



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Watañi lāntam: Khotanese and Tumshuqese loanwords in Tocharian

Dragoni, F.

Citation

Dragoni, F. (2022, April 13). *Watañi lāntam: Khotanese and Tumshuqese loanwords in Tocharian*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3283437>

Version: Publisher's Version

[Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3283437>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

3. PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS; DETERMINATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter has a fourfold aim. First, it aims at establishing the sound correspondences of the adaptation of Khotanese loanwords in Tocharian. Second, it seeks to determine a chronology of the loanwords based on these sound correspondences. Third, it attempts to combine the results obtained for the chronology with the morphological features, in particular the inflectional classes, of the Tocharian substantives. Further, it examines the loanwords according to their gender in the case of the substantives and according to their grammatical function in the case of the rest. The analysis is based on the corpus of 48 reliable etymologies as determined in §2.2.1. The following stages are distinguished: Proto-Iranian (PIr.), Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK), Pre-Khotanese (PK), Old Khotanese (OKh.) and Late Khotanese (LKh.). The labels for the Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese and Pre-Khotanese stages are to a certain extent provisional: it is clear the former is older than the latter (cf. §5.2.2.1. and §5.2.2.2.), but since the exact position of Tumshuqese is hard to establish for many features, it is possible that the forms posited for Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese in fact belong to a slightly earlier or later stage.

3.2. CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

3.2.1. PROTO-TUMSHUQESE-KHOTANESE (PTK)

3.2.1.1. Criteria

The following features have been taken for attribution to this oldest group (numerals refer to the list below in §3.2.1.2.):

- Possibility to reconstruct the word for Proto-Tocharian, cf. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10.
- TB *rt* ← PTK **rd* (OKh. *d*), cf. 1, 3.
- TB *e* ← PTK **ē*, *e* (OKh. *i*), with **ē* < PIr. **ai* and **e* < PIr. **a_y*, cf. 2, 4, 5.
- TB *-ñcw-* ← PTK **-nśw-* (< PIr. **-mćw-*), cf. 9.
- TB /ər/ ← PTK **r*; cf. 10, 6.
- TB *ś* ← PTK **č* (OKh. <tc> /ts/), cf. 7, 8.

1.2.1.2. Loanword list

1. subst. TB **ärto* TA *ärt**‘envoy’ ← PTK acc. sg. *(*h*)árdū (OKh. *hadā-*) ‘id.’
2. subst. TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu**‘iron’ ← PTK **hénśwanya-* (OKh. *hiśsana-*) ‘id.’
3. subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-* head’)

4. subst. TB *keto* 'property, estate' ← PTK acc. sg. **gēθu* 'id.' (OKh. *gīha-* 'help')
5. subst. TB *keś* A *kas* 'number' ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *hamkhiš-*) 'to count'
6. subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* 'letter' ← PTK inf. **pysu* (OKh. *pulsu*)
7. subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpāñ* 'haughtiness, pride' ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* 'violence, disturbance' (OKh. *tcampha-*)
8. subst. TB *śarko** 'song, singing' ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* 'play, amusement')
9. subst. TAB *śāñcapo* 'mustard' ← PTK acc. sg. **śanžapu* (OKh. *śśašvāna-*)
10. v. TB *ṣərt-* A *ṣärttw-* (PT **ṣərtw-*) 'incite' ← PTK past ptc. **ṣṛtu* 'id.' (OKh. *ā-ṣṣuđa-*)

3.2.2. PROTO-TUMSHUQESE-KHOTANESE (PTK) OR PRE-KHOTANESE (PK)

3.2.2.1. Criteria

As none of the features listed in §3.2.2.1. was detected in this group of words, it is not possible to attribute them with certainty to the PTK age, although there is nothing that contradicts this either. At the same time, their phonological features could also allow an attribution to the PK age. The presence of prehistoric features, however, does not permit a classification as historical Khotanese.

3.2.2.2. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *koto** 'excrement' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gūθu* (OKh. *gūha-* 'id.)
2. v. TB *paraka-* 'to prosper, thrive' ← PTK, PK **farāka-* 'more' (OKh. id.)
3. subst. TB *warāñce** A *wāryāñc** 'sand' ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* 'grain (of sand)' (OKh. *ggurwīca-*)
4. subst. TB *wañc** 'sparrow' ← PTK, PK **winjǐ* 'id.' (LKh. *bimji-*)
5. v. TB *sanapa-* 'to anoint, embrocate' ← PTK, PK **zənāf-*

3.2.3. PRE-KHOTANESE (PK)

3.2.3.1. Criteria

The following features have been taken for attribution to the Pre-Khotanese group. Some of these markers are compatible with an Old Khotanese origin as well. However, this list contains only words that show at least one of these markers *and* a prehistoric feature that excludes an Old or Late Khotanese origin. The numerals refers to the lexemes listed in §3.2.3.2.

- TB *i* ← PK **ī* (PTK **ē*, OKh. *ī*, < Plr. **ai*), cf. 3, 5.
- PTK intervocalic *-k-* preserved as TB *-w-*, cf. 1, 8.
- Loss of intervocalic *d*, cf. 2.
- TB *uW-* ← PK **hw-*, cf. 6.
- TA *ts-* ← PK **ts-* (OKh. *tc-*), cf. 7.

3.2.3.2. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *wātano** A *wataṇi** ‘Khotanese’ ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* ‘id.’
2. subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
3. subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’ ← PK **kʰādāna-* ‘stomach’ (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
4. subst. TB *kito** ‘help’ ← PK acc. sg. **giθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ggiha-* ‘id.’)
5. subst. TB *cowo** ‘robbing’ ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *dyūka-* ‘robber’)
6. subst. TB *pito* ‘price’ ← PK acc. sg. **pīθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *pīha-*)
7. subst. TA *tsärk* ← PK acc. sg. **tsarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)
8. subst. TB *tsuwo** ‘going’ (adv. *tsuwai* ‘towards’) ← PK acc. sg. **tsʰūwu* (OKh. *tsūka-* ‘goer’)

3.2.4. PROTO-TUMSHUQESE-KHOTANESE (PTK), PRE-KHOTANESE (PK) OR OLD KHOTANESE (OKh.)

3.2.4.1. Criteria

No particular chronological markers could be distinguished for the items belonging to this group. As the ending nom. sg. *-o* excludes a Late Khotanese origin, these lexemes may be attributed to PTK, PK or OKh.

