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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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CONTENTS

PREFACE	8
ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS	10
1. INTRODUCTION	13
1.1. TOCHARIAN	13
1.2. KHOTANESE AND TUMSHUQESE	14
1.3. KHOTANESE AND TUMSHUQESE LOANWORDS IN TOCHARIAN	15
1.4. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE LINGUISTIC CONTACTS AMONG KHOTANESE, TUMSHUQESE AND TOCHARIAN	16
1.5. AIMS	18
1.6. KEY CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY	19
1.7. STRUCTURE	21
2. LOANWORD STUDIES	23
2.1. SINGLE WORD STUDIES	23
TB <i>añkwaş(t)</i> ‘Asa foetida’, LKh. <i>añguşða-</i> ‘id.’	23
TB <i>anäkspänta</i> ‘wagon-master (?)’, LKh. <i>maşpa</i> ‘road’	25
TB <i>ampa-</i> ‘to rot, decay’, LKh. <i>hañbva-</i> ‘fester’	32
TB <i>ampoño</i> ‘rottenness, infection’, LKh. <i>hañbva-</i> ‘fester’	32
TA <i>ärt*</i> , OKh. <i>haða-</i> ‘envoy’	34
TB <i>armañik</i> ‘a kind of textile’	38
TB <i>aşām</i> A <i>aşām</i> ‘worthy’, OKh. <i>āşana-</i> ‘id.’	39
TB <i>as-</i> ‘to bring, fetch’, OKh. <i>hays-</i> ‘to drive, send’	40
TB <i>„wātano*</i> A <i>watañ*</i> ‘Khotanese’, OKh. <i>hvatana-</i> ‘id.’	42
TB <i>ustamo*</i> ‘?’, OKh. <i>ustama-</i> ‘last’	63
TB <i>eñcuwo</i> A <i>añcu*</i> ‘iron’, OKh. <i>hişşana-</i> ‘id.’	63
TB <i>eşpeşşe</i> ‘Boerhavia diffusa’, LKh. <i>aišta bā</i> ‘id.’	64
TB <i>orşa</i> A <i>oräs*</i> ‘official title’, OKh. <i>auräşşaa-</i> ‘councillor’	66
TB <i>oş</i> ‘evil’, OKh. <i>oşa-</i> ‘id.’	68
TB <i>oskiye</i> A <i>oşke</i> ‘house’, LKh. <i>auskā-</i> ‘dwelling place’	71
TB <i>ausw-</i> ‘to cry’, Khot. <i>oys-</i> ‘to be angry’	74
TB <i>kañko/kañkau</i> ‘?’, OKh. <i>kañga-</i> ‘husk (of rice)’	74
TB <i>kattäke</i> A <i>kätäk*</i> ‘householder’, OKh. <i>ggäthaa-</i> ‘id.’	75
TA <i>katw-</i> ‘to ridicule’, Khot. <i>khan-</i> : <i>khamtta*</i> ‘to laugh’	76
TB <i>kāmarto*</i> A <i>kākmart</i> ‘chief’, Khot. <i>kamala-</i> ‘head’	77
TA <i>kar</i> ‘only, just’, OKh. <i>karä</i> ‘at all’	78
TB <i>karäs</i> A <i>kāräs</i> ‘wilderness (?)’, OKh. <i>karäsşā-</i> ‘creeper’	79
TA <i>kāre</i> ‘sword’, OKh. <i>kāðara-</i> ‘id.’	88
TA <i>kāltañik</i> ‘drum’, OKh. <i>ggätä’ka-</i> ‘bell’	88

TB <i>kāswo</i> ‘name of a disease’	89
TB <i>kāto</i> A <i>kāts</i> ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’, LKh. <i>khāysāna-</i> ‘stomach’	90
TB <i>kito</i> * (<i>ekita</i>) ‘help’, OKh. <i>ggīha-</i> ‘id.’	93
TA <i>k,ñās</i> ‘fight, conflict’, OKh. <i>gūrās-</i> ‘to quarrel’	98
TB <i>kuñi-mot</i> ‘grape wine’, LKh. <i>gūrānai mau</i> ‘id.’	99
TB <i>kuñcit</i> ~ <i>kwāñcit</i> A <i>kuñcit</i> ‘sesame’, OKh. <i>kuñsata-</i> ‘id.’	100
