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PREFAZIONE

Il presente libro si configura come una raccolta di saggi di linguistica e filologia iranica, sette in tutto, seguiti da una bibliografia generale, fortemente interconnessi per contenuti e interessi, seppure indipendenti nella loro struttura. È stato progettato dai tre autori, Sara Belelli, Matteo De Chiara e me stessa, come uno spazio di riflessione comune e di collaborazione scientifica nel quale far confluire i risultati di alcune ricerche su cui ognuno di noi sta lavorando indipendentemente, ma che sono stati discussi nei dettagli secondo un'ottica di lavoro di gruppo.

A parte la differenza di età e quindi anche di esperienza accademica che separa noi tre autori, Sara Belelli, Matteo De Chiara ed io condividiamo molti aspetti del nostro percorso formativo. In particolare abbiamo in comune la stessa scuola dottorale presso l'Università di Napoli L'Orientale, sotto la guida di Adriano Rossi, ma anche esperienze di *fieldwork*, per quanto in aree linguistiche diverse (baloci, pashto e kurdo), e un insieme di interessi che trovano riscontro nelle nostre attività di ricerca e pubblicazione. Tra queste, multilinguismo, linguistica areale e fenomeni di contatto linguistico e culturale; cambiamento linguistico come effetto di processi cognitivi; grammaticalizzazione; attenzione alla prospettiva diacronica, da affiancare a quella sincronica; lessicologia e lessicografia; etimologia; sistemi di scrittura e politiche linguistiche; favolistica e letteratura orale. Tutti questi interessi sono presenti in varia forma nei sette capitoli che compongono il presente volume.

La maggior parte dei contributi qui raccolti sono da intendere come lavori preliminari per il Progetto PRIN 2020PLEBK4 *Interazioni culturali e contatti linguistici: lingue iraniche e non iraniche a contatto dall'antichità ad oggi*, da me diretto presso l'Università della Tuscia (2022-2025).

L'obiettivo generale del Progetto è quello di studiare relazioni passate e presenti tra lingue e gruppi umani, fenomeni di contatto e cambiamenti linguistici in alcune aree iranofone, e a questo fine è stata selezionata una gamma di situazioni diverse, tra cui la collocazione geolinguistica del laki "al crocevia" tra kurdo e lori e lo studio della terminologia marinairesca del Golfo persico e dell'Oceano indiano. A queste due linee si riportano i capitoli due e tre (a firma di Sara Belelli), mentre i capitoli uno e sette (a firma di Ela Filippone) presentano numerosi contesti di contatto, linguistico e culturale.

L'interesse comune verso lo studio dei repertori lessicali delle varie lingue è qui rappresentato dai capitoli tre e quattro (a firma rispettivamente di Sara Belelli e Matteo De Chiara); l'attenzione che da anni viene posta dai tre autori allo studio della lingua baloci si concretizza qui nei capitoli tre e sette (a firma, rispettivamente, di Sara Belelli e Ela Filippone). Tutti e tre gli autori, infatti, partecipano da anni al Progetto *Dizionario etimologico-comparativo della lingua baloci*, basato presso l'Università di Napoli L'Orientale, l'Università della Tuscia di Viterbo e l'ISMEO (Roma), ed hanno contribuito nel tempo alla formazione del relativo Archivio, sia lessicale che testuale, a cui si fa più volte riferimento nel corso del volume.

La scelta bilingue con alcuni capitoli in italiano ed altri in inglese è una scelta deliberata, giustificata dal pubblico degli studiosi cui le diverse linee di ricerca sono principalmente rivolte. In particolare, i capitoli quattro e cinque (a firma di Matteo De Chiara) sono preliminari alla pubblicazione di un dizionario pashto-italiano, cui l'autore lavora da tempo, in corso di preparazione presso l'INALCO (Parigi) e l'ISMEO. In italiano è anche il capitolo sei (a firma di Sara Belelli), parte di un progetto italo-kurdo che mira ad una maggiore conoscenza della cultura kurda in Italia.

ELA FILIPPONE

1

**Along the Path of a Grammaticalization Process:
Prs. *šib* and *nešib* ‘Slope’ and Their Cognates
in the Iranian Languages**

ELA FILIPPONE

1. Preliminary Remarks

It is a well-known fact that adverbs and adpositions in the Iranian languages are in most cases the result of a grammaticalization process. Terms from specific semantic domains are generally involved in these processes: (human and animal) body part terms, environmental landmark terms and relational object part terms often happen to lose referentiality and, in case, be used with relational, and, in particular, spatial implications. From this perspective, however, the Iranian languages are not an exception: this kind of phenomena pervade human languages.¹ What is remarkable in the Iranian languages is the extent of the phenomena.² I have already treated some of these issues analyzing the description of space in terms of experienced-based schematizations of the speakers' world in Balochi (Filippone 1996), also emphasizing the fuzzy boundaries between Balochi content and function words (Filippone 1996: 67-83).

A grammaticalization process generally develops over time along an axis in which lexical autonomy is gradually lost and functional properties increase. The process can stop at any point of this axis; the loss of autonomy may therefore be only partial. It is thus easy to verify that cognate

¹ For a comprehensive cross-linguistic analysis of the relationship between the way human beings experience space and the way space is encoded grammatically in language see Svorou 1994.

² Reference grammars and descriptive analysis of the single languages generally hint at this peculiarity; a thorough analysis of the phenomenon in Iranian as a whole is lacking.

words in nearby languages have had different developments, both in terms of referential and functional aspect. To illustrate this point, an exemplary case is the lexical set to which Prs. *šib* ‘slope, declivity, etc.’ and its Iranian cognates belong (thereafter *šib*-set), some of which may profile a downward direction and/or indicate location under or below something. The aim of this paper is to analyze the senses and functions that the members of this lexical set have acquired in the different Iranian dialectal areas. Our starting point is Middle Persian from which we can derive the oldest forms of this set.³

2. Middle Persian *šēb* and *nišēb*

The antecedent of Prs. *šib* is Pahlavi *šēb*, glossed as ‘declivity’ in MacKenzie 1986². In fact, ‘declivity’ does not account for all occurrences of this word in the Pahlavi documentation. The situation is similar for *nišēb*, a form derived by prefixation (cf. *ni*- ‘down’), glossed ‘declivity’ and also ‘dejection’ as an astrological term in MacKenzie 1986². In this latter technical sense, *nišēb* is almost always found in collocation with *bālist* ‘exaltation,’ with which it forms a polar opposition.⁴ In fact, occurrences of *nišēb* with a clear reference to a well-defined, actual shape of the earth’s surface (i.e., sloping ground) amount to a couple or a little more. In these cases, *abrāz* ‘acclivity’ is its conceptual opposite; with this word *nišēb* may be associated to form a copulative compound to refer to the overall concept of ‘uneven place.’

(1)	(GrBd 1a.9) <i>az āb zamīg dād gerd ud dūr-widarag ud abē-nišēb an-abrāz</i> (Pakzad 2005: 28)	“He created the earth from the water, round, with far paths, neither depressions nor elevations” ⁵
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³ Abbreviations used: (languages) AfghPrs. = Persian of Afghanistan; (W, S, E) Bal. = (Western, Southern, Eastern) Balochi; Ir. = Iranian; Krd. = Kurdish, MMPrs. = Manichaean Middle Persian, MPrs. = Middle Persian, Phl. = Pahlavi, NPrs. = New Persian, Prs. = Persian, Pšt. = Pašto, Skt. = Sanskrit, Xor. = Xorāsāni.

⁴ Cf. (Gr.) *Bundahišn* 5a.9 (*bālist u nišēb* “exaltation and dejection”), 5b.16-17, 6f.6; *Wizīdagihā-ye Zādspram* 2.22.

⁵ See also GrBd 34.33, where this same condition is said to be expected in the future time of resurrection (*ēn zamīg an-afsār ud a-nišēb ud hāmōn bē bawēd* “This earth will be uncrowned, without depression, flat”).

(2)	(Dk 8.39.20) <i>ka pad abrāz ud nišēb ānōh kū az rāh bē wardēd ud zamīg saxt [...]</i>	“When there is uneven ground there where (it/he) turns out from the road and the ground is hard [...]”
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In most of its occurrences, *nišēb* is used in the metaphorical (abstract) sense of ‘decline,’ and is found in collocation with different types of referents (time, action, soul, fortune, Mazdean religion, etc.), also in this case generally with *abrāz* ‘ascent (in metaphorical sense)’ as its opposed element.

A different usage of *nišēb* is found in the *Dēnkard* 6. There the concern is to explain why “people should make themselves not mountain-tops, but cavities.” The reason given is the following:

(3)	(Dk 6.35b) <i>gabr harw āb ī abar wārēd pad-eš ēstēd ud ān-iz ī pad čagād wārēd nišēb awiš bawēd</i> (Shaked 1979: 204)	“In the cavity all the rain that falls upon it is preserved, and furthermore, that which falls on the mountain top comes down towards it” ⁶
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As pointed out by Shaked (1979: 204 footnote E35b 2), ms B has <šyyp>. It follows that *šēb awiš bawēd* could also be considered as an acceptable phrase and that *šēb* and *nišēb* could be used in such kind of context with the same function, a function that points to the first steps of a grammaticalization path, via a process of *conversion*, i.e., change in word class. In fact, Phl. *šēb/nišēb būdan* seems to be used exactly in the same way as Prs. *sarāzir šodan* ‘to descend, to come down, etc.’ (Najafi 1999).⁷

The sure occurrences of Phl. *šēb* in the sense of ‘declivity’ are even less than those of *nišēb*. I was only able to trace a couple of passages, among which one from the *Andarz ī Anōšag-Ruwān Ādurbād Mahrspandān*, where the focus is on the alternation of fortune in life, with its ups and downs. Here a more abstract ‘decline’ is meant rather than a descending slope in the terrain, similar to what often happens with *nišēb*, and again in association with the opposite concept of ‘ascending’:⁸

⁶ Shaked 1979: 205 translates “[...] that which falls on the mountain top comes to it (by) a slope.” See also *nišēb* glossed ‘slope, depression’ in Shaked 1979: 349 (*Glossary*).

⁷ For the several idioms containing outcomes and cognates of MPrs. *šēb* and *nišēb* corresponding to *šēb/nišēb būdan* see below.

⁸ See also Dd 36.23 *abrāz ud šēb* “the ascending and descending” (Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998: 118-119).

(4)	(AARĀM 149) <i>ud ēč abrāz nēst kē šēb nē az pēš ud ēč šēb nēst kē abrāz nē az pas</i> (“Oryān 1992: 282)	“and there is no ascent that has not been preceded by a descent and no descent that is not followed by an ascent”
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Elsewhere *šēb* rather means ‘flow, stream.’ It evokes the way of moving of a liquid, and the natural tendency of liquids is moving in a stream, always looking for the road that heads down.

Consider the following passage from the *Zand ī fragard ī jud-dēw-dād*, where instructions are given about the pit in the terrain in which hair or nails should be placed after cutting in order to prevent contamination:

(5)	(ZFJ 35.1) <i>u-š hušk ō ī hušk padīš andar hambārišn u-š āb šēb aziš bē gīrišn [...] u-š huškān ī huškīh padīš andar abganišn u-š āb šēb aziš bē kunišn</i>	“and fill it with the driest of dry (things) and the water flow should be kept away from it [...] And throw in it the driest of dry (things), and the water flow should be kept away from it” (Moazami 2021: 290-291) ⁹
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A similar usage is found in a passage from Dk 9, where an insatiate man with a full stomach is compared to a gallows: it is described (Dk 9.13.4) *čiyōn dār-ēw kē šēb ī harw rēmanīh awiš* “just like a gallows towards which every impurity flows.”¹⁰

Flowing water is also evoked in a passage from *Dādestān ī dēnīg* where the property in the inheritance (*xwāstag pad xwāstag-dārīh*) is said to be able to arrive above (*azabar*) and below (*azēr*). And this because inheritance is (Dd 61.2) *čiyōn āb ka pad jōy pad šēb*¹¹ *šawēd* (“just like water when it goes downhill in a stream”),¹² that, however, if its natural course

⁹ In the *Lexicon* of this work (Moazami 2021: 425), however, *šēb* is simply glossed ‘downward.’

