

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^v, 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
i	Eng. sit
ī	Eng. beat
e	Germ. Bett , Fr. été , Eng. set
ē	Fr. paix , Germ. See
a	Germ. Wasser , Eng. but
ā	Hindi rāt
u	Germ. Mutter , Eng. put
ū	Fr. rouge , Eng. food , Germ. gut
o	Fr. beau , Germ. Sonne
ō	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), dental/alveolar (4), palato-alveolar (5), palatal (6), velar (7), rounded-velar (8), glottal (9). The letter to the right represents a voiced consonant.

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

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
c	Eng. chance
β	Spanish b after vowels
ð	Eng. this
š	Eng. ship
ž	Fr. joli , Eng. measure, vision
x	Germ. machen
γ	French r grasseyée
x^v	x+w (Parth. w+x)
r	It. rupe

Some general developments

Vocalism

• *a*

The old vowel phoneme /a/ is in general retained unchanged:

andar ‘in, among’ < OPers. *antar* (Av. *aṅtarə*), *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-zāuar*[a]-; *abxān-* ‘to cry, call’ < **upa-xān*; *abāy-* ‘to please; be necessary’ < **upa-i* (OPers. *upāyam*).

Initial *a* < **ha^o*:

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

a < **a_ua*:

and ‘as much, many’ < **a_uant-* (cf. Av. *avaṅt-*, Parth. *awend*); *aōn/ōn* ‘of such a kind, so’ < **a_ua-ga_unam* < **a_uā(t)-ga_unam* (cf. Paz. *awq*, Parth. *awāyōn*).

Sporadic shortening of *ā:

baxl top. ‘Bactria’ < **bāxθrī-*.

Prothesis of *a*:

aspar = *spar* ‘shield’ < **spara-* (cf. Armen. *aspar*).

Aphaeresis of *a* (the loss of an initial *a*):

sang ‘stone’ (cf. *aspəŋga-*, OPers. *aθa_nga-*, Parth. *asang*, Khot. *saṃgga-*).

• *ā*

The old /*ā*/ is in general retained unchanged:

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

Old **abi* (OPers. *abi*^o, *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-īāti-* (cf. OPers. **abiyātaka-*, registered in the Hesychian gloss ἀβιάτακα; 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-urjau-a-ka-* (cf. Parth. *āwarzōg*); *jār* ‘time, occasion’ < **īāuar* (cf. Parth. *yāwar*); *nāy*^o < OPers. *nāviya-* ‘deep’ (*nāydāg* ‘deep, navigable’); *tāy-* ‘to be able’ < OPers. *tāvaya-*; *šāh* ‘king’ < OPers. *xšāyaθya-*; *āškār* ‘clear, patent’ < **āuš-kār*^o (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. *hazaŋra-*, OPers. **hadahra-*); *šahr/ šār* ‘kingdom; country’ (cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OPers. *xšaça-*, Bactr. *𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎*), *šahrestan/ šārestān* ‘town (of some importance)’; *kahrēz/ kārēz* ‘channel’ (cf. *kahas*).

ān < **ahn* or **agn*:

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

ā < *ah*:

ah/ ā adv. ‘then’ < **aθa* (cf. Av. *aθa/ G aθā*, Skt. *átha*, Paz. *a*), *agar ... ā* ‘if ... then’ (cf. Av. *hakərəṭ ... aθa*); *kahrēz/ kārēz* ‘drain, subterranean canal’; *šahrestān/ šārestān* ‘town’ < **xšaθra-stāna-*.

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

xāl/ xār ‘food’ (cf. Av. *xarəθa-*, Fars. *xālē-gar* ‘cook’); *xāl/ xār* ‘sweet’ < OPers. **huard* ‘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. *kamərəða-*); *hamāl* ‘peer’ < **ham-arθa-* (cf. Av. *hamərəθa-*); *gāl* ‘cave’ was borrowed from a vṛddhied **garda-* (**gṛda-*, cf. Av. *gərəða-* ‘den, daēvic cave’, Skt. *grhá-*); *vāl-* ‘to grow’ < **vard* (cf. *varəða-/ G varəda-*); *sāl/ sār* ‘year’ < OPers. *θar(a)d-* (cf. Av. *sarəd-*); ¹*māl-* ‘to rub, sweep’/ *marz-* (cf. Av. *marz, marəza-*); ²*māl-* ‘to destroy, spoil’ (cf. Av. *mard, mōrənda-*), *āmāl* rendering Av. *marəδā-* name of a calamity or sinful act; *nāl-/ nār-* ‘to moan, groan, lament’ < **nard* (cf. Skt *nard, nārdati*).

ā < *a*:

āsmān ‘sky’ < OPers. *asman-* (cf. Av. *asman-*).

• *i*

It continues OPers. *i*:

pidar ‘father’ < OPers. *pitar-* (cf. *ptar-/ fəθr-*); *vis* ‘settlement, village’ < OPers. *viθ-* ‘(royal) house’ (cf. Av. *vis-/ G vīs-*); *im* ‘this’ < OPers. *ima-*; *mihr* < OPers. *miθra-* (cf. Av. *miθra-* ‘contract; Yazata of contract’); *mih* ‘wrong’ (cf. OPers. *miθa_h*, Av. *miθō* 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> (\approx Av. *ərə*, Skt. *ṛ*) becomes *ir* or *ur*:

kird ‘made, done’ < OPers. <ka-ra-ta> /*kṛta*-/ (cf. Av. *kərəta*-); *kirm* ‘worm’ < **kṛmi*- (cf. Skt. *kṛmi*-); ^x*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. Av. *taršna*-, Skt. *tṛṣṇā*-); *singabēr* ‘ginger’ (cf. Skt. *śṛṅgavēra*-); *xirs* ‘bear’ < **ṛčša*- (cf. Av. *arša*-, Skt. *ṛkṣa*-); *nirfs*- ‘to wane’ (cf. Av. *narp*, *nərəfsa*-).

