/nærun* 'to thunder', 2.171-
72), OIr. **nar-*, **nar-d-*, IE *(*s*)*ner-*, ideophone
— *narə*; GE260. Elfenbein orig. suggested (*VMB*) a der. of
Bal. ← Ar. *na^crat* (*contra*: Abaev 2.172 fn. 1); EL107 derives
Br. *nard-* 'to shout' ← Bal.; *Glossary* considers Br. *nard-* ← IA
and cf. Bal. *nar-* with NPrs. *nālidan*; note Bal. *nərd* 'shout'
(*ibid.*).
153. *navad* 'felt' (Oss. *nymæt/nimæt* 1. 'felt'; 2. 'burka', 2.202-03),
OIr. **namata-*
— *nəwəd*.
154. *nibisag* 'to write' (Oss. *fyssyn/finsun*, 1.501-02 and note 2),
OIr. **pis-*, **pins-* 'to engrave'
— *nibisəg*, GE261; cf. *Glossary* (the different forms appear to
be dialectally intermingled).
155. *nišān* 'mark' (Oss. *nysan/nisan* 1. 'mark'; 2. 'target'; 3. 'bridal
pledge [zalog ženixa]', 2.209-10), Oss. ← NPrs. *nešān*; Indo-Ir.
**nikšāna-*
— *nišan*; GL187. Oss. sense 'bridal pledge' for the word
seems unattested in Bal.; in Ir. besides Ishk. *nišōni* (quoted
in Abaev 2.209 s.v. *nysajnağ*), cf. Kurd. *nišān* id., and NPrs.
nešāni 'token of remembrance' (Steingass).
156. *no* '9' (Oss. **næw*, 2.173), OIr. **nava-*
— *no*.
157. *nōk*, (EHBal.) *nōx* 'new' (Oss. *næwæg*, 2.175), OIr. **navaka-*,
cf. **nav-* (2.173)
— *nok, nox*, GE272; Bal. also '(new) moon' and 'bride'.
158. *nūn* 'now' (Oss. *nyr/nur*, 2.206), OIr. **nūram* < **nūnam*
— *nun*; GE270.

159. *odā, odān, odinā*, (EHBal.) *oδ* 'there' (Oss. *wæd* 'at that time', 4.63), OIr. **awada-*, *awa-* 'that'
— *oda, odan, odina, oδ*; GE401.
160. *pāčag* 'to cook' (Oss. *fycyn/ficun*, 1.487), OIr. **pač-*, **pak-*
— *pačæg*; GE276.
161. *pād* 'feet, leg' (Oss. *fad*, 1.414), OIr. **pād-* (1.427)
— *pad*; GE291.
162. *pad* 'footprint' (Oss. *fæd*, variant of *fad* 'feet', 1.427), OIr.
**pad-*
— *pæd*; GE277.
163. *panč* '5' (Oss. *fondz*, 1.478), OIr. **panča-*
— *pənč*.
164. *pant deag* 'to advise'²⁶ (Oss. *fænd/fændæ* 'plan, intention', 1.445-46 and 5.13), OIr. **panda-*
— *pənt deæg*; GE282. *Ispr.* adds Prth. *pand* 'advice', Bal. *pənt dəy-* 'to advise' and Bailey-Ross. With Oss. *fændag* 'path' cf. Bal. *pənd* 'a distance travelled on foot' (*Glossary*).
165. *pārī* 'last year' (Oss. *faron/faræ*; Dig. *farikkon* 'last year's', adj., 1.422), OIr. **para-* 'far, previous, past'
— *pari*; GE285. Eifenbein 1991 § 22; CoBal. *parig* parallels Dig. *farikkon* 'last year's'.
166. *pas* 'sheep' (Oss. *fys/fus*, 1.500), OIr. **pasu-*
— *pās*; GE286.
167. *pastark* 'saddle', *pastarkā*²⁷ 'on a saddle'²⁸ (Oss. ²*stæryn/(æ)stær(n)un* 'to spread', 3.150), OIr. **pati-star-*, cf. OIr. **star-*
— *pastærk, pastarka*.
168. *paš* 'after' (Oss. *fæs-*, 1.456), OIr. **pašča-*
— *pəš*, GE287, also *pəšt* (*Glossary*).
169. *patan* 'broad, wide' (Oss. *fætæn*, 1.465), OIr. **paθana-*
— *pətæn*; GE289.
170. *pāyda*²⁹ 'profit, gain' (Oss. *pajda*, 2.235-36) — Ar-Prs. *fāida*
— *paydæ*, GL194; add *paydæg, faydæg*(g).
171. *pīg*, (EHBal.) *pīγ* 'fat' (Oss. *fiw/few*, 1.477), OIr. **pi-*, *pay-*
'to feed' (1.489)
— *pig, piγ*; GE298.
172. *pūt* 'father' (Oss. ¹*fyd/fidæ*, 1.488), OIr. **pūtā-*

- *pit*, GE296; cf. *Glossary* for dialectal variants.
 173. *phonz*, *pōz* ‘nose’ (Oss. *fyndz*/*findz*(æ), *fij* ‘nose; tip, point’, 1.497) ← Cauc. or < Ir.
 — *phonz*, *poz*; GE310. *phonz* = *p^conz*, with aspirated plosive.
Ispr. (Old) Egyptian *fnḏ* ‘nose’.

Excursus 8

To GE310 one should add GE306 *punzig* ‘heel’, MB71 (EHBal.) *p^ciz* id. and conn. a series of labels for “a broad surface of the body, the front, face and breast or the back” (Bailey 1967.179-80), possibly specialized in some languages as any protruding body part (under unexplained sem. changes restructuring the perception of ‘wide parts of the body (eg. bellies, breasts)’ as ‘protruding parts of the body’). In view of the amplitude of the attested Ir. forms, there is no need to search in Cauc. languages (as Abaev does) for the primary source for Oss. *fyndz*; one should add Oss. *faz*/*fazæ* ‘side’ (1.426, with *Ispr.* 5.12 pointing to Oss. *fæz* ‘plain’ [misprinted *faz* in 5.12] and to Kurd. *ambāz* ‘embrace’, Khwar. ʔnbʔz ‘chest, bosom’) and Oss. *fæz* ‘plain’ (1.466-67, with *Ispr.* 5.13 cross-referring to *faz*). If Kurd. *ambāz* etc. is conn., Bal. (*h*)*ambaz* ‘embrace’ should be added as suggested by Henning-MacKenzie 28.