¹⁰ I.e., “(there is) the flow of every impurity.” Cf. West 1892: 196 (“just like a gallows to which there is a foundation (šīpō) of every impurity”); Sanjana 1922/2: 25 (“just like a gibbet on which (appears) hanging every impurity”), with a comparison of our *šēb* with Prs. *šasp* ‘leaping, jumping’).

¹¹ Anklesaria 1958: 122 has in fact <*nšyp>, as suggested by Henning (fn. to line 9).

¹² In fact, West’s translation (“just like water when it goes in a stream on a declivity,” 1882: 194 [62.2]), could also fit the context.

is blocked at the bottom by a barrier, is compelled to change the direction of his flowing and never comes back.¹³

Among the rules conditioning the daily life of the Zoroastrians there are those concerning how to urinate. The fundamental principle in preventing the body and ground pollution is not urinating standing. When necessary, one is expected to dig a pit in the ground, recite the appropriate prayer, squat over the pit and release the flow of urine avoiding the shedding of drops. The more general dispositions on this procedure are contained in many Phl. texts; detailed indications on how to perform the action correctly and according to the law are transmitted by (sometimes obscure) passages of the Phl. Vendidad (PVd 18.40-44) and *Zand ī fragard ī jud-dēw-dād* (ZFJ 36.5-9). In this latter text one reads in particular that it should not be considered as a sin if the drops of urine (ZFJ 36.6) *pad šēb frōd šawēd*. Since the reference to the downwards direction is already conveyed by the phrasal verb *frōd šaw-* ‘to go down,’ one could assume that with *pad šēb* a modality of movement is referred instead (flowing in or as if in a stream). Thence one could intend that it is not a sin if urine “goes down in a stream,” avoiding in this way scattering fine drops all around.¹⁴ This is a hypothesis, though.¹⁵

3. Phl. *šēb* and Possible Etymological Links

Seemingly, the different senses that can be attributed to Phl. *šēb* and *nīšēb* in § 2 could be interpreted as semantic extensions developed from the notion of (a special kind of) movement, in most cases movement of liquid, movement downwards along an inclined plane, or uncontrolled and rush movement. This fact would favour the detection of an etymological

¹³ Anklesaria 1958: 122 (and fn. 8) accepts Henning’s suggestion to amend in *pad frāz* an otherwise inexplicable sequence of signs (<PWN pwy’c’>) preceding *abāz šawēd* ‘goes back.’ However, this reading could only be supported if one neglects the senses generally conveyed by Phl. *frāz* (‘forth, forwards,’ with *abāz* ‘back’ as its usual conceptual opposite), and take into account instead those of Prs. *farāz* (‘above; up; summit’). In this very context, due to an (occasional) interference from Persian, *pad šēb* (‘downhill’) would oppose *pad frāz* (‘uphill’). This is a mere hypothesis, that however may find a support from the occurrence of *azabar* and *azēr* in the initial part of the sentence.

¹⁴ Cf. ZFJ 36.6, where the one who *was srešk bē paššinjēd* (‘sprinkles several drops’) when urinating is considered as a sinner.

¹⁵ Cf. Moazami 2021: 305 (‘If urine is running downward’).

link between Phl. *šēb* and *nišēb* and the Phl. verb *šēb*- ‘move quickly, be confused,’ with its verbal nominals *šēbišn* ‘confusion’ (MacKenzie 1986²) and *šēbišnīg* ‘confusing,’¹⁶ also attested in the MMPrs. documentation.¹⁷ A good instance is the following passage from the *Bundahišn*.¹⁸

(6)	(GrBd 21c.7) <i>xar ī se pāy ī andar zrēh ī Frāxkard frāz jumbēd hamāg āb ī zrēh pad šēbišn šēbēd ud āb be ō kustān ī zrēh abganēd</i> (Pakzad 2005: 247)	“(when) the three-legged donkey moves in the Frāxkard Sea, all the water of the sea is stirring roughly and the water crashes against the shores of the sea” ¹⁹
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The connection between Phl. *šēb* ‘slope, etc.’ and *šēb*- ‘to move quickly, etc.’ has generally been neglected or expressly denied by scholars. It has been denied, for instance, by Belardi (1979: 37-38), who considers “BP *šēp* (and *nišēp*) ‘declivity’ as ‘a quite different word’ with respect to ‘BP *šēpišn* [...] *šēp*-’ ‘to move quickly [...]’.” According to him, “[t]his ²*šēp* matches with NAv *xšvaēpā*- ‘Hinterer, Hinterteil’ [...]. Cf. NPrs *šīb* ‘a descent, the lower part, anus,’ *šīv* ‘a declivity, base, foundation’.” It would follow that any etymological links between Av. *xšuaaēpā*- and MPrs. *šēbišn* on the one hand and Av. *xšuaaēpā*- and Av. *xšuaaēβa*- and Skt. *kṣip* on the other that may have been suggested previously by some scholars (see there for bibliographical references) should be rejected.²⁰ In this regard, however, it is important to note that Av. *xšuaaēpā*- is the root posited by Bartholomae (1904: 560) to explain the form *xšuaaēpaiia* (as a locative singular) occur-

¹⁶ Cf. *Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān* 40.16 *ēn saxwan ī šēbišnīg* “this is a confusing statement” (Safa-Isfahani 1980: 271-272).

¹⁷ Cf. MPrs. *šyb*- /*šēb*/ ‘to move quickly, be confused, (water) to be stirred up,’ *šybyšn* /*šēbišn*/ ‘confusion, trembling;’ *šybyšngr* /*šēbišngr*/ (demon/disease causing trembling) ‘shaker’ (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, with references).

¹⁸ One may note that *abrāz* is also used as a verbal root (though with a transitive sense); cf. GrBd 21c.9 *ōwōn čiyōn wād gerdag ka xāk gard ō andarwāy abrāzēd* “Just like a whirlwind when it lifts dirt and dust into the atmosphere;” Dk 3.283 *nazdīkān abrōzēnd ud abrāzēnd* “they illuminate and elevate (their) relatives,” and several other occurrences, mainly in the causative form (*abrāzēn*-). As for the sequence formerly read *nišēbēnd* “they deviate” in the *Wīzārišn ī Čatrang* 30, also referred to (as *nišēpēnd*) by Belardi 1979: 38, it has been read more recently in a different way (cf. Panaino 1999: 75).

¹⁹ Cf. also Agostini, Thrope 2020: 107 (“As it says, the three-legged donkey, when it moves in the Frāxkard Sea, causes the water to gush and splash and to crash against the shores of the sea”).

²⁰ See also Eilers 1988a/I: 369 as far as “Np. *šēb*, Unterer, Unterteil, Hinterer‘ nebst *šēv*, *nišēb*/v und ihren mundartlichen Varianten” are concerned.

ring as a hapax in Yašt 19,40e and that the proposed sense of ‘Hinterer, Hinterteil’ seemingly only rests on that of ‘anus,’ vehiculated by traditional dictionaries (among others, by Steingass) for Prs. *šib*.²¹ In fact, the sense of the whole Av. line still remains very debatable, as also admitted by Hintze 1994: 217 (“da sonst keine sinnvolle Analyse möglich ist”), who in any case suggests translating *xšuaēpaiia* as “am Schwanz.”²²

MPrs. *šēb*- ‘move quickly’ is quoted in Cheung 2007: 459 s.v. **xšuaip/b* ‘to vibrate, tremble, shake,’ an Ir. root referred to a very dubious IE root *?(k)sueip-* ‘to swing, shake, whip’ (Rix 2001: 373). According to Cheung, “[d]espite the obvious, formal similarities, the semantic differences displayed by the Iranian forms” would lead to a separation of **xšuaip/b* from **xšaip/b* ‘to throw, hurl’ (connected to Skt. *kṣep-*, Mayrhofer 1992: 437, 811), with the postulation of two distinct Ir. roots. The existence of these alleged roots, with a possible contamination between them, has been envisaged by other scholars, as well. Among others, I mention Kellens (1977), Panaino (1990: 96), Yakubovich (2002: 545), Korn (2005: 113 fn. 201). Korn is the only one who takes into account in this context MPrs./NPrs. *šēb*, Bal. *šēp* ‘declivity,’ asserting that these words may be related directly to the ‘throw’-line only. I do not intend to enter here into the question of the etymology of Phl. *šēb*- ‘to move quickly’ and cognates, since it is not central to the main issue of this paper. For the time being, I only limit myself to emphasize that from the semantic point of view the notion of ‘throw’ cannot account for the actual senses of MPrs. *šēb* ‘slope,’ at least no more than it does for the senses of words that scholars attribute with certainty to the ‘move quickly’-line, and that Kellens’ statement about

²¹ So recorded in the *Borhān-e Qāte’* (‘*kun*,’ = Arabic *dobor*). Consider, however, that this sense should be understood as an expected conceptual development from ‘lower part,’ and not from ‘posterior part,’ never mentioned among the several senses attributed to Prs. *šib* in traditional dictionaries.

²² ‘Tail’ also in Humbach, Ichaporia 1998: 118. For Hintze, who supports the traditional etymological association with Skt. *kṣip-*, “[d]ie semantische Entwicklung könnte von ‚Schwungteil‘ [...] zu ‚Schwanz‘ und ‚Peitsche‘ sich gespalten und von ‚Schwanz‘ wiederum zu ‚Hinterteil‘ sich entwickelt haben” (1994: 217 fn.132). Also in consideration of the presence in the same Av. line of *barāzan-* (in the very much discussed compound **vanaiia.barāšna*, see Hintze 1994: 217-218), I tentatively put forward the idea of considering the possibility of some kind of locative reference in Yašt 19,40e which takes into account the two categories in a polar contrast ‘lowness’ vs. ‘height,’ as we find in Pahlavi (*šēb* / *nišēb* vs. *afrāz*; *nišēb* vs. *bālist*, see above, § 2) and in Persian (*šib* vs. *ferāz* / *bālā*, see below § 4). For a different position (*barāšna* as belonging to *barāšnu-* ‘back’) see Humbach, Ichaporia 1998: 118.

the “onomatopoeic character” (1977: 200) of such kind of roots will deserve the most attention, in my opinion, in future deepening of the origin and motivation of the Ir. lexical forms under discussion here.

Phl. *šēb-* ‘to move quickly, to be confused,’ an instance of how changes of mental and physical states may be conceptualized in terms of movement, that would cause an alteration of the previous state (in human beings involving psychological, physiological, behavioural or cognitive aspects), continues in Persian and other Iranian languages. In Western Iranian, outcomes are found in particular in different varieties of (mainly Central and Southern) Kurdish and in the Lori area. Cf. Prs. *šibidan*²³ (transitive and intransitive) ‘to be mixed, to mix; be disturbed, agitated; to shake, to tremble; to become enamoured;’ Sorani Krd. *šēwan* ‘être trouble (un liquid), être brouillé; (fig.) être perturbé ou troublé (qqn), être troublé (une situation)’ (Nezan 2017); (Sulemanie) *shêw/an* ‘to be confused, to be disorganized’ (Wahby, Edmonds 1966); Kermānšāhi Krd. *šivāndan* ‘to disturb; to mix together [beham zadan, beham rixtan];’ *šivida* ‘confused; distressed’ (Darvišiān 1996); Gorāni (Awromāni) *šewiāy, šewia-* ‘to be confused’ (MacKenzie 1966), (Gawraju) *šiwēniya* ‘to mix together, to confuse [darham kardan]’ (Aliyāri Bābolqāni 2017); Lori (Boyerahmadi) *šīv-, šīvēsan* ‘to clash, to be disturbed [beham xordan], to go bad (of eggs)’ (Taheri 2016); (Sagvand) *šivnie* ‘to mix together, to confuse [darham zadan]’ (Aliyāri Bābolqāni 2017); Baxtiāri *šivesten* (Madadi), (Kuhrang) *šīv-, šīvēsan* (Tāheri 2010) ‘to be disturbed, to nauseate;’ Šuštari *šīvinīda* ‘disturbed, chaotic; scattered;’ *šīpalu* ‘mixed up, not in order’ (Nirumand 1976); Lakki *šeivonen* ‘to get detached, severed; entangled, confused, mixed up, chaotic, disturbed, dishevelled etc.; to fall down, to be scattered, to go to pieces [foru rixtan va az ham pāšidan]’ (Kiāni Kulivand 2011, s.v. *bešuwē*); (Harsin) *šīplāy* ‘splash, splat’ (Belelli 2021), etc.²⁴

²³ This is not a common word in contemporary standard Persian. See also the connected forms *šifān* ‘to enamour, enflaminate,’ *āšoftan* ‘to be disturbed; to disturb; to get angry; to make chaotic.’