3.2.4.2. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *kraiko* ‘chicken’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **kriŋgu*, OKh. *kriŋgu* ‘id.’
2. subst. TB *krāso* ‘vexation’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **grazu*, OKh. *graysu* ‘torment’ (LKh. *gr(r)aysa-*)
3. subst. TB *tāno* ‘seed, grain’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **dāno*, OKh. *dāno* ‘id.’
4. subst. TAB *pānto* ‘friend, companion’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **pando*, OKh. *pando* ‘path’
5. subst. *mrañco* ‘black pepper’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **mirind̥yu*, OKh. **mirinj̥syu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *mirinj̥syā-*)

3.2.5. OLD KHOTANESE (OKh.)

3.2.5.1. Criteria

The main criteria for inclusion in this group are 1. absence of prehistoric features, but 2. nom. sg. ending *-o*.

3.2.5.2. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *orśa* A *oräś** ‘official title’ ← OKh. *aurāśśā-* ‘councillor’
2. v. TA *katw-* ‘to ridicule’ ← OKh. past ptc. *khamttu** ‘to laugh’
3. subst. TB *tono* ‘cloth’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* ‘id.’

4. subst. TB *tvāñkarō* ‘ginger’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvāñgara* ‘id.’ (LKh. *ttuñgara*-)
5. subst. TA *twantan* ‘reverence’ ← OKh. *tvamdanu* ‘id.’
6. subst. TB *pāt̥ro* A *pāt̥är* ‘alms-bowl’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *pātru* ‘id.’
7. subst. TB *yolo* ‘evil’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** ‘falsehood’
8. subst. TB *śintso** ‘a species of tree’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśūñjso* (LKh. *śimjā-* ‘id.’)
9. subst. TA *śrīttātak* ‘well-being’ ← OKh *śśāratātī-* ‘id.’
10. adj. TB *supakīñe* ‘pertaining to suppositories’ ← OKh. **ssūtvakīña*- ‘id.’
11. subst. TB *siñco** ‘plant name’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **siñjo* ‘id.’ (LKh. *simjā-* ‘id.’)

3.2.6. LATE KHOTANESE (LKH.)

3.2.6.1. Criteria

The main criteria for inclusion in this group are 1. absence of prehistoric features and 2. no nom. sg. ending -o.

3.2.6.2. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *aikwas(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *añguşda*- ‘id.’
2. v. TB *ampa-* ‘to rot, decay’ ← LKh. *hañbva-* (< OKh. *hañbüta-*) ‘ester’
3. subst. TB *oś* ‘evil’ ← LKh. *oşa-* ‘id.’
4. subst. TB *kuñi(-mot)* ‘grape wine’ ← LKh. *gūräñai* (*mau*) ‘id.’
5. subst. TB *kurkal* ‘bdellium’ ← LKh. *gurgula-* ‘id.’
6. subst. TB *kräke* ‘dirt, filth’ ← LKh. **gräga-* (OKh. *khärgga-* ‘mud’)
7. adv. TB *twär* ‘?’ ← LKh. *tvarä* ‘moreover’ (OKh. *ttuvare*)
8. subst. TA *pissanik* ‘bhikṣusamṛgha’ ← LKh. *bí'samga-* (OKh. *bálsanya-*)
9. subst. TB *špakīye* ‘suppository’ ← LKh. *svakā-* ‘id.’
10. subst. *sāñ*, *ṣāñ*, A *ṣāñ* ‘artifice, expedient, means, method’ ← Khot. *saña-* ‘id.’

3.3. PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

3.3.1. VOWELS

Only correspondences that are directly attested in the loanword corpus are listed here. The examples are reported under the relative changes.

3.3.1.1. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK)

- a) PIr. *a > PTK *a → PT */a/
 - subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpāñ* ‘haughtiness, pride’ ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* ‘violence, disturbance’ (OKh. *tcañpha*-)
- b) PIr. *ai > PTK *ē → PT *e
 - subst. TB *keto* ‘property, estate’ ← PTK acc. sg. **geθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *gūha-* ‘help’)
 - subst. TB *keś* A *kaś* ‘number’ ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *hamkhiš-*) ‘to count’
- c) PIr. *a_y > PTK *ě → PT *e

- subst. TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** ‘iron’ ← PTK **hénśwanya-* (OKh. *hūśana-*) ‘id.’
- d) PIR. **r* > PTK **r* > PT **ər*³⁷²
 subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* ‘letter’ ← PTK inf. **p̥rsu* (OKh. *pulsu*)
 v. TB *ṣərtw-* A *ṣärtw-* (PT **ṣərtw-*) ‘incite’ ← PTK past ptc. **ṣṛtu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ā-ṣṣuđa-*)
- e) PIR. *-am > PTK *-u → PT *-o
 subst. TAB *śāñcapo* ‘mustard’ ← PTK acc. sg. **śanžapu* (OKh. *śśaśvāna-*)
- f) PIR. *-ām > PTK *-o → PT *-o
 subst. TB *śarko** ‘song, singing’ ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)
- g) PTK *-i → TAB -o
 subst. TB *keš* A *kaś* ‘number’ ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *haŋkhiš-*) ‘to count’

3.3.1.2. Pre-Khotanese (PK)

- a) PIR. *a > PTK *a > PK *a → TB /a/
 subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
- b) PIR. *ā > PTK *ā > PK *ā → TB /a/
 subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’ ← PK **kʰādāna-* ‘stomach’ (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
- c) PIR. *au > PTK *ō > PK ū → TB u or o³⁷³
 subst. TB *tsuwo** ‘going’ (adv. *tsuawai* ‘towards’) ← PK acc. sg. **tsʰuwu* (OKh. *tsūka-*)
 subst. TB *cowa** ‘robbing’ ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *dyūka-* ‘robber’)
- d) PIR. *ai > PTK *ē > PK *ī → TB i
 subst. TB *kito** ‘help’ ← PK acc. sg. **giθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ggiha-* ‘id.’)
 subst. TB *pito* ‘price’ ← PK acc. sg. **piθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *piha-*)
- e) PIR. *-am > PTK *-u > PK *-u → TB -o
 subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
- f) PIR. *ām > PTK *-o > PK *-o → TB -o
 subst. TB *śarko** ‘song, singing’ ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko*, A *tsärk* ← PK acc. sg. **tsarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)

3.3.1.3. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK) or Pre-Khotanese (PK)

- a) PIR. *i > PTK, PK *i → TB /ə/

³⁷² For TB *kāmarto** and TA *ārt** an earlier vocalization has to be posited. My criterion for the reconstruction of **r* for PTK is whether it has left a trace in Old Khotanese or not. Hence *parso* and *ṣərtw-* can be used for the reconstruction of PTK **r*.

