

Traces of language contact in Niya Prakrit: Bactrian and other foreign elements

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Traces of language contact in Niya Prakrit Bactrian and other foreign elements

Proefschrift

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in 1996

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Cover image: Niya, ruin N.XXXVI. viewed from the East © British Library (https://idp.bl.uk/collection/D0BC8167E5AD420898F7450A78CEA501/?return=%2Fcollection%2F%3Fpage%3D3%26term%3DNiya%2B6%2Bnovember)

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> Niels Schoubben Leiden, August 2024

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF LEMMATA	ix
TEXT SIGLA	xiii
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	xvii
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Foreign influence on Niya Prakrit	1
1.1.1 Iranian loanwords	1
1.1.2 Other types of Iranian influence	2
1.1.3 A more controversial hypothesis: the Shanshan substrate	3
1.1.4 The historical context behind the linguistic contact	4
1.2 Research questions and aims	4
1.2.1 Lexical influence from Bactrian and other Iranian languages	5
1.2.2 Non-lexical influence from Bactrian	7
1.2.3 A re-examination of the "Tocharian C" substrate	8
1.2.4 A sociolinguistic scenario	8
1.3 Niya Prakrit and other varieties of Gāndhārī	9
1.3.1 Niya Prakrit	9
1.3.2 Central Asian Gāndhārī	10
1.3.3 South Asian Gāndhārī	11
1.4 Bactrian	12
1.4.1 The language	12
1.4.2 The text corpus	12
1.4.3 The collateral tradition: Bactrian loans into other languages	13
1.5 Other languages in contact with Niya Prakrit	13
1.5.1 Contact languages in Gandhāra	14
1.5.2 Contact languages in the Tarim Basin	15
CHAPTER 2 Phonological preliminaries	17
2.1 Kharoṣṭhī and Niya phonology	17
2.1.1 Kharoṣṭhī and its characteristics	17
2.1.2 The lenition of intervocalic consonants	20
2.1.3 Confusion of aspirated and unaspirated consonants	23
2.1.4 Confusion of voiced and unvoiced stops	23
2.1.5 The treatment of consonants after nasals	23
2.1.6 The phonological value of selected akṣaras	24

2.1.7 The transliteration of Kharoṣṭhī Ч as jha	29
2.2 Graeco-Bactrian script and Bactrian phonology	41
2.2.1 The Graeco-Bactrian script and its characteristics	41
2.2.2 The Bactrian vowel system and the notation of /h/	42
2.2.3 The phonological value of $\beta,\gamma,$ and δ	46
2.2.4 The phonological value of ζ , σ , and β	51
CHAPTER 3 Iranian loanwords: The material	65
3.1 Preliminaries	65
3.1.1 Definitions and terminology	65
3.1.2 A research history	67
3.1.3 The four aims of this chapter	68
3.1.4 The scope of this chapter and its internal division	69
3.1.5 The content and structure of the lemmata	69
3.1.6 The reconstruction of unattested forms	70
3.1.7 Reliable and less reliable etymologies	72
3.2 Loanwords from Bactrian	74
3.2.1 Secure etymologies	74
3.2.2 Plausible etymologies	103
3.2.3 Arguable etymologies	122
3.2.4 Tentative etymologies	157
3.3 Loanwords from Bactrian or another Iranian language	177
3.3.1 Secure etymologies	178
3.3.2 Plausible etymologies	182
3.3.3 Arguable etymologies	198
3.3.4 Tentative etymologies	211
3.4 Personal names from Bactrian	213
3.4.1 Introductory notes	213
3.4.2 A discussion of ten selected examples	215
3.5 Loanwords from Iranian languages other than Bactrian	221
3.5.1 Secure etymologies	221
3.5.2 Plausible etymologies	231
3.5.3 Arguable etymologies	232
3.5.4 Tentative etymologies	233
3.6 Iranian loanwords from an unidentified source	234
3.7 Rejected etymologies	242
3.7.1 Possibly Indo-Aryan words	242
3.7.2 Words of unknown origin	244

