

## Phonology

The phonetic list of Pārsīg may be given first –the Pahlawānīg special sounds are between brackets:

a, ā, e, ē, o, ō, i, ī, u, ū, h, (γ), x, g, k, ž, š, y, j, c, r, l, n, d, t, z, s, (δ), x<sup>v</sup>, f, v, b, p, m, (β).

### Vowels

The Pārsīg preserved the old vowel phonemes *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*; and four other vowels appeared in its early period, that is, *ē*, *ō*, *e*, and *o*. The old diphthongs *ai* and *au* were monophthongized to *ē* and *ō*. The Pārsīg vowels can be identified as follows:

	Front		Central		Back Rounded	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>			<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
Low			<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		

### Pronunciation

All vowels should be pronounced properly. The long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* are pronounced like the short ones, only longer.

Letter	As in
<b>i</b>	Eng. sit
<b>ī</b>	Eng. beat
<b>e</b>	Germ. Bett, Fr. été, Eng. set
<b>ē</b>	Fr. paix, Germ. See
<b>a</b>	Germ. Wasser, Eng. but
<b>ā</b>	Hindi rāt
<b>u</b>	Germ. Mutter, Eng. put
<b>ū</b>	Fr. rouge, Eng. food, Germ. gut
<b>o</b>	Fr. beau, Germ. Sonne
<b>ō</b>	Eng. so, Fr. or, Germ. Sohn

### Consonants

We may posit the following classification of consonant phonemes for Pārsīg. The numbers 1-9 stand for bilabial (1), labio-dental (2), lamino-dental (3), alveolar (4), palato-alveolar (5), palatal (6), velar (7), rounded-velar (8), laryngeal (9). The letter to the right represents a voiced consonant.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Plosive	<b>p, b</b>			<b>t, d</b>			<b>k, g</b>		
Affricate						<b>c, j</b>			
Fricative	<b>(β)</b>	<b>f, v</b>	<b>(ð)</b>	<b>s, z</b>	<b>š, ž</b>		<b>x, (γ)</b>	<b>x<sup>v</sup></b>	<b>h</b>
Nasal	<b>m</b>			<b>n</b>					
Trill				<b>r</b>					
Approximant						<b>y</b>			
Lateral				<b>l</b>					

#### Pronunciation

**p, b, t, d, k, g, j, f, v, s, z, h, m, n, y, l** are pronounced as in English.

#### Letter As in

<b>c</b>	Eng. <b>ch</b> ance
<b>β</b>	Spanish <b>b</b> after vowels
<b>ð</b>	Eng. <b>th</b> is
<b>š</b>	Eng. <b>sh</b> ip
<b>ž</b>	Fr. <b>j</b> oli, Eng. measure, vision
<b>x</b>	Germ. <b>m</b> achen
<b>γ</b>	French <b>r</b> grasseyée
<b>x<sup>v</sup></b>	<b>x+w</b> (Parth. <b>w+x</b> )
<b>r</b>	It. <b>r</b> upe

#### Some general developments

##### Vocalism

##### • *a*

It continues the old vowel phoneme /a/:

*andar* ‘in, among’ < OPers. *antar* (Av. *aṇtarə*), *asp* ‘horse’ (cf. OPers. *asa-/aspa-*, Av. *aspa-*).

Old initial *u* sometimes changes to *a*:

*abestām* ‘trust; resignation’ < *upastā-m* (Av. *upastqm*); *abar* ‘over, upon, above’ < OPers. *upariy* (Av. *upairi*); *abzār* ‘powerful’ < *\*upa-zāuār[a]-*; *abxān-* ‘to cry, call’ < *\*upa-xān-*; *abāy-* ‘to please; be necessary’ < *\*upa-i* (OPers. *upāyam*).

Initial *a* < *\*ha<sup>o</sup>*:

*angubēn* ‘honey’ < *\*hangu-paina-* (cf. Kurd. *hingivin*).

*a* < *\*a<sub>u</sub>a*:

*and* ‘as much, many’ < *\*a<sub>u</sub>ant-* (cf. Av. *avant-*, Parth. *awend*); *aōn/ōn* ‘of such a kind, so’ < *\*a<sub>u</sub>a-ga<sub>u</sub>nam* < *\*a<sub>u</sub>ā(t)-ga<sub>u</sub>nam* (cf. Paz. *awq*, Parth. *awāyōn*).

• *ā*

It continues OPers. *ā*:

*asvār* ‘a rider, on horseback’ < OPers. *asa-bāra*-; *āvah(a)n* < OPers. *āvahana*- ‘settlement’.

Old \**abi* (OPers. *abi*<sup>o</sup>, *abiy*, Av. *aiβi*/ G *aibī*) may be reduced to *ā*: *āvām* ‘time, season’ (cf. Av. *aiβi.gāma*-, Parth. *āyām*); *ācār* ‘high and low ground’ < OPers. *abi-cāri*-; *āyād* ‘memory’ < \**abi-jāti*- (cf. OPers. \**abiyātaka*-, registered in the Hesychian gloss ἄβιάτακα; Parth. *abyād*); *āyās*- ‘to remember’ (cf. Parth. *abyās*-); *āšayān* ‘nest’ (cf. Av. *aiβi.šayana*- ‘dwelling’); *ādōg* ‘capable’ (cf. Av. *aiβi.tū* ‘to be capable’); *ānam* ‘to get at, approach’ < \**abi-nam* (cf. Parth. *abnam*-).

Contraction of the sequences *āja*, *āua*, *āuī* > *ā*:

*abzāy*- ‘to add’ < OPers. *abi-jāvaya*-, since *āva* is reduced to *ā*, the preposition remains *ab*-; *ārzōg* ‘desire, wish’ < \**ā-uarjaṇ-a-ka*- (cf. Parth. *āwaržōg*); *jār* ‘time, occasion’ < \**jāuar* (cf. Parth. *yāwar*); *nāy*<sup>o</sup> < OPers. *nāviya*- ‘deep’ (*nāydāg* ‘deep, navigable’); *tāy*- ‘to be able’ < OPers. *tāvaya*-; *šāh* ‘king’ < OPers. *xšāyaθya*-; *āškār* ‘clear, patent’ < \**āuiš-kār*<sup>o</sup> (cf. Av. *āviš* adv.); *nizār* ‘weak’ < \**ni-zāuar[a]*- (cf. Parth. *nizāwar*).

*ā* < \**āi*, \**āu*:

*vāspuhr* ‘prince’ < \**uāisa-puθri*- a vṛddhi from \**uisah puθra*-; *nišān* ‘sign, mark’ < \**ni-šāun-a* (or \**ni-šāna*- ?).

The treatment of *hr* after *a* shows vacillation about the presence of *h* – the alternatives are *ahr* or *ār*:

*mār*/ *mahr* ‘(sacred) formula’ (cf. Av. *maqθra*-, Skt. *māntra*-), *mārespend*/ *mahrespend* ‘holy formula; name of a day’, *mahregar* ‘soothsayer’ (cf. Parth. *māregar*, Armen. *margarē* ‘prophet, seer’); *tār* ‘dark’ < \**tahr* < \**tanθra*- (cf. Av. *taθra*-); *hazār* < \**hazahra*- (cf. Av. *hazaṇra*-, OPers. \**hadahra*-); *šahr*/ *šār* ‘kingdom; country’ (cf. Av. *xšaθra*-, OPers. *xšaça*-, Bactr. *𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀*), *šahrestan*/ *šārestān* ‘town (of some importance)’; *kahrēz*/ *kārēz* ‘channel’ (cf. *kahas*).

*ān* < \**ahn* or \**agn*:

*āvān* < *āvahn* ‘settlement’ < \**āuahana*- (cf. OPers. *āvahana*-, Khot. *vāna*-); *nān* ‘bread’ < \**nagn* < \**nay(a)na*- (cf. Parth. *nayn*, Bactr. *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀*); *vahrām/n* < \**uarθragna*- (cf. Av. *vərəθrayna*-, Armen. *vahagan*).

$\bar{a} < ah$ :

*ah/ ā* adv. ‘then’ < \**aṭa* (cf. Av. *aṭa*/ G *aṭā*, Skt. *átha*, Paz. *a*),  
*agar* ... *ā* ‘if ... then’ (cf. Av. *hakəraṭ* ... *aṭa*); *kahrēz/ kārēz*  
‘drain, subterranean canal’.

Old *arṭ*, *ard*, *arz* may become *ār/ āl*:

*xāl/ xār* ‘food’ (cf. Av. *xarəṭa-*, Fars. *xālē-gar* ‘cook’); *xāl/ xār*  
‘sweet’ < OPers. \**hward* ‘to taste’ (cf. Av. *xarəzišta-* ‘most  
delicious’, Pers. *rōšnān xārist*, used of the Friend of the Lights in  
Mani’s cosmology); *kamāl* ‘head’ (daēvic) < \**ka-marda-* (cf.  
*kaməṛəda-*); *hamāl* ‘peer’ < \**ham-arṭa-* (cf. Av. *haməṛəṭa-*); *gāl*  
‘cave’ was borrowed from a vṛddhied \**garda-* (\**grda-*, cf. Av.  
*garəda-* ‘den, daēvic cave’, Skt. *grhá-*); *vāl-* ‘to grow’ < \**vard* (cf.  
*varəda-*/ G *varəda-*); *sāl/ sār* ‘year’ < OPers. *ṭar(a)d-* (cf. Av.  
*sarəd-*); <sup>1</sup>*māl-* ‘to rub, sweep’/ *marz-* (cf. Av. *marz*, *marəza-*);  
<sup>2</sup>*māl-* ‘to destroy, spoil’ (cf. Av. *mard*, *mōrənda-*), *āmāl* rendering  
Av. *marəḍā-* name of a calamity or sinful act; *nāl-/ nār-* ‘to moan,  
groan, lament’ < \**nard* (cf. Skt *nard*, *nárdati*).

#### • *i*

It continues OPers. *i*:

*pidar* ‘father’ < OPers. *pitar-* (cf. *ptar-/ fəḍr-*); *vis* ‘settlement,  
village’ < OPers. *viṭ-* ‘(royal) house’ (cf. Av. *vis-*/ G *vīs-*); *im*  
‘this’ < OPers. *ima-*; *mihr* < OPers. *miṭra-* (cf. Av. *miṭra-*  
‘contract; Yazata of contract’); *mih* ‘wrong’ (cf. OPers. *miṭa<sub>h</sub>*, Av.  
*miṭō* adv. ‘wrongly’); *nigan-* ‘to dig in; bury’ < OPers. *ni-kan*;  
*niyāg* ‘ancestor’ < OPers. *niyāka-* ‘grandfather’; *tigr* ‘arrow’ (cf.  
OPers. *tigra-* ‘pointed’, Av. *tiyri-* ‘arrow’).

The phonetic realization of vocalic *r*, written in the old (cuneiform)  
texts by the sign <*ra*> (≈ Av. *əra*, Skt. *ṛ*) becomes *ir* or *ur*:

*kird* ‘made, done’ < OPers. <*ka-ra-ta*> /*kṛta-*/ (cf. Av. *kəraṭa-*);  
*kirm* ‘worm’ < \**kṛmi-* (cf. Skt. *kṛmi-*); <sup>x</sup>*išt* (and *āršt*) ‘spear’ <  
OPers. *ṛšti-* (cf. Av. *aršti-*, Fars. *xišt* ‘small spear’); *dil* ‘heart’ <  
\**dṛd-* (cf. Av. *zərəd-*, Parth. *zirδ*); *tirs-* ‘to fear, be afraid’ < \**tṛsa-*;  
*tišn* ‘thirst’ < \**tṛšna-* (cf. *taršna-*, Skt. *tṛṣṇā-*); *singabēr* ‘ginger’  
(cf. Skt. *śṛṅgavēra-*); *xirs* ‘bear’ < \**ṛśa-* (cf. Av. *arša-*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-*)  
; *nirfs-* ‘to wane’ (cf. Av. *narp*, *nərafsa-*).

#### • *ī*

It continues OPers. *ī*:

*zī(v)-* ‘to live’ < OPers. *jīv* (cf. Parth. *žīw-*); <sup>1</sup>*vīr* ‘man’ < OPers.  
\**vīra-* (Av. *vira-*/ G *vīra-*, Skt. *vīrá*); <sup>2</sup>*vīr* ‘wit’ (cf. Av. <sup>2</sup>*vīra-*, Bal.

*gīr* ‘memory’, Fars. *bīr* ‘learning by heart’); *dīd* ‘seen’ < \**dīta*- (cf. OPers. *dīdiy* imperative, s2 ‘see!’); *zīd* ‘deprived’ (cf. OPers. *dyā*, *dīta*- ppp., Av. *zyā*, \**zīta*-, Skt. *jyā*, *jīta*-); *šīr* ‘milk’/ *xšīr* < \**xšīra*- (cf. Yidya *xšīra*, Skt. *kṣīrā*); *bīz* ‘seed’ (cf. Skt. *bījā*-); *vīst* ‘20’ < \**uīsati* (cf. Av. *vīsaiti*); *tīr* name of a month (cf. Av. *tīrō*°).

The choice between *vi* and *vī* may be a matter of preference:

*vis*/ *vīs* ‘village’; *visp*/ *vīsp* ‘all’ (cf. OPers. *visa*-, *vispa*-°, Av. *vispa*-/ G *vīspa*-); *virāy*-/ *vīrāy*- ‘to arrange’ < \**uī-raz* (cf. Parth. *wirāz*-).

