

**GLIMPSES OF BALOCHI LEXICOGRAPHY: SOME ICONYMS FOR THE  
LANDSCAPE AND THEIR MOTIVATION****Adriano V. Rossi***University of Naples "L'Orientale", Naples, Italy***Abstract:**

*The speakers of any language, even if at a small extent, concur to change the lexicon, which they have inherited as a whole. They are driven to do that by the necessity of naming something new or optimizing the onomasiological salience of already existing words, with a continuous changing in the way they express concepts. In order to avoid an overloading of the memory system, they are encouraged to recycle what is already existent in the lexicon. Through a small set of associative strategies, people relate a concept which has already been verbalized, with another one which has to be verbalized, producing lexical changes. Over time, however, the conceptual motivation which originated a particular designation becomes obscure to speakers. Large scale lexical surveys aid us in discovering recurrent schemas of designating a concept and recovering the relevant motivation for each designation, i.e. its 'iconym' (the Engl. term iconym has been currently utilized, e.g., by Joachim Grzega in his contributions to Onomasiology Online).*

**Keywords:** Keywords: linguistics, lexicography, body part terms, Iranian linguistics, Balochi

In the general framework of cognitive onomasiology, I have been carrying out since the 1990s (at L'Orientale University, Naples) a project aimed at singling out the different 'pathways' through which natural physical concepts have been designated in the Iranian languages, in order to get insight into the way Iranian speaking peoples have perceived and conceptualized the physical environment which they concurred to change with their millenary activities.

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There are several types of associative relations on which lexical innovation relies on; one of these is similarity. The best known process based on similarity is that of metaphor, a process through which we speak of a concept in terms of another, and whose main lines are similarity of shape, similarity of spatial configuration, functional similarity, etc. Since human beings perceive their bodies as an interface between themselves and the surrounding world, the body part lexicon overlaps in many points with those of other conceptual domains; first of all, with the lexicon used to describe the environment. ng human (or animal) body parts as a source, and elements of the landscape as a target, are commonly found in most Iranian languages.

Object of this paper will be a selection of Balochi terms for parts of the human body, variously related to terms used to describe the landscape, studying them from an etymological and areal perspective.

### **1. Generalities**

The speakers of any language can, at any time, concur to make changes (however minor) in the lexicon they have inherited. They are driven to do that by the necessity of naming something new or optimizing the onomasiological salience of existing words. In order to avoid overloading the memory system, they are encouraged to recycle existing words in the lexicon. Through small associative strategies, people relate a concept that has already been verbalized with another one that has yet to be verbalized, producing lexical changes. Over time, however, the conceptual motivation that originated a particular designation becomes obscure to speakers. Large-scale lexical surveys aid us in discovering recurrent schemas of designating a concept and recovering the relevant motivation for each designation, i.e., its 'iconym'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Filippone (2006, 365). The English term iconym, first introduced by Alinei (1997), has been currently utilized in the subsequent years, particularly by Joachim Grzega in his contributions to Onomasiology Online. Alinei's original definition is as follows:

[B]ecause of the importance of the role of motivation in the genesis of words, I have recently proposed calling it iconym (from icon + 'name', with the derivations "iconymy", "iconymic", and "iconomastic") , in order to avoid using the much too ambiguous and generic term "motivation" (Alinei 1997c). Only a few linguists, unfortunately, have recently discussed some theoretical aspects of iconymy ( e.g., Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987) and Sanga (1997)). [...] This is exactly what iconyms do, by "representing", as it were, whole concepts. Any new concept that in the process of social

In the general framework of cognitive onomasiology, we have outlined with our research team at L'Orientale University<sup>2</sup> a project aimed at singling out the different 'pathways' through which natural physical concepts have been designated in the Iranian languages, in order to get insight into the way Iranian-speaking peoples – and particularly Balochi-speaking peoples – have perceived and conceptualized the physical environment that they concurred to change with their millenary activities. This research has been carried out since the 1990s within the frame of the Ethnolinguistics of the Iranian area project and the Comparative etymological Balochi dictionary project, both of which I direct and which are funded by the Italian Ministry of Education at L'Orientale University, Naples.<sup>3</sup>

To accomplish this work, many years ago we began gathering the relevant lexicon in the Iranian languages, using as sources mostly dictionaries and glossaries and, for a few languages, mostly Western Iranian (including Balochi), information provided by native speakers. The corpus produced so far contains several thousand words of a remarkable interest, many hundreds of which refer to different dialects of Balochi.

