

*Kalasha Dictionary*  
—*with English and Urdu*

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Kalasha Dictionary—with English and Urdu

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# *Kalasha Dictionary*

*—with English and Urdu*

*compiled by Ronald L. Trail  
Gregory R. Cooper*



National Institute of  
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Summer Institute  
of  
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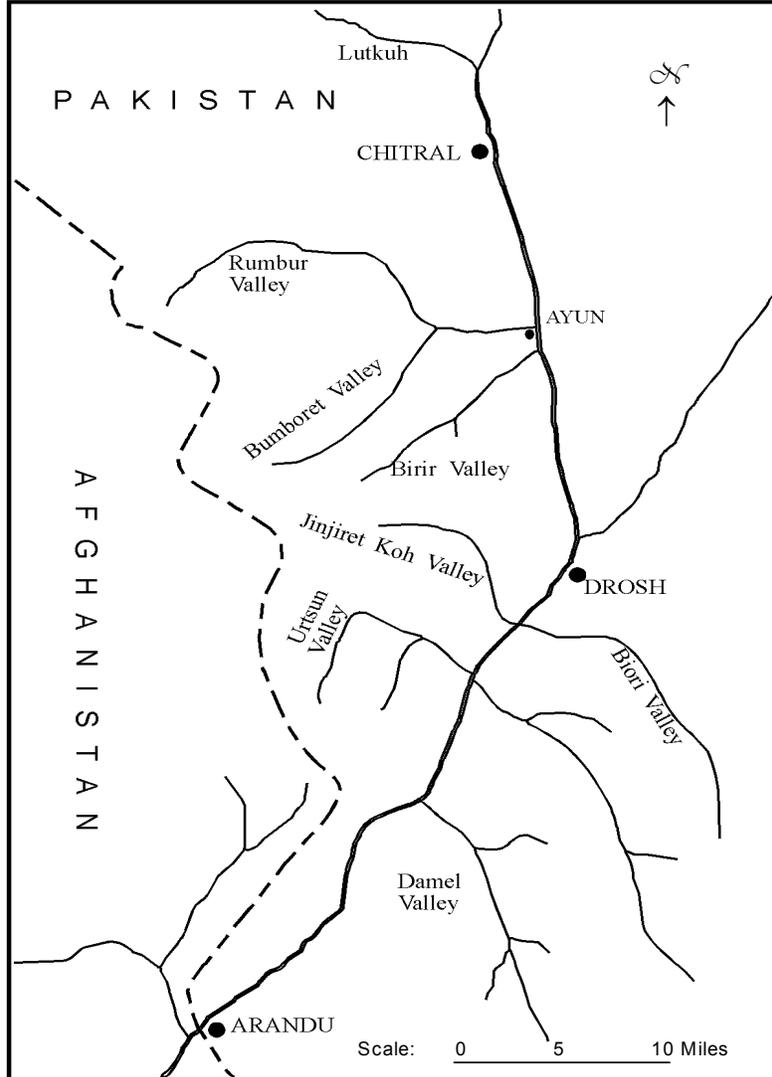
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# Map



Southern Chitral

## Foreword

The Kalasha language is spoken in a number of mountain valleys of Chitral. It is part of the greater Indo-Aryan group of languages and, as such, is related to many languages all over Pakistan. On a more specific level, it is a member of the Dardic subgroup of Indo-Aryan, and thus more closely related to other languages of the North-West Frontier Province and the Northern Areas, such as Khowar, Kalam Kohistani, Indus Kohistani, Shina, and others.

It is with some pride that we present this first comprehensive dictionary of the Kalasha language. Georg Morgenstierne listed about 1,000 words in his volume *The Kalasha Language* (1973). The present work incorporates those, plus approximately 5,000 more, included in entries and sub-entries. The full inventory of Kalasha words is many times more, of course, but this present work contains the basic vocabulary items, along with their English and Urdu equivalents. In addition, notes on Kalasha grammar are given as a guide for students, scholars, and tourists.

This dictionary of Kalasha is the seventh volume in the joint NIPS-SIL series *Studies in Languages of Northern Pakistan*. Our desire is that it will contribute to an understanding of the Kalasha language and culture by outsiders, both Pakistani and foreign. For the Kalasha themselves it should be a valuable aid in learning Urdu, the national language, and English, the international language. Thus they will find a bridge into the wider culture around them.

*Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi (Director, NIPS)*  
*Carla F. Radloff (Coordinator, SIL)*

## Acknowledgements

By rights, all of our Kalasha friends should be listed as co-authors of this dictionary, except that the list would be too long. Without them, the dictionary would not have been possible. Kalasha is their language, and it has been by their kindness in sharing with us that we have been able to record and codify what they know about their language and how they use it.

Here then is a list of those who more directly helped us in producing this dictionary: Abdul Khaleq, Said Khan and his wife Tsatruma Bibi, Mister Jinnah and his wife Sabia, Faizi Khan, Mir Rahim Khan, Taj Khan and his mother Multan Bibi, Imran Kabir Bazik, Amadan Shah, Shahzada of Rumbur, Sarawat Shah, Rafi Khan, Shidgul Khan, and Gul Khan. We would like to express our deep appreciation to all these specifically, but in general to all the Kalasha people who have so graciously assisted us in direct questioning or in casual conversation.

In addition, Imran Kabir Bazik, Mir Rahim Khan, Taj Khan and Rafi Khan were the main sources for the Urdu definitions, while Muhammad Zaman of Kalam, Swat, kindly checked the spelling of Urdu words.

Recognition is also due to our wives, Gail Trail and Elsa Cooper, who helped in so many ways throughout the project. Specifically we are indebted to Elsa for numerous words and expressions that she collected and to Gail who assisted by proofreading the manuscript and checking the etymologies of many words.

Dr. Elena Bashir kindly suggested additional vocabulary via correspondence.

We profited greatly from the linguistic and consultant help of Dr. Stephen Marlett and Dr. Joan Baart. They contributed much to bring the dictionary to a higher standard. While accepting full responsibility for any faults that remain, we would also like to thank the following people, who have contributed helpful feedback and suggestions on various aspects of the dictionary: Prof. J.C. Wright, Prof. Dr. Georg Buddruss, Wayne Losey, Michael Lothers, Laura Lothers, Carla Radloff, Mark Robinson, Lara Robinson, and Stephen Willson.

We would also like to express our thanks to the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London for their kind permission to quote the Indo-Aryan proto-words from *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* by Sir Ralph Turner (1966).

The design of the Kalasha, Urdu, and phonetic fonts used in this dictionary was done by our SIL computer consultant, Timothy Erickson. He also designed the script-rendering software that facilitated the use of these fonts. Carla Radloff served us well by guiding us through the maze of formatting detail involved in producing the dictionary for publication.

The sponsoring institutes and individuals who made this work possible are also gratefully acknowledged. The dictionary project was begun in 1983 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and guidance of Don Gregson. Dr. Aurangzeb Shah, head of the English

Department at the University of Peshawar, enabled Dr. Ronald Trail's stay in Pakistan during the early years of the project. Later, the National Institute of Pakistan Studies under Prof. Dr. Ghulam Hyder Sindhi adopted the project under an Agreement of Cooperation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Gregory Cooper's stay in Pakistan was made possible through the support of the North West Frontier Fellowship. These individuals and institutes have been graciously supportive in so many ways throughout the years of data collection and compilation.

# Introduction to the Kalasha Language and Dictionary

## **Kalasha as a Spoken Language**

The Kalasha language is spoken in several valleys in District Chitral, North-West Frontier Province, Pakistan. In this district it is spoken chiefly in the Rumbur, Bumburet and Birir valleys. All three of these valleys are near the town of Ayun, south of Chitral town, and represent the Northern dialect of Kalasha. The language is mutually understandable from valley to valley, although there are minor differences.

Southern Kalasha is spoken in the Urtsun valley, south of the Birir and Jinjiret valleys. Speakers from the other valleys can communicate with those from Urtsun. One notable difference in the two dialects is in the continuous aspect of the verb. For example, the present continuous tense **parík day** ‘we are going’ in the Northern dialect is **parímis díra** in the Southern dialect. This dictionary represents the Northern Kalasha dialect, with some reference to Southern Kalasha variants.

Because most of our language consultants were from Bumburet, the particular variety of Kalasha represented in this dictionary is that spoken in the Bumburet valley. Where there are differences between this and Kalasha as spoken in Rumbur and Birir, we have noted these in the dictionary as variants.

## **Language Family**

Kalasha is classified as an Indo-Aryan language of the Dardic sub-group, along with such languages as Khowar, Kashmiri, Kalamí, Torwali, Indus Kohistani, Shina, and Phalula. The language most closely related to Kalasha is Khowar. Most of the Kalasha people can speak Khowar with varying degrees of proficiency.

