





DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE UMANISTICHE, DELLA COMUNICAZIONE
E DEL TURISMO (DISUCOM)
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DELLA TUSCIA

Ela Filippone Sara Belelli Matteo De Chiara

STUDI DI LINGUISTICA E FILOLOGIA IRANICA
STUDIES IN IRANIAN LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY



ROMA
2022

TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

ISBN 978-88-66872-24-5

© 2022 Scienze e Lettere S.r.l.
via Malladra 33 – 00157 Roma
e-mail: info@scienzelettere.com
www.scienzelettere.com

INDICE

<i>Prefazione</i> di E. Filippone.....	7
1. Along the Path of a Grammaticalization Process: Prs. <i>šib</i> and <i>nešib</i> ‘Slope’ and Their Cognates in the Iranian Languages (E. Filippone)	9
2. Laki Verbal Particles (S. Belevli)	43
3. Some Balochi Nautical Terms (S. Belevli)	67
4. Problemi di lessicografia e lessicologia pashto (M. De Chiara)	77
5. Sulla trascrizione del pashto (M. De Chiara)	93
6. Divisi dalla “penna” e dalla “spada”: la codifica delle grafie kurde, dai fratelli Bedir Khan e Taufiq Wahby al kurdo meridionale (S. Belevli)	107
7. The King and the Thieves: Three Balochi Versions of a Well-Known Folktale (E. Filippone).....	121
<i>Bibliography</i>	143



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

The King and the Thieves: Three Balochi Versions of a Well-Known Folktale

ELA FILIPPONE

1. Introduction

The textual archive of the Balochi Etymological Dictionary Project (BEDP, University of Naples, L'Orientale, Tuscia University, Viterbo and ISMEO/Rome) contains several unpublished texts, among which a few provided in transcription by Prof. Alexander Grjunberg in the early 1990s. They have mostly been collected in the area of Mari (Turkmenistan) by Sergej Axenov who published some years later a corpus-based grammatical description of the Balochi language of Turkmenistan (2006).¹ To these texts belongs the folktale I am going to publish here as K-T/1.² This is followed by two other versions of the same story in other Balochi varieties (K-T/2 in Sistāni Balochi, K-T/3 in Eastern Balochi), that have already been published in Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 366-377 and Dames 1891.I: 17-18,³ respectively.

Finding different versions of this very story in the Balochi speaking area is not at all surprising. It is in fact a well-known story, spread in a very large area running from North Africa to India (and also Europe). The oldest available documentation in Persian language dates back to the 13th century; it is

¹ Axenov mainly based his linguistic analysis on folkloric texts collected during several trips to Turkmenistan in the period between 1989 and 2000 (Axenov 2006: 27).

² As far as I know the text is still unpublished though couple of sentences have been used as examples in Axenov 2006: 60 [16]; 131 [330]. I dedicate this paper to the memory of Prof. Alexander L. Grjunberg.

³ Translated by Dames in 1893: 300-302 (see also Jamiat Rai 1913: 27-29, substantially the same translation as that of Dames). A Russian translation is in Gankovskij 1989: 27-29. Dames' version has been quoted in Roberts, Thompson 1960 (N. 951 C).

a literary version by Jalāl-al-din Rumi.⁴ The story can be summarized as follows: A king in disguised dress joins up with a gang of robbers, all of them endowed with an extraordinary ability, and all together carry out a burglary in the king's own palace. When the robbers are going to be executed for their crime, the king saves them from death (Type 951A in Uther 2004).⁵

2. Texts

The three versions of our story are given in the following.⁶

2.1 K-T/1 (TrkBal.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>šā abbās šapā watrā yalatnimā-a kurt⁷ u bi šāray kūča⁸-u-maydānān čār-a kurt.⁹</i> | 1. Šāh Abbās at night used to change his appearance and wander the streets and the squares of the town. |
| 2. <i>yak šapē waxt bi yak kūčaay tā gō du mardumā brēbir¹⁰ büt.</i> | 2. One night in a street he bumped into two men. |
| 3. <i>gō yēšān salām-u-alaykē kurt u yak ūkkurē amrā büt. yē guštānt ki: ammā duzz-an.</i> | 3. He exchanged greetings with them and went along with them for a while. They said: "We are thieves." |

⁴ *Masnavi-ye ma'navi* VI, 2816-2921. English translation in Nicholson 1934: 414-419.

⁵ 951 A*, 951 C in AT. See also Marzolph 1984: 178-179 (Iranian folklore); Eberhard, Boratov 1953: 375 (Turkish folklore; Type 344).

⁶ Transcription generally follows that of each source, with some slight modifications. In K-T/3, for instance, Dames' *ā, i, ū* have been changed into *ā, ī and ū*; *gh* has been changed into *γ, dh* into *δ*, etc. Abbreviations used: (languages) AfghBal. = Balochi of Afghanistan; Ar. = Arabic; (W, S, E) Bal. = (Western, Southern, Eastern) Balochi; Prs. = Persian; Sist. = Sistāni; Sist-Bal. = Balochi of Sistān; TrkBal. = Balochi of Turkmenistan.

⁷ TrbBal. *yalatnimā* 'changed appearance'; *watrā yalatnimā kurtin* 'to change appearance' (Axenov 2006).

⁸ Bal. *kūča* 'street' (Axenov 2006; Elfenbein 1963 [but read *kūča* instead of *kūčē*]), is a Prs. lw. with a limited areal diffusion within the Bal. speaking area.

⁹ TrkBal. *čār* 'course, wandering'; *čār kurtin* 'to wander, ramble' (Axenov 2006). Connected to the verb *čar(r)ag* 'to turn; to roam, to go around.' See also below, fn. 53.

¹⁰ A variant of *brābir*; both *brābir* and *brēbir* are attested in Zarubin 1932 and 1949, with the meaning of 'equal' (see *brābirā* 'in order, equally' in Elfenbein 1963) but also of 'opposite, facing.' The existence of more phonetic variants for this word is also attested in other dialects; cf. *barēbar*, *barōbar* in Jahāndide 2017, *barēbar*, *barōbar*, *barābar* in Sayad Hāšmi 2000. Cf. Prs. *barābar* and cognates, among which probably also Kurmanji Kurdish *berbiri* 'proceeding from the opposite direction, coming out to meet' (Chyet 2020), 'de, venant de (*indique la provenance*)' (Nezan 2017).

4. *šā abbās š-ēšān xāyišt*¹¹ *kurt ki: mnā um*¹² *gō wat pa duzzīā barit.*

5. *duzz guštant: ammā harē yakkē yak unar dāran, ta če unar dāray? šā abbās gušt: šumā če unar dārit?*

6. *yakkē gušt: mnī unar amēš int ki har yak čīzērā ki dil bandīn, šap bīt, roč bīt, dīsta ma baīn*¹³ *am, wadī-a kanīn.*

7. *duwwumīyēn gušt: mnī unar amēš int ki har čunēn warokēn u gandagēn kučakkē bīt, mnā ki bgindīt, na gwakkūt*¹⁴ *u pa mnī jānā arkatt-a na kant.*

8. *šā abbās gušt: mnī unar amēš int ki agar man watī čappēn dastā bi čappēn barōtā bkaššin, sad mardumā bi kuštīnā daīn wa agar rāstēn dastā bi rāstēn barōtā bkaššin, sad mardumā ša kuštīnā alās-a kanīn.*

9. *yē duzz šā abbāsay unarā bēxī*¹⁵ *zabrēn*¹⁶ *unarē isāb kurtant čērā*¹⁷ *ki*

4. Šāh Abbās asked them to take him with them to steal.

5. The thieves said: “Each of us has a skill; what skill do you have?” Šāh Abbās replied: “What skill do you have?”

6. One said: “My skill is this, that everything I would bend my heart upon, be it day, be it night, even if I am not able to see, I find (it).”

7. The second one said: “My skill is this, that a dog, no matter how ravening and bad it is, if it sees me, doesn’t bark and doesn’t set on me.”

8. Šāh Abbās said: “My skill is this, that if I skitter my left hand on my left moustache, I condemn one hundred people to death, but if skitter my right hand on my right moustache I save from death one hundred people.”

9. These thieves esteemed Šāh Abbās’s skill a very good skill, since, should

¹¹ This form is not attested in Bal. dictionaries. In Zarubin 1932: 88 one finds the variant *xāhišt* (cf. *ša ta xāhišt a-kanīn* ‘I request you’). On the diffusion of *št*-deverbatives (or nominal derivatives) in Iranian, including Balochi (probably due to influence from Sistāni or other Eastern or South-Eastern Persian varieties), see Filippone 2011: 193-194. TrkBal. *xāyišt kurtin* is semantically equivalent to Prs. *xāheš kardan* (‘to ask, request, beg’).

¹² *-um* (also *-am*) ‘also, even.’ As Prs. *ham*, it also works as a focal particle (Axenov 2006: 233).

¹³ On this particular construction (past participle of the main verb, plus negative inflected forms of the verb ‘to be’) to express ‘impossibility’ see Axenov 2006: 224.

¹⁴ Bal. *gwakkag* ‘to bark’ (see also below, K-T/2 [13]) seems to have an areal connotation, with a more rooted presence in the Bal. varieties spoken in Iran (cf. Jahāndide 2017 [*gwakkag*, but also *wakkag*]). In other WBal. and SBal. varieties the variant *wakkag* is the usual one for ‘to bark’ (cf. Dashti 2019: *wakkag*, Dašti 2017: *wakkag*, *warḡag*, etc.). Variant forms are however also recorded in Raxšāni: cf. *wakkūt* / *gwakkūt* in a Bal. proverb in Elfenbein 1990: 438 [30 a,b]). In Eastern Balochi, ‘to bark’ is usually *b^aaunkay* (see below, K-T/3 [18]).

¹⁵ Cf. *bēxī* ‘very’ in Axenov 2006.

¹⁶ *zabr* ‘good’ (Axenov 2006); ‘very well, very strong’ (Elfenbein 1963). Not only TrkBal.; cf. (Bal. of Iran) Jahāndide 2017 (*zabr* ‘well; healthy; much, a great deal; beautiful’). See also Xorāsāni (Qāini) *zabr* ‘strong, vigorous’ (Šālči 1991).

¹⁷ In the TrkBal. stories collected by Grjunberg, Axenov and kept at the BEDP Archive, there are at least two occurrences of *čērā ki* ‘because, since;’ from Prs. *čērā ke* ‘id.’

agar gīr āyant, yē amrāyīš āwānā ša markā alās-a kant.

10. šā abbāsā gō watī amrādārīyā zurtant u šutant dēmi āi jinday xazānagā.¹⁸

11. ā duzz ki guštī: kučakk mnā bgin-dant u na gwakkant, taī abar rāst int.

12. ā ki guštī: man nābaladēn jānā baladī-a kanīn u ar čīzērā ki mnī dīl bkaššūt, wadī-a kanīn, rāstām¹⁹ šut u xazānagay gīsay dapā ōštāt.

13. yē gīsay dapā pruštant u xazānagay zarr-u-sōrānā baḡ kurtant.

14. ša šārā dar būtant u yē čīzānā watī mānjīnā bār²⁰ kurtant.

15. har kas watī bārā zurt u gō yakdīgarā xudā-āfizī kurtant.

16. šā abbās gušt: ay brāsān, man bi šaray plān kūčaay plān jā zindagānī²¹-a kanīn, mnī nām plānī int, šumay nām-u-nišānī kay int ki man bzānīn u šumayā byān?

17. duzz watī nām-u-nišānītānā pa šā abbās guštant u ša yakdīgarā jītā būtant u ar kas bi watī gīsā šut.

18. yē duzz ša šā abbās bāz xāyīšt kurtant ki šā abbās āwānā bēwōš²² ma kant u āwānī gīsā bayt.

19. šā abbās um yēšānā qawl dāt ki: man šumārā bēwōš-a na kanīn.

they be captured, this comrade of theirs could save them from death.

10. They took Šāh Abbās away along with them and headed for his treasury.

11. That thief which had said: “If the dogs see me they do not bark,” your words are true.

12. The one which had said: “I recognize unknown places and I find everything my heart desires, went forward and stood at the door of the treasury.

13. They broke the door of this house and loaded upon their back the money and gold of the treasury.

14. They went out of the town and shared these things among them.

15. Each one took his share and they said good-by each other.

16. Šāh Abbās said: “Hey brothers, I live in the so-and-so town, in the so-and-so street; my name is so-and-so. What is your name and your address, so that I can know it and come to you?”

17. The thieves told to Šāh Abbās their names and addresses, separated and each one went to his home.

18. These thieves vehemently asked Šāh Abbās not to forget them and to come to their houses.

19. And Šāh Abbās promised them: “I will not forget you.”

¹⁸ Bal. *xazānag* ‘treasury,’ also found in K-T/2. Cf. *hazānag* in Jahāndide 2017; < Prs.

¹⁹ *rāstām* ‘forward’ (Axenov 2006), ‘right’ (Elfenbein 1963 [*rāstām*]), ‘straightforward’ [mostaqim]; straight line [xatt-e rāst-o-mostaqim] (Jahāndide 2017); Zarubin 1932 (*rāstām*) *passim*, Zarubin 1949: 83[twice] (*rāstām*).

²⁰ (Raxšāni) Bal. *bār* (< *bahr*) ‘share, destiny, allotment’ (Elfenbein 1990), *bār kan-* ‘to apportion’ (Elfenbein 1963); see also Jahāndide 2017.

²¹ Prs. *zendegāni* ‘life.’

²² *bēwōš* ‘forgotten’ (Elfenbein 1963), *bēwōš* ‘unconscious’ (Axenov 2006); cf. Jahāndide 2017 *bē-hōš* ‘unconscious; forgotten.’