²⁴ From the Eastern Iranian perspective, one may tentatively add here Khotanese *ksāv-*, ‘to throw’ according to Emmerick 1968: 25, ‘to toss’ according to Bailey (1979: 68; in fact, for none of the instances quoted in Bailey, where hairs or other things blowing in the wind or fire scattered around by the wind are referred to, *ksāv-* may properly be rendered by English *throw*); Šuyni *xēb-*, Rošāni *xīv-*, etc. ‘to thrash, pound, mince’ (Morgenstierne 1974); Waxi *šēp-* ‘to hit, pound, thrash’ (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999) (all assigned to the **xšaip/b-* ‘throw’ root in Cheung 2007).

To MPrs. *šēb*- ‘move quickly’ one may easily associate nouns and nominal derivatives designating the path of a movement (cf. Man.Prth. *šēbah* ‘path’)²⁵ or evoking a specific mode of movement, that may be quick, sinuous, wriggling, darting etc., as also underlined by Kellens 1977: 198, for whom the Av. root *√xšuuip* “only applies to things with a brief quick, repeated movement - the vibration of a flexible rod, arrow or whip, the wriggling of the snake or of the tongue, the quivering of nervous horses.” Apart from Av. *xšuaaēβa*- ‘sparkling, scintillating, wriggling’ and related forms gathered in Kellens 1977, one may consider here Phl. *šēbāg* ‘swift, nimble; viper’ (MacKenzie 1986)²⁶ and ‘whip’,²⁷ the compounds *šēbāg-tigr* ‘of the swift arrow,’ used as an epithet of the legendary archer Ēraš (Prs. Āraš) in *Māh ī Frawardīn Rōz ī Xurdād* 22 (Gheybi 2017: 97 fn. 8); *šēbāg-uzwān* ‘with eloquent tongue,’ describing one of the conditions that makes the ritual valid in Dd 47.38; Man.Sogdian *xwšyp* ‘whip’ attested in a Middle Persian-Sogdian Glossary (twice in Fragment b 17, 18; Henning 1940: 21, 23), and numerous outcomes in modern languages continuing the different semantic developments. Consider the following data (without claiming to be complete):

Prs. *šib* ‘the whizzing of an arrow; the end of a whip-lash; a whip,’ Sorani Krd. *šip* ‘thong, strand of plait’ (Wahby, Edmonds 1966); Kurmanji Krd. *šip* ‘vitesse, promptitude’ (Nezan 2017); Ir.Āzari *šip* ‘an instrument similar to a whip used to make turn the *fārna*’²⁸ (Sabz ‘Alipur 2012²: 87); *šiv* ‘twig, tender offshoot used to carry out the agricultural operation called *puša ekarden*’ (Sabz ‘Alipur 2012²: 93); Bandar-e Xamir (Hormozgān) *šipāk* ‘a straight and thin stick for punishment’ (Qatāli 2009), etc., Waxi *rāšip* and other Elr. cognates for ‘whip’ quoted in Steblin-Kamenskij 1999.

²⁵ Cf. *šybh* in Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, with references. Korn (2005: 113 fn. 201) mentions a suggestion by Durkin-Meisterernst, according to whom Prth. *šēbah* could have derived by haplology by the OIr. compound **šaiapa-paθa*- ‘steep path’ > **šaiapaθa*-. At the moment there are no elements to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

²⁶ The viper is specifically mentioned in Dk 3 22.1 (*šēbāg*); AWN 28.2, 50.1; ZFJ 35.6; Supp.ŠnŠ 17.7 (*mār ī šēbāg*); ZFJ 36.15 (*az ī šēbāg*), PVd 18.65B (*az ī šēbāg*, with the gloss: *ast kē mār ī šēbāg gōwēd* “there is who says *mār ī šēbāg*”).

²⁷ It is not certain that this particular sense has actually been recorded in Pahlavi. Cf. the complex verb *šēb kardan* ‘to whip’ that should be read in AWN 50.1 according to Gignoux 1984: 96-97 (with fn. 2), 189 (*ud šēb* [<W šyp>] *hamē kard* “le fouettaient sans cesse,” with the annotation “Cf. pers. mod. *šib* pente, déclivité”) but not according to Vahman 1986: 142-143, 207 (*nihēb* [<nyhyp>] *hamē kard* “were frightening <him>”). The ambiguity of the Pahlavi script may be responsible for such kind of alternatives in reading.

²⁸ *fārna* is the Ir. Āzari name of a kind of spinning top.

Prs. *šivā*, *šibā* ‘viper;’ Gilaki *šip* ‘a type of snake of the Caspian Sea’ (Sartippur 1990); Bandar-e Xamir (Hormozgān) *šīb-mār* ‘a type of thin sea snake, yellow in color and not poisonous’ (Qatāli 2009); Kumzari *šēw* ‘type of snake; very thin person’ (Wal Anonby 2015: 357); Bal. *šēp-mār* ‘a kind of serpent’ (Sayyad Hāšmi 2000), *šeyp* ‘a small fast running snake that resembles a garter snake’ (Dašti 2019); etc.

Prs. *šivā* ‘charming, eloquent, versatile, fluent;’ *šivā-zabān* ‘sweetly-spoken, eloquent.’

Remarkable is the development of the semantic line having its oldest attestation in MP_{Prth}. *šēbah* ‘path.’ Here belongs Prs. *šive* meaning in general ‘(a particular) way or method; a manner (of living or acting),’²⁹ with the specialized senses recorded by dictionaries fitting different aspects of human experiences, such as ‘custom, habit; demeanour; the graceful movement of a lovely girl; an air of elegance; trade, profession; coquetry, grace; trick; a particular way of speaking, idiom, local pronunciation, etc.’ Cognates to Prs. *šive*, with (some of) these senses, are largely found in languages and dialects spoken in the whole Iranian plateau (Kurdish area, Central Plateau dialects; North Iran dialects; Fārs and Lārestān dialects, Xorāsāni, Eastern varieties of Persian, etc. etc.).³⁰

In what follows I will only dwell upon those items more directly related to MP_{Prs}. *šēb* ‘declivity, decline; flow; downwards,’ to which for mere convenience I have referred above as the *šIB*-set.

4. The *šIB*-set in Persian³¹

In contemporary standard Persian, *šib* is normally used in the sense of ‘declivity, slope, incline; decline’ and also as a technical term for ‘gradient,

²⁹ In this sense, Prs. *šive* is a synonym of *raveš*, *rāh-o-raveš*, *tariqe*, etc., as a further confirmation that for a semantic change, natural and motivated regularities could be expected.

³⁰ See also Pšt. *ševā* ‘matter, deed; habits, manners; coquetry, flirting’ (Pashtoon 2009).

³¹ For the sake of convenience, in this paper the transcription of Persian (tendentially phonemic) is based on the modern pronunciation, regardless of the date of the quoted source. For all the other Iranian languages, I have mostly conformed with the systems used by the individual authors of the written sources from which any single expression has been extrapolated, with minor interventions. In source references, the page number is not given when the work is (or contains a section which is) alphabetically ordered. The glosses defining Iranian words drawn from dictionaries whose exit language is Persian or Russian have been translated into English;

grade; rate of descent;³² *nešib* is used as ‘declivity, descent, slope; decline,’ being in some contexts a synonym of *šib*. Dictionaries, however, attribute much more senses and functions to Prs. *šib* than those just mentioned, sometimes qualifying them as ‘rare’ or ‘ancient.’³³ A few of these senses and functions are recorded in Classical Persian literature or in old manuscripts containing texts of different nature and content; probably, some of them should be attributed to distinct Persian dialectal areas. Evidence of this is the form *šiv* as a variant of *šib*, quoted in many traditional dictionaries. An accurate analysis, therefore, should also take account of diachronic and diatopic factors that, however, are not always easy to recognize in the old written tradition.

Prs. *šib* is normally recorded as a designation of specific elements of the natural environment and ground shapes:³⁴ ‘(mountain/hill) slope, declivity; valley; uneven ground; wet ground made uneven and rugged by the trampling of men, and afterwards hardened by the influence of the sun.’ According to Wolff 1965, in the *Šāhnāme* one finds *šēb* as ‘das tiefer Gelegene, Niederung,’ *šēv* as ‘Abhang, Tal,’ and *nišēb* as ‘Abstieg, abwärts, Senkung (oft. Sva. Unglück).’

In lexical composition, *šib* occurs in *ābšib* ‘channel for water flowing from high grounds’ but also ‘water running in this channel;’ *pāšib* ‘declivity (of a mountain); staircase;’ *sarāšib* ‘slope, declivity; steep, declivitous’ and its derivative *sarāšibi* ‘slope, steepness, incline.’

Prs. *šib* (and also *nešib*) often occurs in close collocation with *farāz* (*afrāz*) or *bālā* ‘up, upwards,’ or even in copulative compounds, very frequently used in classical poetry: *(ne)šib-o-farāz* ‘descent and ascent; up and down, the ups and down of life; profit and loss; the advantages and disadvantages of any affair;’ *šib-o-bālā* ‘heaven and earth; giving and taking; truth and falsehood; hot and cold;’ other pairs of opposites may be added to this list, generally with a positive and a negative pole, and

the original gloss (in transcription) is added into square brackets when considered useful to avoid misunderstanding.

³² Consider also the approval by the Terminology Department of the Farhangestān (FVM 2005: 130) of the usage of *šib* as the equivalent of the English technical term *dip* (in the sense of ‘the angle that a stratum or similar geologic feature makes with a horizontal plane’).

³³ See for instance Anvari 2002 and Haim 1992.

³⁴ For the usage of Prs. *šib* and other members of the *šib*-set as (a component of) toponyms see Eilers 1988a/I: 303-304.

with *šib* or *nešib* always marking the negative one. The well-known UP/DOWN spatial orientational metaphor, based on human physical and cultural experience and coherent within the overall system, is generally coherent in the fact that in most cases (though not always) GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN.³⁵

Since from the orientation point of view *šib* designate an inclination seen from the top (= *sarpāyin*, *sarāzir*), as opposed to an inclination seen from the bottom (= *sarbālā*), semantic extensions based on conceptual relations (metonymy) produced designations for the lower part of objects that in mental schematization may be perceived as structured along the vertical axis (cf. ‘valley’ with respect to a hill), or designations for the lower surface of objects (‘lower part, ground-floor; bottom’).³⁶ At this stage *šib* may appropriately describe spatial relationships, in particular the directionality of a movement specified on a vertical axis (downward; = *pāyin*, *forud*)³⁷ and/or a location under or below something.

Old written attestations of *šib* (or *šiv*) confirm this lexical to grammatical change. Evidence comes for instance from the Persian version by Bal‘ami of the *Tārix-e Tabari* (4th/10th c.), as exemplified by the following sentences that I quote from Dehxodā, s.v. *šib*:

(7)	<i>ān jōvāl šib-e sar nehād va bexoft</i>	“he put that sack under his head and fell asleep”
(8)	<i>bar zamin šib-e pā-ye u čašme-ye āb padid āmad</i>	“on the ground under his feet a spring of water sprouted”

According to Lazard (1963: 41), the many extant manuscripts of the *Tārix-e Tabari*, however ancient, are “les héritiers d’une suite déjà longue de copies.” having had a great diffusion all over the Iranian plateau, “le texte a dû être tôt nivelé par les reproductions successives.” For this reason it presents substantially “des traits communs à l’ensemble des parlers persans, dans leur usage écrit, vers le Ve/XIe siècle.” That *šib* used as an ad-

³⁵ Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 14-21.