### **Metaphorical mappings involving human/animal body parts as a source in Balochi**

There are several types of associative relations on which lexical innovation relies on; one of these is similarity. The best-known process based on similarity is that of metaphor, a process through which we speak of a concept

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communication has become standardized, can thus be collapsed, by means of iconyms, into a new word, allowing us to enrich our knowledge, without changing our abstract, mental categories (Alinei 2003: 108-109).

<sup>2</sup> This research is carried out within the frame of the Ethnolinguistics of the Iranian area Project (no. 9710425417), also drawing on lexical material from the Archives of the Comparative Etymological Balochi Dictionary Project (no. MM10422399, hereinafter referred to as Archive), both directed by myself and funded by the Italian Ministry of Education at L'Orientale University, Naples.

<sup>3</sup> Two previous studies conducted within this framework are Filippone (2006, 2010), to which the reader is referred. Since the introduction of this methodology in the Iranian studies originates from joint research of Prof. Filippone and myself, practically every concept hinted there (and in many other places) stems from a shared vision (even if not explicitly stated). It is consequently a pleasure for me to state here how much I am indebted to Prof. Filippone for her invaluable support in our common research (and in my life). Special thanks are also due to my former pupil, Dr. Gerardo Barbera, for important unpublished materials from the Bashkardi area.

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in terms of another. Since human beings perceive their bodies as an interface between themselves and the surrounding world, the body-part lexicon overlaps in many points with those of other conceptual domains; first of all, with the lexicon used to describe the environment.

Metaphorical mappings involving human (or animal) body parts as a source, and elements of the landscape as a target, are commonly found in most Iranian languages.<sup>4</sup>

The body-part lexicon overlaps in many points with those of other conceptual domains. First of all, there is the lexicon used to describe the environment. Metaphorical mappings involving human (or animal) body parts as a source, and elements of the landscape as a target, are commonly found in most languages, including Balochi. In the framework of modern onomasiology, which operates in the light of cognitive linguistics, I concentrated on the “pathways” through which different concepts for parts of the landscape have been verbalized, going back (when possible) to the respective source concepts.

This article will describe a small selection of Balochi terms for parts of the human body, variously related to terms used to describe the landscape, which will be analyzed from an etymological and areal perspective. The most common Iranian terms having similar usage, such as *sar*, *pād*, *nyām*, are not included in this article since they have been at least hinted at – even if frequently in a simplistic way<sup>5</sup> – in the iconomastic studies in Iranological literature; a few relatively marginal terms – most of which are unknown even to scholars working in (Indo-) Iranian dialectology will be briefly treated in order to give an idea of the methodological approach of the research.

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<sup>4</sup> This terminology is according to Lakoff (1987, 276). Conceptual Metaphor Theory, sometimes called Cognitive Metaphor Theory, was developed by researchers within the field of cognitive linguists. Recent developments within this field are treated by Kövecses (2002, 2005) and Evans and Green (2006).

<sup>5</sup> Surely not in the case of Wilhelm Eilers, who was an outstanding pioneer in this field of Iranology (cf. his research on the subject in the bibliographies contained in Eilers [1987, 1988]).

**2. Iconym: “parts of the body indicating the same relative position in the body as that of a single locational feature in a salient object of the landscape”**

(1) Bal. *barbūnz* ‘hillock’ [= *sunt*] (Mitha Khan Marri and Surat Khan 1970:

s.v.) ♦ EastBal. *barbūnz* ‘peak, summit’ (Ahmedzai n.d.: s.v.), cf.

Psht. *wərb’uz*, Wan. *warbīz* ‘muzzle, snout; spur of a hill’ (according to

Morgenstierne [2003]: s.v. Psht. *wərb’uz* < \*fra- + *poza-* ‘nose’), Prs. *bar-pōz* ‘the parts around the mouth’, Bal. *būz*, *būnz* ‘the animal’s pointed mouse’, with the same composition pattern as *bar-dast* ‘shoulder-blade’, *bar-čānk* ‘hand, fist, hilt of sword’, *bar-gar* ‘hole, pit’, etc., either inner-Balochi, or Pre-Balochi. (Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell 2001: s.v.) consider *sunt* (q.v.) as a synonym of *barbūnz* (East Balochi, from Mitha Khan Marri and Surat Khan 1970).

Here the pathway seems to go from the lower terminal part (or perhaps the pointed mouse) of an animal head to the top of a mountain, if the projected function of the pointed mouse is perceived as a spur (the spur metaphor is widespread in the mountain lexicon of many different languages, independently from the iconymical history of the term spur in each language). The origin of the metaphor could be located outside Balochi if one accepts Morgenstierne’s (2003: s.v.) suggestion of a generalization of the iconym from the parts around the mouth to what is near a door, mouth at least in Pashto (where some dictionaries give for *wərb’uz* ‘slave guarding a door’, ‘land in front or surrounding a gate’).