In view of the entangled status of the question, only a preliminary listing of materials will be given below; discussions of different aspects and words are to be found in *EVP* 57, 62-63, *IIFL* 2.536, Henning 1939.100, Andreas-Christensen 320 and fn. 1, Bailey 1948.323-26, 1949.136, Benveniste 1955.300, Bailey 1967.179-80, Henning-MacKenzie 28, *Saka* 229-30, where further lit. is quoted:

(1) ‘environs of the mouth; lips and mouth; mouth; snout’

NPrs. *pōz* ‘the lip, mouths and environs; beak of bird, snout of quadruped’; ‘the space between the nose and lip’; *pōze*, *fuze* ‘the parts round the mouth externally’; *batfur* [error in Steingass], *batfuz*, *badpuz*, *badfuz*, *barpōz*, *barpōs*, *barfōz*, *barfōs*, *barkāpōz*, *barkāpōs*, *barkāfōz*, *barkāfōs*, *patfōz*, *pedwāz*, *parpōz*, *tabfōz*, *tabqōz* [error in Steingass], *tamfōz* ‘the parts around the mouth, chops or snout; beak of bird’ [*tamfōz* is quoted by Henning 1939.100 as a loanword ← Sogd. *patfōz* ‘mouth, muzzle, beak’; cf. Psht. *tambūza* ‘muzzle’], *patfōz-e zabar* ‘the upper lip of a quadruped’; AfgPrs. *puz* ‘environs of mouth (animals and human beings)’; Aft. *puze* ‘snout’; Bxt. *puz* ‘lips and mouth’; Shusht. *puz* ‘mouth’; ‘lips and mouth’; Lar. *pūz* ‘snout’ [also ‘tip of the nose’]; Gavg. *pūz* ‘mouth’; Shir. *pōz* ‘lips and mouth’; Esf. *puz* ‘snout’; Gz. *pūz*(ak) ‘environs of mouth (animals and human beings)’; Zor. Yzd. *puza* ‘snout’; Khor. *puz* ‘environs of mouth (human beings and animals)’; Birj. *pus*, *puz*, *piz* ‘environs

of the mouth'; *piza* 'snout'; Sist. *puz* 'snout'; Raj. *pūz* id.; Khuns. *pūz* 'mouth, lips' (Tasbihi 1975); Kurd. *poz* 1. 'nose'; 2. 'environs of the mouth' (also 'nose' etc.); *poza* 'snout'; Kerms. *puz* id.; *qapuz* id.; Semn. *puz* id.; Sorx. *pūz* id.; Orm. *pōz* 'mouth' (*IIFL* 1: poss. genuine; cf. Psht. *pōza*); *pyōz*, *pyūz* id. (Morgenstierne 1932b); *pyūz* 'mouth, face' (Grierson); Psht. *wurbūz* 'snout, muzzle' (*EVP*: many names of body parts are composed with *war-*); *tambuza* 'muzzle'; Sar. *pewz* 'lip'; MPrs. *pōz*, *pōzag* 'snout, muzzle' (*pūz*, *pūjak* 'the mouth at its environs, the lip' Abramjan 215, also 'Pfote' Andreas-Christensen 320); Sogd. *ptβ²wz* 'beak' (misprinted *ptβwz* in Gharib).

(2) 'face, lower part of the face'

Rav. *pūze* 'face, lower part of the face'; Khor. (Birj.) *piz* 'face'; Bal. *pəwz* 'face, mouth' (Mumtaz Ahmad), Orm. *pyūz* id. (Grierson); Khot. *pāysa* 'surface'.

(3) 'nose'

Lar. *pūz* 'tip of the nose (also 'snout)'; Zor. Yzd. *puz* 'nose'; Zor. Kerm. *puz* id. [cf. Kerm. 'nasal mucus' in "*puzat jam' kon*"]; Khor. *puz* id.; Kurd. *poz* 1. 'nose'; 2. 'environs of the mouth'; Bal. *ponz* 'nose'; Orm. *pazak* id. (*IIFL* 1 cf. *pōz* and Psht. *paza*); Psht. *paza* id. (further ref. *EVP*); Dzadr. *peza* id.; Wan. *pīza* id. (Elfenbein 1967 < **pēz-*).

(4) 'space between nose and lips'

NPrs. *pōz* 'the space between nose and lips'; Kerm. *puz* id., also 'corner of anything' (eg. '*puz* of a wall').

(5) 'heel'

Tat. and Tal. *boz* 'heel'; Khor. *bozak* 'bone under the malleolus of horse'; Gil. *puz* 'heel', also *buz* (Sartippur), *buzi* (Payande); *pā buz* 'heel' (Marashi), *pā buz* 'malleolus' (Payande); Bal. (IUO Archives) *puz*, *piz* 'heel' (many dial.), *padpuz*, *padbuz*, *puzpad*, *puzvok*, *puzik* id. (not EHBal.); *piz* 'the five toes' (Noshke); *puzika kōri* 'outer malleolus' (Nal; *kōri* 'malleolus/heel'); Bal. (Lexx.) *punz* 'heel' (Collett), *punz*, *punzig*, *pu/vnzok* RaBal., *pinz* CoBal., *piz*, *piδ* EHB (*Glossary*); *pīz* (Farrell), *phiδ* (Dames), *phiδ*, *phiz* (Gilbertson), *phiz* (Gladstone); *phiδ*, *phiz*, *phidu*, *pinz* 'heel'; *phiδ* 'foot' (Mayer) (GE306 < Av. *pāšna-*; acc. to MB71 *phid* poss. < **padyā-* 'foot'); Psht. *pūnda* 'heel' (but *EVP*, acc. to whom Psht. *pūnda* and Bal. *punzig* are hardly related, derives [with query] < **pāntā-*); Sogd. *pznw*, *pdn(y)* 'heel' Benveniste 1955.300.

(6) 'calf of the leg'

NPrs. *puz* 'lower part of the leg', *puz* 'trunk of tree' (Dehxodā), Kurd. *pūz* 'lower part of the leg'; Lak. *piz* 'calf of the leg'; *poviz* id.; Lor. *piz* id., *pelepiz* 'calf, leg'; Awr. *puza*, Knd. *puz* 'calf of the leg'; Ghw. *pūz* id.; Psht. *pundāi* id. (acc. to *EVP* ← IA).

(7) 'elbow'

Tat. (Kārang), Ker. *buzā* 'elbow'.

(8) 'bottom, anus'

NPrs. *pend*, *pizi* 'seat, posteriors, bottom'; Ark. *pizi* id.; Sarv. *pizy* id.; Shir. *pizi* id.; Nai. *pizi* id.; Raj. *pīzī* id.; Khuns. *pind-o-pizī* 'anus'; Kurd. *poz*, *pizi* 'behind, anus' (*poz* also 'nose'); Mahb. *pūz* id., Oss. *faz(æ)* id.

(9) 'belly'

Zaz. (of Siwerek) *pizā* 'belly', Zaz. (of Bijak) *pizā*; Zaz. (of Kor) *pizā* id.; Sorx. *piza* id.; Lasg. *pize* id.; Kurd. *pizidān* 'uterus'?

(10) 'breast'

Sgl. *puz* 'breast'; Yd., Mnj. *fiz*, *fiz* 'forepart of an animal'; Yzg. *pez* 'breast', Wa. *p'ūz*, *pūz* id.; Grjunberg-Steblyn-Kamenskij *poz(n)* id.; Sar. *puz* id.

