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Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi: Studies in Balochi Historical Phonology and Vocabulary

Agnes Korn

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Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi Studies in Balochi Historical Phonology and Vocabulary

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zur Erlangung des Grades einer Doktorin der Philosophie
im Fachbereich sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften
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Abbreviations

Grammatical expressions

1sg.	first singular (the other persons are abbreviated accordingly)
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
caus.	causative
cop.	copula
comp.	comparative
dat.	dative
dem.	demonstrative
dim.	diminutive
du.	dual
gen.	genitive
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
ipr.	imperative
itr.	intransitive
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique
part.	participle
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural
postp.	postposition
pref.	prefix
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
suff.	suffix
tr.	transitive

Languages

Ar.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenian
Av.	Avestan
Bal.	Balochi
Br.	Brahui
BSogd.	Buddhist Sogdian
CBal.	Common Balochi
Chor.	Choresmian
CNP	contemporary Standard New Persian of Iran
CTurk.	contemporary Standard Turkish of Turkey
EBal.	Eastern Balochi
EIr.	Eastern Iranian
Engl.	English
Europ.	European
Georg.	Georgian
Germ.	German
Hung.	Hungarian
IE	Indo-European
Ind.	Indic
Ir.	Iranian
IrBal.	Balochi dialects spoken in Iran
It.	Italian
Khot.	Khotanese
Kurd.	Kurdish (Kurmanji)
Lhd.	Lahnda
MBal.	Middle Balochi (reconstructed)
MIr.	Middle Iranian
MP	Middle Persian
MPM	Manichæan Middle Persian
MPZ	Zoroastrian Middle Persian
NInd.	New Indic
NP	New Persian (classical, unless otherwise indicated)
NWIr.	North Western Iranian
OAv.	Old Avestan
OInd.	Old Indic (Vedic, Sanskrit)
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
Orm.	Ormuri

Osset.	Ossetic
Pers.	Persian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
PIr.	Proto-Iranian
Pnj.	Panjabi
Prth.	Parthian
PrthI	Parthian inscriptions
PrthT	Parthian from Turfan
Psht.	Pashto
SBal.	Southern Balochi
SEBal.	Southern and Eastern Balochi
Si.	Sindhi
Sogd.	Sogdian
SWBal.	Southern and Western Balochi
SWIr.	South Western Iranian
Taj.	Tajiki
Turk.	Turkic
Ur.	Urdu
Ved.	Vedic Sanskrit
WBal.	Western Balochi
WIr.	Western Iranian
WMIr.	Western Iranian of the Middle Iranian period
YAv.	Young Avestan
Zaz.	Zazaki

Cover symbols and other signs

- C: any consonant
- K: any plosive
- T: any voiceless stop
- D: any voiced stop
- X: any fricative
- Ø: any voiceless fricative
- H: any PIE laryngeal
- S: any dental sibilant or affricate
- R: any sonorant
- N: any nasal
- L: any liquid

V: any vowel

E: PIE *a,e,o

#: word boundary

+: emendation (word found in another form, but to be read thus)

‡: word (form) the existence of which is not sure

†: non-existing word (form)

○: word not found in EAL (symbol used in III)

Bibliographical abbreviations

ABG	= AHMAD 1985
BMC	= glossary in BARKER/MENGAL 1969/II (pp. 403ff.)
DTB	= glossary in DAMES 1891
EAL	= ELFENBEIN 1990/II
EVM	= ELFENBEIN 1963
EWAia	= MAYRHOFER 1992-2001
FBB	= FARRELL 1990
GCD	= GILBERTSON 1925
GEB	= GEIGER 1890
IEW	= POKORNY 1959
KEWA	= MAYRHOFER 1956-1980
LIV	= RIX (ed.) 2001
Pa	= PASTNER 1978:269ff. (abbreviation used in III 2)
Pe	= PEHRSON 1966:36ff. (abbreviation used in III 2)
Rz	= RZEHAK 1991:185f. (abbreviation used in III 2)
SHG	= SAYAD HASHMI: <i>Sayad Ganj. The First Balochi Dictionary</i> . Karachi 2000

Preface

It is high time that something was done about the orphaned state of Balochi studies.

ELFENBEIN 1990/I:1

In the Introduction to his *Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature*, Josef Elfenbein has outlined the desiderata in Balochi linguistics as follows: there is "no systematic description of the language, no dictionary, no comprehensive description of the dialects". More than ten years later, the situation has changed insofar as a comprehensive Balochi-Balochi dictionary (*Sayad Ganj*) is now available, and a series of workshops and conferences held at Uppsala University has brought to light important new material from a wide range of dialects. However, since most of Elfenbein's statement unfortunately is still true (and will probably continue to be so for some time), any study about the history of the Balochi language as a whole must remain tentative in several aspects. Nevertheless, as the last (also the first and only) systematic treatment of Balochi historical phonology, viz. GEIGER 1890 and 1891, is now more than one hundred years old, one may consider it worthwhile to use the data gathered in the past century to undertake a fresh look at the history of the Balochi language.

The present book is a revised version of my PhD thesis submitted to and defended at the Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe University Frankfurt a.M. in 2003. During the writing of the present study, many teachers, colleagues and friends have kindly extended their much appreciated help to me. The staff of the Department for Comparative Linguistics has supported my work in many ways. Sabir Badalkhan, Carina Jahani, Joachim Matzinger, Gerhard Rammer and Pakzad Yusefian have provided me with data and writings. I am indebted to Georg Buddruss, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Jost Gippert, Christian Rammer, Ralf-Peter Ritter, Lutz Rzehak and Nicholas Sims-Williams, who read previous versions of the present study, drew my attention to language material and references, and saved me from many errors I would otherwise have committed. Special thanks are due to Jost Gippert, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and Nicholas Sims-Williams, who have patiently discussed all sorts of linguistic problems with me, and to Christian Rammer for, among many other things, making the maps in the appendix. Bernice Archer helped with proof-reading, for which I am very grateful. Jost Gippert has accompanied the work on the present study with continuous sympathetic interest in the major and lesser questions that the study of the Balochi language and its history involves. Needless to say, all remaining errors are my own. – I am thinking with grateful memories of the late Jochem Schindler, who kindled in his students the love for historical phonology and taught us to appreciate the beauty of sound laws.

I. Introduction

Balochi belongs to the less intensely studied Modern Iranian languages. It has, however, fascinated those who studied it by its archaic appearance in phonological matters. In spite of the relatively small number of academic works devoted to Balochi linguistics, the language is of great importance both for Iranian studies and for historical linguistics.

Balochi is of particular importance for the study of the history of the Iranian languages since (in contrast to all other modern Iranian languages) it directly reflects the Old Iranian consonants in all positions of the word: "Von allen Dialekten [i.e. Iranian languages] hebt sich das Balütschī durch grosse Ursprünglichkeit glänzend hervor. (...) Das Balütschī repräsentirt also in den wichtigsten Punkten des Consonantismus eine Sprachstufe, die um rund 1500 Jahre hinter der Gegenwart zurückliegt" (GEIGER 1901:417). Although the remarkable archaicity noted by Geiger might be the result of somewhat more complex processes than hitherto assumed (cf. II 2.1.1, IV), Balochi is a key witness for the reconstruction of earlier stages of the Iranian languages for which the evidence is often scarce or difficult to interpret.

Among the contemporary Iranian languages, Balochi occupies an important place due to the comparatively large area where it is spoken and the number of its speakers (cf. I 3). A further interesting point is that the Balochi lexicon as well as its historical phonology reflects the contact with a variety of neighbouring languages. The numerous loanwords are not only of Persian and (through Persian and, in some cases, Urdu) Arabic origin, but a number of them also come from Brahui or Indo-Aryan languages. The latter are supposedly chiefly from Sindhi and Lahnda and, in the recent decades, Urdu (cf. I 1.2.1, 3.3).

It follows that Balochistan is an interesting field for the study of multilingualism with a variety of closely related (Persian, Pashto), not so closely related (Indo-Aryan) and unrelated (Brahui) languages involved. It is also a model case for the study of the complex relationship between tribal / ethnic and language identity (cf. I 2.2).

1. Aim, Method and Technical Questions

1.1 Aim of the present study

The aim of the present work is to contribute to the knowledge of Balochi historical grammar, especially in the field of phonology and lexicology.

It will be seen that with regard to historical phonology, the rules set up by GEIGER 1890 and 1891 are essentially correct insofar as the historical phonology from Old Iranian to the Common Balochi stage (on this concept, cf. I 1.3) is concerned. It is, however, possible today to be more precise concerning quite a number of points. In addition, the developments from Common Balochi into the different dialects could not be treated systematically by Geiger due to lack of data; a treatment of this field will be attempted in II 3.2. Until now, no attempt has been made to distinguish systematically those developments that all Balochi dialects have in common (cf. II 2) from those which seem to be specific to one or some of these (cf. II 3).

As the history of Balochi is closely intertwined with that of Persian and of other Western Iranian languages, it cannot be treated in isolation. In the present work, the Balochi words will be compared to their Persian¹ and Parthian² counterparts throughout wherever these are available. Phenomena of the historical phonology or etymology of Persian, Parthian etc. will also be discussed in passing where appropriate. No attempt is made, however, to compare systematically the Balochi material to languages other than Persian and Parthian, neither is the present book intended as a historical grammar of Persian or Parthian or as an etymological dictionary.

1.2 Methodological questions

Any study of Balochi historical grammar is faced with several methodological problems. These are briefly outlined below, although a solution is not always at hand.³

-
- 1 Persian (Pers.) words will be cited in their New Persian (NP) form (cf. I 1.5.2.4) to give an impression of the synchronic differences and because it is assumed that NP is the Iranian (Ir.) language most readers will be familiar with. In many cases, this form is identical to the Middle Persian (MP) form as found e.g. in MACKENZIE 1986. A note "NP" thus denotes New Persian plus Middle Persian provided that the latter does not differ from the former. Where appropriate and if different from the NP form, the MP word form will also be cited.
 - 2 Parthian (Prth.) plays a particularly important role for the history of Balochi (Bal.) since it is the only North Western Iranian (NWIr.) language attested from Middle Iranian (MlIr.) times. As will be seen, Parthian is not the predecessor of Balochi (nor of any other contemporary Western Iranian (WlIr.) language), but the protolanguage of Balochi is likely to have been quite closely related to it.
 - 3 For the methodological problem of the unevenness of sources, cf. I 1.4.

1.2.1 Loanwords

It goes without saying that a study about historical phonology has to be based on inherited words only and leave all loanwords aside. Now, it is not always obvious which words are to be considered as loanwords. Conversely, it is precisely the study of historical phonology which has to show which words might be genuine and which might not. This task is particularly complicated in cases like Balochi since the language which has exercised the strongest influence, namely Persian, is closely related, and there is not always a straightforward answer to whether a given word is "foreign" (borrowed from Persian) or "genuine" (inherited).⁴

As far as the status of borrowedness or non-borrowedness is concerned, the Balochi lexicon may be said to comprise the following groups of words: first, words which show features typically shown by Bal., but not by Persian words (e.g. *gwāt* "wind" with Old Iranian (OIr.) *uā-* > Bal. *gwā-*, *rōč* "day" with OIr. *-č-* > Bal. *č*). Second, there are Bal. words which have obviously been borrowed since they show a Persian sound change not observed in Balochi (e.g. *bačik(k)* "son" with OIr. *uā-* > NP *bā-*, *rōza* "fasting" with OIr. *-č-* > MP/NP *-z-*).

However, in many words, there is no context in which one of the typically Bal. sound changes would operate and none for the typically Persian ones either. This means that as far as is known so far, the OIr. input would yield the same result in Balochi and Persian (e.g. *nām* "name", *gōš* "ear"). Here, it is definitely and *per se* impossible to determine whether a given word is inherited or borrowed. Such words will be marked with the note "= NP",⁵ indicating that the word may be genuine as well as borrowed.⁶

This group is augmented by those cases where the borrowing process may have made a foreign word identical to an inherited Bal. one. Since, for instance, NP *x* may be rendered by Bal. *k* in a borrowed word (e.g. Bal. *kabar* "news" from NP-Ar. *xabar*, cf.

4 It should be kept in mind that any Persian word may be found in Balochi (much like Arabic (Ar.) words in NP), be it instead of or in addition to an inherited Bal. word.

5 A statement about a Bal. word being borrowed from "NP" is meant to imply that the borrowing may have taken place at any time when the Pers. word form was the one as seen in NP, in many cases thus including MP.

6 The same phenomenon may of course occur with languages other than Persian, e.g. *sun-* "hear" is "= Urdu" in the sense described above. However, as Indic (Ind.) languages are not as closely related to Balochi as Persian, such cases are not as common.

II 1.2.2), the borrowing of e.g. *kargōš* "rabbit" from NP *xargōš* cannot be ruled out. Furthermore, a devoicing of word-final consonants often operates in loanwords (e.g. *kilūt* "key" from NP *kilūd*, cf. II 3.3.1.4), so that e.g. *āzāt* "free" and *mark* "death" may represent borrowed NP *āzād*, *marg*, respectively. At the same time, these words conform to Bal. sound changes and may thus also be inherited. As the assumption of a change effected by the borrowing process is necessary, it will generally be assumed in what follows that words of this kind are inherited unless there is evidence to the contrary.⁷ It should be kept in mind, however, that they may also have been borrowed.

Some cases remain where the material at hand does not allow one to decide whether the given words may be inherited at all. This situation occurs whenever the development of some OIr. sound or combination of sounds into Balochi is not clear since all relevant words are identical with the Persian ones, which means that they may have been borrowed from Persian. For instance, all Bal. examples for OIr. *ṡu* (e.g. *čār* "four", *čil(l)* "forty", cf. p. 120) are identical with the corresponding Pers. words, so that there is no unambiguous evidence about the Balochi outcome: Balochi might show OIr. *ṡu* > *h* as does Persian (in which case each of the examples may still be either genuine or borrowed), or it might show some other result (in which case all examples are loanwords), but there is no way to decide this matter.

In several cases, the only course available is to determine to which of the mentioned groups a given Bal. word belongs and with what sort of probability it might be a loanword or inherited.

1.2.2 Dialects

From a synchronic point of view, there is no such thing as "the Balochi language", but rather a "sometimes bewildering variety of speech forms" (FARRELL 2003:169).⁸ Therefore, it is crucial to determine the variety a given Balochi word belongs to. The problem with assigning a word to some dialect (cf. I 3.1) is that Balochi dialectology is still in its infancy. The mobility of the Balochi speaking people, interdialectal borrowing etc. make the establishing of dialect characteristics difficult (cf. I 3.3).

7 Bal. *panč* "five" is such a case: it is the form expected for Balochi from OIr. *panča*. Since all Bal. numbers are likely to have been borrowed from Persian (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:78), however, one may assume that the word has been borrowed from NP *panj* along with the rest of the numerical system (cf. KORN, frthc. 3).

8 For the corresponding lack of a standard orthography, cf. p. 38.

1.3 The concept of Common Balochi⁹

In an attempt to offer at least a partial solution for some of the problems named above, the concept of Common Balochi (CBal.) is used here. The term is meant to denote the stage of Balochi immediately prior to the splitting into different dialects. From a methodological point, the term has the advantage that it makes explicit which developments are assumed to be attributed to the Balochi dialect group as a whole and which ones should be ascribed to some specific dialect(s).¹⁰

The existence of a Common Balochi stage, inherently probable, is made likely by the fact that it is indeed possible to reconstruct such a stage, that the contemporary varieties may be derived from it by the assumption of changes which are of a kind as may occur in varieties of a language and are in some cases even demonstrable by the presence of unchanged variants. This model is also in line with the historical details as assumed by various authors (cf. I 3.2.1). Common Balochi might be posited for a period prior to the migration of the Baloch into what is presently Pakistani Balochistan, i.e. prior to the contact with Ind. languages.

Consequently, the discussion of Balochi historical phonology is done in two parts: chapter II 2 discusses the development of OIr. sounds into Common Balochi, chapter II 3 presents the phenomena which are likely to have happened in a post-Common Balochi stage.¹¹ In both chapters, a table gives a survey of the sound changes treated.

1.4 Sources¹²

Unfortunately, there are not enough data for any Balochi dialect, and the quality and approach of the existing sources differs markedly. The main sources are the following:

9 The first (and hitherto rather isolated) use of the term "Common Balochi" seems to be MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255, where it is used without further comments.

10 One of the implications of this model is that the fricatives of Eastern Balochi (*f*, *ʃ*, *x*) are secondary developments of Common Balochi *p*, *t*, *k*, and not something preserved (cf. II 2.1.1, 3.2.1.1.1).

11 GEIGER 1891 treats Bal. historical phonology the other way round, i.e. by noting the OIr. sources for each Bal. phoneme. Given the dialectal variation, this seems less useful: Geiger thus has to note the Eastern Bal. (EBal.) phonemes separately, stating which phoneme of the other dialect it derives from. Geiger thus in fact enumerates Southern and Western Bal. (SWBal.) phonemes (assumed to be identical with CBal. phonemes) to describe their sources, and to derive EBal. from them.

12 Cf. also ELFENBEIN 1985:226f. and ROSSI 2000 for a description of sources. For the abbreviations used in table 1, cf. the descriptions on p. 23ff.

source	dialect(s)	material
ABG	varied, marked EBal. element	AŞFAQ AĤMAD 1978
BMC	Pakistani WBal.	own material ¹³
EAL	all dialects	all other sources with the exception of ABG, FBB, SHG
EVM	Turkmenistan WBal.	ZARUBIN 1932, 1949
FBB	Karachi Bal. (mainly SBal.)	own material
DTB	EBal.	own material
GCD	EBal.	Dames, MAYER 1910, own material
GEB	various dialects	LEECH 1838, GLADSTONE 1874, PIERCE 1874, MARSTON 1877, MOCKLER 1877, DAMES 1881, HITTU RAM 1881, LEWIS 1885, three manuscripts from the 19th century
SHG	mainly SBal.	
BUDDRUS 1988	Afghanistan WBal.	own material (one informant)
COLLETT 1983	Omani Balochi (SBal.)	own material
MORGENSTIERNE 1932, 1948 etc.	various dialects	earlier sources (DTB, GCD and those of GEB) and own material
NAWATA 1981	Afghanistan WBal.	own material
SPOONER 1967	Iranian Bal.	own material
several works from the Soviet Union	Turkmenistan WBal.	ZARUBIN 1932, 1949, possibly also additional material
1. Main sources used for the present work and their data bases		

The Eastern Bal. dialects, mainly treated in works by British officers, are based on material collected in the second half of the 19th century, reflect the scientific practice of the time, and are written by non-native speakers; modern sources are basically non-existent. Research on the Western and Southern Bal. dialects, on the other hand, is from

¹³ With respect to the theoretical basis and some dialect material, BMC (also) depends on previous works, e.g. ELFENBEIN 1966 and SPOONER 1967 (cf. ROSSI 1979a:206).

about a century later. Some dialects have not been treated systematically at all, let alone the dialectal differences within each of the three groups. It is thus sometimes difficult to assess whether a given difference in the variants of a certain word is to be attributed to a difference in time or to dialectal differences or even to the scientific method involved.¹⁴ The markedly differing approaches, the uneven quality and the time gap present in the studies on the Balochi dialects amount to a methodological problem, the importance of which will be evident in many of the following pages. Any statement about dialectal features must thus necessarily remain tentative.

The following paragraphs describe those sources on which the present work is mainly based, as well as a number of additional sources.

1.4.1 Balochi dictionaries

ABG: According to the preface of MUMTAZ AHMAD's *Baluchi Glossary* (1985), the source of the book is AŠFAQ AḤMAD et al. (eds.): *Haft-zubānī luġat* (Lahore 1978). Ahmad also states in the preface that the book is based on the Raxšānī dialect. In fact, however, it contains a considerable number of words obviously of Eastern Balochi origin (verbs with infinitives in *-aġ*, words in *-āō* (i.e. */-āβ/*, corresponding to non-Eastern *-āb*, e.g. *xarāō* < *xarāb* "bad"). The book thus presents a selection of words from diverse dialects, with a sizeable portion of Eastern Balochi words. It is thus an important source for Eastern Balochi, for which otherwise modern sources are lacking, and has the additional advantage of being independent from the older sources.¹⁵

14 Note e.g. that the lists making up the majority of the early sources were assembled by asking people "How do you call X in Balochi?", which involves certain methodological problems. The early date of this material along with limited knowledge of Balochi on the part of the authors is a reason for a number of errors (imperfect recording, inadequate transcription, misprints etc.). Since more up-to-date information about the Eastern Bal. dialects is lacking, it is not always possible to be sure whether a given word involves some error.

15 There are numerous errors in this book. However, since the words are given both in Arabic orthography and transcription, it is in most cases possible to find out what is intended.

The criteria for the selection of vocabulary items remain unclear: some words appear in two or even more (dialectal or other) variants without discernible reason; there is a marked redundancy in some fields (e.g. each of the entirely regular numbers 71-79 is noted separately, with the exception of 75 and 78), contrasting with lack of information in others. The latter phenomenon is probably due to chance since AŠFAQ AḤMAD 1978 is based on word counts.

EAL: The *Glossary* (vol. II) of Josef ELFENBEIN's *Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature* (1990) is much more than a glossary for the texts assembled in vol. I of the work. The glossary is rich in material, good to use and draws upon a variety of sources. The author has also incorporated some of the material found in earlier works on Balochi. This means that the glossary is not necessarily an independent testimony about the existence or form of a given word.¹⁶ In many cases, EAL notes the dialect(s) a word belongs to, and these notes will be cited in the following chapters where appropriate.¹⁷

EVM: Josef ELFENBEIN's *Vocabulary of Marw Balochi* (1963) is a glossary for the texts collected by Ivan I. Zarubin in the 1930s (published as ZARUBIN 1932, 1949, cf. I 2.1). It therefore presents the Turkmenistan variety of Western Balochi, which, among other things, is characterised by the absence of *h* (cf. II 3.2.3.1). Unfortunately, misprints and other errors are quite numerous, some of them corrected by corresponding remarks in EAL.¹⁸

GCD: George W. GILBERTSON's *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary* (1925) presents rich material (not only isolated words, but also phrases and sentences) from Eastern Balochi, mainly gathered from one informant. The dictionary draws heavily on MAYER 1910 and on Dames' works (ROSSI 2000:3, pace ELFENBEIN 1985:226).

SHG: *Sayad Ganj* (2000), the material for which was collected by the late SAYAD HĀŠMĪ¹⁹ and prepared for publishing by a body of editors, is the only Balochi-Balochi dictionary, and one of the very few Balochi dictionaries of considerable size. It is used as the main reference in the present work. The dialect is basically Southern Balochi,

16 The existence of a few words in EAL seems somewhat uncertain, e.g. *als* "tear", which otherwise only appears in GEIGER 1891:400, 416, the only source being MARSTON 1877. Similar cases are *kap* "foam", which (apart from EAL) is found only in GEIGER 1890:131, who only cites PIERCE 1874, and *rōt* "river" (cf. p. 270). *gužg* "root" cited in EAL obviously comes from MORGENSTIERNE 1927:95, 1932:46 (who learned it from one informant) and is not found anywhere else.

17 The citation of a dialectal classification of a given word does not necessarily mean that the word is originally from that dialect, and there are a number of cases where one might rather assume some other dialect as "home" of the word or variant in question. Citations like "EAL: Eastern [Balochi]" do not imply an agreement of the present author to the categorisation made in EAL.

18 Note the remark of caution by the author himself (ELFENBEIN 1985:227) that EVM is only to be used together with the texts.

19 On the peculiarities of the orthography as advocated by Sayad Hāšmī, cf. JAHANI 1989 (especially pp. 153ff.), TAN 2000:66.

although material of other dialects is included as well. As the book is intended for Balochi readers, grammatical information (e.g. the past stems of verbs) is not given.

In addition, there is an *English-Biluchi* (sic) *Dictionary* of 1910 by Thomas J.L. MAYER (with a considerable number of errors); much of its material again comes from Dames.

In Pakistani Balochistan, several further lexicographical works were assembled mainly in the 1970s, with the double aim of introducing the Urdu language to speakers of Balochi (and/or Balochi to speakers of Urdu)²⁰ and of saving the heritage.²¹ These sources generally suffer from low printing quality, methodological problems²² and a lack of information necessary for non-native speakers of Balochi.²³

1.4.2 Other sources

BMC: The two-volume *Course in Balochi* (1969) by Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman BARKER and Aqil Khan MENGAL is a description of Pakistani Raxšānī spoken in the region of Noshke (cf. BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxvi).²⁴ It is the most detailed (in fact, the only detailed) description of any single Balochi dialect. The second volume also contains a Balochi-English and English-Balochi glossary. In some cases, BARKER/MENGAL seem to be led by some preconception about what the "pure" Balochi form should look like,²⁵ but, apart from that, BMC is a very valuable, error-free source.

DTB: M. Longworth DAMES' *Text Book of the Balochi Language* (1891), entirely in the Eastern dialect, contains a glossary for the texts.

20 According to ROSSI 2000:4f. the following books belong in this category: °AṬĀ ŠĀD: *Balōčī-nāma* (Lahore 1968), MIṬHĀ XĀN MARRĪ / °AṬĀ ŠĀD: *Urdū-Balōčī luġat* (Lahore 1972) and the already mentioned *Haft-zubānī luġat* edited by AŠFAQ AḤMAD et al.

21 The following works might be classified as belonging to this category (ROSSI 2000:5): MIṬHĀ XĀN MARRĪ / ŠŪRAT XĀN: *Balōčī-Urdū luġāt* (Quetta 1970), NAŠĪR XĀN AḤMADZĀĪ: *Balōčī kārgōnag* (Quetta 1975), Aqil Khan MENGAL: *A Persian-Pahlavi-Balochi Vocabulary I (A-C)* (Quetta 1990).

22 In several cases, the works are based on an Urdu word list with the Balochi equivalents added to the Urdu entries. The mix of dialects (no categorisation made) observed in several works is intentional, at least in some of them (ROSSI 2000:4).

23 Vowels are usually indicated partially at best, grammatical information is entirely lacking.

24 For a review, cf. BUDDRUSS 1971.

25 BARKER/MENGAL's treatment of dialectal variants with *ā* for *ah* (cf. II 3.2.3.3) is likely to be one example in point.

FBB: The extremely useful teach-yourself *Basic Balochi* (1990) by Tim FARRELL presents the Balochi spoken in Karachi, which is the city housing the world's largest community of Baloch (at least 1 million native speakers of Balochi according to FARRELL 2003:169), coming from various regions and speaking different varieties of Balochi. Due to its practical approach, the work has the advantage of presenting a purely synchronic picture of Balochi as found in Karachi nowadays and is not influenced by purism, or by traditional, political or other considerations.

GEB: The etymological glossary *Etymologie des Balūčī* (1890) by Wilhelm GEIGER (as well as his *Lautlehre des Balūčī*, 1891) draws upon material from several sources²⁶ (cf. p. 22), the majority of them describing Eastern dialects, and three manuscripts from the 19th century (cf. p. 33).

Nigel A. COLLETT's *Grammar, Phrase Book and Vocabulary of Baluchi* (1983) treats the Balochi spoken by soldiers in the army of Oman. The dialect which is spoken there is for the most part Kēčī which belongs to the Southern dialect group. It is a very valuable source for that dialect, though the vocabulary (a glossary Balochi-English and English-Balochi is provided on pp. 68-171) is centered heavily on military issues.

The Balochi dialect spoken in Afghanistan in the 1970s and 1980s is treated in Tetsuo NAWATA's *Baluchi* (1981) and Georg BUDDRUS's *Aus dem Leben eines jungen Balutschen, von ihm selbst erzählt* (1988). Both present first-hand material, the second work in the form of a story which is supplemented with a translation, a full glossary and a grammatical appendix.

Data about the Balochi dialects spoken in Iran are found in SPOONER 1967, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 (Lāšārī) and BARANZEHI 2003 (Sarāwānī).²⁷

In addition, there are a number of articles in which Balochi language material can be found, particularly important among these are those by Georg MORGENSTIERNE (especially 1932, 1948) and Josef ELFENBEIN (e.g. 1961, 1963a, 1985).

26 It is fortunate that Geiger lists the sources for every word.

27 Cf. also II 3.2.4.

1.5 Technical details

1.5.1 Citation of Balochi words

In the chapters to follow, Balochi words are given in their Southern/Western (SWBal.) form (if available) unless otherwise indicated. The reasons are that nowadays, the sources for these dialects are much more reliable than those for the Eastern dialect and – above all – that the Eastern Bal. forms can for the most part be derived from the non-Eastern ones by applying the rules given in I 3.1.1 and II 3.2.1.1.1, but not vice-versa.

Balochi words are cited as they appear in SHG unless otherwise indicated. If a word does not appear in SHG, the source(s) where it is found is/are given.²⁸ Verbs are cited by their present stem (e.g. *kan-* "do") or by present stem plus past stem (e.g. *kan-* / *kurt* means: the present stem is *kan-*, the past stem is *kurt*).²⁹

1.5.2 Transcription

1.5.2.1 Transcription of names

The transcription of names in the present work follows the principle of omitting diacritics where the name in question is (more or less) generally known, viz. the names of languages (Balochi, Sindhi etc.), of places (e.g. Karachi) and regions (e.g. Sarawan). Diacritics are used in the case of more specialised and/or technical expressions, i.e. tribes, dialects (e.g. Sarāwānī) and provinces. The names of Baloch and Persian individuals are written with diacritics (e.g. SAYAD HĀŠMĪ) unless "English" variants are used by the persons themselves (for instance, when appearing as the author of an English book, e.g. Aqil Khan MENGAL).

28 This means that words for which no source is given appear in SHG and in most cases also in other sources.

29 A citation by infinitive is less useful since there are differing infinitive formations found in the dialects, one from the present stem (*kan-ag*), the other from the past stem (*kurt-in*).

As the endingless past stem is used in the function of a finite form in SWBal. dialects, it is cited without hyphen (e.g. *kurt*). In Eastern dialects, the past stems of verbs apparently never occur with ending zero, so EBal. past stems will be cited with hyphen (e.g. *kurt^h-*).

1.5.2.2 Phonological symbols

All words cited from Balochi or other languages for which Arabic or another oriental script is used are cited in Latin transcription. The transcription is meant to be mainly phonological (although certain allowances are made to indicate the actual pronunciation)³⁰ and uses the symbols that are commonly met with in writings on (Iranian) historical linguistics. Avestan (Av.), Proto-Iranian (PIr.), Proto-Indo-Iranian (PIIr.) and Proto-Indo-European (PIE) are noted as in HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996.³¹ OIr. diphthongs are noted as *ai*, *au*, PIr. ones *ai̯*, *au̯*.

Balochi vowels will be noted as follows:

short:	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
long: ³²	<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
diphthongs: ³³	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	

Nasal vowels, where they occur (cf. II 3.1.3.3 and II 3.2), are written as *ã* etc. (short nasal vowels) and *ā̃* etc. (long nasal vowels).

30 These are mentioned in footnotes 32, 33 and in II 1.1. In the chapters on the dialects (II 3.2), further deviations of the principle of phonological notation occur. The phonetic correlates of the phonemic opposition were first established systematically by SOKOLOVA 1953. Modern studies in the phonetics of dialects other than Turkmenistan Balochi are lacking. For a survey of phonetical and phonological studies of Balochi, cf. ROSSI 1979a. Some works on Balochi (e.g. BARKER/MENGAL 1969, FARRELL 1990) use a more phonetically oriented notation and note e.g. /a/ as *ə* and /ā/ as *a*, but such an approach does not have advantages for the present work.

31 Note especially Proto-Iranian (PIr.) *ś and *ž and Proto-Indo-Iranian (PIIr.) *ć and *j for the outcome of PIE *k̑ and *g̑, respectively (HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:20, 93, 102 etc.). Syllabic *r* and *l* are noted with circle below (*r̥*, *l̥*) to avoid confusion with retroflex sounds. For additional notes on the citation of Persian, Kurdish and Zazaki, cf. I 1.5.2.3f. below.

32 The marking of the length on *ē* and *ō* is superfluous since (on the phonological level at least) no short counterparts exist, and is thus omitted in many works on Balochi. However, in order to avoid any misunderstandings that might arise when a reader is not aware of the fact that Balochi <e, o> are meant as long, the present author considers it better to mark the length. This notation has the additional advantages of being also the one used for (Middle and most dialects of New) Persian, and of making it possible to note the Bal. phoneme /i/ as *e* in those dialects which pronounce it thus, i.e. in the Balochi dialects of Iran (cf. II 3.2.4.2); this notation is the one used by those who have written on Iranian Balochi (cf. SPOONER 1967, BARANZEHI 2003).

33 The diphthongs may be analysed biphonematically, i.e. as being composed of *a* plus *y*, *w* respectively, but in order to avoid ambiguities of the sort <hawr> which might mean [havr] or [haur], the notation will be *haur* "rain" in the present work.

The transcription of the consonants can be inferred from the table below.

1.5.2.3 Transcription of the Arabic alphabet

The Arabic letters are transcribed as follows:³⁴

Arabic letter	transcription	notes
ا	'	
ب	<i>b</i>	
پ	<i>p</i>	
ت	<i>t</i>	
ط	<i>ṭ</i>	
ث	<i>s, ṣ</i>	Arabic <i>ṭ</i> , Eastern Balochi <i>ʈ</i> , <i>s</i> (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1), otherwise <i>ṣ</i>
ج	<i>ʃ</i>	
چ	<i>č</i>	
ح	<i>ḥ</i>	
خ	<i>x</i>	
د	<i>d</i>	
ڌ	<i>ḍ</i>	
ذ	<i>z, ẓ</i>	Arabic <i>ḍ</i> , Eastern Balochi <i>ð</i> , <i>z</i> (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1), otherwise <i>ẓ</i>
ر	<i>r</i>	
ړ	<i>ṛ</i>	
ز	<i>z</i>	
ژ	<i>ž</i>	
س	<i>s</i>	
ش	<i>š</i>	

34 The transcription *ṭ* etc. for some Ar. consonants is chosen here to avoid confusion with retroflex consonants, which are noted *ṭ* etc. With regard to the use of the symbols *ʈ*, *ð*, *β* etc. for other fricatives, a transcription *ɣ* instead of *g̣* might seem more consistent. However, the notation *g̣* follows the tradition observed for NP and Arabic.

ص	ˤ	
ض	ẓ	Arabic ẓ
ط	ṭ	
ظ	ẓ	
ع	ˁ	
غ	ġ	
ف	f	
ق	q	
ك	k	
گ	g	
ل	l	
م	m	
ن	n	
نٓ	ṇ	
ں	cf. I 1.5.2.2	occurs as part of nasal vowels
و	w	occurs also as part of the diphthong <i>au</i>
ه	h	
ی	y	occurs also as part of the diphthong <i>ai</i>
ع	ē	
ء	ˁ	
2. Transcription of the Arabic alphabet		

The letters which occur only in Arabic loanwords (e.g. ص) are replaced by many Baloch and in many sources (including SHG) by the identically pronounced letters also used in inherited words (e.g. س).³⁵ Since Balochi is predominantly a spoken language, the same policy will be followed in the present work, i.e. a Bal. word containing e.g. ص being transcribed with س unless all available sources cite the word with ص.

³⁵ For the use of the "Arabic letters", cf. II 1.2.1.

1.5.2.4 Additional notes

New **Persian** (NP) words are cited according to STEINGASS 1892 (if not indicated otherwise)³⁶ with modifications to the transcription of consonants (for which cf. the table above) and with the vowels being noted *a, i, u* and *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū*. The reason for choosing the classical rather than the contemporary standard variant is that the transcription used here is meant to be phonological, and the variety of Persian with which Balochi has predominantly been in contact is unlikely to have been the contemporary Standard language of Iran (cf. I 1.2.1, 3.3). Where necessary, the Contemporary New Persian (CNP) is given (with JUNKER/ALAVI 1988 used as a reference), its vowels and diphthongs being *a, e, o; ā, ī, ū; ei, ou*.³⁷ Middle Persian (MP) is cited from, and in the form as transcribed in, MACKENZIE 1986, Manichæan Middle Persian also from BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004.

Parthian (Prth.) is cited from BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004. NP, MP and Prth. verbs are cited in the form e.g. NP *kun-* / *kard* "do" (i.e. present stem *kun-*, past stem *kard*), similar to Balochi verbs (cf. I 1.5.1).

Languages commonly cited in transliteration (e.g. Sogdian, which is as a rule cited from GHARIB 1995) will be found in this form here, too (e.g. Sogd. *wrkr* "leaf").

Kurdish (Kurd.) is from, and cited in the form found in, the dictionary Baran RIZGAR 1993 (i.e. Kurmanji) unless otherwise indicated. Thus, the (historically) long vowels are *a, ê, î, o, û* and the short ones *e, i, u*. Among the consonants, it is to be remembered that *j* stands for /ž/, *c* for /dž/ and *ç* for /č/. Aspirated stops are marked *k'* etc. here (following a more widely observed practice) while Rizgar has *k* for the unaspirated ones.

Zazaki (Zaz.) words are cited according to MALMISANIJ 1992 unless otherwise indicated, i.e. without marking of the aspiration and with the long vowels noted as *a, ê, î, o, û* and the short ones as *e, i, u*. As in Kurdish, *j* is used to denote /ž/, *c* for /dž/ and *ç* for /č/.

36 This also means that a cited NP word figures in STEINGASS 1892 if no additional note is made.

37 In the bibliography, contemporary works published in Iran are given in the CNP transcription.

Ossetic is cited according to ABAEV I-IV. In the transcription of Ossetic and **Georgian**, *ʒ* stands for /dz/ and *ǰ* for /dʒ/.

For reasons similar to those outlined in I 1.5.2.2 for Balochi and since some **New Indic (NInd.) languages** have short counterparts as well, the length of *ē* and *ō* will also be marked. The implosive consonants found in Sindhi are marked as *b* etc., with *d* denoting a retroflex implosive.

1.5.3 Marking of loanwords

In many cases, words will be marked as borrowings from "NP-Ar.". This means that the word comes from Arabic originally, is also used in NP and is likely to have been borrowed into Balochi via NP. It is not meant to exclude the possibility that the word also exists in Urdu and might have come from that side. Similarly, "NP-Turk." denotes Balochi loanwords of Turkic origin also present in NP.³⁸

1.5.4 Cross-references

The notes "see above" and "see below" refer to a point further up or further down in the same chapter. References between chapters are noted as e.g. "cf. II 3.1.2.3.1".

³⁸ For "= NP" as notation for potential NP loanwords, cf. I 1.2.1.

2. History of research on Balochi

The number of works dealing with Balochi linguistics is not great. The following pages provide a survey.³⁹

Research on Balochi started at the end of the 19th century with the British presence in India and the authorities' interest in the languages spoken in their territory. Members of the British colonial institutions collected texts and information about grammar and lexicon. There were hardly any written texts in Balochi⁴⁰ apart from three manuscripts in the British Library which contain texts and a glossary,⁴¹ and isolated translations of parts of the Bible by missionaries (cf. GRIERSON 1921:334).⁴²

As a product of the collecting activities, a series of small handbooks which usually comprised a grammatical sketch, some texts and a glossary were published⁴³ (GLADSTONE 1874, MARSTON 1877, HITTU RAM 1881, DAMES 1881, 1891, 1897, 1907, MAYER 1901 etc.). Then, there are the grammars by PIERCE 1874 and MOCKLER 1877.⁴⁴ GRIERSON's 1921 description of Balochi in the *Linguistic Survey of India* is based on MOCKLER 1877 and DAMES 1891. Dictionaries were published by MAYER (1910) and GILBERTSON (1925) which (together with the glossaries ELFENBEIN 1963 and 1990:II) remain to this day the only dictionaries providing an interface between Balochi and a European language.⁴⁵

39 A comprehensive list of relevant publications is given in ELFENBEIN 1989:642ff. and in GRIERSON 1921:335 (for the older works).

40 Cf. GEIGER 1901:233: "Von einer geschriebenen Literatur kann man kaum sprechen"; ELFENBEIN 1989a:351: "Native writing, apart from a very few isolated productions in the 19th cent., has been largely confined to the 20th cent."

41 For a description of these manuscripts, cf. GEIGER 1889:72f. and ELFENBEIN 1963a; parts of Codex Additional 24048 (called manuscript "C" by Geiger) have been published by GEIGER 1889a, 1901:247f. and ELFENBEIN 1961 and 1983.

42 For a survey of the (oral and written) literature in Balochi, cf. JAHANI 1989:21ff.

43 For a description of the early sources, cf. GEIGER 1889:68ff. and GRIERSON 1921:35. In addition to the handbooks, general ethnographic descriptions with short vocabulary lists appeared, among them LEECH 1838. It seems that LEECH 1838 is the first account about the Balochi language (not distinguishing any dialects yet).

44 GLADSTONE 1874 and MOCKLER 1877 are based on observations made by others while PIERCE 1874 and MARSTON 1877 contain material collected by the authors themselves (ROSSI 2000:1).

45 On Balochi dictionaries, cf. I 1.4.1.

2.1 Linguistic studies

Western European scholarship, attracted by the conservatism of Balochi phonology, focussed on the historical grammar of Balochi. GEIGER published an etymological glossary (1890) and a treatment of historical phonology (1891) and also wrote the article on Balochi in *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie* (1901).

With the exception of PIERCE 1874 and MARSTON 1877, all the works cited so far focus on the Eastern Balochi dialect(s)⁴⁶ since this is the dialect mainly spoken in the area which was under British rule even before 1858. Due to this bias in the early sources, the Eastern dialects occupy a special place in the literature on Balochi dialects.

The next dialect to be studied more closely was the one spoken in the Mary oasis of Turkmenistan (a dialect of the Western group) which was investigated by a number of Soviet scholars: texts were collected (ZARUBIN⁴⁷ 1932 and 1949, SOKOLOVA 1963; ELFENBEIN 1963 is a glossary for these texts), sketches of Bal. grammar and of specific linguistic issues appeared (ZARUBIN 1930, SOKOLOVA 1953, SOKOLOV 1956, FROLOVA 1960, RASTORGUEVA 1966) and ethnographically oriented studies (VINNIKOV, PIKULIN 1959, GAFFERBERG 1969) were written. As phonetic research occupied a prominent place in Soviet linguistics, SOKOLOVA also published a detailed study of Balochi phonetics (1953).⁴⁸ Other studies of Balochi dialects are BARKER/MENGAL 1969 (a course book in the Pakistani dialect of the Western group) and SPOONER 1967 and 1971 (Balochi of Iran) as well as ELFENBEIN 1966 and 1990/II:VIIf. (survey of dialectal features).

The newly collected material fostered new publications on Balochi grammar (MORGENSTIERNE 1948, ROSSI 1979a, ELFENBEIN 1989 and 1989a) and was the basis for a couple of etymological studies (MORGENSTIERNE 1932, ROSSI 1982, ELFENBEIN 1985). The data were also used for new studies of the interrelationship of the Western Iranian languages (MACKENZIE 1961, WINDFUHR 1975, LECOQ 1989, GIPPERT 1996).⁴⁹

46 Cf. I 3.1.

47 Zarubin collected his texts from Balochi speaking Turkmen students who came to Leningrad to pursue their education.

48 For a survey of the different approaches to Balochi phonetics, cf. ROSSI 1979a. It is noteworthy that Balochi was among the first languages to be described in the USSR according to the new methods developed for phonetic and phonemic analysis (ROSSI 1979a:181).

49 The basic work is TEDESCO 1921. For a treatment of the subject, cf. also KORN 2003.

Since the foundation of Pakistan and especially since the establishment of Balochi academies in Karachi (1956) and Quetta (1959) as well as of other bodies which attempt to further research about Balochi and to publish material,⁵⁰ the Baloch in Pakistan have themselves begun to investigate their language, especially in the fields of history and poetry. The resulting publications form a new basis for further research.

2.2 Ethnolinguistics

The study of Balochi involves interesting issues of language contact, socio- and ethnolinguistics. Areal phenomena have played an important role for the Balochi language since the Baloch have always been in close contact with people speaking other languages (cf. I 3.3). It seems that a sizeable proportion of Baloch has always spoken other languages as well.

Furthermore, the relationship between tribal and ethnolinguistic identity is not yet entirely clear (BARTH 1964:13). It was Denys Bray who already in 1911 found that, in a number of cases, the identification of a tribe as e.g. Brahui or Balochi does not correspond to the language spoken by that same tribe: the members of the Raisānī and the Zarakzāī, who identify as Pathan (i.e. belonging to a tribe of Pashto provenance), do not speak Pashto at all but Brahui, and the leading family of the Raisānīs speaks Balochi. Among the Mīrwārī, who are counted among the original Brahui tribes, Bray could hardly find anybody who spoke Brahui, most people using Balochi instead (findings cited by EMENEAU 1980:335). It seems that "many tribes have changed their language, sometimes more than once" (ELFENBEIN 1982:78).

It would probably be more appropriate to say that the languages in question here have been spoken alongside each other, with varying preferences. Bray reported that members of the leading Brahui families spoke Brahui to some family members and Balochi to others (cf. EMENEAU 1980:335). According to ROSSI 1982:166, in a plurilingual society, the choice of a certain language is comparable to that of a certain style in a monolingual society. It would therefore be interesting to inquire in which circumstances (region, social status, kind of work, settled vs. nomadic way of life) each language is spoken in Balochistan.⁵¹

50 Cf. JAHANI 1989:27ff. on the achievements of these institutions.

51 Note that the censuses carried out in Pakistan are not adequate for the linguistic situation (ADDLETON 1986:56): the 1981 census asked only about the main language spoken in every household (sic), with the result that data on bilingualism (let alone knowledge of further languages) were not collected,

Anthropologists have also been attracted by the Baloch and studied the nomadic life, kinship and hierarchy structures, and the relationship with other ethnic groups. Research into Balochi social structure in general has been undertaken by – among others – Fredrik Barth, Carroll Lewin (formerly Pastner), Steven Pastner, Jean and Robert Pehrson, Philip Salzman, Brian Spooner, Fred Scholz, Farhat Sultana, Nina Swidler and Paul Titus.⁵²

and there was complete disregard for the fact that not all persons of a "household" necessarily speak the same "main language". The linguistic results from the 1972 census have not been published due to riots in the province of Sindh. The 1951 and 1961 censuses had asked about the mother tongue of the inhabitants as well as self-assessed fluency in other languages. Add to this the practical difficulties of interviewing people in rural areas, where in many cases the father will answer for the whole family or clan (this phenomenon occurs even in big cities of Turkey, Georg Warning, personal communication), so data on the speech habits of women, children and lower-ranking household members in general may not be as reliable as one might wish.

52 For a bibliography, cf. TITUS 1996:299ff.

3. The Balochi language

The exact number of speakers of Balochi is not known.⁵³ It has been estimated to be 3.5 million (ELFENBEIN 1990/I:2), 4.5 million (JAHANI 1989:93) or between six and seven million (ORYWAL 1982:84). The area in which Balochi speaking people predominantly live stretches (west to east) from eastern Iran to the lower Indus and (north to south) from Mary in Turkmenistan to the Gulf States, the main areas being south-eastern Iran (province of *Sīstān wa Balōčistān*), western Pakistan (province of *Balōčistān*) and southern Afghanistan (provinces *Nīmrūz* and *Hēlmand*).⁵⁴ The status of Balochi is that of a minority language throughout (cf. I 3.3).

Balochi has been described as belonging to the North Western group of Iranian languages,⁵⁵ which means that it shares certain sound changes with (among other languages) Kurdish and Parthian against NP, e.g. *z* from PIE *ǵ^(h) vs. NP *d* (Bal. *zāmāt*, Kurd. *zava* "son-in-law" vs. NP *dāmād*; Bal. *zān-*, Kurd. *zan-* "know" vs. NP *dān-*). On the other hand, Balochi also exhibits some South Western (SWIr.) characteristics.⁵⁶

With regard to phonological matters, Balochi stands out from all other Modern Iranian languages through the (at least seemingly) systematic preservation of Old Iranian

53 Due to a lack of appropriate data, the exact number can only be guessed at. For a discussion of relevant information available, cf. JAHANI 1989:91ff., ORYWAL 1982:83ff.

The difficulty in establishing the number of speakers of Balochi also results from the fact that many (if not most) speakers of Balochi are bilingual or multilingual to a certain degree (usually not counted in official censuses), that the identification of a person as a Baloch need not mean that he/she speaks Balochi, and, conversely, that the identification of a person as a non-Baloch need not mean that he/she does not speak Balochi (cf. I 2.2).

54 Cf. the maps in the appendix. Language-oriented maps of Balochistan are difficult to find. There are some in BARTH 1964:15, SCHOLZ 1996:194 (maps of ethnolinguistic groups in Pakistani Balochistan), JAHANI 1989:235ff. (rates of Balochi speaking population in Pakistan etc.), DUPREE 1973:58 (distribution of ethnic groups in Afghanistan), GRIERSON 1921:327 (Balochi dialects), SPOONER 1971:521, 1989:602f. (toponyms in Balochistan).

Language maps are inherently problematic since they do not take into account that people tend to migrate, that they may speak more than one language and/or dialect, that dialect borders overlap etc. The maps in the appendix are thus meant for general orientation only.

55 Cf. TEDESCO 1921, especially p. 252.

The categorisation of Balochi as an Iranian language seems to have been established in 1842 by Christian Lassen (cf. GEIGER 1889:65).

56 For a survey of the NWIr. and SWIr. features of Balochi and the interpretation of the same in historical terms, cf. KORN 2003. Cf. also IV for more discussion of the issue.

consonants (MACKENZIE 1961:72),⁵⁷ e.g. *āp* "water" (Av. *āp-/ap-*) vs. NP *āb*, Kurd. *av*; *pād* "foot" (Av. *pād-/pad-*) vs. NP *pāy*, Kurd. *pê*; *rōč* "day" (Av. *raočah-*) vs. NP *rōz*, Kurd. *r'oj*.⁵⁸

With regard to grammatical categories, Balochi shows features also seen in some other Modern Western Iranian languages: the verbal system exhibits the dichotomy of present stem (from the old present stems)⁵⁹ and past stem (from the old past participle), e.g. *bar-* / *burt* "take" (NP *bar-* / *burd*), *jan-* / *jat* "hit" (NP *zan-* / *zad*), with an ergative construction in the past tense.⁶⁰ There is no distinction of grammatical gender. The case system varies among the dialects; a four-case system (direct, oblique, object case, genitive) plus vocative may be said to represent the basic system.⁶¹

3.1 Balochi as a group of dialects

The fact that Balochi is spoken in the more remote areas of several states, in none of which it is taught in schools,⁶² and the resultant low level of literacy in Balochi⁶³ account for the existence of several regional varieties. None of these is generally accepted as a standard: "In the nature of things, it would be very surprising if there existed a 'standard Balochi', even as a literary language, and in fact there does not" (ELFENBEIN 1985:226).

Similarly, there is no standard orthography (cf. JAHANI 1989). When Balochi is written at all, it is predominantly the Arabic script in its Urdu (thus in Pakistan, cf. JAHANI 1989) or Pashto (in Afghanistan, cf. RZEHAK 2003) varieties which is used. In addition, "the native orthography, in whatever style of Arabic-derived script employed, has always varied from writer to writer" (ELFENBEIN 1990/I:4). In Turkmenistan, Latin and Cyrillic letters have been used to write Balochi (cf. AXENOV 2000). In Pakistan, sporadic attempts to introduce a Latin orthography for Balochi have not met with success (cf. ELFENBEIN 2000).

57 For a discussion of this point, cf. II 2.1.1 and IV.

58 For the transcription of Bal. and other word forms as used in this study, cf. I 1.5.2.

59 For reflexes of OIr. present stem formations in Balochi, cf. BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ 2003.

60 The ergative constructions found in the Balochi dialects are described in KORN (frthc. 1).

61 For further discussion, cf. KORN (frthc. 1, 2). A morphological sketch will be presented in V 1.

62 The only country where Balochi enjoyed a certain official status – including its use in primary education – was Afghanistan in the years 1980-92 (cf. RZEHAK 2003).

63 The use of Balochi in writing is still extremely restricted, cf. e.g. FARRELL 2000 and TAN 2000.

Apart from dialects proper, the speech of the nomadic and the settled groups also differs (cf. also II 3.2.4). It seems that this is not only due to a differing way of life, but also to the different regions the groups have come from (SPOONER 1967:56). At the same time, the fact that many Baloch – in addition to the periodic nomadic wanderings – have migrated both within and outside of the Balochi speaking area makes it next to impossible to establish strict dialect borders since speakers of different speech forms have continually interacted.⁶⁴ Words have been borrowed from one dialect to another and back again, and hypercorrect forms have come into existence when the speakers wish to express their (real or assumed) membership in a certain dialect community.

3.1.1 Isoglosses of Eastern Balochi vs. the other dialects

According to GEIGER 1889:71, MARSTON 1877 was the first to note the existence of at least two markedly differing dialects or rather (as already noticed by GEIGER 1889) groups of dialects, and to establish the most important dialectal differences.⁶⁵

The features which set out the Eastern dialects from the remaining ones were described by GEIGER 1889:75 and by numerous authors in later times (e.g. GRIERSON 1921:337, JAHANI 1989:79ff.).⁶⁶

So far, most studies about Balochi have treated the non-Eastern dialect forms as the Balochi ones proper, thereby implying that it is basically the Eastern dialect which deviates from the rest and that the non-Eastern dialects more or less represent the common Balochi variety. This approach has been criticised by ROSSI 1979a:179 who stresses that the dialects have to be treated as systems of equal rights.

64 Different varieties of Balochi may exist side by side in the same area or town, overlapping and overlaid by different patterns of influences from neighbouring languages (FARRELL 2003:169). For instance, FARRELL 2003:172 notes that many Baloch have come to Karachi from Iran, which makes the Persian element stronger than might be suspected for a Balochi dialect in that region.

65 Cf. also map 3.

66 ROSSI 1979a:163ff. surveys the history of the study of the dialectal differences. For a detailed discussion of Eastern Bal. features cf. II 3.2.1.1, for a comparison of the phonological system of the dialects cf. II 1.1.2.

Non-Eastern dialects	Eastern dialects	
	word-initial and postconsonantal position	postvocalic position
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p^h, t^h, k^h</i> (aspirated)	<i>f, θ, x</i> (fricatives)
<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g</i> (no change)	<i>β, δ, γ</i> (fricatives)
<i>č, ĵ</i>	<i>č^h</i> (aspirated), <i>ĵ</i> (no change)	<i>š, ž</i> (sibilants)
<i>w</i>	<i>w^h</i> (aspirated) ⁶⁷	<i>w</i> (no change)

3. Isoglosses of Eastern vs. non-Eastern Bal. dialects

Opinions vary as to the degree of aspiration⁶⁸ of word-initial voiceless stops (and *č, w*) and therefore to the degree of difference with regard to the articulation of word-initial voiceless stops in the different dialects.⁶⁹ In any case, the aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops is phonologically irrelevant since there is no opposition to unaspirated stops (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255f.). The other differences, however, do affect the phonemic system: first, OIr. *č, ĵ* yield the same result as OIr. *š, ž*, and, second, through the adoption of a massive number of loanwords, the fricatives attain phonological status.⁷⁰

3.1.2 Survey of dialect groupings

Right from the beginning of Balochi linguistics, it was clear that there are more dialectal differences than those described in the table above. The number of dialects / dialect groups assumed and the terms for these have differed to some extent. Elfenbein

67 *w^h* is only assumed by some authors, cf. II 1.1.2.2, 3.2.1.1.1.

68 Note that aspiration is unfortunately not marked consistently in the sources.

GEIGER 1889:75, 1891:403ff. concludes from his sources a marked difference between aspirated stops in the Eastern dialects and unaspirated ones in the others (with the aspiration of *č^h* being less marked and therefore less consistently noted and the aspiration of *w^h* only found in some sources, cf. GEIGER 1891:413). According to MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255, aspiration of voiceless stops is general in Eastern Balochi whereas it is at least occasionally heard in the other dialects.

69 Aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops occurs in other dialects as well (cf. II 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1); statements (e.g. SCHMITT 2000:82) about the exclusive existence of aspirates in Eastern Balochi are not correct.

70 It is hard to see how MORGENSTIERNE could have the impression (1948:256) that the coalescence of *č* and *š* to *š* and of *ĵ* and *ž* to *ž* does not lead "to any disturbance of the phonemic system".

For more discussion of these points, cf. II 1.1.2.2.

assumes six dialects, with the difference between the Eastern dialects (in his terminology "Eastern Hill Balochi") and the other dialects being the most marked one. In more recent times, it has been found useful to assume three major dialect groups and to ascribe the subdialects to one of these.⁷¹ The following table shows the dialect groupings as assumed in selected works by some important authors.⁷²

GEIGER 1901:232	Southern (Makrānī):		Northern:
	Eastern group	Western group	Northern, Southern group
GRIERSON 1921:329	Western (Makrānī)		Eastern ⁷³
ELFENBEIN ⁷⁴	Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, Coastal, Kēčī, Lāšārī		Eastern Hill Balochi
JAHANI 1989:74 ⁷⁵	Western:		Eastern
	Raxšānī ⁷⁶	Makrānī ⁷⁷	
JAHANI 2000	Western	Southern	Eastern
4. Balochi dialect groups as advocated by different authors			

In this study, the dialect picture as assumed by JAHANI 2000, i.e. the three main dialect groups Western (WBal.), Southern (SBal.) and Eastern (EBal.) Balochi, will be adopted.

71 The possibility of subdialects being transitory ones between two of the groups remains.

72 For a survey of the evolution of Balochi dialectal groupings, cf. also JAHANI 1989:67ff. and FILIPPONE 1996:10ff.

73 Since GRIERSON 1921, the terms Western and Eastern Balochi have replaced "Northern" and "Southern".

In the part presenting sample texts, GRIERSON (1921:364ff.) notes dialectal differences within his two major groups. The subdivision given by Bray and quoted by GRIERSON 1921:385f. rests on questionable evidence, however: the opposition *pis*, *mās* "father, mother" etc. vs. *pit*, *māt* is due to a specific phenomenon (cf. II 2.1.2.4, 3.2.3.1), and the remaining two examples only show the use of a NP loanword in one and of the genuine word in the other dialect.

74 This dialect division is assumed by ELFENBEIN 1989:636f. and 1990/II. Earlier dialect divisions (in ELFENBEIN 1966) are considered as needing revision by ELFENBEIN 1989a:361.

75 This division of the Balochi dialects has probably been motivated by BARKER/MENGAL 1969/II:1ff. The first work which consistently applies a three-fold division of Balochi dialects and uses the terms Eastern, Southern and Western seems to be CARLETON 1987.

76 The dialects grouped here correspond to Elfenbein's Raxšānī and Sarāwānī. Note that what Elfenbein terms Sarāwānī differs from other descriptions of Sarāwānī (cf. II 3.2.4).

77 Elfenbein's Coastal, Kēčī and Lāšārī dialects belong here. For Lāšārī, cf. II 3.2.4.

The topic of mutual understandability of the dialects, although a problematic concept,⁷⁸ has been discussed by the majority of those who have written on Balochi, and markedly differing opinions have been expressed. In the earliest writings (e.g. GEIGER 1901:232, based on DAMES 1881:1), the impression was that Eastern Balochi is not understood by speakers of the other dialects and vice-versa.⁷⁹ Later on, it was thought that the differences are not marked enough to prevent communication (DAMES 1913:659, GILBERTSON 1923:7), and less important than the ones between certain Pashto dialects (MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:10, stressing the "unity of the language from Merw to Karachi"). In more recent times, evidence has again suggested that interdialectal communication is not as easy as earlier writers had thought: Neil and Valerie Carleton (cf. JAHANI 1989:72) did some intelligibility testing in the 1980s and found that "the greatest barriers to communication exist between the Eastern dialect group and the other dialects", and "there are significant comprehension difficulties at the first hearing of speech in the other dialect" even between Western and Southern Balochi. JAHANI (1989:75) found that speakers with good educational background and travelling experience understand other people's Southern or Western Balochi, but speakers of the same dialect with lack of experience do not. Some Baloch also underestimate dialectal differences because they do not have enough experience with speakers of other dialects⁸⁰ and sometimes also for political reasons.

Dialectal differences seem to have become more marked in recent times, due to the growing influence of the educational systems of the respective states and the increased access to mass media. Language contact with the national languages has changed the Balochi dialects spoken in the respective states to a degree that mutual understanding becomes even more difficult than before. On the other hand, it is to be expected that the increased (though still limited) production of written material, cassettes, videos etc. and communication via mailing lists and internet will bring more and more Baloch into contact with other dialects, including those who do not have the opportunity to travel.

78 The ability to understand another person's dialect depends very much on, among other things, that person's experience with the other dialect and with dialects in general (cf. also JAHANI 1989:75).

79 GEIGER 1989:89f. and 1901:232 stresses that the differences making mutual intelligibility impossible are to be attributed to the lexical level as well as to phonological matters. In fact, Ind. loanwords do occur in all dialects of Balochi, including those spoken in Turkmenistan today, but their share in the lexicon differs significantly among the dialects.

80 For instance, Sabir Badalkhan (originally from Turbat, Pakistani Balochistan) noted when meeting Iranian Baloch at a symposium in Uppsala 2000 that dialectal differences are more marked than he had thought.

3.2 The Baloch as an ethnolinguistic group

Although it cannot be taken for granted that a given Baloch speaks Balochi nor that everyone speaking Balochi considers him-/herself a Baloch (cf. I 2.2), a short survey on the history and use of the term *balōč* as an ethnonym will be undertaken here.

3.2.1 The Baloch in early sources⁸¹

The earliest documents for the term *balōč* are Arabic sources. The historiographers al-Balādūrī (9th century AD) and at-Ṭabarī (10th century) treat the Arab conquest of Kirman in AD 645; al-Maš'ūdī, al-Istaxrī and Ibn Ḥauqal (all 10th century) supply geographical information. These sources say that at the time of the Arabic conquest,⁸² the mountains of Kirman were inhabited by people called *kūj* (also *qufš* or *qufj*) and *balūj* / *balūs*.⁸³ During the lifetime of the Arabic writers, the *kūj* / *qufš* and *balūs* were still living in Kirman, and the sources give descriptions of their life (summaries in ORYWAL 1982:54ff.).

In Persian sources, the terms *balōč* is found, often together with the term *kōč*. The Persian epic *Šāhnāma* is of particular importance:⁸⁴ the poet Firdausī mentions groups of *balōč* in Xorasan and Sistan⁸⁵ at the time he was writing (ca. AD 1000). The *balōč* are described as serving in the army of Kai Xusrau (i.e. Kyros II, 6th century BC) which was allegedly composed of diverse groups inhabiting Gilan at that time. Then, the *balōč* (together with other groups) reportedly revolted against Ardašīr Bābākān (3rd century AD) and Xusrau Anōšērwan (6th century AD). The battles of the latter are likely to have taken place in Gilan and Azarbaijan, so that it has been assumed that the Baloch lived in the Caspian region in pre-Islamic times.⁸⁶

81 For the data discussed in this subchapter, cf. DAMES 1904:26ff., ORYWAL 1982:51ff., ELFENBEIN 1989a:350, SPOONER 1989:606f., 609.

82 It has to be kept in mind that this information was noted down 300 years after the events took place (ORYWAL 1982:54).

83 The substitution of *š* for Iranian *č* is common in Semitic, especially in Arabic, sources (HENNING 1958:60³).

84 For discussion of relevant *Šāhnāma* passages, cf. BOYAJIAN 2003.

85 The presence of a larger number of Baloch in Sistan at that time is rather to be doubted (ORYWAL 1982:57).

86 Note that this fits well with the classification of Balochi as a North Western Iranian language. The Balochi language may thus have come to its present area by the way that has generally been assumed (see below).

It is far from sure whether the term *balōč* in the sources named above does designate the ancestors of the present-day Baloch, i.e. whether the term is an ethnonym of some sort at all, since it is probable that it was used (synonymous with *kōč*) in the meaning "bandits, robbers, vagabonds" (ELFENBEIN 1989a:350).⁸⁷

In spite of the doubts involved, the following setting has generally been assumed with due caution since DAMES (1904:26ff.): the Baloch could have lived in the Caspian region in pre-Islamic times, from where they might have been driven south by Xusrau Anōšērwan (6th century AD). At the time of the Arab conquest (i.e. in the 7th century AD), they inhabited the Kirman region. The conquest of Kirman by the Seljuks under Toğril Bek (ca. AD 1045) might have been the reason for the eastward migration into what is nowadays the Iranian province of Sīstān wa Balūčīstān.

In contrast to this, the Baloch native tradition from the Daptar Šā'irī⁸⁸ has it that they are of Arab origin and descendants of Mīr Ḥamza (the uncle of the prophet, s.a.s.), that they came from Aleppo, fought in the battle of Karbalā' on the side of 'Alī (a.s.)⁸⁹ and, owing to the defeat in that battle, migrated to the east. It is to be assumed that this part of the tradition is of a legendary character and has the function of establishing the Baloch as Muslims of the first rank.⁹⁰

With regard to later times, however, the Daptar Šā'irī might be (and has been) taken as a historical source. It is said that the Baloch were living in Sistan in the 12th century. At the beginning of the 13th century, they reportedly left for Sindh, probably due to the invasion of Jingiz Khan.⁹¹ It seems that today's Balochi settlements in Sistan are the

87 SPOONER (1989:607) assumes that, at the time the *balōč* were living in Kirman, the term was used by the settled population for (potentially threatening) tribal communities (note that in some parts of Iranian Balochistan this is the meaning of *balōč* even nowadays). The Baloch probably shared no feeling of common ethnicity yet, but, in the course of time, they came to be the "nomads/bandits par excellence" of the region and took over the name given to them. Other tribal communities of the area might have been grouped – or grouped themselves – with them and taken over the language.

88 The historical epics of the Baloch have been handed down orally under the title of Daptar Šā'irī. The poems were first collected and edited by DAMES 1907.

89 The contrast with the fact that nowadays most Baloch are Sunnis is interesting. However, Ibn Ḥauqal (see above) reports that the *balōč* are of Shia faith (ORYWAL 1982:52, 55).

90 It is indeed possible, though, that some groups of Arab origin have been absorbed into the population that became known as Baloch (SPOONER 1989:609).

91 For the history of the Baloch in later times, cf. DAMES 1904:36ff., ORYWAL 1982:61ff., SPOONER 1989:609ff.

result of reverse migrations of a later date (ELFENBEIN 1966:28), perhaps in the 16th century. The Baloch found in Turkmenistan nowadays are descendants of groups that came there from Afghanistan and the border regions of Iran only at the end of the 19th century and in the 1920s and 1930s (cf. AXENOV 2000:71 and MOSHKALO 2000).

3.2.2 Etymologies of the term *balōč*

The etymology of the word *balōč* is not clear yet, although a number of suggestions have been made, which will be outlined here.

Native popular etymologies include the derivation of *balōč* from:⁹²

- **bad-lōg* (etymology used by the Indians): *bad* "bad" (NP, also used in Urdu and Bal.) + *lōg* "people" (Urdu, also used in Bal.);
- **bar-lūč* (etymology used by the Baloch⁹³): *bar* "desert" (NP) + *lūč* "naked";⁹⁴

92 Cf. DAMES 1904:21.

For the etymologies of words which are discussed in other chapters, cf. the index in V 2.

93 The legend has it that the forefather of the Baloch, a son of Mīr Ḥamza and a *parī*, was found abandoned in the wilderness (DAMES 1904:21).

94 Bal. *lūč* seems not to have been treated etymologically so far (the same applies to its possible cognates). The second Bal. word for "naked" is *luč(č)* which might be suspected of being a loanword because of its final geminate (cf. II 3.3.1.5). NP has *luxt*, *lūt* and (in older dictionaries, e.g. in 19th century *Ġiyāṣ-ul-luġāt*) *lūč*, Tajiki has *luxt* and *luč*.

Pashto *lūc* and *ləc* have obviously been borrowed from *lūč*, *luč* (the latter probably from Taj.) respectively, since OIr. *č* /V_ gives Pashto *j* (e.g. *wraj* vs. Bal. *rōč* "day", cf. GEIGER 1893:212), and *c* is often substituted for *č* of loanwords when in word-final position (e.g. *balōc* for *balōč*); word-internal *č* in loanwords is preserved as such (e.g. *balōčistān*). NP *lūč* and Taj. *luč* (note that Taj. /*u*/ represents MP /*u*/ and /*ū*/; Taj. *ū* is from MP *ō*, cf. RZEHAČ 1999:5¹) cannot be genuine either (OIr. *č* /V_ gives *z*, e.g. *rōz* "day", HÜBSCHMANN 1895:225).

On the other hand, Urdu *luč* "bare, naked" is the only word in sight which comes near to having an etymology, since there are cognates in all branches of NInd. (cf. TURNER 1966:643b) pointing to an albeit unattested OInd. **lucca-* "defective" (the derivation from OInd. *tucc^hyá-* "empty" assumed by PLATTS 1894:953 is certainly wrong). As long as there is no better explanation, one might assume that Urdu *luč* has been borrowed into Bal. (*luč(č)*), as GILBERSTON 1925:787 assumes, and Persian; Taj. *luč* could then represent old /*u*/ and thus preserve a variant which has otherwise been lost in NP. Through reinterpretation of Taj. *luč*, i.e. of the /*u*/ as *ū*, or maybe rather through some sort of distortion due to taboo, the variant NP *lūč* might have come about. Bal. *lūč* might be due to the same phenomenon or have been borrowed from NP as ELFENBEIN 1990/II:89 assumes.

The relationship (if any) to NP *lūt* (note also Kurd. *r'ût*) and *luxt*, all "naked", is not clear.

- **bē-lūč*: *bē* "without"⁹⁵ + *lūč* "naked";
- **bad-rōč* (etymology probably used by some neighbours of the Baloch⁹⁶): *bad* "bad" + *rōč* "day".

The explanations advanced by scholars are the following:

An etymology connecting *balōč* to OInd. *mlecc^há-* "ununderstandable speech; barbar" was suggested by several authors, and soon dismissed by others (cf. DAMES 1904:21). Apart from phonological problems, it was stated that *mlecc^há-* has never been used for any specific group of people living to the west of the Indus, but denotes "barbarians" in general.⁹⁷

A connection of *balōč* with Av. *barəzah-* "height"⁹⁸ is tempting and has been assumed e.g. by Herzfeld (cf. FRYE 1961:47), who further assumes that the rest of the word goes back to **uāčīia-*, thus allegedly meaning "shouting loudly". The Persian sound law involved here is that PIE **rǵ^(h)* > MP *l*. The NP result of PIr. **ard* (PIE **-erǵ^(h)* etc.) is *āl*, however,⁹⁹ so that one would expect †*bāl-* here, not **bal-*, and **č(i)ṁ* is likely to yield *š* both in NP and Balochi (cf. II 2.2.2.3).

A connection with *Gedrosia* (name of an eastern Iranian landscape in Greek sources) appears to have been first suggested by Mockler (via **bad-rōš*, cf. DAMES 1904:21). BAILEY 1973:586f. advances the "purely speculative" idea of a protoform **uādra-uaṭ-(č)ī-* "[land] having water [channels]". This form is supposed to give *Gedrosia* / *Gadrosia* by application of one set of sound laws on the one hand, and, via **baḍlaṭ-čī-*, *balōč* on the other.

95 *bē* may be derived from PIE **b^hē* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a:185f., cf. p. 139) which implies that the word need not be a NP downword.

96 This popular etymology is also employed as a proverb: "*balōč – badrōč*". A person X may say that to a person Y if X has inadvertently done something which harms the interests of Y; the meaning is something like "there is no use in us Baloch" (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication). The saying is parallel to the Turkish expression *Türk iş* (lit.: "Turkish work") which is "used [by Turks] in self-disparagement when something goes wrong" (LEWIS 1967:44).

97 DAMES himself thinks (1904:21) that the name is equivalent to NP *balōč* which means "cockscrobe, crest", and was used as a nickname first. This leaves the question of the etymology open, however.

98 For the zero grade formation (Bal. *burz* "high", NP *buland*, Av. *barəzaṅt-*), cf. p. 97, 145.

99 Examples include *bālā* "height", *bāliš* "cushion" (Av. *barəziš*), cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:220f., 260.

Although this solution seems very attractive, several problems are involved here which are liable to render the etymology highly unlikely. First, the form * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{dra-}\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{(}\check{\text{c}}\text{)}\text{i-}$ is maybe not a good formation: in spite of Bailey's claim of * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{dra-}$ being a "likely" derivative of Av. *vadi-* "water channel", it seems in fact rather implausible that a stem in *-i-* might have a derivative (of the same meaning) with *-ra-* replacing *-i-*.¹⁰⁰

Then, Bailey's assumption of * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{dra-}$ being "replaced by * $\text{g}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{dra-}$ " is faced with the problem that there seems to be no WIr. idiom which would show a change * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-} > \text{g}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-}$. In Balochi, PIr. * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-}$ gives *gwa-* (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1). Furthermore, there seems to be no parallel for * $\text{dr} > *{\delta}l > l$.¹⁰¹

Moreover, Bailey's explanation seems difficult to bring in line with historical data: the term *balōč* is used in the *Šāhnāma* for a group of people who are hostile to several Persian kings up to the 6th century AD (cf. I 3.2.1). Although it is not clear whether *balōč* is meant in any ethnic or linguistic sense, it would seem that, whatever its meaning at that time, the term *balōč* in the *Šāhnāma* is the same word as the term *balōč* used today, and the same applies to the term *balūš* in Arab sources (see above). On the other hand, the term *Gedrosia* / *Gadrosia* is found in Greek sources from Strabon's times. So if any "*balōč*" were present in the Caspian region at the time of Xusraw Anūšīrvān and in Kirman some centuries later – a scenario suggested both by the early sources (see above) and by the status of Balochi as a North Western Iranian language –, it is difficult to see how they could have acquired their name from a country which has been called *Gedrosia* at least for 2000 years. It seems next to impossible that the term *balōč* originated in Balochistan, came to the Caspian region and later went back to Balochistan. Indeed, it would seem that the term *Gedrosia* cannot be related to the term *balōč*.¹⁰²

The etymology of the term *balōč* thus remains an open question.

100 A derivative * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{dra-}$ from PIE * $\text{u}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{dor-} / *{\text{u}}\text{dn-}$ "water" is not likely either.

101 It is not certain either whether * $\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ may yield Bal. *-čī*. For further etymologies of *Gedrosia* (even less plausible than the ones cited above), cf. FRYE 1961:47.

102 It is likewise difficult to see how the statement by ELFENBEIN 1989a:350 about the Baloch having "taken their present name from the country in which they finally settled" might be brought in line with the historical data and early sources.

3.3 Balochi as a contact language

The status of Balochi as a minority and unofficial language (cf. I 3.1) means that it has always been used in only certain spheres, some other language(s) being used as a medium of interregional communication, for official, educational, scientific and other purposes,¹⁰³ with the result that most speakers of Balochi have – at least to a certain degree – probably always spoken other languages as well. With increasing school attendance and the use of mass media even in the more remote areas of Balochistan, the respective official languages Persian (Iran), Sindhi and Urdu (Pakistan), Dari and Pashto (Afghanistan),¹⁰⁴ Russian and Turkmen (Turkmenistan) have made their influence felt much more than ever before.

The languages which have influenced Balochi are, in the first place, those which have served as a medium for interregional communication and for official purposes. This function has been filled by Persian for the greater part of the history of the Balochi language (which explains the paramount importance of the diverse stages of Persian for Balochi, cf. I 1.2.1), and, for some centuries (cf. I 3.2.1), by Indic languages (Sindhi/Lahnda and probably others, in modern times increasingly Urdu).¹⁰⁵ In certain parts of Afghanistan and (increasingly in recent decades) Pakistan, Pashto has played an important role as well.¹⁰⁶

103 This situation amounts to a significant threat for the survival of Balochi, cf. FARRELL 2000.

104 Cf. RZEHAK 2003. At the moment, the influence of Persian is increasing (at the expense of Dari) in the province of Nimruz, where most Afghan Baloch are living, as Iranian television is available nearly everywhere (whereas Afghanistan television is broadcast for only a few hours per day). The availability of Persian television has significant effects on Afghanistan Balochi (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication). The Afghanistan Balochi dialect as described by NAWATA 1981, BUDDRUSS 1988 and others is still in use among Afghan refugees living in Iran (Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, personal communication).

105 For example, education in most parts of the province of Sindh, including villages around Karachi which are currently becoming suburbs of the city, is in Sindhi. In the more central parts of Karachi, it has been in Urdu for some time, with the result that nowadays the Balochi spoken in Karachi is in the first instance influenced by Urdu, while some 30 years ago, Sindhi would have played the most important role (FARRELL 2003:172).

106 For the relative status of Pashto and Balochi in Pakistan, especially in Quetta, cf. ARCHER 2003 and TITUS 2003. Whereas traditionally, due to sociological factors described e.g. by BARTH 1964, assimilation of Pashtuns into Balochi tribes (which, in the long run, might lead to the members' use of Balochi rather than Pashto) was a common phenomenon, the immigration of large numbers of refugees from Afghanistan has caused an increase in the relative importance of Pashto, such that Pashto has become the dominant language e.g. in the Quetta bazaar (TITUS 2003:234).

For a considerable time, Balochi has also been in contact with the Dravidian language Brahui (cf. I 2.2) and has influenced the latter in many aspects (see below). Due to the lower prestige of Brahui,¹⁰⁷ its influence on Balochi has not been very strong.

Additional languages with which Balochi has been in contact include Arabic as well as African¹⁰⁸ and European languages (Portuguese and, in recent times, English).

The bilingualism which has probably been the rule rather than the exception for most speakers of Balochi throughout its history has caused the influx of a massive number of loanwords into the Balochi language.¹⁰⁹ As a result, the Balochi vocabulary is composed of layers from diverse sources, with the importance of the layers varying from (sub)dialect to (sub)dialect, but also according to other factors. Some selected fields of the lexicon will be shown in chapter III to give an impression of the variability of the Balochi lexicon and of the sources from which it draws.

Generally speaking, there is an enormous quantity of Persian loanwords from different periods, a considerable number of words from various Modern Indic languages and quite a number from other languages. Contrary to what one might assume, it is not only the Eastern dialects of Balochi which show Indic elements and the Western ones which have incorporated Persian elements; rather all Balochi dialects have been influenced by Persian **and** by Indic languages to a remarkable, albeit somewhat varying, degree.¹¹⁰

107 It is noteworthy that although Brahui was the language of the leading families in the Kalat State, it has been considered inferior to Balochi by the speakers themselves according to all those who have reported on the relationship of Balochi and Brahui (cf. e.g. GEIGER 1889:66, DAMES 1913:658, ELFENBEIN 1982:79) and also according to recent observations in Iranian Balochistan (by Vahe Boyajian in 2000, by myself in January 2005). It goes without saying that the negative opinion of the speakers about their language lessens the chances of its survival. In some parts of Pakistan, the situation might be better today, however, and academic institutions promoting research on Brahui have been established.

108 One might assume that the languages spoken by people brought to the Makran coast as slaves have also left their traces in Balochi, but the evidence is scarce (FARRELL 2003:169, 183). Note, however, the remark by SULTANA 1996:50⁴ that spiritual healers in Makran speak "a mix of Swahili and Balochi".

109 For methodological problems involved here, cf. I 1.2.1.

110 Thus, statements to the effect that "the northern [dialect]" (i.e. Eastern Balochi) has been influenced by Sindhi and "the southern [one, i.e. the other dialects] by Persian" (FRYE 1961:47) are not correct, as shall be seen throughout this work.

The Persian loanwords are unlikely to have been borrowed from the standard variety of the language as spoken in Tehran today (and noted in the Persian dictionaries), but rather from the varieties spoken by those living close to or together with the Baloch. Indeed, it has been noted that Persian words found in Balochi often do not show the standard Persian meanings, but rather the ones they have in Dari or other dialects (SPOONER 1967:53, RZEHAK 2003:264f.).

It is not entirely clear from which language the Ind. words which are found in Balochi have been taken, which is in part due to the imperfect knowledge about the languages spoken in the relevant parts of Pakistan.¹¹¹ It has generally been assumed that the older loanwords are from Sindhi/Lahnda¹¹² and the more recent ones increasingly from Urdu (ROSSI 1982:160ff.).¹¹³

In the present work, an Ind. source language will be defined as the source of a Balochi word if a fitting word exists in that language; this is not meant to exclude the possibility that the word exists in a similar form in some other Ind. language and could therefore (also) have come into Balochi from there. In cases where a fitting word is found in several Ind. languages, priority is given to languages other than Urdu as a possible source since the influence of Urdu is a rather recent phenomenon, i.e. the word will be marked as being of e.g. Sindhi origin if there is a fitting Sindhi word.

Loanwords of sources other than those just described are less obvious, but are also found (for examples, cf. III). Although some Balochi dialects have been in contact with speakers of Pashto for a considerable time, the number of Pashto loanwords in Balochi is rather low. Words from Turkic languages, especially from the spheres of military and tribal organisation, are encountered in Balochi as in other Iranian languages.¹¹⁴ It goes without saying that the Balochi of Turkmenistan has adopted Turkmen and Russian

111 Cf. the judgment by EMENEAU (1980:337): "What Indo-Aryan languages (...) are spoken by large numbers in Baluchistan is somehow uncertain."

112 This has been the general assumption since Bray's study in the *Census of India*. Older sources generally assume Sindhi as source language for most Bal. loanwords of Ind. origin. In most (but not all) cases where these note Sindhi as a source, ELFENBEIN (1990/II, occasionally also in other more recent works) notes Lahnda instead, perhaps because the geographical distribution of Lahnda makes it a more likely source for the Ind. loanwords in Eastern Balochi. ELFENBEIN 1982:81, on the other hand, says that "Sindhi" noted in earlier works should probably be replaced by "Siraiki".

113 In 1929, MORGENSTIERNE (1932a:5) observed that Urdu influence on Balochi is taking the place Sindhi and Lahnda had occupied before.

114 Some Turk. loanwords have already been recognised by DAMES 1904:13.

words, especially in the field of civil services or phenomena typical for social organisation in the (former) Soviet countries (cf. AXENOV 2003).

Linguistic contact and the borrowing of words is of course by no means only a phenomenon of modern times. It is thus not surprising that there is evidence that Balochi may have borrowed some words from (a predecessor of) Kurdish or a language closely related to it.¹¹⁵ Since both languages belong to a subgroup of the WIr. languages that is much closer to Persian than other NWIr. languages,¹¹⁶ it is quite likely that they were in contact for a certain period of their history.

Due to the intense contact of Brahui and Balochi, there are quite a number of Balochi loanwords in Brahui (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:5ff., ROSSI 1979). There is even a group of Brahui words of probable Balochi origin which are not found in Balochi itself. Some Brahui words which MORGENSTIERNE 1937, 1948 assumes to have been borrowed from Balochi, although not attested there, have in the meantime been reported as Balochi words. Brahui has also adopted some grammatical structures from Balochi (cf. EMENEAU 1964, 1980 and ELFENBEIN 1982). In spite of the relative insignificance of Brahui for Balochi stressed by many authors, considerable loaning from Brahui into Balochi has been observed at least in the Quetta area (cf. FARRELL 2003:183), and MORGENSTIERNE (1932a:9) noticed "a number" of Brahui words in the Balochi of Noshke and Panjgur. There is indeed a certain number of borrowings to be found in the topical vocabulary presented in chapter III.

115 Geiger was apparently the first to consider the possibility of classifying a Bal. word as a Kurd. loanword: in GEIGER 1891:415, he asks whether *haur* "rain" might not have been borrowed from Kurdish. For examples of possible Kurd. loanwords, cf. II 2.4.1.5.

116 Cf. IV and KORN 2003.

II. Historical Phonology

1. General Remarks

The purpose of this chapter is to update the findings about Balochi historical phonology as presented by GEIGER 1890 and 1891, taking into account the works on Balochi etymology and related subjects which have been produced in the meantime, e.g., by MORGENSTIERNE (1932, 1948 etc.), ELFENBEIN (1963, 1985, 1990 etc.) and others.¹ The statements by Geiger will systematically be referred to and reassessed, using material which has come to light from Balochi as well as from other Iranian languages in the past hundred years and discussing implications for the historical phonology of the Western Iranian languages as a whole.

For methodological reasons (cf. I 1.3), this is done in two parts: one (chapter II 2) treating the developments from Old Iranian (OIr.) to Common Balochi (CBal.),² the other (chapter II 3) discussing the post-Common Balochi developments leading to the contemporary varieties of Balochi. Sound changes which are well established are illustrated with a few examples only, while those which have not yet been formulated or about which different opinions have been expressed are shown by more examples. The Balochi words are cited with their NP equivalents (alternatively MP, if the NP one is not available or shows some distortion) throughout. It is attempted to give Prth. cognates, too, usually at the first occurrence of a given word (to check where this is, cf. V 2). Cognates from other languages are cited if they are especially noteworthy, but not systematically (cf. I 1.1); the respective OIr. and Old Indic (OInd.) cognates may be found in the index (cf. V 2).

Before entering the subject, a brief account of the Balochi phonemic systems and the pronunciation of loanwords is given.

1 The latest systematic treatment of Balochi historical phonology is MOŠKALO 1991:21-40, which is based on GEIGER 1891 for the main part, including the approach of tracing back Bal. phonemes to their OIr. sources and mentioning Middle Iranian (Mlr.) material only in rare cases. Moškalo's views will be noted where they differ from those of Geiger and/or those presented here.

2 The order is thus not the one chosen by Geiger, but the other way round.

1.1 Phonemic system

The following pages present the phonemic systems of Common Balochi (cf. I 1.3) as well as of the contemporary dialects as assumed in the present study.

Most authors, beginning with GEIGER (e.g. 1891:403), have described the phonemic systems of the Balochi dialects in such a way that the system of the Eastern dialects (EBal.) is said to include "additional" phonemes as compared with the Western and Southern dialects (SWBal.), and the phonemic system of the latter is declared as the "basic" one and/or as more or less identical with that of Common Balochi.³ While, from a historical perspective, the SWBal. phonemic system is indeed closer to Common Balochi than that of Eastern Balochi, the SWBal. as well as the EBal. phonemic systems are systems in their own rights with "clearly describable autonomous features" (ROSSI 1979a:179) and should be discussed accordingly. In what follows, the phonemic system of the dialect groups will thus be presented from a synchronic point of view.

1.1.1 Common Balochi

When compared to the phonemic systems of Old Iranian languages, the absence of fricatives from the phonemic system of Common Balochi is striking. Bal. sound laws discussed in II 2.1.2.1 "reduced the original phonemic system of Bal. to a simplicity unknown to any other Ir. language" (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255).⁴

3 MORGENSTIERNE (1948:255) was probably the first to distinguish the phonemic system of Common Balochi from those of the contemporary dialects. He was also one of the very few to do so. Cf. e.g. JAHANI 1989:81ff., who posits a set of "original Balochi phonemes" which is also meant to be the phonemic system of the non-Eastern dialects; this set includes the retroflex consonants as well as the fricatives which occur in loanwords only (as peripheral phonemes), and the EBal. phonemic system is treated as "disturb[ing] the indigenous picture". This view has been the one found in most works so far.

4 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255 assumes that the loss of fricatives was not due to the contact with Ind. languages, but dates back to an earlier period.

Consonants:				Vowels: ⁵				
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>		<i>ē</i>		<i>ō</i>	
	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>				<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	
	<i>z</i>							
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>							
	<i>r</i>							
<i>w</i> ⁶	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>h</i>	Diphthongs:				
				<i>ai, au</i>				
Phonemic system of Common Balochi								

Long (geminated) consonants⁷

Geminated consonants are mainly found in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.5). Where geminates occur in genuine words, they go back to a consonant cluster (cf. the table in II 2)⁸ or are the result of isometric substitution (cf. II 3.1.3.1). With the exception of *y*, *h* and the phonemes of limited occurrence (given in brackets in the following tables), all consonants may occur in geminated form (for examples, cf. II 3.3.1.5).

5 For the notation of the vowels and diphthongs, cf. I 1.5.2.2. Although the diphthongs may be analysed as biphonematic and thus would not need to be mentioned, they are included here and in the following charts for the reader's information.

6 Whereas in the present study it is assumed that Common Balochi shows *w*- from OIr. *hu*- (cf. also II 2.2.1.5.4), MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255 thinks (based on his interpretation of EBal. *w^h*, cf. II 1.1.2.2) that Common Balochi had (biphonematic) **hw*-. The result for the phonemic system of Common Balochi is the same, however, since, with both assumptions, Common Balochi had (only) one *w*-phoneme.

7 So far, geminates in Balochi have only been mentioned, but not described, with the exception of short notes in BUDDRUSS 1988:44f. and JAHANI 1989:16. Both works note gemination as a not too common phenomenon, although it is rather frequent in some sources. ROSSI 1979a:225 notes that gemination is one of the points that need further investigation. In metrical texts, geminated consonants are treated like other sorts of consonant clusters.

8 The changes resulting in geminates are those discussed in II 2.2.1.3, 2.2.2.2, 2.2.2.3, 2.2.3.2 and 2.2.3.3.

Geminated consonants only occur after short vowels (cf. II 3.1.1.1).⁹ They are of markedly differing frequency in the individual dialects (frequent in some Western dialects, less frequent elsewhere);¹⁰ the details remain to be studied (cf. II 3.2), but the effect is that all sorts of geminates are optional only when considering the Bal. language as a whole. According to ELFENBEIN 1991:115, a word-final geminate is always shortened when the next word begins with a consonant.

Gemination will be noted as C(C) throughout, e.g. *čam(m)* "eye", *duz(z)* "thief". This is meant to indicate that some source(s) show(s) gemination (and, in most cases, others do not). If a word is quoted from a certain cited source, it is given as it appears there, e.g. *pakkag* (BMC) "ripe".

Vowel hiatus

Adjacent vowels may be separated with the help of *h*, *y* or *w*, e.g. *šā(h)ir* "poet" (NP-Ar. *šā'ir*), *mahī* "May" (Europ.), *zā(h)- / zāy-* "give birth", *grē(w)-* "weep" (cf. II 2.4.3). The choice of the consonants depends in part on the dialect involved (cf. II 3.2.1.1.3, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1).

In other cases, the vowel hiatus remains, and a kind of secondary diphthong seems to develop, e.g. *fāida*, *pāida* "advantage" (NP-Ar. *fā'ida*).¹¹

1.1.2 Phonemic systems of the dialects¹²

In addition to the phonemes present in the phonemic system of Common Balochi, the phonemic systems of the contemporary Bal. dialects include the retroflex phonemes *ʈ*,

9 Isolated cases of violation of these rules do occur; all of them show a geminate after long vowel in what is likely to be a loanword: *zīrrag* "cumin seed; ray, beam" (BMC, EAL, SHG; probably borrowed from NP *zīra*, which in turn may be from Indic, HORN 1893:259), *šāddī* "joy" (BMC, borrowed from NP). For additional gemination in some dialects, cf. II 3.2.2.1, 3.2.4.1.

The absence of gemination might in some sources be due to imperfect accuracy in hearing and/or notation, and gemination also differs according to the subdialect or other sort of variant involved.

10 The use of geminated consonants also seems to depend heavily on the idiolect of the speaker (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication).

11 Cf. also p. 63-64, 165, 191 for further variants of this word and II 1.2.2 for the treatment of '.

12 The phonemic systems as assumed here on the whole correspond to those assumed by ROSSI (1979a:207ff.) and JAHANI 1989:79ff. Differences from these two will be noted.

All phonemic analyses that have been proposed for Balochi are treated in detail in ROSSI 1979a.

ḍ and *ṛ*.¹³ Although these phonemes are mainly found in loanwords of Ind. origin, they are rather frequent, there are no distributional limits, and they are never replaced by other sounds. This indicates that they are part of the speakers' phonemic systems, and there is no reason to consider them as peripheral phonemes. Besides its occurrence in loanwords, *ṛ* develops from *r* in certain contexts (cf. II 3.1.1.4, 3.1.3.5); the use of *ḍ* is likewise augmented by a tendency of some dialects to substitute *ḍ* for *d* (cf. II 3.1.1.4).

Some authors do not include *ŋ* in the Balochi phonemic system. However, it occurs not only as an allophone of *n* in front of *ḍ* (cf. BUDDRUS 1988:44), but also in intervocalic position in borrowings from Ind. languages at least in some Bal. variants, including dialects from both the Eastern and the other groups (cf. JAHANI 1989:84, FARRELL 2003:177). As it only occurs in a rather limited number of loanwords and since it seems uncertain that all speakers of a given dialect will pronounce it (other speakers substituting *n* for it), it is considered a peripheral phoneme here.¹⁴

Further additions to the phonemic systems include fricatives which have been introduced into the phonemic systems of the dialects to varying degrees: *f*, *x*, *g* are found as peripheral phonemes in the Western and Southern dialects (cf. II 1.1.2.1), while the complete set of *f*, *x*, *ʃ*, *β*, *δ*, *g* is present as regular phonemes in the Eastern dialects. *q* (in NP-Ar. loanwords) is beginning to gain ground in some dialects, too (cf. II 1.2.2), but, even there, it still seems more adequate not to count it as a phoneme.

Nasal vowels are found in most Bal. dialects. They can usually be analysed as allophonic sequences of V + *n*, but there are dialects where at least some nasal vowels seem to have phonological status (cf. JAHANI 1989:80f., FARRELL 2003:173f.).¹⁵

In some dialects, *ī* is used in words where other dialects have *ū* (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1, 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2). However, since there is a certain degree of interdialectal borrowing

13 Some authors have doubted the existence of *ḍ* and *ṛ* as two separate phonemes and have regarded them as allophones. However, it seems that these doubts are caused by imperfect notation and errors in the data (cf. RZEHAČ 1998:152). For dialects possibly without retroflexes, cf. II 1.1.2.1.

14 FARRELL 2003:180 assumes that the adoption of *ŋ* into the phonemic system might be due to its being mentally analysed as a sequence of *n* (or nasal part of a vowel) + *r*.

15 ROSSI 1979a:209f. concludes from the unconvincing reasoning of BARKER/MENGAL 1969:xxxviff. that nasal vowels are generally not phonemic in SWBal. This statement is liable to modification: it seems that, in this respect, the phonemic system of (some) SBal. and maybe some dialects spoken in Iran differs from that of the remaining non-Eastern dialects, cf. II 3.1.3.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.4.3.

everywhere, it seems that there is no phonemic system of a dialect (or other variant) from which \bar{u} is entirely absent.

1.1.2.1 Western and Southern Balochi¹⁶

Strictly speaking, there is no common phonemic system of the non-Eastern dialects of Balochi, and it might be more adequate to present a different chart for each dialect. On the other hand, the divergences are not so great either, so an overall chart will be given with a discussion of the debatable cases.

Consonants:					Vowels:	
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>(f)</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>	<i>(x)</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
	<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>	<i>(ġ)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(ṇ)</i>			Diphthongs: <i>ai, au</i>	
	<i>r</i>	<i>ṛ</i>				
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>		<i>y</i>	<i>h</i>		
Phonemic system of Southern and Western Balochi						

ž only occurs in loanwords and is rather rare in SWBal. (comparable to its status in NP). Its distribution is limited, but, as there are minimal pairs, it constitutes a phoneme of its own. *h* is absent from the WBal. dialect of Turkmenistan and weak in the remaining Raxšānī dialects (cf. II 3.2.3.1).

16 ROSSI 1979a:169ff. cites the phonemic system (or, rather, inventory of phones, in the case of earlier authors) of SWBal. as conceived by the following previous authors: GEIGER 1901, GRIERSON 1921, MORGENSTIERNE 1948, SOKOLOVA 1953: Balochi of Turkmenistan, SPOONER 1967: Balochi of Iran, BARKER/MENGAL 1969: Western Balochi of Pakistan, RAMANUJAN/MASICA 1969: data from FROLOVA 1960, EDEL'MAN 1975.

ELFENBEIN's assumption of a common phonemic system for all dialects (1966:4f.) is not adequate (see below, cf. also ROSSI 1979a:189).

The phonemic status of the individual phonemes is discussed in detail in ROSSI 1979a:207ff.

For additional discussion of *w*, cf. II 2.2.1.5.4.

There is a "very limited number" of dialects in Iran without retroflex consonants (FARRELL 2003:177). Since all other Balochi dialects have them, it seems that these dialects have lost the retroflex consonants (presumably under the influence of NP).

x, *g* and *f* are peripheral phonemes in that they only occur in loanwords, mainly of NP or Arabic origin. Another possible source is Eastern Balochi where these sounds have phonemic status (cf. II 1.1.2.2). The tendency to substitute the corresponding stops is rather strong (cf. II 1.2.2), and they are absent from the repertoires of many speakers, so they are given in brackets here.¹⁷

In at least some SBal. dialects, nasal vowels exist as separate phonemes (cf. II 3.2.2.3).

1.1.2.2 Eastern Balochi¹⁸

The main differences which set Eastern Balochi apart from the other dialects have been treated in I 3.1.1 and will be dealt with in detail in II 3.2.1.

Since MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256, it has been clear that the EBal. fricatives have phonemic status. They started out as allophones of the corresponding stops in postvocalic position; with the adoption of loanwords containing fricatives not only in post-vocalic position, the fricatives ceased to be a conditioned phenomenon. When the fricativisation rule did not operate any longer, postvocalic stops in new loanwords have created a new phonemic opposition.

17 JAHANI 1989:81 is the only author to note *q* as an additional "borrowed phoneme", though noting that it is very rare and only occasionally found as an "elegant phoneme", usually being replaced by *k* (cf. II 1.2.2). It is thus not considered necessary here to establish it as a separate phoneme.

18 For the data available for Eastern Balochi, cf. I 1.4. Charts of the phonemic system as assumed by previous authors are given by ROSSI 1979a:167ff. These include DAMES 1891, GRIERSON 1921, GILBERTSON 1925, MORGENSTIERNE 1948, BARKER/MENGAL 1969, EDEL'MAN 1975.

Consonants:						Vowels:	
$p^{(h)}$	$t^{(h)}$		$t^{(h)}$	$\check{c}^{(h)}$	$k^{(h)}$	i	\bar{i}
b	d		\dot{d}	\check{j}	g		u
f	ϑ	s		\check{s}	x	\bar{e}	\bar{o}
β	δ	z		\check{z}^{19}	g		a
m	n		(\check{n})			Diphthongs:	
$w^{(h)}$	l	r	\check{r}	y	h	ai, au	
Phonemic system of Eastern Balochi							

It is not entirely clear whether the same can be said of aspirated voiceless stops (including \check{c}) as JAHANI 1989:83 assumes.²⁰ The examples of unaspirated voiceless stops seem to be Ind. loanwords exclusively (ROSSI 1979a:213). In this work, it will thus be assumed that there is no phonemic opposition of aspirated and unaspirated stops in Eastern Balochi.²¹ The marking of the aspiration is therefore superfluous from a phonological point of view. Since aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops has been observed in other dialects as well (cf. p. 40, 242, 251), it does not distinguish Eastern Balochi very much from the remaining dialects either. The reason it is noted here nevertheless is that traditionally, EBal. words have been cited this way (not only in the earlier sources, but also e.g. in ABG).

19 Note that the set of palatals, which, on a synchronic level, corresponds to the set as seen in the other dialects, is something different from a diachronic point of view: CBal. \check{c} , \check{j} in postvocalic position are represented by EBal. \check{s} , \check{z} respectively. Due to that sound change, the status of \check{z} within the phonemic system is much stronger than in the remaining dialects. \check{c} , \check{j} have been reintroduced in Eastern Balochi in postvocalic position via borrowings from other languages and dialects.

20 The main authors who have investigated this question are BARKER/MENGAL 1969 (several hints at various places, cf. ROSSI 1979a:212) and EDEL'MAN 1975:68ff. ROSSI 1979a:211ff. declines to accept these authors' arguments about the aspirated voiceless stops being separate phonemes.

21 The fact that aspiration has not always been noted with due accuracy makes it also probable that some perceived oppositions between aspirated and unaspirated stops are due to misinterpretation by the authors of the first-hand sources.

Note also that aspiration in the case of word-initial stop followed by a resonant seems to be even less marked than when followed by a vowel (there is apparently no example of kR -, cf. II 3.2.1.1.1), so that unaspirated stops have probably always been present to some degree in Eastern Balochi.

Several authors have noted that in a number of loanwords, aspirated voiced stops also occur, viz. b^h , d^h , $ḍ^h$, g^h and the affricate $ǰ^h$. However, minimal pairs have not yet been found, so it does not seem necessary to ascribe a phonemic status to them.²²

The number of labial fricative / glide phonemes in Eastern Balochi is not entirely clear. The maximum solution is three phonemes: w with a word-initial allophone w^{h23} corresponding to CBal. w ,²⁴ β ²⁵ as product of postvocalic CBal. b (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1) and v in loanwords e.g. from Ind. languages. This approach is indeed advocated by GILBERTSON 1923:7. Most other authors do not assume three phonemes, though. Two phonemes are assumed by e.g. GEIGER (1891:433 etc.), DAMES (1891:1ff.), GRIERSON (1921:337ff.), ROSSI (1979a:211ff.), these being w from CBal. w (with or without word-initial allophone w^h) and β from postvocalic b (and possibly also in word-initial position in loanwords with v -). It does not seem impossible, however, that some authors who have assumed two phonemes have done so for historical reasons²⁶ or systematic ones (thus apparently ROSSI 1979a:211).²⁷ Some authors assume only one phoneme w , e.g.

-
- 22 Note that there is no example of an aspirated voiced stop in ABG, but it is possible that the presence or absence of aspiration is due to inaccuracy of notation. ROSSI 1979a:211 contents himself in stating that some authors have assumed the existence of aspirated voiced stops as phonemes, without further discussion of the matter. JAHANI 1989:83 states that the question has to remain open until further investigation about Eastern Balochi is made. GEIGER 1901:235 notes the occurrence of aspirate voiced stops in Ind. loanwords (only), independent of the dialect.
- 23 The reason for which ROSSI 1979a:211 concludes, from MORGENSTIERNE's (1948:255⁴) mentioning of w^h , that Morgenstierne intends it to be a phoneme separate from w is not entirely clear to me.
- 24 CBal. w is the product of OIr. $-u-$ and $hu-$ (cf. II 2.2.1.5.4), while OIr. $u-$ results in Bal. $g(w)-$ (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1). The observation by GRIERSON 1921:339 and MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255⁴ that EBal. w^h - comes from OIr. $hu-$ is correct (cf. II 2.2.1.5.4), but the same is true for SWBal. $w-$. If the aspiration (probably rather a devoicing, cf. GRIERSON 1921:339) does preserve something old, it must have been lost in Western Balochi. On the synchronic level, however, the distribution seems to be completely parallel to that of the voiceless stops. MOŠKALO 1991:29 assumes that the outcome of OIr. $hu-$ as $v-$ is not limited to the EBal. dialects while word-internally, there is a phoneme w (< OIr. u); the note about a "tendency of substitution of w by v " (MOŠKALO 1991:29f.) seems to be taken from GILBERTSON 1923:7 (see below). In the non-Eastern dialects, however, there seems to be no evidence suggesting that the Bal. product of OIr. $hu-$ is different from word-internal w . Moreover, a difference in pronunciation would not necessarily constitute a phonemic opposition.
- 25 The notation β is chosen here for systematic reasons, without implications as to its pronunciation intended. Some other authors have used v ; Geiger uses w for what is β here and v for w .
- 26 Note that GEIGER 1891:433 says that he "corrected" some inconsistencies in the material by Dames and others by taking into account the etymology of the words in question.
- 27 ROSSI does not explicitly discuss the phonemic status of β (his v), but, from his statements about $w^{(h)}$ (1979a:213, see above), one might conclude that β is meant to be a separate phoneme.

BARKER/MENGAL 1969/II:1ff., EDEL'MAN 1975:74.²⁸ The question cannot be decided without new relevant EBal. material. For the purposes of the present work and in order not to lose potentially relevant information, the distinction w (with word-initial allophone w^h) vs. β (< CBal. postvocalic b) is made throughout.

Although nasal vowels are widespread in Eastern Balochi (cf. II 3.2.1.3), there is no evidence that they have attained phonemic status.

1.2 Pronunciation of loanwords²⁹

1.2.1 Arabic sounds³⁰

The typical Arabic sounds are treated the same way as in NP (cf. also I 1.5.2.3), i.e.

- \underline{t} is rendered as t ,
- \underline{s} , $\underline{\dot{s}}$ are rendered as s ,
- \underline{z} , $\underline{\dot{z}}$, \underline{z} as z ,
- \underline{h} as h .

As to the orthography of Arabic words, Balochi sources vary quite a bit. The two main approaches are the following: some authors use the NP-Ar. orthography, thereby demonstrating learnedness, and/or the desire to make recognition of (Arabo-)Persian and Urdu words possible (thus e.g. ABG where even the transcription tends to correspond to the Arabic orthography). Others prefer to indicate the actual Balochi pronunciation, one motive being the strengthening of a "pure" Balochi language (thus SHG where none of the phonemes given in brackets in II 1.1.2.1 occurs either).³¹ Mixed strategies are also found. In BMC (where the words are ordered by their transcription), both variants

28 Note that there is no difference to be found in ABG, who notes both cases as v , that there are "mistakes" in DAMES' DTB, who has e.g. *barāwar* where his system of notation (see above) would require *barāvar* (i.e. *barāβar* in the notation used here), and that GILBERTSON 1923:7 says that β may take the place of w . Moreover, both w and β are written with the same character in the Arabic orthography (i.e. و), which might lead to errors in the sources and further blur the picture.

29 For phenomena occurring specifically in loanwords (e.g. devoicing of final consonants), cf. II 3.3.

30 For q and \dot{g} , cf. II 1.2.2.

31 The question how to deal with the "Arabic letters" is much debated among the Baloch (cf. JAHANI 1989:150ff.). The problem is rendered even more difficult by the use of some of these letters for writing certain phonemes of the Eastern Balochi dialects (cf. II 3.2.1.1, 3.3.2.3).

of orthography are given, while the transcription reflects the pronunciation.³²

Arabic [◌] (ع) disappears without trace in word-initial position, e.g.³³

- *ākibat* "future" (NP-Ar. [◌]*āqibat*), *adālat(t)*³⁴ "court" (NP-Ar. [◌]*idālat* "justice"), *izzat* "honour" (NP-Ar. [◌]*izzat*), *uzr* "excuse" (NP-Ar. [◌]*uzr*), *akl* (cf. also p. 207, 265, 267) "intelligence" (NP-Ar. [◌]*aql*), *aib* (for variants, cf. p. 228, 278) "fault" (NP-Ar. [◌]*aib*).

In post-vocalic position, it lengthens the preceding vowel.³⁵

- *bād* (FBB, EAL) "later" (NP-Ar. *ba[◌]d*), *tārīp* (FARRELL 2003:182) "praise" (NP-Ar. *ta[◌]rīf*), *tām* "taste" (NP-Ar. *ṭa[◌]m*), *dāwā* "lawsuit" (NP-Ar. *da[◌]wā*).

The hiatus which results from the loss of intervocalic [◌] may be filled by a vowel-separating consonant,³⁶ e.g. *sāhat*, *sahat* "hour, time" (NP-Ar. *sā[◌]at*).

Word-final [◌] seems to be lost, cf. EAL *tama* "desire" (NP-Ar. *ṭama[◌]*). ABG's *ṭamā* "greed" might reflect the lengthening of word-final *-a* which is common in this source (cf. II 3.1.2.2.2).

Arabic [◌] (ء) is lost. The loss may result in a secondary diphthong, e.g. *pāida*, *fāida* "advantage" (NP-Ar. *fā[◌]'ida*).³⁷

32 A number of sources do not note the Arabic orthography, among them the works by Gilbertson (GCD), Elfенbein (EVM, EAL etc.) and Farrell (FBB, FARRELL 2003). The same applies to Afghanistan Balochi as treated by NAWATA 1981 and BUDDRUSS 1988. In Turkmenistan, Balochi has been written in Cyrillic and Roman script (cf. AXENOV 2000), if at all (cf. RZEHAK 1998:152), so the question of Arabic orthography does not arise.

33 This corresponds exactly to the situation in NP where [◌] is noted in the orthography, but not pronounced as such.

34 This is the variant in BMC; ABG has the NP-Ar. orthography and the transcription [◌]*adālat*. For the system of citing Balochi words adopted in the present work, cf. I 1.5; for *adālat(t)*, cf. also p. 285.

35 Since the same strategy exists in Urdu/Hindi, it is possible that at least some of these words have been borrowed from there: *bād*, *tārīp^h* and *dāwā* are even found in BESKROVNIJ 1953. However, spoken CNP shows the same phenomenon, so the influence may (also) come from this side.

36 The use and choice of the vowel-separating consonant(s) depends on the dialect in question (cf. II 2.4.3, 3.2.1.1.3, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1).

37 For further variants, cf. p. 165, 191.

1.2.2 Persian sounds

The fricatives of loanwords are usually replaced in SWBal. by sounds belonging to the basic phonemic system, usually by the corresponding stops (cf. SPOONER 1967:58, BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxff., BUDDRUSS 1988:44, FARRELL 2003:176f., 179).³⁸ This chiefly affects *f*, *x*, *q*, *g* of Persian (and Perso-Arabic) loanwords, but also fricatives of other languages.

Speakers of Balochi with higher education do use the original pronunciation. Furthermore, the tendency of substitution seems to be stronger in the Southern dialects than in the Western ones. In Iran, and some regions close to its border, due to the growing influence of mass media and the educational system of the respective states, the pronunciation of *f*, *x*, *q*, *g* in loanwords has become more usual in recent times,³⁹ so that doublets of the same word occur, one with the Persian pronunciation, one with the adapted one (examples below). Religious terms and those used in particularly formal styles are especially liable to appear in the "learned" pronunciation.

f is mostly replaced by *p*,⁴⁰ e.g.

- *pāida* "advantage" (NP-Ar. *fāida*, cf. p. 63), *pakīr* "beggar" (NP-Ar. *faqīr*).

g is replaced by *g* in most cases.⁴¹

- *garīb*⁴² "poor" (NP-Ar. *garīb*), *galat* (cf. p. 282) "wrong" (NP-Ar. *ḡalat* "mistake"), *gam(m)* (EAL)⁴³ "grief" (NP-Ar. *ḡam(m)*);
- *augān* "Afghan" (NP *afḡān*, cf. p. 277).

38 Statements of this sort are to be found in most works treating Balochi (e.g. FBB 12, JAHANI 1989:81), while the remaining details have not so far been treated systematically.

39 MAHMOODZAHI 2003:151 observes that nowadays Balochi children in Iran use the "Persian" sounds in Persian words whereas one generation ago children would substitute "Balochi" sounds for them.

40 The same applies to *f* in European loanwords, e.g. *pilm* "film".

41 Note, however, that in Afghanistan Balochi, the pronunciation *g* seems to be rather common (BUDDRUSS 1988:44).

42 DTB and GCD have *garīb*, EAL has both variants. For a further variant, cf. p. 278.

43 In addition to *gam*, BMC, DTB and EAL have *ḡam*, also as the first member of compounds. EAL also has compounds with *gam*^o, FBB has *gamḡin* "sad" (from NP *ḡam-gīn*).

q in Arabic loanwords is as a rule replaced by *k*, e.g. in

- *kismat* "destiny" (NP-Ar. *qismat*), *kulp* (cf. p. 265) "(door-)lock" (NP-Ar. *qufl*);
- *ākubat* (BMC, cf. p. 286), *ākibat* "future" (NP-Ar. ^ʿ*āqibat*, cf. p. 63), *pakīr* "beggar" (see above).

Sometimes we find *x*, probably reflecting some NP pronunciation variety:⁴⁴

- *āxibat* (EAL), *āxōbat* (BMC, p. 193, 201) "future" (see above), *arax* (EVM) "sweat" (NP-Ar. ^ʿ*araq*).

If a word with *q* is taken over from Standard New Persian where *q* and *ḡ* fall together, the result in Balochi may likewise be *ḡ* or *g*:

- *alḡa-gōṣ* (EVM) "earring" (NP-Ar. *ḡalqa* "ring"),
- *āšīḡ*, *āšix* (both EVM), *āšik*⁴⁵ "lover" (NP-Ar. ^ʿ*āšiq*),
- *āḡā* "lord" (NP-Turk. *āqā*).

In the case of NP-Ar. *x*, several strategies are met with.

In a minority of cases, it is pronounced *x*, especially in terms from the religious sphere:

- *xairāt* (EVM), *xērāt* (FBB) "alms, offer" (NP-Ar. *xairāt*), *xidmat* (ABG, DTB) "service" (NP-Ar. *xidmat*).

The most common substitution is that by *h*:

- *hālīḡ* "empty" (NP-Ar. *xālī*), *habar* "news, word, matter" (NP-Ar. *xabar*),⁴⁶ *hatar* "danger" (NP-Ar. *xaṭar*), *halās* "finished" (NP-Ar. *xalāṣ*), *halk* "village, people" (NP-Ar. *xalq*), *hairāt* "alms" (see above), *hidmat* "service" (see above).

Usually, these words are written using the normal letter for *h* (ه). Some writers, however, choose to use ح (a letter which is – apart from the diacritical mark – identical in shape to that for *x*: خ) to indicate their knowledge that this word is originally a foreign word with *x*⁴⁷, e.g.

- حبر or هبر (orthography meaning: this word is *xabar* originally) *habar*,
حتر / هتر *hitar*, *hatar* (cf. p. 285).

As *h* disappears in some WBal. dialects (see below), *x* in a loanword may appear as zero (cf. e.g. BUDDRUS 1988:44):

- *abar* "news etc.", *alās* "finished", *alk* "village, people".

44 In the case of Bal. *waxt*, *wakt* "time" (cf. also p. 281), the pronunciation of NP-Ar. *waqt* as *waxt* is even common in NP (and the standard variant in Pashto) as well.

45 ABG and GCD have the NP-Ar. form ^ʿ*āšiq*.

46 ABG and EVM have the NP variant *xabar* in *xabar kan-* "say" and *xabar-dār* "take care!", respectively.

47 Carina Jahani (personal communication).

In other cases (maybe especially in the Southern dialects or at least some of these), *x* is replaced by *k* (cf. FARRELL 2003:176):⁴⁸

- *kāmōš* (FBB) "quiet" (NP *xāmōš*, cf. p. 157), *kat* (FBB) "letter" (NP-Ar. *xat* "line").⁴⁹

It is thus not unusual to find the same loanword in multiple forms, e.g.

- *k(a)rāb*, (*h*)*arāb* (cf. also p. 283) "bad" (NP-Ar. *xarāb* "out of order");
- *kudā* (FBB), *xudā* (EVM, FBB), *hudā* "God" (NP *xudā*);
- *kāāl* (FBB), *xayāl* (ABG,⁵⁰ EVM), *hayāl* "thought, opinion" (NP-Ar. *xayāl*, *xiyāl* "imagination, idea");
- *kēriat*, (*h*)*ēriat* (both FARRELL 2003:176), *xairiat* (FBB) "healthy" (NP-Ar. *xairiyat* "welfare").

1.2.3 Indic sounds

The retroflex consonants of Ind. loanwords are pronounced as such in Balochi, including *ṇ* (cf. II 1.1.2). In some loanwords with dentals, retroflex consonants are even secondarily introduced (cf. II 3.1.1.4, 3.3.1.7.3).

Sindhi *ḍ* is replaced by *ḍ* or *d* (cf. II 3.1.1.4). The remaining implosive consonants are replaced by corresponding non-implosive consonants.

Although *v* in loanwords is as a rule replaced by *w*, some cases of word-initial *v*- show *g*- or *b*- when taken over into Balochi (cf. II 3.3.1.7.1).

1.2.4 European sounds⁵¹

Fricatives occurring in European loanwords are treated the same way as those in NP words (cf. II 1.2.2).

48 The use of *k* in loanwords with *x* might have been motivated by the observation that Balochi has *k* in some cases where NP has *x* (both the result of OIr. *x*, cf. II 2.1.2.1), e.g. Bal. *kand*- "to laugh" vs. NP *xand*-. It is noteworthy that there is no example of the substitution of *k* for *x* in older sources. *wakšī* (ABG, EAL, for the EBal. variant *waškī*, cf. p. 177) "wild" for NP-Ar. *waḥšī* probably reflects the irregular pronunciation *waxšī* heard in some NP variants.

49 FBB also has the variant *xat*, ABG has the NP-Ar. orthography *xat*, EAL has *xat(t)*.

50 ABG notes the meaning "care, caution".

51 Cf. also FARRELL 2003:179f.

Dentals of European loanwords are replaced by retroflex consonants as in Modern Ind. languages:

- *ṭikatt* (BMC, EAL) "ticket" (cf. also p. 271), *kaḃāt* (FBB, SHG, FARRELL 2003:180) "cupboard",⁵² *fuṭbāl* (FBB), *puṭbāl* (BMC) "football";
- *dākṭar* (FARRELL 2003:178) "doctor", *ḃīs* (FARRELL 2003:180) "(satellite) dish".

1.3 Accent

The Balochi accent remains an issue to be investigated. Most studies on Balochi and collections of Balochi texts have neglected it altogether. From those works which have treated it, it seems that the accentuation of words differs considerably among the dialects. The available information is the following:

For the Western Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, a system of accentuation has been noted which is similar to the New Persian one.

In Turkmenistan Balochi, the accent is on the last syllable of the word as a rule according to RASTORGUEVA 1966:328ff. and MOŠKALO 1991:40ff. Exceptions are the element *-ān(-)* of the plural nominal forms, which is always accented, and the indefinite article *-ē* and the pronominal suffixes, which are enclitic. According to MOŠKALO 1991:40, the singular case endings are enclitic, too.⁵³ The verbal stem is accented on the last syllable, the verbal element *a* (cf. V 1.7.6), the verbal endings and the copula being enclitic; the endings of the present tense, however, are accented, and the copula in the past is accented on its stem *at-*. The negative prefixes *na-* and *ma-* always bear the accent (MOŠKALO 1991:67); the irrealis is accented on the first syllable (*b-'guštēnun* "[if] I said" vs. subjunctive *b-gu'sun* "[that] I say", RASTORGUEVA 1966:336). There are a few adverbs which are accented on the first syllable.

52 On devoicing of word-final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4.

53 Moškalo gives only examples of polysyllabic noun stems. RASTORGUEVA 1966:328f. has only monosyllabic ones, with accented endings. It is thus possible that the rule observed by BUDDRUSS 1988:46 for Afghanistan Balochi (see below) applies here, too.

The rules of accentuation given by BUDDRUSS 1988:45ff. for Afghanistan Balochi differ from the Turkmenistan system⁵⁴ in that case endings added to monosyllabic nouns always bear the accent (on their first syllable if the ending has more than one syllable),⁵⁵ whereas polysyllabic nouns are always accented on the last syllable of the stem, all case endings being enclitic. Inflected forms of the interrogative pronoun *čē* "what" are accented on the first syllable, however. Verbal forms with the prefix *b(i)-* likewise have the accent on the first syllable⁵⁶ while the prohibitive prefix *ma-* is proclitic, e.g. *ma-'āyay* "you should not come!". Verbs in the present tense, usually accented on the ending, are also found with accent on the stem if this is a heavy syllable.

The accentuation in the Southern Balochi dialect of Karachi differs markedly from this system in that the place of the accent depends on the length of the syllables. From a preliminary collection of material by Tim Farrell, one may deduce the following rules:

A heavy syllable (—) is one which contains a long vowel or diphthong or a short vowel followed by more than one consonant. The nasal element of nasal vowels is not taken into account. A word-final long vowel and a word-final short vowel followed by one consonant count as light syllables (○).

The domain of the accent is the last three syllables of a word. The accent is on the first syllable, counting from the end of the word, which is heavy. This means that the accent is on the last syllable of a word if this syllable is heavy (or if the word is monosyllabic): (n·x)'—. If the last syllable is light, the accent is on the last but one syllable provided that it is heavy (or the first syllable of the word) (n·x)'—○. If the two last syllables are light, the accent is on the last but two (antepenultimate) syllable, be it heavy or light: (n·x)'x○○.

A secondary stress may fall on the initial syllable of longer words if the primary accent is not on the second syllable.

54 Given the otherwise far-reaching similarity of Turkmenistan and Afghanistan Balochi, one might wonder whether some of the differences in the set of rules are due to incomplete data.

55 The possible exceptions to this rule noted by BUDDRUSS 1988:46 are likely to be due to errors of some sort, since the relevant words were treated like all other monosyllabic nouns when checked again with Afghanistan Baloch by Lutz Rzehak (personal information).

56 This implies that when the vowelless allomorph of *b(i)-* is used, the first syllable of the stem is accented, e.g. *agar b-'raway* "if you go" vs. *'bi-ār* "bring!" (BUDDRUSS 1988:59).

Examples (all Tim Farrell, personal communication):

- *ra'wān* "going", *wa'ssīg* "mother-in-law", *pāp'lēt* "pomfret", *kap'tōk* "new mother";
- *'nākō* "uncle", *'piššī* "cat", *'rawā* "I go", *'abar* "news", *'jīnik* "girl";
- *kō'rāsag* "great grandchild", *rōz'gārī* "employment", *šu'luppag* "to slurp";
- *'pīsita* "rotten (perf. stem)", *pī'sitagē* "rotten" (adj.);
- *'kušta'gant-ē* "they have killed them", *'kuštagi'tant-ē* "they had killed them".⁵⁷

Some morphologically conditioned rules override these principles: the causative suffix *-ēn-* is always accented, e.g. *wā'pēnīt-ē* "he/she puts them to sleep". The prefixes *b(i)-* and *ma-* are proclitic: *bi-'lik* "write!", *ma-'kapī* "he/she should not fall". An exception to this is the forms from *war-* "eat" which accent the prefix (probably for pragmatic reasons): *'bi-warā* "they should eat", *'ma-warā* "they should not eat".

The data on "intonation" given by Barker/Mengal seem to suggest that the Pakistani Raxšānī dialect they describe goes with the system of Karachi Balochi to a large extent:

- *ē ku'čakk-ē* "this [is] a dog", *ē čī'rāg-ē* "this [is] a lamp" vs.
- *ē 'kalam-ē* "this [is] a pen" (cf. BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:2, 34).⁵⁸

However, imperatives are always accented on the prefix (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:179ff.) as in other WBal. dialects (see above).

Information on the accent in the Eastern dialects is even harder to find than for the others. The description by GILBERTSON 1925/II:797, although set in categories different from those used here, seems to indicate rules very much like (if not identical with) those observed for Karachi Balochi, i.e. the last heavy syllable of a word being accented. Some counter-examples occur, though. If these are not to be ascribed to the author being guided by an imperfect understanding of the rules,⁵⁹ they might indicate that *n + C* (or at least word-final *nj*, *nd*) does not cause the syllable to be heavy in Eastern Balochi (*'birinj* "rice", *'p^hulkand* "sugar" vs. Karachi Balochi *'kuštagi'tant-ē*) and that an additional accent is on the last syllable of a three-syllable word if the first

57 *-ē* is the pronominal suffix of the 3pl. The accent would be on the same place if the pronoun was counted as the last syllable of the word, but examples like *'gud-ē* "their clothes" (FARRELL 1995:234) show that the pronominal suffixes are enclitic in Karachi Balochi as in the other dialects.

58 Here, *-ē* is the enclitic indefinite article.

59 Note that Gilbertson's example *'p^hiriš'tag* "angel" (adduced to illustrate the rule that the first and last syllable are accented in words with "3 short vowels") is at variance with his rule that it is closed syllables which are accented.

one is accented ('*saka'tar* "partridge", '*aška'nag* "to hear").⁶⁰ Gilbertson also observes that phrases like compound verbs and preposition + noun are treated as a unit as far as the accent is concerned, e.g. '*dar-bu'ray* "to save", '*p^ha wa'ṭā* "among themselves".

The accentuation rules observed in Southern and Eastern Balochi agree with those observed for Urdu (SPIES 1945:11ff.): Urdu words of Indic origin⁶¹ have the accent on the last of the last three syllables which is heavy (*natura* or *positione*) and on the last but two syllable if all three are short, word-final long vowels counting as a light syllable.⁶² Some nominal endings are enclitic.

The evidence suggests that the accentuation of the Balochi dialects has been influenced very much by (or even taken from) the respective neighbouring languages.⁶³ As the accentuation systems are based on entirely different principles, it does not seem possible at present to determine the accentuation of Common Balochi.

60 With this additional rule, apart from '*p^hiriš'tag*' (cf. the preceding footnote), the only examples which do not fit into the rules are '*si'd^hā* "straight" (a loanword from Sindhi) and '*čuk^hčōrī* "children" which is a compound from '*čuk* "child, boy" and Urdu '*čōrī* "girl" (thus "boys and girls").

61 There are some specific rules for the accentuation of Persian and Arabic loanwords.

62 The note in SPIES 1945:12 indicates that in contrast to Karachi Balochi, final long nasal vowels count as a heavy syllable.

63 One may even wonder if the accent system of Urdu and Karachi Balochi has been influenced by Arabic since Standard Arabic has the same system (KRAHL/REUSCHEL 1990:75f.).

2. Old Iranian > Common Balochi

In the following pages, the development of the Old Iranian phonemes to Common Balochi (cf. I 1.3) will be discussed in detail. For practical purposes, the term "Old Iranian" is used in a somewhat abstract sense and denotes an OIr. variety which does neither show the specific developments seen in Old Persian¹ nor the subphonemic phenomena characteristic for Avestan. As Balochi is a member of the group of Western Iranian languages, it shares the MP and Prth. loss of final syllables. In contrast to all other Western Iranian languages (Middle and Modern), however, most phonemic oppositions seen in Old Iranian are preserved in Balochi (for further discussion, cf. II 2.1.1.1 and IV).

The development of sound classes from PIE to Common Balochi may be tabulated as follows:

PIE	Old Iranian	Common Balochi	details in chapter
T	T	T	II 2.1.1
D	D	D	II 2.1.1
T/_C	Θ	T	II 2.1.2.1
R	R	R	II 2.1.3
E _i E _u	<i>ai</i> <i>au</i>	<i>ē</i> <i>ō</i>	II 2.3.3
<i>i, u</i>	<i>i, u</i>	<i>i, u</i>	II 2.3.1.2
<i>ī, ū</i> (< UH etc.)	<i>ī, ū</i>	<i>ī, ū</i>	II 2.3.1.3
E	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	II 2.3.1.2
<i>Ē</i> (< EH etc.)	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	II 2.3.1.3
Development of sound classes from PIE to Common Balochi			

The table on the following pages summarises the development of the individual sounds and the chapters where these are discussed.

1 It is assumed here (following e.g. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:649) that in Old Iranian times, the Iranian languages (only two of which are attested) formed a continuum of dialects, only the peripheral varieties (Old Persian and the Saka languages) displaying a set of very distinctive features, so that a distinction of Western and Eastern Iranian is not useful for that period.

PIE	Old Iranian	Common Balochi	details in chapter
stops and clusters with stops			
*p	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	II 2.1.1.1
*p/_C	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	II 2.1.2.1
*-pr-	<i>-fr-</i>	<i>-hr-</i>	II 2.2.1.4.2
*pro-	<i>#fra-</i>	<i>ša-</i>	II 2.2.1.4.1
	<i>#fš-</i>	<i>š-</i>	II 2.2.1.2
*pu	<i>fū</i>	<i>hu ?</i>	II 2.2.1.5.1
*t	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	II 2.1.1.1
*t+t, *d+t, *st	<i>st</i>	<i>st</i>	II 2.1.2.3
*t/_C	<i>θ</i>	<i>t</i>	II 2.1.2.1
*tr	Av. <i>θr</i> , OP <i>ç</i>	<i>s(s)</i>	II 2.1.2.4
*tu	<i>θu</i>	<i>h ?</i>	II 2.2.1.5.2
*k ^(u) t	<i>xt</i>	*kt	II 2.2.1.1
*rtC	<i>rθ</i>	<i>hl ?</i>	II 2.2.3.1
*k ^(u)	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	II 2.1.1.1
	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>-k</i>	II 2.4.4.1
/_{*ē, ī, i, ei, ɪ}	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	II 2.1.2.2
*k ^(u) /_C	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>	II 2.1.2.1
*k ^(u) t	<i>xt</i>	*kt	II 2.2.1.1
*k ^(u) s, *k ^(u) p ²	<i>xš</i>	<i>#š-, -šk-</i>	II 2.2.1.2
*k ^(u) m	<i>xm</i>	<i>m</i>	II 2.2.1.3
*k ^(u) r	<i>xr</i>	<i>kr-</i>	II 2.2.1.4.1
		<i>-hr</i>	II 2.2.1.4.2
*k ^(u) i	<i>šī</i>	<i>š</i>	II 2.2.2.3
*sk ^(u) /_{*ē, ī, i, ei, ɪ}	Av. <i>sč</i> , OP <i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	II 2.2.2.1.3

- 2 PIE *k^hp and *k^hp are to be understood in the way they have been described by SCHINDLER 1977 and MAYHOFER 1986:150ff.: early PIE consonant groups of dental + velar stop (preserved as such in Anatolian and Tocharian) are changed to velar + p. The outcome of this group is kš in OInd. and xš (in the case of PIE *k^hp) or š (< PIE *k^hp) in Old Iranian.