³⁷³ Apparently by *o*-Umlaut of *u* within Tocharian B (*u_o* > *o_o*). The items showing Umlaut may possibly have been borrowed earlier.

- subst. TB *waräñce** A *wāryāñc** ‘sand’ ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* ‘grain (of sand)’ (OKh. *ggurvīca-*)
 subst. TB *wañc**‘sparrow’ ← PTK, PK **winjī* ‘id.’ (LKh. *biñji-*)
- b) PTK, PK *-i → TB -ø
 subst. TB *wañc**‘sparrow’ ← PTK, PK **winjī* ‘id.’ (LKh. *biñji-*)

3.3.1.4. Old Khotanese (OKh.)

- a) PK *a > OKh. a → TB /a/
 adj. TB *śupakīñe* ‘pertaining to suppositories’ ← OKh. **śśūvakīña-* ‘id.’
- b) PK *ā > OKh. ā → TB /a/
 subst. TB *pātro* A *pātär* ‘alms-bowl’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *pātru* ‘id.’
- c) PK *au > OKh. au → TB o³⁷⁴
 subst. TB *tono* ‘cloth’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* ‘id.’
 subst. TB *yolo* ‘evil’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** ‘falsehood’
- d) PK *-ū- > OKh. -ū- → TB -u-
 adj. TB *śupakīñe* ‘pertaining to suppositories’ ← OKh. **śśūvakīña-* ‘id.’
- e) PK *i > OKh. i → TB i
 subst. TB *siñco** ‘plant name’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **simjo* ‘id.’ (LKh. *siñjā-* ‘id.’)
- f) PIr. *-am > PTK, PK, OKh. *-u → TB -o, TA ø
 subst. TB *tono* ‘cloth’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* ‘id.’
 subst. TA *twantam* ‘reverence’ ← OKh. *tvañdanu* ‘id.’
- g) PIr. *-ām > PTK, PK, OKh. *o → TB -o
 subst. TB *śintso** ‘a species of tree’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśimjso* (LKh. *śiñjā-* ‘id.’)

3.3.1.5. Late Khotanese (LKh.)

- a) OKh. a > LKh. a → TB /a/
 subst. TB *aikwas(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *amguşda-* ‘id.’
- b) OKh. ā > LKh. ā → TB /a/
 subst. TB *kräke* ‘dirt, filth’ ← LKh. **gräga-* (OKh. *khārgga-* ‘mud’)
- c) OKh. -u (< PIr. -am) > LKh. [ə] → TB ø, e³⁷⁵ TA ø
 subst. TB *aikwas(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *amguşda-* ‘id.’
 subst. TB *kräke* ‘dirt, filth’ ← LKh. **gräga-* (OKh. *khārgga-* ‘mud’)

³⁷⁴ This proves the early monophthongization of OKh. *au*, as already attested in the manuscripts.

³⁷⁵ The only example for LKh. ā-stems (*śvakā-* ‘suppository’) shows in a nom. sg. in -yē in Tocharian B (TB *spakīye*), which could be interpreted as an effort to maintain the feminine gender in the borrowed lexeme.

3.3.2. CONSONANTS

3.3.2.1. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK)

- a) PIr. **k* > PTK **k* → TB *k*
subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-* head’)
- b) PIr. **x* > PTK **x* → TB *k*-
subst. TB *keś* A *kaś* ‘number’ ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *hamkhīš-*) ‘to count’
- c) PIr. **č* > PTK **č* → TB *s*
subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpām* ‘haughtiness, pride’ ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* ‘violence, disturbance’ (OKh. *tcampha-*)
subst. TB *śarko** ‘song, singing’ ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)
- d) PIr. **g* > PTK **g* → TB *k*
subst. TB *keto* ‘property, estate’ ← PTK acc. sg. **gēθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *giha-* ‘help’)
- e) PIr. **t* > PTK **t* → TB *t*
v. TB *śərt-* A *śärttw-* (PT **śərtw-*) ‘incite’ ← PTK past ptc. **śrtu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ā-ssuda-*)
- f) PIr. **θ* > PTK **θ* → TB *t*
subst. TB *keto* ‘property, estate’ ← PTK acc. sg. **gēθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *giha-* ‘help’)
- g) PIr. **p* > PTK **p* → TB *p*
subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* ‘letter’ ← PTK inf. **prsū* (OKh. *pulsu*)
- h) PIr. **f* > PTK **f/ph*³⁷⁶ → TB *p*
subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpām* ‘haughtiness, pride’ ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* ‘violence, disturbance’ (OKh. *tcampha-*)
- i) PIr. **m* > PTK **m* → TB *m*
subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-* head’)
- j) PIr. **r* > PTK **r* → TB *r*
subst. TB *śarko** ‘song, singing’ ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)
- k) PTK **ś*³⁷⁷ → TB *ś*
subst. TAB *śāñcapo* ‘mustard’ ← PTK acc. sg. **śanžapu* (OKh. *śśaśvāna-*)
- l) PTK **š* → TB *ʂ*
v. TB *śərt-* A *śärttw-* (PT **śərtw-*) ‘incite’ ← PTK past ptc. **śrtu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ā-ssuda-*)
- m) PIr. **s* > PTK **s* → TB *s*
subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* ‘letter’ ← PTK inf. **prsū* (OKh. *pulsu*)
- n) PIr. *-*m̥w-* > PTK *-*n̥sw-* → TB -*ñcw-*
subst. TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** ‘iron’ ← PTK **hénśwanya*- (OKh. *hiśśana-*) ‘id.’