• ī

It continues OPers. *ī*:

zī(v)- ‘to live’ < OPers. *jīv* (cf. Parth. *žīw*-); ¹*vīr* ‘man’ < OPers. **vīra*- (Av. *vira*-/ G *vīra*-, Skt. *vīrá*); ²*vīr* ‘wit’ (cf. Av. ²*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. *kṣīrá*); *bīz* ‘seed’ (cf. Skt. *bīja*-); *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’ < **ui-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. *anyá*-); *yaz(a)d/ īzad* ‘divinity; god’ (cf. Av. *yazata*-, Skt. *yajatá*-); *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’ < **māđīja-ka*- (cf. Skt. *mātsya*- ‘fish’, *mātsyá*- adj. ‘fishy’).

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

mīr- ‘to die’ < **mṛīa*- (cf. Av. *mar*, *mirya*-, Skt. *mar*, *mīryáte*); *gīr*- ‘to take, grasp, seize’ < **gṛbīa*- (cf. OPers. *grab*, *gṛbāya*-, Av. *grab*, *gərəβn*-, Parth. *girw*-; Skt. *grabh*, *gṛbhñáti*); *pīr* ‘old’ < **pṛūja*- (cf. OPers. *paruviya*-, *hacā parviyata*_h).

-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-uana-* (cf. Av. *āfrivana-*); *zīndag*
‘living; alive’ < **īuantaka-* (cf. Parth. *zīwandag*).

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

samīh- denom. ‘to be afraid’ (cf. OPers. **çahma(n)-* ‘terror’);
kašīh- pass. ‘to be dragged’ (cf. Av. *karš* ‘to draw, pull’); *kirīy-*
pass. ‘to be done’ < **kr-ia-* (cf. OPers. *kariya-*, Av. *kiryā-*).

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* (< -*iðr-*) by *īr* is found in a few words
(compensatory lengthening):

nahcihr/ nahcīr ‘wild animal, beast’ (cf. Sogd. *naxšīr* ‘beast’,
Armen. *naxčir-k* ‘slaughter’, Skt. inscr. *naścīra*); *huzihr/ huzīr* <
**hu-ciðra-* ‘beautiful, handsome’ (cf. Fars. *huzīr*); *mihhr/ mīr* (cf.
Av. *miðra-*).

The sequence *igr* may pass to *īr* (compensatory lengthening):

tiḡr/ tīr ‘arrow’ (cf. Av. *tiḡri-*, Skt. *tīrī-* f. a kind of arrow); *siḡr/ sīr*
‘garlic’ < OPers. **θiḡra-*; *pedīr-* ‘to accept’ < **pati-grab* (cf.
Parth. *padyirw-*).

The lengthening **-i-ka-*/ **-i-kā-* > -*īg*:

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

°*īz(ag)* < **ic(a ka-*):

murvīzag ‘little bird’ / *murv* ‘bird’; *gišnīz* ‘coriander’/ *gišn* ‘small,
short’.

°*īd* pp suffix < *°*i-ta-*/ °*i-tā-*:

varz-: *varzīd* ‘to work, labour’ (cf. Av. *varz-*: *varšta-*); *anāhīd* name
of a divinity < **anāhitā-* (cf. *āhita-* ppp.).

• **u**

It continues OPers. *u*:

udrag ‘otter’ (cf. Av. *udra-*); *uš/ huš* ‘intelligence’ (cf. Av. *uš-*, Paz. *hōš*); *pus* ‘son’ < OPers. *puça-* (cf. Av. *puṭra-*); *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. *moṅu-*); *tam/ tum* ‘darkness, gloom’ < **tamah-* (cf. *tamah-*, Skt. *tāmas-*).

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

ādar ‘fire’ < **ātar-*, *ādur* < *ātərə°*; *vazurg* ‘great’ < OPers. *vazrka-*; *purr* or *purn°* ‘full’ < **pṛna-* (cf. Av. *pərāna-*, Khot. *purra-*), *purnāy* ‘of full age’ (cf. Av. *pərənāyu-*); *pušt* ‘back’ < **pṛšti-* (cf. Av. *paršti-*); *purs-* ‘to ask’ < OPers. *pṛsa-* (cf. Av. *pərāsa-*); *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. *bərəzaṅt-*); *puhl* ‘bridge’ < **pṛṭu-* (cf. Av. *pərətu-*); *murd* ‘died; dead’ < OPers. *mṛta-* (cf. Av. *mərəta-*); *ā-murz-* ‘to forgive’ (cf. Av. *mərəzd-*).

gu- < **gi-*:

gugāy ‘witness; evidence’ < **gi-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. *aṅəm uparō.vīmanōhīm*); *gumarz-/ vimarz-* ‘to destroy’ (cf. Av. *vī-marc*); *gunāh* ‘sin’ (cf. OPers. *vi-naṭ*, *vi-nāṭaya-* ‘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. *vərəzāna-/ vərəzāna-*); *gurd* ‘hero’ < **uṛtV* (cf. Skt. *vṛt-* ‘army’); *gurg* ‘wolf’ < **uṛka-* (cf. Av. *vəhrka-*, Skt. *vṛka-*, Sogd. *vyrk-*); *gursag* ‘hungry’ < **uṛčs-* (cf.

Av. *varəšya-*); *gušn* ‘male’ (cf. Av. *varəšna-* ‘male’, *varšni-* ‘male animal’, Skt. *vṛṣan-* ‘manly’, *vṛṣni-* ‘ram’), *gušnasp* lit. ‘having male horses’ (cf. Skt. *vṛṣaṇaśvá*, 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. *zūra_h-* (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-*).