*k̄	s, OP <i>θ</i>	s	II 2.1.2.3
*k̄s, *k̄p, *ḡs	š	š	II 2.1.2.5
*k̄n	sn	n	II 2.2.2.2
*k̄r	sr	s(s)	II 2.2.2.3
*k̄u	Av. <i>sp</i> , OP <i>s</i>	s	II 2.1.2.4
*k̄i	sī	š	II 2.2.2.3
*s̄k̄	s	s	II 2.1.2.3
*b ^(h)	b	b	II 2.1.1.2, 2.4.4.2
*d ^(h)	d	d	II 2.1.1.2
*d+t	st	st	II 2.1.2.3
*d ^(h) m	dm	?	II 2.2.1.3
*#d ^(h) u-	#du-	*v- ?	II 2.2.1.5.3
*zd ^(h)	zd	z(z)	II 2.2.2.1.2
*nd ^(h)	nd	nd	II 2.1.1.2, 2.1.3.1
*rd ^(h)	rd	rd	II 2.1.1.2, 2.1.3.2
*g ^{(u)(h)}	g	g	II 2.1.1.2
/_{*ē, ī, i̇, ei, ɸ}	ǰ	ǰ	II 2.1.2.2
*g ^(h)	z	z	II 2.1.2.3
*rg ^(h)	rz, OP <i>rd</i>	rz	II 2.1.3.2
other consonants and consonant clusters			
*s	h	h	II 2.1.2.6
		∅	II 2.4.1.2
/_{*r, r̄, ū, u̇, ī, i̇, velars}_	š	š	II 2.1.2.5
	šm, šn	m(m), n(n)	II 2.2.2.2
*st	st	st	II 2.1.2.3
*sT	sT	sT, šT	II 2.2.2.1.1
		#asT-, #as̄T-	II 2.3.4
*sk ^(u) /_{*ē, ī, i̇, ei, ɸ}	Av. <i>sč</i> , OP <i>s</i>	š	II 2.2.2.1.3
*s̄k̄	s	s	II 2.1.2.3
*sm	hm	m(m)	II 2.2.1.3
*#su-	#hu-	w- /_{ā, h- /_{ī, ē}}	II 2.2.1.5.4
*k ^(u) s	xš	#š, -šk-	II 2.2.1.2
*rs	rš	š(š)	II 2.2.3.2
*rz	rž	ž ?	II 2.2.3.2

*z /{*r, r, ũ, ũ, ĩ, ĩ, velars}_ *zd ^(h)	z ž žN zd	z ž N ? z(z)	II 2.1.2.3 II 2.1.2.5 II 2.1.2.5 II 2.2.2.1.2
*m *k ^(u) m *d ^(h) m *sm /{*r, r, ũ, ũ, ĩ, ĩ, velars}_ *n *nd ^(h) *sn /{*r, r, ũ, ũ, ĩ, ĩ, velars}_ *rn	m xm dm hm šm n nd šn rn	m m ? m(m) m(m) n nd n(n) n(n)	II 2.1.3.1 II 2.2.1.3 II 2.2.1.3 II 2.2.1.3 II 2.2.2.2 II 2.1.3.1 II 2.1.1.2, 2.1.3.1 II 2.2.2.2 II 2.2.3.3
*l, *r *pro° *tr *k ^(u) r *kr *rġ ^(h) *rtC *rd ^(h) *rs *rz *rn	r #fra- Av. θr, OP ç xr sr rz, OP rd rθ rd rš rž rn	r l ša- s(s) kr- -hr- s(s) rz hl ? rd š(š) ž ? n(n)	II 2.1.3.2 II 2.4.2 II 2.2.1.4.1 II 2.1.2.4 II 2.2.1.4.1 II 2.2.1.4.2 II 2.2.2.3 II 2.1.3.2 II 2.2.3.1 II 2.1.1.2, 2.1.3.2 II 2.2.3.2 II 2.2.3.2 II 2.2.3.3
*u /_V *-u- *pu *tu *#d ^(h) u- *#su- *#ur- *Eu /_C	u #u- aua āua -u# fū θū #du- #hu- #ur- au	w g- /_ī, ē; gw- /_ā ō ā ∅ hw ? h ? *v- ? w/_ā, h-/_ī, ē r ? ō	II 2.1.3.3.2 II 2.1.3.3.1 II 2.1.3.3.2 II 2.1.3.3.2 II 2.1.3.3.2 II 2.2.1.5.1 II 2.2.1.5.2 II 2.2.1.5.3 II 2.2.1.5.4 II 2.2.3.4 II 2.3.3

* \hat{i} / _V	\hat{i}	y	II 2.1.3.4.2
*- \hat{i} -	# \hat{i} - C $\hat{i}\check{a}$ C $i\check{i}\check{a}$ $a\hat{i}a$ $\bar{a}ia$	\check{y} - C \check{a} C \bar{i} \bar{e} \bar{a}	II 2.1.3.4.1 II 2.1.3.4.2 II 2.1.3.4.2 II 2.1.3.4.2 II 2.1.3.4.2
* $k^{(w)}\hat{i}$	$\check{s}\hat{i}$	\check{s}	II 2.2.2.3
* $E\hat{i}$ / _C	$a\hat{i}$	\bar{e}	II 2.3.3
syllabic elements			
# \check{V} -	# \check{V} -	\emptyset	II 2.3.1.1
*E, i, u	a, i, u	a, i, u	II 2.3.1.2
* \bar{E} , \bar{i} , \bar{u}	\bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u}	\bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u}	II 2.3.1.3
* r	PIr. * r	<i>ir</i> in palatal context <i>ur</i> otherwise	II 2.3.2.1
* rH	PIr. * $r(u)\hat{i}$ PIr. * rH	<i>ir</i> <i>ar</i>	II 2.3.2.2 II 2.3.2.3
* $E\hat{i}$ / _C	$a\hat{i}$	\bar{e}	II 2.3.3
* $\hat{i}E$	$a\hat{i}a$ $\bar{a}ia$ C $\hat{i}\check{a}$ C $i\check{i}\check{a}$	\bar{e} \bar{a} C \check{a} C \bar{i}	II 2.1.3.4.2 II 2.1.3.4.2 II 2.1.3.4.2 II 2.1.3.4.2
* $E\hat{u}$ / _C	au	\bar{o}	II 2.3.3
* $\hat{u}E$	$a\hat{u}a$ $\bar{a}ua$	\bar{o} \bar{a}	II 2.1.3.3.2 II 2.1.3.3.2
\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>h</i> <i>y, w</i>	II 2.4.1.3, 2.4.1.4, 2.4.1.5, 2.4.3 II 2.4.3
Development of PIE sounds into Common Balochi			

2.1 Consonants

This subchapter treats the outcome of Old Iranian simple consonants, i.e. the development of consonants in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final postvocalic position, and in contexts in which the development is the same as in these. Developments of consonants in clusters which differ from the development of the respective simple consonants are treated in II 2.2.

2.1.1 Old Iranian plosives

OIr. (voiced and voiceless) stops and affricates seem to be preserved in Balochi without any change (cf. e.g. ELFENBEIN 1989:635, SCHMITT 2000:83). This "almost complete conservatism of Bal. with regard to intervocalic consonants" (MACKENZIE 1961:72) makes Balochi look the most archaic contemporary Iranian language.

The assumption of the stops and affricates being preserved entirely unchanged from Old Iranian to Balochi is faced with several problems: both Middle Persian and Parthian show lenition of postvocalic consonants (SUNDERMANN 1989:108),³ and with regard to the obviously intense contact of Balochi with neighbouring languages, one is bound to wonder whether Balochi is likely to have escaped a process which otherwise would seem to have happened in Western Iranian as a group. The alternative assumption would be that Proto-Balochi postvocalic stops underwent some lenition as MP and Parthian did and that the products were later reversed to the original state. The change which re-produced the OIr. stops may have been the same one which eliminated the OIr. fricatives of whatever source and brought about the simplicity of the Common Balochi phonemic system (cf. II 1.1.1). If so, the archaic look would be due to a secondary phenomenon.⁴

At any rate, most OIr. phonemic oppositions are indeed preserved in Balochi. This does constitute an important archaism and gives Balochi a special place among the Ir. languages, and makes it particularly important for the reconstruction of earlier stages in the history of the WIr. languages.

3 The rules for lenition in MP are given e.g. by BACK 1981.

4 For more discussion, cf. IV.

2.1.1.1 OIr. *p*, *t*, *k*

OIr. *p*, *t*, *k* are represented by Balochi *p*, *t*, *k*.

p > *p* (GEIGER 1891:431f.):⁵

- *pač*⁶ "cook" (Av. *pača*-, NP *paz*- / *puxt*, Prth. *pažag* "cook (noun)" / *puxt*), *pit* "father" (Av. *pitar*-, NP *pidar*, Prth. *pid(ar)*),
- *kapōt*⁷ "dove" (OP *kapautaka*- "blue", NP *kabūtar*, MP *kabōtar*, *kabōd*), *āp*⁸ "water" (Av. *āp*-, NP, Prth. *āb*).

t > *t* (GEIGER 1891:426f.):⁹

- *tač*¹⁰ "run" (Av. *tača*-, Prth. *taž*- / *taxt*, NP *tāz*- / *tāxt* (caus.) "hurry"),
- *būt*¹¹ "been" (Av. *būta*-, NP, Prth. *būd*), *māt* "mother" (Av. *mātar*-, NP *mādar*, Prth. *mād(ar)*), *gwāt* "wind" (Av. *vāta*-, NP *bād*, Prth. *wād*, cf. p. 99), *huš*- / *hušt*¹² "dry (verb, itr.)".

k > *k* (GEIGER 1891:417):

- *kap*- / *kapt* "fall" (Prth. *kaf*- / *kaft*),¹³ *kasān* "small" (Av. *kasu*-, NP *kih*, Prth. *kas*),

5 The development of *p* > *w* assumed for certain contexts by MOŠKALO 1991:30, 38 (with *warnā* "young" as the only example) is likely to be attributed to loanwords only (cf. II 3.3.1.6.2).

6 The past stem is *pakt* (NAWATA 1981:17), *paht*, *pāt* (EAL: Raxšānī, Sarawānī), *patk* (BMC, EAL, FBB), *pakkīt* (EAL, EVM, SOKOLOV 1956:81).

7 EAL 83 seems to assume Ind. influence. However, there seems to be nothing in Modern Ind. languages which would fit here. Conversely, Arm. *kapoyt* "blue" shows that the word must have existed already in Middle Iranian (cf. GIPPERT 1993/I:334).

8 According to GEIGER 1891:444, this word might also have been borrowed from Persian. For devoicing of word-final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4.

9 MOŠKALO 1991:31 assumes an additional change of OIr. *t* > Bal. *s*, the examples being the family terms *pis* "father", *mās* "mother" etc. (besides *pit*, *māt* etc.). These are better explained as going back to the oblique stems *piθr*- etc., however, cf. p. 89.

10 The past stem is *tatk* (BMC, EAL, FBB), *tā(h)t* (EAL: Raxšānī), *taht* (EAL: Raxšānī), *tačīt* (EAL, SOKOLOV 1956:80).

11 Words with *ū* also occur in variants with *ī*, thence *būt* (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1). For the pres. stem, cf. p. 78.

12 For further discussion of *huš*- / *hušt*, cf. p. 94, 316.

13 Cognates of this word, which has considered NWIr., include Kurd. *kev*- / *ket*'-, Zaz. *kewn*- / *kewt*-.

- *makisk*¹⁴ "fly" (NP, Prth. *magas*), *rēk*¹⁵ "sand" (NP *rēg*), *hušk* "dry" (Av. *huška-*, NP *xušk*, Prth. *hušk*).

For OIr. *k* in suffixes, cf. II 2.4.4.1.

In Eastern Balochi, postvocalic *p*, *t*, *k* yield *f*, *ʃ*, *x*, while word-initial *p*, *t*, *k* are aspirated (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1).

2.1.1.2 OIr. *b*, *d*, *g*

OIr. *b*, *d*, *g* are represented by Balochi *b*, *d*, *g*.

b > *b* (GEIGER 1891:433):

- *bay-* / *būt*¹⁶ "become" (Av. *būta-*, NP, Prth. *buw-* / *būd*), *brāt* "brother" (Av. *brātar-*, NP *barādar*, Prth. *brād(ar)*),
- *kumb*¹⁷ "pool" (Av. *xumba-*, NP *xum(b)* "jar", Prth. *xumb* "jug").¹⁸

14 For variants and for *a* > *i*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.1. Balochi and NP point to PIIr. **makas(-ka)-* (EAL 98), whereas Av. (*maxši-*) and OInd. (*máks-*, *máksikā-*) derive from PIIr. **makš-*.

15 For the variant *rīk* "desert", cf. p. 199. The classification of *rēk* as a NP loanword (thus GEIGER 1891:444) is possible (for devoicing of word-final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4), but not necessary. The word is probably neither to be connected to *sikatā-* as HORN 1893:142 assumes nor to Av. \sqrt{raek} , OInd. \sqrt{ric} , Bal. *rēč-* "pour" as GEIGER 1890:143 maintains, but rather to OInd. \sqrt{ri} "flow" and words for "river" derived from this root in a number of IE languages, for which cf. EWAia II:437.

16 The present stem *bay-* (SHG, EVM, EAL: *Raxšānī*) might be derived (SOKOLOV 1956:81f.) from **baṽ-* (then a SWIr. form, cf. TEDESCO 1921:197) or be connected with Av. *buua'nti* in some way (not regular by Bal. sound laws). Other present stems of this verb are *b-* (EAL: *Kečī*, Coastal, *Sarawānī*, *Lāšārī*, Eastern dialects), *bēy-* (ABG, FBB, EAL: *Lāšārī*), *bū-* (ABG, BMC, NAWATA 1981), *buw-* (SHG). For a parallel variation of present stems in the case of "give" (*day-* etc.), cf. p. 270.

The Osset. verb *wyn* "to be" cited by GEB might belong here despite the irregular development of OIr. *b-* > *w-* noted by HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555; it might show an assimilation of **baṽ-* > **w-w-* (CHEUNG 2002:244).

17 For a detailed discussion of this word, cf. p. 82f.

18 There is a certain shortage of examples with postvocalic and word-final *b* and sure etymology. For some further possible examples, cf. II 2.4.4.2.

d > *d* (GEIGER 1891:429):

- *dōč*⁻¹⁹ "sew" (NP *dōz-* / *dōxt*), *dantān*²⁰ "tooth" (Av. *dantān-*, NP, Prth. *dandān*),
- *šōd*⁻²¹ "wash" (NP *šōy-* / *šust*, Prth. *šōδ-* / *šust*), *kadī* "when" (Av. *kaδa*, NP *kai*, Prth. *kaδ*), *pād* "foot" (Av. *pād-*, NP *pāy*, Prth. *pāδ*), *šud* "hunger" (YAv. *šud-*, NP *šuy*, OInd. *kṣúd^h-*), *ādēnk*²² "mirror" (NP *āyīna*,²³ Prth. *ādēnag*),
- OIr. *nd* and *rd* are also preserved as such:²⁴
sind⁻²⁵ "break" (OInd. $\sqrt{c^h}$ id: *c^hinád-*, Prth. $^{\circ}$ *sind-* / *sist* (GHILAIN 1939:83)),
gind⁻²⁶ "see" (Av. $\sqrt{vaēd}$: *vinad-*, OInd. \sqrt{vid} : *vindá-*, Prth. *wind-* / *windād*).

19 Past stem *dōtk* (BMC, EAL, FBB), *dōt* (Turkmenistan), EBal. *dōxt*, cf. also p. 230, 248, 257.

20 For variants, cf. p. 180.

21 The most common past stem is *šušt*, which shows an assimilation vs. the less common variant *šust*, cf. p. 180.

HÜBSCHMANN observed (1890:561) that *šōd-* cannot belong to OInd. $\sqrt{śud^h}$ "purify" as presumed by GEB and that Av. *xšaodah-* "river" and *xšusta-* "melted, liquid" do not fit well with regard to the meaning. However, it seems preferable to assume that the Av., Bal. etc. forms do belong together, and to connect them to OInd. $\sqrt{kṣud}$ "spread, crush, let flow" (EWAia I:439).

22 MACKENZIE 1986:31 reads MPZ <'dwynek> *ēwēnag*, probably implying that the derivation is the same as that which has been assumed for its homonym and homograph *ēwēnag* "custom, manner", i.e. **aβdēn* (via **aδβēn* > **aṯβēn*, HENNING 1944:110¹). MP would thus show a different preverb (**abi*) than that found in NP *āyīna*, Prth. *ādēnag* and Bal. *ādēnk*, all of which may go back to **ā-dai(a)na-* (BAILEY 1979:19b), a derivative of OIr. $\sqrt{dī}$ (Av. $\sqrt{dāy}$) "see".

23 The contemporary form is *āyīna*, but the *Šāhnāma* has *āyīna*.

24 There is no trace of the assimilation *nd* > *nn* found in some cases of MPM (cf. HENNING 1958:98). For *rd*, cf. II 2.1.3.2.

25 Note the preservation of the present stem with nasal infix also seen in OInd. *c^hinātti*. As HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559 observes, *sind-* (past stem *sist*) cannot belong to Av. \sqrt{skand} , NP *šikan-* / *šikast* as GEB 342 presumes, but rather with Av. $\sqrt{saēd}$ (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559), NP *gu-sistan* (HORN 1893:205). The present stem of the latter, *gu-sil-*, may come from PIr. **srd* which could belong with OInd. $\sqrt{śr}$, this in turn being preserved in *gu-sār-* (HORN 1901:139); alternatively, *gusil-* / *gusist* (< **gusid-*, $\sqrt{saēd}$) may have been borrowed from Eastern Iranian which would explain the *l* for expected *d* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

26 This is a suppletive verb (GEIGER 1891:429) with the present stem from OIr., OInd. \sqrt{vid} "find" (thus not corresponding to NP *bīn-*, Zaz. *vên-*, MP, Prth. *wēn-* < Av. $\sqrt{vaēn}$) and the past stem *dīt* etc. (cf. p. 188) from OIr. $\sqrt{dī}$, OInd. $\sqrt{d^h}$ "look" (GEIGER 1890:122). A trace of the expected past stem Bal. **gist-* (Av. *vista-*) may be seen in the past stem variant *dist* (cf. p. 188).

g > *g* (GEIGER 1891:419):

- *gas-* / *gast*²⁷ "bite" (NP *gaz-* / *gazīd*, Prth. *gaz-* / *gašt*, OInd. √*gāh*), *gōk* "cow" (Av. *gau-*, Prth., NP *gāw*, cf. p. 102, 163),
- *nigōš-*²⁸ "listen" (Av. √*gaoš*, NP *niyōš-* / *niyōšīd*, Prth. *niyōš-* / *niyōšād*), *bōg*²⁹ "joint" (OInd. *b^hogá-* "bend").

In Eastern Balochi, postvocalic *b*, *d*, *g* yield *β*, *δ*, *ǰ*, respectively (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1).

2.1.2 Old Iranian fricatives and affricates

2.1.2.1 OIr. *f*, *ϑ*, *x*

OIr. *f*, *ϑ*, *x* (i.e. the product of PIE stop /_C, including PIE stop + **h*₂, which comes out as OInd. *p^h*, *t^h*, *k^h*), change to the corresponding stops (HÜBSCHMANN 1879:387), i.e. they fall together with the outcome of OIr. *p*, *t*, *k*.³⁰ Similarly, fricatives occurring in loanwords of all times and sources are in most cases replaced by the corresponding stops (cf. II 1.2.2).

This change effects the striking absence of fricatives in the phonemic system of Common Balochi (cf. II 1.1.1).

27 The past stem *gast* has hitherto only been found in YÜSEFIYĀN 1992:108. The EBal. past stem is *gasiϑ-* (MAYER 1910). According to MORGENSTIERNE 1932:45, the present stem (which is also found in SHG) shows the inchoative suffix OIr. *-s-* (PIE *-*ske-*) attached to the root seen in Av. √*gah* (OInd. √*g^has*) "eat, devour". A connection to Prth. and NP *gaz-* / *gašt* "bite" (NP *gašt* is found in addition to *gazīd* according to HORN 1895:197) seems more likely, however. Parthian and NP may go back to **geǵ^h* "intrude, enter" (LIV p. 183, BAILEY 1979:349a) and the Bal. verb to an inchoative present from this root. The Bal. past stems are then secondary formations based on the present stem.

28 The past stem is *nigōšt* (DTB, EAL, GEB) or *nigōšit* (BMC). "To hear" is *uškunag* etc. (cf. p. 147).

29 The only Av. form which might be connected is *aⁱpiδbaoya-* (if "hinterher einbiegend", BARTHOLOMAE 1904:85), but there are Khot. forms belonging here (EWAia II 275). GILBERTSON assumes (1925:362) that Bal. *bōg* has been borrowed from Urdu, but no fitting form seems to exist.

30 For OIr. *f*, *ϑ*, *x* /_C, cf. II 2.2.1.

f > *p* (GEIGER 1891:432):³¹

- *kōpag* "shoulder" (Av. *kaofa-*, NP *kōh* "mountain", Prth. *kōf* "hill"), *kap*³² "foam" (Av. *kafa-*, NP *kaf*), *nāpag* "navel" (Av. *nāfa-*, NP *nāf*, Prth. *nāfag* "centre").

θ > *t* (GEIGER 1891:427):³³

- *patan* "wide" (Av. *paθana-*, NP *pahn*), *gūt* "mud" (Av. *gūθa-* "excrement", NP *gūh*), *mētag*³⁴ "village" (Av. *maēθana-* "place of living", NP *mēhan* "homeland").

An older stage of Parthian is likely to have had *θ* (SUNDERMANN 1989a:123), while PrthT has *h* for OIr. *θ*. This means that Balochi reflects the stage of older Parthian.

x > *k* (GEIGER 1891:417f.):

Although it has long been assumed that OIr. *x* yields Bal. *k*³⁵, one might also consider

31 GEIGER 1891:432 cites *hapt* "7" as one of his examples, but the Bal. numeral system is likely to have been borrowed from Persian (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:78, GEIGER 1901a:216, KORN, frthc. 3). MOŠKALO's assumption (1991:36) that OIr. *f* may result in Bal. *h* (besides Bal. *p*, MOŠKALO 1991:38) is rather unfounded since his example *kōh* "mountain" has surely been borrowed from NP (cf. the genuine development in *kōpag* "shoulder").

32 *kap* (only in PIERCE 1874 cited by Geiger, and EAL) could also be a loanword (NP *kaf*).

33 GEIGER 1891:427 also cites *čāt* "source, well" and derives it from OIr. *čāθ- (thus corresponding to NP *čāh*), but *čāt* may also be derived from OIr. (Av.) *čāt-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555). *ān-gāt* (EVM), *an-gat* "yet" may likewise come from OIr. *gātu-* (while NP *ān-gāh*, *ān-gah* will be from OP *gāθu-* "place"). *gāh* "time" is also attested in Balochi and may have been borrowed from NP.

MOŠKALO (1991:36, 38) assumes that OIr. *θ* gives Bal. *h*, but his examples *šāh* "king" and *rāh* "road" may rather be NP loanwords. Similarly, MOŠKALO 1991:22 infers from *prāh* "wide" (Av. *fraθah-*) that OIr. *aθa* results in Bal. *ā*, but *prāh* is likewise a Pers. borrowing (cf. p. 117).

34 For further cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:219a.

35 It seems that Bartholomae was the first one to clarify this point. Referring to GEIGER 1889, he states: "Geiger, Dialektsp., S. 77 sieht in *har* und *handag* ächte Balutšiwörter. Gewiss mit Unrecht. Die ächten Wörter sind die mit *k* und *k'*, die andern aus dem neupers. *xandīdan*, *xar* entlehnt" (BARTHOLOMAE 1890:550). MORGENTIERNE 1948:254 also discusses this point with the conclusion that *k* is the regular outcome. MOŠKALO 1991:27 has both Bal. *k* (1991:27) and Bal. *h* (1991:36), the examples for the latter being *har* "donkey" (see below) and *suhr* "red" (for OIr. *xr*, cf. II 2.2.1.4.2). The following words probably do not belong here: *sīk* (SHG), *sīh* (DTB, GEB, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:96), *sī* (GEB, SHG) "pike, hook" is likely to have been borrowed from NP *sēx* (CNP *sīx*). The etymology is not clear: there are no OIr. cognates, and the connection with OInd. *sīk^hará-* "pointed" etc. has been rejected by KEWA III:334.

the alternative hypothesis that the regular outcome is *h* since most examples are indeed attested both with *k* and with *h*. Variants with *x* are clearly loanwords from Persian. But neither the words with *h* nor those with *k* are sure evidence since Persian words with *x* can be rendered with *h* or *k* in Balochi (cf. II 1.2.2). The relevant examples are the following ones:

Old, Middle Ir. etc.	Balochi	NP	
Av. <i>vi-xāδa-</i> "break off" OInd. $\sqrt{k^h\bar{a}d}$	<i>kād</i> (noun), EBal. <i>k^hāδ-</i> / <i>k^hāδiθ-</i> (verb)	<i>xāy-</i> / <i>xāyīd</i>	"chew, bite"
Av. <i>xāniia-</i> MP, Prth. <i>xānīg</i> OInd. <i>k^hā-</i>	<i>kān(īg)</i>	<i>xānī</i>	"spring, well"
Av. <i>xara-</i> OInd. <i>k^hará-</i>	<i>k^har</i> ; (<i>h</i>) <i>ar</i> ; <i>xar</i> <i>kargōš</i> , <i>xargōšk</i>	<i>xar</i> <i>xargōš</i>	"donkey" "rabbit (lit.: donkey-ear)"
Prth. <i>xand-</i> "smile"	<i>kand-</i> / <i>kandit</i> ; (<i>h</i>) <i>and-</i> / <i>handit</i> ; <i>xand-</i> / <i>xandit</i> ³⁶	<i>xand-</i> / <i>xandīd</i>	"laugh"
Av. <i>xumba-</i> Prth. <i>xumb</i>	<i>kumb</i> "pool, jar"; <i>humb</i> "jar"	<i>xum(b)</i>	"pot, vessel"
OP <i>mayūxa-</i> , Prth. <i>mēx</i> , OInd. <i>mayūk^ha-</i>	<i>mīk</i> "top of head", <i>mik</i> , EAL <i>mēk</i> ; <i>mēh</i> "tent peg", EVM <i>mī</i>	<i>mēx</i> , CNP <i>mīx</i>	"stake, pole, nail"
Prth. <i>nāxun</i> ³⁷ OInd. <i>nak^há-</i>	<i>nākun</i> , <i>nā(h)un</i> , EBal. (DTB) <i>nāxun</i>	<i>nāxun</i>	"fingernail"
OInd. <i>śāk^hā-</i>	<i>šāh</i> , <i>šāx</i>	<i>šāx(a)</i>	"branch, horn"
Bal. cognates of words with OIr. <i>x</i>			

The origin of (*h*)*ōrk* (BMC, EVM, EAL, SHG), *hōr(g)* (DTB), *kōrk* (BRAY 1934:185, according to EAL used in Kēčī, but perhaps non-existent according to ROSSI 1979:29), (*h*)*urk* (for which cf. p. 188) "empty" is not clear. According to ROSSI 1979:29, Brahui *xōrk*, *hōrk* has probably been borrowed from Balochi, but this need not imply the existence of Bal. **xōrk*, since the Br. word may also have been borrowed from *hōrk*. GEIGER's argument (1891:451) that the word has been borrowed from NP *xōlā* "empty" because of the Bal. *h-* is not convincing either (ROSSI 1979:29). It remains possible, but far from sure, that Bal. (*h*)*ōrk* is a cognate of some sort of NP *xōla*.

36 *xand-* is from DTB and GEB. *hand-* is qualified as a loanword by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:68.

37 Prth. <n'xwn> is found in Angad Rōšnān Ia 1b, which is to be read (correcting BOYCE 1954:120) <hrw [b]nd pbdnd o w̄ n'xw(n m)[yx] cy bndyst'n> "every tie, bar and nail, rivet of the prison" (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication), <nxwn> is attested twice. MP also has *nāxun* according to MACKENZIE 1986:xxiii.

Notes:

- *k^hāδ-* is found in MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48, also mentioned by BAILEY 1979:72b, but not found in any of the glossaries apart from MAYER 1910. ELFENBEIN 1985:233 suggests that it might have been borrowed from Indic (e.g. Lhd. *k^hād^h* "food") and that *kād* is a "Balochified Persian form for expected Bal *kāz", i.e. a hypercorrect substitution of "Pers." *d* for *z* on the model of Bal. *zāmāt*, NP *dāmād* "son-in-law", Bal. *zān-*, NP *dān-* "know". As these two are the only examples of exact pairs (Bal. *zird* vs. NP *dil* "heart" and the other examples where NP shows *d* will certainly not be recognised as etymologically related pairs), which moreover have the speciality of *z/d* in word-initial position, such a substitution does not seem likely. Moreover, no Modern Ir. *xāz seems available which might have suffered the hypercorrect change that Elfenbein assumes.³⁸ It is much more probable that *kād* is either the genuine Bal. form or borrowed from an Ind. language. At any rate, *k^hāδ-* may be a denominative from *kād*.
- *kānīg* (also *kā(h)n* (BMC), *kahnī(g)*)³⁹ is also attested indirectly in Br. *k^hānī* (Bal. loanword, MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48). According to EWAia I:451, this word (the OInd. cognate is *k^hā-*) does not belong to NP *kan-* / *kand* "dig" (OInd. $\sqrt{k^h}$ an). Av. has *xā-* and *xāniia-* (cf. KELLENS 1974:384).
- *k^har* is only found in GCD, *xar* in DTB, GEB, GCD. *kargōš* occurs in NAWATA 1981:35, *xargōšk* in DTB. One might also connect the first member of Bal. *kargōš*, NP *xargōš* to the *xar-* of NP *xarsang* "rock" (from *sang* "stone") and postulate a word *xar^o* "big". However, the existence of such a word is not sure (*xarsang* would be the only example), and rabbits are not usually called "having big ears" (it is rather "having long ears" which is a common designation, but this does not match the meaning of *xar* in *xarsang*), given that they are rather small animals.
- *kumb* "pool" (declared possibly genuine Balochi by MORGENSTIERNE 1948:288) may have been borrowed from Si. *kumb^hu* "pond" (thus ELFENBEIN 1990/II:80), and *kumb* "jar" could be from Ur. *kumb^h(a)* or from NP *xumb*.
- It is not clear whether OIr. *-ayū-* (OP *mayūxa-*) would give Bal. *ē* or *ī* or rather something else. There seems to be no EBal. $\dagger m\bar{e}/\bar{i}x < m\bar{e}/\bar{i}k$ which would make the case for an inherited word stronger.⁴⁰
- *šāx* is found in ABG, DTB, EAL, EVM, GEB. *šāh* is qualified as a loanword by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:68. OInd. initial *ś* does not usually correspond to Ir. *š*.⁴¹ I do not see how NP *šāx* etc. could be connected (as does BAILEY 1979:409b) to OInd. *śṛṅga-* "horn".⁴²

It is probable, although not entirely sure, that *k* is the regular outcome: most items are represented by a form with *k*, although the number alone is no conclusive evidence. For systematic reasons, one would also expect Bal. *k* from OIr. *x*, parallel to Bal. *p* and *t*

38 Elfenbein implies (as does EMMERICK 1968:26) that NP *xāy-* belongs with Prth. *xāz-* / *xāzād* "devour" and Khot. *k^hās-* "eat" and not (as presumed by EWAia I:451f.) with OInd. $\sqrt{k^h}$ ād.

39 For WBal. *ah* > *ā* and its hypercorrect reversal, cf. II 3.2.3.3.

40 GEIGER 1890:136 assumes that *mēh* (also in DTB) has been borrowed from NP. For further discussion of the Ir. (proto-)forms, cf. ABAEV I:124f., EWAia II:317. For *mik* "nail", cf. p. 187.

41 Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 1982:169, 2000:208 and EWAia II:628 for a discussion of this problem.

42 For a Bal. cognate of this word, cf. p. 130.

from OIr. *f*, *ð*, respectively.⁴³ Another argument may be that Kurdish, which is closely related to Balochi in a number of other aspects, has /k^h/ (MACKENZIE 1961:71): *k'êr* "donkey", *k'enîn* "to laugh", *k'anî* "spring", *korôs* (cited by GEIGER 1890:133) "cock", *k'irîn* (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{krî}}$, NP *xar-* / *xarîd*, no cognate attested in Balochi) "to buy".⁴⁴

The frequent replacement of *x* by *h* in loanwords might be explained as being analogical to words with a regular opposition Bal. *h* vs. NP *x*. This is the case with OIr. *hu-*, which regularly gives Bal. *hu-*, NP *xu-* (e.g. Bal. *hušk* vs. NP *xušk* "dry", Bal. *hūk* vs. NP *xūk* "pig", cf. II 2.1.2.6). On the other hand, a replacement of *x* by *k* would be parallel to the replacement of *f* by *p* and of *g* by *g* (cf. II 1.2.2), but is much less common and seems to be restricted to SBal. dialects.

For secondary NP *x-*, cf. II 2.4.1.4. For OIr. *h₂-* (NP *x^w-*), cf. II 2.2.1.5.4.

2.1.2.2 OIr. *č*, *ǰ*

OIr. *č* and *ǰ* (from PIE *k^(u) and *g^{(u)(h)} before palatal vowels) seem to be preserved in Balochi. As in the case of the stops, it is possible that in postvocalic position, Bal. *č*, *ǰ* go back to lenited allophones, the OIr. state of affairs being restituted later. However, as there is evidence for the preservation of *č*, *ǰ* in Middle NWIr. (see below), it may be assumed that they have indeed been preserved in their OIr. form.

č > *č* (GEIGER 1891:423f.):⁴⁵

- *čar(r)*-⁴⁶ "turn" (Av. *čara-* "move", Prth. *čar-* "graze"), *čam(m)* "eye" (Av. *čašman-*, NP, Prth. *čašm*), *čin*-⁴⁷ "pick, gather" (Av. *činao-*, NP, Prth. *čîn-* / *čîd*),

43 GERSHEVITCH 1971:257²⁴ assumes that the word-initial consonant of MPZ *haftār/xaftār* "hyena" and some Ir. cognates is due to an assimilation of fricatives vs. the original form seen in NP *kaftār* etc. If so, Bal. *haptār* is likely to be a MP borrowing (thus also Sogd. *'βt'r*, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976:61).

44 Zazaki has *h*, e.g. *her* "donkey", *hêrn-*, *erin-* "buy".

45 Geiger's example *gwač* "calf" is likely to be a loanword, cf. p. 280.

46 Most Bal. dialects have two verbs (EAL 31) *čar(r)-* / *čar(r)it* "turn" and *čar-* "graze" (past stem *čart* (BMC), *čarit* (EAL)). This is a secondary distinction as both are etymologically identical (Av. $\sqrt{\text{čar}}$, OInd. $\sqrt{\text{car}}$). However, the verb may also have been borrowed from NP, Urdu or Sindhi (cf. p. 319).

47 The past stem is *čit*; EAL seems to be the only source which also has *čint*, maybe taken from the alleged past stem *gičint* (cf. next footnote).

- *gičīn*⁴⁸ "select, choose" (Av. *vī-čīnao-*, NP *guzīn-* / *guzīd*, Prth. *wižīn-* / *wižīd-*)⁴⁹ < **ui-čin-*, *sōčīn*⁵⁰ "needle" (NP *sōzan*), *rōč* "day" (Av. *raočah-*, NP *rōz*, Prth. *rōž*), *ač*⁵¹ "of" (Av. *hača*, NP *az*, Prth. *až*).

It is commonly assumed that intervocalic *č* has resulted in *ž* in Parthian, but earlier stages of the language must have preserved *č* as is shown by loanwords in Armenian

48 This verb is found in MOCKLER 1877 (thence GEIGER 1890:122), EAL (maybe from the same source), and SHG. The past stem is *gičīt*. The past stem *gičīnt* mentioned in EAL is likely to be based on EBal. *gišīnt^h*- with a reversal of CBal. *č/V_V* > EBal. *š* (cf. II 3.2.1.1). *gišīnt^h*- noted by GEIGER 1890:122 is obviously an error for *gišāint^h*- taken from DAMES 1881:106, though. The following EBal. forms are found: GILBERTSON 1925:121, 586 has *gišēn-* / *gišēnt^h*-, DTB *gišain-* / *gišāint^h*-. The seemingly causative formation *gišēn-* and the "double causative" (cf. V 1.7.8) *gišain-* are probably due to an adaptation of the unusual stem in *-in-* to the common causative formations, the past stems also being formed as if derived from a regular causative stem.

ELFENBEIN 1985:231 assumes that *gičēn* "selected, chosen, outstanding" is the result of a contamination of *gēč-* "sift" (for which cf. p. 98) and *gičīn-*, i.e. of the past stem *gičīnt* (for which see above), via **gēčēn(t)*. An easier way than this rather complicated assumption would be to have *gičēn* influenced by the present stem in *-ēn-* and/or the adj. suffix *-ēn*. No specific explanation is necessary, however: *gičēn* may directly correspond to MPZ <*wcyn*> which is interpreted as *wizēn* "choice" by MACKENZIE 1986:93. MP *wizēn* (and Bal. *gičēn*) may be derived from **ui-čāi-ana-*, parallel to other formations from the full grade of a root in **a_i* with suffix *-ana-, e.g. (MACKENZIE 1986:85) *uzēnag* "exit" vs. *uzīdan* "go out" (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

MPZ *wizēn* which is attested several times as a simplex (Shaul Shaked, personal communication) is also found in compounds (<*wcyn-kl*> "chooser, selective", <*hwp-wcynyh*> "good choosing"), and the same applies to Bal. *gičēn*, e.g. *gičēn-kār* (BMC, EAL) "electing, elector", *x-gičēn* "selecting x".

49 The Prth. present stem is found only twice (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:338a).

The *ī* in the Pers. verb is likely to be due to a metanalysis of **wizid* as containing the past stem suffix *-īd*, and the same probably applies to the Pers. simplex *čīd* < **čīd* (SALEMANN 1901:272). The *ī* might then have spread to the present stems MP *wižīn-*, *čīn-* (HORN 1901:26). The Manichæan orthography does not allow to determine the quantity of the *i* in the corresponding Prth. forms, but it has been assumed that these are likewise to be read *wižīn-* / *wižīd*, *čīm-* / *čīd*.

50 NAWATA 1981:37, otherwise *sūč(č)in*; for dialectal variants, cf. p. 194, 198, 200. The word is likely to belong to OInd. *sūcī-* "needle" (with *s-* for **ś-* in analogy to *śyū* "sew", EWAia II:739).

51 This form is mainly used in the Southern dialects (BMC: Makrānī, EAL: Coastal, Kēčī, Sarāwānī, Lāšārī, SHG). A variant without initial vowel and with secondary vowel after the consonant is also used (cf. NP *zi*, *z-*): *ča* (BMC: Makrānī, EAL, SHG), *či* (EAL: Eastern, Coastal), *čē* (FBB). Other variants include *aš* (BMC, DTB, EAL), *š-* (DTB), *ša* (BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:30, EAL: Raxšānī, SHG). The latter lead MOŠKALO (1991:33, 38) to assume Bal. *š* as a second outcome of OIr. *č*. However, *aš* seems better explained as a EBal. dialect variant (for CBal. postvocalic *č* > EBal. *š*, cf. II 3.2.1.1.1) and *š(a)* as modelled on the SWBal. variant *č(a)*. For the variants *až*, *ža*, cf. p. 179. NP *az* is also in use (SHG).

(cf. GIPPERT 2000:2) and Hungarian⁵² and reflected by the spellings with <c>. Balochi thus corresponds to the Early Parthian stage with regard to word-internal č, while some Zazaki dialects have /ǰ/, and Middle and Late Parthian and Kurdish show /ž/.

ǰ > ž (GEIGER 1891:424):

- *ǰan-* / *ǰat*⁵³ "strike" (Av. *ǰan-* / *ǰata-*, NP *zan-* / *zad*, Prth. *žan-* / *žad*), *ǰan* "woman, wife" (Av. *ǰd'ni-*, NP *zan*, Prth. *žan*),
- *bōǰ*⁵⁴ "open" (Av. *būǰa-*, MP *bōz-* / *bōxt*, Prth. *bōž-* / *bōxt*, both "save"), *raǰ-* / *raǰit*⁵⁵ "colour (tr.)" (NP *raz-* / *rašt*, *razīd*, OInd. √*raj* "colour"), *drāǰ* "long" (Av. *drāǰah-*, NP *dirāz*).

Again, attested Parthian shows a more advanced stage, namely ž, except for an allophone ǰ after *n* (RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:159, 177), possibly also after *r*, (cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 56). Kurdish has ž, too. Zazaki, however, preserves ǰ in some dialects, so this stage may be postulated for Early Middle NWIranian.

In Eastern Balochi, č, ǰ yield š, ž in postvocalic position (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1).

2.1.2.3 OIr. (non-Persian) *s*, *z*

As in other North-Western Iranian languages, the Bal. outcome of the PIE palatals (**k*, **ǵ*^(h) > PIIr. **č*, **ǰ*^(h) > PIr. **ś*, **ź*; OP *ǰ*, *d* > MP/NP *h*, *d*) falls together with *s*, *z* of other sources (PIE **s* in consonant clusters):

52 Hungarian *vásár* "market", obviously borrowed from a cognate of NP *bāzār*, must go back to a word with -č-, i.e. presupposes **uačar* (BENKŐ 1993ff.:1610) which can also be seen in Arm. *vačar* and Georg. *vačar-* "tradesman".

53 This verb belongs to a small group of verbs which have a 3sg. ending -*t* (*ǰant*) vs. usual -*ī(t)*.

54 EAL 17 considers this verb (past stem *bōtk* etc., cf. p. 230, 241) as "perhaps genuine (...) rather than L[oa]n[W]ord" from Si./Lhd. *buǰǰanu*, which indeed does not fit well since there is no evidence that Bal. -*ō-* (in all dialects and stems) is secondary. For cognates of the root in non-Ir. languages (e.g. Latin *fugiō* "flee"), cf. LIV p. 84.

55 The etymology of *raǰ-* has apparently gone unnoticed so far, nor is the word noted in linguistic works treating Balochi. For Ir. cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:362, MACIUSZAK 1996:26, 28 (who do not mention Bal. *raǰ-*), for the EBal. variant, cf. p. 229.

Non-Pers. OIr. *s* > *s* (GEIGER 1891:430f.):⁵⁶

- PIE **k*:
sōč-⁵⁷ "burn sth." (Av. *saoča*-, OInd. √*śuc*, NP *sōz*- / *sōxt*, Prth. *sōž*- / *suxt* (GHILAIN 1939:63)),
āsin "iron" (NP *āhan*, Prth. *āsun*),⁵⁸ *brēs*-⁵⁹ "spin" (Av. *uruuaēsa*-, NP *rēs*- / *rišt*, Prth. *ā-rwis*- / *ā-rwist*, *ā-rwisād*), *rōpāsk* "fox" (NP *rōbāh*, Prth. *rōbās*, OInd. *lopāśá*-), *pas* "sheep, goat" (Av. *pasu*-, OInd. *paśú*-, MP *pah*, Prth. *pas*), *gis* "house" (Av. *vīs*-, OInd. *vís*-, Prth. *wis*^o);
- PIE **s**k*: *sind*- / *sist* "break" (Av. √*saēd*, OInd. √*c*^h*id*, cf. also p. 79);
suffix **ske*-⁶⁰: *tus*- "suffocate" (cf. NP *tuhī*, Prth. *tusīg*, both "empty"), *tōs*-⁶¹ "extinguish" vs. forms without this suffix, e.g. Av. *taošaiia*-; *waps*-⁶² "go to sleep" (Av. *x^vafsa*-);
- PIE **t*: past part. in PIE *-*d*-*to*- (OIr. *-s-ta*-), e.g.
rust (pres. *rud*- "grow", Prth., NP *rust*); *sist* (pres. *sind*-, see above).

56 Geiger's example *sā'ig* "shadow" (also *sāhig*, *sāyig* (EAL, cf. p. 162), *sāi* (EAL), *sāyag* (BMC)) is likely to have been borrowed, and the same applies to its compound *hamsā'ig*, *hamsāhig* "neighbour" (NP *hamsāya*). The variant *sāh* (DTB, EAL) may be inherited (cf. p. 109). *siāig* (EVM) "shadowy" is probably rather to be connected with *syāh* "black".

57 Balochi preserves the distinction between zero-grade *suč*- "burn (itr.)" (past stem *sutk* (BMC, EAL, FBB), *suht* (EAL: Raxšānī), *sut* (Turkmenistan)) and full grade *sōč*- "burn (tr.)". The past stem (*sōtk* (BMC, EAL, FBB), *sōht* (EAL: Raxšānī), *sōt* (Turkmenistan)) has probably been modelled on the present stem, in order to distinguish it from the past stem of *suč*-.

58 These forms may most conveniently be derived from **āsuan(i)jā*- > MPZ <'syn'>, Psht. *ōspīna*, **āsuna*- > MPM *āhun*, Prth. *āsun*, Zaz. *asin*, Kurd. *hesin*, Bal. *āsin* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:193⁷). If so, Bal. *āsin* would show a palatalisation of the kind discussed in II 3.1.2.3.1. Alternatively, one might assume a protoform **āsun(i)jā*- for Zazaki, Kurdish and Balochi. The Kurd. and Bal. forms might also be derived from **āsuan(i)jā*- (cf. II 2.1.2.4), but this would have the disadvantage of separating them from the Prth. and Zaz. ones. Other protoforms from which Ir. cognates may be derived include **āsūana*- (> e.g. Osset. *æfsæn* "ploughshare") and **āsūanā*- (> e.g. Psht. *ōspana*, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:193⁷). For previous discussions of the Ir. forms, cf. BENVENISTE 1935:132f., BAILEY 1979:487a, SKJÆRVØ 1994:271.

59 *brēs*- / *brēst* is likely to go back to a formation with preverb, cf. p. 134f.

60 *purs*- / *pursit* "ask" may have been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 147).

61 EAL has the past stems *tusit*, *tōsit*, respectively, the attestation of which seems unclear. BMC has *tust*, *tōst*, DTB the corresponding EBal. forms *t^hust*, *t^hōsta*, the other sources do not note these verbs (SHG has only the present stems). The *-s*- has been analogically introduced into the past stems. On the etymology of this word, cf. HOFFMANN 1976/II:637²⁵, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:203.

62 This verb (past stem *wapt*) is also found with metathesis: *wasp*- (ABG, BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:17, EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, Kečī), cf. p. 177, cf. the same phenomenon in Prth. *xusp*- (past stem *xuft*) "go to sleep" (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication), NP *xusp*- / *xuft*.

For Bal. *s(s)* resulting from certain consonant clusters, cf. II 2.1.2.4, 2.2.2.3.

Non-Pers. OIr. *z* > *z* (GEIGER 1891:431):⁶³

- PIE *ǵ^(h):
zān-⁶⁴ "know" (Av. *zanā*-, NP *dān*- / *dānist*, Prth. *zān*- / *zānād*), *zāmāt* "son-in-law" (Av. *zāmātar*-, NP *dāmād*); *mazan*⁶⁵ "big" (Av. *maz*-, MPM (NWIr. form) *mazan* "monster", OInd. *mahánt*-), *mēz*-⁶⁶ "urinate" (Av. *maēza*-, NP *mēz*- / *mēzīd*);
- PIE *z:⁶⁷
*naz(z)(īk)*⁶⁸ "near" (Av. *nazdiiō*, NP *nazd(īk)*, Prth. *nazd*), *mazg*⁶⁹ "brain, marrow" (Av. *mazga*-, NP *maǵz*).

63 Since Balochi shows *z* for PIE *ǵ^(h), *dap* "mouth" must have been borrowed from Persian (certainly not from NP as ELFENBEIN 1990/II:38 assumes), although a fitting OP word is not attested (GEIGER 1890:119, 1891:431). Bal. *dap*, Av. *zafar/n*- and NP *dahān* show a (dialectal?) substitution of *f* (> NP *h*) for *b^h vs. OInd. *jāmb^ha*- "teeth", Greek γόμφοϛ "nail, post" etc. (cf. BAILEY 1979:351b). For Bal. *dast* "hand", cf. p. 292.

64 Like *jan*-, this verb has a 3sg. in *-t* (*zānt*, identical with the past stem *zānt*).

65 NP *mih*, Av. *mas*- do not belong here, but with Greek μακρός etc. (BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553).

66 The past stem of this verb is *mēst* (EAL), *mēzit* (EAL), *mišt* (DTB, EAL: mainly Eastern). EBal. also has present stems *miž*- (DTB), *mēž*- (EAL: mainly Eastern)), the *ž* may be hypercorrect (*z* being perceived as "Pers. variant" of Bal. *ǰ* / Ebal. *ž*) or influenced by Psht. *mēž*-.

67 *mēz* (BMC, NAWATA 1981:9) "table" would be an additional example (NP *mēz*, Av. *miiazda*-, OInd. *miyéda*-, both latter words "sacrificial meal", note that the further connection to OInd. *méd^ha*- is doubtful, EWAia II:356). However, since tables do not figure among traditional Baloch household items, the word will rather have been borrowed from those who introduced the object into Baloch society (cf. *tēbal* (FBB) "table"). *mēǰ* (ABG, EAL) could be (as suggested by ELFENBEIN 1985:234) its hypercorrect variant or (EAL 97) borrowed from Lhd. *mēǰ*. At least some Modern Ind. words may have been borrowed from Portuguese *mesa* (Jost Gippert, personal communication).

68 For the suffix, cf. p. 163. There is a regular reduction of *zd* > *z(z)* (cf. II 2.2.2.1.2), e.g. *muz(z)* "wages", *duz(z)* "thief" (also *duzd* (EVM), *duz(z)ī* "theft" (DTB, FBB) and *duz(z)-* / *duz(z)it* "steal") unless *duz(z)* has been borrowed from MP *duz*. With regard to this parallel, *naz(z)*, *naz(z)īk* could, but not necessarily has to, also be a loanword from Persian. *muz(z)* and *duz(z)* are not (pace GEIGER 1891:431) examples for *z, but rather Pers. loanwords (otherwise they should have *ž*, cf. Av. *duždāh*- "evildoing" (NARTEN 1986:286); *mīžda*-, Prth. *mužd*), cf. II 2.1.2.5.

69 EAL; otherwise *muzg* "back of head" (SHG). The variant *maǰg* (EVM, EAL "brain"; SHG: "stone of a fruit etc.", EBal. (DTB) *mažg*) leads MOŠKALO (1991:29, 38f.) to assume that OIr. *z* may result in Bal. *ǰ* (with *maǰg* as the only example). Although a special development of OIr. *zg* is possible, it does not seem necessary since *maǰg* may be interpreted (GEIGER 1891:426, ELFENBEIN 1985:234) as a hypercorrect substitution of *ǰ* for perceived Pers. *z* (cf. e.g. NP *zan* vs. Bal. *jan* "woman" etc., cf. II 2.1.2.2), with *mažg* as its EBal. variant. For *mazg*, *magz*, cf. p. 86, 207.

2.1.2.4 OP ζ < PIr. * ϑ r, OP s < PIr. * \acute{s} u

In the case of these two consonant clusters, Balochi does not seem to go with other NWIr. languages, but with Persian, which reduces the cluster to a sibilant.

PIr. * ϑ r > $s(s)$ (GEIGER 1891:415, 430):⁷⁰

- *pus(s)ag* "son" (Av. *pu ϑ ra-*, Prth. *puhr*) and *dās* "sickel" (OInd. *dātra-*) may have been borrowed from MP *pus*, MP/NP *dās*, respectively;
- if *āpus* "pregnant" (Av. *apu ϑ ra-*, NP *ābistan*, Prth. (with a different first member) *bar-buhr*) was borrowed (cf. MP *ābus*), it would have to be a very old loanword.

The following words do not have a direct Pers. counterpart, so that they are less likely to have been borrowed. This speaks for $s(s)$ as the regular Bal. result of PIr. * ϑ r.

- *ās*⁷¹ "fire" (Av. (obl.) *ā ϑ r-* vs. MP, Prth. *ādur* from OIr. (Av.) *ātar-*);
- *pis(s)* "father", *mās* "mother", *brās* "brother", *zāmās* "son/brother-in-law" of some WBal. dialects⁷² go back to the OIr. (Av.) obl. cases (*pi ϑ r-*, *mā ϑ r-* etc.) according to BARTHOLOMAE 1885:130, 133);⁷³

70 A further example would be Br. *his*, *hīs*, *hēs* "ashes" if this comes indeed, as MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47 would have it, from Bal. * $\acute{e}s$ and if this goes back to * $\acute{a}\vartheta$ ria- (Psht. *ēre* etc.).

Geiger's derivation of *nawāsag* "grandchild" from * \acute{n} apā ϑ ra- fits with NP *nawāsa* (the better preform is (obl.) * \acute{n} apā ϑ r-, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:102f.), but not with the Bal. word, which has been borrowed from NP (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559). For Bal. *nimāsag*, cf. p. 234, 303.

MOŠKALO 1991:32 assumes that s for OIr. ϑ r is seen only in loanwords, citing *sai* "three" as example (for which see below). Not noting that the family terms *pis(s)* "father" etc. occur in some dialects only, MOŠKALO 1991:31 wrongly assumes that these words show a development of OIr. t (for which cf. II 2.1.1.1) > Bal. s , leaving the other examples for ϑ r > $s(s)$ unexplained.

71 *āč* is also used; it has probably been borrowed from NP *ātiš*, cf. p. 282.

72 Raxšānī according to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VIIff. The forms are found in BMC (Pakistani Raxšānī), NAWATA 1981 and BUDDRUS 1988 (both Afghanistan Balochi) and EVM (Turkmenistan Balochi), cf. p. 250, 300ff.

73 *pit*, *māt*, *brāt*, *zāmāt* of the remaining dialects come from the strong cases (OIr. *pitār-*, *mātar-*, *brātar-*, cf. p. 77f.). For the distribution and derivation of the corresponding MP and Prth. forms, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981:166ff.

- *duskīč* "sister-in-law (spouse's sister)" may represent a metathesised form of *duksīč*⁷⁴ and is derived from *duxθrī-čī- ("daughter" + a feminine suffix) by MORGENSTIERNE 1932:43.⁷⁵

Note that there is no example for word-initial OIr. *θr-* since *sai*, *saē*, *sē* "three" (MP *sě*, *seh*, NP *sih*, CNP *se* vs. Prth. *hrē*) is likely to be a loanword (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:78).

PIr. *śu > *s* (GEIGER 1891:430):⁷⁶

In a NWIr. language one would expect PIr. *śu (Av. *sp*, OP *s*) to come out as *sp*. The two examples that could be adduced here are *spēt*⁷⁷ (Av. *spaēta-*, OInd. *śvetá-*, Prth. *ispēd*) "white" and *asp*⁷⁸ (Av. *aspa-*, OInd. *ásva-*, Prth. *asp*) "horse". However, these words do not occur in their SWIr. form anywhere (except for OP *asa-bāra-* > NP *suwār* "horseman" and NP *astar* "mule", cf. OInd. *aśva-tará-*). The attested corresponding WIr. words resemble NP (originally NWIr.) *asb* and *sapēd* (plus variants) and may thus have been borrowed from NP (or rather from MP *spēd* in the case of Bal. *spēt*).⁷⁹ A further item often used as example is NP *sag* "dog" (Prth. *ispag*) which is identical with the NP word in Balochi (*sag*) and thus does not prove anything either.

There is some evidence for *s* as Bal. result of PIr. *śu:

- *sāh* "breath, life" which (GEIGER 1891:430f.) might belong to Psht. *sāh*, Gabri *šā*, OInd. *śvāsá-*, unless it has been borrowed from Pashto or from Ind. (which might then also apply to Psht. *sāh*, MORGENSTIERNE 1927:66);⁸⁰

74 This form is noted by SPOONER 1967:67, who writes *doksīč* with *-o-* representing the IrBal. pronunciation of /u/ (cf. II 3.2.4.2). For further discussion of this word, cf. p. 178.

75 It seems that Judeo-NP <dwškyzh> (cited in MACKENZIE 1986:27) might be explained in the same way and that MPM *duxš* "maiden" may also belong here.

76 GEIGER 1891:430 notes that "in isolated cases" of word-initial *sp*, a loss of *p* seems to have taken place. MOŠKALO 1991:25, 31, 37, 39, citing the examples *spēt* and *asp*, assumes Bal. *sp* < PIr. *śu. Note that *āsin* "iron" is not to be adduced here (against GEIGER 1891:435), cf. p. 87.

77 EVM, EAL, NAWATA 1981:37; otherwise *sipēt*, *ispēt* etc., for which cf. also p. 152.

78 Also *haps* (GEB), *aps*. *gōrā* (FBB; from Ur. *g^hōrā*) and *bōr* (cf. p. 310) are also used. For further discussion of *asp*, cf. p. 158f.

79 For the devoicing of final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4.

80 Elfenbein seems to assume (EAL 130) that the Ind. word (Lhd. *sāh* etc.) has been borrowed from NP where it does not seem to be attested, however.

- *sīy-* / *sīt* (DAMES 1881, HITTU RAM 1881, EAL) "swell" which according to GEIGER 1891:430 and BAILEY 1979:476a is a cognate of OInd. *śvāya-*;
- *šiš* "louse" (NP *supuš*, *šipiš*, Av. *spiš-*), if existing,⁸¹ might go back to a form with **śu-*; this reconstruction is supported by Wakhi *šiš* (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:69, STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:30, 330), if there is no process of assimilation involved in the Wakhi word. The Bal. development could have been **siš* > *šiš* (for assimilations of this kind, cf. p. 180).

While the examples are not entirely convincing, in the absence of evidence for *sp*, one may assume that *s* is the regular outcome of PIr. **śu*.⁸²

PIr. **zū* (Av. *zb*) > ?

Another interesting sound cluster would be PIr. **zū*. The only example is *zubān*⁸³ "tongue", which – like the cases for **śu* above – has a form similar to NP *zabān* (originally NWIr.)⁸⁴ in all contemporary WIr. languages. So there is no evidence which could be used here.

2.1.2.5 OIr. *š*, *ž*

OIr. *š*, *ž*, irrespective of their PIE origin, are preserved in Balochi.

š > *š* (GEIGER 1891:425):

- PIE **s* > PIr. *š* /{*r, r, ũ, u, ĩ, i, ĩ, velars}_ ("ruki"): *nigōš-* / *nigōšt* "listen" (Av. $\sqrt{\text{gaoš}}$, NP *niyōš-* / *niyōšīd*, Prth. *niyōš-* / *niyōšād*), *mušk*⁸⁵ "mouse" (NP *mūš*);

81 Only reported by ELFENBEIN 1989:635. For additional cognates, cf. SKJÆRVØ 1994 and KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:202. The usual Bal. words for "louse" are *bōt*, *bōd*.

82 Bal. *astal* etc. "mule" (NP *astar*) is probably a loanword, cf. p. 158f., 161.

83 In (predominantly) EBal. sources (ABG, DTB, GCD), *zawān* occurs, which may reflect borrowed NP *zabān*. For EVM *zuwān*, cf. p. 218.

84 Zazaki has a genuine form: *zon*, *zīwan* < *zuwan*, cf. Prth. *izβān*^A DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 87 notes that the expected difference Prth. (*zb*) vs. MP (*z*) is not attested since MP has NWIr. forms.

85 DTB, EAL also *mūšk*. GEIGER 1891:444 notes that the word is not distinguishable from a NP loanword (cf. MPZ <mwšk>, read *mušk* by MACKENZIE 1986:57). The contrast *u/ū* (**muška-* vs. **mūš-*) is likely to be inherited (EWAia II:363, 369f.).

- PIE **ks*, **k̑p*, **gs* > PIIr. **čš*.⁸⁶

Attested Old Iranian always shows *š* here. However, according to KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208ff., it is probable that the SWIr. outcome is *s* while *š* is the NWIr. one:⁸⁷ *šud* "hunger" (OInd. *kṣúd^h*-, YAv. *šud*-, NP *šuy*, MP *šuy* and *suy*) shows that Balochi has *š*;

šōr "salty earth" (NP *šōr*, Prth. *šōr* "salt desert", *šōrēn*⁸⁸ "salty") is the genuine NWIr. word and *sōr* "salty" a loanword (cf. MP *sōr*);⁸⁹

čam(m) "eye" (OInd. *cákṣ-us*-, Av. *čašman*-, NP *čašm*) implies a stage **čašm* (cf. p. 126);

*kaš*⁹⁰ "armpit" (OInd. *kákṣa*-, Av. *kaša*-, NP *kaš*) and *taš*⁹¹ "adze" (Av. *taša*-, NP *taš*, OInd. *√takṣ* "build (from wood)") may have been borrowed from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:453 for *kaš*)⁹², but could also be inherited;

muš- "rub" might have been analogically modelled on the past stem *mušt* (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558, cf. Prth. *ni-marz*- / *ni-mušt* "make smooth", Av. *marəza*-), which (if not borrowed from NP *mušt*) may be the Ir. cognate of either OInd. *√mr̥j* "rub" or *√mr̥ś* "touch"⁹³ (EWAia II:331). However, *muš*- may also come from PIE **h₂mr̥g-s*- (BARTHOLOMAE 1901:76) > PIIr. **Hmr̥čš*- > PIr. **mr̥śš*- > **mr̥š*-.⁹⁴

For other sources of Bal. *š*, cf. II 2.2.1.2, 2.2.1.4.1, 2.2.2.1.3, 2.2.2.3, 2.2.3.2.

86 *guš*- "say" which is explained by HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 as going back to **uak̑-s*- probably belongs to another root, cf. p. 219.

87 This would imply that the OP dialect from which MP and NP are derived must have differed from attested OP in that it distinguished the product of PIE **ks*, *k̑p*, **gs* from regular *š*. For further discussion of the relevant Pers. words and the etymologies, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208ff.

88 A reading *šōrēn* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208, DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:320) is surely to be preferred to *šūrēn* in BOYCE 1977:85.

89 Bal. *šōr* and its derivatives are cited by GEIGER 1891:431 from the early sources (DTB etc.), but not found elsewhere, the usual word for "salty" being *sōr*. The word may go back to PIIr. **čšaura*- (BAILEY 1979:411b, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208). HENNING 1947:289 assumes that it has been borrowed from some substratum language.

90 A compound of *kaš* with the demonstrative pronouns *ā* and *ē* might be seen in *āškā* "on that side", *ēškā* "on this side", cf. p. 177 and BUDDRUS 1974:28ff.

91 For variants, cf. p. 216.

92 If the variant *kašš* noted in EAL exists (all other sources have *kaš* only), the word would be likely to have been borrowed (cf. II 3.3.1.5).

93 Morgenstierne, obviously unaware of Bartholomae's explanation, prefers to derive *muš*- (together with ambiguous Psht. *mušəl* etc., cf. also MORGENSTIERNE 1973:92) from the Ir. cognate of OInd. *√mr̥ś*. If this was the case, the present stems Prth. *°marz*-, NP *māl*- would come from a different root (i.e. the cognate of OInd. *√mr̥j*) than the past stem.

94 For **r̥* and *rš* > *š*, cf. II 2.3.2 and 2.2.3.2, respectively.

GEIGER 1891:426 cites a number of examples in which *š* is assimilated to a following voiced consonant, thereby becoming *ž*. Several cases involve an alleged assimilation *šN* > *žN*. With regard to the rule that in good examples *š* is assimilated to a following nasal (cf. II 2.2.2.2), Geiger's cases must be so young that the reduction was no longer operating. Most of them can indeed be shown to be loanwords. This assimilation process is therefore to be attributed to the post-Common Balochi era (cf. II 3.1.1.3). For an EBal. additional case of assimilation cited by Geiger, cf. p. 235.

ž > *ž*:

GEIGER 1891:426 only considers secondary cases of *ž*, i.e. assimilations of the type discussed immediately above and in II 3.1.1.3 and the *ž* of the Eastern dialects resulting from CBal. *ž* in postvocalic position. However, it is possible that OIr. *ž* (for its sources, cf. HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:102, 104) is preserved in some words:

- *dūžah*⁹⁵ "hell" (Av. *daožan*^v*ha-*, NP *dōzax*, Prth. *dōžax*, MP *dušox*, cf. also p. 227);
- *dužman*⁹⁶ "enemy" (NP *dušman*, Prth. *dušmen*) may show a secondary assimilation (cf. e.g. *mēžmurg*, cf. p. 178f.) of borrowed *dušman*. The Bal. outcome of OIr. (Av.) *dušmanah-*, *dušma'niiu-* might be expected to give †*dum(m)an*, but the morpheme boundary may have prevented the assimilation. If so, it could be compared to OAv. *dužmanah-* (vs. YAv. *dušmanah-*, HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:104) and show that *žm* was not reduced to *m(m)* as was *šm* (cf. II 2.2.2.2). There seems to be no second Bal. word with *žN*, all potential examples being loanwords, and with regard to *šN* > *N(N)*, it seems at least equally likely that *žm* would have likewise assimilated⁹⁷ and that *dužman* has been borrowed from NP.
- *muž* (ABG, DTB) "mist, fog" may be connected with other Ir. words deriving from OIr. **mižā-* (for these, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1964a:90f., cf. also p. 229, 286).

95 ABG; DTB *dōžī*. The variants *dōzah* (SHG), *dōzak* (EAL), *dōzax* (DTB), *dōzix* (BMC) have been borrowed from Persian (GEIGER 1891:448). It is not entirely impossible that *dūžah* etc. has likewise been borrowed from NP, although a rather complicated combination of processes would have to be assumed, with NP *dōzax* being made into hypercorrect *dōžak/x* (replacing perceived "Persian" *z* by "Bal." *ž* as if it came from OIr. *ž*; *dōžik*, *dōžak* is found in EAL, but its existence does not seem to be sure); its EBal. variant would be †*dōžax*. For the occasional change of *ō* > *ū*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2.

96 ABG, DTB, EAL; SHG *dužmin*. NP *dušman* (BMC, EAL), *dušmin* (SHG) is also used. For further discussion, cf. p. 193.

97 Cf. the parallel assimilations of *šN* and *žN* in some variants of Sogdian (GERSHEVITCH 1954:58).

2.1.2.6 OIr. *h*

With the exception of some dialects (cf. II 3.2.3.1), *h* is preserved in Balochi, including word-initial *hu-*, which gives NP *xu-*. For OIr. *hu-*, cf. II 2.2.1.5.4.

h > *h* (GEIGER 1891:423):⁹⁸

- *ham*⁹⁹ "also" (Av., NP, Prth. *ham*), *gwahār*¹⁰⁰ "sister" (Av. *x^vaṅhar-*, NP *x^vāhar*, Prth. *wxār*);
- *hu-*: *huš-* / *hušt* "dry (verb, itr.)" (Av. $\sqrt{haoš}$, NP *xōš-* / *xōšīd*, MP *hōš-* / *hōšīd*, Prth. *huš-* / *hušād*¹⁰¹), *hušk* "dry" (NP *xušk*, Prth. *hušk*), *hūk*¹⁰² "pig" (Av. *hū-*, NP *xūk*, MP *xūg*, Prth. *hūg*).

The loss of *h* in *ač* "of" (for further discussion, cf. p. 85) vs. OIr. *hača* goes back to MIr. times (cf. Prth. *až*) and may be attributed to sandhi phenomena.

For secondary *h*, cf. II 2.4.1.

98 For Geiger's example *hapt* "7", cf. p. 81, for *sāh* "breath", cf. p. 90.

99 This is again a word which may have been borrowed from NP, but might also be inherited (GEIGER 1891:444). The same applies to *jih-* "flee" (past stem *jist*), cf. NP *jah-* / *ĵast* (qualified as a loanword by GEIGER 1891:115), the etymology of which is not clear; HÜBSCHMANN 1895:50 doubts HORN's assumption (1893:94) of a relationship with OInd. \sqrt{yas} "boil" on semantical grounds.

100 For discussion of this word, cf. p. 123.

101 With regard to the Bal. verb, one might consider reading the Prth. itr. verb *huš-* / *hušād* (against BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2000:83). The transitive verb with the appropriate degree of the root may be seen in MP *hōšāg* "warm wind" (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication), *hōšāgēn* "drying, withering". Parallels for *u* in a Prth. past stem are *xunād* (pres. *xun-* "sound", cf. p. 122) and *tuxšād* (pres. *tuxš-* "strive"). If so, one may assume that WIr. originally had itr. **huš-* / *hušt* and tr. **hōš-* / *hušt* (?). Since the meaning of the past stem is similar at least in terms of result ("became dry" and "made dry"), only one verb survived, its form being MP *hōš-* / *hōšīd*, NP *xōš-* / *xōšīd*, Prth. *huš-* / *hušād* and Bal. *huš-* / *hušt*, all itr. A present stem **huš-(y)a-* may also be seen in Osset., Sogd. and Khot. (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a:257).

EAL 68 considers Br. *huš-* "burn" as "not related" to (i.e. not borrowed from) the Bal. word, probably because MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47 assumes that it might have been borrowed from some Ir. cognate of OInd. $\sqrt{uṣ}$ "burn".

102 For discussion of the EBal. form, cf. p. 227. OInd. *sūkará-* "boar" is likely to be a derivative of **sū-ka-* (EWAia II:738), a direct cognate of the Bal. and NP form.

2.1.3 Old Iranian sonorants

2.1.3.1 OIr. *m*, *n*

The OIr. nasals are preserved and are rather unproblematic.

m > *m* (GEIGER 1891:417):¹⁰³

- *mič*-¹⁰⁴ "suck" (NP *maz-* / *mazīd*), *madag* "locust, prawn" (Av. *maḍaxa-*, NP *maig*¹⁰⁵),
- *rōmast*¹⁰⁶ "rumination" (OInd. *romant^ha-*), *nēm(ag)* "half" (Av. *naēma-*, NP *nīm(a)*, MP *nēm(ag)*¹⁰⁷, Prth. *nēm*^o).

GEIGER 1891:416 notes that *m* is written <n> before labials (obviously in imitation of NP orthography), e.g. رنځ *rumbag*¹⁰⁸ "to hurry", کب *kumb*¹⁰⁹ "pool". SHG has both <-nb-> and <-mb-> in each case with the *mb* variant as the main entry.

For the dialectal change *m* > *w*, cf. p. 232f.

103 GEIGER's 1891:417 example *zūm* "scorpion" which he (GEB 428) connects with Av. √*zū*, OInd. √*jū* "hurry" has no cognate with a similar meaning and/or suffix (cf. also p. 197, 242). The only derivative of this root in Modern Iranian seems to be Bal. *zūt*, NP *zūd* "quick" (EWAia I:580), for which cf. p. 142, 197. I cannot see how *zūm* might be connected (as does EVM) with OInd. *jāmb^ha-* "teeth" (for Ir. cognates of this word, cf. p. 88 and BAILEY 1979:351b).

104 The past stem of this verb is *mitk* (EAL, BMC), *mičit* (EAL). In Turkmenistan, *mēč-* (NAWATA 1981:17: *mič-*) / *mēt* is used (EVM, SOKOLOV 1956:80, BUDDRUSS 1988:78). According to HÜBSCHMANN 1895:98, the NP dialect forms mentioned in HORN 1893:219 show that the vocalism of Balochi which points to √**maik* is old (and not a palatalisation product of **mač-* according to the rules in II 3.1.2.3.1), thus NP *maz-* must stand for **miz-*. For possible cognates in other Ir. languages (e.g. Av. *maēkaṇt-* "(water) coming out"), cf. BAILEY 1979:322b.

105 NP *maig* may be derived from OIr. **madika-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:100), but also from **madaka-* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:203⁴⁰), thus from the same form as Bal. *madag*.

106 Thus DTB; SHG has *rōmust*. MORGENSTIERNE 1938:537b suggests a protoform "**raumaḡ + ta* ?". The details of this formation as well as of OInd. *romant^ha-* are not clear (EWAia II:470). It is interesting, however, that Balochi preserves this word of which there are otherwise only EIr. cognates (MORGENSTIERNE 1938:537).

107 Again, the Bal. word can be either genuine or borrowed (GEIGER 1891:444). In the latter case, the source must be MP since even Tajiki and Dari have *nīm(a)*.

108 The etymology is not clear. GEIGER's connection (1890:143) with Av. †*ruma* "running quickly" does not hold (BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553).

109 For discussion of this word, cf. p. 82f.

n > *n* (GEIGER 1891:416):

- *ništ*¹¹⁰ "sat down" (NP, Prth. *nišast*), EBal. *namāš*¹¹¹ "prayer" (Av. *nəmah-*, NP *namāz*, Prth. *namāž*),
- *zin*-¹¹² "seize" (Av. *zinā-*),¹¹³ *dantān* "tooth" (Av. *dantān-*, NP, Prth. *dandān*), *zān(uk)* "knee" (Av. *zānu*^o, NP (NWIr. form) *zānū*, Prth. *zānūg*),¹¹⁴ *sind-* "break" (OInd. √c^hid: *c^hinád-*, Prth. *°sind-* / *sist* (GHILAIN 1939:83)), *gind-* "see" (Av. √vaēd: *vinad-*, OInd. √vid: *vindá-*, Prth. *wind-* / *windād*).¹¹⁵

Some dialects tend to replace vowel + *n* by a nasalised vowel. Secondary *n* also occurs quite often (for both phenomena, cf. II 3.1.3.3).

2.1.3.2 OIr. *r*

r > *r* (GEIGER 1891:417):

OIr. *r* is likewise preserved in Balochi:

110 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553 underlines that this is a remarkable form, going back to zero-grade **ni-šd-ta-* while NP has the full grade. For the present stem *nind-*, cf. p. 127.

111 This word (for the variant *nimāš*, cf. p. 193) corresponds to (unattested) SWBal. **namāč* and to NP *namāz*. Buddhist Sogd. *nm'cyw* suggests a derivation from **namāčijam*, acc. of a derivative of **namāka-* "praising" (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:215).

112 The past stem is *zīt* (BMC, DTB, EVM, EAL: *Raxšānī*, Eastern), *zīt* (EVM, NAWATA 1981:17, EAL: *Kečī*, Coastal, *Lāšārī*), *zint^h*- (DTB).

113 Prth. <*zys-*> has been interpreted as an inchoative formation of this verb by HENNING 1937:90. The only attestation is <*zysyd* 'w hrw bzgyft> (M 284a V i 30-31) which might indeed be translated "Refrain (ipr.pl.) from all evil!" (information kindly provided by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst). However, <*zys-*> may more conveniently be connected (thus GERSHEVITCH 1954:68) to Sogd. *jyš^t*-, *žyš^t*- "hated", Av. *zōišnu-*, *zōiždišta-* "(most) horrible", NP *zišt* "ugly, filthy" which are likely to be cognates of OInd. √heḍ "be angry" (EWAia I I:819). This solution is more plausible since a past stem *zišt* is attested in Parthian (M 92 V 16b and M 229 V i 9, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication), thus <*zys-*> may be read *zēs-* (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:388a).

114 The assumption by ELFENBEIN 1985:237 of *zān*, *zānuk* being "found only in Ra[xšānī]" is not correct (cf. p. 297). It is possible that *zān(uk)* has been borrowed from Persian as ELFENBEIN 1990/II:165 assumes, but since the suffix does not have the same form as MP *zānūg*, NP *zānū*, it is perhaps more likely not to be a loanword.

115 For further discussion of the examples involving *nd*, cf. p. 79.

- *rōp-* / *rupt* "sweep" (Av. *urūpaiia-*, NP *rōb-* / *ruft*), *rēk* "sand" (NP *rēg*),¹¹⁶ *war-*¹¹⁷ "eat" (Av. *x^vara-*, NP *x^war-* / *x^wurd*, Prth. *wxar-* / *wxard*),
- *brāt* "brother" (Av. *brātar-*, NP *barādar*, Prth. *brād(ar)*), *gwahār* "sister" (Av. *x^vaḡhar-*, NP *x^wāhar*, Prth. *wxār*, cf. p. 99, 123).

Non-Pers. OIr. *rz* and *rd* are not changed to *l* as in NP and maybe in some Kurdish dialects.¹¹⁸ Geiger concludes the preservation of *rz* and *rd* in Balochi from the single example of *zird* "heart". In the meantime, some more examples have emerged:

rd > rd (GEIGER 1891:414):

- *zird* "heart" (Av. *zərəδ(aiia)-*, NP *dil*, Prth. *zirδ*, cf. p. 144);
- *šurd* "mild" (NP *šul* "weak").¹¹⁹

CBal. *ard* results in *ār* / *ār* (cf. II 3.1.3.5).

OIr. (Av.) rz > rz (GEIGER 1891:414):

- *burz*¹²⁰ "high" (Av. *bərəzaṅt-*, NP *buland*, Prth. *burz*),
- *barzī* "saddle bag" (Av. *barəziš-*, NP *bāla*),
- *marz* "clodcrusher" (NP *māla* "harrow"), *marz-*¹²¹ "use a clodcrusher, stroke" (Av. *marəza-*, NP *māl-* "rub", Prth. *ni-marz-* "make smooth", cf. also p. 92);
- *arzun* "millet" might rather have been borrowed from NP *arzan* (for labialisation of vowels in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.2.3);
- in the loanword *bazgar* "farmer" (NP *barzgar*), *rz* is reduced to *z* by dissimilation to the following *r*.¹²²

116 For discussion of the etymology, cf. p. 78.

117 Like *zān-*, this verb has a 3sg. in *-t* (*wārt*, note the irregular vowel lengthening) which is identical with the past stem (EVM: also *wart*), cf. p. 122. For further cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:504a.

118 For discussion of the Kurd. development, cf. MACKENZIE 1961:77f.

119 This example was kindly provided by Carina Jahani. Maybe it might be connected to OInd. *ksudrā-* "tiny" (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication), for Ir. *xš-* > Bal. *š-*, cf. II 2.2.1.2.

120 GEIGER 1891:447 assumes that *burz* is a loanword since otherwise he would expect †*barz*. However, *ur* seems to be the regular product of PIr. **r* (cf. II 2.3.2.1).

121 It is possible that *marz-* (past stem *marzīt*) is a denominative of *marz*.

122 A parallel case is the Georg. name *Buzmil* which, probably in the course of borrowing from **Burz-mihr*, first dissimilated the second *r* and then reduced the *rz* > *z* (GIPPERT 1993/I:140¹). A

There is an occasional change of $r > l$, chiefly in loanwords, but also in a small number of other cases (cf. II 2.4.2). This change might be due to the influence of neighbouring languages.

2.1.3.3 OIr. $\underset{\sim}{u}$

2.1.3.3.1 Word-initial $\underset{\sim}{u}$

Word-initial $\underset{\sim}{u}$ - is strengthened to g - or gw -, depending on the following vowel:¹²³

$\underset{\sim}{u}$ - > g - / $_i, \bar{i}, \bar{e}$ (GEIGER 1891:419):¹²⁴

- *gind*- "see" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$: *vindá*-, Av. $\sqrt{\text{vaēd}}$: *vinad*-, Prth. *wind*- / *windād*, cf. p. 79), *gis* "house" (OInd. *vís*-, Av. *vīs*-, Prth. *wis*°), *gīn* "breath" (maybe < **vi-āna*-, OInd. *vyānā*-, cf. p. 106, 136);
- *gēč*-¹²⁵ "sift" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{vic}}$, Av. *vaēča*-, NP *bēz*- / *bēxt*, Prth. *wixt*(*ag*) "chosen"¹²⁶), *gēj*-¹²⁷ "throw, swing" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{vij}}$ "move quickly", Av. *vaēja*- / °*vixta*-, NP *bēz*- / *bēxt*), *gēt*¹²⁸ "willow tree" (Av. *vaēti*-, NP *bēd*).

similar reduction is seen in the probably genuine *bus-tir*, the comparative of *burz* as given by NAWATA 1981:9 (the other sources have regular *burz-tir*), probably (also) in analogy to *kas-tir* "smaller" (from *kasān*), *mas-tir* "bigger" (from *mazan*). *mastir* is surely (as suggested by GERSHEVITCH 1964:87f.) assimilated from *maz-tir*, cf. BMC *maztir*.

123 Note that BACK 1981:181 assumes that OIr. $\underset{\sim}{u}$ - was changed to * $\underset{\sim}{gu}$ - in MP first and then resulted in NP *gu*- or (via **h*) in NP *b*-, depending on the following vowel.

124 MOŠKALO 1991:24 notes that there is also a singular case of OIr. *vi*- > Bal. *gu*-, i.e. *gumān* "doubt" (Av. *vīmanah*°, cf. p. 232f.), but this word may easily be explained as a borrowing from NP (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557).

125 This verb is only known from SBal. sources (PIERCE 1874 – thence GEIGER 1890:123 and probably EAL – and SHG), hence the past stem is *gētk* < **gēkt* (for SBal. past stems in *-tk*, cf. II 3.2.2.1).

126 The Prth. word probably belongs here (as implied by HENNING 1950:646), not to OInd. $\sqrt{\text{vij}}$ (pace GHILAIN 1939:94). It corresponds in semantics to Bal. *gičēn* "chosen, selected", which is likely to belong to *gičīn*- "select", however (cf. p. 85).

127 The past stem is *gētk* (BMC, FBB, EAL), *gē(h)t* (EAL: Raxšānī), and *gixt*^l- (DTB, EAL). The verbs *gēč*- and *gēj*- got mixed to a certain degree (ELFENBEIN 1985:230f., 1990/II:50). The same can be observed in other Ir. languages (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1973:97, 1983a:359).

128 Only DTB, EAL.

$\underset{\cdot}{u}$ - > *gw*- / $\underset{\cdot}{a}, \underset{\cdot}{\bar{a}}$ (GEIGER 1891:413):

- *gwap*-¹²⁹ "weave, knit" (NP *bāf*- / *bāft*, Prth. *waf*-), *gwaz*- / *gwast* "cross over, pass" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{vah}}$, Av. *vaza*-, Prth. *waz*- "move swiftly"), *gwar* "breast" (Av. *varah*-, NP *bar*), *gwabz* "wasp",¹³⁰ *gwan* "pistachio" (Av. *vanā*- "tree", NP *bun* "log, root"),¹³¹
- *gwār*-¹³² "rain" (Av. *vāra*- (noun), NP *bār*- / *bārīd*, Prth. *wār*-), *gwāt* "wind" (Av. *vāta*-, NP *bād*, Prth. *wād*), *gwānk*¹³³ "cry" (NP *bāng*);
- the word for "sister", *gwhār*, is treated as if it was derived from $\underset{\cdot}{u}ahār$, not from $\underset{\cdot}{h}uahār$ (cf. p. 123).

It seems that CBal. *gw*- was pronounced *guw*-¹³⁴ as is indicated by the (probably post-CBal.) change *gwa*- > *gu*- which produces variants of most words just discussed, e.g. *guz*- "pass", *guhār* "sister" (cf. p. 219).

129 The past stem of this verb is *gwapt*; for EBal. *guf*-, cf. p. 219. According to BARTHOLOMAE 1890:552 and HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557, there is an Ir. variant $\underset{\cdot}{u}af$ - besides $\underset{\cdot}{u}ab$ -. In several Ir. languages (among them Balochi), the forms which go back to $\underset{\cdot}{u}af$ - may be explained as being analogical formations from the past stem $\underset{\cdot}{u}afta$ -. The only Ir. forms which undoubtedly go back to $\underset{\cdot}{u}ab$ - are Av. nominal derivatives of the past participle $\underset{\cdot}{u}bda$ - and Psht. *ūdāl* "to weave" (for which cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003:12).

130 *gwabz* may either have been borrowed from MPZ *wabz* or go back to OIr. $\underset{\cdot}{u}abza$ - (cf. Av. *vaßžaka*-, ELFENBEIN 1990/II:56) from which MORGENSTIERNE 1973a:212 also derives Wanetsi *wowuz* "moth". $\underset{\cdot}{u}abza$ - is ultimately derived from $\underset{\cdot}{u}abz^ha$ - < $\underset{\cdot}{u}ob^h$ -so- by HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:105. For *gwamz*, cf. p. 234.

131 Cf. also p. 299. It is not clear to me why ROSSI 1979:18 concludes from the Shughni cognates (MORGENSTIERNE 1974:90) that Bal. *gwan* cannot be connected with NP *bun*.

132 The verb is probably a denominative from a noun "rain" (GHILAIN 1939:60). The formation of the verb must have taken place in pre-MIr. times, though, since both MP and Parthian have a verb *wār*- "rain". The respective past stems are independent secondary formations: MP has *wārīd*, *wārist*, NP *bārīd*. The Bal. past stem is *gart* (BMC, EAL), *gwart* (ELFENBEIN 1985:232), *gwarit* (EAL: Raxšānī). *gart* exhibits a secondary ablaut vs. the present stem *gwār*-. GCD has, in addition to *gwār*- / *gwart*, the variant *gwar*- / *gart* with the present stem *gwar*- as an analogical formation to the secondary past stem *gart*. The Prth. past stem *wārād* noted in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2000:83 seems to be liable to reinterpretation since it is not noted in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:336a, a past stem *wārād* being cited for *wār*- "rejoice".

133 For further details about this word, cf. p. 137.

134 The pronunciation of *gw*- approaches [gu-] according to GRIERSON 1921:406. ABG transcribes گوانگ "cry" as *gōāng* which points in the same direction (this variant of *gwānk* seems to be adjusted to NP *bāng* as far as the word-final consonant is concerned).

*ur̥- > *gur-* (MOŠKALO 1991:28, 38):¹³⁵

The only examples are

- *gurk* "wolf" (Av. *vəhrka-*, NP *gurg*, OInd. *vṛka-*),
- and the questionable *gužg* "root", for which cf. p. 132, 146.

It is not impossible that *ur̥- resulted in *gwar-* first which gave *gur-* with the common reduction of *gwa-* > *gu-* (see above), but the only evidence for this assumption would be the variant *gward* "wolf", which maybe does not exist (cf. p. 144).

It is not clear whether there is a variation *gwa-* / *gō-* as assumed by GEIGER 1891:412. The existence of *gōn* "pistachio" is doubtful (the only source is DTB), *gōhar* (DTB, EAL) "sister" is likely to show a contamination of *gwahār* with the common female name (NP borrowing) *Gōhar* "jewel" (ELFENBEIN 1985:231), and two examples are not likely to contain **gwa-* at all: *gōn* "with" cannot, as GEIGER 1890:124 assumes, belong to NP *bā* (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557),¹³⁶ and *lagōr* "coward" may have been borrowed from Sindhi (EAL). Note, however, the variant *gōrāṇḍ* "male sheep, ram" (BUDDRUS 1977:13) for more common *gwarāṇḍ* and *gurāṇḍ* (NAWATA 1981:5).¹³⁷

Bal. words not showing OIr. u- > *g(w)-* must have been borrowed from (or influenced by) Persian. Among these, the following NP loanwords are especially noteworthy:

- *bač(č)*, *bačik(k)* (MP *waččag*) "son" vs. genuine *gwask* "calf",¹³⁸
- *bas(s)* (MP, Prth. *was*) "enough" vs. genuine *gwas* (DTB, EAL),
- *bahā* (MP *wahāg*) "price",
- *bahār* (MP *wahār*) "spring",
- *bahišt* (MP, Prth. *wahišt*) "paradise",
- *bīst* "20" belongs to the group of numbers which must have been borrowed from Persian,

135 It is not (against HORN 1893:202) because of the treatment of the initial u- that *gušnag* (cf. Gabri *vašne*, Prth. *wašend*) "hungry" (< *ur̥š- < *ur̥čš-, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204⁴¹) must be a loanword from NP *gušna*, but because of the preservation of *-šn-* (for which cf. II 2.2.2.2).

136 For an alternative etymology, cf. p. 181.

137 The word looks as if it was borrowed from an Ind. language, although the source is not clear. Cf. also p. 214.

138 A number of cognates in Ir. languages point to a protoform *uasa- which would also suit the Bal. form (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:26). For more Ir. cognates and their preforms, cf. BAILEY 1979:274a. The precise derivation of NP *bačča* is not entirely clear. For *gwač(č)*, cf. p. 280.

- *gunās* "sin" instead of expected †*ginās* (Prth. *winās*) shows a contamination with NP *gunāh* (< MP *wināh*).

For the treatment of *w-* / *v-* in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.7.1.

2.1.3.3.2 Postvocalic *u*

aua- > *ō* (GEIGER 1891:412):¹³⁹

The OIr. sequence *aua-* gives the same result as OIr. *auC* (for which cf. II 2.3.3):

- the preverb OIr. *aua-* can be assumed in *ōšt-* / *ōštāt*¹⁴⁰ "stand" (Prth. *awi-št-* / *awi-štād*), the pronominal stem *aua-* in *ōd*¹⁴¹ "there" (Av. *auuaða*, Prth. *ōδ*);
- cases of non-initial *ō* are *nōk* "new"¹⁴² and the agentive suffix *-ōk*, e.g. *wān-* "read" (cf. p. 122) → *wānōk* "student".¹⁴³

MIr. -au# > au / ō:

OIr. *aua* which due to the MIr. loss of final syllables developed to a secondary diphthong **au* seems to result in Bal. *au* or *ō*:

139 For the development of OIr. *-aua-* in Middle Persian (*áua* > *ō*, *auá* > *awa*), cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201, 214f. It is possible that there was the same rule in Proto-Balochi, but there are no unambiguous Bal. cognates to the examples for OIr. *-auá-* cited by Klingenschmitt (those which are attested might or must have been borrowed from NP). For Bal. *zōr* "power" see below.

140 For the *-š-* in this word, cf. p. 124.

141 Also *ōdā*, with the oblique ending which – among other things – expresses locality.

142 GEIGER's remark (1891:412) that *nōk* may have been borrowed (cf. MP *nōg*) is correct, but there is no evidence that is necessarily the case.

MP/Prth. *nox* "beginning" does not belong here, but with MP/NP *naxust* "first", both from **naxua-* (cf. EMMERICK 1971:61ff., WEBER 1994:112, cf. also BAILEY 1979:190, who doubts that Khot. *nūha-* "top" goes back to the same form).

143 Choresmian has a suffix *-'wk* in similar function (cf. HENNING 1958:116). In Parthian, however, there seems to be no example of *-ōg* in agentive function. The only possible example <*krwg*> "craftsman" (read as *kirrōg* and derived from OP *k(a)rmuvaka-* "stonemason" by HENNING 1945:480¹) is probably a MP borrowing, cf. p. 134. The reading *kirrōg* is confirmed by the derivative MP <*krwgyh*> "craftmanship" which is also written <*qyrwgyy*> (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication) and by the Arm. loanword *k̄rogpet* (for discussion of this word, cf. BAILEY 1934:512f.). Arm. *karot* "able" should rather not be adduced here since it is likely to derive from *karem* (aor. *karac'i*) "be able" and is (pace HÜBSCHMANN 1897:166) probably not an Ir. borrowing (cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 1982:138f.).

- *tau*, *tō*¹⁴⁴ "you (sg.)" (Av. gen. *tauua*, NP *tu*, Prth. *tō*),
- *ǰau*, *ǰō*¹⁴⁵ "barley" (NP *ǰau*, Av. *yauua-*, Prth. *yaw-ardāw* "corn").

It is not clear whether *tau* and *ǰau* show a development specific for monosyllables; *ǰau* may also have been borrowed from Persian. However, it seems possible that MĪr. *-au* may have the results *au* and *ō* varying by dialect.

MĪr. *-V̄u#* > *-V̄*:

It seems that MĪr. word-final *u* after long vowel is lost:

- *-ē* (indef. article, cf. NP *-ē*, Av. *aēuua-*, Prth. *ēw* "one"),
- *hur̄mā*, *hur̄māg* "date" (if not borrowed from NP *xurmā* like Arm. *armav*, cf. p. 156).

āua > *ā*:

It has been stated that OĪr. *āua* yields Bal. *au* or *ō*. The arguments are not convincing, though. GEIGER 1891:412 assumes that OĪr. *-āua-* gives *au*, deriving *naux* (DTB), *nōx* (LEWIS 1885) "bride" from **nāuaka-*. Since Psht. *nāwe* may be derived from **nauākī-* (MORGENSTIERNE 2003:59), the same protoform may apply to EBal. *nōx* (for diphthongisation, cf. II 3.1.2.3.3). MOŠKALO 1991:25, 37 concludes from *gōk* "cow" (Prth., NP *gāw*) and *zōr* "power" (NP *zōr*, Prth. *zāwar*) that *āua* gives Bal. *ō*. Bal. *gōk*, however, need not come from the same preform as *gāw* and might derive from **gau(a)ka-*,¹⁴⁶ and *zōr* may have been borrowed from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:464) or come from **zauar-* (thus unlike Parthian) which is the preform of NP *zōr* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:214).

āwān, the oblique plural of the demonstrative pronoun *ā*¹⁴⁷ "that", could point to the preservation of *āua*. The form need not be old, however, and might rather represent the stem *ā* + the ending *-ān* added by means of a vowel-separating *w*. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that only the Raxšānī dialects show *āwān*, the other dialects

144 Another variant is *ta*.

145 Geiger's variant *ǰō* is only reported by PIERCE 1874. According to MORGENSTIERNE 1937:437, *ǰō-hān* "heap of grain" (SHG: "big jar") has been borrowed from NP and goes back to **ǰau-dāna-*.

146 Cognates deriving from **gau(a)ka-* include NP *gōg* "calf" (cf. BAILEY 1979:89b, EWAia I:479).

147 GEIGER's 1890:112 assumption that *ā* is an imperfect notation for *ā̃* (thus Geiger's EBal. sources) is not correct. The (probably borrowed NP) pronouns *ān/ā̃*, *īn/ī̃* do occur in Balochi, too (cf. also p. 233, 238, 243).

having *āyān* or *āhān* (cf. ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VIIIff.), the last form being a clear case of a secondary formation with *h* in vowel-separating function (cf. II 2.4.1.3), so that the *w* and the *y* of the other forms are likely to be vowel separators as well (cf. II 2.4.3).

It thus seems that OIr. *āua* yields Bal. *ā*, although there are not many additional examples:¹⁴⁸

- *ǰāh-*, *ǰāy-* (GEB, EAL: Raxšānī), EBal. *ǰā-* "chew"¹⁴⁹ vs. Psht. *ǰōw-* which is derived from **-āuaia-* (PIE $\sqrt{*g̑ieuH}$) in LIV p. 168;¹⁵⁰
- *ār-* "bring" seems to have been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:407, HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555); however, with regard to Prth. *āwar-*, obviously an allegro form from OIr. *ā-bara-*, Balochi might perhaps have inherited this form from MIr.

No unambiguous examples have been found which would show the Bal. result of OIr. *auā*, *pāk*¹⁵¹ "pure" being possibly borrowed from NP *pāk*. Parthian preserves *auā* (*pawāg* "pure", *pawāž-* "purify", *awā°* "thus", cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1990:11). There is a singular contraction of EBal. *šawā* "you (pl.)" (vs. SWBal. *šumā*, cf. p. 126, 232f.) in its variant *šā*, presumably an allegro form since e.g. EBal. *kawān* vs. SWBal. *kamān* "bow" does not show the same contraction.

u after other vowels:

With regard to postvocalic *u* in other contexts, the evidence is not clear:

- *pīg* "fat" (NP *pīh*, Av. *pīuuah-*, Prth. *fra-bīw* "fat, stout") would show loss of *u*,¹⁵²
- while in *ēwak*¹⁵³ "alone" (Av. *aēuuu-*, NP *yak* "one", Prth. *ēwag* "alone"), the *u* has been preserved.

148 The other NP examples of *āua* > *ā* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:168) are not attested in Balochi. For the Bal. cognate of NP *siyāh* "black", Av. *sīāuuu-*, cf. p. 129.

149 The past stems are EBal. *ǰāḍ-* and, with secondary past stem suffix *-it*, *ǰā(y)it* (DTB, EAL: Raxšānī, Eastern), *ǰāhit* (BMC, EAL: Coastal, Kēčī, Eastern), cf. also p. 109f.

150 BAILEY 1979:405a assumes **ǰauj-* and a connection with Av. \sqrt{gah} , but this seems to be unfounded.

151 According to KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212f., the preservation of *-k* in NP *pāk*, *nēk* "good" and *yak* "one" shows that intervocalic *u* was not yet lost completely in MP. For Bal. *yak(k)*, cf. p. 105.

152 A parallel case would be *ǰī-* (no past stem noted) "live" (Prth. *ǰīw-* / *ǰīwād*, NP *zīy-* / *zīst*, OInd. $\sqrt{jīv}$) which is, however, only reported by MAYER 1910 and might be a loanword (cf. Ur. *ǰī-nā*).

153 ELFENBEIN 1985:229 assumes that the correct form is *haiwakk*, the reason for which is unclear to me. BMC has *(h)īwakk* with secondary *h-* and dialectal *ē* > *ī* (cf. II 3.1.2.3.2). For NP *yak*, see above, for *-ak(k)*, cf. II 2.4.4.1.

The occasional change of *w* to *m* mentioned by GEIGER 1891:417 seems to be a hypercorrect reversal of the EBal. change *m* > *w* (cf. II p. 232f.). For OIr. *u* + other consonants, cf. II 2.1.2.4, 2.2.1.5, 2.2.3.4, for *au* / *_C*, cf. II 2.3.3.

2.1.3.4 OIr. *i̇*

2.1.3.4.1 Word-initial *i̇*

#*i̇*- > *ǰ*-:¹⁵⁴

- *ǰau* "barley" (Av. *yauua-*, NP *ǰau*, cf. p. 102), *ǰug*, EBal. *ǰōg*¹⁵⁵ "yoke" (NP *ǰug*, Prth. *yōg*), *ǰwān* "young, good" (Av. *yuan-*, NP *ǰawān*, Prth. *yuwān*, cf. p. 218) may have been borrowed from NP; *ǰantar*¹⁵⁶ "mill" (NP *ǰandar*) may have been borrowed from Ur. *ǰantr(a)* (EAL 73);¹⁵⁷ *ǰōd* "man" might have been borrowed from Ur. *ǰō(d)d^hā* "warrior";
- more reliable examples are: *ǰātūg* "sorcerer" (Av. *yātu-*, NP *ǰādū*), *ǰitā*¹⁵⁸ "separate" (Av. *yūta-*, NP *ǰudā*, Prth. *yud*), *ǰuz(z)-* / *ǰuz(z)it*¹⁵⁹ "move" (NP *ǰōy-* / *ǰust*, MP Psalter <ywd>, Prth. *yōz-* / *yuš*t, Av. *√yaoz*).

154 GEIGER 1891:425 was not yet sure about this development, but it seems quite clear that it takes place in Balochi as it does in NP and most other Modern WIr. languages. – *ǰō* "river" is probably not to be adduced here, since it is rather a borrowing from NP *ǰō(y)*, as a disyllabic form might be expected in Balochi (cf. OP *yauviyā-* "canal", OInd. *yavyā-* "stream"), although there is no parallel case. For variants, cf. p. 154, 203. – *ǰagar* "liver" (cf. p. 204) must indeed be a NP loanword (cf. Av. *yākar-*, OInd. *yākr̥t-*) as GEIGER 1891:419, 425 cautiously assumes.

155 The SWBal. word may have been borrowed from NP, the EBal. one (DTB, EAL) from Urdu. *ō* of MPM *ǰōg* "pair" is confirmed by Georg. *ǰog-* "pair, group" (Jost Gippert, personal communication).

156 For variants, cf. p. 195. DTB *ǰat^hir* (with loss of nasal) might point to the word being borrowed since postvocalic stops are changed to fricatives in Eastern Balochi (cf. II 3.2.1.1.1). It is also possible, though, that the loss of the nasal is such a recent phenomenon that the stop has not been changed (yet), cf. p. 180f. *ǰantar* is a handmill consisting of two stones between which the grain is ground (cf. the photo in BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:178).

157 This word is in fact an Ind. borrowing in all Ir. languages (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:50).

158 The *-ā* might have been attached to the word due to influence from NP and/or as an obl. ending, since the obl. is also used as a local case (e.g. *gis-ā* "at home", *šap-ā* "at night").

159 In ABG, the orthography *جذ* is used, obviously assuming that this is an instance of dialectal *z* for EBal. *δ* < CBal. *d* (maybe implying a popular etymology with NP *ǰudā* "separated").

For Ir. and other cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:20a and LIV p. 315. HORN's 1893:94 etymology of NP *ǰustan* as belonging to OInd. *√yud^h* "fight" is rejected by HÜBSCHMANN 1895:50 for semantic reasons. Maybe ABG's *ǰōzā* "emotion" also belongs here.

Pointing in the same direction is the fact that most of the words beginning with *y-* are obviously loanwords, chiefly from NP, e.g. *yāzdah* "eleven", *yak(k)* "one", *yatīm* "orphan" (NP-Ar.), *yal* "brave, strong" (NP-Turk.).¹⁶⁰ It is probable that the remaining words with *y-* have been borrowed as well, e.g. *yāt* "memory" (pace GEIGER 1891:413) which is a case of devoicing of the final consonant in a loanword (vs. NP *yād*).¹⁶¹

2.1.3.4.2 Word-internal *i̇*

Cii̇ > *Cī* (cf. GEIGER 1891:408):¹⁶²

There are not many examples for this reduction:

- *zī(k)* "yesterday" (NP *dī-rōz*, OInd. *hyás*);
- EBal. *ǰīg* "bow string" (< *ǰ(i)jā-ka-);¹⁶³
- *gīn* "breath" (< *ǰiiana- (GERSHEVITCH 1998:120ff.) or *ǰiiāna-, cf. p. 136);
- the suffix *-īk* seen in e.g. *zamīk* "field", *šudīk* "hungry" may come from *-ija-ka- as does MP *-īg* (SALEMANN 1901:272).¹⁶⁴

As Prth. and MP *-īg* have also been derived from *-ija-ka-, one may assume that the change OIr. *iia* > *ī* is common to Western Mİr. as a whole.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, *nākō* "uncle"¹⁶⁶ (vs. Av. *niāka-*, OP *niyāka-* "grandfather", NP *niyā* "ancestor", Prth. *niyāg*) shows a loss of OIr. *i̇*.

Several explanations are possible, for example:

160 For *ēwak*, the Bal. outcome of *ǰiūak-, cf. p. 103. NP *yak* shows an irregular preservation of *-k* which has been explained (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:213) as being due to a reflex of *-ū- (*ǰiūák- > *ēhák- > *ēáhk). A similar development occurs in NP *nēk* "good, fine" and *pāk* "pure", cf. p. 103.

161 Cf. II 3.3.1.4. For cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:308a.

162 MOŠKALO's example (1991:22) *ma(h)ī* (probably a misprint for *māhī*) "fish" is not a good one since it has been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 136).

163 This EBal. word is found in DAMES 1881, DTB and GCD. EAL is the only source which has the corresponding SWBal. form *ǰīg*. EAL notes "bodice of a woman's blouse" as second meaning. If SWBal. *ǰīg* (found in FBB and SHG in the meaning "shirt opening, embroidered part of a woman's garment", cf. the photo in SHG) is indeed the same word as *ǰīg* "bowstring" (as EAL seems to imply), the semantics might have developed via "bow" > "circle" > "collar". If the variant *ǰēg* exists (only in EAL and MORGENSTIERNE 2003:105), it might be a case of lowering (cf. II 3.1.2.3.2).

164 For further discussion of *-īg*, cf. p. 121, II 2.4.4.1.

165 It might already have operated in Old Persian, cf. HOFFMANN 1976a:637.

166 For semantic details, cf. p. 310, for variants, cf. p. 166, 201.

For *nak(k)* "(great)grandmother" and *nakō* "old", cf. p. 209.

One might say that OIr. *ia* gives Bal. *ī* while OIr. *iā* may be treated differently (thus MOŠKALO 1991:22). This assumption presents the difficulty that one would have to derive *ǰīg* from **ǰia*-ka-¹⁶⁷ while no **ǰia*(°)- is otherwise found in Ind. or Iranian.¹⁶⁸

GEIGER 1891:408 gives a rule of OIr. *iā̃* > Bal. *ī*.¹⁶⁹ This opens the possibility of deriving *ǰīg* from **ǰiā*-ka- as attested in OIr. and OInd. (cf. Av. *ǰiiā-*, OInd. *ǰyā-*, *ǰyākā-*), and of deriving *gīn* "breath" from **uiiāna-* (cf. OInd. *vyānā-* "one of the vital airs", note that no OInd. *†vyana-* is attested). If so, one needs a special rule to account for Bal. *nākō*, e.g. assuming a change of word-initial OIr. *#ni* > Bal. *n-*.¹⁷⁰

Using an idea advanced by HÜBSCHMANN 1899:21 for MP, one might suggest that *Ciiā̃* gives *ī* in Balochi¹⁷¹ while in the context *Ciā̃*, the *i* is lost. The first part of the rule is supported by Av. *ǰiiā-*, OInd. *ǰyā-* and *hyās* being read *ǰiyā-* and *hiyās* (cf. KORN 1998:127ff.) and by the adjective suffix going back to PIIr. **-ija-* (cf. BALLE 1997). For Bal. *nākō*, one would have to assume a protoform **niāka-* (not **niiāka-*).

It is questionable whether this change might be attributed to Western Iranian as a whole since MP *syā*, NP *siyāh* and Prth. *syāw(ag)* "black" would speak against it. One wonders, however, whether there is a loss of *i* in the context *Ci* in Persian at all as assumed by Hübschmann (see above): his example (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:152) *miyān* "middle" seems to require a particular explanation of simplification of consonants and palatalisation of vowels in **maiāna-* (from **madiāna-*), the absorption of *i* in the context OIr. *#ǰi* (e.g. NP *šād*, *šudan*) seems to be due to this specific context and occurs in many Ir. languages (cf. II 2.2.2.3 for Bal. data), and *ǰān* shows an entirely different context (cf. II 2.2.3.5). If so, (*i*)*yā* may be considered the MP result of *Ciā̃*.

167 This idea seems to go back to GEIGER 1891:408.

168 The short vowel seen in the Av. hapax *ǰia.ǰatāḡhō* "propelled by the bowstring" is likely to be due to a secondary phenomenon, i.e. to the dot separating the compound into two words and the subsequent application of the YAv. shortening of word-final vowels (DE VAAN 2003:43). As this shortening only takes place in polysyllabic words, it also shows that *ǰia*° has two syllables.

169 His only example for *iā* > *ī* is *paǰī* (SHG *paǰīg*) "together with" besides *paǰyā* "id.". *paǰī* need not go back to *paǰyā*, though, but may be a formation with the suffix *-ī(g)*. GEIGER 1890:140 interprets (DAMES 1881, HITTU RAM 1881) *paǰyā*, *paǰī* "together with" as *pa* + *ǰā* "place". However, such a phrase might be expected to mean "instead of" as does *ba-ǰā-ē* (FBB, borrowed from NP), so that some other explanation seems to be required. *paǰyā* may be the oblique case of *paǰī* since many postpositions are oblique cases of nouns (cf. V 1.5).

170 GEIGER 1891:435 cites *nākō* as an example of word-internal loss of OIr. *i*.

171 This would of course only apply to old **iā̃* (vs. the loanword *gābān* "desert", cf. p. 279).

-ai̇a- > *ē*? (GEIGER 1891:411):¹⁷²

Parallel to the change of *aūa* > *ō*, one may assume that OIr. *-ai̇a-* comes out as Bal. *ē*, although there are no unambiguous examples:

- it is not absolutely clear how the causative suffix *-ēn-* came into existence (SUNDERMANN 1989b:151), but it is likely to go back to a formation with *-ai̇a-*, probably **-ai̇a-na-* (HENNING 1934:212). Since it is an innovation of MP not occurring in Parthian (apart from a few instances which may be loanwords, cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 155), Balochi might have taken it over from Persian.¹⁷³
- *zird* "heart" (Prth. *zirδ*) is cited as *zirdē* in older sources which might go back to Mir. *-ai̇i*, OIr. *-ai̇a-*, cf. Av. *zərəδaiia-*, OInd. *hṛdaya-*, with subsequent reinterpretation of *-ē* as the indefinite article (cf. p. 102, 144).

The cases of OIr. *ai̇a* > Bal. *ai* noted by GEIGER 1891:411 may be explained otherwise: the EBal. causatives in *-ain-* probably correspond to the double causatives *-āēn-* of other dialects¹⁷⁴ which are likely to be secondary combinations of *ā* and the causative suffix; other variants with *ai* of words which usually exhibit *ē* noted by one or the other of Geiger's sources are too marginally attested to build any assumption on them.¹⁷⁵

ahia > *ai*?

The cases showing this context are

- *čē*¹⁷⁶ "which, what" (Av. gen. *čahiia*, NP *či*, Prth. *čē*),
- *kai*¹⁷⁷ "who" (Av. gen. *kahiia*, NP *ki*, Prth. *kē*),

172 Geiger's examples *parērī* and *ādēnk* "mirror" (the only example adduced by MOŠKALO 1991:23 for *ai̇a* > *ē*) probably do not belong here since it is not sure that there was a sequence **-ai̇a-* in the preform of *ādēnk* (cf. p. 79); for *parērī*, see below.

173 The original *ē* quality of the vowel in the caus. suffix cannot be seen in NP and must be inferred from other Ir. languages (e.g. Balochi) since *ē* gives *ī* in front of a nasal in NP (HORN 1901:26).

174 An example of such a causative is (FARRELL 1990:49) *ras-* "arrive" (itr.) → *rasēn-* "cause to arrive, transport" → *rasāēn-* "make someone transport somebody else".

175 For diphthongisation, cf. II 3.1.2.3.3.

176 This is the variant found in all SBal. and WBal. sources. EBal. sources have *čī* (DTB *čih*) which is also found in addition to *čē* in some other sources; it might show the influence of the adjective suffix *-ī* (cf. II 2.4.4.1) and of *čī* "thing" (a variant of *čīz*).

177 *kai* is used in all dialects. SHG has *kaī* (also in EAL) and *kaē*, probably indicating the same thing as *kai* of the other sources. *k^hāī* (DAMES 1881:24) is likely to be an error for *k^hāī* (thus DTB).

- gen.sg. ending *-ai* (WBal.), *-ē* (SBal.), *-ī*¹⁷⁸, *-a*, *-∅*.¹⁷⁹

Judging from *čē*, MOŠKALO 1991:23, 37 assumes that OIr. *-ah̄ia* gives the same result as OIr. *aīa*, i.e. *ē*. This would correspond to the development stated for MP (SALEMANN 1901:272) and Parthian (RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:164), but it leaves *kai* and the variants of the gen.sg. ending unexplained. It thus seems possible to assume that the Bal. outcome of OIr. *ah̄ia* is *ai* and *ē* depending on the dialects, parallel to the development assumed for MIr. *-au* (cf. p. 101f.). This implies that the gen.sg. ending can be derived from the Old Iranian genitive ending (thus MORGENSTIERNE 1948:257, 259).¹⁸⁰ The consistent *ē* of *čē* might be attributed to the influence of the demonstrative pronoun *ē*.

-āia- > *ā*?

GEIGER 1891:411 assumes that OIr. *āia* is reduced to Bal. *ai*. In his examples *haik* "egg" (also *hāik*, *hēk*, *haig*, *āig*, *āyag*, cf. NP *xāya*), *sā'ig* "shadow" (also *sāhig*, *sāyig*, *sāī*, *sāyag*,¹⁸¹ cf. NP *sāya*, OInd. *c^hāyā-*) and *kait* "comes" (also *kē*, *kaē* (FBB),¹⁸² see also below), *āia* has indeed been shortened, but the outcome obviously depends on the dialect. Moreover, there may be peculiar morphological processes involved: *haik* (cf. p. 156f.) and *sā'ig* with variants can be loanwords from NP, and the processes resulting in *kait* and variants are not quite clear. So if the examples fit here at all, the shortening of *āia* > *ai* seems to be a post-CBal. phenomenon.¹⁸³ *sai* "three" (also *saē*, *sē*, *sah*, NP *sih*) is likely to be a NP loanword as well (cf. p. 90).

178 The gen.sg. ending *-ī* is found in the WBal. dialects of Turkmenistan and Afghanistan on personal names and for *xudā* "God" (cf. e.g. SOKOLOV 1956:63, BUDDRUS 1988:48). A gen. ending *-ī* also appears on the sg. personal pronouns.

179 The endings *-a* and *-∅* are found in EBal. In addition, *-ē* and *-ī* are found in these dialects; besides these, adjective formations (*-ēg*, *-īg*) are used (GILBERTSON 1923:19ff.).

180 The "genitives" in *-ī* are likely to be originally adjective formations. The origin of the EBal. gen. endings *-a* and *-∅* is not clear. For more discussion, cf. KORN (frthc. 2).

181 For the attestation, cf. p. 87. According to MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50, this word is "possibly borrowed".

182 This form is the 3sg. pres. of *āy-* "come". *k-* is a prefix of the present tense occurring in some verbs beginning with vowels. The personal endings differ quite markedly depending on the dialect.

183 Conversely, it seems that a shortening *āya* > *āi* is typical for loanwords (cf. p. 283).

The evidence for a possible change $\bar{a}i\bar{a} > \bar{e}$ is not convincing either:

- MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50 assumes that Br. *sēxā* "shadow, ghost" has been borrowed from Bal. **sēkā* which could be the genuine Bal. word for "shadow" (with *sā'ig* etc. borrowed from NP, see above). It is, however, not sure if Bal. **sēkā* ever existed, and the Br. word might also have been borrowed from Si. *sēya*.
- The most probable etymology of *parērī* "the day before yesterday" is **para-ajar-* (GERSHEVITCH 1964:81), and *parērī* could therefore be an example for $-\bar{a}i\bar{a}- > \bar{e}$ ¹⁸⁴, but it can as well have been borrowed from NP *parēr*. The variants *pairī* (SHG), *pērī* (FBB, EAL: Eastern, Coastal, Kēčī) seem to be derived from *parērī* by haplology (GEIGER 1890:140 also notes the form *pairērī*).

In the absence of trustworthy counterexamples, one might postulate a loss of \bar{i} in the sequence $-\bar{a}i\bar{a}-$ (MOŠKALO 1991:21, 35)¹⁸⁵ parallel to the loss of \bar{u} in $\bar{a}u\bar{a}$ (cf. p. 102f.). This would mean that *sāh* "shadow" (with hypercorrect *-h*) and *ā-murg*¹⁸⁶ "egg" are the genuine variants (note that *sāh* and *āmurg* might not be so easily explained as loanwords as the variants *sā'ig*, *hāik* etc. discussed above).

A change $\bar{a}i\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ might also explain the infinitives with $-\bar{a}-$ in Eastern Balochi (cited by GEIGER 1891:407 and GEIGER 1890 q.v.) where the other dialects show $(-)\bar{a}ya-$:

- *āg* "to come" (other dialects *āyag*¹⁸⁷, 1sg. *k-ān* (otherwise $(k-)\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ etc.),
- *ǰāg* "to chew" (SWBal. *ǰāyag*, cf. p. 103),
- *zāg* "to give birth" (SWBal. *zāyag*),¹⁸⁸

184 GEIGER 1891:411 assumes a preform (Av.) **parō.ajara-* and considers this an example for $\bar{a}i\bar{a} > \bar{e}$.

185 MOŠKALO 1991:21 (**aya* is obviously a misprint for **āya*, cf. 1991:35) assumes this change on the basis of *šāh* "king" (cf. p. 81) and *warnā* "young" (cf. p. 278), which are both loanwords, however.

186 *ā-murg* is a compound with *murg* "bird" (for which cf. p. 147). The Ir. words for "egg" most probably go back to **āiā-* (SCHINDLER 1969:160), for further discussion, cf. p. 156f.

187 This is the Coastal, Kēčī and Raxšānī form according to EAL. Other variants are *yāy-* (EAL: Sarāwānī, Lāšārī), *āh-* (EAL: Eastern); in some dialects, the present tense shows the prefix *k-*, thus *kāy-* (BMC, FBB), *kā-* (1.sg. *k^hān* DTB). The 3sg. has the shortened form *kait* etc., see above. NP has *āy-*, too, whereas Prth. has *ās-* which is probably from the inchoative stem **ā-i-sa-* (Henning apud GHILAIN 1939:49¹⁰, cf. also WEBER 1970:84f. for further discussion).

This verb has a suppletive past stem **ā-ga-ta > *ākta* (cf. Prth. *āyad*, for further discussion, cf. p. 185 and the subchapters of II 3.2): *āt* (BMC, EAL: Kēčī, Coastal, Eastern), *atk* (FBB), *āxt* (DTB, EAL: Eastern), *āht* (BMC, EAL: Raxšānī), *āt* (BMC, SOKOLOV 1956:82, EAL: Raxšānī), *yātk* (EAL: Lāšārī), *yāxt* (EAL: Sarāwānī).

188 The past stem is *zāt*. NP has the NWIr. forms (identical with Prth.) *zāy-* / *zād*. Parthian shows transitive and intransitive use of the present stem *zāy-*, which derives from an intransitive formation

- *gāg* "have sex" (SWBal. *gāyag*).¹⁸⁹

The -y- seen in the SWBal. present stems may either have been preserved – which would make the change $\bar{a}ia > \bar{a}$ an EBal. phenomenon – or lost first and then reintroduced as vowel separator, separating the stem in - \bar{a} from the endings which begin with vowels (for vowel separators, cf. II 2.4.3). The variants $\bar{a}h$ - "come", $\check{y}\bar{a}h$ - "chew", $z\bar{a}h$ - "give birth" and $s\bar{a}h$ - besides $s\bar{a}y$ -¹⁹⁰ "shave" (with unetymological, vowel-separating *h*) show that on a synchronic level, -y- is interpreted as a vowel separator.

The interpretation of the loss of -y- as an exclusively EBal. feature (note that $s\bar{a}h$ "shadow" is only attested in DTB and EAL) would have the disadvantage of leaving $\bar{a}murg$, $\bar{a}h$ -, $z\bar{a}h$ - and $s\bar{a}h$ - "shave" without explanation. It thus seems better to assume that OIr. $\bar{a}ia$ gave Bal. \bar{a} and that the SWBal. present stems $\bar{a}y$ - etc. (infinitives $\bar{a}yag$ etc.) show irregularly retention of *y* as morpheme separator or its reintroduction as vowel-separator. Since a change of OIr. $\bar{a}ia > \bar{a}$ has also been assumed for (Middle) Persian (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:167f.) and Parthian (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 89),¹⁹¹ this development may be a common Western Middle Iranian one.

For OIr. $\bar{a}i / _C$, cf. II 2.3.3.

(SUNDERMANN 1997:107f.).

189 The etymology of this verb (past stem $g\bar{a}t$) is somewhat unclear. For discussion of some possibly related Ir. words (e.g. NP $g\bar{a}y$ - / $g\bar{a}d$), cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003:30. The connection to OInd. $\check{y}j\bar{a}$ "rob, violate" (BAILEY 1979:82b and others) is not plausible (EWAia I:602f.).

190 The past stem is $s\bar{a}t$. BMC and EAL also have $s\bar{a}ht$ (from the present stem $s\bar{a}h$ -), DTB has $s\bar{a}in$ - / $s\bar{a}int^h$ -. Note that Bal. $s\bar{a}y$ - seems to be the only Ir. cognate of the OInd. present stem $c^h\bar{a}y$ - < $*s\acute{k}eh_2$ - $\check{i}e$ - (Av. $s\bar{a}zd\bar{u}m$ is probably rather to be connected to $\check{s}\bar{a}h$ "teach", LIV p. 547), only of OInd. $c^h\bar{y}\bar{a}ti$ (cf. EWAia I:558).

191 Note that $\check{s}\bar{a}h$ "king" need not be a Median (or otherwise non-SWIr.) word (HOFFMANN 1976:637²⁶).

2.2 Consonant clusters

The consonant clusters treated here are ordered according to their first member. Wherever the result is a geminated consonant (cf. II 2.2.1.3, 2.2.2.1.2, 2.2.2.2, 2.2.2.3, 2.2.3.2, 2.2.3.3), it has to be kept in mind that these are restricted to the position after short vowels and that not all dialects preserve these (and/or not all sources mark them consistently),¹⁹² so that gemination is always only optional.

2.2.1 Combinations with fricatives

As seen above (cf. II 2.1.2.1), OIr. intervocalic fricatives are changed to the corresponding stops in Balochi. There are a number of contexts, however, where the fricatives are assimilated or lost.

2.2.1.1 Fricative + *t*

OIr. *ft* > *pt*

OIr. *ft*, mainly occurring in the past stems of roots in *-p* (PIr. **-p-ta* > OIr. *-f-ta-*), develops as expected, i.e. is changed to *p* like OIr. intervocalic *f* (cf. II 2.1.2.1, GEIGER 1891:432):

- *rupt* (past stem of *rōp-* "sweep", NP *ruft*), *kapt* (past stem of *kap-* "fall", Prth. *kaft*), *gwapt* (past stem of *gwap-* "weave", NP *bāft*), *wapt* (past stem of *waps-* "go to sleep", NP, Prth. *xuft*, cf. p. 87).¹⁹³

Note, however, that EBal. has *-pt-*, too, although postvocalic *p* otherwise changes to *f* in these dialects (cf. p. 226).

OIr. *xt*

OIr. *xt* shows special developments: where it occurs in past stems of roots in (PIr.) **-k* and **-g* (PIr. **-k-ta-* > OIr. *-x-ta-*), we find different developments in the dialects (GEIGER 1889:95, 1891:423). A closer look at the relevant forms in the sources suggests that the distribution of the variants coincides with the major dialect groups:¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Cf. II 1.1.1, 3.1.1.1 and 3.3.1.5.

¹⁹³ GEIGER's example (1891:432) *hapt* "seven" is most probably a loanword (cf. p. 81).

¹⁹⁴ For more details about the development in the dialects, cf. II 3.2.

- the Southern dialects show a metathesis $*-kt > -tk$ ¹⁹⁵ (e.g. *gētk* as past stem of *gēj̄*- "throw", cf. p. 241),
- the Western dialects have developed $-ht$ ¹⁹⁶ (e.g. *gē(h)t*, cf. p. 248),
- the Eastern dialects have $-xt$ (e.g. *gixt*, cf. p. 230).¹⁹⁷

This variation is best explained as secondary developments from Common Balochi $*-kt-$, the expected result of OIr. *xt*.

It is possible that OIr. *xt* when not in a past stem or in a word not recognised as a past stem any more gives ($*kt >$) *k(k)*:

- *sak(k)* "hard, very" might belong to NP *saxt* (GEIGER 1890:144), Prth. *saxt*,
- *pakkag* (BMC) "ripe, cooked" and the denominative (based on $*pakk-$) *pakk-* / *pakkit* (BMC, EAL) "become ripe" could represent $*paxta-$, originally the past stem of *pač-* "cook" (*pakkit* is noted as past stem of *pač-* for Turkmenistan Balochi in SOKOLOV 1956:81, EVM and EAL, otherwise it is *pakt*, *paht*, *patk*, see above). Both words may have been borrowed from Urdu (*sak* "power" and *pakkā* "cooked"¹⁹⁸, respectively), however.
- A further possible case is *zāk* "child", if it derives from $*zākk < *zātk$ (cf. p. 185).

2.2.1.2 Fricative + š

Word-initial *fš-*, *xš-* is reduced to *š-* as in several other Ir. languages.

OIr. *fš-* > *š-*:

- *šupānk*¹⁹⁹ "shepherd" (Av. *fšu-* "cattle" + $\sqrt{pā}$ "protect", NP, Prth. *šubān*).

With regard to Sogd. (Christian) *xwšp'ny*, Bactr. $\chi\omicron\beta\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\omicron$ (pl.) "shepherd", it seems quite possible that $*fš-$ and $*xš-$ fell together to $*xš-$ first to be reduced to *š-* in Persian, Parthian, Balochi etc. later (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

195 Such sorts of metathesis are quite common in these dialects, cf. II 3.2.2.1.

196 Some WBal. dialects drop *h* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel: e.g. *tahta* > *tāta* "run", past stem of *tač-* "run" (cf. p. 247).

197 For Elfenbein's claim that Sarāwānī also shows *xt*, cf. II 3.2.4.1.

198 *pak(k)ā* has been borrowed into Balochi at any rate and means "cooked, paved (of roads), mature". It is noted as the perf. part. (which otherwise ends in *-a*) of *p^haš-* "cook" in DTB.

199 For variants, cf. p. 196, 236, for the suffix cf. p. 165. Note also that Pashto has *špāna* etc. (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:75) so that a borrowing cannot be ruled out.

OIr. xš- > š- (GEIGER 1891:425):²⁰⁰

- *šap* "night" (Av. *xšap(an)-*, NP, Prth. *šab*),
- *šōd*-²⁰¹ "wash" (Av. *xšūdra-* "liquid", NP *šōy-* / *šust*, Prth. *šōδ-* / *šust*).

OIr. -xš- > -šk-:

Word-internal *xš* is changed to **kš* and then shows a metathesis (cf. p. 177) > *šk* (GEIGER 1891:425):

- *bašk*-²⁰² "forgive" (Av. *baxša-*, NP *baxš-* / *baxšīd*, Prth. *baxš-* / *baxt*);
- *šawašk-* "sell" (OIr. **fra-ua-xš-*, cf. p. 117);
- *šīnz*, *šūnz*²⁰³ "green-blue" would be an exception if one connected it to Psht. *šīn* "green", which MORGENSTIERNE 1927:74 (following HÜBSCHMANN 1884:427f. and others) links to Av. *axšāēna-* "dark": it would either show a reduction of word-internal *xš* or the loss of an initial vowel in a closed syllable.²⁰⁴ Since words for colours are even more readily borrowed than other vocabulary items and, moreover, since Bal. names for colours of sure genuine character are nearly entirely lacking

200 OIr. *xš* goes back to PIE **k^(u)s-*, **k^(u)p-*. For the outcome of PIE **ks*, **kp*, cf. II 2.1.2.5.

šēp "creek, abyss" (MP, NP *šēb* "declivity"), *šēp-mār* (a kind of snake, cf. NP *šēbā*, STEINGASS 1892:771 has *šībā*) need not be an example for *xš-*: there are two roots, viz. PIIr. $\sqrt{čšip}$ "throw" (e.g. OInd. $\sqrt{kšip}$) and $\sqrt{kšuib}$ "move back and forth" (e.g. Av. *xšuaēuua-* "fast") which got mixed e.g. in MP *šēb-* "move quickly" (YAKUBOVICH 2002:544f.). Bal. *šēp*(°) and MP, NP *šēb* "declivity", on the other hand, may be related directly to $\sqrt{čšip}$ only. Prth. $\langle šybh \rangle$ "path" might also be adduced here: a compound OIr. **šai-pa-paṭa-* (or **(x)šai-pa-paṭa-*) "steep path" > **šai-paṭa-* (haplology, suggestion by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication) would account both for the semantics (for a semantic parallel of a word for "steep path", cf. German *Steig*) as for the form (for Prth. $\vartheta > h$, cf. p. 81, RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:179). If this etymology is correct, Prth. $\langle šybh \rangle$ is to be read *šēbah* (pace BOYCE 1977:85).

Word-initial *xš* is preserved in the Prth. inscriptions (e.g. $\langle ḥštr \rangle$ "country" (GIGNOUX 1972:53)) as well as in Arm. loanwords (*ašxarh*) while PrthT has *š-*, e.g. *šahr* (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

201 For the past stem, cf. p. 180, for the etymology, cf. p. 79.

202 BMC, DTB, EAL. The past stem *baškāt* (BMC, DTB) is one of the few past stems in *-āt* (cf. III 4). EAL seems to assume that *baškāt* is due to some error and restores *baškūt* which would be a unique formation. EAL also has the regularly built *baškit*.

bašk- might have been borrowed from NP *baxš-* / *baxšīd*; *bakš-* / *bakšit* and *baxš-* / *baxšit* (FBB) surely are (cf. p. 177).

203 For variants and attestation, cf. p. 198, 214, 309.

204 Cf. II 2.3.1.1 for the assumption that initial short vowels are lost when in open syllable.

(cf. III 3), it is more than probable that *šmz*, *šmz* is a loanword.²⁰⁵ There is no suitable form among the cognates (BAILEY 1979:26b, MACIUSZAK 1996:31), though. The *-z* may have been influenced by NP *sabz* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

There is (pace GEIGER 1891:425) no need to assume that OIr. *xš* may also result in Bal. *š* since *gwaš-* "say" need not be explained as coming from **uaxša-* (cf. p. 129).

čaš(š)- / čaš(š)it "taste, sip" may be explained as a loanword from NP *čaš- / čašīd* (for gemination in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.5). At any rate, it need not be an example of **xš* as MP *čāxšēn-* "cause to taste" might suggest, since a base **čaš-* is necessary for Sogd. *pcš-* "drink, taste", *cšnt* "drink" which cannot go back to **čaxša-* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication). Arm. *čaš* "breakfast", *čašak* "taste" (HÜBSCHMANN 1897:187), with the *-k* proving rather old age of the borrowing, i.e. a Prth. source (Jost Gippert, personal communication), will likewise derive from **čaš-*.²⁰⁶

With regard to the change *šn > n(n)* (cf. II 2.2.2.2), it does not seem likely that OIr. *xšn* gives Bal. *šn*. The example is *rōšnā* "light (adj.)", *rōšnāī* "light (subst.)" (Av. *raoxšna-* (adj.), Prth. *rōšn* (noun, adj.), NP *rōšan* (adj.), cf. also p. 179); its *-ā* likewise seems to suggest an explanation as borrowing from NP *rōšanā*, *rōšanā'ī* "light (subst.)".

2.2.1.3 Stop/Fricative + Nasal

OIr. *hm > m(m)*:

It seems that *hm* is assimilated with lengthening of the *m*:

205 *šmz* should show *-ē-* if it was a genuine cognate of Av. *axšaēna-*. This is not an absolute requirement, though (for occasional *ē > ī*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2). *šmz* seems to show a hypercorrect reversal of the widespread dialectal change *ū > ī* (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1). Hypercorrect *ī > ū* is rather rare, but hypercorrect reversals of other changes do occur (cf. p. 201f. for *ī > ē*, *ū > o*), and doublets with *ū / ī* are so common that a hypercorrect form would not be surprising.

206 It seems that OIr. *xšn* was regularly reduced to *šn* in Parthian (e.g. *išnōhr* "grace, gratitude" vs. Av. *√xšnao* "favour", NP *xušnūd* "content"); so Prth. and MP *čāšnīg* "taste" may be derived from **čāxšniḡākā-* (thus KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:216⁸⁶, comparing MP *čāxšēn-* "cause to taste"). OIr. word-internal *xšV* was preserved: Prth. *baxš-* might have been borrowed from MP, but Arm. loanwords show that Parthian had *xš* (changed to *šx* in Armenian), e.g. Arm. *vašx* "usury" from Ir. **uaxš-* (GIPPERT 1999:19f.). – Prth. *čaxšābed* "precept, command" does not belong here, but has been borrowed from OInd. *śikṣāpada-* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983b:139), the vowel of the second syllable may be due to an association by popular etymology to *°bed < OIr. pati-* "master" (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

- The form of the 1pl. of the personal pronoun which is given as *ammā* in SOKOLOV 1956:69 and BUDDRUSS 1988²⁰⁷ may show a reflex of OIr. *-hm-* in the doubling of *m* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:257, SOKOLOV 1956:69).

The same might apply to Parthian: while MP *amā(h)* "we" may go back to OP gen.pl. *amāxam* (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 138),²⁰⁸ one might derive Prth. <'m'(h)> from OIr. **ahmāxam*²⁰⁹ and to read it *ammā(h)* (hitherto *amā(h)*). The only Prth. example for a consonant cluster *hm* seems to be *yahm* "until" which only occurs in phrases like *yahm yāwēd yāwēdān* "for ever and ever (lit.: until eternal-eternal)" (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 256f.), maybe an archaism of the religious language.²¹⁰

OIr. *xm* > *m* (GEIGER 1891:435):

A reduction of OIr. *xm* > Bal. *m* has often been noted and linked to parallel developments in other Modern NWIr. languages and to the change of OIr. *šm* > *m*²¹¹ seen in several NWIr. languages (cf. MACKENZIE 1961:71, WINDFUHR 1975:461).

The relevant examples are:

- *tōm*²¹² "seed" (Av. *taoxman-*, NP *tuxm*, MPM *tōhm*, MPZ *tōm*, Prth. *tōxm*);²¹³
- *šōm* "ploughing" (NP *šuxm* "land ready for ploughing"), *šōm*²¹⁴ "plough" (probably a denominative verb since there is no verb attested in related languages).

207 NAWATA 1981:11 has *amā* for approximately the same dialect. The other dialects have *mā* (cf. V 1.2). *ammā* is also mentioned in SHG.

208 *hm* is regularly reduced to *m* in OP, cf. BRANDENSTEIN/MAYRHOFER 1964:42f.; *ahmiy* "I am" besides more common *amiy* is probably a dialectal form, cf. HOFFMANN 1976a:639³³.

209 It is possible that PIr. 1pl. **ahmāxam*, 2pl. **ušmākam* were transformed to **ahmāxam*, **ušmāxam* in some Ir. languages and to **ahmākam*, *ušmākam* in others (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:203⁴⁰). **ahmāxam*, **ušmāxam* indeed seem well fit to be the protoforms of Prth. <'m'(h)>, <šm'(h)>.

210 *yahm* may be derived from OIr. *yahmāi* (HENNING 1934:909b).

211 Note that *šm* > *m* is likely to be an independent development in diverse Ir. languages (KORN 2003:57) and that there is (pace WINDFUHR 1975:461) no evidence for an intermediary stage *šm* > **hm* > *m(m)* in Balochi, although such a stage is surely quite possible (see below).

212 SHG, BMC, EVM, EAL, NAWATA 1981:37.

213 The vowel of the Prth. word is confirmed by Arm. *tohm*.

214 This word is only reported from the Makran Gazetteer by MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290 and cited in EAL, but also attested in Brahui, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348. The etymology presented by MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348 (**xšaūd-man-* "crushing", cf. OInd. $\sqrt{\text{ksud}}$) seems to be difficult to combine with the data.

If this change proceeded through a stage **hm*, which seems quite likely, it might fit the change of OIr. *hm* > *m(m)* as seen in *am(m)ā*: OIr. *xm* may have yielded **hm* early enough for this **hm* to be treated like OIr. *hm*. The variant *tuhm* may then be explained as a NP loanword and the *ū* of *tūm* as showing the effect of raising (cf. II 3.1.2.3.2).

Alternatively, it does not seem entirely impossible that the examples are to be explained in the light of the Bal. change of *uh* > *ō* (cf. II 3.1.3.2): the vowel shortening observed in NP *tuxm*, *šuxm*²¹⁵ may also have occurred in Balochi. If so, OIr. *xm* > *hm* must have operated after OIr. *hm* was assimilated to *m(m)*, otherwise one would expect *tuhm*, **šuhm* > †*tum(m)*, †*šum(m)*. An argument which might speak for this solution is that the variants *tuhm* (EAL, SHG), *tōhm* (only EAL) and *tūm* (GEIGER 1890:159) show the same pattern as the other cases of *uh*, i.e. *uh* besides *ū* in old sources vs. *ō* (and possibly hypercorrect *ōh*) in more recent ones.