(11) miscellaneous

Gz. *puz* 'das Aussere (von Menschen und Sachen)'; Gil. *buzə dume* 'coccyx'.

174. *pursay* 'to ask' (Oss. *færsyn/færsun* id., also 'to read, to foretell', 1.454-55), Oss. < OIr. **pars-*, Bal. < OIr. **pʳs-* — *pʳsəy*, GL211; EHBal. form, elsewhere ^o*əg*. Note that the meaning 'to say' is common in folk tales.

175. *ray*³⁰ ['mountain ridge'] (Oss. *ray* 1. 'back'; 2. 'mountain ridge', 2.343-45), OIr. **rāga-* 'skirt of a mountain' — *ray* (?); MB73. Note NPrs. *rāy* everywhere 'slope, declivity' (Eilers 1954-56.300-301 and fn.); poss. add Bal. *rog* 'rock' Miṭha-Surat, 'precipice' Dames 1891. The Bal. word is of scarce doc. (always ^o*əy*; Mayer, Gilbertson, MB73). Early Ir. projection of the body pattern on the description of the environment (see also Bal. *ræg/γ* 'vein, tendon')?

176. *rān* 'thigh' (Oss. *ron/ronæ* 'belt', 2.419), OIr. **rāna-* 'loins, kidneys [pojasnica], thigh'; OIr. **rāna-* < **srān-?* — *ran*; GL221.

177. *randag* 'to comb', (EHBal.) *radag* 'to tear up the ground' (Dig. *randun* 'to iron', Iron *rændæn* 'iron' 2.375), OIr. **ra(n)d-* 'to scrape, smoothe' — *rændæg*; GE312.

178. *rang* 'colour' (Oss. *rondz/rædzæ* 'ichor [sukrovica]', 'blood mixed with pus', 2.420-21), OIr. **ranjya-* < **rangya-* < **ranga-*; Dig. *rædzæ* < OIr. **raj-*

- *rəng*; GL216. Note that Bal. *raj-* ‘to tan (skins)’ represents the same OIr. base **raj-* as in Dig.; the sem. change ‘(red) colour’ → ‘blood’ is widely attested in Ir. and IA (Rossi i.p.). Notwithstanding Abaev 2.421-22, poss. add Oss. *rong* ‘honeyed drink’.
179. *rāst* ‘right’ (Oss. *rast*, 2.351), OIr. **rāšta-*, cf. *rāz-* ‘to direct’ — *rast*; GL222.
180. *rēčag* ‘to pour’ (Oss. *līdzyn/ledzun* ‘to flee’, 2.45), OIr. **raič-* ‘to leave’ — *rēčag*; GE316. Note that the intrans. form is always *nč-* (EHBal. *nč-*, *nš-*).
181. *rēm* ‘pus’ (Oss. *lyjyn/lijun* ‘*caicare*’, 2.54), OIr. **ri-* ‘to flow’ — *rem*; GL224. Oss. *lyjyn/lijun* is to compare with Bal. *ryəy* ‘*caicare*’ GE315.
182. *rēp-* ‘to deceive’ (Oss. *fəlvyn/fəlevun* id., 1.438), OIr. **pati-raip-* — *rep-*. Forms *b-rep-* seem everywhere subjunctive from *rep-*; a side-form *brep-* to *rēp-* (as *bres-* to *res-*) is unattested. Abaev’s *brep-* poss. originates from a subordinate clause in Zarubin’s texts. The EHBal. corresponding form is *ref-* (Mayer, Dames); so there is no more reason to reconstruct an unattested form **refəy* (as in MB72).
183. *rēš* ‘wound’ (Iron *rīs* ‘pain’, 2.411), OIr. **raiša-* — *rēš-*; GL225.
184. *rīš, rīšag* ‘beard’ (Oss. *rīxi/rexæ* Dig. ‘whiskers’, Iron ‘beard’, 2.416-17), OIr. **raiša-* mostly ‘beard’ < OIr. **xraiša-*, IE **kreiso-* (cf. Lat. *crīnis*) or IE **reis-* ‘to scratch’ — *rīš, rīšag*; GL223.
185. *rōč* ‘day’ (Oss. *rūdzyng/rodzingæ* 1. ‘window’; 2. ‘sacred bread’, 2.430), OIr. **raučana-*, Oss. < OIr. **raučan(a)ka-*, cf. **rauča-* ‘light’ — *roč*; GE324. For the meaning ‘sacred bread’ cf. Bal. *rozi* ‘daily bread’; wide diffusion ← Phl. *rōzīg* / NPrs. *ruzi*: Arm. *ročik* (← Ir.), Ar. *rizq* (Mashkour 1978.289), etc., Hübschmann 1895 (no. 629), and *Saka* 24; 365.

186. *rōpag* ‘to sweep’ (Oss. *rūvyn/rovun* ‘to hoe’, 2.434-35), OIr. **raup-/rup-*
— *ropæg*; GE329.
187. *rōpask* ‘fox’ (Oss. *rūvas/robās*, 2.433-34), OIr. **raupasa-*
— *ropask*; GE323. “Acc. to D[ames] *rōpask* is an unusual word” (MB75), but it frequently occurs in EHBal. texts; elsewhere commonly *roba(h)* (← NPrs.). For °*sk* cf. Rossi 1977 Ba54.
188. *rōt*, (EHBal.) *rōθ*, (RaBal.) *rōtink* ‘intestine’ (Oss. *rūd/rod* ‘large intestine; sausage’, 2.428), OIr. **rauta-*
— *rot*, *roθ*, *rotink*; GE331. Bal. variants in EL136, *Glossary*; commonly °*ink*, not °*ink* as Abaev (from VMB 68, or MB77 *rotink* [Morgenstierne’s Makrani informant]; Zarubin 1948 has °*ink* everywhere instead of °*ink* as in his former writings), cf. Rossi 1971.402. Mancini hypothesizes for OIr. **rauta-* an orig. sem. ‘bowels, strings’. Add Bal. *ræg-o-rotæg* ‘muscles’ (Noshke, IUO Archives).
189. *sad* ‘100’ (Oss. *sædæ*, 3.53), OIr. **satam*, Bal. — NPrs.
— *sæd*.
190. *sayan* ‘dung’ (Oss. *dzæk’æn*, *zæk’æn* ‘dried dung’, 1.392), OIr. **sakan-*
— *səyən* EHBal. form, elsewhere *səgən*. *Glossary* adds reference to Khot. *satanä* id., *Saka* 418 (and Ir. cognates there).
191. *sāig*, *siāig* ‘shadow’ (Oss. *sajyn/sajun* ‘to deceive, draw’, 3.24), OIr. **sāy-*
— *saig*, *syag*; GE340. *sa(h)i/ig* everywhere, *sahig* ‘? mat of piš’ (recte: ‘shadow’), derives in *Glossary* from a wrong translation of the passage quoted therein. Notice that *syā*° (“*siā*°”) besides *sa*° is typically MwBal. (also in unpubl. texts recorded by A. L. Grjunberg, IUO Archives). The wrong meaning ‘shadowy’ in Abaev originates from VMB, and is unattested in Zarubin’s texts. Note Morgenstierne’s comment: “possibly borrowed from Prs., Br. *sēxā* (JR.) < **sēkā* representing the genuine Bal. form” (MB79).
192. *sāl*³¹ ‘year’ (Oss. *særd/særdæ* ‘summer’, 3.80), OIr. **sard-*, *sarad-*