Kalasha is spoken by about 2,500 to 3,000 people who call themselves Kalasha, thus implying devotion to the Kalasha religion and way of life. Actually, the total number of speakers would be more if those who have converted to Islam are also counted. Although these converts are no longer regarded as members of the Kalasha community, they still speak their native language with their Kalasha kinsmen. There are about eight hundred Muslims (the group converted around the 1930s) who still speak Southern Kalasha in Urtsun valley.

## Historical Setting

To identify for certain the very beginning of the Kalasha people in Pakistan would be to solve a mystery about which many have conjectured. Two major lines of thinking over the years have been that: 1) they are descendants of the Vedic Indo-Aryans, or 2) they are descendants of the armies of Alexander the Great. If the former, their beginning in the area would date back to around 1400 BC. If the latter, they would have come into existence as a distinct group early in the third century BC.

A variation on the second theory, one proposed by Gail Trail, is that the Kalasha descended not directly from Alexander's armies, but from the armies of his general, Seleucus Nicator. Seleucus returned around 309 BC to reconquer and resettle the area after Alexander's death. For further information on this theory, see her paper *Tsyam revisited: a study of Kalasha origins* (G. Trail 1996), noted in the *Bibliography*.

At one time the Kalasha were spread all over the south of Chitral district. However, other groups defeated them in various battles over the centuries, and their realm slowly shrank to the side valleys of Urtsun, Birir, Bumburet, and Rumbur.

## Borrowings from Other Languages

Kalasha has been in contact with Khowar over the centuries. Many Khowar words have been adopted by the Kalasha, and have become incorporated into their language to the extent that speakers have to stop and think if a certain word is Khowar or Kalasha.

The former language of government in Chitral was Persian. As a result, most of the legal and governmental vocabulary in Kalasha is from Persian. Since the establishment of Pakistan and the joining of Chitral to Pakistan, Urdu has become more and more important as the language of education, government, and the military. Children are learning it in their schools. Many Urdu words are themselves from Persian, and so it is difficult to say whether a word was incorporated into Kalasha from Persian in the past, or from Urdu more recently. Because both Persian and Urdu have major Arabic loanword content, it is difficult to determine precisely whether some words are from Persian, from Urdu, or more distantly from Arabic. Sometimes part of a word is Persian and part is Arabic. We have attempted to indicate the ultimate source language of Kalasha words where possible, but the reader is reminded that such words may have come from that source language through other languages. Establishing precise word origin, then, is a complex task, and we do not claim to have completed it in this dictionary. Other scholars have struggled with the problem of Persian and Arabic origins, and sometimes major dictionaries do not agree. Our chief source on word origin has been the *Ferozsons Urdu-English Dictionary*, noted in the *Bibliography*.

Besides words from Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, some English words have also entered Kalasha vocabulary, both from the time of the British Raj and more recently. These words often have changed pronunciations, but are still recognizable as being from English.

## Indo-Aryan Etymologies

Kalasha, being Indo-Aryan, is descended from a form of Sanskrit, probably the north-west Prakrit, and therefore the old forms from which current Kalasha words originated can, in many cases, be established with some degree of certainty. Sir Ralph Turner produced an impressive volume, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (Turner 1966), in which he not only gives the ancient Vedic, Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali words, but also cites the present forms of some of the original words in many modern Indo-Aryan languages, including Kalasha.

In his dictionary, Turner used the work of the pioneering Norwegian linguist, Georg Morgenstierne, who in a visit in 1929 collected his initial Kalasha data. During subsequent years, Morgenstierne expanded his collection with the help of other people. In 1973, Morgenstierne's work on Kalasha was published in book form; it includes texts, vocabulary, and notes on historical phonology, synchronic phonology, and grammar. He also included cross-references to Indo-Aryan proto-words listed by Turner. In the current dictionary, we have included proto-word references given by Morgenstierne. The reader will find these etymological references at the end of an entry after the label *Etym* (etymology). We hope that the work that these scholars have begun will be expanded for Kalasha, as well as for the other languages of the area.

Occasionally in this dictionary, the reader will see an asterisk (\*) in front of a proto-word. This indicates that Turner has listed the form of the proto-word as hypothetical (not actually attested in the ancient Vedic and Sanskrit texts).

## Lexical Relations

One of the current interests of lexicographers is the study of lexical relations within a language. This approach assumes that the total lexical inventory of a language is linked together into a single network by means of lexical or semantic relations. An integral part of the complete definition of a word, therefore, would be the identification of the words to which it is semantically related. Some of the more commonly known lexical relations are *Synonym*, *Antonym*, *Whole-Part*, and *Generic-Specific*. Lexicographers have identified more than sixty of these relations in the languages of the world.

A lexical relation can be expressed as a mathematical formula of the form  $x(y) = z$ ; that is,  $x$  of  $y$  is  $z$ . For example, if we let  $x$  equal a lexical relation,  $y$  the word we are defining, and  $z$  the related word, then an instance of the lexical relation of *Antonym* would be expressed as:

Antonym (hot) = cold ('an antonym of *hot* is *cold*')

An instance of the *Specific* relation would be:

Specific (furniture) = chair

Conversely, an example of the *Generic* relation would be:

Generic (chair) = furniture

We have chosen a selection of more than forty lexical relations in this dictionary, yet have only just begun to codify the full Kalasha semantic network. None of the relations we have chosen have been used in an exhaustive way. For example, there may well be many synonyms of a particular word, while we have only given one or two. Still, we have felt that it is important to at least record the one or two words that we identified rather than wait for a complete analysis. Some lexical relations may only be seen a few times in the dictionary, but again, we felt that these might be used to point the way for further work. To apply the lexical relation technique exhaustively for each word was beyond our ability, given the time restraints we were under. Many words in the dictionary have a varying number of semantic relations attached to them—some more than others. The full list of lexical relations used in this dictionary is given in the section on *Lexical Relations and their Abbreviations* on page xix, with explanation and illustrations.

## Kalasha Script

Each word defined in this dictionary is presented first in a modified Roman orthography. In addition, each word is also presented in a modified Urdu script. (The pronunciation of the sounds represented by these letters can be learned by looking at the *Pronunciation Guide* on page xxii.)

The major modifications of the Urdu script for Kalasha are for certain retroflex sounds. In general, we have used a *to'e* (ٹ written above the base character) to signal retroflexion. For example, the Kalasha retroflex *ṣ* is written as a *shin* plus a *to'e* (شٹ). In Kalasha, all regular vowels have retroflex counterparts, which are pronounced with the tongue tip curled back slightly. Again, a *to'e* is written over the normal vowel symbol to signify this. Finally, the *to'e* is also used to distinguish the Kalasha dark *ḷ* (ڙ) from the light *l* (ل).

To write the Kalasha sounds *ts* and *dz*, the symbols *خ* and *ځ*, respectively, have been borrowed from the Pashto alphabet.

Because Kalasha does not have a contrastive distinction between short and long vowels, a phonetically short vowel [a] is always written with an *alif*. This could pose a problem to readers who are fluent in Urdu (where a short *a* is often not written at all), but it should be much easier for beginners who are just learning to read Kalasha.

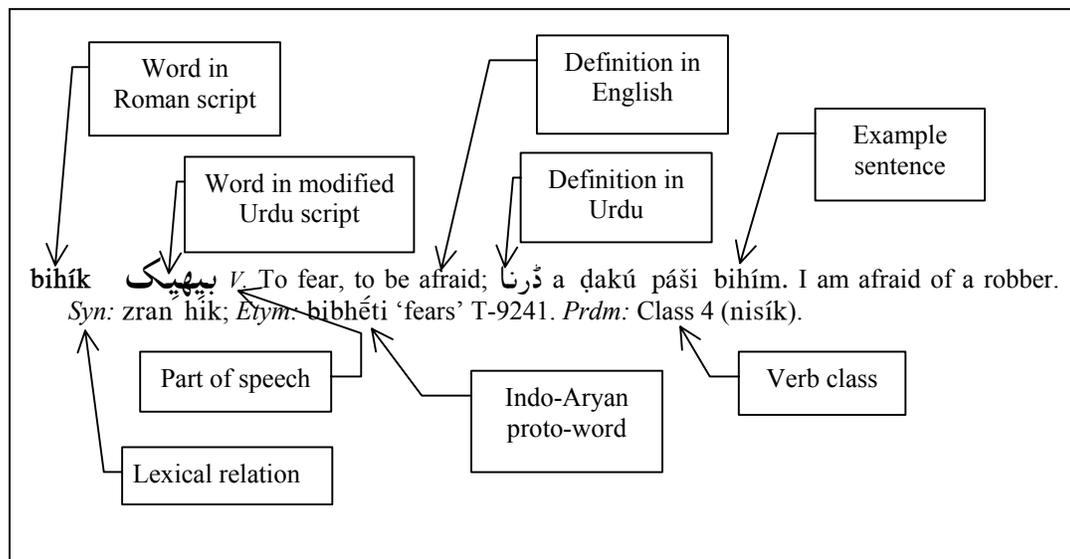
A further contrast with Urdu writing is that a consistent distinction is made between *o* and *u*. The former is written with a plain *waw* (و), while the latter is written with a *waw* plus *pesh* (ؤ). Similarly, a distinction is made between *e* and *i*. The former is written with a plain *ye* (ی) in initial and medial positions, and a *bari ye* (ے) in final position. The latter is written with a *ye* plus *zer* (یِ) in initial and medial positions, and a *choti ye* (یِ) in final position.