The sequences *īa*, *īja*, *īja* may become *ī*:

*ī* relative particle (cf. Av. *ya*- relative pronoun); *anī* ‘other’ < OPers. *aniya*- (cf. Av. *ańya*-, Skt. *anyā*-); *yaz(a)d*/ *īzad* ‘divinity; god’ (cf. Av. *yazata*-, Skt. *yajata*-); *myazd*/ *mīzd* ‘sacrificial repast, offering’ (cf. Av. *myazda*-, Fars. *mīz* ‘table’); *didīgar* or *dudīgar* ‘second’ < \**duītīja-kara*- (cf. OPers. *pati duvitiyam* ‘for the second time’); *māhīg* ‘fish’ < \**māḍīja-ka*- (cf. Skt. *mātsya*- ‘fish’, *mātsyā*- adj. ‘fishy’).

Vocalic *r* followed by *īa*, *ūja* (or *ḅja*) may become *īr*:

*mīr*- ‘to die’ < \**mṛīa*- (cf. Av. *mar*, *mirya*-, Skt. *mar*, *miryāte*); *gīr*- ‘to take, grasp, seize’ < \**gṛḅja*- (cf. OPers. *grab*, *gṛḅāya*-, Av. *grab*, *gəṛəβn*-, Parth. *girw*-; Skt. *grabh*, *gṛbhṇāti*); *plr* ‘old’ < \**pṛūja*- (cf. OPers. *paruviya*-, *hacā parviyata<sub>h</sub>*).

*-i-uar*- (or, *-i-bar*-) becomes *-īr*-:

*zarīr*/ *zerīr* pr. n. (cf. Av. *zairi.vairi*- m.); *dibīr* ‘scribe, write’ < \**dibi-var* < OPers. \**dipi-bara*-.

*ī* < \**īua*/ *iua*:

*āfrīn* ‘blessing, praise’ < \**ā-fri-ua*- (cf. Av. *āfrivana*-); *zīndag* ‘living; alive’ < \**ṣīuantaka*- (cf. Parth. *zīwandag*).

The passive present suffix *īja* becomes *ī*, however, we may add *h* or *y* to make pronunciation easier:

*samīh*- denom. ‘to be afraid’ (cf. OPers. \**ṣahma(n)*- ‘terror’); *kaśīh*- pass. ‘to be dragged’ (cf. Av. *karš* ‘to draw, pull’); *kirīy*- pass. ‘to be done’ < \**kṛ-ja*- (cf. OPers. *kəriya*-, Av. *kirya*-).

The endings of the past participle are *-t* or *-d* (< OPers. *-ta-*) when they are attached to the root, and *-īd*, *-ist* when they are attached to the present stem:

root	present stem	first ending	second ending
<i>cāš</i> ‘to teach’	<i>cāš-</i>	<i>cāšt</i>	<i>cāšīd</i>

The replacement of *ihr* (< *-iθr-*) by *īr* is found in a few words:

*nahcihr/ nahcīr* ‘wild animal, beast’ (cf. Sogd. *naxšīr* ‘beast’, Armen. *naxčīr-k* ‘slaughter’, Skt. inscr. *naścīra*); *huzihr/ huzīr* < *\*hu-ciθra-* ‘beautiful, handsome’ (cf. Fars. *hužīr*); *mihr/ mīr* (cf. Av. *miθra-*).

The sequence *igr* may pass to *īr*:

*tigr/ tīr* ‘arrow’ (cf. Av. *tiyri-*, Skt. *tīrī-* f. a kind of arrow); *pedīr-* ‘to accept’ < *\*pati-grab* (cf. Parth. *padyirw-*).

*i* lengthens in the last tonic syllable:

*kenīg* ‘girl, maiden, damsel’ < *\*kanikā-* (cf. Av. *kainikā-*); *perīg* ‘demoness; witch’ (cf. Av. *pairikā-*).

## • u

It continues OPers. *u*:

*udrag* ‘otter’ (cf. Av. *udra-*); *uš/ huš* ‘intelligence’ (cf. Av. *uš-*, Paz. *hōš*); *pus* ‘son’ < OPers. *puça-* (cf. Av. *puθra-*); *angubēn* ‘honey’ < *\*hangu-paina-* (cf. Kurd. *hingivīn*); *rust* ‘grew’ < *\*rusta-* (cf. Av. *ruδ*, *urusta-* perf. pass.); *sust* ‘lazy’ < *\*çust*; *angust* ‘finger; digit’ (cf. Av. *aṅušta-*, Skt. *aṅguṣṭhá-*); *dum* ‘tail’ (cf. Av. *duma-*); *hur* ‘a spirituous liquor’ (cf. Av. *hurā-*, Skt. *súrā-*).

Old *a* yields Pers. *u* in the position after a labial consonant:

*fradum* ‘first, foremost’ < OPers. *fra-tama-* (cf. Av. *fratāma-*); *abdum* ‘last, fianl’ < *\*apa-tama-*; *-am/ -um* enclitic personal pronoun, first person; *-am/ -um* personal ending, first present, present (*ham/ hum* ‘I am’); *mog/ muv* ‘Persian/ Median priest’ < OPers. *magu-* (cf. Av. *moyu-*); *tam/ tum* ‘darkness, gloom’ < *\*tamah-* (cf. *tamah-*, Skt. *tāmas-*).

Vocalic *r* becomes *ir* or *ur*:

*ādar* ‘fire’ < *\*ātar-*, *ādur* < *ātārə°*; *vazurg* ‘great’ < OPers. *vazrka-*; *purr* or *purn*° ‘full’ < *\*pṛna-* (cf. Av. *pərəna-*, Khot. *purra-*), *purnāy* ‘of full age’ (cf. Av. *pərənāyu-*); *pušt* ‘back’ < *\*pṛšti-* (cf. Av. *paršti-*); *purs-* ‘to ask’ < OPers. *pṛsa-* (cf. Av. *pərəsa-*); *burz-* ‘to praise, honour’ < *\*brj* (cf. *bərəj*); *niburd* (also *nibard*) ‘combat, quarrel’ < *\*ni-pṛt-* (cf. Av. *pərət-*, Skt. *pṛt-*);

*buland* ‘high, tall’ < \**bṛdant-* (cf. Av. *bərəzaṇt-*); *puhl* ‘bridge’ < \**pr̥θu-* (cf. Av. *pərətu-*); *murd* ‘died; dead’ < OPers. *mṛta-* (cf. Av. *mərata-*); *ā-murz-* ‘to forgive’ (cf. Av. *mərəžd-*).

*gu-* < \**ui-*:

*gugāy* ‘witness; evidence’ < \**ui-kauija-* (cf. Parth. *wigāh*, Armen. *vkay*); *gugān-* ‘to destroy’ < OPers. *vi-kan* (cf. Av. *vī-kan*); *guhūdag* ‘misbegotten’ = *višūdag* < \**vi-hu* (cf. Av. *hu* ‘to beget’); *gumān* ‘doubt’ (cf. Av. *aγəm uparō.vīmanōhīm*); *gumarz-/ vimarz-* ‘to destroy’ (cf. Av. *vī-marc*); *gunāh* ‘sin’ (cf. OPers. *vi-naθ̌*, *vi-nāθ̌aya-* ‘to do harm’).

*v* before vocalic *r* becomes *gu*:

*gurdag* ‘kidney’ < \**uṛt-ka-* (cf. Av. *vərəδka-/ vərətka-*); *gul* ‘flower, rose (flower)’ < \**uṛd-a-*, also *vard* < *uarda-* (cf. Av. *varəda-*, Armen. *vard*, Khot. *vala*); *gulan* ‘commune; town’ = *vālan* < OPers. *vṛdana-* (cf. Av. *vərəzəna-/ vərəzāna-*); *gurd* ‘hero’ < \**uṛtV* (cf. Skt. *vṛt-* ‘army’); *gurg* ‘wolf’ < \**uṛka-* (cf. Av. *vəhrka-*, Skt. *vṛka-*, Sogd. *vyrk-*); *gursag* ‘hungry’ < \**uṛčš-* (cf. Av. *varəšya-*); *gušn* ‘male’ (cf. Av. *varəšna-* ‘male’, *varšni-* ‘male animal’, Skt. *vṛṣan-* ‘manly’, *vṛṣni-* ‘ram’), *gušnasp* lit. ‘having male horses’ (cf. Skt. *vṛṣaṇasvā*, Armen. *všnasp*).

## • *ū*

It continues OPers. *ū*:

*būm* ‘land, earth’ < OPers. *būmī-*; *dūr* ‘far’ < OPers. *dūra-*; *dūd* ‘smoke’ < \**dūta-* < \**dhūta-* (cf. Paz. *dūt*); *stūn* ‘column’ < OPers. *stūnā-*; *zūr* ‘false, wrong’ < OPers. *zūraḥ-* (cf. Av. *zūrah-*); *būd* ‘been; was’ < OPers. \**būta-* (cf. Av. *bū*, *būta-* ppp.).

The treatment of *hr* after *u* shows some vacillation about the presence of *h*; the alternatives are *uhr* or *ūr*:

*puhr/ pūr* ‘son’ (OPers. *puça-*, Av. *puθra-*).

*u* lengthens in the last tonic syllable:

*bāzūg* ‘arm’ < \**bāzu-ka-*, *jādūg* ‘sorcerer’ < \**yātu-ka-* (cf. OPers., Av. *yātu-*); *gāhūg* ‘seat; couch’ < \**gāθu-ka-* (cf. OPers. *gāθu-*, Av. *gātu-*).

*ū* < \**uua*:

*xūb* ‘good, fair’ < \**huuapah-* (cf. *hwapah-*); *pettūg* ‘enduring’ < \**pati-tuūaka-*.

• *ē*

The regular reflex of *ai* is *ē*. This can be interpreted as the result of monophthongization of *ai*:

*ēd* ‘this’ < OPers. *aita-* (cf. Av. *aēta-*); *vēn-* ‘to see’ < OPers. *vaina-* (cf. Av. *vaēna-*); *mēhan* ‘home’ < \**maiṭana-* (cf. Av. *maēṭana-*); *ēsm/ ēzm* ‘fire-wood’ < \**aizma-* (cf. Av. *aēsma-*); *xēšm* ‘anger, wrath’ < \**aišma-* (cf. Av. *aēšma-*, Armen. *hešm*); <sup>1</sup>*hēn/ xēn* < OPers. *hainā-* ‘(hostile) army’ (cf. Av. *haēnā-*); <sup>2</sup>*hēn/ xēn* ‘wrong, small sin’ < \**ainah-* (cf. Av. *aēnah-*); *ēv* ‘one’ < OPers. *aiva-* (cf. Av. *aēva-*); *mēg/ mēγ* ‘cloud, mist’ < \**maiga-* (cf. Av. *maēγa-*); *dēn* ‘vision soul, religion’ (cf. Av. *daēnā-*).

Contraction of *ada/ adi* > *ē*:

*ēg* ‘then, thereupon’ < OPers. *adakaiy*; *gēg* ‘robber’ < \**gada-ka-* (cf. Av. *gaḍa-*); *ēr* ‘down, below’ < \**adari* (cf. Av. *aḍairi*, Paz. *ār*), *ēr-kaš* ‘under the armpits in respectful salutation’ (cf. Av. *aḍairi kašaēibya*); *ēranz-* ‘to condemn’ < \**adi-ranj*; *ēvar* ‘valid, authentic, certain’ from \**adi-var*; *ēvan* ‘stalk, trunk’ < \**adi-vana/ā-*; *pēg* ‘foot-soldier; courier’ < \**padi-ka-* (cf. Skt. *padika-*, Parth. *padag*, Syr. *paygā*); *mēg* ‘locust’ < \**madaka/ā-* (cf. Av. *maḍaxa/ā-*, Bal. *madag*).

-*ēn-* causative and denominative suffix < \**-aṣanaṣa-*:

*tarv-* ‘to overcome’, *tarvēn-* caus. ‘to conquer’ (cf. Av. *vart*, *varəta-*); *pāsox*, ‘answer’, *pāsoxēn-* denom. ‘to answer’.

*šahr* (< *xšaṭra-*) as the second member of a compound may become *šēr* (instead of *šār*):

*ardaxšēr* pr. n. (cf. OPers. *ṛtaxšaṣā-*); *pādxšēr* ‘document’ (cf. Armen. *patšīr*).

The sequences *agn/ agr* show vacillations between -*agn/ -agr* and -*ēn/ -ēr*:

*peccēn* ‘copy’ < \**pati-cagna-*; *dagr/ dēr* ‘long; late’ < \**dagra-* < OPers. *darga-* (cf. Av. *darəγa-*); *šagr/ šēr* ‘lion’ < \**šagru-* < \**šargu-* < \**ć(š)argu-* (cf. Sogd. *šarγu*, Paz. *šār*); *sagr/ sēr* ‘satiated’ < \**sag-ra-* (cf. Khot. *sīra-*, Paz. *sār*); *anagr/ anēr* ‘infinite’ (cf. Av. *an-aγra-*).

The sequences \**ahj* often becomes *eh*; but if it loses the laryngeal *h*, the vowel *e* lengthens:

*cē* ‘what; for’ < \**cahja* (cf. Paz. *ci*); *kē* ‘who; which’ < \**kahja* (cf. Paz. *kā*); -*ē* the singular ending of the casus obliquos < \**-ahja* (-*ahyā* is the ending of the OPers. genitive-dative *a*-stems, m.-nt.).



With the loss of *d* before *m*, via the sequence *ehm*, *e* lengthens:

*nišēm* ‘seat’ < \**nišehm* < \**nišadman-* (cf. Parth. *nišaδm*); *xēm* ‘wound’ < \**xehm* < \**xadma-* (cf. Parth. *xaδm*); *nibēm* ‘lying’ < \**nibehm* < \**ni-pad-man-* (cf. Parth. *nibaδman-*).

*ē* < *eh* < \**-ahjah-*:

*veh* ‘better’ / *vē* < \**vahjah-*, *vēšābhuh* top.

*ē* < *eh* < \**-ajah-*:

*zreh* / *zrē* ‘sea’ < Av. *zrayah-*.

