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H. HENDRIKSEN (*Holte*): RESULTS OF A LINGUISTIC STUDY
TOUR IN HIMACHAL PRADESH, INDIA

The paper gives an account of the features which characterize the southern West-Pahari dialects which it is proposed to call the Himachali dialects, and principles are indicated by means of which the term of dialect-group can be defined.

Primary distinctive features and secondary distinctive features. The first appear in the greater part of a particular area, but not in what will be called the distinct parts of the adjoining areas. A *dialect-group* is defined as comprising dialects which contain the majority of the distinctive features. The *distinct dialects* possess all the features distinctive for the group and none of the distinctive features proper for the adjoining groups. The intermediary dialects contain the distinctive features of either group.

The secondary distinctive features, besides appearing in the greater part of a particular group, also appear in the distinct dialects of one or several of the adjoining groups. They are distinctive only in relation to a part of the neighbouring area, while the primary distinctive features are distinctive with regard to the whole of the outer area. Only this latter kind of features constitutes a dialect-group as an independent unit.

In order to determine the Himachali group one first has to operate with an *x*-group the boundaries of which are fixed by a preliminary estimate of what is to be considered distinctive features. In the same way all features found in the *x*-group, but not appearing in the distinct dialects of the outer area, are called *x*-features. Since the *x*-area can be supposed to be an approximation to the Himachali group the features distinctive for Himachali can be defined as the *x*-features which, taken separately, appear in the greater part of the *x*-area. And such *x*-dialects which possess the majority of the distinctive features belong to the Himachali group.

At last a number of primary and secondary distinctive features for Himachali were mentioned and their distribution in the Himachali area was indicated. It appears that two *x*-dialects do not belong to the group and for the remaining dialects a succession of order is indicated corresponding to the number of features they contain.

I. M. ORANSKY (*Leningrad*): ON AN INDIAN DIALECT DISCOVERED
IN CENTRAL ASIA

Until recently it was considered that within the borders of the USSR the Indian dialects were spoken only by Gypsies¹. In 1956 there appeared in Soviet scholarly journals preliminary reports concerning a heretofore unknown dialect discovered in Central Asia². The dialect is spoken by a small ethnic group living among the Tadjik and Uzbek population in the Hissār and Surkhan-Darya valleys, where it is known under the name of "Afghon" (*afʁon*). The "Afghons" live and work in small groups (usually of 5–10–15 households) in the cotton-growing collective farms of the Dushanbe, Hissār, Sahrinav and Regar districts of the Tadjik SSR, and the Sary-Asiya, Denav, Uzun and, possibly, also the Šurči districts of the Uzbek SSR. In their customs, dress, type of dwellings, mode of life, as well as their religion (Sunni Moslems) the "Afghons" do not in any way differ perceptibly from the population surrounding them. Outside their family and close circle of tribesmen, the language in daily use is Tadjik which is spoken fluently by all adults of this group including the women.

and partly Uzbek³. These circumstances, the small number of the group of “Afghons”⁴, and the absence of compact settlements apparently explain the fact that this group and its Indian dialect⁵ has not till recent times attracted the attention of specialists — ethnographers, and linguists engaged in a study of the population and languages of Central Asia.

Material for the study of the Indian dialect of the “Afghon” group was collected by the author in the above enumerated districts of the Tadjik SSR from November 1954 to April 1959. It consists of folk-lore materials (folk-tales) and examples of narrative and conversational phrases, recorded in written form. There are also some tape-recordings. Part of the lexical material, including terminology of family relationship, was published in the above-mentioned reports. In addition, a story has been recently published in «Проблемы востоковедения», 1959, No. 3, pp. 113—116. The rest of the written notes (about 150 typewritten pages in total volume) are now being prepared for publication.

Brief ethnographic information about the “Afghon” group has already been given in the above mentioned papers, and the size of the present report does not permit supplementary discussion of certain characteristic details. We shall only emphasize the fact that by their mode of life, the nature of their occupations and their ethnic consciousness, the representatives of this group greatly differ from the local “Gypsies” (*Lūli, Jūgi*) with whom they do not intermarry⁶.