To our knowledge, the Kalasha language has not been written before this in a formal way. Abdul Khaleq from Krakal, Bumburet, began writing Kalasha using Urdu script while he was in school. This was meant as a secret language that others could not read. We are not aware of other attempts to write the language.

The present Urdu-based Kalasha orthography was developed by the compilers of the dictionary. It should not be taken as authoritative or final at this point. We present it as a working orthography for the present.

## The Form of Dictionary Entries

### A Typical Entry



### A Complete Entry

A complete inventory of the parts of an entry and the order in which they are given is as follows:

1) **Kalasha word in Roman script.** The pronunciation of each of the letters can be seen in the *Pronunciation Guide* on page xxii.

Occasionally two forms of a word are listed, separated by a comma (for instance, **mon**, **mondr**). In such cases, the form given second is the full form of the word, which occurs when suffixes are added (as in **mondr-una**). However, the truncated form cited first is the one that will more frequently be heard, especially when the word is used in isolation.

2) **Kalasha word in modified Urdu script.** The reader is referred to the previous page for a discussion of the special characters needed for Kalasha. The pronunciation of each of the Kalasha characters can be seen in the *Pronunciation Guide* below.

- 3) **Part of speech.** This refers to the grammatical category to which a word belongs such as noun, verb, adjective, etc. (see the section on *Parts of Speech* in the back of this dictionary).
- 4) **Definition in American English.** We have chosen American English as it is an international language and the mother tongue of one of the compilers.
- 5) **Definition in Urdu.** We beg the indulgence of Urdu speakers, as the compilers do not know Urdu as well as mother-tongue speakers. Another extenuating factor was that the decision to include Urdu as a language of definition was not made until late in the process of compilation. However, we have attempted to represent as accurately as possible, given the time constraints, the meanings of Kalasha words in Urdu.
- 6) **Scientific name.** Where known, the scientific names of plants and animals are included.
- 7) **Example sentences with translation.** An important part of the definition of any word is an example sentence illustrating the use of this word in natural speech. We have included one or more example sentences for most words in the dictionary. A translation in English is given with each example sentence.
- 8) **Encyclopedic information.** Comments within square brackets add more information about the headword, or the context in which it occurs, that is not considered to be part of the definition proper.
- 9) **Grammatical information.** Occasional comments on grammatical restrictions regarding usage of a word are given preceded by the label *Restrict* (restriction).
- 10) **Lexical relations.** See the section on *Lexical Relations* above.
- 11) **Underlying construction.** The label *Morph* (morphology) indicates that what follows is a breakdown of a headword into its component parts. For example, the word for ‘walnut bread’ is **ǰǎú**. However, this consists of a combination of the words **ǰǎ** ‘nut meats’ plus **áú** ‘bread’. Therefore near the end of the entry for **ǰǎú** the reader will see, “*Morph: ǰǎ-áú.*”  
  
We have also used this feature to list an underlying form that is different from the citation form of the headword. For example, Kalasha does not voice obstruent consonants that occur in final position in the word when that word is spoken in isolation. This means that the sounds **b, d, ǰ, g, z, ǰ, dz, ǰ,** and **ǰ** become voiceless in such contexts, and sound like **p, t, ǰ, k, s, ǰ, ǰ, ts, ǰ,** and **ǰ**, respectively. A typical illustration of this is the Kalasha word **uk** ‘water’. We posit that the underlying form is **ug**, since when suffixes are added to it the **k** changes to **g**. The phrase ‘in the water’ would be pronounced as **ug-ay**. (There are other words that end in **k** which do not change to **g** when occurring with suffixes.)
- 12) **Cross-references.** In some cases, words are lexically related to the headword, but the exact relationship has not been identified. Where such further cross-references are given, they are preceded by the label *See also*.

13) **Variants.** Toward the end of an entry the reader may see the label *Variant*. We have used this label to show two kinds of things. Often a word has different pronunciations, and sometimes altogether different forms, in different dialects or subdialects of the language. For example, the word for ‘house’ is **dur** in Bumburet and Rumbur, but **han** in Birir. The reader would see this information near the end of the entry for **dur** as: “*Variant: han* (Birir).”

The label *Variant* is also used to list different forms (allomorphs) of an affix that occur in different grammatical contexts. For example, the ending **-im** ‘first-person singular present tense’ takes the form **-am** when used with Class 2 and 3 verbs. Therefore, under the entry for **-im** (in the section for *Inflectional Affixes*) would be seen the words “*Variant: -am* (Used with Class 2 and 3 verbs).”

14) **Loanwords.** Some words are not originally from Kalasha, but have been borrowed from other languages such as Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Khowar, or English. The source language of borrowed words is given near the end of an entry as “*From: Arabic*”, “*From: Urdu*”, etc. In general we have tried to identify the ultimate source language of a borrowed word. This means that if a word is thought to have been borrowed into Kalasha from Persian, and the Persian word in turn is a borrowing from Arabic, then we have listed it as being from Arabic. Our main authority on the source language of Perso-Arabic and Urdu vocabulary has been the *Urdu-English Dictionary* by Ferozsons (n.d.), noted in the *Bibliography*.

15) **Etymology.** Some entries in the dictionary indicate from which Sanskrit or early Indo-Aryan form a current Kalasha word may have descended. The sources for these etymologies have been Turner’s comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages and Morgenstierne’s volume on the Kalasha language, both noted in the *Bibliography*. In such entries the reader will see the label *Etym* (etymology), followed by the Indo-Aryan proto-word and its meaning, followed by a number that refers to the concerned entry in Turner’s dictionary.

16) **Verb Class.** The class to which a verb belongs is indicated near the end of the entry, following the label *Prdm* (paradigm). For instance, if a verb belongs to Class 4, the reader would see “*Prdm: Class 4 (nisík)*”, indicating that it belongs to that class and that the reader can see a full paradigm of that class at the entry for **nisík** ‘to sit’.

17) **Tables.** Near the end of some entries the reader will find a table showing the conjugation of certain verbs, or other types of grammatical paradigms. An illustration of such a table can be seen at the Class 1 model verb **kárik** ‘to do’.

18) **Main Entry.** Sometimes in place of a definition the reader is referred to another entry with the words *See main entry*, followed by the form of the main entry.

## Inflections

The affixes that occur in inflected forms of Kalasha nouns and verbs are listed in a separate section, immediately following the main dictionary section. Note that homonym numbering for elements in this list continues from the main dictionary section.

## Finding Words by their English Meaning

For the convenience of English readers, an *English Index* is included at the end of the dictionary. The index lists the English word, the part of speech, and its Kalasha equivalent.

## Alphabetical Order

Entries in this dictionary are sorted on the basis of the following alphabetical order:

a, ã, ą, ă, b, č, ċ, d, dz, đ, e, ě, ę, ħ, g, h, i, ĩ, ï, ĵ, ĳ, k, l, ł, m, n, ŋ, o, õ, ọ, ō, p, r, s, š, ş, t, ts, ʈ, u, ũ, ụ, ū, w, y, z, ž, ʐ.

## Subentries

Many multi-word phrases and derived or compound forms do not have an entry of their own in this dictionary, but are listed as subentries under another headword. For example, **ajhóna kárik** ‘to invite someone to one’s house for food and hospitality’ is found as a subentry under the headword **ajhóna** ‘guest’.

