

# ACCENT SIGN MATTERS. THE NIYA PRAKRIT GRAPHEME <ḳ> AND ITS CONNECTION TO BACTRIAN <pḳ>

NIELS SCHOUBBEN  
(LEIDEN UNIVERSITY)<sup>1</sup>

## *Abstract*

The interpretation of the Niya Prakrit grapheme <ḳ> is an unsolved problem of the Kharoṣṭhī script. This article will argue that, at least in most cases, it represents Bactrian <pḳ> /šḳ/. After a brief note on the palaeography of the akṣara and its attestations in other forms of Gāndhārī, Bactrian etymologies will be proposed for some Niya Prakrit words containing this grapheme <ḳ>. As some of these words have been considered before key witnesses to the Tocharian C hypothesis (Burrow 1935b; 1937: vii–ix), this renewed understanding of <ḳ> has broader consequences for the issue of the linguistic substrate in Niya Prakrit.

## *Keywords*

Niya Prakrit, Bactrian, Loanwords, Language contact, Palaeography.

## *Résumé*

L'interprétation du graphème <ḳ> dans le prākṛit de Niya est un problème de l'écriture kharoṣṭhī qui n'a pas encore été résolu. Cet article argumente que, au moins dans la plupart des cas, ce graphème représente la combinaison <pḳ> /šḳ/ du bactrien. Après une brève notice sur la paléographie de l'akṣara et les occurrences dans d'autres variantes de la gāndhārī, des étymologies bactriennes sont proposées pour quelques mots qui contiennent ce graphème <ḳ> dans le prākṛit de Niya. Si l'on tient compte du fait que ces mots ont été considérés comme des preuves décisives en faveur de l'hypothèse du « tokharien C » (Burrow 1935b; 1937: vii–ix), cette nouvelle vue sur <ḳ> a des conséquences plus larges pour la problématique du substrat linguistique dans le prākṛit de Niya.

## *Mots-clés*

prākṛit de Niya, bactrien, emprunts lexicaux, contacts linguistiques, paléographie.

## 1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

While much scholarly literature has been devoted to accentual systems (cf. e.g. Pronk & Dercksen 2011 for Balto-Slavic, whose title influenced mine), this paper is concerned with a merely graphic “accent”. Niya Prakrit

<ḳ><sup>2</sup>, is not more than a graphic representation of the Kharoṣṭhī sign 𑀓, which consists of a normal 𑀓 <k> with an additional line on top, resembling an accent in our Latin script (see section 3).

While the last word on its ultimate origins has not yet been said (Burrow 1936; Caillat 1992; Kogan 2017),

<sup>1</sup> Many thanks are due to Dr. Michaël Peyrot and Chams Bernard for fruitful discussions and careful reading of previous drafts of this article. In addition, the anonymous reviewer is warmly thanked for a couple of useful corrections and additions. All remaining infelicities are entirely mine. Research for this paper has been made possible within the framework of the ERC Starting Grant project “The Tocharian Trek” (Grant agreement ID: 758855) <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/758855>.

<sup>2</sup> Conscious of other possible names (e.g. Niya Gāndhārī, Kroraina Prakrit or Shanshan Prakrit), I prefer the commonly used Niya Prakrit. All documents are accessible online, with an almost exhaustive bibliography and an on-going dictionary project at <https://gandhari.org/>, prepared by Dr. Stefan Baums and Dr. Andrew Glass (Baums & Glass 2002–), whose abbreviations CKD, CKI and CKM are used here. Both this and other websites referred to in this article have been last consulted at the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 2020.

Niya Prakrit can be defined as a dialect of the larger MIA language called Gāndhārī (Bailey 1946). While Gāndhārī *stricto sensu* originated in the Peshawar valley and spread over present-day western India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and some outskirts, Niya Prakrit (Burrow 1937; von Hinüber 2001: 57–60; 107–109), together with the closely related Khotan Prakrit (Noble 1931; Konow 1936) and Kuča Prakrit (Schmidt 2001; Ching 2013) is known from administrative documents written in Xinjiang (NW China)<sup>3</sup>. Niya Prakrit functioned as the official language of the Shanshan Kingdom in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Brough 1965; 1970; Lin 1990)<sup>4</sup>. The high amount of obscure loanwords and its unusual phonological system for a MIA language has led scholars to believe that Niya Prakrit has been influenced by a third variety of Tocharian (Tocharian C, see Burrow 1935b; 1937) or even a Sino-Tibetan language (Thomas 1944 with further references), although both options are yet to be confirmed (Banti 2000).

One of the main characteristics of Gāndhārī is the strong connection with Kharoṣṭhī (Glass 2000; Salomon 2018: 62–72). Although deciphered already in the first half of the nineteenth century, Kharoṣṭhī has not yet revealed all of its secrets. A small, but important example of this is precisely the akṣara <k>, found e.g. in a Kaniṣka inscription, the reliquary inscription of Śvedavaṃṃa (CKI 153, see Konow 1929a: cx; 1929b: 54f.; Baums 2012: 241f.). In the words *saṃkāra[m]* ‘determination’ (OIA *saṃskāra-*) *saṃkārapracaga* ‘condition determinations’ (OIA *saṃskārapratyaya-*) and *duḥkāmaṃdhasa* ‘mass of pain, gen.sg.’ (OIA *duḥkhaskandha-*), <k> seems to correspond to OIA /sk/ (cf. also Brough 1962: 75; Glass 2000: 52f.). In the Niya documents (Boyer *et al.* 1920–29)<sup>5</sup>, this same akṣara <k> is found in a handful of loanwords. Cautiously, Boyer *et al.* (1920–29: 301) suggested that it represented “a non-Indian guttural”<sup>6</sup>. Recent finds have augmented the number of lexemes with <k> in Gāndhārī (cf. section 4), but its phonetic realization is still a matter of dispute (cf. Baums 2009: 158; 163; 167f.).

The present article will first add a few comments on the palaeography of the Kharoṣṭhī sign, before reviewing the evidence for <k> in Gāndhārī. The main part of the

article is devoted to a treatment of <k> in Niya Prakrit, proposing new etymologies for Niya Prakrit words and it will be argued that <k> represents Bactrian <ϕk> /ʃk/.

## 2. A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The lexicon of Niya Prakrit is notoriously full of obscure lexemes, due to the administrative nature of the texts, with many badly attested words that refer to commodities and concepts specific to the culture. Therefore, it may seem futile to etymologize these words, but this seems unavoidable in order to make further progress. The same method has been used before by e.g. Burrow, Lüders and Bailey.

In what follows, I will start my examination with the value of <k> in other forms of Gāndhārī and based on the observation that <k> corresponds there to OIA /sk/ and /ʃk/, the indications for the phonetic value of Niya Prakrit <k> will be reconsidered.

A final note concerns linguistic reconstruction. In what follows, I will reconstruct non-attested Bactrian words as the source of Niya Prakrit words. While I fully admit that this stays in the realm of hypothesis, it is still the case that our understanding of Bactrian historical phonology has greatly increased in recent decades. Besides, the Bactrian loanwords in Tocharian reconstructed by Schwartz (1974) have by and large been confirmed by the discovery of new texts (Sims-Williams 1997: 23), and many Bactrian words remain still unknown at the present stage of our knowledge.

## 3. A NOTE ON THE PALAEOGRAPHY OF <k>

In general, <k> is “formed by adding a vertical stroke to the top of *ka*” (Glass 2000: 52). However, just as there are two variants of <k>, there are two variants of <k> as well. Variant one, the only one included in Boyer *et al.*’s (1920–29) palaeographic table<sup>7</sup>, is based on the cursive <k> which combines a curved first stroke on top with a second vertical stroke that forms the stem of the akṣara (type 3 in Glass 2000: 51–53; figures 1 and 2).

Variant two starts from Glass’ second type of <k>, which is “also formed with two strokes (and) combines the head and right arm into a single movement, adding the stem secondarily” (Glass 2000: 50); the difference with type 3 is that the typical right arm of the character remains a distinct element (figure 3). This base character is also used to form a <k>, in which case a diagonal stroke is attached to the joint of the upper part of the

<sup>3</sup> So far, the akṣara <k> has not been found in either Khotan or Kuča Prakrit so that they are left out here.

<sup>4</sup> See for a recent historical study also Padwa (2007), whose historical analysis is sometimes hampered, however, by a lack of expertise in the linguistic matters.