OIr. *dm*

The outcome of OIr. *dm-* in Balochi is not known since no cognate of Av. *dāmāna-*, NP *bān* (borrowed into Georgian as *ban-* and into Armenian as *banak*) has been found so far. For Bal. *bānuk* "lady", cf. p. 164.

2.2.1.4 Fricative + *r*

The consonant clusters involving fricatives and *r* show particularly interesting changes, differing from what one might expect when considering the developments of the individual sounds.²¹⁶

2.2.1.4.1 Word-initial position

OIr. *fr-* > *š-* (MACKENZIE 1961:79):

Word-initial *fr-* seems to yield Bal. *š-*, all examples involving OIr. *fra*^o:²¹⁷

215 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1906:70.

216 For Plr. **θr* (Av. *θr*, OP *ϕ*), cf. II 2.1.2.4.

217 Similarly, Choresmian shows a change of **frā-* > *š'*, e.g. *š'c* "tomorrow", cf. Sogd. *fr'k*; *š'β'r* "witness" < **frā-bāra-* (HENNING 1958:114, MACKENZIE 1990:122).

- EBal. *šast-* / *šastāθ*-²¹⁸ "send",
- *šamōš*-²¹⁹ "forget" (NP *farāmōš-* / *farāmušt*, MP, Prth. *frāmōš-* / *frāmušt*),
- *šawašk-* / *šawaxt*²²⁰ "sell" (NP *furōš-* / *furōxt*).

The development of OIr. *fr-* > Bal. *š-* is likely to have proceeded via devoiced *r*,²²¹ and/or via a fricative like Czech *ř*.

So the following items will not represent the genuine development:

- *rastar* "beast" which might be connected either to MP *frēstr* (derived from **fracstra* < **fra-pt-tra-* by GERSHEVITCH 1954:246) or to Av. *xrafstra-* (for *xr-* > Bal. *kr-*, see below). The word might show a special development (dissimilation of *f-* or *x-*) or may have been borrowed from some idiom which reduces *xr-* and/or *fr-* to *r-* as Zazaki does in the case of *fr-*, although no convenient source is in sight.²²²
- *prāh* "wide" (Prth. *frāx*²²³) may have been borrowed from MP *frāx*.²²⁴

218 DTB, EAL; also *šašt-* / *šaštāθ*- (GEB, GCD, EAL), for which cf. p. 180; MAYER 1910 notes *šašt-* / *šaštāθ*- with a shortening of the past stem suffix (cf. p. 186). Further past stems are (EAL) *šastit* and *šašit*, but their existence seems questionable. BAILEY 1979:487b connects NP *firist-* / *firistād* to Av. *frašīia-* etc., i.e. *fra-* + $\sqrt{\text{viš}}$ (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{viṣ}}$ "send"), cf. Prth. *frēštag* "angel", but for Bal. *šast-* / *šaštāθ*-, a derivation from OIr. *fra* + $\sqrt{\text{stā}}$ seems more likely (GEIGER 1890:147).

219 Also *šamūš-* (DTB), *šamuš-* (DTB, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:102), past stem *šamōšt* (BMC, EAL), *šamušt* (DTB, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:102). As HÜBSCHMANN 1895:84 observes, the *-ō-* of *farāmōš-* (and of *šamōš-*) must be secondary, analogical to verbs with a present stem containing OIr. *-au-* / past stem *-u-*, and *šamōšt* is formed from this present stem. *šamušt* can be regular, and so can the present *šamuš-* (cf. the formations from the zero-grade root Khot. *hāmura-* < **frāmṛša-* "forgetful", OInd. present *mṛsyá-*, aorist *mṛṣanta*, EWAia II:332). *šamūš-* shows yet another analogical "strengthening" of the present stem vs. the past stem *šamušt*. For PĪr. * r and OIr. *rš*, cf. II 2.3.2, 2.1.2.4, respectively. MP and Prth. *frā-mōš-* show an additional preverb *ā* (GHILAIN 1939:62).

220 Also *šōšk-* (GEB), cf. p. 239. The past stem *šawaxt* (DTB, GCD, EAL: Eastern) fits well with NP *furōxt* and goes back to **fra-* + uak + *-ta-* → **frauaxta-* > MP *frōxt*. The present stem has a suffix *-š-* (HORN 1893:183), cf. MP *frōxš-*, Av. *vaxš-*, and a metathesis (cf. p. 113, 177). The past stem *šawašt* (EAL) is modelled on the present stem. Parthian has *wāž-* / *wāxt* without preverb and suffix.

221 Thus PAUL (frthc.), cf. occasional MPM *hrēstag* "apostle" for more common *frēstag*. It is possible that Prth. *hr* (usually < OIr. *θr*, cf. II 2.1.2.4) denotes devoiced *r* (DURKIN-MEISTERERST p. 53f.).

222 GEIGER's etymology (1890:143, with OInd. *arś-* "injure") is dismissed by HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559.

223 The reading *farrāx* (BOYCE 1977:39) is probably an error induced by MP, Prth. *farrox* "fortunate".

224 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559 says that Bal. *prāh* is a NP (sic) loanword because a cognate of Av. *fraθah-* should result in Bal. **prat*, which is not correct as far as the **pr-* is concerned; neither is MOŠKALO's assumption (1991:22) of Bal. *prāh* showing that OIr. *aθa* results in Bal. *ā* (cf. p. 81).

NP *farāh*, MPZ <pl'hw> has been derived from OIr. **frā(h)uua-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:84). The derivation from **fraθah-uant-* (SALEMANN 1901:260, WEBER 1994:112, MOŠKALO 1991:22) seems difficult to combine with the rules for MP syncope as set out in KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:210ff.

OIr. *xr-* > *kr-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:254):

Word-initial *xr-* develops as expected with regard to OIr. *x* > Bal. *k* (cf. II 2.1.2.1):²²⁵

- *krōs*²²⁶ "cock" (Av. √*xraos* "to cry", NP *xurōs*, Prth. *xrōsag* "caller").

2.2.1.4.2 Word-internal position

GEIGER 1891:415 (cf. also BARTHOLOMAE 1890:551, HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559) expects **rp*, **rt*, **rk* as the outcomes of word-internal OIr. *fr*, *θr*, *xr*. This assumption would have the advantage of being in line with the usual development of OIr. fricatives; it would imply that *suhr* "red" is a loanword from MP *suxr*. However, the only example speaking for this view is *čark* "wheel, machine" (Av. *čaxra-*, NP *čarx*, Prth. *čaxr*) which as Geiger admits may have been borrowed from NP *čarx*. There is no evidence for **rp*, **rt* as the Bal. outcome of OIr. *-fr*, *-θr*. It is thus better to assume that *fr*, *θr*, *xr* have been weakened as in other NWIr. languages. There is not much evidence for that either, but the examples cannot be dismissed easily.

OIr. *-fr* > *-hr* (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:254):

- *gwahr* "cold (noun)" (Av. *vafra-*, NP *barf*, Prth. *wافر*, all meaning "snow"),²²⁷
- *žahl* "low" (Av. *žafra-* "deep", Prth. *žافر*, cf. p. 161),

225 If *kurm* "pit for storing grain" comes from **krum* < **xrum*, it is another example. Its etymology is not clear, though. Br. *xurum* "grain-pit" may be a Dravidian word (in this case, Bal. *kurm* could be from Brahui), but a borrowing in the other direction is likewise possible (ROSSI 1979:103). MORGENSTIERNE's connection (1938:267f., similarly BAILEY 1979:501a) of Bal. *kurm* to Yidgha *xurom*, NP *xirman* etc. "threshing floor" and OInd. √*kram*ⁱ "step" appears questionable. Alternatively, one might compare Sogd. *xwrm* (rarely also *x(w)rwm*) "soil, earth", for which a connection with √*kram*ⁱ is excluded (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication) and which MACKENZIE 1970:56 links to Yaghnobi, Taj. *xurma* "earthenware jar". As *xwrm/xrwm* is a heavy stem and unless one assumes complicated analogical processes, either *xwrm* must be the original form or *xrwm* contains a long vowel (thus GERSHEVITCH 1959:189, who advocates a connection with Av. *xrūma-*, translating it "crumbling" vs. a derivation from *xrū-* "blood" assumed otherwise, and with Av. *paxruma-* "earth", GERSHEVITCH 1942:101). The Av. words, if they belong together, rather point to short *u*, though, since the vowel length in *xrūma-* may be secondary (Michiel de Vaan, personal communication), although it has to be kept in mind that *paxruma-* is a late hapax legomenon.

226 GEIGER 1891:417, EAL, FBB; otherwise *kurōs* (EAL), *kurōsk*.

227 There is no necessity for ELFENBEIN's assumption (1989:635) that *gwahr* has been borrowed from Khetrani *vahōr*, which would moreover imply the loss of the second (long) vowel.

- *juhl* "deep", MP *zofr* will be a contamination of Av. *gufra-* "deep" and *jaht* (BARTHOLOMAE 1904:525) with a redistribution of the semantic fields.

jaht leads GEIGER 1889:82 to suppose that *-fr-* gives *-hl*. *gwahr*, however, shows that *-hr* can be the regular outcome. One may thus assume that *jaht* and *juhl* show the occasional development of *r > l* discussed in II 2.4.2; in addition, a popular etymology with NP-Ar. *jaht* "ignorance", *majhūl* "hidden" may play a role here.

OIr. *-xr > -hr, -hl* (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:254):

Like in the case of *fr*, *-hr / -hl* is likely to represent the regular outcome of OIr. *-xr*:

- *suhr*²²⁸ "red" could also have been borrowed from MP *suxr*, but might also be genuine (cf. Av. *suxra-*, Prth. *suxrag* "purple");
- *tahl*²²⁹ "bitter" < **taxra-* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:206⁵¹), if it was not borrowed from MPZ (same form in Parthian) *taxl*, MPM *tahr*, NP *talx*;
- *wahl* "crooked" might go back to **hu-axra-* (cf. OInd. *vakrá-*) as NP *x^wahl* does (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:206) or else may have been borrowed from MP *wahr* (< **uaxra-*, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:206).

The parallel change of *fr > hr* might suggest that *hr* is the regular outcome here, and that the *l* is to be seen in the context of other changes of *r > l* (cf. II 2.4.2).

OIr. *γr, δr*

The Bal. outcome of OIr. *γr* is not clear. MOŠKALO 1991:22 assumes a change *iγr > īr* in *tīr* "arrow, bullet" (Av. *tiγra-* "sharp", MP *tigr* "arrow", Prth. *tiry* "fast"), but the word may have been borrowed from NP *tīr* (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556, 560). The same may apply to *dēr* "late" (Av. *darəya-*, MP *dagr > dēr*, Prth. *dary*, all "long", NP *dēr* "late", HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556) and *šēr* "lion" (NP *šēr*, MP *šagr*, Prth. *šary*).²³⁰ However, if *čēr* "under" is not a compound formed in Balochi from *č-* "of" and MP *ēr*, but an older formation (cf. p. 199), it might derive from **čaδr* < **č-adari* (cf. Sogd. *c'δr*, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954:232). So it seems possible that MIr. *aγr, aδr* yields Bal. *ēr*. If so, *iγr* may indeed give *īr* as well.

228 Also *sōr* (BMC, EAL, EVM, FBB). For *uh > ō*, cf. II 3.1.3.2.

229 For dialectal variants, cf. p. 207, 253. NP *talx* is also used.

230 For etymological discussion of MP *šēr* etc., cf. BAILEY 1979:421, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208⁶⁴.

2.2.1.5 Fricative + $\underset{\sim}{u}$

2.2.1.5.1 OIr. $\underset{\sim}{f}u$

The only example of OIr. $\underset{\sim}{f}u$ is NP *kahun*, *kuhan*, *kuhna* "old", Prth. *kafwan*, MP *kahwan* (MPZ <khwnb'>, MPM <qhwn>, MACKENZIE 1986:48),²³¹ Khot. *kuhana*-, Bactr. $\kappa\alpha\beta\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron$ etc. which have been derived from **kafuana*- / **kapuna*- (BAILEY 1979:62b, 64b, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000:197a). Bal. variants include *kwahn* (SHG) / *kwān* (FBB) / *kōhn* / *kuhn* "old".²³² *kwān* may be explained as a dialectal variant of *kwahn* (cf. II 3.2.3.3) and *kōn* derived from *kuhn* (cf. II 3.1.3.2), thus leaving *kwahn* and *kuhn* as primary variants. As *kuhn* might have been borrowed from NP, *kwahn* could be the genuine Bal. word. If *kwahn* is not a borrowing from MP *kahwan*, it shows that the change of OIr. $\underset{\sim}{f}u > hw$ has operated in Balochi as well as in MP.

2.2.1.5.2 OIr. $\underset{\sim}{\vartheta}u$

It would be particularly interesting to know the genuine Balochi result of OIr. $\underset{\sim}{\vartheta}u$ as the treatment of this consonant cluster is one of the isoglosses often used to distinguish South Western (MP *h*)²³³ from North Western Iranian (Prth. $\underset{\sim}{f}$)²³⁴. Unfortunately, however, all possible examples may be loanwords:

- the numbers "four" (*čār* vs. Prth. *čafār*, Av. *čadβārō*) and "forty" (*čil(l)*, Prth. *čafrast*, Av. *čadβarəsāt*-) are likely to have been borrowed from NP (*čār*, *čahār* and *čil*, *čihil*) since it is probable that the whole numeral system has been borrowed

231 For further discussion of MP *kahwan*, cf. WEBER 1994:113. Weber's statement that the development of MP *hw* (in *kahwan*) is the same as that of MP *x^v*, *xu* (as in *naxust*, *saxwan*) appears questionable, however, since NP shows *x* in the latter cases (*naxust*, *suxan*), but *h* in the former one (*kuhan* etc.).

232 ABG's transcription <kəwhn> (i.e. *kauhn*) of کهن may be a misprint for <kwhn> (i.e. *kuhn*), cf. also the attributive form *kuhnī* (for which cf. p. 200) listed as a separate lemma.

233 For a discussion of the possible MP outcome word-initial $\underset{\sim}{\vartheta}u$, cf. WEBER 1994:114f., KORN (frthc. 4).

234 The Prth. outcome of OIr. word-internal $\underset{\sim}{\vartheta}u$ (for the word-initial position, cf. HENNING 1958:97²) has been assumed to be *f* e.g. by TEDESCO 1921:199 and HENNING 1958:97. The possibility of Prth. *tf* being the result at least in word-final position has also been discussed (cf. WEBER 1994:111¹¹ and HENNING 1958:97², note that Prth. <cf^rr> "four" noted by WEBER 1994:111¹¹ is not attested, the word being written <cf^rr>). The discussion has been summarised by SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004 who concludes that the PrthT outcome of OIr. $\underset{\sim}{\vartheta}u$ is *δf* in word-internal position as shown by *nīδfār* "haste" and its family (the *f* in *čafār* being the result of a dissimilation) while in word final position, there are the dialectal variants *-f* and *-ft*. For further discussion, cf. KORN (frthc. 4).

(cf. p. 81); the gemination in *čil(l)* also speaks in favour of this assumption (cf. II 3.3.1.5),²³⁵

- similarly, *puhl*, *pōl* (< PIr. obl. stem *pṛθu- (Av. *pərətu-* / *pərəθβ-*) via *purh) "bridge" might be a Pers. word (MP *puhl*, Prth. *purt*²³⁶, cf. II 2.2.3.1);
- *gāh* "time" may have been borrowed from NP *gāh* (cf. p. 81);
- the Bal. abstract suffix *-ī* corresponds to NP *-ī*, MP *-īh*, Prth. *-īf(t)*²³⁷, it comes from *-iia-θua- (GAUTHIOT 1918:66f., TEDESCO 1921:199f.) and has been borrowed from NP/MP²³⁸ (HENNING 1958:97¹) since early MIr. *-h* or *-f(t)* would probably not be lost in Balochi.

2.2.1.5.3 OIr. *du-*

The case of OIr. *du-* (usually producing NWIr. *b-*, SWIr. *d-*) is not straightforward either. It has been concluded from *dō*, *du* "two" (Av. *duua-*), *duwāzdah* "twelve" (Av. *duua.dasa*), *digar* "other" (OP *duvitā°*) and *dar* "door" (Av. *duuar-*)²³⁹ that Balochi shows **du-* > *d* (TEDESCO 1921:200, MACKENZIE 1961:75, WINDFUHR 1975:459ff.) as do Persian²⁴⁰ and Kurdish. However, *dō* and *duwāzdah* probably do not show the relevant context since they probably go back to **duu-* as shown by Prth. *dō*, *dwādes* and MP *dwāzdah* (WEBER 1994:111). Moreover, *digar*²⁴¹ and *duwāzdah* must for reasons of their *-g-* and *-h-*, respectively, have been borrowed from Persian anyway, and the same is probably true for *dō*.²⁴²

235 *čār-dah* "14" is obviously a loanword for reasons of °*dah*.

236 Prth. <pwrt> is derived from *pṛtu- by BOYCE 1954:194. However, with regard to Prth. <bwrđ> "carried" from *brta-, <mwrđ> "died" from *mrta- etc., the *t* in <pwrt> seems to call for another explanation. Deriving it from *pṛθu- as the other WIr. forms and assuming a development via *purft and a simplification of the consonant cluster (or dissimilatory loss of *f*), the word might be seen as a further example of OIr. θu > Prth. *-ft* and is thus liable to confirm the rules established by SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004 (see above), cf. KORN (frthc. 4).

237 *-īf* is found in the inscriptions, *-īft* in the Turfan texts (HENNING 1958:96f.).

238 MP *-ī* is a late variant of both the abstract suffix *-īh* and the adjective suffix *-īg* (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 115), the latter corresponding to Bal. *-īg*. Prth. *-ī* may be due to the influence of MP or to scribal errors (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

239 Parthian has *bar*. The more common Bal. word for "door" is the NP loanword *darwāzag*.

240 WEBER 1994:115 argues that the development went via *δu* (the stage parallel to θu) > *δ^w.

241 For further discussion of NP *digar*, cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1906:63*.

242 For the Bal. numbers being borrowed from NP, cf. p. 81.

The rare *iptī*, *piti*²⁴³ "second, other" might thus represent the regular outcome: **duītīa-* > **bitī* > **ptī* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51), cf. Prth. *bid* "other", *bidīg* "second" (vs. NP *đīgar*). A second instance could be the even rarer *wārdaf* (only in MAYER 1910) "door-opening" (with the EBal. form of *dap* "mouth") if it is to be connected with Av. *duuar-* "door" etc. MORGENSTIERNE's assumption (1932:52) of a dissimilation from **duar-daf*²⁴⁴ would imply the assumption that *du-* was preserved for a very long time²⁴⁵ since otherwise *w-* would have given *gw-*.

A way out seems to be that *du-* could have given **v* (or another sound different from the input to the change of OIr. *u-* > *gw-*), which would have turned into normal *w* in *wārdaf* and was assimilated to the following consonant in (*i*)*ptī*. The evidence is extremely weak, unfortunately.

2.2.1.5.4 OIr. *hu-*

hu- > *w-* / *_ā* (GEIGER 1891:413):²⁴⁶

- *wān-* "read" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{svan}}$, Av. $\sqrt{\text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{an}}$, NP *x^wān-* / *x^wānd*, Prth. *xun-* / *xunād* "sound"²⁴⁷), *waps-* "go to sleep" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{svap}}$, Av. *x^vafsa-*, NP, Prth. *xusp-*, cf. p. 87), *war-* "eat" (Av. *x^vara-*, NP *x^war-* / *x^wurd*, MP *xwar-* / *xward*, Prth. *wxar-* / *wxard*), *wat* "own" (OInd. *svá-*, Av. *x^va-*, NP *x^wud*, MP *xwad*, Prth. *wxad*),

243 DTB; *iptī* also in MAYER 1910, *piti* also from an informant of MORGENSTIERNE (1932:51). The reduced form *tī* is also noted in SHG. GEIGER 1891:428, following BARTHOLOMAE 1890:554, explains *t^htī* as derived from **duītī-* > **dtī*, which does not match the other forms.

244 For further discussion, cf. p. 220.

245 Note that Prth. <*dbyš(y)č*>, a name read *Dβēšič* and reported from the Nisa documents by MACKENZIE 1986a:109, might indicate that the Prth. change of OIr. *du-* > *b-* has operated comparatively late.

246 If *hūrt* "tiny" belongs with NP *xurd* and Psht. *wur* and if these are to be derived from <**hu-rtā-* ("well ground" according to MORGENSTIERNE 1927:92, 1937:347), all of which is far from sure, this could show a special development of PIr. **ur* or rather the separate treatment of **hu*^o "well" plus **rtā-*. Elfenbein's etymology (EVM 18, probably derived from HORN 1893:112) of *hūrt* and NP *xurd* as coming from **k^wrt-* is not possible (cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:57). For dialectal variants, cf. p. 197.

247 Prth. <*xwn-* / (pd)*xwn'd*> involves the problem that one would expect a full grade for the pres. stem of a transitive verb which, if the etymology is correct, would be †*wxan-* †<*wxn-*>. The consistent writing with <*xwn-*> (cf. also *abxun* "cry (noun)") suggests the interpretation *xun-* with the zero-grade being taken from the past stem *xunād* (thus also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:368a, giving up the reading *xōn-* advocated in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2000:83).

- *wāb* "sleep" might either have been borrowed from NP *x^wāb*²⁴⁸ with a change of the beginning of the word in analogy to *waps-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:52) or represent genuine **wāp* with "assimilation" of the word-final to NP *x^wāb* (Jost Gippert, personal communication).
- *gwahār* "sister" (OInd. *svasṛ-*, Av. *x^var̥har-*, cf. also p. 99) seems to be an exception; it looks as if it went back to **uāhār*, probably (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:97) a dissimilation from **huāhār*.²⁴⁹ Note that the vowel quantities are etymologically correct, in contrast to those of NP *x^wāhar*.²⁵⁰

Based on the fact that OIr. *hu-* comes out as *w^h-* in Eastern Balochi (cf. p. 226), MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255⁴ assumes that OIr. *hu-* was preserved as such in Common Balochi with a metathesis resulting in the Eastern Balochi outcome. Although this is possible, it seems at least equally plausible that the aspiration of *w^h-* has developed together with the general aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops in Eastern Balochi (cf. II 1.1.2.2, 3.2.1.1.1), so it is assumed here that OIr. *hu-* yields *w-* in Common Balochi.

Note that CBal. *w-* from OIr. *hu-* is not an input for the rule (OIr.) *u- > g(w)-* (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1).

hu- > *h-* / *_ī, ē* (GEIGER 1891:423):

- *hēd* "sweat" (OInd. *svēda-*, Av. *x^vaēda-*, NP *x^wai*) and
- *hīt* "young grain" (NP *xawēd*²⁵¹).

Parthian has <wx-> in all relevant cases. According to MACKENZIE 1967:26²⁹, the orthography may denote devoiced *w*.²⁵²

248 For further Ir. cognates, cf. BENVENISTE 1929:75. Cf. also p. 276.

249 Morgenstierne assumes that the same development has taken place in Greek *ῥορες* which is not strictly necessary since it can also come from a dialect without initial *h-* (psilotic). This explanation seems more likely than BARTHOLOMAE'S (1890:552) who assumes a Sandhi phenomenon.

250 The vowel quantities of NP *x^wāhar* have probably been adjusted to those in *mādar* "mother" and *barādar* "brother" (Jost Gippert, personal communication).

251 Also *xiwēd* and *x^waid* according to STEINGASS 1892:490. The etymology beyond MP *xwēd* is not known. For *ē > ī*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2.

252 MacKenzie's interpretation has widely been accepted, cf. e.g. SUNDERMANN 1989a:122. An example for Prth. <wx-> + palatal vowel is *wxēbēh* "own". For MP <xw>, cf. WEBER 1994.

2.2.2 Combinations with sibilants

2.2.2.1 Sibilant + stop/affricate

2.2.2.1.1 OIr. *sT* > *št*

Occasionally, Bal. *š* is found where one might expect *s* (MOŠKALO 1991:33):

- *iškand* "penalty (EAL), unfinished (SHG)"²⁵³ and the etymologically related NP *šikan-* / *šikast* "break" show an unexpected *šk* vs. Av. *skəṇdō* "harm, impairment" (√*skand*, cf. EWAia II:750);
- *iškār* (MAYER 1910:32), *iškar* "(char)coal, ember" vs. the maybe earlier form reflected in Br. *isxar-zūr* "tongs" (lit.: "coal-taker", cf. ROSSI 1979:148); the word may be connected to NP *si/a/ukār*, Psht. *skōr*, Sogd. *sq'r* etc. (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication), i.e. **skāra-* (MORGENSTIERNE 2003:74).²⁵⁴

There is no example of the reverse change which is rather common in MP (cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:236f.): *dōst* "friend" vs. Av. *zaoša-* "wish", Prth. *zōš* "love" has not been "influenced by" (thus MOŠKALO 1991:32), but borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:448).

ōšt- / *ōštāt*, *ušt-* / *uštāt* "stand" vs. *ust-* / *ustāt* (Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi: EVM, NAWATA 1981:17)²⁵⁵ might be derived from **aua-hišt-ati* / **aua-stāta-* (SOKOLOV 1956:82) > **ōšt-* / **ōštāt-* with generalisation of either *št* or *st* in different dialects (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

The two examples which according to GEIGER 1891:434 show a reduction of word-initial *st* > *t* do not hold (BARTHOLOMAE 1893:263):

- *trū*, *trī* "aunt" can most convincingly be connected with OInd. *pitrvyā-*, Av. *tūrīia-* "father's brother" (etymology accepted by GEIGER 1893:189), thus deriving from

253 The etymology of this word seems not to have been discussed yet. For prothetic vowels, cf. II 2.3.4.

254 The Psht., Sogd. etc. cognates would confirm the etymology (a connection with Av. *skāriia-*, according to BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1587 a device used for making fire) by HORN 1893:163, 1901:87 and BENVENISTE 1955:300 (pace HÜBSCHMANN 1895:76) rather than the derivation from **uz-kāra-* (ROSSI 1979:148, following EILERS' 1974:307², 321f. explanation of NP *zugāl* and *nigāl*, Psht. *nyarai* "fireplace" < **ni-kāra-*).

255 The forms with *u-* must be due to an analogical ablaut, cf. *rōp-* / *rupt* "sweep", thus **ōšt-* / *uštāt*. Prth. *awi-št-* / *awi-štād* shows a different preverb. NP has *īst-* / *īštād*.

**ptruiiā-* "father's sister" > "aunt",²⁵⁶

- *tān(a)* "stall" might (as supposed by Bartholomae) have been borrowed from an Ind. language, e.g. Si. *ṭāṇu* "stall in stable" (TURNER 1966:739b), thus not from OP *stāna-*; it is only attested in Geiger's sources, all of them from the Eastern dialects.

2.2.2.1.2 OIr. *zd*

zd is assimilated to *z(z)* in possibly inherited as well as in borrowed words:²⁵⁷

- *naz(z)*, *naz(z)īk* "near" (Av. *nazdiiō*, NP *nazd(īk)*, Prth. *nazd*) can be genuine;
- *muz(z)* "wages" shows *zd* > *z(z)* in a loanword (Av. *mīžda-*, NP *muzd*, Prth. *mužd*);
- *duz(z)* "thief" and derivatives may have been borrowed from MP *duz*, it might also show an assimilation of borrowed NP *duzd*.

2.2.2.1.3 OIr. *s + č*

Av. *sč* > *š* (GEIGER 1891:425):

Balochi might go with other NWIr. languages in the development of *sč* > *š* (vs. OP etc. *s*). The examples often cited (TEDESCO 1921:209 etc.) involve the combination of PIr. **pas* "behind", **kas* "someone", **čis* "something" plus an element with *č*.²⁵⁸ In Balochi, *paš*, *pašt* "back" (Av. *pasča*, OP *pasā*, NP *pas*, Prth. *paš*) and *kas* "person" are attested. MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290 assumes that *pašt* is the genuine Bal. outcome and that *paš* came about through metanalysis of the comparative *paštir* "later" (originally **pašt-tar-* according to Morgenstierne) as *paš* + *tar*. Although this cannot be ruled out, it seems equally possible that *pašt* is due to an analogy to *pušt*²⁵⁹ "back" (the same could apply to Semnani *pašt* cited by MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290), and that *paš* is the Bal. result of OIr. *pasča*. *kas* may be explained as NP loanword (thus also GEIGER 1891:452). This would be in line with the other NWIr. languages, and with the development in word-initial position which seems to be **sč* > *š* as well: Bal. *šanik(k)*

256 For the semantics, cf. p. 301, for discussion of the Psht. cognates, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003:83. For details in the development from Proto-Iranian to Avestan, cf. FISCHER 1998:84.

The variant *trū* was not known yet to Geiger and Bartholomae (for dialectal *ū* > *ī*, cf. p. 196ff.), otherwise GEIGER 1891:434 would probably not have made a connection with OInd. *strī-* "woman".

257 Cf. MOŠKALO 1991:32. On the etymology of the examples, cf. p. 88. *muzd* (EAL) and *duzd* (EVM) are also found, these are more recent borrowings from NP.

258 Note, however, that HENNING 1958:98¹ is sceptical whether the relevant forms do involve *-s-č-.

259 For discussion of *pušt*, cf. p. 137, 147.

"young goat" has been connected to Av. *sčaini-* (HOFFMANN 1976b:493^{15a}), Bashkardi *šen* and derived from **sčani-* (Wakhi *skən*) by GERSHEVITCH 1971:267ff.²⁶⁰

2.2.2.2 Sibilant + nasal

OIr. *š* and *s* are assimilated to a following nasal in Balochi.²⁶¹ It is not entirely clear whether this change is to be seen in the context of OIr. *hm* > *m(m)* and possibly *xm* > *m* (cf. II 2.2.1.3) or whether it proceeded via *šN* > *žN* > *N(N)* (cf. II 2.1.2.5).²⁶²

OIr. *šm* > *m(m)* (GEIGER 1891:434):²⁶³

- *čam(m)* "eye" (Av. *čašman-*, NP, Prth. *čašm*);
- *šumā* "you (pl.)": from a form like Prth. *išmā(h)*, MP *ašmā(h)*, one could expect a result †*a/im(m)ā*;²⁶⁴ an input form **šmā* (Av. *xšma-*, OInd. *yu-šmā-*) might yield †*mā* since an assimilation which operates in postvocalic position may be expected to take place in word-initial position as well. Both †*mā* and †*a/im(m)ā* would be (nearly) identical to the pronoun of the 1pl., viz. *mā*, *am(m)ā* (cf. p. 115). Unless Bal. *šumā* has been borrowed from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:422),²⁶⁵ the consonant reduction might have been prevented – under the influence of NP *šumā* – by the otherwise resulting identity with the 1pl. pronoun.²⁶⁶

260 For further cognates, cf. STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:313. The vowel of Russian *ščenok* "puppy" adduced by Gershevitch does not seem to fit with the words of the other languages. If *pāčīn* "male goat" (NP *pāzan*) belongs here (some word for "mountain" + **sčani-* "goat", cf. Orm. *yar-canai*), it cannot, as GERSHEVITCH 1971:268f. maintains, contain the same **sčani-* since it seems unlikely that *sč* would go to *č* here and to *z* in NP which otherwise has *s* for *sč*.

261 GEIGER 1891:434 assumes a loss of *š* due to inadequate marking of gemination in his sources. The change is not noted by MOŠKALO 1991. For MP *sm*, *zm* > *m*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:209⁶⁷.

262 Note that the assimilation of OIr. *šm* is not likely to be a useful isogloss for NWIr. languages (KORN 2003:57), pace e.g. WINDFUHR 1975:461, who notes *šm* > *hm* for Balochi and some other languages.

263 Geiger also cites *p^hīm* "wool" vs. NP *pašm*, but the existence of this word and the possibility of its derivation from **pašmīa-* or the like are doubtful, cf. p. 178.

264 In contrast to NP, Balochi shows prothesis in word-initial clusters, e.g. *istār* "star" vs. NP *sitāra* (cf. II 2.3.4), so one would not expect a form *šumā* to arise in Balochi.

265 Thus GEIGER 1891:422. EBal. *šawā* would not speak against *šumā* being a loanword since loanwords are indeed affected by the EBal. change *m* > *w* (cf. p. 232f.).

266 Similarly, in some EIr. languages, the 2pl. pronoun is subject to a secondary modification, in this case by prefixing of the 2sg. pronoun (e.g. Bactr. *τωμαχο*), which prevents its becoming identical with the pronoun of the 1pl. (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:651a, 2000:227b).

OIr. *šn* > *n(n)* (GEIGER 1891:434):²⁶⁷

- *gēnīč* "coriander" (NP *gišnīz*);²⁶⁸
- *tun(n)* "thirst", *tun(n)ag*, *tun(n)īg* "thirsty" (YAv. *taršna-*, NP *tišna*, OInd. *tr̥ṣṇā-*): the reduction of **turšn* > *tunn* involves *šn* > *n* regardless of the way of the development (via **turn*: *ršn* > *rn* > *n(n)* or via **tušn*: *ršn* > *šn* > *n(n)*);²⁶⁹
- *nind-* "sit" might involve a similar change if there was some protoform **nišnd-* (OIr. *ni* + nasal stem from $\sqrt{\text{had}}$) involved.²⁷⁰

The NP loanwords *gušn* "hunger", *gušnag* "hungry"²⁷¹ show that the assimilation has ceased to operate.

267 It is difficult to see how *pūnz* "heel" (for variants, cf. p. 197) could be derived from Av. *pāšna-* (NP *pāšina*, OInd. *pārṣṇi-*) as suggested by GEIGER 1891:434 (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49). MORGENSTIERNE 1927:57 likewise doubts the connection with Psht. *pūnda* assumed by GEIGER 1891:409. It seems, however, that at least Psht. *pūnda* might indeed be connected to Av. *pāšna-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1942:264, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204⁴⁴).

268 Only in MARSTON 1877, GEIGER 1891:400 (from Marston) and EAL (maybe from the same source). *kīnīč* is also given by GEIGER 1891:400 (from PIERCE 1874) and EAL p. 52 (p. 81 misprinted *kinīč*), which is a form showing Turkish influence, cf. NP *kišnīj* etc. (HENNING 1963:195). The *k-* seen in CTurk. *kişniş* might be a hypercorrect development since old **k-* changes to *g-* in CTurk. According to BAILEY 1963:70f., NP *gišnīz* is secondary to *gašnīz* which he concludes from Pazand *gašnīz* and links to MPZ *gašnak* "small". In this case, Bal. *gēnīč* would have been borrowed from NP (or from some related idiom, cf. Mashhadi *yešnīz*) and show hypercorrect *-č* for NP *-z*. With regard to the fact that the MPZ word can also be read *gišnag* (MACKENZIE 1986:36), Henning's etymology of *gišnīz* gains ground. HENNING 1963 shows that there is no reliable variant *gašnīz* (which moreover could easily be derived from *gišnīz* by the common change of unstressed *i* > *a*, but not vice-versa, HENNING 1963:195), and – with Arm. *ginj* in view – proposes an etymology of **gr̥zna-* "round" (NP *gird*, Sogd. *γwrs*) + diminutive suffix *-īč* (1963:198). He takes Bal. *gēnīč* as borrowed from MPZ *gišnīč* (1963:196). In any case, this word involves a change *-šn-* > *-n(n)-*.

269 For these developments and for **r̥*, cf. II 2.2.3.2, 2.2.3.3, 2.3.2.1. EAL also has *tūnag* (Coastal, Lāšārī), *tūnīg* (Coastal, perhaps from PIERCE 1874 cited in GEIGER 1890:150).

270 The details are not entirely clear. SOKOLOV 1956:82 suggests that *nind-* might be built analogically to *sind-* "break". The cases are not quite parallel, though, since a past stem *nist* which would correspond to *sist* is only found in some IrBal. dialects, most dialects have *ništ* (cf. p. 96). Conversely, the past stem *nist* might be due to the influence of *sist*. HÜBSCHMANN's explanation (1893:101) for NP *nišīn-* (**ni-šīd-nā-*) is less good than the one by SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981:166), who assumes an assimilation of *n...d/δ* (cf. Prth. *nišīd-*, MPM *nišīy-*) > *n...n*, which accounts both for MPZ/NP *nišīn-* and the caus. *nišān-*.

271 NP *gušna* is analogically modelled on *tišna* "thirsty" (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:92). *gušn* is a NWIr. form for reasons of its *š* for PIE **ks* (cf. p. 92), the genuine NP form being *gurs* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208ff.). For further discussion of this word, cf. p. 100, 178.

OIr. (non-Persian) *sn* > *n* (GEIGER 1891:434):

- If *nōd* "cloud" is to be connected with Av. *snaoδa-* (hapax from the Vidēvdād), MPZ *snōy*, it could belong here;
- *nišār* "daughter-in-law"²⁷² may be another example: although one might expect OIr. **hnušā-* corresponding to OInd. *snuṣā-*, the Ir. forms must or may be derived from OIr. **snušā-*, e.g. NP *sunār*.²⁷³ MORGENSTIERNE's assumption (1927:55, 2003:55) of a borrowing from Psht. *nžōr* does not seem necessary (nor even quite likely, given the difference in form) since *nišār* may be the regular Bal. outcome of **snušā-* (for Bal. *u* > *i* in palatal context, cf. p. 195f.). The *-r* must be analogical (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44) in any case, e.g. on the model of *gwahār* "sister".

2.2.2.3 Sibilant + sonorant**OIr. *šj* > *š*** (GEIGER 1891:425):

The product of OIr. *šj* (< PIIr. **čj*) seems to be *š* as in NP (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:152) and Parthian (RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:176).²⁷⁴

- *šāt* "happy" (Av. *šiiāta-*, NP, Prth. *šād*) and *šut* (suppletive past stem of *raw*-²⁷⁵ "go", Prth. *šaw-* / *šud*, YAv. *šuta-*) could also have been borrowed from NP *šād*, *šud*, respectively;²⁷⁶

272 For more discussion of this word, cf. p. 306.

273 Cf. also Bactr. ασωωο, Sogd. (with assimilation of *s-*) *šwnšh*, Shughni *zinaŷ*, Wakhi *stəx* (ABAEV 1958/II:190, MORGENSTIERNE 1974:108, STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:318, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992:72, 2000:182a, EWAia II:771).

274 A parallel development is already seen in YAv. which shows *šj* > *š* (HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:101).

275 The present stem (also *rō-*, *ruw-* (FBB, BMC), *ray-* (EAL: Raxšānī, Coastal, Sarāwānī), *ra-* (EVM, EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, Lāšārī)) is certainly a loanword from NP since **rab-* would have been preserved in Balochi (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559), cf. KORN 2001:3²⁰. The past stem *rapt* which may have been borrowed from NP *raft* is found in DTB. For etymological discussion, cf. HÄUSLER 2000. Cf. also p. 249.

276 For devoiced final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4. GEIGER's *šuda* (1889:86, without giving a source) might come from the Kasrānī dialect which shows *δ* for *ϑ* of other EBal. dialects (cf. p. 231). Alternatively, it may be the EBal. form of borrowed NP *šud*.

- *guš-* / *gušt* < *gwaš-* / **gwašt*²⁷⁷ "say" is most likely to be connected to $\sqrt{\text{uač}}$ "speak". Since it is not plausible that an EBal. form *gwaš-* (< SWBal. **gwač-*) would have spread to all other dialects, one may derive the word from * $\sqrt{\text{uač-ia-}}$.²⁷⁸
- Similarly, it seems most convenient to derive *dōš-* "milk" from * $\sqrt{\text{dauč-ia-}}$,²⁷⁹ the preform which has been assumed for NP *dōš-* (past stem *dōxt*) and several EIr. forms (HENNING 1958:111, MORGENSTIERNE 2003:46). The past stem *dušt* is analogically made from the present stem.

OIr. (non-Persian) *si* > *š*

From the admittedly little evidence it seems that the Bal. outcome of OIr. *si* (PIE *(s)k \acute{i}) is *š*:²⁸⁰

- *šēnak*²⁸¹ "falcon, hawk" (YAv. *saēna-*, NP *sīmurğ*²⁸² "phoenix", MP *sēn*, OInd. *śyená-*);
- *šān*²⁸³ "black" (Av. *siiāuua-*, OInd. *śyāvá-*, Prth. *syāw(ag)*) may indeed be the genuine cognate of NP *siyāh* as MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51 cautiously supposes. OIr. *āua* is likely to result in Bal. *ā* (cf. p. 102f.), but a derivation of *šān* from the Av. etc. form would leave the *-n* unexplained; as the root shows several suffixes, cf. OInd. *śyāmá-* "dark, black" (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication), one might assume that it derives from a protoform with a different suffix.

277 For these forms, cf. p. 218.

278 This is the explanation e.g. by MEILLET 1925:18 for Av. *vaša-*. Av. *vaša-* has also been declared a cognate of Bal. *gwaš-* by GEIGER 1890:126 etc., who derives both from PIr. * $\sqrt{\text{uaxš-}}$. However, OIr. *-xš* does not otherwise yield *š* in Avestan or Balochi (cf. p. 112). Moreover, Av. *vaša-* means "surge, flow (thoughts etc.)" and corresponds to Vedic *vacyá-* "go rapidly, surge" ($\sqrt{\text{vañc}}$ "go crookedly", HUMBACH 1956:75, HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989:65⁹⁶).

279 Since OInd. has $\sqrt{\text{duh}}$ (past part. *dugd^há-*), the Ir. forms should be **dōž-* and must involve some analogical development (BARTHOLOMAE 1901:22).

280 *sāy-* "shave" is not a counter-example, cf. p. 110.

281 This word is not found in printed material, but was supplied by Azim Shahbakhsh and is also noted in °ABDURRAHMĀN PAHWĀL (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication). Up to now, the Av. and Pers. words were the only Ir. cognates known in the literature.

282 *sīmurğ* comes from **sīn-murğ* (MP *sēn murw*). For Pers. *nm* > *m*, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1990:11.

283 Only in EAL 100: *šānēn mirč* "black pepper", and MAYER 1910. Mayer's *šā* might be an error for *šān*, cf. *šānwār* "black snake" (MAYER 1910), maybe a contamination of **šān-mār* (*mār* "snake") with *šānwar* "animal" (for which cf. p. 284).

Bal. *syāh* will be a loanword (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559), cf. also III 3 for the colour terms.

A change of OIr. *si̇* > *š* is also found in other Ir. languages and has variously been regarded as a typically SWIr. or EIr.²⁸⁴ feature (SUNDERMANN 1989:107). However, Georg. *šav-* "black" and Arm. compounds with *šava*^o indicate that *š-* is the result of OIr. *si̇-* at least in some NWIr. idiom (HÜBSCHMANN 1897:489, Jost Gippert, personal communication).

If so, Prth. *syāw* "black" (the source of Arm. *seav* "black") and *sin(a)marg (thence Arm. *siramarg* "peacock", cf. GIPPERT 1993/I:194) may have been borrowed from MP. Alternatively, one might assume that *syāw* and *sin(a)marg are genuine Prth. words, which would imply that OIr. *si̇* gives Prth. *sy-* as it does in MP. If the latter is the case, Balochi goes back to a NWIr. idiom which differs from attested Parthian (at least) in the handling of OIr. *si̇*. The source of Georg. *šav-* and Arm. *šava*^o would then have to be a Balochoid dialect.

OIr. (non-Persian) -sr- > -s(s)- (GEIGER 1891:435):

- *was(s)ū*²⁸⁵ "mother-in-law" (NP *xuš*, OInd. *śvaśrū-*).

Word-initial *sr-* does not seem to undergo assimilation:²⁸⁶

- *srumb* "hoof" (NP *surū*, *sarūn* "horn") is explained by MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50 as a contamination from (the Bal. cognate of) Av. *srū-* "horn" and NP *sum(b)* "hoof" or its Bal. cognate. The seemingly original form Bal. *srō* (BAILEY 1979:410b) does not seem to be attested anywhere (ELFENBEIN 1985:236);
- *srēn* "loins, (SHG:) backbone" (NP *surūn*, *surīn*, Av. *sraoni-*);²⁸⁷

284 It is found in Sogdian, Khotanese (SUNDERMANN 1989:107) and Choresmian (HENNING 1958:111).

285 For dialectal variants, cf. p. 197.

286 If *šar(r)* "good" goes back to OIr. (Av.) *srīra-* "beautiful" (cf. EWAiA II:669 concerning Sogd. *šyr* etc.), shows the EIr. development of *sr-* > *š-* and is therefore probably a loanword from some EIr. language, although no direct source is in sight (Psht. has *šə*, Orm. *šir*), or may come from Prth. <*šyr*> (for which cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989:171). The reason for the vowel quality of the Bal. word is not clear.

sun- "hear" if existing and if not borrowed from Urdu (cf. p. 147) will rather go back to **sr̥n-* > **surn-* (for OIr. *rn* > *n(n)*, cf. II 2.2.3.3) and not to **srun-*.

For variants of words with *sVr-*, cf. p. 205.

287 For the vowel of *srēn*, cf. p. 202.

- *srup* "lead (metal)" (NP *surb*): Pashto also has *surup* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:74), Gabri *surob* (HORN 1893:161) which may all have been borrowed from NP; if this applies also to Bal. *srup*, it must have undergone metathesis from *surp;²⁸⁸
- *srōš* "elbow" might also be an example, but the etymology is not entirely clear.²⁸⁹

2.2.3 Combinations with sonorants

Similar to consonant clusters involving fricatives, some combinations with sonorants show specific developments.²⁹⁰

2.2.3.1 OIr. *r̥*

r̥ > *hl* ?:

If OIr. *r̥* gives Bal. *hl* as in NP, this would be remarkable with regard to the fact that otherwise OIr. *̊* gives Bal. *t* (cf. II 2.1.2.1).

- *pahlawān* "bard" (OP *Par̊ava-*, NP *pahlawān* "hero");
- *puhl*, *pōl*²⁹¹ "bridge" (NP *pul*, MP *puhl*, Prth. <pwrt>) < *p̥r̥̊u- (Av. *p̥r̥atu-* / *p̥r̥ə̊β-*) via *purh- (cf. p. 121).

As both examples may be Pers. loanwords, the Bal. outcome of OIr. *r̥* is not clear. On the other hand, no evidence is available which would suggest that Balochi shows something different from NP.²⁹² Since in the cases of OIr. *f̊* and *̊u* (cf. II 2.2.1.5.1, 2.2.1.5.2) likewise only the results known from MP/NP are found, albeit again in words which may be interpreted as loanwords, one might consider to assume that Balochi

288 For this kind of metathesis, cf. II 3.1.3.1. All the cited words show a word-final labial which is not present in Av. *sru-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:75).

289 According to MORGENSTIERNE 1948:51, GEIGER's 1890:146 connection to Shughni *čerost* does not hold. The preform might be *srauša- which might have something to do with Av. *sraoni-* "loins", Bal. *srēn* (for which see above).

290 There is an irregular loss of *r* in the past stems *kut* "did" (also *kurt*) and *gipt* (also *gitt*), cf. p. 144, 146.

291 EAL *pul* can show the dialectal loss of *h* or may have been borrowed from NP. For variants and further discussion, cf. p. 147, 207, 211.

292 Bal. cognates of the following MP words containing *hl* have not been found (yet): *ahlaw* "righteous" and its derivatives, *ahlomōγ* "heretic", *hamahl* "comrade" (OInd. *samar̥t̥a-* "appropriate", cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:208), *pāhlom* "excellent" (< *par̊ama-, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:208).

indeed shows the same changes as does Persian.²⁹³

2.2.3.2 OIr. *rš*, *rž*

rš > *š(š)* (GEIGER 1891:435).²⁹⁴

- *bušk* "mane" (YAv. *barša-*, NP *buš*, cf. p. 147),
- *šamōš-* / *šamušt*²⁹⁵ "forget" (NP *farāmōš-* / *farāmušt*, Prth. *frāmōš-* / *frāmušt*, OInd. $\sqrt{\text{mr̥ṣ}}$),
- *muš-* / *mušt* "rub" (NP past stem *mušt*, OInd. $\sqrt{\text{mr̥j}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{mr̥ś}}$, cf. p. 92),
- *kaš(š)*-²⁹⁶ "pull" (Av. *karša-*, NP *kaš-* / *kašīd*, MPM *karš-* / *karšīd*),
- *waš(š)* "good" is a cognate of NP *x^waš*, Prth. *wxaš*; these are derived from PIr. **h_uarša-* < PIIr. **suarčša-* by KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204,²⁹⁷
- maybe *tun(n)* "thirst" (YAv. *taršna-*, NP *tišna*, OInd. *tṛṣṇā-*) *rš* > *š* (cf. p. 127).

The same reduction has operated in NP and Parthian.

rž > *ž(ž)* ?

It is probable that there is a parallel reduction of *rž*, but the only example is *gužg* "root" which is only reported from Morgenstierne's informant, in EAL and maybe in Br. *gužg*, it may go back to **uržaka-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:95, 1932:46, 2003:94).

As far as Parthian is concerned, the pair *xož*²⁹⁸ vs. Arm. *axorž* "sweet" suggests that

293 It has been assumed that MP <hl> represents a voiceless lateral fricative or something similar (HOFFMANN 1986:173, 178f., DE VAAN 2003:602). Bal. *hl*, on the other hand, does not seem to be anything else than /h/ + /l/.

294 Geiger's examples *kiš-* / *kišt* "sow" and *gušnağ* "hungry" can (*kiš-*, cf. 144, 148) or must (*gušnağ*, cf. p. p. 127) have been borrowed from NP. MOŠKALO 1991:33 notes that PIr. **rš* gives *uš* (for which cf. II 2.3.2.1) and that OIr. *arš* yields Bal. *aš*. It seems more adequate, however, to assume a general change *rš* > *š(š)*.

295 For variants and etymological considerations, cf. p. 117.

296 This verb (past stem *kaššit* (BMC, EAL), *kašit* (EVM), *kašt* (DTB, EVM, NAWATA 1981:16)) may, but need not, have been borrowed from NP. The past stem *kašt* might speak against a borrowing.

297 These words (to which Zaz. *weš* may be added) point to PIE **suelk̑s* "taste (sweet)" (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204⁴¹). The NWIr. form *waš* is also found in Persian (LENTZ 1927:304).

298 Bactrian $\chi\omicron\zeta\omicron$, Prth. <xwj> "good, pleasant" etc. are derived from **xuržu-* < **sułg̑h-su-* by SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000:232f. This implies that Prth. <xwj> is likely to have a short vowel; Arm. *axorž* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000:233) would seem to speak for *xož* (BOYCE 1977:100 has *xōž*, DURKIN-

rž > *ž* has operated between the stage from which the loanwords were borrowed into Armenian and the stage of the Manichæan texts.

2.2.3.3 OIr. *rn*

rn is assimilated in different ways in Ir. languages.

rn > *n(n)* (GEIGER 1891:435):²⁹⁹

- *pan(n)*³⁰⁰ "leaf" (Av. *parəna-*, NP *par(r)* "feather", Prth. *pannag* "foliage"),
- *sīkun* "porcupine" (Av. *sukurəna-*, NP *sugur*, cf. p. 145),
- *din-* / *dir*³⁰¹ "tear" (Av. *dərəna-*, NP *darr-* / *darrīd*), if from **dirn-* < **dṛna-*,
- *tun(n)* "thirst" (YAv. *taršna-*, NP *tišna*, OInd. *tṛṣṇā-*) and derivatives (cf. p. 127), if not an example of *rš* > *š*, might also show *rn* > *n(n)*.

NP has *rn* > *rr*, which occurs in the following loanwords in Balochi:³⁰²

- *bur(r)-* / *bur(r)it*³⁰³ "cut" (Av. *brīna-*, NP *burr-* / *burrīd*),³⁰⁴
- *dir(r)-* / *dir(r)it* "tear" (NP *darr-* / *darrīd*, see above) seems to be the product of some contamination (cf. p. 145),
- *zar(r)* "gold, money" (Av. *zaranaēna*, NP *zarr*, cf. also p. 311).

MEISTERERENST 2004:368a notes "/*xuž*/, /*xōž*/"). For Av. *x^varzišta-*, MPZ *xwālist* "most delicious", NP *x^vāl* "food" etc. two possibilities remain: they may go back to PIE **suelg*, an extension of which may be seen in **suelk*s (NP *x^waš*, Bal. *waš(š)*, Prth. *wxaš*, see above) as assumed by KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204⁴¹ or from **suelg^h*. In any case, **√suel* "eat" seems to show two different extensions, i.e. **suelg^h-s* (> **suelg^hz^h*) and **suelk*s (< **suelg-s?*), both being preserved in Parthian.

299 The present stem *kan-* "do" (past stem *kurt*), which is also found in Bashkardi *kan-*, Osset. *kæn-*, Khot. *yan-* is probably the result of a contamination of the stems *kun-* and *kar-* (GERSHEVITCH 1970:172³²) and thus, against GEIGER 1891:435, no example for *rn* > *n*. This auxiliary-like verb shows irregular developments in various Ir. and Ind. languages (for the past stem, cf. p. 146), for which cf. HOFFMANN 1976:587f. Parthian has *kar-* / *kird*. – For *sun-* "hear", cf. p. 147.

300 GEB, BMC, EAL. *pan(n)* could also have been borrowed from Si. *panu* (thus MORGENSTIERNE 1927:57).

301 DTB, GEB, GCD, EAL. Cf. also p. 145.

302 For *čar(r)-* "turn" vs. *čar-* "graze", cf. p. 84, for *tar(r)-* "turn around", cf. p. 150. For geminates in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.5. The etymology of *tir(r)* "fart" (BUDDRUS 1988:82) is unclear to me.

303 DTB *bar-* "cut" is probably due to the immediately preceding entry *bar-* "carry".

304 NP *burr-* will be from **bṛna-*, the past stem should be †*birīd* < **brīta-* and has been changed to *burrīd* to match the present stem (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:28).

Parthian has *rn* in *zarn(ēn)*³⁰⁵ "gold(en)" and in some loanwords (e.g. *tarnīs* "throne"), and *n(n)* in *pannag* "foliage" and maybe in *pannīg* "forehead" (if this is a Prth. word).³⁰⁶ If one assumes that Parthian shares the Bal. change of *rn* > *n(n)*, the Prth. words with *rr* < **rn* (e.g. *parrag* "fin", *farrox* "fortunate", *dušfarr* "ill-fortuned", *ispurr* "full", *warrag* "lamb", *wurraw-* "believe") are borrowings from MP.³⁰⁷

Kurdish has *r'* (e.g. *zêr'* "gold", *dir'în* "to tear", ASATRIAN/LIVSHITS 1994:97).³⁰⁸ Zazaki seems to show *r(r)* in old sequences of **rn* (*per* "leaf", *pir(r)* "full") while secondary *rn* results in *r(r)n* (*zerne* "gold", *bir(r)n-* "cut", *hêrn-*, *erin-* "buy" < **xrin-*), similar to the developments seen in Armenian (Jost Gippert, personal communication). Pashto has *rn* > *ṛ* (GEIGER 1893:210, SKJÆRVØ 1989:404).

2.2.3.4 OIr. *ur̥*

#*ur̥-* > *r-*?

There are two verbs for "twist, spin", *brēs-* / *brēst* and *rēs-*³⁰⁹, which one might want to connect with Av. *√uruaēś* "turn, twist". The question is which one – if any – shows the genuine Bal. outcome of #*ur̥-*. If the Ir. words (BAILEY 1979:218a, EWAia II:462 against MORGENSTIERNE 1973:337 and others) belong here at all and not with OInd. *√riś* "tear, rip", this means that #*ur̥-* gives NP *r-*: *rēs-* / *rišt* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:210⁶⁷). Parthian has *ā-rwis-* / *ā-rwist*, *ā-rwisād*.³¹⁰ Bal. *brinj* "rice" (cf. p. 283) vs. OInd. *vrīhí-* is not a piece of evidence since it may be a Pers. loanword (thus GEIGER 1891:446), cf. MP *brinj*.

305 In MP *zarr*, the second vowel seen in OIr. (Av.) *zaranaēna-* has already been lost in MIr. times. It is possible, however, that the vowel was preserved for a longer time in Parthian (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication) so that *zarn* did not undergo the assimilation; it might also show the influence of Sogd. *zryn*.

306 <pnnyg> is derived from **paranīk* (cf. OP *paranam* "before, in former times") by HENNING 1940:26.

307 Prth. *rr* is also the product of other assimilation processes, cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 65.

308 Khotanese likewise shows *rn* > *rr*, e.g. *purr-* "overcome" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989a:258).

309 The past stem is *rist* (GEB, EAL), *rēst* (DTB), *rēšt* (GEB), *rēsīt* (BMC, EAL).

310 Georg. *aspārez-* "racing track, stadium", Arm. *asparēs*, *asparēz* (cf. the co-occurrence of Av. *aspa-* "horse" and *uruaēśa-* "turning point", cf. JANDA 1997:39, 179ff.) points to Prth. *r* as outcome of OIr. *ur̥* (GIPPERT 1993/I:16ff.), while Georg. *brinj-* / Arm. *brinj* "rice" suggests an outcome *br-* (Jost Gippert, personal communication) at least in word-initial position.

There are the following possibilities:

- Bal. *rēs-* may be a loanword from NP *rēs-* / *rišt* (MORGENSTIERNE 1936:337)³¹¹ and *brēs-* the genuine variant, i.e. #*ur-* > *br-* (cf. Yaghn. *riwes-*, MORGENSTIERNE 1973:337);
- if *rēs-* is genuine (#*ur-* > *r-*), there must be another explanation for *brēs-*.

With regard to the parallel doublets in Pashto (*wrēšəl*, *rēšəl*) which are not particularly likely to have been borrowed, GEIGER's assumption (1890:116) of some preverb (e.g. **abi*^o) in *brēs-* (similarly MORGENSTIERNE 1927:90 concerning Pashto *wrēšəl*) seems to be the most convenient solution accounting for both variants in both languages. The possibility of Bal. *rēs-* being a loanword remains (the existence of the zero-grade past stem *rist* does not speak for that, however), so there is no sure example for OIr. *ur*.

2.2.3.5 (Early) MIr. *u(i)i-*

Given the change of OIr. *u-* > Bal. *g(w)-* (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1), it seems possible that (early or pre-) MIr. *u(i)i-* was changed to *gy-* and subsequently to *ǰ-* as in Persian.³¹²

- *ǰā*, *ǰāh* "place" (NP *ǰā(y)*, *ǰāyǰāh*, MP *gyāg*, Prth. *wyāg*); the word is likely to go back to **uiāka-* (KEWA III:271, MOŠKALO 1991:29);³¹³
- *ǰān* "life, soul, body" (NP *ǰān*): it seems that a NWIr. cognate with *wy-* is not attested, Prth. *gyān* "soul" has been borrowed from MP (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2000a:360). It derives from **ui-āna-*, cf. OInd. *vi* + √*an*ⁱ "breathe", *vyānā-* "one of the five vital airs".³¹⁴

311 DTB assumes a borrowing from Psht. *rēšəl* which, however, does not fit quite well in form.

312 This seems to be the assumption by MOŠKALO 1991:29. I have not seen his variant Bal. *ǰāgag*; it might have come about through the suffix variation processes described in II 2.4.4.1.

MP spellings indicate that *gyān* "soul", *gyāg* "place" changed to *ǰān* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:194), *ǰāg* (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication), respectively, already in MP times.

313 A proto-form **ui-uāha-ka-* (thus NYBERG 1974:83, 217) would probably have given Sogd. †*yw'k* vs. attested *wy'k* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

Bal. *ǰāgah* might have come into Balochi via Si. *ǰāgaha* (cf. ELFENBEIN 1990/II:70). For *gāh*, cf. p. 81, 121, for *kuǰā* "where", cf. p. 275.

314 The etymology goes back to a note in ANDREAS/WACKERNAGEL 1931:322 (cf. the survey of the etymological discussion in SUNDERMANN 1997:12²⁷), and is also noted by MOŠKALO 1991:29. The Prth./MP form is reflected by Kurd. *giyan*. Zazaki might show a secondary development in *gan*, *can* "life, soul", but probably preserves the earlier stage in *gian*, *cian daene* "to earn, make profit" (Mesut Keskin, personal communication).

Evidence for a process Bal. *gy-*, *gī-* > *ǰ-* may be seen in the variant *ǰābān* (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:101) "desert" (vs. usual *gābān*, cf. p. 279). However, as the Bal. words are identical to the NP ones, it is equally possible that they have been borrowed from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:451f.).

On the other hand, Bal. *gīn* "breath" has been derived from **ui-ana-* (likewise from *vi* + *√anⁱ*) by GERSHEVITCH 1998:120ff. This etymology appears clearly superior to the previous derivation from **uajina-*.³¹⁵ In the light of the discussion in II 2.1.3.4.2, it seems possible to derive Bal. *gīn* from **ui-āna-*, which would make it a direct cognate of OInd. *vyāná-*, MP *gyān*, NP *ǰān*. This would imply that *ǰā* and *ǰān* are to be interpreted as loanwords.

2.2.4 Miscellaneous consonant clusters

GEIGER 1891 reports various additional simplifications of consonant clusters which do not hold.³¹⁶ These as well as other OIr. consonant clusters the Bal. result of which is not clear are presented here.

**ts*

On the basis of *gwač(č)* "buffalo calf", GEIGER 1891:424 assumes that OInd. *ts* (*vatsá-* "calf") corresponds to Bal. *č*. There is, however, good reason to regard *gwač(č)* as a borrowing from Sindhi (cf. p. 280). *gwask* "calf" also adduced for the same context by Geiger does not correspond to an OInd. form with *ts* either (cf. p. 100). The only other example for this context would be *māhīg* "fish", which for reasons of its *-h-* (instead of NWIr. *-s-*)³¹⁷ must have been borrowed from NP (pace MOŠKALO 1991:36).

315 To the arguments adduced by Gershevitch, one might add that the old etymology may be expected to yield Bal. *ǰgēn*. Although a change *ē* > *ī* does occasionally occur (cf. II 3.1.2.3.2), an etymology which does not require this assumption seems preferable. GERSHEVITCH 1998:115, 124 himself assumes that PIr. *aīn*, MIr. *ēn* regularly gives Bal. *mīn*, which seems to be unfounded (cf. II 2.3.3).

316 For other losses assumed by GEIGER 1891:435, cf. p. 87 (alleged loss of *p* < OIr. *sp* < **kū* in *āsin* "iron"), p. 124f. (*#st-* > *t-*), p. 105f. (*#nī-*). Cf. also the chapters on dialects (II 3.2).

317 OInd. *mātsya-* corresponds to OIr. **massia-* (or rather: **macia-*, Jost Gippert, personal communication) which gives (with *vṛddhi* and suffix *-ka-*) OP **māḍ(i)jaka-* > MP *māhīg*, Prth. *māsyāg* (HOFFMANN 1976/II:637²⁵). For Bal. *mač(č)ī*, cf. p. 274.

št

GEIGER 1891:434 assumes that *št* is reduced to *t*, but the two examples he adduces, *īt* "brick" and *p^hut* "back" (both only attested in the old sources) may have been borrowed from Ind. languages, cf. Hindi *īt*, Si. *pu^hō*, respectively. *išt* (cf. p. 156f.) and *pušt* (cf. p. 147) can be the genuine forms, although they might also be NP borrowings.

st

Conversely, there might be a reduction of a word-final consonant cluster in *mis(s)* "urine" which stands for **mist* according to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:120.³¹⁸

Other losses

Geiger's *gwānǰ-* "cry" is probably the result of a back-formation: DTB has *gwānk ǰan*³¹⁹, the past stem is *gwānk ǰat* "he/she uttered a cry" (GCD). A reduced form of this is *gwān-ǰan-* / *gwān-ǰat* (DTB). *gwānǰat* might also be interpreted as the past stem of *gwānǰ-* (found in GLADSTONE 1874 and LEWIS 1885 according to GEB) from which a secondary past stem *gwānǰiθ-* (only MAYER 1910:27) might have been formed (GERSHEVITCH 1971:283).³²⁰

Other reductions of final consonant clusters enumerated by GEIGER 1891:435 are probably due to specific phenomena:³²¹

- *truš* besides *trupš* etc. "sour" has been borrowed from NP *turš* (cf. p. 145, 209);
- *rō* "day" besides normal *rōč* might be a back-formation from a phrase like *rōč šut* "day has come" > **rō-šut*;
- *gar* "abyss", for which GEIGER 1891:400, 414f. assumes a loss of a final consonant (vs. Av. *gərəða-* "cave") may be explained as a cognate of Av. *gāri-* (cf. p. 150, 220);
- *mar* "man" besides usual *mard* (borrowed from NP) is likely to involve a secondary change, cf. p. 220.

318 This word belongs to *mēz-* / *mēst* "urinate" (cf. p. 88).

319 For *gwānk* "cry", cf. p. 99, for *ǰan-* / *ǰat* "strike", cf. p. 86.

320 Note that this means that *gwānǰ-ag* is not a cognate of NP *bāng-* / *bāngīd* as GEIGER 1890:126 assumes. For the implications with regard to the etymology of the Khot. and other cognates, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1971:283f.

321 For the other examples of GEIGER 1891:435f., i.e. *sak(k)* "hard", cf. p. 112, for *gip* (past stem of *gir-* "take"), cf. p. 144, for voiced consonants instead of voiceless ones, cf. II 3.3.1.6.

2.3 Vowels

2.3.1 Simple vowels

As a rule, monophthongs are preserved in Balochi.³²²

2.3.1.1 Loss of vowels

In contrast to the statement just made, word-initial short vowels of polysyllabic words seem to be elided when in open syllable:³²³

- *pa* "for" may be derived from OIr. *upa*^o, OInd. *úpa*^o (GEIGER 1890:139);³²⁴

322 For *ǎuǎ*, *ǎǎ*, cf. II 2.1.3.3.2, 2.1.3.4.2, respectively. For changes of vowel quality, cf. II 3.1.2.3.

323 *brēs-* "spin" might be another example (cf. p. 135). – GEIGER 1891:434 cites some examples without giving a rule. MOŠKALO 1991:39 says that "word-initial *a is lost wherever it constitutes a syllable of its own"; given his example Bal. *par* < early WMr. *apar, OIr. *upari*^o, this should probably read "word-initial Mlr. *a* in open syllables is lost". There seems to be no good reason, however, to limit the rule to any specific vowel. Moškalo's second example *warnā* "young" is likely to be a loanword (cf. p. 278). For *šin̄z* "green-blue" vs. Av. *axšaēna-* "dark", cf. p. 113f. For loss of vowels in other contexts, cf. II 3.1.2.1, 3.2.1.2, 3.2.3.2, 3.3.2.1.

324 Further Bal. reflexes of OIr. *upa*^o have been seen in *pruš-* / *prušt* "break (itr.)", *prōš-* / *prōšt* "break (tr.)" (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:118) and *prinč-* / *prik* "squeeze":

- Bal. *pruš-*, *prōš-* might, together with Khot. *brūšc-* "afflict", go back to **frauš-* (EMMERICK 1968:107), but Ir. **frauš-* is chiefly found in terms for milk products or other food, and OInd. *√pruṣ* means "sprinkle" (BAILEY 1979:44a, EWAia II:192), so the semantics do not fit. If Khot. *brūšc-* goes back to PIr. **brauš-*, PIE **b^hreus-* "break" (BAILEY 1979:316a), Bal. *pruš-*, *prōš-* cannot belong here for reasons of its *pr-*. BAILEY 1979:234a, 298b considers connecting Bal. *pruš-* to Khot. *burš-* "burst", past part. *pārsta* which he derives from **ui-ruš-*, **pā-rušta-*, respectively. For Bal. *pruš-*, he deems **pa-ruš-* (or **frauš-*, for which see above) possible. In any case, if the etymology of *pruš-*, *prōš-* involves a preverb, it is more probable that the verbs are to be connected to **ruš-* (cf. the Khot. words above) rather than to OInd. *√ruj* as GEIGER 1891:142 assumed.

- *prinč-* / *prik* (only in MARSTON 1877, MOCKLER 1877), *p^hirič-* / *p^hiričič-* (MAYER 1910:220), *prēnč-* (EVM, reference read "III 672" for "IV 670") is derived from **pa-* + the root of Av. *√raēk*, OInd. *√ric* "leave, let free" (cf. Bal. *rēč-*, cf. p. 151) by GEIGER 1891:401, which is semantically somewhat unattractive. The derivation from **upa-tr̄nč-* (PIE *√trenk* "urge, press", cf. Sogd. *βtrync-* "oppress", GERSHEVITCH 1964:282) needs the additional assumptions of a palatalisation of **p(a)trunč-* (cf. II 2.3.2.1) or, if from the full grade, of (**upa-tranč-* >) **p(a)tranč-*, and of analogical loss of the nasal in *prič-*. While both is possible (for palatalisation of *a* or *u* next to *r*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.1), there seems to be no other example of all variants of a word showing the palatalised vowel, and of an upgrading of the same to *ē* in a secondary ablaut. Maybe the compounding might have taken place at a stage when OIr. *upa* (and *pai*?) had already resulted in Bal. *pa*.

alternatively, it might have been borrowed from early NP *pa* "in, on";³²⁵ maybe it derives both from *upa*^o and from *pati*^o (in an irregular development) as does NP *ba* "towards" (GERSHEVITCH 1971:289⁴²);³²⁶

- *par* (synchronically a variant of *pa*)³²⁷ "for" (NP (*a*)*bar*³²⁸, Prth. *abar*, Av. *upári*^o, OInd. *upári*^o);
- *pač*, *pāč* "open" (Av. *apaš*, NP *bāz*, Prth. *abāž*, OInd. *ápāc*-);
- *pak(k)ār* "necessary, useful" could be derived from OIr. **upakāra*- (cf. OInd. *upakāra*- "help"); it is, however, more likely that it is modelled (as a compound of *pa* and *kār* "deed") on its NP (*ba-kār*) and/or Psht. (*pə-kār*) equivalent, or even borrowed from Pashto; borrowing would also explain the geminate (cf. II 3.3.1.5), which might alternatively have been motivated by *pak(k)ā* "ripe, cooked";³²⁹
- *pōšī*³³⁰ "day after tomorrow" is another example if the etymology (MORGENSTIERNE 1928:45, 1932:49) of **upa-aušīia*- or rather (GERSHEVITCH 1964:84¹⁹) **upa-aušah*- + Bal. suffix *-ī* (the second element cognate to Av. *ušah*-, OInd. *uśás*- "dawn") is correct;³³¹
- *sang* "stone" (for variants, cf. p. 194, 244) may also be a case (cf. Av. *asəṅga*-, Prth. *asang*) if not borrowed from NP *sang* (thus GEIGER 1891:460);
- *marōči*³³² "today" might belong here if it goes back to **ima-rauč-ī*- (cf. NP *im-rōz*) as ELFENBEIN 1990/II:100 assumes (against GEIGER 1891:436 who assumes a metathesis from **amrōči*).

325 This word is found in Judeo-NP (cf. the next footnote).

326 NP *ba* is the result of two prepositions (MACKENZIE 1968:255): on the one hand, it derives from earlier *pa* "in, on" (attested in Judeo-NP) < MP *pad* "to, at" (which goes back to OIr. *pati*, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:21), on the other from <by> "to" likewise attested in Judeo-NP, according to MacKenzie a "specialisation" of MP *bě* "out, but", NP *bē* "without"; <by>, *bě* and the verbal particle NP *bi*- may be derived from PIE **b^hē* "out" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996a:185f.).

327 The forms of *pa(r)* when used with pronouns may yield a compound with geminate, e.g. 1.sg. *pamman*, pl. *pammā* (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:80).

328 For details in the prehistory of NP (*a*)*bar*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:214.

329 A connection to Prth. *pad-kār*- "contend, strive" with an adjustment in semantics due to the influence of NP *ba-kār*, Psht. *pə-kār* seems less likely (but note that EAL has a verb *pak(k)ār*- / *pak(k)ārit* "be useful"). ELFENBEIN's assumption (1990/II:114) of a borrowing from e.g. Ur. *upakār* "favour, benefit" has the disadvantage of the difference in meaning and the difficulty of an unparalleled loss of the initial vowel in a seemingly recent loanword. For EBal. *pakar*, cf. p. 186.

330 For variants, cf. p. 216.

331 For cognates, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1928:45, GERSHEVITCH 1964:84f., EWAia I:236.

332 BMC, EAL, NAWATA 1981:31, EBal. *marōšī* (DTB). SHG *marūči* (besides the next entry *marōčīg*) seems to be an error. For the variant *marčī*, cf. p. 243.

Accordingly, the vowel deletion rule does not operate in monosyllables:

- the pronominal stems *id*³³³ and *iš*³³⁴ (both "this") do not lose the initial vowel; the vowel is analogically also present in the inflectional forms (*idā* "here" (obl.), *idai* "of here" (gen.) etc., obl. *išā* etc., gen. *išī(ē)* etc.).

It is not clear why the word-initial vowel has not been lost in the following examples:

- *anīčag* "forehead"³³⁵ for which SHG gives the variant *hanīčag*³³⁶: perhaps there was some influence of *pēš-ānī*³³⁷ (also "forehead");
- *apūtag* / (*h*)*apītag* (a certain plant which grows after rainfall, tastes a bit sour and is eaten with salt according to SHG), which is derived from *a-pūtaka- by MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290.³³⁸

Maybe the secondary *h*- seen in some variants has prevented the loss of the vowel. On the other hand, the addition of *h*- (cf. II 2.4.1.3) would seem to be a more recent phenomenon than the loss of word-initial vowels.

The vowel loss only operates in old words. Loanwords (e.g. *arab* "milliard", *imām* "Imam", *ulus* "people") and words with dialectal loss of *h*- (cf. II 3.2.3.1) are not affected, e.g. *apurs* "juniper" (vs. Av. *hapərəsi-*),³³⁹ (*h*)*abar* "news" (NP-Ar. *xabar*).

For anaptyxis, cf. II 3.1.2.4, for prothesis, cf. II 2.3.4.

333 The stem *id* might have been extracted from *idā* "here" (cf. Av. *iða*, OP *idā* (GEIGER 1891:129), OInd. *ihá* (EWAia I:202)) by interpretation of *-ā* as the ending of the obl. case (the obl. is also used in local function). If Prth. <°yd> "here" is to be read *ēd* (thus the dictionaries), it does not correspond to Bal. *id* or the OIr. cognates. Bal. *ōd* "there" (also *ōdā*) does correspond perfectly to Prth. *ōδ* <°wwd> (cf. p. 101).

334 The direct case is usually *ē*, *ēš* (cf. V 1.2).

335 GEIGER 1890:112, assuming that the original meaning is "fate", connects it with NP *anōša* "happy", which is rejected by HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555.

MORGENSTIERNE 1936:244 cites a preform **anīčaka-* for Khowar *anič* and Bal. *anīčag* which, if not a misprint, is in contrast with **anīčaka-* in 1932:40, Av. *ānika-* and OInd. *ānika-*.

336 The EBal. form is (*h*)*anīšag*.

337 As *pēš* is probably a NP loanword (cf. p. 179), the same applies to *pēšānī* (EAL 126), cf. NP *pēšānī*.

338 Morgenstierne derives these from an Ir. root **pū* "decay" which he also sees in a couple of other words (cf. p. 212 for one of them), obviously PIE $\sqrt{*peuH}$.

339 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:52 reports Br. *hapurs* which might have conserved the *h*- (if it is not secondary here). For variants, cf. also p. 193.

2.3.1.2 OIr. *a, i, u*

Except for the cases just discussed, short vowels are preserved in word-initial and word-internal position.³⁴⁰

a > a (GEIGER 1891:404):³⁴¹

- *am(m)ā* "we" (Av. *ahma-*, NP *mā*, Prth. *am(m)āh*, cf. p. 115), *ač*³⁴² "of" (Av. *hača*, NP *az*, Prth. *až*);
- *pač-* "cook" (Av. *pača-*, NP *paz-*, Prth. *pažag* "cook" (noun), cf. p. 77), *pas* "sheep, goat" (Av. *pasu-*, Prth. *pas*), *wat* "self" (Av. *x^wa-*, NP *x^wud < x^wad*, Prth. *wxad*, cf. p. 122).

i > i (GEIGER 1891:407):³⁴³

- *išt* "brick" (Av. *ištiia-*, NP *xišt*, cf. p. 95);
- *pit* "father" (Av. *pitar-*, NP *pidar*, Prth. *pid(ar)*), *čin-* / *čit* "gather" (Av. *činao-*, NP, Prth. *čīn-* / *čīd*, OInd. *cinóti*, cf. p. 84), *gis* "house" (Prth. *wis*^o, OInd. *vís-*).

The assumption of a compensatory lengthening (*i > ī* when following consonants are lost) assumed by GEIGER 1891:408 appears to be unfounded (for *īt* "brick", cf. p. 137, for *p^hīm* "wool", cf. p. 178).

u > u (GEIGER 1891:409):³⁴⁴

- *suč-* / *sutk* "burn" (NP *sōz-* / *sōxt*, Prth. *sōž-* / *suxt* (GHILAIN 1939:63), cf. p. 87), *šud* "hunger" (YAv. *šud-*, NP *šuy*, cf. p. 92).

340 For lengthening of vowels, cf. II 3.1.2.2.2, for change of vowel quality, cf. II 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.3.4, 3.2.1.2, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2, 3.3.2.3.

341 Some of GEIGER's examples (1891:404f.) are questionable: *aps*, *asp* "horse" may be a loanword (cf. p. 90, 158-159), *jağar* "liver" surely is (p. 104, 204), *gwark* "wolf" and *gwarm* "surf" do not belong here (cf. p. 144, 150, respectively).

342 For further discussion of this word, cf. p. 85.

343 For GEIGER's example *mič-* "suck", cf. p. 95.

344 Of GEIGER's examples, *duz(z)* "thief" must (cf. p. 88) and *(h)uštar* "camel" might have been borrowed (cf. p. 158).

2.3.1.3 OIr. *ā*, *ī*, *ū*

As a rule, long vowels remain stable.³⁴⁵

ā > *ā* (GEIGER 1891:406):³⁴⁶

- *āy*- "come" (NP *āy*-, cf. p. 109f.), *ās* "fire" (Av. *ātar*- / *āθr*-, NP *āzar*, Prth. *ādur*, cf. p. 89),
- *zān*- "know" (NP *dān*- / *dānist*, Prth. *zān*- / *zānād*), *gwāt* "wind" (Av. *vāta*-, NP *bād*, Prth. *wād*), *māt* "mother" (Av. *mātar*-, NP *mādar*, Prth. *mād(ar)*), *am(m)ā* "we" (NP *mā*, Prth. *am(m)ā(h)*, cf. p. 115).

ī > *ī* (GEIGER 1891:408):³⁴⁷

- *pīg* "fat" (Av. *pūuuh*-, NP *pīh*, Prth. *fra-bīw*, cf. p. 103), *dūt* "seen" (Av. *dīta*-, NP *dīd*, Prth. *dīd*).

ū > *ū* (GEIGER 1891:409):³⁴⁸

- *būt* "became" (Av. *būta*-, NP, Prth. *būd*), *zūt*³⁴⁹ "quick" (NP *zūd*), *gūt* "mud" (NP *gūh*, cf. p. 81), *was(s)ū* "mother-in-law" (NP *xuš*, cf. p. 130), *hūk* "pig" (Av. *hū*-, NP *xūk*, Prth. *hūg*).

ū is changed to *ī* in a number of dialects (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1).

345 For shortening of vowels, cf. II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.3.1, for change of vowel quality, cf. II 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.1.2.3.3, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2.

346 For GEIGER's example *gwānǰ*- "cry", cf. p. 137, for *nār*- "groan", cf. p. 220.

347 For GEIGER's example *gīn* "breath", cf. p. 136, the *-ī-* of *sīkun* "porcupine" is not likely to be old either (II 2.3.2.1), so these do not fit here. *pīruk* "grandfather" might rather be a loanword (cf. p. 149), for *mīk* "stake", cf. p. 200. For *gīst* "twenty", cf. p. 279.

348 GEIGER's example *sūčīn* (for variants, cf. p. 198) "needle" does not belong here since its *ū* goes back to **aṽ* (NP *sōzan*); for *ō* > *ū*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2). As to *mūd(d)/mīd(d)* "hair", it is not clear whether it goes back to **aṽ* (as NP *mōy* would suggest) or to **ū* since OIr. cognates are lacking (OInd. $\sqrt{mū}$ "bind", *mūta*- "basket" are far from clear, EWAia II:366), Gabri *mīd* also points to **ū* (HORN 1893:223, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:200), and so does Pazand *mūi* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:196).

349 *zūt* and NP *zūd* probably go back to **zūta*- (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201), cf. Av. *zəuuīštiia*- "fastest", *uzūti*- "coming fast" (water), OInd. *jūtī*- "hurry". ELFENBEIN 1989:640 correctly remarks that *zūt* may be a loanword. The same applies to GEIGER's examples *dūt* "smoke" (NP, Prth. *dūd*) and *sūt* "use, gain" (NP *sūd*). For devoicing of final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4.

2.3.2 PIr. *ṛ

2.3.2.1 PIr. *ṛ/C_C

PIr. *ṛ > *ir* in palatal context, otherwise *ur*³⁵⁰

Geiger seems to assume *ar* as the genuine outcome of PIr. *ṛ (cf. also GEIGER 1891:405, 413) which is changed to *ir* in palatal contexts (1891:407f.) and *ur* in some other cases (1891:409). This opinion may be concluded from the statements that *burz* is a loanword since the genuine form would be †barz (GEIGER 1891:407), that *turs* stands for *tars*³⁵¹ (GEIGER 1891:409) and from the treatment of Bal. *i* and *u*. Similarly, MOŠKALO (1991:21ff., 37) assumes Bal. *ar*, *ir* and *ur* for PIr. *ṛ with no rule given except for the note that *ṛš results in Bal. *uš* and *ṛšn in *un(n)*.³⁵² On the other hand, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:146f. maintains that PIr. *ṛ comes out as Bal. *ir*, *ur* under the same conditions as in NP, i.e. *ur* after *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*, and *ir* in other contexts (1895:143ff.).³⁵³

It seems, however, that the Bal. outcome may be more adequately described as being *ir* only in palatal contexts and *ur* otherwise. The evidence is as follows:

Possible cases of PIr. *ṛ > Bal. *ar*

Examples that might be adduced for *ar* are (GEIGER 1891:405, 1893:205):³⁵⁴

- *kan-* "do" (Av. *kərənao-*, OInd. *kṛṇóti*, Prth. *kar-*, NP *kun-*):
kan-, might go back to *kṛn- via *karn-. However, it seems more likely that it is the result of a contamination of the stems *kun- and *kar- (cf. p. 133).

350 This subchapter discusses *ṛ in contexts other than *ṛi, *ṛH. For the latter contexts, cf. II 2.3.2.2, 2.3.2.3, respectively. For an earlier treatment of this issue, cf. KORN 2003a.

351 *tars* is mentioned in DTB, the verb *tars-* in ABG, both may be considered as borrowed from NP.

352 The latter specification (the example is *tun(n)* "thirst") is not necessary since *šn* gives Bal. *n(n)* anyway (cf. II 2.2.2.2). MOŠKALO's example (1991:21) for *ṛ > *ar* is *warnā* "young" which, however, might rather be interpreted as a borrowing (cf. p. 278).
us (as result of *ṛš) in MOŠKALO 1991:37 is a misprint for *uš*.

353 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:146f. does note some words with Bal. *ur* after non-labial consonants, which would be exceptions to his rule: *gōkurt*, *tun(n)*, *turs* (for which see below).

354 For Moškalo's alleged example for *ṛ > *ar* see above. *gurk* "wolf" is cited by MOŠKALO 1991:23 as an example of *ṛ > *ur*.

- *gwark* "wolf" (Av. *vəhrka-*, OInd. *vṛka-*):
gwark, if it exists at all,³⁵⁵ seems to be the older variant of *gurk* since there is an ongoing change *gwa-* > *gu-* (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1, 3.1.3.4). However, as in a number of cases the variants with *gwa-* and *gu-* exist side by side, *gwark* might also be explained as a hypercorrect variant of *gurk*.

The extremely rarely attested *gwark* is thus the only instance of PIr. *r̥ > Bal. *-ar-*. It is possible that there is a special condition here, e.g. that PIr. *#ur̥- gives Bal. *gwar-*.³⁵⁶ The only other example besides *gwark* is *gužg* "root". If it exists and if it derives from *ur̥žaka- as MORGENSTIERNE 1927:95, 1932:46 maintains (cf. p. 132 and below), it would rather speak against *ur̥- > *gwar-*, although *gužg* might be a secondary development of *gwažg (cf. II 3.1.3.4). It seems better to assume that *gurk* is the genuine cognate of OInd. *vṛka-* and *gwark* (if existent) its hypercorrect variant. It cannot even be ruled out that *gurk* has been borrowed from NP *gurg* (cf. II 3.3.1.4).

Cases of PIr. *r̥ > Bal. *ir*

Bal. *ir* occurs in the following examples of PIr. *r̥:³⁵⁷

- *zirdē* "heart" (DTB, GEB) may be the regular outcome of PIr. *z̥r̥daj̥a- (Av. *zərəδ(aiia)-*, OInd. *hṛd(aya)-*, Prth. *zirδ*). The modern form *zird* might have come about by reinterpretation of *-ē* as the indefinite article *-ē* (cf. p. 102).
- The vowel of *gipt* (DTB, GEB, EVM, EAL: Raxšānī, Kēčī, Coastal, Sarāwānī, Eastern, NAWATA 1981), *gitt* (BMC, FBB), *gīpt* (EAL: Lāšārī) < *gr̥pta- (cf. Av. *gərəpta-*) may have been influenced by the present stem *gir-* "take".³⁵⁸
- *kirm* "worm" (NP *kirm*, OInd. *kṛmi-*) and *kiš-* / *kišt* "plant" (NP *kār-*, *kiš-* / *kišt*, Prth. *kār-* / *kišt*) may have been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:444).

355 Only in PIERCE 1874 (thence GEIGER 1890:126) and in EAL (probably from Geiger), all other sources have *gurk*.

356 Cf. also II 2.1.3.3.1, 3.1.3.4. There is no evidence that Bal. *ar* might be the result of PIr. *r̥: there are no Bal. cognates of a number of OIr. words going back to PIr. *r̥ (cf. KORN 2003a:66). Assuming PIr. *r̥ > Bal. *ar*, one would have to explain Bal. *zird* and *kirm* as showing the change of *ar* > *ir* described in II 3.1.2.3.1 and *tun(n)* as deriving from *tr̥šnā-.

357 Note that there is a (presumably rather late) change of *ar* to *ir*, cf. p. 194f.

358 NP has *girift*, Prth. *grift*. *Zaz.* has the past stem *guret-* which goes back to *graft and is thus not parallel to the Bal. past stem. For the present stem, cf. p. 149.

- *din*-³⁵⁹ "tear" might be derived from *d̥r̥na- via *dirna- and the past stem *dirt* (DTB, GCD, BMC, EVM, EAL, FBB) from *dr̥ta-. The better attested variant *dir(r)*- and the past stem *dir(r)it* (GEB, FBB, EAL: Coastal)³⁶⁰ show that some contamination with NP forms (NP *darr-* / *darrīd*) must have occurred in this verb.³⁶¹ NP *dirrīd from which Bal. *dir(r)it* may have been borrowed would be the regular NP outcome of a secondary past stem *d̥r̥nita-, and the present stem *dir(r)*- can be based on *dir(r)it*. Although the root is originally *aniṭ* (EWAia I:702),³⁶² the best solution for NP *darr-* / *darrīd* seems to be the one proposed by HÜBSCHMANN (1895:62): the vowel of the NP present stem *dirr- (< *d̥r̥na-) seems to have been adjusted to the past stem *dard- (< PIIr. *d̥r̥H-ta-), the latter being replaced by *darrīd*.

Cases of PIr. *r̥ > Bal. *ur*

Most instances of PIr. *r̥ show Bal. *ur*:³⁶³

- *apurs* "juniper" (NP *awirs*, *burs* "fruit of juniper", Av. *hapərəsī-*, cf. p. 140);
- *burz* "high" (Av. *bərəzant-*, NP *buland*, OInd. *bṛhánt-*, Prth. *burz*);
- *turpš*, *trupš*, *trušp*³⁶⁴ "sour" (NP *turš*, Prth. *trifš*, for further cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:130a) < PIr. *tr̥fša-;

359 GEB, DTB, GCD, EAL.

360 EAL also reports *dirrt* which – if existing – may be a secondary formation from present *dirr-*.

361 For *-rn-* > NP *rr*, Bal. *n(n)*, cf. p. 133.

362 The only sure *seṭ* forms in Avestan are those from the nasal present: part. act. sg. m. *dərənaq*, act. 3pl. *dərənənti* (PRAUST 2000:438).

363 *hūrt* "tiny" might be placed here, too, if the etymology given by Morgenstierne is correct (cf. p. 122); the quality of the vowel fits with the rules established below, the reason for its quantity is unclear, however.

sīkun "porcupine" (NP *sugur*) would be a further example if it goes back to PIr. *sVkr̥na- which would imply that Av. *sukurəna-* stands for *sukərəna-. There is, however, no direct evidence for *r̥ here, all Ir. cognates seem to go back to *-ur-* (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1927:73), e.g. Sogd. *sykr̥n (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976:61), Psht. *škun* < *sikurna- (MORGENSTIERNE 2003:78). The origin of *ī* (also in Gabri *sīxur*, Kurd. *sīxur*, NP *sīxūl* adduced by GEIGER 1891:408 and other variants, cf. HORN 1893:164) is not clear either. The Bal. form might go back to *sū° (cf. p. 196), but the length of the vowel remains unclear. There is also a variant *sīnkur* (BMC, EAL, MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50) which might have come about through "anticipation and subsequent dissimilation of *n*" via *sīnkurn just as Wanetsi *suḡgūn* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50).

364 For discussion of the variants, cf. p. 207, 209. Borrowed *truš* is also used (cf. p. 137).

- *turs-* / *tursit*³⁶⁵ "fear" may be a denominative of *turs*, *trus* "fear"³⁶⁶ < PIr. **tr̥s-*; alternatively, it may go back to PIE **tr̥s-ské-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:47) as Av. *tər̥asa-* and Prth. *tirs-* / *tirsād do*;³⁶⁷ in the latter case, *turs* might be derived from the verb;
- *tun(n)* "thirst" (NP *tiš*, YAv. *taršna-*, OInd. *tṛ̥ṣṇā-* f. "thirst", *tṛ̥ṣṇáj-* "thirsty") < PIr. **tr̥šṇā-* (for the reduction of the consonant cluster, cf. p. 127, 132, 133);
- *zurt*³⁶⁸ (past stem of *zūr-*) "taken" is best explained as a direct cognate of OInd. *hrtá-*, *√hr̥* "take, bring" (as GEIGER 1890:153 seems to assume³⁶⁹ and in spite of HÜBSCHMANN's 1890:560 statement that *zūr-*, *zīr-* does not fit³⁷⁰), although there are no other Ir. cognates of this root (EWAia II:803f.);
- *šamuš-* / *šamušt* "forget" (OInd. *√mr̥ṣ*, *mr̥ṣyá-*, Prth. *frāmōš-* / *frāmušt*), cf. p. 117;
- *kurt*³⁷¹ (past stem of *kan-*) "did" (Av. *kər̥ata-*, NP *kard*, OInd. *krtá-*, Prth. *kird*);
- *gužg* "root" of doubtful existence (cf. p. 132) is claimed by MORGENSTIERNE 1927:95, 1932:46 to go back to PIr. **ur̥žaka-*;
- *gōkurt* "sulphur" (NP *gōgurd*, cf. Av. *gaokər̥ana-* (name of a tree) is derived from **gau-kr̥ta-* "yellow (< milky) stuff" by BAILEY 1979:96a;³⁷²
- *muš-* "rub" (maybe cognate with OInd. *√mr̥j* or *√mr̥ś*, cf. p. 92).

365 Also *trus-* / past stem *trusit* (GEB, EVM), cf. p. 209; the variant EAL *truss-* / *trussit* does not seem to be found anywhere else.

366 NP *tars-* / *tarsīd* is best explained as a denominative of NP *tars* (Prth. likewise has *tars*).

367 A past stem Prth. *tišt* might be found in *tištēn* "dreadful", *tištīft* "dreadfulness" etc. <tyšt> itself is not attested, the word in Angad Rōšnān Ib 13a is to be read <ryšt> (pace BOYCE 1954:126, 196), but the meaning is not clear (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

368 BMC, DTB, FBB, EAL, GEB, NAWATA 1981:17.

369 Note that Av. *√zar* also adduced here by Geiger belongs with OInd. *√hr̥*, *hr̥ṇīte* "be angry" (BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1669f.).

370 With regard to OInd. *hárati*, one would expect a present stem *†zar-*. *zūr-* (which yields *zīr-* in some dialects, cf. p. 197) and *zōr-* (only ABG) are obviously formed by application of a principle that the present stem should be somehow "stronger" than the past stem. Analogical past stems are *zūrt* (GEB, EVM), *zīrt* (GEB, EAL) and *zōrt* (cf. p. 202).

371 BMC, EVM, EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, other dialects have *kut* (DTB, FBB, EAL: Kēčī, Lāšārī, Coastal, Eastern), probably a phenomenon of "Allegro-Aussprache" (HOFFMANN 1976:587²⁶).

372 Av. *gaokər̥ana-* (also used as a name for Haoma) is interpreted as *gau-* "milk" + **kṛ̥dna-* "resin" (from PIIr. **kṛ̥d* "give resin"), thus "having white resin" (perhaps a term for the frankincense tree) by KLINGENSCHMITT 1965:31f. Bal. *gōkurt* cannot go back to **°kṛ̥d*, however. Since Sogd. *γwkt*, *γwqt* also speaks for **-t* (HENNING 1940a), the word for "sulphur" might rather be a different one than the Av. word for the incense tree, and derived from the protoform assumed by Bailey.

GEIGER 1891:401 remarks that if *gōkurt* is a loanword from Persian, it has to be a very old one. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:147 lists it as an exception to his rule (see below).

The following examples may have been borrowed from NP:

- *burt* (past stem of *bar*-³⁷³) "carried" (Av. *bərəta*-, NP, Prth. *burd*, OInd. *b^hrtá*-);
- *bušk* "mane", NP *buš* and YAv. *barša*- can be derived from PIr. *br̥ša- (OAv. -əṛəš- > YAv. -arš-, cf. HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:91), cf. p. 165;
- *purs*- / *pursit* "ask" (Av. *pərəsa*-, NP *purs*- / *pursīd*, Prth. *purs*- / *pursād*, OInd. *pr̥cc^há*-);
- *pušt* "back" (YAv. *paršta*-, NP, Prth. *pušt*, OInd. *pr̥št^há*-);
- *puhl*, *pōl* "bridge" (MP *puhl*, NP *pul*, Prth. *purt*, Av. *pərəθβ*-, cf. p. 121, 211);
- *gurk* "wolf" (Av. *vəhrka*-, NP *gurg*, OInd. *vṛka*-), see above;
- *murt* (past stem of *mir*-, cf. p. 149) "died" (Av. *mərəta*-, NP, Prth. *murđ*, OInd. *mrtá*-);
- *murg* "hen" (Av. *mərəya*-, NP, Prth. *murg* "bird", OInd. *mṛgá*- "wild animal");
- *mušt* (past stem of *muš*- "rub", see above), cf. NP *mušt*, OInd. *mṛṣṭá*-, cf. p. 92.
- *sun*- / past stem *sunit* "hear" if existing (it apparently occurs only once in Dames' texts³⁷⁴) could be derived from PIr. *sr̥n- (Av. *surunao*-, OInd. *śṛṇó*-) might also have been borrowed from Ur. *sun-nā* (Sabir Badalkhan, personal communication).

Some examples which are not easily explained as borrowings have *-ur-* after a labial: *apurs*, *burz*, *šamuš*-, *gužg*, *muš*-. HÜBSCHMANN therefore maintains (1895:143ff.) that PIr. *r̥ comes out as Bal. *ir*, *ur* under the same conditions as in NP, i.e. *ur* after *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*, and *ir* in other contexts. This would leave the other instances of *ur* unexplained, however, viz. *turpš*, *tun(n)*, *zurt*, *kurt*, *gōkurt*. The examples *turpš* and *gōkurt* exhibit some sort of labial context, but in *tun(n)*, *zurt* and *kurt*, there is no labial element whatsoever.

One might therefore assume a rule which is in some sense the mirror of the NP

373 The 3sg. has irregular *bā* (FBB), *bārt* (BMC) which makes it less probable that the verb has been borrowed from NP.

374 It is not even mentioned in DTB. The usual word for "hear" is *uškun*- / *uškut* (with numerous variants, cf. p. 196, 236) which has been explained as a compound of "ear" (Av. *uš*-) and "do" (*kan*- / *ku(r)t*, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41). According to GERSHEVITCH 1998, it derives from a phrase *ušiiā uaiṇa- (past stem *uaita-) "perceive by means of audition" > *ušV gīn- (past stem *gēt) > *uškin*- / *uškit*, which implies a change of *aiṇ > Bal. *īn*, a subsequent shortening of the vowel and an analogical adjustment of the past stem. While Gershevitch's reserves against Morgenstierne's etymology seem well justified, his solution does not appear entirely convincing either: Mlr. *ēn* is preserved in Balochi as a rule (cf. p. 151); the occasional change of *ē* > *ī* (cf. II 3.1.2.3.2) appears to be a rather late phenomenon (the same may apply to shortening of *ī*, for which cf. p. 187).

situation: PIr. *r̥ gives Bal. *ir* in palatal contexts and *ur* otherwise. The case is made even stronger by the fact that palatalisation of *u* and *a* next to *r* is common (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1), so that preserved *ur* deserves special attention.³⁷⁵

The rule "PIr. *r̥ > *ir* /palatal, > *ur* otherwise" would account for all the instances of -*ur*- and explain *zirdē* < *z̥r̥daia-³⁷⁶ and *kirm* (OInd. *k̥r̥mi*-³⁷⁷). Explanations for the apparent counterexamples are also at hand: *kiš-* / *kišt* may have been borrowed from NP which is all the more probable since †*kuš-* would have been homonymous with *kuš-* / *kušt* "kill" (NP *kuš-* / *kušt*);³⁷⁸ the past stem *gipt* would stand for expected †*gurpt* with analogical introduction of the vowel from the present stem *gir-*; *din-* "tear" might have replaced †*dun-* to become more similar to the doublet *dir(r)-* borrowed from NP, and *dirt* could be a secondary formation from the present stem *dir-* (variant of *dir(r)-*).

It would follow that Balochi does not share the development of PIr. *r̥ which, when judging from the transcription of MP and Parthian e.g. in BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, might seem to be a common Western Middle Iranian one.³⁷⁹ The contrast between Prth. *tirs-* / *tirsād* "fear", *trifš* "sour" and *kird* "done" vs. Bal. *turs*, *turpš* and *kurt* indeed suggests that with regard to the treatment of PIr. *r̥, Proto-Balochi must have differed from Parthian.

375 It might be possible to explain all instances of *ir* as palatalised outcomes of *ur* (and/or *ar*). However, the examples given in II 3.1.2.3.1 seem to be of a more recent nature and occur besides variants with preserved *ur*, *ar*.

376 It is also possible to explain the *i* of *zirdē* as being due to the *z-*, cf. p. 193f.

377 PIE has *k̥r̥mi- (EWAia I:394). The meaning of Av. *k̥r̥ma-* is unclear (BARTHOLOMAE 1904:469).

378 MP has *kuš-* / *kušt* both in MPZ and MPM according to MACKENZIE 1986. The verb may originally have been Mir. *kōš- / *kušt* "fight, kill" and, by forming a new pres. stem from *kušt* and a new past stem from *kōš-*, has been split up into *kōš-* / *kōšīd* "fight, strive" and *kuš-* / *kušt* "kill". Its cognates are the Av. hapax *kuša'ti* "kills" and Tocharian B *kaus-*, A *kos-* "kill, destroy" (ADAMS 1999:208). The MPZ variant *kōxš-* probably shows unetymological *xš* which in several cases occurs instead of MP *š* (cf. HORN 1893:239²). It is questionable whether any pertinent forms exist in Parthian (pace BOYCE 1977 who has Prth. *kōš-* / *kōšād* and *kušt*, also in GHILAIN 1939:66), since e.g. MIK III (= formerly IB) 4970a R <k(.)šyn'd> is to be read <'](xš)yn'd> "princes" (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication). The Zaz. past stem *kut-* "beat" is evidence for the existence of NWIr. *kušt, however.

379 Note that according to MACKENZIE 1967:24²⁵, PIr. *r̥ in non-labial contexts gave MP *er* or *ir*, both being written MPM <yr>, MPZ <r/l>. The former cases yield NP *ar* (e.g. *kard*), the latter *ir* (e.g. *kirm* "worm"). This assumption does not change the argument made here, though; regardless of whether the MP words are to be read *kird* or *kerd* etc., Balochi requires a rule different from that needed for MP and Parthian.

2.3.2.2 Plr. *r̥i > ir?

The present stems³⁸⁰ *gir*-³⁸¹ "take" and *mir*- "die" (Av. *miriia*-, OInd. *mriyá*-)³⁸² suggest that Balochi has *ir* from Plr. *r̥i, thus different from NP (*gīr*-, *mīr*-). A borrowing of the two verbs from NP (thus HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557, 1895:92 for *gir*-) seems less likely since one would expect Bal. †*gīr*-, †*mīr*-; and the past stem *gip*t etc. is probably not a loanword, since an irregular loss of the *r* is more probable with a protoform **girpt* than in a borrowing from MP *grift* or NP *girift*. It is not clear whether the loss of *w* in *gir*- vs. Av. *gə^hruuāiia*-, Prth. <*gyrw*->, MPM <*pyrw*->³⁸³ may be termed regular or not. The development might either have been **gr̥uāi*- > **giru*- > *gir*- or **gr̥uāi*- > **gr̥i*- > *gir*-. If **r̥uī*- > *ir* as in *gir*- is regular, Bal. *pīr* "old, saint" (also in *pīruk* "grandfather") has been borrowed from NP, as one would expect Bal. †*pīr*.³⁸⁴

With regard to the Bal. verbs, one might consider reading Prth. <*gyrw*->, <*myr*-> as *girw*- (thus BOYCE 1977 pace GHILAIN 1939:89) and *mir*- (vs. *mīr*- in BOYCE 1977, GHILAIN 1939 etc.), respectively.³⁸⁵ Although Prth. *mir*- would not prevent a reading of <*gyrw*-> as *gīrw*- since the context is not identical, there seems to be no good reason to exclude *girw*- either.

380 For the past stems, cf. p. 144, 147, respectively.

381 Although the stem is *gir*- in all dialects, the 3sg. shows an unexpected long vowel in some (*gīrt* in BMC, EAL: Raxšānī, Lāšārī, NAWATA 1981:15, *gīt* in EAL: Raxšānī, BUDDRUSS 1988:73, *gīrt* in EAL: Eastern) which might be analogical to 3sg. forms like *bārt* from *bar*- (cf. p. 189).

382 GEIGER 1891:407 assumes that both forms had *-ar*- first which was then changed to *ir*; evidence for this assumption is lacking.

383 MPM <*pyrw*-> is found only once, the usual MPM form is <*pyr*-> *padīr*- (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:272f.).

384 Note that no Prth. †*pīr* is attested. Zaz. *pīr* (i.e. /*pīr*/) is also likely to be a loanword. ANDRONIKAŠVILI's assumption (1966:207) that Georg. *ber*- "old" is a loanword from MP is not plausible. – In NP *pīr* < **pr̥u(i)āi*-, there seems to be no trace of the laryngeal seen in Av. *pao^hriia*- (for details, cf. FISCHER 1998) < **pr̥Huiāi*-, BARTHOLOMAE 1907:112, followed by GERSHEVITCH 1964:81f.). NP *nīrō* "force" might show a similar development (< **nr̥-ia-ua-ka*-, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:196). – In the development of *trū* "aunt" from *(*p*)*tr̥uiāi*-, irregular losses of elements must have taken place, although the details are not entirely clear (cf. p. 124f.). – The statements by MOŠKALO are somewhat confusing: on the one hand, there is a note that **r̥uī* gives *īr* (1991:22, the example being *pīr*) whereas 1991:37 states that **r̥uī* results in *ir*; if the latter is not a misprint for *īr*, it might allude to the example *gir*- which, however, is explained (1991:22) as coming from **gr̥bāi*-.

385 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 86 reads *gīrw*- and (following HENNING 1934:206) *mīr*- and attributes the long *ī* of both verbs to the specificities of syllable structure, comparing NP *pīr* "old". The Sogd. cognates *myr*- "die" and *γrβ*- "know" likewise contain short vowels (GERSHEVITCH 1954:72, 92).

2.3.2.3 PIr. *r̥H

The development of PIr. *r̥H seems to be the same as in other Iranian languages.

PIr. *r̥H > ar:

- *gwarm* "surf, wave", cf. Prth. *warm*, Av. *varəmi-*, OInd. *ūrmí-* < PIE *u̯r̥Hmi- (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558, EWAia I:245);
- *sar* "head" (NP, Prth. *sar*, Av. *sarah-*, OIn. *śíras-* < PIE *k̥r̥h₂os-, cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:150², EWAiA II:639), if not borrowed from NP *sar*;
- *gar* "abyss, precipice" (BMC, EAL), "pimple, boil" (DTB) is likely to be a cognate of Av. *ga'ri-*, OInd. *girí-* < *g̥r̥Hí- "mountain" (thus MORGENSTIERNE 1927:26 for Psht. *yar*) and not of Av. *gərəða-* "cave" (pace GEIGER 1891:400). As it has been stated that cognates of Av. *ga'ri-* are only found in EIr. languages (ELFENBEIN 1989:636, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:651), one might consider Bal. *gar* as a borrowing from Psht. *yar* "mountain", but the fact that the meanings differ might rather speak against such an assumption; moreover, the word is also found in MPZ *gar* "mountain" (MACKENZIE 1986), NP place-names with *Gar*^o (BAILEY 1979:80b), Prth. personal names with *Gar*^o (WEBER 2003:127).
- *tar(r)- / tar(r)it* "to turn around" might have been borrowed from Ur. *tar-nā* "to cross, pass over"³⁸⁶ which would also explain the gemination of the *r* (cf. II 3.3.1.5); alternatively, one might derive it from *t̥r̥h₂- like OInd. *tiráti* (Avestan has the present stems *titar-*, *taraiia-*, *ta"ruua-*),³⁸⁷ the *-rr-* then might result from analogy to the semantically very similar *čar(r)-* "turn" (cf. p. 84).

The result of PIr. *r̥Ht is Bal. *ārt* (cf. p. 189).

2.3.3 Diphthongs

The OIr. diphthongs *ai*, *au* come out as *ē*, *ō* in Balochi as in most other Modern Iranian languages. For the secondary change of *ē* > *ī*, *ō* > *ū* which has also taken place in standard contemporary Persian, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2.

386 DTB, GCD, EAL *tar-* / *taraθ-* "swim" is from Sindhi according to DTB (cf. *taraṇu*) or from Lahnda (EAL).

387 Cognates include NP *gu-zar-* / *guzard*, Prth. *wi-dar-* / *wi-dard*, *wi-darād* "pass", NP *gu-zār-* / *gu-zārd*, Prth. *wi-dār-* / *wi-dārād* "let pass" and Prth./MP *tarw-* "overcome".

OIr. ai > ē (GEIGER 1891:410):³⁸⁸

- *ēwak* "alone" (PIr. *aiuaka-, Av. *aēuua-*, NP *yak*, Prth. *ēwag* "alone", *ēw* "one"), *rēč-* "pour" (Av. √raēk, NP *rēz-* / *rēxt*, Prth. *rix*³⁸⁹), *gēč-* / *gētk* etc. "sift" (Av. *vaēča-*, NP *bēz-*, *bēxt*, cf. p. 98), *mētag* "village" (Av. *maēvāna-* "house", NP *mēhan* "homeland", cf. p. 81), *hēd* "sweat" (Av. *x^vaēda-*, NP *x^wai*, cf. p. 123);
- *nēm(ag)* "half" (Av. *naēma-*, NP *nīm(a)*, MP *nēm(ag)*, Prth. *nēm^o*), *ādēnk* "mirror" (cf. p. 79), *bēnag* "honey" (NP *angubīn*)³⁹⁰, *šēnak* "falcon" (Av. *saēna-*, cf. p. 129) and the adj. suffix *-ēn* (Av. *-aēna-*, MP, Prth. *-ēn*) etc. show that – unlike in NP – *ē* is also preserved in Balochi also when a nasal follows (GEIGER 1891:410f., pace GERSHEVITCH 1998:115, 124).³⁹¹

For *ai̇ in other contexts, cf. II 2.1.3.4.2.

OIr. au > ō (GEIGER 1891:411):

- *ōmān* "desire" (Av. *aoman-* "helping", cf. also p. 186);³⁹²
- *rōč* "day" (Av. *raočah-* "light", NP *rōz*, Prth. *rōž*), *sōč-* / *sōtk* "burn" (Av. *saoča-*, NP *sōz-* / *sōxt*, Prth. *sōž-*), *šōd-* "wash" (Av. *xšaoḍah-* "stream", NP *šōy-*, Prth. *šōḍ-*), *kōpag* "shoulder" (Av. *kaofa-*, NP *kōh*, Prth. *kōf*, all "hill", cf. p. 81).

There is no necessity to assume that OIr. *au* may occasionally also result in Bal. *au*: *haur* "rain" mentioned by GEIGER 1891:412 might be a loanword (p. 158f.), for EBal. *bauf* "mattress" vs. SWBal. *bōp*, cf. p. 203. For *au in other contexts, cf. II 2.1.3.3.2.

388 For GEIGER's example (*b*)*rēs-* "spin", cf. II 2.2.3.4; *gēš* "more" might be a loanword (cf. II 3.3.1.7.1).

389 The Bal. past stem is *rētk* (FBB, BMC), *rēt* (EVM, SOKOLOV 1956:81, NAWATA 1981:17), *rix* (DTB). The existence of EBal. *rix* makes it probable that Prth. <ryxt> is to be read as *rix* (thus in GHILAIN 1939:94) rather than *rēxt* (BOYCE 1977). For past stems in OIr. *xt, cf. II 2.2.1.1.

390 ELFENBEIN's assumption (1990/II:20) that the Bal. word has been borrowed from NP *angubīn* does not seem likely. According to MORGENSTIERNE 1927:23, 1932:41, *angubīn* is not related to Bal. *bēnag* since the former goes back to *-p-* (cf. Av. *paēnaēna-* "consisting of honey", Orm. *pīn* "honey", Psht. *gabīna*), while the latter is a cognate of some other Ir. words all pointing to **baīna-* "bee" (IEW 116).

391 For the causative suffix *-ēn-*, cf. p. 107, for *gīn* "breath", cf. p. 136.

392 Av. *aoman-* is only attested once in the form *aomna* (instr.sg.). The strong stem **aumān-* needed for Bal. *ōmān* can be found in OInd. *omānam* (acc. of *omān-* "help, support"). It seems that no etymology has been proposed for the Bal. word yet. For Ir. cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:309b.

2.3.4 Prothesis

CBal. *s*T- > *ʌs*T-, CBal. *š*T- > *ʌš*T-:³⁹³

Clusters of word-initial *s*, *š* + voiceless stop are subject to prothesis in Balochi, Parthian and MP (in contrast to Standard NP which has *s*T-). Balochi shows *i*- in the majority of cases and sources, and the Prth. and MPM predominant orthography <^c> has also been interpreted as *i*- in the relevant dictionaries. However, the older sources (cf. DTB and GEIGER 1891:405) cite cases of *a*-prothesis (besides *i*-, DTB, GEIGER 1891:408).³⁹⁴ As the change of *a* to *i* is common in palatal contexts like these (cf. p. 193f.), it is possible to assume that the prothesised vowel was *a*- first which then changed to *i*. Alternatively, one may assume that the vowel was a central one first which then produced varying outputs in the dialects. However, MPM and Prth. <^c> does indicate a palatal vowel of some sort; it need not have been /i/ as suggested by the dictionaries, though.

Examples:

- *ispar* "shield" (NP *sipar*, Prth. *ispar*)³⁹⁵, *ispulk* "spleen" (Av. *spərəzan*)³⁹⁶, *istār*³⁹⁷ "star" (Av. *star*-, NP *sitāra*, MP *istārag*, Prth. *astār(ag)*);
- *ištāp*³⁹⁸ "haste" (NP *šitāb*, Prth. *awi-štābišn* "oppression"),³⁹⁹ *iškand* "unfinished" (NP *šikan*- / *šikast* "break", cf. p. 124).

Recent loanwords are treated in the same way, e.g. *iskūl* (BMC) "school". In the probably borrowed *spēt* "white" (Av. *spaēta*-, cf. p. 90), *ispēt* occurs beside *sipēt*.

393 For OIr. *s*T > Bal. *š*T, cf. II 2.2.2.1.1. For anaptyxis in middle syllables, cf. II 3.1.2.4.

394 EVM *adga*, *agdar* "other" (variants of borrowed *diga(r)* which has obviously lost the vowel first, cf. p. 283) can also be adduced here.

395 Av. *spāra*^o which HORN 1893:155 adduces here is of unsure meaning. It is not sure either whether OInd. *p^hālaka*- "board, bench" etc. belongs here (EWAia II:202).

396 It is remarkable that in the case of *ispulk*, Bal. shows the SWIr. word (MP *spul*) whereas in NP, the NWIr. variant (*supurz*) is used. The assumptions about *ispulk* by DAMES 1891:3 (borrowed from Brahui) and GILBERTSON 1925:628 (derived from the Engl. word) are not correct. For a recent discussion of the PIE word, cf. HAMP 2002.

397 For the variant *istāl*, cf. p. 160.

398 It is not impossible that Bal. *ištāp* has been borrowed from NP *šitāb* (for devoicing of word-final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4). For further discussion of *šitāb*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:217⁸⁸.

399 Additional examples with Prth. *iš*T- are *išmār* "number" (NP *šumāra*), MPM, Prth. *išnās*- / *išnāxt* "know, recognise" (NP *šinās*- / *šināxt*); no Bal. cognates of these have been found so far.

2.4 Special phenomena

This subchapter summarises the discussion of some Bal. phonemes which come from several sources and involve certain peculiarities.

2.4.1 Balochi *h*

In some dialects, *h* is lost (cf. II 2.4.1.3). Since words have continually been borrowed between the dialects, words with *h*- in many cases appear in the form of doublets with and without *h* also in those dialects which usually do not lose *h*. The existence of these doublets may lead to the emergence of hypercorrect (secondary) *h*. It is thus not always easy to determine whether a given case of *h* is genuine or not.

2.4.1.1 Sources of Bal. *h*

OIr. *h*

As seen above (II 2.1.2.6), OIr. *h* is preserved in most Bal. dialects, e.g.

- *hušk* "dry", *gwahār* "sister", *zahg* "child", *dūžah* "hell".

x in loanwords

x in loanwords is rendered in most cases by *h*, but sometimes also by *k* (cf. II 1.2.2), e.g.

- NP-Ar. *xabar* "news" → Bal. *habar*, *kabar*,
- NP-Ar. *xarāb* "out of order" → *harāb*, *karāb* "bad".

2.4.1.2 Loss of *h*

Postvocalic *h* is liable to be lost, resulting in a variation *uh* / *ō* and *ih* / *ē* (cf. II 3.1.3.2), e.g.

- *fātēā* / *fātihā* / *pātiyā* etc. "memorial prayer" (NP-Ar. *fātiḥā*),
- *pōl* / *puhl* "bridge", *suhr* / *sōr* "red, golden".

Similarly, *ah* gives *ā* in Western Balochi (cf. II 3.2.3.3), e.g.

- *zāg* "child" (vs. other dialects *zahg*), *bār* "share" (vs. *bahr*), *wād* "time" (vs. *wahd*, *waht* etc.).

In some WBal. dialects, *h* is lost altogether (cf. p. 248), e.g.

- *abar* "news" (other dialects *habar*, NP-Ar. *xabar*), *arāb* "bad" (vs. *harāb*, NP-Ar. *xarāb* "out of order"), *awāl* "news" (vs. *ahwāl*), *wad* "time" (vs. *wahd* etc.).

2.4.1.3 Secondary *h*

The variation just described, i.e. doublets like *habar* vs. *abar*, *huš-* vs. *uš-*, motivates the emergence of hypercorrect *h*,⁴⁰⁰ e.g.

- *hādēnk* (GEB, EAL) vs. *ādēnk* "mirror" (NP *āyīna*, cf. p. 79);
- *hārōs* (ABG, BMC, EAL) vs. *ārōs* (BMC, EAL⁴⁰¹) "wedding" (NP-Ar. [°]*arūs*⁴⁰²);⁴⁰³
- *hariš* (GEB, EAL), *harš(a)* (DTB) "ell" (NP *araš*);⁴⁰⁴
- *har(r)ag* / *ar(r)ag* "saw" (NP *arra*);
- *haškun-* (EAL V) vs. *aškun-* etc. "hear";⁴⁰⁵
- *ǰōh* (BMC), *ǰō* (BMC), *ǰū* "river" (probably borrowed from NP *ǰō(y)*, cf. p. 104, 200).⁴⁰⁶

For secondary $\bar{V}hC$ arising from contamination of $\check{V}hC$ and $\bar{V}C$, cf. II 3.1.3.2, 3.2.3.3.

400 The statement by MOŠKALO (1991:36) that secondary word-initial *h* appears in the SWBal. dialects only is not correct since several cases are also found in EBal. sources: *hariš* in GLADSTONE 1874 and DAMES 1881 (thence GEB and probably EAL), *harray* in DTB and GCD (and in SWBal. sources).

401 EVM *ārusī* is an error according to EAL 6. For the *ā-*, cf. p. 190.

402 According to HÜBSCHMANN 1895:32, the classical Pers. pronunciation is [°]*arōs*.

403 As indicated in II 1.2.1, it is assumed here that at least the vast majority of the Arabic loanwords has entered Balochi via NP. As both Ar. [°] and ^ʾ are pronounced /ʾ/ in NP, there seems to be no reason to assume a difference in pronunciation in any stage of Balochi. In the case of word-initial [°], the Balochi evidence suggests that it is lost completely, and the relevant words are not treated differently in any way from those with word-initial vowel.

404 While Avestan has **arəθn-* (OInd. *aratnī-*, EWAia I:109), OP has *arašni-* (BRANDENSTEIN/MAYRHOFER 1964:104) resulting in NP *araš*. Even if Balochi shared the development of *-θn-* > *-šn-* (there is no second example for this cluster), *hariš* must have been borrowed from NP since OIr. *šn* is assimilated to Bal. *n(n)* (cf. II 2.2.2.2). For cognates of NP *araš* (the relationship to OP *arašni-* is problematic, cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:12), cf. BAILEY 1979:8a.

405 For variants, cf. p. 196, 236, for the etymology, cf. p. 147.

406 One might assume that *-h* in this case is somehow substituted for NP *-y*; this would imply that the *-h* is interpreted as a case of *h* with variant *y* (for this phenomenon, see below and II 2.4.3). Note, however, that BMC has a certain bias for overcorrect, if not hypercorrect, *h* (cf. II 3.2.3.3).

The interpretation of *h* as element which is optional in some contexts might facilitate its use as a separator of two adjacent vowels (cf. also II 2.4.3), e.g.

- *sāhig*, *sā'ig*⁴⁰⁷ "shadow" (NP *sāya*), *hamsāhig*, *hamsā'ig* "neighbour" (NP *hamsāya*),
- *šāhir* (EAL), *šāhar* (ABG), *šā'ir* (BMC, DTB, EAL) "poet" (NP-Ar. *šā'ir*),
- *mahī* (FBB) "May" (Europ.).

In a couple of verbal stems in *-ā* (which are likely to go back to OIr. *āia*, cf. p. 108f.), *-h-* functions as a vowel separator and a morpheme separator at the same time:

- *āh-* "come", *zāh-* "give birth", *sāh-* "shave" besides variants with *-y-* instead of *h*.

2.4.1.4 Bal. words with *h-* the NP cognates of which show secondary *x-*

There is a group of NP words which show unetymological word-initial *x-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:265). The corresponding Balochi words show *h* in several sources (GEIGER 1891:423), but none in others (see the table below). Variants with *x-* and *k-* are also found, which have been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 65, 82ff.).⁴⁰⁸

There are three possible explanations of the Bal. data:

- the variants with *h-* may be cases of hypercorrect *h-* of the type *hārōs* (cf. II 2.4.1.3) or
- the variants with *h-* may be borrowed from NP with the substitution of *h* for *x* as in *habar* "news" (cf. II 2.4.1.1).

In either case, the words without initial *h-* may be the genuine ones or represent the WBal. dialectal variants (cf. II 2.4.1.2) of those with *h-*.

- Alternatively, there may be a phenomenon of secondary *h-* in Balochi parallel to the NP one which results in secondary *x-*. In this case, the variants without *h-* would be due to the dialectal loss of *h-*.

The relevant examples are the following:

407 For further discussion, cf. p. 87, 108f.

408 Additional items with secondary *x-* in NP (no Bal. cognates attested) are *xirs* "bear", *xastū* "kernel", *xēš* "plow". As far as the corresponding Kurd. words are concerned, *xak* "earth", *xav* "raw", *xamûş* "quiet", *xurme* "date" are likely to have been borrowed from NP, *ax* "earth", *hêk* "egg" and *hirç* "bear" may be genuine.

NP	cf.	Balochi		
<i>xāk</i> "earth" ⁴⁰⁹		<i>xāk</i> ⁴¹⁰	<i>hāk</i> ⁴¹¹	<i>āk</i> ⁴¹²
<i>xām</i> "raw"	OInd. <i>āmá-</i>		<i>hāmag</i> ⁴¹³	<i>āmag</i> ⁴¹⁴
<i>xāya</i> "egg" ⁴¹⁵	YAv. <i>aēm</i>		<i>hāik, haik, hēk, haig</i> ⁴¹⁶	<i>ā-murg</i> <i>āyag, āig</i> ⁴¹⁷
<i>xurmā</i> "date"		<i>k^hurma,</i> <i>xurmā</i> ⁴¹⁸	<i>hurmā(g)</i> ⁴¹⁹	<i>urmāg</i> ⁴²⁰
<i>xišt</i> "brick"	Av. <i>ištīia-</i>	<i>xišt</i> ⁴²¹	<i>hišt</i> ⁴²²	<i>išt</i> ⁴²³
<i>xōša</i> "ear of grain"			<i>hōš(ag)</i> ⁴²⁴	<i>ōšag</i> ⁴²⁵
Bal. cognates of NP words with secondary <i>x-</i>				

409 NP *xāk*, Kurd. *ax* and Mazanderani *xōk* have been derived from *āhaka- (cf. OInd. *āsa-* "ashes") by MORGENSTIERNE 1942:266 and KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:213⁷⁷ and from *āika- by GERSHEVITCH 1962:77, adducing Av. *āi*. Prth. <'y'g> "place" noted by BAILEY 1979:19b does not exist, the relevant text passage should be read <wy'g> *wyāg* (ANDREAS/HENNING 1934:882) as is shown by the duplicate M 891b+ R 10 (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

410 ABG.

411 ABG, SHG, BMC, EAL; the corresponding EBal. form *hāx* is found in DTB and GCD. *hāk* is qualified as a loanword by GEIGER 1891:444.

412 FBB, BMC, EVM.

413 ABG, BMC, SHG, EAL; EBal. *hāmag* (DTB, GCD); the word is noted as a loanword by EAL 64.

414 FBB, BMC, EVM.

415 MORGENSTIERNE 1932b:56a derives NP *xāya*, MP *xāyag* etc. from *āūia-ka-.

416 *hāik* is found in EAL (Kēčī, Coastal), *haik* in EAL (Raxšānī, Sarawānī), SHG and GCD (*haix*), *hēk* in EAL (Raxšānī, Sarawānī), *haig* in ABG.

417 *āmurg* is found in EVM, Nawata 1981:37, *āyag* in BMC, *āig* in EAL (Raxšānī).

418 *k^hurma* is found in MORGENSTIERNE 1932:46, *xurmā* in GCD.

419 SHG, BMC, EAL. According to MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47, this is an "adaptation of P[e]rs. *xurmā*".

420 BMC, EVM.

421 EVM.

422 ABG, SHG, BMC, EAL; *hišt* is qualified as a loanword by EAL 68.

423 BMC. For *ī* "brick", cf. p. 137.

424 SHG, BMC, EAL; EBal. *hōšag* (DTB, GCD). *hōšag* belongs here if the etymology (GEIGER 1891:451, MORGENSTIERNE 1927:95 etc.) which connects the word to Psht. *wažai*, Kurd. *ūšî* "bunch" is correct. In MORGENSTIERNE 2003:86, Eifenbein opts for Bal. *hōšag* being borrowed from NP.

425 BMC.

For NP *xāmōš* "quiet",⁴²⁶ only the surely borrowed variants *xāmūš* (NAWATA 1981:38) and *kāmōš* (FBB) are found, and the same applies to *xišm* "fury" which only turns up as *xašm* (EVM, NAWATA 1981:42).

The variants without *h-* are predominantly found in WBal. sources, so it is probable that they show dialectal loss of *h*. This would leave the variants with *h-* as the primary ones. The only item which may not be a loanword is *āmurg* (cf. p. 108ff.) which unfortunately is only attested in sources where all sorts of *h* are lost, so it does not tell us anything about word-initial *h-*.⁴²⁷

There is some, albeit scanty, evidence that Parthian and/or some closely related dialect might have had *h-* in words where NP shows secondary *x-*: while most of the words cited above are not attested in Parthian, a possible candidate is *hištīg* "brick".⁴²⁸ A second case is reflected by Georg. *hešmak-*, a variant of the more usual *ešmak-* "devil", and Arm. *hešmak*^o "idol" (cf. GIPPERT 1994:62¹⁷) while PrthT has *išmag* "demons".

It appears possible that the Bal. words with *h-* might be genuine, even if it is hard to imagine how the secondary *h-* developed exactly in the same words as in NP and not in some of the countless other words beginning with a vowel. The possibility that all words from the table above (with the exception of *āmurg*) are loanwords can thus not be ruled out.

2.4.1.5 Bal. words with *h-* the Kurdish cognates of which also show secondary *h-*

There is another particular group of words with secondary *h-*, viz. cases in which the Kurd. cognate also shows secondary *h-*. Secondary *h-* is very common in Kurdish (SOCIN 1901:256: "überaus häufig in allen Dialekten"), e.g. *hindik* "few" (NP *andak*), *hesin* "iron" (NP *āhan*).

426 According to HORN 1893:103, NP *xāmōš* is composed of the preverb *ā^o and the root which is also present in NP *farāmōš* "forgotten". If so, *xāmōš* must have taken over the *ō* from *farāmōš* since the vocalism of the latter is the product of an analogical ablaut (cf. p. 117).

427 As has been argued above (II 2.1.3.4.2), *āyag*, *āig* was probably borrowed from NP (dialectal variant of *hāyag). For an alternative solution for the "egg"-words with *h-*, cf. II 2.4.1.5.

428 In addition to the passage in BOYCE 1954:164f., the word also occurs in the unpublished fragment M 92 R 3a (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

The Bal. words with unetymological *h-* agreeing with Kurd. *h-* are the following:

Balochi		Kurdish	cf.
<i>h-</i>	∅-		
<i>haik, hāik, hēk, haig</i> ⁴²⁹ "egg"	<i>āyag, āig, ā-murg</i>	<i>hêk</i>	NP <i>xāya</i> YAv. <i>aēm</i>
<i>haps, hāsp, hāps</i> ⁴³⁰ "horse"	<i>asp, aps</i>	<i>hesp</i>	NP <i>asb</i> Av. <i>aspa-</i>
<i>hastal</i> ⁴³¹ "mule"	<i>istal, istir</i>	<i>hêstir</i>	NP <i>astar</i> OInd. <i>aśvatará-</i>
<i>huštar, huštur</i> ⁴³² "camel"	<i>uštir</i> ⁴³³	<i>hêštir</i> "she-camel"	NP <i>štur</i> Av. <i>uštra-</i>
<i>haur, hāur</i> ⁴³⁴ "rain"	<i>aur</i> ⁴³⁵	<i>hor</i> ⁴³⁶ "flow of water"; Awromani <i>hawr</i> ⁴³⁷	NP <i>abr</i> Av. <i>aβra-</i>
Bal. cognates of Kurd. words with secondary <i>h-</i>			

In the case of "egg", it has been argued that all variants except *āmurg* will rather not be genuine as OIr. *āia* is likely to result in Bal. *ā* (II 2.1.3.4.2, 2.4.1.4).

It is of course possible that the items above are cases of secondary *h-* of the type *hārōs* (cf. II 2.4.1.3). However, it is striking that all words denoting the bigger household animals (horse, mule and camel) show *h-* as they do in Kurdish, although it has to be admitted that the *h-*less variants are the better attested ones. Furthermore, it has been maintained for independent reasons that *(h)asp* and *(h)astal* are not genuine Bal. words

429 For the attestation of the variants, cf. p. 156.

430 GEB (cf. also p. 190, 241).

431 For the attestation of the variants, cf. p. 161.

432 *huštar* is found in GECB, *huštur* in DTB, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:100 and EAL (also *huštir*).

433 Also *uštar* (ABG), *uštur* (EVM).

434 ABG (also *hawar*), BMC.

435 EVM (*h-*less dialect), FBB.

436 BLAU 1965. In addition, there is *ewr* (cf. Zaz. *ewr*) "cloud".

437 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:46.

(cf. p. 90f.), and *(h)uštar* etc. is probably likewise a loanword anyway.⁴³⁸ So it seems possible that they have been borrowed from a Kurd. (or similar) dialect.⁴³⁹

This might also apply to *haur* (in this case the *h*-form is the one attested in all Bal. sources for dialects with *h*) where other NWIr. languages also show *h*-. *(h)aur* cannot be a genuine Bal. word anyway because of its *-au-* for OIr. *ab-*, so that GEIGER 1891:415 already suggested that this word might have been borrowed from Kurdish.

2.4.2 Balochi *l*

The status of Balochi *l* is a peripheral one since it chiefly occurs in loanwords (including some the etymology of which was not clear to GEIGER 1891:416) from Indian languages, e.g. *lankuk* "finger" (cf. p. 293), *lōg* "house, family".⁴⁴⁰ In addition, a number of words show *l* where one might expect *r*, for which reason GEIGER 1891:415f. assumes that there is an occasional change of *r* > *l*.

The following examples of loanwords show *l* besides or instead of *r*:⁴⁴¹

- *šak(k)al* (ABG, EAL), *šak^hal* (DTB) for usual (NP-Ar.) *šakar* "sugar" (originally Indic, cf. LOKOTSCH 1927:147);

438 Although the genuine Bal. result of OIr. (Av.) *uštra-* is not known and although it is possible that *tr when part of a consonant group *štr would develop differently from simple *tr, it is likely that Balochi would rather show something like OP *uša^o* "camel" (BRANDENSTEIN/MAYRHOFER 1964:149) as the development of PIIr. *tr is the same in Balochi as in Persian (cf. II 2.1.2.4).

439 If this assumption is correct, it hints at interesting implications about the economic history of the Baloch (cf. KORN, frthc. 3): they would have acquired the "use" of bigger household animals through contact with speakers of other NWIr. language(s) whereas the use of the smaller animals (sheep, goat) is probably traditional, as it indeed appears to be. Note that the word for "dog" might have been borrowed from Kurdish as well (II 3.1.2.2.1). Conversely, one might wonder whether Kurd. *gîsk* "young goat" has been borrowed from Balochi (or a similar language) *gēs* "female goat of less than one year" since word-initial OIr. *u-* does not regularly result in Kurd. *g-* (ASATRIAN/LIVSHITS 1994:95); Bal. *-ē-*, Kd. *-î-* make it appear questionable whether Kurd. *gîsk* may be connected to MP *wahīg* "kid" and its cognates (OInd. *vatsá-* "calf" etc., cf. BAILEY 1979:274a) as assumed by ASATRIAN/LIVSHITS 1994:95.