³⁷⁶ As in the case of PIr. **x*, the Tocharian evidence is not conclusive.

³⁷⁷ As a convention, *ś* is used for the PTK ancestor of the OKh. (classical orthography) unvoiced <śś> and *ž* for the OKh. voiced <ś>.

- o) PTK *-nž-* → TB *-ñc-*
subst. TAB *śāñcapo* ‘mustard’ ← PTK acc. sg. **śanžapu* (OKh. *śśašvāna-*)
- p) PIr. **-rt-* > PTK **-rd-* → TB *-rt-*
subst. TB **ärto* TA *ärт** ‘envoy’ ← PTK acc. sg. **(h)árdū* (OKh. *hađa-*) ‘id.’
subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-* ‘head’)

3.3.2.2. Pre-Khotanese (PK)

- a) PTK **k* > PK **k* → TB *k*
subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
- b) PTK **x* > PK **k^h-* (or still **x?*) → TB *k-*
subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’ ← PK **k^hādāna-* ‘stomach’ (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
- c) PTK **č* > PK **ts* → TA *ts*
TA *tsārk* ← PK **tsarkā-* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)
- d) PTK **g* > PK **g* → TB *k*
subst. TB *kito** ‘help’ ← PK acc. sg. **gīθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ggīha-* ‘id.’)
- e) PTK **t* > PK **t* → TB *t*
subst. TB *u-wātano** A *watam** ‘Khotanese’ ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* ‘id.’
- f) PTK **θ* > PK **θ* → TB *t*
subst. TB *kito** ‘help’ ← PK acc. sg. **gīθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ggīha-* ‘id.’)
subst. TB *pito* ‘price’ ← PK acc. sg. **piθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *piha-*)
- g) PTK **n* > PK **n* → TB *n*
subst. TB *u-wātano** A *watam** ‘Khotanese’ ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* ‘id.’
- h) PTK **p* > PK **p* → TB *p*
subst. TB *pito* ‘price’ ← PK acc. sg. **piθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *piha-*)
- i) PTK **r* > PK **r* → TB *r*
TA *tsārk* ← PK **tsarkā-* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)
- j) PTK **-V_kV-* > PK **-V_wV-* → TB *-V_wV-*
subst. TB *cowo** ‘robbing’ ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *dyūka-* ‘robber’)
subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
subst. TB *tsuwo** ‘going’ (adv. *tsuwai* ‘towards’) ← PK acc. sg. **ts^hūwu* (OKh. *tsūka-*)
- k) PTK **s* > PK **s* → TB *s*
subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
- l) PTK **čy-* > PK **ts^h* → TB *ts*
subst. TB *tsuwo** ‘going’ (adv. *tsuwai* ‘towards’) ← PK acc. sg. **ts^hūwu* (OKh. *tsūka-*)
- m) PK **dy-* → TB *c-*
subst. TB *cowo** ‘robbing’ ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *dyūka-* ‘robber’)

- n) PK *-ds- → TB -ts-
 - subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* 'belly, stomach, abdomen, womb' ← PK **kʰādʰāna-* 'stomach' (LKh. *khāysāna*-)
- o) PK *hw- /hu/ (> OKh. /hʷ/) → TB *w*, TA *w*-
 subst. TB *wātano** A *watən** 'Khotanese' ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* 'id.'

3.3.2.3. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK) or Pre-Khotanese (PK) [in addition to the correspondences listed above]

- a) PTK, PK *j → TB *c*
 subst. TB *wañc** 'sparrow' ← PTK, PK **winji* 'id.' (LKh. *bimji*-)
- b) PTK, PK *w- (> OKh. *b-*) → TB *w*-
 subst. TB *wañc** 'sparrow' ← PTK, PK **winji* 'id.' (LKh. *bimji*-)
 subst. TB *warāñce** A *wāryāñc** 'sand' ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* 'grain (of sand)' (OKh. *ggurvīca*-)
- c) PTK, PK *z → TB *s*
 v. TB *sanapa-* 'to anoint, embrocate' ← PTK, PK **zənāf-*

3.3.2.4. Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese (PTK), Pre-Khotanese (PK) or Old Khotanese (OKh.) [in addition to the correspondences listed above]

- a) PTK, PK *d, OKh. *d* → TB *t*
 subst. TB *tāno* 'seed, grain' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **dāno*, OKh. *dāno* 'id.'
- b) PTK, PK *-dzy-, OKh. *jsy-* → TB *c*
 subst. *mrañco* 'black pepper' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **mirind̥yu*, OKh. **mirinjsyu* 'id.' (LKh. *mirinjsya*-)

3.3.2.5. Old Khotanese (OKh.)

- a) OKh. *k* → TB *k*
 adj. TB *śupakīñe* 'pertaining to suppositories' ← OKh. **śśūvakīña-* 'id.'
- b) OKh. *kh* → TA *k*
 v. TA *katw-* 'to ridicule' ← OKh. past ptc. *khamttu** 'to laugh'
- c) OKh. *g* → TB *k*
 subst. TB *tvāñkaro* 'ginger' ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvāñgarau* 'id.' (LKh. *ttuñgara-*)
- d) OKh. *j* → TB *c*
 subst. TB *siñco** 'plant name' ← OKh. acc. sg. **simjo* 'id.' (LKh. *simjā-* 'id.')
- e) OKh. *js* → TB *ts*
 subst. TB *śintso** 'a species of tree' ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśūmjsō* (LKh. *śūmjsā-* 'id.')
- f) OKh. *ñ* → TB *ñ*
 adj. TB *śupakīñe* 'pertaining to suppositories' ← OKh. **śśūvakīña-* 'id.'
- g) OKh. *t* → TAB *t*
 subst. TA *śrittātak* 'well-being' ← OKh. *śśāratāti-* 'id.'
 subst. TA *twantam* 'reverence' ← OKh. *tvañdanu* 'id.'