20. *šā abbās šapay āxirā bi watī gisā
āt u watī baḡḡā yak jāyē išt u puččānā
kaššit u wapt.*

21. *tārī ki rōč būt, šā abbāsā sī kurtant
ki dōšī xazānagā duzz jata, mazanēn
čīzērā burtagant.*

22. *šā abbās watī wazīr u wakīl u duz-
bigīrānā tawār kurt u ukm kurt ki
duzzānā wadī bkanant.*

23. *wazīr u wakīl u duz-bigīr say šap
u say rōč har čī ki gardant, ša duzzān
darakk²³-u-wādarakkē jataḡ-a na ka-
nant.*

24. *čārumīyēn rōč ki bīt, šā abbāsā
gušant ki: ammā hič darakkē jata na
kurtan.*

25. *šā abbās du māsilā²⁴ tawār-a kant
u duzzānī nām u nišāna u gisānī u kūča
u jāyiš māsilānā guštī u āwānī
āwurtinā ukm-a kurt.*

26. *māsil šutant u duzzānā āurtant šā
abbāsay darbārā.*

27. *šā abbās ukm-a kant ki: duzzānā
byārit!*

20. At the end of the night Šāh Abbās came back home, left his load somewhere, stripped off his clothes and went to bed.

21. When it was morning, they informed Šāh Abbās that the night before thieves had robbed the treasury and had taken away a big thing.

22. Šāh Abbās summoned his visir, his viceroy and the thief-catchers and ordered to find the thieves.

23. The vizier, the viceroy and the thief-catchers no matter how much they go around for three days and three nights, are not able to get news of the thieves.

24. At the fourth day, they say to Šāh Abbās: “We were not able to get any news.”

25. Šāh Abbās summons two guards and tells the guards the names, addresses, street and place of the thefts, and ordered to bring them.

26. The guards went and brought the thieves to Šāh Abbās’s court.

27. Šāh Abbās orders: “Bring the thieves!”

²³ *darakk* ‘news (about somebody)’ (Axenov 2006). It is not easy to define the area where this word is really in use (apparently somewhere in the Raxšāni speaking area). Very few dictionaries and glossaries record it. A MS with a Balochi/Brahui/English/Urdu lexical list by Āyā Mir Nāsir Xān Ahmedzai (EBDP Archive) records Bal. *darak*, Brahui *darak* ‘search, inquiry, clue;’ this information is supported by the occurrence of *darakk* in a classical poem by Jām Durak (chief poet at the court of Nāsir Xān of Kalat) (Elfenbein 1990: 264; in *Glossary*, see *darakk* ‘discovered, traced’ (imprecise!) + *jan-* ‘to discover’). Jahāndide 2017 quotes it referring to Nāgumān 2011³ (*darak* ‘clue’). Cf. also Sist. *darak* ‘indication, footprint, trace’ (Mohammadi Xomak 2000). In (23) *darakk* is at the base of the formation of an echo-compound, a typical product of a sound symbolic strategy characterizing Iranian and other languages in a very large contact area.

²⁴ Bal. *māsil* ‘envoy; soldier, guard’ (Elfenbein 1990); *māsel* ‘guard [pāsban]’ (Jahāndide 2017); *māsal* ‘guard’ (Dashti 2019). Probably in use only in some varieties of Raxšāni. As tentatively suggested by Elfenbein, it could be a phonetic adaptation of Prs. *mohassel* (< Ar. *muḥaṣṣil*) ‘(tax) collector.’

28. *duz ančō ki bi gisay tā putrant, ša duzzān yakkē šā abbāsā drust²⁵-a kant ki yē amā šapīyēn ammay amrāk²⁶ int.* 28. When the thieves entered the house, one of the thieves recognized Šāh Abbās: “This is that comrade of ours of that evening.”
29. *duzz-a gušt: ay pādīšā! ammā xāyišt-a kanan ki ta watī rāstēn dastā bi rāstēn barōtā bkaššay.* 29. The thief says: “Hey king! We ask you to skitter you right hand on your right moustache.”
30. *šā abbās sarpad būt ki duz āyirā drust kurt.* 30. Šāh Abbās understood that the thief had recognized him.
31. *šā abbās gušt: šumārā baxšātun. Brayit.* 31. Šāh Abbās said: “I have forgiven you. Go.”
32. *duz šutant u amā čīzē ki burtatant, padā āwurtant.* 32. The thieves left, and that thing they had brought, they carried back.
33. *yē abaray mānēā biḡayr-i duzzān u pādīšāā digar hičkas sarpad na būt.* 33. The meaning of this story nobody understood except the thieves and the king.

2.2 K-T/2 (SistBal.)²⁷

0. *Bādīšā Hārūn u čār duzz* 0. King Harun and the four thieves
1. *bādšā-(y)i ārūn. gušt bādšā-ē-at, bādīšā-ē-at.* 1. King Harun. They say he was a king, he was a king.
2. *rōčā taxtay sarā ništ, šapā čōn²⁸-a ku? kōnagēn pučč gwarā-a ku, kōnagēn pučč gwarā-a ku, čār-a ku.* 2. During the day he was sitting on the throne. What was he doing at night? He put out worn out clothes, he put out worn out clothes (and) walked around.
3. [^H *badalnamā²⁹-a ku*] *badalnamā-a ku, ā.* 3. [^H He disguised himself]. He disguised himself, yes.

²⁵ *drust* ‘kown, recognized’, *drust kurtin* ‘to know, to recognize’ (Axenov 2006). This particular sense of *drust* (generally ‘all, whole’ in Bal.) and the complex construction *drust kurtin/kanag* is not peculiar to TrkB. only; it may be found in other varieties of Raxšāni Balochi, as well (Barker, Mengal 1969.1: 436–437). With this sense it has been transferred into Brahui (Rossi 1979: 13 [A96]). See also Jahāndide 2017; Dašti 2017, 2019, etc. Cf. Prs. *dorost* ‘right, complete, full, sound etc.’ and cognates with partially different meanings. As other predicates belonging to the domain of cognition, *drust kurtin/kanag* is a logophoric verb construction and is followed by direct speech.

²⁶ Final *-k* is difficult to explain (elsewhere *amrā* ‘friend, comrade’). Probably, this is a typing or recording error, if not a sort of intrusive sound in speech.

²⁷ Hearers’ spontaneous interventions are enclosed in brackets. See below.

²⁸ For the sense ‘what [čē kār]’ of (Iranian) Bal. *čōn* (‘how’) see also Jahāndide 2017.

²⁹ Equivalent to *yalatnimā*; see above fn. 7.

4. *čār-a ku*³⁰ *sayl-a ku ki mnī bādšāīay mardum čē rayam* 4. He walked around (and) looked around (to see) how the people of his kingdom (were).³¹
5. *āt ta*³² *yakk jā-ē čār napar ništag-ant.* 5. He came (and saw) that four people were sitting in a place.
6. *ništag-ant-u gušt šumā čī-a kanit?* 6. They were sitting and he said: “What are you doing?”
7. *gušt-ī: ammā amidā kār-ē dāran.* 7. They/he said: “We have something to do here.”
8. *gušt: čē-(y)ē?* 8. He said: “What’s this about?”
9. *gušt-ī: ammā-a rawan rāst sōj-a kanay pa duzzī-u xazānag-u ē rangēn.* 9. They/he said: “We are going – you are right to ask – for theft and treasure and such kind (of things).”
10. *gušt: mnā-am gō wat amrā kanit.* 10. He said: “Let me also come along with you.”
11. *gušt-ant: ammā čār nafar-an čār kism*³³ *-a zānan. agar ta kism-ē zānay, trā baran.* 11. They said: “We are four people (and) we are able in four abilities. If you are able in an ability we take you (with us).”
12. *gušt-ī: xōb, šumā bgušt watī kism-mānā. šumay kism čē-(y)ē?* 12. He said: “Well, tell your abilities. What (is) your ability?”
13. *yak-ē gušt: mnī kism amēš-int ki ābādī-ē nazzik būt kučakk gwakkīt, man-a zānīn ki ē čī-(y)a gušt, amē lab-zay-a*³⁴ *zānīn kučakkay.* 13. One said: “My ability is this: when a village is close (and) the dog barks I know what it says, I know its language, (that) of the dog.”

³⁰ See above, fn. 9.

³¹ Not ‘(were doing)’ as in Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 366. Here *rayam* alternates with *rakam* (see K-T/2 51). (Ir.) Bal. *rakam* ‘kind, type;’ < Prs. *raqm*, *raqam* [< Ar. *raqm*] ‘1) figure, digit, etc.; 2) type’). As other verbs of perception, *sayl kanag* is a logophoric construction and it is followed by direct discourse.

³² On *ta* see below, p. **.

³³ Bal. *kism* (as Prs. *qesm* ‘type, sort; share (also destiny)’ < Ar. *qism*) generally means ‘type, sort,’ a sense that does not fit the context. For (Ir.) Bal. *kism*, Jahāndide 2017 also mentions the sense ‘activity, profession’ [kār-o-kušēš’, ‘harfē-o-šoyl’].” In TrkBal., the co-compound *kār-u kism* ‘(working) activity, profession’ is a synonym of *kism* (Zarubin 1949: 67 [cf. *ešānī kār-u kism muzzūrī* at (l. 6) vs. *ešānī kism muzzūrī būt* ‘their work/activity was working for hire/labor’). A similar meaning is conveyed by *kism-u-kār* occurring in a tale by a Bal. speaker from the surrounding of Nikšahr (BEDP Archive).

³⁴ Bal. *labz* is not only ‘word’ but also ‘language, dialect’ (Jahāndide 2017), (SistBal.) *lazb* ‘Sprache’ (with metathesis) (Buddruss 1989), Sayad Hāšmi 2000, etc. Cf. Prs. *lafz* (< Ar.) ‘word, utterance or pronunciation.’

14. *gušt: ta-hooo*³⁵ *ē jwānēn xatarnāk-ē.*

15. *yakk-ē gušt: mnī kism amēš-int harčōnēn tārīkī-ē, mardum-ē bgindīn, man duwārag drust-a kanīn.*

16. *yakk-ē gu: mnī kism amēš-int ki man arčōnēn dīwāl-ē bīt, awlīēn lagat(t)ā maprōšūt, du(y)umīēn sayumīēn atman-a rawt, ša bayn-a prōšūt.*

17. *yakk-ē gušt: mnī kism amēš-int ki rēkā ē rang say kanīn, zānīn ki idā xazānag-ast idā nē.*

18. *gušt: ta-hooo*³⁶ *ē xatarnākēn kism-ē, mnī am man kism-ē dārīn.*

19. *gušt: tī kism čī-ē?*

20. *gušt: man rīšā ki čandēntun, mardumā ša ēdām*³⁷ *alās-a kanīn.*³⁸

21. *gušt: napā*³⁹ *trā amrā-a kanan gō watī. tī jwānēn kism-ē.*

22. *xulāsa bādšā ārūn čē kurt? gō ēšā rādag būt.*

23. *ēšānā āzmāiš ku ki ta bārēn rāst-int amē wār drōy-int.*

24. *šutant. ābādī ki nazzīk būt, kučakk gwakkitant.*

25. *ā gušt: lāla, ē kučakk-a guštīt bādšā gōn-int-u bādšā gōn-int gō mašmā.*

14. He said: “Oh, wow! This is a fairly dangerous (thing).”

15. One said: “My ability is this: however dark it is (if) I see a person, the next time I will recognize him.”

16. One said: “My ability is this: I, any type of wall there is, (if) it doesn’t break down with the first kick, with the second or the third kick it will surely fall down (and) disintegrate.”

17. One said: “My ability is this: when I look at the soil in this way, I know whether there is a treasure here not.”

18. He (the king) said: “Oh, wow! This is a dangerous ability. Mine, too. I (also) have an ability”.

19. He/They said: “What is your ability?”

20. He said: “If/when I shake my beard, I release people from execution.”

21. He said: “Then we let you come along us on our way. Yours is a good ability.”

22. In short, what did king Haroon do? He set out with them.

23. He tested them whether this is right or this time is a lie.

24. They went. When they came near the village the dogs barked.

25. The first one said: “Brothers, this dog says: the king is with (us), the king is with us.”

³⁵ So (*gušt ta-hooo*) in the transcription of Barjasteh Delforoosh. In fact, listening to the recording in the CD, one hears something like [ʃtū’ū:]. See below, p. 137.

³⁶ See above, fn. 35.

³⁷ See also (Ir.) Bal. *aydām* ‘execution’ in Jahāndide 2017 (Prs. *ē’dām*, < Ar.).

³⁸ In fact, *alās-a kant* “it/he will release” in Barjasteh Delforoosh 2010: 370. I have emended it into the 1st singular person, considering it as a case of loss of control by the storyteller.

³⁹ The discourse marker *napā* ‘then, afterwards’ is also frequently found in TrkBal. Cf. also Sist. *nafā* ‘then [pas, napas]’ (Mohammadi Xomak 2000).

26 *gušt: b-ill watī abarā, bādšā kay gō ē layaṛīēn puččān-a k-ayt pa duzzīā?*

27. *ā, gōn-int!*

28. *ḡabūl nakurtant ā(y)ī abarā.*

29. *gušt: xōb-int!*

30 *āxir ā diga dīwāl-ē ki nazzik būt, humm-ē dāt gō sayumīēn lagat(t)ay dīwālā čappi-ē ku.*

31. *šutant ākā [...]*

32. *bādšā zānt ki idā xazānag-int.*

33. *gušt-ī: ī āk-int, say kan!*

34. *ākā ki sayl ku, gušt-ī: amidā xazānag-ē. xazānagā kaššitant.*

watī paṭṭū-ē dāšt, inj⁴⁰-ē dāšt, purr-ē kurtant burtant.

35. *gušt: xōb. bādšā gušt ki šumā annūn watī adris(s)ā dayīy dayit.*

36. *mašmay jwānēn kism-ē.*

[^H *ā, mašmā-u brās⁴²-an*] *ā, brās-an.*

37. *man-am watī adris(s)ā daīn šumā-am b-dayit.*

38. *bādšā watī adris(s)ā ḡalatt dāt.*

39. *āwānī dayīy adris(s)ā gipt-u sōbī šut bādšā(y)ā ništ.*

26. They/He said: “Don’t say such things. When would the king come in these worn-out clothes for stealing?”

27. “Yes, he is with (us)!”

28. They did not accept his word.

29. He said: “ok!”

30. Later, when the other one was near a wall, he made a sudden sharp jerk, with his third kick he demolished the wall.

31. They went, the soil [...].

32. The king knew that the treasure is here.

33. He [the king] said: “This is soil, look at it!”

34. When he [the theft] looked at the soil, he said: “Right here there is a treasure.” They pulled out the treasure.” Whoever either had a blanket or had a lap cloth, they filled up (and) took them away.