The lengthening **-u-ka-/ *-u-kā* > *-ūg*:

bāzūg ‘arm’ < **bāzu-ka-*, *jādūg* ‘sorcerer’ < **yātu-ka-* (cf. OPers., Av. *yātu-*); *gāhūg* ‘seat; couch’ < **gāθu-ka-* (cf. OPers. *gāθu-*, Av. *gātu-*); *āhūg* ‘deer; gazelle’ < OPers. **āθu-ka-* (cf. Av. *āsu-* adj. ‘swift’, Khwar. *āsk* ‘deer’ = Kurd.); *dārūg* ‘medicine, drug’ < **dāru-ka-* (cf. Av. *dāru-* ‘wood’).

ū < **uua*:

xūb ‘good, fair’ < **huuapah-* (cf. *hvapah-*); *pettūg* ‘enduring’ < **pati-tuuka-*.

^o*ūd* pp suffix < *^o*u-ta-/ *^ou-tā-*:

hušnūd ‘pleased’ (cf. OPers.-Av. *xšnuta-*).

ūr < *ugr*:

tūrestān name of a land < **tugra-stāna-* (cf. Parth. *tugrestān*).

• *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’ < **maiθana-* (cf. Av. *maēθana-*); *ēsm/ ēzm* ‘fire-wood’ < **aizma-* (cf. Av. *aēsma-*); *xēšm* ‘anger, wrath’ < **aišma-* (cf. Av. *aēšma-*, Armen. *hešm*); ¹*hēn/ xēn* < OPers. *hainā-* ‘(hostile) army’ (cf. Av. *haēnā-*); ²*hēn/ xēn* ‘wrong, small sin’ < **ainah-* (cf. Av. *aēnah-*); *ēv* ‘one’ < OPers. *aiva-* (cf. Av. *aēva-*); *mēg/ mēy* ‘cloud, mist’ < **maiga-* (cf. Av. *maēya-*); *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 < **-aianaia-*:

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

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

ardaxšēr pr. n. (cf. OPers. *ṛtaxšaça-*); *pādixšēr* ‘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. *darəya-*); *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. *nišaḍm*); *xēm* ‘wound’ < **xehm* < **xadma-* (cf. Parth. *xaḍm*); *nibēm* ‘lying’ < **nibehm* < **ni-pad-man-* (cf. Parth. *nibaḍman-*).

ē < *eh* < **-ahjah-*:

veh ‘better’/ *vē* < **vahjah-*, *vēšābhuhr* 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. *ghóśa-*); *gōy* ‘ball’ < **gauda-*; *bōy* ‘scent, perfume; smell’ (cf. Av. *baoda-*, *baoidi-*); *dōst* ‘friend’ < OPers. *dauštar-* (cf. Skt. *joštár-*); *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. *rud*, *raoda-*); *rōd* ‘river’ < OPers. *rauta_h-* (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_ua-*:

ōr/ avar adv. ‘come hither’ (cf. Av. *avarə*/ G *avarē*, 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_h*; *tō* < **ta_ua*; *frōxš-* ‘to sell’ < **fra-_uaxša-*; *nō(h)* < OPers. *nava^o* (cf. Av. *nava*); *nōg* ‘new’ < **na_ua-(ka-)* (cf. Av. *nava-*, Skt. *náva-*, Paz. *nō*), *nirōg* ‘strength, potency’ < **n_ṛ-_ia_u-a-ka-*.

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

ōzan- ‘to kill’ < OPers. *ava-jan*; *ōft-* ‘to fall’ < **a_ua-pat* (cf. Av. *ava.pat*).

• *e*

We may assume the phoneme /*e*/:

ped ‘on, with, at’ < **paⁱti* (cf. Av. *paiti*, OPers. *pati*, Bactr. *πiδo*, 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 ⁱ) yields *e*:

men- ‘to think’ < **ma^hnja-* (cf. OPers. *man*, *maniya-*, Av. *man*, *mainya-*); *dušmen* ‘enemy’ (cf. Av. *duš-mainyu-*); *er* ‘Aryan; noble’ < **a^hrja-* (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. *frazaiṅti-*); *āzend* ‘example’ (cf. Av. *āzaiṅti-*); *gend/ genn* ‘stench’ (cf. Av. *gaiṅti-*, Paz. *gaṅd*); *bann/ benn-* ‘to bind’ (cf. Av. *band*, *baṅda-*, Sogd. *βand-*); *hāvand/ hāvend* ‘like, similar; equal’ (cf. *havaṅt-*, Bact. *ωνδο*).

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

deh ‘land, country’ < OPers. *dahyu-* (cf. Av. *daijhu-/ G da^hxyu-*); *keh* ‘small, young; smaller’ < **ka^hṭjah-* (cf. Av. *kasu-* ‘little, small’, *kasyah-* comp. adj., Paz. *kəh*); *meh* ‘big, old; bigger’ < **ma^hṭjah-* (cf. Av. *masyah-* comp. adj. of *mas*, Paz. *məh*); *veh* ‘good; better’ < OPers. *vahyah-* (cf. Av. *vahyah-/ vaij^hah-* comp. of *vanjhu-*); *jeh/ jē* < Av. *jahī-* ‘(bad) woman’ (cf. Paz. *jē*, *jaē*).

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

namehk/ namēk ‘salt’ (cf. Av. *nəmaḍka-*, 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’ < **a^hua-pasta-*; *bōyestān* ‘garden’ < **bauda-stāna-* (cf. Paz. *bōstān*); *ohrmazd/ ohrmezd* < OPers. *a^huramazdā-* (cf. Paz. *hurmazda*, *hormezd*); *abestām* ‘trust’ < OPers. *upastā-m*; *spāh/ espāh* ‘army’ (cf. Av. *spāda-*, Parth. *espād*); *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’ < **dru^hišta-*.

-*e*- < **-aja-*:

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

Prothesis of *e*:

espās = *spās* ‘service’ from **spas* (cf. Armen. *spas*); *estabr/ stabr* ‘thick; grandiose’ < **stabra-* (cf. Khot. *staura-*).

• **o**

o has achieved phonemic status:

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

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

do ‘two’ < **dya-* (cf. Av. *dva-*).