440 The word may have been borrowed from an Ind. language (e.g. Ur. *lōg* "people, family"). It is also possible that the word is not a recent loanword, cf. Prth. *lōg* "world", *lōgīg* "worldly" (borrowed from Middle Indic), but less likely semantically.

441 The reverse process is seen in *takāsur* "calm" (ELFENBEIN 1991:115), SHG *takāsur* "restless" (for secondary nasalisation, cf. p. 215ff.), BMC *taksur* "tension" for NP-Ar. *takāsul* "laziness, negligence". The meanings noted in SHG and BMC are surprising.

- *mōṭal* (ABG, BMC, EAL, SHG, FARRELL 2003:180) "car" for *mōṭar*;⁴⁴²
- *nalgis* (EAL) "narcissus" (NP *nargis*);
- *mālkēṭ* for Engl. "market" shows a popular etymology with (NP-Ar.) *māl* "goods" (FARRELL 2003:185);
- *zalar* (EVM) "harm" (NP-Ar. *zarar*) and *zalūr* (FARRELL 2003:180) "certainly" for *zarūr* (EAL) (NP-Ar. *zarūr*) "necessary" might be interpreted as a dissimilation;
- *balg*⁴⁴³ (EVM, SHG, NAWATA 1981:37) "leaf" (NP *barg*) might have been borrowed from Dari (thus ELFENBEIN 1963:23), cf. the variant *balg* besides *barg* noted by AFGĀNĪ-NAWĪS 1956:56;
- *dīwāl* (ABG, BMC, FBB, EAL, SHG) "wall" has probably been borrowed from Ur. *dīwāl/r* (borrowed from NP *dīwār*).⁴⁴⁴

The following cases are not or not necessarily loanwords:

- *istāl* (BMC, EAL⁴⁴⁵, SHG) besides *istār* "star" (Av. *star-*, NP *sitāra*, Prth. *astār(ag)*);
- *ōštālāēn*-⁴⁴⁶ is a (according to EAL 11, mainly EBal.) dialectal variant of the "double causative" *ōštārāēn*-⁴⁴⁷ of *ōšt-* / *ōštāt* "stand" (cf. p. 101);
- *bāzul* "wing"⁴⁴⁸ vs. Prth. *bāzūr*,⁴⁴⁹ Av. *°bāzura-*; the *l* may have been motivated by NP (Sistan) *panjul* "claw" (Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, personal communication);
- *als* "tear" is of doubtful existence (only found in MARSTON 1877 and EAL, the latter maybe taken from the former) besides usual *ars* (Av. *asru-*) which might have been borrowed from NP (thus EAL);

442 The variant *mōṭar* (probably borrowed from Pashto) is reported by FARRELL 2003:180. In addition, SHG explains *mōṭal* as *mōṭar-kār*.

443 The Bal. word must have been borrowed, cf. Prth. *wargar*, Sogd. *wrkr* (HENNING 1937:89, 1940:4). Apart from Parthian, a stem in *-r* is only found in Eastern Iranian (Sogdian, Khotanese). The existence of Av. *varəka-* is doubtful (HENNING 1940:4).

444 The NP variant *dīwāl* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:65) is maybe too rare to have been borrowed into Balochi. Pashto uses *dēwār*, *dēwāl*. ABG also has a variant *ḍīwāl* (cf. p. 182).

445 The classification of *istāl* as literary by BARKER/MENGAL 1969/II:596 might be the reason for ELFENBEIN's assumption (1985:229) that the variant *istāl* is the "better" one.

446 DTB, EAL; not mentioned by Geiger.

447 BMC, EAL; the simple causative is *ōštārēn-*. Cf. also V 1.7.8.

448 *bāzul* is found in COLLETT 1983 and EVM (*bāzūl* is likely to be a misprint for *bāzūl*). The more common variant is *bāzul* (for secondary nasalisation, cf. p. 215ff.). Baloch informants add that the word is also used in the sense of "arm of a baby" (pace ROSSI 1998:380, 420³).

449 It seems questionable whether one needs to read Prth. <b'zwr> with a long *ū* as do BOYCE 1977 and DURKIN-MEISTERER NST 2004:105b.

- *šapčal*, *čapčal* besides *šapčar* "bat" (originally "flying at night", HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560)⁴⁵⁰ might involve a popular etymology with (borrowed) *čal*- "go" (cf. p. 322) besides *čar(r)*- "turn";
- *hastal* "mule" (DTB, EAL), *istal* (GEB, EAL; SHG *istil*) vs. *istir* (SHG); note that there is no common Balochi word for this animal (EVM reports *gātī* (NP-Turk. *qāṭir*) for Turkmenistan, FBB *xačar* (Ur. *xaččar*) for Karachi),⁴⁵¹ some of the dialects presenting an obviously borrowed word. It thus seems probable that *hastal* etc. is also a loanword (NP *astar*, Kurd. *hêstir*).⁴⁵²

Then, there is a group of examples with *hl*:

- *hl* < OIr. *-r̥*: *puhl* "bridge", *pahlawān* "hero", these cases might be loanwords from Persian (cf. II 2.2.3.1);
- *hl* < OIr. *-fr*: *ṣahl* "low", *ṣuhl* "deep", here, it seems that the examples exhibit a secondary development, *gwahr* "cold (noun)" showing the regular development (cf. II 2.2.1.4.2);
- *hl* < OIr. *-xr*: *tahl* "bitter", *wahl* "crooked", again, *hr* (seen in *suhr* "red") may be the regular outcome although all the examples might have been borrowed from Persian (cf. II 2.2.1.4.2).

In contrast to the general merger of PIE **r,l* > PIr. *r*, Parthian preserves old *l* in some cases (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:213⁷⁹), but no example of old **l* is found which comes out as Bal. *l*. One might assume that the readiness to substitute *l* for *r* in Balochi has something to do with the Parthian heritage, but the tendency might as well be attributed to neighbouring languages (i.e. Dari, Pashto and Urdu). This is to a certain degree confirmed by the considerable number of loanwords where *l* appears in the place of *r* (cf. the examples above where the form with *l* may have been borrowed), which would speak for a rather late date of the process.⁴⁵³ It is thus not surprising that the substitution of *l* for *r* is a common phenomenon in the borrowed vocabulary of Karachi Balochi – a dialect in particularly close contact with a number of Ind. languages.

450 MPZ has *šawāg* "bat" which is a derivation of *šab* "night".

451 Both NP *qāṭir* and *xač(č)ar* come from Turkic, the origin of the word is Sogd. *xrtr'k* (HENNING 1946:723, for the history of the word, cf. also DOERFER III:392).

452 For a claim that *hastal* might have been borrowed from Kurdish, cf. p. 158f.

453 FARRELL 2003:180 assumes that the converse process is seen in *tōr*- "weigh" from Ur. *tōl-nā* (cf. BMC *tōl* "weighing; scales", same form in Urdu), but this assumption is not necessary since Si. has *tōraṇu* "to weigh". On the other hand, GCD *tōl-* / *tōlad-* (for past stems in *-aṭ-*, cf. p. 186) is a loanword from Urdu.

2.4.3 Vowel separators

There are quite a number of words with vowel hiatus caused by the loss of *č*, *ʻ* (cf. p. 63), *h* (cf. II 2.4.1.2, 3.2.3.1) or **i̇*. As a rule, this does not seem to present a problem to the speakers of Balochi (cf. p. 56, BUDDRUSS 1988:43), but even so, several consonants are in use (sometimes optional) as vowel separators, viz. *h*, *y* and *w*.

In some words, several vowel separators occur:

- *āyān*, *āhān*, *āwān* "those" (obl.pl. of the dem. pronoun *ā*, cf. p. 102f.),
- *sāyig*, *sā(h)ig* "shadow" (NP *sāya*, cf. p. 87),
- *grēw-* (SHG, ABG, BMC, FBB, EAL: Raxšānī), *grēh-* (EAL: Kečī, Coastal, Lāšārī, Eastern), *grēy-* (EAL: Sarawānī) vs. *g(i)rē-* (DTB) "weep".⁴⁵⁴

A special group is formed by the verbs containing **āia* > Bal. *ā* (cf. p. 109f.), which are found in the following forms:

- *ā-*, *āy-*, *āh-* "come",
- *ǰā-*, *ǰāy-*, *ǰāh-* "chew" (cf. p. 103),
- *zā-*, *zāy-*, *zāh-* "give birth",
- *sāy-*, *sāh-* "shave",
- *gā-*, *gāy-* "have sex".

The most common vowel separator is *h* (cf. *šā(h)ir* "poet" (NP-Ar. *šāʻir*), *mahī* "May"). The use of *h* as a vowel separator may be motivated by the existence of secondary *h* (mainly in word-initial position) which in turn is motivated by the dialectal loss of *h* (cf. II 2.4.1.2). The choice of vowel-separating consonants is used by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VII as a dialect marker. As will be seen below (II 3.2, not always in agreement with Elfenbein's findings), *h* is found in Southern and Western (maybe also Eastern) dialects, *w* and *y* in Western dialects, *y* also in the Bal. dialects of Iran.

Parthian has vowel-separating *h* (RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:179); a vowel-separating *h* also occurs in Middle Persian (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212).

454 The past stem is *grēt* (BMC, EAL: Raxšānī, Eastern; SOKOLOV 1956:81), *girē(n)t* (DTB), *grētk* (EAL: Kečī, Coastal, Sarawānī, Lāšārī), *grēxt* (EAL: Sarawānī), *grēht* (EAL: Raxšānī). *grē-* etc. cannot directly belong to Av. $\sqrt{\text{garz}}$ as GEIGER 1890:124 presumed (BARTHOLOMAE 1890:552, HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557). It may have been borrowed from NP *girī-*; if so, a hypercorrect substitution of *grē-* for *grī-* must have taken place (cf. II 3.1.2.3.2). MP *grīy-* is derived from **grādia-* by HENNING 1934:203 (cf. *miyān* < Av. *maʻdiāna-*), maybe **grda-* is also possible.

2.4.4 Phenomena in suffixes

2.4.4.1 OIr. suffixal *k*⁴⁵⁵

In spite of the regular development OIr. *k* > Bal. *k* (cf. II 2.1.1.1), suffixes reflecting OIr. *k* show an apparently arbitrary variation of *-k*, *-g* and zero, and many words are found with more than one suffixal variant. However, it may be possible to establish some regularities (in part already hinted at by GEIGER 1891:421f.):

k- suffix after long vowel

After a long vowel, it is predominantly *-g* which is found:

- *-īg*: e.g. *pārīg* "last year", *pīg* "fat", *šudīg* "hungry", *kānīg* "well";
- *-ūg*: e.g. *pahlūg* "ribs",⁴⁵⁶ *ǰātūg* "sorcerer";
- *-āg*: e.g. *urmāg* "date", *gurāg* "crow" (MPZ *warāγ*);
užnāg "bathing", *čarāg* "pasture, grazing" (from *čar-* / *čarit* "graze").

However, *-k* occurs as well.⁴⁵⁷

- *-īk*: e.g. *naz(z)īk* "near", *bandīk* "thread", *zamīk* "field";⁴⁵⁸
- *-ūk*: *zanūk* "chin";
- *-ōk*: e.g. *gōk* "cow", *nōk* "new";⁴⁵⁹
agentive suffix *-ōk* (MP *-ōg*), e.g. *wān-ōk* "student" (from *wān-* "read", cf. p. 101).

455 For cognates of words already mentioned in the preceding chapters and references to further discussion, cf. the index in V 2. In this subchapter, the OIr. protoforms of all suffixes are marked by * to indicate that not all of them necessarily derive from an attested OIr. suffix.

456 *pahlūg* is a loanword since OIr. (Av.) *parəsu-* would give Bal. *-rs-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:44). The meaning indicates that *pahlūg* has been borrowed from MP *pahlūg* "side, ribs" (vs. NP *pahlū* "side"). For further variants, see below and p. 197, 253, 268.

457 Some NP-Ar. words show pseudo-suffix with *-k*, e.g. *sundūk* (BMC) "box", *mahlūk* "people", EBal. *šarīx* (ABG) "partner" which have been borrowed from NP-Ar. *šandūq*, *maxlūq*, *šarīk*, respectively. Note that in those dialects which show gemination of consonants after *ī* and *ū* (cf. p. 242, 259), *-īk*, *-ūk* appear as *-īkk*, *-ūkk*, respectively.

458 According to GEIGER 1891:444, Bal. *zamīk* has been borrowed from Persian. If so, the source may have been MP *zamīk* (for the MPZ orthography, cf. KLINGENSCHMIT 2000:201³⁴). Cf. also p. 105.

459 Early NP <nwkrwz> "new year" found in Abū Nuwās (cf. HENNING 1958:88) is unlikely to represent NP †nōk° (vs. MP *nōg*, NP *nau*), but rather shows the use of the Arabic letter <k> for /g/ (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

In addition, suffixes without *-k/-g* occur:

- *-ī*: e.g. *lōgī* "wife" (from *lōg* "house");
- *-ū*: e.g. *pahlū* "ribs" (beside *pahlūg*, see above).

***k*-suffix after short vowel**

Conversely, after short vowels, predominantly *-k* is found:

- *-uk*: *bānuk* "lady" (NP *bānū*, MP *bānūg*⁴⁶⁰), *zānuk* "knee", *pīruk* "grandfather" (from *pīr* "old", cf. p. 149); *daǰuk(k)* "hedgehog";
-uk is also used as a diminutive suffix on names, e.g. *Māmaduk* from *Māmad* / *Muhammad* (RZEHAČEK 1995:211), *Maruk(k)* for *Maryam* (BADALKHAN 2003:287),⁴⁶¹
- *-ak*: e.g. *kitak* "insect", *gwarak* (also *gwarag*)⁴⁶² "lamb" (NP *barra*, MP, Prth. *warrag*); *ēwak* "alone";
- *-ik(k)*: *bačik(k)* (also *bač(č)*) "son, boy, child", *ǰanik(k)* "daughter, girl" (from *ǰan* "woman"), *šanik(k)* "young goat", *kučik(k)* "dog", *pahlik* (if existing, only in EAL), *pālunk* (EVM) vs. *pallūnk* (EAL) and the common *pahlūg* "ribs" (see above).

In addition, *-ag* is found in a huge number of words. Particularly interesting examples include words which cannot be interpreted as Pers. loanwords, e.g. *kōpag* "shoulder", *madag* "locust" (cf. p. 95), *mētag* "village" etc. Other words have obviously been

460 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:25 doubts the connection with Pers. *bān* "house" established by HORN 1893:41. GIPPERT 1993/I:35ff. draws the attention to MP <tk-b'nw> which in *Frahang-ī ōīm* translates Av. *damaṇō.padnī-* "lady of the house" (KLINGENSCHMITT 1972:23), and notes that °*padnī-* (with the NWIr. development of *dn* > *hn*, later > *n* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel) can indeed give *bān-*; The genuine SWIr. cognate of Av. *damaṇō.padnī-* can be seen in MP *bān-bišn* "queen". Bal. *bānuk* is thus highly likely to be a Pers. borrowing.

461 *-uk* combines with an element *l* of unclear origin to give another diminutive suffix (which replaces other suffixes), e.g. *ǰinik* "girl" → *ǰinaluk* "little girl", *piš(š)ī* "cat" → *pišluk* "kitten" (FARRELL 1990:48).

462 The Bal. word goes back to **u*araka- (the same applies to Psht. *warg*, MORGENSTIERNE 2003:89) while the NP one comes from **u*arnaka- (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:88, HOFFMANN 1982:85f.); **u*arnaka- would result in Bal. †*gwanak* (cf. II 2.2.3.3), and a borrowing from MP *warrag* would probably yield †*gwar(r)ag*. GEIGER 1891:421 maintains that the correct form would be *gwaruk* which, however, does not seem to be attested and could moreover fall together with *gurk* "wolf" (for *gwa* > *gu*-, cf. II 2.1.3.3.1, 3.1.3.4).

borrowed from Persian (some of them maybe in MP times), e.g. *gušnag* "hungry" (NP *gušna*, cf. p. 100). The infinitive in most Bal. dialects also shows this suffix which is attached to the present stem, e.g. *kan-ag* "to do", *war-ag* "to eat".

Bal. words with *-ag* often have variants with *-a* (GEIGER 1889:7), and in some dialects (at least in the Raxšānī dialect described by BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxix, SPOONER 1967:58⁴⁶³), *-a* and *-ag* are used as sandhi variants, with *-ag* being used if the next word begins with a vowel, and the variant *-a* in other contexts. The variation of *-ag* and *-a* is even applied to nouns of Ar. origin, e.g.

- BMC, SHG *pāida(g)* "advantage" from NP-Ar. *fā'ida*,
- BMC *xazāna(g)* "treasury" from NP-Ar. *xizāna*,
- FBB, SHG *kīssag*, BMC, EAL *kīsa(g)* "pocket" from NP-Ar. *kīsa*.

***k*-suffix after consonant**

It is striking that *-k* is particularly frequent after sibilants and *n*:⁴⁶⁴

- *āsk* "gazelle" (NP *āhū*), *bāsk* "arm" (NP *bāzū*), *rōpāsk*⁴⁶⁵ "fox" (NP *rōbāh*, Prth. *rōbās*), *kurōsk* "cock" (NP *xurōs*, Prth. *xrōsag* "caller"), *gwask* "calf", *makisk* "fly";
- *bušk*⁴⁶⁶ "mane" (NP *buš*), *xargōšk* "rabbit" (NP *xargōš*), *mušk* "mouse";
- *drāčk* "tree" (see below), *kučk* "shell";⁴⁶⁷
- *burwānk*⁴⁶⁸ "eyebrow" (NP *abrū*, MP *brūg*), *šupānk* "shepherd" (NP, Prth. *šubān*), *rōtink* besides *rōtīnk*⁴⁶⁹ "intestines" (NP *rūda*, MP *rōdīg*).

463 SPOONER 1967:58 notes that this is the case "in most dialects, except Sarāvānī". It remains to be studied, however, which dialects do show this phenomenon.

464 Two examples of *-k* after C are only attested in Brahui: *dask* "thread" (Balochi has *dasag* according to EVM), *rōtk* "root" (Bal. *rōtag*, which cannot, as GEIGER 1890:144 presumed, belong to *rud-* "grow"; BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553 compares Av. *uruša-* "growth"). A number of the following words also have variants without *-k*.

465 Most sources have the NP loanword *rōbāh*, cf. also p. 87.

466 DTB, EAL. *bušk* may be a NP loanword (thus HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560). It is noteworthy that it seems to occur in the Eastern dialects only, WBal. (BMC) showing the hypercorrect form *bučk*.

467 GEIGER 1891:422 has *gwačk* "calf" (*gwač(č)* in all other sources), for which cf. p. 280.

468 BMC, EAL; otherwise *burwān*. For further variants, cf. p. 196, 236.

MORGENSTIERNE 1948:255f. considers *burwānk* as Eastern Balochi, corresponding to a supposed SWBal. *burbānk* (without giving sources for the latter), which seems to be a rather unfounded assumption. The word seems to represent *brū (cf. OInd. *b^hrū-*, NP *abrū*) + the obl.pl. suffix *-ān*, thus *brūān > *bruwān > *burwān* (for metatheses of liquids, cf. II 3.1.3.1).

469 Both in EAL and MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49, the other sources have *rōt*, cf. also p. 217.

The existence of a considerable number of words ending in *-nk* may be the reason for the intrusion of secondary *n* in nouns in *-k* (cf. p. 216f.), and for the suffix substitution seen in *pallūnk* (EAL), *pahlunk*⁴⁷⁰ vs. *pahlūg* "ribs". *-nk* is thus not, as claimed by Bray, a Brahui suffix: it is indeed found in Br. words of Ir. origin (ROSSI 1971).

Words with several *k*-suffixes

Since there is no difference in the meaning of most of the suffixes listed above, they are interchangeable to a certain degree,⁴⁷¹ and words with several variants occur, e.g.

- *ādēnk*, *ādēnag*, *ādēn* "mirror",
- *tank*, *tang* "narrow" (cf. p. 244), *tanak* "thin" (see below),
- *čūčag*, *čūčūk*, *čūč* "little finger" (cf. p. 293),
- *sā'ig*, *sāyag*, *sāi* "shadow",
- *šudīg*, *šudīk* "hungry",
- *hāik*, *haig*, *āyag*, *āig* "egg",
- *pahlik* (EAL) vs. common *pahlū(g)* "ribs",
- EBal. *ḡink^h* besides more common *ḡanik(k)*, *ḡinik(k)* "girl" (cf. p. 235),
- EBal. *zanāx* vs. SWBal. *zanūk* "chin" (cf. p. 291) etc.,
- *nākū(g)* (SHG; GEIGER 1890:138) vs. normal *nākō* "uncle".

There are also a number of words with a *k*-suffix the NP cognate of which shows a different one or none at all, e.g.

- *bāsk* "arm" (NP *bāzū*),
- *šupānk* "shepherd" (NP *šubān*),
- *tun(n)īk*, *tun(n)īg* besides *tun(n)ag* "thirsty" (NP *tišna*),
- *hāmag* "raw" vs. NP *xām*.

Due to this variation, there are cases of secondary *-k* and *-g*, e.g. *čūrīk* "ring around the wrist", *mundrīk* "ring" from Ur. *čūrī*, *mundrī*, respectively, *hālīg* "empty" (NP-Ar. *xālī*).⁴⁷² Conversely, there is a loss of *-k* in *drāč* "tree" (MAYER 1910, EAL: Coastal) vs. *drāčk* (EAL: Kēčī), usual *dračk* < *dračaka- via *darčk (cf. p. 189).

470 The replacement of *hl* by *ll* seen in *pallūnk* might have been motivated by the existence of *pallaw* (BMC, EAL) "side, corner". For the dialectal changes affecting *ah*, cf. II 3.2.2.3.

471 Parallel phenomena occur in other Ir. languages, e.g. Khotanese (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983a:359).

472 Similarly, a suffix *-k* is often attached to NP and (NP-)Ar. loanwords in Choresmian, e.g. *k'lk* "goods" (NP *kālā*), *f'ydk* "advantage" (NP-Ar. *fā'ida*, see also above), cf. MACKENZIE 1990:111.

Possible explanations

Given the multitude of suffixes, the question is whether they may be derived from Old Iranian by Bal. soundlaws (if so, which ones), whether some of them may have been borrowed (if so, which ones), and how the remaining ones may be explained. Several explanations are possible. What follows is what seems to me the most likely solution.

The sound laws otherwise assumed for Balochi would suggest that the suffixes containing *-k* are inherited since in other contexts, OIr. *k* corresponds to Bal. *k*. The suffixes with *-g*, on the other hand, are identical with those found in MP and may have been borrowed from there.⁴⁷³ This assumption may be confirmed by the following:

- The suffix *-ūg* shows unetymological length of the vowel (e.g. *ǰātūg* vs. Av. *yātu-*, OInd. *yātú-*). For MP, however, the length of the vowel is likely to be regular.⁴⁷⁴
- On the other hand, the agentive suffix *-ōk* does not seem to be borrowed since there is no corresponding formation in Persian.

This would imply that words with *-ūg* which are unlikely to be loanwords show an adjustment of the suffix (e.g. *ǰātūg* replacing **ǰātuk*).

Following this line of argumentation, one may add that

- *-īk* can be derived from OIr. **-i̯a-ka-* by Bal. sound laws (cf. p. 105);⁴⁷⁵
- *-īg* would be the regular MP result of both **-i̯a-ka-* and **-i-ka-* (the latter parallel to **-u-ka-* > *-ūg*, see above) and may have been borrowed into Balochi;
- similarly, the MP agentive suffix *-āg*⁴⁷⁶ might have been borrowed into Balochi;
- on the other hand, *-uk* would be the genuine Bal. outcome of OIr. **-u-ka-*;

473 One sure case of borrowing is *māhīg* "fish" (cf. p. 136).

474 There is a lengthening of OIr. *-i/uC#* > MP/NP *-ī/ūC*, noteworthy examples being the past stem suffix *-īd* < **-i-ta-* and the suffix MP *-ūg* < **-u-ka-* (observation by Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication). The context and conditions of this change remain to be studied. At least as a starting point, one might perhaps formulate this lengthening process as occurring in the context $[i, u] > [ī, ū] / _D\#$. This would explain all cases of unexpected vowel length noted by SALEMANN 1901:272 and HORN 1901:26, 31f. with the exception of MP *wizīr* "judgment" (vs. Av. *vīčīra-*), which may have been influenced by MP *huzīhr*, Prth. *hužīhr*, NP *xuǰīr* "pretty" and NP *āžīr* "clever" (< OIr. *°ēiðra-*); NP *būn* "fundament" adduced by HORN 1901:32 might represent a result of PIr. **budna-* (cf. OInd. *bud^hná-*) differing dialectally from the usual form *bun* (for which cf. p. 299).

475 Note the specific derivation of the suffix *-īk* in NP *nazdīk* by KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:213⁷⁷.

476 *-āg* does not go back to OIr. **-āya-ka-* (pace SALEMANN 1901:278), but to **-āka-* as is shown by the corresponding suffixes in Khotanese and Sogdian (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

- *-ūk* might then be the result of a contamination of *-ūg* and *-uk*;
- *-ī* and *-ū* are most likely to have been borrowed from NP.⁴⁷⁷

Since the vowelless suffix *-k* is found predominantly after certain consonants, it seems to represent OIr. **-ǃ-ka-* in specific contexts,⁴⁷⁸ viz. (at least) *č, š, s, n + -V-ka- > Bal. -čk, -šk, -sk, -nk*: **bāzu-ka- > *bāzk > bāsk* "arm", **ādai(a)na-ka- > ādēnk* "mirror", **tanu/a-ka- > tank* "narrow". This confirms the argument made above of *bānuk* "lady" being a loanword to which *-uk* was added since otherwise one would expect †*bānk*.

The suffixes which remain to be explained are *-ak, -ag* and *-ik(k)*, the latter being found in a few words only. Either *-ag* and/or *-ak* may be the result of the popular OIr. suffix *-aka*⁴⁷⁹ in contexts other than those which produced Bal. *-k*, i.e. at least after stops where syncopation may have been prevented by the clumsy consonant clusters which would otherwise have emerged. Several explanations seem to be possible:

- if *-ag* was the Bal. result of OIr. *-aka-* (cf. the extremely common use of *-ag*), *-ak* might have been borrowed from the NP diminutive suffix *-ak* (thence the use of *-ak* in words like *kitak* "insect", *gwarak* "lamb").
- Alternatively, the genuine Bal. outcome of OIr. *-aka-* may be *-ak*, the suffix *-ag* being borrowed from MP. Since borrowed suffixes may be used on inherited words (cf. *ǰātūg* above), the existence of e.g. *kōpag* "shoulder", *madag* "locust" which cannot be interpreted as MP/NP loanwords is not a good counterargument.

For systematic reasons, the second solution would seem to be preferred: it corresponds to the interpretation of the suffixes *-ūg* and *-īg* as borrowings from MP (see above) on the one hand and to the development of OIr. *k* otherwise observed in Balochi and to the assumption of OIr. **-u-ka-, *-i-ka-* yielding Bal. *-ik, -uk* made above on the other. *-ik(k)* may have been borrowed from NP *-ak* with a palatalisation having first occurred in *bačik(k)* "boy" (cf. p. 193f.) and subsequently generalised to the other words (note that *bač(č)* from which *bačik(k)* is derived is a loanword, cf. p. 100); the gemination may be due to the borrowing process (cf. II 3.3.1.5), it is also possible that the suffix has been borrowed from Persian at a time when it still contained geminate *k*.

477 The abstract suffix *-ī* has likewise probably been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 121).

478 For further discussion of syncopation in Balochi, cf. II 3.1.2.1.

479 This suffix could be attached to any OIr. noun without noticeable change of meaning, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212)

In any case, it remains possible to derive *-ik(k)* from **-ikka-* < **-i-ka-ka-* or even from OIr. **-a-ka-ka-*⁴⁸⁰ with a palatalisation of **akk* occurring in *bačik(k)* (see above).

The suffix *-a* which predominantly occurs as a variant of *-ag* is most likely to be borrowed from NP.

The diminutive suffix *-uk* is occasionally found in the form *-uk(k)*, probably by analogy to *-ik(k)*, thence *dačuk(k)* / *žaduk(k)* "hedgehog" (cf. p. 227). The motivation for the gemination in *āzmānak(k)*, *āsmānak(k)* "story" (cf. p. 186) and in BMC *hīwakk* "alone" (which might be due to some misinterpretation of probably genuine *ēwak*, cf. p. 103) is not clear.

The possible development of the OIr. suffixes containing *-ka-* into Balochi and Persian may thus be summarised as follows, the MP and NP suffixes which have been borrowed into Balochi marked with underlining:

OIr.	Balochi	MP	NP	
*-au(a)-ka-	-ōk	-ōg		
*-ā-ka-		<u>-āg</u>	-ā	
*-iia-ka-	-īk			
*-i-ka-	-ik	<u>-īg</u>	<u>-ī</u>	
*-u-ka-	-uk	/č, š, n _: -k	<u>-ūg</u>	<u>-ū</u>
*-a-ka-	-ak		<u>-ag</u>	<u>-a</u>
*-a-ka-ka-	-ik(k)		-ak	
Bal. suffixes deriving from OIr. suffixes with <i>-k-</i>				

480 Thus the explanation of the NP diminutive suffix *-ak* by KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212, the double suffix being necessary because simple **-ka-* had lost its function; other cases of NP *-k* may be explained in a similar way, e.g. *tanuk* "thin" < **tanu-ka-ka-* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212). Similarly, Bal. *tanak* may go back to **tana-ka-ka-* > **tanakk* while **tana/u-ka-* yields Bal. *tank* "narrow". In Zazaki, words with *-e* (< OIr. *-aka-*) are classed as feminines while the diminutive suffix is *-ik* (**-ka-ka-*).

2.4.4.2 *-b*

The following words show an unexpected *-b* (GEIGER 1891:433):⁴⁸¹

- *srumb* "hoof" might have got its *-b* in analogy to NP *sum(b)* "hoof" (cf. p. 130).
- HÜBSCHMANN 1895:63 assumes that the addition of *-b* in *dumb* "tail" (vs. Av. *dūma-* etc.) is specific to Persian and that those Ir. languages which show *dumb* have borrowed it from NP *dunb*.

On the other hand, the *-b* of *namb* "wet, dew" vs. NP *nam* need not be secondary if HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559 is right in supposing that it comes from < *nabna-.

Conversely, the *-b* seen in MP *aškamb* (MACKENZIE 1986:13, also *aškambag*) "belly, womb" has been lost in *šikam*, EVM *uškumag* "belly, stomach". The Bal. word may have been borrowed from NP *šikam* (thus ELFENBEIN 1963:19), which is all the more probable as *uškumag* shows a labialisation of the vowel which seems to occur typically in loanwords (cf. p. 286, for the first vowel, cf. p. 204), so this loss need not be attributed to Balochi. The word is likely to be connected to OIr. $\sqrt{\text{skamb}}$ (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{skamb}}^h$) "fasten, make firm", cf. MPM *padiškamb* "room" (for further cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:413b).

481 For *rumb-* "haste", cf. p. 95.

3. Common Balochi > contemporary varieties

This chapter treats the changes which for one reason or the other seem to be later than the stage of Common Balochi. These phenomena, which for the most part have not been accounted for systematically so far, are grouped according to whether they are to be attributed to specific dialects (II 3.2), seem to be restricted to loanwords (II 3.3) or neither of these (II 3.1). As Bal. dialectology and lexicology are in their infancy still, this arrangement is highly tentative and subject to change as new findings are made.

The following table presents the phenomena treated in this chapter. The order is parallel to that of the table in II 2.1. Note that the changes listed below are in the majority not sound laws, but occur only sporadically and/or in specific dialects. Some refer more to the phonetic than the phonemic level.

Common Balochi	output	details in chapter
C	geminated C voiced C ∅	3.1.1.3, 3.1.3.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1, 3.3.1.5 3.3.1.6 3.2.2.2
-C	-CV ∅	3.2.1.2 3.2.2.3
geminated -C	simple -C	3.1.1.1
CC	CVC	3.1.2.4
K /V_	X	3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.3.1
KL	LK	3.3.1.1
T	T ^h D	3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1 3.3.1.6
-TL	-DL	3.3.1.2
-D	-T	3.3.1.4
miscellaneous metatheses		3.1.1.2, 3.2.1.1.3, 3.2.2.1, 3.3.1.1
miscellaneous assimilations		3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.1.3, 3.3.1.2
miscellaneous dissimilations		3.3.1.3

<i>p</i>	<i>p^h</i> <i>f</i> <i>b</i> <i>w</i>	3.2.1.1.1 3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.2.1 3.3.1.6.1 3.3.1.6.2
<i>pt</i>	<i>tt</i>	3.2.1.1.2
<i>pš</i>	<i>šp</i>	3.1.1.2
<i>ps</i>	<i>sp</i>	3.1.1.2
<i>t</i>	<i>t^h</i> <i>θ</i> <i>s</i> <i>ð</i> <i>t̥</i>	3.2.1.1.1 3.2.1.1.1 3.2.1.1.2 3.3.1.7
* <i>kt</i>	<i>xt, tk, (h)t</i>	see <i>k</i>
<i>pt</i>	<i>tt</i>	3.2.1.1.2
<i>sp</i>	<i>ps</i>	3.2.2.1
<i>art</i>	<i>ārt</i>	3.1.2.2.2
<i>k</i>	<i>k^h</i> <i>x</i> <i>g</i>	3.2.1.1.1 3.2.1.1.1 3.3.1.6.1
* <i>kt</i>	<i>xt</i> <i>tk</i> <i>(h)t</i>	3.2.1.1.1 3.2.2.1 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1
<i>kš</i>	<i>šk</i>	3.1.1.2
<i>ks</i>	<i>sk</i>	3.1.1.2
<i>b</i>	<i>β</i> <i>w</i>	3.2.1.1.1 3.3.1.6.2
<i>d</i>	<i>ð</i> <i>d̥</i> <i>z</i>	3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.3.1 3.1.1.4 3.2.1.1.2
<i>rd</i>	<i>ṛ, r</i>	3.1.3.5
<i>g</i>	<i>g̊</i>	3.2.1.1.1
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ṛ</i>	3.2.3.1
<i>č</i>	<i>č^h</i> <i>š</i>	3.2.1.1.1
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ž</i>	3.2.1.1.1

<i>š</i>	<i>ž</i>	3.1.1.3
<i>pš</i> <i>kš</i>	<i>č</i> <i>šp</i> <i>šk</i>	3.1.1.2
<i>s</i> <i>sp</i> <i>ps</i> <i>ks</i>	<i>š</i> <i>ps</i> <i>sp</i> <i>sk</i>	3.1.1.3 3.2.2.1 3.1.1.2
<i>h</i> <i>VhC</i>	∅ <i>ṼC</i>	3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.3.3 3.1.3.2, 3.2.3.3
<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>	3.2.1.1.2
<i>n</i> <i>nC</i> <i>Vn</i> <i>Vnt</i>	∅ allophones CC <i>Ṽ</i> V <i>Ṽ</i>	3.1.1.3 3.2.3.1 3.1.1.3 3.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3, 3.2.4.3 3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.3 3.2.3.3
<i>r</i> <i>rK</i> <i>rd</i> <i>rV</i> <i>Vr</i> <i>art</i> <i>ard</i>	<i>ṛ</i> Kr <i>ṛ</i> Vr <i>rV</i> <i>ārt</i> <i>ār, āṛ</i>	3.1.1.4 3.3.1.1 3.1.3.5 3.1.3.1 3.1.2.2.2 3.1.3.5
<i>y-</i> <i>ya</i>	∅ <i>i</i> <i>ē</i>	3.3.1.7.2 3.3.2.1 3.2.3.3
<i>w</i> <i>C(u)wa-</i> <i>aw</i> <i>awa</i>	<i>w^h</i> /{#,C}_ <i>g-, b-</i> Cu- (u)w <i>ō</i>	3.2.1.1.1 3.3.1.7.1 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3 3.1.3.4 3.2.1.3
V	Vn, <i>Ṽ</i> ∅	3.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3 3.1.2.1, 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2, 3.2.3.2, 3.3.2.1

\bar{V}	\check{V}	3.1.2.2.1, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2, 3.3.2.2
\check{V}	\bar{V}	3.1.2.2.2, 3.3.2.2
VV	VhV VwV VyV	3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1 3.2.3.1 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1
Vn	\check{V}	3.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3, 3.2.4.3
Vnt	V \check{V}	3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.3 3.2.3.3
$\check{V}CC$ $\bar{V}C$	$\bar{V}C$ $\check{V}CC$	3.1.3.1
<i>a</i>	\bar{a} <i>i</i> <i>u</i> <i>e, o</i> \emptyset allophones	3.1.2.2.2 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.3.4, 3.2.1.2, 3.3.2.3 3.1.2.3.4, 3.3.2.3 3.2.4.2 3.1.2.1, 3.2.3.2, 3.3.2.1 3.2.3.2
$\check{a}hC$ <i>art</i> <i>ard</i> <i>aw</i> <i>awa</i> C(<i>u</i>) <i>wa</i> <i>ya</i>	$\check{a}C, \bar{a}hC$ $\bar{a}rt$ $\bar{a}r, \bar{a}r$ (<i>u</i>) <i>w</i> \bar{o} Cu- <i>i</i> \bar{e}	3.2.3.3 3.1.2.2.2 3.1.3.5 3.1.3.4 3.2.1.3 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3 3.3.2.1 3.2.3.3
$\check{a}-$	$y\check{a}-$	3.2.4.1
<i>i</i>	\bar{i} <i>a</i> <i>u</i> \emptyset allophones	3.1.2.2.2 3.1.2.3.4, 3.2.1.2, 3.3.2.3 3.1.2.3.4, 3.3.2.3 3.3.2.1 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2
<i>ihC</i>	$\bar{e}C$	3.1.3.2, 3.2.3.3

<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i> <i>a</i> <i>i</i> allophones	3.1.2.2.2 3.2.1.2, 3.3.2.3 3.1.2.3.1 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2
<i>u-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	3.2.3.2
<i>uhC</i>	<i>ōC</i> <i>ūC</i>	3.1.3.2, 3.2.3.3 3.1.3.2
<i>C(u)wa</i>	<i>Cu-</i>	3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3
<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	3.1.2.2.1, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2
<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i> <i>ū</i> <i>ē</i>	3.1.2.2.1 3.1.2.3.1 3.1.2.3.2
<i>ū</i>	<i>u</i> <i>ī</i> <i>ō</i>	3.1.2.2.1 3.1.2.3.1, 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2, 3.2.4 3.1.2.3.2
<i>ē</i>	<i>e</i> <i>ī</i> <i>ai</i> <i>īe</i>	3.2.4.2 3.1.2.3.2 3.1.2.3.3 3.2.4.2
<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i> <i>au</i>	3.1.2.3.2 3.1.2.3.3
<i>ō-</i>	<i>ūe</i> <i>wō-</i>	3.2.4.2 3.2.3.2
<i>ai</i>	<i>ē, ī</i> <i>ei</i>	3.3.2.2 3.2.4.2
<i>au</i>	<i>ō</i>	3.3.2.2
Development of sounds from Common Balochi into the contemporary varieties		

3.1 Changes not specific to certain dialects

The phenomena treated here are those which cannot be attributed to a specific dialect or group of dialects (yet), including those which occur in some variety(ies) of more than one of the main three dialect groups. Some might or will be due to contact with a neighbouring language and thus affect (mainly or only) those Bal. idioms geographically nearest to that language, irrespective of the affiliation of the Bal. dialect(s) in question. It is quite probable that with further research, it will be possible to attribute at least some of the following phenomena to specific dialects.

3.1.1 Consonants

3.1.1.1 Shortening of geminates

CBal. geminated (long) consonants (cf. II 1.1.1) only occur after short vowels.¹ Those Bal. assimilation processes which result in geminates (cf. the table in II 2.1) are likely to have done so irrespective of the length of the preceding vowel first, the geminates being reduced to simple consonants after long vowels later:

- *čam(m)* "eye", *tun(n)* "thirst", WBal. *pis(s)* "father" vs. *mās* "mother", *ās* "fire".²

3.1.1.2 Metatheses

Metatheses are a frequent phenomenon in Balochi.³ Some of them seem to be characteristic for specific dialects (cf. p. 234, 240f.). The more generally occurring ones are those involving a stop and *s* or *š*; those with *p* seem to be of a sporadic nature, those with *k* apparently operate as sound-laws:

CBal. -*pš* > *šp* (GEIGER 1891:436):

- *trušp* "sour" (EAL, GEB, SHG) can be derived by metathesis from *trupš* (Prth. *trifš*, cf. p. 145).

1 For dialectal gemination after some long vowels, cf. p. 242, 258f.

2 In the case of the other sound changes producing geminates, there are no examples with long vowels.

3 The same is true for several neighbouring languages, e.g. Dari (cf. p. 265), Pashto (GEIGER 1893:218) and Brahui (MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:8). For metatheses involving a liquid and a vowel, cf. II 3.1.3.1, for metatheses in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.1. If *ars* "tear" (cf. p. 160) is not a loanword from NP, it belongs here, too.

CBal. -ps > -sp:

- *waps-* (DTB, FBB, EAL: Lāšārī, Coastal, SHG) "go to sleep" is changed to *wasp-* (NP, Prth. *xusp-*) especially in the Western dialects (BMC, EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, EVM, NAWATA 1981:17, BUDDRUSS 1988:83), but not only in these (ABG, EAL: Kēčī).

In *aps*, *hāps*, *yaps*⁴ "horse" for more usual *asp*, the reverse process occurs, maybe motivated by the idea of making a "correct" Bal. equivalent for NP *asb*.

CBal. -kš > -šk (GEIGER 1891:436):

- *bašk-* / *baškāt* "forgive, bestow" (NP *baxš-* / *baxšīd*, Prth. *baxš-* / *baxt*, cf. also p. 113);
- *bušk-* (/ *buxt^ha*) "let go, go off (shoot)" is limited to DTB and EAL;
- *ša-wašk-* (/ *ša-waxt*, *ša-wašt*) "sell" (Av. *vaxš-*, cf. p. 117);
- *waškī* (DTB, EAL) for *wakšī* (ABG, EAL) "wild animal" represents NP-Ar. *waḥšī* with a noteworthy reflex of the non-standard CNP pronunciation *waxšī* (cf. p. 66);
- *āšk* (BMC, EVM) "that side, the other side", *ēšk* (BMC), *išk*⁵ (EVM) "this side" (obl. *āškā* "over there", *ēškā* "here") involves the same metathesis if it is a compound from the dem.pron. *ā*, *ē* (cf. V 1.2) and *kaš* "armpit" (cf. p. 92) in its zero-grade form *-kš-, thus *ā/ē-kš > ā/ēšk (BUDDRUSS 1974:28ff.).⁶

The only counterexamples found so far are *bakš-* / *bakšī* "forgive" and *wakšī* "wild", both besides variants with metathesis, so that *bakš-* / *bakšī* may well be a loanword. The metathesis -kš- > -šk- may thus be considered a regular change for Bal. words.

CBal. -ks > -sk:

- *taskīr* (GEIGER 1891:461) "error" besides *taksīr* (EAL) from NP-Ar. *taqṣīr*;

4 For *hāps*, cf. p. 158, for *yaps*, cf. p. 260.

5 The vowel of *išk* may have been assimilated to that of *idā* "here" (BUDDRUSS 1974:39).

6 While it is correct that *āšk*, *ēšk*, *išk* are only known from some WBal. sources, it is doubtful whether the use or non-use of these or similar expressions is a good criterion for establishing dialect boundaries as does ELFENBEIN 1966:8. It might also be due to chance that the formations are not attested from other dialects, and they are not found in the sources treating the dialect of Afghanistan (NAWATA 1981, BUDDRUSS 1988) which is very closely related to that of EVM (Turkmenistan Balochi) either.

- MORGENSTIERNE's etymology (1932:43) of *duskīč*⁷ "sister-in-law (husband's / wife's sister)"⁸ as from **duxθrī-čī* implies a metathesis (cf. p. 90).

The consonant cluster *ks* is only found in

- *duksīč* (only SPOONER 1967:67 and EAL) and
- in loanwords, e.g. *maksad* "purpose" < NP-Ar. *maqṣad*, EBal. *aksarā* "generally" < Ur. *aksar* "all together".⁹
- *diks* "CD" for Engl. *disc* (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication) shows *sk* > *ks* in a recent loanword.

One may thus assume that in inherited words, the change *-ks-* > *-sk-* operates as a rule.

3.1.1.3 Assimilations¹⁰

CBal. *š* > *ž* (cf. GEIGER 1891:426):

Most assimilations of *š* to a following voiced consonant involve a change of *šm* > *žm*. Since old *šm* is assimilated to *m(m)* (cf. II 2.2.2.2), words which exhibit *žm* < *šm* must either show secondary developments (cf. p. 93) or *š* from sources other than PIE *s.

- *užnāg*, (*h*)*ūžnāg*¹¹ "bathing", *pažm*, *pašm*¹² "wool", *gužnag*, *gušnag*¹³ "hungry", *mēžmurg*, *mēšmurg* "pelican"¹⁴ have been borrowed from NP;

7 The sources are FBB, SHG, BMC, EVM, EAL. EVM (i.e. ZARUBIN 1932:100) *duskīč* might be a typing error for *duskīč*.

8 For semantic details, cf. p. 306.

9 The etymology of EBal. *aks-* "sleep" is not clear, but the word is not genuinely Eastern Balochi in view of its post-vocalic *k*. The past stem *akast^h-* (sic) and the ipr. *biakis* seem to suggest, moreover, that *aks-* is a syncopated form of **aka(?)s-*, so that the cluster might be secondary.

10 For other sorts of assimilations, cf. p. 235, 267.

11 NP *ušnān* "washing herb" is compared to NP *šinā* etc. "swimming" by BAILEY 1979:466b. *š-* of *šinā* seems to be due to some sandhi condition (HORN 1893:176). Prth. has *snāž-* "swim".

12 Qualified as a loanword by EAL 120. For cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:249, for the variant *pažam*, cf. p. 207. The genuine form could be *p^hīm*, if it exists (it seems to be only attested in LEECH 1838, cf. GEIGER 1891:434) and if it is to be derived from something like **pašm(i)a-* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49). As OIr. *čašman-* gives Bal. *čam(m)* "eye" (cf. p. 126) etc., it seems rather unlikely that **pašm(i)a-* would result in *p^hīm*.

13 For further discussion, cf. p. 100, for genuine Bal. *šudīg*, cf. p. 92, 105.

14 With regard to the fact that Kurdish has the same word, HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 considers it as a loanword from NP. *mēš* "sheep" and *murg* "bird" (originally NWIr.) can also, but need not, be loanwords (GEIGER 1891:444), cf. Prth. *mēš* and *mury*. For *murg*, cf. also p. 147.

- *āžmān* "sky" may come from **āšmān*, but the reason for *š* here is not clear;¹⁵
- *rōžnā* (ABG, SHG), *rōšnā* (SHG) "light (adj.)", *rōžnāī* (BMC, SHG, EAL), *rōšnāī* (ABG, BMC, FBB, SHG, EAL) "light (subst.)" is likely to have been borrowed from NP *rōšan* "light (adj.)", *rōšanā*, *rōšanā'ī* "light (subst.)" (cf. p. 114).

Other assimilations of *š* are seen in the following words:

- *pēž-dār-* "show" (only in PIERCE 1874) for *pēš-dār-* (for *dār-*, cf. p. 320); *pēšdah*, *pēždah* "pistol". If *pēš* comes from **paitiā* > OP *paišiyā* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:214⁸²),¹⁶ it is a Pers. loanword in Balochi, and the same would apply to Prth. *pēš*.
- *až* (reported in GEB, DTB, EAL, SHG) is likely to have originated as a sandhi variant of *aš* "of" (EBal. equivalent for SWBal. *ač*), it is indeed reported to be used in front of voiced consonants;¹⁷ *ža* (EAL) may either be a sandhi variant of EBal. *š(a)* (cf. p. 85) or modelled on *ša*.
- EBal. *āž-gēž* (besides SWBal. *ās-gēj*)¹⁸ "lighter" is less likely to be a case of *ž* for *s* (*ās* "fire") as GEIGER 1891:426 assumes, but the first member probably is *āč* "fire" (for which cf. p. 283), its EBal. variant would be **āš* (not attested as simplex) and may then have been assimilated to the second member of the compound.

15 One might be tempted to compare YAv. *ašn-* (obl. of *asman-*) here. However, it is hard to see how something like *ašn-* could have escaped the Bal. reduction *šN* > *N(N)* (cf. II 2.2.2.2). As *āžmān* also exists in Balochi (cf. p. 190), MOŠKALO 1991:33, 38 assumes EBal. sporadic change of *sm* > *žm* for which *āžmān* would be the only example. Similarly, GEIGER 1891:426 assumes a sporadic change of *s* > *ž*, the only other example being *āžgēž* which may be explained otherwise (see below). It might be possible that *āžmān* has been influenced by a word for "moon" found e.g. in Zaz. *ašme*, Talyshi *ovšym* "moon" (PIREJKO 1976); for further discussion of this word, cf. BENVENISTE 1936:230f. (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication).

16 GERSHEVITCH 1964:87 derives NP *pēš* from **pašā-*, still considering Bal. *pēš* a NP borrowing (GERSHEVITCH 1964:78).

17 It seems that this information noted by GEIGER 1891:426 goes back exclusively to GLADSTONE 1874:5 (GEIGER 1890:112), though.

18 *āž-gēž* occurs in HITTU RAM 1881, *āž-giž* (with a quasi-zero grade second member) in GLADSTONE 1874, *ās-gēj* in Cod. Or. 2439 of the British Museum (GEIGER 1890:114). For *ās*, cf. p. 89, for *gēj-* "swing", cf. p. 98, 229.

Distant assimilations involving *s*, *š* and *č* (cf. GEIGER 1891:436):¹⁹

- *čapčal* besides *šapčal* "bat" (cf. p. 161);
- *duškīš* (EAL: EBal.) "sister-in-law" instead of EBal. **duskīš* for SWBal. *duskīč* (cf. p. 90, 178);
- *šarōš* "elbow" (only in LEECH 1838) for usual *srōš* (cf. p. 131, 205);
- *šīšin* (several EBal. sources, cf. GEIGER 1890:146) "needle" for *sīšin* (DTB etc.) which is the equivalent of SWBal. *sūčin* (cf. p. 85, 198, 200);
- *šašt* "60" (MOCKLER 1877) for usual *šast*,²⁰
- *šašt-* / *šaštāθ-* (GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881, GCD, EAL) for *šast-* / *šastāθ-* "send" (cf. p. 117);
- *šušt* (GEB, BMC, EVM, FBB, EAL; past stem of *šōd-* "wash") for *šust* (BMC, DTB, GEB).

Assimilation / loss of nasal

A nasal is occasionally assimilated to a following consonant, resulting in a geminated consonant, or entirely lost. This is likely to be motivated by the phenomena of unetymological nasals and secondary nasalisation of vowels discussed in II 3.1.3.3 leading to the existence of doublets with and without nasal.²¹

- DTB *ap^hān* (cf. p. 224) besides *ampān*²² "leather sack" (NP *anbān*);
- FARRELL 2003:176 *čikka* besides *činka* (also *činkā*, *činkas* etc.) "how many/much" (cf. also p. 195);
- DTB *dar^hān*²³, GCD *daθān*, FBB *dattān* vs. usual *dantān* "tooth" (NP, Prth. *dandān*);

19 *mičāč* "eyelash" is not a case of assimilation and need not stand for **mišāš* (pace GEIGER 1891:436) as Ir. "to blink" shows several variants, including **mič*, **miš* etc. (Martin Schwartz apud SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985:57). NP *muža* may go back to a root in **č* (then a NWIr. borrowing) or have old **ž* (cf. Sogd. /*muž-*/, Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication, cf. also EMMERICK/SKJÆRVØ III:71, 126).

20 It is not impossible that *šašt* is genuine and shows the same assimilation as in Av. *xšuuuāšti-* (GEIGER 1891:436), Prth. *šašt* and OInd. *ṣaṣṭí-*, but since the numerals are likely to have been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 81), the process here is probably independent from that in the other languages.

21 *tūpak(k)*, *tōpak* (GEB, EAL) "gun" is likely to have been borrowed from NP *tūpak* and interpreted as containing *tōp* "canon" (cf. p. 281) + *-ak* (cf. II 2.4.4.1).

22 Thus EVM. EAL has *anpān* (reflecting the orthographic rule discussed in II 2.1.3.1) and *āpān* and assumes that the word goes back to **ham-pāna-*.

23 Thus also in other EBal. sources (GEIGER 1890:118), cf. p. 225. EAL also notes Eastern *dātān*.

- FARRELL 2003:176, SHG *lakkuk* besides *lankuk* "finger";²⁴
- FARRELL 2003:176, SHG *simit(t)* from Engl. *cement*;
- FARRELL 2003:176 *kampōdar* from Engl. *compounder* (pharmacist);
- NAWATA 1981:30, BUDDRUS 1988:73 *gō* besides *gōn* "with".²⁵

dattān, *čikka* and *lakkuk* show an assimilation of the nasal. EBal. *ap^hān* and *dat^hān* indicate that the loss of the nasal is more recent than the EBal. fricativisation (GCD *daθān* is the regularised EBal. form).

Assimilations at the compound boundary

There are a couple of examples of assimilations occurring at the morpheme boundary between members of a compound:

- *brāzātk* "brother's child (nephew, niece)" from *brās*, *brāt* + *zātk* (cf. p. 185);
- *pamman* "for me", *pammā* "for us" from *par* + *man*, *mā* (cf. p. 139);
- *paigammar* "prophet" (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication) besides *paigambar* (EAL), *paigāambar* (BMC).

3.1.1.4 Other phenomena²⁶

d > *ḍ*²⁷

The occasional substitution of *ḍ* for *d* which GRIERSON 1921:394 reports from the

24 GEIGER 1891:416 notes that this word is etymologically unclear. It might have been borrowed from some Ind. language. It also occurs in Persian and in Pers. Gypsy dialects (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:40). For *lunkuk*, cf. p. 204.

25 The interpretation of *gō* as the denasalised variant of *gōn* seems to be a convenient solution for this variation which BUDDRUS 1988:73 termed unclear (BUDDRUS 1988:73).

FBB has *gōnā* (besides *gōn*), which is constructed analogically to the other postpositions with a noun in the oblique. FBB's other variant *gōmā* might show that the nasalised form *gō̄* (for which cf. p. 214) is interpreted variously as containing *n* or *m*. The etymology given by GEIGER 1890:124, HORN 1893:34 (cognate with NP *bā* etc.) is not correct (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557, 1895:21). The word may be connected to NP *gūn*, MP *gōn*, Prth. *gōnag* "sort, kind", Av. *gaona-* "mode, way, colour" (with a semantic shift via "quality" > "equipped with" > "accompanied by"). For the etymology of NP *bā* < MP *abāg* (OIr. **upāka-*, OInd. *upāké* "before, in the presence of"), cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1972:615⁶.

26 For alleged loss of word-final consonants, cf. II 2.2.4, 3.2.2.3.

27 For *t* > *ṭ*, cf. II 3.3.1.7.3. For a discussion of the phonemic status of *r* and *ḍ*, cf. II 1.1.2.

Loralai area may have been motivated by contact to Sindhi²⁸ and seems to be more marked in EBal. dialects than in others, although there are examples from diverse Bal. dialects (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256).²⁹ *nd* > *nḍ* seems to be particularly common:

- ABG has *ḍumb* (besides *dumb*, cf. p. 170) "tail" and *ḍīwāl* (vs. *dīwāl*, cf. p. 160) "wall";
- BMC, EVM, EAL have *kanḍ* "ditch, hole" (probably to be connected to NP *kan-* / *kand* "dig", cf. *kand* "cutting");
- SHG, BMC, EAL show *dōbar* "breast" for DTB, GCD, EAL *dōbar* (cf. p. 294);
- *hind* (SHG, EAL) for *hind* (DTB) "bitch";³⁰
- *gwand* (DTB, EAL) vs. *gwand* (remaining sources and Brahui) "small, short".³¹

The reverse change can be seen in *jadgāl* (SHG) and its metathesised form *jadḡal* (DTB) which stands for *jadḡāl* (EAL) from **jaṭgāl* "Jatt" (ethnolinguistic group in Pakistan, cf. p. 187, 266, 268).

r > *r̥*

There is a tendency to change *r* to the retroflex counterpart particularly when followed by a dental. According to GRIERSON 1921:394, the change of *r* > *r̥* /_[+ dental] is regular in the areas around Loralai in Northern Balochistan, and SOKOLOVA 1953:55 reports the same rule for Turkmenistan Balochi (cf. also ROSSI 1979a:209). A parallel change is seen in Brahui, Pashto and Sindhi (MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:8, 1948:256).

28 Sindhi often has *ḍ* or *ḍ̣* (the latter especially in the beginning of a word) for etymological *d* (TRUMPP 1872:XX, e.g. *ḍuk^h* "sorrow" vs. Ur. *duk^h*) for which *ḍ* is used when borrowed into Balochi, cf. ABG *ḍuk^h* "sorrow". ROSSI 1979:xxxiv notes that Brahui regularly substitutes *ḍ*- for *d*- in Bal. loanwords, which might also account for some cases of *ḍ*- in Balochi since Br. words may get borrowed into Balochi. Thus, the example *ḍēh* (vs. DTB *dēh*) "country" given by GRIERSON 1921:394 might have been borrowed directly from Si. *ḍēh* with a substitution of *ḍ* for *d* (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:45).

29 The Karachi Bal. examples in FARRELL 2003:177 may be explained as borrowings from Sindhi.

30 Besides these, *mind* (SHG, EAL, also in Brahui according to EAL) and *mind* (DTB, EAL) are attested, also meaning "girl, daughter". Maybe this is a case of echo word (a word being doubled, the second of the pair changing its word-initial consonant to *m*, cf. SABIR 2003:220).

31 For cognates (e.g. Khot. *vanda-* "small"), cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1929:256a, BAILEY 1979:374b. ELFENBEIN's 1985:231 assumption of a borrowing from Sindhi/Lahnda is not to be preferred since the allegedly corresponding words (TURNER 1966:514 s.v. *baṇḍá-*) fit neither in form nor in semantics; neither does it seem necessary (pace ELFENBEIN 1989:636) to consider *gwand* an EIr. "substrate" word. It seems possible that *gwand* has been influenced by a group of terms for body parts containing *nḍ* (cf. p. 219, 296f.).

The cases noted so far are:

- with *r* followed by *d*:
urd (ABG) vs. (other sources) *urd* "army" (NP-Turk. loanword), *dard* (ABG) vs. *dard* "pain"³², *zard* (ABG) vs. *zard* "yellow" (NP loanword), *šāgird* (ABG) vs. *šāgird* "pupil" (NP loanword), *k^hard-ē* vs. *k^hard-ē* (both GRIERSON 1921:394)³³ "a few", *marḍ* (GRIERSON 1921:394, ABG, EAL) vs. *mard* "man, husband";
gar "precipice", if existing (only found in EAL), might be a cognate of Av. *gərəḍa-* "cave". It seems preferable, though, to explain it as a variant of the better attested *gar* (probably a cognate of Av. *ga^rri-* "mountain" (cf. p. 150);
- with *r* followed by *t*:
sārat^h "cold (adj.)", *sārt^hī* "cold (noun)" (both ABG) vs. (other sources) *sārt*,³⁴
gut(t)ag "kidney" may well be a cognate of Av. *vərəḍka-*, OInd. *vrkká-*, both from PIIr. **urtka-* (EWAia II:571).³⁵ PIIr. **urtka-* might have developed to Bal. **urt(t)a-* (> **gwart(t)-?*) > **gurt(t)-* (for PIr. **ur-* > Bal. *gur-*, cf. p. 100, 144) > **gurt(t)ag*. The loss of *r* (and the transfer of the retroflex quality to the adjacent consonant) might have been motivated by the existence of *gut(t)* "throat", Ur. *gat^htī* "ball"³⁶ and by Si. *guddō* "kidney";
- with *r* followed by *ṭ* (only GRIERSON 1921:394):³⁷
ārṭ- vs. (other sources) *ārt^h-* "brought", *murṭ-* vs. *murt^h-* "died", *wārṭ-* vs. *wārt^h-* "eaten";
- with *z*: *burz* (GRIERSON 1921:394, BMC) vs. (other sources) *burz* "high".

For further developments of *r* and *rd*, cf. II 3.1.3.5.

32 *dard* is most probably a NP loanword (GEIGER 1891:447) since it is likely to derive from **darta-* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000:200).

33 BMC, EAL *kard* "portion", classified by both as EBal. might have been inferred by the authors from Grierson and DTB (who have *k^hardē* "some"). The word is also found in ABG (cf. p. 203). *kard* might have been borrowed from MP *kardag* "section". Note, however, that NP-Ar. *qadr* "measure" which is found in Bal. as *kad(a)r* (cf. p. 206) could also come out as *kard* via the metathesis of CL# > LC# which is common in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.1). This homonymy might even be the reason why *kard* "portion" is only known from a few sources.

34 For the anaptyctic vowel, cf. p. 207, for the etymology, cf. p. 189.

35 WEBER 1994:115²⁹ reconstructs **urtaka-* for MPZ *gurdag* (NP *gurda*). One might also derive it from **urtka-ka-*, however, i.e. from the same form as its cognates, apart from the additional suffix, similar to Sogd. *γwrđtq-* which is derived from **urδkak(k)ā-* by SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983:49.

36 GILBERTSON's assumption (1925:368) of *gut(t)ag* being borrowed from Urdu does not seem likely.

37 For *ṭ* instead of expected *t^h*, cf. p. 227.

3.1.2 Vowels

3.1.2.1 Loss of vowels³⁸

There is a certain tendency to elide (presumably: unstressed) short vowels in non-initial³⁹ open syllables. It is probable that several elision processes have been at work in Balochi, perhaps one in Mlr. times,⁴⁰ and at least one in Modern times, which may be seen in a couple of dialectal examples (cf. II 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2, 3.2.3.2) and in recent loanwords (cf. II 3.3.2.1).

Examples from pre-CBal. times are not numerous, probably mainly due to the shortage of corresponding polysyllabic input forms:

- the OIr. suffix *-aka-* comes out as Bal. *-k* at least in some contexts (cf. II 2.4.4.1);
- *iptī*, *t^hī* "second, other" may reflect **ptī* vs. Prth. *bid(īg)* (cf. p. 122);
- *zahg* "child" (for dialectal variants, cf. p. 253) vs. MP, Prth. *zahag*;⁴¹
- *nind-* "sit" vs. Prth. *ni-šīδ-*, NP *ni-šīn-* is likely to involve the loss of a vowel, although the precise derivation of the Bal. form is not clear (cf. p. 127);
- further cases might be *āzmānak* "story" if it is to be interpreted as **ā-zamān-aka-* (cf. p. 186), *brēs-* "spin" if it derives from **abi*^o, *prinč-* "squeeze", *pruš-* "break" (itr.) and *prōš-* "break" (tr.) if they contain a preverb **upa*^o (cf. p. 139).

The following two cases show that the first syncopation must have taken place before CBal. **kt* was changed to EBal. *xt*, SBal. *tk* and WBal. *ht* (cf. II 2.2.1.1):

38 For loss of word-initial short vowels, cf. II 2.3.1.1.

39 The seeming elision in *ǰ(ō)wak* (EAL) "small stream" (diminutive of *ǰō* "river") might rather reflect the pronunciation /ǰōa-/. The variants *nwāsag* (otherwise *nawāsag*) "grandchild" and *ǰwān* "good, young" (cf. NP *ǰawān* "young") might involve a change of *aw* > *uw* (note that BUDDRUS 1988:75 has *ǰuwān* and EAL *ǰ(a)wān*), cf. p. 218.

40 For syncopation in Middle Persian, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:210ff. MP syncopation mainly affects short vowels in open syllables when a resonant follows (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:210ff.).

41 If NP *zahr*, Prth. *žahr* "poison" go back to *ǰanǰra- (cf. p. 206), Bal. *zahg*, MP *zahag*, Sogd. *z'k* might derive from **zanha-ka-* (maybe a derivation of **zanah-* corresponding to OInd. *jānas-*, Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication). It is not clear whether Bal. *zahg* can be an inherited word. For alternative etymologies, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201. With regard to MP *zahag*, ELFENBEIN's interpretation (1989:636) of *zahg* as EIr. substrate word does not seem necessary.

- CBal. *ākt > ātk, āxt, ā(h)t, past stem of āy- "come" < OIr. (Av.) ā-gata-;
- zātk "offspring" (EBal. zāxt) occurs especially in compounds such as brā⁴², gwahār-zātk "brother's, sister's child: nephew, niece", nākō-, trū-zatk "uncle's, aunt's child: cousin"; it may be derived from *zāta-ka- (cf. MP, Prth. zādag), a derivation of zāt "born" (past stem of zāy-, cf. p. 109); the variant zāk (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:284) might reflect *zākk- < *zātk, thus the development of OIr -xt in words not interpreted as past stems (cf. p. 112): alternatively, it might be a product of some contamination with zahg, zāg (see above) "child" (cf. also p. 303);
- izbōtk (EAL, SHG) "lovage, ajowan"⁴³ is likely to derive from *uz-baḍa-ka⁴⁴ (MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347, 1974a:278, cf. also ROSSI 1979:68), cf. Bal. bōd(išt) "smell" (NP bōy, Prth. bōdestān "garden"); if so, izbōtk would show an assimilation from *uzbōdk- and a reinterpretation as a SBal. form, maybe involving a popular etymology with SBal. bōtk, past stem of bōj- "open", corresponding to EBal. bōž- / bōxt), so that an EBal. variant in -xt (izbōxt, DTB, MAYER 1910) could be formed.

3.1.2.2 Changes in quantity

3.1.2.2.1 Shortening

There are sporadic cases of short vowels where one would expect long ones:⁴⁵

CBal. ā > a (GEIGER 1891:405):⁴⁶

42 brā-zātk is assimilated from *brās-zātk, brāt-^o, cf. p. 181.

43 The meaning "lovage (*ligusticum ajowan*)" is confirmed by all sources (including field-work by TURCHETTA 1989:29); it is only MAYER 1910 and EAL who note an additional meaning "aniseed". Lovage is a spice used in Indian cooking and for medical purposes (used on wounds according to SHG, against a sore throat or pains in the stomach according to TURCHETTA 1989:29); the word is also used as a women's name (SHG).

44 The function of *iz in EAL's *iz-baḍa-ka- is not clear while OIr. uz^o is attested (for Bal. u > i next to z etc., cf. p. 193f.). *uz-baḍa- is also seen in EIr. words (MORGENSTIERNE 2003:103).

45 For shortenings specific for loanwords, cf. II 3.3.2.2, for those with simultaneous lengthening of the consonant, cf. II 3.1.3.1.

46 EVM *adat* "custom" (NP-Ar. *ādat*) is not found on the page in ZARUBIN 1930 noted in EVM, *adat* and *ādat* are not found in other sources. EVM *adāb* "politeness" is probably a misprint for *ādāb* (pl. of NP-Ar. *adab*) motivated by the next entry *bē-adabī* "impolite(ly)". *mal-* "stroke" (only LEWIS 1838) has been borrowed from NP *māl-* (vs. genuine Bal. *marz-*, cf. p. 97), provided it exists.

- *armān* "longing" (maybe borrowed from NP *ārmān*);
- *asmānak* (EVM, SHG), *azmānak* (SHG) "story" vs. *āsmānakk* (SHG), *āzmānak(k)* (BMC, EAL, SHG): the variation in vowel length might have been motivated by the existence of the parallel doublets *āsmān*, *āzmān* "sky" (for which cf. p. 190); the etymology might be (Pers.) *ā-zamāna-ka-, cf. (borrowed) *zamān(ag)* "time" (for which cf. p. 235), the semantic development is parallel to Engl. *tidings* (Jost Gippert, personal communication); if so, the variant with -s- would be hypercorrect and based on the assumption that -z- has come about through assimilation (cf. p. 268);⁴⁷
- *an-* in *anga*, *angat*⁴⁸ "still, yet", *ančēn* (FBB, EAL, BUDDRUS 1988:69) "such (adj.)", *anču*, *ančōš* "in such a way, thus" might be composed with the pronoun *ān* (for which cf. p. 102), cf. the variants *āngāt*, *ānčēn*, *ānčōš* found in EVM and NP *ān-gāh*; alternatively, *ančōš*, *anču* might be dialectal variants (cf. p. 248) of *hančōš etc. (this seems to be the assumption of EAL 4), i.e. compounds with *ham*^o like (*h*)*am-ē* "same, this very" and (*h*)*am-ā* "that very" (with *ē* "this", *ā* "that", respectively); it is, however, not clear if the same might hold for *anga(t)*;
- EVM (two attestations in ZARUBIN 1932 each) has *ōman* (other sources: *ōmān*, cf. p. 151) "desire" and *bad-i* "after" vs. FBB, EAL *bād* (cf. p. 63);
- *iškar* "(char)coal, ember" vs. *iškār*, NP *sikār* etc. (cf. p. 124);
- *bar* (BMC, DTB, EAL, SHG) "time" besides *bār* (cf. p. 253);
- *pač* vs. *pāč* "open" (on the etymology, cf. p. 139);
- EBal. (cf. GEIGER 1890:135) *pakar* vs. usual *pak(k)ār* "necessary" (cf. p. 139);
- *rōp^hask* (DTB, GEB) besides *rōp^hāsk* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49) "fox";⁴⁹
- *zatk* (FBB, SHG) for *zāt^k* "offspring" (cf. p. 185);
- EBal. shows the past stem suffix *-aθ-*, it is a secondary variant of the past stem suffix *-āθ-* (SWBal. *-āt*, Prth. *-ād*), which is comparatively rare in Balochi, but well known from Parthian (cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2000) and Zazaki.

Additional cases of shortening of *ā* are confined to individual sources.

47 Another idea might be to connect the word to *āzmāy-* "examine" (only found in MARSTON 1877, the causative *āzmāēn-* being better attested; the word has been borrowed from NP *āzmāy-*, cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555), although the way of derivation of *āzmānak* would not be clear. For *-k(k)*, cf. II 2.4.4.1.

48 The short quantity of the second *a* is also of unclear origin, though parallel to NP *gah* vs. *gāh*.

49 A parallel shortening is seen in Sogd. *rwps* (for which cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954:16). The word commonly used in Balochi is the NP loanword *rōbāh*, cf. also p. 165.

DAMES' (1904:4³) examples need not involve shortening processes:

- the existence of *bakkal* "shopkeeper, Hindu" (only DTB) is questionable, other sources (BMC, EAL, SHG) have *bakkāl* (NP-Ar. *baqqāl* "tradesman") as expected;
- *bōlak(k)* (DTB, EAL, SHG) "tribe" for Turk. *bulāk* (DAMES 1904:4³) might be caused by the interpretation of the second syllable as the Bal. suffix *-ak*;
- *pattan* for *pat^hān* "Pashtun" does not seem to be found in the sources;
- *tuman* (BMC, EAL, SHG) "tribe" for NP-Turk. *tōmān* / *tūmān* / *tumān* might be a loanword from Ur. *tuman*;
- *ḡaḡdal* (DTB), *ḡaḡdal* and *ḡaḡgal* (both EAL) besides *ḡaḡdāl* (EAL) which is likely to have developed via *ḡaḡgāl* (EAL, cf. SHG *ḡaḡgāl*) from *ḡatḡāl* "Jaḡ" (ethnolinguistic group in Pakistan); the shortening of the second syllable may be due to interpretation as *gal* "group, multitude" (also used as a quasi-pl. suffix).⁵⁰

Similarly, BMC has *zardalū* "apricot" while the expected form *zardālū* (loanword from NP *zard-ālū*) is much better attested (EVM, FBB, SHG).

CBal. $\bar{i} > i$ (GEIGER 1891:407):⁵¹

- EVM (two attestations in ZARUBIN 1932) *akikáttā* "certainly" vs. SHG *hakīkat* "truth" (NP-Ar. *ḡaḡīqat*);
- DTB *dix* besides *dīx* "spindle" for SWBal. *dīk(k)* (< *dūk(k)*, cf. p. 197);
- *kitak* "insect, louse" could show a shortening of \bar{i} if it belongs with the somewhat unclear (EWAia I:355) OInd. *kīḡá-* "worm" (GEIGER 1891:407) and Sogd. *kyc'kh* (BAILEY 1979:101a);⁵²
- *mik* "nail" vs. *mīk(k)* "top of head", EAL *mēk* "nail" (NP *mēx* "nail, stick", cf. p. 200).

50 Bal. *gal* might have been borrowed from NP *galla* "flock" (GEIGER 1890:121, 1891:44). For the metathesis, cf. p. 266.

51 FBB, GEIGER 1891:407 *biḡ* "seed" need not (pace GEIGER 1891:407) be an example of vowel shortening vs. EAL *bīḡ* (NP *bīḡ*) since it may have been borrowed from Si. *biḡju*. DTB has ڄ at the place it alphabetically belongs, but transcribes it *bīḡ* and remarks "Panj." which means that he considers the word to have been borrowed from Panjabi. The word cannot be genuine in the Eastern dialects (e.g. DTB) anyway since then it would then show the change of $\check{j} > \check{z}$. *bīḡ* might have been borrowed from NP rather than from Lhd. *biḡan* as MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41 assumes. For *piš(š)ī* / *pīš(š)ī* "cat", cf. p. 198.

52 The connection of *kitak* with Av. *kaēta-* (term for inimical creatures) assumed by GEIGER 1890:132 and ELFENBEIN 1990/II:87 is more than questionable (BARTHOLOMAE 1904:428b). Moreover, one would then expect Bal. *ḡkēt(ak)*. OInd. *kéta-* "desire" also placed here by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:87 probably does not belong with the Av. word (EWAia I:399).

The variants of the past stem of *gind-* "see" may be explained as follows: *dīt* (DTB, GEB, EAL: Eastern, Kēčī, Lāšārī, Coastal) is the regular past stem of OIr. √dī, OInd. √d^hī "look" (GEIGER 1890:122, cf. NP *dīd*, Prth. *dīd*); *dist* (EVM, NAWATA 1981:17) and *dīst* (BMC, FBB, EVM, EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī) will represent contaminations of *dīt* and **uist-* (the past participle of OIr., OInd. √uid "find", cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44).⁵³

CBal. *ū* > *u* (GEIGER 1891:409):⁵⁴

- EVM *āmuxta*⁵⁵ "accustomed" which because of its *x* must have been borrowed from NP appears to be a shortened form of NP *āmōxta*, CNP *āmūxte* (Prth. *ammōxtag* "learned");
- PIERCE 1874, EAL (noted as Coastal, i.e. probably taken from Pierce) *surušk* "elbow" for *surūšk*, which is a variant of *srōš* (cf. p. 131, 205);
- *kučik(k)* "dog" vs. Kurd. *kûçik* "dog" shows a shortening of the vowel;⁵⁶
- (*h*)*urk* (PIERCE 1875, MARSTON 1877, MAYER 1910, EVM, EAL) "empty" implies a raising of the vowel (cf. p. 200) of (*h*)*ōrk* (cf. p. 82) > **hūr*k with subsequent shortening.

53 If this explanation is correct, one might assume that Balochi once had **uind-* / **uist-* (both from √uid) > **gind-* / **gist-*, and the past stem was at some point – probably under NP influence – replaced by *dīt*, which might also have been borrowed from NP. For discussion of *gind-*, cf. p. 79, 98.

54 According to EAL 6, EVM *ārusī* "wedding" (NP-Ar. *‘arūsī*) is an error. For *ārōs*, cf. p. 154, 190. For *puš(š)ī* / *pūš(š)ī*, cf. p. 198.

55 EVM *amuxta* is a misprint for *āmuxta* (cf. the citation from ZARUBIN 1949).

56 Variants are WBal. *kučak(k)* (cf. p. 195) and EBal. *kšik* (for vowel elision, cf. II 3.2.1.2, 3.3.2.1). Bal. *kučik(k)* might have been borrowed, perhaps from Kurd. *kûçik*, the latter perhaps a loanword from Azeri (DOERFER III:630); for a discussion of other Bal. animal terms possibly borrowed from Kurdish, cf. p. 158f. In Turk. languages, the words for "dog, puppy" (e.g. Turkmen *güjük*) and "small" (Turkmen *kiči*, for cognates, cf. RÄSÄNEN 1969:269f.) have merged.

ELFENBEIN's 1963:45 conclusion from the existence of Parachi *kučuk* "dog" etc. (MORGENSTIERNE 1929:263b) that NP *kūčak* cannot belong here does not seem to be conclusive. The Parachi word is likely to have been borrowed from Tajiki and the Taj. word from Turkic according to DOERFER III:630.

GEIGER 1891:409 assumes that *kučik(k)* has been borrowed from NP *kōčak* (thus the proper reading according to DOERFER III:628) "small", but the semantics make this assumption rather implausible. The Bal. word is less likely to belong with Osset. *kwyz*, Sogd. (*’*)*kwī*- etc. (cf. ABAEV I:605) which have been derived from **kuta-* / **kuī-* and considered to be exclusively Eastern Iranian (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:651); on the other hand, Zazaki has *kutik*, and although the precise history of this word is not known, it seems that it belongs to the EIr. forms.

3.1.2.2.2 Lengthening

There is a certain number of words with long vowels where one might expect short ones. A notable proportion of these are loanwords.

CBal. *a* > *ā* (GEIGER 1891:407):

There seems to be a regular lengthening *art* > *ārt*, probably including *arč* [artš] > *ārč* [ārtš].⁵⁷ Note that some Ir. cognates of the following examples also go back to **art*. Two examples go back to PIE **ṛH* > PIIr. **rH*.⁵⁸

- *ār* "flour": *Zaz. ardi* (pl.), NP *ārd* and Pashto *ōṛə*, all "flour", and Khot. sek. PP *ārda-* "ground"⁵⁹ all seem to derive from **arta-* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:134,) while Av. *aša-* "ground" (past part.) goes back to **árta-* < PIE **h₂h₁-to-* (KLINGENSCHMITT 1982:93, HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:92);
- *sār* "cold": MP *afsār-* / *afsārd*, Prth. *wisār-* "to cool" also show *-ā-* vs. NP *sard*, Av. *sarəta-* "cold", < PIE **ḱlH-tó-*⁶⁰ (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:150²).

Other examples derive from PIr. **ar*:

- *kārč* "knife" corresponds to NP *kārd*⁶¹ in vocalism vs. Av. *karəta-* < PIr. **karta-* (TREMBLAY 1999:90); *-č* might be due to an additional suffix, e.g. a diminutive formation (GEIGER 1890:132) or **-ja-* (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:83);
- 3sg. *wārt* "eats" and *bārt* "carries" (cf. p. 147) vs. present stems *war-*, *bar-* in the remaining forms, the past stem *wārt* (vs. Prth. *wxard*) shows the same lengthening, which operates across the morpheme boundaries;
- the long *a* seen in *drāčk* (EAL: Kēčī), *drāč* (MAYER 1910, EAL: Coastal), *d(a)rāšk* (EAL: Eastern) "tree" might be explained by assuming a variant **darčk* which would result in **dārčk*. The metathesis effecting the other variants *dračk*, DTB *drašk*, ABG *daršak* (cf. NP *diraxt*) would thus be older than the lengthening.⁶²

57 This change does not operate in recent loanwords, cf. e.g. *harč* "costs" (NP-Ar. *xarj*, cf. p. 269).

58 For PIr. **rH* > Bal. *ar*, cf. II 2.3.2.3.

59 **arta-* is seen in Khot. *āda-* "flour" (EMMERICK 1968:10).

60 EWAia II:641: OInd. *śśīra-* "early spring" goes back to **ḱi-ḱlH-ro-*.

61 There are some NInd. forms which likewise seem to require **kārta-* (TURNER 1966:156). In spite of OInd. *ḱṛtī-*, it is not necessary to assume a zero-grade formation for Iranian (EWAia I:390).

62 If *dračk* is to be connected to Av. *√drang* (PP *draxta-*) "make strong/firm" as suggested by KEWA II:37 for NP *diraxt*, it could come from **drajaka-* > **drajk-* > *dračk* (note that MORGENSTIERNE 1932:43 postulated a preform OIr. **drājjaka-*, but without giving the Av. cognate). This seems more

For lengthening in the context *ard*, cf. II 3.1.3.5.

Most other cases of lengthening of non-final *a* involve loanwords:

- *ābrēšum* "silk" vs. (borrowed from NP *abrēšum*,⁶³ BAILEY 1931:425), only EVM has *abrēšūm* (sic);
- (*h*)*ārōs* "wedding" for NP-Ar. *ʿarūs* (cf. also p. 154);
- the lengthening seen in *āžmān*⁶⁴ (GLADSTONE 1874, LEWIS 1885, EAL), *āzmān*, *āsmān* (both in many sources) "sky" vs. *ažmān* (DTB, GCD), *azmān* (DTB, GCD), *asmān* (GCD, NAWATA 1981:38) < OIr. (OP) *asmānam* may be explained by the influence of NP *āsmān* "dto.",⁶⁵
- *āgā* (ABG) "if" for *aga(r)* (NP *agar*, Prth. *ag*);⁶⁶
- *hāsp*, *hāps* (GEB) "horse" for *asp*, *aps* (probably a loanword, cf. p. 90, 158f.).

Word-final *-a* corresponding to NP *-a* (CNP *-e*) often appears as *-ā* (already noted by GEIGER 1891:406). The majority of the words with *-ā* for *-a* are NP(-Ar.) loanwords. Only some examples are given here, all from ABG which has *-ā* in all relevant cases (all examples written *ə*- unless otherwise indicated, but transcribed *-ā*).⁶⁷

- *āgā* "if" (NP *agar*);⁶⁸
- *išārā* "sign" (NP-Ar. (also in Urdu) *išāra*);
- *xazānā* (BMC *xazāna(g)*) "treasury" (NP-Ar. *xizāna*, CNP *xazāne*);
- *dīwānā* (EAL *dīwānag*) "mad" (NP *dīwāna*, Ur. *dīwānā*);
- *zarā* (ذرة) "atom, particle" (NP-Ar. *zarra*, Ur. *zarra*, *zar(r)ā*);
- *zardā* (also FBB) "rice with saffron" (NP (also in Urdu) *zarda*);⁶⁹

convincing than GEIGER's (1890:120) linking of *dračk* with the late and rare OInd. *drākṣā-* of unclear origin (KEWA II:75). Cf. also p. 166, 208.

63 STEINGASS 1892:8a only has *abrīšam*, *abrīšum*, but the *ē* is confirmed by the Georg. loanword *abrešum-* (Jost Gippert, personal communication).

64 For the *-ž-*, cf. p. 179.

65 This lengthening seems to take place already in Middle Iranian, cf. MPM, Prth. <'sm'n, ''sm'n>.

66 Although the details are not entirely clear (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:17), NP *agar* is likely to derive from OIr. (OP) *hakaram* (HORN 1893:25), which implies that the Bal. word has been borrowed. For further variants, cf. p. 216.

67 It is not entirely clear what pronunciation is intended by SHG in corresponding cases (e.g. *išāra*, *sadakka*) since the orthography is, e.g., اِسَارَةٌ .

68 For the *ā-*, see above. It is possible that the existence of Ur. *āgā* "front, fore-part, future" plays a role in this case.

69 For *zard* "yellow" and the other colours, cf. III 3.

- *sikkā* "coin" (NP-Ar. (also in Urdu) *sikka*);
- *šābā*⁷⁰ "Saturday" (NP *šanba*, Prth. *šambat*);
- *šazqā*⁷¹ (BMC *sadka*, SHG *sadakka*) "alms, charity" (NP-Ar. *šadaqa*);
- *fātiḥā* (FBB *fātēā*⁷², SHG *pātiyā*) "memorial prayer" (NP-Ar. (also in Urdu) *fātiḥa*);
- *fāidā* (DTB, EAL *fāida*, BMC, SHG *pāida(g)*) "advantage" (NP-Ar. (also in Urdu) *fā'ida*);
- *faisalā* (EAL *fais(i)la*, BMC *paisla(g)*) "decision" (NP-Ar. (also in Urdu) *faiṣala*);
- *qiblā* (EAL, SHG *kibla*) "direction of prayer" (NP-Ar. *qibla*);
- *rājā* (راجہ) "king" might have been borrowed from NP *rājā* (which in turn is from Hindi-Urdu), alternatively, it might also be mixed from Ur. راجا *rājā*, راجه *rājā* and reinterpreted as belonging with the NP-Ar. items above.

According to GEIGER 1891:406, the same variation is observed in perfect stems:⁷³

- *bītā*, *bīsā* vs. *bīta* (from *bay-* "become");⁷⁴
- *dīsā* vs. *dīta* (from *gind-* "see", cf. p. 79, 98);
- *jasā* vs. *jata* (from *jan-* "strike", cf. p. 86).

The number "10" (FBB *dā*) and its compounds from 11 to 19 (*-dā* according to FARRELL 1990:87 and ABG⁷⁵, *-da* according to BMC⁷⁶, FARRELL 1990:26, 30⁷⁷) are treated like words in *-a* in most dialects. This means that *-h* was lost here before the lengthening of *-a* took place.

In the case of word-final [◌](*ε*), a transcription like (both ABG) *zilā*[◌] "district" (NP-Ar.

70 For nasalisation of short vowels, see below. BMC, FBB, SHG have (in the case of SHG, additionally) *šambē*. This is the regular oblique case of (NP) *šamba* in Urdu, but not the case used in expressions like "on Saturday", for which purpose postpositions are used.

71 *z* is the EBal. equivalent for *d* here, cf. p. 230f. For vowel elision in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.2.1.

72 For *ih* > *ē*, cf. II 3.1.3.2.

73 GEIGER 1891:406 states that GLADSTONE 1874 and HITTU RAM 1881 have the forms in *-ā* whereas DAMES 1881 has *-a* throughout.

74 These are variants of *būta* (for *ū* > *ī*, cf. p. 196f., for *t* > *s*, cf. p. 230f.). For further details, cf. p. 77.

75 ABG has *dah* "10", but *-dā* for the following numbers.

76 BMC even has *-da(g)* for 11-19. For *-a(g)* in BMC, cf. p. 165.

77 The apparent inconsistency in FARRELL 1990 is due to the fact that the precise length of *-a/-ā* is very difficult to determine (Tim Farrell, personal communication). BARKER/MENGAL note (1969/I:xlii) that all word-final vowels "tend to be somewhat shorter in duration than those within the word".

zil^c "rib, side") and *ṭamā^{c78}* "greed" (NP-Ar. *ṭama^c*) is probably a spelling pronunciation since it may be assumed that ^c is not pronounced. The *-ā* might be due to the lengthening phenomenon described above. Alternatively, a compensatory lengthening similar to the one occurring in the word-internal context $\check{V}^cC > \bar{V}C$ (cf. p. 63) might operate here.⁷⁹

As to the origin of this variation, one may first note that *zimmā* "responsibility" vs. *zīmma-wār* "responsible" (both ABG) shows that the phenomenon is something secondary and presumably fairly recent. Furthermore, *dīwānā*, *zar(r)ā* might have been borrowed from Urdu, and since the same variation also occurs in a number of NP loanwords in Urdu (but not in all or even the majority of them according to PLATTS 1884), it may be assumed that it is due to language contact. In Urdu, the lengthening of *-a* might arise from masculine nouns in *-a* (including NP loans in *-a*) being inflected in the same way (obl. *-ē* etc.) as those in *-ā*.

CBal. *i > ī* (GEIGER 1891:408):

The majority of the examples are loanwords again:

- *baxšiš* (ABG) "gift; forgiveness" seems to be a mixture of NP *baxšiš* with Si. *bakšīs* and/or Ur. *baxšiš*, *baksīs* (all from NP);
- *fīkar* (ABG) "thought" for (NP-Ar.) *fīkr* (ABG, EAL), *pīkr* (BMC, EAL, SHG);⁸⁰
- *kapīnjar* (PIERCE 1874, MARSTON 1877, EAL) "partridge" besides *kapinjar* (cf. p. 276);
- *kunčīt* besides *kunčit*⁸¹ (EVM, EAL), *kunčāt*⁸² (SHG) "sesame" might have been influenced by NP *kunjīd* besides *kunjid*.⁸³

78 ABG <ṭəm^ca> is likely to be a misprint for intended <ṭama^c>, i.e. *ṭamā^c* in the transcription used here. EAL has *tama* "desire".

79 ABG *fiqāh* "islamic law" (NP-Ar. *fiqh*) might be an idiosyncratic combination of the idea that word-final <h> is pronounced as *ā* and the knowledge that in this case, <h> indicates a consonant.

80 For further variants, cf. p. 267.

81 This form is exactly what HÜBSCHMANN 1890:561 reconstructs as the basis for Arm. (borrowed) *knčit*. The Bal. word is a nice confirmation for the existence of *kunčit* in Middle NW Iranian.

82 The vowel of the second syllable (if not an error) must be a hypercorrect reversal of a perceived palatalisation process (for *a > i*, particularly frequent in SHG, cf. p. 193f.).

83 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:81 assumes that the word was borrowed from Ind., but this is not probable since OInd. *kuñcita-* and its descendants mean "crooked" ("sesame" is *tilā-*, *tīla-* in OInd. and similarly in Modern Ind. languages), so it is more probable that the words are cognates. For Ir. cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:61f.

CBal. *u* > *ū* (GEIGER 1891:409):⁸⁴

- EVM *abrēšūm* "silk" vs. *ābrēšum*, see above;
- DTB *apūrs* "juniper" vs. normal *apurs* (cf. p. 140, 145);
- *kūmak* (DTB) "help" for *kumak(k)* (NP-Ar. *kumak*, cf. p. 272, 285);
- *ākūbat* (BMC) "future" for *ākubat*, *ākibat* (NP-Ar. *‘āqibat*, cf. p. 286).

Note that last example has a variant with *-ō-*, for which cf. p. 201.

3.1.2.3 Changes in quality

3.1.2.3.1 Palatalisation

Palatalisation of *a* (and, to a lesser degree, *u*) is common, although the unchanged variants without palatalisation are in most cases attested as well.

CBal. *a* > *i* (GEIGER 1891:407):⁸⁵

In words which are likely to be inherited, palatalisation seems to be limited to the context next to *č*, *ǰ*, *š*, *ž*, *s* and *z*. It seems to occur more frequently in SBal. than in the other dialects. Examples (sorted according to the palatalising consonant) are:⁸⁶

84 For (*h*)*ūrt* "tiny" vs. NP *xurd*, cf. p. 122, 197.

gandīm "wheat" (used in the Eastern and Southern dialects mainly, the Western ones using *gal(l)a* instead (BMC), for the corresponding location of the change *ū* > *ī*, cf. p. 196ff.) < *gandūm* (EAL) might be regular (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 who assumes PIIr. **gand^hūma-*) in spite of NP *gandum* since the Ir. forms seem to go back to different protoforms (EWAia I:498f., against MORGENSTIERNE 1932:45 who assumes that only †*gantum* would be regular).

85 The *i* of ABG *nīmāš* "prayer" vs. *namāš* (cf. p. 96) may be explained as being due to the NP loanword *nīmāz* "prayer" (for which cf. p. 285). For *āsin* "iron", cf. p. 87; NP *āhan* is used in the form *āhin* in some Bal. dialects, its *-i-* being probably due to an analogy to *āsin*. The *i* of *dušmin*, *dužmin* (SHG) "enemy" may either be due to the **ī* in **duš-manīu-* (cf. Prth. *dušmen* <*dwšmyn*>, Kurd. *dijmin*) or to its being borrowed from Persian (MP likewise *dušmen*) while *dušman* (BMC, EAL), *dužman* (ABG, DTB, EAL) may have been borrowed from or influenced by NP *dušman* (cf. also p. 93).

86 Bal. *mič-* "suck" vs. NP *maz-* probably does not belong here, cf. p. 95. GEIGER's 1891:407 example *pūnzīg* "heel" occurs only once (all other sources have *pūnz*, for the etymology, cf. p. 127, for variants see below) and even if it existed, it need not involve a palatalisation process but might contain a suffix **-ika-*. The source of EAL's *pūnzīg* is not clear to me.

The existence of the variant *čihār* "4" (otherwise *čār*, cf. p. 120) found in EAL is, although rather probable, not sure. Maybe an underlying assumption for the establishing of *čihār* is that EBal. *čyār*

- *pāč̣in* vs. NP *pāzan* "goat" (cf. p. 126); *sōč̣in*, *sūč̣(č̣)in* vs. NP *sōzan* "needle" (cf. p. 85, 198, 200); *gēč̣in* "sieve" < **uajč̣-ana-* (ELFENBEIN 1985:231), a derivative of *gēč̣-* "sift" (cf. p. 98) and cognate of Kurd. *bêjing* "sieve";
- ABG *ĵibar* vs. NP-Ar. *ĵabr* "force" (cf. p. 206); SHG *ĵintir* vs. EAL *ĵantir* vs. BMC, DTB, EAL *ĵantar* (cf. NP *ĵandar*) "millstone" (cf. p. 104); *ĵinik(k)*⁸⁷ vs. *ĵanik(k)*⁸⁸ "girl, daughter", *ĵan* (NP *zan*) "woman"; EAL *dōĵik* vs. EAL *dōĵak* "hell" (usually *dōzah* etc., see below);
- GEB, EAL *hariš* vs. DTB *harš(a)* (NP *aradž*) "ell";
- EBal. ⁺*diž-* "brand" which GEIGER 1891:400 presumes to be the correct form of DTB *diδ-* (cf. the past stem *daxt*) < **daž-* can belong here if it exists,⁸⁹ cf. OInd. *√dah* "burn", Av. *daž-*, Prth. *dažn* "hot, spicy";
- ABG *sibr* (otherwise *sabr*) "patience" (NP-Ar. *šabr*, cf. also p. 206); DTB, BMC, FBB, EAL *sing* vs. DTB *sang*⁹⁰ "stone" (NP *sang*, Prth. *asang*); EBal. *kisān* (otherwise *kasān*) "small";⁹¹ SHG, FBB, EAL, NAWATA 1981:35 *makisk* and borrowed *magis(k)* (EAL, SHG) vs. GEB *makask*, NP, Prth. *magas* "fly" (cf. p. 78);
- BMC *dōzix* vs. DTB *dōzax*, SHG *dōzah*, EAL *dōzak*, ABG *dūžah* (NP *dōzax*) "hell" (cf. p. 93);
- one possible explanation for the diminutive suffix *-ik(k)* is its derivation from *-ak(k) in palatal context (cf. II 2.4.4.1), cf. *bačik(k)* "son" < *bačak(k)*.

r seems to have the same palatalising effect:⁹²

- BMC, EVM, EAL *bir* "on, upon, back" (borrowed from NP *bar*);⁹³
- DTB *birāṭ* "brother" vs. *barās*, SWBal. *brāt* (cf. p. 205);

(cf. p. 234) might be based on such a form.

87 BMC *ĵinikk*, ABG, FBB, NAWATA 1981:35 *ĵinik*; DTB also has *ĵink*.

88 SHG *ĵanikk*, DTB *ĵanik^h*.

89 EAL has *daž-*, but this might be due to Elfenbein's reading of Geiger and/or DTB. Geiger's connection of the word with NP *daža* "seal" is rejected by Müller (apud HÜBSCHMANN 1895:63). There is no corresponding SWBal. verb attested; one would expect **daĵ-* (< PIE **d^heg^h*). Av. *daž-* for expected **daĵ-* is explained as a dialectal phenomenon by HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1986:101.

90 For the variants *sīg* (SHG) and *sāg* (ABG, SHG), cf. p. 244, for the etymology, cf. p. 139.

91 The data do suggest (pace GERSHEVITCH 1964:88) that *kisān* (DTB, MAYER 1910) is a secondary variant of *kasān* (all SWBal. sources, including the palatalisation-friendly SHG).

92 GEIGER 1891:407f. also places *mir-* "die" and *gir-* "take" here (for which cf. p. 149). *dir(r)-* "tear", if it belongs here, would be the only example with *ar(r)* > *ir(r)* (for a different solution, cf. p. 145). GEIGER's example (1891:408) *wasirk* "father-in-law" belongs in the following section.

93 The genuine Bal. cognate might be *par* (cf. p. 139).

- *pir* "on, upon" which (if not a variant of *par* "for", for which cf. p. 139) might derive from OIr. *para*^o "further, distant, highest";⁹⁴
- *dārindag* (AXENOV 2003:252) "wealthy" vs. its source NP *dārandā*;
- SHG *digir*⁹⁵ "other" vs. *digar* (borrowed from NP *digar*, cf. p. 121);
- EAL *girdēn*⁹⁶ "neck", *girdō* "circle around the neck on a dress" vs. *gardin* (cf. p. 285), *gardan* "neck" (borrowed from NP).

Examples with *-tir* form a specific subgroup:

- SHG *kunčat* "sesame" vs. *kunčit* otherwise (cf. p. 192);
- BMC, FBB, SHG *uštir*, EAL *huštir* vs. ABG *uštar*, GEB *huštar*, EVM *uštur*, DTB, EAL *huštur* "camel" (cf. p. 158f.);
- *jintir*, *jantir* vs. *jantar* "millstone", see above;
- comparative suffix *-tir* (all sources) vs. DTB, FBB (besides *-tir*) *-tar* and NP *-tar*.

Hypercorrect reversals of the palatalisation process may be seen in

- WBal. *kučak(k)* vs. SBal. *kučik(k)* "dog" (for the etymology, cf. p. 188) might show influence of the NP diminutive suffix *-ak* and/or NP *kūčak* "small";⁹⁷
- the suffix of *āzmānak(k)*, *āsmānak(k)* "story" (cf. p. 186) might be due to a contamination of *-ag* and diminutive Bal. *-ik(k)* and/or NP *-ak* (cf. II 2.4.4.1).

CBal. *u* > *i* (GEIGER 1891:405):⁹⁸

u is palatalised in similar contexts as *a*, although not to the same extent, cf. (by order of palatalising consonant):

- *čin-ka(s)*, *čin-kā*, *činčō* "how much/many" is a compound of *čunt* "how much" (NP *čand*, Av. *čuanṭ-*, Prth. *čwand*, cf. p. 219) and *kas* "person" (cf. p. 125) and *čō* "so (much)" (cf. p. 200), respectively;

94 GEIGER 1890:141 considers *pir* as a cognate of OIr. *pari*^o (Av. *pa'ri*^o) "around" which he concludes from *pir dēag*, *pir kanag* "to put on (clothes)" in which, however, "upon" for *pir* would also fit. The additional verbal compounds in EAL 117 as well as the glosses to *pir* in SHG show that "upon" is the basic meaning. It is not clear to me where *pirr* (EAL 117) is attested.

95 SHG *دځ digih* is likely to be due to a contamination of *digir* and *diga* (cf. p. 283).

96 The *ē* in the suffix is not clear to me.

97 FBB, SHG have *kučik*, EAL (Coastal) *kučikk*, BMC, EAL *kučakk*, EVM and NAWATA 1981:35 *kučak*. DTB (Eastern) has *kšik*.

98 For dialectal *a* in some of these cases, cf. p. 236f.

- *jitā* "separate" vs. NP *judā* (cf. p. 104);
- FBB *iškan-* / *iškut*, SHG *iškun-* / *iškut* vs. SHG *uškun-* / *uškut*, BMC, EVM (*k-*)*uškin-* / (*k*)*uškit* "hear"⁹⁹; Southern *šipānk* vs. Western *šupānk*, NP *šubān* "shepherd";¹⁰⁰ *nišār*¹⁰¹ vs. NP *sunār* "daughter-in-law";
- *wasirk* vs. NP *xusur* "father-in-law": *wasirk*¹⁰² comes from **huasura-ka-*, the suffixless form (cf. Av. *x^vasura-*, OInd. *śvāsura-*) can be seen in *wasir-zā(t)k*¹⁰³ "brother-in-law" ("father-in-law's son");
- *izbōtk* "loving" is likely to derive from **uzbōtk* (cf. p. 185), palatalisation of OIr. *uz^o* is also found in Parthian, cf. *iz-bōg* "release", *iz-γām* "exit";
- *birwān* (FBB) vs. *burwān(k)* "eyebrow" (cf. p. 208, 236).

CBal. $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ (GEIGER 1891:410):¹⁰⁴

The change of $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ does occur in certain dialects, but the isoglosses do not coincide with the major dialect divisions (pace MOŠKALO 1991:24). \bar{u} is preserved in Raxšānī (Western), Kēčī (Southern) and Lāšārī, it is modified to \bar{u} (written \bar{u}) in Sarāwānī according to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII¹⁰⁵ and changed to \bar{i} in all positions – and in inherited words and loanwords alike – in Coastal (Southern) and the Eastern dialects (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VIIIff.).¹⁰⁶

99 *iškun-* / *iškut* are Kēčī and Sarāwānī according to EAL X, XIII who also cites the variant *iškēn-* / *uškun-* / *uškut* (for which cf. p. 204) and (*k*)*uškin-* / (*k*)*uškit* are Raxšānī according to EAL VIII. NAWATA's 1981:16 *ušk-* is obviously modelled on the past stem *uškit*. For EBal. *aškan-* etc., cf. p. 236. If GERSHEVITCH (1998:111) is right in considering *uškin-* / *uškit* the original variant (cf. p. 147), *iškun-* / *iškut* might also be explained as showing a metathesis of vowel quality (GERSHEVITCH 1998:110).

100 SHG has *šipānk*, BMC *šupānk*, EAL qualifies both as Coastal **and** Kēčī. For further variants, cf. p. 236, for the suffix, cf. p. 165f., for the etymology, cf. p. 112.

101 For the etymology, cf. p. 128, for the semantics, cf. p. 306.

102 For semantic details, cf. p. 306, for further discussion, cf. p. 208, 228.

103 EAL. RZEHAČ 1991:186 has *wasir-zāg* "husband's brother". The Eastern dialect form (EAL, PEHRSON 1966:45) is *wasir-zāxt*, *wasar-zāxt* (for which cf. p. 208, 236).

104 For *mūd*, *mīd* "hair", cf. p. 142.

105 The dialect called Sarāwānī by Elfenbein is obviously not the same as the dialect described by SPOONER 1967, BARANZEHI 2003 and others under the same name (meaning the dialect of the Iranian town of Sarāwān and its surroundings). The latter does not show a change of $\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ (cf. p. 262).

106 The fact that the Eastern dialects in general and the remaining ones in part show this change was already described by GEIGER 1889:88.

Some examples:¹⁰⁷

- (*h*)*apītag* SHG vs. *apūtag* SHG, MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290 (a certain plant, cf. p. 140);
- *bīt* FBB, EAL: Coastal, Eastern *bīṭ* DTB, EAL vs. *būt* EVM, BMC, BUDDRUSS 1988:71, NAWATA 1981:19, EAL: Raxšānī, Kēčī, Lāšārī, *būt* EAL (Sarāwānī) "became" (NP, Prth. *būd*);
- *pahlī(g)* SHG, DTB, GCD vs. *pahlū(g)* SHG "side" (cf. p. 163f.);
- *pīnz*¹⁰⁸ vs. *pūnz*¹⁰⁹ "heel";
- *trī* SHG, FBB, MORGENSTIERNE 1948:284 vs. *trū* SHG, FBB, BMC, MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51 "aunt" (cf. p. 124f.);
- *dīt* SHG vs. *dūt(t)* SHG, EAL, BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:37 "smoke" (NP, Prth. *dūd*, cf. p. 142);
- *dīr*¹¹⁰ FBB, DTB, EAL (Coastal, Eastern) vs. *dūr* SHG, EAL, EVM, BMC, *dūr* EAL (Sarāwānī) "far" (NP, Prth. *dūr*);
- *dīk(k)* SHG, *dīx* DTB vs. *dūk(k)* SHG "spindle" (NP *dūk*);¹¹¹
- *zūt(t)* SHG vs. *zūt(t)* SHG, BCM, EVM "quick" (cf. p. 142);
- *zīr-* SHG, FBB, DTB vs. *zūr-* SHG, FBB, EAL, BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:17; "take" (for the etymology, cf. p. 146, for the variant *zōr-*, cf. p. 202);
- *zīm(m)* SHG, FBB, DTB vs. *zūm(m)* SHG, EAL, FBB, NAWATA 1981:37 "scorpion" (maybe – with GEIGER 1890:153 – from the root of NP *zūd* "quick", Av. *zauuah-* "speed", i.e. OInd. √*jū* "hurry", although the *m*-suffix is unparalleled with this root, cf. p. 95);
- *was(s)ī(g)* DTB, SHG, EAL: Coastal vs. *was(s)ū(g)* BMC, NAWATA 1981:5, EAL, SHG "mother-in-law";
- *hūrt*, *ūrt*, *hīrt* (all in EAL and SHG), *īrt* (SHG) "tiny".¹¹²

107 For gemination of after *ī*, *ū* in SHG, cf. p. 242.

108 EAL (Coastal); FBB has *pīz*, SHG *pīnz*. DTB, GCD *p^hīḍ* is a spelling pronunciation (EAL 116), assuming that *z* is a dialectal variant of EBal. *ḍ* (< CBal. *d*, cf. p. 230f.), and *p^hīḍ* in MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49 might be a misprint.

109 EAL; FBB has *pūz*, SHG *pūnz*. For the etymology, cf. p. 127, for the forms in SHG, cf. p. 242.

110 *dūr*, *dīr* (possibly, but not necessarily borrowed from NP *dūr*) is not to be confused with *dēr* "late" (for which cf. p. 119).

111 *dōk* (GEIGER 1890:121) is declared to be an error for *dūk* by GEIGER 1891:410. The word might have been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:444).

112 It is striking that the main entries in SHG are *ūrt*, *īrt* although in this source the Raxšānī loss of *h* does not usually take place. For a possible etymology, cf. p. 122.

Since the change of $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ is an ongoing process, even secondary \bar{u} resulting from \bar{o} (cf. p. 200) is affected in some cases:¹¹³

- SHG, FBB *sīč(č)in*, Eastern (DTB, EAL) *sīšin* vs. *sūč(č)in*¹¹⁴ SHG "needle", NAWATA 1981:37 has the etymologically correct *sōčin* (cf. p. 85, 142);
- maybe the word for "cat" belongs here as well: it is found in the forms *pīššī* (SHG) *pūš(š)ī* (GEB, SHG), *pīš(š)ī* (BMC, FBB, GEB, EAL, SHG), *pīšik* (EVM), *puššī* (SHG).¹¹⁵ When considering the Bal. words alone, one might say that *pūšī* is the primary form (gemination after \bar{u} , \bar{i} being regular in SHG, cf. p. 242) and could derive from **pōšī* (whether or not this has been borrowed from NP *pōšak*) by raising (cf. p. 200), *pīš(š)ī* being the dialectal variant of *pūš(š)ī*. *puššī* might be explained as arisen from *pūšī* by isometric substitution (cf. p. 209), *pīššī* might have either come about in the same way or by a palatalisation of *puššī* (see above). However, with regard to the existence of NP *pīšī* and *pušak* and Psht. *piši*, other solutions are possible as well; irregular developments in a word from the sphere of child language or among the terms of endearment are also probable.¹¹⁶

A hypercorrect reversal of the change $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ may be seen in *šūnz* "green, blue",¹¹⁷ if this variant is secondary to *šīnz*.¹¹⁸

The change of $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ is seen in quite a number of other modern Ir. languages (including Pashto dialects). The Bal. change must be independent from the developments seen in the other languages, however, since it only occurs in some dialects, and the same is likely to apply to the corresponding change in other Ir. languages. The use of $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ for a grouping of Western Ir. languages (e.g. LECOQ 1989) thus seems problematic.

113 For *srēn* "loins", cf. p. 202.

114 Raxšānī according to EAL. There is an unexpected *e* in some variants cited in EAL, where <e> is used for what is \bar{e} in the present work: Kēčī, Lāšārī *sūčen* and Sarāwānī *sūčen*, only the latter of which might be interpreted as showing IrBal. [e] for /i/ (cf. p. 261). Maybe the reason for these forms is the entry *sūčēn* in EVM, likewise not entirely clear; maybe this is a misinterpretation of ZARUBIN 1932 who uses <e> for \bar{e} and <ę> for an allophone of *i* (ZARUBIN 1932:VII).

115 For variants with secondary nasalisation, cf. p. 217.

116 For further cognates in Ir. languages, cf. GEIGER 1890:142.

117 Cf. p. 113f. for an etymological discussion and p. 214 for further variants.

118 *pulūs* "police" (Engl. loanword) need not show a Bal. change of $\bar{i} > \bar{u}$ (pace FARRELL 2003:180) since *pulūs* is widespread in the languages of Northern Pakistan and Balochi may have borrowed the word in this form (Georg Buddruss, personal communication).

3.1.2.3.2 Raising and Lowering

Raising

Although as a rule, MĪr. *ē*, *ō* (< OĪr. *ai*, *au*, cf. II 2.3.3) are preserved in Balochi, there are examples of the same merger *ē*, *ī* > *ī* and *ō*, *ū* > *ū* which has operated regularly in Standard Modern Persian.

CBal. *ē* > *ī*:¹¹⁹

- ABG *ādīk* vs. usual *ādēnk* "mirror";¹²⁰
- GEB *ī* (dem.pron.) vs. usual *ē* (cf. V 1.2) might belong here, if it exists;¹²¹
- ABG *čīr*¹²² (*čīr būag* "to hide") for usual *čēr* (Eastern *šēr*) "under";
- ABG *dīmā* vs. usual *dēmā* "in front of" (obl. case of *dēm* "face") could have been influenced by the NP cognate *dīm* (MP, Prth. *dēm*);
- EBal. *rīš-* vs. other dialects *rēč-* "pour" (cf. p. 151);
- ABG *rīk* "desert" vs. usual *rēk* "sand" (cf. p. 97);
- *-gīn* in BMC *rōd-gīn* "red, reddish"¹²³ (from *rōd* "copper", NP *rūy*, MP *rōy*): one might be tempted to derive the word from **rōd-gōn* "copper-coloured",¹²⁴ but the suffix is probably a cognate of the MP, Prth. possessive suffix *-gēn*;¹²⁵

119 *gīn* "breath" is probably not a case of *ēn* > *īn* (cf. p. 136).

120 For further variants and nasalisation processes, cf. p. 214, for the etymology, cf. p. 79.

121 GEIGER's assumption (1891:408) that *ī* has been borrowed from NP does not seem likely.

122 Note that simple *īr* cited by GEIGER 1890:129 is not attested (Geiger's source DAMES 1881:46 and DTB have only *ēr*). As *ēr* has been derived from OĪr. *adari* "under" (Av. *aδa'ri*), it would seem that it has been borrowed from Persian (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556), cf. MP *ēr*. Since *čēr* cannot have been borrowed from NP (which has the parallel formation *z-ēr*), however, it must be a compound formed in Balochi from *č(a)* / EBal. *š(a)* and *ēr*. Alternatively, it seems possible that it is an inherited word: Sogd. *c'δr* "below, under" (GERSHEVITCH 1954:232) might indicate that the composition with the preposition OĪr. *hača* is an older formation, and it appears possible that MĪr. *aδr*, *aγr* gives *ēr* in Balochi (cf. p. 119). If so, EBal. *šēr* would show an adaptation to the preposition *š(a)*.

123 The second meaning "river-like" (BMC) may be due to a popular etymology with *rōd* "river" (cf. p. 270).

124 Cf. NP *gūn*, MPZ *gōn* "colour" (MP, Prth. *gōnag*, Av. *gaona-* "sort, kind"). One would have to assume **gōn* > **gūn* with subsequent *ū* > *ī* (cf. p. 198). For *gōn* "with" as a possible further reflex of this word in Balochi, cf. p. 181, 214.

125 Examples include Prth. *zēn-gēn* "armed" (*zēn* "weapon", RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:196), *nām-gēn* "famous", MPM *awezmāh-gēn* "lewd" (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 114). The suffix is quite common in Armenian, e.g. *srtagin* "hearty", *divagin* "demonical" (Ralf-Peter Ritter, personal

- GEB, SHG *mīk(k)* "top of head", EVM *mī* "halter" vs. EAL *mēk* "stake, pole, top of head", *mēh* "tent peg" (NP, Prth. *mēx*): the words may have been borrowed from or influenced by CNP *mīx*, NP *mēx* (cf. p. 82f.);¹²⁶
- *nīwag* "fruit" vs. NP *mēwa* (cf. p. 268);
- *hīt* "young grain" vs. MP *xwēd*, NP *xawēd* (cf. p. 123);
- adj.suffix *-īn* in ABG *kuhnī*²⁷ "old-fashioned" vs. *-ēn* otherwise (cf. p. 151).

CBal. *ō* > *ū*:¹²⁸

- GRIERSON 1921:405f. notes *ūdā* in the EBal. dialect Kasrānī (for which cf. p. 231) corresponding to *ōdā* "there" in SWBal. (cf. p. 101);
- there is a variant *ǰū* "river" for (BMC) *ǰō(h)* (cf. p. 104);
- FBB *činčū* "how much" (cf. p. 195) vs. EAL *činčō* and *čō* "so (much)" (all sources);
- SWBal. *sōp* "apple" appears as *sōf* in EBal. according to BMC and EAL, but DTB has *sūf*;¹²⁹
- *sōčīn* > *sūč(č)īn* > *sīč(č)īn* (cf. p. 198) "needle";
- according to EAL, *srōš* (cf. p. 131, 205) "elbow" has a variant *surūšk*, this variant is also the basis for *surušk* (for which cf. p. 188);
- *kūr* (EAL, BMC) "river" is a (according to BMC, Raxšānī dialectal) variant of *kōr*, *kaur* (for which II 3.3.2.2);
- *hōrk* "empty" has a variant *hurk* (cf. p. 188) which seems to imply a stage **hūr*k.

communication). It is derived by SALEMANN 1901:280 from **k-ajna-*, i.e. a combination of a *k-* suffix with the adj. suffix Av. *-aēna-*, Prth., Bal. *-ēn* (cf. p. 151).

126 For *mīk* "nail", cf. p. 187.

127 It is not clear whether this word is meant as *kuhnī* (suggested by the Arabic orthography and its place in the glossary) or *kōhnī* (thus the intention of the transcription). Both *kuhn* and *kōhn* are attested in other sources (cf. p. 211).

128 If the vowel of NP *mōy* "hair" is genuine (which is not sure, cf. p. 142), *mūd*, *mīd* might belong here, too. Otherwise, NP would show a hypercorrect change also observed in some words in Balochi (see below). A further example might be involved in *pūš(š)ī* (cf. p. 198).

129 As there are some apparently related words for "apple" in other NWIr. languages (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50), Bal. *sōp* is unlikely to have been borrowed from Si. *sūp^hu*. It is also difficult to see how Bal. *sōp* etc. could be related to NP *sēb*; DTB assumes that *sūf* has been borrowed from Arabic, where, however, the word does not seem to be attested (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50).

Some terms of relationship have variants in *-ū* besides the more usual ones in *-ō*:¹³⁰

- *mātū, māsū* "stepmother" besides *mātō*, similarly, *pitū, pis(s)ū* "stepfather" besides *pitō, pis(s)ō* (for the sources, cf. p. 307);
- SHG *nākū(g)* (also reported by GEIGER 1890:138) vs. *nākō* (everywhere else) "uncle",¹³¹ the suffix might be secondary in this word anyway since the cognates do not show it (Av. *niiāka-*, OP *niyāka-*, NP *niyā*, Prth. *niyāg*).

The vowel change might have been motivated by the existence of the common suffix *-ū(g)* (cf. II 2.4.4.1), which is e.g. seen in *was(s)ū* "mother-in-law" (see below).

Lowering

A number of words show lowering which might be interpreted as a hypercorrect reverse of the raising process just discussed.

ē > ī:¹³²

- *grē(w)*- "weep", borrowed from NP *g(i)rī-* (cf. p. 162);
- *gušnagē* (GRIERSON 1921:376) "hunger" (if not an error) instead of *gušnagī* (from *gušnag* "hungry", for which cf. p. 100, 127, 178).

ū > ō:

- BMC, EAL *āxōbat* for *ākūbat* (BMC) besides *ākubat, ākibat* "future" (NP-Ar. *‘āqibat*, cf. p. 193, 286);

130 In a group of family terms given by FARRELL 1990:80 and RZEHAK 1991:185, there is a suffix *-ō* or *-ū* in words for not directly related relatives, e.g. *čukō* "stepchild", *mātō* "stepmother", *pitō* "stepfather" (all formed from the corresponding terms for non-step relatives, cf. III 2). It seems likely that the variants in *-ō* are the more original ones since raising is more common than lowering. Moreover, in a number of cases SHG does not show the original forms of suffixes, e.g. in *wassō* "mother-in-law" (see below) where *wassū* of other sources can be shown to be the older form (cf. p. 130 and above), thus in this respect, the other sources seem to be more trustworthy.

131 For the semantics, cf. p. 301.

132 It is not quite clear how ABG <ڤڙڙه *šaze*> (sic!) "marriage; happiness, pleasure" is meant. If *šāzē* is intended (which is how the transcription in ABG is normally used), the word might represent NP *šādī* "joy" with EBal. *d > δ >* (dialectal, cf. p. 230f.) *z* and hypercorrect *-ē* for *-ī*, maybe by reinterpretation of the abstract suffix as the indefinite article. For *barēbar*, see below.

The other instances of *ē* for *i* or *ī* noted by GRIERSON 1921:376 are likely to require other explanations (if they exist): for the pronoun *ī* instead of *ē*, cf. p. 243; *šē* for *ši* "from" (more commonly, *ša, aš* etc., cf. p. 85, 229) might show analogy to or composition with the demonstrative pronoun *ē*; *čē* "what" is not secondary to *čī*, but rather the other way round (cf. p. 107f.).

- ABG *annō* for usual *annūn*, *annū* "right now" (cf. p. 214);¹³³
- GRIERSON 1921:376 *bōt* for usual *būt* (past stem of *bay-* "become");
- ABG *dōt* for usual *dūt* "smoke" (cf. p. 142);
- ABG *zōr-* for usual *zūr-* "take" (cf. p. 146);
- with regard to the variants with *-ō-* from ABG just cited, it is probable that ABG *zāl-bōl* is secondary vs. BMC, SHG *zāl-būl* "woman, feminine"; the etymology of *būl* is unknown (maybe there is some connection with *būl* "nose-ring"?);¹³⁴
- SHG *wassō* besides normal *was(s)ū*, *was(s)ī* "mother-in-law" is perhaps influenced by the relation terms in *-ō-*, see above.

ō > *ē*:

There are some words which are best explained by assuming raising of *ō* > *ū*, subsequent change of *ū* > *ī* (cf. p. 196f.) and hypercorrect lowering:

- *barēbar* (SHG) for (ABG, SHG) *barōbar* (cf. p. 283, 286) for *barābar* "equal";
- *srēn* "loins" instead of expected †*srōn* (Av. *sraoni-*) might have come about approximately in the following way: **srōn* > **srūn* (raising of the vowel, cf. NP *surūn*) > *srīn* (attested in LEECH 1838 according to GEIGER 1890:145, cf. NP *surīn*) and the hypercorrect reinstallation of *ē*. The Bal. word might also have been borrowed from NP *surīn* and then suffered a change of the vowel.¹³⁵

3.1.2.3.3 Diphthongisation¹³⁶

There are some cases of *ai*, *au* where one would expect *ē*, *ō*, respectively. It is not clear whether the phenomenon is to be regarded as a feature of a certain dialect, all examples but the last three coming from ABG:

133 This word is a variant of *nūn* "now" (NP *nūn*, OInd. *nūnām* etc.). According to GERSHEVITCH 1979:141, NP *hanūz* "yet, still" < MPZ <'hnwc> goes back to a compound from OP *aḍai* "still, as yet" and **nūči* (cf. Av. *nūčī*), MPM <'hnwn(-c)> "now" would then show *aḍai* + **nūnam*. If Bal. *hannūn* (only EAL) exists, it might show unetymological *h-* (cf. p. 154) and/or a reinterpretation as involving *ham* as first syllable (*ham-nūn* is the interpretation of *hannūn* by EAL 108).

134 *zāl* "woman" is a NP loanword, cf. GEIGER 1891:444. According to EAL, *būl* is a borrowing from Lahnda. For a photo of a Bal. woman with nose-ring, cf. MATHESON 1967:22a.

135 An alternative explanation is that the *-i* seen in Av. *sraoni-* effected a change of the preceding vowel with the result of NP *surīn* (KLINGENSCHMITT 1972:73¹⁹⁵, 2000:206⁵², GIPPERT 1993/I:243) and Bal. *srēn*. NP *surūn* "buttocks" must then be a dialectal form without umlaut (GIPPERT 1993/I:243), perhaps influenced by *sarūn* "horn". (Note that the NP forms show NWIr. features, the SWIr. form would be **sēn*.) A second case for such a change is lacking for Balochi, though.

136 For the diphthongisation *ē* > *īe*, *ō* > *ūe* in Lāšārī, cf. p. 261.

ai for *ē*:

- *kardai*¹³⁷ "some, any" for *k^hardē* (GRIERSON 1921:394, for further discussion, cf. p. 183) might involve a reinterpretation of *-ē* with regard to the fact that in the case of the gen.sg., variants of the ending include *-ē* and *-ai* (cf. p. 108);
- *gaištar* "majority" besides *gēštar* "additional" (*gēštir* in other sources) is the comparative of *gēš* "more" (for which cf. p. 279).

au for *ō*:¹³⁸

- *pauz* "mouth, face" for usual *pōz* "nose" (NP *pōz* "mouth etc."),¹³⁹
- *ḡau* "canal" vs. usual *ḡō(h)* "river" (for which cf. p. 104),
- *kaupag* "shoulder" besides *kōfaḡ* "id." (usual SWBal. form *kōpag*, cf. p. 81);
- EBal. *bauf* (DTB, GCD) "mattress" besides *bōf* (GLADSTONE 1874), SWBal. *bōp* (BMC, FBB, EAL);¹⁴⁰
- EBal. *naux* besides *nōx* "bride" (cf. p. 102);
- the relationship of *au* "and" (BMC, GRIERSON 1921:376) to *ō* (FBB, GRIERSON 1921:376) and *u*¹⁴¹ is not quite clear. However, *ō* and *au* are somehow secondary to *u* (Av. *uta*, Prth., MP *ud*, *u-*); the loss of the dental may be due to the word being an unaccented / allegro form, unless it has been borrowed from Persian.

137 Note that the *k-* is not aspirated. The orthography is *کردد* (sic).

138 There is a parallel change *ō > ou* (instead of *ū*) which occasionally occurs in CNP, e.g. *roušan* "light (adj.)" < *rōšan*.

taupak "gun" vs. *tōpak* (GEB, EAL), *tūpak(k)* (BMC, EAL, SHG) need not be secondary since NP also has *taupak*, *tūpak*, cf. also p. 180. The same applies to BMC *bilaur* vs. SHG *bulūr*, EAL *bilōr*, *b(u)lōr* (Bal. informants) "crystal, glass" since the variants occurring in NP according to STEINGASS 1892:199 are *ballūr*, *billaur*, *bulūr*, from where the Bal. variants *bilaur*, *bulūr* may have been borrowed. Parthian has <bylwr>, which COLDITZ 2000:280 transcribes *bilōr* (cf. p. 281); this would match Bal. *bilōr*, *b(u)lōr* very well. The word which has wandered all over Asia originally comes from a Middle Ind. language, cf. Pali *veḷuriya* (HÜBSCHMANN 1899:19), CARDONA 1980.

139 For variants, cf. p. 216. If BAILEY's 1979:250b etymology (Khot. *paujsīda* "they kiss", Orm. *pōč* "kiss") is correct, *pōz* must have been borrowed from NP; the same applies to Psht. *pōza* (MORGENSTIERNE 2003:68). The relationship to Osset. *fynz* etc. which seems to go back to **pinz-* (ABAEV I:497) is not clear.

140 There seem to be no cognates apart from MPZ, NP *bōb*.

141 BMC has *u* only in compounds and the like, but in ABG, SHG, NAWATA 1981:29, BUDDRUSS 1981:82, *u* is the only variant. BUDDRUSS 1988:82 also has NP-Ar. *wa*.

3.1.2.3.4 Vowel assimilation

In some examples, the quality of a vowel is assimilated to that of a neighbouring (usually: following) vowel:

with *u*:

- DTB, EVM, EAL *uštur* besides *uštir*, *uštar* "camel" (cf. p. 158f., p. 195);
- EVM *uškumag* besides ABG, SHG *šikam* "stomach" (cf. p. 170, 286);
- SHG, EAL *uškun-* "hear" < **uškan-* or **uškin-* (cf. p. 147);
- DTB *dužux* vs. SWBal. *dajuk* etc. (cf. p. 227) "hedgehog";
- ABG *qubūl* "accepted" besides *kabūl*, (NP-Ar.) *qabūl*;
- ABG, BMC *lunkuk* besides FBB, SHG *lankuk* "finger" (cf. p. 181, 293).

with *a*:¹⁴²

- *jaġar* "liver" (borrowed from NP *ġigar*) may be interpreted either as vowel assimilation or as a hypercorrect form reversing a "palatalisation" (cf. p. 195).

3.1.2.4 Anaptyxis

Anaptyxis is one of the strategies to avoid clumsy consonant clusters (another strategy is metathesis of the consonants, for which cf. II 3.1.1.2, 3.2.1.1.3, 3.2.2.1, 3.3.1.1). Although the majority of cases are loanwords, genuine words (e.g. *drāj* "long" and the words with *sr-*) are affected, too. Anaptyxis seems to be particularly common in (potentially) EBal. sources.¹⁴³ Anaptyctical vowels are inserted in word-final or word-initial consonant clusters, but not in word-internal ones.¹⁴⁴ The anaptyctical vowel either corresponds to the vowels of the surrounding syllables or is the neutral vowel *a* (cf. II 3.1.2.3.4, 3.2.1.2).

Again, a remark of caution has to be added: differences in the occurrence of anaptyctical vowels might be due to imperfect perception and notation by the respective

142 It cannot be ruled out that the cases of *a* < *u* in Eastern Balochi (cf. p. 236) are to be placed here.

143 GEIGER 1891:405, 408f. treats phenomena of anaptyxis together with processes of vowel change and does not differentiate for dialects.

144 Cf. e.g. *zahar* "anger" (see below) vs. *zahran* "angry", *sārat^h* "cold" (see below) vs. *sār^htī* "cold (noun)" (all ABG), *šukur*, *šukar* (see below) vs. *šukrāt* (BMC), *šukrā* (FBB) "thanks". The only exception among dozens of examples is ABG *qutubī* "Northern" which is probably analogical to **qutub* "North", even if ABG has *qutb* (NP-Ar. *qutb*), but *kutub* is attested in ABG, BMC, EAL.

sources. Furthermore, variants with and without vowel seem to occur in the speech of the same speaker, probably depending – among other things – on stress patterns and the position of the word in the sentence (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication). Note also that some sources have drawn their material from metrical texts, where the number and structure of syllables might be affected by the necessities of the metre.¹⁴⁵

Anaptyxis in word-initial consonant clusters may be sorted into the following groups:

- it occurs in all words with *sr-* (cf. II 2.2.2.3):¹⁴⁶
surup (BMC, PIERCE 1874) vs. *srup* (EAL, SHG) "lead (metal)"; *surum* (DAMES 1881) vs. *srumb* (LEECH 1838, SHG) "hoof"; *sarōš* (GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881, DAMES 1881, DTB, GCD, EAL: EBal.), *surōš* (EAL), *surūšk* (EAL: Coastal) vs. *srōš* (SHG, EAL)¹⁴⁷ "elbow"; *sarēn* (GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881, DAMES 1881, DTB, GCD), *sirīn* (LEECH 1838) vs. *srēn* "loins";
- anaptyxis in other consonant clusters of the type #Cr- is rather common:¹⁴⁸
EBal. *birāṭ* (DAMES 1881), *barās* (GLADSTONE 1874) vs. SWBal. *brāt* "brother" (cf. p. 78, 230); *darāj*, *darāž*¹⁴⁹ vs. SWBal. *drāj* "long"; *darašk*, ABG *daršak*¹⁵⁰ "tree" besides *drašk* (DTB), SWBal. *dračk*; *darōg* (PIERCE 1874, ABG, EAL) for *drōg*¹⁵¹ "lie" (Prth. *drōγ*); *zirā* (MARSTON 1877) "sea" and *zirih* (DAMES 1881) "spring, well" vs. Av. *zraiiāh-* "sea" (NP *daryā*, Prth. *zrēh*); *garand*, *garandaḡ* (DAMES 1881, DTB, GCD) for *grand*, *grandaḡ*¹⁵² "thunder, to thunder"; *girē-* (GLADSTONE 1874, DAMES 1881, DTB) besides *grē-* (DTB), SWBal. *grē(w)-* "weep" (cf. p. 162);

145 For references to the etymologies of the words presented here, cf. V 2.

146 *surōp* "apple" (FARRELL 1990:47), if not a misprint for *srōp* (thus FARRELL 1990:84 and SHG) might show that anaptyxis occasionally also occurs in Karachi Balochi. The etymology of *srōp* is not clear yet, and the word has been only reported from Karachi so far. It is not clear if one might speculate about some contamination of the word for "apple" found in other dialects, *sōp* (cf. p. 200) with Ur. *surūp* "well-formed, beautiful". If so, this word would not show anaptyxis.

147 According to EAL, *srōš* is Eastern Balochi, which seems improbable given its attestation in SHG; EAL in addition has *srōšk* without dialect specification.

For *šarōš*, cf. p. 180, for *surūšk*, cf. p. 200, for *surušk*, cf. p. 188.

148 Note that *a* next to *r* is often changed to *i* (cf. p. 194f.).

149 Both variants occur in ABG, *darāj* shows the SWBal. consonantism (cf. 86, 229).

150 GEIGER 1890:120 states that EBal. has *darašk* and *drašk* without specifying which source shows which variant; cf. also p. 166, 189.

151 Bal. *drōg* might, but need not have been borrowed from NP *durōg* (GEIGER 1891:447).

152 The past stem is *grandit* (BMC, EAL), *garandaṭ-* (DTB, GCD), cf. also p. 317.

- the only other example of anaptyxis in a word-initial consonant cluster is *safēð* (LEECH 1838), *sawēð* (DAMES 1881), *sawēs* (GLADSTONE 1874) besides *swēð* (DTB) vs. SWBal. *spēt* etc. "white" (cf. p. 90, 152); for *šawā* "you", cf. p. 126, 218, 232f.

Anaptyxis in word-final consonant clusters can be seen in a number of Ir. loanwords and rather regularly in Ar. loanwords of the structure CVCC:

- words of the structure CVC*r* quite regularly show anaptyxis in ABG and comparatively often in other sources as well; only some examples are given here: *at(t)ar*¹⁵³ (ABG, EAL) vs. *atr* (EAL) "perfume" (NP-Ar. *ʿatr*), *asur* (DTB, FBB, SHG) vs. *asr* (EAL) "afternoon (prayer)" (NP-Ar. *ʿasr*), *bahar* (MARSTON 1877, HITTU RAM 1881, GRIERSON 1921:391, DTB) vs. *bahr*¹⁵⁴ "share", *paʃar* (SHG), *faʃar* (FBB) "morning (prayer)" (NP-Ar. *faʃr*), *ʃibar* (ABG, cf. p. 194) "force" vs. NP-Ar. *ʃabr*, *zahar* (ABG) "anger" besides *zahr*¹⁵⁵ "poison", *sabar* (FBB) vs. *sabr* (all other sources) "patience" (NP-Ar. *ṣabr*), *saḥar* (ABG, in *saḥar-gō* "sorcerer") vs. *saḥr* (ABG, cf. p. 236) from (DTB, EAL) *sihr* "magic" (NP-Ar. *sihr*), *šukar* (ABG), *šukur* (FBB) vs. *šukr* (DTB, SHG) "thanks" (NP-Ar. *šukr*), *qabar* (ABG), *kabar* (FBB)¹⁵⁶ vs. *kabr* (EAL, SHG) "grave" (NP-Ar. *qabr*), *kadar* (SHG) vs. *kadr* (BMC) "measure" (NP-Ar. *qadr*);

153 According to ROSSI 1979:163, *attar* is also found in Brahui. For gemination in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.5.

