# "Prothetic *h-*" in Khotanese and the reconstruction of Proto-Iranic

## 1. Introduction: Khotanese

Khotanese or Kh. Saka = Eastern Middle Iranic language from Khotan/Hotan,  Uyghur خوتن *Hotən*,
  Chin. 和田 *Hétián*, southern Tarim Basin; native name *Hvatanai*
    Written in South Turkestan Brahmi, over 2300 mainly Buddhist texts, 4th-11th century CE
Closest relative: Tumshuqese Saka in NW Tarim Basin (close to Tocharian B);
  scanty remains (15 texts) in N Turkestan Brahmi, slightly more archaic
Next surviving relative (but rather remote): Wakhi in S Pamir region (~420-720 km W of Hotan)
  common Old Iranic isoglosses: PIIr. *\*ćw* > *\*ś(ś)* (vs. old *\*š* > *ṣ*); PIr. *\*ćy* not simplified to *\*śy*
  lexical: Khot. *daha-* 'man' = W. *δay*
  Wakhi did not participate in many innovations (no lenition of voiceless obstruents)

## 2a. Some Khotanese etymologies

1) *haḍa-* 'dress'
  Bailey 1979: 447 "From *\*arta-* with the frequent <u>prothetic</u> *h-* to base *ar-* 'to fit'"
2) *hays-* 'to drive, conduct, send'
  Emmerick 1968: 148 "< O.Ir. *\*az-* (with <u>prothetic</u> *h-*)"; Bailey 1979: 465 "*az-* 'drive, conduct', without *h-* in
  *hīnāysa-* 'commander of a troop' (*\*hainā-āza-*)"; Cheung 2007: 172 ("with sec. *h-* ?")
*3) hīs-* 'to come'
  Emmerick 1968: 148 "*hīs-/āta-* suppletive like Man. Sogd. *ˀys-/ˀˀγt-* ... < *\*ā-isa-* ... Khot. *hīs-* ... likely  the
  same origin (with <u>prothetic</u> *h-*) ... *īs-* 'to return' ... < *ā-isa-* ... inch. < *\*aiš-* and *hīs-* < *\*ā-isa-* ... inch. < *\*ay-*
  'go' ..., the <u>prothetic</u> *h-* developing to enable the two verbs to be distinguished"; Cheung 2007: 155 "with
  sec. *h-*" (only continuant of *i-* 'to go')
4) *huṣṣ-* 'to grow'
  Emmerick 1968: 154 "< *\*uxša-* < *\*vaxš-*"; Bailey 1979: 494 "From base *vaxš- : uxš-* with <u>prothetic</u> *h-*, Av.
  *vaxš-, uxš-*"

Implication: Vowel-initial words can (but need not) have "prothetic" *h-* in Khotanese

  „Mehrfalls kommt ein 'cockney' *h* vor anfangendes *a*, während altes *h* wegfallen kann" (Konow 1941: 15)
  "More common is the addition of *h-* (Bailey 1953: 538)
  "Prothetic *h-* is frequent in Khotanese" (Bailey 1959: 74); cf. Herzenberg 1965: 53; 1981: 247

Vowel-initial words = words beginning with a vowel in other Iranic languages, most importantly the oldest
    one, i.e. Avestan, and Sanskrit as the best attested early IIr. language

## 2b. Typological background

Prothetic = secondary *h-* typical for "Cockney situations", i.e. languages with variation between (original) *h-*
and (innovative) loss of *h-* ⇒ hypercorrection
E.g., (Archaic and written) Latin *vs.*  spoken and Vulgar Latin, resulting in:
  • Lost *h-* in *ānser* for *\*hāns°* < *\*gʰans-* (Weiss 2009: 153)*, arēna, aedus, ircus*;
      *h* irrelevant for metre and rhotacism; general loss in Romance
  • Hypercorrect *h-* in *haurīre, humerus; ahēnus* (Weiss 2009: 152f.)

Applicable to Khotanese?

Khotanese *h-* is a phoneme, cf. minimal pairs:
*hīs-* 'to come' : *īs-* 'to return'; *ha-* 'forth' : *a-* 'un-'; *hāna-* 'vessel' : *āna-* 'sitting' ...