- h) OKh. *th* → TB *t*
subst. TB *tono* ‘cloth’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* ‘id.’
- i) OKh. *d* → TA *t*
subst. TA *twantan* ‘reverence’ ← OKh. *tvan̥danu* ‘id.’
- j) OKh. *n* → TB *n*
subst. TB *tono* ‘cloth’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* ‘id.’
- k) OKh. *p* → TB *p*
subst. TB *pātro* *A pātär* ‘alms-bowl’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *pātru* ‘id.’
- l) OKh. *y-* → TB *y-*
subst. TB *yolo* ‘evil’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** ‘falsehood’
- m) OKh. *r* → TB *r*
subst. TB *tvāñkaro* ‘ginger’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvāñgarau* ‘id.’ (LKh. *ttuñgara-*)
- n) OKh. *l* → TB *l*
subst. TB *yolo* ‘evil’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** ‘falsehood’
- o) OKh. *v* → TB *w, v, p*
subst. TA *twantan* ‘reverence’ ← OKh. *tvan̥danu* ‘id.’
subst. TB *tvāñkaro* ‘ginger’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvāñgarau* ‘id.’ (LKh. *ttuñgara-*)
adj. TB *ṣupakīñe* ‘pertaining to suppositories’ ← OKh. **ṣṣūvakīñā-* ‘id.’
- p) OKh. *śś* → TB *ś*
subst. TB *śintso* *‘a species of tree’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśīñjso* (LKh. *śīñjā-* ‘id.’)
- q) OKh. *ss* → TB *ś*
adj. TB *ṣupakīñe* ‘pertaining to suppositories’ ← OKh. **ṣṣūvakīñā-* ‘id.’
- r) OKh. *s* → TB *s*
subst. TB *siñco* *‘plant name’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **simjo* ‘id.’ (LKh. *simjā-* ‘id.’)

3.3.2.6. Late Khotanese (LKh.)

- a) LKh. *k* → TB *k*
subst. TB *aiñkwaş(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *amguşda-* ‘id.’
- b) LKh. *g* → TB *k*
subst. TB *kurkal* ‘bdellium’ ← LKh. *gurgula-* ‘id.’
- c) LKh. *ñ* → TB *ñ*
subst. *sāñ, ṣāñ, A ṣāñ* ‘artifice, expedient, means, method’ ← Khot. *saña-* ‘id.’
- d) LKh. *t* → TB *t*
adv. TB *twār* ‘?’ ← LKh. *tvarä* ‘moreover’ (OKh. *ttuware*)
- e) LKh. *b* → TAB *p*
subst. TA *pissaik* ‘bhikṣusamṛgha’ ← LKh. *bi'samga-* (OKh. *bälsamga-*)
v. TB *ampa-* ‘to rot, decay’ ← LKh. *hañbva-* (< OKh. *hañbūta-*) ‘fester’
- f) LKh. *r* → TB *r*
subst. TB *kräke* ‘dirt, filth’ ← LKh. **grāga-* (OKh. *khārgga-* ‘mud’)
- g) LKh. *l* → TB *l*
subst. TB *kurkal* ‘bdellium’ ← LKh. *gurgula-* ‘id.’
- h) LKh. *v* → TB *p, o*
subst. TB *ṣpakīye* ‘suppository’ ← LKh. *ṣvakā-* ‘id.’

- v. TB *ampa-* ‘to rot, decay’ ← LKh. *haŋbva-* (< OKh. *haŋbūta-*) ‘fester’
- i) LKh. *ś* → TB *ś*
subst. TB *oś* ‘evil’ ← LKh. *ośa-* ‘id.’
- j) LKh. *ʂ* → TB *ʂ*
subst. TB *ʂpakiye* ‘suppository’ ← LKh. *ʂvakā-* ‘id.’
- k) LKh. *s* → TB *s, ss*
subst. TA *pissarik* ‘bhikṣusamgha’ ← LKh. *bi'samga-* (OKh. *bälsamga-*)
- l) LKh. *h-* → TB *ø*
v. TB *ampa-* ‘to rot, decay’ ← LKh. *haŋbva-* (< OKh. *haŋbūta-*) ‘fester’
- m) LKh. *-bv-* → TB *-p-*
v. TB *ampa-* ‘to rot, decay’ ← LKh. *haŋbva-* (< OKh. *haŋbūta-*) ‘fester’
- n) LKh. *-ṣd-* → TB *-ṣt-*
subst. TB *aikwas(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *amguṣda-* ‘id.’
- o) LKh. *sv-* → TB *sp-*
subst. TB *ʂpakiye* ‘suppository’ ← LKh. *ʂvakā-* ‘id.’

3.4. MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO TOCHARIAN INFLECTIONAL CLASSES (SUBSTANTIVES)

3.4.1. NOM. SG. Ø (NO FINAL VOWEL)

3.4.1.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *aikwas(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *amguṣda-* ‘id.’
2. subst. TB *oś* ‘evil’ ← LKh. *ośa-* ‘id.’
3. subst. TB *kurkal* ‘bdellium’ ← LKh. *gurgula-* ‘id.’
4. subst. TB *keś* A *kas-* ‘number’ ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *haŋkhīš-*) ‘to count’
5. subst. TB *wañc** ‘sparrow’ ← PTK, PK **winjī* ‘id.’ (LKh. *bimji-*)
6. subst. *sāñ*, *ʂāñ*, A *ʂāñ* ‘artifice, expedient, means, method’ ← LKh. *saña-* ‘id.’

3.4.1.2. Commentary

Items 1-3 and 5 are loanwords from Late Khotanese. The absence of the final vowel probably reflects the general weakening and ultimate loss of final vowels which are typical of the late stage of the language (cf. e.g. SGS: 254).

Items 4 and 5, being loanwords from Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese, cannot be explained with the same tendency. Rather, in these cases, it is due to the different final in Khotanese, here noted as **-i*. If borrowed as Tocharian **ə*, it could have been lost regularly by the Tocharian A and Classical Tocharian B stages.