³⁶ Thence ‘the anus’ (see above fn. 20). These senses, recorded by traditional dictionaries, cannot be attributed to *šib* in contemporary standard Persian.

³⁷ Cf. *šib āmadan* ‘to come down [be zir āmadan, pāyin āmadan, forud āmadan]’ (Dehxodā).

position ('under') should be considered as a 'common trait' in Persian could be questioned, though.³⁸

The adverbial use of *šib* in classical poetry is exemplified by the following hemistich by Rumi (quoted from Dehxodā s.v. *šib*):

(9)	<i>jomlegān az bāmhā šib āmadand</i>	"All came down from the roofs"
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Occurrences of *šiv* with locative implications are also found in the Persian Harmony (Diatessaron) edited for the first time by Messina (1951). For his edition Messina used the Laurentian MS XVII, a MS held in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence, together with a second one (copy of the former), that at the time were considered the only two extant MSS of this work. Consider:

(10)	[Diat. II 29 (L 9,37 ^a)] <i>čun az kuh be šiv āmad</i>	'Quando scese dal monte' (Messina 1951: 136-137)
(11)	[Diat. III 32 (L 19,6)] <i>u be šetāb az deraxt be šiv āmad</i>	'Egli scese in fretta dall'albero' (Messina 1951: 232-233)

Messina (1951: 137 n. 1) comments on this particular use of *šiv* as follows: " 'venne giù': *bišiv* non appare nei lessici nel significato di 'giù.' Esso è un composto di *bi* e *šiv* 'discesa,' quindi 'in discesa, giù' [...]. Ugual termine si trova anche in Luca 19,6 (M 3,32). Generalmente il traduttore per 'giù' usa *bizir*." In fact, one may note that elsewhere in the same MS in a similar context *be zir* occurs:

(12)	[Diat. I 65 (M 8,1)] <i>čun az kuh be zir āmad</i>	"Quando scese dal monte" (Messina 1951: 84-85)
(13)	[Diat. II 28 (S [= Mark] 9,9)] <i>čun az kuh be zir āmad</i>	"Quando scese dal monte" (Messina 1951: 136-137)

Furthermore, in the same text one may find *šive* used both as a noun ('slope') and as an adposition ('under'):

³⁸ See also Eilers 1988a/I: 303 ("Auch im Neupersischen ist در شیب, am Abhang 'nichts Ungewöhnliches [...]. Die Mundarten verwenden شیب geradezu als Adverb oder Präposition, unten, unter'").

(14)	[Diat. III 37 (L 19,37)] <i>čun az kuh-e zeytun sar šive āmad</i>	“E quando venne dal Monte degli Ulivi in capo alla discesa” ³⁹ (Messina 1951: 246-247)
(15)	[Diat. IV 9 (L 14,10)] <i>čun xānde šavi šive-ye hamaginān benešin tā čun biyāyad ānke tarā xānde bāšad beguyad: ey dust bālātar benešin</i>	“quando sarai chiamato siedti sotto a tutti, affinché quando venga colui che ti ha chiamato, dica: O amico, siedti più alto!” (Messina 1951: 292-293)

Evidently, Messina considered the form *šive* in (14) as unusual in Persian and therefore felt the need to dwell on it as well: “Il testo ha *šīva*, mentre il termine per indicare ‘discesa’ è piuttosto *šīv* o *šīb* e anche *nišīv* e *nišīb* (quest’ultima forma si trova in W[alton 1657] nel nostro passo); *šīva* ricorre anche in Lc 14,10 dove viene usata come preposizione nel significato di ‘sotto,’ cf. Lc IV 9; mentre in tale accezione in altri passi di Lc si ha *bišīv*” (1951: 247 fn. 2).

Very recently, another witness to the text of the Persian Harmony has been brought to light in the form of a MS held at the National Library of Iran in Tehran and edited by Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani 2018. As the editors also remark (2018: x), “there are some consistent differences of spelling and phrasing, a fact which suggests that in the case of at least one set of MSS an editing process has taken place.”⁴⁰ In fact, the Tehran MS tends in most cases to fall more in line with the modern language as far as spelling, usage of adpositions and lexical selection are concerned (2018: 10-11). Very interestingly, in the Tehran MS one finds *be zir* instead of both *sar šive* in (14)⁴¹ and *be šiv* in (10) and (11);⁴² in (15) the two MSS coincide (both have *šive-ye hameginān*).⁴³

³⁹ I.e., at the descent of the mountain.

⁴⁰ The most common divergences have been grouped in a Table by the editors of the Tehran MS (2018: ۱۳-۱۴) [text in Persian].

⁴¹ Cf. Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani 2018: 172.

⁴² Cf. Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani 2018: 243, 278.

⁴³ Cf. Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani 2018: 344. For a different treatment of Luke 14,10, see *zirtar az hame benešin* in Walton 1657: 336. Notably, Walton 1657 contains the Prs. translation of the four separate Gospels held in the Bodleian library in Oxford, MS Pococke 241, translation that presents so many concordances with the text of the Prs. Harmony as to suggest a provenance of both from a common source (Messina 1951: lxxxvii-xcii; see also Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani 2018: viii, ۹-۱۰).

The question we can ask at this point is the following: do we have any element to recognize *šiv* / *šive* in the Persian Harmony as a dialectal trait? The answer is difficult because little is known about the compositional history of this work and of the subsequent editing process of the different sets of MSS. In any case, the Tehran MS has been copied more than a century after the Florence one,⁴⁴ and this fact would justify interventions of modernization and perhaps also of language ‘normalization’ (in the sense of adaptation to the current style, with possible elimination of elements considered ‘peripheral’ or ‘unusual’), although we do not really know at what stage these interventions were made. We know very little about the author, as well,⁴⁵ and there are no elements that permit to define with certainty the actual time of compilation/translation: on the basis of historical facts hinted at in the Harmonia, this could be dated to no earlier than 1223 and not after the end of the 13th century according to Messina (1951: xix-xx); on the basis of certain archaic features of the language it would pre-date Safavid times according to Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani (2018).

We are informed directly from the author that after leaving Tabriz he went to Māzandarān and later to Khorāsān, settling in particular in Herat, Tus, and Nišāpur, where Christian communities lived and where he would have left four copies of his translation. Māzandarān and Khorāsān are therefore to be envisaged as the geographical background of his literary activities. As hypothesized by Messina (1951: xxvi), for his translation the author could have used already existing Persian versions of separate Gospels. If this were true, the language of the Prs. Diatessaron could not represent a uniform dialectal milieu. From this perspective, it is remarkable that *šiv* / *šive* with locative implications are only found in passages from the Gospel of Luke. In any case, the Khorasanian background might be a plausible justification for such a usage.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The Florence MS was copied in 1547 by a certain Ibrahim ben Šamās, a Jacobite priest; the Tehran MS was copied at the end of 1699 by a certain Khusraw, son of Bahrām (Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani 2018: viii).

⁴⁵ He was an Armenian named Yahyā Ibn Ayvaz-e Tabrīzī-ye Armanī according to Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani (2018), who have challenged the hypothesis advanced by Messina that he was one named Ivānnis Izz al-Din from Tabriz. Another important divergence is that for Messina the author was simply a translator of an already existing Harmony in Syriac (Messina 1951: xx-xxii), for Hassanabadi, Jahani, Jahani (2018: viii ff) he was both the translator and the compiler of this work.

⁴⁶ See below, § 5.

To a Khorasanian origin points the following example (quoted from Dehxodā s.v. *šiv*), drawn from the *Anīs al-ṭālebīn wa ‘oddāt al-sālekīn*, an important Prs. source on Bahā’-al-dīn Naqšband, the founder of the Naqšbandi Sufi order, written by one of the sons of a migrant from Xwārezm resident in Bukhārā, and completed in 785/1383:

(16)	<i>qors-e bozorg-i az šiv-e pustin birun kard</i>	“he put out the big disc from under the fur cloak”
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5. The *ŠIB*-set in Tajik and Other Eastern Persian Varieties

The status of *šeb* and *nišeb* in the contemporary standard Tajik lexicon presents some similarities but also many differences with that of *šib* and *nešib* in contemporary Persian. As for *šeb*, in fact, it is seemingly not in use and the dictionaries of Modern Tajik either do not mention it (Rahimi, Uspenskaja 1954; Moukhtor, Ibraguimov, Mansurov 2003) or label it as ‘literary’ and describe it as an ‘abbreviation’ of *nišeb*, to which they normally refer (Saymiddinov, Xolmatova, Karimov 2006). The senses generally attributed to *nišeb* are ‘slope; descent; sloping, etc.’; the idiom *nišeb raftan* (or *šudan*) ‘to go down, to move along a slope’ is also quoted in dictionaries. See, for instance, the following sentence:

(17)	<i>ū az nardebon ba poyon nišeb šud</i>	“he came down the stairs” (Rahimi, Uspenskaja 1954)
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The dictionaries that privilege the literary language, instead, also record *šeb* with the spatial relational implications we have seen above (§ 4); cf. (*dar*) *šeb-i* ... ‘under [= *zir-i*, *dar zir-i* ..., *dar tag-i* ...]’ in Šukurov et al. 1969 s.v. *šeb*¹ (“abbreviation of *nišeb*”), where one also finds *šeb-u-faroz* ‘ups and downs [= *pasti-u-bulandī*].’ Dictionaries also record *nišeb*; cf. *nišeb* ‘1) lowness (of the ground) [= *pasti*, *pasti-yi zamin*]; sloping [= *sarozir va ru ba poyin*];’ *nišeb-u-bolo* ‘ups and downs:’ *nišeb-u-faroz* ‘1) low and high [= *past-u-bolo*];’ 2) ‘to go down [= *ba poyin raftan*];’ 3) misfortune; calamity; *nišeb uftodan-i kor* ‘to go wrong (of a thing) [= *bad šodan-i kor*]’ in Šukurov et al. 1969.

To find an actual usage of *šeb* as ‘lower part’ > *šeb-i* (adposition) ‘under/below [vnizu]’ in Tajik one should look to the dialectal variant of

Vanj as recorded in Rozenfeld' 1982 (< *nišeb*; see also *šeb-i po* 'sole of the foot').

Differently from Tajik, in Persian of Afghanistan and in Khorāsān the equivalent of Prs. *nešib* is not used (at least not recorded in the dictionaries I have consulted); instead, one finds *šēb*, *šēv*, *šēva*, etc. often evoking a downwards movement (or even simply a movement towards somewhere). Consider the following data:

AfghPrs. *šēb* 'slope [sklon, skat]' (Kiselevoj 1978); *šīva* 'slope [sarāšibi, šib]' (Šālči 1991), *šīva šudan* 'to go downwards [be taraf-e pāyin foru āmadan];' *saršīv* 'sloping [sarpāyin]' (Afṡāni Nevis 1956) || Herati *šewa/šēwa* 'descending slope; (moving) downhill,'⁴⁷ *šiwagi* 'descending slope' (Ioannesyan 2009); *sar šēwa* 'slope [sarāšib]' (Āsef Fekrat 1997), *sar šiwagi* 'slope, declivity [sarāšibi, sarpāyini]' (Šālči 1991). In the Herati folktales published in Ioannesyan 2009, the idiom *šewa dar miyān zadan* is frequently found; commonly used in folklore, it literally means "left behind/got down the slope/hill" but it "may be understood in a broader sense: 'got underway, set out on a journey'" (Ioannesyan 2009: 75).