(2) Bal. *čūṭī* ‘hair, down on the head of a baby’ (Mitha Khan Marri and Surat Khan 1970: s.v.); Bal. *čūṭī* ‘summit, peak (of a hill or mountain)’. Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell (2001: s.v.) give as synonym *sunt*, *tul*, ‘peak of a mountain’ (Mayer 1909, s.v.); Br. *čōṭī* ‘top-knot, tuft. Crest, summit’ (thus Bray 1934: s.v.), but are all meanings really documented? Cf. Urdu *čōṭī* ‘a lock of hair left on the top of the head; crest of a bird; top; peak of a mountain etc.’; Si. *čōṭī* ‘peak of mountain’, ‘crest’, Sir. *čōṭī* ‘peak’ in Turner (1966: 266, no. 4883).

Four different bases are postulated by Turner (1966: 266, no. 4883) for this lexical family (possibly < Dravidian), but in any case Hindi/Urdu, Panjabi,

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Siraiki, Sindhi are rather homogeneous in preserving the vocalism -o- and meanings ranging from ‘topknot, crest’ to ‘top (of a tree)’, ‘peak’, etc.; Mayrhofer (1956, 3: 396) < Dravidian; Mayrhofer (1992, 1: 546) notes: “Nicht klar”, but remarks that in case of Indo-Iranian origin *coḍa-* ‘curl’ (epic +) should be primary as contrasted with *cūḍa-* ‘bulge on a brick’ (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa +) (“c° nur vor urspr. Diphthong lautgesetzlich, *cūḍa-* usw. ‘mit ū für o’, AiGr I<sup>2</sup> Nachtr 14”).

Here the pathway seems to go from any salient/ protruding feature on/ from the head of a human/animal to the top section of a mountain. In consideration of Psht. *čoṭi* ‘uncombed, disheveled’, it is reasonable to assume an Indo-Iranian pressure in the iconymic process of the Indo-Iranian frontier languages, having originated in an area in which the focus was on HUMAN HEAD, a metonymic process toward the mountain lexicon.

(3) Bal. *dīmag*, *dōmag* CoBal. *dūmmag* ‘*čammē ēkīrr-o-akīrr kuṭṭ itagēn hadd*’ (Hashmi Baloch 2000: s.v.), with the following example: *pōnzē dūmmag* = *pōnzē piḍḍ* ‘nasal septum’; IrBal. *dumbag* ‘tail’, also (politely) ‘bottom’, an Archive informant from Iranshahr, but note that Bal. *dumbag* only means ‘tail fat (of sheep)’ (thus correctly Elfenbein [1990: s.v.] and Hashmi Baloch [2000: s.v.]); cf. Bal. *dīm* ‘back, hinder part’ (Dames 1891: s.v.); Mayer (1909:s.v.); and one Archive informant from Sibi (cf. Filippone 1996: 307); possible etymological connections of Bal. *dīm* with the group of Bal. *dumb*, homogeneously recorded as ‘tail’, are treated in Filippone (1996: 307 -308). Geographical meanings: ‘high place, ascent’ (Mitha Khan Marri and Surat Khan 1970: s.v.), also *caṛhāī*, *burzay* (Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell 2001: s.v.: no English meaning but glossed as Bal. *burzag*, Urdu *caṛhāī*) – Archive informants: Turbat-1 *dōmmag* perhaps ‘foot of mountain’; Turbat-2 *dūmmag* ‘ridge of *gwāš*’ (‘foot, middle of a hill’); ‘that part of *gwāš* having a *šep* (slope) at both sides’; Bālgitar/ Turbat *dūmmag* ‘mountain peak running to the plain’. Cf. Larestani *domaga* ‘starting part of a valley’.

Eilers (1988: 291-292) remarks that Dames (1913: 651a, 654, 657) connects the ethnonym *Dōmkī* to the toponym *Dōmbak* in Iranian Balochistan (with difficulties in explaining *ō* as against Bal. *dum*). In Balochi Race, Dames (1904: 54) connected the same ethnonym *Dom(b)kī* with the river *Dumbak*. If these ethnonyms/ toponyms have original short vowels,

they might be connected with 'tail'; in the place of settlement of the Dombkī, nothing contrasts the association 'tail' with 'slope'. Also in the Pamir toponyms referring to mountain slopes containing *dum* 'tail' (*dumzōj* etc.) are known; cf. Junker (1930: 77-78, 96, 121).

