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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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(<https://idp.bl.uk/collection/D0BC8167E5AD420898F7450A78CEA501/?return=%2Fcollection%2F%3Fpage%3D3%26term%3DNiya%2B6%2Bnovember>)

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<i>stora</i> ‘large animal, horse, camel’	97
<i>sp̄ara</i> / <i>sp̄ura</i> ‘full, completely’	100
<i>sp̄aṣa</i> ‘watching, guarding’	179
<i>harga</i> ‘dues, tax’	181
<i>hastama</i> ‘quarrel, dispute’	210
<i>hinaṣha</i> ‘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 (Hultzsich 1925) = CKI 16–28
Nird ^{L2}	Nirdeśa from British Library fragments 7, 9, 13, and 18 (Baums 2009) = CKM 9; 11; 15; 20.
SĀ ^{s1}	Saṃyuktāgama sūtras from Senior fragment 5 (Glass 2007) = CKM 237.
SĀ ^{s5}	Saṃyuktāgama sūtras from Senior fragment 19 (Lee 2009) = CKM 251.
SHĀH	Aśokan inscriptions discovered at Shāhbāzgarhī (Hultzsich 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 I² (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.).
DilT ₅	Fragment 5 (<i>olim</i> 4) from Dilberjin Tepe (Davary 1982: 131–133; 2023: 40–45).
DN ₁	The monolingual Bactrian inscription from Dasht-e Nawur (Sims-Williams & Cribb 1995–96: 95f.; cf. recently also Halfmann et al. 2024 <i>contra</i> Palunčić, Palunčić & Maharaj 2023: 337–350).
h ₄	Hephthalite fragment 4 (Sims-Williams 2006 with ref.; pictures at https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/h/images/h4_seite1.jpg).
h ₅	Hephthalite fragment 5 (Sims-Williams 2006 with ref.; pictures at https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/h/images/h5h6_seite1.jpg).
h ₈	Hephthalite fragment 8 (Sims-Williams 2004b).
M 1224	Manichaean Bactrian fragment (Sims-Williams 2009a).
NPlate	Inscription on a silver plate from Kanīška's rule (Sims-Williams 2015).
Rab.	Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams 2008c: 2012b: 77f.).
SK ₄ A	Great Surkh Kotal inscription version A (Davary 1982: 53–64; Sims-Williams 2012b: 78f.).
SK ₄ B	Great Surkh Kotal inscription version B (Davary 1982: 53–64; Sims-Williams 2012b: 78f.).
SK ₄ M	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).
Ur ₁	Inscription from Uruzgan 1 (Davary 1982: 68).
Ur ₂	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.; Huyse 1999).
Z	Book of Zambasta (Khot.; Emmerick 1968; Sims-Williams 2022: 109–310).

(Vedic) Sanskrit texts

AVP	Atharvaveda Paippalāda	KS	Kāṭhakaśaṃhitā
Hcar.	Harṣacarita	Mvy.	Mahāvvyutpatti
Kir.	Kirātārjunīya	RV	Ṛgveda

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.	absolute	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 marking	PASS.	passive
FEM.	feminine	PERF.	perfect tense
FUT.	future tense	PL.	plural
GEN.	genitive case	PLPF.	pluperfect tense
GERV.	gerundive	PRET.	preterite tense
IMP.	imperative	PRES.	present tense
INF.	infinitive	PST.PTCP.	past participle
INJ.	injunctive	SG.	singular
INS.	instrumental case	SUBJ.	subjunctive
		TR.	transitive

Other abbreviations

emph.	emphasis	PN	personal name
et.	etymology	ref.	references
doc.	document	tr.	translation
LW	loanword	v.	verse
p.c.	personal communication	v.l.	<i>varia lectio</i> (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 **č* corresponding to OIr. **s* and **f* corresponding to OIr. **z* (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

Plr.	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

→	borrowed into
←	– borrowed from
	– yielded through derivation from
/x/	phonological form
<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
x̣	uncertain reading of text in Bactrian
///	textual loss at left or right edge of support
*x	reconstructed form (= diachronic)
x*	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
+x	conjectured form in Vedic
√	verbal root
C	cover symbol for consonants
N	cover symbol for nasals
V	cover symbol for vowels