3.8 Reference list	262
CHAPTER 4 Iranian loanwords: Analysis	267
4.1 Introduction: the four questions addressed in this chapter	267
4.2 Iranian languages possibly in contact with Niya Prakrit	268
4.2.1 Dating and locating the contact with Bactrian	269
4.2.2 Old Persian	273
4.2.3 Other Old Iranian languages	273
4.2.4 Parthian	274
4.2.5 Khotanese	275
4.2.6 Sogdian	276
4.2.7 "Indo-Scythian"	276
4.2.8 A preliminary stratification of the loanwords	278
4.3 Phonological correspondences and Bactrian phonology	279
4.3.1 -α- /ẵ/	279
4.3.2 -α- /ə/	281
4.3.3 -ε- /e/	282
4.3.4 -η- /ē/	282
4.3.5 -ı- /ĭ/	283
4.3.6 -ω- /ō/	284
4.3.7 -o- /t̄/	284
4.3.8 -β- /v/	285
4.3.9 -β- /b/	288
4.3.10 -γ- /γ/	288
4.3.11 -γ- /g/	289
4.3.12 -γγ- /ŋg/	291
4.3.13 -δ- /d/	292
4.3.14 -σ- /s/	293
4.3.15 -σ- /ts/	295
4.3.16 -σ- /ś/	296
4.3.17 -σ- /tś/	297
4.3.18 -þ- /š/	298
4.3.19 -ζ- /z/	300
4.3.20 -ζ- /ź/	303
4.3.21 -ζ- /ž/	303
4.3.22 -o- /w/	304
4.3.23 -υ- /h/	305
4.3.24 -ρ- before a dental: -ρδ- /rd/ and -ρστ- /rst/	308
4.3.25 -ρλ- /rl/	309

4.3.26 -ρζ- /rź/	310
4.3.27 Velar fricatives borrowed as sibilants	311
4.3.28 Initial devoicing	314
4.3.29 Loss of voiced consonants after homorganic nasals	315
4.4 Morphological integration	316
4.4.1 Parts of speech	316
4.4.2 The inflection of borrowed nouns and adjectives	319
4.4.3 A special case: Final -e in nouns and personal names	320
4.4.4 The conjugation of borrowed verbs	323
4.5 A semantic analysis	324
4.5.1 Methodological preliminaries	325
4.5.2 Administrative, political, military, and economic terms	326
4.5.3 Textiles and clothing	330
4.5.4 Fauna, flora, and food	332
4.5.5 Emotions and values	334
4.6 Conclusions	335
4.6.1 Possible donor languages	335
4.6.2 Phonological integration	335
4.6.3 Morphological integration	336
4.6.4 The semantics of the loanwords	336
Chapter 5 Grammatical borrowings from Bactrian	337
5.1 Preliminaries	337
5.1.1 Matter and pattern replication	337
5.1.2 State of the art and the scope of this chapter	337
5.1.3 Why Bactrian?	339
5.2 Two appurtenance suffixes	340
5.2.1 The suffix -ani	340
5.2.2 The suffix - <i>ci</i>	344
5.2.3 A typological outlook	349
5.3 Reciprocals and reflexives	350
5.3.1 Introduction	350
5.3.2 Reciprocals	352
5.3.3 Niya Prakrit reflexives	354
5.3.4 Bactrian reflexives	361
5.3.5 Summary: the reflexive system in Niya Prakrit and Bactrian	366
5.3.6 A case of contact-induced change?	367
5.3.7 A more cautious proposal: mutual intertranslatability	369
5.3.8 Conclusion	372

5.4 Preterite formations	373
5.4.1 Introduction	373
5.4.2 The morphosyntax of the Niya preterite formations	374
5.4.3 A Khotanese substratum? The Barchi-Peschl hypothesis	386
5.4.4 Morphological and syntactic mismatches with Khotanese	390
5.4.5 The Niya-type preterite and South Asian Gāndhārī	392
5.4.6 On the phonological arguments for a Khotanese substrate	395
5.4.7 Is Niya Prakrit a descendant of Khotan Prakrit?	398
5.4.8 Summary: counterarguments against Khotanese influence	404
5.4.9 Arguments in favour of a Bactrian source	405
5.4.10 The alignment of the Bactrian and Niya preterite compared	412
5.4.11 Conclusion	425
CHAPTER 6 The "Tocharian C" hypothesis	427
6.1 Introduction	427
6.1.1 A research history	427
6.1.2 "Tocharian C" and Niya onomastics	428
6.2 Lexicon	429
6.3 Phonology	436
6.3.1 The devoicing of voiced stops	437
6.3.2 The loss of aspiration	438
6.3.3 The rarity of the fricatives - x -, - θ -, and - f -	438
6.3.4 The absence of retroflex consonants	439
6.3.5 The semivowel - <i>w</i> -	439
6.3.6 A palatalised lateral	439
6.3.7 The affricate <i>-ts-</i>	440
6.3.8 Syncope and heavy consonant clusters	440
6.4 Morphology	440
6.4.1 The suffix -ina	440
6.4.2 The suffix <i>-ci</i>	442
6.4.3 The suffix - <i>i</i>	442
6.4.4 The feminine marker -s-	443
6.4.5 The plural/collective in - u in pakeyu 'allotments, shares'	444
6.4.6 The plurals in <i>-aṃca</i>	445
6.5 Syntax	447
6.5.1 Group inflection in noun phrases	448
6.5.2 Asyndetic coordination of noun phrases	448