- *sal*; GL235. Cf. *Glossary*; *salæg* quoted there is mostly used in numerative compounds denoting age. Oss. sem. also in Phalura *beris* ‘year; summer’ (Fussman 1972.64) and Ashkun *soro* ‘autumn’ (Morgenstierne 1973.336).
193. *sāng* ‘reason, intention’ (Oss. *æfson* ‘reason’, 1.484), OIr. **spāna-*
— *sang*; GL236. Bal. *sang* ‘reason’ prob. ← IA (cf. Si. *sānga* id.), not ← NPrs. *sān* as GL236 (and Abaev).
194. *sar* ‘head’ (Oss. *sær*, also prep. 3.75), OIr. **sarah-* ‘head’, ‘horn’ (3.180)
— *sær*; GE334. Cf. MB83, *Glossary* for Bal. variants.
195. *sarpadi* ‘understanding (adj.)’ (Oss. *særfad* ‘good arrangement’, 3.82), Oss. *sær* + *fad*
— *særpadi*, Bal. also *særpəd* and *særpənd*, EHBal. *sʊrphəd*, *sʊrfət* (Mayer, Dames, Gilbertson), Br. *sarpand*, cf. Rossi A333; *Glossary*. A composition with *pənd* ‘advice’ is not excluded in Bal. (which may have for ‘understanding’ a different formation than NPrs. *sarāpā*).
196. *sār*,³² *sard* ‘cold’ (Oss. *sælyn/sælnun*, past *sald* ‘to freeze’, 3.64), OIr. **sar-*
— *sart*, *sərd*; GE336; cf. *GnPE* 731, *Glossary*.
197. *say* ‘3’ (Oss. *ærtæ*, 2.425), OIr. **θraya-*
— *səy*.
198. *sāy-*, *sātak* ‘to shave, shear’ (Oss. *sart* ‘chisel’, 3.36), OIr. **sā-* (also **syā-*?)/**sāta-* ‘to cut’, Oss. with **-θra-*
— *say-*, *satək*; GE341. Bal. forms in *Glossary* 130, 139; consider that *satək* is an adjective from the past part. (‘shorn, of sheep’, EL147).
199. *sēsī* ‘a kind of partridge’ (Oss. *sīs/ses* ‘feather’, 3.114), OIr. **saisu-*, **saisuka-* ‘name of various birds’
— *sesi*. Br. *sēsū* ← Bal. *sesi* (printed with a question mark in Abaev) prob. stems from Gershevitch 1969.182-83; one should now remove the asterisk from the reconstruction of the Bal. form in °*u* following the attestation of Bal. *sesu* in the IUO Archives; cf. also (*Glossary*) Bal. *sesi* ‘small par-

- tridge', *sesu* '(edible) sand grouse'; and Rossi F149. Schapka 506 quotes NPRs. forms with °ak, °u, °ik.
200. (EHBal.) *sīay* 'to swell up' (Oss. *ræsujyn/ræsujun*, 2.381), OIr. **su-/sav-/spī-*, Oss. form. has **fra-* (**fra-su-*) — *sīay*; GE347. EHBal. only, EL150.
201. *sīnag* 'breast' (Oss. *synæg/sinæk*, 3.200), OIr. **sainaka-* — *sīnag*; GE346. Bal. *sen*° or *sin*°, cf. *Glossary*.
202. *sind-*, *sist-* 'to break, split' (Oss. *sæddyn/sæddun*, Oss. *sqis/(æ)sqes* 'a piece', 'chip' etc., 3.54,142), Oss. < **sqist* < **skīsta-* (**skīd-ta-*) 3.142, OIr. **ščand-* (*skand-*) — *sind-*, *sist-*; GE342.
203. *six* 'sandy, barren land'³³ (Oss. *syg'yt/sigit* 'earth', 3.187-88), Indo-Ir. **sika-*, **sikaya-*, **sikata-*, **sikīta-* 'barren land, earth' — *six*; MB87. EHBal. form. According to *Glossary*, Bal. < **sikā-*, ← IA (Tu13386). *six* is only EHBal. acc. to EL148, but in the IUO Archives KeBal. *sik* is now attested.
204. *siyā* 'black' (Oss. *saw*, 3.43), OIr. **syāva-*, Bal. ← NPRs. — *siya*; GE343.
205. *sōgind warag* (Oss. *ard* [Dig. also *art*] *xæryn* 'to take (lit. eat) an oath', 1.60-62), Ir. — *sogind wæræg*; GE359. Abaev quotes locutions with 'eat' from oath-contexts in NPRs., Bal., Kurd., Sogd.; cf. now Schwartz where the name is explained as an *-*anta-* der. from an OIr. base **sauka-* 'to declare', and the vb. is der. from an OIr. base **hwar-* 'to swear' homophonous with **hwar-* 'to take' (compare Oss. *ard xæryn* with Phl. *zūr xwardan* 'to swear falsely').
206. *srēn* 'thigh; loins, waist' (Oss. *sīn/sujnæ* 'thigh', 3.110-11), OIr. **srauni-* — *sren*; GE338. Cf. EL146, *Glossary*; also Bal. *særen*.
207. *srō*, *srong* 'horn', *surum* 'hoof' (Oss. *sy/siwæ* 'horn', 3.179-81), OIr. **sru(wa)-*, but Oss. *syg/sug* in *dy-syg-on/du-sug-on* 'two-horned' < OIr. **sru-ka-* — *sro*, *srong*, *surum*; GE348. EL145 refers to MB85 (contamination of Av. *srū-* 'horn' and NPRs. *somb* 'hoof') adding