TB <i>kurkamāṣṣe</i> ~ <i>kwārkamāṣṣi</i> , Khot. <i>kurkuma-</i> * adj. ‘pertaining to saffron’	103
TAB <i>kurkal</i> ‘bdellium’, LKh. <i>gurgula-</i> ‘id.’	104
TB <i>keto</i> ‘property, estate’, PTK * <i>gēṣa-</i> ‘id.’	105
TB <i>keś</i> A <i>kaś</i> ‘number’, OKh. <i>haṃkhīś-</i> ‘to count’	108
TB <i>koto</i> * ‘± crevice, hole in the ground, pit’, Khot. <i>gūha-</i> ‘faeces’	111
TB <i>kontso</i> * ‘?’, OKh. <i>ggañjsā-</i> ‘flaw’	113
TB <i>kompo</i> * ‘?’, OKh. <i>ggampha-</i> ‘plain’	114
TB <i>koro</i> ‘mule’, OKh. * <i>ggūra-</i> ‘wild ass’ or OKh. <i>khara-</i> ‘donkey’	115
TB <i>-kke, -kka, -kko</i> (suffix)	115
TB <i>krañko</i> ‘chicken’, Khot. <i>kṛṅga-</i> ‘id.’	118
TB <i>krak-</i> ‘to be dirty’	121
TB <i>krāke</i> ‘dirt, filth’, Khot. <i>khārgga-</i> ‘mud’	121
TAB <i>krāso</i> ‘torment’, LKh. <i>gr(r)aysa-</i> ‘torment’	123
TB <i>cowo</i> * (in <i>cowai tərka-</i> ‘to rob’), LKh. <i>dyūka-</i> ‘robber’	127
TB <i>cospā</i> , Tq. <i>cazbā-</i> , Niya Pkt. <i>cozbo</i>	129
TB <i>tāno</i> ‘seed, grain’, Khot. <i>dānā-</i> ‘id.’	130
TB <i>tapatṛiś</i> ‘trayastrīṣa’, OKh. <i>tāvatrīśa-</i> ‘id.’	131
TB <i>tono</i> ‘silk (?)’, OKh. <i>thauna-</i> ‘cloth’	132
TB <i>tvāñkaro</i> ‘ginger’, LKh. <i>ttuṅgara-</i> ‘id.’	134
TA <i>twantaṃ</i> ‘reverence’, OKh. <i>tvaṃdanu</i> ‘id.’	136
TB <i>twār</i> ‘?’, OKh. <i>ttuware</i> ‘moreover’	138
TB <i>pañō</i> * ‘?’, OKh. <i>baña-</i> ‘bind’	139
TA <i>paṃ</i> (particle), OKh. <i>pana-</i> ‘each, every’	139
TB <i>pātro</i> A <i>pātār</i> ‘alms-bowl’, Khot. <i>pātra-</i> , Skt. <i>pātra-</i>	140
TAB <i>pānto</i> ‘friend, companion’, OKh. <i>pandāa-</i> ‘path’	140
TB <i>paraka-</i> ‘to prosper, thrive’, OKh. <i>pharāka-</i> ‘more’	145
TB <i>parso</i> A <i>pārs</i> ‘letter’, PTK * <i>pṛsu</i> ‘to ask’	146
TA <i>pāśiṃ</i> ‘treasure (?)’, Khot. <i>pārgyiña-</i> ‘id. (?)’	150
TB <i>pito</i> ‘price’, OKh. <i>piha-</i> ‘id.’	154
TA <i>pissañk</i> ‘bhikṣusamgha’, LKh. <i>bi’saṃga-</i> ‘id.’	158
TB <i>peri</i> A <i>pare</i> ‘debt’	160
TB <i>mañkāra</i> <i>mañkāre</i> <i>mañkarāñcana</i> ‘old’, OKh. <i>maṅgāra-</i> ‘id.’	164
TB <i>mātār</i> , <i>mādār</i> A <i>mātār</i> ‘makara (sea-monster)’	166
TB <i>miś(ṣ)e</i> A <i>miśi</i> ‘field, kṣetra’, Khot. <i>miś(ṣ)a-</i> ‘id.’	167
TB <i>mewiyo</i> ‘tiger’, LKh. <i>mūya-</i> * ‘id.’	170
TB <i>mrañco</i> ‘black pepper (Piper nigrum)’, LKh. <i>miriṃjsya-</i> ‘id.’	171
TB <i>yolo</i> ‘evil, bad’, OKh. <i>yaula-</i> ‘falsehood’	173

TB <i>yauyek</i> * ‘?’ , Khot. <i>yyauwaka</i> ‘butterfly (?)’	175
TB <i>rapaññe</i> ‘pertaining to the 12 th month’, Khot. <i>rrāhaja</i> ‘id.’	175
TB <i>raso</i> ‘span’, Khot. <i>haraysa</i> - ‘extension, expanse’	181
