

## Contents

Abbreviations . . . . .	11
Preface . . . . .	15
I. Introduction . . . . .	17
1. Aim, Method and Technical Questions . . . . .	17
1.1 Aim of the present study . . . . .	17
1.2 Methodological questions . . . . .	18
1.2.1 Loanwords . . . . .	19
1.2.2 Dialects . . . . .	20
1.3 The concept of Common Balochi . . . . .	21
1.4 Sources . . . . .	21
1.4.1 Balochi dictionaries . . . . .	23
1.4.2 Other sources . . . . .	25
1.5 Technical details . . . . .	27
1.5.1 Citation of Balochi words . . . . .	27
1.5.2 Transcription . . . . .	27
1.5.2.1 Transcription of names . . . . .	27
1.5.2.2 Phonological symbols . . . . .	28
1.5.2.3 Transcription of the Arabic alphabet . . . . .	29
1.5.2.4 Additional notes . . . . .	31
1.5.3 Marking of loanwords . . . . .	32
1.5.4 Cross-references . . . . .	32
2. History of Research on Balochi . . . . .	33
2.1 Linguistic studies . . . . .	34
2.2 Ethnolinguistics . . . . .	35
3. The Balochi Language . . . . .	37
3.1 Balochi as a group of dialects . . . . .	38
3.1.1 Isoglosses of Eastern Balochi vs. the other dialects . . . . .	39
3.1.2 Survey of dialect groupings . . . . .	40
3.2 The Baloch as an ethnolinguistic group . . . . .	43
3.2.1 The Baloch in early sources . . . . .	43
3.2.2 Etymologies of the term <i>balōč</i> . . . . .	45
3.3 Balochi as a contact language . . . . .	48

II. Historical Phonology	53
1. General Remarks	53
1.1 Phonemic system	54
1.1.1 Common Balochi	54
1.1.2 Phonemic systems of the dialects	56
1.1.2.1 Western and Southern Balochi	58
1.1.2.2 Eastern Balochi	59
1.2 Pronunciation of loanwords	62
1.2.1 Arabic sounds	62
1.2.2 Persian sounds	64
1.2.3 Indic sounds	66
1.2.4 European sounds	67
1.3 Accent	67
2. Old Iranian > Common Balochi	71
2.1 Consonants	76
2.1.1 Old Iranian plosives	76
2.1.1.1 OIr. <i>p, t, k</i>	77
2.1.1.2 OIr. <i>b, d, g</i>	78
2.1.2 Old Iranian fricatives and affricates	80
2.1.2.1 OIr. <i>f, θ, x</i>	80
2.1.2.2 OIr. <i>č, ĵ</i>	84
2.1.2.3 OIr. (non-Persian) <i>s, z</i>	86
2.1.2.4 OP <i>ç</i> < PIr. *θr, OP <i>s</i> < PIr. *śu	89
2.1.2.5 OIr. <i>š, ž</i>	91
2.1.2.6 OIr. <i>h</i>	94
2.1.3 Old Iranian sonorants	95
2.1.3.1 OIr. <i>m, n</i>	95
2.1.3.2 OIr. <i>r</i>	96
2.1.3.3 OIr. <i>u</i>	98
2.1.3.3.1 Word-initial <i>u</i>	98
2.1.3.3.2 Postvocalic <i>u</i>	101
2.1.3.4 OIr. <i>i</i>	104
2.1.3.4.1 Word-initial <i>i</i>	104
2.1.3.4.2 Word-internal <i>i</i>	105
2.2 Consonant clusters	111

2.2.1	Combinations with fricatives	111
2.2.1.1	Fricative + <i>t</i>	111
2.2.1.2	Fricative + <i>š</i>	112
2.2.1.3	Stop / fricative + nasal	114
2.2.1.4	Fricative + <i>r</i>	116
2.2.1.4.1	Word-initial position	116
2.2.1.4.2	Word-internal position	118
2.2.1.5	Stop / fricative + <i>u</i>	120
2.2.1.5.1	OIr. <i>f<sub>u</sub></i>	120
2.2.1.5.2	OIr. <i>θ<sub>u</sub></i>	120
2.2.1.5.3	OIr. <i>du-</i>	121
2.2.1.5.4	OIr. <i>hu-</i>	122
2.2.2	Combinations with sibilants	124
2.2.2.1	Sibilant + stop/affricate	124
2.2.2.1.1	OIr. <i>sT</i>	124
2.2.2.1.2	OIr. <i>zd</i>	125
2.2.2.1.3	OIr. <i>s + č</i>	125
2.2.2.2	Sibilant + nasal	126
2.2.2.3	Sibilant + sonorant	128
2.2.3	Combinations with sonorants	131
2.2.3.1	OIr. <i>rθ</i>	131
2.2.3.2	OIr. <i>rš, rž</i>	131
2.2.3.3	OIr. <i>rn</i>	132
2.2.3.4	OIr. <i>ur</i>	134
2.2.3.5	(Early) Mir. <i>u(i)<sub>u</sub>-</i>	135
2.2.4	Miscellaneous consonant clusters	136
2.3	Vowels	138
2.3.1	Simple vowels	138
2.3.1.1	Loss of vowels	138
2.3.1.2	OIr. <i>a, i, u</i>	141
2.3.1.3	OIr. <i>ā, ī, ū</i>	142
2.3.2	PIr. <i>*r̥</i>	143
2.3.2.1	PIr. <i>*r̥/C_C</i>	143
2.3.2.2	PIr. <i>*r̥i</i>	149
2.3.2.3	PIr. <i>*r̥H</i>	150
2.3.3	Diphthongs	150
2.3.4	Prothesis	152