## 3a. The usual correspondences

### 1. Khotanese *h-*

| Khotanese | | Avestan | Sanskrit | (Middle) Persian | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *haṃ-* | together | *hąm-, həm-* | *sam* | *(h)an-* | |
| *hama-* | same | *hama-* | *samá-* | *ham* | |
| *hamāna-* | summer | *ham-* | *sámā-* | *hāmīn* | |
| *hastama-* | best | *hastəma-* | | -- | Bactr. υασταμο *hastam* |
| *hī* | bridge | *haētu-* | *sétu-* | -- | Oss. D. *xed* |
| *hīnā-* | army | *haēnā-* | *sénā-* | *hēn* | |
| *hu-* | good | *hu-* | *su-* | *hu-* | |
| *huṣka-* | dry | *huška-* | *śúṣka-* | *hušk* | |
| *hūṣ-* | to dry | *haōša-* | *śoṣa-* | *hōš-* | |
| *hauda* | seven | *hapta* | *saptá* | *haft* | |
| *ha-* | for-, forth- | *fra-* | *pra-* | *fra-* | also in many compounds |

⇒ Khot. *h-* < *\*h-* < *\*s-*; < pretonic *\*fr-* < *\*pr-* (vs. regular *br-* < *\*βr-* < *\*fr-*, cf. *briya-, braṣṭa-*)
Even intervocalic *h* is at least partly preserved, cf. *saha-* 'hare'

### 2. Khotanese ∅-

| Khotanese | | Avestan | Sanskrit | (Middle) Persian | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *aysu* | I | *azəm* | *ahám* | *an* | Parth. *az* |
| *aśtä* | is | *asti* | *ásti* | *ast* | |
| *aśśa-* | horse | *aspa-* | *áśva-* | *as- (asp)* | |
| *āljs-* | to sing | -- | *árca-* | -- | |
| *āska-* | fast, deer | *āsu-* | *āśú-* | *āhūg* | |
| *ula-* | upright | *ərəδβa-* | *ūrdhvá-* | *ul* | |
| *ustama-* | highest | | *uttamá-* | -- | |
| *ūri* | belly | *udara-* | *udára-* | -- | Khwar. *ʾwδy̌r* |
| *ora-* | cloud | *aβra-* | *abhrá-* | *abr* | |
| *ī* | his, her | *hōi/hē ~ šē* | -- | *(-š)* | Khwar. *-h(i)* |
| *īndä* | they are | *həṇti* | *sánti* | *(hēnd)* | |
| *ajs-* | to pursue | -- | *saj-* | OP *haǰ-* | |

⇒ Khot. ∅- < *\*∅-*; exceptionally (mostly in clitics): ∅- < *\*h-* < *\*s-*

Only one good non-clitic example of lost *h-*: Late Khot. *ajsāṃ* 'we pursue' (?) < *\*ajsāmä* < *\*haǰāmah*
  cf. Bailey 1953: 537 with the remark "This is to accept loss of initial *h-*"
  but his second example *ārä* < *\*harra-* must be rejected (see Emmerick & Skjærvø 1987: 165f.)

## 3b. A third set of correspondences

| Khotanese | | Avestan | Sanskrit | (Middle) Persian | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *haṃguṣṭa-* | finger | *aṇgušta-* | *aṅguṣṭhá-* | *angust* | |
| *haḍa-* | dress | -- | -- | -- | Arm. *arta-* |
| *hana-* | blind | *aṇda-* | *andhá-* | -- | Parth. *hand* |
| *handara-* | interior | *aṇtara-* | *ántara-* | *(andar)* | |
| *handǎra-* | other | *aṇtara-* | *ántara-* | -- | Bactr. ανδαρο *andar* |
| *hays-* | drive | *aza-* | *ája-* | -- | |
| *harraa-* | saw | -- | -- | *\*arrag* > NP *arra*[h] | |
| *hala-, hālaa-* | side, half | *arᵊδa-* | *árdhá-* | *ārag* (Fars *hal*) | |
| *haṣṭa* | eight | *ašta* | *aṣṭā́* | *hašt* | analogy to '7'? |
| *haṣṭa-* | vast < reached | -- | *aṣṭá-* | -- | |
| *haska-* | tusk | *-asūra-* | *(aṃśú-?)* | -- | Oss. D. *ænsur(æ)* |
| *hāma-* | raw | -- | *āmá-* | *xām* | Pashto *um*, Sogd. *xām* |