TB <i>warāñce</i> * , A <i>wāryāñc</i> * ‘sand’, Khot. <i>gurvica</i> - ‘grain (of sand)’	182
TB <i>wartto</i> , A <i>wärt</i> ‘forest’, OKh. <i>bāḍa</i> - ‘land’	184
TB <i>wašāko</i> * ‘fear’, Bactr. <i>βiζαyo</i> ‘bad’	185
TB <i>wicuko</i> ‘cheek, (jaw)bone’, PK * <i>wi-jwa-ka</i> - ‘id.’	186
TB <i>wiñcaññe</i> ‘pertaining to a sparrow’, OKh. <i>binji</i> - ‘sparrow’	187
TB <i>wrāko</i> A <i>wrok</i> ‘pearl’, OKh. <i>mrāhā</i> - ‘id.’	188
TB <i>wrantso</i> * ‘against, opposite’, OKh. <i>varālsto</i> ‘towards’	189
TAB <i>śāñcapo</i> ‘mustard’, OKh. <i>śśāsṽāna</i> - ‘id.’	190
TB <i>śāmpo</i> * , TA <i>sāmpāṇ</i> * ‘haughtiness, conceit, pride’, OKh. <i>tcaṇpha</i> - ‘disturbance, tumult’	191
TB <i>śarko</i> * ‘song, singing’, A <i>tsārk</i> ‘±lute (?)’, Khot. <i>tcarkā</i> - ‘play’	193
TB <i>śito</i> ‘?’ , OKh. <i>śśīta</i> - ‘white’	197
TB <i>śintso</i> * ‘?’ , LKh. <i>śiñjā</i> - ‘Zizyphus jujuba (?)’	197
TB <i>śka</i> , (A <i>śkā</i> ?) ‘close by’, LKh. <i>śka</i> ‘?’	202
TA <i>śrīttātak</i> , TB <i>śraddhatāk</i> ‘well-being’, OKh. <i>śśārattāti</i> - ‘id.’	203
TB <i>ṣupākññe</i> ‘(enclosed farm) pertaining to suppositories (<i>ṣpakīye</i>)’	205
TB <i>ṣart</i> - , A <i>ṣārttw</i> - ‘to incite’, OKh. <i>ṣṣarr</i> - : <i>ṣṣuḍa</i> -* ‘to exhilarate’	206
TB <i>ṣpakīye</i> ‘suppository’, LKh. <i>ṣvakā</i> - ‘id.’	207
TB <i>śāñ</i> , <i>śāñ</i> , A <i>śāñ</i> ‘artifice, expedient, means, method’, Khot. <i>saña</i> - ‘id. (Skt. <i>upāya</i>)’	208
TB <i>sanapa</i> - ‘to rub in, rub on, anoint, embrocate (prior to washing)’, Khot. <i>ysānāh</i> - ‘to wash’	208
TB <i>sanu</i> ‘danger’	211
TB <i>samākane</i> ‘cuirass (?)’	212
TB <i>sālyakko</i> * ‘?’	213
TB <i>siñco</i> * ‘?’ , LKh. <i>siñjā</i> - ‘plant name’	213
TA <i>sīsā</i> * ‘Sitā’, OKh. <i>sīysā</i> - , LKh. <i>sījsā</i> - ‘id.’	215
TB <i>sumo</i> ‘libation (?)’, LKh. <i>ysūma</i> - ‘broth’	216
TAB <i>senik</i> ‘care, pledge’	218
TB <i>skawa</i> - ‘to lick’, Khot. <i>skau</i> - ‘to touch’	220
TB <i>tsuwo</i> * ‘towards’	220
TB <i>tsereññ</i> - ‘to deceive’, Khot. <i>jsīr</i> - ‘id.’	221
2.2. REFERENCE LISTS	225
2.2.1. Reliable loanwords	226
2.2.2. Less reliable and doubtful loanwords	227
2.2.3. Rejected loanwords	229
2.2.4. Sogdian loanwords	230
2.2.5. Old Steppe Iranian loanwords	230
3. PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS; DETERMINATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY	231

3.1. INTRODUCTION	231
3.2. CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION	231
3.2.1. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK)	231
3.2.2. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK) or Pre-Khotanese (PK)	232
3.2.3. Pre-Khotanese (PK)	232