- the foll. comment on *sro* (prob. drawn from Mayer 93): “I have never heard *sro*, but it is not impossible”.
208. *sučag, sočag* ‘to burn’ (Oss. *sūdzyn/sodzun* 1. ‘to burn’; 2. only Iron ‘to be in flame’, 3.166), OIr. **sauk-* (*sauč-*) — *svčag, sočag*; GE349. Bal. *svčag* intrans., *sočag* trans.
209. *sūčin*³⁴ ‘needle’ (Oss. *sūdzin/sodzinæ, su°*, 3.164-65), OIr. **saučina-*, °*aina-*, cf. **sauk-*, **sūk-* ‘to burn’ → ‘to prick’ — *sučin*; GE356. For dialectal variants cf. EL140 and *Glossary*. However, *sučin* is commoner than *sučín, sučen* even in not RaBal. varieties. A CoBal. form *sičen* is possible (cf. Pierce) but in Elfenbein 1983 read *sičən* for *sičen* in the only occurrence (p. 114 § 32), as it is clearly readable in the ms.
210. *suhr, sohr, sōr* ‘red’ also ‘gold’ (Oss. *syrx/surx* ‘red’, 3.208-09, Oss. *syȳzærin/suȳzærinæ* ‘gold’, 3.190), OIr. **suxra-*, cf. **suk-* ‘to burn’, OIr. **suxra-zaranya-* — *svhr, sohr, sor*; GE350. Cf. Bailey 1974 for ‘red’ → ‘gold’ in Ir.
211. *sur-* ‘to move’ (Oss. *sūryn/sorun* ‘to drive out, expel’, 3.171-73 [cf. 1.182]), OIr. **saura-/sur-* — *svr-*. RaBal. *svr-* quoted by Abaev from Rossi (now I314, also Br. *sur-*, Si. *sur-*, Sir. *surr-* id.) most prob. ← IA, cf. Tu13250, 13284, 13497, 13510; Bal. *svr-* also means ‘to make a movement’ (*Glossary*).
212. *šak*³⁵ ‘comb’, *šax* ‘horn’ (Oss. *sagoj/sagojnæ* ‘fork’, 3.17-18), OIr. **sākāna-*, cf. **sākā-* ‘horn’ (3.12-13), Bal. different development. — *šək; šax*; GE445, GL254: the et. are separate (not clear Abaev’s opinion in his statement: “neskol’ko inoe razvitie značenija v bel. *šak* ‘grebešok’, ‘raščeska’ pri (zaimstvovannom iz persidskogo?) *šax* ‘rog’ (Elfenbein 73)”). Bal. *šakk* (for °*kk* see no. 227 below) < OIr. **xša(n)-ka-* in *Glossary*; discussion on *šakk* in Rossi B60. Bal. *šah, šax* ‘horn’ means also ‘branch of tree’.
213. *šalvār* ‘shalvar’ (Oss. *salbar*, 3.26) ← NPrs. *šalvār* — *šəlwar*; GL249.

214. *šanikh*, *šinik* 'kid' (Oss. *sænykk*, 3.71-72), OIr. **sčani-ka* 'young of an animal'
— *šanikh*, *šinik*. Bal. *°ikk*, cf. no. 227 below and *Glossary* s.v. Many Ir. cognates for 'goat' and 'kid' in Bailey 1975.32.
215. *šanzdah* '17' (Oss. *æxsærdæs*, 4.228), OIr. **xšwašdasa-*
— *šanzdah*.
216. *šap*, (EHBal.) *šaf* 'night' (Oss. *æxsæv/æxsævæ*, 4.231), OIr. **xšap-* or **xšapan*
— *šəp*, *šəf*; GE362.
217. *šarm* 'shame' (Oss. *æfsærm*, *æfsarm*, 1.482), OIr. **fšarma-*
— *šərm*; GL253.
218. *šaš* '6' (Oss. *æxsæz*, 4.233), OIr. **xš(w)aš-*, *xšaš-*
— *šəš*.
219. *šinz* 'name of a bush' (Oss. *syndz/sindzæ* 'thorn', 3.201-02), OIr. **spin-ti-*, IE **spei-/spi-* 'sharp'
— *šinz*. From Mayer and Dames; communicated to Abaev by the present writer (now Rossi E169).
220. *šud*, (EHBal.) *šud* 'hunger', *šudig*³⁶ 'hungry' (Oss. *syd/sudæ* 'hunger', 3.182), OIr. **šuda-*
— *šud*, *šud*; GE371. Bal. *šudəg* 'hunger' is also common; dial. forms in EL152, *Glossary*.
221. *šumā*, *šmā*, (EHBal.) *šawā* 'you' (Oss. *s(y)max/sumax*, 3.129), OIr. **yušmākam* or **xšmākam* or **xšmāxam* or **šmākam*
— *šuma*, *šma*, *šəwa*; GE365.
222. *šutān* 'I went' (Oss. *cæwyn/cæwun* 'to go', 1.307-08), OIr. **cyav-* (1.318)
— *šutan*; GE322. The vb. form is morphologically EHBal., elsewhere -*un*. Cf. remarks in EL154.
223. *təčəg*, *tačəg* 'to run', *tāčəg* 'to cause to run' (Oss. *tædzyn/tædzun* 'to flow', *tadzyn* 'to drip' (< caus. OIr. **tāčaya-*), 3.245), OIr. **tač-*, *tak-*
— *təčəg*, *tačəg*, GE374; cf. *Glossary*.
224. *tafay* 'to get hot' (Oss. *tavyn/tavun* 'to warm', 3.236-37), OIr. **tāpaya-*, caus. to **tap-*

- *təfəy*, GE379; EHBal. form, elsewhere *təpəg*. EHBal. *təfəy* is extracted from GE379, where only the intrans. forms with *tə°*, and not the trans. ones with *ta°*, are quoted; cf. *Glossary*.
225. *tajēnag*, *tajk kan-* ‘to stretch out’ (Oss. ¹*tyndzyn/itindzun* ‘to spread’, 3.337-38), OIr. **vi-θ/tanj-*, **tanj-*, **θanj-*, **tang-* ‘to pull, stretch, drag’ (3.340)
— *tajenəg*, *tajk kən-*; GE375. Cf. also Bal. *tunčəg* ‘to spread out (a rug)’, *Glossary*.
226. *tammak* ‘tabak’ (Oss. *tamako*, 3.227-28)
— *təmmək*; GL265.
227. *tanak*, °*akk* ‘thin’ (Oss. *tæn(əg)*, 3.263), OIr. **tanu-*
— *tənək*, °*akk*; GE377. The Bal. quotation with °*akk* in Abaev originates from Zarubin 1932.87 (the word is missing in *VMB*, but cf. “*tanakk*” in *Glossary*), where Zarubin’s phonetic transcription rightly represents the (phonemic) doubling in RaBal. final -*əkk* (and -*ikk*, on which cf. Barker-Mengal 1.liv-lv; Barker-Mengal always write °*əkk* as contrasted with °*ak*).
228. *tarag* ‘to turn over’ (Oss. *tærɣn/tærɣn* ‘to drive out, expel’, 3.278-80), OIr. **tar-*, *tarw-* ‘to cross over’ (med.), to let turn over’ (caus.)
— *tərəg*; GE381.
229. *tārɣnk* ‘dark’ (Oss. *tar*, Dig. also *tarug*, 3.229-31), Indo-Ir. **tamsra-*
— *tarɣnk*, GL269; but forms in °*ɣnk* are only in MwBal. (Zarubin 1932.150, 154, not in *VMB*). EL164 quotes Bal. *ter*, *terəg* ‘dark, darkness’ (GL274 ← NPrs. *tire*, but prob. < OIr. **tan-θrya-* acc. to *Saka* 124 and 126) commenting on Khot. *ttārū-ṇa-* ‘reddish’, *ttāra-* ‘dark’. On account of its °*ɣnk*, it would be better to compare with Bal. *tarɣnk* also Oss. *talyng* ‘dark, darkness’ (3.226-27), acc. to Abaev inner-Oss. derivation to *tar*, but poss. OIr. formation with *°*anaka-*. Only Bal. and Oss. appear to have °*ɣnk*-derivatives with *tār-*. The nasalization in Bal. however may be recent, in view of the widespread Bal. alternation °*ik*/°*i*/*ɣnk*, cf. *nəzik/nəzɣnk*, *tarik/tarɣnk*).