<sup>5</sup> See Boyer *et al.* (1920–29: 295–322) for an overview of the palaeography of Niya Kharoṣṭhī, which contains additional signs not found in other forms of Kharoṣṭhī. In general, see also Glass (2000).

<sup>6</sup> In a footnote (Boyer *et al.* 1920–29: 301 fn. 2), they wonder whether <k> could represent an Iranian (“Avestan”) fricative /χ/. However, we know from identified Iranian loanwords that this fricative is represented in Niya Kharoṣṭhī by <kh>. See the relevant items in Burrow (1934; 1935a; 1937).

<sup>7</sup> Boyer *et al.* (1920–29: 301) also do not mention that there are two variants of <ka>.



fig. 1. variant one of &lt;ka&gt; from CKD 235

fig. 2. variant one of <ka> from CKD 401<sup>8</sup>

fig. 3. variant two of &lt;ka&gt; from CKD 889

fig. 4. variant two of <ka> from CKD 338<sup>9</sup>

fig. 5. variant two of &lt;ka&gt; from Pelliot 8 (CKM 97)

character with the stem (figure 4). This formation is identical to the <k̄> found on side A of the Pelliot Kharoṣṭhī fragment 8 (CKM 97; Salomon 1998: 148; figure 5). Future research may contradict this, but it is my impression that there is no linguistic reality behind the two variants of Niya Prakrit <ka>, as one and the same word can be found with both palaeographic variants and some documents attest both variants as well. The same seems true of “normal” <ka>.

In the British Library *Anavatapta-gāthā* manuscript (CKM 1), a further developed variant of <k̄> is attested where the additional line (“the accent”) is put on the right arm of the character instead of at the joint with the stem (Salomon 2008: 93–95; 282–284). Falk (2014: 19f. with fn. 15) proposes to transliterate this as <kā> and identifies another occurrence in *uḱade* (OIA \**utkr̥ṣaḥ* ‘engraved’) in CKI 249 (the Senavarma Inscription).

A final comment: <ka> and <ke> can be difficult to distinguish, as a result of which some Niya Prakrit <ka>’s have been read as <ke> previously (cf. section 5)<sup>10</sup>, but as a general rule the *e-mātra* has to be added on the left arm of the <ka> to form a <ke>, whereas the “accent” of <kā> has to be added more to the right.

#### 4. THE LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF <k̄> IN OTHER FORMS OF GĀNDHĀRĪ

The OIA cluster /sk/ normally developed in the other MIA languages to /kh/, e.g. OIA *skandha-* > Pāli *khandha-* (cf. Oberlies 2019: 144; 159f.) and one sees the same development not infrequently attested in Gāndhārī as well: e.g. the frequent *sakhara* ‘determination’ for OIA *saṃskāra-* (e.g. CKM 252). Besides, OIA /sk/ is also reflected in Gāndhārī materials by simple <k> (e.g. *agikaṃdhani* ‘mass of fire’ from OIA *agniskandha-* in CKI 18)<sup>11</sup>, by <gh> (e.g. forms of *saghara-* ‘determination’ from OIA *saṃskāra-* in CKM 77, the *Khotan Dharmapada*<sup>12</sup>) and is once completely lost (*asrehio* in CKM 1), at least if this is from OIA *aśreyaska* ‘unexcelled’ as per

<sup>10</sup> It can occasionally be confused with other characters as well, e.g. <pa>, see Salomon (1990: 263).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also Konow (1929b: 54): “We get the impression that a sibilant tends to aspirate as (*sic*) following *k*, but that this aspiration is so little pronounced that it is frequently left unmarked.”

<sup>12</sup> This peculiar outcome is due to the general feature of the *Khotan Dharmapada* not to write a nasal in front of an occlusive consonant, but instead to represent this with a voiced occlusive consonant (cf. Brough 1962: 98–100). In CKI 249 (the Senavarma inscription), one finds *savasamgharaṇa* (gen.pl., OIA *sarvasaṃskāra-* ‘all determinations’), so with the same voicing after a nasal, but with the nasal still written down, so that this form can be seen as a stage prior to the one attested in the *Khotan Dharmapada*.

<sup>8</sup> See on this also section 5.2.

<sup>9</sup> For this interpretation, see section 5.5.

the online Gāndhārī dictionary (*de dato* 8 September 2020), which would be an irregular development<sup>13</sup>.

The online corpus contains the following examples of <ḱ> corresponding to OIA /sk/<sup>14</sup>.

*dukhakāṃdhasa* ‘mass of pain’ (CKI 153) and *braṃṃa-puṃṃāṃkāṃdhena* ‘brahmin merit power’ (CKM 117) containing OIA *skandha-*;  
*namaḱaro* ‘homage’ (CKM 84) from OIA *namas-kār(y)a-*<sup>15</sup>;  
*purakīdu* ‘put in front > favoured’ (CKM 1) from OIA *puraskṛta-*;  
*sakṛto* ‘determined’ (CKM 99, 2x) from OIA *saṃskṛta-*;  
*saṃkara[m]* ‘determination’ (CKI 153), *saṃkarapracaga* ‘condition determinations’ (CKI 153), *dhamṛma-saṃka[r]*. ‘conditioning factors of phenomena’ (CKM 97) all containing OIA *saṃskāra-*.

For the sake of completeness, I refer here also to the somewhat unusual forms *sakaru* / *sakaro* (3x) / *saka[r]* *o* (in fact with Falk’s <ḱ>, cf. *supra*) (all CKM 1), corresponding to OIA *satkāra-* ‘worship’ and *sakarīsu* (pret. 3sg.) from the corresponding verb OIA *satkaroti*. As explained by Salomon (2008: 283), these forms may point to an old variant \**sat-s-kāra*, with the “s mobile” which one sees e.g. also in *saṃskṛta-* ‘perfected > Sanskrit’, although a confusion with *saṃskāra-* (cf. *supra*) may also play a role<sup>16</sup>. The above-mentioned *ukade* (OIA \**utkṛtaḥ* ‘engraved’) in CKI 249 belongs here too and in Falk & Steinbrückner (2020: 12; 22) a new instance of *sakaro* for OIA *satkāra-* ‘worship’ has been identified, but here written with a standard <k>, not with Falk’s <ḱ>.

An interesting manuscript with regard to <ḱ> is the so-called *Bajaur Acrostic* (CKM 268; Melzer 2020). This manuscript contains a poem of 42 stanzas in a nearly complete acrostic of the *arapacana* sequence, the original ordering system of the Kharoṣṭhī script, so named because it starts with <a>, <ra>, <pa> etc<sup>17</sup>. First, it is remarkable that <ḱ> is allotted its own place in the *arapacana* sequence (#38), next to ‘normal’ <k> (#15) which

<sup>13</sup> In his edition of the text, Salomon (2008: 291f.; 320; 425) explains the problems and he reconstructs a hypothetical OIA \**aśreyika-*, while *aśreyaska* is attested at MBh 3.2.28.

<sup>14</sup> There is one doubtful case which I leave out: the personal name in the gen.sg. *Kībhilasa* from the Miran silk fragment (Boyer 1911), whose etymology is unknown (the online dictionary refers to Pāli *Kimbila*, *Kimila*, *Kimila*, but this would leave the <ḱ> unexplained).

<sup>15</sup> This text is written on paper, which is why it is classified as a “manuscript” in the catalogue, although as far as the context is concerned, it is rather to be classified together with the documents.

<sup>16</sup> Note in this respect the typical epenthesis of /l/ between nasal and /s/ in Gāndhārī (Burrow 1937: 19), e.g. *satsara* for OIA *saṃsāra* ‘circle of rebirths’ in the Khotan Dharmapada (Brough 1962: 73f.), so that the Gāndhārī outcomes of *saṃskāra* and \**satskāra* could even have merged.

<sup>17</sup> On which see e.g. Salomon (1990) and Baums (2009: 194–197).

underscores the difference felt by natives between <k> and <ḱ>. Also, <kh> receives its own place in the sequence (#24), which suggests that <ḱ> and <kh> are not considered equivalent, either because <ḱ> was seen as a historical spelling for /sk/ or because their phonetic realization was felt sufficiently distinct. Second, <ḱ> equals in this text OIA /skh/ and /ṣk/: *ḱalīta* and *ḱalamaṇa* from the OIA verb *skhalati* ‘to waver’<sup>18</sup> and *duḱara* from OIA *duṣkara-* ‘difficult’. For Niya Prakrit, it is important that <ḱ> could also stand for /ṣk/.