The “Afghon” group breaks up into several subdivisions (*toifa, qom, uruḡ*): *Kalú, Juní, Bisyoṅ, Jitán, Magará, Šuyá, Mus(al)li*. The author has had occasion to meet representatives of the *Kalú* subdivision in the Regar and Hissār districts, the *Juní* subdivision in the Hissār district, that of *Bisyoṅ* — in the Dushanbe district. According to indirect information obtained by questioning, the remaining subdivisions inhabit districts of the Uzbek SSR — Denav, Uzun and Sary-Asia — districts which have not yet been studied, and from which the author has not yet met any representatives. As has already been stated, the ethnic group in question is called “Afghon” by the local population. Sometimes representatives of this group also apply the term to themselves. However, in Central Asia the term “Afghon” is used to designate all those coming from Afghanistan, regardless of their language and origin. Thus, the term “Afghon” which we give here in inverted commas, merely indicates that the representatives of this group have come from Afghanistan, and in no way determines to what language or ethnic group they belong. The “Afghons” themselves clearly distinguish themselves from the real (“pure”) Pushto-speaking Afghans (*pātan*) and also fully realize the difference between the Pushto language and their own Indian dialect. They are also fully aware of how they differ from the various minor ethnic groups (*hazora, qavol* et al.), who have migrated from Afghanistan into Central Asia, and are likewise often called “Afghon”.

More interesting is another term applied by representatives of this group as a term of self-designation. It is the term *pārya: mé pārya qām-(m)ata čū(n)* — “I am of the tribe (origin) of Parya”. The same term goes to make up the name of their native Indian dialect: *béta tu urusí gál na-kar, tu pareasadí gál kar* — “Sonny, do not speak Russian, speak Parya”⁷. One also had frequent occasion to hear the term *šaj-xel*. It is used to designate this group by the “Afghons” themselves, and also by others who came from Afghanistan. Some “Afghons” apply the term *šaj-xel* only to

the *Kalú* subdivision, others, on the contrary, maintained that the term had a more general meaning and meant the “Afghon” group as a whole with all its tribal subdivisions⁸.

Besides the above mentioned term “Afghon” the members of the group in question were sometimes called “Hindustani”, “Čašgarak”, “Čangar”. The last term is also applied to them at present by representatives of the “Qavol” group and certain others coming from Afghanistan. However, it is not yet clear whether this term is applied in Afghanistan to all members of this group or to some one of its subdivisions.

It is hard to say definitely just when the “Afghons” appeared on the territory of Central Asia. Evidently, separate subdivisions, and perhaps even separate families of this group came here at different times. In regard to certain families, it is possible to affirm that the grandfathers of the middle generation of to-day lived in Central Asia, whereas other families probably arrived later. Not infrequently families changed their place of residence, moving from place to place not only within the boundaries of Central Asia but in Afghanistan as well.

The “Afghons” consider the locality of Laghmān (*laɣmon*), which is situated between Kabul and Jalālābād their homeland. Little is known about the inhabitants and language of this region. In contradictory and not always trustworthy reports of the authors of the XIXth century, the population of Laghmān is called “Deggans” (M. Elphinston), “Tadjiks” (Ch. Masson), “Tadjiks or Farsiwans” (R. Leech). According to the linguistic map of North-Eastern Afghanistan, which is supplemented to the well-known work of G. Morgenstierne, *Report on Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo, 1926, the Laghmān region is situated at the very place where the territories of Indian and Iranian languages come into contact. To the west, north and east of it extend the Pashai dialects, to the south — the Afghan language (Pushtu). As to the language of Laghmān itself, more than once mention has been made in the works of travellers and other authors of the XIXth century of a special Laghmānī⁹ language, which the Laghmān “Tadjiks” or “Deggans” spoke besides Persian. One might suppose this to be the very same language preserved by the representatives of our group who came from Laghmān. However, owing to the lack of sufficient data about the dialects of this region, it is impossible to make this assertion. At any rate, the Laghmān dialects, of which we may judge by scanty literary information, belong to the Pashai group of Indo-Aryan dialects¹⁰ and differ from the dialect of the “Afghon” group to such an extent that a supposition of any direct relation between them must be rejected.

The linguistic characteristics of our dialect make it rather similar to the numerous dialects of the central group of Indo-Aryan languages. However, at the present stage of study of this dialect and taking into consideration the general inadequate knowledge of the dialects and vernaculars of North-Western India and Afghanistan, to say that the given dialect belongs to this or that particular group of Indo-Aryan languages would be a premature conclusion. The summary given below of some phonetical and grammatical peculiarities of this dialect, may furnish some material for the solution of this question.