Xorāsāni *šiva raftan* (in villages of Xor.) 'to descend, to come down [sarāzir šodan];'⁴⁸ *šīva kerdan* 'to turn upside down, to slant; to look sideways [sarāzir kardan, kaš negāh kardan]' (Šakurzāde 1967) || (Birjandi) *šēb*, *šēbā*, *šēvā* 'slope, sloping [šib, sarāzir]'⁴⁹ (Rezāi 1994: 302, 305) || (Turbat Haydariye) *ševa* 'sloping [sarāzir]' (Dānešgar 1995); || (Tuni) *šiva* '1) crooked [kaš]; 2) slope [sarāšib];' *šiva kerdan* 'to go down and come back [sarāzir raftan va bargāstan];' *šivanāyi* 'sloping, declivity [šibdār, sarāziri];' *sar šivanāyi* 'declivity (of the road) [sarāziri (rāh)];' probably also *šow pā* 'below and adjacent to a thing or to a place [pāyin mašāver-e čiz-i yā makān-i, zir va janb-e makān-i]' (Yāhaqi 2017) || (Qāini) *seršive* 'sloping [sarāzir]' (Zomorrodian 1989) || (Esfarāyen) *šeyva* 'sloping [sarāzir];' *šeyva roftan* 'to descend, to come down [sarāzir šodan];' *šeyvakerdan* 'to turn upside

⁴⁷ As an effect of linguistic contact see *šebó* [ʃeβə] 'hinab, nach unten' in the Moghol dialect spoken in the Herat Province (Weiers 1972: 148 [quoted among adverbs and postpositions], 180).

⁴⁸ See also *šīva* 'Abhang, bergab' in *šīva reftan* 'bergab gehen' in Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 172 [505] ("< p. *šēb/v*, av. *xšvaēpā-* 'Hinterer, Hinterteil'").

⁴⁹ Rezāi 1994 also lists *ši* 'under, below [šib, be ma'ni-ye zir, pāyin]'. There is no evidence, however, that this form, rightly recognized by Rezāi (1966: 97) in the first part of the compound *šinemāli*, recorded in the 19th c. *Farhang* by Mollā 'Ali Ašraf Sabuhi, could have been used as an adposition ('under') in diverse contexts.

down, to slant [sarāzir kardan];' *šeyva gāh* 'sloping place [sarāziri, jā-ye šib]' (Homāyunfar 2007).

Hazaragi *šew* in *qalšew* 'downstream; down a valley (opposed to *qal-bala* 'upstream; up a valley')' (Dulling 1973); *šew šodo* 'to fall [oftādan];' *šew kado* 'throw down [pāyin andāxtan];' *šewna* 'lower, further down [tahtāni]' (Tāriq Mālistāni 1993).

Sistāni *šēb* 'south; slope [nešib];' *ševa, šēva* 'sloping, (going) downwards / southwards etc.; setting out towards the lower direction of a course, like a person who is going downwards or southwards or towards the bottom of a lane;' *ševeštā* 'to slope (of both things when falling and groups when leaning towards a goal' (Mohammadi Xomak 2000).⁵⁰

Some examples of sentence:

(18)	Xor. (Esfarāyen) <i>yār-om šeyva miroft, be bāyestu barey mive miroft</i> (Homāyunfar 2007)	"my friend set off and went to the orchard to get the fruit"
(19)	Hazaragi <i>dum ši ra šew kad</i> (Xāvari 2001: 315)	"he lowered his tail"

6. The ŠIB-set in the Lori area

Baxtiāri *šēv* 'slope [šib]; watermill channel;' *šivār xarden* 'to turn around, to be astray / loss' (Maddadi 1996) || (Kuhrang) *šēw* 'slope, sloping [šib, sarāšibi]' (Tāheri 2010) || Šuštari *šīw* 'slope, sloping [šib, sarāziri];' *šīwi āsīav* 'watermill channel' (Nirumand 1976).

7. The ŠIB-set in the Kurdish Speaking Area

Kurmanji Krd *šēp* '1. fast moving stream or current; jet, stream, current, torrent; 2. waterfall, cascade; 3. gutter, trough, chute, small ditch (on a mill through which the water flows to the millstone)' (Chyet 2020).⁵¹

⁵⁰ See also *Kuša-šib*, the name of a Sistāni village (Southern Kuša) opposed to *Kuša-bālā* (Northern Kuša) quoted in Afšār Sistāni 1986.

⁵¹ See also *šēp* in Nezan 2017.

şêpil ‘(adj.) incliné, penché, oblique;’ *şêpilî* ‘inclinaison’ (Nezan 2017) || (Hakkāri) *şîv* ‘valley’ (Rhea 1872-1880) || Sorani Krd *şîw* ‘ravine, vallée;’ *şîval* ‘vallon;’ *şîvaloka* ‘toute petite vallée, val’ (Hakem 2012), (*şîwelo*) ‘petit ruisseau, cours d’eau souterrain’ (Nezan 2017) || (Sulemaniye) *şîw* ‘deep water-course’ (Wahby, Edmonds 1966) || (Amêdi) *şîvik* ‘vallée, lit desséché d’un ruisseau’ (Blau 1975).

Kurmanji Krd. *nişîv* (also *nişêv*, *nişûv*) ‘1. downhill slope, incline, declivity; 2. steep slope, precipice; cliff; 3. south; 4. (adv.) (also *nişîwî*) down[ward(s)], downhill’ (Chyet 2020);⁵² *nişûv* ‘(adj.) downward (slope);’ *bi nişûvî* (adv.) down, downwards’ (Rizgar 1993) || (Hakkāri) *nişîv* ‘(adv.) down’ (Rhea 1872-1880) || Sorani Krd. *nişêw*, *nişîw* ‘descente, pente’ (Hakim 2012) || (Sulemaniye) *nishêw* downward slope, declivity (Wahby, Edmonds 1966).

As for the Southern varieties of Kurdish, the picture is not clear. The authors of three dictionaries published in Iran that I have consulted on the matter maintain to have collected Kurdish words from all the Kurdish dialects, though two of them make reference to the dialectal background of single items apparently when they are not in use in the Krd. dialects spoken in Iran. See in particular Hažār 1990 (*şîp* ‘flood water [silāb];’ *şêp* ‘narrow valley in the mountains;’ *şîv* ‘valley,’ *şîw* ‘narrow valley;’ *şîvik*, *şîvala*, *şîvaloka* ‘very narrow valley;’ *nişûv*, *nişîv*, *nişîw*, *nişêw* ‘slope, precipice [neşib, partgāh]; south’), Ebrāhimpur 1994 (*şîw* ‘valley, torrent, etc.;’ *nişêw*, *nişôv*, *nişêv* ‘sloping, slope, downwards [sarāzir, şib, ru be pāyin];’ *nişêv* (Behdini) ‘south’), Safizāde 2001 (*nişêv* ‘declivity, slope;’ *nişêwî* ‘slope [sarāziri],’ *nişov*, *nişêv* (Kurmanji) ‘slope [sarāziri]; south;’ this dictionary does not contain any references to *şîp*, *şîv* or the like).

Here belongs Lakki *şeyf* ‘the pressure of the water cascade [fešār-e partāb-e āb], the movement of the water [jaheš-e āb]’ (Kiāni Kulivand 2011).

⁵² By way of example, Chyet records *evraz bê nişûv nînin* ‘every uphill slope has a downhill slope [Lit. There are no uphill slopes without downhill slopes],’ a popular Krd. sentence with many parallels in Iranian as well as in many languages from different areas. Compare for instance WBal. *har şêwag-ê y-a bālādag-ê hast* ‘any descent has an ascent’ (Jahāndide 2017: s.v. *şêwag*), Brahui *har sarbālae asi saršêfa-as āre* ‘every ascent has a descent’ (Bray 1934: 261) and the Phl. sentence in (4), § 2.

8. The *šIB*-set in the Central Plateau Dialects (and Closely Related Dialects)⁵³

Āmorei *šū* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin];’ *šiv* ‘slope [šib]’ (‘Ādelxāni 2010) || Aštiāni *šu* ‘under/below, down [zir, pāyin]’ (Kiyā 1956).

Bizovoi *šēv*; *šiv* ‘under/below, at the bottom [zir, dar pāyin; šib];’ *šiv-čaši* ‘out of the corner of someone’s eye [zir-češmi];’ *šiv-das* ‘subordinate, inferior [zir-dast]’ (Asatrian 2011); *šiv* ‘under/below [zir], opposed to *bālā*;’ *šivura* ‘come down!;’ *šive molidā* ‘to deny [zir-e čiz-i zadan, monker šodan];’ *šiv pā novā* ‘to put under the feet,’ etc.; *šiv bayal* ‘armpit’ (Mazra‘ti, Mazra‘ti, Mazra‘ti 2001); *šēv* ‘en bas;’ *šēvā* ‘pente;’ *šiv* sous, dessous; *šiv-ō-dūm* ‘sens dessus dessous’ (Lecoq 2002); *šivōbōlan* ‘hollow and low ground; uneven land [zamin-e gowd-o-past; zamin-e nāhamvār]’ (Razzāqi 2016); Tarqi *šō ‘ār* ‘wide alluvium [ābroft-e ‘ariz]’ (Esmā‘eli 2011) || Kešei *šuvi* ‘dale’ (Borjān 2017: 337).⁵⁴

Moškenāni *šive* ‘slope [šib, sarāziri]’ (Sadri 2007).

Yazdi *šive/a*, *šibe/a* ‘sloping, downhill [sarāzir]’ (Afšār 1989) || (Zor.)Yazdi *šiv* ‘under/below [zir];’ *šiv zvin* ‘basement [zir-zamin];’ *šiv o pošt* ‘bed clothes [raxtexāb];’ *šiv-sar* ‘cushion;’ *šiv i xa nudvun* [= Prs. *zir-e xod gozāštan*] ‘to usurp other people’s properties,’ etc. (Kešāvarz 1993); *šiv*; *ā šiv* ‘downwards, down, under’ (‘LP *šib*, used as a preposition, with ezafe; often used in bazari,’ Ivanow 1939); *šiv* ‘under, below, down [zir, pāyin, šib];’ *šivuur* ‘lower direction [taraf-e pāyin] of the *qanāt*;’ *šivoz* ‘the wind blowing from under the crop [bād-i ke az zir-e xerman zanad] at the winnowing time;’ *šivari* ‘uneven surface [past-o-bolandi] inside the *qanāt*;’ *šiva* ‘slope, sloping [šib, sarāzir];’ *šivur* (also *čui-šivor*) ‘sloping [sarāšib], the channel under the mill and at the bottom of the *qanāt*;’ *šiv-puš* ‘underwear [zirpuš];’ *šiv-o-ri* ‘upside down [zir-o-ru]; revolution, health disorder and nausea,’ etc. (Sorušān 1956); *šiv-i* (noun followed by ezafe) ‘below, beneath;’ *sar ō šiv* ‘downwards’ (Lorimer 1916: 482, 486) || JudeoPrs. of Yazd *šev* ‘under/below [zir]’ (opposed to *bālā*);’ *šev-e baqal* ‘armpit;’ *šev-das* ‘subordinate;’ *šev-e-iv* ‘under water [zir-e āb];’ *šev-pa:n* ‘linen cloth spread under a carpet [zir-andāz];’ *šev-žumo* ‘underclothes [zir-jāme];’ etc. (Homāyun 2004).

⁵³ Here the local varieties of Persian spoken in Yazd and Kermān are also included.

⁵⁴ Borjān 2017: 337 quotes *šuvi* as an example of lenition, in particular of weakening of a Middle West Iranian postvocalic coronal stop. It is not clear to me what he considered as the antecedent of this Kešei word.

Anāraki *šew* ‘under/below, down [zir, pāyin];’ *šew-pernaiy* ‘undershirt [zir-pirāhani];’ *šew-yomou* ‘underclothes [zir-lebās];’ *šew zimini* ‘basement;’ *šewa-tegi* ‘slope [sarāziri];’ *šewona* ‘carpet,’ etc. (Sohrābi Anāraki 1994); *šuv* ‘sous;’ *šuvi biqel* ‘aisselle’ (Lecoq 2002) || Tudeški *šu* ‘under/below [zir],’ opposed to *bālā*;’ *šu-beqal* ‘armpit;’ *šu-dass* ‘subordinate [zirdast];’ *šu-endāz* ‘linen cloth spread under a carpet [zir-andāz];’ *šu-zimin* ‘basement;’ *šu-šalvāri* ‘underclothes’ etc.; *šu-vo-ru gartāy* ‘to overturn [zir-o-ru šodan];’ etc. (Homāyun 2017) || Nāini *šiv* ‘under/below [zir];’ *šiu-zimin* ‘basement of a building;’ *šiu-yomu* ‘underclothes [zir-jāme];’ *šivona* ‘linen cloth spread under a carpet [farš-e zir-andāz];’ etc.; *šiva* ‘slope, a steep place [sarāziri, mahall-i šibdār]’ (Sotude 1986); *šiv* ‘sous;’ *šiv biqel* ‘aisselle’ (Lecoq 2002).