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

ax^v/ ox ‘lord’ (cf. Av. *ahu-*); *ox* ‘existence; spirit’ (cf. Av. *ahu-*, *ahvā-*); *ohrmezd* (cf. Av. *ahura- mazdā-*); *dušox* ‘hell’ (cf. Av. *duž-anhu-*); *sax^van/ soxan* ‘word, speech’ < **sahyan/r-* (cf. Av. *sax^van/r-*); *kahvan*, also *kohn* ‘old’ < **kaf-yan-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. *darvaṇd*).

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/ī-* (cf. Av. *māh-*); *deh* ‘land, country’ < OPers. *dahyu-* (cf. Av. *dajhu-/ G daxyu-*).

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

dah ‘ten’ < OPers. **daḍa* < **dasa* (cf. Av. *dasa/ G dasā*, Parth. *das*); *cāh* ‘well, pit’ < **cāḍ-* (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. *mūθra-*/ 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’ < **dātija-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*):

cīhr ‘seed; nature’ < **ciθra-* (cf. OPers. *ciça*°, Av. *ciθra-*, Skt. *citrá*); *šahr/ šār* ‘city’ < **xšāθra-* < **kšatra-* (cf. OPers. *xšāça-*, Av. *xšāθra-*, Bact. *Რαρο*), but *šasab* ‘satrap, governor’ < OPers. *xšāça-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. *maqθra-*, Skt. *mántra-*, Sogd. *mār*°, Parth. *mār*°, Armen. *mar*°).

hl/ hr < **rt*:

fravahr < OPers. *fravarti-* (cf. Av. *fravaši-*); *ahlō/ ahlav*° ‘righteous’ < **artauan-* (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-/ xšūdra-*); *muhr* ‘seal’ < **mudra-* (cf. Skt. *mudrā*, 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’ < **kafūana-* (cf. Parth. *kafwan*, Khot. *kuhana-*).

h < **g*:

brahnag ‘naked’ < **bagna-ka-* (cf. Av. *maγna-*, Skt. *nagnā-*); *sprahm* ‘flower’ < **spragma-* (cf. Sogd. *əspəryəm*, Waxī *spray*); *cirāh* < **cirāgu-* (cf. Sogd. *cirāy*); *ahmadān* top. ‘Ecbatana’ < OPers. *hagmatāna-* (cf. Armen. *ahmatān*); *vēhm* ‘broad’ < **uajgma-* (cf. Parth. *wēhm*); *drahnā/ drānā (dranā)* < **darga-n-aḏūa-* (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. *xaoδa-*, Parth. *xōδ*, 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’ < **āujā-ka-* (cf. Av. *aya-*); *xēšm* ‘anger, wrath’ < **ajšma-* (cf. Av. *aēšma-*, Armen. *hēšm*); *xišt* ‘brick’ < **ištja-* (cf. OPers. *išti-*, Av. *ištya-*, Parth. *hištīg*).

x < **-r-*:

ātaxš ‘fire’ < Av. *ātar-š*.

xi < **r-*:

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

x < **h-*:

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

x < *h* < **ḍ-*:

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

x < **x^v*:

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

x (instead of *b* or *g*) < **u-*:

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

Contraction of **uah* > *h* > *x*:

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

xl (later *lx*) < **xθr-*:

baxl top. ‘Bactria’ < **bāxθrī-* (cf. Av. *bāxδī-*, OPers. *bāxtriš*, Bactr. βαχλο).

• *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* < **gauḍra-* (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' < **naṽa-ka-* (cf. Av. *nava-*, Parth. *navāg*, Osset. *næwæg*); *sag* 'dog' < **sṽa-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:

rang 'colour; dye' < **ranga-*; *sang/ sag* 'stone, rock; weight' < OPers. *aḍa_nga-*; *hangad* 'complete, full; rich' (cf. Av. *haṅgata-*, Sogd. *anyətē*); *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. *anayra-*, later *anēr*).

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

gugāy 'witness; evidence' < *ui-kauja-* (cf. Parth. *wigāh*, Armen. *vkay*, Khot. *bye*, Paz. *guḥā*); *gyāg* 'place' < **uijāka(h)-* (cf. Parth. *vyāg*, Fars. *jāy*); *gyān* 'life, soul' < **uij-āna-* (cf. Av. *vyāna-*, Paz. *ja*); *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 vərəzāna-*, Fars. *barzan*); *gumān* 'doubt, suspicion' < **ui-man-(ah)-*; *gurbag* 'cat' < **uṛpaka-*; *gurdag* 'kidney' < **uṛtka-* (cf. Av. *vərəṭka-*, Sanglēcī *gul*); *gurg* 'wolf' < **uṛka-* (cf. Av.

vahrka-, Skt. *vṛka-*); *gurs(ag)* ‘hungry’ < **uṛćš-* (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’ < **kaⁱnikā-* (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 ‘partridge’ (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. *škauṭi-/ skauṭi-*).

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

ēk ‘one’ < **ēahk* < **ēhak* < **aṷakahja-*; *xāk* ‘dust, earth’ < **hāhk* < **āhakah* (cf. Skt. *āsa-*, Fars. *xāk*, *āhak*); *pāk* ‘clean, pure’ < **pāhk* < **pāṷakah* (cf. Skt. *pāvaka-*); *nēk* ‘good, nice’ < **nēhk* < **naṷakah* (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’ < **ṷant-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. **ṷapu-ka-* < **ṭrapu-ka-* (cf. Skt. *trāpu-ka-*); *kōdak* ‘small, young’ < **kaṷta-ka-ka-* (cf. Armen. *kotak*), or *kudak* < **kuta-ka-ka-* (cf. Av. *kutaka-*); *andak* ‘few; a little’ < **anta-ka-ka-*; *bārīk* ‘thin, fine’ < **bārīa-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 ^{giš} *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), *ywjdhār* (Estrangelo), cf. Av. *yaoždāθra-*; *bažag* ‘joint of a finger’ (written *bčk*) rendering Av. *baši-*; *xružd* (written *’lwšd*) ‘hardship’, cf. *xruždā-*; *kenižg* ‘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. *haošyaṅha-*).