## 5. AN ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF NIYA PRAKRIT COMMON NOUNS WITH <ḱ>

### 5.1 Some introductory remarks

Since it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between <ḱa> and <ke> in Kharoṣṭhī, some words have been read wrongly by Boyer *et al.* (1920–29) with <ke> instead of <ḱa>. A case in point is *namaḱaro* ‘honour’ (Skt. *nama-skāra-*) (e.g. CKD 130), read by Boyer *et al.* as *nam-akero*, but the reading has now been corrected by Stefan Baums in the online corpus (2015)<sup>19</sup>. One more example will be pointed out in this article (section 5.5). Probably, even more of them are hiding in the documents, but as the majority of the documents stored in India and China are not available in digital formats<sup>20</sup>, it has not been possible to check each case. The unclear forms *ḱemna* in CKD 141 and *ḱema* in CKD 160 will be left out as well. The onomastic material will be briefly presented in section 6.

### 5.2 maḱa ‘bean’

The word *maḱa* is attested in four documents (CKD 401; 505; 713; 714). In CKD 401, it had been read by Boyer *et al.* (1920–29: 144 fn. 2 *ad locum*) and Burrow (1940: 82) as *maḱe*. However, the reading has to be *maḱa*: I can only see one line on top of the akṣara, indicating the “accent” and none to express the vowel <e> (see figure 6).

Before examining previous etymological proposals, we should delineate the semantic range of *maḱa* as far as possible (see also Bailey 1946: 795). CKD 401 is

<sup>18</sup> Note here the variant form *khalida* in the same manuscript (line 24a), which rather suggests that <ḱ> is a kind of historical spelling (cf. also Melzer 2020: 28; 30; 39; 50; 142; 171; 214).

<sup>19</sup> Looking at the picture, it seems that *naṃmakurvati* in CKD 519 should also be corrected to *naṃmakurvati*.

<sup>20</sup> CKD 213–427 and 510–565 are stored in the British Museum in London and are digitally available at the site of the International Dunhuang Project: <http://idp.bl.uk/>. Boyer *et al.* (1920–29) contains some additional black and white pictures.

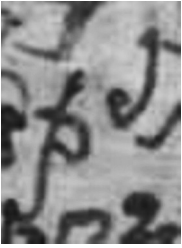


fig. 6. <maḱa> from CKD 401.

concerned with the hire for a camel. About this camel, the following is said:

*eda uṭaṣa parikreye na nitaṃti maḱa darṣitaṃti eda uṭaṣa parikre puṭgetsā nidavo.*

“They did not bring the hire of this camel. **They loaded it with maḱa.** A *puṭgetsā* (camel) is to be taken as the hire of this camel.” (adapted from Burrow 1940: 82)

From this passage, we can infer that *maḱa* should be a movable property, not extremely heavy as it should be possible to load it on top of a camel. In CKD 505, *maḱa* is one of the provisions to be given.

*Tsugenaṃma pačēvara satu milima 2 khi 10 4 1 maḱa khi 4 1 kavaśi 1.*

“Tsugenaṃma received **provisions** (consisting of) 2 *milima* 15 *khi* of meal, and 5 *khi* of **maḱa**, and one vest (*kavaśi*).” (Burrow 1940: 98)

As it is measured in *khi*’s (not a very large measure, cf. Burrow 1937: 86), as is the “meal” in front, one can surmise that *maḱa* is a commodity that can be eaten (or, perhaps, drunk). Besides, provisions for a longer journey should be preservable for a considerable period of time, especially in the dry and hot climate of the Tarim Basin. CKD 713 contains complaints by the cozbo Tagira.

*ayanēṃci palṣi maḱa oḡana tanu tanu goḥhade nikhalemi taha na dharmā asti ayanēṃci bhuma aṃṃe kriṣaṃti tanu goḥhade asmaḡa maḱa oḡana nikhalemi*

“I am providing the **maḱa** and *oḡana* (**due as**) **tax from each of my own farms.** This is not the law that others should plough the lands of the village (*ayana*) and that I should provide our **maḱa** and *oḡana* **from my own farm.**” (Burrow 1940: 142)

Apparently, *maḱa* is produced on a farm, which confirms that it is probably something to be eaten. *Oḡana*, which is apparently similar to *maḱa*, is from its other occurrences (157; 247; 714) also known to be an agricultural commodity (cf. Burrow 1935b: 673; 1937: 81). Moreover, as *maḱa* is a form of taxation, this again means that it should be something that can be preserved well.

The final occurrence of *maḱa* in CKD 714 further confirms that it is a form of taxation.

*yahi adehi purviga Ajiyamaayanaṃmi palṣi ciṃtidaga ghrida paśava kośava arnavaji thavastae raji naṃmatae cāṃdri kaṃmaṃta na aṃṃa maḱa oḡana crorma.*

“Just as formerly **the tax** was assessed in *Ajiyama Ayana* (as follows, namely): ghee, sheep, *kośava* (blanket?), *arnavaji*, carpet (*thavastae*), *raji*, felt (*naṃmatae*), *cāṃdri*, and *kaṃmaṃta*; in addition, **maḱa**, *oḡana* and *crorma*, and all the rest of the tax.” (Burrow 1940: 143 and see also Bailey 1946: 793)

Note that *maḱa* is again listed together with *oḡana*.

Hesitatingly, Burrow (1935b: 673; 1937: 110) tried to etymologize the word with reference to TA *malke* ‘milk’. However, milk is not easily preserved, especially in the hot Tarim Basin. Theoretically, one could assume that *maḱa* rather refers to a product made out of milk, such as cheese or yoghurt, but there is no evidence for this. Furthermore, Burrow’s etymology has formal problems too. It is not clear why <ḱ> would be used to represent Tocharian /lk/. A ligature <lk> is even once attested in Niya Prakrit, although it is rather badly preserved ([Rilka] in CKD 701). Also, our new reading of CKD 401 makes it clear that the Niya Prakrit word always ends in *-a* and not in *-e* as the Tocharian word.

Another proposal was made by Bailey (1946: 796f.), who connected the Niya word to Sogdian *m’škh* (with many variants) ‘substance, matter, capital’ (Gharib 1995: 208f.; Sims-Williams & Durkin-Meisterernst 2012: 109). Formally, this etymology is certainly to be preferred over Burrow’s, as it is based on the fact that in other forms of Gāndhārī, <ḱ> is known to represent the combination of a sibilant and /k/ (cf. section 4). Nonetheless, it is not without problems, either. First, the meaning of this Sogdian word does not fit the above contexts. Bailey (l.c.) may be right that it can also refer to ‘meat’, but this is not its basic meaning. Moreover, the Sogdian word is derived from something like *\*matištaka* or perhaps *\*mātr-šti-kā-* (Sims-Williams)<sup>21</sup> and is also attested as *m’tškh* /mātšak/ or /mātišk/ (with variants, see Gharib s.v.), which is the more archaic form. In the Sogdian Ancient Letters, more or less contemporaneous with the Niya documents (Henning 1948; Grenet & Sims-Williams 1987), only *m’tškh* is attested once (3.10), in the meaning ‘capital’. It seems doubtful whether a short form *m’škh* already existed early enough to be borrowed into Niya Prakrit and a simplification within Prakrit would be without close parallels.

In my opinion, there is an easier way to etymologize the Niya Prakrit word, i.e. starting from Pīr. *\*māša-ka-* ‘bean’. Semantically, this fits all the criteria: it is an agricultural commodity and, when one dries the beans, they can easily be preserved for a longer period of time. What

<sup>21</sup> See also Sims-Williams (2007: 229; 255f.) for the recently found Bactrian cognates.

is more, they were renowned in Ancient China for their good preservation and beans have been introduced into China from the West during early Han times, which fits an Iranian etymology particularly well (Laufer 1919: 305–308; Bray 1984: 511; 516). Plr. \**māša(-ka)*- ‘bean’, which has a variant \**mušakā-* (?) only attested in Eastern Iranian (e.g. Sogdian *mwškh*), is well represented among the Iranian languages, e.g. Persian *māš*, borrowed as such into Arabic as well (see Kümmel 2017: 284).