## • *ō*

It stems from the old diphthong *au*:

*ōr* adv. ‘hither’ < OPers. *aurā* (cf. Av. *aora* / G *aorā*); *ōz* ‘strength’ < \**aujah-* (cf. Av. *aojah-*, Skt. *ójas-*); *ōš* ‘death’ < \**aušah-* (cf. Av. *aošah-*, Skt. *óśas-*); *gōš* ‘ear’ < OPers. *gauša-* (cf. Av. *gaoša-*, Skt. *ghóṣa-*); *gōy* ‘ball’ < \**gauda-*; *bōy* ‘scent, perfume; smell’ (cf. Av. *baoḍa-*, *baoiḍi-*); *dōst* ‘friend’ < OPers. *dauštar-* (cf. Skt. *joṣṭár-*); *dōš* ‘shoulder’ < \**dauša(n)-* (cf. Av. *daoš-* m. or *daošan-* nt.); *hōš-* ‘to dry up, wither’ < \**hauša-* (cf. Av. *huš*, *haoša-*); *rōy-* ‘to grow’ < \**rauda-* (cf. *ruḍ*, *raoḍa-*); *rōd* ‘river’ < OPers. *rauta<sub>h</sub>-* (cf. Skt. *srótas-*); *rōz* ‘day’ < OPers. *raucah-* (cf. Av. *raocah-* ‘day; light’); *sōz-* ‘to burn’ < \**sauca-* (cf. Av. *suc*, *saoca-*); *rōbāh* ‘fox’ < \**raupāsa-* (cf. Parth. *rōbās* ‘fox’, Khot. *rrūvāsa-* ‘jackal’); *tōm* / *tōhm* ‘seed; family; race’ < OPers. *taumā-* (cf. Av. *taoxman-*, Parth. *tōxm*); *kōf* ‘mountain’ < OPers. *kaufa-* (cf. Av. *kaofa-*); *drōzan* ‘lying, liar’ < OPers. *draujana-* (cf. Av. *draojina-*).

*ō* < \**a<sub>u</sub>a-*:

*ōr* / *avar* adv. ‘come hither’ (cf. Av. *avarə* / G *avarə*, Skt. *avár*); *ōh* adv. ‘thus, so’ < OPers. *avaṭā* (cf. Av. *avaṭa*); *ōy* adv. ‘there’ < OPers. *avadā* (cf. Parth. *ōd*); *frōd* adv. ‘down, downwards’ < OPers. *fravata<sub>h</sub>*; *tō* < \**ta<sub>u</sub>a*; *frōxš-* ‘to sell’ < \**fra-<sub>u</sub>axša-*; *nō(h)* < OPers. *nava<sup>o</sup>* (cf. Av. *nava*); *nōg* ‘new’ < \**na<sub>u</sub>a-(ka-)* (cf. Av. *nava-*, Skt. *náva-*, Paz. *nō*), *nirōg* ‘strength, potency’ < \**n<sub>ṛ</sub>-<sub>i</sub>a<sub>u</sub>-a-ka-*.

*ō* prep.-prev. < OPers. *ava* (cf. Av. *ava*, Skt. *áva*):

*ōzan-* ‘to kill’ < OPers. *ava-jan*; *ōft-* ‘to fall’ < \**a<sub>u</sub>a-pat* (cf. Av. *ava.pat*).

• e

We may assume the phoneme /e/:

*ped* ‘on, with, at’ < \**pa<sup>i</sup>ti* (cf. Av. *paiti*, OPers. *pati*, Bactr. πῑδο, Armen. *pet*) vs. *pid* ‘meal; meat’ < \**pitu-* (cf. Av. *pitu-*, Skt. *pitú-*, Parth. *piδ*), *pid* ‘father’ < \**pita* nom. (cf. Av. *pitar-*, *pita*, OPers. *pitar-*, *pita*).

The palatalization of *a* in the early period (sometimes indicated by a raised <sup>i</sup>) yields *e*:

*men-* ‘to think’ < \**ma<sup>i</sup>n̥ja-* (cf. OPers. *man*, *maniya-*, Av. *man*, *mainya-*); *dušmen* ‘enemy’ (cf. Av. *duš-mainyu-*); *er* ‘Aryan; noble’ < \**a<sup>i</sup>r̥ja-* (cf. OPers. *ariya-*, Av. *airya-*).

The sequences \**ant*, \**and*, reflected as *ant*, *and* in a number of older forms, yield *end*, *enn*:

*frazend* ‘child’ (cf. *frazaiṇti-*); *āzend* ‘example’ (cf. Av. *āzaiṇti-*); *gend/ genn* ‘stench’ (cf. Av. *gaiṇti-*, Paz. *gaṇd*); *bann/ benn-* ‘to bind’ (cf. Av. *band*, *baṇda-*, Sogd. βᾶnd-); *hāvand/ hāvend* ‘like, similar; equal’ (cf. *havaṇt-*, Bact. ωνδο).

The sequences *ahj*, *ahi/ahī* become *eh* –but if they lose *h*, *e* lengthens:

*deh* ‘land, country’ < OPers. *dahyu-* (cf. Av. *daṇhu-/ G daxyu-*); *keh* ‘small, young; smaller’ < \**kaṭṭjah-* (cf. Av. *kasu-* ‘little, small’, *kasyah-* comp. adj., Paz. *kəh*); *meh* ‘big, old; bigger’ < \**maṭṭjah-* (cf. Av. *masyah-* comp. adj. of *mas*, Paz. *məh*); *veh* ‘good; better’ < OPers. *vahyah-* (cf. Av. *vahyah-/ vaṇhah-* comp. of *vaṇhu-*); *jeh/ jē* < Av. *jahī-* ‘(bad) woman’ (cf. Paz. *jē, jaē*).

The sequence *ahk* becomes *ehk* or *ēk*:

*namehk/ namēk* ‘salt’ (cf. Av. *nəmaδka-*, Kurd. *nimek*); *bišehk* < \**bišazka-* (cf. Parth. *bizešk*).

In front of the dentals *s* and *z*, if there exist the vowel *a*, it may become *e*; if not the prothetic or anaptyctic vowel *e* is added:

*nasāh/ nesāh* ‘corpse; carrion’ (cf. Av. *nasu-*, Parth. *nasāw/ nesāw*); *arešk* < \**aresk* ‘envy’ (cf. Av. *araska-*); *srešk* < \**sresk* ‘drop; tear’ (cf. Av. *sraska-*); *ōbast/ ōbest* ‘fallen’ < \**aṇa-pasta-*; *bōyestān* ‘garden’ < \**bauda-stāna-* (cf. Paz. *bōstān*); *ohrmazd/ ohrmezd* < OPers. *a<sub>h</sub>uramazdā-* (cf. Paz. *hurmazda*, *hormezd*); *abestām* ‘trust’ < OPers. *upastā-m*; *spāh/ espāh* ‘army’ (cf. Av. *spāda-*, Parth. *espāδ*); *videst* ‘span’ (cf. Av. *vitasti-*, Fars. *bidast*, *gudast*).

The change of *u* to *e* sometimes occurs before the dentals *s* and *z*, or the palato-alveolars *š* and *ž*:

*dušvār* / Parth. *dežvār* ‘difficult’; *drust*/ *drest* ‘wholesome’ < \**druṣišta*-.  
 • *o*

-*e*- < \*-*a*<sub>ja</sub>-:

*mazdesn* < Av. *mazdayasna*- ‘someone who worships Ahura Mazda’; *zreh* ‘sea’ < Av. *zrayah*- (with the loss of *h*, *e* lengthens: *zrē*).

• *o*

*o* has achieved phonemic status:

*mog* ‘Magian, priest’, later *muv* < \**mogu*- (cf. OPers. *magu*-, Av. *moyu*<sup>o</sup>) vs. *mōg* ‘shoe’ < \**mauk-a*- (cf. Arab. *mauq*).

When \**ua* follows a consonant, it generally yields *o*:

*do* ‘two’ < \**dūa*- (cf. Av. *dva*-).

*a* before a labial *h* becomes *o*:

*ax*<sup>v</sup>/ *ox* ‘lord’ (cf. Av. *ahu*-); *ox* ‘existence; spirit’ (cf. Av. *ahu*-, *ahvā*-); *ohrmезд* (cf. Av. *ahura*- *mazdā*-); *dušox* ‘hell’ (cf. Av. *duž-anhu*-); *saxan*/ *soxan* ‘word, speech’ < \**sahuan*/r- (cf. Av. *saxan*/r-); *kahvan*, also *kohn* ‘old’ < \**kaf-uan-a*- (cf. Khot. *kuhana*-, Parth. *kafwan*, Fars. *kohn*, *kohna*).

### Prothesis and anaptyxis

Sometimes a vowel is added before two consecutive consonants (prothesis), or between consonants (anaptyxis) to ease the pronunciation. Prothetic or anaptyctic vowels are unetymological and may be *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*:

*est* ‘to stand, be’ (\**st*, cf. OPers. *stā*); *škāf*-/ *eškāf*-, *uškāf*- ‘to split’; *aškamb*/ *eškamb* ‘belly’; *škarv*-/ *eškarv*- ‘to stumble, totter’; *šnav*-/ *ešnav*-, *ašnav*- ‘to hear’; *spar*/ *espar* ‘shield’ (cf. Armen. *aspar*).  
*drod*/ *durod* ‘health, peace’; *drust*/ *durust* ‘wholesome; correct’;  
*drvand*/ *durvand* ‘wicked; deceitful; infidel’ (cf. Paz. *darvand*).

### Consonantism

• *h*

It continues the old phoneme *h*:

*ham* ‘same’ < OPers. *hama*- (cf. Av. *hama*-); *harv* ‘every’ < OPers. *haruva*- (cf. Av. *haurva*-); *hō* ‘he, that’ < OPers. *hauv*;  
*hunar* ‘talent’ < OPers. *huvnara*- (cf. Av. *hunara*-); *hušk* ‘dry’ <

OPers. *huška-* (cf. Av. *huška-*); *māh* ‘month’ < OPers. *māhi/-* (cf. Av. *māh-*); *deh* ‘land, country’ < OPers. *dahyu-* (cf. Av. *dañhu-/ G daxyu-*).

It represents OPers. *θ* < *s, t, ts, θ*:

*dah* ‘ten’ < OPers. *\*daθa* < *\*dasa* (cf. Av. *dasa/ G dasā*, Parth. *das*); *cāh* ‘well, pit’ < *\*cāθ-* (cf. Av. *cāt-*, Khovar *čhat, čat*); *gāh* ‘place, seat, throne’ < OPers. *gāθu-* < *\*gātu-* (cf. Av. *gātu-*, Skt. *gātú-*); *māhīg* ‘fish’ < OPers. *\*māθiya-ka-* < *\*mātsja-* (cf. Skt. *mātsyá*, Parth. *māsyāg*); *vahīg* ‘kid’ < OPers. *\*vaθiya-ka-* < *\*uatsa-* (cf. Skt. *vatsá-*, Bact. *bīg*); *mūhr* ‘urine’ < *\*mūθra-* (cf. Av. *muθra-/ G mūθra-*, Skt. *mútra-*); *gāh* ‘verse; metre’ < OPers. *\*gāθā-* (cf. Av. *gāθā-*, Khot. *ggāha-*); *gēhān* ‘world of life’ (cf. OPers. *gaiθā-*, Av. *gaēθā-*); *zahm/ zaxm* (written *ztm*) < *\*jaθma-* (cf. Parth. *žahm*).

*h* < *\*θu*:

*°ih* < *\*ija-θua-*; *dādīh* ‘justice’ < *\*dātiia-θua-*.

*h* < *\*t* before *p* and *k*:

*peh(i)purs-* ‘to read’ < *\*paiti-pṛsa-* pres. (cf. OPers. *pati-pṛsa-*, Av. *paiti-pārəsa-*, Parth. *padfurs-*); *peh(i)kar* ‘picture’ < *\*paiti-kara-* (cf. OPers. *pati-kara-*, Armen. *patker*).

We find *h* alternating with *s* in a few cases:

*xrōh-/ xrōs-* ‘to call, cry’ < *\*xraosa-* (cf. Av. *xrus*, *xraosa-*, Parth. *xrōs-*, Fars. *xrōš-*).

*hr* sometimes represents Med. *θr* < *\*tr* (instead of OPers. *ç*):

*cihr* ‘seed; nature’ < *\*ciθra-* (cf. OPers. *ciça°*, Av. *ciθra-*, Skt. *citrá*); *šahr/ šār* ‘city’ < *\*xšaθra-* < *\*kšatra-* (cf. OPers. *xšaça-*, Av. *xšaθra-*, Bact. *ḫαπο*), but *šasab* ‘satrap, governor’ < OPers. *xšaça-pāvan(t)-*; *mihr* ‘contract; Mithra’ < *\*miθra-* (OPers. *\*miça-/ miθra-*, Av. *miθra-*, Sogd. *miθr/ miš*, Skt. *mitrá-*).

There is a vacillation between *s* < OPers. *ç*, *hr* < Med. *θr*:

*pās* ‘watch, guard’ < OPers. *\*pāça-* (cf. Fars. *pās*); *pāhr* < *\*pāθra-* (cf. Av. *pāθra-*, Fars. *pahra*).

*h* < *nθ*:

*grah/ greh* ‘knot’ < *\*granθ-i-* (cf. Skt. *granthí*, Khot. *grantha-*).

*hr* < *\*nθr* < *\*ntr*:

*mahr/ mār* ‘(sacred) formula, (short) hymn’ (cf. Av. *maq̄dra-*, Skt. *māntra-*, Sogd. *mār°*, Parth. *mār°*, Armen. *mar°*).

*hl/ hr* < \**rt*:

*fravahr* < OPers. *fravarti-* (cf. Av. *fravaši-*); *ahlō/ ahlav°* ‘righteous’ < \**artaṽan-* (cf. OPers. *ṛtāvan-*, Av. *ašavan-*).