š < fš:

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

š < xš:

šab ‘night’ < OPers. *xšap-* (cf. *xšap(an)-*); *šahr/ šār* ‘city’ < **xšaðra-* (cf. OPers. *xšāca-*, Av. *xšaðra-*, Bact. *𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡*); *šāh* ‘king’ < **xšāyaθija-* (cf. OPers. *xšāyaθiya-*, Bact. *𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡*); *šnōšag* ‘sneeze’ < **xšnauša-ka-*; *šnās-* ‘to know’ < OPers. *xšnāsa-*; *šnōhr* ‘grace, gratitude’ < **xšnauθra-* (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*):

xēbaš older form of *xēš* ‘own, self’ < OPers. *huvaipašiya-* < **hvaipaiθiya-* (cf. Av. *xāēpaiθiya-*, Parth. *wxēβēh*).

Contraction of *xšy > š:

šift ‘milk’ < *xšūipta- (cf. Av. *xšvipta*^o, Sogd. *xšīβd*, Yagn. *xšift*).

āš < *āuš:

āškār ‘patent, manifest’ < *āuš-kār^o (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*:

šnār ‘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’ < *kṛša- (cf. Av. *karša*-); *kišvar* ‘continent’ < *kṛšuar/n- (cf. Av. *karšvan/r*-).

r/ ṛ may fall before *št*:

hišt (ppp. of *hil*-) ‘left, dismissed’ < *hṛšta-; *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’) < *mṛšta- (cf. Av. ^o*maršta*-, Skt. *mṛṣṭá*); *pušt* ‘back’ < *pṛšti- (cf. Av. *paršti*-, Skt. *pṛṣṭi*-).

• *y*

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

drayā ‘sea’ < OPers. *drayah*-; *niyāg* ‘ancestor’ < *nijāka- (cf. OPers. *nayāka*-); *tāy* ‘thief’ < *tāju- (cf. Av. *tāyu*-, Khwar. *tāh*).

It may represent the old intervocalic *d*:

may ‘wine’ < *madu- (cf. Av. *maḍu*-, Paz. *mae*, Bact. *μολο*); *meyān* ‘middle, centre’ < *madjāna- (cf. Av. *maiḍyāna*-, Parth. *madyān*); *niyām* ‘sheath, scabbard’ < *nidāman- (cf. Parth. *niḍāmar*); *bōy* ‘scent; smell’ < *bauda- (cf. *baoda*-, *baoidi*-); *gay* ‘robber, bandit’ < *gada- (cf. Av. *gaḍa*-); *pay* ‘foot; station’ < *pada- (cf. Av. *paḍa-/ paḍa*-, 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. *šōδ-*); *šahriyār* ‘ruler, king’ < **xšāθra-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*); *pādixšāy* ‘sovereign’ < **pāti-xšāuan-* (cf. Paz. *pādišāh*); *jōy* ‘stream; channel’ (cf. OPers. *yauviyā-*, Skt. *yavyā-*, Fars. *jōy/jōb*).

It arises from old intervocalic *b*:

gay top. < **gaba-* (cf. Parth. *g’b*).

It arises from old intervocalic *g*:

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

Old intervocalic *d/ δ* 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-jaθra-*.

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. *ύάκινθος*); *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’ < **jata-* (cf. Av. *yāta-*); *jādūg* ‘sorcerer’ < **iatu-ka-* (cf. Av. *yātu-*, Sogd. *yātūk*); *jagar* ‘liver’ < **jakar-* (cf. Av. *yakar-*); *jām* ‘glass, cup’ < **jāma-* (cf. Av. *yāma-*, Sogd. *yāmək*); *jār* ‘time, occasion’ < **iauar-* (cf. Parth. *yāwar*, Paz. *yāvar*); *jask/ jesk* ‘illness’ < **iaska-* (cf. Av. *yaska-*); *jō* ‘barley’ <

**jaua-* (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. *zgaδ*, *zgaδa-/zgaθa-*).

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

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

Initial *j* represents old *ǰ*:

jō-/jav- ‘to chew’ < **ǰju* (cf. Sogd. *žəβ-*, Yaγn. *žav-*).

Old *ǰ* 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. *ceγād*); *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-čīšta-*; *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. *ēucand*); *pāk-cihr* ‘of pure race’ anthropon. < **paūāka-ciθra-* (cf. Parth. *pāžihhr*).

c/ cc < *tč*:

ēc ‘any’ < **aḷua-tčit* (cf. Parth. *ēwiž*, Paz. *hāc*); *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. *kīvant-*, Parth. *cwand/ cwend*).

• *r*

It represents the old phoneme *r*:

andar ‘in, among’ < OPers. *a_ntar* (cf. Av. *aṅtarə*); *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. *rād*); *ras-* ‘to arrive’ < OPers. *rasa-*; *brādar* ‘brother’ < OPers. *brātar-* (cf. Av. *brātar-*); *pur* ‘many’ (cf. OPers. *paru-*, Av. *pouru-*, Skt. *purú-*).