It is more difficult to pin-point the Iranian donor language of Niya Prakrit *māka*. In any case, one should start from \**māšaka-*, not \**mušakā-*, and assume the Plr. \**a* in the middle syllable to have been syncopated, yielding \**māška-*. Syncopes of short vowels in between a sibilant and a /k/ in the suffix, are widely spread in Iranian, especially in eastern languages such as e.g. Sogdian (cf. \**mušakā-* > *mwškh*) or Khotanese (e.g. \**āsuka-* ‘the swift one’ > *āska-* ‘deer’) and syncope is a general feature of Bactrian, e.g. \**bāraka-* ‘animal for riding’ > βαρρο (Sims-Williams 2007: 201; Gholami 2014: 60). Because the other words with <ḱ> in Niya Prakrit point in the direction of Bactrian, this seems the best option, but it cannot be proven for now. One may tentatively reconstruct Bactrian \**μααḱko* ‘bean’ from where the Niya Prakrit lexeme can have been borrowed.

### 5.3 *pāke(yu)* ‘shares, lots’

The word *pāke* is relatively frequent in Niya Prakrit, attested in no less than 20 different documents<sup>22</sup> typically in lists, an example of which is the following (CKD 116).

*saṃvatsare 4 3 mahanuava maharaya jīṭughā Vaṣmana devaputraṣa maṣe 4 2 divaṣe 10 4 taṃ kālaṃmi Vṛgani-  
cītaṃmi pākeyu hutaṃti ... (\*pāke 1) Suḡi Ceṃṇākaṣa ca  
pāke 1 Micgeya ni Koṇitaṣa pāke 1 ede pākeyu 3 Suma-  
taṣa pāke 1 Atukaṣa pāke 1.*

“In the 7<sup>th</sup> year, in the 4<sup>th</sup> month of Vaṣmana, the son of God, the *jīṭughā*, the great king of great Nuava (= Shanshan), on the 14<sup>th</sup> day. At that time, **the shares** in Vṛganičita were (the following): ... **1 share, 1 share** of Suḡi and Ceṃṇāka, **1 share** of Koṇita belonging to Micgeya. These (are) **three shares. 1 share** of Sumata, **1 share** of Atuka.” (translation mine, for *jīṭughā* see Brough 1965: 600ff. and for *mahanuava* Loukota 2020)

*Pāke* refers to a form of taxation, ‘a share’. On the semantics, see Thomas (1935: 34ff.) and Burrow (1937: 102). Burrow (l.c.) hesitatingly suggested that *pāke* was connected to Tocharian B (TB) *pāke*, meaning ‘parcel’, itself a borrowing from Old Iranian \**bāga-* (Adams 2013:

<sup>22</sup> CKD 66; 68; 75; 79; 87; 95; 116; 147; 191; 204; 242; 313; 398; 446; 449; 453; 462; 608; 614; 619. Orthographic variants include *paṃke* (CKD 68) and *phake* (CKD 204, 7x). The so-called plural form *pākeyu* will be discussed below.

388f.)<sup>23</sup>. At first sight, this seems plausible enough<sup>24</sup>, but the word is very consistently written with <ḱ><sup>25</sup>, which rather points to a /šk/-sequence, not found in the Tocharian word. Moreover, there is the problem with the so-called plural *pākeyu*. Burrow (1935: 673; 1937: 26; 102) has connected this form to the plural in *-u* found in a handful of TA words, e.g. *cmolu* ‘births’ or *kālymeyu* ‘directions’ (Sieg, Siegling & Schulze 1931: 93)<sup>26</sup>. However, this is a very infrequent ending and not expected with Iranian loanwords in Tocharian. Indeed, TB *pāke* has the *genus alternans* ending *-nta* (*pakenta*), which does not fit Burrow’s etymology. The same applies to TA *pāk*, with plural *pākāntu*.

In my opinion, the solution is again to be found in Bactrian. There is a Plr. verbal root \**paiš*, ‘to crush, to grind’ (Cheung 2007: 292f.). In Pashto, of the modern Iranian languages one of those most closely related to Bactrian<sup>27</sup>, the verbal root *peḡ*, which can be derived from \**paiš* (Morgenstierne 2003: 61), means ‘to cut’. If one assumes that the same semantic development occurred in Bactrian, one can start from a (substantivized) past participle \**pištaka-* ‘the thing that is cut > share’<sup>28</sup>: \**pištaka-* > \**pəštaka-*<sup>29</sup> > \**pəšt(a)-* (syncope) > \**pəšk(a)-* (\*-*št* > \*-*šk-* is regular in Bactrian, see Gholami 2014: 50). Hence, one may reconstruct a Bactrian \**πααḱko* /*pəšk(a)*/. Gāndhārī short /a/ was, as in OIA, probably pronounced as /ə/ (Baums 2009: 112 fn. 26), so that Niya Prakrit <a> can also stand for /ə/. The endings *-e* and *-eyu* will be discussed below.

This alternative etymology has the additional advantage that it can explain two hitherto unexplained Iranian lexemes, i.e. Kurdish *pəšk* and Farsi and Dari *pišk* ‘lot, share etc.’ (Hassandust 2015: 702)<sup>30</sup>. These words can now be explained as loanwords from Bactrian as well.

<sup>23</sup> For an alternative etymology, cf. Pinault (2008: 30; 450), who derives the word from a PIE \**bhagos* (cf. OIA *bhāga-*).

<sup>24</sup> Burrow’s etymology is accepted by Banti (2000: 6).

<sup>25</sup> In CKD 164, Boyer *et al.* (1920–29: 66) read *pakepal̄yi*, but on the basis of the picture in their book, I think that it is rather *pakapal̄yi*, which I would be tempted to correct to \**pākepal̄yi*.

<sup>26</sup> It is unfortunate that Burrow mixes up elements from TA and TB.

<sup>27</sup> How exactly Bactrian and Pashto relate to each other is the topic of an on-going PhD-project by Julian Kreidl (Indiana University).

<sup>28</sup> For a similar semantic development, cf. e.g. Greek μοῖρα ‘lot, share’ from μεῖρομαι, *inter alia* ‘to divide’.

<sup>29</sup> \*-*išt-* develops regularly into \*-*əšt-*, cf. e.g. superlatives such as κισατο /*kisət*/ ‘youngest’ from \**kasišta-* (Sims-Williams 2007: 224).

<sup>30</sup> I am greatly indebted to Chams Bernard, as we found this Kurdish and Persian word together in Rossi (1977: 23). That said, what is presented here is my own view and I alone am responsible for its shortcomings or inconsistencies. The results of Rossi’s study on Iranian borrowing with *-sk* and *-šk* in Brahui should now be re-evaluated in view of the Bactrian material.

As far as Kurdish is concerned, it seems plausible that one or more intermediary languages are involved<sup>31</sup>.

In my opinion, the final *-e* in *paḳe* could represent the plural ending *-ε* from Kuṣāṇa Bactrian. Since *paḳe* is mostly found in lists, where a larger amount of *paḳe*'s is counted, it is not implausible that Niya Prakrit borrowed the Bactrian plural form. Burrow suggested that *paḳeyu* is plural, but one finds also *paḳe* in contexts where a plural is intended. Compare e.g. *bahu paṃḳe* 'many parcels, shares' in CKD 68<sup>32</sup>. Another example can be found in the fragmentarily attested CKD 614:

*maṣe 4 2 divaṣa 3 Patraa ni Butaśraṣa paḳe 4 Dharmaśreṭhaṣa paḳe 2*

"In the 6<sup>th</sup> month, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day. 4 shares of Butaśra belonging to Patraa, 2 shares of Dharmaśreṭha." (translation mine)

The numerals 4 and 2 make it clear that *paḳe* functions as a plural here. *Paḳe* can be used both as singular and plural. *Paḳeyu*, on the other hand, is in fact very infrequent, attested in only four documents (CKD 75 (2×); 87; 116 (2×); 619)<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, *paḳeyu* is only found in a very specific context, i.e. at the beginning or the end of a list of *paḳe*'s (CKD 75; 87; 116; 619)<sup>34</sup>. Compare the reverse of CKD 619, where *paḳeyu* introduces the list<sup>35</sup>.