6.6 Conclusions and open questions	449
CHAPTER 7 A sociolinguistic scenario	451
7.1 Summary of Chapters 3–6	451
7.2 Two levels of language contact	452
7.3 An administrative language of the Kuṣāṇa empire	455
7.4 A comparison with Achaemenid Official Aramaic	458
CHAPTER 8 Concluding remarks	463
Bibliography	467
Abbreviations	467
References	468
APPENDIX 1 Greek loanwords in Niya Prakrit	515
APPENDIX 2 A new join in the Niya documents: CKD 324 + 328	521
APPENDIX 3 Linguistic features of CKD 661 (Khotan Prakrit)	523
NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING	527
CURRICULUM VITAE ET STUDIORUM	529

LIST OF LEMMATA

As an addition to the table of contents, the reader can find here a reference list of Niya Prakrit words whose semantics and etymology are discussed in a separate lemma.

aṃklatsa, a type of camel	429
aṃtagi 'belonging to the district'	103
aṃbukaya, a title	122
akri, a type of land	244
ageta 'tax collector'	199
agiṣḍha 'cover, rug'	198
aco 'frontier, border post'	122
ajhate 'free, noble'	178
aṭa 'flour'	182
aḍini '(broomcorn) millet'	125
atga 'additional, complementary'	127
anada 'carefully'	235
Apge, PN	215
apcira, a unit of measure (for vineyards)	157
are 'a half'	105
arnavaji (or ardavaji?), textile product	245
avalika 'swaddle'	127
aviṃdama 'fine, recompense'	74
ayana 'village, territory of a clan'	184
aśpista 'lucerne'	106
aṣgara 'herald (?)'	128
asaṃkharajiya, textile product	245
<i>ujhmayuga</i> 'trustworthy, skilled (?)'	211
ogu, a title	246
ogana, an agricultural product	430
od- 'to let go'	129
Katge, PN	215
kamaṃta / kamuṃta, unclear	246
Kamlana, PN	216
kala, a title	248
kitsaïtsa, a title	431
kilme 'family estate'	160

kuṭhakṣ̄ira, unclear	248
Kutge, PN	216
kurora, an adjective specifying a type of land	250
kojava 'rug, blanket'	201
kremeru 'crimson, scarlet'	236
kṣ̄una 'date, reign, regnal year'	75
khakhordi 'witch'	231
kharayarna 'donkey-coloured (?)'	242
khi, a unit of measure	515
Khotamna 'Khotan'	108
gaṃña 'treasury'	221
gavasa 'deer, stag'	187
guśura 'prince'	80
caṃkura 'imposer of penalties'	132
curorma, an agricultural product	250
cojhbo, a title	251
jenavida 'chief of the armour'	109
jheniga 'in charge of, under the care of'	83
tavastaga 'carpet'	188
taravara 'sword'	165
tasuca, a title	432
tim- 'to be concerned about, to be angry'	136
toṃga, a title	137
truṣga, unclear	252
thavaṃnaga 'cloth'	223
darṣ- 'to load (a beast of burden)'	225
daśavida 'chief of ten households'	85
divira 'scribe'	226
denuga, a title (?)	233
draṃga 'office'	188
drakhma, a unit of measure	518
dhane, a unit of measure	227
nacīra 'hunting'	238
namata 'felt'	191
namanaga / namaṃniya 'exchange'	198
Namilga, PN	217
nihaṃñ- 'to deposit, to put down'	109
nihala 'settlement, agreement'	139