3.4.2. NOM. SG. -E

3.4.2.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *kräke* ‘dirt, filth’ ← LKh. **grāga-* (OKh. *khārgga-* ‘mud’)

2. subst. TB *waräñce** A *wäryäñc** ‘sand’ ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* ‘grain (of sand)’ (OKh. *ggurvíca-*)³⁷⁸

3.4.2.2. Commentary

The declension pattern of item 2 is due to later inner-Tocharian analogy (cf. s.v. *waräñce*). On the other hand, although it remains quite puzzling, the ending of *kräke* may be better explained as a later inner-Tocharian morphological adaptation.

3.4.3. NOM. SG. -O, OBL. SG. -A

3.4.3.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *wātano** A *watañ** ‘Khotanese’ ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* ‘id.’
2. subst. TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** ‘iron’ ← PTK **hénswanya-* (OKh. *hiśsana-*) ‘id.’
3. subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-* head’)
4. subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
5. subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’ ← PK **kādāna-* ‘stomach’ (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
6. subst. TB *kito** ‘help’ ← PK acc. sg. **giθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ggiha-* ‘id.’)
7. subst. TB *keto* ‘property, estate’ ← PTK acc. sg. **gēθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *gīha-* ‘help’)
8. subst. TB *tāno* ‘seed, grain’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **dāno*, OKh. *dāno* ‘id.’
- 9.
10. subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpāñ* ‘haughtiness, pride’ ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* ‘violence, disturbance’ (OKh. *tcañpha-*)
11. subst. TB *śarko** ‘song, singing’ ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko*, A *tsäärk* ← PK acc. sg. **tsarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* ‘play, amusement’)

3.4.3.2. Commentary

With 10 items, this is the most extensive class. As already noted (see ch. 2 under each entry), I explain the frequent Tocharian B nom. sg. ending *-o* as an adaptation of the Khotanese acc. sg. ending *-u*, or, in rare cases, of the acc. sg. f. ending *-o*. As the items that show a nom. sg. in *-o* are no later than Old Khotanese, it follows that the ending nom. sg. *-o* was characteristic of loanwords from the PTK, PK or OKh. stage.

Noteworthy is the fact that this class includes only items borrowed from the prehistorical stages of the language, i.e. PTK and PK. No items from Old or Late Khotanese are to be found in this category of substantives. Since the *-o/-ai* class (see §3.4.4.) includes also items from Old Khotanese, it seems that the oldest borrowings from Khotanese were adapted as members of the *-o/-a* class. This chronological difference

³⁷⁸ In this case, final *-e* may have been due to later analogy (cf. s.v.).

may correspond to the historical explanation of these two classes of substantives in Tocharian B by Del Tomba (2020: 154–9), according to which there was originally only one *-o/-a* class that split into an *-o/-a* and an *-o/-ai* class in Pre-Tocharian B, after the split of Proto-Tocharian and before Archaic Tocharian B. As a consequence, it is possible to determine a *terminus post quem* for the borrowings included in the *-o/-ai* class. Following Del Tomba (l.c.), this can be posited in the Pre-Tocharian B stage. It is to be noted that no assured PTK borrowings are included in this class. On the contrary, it seems that loanwords from Khotanese could be adapted as members of the *-o/-a* class also in the PK period (cf. *wātano** and *kito**). Keeping in mind these premises, items 1 and 5 of the *-o/-ai* class, for which no clear features for classification as PTK or PK could be identified above, may thus be provisionally assigned to the Pre-Khotanese stage rather than to Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese.

3.4.4. NOM. -O, OBL. SG. -AI

3.4.4.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *koto** ‘excrement’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gūθu* (OKh. *gūha-* ‘id.’)
2. subst. TB *cowo** ‘robbing’ ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *dyūka-* ‘robber’)
3. subst. TB *tvāñkaro* ‘ginger’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvāñgarau* ‘id.’ (LKh. *ttuñgara-*)
4. subst. TB *pātro* A *pātär* ‘alms-bowl’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *pātru* ‘id.’
5. subst. TAB *pānto* ‘friend, companion’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **pando*, OKh. *pando* ‘path’
6. subst. TB *síntso** ‘a species of tree’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśimjso* (LKh. *śimjā-* ‘id.’)
7. subst. TB *spakīye* ‘suppository’ ← LKh. *svakā-* ‘id.’
8. subst. TB *siñco** ‘plant name’ ← OKh. acc. sg. **simjo* ‘id.’ (LKh. *simjā-* ‘id.’)
9. subst. TB *tsuwo** ‘going’ (adv. *tsuwai* ‘towards’) ← PK acc. sg. **tsʰūwu* (OKh. *tsūka-*)

3.4.4.2. Commentary

A noteworthy feature is that no assured item from PTK has been found within this group of substantives. Accordingly, item 1 may be more likely considered as PK and item 5 as PK or OKh. As already noted in §3.4.3.2., one should conclude that this group of substantives was borrowed later than the *-o/-a* group.

3.4.5. NOM. SG. -O, OBL. SG. -O

3.4.5.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *krāso* ‘vexation’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **grazu*, OKh. *graysu* ‘torment’ (LKh. *gr(r)aysa-*)
2. subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* ‘letter’ ← PTK inf. **p̥rsu* (OKh. *pulsu*)
3. subst. TB *pito* ‘price’ ← PK acc. sg. **pīθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *pīha-*)
4. subst. TB *yolo* ‘evil’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** ‘falsehood’
5. subst. TAB *śāñcapo* ‘mustard’ ← PTK acc. sg. **śanžapu* (OKh. *śsaśvāna-*)

3.4.5.2. Commentary

This inflectional class includes both very old loanwords (items 2 and 5) and loanwords from Old Khotanese (4). On the whole, however, it does not seem to have been a very frequent pattern. It is possible that items 1 and 2 were reanalysed as *palsko*-type deverbal abstract nouns. Item 4 may have been an ancient neuter, but this is questionable (see s.v. *yolo*). For the moment, no satisfactory explanation for 3 and 5 is available.

3.4.6. NOM. SG. -A, OBL. SG. -AI

3.4.6.1. Loanword studies

1. subst. TB *orša A oräś** ‘official title’ ← OKh. *aurāśša-* ‘councillor’

3.4.6.2. Commentary

This category includes just one, recent borrowing. On the particular inflectional pattern of TB *orša A oräś* see the discussion under the relevant word in ch. 2.