The tendency towards devoicing (with a loss of aspiration) the voiced aspirates *bh*, *dh*, *gh* is of phonemic significance (see table No. 1).

The final *-o* corresponding regularly to the final *-ā* in Hindi, Panjabi and Lahnda¹¹ is also characteristic (see table No. 2).

In the morphology of the noun there exists a category of gender, which stands out most distinctly in the opposition of the endings *-o* (masc.): *-i* (fem.) Compare:

<i>budo</i>	"o'd man"	<i>budi</i>	"old woman"
<i>dumbo</i>	"ram"	<i>dumbi</i>	"sheep"
<i>kurro</i>	"horse"	<i>kurri</i>	"mare"
<i>kuto</i>	"(male) dog"	<i>kuti</i>	"bitch"
<i>poto</i>	"grandson"	<i>poti</i>	"granddaughter"

The same opposition is seen in the adjectives and possessive pronouns. Compare:

<i>kalo kurro</i>	"black horse"	<i>kali kurri</i>	"black mare"
<i>mundo muro</i>	"my son"	<i>ran miri</i>	"my wife"
<i>susro turo</i>	"your father-in-law"	<i>sasu tari</i>	"your mother-in-law"

An important role in the structure of the sentence is played by the developed system of postpositions.

The postposition *-ma* denotes:

1) Place of action: *da muro kolxoz-ma kam karai* "My father works in the collective farm".

2) Direction of action: *me... maktab-ma javaj* "I shall go to school" ¹².

The postposition *-ta* denotes:

1) object of action: *be-ta ban kar* "Shut the door!"

2) the person addressed: *minja... muallim-ta ek handi dineo* "I gave the teacher a kettle".

The postposition *-nala* (*-lana*, *-nana*) denotes:

1) Instrument of action: *dati-nala darav(w) karai* "[One] reaps with a sickle".

2) Joint action (comitative): *muallim rais-nala (-lana) gal karaj* "The teacher is talking with the chairman (of the collective farm)"; *muallim-nana paj hogiyo* "We made friends (literally "became brothers") with the teacher".

The postposition *-na* denotes the subject of action with transitive verbs in the past tense: *tutakai-na mare kar-a... catu barayo* "A swallow built its nest in our house". The postposition *-ko* denotes possessive relations: *kolxoz-ko rais ayo* — "The chairman of the collective farm came".

The postposition *-mita* (*-mata*) denotes the ablative: *punduk-mita gul nikilaj* "Out of the blossom a flower will appear"; *Me nin-mita utu* "I got up (out of sleep)"; *hat miri-mata lau teri ovai* "Out of my hand flows blood".

Personal Pronouns (direct form):

1st pers. sing.	<i>me</i> ,	2nd pers.	<i>tu</i> ,	3rd pers.	<i>o(u)</i> ,
1st pers. pl.	<i>ham</i> ,	2nd pers.	<i>tam</i> ¹³ ,	3rd pers.	<i>o(u)</i> .

The stem of the indirect form:

1st pers. sing.	<i>ma-</i>	2nd pers.	<i>ta-</i> ,	3rd pers.	<i>us-</i>
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If the pronoun is an object or person to whom the action is directed then the postposition *-ta* is added to the stem: *nin ma-ta na-leka* "Sleep does not take me" (I cannot fall asleep); *čuri(-ta) ma-ta del us-ta čuri na-del* "Give me the knife! Don't give him the knife!"

Personal pronouns as subject of the action with transitive verbs in the Past Tense have the following forms:

³ Труды Конгресса, т. IV

1st, pers. sing. *minja*, 2nd, pers. *tinja*, 3rd, pers. *us-na* etc.: *minja ta-ta maryo* "I beat you (thee)"; *tinja ma-ta maryo* "You (thou) beat me"; *us-na kute³p r-ta mar sat(e)o* "He killed his dog".

In general the numerals from one to ten coincide with the corresponding numerals in Hindi, Panjabi, Nepali and Rajasthani. A comparison of the numerals from ten to twenty however shows that where these numbers in Hindi and Nepali noticeably differ from those of Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi, the dialect of the "Afghon" group seems to be closer to the latter. (See Table No. 4).

Conjugation of a verb in the Present Tense:

1st, pers. sing. *me kar taruī* — "I have a house".
 2nd, pers. sing. *tu kar tarāī* — "You have (thou hast) a house".
 3rd, pers. sing. *u (o) kar tarāī* — "He (she) has a house".