*Cimala kareṃāna<sup>36</sup> jaṃnana paḳeyu hutaṃti*  
*Mokṣapriyaṣa masu khi 1 paḳe 1*  
*Kalyanadharmāṣa masu khi paḳe 1*  
*Samghamitraṣa masu khi 1 paḳe 1*  
*Puṃṇatrathaṣa masu khi 1 paḳe 1*  
*Mutraśraṣa masu khi 1 paḳe 1*

The shares of the people working for Cimala were (the following):

1 share of 1 *khi* of wine of Mokṣapriya.

1 share of 1 *khi* of wine of Kalyanadharmā.

<sup>31</sup> These words cannot be derived directly from *\*pištaka-*, as we have those as Middle Persian *pistag*, whence New Persian *pistah*, 'pistachio-nut' (cf. Cheung 2007: 292) and *pistik* in Kurmanji Kurdish (see Chyet & Schwartz 2003: 459). Some of the New Persian words which have been thought to come from Sogdian (Henning 1939) are now considered borrowings from Bactrian (Tremblay 2001: 25 fn. 37; Lurje & Yakubovich 2017). For New Persian *pišk*, one would have to assume that Persian, which does not know a phoneme /ə/ represented this schwa with an /i/ in front of the palatal consonant /š/. More research on Bactrian loanwords in Persian is a desideratum.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *supra*, the anusvāra must be non-etymological if it is not rather a foot mark.

<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the reading of these four documents cannot be checked on the basis of a photograph, which would obviously be worthwhile.

<sup>34</sup> Burrow is right, however, that all instances of *paḳeyu* are plural (cf. e.g. the demonstrative *ede* in front of it in CKD 75 (2×); CKD 87; CKD 116 or a plural verb *hutaṃti* with it in CKD 116; 619).

<sup>35</sup> The lay-out of the document is kept here, in order to emphasize how it is structured.

<sup>36</sup> For this form, see Burrow (1937: 47).

1 share of 1 *khi* of wine of Samghamitra.

1 share of 1 *khi* of wine of Puṃṇatratha.

1 share of 1 *khi* of wine of Mutraśra (translation mine).

This use of *paḳeyu* is remarkable, and the anonymous reviewer wonders whether *paḳeyu* is not "a derivative with collective function, or a substantivized adjective, meaning 'pertaining to a share', hence 'kind of share'". I am grateful to the reviewer for this suggestion, but I do not have a final solution on offer on what this (*e*)*yu*-element would be in historical terms and this awaits further discussion within the larger context of the *e*-ending found in other Iranian loanwords in Niya Prakrit such as e.g. *azate* 'free' (Burrow 1934: 509; 1937: 73)<sup>37</sup>.

#### 5.4 *avalīka* 'swaddle' (?)

Unfortunately, *avalīka* is attested only in CKD 575 (twice) and in a list, which makes it even more difficult to be sure about both meaning and etymology.

*Lýipeya uthida te maṃnuṣa Cmagena Caḍoti Sugutaṣa vaṃti vikrita giḍa muli uṭa trevarṣaga 1 aṃna milima 4 1 koṣava 1 namata 1 avalīka 1 ... Lýipeyaṣa paride uṭa trevarṣaga aṃna milima 4 1 koṣava 1 namata 1 avalīka 1 yo aṃna orovaḡa bhui eda prace Lýipe satavarṣaga uṭa 1 Sugutaṣa tita niḥe kiṭaṃti.*

"Lýipeya arose and sold that man Cmaḡa to Suguta of Caḍota. The price received was one camel three years old, five *milima* of corn, **one koṣava, one namata, and one avalīka**. ... From Lýipeya (the amount paid back) was a camel three years old, 5 *milima* of corn, **one koṣava, one namata, and one avalīka**. As regards other additional (? *orovaḡa*) payment, on account of this Lýipe gave to Suguta one camel seven years old. They made a decision." (Burrow 1940: 116)

*Koṣava* is related to Pāli *kojava* 'rug or cover with long hair' (cf. Burrow 1937: 84) and, for instance, the recently discovered Bactrian κωσοβο 'blanket' (*\*kaučapa-*) (Sims-Williams 2007: 225; see also Lüders 1936: 3–5; 10f.). *Namata* means 'felt' and is an Iranian loanword (Burrow 1937: 90). Since it is listed together with

<sup>37</sup> One option would be to connect the ending *-eyu* with Bactrian *-ηιο* '(to) him, (to) her', so that *paḳeyu* would have originally meant 'the shares of N.N.'. However, in the attested Bactrian, enclitic personal pronouns are only found attached to conjunctions, prepositions and verbs (Gholami 2014: 104f.) and it is not clear how to explain the final *-u* in view of the etymology from Plr. *\*V-hai* (Sims-Williams 2007: 213), so phonetically probably *-(ē)y/* (cf. Korn 2019: 270f.). In Kuṣāṇa Bactrian, this pronoun is also written as *-ηια*, which may suggest that, on the basis of the thematic ending *\*-ahya*, it has been enlarged to *\*-ēya/*, but there is no evidence for an enlargement to *\*\*-/ēyu/*. Alternatively, one could consider that the demonstrative pronoun ειο 'this' < *\*ayam* (see Sims-Williams 2007: 210 and Gholami 2014: 107) is hiding in the *-eyu* (assuming that *-am#* developed to *-u* as in e.g. Khotanese), but how this would work exactly remains unclear as well and the question has to be left open at the moment.

*kośava* and *namata*, it is likely that *avalīka* is a textile-made commodity too (so already Burrow 1937: 78). Most words for textile products were borrowed into Niya Prakrit from Iranian sources (Lüders 1936).

I do not dare to say whether the word is connected to *avale* (CKD 431; 432, Burrow 1937: 78), also found in the proximity of other textile products. Agrawala (1953: 83 fn. 8) cites without comment the Sanskrit verbal root *ava-√lī* ‘to hide oneself in’ with respect to these words, but I do not see how to explain the actual forms from this root<sup>38</sup>.

A better way to etymologize the Niya Prakrit word may be found in the Pashto verb *blēždāl* ‘to swaddle’, to be derived from the Plr. preverb *\*upa* and the verbal root *\*darž* (Morgenstierne 2003: 14; Cheung 2007: 63). A ‘swaddle’ means a large cloth wrapped around somebody, which reminds one of the characteristic large fabric into which some of the Tarim Mummies were found enveloped<sup>39</sup>. Assuming that Bactrian had the same combination of *\*upa* and *\*darž*, one can start from a past participle *\*upadr̥štaka-* ‘the swaddled thing’ > ‘swaddle’, with the following phonetic evolution: *\*upadr̥štaka-* > *\*avalir̥štaka-* (preverb *\*upa* > *\*ava*; *\*d* > *\*l*; default vocalization of *\*r̥*, see Gholami 2014: 35; 59f.) > *\*aval-ištaka-* (*\*-r̥š-* > *\*-š-* and *\*-r̥st-* > *\*-št-* (Gholami 2014: 56), so *\*-r̥st-* probably became *\*-št-* as well) > *\*avalīšk(a)-* <αβαλισκο> (cf. *paḱe*). If this etymology is correct, Niya Prakrit borrowed the word from Bactrian<sup>40</sup>. My etymology rests on the assumption that the development of *\*i* > *\*ə* before *-št-* (cf. *supra*) was completed before *\*r* was lost in clusters such as *\*-r̥št-*; otherwise, we would expect Bactrian *\*\*αβαλασκο* /*əvaləšk(a)*/ (and Niya Prakrit *\*\*avalāka*).

### 5.5 *mūkaṣi* ‘woman given in exchange’ (formerly known as <*mukeṣi*>)

*Mūkaṣi* has, to my mind, been read wrongly before. Not every attestation can be checked on the basis of a photo<sup>41</sup>, but the two that are (CKD 338; 555) have to be read as *mūkaṣi* and not as *mukeṣi* (figures 7 and 8)<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Note also that Agrawala (l.c.) writes *avalika*, so neglecting the <*k*>. Thanks are due to Anne-Sophie Delaissé for providing me with a pdf of this article.

<sup>39</sup> Pictures can easily be found online, so that I do not include one here. For a discussion of the textiles that were found with the mummies, cf. Barber (1995) and the relevant parts of Mallory & Mair (2000).

<sup>40</sup> Recent research (Lurje & Yakubovich 2017) argues against the existence of a Sogdian dialect with *\*d > l*.