| *häysä* | hide, leather | *izaēna-* | -- | *xīg* | Oss. D. *xizæ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *hära-* | thing; wealth | -- | -- | *xīr* | Parth. *īr* |
| *hälśtä* | spear | *aršti-* | *r̥ṣtí-* | *\*xišt* | Armen. *ašteay* |
| *hīśśana-* | iron | -- | -- | *āhun* | Parth. *āsun* |
| *hīs-* | to come | *(i-)* | *(i-)* | *(āy-)* | Sogd. *ʿys-*, Parth. *ās-* |
| *hīha-* | hearth smoke | *aēsma-* 'fuel' | *édha-* | *hēsm/ēsm* *ēmag/\*hēmag* | |
| *hurā* | thigh | *-uru-* | *ūrú-* | -- | |
| *hulga-* | soft, mild | -- | *r̥du-* | -- | |
| *huṣṣ-* | to grow | *uxš-* *Uxšiiaṱ.ərᵊta-* | *ukṣ-* | -- *Hušīdar* | Sogd. *əxʷš-* |
| *hū-dva-* | both | *uba-/uua-* | *ubhá-* | -- | |
| *hau* | word | *ad-* | *a(d)h-* | -- | |
| *hauʾ* | oats (?) | -- | *óṣadhi-?* | *hōšag, \*xōšag* 'ear' | Kurd. *ûşî* |
| *h(u)veʾ* | mortal, man | *aōšaŋʰ́hā̊* | *oṣa-* | *hōš, ōš* | Parth. *ōš* |
| *hvaʾnd-* | | *aōšaŋʰhaṇt-* | | | |

Correlation with Persian ("prothetic") *h-, x-*?

## 3c. A similar phenomenon in Persian

| Khotanese | | Avestan | Sanskrit | (Middle) Persian | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -- | narrow | | *aṃhú-* | *hanzūg* | Parthian *anžug* |
| -- | thill, plough | *aēš(a)-* | *īṣā́-* | *hēš, \*xēš, ēš* | |
| -- | ashes | -- | *ā́sa-* | *xāk* | Kurd. *ax* |
| *āha-* | egg | *aēm* | -- | *xāyag* | Oss. D. *ajkæ* |
| -- | brick | *ištiia-* | *íṣṭakā-* | *xišt* | OP *išti-* |
| *arrä* | bear | *arša-* | *ŕ̥kṣa-* | *xirs* | Khwar. *hls* |
| -- | anger | *aēšma-* | *(eṣá-)* | *xēšm, ēšm* | Parth. *ēšmag* |

Middle and New Persian but not Old Persian
= dialectal difference, cf. OP *u-, uv-* vs. MP *hu-, xʷ-* < *\*hu-, hw-* < *\*su-, \*sw-*

## 3d. Correspondences in a dataset of Khotanese words

| | Khot. | MP | elsewhere | PIr. | Skt. | min. | max. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *h* | *h* | *h* | *\*h < \*s* | *s* | 37 | |
| 2 | *h* | *h/x* | ∅ | *\*ḥ* | ∅ | 10 | 21 |
| | *h* | ∅ | ∅ | *\*ḥ?* | ∅ | 4 | 15 |
| | *h* | ? | ∅ | *\*ḥ?* | ∅ | 11 | |
| | *h* | | ∅ | *\*ḥ?* | ∅ | 25 | |
| | ∅ | *h/x* | ∅ | *\*ḥ?* | ∅ | 5 | 12 |
| | ? | *h/x* | ∅ | *\*ḥ?* | ∅ | 6 | |
| | | *h/x* | ∅ | *\*ḥ?* | ∅ | 21 | |
| 3 | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | *\*∅* | ∅ | 21 | 38 |
| | ∅ | ? | ∅ | *\*∅* | ∅ | 17 | |

Type 2 points to different PIr. consonant *\*ḥ-*

## 4a. The source of *\*ḥ*

MP/NP *h-/x-* < PIE *\*h₂* [χ] Cf. Kümmel 2016: 83; 2018: 166

Independent evidence for segmental *\*h* (< *\*h₂*) in Proto-Iranic: Devoicing of voiced obstruents (not in IA)