1st, pers. pl. *ham kar tarāī* — "We have a house".
 2nd, pers. pl. *tam kar tarāī* — "You have a house".
 3rd, pers. pl. *sare jatak pareasadi gal karāī(n)* — "All the children speak Parya".¹⁴

Negative form: *me kar ne-tartu* — "I have not a house".
tam kar ne-taitu — "You have not a house", etc

Past Tense

	Intransitive verb	transitive verb
1st, pers. sing.	<i>me ayo</i> — "I came"	<i>minja maryo</i> — "I struck"
2nd, pers. sing.	<i>tu ayo</i> — "You (thou) came(st)"	<i>tinja maryo</i> — "You (thou) struck"
3rd, pers. sing. masc	<i>buḍo ayo</i> — "the old man came"	<i>mundo-na maryo</i> — "the boy struck"
3rd, pers. sing. fem.	<i>buḍi ayī¹⁵</i> "the old woman came"	<i>Gul maro</i> — "Gul ¹⁶ struck"
1st, pers. pl.	<i>ham aye</i> — "we came"	<i>ham-na maryo</i> — "we struck"
2nd, pers. pl.	(no examples)	(no examples)
3rd, pers. pl	<i>ami aye</i> — "the men came"	<i>jatak maryo</i> — "the children knocked down (the birds)"
	<i>aizo aye</i> — "the women came"	

Imperative mood:

a ja — "come up"; *de* — "give (me)"; *dek^h* — "look"; *ja* — "go, go away".
uṭ — "stand up", etc.

The forms of the substantive verb attract attention:

Present tense: 1st, pers. sing: *čū(n)*; 2nd, pers. *č^he*; 3rd, pers. *č^he*, *č^hi*;
 1st, 2nd and 3rd pers. pl.: *č^hī (č^hī)*; 3rd pers. sing. past tense *č^ho (č^ho)*¹⁷.

Examples:

Me muallim čū — "I am a teacher"; *tu parya qām-(m)ata č^he* — "You (thou) are from the Parya tribe"; *rais bakar admi č^he* — "The chairman (of the collective farm) is a good man"; *mire jatak parya č^hī* — "My children are Parya".

The forms of the third person of this verb also appear in the meaning of "there is, there was": *segvo taro č^he?* — "Have you (hast thou) any meat?" *čo ni-čo ek pača čo* — "There was, there wasn't, there was a padishah".

The negative form is *ni*: *kar ni* — "there is no house".

Another form of the substantive verb recorded for the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. is *-i*: *tu kōḍī¹⁸* — "Who art thou?"; *tu muallim-i* — "You are (thou art) a teacher"; *zimin pi j-i* — "The earth is damp"; *miri ran parya-i* — "My wife is a Parya".

NOTES

¹ Compare, for instance, V. Minorsky: "The Gypsies are the only Soviet people speaking in Indian vernacular..." (V. Minorsky, *Oriental Studies in the USSR*, «Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society», vol. XXX, 1943, January, p. 87).

² «Советская этнография», 1956, № 2, pp. 117–124; «Советское востоковедение», 1956, № 4, pp. 144–151 (Summary in English in «Supplement to the Journal Soviet-skoye Vostokovedenie», 4, 1956, Summaries, p. 10). Comments in «Central Asian Review», vol. V, № 1, 1957, p. 111, 115.

³ However, in family and household use the mother tongue is extremely stable. Having lived for some time with various families, representatives of this group, I am able to state that the youngest children, those just beginning to talk, speak exclusively their mother tongue. It is only afterwards, when associating with the neighbours' children, that they master the Tadjik or Uzbek language (sometimes both simultaneously). Even in mixed families (the husband being an "Afghon" and his wife a Tadjik; the reverse has not been noted, for the "Afghons" give their daughters in marriage only to representatives of their own group) the children along with Tadjik usually learn the language of the "Afghon" group owing to close contact with their father's relatives.

⁴ According to information obtained by questioning, there are in the enumerated districts as many as 200–250 households of this group, which should amount to over one thousand people.