Here the pathway follows the common experience according to which if the mountain is conceived as a human/animal body, its caudal section is what lies at the foot of the mountain, i.e., its piedmont slope. The origin of the iconymic process may be pan-Iranian (cf. Larestani *domaga* 'starting part of a valley', in which 'starting' points to its lower layer), since Yaghnobi *dumzōj* quoted above is confirmed by Xromov (1975: 33 s.v.), but it seems isolated in East Iranian (all the remaining *dum*-toponyms quoted by Xromov are Tajik); cf. Ossetic *dymæg/ dumæg* in the translated meaning of 'kraj', *konec* as stated in Abaev (1958: s.v.).

(4) Bal. *kaš(š)*, recorded as 'armpit' in Mayer (1909: s.v.) and Dames (1891: s.v.), mainly refers to the 'side of the body' or to the 'lateral area just under the ribs', as in Barker and Mengal (1969: s.v.), Elfenbein (1990: s.v.), Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell (2001: s.v.). Notwithstanding its lexicographical attestations, it seems to be unknown among the East Balochi speakers (Filippone [1996: 311 and n. 80]; Archive).

Bal. *kaš* in the sense of 'beside' enters the series of locatives that prototypically refer to the human body sides and the area adjacent to them, i.e., *pahnadā/ bagalā/kašā*. While *pahnadā/bagalā* are found almost everywhere in Balochi, *kašā* belongs only to the Southern Balochi lexicon (perhaps also accepted by Western Balochi speakers, even if not actively used by them; cf. Filippone[1996: 190]).

Bal. *kaš(š)* belongs to the lexical family of Av. *kaša-* 'armpit', and is commonly considered of Indo-Iranian origin, cf. Sanskrit (Atharva Veda-Samhitā) *kākṣa* 'armpit' (Mayrhofer [1992: 288], Middle Iranian cognates in Bailey [1979: 56b]). In Balochi it is probably a loanword < Persian, as already stated by Geiger (1891:453, no. 130).

In view of RaBal. *kač(č)* 'thigh' (Rzehak and Naruyi 2007: s.v.); Bshk. *kač* 'gluteus muscle', *kačak kert* 'to embrace' (syn. *baḡal kert*) Barbera (n.d.: s.v.), Sist. *kač* 'thigh', and its geographical projections: *kačč* 'bank of river' (Elfenbein 1990: s.v.); EastBal. *kaččh* 'a piece of flat alluvial ground near the bank of a torrent below the rocks' (Dames 1907: 120); EastBal. *kaččh* 'cultivated land by the side of the river; an island' (Mitha Khan Marri and

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Surat Khan 1970: s.v.); RaBal. *kič* ‘small pieces of land near the bank of a stream’ (Ahmedzai (n.d.: s.v., = Brahui according to Ahmedzai, not in Bray [1934: s.v.]); IrBal. *kačč* ‘meadow’ Archive informant from Iranshahr, a (rather old) connection between the *kačč* and *kašš* families is highly probable, and it also possible that it originates in the epic Sanskrit variant *kacchā-* of classic Skt. *kakṣā-* ‘girdle’. Skt. (MBh) *kaccha-* ‘bank, shore, marshy ground’ is continued in Pa. *kaccha-* ‘marshy land’, Pkt. *kaccha-* ‘bank, flooded forest’. New Indo-Aryan (Turner 1966, no. 2618) has Si. *kaco* ‘low alluvial lands lying below a bank or hill or lately thrown up by river’; Sir. *kachhā* ‘land subject to inundation; alluvial low-lying land where tamarisk grows’, *kachhī* ‘the alluvial valley of the Indus’, and other derivatives with similar meanings. Eilers (1988: 297, 368 n. 226) had already remarked that in the Balochi area, a series of geographical names containing *kač* (e.g., *Bābarkač*, *Kačhī*, *Nīlīkač*, *Rūdīān Kač*, *Kacha Dāman*) refer to ‘depressions, lowlands’. Since Dzadr. *kackay* ‘terrain se trouvant à proximité d’un cours d’eau’ (Septfonds [1994, s.v.]) and Wan. *kucanā* ‘armpit’ (according to Morgenstierne [1930: 168; 2003, s.v.] < Khetrani *kucanī* ‘armpit’) face up Psht. *kšē*, Wan. *če* ‘in’, a specialization of *kač* for the geographical meaning and *kaš* for the body/locative lexicon may have arisen in the Balochi area from an older distribution in which the IA *kač*-outcomes spreading westwards along the Ocean coast superseded the Ir. *kaš*-outcomes.