*hm* < \**xm*:

*tōhm*, also *tōm* ‘seed; family’ (cf. Av. *taoxman-*, OPers. *taumā-*, Parth. *tōxm*, Armen. *tohm*; Skt. *tókman-*); *tahm* ‘robust, firm’ < \**taxma-* (cf. OPers. *°taxma-*, Av. *taxma-*).

Old intervocalic *d/ δ* becomes *h* (and sporadically *y*):

*dah-/ day-* ‘to give; put’ < OPers. *dā, dadā-* (cf. Av. *dā, dadā-*); *spāh* ‘army’ < \**spāda-* (cf. Av. *spāda-*); *xēh-/ xēy-* ‘to pursue’ < \**hūaidaja-*.

Old *d/δ* before *r* may become *h* (and not *y*):

*šuhr* ‘liquid; semen’ (cf. Av. *xšudra-/ xšudra-*); *muhr* ‘seal’ < \**mudra-* (cf. Skt. *mudrā́*, Bab. J Aram. *mwhr-q*’).

*h* < intervocalic \**d/ δ* < \**z*:

*xāh-* ‘to want, wish’ < \**hūazaja-* (cf. OPers. \**huvad*, Parth. *wxāz*); *brāh* ‘splendour, glare’ < \**brādah-* < \**brāzah-* (cf. Av. *brāz*).

*hm* < \**zm*:

*brahm* ‘costume, habit’ < \**brazman-*; *urvāhm* ‘joyful’ < \**urāzman-* (cf. Av. *urvāzəman-*).

*h* < \**f*:

*dahan* ‘mouth’ (cf. Av. *zafan-*); *kahvan* ‘old’ < \**kafuana-* (cf. Parth. *kafwan*, Khot. *kuhana-*).

*h* < \**g*:

*brahnag* ‘naked’ < \**bagna-ka-* (cf. Av. *maṇna-*, Skt. *nagná-*); *sprahm* ‘flower’ < \**spragma-* (cf. Sogd. *əspəryəm*, Waxī *spray*); *cirāh* < \**cirāgu-* (cf. Sogd. *cirāγ*); *ahmadān* top. ‘Ecbatana’ < OPers. *hagmatāna-* (cf. Armen. *ahmatān*); *vēhm* ‘broad’ < \**uaig-ma-* (cf. Parth. *wēhm*); *drahnā/ drānā (dranā)* < \**darga-n-aṭuā-* (cf. Paz. *drānāe*).

*h* < \**u*:

*nasā(h)/ nesāh* ‘corpse’ (cf. Av. *nasu-*, *nasāvō*, Parth. *nesāw*); *syā(h)* ‘black’ (cf. Av. *syāva-*, Parth. *syāw*, Skt. *śyāvā-*, Armen. *seav*).

Final *h* is added to a few numbers of words which end with a long vowel:

*ašmā/ ašmāh* ‘you’ (cf. Av. G *xšmā* inst., *xšmākəm* gen.).

• **x**

It represents the old phoneme *x*:

*xōy* ‘helmet’ < OPers. *xaudā-* (cf. Av. *xaoḍa-*, Parth. *xōḍ*, Armen. *xoyr*); *xrad* ‘wisdom’ < OPers. *xratu-* (cf. Av. *xratu-*); *xašēn* ‘blue-green’ < OPers. *axšaina-* (cf. Av. *axšaēna-*); *draxt* ‘tree’ < *\*draxta-*.

Secondary word initial *x*:

*xāyag* ‘egg’ < *\*āuja-ka-* (cf. Av. *aya-*); *xēšm* ‘anger, wrath’ < *\*ašma-* (cf. Av. *aēšma-*, Armen. *hēšm*); *xišt* ‘brick’ < *\*ištja-* (cf. OPers. *išti-*, Av. *ištya-*, Parth. *hištīg*).

*x* < *\*-r-*:

*ātaxš* ‘fire’ < Av. *ātar-š*.

*xi* < *\*r̥-*:

*xišt* ‘spear’ < OPers. *ṛšti-* (cf. Av. *aršti-*, Fars. *xišt*).

*x* < *\*h*:

*xūb* ‘good’ < *\*huu-apa-* (cf. *hvaṇa-*, Sogd. *xōp*); *xēn* ‘(enemy) army’ < OPers. *hainā-* (cf. *haēnā-*); *xūg* ‘pig’ < *\*hū-ka-* (cf. Av. *hū-*); *xōg* ‘disposition’ < *\*haṇa-ka*.

*x* < *h* < *\*θ*:

*zaxm* ‘wound’ = *zahm* < *\*jaθma-* (cf. Parth. *žahm/ žaxm*).

*x* < *\*x̣̌*:

*vistāx* (/ *vistāh*) ‘confident’ < *\*uišta-ahūā-* (cf. Parth. *wistāf*, Armen. *vstah*, Fars. *gustāx*).

*x* (instead of *b* or *g*) < *\*g̣*:

*xiyār* ‘cucumber, gourd’ = *gyār* (cf. Khot. *byāra-*).

Contraction of *\*uāh* > *h* > *x*:

*xūn* ‘blood’ < *\*uāhunī-* (cf. Av. *vohunī-*, Khot. *hūnā*, Parth. *guxn*).

• *g*

Initial *g* represents the old phoneme *g*:

*gāh* ‘place; seat, throne’ < OPers. *gāḍu-* (cf. Av. *gātu-*); *gast* < OPers. *gasta-* ‘evil’; *gāv/ gō* ‘cow, ox’ (cf. Av. *gao-*); *gēhān* ‘hed; world of life’ (cf. OPers; *gaiḍā-*, Av. *gaēḍā-*); *gar/ ger* ‘mountain’ (cf. Av. *gairi-*); *gōhr* < \**gaḍra-* (cf. Sogd. *γōš*); *gōš* ‘ear’ < OPers. *gauša-* (cf. Av. *gaoša-*); *grīv* ‘neck, throat’ (cf. Av. *grīvā-*); *gūh* ‘dung, feces’ (cf. Av. *gūḍa-*).

*k* usually becomes *g* in front of a vowel:

*niyāg* ‘ancestor’ < OPers. *niyāka-*; *nibāg* ‘hostage’ < \**ni-pā-ka-* (cf. Armen. *nepak*, Fars. *nivā*); *nōg* ‘new’ < \**naḡa-ka-* (cf. Av. *nava-*, Parth. *navāg*, Osset. *naewæg*); *sag* ‘dog’ < \**sḡa-ka-* (cf. Av. *spaka-*, Skt. *śvaka-*); *nāmag* ‘letter, writing’ < \**nāma-ka-*; *tārīg* ‘dark’ < \**tanḍr-ja-ka-* (cf. Av. *taḍrya-*); *nigan-* ‘to dig, destroy’ < OPers. *ni-kan*; *ēg* ‘then, thereupon’ < OPers. *ada-kaiy* (cf. Av. *aḍa/ G adā*).

The voicing of *k* after nasals and *r*:

*kargās* (cf. Av. *kahrkāsa-* ‘large bird of prey’, Sanglēcī *kargaz*); *tang* ‘narrow, tight’ < \**tanka-* (cf. Khot. *ttamga-*); *varg* ‘leaf’ < \**varka-* (cf. *varəka-*); *marg* < \**marka-* (cf. Av. *mahrka-/ G marəka-*).

The old final or middle *ng* is maintained; its change to *nd* belongs to a later stage of the language:

*rang* ‘colour; dye’ < \**ranga-*; *sang/ sag* ‘stone, rock; weight’ < OPers. *aḍaṅga-*; *hangad* ‘complete, full; rich’ (cf. Av. *haṅgata-*, Sogd. *anyātē*); *angust* ‘finger’ (cf. Av. *aṅušta-*).

*g* preceding *r* may be maintained:

*šagr* ‘lion’ < \**šagru-* < \**šargu-* < \**ć(š)argu-* (later *šēr*); *sagr* ‘satiated, full’ < \**sag-ra* (later *sēr*); *dagr* ‘long; late’ < \**dagra-* < OPers. \**darga-* (cf. Av. *darəya-*, later *dēr*); *tigr* ‘arrow’ (cf. OPers. *tigra-* ‘pointed’, Av. *tiyri-* ‘arrow’); *anagr* ‘infinite’ (cf. Av. *an-ayra-*, later *anēr*).

Initial *v* followed by *r* or *i/ j* may yield *g(u)*:

*gugāy* ‘witness; evidence’ < *ui-kauija-* (cf. Parth. *wigāh*, Armen. *vkay*, Khot. *bye*, Paz. *guḡā*); *gyāg* ‘place’ < \**uijāka(h)-* (cf. Parth. *vyāg*, Fars. *jāy*); *gyān* ‘life, soul’ < \**uij-āna-* (cf. Av. *vyāna-*, Paz. *jq*); *guhūdag* ‘(evil) offspring’ = *višūdag* from \**ui-hu* (cf. Av.

*hunu-*); *gul* ‘flower; rose’ = *vard* < \**vṛd-a-* (cf. Av. *varəda-*, Parth. *vār*); *gulan* ‘commune; town’ = *vālan* < OPers. *vṛdana-* (cf. Av. *varəzāna-*/ G *vərazāna-*, Fars. *barzan*); *gumān* ‘doubt, suspicion’ < \**uī-man-(ah-)*; *gurbag* ‘cat’ < \**uṛpaka-*; *gurdag* ‘kidney’ < \**uṛt-ka-* (cf. Av. *vəratka-*, Sanglēcī *gul*); *gurg* ‘wolf’ < \**uṛka-* (cf. Av. *vəhrka-*, Skt. *vṛka-*); *gurs(ag)* ‘hungry’ < \**uṛčš-* (cf. Av. *varəšya-*) = *gušnag* (cf. Sogd. *wšn*).

## • *k*

Old initial *k* is maintained:

*kam/ kamb* ‘few’ < OPers. *kamna-* < \**kamb-na-* (cf. Av. *kamna-*); *kenīg* ‘girl, maiden’ < \**ka<sup>i</sup>nikā-* (cf. Av. *kainikā-*); *kōf* ‘mountain’ < \**kaufa-* (cf. Av. *kaofa-*).

Old middle or final *k* is normally maintained after the consonants *b*, *h*, *s*, and *š*:

*kabk* ‘patrdge’ (cf. Khot. *kakva-*); *bišehk* ‘doctor’ < \**bišadka-* (cf. Parth. *bizešk*); *jask* ‘sickness’ (cf. Av. *yaska-*); *arešk* ‘envy’ (cf. Av. *araska-*); *mašk* ‘skin, hide’ < OPers. *maškā* (cf. Akkad. *mašku*); *škōh* ‘poor, miserable’ (cf. OPers. *škauḍi-/ skauḍi-*).

Final *k* may be maintained even when *h* before *k* falls:

*ēk* ‘one’ < \**ēahk* < \**ēhak* < \**aīuakahja-*; *xāk* ‘dust, earth’ < \**hāhk* < \**āhakah* (cf. Skt. *āsa-*, Fars. *xāk*, *āhak*); *pāk* ‘clean, pure’ < \**pāhk* < \**pāuakah* (cf. Skt. *pāvaka-*); *nēk* ‘good, nice’ < \**nēhk* < \**naīuakah* (cf. OPers. *naiba*, Paz. *nyak/ nyahk*, Šīrāzī *nhkw*); *nazdīk* < \**nazdīhk* < \**nazdīahka* (cf. Av. *nazdyō* adv.).

Gemination (if the final sound *k* which has become *g* join another sound *k*, the original sound *k* is restored):

*kirbag* ‘good deed, merit, charity’ < \**kṛpa-ka-* (cf. Aram. *krp*); *zīndag* ‘alive’ < \**ṣīuant-a-ka*, *zīndakkar* ‘life-giving’.

If the final sound *k* which normally becomes *g* take a diminutive suffix *-(a)k* < \**-ka-*, the two sounds merge into one *k*:

*tanuk* ‘thin’ < \**tanu-ka-ka-* (cf. Skt. *tanu-ka-*); *sabuk* ‘light’ < \**sabukka-* < OPers. \**ṣapu-ka-* < \**ṭrapu-ka-* (cf. Skt. *trāpu-ka-*); *kōdak* ‘small, young’ < \**kaṭa-ka-ka-* (cf. Armen. *kotak*), or *kudak* < \**kuta-ka-ka-* (cf. Av. *kutaka-*); *andak* ‘few; a little’ < \**anta-ka-ka-*; *bārīk* ‘thin, fine’ < \**bārja-ka-ka-* (cf. Armen. *barak* ‘fine, tender’).



In a few loan words k is maintained after a vowel:

*šak* ‘doubt’ (cf. Arab. *šakk*); *makōg* ‘boat; cup’ (cf. Akkad. *makkūtu* < Sumerian <sup>giš</sup>*má.kud.da*); *šakar* ‘sugar’ (cf. Skt. *śarkarā*-, Khaoṣṭhī Inscr. *šakara*).

• ž

It may be simpler if we assign [ž] to the phoneme z. However, we find a few cases which seem to point to a merger of [ž] and [š]. Then the phoneme /ž/ remains in suspense –it may be considered as an allophone of /š/ before voiced consonants.

*yōždahr* ‘pure, holy’ written *ywšd’θr* (Book script), *ywjdhar* (Estrangelo), cf. Av. *yaoždāθra*-; *bažag* ‘joint of a finger’ (written *bčk*) rendering Av. *baši*-; *xružd* (written *’lwšd*) ‘hardship’, cf. *xruždā*-; *kenīžg* ‘maid-servant’ written *knyšky* (Ps. 122.2) is puzzling; we also find *syzd/ syšd* rendering Av. *syazd*, *siždya*-; *ažgahān* (written *’šgh’n*’, but *’jg’h’n* in Turfan texts) ‘lazy, indolent’ (cf. Fars. *ažgahan*, *ajgahan*).