# Abbreviations

## General

acc	accusative (objective) case	nom	nominative (subject) case
Adj	adjective	Num	number
Adv	adverb	o	older
Aux	auxiliary verb	Oblq	oblique (non-nominative) case
b	brother	Pfx	prefix
Cnj	conjunction	pl	plural
d	daughter	Ppl	participle
dat	dative (indirect object) case	Prdm	paradigm
Etym	etymology	Pron	pronoun
f	feminine, or father (in kinship definitions)	Rel	relator
g	grand- (as in <i>grandfather</i> )	Restrict	grammatical restrictions
gen	genitive (possessive) case	RootVb	root verb
h	husband	s	son
Id	idiom	Sfx	suffix
Intj	interjection	sg	singular
kg	kilogram	(s)he	she or he
KT	kinship term	sr	sister
Lit	literally	Tu	R.L. Turner: <i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i>
m	masculine, or mother (in kinship definitions)	Vpfx	verbal prefix
M	G.M. Morgenstierne: <i>The Kalasha Language</i>	Vsfx	verbal suffix
Morph	morphology	y	younger
N	noun		

## Lexical Relations and their Abbreviations

Able	Condition enabling the event expressed by the headword to be realized—burn- <i>combustible</i>
Actor	Person typically involved in doing the action expressed by the headword—fly- <i>pilot</i>
Adult	Adult form of the headword—kitten- <i>cat</i>

Anim	Animate form of the headword—some words in Kalasha are only used with animate beings while others are only used with inanimate things
Ant	Antonym or opposite of the headword— <i>hot-cold</i>
Caus	Causative form of the headword— <i>eat-feed</i>
Child(n)	Child (or initial stage) of headword. Successive stages are Child1, Child2 etc. ( <i>n</i> indicates a number equal to or above 1)— <i>infant, toddler, etc.</i>
Comp	Complex verb using the headword as one member— <i>fun-make fun</i>
CPart	Counterpart of the headword— <i>husband-wife, bow-arrow, odd-even</i>
Create	Verb used to create the headword— <i>egg-lay</i>
Degrad	Degraded state of the referent of the headword— <i>apple-rotten</i>
Dim	Diminutive form of the headword— <i>disk-diskette</i> . (When used of adjectives it indicates that both the adjective and the word being modified are in the diminutive form).
Do	Verb which tells what the headword typically does— <i>lightning-strike</i>
Female	Female member of the same class— <i>horse-mare</i>
Future(n)	A future form of the headword, advancing it up a time scale by <i>n</i> stages—an example of Future1 is <i>today-tomorrow</i>
Gen	Generic class of which the referent of the headword is a member— <i>cedar-tree</i>
Group	A group form of the headword— <i>bird-flock</i>
Idiom	Idiomatic use of the headword
Imp	Imperative or command word to make the headword perform something— <i>flies-shoo!</i>
Inan	Inanimate form of the headword—see Anim above
Instr	Instrument used to perform the action expressed by the verb— <i>write-pen</i>
Loc	Typical location where the headword occurs— <i>arrow-quiver</i>
Male	Male term of same species— <i>cow-bull</i>
Mat'l	Material used to make the headword— <i>mixing bowl-walnut</i>
Max	Superlative degree of the headword— <i>white-snow</i>
Object	Typical object of the verb— <i>shave-beard</i>
Onset	Speed of occurrence or starting of the headword— <i>leave-suddenly</i>
Part	Part of which the headword is a whole— <i>body-eye</i>
Past(n)	A past form of the headword, moving it back on a time scale by <i>n</i> stages—an example of Past1 is <i>today-yesterday</i>
Phase(n)	A phase in completing the sequence named by the headword— <i>harvest-cut corn-carry from field-remove ears from stalk</i> etc.
Pos	Positive state of the headword— <i>milk-fresh</i>
Product	The thing which is produced by the referent of the headword— <i>bees-honey</i>
Q	Question form which elicits the headword— <i>now-when?</i>
Resident	The term for a person who lives in the location named by the headword— <i>Pakistan-Pakistani</i>

Reversive	The verb which reverses the event expressed by the headword—enter- <i>exit</i>
Rmot(n)	A distant form of the headword, advancing it farther away by (n)—here- <i>there</i>
Seed	The seed of the plant or animal—oak- <i>acorn</i>
Sequence	The final outcome of the stages or phases which combine to make it happen— See Phase(n) above where <i>harvest</i> is the sequence
Sound	Sound that the referent of the headword makes—cat- <i>miaw</i>
Spec	Specific member of the class expressed by the headword—tree- <i>oak</i>
Species	Species term of animal or plant named—lamb- <i>sheep</i>
Subadult	Adolescent form of the headword—woman- <i>teenager</i>
Syn	Synonym of the headword—fast- <i>quick</i>
Unit	A single unit of the substance expressed by headword—water- <i>drop</i>
Use	The word that expresses what people typically do with the referent of the headword—knife- <i>cut</i>
Whole	Whole of which the referent of the headword is a part—eye- <i>body</i>

# Pronunciation Guide

(Note that many Kalasha sounds have no corresponding American English sound.)

	<b>Kalasha Sound</b>	<b>American English Sound</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
	˘		This mark over a vowel means that a word should be accented (stressed) on that vowel.
a	آ ل	a	Pronounce like the “a” in “father”. If the “a” occurs in an unaccented syllable, it is pronounced like the “a” in “about”.
ã	ان ماڻ آڙ		All vowels written with a tilde above are nasalized. Part of the sound comes through the mouth, and part comes through the nose.
ạ	ا̣		All vowels written with a dot below are said with the tongue tip curled slightly back (retroflex).
ãạ	ان̣ آڙ		All vowels written with a tilde above and a dot below are retroflex as well as nasalized.
aw	او	ow	Pronounce like the word “cow”.
ay	اے	i	Pronounce like the vowel sound of “sky”.
b	ب	b	Pronounce like the “b” in “bin”.
bh	به		Pronounce like “b” but with a puff of air following.
č	چ	ch	Pronounce like the “ch” in English “cheese” but without a puff of air.
č̣	چ̣		Pronounce like “č” just above, but the tongue tip touches a bit farther back in the mouth.
čh	چه	ch	Pronounce with a puff of air like the “ch” in English “cheese”.
č̣h	چه̣		Pronounce like “č̣” but with a puff of air following.
d	د	d	Pronounce like the “d” in “dog” but put the tongue tip against the back of the front teeth.
ɖ	ڍ	d	Pronounce like the “d” in “dog”, but put the tongue tip farther back in the mouth.
dh	ده		Pronounce as “d” but with a puff of air.
ɖh	ڍه		Pronounce as “ɖ” but with a puff of air.

	<b>Kalasha Sound</b>	<b>American English Sound</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
dz	ڙ	dz	Pronounce like the final two sounds in “adds” or “adze” but put the tongue against the back of the front teeth.
e	ايه	e	Pronounce like the “e” in “best”.
ey	اڀ	a	Pronounce like the “ay” in “say”.
g	گ	g	Pronounce like the “g” in “girl”.
gh	گھ		Pronounce like “g” but with a puff of air following.
h	ه	h	Pronounce like English “h”.
i	ايه ي	ee	Pronounce like the “ee” in “feet.” If the “i” occurs in an unaccented syllable, it is pronounced like “i” in “fit”.
j	ج	j	Pronounce like the “j” in “judge”.
ĵ	جھ		Pronounce like “j” but with the tongue tip touching a bit farther back in the mouth.
jh	جھ		Pronounce like “j” but with a puff of air.
k	ک	k	Pronounce like the “k” in “skin.” (English speakers may not recognize the difference between this sound and the next, but this one lacks a puff of air after it).
kh	کھ	k	Pronounce like the “k” in “king” (with a puff of air).
l	ل	l	Pronounce like the “l” in “tool” but the tongue tip touches the back of the front teeth.
l	ل	l	Pronounced like the “l” in “leap” but is made a bit with the tongue blade (the part of the tongue just behind the tip) rather than the tip.
m	م	m	Pronounce like the “m” of “many”.
n	ن	n	Pronounce like “n” in “no”, but the tongue tip touches the back of the front teeth.
ŋ	نگ	ng	Pronounce like the “ng” in “sing”.
o	و او	o	Pronounce like the “o” in “go”. If, however, it occurs in a closed syllable (between two consonants), it is pronounced as the “oo” in “foot”.
p	پ	p	Pronounce like the “p” in “spin”, that is, with no puff of air.
ph	پھ	p	Pronounce like the “p” in “pin”, with a puff of air.
r	ر		Just a tap of the tongue tip against the front of the palate (roof of mouth).

	<b>Kalasha Sound</b>	<b>American English Sound</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
s	س	s	Pronounce like the “s” of “sing”.
ş	ش		Pronounce like “s” but the tongue tip touches farther back in the mouth.
š	ش	sh	Pronounce like “sh” in “sheep”.
t	ت	t	Pronounce like the “t” in “stare” (no puff of air), but the tongue tip touches the back of the front teeth.
ṭ	ٹ	t	Pronounce like the “t” in “stare” (no puff of air), but touch the tongue tip farther back in the mouth.
th	تھ	t	Pronounce like the “t” in “tear”, but the tongue tip touches the back of the front teeth, and there is a puff of air.
ṭh	ٹھ	t	Pronounce like the “t” in “tear”, but the tongue touches farther back in the mouth, and there is a puff of air.
ts	تس	ts	Pronounce like the “ts” in “Betsy”.
tsh	تسھ		Pronounce like “ts” but with a puff of air following.
u	و اُو	oo	Pronounce like the “oo” in “too”.
w	و	w	Pronounce like the “w” of “word”.
y	ی	y	Pronounce like the “y” of “you”.
z	ز	z	Pronounce like the “z” in “zebra”.
ẓ	ژ		Pronounce like “z” but the tongue tip touches farther back in the mouth.
ž	ژ	zh	Pronounce like the “z” in “azure”.