The base denotes the side of a body, and in three-dimensional objects it refers to the two lateral surfaces (if an intrinsic axe is perceived) or to all the vertical axes (if there is none); in bi-dimensional objects it generically indicates a relationship of proximity, with an emphasis on the localization of the object in the area ‘(partially) encircled’ by the ground.

**3 Iconym: “parts of the body presenting functional similarity/similar shape to geographical features”**

(5) Bal. *kump* ‘hunchbacked/hump’ (Hashmi Baloch 2000: s.v.); Ahmedzai (n.d.:s.v.) *kub* ‘hunchbacked’; *kubbī* (a) ‘bent’; (b) ‘crookedness’; *kubbō* *wang* ‘person with a bent back’; Brahui *kōmp* ‘hump’ (according to Elfenbein 1983: 199 < Bal.); Bal. *kumbīy* ‘truffle’ (type POT according to Morgenstierne [1973:18], but probably type

HUMP according to Rossi 2016: 217); Psht. *kūp* ‘crooked, bent in the back’; *kūpaey*, *kūbaey*

(6) ‘a hunchback’; *kwab* ‘hump’ – Indian words like Panj. *kubb*, Hind. *kub* ‘hump’, Panj., Sir. *Kubbā* ‘hump-backed’ have influenced the Pashto forms according to Morgenstierne (1927: s.v.), while most recently Morgenstierne (2003: s.v.) separates the Iranian family of Psht. *kwab* (< Ir. \**kaupa-*) from IA \**kubba-* of Turner (1966, no. 3301); Parachi *kūmbū* ‘shoulder’ (as protruding from the body?) may (or may not) be connected. Geographically, we have Bal. *kump* ‘hillock’, also toponym indicating hillocks: *kōp* in *dokop*, *gwarkop* (from Makran Gazetteer) ‘place-names’ (Morgenstierne 1946–1948: 289) – probably some unenlarged form of *kōpag* ‘shoulder’, according to Morgenstierne – toponyms from Makran: Sarbāz *kopk* [=/*kōpk*/?], Sarāvān *Kupag* [=/*kūpag*/] (Spooner 1971:

527), with the following annotation: “Names of Baluchi origin – or at least fully Baluchized. These are almost exclusively names of natural features,

e.g. rivers, streams, rocks, mountains [...], and small areas. These can be seen to suggest the toponymy of a pastoral, nomadic people”).

Apparently Central-Iranian dialects have only the geographical metonymical projection:

- (5) a. type *g/qomb*: Naini *gom*, *gomb*, *gombu* ‘hillock, heap of earth’; Behdinani *qomb* ‘clay vessel’ (for which see Rossi [2016]) and ‘raised ground’; Khunsari *qombeli*, *gombeli* ‘relief’; *qombela* ‘prominent, raised’;
- b. type *kope*: Judeo-Isfahani *kope* ‘heap’; Judeo-Pers., Yazd *koppo* ‘heap’; Khunsari *kopa* ‘heap’; *keppeli* ‘prominent, raised’; Kermanshahi *qopa* ‘prominent, raised’, *qomboli* ‘prominent, raised’; Kurmanji *qov* ‘hump’; Sorani *qubke* (1) ‘protruding, dome [= *kubk*]; (2) ‘top of mountain’;
- c. Fārs, Lori and Southeastern coast: Bandari *gambel* ‘hill’; Bakhtiari *gomboluk* ‘prominent, raised’; Davani *kombor* ‘peak, stone relief (hill or mountain)’; Jiroft-Kahnuji *kombar* ‘earth hill’.

Here the pathway proceeds from the conception of a prototypically bent human spine to any feature of the landscape being bent and therefore sticking out from the horizon line; this is based on the assumption that the prototypical human body is conceived as lying on the horizon line.

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- (6) Bal. *mōl* Psht. *mowl* ‘hump’ (Hanley 1981: s.v.). Cf. also Bakht. *mol* ‘hump of an oxen’; ‘round hill’, Kurdish Sor. *milik* ‘hunch of camel’, etc.; Kurd. Sul. *mol* ‘piled, heaped’; Naini *koo-mol-kaja* ‘mountain with crooked neck’; *mol* ‘neck’; Shushtari *mol* ‘hump’; Yazdi *mol* ‘neck’, the same in all Fârs dialects, etc.