• š

It represents the old phoneme š:

*fraš* ‘magnificent’ < OPers. *fraša*- (cf. Av. *fraša*-/ G *fəraša*-); *cašm* ‘eye’ < OPers. *cašman*-; *gōš* ‘ear’ < OPers. *gauša*-; *uš* ‘intelligence’ < OPers. *uš-ī* nom/2 (cf. Av. *uš*-, Av. *hōš*); *hušk* ‘dry’ < OPers. *huška*- (cf. Av. *huška*-, Khot. *huška*-); *ašt* ‘eight’ < *\*aštā* (cf. Av. *ašta*).

š < šiy < \*čj:

*šād* ‘happy’ < OPers. *šiyāta*- < *\*čjāta*-; *šav*- ‘to go’ < OPers. *šiyu*, *šiyava*- < *\*čju* (cf. Av. *šyu/ šu*); *hōšang* pr.n.m. (cf. Av. *haošyaṇha*-).

š < fš:

*šānag* ‘shoulder’ < *\*fšāna*-; *šarm* ‘shame’ (cf. *fšarəma*-).

š < xš:

*šab* ‘night’ < OPers. *xšap*- (cf. *xšap(an)*-); *šahr/ šār* ‘city’ < *\*xšaθra*- (cf. OPers. *xšaça*-, Av. *xšaθra*-, Bact. *𐭮𐭭𐭮*); *šāh* ‘king’ < *\*xšāyaθija*- (cf. OPers. *xšāyaθiya*-, Bact. *𐭮𐭭𐭮*); *šnōšag* ‘sneeze’ < *\*xšnaušā-ka*-; *šnās*- ‘to know’ < OPers. *xšnāsa*-; *šnōhr* ‘grace, gratitude’ < *\*xšnaoθra*- (cf. Av. *xšnaoθra*-, Armen. *šnorh*); *ašnav*- ‘to listen’ < OPers. (*ā*-)*xšnu*, *xšnau*- (cf. Parth. *ešnaw*-); *āšt* ‘peace; in peace’ (cf. Av. *āxšti*-).

š < OPers. šiy (Med. \*θy):

*x<sup>v</sup>ēbaš* older form of *x<sup>v</sup>ēš* ‘own, self’ < OPers. *huvaipašiya-* < \**h<sub>u</sub>aipaiθya-* (cf. Av. *xāēpaiθya-*, Parth. *wxēβēh*).

Contraction of \**xšū* > š:

*šift* ‘milk’ < \**xšūipta-* (cf. Av. *xšvīpta°*, Sogd. *xšīβd*, Yagn. *xšift*).

āš < \**āuiš*:

*āškār* ‘patent, manifest’ < \**āuiš-kār°* (cf. Av. *āviš* adv.).

šk < *sk*:

*škenn-* ‘to break’ < \**skand* (cf. Av. *skand*, *sciṇdaya-*); *škōh* ‘poor, weak’ < OPers. *škauθi-/ skauθi-*; *arešk* ‘envy’ (cf. Av. *araska-*).

šn < *sn*:

*snār* ‘sinew’ < \**snāuar-* (cf. Av. *snāvarə*).

šn < OPers. šn (Med. \*θn):

*arešn* ‘elbow; cubit’ < OPers. *arašni-* (cf. Av. *arəθni-*, Skt. *aratnī-*, Fars. *araš*).

š < \**rš*:

*kiš* ‘line’ < \**k<sub>ṛ</sub>ša-* (cf. Av. *karša-*); *kišvar* ‘continent’ < \**k<sub>ṛ</sub>šuar/n-* (cf. Av. *karšvan/r-*).

*r/ ṛ* may fall before *št*:

*hišt* (ppp. of *hil-*) ‘left, dismissed’ < \**h<sub>ṛ</sub>šta-*; *aštād* name of a deity, ‘rectitude’ < \**ṛštāt-* (cf. Av. *arštāt-*); *išt* ‘spear’ < OPers. *ṛšti-* (cf. Av. *aršti-*, Fars. *xišt*); *kišt* ‘cultivation of the soil’ (cf. Av. *karšti-*); *mušti-* (ppp. of *māl-* ‘to rub, sweep’) < \**m<sub>ṛ</sub>šta-* (cf. Av. *°maršta-*, Skt. *mṛṣṭá*); *pušt* ‘back’ < \**p<sub>ṛ</sub>šti-* (cf. Av. *paršti-*, Skt. *pṛṣṭi-*).

• *y*

It represents the old phoneme *j* inside a word:

*drayā* ‘sea’ < OPers. *drayah-*; *niyāg* ‘ancestor’ < \**ni<sub>j</sub>āka-* (cf. OPers. *nayāka-*); *tāy* ‘thief’ < \**tā<sub>j</sub>u-* (cf. Av. *tāyu-*, Khwar. *tāh*).

It may represent the old intervocalic *d*:

*may* ‘wine’ < \**madu-* (cf. Av. *maðu-*, Paz. *mae*, Bact. *μολο*); *meyān* ‘middle, centre’ < \**mad<sub>j</sub>āna-* (cf. Av. *maiḍyāna-*, Parth.

*maḍyān*); *niyām* ‘sheath, scabbard’ < \**nidāman-* (cf. Parth. *niḍāmaγ*); *bōy* ‘scent; smell’ < \**bauda-* (cf. *baoda-*, *baoidi-*); *gay* ‘robber, bandit’ < \**gada-* (cf. Av. *gaḍa-*); *pay* ‘foot; station’ < \**pada-* (cf. Av. *paḍa-/ pada-*, Osset. *fad*); *pāy* ‘foot’ < \**pāda-* (cf. OPers. *pāda-*, Av. *pāda-/ pāḍa-*, Parth. *pāḍ*); *ušyār* ‘intelligent’ < \**uši-dāra-* (cf. Paz. *hōšyār*); *srāy* ‘house, hall’ < \**srāda-* (cf. Armen. *srah*); *šōy-* ‘to wash’ < \**xšauda-* (cf. Parth. *šōḍ-*); *šahriyār* ‘ruler, king’ < \**xšaḍra-dāra-* (cf. Parth. *šahrdār*).

It arises from old intervocalic *u*:

*tāy-* ‘to be able, endure’ < \**tāuaja-* (cf. OPers. *tū*, *tāvaya-*), *tāyag* ‘powerful’ (cf. Parth. *tāwag*); *pādiḥšāy* ‘sovereign’ < \**pāti-xšāuan-* (cf. Paz. *pādišāh*); *jōy* ‘stream; channel’ (cf. OPers. *yauviyā-*, Skt. *yavyā-*, Fars. *jōy/jōb*).

It arises from old intervocalic *g*:

*bay* ‘lord, god’ < OPers. *baga-* (cf. Av. *baγa-/ G бага-*, Parth./ Paz. *baγ*).

Old intervocalic *d/ ḍ* may become *h* or *y* in a few cases:

*vizōh-/ vizōy-* ‘to examine, investigate’ < \**ui-čaud*.

We find *y* alternating with *d* in a few words:

*pādrām/ pāyram* ‘the common, common people’ < \**pāti-rama-*; *pādgōs/ pāygōs* ‘district, province’ (cf. Parth. *pādgōs*, Armen. *patgos*); *pādzahr/ pāyzahr* ‘bezoar, antidote’ < \**pāti-jaḍra-*.

We also find *y* alternating with *g* in:

*āgōš* ‘embrace, armpit’/ *āyōš* (written ’dwšy, ’wš).

In a number of words (especially loan words) the initial *y* is maintained:

*yān* ‘boon’ (cf. OPers. *yāna-*, Av. *yāna-*, Skt. *yāna-*); *yasn* ‘liturgy’ (cf. Av. *yasna-*) = *jašn* ‘feast’; *yākind* ‘hyacinth’ (cf. Gr. ὑάκινθος); *yaz(a)d* ‘divine being, god’ (cf. Av. *yazata-*) = *izad*.

## • *j*

The old phoneme /*j*/ was preserved in Parthian, while in Persic, it became *j*:

*jād* ‘lot; cause, case’ < \**jāta-* (cf. Av. *yāta-*); *jādūg* ‘sorcerer’ < \**jātu-ka-* (cf. Av. *yātu-*, Sogd. *yātūk*); *jagar* ‘liver’ < \**jakar-* (cf.

Av. *yakar-*); *jām* ‘glass, cup’ < \**jāma-* (cf. Av. *yāma-*, Sogd. *yāmək*); *jār* ‘time, occasion’ < \**jāuar-* (cf. Parth. *yāwar*, Paz. *yāvar*); *jask/ jesk* ‘illness’ < \**jaska-* (cf. Av. *yaska-*); *jō* ‘barley’ < \**jāua-* (cf. Av. *yava-*, Parāčī *žō*); *jud* ‘different, separate’ < \**juta-* (cf. Skt. *yutá-*, Path. *yud*).

Initial *j* represents old \**zg*:

*jah-* ‘to jump; happen’ < \**zgaθ* (cf. Av. *zgaδa-/ zgaθa-*).

Later *j* < *gy* < *uij*:

*jāy* = *gyāg* ‘place’ < \**uijāka(h)-* (cf. Parth. *vyāg*, Fars. *jāy*); *jān* = *gyān* ‘life, soul’ < \**uij-āna-* (cf. Av. *vyāna-*, Paz. *ja*).

Initial *j* represents old *ji*:

*jō-/jav-* ‘to chew’ < \**jiu* (cf. Sogd. *žəβ-*, Yaʿn. *žav-*).

Old *j* is maintained in a few loan-words:

*jeh/ jē* < Av. *jahī-* ‘(bad) woman’; *jāmāsp* < Av. *jāmāspa-* = *zāmāsp* (cf. Sogd. *zāmāsp*); *āranj/ ārenj* ‘elbow; joint’ (cf. Sogd. ”r’nj, ”r’ync) = *ārešn* < OPers. *arašni*.

## • c

Initial *c* represents the old phoneme *č*:

*cagād* ‘peak, ridge’ < \**čakāta-* (cf. Sogd. *cakāt*, Armen. *čakat*, JPers. *ceyād*); *cašm* ‘eye’ < OPers. *cašman-* (cf. Av. *cašman-*); *carm* ‘hide, skin’ < OPers. *carman-* (cf. Av. *carəman-*); *carādīg* ‘young woman’ (cf. Av. *carāitī-/ carāitikā-*); *carb* ‘fat’ < \**čarp-a-* (cf. Sogd. *carp*, Khot. *tcārba-*); *caxr* ‘wheel’ < \**čaxra-* (cf. Av. *caxra-*, Skt. *cakrá-*); *ceh/ cē* ‘what; for’ < \**čahja* (cf. Parth. *cē/ tšē*).

Old middle or final *č* is normally maintained after the consonants *f*, *h*, *m*, *š*, *x*:

*kafc(ag)* ‘spoon’ < \**kapa-čaka-* (cf. Waxī *kapč*, Tabarī *kača*, Fars. *kafča*); *nahcihr/ nahcīr* ‘wild animal; hunting’ (cf. Parth. *naxcīr*); *nāmcīšt* ‘in particular’ < \**nāma-čišta-*; *manušcihr* pr. n. m. < Av. *manuš.ciθra-*.

In a transparent compound, the initial *c* of the second member is maintained:

*hu-cašm* ‘having good eyes’ (cf. Paz. *hūcašm*); *ē-cand* ‘some, a few’ (cf. Paz. *ēucaṇd*); *pāk-cihr* ‘of pure race’ anthropon. < \**paṣāka-ciṭhra-* (cf. Parth. *pāžihr*).

*c/ cc < tč*:

*ēc* ‘any’ < \**aṣa-tčit* (cf. Parth. *ēwiž*, Paz. *hēc*); *peccēn* ‘copy’ < \**pati-čagna-* (cf. Armen. *patčēn*); *vaccag* ‘child’ < \**uat-čak* < \**uata-* (cf. dial of Sēstān *gōča*).

Contraction of \**čīu* > *c*:

*cand* ‘how much/ many’ < \**čīuant-* (cf. Av. *cvant-*, Skt. *kṛvant-*, Parth. *cwand/ cwend*).

#### • *r*

It represents the old phoneme *r*:

*andar* ‘in, among’ < OPers. *a<sub>n</sub>tar* (cf. Av. *aṇtarə*); *er* ‘Aryan’ < OPers. *ariya-* (cf. Av. *airya-*); *dār-* ‘to hold, have’ < OPers. *dāraya-* (cf. Av. *dar*, *dāraya-* caus.); *fradum* ‘first, foremost’ < OPers. *fratama-* (cf. Av. *fratəma-*); *mard* ‘man’ < OPers. *martiya-* (cf. Av. *mašya-*); *rāy* ‘for, on account of’ < OPers. *rādiy* (cf. Parth. *rāḍ*); *ras-* ‘to arrive’ < OPers. *rasa-*; *brādar* ‘brother’ < OPers. *brātar-* (cf. Av. *brātar-*); *pur* ‘many’ (cf. OPers. *paru-*, Av. *pouru-*, Skt. *purú-*).

Assimilation of *ṛn/ rn* > *rr*:

*darr-* ‘to tear’ < \**dṛn-* (cf. Av. *dar*, *dərən-*, Skt. *dṛṇāti*); *zarr* ‘gold’ < \**zarn-a/u-* (cf. OPers. *daraniya-*, Av. *zaraṇya-*); *karr* ‘deaf’ < \**karna-* (cf. Av. *karəna-*, Sogd. *karn*); *parr* ‘feather, wing’ < \**parna-* (cf. Av. *parəna-*, Skt. *parṇá-*); *purr* ‘full’ < \**pṛna-* (cf. Av. *pərəna-*, Sogd. *purn*); *varr* ‘wool’ < \**ṣarnā-* (cf. Av. *pərəna-*, Armen. *var*).