Nuava, ancient name of the Shanshan kingdom	253
noksari 'month of the new year'	86
paṃcara 'animal provisions'	254
pajhavaṃta 'breastband (?)'	206
pake 'allotment, share'	141
pacevara 'provisions (for a journey)'	239
parampula 'military camp'	518
parasa 'abduction, plundering'	192
parivanae 'burden, provisions'	193
Palge, PN	218
picara '(mark of) honour'	111
picav- 'to hand over'	143
Pitga, PN	218
piro 'military post, fort'	145
potge 'water tank'; potga / potgoña, a type of wine	255
pothi, unclear	256
pravamnaga '(authoritative) document'	194
prahoni 'garment'	228
prigha '(monochrome) damask'	87
baṃna 'bundle'	243
badhoʻpledge, mortgage'	146
bhaṭaraga 'lord, owner'	240
maka 'bean'	114
maravara 'accountant'	196
masu 'wine'	243
milima, a unit of measure	115
miși, a type of land	257
mukʿaṣi, woman exchanged within exogamous marriage practices	258
mudra 'seal'	229
muṣḍhaṣi, woman exchanged within exogamous marriage practices	148
mepoga, unclear commodity	259
yatma 'measurer of rations'	117
raji 'cloak, woollen cloth'	197
ratu, a religious title	232
rasaṃna 'rope (?)'	207
reda 'seed, sprout (?)'	166
Remena, place name	167
rotaṃna 'madder (?)'	234

laṭhana 'plain, open land (?)'	167
Lamga, PN	219
Larsu, PN	219
laṣi 'gift'	88
lastana 'dispute, lawsuit'	89
lastuga, textile product	168
leṣ- 'to dispatch, to conduct'	149
vaga 'rent (paid for the use of land)'	90
vara 'load'	208
valaga 'animal keeper'	91
vașe 'garments'	118
vaṣḍhiga, festival on the mountain	151
vapga 'weaver'	154
Vhurmajheva, PN	220
śadavida 'chief of a hundred households'	92
śiti 'side, direction'	260
śuka, a type of wine	434
ṣaṃna 'hemp, hempen (?)'	209
ṣada 'pleased, happy'	93
ṣamiyo, a type of wine/corn	435
ṣilýoga 'document, written tablet'	436
ṣvaṭhaṃgha / ṣoṭhaṃga 'finance officer'	171
sadera, a unit of measure	519
sanapru, unclear	261
saste 'day, elapsed'	119
sujinakirta 'needlework, embroidery'	154
Suliga 'Sogdian'	94
soṃstaṃni 'trousers'	261
sotira, a title	520
stora 'large animal, horse, camel'	97
spara / spura 'full, completely'	100
spasa 'watching, guarding'	179
harga 'dues, tax'	181
hastama 'quarrel, dispute'	210
hinajha 'army commander'	230

TEXT SIGLA

Gāndhārī texts

Texts written in Gāndhārī (including Niya Prakrit) are cited from Baums & Glass (2002b–). CKC stands for "Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Coins", CKD for "Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Documents", CKI for "Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions", and CKM for "Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts". In the case of literary texts and the Aśokan inscriptions, the following sigla are additionally employed (again following Baums and Glass):

$Av^{L1} \\$	Avadānas from British Library fragment 1 (Lenz 2010) = CKM		
	1.		
Av^{L6}	Avadānas from British Library fragment 16 + 25 (Lenz 2003) =		
	CKM 18 + 27.		
BC 4	Bajaur fragment 4 (Schlosser 2022) = CKM 267.		
BC 6	Bajaur fragment 6 (Schlosser 2022) = CKM 269.		
BC 11	Bajaur fragment 11 (Schlosser 2022) = CKM 274.		
DHP^{K}	Khotan Dharmapada (Brough 1962) = CKM 77-82.		
DHP^{SP}	Dharmapada from Split collection fragment 3 (Falk 2015a) =		
	CKM 369.		
Mān	Aśokan inscriptions discovered at Mānsehrā (Hultzsch 1925) =		
	CKI 16-28		
$Nird^{L2}$	Nirdeśa from British Library fragments 7, 9, 13, and 18 (Baum		
	2009) = CKM 9; 11; 15; 20.		
$S\bar{A}^{S1}$	Saṃyuktāgama sūtras from Senior fragment 5 (Glass 2007) =		
	CKM 237.		
$S\bar{A}^{S5}$	Saṃyuktāgama sūtras from Senior fragment 19 (Lee 2009) =		
	CKM 251.		
Shāh	Aśokan inscriptions discovered at Shāhbāzgaṛhī (Hultzsch		
	1925) = CKI 1–14.		