Assimilation of *ɾn/ rn* > *rr*:

darr- ‘to tear’ < **dɾn-* (cf. Av. *dar*, *dərən-*, Skt. *dṛṇāti*); *zarr* ‘gold’ < **zarn-a/u-* (cf. OPers. *daraniya-*, Av. *zarańya-*); *karr* ‘deaf’ < **karna-* (cf. Av. *karəna-*, Sogd. *karn*); *parr* ‘feather, wing’ < **parna-* (cf. Av. *parəna-*, Skt. *parṇá-*); *purr* ‘full’ < **pɾna-* (cf. Av. *pərəna-*, Sogd. *purn*); *varr* ‘wool’ < **uarnā-* (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 < **θr*:

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

• *l*

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

ul ‘up’ < **ɾduā-* (cf. Av. *əṛəðβa-*, Khot. *ula-*); *gul* ‘flower, rose’ < **uɾd-* (cf. Av. *varəða-*, Sīvandī *vel*, Parth. *vār*); *vāl-* ‘to grow,

increase' < **uard* (cf. Av. *vard*, *varəδā-*/ G *varəda-*); *dil* 'heart' < **dṛd-* (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. *salar*); *ālag* 'side' < **arda-ka-* (cf. Av. *arəda-*, Khot. *hala-*, Bact. αρλο).

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

buland 'high' < *bṛdant-* (cf. Av. *bərəzaṅt-*); *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-*); *spul/ spurz* 'spleen' < **spṛdan-* (cf. Av. *spərəzan-*); *hil-* 'to abandon, let go' < **hard* (cf. Av. *harz*); *āluh* 'eagle', also *āluf* (cf. Av. *ərəzifyō*^o).

hl < **rt*:

ahlō 'righteous' < **artaṽan-*; *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*) < **ćr* in:

baxl top. (cf. OPers. *bāxtriš*, Elam. *ba-ak-ši-iš* < OPers. **bāxçī-*, 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. *nā*); *nām* 'name' < OPers. *nāman-* (cf. Paz. *naṃ*); *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_ndu-*.

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

Primary *nn* < **nd*: *bann* or *benn* ‘bond, link’ < **banda-* (cf. OPers. *ba_nda*^o, Av. *baṇda-*, Parth. *band*); *hannām* ‘limb, member’ < **handāma(n)-* (cf. Parth. *handām*, Armen. *andam*); *škenn-* ‘to break’ < **škandaja-* (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:

xāmn/ xārm ‘sleep’ (cf. Parth. *xāmr*, Lat. *somnus*); *hunsand/ xursand* ‘content’ (cf. Parth. *hunsand*, Sogd. *xusand*, Paz. *xarsand*).

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

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

Sporadic change of *d/ δ* to *n* in the vicinity of a nasal:

an dir. ‘I’ < **anam* < OPers. *adam* nom. (cf. Av. *azəm/ G azēm*, Skt. *ahām*, Parth. *az*); *nišīy-* (Paz. *nišīn-*) ‘to sit down’ < OPers. *ni-had/ šad* (cf. Av. *ni-had*, Parth. *nišīd-*), *nišāy-* (Ps. *nišāl-*, Paz. *nišān-*) ‘to sat down’ < OPers. *ni-šādaya-*; *padām* (later *panām*) ‘sacred mask’ < Av. *paiti.dāna-* (cf. Armen. *p‘andam*, Mandaic *pandama*); *visīn-* (older *visīy-*) ‘to tear, split’ < **yi-sid*.

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*^o); *ped* ‘master, husband’ < **pa’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* < **zārta-* < **zarita-* (cf. Av. *zairita-*, Skt. *hārīta-*); *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-* (*ap-*) (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*).

The change of *ng* to *nd* belongs to a later stage of the language:

dagrand ‘long’/ *dērang* (cf. Paz. *dāraṅ*, Fars. *dērand*); *abrand* ‘splendour, majesty’ / *abrang* (cf. Paz. *auraṅ*, *avraṅd*, *afrāṅd*); *parind/ paring* ‘monochrome damask’ (cf. Sogd. *paring*, Arab. *firind*). Cf. also Fars. *lang/ land* ‘penis’ < Skt. *liṅga-*.

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

hind ‘India’ < OPers. *hi_ndu-*; *vind-* ‘to find’ < **vinda-* pres. (cf. Av. *vid*, *viṇda-*).

Contraction of **dɥ* > *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. *ṽag*); *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.

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’ < **guftah* (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’ < **gajṭīa-* (cf. Av. *gaēṭya-*).

t < **č*:

tasum ‘fourth’ < OPers. *caçuma-* < **čaṭruma-*; *taspāy* ‘quadruped’ < OPers. *caçu-pāda-* < **čaṭru-pāda-*; *taskirb* ‘four-formed’ < **čaṭru-krp-a-*.

• *z*

z represents old *ǰ*:

zahr ‘poison, venom’ < **ǰaθra-* (cf. Parth. *žahr*); *zamān* ‘time’ < **ǰamāna-* (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. *nédīyas-*); *azd* ‘known’ < OPers. *azdā-* (cf. Av. *azdā-*, Skt. *addhā*); *(ohr-)mazd* < OPers. *(a_hura-)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*:

mīzd ‘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. *maγz, mazy*, Bal. *māžg*).

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-mańni-* (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. *zaođra-*); *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. *ahī-*).

z(z) < *std*:

^h*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-zūaja-* (cf. Av. *zū*, *zbaya-*, OPers. °*zbaya-*, Skt. *hav*, *hvāya-*); *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_nd*, *θadaya-* < **sadaia-* (cf. Av. *sadāya-*); *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. *sigō*, Pašt. *šāga*); *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* <

*OPers. *çi*^o < **ðrai-* (cf. Av. *ðray-*, Parth. *hri*), *sidīg* < OPers. *çitiya-(ka-)* (cf. Av. *ðritya-*, Parth. *hridīg*); *pās* ‘watch-post, guard’ < OPers. **pāça-* (cf. Paz. *pāš*), also *pāhr* < **pāðra-* (cf. Av. *pāðra-*, Armen. *pah*, Fars. *pahr-a*); *šasab* ‘satrap, governor’ < OPers. *xšaça-pāvan(t)-* = *šahrab* (cf. Bact. *ᵛᵛαᵛαᵛο*, Skt. *kṣatrapa-*).