35. He/They said: “Well.” The king said: “Now give your address accurately.

36. Ours is a good ability.⁴¹

[Yes, we are brothers] Yes, we are brothers.

37. I give my address and you also give (yours).”

38. The king gave his address incorrectly.

39. He took their accurate address and in the morning he went (and) sat down on the throne.

⁴⁰ Bal. *inj* ‘the skirt [dāman] of a garment for both men and women (but especially for men)’ (Jahāndide 2017).

⁴¹ “We have something good going” in Barjasteh Delforoosh 2010: 373.

⁴² Notably, listening to the recording of the text available in the CD attached to Barjasteh Delforoosh 2010, I had the impression to clearly hear *brāt* (and not *brās*, as reported in Barjasteh Delforoosh) in both cases. This datum can question the absolute homogeneity generally attributed to the distribution of the *brāt*-type in the Raxšāni area (see for instance Elfenbein 1990.II: VII).

40. *ništ-u bass*⁴³ *māmūrānā dēm dāt ki ēšānā b-girit-u b(y)ārit!* 40. He sat down and immediately after sent the agents (with the order): “Arrest and bring them!”
41. *ēšānā giptant, āwurtant. giptant āwurtant. mākima*⁴⁴ *kurt-ī.* 41. They arrested (and) brought them. They arrested (and) brought (them). He put (them) on trial.
42. *gušt-ī ki šumā ē rang bādšāy xazānagā jatag-it, ē rang kurtag-it, dōšī ē rangēn kār-ē.* 42. He said: “You have broken into the king’s treasure in this way, you have done in this way, last night (you have done) such an act.”
43. *gušt: nakurta-an. gušt: na!* 43. He/They said: “We haven’t done (that).” He [the king] said: “No!”
44. *amā ki tārīkī-ē drust-a na-ku, amā gušt: lāla, ē amē dōšīēn mardum-int.* 44. The one who did not recognize him in the darkness, that one said: “Brothers, this is the very man of last night!”
45. *xānaxarāb,*⁴⁵ *ā layarī-ēn pučč nūn mardak*⁴⁶ *bādšā-ē, tāj-ē dārīt ē rang-u ē rang.* 45. “Damn you, that man (was) in worn-out clothes, now this man is a king, he has a crown (and) this and that.”
46. *gušt: na, yānē man drust-a kanīn ē amā-ēn mardum-ē.* 46. He said: “No, as I recognize he is that very man.”
47. *xōb, ta ki ā rang drust-a kanay amā-int, ā amidā ki mušmay ēdām-ī-ā sādīr ku, ta guš, bādšā sāib, ta watī rīšā yakk wār bčandēn.* 47. “Well, you who recognize in this way (that) it is he, when he issues our death sentence just here, say: ‘Oh king, shake your beard at once’.”
48. *ā amā-int. ē gušt: šumā alās-it, šumā bāyid ēdām bayit.* 48. It is that. He (the king) said: “You are released(?),⁴⁷ you have to be executed.”
49. *gušt-ī: xōb, ammā-u ki ēdām-a bayan bādšā sāib ta watī rīšā yakk wār bčandēn.* 49. He said: “Well, (now that) we will certainly be executed, oh king, shake your beard at once.”

⁴³ As a developing connective, *bass* indicates “a new development in BS narratives. The temporal meaning of *bass* can be interpreted as ‘just, just then, immediately after that’” (Barjasteh Delfooroz 2010: 209).

⁴⁴ Prs. *mahkame* ‘law court, surgery or consulting room etc.’

⁴⁵ This is a Prs. curse expressing the desire for someone’s impoverishment (Najafi 1999).

⁴⁶ Here *-ak* is a marker of definiteness; it has been transferred from Sistāni (cf. Ahangar et al. 2017: 20).

⁴⁷ As Prs. *xalās*, Bal. (x/h)*alās* means both ‘finished’ and ‘released, free(d).’ It is not clear how it should be intended here. In my opinion, in (48) *alās* is merely an error of the storyteller, who introduces a concept in advance and corrects himself immediately after. Otherwise, one should think that he is using it in the sense of ‘finished’ here and in the sense of ‘released’ in (50), as interpreted by Barjasteh Delfooroz.

50. *zānt-ī diga idā*. [^H *ā*, *drust-ī ku*].
bass ki čandēntī, alās būtant, [^H *alās būtant*].

51. *alās ki būtant, gušt: šumā zānay nūn ē kārā kurtit, man šumārā āzmāyīš kurtun ki mnī bādšāīay tā čī rakam mardum ast*.

52. *nūn arčī ki šumay dil-a lōfīt, šumay kafā⁴⁸-a bīt, arčī ki šumā watī xarčā bgušit, burj⁴⁹-ē inka tanxā⁵⁰ šumay-int. duzzī makanit*.

53. *ša duzzīā band ku burj-ē inka tanxā āyirā čē-(w)a ku, ā, dāt-ī*.

50. He knew here, anyway. [Yes, he recognized him]. Right after he shook (his beard) they were released. [They were released].

51. When they were released, he said: “You know, now you did this act. I tested you (to see) what sort of people there are in my kingdom.

52. Now whatever you wish, that is enough for your livelihood, whatever you tell the amount of your expenses, this much is your monthly wage. Don’t steal.”

53. He prohibited them from robbery (and) each month this much wage, what did he do? yes, he gave them.

2.3 K-T/3 (EBal.)

1. *bādšāheā gwar čyār aθant čaukīdār, šafā jāgrū k^huθa-iš*.

2. *ya šafēā bīθa duzē⁵¹ šahrā. hawāhiyā ki duzī bīθā āxto dāh dāθa-ī bādšāhār*.

3. *bādšāhā gwān-jaθayant hawā čaukīdār gwašta-ī: šā khasē duzē dīθa dōštī ki jāgrū k^hanayāθē?*

1. A certain king had four watchmen; they kept watch at night.

2. One night there was a burglary in the town. The one who had been robbed, came and complained to the king.

3. The king summoned those watchmen. He said: “Have you seen any thief last night while you were keeping watch?”

⁴⁸ Prs. *kafāf* ‘sufficiency, livelihood, etc.’ (< Ar.).

⁴⁹ Bal. *burj* ‘tower, tall building; fort on a hill or mountain; wall around a fort; any of the months of the lunar calendar’ (Jahāndide 2017); cf. Prs. *borj* ‘tower; sign of zodiac; month.’

⁵⁰ Prs. *tanxāh* ‘funds, capital, sums, cash.’

⁵¹ In Balochi, *duz* is ‘thief’ and *duzī* ‘theft.’ Normally, a form *duzē* would be interpreted as the indefinite form of *duz* (and this is in fact the correct interpretation in several passages in Dames 1891 as well), but this does not seem to be the case here. In fact, in Dames 1891, *duzē* (*duze*) often occurs as a variant of *duzī* (or perhaps *duzī-ē?*); see for instance *ya handēā duzēā k^hanū* ‘we will steal somewhere’ [11], *maī duzē bīθa* ‘in my house a theft has been committed’ (1891.I: 32) vs. *phēdāyeθant duzīā* ‘they were coming (to commit) theft’ (1891.II: 18), *duzī k^hanayā* ‘to steal’ (1891.I: 5) and also *hawāhiyā ki duzī bīθā āxto* ‘The one who had been robbed’ following *bīθa duzē* in [2], that could support the indefinite nature of *duzē*.

4. *ã gwašta: wāžā, mā k^has na dīθa.*

5. *hukm dāθa bādšāhā ki har čyārēnā barē, p^hāho daēθ. burt^ho p^hāho dāθayant-ī.*

6. *guḍā bādšāhā waθī dilā gwašta: bēgī⁵² šahrā mā waθ jāgrū t^hat^harā.*

7. *waθī wēs maṭṭainthō darainthō šuθa.*

8. *šafā čarayē⁵³ šahrā, gindī: čyār mard mana-āyē.*

9. *bādšāhā hakal-dāθa: šā k^hai-ē? āmardā gwašta: mā duz-ī.*

10. *p^hōl-k^huθa-iš: t^ho k^hai-ē? bādšāhā gwašta: mā dī duzē-ā.*

11. *ē ālamā⁵⁴ salāh bast^ha ki ya handēā duzēā k^hanū.*

12. *bādšāhā p^hōl-k^huθa: šā ōlā hawē šahrā duzē k^huθa? āmardā gwašta: mā ya duzē ōlā k^huθa.*

13. *šār k^hasēā dī dīθa? mār k^hasā na dīθa.*

14. *čaukīdārā dī na dīθa? gwašta-iš māī isrār-ē, mār p^hawānk^hā na dīθa-iš.*

15. *bādšāhā p^hōl-k^huθa: šār čī isrār-ant?*

16. *ya mardēā gwašta: mā ki k^hā jāgrūānī⁵⁵ gwara, guḍā ma k^huk^hā, guḍā jāgrū k^hōr bant.*

4. They said: “My Lord, we have seen none.”

5. The king ordered: “Take out all four and hang (them).” They took out and hanged them.

6. Then the king said to himself: “Tonight I myself will roaming about in the town as a watchman.”

7. He changed his clothes and went out.

8. At night he is patrolling the town, he sees: four men are coming.

9. The king challenged them: “Who are you?” Those men said: “We are thieves.”

10. They asked “Who are you?” The king said: “I am a thief, too.”

11. They all took the decision to go steal somewhere.

12. The king asked: “Have you committed a burglary in this town before?” Those men said: “We committed a burglary before.”

13. “And did anyone see you?,” “No one saw us.”

14. “Didn’t the watchme/an see as well?” They said: “We have a secret; for this reason they did not see us.”

15. The king asked: “What secrets do you have?”

16. A man said: “When I arrive near the watchmen, then I cough. Then the watchmen become blind.”

⁵² Cf. *bēgāh* ‘evening,’ *bēgāhā* ‘in the evening’ in Dames 1891.IV:16; *begāhā*, *begāhī* ‘in the evening’ (Elfenbein 1990.II: 15). The -ī ending in temporal adverbs is common in Balochi; see *sōbī*, *suhbī* ‘this morning,’ *maročī* ‘today,’ etc.

⁵³ EBal. *čaray* ‘to wander, go about;’ see *čār* above, fn. 9.

⁵⁴ Bal. *ālam* ‘people; the world’ is also used (mainly in EBal.?) with the meaning of ‘all.’

⁵⁵ Note that here and in [25] *jāgrū* ‘watch’ in [1], [3], [6]) is used in the sense of ‘watch-keeper,’ equivalent to *jāgrū-k^hanox* [24].

17. *dōmīyā gwašta: manā isrār-ē gōn-ē, ki mā galōār dast-lā guḍā buškī⁵⁶ k^hafī.*

18. *saimīyā gwašta: manā isrār eš-ē, ki t^hōlay ki kurainī mā surp^haḍ bā, bīng ki b^haunkī, dī b^haunkayā dī surp^haḍ bā.*

19. *čyārumīyā gwašta: manā eš-ē isrār, ma t^hārumēyē šafā hawā mardumā ki gindā, rōšā guḍā saḍ mar nyāwā bīθ-ī, p^haīyā-k^hārān-ī.*

20. *duzgalā gwašta bādšāhār: nī t^hau gwaš, t^haī čī isrār ē, ki mā sangatī bīθayū.*

21. *bādšāhā gwašta: māī sangatā ki k^hasē gīr^h, mā waθ daršafā, māī sangat girjan,⁵⁷ guḍā bādšāh ki gīr^h, p^hāho-dēayā bār^h-iś, saḡar ki čandēnā guḍā p^hāhō k^has na dā, ā dī dar-šafant.*

22. *guḍā p^hančē mar sangat bīθō sar-gīptayant duzēā.*

23. *bādšāhā gwašta: mā sōhaw⁵⁸-ā bādšāh mārīā zar-ā, barawū zarā k^hašū.*

24. *āxtō nī ki mārīā nazī bīθayant gwašta-iś: nīn jāgrū-k^hanōx nazīx-ant, t^hau k^huk^h.*

25. *guḍā ān-marā k^hukθa, jāgrū k^hōr bīθayant.*

26. *guḍā dōmīyār gwašta-iś: nī t^hau isrār šōn-dai, galō bōž.*

17. The second said: “I have a secret: if I lay my hand on a door, then the door will open.”

18. The third said: “My secret is this: if a jackal howls, I can understand, if a dog barks, I can understand its barking as well.”

19. The fourth said: “My secret is this: the man whom I see in the dark night, I can recognise him by day, even if he is amongst a hundred people.”

20. The thieves said to the king: “Now tell you what secret you have, since we have become comrades.”

21. The king said: “If someone seizes my comrades, I myself will escape, though my comrades may be taken. Then if the king seizes them, and take them away to be hanged, if I shake my head none will hang (them): they, too, will escape.”

22. Then the five men having become comrades set out for a burglary.

23. The king said: “I know there is money in the king’s palace; let us go and carry off the money.”

24. They came and as soon as they approached the palace they said: “Now the watchmen are near, give a cough.”

25. Then that man coughed (and) the watchmen became blind.

26. Then they said to the second: “Now show your secret; open the door!”

⁵⁶ Cf. *buškag* ‘to be let go, to get off (of a gun).’

⁵⁷ Dames 1891: 17 fn *: “*girjan* ‘will be caught,’ a passive form of *girag*.” On the *īj*-passive in EBal., see more in detail Bashir 2008: 61-64. Probably *girjan* could be explained as a present perfect 3rd pl., with “*girja* ‘caught’ [...] formed from the passive stem *girīj*- ‘be caught’” (2008: 63).

⁵⁸ Bal. *sōhaw*, a word of Indian origin (< Sindhi) in use not only in EBal., means ‘knowing, being aware of’ (Hetu Ram 1898; Jahāndide 2017 [dānā, āgāh]); ‘guide, acquaintance’ in Dames 1891 and ‘understood, known’ in Elfenbein 1990 are inaccurate translations.