Bactrian texts

For administrative documents, letters, and Buddhist texts written on leather, parchment, cloth, wood, and birch bark, I use the signatures assigned to these documents by Sims-Williams. See the catalogues of BD I 2 (10–21), BD II (17–34), BD III (12–31), and, for more recently published documents, SCBD (9) and Sims-Williams (2022–23). For other types of texts (mostly inscriptions), I adopt the following sigla:

Ayrtam Ayrtam inscription (Sims-Williams fthc.).

DilT₅ Fragment 5 (olim 4) from Dilberjin Tepe (Davary 1982: 131-

133; 2023: 40-45).

DN₁ The monolingual Bactrian inscription from Dasht-e Nawur

(Sims-Williams & Cribb 1995–96: 95f.; cf. recently also Halfmann et al. 2024 *contra* Palunčić, Palunčić & Maharaj 2023:

337-350).

h₄ Hephthalite fragment 4 (Sims-Williams 2006 with ref.; pictures

at https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/h/images/h4 seite1.jpg).

h₅ Hephthalite fragment 5 (Sims-Williams 2006 with ref.; pictures

at https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/h/images/h5h6 seite1.jpg).

h₈ Hephthalite fragment 8 (Sims-Williams 2004b).

M 1224 Manichaean Bactrian fragment (Sims-Williams 2009a).

NPlate Inscription on a silver plate from Kaniska's rule (Sims-Williams

2015).

Rab. Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams 2008c: 2012b: 77f.).

SK₄A Great Surkh Kotal inscription version A (Davary 1982: 53–64;

Sims-Williams 2012b: 78f.).

SK₄B Great Surkh Kotal inscription version B (Davary 1982: 53–64;

Sims-Williams 2012b: 78f.).

SK₄M Great Surkh Kotal inscription version M (= Monolith) (Davary

1982: 53-64; Sims-Williams 2012b: 78f.).

TiS Inscription from Tang-i-Safedak (Sims-Williams & Lee 2003).

Ur₁ Inscription from Uruzgan 1 (Davary 1982: 68). Ur₂ Inscription from Uruzgan 2 (Davary 1982: 69).

Texts in Middle Iranian languages other than Bactrian

Texts in Manichaean script not included among the abbreviations below are referred to with the M-numbers of Boyce's (1960) catalogue. See also the Digitales Turfan-Archiv (https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/m/dta m index.htm).

AN Āzandnāmē (MSogd.; Benkato 2017).

BBB Bet- und Beichtbuch (MMP; MParth.; MSogd.; Henning 1937;

Sims-Williams, Sheldon & Gulácsi 2022).

ŠKZ Trilingual inscription of Shapur I at Ka'ba-i Zardušt (MP; Parth.;

Gr.; Huvse 1999).

Z Book of Zambasta (Khot.; Emmerick 1968; Sims-Williams 2022:

109-310).

(Vedic) Sanskrit texts

AVP	Atharvaveda Paippalāda	KS	Kāṭhakasaṃhitā
Hcar.	Harṣacarita	Mvy.	Mahāvyutpatti
Kir.	Kirātārjunīya	RV	Ŗgveda

Avestan texts

A	Āfrīnagān	Y	Yasna
N	Nērangestān	Yt	Yasht

Vd Vīdēvdād

Tocharian texts

Texts composed in Tocharian A and B are cited from the online database CEToM ("Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts"). For the sigla used, see the list of manuscripts at https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?manuscripts.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Grammatical abbreviations

ABL.	ablative case	INTR.	intransitive
ABS.	absolutive	MASC.	masculine
ACC.	accusative case	NEUT.	neuter
ADJ.	adjective	NOM.	nominative case
ADV.	adverb	LOC.	locative case
COMP.	compound	OBL.	oblique case
DIR.	direct case	OPT.	optative
DOM	differential object	PASS.	passive
	marking	PERF.	perfect tense
FEM.	feminine	PL.	plural
FUT.	future tense	PLPF.	pluperfect tense
GEN.	genitive case	PRET.	preterite tense
GERV.	gerundive	PRES.	present tense
IMP.	imperative	PST.PTCP.	past participle
INF.	infinitive	SG.	singular
INJ.	injunctive	SUBJ.	subjunctive
INS.	instrumental case	TR.	transitive

Other abbreviations

emph.	emphasis	PN	personal name
et.	etymology	ref.	references
doc.	document	tr.	translation
LW	loanword	v.	verse
p.c.	personal	v.l.	varia lectio
	communication		(variant reading)

Languages

N.B. 1: For the notation of Old and (Early) Middle Chinese, Baxter and Sagart's (2014) system has been adopted.