The alternation of two liquids *l* and *r* is not rare:

*rarz-/ larz-* ‘to tremble’ < \**rarz-* (cf. Parth. *larz-*); *rāb/ lāb* ‘supplication’ < \**rāpa-* (cf. Parth. *lāb*); *nāl-/ nār-* ‘to lament’ < \**nard* (cf. Parth. *nār-*).

*r* < \**ṛr*:

*rōd* ‘river’ < OPers. *rautah-* (cf. Skt. *srótas-*); *rōdestāg*, also *rōstāg* ‘district’ (cf. Av. *ṛraotō.stāc-*).

#### • *l*

It is the result of the sequence *rd/rd* < \**rd/rd*:

*ul* ‘up’ < \**rdūa-* (cf. Av. *arəδβa-*, Khot. *ula-*); *gul* ‘flower, rose’ < \**urd-* (cf. Av. *varəda-*, Sīvandī *vel*, Parth. *vār*); *vāl-* ‘to grow, increase’ < \**uard* (cf. Av. *vard*, *varəδā-*/ G *varəda-*); *dil* ‘heart’ < \**dird-* (cf. Av. *zərəδ-*, Parth. *zirδ*); *sāl* ‘year’ < \**θ/sard-* < \**car(a)d-* (cf. OPers. *θarad-*, Av. *sarəd-*, Bact. *σαρδο*); *sālār* ‘leader’ < \**sar(a)-dāra-* (cf. Bact. *σαρλαρο*, Armen. *sałar*); *ālag* ‘side’ < \**arda-ka-* (cf. Av. *arəda-*, Khot. *hala-*, Bact. *αρλο*).

It is the result of the sequence *rd/rd* < \**rz/rz*:

*buland* ‘high’ < *bṛdant-* (cf. Av. *bərəzant-*); *vālan/ gulan* ‘settlement, town’ < OPers. *vardana-* (cf. Av. *varəzāna-*, Fars. *barzan*); *gilag* ‘complaint’ < \**gṛda-ka-* < \**gṛza-* (cf. Av. *garz*, *gərəz-*); *māl-* ‘to rub, sweep’/ *marz-* ‘to mate’ (cf. Av. *marz*, *marəza-*); *spull/ spurz* ‘spleen’ < \**spṛdan-* (cf. Av. *spərəzan-*); *hil-* ‘to abandon, let go’ < \**hard* (cf. Av. *harz*); *āluh* ‘eagle’, also *āluf* (cf. Av. *arəzifyō*<sup>o</sup>).

*hl* < \**rt*:

*ahlō* ‘righteous’ < \**artaūan-*; *mahlī* ‘(first) Man’ < \**martija-*.

*hl* < \**θr* < OPers. *rθ*:

*pahlūg* ‘side, rib’ < OPers. *parθu-ka-* (cf. Av. *parəsu-*); *pahlav/ pahlō* ‘Parthian’ < OPers. *parθava-*; *puhl* ‘bridge’ < \**pṛθu-* (cf. Av. *pərətu-*, Fars. *pul*).

We find *l* < \**δ* < \**θr* (\**ç*) < \**ér* in:

*baxl* top. (cf. OPers. *bāxtrī-*, Elam. *ba-ak-ši-iš*, Av. *bāxδī-*).

It represents the old phoneme *r* in a few words:

*lēs-* ‘to lick’ (cf. Av. *riz*, Skt. *reh/ leh*); *zāl* ‘old’ < \**zāra-* (cf. Lurī *dālū* ‘old woman’).

We find *l* alternating with *r* in a few words:

*nāl-/ nār-* ‘to lament’; *sāl/ sār* ‘year’; *sālār/ sārār* ‘leader’; *ālag/ ārag* ‘side’.

We finally find *l* in a few loan words:

*lagēnag* ‘pitcher, jug’ (Cf. Gr. *λάγηνα*).

## • *n*

It represents the old phoneme /*n*/:

*xēn* or *hēn* ‘(enemy) army’ < OPers. *hainā-*; *hunar* ‘talent, virtue’ < OPers. *huvnara-*; *nē* ‘not’ < OPers. *naiy* (cf. Paz. *nē*); *nām* ‘name’ < OPers. *nāman-* (cf. Paz. *nām*); *nūn* ‘now’ (cf. OPers. *nūram*, Av. *nū*, *nūrəm*, Skt. *nūrám*); *tan* ‘body, self’ < OPers. *tanū-*.

*nd* < \**nd*:

*handarz* ‘instruction’ < \**han-darza-* (cf. Parth. *andarz*); *hind* ‘India’ < OPers. *hi<sub>n</sub>du-*.

A geminate *n* is the result of the sequence *nd*.

Primary *nn* < \**nd*: *bann* or *benn* ‘bond, link’ < \**banda-* (cf. OPers. *ba<sub>n</sub>da<sup>o</sup>*, Av. *baṇda-*, Parth. *band*); *hannām* ‘limb, member’ < \**handāma(n)-* (cf. Parth. *handām*, Armen. *andam*); *škenn-* ‘to break’ < \**škandaia-* (cf. Av. *skand*, *sciṇdaya-*).

Secondary *nn* < \**nd* < \**nt*: *genn* ‘stinking, foul’ < \**gand* < \**ganti-* (cf. Av. *°gaiṇti-*, Parth. *gand*).

We find *n* alternating with *r* in a few words:

*x<sup>v</sup>amn/ x<sup>v</sup>arm* ‘sleep’ (cf. Parth. *x<sup>v</sup>amr*, Lat. *somnus*); *hunsand/ xursand* ‘content’ (cf. Parth. *hunsand*, Sogd. *xusand*, Paz. *x<sup>v</sup>arsand*).

Implosive *n* falls after a long vowel and before a consonant:

*nigūsār* ‘head downward, inverted’ < \**nigūn-sār*; *šabāgāh* ‘nightfall’ (cf. Paz. *šavagāh*); *šabārōz* ‘day and night’ = *rōz-šabān*; *sēmurv* ‘a fabulous bird’ = *sēn murv*.

*n* < intervocalic *d*:

*an* dir. ‘I’ < \**anam* < OPers. *adam* (cf. Av. *azəm/ G azēm*, Skt. *ahám*, Parth. *az*).

*n* before *g, z* < \**m*:

*hangaft* ‘came together’ from *ham gam*; *hanzām-* ‘to finish’ from *ham gam*; *hangār-* ‘to consider’ from *ham kar* (cf. Av. *haṇ-kāraya-*); *ham-kirb*, but *hangirb* ‘double (person)’ < \**hama-kṛp-*; *hangōn* ‘also, equally’ < \**hama-gauna-* (cf. Armen. *hangoin*).

## • *d*

*d* represents the old phoneme /*d*/:

*dūr* ‘far’ < OPers. *dūra-*; *dagr* ‘long’ < OPers. *darga-*; *azd* ‘known’ < OPers. *azdā-* (cf. Av. *azdā-*, Skt. *addhā-*); *abd* ‘wonderful, marvellous’ < \**abda-* (cf. Av. *abda-*, Paz. *aβad*); *gad* ‘mace, club’ is possibly a loanword from Av. *gaḍā-* (Skt. *gadā-*), its normal form is \**gay*.

$d < *d < *z$ :

*adān* ‘unknowing’ < OPers. *\*a-dāna-* < *\*a-zāna-*; *adōšišnīh* ‘lack of pleasure’ from OPers. *\*a-dauša-* (cf. Av. *a-zaoša-*).

In front of a vowel, *t* becomes *d*:

*adan* ‘incorporeal’, but *atan* if the compound is transparent (cf. Av. *a-tanu°*); *ped* ‘master, husband’ < *\*pa<sup>i</sup>ti-* (cf. Av. *paiti-*); *ud* ‘and’ < OPers. *utā* (cf. Av. *uta/* G *utā*); *pid* ‘meal, food; meat’ < *\*pitu-* (cf. Av. *pitu-*, Paz. *piṭ*); *ēd* ‘this’ < OPers. *aita-* (cf. Av. *aēta-*); *mād* dir., *mādar* obl. ‘mother’ (cf. OPers. *°mātar-*, Av. *mātar-*); *šād* ‘happy’ < OPers. *šiyāta-* (cf. Av. *šyāta-*); *dād* ‘law’ < OPers. *dāta-* (cf. Av. *dāta-*).

The voicing of *t* after nasals and *r*:

*mard/ merd* < OPers. *martiya-* (cf. Av. *mašya-*); *kand* < *\*kan-ta-* (cf. OPers. *kan*, Av. *kan*, *°kaṇta-*, Paz. *xan-*, *xad*); *zand* ‘district’ (cf. Av. *zaṇtu-*); *zard/ zerd* < *\*za<sup>i</sup>rta-* < *\*zarita-* (cf. Av. *zairita-*, Skt. *hārita-*); *abardan* ‘arrogant’, but *abar-tan* if the compound is transparent < *\*upari-tanū-*; *vehdar* ‘better’ from *vahyah-* and *°tara-*; *gōspend* ‘cattle’ (cf. Av. *gaospəṇta-*); *durvand* ‘wicked, infidel’ (cf. Av. *drvaṇt-/* G *drəgvaṇt-*).

We find OPers. *d* alternating with Median/ Avestic *z* in a few words:

*drayā* ‘sea’ < OPers. *drayah-* (cf. Waxī *dəryō* ‘river’), *zreh/ zrē* (cf. Av. *zrayah-*, Sogd. *zrē*); *dimestān* ‘winter’ from OPers. *\*dyam-/* *\*dima-* (cf. Kumzārī *dimēstān*), *zimestān* (cf. Av. *zyam-*, Parth. *zimāg*); *bādūg* ‘arm’ from OPers. *\*bādu-* (cf. Sīvandī *bāī*), *bāzūg* (cf. Av. *bāzu-*); *diz* ‘fortress’ < Med. *dizā-*, *\*did* < OPers. *didā-*, cf. *dīvār* ‘wall’ < *\*dida-vāra-*; *dānāg* ‘knowing, wise’ from *dan*, *dānā-*, but *frazānag* ‘wise’ from *\*zan* (cf. Av. *zan*, *zānā-*); *danag/ danūg* ‘chin, jaw’ < *\*danu-ka-*, but *zanag* (cf. Av. *zanava*, Parth. *zanax*).

Final *nd* may also represent older *ng*:

*dagrand* ‘long’/ *dērang* (cf. Paz. *dēraṇg*, Fars. *dērand*); *abrand* ‘splendour, majesty’ / *abrang* (cf. Paz. *aurāṇg*, *avraṇd*, *afrāṇd*); *parind/ paring* ‘monochrome damask’ (cf. Sogd. *paring*, Arab. *fīrind*).

Old *\*nd* is maintained (or may become *nn*):

*hind* ‘India’ < OPers. *hi<sub>n</sub>du-*; *vind-* ‘to find’ < *\*vinda-* pres. (cf. Av. *vid*, *viṇda-*).

Contraction of *\*dū > d/b*:

*did* ‘other’ < OPers. *duvitīya-m* (cf. Parth. *bid*); *dar* ‘door, gate’ < OPers. *duvara-* (cf. Parth. *bar*).



• *t*

Old initial *t* is maintained:

*tahm* ‘robust, brave, firm’ (cf. OPers. *taxma-*, Av. *taxma-*); *tag* ‘assault, attack’ (cf. Av. *taka-*, Paz. *ṭag*); *tan* ‘body; self’ < OPers. *tanū-* (cf. Av. *tanū-*); *tēz* ‘swift; sharp’ (cf. Av. *tiži°*, °*taēža-*); *tab* ‘fever’ < \**tapah-* (cf. Sogd. *antap* < \**han-tapah-*).

The initial *t* of the second member of a compound is maintained if the compound be transparent:

*hu-tāšīd* ‘well-built’ (cf. Av. *hu-tāšta-*); *hu-toxš* ‘artisan’ (cf. Paz. *hu-tuxš*).

Old *t* is maintained after the consonants *s*, *š*, *f*, and *x*:

*dast* ‘hand’ < OPers. *dasta-* (cf. Av. *zasta-*); *bast* ‘bound’ < OPers. *basta-* (cf. *basta-*); *stūn* ‘column’ < OPers. *stūnā-* (cf. Av. *stūnā-*); *ašt* ‘eight’ < \**aštā-* (cf. Av. *ašta*); *nibišt* ‘wrote; written’ < OPers. *ni-pišta-*; *naft* ‘moist; naphta’ (cf. Av. *napta-*); *guft* ‘said’ < \**guftāh* (cf. OPers. *gub*), *baxt* ‘divided, bestowed’ (cf. Av. *baxta-*); *vixt* ppp. Of *vēz-* ‘to sift; winnow’ (cf. Av. *vic*, Skt. *vic*, *vikta-*).

The enclitic personal pronouns °*t*/ °*Vt*, *tān*/ °*Vtān* remain unchangeable:

*bē-t* ‘but you’; *ka-tān* ‘when you’.

In a few loan words *t* is maintained after a vowel:

*ādar* ‘fire’ < \**ātar-*, but *ātaxš*/ *ātaš* ‘fire’ < Av. *ātar-š*; *šumbat* ‘Saturday, Sabbath’ < Aram. *šabtā* (cf. Paz. *šunbat*).

Gemination:

*pettāy-* ‘to endure, last’ from *pati-tū* (cf. Parth. *pattāw-*); *kabōttar* ‘pigeon; dove’ < \**kapauta-tara-* (cf. OPers. *kapauta-ka-* ‘blue’ > *kabōd*, Skt. *kapóta-* ‘dove’).

If the final sound *t* which has become *d* join another sound *t*, the original sound is restored: *vad* ‘bad’ (cf. Armen. *vat*, Paz. *vaṭ*), *vattar* ‘worse’; *buland* ‘high’ < *bṛdant-*, *bulanttar* ‘higher’; *pād* ‘protected’, *pāttum* ‘most protected’ < \**pāta-tama-*.