230. *tau* 'you' (Oss. *dæw* 'you (obl.)', 1.361), OIr. **tava-*
— *təw*.
231. *tēγ* 'sharp' (Oss. *tīγ/teγæ* 'ridge', 3.291-92), OIr. *(*s*)*taiga-*
— *teγ*; GE389; EHBal. form, elsewhere *teg*. Bal. *teg* mainly
means 'sword', 'blade', 'edge'.
232. *tēlay* 'eyeball' (Oss. *tītykky* 'half-precious stone [samocvet]
tītykk' (< **taitaka-*), 3.296), OIr. **tī-/tai-*, var. of **dī/dai-* 'to
watch'
— *teləγ*, EHBal. form; elsewhere *teləg*, also *ʔeləg*. For a differ-
ent analysis cf. Filippone 1995.28 (and *passim*, for an overall
discussion of the comparative Ir. material quoted by Abaev).
233. *tursag*, *trusag* 'to fear' (Oss. *tærsyn/tærsun*, 3.274), OIr. **tars-*,
**θrah-*
— *tursəg*, *trusəg*; GE394. Acc. to *Glossary trussəg* is the com-
mon form, and *turs-* is only RaBal. However, *turs-* is repre-
sented everywhere, *trus-* is RaBal. (mainly MwBal.).
234. *tus* 'flatus', *tusag* 'to be extinguished, deserted' (Iron *tyssəg*
'scanty, void', 3.343), OIr. **tušyaka-* 'void', cf. OIr. **tus-*
(**tuš-*) 'to be void'
— *tus*, *tusəg*; GE397; MwBal. "*tus*" (*tus*) quoted by Abaev
appears many times in Sokolova 65 including lines 8 and 13
quoted by Abaev, but not in line 14 as quoted in *VMB*. Note
that Br. *tussī* (prob. — Bal. *tusi*, cf. Rossi E185) does not
mean 'void' as indicated by Abaev, but 'coward, cowardly'
(Morgenstierne 1946-48.277 fn. 10).
235. *ʔap* 'mark, spot' (Oss. ¹*təpp* 1. 'spot'; 2. 'pinch', 3.265), ideo-
phone
— *ʔap*. Abaev quotes Zarubin 1932.114 (*säil a-kant tā bi mnī*
demā ʔape ast, molidānā guštū ki š^amā albat mnī demā čukki-
tag it 'she saw that there was a mark on her face. She said to
her servants: "you may have kissed my face"'), where *ʔapp*
clearly means 'mark'. *VMB* (where the above passage is not
given) rightly translates 'wound', which is the common
meaning of Bal. *ʔapp* in the Marw texts and everywhere; the
reference to Morgenstierne 1946-48 included in *Glossary* s.v.
is wrong. Cf. also Bal. *ʔapp-* 'to beat', *ʔap* 'blow' (with a query

- in *Glossary*, but sure); prob. both < OIr. **tap-* 1. 'to be flat'; 2. 'to strike', Bailey 1963.83-89.
236. *ustag* 'to stand up', *uštāg*, *oštāg* 'stand'; *ustat* 'he rose' (Oss. *styn/istun* 1. 'to stand' [Dig.]; 2. 'to stand up', 3.158), OIr. **stā-*, **sta-*, **hi-štā-*, cf. Oss. *stajyn* 3.144
 — *ustāg*, *uštāg*, *oštāg*, *ustāt*; GE402. The common form in all dial. is *oštāg*, *Glossary*; *ustāg* is typically MwBal.
237. *vād* 'salt' (← 'seasoning') (Oss. *axodyn* 'to taste', 1.90), OIr. **ā-hvād-*, cf. **hvad-* 'to taste'
 — *wad*; GE411.
238. *wāδ-mīrī* 'by natural death' (Oss. *xædmæl* 'dead by natural death', 4.157), Ir.
 — *wæðmiri*; GE225. EHBal. form; perhaps *wæðmir* with *°ir* (cf. EL165 remarks on the EHBal. idiom: "the -*δ* in this EHB word is merely a sandhi form of -*θ*"). The Western form *wætmir* (with asterisk in EL165) is now rec. in *Anthology* (p. 192 § 8) and in the IUO Archives, mostly in poetry.
239. *wal* 'worm' (Iron *wallon* 'rain worm', Dig. *zolkæ* 4.47)
 — *wəl*. Note Bal. *wəl* 1. 'creeper'; 2. 'curved, twisted' (*Glossary*). Notwithstanding Abaev's possibilist remark: "V bel. *wal* 'červ', esli ono svjazano s **wār-* 'dožd', nuždaetsja v ob"jasnenii", any conn. between Bal. *wəl* and OIr. **wār-* 'rain' is to be firmly rejected. Cf. instead Bal. *wəll* 'creeper; curved', *wəll-* 'to twist' (*Glossary*), Br. *wal* 'curving, twisting; creeper' (Rossi I367), AfgPrs. *wāla* 'turban folding', Psht. *wal* 'twisting' (Monchi-Zadeh 209b), etc., IA Tu11405 *valati* 'he turns', 11429 *valli-* 'creeper', 11412 *vali/i-* 'fold of skin', and the remark by Turner s.v. VAL on p. 665: "VAL 'turn, cover'. [Forms with the meaning 'surround, wrap, clothe' in NIA. may ... be *l-* forms of VARATE ... But the sense of 'wrapping, putting on clothes' may also well derive from the wrapping or twisting of, e. g., the dhoti or the turban]".
240. *wān-* 'to recite, read, study'³⁷ (Oss. *xoryn/xonun* 'to call', 4.214-15), OIr. **hwan-* 'to utter sounds'
 — *wan-*; GE412.