Kalasha Dictionary  
—with English and Urdu



## Inflectional Affixes



## English Index



## Useful Words and Phrases

(NOTE: This list of useful words and phrases is intended to be a starter list. The user is encouraged to use it and add to it and correct it to suit her/his own needs. Like all people, the Kalasha love to hear others speak their language. If the notation we have used is confusing, we encourage the reader to have the Kalasha people say the words while he/she writes them in the way they can recognize and repeat them again. Any suggestions to make it more useful are welcome. For an explanation of the writing of the Kalasha words please see the *Pronunciation Guide* on page xxii).

### Useful Words

<i>English</i>	<i>Kalasha</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Kalasha</i>
barn	goṣṭ	dress (lady's)	čew
beans	daú	eating, I am	žum day
bed	šen	eggs	ónḍrak
boy	púruṣgúak	enough	káphi
bread/food	aú	eye	eč
bringing, I am	ónim day	far	déša
brother	báya	father	dáda
buttermilk	trúna čhir	flower	gambúri
cheese	čhamaní	food/bread	aú
chicken	kakawáṅk	foot	khur
child	súda	fresh milk	ḍóngga čhir
cold	oš	girl	istrížagúak
corn	juwári	goat	pay
cow	gak	God	khoday
curry, stew	za	going, I am	parím day
dancing, I am	náṭim day	grandchild	nawáw
daughter	čhu	grandfather	wáwa
day	ádua	grandmother	áwa
day after tomorrow	waréša	grapes	drač
delicious	dzaw	hand	bazá
dog	šǒa	hat	kašóng
doing, I am	kárim day		

<i>English</i>	<i>Kalasha</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Kalasha</i>
he/she/it (absent from speaker)	se	onions	kačėnduk
he/she/it (present with speaker)	ása	our	hóma
head	şış	potato	álu
headdress (lady's)	kupás	rice (cooked)	paktí
here	ayá	salt	l̥õ
his/her/its (absent from speaker)	tása	shoes (tennis/plastic)	kirmíč
his/her/its (present with speaker)	ása	sister	bába
horse	hãş	sleep, I am going to	đúđim day
hot	peč	son	put
hot water	peč uk	spring (water source)	uts
hotel	hoťól, hoťél	spring water	útsani uk
house	dur	squash	áluuk
how much?	kimón	stool	hányak
how?	khē	sugar	şakhór
husband	berú	table	mes
I	a	taking, I am	grim day
jeep	ĵip	tea (black)	čay
just (nowhere/nothing in particular)	mič	tea (green)	óččay
later	tóa	tea (with milk)	çhir čáy
leopard	kakbóy	their (absent from speaker)	tási
man	moč	their (present with speaker)	ási
meat	mos	there	atrá
milk	çhir	they (absent from speaker)	te
mother	áya	they (present with speaker)	éĵi
mountain	dénta	this	ía
my/me	may	today	ónja
near	şói	tomatoes	paťingél
no	ne	tomorrow	čópa
now	ónja	tooth	dandóyak
		tree/plant	muť
		vegetables	şak
		village	grom
		walnuts	bribó

**English**

warm/hot  
water  
we  
what?  
wheat  
when?  
where?  
who?  
why?

**Kalasha**

peç  
uk  
ábi  
kía  
gúum  
kay  
kawá  
kúra  
ko

**English**

wife  
woman  
work  
yes  
you (plural)  
you (singular)  
your (plural)  
your (singular)

**Kalasha**

ja  
istríža  
krom  
ãã  
ábi  
tu  
mími  
tay

**Useful Phrases****English**

Greetings brother!  
Greetings sister!  
How are you, brother?  
How are you, sister?  
Is your family well?  
Is your health good?  
Fine, by God's kindness.  
Good morning!  
What is this?  
It's a book.  
Say it again.  
Say it slowly.  
I don't understand.  
What are you doing?  
What did you say?  
Where is the bathroom?  
Where are you going?  
There.  
Upstream.  
Downstream.

**Kalasha**

išpáta báya!  
išpáta bába!  
pruṣṭ thi ái e, báya.  
pruṣṭ thi ái e, bába.  
dúra khayr e?  
tabiát pruṣṭ e?  
pruṣṭ, khodáyas meharbáni.  
abúji e?  
šia kía?  
kitáp šíaw.  
ghéri máas.  
laš máas.  
a ne aǰónis.  
tu kía káris dáy?  
tu kía amái?  
mútra karikéyn, kawá?  
kawáy parís dáy?  
atrá.  
weháŋk.  
preháŋk.

**English**

I'm going to Peshawar.  
 To the village / To the hotel.  
 I'm going to the toilet (lit: to wash my hands).  
 I'm just going out  
 Where do you live?  
 Where did you go?  
 It's very beautiful here!  
 I am just sitting.  
 I am hungry.  
 I want to eat now.  
 This is very delicious.  
 This is very good.  
 I have eaten.  
 I am thirsty.  
 I am sleepy.  
 My head aches.  
 Thank you, brother / sister.  
 You're welcome, brother / sister (lit: no, what trouble?).

**Kalasha**

a pašáwar hátya parím dáy.  
 grómuna hátya. / hoţéluna hátya.  
 báza nígika párim dáy.  
 mič bían nihím dáy.  
 tu kawá apáw des dáy.  
 kawáy pái áí?  
 andáy bo šišóyak!  
 mič nisím dáy.  
 may anóra kái šíaw.  
 may ónĵa aú žuk baş.  
 ía bo zaw.  
 ía bo pruşĵ.  
 a žúi áam.  
 may đan kái šíaw.  
 may ispráp káriu dáy.  
 may şiş trupél dáy.  
 bo gudás la báya / bába.  
 ne la báya / bába, kía gudás.

# Parts of Speech

## Nouns

### General

The standard informal definition of a noun is that it is a word that refers to a person, place, or thing. All nouns in this dictionary are indicated with an *N* signifying their part of speech (with the exception of kinship terms, which are given the label *KT*).

There is an important division of nouns in Kalasha which a speaker must keep in mind. While Kalasha does not make a distinction between *masculine* and *feminine* nouns as Urdu does, it does make a distinction between *animate* nouns (nouns that refer to living beings that are capable of movement) and *inanimate* nouns (all other nouns). This distinction is seen in the form that the verb ‘to be’ takes when the noun in question is its subject. If a subject noun is animate, the verb ‘to be’ is a form of *ásik*. If the noun is inanimate it combines with a form of *šik*. Since the verb ‘to be’ is used as a main verb and also as a frequently occurring auxiliary, it is essential to keep this animate-inanimate distinction in mind when speaking. For example, ‘he/she is’ would be *se áau*, while ‘it is’ would be *se šiau*. We have not indicated the animate-inanimate distinction in our part-of-speech classification in the dictionary as it is normally predictable from the meaning of the noun.

Kalasha nouns can be inflected to mark distinctions of number (singular, plural) and case (nominative/accusative, genitive/dative/oblique, ablative, instrumental, locative). For an extensive discussion of noun inflection in Kalasha, the reader is referred to the article by R. Trail (1996), *Kalasha Case-Marking System*, noted in the *Bibliography* in the back of this dictionary. The endings (suffixes) involved in the inflection of nouns are listed in the *Inflectional Affixes* section, following the main dictionary section.

### Kinship nouns

There is a sub-class of animate nouns that we do indicate in the dictionary. These are kinship terms and they are indicated by the label *KT*. Kinship terms express familial relations between people such as father, mother, son, and daughter.

Kinship nouns typically occur with a suffix that refers to the possessor. This suffix indicates whether the possessor is first, second, or third person. In other words, in Kalasha one normally does not simply say ‘brother’, but also specifies whether this is ‘my brother’, ‘your brother’, or ‘his/her brother’. Such suffixes only occur with kinship nouns, not with other types of nouns. In addition to indicating the person of the possessor, these kinship suffixes also specify the number (singular or plural) of the kinship noun itself. The following chart presents an overview of the Kalasha kinship suffixes:

	Kinship Suffixes			
	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
First	-a	‘my, our’	-ay	‘my, our’
Second	-aw	‘your’	-aḷi	‘your’
Third	-as	‘his, her, their’	-asi	‘his, her, their’

An alternative analysis of kinship suffixes would be to assign the person of the possessor and the number of the kinship noun to separate morphemes, positing a zero morpheme (-∅) as singular and -i as plural as follows:

	Kinship Suffixes					
	<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Person</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
First	-a	-∅	‘my, our’	-a	-i	‘my our’
Second	-aw	-∅	‘your’	-aḷ	-i	‘your’
Third	-as	-∅	‘his, her, their’	-as	-i	‘his, her, their’

However, for ease in listing in the dictionary, we have adopted the analysis shown in the chart before this.