27. *āmarḏā dast-lāiθō bismi'llāh k^huθō, galō bōxta.*

28. *guḏā t^hōlayā kūrain^ha, bīngā dī b^haunk^hiθa. ya sangatā saimīyār gwašta: t^hōlayā bīngā cī gwašta?*

29. *āmarḏā gwašta ki: t^hōlayā gwašta ki: bādšāh mārīā duz b^hōrēnayant, t^hō bīng p^hačē čupā k^hanayāi? bīngā jawāb dāθa ki: mā čō k^hanā, bādšāh waθī mārī waθ b^hōrainayē.*

30. *ē alamā gwašta: t^haī drōy ant, t^hō cī surp^haḏ na bīθayē, bādšāh čačō k^haī waθī lōyā b^hōrainī?*

31. *guḏā k^haštayant-iš dō sandūk zarē aš bādšāh-mārīā, burt^hō darrā likēnt^h-ayant-iš.*

32. *bādšāhā gwašta: māxta⁵⁹ bīθa rōš, šā barē hamōḏā faqīr makānā, māī lōy hameḏā ma šahr-ē, mā rawā waθī lōyā. t^hi šafēā khāū, zarā k^hašū, bahr-k^hanū. likēnt^hō ēr-k^huθayant-iš.*

33. *ā čyār mar šuθa faqīr makānā, bādšāh šuθa waθī lōyā.*

34. *pharō dāθaī ki: duzā māī mārī b^hōrēnt^ha. gwān'-jaθaī ālam ki duzā girā.*

35. *ālam muč bīθō āxta; bādšāhā gwašta: māī duz eḏā cī nē; čyār mard faqīr makānā ništayan, barōē hawā girē biyārē.*

36. *šuθō giptō ārt^hayant hawān čyārē mard.*

37. *bādšāhā hukm dāθa ki: barō, p^hāhō dāēθ-i; har t^hauxa ki p^ha-waθā k^hanant*

27. That man laid his hand, said “*Bis-millah*,” and opened the door.

28. Then a jackal howled; a dog also barked. One comrade said to the third: “What did the jackal and dog say?”

29. That man said: “The jackal said: ‘Thieves are breaking into the king’s palace, you, dog, why are you keeping silent?’” The dog answered: “What can I do? The king himself is breaking into his own palace!”

30. They all said: “Your words are false; you have understood nothing; how could the king come and break into his own house?”

31. Then they drew two chests of money out of the king’s palace, carried them out and hid them.

32. The king said: “It is now morning, go over there to the House of the poor. My house is here in the town; I am going to my own house. In a next night we will come, take out the money and divide it.” They concealed the money.

33. The four men went to the House of the poor, the king went to his home.

34. He made a proclamation: “Thieves have broken into my palace.” He summoned the people so that they arrest the thieves.

35. The people assembled and came, the king said: “My thieves are not here; four men are at the House of the poor. Go, take and bring them.”

36. They went, arrested and brought the four men.

37. The king ordered: “Take them away and hang them. Any words they say

⁵⁹ Cf. Dames 1891.IV: 95 (“*mákhta* adv., immediately (for *ma wakhta* ‘at the time’).”)

šā biyašk^hanēθ, guḏā t^haraint^hiγā⁶⁰
biyārt^h-iś gwar mā.

38. sar-dāθayant-iś p^hāhōā.

39. ya mardēā gwašta: t^hō gwašta ki
t^hārumēγē šafā ki mardā gindā guḏā
rōšā har handā p^hajyā-k^hārānī.

40. gwaštaī: mā p^hajyārt^haī, maī san-
gat bādšāh-ē.

41. t^haraint^hiγā ārt^ha-iś gwar bādšāhā.

42. p^hōl-khuθa-iś: cī t^haux k^huθaē p^ha-
waθā?

43. ā mardā gwašta ki: mā p^hajyārt^ha
ki maī sangat bādšāhē, nī mā gō
bādšāhā t^hauxā k^huθ na k^hanū.

44. bādšāhā gwašta ki: sangatā gō mā
kalām k^huθa ki sayar čandenā guḏā
p^hāhō na dāθ bādšāh. mā hawē-r'gā
k^huθayā ki mā gwaštayā.

45. ya sandūkē baškāt^haī, yak^hē
t^haraint^hō gipta, tōba⁶¹ dī k^hanaint^ha
ki t^hibarē duzī na k^hanū, guḏā ištō
dāθa-iś.

each other, if you hear, then made them
turn back and bring them back to me.”

38. They sent them off to hanging.

39. One man said: “You said: if I see a
man on a dark night then by day I will
recognize him anywhere.”

40. He said: “I have recognized him;
our companion was the king.”

41. They made them turn back and
brought to the king.

42. He asked them: “What did you say
among yourselves?”

43. That man said: “I recognized that
our companion is the king; now we can
say nothing to the king.”

44. The king said: “I promised my
companions that if I shook my head
then the king would not hang them.
(Now) I have done as I have said.”

45. He presented them with one chest
of money and made returned and took
the other. He made them promise: “We
will not commit theft again.” Then he
let them go.

3. Comments

The main differences among these three versions are to be searched at a dialectal level. In particular, the first two versions record two closely related subdialects of Western Balochi (frequently referred to as Raxšāni), though on how to define the relevant groupings there is no final agreement. Jahani, Korn 2009: 637 depict a picture where Afghan Balochi (AfghBal.) forms its own subgroup inside Western Balochi; a separate subgroup would include “eastern Iran (IrBal.), in pockets in Khorasan and Golestan, then further south in Sistan and in the northern parts of Balochistan around

⁶⁰ Dames 1891.I: 17 fn. †: “*tharaintighā* is the passive participle of the causal of *tharagh*, to return, and literally means ‘being made to come back.’”

⁶¹ As Prs. *towbe*, Bal. *toba* (‘repentance’) occurs in the complex verb *toba kanag/γ* that means (not only in EBal.) both ‘to repent, to regret’ and ‘to make a vow, to promise (oneself).’ In this latter case *toba kanag/γ* is a logophoric construction and is followed by direct discourse.

Zahedan and Khash, with varieties often referred to as Sistani” while another subgroup would be that spoken in Turkmenistan (TrkBal.). On the other hand, Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 22) includes in the category of ‘Balochi of Sistan,’ i.e., the object of his work, the Balochi variety spoken in Afghan and Iranian Sistan. His work, in fact, is based on oral narratives recorded from several male informants from both Iran and Afghanistan and no indication is given on the provenance of the informant for single document; we are only told that “the informants from Afghan Sistan are in the majority as they still continue the tradition of storytelling” (2010: 26). Nourzaei (2017: 31) extends the area of Sistani Balochi up to the region of Mari, Turkmenistan. While asserting that TrkBal. “is phonologically and morphologically very close to the Balochi dialect spoken in Afghanistan” (2006: 22), Axenov nevertheless supports its distinctiveness (“Zarubin demonstrates that the dialect of the Balochi of Turkmenistan belongs to the western group of Balochi dialects and differs in syntactic structure, phonology, morphology and vocabulary from other Balochi dialects;” 2006: 25). Obviously, dialect demarcation is not a clear-cut line and generally has a somewhat arbitrary character. It may also depend on how fine-grained the classificatory methods used are. For instance, one may quote by way of example the differences in usage in AfghBal. and TrkBal. of the special ‘complex’ markers (singular) *-ayā* and (plural) *-ānīyā* with locative function (Filippone 1996: 94-97; Korn 2008)⁶² here recorded in *šumayā byān* (K-T/1 16) or the usage in TrkBal. of *dēmi* as preposition (‘towards;’ Filippone 1996: 163-164), seemingly extraneous to other varieties of Balochi. One of the many common traits is the usage of the particle *ta/tā* after a verb of visual perception or even in its absence, with the function of sensory evidential, as in K-T/2 5. This usage has been described in Filippone 1993: 141-147 and later by Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 112-113, who has interpreted it as a ‘mirative particle’ (“The mirative particle *ta* after verbs of perception is used to highlight the information (or entity) that immediately follows”).⁶³ The restricted use

⁶² According to Korn, differently from what happens in Afghan Balochi, “[i]n Turkmenistan Balochi [...] the locative clearly functions as a separate case;” the generalisation of this new separate case could also be triggered by language-external factors, i.e., it could be the effect of linguistic contact (2008: 96-97).

⁶³ In fact, it is not restricted to TrkBal. and SistBal. only; cf. Filippone 1993: 142-145 (especially in the forms *tān*, *dān*, *dan*). For the usage of a sensory evidential in Kumzari (*tamna*),

conditions lead to question the transcription *gušt ta-hooo* and its analysis by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010: 368, 370) in K-T2 14 and 18 (with *ta* glossed MIR[ative particle]). In fact, these two passages would be the only occurrences I know where mirative *ta* would follow a ‘say’-verb. Listening to the recording of the tale in the CD included in the book, in correspondence of *gušt ta-hooo* I hear something like [ʃtū'ū:]. In other passages as well, the verb ‘say’ is transcribed by Barjasteh Delforooz as it was a ‘complete’ form while instead the actually emitted string (audible in the recording) is a strongly reduced one (something like [ʃt]). Therefore, we have here *št* ‘say’ + an exclamative particle *ū'ū* [(a)hoo, see *hū* ‘oh,’ Dashti 2019]. This analysis is confirmed by the fact that when *gušt* is followed by the third-person singular clitic *-ī* one finds *guštī ahoo(o)* [...] ‘He said: Oh [...]’ (2010: 305, 308, 385), with no mirative particle.

The main dialect split in our case is however between the two WBal. versions on the one side and EBal. one on the other. The differences between them are substantial and are those generally known in literature. As EBal. peculiarities, one may quote here, by way of example only, the ergative alignment in past tense clauses, the notable presence of conjunctive participles (also in ‘compound verbs,’ in the sense of construction encoding a single event where the vector verb contributes aktionsart or aspectual meaning [Bashir 2008: 68-73]); much less use in EBal. of *b(I)*-prefixed subjunctive forms (Bashir 2008: 75-77); morphological passive in *-īj* (see Bashir 2008: 60-65);⁶⁴ collective *-gal/yal* formation, frequent in EBal., especially with terms denoting human beings, group of animals, or kind of objects conceived as a homogenous set,⁶⁵ etc. Furthermore, one may note different discourse markers: cf. TrkBal., SistBal. *am / um*⁶⁶ (K-T/1 4, K-T/2 18, 37 etc.) vs. EBal. *dī* (K-T/3 10, 13, 18 etc.) or different pronoun/adjective ‘other:’ cf. WBal. *diga(r)* K-T/1 15, 33, K-T/2 30 vs.

emphasising the information source as being sensorily acquired and having an origin different from that of Bal. *ta/tā*, see Waal Anonby 2015: 147-150. A review of the whole issue that takes into account cognates to Bal. *ta/tā* having similar functions in other Iranian languages is in preparation by the present author.

⁶⁴ Cf. *girjan* in K-T/3 21 and fn. 58. This morphological passive may be due to a contact with IA (Sindhi and/or Siraiki); cf. Bashir 2008: 61; Elfenbein 2009: 102.

⁶⁵ Cf. *duzgal* K-T/3 20. See also Elfenbein 2009: 100; due to the many restrictions in use, *-gal* may hardly be labelled as a simple ‘plural marker.’ Bal. *gal* means ‘group; herd,’ nowadays commonly ‘political party.’

⁶⁶ See above fn.12.

EBal. *tʰī* (K-T/3 32, 45). A particularly evident phenomenon is the contact-induced effect on the lexicon: very strong that of Indian languages on EBal. (see *jāgrū* ‘watch,’ *wēs* ‘clothing,’ *dāh* ‘complain,’ *mārī* ‘a house with an upper room,’ *bʰaunkay* ‘to bark,’ *maṭṭainay* ‘to exchange’ [K-T/3 1, 2, 7, 18, 29], etc.) and that of (mainly Eastern varieties of) Persian on TrbBal. and SistBal. (*kūčā* ‘street,’ *zindagānī* ‘life’ [K-T/1 1, 16], *kafāf* ‘livelihood,’ *tanxā* ‘funds’ [K-T/2 52], etc.).

K-T/2 has some peculiarities compared to the other two versions. The transcribed text respects very closely, with a few small exceptions, the oral version, whose recording is available on a CD attached to Barjasteh Delforooz 2010. Listening to the recording also allows to check the level of participation and interaction with the audience, that seems to be rather numerous. It frequently approves, anticipates etc. and forces the storyteller to stop, specify, repeat words or sentences, breaking the chain of the story, with the voices of the speaker and those of the hearers that sometimes overlap. Some of the most significant interventions in this speaker-hearer interaction have also been transcribed and gray-backgrounded in Barjasteh Delforooz 2010 and here inserted into brackets; others, however, have not been reported in transcription. The reaction of the listeners and their high emotional involvement attests to the vitality of the story; laughing at some of the peaks they show that this story still touches their emotional chords.

In K-T/1 and K-T/3 the oral character of the text has been slightly blunted by the intervention of the scholars who reported it in written form. As proof, consider the usage of the verb *guštin* ‘to say’ as the only speech introducer⁶⁷ in K-T/2 with respect to the other two versions, where ‘say’ alternates with ‘ask,’ ‘replay,’ ‘command’ etc. though being prevalent. Furthermore, in the latter two, the reported speaker (‘the king,’ ‘the thief,’ ‘Šāh Abbās,’ etc.) is in most cases made explicit in the speech orienter,⁶⁸ while in K-T/2 it is not and this fact may sometimes be source of ambiguities.

As for the content, there are differences among the three versions, but these are not of great importance in the economy of the story. Different,

⁶⁷ See Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 216. As it was expected, in the three versions direct discourse is found by default.

⁶⁸ I.e., the clause with the verb speech that identifies the reported speaker and/or addressee (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010: 213).

for example, is the number of thieves: two in K-T/1 and four in the other two; slightly different are also the abilities of which the characters are endowed.

As far as the plot structure is concerned, one may note that K-T/3 has a backstory that should justify the action of the main story. All of them conclude with the resolution of the conflict and a similar happy end, although in K-T/1 it is not very clear the purpose in the king's action and the pedagogical hints present in K-T/2 and K-T/3 seem to lack. In fact, while in K-T/1 the thieves are given license to leave without giving back the ill-gotten gains and there is no open criticism of their way of life, in K-T/2 they are required to hand over their share of the booty in exchange for a life grant and to promise not to steal more, and in K-T/3 they are authorized to bring with them only a part of the booty. This fact perhaps explains the epilogue in K-T/1 ("The meaning of this story nobody understood except the thieves and the king"), absent in the other two versions.