Apparently a different word is Bal. *mōl* ‘a particular Balochi fashion of binding turbans’ (Mitha Khan Marri and Surat Khan 1970: s.v.); *mōl* ‘a corner of a turban used to cover the face’ (Elfenbein 1990: s.v.); *mōl* ‘particular way of binding turbans’ (Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell 2001: s.v.); cf. Psht. *mōl* ‘tip of a turban’; ‘way of wrapping a turban so it covers one’s ears’ (Pashtoon 2009: s.v.), ‘pan du turban avec lequel on se cache le nez et la bouche’ (Kabir and Akbar 1999:s.v.); Br. *mōl* ‘muffling of chin and ears against the cold’; Sir. *mōl* ‘a pad placed on the top of the head for carrying weights’; Si. *mōru* ‘cock’s comb’ both < Skt. *mukuṭa-* (also *mauli-*) ‘tiara, crest’, according to Turner (1966: no. 10144, Skt. < Drav.), “wohl drav”. Mayrhofer (2001: s.v.); cf. Burrow and Emeneau (1984: 437, no. 4888).

Geographically, Bal. *mōl* ‘round hill’ Mayer (1909: s.v.), cf. *Mol* ‘a place’ [location uncertain; The Farhang-e joyrāfiāi-ye Irān (Teheran, 1330, 7: 225) lists a place called *Mol* near Lar (a city often mentioned in the Balochi epics)] (Barker and Mengal 1969: 270); *Molā* name of a famous pass, and the Western Iranian words such as *mil(e)* in all Kurdish and Luri dialects for ‘pass’, ‘hillock’, cf. Mokri (1997: 8-10).Wir. *mōl* /*mīl* < Ir. \**mrdu-*, SWIr. form ~ Av. *mərəzu-* ‘vertebra’; cf. Christensen, Barr, and Henning (1939: 338); Eilers (1987: 14-16, 1988: 371); Mayrhofer (1996: 334, with further literature). Notwithstanding the many difficulties raised by the proposal of Bailey (1979: 337b) to trace to the same Av. base also Skt. *malhá-* ‘mit Auswüchsen am Hals versehen’ (on which see Mayrhofer [1996: 334]), there may be some connection and/or semantic influence between the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan lexical families.

If the bases collected here are really connected, the Balochi geographical usages/denominations would prove the antiquity of the metonymy from the HUMP type in Iranian. The pressure from the Indo-Aryan PAD type seems not to have produced geographical metaphors in Indo-Aryan MPrs. *kōf* ‘mountain’, Av. *kaofa-* ‘hump (only in compounds); mountain’ is the Iranian

parallel par excellence; see all HUMP New Iranian continuants in Hasandust (2011: 343).

(7a) Bal. *pūnz*, *pōnz* RaBal. *pōz* ‘nose’; ‘protruding part of mountain or anything’ (Hashmi Baloch 2000: s.v.); *pōz* ‘nose’ (Elfenbein 1990: s.v.), *pōnz* ‘nose’ (Gilbertson 1925: s.v.).

(7b) Bal. *pūnzīg* ‘heel’ (Elfenbein 1990: s.v.); RaBal. *pūnzuk* ‘heel’ (Elfenbein

1990: s.v.); *pō(n)zag* ‘protruding part’ (Hashmi Baloch 2000: s.v.); also RaBal. *pūnz* ‘heel’ (Elfenbein 1990: s.v.); Co. *pīnz*, EHBal. *pīz*, *pīd*; CoBal. *pīnz* ‘heel’ (Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell 2001: s.v.); *pēnz*, *phēnz*, also *pūnz* ‘heel’ (Mitha and Surat 1970: s.v.).

Archive informants: *pūnzīk* ‘heel’ (Kharan), *pūnzuk* (Panjgur-1), *pū(n)z* ‘heel’ (Turbat-1, Turbat-2, Karachi-1, Karachi-3, Karachi-4 [*pīnz*], Dashtiari [*pīnz*]), cf. CoBal. *pādē pīnz* ‘heel’ (Karachi-1, Oman), RaBal. *pādpūnz* ‘heel’ (Kharan-1, Kharan -2), RaBal. *pādē būnz* ‘heel’; *pādpūnz* ‘heel’ (Ahmedzai n.d.: s.v.).

See Br. *būz* ‘snout, muzzle; kiss (vulgar); skirt of a hill’ (Rossi 1979: 122, no. F22); note Balochi forms with *b*<sup>o</sup> and the following Western Iranian ones: Prs. *pā-bus* ‘heel’; Az. *boz* ‘heel’; Gil. *buz*, *buzi*, *pā-buz* ‘heel’; Khor. *buzak* ‘bone of a horse leg’.