s represents OPers. *ç* < **sr*:

sēn ‘breast; hip’ < **çauⁱni-* (cf. Av. *sraoni-*); *sūy* ‘horn’ < *çūya-* (cf. Khot. *sū*) = *srūy* < **srūya-* (cf. Av. *srū-*, Fars. *surū*); *hamis* ‘together, in all’ < OPers. **ha_mmiça-* < **hammisra-* (cf. Skt. *sámmiśla-*).

s represents OPers. *ð* < **d*:

sanvar ‘cross-bow’ < **danuan/r-* (cf. OPers. *ðanuvaniya-*, Av. *ðanvan/r-*, Skt. *dhánvan-*).

st may represent old **st*:

stūn ‘column’ < OPers. *stūnā*.

st may represent old *št*:

angust ‘finger’ < **angušta-* (cf. Av. *aṅgušta-*, Fars. *angušt*); *frēstag* ‘messenger’ < **frajšta-ka-* (cf. Av. *fraēšta-*, Parth. *frēštāg*); *dōst* ‘friend’ < OPers. *dauštar-* < **zauštar-* (cf. Skt. *joṣṭár-*); *mahist* ‘greatest’ < OPers. *mađišta-* (cf. Av. *mazišta-*, Paz. *mahāst*); *rāst* ‘right, straight’ < OPers. *rāsta-* (cf. Av. *rāšta-*, Parth. *rāšt*); *ārāstār* ‘arranger, adorer’ < **abi-rāštar-* (cf. Av. *rāštarə*^o, Skt. *rāṣṭrá-*); *drust/ drist* ‘wholesome’ < **druu-išta-*); *must* ‘fist’ (cf. Av. *mušti*^o, Skt. *muṣṭí-*, Fars. *mušt*).

s < **š* < **ś*:

sōr < **šaura-* (cf. Armen. *šōr*, Khot. *śūra-*, Osset. *sur/ sor*); *suy* ‘hunger’ < **šud-* (cf. Av. *šud-a-*, Skt. *kṣúdh-*); *gurs(ag)* ‘hungry’ < **uṛš-* (cf. Av. *varəšya-*).

There is a vacillation between *s* (OPers.) and *sp* (Med.) < **sp* < **su*:

sag ‘dog’ < Med. *σπάκα* (cf. Av. *spaka-*) < **suaka-*); *spihr* ‘firmament’ (OPers. *siça-*) < **spiðra-* (cf. Skt. *śvitrá-*); *visp* ‘all’ < **uispa-* (cf. OPers. *visa-/ vispa*^o, Av. *vīspa-*, Skt. *vīśva-*); *spēd* ‘white’ < **spaiṭa-* (cf. OPers. **o**saiṭa-*, Av. *spaēta-*, Skt. *śvetá-*); *asp* ‘horse’ < **aspa-* (cf. OPers. *asa-/ aspa-*, Av. *aspa-*, Khot. *aśsa-*, Skt. *áśva-*), but *asvār* ‘rider, on horseback’ < OPers. *asa-*

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. *tyájas-*).

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-* < **aįzma-*, Fars. *hēzum*); *asprēs* ‘racecourse’, also *asprēz*; *lēs-/ 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. *πησιυδ-*); *pessāz-* ‘to compose, constitute’ from **pati-sač* (cf. Parth. *passāž-*, Paz. *pasāz-*).

• *x^v*

It represents old *h_u* or *x^v*:

x^vēš / older *x^vēbaš* ‘own’ < OPers. *h_uvaipašiya-* (cf. Av. *x^vaēpaiθya-*, Parth. *wxēβēh*); *x^vafs-* ‘to sleep’ < **h_uafsa-* inch. pres. (cf. Av. *x^vap*, *x^vafsa-*, Fars. *xusb-*); *x^vad* ‘self’ < **h_uatah* (cf. Av. *x^vatō*, Khot. *hvatā*, Parth. *wxaδ*); *x^vahār/ x^vār* ‘sister’ (cf. Av. *x^vaṅhar-*, Skt. *svásar-*); *x^vahr/ x^vahl* ‘crooked; false’ < **h_u-uaxra-* (cf. Fars. *x^vahl*)

= *vaxr* (cf. Skt. *vakra-*); *x̄ar-* ‘to eat’ < **h̄ūar-* (cf. Av. *x̄ar*, *x̄ara-*, Parth. *wxar-*); *x̄ar* ‘sun’ < **hūar-* (cf. Av. *hvarə*); *x̄ēy* ‘moist, fresh’ < **h̄ūaida-* (cf. Av. *x̄aēda-*, Paz. *x̄ae*).

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

ax̄ = *ox* ‘existence, spirit’ (cf. Av. *ahu-*, *ahvā-*); *nax̄* = *nox* ‘beginning, first’ < **nax̄a-* (cf. Armen. *naxa*^o, *naha*^o); *sax̄an* = *soxan* ‘word, speech’ (cf. Av. *sax̄an/r-*).

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

x̄āstavān ‘confessing’ < **hu-āstaūāna-*.

x̄ < **hv* < **ḥu/ tu*:

nix̄ār- ‘to hasten, hurry’ < **niḥuār-* (cf. Parth. *niḥfār-*).

• *f*

f represents the old phoneme /*f*/:

frabih ‘copious, corpulent’ < **fra-piḥua-* (cf. Av. *fra-piḥβa-*, Parth. *frabiw*); *kaf* ‘foam; phlegm’ < **kafa-* (cf. Av. *kafa-*, Khot. *khavā*); *vaf̄r* ‘snow’ < **uaf̄ra-* (cf. Av. *vaf̄ra-*, Fars. *barf*); *nāf* ‘family’, *nāfag* ‘nave’ < **nāfa-(ka-)* (cf. Av. *nāfa-*); *f̄šōnēn-* ‘to breed cattle’ (cf. Av. *f̄šaonaya-*); *draf̄š* ‘flag, banner’ (cf. Av. *draf̄ša-*, Skt. *drapsā-*, Armen. *drōš*).

ft < **pt*:

¹*naft* ‘wet; naphtha’ (cf. Av. *napta-*, Sogd. *nəβd*); ²*naft* ‘grandson; kindred’ (cf. Av. *napt-*, *naptya-*); *haft* ‘seven’ (cf. Av. *hapta-*); *šift* ‘milk’ (cf. Av. *x̄švipta*^o, Khot. *švīda-*); *dib̄rbed/ dib̄ruft* ‘chief secretary’ < **dip̄ira-pati-* < **dipi-ūara-pati-* (cf. Skt. *divira-pati-*, Armen. *dprapet*); *haz̄arbed/ haz̄aruft* a high-ranking official < **hazahra-pati-* (cf. Syr. *h̄zrpt*).

ft < **xt*:

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

fd/ bd < **xθ*:

sufd/ subd top. ‘Sogdiana’ < **suxθa-* (cf. Av. *suγδō*^o).