In K-T/1 and K-T/2 the king protagonist of the story is identified with a historical figure (Šāh Abbās and Hārūn ar-Rašid, respectively), while in K-T/3 the king is anonymous.

The transformation of historical figures like Hārūn al-Rašid, the fifth Abbasid caliph who ruled from 786 to 809, or Šāh Abbās, the famous Safavid king who ruled in Iran from 1588 to 1629 into characters of folktales is a peculiarity of the folk tradition of Iran and other areas of the Middle East.⁶⁹ Similarly, other eminent protagonists of the Sasanian and Muslim Middle Eastern history (i.e., Bahrām Gur, Anušīrvān, Mahmud of Ghazna, etc.) happen to be featured in popular folklores. The enlightened rule of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rašid and his court was fancifully portrayed in the *Thousand and One Nights*, composed much later his death; Hārūn's court often appears as the set of the stories. Many anecdotes have circulated over time depicting him as "a restless soul," rambling incognito through Baghdad's streets at night (Bobrick 2012: 61). As for Šāh Abbās, whose eccentric character was very well-known and a usual topic of conversation in his time also abroad, we have evidence that legends portraying him in disguised dresses, wandering and listening to what his subjects used

⁶⁹ As for Šāh Abbās in particular see Amanolahi, Thackston 1986: 18 fn.1, Filippone 2004: 243 and fn. 42. This king is frequently found in tales from the Xorāsāni area, but also in tales in the Lori and Central dialects.

to tell of him (and then acting accordingly, i.e. awarding or taking revenge), arouse and began to circulate when he was still alive.⁷⁰ In particular, Pietro Della Valle, the Italian traveller who spent a few years of his life in Iran (1617-1622) and had the opportunity to know personally the king, while reporting some distresses of the Christian Armenian community in Esfahān in August 1621 relates an episode that sounds similar to those of many Iranian folktales:

Era avvenuto mentre il re stava in Abicurreng un caso bestiale: e fu, che andando un giorno il re, quasi solo e sconosciuto, a spasso per quelle campagne, da certe donne armene di una villa di là intorno, che ragionavano insieme, si sentì con gli orecchi propri stranamente maledire.⁷¹

In fact, walking at night in the streets of his own town driven from a genuine and sympathetic concern in the well-being of his people, may be recognized as a typical feature of the model ruler in the Middle Eastern popular imagery even today.⁷²

The recourse to historical figures, or even simply the projection of the narrated events on a defined temporal and historical-cultural background (“In the time of Šāh So-and-So there was [...]”) could have the function of providing a veneer of historicity to the tale. This despite the fact that in many cases these ‘historical’ characters are purely conventional, interchanging one another⁷³ and sometimes with the concurrent presence of pro-

⁷⁰ Nocturnal visits of the king in disguise to the enemy’s military units are also mentioned in a versified history of Šāh Abbās (dated to the beginning of 12th-18th century); cf. Ahmadi, Mohammadi Fesharaki 2021: ٥٨ (18 English text).

⁷¹ Della Valle 1843.II: 214-215. It goes without saying that the unfortunate women paid dearly for their little affection for the sovereign.

⁷² Cf. the interview entitled “Camuffato tra i sudditi regno meglio” published in the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, dated 3rd February 2000, where Abdallah II, king of Jordan, claims to use to wander incognito at night to know how his subjects really live in order to improve their living conditions (http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2000/febbraio/03/Camuffato_tra_sudditi_regno_meglio_co_0_0002037586.shtml). I also remember reading an uncritical interview in the early 2000s with the King of Morocco, claiming more or less the same. It was published in the Italian weekly *Il Venerdì di Repubblica*, but I am not able to provide exact references any more.

⁷³ This is possible since a storyteller may sometimes lose control in the oral performance, as it is the case in a tale (A3) published in Stilo 2004: 32-33. In this tale, whose protagonist (a king wandering around incognito to inspect his country) is Šāh Esmāil, one may note the narrator’s slip ‘*ša æbbas*,’ immediately corrected in ‘*ša esmail*.’

tagonists belonging to different ages, as is the case with Šāh Abbās, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and his famous minister Hasan Maimandi in the fragment of a Pawai tale published in Christensen 1921: 114-115, or Nāderšāh and Rezāšāh in the Abyānei story published in Lecoq 2002: 411-415.

Resorting to historical figures, however, does not seem to be a very common strategy in the Balochi folktale traditions. The few exceptions occasionally found could be explained as effects of linguistic/cultural contacts. The Persian Afsharid King Nādir Šāh (1736-47) with his sexual prowess, for example, is the protagonist of an erotic tale we have in two Bal. versions: one recorded in the Codex 24048 of the British Library, published by Elfenbein (1983: 32-25), that in consideration of its linguistic peculiarities seems to stem from South-East Iran, and the other included in the unpublished Mari material in the BEDP Archive mentioned above, p. 121. The presence of Šāh Abbās in TK-T/1 probably points to an influence from Xorāsān. Šāh Abbās is also mentioned in a Xorāsāni Kurdish version (Cukerman 1986: 189-192) as well as in a Lori version (Heydari 2001: 73-74) of this story.

Though being conventional, the historical character who finds his place in a story is not accidental; historical and cultural legacy may justify the choice of different characters in different areas.

As far as our tale is concerned, Timur, the founder of the Timurid dynasty, is the king in the Tajik version published in Amonov 1972: 77-79; Sultan Selim, who headed the Ottoman Sultanate from 1512 to 1520, is the protagonist of the (Gorāni) Awromāni version published in Christensen 1921: 105-109 (Italian translation in De Chiara, Guizzo 2015: 160-161); the Caliph Hārūn al-Rašid is again the protagonist in the Kurdish version published in German translation in Wentzel 1978: 216-221; Mahmud of Ghazna, the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, in the version made famous by Rumi (see above, fn. 4) and also in the Pashto version published in German translation in Lebedev 1986: 142.⁷⁴ And to conclude, one may add here the first of the two stories in the Xorāsāni dialect of Naibānd published in Lazard 1995b: 88-91, consisting of two quite different tales strung together. The first is our tale; the king in this case is anonymous.

⁷⁴ Probably the same already known to Dames, who mentioned it in 1891 I: 18 [“Note – The above story is nearly identical with the Pashto legend of Mahmūd Ghaznavi and the thieves (see *Kalid-i Afghāni* Story 40, page 96)”].

‘The king and the thieves’ tale is still alive in the folklore of Iranian people, both in their country and abroad; an illustrated English version for children, with Šāh Abbās as the protagonist, has been published in USA in rather recent times (Balouch, Balouch 2000).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelung, J.C., J.S. Vater (1806) *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde*, I: *Asiatische Sprachen*, Berlin.
- ʿĀdelxāni, H. (2000) *Farhang-e Āmorei*, Arāk [1379].
- Afšār, I. (1989) *Vāženāme-ye yazdī*, Tehrān [1368].
- Afšār Sistāni, I. (1986) *Vāženāme-ye sistāni*, Tehrān [1365].
- Agius, D.A. (2005) *Seafaring in the Arabian Gulf and Oman. The People of the Dhow*, Leiden-Boston.
- Agius, D.A. (2008) *Classic Ships of Islam. From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean*, Leiden-Boston.
- Agius, D.A. (2012) “The Rashayda: Ethnic Identity and Dhow Activity in Suakin on the Red Sea Coast,” *Northeast African Studies*, 12 (1), pp. 169-216.
- Agius, D.A. (2019) *The Life of the Red Sea Dhow. A Cultural History of Seaborne Exploration in the Islamic World*, London.
- Agostini, D., S. Thrope (2020) *The Bundahišn. The Zoroastrian Book of Creation. A New Translation*, Oxford.
- Ahangar, A.A., Y. Pakzad, M. Khazaei Esfehāni (2017) “A Study of Inflectional Categories of Noun in Sistani Dialect,” *Iranian Journal of Applied Language Studies* 9/2, pp. 1-32.
- Ahmadi (Sarraf), N., M. Mohammadi Fesharaki (2021) *A Versified History of Shah Abbas the Great [Futūhāt-i Gītīsītān]*, Uppsala.
- Akbar, W. (2015) *Dictionnaire général pashto-français*, Paris.
- Akbarpur, J. (2015a) *Ganjine-ye guyeshā-ye irāni (Ostān-e Māzandarān I)*, Tehrān [1394].
- Akbarpur, J. (2015b) *Ganjine-ye guyeshā-ye irāni (Ostān-e Māzandarān II)*, Tehrān [1394].
- Aliyari Babolghani, S. (2019) “Is Laki a Kurdish Dialect?,” in S. Badalkhan, G.P. Basello, M. De Chiara, eds., *Iranian Studies in Honour of Adriano V. Rossi*, Napoli, pp. 3-20.
- Amanolahi, S., W.M. Thackston (1986) *Tales from Luristan (Matalyā Lurissu). Tales, Fables and Folk Poetry from the Lur of Bālā Garīva*, Harvard.
- Amonov, R. (1972) *Tadžikskie narodnye skazki*, Dušanbe.
- Andreyev, S. (2010) “Pashto Literature: the Classical Period,” in Ph.G. Kreyenbroek, U. Marzolph, eds., *Oral Literature of Iranian Languages: Kurdish, Pashto, Balochi, Ossetic, Persian and Tajik*, Companion Volume II to *A History of Persian Literature*, London, pp. 89-113.
- Anklesaria, P. K. (1958) *A Critical Edition of the Unedited Portions of the Dādestān-i dīnīk*, unpub. PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London.
- Anvari, H. (2002) *Farhang-e bozorg-e Soxan*, Tehrān [1381].
- Asatrian, G. (2011) *Humbābā yā farhang-e guyeshā-ye markazi-ye Irān*, Tehrān.
- Āsef Fekrat, M. (1997) *Fārsi-e heravi. Zabān-e goftāri-e Herāt*, Mašhad [1376].

- Aslanov, M.G. (1947) "Zaimstvovanija iz tjurkskix jazykov v puštu," *Tr. Mosk. In-ta vostokoved.* 4, pp. 56-65.
- Aslanov, M.G. (1966) *Afgansko-russkij slovar' (pushtu)*, Moskva.
- Authier, G. (2012) *Grammaire juhuri, ou judéo-tat, langue iranienne des Juifs du Caucase de l'est*, Wiesbaden.
- Axenov, S. (2006) *The Balochi Language of Turkmenistan. A Corpus-based Grammatical Description*, Uppsala.
- Azami, Ch.A., G.L. Windfuhr (1972) *A Dictionary of Sangesari with a Grammatical outline*, Tehran.
- Bābak, ʿA. (1996) *Barresi-ye zabānšenāxti. Guyeš-e Zarand*, Kermān [1375].
- Bailey, D. (2018) *A Grammar of Gawraǰū Gūrānī*, Doctoral thesis, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.
- Bailey, H.W. (1979) *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge.
- Balouch K., O. Balouch (2000) *The King and the Three Thieves: A Persian Tale*, New York, NY.
- Barjasteh Delforooz, B. (2010) *Discourse Features in Balochi of Sistan (Oral Narratives)*, Uppsala.
- Barker, M.A., A.Kh. Mengal (1969) *A Course in Baluchi*, 2 vols., Montreal.
- Bartholomae, Ch. (1904) *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg.
- Barumand Saʿid, J. (1991) *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Bardesir*, Tehrān [1370].
- Bashir, E. (2008) "Some Transitional Features of Eastern Balochi: An Areal and Diachronic Perspective," in C. Jahani, A. Korn, P. Titus, eds., *The Baloch and Others. Linguistic, Historical and Socio-Political Perspectives on Pluralism in Balochistan*, Wiesbaden, pp. 45-82.
- Bausani, A. (1969) "Osservazioni su alcuni lessici marinareschi dell'Oceano Indiano e del Mar Rosso," *AION* 29, pp. 487-520.
- Behruzi, ʿA.N. (1969) *Vāzehā va masalhā-ye širāzi va kāzeruni*, Tehrān [1348].
- Belardi, W. (1979) *The Pahlavi Book of the Righteous Viraz, I. Chapters I-II*, Rome.
- Belelli, S. (2020) "Una leggenda in Laki da Darb-e Gonbad (Lorestān, Iran)," *AION* 80, pp. 80-109.
- Belelli, S. (2021) *The Laki Variety of Harsin: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, Bamberg.
- Bellew, H. W. (1867) *A Vocabulary of the Pukkhṭo or Pukshṭo Language*, London.
- Blau, J. (1975) *Le kurde de ʿAmādiya et Djabal Sindjār. Analyse linguistique, textes folkloriques, glossaires*, Paris.
- Bobrick, B. (2012) *The Caliph's Splendor: Islam and the West in the Golden Age of Baghdad*, New York.
- Bois, T. (1965) "Comment écrire le kurde," *Al-Machriq* mai-juin, pp. 369-378.
- Borāzǰāni, T. (2003) *Sir-i dar guyeš-e daštastāni*, Širāz [1382].
- Borjjan, H. (2017) "Keša'i," in *Encyclopædia iranica*, XVI, New York, pp. 333-338.
- Borjjan, H. (2018) "The Dialect of Khur," in M. De Chiara, A.V. Rossi, D. Septfond, eds., *Mélanges d'ethnographie et de dialectologie irano-aryennes à la mémoire de Charles-Martin Kieffer*, Paris, pp. 77-98.