Geographical meanings: RaBal. *pūnz* ‘boulder, rock’ (Elfenbein 1990, s.v.); *pōz* ‘protruding part of mountain or anything’ (Hashmi Baloch 2000: s.v.); RaBal. *kōhe pōzag*; syn. *sunṭ* (Hashmi Baloch 2000: s.v.); CoBal. *pūzak* (toponym) ‘crest of a mountain of the Makran Range south of Nikshahr’ (Pozdena 1978: 78). A Turbat informant (Archive) knows the geographical usage of *kōhē pūnz*, but does not know the exact meaning.

According to the common opinion, *pūnz*, *pōnz* (palatalized in *pīnz*, *pēnz* in Coastal Balochi and Eastern Balochi) ‘heel’ - and their derivatives in *-ag*, *-uk*, *-īk*, *-īg* - are original Balochi developments (cf. Geiger [1890: 142, no. 306] , with doubts of Morgenstierne [1927: 57, 1932: 49, 2003: 63], Benveniste [1955: 300]), while Bal. *pōz*, *pūnz* ‘nose’ is a borrowing < Prs. *pōz* ‘snout, beak’, also ‘mouth area’, with secondary nasalization (thus, e.g., Korn 2005: 216, cf. Korn 2005: 203; Geiger 1890: 142, no. 310).

In any case, it seems hardly tenable (because of its isolation in Iranian, phonetic grounds, and semantic reasons) connecting \*pauk- KISS (

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documented only by Khotanese) and Prs. *pōz* 'snout, beak' as assumed by Bailey (1979: 250b); cf. also Korn (2005: 203 n. 139), or hypothesizing \**faž-*, \**fāž-*, \**fauž-*: *fuž-* / \**pauž-* : *puž-* or \**fiauž-* / \**piauž-* lower part of face to explain Prs. *pōz* 'snout, beak', as assumed by Rastorgueva and Èdel'man (2007: 49-51); a connection of Prs. *pōz*, Bal. *pō/ūnz* 'nose', and Bal. *pūnz* 'heel' remains possible in view of their prototypical shape/function (as assumed here). The series of labels for 'a broad surface of the body, the front, face and breast or the back', already pointed out by Bailey (1967: 179-180) and summarily treated by Rossi (1998: 407-409), possibly specialized in some Iranian languages as a protruding body part, seems to belong to a network of terms characterized by the amplitude of the attested forms, many of which open to geographical transfers. To the Balochi geographical metaphors one could add Kurm. *poz* 'cape; headland'; Sarvestani *puze* 'spur of mountain'; Larestani *pūza* 'spur of mountain'; Psht. *poza*, Waz. *pēza*, Wan. *pīza* 'nose'; 'peak of a mountain' (Morgenstierne 2003: s.v.).

Here the pathway proceeds from any protruding part of the human/ animal body towards any feature of the mountain landscape appearing as protruding landscape from the massif. If one arranges in a scale of protrusion Bal. *mōl*, *pūnz*, *sunṭ* as projected onto the landscape, the coefficient of roundness decreases and that of pointedness increases.

- (8) Bal. *sunṭ*, *suṭ* 'beak', 'sting' and 'chin' in Hashmi Baloch (2000: s.v.); RaBal. *sunṭ* (a) 'trunk', (b) 'beak' (Rzehak and Naruyi 2007: s.v.); MwBal. *sunṭ* 'beak' (Elfenbein 1963: s.v.), PrsBal. *sunṭ* (Spooner 1967: 68) 'beak, bill'; *sunṭ* 'beak, bill; sting (of a mosquito)' (Elfenbein 1990: s.v.), also *sunt*; *sunṭī* 'beaked, stinger', *sunṭīg* 'a fierce mosquito' in S. W. Makrān (Sarawani); Mirjave *sūnṭ* 'beak' ('animal's mouth') (Coletti 1981: s.v.); *sunṭ* 'beak' (Barker and Mengal 1969: 30); *suṭ*, *suṭh*, *sunṭ* 'elephant's trunk; snout; bank'; 'hillock' (s.v. *barbūnz*) (Mitha Khan Marri and Surat Khan 1972: s.v.); *sunṭ* 'peak, summit; beak, bill; the trunk of elephant' (Ahmedzai n.d.: s.v.); EastBal. *sut* 'spur of a mountain' (Gilbertson 1925: s.v.), EastBal. *sut* 'spur of a mountain running down into a plain' (Dames 1891: s.v.); *sut* 'spur of mountain run to plain' (Mayer 1909: s.v.); *sunṭ* 'peak; summit' (

Razzaq, Buksh, and Farrell 2001: s.v.; give syn. *ṭul*); PrsBal. *sunt* 'Bergsporn' (Pozden1978: 78), in toponyms: *Širuksunt* 'Bergsporn des Chahbahar Plateaus in Tiskupan); Bal. *sunt* 'bottom of a hill sloping into a beak' (Ata 1968: 142).