*t* < \**ṭ*:

*gētīg* ‘material, worldly; world’ < \**gaṭṭīja-* (cf. Av. *gaēṭīya-*).

*t* < \**č*:

*tasum* ‘fourth’ < OPers. *caçuma-* < \**čaṭṭuma-*; *taspāy* ‘quadruped’ < OPers. *caçu-pāda-* < \**čaṭṭru-pāda-*; *taskirb* ‘four-formed’ < \**čaṭṭru-kṛp-a-*.

• *z*

*z* represents old *ǵ*:

*zahr* ‘poison, venom’ < \**ǵaǵra-* (cf. Parth. *žahr*) ; *zamān* ‘time’ < \**ǵamāna-* (cf. Parth. *žamān*, Armen. *žamanak*); *zan* ‘wife, woman’ (cf. Av. *jaini-*/ G *jainī-*, Skt. *jāni-*, Parth. *žan*); *zāy-* ‘to request’ (cf. OPers. *jad*, *jadiya-*, Av. *jad*, *jaiḍya-*).

*z* represents old (Med.) *z*:

*zahag* ‘offspring’ < \**zaha-ka-* (cf. Parth. *zahag*, Gīl. *zāk*); *zanag* ‘sort, kind’ < \**zana-ka-* (cf. OPers. *°zana-*/ \**°dana-*, Av. *°zana-*, Skt. *jāna-*); *az* ‘goat’ (cf. Av. *aza-*, Skt. *ajā*); *āz* ‘greed’ (cf. Av. *āzi-*, Parth. *āz*); *āzād* ‘high-born, noble; free’ < \**ā-zāta-* (cf. Av. *āzāta-*); *āzār-* ‘to injure’ (cf. Av. *ā-zar*).

In some cases *z* represents an old intervocalic *č*:

*az* ‘from’ < OPers. *hacā* (cf. *haca*/ G *hacā*, Paz. *až*, Parth. *až*); *dōz-* ‘to sew’ < \**daučaja-* (cf. Bal. *dōč*); *mōzag* ‘shoe’ < \**maučaka-* (cf. Armen. *mučak*, Arab. *mauzaj*); *rōz* ‘day’ < OPers. *raucah-* (cf. Av. *raocah-*, Parth. *rōž*); *tazar* ‘palace’ < OPers. *tacara-* (cf. Parth. *tažar*, Fars. *tazar*).

*zd* represents the old sequence \**zd*:

*nazd* ‘near’ < \**nazda-* (cf. Khot. *naysda-*, cf. also Av. *nazdyō* < \**nazdiyas-*, Skt. *néḍīyas-*); *azd* ‘known’ < OPers. *azdā-* (cf. Av. *azdā-*, Skt. *addhā*); (*ohr-*)*mazd* < OPers. (*aḥura-*)*mazdā-* (cf. Av. *mazdā-*, Skt. *medhā*); *pazd-* ‘to pursue, chase’ < \**pazdaja-* (cf. Av. *pazd*, *pazdaya-*); *mīzd/ myazd* ‘sacrificial repast’ (cf. Av. *myazda-*, Skt. *miyédha-*, Fars. *mīz*).

*z* < \**zd*:

*bazag* ‘evil, sin, crime’ < \**bazda-ka-* (cf. Khot. *baśdā*).

*z* < \**žd*:

*āmurz-* ‘to forgive’ < \**ā-mṛžda-* (cf. Av. *maržd*, *mərəžda-*).

*zd* < \**žd*:

*mizd* ‘reward; wage’ < \**mižda-* (cf. Av. *mīžda-*, Skt. *mīḍha-*).

*zg* < \**zg*:

*azg* ‘branch, twig, shoot’ < \**azga-* (cf. Waxī *yazg*); *mazg* ‘marrow, brain’ < \**mazga-* (cf. Av. *mazga-*, Fars. *mayz*, *mazy*, Bal. *mažg*).

There is some vacillation between Median *z* and Persic *d*, or even a preference for Median *z*:

*zarīg/ darīg* ‘sorrow; regret’ (cf. Parth. *zarīg*, Paz. *zarī*, Fars. *darīy*); *zarr* ‘gold’ < \**zarna-* or *zarnu-* (cf. Av. *zarańya-*, OPers. *daraniya-*, Skt. *hirańya-*), but *dālmēn* ‘lammergeyer’ < OPers. \**darnu-ma’ni-* (cf. Av. *zarənu-maini-*), *zarrgar* ‘goldsmith’ (cf. OPers. *daraniya-kara-*, Skt. *hirańyakāra-*); *zimestān/ dimestān* ‘winter’ (cf. Av. *zyam-*, Parth. *zimag*); *zin-*: *zīd* ‘to deprive, carry off’ (cf. OPers. *dī*, *dīnā-*, *dīta-*, Av. *zī*, *zīnā-*); *zōhr* ‘libation, offering’ (cf. OPers. \**dauça-*, Av. *zaodra-*); *drayā/ zrē* ‘sea’ (cf. OPers. *drayah-*, Av. *zrayah-*); *bāzūg/ bādūg* ‘arm’ (cf. OPers. \**bādu-*, Av. *bāzu-*); *diz* ‘strong-place, fort’ < \**dizā-* (cf. OPers. *didā-*); *āyōz-* ‘to disturb, agitate’ (cf. OPers. *yud*, *yauda-*, Av. *yuz*); *zrang* top. ‘Drangiana’ < \**zranka-* (cf. OPers. *zranka-*).

Avesta *z* is maintained in a few loan words:

*az* ‘in milk, fertile’ (cf. Av. *azī-*, Skt. *ahí-*).

*z(z)* < *std*:

<sup>h</sup>*azzān* ‘ossuary’ < \**ast-dāna-*.

*zb/zv* continues Median *zb* < \**zū* (instead of OPers. *z*):

*uzvān* ‘tongue; language’ < \**hizūān-* (cf. OPers. *hizān*, Av. *hizvā-*, Skt. *jihvā-*, Parth. *ezbān*, Fars. *zabān*); *āzbāy-* ‘to invoke, call upon’ < \**abi/ā-zuāja-* (cf. Av. *zū*, *zbaya-*, OPers. °*zbaya-*, Skt. *hav*, *hvéya-*); *zbār/l* (cf. Av. *zbarađa-* ‘crooked leg’).

## • s

*s* continues the old phoneme /s/:

*ras-* ‘to arrive’ < OPers. *rasa-*; *tars-/ tirs-* ‘to fear’ < OPers. *tr̥sa-* (cf. Av. *θrah*, Parth. *tirs-*); *sahōg* ‘hare; rabbit’ < \**saha-s-ka-* (cf. Av. *sańha-*).

*s* continues the old Persic *θ* which historically comes from *s*:

*sah-/ say-* ‘to seem’ < OPers. *θa<sub>n</sub>d*, *θadaya-* < \**sadaja-* (cf. Av. *sađaya-*); *saxt* ‘passed’ (cf. OPers. *θakata-*, Av. *saxta-*, Parth. *saxt*); *sāl/ sār* ‘year’ < OPers. *θar(a)d* (cf. Av. *sarəd-*); *vis* ‘village, settlement’ < OPers. *viθ-* (cf. Av. *vis-*/ G *vīs-*); *sig* ‘stone’ < OPers. *θikā-* (cf. Orm. *sigo*, Pašt. *šaga*); *pēs-* ‘to adorn’ < OPers. *paiθa-* (cf. Av. *pis*, *paēsa-*).

*s* continues the old Persic *ç* which historically comes from \**θr* < \**tr*:

*sabuk* ‘light, easy’ < OPers. *çapu-(ka-ka-)* < \**θrapu-* (cf. Skt. *trāpu-*); *pus* ‘son’ < OPers. *puça-* < \**puθra-* (cf. Av. *puθra-*, Parth. *puhr*); *sahm* ‘fear; terror’ < OPers. \**çah-ma(n)-* < \**θrahman-*; *si* <

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*bāra-* (cf. Skt. *aśvavāra-*), *astar* ‘mule’ < OPers. *\*asa-tara-* (cf. Skt. *aśvatarā-*).

*sp* < Av. *\*θβ*:

*spāš* ‘space’ is a “learned” rendering of Av. *θβāša-*; and also *rāspīg* ‘ritual official’ (cf. Av. *raθβya-*).

*s* < *\*sc*:

*frasinn-* ‘to break (through)’ < *\*fra-sčind*; *pas* ‘behind, afterwards’ < *\*pasčā* (cf. Av. *pasca*, OPers. *pasa*, Parth. *paš*); *kas* ‘person’ (cf. OPers. *kašciy*, Parth. *kec*); *tis* ‘thing’ (cf. OPers. *cišciy*, Parth. *ciš*, Paz. *θis*).

*s* < *\*st*:

*saxt* ‘hard, firm’ (cf. Av. *staxta-*).

*sī* < *\*θja*:

*sīz* (cf. Av. *iθyejah-* ‘abandonment’, Skt. *tyājas-*).

*sr* < *\*str*:

*srīgar* ‘female’ (cf. Av. *strī-*, Skt. *strī-*).

*sr* < Med. *\*θr*:

*srāy-* ‘to protect’ (cf. Av. *θrā*, *θrāya-*); *āsrōn* ‘priest’ (cf. Av. *āθravan-*); *hāsr* ‘a measure of distance or time’ (cf. Av. *hāθra-*).

There is a sporadic interchange of *s* and *z*:

*ēsm/ ēzm* ‘firewood’ (cf. Av. *aēsma-* < *\*aizma-*, Fars. *hēzum*); *asprēs* ‘racecourse’, also *asprēz*; *lēš-/ lēz* ‘to lick’ (cf. Av. *riz*, Skt. *reh*); *kenīzag/ kenīsag* ‘little girl, maiden’ (cf. Fars. *kanīzak*, *kanīsa*).

Gemination:

*Pessen(n)-* ‘to approve; admire’ < *\*pati-sandaj-* (cf. Parth. *passend*, Paz. *pasand-*, Bact. *πησινδ-*); *pessāz-* ‘to compose, constitute’ from *\*pati- sač* (cf. Parth. *passāž-*, Paz. *pasāz-*).

• *x*<sup>v</sup>

It represents old *h<sub>u</sub>* or *x*<sup>v</sup>:

*x<sup>v</sup>ēš* / older *x<sup>v</sup>ēbaš* ‘own’ < OPers. *h<sub>u</sub>vaipašiya-* (cf. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēpaiθya-*, Parth. *wxēβēh*); *x<sup>v</sup>afs-* ‘to sleep’ < *\*h<sub>u</sub>afsa-* inch. pres. (cf. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>ap*, *x<sup>v</sup>afsa-*, Fars. *xusb-*); *x<sup>v</sup>ad* ‘self’ < *\*h<sub>u</sub>atah* (cf. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>atō*, Khot. *hvatā*, Parth. *wxaδ*); *x<sup>v</sup>ahar/ x<sup>v</sup>ār* ‘sister’ (cf. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aṇhar-*, Skt. *svásar-*); *x<sup>v</sup>ahr/ x<sup>v</sup>ahl* ‘crooked; false’ < *\*h<sub>u</sub>-uaxra-* (cf. Fars. *x<sup>v</sup>ahl*)

= *vaxr* (cf. Skt. *vakra-*); *x̣ar-* ‘to eat’ < \**ḥụar-* (cf. Av. *x̣ar*, *x̣ara-*, Parth. *ẉar-*); *x̣ar* ‘sun’ < \**hụar-* (cf. Av. *hvarə*); *x̣ēy* ‘moist, fresh’ < \**ḥụaida-* (cf. Av. *x̣aēda-*, Paz. *x̣ae*).

*hu/ ḥu* preceded by the vowel *a* may become *ox*:

*ax̣* = *ox* ‘existence, spirit’ (cf. Av. *ahu-*, *ahvā-*); *nax̣* = *nox* ‘beginning, first’ < \**nax̣a-* (cf. Armen. *naxa*<sup>o</sup>, *naha*<sup>o</sup>); *sax̣an* = *soxan* ‘word, speech’ (cf. Av. *sax̣an/r-*).

It is found in the loan word *x̣arrah* ‘fortune’ < Av. *x̣arənah-* = *farr*. *hu* before a vowel may become *x̣*:

*x̣āstavān* ‘confessing’ < \**hu-āstaṽāna-*.

*x̣* < \**hv* < \**ṭu*/ \**tu*:

*nix̣ār-* ‘to hasten, hurry’ < \**niṭuār-* (cf. Parth. *niḍfār-*).

## • *f*

*f* represents the old phoneme /*f*/:

*frabih* ‘copious, corpulent’ < \**fra-piṭṭa-* (cf. Av. *fra-piṭṭa-*, Parth. *frabiw*); *kaf* ‘foam; phlegm’ < \**kafa-* (cf. Av. *kafa-*, Khot. *khavā*); *vafr* ‘snow’ < \**uafra-* (cf. Av. *vafrā-*, Fars. *barf*); *nāf* ‘family’, *nāfag* ‘nave’ < \**nāfa-(ka-)* (cf. Av. *nāfa-*); *fšōnēn-* ‘to breed cattle’ (cf. Av. *fšaonaya-*); *drafš* ‘flag, banner’ (cf. Av. *drafša-*, Skt. *drapsā-*, Armen. *drōš*).

*ft* < \**pt*:

<sup>1</sup>*naft* ‘wet; naphtha’ (cf. Av. *napta-*, Sogd. *nəβd*); <sup>2</sup>*naft* ‘grandson; kindred’ (cf. Av. *napt-*, *naptya-*); *haft* ‘seven’ (cf. Av. *hapta-*); *šift* ‘milk’ (cf. Av. *xšvīpta*<sup>o</sup>, Khot. *švīda-*); *dibīrbed/ dibīruft* ‘chief secretary’ < \**dipīra-pati-* < \**dipi-ṽara-pati-* (cf. Skt. *divira-pati-*, Armen. *dprapet*); *hazārbed/ hazāruft* a high-ranking official < \**hazahra-pati-* (cf. Syr. *hzrpt*).