3.4.7. ONLY NOM. SG. -O ATTESTED

3.4.7.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *tono* ‘cloth’ ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* ‘id.’
2. subst. *mrañco* ‘black pepper’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **mirindžyu*, OKh. **mirinjsyu* ‘id.’ (LKh. *mirinjsya-*)

3.4.7.2. Commentary

The obl. case of these two substantives is not attested, so that it is not possible to reconstruct their original inflectional patterns. On the basis of the dating of item 1 in the OKh. period according to other criteria (*au > o*), the obl. sg. would be expected to be in -*ai*.

3.4.8. ONLY FINAL -I ATTESTED

3.4.8.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB *kuñi(-mot)* ‘grape wine’ ← LKh. *güräṇai (mau)* ‘id.’

3.4.8.2. Commentary

The unique ending *-i* of *kuñi* in *kuñi-mot* may be due to its position as first member of a compound also in the Late Khotanese source form.

3.4.9. ONLY TA (NO TB ATTESTED)

3.4.9.1. Loanword list

1. subst. TB **ärto* TA *ärt** ‘envoy’ ← PTK acc. sg. *(*h*)árdū (OKh. *haða-*) ‘id.’
2. subst. TA *twantan* ‘reverence’ ← OKh. *tvañdanu* ‘id.’
3. subst. TA *pissaik* ‘bhikṣusamgha’ ← LKh. *bi’samga-* (OKh. *bälsamga-*)
4. subst. TA *śrittātak* ‘well-being’ ← OKh. *śśāratāti-* ‘id.’

3.4.9.2. Commentary

Whereas item 1 reflects an older borrowing, probably from PTK (see s.v.), and could be theoretically reconstructed also for Tocharian B, items 2-4 are more recent loanwords attested only in Tocharian A, with no equivalent in B. In my view, it is not by chance that they all represent Buddhist terms (see ch. 2 s.v. *pissaik* and §4.3.4.).

3.5. LOANWORDS ACCORDING TO THEIR PART OF SPEECH AND GENDER

3.5.1. LIST OF LOANWORDS ACCORDING TO THEIR PART OF SPEECH

3.5.1.1. Substantives

1. subst. TB *añkwas(t)* ‘Asa foetida’ ← LKh. *amguşda-* ‘id.’
2. subst. TB **ärto* TA *ärt** ‘envoy’ ← PTK acc. sg. *(*h*)árdū (OKh. *haða-*) ‘id.’
3. subst. TB *wātano** A *watam** ‘Khotanese’ ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* ‘id.’
4. subst. TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** ‘iron’ ← PTK **hénśwanya-* (OKh. *hiśšana-*) ‘id.’
5. subst. TB *orşa* A *oräś** ‘official title’ ← OKh. *aurāśša-* ‘councillor’
6. subst. TB *oś* ‘evil’ ← LKh. *ośa-* ‘id.’
7. subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-head*)
8. subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
9. subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’ ← PK **kʰādāna-* ‘stomach’ (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
10. subst. TB *kito** ‘help’ ← PK acc. sg. **giθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ggiha-* ‘id.’)
11. subst. TB *kuñil(-mot)* ‘grape wine’ ← LKh. *güräṇai* (*mau*) ‘id.’
12. subst. TB *kurkal* ‘bdellium’ ← LKh. *gurgula-* ‘id.’
13. subst. TB *keto* ‘property, estate’ ← PTK acc. sg. **geθu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *giha-* ‘help’)
14. subst. TB *keś* A *kas* ‘number’ ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *hanxhiś-*) ‘to count’
15. subst. TB *koto** ‘excrement’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gūθu* (OKh. *gūha-* ‘id.’)
16. subst. TB *kraiko* ‘chicken’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **kṛīgu*, OKh. *kṛīgu* ‘id.’
17. subst. TB *krāke* ‘dirt, filth’ ← LKh. **grāga-* (OKh. *khārgga-* ‘mud’)
18. subst. TB *krāso* ‘vexation’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **grazu*, OKh. *graysu* ‘torment’ (LKh. *gr(r)aysa-*)

19. subst. TB *cowo** 'robbing' ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* 'id.' (LKh. *dyūka-* 'robber')
20. subst. TB *tāno* 'seed, grain' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **dāno*, OKh. *dāno* 'id.'
21. subst. TB *tono* 'cloth' ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* 'id.'
22. subst. TB *tvāñkaro* 'ginger' ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvāñgarau* 'id.' (LKh. *ttuñgara-*)
23. subst. TA *twantañ* 'reverence' ← OKh. *tvrañdanu* 'id.'
24. subst. TB *pātō* A *pātār* 'alms-bowl' ← OKh. acc. sg. *pātru* 'id.'
25. subst. TAB *pāntō* 'friend, companion' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **pando*, OKh. *pando* 'path'
26. subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* 'letter' ← PTK inf. **prsu* (OKh. *pulsu*)
27. subst. TB *pito* 'price' ← PK acc. sg. **pīθu* 'id.' (OKh. *pīha-*)
28. subst. TA *pissañk* 'bhikṣusamṛ̥ga' ← LKh. *bī'samṛ̥ga-* (OKh. *bälsamṛ̥ga-*)
29. subst. *mrañco* 'black pepper' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **mirind²yu*, OKh. **mirinjysu* 'id.' (LKh. *mirinjysa-*)
30. subst. TB *yolo* 'evil' ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** 'falsehood'
31. subst. TB *wañc** 'sparrow' ← PTK, PK **winji* 'id.' (LKh. *biñji-*)
32. subst. TB *waräñce** A *wāryāñc** 'sand' ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* 'grain (of sand)' (OKh. *ggurvīca-*)
33. subst. TAB *śāñcapo* 'mustard' ← PTK acc. sg. **śanžapu* (OKh. *śśāśvāna-*)
34. subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpāñ* 'haughtiness, pride' ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* 'violence, disturbance' (OKh. *tcañpha-*)
35. subst. TB *šarko** 'song, singing' ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko*, A *tsäرك* ← PK acc. sg. **tsarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* 'play, amusement')
36. subst. TB *síntso** 'a species of tree' ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśimjso* (LKh. *śimjā-* 'id.)
37. subst. TA *śrittātak* 'well-being' ← OKh. *ś्यāratāti-* 'id.'
38. subst. TB *špakīye* 'suppository' ← LKh. *svakā-* 'id.'
39. subst. *sāñ*, *sāñ*, A *sāñ* 'artifice, expedient, means, method' ← Khot. *saña-* 'id.'
40. subst. TB *siñco** 'plant name' ← OKh. acc. sg. **simjo* 'id.' (LKh. *simjā-* 'id.)
41. subst. TB *tsuwo** 'going' (adv. *tsuwai* 'towards') ← PK acc. sg. **ts²ūwu* (OKh. *tsūka-*)