Kermāni *šib* ‘down, under/below [pāyin, zir];’ *šiveškun* ‘mountain slopes near the town of Kermān;’ *šihur* ‘lower side/direction [taraf-e pāyin];’ *šihure qanāt* ‘lower direction of the *qanāt*;’ *šihure xerman* ‘lower side of the crop;’ *šihure bād* ‘lower direction of the wind;’ *šibād* ‘the wind blowing from under the crop [bād-i ke az zir-e xerman miād] at the winnowing time,’ etc. (Sotude 1957); *ši bād* ‘wind blowing from south to north, in the opposite direction of the north wind [bālābād, bād-e šomāl];’ *šive* sloping, downhill, steep [sarāzir, šibdār]; *šive šodan* ‘to descend, to go down [sarāzir šodan], to be inside a sloping road [dāxel-e jade-ye šibdār šodan], to go down from the top [pāyin āmadan az bolandi]’ (Purhoseyni 1991) || (Zor.)Kermāni *šiv* ‘under/below, down [zir, pāyin, šib];’ *šivuur* ‘lower direction [taraf-e pāyin] of the *qanāt*;’ *šivād* ‘the wind blowing from under the crop at the winnowing time;’ *šivari* ‘uneven surface [past-o-bolandi] inside the *qanāt*;’ *šiva* ‘sloping, downhill [šib, sarāzir];’ *šivur* ‘slope [sarāšib], watercourse under the mill and at the bottom of the *qanāt*;’ *šiv zemin* ‘basement of a building;’ *šiv sar* ‘pillow;’ *šiv nādu* ‘a ribbon tied under the throat;’ *šiv-o-ri* ‘upside down [zir-o-ru];’ revolution, health disorder and nausea,’ etc. (Sorušian 1956) || Rāvāri *šibe*, *šive* in *šibe-šeden*, *šive-šeden* ‘to get under way; to go from top to bottom [ravāne šodan, az bolandi pāyin āmadan]’ (Karbāsi Rāvāri 1987) || Bardesiri *ši* ‘under/ below, down [zir; pāyin];’ *ši-baad* ‘south wind (?) [pāyin bād], contrary to north wind (?) [bālābād];’ *šihur* ‘lower direction [taraf-e pāyin] of the *qanāt* (opposed to *bālāhur*),’ etc.; *šive* ‘slope [šib];’ *šive šodan* ‘to descend, from an upper place to set out and go [sarāzir šodan; az bālāyi be taraf-e pāyin harakat kardan va raftan]’ (Baru-mand Sa’id 1991) || Zarandi *šibe* ‘crooked, steep [kaš, šibdār];’ *šibakerdā* ‘to turn upside down, to slant [sarāzir kardan]’ (Bābak 1996) || Sirjāni *ši* in *owši* ‘slope for water [šib-e āb] on the roof surface;’ *šive* ‘sloping, downhill [sarāzir];’ *šive šodan* ‘to descend, go down [sarāzir šodan]’ (Saryazdi 2001).

Sivandi *ši* ‘sous, en dessous de;’ *šičel* ‘aisselle;’ *šīzīni* ‘tapis de selle’ (Lecoq 1979); *šī* ‘unter’ (*šī vārde* ‘unter dem Steine’), *sārešī* ‘Abhang (= Prs. *nešib*),’ *šīzimīni* ‘Wohnkeller’ (Eilers 1988b: 141, 211); *šī bayal* ‘le dessous de l’aisselle,’ *šī zāni* ‘le dessous du genou’ (Huart 1893: 254); *šī* in idioms such as *šī pā roftan* ‘to kick out someone and take his place,’ *šī:želaki* ‘in secret,’ etc. (Nowruzi, Āzāde 2016).

Xuri *šiv*, *ši* ‘under/below [zir];’ *šiv o riv* ‘upside down,’ *ši korsi* ‘under the stool’ (Farahvaši 1976: 20, 58, 64); *ši-* in *ši-peruni* ‘undershirt [zir-pirahāni],’ *ši-zami* ‘basement,’ *ši-šarvāri* ‘underclothes,’ etc.; *šivā* ‘under/below; sloping, downwards [zir, sarāzir]’ (Šāyegān 2006).⁵⁵

Some examples of sentence:

(20)	Aštiāni <i>sar-et šu van</i> (Kiyā 1956)	“Lower your head”
(21)	Yazdi <i>sar-čašma av pak on: šivter ge šut e pačol e but</i> (Mazdāpur 1995: 468)	“At the source the water is clean, when it goes further down it gets dirty”
(22)	Yazdi <i>taxta še šiv i pō bar īsta</i> (Lorimer 1916: 481)	“The plank has slipped from under his foot”

9. The *šIB*-set in the Dialects of Fārs, Hormozgān and Lārestān

Širāzi *šō* ‘slope [sarāziri];’ *šō-bāzār* ‘the bazar that is located in the lower part of the city’ (Behruzi 1969); Kāzeruni *šib* ‘down, under/below [pāyin; zir]’ || (Fāmur) *šib* ‘slope [šib, sarāziri];’ *šuvār* ‘steep slope of a hill [šib-e tond-e tappe],’ *šiva* ‘the sole of the *give* (footwear)’ (Savāqeb 2007) || Kuzargi *šiv* ‘down [pāyin];’ *šō* ‘under/below [zir]’ || Kandeī *šey* ‘under/below [zir];’ *mi šey čel* ‘armpit hair,’ *še: puš* ‘underwear [zir-puš]’ || Māsarmi *šuva* ‘wide alluvium [ābroft-e ‘ariz]’ (Salāmi 2004) || Davāni *šuvār* ‘low ground where the water collects [zamin-e past va ābgir]’ (Salāmi 2002) || Zarqāni *ši* ‘under/below, down [pāyin, zir, forud];’ *ši umadan* ‘to come down, to

⁵⁵ In a paragraph concerning Xuri prepositions, Borjān (2018: 83) states: “One notable characteristics is *ši* ‘under’ (cf. Balochi *ša*).” Now, since *ša* (also *aš*) in (Western) Balochi is a preposition meaning ‘from’ (cf. Old Persian *hačā*, Prs. *az*, etc.) the etymological link hinted at by Borjān in this passage is not very clear to me. I suppose that he supports the hypothesis of a connection between Siv. *ši* and Gor. (Kandulāi) *čīr* ‘under’ advanced by Hadank (1930: 62) and considered as possible by Eilers (see below, § 13). In this case, one should refer to (Eastern) Bal. *šerā* ‘under’ rather than to (Western) Bal. *ša* ‘from.’

fall down [pāyin āmadan, forud rixtan]; *ši-endāz* ‘anything spread on the ground, in particular for sleeping;’ *šičang* ‘subordinate;’ *ši dandun* ‘good food,’ etc.; *šiye* ‘the sole of the give (footwear);’ *sar e ši* ‘downwards [sarpāyin, ru be pāyin]’ (Malekzāde, 2001) || Buringuni *šiv* ‘unter, unten,’ *šô* ‘unter’ (Mann 1909) || Gāvkošaki (Gorgnāi) *šiv* ‘slope, sloping, downhill [šib, sarāzir];’ *šuvār* steep slope of a hill (Musavi 1993: 66), ‘wide alluvium [ābroft-e ‘ariz]’ (Salāmi 2005) || Riči *šuvār* ‘hollow and low land [zamin-e gowd va past],’ *šuva*: ‘wide alluvium’ (Salāmi 2005) || Hayyāti *ši* ‘under/below [zir]’ || Dorunaki *šib* ‘under/below [zir],’ *šib čolak* ‘armpit hair’ || Dežgāhi *ši* ‘under/below [zir],’ *mine ši čel* ‘armpit hair’ (Salāmi 2006).

Amirsālāri *ši* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin],’ *mi ši čel* ‘hair under the armpit’ || Miāndehi *ši vo bāl* ‘uneven ground [zamin-e nāhamvār]’ (Salāmi 2014) || Tangkiši *ši* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin],’ *ši-jame* (= zir-piran) ‘underclothes [zir-puš],’ Zāxoruye *ši* ‘under/below [zir],’ *pot-e ši čel* ‘armpit hair,’ Šurābi *ši* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin]’ (Salāmi 2007).

Lārestāni (Evazi) *šiv* ‘slope [šib],’ *šiv āboda* ‘do descend, to go down [sarāšib šodan],’ *šiv ākêrda* ‘to steepen, to slope [sarāšib kardan],’ *šiv dada* ‘to incline an object or a place to facilitate the flow of water;’ *šiva* ‘the sole of the give (footware),’ etc. (Jānfedā 2019) || (Lāri) *šif* ‘sloping, downhill [sarāzir];’ *šif-vāxarda* ‘to slip, to slide [layzidan], to slip in a slope;’ *soravašifi* ‘slope [sarāziri]’ (Eqtedāri 1955) || Bixei *ši* ‘under/below [zir],’ *min-e ši čel* ‘hair under the armpit’ (Salāmi 2009) || Farāmarzāni *ševah* ‘hollow land in the middle of a cultivable land [zamin-e gawd dar vasat-e zamin-e mazra‘i]; as a separate headword *ševah* ‘flat ground [sahrā-ye sāf];’ *šiva* ‘the sole of the give (footwear)’ (Farāmarzi 1984) || Bastaki *šib* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin]’ (Na‘imi 2007) || Lāyzangāni *ši* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin],’ *mið-e ši kang* ‘hair under the armpit’ (Salāmi 2011).

Alamarvdašti *ši* ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin],’ *ši(ā) kerdan* ‘to bring down, to lower;’ *ši bād* ‘(a place) in the lower direction [makān-e pāyin dast]’ (referring to a geographical coordinate); *ši čel* ‘armpit;’ *ši kaši* ‘to go down of value or price of a thing;’ *ši pā* ‘down, further down [pāyin, pāyintar];’ *ši das* ‘down [pāyin];’ *ši bālā* ‘upside down [zir-oru],’ etc. (Mehrvārān, Gholāmi 2017: 274, 447).

Dašttestāni *ši* (abbreviation of *šiv* or *šib*) ‘under/below, down [zir; pāyin, forud]’ (*šu* in the dialect of some villages of Dašttestān); *ši bonje darumēdan* ‘to be born under a bush (i.e., be without root and parentage);’ *ši penj* ‘subordinate [zir-e panje];’ *ši zounin* ‘money or a gift that the bridegroom gives to the bride at the time of the engagement to make her say yes [zir-zabāni];’ *ši puk, ši zek* ‘very near;’ *ši čel* ‘armpit;’ *ši xečak* ‘under the chin

[zir-e čāne];' *ši ko*: 'the name of a wind [= *zir-e kuh* 'under the mountain']; toponym of an area in the suburbs of Dašttestān,' etc.; *šivāri* 'upside down [zir-o-ru];' *šiv* 'slope [šib] of mountain, hill or the like;' *šive* 'the sole of the *give* (footwear);' *šuwe* 'very low lands where water collects, considered of good quality and suitable for cultivation' (Borāzjāni 2003)
 || Bušehri *ši* 'under, below, down [zir, pāyin]' (more used in the districts of Dašti and Tangestān), *ši* 'near [nazdik, kenār]' (used in Dašti); *ši patu* 'under the blanket [zir patu], ' etc.; *šife* 'long wooden or metal channels that drive water from roofs to water deposits or in courtyards;' *šive* 'the sole of the *give* (footwear)' (Hamidi 2001).