<sup>41</sup> The word is attested in CKD 279 (conjecture by Burrow 1940: 51); CKD 338; CKD 474 (2x); CKD 481; CKD 555; CKD 585; CKD 817 (2x). Pace Boyer *et al.* (1920–29: 363), *mugesā* in CKD 363 should be a different word as sibilants are normally not confused in Niya Prakrit (Burrow 1937: 111).

<sup>42</sup> When I told him about this, Stefan Baums (p.c.), whom I want to thank for this, also confirmed that he prefers the reading <*mūkaṣi*> for CKD 338.



fig. 7. <*mūkaṣi*> in CKD 338

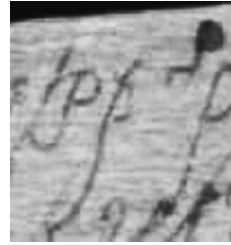


fig. 8. <*mūkaṣi*> CKD 555

Please note that both palaeographic variants of <*k*> are attested here (cf. section 3).

It is generally assumed that this word is related to marriage (Thomas 1931; Burrow 1937: 115–117; Padwa 2007: 211–215)<sup>43</sup>. In most cases, it is combined with the word *lote*, itself still unclear. Building on previous work, Padwa (l.c.) has suggested that the term refers to “kin-group exogamy” and “reciprocal exchanges”.

This interpretation is reminiscent of marriage practices in present-day tribal societies of Afghanistan, where a distinction is made between reciprocal exchanges of daughters between two equally esteemed families (the so-called *makhi*) and non-reciprocal exchanges with a dowry being paid (see Tapper 1991: 141–156).

For the etymology, one can start from a compound Plr. *\*(H)mištaka-striH-* ‘exchanged woman’, with the past participle of the Plr. verbal root *\*Hmaiṣ* ‘to exchange’, so far only attested in Bactrian but with a good IE parallel (Greek ἀμείβω) (Sims-Williams 2007: 232; Cheung 2007: 178) and the word for ‘woman’. Intervocalic *\*-str-* becomes *-š-* in Bactrian (Gholami 2014: 52) and for the first part of the compound, one can assume the following development: *\*mištaka-* > *\*māštaka-* > *\*māštk(a)-* > *\*māšk(a)-* > *\*mušk(a)-* (colouring of the schwa after the labial /m/ on which cf. *infra*). Consequently, one can set up the Bactrian compound as *\*μοῖκαῖ* /*muškāṣi*/, from where the Niya Prakrit word was borrowed with one-to-one correspondences.

A meaning ‘woman given in exchange’ fits perfectly. As most examples are similar, I will not discuss all of them. Compare e.g. the following passus from CKD 474.

*Yaveavanemci kilmece Yapguaṣa śvasu Catīṣade-viavanemci kilm(\*e)ci śramaṇna Saṃgapalaṣa bharya taya striyae na mūkaṣi na loteya nitae yahi eta kilamūṣtra*

<sup>43</sup> Not all of Thomas’ conclusions can be held up, however, as rightly remarked by Burrow (1937: 117).

*atra eṣati sa anata pruchi(\*da)vo yati jaṃṇātriyena aniti siyati yatha dharmena putra dhitarā samabhaga kartavo yati mukāṣi lote na sa kritae siyati iśa niḥeya bhaviṣyati.* “The sister of Yapgu who belongs to a “clan” (*kilme*) in Yaveayana was taken as wife by the monk Saṃgāpāla, who belongs to a “clan” (*kilme*) in Catisadeviayana. Neither a woman in exchange (*mukāṣi*) for that woman (*taya striyae*) nor *lote* have been taken. When this wedge and seal reach you, careful inquiry must be made. If she was taken in lawful wedlock, (the inheritance) is to be divided in equal portions between her sons and daughters. If, however, a woman in exchange (*mukāṣi*) and *lote* has not been provided, there will be a decision here.” (after Burrow 1940: 92)

This document concerns a so-called exogamous marriage between different *ayana*’s, traditionally translated as ‘village’, although it may rather be the territory of a particular tribal clan (cf. Padwa 2007: 204–211). The wife is transferred from one clan to the other (here from Yaveayana to Catisadeviayana), which means that another wife should go in the other direction (the *mukāṣi*); otherwise, there would be no reciprocal exchange and the marriage would be considered unlawful (cf. *jaṃṇātriyena* in the text)<sup>44</sup>. As far as the etymology of *mukāṣi* is concerned, note also the expression *taya striyae* in its proximity. In fact, in most of the documents concerning *mukāṣi*, the word *striya* ‘woman’ is mentioned in close proximity (CKD 279: *taya striyae*; CKD 338; 555; 817: *striyana*).

Another interesting example is found in CKD 338:

*yo asmahu kilm[e]ciyana parasya mulade striyana mukāṣi kiḍaga se Camaka janati tasya maṃtra śrunidavya.*

“Which exchange(s) (*mukāṣi*) of women from a foreign descent (*parasya mulade*) has (have) been made by the people of our “clan”, this Canaka knows. One has to listen to his counsel.” (translation mine)

Burrow (1940: 64) translates somewhat differently: “The arrangements for the exchange of wives (*striyana mukeṣi*) which have been made by the people of my *kilme* with outsiders (*parasya mulade*) Canaka knows. His counsel is to be taken.” I would rather take *parasya mulade striyana mukāṣi* as one syntagma, *parasya mulade striyana* being a clarification of the technical term *mukāṣi*. If my interpretation is correct, *mukāṣi* already means “exchange of a woman from a different descent”, which is made (over-)explicit here. Besides, *asmahu kilm[e]ciyana* is opposed here to the wives from a different descent, who probably belong to a different *kilme*.

Additional support for the analysis of *mukāṣi* can be found in the hitherto obscure word *muṣḍhaṣi* in CKD 573, part of which is cited here with Burrow’s translation on which I will comment below (cf. also Burrow (1937: 116f.) and Padwa (2007: 212)).

*asti manuśa Sa[c]ici S[e]ñimma Aralīṣa ca Caṣgeyaṣa dhitu titamti taṣa Aralīyaṣa matu Ajiyamaayanaḍe aniti huati taha matuae muṣḍhaṣi ta kuḍiya Mutritsae atra nidati bhuya ta kuḍiya Mutritsae karaṃna Cateya Catarakaṣa ca muli nidati uṭa 1 aṣpa 1 trevarṣaga uṭa tirṣa aṣpa tade ta kuḍi Mutritsae tanu nikhālidama ahun[o] Mutritsae ahu Señima Aralī Ogaṣa ca Caṣgeyaṣa bharya titama yimila laṣiya pruchaṃma valamatra na kiṃ ci* “There is a man of Saca called Señimma. He and Aralī gave the daughter (of Aralī) to Caṣgeya. The mother of this Aralī was taken in marriage from Ajiyamaayana. So they brought that girl Mutritsae there in exchange for (? *muṣḍhaṣi*) his mother. Further on behalf of that girl Mutritsae Cateya and Cataraka took as price one camel and one horse. The camel was three years old and the horse was *tirṣa* (? three years old). Therefore we have sent away that girl Mutritsae who belonged to us. Now I Señima, Aralī, and Ogaṣa have given Mutritsae to Caṣgeya<sup>45</sup> as his wife. We ask as *yimila* (= ?) present nothing, not even a hair.” (Burrow 1940: 115)

In the first line, *S[e]ñimma* appears to function both as an apposition with the previous sentence “there is a man from Saca, called Señimma” and as the subject (together with *Aralīṣa ca*) of *titamti* ‘they gave’. Aralī’s mother originated from Ajiyamaayana, but was transferred to Saca. As a compensation for this, the daughter of Aralī, Mutritsae, will be given in marriage to Caṣgeya. However, the procedure described here is different from that of a *mukāṣi*. The women are not exchanged at the same moment and Cateya and Cataraka, whatever be their identity, have to pay a camel and a horse in return<sup>46</sup>. As such, this is not a reciprocal exchange, but Mutritsae is seen as “more valuable” than Aralī’s mother (cf. Padwa 2007: 213 “exchanges involving prestations”).