154 This variant is given in EAL, SHG; for the variant *bār*, cf. p. 253. The word is more likely to derive from PIr. **baxðra-*, cf. Av. *baxəðra-*, Prth. *bahr* "portion", OInd. *√b^haj* "give a share" (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:33) than from Av. *hu-baðra-*, OInd. *b^hadrá-* "fortunate" (thus GEIGER 1891:446, HORN 1893:56). If so, Bal. *bahr* has been borrowed from NP *bahr* (originally a NWIr. form, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:202) as GEIGER 1891:446 assumes since PIr. **ðr* is likely to result in Bal. *s(s)* (cf. p. 89). Alternatively, one might assume a simplification **baxðr-* > **baxr* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication) which would regularly yield Bal. *bahr* (cf. p. 119).

155 The two words are in reality the same. *zahr* means "poison" in ABG, EAL, SHG, "anger" in DTB, EAL, "bitter" in DTB. The WBal. variant (for *ah* > *ā*, cf. p. 252f.) *zār* means "anger" (EVM, EAL), "angry, bitter" (BMC, FBB). The etymology is probably **ja-ðra-* "medium for killing" (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:71); as Sogd. *j'r* derives from **janðra-* (GERSHEVITCH 1965:14¹), the WIr. words may also go back to this protoform (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication). Bal. *zahr* (vs. Prth. *žahr*) is a NP borrowing (NP *zahr*, GEIGER 1891:463). It is possible that the semantics of *zahr*, *zār* have been influenced by *zār* "lament" which may have been borrowed from NP *zār*. *zār* (also Prth. *zār*) has been connected to PIE **ǵar* "make noise" (cf. BAILEY 1979:355a, LIV p. 161). Alternatively, one might assume a connection with Av. *√zar*, OInd. *√hr̥ṣ*, cf. Av. *hūāzāra-* "easy to insult", NP *āzār-* / *āzārd* "torment" and further cognates noted by BAILEY 1979:354a, LIV p. 178.

156 FBB, EAL also have *kabaristān* "graveyard".

- words of the structure CVCl show an anaptyctic vowel in ABG and occasionally in other sources:
[°]*aqqal* (ABG) vs. *akl*¹⁵⁷ (EVM, EAL, SHG) "intelligence" (NP-Ar. [°]*aql*), *puhal* (DTB) vs. *puhl* (ABG, SHG, cf. p. 121, 131, 147, 211) "bridge", *tahal* (ABG) vs. *tahl* (EAL, SHG)¹⁵⁸ "bitter", *šikil* (ABG, SHG) vs. *šikl* (SHG) "form" (NP-Ar. *šikl*), *gusul* (ABG) "bath" (NP-Ar. *gusl* "ritual washing"), *fažal* (ABG) "favour" (NP-Ar. *fažl*) ABG, *kubul* (FBB), *kubal* (ABG) vs. *kubl*¹⁵⁹ (EAL, SHG) "lock" (NP-Ar. *qufl*);
- examples for anaptyxis in other clusters (ordered by word-final consonant):
turšap (ABG) vs. *turšp*¹⁶⁰ "sour", *sārat*^h besides *sārt*¹⁶¹ "cold", *zabaḥ* (ABG) "slaughtering" (NP-Ar. *zabḥ*), *fataḥ* (ABG) "victory" (NP-Ar. *fath*), [°]*ahad* (ABG) "period, era", [°]*ahaz*¹⁶² "marriage contract" (both ABG) vs. *ahd*¹⁶³ (SHG) "time; promise" (NP-Ar. [°]*ahd*), *šahad* (ABG) vs. *šahd* (EAL, SHG)¹⁶⁴ "honey" (NP-Ar. *šahd*) ABG, *magaz* (FBB), *mağaz* (ABG) vs. *magz* (SHG), *mağz* (EAL)¹⁶⁵ "brain", *pažam* (ABG) vs. *pažm* (EAL, SHG) "wool" (cf. p. 178), *ğaban* "fraud" (NP-Ar. *ğabn*).

Especially noteworthy are the following examples (all from ABG):

- [°]*ainaš* vs. EAL, EVM *aiš* (NP-Ar. [°]*aiš*) "luxury" shows an anaptyctical vowel after a secondary nasal (cf. p. 216);

157 For further variants and discussion of this word, cf. p. 265, 267.

158 NAWATA 1981 has the WBal. form *tāl*, BMC the combined variant *tāhl* (cf. p. 253). For the etymology, cf. p. 119.

159 ROSSI 1979:219 also reports *kulaf* (vs. *kulf*, *kulp* of different sources, cf. p. 265, 267).

160 *turšp* is found in EAL only, the other sources have *trupš*, *trupš* (cf. p. 145, 176, 209). The sequence *-ur-* in *turšap* might be due to the NP loanword *turš* (BMC, EAL; DTB, GEB *truš*).

161 Thus also all SWBal. sources. DTB has *sārt*^h. For the etymology, cf. p. 189, for *r* > *ṛ*, cf. p. 183.

162 For EBal. dialectal *d* > *ḍ* > *z*, cf. p. 230f. The two words are in fact the same.

163 For EAL *āhd*, cf. p. 253.

164 Further variants are *šāht* (BMC), *šāt* (BMC, EAL), *šaht* (EAL); the first two show WBal. features (cf. p. 253), for the devoicing of word-final consonants, cf. II 3.3.1.4.

165 Although it is possible that Bal. *magz* shows a spontaneous metathesis, it may also be explained as a loanword from NP *mağz*. The original order of the consonants is preserved in Bal. *mazg* (cf. p. 88), MPZ *mazg*, Chor. *mzy*, Av. *mazga-* etc. According to GERSHEVITCH 1965:209, MPM *magž* shows a change *zg* > <gj> *gž* regular for MPM. NP *mağz* may be explained as showing a contamination of the MP forms and/or the influence of Buddhist Sogd. *mγz-* (suggestion by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst). For *mažg*, *mažg*, cf. p. 88.

- *sawaz* "green" vs. otherwise EBal. *saβz*, *sauz*, SWBal. *sabz*;¹⁶⁶
- in *hawar* (otherwise always *haur*, cf. p. 158f.) "rain", the /w/ which is part of a diphthong in at least some other dialects changes to consonantal status.

sārat^h and *ˁainaš* show that anaptyxis is secondary to the change of *r* > *r̥* (cf. II 3.1.1.4) and the introduction of secondary nasals (cf. p. 215f.). Given that similar sorts of anaptyxis occur in Indic languages (e.g. Ur. *šahad* "honey", *qabar* "grave", Si. *asur* "dawn"), it is possible that the influence of Ind. languages plays a role here, and some NP(-Ar.) words might have been borrowed from Ind. into Balochi in that form.

3.1.3 Vowels + consonants

3.1.3.1 Metathesis of elements

Metathesis of liquids

In some examples, *CrV-* is changed to *CVr-*:

- *burwān(k)* etc.¹⁶⁷ "eyebrow" vs. NP *abrū*, MP *brūg*, OInd. *b^hrū-* etc.;
- ABG *durstī* "acquaintance" vs. *drustī* (BMC);¹⁶⁸
- ABG *daršak* vs. *dračk* etc. "tree" (cf. p. 166, 189, 205, 229).

EBal. *wasrik* (GCD), *wasarik* (DTB) vs. SWBal. *wasirk* "father-in-law" (cf. p. 196, 306) is unlikely to show a metathesis: EBal. *wasar-zāxt* "father-in-law's child" suggests that the primary form for "father-in-law" in EBal. is **wasar*, to which a suffix is added to give *was(a)rik*.¹⁶⁹ The suffix used here is probably the diminutive suffix *-ik(k)* found also in e.g. *bačik(k)* "son", *jinik(k)* "daughter" (cf. II 2.4.4.1) since simple *k* does not change to EBal. *-x* (for *k* > *x* in EBal., cf. p. 227f.).¹⁷⁰

166 *sabz* (for variants, cf. p. 277) "blue, green, grey" is most likely to have been borrowed from NP *sabz*, although the etymology is not clear; MORGENSTIERNE 1927:66, 2003:73 and BAILEY 1979:140a, 355b assume **sapači-*, and compare it to Psht. *sābə* "grass" etc. which they derive from **sāpači-*.

167 For variants, cf. p. 196, 236, for the suffix, cf. p. 165.

168 *drustī* may have been borrowed from NP *durustī* "entireness, propriety"; alternatively, it may be a Bal. derivative from *drust* "all", which is most likely to have been borrowed from Pers. *drust* (MP), *durust* (NP) "right" (GEIGER 1891:444), cf. Prth. *društ*, *druwišt* (cf. also p. 124).

169 For vowel elision in EBal., cf. p. 235.

170 It does not seem impossible that the EBal. form *wasarix* (EAL 159) is due to Elfenbein's application of EBal. sound laws to the SWBal. forms or as "correction" of *was(a)rik*.

In the following cases, #CVr- is changed to #CrV- (for all three, cf. II 2.3.2.1):

- *trus* (EVM, EAL, SHG), verbal *trus-* / *trusit* (EVM, EAL)¹⁷¹ besides BMC, DTB, EAL, SHG *turs*, verbal *turs-* / *tursit* "fear";
- *truš* (DTB) vs. *turš* (BMC, EAL), which has been borrowed from NP *turš* "sour";
- in *turpš* "sour", the final consonant cluster is reduced by a metathesis to *trupš*, *trušp* (EAL, GEB, SHG) similar to the one in MPZ *tru(f)š* (MACKENZIE 1986:84) and Prth. *trifš*.¹⁷²

Isometric substitution¹⁷³

There seems to be a principle at work in some examples which reduces a long vowel to a short one with compensatory lengthening of the following consonant:

- *jur(r)āb* < NP-Ar. *ǰūrāb* "stocking";
- *ǰuz(z)*-¹⁷⁴ "move" vs. NP *ǰōy-*, Av. *yaoza-*, unless *ǰuz(z)*- is another formation;
- *čuš(š)*- (SHG) for *čūš-* (BMC, EVM, FBB, EAL)¹⁷⁵ "kiss, suck";
- *nak(k)* "grandmother"¹⁷⁶ vs. *nākō* "uncle" (cf. p. 105f.);
- if *puš(š)ī*, *piš(š)ī* is not to be explained in connection with NP *pušak* (cf. p. 198), it might represent an isometrically metathesised variant of *pīšī*, *pūšī* and thus belong here (note that a gemination of the *š* in *pīššī*, *pūššī* is only attested in SHG where gemination of consonant after *ī* and *ū* is regular, cf. p. 242).

171 For alleged *truss-*, cf. p. 146.

172 For further discussion, cf. p. 176, 207.

173 The term as well as the hint to this phenomenon are from Ilya Yakubovich (personal communication).

Other languages showing something similar include Italian, where there are examples of short vowel + long consonant for earlier long vowel + simple consonant and vice versa (ROHLFS 1949:382f.): It. *brutto* < Lat. *brūtus*, It. dial. *cāro* < *carro*, cf. also (Ilya Yakubovich, personal communication) It. *conobbi* "I recognised" < Lat. *cognōvī*, *ruppi* "I broke" < *rūpī*, *venni* "I came" < *vēnī*. For gemination in Balochi in general, cf. II 3.1.1.1.

174 The past stem is *ǰuz(z)it*, a secondary formation which cannot directly have brought about the short *u* of the present stem. For etymological discussion, cf. p. 104.

175 SHG has *čūšš-* which results from the regular gemination of consonants after *ī* and *ū* in that source. *čūš(š)*- might have been borrowed from NP *čōš-* (ELFENBEIN 1963:29).

176 If EAL *nakō* "old, uncle, father-in-law, grandmother" is not a misprint for *nākō*, it might be a derivative of *nak(k)* *"grandparent, elder relative".

The converse process may be seen in

- *tūn* "thirst", *tūnag*, *tūnīg* (GEIGER 1981:409) "thirsty" vs. *tun(n)*, *tun(n)ag*, *tun(n)īg* etc. (cf. p. 127);
- one might also consider to explain *bāz* "much, many, very" vs. *bazz* (GCD, EAL, in other sources *baz*) "thick, coarse (of paper, cloth etc.)" in a similar way. Both words have been connected to Arm. *bazum*, OInd. *bahú-* "much, numerous" etc. by HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560 and others.¹⁷⁷ The alternative hypothesis would be to interpret *bāz* as Bal. rendering of NP-Ar. *ba^ʿz(ī)* "several, some" (thus e.g. ROSSI 1979:174, FARRELL 2003:181); Bal. *bāz* is indeed written *بعض* in BMC (besides *باز*) and cited as *ba^ʿz* in GCD.¹⁷⁸ However, it seems difficult to see the "completely coinciding" semantics of Bal. *bāz* and *baz(z)* with NP *ba^ʿz* "several" and Ur. *bāz* "back, again"¹⁷⁹ adduced by ROSSI 1979:174 in support of this argument, and the etymology advocated by Hübschmann etc. might seem the better assumption; if so, *baz* "thick" would be the original form of the Bal. word, it might have got its geminate by analogy with the NP loanword *bas(s)* "enough" (cf. p. 100); by application of the reverse of $\bar{V}C > \check{V}CC$, *bāz* might have developed,¹⁸⁰ written or maybe even pronounced by some in accordance with a popular etymology linking it to NP-Ar. *ba^ʿz*.

The following instances of compensatory strengthening of vowels (II 3.1.3.2) might be interpreted in the context of isometric substitution as well.

177 For more Ir. cognates and further discussion, cf. BAILEY 1979:270b, EWAia II:221.

178 For the treatment of Ar. ^ʿ, cf. p. 63.

179 For NP *bāz* "again, open" (thence the Ur. word), cf. p. 139.

180 Maybe ELFENBEIN 1985:230 implies a similar thought. ELFENBEIN 1990/II:25, on the other hand, adduces Wakhi *bāĵ* to account for the long vowel of Bal. *bāz*. Elfenbein's idea that Wakhi shows a long vowel where one might expect a short one derives from BAILEY 1979:270b who is likely to have read it in PACHALINA 1975:21, 184ff. (Pavel Lurje, personal communication). Wakhi *ā* is likely to be an allophone of /a/, though, so that the word is in fact /baĵ/, and Wakhi /a/ represents the regular outcome of OIr. *a* (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:40ff., 47).

3.1.3.2 Compensatory strengthening of vowels

There are some cases of a consonant being lost and the preceding vowel changed in quality and quantity.¹⁸¹

CBal. *i* → *ē*:¹⁸²

Regardless of whether *gēnīč* "coriander" was borrowed (NP *gišnīz*) or not (for a detailed discussion, cf. p. 127), it shows an irregular "strengthening" of the vowel (GEIGER 1891:411) not usually connected to the regular Bal. change of *šN* > *N(N)*, e.g. *tun(n)* "thirst" < **turšn*, *čam(m)* "eye" vs. NP *čašm* (cf. p. 126).

FBB *fātēā* (ABG *fātiḥā*, SHG *pātiyā*¹⁸³ < NP-Ar. *fātiḥa*) "memorial prayer" shows the phenomenon even in a case where a hiatus results.

CBal. *u* → *ō*:

The following words exhibit a variation *uh*, *ō*:

- *puhl* (ABG, SHG), *pōl* (BMC, SHG) "bridge" (MP *puhl*, NP *pul*, cf. p. 121, 131, 147);
- *suhb* (EAL, SHG), *suhβ* (DTB), *sōb* (BMC, FBB) "morning" (from NP-Ar. *ṣubḥ*, cf. p. 265);
- *suhr* (GEB, DTB, ABG, SHG), *sōr* (BMC, EVM, FBB, EAL) "red, golden" (NP *surx*, cf. p. 119);
- *kuhn* (EAL, SHG), *kōn* (BMC) "old" (NP *kuhan*, *kuhna*, cf. p. 120).

The variants *sōhb* (EAL) "morning", *sōhr* (BMC, EAL) "red" and *kōhn* (BMC, EAL) "old" show a contamination of the respective forms mentioned above, presumably due to an underlying assumption that the absence of *h* in the forms with *ō* is due to a dialectal phenomenon (for which cf. 2.4.1.2), parallel to the variants with *-āh-* found in BMC besides the dialectal variants *ah*, *ā* (cf. II 3.2.3.3).¹⁸⁴

181 For *ah* > *ā*, cf. p. 252f. In some cases, *ah*, *ih*, *uh* likewise give *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, respectively, in NP (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:268, HORN 1901:23, 26, 31f.).

182 GEIGER's examples (1891:408) of *i* > *ī* by compensatory lengthening do not hold (cf. p. 137, 178).

183 For lengthening of final *-a*, cf. p. 190f.

184 EAL even has *sōbh* which, if existing, is still another result from contamination, or shows an influence of the CNP pronunciation *sobh*.

The hypercorrect reversal is seen in

- *puhn* (SPOONER 1967:58)¹⁸⁵ for *pōn* (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290, EAL, SHG) "rotten (of dates and other fruit)";¹⁸⁶
- *duhmī* (ABG) for *dōmī* (BMC, FBB), *dumī* (SOKOLOV 1956:74) "second";
- *muhbat* (SHG) for *mōbatt* (BMC) besides more common *mahabat*, *mābatt* "love" (from NP-Ar. *maḥabbat*, cf. p. 286).

The variant *Bamfuhtl*¹⁸⁷ noted by SPOONER 1967:58 for *Bampūr* (town in Iranian Balochistan) might be explained similarly, it might involve a popular etymology with *puhl* "bridge", motivated by the presence of a river in the Bampur valley.¹⁸⁸

The fact that the variants with *-ō-* are not attested in the older sources points to a late stage of this reduction and might suggest that at the time the reduction took place, short *i / u* were nearer in quality to *ē / ō* than to *ī / ū*, i.e. to a rather open pronunciation of *i / u*. In the unlikely, but possible case of all mentioned words being borrowed from Persian, the same argument would apply to the pronunciation of Persian at that time.

Instead of *uh > ō*, some older sources show *uh > ū*: *sūr* "red", *tūm* "seed" (GEIGER 1891:409, from diverse sources). This would align with *tūn* "thirst" (cf. p. 210) and point to a more closed pronunciation of /u/ in those times.

It is possible that the alleged examples of OIr. *xm > m* are to be placed here (cf. p. 115f.).

185 The words cited from SPOONER 1967 are adapted to the transcription used here (cf. p. 261).

186 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290 derives this word from a root *pū̃ "decay" which is also seen in (*h*)*apūtag* (a certain plant, cf. p. 140) and a couple of other words. As this root (PIE *peuH no. 2 in LIV) "barely shows an ablaut" (LIV p. 480f.), *pōn* may either be explained as a case of lowering (cf. p. 201f.) or as inferred from a verb (not attested) with a present stem *pōn- which might have its vowel from the application of a secondary ablaut present stem *ō* vs. past stem *-u- (cf. III 4.1).

187 According to SPOONER 1967:58, *Bamfuhtl* is found in Persian texts only, but he assumes it to be a Bal. word. Cf. also p. 262.

188 The *f* may either be due to Ar. influence (Pavel Lurje, personal communication) or to a hypercorrect introduction of a "Persian" *f* which is as a rule not used in Balochi (cf. p. 64), but used by Baloch when speaking other languages. The converse assumption of *Bamfuhtl* being the original variant and *Bampūr* more recent seems less likely since *°pūr* is maybe not common enough in the region to be introduced here.

3.1.3.3 Nasalisation of vowels

The degree to which vowel + *n* changes to a nasalised vowel differs considerably depending on the dialects, nasal vowels being most frequent in Eastern and Southern dialects and less frequent, in some dialects even nonexistent (Afghan and Turkmen Raxšānī), in the Western ones (for further details, cf. II 3.2). The phenomenon is not limited to one of the major dialect groups, however. As will be seen, nasalisation – at least the processes not limited to a certain dialect – may be regarded as a conditioned phenomenon (cf. JAHANI 1989:81), and as operating on a subphonemic level.

Nasalisation of long vowels

In all those Bal. dialects which do show nasalisation of vowels, there is a tendency to nasalise a long vowel + nasal when a consonant follows. With a following vowel, the nasalisation does not always take place.¹⁸⁹

In the dialect described by BARKER/MENGAL 1969 (Western dialect: Pakistani Raxšānī, i.e. one of the dialects with a low degree of nasalisation), nasal vowels do not occur in word-initial position. *ĩ* and *ũ* are particularly rare in this dialect, mainly used in poetry for metrical reasons and optional in all cases (BARKER/MENGAL (1969/I:xxxiv, xxxix).

Examples of word-final nasals are:¹⁹⁰

- obl.pl. ending *-ān* /_V vs. *-ã* /_C, e.g. in (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:13):
kitāb gis-ān ant "the books are in the houses",¹⁹¹
šumai gis-ã kitāb ant "in your (pl.) houses are books";
- adj. attributive ending *-ēn* /_V vs. *-ẽ* /_C, e.g. in (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:43):
mazan-ēn asp "big horse" vs. *syāh-ẽ buz* "black goat";

189 Note that the converse distribution has been assumed for classical Latin (LEUMANN 1977:225f.) with *-Vm* pronounced as such when a consonant follows and *-Ṽ* in front of a vowel.

190 The transcription of Barker/Mengal's examples is adjusted to the system used here.

In the present work, the nasalisation product of a short vowel + *n* is written as e.g. *ã*, that of a long vowel + *n* as *ā* etc., in order to make the process transparent and since there seem to be dialects with a difference in pronunciation between long and short nasal vowels (cf. p. 263). In other dialects (cf. p. 245), *ã* and *ā*, for instance, seem to fall together in pronunciation, so that e.g. FARRELL 1990 has <mā> for /man/ "I" and <-ã> for /-ān/ (obl.pl. ending) etc. DAMES 1891:15 (cf. p. 238) writes *mañ* "I", *maññ* "my", *maññ* "our", transliterating the Urdu-style orthography; the implications for the actual pronunciation are not entirely clear.

191 Barker/Mengal's translation "The books are in the house" must be an error.

- 1sg. *-m̃* besides *-ĩ* (optional colloquial variant, BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxiv);
- prep. *gōn* /_V vs. *gō̃* /_C "with" (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxvi, cf. p. 181);
- adv. *annūn* /_V vs. *annū̃* /_C "right now" (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxix).¹⁹²

Examples of word-internal nasal vowels:

- *pāzda* "fifteen" vs. (NAWATA 1981:27) *pānzda*;
- *sēzda* "thirteen" (nasal analogical)¹⁹³ vs. (NAWATA 1981:27) *sēzda*;
- *sīgār*, *sīngār*¹⁹⁴ "cosmetics";
- *nōzda* "nineteen" (nasal analogical) vs. (NAWATA 1981:27) *nōzda*;
- *būḍuk*, *būṅḍuk*¹⁹⁵ "pile of bedding and carpets".

In other dialects, e.g. Karachi Balochi, nasalised vowels occur in every context, e.g.

- obl.pl. *-ā̃* (FARRELL 1990:33);
- *mazan-ē̃ amb* "big mango" (FARRELL 1990:18);¹⁹⁶
- *ō̃* "I am" (FARRELL 2003:174).¹⁹⁷

Word-internal nasalisation is common, but not systematic:

- *gurāḍ* "ram" (FARRELL 2003:174, cf. p. 100); *ādēk̃*¹⁹⁸ "mirror"; *pīz̃*¹⁹⁹ "heel"; *pōz̃*²⁰⁰ "nose"; *šīz̃*, *šūz̃*²⁰¹ "green" (FARRELL 1990:11, 82, 84),

192 For variants and the etymology, cf. p. 202.

193 According to HÜBSCHMANN 1895:78, there is also a NP variant *sīnzdah* (the common variant is *sēzdah*) which by reason of its vowel does not match the Bal. variants, however. Other numerals also show secondary nasals in some sources, e.g. *yānzda* "eleven", *dwānzda* "twelve" (NAWATA 1981:27). For *°da(h)*, cf. p. 191, for secondary nasals, see below.

194 *sīngār* is an Ind. loanword, cf. Ur. and Pnj. *sīgār-nā* "to adorn", TURNER 1966:730 (Georg Buddruss, personal communication).

195 *būṅḍuk* is obviously a derivation of *būṅḍ* (EAL; *būṅḍ* is a misprint) "old quilt, bedding" with change of *d* > *ḍ* (cf. II 3.1.1.4).

196 FARRELL's *mazan-ē̃* "that big one" (1990:18) shows that the use of the nasal vowel before vowel must be a recent phenomenon of analogy even in this dialect.

197 FARRELL 1990 (e.g. p. 13) has *ā̃* in the same function (also the ending for the 1sg.pres. in this dialect).

I have not found an example of word-final *-ū̃* in Farrell's material (this dialect often changes *ū* to *ī*, moreover).

198 For the etymology, cf. p. 79, for variants, cf. p. 199.

199 This is a variant of *pūnz*, for which cf. also p. 127, 197.

200 Thus also SHG. See also below.

201 For the etymology, cf. p. 113f., for further discussion, cf. p. 198.

- vs. the variants *gurāṅd*, *šīnz* (FARRELL 1990:82, 86).

Even in this dialect, most cases of word-final $\bar{V}n$ are pronounced as such and not nasalised (there are some exceptions like *gō̄* "with"): ²⁰²

- *dān*²⁰³ "grain"; *ōn*²⁰⁴ "blood" (FARRELL 2003:174); *ḵūn* "June" (FARRELL 1990:89).

Nasalisation of short vowels

In a number of dialects, nasalisation of short vowels occurs as well. In some dialects, these are limited to word-final nasals in pronouns and $\bar{V}n$ and $\bar{V}nt > \bar{V}$ occurring in verbal endings (cf. II 3.2.1.3, 3.2.4.3); word-internal nasalisation of short vowels seems to be a feature of Southern dialects (cf. II 3.2.3.3). ²⁰⁵

Secondary nasalised vowels and secondary nasals ²⁰⁶

Those dialects which are in a particularly close contact with Ind. languages (i.e. some SBal. and EBal. dialects) frequently show secondarily nasalised vowels (FARRELL 2003:175) and, probably as a consequence to the emergence of these, unetymological nasals. The phenomenon also occurs in some words from WBal. dialects. ²⁰⁷

202 Cf. SHG which has *annī̄*, but *gōn*.

203 *dān* might, but need not, have been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:444).

204 This is a *h*-less variant (for loss of *h*, cf. p. 241) of *hōn*. The word is most likely to have been borrowed from NP *xūn*, MP *xōn* (GEIGER 1891:444). For discussion of this word and related Ir. forms (going back to OIr. **uahu-na/i-*), cf. SCHWARTZ 1982. Prth. <gwxn> (read *goxan*, *guxn* by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:168a) seems to have been borrowed from proto-Balochi or a similar dialect since Parthian otherwise preserves **u-* (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1).

The variant *hūn* reported by GEB and EAL (ABG has *hūnī* "murderer, deadly" and writes it حونی to indicate the author's assumption that it is a NP loanword, cf. p. 65) need not be a case of raising (cf. p. 200), but may have been borrowed from NP *xūn*.

205 The statement by ELFENBEIN (1966:5) "In Pakistan, all dialects tend to drop final nasals and nasalise the preceding vowel. Particularly common is [adj.] *-en* > *-ē* and, with dropping of final *-t*, *-int* > [3sg.] *-ī*" is at variance at least with the data from BARKER/MENGAL 1969 (for which cf. p. 254).

206 For assimilation and loss of nasals, cf. p. 180f.

207 Not really belonging here, but rather due to an analogical process is the past stem *gičint* vs. *gičit* (both in EAL, GEB) from pres. *gičīn-* "collect" (cf. p. 85).

tān (EAL), *tā̄* (BMC, SHG, FARRELL 2003:175) "until" besides *tā* is probably not an example for secondary nasal, but rather (EAL 148) *tā* + *ān* (literally: "until that"), cf. other "compounds" with *tā*: *tānki* "so long as" (< NP *tā ān ki*), BMC *tāba* "until" (< NP *tā ba*). There are parallel variants

Quite a number of words show secondary *n*,²⁰⁸ e.g.

- *agān* (EAL: Coastal, Kēčī), *agā̃* (SHG, FARRELL 2003:175)²⁰⁹ vs. *aga* (BMC, EAL: Raxšānī, SHG), *agar* (FBB, EVM, EAL, SHG) "if" (NP *agar*);
- ^ˈ*aināš*²¹⁰ (ABG) vs. *aiš* (EAL) "luxury" (NP-Ar. ^ˈ*aiš*);
- *bānz*, *bāz̃* (BMC, GEB, EAL, SHG) vs. *bāz̃*²¹¹ "falcon" (NP *bāz̃*);²¹²
- *pōnz*, *pōz̃* (GEB, GCD, FBB, BMC, EAL, SHG) vs. *pōz̃* (GEB, EVM, EAL, SHG, NAWATA 1981:34) "nose" (cf. p. 203);
- *pōnšī* (SHG, EAL: Coastal), *pōšī* (FARRELL 2003:175) vs. *pōšī* (BMC, FBB, EAL) "the day after tomorrow";²¹³
- *tanš* (EAL), *tāš* (SHG) vs. *taš* (EAL, SHG), *t^haš* (GCD, DTB) "adze" (NP *taš* "axe", cf. p. 92);
- *kōčag* vs. *kōčag* (both SHG and FARRELL 2003:175)²¹⁴ "to dig";
- *ganṭ pāč-* besides *gaṭ pāč-* (both FARRELL 2003:175) "bite".

Due to the common noun ending *-nk*, which has been regarded as a suffix in its own right by some authors (cf. p. 166), *-n-* has been introduced in some nouns in *-Vk*:

with *d-*: *dān* (EAL), *dā̃* (BMC, SHG, FARRELL 2003:175), *dānki* etc.

MPM *dā*, NP/MP *tā* have been derived from PIr. *atā (instr. of *at-), *taHat (n. of *taH-ant-), both "so much", respectively (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1997:319f.). *dān* and *tā(-)* would thus be Pers. loanwords.

EVM *āzmūndag* is a misprint for *āzmūdag* (thus in ZARUBIN 1949:144, NP *āzmūda*) "try, attempt".

208 The occurrence of secondary nasals is noted for loanwords by FARRELL 2003:175. The phenomenon does not seem to be limited to loanwords, though. For secondary nasals in numbers, cf. p. 214.

209 For the substitution of *-ā* for *-a*, cf. p. 190f. ABG has ^ˈ*āgā* (sic), cf. p. 190.

agat given by EAL (Coastal) is probably influenced by *angat* "yet" (for which cf. p. 81, 186).

210 For the introduction of secondary vowels in this dialect, cf. II 3.1.2.4.

211 According to GEIGER 1891:446, *bāz* occurs once in a Bal. manuscript in the British Museum.

212 GEIGER 1891:446 and HORN 1893:37 link the word to OInd. *vāja-* "race, triumph, victory". Arm. *bazē* does not tell us anything in this case since it might be a very recent loanword. It has also been assumed that the word is of Semitic origin, cf. Ar. *bāzī* (GREPPIN 1977:7). Other words for "falcon" are *šēnak* (cf. p. 129) and *šāhīn* (borrowed from NP, a derivative of *šāh* "king", GREPPIN 1977:9).

213 For the etymology, cf. p. 139.

214 As the word seems to be found in the Karachi area mainly, a borrowing from Ur. *kōč-nā* "rip, tear, pierce" appears likely. On the other hand, with regard to Bashkardi *kōč-* "dig" (GERSHEVITCH 1970a:306), Bal. *kōč-* might also be an inherited word; conversely, Sogd. *ptkwc-* "pierce" cited by Gershevitch is probably not connected (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication). SHG notes *gwaĵag* and *kōđag* as equivalents; *kō(n)đ* "hole" is also found in Brahui, which according to ROSSI 1979:70, may have been borrowed from Balochi into Brahui or vice-versa. *kō(n)đ* and *kōnd-* are probably Ind. loanwords, though (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:81), cf. Ur. *k^hūnd-nā* "dig".

- *bānklēnk*²¹⁵, *bāklēk* (SHG, FARRELL 2003:175), *bāklīk* "broad bean" vs. *bāklīk*, *bāklēt* (sic; FARRELL 2003:175), NP-Ar. *bāqilā*;
- *nazīnk* (FARRELL 1995:238) "near" vs. *naz(z)īk* (cf. p. 88);
- *rōtīnk* (EAL, MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49) besides usual *rōt* "intestines" (NP *rūda*, MP *rōdīg*).²¹⁶

The following items show secondary nasalisation of the vowel:

- *bāzūl* vs. *bāzul* "wing, baby's arm" (cf. p. 160);
- *ḡāsūs* (ABG) vs. *ḡāsūs* (DTB) "spy" (NP-Ar.);²¹⁷
- *balkē* (SHG), *balkī* (FARRELL 2003:175) vs. *balki* (BMC, EVM, EAL) "maybe" (NP-Ar.);²¹⁸
- *sōčag* (FARRELL 2003:175) vs. *sōčag* (FBB) "to think" (Ur. *sōč-nā*);²¹⁹
- *pūšī* (GEB) vs. *pūš(š)ī* (SHG, GEB) "cat";²²⁰
- *čauk* (ABG) vs. *čauk* (SHG) "crossroads" (Urdu);
- *šauq* (ABG), *šōk* (FARRELL 2003:175) vs. *šauk* (SHG), *šōk* (FARRELL 2003:175) "desire" (NP-Ar. *šauq*).

The same happens to Engl. loanwords (all from FARRELL 2003:175):

- *čāp* "chop (of meat)"; *čāklēt*, *čāklēt* "chocolate, sweets"; *kōp-sāsar* "cup and saucer";
- *ṭēt*, *ṭēt* "tight, well, good"; *sēkal*, *sāikal* "bicycle";
- *ramp* "rough".

215 *bānklēnk* is not directly attested: FBB has *bānklēk* (1990:51), *bāklēnk* (1990:83), EAL *bānkalēnk*, *bānklīnk* and *bāklīk*. According to GEIGER 1891:446, *bāklīk* occurs once in a Bal. manuscript in the British Museum, *bāklīk* in MARSTON 1877.

216 Further cognates include Av. *uruuuar-* and some words from non-Ir. languages (IEW 873f.), for Psht. *lārai*, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49, 2003:45.

217 The short vowel of EAL's *ḡasīs* might be a misprint or else due to the metre of the text it is found in; *ḡasūs* obviously shows the reversal of the sound-change *ū > ī* (cf. p. 196f.); the existence of this form in other sources than EAL remains unclear.

218 Here, the presence of the nasal might be motivated by the adj. suffix *-ēn*; for *ē > ī* and vice-versa, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2.

219 This verb is not attested in other sources; the past stem is *sōčit* (FBB). EAL has *sōč* "worry, reflection, thought" and considers it to have been borrowed from Sindhi; it could also be from Ur. *sōč* (same meaning).

220 For additional variants and the etymology, cf. p. 198, 209.

3.1.3.4 *aw, uw and (u)wa*

aw > (*u*)*w*:

Postconsonantal *aw* is assimilated to (*u*)*w*. As *Cuw* is difficult to distinguish from *Cw*, notations without *u* need not reflect an elision.²²¹

- *ǰuwān* (EVM, BUDDRUSS 1988:75), *ǰwān* (BMC, EVM, SHG, NAWATA 1981:45) "young, good" (cf. p. 104);²²²
- EVM *zuwān* "tongue" is probably a secondary development from EBal. *zawān* (cf. p. 91, 228);²²³
- ABG *nā-twām* "incomplete" (cf. also p. 232f.) vs. SWBal. *nā-tamām* (NP, partially NP-Ar.) via *^o*tawām* > *^o*tuwām*;
- *nuwāsag* (EVM), *nwāsag* (RZEHAKE 1991:185) vs. *nawāsag* (other sources) "grandchild" (cf. p. 89, 234, 276).

A possible counterexample would be *raw*- "go" (for other stem variants, cf. p. 128), but here the morpheme boundary might have prevented the assimilation.

The reverse change may be seen in

- *šawān(k)* vs. *šwānag* "shepherd" (cf. p. 225);
- EBal. *šawā* "you (pl.)" vs. *šumā* (cf. p. 126, 232f.).

These may also be explained as showing *uw* > *w* with subsequent introduction of an anaptyctical vowel (cf. II 3.1.2.4).

(*u*)*wa* > *u* (GEIGER 1891:409):

There is an optional change of postconsonantal *-ua-* > *-u-*. It especially occurs with *gwa-* (< OIr. *ua-*, cf. II 2.1.3.3.1). Most words with *gwa-* have variants in *gu-* (cf. GEIGER 1891:409):

221 Cf. also the (probably only apparent) loss of *u*, *ō* in EAL *ǰ(ō)wak* "small stream" (from *ǰō* "river", cf. p. 104, 184), *gwālag* "bag" (loanword, cf. NP *guwāl*, cf. p. 279), *gwāhī* "news" (borrowed from NP *guwāhī* which derives from MP *wigāhīh*, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication).

222 ABG, FBB *ǰawān* "young" has probably been borrowed from NP *ǰawān*. EAL has *ǰawān*, *ǰwān* without distinction in form, but stating that the meaning is "good, nice" in Raxšānī and "young" in Kēčī, Coastal and the Eastern dialects.

223 Other sources have *zubān* (cf. p. 91).

- EBal. *guf-* (DTB) vs. SWBal. *gwap-* "weave";²²⁴
- EBal. *guz-* (DTB, EAL) vs. SWBal. *gwaz-* "pass";²²⁵
- *guhār* (ABG, BMC, EAL) vs. *gwahār* "sister";²²⁶
- in the case of *guš-* / *gušt*²²⁷ "say", this variant replaces *gwaš-*; the latter variant is only found in Eastern Balochi (DTB, MAYER 1910 and EAL), and it is not clear whether it is still in use;²²⁸
- for *gwabz*, *gwamz* "wasp", the variant *gumz* is only found in HITTU RAM 1881 (cf. also p. 234).²²⁹

It is possible that *gu-* started out from certain dialects, although synchronically no clear picture of distribution emerges, so this feature does not lend itself to an isogloss for defining dialect boundaries.²³⁰

The only example of *ua* > *u* which does not involve *gwa-* seems to be

- *čuant > čunt (NP, MP čand, Prth. čwand) "how much".

It points to a general tendency of *Cua-* > *Cu-*.

It is quite likely that *CwV* was pronounced *CuwV* in Common Balochi, and that *Cwa-* > *Cu-* might be described as *Cuwa-* > *Cu-* with elision of the second vowel (Ralf-Peter Ritter, personal communication). The reason for *kwahn* "old" being preserved might then be that the metathesis from *kahwan (cf. MP *kahwan*, cf. p. 120) is a rather recent phenomenon.

224 The past stem *guft* (only in MORGENSTIERNE 1932:45) might be a contamination of the regular form *uft- and *gwapt* as MORGENSTIERNE 1932:45 assumes, but can be explained more easily as secondary development of *gwaft (SWBal. *gwapt*), cf. also p. 99.

225 The EBal. past stem *gwast^h*- shows the secondary nature of the change seen in the present stem.

226 The variant *gwār* (EAL, EVM, FBB, NAWATA 1981:37) can be a result from either *gwahār* or *guhār* since both would give *gwār* when the *h* is lost. As loss of *h* is a chiefly WBal. phenomenon (cf. p. 248f.), *gwār* has to be considered as an interdialectal borrowing in FBB.

227 According to EAL 58, this variant is particularly common in Raxšānī and Kečī, but it is also the form mentioned in ABG, BMC, DTB, EAL, EVM, FBB, SHG. For the etymology, cf. p. 129, for further discussion, cf. p. 246.

228 Note that *guš-* is even mentioned in the EBal. sources GCD and MAYER 1910.

229 *gwand*, *gwand* "small" (cf. p. 182) does not seem to show a variant †gund, †gund, presumably because this would be homonymous with *gund*, *gund* "testicles" (cf. p. 296f.).

230 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VIIff. has – broadly speaking – *gu-* for WBal., *gwa-*, *gu-* for SBal. and *gwa-* for EBal. The evidence does not always seem to fit this assumption, cf. II 3.2 for the individual dialects.

3.1.3.5 OIr. *ard*

While OIr. *art* gives Bal. *ārt* (cf. p. 189), it seems that OIr. *ard* (maybe still preserved as such in Common Balochi) gives Bal. *ār* / *ār*:

- *gwārig* "yellow tulip" (BMC), *gwārag* "blossom, bud" (SHG) may be derived from **gwārdag* < **wardaka*-,²³¹ cf. Prth. *wār* "flower", NP *gul*;
- Br. *nard*- "groan", if borrowed from Bal. **nard*- (MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348),²³² might preserve the CBal. stage while Bal. *nār*- "groan" and Br. *nāl*-, *nār*- may show a later stage; they may also have been borrowed from NP *nāl*- / *nālīd* "lament" (cf. MPM *nārišn* "cooing");
- *wārdaf* "door-opening" may be derived from **duar-dap* (cf. p. 122) and the preservation of the *rd* explained by the morpheme boundary; alternatively, it may go back to **duār*-° also attested in Old Iranian.

Similar processes operate in Parthian, e.g. *wār* "flower", *sār* "year" (cf. RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981a:162) and Middle Persian (MPM *sār*, MPZ *sāl* "year", RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981:23).

Conversely, Bal. words containing *ard* seem to have been borrowed throughout, e.g.

- *gardin* "neck" (cf. p. 195).

Occasionally, *rd* may be reduced even in loanwords, cf.

- EBal. *maṛ* (GRIERSON 1921:394, EAL) "man" (which might also be the origin of GEIGER's 1891:43 *mar*, cf. p. 137) vs. more common *mard*, *maṛd* (cf. p. 183).

The change of *ard* > *ār* might have developed via **aṛd*, and since *ṛ* functions as an allophone of *d* in some contexts (cf. p. 57), **aṛd* may be liable to interpretation as /*r*/.

231 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:46 proposed a derivation of Br. *gwārix* "yellow lily" from **wardika*- (borrowed from Balochi, the Bal. word itself was not known to him yet). With regard to the palatalisation processes discussed in II 3.1.2.3.1 and to the fact that a suffix *-ig* is not found otherwise while *-ag* is extremely common (cf. II 2.4.4.1), it seems more probable that *gwārag* is the primary form and *gwārig* the palatalised variant.

232 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:108, referring to TURNER 1966:401, presumes that Br. *nard*- has been borrowed from an Ind. language. The Ind. words cited by Turner (Hindi *nād*- etc.) do not seem to fit, however.

3.2 Dialect-specific changes

As already stated, the Balochi language comes in a number of considerably differing dialects (cf. I 1.2.2, 3.1), the degree of mutual intelligibility being judged differently (cf. p. 42). The most obvious differences on the phonological and phonetic level are those between the Eastern (for other terms, cf. p. 41) vs. non-Eastern dialects; these have been noticed and described right from the beginning of Balochi linguistics. Attempts to describe further dialects and to define their features are few and comparatively recent. Most contributions in this field are by Josef Elfenbein: ELFENBEIN 1989 and 1989a contain a description of the geographical distribution of dialects, ELFENBEIN 1966²³³ and 1990/II:VII-XVIII give isoglosses for a number of dialects, the latter intended to "correct and update" the former.²³⁴ A comparative study of the dialects is rendered difficult by the fact that reliable data from the majority of dialects are lacking (cf. I 1.4).

In the following pages data are presented to show how Common Balochi (for this concept, cf. I 1.3) might have developed to the individual dialects / dialect groups, i.e. to present that part of Balochi historical phonology which is supposed to be post-Common Balochi and liable to attribution to a specific dialect / dialect group. These developments will be presented and discussed together with the dialect isoglosses suggested in other works.

For these purposes, the dialect picture as presented by Jahani and others (cf. p. 41) is used, i.e. a division of Balochi into the main dialect groups Eastern, Southern and Western Balochi. For practical purposes, the Bal. dialects spoken in Iran are treated separately (II 3.2.4). A new classification of Balochi dialects is not aimed at here. The purpose is rather to assemble and categorise the information as given by others, complemented by my own observations. It is to be hoped that the findings made below will contribute to a better understanding of the dialect picture of Balochi.

233 This work is deemed as being "in need of geographical corrections, and partly out of date" by the author himself (ELFENBEIN 1989a:361).

234 It will be seen that not all assignments of features to certain dialects as stated by Elfenbein can be confirmed. Notes of the form "EAL [i.e. ELFENBEIN 1990/II]: Eastern [Balochi]" are meant as quotes and do not imply an agreement of the present author that the characteristic or word in question is only found in or typical for Eastern Balochi.

3.2.1 Eastern dialects (EBal.)

The Eastern dialects were the first to be established as a separate group by different scholars,²³⁵ termed "Northern Balochi" in older sources and "Eastern Hill Balochi" by ELFENBEIN (e.g. 1990/II:XV). It is fortunate that sources from the 19th century are available for these dialects, but less fortunate that sources for later times are scarce (cf. also I 1.4). Several works among the sources used by Geiger treat Eastern Balochi, viz. LEECH 1838, GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881, DAMES 1881 (much of which reappears in DTB) and LEWIS 1885. More recent EBal. data are found in ABG and EAL: although AHMAD (1985:v) claims that ABG is based on Raxšānī material, a considerable number of the words cited in fact exhibit characteristics which have been shown to be being features of Eastern Balochi, so that to a certain degree, ABG is a source for Eastern Balochi. EAL also includes EBal. material, which is, however, predominantly taken from the early sources named above.

It should be kept in mind that most EBal. material comes from publications which differ markedly from modern ones with regard to printing quality, approach, methods and availability of previous studies; a number of lexical items are more or less likely to involve errors on the part of the authors (and/or the publishing houses).

3.2.1.1 Consonants

3.2.1.1.1 General features of EBal.

Non-Eastern dialects	Eastern Balochi	
	{#,C}_	V_
<i>p, t, k</i>	aspirated: <i>p^h, t^h, k^h</i>	fricatives: <i>f, θ, x</i>
<i>b, d, g</i>	(no change: <i>b, d, g</i>)	fricatives: <i>β, δ, γ</i>
<i>č, ĵ</i>	aspirated: <i>č^h</i> (no change: <i>ĵ</i>)	sibilants: <i>š, ž</i>
<i>w</i>	aspirated: <i>w^h</i>	(no change: <i>w</i>)

235 Cf. I 3.1.1, 3.1.2. A résumé of the history concerning the study of EBal. isoglosses can be found in ROSSI 1979a:163ff.

As has been remarked above (I 3.1.1), the most noticeable difference between Eastern Balochi and the other dialects is the change of all postvocalic stops to fricatives and the parallel change of *č, ĵ* to *š, ž* as well as (according to some authors) the aspiration of word-initial and postconsonantal voiceless stops. Comparing EBal. words like *k^hōfag* "shoulder" to OIr. (Av. *kaofa-*), one might wonder whether the OIr. fricatives might have been preserved in Eastern Balochi²³⁶ instead of deriving from an intermediary CBal. stage of voiceless stops as generally assumed. Such a hypothesis would involve the following changes and non-changes:

OIr. >	EBal. >	SWBal.
<i>f, θ, x</i>	<i>f, θ, x /V_</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p^h, t^h, k^h /#_</i>	
<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>β, δ, ġ /V_</i> <i>b, d, g /#_</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>

This model brings more disadvantages than advantages, though: it is only the OIr. postvocalic fricatives which would have been preserved while in word-initial position, there are stops in Eastern Balochi. Moreover, in all Bal. dialects, the outcome of the OIr. fricatives is the same as that of the stops, i.e. the two series have coalesced also in Eastern Balochi as in the remaining dialects. The development of the voiceless stops and fricatives is also parallel to that of the voiced stops. As these change to fricatives in the same context where voiceless fricatives are found, it seems much more likely that the OIr. fricatives changed to stops first, and that all stops underwent a lenition in postvocalic position later, resulting in voiceless and voiced fricatives. The model which has generally been assumed is thus to be preferred:

OIr. >	CBal. (& SWBal.) >	EBal.
<i>f, θ, x</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p^h, t^h, k^h /#_</i>
<i>p, t, k</i>		<i>f, θ, x /V_</i>
<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g /#_</i> <i>β, δ, ġ /V_</i>

236 This assumption seems to be made by MOŠKALO 1991:29. For further discussion, cf. IV.

a) **Aspiration: CBal. T, č, w > EBal. T^h, č^h, w^h /{#, C}_** (GEIGER 1891:404):²³⁷

It has been stated by numerous authors (GEIGER 1889:75 was one of the first, cf. also GRIERSON 1921:337) that the aspiration of word-initial and postconsonantal voiceless stops and of č (and, in some sources, also of w) is a typical feature of Eastern Balochi. Others have remarked, however, that aspiration is also found in other Bal. dialects, e.g. in Karachi Balochi (cf. p. 242) and some WBal. dialects (cf. p. 251). MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:8 (similarly in 1948:255): "a slight aspiration seems, however, to be existing to some extent in these [the non-Eastern dialects], too".²³⁸ It is thus questionable whether aspiration is a useful isogloss.

Aspiration may be indicated in writing by adding the letter ʾ to the consonant, cf. the examples given below. Note that in word-final position, some sources (e.g. DTB) use the form ʾ, others (e.g. ABG) have (as would be the case in Urdu etc.) ڀ. However, there seems to be no source where aspiration is marked absolutely consistently. Some examples for aspirated stops from DTB:²³⁹

CBal. p > p^h (GEIGER 1891:433):²⁴⁰

- *p^hašag* پېشغ vs. SWBal. *pačag* "to cook", *p^hiθ* پېٺ vs. *pit* "father";
- *ap^hān*²⁴¹ اپھان vs. *ampān* "leather sack".

237 More precisely, GEIGER's rule (1891:404) is that in Eastern Balochi, aspirated stops in word-initial position in front of vowels and *r* as well as word-internally in postconsonantal position correspond to SWBal. voiceless stops. Geiger also gives one example for *t^hr-* and *p^hr-* each (*t^hrōngal* "hail", *p^hrušag* "to break"). For discussion of the phonemic status of the aspiration, cf. p. 60f. For changes of postvocalic consonants, cf. p. 226ff. For etymologies of the examples hereafter, cf. the index in V 2.

238 MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:8 also notes that aspiration (and the change of postvocalic stops to fricatives) in Brahui dialects is likely to be due to the influence of Balochi and is found in those Br. dialects spoken in the neighbourhood of Eastern Balochi.

239 Note that even in DTB, aspiration is not systematic.

240 ABG *pahsal* "harvest, season" besides usual *pasl* (NP-Ar. *faṣl*) and *pahqīr* "beggar, ascetic" besides normal *pakīr* (NP-Ar. *faqīr*) are likely to be due to misinterpretation of the Ar. orthography and to be read as /p^hasal/, /p^haqīr/, respectively, they are thus (the only) examples of *p^h* in ABG. A comparable case with *k^h* is ABG *kahzī* "when" for /k^hazī/, corresponding to SWBal. *kadī* (cf. p. 79, for *d* > *z*, cf. p. 230f.). For anaptyctical vowels, cf. II 3.1.2.4).

241 Note that the loss of the nasal (cf. p. 180) must be a very recent phenomenon, otherwise one would expect †afān. *ap^hān* is Geiger's only example for *p^h* in non-initial position.

CBal. *t* > *t^h* (GEIGER 1891:428):²⁴²

- *t^hašag* نهشغ vs. SWBal. *tačag* "to run", *t^hau* تھو vs. *tau* "you (sg.)";
- *dat^hān*²⁴³ دتهان vs. *dantān* "tooth", *k^hast^har*²⁴⁴ كهسته (GRIERSON 1921:3) vs. *kastir* "smaller", *sārt^h*²⁴⁵ vs. *sārt* "cold", perf. stems (when after a consonant²⁴⁶) -*t^ha* e.g. *ārt^ha* آرته "brought", *murt^ha* مرته "died", *wārt^ha* وارته "eaten", 3pl. -*ant^h*, e.g. *bīṭag-ant^h* (for -*ṭ*-, see below) بيشتنه (GRIERSON 1921:388) vs. *būtagant*²⁴⁷ "they became" (perf.).

CBal. *k* > *k^h* (GEIGER 1891:418):²⁴⁸

- *k^hafag* كهفغ vs. SWBal. *kapag* "to fall", *k^hār* كهار vs. *kār* "deed, act";
- *gurk^h* گرکه vs. *gurk* "wolf", -C + suffixal -*k*, e.g. *šawānk^h* شوانکه "shepherd".²⁴⁹

CBal. *č* > *č^h* (GEIGER 1891:424):²⁵⁰

- *č^hōfag* چهوفغ vs. SWBal. *čōpag* "to hit", *č^ham* چههم vs. *čam(m)* "eye", *č^hi*²⁵¹ چهه vs. *čē* "what".

242 The sources vary with regard to aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops in front of a consonant, e.g. *t^hrōngal* (GLADSTONE 1874, DAMES 1881) "hail" vs. DTB *truš* "sour" (GEIGER 1891:428).

Note that there is no example of *t^h* in ABG.

243 As in the case of *ap^hān*, the loss of the nasal must be very recent, as otherwise it would be †*daṭhān*.

244 For the comparative suffix, cf. p. 195.

245 The orthography in DTB سارته seems to be an error, perhaps analogically to the perfect stems in -*t^ha* (ABG has سارتهه *sārat^h*, for which see below).

246 For *ṭ* after a consonant, cf. p. 227, for -*ft*, -*xt*, cf. p. 229f. In some EBal. sources, there is no simple past, the present perfect assuming also the function of the simple past (cf. KORN, frthc. 1).

247 For *ū* > *ī*, cf. p. 196ff., 237.

248 ABG has some examples of *k^h*, too, e.g. *k^handag* "laughter", *k^hār* "deed". The cases of intervocalic *k^h* given by GEIGER 1891:418 must be borrowed from SWBal. GEIGER 1891:418 remarks that as far as it can be inferred from the not entirely consistent sources, word-final *k* after *s*, *š* is not aspirated.

249 *šawānk^h* along with *šawān* (JAHANI 1996:123) and *šwānag* (cf. p. 218) could be EBal. variants of borrowed NP *šabān*. It is, however, unlikely that such a word was borrowed from NP precisely by the remote Eastern dialects and then spread from there to the others (*šawān* and *šwānag* are attested in non-Eastern dialects). It thus seems better to consider them as borrowings from Kurd. *šivan* or some related idiom. For animal terms possibly borrowed from Kurdish, cf. p. 158f.

250 GEIGER 1891:424 notes that the aspiration of *č^h* is not consistently marked in the sources (i.e. even less so than with the other aspirated consonants). Examples in ABG include *č^ham* "eye", *č^hōkē* "since" etc., the latter probably somehow reflecting CNP *čūn-ke*.

251 Dames' transcription <chih> is probably a spelling pronunciation to render the orthography, cf. the prep. "from" (otherwise *č(i)*, *ač* etc.) which is also spelled <čih> in DTB. Another EBal. form of the latter is *aš* (also found in DTB), equivalent to SWBal. *ač*, see below.

CBal. $w > w^h$:²⁵²

Some sources also have w^h for w in word-initial position (GEIGER 1891:413):

- $w^h\bar{a}\delta$ وهاذ vs. SWBal. $w\bar{a}d$ "salt", $w^h a\check{s}$ وهش vs. $wa\check{s}(\check{s})$ "good, sweet".

b) Fricatives: CBal. $K > EBal. X /V_$ (GEIGER 1891:404):

The second, and much more important, typical feature of Eastern Balochi is the "opening of postvocalic stops" (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256)²⁵³ to the corresponding fricatives, including \check{c} , \check{j} which yield \check{s} , \check{z} , respectively, thereby merging with Common Balochi \check{s} , \check{z} .²⁵⁴ Loanwords are treated in the same way.

The fricatives f , x , g are written with the corresponding graphemes from the Ar.-NP alphabet. ϑ and δ are for the most part written ث , ذ , respectively.²⁵⁵ β is written و and thus not different in writing from w (for discussion of its status, cf. p. 61f.). Examples from DTB:

CBal. $-p > -f$ (GEIGER 1891:433):²⁵⁶

- $k^h a\check{f}a\check{g}$ كهفغ vs. SWBal. $ka\check{p}a\check{g}$ "to fall", $\check{c}^h \bar{o}\check{f}a\check{g}$ جهوفغ vs. $\check{c}\bar{o}\check{p}a\check{g}$ "to hit", $k^h \bar{o}\check{f}a\check{g}$ كهوفغ vs. $k\bar{o}\check{f}a\check{g}$ "shoulder";
- $\bar{a}\check{f}$ آف vs. $\bar{a}\check{p}$ "water".

252 For the status of w^h within the phonemic system, cf. p. 61f.

ABG has $wah\bar{a}z$ "salt" (for $\delta > z$, cf. p. 230f.) and $n\bar{a}-wah\check{s}$ "angry" which might represent $/w^h\bar{a}z/$ and $/n\bar{a}-w^h a\check{s}/$, respectively (cf. the note on ABG's examples for p^h above).

253 This formulation of the rule is more economical than that by GEIGER who assumes (1891:404 and in the sections of fricatives) a development of fricatives for intervocalic position and for some cases of word-final postvocalic position.

254 For implications for the phonemic system, cf. p. 60. For unknown reasons, the change of CBal. $\check{j} /V_$ to EBal. \check{z} is not mentioned by MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256.

255 Other graphemes that have been used include ة for ϑ and د for δ (cf. JAHANI 1989:142f.).

256 Examples from ABG are numerous, e.g. $\bar{a}\check{f}$ "water", $k\bar{o}\check{f}a\check{g}$ (sic, not k^h -) "shoulder".

For $-pt-$ see below.

MOŠKALO 1991:25 notes that "in a number of cases", EBal. f might be the result of MIr. β , the latter representing the result of OIr. postvocalic p . It is difficult to see, however, how a stage of Middle Iranian in which OIr. postvocalic p and b have coalesced in β could yield EBal. f precisely in those cases where OIr. had p and β in the case of OIr. b .

EBal. words which show w instead of f are likely to show the result of a secondary development (cf. II 3.3.1.6.2).

CBal. -t > -ṭ (GEIGER 1891:428):²⁵⁷

- *wadī* وڌي vs. SWBal. *watī* "own", perf. suffix (after a vowel) *-ṭa* e.g. *bīṭa* بيته vs. *būta* "was, became";
- *p^hiṭ* پيٺ vs. *pit* "father", *č^hāṭ* چهاٺ vs. *čāt* "well, spring", *gwāṭ* گواٺ vs. *gwāt* "wind".

CBal. -k > -x (GEIGER 1891:418):²⁵⁸

- *nāxō* ناخو vs. SWBal. *nākō* "uncle";
- *rēx* ريخ vs. *rēk* "sand", *hīx* هيخ vs. *hūk* "pig";²⁵⁹
- suffixal *-k* is treated in the same way, e.g. *dužux* دڙخ (SWBal. *dažuk(k)*)²⁶⁰ "hedgehog", *zārix* زارخ (vs. *zahrak*) "gall-bladder",²⁶¹ agentive suffix *-ōx* (vs. *-ōk*), e.g. *guš-ōx* گشوخ "singer, recitor". The SWBal. dim. suffix *-ik(k)* appears as *-ik^(h)*, e.g. *šanik^h* شنكه (sic) "young goat", *wasarik* وسرك "father-in-law" (cf. p. 208f.).

257 GRIERSON 1921:394 notes *ṭ* instead of expected *t^h* in some past stems in *-r* found in texts from the Loralai area and supposes that this is an error of the scribes. However, with regard to *gurx* "wolf" in DTB, it is possible that there is a subdialectal phenomenon involved here. The cases in question are *ārṭ-* (otherwise *ār^h-*) from *ār-* "bring", *muṛṭ-* (vs. *mur^h-*) from *mir-* "die", *wāṛṭ-* (vs. *wār^h-*) from *war-* "eat" (for *r > ṛ*, cf. II 3.1.1.4). For the development of *ṭ > s* in some dialects, cf. p. 230f.

258 Examples from ABG: *zayō-nāx* "pretty" (from *zayō* "ornament", cf. p. 278, + *-nāk* "characterised by..."), *šarīx* "partner, participating" (NP-Ar. *šarīk*), *wānōx* "reader, student" (from *wān-* "read"). Note that DTB also has *gurx* "wolf". For *-xt-* see below. GEIGER 1891:418 assumes that in word-final position, *x* appears after *ī* and *ū*; the examples show, however, that *x* is the regular EBal. outcome after every vowel in word-final as well as in word-internal position.

259 It is not clear to me why ELFENBEIN 1990/II:62 denies the existence of EBal. *hīx*, which is found in DTB, GCD and (misprinted as *hix*) in MAYER 1910. If Eastern Balochi had (only) the form *hīk* as claimed by Elfenbein, the word would have been borrowed from or influenced by SBal. *hīk*.

260 For DTB *dužux*, other sources have *dažuk(k)* (BMC: "other [i.e. non-Raxšānī] dialects"; EAL: Kēčī, Lāšārī; SHG), *jaduk(k)* (BMC; EAL: Sarawānī, Raxšānī), MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47, 53 in addition enumerates *jažuk*, *dažhuk*, *dažux*, *dužix*, *duršik*, *duržik* from various sources, cf. also p. 164, 169, 204. Cognates include MPZ *zūzag*, NP *žūža*, CNP *juže*, Av. *dužaka-* (BENVENISTE 1931:221f.). In order to account for the Pers. forms, Benveniste assumes a protoform *jūjaka- (cf. also Br. *jažuk*), dissimilated to *dujaka- (a development which may be compared to that in *dzasta- > *dast*, cf. p. 292, Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication), thence (with a secondary development) the Bal. and Av. forms. However, there seems to be no good reason not to assume Av. *dužaka-* as the genuine form (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:52f.). If so, SWBal. *dažuk* is a hypercorrect form. For the Pers. forms and the Br. loanword, cf. the parallel development in Georg. *jojoxet-* "hell" < Prth. *dōžax* (Jost Gippert, personal communication; for the Bal. word for "hell", cf. p. 93).

261 *zahrak* has been borrowed from NP *zahra* "gall-bladder" which is derived from NP *zahr* "poison". Bal. *zahr* "poison, anger" and *zār* "lament" have influenced each other (cf. p. 206), motivated (also) by the WBal. change *ah > ā* (giving *zār* in both cases), thus *zārix* instead of †*zahrix*.

CBal. -b > -β (GEIGER 1891:433):²⁶²

- *barāβar* براور (cf. also p. 283, 286) "suitable, equal" (NP *barābar*), *zaβān* زوان "tongue" (NP *zabān*), *saβaβ*²⁶³ سوا "reason, excuse" (NP-Ar. *sabab*);
- *aīβ* ايو "spot, bolt" (NP-Ar. *ʿaib* "fault");
- if *haur* هور "rain" is not a loanword (cf. p. 159f.), it belongs here.

Hypercorrect substitution of *b* for *w* may be seen in

- ABG *ʿuźbā* "limb, organ" (NP-Ar. *ʿuźw* "member");²⁶⁴
- *nībag* (SHG) "fruit" for the usual form *nīwag* (cf. p. 268).

CBal. -d > -δ (GEIGER 1891:429):²⁶⁵

- *šōδag* شوذغ vs. SWBal. *šōdag* "to wash", *šudag* شذغ vs. *šudag* "hungry", *kaδē*²⁶⁶ كذيب vs. *kadī* "when";
- *w^hād* وهاذ vs. *wād* "salt", *nōδ* نوذ vs. *nōd* "rain-cloud".

CBal. -g > -ġ (GEIGER 1891:419):²⁶⁷

- *nīġōšag* نغوشغ vs. SWBal. *nīġōšag* "to listen", *ġagar* جغر vs. *ġagar* "liver" (NP loanword);
- *bōġ* بوغ vs. *bōg* "joint", nominal suffix *-ag* vs. *-ag*, e.g. *nēmag* نيمغ vs. *nēmag* "butter".

262 Cf. p. 61f. for further discussion, also on the notation of the sound. Note that sure examples of genuine words are lacking. ABG has e.g. *garīβī* "poverty" (from *garīb*, see below), *qiβlā* "direction of prayer" (otherwise *kibla*, NP-Ar. *qibla*, cf. 190f.).

263 SHG, EAL and ABG have a variant *sawab* besides *sabab*.

264 A cluster *zw* does occur in Balochi, albeit in heterosyllabic position, in *pāzwār* "footwear" (probably a NP loanword involving NP *pā* "foot", *zabar* "upon" and/or *bār* "load", although a fitting NP word is not found). As *zb* is not more usual than *zw*, there seems to be no phonotactic reason for the substitution.

265 For the further development of *δ > z* in some dialects, cf. p. 230f.

266 In *kaδē*, the suffix *-ēn* of the attributive adjectives seems to have been introduced for some reason.

267 Examples from ABG include: *āġā* (SWBal. *aga(r)* etc., cf. p. 190f.) "if", *sarōġān* (SWBal. *sarōġān*) "head of a gang", *lōġī* (SWBal. *lōġī*, cf. p. 305) "wife" and numerous adjectives and infinitives in *-ag*.

CBal. -č > -š (GEIGER 1891:426):²⁶⁸

- *p^hašag* پھشغ vs. (other dialects) *pačag* "to cook", *t^hašag* تهشغ vs. *tačag* "to run", *sīšin* سيشن vs. *sōč'in*, *sūč'in* "needle" (cf. p. 85, 180, 194, 198, 200);
- *rōš* روش vs. *rōč* "day, sun", *namāš* نماش "prayer", *aš* اش vs. *ač* "of" (cf. p. 85).

CBal. -j > -ž (GEIGER 1891:426):²⁶⁹

- *bōžag* بوژغ vs. (other dialects) *bōjag* "to open", *gēžag* گيژغ vs. *gējag* "swing, throw, bring forth" (cf. p. 98);
- *drāž* دراز vs. *drāj* "long" (cf. p. 86, 205).

There are some cases of hypercorrect SWBal. *j* for perceived EBal. *ž*, e.g.

- *dajuk(k)* "hedgehog" for EBal. **dažux* (see above);
- *muj* "mist, fog, storm" for EBal. *muž* < OIr. **mižā-* (cf. p. 93, 286).

Loanwords are for the most part treated in the same way as genuine words. However, there are also borrowings which do not show the expected changes, but are aspirated instead, e.g. *bač^h* "son" (NP, cf. p. 100) and *muč^h* "collected" (in other dialects *muč(č)*, borrowed from Si. *sik^hanu* (DTB), both examples from GRIERSON 1921:391), DTB, GCD *sik^hag* (ABG *sikk^hag*, SWBal. *sik(k)ag*, borrowed from Sindhi according to DTB) "to learn", *šak^hal* "sugar" (*šakar* in other sources, for *-l*, cf. p. 159).

c) OIr. *ft*, *xt*

For OIr. *ft*, which chiefly occurs in past stems, one would expect EBal. *ft*, but all relevant forms show *pt* (GEIGER 1891:426, HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556), e.g.²⁷⁰

- *k^hapt-* (past stem of *k^haf-* "fall"), *gwapt^h-* (past stem of *gwaf-*, SWBal. *gwap-* "weave"), *wapt-* (past stem of *waps-* "go to sleep"), *hapt* "seven" (all DTB).

As these forms are unlikely to have systematically been borrowed from other dialects, there is obviously an EBal. change *ft* > *pt* (the same phenomenon is found in Avestan).

268 ABG has *rōš* "sun", *nimāš* "prayer" (cf. p. 96), *daršak* "tree", *maršī* "today". The latter two words need not show *č* > *š* /*r_*, but might reflect CBal. **dračak* (cf. SWBal. *dračk* etc., p. 66) > **drašak* with metathesis (cf. p. 189) and *marōčī* > **marōšī* with syncopation of the second vowel (parallel to or influenced by SBal. *marčī* vs. WBal. *marōčī*, cf. p. 139, 243). For hypercorrect *bučk*, cf. p. 165.

269 ABG has *ražag* (SWBal. *raĵag*) "to colour", *darāž* "long", *dargēžg* (syncopated from or a misprint for *dar-gēžag*, SWBal. *dar-gējag*) "invention, contrivance" (from *gēj-*).

270 It seems that in the case of postconsonantal *t^h*, the (expected, see above) aspiration is marked even less consistently than with word-initial *t^h*. GRIERSON 1921:391 has *k^hapt^h-*.

The past stems of roots in PIr. *-k, *-g show *xt* in Eastern Balochi as one would expect, e.g. *āxt-* (past stem of *ā-* (SWBal. *āy-*, cf. p. 185) "come"), *bōxt-* (past stem of *bōž-* "open", see above), *t^haxt-* (past stem of *t^haš-* "run", see above), *dōxt-* (past stem of *dōš-* (SWBal. *dōč-*, cf. p. 79) "sew"), *rixt-* (past stem of *rīš-* (SWBal. *rēč-*, cf. p. 199) "pour"), *gixt-* (past stem of *gēž-* "swing", see above).²⁷¹

MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44 and ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XVII maintain that past stems in *-tk* also occur; such forms may conveniently be explained as borrowings from the literary language which is a Southern Balochi dialect (cf. II 3.2.2.1).

3.2.1.1.2 Subdialectal features²⁷²

There is a certain number of phenomena which are specific to some, but not all EBal. dialects. The features below are ordered according to their probability of being characteristics of one or several subdialect(s).

ϑ > *s*, *δ* > *z*

Some EBal. dialects show *s*, *z* in all words (including loanwords) where the other EBal. dialects have *ϑ*, *δ*; these dialects thus have *s*, *z* corresponding to SWBal. *t*, *d* in postvocalic position.²⁷³ GEIGER 1891:428 notes that he finds this phenomenon in GLADSTONE 1874 and HITTU RAM 1881, GRIERSON 1921:414 notes that it occurs in the speech of Baloch in Sindh. ABG transcribes *s*, *z* in all relevant cases.²⁷⁴

These instances of *s*, *z* may be written either with the graphemes that are used for EBal. *ϑ*, *δ* otherwise (cf. p. 226), i.e. *ث* / *ذ* (e.g. in ABG), or with *س* / *ز* (GRIERSON 1921:414).

271 DTB has *pakk-* as past stem of *p^hašag* "to cook" (see above), for which cf. p. 112.

272 It is not sure whether *šai* "three" (LEECH 1838, HITTU RAM 1881) for usual *sai* (for which cf. p. 90) is a subdialectal phenomenon as assumed by GEIGER 1891:425 or rather an error of the sources of some sort. Note, however, that Choresmian and Sogdian have *šy*, too (MACKENZIE 1990:122).

273 The terms of relationship thus become *brās* "brother", *p^his* "father", *zāmās* "son-in-law", *mās* "mother". One should not confuse these with the (apart from the aspiration in *p^his*) identical forms in *-s* found in some WBal. dialects, since the latter are unlikely to have been borrowed from Eastern Balochi, but will go back to the respective obl. case forms in OIr. *-ϑr-*, cf. p. 89f.

274 Dames thought (opinion expressed in a letter to Geiger, cf. GEIGER 1891:428) that *s*, *z* for *ϑ*, *δ* is due to imperfect rendering of the data by some authors; with regard to the cumulative evidence of the sources, the phenomenon rather seems to be a real one, though.

Examples from ABG:

- *č^hās* "spring, font" vs. standard EBal. *č^hāṭ*, *āf-u-gwās* "weather (lit.: water and wind)" vs. otherwise *gwāṭ* (for both examples, cf. p. 227), *muḃāarak bās*²⁷⁵ "congratulations" (NP *mubāarak bād* "may he/she be fortunate");
- *šuz* "hunger" vs. *šuḃ*, *šōzag* "to wash" vs. *šōḃag*, *wahāz*²⁷⁶ "salt" vs. *w^hāḃ* (for all of these, cf. p. 228), *šāhiz* "witness" (NP-Ar. *šāhid*), *quzrat* (EAL *kuzrat*) "power" (NP-Ar. *qudrat*).

In some cases, SWBal. / standard EBal. *s*, *z* is perceived as being due to this dialectal phenomenon and hypercorrectly replaced: *ṭrēn* (PIERCE 1874, cf. GEIGER 1890:145) "loins" for *srēn* (cf. p. 202) and *wardaš* (ABG) "exercise" (NP *warziš* "sports").²⁷⁷

GRIERSON 1921:338 and MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256 suggest that the development of *ṭ*, *ḃ* > *s*, *z* might be due to influence from Ind. languages which do not have *ṭ*, *ḃ*.

ṭ > *ḃ*

EBal. *ṭ*, *ḃ* both yield *ḃ* in the Kasrānī dialect (spoken in the utmost North of the Bal. area, GRIERSON 1921:406, MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256),²⁷⁸ e.g. *barāḃ* "brother" (vs. standard EBal. *brāṭ*), *dīḃa* "seen" (vs. *dīṭa*), *wāḃī* "own" (vs. *wāṭī*).

-pt > *-tt*

GRIERSON 1921:406 reports an assimilation *pt* > *tt* for the Kasrānī dialect (the example is *k^hatta* "fallen" for *k^hap^ta*) and attributes it to Ind. influence.

275 Since *bās* implies the existence of a development < *bāṭ < *bāt, it is an example of devoicing of final consonants in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.4).

276 This might be intended to represent /w^hāz/, cf. p. 226.

277 Neither *wardaš* nor *warziš* are found in other Bal. sources.

Arm. *vardapet* "instructor, master" is connected to the OP name *Artavardiya-* and the MP (and Prth.) verb *ward-* by AČARYAN IV:318f. The latter means "turn", however (OIr. √*vart*, OInd. √*vṛt*), but the Arm. word might indeed involve a popular etymology which combines **varza-pet* (lit.: "master of the exercise") and Mİr. *ward-*, MP *wardišn* "turning". The OP name *Artavardiya-* is likely to show a cognate of NWIr. **warz-* (cf. Av. √*varz*, BRANDENSTEIN/MAYRHOFER 1964:106), but an OP influence in Armenian is unlikely.

278 For further features of the Kasrānī dialect, see below.

-m > -w

It has long been noticed that Balochi shows examples of a change of *m > w* /V_{V, #}. This change is also seen in a number of other Western Ir. languages and is a typical feature of Kurdish, so that reason some authors have assumed that it might be inherited (e.g. MACKENZIE 1961:70). However, this seems rather implausible as far as Balochi is concerned since the feature only occurs in the EBal. dialects (GEIGER 1891:413), and even there only side by side with the variant preserving *m*.²⁷⁹ In some cases, the preceding vowel is nasalised (GEIGER 1891:411). The examples attested so far are shown in the table below, corresponding standard EBal. forms and Kurd. cognates given where attested. With the exception of *namāš* and *nawad*, corresponding words are attested in SWBal. as well.²⁸⁰

	EBal. dial.	standard EBal.	Kurd.	NP
"face"	<i>dēw</i>	<i>dēm</i>	<i>dîw</i>	<i>dîm</i>
"grass; pus"	<i>rēw</i>	<i>rēm</i>		<i>rîm</i>
"son-in-law"	<i>zāwāḏ</i>	<i>zāmāḏ</i>	<i>zava</i>	<i>dāmād</i>
"you" (2pl.)	<i>šawā, šā</i>	SWBal. <i>šumā</i>		<i>šumā</i>
"bow"	<i>kawān</i>	SWBal. <i>kamān</i>	<i>kevan</i>	<i>kamān</i>
"doubt, suspicion"	<i>guwān</i>	SWBal. <i>gumān</i>	<i>guman</i>	<i>gumān</i>
"incomplete"	<i>nā-twām</i>	SWBal. <i>nā-tamām</i>		<i>nā-tamām</i>
"prayer"	<i>nawāš</i>	<i>namāš</i>	<i>nōj</i>	<i>namāz</i>
"felt"	<i>nawad</i>			<i>namad</i>
"between (in the middle)"	<i>nyāwā</i>	<i>nyāmā</i>	<i>nîv</i>	<i>miyān</i>
"butter"	<i>nēwag</i>	<i>nēmag</i>	<i>nîvişk</i>	
"that very"	<i>hawān</i> etc.	≈ <i>ham-ā</i>	<i>hew</i>	<i>ham-ān</i>
EBal. words with <i>w</i> for CBal. <i>m</i>				

279 For further discussion, cf. KORN 2003:57. Note that the Prth. forms which have been claimed to show *m > w* require other interpretations (KORN 2003:57). For the Kurd. sound law *m > w*, cf. MACKENZIE 1961:70, ASATRIAN/ LIVSHITS 1994:95f. For examples from other Modern WIr. languages, cf. MACKENZIE 1961:70.

280 Except for *nā-twām* and citations in EAL, the items only occur in 19th century sources.

Notes:

- Kurd. *dîw* and *něj* are from HALKAWT HAKIM 1996 (Sorani).
- *dēw* is found in GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from GLADSTONE 1874). For further details about this word, cf. p. 199.
- *rēw* occurs in GEIGER 1891:414 (from GLADSTONE 1874). The word is a derivation of a root seen in *rīy*- "defecate" (OInd. $\sqrt{\text{ri}}$ etc., cf. EWAia II:437), it might have been borrowed from NP (thus EAL). The semantics of NP *rīm* "pus, filth, cinders, sediment" (MPM *rēm* "dirt, filth") render it plausible that *rēm* "pus" and *rēm* "grass" are indeed one word.
- *zāwāḍ* is attested in GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from LEECH 1838 who has *ǰāwāḍ*, its *ǰ*- being interpreted as an error for *z*- by Geiger). For further details, cf. p. 88 and above.
- *kawān*: GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from GLADSTONE 1874, DAMES 1881, HITTU RAM 1881), DTB, EAL. The word may have been borrowed from NP.
- *guwān* is from GEB (from DAMES 1881), DTB. As the *gu*- shows, the Bal. and Kurd. words have been borrowed from NP (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557, cf. p. 98). EAL has *gubān*, a hypercorrect form based on the assumption that the *-w*- of *guwān* is due to the EBal. change *b* > β (cf. p. 228).
- *šawā*: GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from DAMES 1881, HITTU RAM 1881), DTB, cf. also p. 103, 126, 239.
- *nātwām* is found in ABG. For *aw* > (*u*)*w*, cf. p. 218.
- *nawāš*: GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from LEWIS 1838). For further details, cf. p. 96 and above.
- *nawad* is found in DTB, EAL. Judging from Av. *nəmata*- "brushwood", the Bal. word has been borrowed from NP. For further cognates (Osset. *nymæt* etc.), cf. ABAEV II:202f. The Ir. word has been borrowed into many neighbouring languages, including Arabic and Hungarian.
- *nyāwā*: GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from GLADSTONE 1874, DAMES 1881, LEWIS 1885), DTB, EAL. For discussion of this word which has been borrowed from NP *miyān*, cf. p. 266.
- *nēwag*: GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from LEWIS 1838). For possible cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:184b.
- *hawān*: GEB, GEIGER 1891:414 (from GLADSTONE 1874, DAMES 1881, HITTU RAM 1881, LEWIS 1885), DTB. *haw-ān* has either been borrowed from NP *ham-ān* or composed of *ham* and the pronoun *ān* (cf. p. 238). SWBal. *ham-ā* is a parallel formation with the pronoun *ā*.

There are some possible cases of hypercorrect *m* for *w*:

- The *-m-* in *pīmāz* (all sources) "onion" may be explained as a hypercorrect substitution of *m* for *w* in **pīwāz* (GEIGER 1891:417).²⁸¹ **pīwāz* might have been borrowed from Kurd. *pīvaz*; if borrowed from NP *piyāz* (HORN 1893:77),²⁸² *pīmāz* shows a substitution of the vowel separator *w* for *-y-* (cf. II 2.4.3).²⁸³

281 EAL 116 notes Bashkardi *pīmū*, *pīwāz* which shows something parallel to the Bal. situation.

EAL has EBal. *pīwāz*, although it remains unclear where this form is found (DTB and Geiger's sources do not have it, neither do MAYER 1910 or GILBERTSON 1925).

282 The identification of Bal. *pīmāz* as a loanword was stated by HORN 1893:77, although on different grounds. For Ir. cognates (e.g. Sogd. *py'kh*) and their possible derivation, cf. BAILEY 1979:250b.

283 Similarly, ASATRIAN/LIVSHITS 1994:83 assume that the *v* seen in Kurd. *pīvaz* is a vowel separator.

- *nimāsag* (FBB, SHG, EAL)²⁸⁴ might be a hypercorrect formation from the variant *nawāsag* (DTB, EAL, SHG etc.) "grandchild", which is a NP loanword, cf. p. 89. Alternatively, *nimāsag* may have been borrowed from Pashto *nmasai*,²⁸⁵ which is not unlikely since *kuṛāsag* "great-grandchild"²⁸⁶ has likewise been borrowed from Psht. *kaṛwasai* etc. (GERSHEVITCH 1973:275).
- Although the variant *gwamz* for *gwabz* "wasp" (cf. p. 99) is not found in EBal. sources only, it might be possible to account for it by assuming the usual EBal. change of *-b > -β* (thence **gwaβz*) with substitution of *m* for *β*.
- *nimis-* / *nimist*, *nimišt* (EVM, EAL) "write" shows hypercorrect *m* for *w*. The details are not entirely clear; the EBal. variant of SWBal. *nibīs-* / *nibišt*²⁸⁷ would be **niβīs-* / *niβišt*, so that analogical developments have to be assumed.²⁸⁸

3.2.1.1.3 Other phenomena²⁸⁹

Metathesis

Eastern Balochi exhibits some instances of metathesis which are not found in other dialects, e.g.:

- *ēkwā*, obl. of *ēwak* "alone" (cf. p. 235);
- *saḡar* "head" probably stands for **saraḡ*, a derivative of *sar*;²⁹⁰
- *nērmōš* (cf. GEIGER 1890:138) "noon" vs. usual *nēmrōč* (GEIGER 1891:436).

284 EAL *numāsag* might be a contamination of EVM *nuwāsag* (cf. p. 218) and *nimāsag*.

285 There are several forms of this word in Pashto (borrowed from NP), cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1927:54. *nmasai* is used in Eastern Psht. dialects (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication), which makes a borrowing into Balochi possible.

286 *kawāsag* "great-grandchild" might be the result of a contamination of *kuṛāsag* (cf. also p. 303) and *nawāsag* or borrowed from another Psht. dialectal variant (GERSHEVITCH 1973:275).

287 This verb (the past stem is *nibišt*) has been borrowed from Persian (cf. MP *nibēs-* / *nibišt*). In the case of "to write", it is not as surprising as in the case of other verbs that the word was borrowed from neighbouring languages in which all written communication has been done (cf. also *lik(k)-*, p. 322). The MP verb itself shows NWIr. features (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:216⁸⁶).

288 The existence of EBal. *nawiš-* / *nawišt* (EAL) does not seem to be sure.

289 The two isolated cases of EBal. palatalisation assumed by GEIGER 1891:436 are probably to be explained otherwise: *čyār* "four" (otherwise *čār*) is likely to have been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 120), and *paḡjyā*, *paḡjī* "together with" need not be explained as *pa* + *jā* "place" (cf. p. 106).

290 Thus MORGENSTIERNE 1984:50. EAL notes *saḡar* which would be the SWBal. form corresponding to *saḡar*, but its existence seems questionable. The same applies to EAL *sarag* (SWBal.), which is maybe postulated because of Morgenstierne's etymology of *saḡar*.

Assimilation

There is an assimilation of a kind not found in other dialects in

- *čugzāxt* (DTB), *čugzāxt* (GCD) vs. *čuk^h-zāxt* (DTB, GCD) "grandchild" (cf. p. 303);
- *gīḍmahisk* (DTB) "fly" from EBal. *gīḍ* (SWBal. *gūt* "mud") + *mahisk* "fly".²⁹¹

Status of *h*

In contrast to some other Bal. dialects (cf. II 2.4.1.2), Eastern Balochi preserves *h*. According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XVI, it is also used as vowel separator (cf. II 2.4.3).

3.2.1.2 Vowels

Syncopation

As noted above (cf. II 3.1.2.1), there is a certain shortage of examples for syncopation in Common Balochi. The following cases are found in Eastern Balochi:

- *āfsin* "pregnant" (EBal., GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881, DAMES 1881) has an additional suffix vs. SWBal. *āpus* (cf. p. 89),
 - *wasrik* (GCD) vs. *wasarik* (DTB) "father-in-law" (cf. also p. 208 and below);
- two cases of syncopation and subsequent nasalisation (from ABG):
- *zamāg* for (other sources) *zamānag*²⁹² "time",
 - *-ēg* < *-ēn-ag* (caus. inf.);

plus two cases of syncopation in declension:

- *ēkwā* (GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881) besides *ēwakā*, obl. of *ēwak* "alone",
- the obl. case of *ḡinik* "girl" is *ḡinka*²⁹³ in Sibi (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:283).

291 Thus the explanation of GEIGER 1891:427, 429. GEIGER's former explanation (1890:134) of the word as containing *gis* "house" is rather unlikely. The inherited word for "fly" is *makisk* (cf. p. 78, 194), *magis(k)* was borrowed from NP *magas* (cf. p. 194). The reason for the *-h-* in the EBal. variant *mahisk* is not clear to me. For *gūt*, cf. p. 81.

292 The etymology given by HORN 1893:146 (OInd. *jarimān-* "age" etc.) is not correct (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:69). Corresponding words found in diverse languages (e.g. Arm. *žamanak*, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:69) have been borrowed from Iranian (not vice-versa, as assumed in Horn's times), and the Bal. word was borrowed from NP (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:165). It belongs with (OInd., OIr.) $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ "go", for further Ir. cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:110a, for the MP orthography, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201³⁴.

293 Maybe the stem *ḡink^h* (cf. p. 166) is based on this form. If this is not a misprint for *ḡinkā*, it shows a shortening of *-ā* found in some other dialects (cf. p. 251, 260), but not noted for Eastern Balochi.

- a similar phenomenon might be responsible for the past stems *garand̪*- "thundered", *sub̪*- "pierced", *sik^h̪*- "learnt" (cf. p. 317, 318, 322, respectively) besides variants in EBal. *-a̪*- (for which cf. p. 186) or SWBal. *-it-*.

According to GRIERSON 1921:401, the Upper Sindh dialect shows occasional contractions in verbal forms like *bīgē* for *bāgē* (from *bāg* "to be, become"). GRIERSON 1921:405 notes that syncopation is frequent in the Kasrānī dialect, shortening verb forms like (common EBal.) *bīḍagant* to *bīḍgā̃*²⁹⁴ "they became", *č^harānagā* > *č^harāngā* "for feeding" (for further contractions in this dialects, cf. p. 239).

Neutralisation

There are a number of words in EBal. which seem to show a neutralisation of vowels, i.e. *a* in places where other dialects have some other vowel.²⁹⁵ It is also possible that the process in question is to be regarded as a vowel assimilation given that in most words treated here, the other syllable contains *a* or *ā*.

At least some variants of Eastern Balochi show *a* in words and in contexts which are liable to give *i* in other dialects (cf. p. 193ff.). Cases of original *u* are:²⁹⁶

- DTB *aškan-* / *aškut^h-*²⁹⁷ vs. SWBal. *uškun-*, *iškan-* "hear";
- DTB, GCD *barwān* vs. SWBal. (thus also GLADSTONE 1874) *burwān*, *birwān* "eyebrow" (cf. p. 208);
- DTB *šafānk*²⁹⁸ vs. *šupānk*, *šipānk* "shepherd";
- GLADSTONE 1874 *našār* vs. (thus also DTB) *nišār* "daughter-in-law" (cf. p. 128);
- GLADSTONE 1874, DTB *wasar-zāxt* "brother-in-law" besides *wasir-zāxt* etc.

The explanation of *a* here might be either that *u* changed to *a* in palatal contexts in EBal. while it became *i* in SWBal., or that *u* was palatalised to *i* as in other dialects and

294 For *ḍ* > *ḍ* in Kasrānī, cf. p. 231, for nasalisation, cf. p. 238.

295 The pronunciation of Bal. *a* is described to be something between [a] and [ə], thus the transcription <ə> in ABG, BMC and in works by Tim Farrell.

296 For variants of other dialects, cf. p. 195f. *tanak* "thin" vs. NP *tanuk* (for which cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212) which GEIGER 1891:405 would place here may show a different suffix (cf. p. 169).

297 According to EAL XII, the Coastal dialect has *aškan-* / *aškut^h-*, EBal. *aškun-*, *aškan-* / *aškut^h-*. Lāšārī has *haškun*, *haškut* according to EAL XV, for which cf. p. 154. GERSHEVITCH 1998:111 assumes *aškun-* to have arisen by metathesis from **uškan-*. For the etymology, cf. p. 147, for more variants, cf. p. 196, 204.

298 Other EBal. sources have *šawānk^h*, for which cf. p. 225.

then neutralised to *a*. The fact that all EBal. words with *a* < *u* are found in variants with *i* in other dialects (cf. p. 195f.) might speak in favour of the latter hypothesis.

In the cases of prothetic *a*-, EBal. might preserve an earlier stage than the other dialects which have *i*- (cf. II 2.3.4). The examples are *aspēt* (ABG) vs. otherwise *ispēt* "white", *astār* (DAMES 1881, DTB) vs. usual (thus also GLADSTONE 1874) *istār* "star", *aštāfī* (DAMES 1881, DTB) vs. *ištāp* "hurry, quickness".

The appearance of *a* for *i* and *u* in loanwords shows that some process of vowel neutralisation must be at work anyway: *saḥr* (NP-Ar. *siḥr*) "magic", *šāgard* (NP *šāgird*) "student", *kalāh* (NP *kulāh*) "cap, hat"²⁹⁹, *kalīt* (NP *kilīd*) "key"³⁰⁰ and *wardaš* (NP *warziš*, cf. p. 231) "exercise" (all from ABG) as well as *jaḡar* (also *jaḡar* in SWBal.) "liver" (from NP *ḡigar*). It is thus possible that cases like *astār*, *aštāfī* do not represent the original stage but are also secondary products of *istār*, *ištāp*, respectively.

For the Kasrānī dialect (cf. also p. 231), GRIERSON 1921:405 notes additional cases of neutralisation in occasional *k^haḍa* for *k^huḍa* "made" (Standard EBal. *k^huḍa*). The present stem of the same verb also appears as *k^hin-* instead of *k^han-*.³⁰¹

ū > *ī*

In EBal. dialects, OIr. *ū* is regularly changed to *ī* (cf. p. 196ff.).

Word-final vowels

MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:9 notes that in the Balochi of the Upper Sindh Frontier, a short vowel is often added to words ending in a consonant, perhaps reflecting the tendency observed in Sindhi of having every word ending in a vowel.³⁰²

299 The SWBal. sources have *kulā(h)*. For the etymology, cf. HORN 1893:192f., HÜBSCHMANN 1895:88; according to the latter, Kurd. *kulav* (found in OMAR 1992 in the meaning "felt carpet") shows that the suffix probably goes back to *-f, giving NP *-h*. This means that *kulāh* is a loanword (thus also GEIGER 1891:453).

300 BMC, EAL, SHG have *kilīt*. The word cannot, as GEIGER 1891:453 assumes, be authentic on account of its *-t* since it is a Greek loanword in NP (κλειδ-). *kilīt* from NP *kilīd* thus shows the devoicing of word-final consonant common in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.4).

301 For Kasrānī *ūdā* "there", cf. p. 200.

302 For parallel considerations phenomena in Karachi Balochi, cf. p. 246.

3.2.1.3 Vowels + consonants

Nasalisation of vowels

According to GRIERSON 1921:394, 401 and ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XVI, vowel + *n* often appears as a nasalised vowel in Eastern Balochi. The nasalisation processes are more far-reaching than in some other dialects (cf. II 3.1.3.3).

Examples of nasalised long vowels from DAMES 1893 include: obl.pl. \bar{a} , adj. suffix \bar{e} , 1pl. pres. \bar{u} ; these are used in all contexts (not only in front of consonants as in some other sources, cf. p. 213f.). Examples from ABG are numerous and include $b\bar{a}g$ "cry" (borrowed from NP $b\bar{a}ng$), $\bar{a}d\bar{i}k$ ³⁰³ "mirror", $\bar{a}nn\bar{o}$ ³⁰⁴ "now".

Nasalisation of short vowels seems to be limited to pronouns and verbal suffixes in Eastern Balochi:³⁰⁵ (DAMES 1891:15) $m\bar{a}$ "I" (otherwise *man*), $ma\bar{i}$ (gen. of $m\bar{a}$, see below), 3sg. copula \bar{e} (this form also occurs in Southern Balochi, cf. p. 245, 337).

Cases of loss of the nasal are $ap^h\bar{a}n$ "leather sack" vs. SWBal. $amp\bar{a}n$, $da\bar{t}^h\bar{a}n$ "tooth" vs. $dant\bar{a}n$ (cf. p. 224, 225, respectively), DTB $\check{y}a\bar{t}^h\bar{i}r$ "millstone" vs. regular $\check{y}antar$, $\check{y}antir$ (cf. p. 104, 194f.); the loss of the nasal is obviously more recent than the EBal. change of postvocalic stops to fricatives.

Secondary nasalisation is seen in the pronouns (DAMES 1891:15f.): $man\bar{a}$ (obl.) "me", $ma\bar{i}$ (gen.) "my", $ma\bar{i}$ (gen.) "our", but, as GRIERSON 1921:401 notes, not in the dialect of the Upper Sindh frontier ($man\bar{a}$, $ma\bar{i}$ "me, my").³⁰⁶ The Upper Sindh dialect, on the other hand, shows optional secondary nasalisation (GRIERSON 1921:401) in the 2sg. of the copula (\bar{e} besides \bar{e}) whereas in the 3sg., optional denasalisation occurs (\bar{e} besides \bar{e}). The obl.sg. in Kasrānī shows secondary nasalisation: \bar{a} (GRIERSON 1921:405).

303 Other sources have $\bar{a}d\bar{e}nk$ etc., cf. p. 79, 199.

304 Other sources have $\bar{a}nn\bar{u}n$ etc., cf. p. 202, 214.

305 ABG has numerous examples of nasalisation of short vowels in regular nouns. As the words in ABG come from different dialects, it is not clear whether any of these are to attributed to Eastern Balochi, there do not seem to be any relevant examples with EBal. characteristics. Since, moreover, nasalisation of short vowels is found in other SBal. sources, the examples of \bar{V} from ABG are treated as Southern Balochi here (cf. p. 244).

306 Cf. V 1.2. The demonstrative pronoun \bar{a} is less likely to show secondary nasalisation vs. \bar{a} of the other dialects, but may rather have been borrowed from NP $\bar{a}n$, cf. p. 243.

gwa-

In spite of ELFENBEIN's statement (1990/II:XVI) that "the reduction [of *gwa-*] to *gu-* is unknown" in Eastern Balochi, *gu-* seems to appear most consistently in the Eastern dialects compared to the others.³⁰⁷

- DTB *guz-* "pass by" and *guf-* "weave" for SWBal. *gwaz-* and *gwap-*, respectively;
- HITTU RAM 1881 (cf. GEIGER 1890:125) *gumz* "wasp" for *gwamz*;
- in the case of *guš-* "say", this form has replaced *gwaš-* in nearly all dialects (for all examples, cf. p. 219).

Contraction

There is a contraction of *awa* and *awā* in

- *šawā*, *šā* "you (pl.)" (cf. p. 103, 126, 232f.);
- *šōšk-* (GEB) "sell" besides *šawašk-* (DTB, GCD, EAL, SHG, cf. p. 117, 177); ABG *šōšak* "sale" is likely to represent **šōšk-ag*.

Other cases of contraction from ABG are:

- *mābatt* (also in BMC)³⁰⁸ "love" for *mahabbat* (NP-Ar. *maḥabbat*);
- *šālā* (written شاله !) "hopefully" for NP-Ar. *inšā'-llāh*.

GRIERSON 1921:405 reports contractions of various kinds from the Kasrānī dialect (cf. also p. 236), e.g. *p^hāδ-āgā* > *p^hāδwā* "I will rise (lit.: come [onto] foot)".

307 *gwa-* > *gu-* is also noted for Kasrānī by GRIERSON 1921:406. The past stem of *guz-* is given as *gwast^h-* in DTB, though.

308 EAL has *mahabat*, *mahābatt*, the latter probably representing a contamination of the original *mahab(b)at* and *mābat(t)*. For *mōbatt*, cf. p. 211.

3.2.2 Southern dialects (SBal.)

The Southern dialects as presented here include the dialects termed Kēčī and Coastal dialects in ELFENBEIN 1990/II:IXff.³⁰⁹ These dialects are considered prestigious by many Baloch,³¹⁰ for which reason SBal. words may be found in texts from other dialects. They contain a number of literary words not necessarily found elsewhere. The Kēčī dialect in particular is used for writing literary works.

FBB (Karachi Balochi) and SHG (project based in Karachi) are sources for the Southern dialect, although occasionally elements of other dialects also occur, due to the mixed character of the Balochi population of Karachi³¹¹ and (in the case of SHG) due to the long experience of Sayyad Hashmi with diverse varieties of Balochi. Among the older sources, PIERCE 1874, MARSTON 1877 and MOCKLER 1877 are based on Southern Balochi. Further information is found in GRIERSON 1921.³¹²

3.2.2.1 Consonants

Metatheses

The metathesis of CBal. *-kt- (for which cf. p. 111f.) to *-tk* in past stems of roots in velars seems to be best explained as a characteristic of the non-Eastern (with GEIGER 1891:418, 436), and, as it turns out, more precisely the Southern dialects.³¹³

309 For Sarāwānī and Lāšārī, cf. II 3.2.4.

310 Cf. e.g. ELFENBEIN 2000:85.

311 For further discussion of Karachi Balochi, cf. FARRELL 2003.

312 Those older sources which treat the non-Eastern dialects do not specify their material for Southern or Western Balochi since the importance of that dialect division has only been recognised in more recent times (cf. I 3.1.2). However, of the sample texts in GRIERSON 1921, those on p. 364ff. are Southern Balochi with occasional WBal. characteristics, those on p. 376ff. are from the Panjgur area, thus WBal. (GRIERSON 1921:385). However, there are quite a number of SBal. characteristics in the latter texts, too, so they will be treated in this chapter.

313 Cf. ELFENBEIN's note that the forms in *-tk* are found in the Lāšārī (but cf. p. 257), Kēčī and Coastal dialects (1990/II:IXff.). The classification of *-tk* as also EBal. feature (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XVII, MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44) is unlikely to be correct (cf. p. 230).

- Examples of past stems from FBB:³¹⁴
*atk*³¹⁵ (past stem of (*k*)*āy*- "come"), *bōtk* (past stem of *bōj̄*- "open"), *patk* (past stem of *pač*- "cook"), *tatk* (past stem of *tač*- "run"), *dōtk* (past stem of *dōč*- "sew"), *rētk* (past stem of *rēč*- "pour"), *gētk* (past stem of *gēj̄*- "throw");
- examples of nouns:
patk (EAL) "poplar tree, willow" if existing and if going back to **pakt* (MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348, 1948:290),³¹⁶
dut(t)uk (EAL: Kēčī, SHG) "daughter, doll" (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44: < **du*tk < **du*kt, cf. NP *duxt*).³¹⁷

A singular metathesis of CBal. *-sp* > *-ps* (GEIGER 1891:436) occurs in (*h*)*aps* (PIERCE 1874, MARSTON 1877, MOCKLER 1877) vs. *asp* "horse" (cf. also p. 90, 158f.).

Fricatives

In Southern Balochi, the use of fricatives potentially occurring in loanwords is extremely restricted. SHG has no *f*, *x*, *g* at all, and FARRELL 1990:12 notes that they may always be replaced by *p*, *k/h* and *g*, respectively.

Status of *h*

The SBal. dialects generally preserve *h* (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:IXff.). However, at least in some (probably eastern) Coastal dialects, *h* seems to be lost, and in Karachi, *h* is absent from the speech of many speakers, many more speakers having a very weak *h* (FARRELL 2003:177).

314 SHG does not note the past stems of verbs.

315 *atk* seems to have been analogically shortened from *āt*k (EAL: Coastal, Kēčī; Lāšārī *yāt*k), following a principle that the past stem should be "lighter" than the present stem.

316 The forms cited by MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290 as well as their derivation do not seem to be beyond doubt, cf. also ROSSI 1979:39.

317 The meaning "daughter" is only attested in MAYER 1910 (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44) and EAL. According to SHG, the word means "doll, heavily decorated girl", it also denotes some plant which gives lots of flowers. In Brahui (for which cf. ROSSI 1979:13), *duttuk* means "doll, pupil of the eye". A variant *dut(t)ag* "daughter, doll, girl" (with the suffix replaced by the common suffix *-ag*) also exists (SHG, EAL, marked as literary in BMC). The usual word for "daughter" is *janik(k)* (also "girl").

According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:IXff., secondary *h-* (cf. II 2.4.1.3) is quite common in Kēčī and the Coastal dialects and is also used as the preferred vowel separator. GRIERSON 1921:377 indeed notes *šāhir* (NP-Ar. *šā'ir*) "poet" for the "Makrānī dialect", and *sāhat* (NP-Ar. *sā'at*) "time" is found in SHG.

Subdialectal phenomena

GRIERSON 1921:376 notes that occasionally, word-initial consonants are aspirated, e.g. *p^hād* "foot", *t^hau* "you", *č^ham* "eye".³¹⁸ Similarly, FARRELL 2003:179 notes that in Karachi "many speakers lightly aspirate all voiceless stops" (cf. also p. 224, 251).

According to GEIGER 1889:79, *p-* is changed to *f-* in some variety of Kēčī and/or Panjgūrī, e.g. *fatk* for *patk* "cooked" (see above), *fidar* for (NP loanword) *pidar* "father".

Unlike the other SBal. sources, SHG shows consistent gemination of consonants after *ī* and *ū* (not after other (long) vowels) in inherited and borrowed words, e.g.³¹⁹

- *čīrr*³²⁰ "rip, tear" (but no gemination in *čēr* "under"), *dīmm*³²¹ "stern (of a ship)" (vs. *dēm* "face"), *mīkk* "stake, pole, top of head";
- *zūmm*, *zīmm* "scorpion", *sūččīn*, *sīččīn* "needle";³²²
- in *pīnzz*, *pūnzz* (sic, not †*pīzz*, *pūzz*) "heel", the gemination operates even across *n* (cf. p. 197).

318 GRIERSON 1921:376 assumes that stops may change to fricatives occasionally also in this dialect. However, family terms like *پهت / پت* which he interprets as *piθ* etc. will rather represent *pis* etc. (these forms seem to belong to the Western dialects, cf. p. 89, 250), and the isolated case of the past stem *gift* (for *gipt*, from *gīr-* "take", cf. p. 144) might have been borrowed from Eastern Balochi. Other points described by GRIERSON 1921:376 as characteristics differing from other SBal. sources are maybe not dialectal differences: the losses of final elements might rather point to morphological or syntactical differences than to phonological processes (cf. p. 243), *paš* "back, behind" besides *pašt* is likely to represent a different formation (cf. p. 125). For *ku* and *bū*, cf. p. 246.

319 For a similar phenomenon in Lāšārī, cf. p. 259.

320 EAL has *čīr*. The word has been borrowed from Ur. *čīr* "tearing etc.".

321 GEIGER 1891:410 has *dīm* "back" which he compares to Av. *dūma-* (cf. also HÜBSCHMANN 1895:63). While the original vowel quantity of the Av. word is not clear (DE VAAN 2003:308), Balochi would require a proto-form **dūma-*, provided the etymology is correct, while NP *dumb* (cf. p. 170) would rather point to a short vowel.

322 For *mīk*, cf. p. 82f., 187, 200, for further discussion of *zūm* and *sūčīn*, cf. p. 197f.

3.2.2.2 Vowels

Loss of vowels³²³

There is a loss of a vowel in FBB, SHG *marčī* "today", probably an allegro variant of *marōčī* of the other dialects (for which cf. p. 139).

$\bar{u} > \bar{i}$

Southern Balochi shows preserved \bar{u} as well as variants in \bar{i} (for examples and more discussion, cf. p. 196ff.). SHG usually has a variant with \bar{i} besides the one with \bar{u} . In FBB, the variants in \bar{i} predominate (e.g. *bī* "been", *pīz* "heel", *dīr* "far", *zīr-* "take"), but in some cases, both variants are cited (*trū*, *trī* "aunt"). According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:IXff., it is the Coastal dialects which change $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$, with Kēčī preserving \bar{u} . It is not clear whether there are SBal. variants in which there is no \bar{u} at all (cf. also p. 57f.), although the interdialectal borrowing makes it probable that there are words with \bar{u} in every SBal. variant.

3.2.2.3 Vowels + consonants

Nasalisation of vowels

Nasalisation is far-reaching at least in some SBal. dialects. According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:IXff., nasalisation is avoided in Kēčī and occasional in the Coastal dialects. However, the data in FBB and SHG indicate that the tendency towards nasalisation is very strong, "even heavier than in the rest of Makrān" (JAHANI 1989:81).³²⁴

FBB shows rather regular nasalisation of long vowels + *n* (e.g. *gō̃* "with", *pīz̃* "heel", adj. suffix *-ē̃*, cf. also p. 213) while in SHG, nasalisation is common, but not without exceptions (*gō̃n* "with" vs. *pīz̃* "heel").

323 The loss of final *-ā* (obl.) and the *-a* of the perf. suffix assumed by GRIERSON 1921:376 need not be one, as the phenomena in question might rather reflect the use of the direct case instead of the oblique observed in some dialects (cf. e.g. BARANZEHI 2003:82, JAHANI 2003:123ff.) and the use of the simple past instead of the perfect.

324 The nasalisation observed by (GRIERSON 1921:376) in the demonstrative pronouns \tilde{a} and \tilde{i} for usual \bar{a} , \bar{e} is not secondary as he supposes since the (probably borrowed NP) pronouns $\tilde{a}n$, $\tilde{i}n$ are used in some Bal. dialects as well (cf. p. 102, 238).

In Karachi, nasalisation of short vowels is seen in a number of verbal forms (for which see below) as well as in the pronoun *mā̃*³²⁵ "I" (*man* in other dialects).

Some SBal. dialects show nasalisation of short vowels outside of the domain of pronouns and verbal inflection. The details are not completely clear yet, though.³²⁶

Examples are:

- *āras* (ABG) "tear" (maybe borrowed from Ur. *anras* "distaste");
- *tāk* (SHG) "narrow" vs. regular *tank* which may be genuine (cf. p. 168f.) whereas *tāg* (ABG, SHG) "narrow" (other sources: *tang*) has been borrowed from NP *tang* (GEIGER 1890:148);
- *ǰāg* (ABG) "battle, war", *ǰāgī* (SHG) "relating to battle" vs. regular *ǰang(ī)* (borrowed from NP *ǰang*, GEIGER 1891:451);
- *ǰāgal* (ABG, SHG) "forest" vs. regular *ǰangal* (originally from Ind., LOKOTSCH 1927:74, but the Bal. word might nevertheless have been borrowed from NP) with its derivative *ǰāglī* (ABG) "wild" vs. regular *ǰangalī*;
- *čāgul* (ABG, SHG) "claw" vs. *čangul* (Ur. loanword);
- *rāg* (ABG) "colour" vs. *rang*;³²⁷
- *zamīn-ǰūb* (ABG)³²⁸ "earthquake";
- *sāg* (ABG, SHG), *sīg* (SHG) "stone" vs. regular *sang*, *sing* (cf. p. 139);
- *šābā* (ABG) "Saturday" vs. *šamba*, *šambē* (cf. also p. 191).

The nasalisation processes in SHG seem to depend on the preceding consonant, if not even on the individual who prepared the respective chapter of the dictionary: with word-initial *tVn-*, nasalisation in antecorsonantal or word-final position is regular (the only exceptions being *tandō* "web-like" and *tandūr* "oven" where it is probably the

325 In FARRELL's transcription (1990:15 etc.), the word appears as <mən / mā̃> (with <ə> being used for /ā/ and <a> for /ā̃/). There is no difference in the vowel of <ǰā̃> (Farrell's orthography, cf. the table below) "he/she hits", i.e. /ǰant/, and <zā̃> "he/she knows", i.e. /zānt/, so the nasalisation products of long and short *a* are obviously pronounced identically at least in this dialect.

326 It is not clear whether the examples from ABG do come from a SBal. dialect. However, evidence of nasalisation of short vowels in regular nouns in other dialects is lacking so far, and none of the words in question show EBal. characteristics, so it is assumed that they belong here.

327 According to MACIUSZAK 1996:26, Ir. *rang* (for cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:362b) is an Ind. loanword (cf. OInd., Pali *raṅga-*). If so, Bal. *rang* has been borrowed from NP *rang* as GEIGER 1891:458 assumes. Arm. *erang* has been borrowed from MP (Jost Gippert, personal communication) and thus does not help to decide anything.

328 Bal. *zamīn* has probably been borrowed from NP *zamīn* (cf. also *zamīk*, p. 163).

following dental which prevents nasalisation), whereas in the case of $\check{y}VnC$, the only words which do show nasalisation are $\check{y}\tilde{a}g\bar{i}$, $\check{y}\tilde{a}gal$ (see above) and $\check{y}\tilde{g}ul$ "little sparrow".

The following verbal forms show nasalisation of $-Vnt$ when not in antevocalic position:³²⁹

nasalised form (FARRELL 1990:29f., 2003:174)	antevocalic form	
$\check{y}\tilde{a}$	$\check{y}ant$	3sg.pres. of $\check{y}an$ - "strike"
$d\tilde{a}$	$dant$	3sg.pres. of $d\check{e}y$ - "give"
$k\tilde{a}$	$kant$	3sg.pres. of kan - "do"
$i\check{s}k\tilde{a}$	$i\check{s}kant$	3sg.pres. of $i\check{s}kan$ - "hear"
$z\tilde{a}$	$z\tilde{a}nt$	3sg.pres. of $z\tilde{a}n$ - "know"
e^{330}	int	3sg.pres. copula

In the cases of \tilde{a} (3pl.cop.) vs. ant of other dialects and \tilde{e} (1pl.cop.) vs. $\bar{e}n$ otherwise, the Karachi dialect has generalised the antevocalic form to all environments.

Nasalisation in SBal. goes so far that minimal pairs can be found with nasalised vs. non-nasalised vowels, so that nasal vowels (at least \tilde{a}/\bar{a} , \tilde{e} , \bar{o}) are posited as phonemes by FARRELL 2003:173f. The examples are (FARRELL 2003:174):

long vowel	nasalised vowel	cf. long vowel + n
\bar{a} obl.sg.	\tilde{a} obl.pl.	$\bar{a}n$ pres.part.
$\check{y}\bar{a}$ "strike" past stem	$\check{y}\tilde{a}$ "hit" 3sg.pres.	$\check{y}\bar{a}n$ "body"
$d\bar{a}$ "give" past stem	$d\tilde{a}$ "hit" 3sg.pres.	$d\bar{a}n$ "grain"
\bar{o} "and"	\bar{o} "be" 1sg.pres.	$\bar{o}n$ "blood"

329 For similar doublets in Iranian Balochi, cf. p. 263.

330 The same form occurs in Eastern Balochi, cf. p. 238.

gwa-

Although according to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:IXff., *gwa-* is sometimes changed to *gu-* in Southern Balochi, *gušag* (which is almost exclusively attested in this form) "to say" seems to be the only instance of *gu-* < *gwa-* found in SBal. sources.

Word-final consonants

FARRELL 2003:178 observes a tendency to drop word-final consonants in the Balochi of Karachi, maybe reflecting influences of Sindhi syllable structure (for a similar phenomenon in Eastern Balochi, cf. p. 237). *ku* for *ku(r)t* "did" and *bū* for *būt* "became" may be explained in this context and simultaneously show a phenomenon of allegro pronunciation (for *kut*, cf. p. 146).

3.2.3 Western dialects (WBal.)

Although not the most prestigious group of dialects, Western Balochi, which chiefly comprises the dialects known as Raxšānī, is by far the most widely spoken Bal. idiom and therefore serves as a "lingua franca" in many situations of communication among Baloch of different dialects. With regard to the sources, the situation is much better than for other dialects: BARKER/MENGAL 1969 describe Pakistani Raxšānī, NAWATA 1981 and BUDDRUSS 1988 Afghan Raxšānī, and several works by Soviet scholars treat the Balochi of Turkmenistan (with ELFENBEIN 1963 as a glossary). On the other hand, testimonies for earlier periods are mostly wanting.

The WBal. dialects are the only ones which have been treated phonetically (e.g. SOKOLOVA 1953, cf. also the notes by BUDDRUSS 1988:43ff.). Since corresponding studies for the other dialects are lacking, it is possible that some of the features described below are also found in other dialects, but have gone unnoticed so far.

3.2.3.1 Consonants

OIr. *xt*

WBal. dialects exhibit *ht* in past stems of roots in velars. In those dialects which have no *h* (for which see below and II 3.2.3.3), *ht* is simplified to *t* (with compensatory lengthening where possible). However, substitution of SBal. forms (owing to the prestige of Southern Balochi) or of secondary past stems in *-it* are often found.

Examples:³³¹

- GRIERSON 1921:376 *aht* (for the *a-*, cf. p. 241), EVM, SOKOLOV 1956, NAWATA 1981:36 *āt* (past stem of *(k)āy-* "come"); EAL *pā(h)t*³³² (past stem of *pač-* "cook"); EAL *tā(h)t*³³³ (past stem of *tač-* "run");

331 BMC, although being a description of a WBal. dialect, has the SBal. forms in *-tk* (cf. p. 240f.). The only WBal. past stem with *-ht* in BMC is *(k)ā(h)t(k)* (sic) as past stem of *āy-* "come" which is probably intended to imply that the WBal. past stem *(k)ā(h)t* is used besides SBal. *āt* (note that FBB has *atk*, though, cf. p. 241).

The WBal. past stem of *bōj-* "open" is not found in the sources available to me.

332 EVM, EAL, SOKOLOV 1956:81 have the neo-past stem *pakkit. pakt* noted by NAWATA 1981:17 might be (if not an error for SBal. *patk*) a contamination of SBal. *patk* and expected *paht*. EAL *pāht* is a contamination of expected *paht* with *pāt* (for *ah* > *ā* and the contamination process, cf. p. 252f.).

333 EAL, SOKOLOV 1956:80 have secondary *tačit*.

- SOKOLOV 1956:80, NAWATA 1981:17 *dōt*³³⁴ (past stem of *dōč*- "sew"); EVM, SOKOLOV 1956:81, NAWATA 1981:17 *rēt* (past stem of *rēč*- "pour"); EAL *gē(h)t* (past stem of *gēj*- "throw").

Status of *h*

In WBal. dialects, *h* is always only optional. According to BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxii, word-initial *h* is lost more often in front of long vowels than in front of short ones. Similarly, word-final *h* tends to be dropped more often when it follows a long vowel.³³⁵ Barker/Mengal also note that the non-pronunciation of *h* is not always reflected in writing.

In other WBal. dialects, the weakness of *h* is even more marked (BUDDRUS 1988:44 notes complete absence of *h* in word-final position and very weak articulation elsewhere for Afghan Balochi), with Turkmenistan Balochi marking the extreme point where no *h* occurs at all.

Examples:

- *ak* (EVM), (*h*)*ak* (BUDDRUS 1988:44), (*h*)*akk* "right" for *hak(k)* (NP-Ar. *ḥaqq*); *amra*³³⁶ (BUDDRUS 1988:44), *amrā* (EVM), (*h*)*amrā(h)* (BMC) "companion" for (NP) *ham-rāh*;
- *ušk* (EVM), (*h*)*ušk* (BMC) "dry" for *hušk* (cf. p. 94);
- *bā* (EVM) "price" for (NP) *bahā*;
- *gwār* (EVM, FBB, EAL, NAWATA 1981:37, BUDDRUS 1988:74), *gu(h)ār* (BMC) "sister" for *gwahār* (cf. p. 99, 123, 219);
- *tīrmā* (EVM, NAWATA 1981:19)³³⁷ "autumn" for *tīrmāh* (borrowed from NP *tīr-māh* "autumn"³³⁸); *kō(h)* (BMC) "mountain" for (NP) *kōh*.

334 EAL *duht* would show the original zero-grade form of the root, which may be from SPOONER 1967:57 who has IrBal. *doht* which in his notation means /duht/ (cf. p. 257).

335 For anteclassonantal *h*, cf. p. 252f.

336 For the shortening of word-final vowels, cf. p. 251.

337 BMC *tīrmag* implies loss of the *-h* and subsequent interpretation of *-ā* as a case of neutralisation of word-final *-a* (cf. p. 190f.) and treatment of the latter as suffix *-ag* (cf. p. 165).

338 *tīr-māh* literally means "month of *tīr*". *tīr* is etymologically connected to Av. *tīstriia*- "Sirius", a star appearing on the sky in autumn and thus described as the bringer of rain by the speakers of Avestan (cf. FORSSMAN 1968:56ff.). For the semantic change of *tīr* as the name of a given month to "autumn", cf. SUNDERMANN 2003:250f.

Loss of *h* is also found in spoken Dari (DOROFEEVA 1960:16) and Pashto (GEIGER 1893:215).

Vowel-separating consonants

Western Balochi has secondary *y*, *w* and *h* in vowel-separating function (examples from BUDDRUS 1988:43f. unless indicated otherwise):³³⁹

- *kōṭa-y-ai* (gen. of *kōṭa* "room"); *ē-y-at* "this was";
- *čē-w-ā* (obl. of *čē* "what"); *na-w-ai* "you are not" (cop.2sg.);
- *čā-h ant* "there is (lit.: are) tea" (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxiii); *sahat* (sic) "hour" (NP-Ar. *sā^cat*).³⁴⁰

Some WBal. dialects (EVM, EAL: Raxšānī)³⁴¹ have *ra-* "go" for *raw-* of other dialects. It is possible that this loss of *w* represents an analogical loss of a perceived secondary *w*. The variant *ray-* (EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, Coastal dialects) shows a vowel-separating *y*.

Gemination

WBal. sources vary quite a bit with regard to the gemination of consonants.

In BMC, gemination of word-final consonants is very frequent (with the exceptions of two words, after short vowels only). One group where final gemination occurs are loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.5), the rest are words where a consonant group has been

339 According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VII, the vowel separator is *w* in Afghan Raxšānī and *y*, *w* elsewhere. However, *h* is found quite often, too.

340 BUDDRUS's assumption (1988:44) that Ar. ^c is directly replaced by *h* does not seem plausible: there is no dialect of Balochi (neither of NP from where the Ar. loanwords are likely to have been borrowed for the most part) in which Ar. ^c is pronounced as such (cf. p. 63).

341 NAWATA 1981:22 has *b-ra* (ipr.), but *raw-ai* (2sg.pres.), NAWATA 1981:38), BUDDRUS 1988:80 similarly has *ra(w)-īn* (1sg.pres.), *b-ra-īn* (1sg.subj.), but *raw-ai*.

For the distribution of further variants, cf. p. 128.

assimilated, e.g. *piŋs*³⁴² "father", *čamm* "eye" (cf. p. 126), *nazz* "near" (cf. p. 125) vs. simple consonants (not going back to a consonant group) e.g. in *gis* "house" (cf. p. 87), *jan* "woman" (cf. p. 86), *ač* "of" (cf. p. 85).

BUDDRUS 1988:44f. notes that in the speech of his informant, there is no gemination in most words where BMC has it. Gemination is not found in EVM and NAWATA 1988 either.³⁴³

Other phenomena

Although the fricatives *x*, *g*, *f* occurring in NP and NP-Ar. loanwords are mostly replaced by *k/h*, *g*, *p*, respectively (cf. II 1.2.2), it seems that in Western Balochi, the fricatives are pronounced rather frequently (MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:7f.), indicating a rather high degree of familiarity with NP on the part of the speakers compared to that of other dialects.

The use of fricatives is mentioned in NAWATA 1981:3; BUDDRUS 1988:44 notes that in the speech of his informant, *x* occurs quite often (in the rest of the cases, it is replaced by *h* or zero), *g* in most relevant cases (only one case of *g*), but *f* only in conscious imitation of educated speech (usually *p* appearing instead); NP(-Ar.) *q* is always replaced by *k*. RASTORGUEVA 1966:327 has *x* and *g* (but no *f*) for the Balochi of Turkmenistan.

MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:8 notes an occasional change of *d*, *ḍ* to *ḍ*, *ṛ*, respectively, for the dialect of Panjgūr.³⁴⁴

342 Note that *mās* "mother" and *brās* "bother" do not show a geminate, which is due to the long vowel (cf. II 3.1.1.1). The family terms in *-s(s)* (for the etymology, cf. p. 89) clearly belong to the Raxšānī dialect (thus also ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VIIff.). Although GRIERSON 1921:385 says that they are typical for the Panjgūrī dialect, the distribution (at least in contemporary times) is much larger than that, the forms being attested in BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981, BUDDRUS 1988, i.e. Pakistani Raxšānī, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan. They are also mentioned in SHG where the main entry is *pit* etc. Conversely, MORGENSTIERNE 1932a:9 notes the use of *pit* etc. corresponding to "SBal." *pis* for Nōškē which belongs to the WBal. dialect area.

343 The impression gathered from fieldwork by Lutz Rzehak (personal communication) is that gemination seems to be rather arbitrary, depending markedly on the idiolect of the speaker.

344 For other phenomena involving *d* and *ṛ*, cf. II 3.1.1.4.

Aspiration of word-initial stops is not uncommon also in WBal. dialects: according to ELFENBEIN 1963:365, it often occurs in Panjgūrī, and SOKOLOVA 1953:50ff. notes that the voiceless stops are aspirated at least in word-initial position and that postvocalic stops tend to be pronounced as fricatives or affricates.

n has the allophones [ŋ] and [ɲ] next to a retroflex and velar, respectively (SOKOLOVA 1953:50ff., RASTORGUEVA 1966:327, BUDDRUS 1988:44). In addition, BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxv note a palatal allophone of *n* when next to *č*, *ǰ*.³⁴⁵

The pronunciation of *bw-* at least in Afghan Balochi is [bǒŋ-] according to BUDDRUS 1988:44, e.g. *b-wārt* [bǒŋa:rt] "he/she should eat", so that the imperative *b-war* comes out as [bo:r].³⁴⁶

3.2.3.2 Vowels

Loss and shortening of vowels

Some WBal. dialects show elision of vowels in certain pronominal forms: *mnī* "my" and *mnā* "me" for *manī*, *manā* of other dialects (gen. and obl. of *man* "I", respectively), *trā* "you (sg.)" for *tarā*, *turā* elsewhere (obl. of *tau*) in RASTORGUEVA 1966:332, BUDDRUS 1988:50, *šmā* "you (pl.)" for *šumā* (RASTORGUEVA 1966:332).³⁴⁷

According to BUDDRUS 1988:43, unstressed word-final vowels in Afghan Balochi are often shortened to medium length, thence e.g. the obl. sg. ending *-a*.³⁴⁸ Turkmenistan Balochi has obl. *-ā*, but gen.pl. *-āni* for *-ānī* of other dialects (RASTORGUEVA 1966:329).

345 It is highly likely that similar allophones are found in other dialects as well without being noted by the relevant sources.

346 A contraction of [bǽw-] is also seen in *Zaz*. *bīw-* > *bo-* (Jost Gippert, personal communication).

347 NAWATA 1981:11 has *mnā*, but no syncopation in the other forms.

348 There is a similar phenomenon in Sarāwānī (cf. p. 260). Some uncertainty concerning the length of word-final *-a/-ā* is also found in other sources, cf. the variation of (°)*da* / (°)*dā* "ten, °teen" in FARRELL 1990:21, 26, 30, 86f.; the comparatively common lengthening of word-final *-a* might also point to a general coalescence of *-a* and *-ā* (cf. also p. 190f.) at least in some (sub)dialects.

Changes of quality

a has a more closed allophone ([æ] or [ɛ]) when next to *y* according to BUDDRUSS 1988:43, e.g.

- *kissa-y-ē* [kissejē] "one story", *garmī-y-a* [garmīɛ] "heat" (obl.).

SOKOLOVA 1953:50ff. and RASTORGUEVA 1966:326f. note the allophones (closed) [ɛ] and [o] for *i* and *u* in closed syllables, e.g.

- *b-gir* [bgeɾ] "take! (sg.)" vs. *gir-īn* [girīn] "I take";
- *šut* [šɔt] "he/she went" vs. *šut-ī* [šutī] (with pron.suffix 3sg.).³⁴⁹

Word-initial *u*, *ō* is pronounced *wu-*, *wō-* at least in some contexts in BUDDRUSS 1988:43 (occasionally also in SOKOLOVA 1953:52), e.g.

- *wuškin-* (otherwise *uškin-* etc., cf. p. 147, 196) "hear";
- *wōn* (for *(h)ōn*, cf. p. 215) "blood".

No notice of this phenomenon has been found in other WBal. sources. The addition of *w-* is obviously more recent than the loss of *h* in these dialects.

In contrast to some other Bal. dialects (cf. p. 237, 243), *ū* is not changed to *ī* in Western Balochi (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VII).

3.2.3.3 Vowels + consonants

VhC

CBal. *ah* > WBal. *ā*:

WBal. *h* is lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in the context *ahC*. In most cases, BMC also has variants with hypercorrect *h*, i.e. *āhC*.³⁵⁰

349 For *i*, *u* pronounced as [ɛ], [o] in Iranian Balochi, cf. p. 261.

350 The process of loss of *h* appears not to be entirely clear to BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxii who treat e.g. *šār* (also in NAWATA 1981:38, BUDDRUSS 1988:81) as a *h*-less variant of *šāhr* (sic) "town" etc., comparable to *abar* vs. *habar* "word, matter", without explaining the difference in vowel length in comparison with the form *šahr* of the other dialects (and NP). It is not entirely clear whether the variants with *āhC* noted by Barker/Mengal (and in EAL, maybe following Barker/Mengal) exist or are due to their interpretation of the processes affecting *ah*. *ahC* > *āC* can also be observed in Tajik dialects (e.g. *šār* "town", LAZARD 1956:124) and in Dari (e.g. *šār* "town", *pālū* "side", *dā* "ten",

Examples (ordered according to the following consonant):

- *šā(h)t* (BMC, EAL) for *šahd*, *šahd* "honey" (cf. p. 207, 269);
- *āhd* (EAL) for *ahd* "promise" (cf. p. 207); *wād* (BMC, EVM, EAL, NAWATA 1981:29), *wāhd* (BMC) for *wahd* "time" (NP-Ar. *waqt*, cf. also below);
- *zāhg* (BMC) for *zahg* "child" (MP *zahag*), *zāg* (BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:35, BUDDRUSS 1988:84, EAL, cf. p. 184);
- *bār* (BMC, EVM, EAL) for *bahr* "share" (cf. p. 184);³⁵¹ *zār* "anger" for and besides *zahr* "poison";³⁵²
- *pālunk* (EVM) for *pahlūg* etc. "side" (cf. p. 163f., 166, 268); *tāl* (BMC, NAWATA 1981:38), *tāhl* (BMC) for *tahl* "bitter" (cf. p. 119);
- *pānād* (EVM, BMC), *pāhnād*, *pā(h)nāt* for *pahnād*, *pahnāt* "side, width";³⁵³ *kwān* (FBB) "old" for *kwahn* (SHG) etc. (cf. p. 120);
- *zām* (PIERCE 1874, BMC), *zāhm* (BMC) for *zahm* "sword" (borrowed from NP

DOROFEEVA 1960:16).

351 For the etymology, cf. p. 206. *bār kanag* "to apportion" is even given in (the basically SBal. source) FBB. There are two other words *bār*, viz. *bār* "load" (from *bar-* "carry") and *bār* "time (x times)". If the latter is a cognate of OInd. *vāra-* "appointed time, turn" (cf. HORN 1893:36), MPZ *bār* (not †*wār*) must have been adjusted to *bār* "load", both words being interpreted as one. If so, Bal. *bār* "time" has been borrowed from Persian (thus GEIGER 1890:116). It is possible that *bār* < *bahr* is interpreted as yet another meaning of the same word, which might facilitate the change of *bahr* > *bār*.

ELFENBEIN 1990/II:21 states that GEIGER 1890:115f. is wrong in assuming that *bār* "load" and *bār* "time" coalesced in Balochi as they did in NP and that Bal. *bārē* "always" is derived from this word. The reason for this statement is not entirely clear; maybe Elfenbein's underlying assumption is that Bal. *bār* "time" either does not exist or is secondary to the variant *bar*. However, both *bar* and *bār* "time" do exist. It thus seems to be better to assume that *bār* "time" has been borrowed from NP and that *bar* is a shortened variant of it (for vowel shortenings, cf. II 3.1.2.2.1).

Bal. *wār* "time" (BMC, NBA, EAL; also in *yak wār* "suddenly") has certainly been borrowed from Ind. (cf. ELFENBEIN 1963:80, ROSSI 1979:337 etc., cf. Lhd. *vār*, Si. *vāri*, all from OInd. *vāra-* "appointed time, turn", cf. TURNER 1966:673). JAHANI's statement (1992:175) that *wār* is "clearly the same word as Persian *bār*" (obviously rejecting the interpretation of *wār* as Ind. loanword cited in BUDDRUSS 1988:82) seems to imply that *wār* has been borrowed from NP; this appears impossible, though, since NP *b-* is rendered by Bal. *b-* and MP *w-* by Bal. *gw-* (cf. II 3.3.1.7.1).

352 For more details and the etymology, cf. p. 206.

353 *pahnād* may have been borrowed from early MP **pahnād*, cf. MPZ <phn'd> *pahnāy* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication). Alternatively, it might have been formed in Balochi from the NP loanword *pahn* "wide" (a cognate of Bal. *patan*, cf. p. 81) with the suffix also seen in derivatives of inherited words, e.g. *burzād* "above", EBal. *drāžād* "length".

zaxm "wound")³⁵⁴ etc.³⁵⁵

In analogy to these forms, there are cases of secondary *h* in words with *āC* not going back to *ahC*, e.g.

- BMC *pā(h)rī* "last (time)" vs. normal *pārī* (cf. p. 163);
- *kā(h)n* (BMC) for *kānīg* "well, spring", and there is even a common variant (EAL, SHG) *kahnī(g)* (cf. p. 82-83).

Some (presumably particularly recent) loanwords show loss of *h* after short *a* without compensatory lengthening:

- *awāl* (BMC, EVM) for *ahwāl* (BMC and other sources) "news" (NP-Ar. *aḥwāl*);
- *malūk* (BMC) for *mahlūk*, *maxlūk* "people" (NP-Ar. *maxlūq*);
- *wad*, *wat* (BMC) for *wahd*, *waht* "time"³⁵⁶ (NP-Ar. *waqt*).

ih, *uh* are changed to *ē*, *ō*, respectively (cf. II 3.1.3.2).

Nasalisation of vowels

In Western Balochi, nasalisation is much less widespread than in some EBal. and SBal. dialects (cf. p. 238, 243ff.) and seems to be entirely absent from Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi (cf. EVM, NAWATA 1981:3, BUDDRUS 1988:43).

However, the change of $\bar{V}n > \tilde{V}$ is common at least in Pakistani Raxšānī:³⁵⁷ "Within the word, a long vowel + /n/ + a consonant often sounds like a nasalised vowel + the consonant" (BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:xxxvi). In the majority of cases, Barker/Mengal feel that "there is (...) enough length to the /n/" to justify a transcription as *Vn*. In some words (among them the numbers 11-19), however, the pronunciation with nasalised vowel is more common (for examples, cf. p. 214). Word-final *-Vn* is preserved as such with the exception of "certain (...) suffixes which consist of a vowel + /n/ before a

354 NP *zaxm* is derived from **jaḍma-* by MACKENZIE 1967:26. Parthian has <jxm>, <jhm> *žaxm*. ABG also has the more recent loanword *zaxm* "wound".

355 Note that the examples of *ahm > ām* must be loanwords since *hm* is changed to *m(m)* in genuine words (cf. II 2.2.1.3).

356 *wa(h)t* is found in BARKER/MENGAL 1969/I:x1, *wa(h)d* in BMC, *waht* is attested in EAL. For further variants, cf. p. 281.