Jirofti-Kahnuji *šu-ow-bâlâ-kerdan* 'to turn upside down (said of a person who is gagging);' *delom šu-bâlâ akane* 'I feel like throwing up;' *šûkerdan* 'to suspend, to dangle [āvizān kardan];' *šûpâ* 'down/below and submitted [pāyin va zir-e dast];' *šû nokî* 'the gift given by the bridegroom to the bride [zir-zabāni]' (Dehqāni 1998).

Some examples of sentence:

(23)	<i>Kāzeruni va:de ke om meyes a pelayal beyom šib</i> (Salāmi 2004) <i>Amirsālāri mowqe-y ke ixâsom a pelayal biyâm ši</i> (Salāmi 2014) <i>Tangkiši hami ke xâsom a pelleylu ši biyâm</i> (Salāmi 2007) <i>Zāxoruye vaxti mixâsom az pelleylu ši biyâm</i> (Salāmi 2007) <i>Bixei môkey ke mixâsom a pellâ ši biyâm</i> (Salāmi 2009) <i>Lāyzangāni vaxt-i ixâsom a: pellâ 'â aši biyâm</i> (Salāmi 2011)	“When I was about to go down the stairs”
(24)	<i>Dašttestāni ši deraxt nešse</i> (Borāzjāni 2003)	“He sat down under the tree”
(25)	<i>Dašti ši biu</i> (Hamidi 2001)	“Come here!”

10. The *šIB*-set in the Dialects of the Caspian Shore and North Iran

Tati (Juhuri) *šiv kende* 'fondre sur' (Authier 2012)
 Iranian Āzeri (Kaĵali) *ašniv-avrâz* 'low ground [zamin-e gowd-o-past]' (Sabz 'Alipur 2015) (with metathesis)

Taleqāni *nešīb* ‘slope [šib], inclination,’ *baumi nešīb kama* ‘the inclination of the roof is small’ (Fallāhi, Sādeqīān 2011)
 Māzandarāni (Čārdehi [Dibā]) *še* ‘under/below [zir];’ (Altappei, Čārdehi) *ševārə*, (Purvāi, Nokandei) *ševār*, (Banafše-tappei) *šivār* ‘alluvium [ābroft];’ (Rostamkolāi) *šivār*, (Nokandei) *ševār* ‘low-lying land [zamin-e gowd-o-past]’ (Akbarpur 2015a) || (Šeydmirāni) *šib*, (Xoršidi) *šip* ‘slope [šib];’ (Šeydmirāni) *ševār*, (Jāmxānei) *ševārə*, (Mehtar-Kalātei) *šivār* ‘alluvium [ābroft],’ Xoršidi *šivār* ‘low-lying land [zamin-e gowd-o-past]’ (Akbarpur 2015b)
 Semnāni *šib-konda* ‘basement [zir-zamin]’ (Sotude 1963) || Sangesari *šive* ‘small, deep valley;’ *šivār* ‘small valley;’ *šib-dār* ‘slopes’ (Azami, Windfuhr 1972).

11. The *šib*-set in Balochi

W/SBal. *šēp*, EBal. *šēf* ‘mountain stream; creek, small tributary stream, minor river, waterway descending from the mountain and pouring into the river; ravine, small valley, low-lying land; slope, declivity’ (Mayer 1910, Elfenbein 1990; Jahāndide 2017; Sayad Hāšmi 2000; Dašti 2017; Dashti 2019 etc.); W/SBal. *šēpōk* ‘small waterway descending from mountains or hills’ (Jahāndide 2017; Sayad Hāšmi 2000)

WBal. *saršēp*, EBal. *saršēf* ‘top of slope, saddle, start of a descent’ (Elfenbein 1990; Mayer 1910); ‘declivity; ravine or natural sloping waterway descending from the mountains or high lands’ (Jahāndide 2017);⁵⁶ *sar šēyp* ‘the upper stream’ (Dashti 2019); EBal. *īršēf* ‘bottom of slope; descent’ (Mayer 1910, s.v. *slope* and *descend*)

W/SBal. *āp-šēp*, *āp-šēb* ‘the flood or passage of the water [sil yā gozargāh-e āb] in a sloping terrain’ (Jahāndide 2017), *āp-šēp* ‘the waterway that conveys the rainwater flowing down towards the river’ (Sayad Hāšmi 2000); EBal. *āf-šēf* ‘slope of a drainage basin, watershed’ (Mayer 1910); ‘line of water in bed of torrent’ (Hetu Ram/Douie 1898); *āpē šēf* ‘slope of watershed’ (Elfenbein 1990)

WBal. (Raxšāni) *šuwag* ‘down-slope, sloping down’ (Barker, Mengal 1969);⁵⁷ *šēwag* ‘hanging, pending [āvizān, mo^calleq]; declivity, slope

⁵⁶ Probably not used in SBal. At least so told me some Bal. speakers from Pakistani Makrān whom I have consulted on the matter some years ago, when I was collecting Bal. terms belonging to the domain of the natural environment. This word is also not recorded in Sayad Hāšmi 2000.

⁵⁷ Barker, Mengal (1969/I: 318) rightly underline the deictic value of this kind of terms (‘/šwvəg/ is a noun and adjective denoting ‘down-slope, sloping down.’ /ziləg/ similarly signifies ‘up-slope, sloping up.’ These terms are, of course, relative to the position of the speaker; a person

[nešib, sarāziri]’ (Jahāndide 2017); ‘downward; a slope; misfortune; demotion’ (Dašti 2017, Dashti 2019 [šeywag])

WBal. *sar-šēwag* ‘slope [sarāziri]’ (Jahāndide 2017)

WBal. *āp-šēwag* ‘a sloping watercourse through which water descends from a spring to low-lying lands’ (Jahāndide 2017)

W/SBal. *šēp bayag* ‘to move downwards [šib gereftan, sarāzir šodan, ru be sarāziri harakat kardan]’ (Jahāndide 2017); EBal. *šēf biay* ‘hin/herabsteigen’ (Eilers 1988a/I: 304)

W/SBal. *šēp girag* ‘to move from top to down (of liquid); to descend’ (= *šēpag*) (Sayad Hāšmi 2000); ‘to move downwards [šib gereftan, sarāzir šodan, ru be sarāziri harakat kardan] (Jahāndide 2017); *šeyp girag* ‘coming down; falling; the movement of a snake, creeping’ (Dashti 2019); ‘to come from up to down; to rush on; to creep like a small serpent; to pour (of water) from top to down; to go rolling over’ (Dašti 2017); *šēpgir-*, *šēpgirta* ‘to stream, flow’ (Elfenbein 1990)

WBal. *šēwag bayag* ‘to slope [sarāzir šodan];’ to determine to go somewhere, to incline towards a direction [qasd-e jāyi kardan, be-suy-i māyel šodan];’ *šēwag dayag* ‘to cause to incline [sarāzir kardan; be suy-i māyel gardānidan]’ (Jahāndide 2017)

W/SBal. *šēpag* ‘to move from top to down (of liquid); to descend’ (= *šēp girag*) (Sayad Hāšmi 2000); *šēpag* ‘to set going downwards [ravāne kardan dar sarāšibi]; to mix [āmixtan];’ to throw [andāxtan, partāb kardan]; to give a fast blow [zarbe zadan-e sari^c] upon someone with a knife, dagger or something similar; to hide [gom kardan] something so that it cannot be found anymore, etc.’ (Jahāndide 2017).

The denominal verb *šēpag* (working as both transitive and intransitive) and the structures of predication formed by *šēp* and *šēwag/šuwag* may evoke the idea of (a) a movement of liquids downwards (preferably along an inclined plane); apart from the prototypical frame of rainwater descending from a higher position, the usage of *šēp* is highly predictable in other contexts as well, as is the case with tears running down on the face [26-28]; (b) a movement downwards or a falling [29-30] (also abstract, like a demotion [31]); (c) a movement towards a (planned) destination (that may be downwards or not) [32-33], and even (d) rapid movements into the air (in a serpentine manner like that of a rope [34], or in a swinging manner like a sword [35], etc.):

standing at the top of a given slope would refer to it as /šwvæg/; another person at the bottom of the same slope would speak of it as /zilæg/.”

(26)	WBal. (Turkm.) <i>šāī um čammān ars šewag būt</i> (BEDP Archive, unpublished text) ⁵⁸	“Tears flowed from his eyes”
(27)	SBal. <i>áiy chammán do tramp ars pa shép geragá járhī at</i> (Jahani, Baloch, Baloch 2022: 257) ⁵⁹	“In his eyes two drops of tears were about to flow” ⁶⁰
(28)	SBal. (Kečī) <i>do [...] trimp āyē gallānī sarā šēpgirān, āye jīgē sarā kaptant</i> (Elfenbein 1990/I: 76 [21])	“Two [...] teardrops, flowing down his cheeks, fell on his collar”
(29)	WBal. (Turkm.) <i>ye sing bi diga singān laggit u ša burzagā bāzēn singē bešī sarā šewag bütant</i> (BEDP Archive, unpublished text)	“This stone hit other stones and from the top many stones fell down on his heads”
(30)	WBal. (Sist.) <i>amēšī tā bass injā šewagē ku</i> (Delforooz 2010: 324)	“Inside it [the grave], he just poured down the lapful (of gold)”
(31)	W/SBal. <i>bēzānagēñ nābāwarān šēpañt tai nām māñ porān</i> (Jahāndide 2017: 1684-1685)	“(those) ignorant infidels throw your name into the dust”
(32)	WBal. (Turkm.) <i>šewag büt dēmi šā-niyāz-xānī pissāi šārā</i> (Zarubin 1932: 81)	“He set off in the direction of the town of Šā-Niyāz-Xānī’s father”
(33)	EBal. <i>āfā nasīva zurtho sar p^ha bolavā šēf bīthā Mireñ Čākura māñā</i> (Dames 1907/II: 6)	“Having taking the chances of the water She moved in the direction of Bolan, to the abode of Mir Čākur” ⁶¹
(34)	W/SBal. <i>ēwand cō mārā šēp gerān</i> (Jahāndide 2017 s.v. <i>ēwand & šēp girag</i>)	The <i>ēwand</i> ⁶² rope moves (downwards?) like a serpent

⁵⁸ On the Archive of the Balochi Etymological Dictionary Project see Rossi 2017 and below, this book, p. 121.

⁵⁹ The text is recorded in the Balochi Latin script adopted by the Balochi Language Project, Uppsala University.

⁶⁰ “Two teardrops were about to roll down her face” in Jahani, Baloch, Baloch 2022: 257.

⁶¹ Cf. Dames 1907/I: 6 (“Taking the chances of the running water, she followed down the slope of the Bolān to Mir Chākur’s abode”).

⁶² The *ēwand* (also said *rēz*) is a long rope used to lower down the bunches of dates from the top of the palm-tree (Jahāndide 2017).

(35)	WBal. (Turkm.) <i>amē salāt girdī</i> <i>amē watī zāmānā šīwag kurtant bi</i> <i>amē ɣaram-bāturī sarā</i> (Zarubin 1932: 153) ⁶³	“The warriors waved their swords all around towards the head of Gharam-Baturi”
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The diffusion of the form *šēwag*, only used in Western Balochi, is the effect of the linguistic contact with Eastern varieties of Persian (cf. above § 5). Similarly, the peculiar form *šay* ‘slope’ (Nourzaei, Jahani, Anonby, Ahangar 2015) recorded in the Bal. variety spoken by the members of the Korosh tribe, a tribe scattered across large areas of Southern Iran (Hormozgan and Fārs Province), is due to the contact with the dialects spoken in those areas (cf. above § 9);⁶⁴ see also *sar-e šeyā* ‘at the top of the slope’ in a Koroshi folktale published in Jahani, Nourzaei 2011: 67-68.