### Echo Formations

The Kalasha language, like other Indo-Aryan languages, has a process of echoing or reduplicating a word for the purpose of expressing the basic meaning of the word and other things associated with it. In most cases, the initial consonant of the second instance of the word is replaced by **m**. If there is no initial consonant, **m** is simply prefixed to the second instance of the word. Examples are **au mau**, which means ‘bread and all the things associated with it’, and **çhetr metr** ‘fields and associated things’. Not all Kalasha echo formations conform to this pattern; see, for instance, **krom dom** ‘work and associated things’.

### Pronouns

Pronouns as a part of speech are indicated in the dictionary by *Pron*. They are words which take the place of nouns or noun phrases, and refer back to them. The following chart summarizes the different forms of the personal pronouns in Kalasha. Worthy of note is that Kalasha recognizes a three-fold distinction of distance from the speaker in the third-person pronoun. If the person or thing is present and close to the speaker, one form is used. If the person or thing is present but farther away, another form is used. A third form is used if the person or thing is absent from the speaker.

### Personal Pronoun Chart

		Singular			Plural		
		Nominative	Accusative	Genitive Dative Oblique	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive Dative Oblique
<b>1st</b>		a	may	may	ábi	hóma	hóma
		'I'	'me'	'my' 'to me' 'me (oblq)'	'we'	'us'	'our' 'to us' 'us (oblq)'
<b>2nd</b>		tu	tay	tay	ábi	mími	mími
		'you'	'you'	'your' 'to you' 'you (oblq)'	'you'	'you'	'your' 'to you' 'you (oblq)'
<b>3rd</b>	<b>Present</b>	ía	áma	ísa	émi	émi	ísi
	<b>Near</b>	'he/she/it'	'him/her/it'	'his/her' 'to him/her' 'him/her' (oblq)'	'they'	'them'	'their' 'to them' 'them (oblq)'
<b>3rd</b>	<b>Present</b>	ása	ája	ása	éji	éji	ási
	<b>Far</b>	'he/she/it'	'him/her/it'	'his/her' 'to him/her' 'him/her (oblq)'	'they'	'them'	'their' 'to them' 'them (oblq)'
<b>3rd</b>	<b>Absent</b>	se	to	tása	te	te	tási
		'he/she/it'	'him/her/it'	'his/her' 'to him/her' 'him/her (oblq)'	'they'	'them'	'their' 'to them' 'them (oblq)'

### Verbs

Verbs are words which express actions or states. All verbs in this dictionary are cited in their infinitive form (which ends in **-ik**, or, in the case of causative verbs, in **-ek**). Rather than giving a detailed verb typology according to syntactic patterns, we have labeled all verbs *V*. We have also given an indication of their conjugation class as much as possible. These classes are discussed in the following subsection.

### Verb Classes

Kalasha primary (non-causative) verbs are divided into four classes, and causative verbs are divided into two classes. Each of these classes requires a different set of suffixes for indicating person and number on the verb. For example, verbs from Class 1 and Class 4 form the first-person singular present tense by suffixing **-im** to the root. Class 2 and 3 verbs suffix **-am** to the root. Causative forms use the suffix **-im**, but the vowel **i** of this suffix merges with the preceding

causative suffix **-a**, thus producing **-em** (for instance, **sawz-a-im** becomes **sawzem**). The full set of suffixes of each verb class can be seen at the following entries in the dictionary:

<i>Verb Class</i>	<i>Key verb</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Class 1	<b>kárik</b>	‘to do’
Class 2	<b>mátrik</b>	‘to speak’
Class 3	<b>ásik</b>	‘to be’
Class 4	<b>nisík</b>	‘to sit’
Causative I	<b>sawzék</b>	‘to make’
Causative II	<b>dek</b>	‘to give’

Since a speaker must know the class to which a given verb belongs in order to select the proper suffixes, we have labeled the major verbs in the dictionary with the class to which they belong. The class label can be seen near the end of the entry, preceded by the abbreviation *Prdm* (paradigm).

We have identified two causative verb classes, since the set of suffixes of one contrasts with the other. Causative I is the major category; Causative II is composed of only three verbs.

All verbs can be made causative, provided their meaning allows it. There are several ways of doing this. The regular way to form causative verb stems is to add the suffix **-a** to the root of the verb (this suffix may then merge with the first vowel of a following suffix). Some examples of *irregular* causative formations are the following:

<i>Non-Causative</i>	<i>Causative</i>
upučik ‘to emerge’	upáçik ‘to root out’
şışirik ‘to spill out’	şışárik ‘to cause to spill’
prešáik ‘to cool down’	prešáhék ‘to cause to cool down’

Where the causative form of a verb is irregular, we have listed it in the dictionary entry of the corresponding primary verb. It is identified by the label *Caus* (causative).

Some causative verbs can undergo a second type of causative formation, involving attachment of the suffix **-awa** to the verb root. A typical example of this is seen in the following:

<i>Non-causative</i>	<i>Causative</i>	<i>Double Causative</i>
đúđik ‘to sleep’	đudék ‘to put someone to sleep’	đud-awá-ik ‘to cause someone to be put to sleep’

### Past Tenses

Kalasha verbs express two distinct past tenses—observed past and unobserved past. The first is used if the speaker actually saw an action being performed, and the other if he/she only heard about it being performed. So for example, the form **paráw** ‘he/she went’ is used if the speaker saw the person go and is reporting what he saw. Otherwise the form **gáļa** is used with the same

meaning, except that the speaker is reporting it as something that he only heard about and did not personally witness. In this dictionary the label *Past* is used for the observed past, while the unobserved past is called *Past Hearsay*. (The interplay between these two past tenses can be seen in a Kalasha narrative, published in the article *A Rhetorical Structure Analysis of a Kalasha Narrative* by R. Trail and Austin Hale, noted in the *Bibliography*.)

The past hearsay forms of the verb are quite unpredictable and for this reason we have given the past hearsay form under the label *Past(hearsay)*. For example, under the entry for **parík** ‘to go’ the reader will find “*Past(hearsay)* **gáḷa** ‘he/she went’.”

Sometimes the past tense base form of the verb is completely different from its root form. This is seen with the verb **dek** ‘to give’, the past base form of which is **pr**. In such cases, we have listed the past form for the convenience of the reader, preceded by the label *Past*. The verbs that have distinct past tense base forms are:

<i>Infinitive form</i>	<i>Past tense root</i>
dek ‘to give’	pr-aw ‘he/she gave’
dyek ‘to put’	pr-aw ‘he/she put’
hárik ‘to take away’	ahér-aw ‘he/she took away’
hik ‘to become’	háw-aw ‘he/she became’
ik ‘to come’	á-aw ‘he/she came’
kárik ‘to do’	ár-aw ‘he/she did’
pálik ‘to fall’	át-aw ‘he/she fell’
tyek ‘to hit’	pá-aw ‘he/she hit’
žuk ‘to eat’	áš-aw ‘he/she ate’

For further information on Kalasha verb forms, see the *Overview of Kalasha Verb Formations* below.

## Affixes

There are four categories of affixes noted in the dictionary, called Prefix (*Pfx*), Suffix (*Sfx*), Verbal prefix (*Vpfx*), and Verbal suffix (*Vsfx*). The verbal prefixes and suffixes are affixed to verbs, while all other prefixes and suffixes are affixed to other words.

## Adjectives

Adjectives are traditionally described as words that modify nouns and noun-like words. An example is the word *fast* in “a *fast* computer”. Adjectives (called predicate adjectives in this case) can occur in descriptive sentences such as “She is *beautiful*.”

## Adverbs

Adverbs typically modify verbs in some way by telling how an action is carried out. For example, in the sentence “They walked *quietly* through the forest”, the word *quietly* describes the manner in which they walked. Adverbs are also used to modify adjectives, as in the phrase “the *very* beautiful flower”, where the word *very* modifies the adjective *beautiful*.

## Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are used in a verb phrase to express certain grammatical distinctions. For example, in the verb phrase **kárik day** ‘we are doing’, the word **day** is an auxiliary that indicates continuous aspect.

## Conjunctions

Words which join two or more words, phrases, clauses, or sentences are labeled as conjunctions. In the English noun phrase “hail and snow”, “and” is a conjunction.

## Interjections

Words that express emotions or serve as exclamations like “Oh!” or “Ouch!” have been classified as interjections.

## Numbers

This class is reserved for all numbers. An overview of Kalasha numbers is presented at the end of the *English Index*.