3.5.1.2. Adjectives

1. adj. TB *şupakiñe* 'pertaining to suppositories' ← OKh. **şşūvakīñā-* 'id.'

3.5.1.3. Verbs

1. v. TB *ampa-* 'to rot, decay' ← LKh. *hañbva-* (< OKh. *hañbüta-*) 'fester'
2. v. TA *katw-* 'to ridicule' ← OKh. past ptc. *khañttu** 'to laugh'
3. v. TB *paraka-* 'to prosper, thrive' ← PTK, PK **farāka-* 'more' (OKh. id.)
4. v. TB *şart-* A *şärttw-* (PT **şərtw-*) 'incite' ← PTK past ptc. **şṛtu* 'id.' (OKh. *ā-şṣuđa-*)
5. v. TB *sanapa-* 'to anoint, embrocate' ← PTK, PK **zənāf-*

3.5.1.4. Adverbs

1. adv. TB *twär* '?' ← LKh. *tvarä* 'moreover' (OKh. *ttuvare*)

3.5.2. COMMENTARY

The majority of the loanwords are substantives (41 items on a total of 48). There is one adjective and one adverb, both borrowed from Khotanese in the historical period. Noteworthy is the presence of five verbs from very different semantic areas, a relatively high number which could in principle, but not necessarily, suggest a deeper linguistic contact (see e.g. Thomason 2001: 70).

3.5.3. LOANWORDS ACCORDING TO THEIR GENDER³⁷⁹

- a) [m.] ← [m.]
 - subst. TB *ārto TA ārt* ‘envoy’ ← PTK acc. sg. *(h)árdu (OKh. *hađa-*) ‘id.’
 - subst. TB *wātano** A *watam** ‘Khotanese’ ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* ‘id.’
 - subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* ‘chief’ ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-head*)
 - subst. TAB *pānto* ‘friend, companion’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **pando*, OKh. *pando* ‘path’
- b) [f.] ← [m.]
 - subst. TB *kāswo* ‘name of a disease’ ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* ‘quartan fever’)
 - subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* ‘belly, stomach, abdomen, womb’ ← PK **kādāna-* ‘stomach’ (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
 - subst. TB *koto** ‘excrement’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gūhu* (OKh. *gūha-* ‘id.’)
 - subst. TB *warāñce** A *wāryāñc** ‘sand’ ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* ‘grain (of sand)’ (OKh. *ggurvīca-*)
- c) [f.] ← [f.]
 - subst. TB *tāno* ‘seed, grain’ ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **dāno*, OKh. *dāno* ‘id.’
 - subst. TB *spakīye* ‘suppository’ ← LKh. *svakā-* ‘id.’

3.5.4. COMMENTARY

The analysis of the gender of the Tocharian words in relation to the original gender of the Khotanese source form shows that, unless the word denotes a male person (§3.5.3.a), there is a strong preference for the feminine gender. It is telling that in four cases (§3.5.3.b) the word became feminine in Tocharian while the source form was masculine. In two cases (§3.5.3.c) the feminine gender of the source form is the same as in the borrowed item.

³⁷⁹ In this list, only the items for which the gender was clearly known both in Khotanese and Tocharian have been included.

3.5.5. BORROWING PATTERNS OF TOCHARIAN VERBS FROM KHOTANESE;
BORROWING PATTERNS OF NOMINAL FORMS OF THE KHOTANESE VERB INTO
TOCHARIAN

3.5.5.1. Tocharian verbs

1. [v.] ← [past ptc.]
 - v. TB *ampa-* ‘to rot, decay’ ← LKh. *haŋbva-* (< OKh. *haŋbūta-*) ‘fester’
 - v. TA *katw-* ‘to ridicule’ ← OKh. past ptc. *khaŋtta** ‘to laugh’
 - v. TB *ṣərt-* A *ṣärttw-* (PT **ṣərtw-*) ‘incite’ ← PTK past ptc. **ṣṛtu* ‘id.’ (OKh. *ā-ṣṣuđa-*)
2. [v.] ← [adj.]
 - v. TB *paraka-* ‘to prosper, thrive’ ← PTK, PK **farāka-* ‘more’ (OKh. id.)
3. [v.] ← [pres. stem]
 - v. TB *sanapa-* ‘to anoint, embrocate’ ← PTK, PK **zənāf-*

3.5.5.2. Nominal forms of the Khotanese verb in Tocharian

1. [subst.] ← [inf. -ā]
 - subst. TB *keś* A *kaś* ‘number’ ← PTK inf. **ham-xéži* (OKh. v. *haŋkhiš-*) ‘to count’
2. [subst.] ← [inf. -u]
 - subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* ‘letter’ ← PTK inf. **prsu* (OKh. *pulsu*)
3. [subst.] ← [inf. -tanam]
 - subst. TA *twantaŋ* ‘reverence’ ← OKh. *tvamdanu* ‘id.’

3.5.5.3. Commentary

It seems that the most frequent borrowing pattern for the verbs was [v.] ← [past ptc.] (see §3.5.5.1.1). Noteworthy is the preservation of the Khotanese final vowel *-u* of the acc. sg. of the past ptc. even in Tocharian verbal morphology. The only other non-finite form of the Khotanese verb which was borrowed into Tocharian is the present infinitive. For the consequences of the presence of five verbs among the reliable loanwords, see §5.2.3.