241. *vapsag*, (EHBal.) *vafsay* 'to sleep' (Oss. *xwyssyn/xussun*, 4.272), OIr. **huf-s-*
 — *wapsæg*, *wəfsəy*; GE403. *wapsæg* is mainly LaBal. and CoBal.; commonly *wəspæg*, *Glossary*.
242. *warag* 'to eat' (Oss. *¹xæryn/xærun*, 4.183), OIr. **hwar-*
 (**xwar-*)
 — *wəræg*; GE404.
243. *wārixor* 'omnivorous' (Oss. *-xor/-xwar* 'eating', cf. 'to eat' 4.216), OIr. **hwar-*
 — *warixor*.
244. *vat* 'self-' (Oss. *xæd-/xwæd-*, 4.154), OIr. **hwa-ta-*
 — *wət*; GE408.
245. *zah* 'he-goat' (Oss. *sæy/sæyæ*, 3.58-59), OIr. < IE **skogo-*
 — *zəh*; GL295.
246. *zamik* 'fields, ground' (Oss. *zæxx/zænxæ*, 4.307), < **zam-xa-*
 (*-ka-*) < OIr. **zam-*
 — *zəmik*; GE415. The Bal. word is rare, prob. only CoBal. (Marston, Pierce).
247. *zān*³⁸ 'knee', *am-zān* 'knee to knee' (Oss. *zonyg/zonyg*, 4.314-15), OIr. **zānuka-*
 — *zan*, *əmzan*; GE421, cf. *Glossary* (but *zān* is 'thigh' even in RaBal.)
248. *zānag* 'to know' (Oss. *zonym/zonun*, 4.315), OIr. **zan-*
 — *zanæg*; GE422. Note remarks in EL173.
249. *zānk* 'bringing forth (of animals)³⁹' (Oss. *zænæg* 'children (sons and daughters)', 4.296-97), OIr. **zanaka-*, cf. **zan-* 'to generate'
 — *zank*. Cf. *Glossary*: 1. 'lambing season, foaling'; 2. 'camel 4 to 5 y. old'; also *VMB* 'foaling'. In contrast with MwBal. *za°*, note, with *zə°*, Br. *zank* 'lambing' and Bal. *zənk* in Aṭa 123, Miṭha-Surat *zənk*, *zəkk*, all meaning 'bringing forth'; cf. Rossi A404.
250. *zarāy*⁴⁰ 'leech' (Oss. *zūlk'/zolk'æ* 'worm', 4.316), OIr. **zaluka-*

- *zərag*; GE417. EHBal. form, elsewhere *zərag*, *zurag*. On conn. between the Ir. and the IA name for ‘leech’ cf. *EWA* 1.576-77.
251. *zāyag* ‘to give birth’ (Oss. ¹*zajyn/zajun*, 4.284), OIr. **zā-* ‘to generate’
— *zayæg*; GE423. *zay-* is mostly RaBal., cf. EL176 and *Glossary* for further alternants (read ‘to give birth’ for ‘to be born’ in *Glossary* and EL176).
252. *zī*, *zīk* ‘yesterday’ (Oss. *znon/æzinæ*, 4.313-14), Oss. < OIr. **zi-na-* ‘yesterday’
— *zi*, *zik*; GE427. RaBal. *zi*, Ke/CoBal. *zikk*; cf. Elfenbein 1991 § 2.
253. *zird*⁴¹ ‘heart’ (Oss. *zærdæ*, 4.300-01), OIr. **zrdaya-*
— *zird*; GE426. Bal. *zird* only in poetry; commonly *dil*. Note Bal. “*zirdē*” err. for *zird* in *Saka* (corrected in EL175).
254. *zūrag* ‘to take up, away’ (Oss. *ævzaryn/ævzarun* ‘to choose’, 1.209-10), OIr. **abi-jar-* id., or Oss. < **uz-var-*, OIr. **var-* ‘to choose’
— *zuræg*; GE429. Cf. *Glossary*, but consider that *zir-* is represented in EHBal. and CoBal., and *zur-* elsewhere. This Bal. word is the only one missing in the Bal. section of the *Ukazatel’* (5.188-92).
255. *zūt* ‘quick’ (Oss. *zyd/zud* ‘greedy’, 4.317-18), OIr. **zūta-*, cf. **zū-* ‘to hasten’
— *zut*; GE430. Consider that the CoBal. and EHBal. form is *zit*, which in poetry is occasionally found in other varieties.

Notes

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1. Bal. misprinted *arī* in Abaev.
2. Not ‘storona’ as err. in Abaev.
3. Not “ruka’ (?)” as in Abaev.

4. Not 'pčela' as err. in Abaev, indubitably occasioned by the erroneous translation in *EVP* 23: "Bal. *bēnay* 'honey, bee'" ('bee' for 'beehive' by a mere misprint? Note that in *EVP* 87 the Bal. word is translated again 'bee', while MB12 has correctly 'honey').

5. Bal. misprinted °*šk* in Abaev.

6. Monchi-Zadeh 66 also quotes "bal. *bēnag* 'Biene'" from *EVP* 87, both authors erroneously having 'bee' for 'honey'.

7. Bal. misprinted °*an* in Abaev.

8. Bal. <o> and <ō> as transcribed by Zarubin are not in opposition by phonemic contrasts, and are therefore systematically transcribed in *VMB* as <o> (cf. *doši* in *VMB* 33).

9. Not 'tail' as in Abaev (following *GnPE*), see below.

10. EL8 corrects in the same way the Bal. form (from Mockler) quoted in *Saka* 404.

11. Not 'reed [trostnik, kamyš]' as in Abaev, see below.

12. Bal. misprinted °*an* in Zarubin (already noted in MB *Addenda* ad 28), and from Zarubin passed to *VMB* 35 and Abaev.

13. Bal. misprinted °*am* in Abaev.

14. Not 'voice' as err. translated in *VMB* and then in Abaev, see below.

15. Already Monchi-Zadeh 269: "P. *jul(l)* [...] Arab. *jull, jall* (nach Fraenkel 103 wahrscheinlich ein Fremdwort im Arab. [...], tu. *čul*", and fn. 111 on p. 91: "Einen Zusammenhang zwischen *jul(l)* und *jōlaq/x* (arab. *jaulaq*, Pl. *jawāliq*) 'woolen cloth [...]', ST, talmud. *GW²LQ* 'Reisesack', de Lagarde, Gesam. Abhl. 26 (vgl. auch *jūlāh(a)* 'Weber' ..., kann man natürlich nicht ausschliessen. de Lag., ebd. setzt p. **gōlah* (> *jōlaq*) voraus, allerdings mit der Bemerkung "... das ich freilich nicht nachweisen kann". Doch sind p. *gāla* (dial. *guāl(ā)*) = *juvāl*, *FrB* unter *gāla* und Anm., nicht sehr davon entfernt".

16. Not 1967 as err. quoted in Abaev.

17. Bal. misprinted °*ag* in Abaev.

18. Bal. misprinted °*aw* in Abaev.

19. Bal. misprinted *hik* in Abaev.

20. Cf. EL12.

21. Bal. meaning not gen. 'to set in motion [dvigat'sja]' but 'to move slowly' Ahmedzai, 'gait (horse)' EL79, etc.

22. Not *kāšib*, never attested and therefore to be considered as misprint in Abaev.

23. More properly than 'mest', otmšćenie'.

24. *loli* in Abaev's text, but see below.