## Relators

Relators are words which are traditionally called prepositions or postpositions. We call them relators because this more precisely characterizes their function in a sentence. They “relate” the word, phrase, or clause that they are associated with to the verb. An example of a relator in Kalasha would be the word **som** ‘with’ in the following sentence:

se	tása	<i>som</i>	paráw.
he	him	<i>with</i>	went
‘He went with him.’			

In this sentence, the word **som** relates the word ‘him’ to the verb in an accompanying kind of relationship.

## **Idioms**

Some phrases have an overall meaning that cannot be deduced from the meanings of the individual words. A number of such idiomatic phrases have been included in this dictionary, and these have been marked with the label *Id* (idiom).

## An Overview of Kalasha Verb Formations

The verb is the most important part of a sentence, since all the other principal parts of the sentence relate to it. It therefore deserves an overview. In this summary, it is not our purpose to give a thorough linguistic analysis, but rather to present the different Kalasha verb formations in a manner that is easy to understand for the interested layperson. Our coverage is also not exhaustive, but it should give the reader a basic grasp of the ways of expressing the major verbal constructions in Kalasha.

1) **Verb Root.** The verb root is the basic form of the verb, before any prefixes or suffixes (such as different tense endings) are attached. In order to determine what the root of a Kalasha verb is, one can in most cases take the infinitive form of the verb and remove the infinitive ending **-ik** or **-ek** (the latter being, in fact, a merger of **-ik** and the preceding causative suffix **-a**). What is left over is the root of the verb. In the forms listed below under 3), the roots are: **kar**, **matr**, **as**, **nis**, **sawz**, and **d**, respectively. The root carries the core meaning of the verb, whether an action or a state. By “core meaning” we mean such senses as ‘do’, ‘eat’, ‘sleep’, and ‘work’.

2) **Verb Stem.** The verb stem is equal to the verb root for non-causative verbs, while it consists of the verb root plus the causative suffix **-a** in the case of (regular) causative verbs.

3) **Infinitive.** This form consists of two parts, the verb stem and the infinitive suffix **-ik**. In the case of causative verbs, the causative suffix **-a** merges with the infinitive suffix, resulting in the form **-ek**. The infinitive form of the verb can be glossed in English as ‘to do’, ‘to say’, ‘to be’, and so forth, as in the following examples:

<i>kár-ik</i>	‘to do’
<i>mátr-ik</i>	‘to say’
<i>ás-ik</i>	‘to be’
<i>nis-ík</i>	‘to look’
<i>sawz-ék</i>	‘to make’
<i>d-ek</i>	‘to give’

4) **Present Tense.** Two meanings may be expressed by this form: habitual action, and future action. The specific meaning expressed—whether habitual or future—is dependent on the context. Future action is action that has not yet begun, but is proposed or intended, as in “We will plant corn tomorrow.” Habitual action is action that occurs habitually or regularly. An example is the English sentence “The Kalasha raise goats.” The present-tense form has two parts—the verb stem plus the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd-person present-tense suffixes. This is illustrated in the following chart. (These suffixes are slightly different for different verb classes. For a discussion of verb classes, see the section on *Parts of Speech* above.)

<i>a kár-im</i>	‘I do/will do’	<i>ábi kár-ik</i>	‘we do/will do’
<i>tu kár-is</i>	‘you (sg) do/will do’	<i>ábi kár-a</i>	‘you (pl) do/will do’

se kár-*iu* 'he/she does/will do'      te kár-*in* 'they do/will do'

5) **Present Continuous Tense.** This form describes an action or event that is taking place at the present time, as in the English example "He is eating." The Kalasha present continuous consists of the present-tense form discussed in 4) above, plus the continuous auxiliary **day**:

a parím <i>day</i>	'I am going'	ábi parík <i>day</i>	'we are going'
tu parís <i>day</i>	'you (sg) are going'	ábi pará <i>day</i>	'you (pl) are going'
se paríu <i>day</i>	'he/she is going'	te parín <i>day</i>	'they are going'

6) **Past Tense.** This form simply expresses action that has been done some time in the past and which the speaker has actually witnessed. Examples of this in English would be: "he slept", "he ate", or "he went". The form consists of two parts, the verb stem plus a past-tense suffix. However, to verbs belonging to classes 1 and 2 a further part is added, namely a prefix **a-**. (The suffixes vary slightly for each verb class.) An example is seen in the following chart:

a <i>a-páš-ís</i>	'I saw'	ábi <i>a-páš-ími</i>	'we saw'
tu <i>a-páš-í</i>	'you (sg) saw'	ábi <i>a-páš-íli</i>	'you (pl) saw'
se <i>a-páš-aw</i>	'he/she saw'	ábi <i>a-páš-an</i>	'they saw'

Occasionally, the past-tense form is built on the basis of a root that is different from the normal verb root. An example of this is seen in the verb 'to do', the normal root of which is **kar**, while in the past tense the root is **ar**. Where this is the case we have listed the past-tense root in the dictionary. No matter what the root, the past-tense suffixes remain the same for the particular class under focus.

7) **Past Hearsay Tense.** This form describes action that took place in the past, but has merely been heard about, and is now being reported as such. It is used in storytelling, or in relating events that a speaker did not actually witness. Its form is not completely predictable from the root, and for this reason the past hearsay form of many verbs is listed in the dictionary entries of these verbs. The full form of the past hearsay construction consists of two parts—the past hearsay form of the verb, followed by an inflected form of the verb **hik** 'to become' (the latter part is omitted in 3rd-person forms). This is seen in the following examples:

a gáļa him	'I must have gone'	ábi gáļa hik	'we must have gone'
tu gáļa his	'I heard you (sg) went'	ábi gáļa háli	'I heard you (pl) went'
se gáļa	'I heard he/she went'	te gáļa	'I heard they went'

Some further examples of the past hearsay form of the verb are:

húļa	'he/she/they became'	(from hik 'to become')
šiáļa	'it/they were'	(from šik 'to be (inanimate))'
trúna	'it congealed'	(from trúik 'to congeal')
háda	'he/she/they took away'	(from hárik 'to take away')

díta 'he/she/they gave' (from dek 'to give')

A further feature of this verb form is that it can also be used as an adjective, as in the following example:

*trúna*      çhir  
congealed    milk  
'yoghurt'

8) **Perfective Participle I.** This form is used to build the present perfect and past perfect constructions (see 10 and 11 below). It can also be used on its own (without an auxiliary verb), in which case it typically describes a completed action or event that precedes in time the action expressed by the main verb of the sentence. It can normally be glossed in English with the word *having* plus a past participle, as in 'having seen', 'having gone', 'having eaten'. In some contexts the glosses of 'seeing', 'going', 'eating', etc. fit as well. The perfective participle I consists of the verb stem plus the suffix *-i*. Some verbs have a special form of the root which occurs before the suffix, and occasionally a different form of the suffix itself occurs. Below are some examples, both regular and irregular:

pášik	'to see'	>	páš- <i>i</i>	'having seen'
kárik	'to do'	>	ká- <i>i</i>	'having done'
parík	'to go'	>	pá- <i>i</i>	'having gone'
hik	'to become'	>	th- <i>i</i>	'having become'
ásik	'to be'	>	th- <i>i</i>	'having been'
sawzék	'to make'	>	sawzá- <i>i</i>	'having made'
íik	'to come'	>	ít- <i>a</i>	'having come'

9) **Perfective Participle II.** The meaning of this form is similar to that of the perfective participle I ('having seen', 'having gone', 'having eaten', etc.), but it is only used on its own, and does not combine with an auxiliary to form another tense. It is typically formed by adding *-io* to the verb stem, although there are some exceptions. Some examples are:

pášik	'to see'	>	páš- <i>io</i>	'having seen'
kárik	'to do'	>	ká- <i>io</i>	'having done'
parík	'to go'	>	pá- <i>io</i>	'having gone'
hik	'to become'	>	th- <i>io</i>	'having become'
sawzék	'to make'	>	sawzá- <i>io</i>	'having made'
ik	'to come'	>	ít- <i>o</i>	'having come'

10) **Present Perfect.** This form describes an action or event as being complete, and also presents the state following from the action as being relevant at the current time. It can normally be glossed in English with *have* or *has* plus a past participle, as in 'has seen', 'has gone', 'has eaten'. The present perfect consists of the perfective participle I (see 8 above) plus a present-tense form of the

verb **ásik** or **šik** ‘to be’ (the former being used if the subject is animate, the latter if the subject is inanimate). Examples are seen in the following paradigm:

a páši áam	‘I have seen’	ábi páši áik	‘we have seen’
tu páši áas	‘you (sg) have seen’	ábi páši áa	‘you (pl) have seen’
se páši áau	‘he/she has seen’	te páši áan	‘they have seen’