- Bouquet, P.-Y. (n.d.) *Les écrits afghans. Littérature et société en Asie Centrale*, PhD 1978, Paris.
- Boyle David, A. (2013) *Descriptive Grammar of Pashto and Its Dialects*, Göttingen.
- Bray, D. (1934) *The Brāhūī Language*, II [Part II. *The Brāhūī Problem*, Part III *Etymological Vocabulary*], Delhi.
- Bubenik, V. (2006) "Cases and Prepositions in Iranian," in J. Hewson, V. Bubenik, eds., *From case to Adposition: The Development of Configurational Syntax in Indo-European Languages*, Amsterdam, pp. 131-159.
- Buddruss, G. (1989) *Aus dem Leben eines Jungen Balutschen von ihm selbst erzählt*, Stuttgart.
- Bukhari, Kh. (2018) *Pašto Akeḍimi Luyat* [Pashto to Pashto Larger Dictionary], Peshawar.
- Burton, R. F. (1849) "Notes and Remarks on Dr. Dorn's Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Affghan Language" [Review of Dorn 1847], *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3, 1, 12, pp. 58-69.
- CDIAL = Turner 1962-1966.
- Cheung, J. (2007) *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb*, Leiden-Boston.
- Cheung, J. (2005) review of NEVP, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68, pp. 127-129.
- Christensen, A., ed. (1921) *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā. Textes recueillis par A.M. Benedictsen. Revus et publiés avec des notes et une esquisse de grammaire par A. Christensen*, København.
- Chyet, M. (2020) *Ferhenga Birûski: Kurdish-English Dictionary*, 2 vols., London [1^a ed. 2003, *Kurdish-English Dictionary/Ferhenga Kurmancî-Inglîzî*, New Haven-London].
- Cox, A.D. (1911) *Notes on Pushtu Grammar*, London.
- Cukerman, I.I. (1986) *Xorasankij kurmandji. Issledovanie i tekst'*, Moskva.
- Dames, M.L. (1891) *A Textbook of the Balochi Language Consisting of Miscellaneous Stories, Legends, Poems and a Balochi-English Vocabulary*, Lahore.
- Dames, M.L. (1893) "Balochi Tales," *Folklore* 4/3, pp. 285-302.
- Dames, M.L. (1907) *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, I-II, Glasgow.
- Dānešgar, A. (1995) *Farhang-e vāzehā-ye rāyej-e Turbat Haydarie*, Mašhad [1374].
- Darmesteter, J. (1888-1890) *Chants populaires des afghans*, Paris.
- Darvišiān, A. A. (1996) *Farhang-e kordi-ye kermānšāhi: kordi-fārsi*, Tehrān [1375].
- Daryāb 1994 = Qalandar Momand, *Daryāb Dictionary*, Peshawar.
- Dashti, N. (2019) *Balōčī angrīzī labz balad / Balochi English Dictionary*, Quetta.
- Dašti, J.M. (2017) *Balōčī labzbalad (dōmī čāp)*, Koetta.
- De Chiara, M. (2015) review of D. Septfonds, H. Kabir, *Manuel de pashto*, Paris 2013, *Studia Iranica* 44, pp. 148-154.
- De Chiara, M. (2017a) review of Z.A. Pashtoon, *Pashto-English Dictionary, Abstracta Iranica* [online], 34-35-36, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/abstractairanica/41142>.
- De Chiara, M. (2017b) "Recent Studies on Pashto," review article di A. Boyle David, *Pashto Descriptive Grammar* 2014, D. Septfonds, K. Akbar, *Manuel de pashto*,

- Paris 2013, and W. Akbar, *Dictionnaire général pashto-français*, Paris 2015, *Iran & the Caucasus* 20, pp. 101-113.
- De Chiara, M. (2018) "Les noms des saisons, des mois et des jours de la semaine à Swāt," in M. De Chiara, A. V. Rossi, D. Septfonds, *Mélanges d'ethnographie et de dialectologie irano-aryennes à la mémoire de Charles-Martin Kieffer*, Paris, pp. 99-126.
- De Chiara, M. (2021) "Pashtun: Pashtun Religiosity and Popular Traditions," in M. Boivin et al., eds., *BERIPSA [Brill's Encyclopedia of the Religions of the Indigenous People of South Asia]*, Leiden-Boston.
- De Chiara, M., D. Guizzo (2015) *Fiabe e racconti popolari del Kurdistan*, Roma.
- De Chiara, M., N. Manalai (in print) "Pashto (langue et littérature)," in *DELI [Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Langues de l'Inde]*.
- De Chiara, M., D. Septfonds (2019) *Le verbe pashto : parcours d'un territoire du verbe simple à la locution verbale*, Wiesbaden.
- DED² = T. Burrow, M.B. Emeneau (1984) *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford².
- Dehxdā, 'A.A. (1946-1981) *Loyātnāme*, Tehrān [1325-1360].
- Della Valle, P. (1843) *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino*, Vols. I-II, Brighton [but Torino].
- De Mauro, T. (1980 [2003²]) *Guida all'uso delle parole: parlare e scrivere semplice e preciso per capire e farsi capire*, Roma.
- De Mauro, T., F. Mancini, M. Vedovelli, M. Voghera (1993) *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato*, Milano.
- Dhabhar, E.B.N. (1912) *Nāmākīhā-i Mānūshchīhar: The Epistles of Mānūshchīhar*, Bombay.
- Doerfer, G. (1963-1975) *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden.
- Dorn, B. (1840) *Grammatische Bemerkungen ueber das Pushtu, oder die Sprache der Afghanen*, St-Petersbourg (repr. in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg* 5, pp. 1-164).
- Dorn, B. (1842) "Nachträge zur Grammatik der Afghanischen Sprache," *Bulletin Scientifique publié par l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint Pétersbourg*, 10, 23, coll. 356-368.
- Dorn, B. (1845) "Zusätze zu den Grammatischen Bemerkungen," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg*, 5, pp. 435-87.
- Dorn, B. (1847) *Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan Language to Which is Sub-joined a Glossary in Afghan and English*, St. Petersburg.
- Douie, J.McC. (1898) *Translation of Bilochi-nama Compiled by Rai Bahadur Hetu Ram*, Lahore.
- DTB = Dames 1891.
- Dulling, G.K. (1973) *The Hazaragi Dialect of Afghan Persian: a Preliminary Study*, London.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, D. (2004) *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Turnhout.
- EAL = Elfenbein 1990.

- Eberhard, W., P.N. Boratav (1953) *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden.
- EDG = R. Beekes, L. van Beek (2010) *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden-Boston.
- EDLIL = M. de Vaan (2008) *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*, Leiden-Boston.
- Edmonds, C.J. (1931) "Suggestions for the Use of Latin Characters in the Writing of Kurdish," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 27-46.
- Edmonds, C.J. (1933) "Some Developments in the Use of Latin Character for the Writing of Kurdish," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 629-642.
- EDPL = Hasandust 2015.
- Eilers, W. (1988a) *Der Name Demawend*, Hildeheim-Zürich-New York.
- Eilers, W. (1988b) *Die Mundart von Sīvānd*, Stuttgart.
- Elfenbein, J. (1963) *A Vocabulary of Marw Baluchi*, Naples.
- Elfenbein, J. (1983) "A Brahui Supplementary Vocabulary," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 25/3, pp. 191-209.
- Elfenbein, J. (1989) "Balōčī," in R. Schmitt, ed., *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, pp. 350-62.
- Elfenbein, J. (1990) *An Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature*, I-II, Wiesbaden.
- Elfenbein, J. (1994) "Notes on Khetrāni Phonology," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 19, pp. 71-82.
- Elfenbein, J. (1997) "Pashto Phonology," in A.S. Kaye, ed., *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, II, Winona Lake, pp. 733-760.
- Elfenbein, J. (2009) "Eastern Hill Balochi," in W. Sundermann, A. Hintze, F. de Blois, eds., *Exegisti monumenta. Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, Wiesbaden, pp. 95-104.
- Elham, M.R. (1978) "Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names Was Held in Athens," *Pas̄to Quarterly* II/2, pp. 95-103.
- Emmerick, R.E. (1968) *Saka Grammatical Studies*, Oxford.
- ESIJ = V.S. Rastorgueva, D.I. Edel'man (2000-2020) *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' iranskix jazykov*, 6 vols., Moskva.
- Esmā'eli, M.M. (2011) *Gan̄jine-ye guyešhā-ye Irān. Ostān-e Esfahān* I, Tehrān [1390].
- EVP = G. Morgenstierne (1927) *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo.
- EWA = M. Mayrhofer (1992-2001) *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, 3 vols., Heidelberg.
- FBG = A. Razzaq, Mula Buksh, T. Farrell (2001) *Balochi Ganj. Balochi-English Dictionary*, Unpublished manuscript (19,631 entries, fourth draft).
- Fairservis, W.A. (1961) *Archaeological Studies in the Seistan Basin of Southwestern Afghanistan and Eastern Iran*, New York.
- Fallāhi, K., F. Sādeqiān (2011) *Dar āmadi bar guyeš va farhang-e Tāleqān*, Tehrān [1390].
- Farahvaši, B. (1976) *Vāženāme-ye xuri*, Tehrān [2535].
- Farāmarzi, H. (1984) *Farhang-e Farāmarzān*, Tehrān [1363].

- Fattah, I.K. (2000) *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: étude linguistique et dialectologique*, Leuven.
- Filippone, E. (1993) "Usi e funzioni del direzionale *ta/da* in baluchi," *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale* 53/2, pp. 129-147.
- Filippone, E. (1996) *Spatial Models and Locative Expressions in Baluchi*, Naples.
- Filippone, E. (2004) "Appunti e riflessioni sulla figura e sugli scritti di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino," in *Esilio, pellegrinaggio e altri viaggi*, a cura di M. Mancini, Viterbo, pp. 219-247.
- Filippone, E. (2011) "The Language of the Qorān-e Qods and Its Sistanic Dialectal Background," in P. Orsatti, M. Maggi, eds., *The Persian Language in History*, Wiesbaden, pp. 181-236.
- FTZT = Sayfaddin Nazarzode et al. (2010) *Farhang-i tafsir-i zabon-i tojikī*, 2 vols., Dušanbe.
- Fussman, G. (1972) *Atlas linguistique des parlers dardes et kafirs*, 2 vols., Paris.
- FVM (2005) *Farhang-e vāzehāye mosavvab, daftar-e dovvom, tadvin-e Goruh-e vāzegazini*, Tehrān [1384].
- Gankovskij, Yu. V. (1989) *Skazki, basin i legendy beludž*, Moskva.
- GEB = Geiger 1890-1891.
- Geiger, W. (1890-1891) "Etymologie des Balūčī," in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 19, pp. 105-153.
- Geiger, W. (1897) "Etymologie und Lautlehre des Afghānischen," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 20, 1, pp. 167-222.
- Gheybi, B. (2017) *Davāzdah matn-e bāstāni*, Tehrān [1396].
- Gignoux, Ph. (1984) *Le livre d'Ardā Vīrāz*, Paris.
- Gilbertson = G.W. Gilbertson (1925) *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary*, Hertford (bound in two volumes).
- Gilbertson, G.W. (1932) *The Pakkhto Idiom: a Dictionary*, 2 vols., Hertford.
- GLB = W. Geiger (1891) "Laulehre des Balūčī," in *Abhandlungen der I. Classe der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 19/II, pp. 397-464.
- Grierson, G.A. (1921) *Linguistic Survey of India*, X, Calcutta.
- Grjunberg, A.L., D.I. Edel'man (1987) "Afganskij jazyk," in *Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija*, IV, pp. 1-154.
- Habibi, Kh. (1997) *The Hidden Treasure (Pata kḥazana). A Biography of Pashtoon Poets*, ed., annotated and translated into Persian by Abdul Hay Habibi (1944); translated from the Pashto and Persian by Khusal Habibi, Lanham.
- Hadank, K. (1930) *Mundarten der Gûrân, besonders das Kändûlâi, Auramânî und Bâdschâlânî*, Berlin.
- Haig, G. (2002) "Noun-plus-verb complex predicates in Kurmanjî Kurdish: Argument sharing, argument incorporation, or what?" in *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 55, pp. 15-48.
- Haim, S. (1992) *Farhang-e bozorg-e fārsi-englisi*, Tehrān [1371].
- Hakem, H. (2012) *Dictionnaire kurde-français (sorani)*, Paris.
- Hamidi, J. (2001) *Farhangnāme-ye Bušehr*, Tehrān [1380].
- Hanifi, S.M. (2011) "Henry George Raverty and the Marketing of Pashto," in C. Tal-

- bot, ed., *Knowing India: Colonial and Modern Constructions of the Past*, New Delhi, pp. 84-107.
- Hanifi, S.M. (2013) "A History of Linguistic Boundary Crossing Within and Around Pashto," in B.D. Hopkins, M. Marsden, eds., *Beyond Swat: History, Society and Economy along the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier*, New York, pp. 63-76, 283-289.
- Hasandust, M. (2011) *Farhang-e taṭbiqi-mowzuʿi-ye zabānhā va guyešhā-ye irāni-ye now*, 2 vols., Tehrān [1389].
- Hasandust, M. (2015) *Farhang-e rišešenāxti-ye zabān-e fārsi*, 5 vols., Tehran.
- Hassanabadi, M., R. Jahani, C. Jahani, eds. (2018) *A Unified Gospel in Persian. An Old Variant of the Gospels along with Exegetical Comments*. Written by Yahyā Ibn Ayvaz-e Tabrīzī-ye Armanī, Uppsala.
- Hassanpour, A. (1992) *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan 1918-1985*, San Francisco.
- Hassanpour, A. (1993) "The Pen and the Sword. Literacy, Education and the Revolution in Kurdistan," in A.R. Welch, P. Freebody, eds., *Knowledge, Culture and Power. International Perspectives on Literacy as Policy and Practice*, London, pp. 35-54.
- Hažār (1990) *Farhang-e kordi-fārsi*, Tehrān [1369].
- Helali, A.H. (1977) "Pashto Phonemic Alphabet," *Pašto Quarterly* I/1, pp. 102-104.
- Helali, A.H. (1978) "Pashto Phonemic Alphabet," *Pašto Quarterly*, II/2, pp. 117-125.
- Henning, W.B. (1940) *Sogdica*, London.
- Henry, V. (1882) *Études afghanes*, Paris.
- Heston, W.L. (2005) *A Digital Dictionary of Pashto: 1,000 Words from a Core Vocabulary*, Chicago.
- Hetu Ram/Douie (1898) see Douie 1898.
- Hewson, J., V. Bubenik, eds. (2006) *From Case to Adposition: The Development of Configurational Syntax in Indo-European Languages*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia.
- Heydari, H. (2001) *Matalhāye Lorestān*, Tehrān [1380].
- Hintze, A. (1994) *Der Zamyād-Yašt*, Wiesbaden.
- HJ = H. Yule, A. Burnell (1969) *Hobson-Jobson: Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*. London [first publ. 1886].
- Homāyun, H. (2004) *Guyeš-e Kalimiān-e Yazd (yek guyeš-e irāni)*, Tehrān [1383].
- Homāyun, H. (2017) *Guyeš-e Tudešk*, Tehrān [1396].
- Homāyunfar, B. (2007) *Barresi-ye guyeš-e Esfarāyen*, Tehrān.
- Houtum-Schindler, A. (1882) "Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache und einige ihrer Gebräuche," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 36, pp. 54-88.
- Huart, M.C. (1893) "Le dialecte persan de Siwend," *Journal Asiatique* ix s., 1, pp. 241-265.
- Hughes, T.P. (1872) *Kalid-i-Afghani. Selections of Pashtu Prose and Poetry*, Peshawar.
- Humbach, H., P.R. Ichaporia (1998) *Zamyād Yašt. Yašt 19 of the Younger Avesta*, Wiesbaden.
- IIFL II = Morgenstierne 1938.

