

Armenian *dašxuran* ‘bowl’ and Pashto *l’oḡay* ‘vessel; pot’: loanwords and the relative chronology of sound laws
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Based on phonological and morphological considerations the Arm. word *dašxuran* ‘bowl’ has been considered an Iranian loanword, but the exact source for the loan has so far not been identified. Périkhanian (1985: 75f.) reconstructs a tentative Iran. **uda-xšaudana-* (containing Iran. **uda-* ‘water’ and **xšaud* ‘? be/make wet or liquid’; cf. Cheung 2007: 455), but such a form is not continued in any Iran. language and the reconstruction as such is problematic for several reasons.

A single Arm. loan etymology might seem rather irrelevant by itself, but this etymology has been adduced as key evidence for one particular sound law: Seemingly pointing to a late change **d > r* only after the Arm. loss of an initial unaccented **u* (otherwise both *d*’s should have become *r*, yielding pre-syncope Arm. ***urašxoyrana-*). The etymology could thereby suggest that Middle Iran. intervocalic *δ* (or still *d* ?) was substituted by pre-Arm. **d* (and not by Arm. **δ*) and that all other changes that produced pre-Arm. **d* such as PIE **d^h > Arm. d* or PIE **Rt > Arm. Rd* had occurred prior to that (cf. Viredaz 2005: 86-89). The sound change Arm. *d > r* has lately been used to explain quite a number of morphemes and words containing *r* in Armenian (cf. Viredaz 2005; 2018a; 2018b).

In this paper I want to present a different etymology for *dašxuran* by connecting it to Pashto *l’oḡay* ‘vessel; pot’. The etymology of the latter is still under debate. Some attempts have been made (Morgenstierne (1927: 39) < **dāxštra-*; Morgenstierne (2003) < **daus/štraka-*).

If *l’oḡay* can be traced back to a pre-form **daxšura-(ka-)* instead, a connection with the Arm. word (and thereby ultimately a revision of the Arm. change **d > r*) is worth a consideration. However, several sound changes have to be discussed first, and that will make up the main part of this paper:

- Pashto *u*-umlaut and the origins of the vowel *o*
- the relative chronology of Pashto syncope and the change **(x)šr > ḡ*
- the fate of Armenian unaccented *u* in (later) loanwords

The question of the etymology of a possible Iran. **daxšura-* ‘pot’ may be addressed subsequently.

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