11) **Past Perfect**. This form describes an action or event as being complete, and presents the state following from the action as being relevant at some time in the past. It can normally be glossed in English with *had* plus a past participle, as in ‘had seen’, ‘had gone’, ‘had eaten’. It is composed of the perfective participle I plus a past-tense form of the verb **ásik** or **šik** ‘to be’. Examples include:

a páši áis	‘I had seen’	ábi páši áimi	‘we had seen’
tu páši ái	‘you (sg) had seen’	ábi páši áili	‘you (pl) had seen’
se páši áis	‘he/she had seen’	te páši áini	‘they had seen’

12) **Past Continuous or Habitual**. This form expresses action which was taking place at some time in the past, or which was habitually done in the past. It can normally be glossed in English with phrases such as ‘was doing’ or ‘used to do’. It consists of the verb stem, the suffix **-íman**, and a past-tense form of the verb **ásik** ‘to be’:

a par- <i>íman</i> áis	‘I was going’	ábi par- <i>íman</i> áimi	‘we were going’
tu par- <i>íman</i> ái	‘you (sg) were going’	ábi par- <i>íman</i> áili	‘you (pl) were going’
se par- <i>íman</i> áis	‘he/she was going’	te par- <i>íman</i> áini	‘they were going’

13) **Imperative**. The imperative is used to express a command. There are distinct forms for singular number (when only one person is being addressed) and plural number (when the command is addressed to two or more people). In nearly all cases, the plural form of the imperative is the same as the 2nd-person plural form of the present tense. The singular imperative can take one of several forms.

a) For verbs with roots that end in a vowel, like **žu** ‘eat’ and **pi** ‘drink’, the imperative singular consists simply of the verb root. The plural consists of the root plus **-a**, as in:

žúik	‘to eat’	>	žu!	‘(you sg.) eat!’	žú- <i>a!</i>	‘(you pl.) eat!’
píik	‘to drink’	>	pi!	‘(you sg.) drink!’	pí- <i>a!</i>	‘(you pl.) drink!’

b) Many verbs with roots that end in a consonant attach a suffix **-i** to the root for the singular imperative (and **-a** for the plural imperative), as in:

kár- <i>í!</i>	‘(you sg.) do (it)!’	kár- <i>a!</i>	‘(you pl.) do (it)!’
pár- <i>í!</i>	‘(you sg.) go!’	pár- <i>a!</i>	‘(you pl.) go!’

c) A third group of verbs adds **-as** to the root of the verb for the singular imperative, and **-a** for the plural, as in:

upáç-*as!* ‘(you sg.) open (your eyes)!’      upáç-*a!* ‘(you pl.) open! (your eyes)!’

d) Causative-I verbs attach the ending *-i* to the verb stem to form the singular imperative, and *-a* to form the plural, as in:

sawzék ‘to make’ > sawz-*â-i!* ‘(you sg.) make!’      sawz-*â-a!* ‘(you pl.) make!’

e) Causative-II verbs (a class consisting only of the following three verbs) suffix *-e* to the verb root for the singular, and *-et* for the plural as follows:

dek	‘to give’	>	d- <i>e!</i>	‘(you sg.) give!’	d- <i>et!</i>	‘(you pl.) give!’
tyek	‘to hit’	>	ty- <i>e!</i>	‘(you sg.) hit!’	ty- <i>et!</i>	‘(you pl.) hit!’
dyek	‘to put’	>	dy- <i>e!</i>	‘(you sg.) put!’	dy- <i>et!</i>	‘(you pl.) put!’

14) **Optative (Let-it-be).** This form expresses a weak kind of imperative that permits or allows a certain action or state to occur, or invites it to happen. It is formed by suffixing *-ori* to the present-tense form of the verb:

híu- <i>ori</i>	‘Let it be/happen!’
parín- <i>ori</i>	‘Let them go!’
khodáy khayr káriu- <i>ori</i>	‘May God bless (them)!’

15) **Agent Noun.** This construction turns a verb into a noun that refers to the one who does the action expressed by the verb. It consists of the verb root and the suffix *-aw*:

kárik	‘to do’	>	kar- <i>áw</i>	‘doer’
mátrik	‘to speak’	>	matr- <i>áw</i>	‘speaker’

16) **Possibility.** In order to express uncertainty about the truth of the event described by the verb, the suffix *-tik* can be added to an inflected verb, as in the following examples:

a parím- <i>tik</i>	‘I might go’
se íta áis- <i>tik</i>	‘Perhaps he/she had come’
se íu- <i>tik</i>	‘Maybe he/she will come’

17) **Ability.** This construction expresses ability to carry out the action described by the verb. It consists of the infinitive form of the verb plus an inflected form of the auxiliary verb **bháik** ‘to be able’, as in:

se kárik <i>bháau</i>	‘he/she can do (it).’
a ghõ dyek <i>bháam</i>	‘I can sing.’

18) **Inceptive.** This construction focusses attention on the beginning of an action or event. It consists of three parts—the infinitive form of the verb, followed by the suffix *-as*, followed by an inflected form of the auxiliary **dek** ‘to give’. (In the case of causative verbs, there is no merger of the causative suffix *-a* and the infinitive suffix *-ik*). Some examples are:

se kárik- <i>as del</i>	‘he/she will begin to speak.’
se mon dík- <i>as del day</i>	‘he/she is beginning to speak’
a sawzáik- <i>as dem</i>	‘I will begin to build (it)’

19) **Purpose.** This construction is used to express purpose or intent. It consists of the infinitive of the verb and the suffix **-a**. In the example below, this form is used to express the purpose of going:

se uk ónik- <i>a</i> pai áau	‘he/she has gone to bring water’
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20) **Cessative.** In order to refer to the stopping of an action, the infinitive of the verb can be used in combination with the expression **bas kárik** ‘to stop’. The element **kárik** is inflected, as in the following example:

žuk <i>bas kári!</i>	‘Stop eating!’
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21) **Try-to-do.** This construction presents the action as being attempted. It consists of three parts—the infinitive form of the verb, the suffix **-as**, and the expression **kušúš kárik** ‘to attempt’. The last element, **kárik**, is inflected, as in the following example:

uk píik- <i>as kušúš kári!</i>	‘Try to drink water!’
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22) **Permissive.** This construction describes the action as being permitted or allowed. It consists of four parts—a dative noun phrase or pronoun (referring to the affected person), the verb stem, the suffix **-una**, and an inflected form of the verb **dek** ‘to give’ or **lasék** ‘to release’, as seen in the following examples:

tása kiš kár- <i>una</i> mo <i>de!</i>	‘Don’t let him plow!’
tása kiš kár- <i>una</i> mo <i>lasái!</i>	‘Don’t let him plow!’

23) **Want-to-do.** This construction expresses the desire to do the action referred to by the verb. It consists of four parts—a dative noun phrase or pronoun, the verb stem, the suffix **-alak** and an inflected form of the verb **hik** ‘to become’, as in:

may	kałáša mon	ǰhon- <i>alak</i>	<i>híu day.</i>
to-me	Kalasha language	learn-want	becoming is
‘I want to learn the Kalasha language.’			

24) **Obligatory I.** This construction is used to express the notion of obligation. It consists of four parts— a dative noun phrase or pronoun, the verb stem, the suffix **-eli**, and an inflected form of the verb **hik** ‘to become’, as in:

may	krom	kar- <i>éli</i>	<i>híu</i>
to-me	work	do-obligation	becomes
‘I must work.’			

25) **Obligatory II.** The meaning expressed by this construction is similar to the Obligatory-I construction above, except that the obligation is perhaps a bit weaker. It also consists of three parts—a dative noun phrase or pronoun, the infinitive form of the verb, and the form **baş**, as in the following example:

may        aú        grík    *baş*.  
to me      food      to buy   necessary  
'I need to buy food.'

26) **About-to-do.** As the name suggests, this construction describes an action that is almost ready to be performed. It consists of three parts—the infinitive of the verb, the suffix **-as**, and an inflected form of the verb **hik** 'to become', as in the following example (where **thi áau** is the present perfect form of **hik**):

se ík-*as thi áau.*        'He/she is about to come.'  
(lit: he/she has become coming)

27) **Passive I.** In passive clauses, the participant expressed by the grammatical subject undergoes, rather than initiates, the action described by the verb. The verb or verb phrase in such clauses has a special form to mark it as being passive. In Kalasha there are several ways to do this. The Passive-I construction is one of them. The verb phrase in such constructions consists of three parts—the verb stem, the suffix **-un**, and an inflected form of the verb **parík** 'to go', as seen in the following example:

moč *saprá-un paríu day.*        'Men can be found.'

28) **Passive II.** The Passive-II construction is similar in meaning to Passive I, and consists of three parts—the verb stem, the suffix **-onu** and an inflected form of the verb **hik** 'to become':

*má-onu háwaw*        'It is said.'

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