⁵ The only evidence I know of about Indian dialects on Central Asian territory belongs to A. I. Wilkins who, in the seventies of the last century, collected in Farghāna and Tashkent some interesting information about the gypsy-like "Baluj" (*балюжд*), group, the language of which "belongs to the group of Hindustani dialects and is quite similar (almost identical) to Punjabi" (А. И. Вилькинс, *Среднеазиатская бегема*, «Антропологическая выставка 1879 г.», vol. III, Part 1, Issue 4, М., 1882, p. 443). A comparison of the vocabulary of this dialect recorded by A. I. Wilkins (*op. cit.*, pp. 451–453) with that of the dialect of the "Afghon" group points to a close resemblance (but not identity) of these two Indian dialects. A separate paper will be devoted to this question.

⁶ The mother tongue of the *Jūgī* (*Lūlī*) group, as that of the *Qavol* group (also sometimes reckoned among the "Cypriotes") is Tadjik, and they do not understand the Indian dialect of our group.

⁷ Along with this, the Tadjik term *zabōn-i afḡoni*, *lāfz-i afḡoni*, is also used to designate the dialect which interests us.

⁸ It is worth noting that the names of some tribal subdivisions we have mentioned are met with in various regions of Afghanistan and North-Western India. H. W. Bellew, in his time an outstanding expert in Afghanistan ethnography, repeatedly mentions tribal groups ("sections") under the name of Kalu when enumerating the "sections" of different tribes and tribal unions (see H. W. Bellew, *An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan*, London, 1891, pp. 16–17, 24–25, 45, 79, 92, 114–116, 117–119 and so forth). H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province...*, vol. III, Lahore, 1914, p. 46, mentions an agricultural Jafḡan *Mahara* in Multan; *ibid.*, p. 138 and 239, the term *shakhikhel* is mentioned designating the caste of scavengers and grave-diggers in Peshawar, also called *Musalli*. Of course, it is impossible to assert that the above mentioned "Afghon" subdivisions in Central Asia are in any way directly connected with these groups, but the fact in itself seems noteworthy.

⁹ Apparently, the first mention of the Laghmānī language is to be found in the well-known memoirs of Sultan Babur (1482–1530), who mentions it in his enumeration of the languages spoken in the region of Kabul in his time (see: З. Хируддин Бабур, *Бабур-наме*, пер. М. Салье, Ташкент, 1958, стр. 155). It must be noted that Babur mentions the Laghmānī and Pashaī language separately (cf. note 10).

¹⁰ As early as 1842 Masson expressed the supposition that the "Laghmanī" dialect spoken by the Tadjiks of Laghmān is "near the same" as the Pashaī dialect (Ch. Masson, *Narrative of various Journeys...*, vol. III, London, 1842, p. 287). Subsequently (190) G. A. Grierson, quoting the report by J. G. Lorimer, pointed out that Pashaī is spoken in Laghmān, and that one and the same language is meant by the terms Pashaī, Laghmānī and Dehgānī. (G. A. Grierson, *On Pashaī, Laghmanī or Lehganī*, ZEMC. Bd. LIV, Heft IV, 1909, p. 563. See also *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. VIII, Part II, Calcutta, 1919, p. 89 f.) The same point of view has recently been expressed by W. Lentz, who visited Afghanistan in 1935 (W. Lentz, *Sprachwissenschaftliche und völkerkundliche Studien in Nuristan*, «Deutsche im Hindukusch», Berlin, 1937, S. 268). G. Morgenstierne also considers the Laghmānī dialects as belonging to those of

Pashāi (*Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo, 1926, p. 83 f.; *Report on a linguistic mission to North Western India*, Oslo, 1932, p. 21 f.). However, according to his own words, Morgenstierne "never had an opportunity of getting into prolonged contact" with any Laghāni, and texts in the Laghāni dialect are not to be found in his extensive collection of Pashāi material (*Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. III, 2, Oslo, 1944)

¹¹ Compare herewith the final *-o* in the dialects of Rajasthanī, Sindhi, Gujarati, and, in a number of cases, Nepali.

¹² In both these meanings the postposition *-ma* is a synonym of the postposition *-a*, having, however, a more limited usage.

¹³ See Table No. 3.

¹⁴ There exists another verbal form of the Present Tense used chiefly to express an action taking place at the moment of speech: *ye ami ki kār kariñēi* "What are these people doing?" (now, at the present moment); *ye ran paxtā čirñēi* "These women are picking cotton" (now, at the present moment)

¹⁵ Examples of forms for the first and second persons fem. are lacking in our materials

¹⁶ A feminine name.