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-čāuana-*; *afsāy-* ‘to enchant’ < OPers. **a/upa-čāuaja-*; *afsōs* ‘mockery, scorn’ < OPers. **apa-čauça-*; *afsār-* ‘to cool, congeal; extinguish (fire)’ < **apa-sāraja-* (cf. Khwar. ps’ry-); *afšān-* ‘to spread, sow’ < **apa-šānaja-*.

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^hman-* (cf. Av. *urvāzəman-*); *kišvar* ‘continent, region’ (cf. Av. *karšvan/r-*, Parth. *kišfar*, Paz. *kəšβar*); *vidar-* ‘to pass; cross’ < **ui-taria-* (cf. OPers., Av. *vi-tar*, Fars. *gudar-*); *āvarzōg/* later *ārzōg* ‘aspiration, wish’ < **ā-uarjau-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-*; *ardavān* pr.n.m. < **arta-bānu-* (cf. Parth. *ardaβān*).

avi < **abi*:

avištāb ‘oppression; hurry’ < **abi-štāpa-* (cf. Av. *štap*); *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*^o, 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_ndaka-* (cf. Paz. *baṇdaa*); *bay* ‘lord; god’ < OPers. *baga-* (cf. *baγa-/ G бага-*); *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. *aβēdāt*); *viyābān* ‘desert’ < **vi-vāpāna-* ‘devastated’ (cf. Av. *vī-vāpa-*, Paz. *vyāβaṇ*); *nigāhbed* ‘guardian’ < **nikāḍa-pati-*; *mu(v)bed* ‘chief priest’ < **magu-pati-* (cf. Parth. *maγbed*, Armen. *mogpet, movpet*).

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

darbān ‘gatekeeper’ < **dṛar-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 **dṛ*:

bēš ‘pain; affliction’ (cf. Av. *ṭbaēšah-/ G dvaēšah-*); Parth. *bid* = Pers. *did* ‘again, further’ < **dṛitiḡa-* (cf. OPers. *duvitīyam*, Av. *bitya-/ G daibitya-*); *bidaxš* ‘Grand Vizier’ < **dṛitiḡa-xšaiḡa-*; Parth. *bar* = Pers. *dar* ‘door, gate’ < **dṛar-a-* (cf. OPers. *duvara-*, Av. *dvar-*).

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

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

fd/ bd < **xθ*:

sufd/ subd top. ‘Sogdiana’ < **suxθa-* (cf. Av. *suxdām*, *suγdō*^o, Parth. *suγd*, OPers. *suguda-*; Sogd. *suγdīk* ‘Sogdian’, Armen. *sovdik*^o).

• **p**

Old initial *p* is maintained:

pēs- ‘to adorn’ (cf. OPers. *piθ*, *paiθa-*, Av. *pis*, **paisa-*), *nibēs-* ‘to write’ < **ni-paiθa-* (cf. OPers. *nipaiθa-*, Sogd. *nəpēs-*); *purs-* ‘to ask’ < OPers. *pṛsa-* (cf. *pərāsa-*); *purd* ‘strife’ (cf. OPers. *pṛtana-*, Av. *pərət-*, Skt. *pṛt-*), *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* ‘white’ < **spaita-* (cf. Av. *spaēta-*).

Gemination:

appar- ‘to carry off, rob’ from **apa-par* (rather than **apa-bar*); *aspped* a title ‘chief of cavalry’ < **aspa-pati-*.

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. *māša-/ mərāta-*); *mā* prohibitive ‘not’ < OPers. *mā* (cf. Av. *mā*); *mēhan* ‘home’ < **majīθana-* (cf. Av. *maēθana-*).

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. *bhaṅgá-*).

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

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

mn < **fn*:

xamn ‘sleep, dream’ < **xafna-* (cf. Av. *xafna-*, Skt. *svápna-*, Parth. *xamr*); *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*); *xarm* ‘sleep’ (cf. Parth. *xamr*).

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:

zór ‘strength, force; army’ < **záuar-* (cf. Av. *zāvar-*, Parth. *zāwar*); *stā.rág* ‘star’ / *es. tā. rág* < **stáraka-* (cf. Av. *star-*, *stārō*, Paz. *stāraa*); *va.zúrg* ‘great’ < **uazrka-* (cf. OPers. *vazrka-*); *báy* ‘lord, god’ < **bága-* (cf. OPers. *baga-*, Parth. *bay*); *ba.yán/ ba.án* obl. pl. < **bagánām* (cf. OPers. *bagānām*), *pidár* ‘father’ < **pitár-* (OPers. *pičah* < **piðrah* gen./1).

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

và.zur.gíh ‘greatness’ < **uazrkiiaṽua-*; *màh.res.pen.dán* ‘son of Mahrespend’/ *mà.res.pen.dán* from **mantra-spanta-* (cf. Av. *maṽtra- 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:

óhr.mázd ‘Ahura Mazdā’ < OPers. *a_huramázdā*; but *óhr.mazd!*

Exclamations also have initial stress:

é^h.ak ‘lo! Behold!’; *ó^h.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.

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