*ft* < \**xt*:

*riftag* rendering Av. *irixta-* ‘left-over, remnant’; *juft* = *juxt* ‘pair’ < \**juxta-* (cf. Av. *yuxta-*).

*fc* < \**p(a)č*:

*kafc* ‘unit of capacity; spoon’ from \**kapa-* (cf. Sogd. *kapc*, Waxī *kapč*, Fars. *kafca/ kabca*).

*afs/š* < \**a/upa-s/š*:

*afsān* ‘fable’ < OPers. \**a/upa-çāuana-*; *afsāy-* ‘to enchant’ < OPers. \**a/upa-çāuaja-*; *afsōs* ‘mockery, scorn’ < OPers. \**apa-çauça-*; *afsār-* ‘to cool, congeal; extinguish (fire)’ < \**apa-sāraja-* (cf. Khwar. ps’ry-); *afšān-* ‘to spread, sow’ < \**apa-šānaia-*.

We find *f* alternating with *m* in a few words. We also find *fš* < *mš*:  
*šafšēr/ šamšēr* ‘sword’ < \**šanma-šurja-*.

#### • *v*

*v* continues the old phoneme /*u*/:

*vas* ‘much, many, enough’ < OPers. *vasiy*; *vahišt* ‘best’ (cf. Av. *vahišta-*); *urvāhm* ‘joyful’ < \**urāhman-* < \**urādz<sup>h</sup>man-* (cf. Av. *urvāzəman-*); *kišvar* ‘continent, region’ (cf. Av. *karšvan/r-*, Parth. *kišfar*, Paz. *kəšβar*); *vidar-* ‘to pass; cross’ < \**ui-tarja-* (cf. OPers., Av. *vi-tar*, Fars. *guḍar-*); *āvarzōg/* later *ārzōg* ‘aspiration, wish’ < \**ā-uarja-a-ka-* (cf. Parth. *āwaržōg*).

It arises from an old intervocalic *b*:

*āvar-* ‘to bring’ < \**ā-bara-* or \**abi-bara-* (cf. OPers., Av. *ā-bar*, Parth. *āwar-*, Fars. *āvar-/ ār-*); *asvār* ‘on horseback, rider’ < OPers. *asa-bāra-* (cf. Skt. *aśvavārah*); *peyvann* ‘joining, connection’ < \**pati-banda-* (cf. Parth. *padβand*, Paz. *paeβand*); *nēv* ‘good; brave’ < OPers. *naiba-*.

*avi* < \**abi*:

*avištāb* ‘oppression; hurry’ < \**abi-štāpa-* (cf. Av. *štāp*); *avīr(ān)* ‘laid waste’ from \**abi-ar-* (cf. Armen. *aver*, Fars. *vīrān*, *bīrān*); *aviš* ‘to’ from *abi* (cf. OPers. *abiy*, Av. *aiβi*, Paz. *haβaš*).

It may represent older *g*:

*drōv* ‘flse; lie’ < OPers. *drauga-* (cf. Av. *drauγa-/ G draoga-*, Parth. *drōγ*); *muv* < OPers. *magu-* (cf. *moyu*<sup>o</sup>, Parth. *may*); *marv* ‘herb; meadow’ (cf. Av. *marəγā-*, Parth. *marγ*); *murv* ‘bird’ (cf. Av. *mərəγa-*, Parth. *mury*); *āvām* ‘time, epoch; season’ < \**abi-gāma-* (cf. *aiβi.gāma-*, Parth. *āγām*, Paz. *ōγqm*); *bāv* ‘garden’ < \**bāga-* (cf. Paz. *bāγ*).

#### • *b*

Old initial *b* is maintained:

*bām* ‘beam of light; dawn’ < \**bāma*- (cf. Av. *bāmya*- adj., Skt. *bhāma*- m.); *bannag* ‘servant, subject’ < OPers. *ba<sub>n</sub>daka*- (cf. Paz. *bandaa*); *bay* ‘lord; god’ < OPers. *baga*- (cf. *ba<sub>y</sub>a*-/ G *baga*-); *bīz* ‘seed’ < \**bīza*- (cf. Skt. *bīja*-); *būm* < OPers. *būmī*-).

Old *p* in intervocalic position or after a vowel or after consonants (except *s*) becomes *b*:

*āb* ‘water’ < OPers. *ap*- (cf. Av. *ap*-/ *āp*-, Paz. *āβ*); *abēdād* ‘lawless’ < \**apa-īt-dāta*- (cf. Paz. *aβēdād*); *viyābān* ‘desert’ < \**vi-vāpāna*- ‘devastated’ (cf. Av. *vī-vāpa*-, Paz. *vyāβan*); *nigāhbed* ‘guardian’ < \**nikāḍa-pati*-; *mu(v)bed* ‘chief priest’ < \**magu-pati*- (cf. Parth. *maybed*, Armen. *mogpet*, *movpet*).

The voicing of *p* after nasals and *r*:

*darbān* ‘gatekeeper’ < \**d<sub>u</sub>ar-pāna*- (cf. Armen. *darapan* ‘porter’); *hambār*- ‘to fill, store’ (cf. Av. *ham-par*, Fars. *anbār*-).

Initial *b* possibly represents older *p*:

*bār* ‘bank, shore’ (cf. Av. *pāra*-, Skt. *pārā*-).

Initial *b* can be the result of \**dm*:

*bāmbišn* ‘queen’ < OPers. \**māna-pašnī*- (cf. Av. *nmānō.paḍnī*-/ G *dāmānō.paḍnī*-, Armen. *bambišn*, Sogd. *β/pāmbuš*).

Initial *b* can also be the result of \**d<sub>u</sub>*:

*bēš* ‘pain; affliction’ (cf. Av. *tbaēšah*-/ G *dvaēšah*-); Parth. *bid* = Pers. *did* ‘again, further’ < \**d<sub>u</sub>iti<sub>ja</sub>*- (cf. OPers. *duvitīyam*, Av. *bitya*-/ G *daibitya*-); *bidaxš* ‘Grand Vizier’ < \**d<sub>u</sub>iti<sub>ja</sub>-xšajā*-; Parth. *bar* = Pers. *dar* ‘door, gate’ < \**d<sub>u</sub>ar-a*- (cf. OPers. *duvara*-, Av. *dvar*-).

Initial *b* may represent old \**u*:

*babr* ‘tiger’ < \**vagr*- (cf. Armen. *vagr*); *brinj* ‘rice’ < \**vrinj*<sup>o</sup> (cf. Sogd. *βrinj*, Fars. *birinj*, *guring*, Pašt. *wrižē* pl.); *bīš* ‘aconite’/ *viš* ‘poison, bile’ (cf. Av. *vīša*-, Skt. *viśá*-).

## • *p*

Old initial *p* is maintained:

*pēs*- ‘to adorn’ (cf. OPers. *piḍ*, *paiḍa*-, Av. *pis*, \**paisa*-), *nibēs*- ‘to write’ < \**ni-paiḍa*- (cf. OPers. *nipaiḍa*-, Sogd. *nāpēs*-); *purs*- ‘to ask’ < OPers. *p<sub>r</sub>sa*- (cf. *pārāsa*-); *purd* ‘strife’ (cf. OPers. *p<sub>r</sub>tana*-, Av. *pārət*-, Skt. *p<sub>r</sub>t*-), *nibard*/ *niburd* ‘combat, quarrel’.



*p* is maintained after *h*:

*pehpurs*-/ *pehiburs*- ‘to read’ < OPers. *pati.pṛsa*- (cf. OPers. *pati.fraḍiya*- ‘to be read’, Parth. *paḍfurs*-).

*p* is maintained after the dental *s*:

*asp* ‘horse’ (cf. OPers. *asa*-/ *aspa*-, Av. *aspa*-); *visp* ‘all’ (cf. OPers. *visa*-/ *vispa*-, Av. *vīspa*-); *spēd* < \**spaita*- (cf. Av. *spaēta*-).

Gemination:

*appar*- ‘to carry off, rob’ from \**apa-par* (rather than \**apa-bar*).

If a compound be transparent, the initial *p* of the second member is maintained:

*hu-pādixšay* ‘good sovereign’, *hu-pid* ‘of good parentage’, also *hubid* (cf. Av. *hu-ptar*-).

#### • *m*

It represents the old phoneme /*m*/:

*asmān* ‘sky’ < OPers. *asman*-; *carm* ‘skin, hide’ < OPers. *carman*-; *man* obl. ‘I, me’ < OPers. *manā*; *murd* ‘dead’ < OPers. *mṛta*- (cf. Av. *māsa*-/ *mārəta*-); *mā* prohibitive ‘not’ < OPers. *mā* (cf. Av. *mā*); *mēhan* ‘home’ < \**majīvana*- (cf. Av. *maēvāna*-).

Contraction of *dm*, *hm*, *mn*, *mb* > *m*:

*mān* ‘house’ < \**dm-āna*- (cf. OPers. \**māna*-, Av. *nmāna*-/ G *dāmāna*-, Skt. *māna*-, Sogd. *dmān*); *āmār-gar* ‘account-maker, bookkeeper’ < \**ā-hmāra-kara*- (cf. Armen. *hamarakar*, Parth. *āhmārgar*, Syr. *ahmrāgar*); *kam* ‘few’ < \**kam(b)na*- (cf. Av. *kamna*-, Sogd. *kaβn*), *kem* ‘less’ < \**kambiāh*- (cf. Parth. *kamβ*); *nam* ‘moisture’/ *namb* < \**namba*- (cf. Sogd. *namb*); *abhum*-/ *āhumb*- ‘to disclose, reveal’ < \**abi-zamba*-, *nihum*-/ *nihumb*- ‘to hide’ < \**ni-zamba*-.

Contraction of *xm* > *m*:

*tōm* ‘seed, family’ (cf. OPers. *taumā* nom., *taumāyā* gen., Av. *taoxman*-, Parth. *tōxm*, Paz. *θūm*), also *tōhm*.

Sporadic interchange of *b* and *m*:

*bang*/ *mang* ‘henbane’ (cf. Skt. *bhaṅgā*-).

We find *m* alternating with *f* in a few words:

*šamšēr*/ *šafšēr* < \**šanma-šurja*- (cf. Av. *šanman*-).

*mn* < \**fn*:

*x<sup>v</sup>amn* ‘sleep, dream’ < \**x<sup>v</sup>afna-* (cf. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>afna-*, Skt. *svápna-*, Parth. *x<sup>v</sup>amr*); *šām* ‘evening, evening meal’ < \**šāmn* < \**xšāfnija-* (cf. Av. *xšāfniya-*).

### Metathesis

*ars* ‘tear’ < \**asru-* (cf. Av. *asrū°*, Skt. *ásru-*, Fars. *ašk* < \**asru-ka-*); *dagr* ‘long; late’ < OPers. *darga-* (cf. Av. *darəya-*, Parth. *dary*); *narm* ‘soft’ < *namra-* (cf. Skt. *namrá-*, Parth. *namr*); *gabr* ‘womb’ < \**garba-* (cf. Av. *garəβa-*, Khot. *garba-*, Parth. *grāβ*); *šagr* ‘lion’ < \**šargu-* (cf. Parth. *šary*); *kanār* ‘limit, side’ < \**karana-* (cf. Av. *karana-*, Khot. *karāna-*, Parth. *karān*); *x<sup>v</sup>arm* ‘sleep’ (cf. Parth. *x<sup>v</sup>amr*).

### Simplification

All geminates *ss*, *mm*, *nn*, *tt*, *pp*, *yy*, *rr* may become simplified.

### Accentuation

Stress in Pārsīg is almost entirely predictable. Here are some typical data, illustrating the final stress pattern of this language. Assign stress to the last syllable in the word:

*zōr* ‘strength, force; army’ < \**záuar-* (cf. Av. *zāvar-*, Parth. *zāwar*); *stā.rág* ‘star’ / *es. tā. rág* < \**stāraka-* (cf. Av. *star-*, *stārō*, Paz. *stāraa*); *va.zúrg* ‘great’ < \**uazǰka-* (cf. OPers. *vazǰka-*); *báy* ‘lord, god’ < \**bága-* (cf. OPers. *baga-*, Parth. *bay*); *ba.yán/ ba.án* obl. pl. < \**bagānām* (cf. OPers. *bagānām*), *pidár* ‘father’ < \**pitár-* (OPers. *piça<sub>h</sub>* < \**piðrah* gen./1).

In a word with three or more syllables a secondary stress can fall on the first syllable:

*và.zur.gíh* ‘greatness’ < \**uazǰkiǰaǰua-*; *màh.res.pen.dán* ‘son of Mahrespend’/ *mà.res.pen.dán* from \**mantra-spanta-* (cf. Av. *maqǰra- spənta-*).

In the transparent compounds, the members may keep the accent on the same syllable of the simple word, with this difference that the accents before the last syllables become secondary:

*nèst.yàzd.gób* ‘atheist’.

Words in vocative state take the accent on the first syllable:

*ohr.mázd* ‘Ahura Mazdā’ < OPers. *a<sub>h</sub>uramázdā*; but *óhr.mazd!*

Exclamations also have initial stress:

*én.ak* ‘lo! Behold!’; *óh.bēh* ‘so be it! Amen!’.

Some grammatical words such as conjunctions (*ud* ‘and’), adpositions (*ō* ‘to’, *az* ‘from’, *ped* ‘on, at’, *abar* ‘above’, *rāy* ‘for’, *dā* ‘until’, etc.), enclitic pronouns, and the auxiliary verb *h-* ‘to be’ are often stressless in the presence of a stressed content word.

Raham Asha