357 ELFENBEIN's statement about Raxšānī (1990/II:VII) that "postvocalic *n* is stable" thus appears questionable.

following word beginning with a vowel, and a nasalised vowel before a following consonant-initial word." The suffixes in question are obl.pl. *-ān* (*-ã* before a consonant) and the adj.suffix *-ēn* (anteconsonantal variant *-ẽ*) as well as some elements which behave similarly (cf. p. 213f.).

gwa-

Although ELFENBEIN 1990/II:VII notes that *gwa-* changes to *gu-* in Western Balochi, no *gu-* variant of *gwap-* "weave" or *gwaz-* "pass by" is found in WBal. sources. *guš-* "say" is in line with the general tendency of all dialects, *gwaš-* being only attested in some traditional sources (cf. p. 219). The situation with regard to *gwa-* is thus the same as in Southern Balochi.

ya- > ē-:

The following words with *ya-* also appear with *ē-* in EVM:³⁵⁸

- *ērāg̃* "arms" for NP-Turk. *yarāq*;
- *ēla* (otherwise *yala*) "free" (borrowed from NP *yala*).

It is not entirely clear whether this is a dialectal feature or a phenomenon limited to the two mentioned words.

358 Note that words with *y-* cannot be genuine (cf. II 2.1.3.4.1).

The change *ya- > ē-* may or may not have some connection with the change *ya- > ī-* seen in Av. loanwords in NP (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:198²²).

3.2.4 Iranian Balochi

The Balochi dialects of Iran are treated together here although in a historical sense, they do not constitute a separate group. However, they seem to present some common characteristics in phonology and phonetics. It is not entirely clear yet which (sub-)dialects of Balochi are spoken in Iran. Descriptions of these are for the most part not available yet. In Makran, Coastal dialects are assumed to be spoken. From Khash northwards and in the whole of Ir. Sistan, including Zahidan, WBal. dialects are reported to dominate. These will only be referred to in what follows if they have been noted to differ from the SBal. and WBal. variants discussed in II 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 above.

In addition to Southern and Western Bal. varieties also found in other countries, there are two particularly characteristic dialects which are not found outside of Iran, viz. the so-called Lāšārī and Sarāwānī dialects.³⁵⁹ Sarāwānī (itself composed of several subdialects) is spoken in an area including the town of Sarawan, and is described in BARANZEHI 2003. The dialect described by BARANZEHI 2003 as being the one spoken in the town of Sarawan itself and its immediate surroundings largely corresponds to the notes in SPOONER 1967, but – as will be seen below – differs from the "Sarāwānī" as defined by ELFENBEIN (e.g. 1990/II:XII f.). In what follows, BARANZEHI 2003 will be taken as a basis unless otherwise specified.³⁶⁰ On the whole, Sarāwānī occupies an intermediate position between WBal. and SBal. (BARANZEHI 2003:77). With regard to the phonological characteristics treated below, it is nearer to the Western than to the Southern dialects, though. Some data from the Lāšārī dialect(s) may be found in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 and MAHMOODI BAKHTIARI 2003.³⁶¹

359 For the probable distribution, cf. the maps. The term Lāšārī was brought into use by Elfenbein (replacing the term Lōṭūnī used in his earlier publications).

360 For further information on Sarāwānī, cf. JAHANI 2003. SPOONER 1967:56 notes that the dialect borders are not a geographical question only, but also one of the nomadic vs. settled population, with e.g. the nomadic groups using *mās* "mother" etc. (WBal., cf. p. 250) and the settled population *māt* etc. (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII has *māt* etc. for the family terms which are not attested in BARANZEHI 2003, apart from the loanword *barādar* "brother"). The importance of distinguishing the "kūhī" and "šahrī" idioms is also stressed by ʿAbbās Parwīn (personal communication), characteristic differences including *ū* > *ī* vs. preserved *ū*, past stems *dīt* "saw", *kuṭ* "did" vs. *dīst*, *kert*, 1sg. *ō* vs. *ā*, use of genitive vs. *ežāfe*; this would point to a SBal. character of the former and a more WBal. character of the latter. BARANZEHI 2003:79 reports that the nomads are called *balōč* and the rest *šahrī* ("town-[people]"), while both are ethnic Baloch and speak some variant of Balochi.

361 It seems that some of the sample sentences in MAHMOODI BAKHTIARI 2003 do not come from Lāšārī proper. Some characteristics of the dialects are listed in ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XIV f., not all of them

Not surprisingly, the influence of Persian on the Bal. dialects spoken in Iran has been even heavier than on the other dialects.³⁶² For Sarāwānī, BARANZEHI 2003 shows influences from NP on all levels of grammar.³⁶³ In all Bal. dialects spoken in Iran, the pronunciation of the vowels seems to be that found in CNP, i.e. *e*, *o*, *ei* for /i/, /u/, /ai/, respectively (cf. p. 261). As the sources treating Ir. Balochi note them in accordance with the pronunciation, this practice will be followed here, too.

3.2.4.1 Consonants

OIr. *-xt*

ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII, XIV notes that *-xt* is used besides *-ht* in the past stems of verbs in velars in Sarāwānī, and that Lāšārī has *-tk*. However, SPOONER 1967:57, BARANZEHI 2003 and YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 only have *-ht*,³⁶⁴ e.g.

- *yaht*: past stem of *yāy-* (other dialects *āy-*) "come" (BARANZEHI 2003:91, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:89);³⁶⁵
- *dohht*: past stem of *dōč-* (SPOONER 1967:57),³⁶⁶ *dūeht*:³⁶⁷ past stem of *dūeč-* "sew" (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:98);
- *sūeht*: past stem of *sūeč-* "burn tr."; *soht*: past stem of *soč-* "burn itr." (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:100);
- *rēht*: past stem of *rēč-* (JAHANI 2003:128), *rīeht*: past stem of *rīeč-* "pour" (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:98).

Sarāwānī and Lāšārī thus go with Western Balochi in this point (cf. p. 247f.) while Southern Balochi has *-tk* (cf. p. 240f.).

agreeing with the data from YUSEFIYĀN 1992 and MAHMOODI BAKHTIARI 2003.

362 With regard to the lexicon, there are many loanwords from NP which are not found in other Bal. dialects, e.g. *barādar* "brother" and *xāhar* "sister" instead of the Balochi words used in the other dialects, and *mohtaram* "honoured" (see below) which is not found in the other sources.

363 For Lāšārī, it is difficult to make a statement about other levels of grammar than phonology and phonetics since the data available to me consist at least in part of elicited material.

364 *-xt* is otherwise only found in Eastern Balochi, cf. p. 230. SPOONER's remark (1967:58) that *ā[t]* is "reduced to *ah[t]*" is not correct. For *uh* for *ō* as cited by SPOONER 1967:58, cf. p. 212.

365 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XV reports *yātk* for Lāšārī (for *y-*, cf. p. 260).

366 SPOONER 1967:57 also has *reht* for what is *rēht* in JAHANI 2003:128. If not an error for *dōht* and *rēht*, respectively, the forms cited by Spooner correspond to *duht* (EAL: Raxšānī), EBal. *rixht* with regard to its ablaut.

367 In Lāšārī, *īe*, *ūe* correspond to what is *ē*, *ō* in other dialects, cf. p. 261.

Status of *h*

While ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII, XIV remarks that "*h* is stable", SPOONER 1967:57 notes that word-initial *h* is often lost. Conversely, Spooner reports that *h* is often secondarily added,³⁶⁸ a tendency confirmed by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII, XIV.

However, in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 and BARANZEHI 2003, *h* appears in all positions where it is to be expected, e.g.

- from BARANZEHI 2003: *hormā* "date" (cf. p. 156), *ham-ē* "this", *hesāb* "consideration" (NP-Ar. *ḥisāb*); *xāhar* "sister" (from NP *x"āhar*), *sohr* "gold" (cf. p. 119, 211), *mohtaram* "honoured" (NP-Ar. *muḥtaram*), *teh* "in";³⁶⁹
- from YŪSEFIYĀN 1992: *ham-īēšt* "this", *hīed* "sweat" (cf. p. 123), *gohār* "sister" (cf. p. 219), *bohā* "price" (cf. p. 100), *wahd* "time" (cf. p. 281), *kūeh* "mountain" (cf. p. 81);

and I have not seen an example of secondary *h* in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 and BARANZEHI 2003.³⁷⁰

The preservation of *h* in Sarāwānī and Lāšārī is a SBal. rather than a WBal. feature (cf. p. 241f., 248).

For *h* as vowel-separating consonant, see below.

Gemination

There is no case of gemination of consonants in BARANZEHI 2003. SPOONER 1967:57 remarks that "any final consonants (but not clusters) may apparently be doubled at will, except when followed by a word beginning with a consonant". Since SPOONER does not note gemination in his glossary, it is possible that there are rules for gemination also in this dialect (cf. II 1.1.1).

368 SPOONER 1967:57 concludes that therefore *h* has no phonemic status; this need not be a necessary consequence, though.

369 The Sarāwānī preposition is probably identical with *tah* "interior", used as a postposition: x-(gen.) + *tahā* (obl. of *tah*) "in (lit.: in the interior of) x" in the other dialects and NP *tah* "bottom"; its etymology does not appear to be clear. The issue of Sarāwānī prepositions vs. pre- and postpositions of the other dialects is treated in BARANZEHI 2003:87f.

370 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XV reports *haškun-* / *haškut* "hear" (cf. p. 236) for Lāšārī.

In YŪSEFIYĀN 1992, gemination occurs in words which are also found with gemination in other dialects, e.g. *hadd* "bone" (cf. p. 272), *čukk*³⁷¹ "child", *mess* "urine" (cf. p. 137). There are also additional cases of gemination. It seems that all those which do not occur in other dialects involve gemination after *ī/īe*, *ū*, recalling a phenomenon observed in SHG (cf. p. 242), e.g. *čīppok* "chicken" (*čīppuk*³⁷² in SHG), *sīnna*³⁷³ "breast", *nebīss-* "write" (cf. p. 234), *rīešš*³⁷⁴ "beard", *dūt* "smoke" (otherwise *dūt*, cf. p. 142), *pūs-* / *pūsset* "wither, decay".³⁷⁵ More data are needed to compare the range of gemination with Western and Southern Balochi.

Other phenomena

The data of BARANZEHI 2003 confirm ELFENBEIN's statement (1990/II:XII) that *y* is used as vowel separator in Sarāwānī, e.g.

- *hodā-y-eš*³⁷⁶ (God-y-pron.suff.2pl.) "[may] God [give] you (pl.) ..." (BARANZEHI 2003:84);
- *nesta-y-ē*³⁷⁷ (sit(perf.)-y-1pl.) "we are sitting" (BARANZEHI 2003:88);
- *kas-ē-y-ei* (person-indef.-y-cop.2sg.) "you are a (...) person" (BARANZEHI 2003:84).

However, *h* is used as well:

- *na-h-at-ē* (neg.-*h*-cop.past-1pl.) "we have not been" (BARANZEHI 2003:89);
- *āh-ī* (dem.pron.obl.) "that" (JAHANI 2003:121);
- *rah-īn* "I go" (JAHANI 2003:122).

371 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:283 and GILBERTSON 1925/I:48 assume some connection with Ur. *č^hōkrā*, Si. *č^hōkaru* "boy", but the case is not completely clear. There might be a relationship to *čūčag* "child, baby; tiny", *čūčūk*, *čukī* "little finger" (cf. p. 293).

372 The etymology of this word is not known to me. It seems possible that onomatopoeical phenomena might be involved.

373 *sīna(g)* has been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:444), but *sēnag* might be genuine. For cognates and further discussion of MP *sēnag*, cf. GIPPERT 1993/I:243.

374 If this is not an error (*rīešš* would be the only example with gemination after *īe*) it shows Bal. /rēš/, which would agree with some cognates cited by MORGENSTIERNE 1927:107. The other Bal. sources have *rīš* which may be a form showing raising of the vowel or a borrowing from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:458), since Tajiki and Dari have likewise *rīš*. Av. *raēša-* does not mean "beard" as HORN 1893:142 assumes. Thus, the etymology of *rīš* is not clear (HÜBSCHMANN 1985:68).

375 This word (not found in other Bal. sources) is likely to have been borrowed from NP *pūs-* / *pūsīd*.

376 *hodā* (other dialects *hudā*) has been borrowed from NP *xudā* (GEIGER 1891:450), cf. p. 66.

377 The past stem is *ništ* in other dialects (cf. p. 96).

Conversely, *y* is found as vowel separator in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 while ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XIV states that *h* is used in Lāšārī.

- *man wat āyī-y-om dī*³⁷⁸ "I myself saw him/her" (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:52);
- *ta gošna-y-at-ī* "you were hungry" (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:69).

This feature is closer again (although still different) to the situation found in WBal. than to that of Southern Balochi.

In Lāšārī, a secondary *y* is often found prefixed to word-initial *ā*- in inherited as well as in borrowed words, e.g.

- (*y*)*āp* "water" (cf. p. 77), (*y*)*āteš* "fire" (borrowed from CNP *āteš*), *yāšnā* "known" (from NP *āšnā*), *yāy-* / *yaht* "come" (all from YŪSEFIYĀN 1992), *yaps* / *asp*³⁷⁹ "horse" (Pākzād Yūsefiyān, personal communication).

It thus seems that the *y-* noted by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XIIff. for the verbs *yār-* "bring" and *yāy-* "come" is in fact not a feature of verbal morphology, but a phonological process of more general nature. The prefixing of *y-* seems to be optional in some words, and there are words which seem not to take it at all (e.g. the pronoun *ā-* "that"); the conditions of its appearance thus remain to be investigated.³⁸⁰

3.2.4.2 Vowels

Vowel shortening

Some word-final vowels are shortened: the indefinite article *-ē* is often pronounced *-e* (BARANZEHI 2003:83), and the obl.sg. ends in *-a* (SPOONER 1967:58, BARANZEHI 2003:81) as it does in Afghan Raxšānī, but not in other WBal. variants (cf. p. 251).

378 *ayī* is certainly a misprint for *āyī* correctly noted otherwise. The agent is marked twice here, by the full pronoun *man* and the suffix *-om*. *āyī* is equivalent to the variant *āhī* quoted above.

379 For the metathesis, cf. p. 177.

380 In Sarāwānī, the two verbs indeed seem to be the only examples of this phenomenon which are found. Maybe there is some connection with the loss of word-initial *y-* seen in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.7.2.

Short high vowels

The pronunciation of *i* and *u* tends towards *e* and *o* in all Balochi dialects spoken in Iran (not only Sarāwānī and Lāšārī), reflecting the CNP pronunciation (SPOONER 1967:58, BARANZEHI 2003:81, YŪSEFIYĀN 1992).³⁸¹ The SBal. and WBal. dialects spoken in Iran differ in this respect from the corresponding dialects spoken across the Pakistani or Afghan border, with the pronunciation from CNP being an areal feature.

Diphthongs

The diphthong *ai* of other dialects is pronounced *ei* (SPOONER 1967:58, BARANZEHI 2003:81). According to SPOONER 1967:58, *ei*, *ē* and *ī* are difficult to differentiate, and *ū* and *ō* fall together,³⁸² which would mean that raising (cf. p. 199f.) is very marked in the variant studied by Spooner. However, there is no example of raising in BARANZEHI 2003.

The most striking feature of Lāšārī is the diphthongisation of what is *ē*, *ō* in the other dialects to *īe*, *ūe*, respectively.³⁸³ The data in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 point to a consistent diphthongisation in all positions of the word, e.g.

- *īer* "down" (vs. *ēr* of other dialects, cf. p. 119, 199), *hīed* "sweat" (vs. *hēd*), *rīeč-* "pour" (vs. *rēč-*), *hamīešt* (vs. *ēš-*; all cf. p. 258), adj.suffix *-īen* (vs. *-ēn*), indef. article *-īe* (vs. *-ē*);
- *ūedān* "there" (vs. *ōdā*, cf. p. 101), *dūeč-* "sew" (vs. *dōč-*), *kūeh* "mountain" (vs. *kōh*, cf. p. 257, 258, respectively), *brātūe* "step-brother" (vs. *brātō*, cf. p. 307), *rūe* "day" (vs. *rō*, cf. p. 137).

ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII, XIV maintains that the diphthongisation product of *ō* is *ūo*,³⁸⁴ which is not confirmed by the data in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992, MAHMOODI BAKHTIARI 2003 and my own observation, and that the diphthongisation also occurs in Sarāwānī, but there is no such example in SPOONER 1967 and BARANZEHI 2003.

381 In SPOONER 1967, the vowel *e*, i.e. /i/, is noted varyingly as *i* or *e*, the reasons or conditions for which remain unclear (cf. also ROSSI 1979a:192¹⁶⁵, 210).

382 This is why SPOONER 1967 has <u> (sic) for *ū* **and** *ō*, and <o> for /u/.

383 This change is also found in some of the sentences in MAHMOODI BAKHTIARI 2003. Other sentences do not show this phenomenon, though, and may be considered as coming from a different dialect.

384 If so, the process would be the same as the one seen in Bashkardi (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XIV).

Palatalisation and labialisation

The data found in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992 and BARANZEHI 2003 show some cases of *e* for expected *a*:

- part.perf. *-eg* for otherwise *-ag* (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992), *teh* for otherwise *tah* "in" (BARANZEHI 2003, cf. p. 258), 3pl. *-ent* vs. *-ant* of other dialects (both sources, cf. p. 263).³⁸⁵

This might indicate that *e* and *a* are phonetically not too far apart. The change might be facilitated by the variation *e* / *a* observed in a considerable number of words in CNP (e.g. CNP *āteš*, *ātaš* "fire").

On the other hand, assimilation of *a* to a preceding labial is seen in e.g. *mon* "I" (BARANZEHI 2003) vs. *man* of the other dialects, *bohā* "price" (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:102) vs. *bahā* otherwise, *Bompūr* (local pronunciation) vs. *Bampūr* (official name of a town in Iranian Balochistan).³⁸⁶

The change of $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ does not occur in the Lāšārī and Sarāwānī data,³⁸⁷ which is nearer to Western than to Southern Balochi usage (cf. p. 243, 252). The change to \bar{u} posited by ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII for Sarāwānī is not noted in SPOONER 1967 and BARANZEHI 2003.

385 These dialects thus show *-ent* for the 3pl., *-et* (BARANZEHI 2003) / *-e* (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992) for the 3sg., and *o* (BARANZEHI 2003) / *en(t)* (YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:69) for the 3sg.cop. while the other dialects have 3pl. *-ant*, 3sg. *-īt* and 3sg.cop. *int*, *ē*.

386 It is not clear whether the first member is identical to the place-name *Bam* (town in Kirman province), which is *Bamm* in older sources (Pavel Lurje, personal communication). If not, a possible etymology of *Bam*^o in *Bampūr* would be a connection with MP *wan* "tree, trunk" (due to the presence of a considerable number of trees and other plants as compared to other regions of Balochistan) with the NP change of *wa-* > *ba* and an assimilation of **np* > *mp*, but not the labialisation of the vowel seen in NP *bun* "trunk, root" (Pavel Lurje, personal communication).

On the other hand, it does not seem impossible either that *Bom*^o is indeed the original variant, "assimilated" to *Bam*^o in official use, due to the much greater importance of the town *Bam*. If so, *Bom*^o might be explained as (NP, Bal.) *bun* "fundament" (cf. p. 299) and hint to the Sassanian castle there. For the second member, cf. p. 212.

387 But cf. the note on p. 256 about the "kūhī" variant of Iranian Balochi.

3.2.4.3 Vowels + consonants

Nasalisation of vowels

Nasalisation of vowels is very common in Sarāwānī, all long and short vowels also occurring in nasalised variants (BARANZEHI 2003:81). Word-final vowel + *n* of a number of endings and suffixes appears as *-Vn* before vowel, and *-Ṽ* before a consonant (BARANZEHI 2003:81ff.)³⁸⁸ and before a pause (SPOONER 1967:58). The same is true for *-ent* (cf. p. 262) of the 3pl.:³⁸⁹

	/_V	/_C
obl.pl.	<i>-ān</i>	<i>-ā̃</i>
adj.suffix	<i>-ēn</i>	<i>-ē̃</i>
pron.suffix: ³⁹⁰		
1sg.	<i>-on</i>	<i>-ō̃</i>
1pl.	<i>-en</i>	<i>-ē̃</i>
pronoun 1sg.	<i>mon</i>	<i>mō̃</i>
verbal endings = copula pres. ³⁹¹		
1sg.	<i>(-)ān</i>	<i>(-)ā̃</i>
1pl.	<i>(-)ēn</i>	<i>(-)ē̃</i>
3pl.	<i>(-)ent</i>	<i>(-)ē̃</i>
irrealis suffix	<i>-ēn</i>	<i>-ē̃</i>
pres.part.	<i>-ān</i>	<i>-ā̃</i>

In addition, the verbal ending of the 2pl. *-ēt*³⁹² varies with *-ē̃* under the same conditions as nasalisation.

388 This distribution is not made explicit in BARANZEHI 2003, but can be concluded from the data.

389 As at least one of these endings occurs in about every sentence, ELFENBEIN's statement (1990/II:XII) that "nasalisation (...) is sporadic" is misleading, although the note that it is "mainly confined to" certain endings is basically correct.

390 Most other Balochi dialects have pronominal suffixes for the 3rd persons only.

391 In other dialects, the verbal endings are not necessarily identical with the copula present.

392 Other dialects have *-ē̃* (FARRELL 1990) or *-it* (BARKER/MENGAL and other Raxšānī sources).

BARANZEHI 2003 also has examples of nasalisation in regular words, e.g. *nũ* "now" (cf. p. 202), *gõ* "with" (cf. p. 181, 199, 214), *kãṭ* "horn" (cf. Ur. *kānṭā* "sting, thorn etc."), pointing to a situation quite parallel to that described in BARKER/MENGAL 1969 (cf. p. 213f., 254).

Vn is pronounced as such when followed by a suffix with initial vowel in all Bal. dialects of Iran, but when there is no such suffix, the degree of nasalisation is stronger in Sarawan than in Zahidan and Khash (Carina Jahani, personal communication).

In Lāšārī, a nasal pronunciation of vowels followed by a nasal is likewise present, but always on a subphonemic level (Pākzād Yūsefiyān, personal communication).

gwa-

According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:XII, XIV *gwa-* is preferred in Sarāwānī and Lāšārī. Unfortunately, there are no relevant examples in SPOONER 1967, BARANZEHI 2003 and YŪSEFIYĀN 2003 to prove this right or wrong. Even *guš-* / *gwaš-* "say" is not found, the verb being replaced by a NP loanword at least in part, thence *goy-* (sic) / *gopt* (NP *gōy-*, CNP *gūy-* / *guft*) in YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:105³⁹³ and *gap kanag* "to talk" in SPOONER 1967:61.

393 In BARANZEHI 2003, only the past stem *gopt* is found.

3.3 Phenomena occurring in loanwords

This chapter treats changes or substitutions of sounds which seem to occur specifically in loanwords. It is possible that some of the phenomena treated here are due to the language/dialect the relevant words have been borrowed from and thus not to be ascribed to Balochi.

3.3.1 Consonants

Regular substitutions of sounds foreign to the Bal. phonemic system are treated in II 1.2. In addition, a number of occasional changes are found in loanwords.

3.3.1.1 Metatheses

In addition to metatheses found in genuine words (cf. II 3.1.1.2) or in specific dialects (cf. II 3.2.1.1.3, 3.2.2.1), certain sorts of metatheses seem to be found exclusively in loanwords. Similar metatheses have been observed in spoken Dari (e.g. *dayrā* "river" for NP *daryā*, *tifl* "child" for NP-Ar. *tifl*, *rusxat* "holiday" for NP-Ar. *ruṣṣat*, *pāntus* < *pāntus for Russian *podnós* "tray", DOROFEEVA 1960:17). It is possible that some of the words mentioned below have been borrowed from Dari in their metathesised form.

The consonant clusters which undergo metathesis are not systematically excluded by Bal. phonotactics, and variants of the same words without metathesis do occur.

Reordering of consonant clusters according to decreasing degree of sonority

- *alg*, *alg* (both EAL 3) "sense, intelligence" is a metathesised variant of *agl* (for which cf. p. 267) which renders NP-Ar. *ʿaql*;
- *kulp*, *kulf* (ABG, BMC, EAL, ROSSI 1979:219) "lock (on a door)"³⁹⁴ shows a metathesis vs. *kubl* etc. (NP-Ar. *qufl*, see below) which is also shared by Br. and Psht. *kulf*, Ur. *kalaf* (ROSSI 1979:219) as well as spoken Dari and Tajiki (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication);
- *suhb* (MOCKLER 1877, EAL, SHG), *suhβ* (DTB)³⁹⁵ for NP-Ar. *ṣubḥ* "morning".

394 ELFENBEIN's definition (1990/II:80) of *kulp* as "lock of hair" is obviously an error.

For further variants, cf. p. 207.

395 For further variants, cf. p. 211.

A similar development may take place in word-internal position:

- DTB *aršaftī* for (SHG) *ašrapī* from NP *ašraftī* (a coin);
- *halma* (SHG), *halmā*³⁹⁶ (ABG) occurs besides *hamlā* (ABG) "attack" (NP-Ar. *hamla*) and shows the same phenomenon also in word-internal position;
- the only word with this metathesis which may be genuine is *hidrik* (GEIGER 1891:422, EAL), *idrik* (EAL, SHG) "squirrel" > *hirdik* (DTB, GEIGER 1891:422, EAL), *irdik* (SHG). The etymology is not known, so the direction of the metathesis is not clear. However, it seems more probable that (*h*)*idrik* changed to (*h*)*irdik* than vice-versa.

Other metatheses

Conversely, a change of *-rK* > *Kr* may be seen in:

- *babr-ī-ēn* "snow-white" (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41) from *barp* "snow" (NP loanword; for *Tr* > *Dr*, cf. p. 267); the metathesis has the effect of returning to the original order of consonants (Av. *vafra-*);
- *čakar* (ABG) "circle" might be a metathesised form from *čark* "wheel" (NP loanword, cf. II 2.2.1.4.2), but a borrowing from Ur. *čak(a)r* "wheel, circuit" is at least equally likely.

Further metatheses of word-internal consonant clusters are

- EVM *agdar* (also *adga*, for the vowels, cf. p. 283) "other", *gidar* (SOKOLOV 1956:72) "other" besides (NP) *digar*;
- EAL *alwād* for (BMC, EAL, SHG) *aulād* "offspring, child (sic)" (NP-Ar. *aulād*);
- *jaḡdal* (DTB), *jaḡdāl* (EAL) for *jadḡāl* (EAL), *jadḡāl* (SHG) "Jatt" (ethnolinguistic group in Pakistan).³⁹⁷

Distant metatheses of consonants are seen e.g. in:

- *tarūn* (SHG, EAL) "oven" besides *tanūr*,³⁹⁸
- *nyām* "middle" has been borrowed from NP *miyān* (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559, cf. p. 232f.), the metathesis may imply a popular etymology involving *nēm(ag)* "half";

396 For the lengthening of word-final *-a*, cf. p. 189ff.

397 For further discussion of this word, cf. p. 187, 268.

398 This case of metathesis has been noted by BUDDRUS 1974:33 who seems to assume that the word has been borrowed from NP *tanūr* (this form is also found in Balochi). Av. *tanūra-* (hapax) has been borrowed from a Semitic language according to HÜBSCHMANN 1897:155. The (NP and Urdu) variant *tandūr* is also used in Balochi.

- *dušmān* "insult" (EVM, SPOONER 1967:67, EAL) might show a metathesis vs. NP *dušnām* "abuse" (BUDDRUS 1974:33), maybe motivated by *dušman*, *dužmin* "enemy". Alternatively, *dušmān* may be connected to NP *bahnām*, MP *awāhmān*, Prth. *awānmān* "so-and-so" etc. These have been interpreted (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1990) as showing °*nmānam, acc. of a compound form of "name", so *dušmān* may be the original form while NP *dušnām* has been adjusted to *nām* "name".³⁹⁹

In the most recent layer of loanwords, metatheses of diverse sorts are met with. FARRELL 1990, 2003:180 notes a number of Europ. loanwords from Karachi Balochi which have been adjusted to Bal. word structure by way of metatheses:

- *pātpōs* "passport", *palamī* "penalty" (football), *čīmag* < *čīgam* "chewing gum", *singal* "signal" (traffic lights), *mēlōn* < *mēnōl* "manhole" (all FARRELL 2003:180), *pilsin* < *pinsil* "pencil" (FBB).

3.3.1.2 Assimilations

Apart from assimilation processes noted in genuine words (cf. II 3.1.1.3), loanwords show some more changes which may be classified as assimilations.

CBal. -TL# > -DL#:

In a couple of examples, stops are voiced before a word-final liquid:

- *agl* (EAL, SHG) might either be an assimilated variant of *akt*⁴⁰⁰ "intelligence" (NP-Ar. *ʿaql*) or a borrowing from the CNP pronunciation *agl*,⁴⁰¹ but in the light of the following examples, the former interpretation seems more likely;
- *babrēn* "snowwhite" < *bap- (cf. p. 266), cf. *barp* "snow";
- *pigr* (BMC, EAL, SHG) vs. *pikr* "thought" (NP-Ar. *fikr*; cf. also p. 192);
- *zigr* (BMC, SHG) vs. *zikr* (ABG, EAL) "memory; chanting of religious formula" (NP-Ar. *zīkr*);
- *šugr* (EVM, SHG) vs. *šukr*⁴⁰² "thanks" (NP-Ar. *šukr*) and its derivative *šugrāna*, *šugrānō* (EAL, SHG) vs. *šukrān* (EAL) "Mulla's fee, sacrifice";
- *kubl* (EAL, SHG) vs. *kulp* etc. "lock" (cf. p. 207, 265) for NP-Ar. *qufl*.

399 ELFENBEIN's lemma (1990/II:42) "*dušmān* 'enemy, foe'" is misleading; there seems to be no evidence that *dušmān* means "enemy".

400 For the variant *ʿaqal*, cf. p. 207, for the metathesised form *alg*, cf. p. 265.

401 For the rendering of NP *g*, cf. p. 64.

402 For the variants *šukur*, *šukar*, cf. p. 207.

Other assimilations:

- *āzmān* (ABG, BMC, EAL, SHG) besides *āsmān* (BMC, EVM, FBB, EAL, SHG) "sky" (cf. also p. 186, 190) shows an assimilation of the -s-, the hypercorrect reversal of the same is seen in *āsmānak(k)* for *āzmānak(k)* "story" (cf. p. 186);
- *pallūnk* (EAL) "ribs" vs. *pahlūg* etc. (cf. p. 163f., 253);
- *jadgāl* (EAL), *jadgāl* (SHG) are derived from *jatgāl* "Jatt" (ethnolinguistic group in Pakistan, for further modifications, cf. p. 187, 266);
- *paigammar* "prophet" (Lutz Rzehak, personal communication) vs. *paigam-bar* (EAL, GCD; NP loanword) shows a total assimilation;
- a distant assimilation is seen in *nīmōn* (DTB), *nīmū* (GCD) vs. *līmū* (DTB, GCD), Ur. *līmū*, NP *līmū(n)* "lemon", perhaps under the influence of Ur. *nīmbū*, *nībū*, *nimbū*.⁴⁰³

3.3.1.3 Dissimilations

Some cases of dissimilation are also found:

- *nīwag*⁴⁰⁴ "fruit" vs. NP *mēwa*,⁴⁰⁵
- *kānūd* (BMC, EAL), *qānūd* (ABG),⁴⁰⁶ *kānūt* (EAL) "law" for NP *qānūn*⁴⁰⁷ (borrowed from Greek *κάνόν-*) shows a dissimilation of the second *n*.

3.3.1.4 Devoicing of consonants

There is a widespread, but optional devoicing of word-final stops and fricatives in loanwords (cf. KORN 2001:3¹⁹). Some of the more remarkable examples include:⁴⁰⁸

403 *līmbō* (BMC, EAL), *līmbū* (EAL, SHG) is another mixture of the above-mentioned forms.

404 The existence of *nīwag* doubted by GEIGER 1891:444 is confirmed by SHG, EAL, BMC, NAWATA 1981:37. The variant *nēwag* is only found in EAL and it is questionable whether it is attested. For *ē > ī*, cf. II 3.1.2.3.2, for SHG *nībag*, cf. p. 228.

405 NP *mēwa* comes from **mēγ* < **maδg* (cf. Prth. *miγδ(ag)*) which is somehow related to Hebrew *miḡdā*, Syriac *maydā*; it is not clear whether it is a Semitic loanword in Iranian or vice-versa (HENNING 1947:56).

406 The derivations *kānūdī* "legal" (BMC, EAL) and *kānūd-sāz* "lawmaking" (BMC) are also found.

407 NP *qānūn* is found in *kānūn-gō* (ABG, BMC) "clerk".

408 ELFENBEIN 1963:365 notes that the (WBal.) dialect Panjgūrī "tends to unvoice final stops", for which he only gives the example *mart* "man" vs. *mard* of other dialects. *mard* might, however, have been borrowed from NP twice, once in the NP form and once with the common devoicing of the final consonant. *mart* would be the genuine Bal. form of the word (cf. OInd. *mārta-*), so it is not

-VD# > -VT#:

- *ādamīzāt* (EVM, EAL), *ādam-zāt* (SHG), *ādam-zād* (SHG) "human (being)" (NP *ādam(ī)-zād*, lit.: "man-born");
- *ispīt* "speed" (Engl. *speed*, FARRELL 2003:179);
- *ištāp* "hurry" (NP *šitāb*, cf. p. 152);
- *ōmēt* (BMC, EVM, EAL), *umēt* (SHG), *ōmīt/ūmīt* (EAL), *ummēd* (ABG, SHG) "hope" (NP *ōmēd*, *ūmīd*, MP *ummēd*, GEIGER 1891:462);
- *zyāt* (ABG, EAL, SHG) "much, more" (NP-Ar. *ziyād*);
- *kabāt* (FBB, SHG) "cupboard" (Engl. *cupboard*, cf. p. 67);
- *kilīt* "key" (NP *kilīd*, cf. p. 237);
- *masʒit*⁴⁰⁹ "mosque" (NP-Ar. *masʒid*);
- *mēbāit* (EVM), *bāid* (cf. p. 283) "it is necessary" (NP (*mē-*)*bāiyad*);
- *yāt* (ABG, BMC, EAL, SHG), *yād* (SHG) "memory" (NP *yād*, cf. p. 105).

-VCD# > -VCT#:

- *šahṭ*, *šahḍ* (cf. p. 207, 253) "honey" (NP-Ar. *šahḍ*);
- *harč* (ABG, BMC, EAL), *xarč* (ABG, EAL), *harʒ* (SHG) "costs".⁴¹⁰

The variants *ādam-zād*, *ummēd*, *šahḍ*, *harʒ* and *yād* as well as numerous further loanwords show that the devoicing is an optional change, probably characteristic of rather recent loanwords.

Inherited Bal. words of similar structure show that the devoicing indeed operates only in loanwords, e.g.

- *hēd* "sweat" (cf. p. 123), *pād* "foot" (cf. p. 79), *šurd* "mild" (cf. p. 97), *zird* "heart" (cf. p. 97).

The above said implies that there are two groups of words where it is impossible to determine whether they are genuine or NP loanwords (cf. I 1.2.1), the first group being those cases where the Bal. sound laws produce the same result as the Pers. ones (e.g. *bār* "load", *bar-* "carry", *purs-* "ask", *pušt* "back", *ʒau* "barley", *ʒwān* "young, good", *dān* "grain", *drōg* "lie", *sar* "head", *nēm* "half", *ham* "also", cf. also GEIGER

impossible that Panʒgūrī has preserved something which the other dialects have replaced by the loanword. Devoicing does not seem to be a feature of some specific Bal. dialect(s), though.

409 This form is only found in NAWATA 1981:38. All other sources have *masīt* which is a loanword from an Ind. language (ROSSI 1979:321).

410 From NP-Ar. *xarʒ*. For the etymology of this word, cf. HENNING 1935.

1891:444).⁴¹¹ The second group consists of Bal. words which differ from their NP cognate only in that the final consonant is voiceless and the NP one voiced.

Examples from the second group are:⁴¹²

- *ārt* "flour" may be genuine (cf. p. 189) or from NP *ārd*;
- *āzāt* "free" may be genuine (Av. *āzāta-*, Prth. *āzād*) or from NP *āzād* (NWIr. form);
- *burt* (past stem of *bar-* "carry") may be genuine (PIr. **br̥ta-*, cf. p. 147) or from NP *burd*;
- *dāt* (past stem of *day-* etc.⁴¹³ "give") may be genuine (Av. *dāta-*, Prth. *dād*) or from NP *dād*;
- *dūt* "smoke" may be genuine or from NP *dūd* (cf. p. 142);
- *šut* (past stem of *raw-*⁴¹⁴ "go") may be genuine (YAv. *šuta-*, Prth. *šud*) or from NP *šud* (cf. p. 128);
- *gurk* "wolf" may be genuine (PIIr. **uḡka-*, cf. p. 144) or from NP *gurg*;
- *mark* "death" may be genuine (YAv. *mahrka-*, i.e. PIr. **mārka-* (HOFFMANN/FORSMAN 1996:92) or from NP *marg* (GEIGER 1891:444);⁴¹⁵
- *nōk* "new" may be genuine or from MP *nōg* (cf. p. 101).

Since Dari shows devoicing of final consonants, too (DOROFEEVA 1960:17, ELFENBEIN 1989:640), this tendency may have come from Dari (cf. also Psht. *ziyāt* "more"). Some words might have been borrowed from Dari and therefore would not show a Bal. devoicing process. However, the evidence does not suggest that all words from the group above have been borrowed precisely from the Persian of Afghanistan.

411 For more information about the examples, cf. the index (V 2).

412 A further example is *rōt* "river" (OP *rautah-*, OInd. *srōtas-*, Prth. *rōd*) which is only cited by GEIGER 1890:144 from a British Museum manuscript and by EAL. Otherwise, the surely borrowed *rōd* is used. *rōd* (DTB) is the regular EBal. variant of *rōd*; GEIGER's (1890:144) interpretation as a cognate of OInd. *ród^has-* "dam, bank" is not necessary. If *rōt* exists and is not to be interpreted as a borrowing, it shows that OIr. *hr-* is reduced to *r-* as in MP and Parthian.

413 The present stems *day-* (BMC, SHG, EAL: Raxšānī, Coastal dialects, NAWATA 1981:), *dah-* (EAL: Lāšārī), *da-* (EVM, EAL: Raxšānī, Sarāwānī, Coastal dialects, Kēčī) must have been borrowed from Persian (note that *day-* shows the result expected for NP from OIr. *dadā-*, while NP has the NWIr. variant *dah-* occurring also in Parthian), the variants *dēy-* (ABG, FBB), *dē-* (DTB, EAL: Kēčī, EBal.), *dī-* (EAL: Kēčī, EBal.) may also have been borrowed from Ur. *dē-nā*, cf. KORN 2001:3¹³. It is also possible that the variation of stems is (to some extent at least) modelled on that of *bay-* "become" (for which cf. p. 78).

414 This present stem must have been borrowed anyway, cf. p. 128.

415 The fact that Parthian has *murt* "death" while MP has no *murt*, but only *marg* (cf. KORN, frthc. 4) might favour the interpretation of Bal. *mark* as NP loanword.

One motivation for the devoicing in loanwords might be the fact that Balochi has voiceless consonants in cases where other languages, notably NP and MP, have voiced ones, e.g. Bal. *māt* "mother", *pīt* "father" vs. MP *mād*, *pid*, respectively. If one assumes argumenti causa that e.g. *gurk* "wolf" is genuine Balochi, speakers might note that NP has *gurg* and conclude that "the Persians have -g where we say -k". When borrowing e.g. NP *marg* "death" (assuming argumenti causa that it is a loanword), they might want to assimilate the word to Bal. speech habits by devoicing the word-final consonant to give *mark*.⁴¹⁶ The Bal. tendency of strengthening word-final consonants can also be seen in the secondary gemination of word-final consonants in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.5).

3.3.1.5 Gemination of consonants

There is a considerable number of cases of gemination (mainly of word-final consonants) in loanwords.⁴¹⁷ Just like in the case of gemination in inherited words, the extent of gemination depends on the dialect (or author of a given work). BMC is the source with most instances of gemination, so in what follows the examples are from BMC unless otherwise indicated. As in the case of genuine words, geminates in loanwords are particularly common in monosyllables and only occur after short vowels.⁴¹⁸ It goes without saying that when a word with geminate is borrowed, the geminated consonants are often taken over from the original.

Gemination occurs in loanwords from all languages, e.g. (to give but a few examples)

- NP(-Ar.): *hukūmat*⁴¹⁹ "government", *bačakk*⁴²⁰ "son" (NP *bačča*);
- Turkic: *ulus*⁴²¹ (BMC, EAL) "people", *bairakk*⁴²² "flag";
- European: *bass*⁴²³ "bus", *ṭikatt* (BMC, EAL) "ticket".

416 Cf. FARRELL's remark (2003:180) about devoicing of consonants in some loanwords "perhaps echoing an older preference in Balochi for preserving voiceless final stops".

417 For gemination in genuine words, cf. II 1.1.1, 3.1.1.1, for gemination specific to certain dialects or certain authors, cf. II 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1.

418 An exception are SHG and the Lāšārī dialect which show gemination after some long vowels (cf. II 3.2.2.1, 3.2.4.1).

419 From NP-Ar. *ḥukūmat*. EAL has *hukūmat*.

420 EVM has *bačak*, SHG *bačikk*, FBB *bačik*. EAL has *baččak* which is probably a mixture with *bačč* (see below). For the etymology, cf. p. 100. For suffixal *-ik(k)*, cf. II 2.4.4.1.

421 SHG has *ulus*, ABG *ulas*.

422 SHG has *bairak*.

423 SHG has *bas*.

It seems that every consonant can be geminated, with the possible exception of *r*, *h* and the foreign phonemes *f*, *g* for which no example of gemination has been found. In addition, geminated *w* and *y* are only found in word-internal position (see below).

Gemination of word-final consonants is particularly common.⁴²⁴

Examples are:

- *čapp*⁴²⁵ "left", *sangatt*⁴²⁶ "friend", *juṭṭ*⁴²⁷ "old she-camel", *kumakk*⁴²⁸ "help", *yaxx* (ABG, BMC) "cold" (NP);
- *labb*⁴²⁹ "bride-price, bribe", *sudd* (BMC, EAL, SHG) "consciousness" (from Ur. *sud^h*), *haḍḍ*⁴³⁰ "bone" (Ur. *haḍḍā* or Si. *haḍu*), *bagg*⁴³¹ "camel herd";
- *bačč*⁴³² "boy" (NP), *waḷḷ*⁴³³ "dowry", *hašš*⁴³⁴ "millstone", *mažž*⁴³⁵ "leprosy" (BMC), "epilepsy" (EVM), *uruss* (BMC, SHG) "Russia", *gazz*⁴³⁶ "tamarisk";
- *kamm*⁴³⁷ "few, little", *ḍann*⁴³⁸ "plain, space", *barr*⁴³⁹ "penis", *pull*⁴⁴⁰ "flower".

424 This is probably why JAHANI 1989:16 notices gemination only in the case of word-final consonants.

425 *čapp* (thus ABG, BMC, EAL, SHG; DTB and EVM have *čap*) has been borrowed from NP *čap* (also attested as *čapp*) according to HÜBSCHMANN 1895:52.

426 Thus BMC, FBB; SHG has *sangat*, EAL has both. The word has been borrowed from Urdu.

427 *juṭṭ* (SHG *juṭ*) is likely to have been borrowed from some Ind. language.

428 *kumakk* (BMC, EAL; EVM *kumak*, SHG has both) has been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:421).

429 *labb* (BMC, EAL, SHG) is from Si. *labanu* "bribe" (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:89).

430 *haḍḍ* (ABG, BMC, SHG; *aḍḍ* EVM, FBB, *aḍ* NAWATA 1981:34, *haḍ* DTB).

431 For further discussion about *bagg* (thus BMC, EAL, SHG; EVM has *bag*), cf. p. 280.

432 For *bačč* (BMC, EAL, SHG; DTB has *bač^h*, cf. p. 229), cf. p. 100.

433 Maybe *waḷḷ* (BMC, EAL, SHG) represents NP-Ar. *waḷh* "face, method, cause, privileges" which is used in Urdu also with the meaning "salary".

434 *hašš* (EAL, SHG; EVM *āšš* is a misprint for *ašš* as the references to Zarubin's texts show, EAL *āšš* is therefore to be deleted) has probably been borrowed from some other Ir. idiom, cf. Bashkardi *yaš*, *waš*, Kurd. *aš* (ELFENBEIN 1963:15). With regard to the *h*- which seems to be secondary in Balochi, one might assume a borrowing from Kurdish or some related idiom (cf. II 2.4.1.5), even though Kurmanji does not show *h*- in this word. ELFENBEIN's etymology (1963:15) which assumes a preform *arḍr-, linking the word to NP *ās*, seems questionable.

435 The etymology of *mažž* is not clear.

436 *gazz* (BMC, EAL, SHG; DTB, EVM has *gaz*) has probably been borrowed from NP *gaz* (GEIGER 1891:449), but OIr. *gaza- (cf. BAILEY 1979:80a) would give Bal. *gaz* as well.

437 *kamm* (BMC, FBB, SHG; ABG, EVM *kam*; DTB *k^ham*) has been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:452). With regard to Prth. *kambīg* and the fact that the MP assimilation *nd* > *nn* does not take place in Balochi (cf. p. 79), it seems indeed best to consider *kam(m)* a loanword.

438 The obl. of *ḍann* (BMC, EAL, SHG, NAWATA 1981:45) means "outside". The word may be an Ind. loanword (maybe connected to Ur. *ḍ^ha-nā*, *ḍah-nā* "to fall, to be destroyed"?).

Word-internal gemination is also found with most consonants. No examples for the nasals have been found, though, all examples for *mm*, *nn* either being borrowed from a word with geminate or are derivations of a word with word-final geminate.⁴⁴¹ For *ww*, *quwwat* (ABG) "strength" (NP-Ar. *quwwat*) is the only word found so far. Geminated *yy* has only been found in ABG; the relevant cases may be due to some uncertainty concerning the question how to write sequences of $\bar{e} + y$: *bayy-*, *bēyy-* for usual *bay-*, *bēy-* "be, become" (cf. p. 78), *yakayyēn* "alone, only" (adj. derivation of the NP loanword *yak(k)* "one", for which cf. p. 105).

Examples for the other consonants are.⁴⁴²

- *ruppī* (BMC) "Rupia (monetary unit)" (FBB *rupē*, Ur. *rupayā*); *attar*⁴⁴³ (ABG, EAL) "perfume" (NP-Ar. *ʿatr*); *čuttī* (ABG) "holiday" (Si. *č^huṭī*); *badrakka* (BMC, EAL) for *badraqa*, *badraga* (GCD)⁴⁴⁴ "escort, convoy";
- *čabbaw*⁴⁴⁵ (BMC, EAL) "sandal"; *paddar* (ABG, BMC, EAL, SHG) "evident" (Si. *pad^hirō*); *budd-* (BMC, EAL, SHG, NAWATA 1891:16) "sink (itr.)" (Si. *budānu*);

439 *barr* (BMC, EAL) might have been borrowed from NP *bar* "breast, side, small of back, embrace", for the semantics, cf. German *Lenden* "loins" which may be used to refer to the male genitals.

440 *pull* (BMC, EAL, SHG; ABG, FBB have *pul*, DTB has *p^hul*) is from Ind. (e.g. Si. *p^hulu*).

441 Examples for *mm*: *ammā* "but" (NP-Ar. *ammā*), *ummēd* "hope" (MP *ummēd*, cf. p. 269); *kammō* "few" from *kam(m)* (see above). ABG *kammāš* "greyhaired, respected man, president" for *kamāš* of other sources (the etymology is unclear, cf. ROSSI 1979:69) is maybe due to a misinterpretation of the word as of the Arabic type *CaCCāC* which denotes professions. – The etymology of the hapax *aḍammag* (EVM) "broad" is unclear.

Examples for *nn*: *minnat* "favour" (NP-Ar. *minnat*), *munnā* (FBB) "child" (Ur. *munnā* "darling"), *tunn* "thirst" (from an OIr. consonant cluster, cf. p. 127), *annūn* "right now" (cf. p. 202, 214), cases of family language are also found, e.g. *nunnuk* "baby".

442 For *žž*, only the following words of uncertain etymology have been found: *gažž-* / *gažž-* (BMC, EAL, SHG) "swell with rage, be angry", *hēžž-* (EAL) "whizz", *hīžžag* (EAL, SHG) "howling of the wind", perhaps to be connected to *ižžag* (EVM) "hiss, flutter"; its origin might be onomatopoeical.

For *juzz-* "move" and for *jurrāb* "stocking", cf. p. 209.

443 *attar* also shows an anaptyctical vowel (cf. p. 206).

444 DTB has *badragā* with lengthening of word-final *-a* (cf. p. 190f.). The word is likely to derive from Turk. *badraq* "flag, section of an army" (thence also NP-Turk. *bairaq* "flag"), cf. DOERFER II:279f.; *badrakka* may have been borrowed from Pnj. *badrakka*.

445 DTB has *čab^ha*. According to EAL 27, the word has been borrowed from Lhd. *č^habā*.

- *maččī*⁴⁴⁶ (FBB, EAL) "fish"; *puĵĵ-* / *puĵĵi*⁴⁴⁷ (ABG, BMC, FBB, EAL, SHG) "arrive"; *čašš-* (BMC, EAL) "taste, sip" (NP *čaš-*, cf. p. 114); *kīssag*⁴⁴⁸ (FBB, SHG) "pocket" (NP-Ar. *kīsa*); *azzīyat* (EVM) "offence" (NP-Ar. *azīyat* "molesting");
- *čakarr-* "turn, be dizzy" (Si. *čakarū* "dizziness"); *balluk* "grandmother" (Br. *balla*, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1948:283).

It is noteworthy that the gemination is also found in quite a number of borrowed verbs, e.g. (in addition to those just mentioned):⁴⁴⁹

- *čikk-* / *čikkī* (BMC, FBB, EAL, SHG) "pull";⁴⁵⁰
- *kuṭṭ-* (ABG, EVM, EAL, NAWATA 1981:16) "crush" (Ur. *kuṭ-nā*);
- *ill-* (BMC, FBB, EAL, SHG) "leave, let" (NP *hil-*, Prth. *hirz-* / *hišt*, cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1884:110⁵).⁴⁵¹

The (sources dealing with) Eastern dialects show but few examples: the only words with final geminate in DTB are ones where the geminate has been borrowed *durr* "pearl; excellent" (NP-Ar. *durr*), *rabb* "God" (NP-Ar. *rabb*), *sill* "brick" (Pnj. (DTB) *sil*), *kull* "whole" (NP-Ar. *kull*), *k^hill*⁴⁵² "axe of millstone" (Ind.), *mudd* "harvest; period" (NP-Ar. *muddat* "time"). These words are cited with geminates in all sources which have them.

446 *maččī* has been borrowed from Si. *maččī*; the other dialects have Pers. *māhīg* (cf. p. 136).

447 GCD has *puĵ-* / *puĵi*-. It has generally been assumed (GILBERTSON 1925:35, FARRELL 2003:183) that the word has been borrowed from Si. *pahučāṇu* / *puhčāṇu* "arrive", but it seems much more likely that it comes from Si. *puĵāṇu*, Lhd. *puĵĵāṇ* "to be finished, arrive at" (Georg Buddruss, personal communication, cf. TURNER 1966:473).

448 For secondary addition of *-ag*, cf. II 2.4.4.1.

449 For *čar-* "graze" and *čarr-* "turn", cf. p. 84. In the case of *tar(r)-* "turn", one may suppose that an analogy to *čar(r)-* is at work, motivated by the similar meaning, but a borrowing from Urdu is also possible (cf. p. 150).

450 GCD has *čik-* / *čiki*-.; the word has been borrowed from Si. *čīkaṇu* (EAL: Lhd.).

451 The past stem is *išt* (NP *hišt*, *hilīd-*). The Bal. product of PIE *ǵ+t would be *št* as well, but it seems more probable that the past stem has been borrowed along with the present stem, although a change *(h)uršt > *(h)iršt > *išt* is not excluded for Balochi either (see II 2.3.2.1, 3.1.2.3.1). All sources note this Bal. verb without *h-*, with the exception of YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:89 who has *hel-* / *hešt* (standing for */hil-* / *hišt*/, cf. II 3.2.4.2).

452 The word may have been borrowed from Ur. *k^hil* "nail, pin".

Other loanwords in EBal. sources do not exhibit final geminates although one might expect them, e.g. *hak* "rights" from NP-Ar. *ḥaqq*. ABG has quite a number of words with final geminates,⁴⁵³ but none of these show Eastern dialectal features. Note that geminated consonants in postvocalic position do not yield fricatives as simple consonants do (cf. p. 228), e.g. dim. suffix *-ik(k)*, *pakār* "necessary, useful".

If the assumption is correct that Bal. geminates are either due to an OIr. consonant cluster or to the borrowing process, it allows in certain cases to decide whether a given Bal. word has been borrowed: words which (from the viewpoint of Bal. historical phonology) might be genuine and differ from their NP cognate only in the gemination of a consonant would be likely to have been borrowed. The absence of gemination should, however, rather not be used to identify a word as genuine, since (the notation of) geminates depends very much on the respective sources and dialects.

3.3.1.6 Weakening of consonants⁴⁵⁴

3.3.1.6.1 Voicing of word-initial consonants⁴⁵⁵

In some words, the word-initial consonant appears voiced instead of being voiceless:

- *bādšāh*⁴⁵⁶ "king" for usual *pādšāh* (from NP *pādišāh*);
- *bažm* (EAL) "wool" for usual (NP) *pašm* (for which cf. p. 178, 207);
- *guj* (EVM, EAL), *gujā* (SOKOLOV 1956:74, NAWATA 1981:31, EAL) for *kujā*⁴⁵⁷ "where"; *gujām* (NAWATA 1981:12) for *kujām*⁴⁵⁸ "which one".

453 Most words are from Ind., e.g. *luṭṭ* "plunder" (Ur. *luṭ*, Si. *luṭi*, Lhd. has *luṭṭ*- "to loot", ELFENBEIN 1991:112), *mučč* "supplied" (Si. (DTB) *muč^hu* "heap"), *wass* "control, grasp" (Si. (DTB) *vasu*).

454 For voicing in groups with liquids, cf. p. 267.

455 GEIGER 1891:436 assumes a voicing process in EBal. *paĵā* vs. SWBal. *baĵā*, but the identity of these two words is doubtful (cf. p. 106).

456 ABG, BMC, JAHANI 1997:118 (from a poem by Gul Khan Nasir). The word might have been borrowed from Psht. *bādšāh*.

457 *kuĵā* is likely to be a NP loanword. For the Bal. equivalent of NP *ĵā* etc., cf. II 2.2.3.5.

458 *kuĵām* is likely to be a mixture of NP *kudām* with *kuĵā* (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:78). More genuine forms might be EBal. *ku^hān*, *ki^hān* (DTB etc., MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48). *ku^hān* is unlikely to contain an element *tān (thus ELFENBEIN 1990/II:78), but to reflect CBal. *kutām with the *-n* taken from the (EBal.) pronoun *ān* "that" (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48). If so, EBal. *ku^hān* must have been borrowed from SWBal. (otherwise one would expect †kuḏān) and be cognate with NP *kudām* (Prth. *kadām*, Sogd. *kt'm*, Av. *katāma-*); its *-u-* is taken from *kuĵā* "where" (HORN 1893:188).

The reason of the voicing is not clear. One might assume (for all the examples above) that there is some sort of assimilation to the voiced consonant(s) in the rhyme of the syllable (Ralf-Peter Ritter, personal communication).⁴⁵⁹

3.3.1.6.2 Voicing and vocalisation of labials

In a number of examples, word-internal voiced labials are observed where one might expect voiceless ones. There does not seem to be a sure case of a genuine word.⁴⁶⁰

p > w:

w for *p* appears in several words found in Eastern Balochi (GEIGER 1891:434):

- EBal. *s(a)wēḍ*, *swēs* (cf. p. 206) besides *safēḍ* (SWBal. *spēt* etc.) "white", the word has probably been borrowed from Persian, cf. p. 90;
- *kawinjar* (GLADSTONE 1874) "partridge" vs. *kapinjar* (SHG) is probably from some Ind. language (cf. OInd. *kapiñjala-*, ELFENBEIN 1990/II:82);⁴⁶¹
- EBal. (*h*)*awōx* (MAYER 1910, EAL) besides *hapōk* "co-wife" (cf. p. 307) might have been influenced by NP *hawū*.⁴⁶²

There are some words which maybe do not show a substitution of *w* for *p/f*, but are likely to have been borrowed from a language which has *-w-* (or *b*):

- *šawān(k)*, *šwānag* vs. *šupānk* "shepherd" (maybe from Kurdish, cf. p. 225);
- *nawāsag* "great-grandchild" vs. *napāt-* (NP *nawāsa*, cf. p. 89);
- *wāβ* (LEECH 1838, GLADSTONE 1874, DAMES 1881, DTB) "sleep" is not a voiced variant of **wāf*,⁴⁶³ but rather the regular EBal. form of SWBal. *wāb*, which in turn has been borrowed from NP *x^wāb* (cf. p. 123).

459 SOKOLOV 1956:74 assumes a sandhi phenomenon for *guj* etc., which commonly directly precedes the verb, e.g. *ta gujā šutai?* "Where did you go?" (example kindly provided by Lutz Rzehak). It is not clear whether such an explanation would match all examples, though. Similar phenomena have been observed e.g. in NP *bādafrāh* "revenge, punishment" for †*pādafrāh* (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:36).

460 The only case of *b* for *p* in a genuine word is *kabag* "to fall" (ABG vs. *kapag* of all other sources, cf. p. 77), the reason for the voicing is not clear. For *b* from *p* next to a liquid, cf. p. 267.

461 For NP *kabk*, see below, for the variant *kapinjar*, cf. p. 192.

462 Prth. has <'bwg> according to DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004:15a; the word might just as well be Middle Persian, though (thus HENNING 1940:18). The reading *aβōγ* seems to be taken from Henning, who, in that article, has MP and Prth. *β*, *δ*, *γ* for OIr. postvocalic voiceless stops, so it would be *abōg* following the transcription system otherwise used in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004.

463 The existence of *wāf* is not sure: it is found in LEECH 1838 in the phrase *wāf šuḍa* (besides *wāw*), which (if not an error) might show an assimilation to the following voiceless sibilant.

For those cases which show *w/u* for NP *f* in antecorsonantal position, a borrowing from some NP variant which changes *f > w* in this position (e.g. Dari, cf. DOROFEEVA 1960:17) is probable:⁴⁶⁴

- *augān* (BMC, EAL, SHG) "Afghan" (NP *afgān*, Dari *awgān*);
- *kauš* (BMC, FBB, EAL, SHG) "shoe" (loanword according to HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556, NP *kafš*, Dari *kawš*);⁴⁶⁵
- *naβs*⁴⁶⁶ (DAMES 1881:123) "pulse" (NP-Ar. *nafs* "soul", HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556).

b > w:⁴⁶⁷

In a couple of borrowed words, word-final or antecorsonantal *b* appears as *w* or as *u / ō*, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. This would seem to reflect the EBal. form of the word (cf. p. 228), but the attestation suggests that the phenomenon is not limited to Eastern Balochi. It is quite possible that the relevant cases have been borrowed from Dari which regularly shows *āb > āu / _C,#* (DOROFEEVA 1960:16f.).⁴⁶⁸

- *auzār* (BMC, EAL) "tool" (NP *abzār*, *afzār*);⁴⁶⁹
- *sauz* (ABG, BMC, SHG) vs. *sabz* (FBB, SHG), EBal. *saβz* (DTB) "green";⁴⁷⁰
- *kaug* (BMC, DTB, EAL, SHG), *kauk* (EAL) vs. *kabg* (EAL, SHG), *kabk* (EAL) "partridge" (NP *kabk*).⁴⁷¹

464 Note that a number of sources note the diphthongs <ay, aw>, so that, with the exception of ABG, BMC and FBB, it is not clear whether [au] or [aw] is intended.

465 Note that Kurdish has *kewš* "shoe" (HAKIM 1996), too.

466 For EBal. *β*, cf. p. 61, 228.

467 ABG *rīyārū* "taking sides" besides *rū-ba-rū* "opposite" (borrowed from NP) has probably developed via **rūβārū* and exhibits the change *ū > ī* (cf. p. 196f.) in the first syllable. The lengthening of the *a* might be due to a popular etymology with *yā* "or".

468 A change *b > w / _C,#* is found in some Tajik dialects (LAZARD 1956:125).

469 According to HÜBSCHMANN 1895:16, *auzār* has been borrowed from NP *afzār*. A borrowing from the NP/MP form *abzār* seems at least equally likely, though. MP *abzār* goes back to **upa-čāra-* (NYBERG 1974:20). The MP homonym *abzār* "strong" may be derived from **upa-zāuar(a)-* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:214), i.e. a compound of *zōr* (cf. p. 102).

470 From NP *sabz*. For more discussion of the Bal. terms of colour, cf. III 3.

471 According to BAILEY 1979:50, Eastern NP has *kauk*, and a cognate might be seen in Khot. *kakva-* (name of a bird). The connection with OInd. *kapīñjala-* is not certain (EWAia I:301). More specifically, *kabk* is not "partridge" (*arborophila*, Germ. "Rebhuhn"), but rather "sand partridge, see-see partridge" (*ammoperdix*, Germ. "Wüstenhuhn"; Lutz Rzehak, personal communication) or "rock partridge" (*alectoris*, Germ. "Steinhuhn"; SCHAPKA 1972).

ABG has ځ- , transcribed *-āō*, in all cases of word-final *-āb*; if this is not a misinterpretation of some sort, this might indicate some subdialectal pronunciation of EBal. *-āβ*:

- *ḥisāō* "calculation" (other sources *hisāb*, NP-Ar. *ḥisāb*), *xarāō* "bad"⁴⁷² (NP-Ar. *xarāb*), *šarāō* "wine, alcohol" (otherwise (NP-Ar.) *šarāb*), *kaβāō* "roast meat" (otherwise (NP-Ar.) *kabāb*);

يو- (EBal. *-īβ*) appears as *-yō* in ABG:

- *ṭaβīyō* "physician" (SWBal. *tabīb*, NP-Ar. *ṭabīb*), *zayō* "ornament" (SWBal. *zēb*)⁴⁷³, *ʿayō* "mistake" (otherwise *aib*, NP-Ar. *ʿaib*), *garīyō* "poor" (SWBal. *garīb*, NP-Ar. *ḡarīb* "strange").

A particular case is *warnā* "young" (all sources), probably a cognate of NP *burnā* "young man", Av. *apərənāiiu-* "underage". A derivation of the Bal. word from PIr. **aprnāiaṽ-* as assumed by MOSHKALO 1991:21 seems rather unlikely here since it presupposes *p > w*, otherwise unattested **ṛ > ar* (cf. p. 143f.) and the preservation of OIr. *rn* (cf. II 2.2.3.3). It seems more probable that *warnā* has been borrowed from NP *burnā* (which in turn is a loanword from Av. *apərənāiiu-*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 1978:95, 2000:217), although it has to be admitted that the details remain unclear.

3.3.1.6.3 Voicing of word-final consonant groups⁴⁷⁴

In very few examples, word-final consonant clusters are voiced:

- *gužg* "root" if existing and if from PIr. **uṛžaka-* (cf. p. 132, 144);
- *gōžd* (GLADSTONE 1874, HITTU RAM 1881, DTB) "meat" for usual *gōšt*.⁴⁷⁵

The informant who supplied *gužg* was from Noshke (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:39), i.e. from a WBal. speaking area. The second example is found in EBal. sources.

472 This word is used in a number of variants: *xarāb* (FBB), *(h)arāb* (BMC, SHG), *k(a)rāb* (FBB).

473 For cognates (e.g. Sogd. *zywr*), cf. BAILEY 1979:21a. *zēb* may have been borrowed from NP.

474 *gwabz* (EAL, SHG), *gwamz* (SHG, EAL: EBal.) is not a case of voicing of consonants (vs. PIE **uopsā-*), but goes back to PIr. **uabza-* < PIIr. **uabz^ha-*, cf. Av. *vaβžaka-* (BARTHOLOMAE 1890:552, HOFFMANN/ FORSSMAN 1996:105), cf. p. 99.

475 MP/NP *gōšt* may be derived from **gauš-sti-* "cut (piece of) meat", the second member being a *ti*-stem from (OInd.) $\sqrt{dā}$ "cut"; if so, it is a direct cognate of Khot. *ggūšta-*, but not of Psht. *ḡwaša*, which may be derived from **gauštra-* (GERSHEVITCH 1976:64). Alternatively, the Pers. and the Psht. word have been derived from **gau-gžd^hi-* "eating of meat" (cf. OInd. *sá-gd^hi-* "common eating", KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:216⁸⁶). In any case, Bal. *gōšt* may have been borrowed from NP.

3.3.1.7 Other phenomena⁴⁷⁶

3.3.1.7.1 Word-initial *w-*, *v-*

While Balochi changes OIr. *u-* to *g(w)-* (cf. II 2.1.3.3.1), word-initial *v-* / *w-* of borrowed words is treated in various ways:

A couple of words show the Bal. treatment of OIr. *u-* in an otherwise Persian word:⁴⁷⁷

- *Gwahrām* (name of a hero) might have been borrowed from MP *Wahrām* or modelled on NP *Bahrām* (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347¹);
- *gāb*, *gābān* "desert" (NP *bābān*, MP, Prth. *wiyābān*, for which cf. JUNKER 1929:143f.) must have been borrowed (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41) regardless of whether it goes back to Av. *vīuuāp(a)-* "plundering" or not;
- *gēš* "more" has been borrowed from MP *wēš*, NP *bēš* (its derivation is somewhat unclear) according to GERSHEVITCH 1964:87;
- since all numbers are likely to have been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 81), *gīst* "twenty" may also fit here; on the other hand, it is not entirely impossible that *gīst* is a survival of the inherited Bal. numeral system (cf. KORN, frthc. 3).

MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41, 1937:347 interprets these cases as showing a substitution of the typical Bal. outcomes of *u-* for NP word-initial *b-*. The assumption of this somewhat problematic process does not seem necessary, however, since the words may have been borrowed from MP, i.e. before the change of *w-* > *b-*.⁴⁷⁸ Similarly, *gwāz* "fathom" need not represent a borrowing from NP *bāz(a)* (related to *bāzū* "arm") as MORGENSTIERNE (1937:347) assumes, but might be from Psht. *wāzə* "fathom".⁴⁷⁹

476 For *r > l* in loanwords, cf. II 2.4.2.

477 A further example is *gwadil* "coward" (a literary hapax legomenon from DAMES 1881:155): the word is explained by GEIGER 1891:125 as *gwad-dil*, i.e. a compound of **gwat* "bad" (cf. NP *bad* < MP *wad*) and (NP loanword) *dil* "heart", and a convenient cognate indeed exists in MP *waddil* "faint-hearted" (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, personal communication). It is possible that *gwadil* has been borrowed from MP.

478 Other examples by MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41 of alleged "analogical substitution of [Bal.] *gw-* for [NP] *b-*" are even less convincing: *gwālag* "bag" may have been borrowed from NP *guwāl* (cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1948:288, for *guw-* > *gw-*, cf. p. 219) rather than showing an adaptation of NP *bāla* (cf. p. 97).

Similarly, *gug* (DTB), *gug* (EAL), *gugū* (SHG) "owl" may be explained as a borrowing from Lhd. *g^hug^h* (ELFENBEIN 1985:230) and is thus unlikely to have been borrowed from NP *buh*.

479 For further discussion of Psht. *wāzə* and its cognates, cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003:94, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1983a:359.

In some cases, Ind. *v-* is treated like OIr. *v̥-*, i.e. changed to Bal. *g(w)-*:⁴⁸⁰

- SHG *gisir-* "get lost"⁴⁸¹ comes from Si. *visiraṇu* according to DTB;
- MORGENSTIERNE 1948:256 considers *gwač(č)* "(buffalo) calf" (also used to denote "chicken") to be a loanword since the Eastern dialects have *gwač* as well, not *†gwaš*. Although this argument is not entirely conclusive since the Eastern dialects may have borrowed the word from SWBal., *gwač(č)* is indeed likely to have been borrowed from Si. *vač^h* "buffalo calf", the identity of the meaning and the doubling of the *č* speaking for a borrowing rather than in favour of the word being inherited (if the latter was the case, *gwač(č)* might be a direct cognate of NP *bačča* "child, son", as GEIGER 1891:424 presumed).

In other cases, *b-* is substituted for Ind. *v-*, presumably because *v-* sounds more like *b-* than like *w-* to a Bal. ear:

- *bag(g)* "camel herd" might have been borrowed from Si./Lhd. *vagu* (thus ELFENBEIN 1963:22, 1990/II:14), alternatively, the change of the word-initial might be attributed to Brahui (thus ZARUBIN 1930:660) which has *bag*, too;
- *bēr* "revenge" might have been borrowed from Si. *vēru* (ELFENBEIN 1963:24), if not from Ur. *bair* "revenge";
- *bāhōṭ* "refuge, refugee" which is also found in Brahui might be a further case provided that it has been borrowed from Balochi into Brahui and not vice-versa and that the etymology advocated by BRAY III:61 (Si. *vāha* "protection" + *ōṭa* "sanctuary") is correct.

3.3.1.7.2 *y-* > \emptyset

Some loanwords exhibit loss of word-initial *y-*:⁴⁸²

- *ābū* (EVM) "pony" from NP *yābū* (originally Turk., cf. DOERFER IV:48);
- *āsamī* (BMC), *āsumī*⁴⁸³ (SHG) vs. *yāsumī* (SHG), *yāsmīn* (EAL) "jasmin" (NP *yāsamī(n)*, MP *yāsaman*);

480 ELFENBEIN's assumption (1989:635) of *gwahr* "cold" being borrowed from Khetrani *vahōr* is not necessary (cf. p. 118).

481 Also *gisar* "forgetting" (DTB), "mistake, oversight; died, disappeared" (EAL).

482 Note that words with *y-* are necessarily loanwords, since in genuine words, *y-* is changed to *ṣ-* as in NP (cf. II 2.1.3.4.1). In other loanwords, *ya-* is changed to *ē-* (cf. p. 255).

483 For *-u-* instead of *a*, cf. p. 286.

- *ākūt*⁴⁸⁴ (SHG) "ruby" vs. *yākūt* (EAL) "precious stone" (NP *yāqūt*, NP/MP *yākand*, Prth. *yākund*);⁴⁸⁵
- *atīm* (EVM, BUDDRUSS 1988:70)⁴⁸⁶ vs. *yatīm* (DTB, EAL, SHG) "orphan" (NP-Ar. *yatīm*).

3.3.1.7.3 *t > ʈ*

It would not be surprising to find *ʈ* instead of *t*, parallel to the occasional changes of *d > ɖ* and *r > ɽ* found in some not necessarily borrowed words (cf. p. 182f.). However, the loanword SHG *ʈōp* (written *ٹوپ* with missing vocalisation mark) "canon" besides *tōp* (NP *tōp*, originally from Turkic, DOERFER II:948ff.) is the only example found so far.

In addition, *ʈ* is regularly used for European *t* in English loanwords (cf. p. 67) as it is in Ind. languages (FARRELL 2003:178), and probably the words in question are taken over from there (presumably from Urdu), e.g. *ʈikaʈ(ʈ)* "ticket" (cf. p. 271), *ḍāḱṭar* "doctor", *pārʈī* "party (celebration)" (FBB) etc.

3.3.1.7.4 Peculiar cases

As in NP, the Ar. word *waqt* is rendered in Balochi in a number of different ways, not only in the way one would expect from the usual rules applied to Ar. loanwords:

- the usual rendering of *q* with *k* (cf. p. 65) is seen in *wakt* (MARSTON 1877, BMC, EAL, FBB, BUDDRUSS 1988:82);
- the NP and Psht. pronunciation *waxt* is seen in *waxt* (BMC, DTB, EAL);
- *x* is replaced by *h* as usual (cf. p. 65) with an irregular voicing to bring about *wahd* (PIERCE 1874, MARSTON 1877, BMC, EAL, SHG) which is the basis for WBal. *wād*, *wāhd* and *wad* (cf. p. 253f.).

484 For the gemination of word-final consonants in SHG, cf. p. 242.

485 Prth. *yākund* occurs together with other (semi-)precious stones in M 229 R i 9-15: *hō radan wuzurg xōž pāy, čē-d padyrift až šāh rōšn ō hawīn dwādes yākund ud haft bilōr arḡāw* "Protect well the big jewel which you received from the king of light, the twelve hyacinths and seven noble crystals" (transcription by COLDITZ 2000:280, German translation by RECK 1992:345). The origin of the word is Greek *ύάκινθος* (HENNING 1937:89) which denotes a semiprecious stone of blue colour. For *bilōr*, cf. p. 203., for Prth. <xwj>, cf. p. 132.

486 BUDDRUSS (1988:44) has (*h*)*atīm*, with optional secondary *h* (on secondary *h*-, cf. II 2.4.1.3).

3.3.2 Vowels

3.3.2.1 Loss of vowels

In addition to Mir. vowel elision (cf. II 3.1.2.1), and phenomena of loss of vowels typical for some dialects (cf. II 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2, 3.2.3.2), there is a rather systematic loss of vowels found chiefly in seemingly rather recent loanwords.

In most cases, it is the vowel *a* of non-first open syllables which is lost, e.g.⁴⁸⁷

- *aimnī* (ABG) "security, safety" from Ur. *aimanī*;⁴⁸⁸
- *aulī* (BMC, FBB) "first", *auliyā* (SHG) "excellent" vs. *awal* "first";⁴⁸⁹
- *badlī* (ABG) "exchange", *badl-* (BMC, EAL) "change" vs. *badal* "exchange";⁴⁹⁰
- *paisla(g)* (BMC), *fais(i)la* (EAL) "decision" (NP-Ar. *faiṣala*);⁴⁹¹
- *ǰāglī* "wild" vs. *ǰangal* "forest" (cf. p. 244);
- *sadka* (BMC), *ṣazqā* (ABG, cf. p. 191) "alms, charity" vs. (SHG) *sadak(k)a* (NP-Ar. *ṣadaqa*);
- *sangtī* (ABG) "loyalty" vs. *sangat(t)* "friend" (Urdu loanword, cf. p. 272);⁴⁹²
- *šāmlī* (ABG) "included" from NP-Ar. *šāmil* "including";
- *harkat* (EAL), *arkat* (EVM) "motion"⁴⁹³ vs. NP-Ar. *ḥarakat*.

487 *darǰa(g)* (ABG, BMC, SHG) "degree, position" and *ramzān* "Ramadan (name of a month)" need not show a Balochi syncope vs. NP-Ar. *daraǰa*, *ramaṣān*, respectively, since Urdu has *dar(a)ǰa*, *ram(a)zān*. Parallel cases are *zāmnī* (ABG) "guarantee, bail" which need not be derived from Bal. *zāmin* (ABG, EAL) "bail, security" but may have been borrowed directly from Ur. *zāmi(i)nī* (NP-Ar. *zāmin*; Elfenbein's connection (EAL 165) of Bal. *zāmīn* with Av. *zəmāna-* is not correct), and *ǰaltī* (ABG) "misunderstanding" which corresponds to Ur. *ǰal(a)ṭī* "mistake, misapprehension" vs. *ǰalaṭ* (ABG), *ǰalat* (DTB, EAL), *ǰalat* (SHG) "wrong, mistake" (in Urdu, the word is used both as adj. and as a noun, thence probably the Bal. semantics), all from NP-Ar. *ǰalaṭ*.

488 Ur. *aimanī* is based on NP *aiman* "safe, secure", which occurs in Urdu in the form *ēmin*. *ēmin* has been borrowed into Balochi as *ēmin* (SHG, EAL), according to EAL also *ēman*, *hēmin*. BMC, EAL have *ēmanī* "security" which is derived from *ēmin* / *ēman*.

489 From NP-Ar. *awwal*. The adverb *awalā* (BMC, EVM) "at first" might be a still younger copying of NP-Ar. *awwalan*, cf. also V 1.4.

490 From NP-Ar. *badal*. FBB *badalī* "exchange" may have been formed anew on the basis of *badal*. For the anthropologically interesting use of *badal* as a name, cf. BADALKHAN 2003:286.

491 For further variants, cf. p. 191, for the *-g* added by BMC, cf. p. 165.

492 Since *sangtī* means "loyalty", the word is unlikely to have been borrowed from Ur. *sangatī*, which means "comrade" and is not found without the *a* of the second syllable, but will rather represent a Bal. formation from the Ur. loanword *sangat(t)*.

493 The meaning "mischief" given by EAL (no source given) is surprising.

Elision of a vowel (not only of *a*) in the first syllable is seen in:⁴⁹⁴

- *brōbarī* (ABG) "equality" vs. *barōbar* (cf. p. 286) "equal" (NP *barābar(ī)*);
- *adga, agdar* (EVM, for the metathesis, cf. p. 266) vs. *diga(r)* (BMC, FBB, cf. p. 195) "other" (NP *diga(r)*);
- *krāb* (FBB) "bad" vs. *karāb* etc. (NP-Ar. *xarāb* "broken", cf. p. 66);
- *klīt* (EAL) vs. *kilīt* (cf. p. 237, 269) "key" (NP *kilīd*).

Syncopation of *āya* > *āi* in NP loans is found several times:

- *āindag* (ABG) "future" vs. NP *āyanda*;
- *bāid* (BMC), *bāid* (EVM), *mē-bāit* (EVM, cf. p. 269) vs. *bāyad* (SHG, NAWATA 1981:22) "(to be) necessary" (NP *bāyad*);⁴⁹⁵
- *hāik, haig, āig* vs. *āyag*⁴⁹⁶ "egg" (NP *xāya*);
- in *sā'ig, sāhig, sāi* "shadow", *hamsā(h)ig* "neighbour" (cf. p. 108f.) vs. NP (*ham*)*sāya*, *āi* is perceived as a hiatus liable to be prevented by *h* (cf. p. 162).

Vowel elision in a closed syllable has been found in

- *āč* "fire" (besides genuine *ās*, for which cf. p. 89) is most probably a syncopated form of borrowed NP *ātaš* (BARTHOLOMAE 1885:133);⁴⁹⁷
- *baḡl gir-* (DTB) vs. *bagal kan-* (BMC) "embrace" (NP *baḡal* "armpit", cf. p. 292);
- *palk* (EAL), *p^halk* (DTB) "time, moment" vs. NP-Ar. *falak* "circuit, sky";
- *šarp* (ABG) vs. *šarap/f* (BMC, SHG) "honour, hospitality" (NP-Ar. *šaraf*).

It is possible that the vowel elision took place in a form where the vowel in question was in an open syllable (e.g. obl. case, which is also used in locative function).

494 *brinĵ* (GEIGER 1891:446, EAL, SHG) "rice" (cf. p. 134) and *brinĵ* "copper" (GEIGER 1891:446), "copperware" (EAL), "nickel" (SHG) need not show elision of a vowel vs. NP *birinĵ* "rice", *birinĵ* "bronze, brass", as the words may have been borrowed from MP *brinĵ*. In this case, BMC, DTB *birinĵ* "rice" might come from a later layer of borrowings or a contamination with the NP form. For the etymology of both words, cf. HORN 1893:48, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:27f. For *prāh*, cf. p. 117.

495 *bāid* is used as an adj. in BMC: *bāid int* "it is necessary", whereas in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, the construction is exactly parallel to the NP one, e.g. (NAWATA 1981:22): *šumā bāyad ōdā šutēnit* "you should have gone there" (for the irrealis suffix, cf. p. 340). NP *bāyad* is likely to derive from **apa-aġa-* "be missing" (TREMBLAY 2003:127).

496 For more details and a discussion of the probable loanword status, cf. p. 108f., 156f.

497 NP *ātaš* (MPZ *ātaxš*) has been borrowed from Av. *ātarš* (nom.sg. of *ātar-*, cf. HORN 1893:3, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:217), and the same is also possible, but unlikely for *āč*. ELFENBEIN's note (1990/II:2) about *āč* "< *āt-(i)š" is not clear to me.

āčiš "fire, burning ashes" seems to be a contamination of NP *ātiš* with *āč* (ELFENBEIN 1991:112).

3.3.2.2 Changes in quantity

In addition to the cases discussed in II 3.1.2.2, the following changes in vowel quantity seem to be limited to loanwords:

Metathesis of vowel quantity

A small number of loanwords show lengthening of the vowel in one syllable and shortening in the other:

- *ḡanāwar* besides *ḡānwar* "animal"; it is most probably composed of *ḡān* (cf. p. 135) and *bar-* "carry", the *w* shows that it has been borrowed from NP *ḡānwar*;
- *kāsib* vs. SHG *kasīp* "turtle, tortoise": *kāsib* only occurs in PIERCE 1874 and in EAL (with the remark: Coastal dialects; maybe taken from PIERCE 1874). A genuine Bal. word should show *ṣ* (cf. p. 129f.) for OInd. *śy* (*kaśyāpa-*), Av. *-sii-* (*kasiapa-*) as does NP (which should have *s*) *kaṣaf*. The Bal. word might have been influenced by Ind. words (cf. e.g. Ur. *kasyap*, *kaśyap* "a kind of fish or deer"), but the details are not clear. For additional Ir. cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:75.

Monophthongisation

The cases are not numerous and might belong to specific dialects only.

ē, *ī* for *ai*:

- *xērāt* (FBB) "alms" for regular *hairāt*, *xairāt* and *kēriat*, (*h*)*ēriat* (both FARRELL 2003:176) "healthy" for *xairiat* belong to the sphere of religious expressions and have so far only been reported from Karachi (cf. p. 65, 66);
- (*ˀ*)*īd* (ABG, EAL; otherwise *aid*) "holiday" and *qīmat* (ABG), *kīmat* (GEIGER 1891:453, EAL) "value" are more likely to have been borrowed from NP (same form in Urdu) *ˀīd*, *qīmat*, respectively, than from CNP *ˀeid*, *qeimat*.

ō for *au*:

- *k^(h)ōr* "river, ravine" (ABG) may be from Lhd. *k^hōr*,⁴⁹⁸ alternatively, it can be a monophthongised variant of possibly inherited *k^(h)aur* (BMC, DTB, FBB, SHG).⁴⁹⁹

498 This word is reported by MORGENSTIERNE 1927:99, who considers it a loanword from Balochi.

499 Note that Psht. *x(w)ar* "(dry) watercourse" cannot, as GEIGER 1890:133f. assumes, be a cognate of Bal. *kaur* (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:99). Morgenstierne agrees with Geiger in connecting Bal. *kaur* to NP *kaura* "torrent". For the variant *kūr*, cf. p. 200.

3.3.2.3 Changes in quality⁵⁰⁰

The degree of variation of vowels is even greater in loanwords than in genuine words (for these, cf. II 3.1.2.3). Unlike some of the cases discussed in II 3.3.2.2, I have not found corresponding forms in Urdu etc. which would explain the vowel quality.

Neutralisation

As *a* often functions as neutral vowel in Balochi,⁵⁰¹ it appears in some cases where the etymology would suggest a different vowel:

- *adālat(t)* for NP-Ar. *ʿidālat* "justice" (cf. p. 63);
- *ulas* (ABG) for usual *ulus(s)* "people" (cf. p. 271);
- *garūr* (ABG) "pride, haughtiness" for NP-Ar. *gurūr*;
- *qaṣūr-dār* (ABG) "culprit, accused" from NP-Ar. *quṣūr* "guilt";
- *ʿāqabat* (ABG) "future" for NP-Ar. *ʿāqibat* (for further variants, see below);
- *kamak* (EAL) for *kumak(k)* "help" (cf. p. 193, 272).

Palatalisation

In genuine words, *i* for *a* and sometimes also *u* is seen next to a palatal consonant (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1). There are some cases of loanwords where the motivation for the palatalisation is less clear:

- *binā* (EVM, EAL) "beginning" for NP-Ar. *banā* "foundation";⁵⁰²
- *ḥitar*⁵⁰³ "fear" (ABG) for *hatar* "danger" (EAL) from NP-Ar. *xaṭar* "danger";
- *gardin* (ABG, BMC, FBB, EAL, SHG) vs. DTB, GCD *gardan* "neck";⁵⁰⁴
- *nimāz* "prayer" (NP *namāz*, cf. p. 193);
- the WBal. formation of the infinitive by adding *-in* to the past stem (vs. the *-ag* suffixed to the pres. stem in the others) is likely to have been influenced by, if not borrowed from, the parallel formation in NP (past stem + *-an*).

500 For *aimnī*, *ēmanī* "security", cf. p. 282. On the treatment of word-initial *ya-*, cf. p. 255, 281f.

501 For a similar phenomenon in EBal., cf. p. 236f.

502 The parallel palatalisation process has taken place in Georg. *bina* "flat" and Dhivehi *bina* + *kr* "build", both borrowed from the same NP-Ar. word (Jost Gippert, personal communication).

503 It is interesting that the word is written حتر, indicating knowledge about the origin of the *h* as *x* (cf. p. 65), but not of the *t* as *ṭ*.

504 From NP *gardan*; for the variant *girdēn*, cf. p. 195.

Labialisation

u for *a* or even *i* is found mainly when next to a labial consonant or in case of *u* in a neighbouring syllable. There are three cases of labialisation in possibly inherited words:

- *rōmust* (SHG) vs. *rōmast* (DTB) "rumination", OInd. *romant^ha-* (cf. p. 95);
- *muž*, *muž* "fog" < * *mižā-* (cf. p. 93, 229);
- if *muzg* "back of head" is the same word as *mazg*, *mažg* "brain" (cf. p. 88), it might be another example.

The remaining cases of labialisation are loanwords:

- *ākubat* (BMC) for *ākibat* (SHG), *axibat*⁵⁰⁵ (EAL) "future" from NP-Ar. *‘āqibat* (cf. also p. 93, 201, 285);
- *uškumag* (EVM) for *šikam* (ABG, SHG) "stomach" (cf. p. 170, 204);
- *tumun* (SHG) for normal *tuman* "tribe" (cf. p. 187);
- *sundūk* (BMC) for *sandūq* (GCD) "box" (cf. p. 163);
- *(y)āsumī* (SHG) for *āsamī* etc. "jasmine" (cf. p. 280).

The reason for the appearance of *u* in the following words is not clear:

- *ārunj*, *ārunj* "elbow" vs. NP *āranj* (cf. p. 292);
- *arzun* "millet" (cf. p. 97);
- *gulti*⁵⁰⁶ "mistake" vs. *galṭī* "misunderstanding" (both ABG, cf. p. 282).

A special sort of labialisation is seen in

- *barōbar* (for the variant *barēbar*, cf. p. 202) for *barābar* "equal";⁵⁰⁷
- *mōbatt* (BMC)⁵⁰⁸ for *mābatt* "love" (from NP-Ar. *maḥabbat*).

Diphthongisation

An unetymological diphthong is seen in the following cases:

- *aižzī* (ABG) "humility" could somehow be formed from NP-Ar. *‘ažz* (in Urdu also *‘ižz*), *‘āžzī* "weakness";
- *airād* (ABG) vs. *īrād* (EAL) "objection" (NP-Ar. *īrād*).

505 The short *a-* may be a misprint since none of the other variants (nor of the other sources) has *a-*.

506 The transcription has <u> which means *ū* in the system used in ABG, but the Ar. orthography (with vocalisation mark) indicates *u*; ABG obviously assumes the existence of two words both written غلطى.

507 Since NP *barābar* may be interpreted as "breast-to-breast" (BAILEY 1979:376b), the Bal. word is a loanword (cf. p. 99, 294 for the Bal. cognate of NP *bar*). Cf. also p. 283.

508 The variant *muhbat* is derived from *mōbatt*, cf. II 3.1.3.2, 3.2.1.3, 3.3.1.5fn.

III. Lexicon

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: first, exemplary parts of the Balochi lexicon are presented to give an impression of the variability of the sources the Bal. words come from.¹ It will be seen that the variation is not found between the dialects only, but also within them. Second, the chapter should provide a picture of the different layers of loanwords (Persian of diverse stages, Indic of diverse sources, other languages) which overlap to a considerable degree, not always along dialect borders.

In the tables which follow, the Balochi word(s) for the concept under discussion are given in their SWBal. form.² Where several designations are in use, the sources are given.³ The words are grouped into the following categories: presumably genuine Balochi words (noted as "old");⁴ words where the sound laws of Balochi and of NP would lead to the same result so that it is impossible to decide whether it has been borrowed from NP or genuine (noted as "= NP", cf. p. 19); words of uncertain origin ("?"); and loanwords from NP ("NP"), (NP-)Arabic ("Ar."), Ind. languages ("Ind."), further specified if possible ("Si.", "Ur." etc.) or other languages. A word derived from a NP loanword is noted as "(NP)". Where a borrowing is likely, but the source not sure, a question mark is added. For references to discussion of words in the previous chapters and of those not discussed yet, cf. the index in V.2.

1 For discussion about selected semantic fields, cf. TURCHETTA 1989 (herbs and spices), ELFENBEIN 1992 (times of the day and length measures) and FILIPPONE 1996 (terms and expressions for denoting space in general).

2 Regular EBal. forms that differ from the SWBal. forms according to the rules given in II 3.2.1.1.1 are not mentioned separately. If EBal. sources (ABG, DTB, GCD) are given, e.g. "*maĵg* in DTB, GCD; SHG; EVM; EAL", that means that DTB, GCD have (EBal.) *maĵg* and the rest have (SWBal.) *maĵg*. Where EBal. forms are found in other sources than the regular EBal. ones or if SWBal. forms figure in Eastern sources, they will be cited. Other regular variations (e.g. the loss of *h* in some WBal. dialects, cf. p. 248, the doubling of consonants after *ī* and *ū* in SHG, cf. II 3.2.2.1) are not noted either.

3 The following sources have been used: (predominantly) EBal.: ABG, DTB, GCD; (predominantly) SBal.: FBB, SHG; WBal.: BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981. Words which are **not** found in EAL are marked with "O" in the WBal. column. If EAL is the only source, it is cited in the WBal. column, since EAL (while by no means limited to words of a specific dialect) has a certain bias towards the Western dialects.

4 It is possible that some possibly genuine words have been borrowed from older stages of Persian.

1. Body parts

It is generally believed in historical linguistics that among those words which tend to be preserved rather than borrowed, the terms in the semantic field of body parts figure among the important ones. The following table shows, however, that this is only partly true for Balochi: genuine words and borrowed ones form a mixture which moreover varies significantly from one dialect to the other. The languages from which material is taken include not only NP and a range of Ind. languages, but also Arabic and Brahui.

The share of genuine words in the field of terms for body parts is much lower than one might expect (less than half of the vocabulary), but still high with respect to the rate found in other fields. The motivation for borrowing is not always clear, neither are semantic differences always noticeable; it might seem quite surprising to find e.g. the use of borrowed *kōnd* "knee" besides inherited word *zān*.

item	Bal.	EBal.	SBal.	WBal.	status
body	<i>ḷān</i> ⁵	DTB	FBB	BMC	= NP
	<i>ḷind(ī)</i>	GCD		EVM	Lhd. ⁶
	<i>badan</i>	ABG	SHG	BMC, EVM	NP-Ar.
skin	<i>pōst</i>	GCD	FBB, SHG	EVM	= NP ⁷
	<i>č^hill</i>	ABG		○	Si.
	<i>sīl</i>		SHG	BMC	Br.
vein	<i>rag</i>				NP ⁸
blood	<i>hōn</i>				MP

5 In other sources, *ḷān* means "life, soul etc."

6 EVM and GCD also give the meaning "self" which is also the meaning given in BMC, DTB and SHG. *ḷind* has been borrowed from Sindhi/Lahnda (GILBERTSON 1925/I:77 etc.), cf. Lhd. *ḷidā* (TURNER 1966:289; thanks are due to Georg Buddrus for drawing my attention to this connection).

7 Although it is commonly assumed that *pōst* has been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:458 etc.), this is not a necessary assumption, since OP *pavastā*- "parchment" with which NP *pōst* is connected (BRANDENSTEIN/MAYRHOFER 1964:140, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:215) might have resulted in Bal. *pōst* as well.

8 It is probable that *rag* has been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:458) since the Prth. cognate is *rahag*, cf. OInd. *rāsa*- "juice" (cf. also EWAia II:442).

bone	<i>had(d)</i>				Ur./Si.
joint	<i>bōg</i> ⁹				old
head	<i>sar</i>	ABG, DTB	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM	= NP
	<i>saġar</i>	DTB, GCD			from <i>sar</i>
brain	<i>magz</i> ¹⁰		SHG	○	NP
	<i>mazg</i>				old?
	<i>maġg</i>	DTB, GCD	SHG	EVM	
hair	<i>mūd, mīd</i>		SHG	EVM	old
	<i>māh-par, mahpar</i>	ABG	SHG	BMC, EVM	? ¹¹
	<i>gulg</i>		SHG	EVM	old? ¹²
	<i>puṭ</i>	GCD		EVM	Br. ¹³
forehead	<i>(h)aničag</i> ¹⁴	DTB, GCD	SHG		old?
	<i>pēšānī</i> ¹⁵		SHG	BMC	NP
eye	<i>čam(m)</i>				old
	<i>dīd(a(g))</i> ¹⁶		SHG	BMC	NP

9 In EBal. (DTB, GCD), *bōg* means "knot in stalk". EAL also has this meaning.

10 EAL has *maġz*, FBB *magaz*, ABG *maġaz*. Cf. also p. 88, 207.

11 In EAL, the meaning is "hair tress", in SHG "women's long hair". EVM has *māparr* "tresses", maybe a popular etymology with NP *parr* "feather". The etymology of *māhpar* is not clear. Maybe there is some connection with Zaz. *por*, Kurd. *por* 'hair', but the question remains to be solved. Note that the variant *māhpar* is attested not only in BMC and EAL, but also in ABG and SHG. It is thus not likely to be a case of hypercorrect WBal. *āh* which results from a misinterpretation of the WBal. process *ah* > *ā* (cf. p. 252f.).

12 This word means "men's long hair, curls" (for a photo, cf. MATHESON 1967:54a) in SHG and EAL; in this meaning DTB has *gulālux*, SWBal. variants are *gulālik*, *gulāluk* according to EAL. *gulg* etc. might be connected with NP *gulūla* "bullet, ball of thread", Kurd. *gulok* "ball" (perhaps also OInd. *glāu-* "swelling, bump", HORN 1893:207, HÜBSCHMANN 1895:94f., EWAia I:511).

13 SHG has *puṭ* in the meaning "feather", EAL has both meanings. Bal. *puṭ* "hair; feather" has probably been borrowed from Br. *puṭ* "hair" (EMENEAU/BURROW 1972, ROSSI 1979:109); a semantic shift from "hair" to "feather" is not improbable.

14 SHG (besides *haničag*) also has the EBal. variant *anišag* (replacing EBal. *-ag* by SWBal. *-ag*).

15 EVM and EAL have *pēšānī* "brow; destiny"; cf. p. 140.

16 Also used for "pupil of the eye" (BMC, EAL). In DTB, *dīd* means "sight". For the notion of "pupil of the eye" in Ir. languages, cf. FILIPPONE 1995.

eyeball	<i>dīdōk</i> ¹⁷	DTB, GCD	SHG		from <i>dīdag</i>
	<i>ṭēla(g)</i> ¹⁸	DTB		BMC	Ind.?
eyebrow	<i>burwān</i>				
eyelash	<i>mičāč</i>	DTB	FBB, SHG		old
	<i>p^himblī</i>	GCD		○	Si.
ear	<i>gōš</i>				= NP
nose	<i>pō(n)z</i>	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC	= NP
	<i>gīn</i> ¹⁹			EVM	old
mouth	<i>dap</i>				Pers. ²⁰
lip	<i>lap</i> ²¹				old
	<i>lab</i>	GCD			NP ²²
	<i>rak(k)</i>	DTB	SHG		Ind.? ²³
	<i>lunṭ</i>	ABG	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:34	Ind.? ²⁴
tooth	<i>dantān</i>				old
tongue	<i>zubān</i>		SHG	BMC, EVM	= NP
	<i>zawān</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD		○	
	<i>zuwān</i>			EVM ○	
	<i>lillik</i>		FBB, SHG		Ind.?

17 Also for "pupil of the eye" in GCD.

18 DTB has *ṭilag*.

19 *gīn* otherwise means "breath" (cf. p. 136).

20 As shown in II 2.1.2.3fn., *dap* is a borrowing from some older stage of Persian.

21 *lap* is apparently attested only once in a manuscript in the British Library, cf. GEIGER 1890:134, so its existence is somewhat questionable.

22 Although Lat. *labium* goes back to *lab (HÜBSCHMANN 1895:96), NP *lab* presupposes Ir. *lap, so Bal. *lab* is a loanword. Zaz. *lew* might go back both to *lab and *lap; Kurd. *lêv* may go back to *lap; the Kurd. outcome of OIr. *-b-* is not clear (SOCIN 1901:263, ASATRIAN/LIVSHITS 1994:82f.).

23 *rakk* appears as "cheek" in BMC. It is not clear whether *rak(k)* might be connected with *rak(k)* "protection" (which is an Ind. loanword); one might think of Homeric ἔρκος ὀδόντων "enclosure of the teeth [i.e. mouth]", though.

24 The retroflex might indicate an Ind. origin of the word, but no suitable form has been found. Maybe there is also some connection with NP *lunṭ* "lip, cheek".

cheek	<i>kalakk</i>		SHG	BMC	old? ²⁵
	<i>gub(b)</i>		FBB, SHG		?
	<i>gittā</i>	ABG		○	?
	<i>gal</i>	DTB, GCD		○	Si. ²⁶
chin	<i>zanūk</i>		SHG	NAWATA 1981:34	old
	<i>zanāx</i>	DTB		○	NP? ²⁷
	<i>sunṭ</i>		FBB, SHG		Lhd. ²⁸
	<i>k^hādī</i>	DTB, GCD			Si. ²⁹
beard	<i>rīš</i>	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM	= NP
neck, throat	<i>gardin</i> ³⁰	ABG, DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC	NP
	<i>pōgōx</i>	DTB, GCD			?
	<i>guṭ(t)</i>	GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM	Ind. ³¹

25 SHG has *kalikk*, EAL has both variants, Brahui has *kalik* according to ROSSI 1979:101. The *i* may be due to a reinterpretation of the suffix as the diminutive *-ik(k)*, cf. II 2.4.4.1. ROSSI 1979:101 has further attestations of the word in Southern and Western Balochi.

GEIGER 1891:421 connects *kalak(k)* with NP *kala* "face, cheek" (its origin is not clear), ELFENBEIN 1961:94⁴ notes further Ir. cognates (Bashkardi *kalak* "chin" and Yidgha *kyeliko* "jaw", which need not be an Ind. loanword as MORGENSTIERNE 1938:221a assumes). Sulaimani Kurd. *kalaka* "flank" is rather to be connected with NP *kalk* "side of the body" (cf. ROSSI 1979:101). For the semantics, cf. German *Backe* which denotes both "cheek" and "buttock".

26 As DAMES 1891:80 remarks, *gal* has probably been borrowed from Si. *galu*.

27 According to ELFENBEIN 1985:237, DTB *zanāx* "is an error for *zanax* (LW < NP)". Although this is indeed possible, its attestation only in an EBal. source would be surprising. If the word is correctly noted and not a loanword, it presupposes CBal. **zanāk* which could correspond to Orm. *zināk* (cited in BAILEY 1979:345a). For further data from Ir. languages, cf. NARTEN 1970, EWAia II:801. The *-x* in NP, Prth. *zanax* has nothing to do with EBal. *-x* but shows a suffix substitution comparable to those discussed in KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:203⁴⁰, e.g. NP *malax* vs. Bal. *madag* "locust".

MAYER 1910 has *zānik* which ELFENBEIN 1985:237 qualifies as being "also wrong" and maybe standing for **zanīk*. It is also noted in GCD, however.

28 *sunṭ* means "beak" in BMC and EAL, "sting" in EAL; SHG has all three meanings. EAL also has the variant *sunt*. According to ELFENBEIN 1990/II:133, *sunṭ* has been borrowed from Lhd. *sund*.

29 DTB has *k^hādī*, EAL *kādī*, GCD both forms. As DAMES 1891:73 remarks, *k^hādī* is probably a loanword from Si. *k^hādī*.

30 DTB, GCD have *gardan*, for which (and for further variants), cf. p. 195, 285.

31 DTB, GCD have *guṭ^h*.

guṭ(t) has most probably been borrowed from some Ind. language (MORGENSTIERNE 1927:27), and the same applies to Br. *guṭ* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:38, against ZARUBIN 1930:660).

shoulder	<i>kōpag</i>				old
armpit	<i>kaš</i>		SHG	BMC	= NP
	<i>bagal</i>	GCD	SHG	BMC, EVM	NP
arm	<i>bāsk</i> ³²				old
hand	<i>dast</i>				NP? ³³
	<i>panʒag</i>		SHG	EVM	NP ³⁴
elbow	<i>srōš</i> ³⁵	DTB, GCD	SHG		old
	<i>ārunʒ</i>			NAWATA 1981:34 ○	NP ³⁶
	<i>muk</i> ³⁷		FBB		?
wrist	<i>muč(č)</i>	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG		NP? ³⁸
	<i>karā'ī</i>	GCD		○	Si. ³⁹

The source is not entirely clear: MORGENSTIERNE 1932:38 assumes Lhd. *g^huṭ* "gulp" while GILBERTSON 1925:681 has Si. *nir-g^haṭu*, cf. also Ur. *gaṭ* "gulp".

32 NAWATA 1981:37 has *bāsk* in the meaning "elbow", cf. also p. 166, 168.

33 *dast* is also used for "arm" in a number of sources. Bal. *dast*, *Zaz.*, Kurd. *dest* etc. seem to have been borrowed from NP *dast* (GEIGER 1891:447 etc.) since NWIr. languages should show *z-* here (cf. Av. *zasta-*, OInd. *hāsta-* etc.). As Parthian has *dast* as well and since several EIr. languages likewise reflect *dasta-*, however, an early dissimilation (**dzasta-* > **dasta-* or **zasta-* > **ḍasta-*) is more likely (KLINGENSCHMITT 1975:77², 2000:200³⁰, MORGENSTIERNE 2003:45).

34 *panʒag* has obviously been borrowed from NP *panʒa* "hand, claws". DTB has *p^hanʒak* "one fifth, share of plunder due to a chief", also borrowed from NP; both are derived from NP *panʒ* "five". Bal. *panč* "five" could be genuine (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560), but since devoicing of word-final consonants is common in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.5) and as in fact all numbers seem to have been borrowed from Persian (cf. p. 81), the word is more likely to be a loanword.

35 For further discussion, cf. p. 131, 180, 188, 200, 205.

36 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51 has *ārunʒ* from a Makrani informant. It is probable that *ārunʒ*, *ārunʒ* have been borrowed from NP *āranʒ*, *ārang* since the suffix *-g / -ʒ* (vs. NP *āran*, for cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:8a, EWAia I:109) seems to be peculiar to Persian, and with regard to Sogd. *''r'ync* (KLINGENSCHMITT 1972:63), one might expect genuine Bal. **ārVnč*. For discussion of the Av. forms, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT 1972:63.

37 *muk* means "bee's sting" in SHG. EAL has the meanings "elbow joint, knot in wood".

38 DTB and GCD have *dast-muč^h* for "wrist" and *p^hāḍ-muč^h* for "ankle". The EBal. form *muč^h* (not **muš*) and the gemination of the word-final consonant point to the word as being a loanword, maybe from NP *muč* (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:95). Alternatively, *muč(č)* might be identical with *muč(č)* "gathered, collected" (via "handful") which has been borrowed from Si. *muč^hu* "heap" (DAMES 1891:89, cf. also p. 275).

39 GILBERTSON 1925:788 assumes Ur. *kalā'ī* as source, but Si. *karā'ī* is even more likely.

fist	<i>mušt</i>				= NP ⁴⁰
finger, toe	<i>angul</i>			EAL	old ⁴¹
	<i>lankuk</i> ⁴²	ABG	FBB, SHG	BMC ○	Ind.?
	<i>murdān</i> ⁴³	DTB, GCD		BMC	Ind.?
	<i>čangul</i> ⁴⁴			EVM ○	Ur.
little finger	<i>čūč</i>	GCD		BMC	Si.? ⁴⁵
	<i>čūčūk</i>			EVM	
	<i>čukī</i>		SHG		ʔ ⁴⁶

- 40 GEIGER 1891:455 and others assume that *mušt* was borrowed from NP, which is possible, but the genuine Bal. word would be *mušt*, too. For cognates, cf. BAILEY 1979:339a.
- 41 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:40 has *angul*, too (from where EAL might have got it). Related words appear in several Ir. languages (cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1682, BENVENISTE 1931:223, MORGENSTIERNE 1932:40); and WINDFUHR 1992a:251 notes that **engul* is found in a number of Central Dialects of Iranian Balochi *angul* is thus less likely to have been borrowed from an Ind. language as one might suppose with regard to OInd. *aṅgūri-*.
- 42 ABG and BMC have *lunkuk* (cf. p. 204), SHG and FARRELL 2003:176 have also the variant *lakkuk* (cf. p. 181).
- 43 GCD has *murdānag* for "the fingers" and expressions with *°murdān* for the individual fingers. According to the same source, "toe" is *p^hād-murdān*. The etymology of *murdān* is not clear: it might be composed of (GEIGER 1890:136) **mur* = MP/NP/Prth. *muhr* "seal, signet ring" + *°dān* "holding". Bal. **mur* is not attested, however (and cannot be derived from OIr. **mudrā-*, cf. OInd. *mudrā-* which is a cognate of NP *muhr*, cf. KEWA II:653f.), but might have been borrowed from NP (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558). BARTHOLOMAE's derivation (1890:553) of *murdān* from **murd* (OIr. **mudra-*) + *dān* holds the same difficulty of **murd* not being attested. ELFENBEIN 1990/II:100 assumes that *murdān* has been borrowed from some Ind. language, but the source is not clear. The variant *mōrdānag* appears only in BMC and EAL which makes it possible that it is due to the assumption by BMC that *murdān* is based on a more genuine **muhrdān* which might have a variant with *-ō-* for *-uh-* (for hypercorrect reversal of *uh* > *ō*, cf. p. 211).
- 44 The other sources have *čangul* in its original meaning "claw".
- 45 In BMC, *čūč* means also "sprout, baby plant". EAL has *čūčī*, *čūčag*, *čūčik* as additional variants. *čūč*, if not an onomatopoeic formation, might have been borrowed from Si. *čīča* with a hypercorrect reversal of the change *ū* > *ī* (cf. p. 196ff.). *čūčūk* etc. can be specialisations of *čūčag* "child, baby; tiny" (SHG) which might also be of onomatopoeic origin.
- 46 In GCD, *čukī* is used for "finger" in general. SHG also has the variant *čunkī* (for secondary nasalisation, cf. p. 215ff.). Maybe *čukī* is derived from *čuk(k)* "child" (cf. p. 259), cf. the discussion of *čūčūk* etc. above.

nail	<i>nākun</i> ⁴⁷	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG		= NP
	<i>nāhun</i> ⁴⁸	GCD	SHG	EVM	NP
ribs	<i>pahlū(g)</i> ⁴⁹				NP/MP
chest, breast	<i>sēnag</i>	DTB, GCD	SHG		old
	<i>sīna</i> ⁵⁰		SHG		NP
	<i>gōdān</i>		SHG	EVM	old ⁵¹
	<i>dōbar</i>	DTB, GCD			ʔ ⁵²
	<i>ḍōbar</i>		SHG	BMC	
	<i>gwar</i> ⁵³		SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:37	old
navel, bellybutton	<i>nāpag</i> ⁵⁴	ABG, DTB, GCD	SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:37	old
	<i>ḍun(n)</i>		FBB, SHG	○	Si. ⁵⁵

47 GCD has *nak^hun* (sic) with the *-k^h-* (instead of EBal. *-x-*) indicating a borrowing, whereas DTB has *nāxun* which, if not directly borrowed from NP *nāxun*, is the EBal. variant of *nākun*.

48 GCD's *nahun* is perhaps an error.

49 For variants, cf. p. 163f., 166, 197, 268.

50 ABG, EVM have *sīnag*.

51 DTB has *gwaḍān* besides regular *gōdān*, GCD has *gwaḍān*, *gwaḍān*. In both sources, the word means "udder" (this meaning is also noted in SHG). EBal. *gwa-* is perhaps the result of an analogy to *gwar* "breast". The etymology is "containing milk" with the cognate of Av. *gao*^o "(product of) cow: milk, meat" (GEIGER 1890:124), cf. Av. *gaoḍana-* (sic) "milk container" (BARTHOLOMAE 1904:481). It is remarkable that Bal. preserves OIr. *gau-* in the meaning "milk" here. Another Bal. compound with the same first member is *gōkurt* "sulphur" (cf. p. 146).

52 *dōbar* is probably a compound of *dō* "two" and NP *bar* "breast" (the cognate of Bal. *gwar*). For *d* > *ḍ*, cf. p. 99. If so, Eastern Balochi must have borrowed the word from SWBal. dialects.

53 In DTB and GCD, *gwar* means "neck" (maybe meant as "throat"). The obl. of *gwar* (*gwarā*) is used as a postposition in the meaning "near, at". According to ELFENBEIN 1985:232, *gur* noted in DAMES 1881:133 is a "substandard form, common to all dialects", but it is not noted anywhere else, not even in DAMES 1891. Cf. also p. 99.

54 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 and EAL also have *nāp*.

55 The word has obviously been borrowed from Si. *dunu*. For *d* > *ḍ*, cf. II 3.1.1.4, for gemination of word-final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.5.

back	<i>pušt</i>	DTB, GCD	SHG	BMC, EVM	= NP
	<i>baḍ(ḍ)</i>		FBB, SHG	EVM, NAWATA 1981:34	Br. ⁵⁶
waist, loins, small of back	<i>srēn</i> ⁵⁷	DTB	FBB, SHG	EVM, NAWATA 1981:34	old
	<i>myān</i>	ABG	SHG	BMC	NP ⁵⁸
	<i>mugūnd</i> ⁵⁹			BMC	?
bottom, anus	<i>kūn, kīn</i>				= NP ⁶⁰
stomach, belly	<i>lāp</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM	? ⁶¹
	<i>uškumag</i>	EVM			= NP
	<i>šikam</i>	ABG	SHG		
	<i>piḍḍ</i>			EVM ○	Br.? ⁶²
heart	<i>zird</i> ⁶³	DTB, GCD	SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:34	old
	<i>dil</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM	NP
liver	<i>jaḡar</i>				NP

- 56 *baḍ(ḍ)* is the upper part of the back. It also means "load (on someone's back)" (thus in BMC, EAL). *baḍ* also exists in Brahui and might be connected to words for "carry" etc.; but a borrowing from Balochi into Brahui is also possible (ROSSI 1979:91). The etymology is then not clear yet, though.
- 57 For variants, cf. p. 205, for further discussion, cf. p. 130, 202.
- 58 *myān* is a loanword from NP *miyān* "middle". Another product of NP *miyān* is Bal. *nyām* "middle" (cf. p. 232f., 266).
- 59 *mugūnd* is designated as EBal. by BMC and EAL (note that it is not found in ABG, DTB or GCD). In EAL, it means "thigh", and the variant *mugūnd* (which, if it exists, might be Eastern Balochi although it is not noted as such) means "small of back".
- 60 With regard to the existence of MP *kūn* (HORN 1893:195) and Sogd. *kwn* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976:66), it is not necessary to assume (pace GEIGER 1891:444) that Bal. *kūn* has been borrowed from NP.
- 61 The SWBal. form *lāp* is also found in EBal. (GCD), and the EBal. form (*lāf*) also in Karachi (FBB). In SHG, *lāp* is also used for "intestines". The obl. *lāpā* is used as a postposition "in". The etymology is not clear yet. The only words which have been considered as possible cognates are NP *lambar* "bottom" and Gurani *lam* "belly" (GEIGER 1890:134). However, the connection is questionable (note that Kurd. *lam* means "cheek").
- 62 SHG has *gōš-ē piḍḍ* "lobe of the ear". *piḍ* "belly" also exists in Brahui from where it might have been borrowed into Balochi (if not vice-versa); Emeneau/Burrow say that the word might be of Dravidian origin, but this is not sure (ROSSI 1979:107).
- 63 *zird* is mainly used for poetic purposes, in normal language, *dil* is used.

kidney	<i>gut(t)ag</i> ⁶⁴				old
intestines	<i>rōt, rōtīnk</i>	DTB	SHG	EVM	old
	<i>rōδ</i>	GCD		○	NP
	<i>ǰūr</i>			BMC ○	Ind.? ⁶⁵
spleen	<i>ispulk</i>	DTB, GCD			MP
	<i>dilū'īg</i>		SHG	○	ʔ ⁶⁶
vulva, vagina	<i>kus</i>				NP ⁶⁷
penis	<i>kēr</i>	DTB, GCD	SHG	NAWATA 1981:34	= NP ⁶⁸
	<i>bar(r)</i>			BMC	NP?
testicles	<i>gund</i>	○			= NP ⁶⁹
foot, leg	<i>pād</i> ⁷⁰				old

64 GCD and NAWATA 1981:34 have *gutṭig*, EAL and SHG have *guttag*.

65 Maybe *ǰūr* (not found in any source but BMC) is derived from *ǰōr* "well, healthy, constructed" (which is from Ur. *ǰōr* "joining, joined, connection etc.", or its cognates, e.g. Si. *ǰōd* "addition").

66 There is one vocalisation mark missing in the entry in SHG, so it is not clear whether *dilū'īg* or *dilō'īg* is intended, but the former seems more likely. The word is obviously a derivative of *dil* "heart", although the formation is not entirely clear.

67 Since PIE *k̑p, *k̑s (PIIr. *ćš) gives Bal. *š* (cf. p. 92, KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208), *kus* must indeed have been borrowed from NP as stated by GEIGER 1891:444. For a discussion of the cognates of *kus*, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1979:134.

68 EAL also has *kīr* while all other sources which have the word note only *kēr*.

The vowel *ē* seen in Balochi as well as in NP does not match the possible cognates (Khot. *kūra-*, Bīābānakī *kūr* etc., cf. BAILEY 1979:62b) which point to *ū. BAILEY (1979:62b) therefore assumes a protoform *kuȓa-, as a parallel case to MPZ <tyl> "butter" (a cognate of Av. *tūrīia-*). As the reading of the latter as */tēr/ is only an assumed one (maybe argumenti causa by Bailey himself), it does not seem clear whether *kuȓa- would indeed give NP *kēr* and Sogd. *kyr* (noted in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976:66), and whether *kēr* may be a genuine Bal. word. Note also that *rȗia is likely to yield MP/NP *īr* (cf. *pīr* "old"), but Bal. *ir* (cf. p. 149).

69 According to ROSSI 2002:156ff., NP *gund* ultimately derives from an Ir. word *gund- "circular object etc." (cf. e.g. Av. *gūnda-* "dough" etc.). The Bal. word may have been borrowed from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:449). In ELFENBEIN 1983, it has the form *gund*, maybe influenced by *kund* etc. (see below, for *nd* > *nd*, cf. also p. 182).

70 EVM *padūn* is an error for *pādūn*. The text EVM refers to (ZARUBIN 1932:28) has *pādūnai* (gen.pl.) which looks as if the gen.sg. ending *-ai* was added to a pl. morpheme *-ūn* (cf. the NP pl. morpheme *-ān* which is pronounced *-ūn* in some dialects); the expected form of a gen.pl. would be *pādāni* (for shortening of word-final vowels in Turkmen Balochi, cf. p. 251).

thigh, leg	<i>ling</i>		SHG	BMC	= NP
	<i>rān</i>	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG		= NP ⁷¹
knee	<i>zān(uk)</i> ⁷²	GCD	SHG	EVM, NAWATA 1981:34	old
	<i>kōnḍ</i>	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG		old? ⁷³
	<i>gōḍ</i>			BMC	= Si. ⁷⁴
heel	<i>pūnz</i> ⁷⁵				?

71 *rān* could of course be a NP loanword as GEIGER 1891:458 assumes, but since Av. *rāna-* would produce the same result in Balochi, it might also be genuine.

72 According to GCD, *zān* is also used for "thigh"; in DTB, this is the only meaning.

73 EAL has *kunḍ*. According to ROSSI 2002:158ff., Bal. *kōnḍ* may derive from Ir. *kunda- "knee" (its ultimate origin does not seem clear). If so, the vowel of *kōnḍ* must have been influenced by *gōḍ*. The *ḍ* of the variant *kunḍ* (EAL) and in similar terms for body parts (*kūnḍuk* (BMC) "lower part of back", *kunḍōšk* (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51) "elbow") might be due to (if not even derived from) *kunḍ* "corner, edge" which is likely to have been borrowed from Si. *kunḍa* "corner" (ELFENBEIN 1990/II:81). *kōnḍ* (BMC, EVM, SHG) "cave, hole; lair" (of Ind. origin, cf. p. 216) may be somehow related as well (cf. p. 216).

74 MORGENSTIERNE 1932c:127 has *gunḍuk*. According to MORGENSTIERNE 1932c:16, *gōḍ* is likely to be of Ind. origin; it might indeed have been borrowed from Si. *gōḍō*. Rossi's opinion about the word does not seem to emerge clearly from ROSSI 2002:160, 163.

75 For variants, cf. p. 197, 214, 242.

2. Kinship terms

The terms for family members⁷⁶ are another field which plays a major role in historical studies of languages. Moreover, the choice of relations for which a given language has a specific word has often been taken to reveal important facts about the social structure of the community. Thus, in addition to the sources used throughout this chapter, data from three not mainly linguistically oriented works from different regions are taken into account as well, namely PEHRSON 1966:36ff. (abbreviated Pe here for the sake of saving space) who studied the Marrī Baloch (EBal. dialect), PASTNER 1978:269ff. (Pa here) who collected data in Panjgur (WBal. dialect)⁷⁷ and RZEHAK 1991:185f. (abbreviated Rz) studying the Baloch of Turkmenistan (WBal. dialect).

Although the relationship of kinship terminology to social organisation is a complex one (cf. PASTNER 1978:268 for references), the comparison of the terms and their usage in neighbouring dialects or languages might be linked to parallel differences in social organisation. It turns out that tribal structure and pastoral lifestyle (thus in many EBal.-speaking areas) as contrasted with the sedentary life in feudal social structure (Makran) is reflected by the vocabulary used (PASTNER 1978:268ff.).

It is noteworthy that words for relationships which play an important role in Baloch social organisation turn out to have been borrowed, e.g. the distinction between father's brother and mother's brother and the corresponding sisters. Some of these surprising findings might be explained by changes in family structures, e.g. it is possible that for some time, only father's relations played a role, so *trū* and *nākō* came to denote "aunt" and "uncle" in general; when the necessity arose to have words also for mother's relations, these were borrowed. The reasons for some other phenomena, e.g. the missing distinction in by far most dialects between grandparents from the mother's side and the father's side remain unclear.

76 For a discussion of Bal. household structures, cf. FERRARO 1990.

77 Note that Pe and Pa omit the majority of diacritics.

primary relationships	Bal.	EBal.	SBal.	WBal.	status
great-grandfather	<i>pardādā</i> ⁷⁸	Pe	FBB	○	Si./Ur.
grandmother	<i>nak(k)</i>	DTB, GCD	SHG	○	old
	<i>balluk</i> ⁷⁹		FBB, SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:35, Pa, Rz	Br.
mother's mother	<i>nānī</i> ⁸⁰	Pe		○	Si./Ur.
father's mother	<i>ḍādī</i>	GCD, Pe		○	Si.
grandfather	<i>pīruk</i> ⁸¹	DTB, GCD	SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:35, Pa, Rz	(NP)
mother's father	<i>nānā, nānō</i>	GCD, Pe		○	Si./Ur. ⁸²
father's father	<i>ḍāḍā</i> ⁸³	ABG, Pe	FBB	○	Si./Ur.
	<i>bābū</i>	Pe		Rz ○	(NP?) ⁸⁴

78 In FBB, *pardādā* means "great-great-grandfather" (cf. also below on *ḍādā*).

79 EAL also has the forms *ballū* and *ballī*, the latter is noted as a term of address for grandmothers in Rz. The three forms show different adaptations of Br. *balla*. According to Rz, *balluk* may also refer to grandmother's or grandfather's sister and grandmother's or grandfather's brother's wife. Rz also has *bun-balluk* "great-grandmother"; the first member of this word is *bun* "root, fundament, bottom" which may be the product of two words, on the one hand *bun* (Av. *būna-* "bottom, fundament"), on the other the NP loanword *bun* "root, trunk of tree", which has been explained as a cognate of OInd. *vān(a)-* "tree, wood", MP *wan* (the genuine Bal. cognate is *gwan* "pistacchio", cf. p. 99). It is not sure, however, whether there is indeed a trace of the second word present in Bal. *bun*.

80 Pe also has *nānō* which, however, should rather mean "grandfather" (see below).

81 Rz has *pīruk* also in the senses of grandmother's or grandfather's brother and grandmother's or grandfather's sister's husband. A derivative of *pīruk* is *bun-pīruk* "great-grandfather" (Rz). In addition, there is *pīrō* "grandfather's brother" (Rz) and *p^hit^h-p^hirū* "forefather" (DTB).

82 In GCD, *nānā, nānō* are used for both grandfathers. Ur. *nānā*, Si. *nānō* mean "maternal grandfather".

83 FBB has *ḍādā* "great-grandfather" and *pardādā* "great-great-grandfather" vs. the data from the other sources and the Si. and Ur. words (Si. *ḍādō*, Ur. *dādā* "paternal grandfather", Si. *pardādō*, Ur. *pardādā* "paternal great-grandfather"), so it seems that there is some error involved with FBB's terminology, probably based on the existence of *pīruk* in Karachi Balochi (which otherwise occurs in those dialects which do not distinguish the different sorts of grandparents) and/or on the use of *ḍādā* as a term of address for (very) old men (note that Pe has *ḍādā* in brackets as an alternative designation of "great-grandfather" and also as term for father's father's brother).

84 According to Pe, *bābū* is used for father's father and for father's brother. Rz has *bābū* as a term of address for "grandfather" and "grandfather's brother". *bābū* may be the product of a secondary differentiation (by means of suffix substitution) of *bābā* (see below).

mother	<i>māt</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG	BMC	old
	<i>mās</i> ⁸⁵	ABG	SHG	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:35, Pa, Rz	old
father	<i>pīt</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG		old
	<i>pis(s)</i>		SHG	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:35, Pa, Rz	old
	<i>bābā</i>	Pe	SHG	EVM, Rz	= NP ⁸⁶
	<i>abbā</i>	ABG, DTB, Pe	SHG		Ar. ⁸⁷
	<i>abbō</i>			BMC ○	

85 BMC remarks that *māt* is "makrani" (SBal.) which is not entirely correct. It is striking that the other terms in *-t*, i.e. *pīt*, *brāt* and *zāmāt*, are not noted by BMC. For the distribution of the forms in *-s*, cf. p. 250.

mās and the other three forms in *-s(s)* (for the etymology, cf. p. 89) are noted as secondary forms to those in *-t* in SHG.

EAL's assumption that *māsī* "aunt" (see below) might have something to do with *mās* "mother" is not to be preferred. Note, however, that *māsī* is also used as a term of address for mother in Rz (SHG has *māmē* for that purpose), which might show that there is some reinterpretation of Ind. *māsī* as derivative from *mās* done also by the Baloch themselves, maybe motivated by the fact that specification of aunts and uncles is not deemed necessary in WBal. dialects.

In addition to (or instead of) the genuine words for members of the core family (*māt*, *mās* etc.), the NP designations are used in Iranian Balochi and some other dialects (cf. p. 242, 257, MORGENSTIERNE 1948:284 notes the NP words for the Dehwārī dialect); isolated occurrences in other dialects are *duxtar* "daughter" in EVM and *birādar* "brother" in DTB.

86 *bābā* is used as a term of address for "father" according to Rz (SHG 751 has *bābē* in that function), it means "child" according to EVM and EAL, "son" in EVM and "elder man, grandfather" in EAL and SHG. Pe has *bābā* for father, father's brother, father's father's brother (for all those, alternative terms are noted as well) and the latter's son. The word might have been borrowed from NP where *bābā* means "father, grandfather" and is also used to address one's children (probably meant as "father[']s child], father[']s darling]").

87 *abbā* is also used as a respectful form of address for (elder) men according to EAL. According to DTB, it is used by children, however, and BMC glosses *abbō* as "daddy".

The precise route of wandering of this word is not entirely clear. ROSSI 1979:297 notes that Br. *abā* might have been borrowed from Balochi or from an Ind. language (cf. Si. *abō*). The word is likely to derive ultimately from Ar. *ab*.

aunt	<i>trū</i>		FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM, Pa, Rz	old
	<i>trī</i> ⁸⁸	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	○	
	<i>tātī</i>			Rz ○	ʔ ⁸⁹
mother's sister	<i>māsī</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG		Si./Ur. ⁹⁰
father's sister	<i>pupī</i>	Pe	FBB	○	Si./Ur.
uncle	<i>nākō</i> ⁹¹	ABG, DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM, Rz ○	old
mother's brother	<i>māmā</i> ⁹²	DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB		Si./Ur.
father's brother	<i>kākā</i> ⁹³		FBB, SHG	EVM	Ur.
	<i>čāčā</i>	Pe		○	Si.
sister	<i>gwahār</i>		SHG		old
	<i>gu(h)ār</i>	ABG		BMC	
	<i>gwār</i>	Pe	FBB	EVM, NAWATA 1981:37, Pa, Rz	
	<i>gōhār</i>	DTB, GCD			
	<i>dādā</i>		FBB, SHG	EVM, Rz ○	Si. ⁹⁴

88 In DTB, GCD and EVM, the word denotes father's sister. This must indeed be the original meaning when judging by the etymology (cf. p. 124f.). In the other sources, however, *trū*, *trī* is used for father's as well as mother's sister, in Pa and SHG also for spouse's mother (thus also MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51), in Pa and Rz for uncle's wife.

89 *tātī* is also an address term for aunts, mothers-in-law and stepmothers (Rz). In the Dehwārī dialect, *tātā* (MORGENSTIERNE 1948:284), *tātē* (GRIERSON 1921:453) are used for different kinds of aunts. *tāta* also exists in Brahui; etymology and direction of borrowing are not clear (ROSSI 1979:114).

90 Sindhi and Urdu have *māsī* "maternal aunt". Cf. also *mās* above.

91 Similarly to *trū*, *trī* (see above), *nākō* means "father's brother" in DTB and GCD and both uncles in the other sources, according to ABG, FBB, BMC and Pa also "father-in-law", according to Pa and Rz, also "aunt's husband" and term of address for stepfather and father-in-law. GCD *nākho* instead of *nākho* (GCD's representation of what would be *nāxō* here) is probably an error, cf. his regular EBal. *nākhozākht* "cousin" (see below). For SHG *nākū(g)*, cf. p. 201.

92 *māmā* is also used for addressing (elder) men (EAL), Pe also has it for mother's brother's son.

93 In EVM, both *nākō* and *kākā* are noted for "uncle" without any differentiation. In SHG, *kākā* means "any sort of uncle; eldest brother". Rz has *kākā* as a term of address for father-in-law.

94 According to SHG, *dādā* is the term of address for an elder sister (on p. 751, SHG notes *dādē* as child's name for sister), according to Rz, for sisters in general. Sindhi has *dādī* "elder sister" and *dādō* "elder brother", Urdu has *dādā* "paternal grandfather, elder brother" from which Bal. *ḍāḍā*

brother	<i>brāt</i> ⁹⁵	ABG, DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG		old
	<i>brās</i>		SHG	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:7, Pa, Rz	old
	<i>lālā</i>			EVM, Rz	Ur./NP ⁹⁶
	<i>lālō</i>	DTB			
daughter ⁹⁷	<i>janik(k)</i>	DTB, GCD, Pe	SHG		(old)
	<i>jinik(k)</i>	ABG	FBB	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:35, Pa, Rz	
	<i>dut(t)uk</i>		SHG		old
	<i>dut(t)ag</i> ⁹⁸		SHG	BMC, EVM	
son	<i>bač(č)</i>	DTB, GCD, Pe	SHG	BMC	NP
	<i>bačak(k)</i> ⁹⁹			BMC, EVM, Pa, Rz	
	<i>bačik(k)</i>		FBB, SHG	○	
	<i>pus(s)ag</i>	ABG, DTB	SHG		old
child	<i>čuk(k)</i>	DTB, GCD	FBB, SHG		Ind.?
	<i>zahg</i>		SHG	BMC	old?
	<i>zāg</i> ¹⁰⁰			BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:35, Rz	
	<i>aulād</i> ¹⁰¹				NP-Ar.

"grandfather" (see above) has been borrowed.

95 For variants, cf. p. 194, 205.

96 The word means "master, teacher of the master's children, slave" in NP and Urdu, which fits well with the data from Rz, who has *lālā* as a term of address for brothers (SHG has *lālē* in that function).

97 The words for "daughter" and "son" are also used for "girl" and "boy", respectively.

98 For the semantics, cf. p. 241.

99 EAL *baččak* is probably the result of a contamination of *bač(č)* and *bačak(k)*. Rz's variant *bačag* shows the suffix *-ag* (cf. II 2.4.4.1) instead of the diminutive suffix.

100 For WBal. *ah* > *ā*, cf. p. 252ff.

101 *aulād*, although an Ar. plural form, means "child, offspring" (cf. also p. 266).

child	^o <i>zātk</i> ¹⁰²			BMC	old
	^o <i>zatk</i>		FBB, SHG	○	
	^o <i>zāxt</i>	DTB, GCD, Pe			
	^o <i>zāk</i> ¹⁰³			EVM, Pa ○	
grandchild	<i>nawāsag</i> ¹⁰⁴	DTB, GCD, Pe	SHG		NP
	<i>n(u)wāsag</i>			EVM, Rz ○	
	<i>nīmāsag</i>		FBB, SHG	Pa	Psht.? ¹⁰⁵
	<i>čuk^h-zāxt</i> ¹⁰⁶	DTB, GCD			see above
great-grandchild	<i>kuṛāsag</i> ¹⁰⁷	GCD, Pe	SHG		Psht.
	<i>kōrāsag</i>		FBB	○	
	<i>kawāsag</i>	GCD, Pe			Psht.
	<i>bar-nwās</i> ¹⁰⁸			Rz ○	
great-great-grandchild	<i>naptag</i>		FBB	○	old ¹⁰⁹

102 These four variants are used, as will be shown below, to form compounds of the sort "aunt's child", i.e. "cousin".

103 For *zāk*, cf. p. 185. Rz uses ^o*zāg* for the purposes for which the other sources have ^o*zātk* etc.

104 In Pe, *nawāsag* also means "brother's grandchild". GCD has *nawāsag* "grandson" and *nawāsagīn* "granddaughter".

105 For a discussion of *nīmāsag*, cf. p. 234.

106 Additional variants are *čug-zāxt* (DTB) and *čug-zāxt* (GCD) showing an assimilation. The word literally means "child's child". For *čuk(k)* "child" and ^o*zāxt* (EBal. form of WBal. *zātk*), see above.

107 Note that in those sources which have *kuṛāsag* as well as *kawāsag* (probably borrowed from different Pashto dialects, cf. p. 234), the former has come to mean "great-great-grandchild". Brahui has *kūrāsa* "great-grandchild" (ROSSI 1979:28).

108 This word is obviously composed of a suffixless variant of *n(u)wāsag* "grandchild" (see above) and NP *bar* "on" (cf. p. 194), parallel to Rz's *bun-balluk*, *bun-pīruk* "great-grandmother, -father" (see above) and *parnākō-zāxt* (see below).

109 It is noteworthy that the genuine Bal. cognate of OInd. obl. *nāptar-* is preserved.

derived relationships	Bal.	EBal.	SBal.	WBal.	status
mother's brother's wife	<i>māmī</i>	Pe	FBB	○	Si./Ur.
father's brother's wife	<i>kākī</i>		FBB	○	Ur.
	<i>čāčī</i>	Pe		○	Si.
cousin: aunt's child	<i>trū-zātk</i> ¹¹⁰	DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB	BMC, Pa, Rz	see above
cousin: uncle's child	<i>nākō-zātk</i> ¹¹¹	ABG, DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG	BMC, Pa, Rz	
cousin: father's brother's child	<i>māmā-bač</i>	Pe			
uncle's grandchild	<i>parnākō-zāxt</i> ¹¹²	Pe		Pa ○	
sister's child	<i>gwahār-zātk</i>	DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG	BMC, Pa, Rz ○	
brother's child	<i>brā-zātk</i> ¹¹³	DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG	EVM, Pa, Rz	

110 In this compound and the following ones, form and meaning of both members correspond to those of the simple words in the respective sources (see above).