N.B. 2: For hypothetical Old Iranian forms reconstructed on the basis of lexemes in one or more Middle and/or New Iranian languages, I follow the notation of Sims-Williams in the glossary of his BD II (179–286); for roots and words in Proto-Iranian (= the common ancestor of all Iranian languages), I use the notation of Dragoni (2023, see p. 16), with * \acute{c} corresponding to OIr. *s and *f corresponding to OIr. *s (on which cf. also Peyrot, Dragoni & Bernard 2022: 417f.).

Ap.	Apabhraṃśa	Māh.	Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit
Aram.	Aramaic	MBactr.	Manichaean
Arm.	Armenian		Bactrian
Av.	Avestan	Med.	Median
Bab.	Babylonian	MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
Bactr.	Bactrian	MIr.	Middle Iranian
Bal.	Balochi	MMP	Manichaean
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid		Middle Persian
	Sanskrit	MP	Middle Persian
BSkt.	Buddhist Sanskrit	MSogd.	Manichaean
BSogd.	Buddhist Sogdian		Sogdian
Chin.	Chinese	NIA	New Indo-Aryan
CSogd.	Christian Sogdian	NIr.	New Iranian
D.	Digoron	Niya	Niya Prakrit
Elam.	Elamite	NP	New Persian
(E)MC	(Early) Middle	OAv.	Old Avestan
	Chinese	OC	Old Chinese
Gandh.	Gāndhārī	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
GBactr.	Graeco-Bactrian	OIr.	Old Iranian
Gr.	(Ancient) Greek	OP	Old Persian
Hebr.	Hebrew	Oss.	Ossetic
I.	Iron	OT	Old Turkic
IA	Indo-Aryan	Parth.	Parthian
Ir.	Iranian	Pers.	Persian
Khot.	Khotanese	PIE	Proto-Indo-
Khwar.	Khwarezmian		European
Kurd.	Kurdish	PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian

DI	D . I .	TT A	TD 1 · A
PIr.	Proto-Iranian	TA	Tocharian A
Pkt.	Prakrit	TB	Tocharian B
Psht.	Pashto	Tib.	Tibetan
PToch.	Proto-Tocharian	Tumsh.	Tumshuqese
Skt.	Sanskrit	Ved.	Vedic
Sogd.	Sogdian	YAv.	Young Avestan
Syr.	Syriac	ZMP	Zoroastrian
Śaur.	Śaurasenī Prakrit		Middle Persian

Symbols

\rightarrow	borrowed into
←	- borrowed from
	 yielded through derivation from
/x/	phonological form
<x></x>	- written form
	- letters secondarily added by the scribe in Bactrian
<*x>	editorial addition of omitted text in Gāndhārī
(x)	- letters or words omitted by the scribe in Bactrian
	- restorations of missing text in Tocharian
	- additions to the translation for ease of comprehension
(*x)	editorial restoration of lost text in Gāndhārī
[x]	- phonetic form
	– uncertain reading of text in Gāndhārī
	- restorations of missing text in Bactrian/Khotanese and
	translations from these languages
	– damaged, but reasonably certain reading of text in Tocharian
	- editorial addition to a citation from the secondary literature
×	uncertain reading of text in Bactrian
///	textual loss at left or right edge of support
* <i>X</i>	reconstructed form (= diachronic)
<i>x</i> *	inferred form (= synchronic)
**X	expected, but wrong form
>	developed into
<	developed from
×	crossed with
~	corresponding to; translated as
/_	phonological context of a sound law

#	word boundary
**	Word boundar

+*x* conjectured form in Vedic

 $\sqrt{}$ verbal root

C cover symbol for consonants
N cover symbol for nasals
V cover symbol for vowels