¹⁷ Comp. Gujarati and Rajasthanī *čhā* "(I) am, *čhe* (you) are", *čhe* "(h) is", Nepali *čhi* "(I) am" etc., Rajasthanī (dialect of Jaipur) *čh* "(h) was".

¹⁸ When *-i* is added to a word ending in a vowel a diphthong is formed.

Table 1*

Dialect of "Afghon" group	W. Hindi	Panjabi	Lahnda	Raja-sthani	Sindhi	Gujarati	Nepali
<i>paḷ</i> — "brother"	<i>bhāi</i>	<i>bhāi, bhārā</i>	<i>bhrā</i>	<i>bhāi</i>	<i>bhāi</i>	<i>bhāi</i>	<i>bhāi</i>
<i>peḷ</i> — "sister"	<i>bahin</i>	<i>bhain, pain</i> (colloq.)	<i>bhēṇ</i>	<i>bēṇ</i>	<i>bhēṇ</i>	<i>ben</i>	
<i>pā(n)jō</i> "sister's son"	<i>bhāijā</i>	<i>bhānjā</i>	<i>bhāṇēā</i>		<i>bhāñju</i>	<i>bhāñj</i>	<i>bhāñj</i>
<i>kār</i> — "house"	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>gharu</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar</i>
<i>kas</i> — "grass"	<i>ghās</i>	<i>ghāh</i>	<i>ghāh</i>		<i>gāhu</i>	<i>ghās</i>	<i>ghās, ghās, ghās</i>
<i>kurō</i> — "horse"	<i>ghorā</i>	<i>ghorā, kōrā</i> (colloq.)	<i>ghorā</i>	<i>ghōrō</i>	<i>ghoro</i>	<i>ghoḍo</i>	<i>ghorā</i>
<i>dūt</i> — "milk"	<i>dūdḥ</i>	<i>duddḥ</i>	<i>duddḥ</i>		<i>dudhu-</i> "curds"	<i>dūdḥ</i>	<i>dud, dudḥ, dūt</i>
<i>tup</i> — "sun, the heat of the sun"	<i>dhūp</i>	<i>dhupp</i>	<i>dhupp</i>		<i>dhupa</i>	<i>dhūp</i>	<i>dhup</i>
<i>tī</i> — "daughter"		<i>dhī, tī</i> (colloq.)	<i>dhī</i>	<i>dhī</i>	<i>dhī</i>		

* The comparative material is given according to G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, and R. L. Turner, *A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali Language...*, London, 1931.

Table 2

Dialect of "Afghon" group	W. Hindi	Panjabi	Lahnda	Raja-sthani	Sindhi	Gujarati	Nepali
<i>taḡo</i> — "thread"	<i>tāgā, dhagā</i>	<i>dhāggā</i>	<i>dhāgā</i>		<i>dhāgo</i>	<i>tāgḍo, dhago</i>	<i>tāgā, dhāgo</i>
<i>kuto</i> — ("male) dog"	<i>kuttā</i>	<i>kuttā</i>	<i>kuttā</i>	<i>kuttō</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>kutro</i>	
<i>lovo</i> — "iron"	<i>lohā</i>	<i>lohā</i>	<i>lohā</i>	<i>lohō</i>	<i>lohu</i>	<i>loh</i>	<i>lohā</i>
<i>mal(h)o</i> — "forehead"	<i>māthā</i>		<i>matthā</i>	<i>māthō</i>	<i>mathu matho</i>	<i>māthū</i>	<i>māth</i>
<i>susro</i> — "father-in-law" (father of wife or husband)	<i>susrā</i>	<i>sahurā</i>			<i>sahuro</i>	<i>sasro</i>	<i>sasuro</i>