YAv. *mas- ~ mazā-* < *\*matsh- ~ \*madzah-* < *\*maȷ́-h- ~ \*maȷ́-ah-* < *\*meĝ-h₂- ~ \*meĝ-a/oh₂-*
Av. *nāf- ~ nabā-* < *\*nāph(i)- ~ \*nabah-* < *\*nā́b-h(i)- ~ \*nab-ah-* < *\*h₃nóbʰ-h₂- ~ \*h₃nebʰ-ah₂-*

CIr. *\*θaiwar-* < *\*thaiwar-* < *\*dhaiwar-* < *\*dahiwar-* = ved. *devár-* < *\*dahiwár-* < *\*dah₂iwér-*
CIr. *\*θau-* < *\*thau-* < *\*dhau-* < *\*dahu-/duh-* = ved. *davⁱ-/dū-* < *\*dah₂u-*

Cf. Kümmel 2016: 82f.; 2018: 165f.

⇒ Hypothesis: Khot. *h-* < PIr. = PIIr. *\*ḥ-* < PIE *\*h₂-* with preservation in marginal varieties elsewhere lost before *\*s > h*

| Marginal | Central | PIr. | Skt. | PIE | Hittite |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *h* | *h* | *\*h < \*s* | *s* | *\*s* | *s* |
| *h/x* | ∅ | *\*ḥ* | ∅ | *\*h₂* | *h* |
| ∅ | ∅ | *\*∅* | ∅ | *\*h₃* | *h* |
| ∅ | ∅ | *\*∅* | ∅ | *\*h₁, \*∅* | ∅ |

## 4b. Evalutation data 1: etymological overview of *\*ḥ*-words

| Khotanese | | (Middle) Persian | PIr. | Hittite | Western IE | PIE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *haḍa-* | dress | -- | *\*ḥərta-* | -- | *\*ar-* | *\*h₂ar-?* |
| *hana-* | blind | (Parth. *hand*) | *\*ḥanda-* | -- | *\*andʰ-* | *\*h₂andʰ-* |
| *handăra-* | other | -- | *\*ḥantara-* | -- | *\*antero-* | *\*h₂an-tero-* |
| *handara-* | interior | *andar* | *\*ḥ?antara-* | *an-* | *\*en-* | *\*(h₁)entero-* |
| *haṃguṣṭa-* | finger | *angust* | *\*ḥangu-šta-* | -- | *\*ang-* | *\*h₂ang-* |
| *hays-* | drive | -- | *\*ḥadza-* | -- | *\*ag-* | *\*h₂aĝ-* |
| *harraa-* | saw | *\*arrag* > NP *arra^h* | *\*ḥərnaka-* | -- | -- | *\*Hṛno-* |
| *hala-, hālaa-* | side, half | *ārag* | *\*ḥarda-* | -- | -- | *\*Herdʰo-* |
| *haṣṭa* | eight | *hašt* | *\*ḥaštā* | -- | *\*oktṓ* | *\*HoĉtóH* |
| *haṣṭa-* | vast | -- | *\*ḥašta-* | (*henk-?*) | *\*anek-* | *\*h₂neĉ-* |
| *haska-* | tusk | -- | *\*ḥa(n)tsuka-* | -- | ? | *\*Hanĉ-?* |
| *hāma-* | raw | *xām* | *\*ḥāma-* | -- | *\*ōmo-* | *\*HoHmó-* |
| *hära-* | thing | *xīr* | *\*ḥərya-* | -- | *\*ar-* | *\*h₂ṛ-jo-* |
| *hälśtä* | spear | *\*xišt* | *\*ḥəršti-* | *hars-* | | *\*h₂ṛs-* |
| *häysä* | hide, leather | *xīg* | *\*ḥidza-* | -- | *\*aig-* | *\*h₂aiĝ-* |
| *hīśśana-* | iron | *āhun* | *\*ḥatswan-* | -- | *\*ak-* | *\*h₂aĉ-* |
| *hīs-* | to come | -- | *\*(fr)ā-isca-?* | (*i-*) | (*\*ej-*)? | *\*HoH+\*h₁ej-* |
| *hīha-* | hearth smoke | *hēsm/ēsm* | *\*ḥaid-ḥa-* | -- | *\*aidʰ-* | *\*h₂ajdʰ-* |
| | | *ēmag/\*hēmag* | *\*ḥaidzma-* | | | |
| *hurā* | thigh | -- | *\*ḥuHru-* | -- | -- | ? |
| *hulga-* | soft, mild | -- | *\*ḥərduka-* | -- | -- | *\*Hṛdu-* |
| *huṣṣ-* | to grow | *Hušīdar* | *\*ḥuxš-* | -- | *\*auks-* | *\*h₂uks-* |
| *hū-dva-* | both | -- | *\*ḥuba-* | *hu-* | -- | *\*h₂u-bʰó-* |
| *hau* | word | -- | *\*ḥadu-* | -- | -- | *\*HEdʰ-?* |
| *hauʾ* | oats (?) | *hōšag* 'ear'? | *\*ḥawiš-* | (*hawi-?*) | -- | *\*HEw(?)-* |
| *h(u)veʾ* | mortal, man | *hōš* | *\*ḥaušas-* | -- | *\*e/ows-* | *\*h₁ews-* |
| -- | thill, plough | *hēš, \*xēš, ēš* | *\*ḥaiš(a)-* | *hissā-* | *\*a/oj-es-* | *\*h₂(a)is-* |
| -- | ashes | *xāk* | *\*ḥās-* | *hass-* | *\*ās-* | *\*h₂aHs-* |
| -- | narrow | *hanzūg* | *\*ḥandzu-* | *hamank-* | *\*angʰu-* | *\*h₂amĝʰ-* |
| -- | brick | *xišt* | *\*ḥišti-* | -- | -- | ? |
| *āha-* | egg | *xāyag* | *\*ḥāwya-* | -- | *\*ōwjo-* | *\*h₂ō(H)ujo-* |
| *arrä* | bear | *xirs* | *\*ḥərča-* | *hartakka-* | *\*artko-* | *\*h₂ŕtĉo-* |
| -- | anger | *xēšm, ēšm* | *\*ḥaišma-* | -- | *\*isa-, \*eis-* | *\*h₁ejsh₂-* |