Also *muṣḍhaṣi* can be interpreted as a Bactrian compound ending in *-ṣi* (< \*-striH ‘woman’). The first part can be connected to Bactrian *μoζδο\** ‘reward’ (< PIr. \**mižda-*), attested as a compound member in some Bactrian names: *βoδδομoζδο* ‘reward bestowed by the Buddha’, *λαδομoζδο* ‘of whom the reward has been given’ and perhaps the “Kurzne” *μoζδο* ‘reward’, if this last one is not from \**Mazdah* (Sims-Williams 2010: 50; 82; 92f.). Bactrian *μoζδο\** supports the phonetic development postulated for \**μoβκαβi*, i.e. \**i*, after an intermediary stage \**ə* before \*-*žd-*, coloured to \**u* after a labial \**m*. Besides, the equivalence of Niya Prakrit <*ṣḍh*> and

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the correction in Padwa (2007: 212 fn. 314).

<sup>44</sup> Very similar in content are CKD 279; 481; 555; 817. They concern the exchange of women from different *ayana*’s and when no *mukāṣi* is given, the marriage is considered unlawful.

<sup>46</sup> The exact function of Ogaṣa is also unclear, but in CKD 133 it is said about a certain Ogaṣa that he is from Saca as well. Probably, the same person is meant in both instances.

Bactrian <ζδ> had been known before, as Bactrian γιζδο and Niya Prakrit *agiṣḍha*, both referring to some textile product, are probably related, although their ultimate etymology is unknown (Sims-Williams 2007: 207). One may further compare Khotanese *māṣḍana-* ‘bringing rewards’ (a cognate of μοζδο), also written with retroflex <ṣḍ>, although the aspiration is missing here. Whereas *mukāṣi* refers to a reciprocal marriage exchange, this etymology for *muṣḍhaṣi* fits its interpretation as a non-reciprocal one.

## 6. NIYA PRAKRIT NAMES WITH <ḳ>

In the following table, an overview of the personal names with <ḳ> with variants with normal <k>, if any, will be presented. As names are difficult to etymologize, my comments will be limited to one name, for which a possible Bactrian etymology will be proposed.

In Sakamitra (CKD 615), *saka-* could be the Bactrian outcome of PIr. *\*səwištaka-* ‘most powerful’ > *\*səwəštaka-* (*\*i* to *\*ə* before *\*-št-*, cf. *supra*) > *\*səštaka-* (or *\*saštaka-*?) (cf. *\*-āwi* > *-ā-*, Gholami 2014: 63) > *\*səšt-k(a)-* > *\*səšk(a)-* <σαῖκο>. The PIIr. root *\*ćauH* ‘to swell > to be powerful’ (Skt.  $\sqrt{śav}^i$ , e.g. *śavas-*, neuter, ‘strength, power’) is a traditional element of Indo-Iranian onomastics, compare e.g. Avestan *Ašasauuah* ‘who has the power of *ṛta*’ (Yašt 13.116) (Mayrhofer 1977: 21f.). Niya Prakrit Sakamitra could then be either a mixed compound with a Bactrian first part and an Indo-Aryan second part (*mitra*) or μυρο /mihr/ ‘friend’ in an original Bactrian *\*σαῖκομυρο* (<*\*səwištakamithra-*) has been replaced with its Indic cognate<sup>50</sup>. For a parallel, compare the Niya name Śirmitra, whose first part Weber (1997: 34) connects with Sogdian *šyr* ‘good’.

Personal names with <ḳ>	Variants without <ḳ>
Ḷkaṃki (CKD 312)	Cf. kaṃkhi in CKD 501, but this passage is difficult to understand (Burrow 1940: 97), so that it is uncertain whether this is really a name. Maybe, Kakiyaṣa (CKD 154) is connected, unless it belongs rather with Kaḱe(ya) (cf. <i>infra</i> )?
Kaḱuca (CKD 191)	Kaṃkucasa (CKD 334). The letters are so faint on this document that one cannot be sure which <k> it is here. One could think that Kakuca is somehow connected to the following name, Kaḱe.
Kaḱe (CKD 212) Ka[ke] (CKD 54; 212) Kaḱeya (CKD 384, 2x; 399; 507; 569; 588; 758) Kaḱeyaṣa (CKD 23; 54; 103; 108; 110; 174; 266; 342; 547, 2x; 749; 762)	Always with the special <ḳ>, which is remarkable because of its frequent occurrence. See above for the possible Kakiyaṣa (CKD 154).
Ḷkuṃṇāka (CKD 868)	Kuṃṇāga (CKD 153; 722) certainly related. Compare also Kuṇa ? in CKD 184. Is the same first element found in the frequent name Kuṇita (e.g. CKD 41)?
Ḷkuṃṣena (CKD 352; 383) Ḷkuṃtsena (CKD 592) [Ḷkuṃ]naṣenaṣa (CKD 132) Ḷkuṃṣenaṣa (CKD 383 <sup>47</sup> )	Kunaṣena (CKD 74; 75; 80; 198; 205; 485; 533; 611; 627; 642) Kunasena (CKD 513) Kunaṣenena (CKD 133) Kunaṣ(*e)naṣa (CKD 102) Kunaṣenaṣa (CKD 117; 137; 177; 210; 211; 465; 467; 631; 722; 762) [Kuna]ṣenaṣa (CKD 180) Kuna[ṣe]naṣa (CKD 659) Kunasenaṣa (CKD 782)
Ḷkreyā (CKD 427)	Kreyena (CKD 17) Kreyā (CKD 17; 34; 458; 685)
Riciḱgaṣa (CKD 590; 715)	Riciḱaṣa in CKD 547 may be connected.
Vuḱimtiyaṣa (CKD 108 <sup>48</sup> )	Vuḱimte (CKD 513 <sup>49</sup> ) / Vuḱimnaṣa (CKD 582) / Vuḱimtga (CKD 715)
Sakamitra (CKD 615)	There is a fragmentary [Saka] in a list of names in CKD 701, as well as Sakaśriae (CKD 769). Unclear if they are connected.

<sup>47</sup> In most of these instances Boyer et al. (1920–29) give <phum> as an alternative.

<sup>48</sup> Fan (2020: 87), editing a newly found Niya document, reads a name *vakimtesa*, but when one looks closely at the attached picture, one can see that it is in fact *vakimtesa*, with <ḳ>, which may be some other variant of the names listed here.

<sup>49</sup> It seems to be a normal <k> but the document is so faded that a secure judgment seems impossible.

<sup>50</sup> Μυρο /mihr/ ‘friend’ is frequently found in Bactrian onomastics (cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 90–92).

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A number of newly suggested Bactrian etymologies for Niya Prakrit suggest that the akṣara <ḱ> represents Bactrian <ḱ> /šk/, which fits nicely with the fact that in other forms of Gāndhārī, this <ḱ> is known to represent OIA /sk/ and /šk/. An important corollary of this discovery is that some of the best arguments for the so-called Tocharian C-hypothesis have to be explained differently, i.e. the lexemes *maḱa* and *paḱe*, with its so-called plural *paḱeyu*. In addition, the proposed reading and etymology for *mukaṣi* ‘exchange-woman’ fits with tribal marriage practises in present-day Afghanistan, pointing to an even closer relationship between the culture represented in the Niya documents and ancient Bactria than had been noticed before.

Much more research is needed on this point and it is too early to claim that the so-called “native language of the Shanshan Kingdom” was Kuṣāna Bactrian instead of Tocharian, although it seems a promising option. After all, this would not be surprising given the Kuṣāna rule in Gandhāra about the beginning of our era, but it invites, of course, a lot of new questions, such as whether Niya Prakrit has been influenced by Bactrian in Afghanistan or in China itself, but these stories have to be told at (an) other occasion(s).