3.2.4. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK), Pre-Khotanese (PK) or Old Khotanese (OKh.)	233
3.2.5. Old Khotanese (OKh.)	233
3.2.6. Late Khotanese (LKh.)	234
3.3. PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES	234
3.3.1. Vowels	234
3.3.2. Consonants	237
3.4. MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO TOCHARIAN INFLECTIONAL CLASSES (SUBSTANTIVES)	241
3.4.1. Nom. sg. \emptyset (no final vowel)	241
3.4.2. Nom. sg. <i>-e</i>	241
3.4.3. Nom. sg. <i>-o</i> , obl. sg. <i>-a</i>	242
3.4.4. Nom. <i>-o</i> , obl. sg. <i>-ai</i>	243
3.4.5. Nom. sg. <i>-o</i> , obl. sg. <i>-o</i>	243
3.4.6. Nom. sg. <i>-a</i> , obl. sg. <i>-ai</i>	244
3.4.7. Only nom. sg. <i>-o</i> attested	244
3.4.8. Only final <i>-i</i> attested	244
3.4.9. Only TA (no TB attested)	245
3.5. LOANWORDS ACCORDING TO THEIR PART OF SPEECH AND GENDER	245
3.5.1. List of loanwords according to their part of speech	245
3.5.2. Commentary	247
3.5.3. Loanwords according to their gender	247
3.5.4. Commentary	247
3.5.5. Borrowing patterns of Tocharian verbs from Khotanese; borrowing patterns of nominal forms of the Khotanese verb into Tocharian	248
4. SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION	249
4.1. INTRODUCTION	249
4.2. LOANWORDS ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC AREAS (LIST)	249
4.2.1. Names of plants	249
4.2.2. Names of substances	250
4.2.3. Medical terms	250
4.2.4. Body parts	250
4.2.5. Administrative, political and economic terms	250
4.2.6. Moral qualities/actions	251
4.2.7. Clothing	251
4.2.8. Food and drink	251
4.2.9. Nature	251

4.2.10. Animals	251
4.2.11. Music	251
4.2.12. Buddhist terms	252
4.2.13. Grammatical items	252
4.3. COMMENTARY	252
4.3.1. Materia medica	252
4.3.2. Administrative, political and economic terms	252
4.3.3. Moral qualities/actions	253
4.3.4. Buddhist terms	253
5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	256
5.1. SHORT SUMMARY	256
5.2. CONCLUSIONS	256
5.2.1. A new corpus of Khotanese loanwords in Tocharian	256
5.2.2. The different layers of Khotanese loanwords in Tocharian	257
5.2.3. What type of linguistic contact took place between Tocharian and Khotanese and Tumshuqese?	261
REFERENCES	263
BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS	263
REFERENCES	264
ENGLISH SUMMARY	290
NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING	291
CURRICULUM VITAE	292

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, Gāndhāri 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	Saṅghātasūtra
Uv	Udānavarga
Vajr	Vajracchedikā
Vim	Book of Vimalakīrti
VkN	Vimalkirtinirdeśasūtra
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* (<PIr. **č* and **ǰ*) I use **č* and **ǰ* to account for the Khotanese and Tumshuqese data.