111 Note that *nākōzāxt* also occurs in Pe (as father's brother's child and father's brother's grandchild) where Ind. terms for uncles have been substituted for *nākō*.

112 Pa has the term for father's and mother's brother's grandchild, Pe only for father's brother's grandchild (the other uncle's grandchild not being mentioned). For Bal. *par*, cf. p. 139.

113 Note that the final consonant of *brāt / brās* "brother" has been assimilated totally to the following consonant in all dialect forms of this word. In Pe, the word also denotes brother's grandchild.

spouse and his/her relations					
wife ¹¹⁴	<i>jan</i> ¹¹⁵		FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:35	old
	<i>janēn</i>		FBB, SHG	Pa	
	<i>jinēn</i> ¹¹⁶			Rz	
	<i>zāl</i> ¹¹⁷	ABG, GCD, Pe	SHG		NP
	<i>lōgī</i>		FBB, SHG	BMC	(Ind.) ¹¹⁸
husband ¹¹⁹	<i>mard</i>	ABG, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:35, Pa, Rz	NP
	<i>lōgē wāja</i>		FBB		(Ind.) ¹²⁰
	<i>lōg-wāja</i>	DTB	SHG		

114 Terms of address for one's spouse include expressions like *čukānī māt / pit* (FBB) "mother/father of the children" or X-gen. *mās / pis* "mother / father of X", X being the name of the eldest son (Rz); the latter sort of expression is also used as a general form of address for women (BADALKHAN 2003:293). If there is no son, the name of the eldest daughter may be used (Carina Jahani, personal communication). This practice reflects name taboos which are widespread in the area (for further discussion and references, cf. BADALKHAN 2003:292ff.). When the couple gets older, the taboo is less strong, and first names or (thus Rz) the expressions *pīrazāl / pīramard* may be used (from *pīr* "old", cf. p. 149, + *zāl / mard*).

115 *jan* is also the common word for "woman".

116 The two latter words which show an enlargement by the adj. suffix *-ēn* might be explained as standing for "relating to women; womenfolk", with the collective expression also used for the individual as in German *Frauenzimmer*. For the palatalisation seen in *jinēn*, cf. p. 194.

117 *zāl* also means "(old) woman". For *zālbūl*, cf. p. 202.

118 BMC notes that *lōgī* is from "makrani" (i.e. SBal.), which is confirmed by the other attestations. *lōgī* is derived from *lōg* "house" (cf. p. 159). Another expression formed from *lōg* is *lōg-bānuk* "housewife" (for *bānuk* "lady", cf. p. 164).

119 *girōk* noted by EVM as meaning "husband" occurs only once, and is more probably meant literally as "the one who takes, i.e. marries [a certain woman]" (*gir-* + agentive suffix *-ōk*).

120 *lōg-wāja* is not noted as a separate lemma in SHG, but is used e.g. in the explanation of *zāmāt* (for which see below) in the meaning "husband". This expression means literally "master of the house" and is composed of *lōg* "house" (see above) and *wāja* "master, Sir" which has been borrowed from NP (GEIGER 1891:462, thus also EAL who erroneously has *wājah*. According to Friedrich C. Andreas (apud LENTZ 1926:293), NP *x^wāja* is a sort of allegro form of **x_ua-ta_ua-* (which otherwise gives NP *xudā*). If this interpretation is correct, NP *x^w-* was replaced by Bal. *w-* in the borrowing process (the other example for this phenomenon is *wāb* "sleep", which is different in that there are inherited Bal. words from the same root, cf. p. 122f.).

mother-in-law	<i>was(s)ū(g)</i>	ABG	FBB, SHG	BMC, NAWATA 1981:5, Pa, Rz	old
	<i>was(s)ī(g)</i>	DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG		
father-in-law ¹²¹	<i>wasirk</i> ¹²²	ABG, Pe	SHG	BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:5, Rz	old
	<i>was(a)rik</i> ¹²³	DTB, GCD			
spouse's brother	<i>wasir-zā(t)k</i>	Pe		EVM, Rz	see above
	<i>wasar-zāxt</i> ¹²⁴	DTB, GCD			
spouse's sister	<i>duksīč,</i> <i>duskīč</i> ¹²⁵	Pe	FBB, SHG	BMC, EVM, Pa, Rz	old
brother's / son's wife	<i>nišār</i> ¹²⁶	GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG	NAWATA 1981:5, Pa, Rz	old
sister's / daughter's husband	<i>zāmāt</i>	ABG, DTB, GCD, Pe	FBB, SHG		old
	<i>zāmās</i> ¹²⁷			BMC, EVM, NAWATA 1981:5, Pa, Rz	old

121 Note that in a number of dialects, *nākō* "uncle" is also used in this meaning (see above).

122 In SHG and EAL, *wasirk* also means spouse's brother (husband's brother in Pe); this is the only meaning in Pa where *nākō* is used for father-in-law. MORGENSTIERNE'S (1932:52) rendering as "mother-in-law" seems to be an error.

123 For EAL's *wasarix*, cf. p. 208. Cf. also p. 228.

124 *wasar-zāxt* means "sister/brother-in-law" in GCD, *wasir-zāxt* is "wife's brother" in Pe.

125 *duskīč* commonly means "wife's / husband's sister" (in BMC also "brother's wife"). FBB notes it in the meaning "wives of brothers". For more discussion, cf. p. 90, 178, 180.

126 *nišār* is noted for son's wife in NAWATA 1981 and for brother's wife in FBB and Pa (neither notes an expression for daughter-in-law). In addition, it also means "bride" in SHG, "nephew's wife" in GCD and aunt's child's spouse, wife's brother's wife, brother's son's wife in Rz, grandson's wife, brother's son's wife, brother's grandson's wife, uncle's son's wife and wife's brother's wife in Pe.

127 *zāmāt* / *zāmās* means "son-in-law" in most sources, only "brother-in-law" in FBB and Pa (but there is no expression for son-in-law in these sources) and both in Pe, SHG and Rz; the word may denote every man marrying into the family, thus also (Rz) aunt's child's spouse, husband's sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband or (Pe) cousin's husband, niece's husband and granddaughter's husband or at least (Pa) mother's sister's husband (most other combinations not being inquired by Pa).

husband's brother's wife	<i>(h)amjirāt</i>	Pe	SHG	Rz ○	ʔ ¹²⁸
wife's sister's husband	<i>ham-zāmāt</i> ¹²⁹	Pe	FBB, SHG		
	<i>amzulp</i>			Rz ○	ʔ ¹³⁰
co-wife	<i>hapōg</i>		FBB, SHG		ʔ ¹³¹
	<i>hapōk</i>			EAL	
other sorts of relationships: ¹³²					
stepmother	<i>mātō</i>		FBB	EVM	(old)
	<i>mātū</i>		SHG	○	
	<i>māsū</i>		SHG	EVM	
	<i>mātūn</i>	DTB		○	Br.ʔ ¹³³
stepfather	<i>pitō</i>		FBB	○	(old)
	<i>pitū</i>		SHG		
	<i>pis(s)ō</i>		SHG	○	
	<i>pis(s)ū</i>			EAL	
	<i>pitārk</i> ¹³⁴			Rz	
stepsister	<i>gwārō</i>		FBB	○	(old)
stepbrother	<i>brātō</i>		FBB	○	(old)

128 The etymology is not clear yet. One might assume *ham*^o "together" or some connection with *hanj* (according to EAL "girl given in marriage by the guilty tribe as compensation for a person killed"), whereas SHG has *hanj* (from DAMES 1907) "graceful, pretty", but in both cases, the rest is not clear.

129 *ham-zāmāt* is composed of *zāmāt* (see above) and *ham* "together, also" (cf. p. 94).

130 It seems questionable whether this is a compound of *ham* + NP-Ar. *zulf* "lock of hair". Note that Rz discusses the Balochi dialect from Turkmenistan in which *h* is lost in all positions.

131 For EBal. *(h)awōx*, cf. p. 276.

The derivation of *hapōg* (and a number of Ir. cognates) is not entirely clear; it can hardly go back to OIr. (Av.) *hapadnī-* (pace ELFENBEIN 1990/II:66) as Psht. *bən*, NP *āmūsni* and cognates do, but the two words may have influenced each other (MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47).

132 For the *-ō* in the words below, cf. p. 201.

133 *mātūn* cannot be genuine in EBal., maybe it has been borrowed from Br. *mātuna* (note that ROSSI 1979:105 has Br. *mātuna* among the words where the direction of borrowing is not clear).

134 *pitārk* is one of the items for which MORGENSTIERNE (in this case 1932:37) assumed a borrowing of a Br. words from a "lost" Bal. word.

stepdaughter	<i>nafusx</i>	DTB			old? ¹³⁵
stepson	<i>pēzāda(g)</i>			Rz	¹³⁶
	<i>p^hizādag</i>	DTB		○	
stepchild	<i>čuk(k)ō</i>		FBB, SHG	○	(Ind.?)

135 *napusk* in EAL is the SWBal. form which would correspond to EBal. *nafusx*, but it does not seem to be attested anywhere, neither is EAL *nafusk*. The only attested form seems to be *nafusx* which is cited in MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 from DTB and his Sibi informant; the *-x* implies an earlier form **nafusVk*.

MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 notes *nafusx* as "possibly genuine" and compares it with Wakhi *napūs* "niece, nephew" (cf. STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:249), implying that the word goes back to some form of OIr. (Av.) *napāt-/nafəðr-* "grandchild". As *a* is not usually changed to *u* in genuine Bal. words even when next to a *p* (for labialisation in loanwords, cf. p. 286), one may assume that some reinterpretation of the word as belonging to *pūs(s)ag* "son" has taken place. The OIr. preform would have to be **napaðr-* (cf. also p. 89).

136 The word seems to represent a compound from *pit*, *pis(s)* and MP *zādag*, NP *zāda*, thus "father's son" (DTB has "stepson, husband's son") with total assimilation of the consonant group, with *ē* in the WBal. variant representing the product of a compensatory lengthening of *i* (cf. the change *ih* > *ē* discussed in II 3.1.3.2). Note that the variant found in DTB must have been borrowed from a SWBal. dialect, otherwise one would expect **°zādag*.

3. Colours

The terms for colours belong to that part of the vocabulary which highly depends on the material culture of the society in question. New terms of colours are liable to be introduced together with the corresponding technologies, e.g. the dying of cloth and the trade of the substances used for that purpose.

It is not surprising to find a considerable number of loanwords among the terms for colours. However, the high number of borrowed terms is striking nevertheless: *šān*, a word for "black" which is only used for specific purposes and found in a small number of sources, is indeed the only word which is surely inherited. *suhr* "red" and *bōr* "brown" might be genuine as well, but the whole rest are most probably loanwords, chiefly from NP, but Ind. loanwords also play a prominent role. Material from other languages does not seem to be used in this field.

item	Bal.	EBal.	SBal.	WBal.	status
black	<i>syāh</i>				NP
	<i>šān</i>	MAYER 1910			old
white	<i>(i)spēt</i>				NP
red	<i>suhr</i> ¹³⁷				= MP
	<i>rōdgīn</i>			BMC	old
	<i>šāmīr</i>			BMC ○	ʔ ¹³⁸
yellow	<i>zard</i>				NP ¹³⁹
green-blue ¹⁴⁰	<i>sabz</i> ¹⁴¹				NP
	<i>šīnz, šūnz</i>		FBB, SHG		

137 The variant *sōr* found in EVM, FBB shows the rule discussed on p. 211f. In addition to *sōr*, BMC and EAL have the hypercorrect form *sōhr*.

138 The word seems to be related to MPZ *karmīr*, Sogd. *krm'yr* (Nicholas Sims-Williams, personal communication), but the reason for the *š-* is not clear. For further discussion of MPZ *karmīr*, NP *qirmiz* (ultimately an Ind. loanword) etc., cf. MACIUSZAK 1996:29f.

139 Cf. GEIGER 1891:463.

140 Both words noted here vary in semantics between "green", "blue" and sometimes also "grey".

141 Note that the EBal. form *sawz* is also seen in other dialects: BMC *sauz* (cf. p. 277).

blue	<i>nīl</i>	ABG, GCD	SHG	BMC	NP
	<i>nīlag</i> ¹⁴²	DTB, GCD		○	
	<i>gullī</i>		FBB	○	Ind.? ¹⁴³
brown	<i>nāsī</i>		FBB, SHG	○	(Ur.) ¹⁴⁴
	<i>bōr</i>	DTB	SHG	BMC	= NP ¹⁴⁵
grey	<i>pūrī</i>		FBB	○	? ¹⁴⁶
	<i>kambar</i>	DTB	SHG	BMC	Ind.? ¹⁴⁷
	<i>surkind</i>			BMC ○	Ind.? ¹⁴⁸
	<i>kīrg</i>		SHG	BMC	? ¹⁴⁹
orange	<i>nārinĵī</i>		FBB	○	NP ¹⁵⁰

142 Further derivations also occur: *nīlbō* "blueish", *nīlī* "blue-grey" (both BMC and EAL).

143 Maybe this word comes from Ur. *gullī* (name of a certain bird).

144 *nāsī* is derived from *nās* "snuff (tobacco)", a borrowing from Ur. *nās* "snuff".

145 *bōr* is especially said of horses and might have been borrowed from NP *bōr* "red, sort of horse" (GEIGER 1891:444) or genuine (Osset. *būr* / *bor* goes back to **baur-*, too, cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1887:89). For a discussion about a connection of the Ir. words for "brown" with OInd. *bab^hru-* "brown", to OP *Baurakka-* or to PIr. **barua-*, cf. MAYRHOFER 1960:146⁷⁴, 1973:144, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992:47. It is also possible that the word has been borrowed from Si. *bōrū* as DTB assumes. GCD has *b^hūrā* "brown" which is a loanword from Urdu.

146 Maybe there is some connection with *pur(r)* (DTB *p^hur*) "ashes", the etymology of which is likewise unclear.

147 *kambar* means "brown-grey, spotted, striped" and is mostly used for animals.

ELFENBEIN 1990/II:80 assumes borrowing from some Ind. language, citing TURNER 1966:139 who has OInd. *kambara-* "spotted", Si. *kamirō*.

148 *surkind* means "red-grey" in BMC. *surkind* might represent *sarkind* (DTB), the name of a tree (most probably from Ur. *sarkandā* "reed, saccharum sara"), with the vowel adapted to *suhr* "red".

149 According to BMC, *kīrg* means "white-grey". Note that the definition given in SHG is *rang-ē* ("a colour") without further specification which might indicate that the word is not part of the active vocabulary of the author(s) of SHG. BMC might therefore be the only source where the word is used (EAL is not necessarily an independent source, cf. p. 24). Maybe there is some connection with Ur. *kairā* "light blue, grey" or *k^hairā* "brown, blueish grey", although this hypothesis is very vague.

150 *nārinĵī* "orange" has been borrowed from NP *nārinĵī* "dto." and is derived from *nārinĵ* "orange (fruit)" (GEIGER 1891:456); for the wanderings of the word for "orange", cf. LOKOTSCH 1927:125.

purple	<i>wāngarī</i> ¹⁵¹		FBB	○	
pink	<i>gulāb(ī)</i>		FBB	BMC	NP ¹⁵²
golden	<i>sunērī</i>		FBB		Ur. ¹⁵³
	<i>zarrī</i>		FBB, SHG		(NP) ¹⁵⁴
silver	<i>čandan</i>				Ur. ¹⁵⁵

151 This word is derived from *wāngar* "eggplant"; its origin is not clear.

152 BMC *gulāb*, FBB *gulābī* "pink" is from NP *gulāb* "rose-water", *gulābī* "rose-colour".

153 Cf. Ur. *sunahrī*.

154 *zarrī* can mean "golden" or "silver". *zarrī* is a derivative of *zarr* "gold, money" which has been borrowed from NP into Balochi (cf. p. 133).

155 *čandan* also means "shining" and is originally a designation for perfumes, especially sandal wood (from Ur. *čandan* "sandal tree").

4. Verbs

The lexicon of Balochi verbs can be shown to be composed of essentially the same layers which are found for nouns and adjectives, i.e. a certain portion of genuine words and a considerable amount of borrowed material. The verbs which are presented in the following tables are in the majority those discussed in the preceding chapters, which means that the genuine words are overrepresented to a certain extent since they have been used to establish the Balochi sound laws. As in the other parts of the lexicon discussed above, the number of loanwords found in what one might consider the basic vocabulary is surprising.¹⁵⁶

4.1 Balochi verbs which can be traced back to OIr.

The first category comprises those verbs which might be considered genuine since at least one of their stems shows features typical for Balochi, but not for Persian.

	present stem	past stem
past stem and present stem going back to older formations:		
come	<i>āy-</i>	<i>ātk</i> etc. ¹⁵⁷
stand	<i>ōšt-</i>	<i>ōštāi</i> ¹⁵⁸
shoot	EBal. <i>bušk-</i>	<i>buxt^h-</i>
become	<i>bay-</i>	<i>būt</i> ¹⁵⁹

156 Verbs composed of a nominal part and a verb ("X *kan-*" etc.) are not discussed here. Secondary past stems in *-it* will mostly not be noted if there are other formations as well. For further information about the verbs listed in the following pages, cf. the references in V 2.

On genuine and borrowed verbs in the Bal. lexicon, cf. also KORN 2001.

157 Note that *āy-* is identical with the NP present stem *āy-* "come".

The past stems, however, are formed differently (NP *āmad*). The result of OIr. *xt* (and also of secondary **kt*) are discussed in II 2.2.1.1 and the subchapters of II 3.2. For the purposes of this chapter, the variant in SBal. *-kt* is chosen and "etc." added to indicate that there are other variants as well.

158 For the variants *ušt-*, *ust-* (past stems *uštāi*, *ustāi*), cf. p. 124.

159 The derivation of *bay-* is not entirely clear (cf. p. 78).

būt is nearly identical with NP *būd* (for devoicing of final consonants in loanwords, cf. II 3.3.1.4). For variants of *būt*, cf. p. 197, 246.

cook	<i>pač-</i>	<i>patk, pakkit</i>
squeeze ¹⁶⁰	<i>prinč-</i>	<i>prītk</i>
break itr. tr.	<i>pruš-</i> <i>prōš-</i>	<i>prušt</i> <i>prōšt</i> ¹⁶¹
heat	<i>tāp-</i>	<i>tāpt</i>
run	<i>tač-</i>	<i>tatk</i>
hit	<i>jan-</i>	<i>jat</i>
gather	<i>čin-</i>	<i>čit</i>
brand	⁺ <i>dīž-</i>	<i>daxt</i>
sew	<i>dōč-</i>	WBal. <i>duht</i> ¹⁶²
grow	<i>rud-</i>	<i>rust</i> ¹⁶³
sweep	<i>rōp-</i>	<i>rupt</i> ¹⁶⁴
pour	<i>rēč-</i>	EBal. <i>rixt</i> ¹⁶⁵
spin	<i>rēs-</i>	<i>rist, rēs(i)t</i>
seize	<i>zin-</i>	<i>zīt</i> ¹⁶⁶
shave	<i>sāy-, sāh-</i>	<i>sāt</i>
burn itr. tr.	<i>suč-</i> <i>sōč-</i>	<i>sutk</i> etc. <i>sōtk</i> etc. ¹⁶⁷

160 The etymology of the verb is not entirely clear (cf. p. 138, 184), but it appears to go back to an older formation, and there are no signs for it being a loanword.

161 These two verbs may go back to an older ablauting paradigm **prōš-* / *prušta* (cf. the parallel case of *šōd-* / *šust* below) which resulted in two verbs by adding one new present stem *pruš-* (vowel taken from the past stem) and one new past stem *prōš-* (analogical vowel from the present stem).

162 The evidence for WBal. *duht* is somewhat questionable, cf. p. 248, 257. The other dialects have *dōtk* etc. with the vowel of from the present stem.

163 The past stem is identical with the NP one, but the present stems are formed differently (NP *rōy-*, showing Pers. *-d- > y).

164 The past stem again corresponds to the NP cognate *ruft*.

165 The other dialects have *rētk* etc. into which the vowel of the present stem has analogically been introduced. For a variant of the present stem, cf. p. 199.

166 For additional past stems, cf. p. 96.

167 *suč-* and *sōč-* show a parallel redistribution of ablaut as *pruš-*, *prōš-* above, cf. also p. 87.

break	<i>sind-</i>	<i>sist</i>
swell	<i>sīy-</i>	<i>sīt</i> ¹⁶⁸
wash	<i>šōd-</i>	<i>šust</i> ¹⁶⁹
sell	<i>šawašk-</i>	EBal. <i>šawaxt</i> - ¹⁷⁰
fall	<i>kap</i> - ¹⁷¹	<i>kapt</i>
do	<i>kan-</i>	<i>ku(r)t</i> ¹⁷²
collect	<i>‡gičin-</i>	<i>gičit</i> ¹⁷³
see	<i>gind-</i>	<i>dīt, dīst</i> ¹⁷⁴
swing	<i>gēj-</i>	EBal. <i>gixt</i> - ¹⁷⁵
die	<i>mir-</i>	<i>murt</i>
suck	<i>mēč-, mič-</i>	<i>mēt, mitk</i> ¹⁷⁶
urinate	<i>mēz-</i>	EBal. <i>mišt</i> - ¹⁷⁷
sit down	<i>nind-</i>	<i>ništ</i> ¹⁷⁸
read	<i>wān-</i>	<i>wānt</i> ¹⁷⁹

168 It is not clear to what sort of stem the Bal. verb goes back; at any rate, it cannot be a parallel formation to OInd. *śváya-* or Av. *sauua-* (cf. p. 91).

169 For the past stem *šust*, cf. p. 180.

EAL has an additional verb *šud-* / *šudit* "get, be washed"; otherwise there is only EBal. *šud-* / *šust*^h- (GEB from DAMES 1881, it does not figure in DTB) from where Elfenbein may have learnt it, its existence thus somewhat appears doubtful, although certainly possible.

170 A secondary past stem *šawašt* also exists.

171 For an additional variant, cf. p. 460.

172 For the present stem, cf. p. 133, 143, for the past stem, cf. p. 146.

173 For the rather problematic attestation, cf. p. 85.

174 *dīt* and variants may have been influenced, if not borrowed from, NP *dīd* (cf. p. 188).

175 The other dialects have *gētk* etc. with the vowel from the present stem; for details, cf. p. 98.

176 The forms might reflect an older paradigm *mēč-* / *mitk*, with the other formations being added analogically.

177 The secondary past stems *mēst* and *mēzit* also occur; for the EBal. present stem *miž-*, cf. p. 88.

178 For the present stem, cf. p. 127; for the past stem, cf. p. 96. Iranian Balochi has *nist*.

179 The past stem is based on the present stem which is an innovation vs. MPM *xwān-* / *xwand* (thus BOYCE 1977:99). As the same process has happened in the prehistory of NP (*x^wān-* / *x^wānd*), the innovation process need not be an exclusively Balochi one. Parthian has *xun-* / *xunād*, cf. p. 122).

go to sleep	<i>waps-</i> , <i>wasp-</i>	<i>wapt</i>
eat	<i>war-</i>	<i>wārt</i> , <i>wart</i> ¹⁸⁰
present stem old, past stem with analogical features: ¹⁸¹		
spin	<i>brēs-</i>	<i>brēst</i>
open	<i>bōj-</i>	<i>bōtk</i> etc.
suffocate	<i>tus-</i>	<i>tust</i>
extinguish	<i>tōs-</i>	<i>tōst</i> ¹⁸²
chew	<i>ǰā(y/h)-</i>	EBal. <i>ǰāθ</i> - ¹⁸³
milk	<i>dōš-</i>	<i>dušt</i> ¹⁸⁴
know	<i>zān-</i>	<i>zānt</i> ¹⁸⁵
take	<i>gir-</i>	<i>gipr</i> ¹⁸⁶
sift	<i>gēc-</i>	<i>gēt</i> ¹⁸⁷
rub	<i>muš-</i>	<i>mušt</i> ¹⁸⁸
listen	<i>nigōš-</i>	<i>nigōšt</i> ¹⁸⁹
past stem old, present stem with possible analogical features:		
take	<i>zūr-</i>	<i>zurt</i> ¹⁹⁰

180 The *ā* in the past stem is due to a specific lengthening process (cf. p. 189), *wart* (only in EVM) might be a secondarily regularised form.

181 In several of these cases, the vowel of the present stem has been generalised to the past stem.

182 The past stems must be secondary since the *-s-* goes back to **sk* (EAWia I:652, cf. p. 87). As the suffix **-ské-* is usually added to zero-grade roots, *tōs-* is likely to have been built to the model of verbs with zero-grade itr. and full-grade tr. form (e.g. *suč-*, *sōč-*).

183 The other dialects have secondary *ǰāyit*, *ǰāhit*.

184 There is some suffix involved in the formation of the present stem to give Bal. *-š-* (cf. p. 129), which has been introduced also into the past stem.

185 The past stem seems to be an exclusively Bal. formation (Parthian has *zānād*, MP/NP has *dānist*).

186 For variants of the past stem, cf. p. 144.

187 The past stem (with the vowel from the present stem) is only attested in its SBal. form.

188 Since the past stem is identical with the NP one, it could have been borrowed from there. In that case, the present stem could be secondary, but might also be genuine (cf. p. 92).

189 The vowel of the present stem has obviously been introduced into the past stem vs. the Av. past stem *gušta-* (Parthian has the secondary formation *niγōšād*, MP/NP correspondingly *niγōšīd*).

190 *zūr-* (and *zīr-*, cf. p. 197) shows the application of an analogical rule that present stems should be "stronger" than past stems. For *zurt*, cf. p. 146. Secondary past stems include *zūrt*, *zīrt*.

forget	<i>šamōš-</i> , <i>šamuš-</i>	<i>šamōšt</i> , <i>šamušt</i> ¹⁹¹
dry (itr.)	<i>huš-</i>	<i>hušt</i>
past stem secondary formation or not known:		
fear	<i>turs-</i>	<i>tursit</i> ¹⁹²
move	<i>ǰuz(z)-</i>	<i>ǰuz(z)it</i>
colour	<i>raǰ-</i>	<i>raǰit</i>
defecate	<i>rīy-</i> ¹⁹³	
send	<i>šast-</i>	<i>šastit</i> , EBal. <i>šastāθ-</i> ¹⁹⁴
bite	<i>gas-</i>	<i>gast</i> , EBal. <i>gasiθ-</i>
rain	<i>gwār-</i>	<i>gwārt</i> , <i>gwart</i>
weave	<i>gwap-</i> EBal. <i>guf-</i>	<i>gwapt</i> , ¹⁹⁵ EBal. <i>guft</i>
pass by	<i>gwaz-</i> <i>guz-</i>	<i>gwast</i>
say	<i>gwaš-</i> <i>guš-</i>	<i>gušt</i> ¹⁹⁶

191 The forms with *ō* are secondary (cf. p. 117), probably analogically to verbs of the type *šōd-* / *šust*, thus *šamuš-* / *šamušt* > *šamōš-* / *šamušt* > *šamōš-* / *šamōšt*.

192 It is possible that *turs-* is a denominative of the noun *turs* "fear". However, it might also be regularly derived from **tr̥s-s̥ke-* and thus represent a parallel formation to that of Prth. *tirs-* / *tirsād*, Av. *tərəsa-* (cf. p. 146). The past stem is secondary in any case.

193 The word is only found in LEECH 1838, DAMES 1881 and SHG (a past stem is not noted), which does not speak against its existence, however, since words from this semantic sphere tend to be omitted in glossaries and dictionaries. The NP cognate is *rīn-* / *rīd*.

194 Variants with assimilation also occur (*šašt-* / *šaštit*, EBal. *šaštāθ-*, cf. p. 180). The past stem morpheme *-āt* is only found in a small number of Bal. verbs; here, it reflects **fra-stā-ta-* (cf. p. 116f.).

195 The verbs with *gwa-*, *gu-* in the present stem have imported their word-initial consonant(s) into the past stems since a paradigm present stem **u̇a-* > *gwa-* > *gu-* / past stem **u-* > **u-* would be too abnormal to be preserved. Cf. also p. 99, 218f.

196 If the derivation of *gwaš-* / *guš-* as discussed in 2.2.2.3 is correct, the past stem must be built from the present stem which involves a suffix.

4.2 Bal. verbs which were formed within Bal. from genuine words

There is a small group of verbs which seem to be an exclusively Balochi formation from words which are probably inherited.

	present stem	past stem	derived from
hear	<i>uškun-</i> etc.	<i>uškut</i> etc.	*uš- "ear" + ? ¹⁹⁷
hunger	EBal. <i>šud-</i>	<i>šust^h-</i>	<i>šud</i> "hunger" ¹⁹⁸
plough	<i>šōm-</i>		<i>šōm</i> "ploughing" ¹⁹⁹
thunder	<i>grand-</i>	<i>grandit</i> , EBal. <i>garandaθ-</i>	<i>grand</i> "thunder" ²⁰⁰
call	‡ <i>gwānǰ</i> - ²⁰¹	3.sg. <i>gwānǰat</i> ; secondary stem ‡ <i>gwānǰit</i>	<i>gwānk</i> "cry" + <i>ǰan-</i> "hit"
harrow	<i>marz-</i>	<i>marzīt</i>	<i>marz</i> "clodcrusher"

197 For discussion of the etymology, cf. p. 147, for variants, cf. p. 154, 196, 236, 252.

198 Although the past stem looks like an old formation, the verb is not likely to be old since there are no corresponding formations in Avestan or other Ir. languages (note that comparable verbal forms from an OInd. root $\sqrt{k}ṣud$ are considered secondary by EWAia I:440 as well). The existence of adjectives like *šudag*, *šudīg* etc. "hungry" might have supported the formation of the EBal. infinitive *šudaǰ*. The past stem (GCD has an assimilated form *šuš^ha*) might be analogical to *šud-* / *šust^h-* or *šōd-* / *šust* "wash" (cf. p. 314). It is thus probable that EBal. *šud-* (only in DTB, GCD) is a denominative of *šud* "hunger" (for which cf. p. 79, 92).

199 Cf. also p. 115f. The verb is only found in SHG, so the past stem is not known.

200 DTB has *garandaθ-* (for *-aθ-*, cf. p. 186), GCD has *garandθ-* (cf. p. 236).

grand is not likely to have been borrowed from Ur. *garaǰ* "thunder" (pace GILBERTSON 1925:683), but may be connected with Sogd. *γr'yntn* etc. (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976:60).

201 For a discussion of the present stem, cf. p. 137.

4.3 Balochi verbs which might be borrowed from NP or genuine

Just as in the case of nouns, there is a considerable portion of the verbal part of the Bal. lexicon where the sound laws of Balochi would produce the same result as those of NP, so that it cannot be decided whether or not the words in question have been borrowed.

	present stem	past stem	NP
past stem formation possibly old:			
carry	<i>bar-</i>	<i>bur^t202</i>	<i>bar-</i> / <i>burd</i>
bind	<i>band-</i>	<i>bast</i>	<i>band-</i> / <i>bast</i>
flee	<i>jih-</i>	<i>jist²⁰³</i>	<i>jah-</i> / <i>jast</i>
give birth	<i>zā(y/h)-</i>	<i>zāt, zāhit</i>	<i>zāy-</i> / <i>zād</i>
pierce	<i>sumb-</i> EBal. <i>sub-</i>	<i>supt, sumbit²⁰⁴</i>	<i>sunb-</i> / <i>suft, sunbīd</i>
pull	<i>kaš(š)-</i>	<i>kašt, kaš(š)it</i>	<i>kaš-</i> / <i>kašīd</i>
kill	<i>kuš-</i>	<i>kušt</i>	<i>kuš-</i> / <i>kušt</i>
have sex	<i>gā(y)-</i>	<i>gāt</i>	<i>gāy-</i> / <i>gā(ī)d</i>
secondary past stem:			
forgive	<i>bašk-</i>	<i>baškāt²⁰⁵</i>	<i>baxš-</i> / <i>baxšīd</i>
ask	<i>purs-</i>	<i>pursit</i>	<i>purs-</i> / <i>pursīd</i>

202 As devoicing of word-final consonants is a common phenomenon in loanwords (cf. II 3.3.1.4), past stems which differ from the corresponding NP ones only in that they end in *-t* where the NP ones have *-d* are also possible loanwords. In the case of *bar-*, however, a borrowing is made less probable by the existence of irregular forms of the 3sg.pres. (cf. p. 147).

203 The difference in vocalism is no obstacle to the possibility of the word being a loanword since *a* may change to *i* next to a palatal consonant (cf. II 3.1.2.3.1). Cf. also p. 94.

204 A present stem *sumb-* is apparently only found in MOCKLER 1877 and EAL (the latter probably informed by the former). DAMES 1881 and DTB have *sumbaḡ* "a stitch in the side". DTB and GCD have a past stem *subḡa* (reflecting a past stem *subVḡ-, cf. p. 236) for the present stem *sub-*, which is likely to have been modelled on the past stem.

The verb may be a denominative formation from *sumb* "hole"; *sumb* may have been borrowed from NP (thus GEIGER 1891:433), but with regard to Sogd. *swmb-* "pierce", it may be genuine as well.

205 For the variants *bakš-*, *baxš-* which are loanwords (cf. p. 177), cf. p. 320.

graze	čar-	čar(i)t	čar- / čarīd "graze"
turn	čar(r)-	čar(r)it ²⁰⁶	
kiss	čuš(š)-, čūš(š)-	čūšit ²⁰⁷	čōš- / čōšīd
tear	dīn-, dir(r)-	dirt, dirrit ²⁰⁸	darr- / darrīd
arrive	ras-	rasit ²⁰⁹	ras- / rasīd
laugh	kand-	kandit ²¹⁰	xand- / xandīd
groan	nār-	nārit	nāl- / nālīd
Bal. verb from a possible NP loanword:			
hit	čōp-	čupt, EBal. čōfiθ ⁻²¹¹	NP čōb "wood", Bal. čōp "stick" ²¹²

4.4 Balochi verbs which have been borrowed from Persian

There is a group of verbs which must have been borrowed from some stage of Persian since they show the result of sound changes which otherwise do not operate in Balochi.

206 The gemination of the *r* in *čar(r)-* "turn" suggests that a borrowing is involved (cf. II 3.3.1.5). However, the NP as well as the Ur. and Si. verbs *čar-* mean "graze", cf. also p. 84.

207 In the case of *čūš(š)-*, the gemination of the *š* need not imply a borrowing since *čūš(š)-* is only found in SHG which has regular doubling of consonants after *ū* (cf. p. 242), the other sources have *čūš-*, for *čušš-* (also only in SHG), cf. p. 209.

208 For a possible explanation of the different forms (involving a contamination of a genuine and a borrowed form), cf. p. 145.

209 *ras-* seems to occur otherwise only in Persian (OP *rasa-*, inchoative stem from $\sqrt{\text{ar}}$ (BARTHOLOMAE 1893:264 etc.), so the Bal. word is probably a NP loanword. Wakhi *rəč-* "leave" etc. adduced by GEIGER 1890:143 are to be connected with Bal. *rēč-* "pour" (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:300f.).

210 *x* in loanwords from NP is usually replaced by *h*, the substitution by *k* is mainly seen in SBal. dialects (cf. p. 65f.). As *kand-* / *kandit* is attested in all dialects, it seems likely that it is inherited rather than borrowed. The possibility of a borrowing cannot be ruled out, however. For the variant *hand-* / *handit*, cf. p. 320.

211 *čupt* is noted by YŪSEFIYĀN 1992:104, SWBal. *čōpit* is only found in EAL. The EBal. form *čōfiθ-* is found in DTB and GCD. The present stem is found in the SWBal. sources SHG, MOCKLER 1877 and one 19th century manuscript as well. If *čōp-* is a denominative verb, *čupt* shows a secondary ablaut.

212 *čōp* seems to be a hapax (only in Cod. Or. 2921, cf. p. 33). Its etymology is not clear. It cannot be connected to OInd. *kṣupa-* "bush" as GEIGER 1890:118 assumes (HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557) since OInd. *kṣ-* corresponds to Bal., NP *š-* (cf. p. 92, 113). Cognates of OInd. *kṣupa-* might include Wakhi *šəpk* (STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1999:337).

	present stem	past stem	NP
present stem could also be genuine:			
hold, have	<i>dār-</i>	<i>dāšt</i>	<i>dār- / dāšt</i>
past stem could also be genuine:			
give	<i>day</i> - ²¹³	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dah-, dih- / dād</i>
go	<i>raw-, ra(y)-</i>	<i>šut</i>	<i>raw- / šud</i>
NP features in present and past stem:			
bring	<i>ār-</i>	<i>ārt</i> etc.	<i>ā(wa)r- / āward</i> ²¹⁴
try	<i>āzmāy</i> - ²¹⁵		<i>āzmāy- / āzmūd</i>
release	<i>il(l)-</i>	<i>išt</i>	<i>hil- / hišt, hilīd</i>
sow	<i>kiš-</i>	<i>kišt</i> ²¹⁶	<i>kiš- / kišt</i>
write	<i>nibīs-</i>	<i>nibišt</i>	MP <i>nibēs- / nibišt</i>
past stem might have been formed secondarily in Bal.:			
cut	<i>bur(r)-</i>	<i>bur(r)it</i>	<i>burr- / burrīd</i>
forgive	<i>bakš-</i> <i>baxš-</i>	<i>bakšit</i> <i>baxšit</i>	<i>baxš- / baxšīd</i>
fear	<i>tars-</i>	<i>tarsit</i>	<i>tars- / tarsīd</i>
steal	<i>duz(z)-</i>	<i>duz(z)it</i> ²¹⁷	<i>duzd- / duzdīd</i>
weep	<i>grē(w)-</i>	<i>grēt</i> ²¹⁸	<i>girī- / girīst</i>
laugh	<i>hand-</i>	<i>handit</i>	<i>xand- / xandīd</i>

213 The present stem *day-* is not the one found in NP, but the one which one would expect to find in NP. The variant *dēy-* found in other dialects might have been borrowed from Urdu (cf. p. 270).

214 Cf. p. 103.

215 A past stem is not attested. In fact, *āzmāy-* is only found in MARSTON 1877, whereas the causative *āzmāēn-* which is formed from it is found in the majority of sources (cf. p. 186).

216 It is not impossible that *kiš- / kišt* might be genuine in Balochi, but it seems more probable that it has been borrowed from NP (cf. p. 144, 148).

217 This verb might also be a denominative formation from the Pers. loanword *duz(z)* "thief" (for which cf. p. 88, 125). However, since NP has the exactly parallel verbal formation, the verb may have been borrowed into Balochi along with the noun.

218 For further discussion, cf. p. 162, 201, 205.

4.5 Balochi verbs which might be genuine or borrowed from Ind. languages

Similarly to the verbs discussed above, there are also some verbs which might be derived regularly from Old Iranian, but may have been borrowed from Ind. languages as well.

	Bal. verb	Ind.
become ripe	<i>pakk-</i> / <i>pakkit</i> ²¹⁹	<i>pak(k)ā</i> "ripe, ready"
turn	<i>tar(r)-</i> / <i>tar(r)it</i>	Ur. <i>tar-nā</i>
swim	EBal. <i>tar-</i> / <i>taraṭ</i> ²²⁰	Si. <i>taraṇu</i>
live	EBal. <i>ṣī-</i> ²²¹	Ur. <i>ṣī-nā</i>
hear	EBal. <i>sun-</i> / <i>suniṭ-</i>	Ur. <i>sun-nā</i> ²²²
chew	EBal. <i>kāḍ-</i> / <i>kāḍiṭ</i> ²²³	Lhd. <i>kāḍ</i> ^h "food"
dig	<i>kōč-</i> , <i>kōč-</i>	Ur. <i>kōč-nā</i> ²²⁴

4.6 Balochi verbs which are borrowed from languages other than Persian

For the following verbs no Iranian etymology is in sight, but a convenient verb from a neighbouring language from where it may have been borrowed:²²⁵

219 *pak(k)-* may be a denominative from possibly inherited *pak(k)ag* or from borrowed *pak(k)ā* (both "ripe"), cf. p. 112.

220 *tar-* "swim" is only found in DTB, GCD and EAL. The relationship of *tar-*, *tarr-* recalls that of *čar*, *čarr-* (cf. p. 150, 319). It is thus possible that an inherited *tar-* "turn" was changed to *tarr-* under the influence of borrowed *tar-* "swim". For EBal. past stems in *-aṭ-* which have probably been shortened from SWBal. *-āt*, cf. p. 186.

221 The existence is doubtful (only in MAYER 1910 with no past stem given, cf. p. 103).

222 Cf. p. 147.

223 It is possible that the Bal. noun *kāḍ* "bite" was borrowed from Sindhi and that the EBal. verb is a denominative formation from *kāḍ*. An Ir. etymology is also available, however (cf. p. 82f.).

224 Cf. p. 216.

225 Note that the EBal. verbs in this group do not show the sound changes typical for Eastern Balochi, e.g. DTB, GCD have *čik-* "pull" which proves that the words cannot be genuine to the EBal. dialect(s).

	verb	from
sink	<i>bud(d)- / bud(d)it</i> , EBal. <i>budaḥ-</i>	Si. <i>budaṇu</i>
arrive	<i>puḷ(j)- / puḷ(j)it</i>	Si. <i>puḷaṇu</i> , Lhd. <i>puḷjaṇ</i>
weigh	<i>tōr-</i> , EBal. <i>tōl- / tōlaḥ-</i>	Si. <i>tōraṇu</i> , Ur. <i>tōl-nā</i>
pull	<i>čik(k)- / čik(k)it</i>	Si. <i>čhikaṇu</i>
go	<i>čal- / čalit</i>	Ur. <i>čal-nā</i>
learn	<i>sik(k)- / sik(k)it</i> ²²⁶	Si. <i>sik^haṇu</i>
think	<i>sōč- / sōčit</i>	Ur. <i>sōč-nā</i>
crush	<i>kuṭ(t)- / kuṭ(t)it</i>	Ur. <i>kuṭ-nā</i>
get lost	<i>gisir-</i>	Si. <i>visiraṇu</i>
write	<i>lik(k)- / lik(k)it</i> ²²⁷	Si. <i>lik^haṇu</i> , Ur. <i>lik^h-nā</i>
want	<i>lōṭ- / lōṭit</i>	Ur. <i>lōṭ-nā</i> "to long for"
lie down	<i>lēṭ- / lēṭit</i>	Si. <i>lēṭaṇu</i> , Ur. <i>lēṭ-nā</i>
meet	<i>mil(l)- / mil(l)it</i>	Ur. <i>mil-nā</i> "to join"
verbs made from borrowed nouns:		
change	<i>badl- / badlit</i>	<i>badal</i> "exchange" (NP-Ar.)
turn	<i>čakarr- / čakarrit</i>	Si. <i>čakaru</i> "dizziness"

4.7 Unclear cases

Some verbs remain the origin of which is not clear yet, e.g.:

	verb	cf.
sleep	EBal. <i>aks- / akast^h-</i>	p. 178
hurry	<i>rumb- / rumbit</i>	<i>rumb</i> "run", cf. p. 95
swell with rage	<i>gažž-, gažž- / gažžit</i>	p. 273

226 GCD has the past stem *sik^hḥ-* (sic).

227 GCD has the noteworthy past stem *lik^hēḥ-*.

IV. Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, an attempt has been made to give a picture of the Balochi language as the product of its specific history, reflecting a variety of factors and influences: first, the North Western Iranian heritage; second, the intense contact with neighbouring languages, among which Persian has occupied a place of pre-eminent importance; and third, the dialectal diversity, echoing, among other things, the precarious ecological environment and the differing occupation of the speakers as shepherding nomads or settled farmers. The preceding pages attempt to show how these factors interact and are mirrored in the Balochi lexicon.

In conclusion, the question arises of how the position of Balochi among North Western Iranian languages of past and present times may be described in the light of the issues raised.

At first sight, it seems that Balochi occupies a position apart from all other Western Iranian languages since the Old Iranian stops and affricates appear as such in the Southern and Western dialects and presumably in Common Balochi, while they undergo modifications in the closely related languages Parthian and Persian.¹

OIr. C /V_V	Balochi (S, W)	Parthian (classical)	Middle Persian (classical)
<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>w, y, y</i>
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>		
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>z</i>
<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>		
1. Stops and affricates in Western Ir. languages			

This well-known fact has appeared striking to all researchers who have dealt with the subject.

1 In the tables to follow, "classical" Parthian / Middle Persian denotes the stage reflected in the orthography of the Manichaean texts from Turfan. As for Parthian, this stage is termed "Mittelmittelparthisch" by SUNDERMANN 1989a:123.

It seems to have generally been assumed that the OIr. stops and affricates have been preserved in Balochi up to the present day. The only change would be that of the OIr. fricatives to Bal. stops (bold type marks elements which are changed in Balochi):

Old Iranian	*Middle Balochi ²	New Balochi	classical Parthian
<i>b, d, g /V_</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>		<i>β, δ, γ</i>
<i>p, t, k /V_</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>		<i>b, d, g</i>
<i>f, θ, x</i>			<i>f, h, x</i>
<i>č /V_</i> , <i>ǰ, ž</i>	<i>č</i> , <i>ǰ, ž</i>		<i>ž</i>
OIr. > <i>voiceless fricatives ></i> [-voiced, +cont] >	*Middle, New Balochi <i>stops</i> [-voiced, -cont]		
2. Model A (preservation of OIr. stops and affricates)			

The remaining Western as well as Eastern Middle Iranian languages show a lenition of postvocalic stops. As the preceding chapters have shown, there is ample evidence for continuing and intense contact between Balochi and neighbouring languages. So one is bound to wonder whether it is a likely hypothesis that Middle Balochi did not take part in a development shared by all neighbouring Iranian languages.

If one assumes that Balochi underwent the same lenition that operated elsewhere,³ the lenition products must have later been reversed to their original state. This reversal might have been the same process that changed the Old Iranian fricatives of whatever source to stops, thereby coalescing with the product of OIr. stops (elements which have changed in the same way in Balochi and Parthian are underlined in the following tables):

2 The term "Middle Balochi" will be used to denote the (reconstructed) Middle Iranian stage of Balochi.

3 Note that the lenition of postvocalic *b, d, g* is termed "common throughout Iranian" by SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:650.

Old Iranian	*Middle Balochi	New Balochi	classical Parthian
<i>b, d, g /V_</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>
<i>p, t, k /V_</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>
<i>f, θ, x</i>	<i>f, θ, x</i>		<i>f, h, x</i>
<i>č /V_</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ž</i>
<i>ǰ, ž</i>	<i>ǰ, ž</i>	<i>ǰ, ž</i>	
OIr. >	*Middle Balochi >	New Balochi	
	<i>voiced stops ></i>	<i>voiceless</i>	
	[+voiced, -cont] >	[-voiced, -cont]	
	<i>fricatives ></i>	<i>stops</i>	
	[+cont] >	[-cont]	
3. Model B (lenition and reversal of stops from a classical Mlr. stage)			

This model has the advantage of bringing Middle Balochi considerably nearer to Parthian, but the disadvantage of needing one more change than model A to effect the New Balochi state of affairs, the two changes not being necessarily logically related. It is thus not clear which model is the better one.

A closer look at the Mlr. data, specifically the development of the stops and affricates in Parthian, appears necessary. The following table shows the Prth. results of OIr. stops, fricatives and affricates in the stage of Parthian represented by the Nisa ostraca and certain names ("Prth. 1" here, cf. SUNDERMANN 1989a:123), in the stage reflected in the Prth. loanwords in Armenian ("Prth. 2")⁴ and in a postclassical stage ("Prth. 4").⁵ The resulting picture is as follows (changes in Parthian in bold type):

4 This stage is called "Frühmittelparthisch" by SUNDERMANN 1989a:123f. The older Prth. loanwords in Armenian show the OIr. voiceless stops and *č* in unchanged form (e.g. *spitak* "white", *řočik* "daily bread"), but fricatives for OIr. voiced stops: Ir. *β* is rendered by Arm. *v* (e.g. *žanvar* "sedan chair" < *ǰani-bara- "carrying women"), and Ir. *δ* by Arm. *r*.

5 This stage is called "Spätmittelparthisch" by SUNDERMANN 1989a:122ff.

Old Iranian	New Balochi	Parthian			
		Prth. 1	Prth. 2	Prth. 3 (class.)	Prth. 4
<i>b, d, g /V_</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>
<i>p, t, k /V_</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	
<i>f, x</i>		<i>f, x</i>	<i>f, x</i>	<i>f, x</i>	<i>f, x</i>
<i>ϑ</i>		<i>h</i>	<i>ϑ</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>				
<i>č /V_</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰ⁶</i>	<i>ž</i>		
<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>			

4. Stops and affricates in Old Iranian, Balochi and Parthian

The Prth. stage that Balochi seems to share most characteristics with is "Parthian 1". However, the assumption that Balochi is derived from the Middle Ir. stage represented by Parthian 1 would amount to a model of the same structure as model A discussed above; it does not offer any advantages in comparison with the assumption that Balochi is derived directly from the OIr. stage.

An alternative possibility would be to assume that Middle Balochi corresponds to the MIr. stage represented by Parthian 2:

6 I have not seen evidence that OIr. *ǰ* is preserved in "Parthian 1", but assume it here for systematic reasons.

Old Iranian	*Middle Balochi	New Balochi	Parthian 2
<i>b, d, g /V_</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>
<i>p, t, k /V_</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>
<i>f, θ, x</i>	<i>f, θ, x</i>		<i>f, h, x</i>
<i>č /V_</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>
<i>ǰ, ǰ̣</i>	<i>ǰ, ǰ̣</i>	<i>ǰ, ǰ̣</i>	<i>ǰ̣</i>
OIr. > *Middle Balochi > New Balochi <i>fricatives > stops</i> [+cont] > [-cont]			
5. Model C (lenition and reversal of stops from an older Mlr. stage)			

This model combines the advantages of models A and B: it brings Middle Balochi nearer to a known stage of Parthian (like model B); it needs only one change to derive Balochi from Middle Iranian and is thus as simple as model A.

It may be noted in passing that the change assumed here (MBal. fricatives > CBal. stops) would also produce the CBal. result from the Sogdian state of affairs as far as the stops and fricatives are concerned:

Old Iranian	*Middle Balochi (model C)	New Balochi	Parthian 2	Sogdian
# <i>b, d, g</i> – <i>b, d, g</i>	# <i>b, d, g</i> – <i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>b, d, g</i>	# <i>b, d, g</i> – <i>β, δ, γ</i>	<i>β, δ, γ</i>
# <i>p, t, k</i> – <i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>
<i>f, θ, x</i>	<i>f, θ, x</i>		<i>f, h, x</i>	<i>f, θ, x</i>
# <i>č, ǰ, ǰ̣</i> – <i>č, ǰ, ǰ̣</i>	<i>č, ǰ, ǰ̣</i>	<i>č, ǰ, ǰ̣</i>	# <i>č, ǰ̣</i> – <i>ǰ̣</i>	<i>č, ǰ̣</i>
6. Stops, fricatives and affricates in Balochi, Parthian and Sogdian				

The only difference between Middle Balochi as assumed here and Parthian is that Balochi preserves two OIr. phonemic oppositions which got lost in Parthian, viz. OIr.

θ vs. *h* and *ǰ* vs. *ž*. Had Balochi experienced the change of OIr. *θ* > *h* seen in Parthian 2 and following stages, it would have been impossible to reverse only those cases of *h* to *t* which go back to OIr. *θ* without affecting *h* from OIr. *h* (cf. II 2.1.2.1). Similarly, it seems that OIr. *ǰ* and *ž* fall together in Parthian 2 while Balochi preserves the three phonemes (*rōč* "day", *bōǰ*- "save", *dūžah* "hell", cf. II 2.1.2.2, 2.1.2.4). It follows that Balochi cannot go back to Parthian 2, 3 or 4. These differences (MBal. *θ* vs. Prth. 2 *h*, MBal. *ǰ* vs. Prth. 2 *ž*) would thus remain; they might be considered quite minor dialectal differences between two neighbouring MIr. dialects.⁷

These dialectal differences are by no means isolated phenomena, but may be grouped with other features. Balochi differs from all known varieties of Parthian in several points: for instance, Parthian shows *sy*- from OIr. *sĭ*- as is seen in *syāw(ag)* "black" and reflected in Arm. *seav* "black" and *siramarg* "peacock" while Balochi shows *š*- in *šān* "black" and *šēnak* "falcon" (cf. II 2.2.2.3). It is noteworthy that the existence of a NWIr. language from Middle Iranian times with *š*- for OIr. *sĭ*- is anyway implied by Arm. *šava*^o, Georg. *šav*- "black".

While the product of PIr. **r* is *ur* in labial contexts and *ir* otherwise in Parthian, Balochi shows *ir* in palatal contexts and *ur* otherwise (cf. II 2.3.2.1). Particularly telling examples are pairs like Prth. <*tyrs*- / *tyrs'd*> *tirs*- / *tirsād* "fear", <*tryfš*> *trifš* "sour" and <*kyrd*> *kird* "done" vs. Bal. *turs*- / *tursit*, *trupš* and *kurt*, respectively. Even if <*y*> in e.g. Prth. <*tyrs*->, <*kyrd*> stands for *e* as has been assumed for MP, forms like *kerd* are unlikely to have been the protoforms of the Balochi words since there is no labial context and no analogy in sight which might have motivated a change to *turs*-, *kurt*.

It would follow that Balochi goes back to a Middle Ir. dialect which corresponds to Parthian in a number of respects, but differs from it in others. The existence of more than one NWIr. idiom in Middle Iranian times, a priori highly likely, is not only presupposed by doublets like Arm. *seaw*, *šava*^o "black", both commonly assumed to have been borrowed from "Parthian", but also by evidence from other contemporary Ir. languages. The Western Ir. languages (with only two of them attested in manuscripts, inscriptions etc.) may have formed a continuum of dialects at Middle Ir. times.⁸

7 Note that the preservation of OIr. *θ* has been considered a typically Eastern Ir. feature; some EIr. languages show a change of *θ* > *t* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:650).

8 It seems indeed that all Middle Ir. languages (including the Eastern ones) formed a continuum of dialects (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996:650).

The origin of Balochi as a WIr. language whose ancestor is similar to, but not identical with Parthian can thus be established. Other findings complicate the picture at once, however. While a number of Bal. sound changes correspond to those of neighbouring NWIr. languages as one might expect (e.g. OIr. postvocalic *č*, *ǰ*, *ž* preserved in Balochi vs. Pers. *z*, e.g. *rōz*, *bōz-*, *dōzax*; PIE **ǵ* > Bal. *z* vs. Persian *d*), other Balochi sound laws are the Persian, not the NWIr. ones (e.g. PIE **tr* > Bal. *s(s)*, cf. II 2.1.2.4). A similar statement may be made for Kurdish, whereas Zazaki shows NWIr. features in all these cases. Balochi and Kurdish thus occupy a position between the NWIr. and the SWIr. languages and might in this respect be called "Transitional Western Iranian languages".

If one looks at the NWIr. and SWIr. features of contemporary Western Iranian languages from a purely synchronic point of view (cf. PAUL 1998), one might get the incorrect impression that the languages hitherto called North Western Iranian started out as NWIr. idioms and gradually came more and more under the influence of Persian, with Balochi and Kurdish occupying the positions next to New Persian in terms of "South-Westerness" or "lack of North-Westerness". However, increasing absorption into the Persian sphere does not adequately describe the data as the SWIr. characteristics of Balochi and Kurdish date from widely differing periods (cf. KORN 2003:53ff.), beginning with the treatment of PIE **tr* where already Old Persian shows *ç* (> MP *s*) vs. Av. *θr*.

The NWIr. characteristics of Middle and New Iranian languages are predominantly of the type that Parthian etc. preserves certain OIr. sounds while Persian shows some sort of innovation (e.g. OIr. *rz*, *rd* retained in NWIr. languages vs. NP *l*). The only innovations seen in Parthian (all of them also found in Zazaki) are the development of OIr. *θu* > *f* (vs. MP *h*), OIr. *du-* > *b-* (vs. MP *d-*) and OIr. *hu-* > *wx-* (or devoiced *w-*), if the latter can be called an innovation, vs. MP *xw-*. Balochi seems to share the latter two features (cf. II 2.2.1.5.3, 2.2.1.5.4) while unfortunately no data are available which would permit one to say anything about the first one (cf. II 2.2.1.5.2). Kurdish, on the other hand, goes with Persian again and does not share any NWIr. innovation. Other changes which have been considered as common NWIr. innovations (e.g. *m* > *w*) will rather be independent developments (cf. KORN 2003:56ff.).

The question remains whether the "Transitional WIr. languages" may be established as a group in the sense of being a third member in between North and South Western Iranian, i.e. whether (preferably typologically marked) features can be found which are

neither present in the NWIr. nor in the SWIr. languages. Evidence for this scenario has not yet been discovered. For the time being, it seems that the characteristics which have lent a partially SWIr. look to Kurdish and Balochi may be explained by the influence of Persian at various points during history, starting with the time of the Achaemenian empire (thus e.g. *s(s)* for PIE *tr). Unfortunately, the data do not permit us to determine the character of the contacts with the Persian language and its speakers. The term "Transitional Western Iranian" thus designates languages which have witnessed the repeated, if not continuing, influence of Persian – an influence which has been strong enough to effect the adoption of typically Persian sound changes.

The impression of continuous contact with Persian is confirmed by the Balochi vocabulary. Among the lexical items of various semantic fields, one finds an impressive number of Persian words from different periods, the oldest stage being represented by *dap* "mouth" which recalls Av. *zafar/n-*, but with typically Persian treatment of the word-initial consonant, the MP period by words like *pahlūg* "side" and *k^hard* "portion", and the NP time by a host of words from literally every sphere and including numerous words of Arabic origin. But the Persian loanwords are by no means the only borrowings in the Balochi lexicon: words from several Indic languages play a considerable role as well, e.g. (to cite but a few) *pupī* "father's sister", *pul(l)* "flower", *sik(k)- / sik(k)it* "learn", *lēt- / lētīt* "lie down". Not so numerous, but not less remarkable are borrowings from Pashto (*kuṛāsag* "grandchild", *kōṭa* "room") and Brahui (*bal(l)uk* "grandmother", *sil* "skin"). Interdialectal borrowing is not rare either.

A particularly interesting group of loanwords is the terms for animals such as horses and camels (whereas the word for the smaller animals, *pas*, is inherited). Along with the fact that many terms for colours as well as the Balochi (and Kurdish) numerals have been borrowed from Persian, this situation mirrors a social situation of the Baloch as shepherds coming to the bazaar to sell the products of their sheep and to buy what they do not produce themselves, including the bigger animals and cloth, from people who speak other languages. The kinship terms (cf. III 2), a sizeable portion of which comes from Sindhi and Urdu, reflect, among other things, intense contact on the family level with the settled population of the Indus valley.

It is to be expected that the position of Balochi as a Transitional Western Ir. language can be confirmed by the study of Balochi historical morphology, and by studies of the history of neighbouring Iranian languages. Such studies are thus an urgent desideratum.

V. Appendix

1. Morphological sketch

The aim of this chapter is to give the reader an impression of the morphological system of Balochi and to provide the grammatical information which might be necessary to make use of the other parts of this work. It is not the purpose of these pages to write a grammar of "the Balochi language", though. What follows will only outline the most important characteristics of Balochi morphology. It is thus to be taken *cum grano salis* throughout, since exceptions to the statements made below or additional variants might be found in some (sub-)dialect. The survey is also a purely synchronical one, diachronical aspects being reserved for future studies.¹

As has been seen before, Balochi dialects differ considerably in many aspects, and the morphology is no exception. This chapter will chiefly be based on the following sources as representatives of the three major dialect groups: BUDDRUS 1988 for the WBal. dialect of Afghanistan, FARRELL 1990 for the (predominantly SBal.) dialect of Karachi, DAMES 1913 for Eastern Balochi. BARANZEHI 2003 will be used for the Sarāwānī dialect of Iran. The forms cited below will tend to appear in the order from west via south to east. Dialect categorisations are for the most part omitted, however, since the distribution of the forms does not necessarily coincide with dialect borders, and some dialects have more than one form. Forms involving a nasalised vowel are noted when a corresponding form with vowel + *n* is not found in the sources just cited.

1.1 Nouns

The categories found in the Balochi nominal system are the following:

- numbers: singular (sg.), plural (pl.)
- cases: direct (dir.),² oblique (obl.), object (obj.), genitive (gen.),³ vocative (voc.).

There is no grammatical gender in any Balochi dialect.

The direct case is the case denoting the subject in sentences constructed nominatively and the object in sentences constructed ergatively. The oblique case is used for the

1 Morphemes the history of which is discussed in the previous chapters may be found in the index. For the history of the nominal system, cf. KORN (frthc. 2).

2 Since some Balochi dialects use ergative constructions (see below), the term "direct case" (= absolute or rectus) is used here. However, many descriptions have used the term "nominative".

3 Some Bal. dialects do not have a genitive case (see below).

agent in ergative sentences (see below), for direct and indirect objects, with prepositions and in locative function. The object case may be used instead of the oblique to denote direct and indirect objects in nominative and sometimes also in ergative constructions, particularly if some emphasis is required.⁴ As in Persian, objects are only marked when they are definite ("identified object marking"). The genitive is used for possessors and with postpositions (see below). The vocative is used for addressing someone.

	dir.	obl.	obj.	gen.	voc.
sg.	-∅	-ā ⁵	-ārā	-ai, -ē, -ī, -a, -∅	-∅
pl.		-ān, ⁶ -ānā	-ānā, -ānrā	-ānī ⁷	-ān
1. Bal. case system and endings					

Some dialects add further forms. For instance, there is an "obl. II" in *-ayā* (sg.), *-ānā* (pl.) in some WBal. dialects with mainly locative functions (BUDDRUS 1988:45). Conversely, in Bal. dialects of Iran, the dir. and obl. cases tend to fall together, presumably under the influence of NP (cf. JAHANI 2003). The resulting system may be described thus:

	nom.	obj.	gen.
sg.	-∅	-ā(rā)	-ey
pl.	-ān	-ānā	-ānī
2. Reduced case system of Iranian Balochi			

In some of these dialects, the gen. is replaced by the *eẓāfe*-construction (cf. JAHANI 1994, 2003:128, BARANZEHI 2003:81), e.g.

- *manzel-e māwat* "our house".

There is no definite article. The indefinite article is *-ē*,⁸ e.g. *kitāb-ē* "a book".

4 For the use of cases in ergative constructions, cf. KORN (frthc. 1).

5 For a variant, cf. p. 251, 260.

6 In several dialects, the obl.pl. appears as *-ā* (cf. p. 213f., 238, 254, 263).

7 For a variant found in WBal. dialects, cf. p. 251.

8 For the etymology, cf. p. 102, for a variant, cf. p. 260.

When two semantically similar nouns are enumerated, nominal endings and the indefinite article may be used only with the second noun (BUDDRUS 1988:49), e.g.

- *watī dast u dēm-ā šušt-un* "I washed my (lit.: own) hand[s] and face".

1.2 Pronouns

Personal pronouns

The forms of the personal pronouns differ considerably, so it is necessary to cite forms for the three dialect groups. With the exception of the vocative, the cases are the same as for the nouns. For the 3rd person, the demonstrative pronouns are used (see below).

			dir.	obl.	obj.	gen.
sg.	1st ⁹	WBal.	<i>man</i>		<i>manā</i>	<i>m(a)nī</i>
		SBal.	<i>man</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>manārā</i>	
		EBal.	<i>mā, ma, mā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>manā, manā</i>	<i>maī, maī</i>
	2nd ¹⁰	WBal.	<i>taw, ta</i>		<i>tarā</i>	<i>t^(h)aī, t^(h)ī</i>
		SBal.	<i>tau, tō</i>	<i>t(a)rā</i>	<i>tarārā</i>	
		EBal.	<i>t^hau, t^ha</i>		<i>t^harā</i>	
pl.	1st	WBal. ¹¹	<i>(am)mā</i>		<i>(am)mārā</i>	<i>(am)mai, mē</i>
		SBal.	<i>mā</i>	<i>mārā</i>		
		EBal.	<i>mā</i>		<i>mār(ā)</i>	<i>maī</i>
	2nd ¹²	WBal.	<i>š(u)mā</i>		<i>šumārā</i>	<i>šumai, šumē</i>
		SBal.	<i>šumā</i>	<i>šumārā</i>		
		EBal.	<i>š(a)wā, šā</i>		<i>š(a)wār, šār</i>	
3. Inflection of the Bal. personal pronouns						

9 For variants of *man* and its flexive forms, cf. p. 238, 244, 251, 263.

10 For etymological discussion, cf. p. 102, for variants, cf. p. 251.

11 The forms *am(m)ā-* are used in Afghan and Turkmen Balochi (cf. p. 115). Cf. also p. 238.

12 For the variant *šmā*, cf. p. 251. For further discussion, cf. p. 126, 232f.

A separate form for the 1pl. inclusive (*mā-š(u)mā*) has been noted for Afghanistan (BUDDRUS 1988:51), Turkmenistan (SOKOLOV 1956:69) and Sarāwānī; the latter also has an additional exclusive (*mā-wat*, BARANZEHI 2003:85). The object case is used for the direct or indirect object throughout. For the agent and after prepositions, some dialects use the oblique case, others the direct case (cf. KORN, frthc. 1).

Demonstrative pronouns

		dir.	obl.	obj.	gen.
near	sg.	<i>ē</i> ;	<i>ēšī</i> ; <i>ištā</i>	<i>ēšīrā</i> ; <i>ištārā</i>	<i>ēšī(ā)</i> ; <i>ištē</i>
	pl.	<i>ēš¹³</i>	<i>ēšān</i> ; <i>išān</i>	<i>ēšānā</i> ; <i>išānā</i>	<i>ēšānī</i> ; <i>išānī</i>
far	sg.	<i>ā¹⁴</i>	<i>āyā</i>	<i>āīrā</i> , <i>āyārā</i>	<i>āyē</i> ; <i>āī</i>
	pl.		<i>āwān</i> , <i>āyān</i> , <i>āhān</i>	<i>āwānā</i> , <i>āyānā</i> , <i>āhānā</i>	<i>āwānī</i> ; <i>āyānī</i> ; <i>āhānī</i>
4. Bal. demonstrative pronouns					

Pronominal suffixes

In addition to the independent pronouns, most Bal. dialects have pronominal suffixes which are used in the functions of agent, direct and indirect object and as possessive pronouns. They vary considerably among the dialects. In many dialects, only 3rd person suffixes are used, but some sources also have suffixes for the other persons:¹⁵

	sg.	pl.
1st	<i>-un</i> ; EBal. <i>-ā</i> , <i>-ū</i> ; IrBal. <i>-om</i>	<i>-in</i> ; EBal. <i>-ā</i> , <i>-ū</i>
2nd	<i>-it</i>	<i>-iš</i>
3rd	<i>-ī</i> , <i>-ē</i> , <i>-iš</i>	<i>-ēš</i> , <i>-iš</i> , <i>-ē</i> ; EBal. <i>-ā</i>
5. Bal. pronominal suffixes		

13 For a possible variant, cf. p. 199. *ān*, *īn* are also found (cf. p. 103, 186, 201, 233, 238, 243).

14 For details about *ā* and its forms, cf. p. 102f., 162.

15 The Sarāwānī dialect is particularly rich in pronominal suffixes (BARANZEHI 2003:86).

Other pronominal elements

- *wat* "own" is used as a reflexive pronoun (cf. the example sentence in V 1.1).¹⁶
- *kai* "who" and *čē* "which" are inflected like demonstrative pronouns.

1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives in attributive position are used with the suffix *-ēn*.¹⁷

The comparative is formed by adding *-tir*,¹⁸ the superlative by *-tirēn* (FARRELL 1990:66), e.g. *šar(r)tir* "better", *šar(r)tirēn* "best" from *šar(r)* "good".

However, some dialects prefer to use analytic expressions like "from X big" (BUDDRUS 1988:50), e.g.

- *ša muččān dārindagēn mardum* "the wealthiest man of all (lit.: from all wealthy man)" (AXENOV 2003:252),
- *āā čē mazan* "bigger (lit.: from him/her/it big)" (FARRELL 2003:197).

1.4 Adverbs

Certain adjectives in obl. case may function as adverbs, e.g. *sak-ā* "hard" (adv.), EBal. *aksarā* "generally" (from Ur. *aksar*). Ar. adverbs in *-an* appear as *-ā* in Balochi, e.g. *awalā* "at first" (from NP-Ar. *awwal*), probably in analogy to the obl. formations.

Further adverbial expressions are formed with the help of the postposition *sarā* "on" (obl. of *sar* "head"), e.g. *zōr-ē sarā* "powerfully" (FARRELL 1990:68).

1.5 Prepositions and postpositions

Both prepositions and postpositions are found in Balochi. Those dialects heavily influenced by Persian prefer prepositions, those in direct contact with Ind. languages chiefly use postpositions (cf. JAHANI 2003:127, FARRELL 2003:195ff.).

16 The use of *wat* is entirely parallel to that of NP *x^wud* with which it is etymologically cognate (cf. p. 122).

17 *-ēn* appears as *-ē* under the same circumstances as the obl.pl. *-ā* (cf. p. 213, 238, 243, 263).

18 For the vowel, cf. p. 195. Noteworthy synchronically irregular forms include *mas-tir* "bigger" (from *mazan*), *kas-tir* "smaller" (from *kasān*) and *bus-tir* "higher" (from *burz*), cf. p. 97f.

Many postpositions are originally nouns in the obl. case. Therefore the noun is in the gen. case, e.g.

- *čuk-ē dēm-ā* "in front of (lit.: in the face of) the child" (SBal.);
- *ēš-ānī pad-ā* "behind (lit.: in the trace of) them" (WBal.).

In dialects influenced by Ind. languages, prepositions are mostly used with the genitive. In the dialects influenced by Persian, prepositions are for the most part used with the obl. of nouns and with the dir. case of pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person, e.g.

- *bi man* "to me", *gō zāgā* "with the son" (WBal.), *baǰāē* + gen. "instead of" (SBal.).

Circumpositions occur in most dialects; they are composed of one of the most common prepositions, i.e. mostly *ač*, *ča* (etc.) "of", to some degree also *bi* "to(wards)", and one of the postpositions, e.g.

- *bi darwāzagai burzagā* "above the door" (WBal.), *až ... p^haδā* "behind" (EBal.).

1.6 Noun phrases

The Bal. noun phrase is head-final as a rule: genitives are placed before the noun, e.g.

- *man-ī brāt-ē kitāb* (SBal.) / *mn-ī brās-ai kitāb* (WBal.) "my brother's book(s)".

The same applies to attributive adjectives, e.g. *mazan-ēn asp* "big horse(s)", and to adpositions, since, on the whole, postpositions dominate.

1.7 Verbs

This subsection describes the "minimal system" of verbal morphology common to most Balochi dialects. In addition, every (group of) dialect(s) has further formations formed from the elements discussed below.

Negated forms are built with the prefix *na-* and the prohibitive prefix *ma-*.

1.7.1 Verbal stems

As in most Ir. languages, the Bal. verbal system is based on the dichotomy of present stem and past stem. Most past stems are formed from the corresponding present stems by adding the suffixes *-t*, *-it* and, in a small number of cases, *-āt*, e.g. *gwār-* / *gwār-t* "rain", *raǰ-* / *raǰ-it* "colour", *bašk-* / *bašk-āt* "forgive". Some verbs have synchronically unpredictable past stems, reflecting OIr. formations (e.g. *kan-* / *kurt* "do").

1.7.2 Verbal adjectives and nouns

A present participle is formed by adding *-ān* to the present stem.

The suffix *-ag* (often reduced to *-a* when no ending follows) added to the past stem gives the perfect participle.

The formation of the infinitive depends on the dialects: many dialects use *-ag* added to the present stem. In the remaining dialects (all of the WBal. group), the infinitive is formed by adding *-in* to the past stem.

1.7.3 The copula and the verbal endings

As the verbal endings are for the most part identical with the corresponding forms of the copula, they may conveniently be presented together in one table. As usual, the endings differ depending on the dialects.¹⁹

		present	copula	past
sg.	1st	<i>-īn; -ān</i>	<i>-un; -ō̃; -ān</i>	
	2nd	<i>-ai; -ē</i>		
	3rd	<i>-t, -īt; -ī; IrBal. -e(t)</i>	<i>int, ē; IrBal. o</i>	<i>-∅</i>
pl.	1st	<i>-an; -ēn; -ōm</i>	<i>-an; -ēn; -ū̃</i>	
	2nd	<i>-it; -ē(t)</i>		
	3rd	<i>-ant; -ā</i>		
6. Bal. verbal endings and copula				

Many dialects have forms for the past tense of the copula which are formed from a base *at-* to which the copula forms as shown above are added (the 3sg. is without ending: *at*). Other dialects use the past stem of "become", i.e. *bīt*²⁰ plus verbal endings for the same purpose.

¹⁹ For additional variants, cf. p. 238, 263.

²⁰ *bīt* is a dialectal variant of *būt* (cf. p. 197).

1.7.4 Ergativity²¹

Many dialects of Balochi show "split ergativity", i.e. in all tenses formed from the past stem (including those formed from the perf.part.), the treatment of a verb depends on whether it is transitive or intransitive. An intransitive verb is inflected according to the nominative pattern as in the present tense, the endings of the verb agreeing with the subject.

A transitive verb, on the other hand, shows the logical subject (also called agent) in the obl. case. In a regular ergative construction, the object is in the dir. case. Other constructions are also found, however. In some dialects, agreement of the verb with the object is found if the latter is in the 3rd person, i.e. the ending of the 3pl. may be used if the object is a third person in the plural.

verb	cases used	verbal agreement
itr.	subject: dir.	with the subject (in person and number)
tr.	agent: obl. object: dir., obl. or obj.	with the object (in number) if 3rd pers. (optional)
7. Use of cases in the tenses formed from the Bal. past stem		

In the dialects with a reduced case system (cf. p. 332), both agent and object of ergative constructions are in the nominative. Pronominal suffixes are widely used to mark the agent.

The dialects differ to a considerable degree in their use of ergative construction, ranging from a more or less consistent ergative pattern to a complete substitution by the nominative construction in some WBal. dialects. This variation may be attributed to the influence of neighbouring languages (Ind. languages with ergativity potentially strengthening the preservation of ergativity vs. entirely nominative New Persian, cf. FARRELL 2003:197ff.).

21 For more information about the situation of the ergative construction in Balochi dialects, cf. KORN (frthc. 1).

1.7.5 Tenses

Present

The present endings are joined to the present stem to build the present tense.²² Some verbs have a 3sg. ending *-t* (vs. the more common ending *-ī(t)*) in at least some dialects, sometimes with lengthening of the vowel: *ǰant* "hits", *dant* "gives", *raut* etc. "goes", *zānt* "knows", *kant* "does", *gīrt* "takes", *wārt* "eats".

Some verbs show a prefix *k-* which does not change the function of the form in any way.

Simple past

The past endings are added to the past stem of intransitive verbs to produce a simple past. It seems that in (some?) Eastern dialects, the perfect is also used for the simple past.

With transitive verbs, the bare past stem is used with the subject in the obl. case (ergative construction, see above), e.g.

- *Sābirā ē hawāl uškit* "Sabir (obl.) heard this news (dir.)" (WBal.);
āyā gōk kušt "he/she (obl.) killed the cow (dir.)",
kučikā hamā ǰinikārā dīst "the dog (obl.) saw that girl (obj.)" (SBal.).

The verb may agree with the object in that an ending is facultatively added if the object is understood to be plural, e.g.

- *man xat likit-ā* "I wrote letters" (SBal.).

Some dialects pattern nominatively throughout, the personal endings being used for all verbs, e.g. (WBal. from Afghanistan)

- *man dōšt watī mēš-ā mārīt-un* "last night I counted my sheep (obl.pl.)".

22 These forms are called "aorist" by some authors since they are also used for the future tense and in statements of a general nature, and there is a separate present tense of a structure parallel to Engl. *I am going* in most dialects. However, the term "present tense" is used here, since, in the first place, the forms do denote present tense, and their use for the future has parallels in the present tense of many languages; periphrastic constructions of the Engl. kind may conveniently be termed present continuous (thus e.g. FARRELL 1990:74).

Other authors use the term "aorist" for what is called subjunctive here.

Compound tenses

The basis of the compound tenses is the perfect participle. They are constructed ergatively in those dialects which pattern ergatively.

The present perfect uses the perf.part. with the copula present, but without ending in the 3sg., e.g.

- *man kapt-ag-ō̃* "I have fallen"; *ā kapt-a* "he/she has fallen"; *man gušt-a* "I have said" (SBal.); *mā zahmā̃ ar̄-ay-ant* "I (obl.) have brought the swords (obl.pl.)" (EBal., with 3pl. ending on the verb for the pl. object).

The past perfect uses the cop.past, e.g.

- *jat-at-un* "I have hit"; *āwā̃ kalāt-ē bastag-at-ant* "they (obl.) had built a fort (dir.)" (WBal.); *man kapta bīt-ag-ō̃* "I had fallen" (SBal.).

1.7.6 Mood, voice and aspect²³

The prefix *bi-*²⁴ is used with the present tense to form a subjunctive, its use being exactly parallel to the NP subjunctive. *bi-* plus the present stem yields the imperative sg.; the pl. is identical with the 2pl. subj.

bi- with the past stem and the suffix *-ēn-* (according to FARRELL 1990:75 also without *-ēn-*) gives a form which is used as an irrealis and/or an iterative past: *ki man bi-dāšt-ēn-un* "(each time) when I had" (BUDDRUS 1988:61), *na-ke ōda be-rapt-ēn-ā̃* "I wish I had gone there" (BARANZEHI 2003:99).

Forms with *bi-* are negated by replacing the prefix by *ma-*.

A passive voice is also found, although not too frequently, and rather rarely with an agent expressed. It is made from the infinitive (cf. p. 337) with *būt* "was/became" as auxiliary, e.g.

- *lānč girag bītagitā* "boats (dir.) had been caught (pl.)" (SBal.).

23 For a discussion of some material belonging here, cf. MOŠKALO 1987.

24 The vowel may be *u* when the following syllable has a labial vowel. The vowel may also be omitted, the prefix *b-* being assimilated to the following vowel (BUDDRUS 1988:59), e.g. *p-kašš* "pull!" (BARANZEHI 2003:96).

In some dialects, a "verbal element" *a* is used with the present and past tenses to give an imperfective aspect. It is enclitic to the word preceding the verb, and thus generally written as if it were a suffix,²⁵ e.g. *rāst-a gušt* "he/she says correctly".

1.7.7 Periphrastic and modal constructions

In Southern Balochi, continuous present and past tenses are formed using the infinitive in the obl. case with the copula (cf. FARRELL 1990:73ff.), thus

- *man guš-ag-ā yā* "I am saying"; *man guš-ag-ā itō* "I was saying".

Depending on the linguistic area, modality may be constructed in the Persian way (verb meaning "want, should etc." + subjunctive of the full verb), e.g.

- *lōfīn b-rīn* "I want to go" (WBal.),

or from a verbal noun + auxiliary, somewhat along Ind. models,²⁶ e.g.

- *man rawag lōtā* "I want to go"; *manā rawagī ē* "I have to go" (SBal.);

"can" may be expressed with *kan-* "do" as auxiliary,²⁷ e.g.

- *wāntagā kanai* "can you sing?" (WBal.); *tau wapt kanai* "you can sleep"; *āyā kapt kutagā* "they could have fallen" (SBal.); *šut na-kurt* "he/she could not go" (IrBal.).

Of similar character are SBal. constructions such as

- *man guš-ān ā* "I keep saying"; *man gušagī ā* "I am about to say".

Note that all these constructions pattern ergatively in the relevant dialects if the finite verb is transitive, thence e.g.

- *āyā gušt kutagā* "they (obl.) could have said" (*kan-* / *kurt* tr.); *ā gušagā itā* "they were saying" ("to be" itr.),

whereas in compound tenses, it is the (in)transitivity of the main verb which determines the construction, e.g.

- *ā kaptā bītagā* "they had fallen" vs. *āyā gušta bīta* "they had said" (see above).

25 For further discussion, cf. BUDDRUSS 1977:9ff., 1988:62f. SOKOLOV 1956:84 seems to have been the first to note that the function of *a* corresponds somehow to that of CNP *mī-*. The parallelism goes so far that an expression †*man-a dārīn* is as unacceptable as NP †*man mī-dāram* (SOKOLOV 1956:84).

26 Cf. KORN 2001:6.

27 For a discussion of this construction, cf. ZARŠENĀS 2002. The statement by ZARŠENĀS 2002:259 of such a construction not being found in Western MĪr. languages is not correct since it does exist in Parthian (SUNDERMANN 1989a:129, DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2002:57f.).

1.7.8 Causatives

Causatives are built by adding the suffix *-ēn-* to the present stem, e.g.

- *man čuk-ā ras-ēn-ā* "I transport the children (lit.: cause the children to arrive)" (SBal.).

Double causatives occur in many dialects. The suffix is *-āēn-* (EBal. *-ain-*), e.g.

- *man āyā čē čuk-ā ras-āēn-ā* "I make him/her transport the children (lit.: cause the children to be transported by him/her)" (FARRELL 1990:49).

1.8 Conjunctions

As Balochi is mainly a spoken language, the syntax is usually rather simple, and texts tend to be composed of main clauses for the most part.²⁸ It is therefore not surprising that the conjunctions which do occur have been borrowed from neighbouring languages, e.g. *agar* "if", *lēkin* "but".

1.9 Word formation

Some of the most common derivations are:

- from adjectives:
 - ī* forms abstract nouns (cf. p. 121);
- from nouns (cf. II 2.4.4.1):
 - adjective suffixes without specific meaning: *-ak*, *-ag*, *-ūg*, *-īg*, *-ī* etc.;
 - ik(k)*, *-uk*, *-luk* have diminutive meaning;
 - denominative verbs can be formed from nouns without the addition of suffixes (cf. III 4).
- from verbs:
 - ōk* forms agent nouns from the present stem of verbs (cf. p. 101, 163).

28 Note that the published texts are fairy tales, stories of legendary character etc., and samples of everyday speech like those in FARRELL 2003:205ff. create the same impression. It is possible, however, that free speech and conversation, at least from certain dialects, might show more complex structures. The collection of data from as many sorts of text as possible and from the diverse dialects is an urgent desideratum.

2. Etymological index

The etymological index on the following pages gives a survey of the Balochi words discussed or mentioned in the chapters above and the most important cognates (New Persian, Avestan, Parthian and Old Indian), as well as the most relevant literature. Each entry is to be understood as a kind of notecard on which only the most important catchwords have been written. It is not the aim of the index to list all cognates, nor are the cognates in every case necessarily completely equivalent to the Balochi word with regard to their morphological structure or other details.

The order of the lemmata follows the Arabic alphabet. Arabic loanwords are grouped according to their Balochi orthography/pronunciation (i.e. <ḥ> as *h* etc., <f> under *p*), provided the latter is found in some source (otherwise the word is found where the Arabic orthography would have it). Nasal vowels are treated as the corresponding vowel + *n* and are only noted as such if no variant with vowel + *n* has been found. The aspiration (^h) found in some dialects is not taken into account in the ordering. Following the practice of SHG and other dictionaries in Arabic script, words with *ā-* (ī) come before those beginning with other vowels (i.e. *i*). Words with variants with *ā-* and *a-* are found under *ā-*.

The Balochi words are cited in their SWBal. form if available. Verbs are cited as *present stem / past stem* (the same applies to Prth. NP and MP verbs).¹ The past stem of verbs which differ from the corresponding present stem in a synchronically unpredictable way are cited as a separate lemma. In the case of past stems in Common Balochi *kt which have different forms in each dialect group (see II 2.2.1.1 and the subchapters of II 3.2), the SBal. variant (-*tk*) is cited as a representative of all variants.

GEB is cited according to the numbers given in GEIGER 1890, all other works according to pages. In case GEB is in need of correction or addition, the first mentioning of these (if any is available) or other works relevant for the word in question are also referred to. Note that in a number of cases, the works referred to do not discuss the Balochi word, but the NP cognate. In case of obvious borrowings from NP-Ar., there is usually no reference given as to who was the first to observe the borrowing. For details see the cited chapter.

Words in brackets indicate that it is not sure whether the given word belongs here or not, or that they are not related, but cited to show what some language has for the concept in question.

‡ means that the existence of the words is questionable.

≈ marks words which are not direct cognates of the respective Balochi words.

"= NP" means that the Bal. word might be genuine according to Bal. sound laws, but might also have been borrowed from NP. The same method of marking a possible loanword is used with other languages (e.g. = Ur. means that the word might come from Ur. or be genuine).

¹ Cf. I 3.3.

Balochi	Ir. cognates (Av. if not noted otherwise)	OInd.	NP	references
<i>ā</i> (dem.pron.) "that"			≈ <i>ān</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.4.3.1, 3.1.1.2, 3.2.1.3fn., 3.2.2.3, V 1.4 GEB 8
- <i>ā</i> (obl.sg.)				II 3.2.2.2fn., 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2, V 1.1
- <i>ā</i> (adv.suff.)				V 1.3
<i>ābrēšum</i> "silk"			<i>abrēšum</i>	II 3.1.2.2.2 BAILEY 1931:425f. NP loanword
<i>ābū</i> "pony"			<i>yābū</i>	II 3.3.1.7 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>āp</i> "water"	<i>āp-</i> Prth. <i>āb</i>	<i>āp-</i>	<i>āb</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.2.1.1 GEB 12
<i>āpus</i> "pregnant"	<i>apuθra-</i> Prth. <brbwahr>		<i>ābistan</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.2.1.2 GEB 13 HORN 1893:2
- <i>āt</i> (past stem suff.)	Prth. - <i>ād</i>		- <i>ād</i>	II 3.1.2.2, III 5, V 1.6 see also - <i>aθ-</i> , - <i>it</i> , - <i>t</i>
<i>ātk</i> etc. (past stem of <i>āy-</i> "come")	<i>ā + gata-</i> Prth. <i>āyad</i>	<i>ā + gatá-</i>	<i>āmad</i>	II 3.1.2.1, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1, III 5.1 GEB 21
<i>āč</i> "fire"			<i>ātaš, ātiš</i>	II 3.2.1.1.3, 3.3.2.1 NP loanword see also <i>ās</i>
<i>āčiš</i> "fire, ember"				II 3.3.2.1fn. see <i>āč</i>
<i>ādam(ī)-zāt</i> "human (being)"			<i>ādam(ī)-zād</i>	II 3.3.1.4 NP loanword
<i>ādēnk</i> "mirror"	Prth. <'dyng>		<i>āyina</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 2.4.1.2, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3 GEB 10 MACKENZIE 1986:31

<i>ār-</i> / <i>ārt</i> "bring"	<i>ā</i> + √bar Prth. <i>ā-war-</i> / <i>ā-wurd</i>	<i>ā</i> + √b ^h ṛ	<i>ā(wa)r-</i> / <i>āward</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., 3.1.1.4, III 5.4 GEB 14 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555 NP loanword
<i>ārt</i> "flour"	<i>aśa-</i> "ground"		<i>ārd</i>	II 3.1.2.2, 3.3.1.4 GEB 15 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:134 = NP
<i>ārunĵ</i> , <i>ārung</i> "elbow"	<i>arəṭn-</i>	<i>aratní-</i>	<i>āranĵ</i>	II 3.3.2.3, III 1 HORN 1893:4 KLINGENSCHMITT 1972:63 BAILEY 1979:8a EWAia I:109 NP loanword
<i>(h)ārōs</i> "wedding"			[˘] <i>arūs</i>	II 2.4.1.2, 3.1.2.2.2 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:32 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>āzāt</i> "free"	<i>āzāta-</i> "noble"		<i>āzād</i>	II 3.3.1.4 = NP see also <i>zāy-</i>
<i>āzmāy-</i> (caus. <i>āzmāēn-</i>) "try"			<i>āzmāy-</i> / <i>āzmūd</i>	II 3.1.2.2fn., III 5.4 GEB 23 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555 NP loanword
<i>āžmān</i> "sky"	<i>asman-</i> Prth. <i>āsmān</i>	<i>ásman-</i>	<i>āsmān</i>	II 3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.2.2 GEB 22 see also <i>āžmān</i>
<i>ās</i> "fire"	<i>ātar-</i> / <i>āṭr-</i> Prth. <i>ādur</i>		<i>āzar</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 2.3.1.3, 3.1.1.1, 3.2.1.1 GEB 16
<i>āsk</i> "gazelle"	<i>āsu-</i> "quick"	<i>āsú-</i> "quick"	<i>āhū</i>	II 2.1.1.1 GEB 19 GEIGER 1893:190
<i>ās-gēĵ</i> "lighter"				II 3.2.1.1.3 GEIGER 1891:426 from <i>ās</i> + <i>gēĵ-</i>
<i>āžmān</i> , <i>āžmān</i> "sky"	<i>asman-</i> Prth. <i>āsmān</i>	<i>ásman-</i>	<i>āsmān</i>	II 3.1.2.2fn., 3.2.1.1fn., 3.3.1.2 NP loanword see <i>ažmān</i>

<i>āsmānak(k), āzmānak(k)</i> "story"				II 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.3.1.2, 3.3.1.5
<i>āsin</i> "iron"	Prth. <i>āsun</i>		<i>āhan</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.2.2.3fn., 2.2.4fn., 3.1.2.3.1 GEB 18 BENVENISTE 1935:133
<i>āšik, āšix, āšig, °āšiq</i> "lover, in love"			<i>°āšiq</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>āšk</i> "that side" <i>āškā</i> "over there"				II 3.1.1.2 BUDDRUS 1974:28ff. see <i>ā</i> and <i>kaš</i> see also <i>ēšk, išk</i>
<i>āk</i> "earth"		<i>ása-</i> "ashes"	<i>xāk</i>	II 2.4.1.2 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:213 ⁷⁷ = NP see also <i>hāk</i>
<i>ākibat, ākubat</i> etc. "future"			<i>°āqibat</i>	II 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 3.1.2.2.2, 3.1.2.3, 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>āgā</i> "lord"			<i>āqā</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>āmuxta</i> "accustomed"	<i>fra-muxti-</i> "untying of shoes" Prth. <i>ammōxtag</i> "learned"	$\sqrt{\text{muc}}$ "untie"	<i>āmōxta</i> "learnt"	II 3.1.2.2 EWAia II:382 NP loanword
<i>ā-murg</i> "egg"	YAv. <i>aēm</i> (acc.)		<i>xāya</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 2.4.1.3, 2.4.1.4 SCHINDLER 1969:160 see also <i>haik</i>
<i>āmag</i> "raw"		<i>āmá-</i>	<i>xām</i>	II 2.4.1.3 = NP see also <i>hāmag</i>
<i>ān</i> (dem.pron.) "that"			<i>ān</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., 3.2.1.1.2fn., 3.2.2.3fn., V 1.4fn. = NP
(-) <i>ān</i> (1sg.ending + cop.)				II 3.1.3.3fn., 3.2.4.3, V 1.6 see also <i>un, q̄, -īn</i>
<i>-ān</i> (obl.pl.)	Prth. <i>-ān</i>		pl. <i>-ān</i>	II 3.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3, 3.2.4.3, V 1.1

-ān (part.pres.)	Prth. -ān		-ān	II 3.2.2.3, 3.2.4.3, V 1.6
-ā̄ (pron.suff. 1sg.+pl., 3pl.)				V 1.4 see also -un, -in, -iš, -ē(š), -ū̄
ān-gāt "yet"	gātu- OP gāḍu-	gātú-	ān-gāh	II 2.1.2.1fn., 3.1.2.2 EWAia I:483f.
-ānī (gen.pl.)				II 3.2.3.2, V 1.1
āhin "iron"				II 3.1.2.3.1fn. NP loanword see also āsin
āy-, yāy- (/ ātk) "come"	ā + √ay "go" (Prth. ās-)	ā + √i "go"	āy- (/ āmad)	II 2.1.3.4, 2.3.1.3, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.4.1, III 5.1 GEB 21
āyag, āig "egg"			xāya	II 2.1.3.4, 2.4.1.3fn., 3.3.2.1 NP loanword see also āmurg
-āēn- (caus.suff.)			≈ -ān-	V 1.6 see also -ēn-
āindag "future"			āyanda	II 3.3.2.1 NP loanword see āy-
-a (verbal element)				V 1.6
ab(b)ā, ab(b)ō "father"				III 2 Ar. loanword
iptī, (pi)tī "other"	OP <i>duvitā</i> ^o Prth. <i>bid(i)g</i>	<i>dvitīya-</i>	<i>dīgar</i>	II 2.2.1.5, 3.1.2.1 GEB 386 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51
<i>apurs</i> "juniper"	<i>haparāsī-</i>		<i>awirs, aris,</i> <i>burs</i> "fruit of juniper"	II 2.3.1.1, 2.3.2 GEB 5 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:40
<i>aps</i> "horse"				II 2.4.1.4, 3.2.2.1 see <i>asp</i>

<i>(h)apūtag</i> (a plant)				II 2.3.1.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290
<i>at-</i> (cop.past) "was"				II 3.2.3.1, V 1.6
<i>(-)it</i> (2pl.ending + cop.)	≈ Prth. <i>-ēd</i>		≈ <i>-īd</i>	II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.2.4.3fn., V 1.6 see also <i>ē</i> , <i>-ē(t)</i>
<i>-it</i> (past stem suff.)			<i>-īd</i>	II 3.1.2.2.1, III 5, V 1.6 see also <i>-āt</i> , <i>-t</i>
<i>-it</i> (pron.suff. 2sg.)			<i>-at</i>	V 1.4
<i>atr</i> , <i>at(t)ar</i> "perfume"			[◌] <i>aṭr</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
EBal. <i>-aṭ-</i> (past stem suff.)				II 3.1.2.2, III 5 see <i>-āt</i>
<i>ač</i> , <i>aš</i> , <i>až</i> "of"	<i>hača</i> Prth. <i>až</i>	<i>sácā</i>	<i>az</i>	II 2.3.1.2, 3.2.3.1, V 1.5 GEB 1 see also <i>ča</i>
<i>idā</i> "here"	<i>iḍa</i> ≈ Prth. <i>ēd</i>	<i>ihá</i> Pali <i>id^ha</i>		II 2.3.1.1 GEB 164 EWAia I:202
<i>adālat(t)</i> "justice"			[◌] <i>idālat</i>	II 1.2.1, 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>adab</i> "politeness"			<i>adab</i>	II 3.1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>adga</i> , <i>agdar</i> "other"			<i>ḍigar</i>	II 3.3.1.1, 3.3.2.1 NP loanword see also <i>ḍiga(r)</i>
<i>arab</i> "milliard"		<i>árbuda-</i> "mass"		II 2.3.1.1 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>arax</i> "sweat"			[◌] <i>araq</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>urd</i> "army"			<i>urdū</i>	II 3.1.1.4 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>arzun</i> "millet"			<i>arzan</i>	II 2.2.3.2, 3.3.2.3 = NP

<i>ars</i> "tear"	<i>asru-</i>	<i>ásru-</i>	<i>ars</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 3.1.2.1fn. GEB 431 EAL 6 = NP
<i>(h)ar(r)ag</i> "saw"			<i>arra</i>	II 2.4.1.2 GEB 6 = NP
<i>urmāg</i> "date"			MP, NP <i>xormā</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 2.4.1 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:265 = NP see also <i>hurmāg</i>
<i>armān</i> "longing"			<i>ārmān</i>	II 3.1.2.2 = NP
<i>izbōtk</i> "lovage, ajowan (a plant)"				II 3.1.2.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347, 1974a:278 see also <i>bōd</i>
<i>iz(z)at</i> "honour"			[◌] <i>izzat</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>uzr</i> "excuse"			[◌] <i>uzr</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>az(z)iyat</i> "offence"			<i>ažiyat</i> "molesting"	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>užnāg</i> "bathing"	√snā Prth. <i>snāž-</i> "swim"	√snā	<i>ušnān</i> "washing herb"	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.1.3 BAILEY 1979:466b
<i>asp, aps</i> "horse"	OP <i>asa-[◌]</i>	<i>ásva-</i>	<i>asb</i>	II 2.2.2.3, 2.3.1.2fn., 2.4.1.4, 3.1.2.2.2, 3.2.2.1 GEB 4 NP loanword
<i>ispar</i> "shield"	Prth. <i>ispar</i>		MP <i>(i)spar</i> NP <i>sipar</i>	II 2.3.4 HORN 1893:155 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:73 EWAia II:202
<i>ispulk</i> "spleen"	<i>spərəzan-</i>	<i>plīhán-</i>	MP <i>spul</i> NP <i>supurz</i>	III 1 HORN 1893:155 BAILEY 1979:415b
<i>ispēt</i> "white"				II 2.3.4 see <i>spēt</i>

<i>ispīt</i> "speed"				II 3.3.1.4 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>istār, istāl</i> "star"	<i>star-</i> Prth. <i>astār(ag)</i>	<i>stār-</i>	MP <i>istārag</i> NP <i>sitāra</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 2.3.4, 2.4.2, 3.2.1.2 GEIGER 1891:405
<i>(h)astal, istil</i> "mule"		<i>ašvatará-</i>	<i>astar</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 2.2.2.3fn., 2.4.1.4 GEIGER 1891:401 HORN 1893:21 EAL 11 Kurd. loanword?
<i>asr, asur</i> "afternoon (prayer)"			^c <i>ašr</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>iš-</i> (dem.pron.) "this"				V 1.4 see also <i>ēš</i>
<i>-iš</i> (pron.suff. 3sg.,2pl.)			<i>-iš</i>	II V 1.4 see also <i>-ē, -ī</i>
<i>išārā</i> "sign"			<i>išāra</i>	II 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>išt</i> "brick"	<i>ištiia-</i>	<i>ištakā-</i>	<i>xišt</i>	II 2.2.2.6, 2.3.1.2, 3.1.1 GEB 168 = NP see also <i>hišt</i>
<i>ištāp</i> "hurry"	Prth. <i>awištābišn</i> "oppression"		<i>šitāb</i>	II 2.3.4, 3.2.1.2, 3.3.1.4 GEIGER 1891:405 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:217 ⁸⁸ NP loanword
<i>uštir</i> "camel"	<i>uštira-</i>		<i>šutur</i>	II 2.4.1.4, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.3.4 GEB 161 Kurd. loanword?
<i>ašrapī</i> (a certain coin)			<i>ašrafī</i>	II 3.3.1.1 NP(-Ar.) loanword
<i>išk</i> "this side" <i>iškā</i> "here"				II 3.1.1.2 BUDDRUS 1974:28ff. see also <i>āšk, ēšk, kaš</i>
<i>uškumag</i> "belly"			<i>šikam</i>	II 3.1.2.3.4, 3.3.2.3, III 1 ELFENBEIN 1963:19 NP loanword

<i>uškun-</i> / <i>uškut</i> etc. "hear"	<i>uš-</i> "ear" + $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$			II 2.3.2fn., 2.4.1.2, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.3.4, 3.2.3.2, III 5.2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41
<i>iškand</i> "unfinished"	$\sqrt{\text{sčand}}$	<i>skand^há-</i> "shoulder bone"	<i>šikan-</i> / <i>šikast</i> "break"	II 2.3.4 EWAia II:750
<i>-ak</i> (noun suff.)			<i>-a</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.4.1, V 1.8 see also <i>-ag</i> , <i>-k</i>
<i>-ik(k)</i> (diminutive suff.)			<i>-ak</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.2.1.1.1, 3.3.1.5, V 1.8 NP loansuffix
<i>-uk</i> (diminutive suffix)				II 2.1.1.1, V 1.8
EBal. <i>aks-</i> / <i>akast^h-</i> "sleep"				II 3.1.1.2fn. loanword?
EBal. <i>aksarā</i> "generally"				II 3.1.1.2 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>akl</i> , <i>agl</i> , <i>ʿaqqa</i> "intelligence"			<i>ʿaql</i>	II 1.3.1, 3.1.2.4, 3.3.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>alg</i>
<i>-ag¹</i> (noun suff.)	<i>-aka-</i> Prth. <i>-ag</i>		MP <i>-ag</i> , NP <i>-a</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.4.1, V 1.8 see also <i>-ak</i> , <i>-k</i>
<i>-ag²</i> (part.perf.)				II 3.2.2.2fn., V 1.6 see <i>-ag¹</i>
<i>-ag³</i> (inf.suff.)				I 3.3.1fn., II 2.1.1.1, V 1.6 see <i>-ag¹</i> , <i>-tin</i>
<i>ag(g)^(h)</i> "price"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>aga(r)</i> , <i>agān</i> , <i>āgā</i> "if"			<i>agar</i>	II 3.1.2.2.2, 3.1.3.3, 3.1.4.3, 3.2.1.1 HORN 1893:25 NP loanword
<i>il(l)-</i> / <i>išt</i> "leave, let"			<i>hil-</i> / <i>hišt</i>	II 3.3.1.5, III 5.4 GEB 165 HÜBSCHMANN 1885:110 ⁵ NP loanword

<i>ulus(s), ulas</i> "people"				II 2.3.1.1, 3.3.1.5, 3.3.2.3 Turk. loanword
<i>alg, alg̃</i> "intelligence"			[˘] <i>aql</i>	II 3.3.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>akl</i>
<i>am(m)ā</i> obl. <i>am(m)ārā</i> gen. <i>am(m)ai</i> "we"	<i>ahma-</i> Prth. <'m'(h)>	<i>asmá-</i>	<i>mā</i>	II 2.2.1.3, 2.3.1.2, V 1.4 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:257 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 138 see also <i>mā</i>
<i>imām</i> "security"			<i>imām</i>	II 2.3.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>amzulp</i> "wife's sister's husband"				III 2
<i>ę</i> (cop.3sg.) "is"				II 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, V 1.6 see also <i>int</i>
<i>(-)an</i> (1pl.ending + cop.)				V 1.6 see also <i>ū, -ū, -ōm, ēn,</i> <i>-ēn</i>
<i>(-)q̄</i> (3pl.ending + cop.)				II 3.2.2.3, V 1.6 see also <i>(-)ant</i>
<i>(-)un</i> (1sg.past ending + cop.)				V 1.6 see also <i>(-)q̄, ōn, -ōn</i>
<i>-in</i> (pron.suff. 1pl.)				II 3.2.4.3, V 1.4 see also <i>-q̄, -ū</i>
<i>-un</i> (pron.suff. 1sg.)				II 3.2.4.3, V 1.4 see also <i>-q̄, -ū</i>
<i>(-)ant</i> (3pl.ending + cop.)			<i>-and</i>	II 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.2, 3.2.4.3, V 1.6 see also <i>(-)q̄</i>
<i>int</i> (3sg.cop.) "is"				II 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3fn., V 1.6 see also <i>ę</i>
<i>anpān</i> "leather sack"			<i>anbān</i>	II 3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.1.1 GEB 3

<i>anras</i> "tear"				II 3.2.1.3 Ind. loanword?
<i>angat</i> "yet"				II 2.1.2.1fn., 3.1.2.2 see also <i>ān-gāt</i>
<i>annūn</i> "right now"				II 3.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3, 3.3.1.5 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:108 see also <i>nūn</i>
<i>(h)anīčag</i> "forehead"	<i>a'nika-</i>	<i>ánika-</i>		II 2.3.1.1, III 1 GEB 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:40
<i>anču, ančōš</i> "thus"			≈ <i>čūn</i> "how"	II 3.1.2.2
<i>ančēn</i> "such"			≈ <i>či</i> "which"	II 3.1.2.2
<i>q̣ras</i> "tear"				II 3.2.2.3 Ind. (Ur.?) loanword
<i>angul</i> "finger"	<i>°aṅura-</i>	<i>aṅgúri-</i>		III 1 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1682 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:40
<i>an-ga(t)</i> "yet"			<i>angah</i>	II 2.1.2.1fn., 3.1.2.2 EWAia I:483f. see also <i>āngāt</i>
<i>unīš</i> "19"				III 4 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
suffixes with <i>-ō, -ū</i> see under <i>w</i>				
<i>ōd(ā)</i> "there"	<i>auuaḍa</i> Prth. <i>ōḍ</i>			II 2.1.3.3, 3.1.2.3.2 GEB 401
<i>auzār</i> "tool"			<i>afzār</i>	II 3.3.1.6 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:16 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:214 NP loanword see also <i>zōr</i>
<i>ōšt- / ōštāt</i> "stand"	<i>auua + √stā</i> Prth. <i>awi-št- /</i> <i>awi-štād</i>	<i>√st^hā</i>	<i>ist- / istād</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 2.1.3.3, III 5.1 GEB 402
<i>augān</i> "Afghan, Pashtun"			<i>afgān</i>	II 3.3.1.6 NP loanword

<i>awal, aulī</i> "first" <i>awalā</i> "at first"			<i>awwal</i> "first" <i>awwalan</i> "at first"	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>aulād, alwād</i> "offspring, child"			<i>aulād</i>	II 3.3.1.1, III 2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ōmān</i> "desire"	<i>aoman-</i> "helping"	<i>omān-</i> "help"		II 2.3.3, 3.1.2.2
<i>ōmēt, ummēd, umēt</i> "hope"			<i>ōmēd</i>	II 3.3.1.4, 3.3.1.5 GEIGER 1891:462 NP loanword
<i>q̄</i> (cop.1.sg.) "am"				II 3.1.3.3, V 1.6 see also <i>q̄</i>
<i>ū</i> (cop.1.pl.) "(we) are"				V 1.6 see also (-)an, <i>ēn</i>
<i>ahd, ahad</i> "time; promise"			<i>ahd</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.2.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ahwāl</i> "news"			<i>ahwāl</i>	II 3.2.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword
suffixes with <i>-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i> see under y				
<i>ē</i> (dem.pron.) "this"	≈ <i>ēd</i> "this"		≈ <i>īn</i>	II 3.1.1.2, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.2.3, V 1.4 GEB 170 see also <i>ēš</i>
<i>ī</i> (dem.pron.) "this"			<i>īn</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2 = NP see also <i>ē</i>
<i>ai, ē</i> (cop.2sg.) "(you) are (sg.)"				II 3.2.1.3, 3.2.3.1, V 1.6
<i>ē</i> (cop.2pl.) "(you) are (pl.)"				V 1.6 see also (-)it
<i>aib</i> "fault, spot, bolt"			<i>aib</i>	II 1.2.1, 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>aijzī</i> "humility"			<i>aǰz, aǰizī</i> "weakness"	II 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>aid, īd</i> "holiday"			<i>aīd</i>	II 3.3.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>ēr</i> "down(wards)"	<i>aḍairi</i> "under"		<i>z-ēr</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2 GEB 169 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 NP loanword
<i>īrād, airād</i> "objection"			<i>īrād</i>	II 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ēš</i> (dem.pron.) "this"				V 1.4 see also <i>ē, iš-</i>
<i>aiš</i> "luxury"			[˘] <i>aiš</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.1.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ēšk</i> "this side" <i>ēškā</i> "here"				II 3.1.1.2 BUDDRUS 1974:28ff. see <i>ē</i> and <i>kaš</i> see also <i>āšk, išk</i>
<i>ēmin, ēman</i> "safe, secure"			<i>aiman</i>	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword (via Ur.) see also <i>ēmanī</i>
<i>ēmanī, aimnī</i> "security, safety"				II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword (via Ur.) see also <i>ēmin</i>
<i>ēn</i> (cop.1pl.)				II 3.2.4.3, V 1.6 see also <i>an, ū</i>
<i>ēwak</i> "alone"	*aēuuaka- Prth. <i>yak</i>		<i>yak</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 2.3.3, 3.3.1.5 GEB 171
<i>b(i)-</i> (pref. subj./ipr.)			<i>bi-</i>	V 1.6
<i>bābā</i> "son, child, old man"				III 2 = NP
<i>bābī(l)</i> "bobbin"				II 3.1.1.1fn. Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>bābū</i> (address term for grandfathers)				III 2fn. see <i>bābā</i>
<i>bād</i> "afterwards"			<i>bā˘d</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>bār</i> "load"		<i>b^hārā-</i>	<i>bār</i>	II 3.2.3.3fn., 3.3.1.4 GEB 33 = NP see <i>bar-</i>
<i>bār</i> "time (x times)"	√var "wish"	<i>vāra-</i>	<i>bār</i>	II 3.2.3.3fn. GEB 33 NP loanword
<i>bāsk</i> "arm"	<i>bāzu-</i>	<i>bāhú-</i>	<i>bāzū</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.4.3.2, III 1 GEB 35
<i>bānz</i> "falcon"			<i>bāz</i>	II 3.1.3.3 GEB 30 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:22 GREPPIN 1977:7 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>bānuk</i> "lady"	°paḍnī-	<i>pātnī-</i>	MP <i>bānūg</i> NP <i>bānū</i>	II 3.1.4.2, III 2fn. GEB 32 GIPPERT 1993/I:35ff. NP loanword
<i>bānklēnk</i> "broad bean"			<i>bāqilā'</i>	II 3.1.3.3 GEIGER 1891:446 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>bāng</i> "cry"			<i>bāng</i>	II 3.2.1.3 NP loanword see <i>gwānk</i>
<i>bāid, bāyad</i> "(it is) necessary"			<i>bāyad</i>	II 3.3.1.4, 3.3.2.1 ELFENBEIN 1963:22 NP loanword
<i>biḣ, bṛḣ</i> "seed"		<i>bṛḣa-</i>	<i>bṛḣ</i>	II 3.1.2.2fn. GEB 37
<i>bač(č), bačik(k)</i> "son"			<i>bač(č)a</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.5, III 2 GEIGER 1891:445 NP loanword see also <i>gwask</i>
<i>bučk</i> "mane"				II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.2 see <i>bušk</i>
<i>baxšiš</i> (sic) "present"			<i>baxšiš</i>	II 3.1.2.2.2 NP loanword (via Ur./Si.) see also <i>bašk-</i>

<i>bad</i> "bad"			NP <i>bad</i> , MP <i>wad</i>	I 1.3 GEIGER 1891:445 HORN 1893:44 NP loanword
<i>badal</i> "exchange"			<i>badal</i>	II 3.3.2.1, III 5.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>badl-</i> / <i>badlit</i> "change"				II 3.3.2.1, III 5.6 from <i>badal</i>
<i>badan</i> "body"			<i>badan</i>	III 1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>bad(d)</i> "back; load"				III 1 ROSSI 1979:91 Br. loanword?
<i>bud(d)-</i> / <i>bud(d)it</i> "sink"				II 3.3.1.5, III 5.6 Ind. (Si./Lhd.) loanword
<i>bar</i> "time"				II 3.1.2.2, 3.2.3.3fn. see <i>bār</i>
<i>bir</i> "on, upon, back"			<i>bar</i>	II 3.1.2.3, III 2fn. NP loanword
<i>bar(r)</i> "penis"				III 1
<i>bar-</i> / <i>burt</i> "carry"	√ <i>bar</i> : <i>bara-</i> / <i>br̥ta-</i> Prth. <i>bar-</i> / <i>burd</i>	√ <i>b^hṛ</i> : <i>b^hara-</i> / <i>b^hrtá-</i>	<i>bar-</i> / <i>burd</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.4, III 5.3 GEB 29 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>bur(r)-</i> / <i>bur(r)it</i> "cut"	√ <i>bray</i> : <i>br̥na-</i>	√ <i>b^hrī</i> : <i>b^hr̥ṇa-</i> "harm"	<i>burr-</i> / <i>burr̥d</i>	II 2.2.3.4, III 5.4 GEB 43 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:28 NP loanword
<i>barābar</i> , <i>barāwar</i> "equal"			<i>barābar</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.1.1.1, 3.3.2.1, 3.3.2.3 BAILEY 1979:376b NP loanword see also <i>barōbar</i>
<i>brāt</i> "brother"	<i>brātar-</i> Prth. <i>brād(ar)</i>	<i>b^hrātṛ-</i>	<i>barādar</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 3.1.2.4, 3.2.1.1fn., III 2 GEB 38 see also <i>brās</i>

<i>brātō</i> "stepbrother"				III 2 see <i>brāt</i>
<i>barādar</i> "brother"			<i>barādar</i>	II 3.2.4.1fn., III 2 NP loanword see <i>brāt</i>
<i>brās</i> "brother"	obl. <i>brāθr-</i>	obl. <i>brātr-</i>		II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.2.4, 3.2.1.1fn., 3.2.3.1fn., III 2 BARTHOLOMAE 1885:130, 133
<i>barp</i> "snow"			<i>barf</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2 GEIGER 1891:446 NP loanword see also <i>gwahr</i>
<i>burz</i> "high"	<i>bərazant-</i> Prth. <i>burz</i>	<i>bḥánt-</i>	<i>buland</i>	II 2.2.3.2, 2.3.2, 3.1.1.4 GEIGER 1891:447 see also <i>bustir</i>
<i>barzī</i> "saddle bag"	<i>barəziš-</i> "cushion"		<i>bāla</i> "bag" <i>bāliš</i> "cushion"	II 2.2.3.2, 2.3.2 HORN 1893:39 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41
<i>b(i)rinǰ</i> "rice"			MP <i>brinǰ</i> NP <i>birinǰ</i>	II 3.3.2.1fn. GEIGER 1891:446 NP/MP loanword
<i>brinǰ</i> "copper, nickel"			MP <i>brinǰ</i> NP <i>birinǰ</i>	II 3.3.2.1fn. GEIGER 1891:446 NP/MP loanword
<i>burwān(k), birwān,</i> <i>barwān</i> "eyebrow"	<i>bruuatbiiqm</i> (dat. du.)	<i>b^hrū-</i>	MP <i>brūg</i> NP <i>abrū</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.1, 3.2.1.2 GEB 44
<i>barōbar, barēbar</i> "equal"			<i>barābar</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2, 3.3.2.1, 3.3.2.3 NP loanword see also <i>barābar</i>
<i>brēs- / brēst</i> "spin"	<i>uruuaēsa-</i> "turn" Prth. <i>ā-rwis- /</i> <i>ā-rwist</i>	<i>vrís-</i> "finger", <i>vréšt-</i> "whirl (in water)"	<i>rēs- / rišt</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.2.3.6, 2.3.3fn., III 5.1 GEB 40 EWAia II:462 see also <i>rēs-</i>
<i>bazgar</i> "farmer"	√ <i>varz</i> "work" Prth. <i>par-warz- /</i> <i>par-warzād</i> "care for"		<i>barzgar</i>	II 2.2.3.2 HORN 1893:46 NP loanword

<i>bas(s)</i> "bus"			<i>utubūs</i>	II 3.3.1.5 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>bas(s)</i> "enough"	OP <i>vasiy</i> Prth. <i>was</i>		<i>bas</i>	II 2.1.3.3 GEIGER 1891:446 NP loanword
<i>bustir</i> "higher"				II 2.2.3.2fn., V 1.2 see <i>burz</i>
‡ <i>busk-</i> / <i>butk</i> "be released"				II 3.1.1.2fn.
<i>bušk, bučk</i> "mane"	<i>barāša-</i> "horse's neck"		<i>buš</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.2 HORN 1893:50f.
<i>bašk-</i> / <i>baškāt</i> "forgive"	<i>baxša-</i> "bestow" Prth. <i>baxš-</i> / <i>baxt</i>	√b ^h aj "bestow"	<i>baxš-</i> / <i>baxšīd</i>	II 2.2.1.2, 3.1.1.2, III 5.3, V 1.6 GEB 24 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:924 = NP see also <i>bakš-</i>
EBal. <i>bušk-</i> / <i>buxt^ha</i> "shoot"				II 3.1.1.2, III 5.1 GEIGER 1891:436 see <i>bōj-</i>
<i>bak(k)āl</i> "shopkeeper, Hindu"			<i>baqqāl</i> "tradesman"	II 3.1.2.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>bakš-</i> / <i>bakšīt</i> "forgive"			<i>baxš-</i> / <i>baxšīd</i>	II 2.2.1.2, 3.1.1.2, III 5.5 GEB 24 NP loanword see <i>bašk-</i>
<i>baḡ(g)</i> "camel herd"				II 3.3.1.5, 3.3.1.7 ZARUBIN 1930:660 ROSSI 1979:3 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>baḡal</i> "armpit"			<i>baḡal</i>	III 2 NP loanword
<i>bal(l)uk, bal(l)ū,</i> <i>bal(l)ī</i> "grandmother"				II 3.3.1.5, III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:283 Br. loanword
<i>balki</i> "but"			<i>balki</i>	II 3.1.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>balg</i> "leaf"	* <i>varəka-</i> Prth. <wrgr>		<i>barg</i>	II 3.3.1.7 ELFENBEIN 1963:23 NP loanword
<i>bulūr</i> "crystal, glass"	Prth. <bylwr>		<i>bulūr</i>	II 3.1.2.3.3fn. Ind. loanword (via NP?)
<i>Bampūr</i> (town in Iran)			<i>Bampūr</i>	II 3.1.3.2
<i>bun</i> "fundament"	YAv. <i>buna-</i>	<i>bud^hná-</i>	<i>bun</i>	III 2fn. GEB 42 = NP
<i>bun</i> "root"			<i>bun</i>	III 2fn. HORN 1893:52 NP loanword see <i>gwan</i>
<i>binā</i> "beginning"			<i>banā'</i> "foundation"	II 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>band- / bast</i> "bind"	√ <i>band:</i> <i>band-</i> / <i>basta-</i>	√ <i>bad^h</i>	<i>band- / bast</i>	III 5.3 GEB 26 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>būt, bīt</i> (past stem of <i>bay-</i> "become")	<i>būta-</i> Prth. <i>būd</i>	<i>b^hūtá-</i>	<i>būd</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.1.3, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.4.3, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1fn., 3.2.2.3, III 5.1, V 1.6 GEB 45
<i>bōj- / bōtk</i> etc. "open"	√ <i>baog</i> "open, set free" Prth. <i>bōž-</i> / <i>bōxt</i> "save"		MP <i>bōz-</i> / <i>bōxt</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 3.1.2.1, 3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1fn., III 5.1 GEB 48 LIV 85
<i>bōd(išt)</i> "smell, perfume"	√ <i>baod</i> "feel" Prth. <i>bōdestān</i> "garden"	√ <i>bod^h</i> "perceive"	<i>bōy</i> "smell"	II 3.1.2.1
<i>bōr</i> "brown (horse)"			<i>bōr</i>	III 3 GEB 51 GEIGER 1891:444 MAYRHOFER 1960:146 ⁷⁴ , 1973:144 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992:47 = NP
<i>b^hūrā</i> "brown"				III 3 Ind. (Ur.) loanword

<i>bōg</i> "joint"		<i>b^hogá-</i> "bend, curve"		II 2.1.1.2, III 1 GEB 47 EWAia II:275
<i>bū(l)</i> "nose ring"				II 3.1.2.3 Ind. loanword
<i>bōlak(k)</i> "tribe"				II 3.1.2.2.1 DAMES 1904:4 Turk. loanword
<i>būṇḍuk</i> "pile of bedding etc."				II 3.1.3.3
<i>bahā</i> "price"		<i>vasná-</i>	<i>bahā</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 3.2.3.1 GEIGER 1891:446 HORN 1893:55 NP loanword
<i>bahār</i> "spring"	OP ° <i>vāhara-</i> (name of a month)	<i>vāsará-</i> "shining in the morning"	<i>bahār</i>	II 2.1.3.3 HORN 1893:56 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:57 EWAia II:532f.
<i>bahr</i> "share, destiny"	<i>baxtar-</i> "giver of portions"	√ <i>b^haj</i> "give a share"	<i>bahr</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.2.3.3 GEIGER 1891:446 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:33 NP loanword
<i>bahišt</i> "paradise"	Prth. <i>wahišt</i>		<i>bihīšt</i>	II 2.1.3.3 NP loanword
<i>bē</i> "without"			<i>bē</i>	I 1.3 GEIGER 1891:446 HORN 1893:56 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:33 NP loanword
<i>bay-</i> (/ <i>būt</i>) "become"	<i>bauua-</i> Prth. <i>buw-</i>	<i>b^háva-</i>	<i>buw-</i> / <i>būd</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 3.2.1.3, 3.3.1.5, III 5.1 GEB 45
<i>bēr</i> "revenge"				II 3.3.1.7 ELFENBEIN 1963:24 Ind. loanword
<i>bairak(k)</i> "flag"			<i>bairaq</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>bīst</i> "20"			<i>bīst</i>	II 2.1.3.3, III 4 NP loanword see also <i>gīst</i>

<i>bēnag</i> "honey"			(<i>angubīn</i>)	II 2.3.3, 3.1.2.3fn. GEB 36 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41
<i>pātiyā, fātihā</i> "memorial prayer"			<i>fātiḥa</i>	II 2.3.4, 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>pāṭpōs</i> "passport"				II 3.3.1.1 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>pāč, pač</i> "open"	<i>apaš</i> Prth. <i>abāž</i>	<i>ápāc-</i>	<i>bāz</i>	II 2.3.1.1, 3.1.2.2 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:22
<i>pāčin</i> "goat"			<i>pāzan</i>	II 2.2.2.4fn., 3.1.2.3 GEB 290 GERSHEVITCH 1971:268f. BAILEY 1979:139a
<i>pād</i> "foot"	<i>pāḍa-</i> Prth. <i>pāḍ</i>	<i>pāḍa-</i>	<i>pāy</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 3.2.2.1, 3.3.1.4, III 1 GEB 291
<i>pādšāh, bādšāh</i> "king"			<i>pādišāh</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP loanword
<i>pārī, pārīg</i> "last (year)"	<i>pa^uruua-</i> "earlier one"	<i>pūrva-</i> "front one"	<i>pār-sāl</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 3.2.3.3 GEB 293 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>pāzwār</i> "footwear"				II 3.2.1.1.1 NP loanword?
<i>pāk</i> "pure"	Prth. <i>pawāg</i>	<i>pāvaká-</i>	<i>pāk</i>	II 2.1.3.3 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:212 = NP
<i>pānzdah</i> "15"			<i>pānzdah</i>	II 3.1.3.3, III 4 NP loanword see <i>dah</i>
<i>pāida(g), fāida, -ā</i> "advantage"			<i>fā'ida</i>	II 1.1.1, 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 2.4.3.2, 3.1.4.1, 3.1.4.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>pupī</i> "aunt (father's sister)"				III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:284 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword

<i>pit</i> "father"	<i>pitar-</i> Prth. <i>pid(ar)</i>	<i>pitř-</i>	<i>pidar-</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.1.2, 3.2.1.1fn., 3.2.4.1fn., 3.3.1.4, III 2 GEB 296 ELFENBEIN 1985:234 see also <i>pis</i>
<i>pitārk</i> "stepfather"				III 2 see <i>pit</i>
<i>paṛ^hān</i> "Pashtun"				II 3.1.2.2.1 loanword
<i>patk</i> "poplar tree, willow"				II 3.2.2.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348, 1948:290 ROSSI 1979:39
<i>patan</i> "wide"	<i>paḍana-</i>		<i>pahn</i>	II 2.1.2.1 GEB 289 BAILEY 1979:259b KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:210
<i>pitō, pitū</i> "stepfather"				II 3.1.2.3, III 2 see <i>pit</i>
<i>puṭ</i> "hair, feather"				III 1 EMENEAU/BURROW 1972 ROSSI 1979:109
<i>puṭbāl, fuṭbāl</i> "football"				II 1.2.4 Europ. (Engl. via Ur.) loanword
<i>puṣ(j)- / puṣ(j)it</i> "reach"				II 3.3.1.5, III 5.6 GILBERTSON 1925:35 Ind. (Ur.?) loanword
<i>paṣar, faṣar</i> "morning (prayer)"			<i>faṣr</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>paṣṭ, paṣyā</i> "with"				II 3.2.1.1fn., 3.3.1.5 GEB 280
<i>pač</i> "open"				II 2.3.1.1 GEB 275 see <i>pāč</i>
<i>pač- / patk</i> etc. "cook"	√pač: <i>pača-</i>	√pac	<i>paz- / puxt</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.1.2, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, III 5.1 GEB 276

<i>pad</i> "trace"	<i>paḍa-</i>	<i>padá-</i>	<i>pai</i>	V 1.5 GEB 277
<i>padā</i> (postp.) "behind"				V 1.5 obl. of <i>pad</i>
<i>pidar</i> "father"			<i>pidar</i>	II 3.2.2.1 NP loanword see <i>pit</i> , <i>pis</i>
<i>pad(d)ar</i> "evident"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>pid(d)</i> "belly"				III 1 EMENEAU/BURROW 1961 ROSSI 1979:107 Br. loanword?
<i>par</i> "for"	<i>upa^{ri}°</i> Prth. <i>abar</i>	<i>upari°</i>	<i>(a)bar</i>	II 2.3.1.1 GEB 283 see also <i>pa</i>
<i>pir</i> "on, upon"	<i>para°</i>	<i>pára</i>		II 3.1.2.3 GEB 294
<i>pur(r)</i> "ashes"				III 3
<i>prāh</i> "wide"	Prth. <fr'x>		MP <pl'hw> <i>frāx</i> NP <i>farāx</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.3.2.1 GEB 303 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:84 = MP
<i>pardādā</i> "great-grandfather"				III 2 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword see <i>dādā</i>
<i>purs-</i> / <i>pursit</i> "ask"	√fras: <i>pārāsa-</i> Prth. <i>purs-</i> / <i>pursād</i>	√pracc ^h : <i>prcc^há-</i>	<i>purs-</i> / <i>pursīd</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.3.1.4, III 5.3 GEIGER 1891:458 = NP
<i>pruš-</i> / <i>prušt</i> "break (itr.)"				II 2.3.1.1, 3.1.2.1, 3.2.1.1fn., III 5.1 GEB 305 EMMERICK 1968:106 BAILEY 1979:234a, 298b see also <i>prōš-</i>
<i>prinč-</i> / <i>pritk</i> "squeeze"				II 2.3.1.1fn., 3.1.2.1, III 5.1 GEIGER 1891:401

<i>prōš-</i> / <i>prōšt</i> "break (tr.)"				II 2.3.1.1fn., 3.1.2.1, III 5.1 see <i>pruš-</i>
<i>parērī</i> "day before yesterday"			<i>parēr</i>	II 2.1.3.4 GEB 285 GERSHEVITCH 1964:81 = NP
<i>pizādag</i> , <i>pēzādag</i> "stepson"				III 2 GEB 297 see also <i>pit</i>
<i>pas</i> "sheep, goat"	<i>pasu-</i> Prth. <i>pas</i>	<i>paśú-</i>	MP <i>pah</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.3.1.2 GEB 286
<i>pis(s)</i> "father"	obl. <i>piṭr-</i>	obl. <i>pitr-</i>		II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.1.1, 3.2.1.1fn., 3.2.3.1, III 2 BARTHOLOMAE 1885:130, 133 see also <i>pit</i>
<i>pus(s)ag</i> "son"	<i>puṭra-</i> Prth. <i>puhr</i>	<i>putrá-</i>	MP <i>pus</i> NP <i>pisar</i>	II 2.2.1.4, III 2 GEB 304
<i>pasl</i> "harvest, season"			<i>faʃl</i>	II 3.2.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>pis(s)ō</i> , <i>pis(s)ū</i> "stepfather"				II 3.1.2.3, III 2 see <i>pis</i>
<i>paš</i> , <i>pašt</i> "back, behind"	<i>paśča</i> Prth. <i>paš</i>	<i>paścā</i>	<i>pas</i>	II 2.2.2.4, 3.2.2.1fn. GEB 287 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290
<i>pušt</i> "back"	<i>paršta-</i> Prth. <i>pušt</i>	<i>pr̥štʰá-</i>	<i>pušt</i>	II 2.2.2.4, 2.2.2.6, 2.3.2, 3.3.1.4 GEIGER 1891:401 = NP
<i>pašm</i> , <i>pažm</i> , <i>bažm</i> "wool"			<i>pašm</i>	II 3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.4, 3.3.1.6 NP loanword
<i>piš(š)ī</i> , <i>puš(š)ī</i> "cat"			<i>pušak</i>	II 2.1.1.1fn., 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.2 = NP see also <i>pūš(š)ī</i>
<i>pak(k)ā</i> "ripe, ready"				II 3.1.1.1fn., 3.2.1.1fn. = Ur. see also <i>pač-</i>

<i>pak(k)ār, pakar</i> "necessary"			<i>ba-kār</i>	II 2.3.1.1, 3.1.2.2.1 GEB 281 = Psht.
<i>pak(k)ār- / pak(k)ārit</i> "be useful"	≈ Prth. <i>pad-kār-</i> "contend, strive"			II 2.3.1.1fn. from <i>pak(k)ār</i>
<i>pikr, fikr, pigr</i> "thought"			<i>fikr</i>	II 3.1.2.2.2, 3.3.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>pakīr</i> "beggar, ascetic"			<i>faqīr</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.2.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>pul(l)</i> "flower"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>palk</i> "time, moment"			<i>falak</i> "circuit"	II 3.3.2.1 DAMES 1891:19 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>palamī</i> "penalty (football)"				II 3.3.1.1 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>pulūs</i> "police"				II 3.1.2.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>p^himblī</i> "eyelash"				III 1 GILBERTSON 1925/I:234f. Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>pan(n)</i> "leaf"	<i>parāna-</i> Prth. <png>	<i>parṇá-</i> "leaf, feather"	<i>par</i>	II 2.2.3.4 GEIGER 1891:401 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:57 = Si.
<i>pañjāh</i> "50"	<i>pañčāsāt-</i>	<i>pañčāsát-</i>	<i>pañjāh</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>pañjag</i> "hand, claws"			<i>pañja</i>	III 1 NP loanword see <i>pañč</i>
<i>pañč</i> "5"	<i>pañča</i>	<i>pañca</i>	<i>pañj</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>pinsil, pilsin</i> "pencil"				II 3.3.1.1 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>pūrī</i> "grey"				III 3

<i>pōz, pōnz</i> "nose"			<i>pōz</i>	II 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.3, III 1 GEB 310 GEIGER 1891:444 BAILEY 1979:250b = NP
<i>pōst</i> "skin"	OP <i>pavastā-</i> "parchment"			III 1 GEIGER 1891:458 BRANDENSTEIN/ MAYRHOFER 1964:140 = NP
<i>pūš(š)ī, pīš(š)ī</i> "cat"			<i>pōšak</i>	II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.2, 3.1.3.3 GEB 307 see also <i>piš(š)ī</i>
<i>pōšī</i> "day before yesterday"				II 2.3.1.1, 3.1.3.3 GEB 309 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49 GERSHEVITCH 1964:84 EWAia I:236
EBal. <i>pōgōx</i> "throat"				III 1
<i>pōn</i> "rotten (of fruit)"				II 3.1.3.2 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290
<i>pīnz, pīnz</i> "heel"				II 2.2.2.1fn., 3.1.2.3fn., 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.3.3, 3.2.2.3, III 1 GEB 306 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49
<i>pa</i> "for"	<i>upa°</i>	<i>upa°</i>		II 2.3.1.1 GEB 274 see also <i>par</i>
<i>puhl, pōl</i> "bridge"	<i>pərəθβ-</i> "wide" Prth. <pwrt>		MP <i>puhl</i> NP <i>pul</i>	II 2.2.3.1, 2.3.2, 3.1.2.4, 3.1.3.2 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:195, 207
<i>pahlū(g)</i> "ribs"	<i>parəsu-</i>	<i>pársu-</i>	MP <i>pahlūg</i> NP <i>pahlū</i> "side"	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.4.1, 3.1.4.2, 3.2.3.3 GEB 279 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:44 NP/MP loanword
<i>pahlawān</i> "bard"	OP <i>Parθava-</i> "Parthia"		<i>pahlawān</i> "hero"	II 2.2.3.1 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:208 = NP