## Bibliography

- Adams, Douglas Q. 2013. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B: Revised and Greatly Enlarged*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Agrawala, Ratna Chandra 1953. “A Study of Textiles and Garments as Depicted in the Kharoshthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan.” *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 14, 75–94.
- Bailey, Harold W. 1946. “Gāndhārī.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, 764–797.
- Banti, Giorgio 2000. *Tocharian and pseudo-Tocharian elements in Kroraina Prakrit*. Unpublished hand-out Fachtagung IG Halle. ([https://www.academia.edu/30760187/Banti\\_2000\\_Tocharian\\_and\\_pseudo-Tocharian\\_elements\\_in\\_Kroraina\\_Prakrit](https://www.academia.edu/30760187/Banti_2000_Tocharian_and_pseudo-Tocharian_elements_in_Kroraina_Prakrit)).
- Barber, Elizabeth W. 1995. “A Weaver’s-eye View of the Second Millennium Tarim Basin Finds.” *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 23, 347–356.
- Baums, Stefan and Andrew Glass 2002–. *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts*. (<https://gandhari.org/catalog>).
- Baums, Stefan 2009. *A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Washington.
- Baums, Stefan 2012. “Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions.” In David Jongeward *et al.* (eds.), *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*. Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, 200–251.
- Boyer, Augustin-M. 1911. “Inscriptions de Miran.” *Journal asiatique*, dixième série tome 17, 413–30.
- Boyer, Augustin-M., Edward J. Rapson, Emile Senart and Peter S. Noble. 1920–29. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bray, Francesca 1984. *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 6, Biology and Biological Technology, Part 2, Agriculture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brough, John 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Brough, John 1965. “Comments on Third-Century Shan-shan and the History of Buddhism.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28, 582–612.
- Brough, John 1970. “Supplementary Notes on Third-Century Shan-shan.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33, 39–45.
- Burrow, Thomas 1934. “Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 7, 509–516.
- Burrow, Thomas 1935a. “Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan – II.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 7, 779–790.
- Burrow, Thomas 1935b. “Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 667–675.
- Burrow, Thomas 1936. “The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 8, 419–435.
- Burrow, Thomas 1937. *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Burrow, Thomas 1940. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society.
- Caillat, Colette 1992. “Connections between Aśokan (Shahbazgarhi) and Niya Prakrit?” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35, 109–119.
- Cheung, Johnny 2007. *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ching, Chao-jung 2013. “Reanalyzing the Kuchean-Prakrit Tablets THT 4059, THT 4062 and SI P/141.” *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 14, 55–94.
- Chyet, Michael L. and Martin Schwartz 2003. *Kurdish-English dictionary = Ferhenga Kurmancî-Inglîzî*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Falk, Harry 2014. “The First-Century Copper-Plates of Helagupta from Gandhāra Hailing Maitreya.” *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 17, 3–26.
- Falk, Harry and Elisabeth Steinbrückner 2020. “A Metrical Version from Gandhāra of the ‘Miracle at Śrāvastī’ (Texts from the Split Collection 4).” *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 23, 3–42.
- Fan, Jingjing 2020. “Four New Kharoṣṭhī Documents Kept in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum.” In Li, Xiao (ed.), *Non-Han Literature along the Silk Road*. Singapore: Springer, 81–90.
- Gharib, Badr al-Zaman 1995. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhangan.
- Gholami, Saloumeh 2009. “Demonstratives and Determiners in Bactrian.” In Christine Allison *et al.* (eds.), *Religion, Kultur und Sprache in der iranischen Welt. Festschrift für Philip Kreyenbroek zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 19–26.
- Gholami, Saloumeh 2014. *Selected Features of Bactrian Grammar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

- Glass, Andrew 2000. *A Preliminary Study of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Paleography*. Unpublished MA. thesis, University of Washington.
- Grenet, Frantz and Nicholas Sims-Williams 1987. "The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." In *Societas Iranologica Europaea* (eds.), *Transition periods in Iranian history: Actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22-24 mai 1985)*. Leuven: Peeters, 101–122.
- Hassandust, Mohammad 2015. *The etymological dictionary of Persian. 5 Vols* [In Farsi]. Teheran: Academy of Persian Language and Literature. (فرهنگ ریشه‌شناختی زبان فارسی. ۵ جلد).
- Henning, Walter B. 1939. "Sogdian Loanwords in New Persian." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10, 93–106.
- Henning, Walter B. 1948. "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12, 601–615.
- Hinüber, Oskar von 2001<sup>2</sup>. *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kogan, Anton I. 2017. "Once more on the Language of the Documents from Niya (East Turkestan) and its Genetic Position." *Journal of Language Relationship* 15, 228–237.
- Konow, Sten 1929a. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.
- Konow, Sten 1929b. "Remarks on a Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from the Kurrām Valley." In *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 53–67.
- Konow, Sten 1936. "Note on Khotanī Saka and the Central Asian Prakrit." *Acta Orientalia* 14, 231–40.
- Korn, Agnes 2019. "Isoglosses and Subdivisions of Iranian". *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 9, 239–281.
- Kümmel, Martin J. 2017. "Agricultural Terms in Indo-Iranian." In Martine Robbeets and Alexander Savelyev (eds.), *Language Dispersal beyond Farming*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 275–290.
- Laufer, Berthold 1919. *Sino-Iranica: Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran with special reference to the history of cultivated plants and products*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Lin, Meicun 1990. "A New Kharoṣṭhī Wooden Tablet from China." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53, 283–291.
- Loukota, Diego 2020. "A New Kharoṣṭhī Document from Kucha in the Hetian County Museum Collection." In Li, Xiao (ed.), *Non-Han Literature along the Silk Road*. Singapore: Springer, 91–113.
- Lüders, Heinrich 1936. *Textilien im alten Turkistan*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lurje, Pavel B. and Ilya Yakubovich 2017. "The Myth of Sogdian Lambdacism." In Turfanforschung (eds.), *Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 319–342.
- Mallory, James P. and Victor H. Mair 2000. *The Tarim Mummies: Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred 1977. *Zum Namengut des Avesta*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Melzer, Gudrun 2020. *An Acrostic Poem Based on the Arapacana Alphabet from Gandhāra: Bajaur Collection Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Munich, in preparation for publication in Gandhāran Buddhist Series (Seattle) (<https://www.en.gandhara.indologie.uni-muenchen.de/publications/index.html>).
- Morgenstierne, Georg 2003. *A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Noble, Peter S. 1931. "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Endere." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 6, 444–455.
- Oberlies, Thomas 2019. *Pāli Grammar: The Language of the Canonical Texts of Theravāda Buddhism. Revised and Enlarged Edition in 2 Volumes*. Bristol: The Pāli Text Society.
- Padwa, Mariner 2007. "An Archaic Fabric: Culture and Landscape in an Early Inner Asian Oasis (3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> Century C.E. Niya)." PhD Dissertation. Harvard University.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean 2008. *Chrestomathie tokharienne. Textes et grammaire*. Leuven-Paris: Peeters.
- Pronk, Tijmen and Rick Derksen (eds.) 2011. *Accent Matters: Papers on Balto-Slavic Accentology*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Rossi, Adriano V. 1977. *Brāhūī and Western Iranian Clusters °ŠK, °SK*. Napoli: Istituto orientale di Napoli.
- Salomon, Richard 1990. "New Evidence for a Gāndhārī Origin of the Arapacana Syllabary." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, 255–273.
- Salomon, Richard 1998. "Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Fragments in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque nationale de France." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 16, 123–160.
- Salomon, Richard 2008. *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 1 and Senior Scroll 14*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Salomon, Richard 2018. *The Buddhist Literature of Ancient Gandhāra. An Introduction with Selected Translations*. Somerville MA: Wisdom Publications.
- Schmidt, Klaus T. 2001. "Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen: dargestellt am Beispiel der Kučā-Kharoṣṭhī Typ B und des Kučā-Prākritis." *Göttinger Beiträge zur Asienforschung* 1, 7–35.
- Schwartz, Martin 1974. "Irano-Tocharica." In Philippe Gignoux and Ahmad Tafazzoli (eds.), *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*. Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste, 399–411.
- Sieg Emil, Wilhelm Siegling and Wilhelm Schulze 1931. *Tocharische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas 1997. *New Light on Ancient Afghanistan: The Decipherment of Bactrian*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas 2007. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan, II: Letters and Buddhist Texts*. London: The Nour Foundation.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas 2010. *Bactrian Personal Names*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst 2012. *Dictionary of Manichaean texts. Vol. III: Texts from Central Asia and China*. Turnhout: Brepols.

- Tapper, Nancy 1991. *Bartered Brides. Politics, Gender and Marriage in an Afghan Tribal Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas, Frederick W. 1931. "Two Terms Employed in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 6, 519–528.
- Thomas, Frederick W. 1935. "Some Notes on the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan." *Acta Orientalia* 13, 44–80.
- Thomas, Frederick W. 1944. "The Early Population of Lou-lan-Shan-shan." *The Journal of the Greater India Society* 11, 45–84.
- Tremblay, Xavier 2001. *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde: Le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d'Asie Centrale d'après les sources primaires*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Weber, Dieter 1997. "Iranian Loans in the Niya Documents Re-examined." In Shirin Akiner and Nicholas Sims-Williams (eds.), *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 30–38.