25. Not *nāray* as err. quoted in Abaev from *VMB* 60 (with a wrong analysis of "*nāraye*" in "*jaī nāraye*" 'he uttered a roar' [Zarubin 1932.71 l. 16], recte: *nāra* + *y* + *e*, the same construction as "*jāgāye*" in "*yak jāgāye āī*" 'he went to a place' [Zarubin 1948.52 l. 7]).

26. Not 'to aim at' as err. translated in *Corrections* 209.
27. Bal. misprinted with final °a in Abaev.
28. Not 'on the back [verxom]' as Abaev (after *VMB* 65), but 'on a saddle' (EL123, *Glossary*).
29. Not *paydā* (which means 'manifest') as in Abaev; emend there also Kurd. *paida* 'manifest' into *fāyde* (Hazhar), *feide* (Farizov) 'profit'.
30. Abaev's *rāy*, otherwise unattested, is prob. a misprint.
31. Bal. misprinted °al in Abaev (the same applies to Kurd. and Psht. forms quoted there).
32. Bal. misprinted *sa*° in Abaev (note "sārt" = *sart*, but "sard" = *sərd*).
33. Bal. meaning not 'sand [pesok]', which is *rek* in Bal., but 'sandy waste'.
34. Bal. misprinted *su*° in Abaev.
35. Bal. misprinted *sā*° in Abaev.
36. Bal. misprinted °ig in Abaev.
37. Abaev introduces a general gloss 'to speak [govorit']' at the end of a long series of related Ir. words.
38. Bal. misprinted *za*° in Abaev.
39. Not 'young of animals [detenyš o životnyx]' as in the err. translation made by Abaev of Zarubin 1932.173 "eši asp bi zānkā būt" 'his mare was close to delivery [kobyła stala žereboj]' in 4.297.
40. Bal. misprinted *ža*° in Abaev.
41. Not *zirdē* as err. quoted in Abaev, originating from GE426 and Dames 1881.82.

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Abbreviations

AfgPrs.	Persian of Afghanistan	Ghw.	Gahwarai (Mann-Hadank 1930)
Aft.	Aftari (Homāyun)	Gil.	Gilaki (Sartippur)
Ar-Prs.	Arabo-Persian	Gur.	Gurani (Mann-Hadank 1930)
Ar.	Arabic	IA	Indo-Aryan
Aram.	Aramaic	IE	Indo-European
Ark.	Araki (Mahtāt)	Indo-Ir.	Indo-Iranian
Arm.	Armenian	Ir.	Iranian
Av.	Avestan	IrBal.	Balochi of Iran
Awr.	Awromani	Ishk.	Ishkashmi
Bal.	Balochi	Knd.	Kandulai (Mann-Hadank 1930)
Bast.	Bastaki (Bastaki)	Kav.	dial. of Kavir: Ārāni-Bidgoli (Alijānzāde)
Baxt.	Baxtiari (Khasravi)	KeBal.	Kechi Balochi
Birj.	Birjandi (Rezayi)	Ker.	Keringani (Zokā)
Biz.	Bizovoi (Mazra ^c ati-Mazra ^c ati)	Kerm.	Kermani (Purhoseini)
Br.	Brāhūi	Kermsh.	Kermanshahi (Dervīšiyān)
BSogd.	Buddhist Sogdian	Khalkh.	Khalkhali
Cauc.	Caucasian	Khor.	Khorasani (Šālči)
CoBal.	Costal Balochi	Khot.	Khotanese
Dam.	Dameli	Khuns.	Khunsari (Eilers 1976)
Demaw.	Demawandi (Timuri Far)	Khur.	Khuri (Farahvaši)
Dig.	Digoron	Khwar.	Khwarezmian
Dzadr.	Dzadrani (Septfonds)	Kurd.	Kurdish
EHBal.	Eastern Hill Balochi	Kurm.	Kurmanji
Esfah.	Esfahani (Kalbāssi 1991)	LaBal.	Lashari Balochi
Far.	Faramarzi (Faramārzi)	Lak.	Lakki (Izādpanāh n.d.)
Gavk.	Gavkoshaki (Musavi)	Lar.	Larestani (Eqtedāri)
Gz.	Gazi (Eilers 1979)	Lasg.	Lasgerdi (Sotude 1963)
Georg.	Georgian		

Lat.	Latin	Sem.	Semitic
Lor.	Lori (Izādpānāh 1984)	Semn.	Semnani (Sotude 1963)
Mahb.	Kurdish of Mahābād (Kalbāssi 1983)	Sgl.	Sanglechi (<i>IIFL</i> 2)
Mar.	Marathi	Shgh.	Shughni
MMPrs.	Manichaeen Middle Persian	Shir.	Shirazi (Behruzi)
Mnj.	Munji (<i>IIFL</i> 2)	Shusht.	Shustari (Nirumand)
MPrs.	Middle Persian	Si.	Sindhi (Parmanand Mewaram)
MwBal.	Marw Balochi	Sir.	Siraiki (Jukes)
Nai.	Naini (Sotude 1986)	Sist.	Sistani (Afšār)
Nat.	Natanzi	Siv.	Sivandi
Nep.	Nepali	Skt.	Sanskrit
NPrs.	New Persian (Stein- gass)	Sogd.	Sogdian
NWIr.	North-Western Iranian	Sorx.	Sorxei (Sotude 1963)
OIr.	Old Iranian	SWIr.	South-West Iranian
OPrs.	Old Persian	Syr.	Syriac
Orm.	Ormuri (<i>IIFL</i> 1)	Taj.	Tajik (Rastorgueva)
Oss.	Ossetian	Tal.	Taleshi (Abdoli)
Pam.	Pamiri	Tat.	Tati (Abdoli)
Panj.	Panjabi	Tur.	Turkish
Par.	Parachi (<i>IIFL</i> 1)	Turkm.	Turkmenian
Parsi-Skt.	Parsi Sanskrit	Ur.	Urdu (Platts)
Pash.	Pashai	Ved.	Vedic
Phl.	Pahlavi	Wa.	Wakhi (<i>IIFL</i> 2)
Prth.	Parthian	Wan.	Wanetsi (Elfenbein 1967)
Psht.	Pashto (Aslanov)	Waz.	Waziri
Qai.	Qaini (Zomorrodian)	WIr.	West Iranian
RaBal.	Rakhshani Balochi	Yaghn.	Yaghnobi (Andreev- Peščereva)
Raj.	Raji of Delijan (Safari)*	Yd.	Yidgha (<i>IIFL</i> 2)
Rav.	Ravari (Rāvāri)	Yzd.	Yazdi (Mazdāpur)
Rosh.	Roshani	Yzg.	Yazgulami
Rus.	Russian	Zaz.	Zaza (Mann-Hadank 1932)
SaBal.	Sarawani Balochi	Zor. Kerm.	Zoroastrian Kermani (Sorušiyān 1978)
Sar.	Sarikoli		
Sarv.	Sarvestani (Homāyuni)		