Table 3
Pronouns

Dialect of "Afghon" group	W. Hindi	Panjabi	Lahnda	Rajasthani	Sindhi	Gujarati	Nepali
Personal Pronouns	<i>mai, mē</i> <i>tū</i> <i>ham</i> <i>tum, tam</i>	<i>mai</i> <i>tū</i> <i>aṣṭ</i> <i>tust</i>	<i>mā, mai</i> <i>tā</i> <i>asṣṭ, asṣā</i> <i>tusi, tusti</i>	<i>maī¹</i> <i>tā, tū</i> <i>mē, mhē, ham¹</i> <i>thē, tamē, tam¹</i>	<i>hū</i> <i>tū, tu</i> <i>amē</i> <i>tamē</i>	<i>aḍ, mā</i> <i>tū</i> <i>aṣṭ</i> <i>taohi, avhi</i>	<i>ma, mai</i> <i>tā, tā</i> <i>hāmi</i> <i>timi(-haru)</i>
Possessive Pronouns	<i>mērā</i> <i>tērā</i> <i>hamārā, mihārā</i> <i>tumhāra, tum-</i> <i>hārā, thārō</i>	<i>mērā</i> <i>tērā</i> <i>sāddā, mihara²</i> <i>tuhāddā,</i> <i>tusāddā</i>	<i>mērā</i> <i>tērā</i> <i>sāddā, asāddā</i> <i>tusāddā, tuhāddā</i>	<i>mārō, mērō</i> <i>thārō, tērō¹</i> <i>mārō, mihārō</i> <i>thārō, tamārō,</i> <i>thārō</i>	<i>mārō</i> <i>tārō</i> <i>amārō</i> <i>tamārō</i>	<i>māh-jo</i> <i>tūh-jo</i> <i>tō-jo</i> <i>aṣḍ-jo</i> <i>taohā-jo</i>	<i>mero</i> <i>tero</i> <i>hāmro</i> <i>timro</i>

¹ In Mewati and some other dialects

² In Kangra dialect

Table 4

Dialect of "Afghon" group	W. Hindi	Panjabi	Lahnda	Rajasthani	Cujarati	Sindhi	Nepali
1 <i>ek</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ikh</i>	<i>hikk, hekk</i>	<i>ēk</i>	<i>heku</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ek</i>
2 <i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>doḷ, dū</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>bba, ba</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>dūi</i>
3 <i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tinn</i>	<i>tre</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tre</i>	<i>tron</i>	<i>tin</i>
4 <i>čār</i>	<i>čār</i>	<i>čār</i>	<i>čār</i>	<i>čār, čyār</i>	<i>čāri</i>	<i>čār</i>	<i>čār</i>
5 <i>pañj</i>	<i>pañj</i>	<i>pañj</i>	<i>pañj</i>	<i>pañj</i>	<i>pañja</i>	<i>pañj</i>	<i>pañj</i>
6 <i>čhe</i>	<i>čha, čhe</i>	<i>čhe</i>	<i>čhe, chi</i>	<i>čhē, čhai</i>	<i>čhu</i>	<i>čha</i>	<i>čha</i>
7 <i>sat</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>satt</i>	<i>satt, satt</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>saṭa</i>	<i>sāt</i>	<i>sāt</i>
8 <i>aṭ</i>	<i>aṭh</i>	<i>aṭh</i>	<i>aṭh</i>	<i>aṭh</i>	<i>aṭha</i>	<i>aṭh</i>	<i>aṭh</i>
9 <i>nu</i>	<i>nō, nau</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>nā, nō</i>	<i>nau, naw</i>	<i>nā, naw^a</i>	<i>nau, naw</i>	<i>nau</i>
10 <i>das</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>dāha, das</i>	<i>dāh, das</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>dāha, dō</i>	<i>das, d.h</i>	<i>das</i>
11 <i>yārān</i>	<i>egārāh</i>	<i>yārā</i>	<i>yārā</i>	<i>gyārā</i>	<i>yārāh</i>	<i>gyārā</i>	<i>eghārā</i>
12 <i>bārān</i>	<i>bārāh</i>	<i>bārā</i>	<i>bārā</i>	<i>bārā</i>	<i>bārāh</i>	<i>bār</i>	<i>bāra, bārāh</i>
13 <i>terān</i>	<i>terāh</i>	<i>terā</i>	<i>tehrā</i>	<i>terā</i>	<i>terāhā</i>	<i>tera</i>	<i>tera, terāh</i>
14 <i>čavdān</i>	<i>čavdah</i>	<i>čavda</i>	<i>čōddā</i>	<i>čavdā</i>	<i>čōḍhā</i>	<i>čauda</i>	<i>čauda, čavdah</i>
15 <i>pan(d)ārān</i>	<i>pandrah</i>	<i>panrā</i>	<i>panrā</i>	<i>panrā</i>	<i>panrāhā</i>	<i>pandar</i>	<i>pandra, pandrah</i>