⇒ Very few unexpected *h-/x-*: PIr. *\*ḥauša-* 'death', *\*ḥayšma-* 'anger' + Khot. *handara-* 'interior', *hīs-* 'to come'

## 4b. Evaluation data 2: counterexamples: Khotanese + MP ∅- < *\*h₂-*

| Khotanese | | Avestan | Sanskrit | (Middle) Persian | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *aña-* | other | *ańiia-* | *anyá-* | *any* | *\*(h₂?)anjó-?* |
| *aḍāra-* | other | -- | -- | -- | *\*(h₂?)al-tero-* |
| *āce* | duck | | *ātí-* | -- | *\*h₂(a)nh₂t-* |
| *āḍa-* | flour | *aša-* | *\*ārta-* | *ārd* | *\*h₂álh₁-to-?* |
| *āysda* | assured | *azdā* | *addhá* | *azd* | *\*HEdʰ-?* |

| āra- | worth | arᵊγa- | arghá- | arz(ān) | *h₂a/olgʷʰó- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ārr- | grind | -- | -- | (Gur. *hař*-) | *h₂l̥nh₁- |
| ārra- | arm | arᵊma- | īrmá- | *arm | *h₂arH-m- |
| āljsata- | silver | ərᵊzata- | (rajatá-) | OP ạrdata- | *h₂r̥gnt- |
| āṣka- | tear | asru- | áśru- | [ars] (Lari *xars*) | *h₂áḱru- |
| āstaa- | bone | ast- | ásthi | ast(ag), *xastag | *h₂óst-/h₂ast- |
| āhära- | ashes, fire | āθr-/ātər- | -- | ādur | *h₂aHtr- |
| u | and | ută̆ | utá | ud | *h₂u-te |
| u'ī | intelligence < *ears | ušĭ̆ | -- | uš, *huš/hōš | *h₂(o)us- |
| oṇa- | strong | aōjah- | ójas- | ōz | *h₂áwg(e)s- |
| oṣ-ku | always < lifetime | āiiū, yaōš | ā́yu- | -- | *h₂óju |