ILEB = Rossi 1979.

Ioannesyan, Y. (2009) *Afghan Folktales from Herat. Persian Texts in Transcription and Translation*, Amherst-New York.

Ivanow, W. (1939) "The Gabri Dialect Spoken by the Zoroastrians of Persia, iv: Gabri Vocabulary," *Rivista di Studi Orientali* 18, pp. 107-164.

Jaafari-Dehaghi, M. (1998) *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, Part I: *Transcription, Translation and Commentary*, Paris.

Jahāndide, ʿA. (2017) *Farhang-e baluči-fārsi*, Tehrān [1396] (bound in two volumes).

Jahani, C. (1989) *Standardization and Orthography in the Balochi Language*, Uppsala.

Jahani, C., N. Baloch, T. Baloch, eds. (2022) *Unheard Voices. Twenty-one Short Stories in Balochi with English Translations*, Uppsala.

Jahani, C., A. Korn (2009) "Balochi," in G. Windfuhr, *The Iranian Languages*, London-New York, pp. 633-692.

Jamiat Rai, D., transl. (1913) *Text-Book (Parts I and II) of the Baluchi Language Compiled by M. L. Dames Translated into English by R.S. Diwan Jamiat Rai with the Assistance of Munshi Dur Muhammad*, Lahore.

Jānfedā, ʿA. (2019) *Farhang-e bozorg-e gūyeš-e evazi*, 2 vols., Širāz [1398].

Johnstone, Th.M., J. Muir (1964) "Some Nautical Terms in the Kuwaiti Dialect of Arabic," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27, pp. 299-332.

Kabir, H., W. Akbar (1999) *Dictionnaire pashto-français*, Paris.

Kabir, H., W. Akbar (2005) *Dictionnaire français-pashto*, Paris.

Kalinina, Z.M. (1971) "Bezaffiksnoje slovoobrazovanie v sovremennom literaturnom puštu," in *Indijskaja i iranskaja filologija: Voprosy leksiki*, Moskva, pp. 15-23.

Kalinina, Z.M. (1972) *Očerki po leksikologii sovremennogo literaturnogo puštu*, Moskva.

Karbāsi Rāvari, ʿA. (1987) *Farhang-e mardom-e Rāvar*, Tehrān [1366].

Kellens, J. (1977) "Vibration and twinkling," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 5, pp. 197-201.

Kešāvarz, K. (1993) *Farhang-e zartoštiān-e ostān-e Yazd*, Eskilstuna.

Kiāni Kulivand, K. (2011), *Farhang va vāženāme-ye lakki*, 2 vols., Xorramābād [1390].

Kieffer, Ch. M. (1974) "L'établissement des cartes phonétiques: premiers resultats," in G. Redard, Ch.M. Kieffer, S. Sana, *L'atlas linguistique des parlers iraniens : Atlas de l'Afghanistan*, Bern, pp. 21-34.

Kieffer, Ch.M. (1975) "Dialectologie du paštō. Distribution et typologie des parlers paštō d'après les premières cartes de l'Atlas linguistique de l'Afghanistan (ALA)," in *Colloque sur l'établissement d'un Centre d'étude de la langue et de la littérature paštō*, Caboul, 22-29 novembre 1975.

Kiseleva, L.N. (1978) *Dari – russkij slovar' / Qāmus-i dari ba rusi*, Moska.

Kiyā, S. (1956) *Gūyeš-e Āštiān*, I: *Vāženāme*, Tehrān [1355].

Korn, A. (2005) *Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi*, Wiesbaden.

Kushev, V.V. (1980) *Afganskaja rukopisnaja kniga: očerki afganskoj pis'mennoj kul'tury*. Moskva.

- Kushev, V.V. (2001) "The Dawn of Pashtun Linguistics: Early Grammatical and Lexicographical Works and Their Manuscripts," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 7/2, pp. 3-9.
- Lakoff, G. (1990) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago² [originally publ. 1987].
- Lakoff, G., M. Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live by*, Chicago-London.
- Lazard, G. (1963) *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris.
- Lazard, G. (1992) "Le dialecte laki d'Aleshtar (kurde méridional)," *Studia Iranica* 21, pp. 215-245.
- Lazard, G. (1995a) "Préverbes et typologie," in A. Rousseau, ed., *Les préverbes dans les langues d'Europe : Introduction à l'analyse de la préverbation*, Villeneuve d'Asq, pp. 23-30.
- Lazard, G. (1995b) "Deux contes en persan local de Nâyband," *Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hungarica*, 48/1-2, pp. 87-95
- Lebedev, K.A., L.S. Jacevič (1982) *Učebnyj puštu-russkij slovar'*, Moskva.
- Lebedev, K.A., L.S. Jacevič, Z.M. Kalinina (1973) *Russko-afganskij slovar' (puštu)*, Moskva.
- Lecoq, P. (1979) *Le dialecte de Sivand*, Wiesbaden.
- Lecoq, P. (2002) *Recherches sur les dialectes kermaniens (Iran central). Grammaire, textes, traductions et glossaires*, Lovanii.
- Lentz, W. (1933) *Pamir-Dialekte. I: Materialien zur Kenntnis der Schugni-Gruppe*, Göttingen.
- Lentz, W. (1937) *Ein Lateinalphabet für das Paschto*, Berlin.
- Lescot, R. (1943) "La Presse Kurde," *Roja nû/Le Jour nouveau* 1.
- Lirāvi, A.K. (2001) *Farhang-e mardom-e Deylam va Lirāvi*, Tehrān [1380].
LIV = Rix 2001.
- Loi, L.S. (1987) *Il tesoro nascosto degli afghani*, Bologna.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. (1915) *Pashtu, Part I. Syntax of Colloquial Pashtu*, Oxford.
- Lorimer, D.L.R. (1916) "Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 423-489.
- Lubin, D.M. (1974) *Statistical Dictionary of the Pashto Language*, Kabul.
- Luraghi, S. (2003) *On the Meaning of Prepositions and Cases: The Expression of Semantic Roles in Ancient Greek*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia.
- MacKenzie, D.N. (1961a) *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, Vol.1, London.
- MacKenzie, D.N. (1961b) "The Origins of Kurdish," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 68-86.
- MacKenzie, D.N. (1966) *The Dialect of Awroman (Hawrāmān-i Luhōn): Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Vocabulary*, København.
- MacKenzie, D.N. (1986²) *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, Oxford.
- MacKenzie, D.N. (1997) "The Development of the Pashto Script," in Sh. Akiner, N. Sims-Williams, eds., *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*, London, pp. 137-143.
- MacKinnon, C. (2002) "The Dialect of Xorramābād and Comparative Notes on Other Lor Dialects," *Studia Iranica* 31, pp. 103-138.
- Maddadi, Z. (1996) *Vāženāme-ye zabān-e baxtiāri*, Ahvāz [1375].

- Mahmoudveysi, P. et al. (2012) *The Gorani Language of Gawraǰū, a Village of West Iran: Texts, Grammar, and Lexicon*, Wiesbaden.
- Mahmoudveysi, P., D. Bailey (2013) *The Gorani language of Zarda, a Village of West Iran: Texts, Grammar, and Lexicon*, Wiesbaden.
- Malekzāde, M.J. (2001) *Farhang-e Zarqān. Vāženāme-ye lahje-ye fārsi-ye mardom-e Zarqān-e Fārs*, Tehrān [1380].
- Mallory, J.D., Q. Adams (2006) *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*, Oxford.
- Mann, O. (1909) *Die Tājik Mundarten der Provinz Fārs*, Berlin.
- Mann, O., K. Hadank (1930) *Mundarten der Gūrān: Kāndūlāi, Auramāni und Bād-schālāni, bearbeitet von Karl Hadank*, Berlin.
- Marzolf, U. (1984) *Typologie des persischen Volksmärchens*, Beirut.
- Matras, Y. et al. (2016) *The Dialects of Kurdish*, Web resource, University of Manchester. <http://kurdish.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/> (ultimo accesso gennaio 2022).
- Mayer, T.J.L. (1910) *English-Biluchi Dictionary*, Calcutta.
- Mazdāpur, K. (1995) *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Behdīnān-e šahr-e Yazd. Fārsi be guyeš bā mesāl. Jeld-e avval (ā – p)*, Tehrān [1374].
- Mazraʿi, ʿA., ʿA. Mazraʿi, M. Mazraʿi (2001) *Farhang-e bizovoi*, Tehrān [1380²].
- Mehrāvarān, M., S. Gholāmi (2017) *Guyešnāme-ye ʿAlāmarvdašt*, Tehrān [1396].
- Messina, G. (1951) *Diatessaron persiano. I: Introduzione, II: Testo e traduzione*, Roma.
- Minorsky, V. (1933) “Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 643-650.
- Moazami, M. (2021) *Laws of Ritual Purity. Zand ī Fragard ī Jud-Dēw-Dād (A Commentary on the Chapters of the Widēwdād)*, Leiden.
- Mohammadi Xomak, J. (Sakāi-e Sistāni) (2000) *Vāženāme-ye sakzi (Farhang-e loyāt-e sistāni)*, Tehrān [1379].
- Mohebbi, P. (1996) “A Persian Nautical Glossary from ca. 1900,” *Iran* 34, pp. 129-133.
- Mokri, M. (2003) *Grammaire et lexique comparés des dialectes kurdes : éléments de linguistique iranienne*, Paris.
- Monchi-Zadeh, D. (1990) *Wörter aus Xurāsān und ihre Herkunft*, Leiden.
- Monier-Williams, M. (1899) *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1926) *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1932) *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-West India*, Oslo.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1938) *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, II: Iranian Pamir Languages (Yidgha-Munji, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi and Wakhi)*, Oslo.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1942a) “Archaisms and Innovation in Pashto Morphology,” *NTS* 12, pp. 88-114.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1942b) “Additional Pashto Etymologies,” *NTS* 12, pp. 261-265.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1960) “Stray Notes on Persian Dialects,” *NTS* 19, pp. 72-140.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1974) *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group*, Wiesbaden.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1979) “The Linguistic Stratification of Afghanistan,” *Afghan Studies* 2, pp. 23-33.

- Morgenstierne, G. (2003) *A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, compiled and edited by J. Elfenbein, D.N. MacKenzie and N. Sims-Williams, Wiesbaden.
- Moshkalo, V.V. (1988) "The Reflections of the Old Iranian Preverbs on the Baluchi Verbs," *Newsletter of Baluchistan Studies* 5, pp. 71-74.
- Moukhtor, Ch., Kh. Ibraguimov, Ou.S. Mansurov (2003) *Dictionnaire tadjik-français*, Paris.
- Nāgumān (2011³) *Baločī Gālabāre Nokāz*, s.l.
- Na'imi, M. (2007) *Farhang-e jām'e-ye Hormozgān-e yekjaldi*, Bandar 'Abbās [1386].
- Najafi, A. (1999) *Farhang-e fārsi-ye 'āmiyāne*, 2 vols., Tehrān [1378].
- Nebez, J. (1957) *Nusīnī Kurdī be Latīnī*, Baghdad.
- NEVP = Morgenstierne 2003.
- Nezan, K. (2017) *Dictionnaire kurde – français / Ferhenga kurdī – fransizī*, Paris.
- Nicholson, R.A., ed. (1934) *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī. Edited from the Oldest Manuscripts Available: with Critical Notes, Translation & Commentary*, Vol. VI containing the translation of the fifth & sixth books, Cambridge.
- Nirumand, M.B. (1976) *Vāženāme az guyeš-e šuštari*, Tehrān [2535].
- Nourzaei, M. (2017) *Participant Reference in Three Dialects Balochi Dialects. Male and Female Narrations of Folktales and Biographical Tales*, Uppsala.
- Nourzaei, M., C. Jahani, E. Anonby, A. Ahangar (2015) *Koroshi. A Corpus-Based Grammatical Description*, Uppsala.
- Nowruzi, F., H. Āzāde (2016) *Guyeš-e sivandi*, Širāz [1395].
- Nurbaxš, H. (1990) *Jazire-ye Qešm va xaliĵ-e Fārs*, Tehrān [1369].
- Nurbaxš, H. (2002) *Farhang-e daryāi-ye xaliĵ-e Fārs. Seyd, daryā, kešti*, Tehrān [1381].
- Öpengin, E. (2016) *The Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish: Grammar, Texts, and Lexicon*, Wiesbaden.
- Öpengin, E. (2021) "The History of Kurdish and the Development of Literary Kurmanji," in H. Bozarslan, C. Gunes, V. Yadirgi, eds., Cambridge, pp. 603-632.
- ‘Oryān, S. (1992) *Matun-e pahlavi (tarjome, āvānevešt)(gerdāvarande : Jāmāsp ji Dastur Manučehr ji Jāmāsp Āsānā)*, Tehrān [1371].
- Pakzad, F. (2005) *Bundahišn. Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie*, Band I: Kritische Edition, Tehran.
- Pallas, P.S. (1786) *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*. St. Petersburg (repr. with a Preface of H. Haarmann, Hamburg 1977-1978); ed. rev. F.I. Jankovich de Mirievo, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' vsekh yazykov i narechij po azbuchnomu porjadku raspolozhenyj*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1790-1791.
- Panaino, A. (1990) *Tištريا. Part I. The Avestan Hymn to Sirius*, Roma.
- Panaino, A. (1999) *La novella degli scacchi e della tavola reale. Un'antica fonte orientale sui due giochi da tavola più diffusi tra Tardoantico e Medioevo e sulla loro simbologia militare e astrologica*, Milano.
- Pashtoon, Z. (2009) *Pashto-English Dictionary*, Hyatsville.
- Pashto-Pashto Descriptive Dictionary* (1979) Institute of Languages and Literature, Academy of Science of Afghanistan, 5 vols., Kabul.
- Paul, L. (2009) "Zazaki," in G. Windfuhr, ed., *The Iranian Languages*, London-New York, pp. 545-586.