2.4	Special phenomena	153
2.4.1	Balochi <i>h</i>	153
2.4.1.1	Sources of Bal. <i>h</i>	153
2.4.1.2	Loss of <i>h</i>	153
2.4.1.3	Secondary <i>h</i>	154
2.4.1.4	Bal. words with <i>h</i> - the NP cognates of which show secondary <i>x</i> -	155
2.4.1.5	Bal. words with <i>h</i> - the Kurd. cognates of which also show secondary <i>h</i> -	157
2.4.2	Balochi <i>l</i>	159
2.4.3	Vowel separators	162
2.4.4	Phenomena in suffixes	163
2.4.4.1	OIr. suffixal <i>k</i>	163
2.4.4.2	<i>-b</i>	170
3.	Common Balochi > Contemporary Varieties	171
3.1	Changes not specific to certain dialects	176
3.1.1	Consonants	176
3.1.1.1	Shortening of geminates	176
3.1.1.2	Metatheses	176
3.1.1.3	Assimilations	178
3.1.1.4	Other phenomena	181
3.1.2	Vowels	184
3.1.2.1	Loss of vowels	184
3.1.2.2	Changes in quantity	185
3.1.2.2.1	Shortening	185
3.1.2.2.2	Lengthening	189
3.1.2.3	Changes in quality	193
3.1.2.3.1	Palatalisation	193
3.1.2.3.2	Raising and Lowering	199
3.1.2.3.3	Diphthongisation	202
3.1.2.3.4	Vowel assimilation	204
3.1.2.4	Anaptyxis	204
3.1.3	Vowels and Consonants	208
3.1.3.1	Metathesis of elements	208
3.1.3.2	Compensatory strengthening of vowels	211
3.1.3.3	Nasalisation of vowels	213
3.1.3.4	<i>aw</i> , <i>uw</i> and <i>(u)wa</i>	218
3.1.3.5	OIr. <i>ard</i>	220

3.2 Dialect-specific changes	221
3.2.1 Eastern dialects (EBal.)	222
3.2.1.1 Consonants	222
3.2.1.1.1 General features of Eastern Balochi	222
3.2.1.1.2 Subdialectal features	230
3.2.1.1.3 Other phenomena	234
3.2.1.2 Vowels	235
3.2.1.3 Vowels and consonants	238
3.2.2 Southern dialects (SBal.)	240
3.2.2.1 Consonants	240
3.2.2.2 Vowels	243
3.2.2.3 Vowels and consonants	243
3.2.3 Western dialects (WBal.)	247
3.2.3.1 Consonants	247
3.2.3.2 Vowels	251
3.2.3.3 Vowels and consonants	252
3.2.4 Iranian Balochi	256
3.2.4.1 Consonants	257
3.2.4.2 Vowels	260
3.2.4.3 Vowels and consonants	263
3.3 Phenomena occurring in loanwords	265
3.3.1 Consonants	265
3.3.1.1 Metatheses	265
3.3.1.2 Assimilations	267
3.3.1.3 Dissimilations	268
3.3.1.4 Devoicing of consonants	268
3.3.1.5 Gemination of consonants	271
3.3.1.6 Weakening of consonants	275
3.3.1.6.1 Voicing of word-initial consonants	275
3.3.1.6.2 Voicing and vocalisation of labials	276
3.3.1.6.3 Voicing of word-final consonant groups	278
3.3.1.7 Other phenomena	279
3.3.1.7.1 Word-initial <i>w-</i> , <i>v-</i>	279
3.3.1.7.2 <i>y-</i> > $\emptyset$	280
3.3.1.7.3 <i>t</i> > <i>ṭ</i>	281
3.3.1.7.4 Peculiar cases	281

3.3.2 Vowels .....	282
3.3.2.1 Loss of vowels .....	282
3.3.2.2 Changes in quantity .....	284
3.3.2.3 Changes in quality .....	285
 III. Studies in the Balochi Lexicon .....	 287
1. Body parts .....	288
2. Kinship terms .....	298
3. Colours .....	309
4. Verbs .....	312
4.1 Bal. verbs which can be traced back to Old Iranian .....	312
4.2 Verbs formed in Balochi from inherited nouns .....	317
4.3 Bal. verbs which may be inherited or NP loanwords .....	318
4.4 Bal. verbs which have been borrowed from Persian .....	319
4.5 Bal. verbs which may be inherited or Ind. loanwords .....	321
4.6 Bal. verbs which have been borrowed from languages other than Persian .....	321
4.7 Unclear cases .....	322
 IV. Conclusion .....	 323
 V. Appendix .....	 331
1. Morphological Sketch .....	331
1.1 Nouns .....	331
1.2 Pronouns .....	333
1.3 Adjectives .....	335
1.4 Adverbs .....	335
1.5 Prepositions and postpositions .....	336
1.6 Noun phrases .....	336
1.7 Verbs .....	336
1.8 Conjunctions .....	342
1.9 Word formation .....	342
2. Etymological Index .....	343
3. Index of Non-Balochi Words and Word Forms .....	417
4. Reverse Index of Balochi Sound Changes .....	443
5. Bibliography .....	449
6. Maps .....	468