To a contact-induced effect one may also attribute the presence in Brahui of the following forms:⁶⁵ *šēf* ‘low, low-lying; down, on the ground; below (postposition, governing the ablative);’ *šēf kanning* ‘to lower, put down;’ *šēf danning* ‘to take down-country;’ *šēft* ‘declivity, down-country;’ *šēfkō* ‘lower, nether;’ *šēva* ‘slope, declivity; sloping downward;’ *šēva kanning* ‘to come downwards, descend;’ *saršēfa* ‘descent; descending, down-hill’ (Bray 1934); *šēf* ‘low, below;’ *šēfxalling* ‘to disgrace; strike down;’ *šēway* ‘fall of a government; waterfall’ (Elfenbein 1983). In Rossi 1979, *šēf* is inserted in the list of the ‘Brāhūī borrowings from Baloci’ (List A), *šēva* in the list of the ‘Brāhūī borrowings from other Iranian languages’ (List C). In the light of the documentation now available (cf. WBal. *šēwag* above) this distinction is no longer needed. One problem remains, however, and we should probably have to look for other source-languages for this specific transfer: in fact, Brahui *šēf* has locative implications (‘below’) and grammatical functions similar to those characterizing some members of the *šIB*-set in Western Iranian but that Bal. *šēp* and *šēwag* have not acquired. Cf.:

⁶³ Being unrecorded elsewhere in Zarubin’s texts and in other Bal. sources I have consulted, I consider *šīwag* in this passage as a variant of *šēwag*. In Elfenbein 1963 doubts are also advanced on the meaning of the complex verb occurring in this sentence [*šīwag* + *kan-* ‘?Threatened’]).

⁶⁴ See above, § 9.

⁶⁵ On general problems on contact-induced grammaticalization see Heine, Kuteva 2003.

(36)	Brahui <i>mašān šēf dīras marōe</i> (Bray 1934: 275)	“There ought to be some water below the hill”
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12. The *šIB*-set in Eastern Iranian

The picture is rather unclear. In Pašto one finds *nišéb*, *našéb* ‘1. slope, incline; 2. descent, declivity; 3. precipice; 4. low; gently sloping’ (Pashtoon 2009) as well as *ševá* ‘1) lowered, let down; *ševá kedál* ‘1. to descend, sink; to go down; to arrive somewhere; 2. lower down, downwards’ (Pashtoon 2009). The presence of both forms is seemingly the effect of linguistic contact with (Eastern varieties of) Persian (see above § 5).

Pšt. dictionaries also record *šebá* (‘1) instant; twinkling; 2) moment, time; 3) heavy rain, pouring rain; downpour’ (Pashtoon 2009). It remains to be seen if and how this item may be connected to the lexical set under consideration. Morgenstierne (2003: 78) suggests a possible derivation from “< *xšaiṗā*- with EVP, cf. Skt. *kṣip*- ‘to throw, cast,’ *kṣepa* ‘tossing.’ A connexion with Prs. (Steingass) *šība* ‘the shooting of an arrow’ is very unlikely.” As for the sense of ‘downpour,’ cf. also Kurdish *šipî* ‘shower, downpour,’ *šipen* ‘heavy downpour [ragbār-e tond-e bārān]’ (Salimi 2002: 238).⁶⁶

To the *šIB*-set seemingly belong Yidya *šifčiko*, *šifčo* and Munji *šifča* ‘waterfall,’ *šīvčā* ‘irrigation channel’ (Morgenstierne 1938).⁶⁷ As a mere hypothesis, one may also add here Yidya *viščo*, Munji *viškʷo* ‘steep hillside, ravine’ (Morgenstierne 1938), if one assumes the possibility of a metathesis of the two first consonants. Such a hypothesis would be supported by the existence of Iškašmi *viš*, *viš* ‘1) lower part [niz]; foot (of mountain); 2) bed’ (Paxalina 1959) and Sangleči *viš*, *biš* ‘below; flour, ground’ (Morgenstierne 1938), to which the designations for ‘waterfall’ and ‘ravine’ could be associated (as derivatives); see also, as lexical compounds, Iškašmi *baṣalviš*, Sangleči *kašviš* ‘armpit,’ Sangleči *ṗālviš* ‘Adam’s apple’ (cf. *ṗāl* ‘throat’) in the body domain. Iškašmi *viš* and Sangle. *viš*, *biš*, for

⁶⁶ Only Southern Kurdish? See also Hažār 1990. Unrecorded in the Kurmanji and Sorani dictionaries I have consulted.

⁶⁷ Morgenstierne (1938: 250) refers (with question mark) to Prs. *šeftan* ‘to trickle’ (cf. *šeftan* ‘to become mad (variant of *šifan*); to trickle; to scratch; to make drop’ in Dehxodā).

which no etymological explanation has been proposed so far, also work as function words:

(37)	Išk. <i>sənduq pə stol-viš</i> (Paxalina 1959: 241)	“the chest is under the table”
(38)	Išk. <i>uĵirĵ pə sung-viš ĵəst</i> (Paxalina 1959: 241)	“the partridge fled under the stone”

I also advance here the very tentative hypothesis of a connection of Šuyni, Orošori *ĵōy*, Xuŋi, Rošāni *ĵūy*, Bartangi *ĵūy* ‘moraine of large boulders’ (Morgenstierne 1974), Waxi *šəly* (Stebelin-Kamenskij 1999), *šuy* (Morgenstierne 1938) ‘moraine, place covered with stones’ with the ŠIB-set under discussion.⁶⁸ From the semantic point of view they remind *šivār* ‘alluvium’ in some dialects of Māzandarān (§ 10), *šuva* ‘wide alluvium’ in Māsarmi and similar forms recorded in the dialect of Fārs (§ 9) and elsewhere, also denoting accumulations of earth and stones generally carried and finally deposited by flowing water at the foot of a mountain.

13. Final remarks

As the data provided above clearly attest, representatives of the ŠIB-set, also including derivatives and compounds, are widespread in (mainly) Western Iranian languages, though semantic and functional developments are not parallel in all varieties. Forms close to Prs. *nešib* (derivatives with prefix *ni-*, cf. Phl. *nišēb*) are seemingly in use in Kurdish, some languages spoken in North Iran and Tajik.

From the referential point of view, this lexical set includes different environmental landmark terms that, according to different languages, display different semantic changes based on metonymic or metaphoric processes. In particular: declivity, slope (of mountains or hills), precipice, valley, narrow steep-sided valley (usually worn by running water), layers

⁶⁸ Previous etymological suggestions: < **us-srāya*- “cf. Skt. *ucchrāya*- growth, elevation; *uc-chri*- to raise, erect, increate?” (Morgenstierne 1974); or, in alternative, < **fra-sraya*- (Stebelin-Kamenskij 1999: 352). For Waxi *šuy*, Morgenstierne 1938: 541 had advanced a tentative connection with Skr. *kṣaya*- ‘waste, decay.’

of clay, sand, gravel, or other detrital material deposited at the foot of the mountain by running water, low-lying land, etc. In Kurdish and Balochi, ŠIB-terms mostly exhibit their link with the concept of ‘moving water:’ there one finds designations for watercourses, as well as for water streaming, running or falling in different contexts; among specialized senses, for instance, there is that of ‘waterway through which the water flows to the millstone;’ cf. above Kurmanji Krd. *šîp* (§ 7), but also Baxtiāri *šēv* (§ 6), (Zoroastrian) Yazdi and Kermāni *šivur* (§ 8).

With a transfer from one domain of human experience to another, landmark ŠIB-nouns, designating the lower part of a mountain or a hill have come to be used to refer to a subpart of an object, in particular its lower part or its lower surface; through a subsequent metonymy, the ŠIB-nouns for the lower part or the lower surface of an object have come to be used to indicate the space adjacent to that area, acquiring in this way relational spatial meanings. These developments have triggered on the one hand the creation of terms like *šive*, commonly used in several areas of the Iranian plateau as the designation of the sole of a traditional, durable and handmade type of footwear, generally known as *give*,⁶⁹ on the other the starting of grammatical processes, whereby ŠIB-nouns grammaticalized into adverbs and/or adpositions. The relational character of the result of such kind of processes allows for a ‘grading’ process, as for instance is the case with (Zor.) Yazdi *šivter* ‘further down’ (§ 8), which would not be possible with a member of the nominal category.

Grammaticalization is to be intended as a continuous development. Many Ir. languages exhibit representatives of the ŠIB-set used adverbially or as the non-verbal element of complex verbs to indicate downward direction; this step in the grammaticalization path has already been documented in Pahlavi.⁷⁰ Semantic generalization has produced a change from a ‘movement downwards’ to a ‘movement with the intention to reach a specific goal.’ The UP/DOWN spatial orientational metaphor (GOOD is UP and BAD is DOWN)⁷¹ has favoured the creation of ŠIB-terms meaning ‘misfortune,’ as is the case with Tajik *nišeb* (§ 5) and WBal. *šēwag* (§ 11). In

⁶⁹ See already Behruzi 1969: 386 for Širāzi *šive* (“Probably this word derives from *šib* in the sense of ‘under [zir]’”).

⁷⁰ See above, § 2, example (3).

⁷¹ See above, § 4.

the projection of the earth's surface along the vertical axis the perspective may play a relevant role; worth noting is *Dašti ši* 'near' (§ 9), displaying a clear deictic value (the speaker identifying his/her position with the 'lower position').

The representatives of the *šIB*-set in the different Iranian languages point to different degrees in the grammaticalization path: as adpositions used to describe location under or below something, *šIB*-terms are only found in specific areas. In these areas, many compounds and idioms in everyday language are also found with *ši*, *šu*, etc. 'under' as the first element; in equivalent Persian compounds and idioms, *zir* occurs instead of *ši*, *šu*, etc. The areal diffusion of this phenomenon is rather clear; it is particularly evident in some of the Central Plateau dialects and Fārs dialects. Apparent inconsistencies may be explained; this is the case, for instance, of *še* 'under/below [*zir*]' in the Māzandarāni dialect of Dibāḡ (§ 10), a village located in the district of Damghān, Semnān Province. This dialect is characterized by some peculiarities that distinguish it from other Māzandarāni dialects and find their reason in the strong historical, cultural and linguistic ties of the Damghān area with Khorāsān, Shāhrud and Central Iran.

That Prs. *šib* 'under,' below' developed from *šib* 'lower part'⁷² has been clearly recognized by scholars and never questioned; the situation is slightly different as far as the etymology of the various forms *ši*, *šu* 'under, below' is concerned. These forms represent the last step of the grammaticalization process under consideration, the phase in which also erosion (i.e., loss of phonetic structure) occurs. As far as Sivandi *šī* is concerned, this connection was recognized by Hübschmann (1895: 178) in his additional note ("Dazu g. *šīv-sar* 'unter del Kopf' [...], *sīvend. šī* 'unter'") to Horn 1893 (*šēb*, *šēw* 'Unteres, Unterteil; Hinterer'). It was also recognized by Morgenstierne (1960: 136), who challenged the link proposed by Hadank (1930: 62) with Gorāni (Kandulai) *čīr* 'under' ("Kandulai, Awromani *č* vs. Sivandi *š*") and wrote: "It is more probable than *ši*: is related to Prs. *ši:v* (also in Buringuni)." Eilers (1988b: 344), on the other hand, still expresses doubts and seems to lean towards Hadank's suggestion ("wohl zu np. *šīb/v*, (*nī*)*šīb* (bei Morgenstierne p. 136). Oder gar (NW) < **čīr* (زیر)?").

⁷² I use here the label 'Persian' with the limitation hinted at in § 4.

To conclude, worth noting is also the use of representatives of the ŠIB-set as absolute orientation points, as illustrated by Sistāni *šēb* ‘south’ (§ 5); Kurmanji Krd. *nişîv* ‘south’ (§ 7); Kermāni *ši bād* ‘wind blowing from south to north’ (§ 8), etc. In fact, absolute orientation taking into account the four cardinal points represents only one possibility. Other systems exist and are used throughout the world, with environmental entities, such as mountains, hills and rivers, functioning as reference points for orientation;⁷³ on the usage of ‘up’ and ‘down’ in Balochi as orientational points depending on the direction of the water movement see Filippone 1996: 147-150.

⁷³ See Svorou 1994: 30-31.



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