## 4c. Evaluation of the conflicting evidence

| Khot. | MP | PIr. | *h₂/H | % | *h₂ | % | *H | % | *h₁/∅ | % | *H/h₁/∅ | % | Σ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| h- | h-/x- | | 9 | **90** | 6 | **60** | 3 | 30 | 1 | **10** | 4 | 40 | 10 |
| h- | ∅ | | 3 | **75** | 2 | **50** | 1 | 25 | 1 | 25 | 2 | 50 | 4 |
| h- | ? | | 11 | **100** | 5 | **45** | 6 | 55 | 0 | **0** | 6 | 55 | 11 |
| h- | | | 23 | **92** | 13 | **52** | 10 | 40 | 2 | **8** | 12 | 48 | 25 |
| ? | h-/x- | | 6 | 100 | 5 | 83 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| ∅- | h-/x- | | 4 | 80 | 3 | 60 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 20 | 2 | 40 | 5 |
| | | *ḥ | 33 | **92** | 21 | **58** | 12 | 33 | 3 | **8** | 15 | 42 | 36 |
| | | % | **62** | | **62** | | 63 | | **14** | | 38 | | 49 |
| ∅- | ∅- | | 13 | 62 | 10 | 48 | 3 | 14 | 8 | 38 | 11 | 52 | 21 |
| ∅- | ? | | 7 | 41 | 3 | **18** | 4 | 24 | 10 | **59** | 14 | **82** | 17 |
| | | *∅? | 20 | 53 | 13 | **34** | 7 | 18 | 18 | 47 | 25 | **66** | 38 |
| | | % | 38 | | 38 | | 37 | | **86** | | **63** | | 51 |
| Σ | | | 53 | 72 | 34 | 46 | 19 | 26 | 21 | 28 | 40 | 54 | 74 |

⇒ Clear correlation of PIr. *ḥ*- and (potential) PIE *h₂*- vs. PIr. *∅*- and PIE *h₁/∅*-

First type of counterevidence (unexpected *h*-) could even be reduced:

- 　　　Persian *xēšm* from *h₁ejsh₂*- possibly via assimilation *hajsχ- > *χajsχ- > *hays(h)-
　　or transposition *aysḥ- > *ḥays-
- 　　　Khot. *huve', hva'nd*- < *ōẓahw°* and Persian *hōš* might have secondary *h*- from *aušah- > *hauša(h)-

Only Khot. *handara*- 'interior', contradicted by Persian *andar*
and *hīs*- 'to come', if < *ā-isa-*, contradicted by Khot. Pers. *ā*- elsewhere

Second type of counterevidence (unexpected ∅) mostly remains. Explanations:

1. 　　　Different etymologies:
　　*aḍāra*- < *ar-tāra-*: *(h₁)al*- instead of *h₂al*- if connected to Anatolian *al*- 'far'
　　*āḍa-, ārr*- < *ā-ḥarta-, *ā-ḥərn°*: would explain *ārta-* rather than *arta-*

2. 　　　Conditioned loss not yet understood?
　　Often with *ā* (but Kortlandt's loss before *o* would not help much); possibly clitic: *u*

3. 　　　Borrowing from Iranic neighbours (well-attested in Persian):
　　Khot. *arrä* 'bear' (hap. leg.); official terms, trading: *āysda, āljsata-, āra-*

## 4d. What about Wakhi?

General loss of *h*- (as in most of East Iranic), except *hw > xʷ > x̌* [x]:
　　cf. *ʉb* 'seven' < *āb < *abd < *haβda < *hafta*; (with prothetic *w*-:) *wəsk* 'dry' < *usk < *huška-*;
　　(with prothetic *y*-:) *yir* 'sun' < *ūr < *hūr-, yuy̌d* 'groin, perineum' < *ay̌d < *haxt-

Likewise, no *h-* < *$\dot{h}$-*, cf. *yangl* 'finger' < *$\dot{h}$anguri-*; *yišn* 'iron' < *$\dot{h}$acwanya-*

⇒ ambiguous

## 5. Conclusion

Khotanese "prothetic" *h-* may in fact go back to preserved "laryngeal", parallel to Persian *h-/x-*
⇒ reconstruction of Proto-Iranic *$\dot{h}$ lost in most branches but retained in marginal varieties
Corroborating other evidence for long preservation of *$\dot{h}$

Khot. *h-* (= ∅-) good predictor for PIE *$h_2$-* (vs. *$h_1/h_3/\emptyset$)
but Khot. ∅- no good predictor against *$h_2$-*

## References

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