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Watañi lāntaṃ: Khotanese and Tumshuqese loanwords in Tocharian

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Watañi lāntaṃ
Khotanese and Tumshuqese Loanwords in
Tocharian

PROEFSCHRIFT

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in 1992

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PREFACE

This study was carried out within the framework of the NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research) funded project ‘Tracking the Tocharians from Europe to China’ (project number 276-70-028), under the guidance of Michaël Peyrot. It is the result of a four-year PhD project which was carried out at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) under the supervision of Michaël Peyrot and Sasha Lubotsky.

Initially, the project was mainly focused on the historical phonology of Khotanese and the linguistic contacts with Tocharian were relegated to a small appendix. During the third year, however, it became clear that Tocharian had preserved a significant number of prehistoric loanwords from Khotanese and Tumshuqese, which had been overlooked by previous scholars. Indeed, I became aware of the fact that this new corpus of loanwords could be of the utmost importance for the study of Khotanese historical phonology itself. Consequently, the main research focus shifted to the investigation of this group of loanwords.

The title ‘*watañi lāntaṃ*’ refers to a tune name in Tocharian A verse texts, whose origin and meaning were unclear. In this study (cf. §2. s.v. *„wātano**), I argue that it is possible to translate it as ‘in (the tune of) the King of Khotan’ and that the Tocharian B match of TA *wataṃ** ‘Khotan’ is to be sought in TB *„wātano**. Thanks to this interpretation, it is now clear for the first time that the name of Khotan was known to Tocharians and was borrowed from speakers of Pre-Khotanese.

It is not an easy task to properly acknowledge all the people and institutions that contributed to this work during these four years. I am grateful to Leiden University and LUCL for having welcomed me as a staff member in a stimulating and challenging environment and for having supported me throughout the various phases of the PhD program. Michaël Peyrot took an early interest in my education and academic interests and accepted me as part of his project after the completion of my MA in Iranian Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, even though I had no previous knowledge of Tocharian. I thank him for his patience and for having never lost faith in me, even in the most difficult moments. Sasha Lubotsky was always very helpful and encouraging in all matters Indo-Iranian and Indo-European and I very much profited of his punctual and precise supervision.

Mauro Maggi first taught me Khotanese and Iranian philology during my BA years at La Sapienza and never ceased to advise me in the following years, granting me access to the unpublished notes of Emmerick, which proved of importance for many sections of this study. I am grateful to him for his continued support throughout these years. I feel also very much indebted to Enrico Morano, who first aroused my interest in Middle Iranian languages and texts very long ago and profitably distracted me during these four years with Manichaean Sogdian matters. Nicholas Sims-Williams thoroughly read the

final manuscript and made many important suggestions. I am grateful to Peter Verhagen for having first introduced me to Classical Tibetan in Leiden.

It is again a hard task to thank all the colleagues and friends that made this study possible. For reasons of space, I must limit myself to only a handful of people. First and foremost, I am grateful to Chams Bernard, my colleague within the NWO project, for the continuous and stimulating exchange of ideas during these four years. His work on Old Steppe Iranian loanwords in Tocharian is very much complementary to this study and many of his ideas found their way in this work, too. I am also grateful to Ruixuan Chen for the many pleasant hours spent together discussing all matters related to Khotanese and Buddhism in the initial period of my stay in Leiden. Kate Bellamy, Stefan Norbruis and Xander Vertegaal introduced me to LUCL and made sure I felt at home in the very first period of my PhD study. I am especially grateful to Niels Schoubben for many inspiring discussions on Khotanese, Gāndhārī and language contact in Central Asia. Furthermore, I feel greatly indebted to Alessandro Del Tomba for the innumerable discussions in Leiden, Rome and Florence and for having read and commented upon a first version of this manuscript, saving me from many infelicities. My deepest thanks go also to Louise Friis and Abel Warries, the other two members of M. Peyrot's ERC project 'The Tocharian Trek'. I am also grateful to my friend Giacomo L. Volli for the last-minute translations from Japanese.

Finally, I would like to heartily thank my parents and my brother for the continuous support throughout these four years, especially during the most difficult periods.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

Grammatical abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
ag.n.	agent noun
all.	allative
arch.	archaic
caus.	causative
class.	classical
com.	comitative
fem.	feminine
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
ipv.	imperative
nom.	nominative
loc.	locative
LW	loanword
m.	masculine
mid.	middle
perl.	perlative
pl.	plural
pres.	present
prt.	preterite
ptc.	participle
ptc. nec.	participium necessitatis
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative

Languages

Av.	Avestan
Bactr.	Bactrian
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BSogd.	Buddhist Sogdian
Chin.	Chinese
D	Digoron
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
Gandh.	Gāndhārī
Germ.	German
I	Iron
Khot.	Khotanese

Kurd.	Kurdish
Lat.	Latin
Lith.	Lithuanian
LKh.	Late Khotanese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MBactr.	Manichaean Bactrian
MCh.	Middle Chinese
MMP	Manichaean Middle Persian
MSogd.	Manichaean Sogdian
NP	New Persian
OAv.	Old Avestan
OCh.	Old Chinese
OE	Old English
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
OKh.	Old Khotanese
OSIr.	Old Steppe Iranian
Oss.	Ossetic
ON	Old Norse
OUygh.	Old Uyghur
Pa.	Parthian
PCelt.	Proto-Celtic
PG	Proto-Germanic
Pkt.	Prakrit
PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
Pir.	Proto-Iranian
PK	Pre-Khotanese
Pšt.	Pashto
PTK	Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Tq.	Tumshuqese
Ved.	Vedic
YAv.	Young Avestan
ZMP	Zoroastrian Middle Persian

Khotanese, Tumshuqese, Tocharian and Indian texts

Aśoka	Aśokāvadāna
Dhp	Dharmapada
JP	Jivakapustaka
JS	Jātakastāva
KVāc	Karmavācanā
MSN	Maitreyasamitināṭaka
Pś	Piṇḍaśāstra
Rāma	Rāmayaṇa
Si	Siddhasāra
Sudh	Sudhanāvadāna

Sum	Sumukhasūtra
Suv	Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra
Sgh	Saṅghāṭasūtra
Uv	Udānavarga
Vajr	Vajracchedikā
Vim	Book of Vimalakīrti
VkN	Vimalkīrtinirdeśasūtra
Z	Book of Zambasta

Symbols

→	loanword from language A into → language B
[x]	phonetic form; restoration in a Khotanese text; uncertain reading in a Tocharian text; additions in the English translations.
x	morphological form
(x)	restoration in a Tocharian text
<x>	orthographic form
^x x	restored (certain) form in quotations of Suv (cf. Suv I: xxx)
///	the line starts or ends with a lacuna in a Tocharian text
*x	reconstructed form
x*	inferred form
**x	wrong form
>	developed phonologically into
<	developed phonologically from
◆	punctuation mark in a Tocharian manuscript
.	punctuation mark in a Khotanese manuscript

Remarks on the notation of Proto-Iranian

The notation of Proto-Iranian follows in the main lines Cheung (2007: xiii). Instead of Cheung's **u* and **l*, however, I use **w* and **y*. Further, instead of **s* and **z* (< PIIr. **ś* and **ṣ*) I use **ś* and **ṣ* to account for the Khotanese and Tumshuqese data.