Archive informants: *sunt* 'lip' (= *lunt*) (Iranshahr-1), 'upper lip' (Oman); 'mouth and chin' (Turbat-2); 'chin' (Karachi-1, also knows *zanūk*), Karachi-4 (= *zanīk*) 'chin' (the same as *zanuk*, but mostly referring to birds, considered impolite with reference to human beings) (Turbat-1); 'mouth area' (Dashtiari), 'chin' [Panjgur-1]; IrBal *sonṭṭ* 'lip'; Turbat-2: *sunt* 'top of mountain if not rounded' (in this case it would be *sar*, *ṭul*).

Compare Br. *sunt* 'beak, muzzle; projecting corner; bottom of a hill sloping into a beak' (Bray 1934: s.v.; Rossi 1979: 49, no. A357); cf. Sir. *sund*, Si. *sūṇḍhi*, Skt. *śuṇḍā* 'trunk, proboscis'; Sist. *sont* 'muzzle' (with reference to human beings only when distorted).

Mayrhofer (1996: 426) hesitates in attributing Skt. *śuṇḍā*- 'trunk, proboscis' to a common Indo-Iranian base. Tremblay (2005: 426) assumes a base *\*sundika* 'fauces' (> Khot. *ṣumca*- 'beak', Waxi *šend'k* (Lorimer 1902: s.v.), *šəṇḍg* 'gums of mouth' (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: s.v.); NPers. *šand* 'beak', Ved. *śuṇḍa*- 'tusk') and adds (Tremblay 2005: 426 n. 28):

The following facts militate against a direct borrowing of the Sakan word from Indian: 1. The meanings diverge; 2. The word for 'beak' is attested in Persian; 3. It is enlarged by an *-ika*-suffix in Khotanese and Waxi; 4. The Khotanese word has *ṣ*, not *ś*. If the Iranian word were a borrowing from Indian, it must be a very early one. The Indian lexeme was later borrowed in Sogdian B *šnth* 'trunk', and through Dardic (Khowar *šūn*, Tir. *šunḍ* 'lip'), in *Šughni šand* < *\*šundā*, Parachi Pashto *šūṇḍ* 'lip'.

As in the case of *pūnz* above, the pathway here also proceeds from any protruding part of the human/ animal body toward any feature of the mountain landscape appearing as protruding from the massif. The notion of connectivity (from one part to another of the mopuntani slope as from one part to another of the mouth/nose area in the face/snout) seems residual in some scattered Balochi evidence; in any case no other Iranian language documents both the bodily and geographical meanings in living usage (NPers. *šand* 'beak' is doubtful).

While in diachronic cognitive onomasiology the main strategies that exist in a language sample for conceptualizing and verbalizing a given concept are

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investigated, with the aim of explaining them against a cognitive background in terms of salient perceptions, prominency, etc., the iconymic ( motivational ) sequence reconstructed in the few examples commented on above is, by definition, consolidated, being as it were crystallized in the name itself, just as a fossil is embedded in the surrounding matter. If its chronological span reaches some point in ancient history, we can be sure of its relative antiquity.

No one would devalue the potential of this approach to the reconstruction of the cultural landscape in an area of such intensive multilingualism as that of the Indo-Iranian Frontier languages.

**Abbreviations**

Av.	Avestan
Az.	Azari
Bal.Balochi	(CoastalBal., IranianBal./ PrsBal., EastHillBal., MarwBal., RakhshaniBal.)
Br.	Brahui
Bshk.	Bashkardi
Drav.	Dravidian
Dzadr.	Dzadrani
Gil.	Gilaki
IA	Indo Aryan
Ir.	Iranian
Khot.	Khotanese
Kurm.	Kurmanji
Khor.	Khorasani
Pa.	Pali
Panj.	Panjabi
Pkt.	Prakrit
Prs.	Persian
Psht.	Pashto
Si.	Sindhi
Sir.	Siraiki
Sist.	Sistani
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sor.	Sorani
Sul.	Suleimani
Wan.	Wanetsi

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