<i>pahnād, pahnāt, pānād</i> "side, width"				II 3.2.3.3 NP loanword see also <i>patan</i>
<i>pīr</i> "old (persons)"	<i>paouiriia-</i> "first"	<i>pūrvyá-</i> "first"	<i>pīr</i>	II 3.1.2.2fn., III 2+fn. BARTHOLOMAE 1907:112 NP loanword
<i>pīruk</i> "grandfather"				II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.2fn., III 2 GEB 300 from <i>pīr</i>
<i>pīrō</i> "granduncle"				III 2fn. see <i>pīr, pīruk</i>
<i>pērī, pairī</i> "day before yesterday"				II 2.1.3.4 see also <i>parērī</i>
<i>pěš</i> "before"	OP <i>paišiyā</i> Prth. <i>pěš</i>		<i>pěš</i>	II 2.3.1.1fn., 3.1.1.3fn. GEB 302 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:214 ⁸² = NP
<i>pěšānī</i> "forehead"			<i>pěšānī</i>	II 2.3.1.1, III 1 EAL 120 NP loanword
<i>pěšdah, pěždah</i> "pistol"				II 3.1.1.3fn.
<i>pīg</i> "fat"	<i>pīuuah-</i> Prth. <frbyw> "fat, stout"	<i>pīvas-</i>	<i>pīh; farbīh</i> adj.	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 2.3.1.3 GEB 298
<i>pīm</i> "wool"				II 3.3.1.2fn.
<i>pīmāz</i> "onion"			<i>pīyāz</i>	II 3.2.1.1.2 GEB 299 NP or Kurd. loanword
<i>-t</i> (3sg.)				II 2.1.2.2fn., 2.1.2.3fn., 2.1.3.4, 3.2.2.3, V 1.6 see also <i>-ī(t)</i>
<i>-t</i> (past stem suff.)			<i>-t</i>	III 5, V 1.6 see also <i>-it, -āt</i>

<i>tā, tān</i> "until"			<i>tā; tā-ān</i>	II 3.1.3.3fn. HORN 1893:81 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:46 NP loanword
<i>tāp- / tāpt</i> "heat"	<i>tāpa-</i> Prth. <i>tāb- / tābād</i> "shine"	√tap	<i>tāb- / tāft</i>	III 5.1 GEB 385
<i>tātī</i> "aunt"				III 2 Br. loanword?
<i>tārīp</i> "praise"			<i>tā'rif</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>tām</i> "taste"			<i>tā'm</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>tāna</i> "stable"	<i>stāna-</i>	<i>st^hāna-</i> "position"	<i>-stān</i> "place of ..."	II 2.2.4.1 BARTHOLOMAE 1863:263 Indian loanword
<i>tabīb</i> "physician"			<i>tabīb</i>	II 3.3.1.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>tač- / tatk</i> etc. "run"	√tak: <i>tača-</i> Prth. <i>taž- / °δaxt</i>	√tak "hurry"	<i>tāz-</i> "hurry" (caus.)	II 2.1.1.1, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, III 5.1 GEB 374
EBal. <i>tar- / tarāḏ-</i> "swim"				II 2.3.2fn., III 5.5 DAMES 1891:22 Ind. (Si.) loanword see also <i>tar(r)-</i>
<i>tar(r)- / tar(r)it</i> "turn"	√tar "cross, overcome" Prth. <i>wi-dar- /</i> <i>wi-dar(ā)d</i> "pass", <i>widār- / widārād</i> "let pass", <trw->	√tř	<i>gu-zar- / gu-</i> <i>zard,</i> <i>gu-zār- / gu-</i> <i>zārd</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.1.2.3fn., 3.3.1.5fn., III 5.5 GEB 381 EWAia 1:629ff. = Ur. see also <i>tar-</i>
<i>tir(r)</i> "fart"				II 2.2.3.4fn.
<i>-tīr</i> (comparative suff.)	<i>-tara-</i>	<i>-tara-</i>	<i>-tar</i>	II 3.1.2.3, V 1.2
<i>tarā</i> "you (sg.)" (obl.)			<i>tu-rā</i>	II 3.2.3.2 see <i>tau</i>

<i>turpš, trupš, trušp</i> "sour"	Prth. <tryfš>		<i>turš</i>	II 2.2.4.3, 2.3.2, 3.1.1.2, 3.1.2.4, 3.1.3.1 GEB 395 BAILEY 1979:130a
<i>turs, trus</i> "fear"	Prth. <i>tars</i>		<i>tars</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.1.3.1, III 5.2 GEB 393, 394 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:47 see also <i>turs-</i>
<i>turs- / tursit</i> "fear"	√ḍrah: <i>tərəsa-</i> Prth. <i>tirs-</i> / <i>tirsād</i> , <tyšt->	√tras	<i>tars-</i> / <i>tarsīd</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.1.3.1, III 5.2 GEB 393, 394 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:47 see also <i>turs</i>
<i>trū, trī</i> "aunt"	<i>tūiriia-</i> "father's brother"	<i>pitrvyà-</i> "father's brother"		II 2.2.4.1, 2.3.2fn., 3.1.2.3, 3.2.2.2, III 2 BARTHOLOMAE 1893:263
<i>tarūn</i> "oven"			<i>tanūr</i>	II 3.3.1.1 NP loanword see <i>tanūr</i>
<i>-tirēn</i> (superlative suff.)				V 1.2 see <i>-tir</i>
<i>tus- / tust</i> "suffocate"	√taoš Prth. <i>tusīg</i> "empty"	<i>tucc^hyá-</i> "empty"	<i>tuhī</i> "empty"	II 2.1.2.3, III 5.1 GEB 397 EWAia I:650 see also <i>tōs-</i>
<i>tuman, tumun</i> "tribe"			<i>tōmān, tumān</i>	II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.3.2.3 NP-Turk. loanword (via Ur.)
<i>tama</i> "desire"			<i>ṭamā^c</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>ṭamā^c</i>
<i>-tīn</i> (inf.suff.)			<i>-tan</i>	I 3.3.1fn., V 1.6
<i>tun(n)</i> "thirst" <i>tun(n)ag, tun(n)īg</i> "thirsty"	<i>taršna-</i>	<i>třšna-</i>	<i>tiš</i> <i>tišna</i>	II 2.2.2.1, 2.2.3.3, 2.2.3.4, 2.3.2, 2.4.3.2, 3.1.3.2, 3.1.4.1, 3.3.1.5 GEB 396
<i>tanak</i> "thin"		<i>tanú-</i>	<i>tanuk</i>	II 3.2.1.2fn. GEB 377 BAILEY 1979:121b
<i>tank</i> "narrow"			<i>tang</i>	II 3.2.2.3 GEB 378

<i>tang</i> "narrow"			<i>tang</i>	II 3.2.2.3 GEB 378 NP loanword
<i>tanūr</i> "oven"	<i>tanura-</i>		<i>tanūr</i>	II 3.3.1.1 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:638 NP loanword
<i>tau</i> obl. <i>t(a)rā</i> gen. <i>tai, tī</i> "you (sg.)"	<i>tuuām</i> Prth. obl. <i>tō</i>	<i>tvám</i>	<i>tu</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.2, V 1.4 GEIGER 1891:413 SUNDERMANN 1989a:131
<i>tōp, tōp</i> "canon"			<i>tōp</i> "canon"	II 3.3.1.7 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>tūpak(k), tōpak</i> "gun"			<i>tufang</i> "gun"	II 3.1.3.3fn., 3.2.1.2 GEIGER 1891:462 NP-Turk. loanword see also <i>tōp</i>
<i>tōr-</i> "weigh"				II 3.3.1.7fn., III 5.6 Ind. (Si.) loanword see also <i>tōl-</i>
<i>tōs- / tōst</i> "extinguish"	<i>taoš-</i>			II 2.1.2.3, III 5.1 GEB 400 EWAia 1:650 see also <i>tus-</i>
<i>tōl</i> "weighing, scales"				II 3.3.1.7fn. Ind. (Ur.) loanword see also <i>tōr, tōl-</i>
<i>tōm, tuhm</i> "seed"	<i>taoxman-</i> Prth. <i>tōxm</i>	<i>tókman-</i>	<i>tuxm</i>	II 2.2.1.3 GEB 399
<i>tah, tih</i> "interior, in"			<i>tah</i> "bottom"	II 3.2.4.1, 3.2.4.2
<i>tahl, tahal, tāl</i> "bitter"	Prth. <i>taxl</i>		MP <i>taxl, tahr</i> NP <i>talx</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.2.4, 3.2.3.3 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:206 ⁵¹
<i>tīrmāh</i> "autumn"	<i>tištrīa-</i> "Sirius"	<i>tišyà-</i>	<i>tīr-māh</i>	II 3.2.3.1 NP loanword
<i>tīkat(t)</i> "ticket"				II 1.2.4, 3.3.1.5, 3.3.1.7 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword

<i>tōl-</i> / <i>tōlaṭh-</i> "weigh"				II 3.3.1.7fn., III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword see also <i>tōr-</i> , <i>tōl</i>
<i>tēbal</i> "table"				II 2.1.2.3fn. Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>tēt</i> , <i>tēt</i> "tight, good"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>ǰā(y)-</i> , <i>ǰāh-</i> / <i>ǰāyit</i> , <i>ǰāhit</i> "chew"			<i>ǰaw-</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.1.3.4fn., III 5.1 GEB 176 LIV 168
<i>ǰātūg</i> "sorcerer"	<i>yātu-</i>	<i>yātú-</i> "magic"	<i>ǰādū</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.4, 2.3.1.3 HORN 1893:92 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348
<i>ǰāsūs</i> "spy"			<i>ǰāsūs</i>	II 3.1.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ǰān</i> "life, body, beloved"	Prth. <i>gyān</i>		<i>ǰān</i>	II 2.2.3.7, III 1 GEIGER 1891:452 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:194 = NP
<i>ǰānwar</i> , <i>ǰanāwar</i> "animal"			<i>ǰānwar</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., 2.2.3.7fn., 3.3.2.2 NP loanword see <i>ǰān</i>
<i>ǰībar</i> "force"			<i>ǰabr</i>	II 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ǰitā</i> "separate"	<i>yūta-</i> Prth. <i>yud</i>	√yu: <i>yutá-</i>	<i>ǰudā</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 3.1.2.3 HORN 1893:94 EWAia II:403
<i>ǰut(t)</i> "old she-camel"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. loanword?
<i>ǰadgāl</i> , <i>ǰadgāl</i> , <i>ǰagdāl</i> "Jatt"				II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2 Ind. loanword
<i>ǰur(r)āb</i> "stocking"			<i>ǰūrāb</i>	II 3.1.3.1, 3.3.1.5fn. NP-Ar. loanword

<i>juz(z)- / juz(z)it</i> "move"	<i>yaoz-</i> Prth. <i>yōz-</i> / <i>yušt</i>		<i>ḷōy-</i> / <i>ḷust</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 3.1.3.1, III 5.1 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560 BAILEY 1979:20A
<i>jug</i> "yoke"	≈ <i>yuxta-</i> "team of cattle"			II 2.1.3.4 GEB 180 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP see also <i>ḷōg</i>
<i>ḷagar</i> "liver"	<i>yākarə</i>	<i>yákr̥t-</i>	<i>ḷigar</i>	II 2.1.3.4fn., 2.3.1.2fn., 3.2.1.2, III 1 GEB 173 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 NP loanword
<i>ḷan</i> "woman, wife"	<i>ḷáni-</i> Prth. <i>žan</i>	<i>jáni-</i>	<i>zan</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 3.2.3.1 GEB 174
<i>ḷan-</i> / <i>ḷat</i> "strike"	<i>ḷjan / ḷata-</i> Prth. <i>žan-</i> / <i>°žad</i>	<i>ḷhan / hatá-</i>	<i>zan-</i> / <i>zad</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 3.1.4.3, 3.2.3.3fn., III 5.1 GEB 175
<i>ḷantar, ḷintir</i> "millstone"		<i>yantrá-</i>	<i>ḷandar</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.2.1.3 GEIGER 1891:451 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:73 = Ur.
<i>ḷind</i> "self; body"				III 1 GILBERTSON 1925/I:77 Si./Lhd. loanword?
<i>ḷanik(k), ḷinik(k)</i> "girl, daughter"				II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.2.1.2, 3.3.1.5, III 2 diminutive of <i>ḷan</i>
<i>ḷang</i> "battle, war"			<i>ḷang</i>	II 3.2.2.3 GEIGER 1891:451 NP loanword
<i>ḷangal</i> "forest"		<i>ḷaṅgala-</i> "desert"	<i>ḷangal</i>	II 3.2.2.3 GEIGER 1891:451 LOKOTSCH 1927:74 Ind. (via NP?) loanword
<i>ḷanēn, ḷinēn</i> "wife"				III 2 see <i>ḷan</i>
<i>ḷaglī</i> "wild"				II 3.2.2.3 Ind. (Ur.) loanword see <i>ḷangal</i>

<i>ǰau</i> "barley"	<i>yauua-</i> Prth. <yw'rd'w>	<i>yáva-</i>	<i>ǰau</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.1.3.4, 3.3.1.4 GEB 179 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>ǰō(h), ǰū</i> "river"	OP <i>yauviyā-</i> "canal"	<i>yavyá-</i> "stream"	<i>ǰō(y)</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.4.1.2, 3.1.2.1fn., 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.4fn. HORN 1893:96 EWAia II:405 = NP
<i>ǰwān</i> "young, good"	<i>yuuān-</i> Prth. <i>yuwān</i>	<i>yúvan-</i>	<i>ǰawān</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 3.1.2.1fn., 3.1.3.4, 3.3.1.4 GEIGER 1891:451 = NP
<i>ǰōd</i> "man"	° <i>īiaoda-</i> "warrior"	<i>yodʰá-</i> "warrior"		II 2.1.3.4 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560 EWAia II:418f. = Ur.
<i>ǰōr̄</i> "well, healthy; constructed"				III 1 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>ǰūr̄</i> "intestines, colon"				III 1 from <i>ǰōr̄</i> ?
EBal. <i>ǰōḡ</i> "yoke"		<i>yóga-</i>		II 2.1.3.4fn. GEB 180 = Ur. see also <i>ǰug</i>
<i>ǰūn</i> "June (month)"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>ǰōhān</i> "big jar"				II 2.1.3.3fn. MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347 see also <i>ǰau</i>
<i>ǰih- / ǰist</i> "flee"			<i>ǰah- / ǰast</i>	II 2.1.2.5fn., III 5.3 GEIGER 1891:452 = NP
<i>ǰahl</i> "low"	<i>ǰafra-</i> Prth. <i>ǰafr</i>	<i>gabʰīrá-</i>	<i>ǰarf</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 2.2.1.4 GEB 178 EWAia I:464
<i>ǰuhl</i> "deep"	<i>gufra-</i>		MP <i>zofr</i>	II 2.2.1.4 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:525 EWAia I:464

‡jī- "live"	OP <i>jīva-</i> Prth. <i>žīw-</i>	√jīv: <i>jīva-</i>	MP <i>zī(w)- / zī(wi)st</i> NP <i>zīy- / zīst</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., III 5.5 = Ur.
<i>jīg</i> "bowstring"	<i>jiā-</i>	<i>jyā-</i>	<i>zih</i>	II 2.1.3.4 GEB 177
<i>čā</i> "tea"			<i>čai</i>	II 3.2.3.1
<i>čāt</i> "spring, well"	<i>čāt-</i>		<i>čah</i>	II 2.1.2.1, 3.2.1.1 GEB 59 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:555
<i>čāčā</i> "uncle (father's brother)"				III 2 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>čāčī</i> "aunt (father's brother's wife)"				III 2 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>čār</i> "4"	<i>čadβārō</i> (nom.) Prth. <i>čafār</i>	<i>catvāras</i> (Nom.)	<i>č(ah)ār</i>	II 2.2.1.5, 3.2.1.1, III 4 NP loanword
<i>čārdah</i> "14"	Prth. <i>čafārδas</i>		<i>čār-dah</i>	III 4 NP loanword see <i>čār</i> and <i>dah</i>
<i>čāklēt, čāklēt</i> "chocolate, sweets"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>čāp</i> "chop (of meat)"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>čab(b)aw</i> "sandal"				II 3.3.1.5 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:27 Ind. (Lhd.) loanword
<i>čap(p)</i> "left"			<i>čap</i>	II 3.3.1.5+fn. HÜBSCHMANN 1895:52 = NP
<i>čut(t)ī</i> "holiday"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>čar- / čar(i)t</i> "graze"	√čar: <i>čara-</i> Prth. <i>čar-</i>	√car	<i>čar-</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 2.2.3.4fn., 3.3.1.5fn., III 5.3 GEB 55 = NP/Ur. see also <i>čar(r)-</i>

<i>čar(r)- / čar(r)it</i> "turn, move"	√čar: <i>čara-</i>	√car		II 2.1.2.2, 2.2.3.4fn., 2.3.2fn., 3.3.1.5fn., III 5.3 see also <i>čar-</i>
<i>čark</i> "wheel, machine"	<i>čaxra-</i> Prth. <cxr>	<i>čakrá-</i>	<i>čarx</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.2.2.1 GEB 56 GEIGER 1891:444 NP loanword
<i>čaš(š)- / čaš(š)it</i> "taste, sip"	Prth. <c'šny(g)>		<i>čaš-</i> / <i>čaštd</i> MP <i>čāxšēn-</i> "cause to taste"	II 2.2.1.2, 3.3.1.5 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:216 ⁸⁶ NP loanword
<i>čuš(š)-</i> "kiss, suck"				II 3.1.3.1, III 5.3 see <i>čūš(š)-</i>
<i>čuk(k)</i> "child"				II 3.1.2.3, III 1fn., III 2 Ind. loanword?
<i>čik(k)- / čik(k)it</i> "pull"				II 3.3.1.5, III 5.6 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:28 Ind. (Si./Lhd.) loanword
<i>čakar</i> "circle"				II 3.3.1.1 = Ur. see <i>čark</i>
<i>čuk(k)ō</i> "stepchild"				III 2 see <i>čuk(k)</i>
<i>čukī</i> "(little) finger"				III 1
<i>čal-</i> / <i>čalit</i> "go"				II 3.1.1.3fn., III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>čil(l)</i> "40"	<i>čaṭbarasat-</i> Prth. <i>čafrast</i>	<i>catvāriṃśát-</i>	<i>či(hi)l</i>	II 2.2.1.5, 3.3.1.5fn., III 4 NP loanword
<i>čul(l)</i> "fireplace"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Si./Lhd.) loanword
<i>č^hill</i> "skin"				II 3.3.1.5fn., III 1 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>čam(m)</i> "eye"	<i>čašman-</i> Prth. <i>čašm</i>	<i>cākṣ-us-</i>	<i>čašm</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 2.2.2.3, 3.1.1.1, 3.1.3.2, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, III 1 GEB 52

<i>čín-</i> / <i>čít</i> "pick, gather"	√kay Prth. <i>čīn-</i>	√ci: <i>čínó-</i>	<i>čīn-</i> / <i>čīd</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 2.3.1.2, III 5.1 GEB 60 see also <i>gičín-</i>
<i>čunt</i> "how much"	<i>čuuant-</i> Prth. <i>čwand</i>		<i>čand</i>	II 3.1.3.4 GEB 64
<i>čandan</i> "sandal wood, silver, shining"			<i>čandan</i>	III 3 Ind. loanword (via NP?)
<i>čín-ka(s)</i> etc. "how much"				II 3.1.1.3 see also <i>čunt</i>
<i>čangul</i> "claw"			<i>čang</i>	II 3.2.2.3, III 1 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>čōp</i> "stick"			<i>čōb</i>	II 3.2.1.1, III 5.3 GEB 66 = NP
<i>čōp-</i> / <i>čōpit</i> "hit"				II 3.2.1.1, III 5.3 GEB 67 from <i>čōp</i>
<i>čūčag, čūčūk</i> "little (finger)"				III 1
<i>čūš(š)-</i> / <i>čūš(š)it</i> "kiss"			<i>čōš-</i> / <i>čōšīd</i>	II 3.1.3.1, III 5.3 ELFENBEIN 1963:29 = NP
<i>čauk</i> "crossroads"				II 3.1.3.3 Ind. loanword
<i>ča, ša</i> "of"	<i>hača</i>	<i>sácā</i>	<i>az</i>	II 2.3.1.2, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.1.1.1, V 1.5 GEB 1 see also <i>ač</i>
<i>čē</i> "what"	<i>či-</i>	<i>kí-</i>	<i>či</i>	II 3.1.2.3fn., 3.2.3.1, V 1.4 HORN 1893:100 EWAia I:347
<i>čēr</i> "under"			<i>zēr</i>	II 3.1.2.3 GEB 63 see also <i>ēr</i>
<i>čīr(r)</i> "rip, tear"				II 3.2.2.1 Ind. loanword

<i>čīgam, čīmag</i> "chewing gum"				II 3.3.1.1 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>xāhar</i> "sister"				II 3.2.4.1 NP loanword see <i>gwahār</i>
<i>xačar</i> "mule"				II 2.1.3.2 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>xazāna, -ā</i> "treasury"			<i>xizāna</i>	II 3.1.4.1, 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>xašm</i> "fury"	<i>aēšma-</i> "demons"		<i>xašm</i>	II 2.4.1.3 NP loanword
<i>dāt</i> (past stem of <i>day-</i>)	<i>dāta-</i> Prth. <i>dād</i>	<i>dātá-</i>	<i>dād</i>	II 3.3.1.4, III 5.4 GEB 77, 79 = NP
<i>dādā</i> "sister"				III 2 Ind. (Si.) loanword see <i>ḍādā</i>
<i>dār- / dāst</i> "hold, have"	√dar: <i>dāraīia-</i> / <i>dārata-</i> Prth. <i>dār-</i> / <i>dird</i>	√d ^h r: <i>d^hārāya-</i> / <i>d^hrtá-</i>	<i>dār-</i> / <i>dāšt</i>	III 5.4 GEB 75 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 NP loanword
<i>dās</i> "sickle"		<i>dātra-</i>	<i>dās</i>	II 2.2.1.4 GEB 76 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 = NP
<i>dān</i> "until"				II 3.1.3.3fn. GEB 73 see also <i>tā</i>
<i>dān</i> "grain"	<i>dānō°</i>	<i>d^hānā-</i> "roasted grain"	<i>dāna</i>	II 3.1.3.3, 3.3.1.4 GEB 74 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>dāwā</i> "lawsuit"			<i>dāwā</i>	II 1.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>dap</i> "mouth"	<i>zafar/n-</i>	<i>jāmb^ha-</i> "teeth"	<i>dahān</i>	II 2.1.2.3fn., III 1 GEB 71 BAILEY 1979:351b Pers. loanword

<i>dut(t)uk</i> "daughter, doll"	OAv. <i>duyədar-</i> Prth. <i>duxt</i>	<i>duhitár-</i>	<i>duxt, duxtar</i>	II 3.2.2.1, III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:44
<i>dut(t)ag</i> "daughter, doll"				II 3.2.2.1fn., III 2 see <i>dut(t)uk</i>
<i>dažuk(k), jaduk(k)</i> etc. "hedgehog"	<i>dužaka-</i>		<i>žūža</i>	II 3.1.2.3.4, 3.2.1.1.1, 3.3.1.5 BENVENISTE 1931:221f. MORGENSTIERNE 1932:52f.
<i>duxtar</i> "daughter"			<i>duxtar</i>	III 2fn. NP loanword see <i>dut(t)uk</i>
<i>dar</i> "door"	<i>duuar-</i> Prth. <i>bar</i>	<i>dvár-</i>	<i>dar</i>	II 2.2.1.5 GEB 72 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>dur(r)</i> "pearl"			<i>durr</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>dir(r)- / dirt, dir(r)it</i> "tear"	√dar: <i>dərəna-</i>	√dr̥: <i>dr̥n-</i>	<i>darr- / darrid</i>	II 2.2.3.4, 2.3.2, 3.1.2.3fn., III 5.3 GEB 78 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:62 see also <i>din-</i>
<i>drāj</i> "long"	° <i>drājah-</i> "length"		<i>dirāz</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 3.1.2.4, 3.2.1.1 GEB 84 EWAia I:728 see also <i>dēr</i>
<i>darja(g)</i> "degree"			<i>daraža</i>	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword (via Ur.)
<i>dračk, drašk</i> "tree"	Prth. <i>draxt</i>		<i>diraxt</i>	II 2.1.1.1fn., 3.1.2.2.2, 3.1.2.4, 3.1.3.1, 3.1.4.1, 3.2.1.1 GEB 82 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:43 KEWA II:37
<i>dard</i> "pain"	Prth. <i>dard</i>		<i>dard</i>	II 3.1.1.4 GEIGER 1891:447 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:60 NP loanword

<i>drust</i> "whole"	<i>druua-</i> + <i>sti-</i> "healthy life"		<i>durust</i> "right"	II 3.1.3.1 GEB 86 GEIGER 1891:444 HORN 1893:122 NP loanword
<i>drustī, durstī</i> "acquaintance"			<i>durustī</i> "propriety"	II 3.1.3.1 NP loanword see <i>drust</i>
<i>dar-gējag</i> "desire, invention"				II 3.2.1.1 from <i>gēj-</i>
<i>darwāzag</i> "door"			<i>darwāza</i>	II 2.2.1.5 NP loanword see also <i>dar</i>
<i>drōg</i> "lie"	<i>drauṣa-</i>	√ <i>druh</i> "deceive"	<i>durōg</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.3.1.4 GEB 49 = NP
<i>duz(z)</i> "thief"	<i>duždāh-</i> "evildoer"		MP <i>duz(d)</i> NP <i>duzd</i>	II 2.1.2.3fn., 2.2.2.6, III 5.4fn. GEB 88 NP/MP loanword
<i>duz(z)- / duz(z)it</i> "steal"			<i>duzd-</i> / <i>duzdīd</i>	II 2.1.2.3fn., III 5.4 NP loanword see <i>duz(z)</i>
‡ <i>diž-</i> / <i>daxt</i> "brand"	√ <i>daž:</i> <i>daža-</i> Prth. <i>ō-daž-</i> "burn"	√ <i>dah:</i> <i>dāha-</i> "burn"	MP <i>daz-</i> / <i>dazīd</i>	II 3.1.2.3.1, III 5.1 GEIGER 1891:400
<i>dužmin, dušmin</i> "enemy"	OAv. <i>duž-</i> <i>manah-</i> , YAv. <i>duš-manah-</i> Prth. <i>dušmen</i>	<i>dur-manas-</i>	<i>dušman</i>	II 2.1.2.4, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.3.1.1 = NP
<i>dast</i> "hand"	<i>zasta-</i>	<i>hásta-</i>	<i>dast</i>	II 2.1.2.3fn., III 1 GEIGER 1891:447 KLINGENSCHMITT 1975:77 ² , 2000:200 ³⁰
<i>dasad</i> "thread"			<i>dasa</i>	II 2.1.1.1fn. MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347
<i>duskīč</i> "daughter/ sister-in- law"				II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.1.2, 3.1.1.3, III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:43 see <i>du(t)uk</i>

<i>dušmān</i> "bad, evil"			<i>duš-nām</i>	II 3.3.1.1 NP loanword see also <i>dužmin</i>
<i>d^hak(k)</i> "attack"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>diks</i> "compact disc"				II 3.1.1.2 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>dag(g)</i> "road"				II 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:40 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>diga(r), digir</i> "other"			<i>diga(r)</i>	II 3.1.2.3, 3.3.2.1 NP loanword see also <i>adga, gidar, iptī</i>
<i>dil</i> "heart"			<i>dil</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:448 NP loanword see <i>zird</i>
<i>dumb, dumbag</i> "tail"	<i>duma-</i>		<i>dum(b)</i>	II 2.4.3.2, 3.1.1.4, 3.2.2.1fn. GEB 87 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:63 = NP
<i>din- / dirt</i> "tear"	√dar: <i>dārəna-</i>	√dṛ: <i>dṛṇ-</i>	<i>darr- / darrīd</i>	II 2.2.3.4, 2.3.2, 3.1.2.3fn., III 5.3 GEB 78 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:62 see also <i>dir(r)-</i>
<i>dantān</i> "tooth"	<i>dantan-</i> Prth. <i>dandān</i>	<i>dánt-</i>	<i>dandān</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.1.1, III 1 GEB 70
<i>dō, du</i> "2"	<i>duua-</i> Prth. <i>dō</i>	<i>dvá-</i>	<i>do</i>	II 2.2.1.5, III 4 NP loanword
<i>duwāzdah</i> "12"	<i>duua.dasa</i> Prth. <i>dwādes</i>	<i>dvādaśa-</i>	<i>dawāzdah</i>	II 2.2.1.5, III 4 NP loanword
<i>dōbar, dōbar</i> "breast"				II 3.1.1.4, III 1
<i>dūt</i> "smoke"	Prth. <i>dūd</i>	<i>d^hūmá-</i>	<i>dūd</i>	II 2.3.1.3, 3.1.2.3.1 GEB 90

<i>dōč-</i> / <i>dōtk</i> etc. "sew"			<i>dōz-</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1, III 5.1 GEB 91
<i>dūr, dīr</i> "far"	<i>dūra-</i>	<i>dūrá-</i>	<i>dūr</i>	II 3.1.2.3, 3.2.2.2 GEB 89 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>dūžah, dōzax</i> etc. "hell"	<i>daožaj^vha-</i> Prth. <i>dōžah</i>		MP <i>dušox</i> NP <i>dōzax</i>	II 2.1.2.4, 3.2.1.1fn., 3.1.2.3.1 GEIGER 1891:448
<i>dōš-</i> / <i>dušt</i> "milk"		√ <i>dug^h</i>	<i>dōš-</i> / <i>dōxt</i>	II 2.1.2.4, III 5.1 GEB 94 BARTHOLOMAE 1901:22
<i>dūk(k), dīk(k), dix</i> "spindle"			<i>dūk</i>	II 3.1.2.2, 3.1.2.3.1 GEB 93 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>dōmī, dumī, duhmī</i> "second"			<i>duwum(īn)</i>	II 3.1.3.2
(°) <i>da</i> "10" (and compounds)	<i>dasa</i>	<i>dása-</i>	(°) <i>dah</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 2.2.1.5, 3.1.3.3, 3.1.4.3, III 4 NP loanword
<i>day-</i> etc. (/ <i>dāt</i>) "give"	√ <i>dā</i> Prth. <i>dah-</i> / <i>dād</i>	√ <i>dā</i>	<i>dah-</i> / <i>dād</i>	II 2.1.1.2fn., 3.3.1.4, III 5.4, V 1.6 GEB 77 NP loanword
<i>dīt, dist</i> (past stem of <i>gind-</i> "see")	√ <i>daii</i> : <i>dīta-</i> Prth. past stem <i>dīd</i>	√ <i>d^hi</i> : <i>d^hitá-</i> "look"	(<i>bīn-</i> /) <i>dīd</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.4.3, III 5.1 GEB 105
<i>dīd, dīda(g)</i> "(pupil of the) eye"			<i>dīda</i>	III 1 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:34 NP loanword see <i>dīt</i>
<i>dīdōk</i> "eyeball"				III 1 from <i>dīd</i>
<i>dēr</i> "late"	<i>darəγa-</i>	<i>dīrg^há-</i>	<i>dēr</i>	II 3.1.2.3fn. GEB 81 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 NP loanword

<i>dēm</i> "face"	<i>daēman-</i> "eye"		MP <i>dēm</i> , NP <i>dīm</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.1.1 GEB 80 HORN 1893:133 see also <i>dīt</i>
<i>dēmā</i> (postp.) "in front of"				II 3.1.2.3.2, V 1.5 obl. of <i>dēm</i>
<i>dīm</i> "back"				II 3.2.2.1 GEIGER 1891:410 HÜBSCHMANN 1893:63 see <i>dumb</i>
<i>dīwāl</i> "wall"			<i>dīwār</i>	II 3.1.1.4, 3.3.1.7 NP loanword (via Ur.)
<i>dīwāna</i> , <i>-ā</i> "mad"			<i>dīwāna</i>	II 3.1.4.3 NP loanword
<i>dēh</i> , <i>dēh</i> "country"				II 3.2.1.1 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:45 Ind. loanword
<i>dādā</i> "grandfather" <i>dādī</i> "grandmother"				III 2 GILBERTSON 1925/I:295 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword see <i>dādā</i>
<i>dākṭar</i> "doctor"				II 1.2.4, 3.3.1.7 Europ. (Engl.) loanword (via Ur.)
<i>dun(n)</i> "navel"				III 1 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>dīs</i> "(satellite) dish"				II 1.2.4 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>zabah</i> "slaughtering"			<i>zabḥ</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>zarra</i> , <i>zarā</i> "atom"			<i>zarra</i>	II 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>zīmma</i> , <i>-ā</i> "responsibility"			<i>zīmma</i>	II 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>-rā</i> (acc./dat. suff.)			<i>-rā</i>	V 1.1
<i>rājā</i> "king"			<i>rāja</i>	II 3.1.4.3 Ind. loanword

<i>rān</i> "thigh"	<i>rāna-</i>		<i>rān</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:458 = NP
<i>rab(b)</i> "Lord, God"			<i>rabb</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>rupē, ruppī</i> "Rupia (money unit)"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>raĵ-</i> / <i>raĵit</i> "colour, tan"		√ <i>raĵ</i>	<i>raz-</i> / <i>razīd</i> , <i>rašt</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 3.2.1.1.1fn., III 5.1, V 1.6
<i>rud-</i> / <i>rust</i> "grow"	√ <i>raod</i> Prth. <i>rōḍ-</i> / <i>rust</i>	√ <i>rud</i> ^h	<i>rōy-</i> / <i>rust</i>	II 2.1.2.3, III 5.1 GEB 319
<i>ras-</i> / <i>rasit</i> "arrive"	OP <i>rasa-</i>	√ <i>r</i> : <i>recháti</i>	<i>ras-</i> / <i>rasīd</i>	III 5.3 GEB 313 BARTHOLOMAE 1893:264 = NP
<i>rastar</i> "wild animal"			<i>rastar</i>	II 2.2.1.4 GEB 314 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559
<i>rak(k)</i> "protection"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>rak(k)</i> "lib, cheek"				III 1
<i>rag</i> "vein"	<i>raḡhā-</i> (name of a river)	<i>rása-</i> "juice"	<i>rag</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:458 BAILEY 1979:361a NP loanword
<i>rumb</i> "run"				III 5.7 GEB 320 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553
<i>rumb-</i> / <i>rumbit</i> "hurry"				II 2.1.3.1, III 5.7 GEB 320 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553 from <i>rumb</i>
<i>ramp</i> "rough"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword

<i>rang</i> "colour"		√raj "become coloured"	<i>rang</i>	II 3.2.2.3 GEIGER 1891:458 BAILEY 1979:362 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:198 = NP
<i>raw-</i> (/ <i>šut</i>) "go"	≈ Prth. <i>raf-</i> / <i>raft</i> "attack"		<i>raw-</i> / <i>raft</i>	II 2.2.2.2, 3.1.3.4, 3.2.3.1, 3.3.1.4, III 5.4, V 1.6 GEB 322 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559 HÄUSLER 2000 NP loanword
<i>rū-ba-rū</i> "opposite"			<i>rū-ba-rū</i>	II 3.3.1.6 NP loanword
<i>rōp-</i> / <i>rupt</i> "sweep"	<i>urūpaiia-</i> "cause to suffer"	√rup/lup "break"	<i>rōb-</i> / <i>ruft</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 2.2.1.1, III 5.1 GEB 329 HORN 1893:135 HUMBACH 1991/II:203
<i>rōpāsk</i> "fox"	Prth. <i>rōbās</i>	<i>lopāsá-</i>	<i>rōbāh</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.4.2 GEB 323 EWAia II:482
<i>rōt</i> "intestines"	<i>uruḍuuar-</i>		MP <i>rōdīg</i> NP <i>rūda</i>	II 3.1.3.3, 3.1.4.2, III 1 GEB 331 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49
‡ <i>rōt</i> "river"	OP <i>rautah-</i> Prth. <i>rōd</i>	<i>srótas-</i>	<i>rōd</i>	II 3.3.1.4fn. GEB 330 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559
<i>rōtag</i> "root"				II 2.1.1.1fn. GEB 332 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553
<i>rōč</i> "day, sun"	OP <i>raučah-</i> Prth. <i>rōž</i>	<i>rocaná-</i> "light" etc.	<i>rōž</i> "day"	II 2.1.2.2, 2.2.4.3fn., 2.3.3, 3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.2 GEB 324
<i>rōd</i> "river"				II 2.2.2.5 GEB 326, 330 NP loanword see also <i>rōt</i>
<i>rōd</i> "copper" <i>rōdgīn</i> "red"	<i>raoḍita-</i> "reddish"	<i>lohá-</i>	<i>rūy</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2, III 3 GEB 325 EWAia II:484

<i>rōd</i> "intestines"			MP <i>rōdīg</i> NP <i>rūda</i>	III 1 MP/NP loanword see <i>rōt</i>
<i>rōšnā, rōžnā</i> "light (adj.)" <i>rōšnāī, rōžnāī</i> "light (subst.)"			<i>rōšanā('ī)</i> "light (subst.)"	II 3.1.1.3 NP loanword see also <i>rōč</i>
<i>rōmast</i> "rumination"		<i>romant^ha-</i>		II 2.1.3.1 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:561 MORGENSTIERNE 1938:537
<i>riy-</i> "defecate"	√ray	√ri "let loose"	<i>rīn- / rīd</i>	II 3.2.1.1fn., III 5.1 GEB 315
<i>rēč- / rētk</i> etc. "pour"	√raēk Prth. past stem <ryxt>	√ric	<i>rēz- / rēxt</i>	II 2.3.3, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1, III 5.1 GEB 316
<i>rēs- / rist, rēs(it)</i> "spin, twist"	<i>uruuaēsa-</i> "turn" Prth. <i>ā-rwis- / ā-</i> <i>rwist</i>	<i>vriś-</i> "finger", <i>vrēšt-</i> "whirl (in water)"	<i>rēs- / rišt</i>	II 2.2.3.6, 2.3.3fn., III 5.1 GEB 40, 314 EWAia II:462 = NP
<i>rīš</i> "beard"			<i>rīš</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:458 HORN 1893:142 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:68 NP loanword
<i>rēk</i> "sand"	√ray "defecate"	√ri "flow"	<i>rēg</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.2.1.1 GEB 317 EWAia II:437
<i>rēm</i> "grass"			<i>rīm</i>	II 3.2.1.1.2 GEIGER 1891:414 HORN 1893:142
<i>zātk, zāxt</i> "child"	Prth. <i>zādag</i>		<i>zāda</i>	II 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.2.2, 3.1.2.3 GEB 418 see also <i>zāy-</i>
<i>zār</i> "lament"	Prth. <i>zār</i> "sorrow"		<i>zār</i>	II 3.1.2.4fn., 3.2.1.1.1fn., 3.2.3.3 HORN 1893:143 BAILEY 1979:199a = NP

<i>zāl</i> "woman"	<i>zarəta-</i> "old"	<i>jarant-</i> "old"	<i>zāl</i> "old woman"	II 3.1.2.3, III 2 GEB 419 GEIGER 1891:444 NP loanword
<i>zāmāt</i> "son-in-law"	<i>zāmātar-</i>	<i>jāmātr-</i>	<i>dāmād</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 3.2.1.1fn., III 2+fn. GEB 420
<i>zāmās</i> "son-in-law"				II 2.2.1.4, 3.2.1.1fn. see <i>zāmāt</i>
<i>zāmīñ</i> "bail security"			<i>zāmīñ</i>	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>zāmnī</i>
<i>zān</i> "knee"	<i>zānu</i> ^o Prth. <i>zānūg</i>	<i>jānu-</i>	<i>zānū</i>	II 2.1.3.1, III 1 GEB 421 NARTEN 1970:45ff.
<i>zān-</i> / <i>zānt</i> "know"	√znā: <i>zāna-</i> Prth. <i>zān-</i> / <i>zānād</i>	√jñā	<i>dān-</i> / <i>dānist</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.3.1.3, III 5.1, V 1.6 GEB 422
<i>zāy-</i> , <i>zāh-</i> / <i>zāt</i> , <i>zāhit</i> "give birth"	√zan Prth. <i>zāy-</i> / <i>zād</i>	√jan	<i>zāy-</i> / <i>zād</i>	II 1.1, 2.1.3.4, 3.1.2.2, III 5.3 GEB 423
<i>zubān</i> , <i>zawān</i> "tongue, language"	<i>hizuuā-</i> Prth. <i>izβān</i>	<i>jihvā-</i>	<i>zabān</i>	II 2.2.2.3, 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.1, III 1 GEIGER 1891:464 = NP
<i>zar(r)</i> "gold, money" <i>zar(r)ī</i> "silver, golden"	<i>zarənaēna-</i> "golden" Prth. adj. <i>zarnēn</i>	<i>hīraṇya-</i>	<i>zarr</i> "gold"	II 2.2.3.4, 3.3.1.5, III 3 GEIGER 1891:463 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:69 NP loanword see also <i>zard</i>
<i>zirā</i> "sea", <i>zirih</i> "spring"	<i>zraiiāh-</i>	<i>jrāyas-</i> "distance"	<i>daryā</i>	II 3.1.2.4 GEB 425 HORN 1893:125
<i>zard</i> "yellow"	<i>zairita-</i>	<i>hārīta-</i>	<i>zard</i>	II 3.1.1.4, III 3 GEIGER 1891:463 HORN 1893:146 NP loanword
<i>zirδ</i> "heart"	<i>zərəδ(aiia)-</i> Prth. <i>zirδ</i>	<i>hřd(aya)-</i>	<i>dil</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 2.2.3.2, 2.3.2, 3.1.2.3fn., 3.3.1.4 GEB 426

<i>zardālū</i> "apricot"			<i>zard-ālū</i>	II 3.1.2.2.1 NP loanword see also <i>zard</i>
<i>zarda</i> "rice with saffron"			<i>zarda</i>	II 3.1.4.3 NP loanword
<i>zarūr, zalūr</i> "certainly"			<i>zarūr</i>	II 3.3.1.7 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>zalar</i> "harm"			<i>zarar</i>	II 3.3.1.7 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>zamānag</i> "time"			<i>zamān(a)</i>	II 3.2.1.3 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:69 BAILEY 1979:110a NP loanword
<i>zamīk, zamīn</i> "field, seed"			MP <i>zamīk</i> NP <i>zamī(n)</i>	II 3.2.2.3 GEB 415 GEIGER 1891:444 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201 NP loanword
<i>zīn- / zīt, zīt</i> "seize"	<i>zīnāṭ</i>	√jyā: <i>jīnā-</i>	<i>zīyān</i> "impairment"	II 2.1.3.1, III 5.1 GEB 424 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560
<i>zanūk, EBal. zanāx</i> "chin"	<i>zanauuua</i> "both jaws" Prth. <i>zanax</i>	<i>hānu-</i>	<i>zanax</i>	II 3.1.4.1, III 1 GEB 416 NARTEN 1970 EWAia II:801
<i>zūt(t)</i> "quick"	<i>uzūtī-</i> "coming fast (water)" < *uz-zūtī-	<i>jūtī-</i> "hurry"	<i>zūd</i>	II 2.1.3.1fn., 2.3.1.3, 3.1.2.3.1 GEB 430 EWAia I:580
<i>zōr</i> "power"	Prth. <i>zāwar</i>		<i>zōr</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., 3.3.1.6fn. GEIGER 1891:464 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201, 214 = NP
<i>zūr-, zīr- / zurt</i> "take"		√hr		II 2.3.2, 3.1.2.3, III 5.1 GEB 429
<i>zūm(m), zīm(m)</i> "scorpion"	<i>zauuah-</i> "speed"	√jū "hurry"		II 3.1.2.3.1, 3.2.2.1 GEB 428

<i>zahr, zār, zahar</i> "poison, anger"	Prth. <i>žahr</i>		<i>zahr</i> "poison"	II 3.1.2.4+fn., 3.2.1.1.1fn., 3.2.3.3 GEIGER 1891:463 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:71 NP loanword
<i>zahrak</i> "gall bladder"			<i>zahra</i>	II 3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.3.3fn. GEIGER 1891:463 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:71 NP loanword
<i>zahg, zā(h)g</i> "child"	Prth. <i>zahag</i>		MP <i>zahag</i>	II 3.1.2.1, 3.2.3.3 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:201
<i>zahm, zā(h)m</i> "sword"			<i>zaxm</i> "wound"	II 3.2.3.3 GEIGER 1891:463 NP loanword
<i>zī, zīk</i> "yesterday"		<i>hyás</i>	<i>dī-rōz</i>	II 2.1.3.4 GEB 427
<i>zyāt</i> "much"			<i>ziyād</i>	II 3.3.1.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>zēb</i> "ornament"			<i>zēb</i>	II 3.3.1.6 BAILEY 1979:21a = NP
<i>zīr(r)ag</i> "cumin seed"		<i>jīra-</i>	<i>zīra</i>	II 3.1.1.1fn. HORN 1893:259 NP loanword
<i>sārt</i> "cold"	<i>sarəta-</i> Prth. <wys'r-> "freeze"	≈ <i>śísira-</i> "cool season"	<i>sard</i>	II 3.1.1.4, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.4+fn. GEB 336 EWAia II:641
<i>sāh</i> "breath"		<i>śvāsá-</i>		II 2.2.2.3 GEB 339 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:66 = Lhd.
<i>sāh, sā'ig</i> etc. "shadow"	<i>a-saiia-</i> "without shadow"	<i>c^hāyá-</i>	<i>sāya</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.3fn., 2.1.3.4, 2.4.1.2 GEB 340 EWAia I:559
<i>sāhat, sahat</i> "hour, time"			<i>sā^cat</i>	II 1.2.1, 3.2.3.1 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>sāy-, sāh- / sāt</i> "shave"	<i>fra-sā-na-</i> "cutting"	√c ^h ā: c ^h yá-		II 2.1.3.4, 2.4.1.2, III 5.1 GEB 341 BAILEY 1979:424a LIV 547
<i>sāikal, sēkal</i> "bicycle"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>sabab</i> "reason"			<i>sabab</i>	II 3.2.1.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>sabr, sabar</i> "patience"			<i>šabr</i>	II 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>sabz, sauz</i> "blue, green"			<i>sabz</i>	II 3.3.1.6, III 3 GEIGER 1891:459 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:66 NP loanword
<i>spēt, ispēt, sipēt</i> "white"	<i>spaēta-</i> Prth. <i>ispēd</i>	<i>švetá-</i>	<i>safēd</i> etc.	II 2.2.2.3, 2.3.4, 3.1.2.4, 3.3.1.6, III 3 GEB 166 GEIGER 1891:444 NP loanword
<i>suč- / sutk</i> "burn (itr.)"	√saoc Prth. <i>sōž- / suxt</i>	√šuc		II 2.1.2.3, 2.3.1.2, III 5.1 GEB 349 see also <i>sōč-</i>
<i>sad</i> "100"	<i>sata-</i>	<i>šatá-</i>	<i>sad</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>sud(d)</i> "consciousness"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>sadak(k)a, sadka, -ā</i> "alms, charity"			<i>šadaqa</i>	II 3.1.4.3, 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>sar</i> "head"	<i>sarah-</i> Prth. <i>sar</i>	<i>šíras-</i>	<i>sar</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.3.1.4, III 1 GEB 334ff. EWAia II:639 = NP
<i>sarā</i> (postp.) "on"				V 1.5 obl. of <i>sar</i>
<i>srup</i> "lead (metal)"	acc. <i>srum</i>		<i>surb</i>	II 2.2.2.5, 3.1.2.4 GEB 355 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:74f.
<i>surkind</i> "red-grey"				III 3 Ind. loanword?

<i>srumb</i> "hoof"	<i>srū-</i> "horn"	<i>śṛṅga-</i> "horn"	<i>surū</i> "horn"	II 2.2.2.5, 2.4.3.2, 3.1.2.4 GEB 348 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:50
<i>srōp</i> "apple"				II 3.1.2.4fn. see also <i>sōp</i>
<i>srōṣ</i> "elbow"				II 2.2.2.5, 3.1.1.3, 3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.1.2.4, III 1 GEB 354 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:51
<i>sarōgān</i> "head of a gang"				II 3.2.1.1 from <i>sar</i>
<i>srēn</i> "loins"	<i>sraoni-</i>	<i>śróṇi-</i>	<i>surūn, surīn</i>	II 2.2.2.5, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.1.2.4, 3.2.1.1, III 1 GEB 338 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:75
<i>saḡar</i> "head"				II 3.2.1.1, III 1 see <i>sar-</i>
<i>sak(k)</i> "hard"	√ <i>sak</i> "think of" Prth. <i>saxt</i> "compressed"	√ <i>śak</i> "be able"	<i>saxt</i>	II 2.2.1.1, 2.2.4.3, 3.3.1.5fn. GEB 333
<i>sik(k)- / sik(k)it</i> "learn"				II 3.2.1.1, III 5.6 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>suk(k)^h</i> "comfort"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>sik(k)a, -ā</i> "coin"			<i>sikka</i>	II 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>sag</i> "dog"	<i>span-</i> Prth. < ^e spg>	<i>śván-</i>	<i>sag</i>	II 2.2.2.3
<i>sil</i> "skin"				III 1 EMENEAU/BURROW 1961 ROSSI 1979:110 Br. loanword
<i>sil(l)</i> "brick"				II 3.3.1.5 DAMES 1891/II:57 Ind. (Pnj.) loanword
<i>sumb</i> "hole"			<i>sumb(a)</i>	II 2.4.3.2fn., III 5.3 GEB 351 = NP

<i>sumb-</i> / <i>supt</i> , <i>sunbit</i> "pierce"			<i>sunb-</i> / <i>suft</i>	II 2.4.3.2fn., III 5.3 GEB 352 from <i>sumb</i> ?
<i>simiṭ(t)</i> "cement"				II 3.1.1.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
[‡] <i>sun-</i> / <i>sunit</i> "hear"	√ <i>srav</i> : <i>surunao-</i>	√ <i>śru</i> : <i>śṛṇó-</i>		II 2.2.3.4fn., 2.3.2, III 5.5 GEB 353 = Ur.
<i>sunṭ</i> "chin, beak, sting"				III 1 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:133 Ind. (Lhd.) loanword
<i>sind-</i> / <i>sist</i> "break"	√ <i>saēd</i> Prth. ° <i>sind-</i> / <i>sist</i>	√ <i>c^hid</i> : <i>c^hinád-</i>	(<i>gusil-</i> /) <i>gusist</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.2.2.1fn., III 5.1 GEB 342 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559
<i>sang</i> , <i>sing</i> "stone"	<i>asānga-</i> OP <i>aḍānga-</i> Prth. <i>asang</i>	≈ <i>ásman-</i>	<i>sang</i>	II 2.3.1.1, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.2.2.3 GEIGER 1891:460 BRANDENSTEIN/ MAYRHOFER 1964:107 = NP
<i>sang</i> "companionship"				II 3.2.2.3 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>sangat(t)</i> "friend"				II 3.3.1.5, 3.3.2.1 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>sangtī</i> "loyalty"				II 3.3.2.1 from <i>sangat(t)</i>
<i>singal</i> "signal (traffic lights)"				II 3.3.1.1 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>sunērī</i> "golden"				III 3 Ind. loanword
<i>sōp</i> "apple"				II 3.1.2.3, 3.1.2.4fn. see also <i>srōp</i>
<i>sūt</i> "use, gain"	√ <i>sav</i>	√ <i>sū</i>	<i>sūd</i>	II 2.3.1.3fn. GEB 357 EWAia II:623f.

<i>sōč-</i> / <i>sōtk</i> "burn sth."	√saok: <i>saoča-</i> Prth. <i>sōž-</i> / <i>suxt</i>	√śuc	<i>sōz-</i> / <i>sōxt</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.3.3, III 5.1 GEB 358 see also <i>suč-</i>
<i>sōč-</i> / <i>sōčit</i> "think"				II 3.1.3.3, III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>sōčin</i> , <i>sūč(č)in</i> "needle"	<i>sūkā-</i>	<i>sūčī-</i>	<i>sōzan</i>	II 2.1.2.2, 2.3.1.3fn., 3.1.1.2, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.2.1 GEB 356 EWAia II:739
<i>sūr</i> "salty"			<i>šōr</i>	II 2.1.2.4 GEIGER 1891:431 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208 see also <i>šōr</i>
<i>suhb</i> , <i>sōb</i> "morning"			<i>ṣubḥ</i>	II 3.1.3.2, 3.3.1.1 GEIGER 1891:460 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>suhr</i> , <i>sōr</i> "red, golden, gold"	<i>suxra-</i> Prth. <i>suxrag</i> "purple"	<i>śukrá-</i> "light, clear"	<i>surx</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.3.2, 3.2.4.1, III 3 GEB 350 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559
<i>sihr</i> , <i>saḥr</i> , <i>saḥar</i> "magic"			<i>siḥr</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.2.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>sai</i> , <i>saē</i> "3"	<i>ḍraiiia-</i> Prth. <i>hrē</i>	<i>tráyas</i>	<i>sih</i>	II 2.1.3.4, 2.2.1.4, 3.2.1.1fn., III 4 GEIGER 1891:411 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:78 NP loanword
<i>sī</i> "30"	<i>ḍrisat-</i>	<i>trīmśát-</i>	<i>sī</i>	III 4 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:202 NP loanword
<i>sī</i> , <i>sīk</i> "pike, hook"			<i>sēx</i>	II 2.1.2.1fn. GEB 344 GEIGER 1891:344 KEWA III:334 = NP
<i>sīy-</i> / <i>sīt</i> "swel"	√sav "be of use"	√śav: <i>śváya-</i>		II 2.2.2.3 GEB 347

<i>syāh</i> "black, dark"			<i>siyāh</i>	II 2.1.3.3, III 3 GEB 343 GEIGER 1891:444 NP loanword see also šān
<i>sēzdah, sēzda(g)</i> "13"			<i>sēzdah</i>	II 3.1.3.3, III 4 NP loanword see <i>dah</i>
<i>sīkun</i> "porcupine"	<i>sukurāna-</i>		<i>sugur</i>	II 2.2.3.4, 2.3.2fn. GEB 345 HORN 1893:164
<i>sēnag</i> "breast"	<i>saēni-</i> "top, peak"		<i>sīna</i>	III 1 GEB 346 GIPPERT 1993/I:243 see also <i>sīna</i>
<i>sīngār</i> "cosmetics"				II 3.1.3.3
<i>sīna</i> "breast"			<i>sīna</i>	III 1 GEB 346 GEIGER 1891:444 see <i>sēnag</i>
<i>šāt</i> "happy"	<i>šiiāta-</i>		<i>šād</i>	II 2.2.2.2 HORN 1893:169 = NP
<i>šād(d)ī</i> "joy"			<i>šādī</i>	II 3.1.1.1fn. NP loanword see also <i>šāt</i>
<i>šāgird</i> "pupil, beginner"			<i>šāgird</i>	II 3.1.1.4, 3.2.1.2 NP loanword
<i>šāmlī</i> "included"			<i>šāmil</i>	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šāmīr</i> "red, crimson"				III 3
<i>šān</i> "black"	<i>siiāuua-</i> Prth. <i>syāw(ag)</i>	<i>šyāvā-</i>	<i>siyāh</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.2.4.1, III 3 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51
<i>šānzdah</i> "16"			<i>šānzdah</i>	III 4 NP loanword see <i>dah</i>

<i>šāh</i> "horn, branch"		<i>šāk^hā-</i>	<i>šāx(a)</i>	II 2.1.2.1 GEIGER 1891:460 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208 NP loanword
<i>šāhid</i> "witness"			<i>šāhid</i>	II 3.2.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šā(h)ir</i> "poet"			<i>šā^cir</i>	II 1.1, 3.2.2.1fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šāhīn</i> "falcon"			<i>šāhīn</i>	II 3.1.3.3 GREPPIN 1977:9 NP loanword
<i>šap</i> "night"	<i>xšap-</i> Prth. <i>šab</i>	<i>ḵšáp-</i>	<i>šab</i>	II 2.2.1.2 GEB 362
<i>šupānk, šipānk</i> "shepherd"	<i>fšū-</i> "sheep etc." + √ <i>pā</i> "protect" Prth. <i>šubān</i>	<i>pašú-</i> "sheep etc." + √ <i>pā</i> "protect"	<i>šubān, šabān</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.2.1.2, 2.4.3.2, 3.1.2.3, 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.6 GEB 367 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560 see also <i>šawān</i>
<i>šapčar, čapčal</i> "bat"				II 3.1.1.3 GEB 362 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:560 see <i>šap</i> and <i>čar-</i>
<i>šut</i> (past stem of raw- "go")	YAv. √ <i>šav</i> : <i>šuta-</i>	√ <i>cyu</i> : <i>cyutá-</i>	<i>šud</i>	II 2.2.2.2, III 5.4 GEB 322 = NP
<i>šud</i> "hunger"	YAv. <i>šud-</i>	<i>ḵšúd^h-</i>	MP <i>suy, šuy</i> NP <i>šuy</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.1.2, 2.3.1.2, 3.3.1, III 5.2fn. GEB 371 EWAia I:667f. see also <i>gušn</i>
<i>šud-</i> "hunger"				III 5.2 from <i>šud</i>
<i>šud-</i> "wash (itr.)"	<i>xšudra-</i> "liquid"	√ <i>ḵsud</i> "crush"	<i>šōy- / šust</i>	III 5.1 GEB 372 see also <i>šōd-</i>
<i>šarāb</i> "wine"			<i>šarāb</i>	II 3.3.1.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šarap, šarp</i> "honour"			<i>šaraf</i>	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>šurd</i> "mild"			<i>šul</i> "weak"	II 2.2.3.2, 3.3.1.4
<i>šast, šašt</i> "60"	<i>xšuaašti-</i>	<i>šaští-</i>	<i>šast</i>	II 3.1.1.3, III 4 NP loanword
EBal. <i>šast-, šašt-</i> / <i>šastāθ, šaštāθ-</i> "send"	≈ <i>fraēšīia-</i> Prth. <i>frēštag</i> "angel"	≈ √iṣ	≈ <i>fīrist-</i> / <i>fīristād</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.1.3, III 5.1 GEB 360, 363 BAILEY 1979:487b
<i>šaš(š)</i> "6"	<i>xšuaaš</i>	<i>šaš-</i>	<i>šaš</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>šiš</i> "louse"	<i>spiš-</i>		<i>šipiš</i>	II 2.2.2.3 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:69
<i>šak(k)</i> "doubt"			<i>šakk</i>	II 3.3.1.5fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šak(k)</i> "comb"				II 3.3.1.5fn. GEIGER 1891:401 MORGENSTIERNE 1932c:30
<i>šakar, šak(k)al</i> "sugar"			<i>šakar</i>	II 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.5, 3.3.1.7 GEIGER 1891:248 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šukr, šukur, šugr</i> "thanks"			<i>šukr</i>	II 3.1.2.4+fn., 3.3.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šikl, šikil</i> "form"			<i>šikl</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šikam</i> "belly"			<i>šikam</i>	II 3.1.2.3, III 1 NP loanword see <i>ušikumag</i>
<i>šumā, šawā</i> "you (pl.)"	<i>xšma-</i>	<i>yušmá-</i>	<i>šumā</i>	II 3.2.1.1, 3.2.3.2, V 1.4 GEB 365 HORN 1893:176 = NP
<i>šambā, -ē</i> "Saturday"			<i>šanba</i>	II 3.1.4.3, 3.2.2.3 NP loanword
<i>šamōš-, šamuš-</i> / <i>šamōšt, šamušt</i> "forget"	Prth. <i>frāmōš-</i> / <i>frāmušt</i>	√mrš	<i>farāmōš-</i> / <i>farāmušt</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 2.2.3.3, 2.3.2, III 5.1 GEB 360, 361 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:64 EWAia II:332

<i>šanik(k)</i> "young goat"	<i>s(a)čaēni-</i>			II 2.2.2.4, 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.5 HOFFMANN 1967:36f. GERSHEVITCH 1971:267ff.
<i>šawān(k), šwānag</i> "shepherd"				II 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.6 = Kurd. see also <i>šupānk</i>
<i>šōd- / šust, šušt</i> "wash"	<i>xšaoδah-</i> "stream" Prth. <i>šōδ- / šust</i> "wash"	√ <i>kšud</i> "crush"	<i>šōy- / šust</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 2.2.1.2, 2.3.3, 3.1.1.3, 3.2.1.1, III 5.1 GEB 373 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:561 EWAia I:439 LIV 373 see also <i>šud-</i>
<i>šōr</i> "salty earth"	Prth. adj. <i>šūrēn</i>		<i>šōr</i>	II 2.1.2.4 GEIGER 1891:431 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208
<i>šōšak</i> "sale"				II 3.2.1.3 from <i>šawašk-</i>
<i>šawašk- / šawaxt,</i> <i>šawašt</i> "sell"	√ <i>vak: vaxš-</i> Prth. <i>wāž- / wāxt</i>	√ <i>vac</i>	MP <i>frōxš- / frōxt</i> NP <i>furōš- / furōxt</i>	II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.1.2, 3.2.1.3, III 5.1 GEB 360, 364 MACKENZIE 1961:79
<i>šauk</i> "desire"			<i>šauq</i>	II 3.1.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šūnz</i> "green"				II 3.1.3.3, III 3 see <i>šīnz</i>
<i>šōm-</i> "plough"			<i>šuxm</i>	II 2.2.1.3, III 5.2 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348 MACKENZIE 1961:71
<i>šahd, šahad, šā(h)t</i> "honey"			<i>šahd</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.2.2.2, 3.3.1.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>šahr</i> "town"	<i>xšaθra-</i> "rule"	<i>kšatrá-</i> "rule"	<i>šahr</i>	II 3.2.3.3 NP loanword
<i>šēp</i> "creek, abyss" <i>šēp-mār</i> (a certain snake)	<i>xšuaēuua-</i> "fast" Prth. <šybh> "path"	√ <i>kšip</i> "throw" <i>kšiprá-</i> "fast"	<i>šēb</i> "declivity"	II 2.2.1.2 GEIGER 1889:81 GEB 370 BAILEY 1979:67B EWAia I:437 LIV 373

<i>šīnz / šūnz</i> "green"	<i>axšaēna-</i> "dark"		<i>xašīn</i> "blue etc."	II 2.2.1.2, 2.3.1.1fn., 3.1.3.3, III 3 HÜBSCHMANN 1884:427f. MORGENSTIERNE 1927:74 loanword?
<i>šēnak</i> "falcon"	<i>saēna-</i>	<i>šyená-</i>	MP <i>sēn</i> NP <i>sī-murg</i>	II 2.2.2.5
<i>zāmnī</i> "guarantee, bail"				II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword (via Ur.) see also <i>zāmin</i>
<i>zīlā</i> "district"			<i>zīla</i> "side"	II 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>‘uzbā</i> "limb, organ"			<i>‘uzw</i> "member"	II 3.2.1.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ṭamā</i> "greed"			<i>ṭama</i>	II 1.2.1, 3.1.4.3 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>tama</i>
<i>gātī</i> "mule"				II 2.1.3.2 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>gaban</i> "fraud"			<i>gabn</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>garūr</i> "pride, haughtiness"			<i>gurūr</i>	II 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>gusul</i> "bath"			<i>gusl</i> "ritual washing"	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>galī</i> "misunderstanding"				II 3.3.2.1fn., 3.3.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>galat</i>
<i>fataḥ</i> "victory"			<i>fath</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>faḥal</i> "favour"			<i>faḥl</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>fiqāh</i> "Islamic law"			<i>fiqh</i>	II 3.1.4.3fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>qaṣūr</i> "guilt"			<i>quṣūr</i>	II 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>quw(w)at</i> "strength"			<i>quwwat</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>k-</i> (pref.pres.)				V 1.6
<i>-k</i> (noun suff.)	<i>-aka-</i> Prth. <i>-k</i>		MP <i>-ag</i> NP <i>-a</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.4.1, V 1.8 see also <i>-ak</i> , <i>-ag</i>
<i>kād</i> "bite" EBal. <i>k^hād-</i> / <i>k^hādīθ-</i> "chew"	<i>vī-xāda-</i> "break off"	√ <i>k^hād</i>	<i>xāy-</i>	II 2.1.2.1, III 5.5 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 ELFENBEIN 1985:233 EWAia I:451f. LIV 359
EBal. <i>k^(h)ādī</i> "chin"				III 1 DAMES 1891:73 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>kārč</i> "knife"	<i>karəta-</i>	≈ <i>krti-</i>	<i>kārd</i>	II 3.1.2.2 GEB 195 EWAia I:390 EAL 83
<i>kākā</i> "uncle (father's brother)"				III 2 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>kākī</i> "aunt (father's brother's wife)"				III 2 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>kāmōš</i> "quiet"			<i>xāmōš</i>	II 1.2.2, 2.4.1.3 NP loanword
<i>kānt</i> "horn"				II 3.2.4.3 Ind. loanword
<i>kānūd, qānūd</i> "law"			<i>qānūn</i>	II 3.3.1.3 NP loanword
<i>kānīg</i> "spring, well"	<i>xā-, xqniia-</i> Prth. <i>xānīg</i>	<i>k^hā-</i>	<i>xānī</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.1, 2.3.1.3 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 EWAia I:451
<i>kabāb</i> "roast meat"			<i>kabāb</i>	II 3.3.1.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kabāt</i> "cupboard"				II 1.2.4, 3.3.1.4 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>kabr, kabar</i> "grave"			<i>qabr</i>	II 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>kabg, kaug</i> "partridge"			<i>kabk</i>	II 3.3.1.6 NP loanword see also <i>kapinʒar</i>
<i>kubl, kubul</i> "lock (at a door)"			<i>qufl</i>	II 3.1.2.4, 3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>kulp</i>
<i>kibla, qiblā</i> "direction of prayer"			<i>qibla</i>	II 3.1.4.3, 3.2.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kabūl</i> "accepted"			<i>qabūl</i>	II 3.1.2.3.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kap</i> "foam"	<i>kafa-</i>	<i>kap^ha-</i>	<i>kaf</i>	II 2.1.2.1fn. GEB 188
<i>kap-</i> / <i>kapt</i> "fall"	Prth. <i>kaf-</i> / <i>kaft</i>			II 2.1.1.1, 2.2.1.1, 3.3.1.6fn., III 5.1 GEB 189
<i>kapōt</i> "dove, dove- coloured"	OP <i>kapautaka-</i> "blue"	<i>kapóta-</i>	MP <i>kabōtar,</i> <i>kabōd</i> NP <i>kabūtar</i>	II 2.1.1.1 GEB 191 EWAia I:303
<i>kapinʒar</i> "partridge"		<i>kapīnʒala-</i>		II 3.1.2.2.2, 3.3.1.6 GEB 190 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:82 Ind. loanword see also <i>kabg</i>
<i>kat, xat(t)</i> "line, letter"			<i>xat(t)</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kutub</i> "North"			<i>qutb</i>	II 3.1.2.4fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kitak</i> "insect, louse"		<i>kīṭá-</i> "worm" (?)		II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.2.2 GEB 199 BAILEY 1979:101a EWAia I:355, 399
<i>kaṭ(t)</i> "profit"				II 3.3.1.5fn. ELFENBEIN 1990/II:87 Ind. (Si./Lhd.) loanword
<i>kuṭ(t)-</i> / <i>kuṭ(t)it</i> "crush"				II 3.3.1.5, III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>kuʒā</i> "where"	<i>kudā</i>	<i>kúha</i>	<i>ku, kuʒā</i>	II 3.3.1.5 = NP

<i>kuḷām</i> "which one"			<i>kudām</i>	II 3.3.1.5 see <i>kuḷā</i>
<i>kučk</i> "shell"				II 2.1.1.1
<i>kučik(k), kučak(k)</i> "dog"			≈ <i>kōčak</i> "small, young"	II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3.1, 3.3.1.5 GEB 203 = Kurd.
<i>kad(d), qad(d)</i> "size"			<i>qadd</i>	II 3.3.1.5fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kadr, kadar</i> "measure"			<i>qadr</i>	II 3.1.1.4fn., 3.1.2.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kadī</i> "when"	<i>kaḍa</i> Prth. <i>kaḍ</i>	<i>kadā</i>	<i>kai</i>	II 2.1.1.2, 2.3.1.3, 3.2.1.1+fn. GEB 182
<i>kudā, xudā</i> "God"			<i>xudā</i>	II 1.2.2 NP loanword see also <i>hudā</i>
* <i>kar</i> "donkey"	<i>xara-</i>	<i>k^harā-</i>	<i>xar</i>	II 2.1.2.1 GEB 192 see <i>kargōš, har</i>
<i>karāb, krāb</i> "bad"			<i>xarāb</i> "broken"	II 1.2.2, 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>harāb</i>
<i>karā'ī</i> "wrist"				III 1 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>ku(r)t</i> (past stem of <i>kan-</i> "do")	√ <i>kar</i> : <i>kərəta-</i> Prth. <i>kird</i>	√ <i>kr</i> : <i>kṛtá-</i>	≈ <i>kard</i>	II 2.2.3.5, 2.3.2, 3.2.1.2, III 5.1 see <i>kan-</i>
EBal. <i>k^hard</i> "portion"			MP <i>kardag</i> "section"	II 3.1.1.4, 3.1.2.3.3 MP loanword
<i>kar-gōš, xargōšk</i> "rabbit"			<i>xar-gōš</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.1 GEB 192 see also <i>kar, har</i>
<i>kirm</i> "worm"		<i>kṛmi-</i>	<i>kirm</i>	II 2.3.2 GEB 197

<i>kurm</i> "pit"	√xram	√kram ⁱ "step"	<i>xirman</i> "heap of grain", <i>xirām</i> "beautiful gait"	II 2.2.1.4 MORGENSTIERNE 1938:268 ROSSI 1979:103
<i>krōs, kurōs(k)</i> "cock"	√xraos "cry" Prth. <i>xrōs</i> "call" <i>xrōsag</i> "caller"	√kroś	<i>xurōs</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.2.1.4 GEB 202
<i>kuṛāsag</i> "great-grandchild"				II 3.2.1.1.2, III 2 GERSHEVITCH 1973:275 Psht. loanword
<i>kas</i> "person, somebody"	<i>kasčit</i>	<i>kascit</i>	<i>kas</i>	II 3.1.1.3fn., 3.2.4.1 GEIGER 1891:452 NP loanword
<i>kus</i> "vulva, vagina"		<i>kukšī-</i> "stomach"	<i>kus</i>	III 1 GEB 206 GEIGER 1891:444 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:208 NP loanword
<i>kasān</i> "small" <i>kastir</i> "smaller"	<i>kasu-</i> Prth. <i>kas</i> ^o		<i>kih</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.2.3.2, 3.2.1.1, V 1.2 GEB 439
<i>kismat, qismat</i> "destiny"			<i>qismat</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kissa</i> "story"			<i>qišša</i>	II 3.2.3.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kasīp, kāsib</i> "turtle, tortoise"	<i>kasiīpa-</i>	<i>kašyāpa-</i>	<i>kašaf</i>	II 3.3.2.2 GEB 196
<i>kaš</i> "armpit"	<i>kaša-</i>	<i>kákša-</i>	<i>kaš</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:453 = NP
<i>kaš(š)- /</i> <i>kaš(š)it, kašt</i> "pull"	√karš	√krš: <i>kárša-</i>	MPM <qrš-> NP <i>kaš-</i> / <i>kašīd</i>	II 2.2.3.3, III 5.3 GEB 193 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 = NP see also <i>kiš-</i>
<i>kiš- / kišt</i> "sow"	√karš Prth. <i>kār-</i> / <i>kišt</i>	√krš: <i>kṛšá-</i>	<i>kār-</i> , <i>kiš-</i> / <i>kišt</i>	II 2.2.3.3fn., 2.3.2, III 5.4 GEB 198 NP loanword see also <i>kaš(š)-</i>

<i>kuš-</i> / <i>kušt</i> "kill"	<i>kuša'ti</i> Prth. <i>kōš-</i> / <i>kōšād</i> , <i>kušt</i>		MP <i>kōš-</i> / <i>kōšīd</i> , <i>kuš-</i> / <i>kušt</i> NP <i>kuš-</i> / <i>kušt</i>	II 2.3.2, III 5.3 GEB 207 KELLENS 1984:101 = NP
<i>k^hil(l)</i> "axe of millstone"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. loanword?
<i>kul(l)</i> "whole"			<i>kull</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kulāh</i> "cap, hat"			<i>kulāh</i>	II 3.2.1.2 GEIGER 1891:453 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:88 NP loanword
<i>kulp</i> , <i>kulf</i> "lock (at the door)"			<i>qufl</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.2.1.2fn., 3.3.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>kubl</i>
<i>kalak(k)</i> "cheek"			<i>kala</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:421 ELFENBEIN 1961:94 ⁴ ROSSI 1979:101
<i>kilīt</i> "key"			<i>kilīd</i>	II 3.2.1.2, 3.3.1.4, 3.3.2.1 GEIGER 1891:453 NP loanword (from Greek)
<i>kam(m)</i> "few, little"	<i>kamna-</i> Prth. <kmbyg> "short"		<i>kam</i>	II 3.3.1.5 GEIGER 1891:452 NP loanword
<i>kamāš</i> "greyhaired, respected"				II 3.3.1.5 ROSSI 1979:69
<i>kamān</i> "bow"			<i>kamān</i>	II 3.2.1.1 GEB 194 GEIGER 1891:444 NP loanword
<i>kumb</i> "pool"	<i>xumba-</i> "pot" Prth. <xwmb> "pitcher"	<i>k^humbá-</i> "pot"	<i>xum(b)</i> "pot"	II 2.1.2.1, 2.1.3.1 GEB 204 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:288 see also <i>humb</i>

<i>kambar</i> "coloured, grey- brown"		<i>kambara-</i> "spotted"		III 3 GEB 184 GEIGER 1891:444 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:80 Ind. loanword
<i>kampōdar</i> "pharmacist"				II 3.1.1.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>kumak(k), kūmak</i> "help"			<i>kumak</i>	II 3.1.2.2.2, 3.3.1.5, 3.3.2.3 GEIGER 1891:421 NP loanword
<i>kan-</i> (/ <i>ku(r)t</i>) "do"	√ <i>kar</i> : <i>kəṛənao-</i> Prth. <i>kar-</i> (/ <i>kird</i>)	√ <i>kr</i> : <i>kṛṇó-</i>	<i>kun-</i> (/ <i>kard</i>)	II 2.2.3.4fn., 2.3.2, 3.2.2.1fn., III 5.1, V 1.6 GEB 185 GERSHEVITCH 1970:172 ³² HOFFMANN 1976:587f. see also <i>kurt</i>
<i>kunčit, kunčīt</i> "sesame"		<i>kuñcita-</i> "crooked, bent"	<i>kunǰid,</i> <i>kunǰīd</i>	II 3.1.2.2 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:561 BAILEY 1979:61f.
<i>kand-</i> / <i>kandit</i> "laugh"	Prth. <i>xand-</i>		<i>xand-</i> / <i>xandīd</i>	II 1.2.2fn., 2.1.2.1, III 5.3 GEB 186 BAILEY 1979:71 see also <i>hand-</i>
<i>kand</i> "gap"	<i>kanti-</i> "digging" ≈ Prth. <i>ab-gan-</i> / <i>ab-gand</i> "throw"	√ <i>kʰan</i> "dig"	<i>kand</i>	II 3.1.1.4 = NP
<i>kawāsag</i> "great-grandchild"				II 3.2.1.1.2fn. GERSHEVITCH 1973:275 Psht. loanword see <i>kuṛāsag</i>
<i>kōp sāsar</i> "cup and saucer"				II 3.1.3.3 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>kōpag</i> "shoulder"	<i>kaofa-</i> "hill" Prth. <i>kōf</i> "hill, mountain"		<i>kōh</i> "mountain"	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.1, 2.1.2.3fn., 2.3.3, 3.1.2.3, III 1 GEB 211
<i>kōṭa</i> "room"				II 3.2.3.1 BUDDRUS 1988:76 Psht. loanword

<i>kōč-</i> "dig"				II 3.1.3.3, III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>kaur, kōr, kūr</i> "mountain river"			<i>kaura</i> "torrent"	II 3.1.2.3, 3.3.2.2 GEB 212 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:99
<i>kauš</i> "shoe"			<i>kafš</i>	II 3.3.1.6 GEB 213 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 NP loanword
<i>kūn</i> "anus"			<i>kūn</i>	III 1 GEB 208 GEIGER 1891:444 NP loanword
<i>kōnd</i> "cave; lair"				III 1 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:81 Ind. (Ur.?) loanword
<i>kōnd</i> "knee"				III 1 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:81 Ind. (Si.) loanword?
<i>kōh</i> "mountain"			<i>kōh</i>	II 3.2.3.1 NP loanword see <i>kōpag</i>
<i>kwahn, kōhn, kauhn</i> "old"				II 2.2.1.5, 3.1.2.3.3, 3.1.3.2, 3.3.2.3 see <i>kuhn</i>
<i>kuhn</i> "old"	Prth. <kfwn>		MP <khwn> NP <i>kuhan,</i> <i>kuhna</i>	II 2.2.1.5, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.1.3.2 BAILEY 1979:56b, 64b NP loanword see also <i>kōhn</i>
<i>kai</i> "who"	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ká-</i>	<i>ki</i>	V 1.4 GEB 200
<i>kāl</i> "thought"			<i>xiyāl</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>hayāl</i>
<i>kēr</i> "penis"			<i>kēr</i>	III 1
<i>kīrg</i> "grey-white"				III 3 Ind. loanword?

<i>kēriat</i> "health"			<i>xairiyat</i> "welfare"	II 1.2.2, 3.3.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>hēriat</i>
<i>kīs(s)ag</i> "bag, pocket"			<i>kīsa</i>	II 3.1.4.1, 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>kīmat, qīmat</i> "value"			<i>qaimat</i>	II 3.3.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword (via Ur.)
<i>gā(y)- / gāt</i> "coire"			<i>gāy- / gā(ī)d</i>	II 2.1.3.4, III 5.3 GEB 102 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:24 EWAia I:602f.
<i>gāh</i> "time"	<i>gātu-</i> "place"		<i>gāh</i>	II 2.1.2.1 = NP
<i>gub(b)</i> "cheek"				III 1
<i>gap(p)</i> "talk, conversation"			<i>gap</i>	II 3.3.1.5fn. NP loanword
<i>gap(p)</i> "mud"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>gaṭ(t)</i> "busy"				II 3.3.1.5fn. ROSSI 1979:64
<i>gut(t)</i> "throat"				III 1 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:27, 1932:38 GILBERTSON 1925:681 Ind. loanword
<i>gut(t)ag, gut(t)ig</i> "kidney"	<i>vəṛəḍka-</i>	<i>vṛkká-</i>	<i>gurda</i>	III 1
<i>gač(č)</i> "crowded"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Ur.) loanword
[‡] <i>gičīn- / gičīnt</i> "collect"	√kay: <i>vī-čīnao-</i> Prth. past stem <i>wižīd-</i>	√ci: <i>vi-cinó-</i>	<i>guzīn- /</i> <i>guzīd</i>	II 2.1.2.2, III 5.1 GEB 104 HORN 1893:101, 204 see also <i>čin-</i>
<i>gičēn</i> "selected"				II 2.1.2.2fn., 2.1.3.3fn. from <i>gēč-</i>

<i>gīdar</i> "other"			<i>digar</i>	II 3.3.1.1 NP loanword see also <i>digar</i>
<i>gar</i> "abyss"	<i>gā'ri-</i> "mountain"	<i>giri-</i> "mountain"		II 2.3.2, 3.1.1.4fn. GEIGER 1891:400 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:26
<i>gir-</i> / <i>gipt</i> "take"	√garəw: <i>gəruuāiia-</i> Prth. <i>girw-</i> / <i>grift</i>	√grab ^h : <i>grb^hāyá-</i>	<i>gūr-</i> / <i>girift</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3fn., 3.2.2.1fn., III 5.4 GEB 106 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557 pres.stem = NP
<i>gurānd</i> "male sheep"				II 3.1.3.3 Ind. loanword?
<i>gardin, gardan</i> "neck"	√varət "turn"	√vrt "turn"	<i>gardan</i>	II 3.1.2.3, 3.3.2.3, III 1 GEIGER 1891:449 HORN 1893:201 NP loanword
<i>gurk</i> "wolf"	<i>vāhrka-</i>	<i>vřka-</i>	<i>gurg</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.2.1.1fn., 3.1.1.4 GEB 140 = NP
<i>garmī</i> "heat"			<i>garmī</i>	II 3.2.3.2
<i>grand</i> "thunder"				II 3.1.2.4, III 5.7 GILBERTSON 1925:683 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>grand-</i> / <i>grandit</i> "thunder"				II 3.1.2.4, III 5.7 GILBERTSON 1925:683 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>grē(w)-</i> / <i>grēt</i> "weep"	√garəz	√grh	<i>giri-</i> / <i>girst</i>	II 1.2.1, 2.4.3.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.2.4, III 5.4 GEB 117 HENNING 1934:203 NP loanword
<i>garīb</i> "poor" <i>garībī</i> "poverty"			<i>garīb</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.3.1.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>gaz(z)</i> "tamarisk"			<i>gaz</i>	II 3.3.1.5 GEIGER 1891:449 BAILEY 1979:80a NP loanword

<i>gaz(z)</i> "yard"			<i>gaz</i>	II 3.3.1.5fn. GEIGER 1891:449 NP loanword
EBal. <i>guz-</i> / <i>gwast^h-</i> "pass"				II 3.1.3.4 see also <i>gwaz-</i>
<i>gaž(ž)-</i> , <i>gaž(ž)-</i> "swell with rage"				II 3.3.1.5fn.
[‡] <i>gužg</i> "root"				II 2.2.3.3, 2.3.2, 3.2.1.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:95, 1932:46
<i>gis</i> "house"	<i>vīs-</i> Prth. <i>wis^o</i>	<i>vīs-</i>		II 2.1.2.3, 2.3.1.2, 3.2.3.1 GEB 108
EBal. <i>gas-</i> / <i>gasiθ-</i> "bite"	√ <i>gah</i> : <i>gaṅha-</i> ≈ Prth. <i>gaz-</i> / <i>gašt</i>	√ <i>g^has</i>	≈ <i>gaz-</i> / <i>gazīd</i>	II 2.1.1.2, III 5.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:45
<i>gisir-</i> "get lost"				II 3.3.1.7, III 5.6 DAMES 1891:79 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>guš-</i> / <i>gušt</i> "say"	<i>vaša-</i> Prth. <i>wāž-</i> / <i>wāxt</i>	√ <i>vac</i> : <i>vacyá-</i>		II 2.2.1.2fn., 2.2.2.2, 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3 GEB 143 HUMBACH 1956:75 HOFFMANN/NARTEN 1989:65 ⁹⁶ see also <i>gwaš-</i>
<i>gušn</i> "hunger" <i>gušnag</i> "hungry"	Prth. <wšynd>		<i>gušna</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3fn., 2.2.2.1, 3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.3 GEB 120 HORN 1893:202 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204 ⁴¹ NP loanword
EBal. <i>gušōx</i> "singer, reciter"				II 3.2.1.1 from <i>guš-</i>
EBal. <i>guf-</i> / [‡] <i>guft</i> "weave"				II 2.1.3.3, 3.1.3.4, III 5.1 see <i>gwap-</i>
<i>gal</i> "group, multitude"			<i>galla</i> "flock"	II 3.1.2.2.1 GEB 96 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP

<i>gal</i> "cheek"				III 1 DAMES 1891:80 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>gulāb(ī)</i> "pink"			<i>gulāb</i> "rose water" <i>gulābī</i> "rose-colour"	III 3 NP loanword
<i>galat</i> "wrong"			<i>galaṭ</i> "mistake"	II 1.2.2, 3.3.2.1fn. NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>gaḷī</i>
<i>gulg</i> "hair"		≈ <i>gláu-</i> "swelling, bump"	<i>gulūla</i> "bullet, ball of thread"	III 1 HORN 1893:207 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:94f. EWAia I:511).
<i>gul(l)ī</i> "blue"				III 3 Ind. loanword?
<i>gam(m), ġam</i> "grief, sorrow"			<i>ġam(m)</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>gumān, guwān</i> "doubt"			<i>gumān</i>	II 3.2.1.1 GEB 121 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557 NP loanword
<i>gamgīn</i> "sad"			<i>ġamgīn</i>	II 1.2.2 NP loanword
<i>gunās</i> "sin"	≈ <i>vinasta-</i> "damage" Prth. <i>winās</i>	<i>vināśa-</i> "destruction"	<i>gunāh</i>	II 2.1.3.3 GEB 119 partially NP
<i>gind-</i> (/ <i>dīt, dist</i>) "see"	√ <i>vaēd</i> : <i>vi-na-</i> / <i>vista-</i> Prth. <i>wind-</i> / <i>windād</i>	√ <i>vid</i>		II 2.1.3.3, III 5.1 GEB 105 see also <i>dīt</i>
<i>gandīm</i> "wheat"	<i>gaṇtuma-</i>	<i>god^hūma-</i>	<i>gandum</i>	II 3.1.2.2fn. GEB 98 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:556 EWAia I:498
<i>gwāt</i> "wind"	<i>vāta-</i> Prth. <i>wād</i>	<i>vāta-</i>	<i>bād</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.1.3, 3.2.1.1 GEB 148
<i>gwār-</i> / <i>gwārt</i> "rain"	<i>vāra-</i> "rain (noun)" Prth. <i>wār-</i> / <i>wārād</i>	<i>vār-</i> "water"	<i>bār-</i> / <i>bārīd</i>	II 2.1.3.3, III 5.1, V 1.6 GEB 147

‡*gwār(d)ik "flower"	Prth. <i>wār</i>		<i>gul</i>	II 2.2.3.2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:46
<i>gwārō</i> "stepsister"				III 2 see <i>gwahār</i>
<i>gwāz</i> "fathom"			<i>bāzū</i>	II 3.3.1.7 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347 adaptation of NP
<i>gwālag</i> "bag"			<i>guwāl</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn., 3.1.3.4fn. MORGENSTIERNE 1948:288 NP loanword
‡ <i>gwānǰ-</i> / <i>gwānǰið-</i> "call"				II 2.2.4.2, III 5.2 GEB 144 GERSHEVITCH 1971:283 see also <i>gwān-ǰan-</i> , <i>gwānk</i>
<i>gwān-ǰan-</i> / <i>gwān- ǰat</i> "cry, call"				II 2.2.4.2, III 5.2 GEB 144 GERSHEVITCH 1971:283 see also <i>gwānk</i> , <i>ǰan-</i>
<i>gwānk</i> "cry"			MP <i>wāng</i> NP <i>bāng</i>	II 2.1.3.3+fn., 2.2.4.2 GEB 146
<i>gwāhī</i> "testimony"			MP <i>wigāhīh</i> NP <i>guwāhī</i>	II 3.1.3.4fn. MORGENSTIERNE 1948:288 NP loanword
<i>gwabz</i> , <i>gwamz</i> "wasp"	<i>vaβžaka-</i>		MP <i>wawž</i>	II 3.2.1.1fn., 3.2.1.3 GEB 132 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:552 BAILEY 1931:212
<i>gwap-</i> / <i>gwapt</i> "weave"	√ <i>vab</i> Prth. <i>waf-</i>	√ <i>vab^h</i>	<i>bāf-</i> / <i>bāft</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.2.1.1, 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.1, III 5.1 GEB 134 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:552 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557 see also <i>gup-</i>
<i>gūt</i> "mud"	<i>gūḍa-</i> "excrement"	<i>gūt^ha-</i>	<i>gūh</i>	II 2.1.2.1, 2.3.1.3, 3.2.1.1 GEIGER 1891:400 BAILEY 1979:85a

<i>gwač(č)</i> "calf, hen"				II 3.3.1.7 GEIGER 1891:424 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:45 Ind. loanword see also <i>gwask</i>
<i>gōdān</i> "breast, udder"	<i>gaodana-</i>			III 1 GEB 122 see <i>gōk</i>
[‡] <i>gwadil</i> "cowardly"			<i>wad-dil</i>	II 2.1.3.3fn. GEB 130
<i>gōd</i> "knee"				III 1 MORGENSTIERNE 1932c:16 Ind. loanword?
<i>gwar</i> "breast"	<i>varah-</i>	<i>úras-</i>	<i>bar</i>	III 1 GEB 135 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1365
<i>gwarā</i> "near"				III 1 GEB 136 from <i>gwar</i>
[‡] <i>gwark</i> "wolf"				II 2.3.2 see <i>gurk</i>
<i>gwarag, gwarak</i> "lamb"	Prth. <i>warrag</i>	≈ <i>uraka-</i> , <i>úran-</i>	<i>barra</i>	II 2.1.1.1 GEB 137 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:88 HOFFMANN 1982:84ff.
<i>gwarm</i> "surf, wave"	<i>varəmi-</i> Prth. <i>warm</i>	<i>ūrmí-</i>		II 2.3.2 GEB 141 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 EWAia I:245
<i>gōrā</i> "horse"				II 2.2.2.3 MORGENSTIERNE 1973:334 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>gwaz- / gwast</i> "pass by"	√ <i>vaz: vaza-</i> "transport" Prth. <i>waz-</i> "move swiftly"	√ <i>vah</i> "bring"	<i>waz- / wazīd</i> "blow"	II 2.1.3.3, 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.3, III 5.1 GEB 144 see also <i>guz-</i>
<i>gwask</i> "calf"		<i>vatsá-</i>		II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3 GEB 142 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:26

<i>gōš</i> "ear"	<i>gaoša-</i>	√g ^h uṣ "sound"	<i>gōš</i>	III 1 GEB 125 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>gwaš-</i> / <i>gwašt</i> "say"				II 2.1.3.3, 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, III 5.1 GEB 143 see <i>guš-</i>
<i>gōšt</i> "meat"			<i>gōšt</i>	II 3.3.1.6 GEB 128 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:218 ⁸⁶
<i>gōk</i> "cow"	<i>gau-</i>	<i>gāv-</i>	<i>gāw</i> ; <i>gōg</i> "calf"	II 2.1.1.1 GEB 123 BAILEY 1979:89A EWAia I:479
<i>gōkurt</i> "sulphur"	<i>gaokārāna-</i> (name of a tree)		<i>gōgurd</i>	II 2.3.2, III 1fn. GEIGER 1891:401 KLINGENSCHMITT 1965:31f. BAILEY 1979:96a
<i>gōn</i> "with"	<i>gaona-</i> "colour"		MP <i>gōn</i> "colour"	II 3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.3.2fn., 3.1.3.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.4.3 GEB 124 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:557
<i>gwan</i> "pistachio"	<i>vanā-</i> "tree"	<i>vāna-</i> "tree, wood"	<i>bun</i> "log, root"	II 2.1.3.3, III 2fn. GEB 133
<i>gwand</i> , <i>gwand</i> "small, short"				II 3.1.1.4 MORGENSTIERNE 1929:256A BAILEY 1979:374B
<i>gwahār</i> , <i>gwār</i> "sister"	<i>x^vaṅhar-</i> Prth. <i>wxār</i>	<i>svásr-</i>	<i>x^wāhar</i>	II 2.1.2.5, 2.1.3.3, 2.2.1.6, 3.2.3.1 GEB 131 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:97 see also <i>guhār</i>
<i>gwahr</i> "cold (noun)"	<i>vafra-</i> "snow" Prth. <i>wafr</i>		<i>barf</i> "snow"	II 2.1.3.2, 2.2.1.4, 3.3.1.7fn. MORGENSTIERNE 1948:254

<i>Gwahrām</i> (name)	<i>Vəṛəθra-γna-</i> "slaying the demon"		<i>Bahrām</i>	II 2.1.3.3 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1422 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347 ¹ Pers. loanword
<i>guhār</i> "sister"				II 3.1.3.4 see <i>gwahār</i>
<i>gāb, gābān</i> "desert"	Prth. <i>wiyābān</i>		<i>bābān</i>	II 2.1.3.3 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:41 Pers. loanword
<i>gēt</i> "willow tree"	<i>vaēti-</i>	<i>vetasá-</i> "calamus rotang"	<i>bēd</i>	II 2.1.3.3 GEB 115 BARTHOLOMAE 1904:1314
<i>gēj-</i> / <i>gētk</i> "swing, throw"	√ <i>vaēg</i>	√ <i>viḷ</i> "move quickly, surge"	<i>angēz-</i> / <i>angēxt</i> "instir, get to move"	II 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1, 3.2.3.1, III 5.1 GEB 113
<i>gēč-</i> / <i>gētk</i> "sift"	<i>vaēča-</i> Prth. <i>wixtag</i> "chosen"	√ <i>vic</i>	<i>bēz-</i> / <i>bēxt</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.3.3, III 5.1 GEB 112 KELLENS 1984:139
<i>gīst</i> "20"	<i>vīsa'ti</i>	<i>viṃśatī-</i>	<i>bīst</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.3.1.3fn., III 4 GEB 111
<i>gēš</i> "more"			<i>bēš</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.3.3fn., 3.1.2.3 GEB 114 GERSHEVITCH 1964:87 Pers. loanword
<i>gīn</i> "breath"	<i>vaēnā-</i> "nose"	<i>vēna-</i> "follow, track"	MP <i>wēnīg</i> NP <i>bīnī</i> "nose"	II 2.1.3.3, 2.3.1.3fn., 3.1.2.3, III 1 GEB 109 GOTŌ 1987:298
<i>-gīn</i> (adj. suff.)	Prth. <i>-gēn</i>		MP <i>-gēn</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2 SALEMANN 1901:280 = MP
<i>gēnīč</i> "coriander"			<i>gišnīz</i>	II 2.2.2.1, 3.1.3.2 GEIGER 1891:400 HENNING 1963
<i>lāp</i> "belly"				III 1 GEB 219
<i>lālā, lālō</i> "brother"				III 2 Ur./NP loanword

<i>lab</i> "lip"			<i>lab</i>	III 1
<i>lab(b)</i> "bride-price, bribe"				II 3.3.1.5 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:89 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>lap</i> "lip"			<i>lab</i>	III 1 GEB 216
<i>luṭ(t)</i> "plunder"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Ind. (Si./Lhd./Ur.) loanword
<i>laṣ(ṣ)</i> "shame"				II 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:85 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>luč(č)</i> "wretch; naked"				I 1.3 GILBERTSON 1925:787 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>laḍ(d)</i> "load, moving"				II 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:86 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>lak(k)</i> "100.000"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>lik(k)- / lik(k)it</i> "write"				III 5.6 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>-luk</i> (diminutive suffix)				II 2.1.1.1fn.
<i>lagōr</i> "coward"				II 2.1.3.3 GEB 215 EAL 90 Ind. loanword
<i>lil(l)ik</i> "tongue"				III 1 Ind. loanword?
<i>lunt</i> "lip"				III 1 Ind. loanword?
<i>lankuk, lunkuk</i> "finger"				II 3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.3.4, III 1 Ind. loanword?
<i>ling</i> "leg"			<i>ling</i>	III 1 GEB 220 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP

<i>lōt-</i> / <i>lōtit</i> "want"				III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>lūč</i> "naked"			<i>lūč</i>	I 1.3 = NP see also <i>luč(č)</i>
<i>lōg</i> "house, family"				I 1.3, II 2.4.2, 3.2.1.1fn., III 2 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>lōgī</i> "wife"				II 3.2.1.1.1fn., III 2 from <i>lōg</i>
<i>lēt-</i> / <i>lētīt</i> "lie down"				III 5.6 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>lēkin</i> "but"			<i>lēkin</i>	V 1.7 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>līmbō, līmbū, līmū</i> "lemon"			<i>līmū(n)</i>	II 3.3.1.2 NP loanword see also <i>nīmōn</i>
<i>ma-</i> (neg.pref. ipr./subj.)			<i>ma-</i>	V 1.2
<i>mā</i> obl. <i>mārā</i> gen. <i>mai</i> "we"			<i>mā</i>	II 3.2.1.3, V 1.4 = NP see also <i>am(m)ā</i>
<i>māt</i> "mother"	<i>mātar-</i> Prth. <i>mād(ar)</i>	<i>māť-</i>	<i>mādar</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.3.1.3, 3.2.1.1fn., 3.2.4.1fn., 3.3.1.4, III 2 GEB 234 see also <i>mās</i>
<i>mātō, mātū(n)</i> "stepmother"				II 3.1.2.3, III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:49 see also <i>māt</i>
<i>mās</i> "mother"	obl. <i>māṣr-</i>	obl. <i>mātr-</i>		II 2.2.1.4, 3.1.1.1, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.3.1fn., III 2 BARTHOLOMAE 1885:130, 133 see also <i>māt</i>
<i>māsū</i> "stepmother"				II 3.1.2.3, III 2 see <i>mās</i>

<i>māsī</i> "aunt (mother's sister)"				III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:284 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>mālkēṭ</i> "market"				II 3.3.1.7 Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>māmā</i> "uncle (mother's brother)"				III 2 DAMES 1891:88 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>māmī</i> "aunt (mother's brother's wife)"				III 2 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>māhpar, mahpar</i> "hair"				III 1
<i>māhīg</i> "fish"	Prth. <i>māsyāg</i>	<i>mātsya-</i>	<i>māhī</i>	II 2.1.1.1fn., 2.2.4.3 HOFFMANN 1979/II:637 ²⁵ NP loanword see also <i>mač(č)ī</i>
<i>maṭ(t)</i> "equal"				II 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:89 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>muḥ, muž</i> "fog, storm"			<i>muž</i>	II 2.1.2.4fn., 3.2.1.1fn. GEB 246
<i>maḥg, mažg</i> "brain"			MPT <mgj>	II 2.1.2.3fn. see <i>mazg</i>
<i>muč(č)</i> "collected, supplied"				II 3.2.1.1fn., 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:89 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>mič- / mitk</i> "suck"	<i>maēkant-</i> "(water) coming out"		<i>maz- / mazīd</i>	II 2.1.3.1, 2.3.1.2fn., 3.1.2.3fn., III 5.1 GEB 235 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:98 BAILEY 1979:322b see also <i>mēč-</i>
<i>mičāč</i> "eyelash"		√ <i>miṣ</i> "open the eyes"	<i>muža</i>	II 3.1.1.3fn., III 1 GEB 236 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 EWAia II:379f.
<i>mač(č)ī</i> "fish"				II 3.3.1.5 Ind. (Si.) loanword see also <i>māhīg</i>

<i>mud(d)</i> "period of time"			<i>muddat</i>	II 3.3.1.5+fn. DAMES 1891:89 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>madag</i> "locust"	<i>maḏaxa-</i>		<i>maig</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.1 GEB 221 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:100
<i>mir-</i> / <i>murt</i> "die"	√ <i>mar:</i> <i>miriia-</i> Prth. <i>mīr-</i> / <i>murd</i>	√ <i>mṛ:</i> <i>mriyá-</i>	<i>mīr-</i> / <i>murd</i>	II 2.3.2, 3.1.1.4, 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3.1fn., III 5.3 GEB 237 = NP
<i>marčī</i> "today"				II 3.2.3.2, 3.2.1.1 see also <i>marōčī</i>
<i>mard</i> "man, husband"	<i>maša-</i> Prth. <i>mard</i>	<i>márta-</i>	<i>mard</i>	II 2.2.4.3, 3.1.1.4, 3.3.1.4, III 2 GEB 224 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 NP loanword
<i>murdān</i> "finger"		<i>mudrā-</i> "seal (ring)"	<i>muhr</i> "seal (ring)"	III 1 GEB 242 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 GEIGER 1891:415 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:100 Ind. loanword?
<i>marz</i> "clodcrusher"			<i>māla</i> "harrow"	II 2.2.3.2, III 5.2 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:290 see also <i>marz-</i>
<i>marz-</i> / <i>marzīt</i> "stroke, harrow"	√ <i>marz:</i> <i>marəza-</i> Prth. <n-mrz- / n-mwšt> "wipe off"	√ <i>mṛj</i>	<i>māl-</i> / <i>mušt,</i> <i>mālīd</i>	II 2.2.3.2, III 5.2 HORN 1893:214 ELFENBEIN 1985:233 see also <i>marz</i>
<i>mark</i> "death"	YAv. <i>mahrka-</i> (Prth. <i>murt</i>)	<i>marká-,</i> <i>márka-</i> (name)	<i>marg</i>	II 2.3.2fn., 3.3.1.4 GEB 225 GEIGER 1891:444 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:92 = NP
<i>murg</i> "bird"	<i>məṛəγa-</i> Prth. <i>mury</i>	<i>mṛgá-</i> "wild animal"	<i>murg</i>	II 2.1.3.4fn., 2.3.2, 3.1.1.3 GEB 243 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP

<i>marōčī</i> "today"			<i>im-rōz</i>	II 2.3.1.1, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.3.2 GEB 226 GEIGER 1891:436 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:100
<i>muž(z)</i> "wages"	<i>mīžda-</i>	<i>mīđ^há-</i>	MP <i>mizd</i> NP <i>muzd</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 3.3.1.5fn. EAL 104 NP loanword
<i>mazg, muzg</i> "brain, marrow"	<i>mazga-</i>	<i>majjā-</i> "marrow"	<i>mağz</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 3.1.2.4 GEB 229 ELFENBEIN 1985:234 see also <i>maǰg</i>
<i>mazan</i> "big" <i>mastir</i> "bigger"	<i>maz-</i>	<i>mahánt-</i>	MPM <i>mazan</i> "monster, monstrous"	II 2.1.2.3, 2.2.3.2fn., V 1.2 GEB 227 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553
<i>maž(ž)</i> "leprosy, epilepsy"				II 3.3.1.5fn. loanword?
<i>masǰit</i> "mosque"			<i>masǰid</i>	II 3.3.1.4 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>masīt</i> "mosque"				II 3.3.1.4 ROSSI 1979:321 Ind.-Ar. loanword
<i>muš- / mušt</i> "rub"	√marəz	√mrj	<i>māl- / mušt</i>	II 2.1.2.4, 2.2.3.3, 2.3.2, III 5.1 GEB 244 BARTHOLOMAE 1901:76 EWAia II:331f. see also <i>marz, marz-</i>
<i>mušt</i> "fist"	<i>mušti-</i>	<i>muští-</i>	<i>mušt</i>	III 1 GEIGER 1891:455 BAILEY 1979:339a
<i>mušk</i> "mouse"		<i>mūšaka-</i> etc.	<i>mūš</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.4, 3.1.2.2.1 GEB 245 GEIGER 1891:444
<i>mik</i> "nail"				II 3.1.2.2 GEIGER 1891:407 see also <i>mīk(k)</i>
<i>muk</i> "elbow, joint"				III 1
<i>maksad</i> "purpose"			<i>maqṣad</i>	II 3.1.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>makisk</i> "fly"	<i>maxši-</i> Prth. <mgs>	<i>mákš(ikā)-</i> etc.	<i>magas</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.2.1.1 GEB 222 EAL 98
<i>magz</i> "brain"			<i>maǰz</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 3.1.2.4 NP loanword see also <i>mazg</i>
<i>mugūnd</i> "small of back"				III 1
[‡] <i>mal-</i> "stroke"			<i>māl- / mālīd</i>	II 3.1.2.2fn. see also <i>marz-</i>
<i>mil(l)- / mil(l)it</i> "meet"				III 5.6 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>man</i> obl. <i>m(a)nā</i> gen. <i>m(a)nī</i> "I"	obl. <i>man-</i>		<i>man</i>	II 3.2.1.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.3, V 1.4 HORN 1893:222 = NP
<i>man(n)</i> "appreciation"				II 3.3.1.5fn. ELFENBEIN 1990/II:100 Ind. (Lhd.) loanword
<i>min(n)at</i> "favour"			<i>minatt</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>minaṭ(t)</i> "minute"				II 3.3.1.5fn. Europ. (Engl.) loanword
<i>mind, miṅd</i> "bitch, daughter"				II 3.1.1.4
<i>mōbat(t), muhbat</i> "love"				II 3.1.3.2, 3.3.2.3 see <i>mahabat</i>
<i>mōtal</i> "car"				II 3.3.1.7 Europ. (Engl.) loanword (via Psht.)
<i>mūd(d), mīd(d)</i> "hair"			<i>mōy</i>	II 2.3.1.3fn., 3.1.2.3fn. GEB 247 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:200 EWAia II:366 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:202
<i>mahabat, mābat(t)</i> "love"			<i>maḥabbat</i>	II 3.2.1.3, 3.3.1.5fn. NP-Ar. loanword

<i>muhtaram</i> "honoured"			<i>muḥtaram</i>	II 3.2.4.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>mahlūk</i> "people"			<i>maxlūq</i>	II 3.2.3.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>mahī</i> "May"				II 1.1, 2.4.3.1 Europ. loanword
<i>mai</i> "us" (obl.)				II 3.2.1.3 see <i>mā</i>
<i>myān</i> "middle; waist"			<i>miyān</i>	III 1 NP loanword see <i>nyām</i>
<i>mētag</i> "village"	<i>maēḏana-</i> "house"		<i>mēhan</i> "homeland"	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.1, 2.3.3 GEB 241 BAILEY 1979:219a
<i>měj, mēz</i> "table"	<i>mīiazda-</i> "sacrifice"	<i>miyéđ^ha-</i>	<i>mēz</i>	II 2.1.2.3fn. BAILEY 1979:326b EWAia II:356 loanword
<i>mēč- / mēt</i> "suck"	<i>maēkant-</i> "(water) coming out"		<i>maz- / mazīd</i>	II 2.1.3.1, 2.3.1.2fn., 3.1.2.3fn., III 5.1 GEB 235 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:98 BAILEY 1979:322b see also <i>mič-</i>
<i>mēz- / mēst</i> "urinate"	<i>maēza-</i>	√mih	<i>mēz- / mēzīd</i>	II 2.1.2.3, III 5.1 GEB 238
<i>mēš</i> "sheep"	<i>maēša-</i> Prth. <i>mēš</i>	<i>mešá-</i>	<i>mēš</i>	II 3.1.1.3 GEB 240 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>mēš-murg, mēžmurg</i> "pelican"			<i>mēš-murg</i>	II 3.1.1.3 GEB 240 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:558 = NP see also <i>mēš, murg</i>
<i>mīk(k), mēk, mēh</i> "stake, pole, top of head"	Prth. <i>mēx</i>	≈ <i>mayúk^ha-</i>	<i>mēx</i>	II 2.3.1.3fn., 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.2.1 GEB 239
<i>mēnōl, mēlōn</i> "manhole"				II 3.3.1.1 FARRELL (in print) Europ. (Engl.) loanword

<i>na-</i> (neg.pref.)			<i>na-</i>	V 1.6
<i>nāpag</i> "navel, umbilical cord"	<i>nāfa-</i>	<i>náb^hya-</i> etc.	<i>nāf</i>	II 2.1.2.1, III 1 GEB 259 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553
<i>nā-tamām</i> "incomplete"			<i>nā-tamām</i>	II 3.1.3.4, 3.2.1.1.2 NP(-Ar.) loanword
<i>nār-</i> / <i>narit</i> "groan"			MP <n ^ʹ ryšn> NP <i>nāl-</i> / <i>nālīd</i>	II 2.2.3.2 GEB 260 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348 NP/MP loanword see also *nard-
<i>nārinǰī</i> "orange"			<i>nārinǰī</i>	III 3 GEIGER 1891:456 LOKOTSCH 1927:125 NP loanword
<i>nās</i> "snuff" <i>nāsī</i> "brown"				III 3 Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>nākun</i> "fingernail"	Prth. <n(ʹ)xwn>	<i>nak^há-</i>	<i>nāxun</i>	II 2.1.2.1, III 1 GEB 257 see also <i>nāhun</i>
<i>nākō</i> "uncle"	OP <i>niyāka-</i> "grandfather" Prth. <i>niyāg</i> "ancestor"		<i>niyā</i> "ancestor"	II 2.2.4.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.1, 3.1.4.1, 3.2.1.1 GEB 258
<i>nānā, nānō</i> "grandfather"				III 2 GILBERTSON 1925/I:295 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>nānī</i> "grandmother"				III 2 Ind. (Si./Ur.) loanword
<i>nāwak(k)</i> "arrowhead"			<i>nāwak</i>	II 3.3.1.5fn. NP loanword
<i>nā-hak(k)</i> "unjust"			<i>nā-haqq</i>	II 3.3.1.5fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>nāhun</i> "fingernail"				II 2.1.2.1, III 1 GEB 257 NP loanword see also <i>nākun</i>

<i>nibīs-</i> / <i>nibišt</i> "write"			MP <i>nibēs-</i> / <i>nibišt</i> NP <i>nīwīs-</i> / <i>nīwišt</i>	III 5.4 GEB 261 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559 MP loanword
<i>naptag</i> "great-great- grandchild"	<i>napāt-</i> , <i>naptar-</i>	<i>nápāt-/nápitr-</i>	<i>nawāsa</i>	III 2 see also <i>nafusx</i>
* <i>nard-</i> "groan"			MP <n'ryšn> NP <i>nāl-</i> / <i>nālīd</i>	II 2.2.3.2 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:348 see also <i>nār-</i>
<i>naz(z)</i> , <i>naz(z)īk</i> "near"	<i>nazdiīō</i> "nearer" Prth. <i>nazd</i>	<i>nédīyas-</i> "nearer"	<i>nazd(īk)</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.2.2.6, 3.2.3.1, 3.3.1.5fn. GEB 256
<i>nišār</i> "daughter-in-law"		<i>snušā-</i>	<i>sunār</i>	II 2.2.2.5, 3.1.2.3, 3.2.1.2, III 2 GEB 254 MORGENSTIERNE 1927:54
<i>ništ</i> , <i>nist</i> (past stem of <i>nind-</i>)	√ <i>had</i> Prth. <i>nišast</i>	√ <i>sad</i>	(<i>nišīn-</i> /) <i>nišast</i>	II 2.1.3.1, 2.2.2.1fn., 3.2.4.1, III 5.1 GEB 264 BARTHOLOMAE 1890:553
EBal. <i>nafusx</i> "stepdaughter"				III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 see <i>naptag</i>
<i>nak(k)</i> "grandmother"				II 2.2.4.1fn., 3.1.3.1, III 2 GEB 250 see also <i>nākō</i>
<i>nigōš-</i> / <i>nigōšt</i> "hear"	√ <i>gaoš</i> Prth. <i>nigōš-</i> / <i>nigōšād</i>	√ <i>g^huṣ</i> "sound"	<i>nīyōš-</i> / <i>nīyōšīd</i>	II 2.1.1.2, III 5.1 GEB 262
<i>nalgis</i> "narcissus"			<i>nargis</i>	II 3.3.1.7 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:107 NP loanword
<i>nimāsag</i> "grandchild"				II 3.2.1.1.2, III 2 Psht. loanword? see <i>nawāsag</i> , <i>naptag</i>
EBal. <i>namāš</i> , <i>nimāš</i> "prayer"	≈ <i>nəmah-</i> "praise" Prth. <i>namāž</i>	≈ <i>námas-</i> "praise"	<i>namāz</i>	II 2.1.3.1, 3.1.2.3, 3.2.1.1 GEB 251 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:568 GERSHEVITCH 1954:152

<i>namb</i> "wet; dew"			<i>nam</i>	II 2.4.3.2fn. GEB 252 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559
<i>nind-</i> (/ <i>ništ, nist</i>) "sit down"	√had Prth. <i>nišīḏ-</i> (/ <i>nišast</i>)	√sad	<i>nišīn-</i> / <i>nišast</i>	II 2.2.2.1, 3.1.2.1, III 5.1 GEB 264
<i>nun(n)uk</i> "baby"				II 3.3.1.5
<i>nō, nu</i> "9"	<i>nauua</i>	<i>náva-</i>	<i>nuh</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>nawāsag</i> "grandchild"			<i>nawāsa</i>	II 2.2.1.4fn., 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.6, III 2 GEB 255 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:48 NP loanword see <i>naptag</i>
<i>nūn, nū</i> "now"	<i>nūrəm</i>	<i>nūnám</i>	<i>nūn</i>	II 3.1.3.3fn., 3.2.4.3, 3.3.1.5 GEB 270 EWAia II:53
<i>nōd</i> "cloud"	<i>snaoḏa-</i>		MPZ <i>snōy</i>	II 2.2.2.4, 3.2.1.1 GEB 271 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:105
<i>nawad</i> "90"	<i>nauua^ti-</i>	<i>navatí-</i>	<i>nawad</i>	III 4 NP loanword
EBal. <i>nawad</i> "felt"	<i>nəmata-</i> "brushwood"		<i>namad</i>	II 3.2.1.1.2 HORN 1893:233 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:102 NP loanword
<i>nōzdah, nūzdah</i> "19"			MP <i>nōzdah</i> NP <i>nūzdah</i>	II 3.1.3.3, III 4 NP loanword see <i>dah</i>
<i>naws</i> "pulse"			<i>nafs</i> "soul"	II 3.3.1.6 HÜBSCHMANN 1895:556 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>nōk</i> "new"	<i>nauua-</i> Prth. <i>nōx</i>	<i>náva-</i>	MP <i>nōg</i> NP <i>nau</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3 GEB 272 = MP
<i>nyām(ag)</i> "middle" <i>nyāmā</i> "in the middle"	<i>maiḏiia-</i>	<i>mád^hya-</i>	<i>miyān</i>	II 3.2.1.1, 3.3.1.1, III 1fn. GEB 265 HÜBSCHMANN 1890:559

<i>nīl</i> "blue"		<i>nīla-</i> "dark blue"	<i>nīl</i>	III 3 GEIGER 1890:420 EWAia II:51 NP loanword
<i>nēm(ag)</i> "half"	<i>naēma-</i>	<i>nēma-</i> "other"	<i>nēm(a)</i>	II 2.1.3.1, 3.3.1.4 GEB 267 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>nēm-rōč, nērmōš</i> "noon"	Prth. <i>nēm-rōž</i>		MP <i>nēm-rōz</i> NP <i>nīm-rōz</i>	II 3.2.1.1 see <i>nēm, rōč</i>
<i>nēmag</i> "butter"				II 3.2.1.1.2 GEB 268
<i>nīmōn</i> "lemon"			<i>līmū(n)</i>	II 3.3.1.2 NP loanword see also <i>līmbō</i>
<i>nīwag</i> "fruit"			MP <i>mēwag</i> , NP <i>mēwa</i>	II 3.1.2.3.2, 3.3.1.3 GEB 266 NP loanword
u, ō, au "and"	uta	<i>utá</i>	<i>u</i>	II 3.1.2.3 BAILEY 1979:35b NP loanword
<i>wa</i> "and"			<i>wa</i>	II 3.1.2.3fn. HORN 1893:240 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>wāb</i> "sleep"			<i>x^wāb</i>	II 2.2.1.6, 3.3.1.6 GEB 410 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:42 NP loanword see also <i>waps-</i>
<i>wāja</i> "master, Sir"			<i>xwāja</i>	III 2
<i>wād</i> "salt"		<i>svādú-</i> "sweet, tasty"	<i>x^wāi</i> "taste, flavour"	II 3.2.1.1 GEB 411
‡ <i>wārdaf</i> "door-opening"				II 2.2.1.5 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:51 see also <i>dar</i>
<i>wān- / wānt</i> "read"	√x ^v an "sound" Prth. <i>xun- / pad-</i> <i>xunād</i>	√svan "sound"	<i>x^wān- / x^wānd</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.2.1.6, III 5.1 GEB 412

<i>wāngar</i> "eggplant" <i>wāngarī</i> "purple"				III 3 Ind. loanword?
<i>wānōk</i> "student"				II 2.1.3.3 from <i>wān-</i>
<i>waps-</i> , <i>waps-</i> / <i>wapt</i> "go to sleep"	√ <i>x^vap</i> : <i>x^vafsa-</i> Prth. <i>xusp-</i> / <i>xuft</i>	√ <i>svap</i>	<i>xusp-</i> / <i>xuft</i>	II 2.1.2.3, 2.2.1.6, 3.1.1.2, 3.2.1.1, III 5.1 GEB 403
<i>wat</i> "self"	<i>x^va-</i> Prth. <i>wxad</i>	<i>svá-</i>	<i>xud</i> < <i>x^wad</i>	II 2.2.1.6, 2.3.1.2, V 1.4 GEB 408
<i>watī</i> "own" (poss. pron.)				II 3.2.1.1, V 1.4 gen. of <i>wat</i>
<i>waǰ(j)</i> "dowry"			<i>waǰh?</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword?
<i>war-</i> / <i>wārt</i> "eat"	<i>x^vara-</i> Prth. <i>wxar-</i> / <i>wxard</i>		<i>x^war-</i> / <i>x^wurd</i>	II 2.1.3.2, 2.2.1.6, 3.1.1.4, 3.2.3.1, III 5.1, V 1.6 GEB 404
<i>wardaš</i> "exercise"	√ <i>varəz</i> "work"		<i>warziš</i> "sports"	II 3.2.1.1.2 = NP
<i>warnā</i> "young"	<i>apərənāiiu-</i> "underaged"		<i>burnā</i> "young man"	II 2.1.3.3 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:217 Pers. loanword
<i>was(s)</i> "strength"				II 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:101 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>wasir-zā(t)k</i> "brother-in-law"				II 3.1.2.3., 3.2.1.2fn., III 2 GEB 405 see also <i>wasirk</i>
<i>wasirk</i> "father-in-law"	<i>x^vasura-</i>	<i>śváśura-</i>	<i>xusur</i>	II 3.1.2.3, 3.1.3.1, 3.2.1.1.1, 3.2.1.2, III 2 GEB 405
<i>was(s)ū(g)</i> , <i>was(s)ī(g)</i> "mother-in-law"		<i>śvaśrū-</i>	<i>x^waš</i>	II 2.2.2.5, 2.3.1.3, 3.1.2.3.1, III 2 GEB 406
<i>waš(š)</i> "good"	Prth. <i>wxaš</i>		<i>x^waš</i>	II 2.2.3.3, 3.2.1.1 GEB 407 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:204

<i>-ōk</i> (agentive suff.)	Prth. <i>-ōg</i>		MP <i>-ōg</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.3, 3.2.1.1, V 1.8
<i>wakt, waxt</i> "time"			<i>waqt, waxt</i>	II 1.2.2fn., 3.3.1.7 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>wahd</i>
<i>wakšī, waškī</i> "wild"			<i>waḥšī</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.1.1.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>-ūg</i> (noun suff.)			MP <i>-ūg</i> , NP <i>-ū</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 3.1.4.1, V 1.8
<i>wal(l)</i> "creeper, vine"				II 3.3.1.5fn. DAMES 1891:101 Ind. (Si.) loanword
<i>-ōm</i> (1pl.pres.)				V 1.6 see also (-)an, -ēn
<i>-ō</i> (1sg.past)				V 1.6 see also (-)un, (-)ā
<i>-ū</i> (1.pl.past)				V 1.6 see also (-)an, -ēn
<i>-ū</i> (pron.suff. 1sg.+pl.)				V 1.4 see also -un, -in, -ā
<i>wahd</i> "time"			<i>waqt, waxt</i>	II 3.2.3.3, 3.3.1.7 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>wakt</i>
<i>wahl</i> "crooked"		<i>vakrá-</i>	<i>x^wahl</i>	II 2.2.1.4 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:206
<i>hāk</i> "earth"			<i>xāk</i>	II 2.4.1.2 GEB 154 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP see also <i>āk</i>
<i>hākim, ḥākim</i> "governor"			<i>ḥākim</i>	II 3.3.2.3fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hālīg</i> "empty"			<i>xālī</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>hāmag</i> "raw"			<i>xām</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.4.1 GEB 155 EAL 64 = NP see also <i>āmag</i>
<i>habdah, hawdah</i> "17"			MP <i>haft-dah</i> NP <i>habdah, hifdah</i>	II 3.3.1.2fn., III 4 NP loanword see <i>haft</i> and <i>dah</i>
<i>habar, xabar</i> "word, matter"			<i>xabar</i>	II 1.2.2, 2.3.1.1, 3.2.3.3fn. NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hapt, haft</i> "7"	<i>hapta-</i>	<i>saptá-</i>	<i>haft</i>	II 2.1.2.1fn., 3.2.1.1, III 4 GEIGER 1891:432 NP loanword
<i>haptād, haftād</i> "70"	<i>haptā'ti-</i>	<i>saptatí-</i>	<i>haftād</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>hapōg, hapōk</i> "co-wife, second wife"	≈ <i>hapaḏnī-</i>	≈ <i>sapátñī-</i>	<i>hawū</i> ≈ <i>āmūsñī</i>	II 3.3.1.6, III 2 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47
<i>hatar, hitar</i> "danger, fear"			<i>xaṭar</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.3.2.3 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hudā</i> "God"			<i>xudā</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.2.4.1 GEIGER 1891:450 NP loanword s.a <i>kudā</i>
<i>(h)idrik</i> "squirrel"				II 3.3.1.1 see also <i>(h)irdik</i>
<i>hidmat, xidmat</i> "service"			<i>xidmat</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>haḏ(d)</i> "bone"				II 3.3.1.5+fn. Ind. (Ur.) loanword
<i>har, xar</i> "donkey"			<i>xar</i>	II 2.1.2.1 GEB 152, 192 NP loanword see also <i>kar</i>
<i>harāb, xarāō</i> "bad"			<i>xarāb</i> "out of order"	II 1.2.2, 3.3.1.6, 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>karāb</i>
<i>harč, harĵ, xarč</i> "costs"			<i>xarĵ</i>	II 3.3.1.4 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>(h)irdik</i> "squirrel"				II 3.3.1.1 see also <i>(h)idrik</i>
<i>hariš</i> "ell"	OP <i>arašni-</i>	<i>aratní-</i>	<i>ar(a)š</i>	II 2.4.1.2 GEB 153 KENT 1953:170 BRANDENSTEIN/ MAYRHOFER 1964:104 NP loanword
<i>harkat</i> "motion"			<i>ḥarakat</i>	II 3.3.2.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hur mā(g)</i> "date"			MP, NP <i>xormā</i>	II 2.1.2.1, 3.2.4.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1932:47 = NP see also <i>urmāg</i>
<i>haždah</i> "18"			MP <i>hašt-dah</i> NP <i>hijdah</i>	III 4 NP loanword see <i>hašt</i> and <i>dah</i>
<i>hisāb</i> "calculation"			<i>ḥisāb</i>	II 3.2.4.1, 3.3.1.6 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>haš(š)</i> "millstone"			<i>ās</i>	II 3.3.1.5 Kurd. loanword?
<i>huš- / hušt</i> "dry (itr.)"	√haoš Prth. <i>hōš- / hōšād</i>	√šuš	<i>xōš- / xōšīd</i>	II 2.1.2.5, III 5.1 GEB 160
<i>hašt</i> "8"	<i>ašta</i>	<i>aštá-</i>	<i>hašt</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>hišt</i> "brick"	Prth. <hyštyg>		<i>xišt</i>	II 2.4.1.3 EAL 68 = NP see also <i>išt</i>
<i>haštād</i> "80"	<i>aštā'ti-</i>	≈ <i>aštī'ti-</i>	<i>hāštād</i>	III 4 NP loanword
<i>hušk</i> "dry"	<i>huška-</i> Prth. <i>hušk</i>	<i>súška-</i>	<i>xušk</i>	II 2.1.2.5, 3.2.3.1 GEB 160
<i>hak(k)</i> "right"			<i>haqq</i>	II 3.2.3.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hukūmat(t)</i> "government"			<i>hukūmat</i>	II 3.3.1.5 NP-Ar. loanword

<i>halās</i> "finished"			<i>xalāṣ</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>halk</i> "village, people"			<i>xalq</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>ham</i> "also"	<i>ham</i> ^o "together" Prth. <i>ham</i>	<i>sám</i> "together"	<i>ham</i>	II 2.1.2.5, 3.2.3.1, 3.2.4.1, 3.3.1.4 GEB 150 GEIGER 1891:444 = NP
<i>ham-ā</i> "that very"			<i>ham-ān</i>	II 3.2.1.1.2 see <i>ham</i> , <i>ā</i>
<i>humb</i> "jar"			<i>xum(b)</i>	II 2.1.2.1 NP loanword see also <i>kumb</i>
<i>hamjirāt</i> "wives of brothers"				III 2
<i>hamrāh</i> "companion"			<i>ham-rāh</i>	II 3.2.3.1 NP loanword
<i>ham-zāmāt</i> , <i>ham-</i> <i>zāmās</i> "husbands of sisters"				III 2 see <i>ham</i> and <i>zāmāt</i>
<i>hamzulp</i> "husbands of sisters"				III 2
<i>hamsā(h)ig</i> "neighbour"			<i>hamsāya</i>	II 2.1.2.3fn., 2.4.1.2 = NP see <i>sā'ig</i>
<i>halma</i> , <i>ḥamlā</i> "attack"			<i>ḥamla</i>	II 3.3.1.1 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hind</i> , <i>hind</i> "bitch, girl"				II 3.1.1.4
<i>hand-</i> / <i>handit</i> "laugh"			<i>xand-</i>	II 2.1.2.1, III 5.4 GEB 152, 186 NP loanword see <i>kand-</i>
<i>haur</i> "rain"	<i>aβra-</i> "rain cloud"	<i>ab^hrá-</i> "rain cloud"	<i>abr</i> "cloud"	II 2.3.3fn., 2.4.1, 3.2.1.2 GEB 163

<i>hūrt</i> "tiny"			<i>xurd</i>	II 2.2.1.6fn., 3.1.2.2fn., 3.1.2.3.1 MORGENSTIERNE 1937:347
<i>hōrk, hurk</i> "empty"				II 2.1.2.1fn., 3.1.2.2.1 GEIGER 1891:451 ROSSI 1979:29
<i>hōš(ag)</i> "ear of corn"			<i>xōša</i>	II 2.4.1.3 GEIGER 1891:451 MORGENSTIERNE 1948:289 = NP
<i>hūk</i> "pig"	<i>hū</i>	<i>sū-kará-</i> "boar"	MP <i>xūg</i> NP <i>xūk</i>	II 2.1.2.5, 2.3.1.3 GEB 157 EWAia II:738
<i>hōn, hūn</i> "blood"	<i>vohunī-</i>	≈ <i>vásā-</i> "fat"	MP <i>xōn</i> NP <i>xūn</i>	II 3.1.3.3, 3.2.3.2 GEB 162 GEIGER 1891:444 EWAia II:533 NP loanword
<i>hayāl</i> "thought"			<i>xayāl, xiyāl</i>	II 1.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>kīāl</i>
<i>hīt</i> "young grain"			MP <i>xwēd</i> NP <i>xawēd</i>	II 2.2.1.6, 3.1.2.3 GEIGER 1891:423
<i>hēd</i> "sweat"	<i>x^vaēda-</i>	<i>svēda-</i>	<i>x^vai</i>	II 2.2.1.6, 2.3.3, 3.3.1.4 GEB 158
<i>hairāt, xairāt, xērāt</i> "alms, charity"			<i>xairāt</i>	II 1.2.2, 3.3.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword
<i>hēriat</i> "health" <i>xairiat</i> "healthy"			<i>xairiyat</i> "welfare"	II 1.2.2, 3.3.2.2 NP-Ar. loanword see also <i>kēriat</i>
<i>hēž(ž)ag, hīž(ž)ag</i> "howling of the wind"				II 3.3.1.5fn.
<i>haik, haig, hēk, hāik</i> "egg"			<i>xāya</i>	II 2.1.3.3, 2.4.1.3fn., 3.3.2.1 GEB 159 NP loanword see also <i>ā-murg</i>

-ai, -ē (gen.sg.)				V 1.1
-ai, -ē (2sg.)				V 1.6 see also ai, ē
-ē (indef. article) "one"	aēuua- Prth. ēw		-ē	II 2.1.3.3, 3.2.4.2, V 1.1
-ē, -ī (pron.suff. 3sg. +pl.)				V 1.4 see also -iš, -ēš, -q̄
-ī (abstract suff.)	Prth. -īf(t)		MP -īh, -ī NP -ī	II 2.2.1.5, V 1.8 GEIGER 1891:408 NP loansuffix
-ī (3sg.pres.)				V 1.6 see also -t, -īt
-ē (2pl.)				II 3.2.4.3, V 1.6 see also -it, -ēt; ē
yāt "memory"			yād	II 2.1.3.4, 3.3.1.4 BAILEY 1979:308a NP loanword
yār "friend"			yār	II 2.1.3.4 NP loanword
yāzdah "11"			yāzdah	II 2.1.3.4, III 4 NP loanword
yāsumī, āsamī "jasmine"			yāsamīn	II 3.3.1.7, 3.3.2.3 GEIGER 1891:463 NP loanword
yākūt, ākūt "ruby"	Prth. <y'kwnd>		yāqūt, yākand	II 3.3.1.7 NP loanword (from Greek)
-ēt (2pl.)	Prth. -ēd		-īd	V 1.6 see also -it, -ē
-īt (3sg.pres.)	≈ Prth. -ēd			II 3.1.2.2.1, 3.1.2.3.2, 3.2.1.3, V 1.6 see also -t, -ī
yatīm, atīm "orphan"			yatīm	II 2.1.3.4, 3.3.1.7 NP-Ar. loanword
yax(x) "cold"			yax "ice"	II 3.3.1.5fn. NP loanword

<i>ēš</i> (dem.pron.) "this"				V 1.4 see also <i>ē</i> , <i>iš</i> -
<i>-ēš</i> (pron.suff. 3pl.)				V 1.4 see also <i>-ē</i> , <i>-iš</i> , <i>-q̄</i>
<i>yak(k)</i> "one"			<i>yak</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.4, 3.3.1.5, III 4 NP loanword see also <i>-ē</i>
<i>-īg</i> (nominal suff.)	Prth. <i>-īg</i> , <i>-ī</i>		MP <i>-īg</i> , <i>-ī</i> NP <i>-ī</i>	II 2.1.1.1, 2.1.3.4, 2.2.1.5fn., 3.1.4.1, V 1.8 DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 115, 117 = MP
<i>yal</i> "brave"			<i>yal</i>	II 2.1.3.4 NP-Turk. loanword
<i>yala</i> , <i>ēla</i> "free"			<i>yala</i>	II 3.2.3.3 ELFENBEIN 1990/II:163 NP loanword
<i>īn</i> (dem.pron.) "this"			<i>īn</i>	II 3.2.2.3, V 1.4fn. = NP
<i>-ēn</i> (adj.suff.)	<i>-aēna-</i> Prth. <i>-ēn</i>		<i>-īn</i>	II 2.3.3, 3.1.2.3.2fn., 3.1.3.3, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.3, 3.2.4.3, V 1.2
<i>-ēn</i> (1pl.)				II 3.2.4.3, V 1.6 see also <i>(-)an</i> , <i>-ōm</i> , <i>-ū</i> ; <i>ēn</i>
<i>-īn</i> (1sg.pres.)				II 3.1.3.3, V 1.6 see also <i>(-)q̄</i>
<i>-ēn-</i> (caus. suff.)			MP <i>-ēn-</i>	II 2.1.3.4, V 1.6 Geiger 1891 HENNING 1934:212 KLINGENSCHMITT 2000:195 ¹⁶ DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 155 MP loansuffix?
<i>-ēn-</i> (irrealis suff.)				II 3.2.4.3, 3.3.2.1fn., V 1.6

3. Index of Non-Balochi words and word forms

The order is the Arabic script for New Persian, Pashto, Urdu/Hindi, Sindhi/Lahnda and Brahui; Devanagari for other Ind. languages and Khotanese; modified Devanagari order following HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996:283 for Avestan and Old Persian; the Greek alphabet for Bactrian and Greek; the Latin alphabet for the remaining languages.¹

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1 On transcription, transliteration and sources, cf. I 1.5.2. Some words and reconstructions of questionable existence or relevance have been omitted.

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4. Bibliography¹

Abbreviations:

ABG	= AHMAD 1985
BMC	= glossary in BARKER/MENGAL 1969/II (pp. 403ff.)
DTB	= glossary in DAMES 1891
EAL	= ELFENBEIN 1990/II
EVM	= ELFENBEIN 1963
EWAia	= MAYRHOFER 1992-2001
FBB	= FARRELL 1990
GCD	= GILBERTSON 1925
GEB	= GEIGER 1890
IEW	= POKORNY 1959
KEWA	= MAYRHOFER 1956-1980
LIV	= RIX (ed.) 2001
SHG	= SAYAD HASHMI 2000

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