- Penzl, H. (1955) *A Grammar of Pashto*, Washington.
- Platts, J.T. (1884) *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī and English*, London.
- Pstrusinska, J. (1986) "The Influence of Linguistic Substratum on the Comparison of Adjectives in Pashto Language," *Folia Orientalia* 23, pp. 5-67.
- Purhoseyni, A. (1991) *Farhang-e loyāt va estelāhāt-e mardom-e Kermān*, Tehrān [1370].
- Qaemmaqami, A.R. (2018) "Darbāre-ye čand loğat va eštelāh daryānavardi-ye fārsi va ʿarabi [On Some Nautical Words in Persian and Arabic]," *Pažuhešhā-ye zabānšenāsi* 8/2, pp. 111-125 [1397].
- Qalandar Mohmand (1988) *Paṭa xazāna fi'l mīzān*, Pešawar.
- Qatāli, ʿA. (2009) *Barresi-ye guyeš va vāžegān-e Bandar-e Xamir (Hormozgān)*, Širāz [1388].
- Rahimi, M., L.V. Uspenskaja (1954) *Tadžiksko-russkij slovarʹ*, Moskva.
- Raverty, H.G. (1860) *A Vocabulary of the Pukhto, Pushto or Language of the Afghans*, London.
- Razzāqi, T. (2016) *Ganjine-ye guyešhā-ye Irān. Ostān-e Esfahān*, III, Tehrān [1395].
- Rezāi, J. (1966) "Farhang-e Mollā ʿAli Ašraf-e Sabuhi be loyāt-e ahl-e Birjand," *Majalle-ye Dāneškāde-ye Adabiāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān* 51/3 (1345), 40-142.
- Rezāi, J. (1994) *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Birjand*, Tehrān [1373].
- Rhea, S.A. (1872-1880) "Brief Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kurdish Language of the Hakari District," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 10, pp. 118-155.
- Rishtin, S.A. (1946) *Də pəšto də adab tārix*, Kabul.
- Rix, H., ed. (2001) *Lexicon der indogermanischen Verben, die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von M. Kümmel, H. Rix, Wiesbaden.
- Rizgar, B. (1993) *Kurdish-English, English-Kurdish (Kurmanjî) Dictionary / Ferheng Kurdi-Îngilîzî, Îngilîzî-Kurdi*, London.
- Roberts, S., W.E. Thompson (1960) *Types of Indic Oral Tales. India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, Helsinki.
- Rondot, P. (1933) "Publication kurde en caractères latins : comptes rendus," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 2, pp. 300-304.
- Rondot, P. (1936) "Trois essais de latinisation de l'alphabet kurde: Iraq, Syrie, U.R.S.S.," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 5, pp. 1-32.
- Roos-Keppel, G. (1922) *Manual of Pushtu*, London.
- Roos-Keppel, G.O., Qazi Abdul Ghani Khan (1901) *A Manual of Pushtu*, London.
- Roos-Keppel, G. et al. (1901) *Translation of the Ganj-i-Pakhtu, or, Treasury of Pushtu: The Text-book for the Lower & Higher Standard Examinations*, Peshawar.
- Rossi, A.V. (1979) *Iranian lexical elements in Brāhūī*, Naples.
- Rossi, A.V. (2007) "La formazione delle lingue iraniche tra stratificazione multiculturale e pianificazione linguistica," *Atti del XXX Convegno annuale SIG "Standard e non standard tra scelta e norma" (Bergamo 20-22 ottobre 2005)*, Roma, pp. 81-107.
- Rossi, A.V. (2017) "The Etymological-Comparative Dictionary of the Balochi Language: Progress Report of an International Project," *Balochistan Review* 36/1, pp. 45-74.

- Rudzka-Ostyn, B. (2003) *Word Power. Phrasal Verbs and Compounds: A Cognitive Approach*, Berlin-New York.
- Sabz °Alipur, J. (2012²) *Farhang-e tāti*, Tehrān [1391].
- Sabz °Alipur, J. (2015) *Ganjīne-ye guyešhā-ye irāni (Tāti-ye Xalxāl)*, Tehrān [1394].
- Sadovski, V. (2017) "The Lexicon of Iranian," in J.S. Klein, B. Joseph, M. Fritz, eds., *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*, Berlin-New York, pp. 566-599.
- Sadri, J. (2007) *Guyeš-e Moškenān*, Tehrān [1886].
- Safa-Isfahani, N. (1980) *Rivāyat-i Hēmūt-i Ašawahištān. A Study in Zoroastrian Law*, Harvard.
- Safizāde, S. (Burakai) (2001) *Farhang-e Burakai-e kordī-fārsi*, 2 vols., Tehrān [1380].
- Salāmi, °A. (2004) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, I, Tehrān [1383].
- Salāmi, °A. (2005) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, II, Tehrān [1384].
- Salāmi, °A. (2006) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, III, Tehrān [1385].
- Salāmi, °A. (2007) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, IV, Tehrān [1386].
- Salāmi, °A. (2009) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, V, Tehrān [1388].
- Salāmi, °A. (2011) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, VI, Tehrān [1390].
- Salāmi, °A. (2014) *Ganjīne-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, VII, Tehrān [1393].
- Salimi, H. (2002) *Zemestān dar farhang-e mardom-e kord*, Tehrān [1381].
- Sanjana, D.P. (1922) *The Dīnkard, the Original Pahlavi Text of the First Part of Book IX, with Its Transliteration in Roman Characters, Translations into English and Gujarati with Annotations and a Glossary of Select Words*, Bombay.
- Saryazdi, M. (2001) *Nāme-ye Širjān*, Tehrān [1380].
- Savāqeb, J. (2007) *Daryāče-ye Parišān va farhang-e mantaqe-ye Fāmūr*, Širāz [1386].
- Sayad Hāšmi (2000) *Sayad Ganj*, Karāčī.
- Saymiddinov, D., S.D. Xolmatova, S. Karimov (2006) *Farhangi tojikī ba rusī / Ta-džiskko-russkij slovar'*, Dušanbe.
- Septfonds, D. (1994) *Le Dzadrāni. Un parler pashto du Paktyā (Afghanistan)*, Paris.
- Septfonds, D. (2006) review of NEVP, *Studia Iranica* 35, pp. 109-114.
- Septfonds, D., H. Kabir (2013) *Manuel de pashto*, Paris.
- Shaked, Sh. (1979) *The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI)*, Boulder, Colorado.
- Sheyholislami, J. (2021) "The History and Development of Literary Central Kurdish," in H. Bozarslan, C. Gunes, V. Yadirgi, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Kurds*, Cambridge, pp. 633-662.
- SHG = Sayad Hāšmi 2000.
- Sikoev, R.R. (1971) "Imennoje slovosloženije v sovremennom literaturnom puštu," in *Indijskaja i iranskaja filologija: Voprosy leksiki*, Moskva, pp. 85-98.
- Sikoev, R.R. (1976) "Parnye slova v sovremennom literaturnom puštu i ix rol' v slovoobrazovanii," in *Indijskaja i iranskaja filologija: Voprosy grammatiki*, Moskva, pp. 175-192.
- Simons, G.F., Ch.D. Fennig, eds. (2018) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twenty-first Edition*, Dallas, Texas.

- Skjærvø, P.O. (1989) "Pashto," in R. Schmitt, ed., *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, pp. 384-410.
- Small, G. (1882) *A Laskari Dictionary: or, Anglo-Indian Vocabulary of Nautical Terms and Phrases in English and Hindustani, Chiefly in the Corrupt Jargon in Use Among Laskars or Indian Sailors*, London.
- Sohrābi Anāraki, A. (1994) *Vāženāme-ye anāraki*, Mašhad [1373].
- Sorušīān, M.S. (1056) *Farhang-e behdinān*, ed. M. Sotude, Tehrān [1956].
- Sotude, M. (1957) *Farhang-e kermāni*, Tehrān [1335].
- Sotude, M. (1963) *Farhang-e semnāni, sorxei, lāsgardi, sangsari, šahmerzādi*, Tehrān [1342].
- Sotude, M. (1986) *Farhang-e nāini*, Tehrān [1375].
- Steblin-Kamenskij, I.M. (1999) *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' vaxanskogo jazyka*, Sankt-Peterburg.
- Stilo, D.L. (2004) *Vafsi Folk Tales*, Transcribed, Translated and Annotated by D.L. Stilo. Supplied with Folkloristic Notes and Edited by U. Marzolph, Wiesbaden.
- Stilo, D. (2007) Isfahan xxii. GAZI DIALECT, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XIV, p. 112; XIV, pp. 113-119. Online at: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/isfahan-xxii-gazi-dialect>.
- Stilo, D. (2009) "Circumpositions as an Areal Response: The Case Study of the Iranian Zone," in L. Johanson, ed., *Turkic Languages* 13, pp. 3-33.
- Svorou, S. (1994) *The Grammar of Space*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia.
- Šakurzāde, E. (1967) *ʿAqāyed va rosum-e ʿāmm-e mardom-e Xorāsān*, Tehrān [1346].
- Šālči, A. (1991) *Farhang-e guyeš-e Xorāsān-e bozorg*, Tehrān [1370].
- Šāyegān, M. (2006) *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e xuri*, Tehrān [1385].
- Šukurov, M. et al. (1969) *Farhang-i zabon-i tojikī (az asr-i X to ibtido-i asr-i XX)*, Moskva.
- Tāheri, E. (2010) *Guyeš-e baxtiāri-ye Kuhrang*, Tehrān [1379].
- Tāriq Mālistāni, A.H. (1993) *Farhang-e ebtedāi-ye melli-ye hazāra. Be enzemām-e tarjome be fārsi-englisi / Hazaragi-Dari/Farsi-English. A Preliminary Glossary*, Koetta.
- Telegdi, Zs. (1955) "Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. 1. Über die Partikelkomposition in Neupersischen," in *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5, pp. 67-183.
- Thim, S. (2012) *Phrasal Verbs: The English Verb-particle Construction and Its History*, Berlin-Boston.
- Thordarson, F. (2011) "Preverbs in Ossetic: Some Reflections," *Nartamongæ* 8, pp. 219-228.
- Todd, T.L. (2008) *A Grammar of Dimili Also Known as Zaza*, online ed., Ann Arbor.
- Tremblay, X. (2005) review of NEVP, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 100, pp. 173-184.
- Trumpp, E.T. (1873) *A Grammar of the Pakhto or Language of the Afghans*, London-Tübingen.
- Turner, R.L. (1966) *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London.

- Uther, H.-J. (2004) *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography*, Part I-III, Helsinki.
- Vahman, F. (1986) *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag. The Iranian 'Divina Commedia'*, Copenhagen.
- Vanly, Ismet Cherif (1959) "The Question of the Unification of the Written Kurdish Language, Kurmanji or Sorani?" *Kurdistan* (KSSE), pp. 5-10.
- Waal Anonby, C.A. van der (2015) *Grammar of Kumzari. A Mixed Perso-Arabian Language of Oman*, PhD thesis, Leiden University.
- Wahby, T. (1925) "Kurdîekeman be çon hirûfêk û çon binûsîn?" *Diyarî Kurdistan* 5, pp. 5-6; 6, pp. 5-6.
- Wahby, T., C.J. Edmonds (1966) *A Kurdish-English Dictionary*, Oxford.
- Walton, B., ed. (1657) *Biblia sacra polyglotta: complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum etc.*, London.
- Weiers, M. (1972) *Die Sprache der Moghol der Provinz Herat in Afghanistan*, Wiesbaden.
- Wentzel, L.-C. (1978) *Kurdische Märchen*, Düsseldorf-Köln.
- West, E.W. (1882) *Pahlavi Texts. Part II: The Dâdistân-î dînîk and the Epistles of Manûskîhar*, Oxford.
- West, E.W. (1892) *Pahlavi Texts. Part IV: Contents of the Nasks*, Oxford.
- Windfuhr, G.H. (1979) *Persian Grammar: History and State of its Study*, The Hague-Paris-New York.
- Witczak, K.T. (2006) review of NEVP, *Studia Iranica* 35, pp. 115-123.
- Wolff, F. (1965) *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Hildesheim.
- Xaṭak, Nyāz, Tāir, Mayn and Ahmad (1965 [1977²]) *Bunyadi pashto*, Peshawar.
- Xāvari, M.J. (2001) *Emsāl va hekam-e mardom-e Hazāra*, Mašhad [1379].
- Xonjī, A.H. (2015) *Guyeš-e lārestāni*, Širāz [1394].
- Yüksel, M. (2021) "Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism in the Interwar Period," in H. Bozarslan, C. Gunes, V. Yadirgi, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Kurds*, Cambridge, pp. 205-228.
- Yāhaqi, M.J. (2017) *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Tun (Ferdows)*, Tehrān [1396].
- Yakubovich, I. (2002) "Nugae sogdicae," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65/3, pp. 544-549.
- Zarubin, I.I. (1932) *Beludžskie skazki*, Leningrad.
- Zarubin, I.I. (1949) *Beludžskie skazki*, II, Moskva-Leningrad.
- Zomorodiān, R. (1989) *Barresi-e guyeš-e Qāin*, Ostān-e Qods-e Rezavi [1368].
- Zudin, P.B. (1950) *Kratkij afgansko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva.
- Zudin, P.B. (1955) *Russko-afganskij slovar'*, Moskva.





Finito di stampare nel mese di giugno 2022
presso Universal Book srl
Contrada Cutura, 236
87036 Rende (CS)