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

Schoubben, N.

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Abbreviations

AAH	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AM	*Asia Major*
AO	*Acta Orientalia*
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ARIRIAB	*Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*
HS	*Historische Sprachforschung* (since 1988, the name of the journal previously known as *ZVS*)
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JLC	*Journal of Language Contact*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (until 1990, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*)
JSALL	*Journal of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der (Königlich) Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*
SRAA	*Silk Road Art and Archaeology*
TIES	*Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZVS	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen)*

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APPENDIX 1
Greek loanwords in Niya Prakrit

Chapter 3 treated the etymology of two Niya Prakrit words which seem to have originated in Greek but must have been borrowed via a Bactrian intermediary, i.e. *kṣuna* 'date, reign, regnal year' (§3.2.1 s.v.) and the measure of weight *milima* (§3.2.2 s.v.).[973] For five other Greek loanwords in Niya Prakrit, a Bactrian intermediary cannot be proved. Their etymology is briefly examined in this appendix.[974]

1. *khi*, a unit of measure

Attestations of the base form

DIR.SG. *khi*:[975] CKD 2 (10x); 108 (8x); 131; 142; 151; 154 (2x); 167 (5x); 196, etc.
INS.SG. *khiyena*: CKD 580
DIR.PL. *khi*: CKD 25; 60 (2x); 67 (2x); 76 (7x); 89; 93 (20x); 94 (4x); 98; 104; 108 (11x); 115; 131 (11x); 137 (16x); 140 (2x); 146; 148; 151 (2x); 154 (10x); 162; 167 (2x); 168 (6x); 181 (47x); 196 (9x); 207 (3x); 210 (28x), etc.; *khi[y].* (*khi[y](*e)*?): CKD 656

khi is a frequently attested measure in the Niya documents, mainly but not exclusively used for weighing corn and wine. In CKD 465, twenty *khi* is shown to equal one *milima*, a ratio confirmed by CKD 108, where 43 *khi* of corn correspond to two *milima* and three *khi* (cf. KD: 341; 363).

A few scholars have compared *khi* to the Khotanese measure *kha* (e.g. Bailey 1946: 767; Yoshida 2008: 106 fn. 21).[976] Yet, this comparison is doubtful, as *kha* has been argued to be a Tibetan loanword (Emmerick 1985:

[973] In §3.2.4 s.v., I additionally rejected the derivation of *kilme* 'household' from Gr. κλίμα 'slope of a mountain, (large) region' on semantic grounds.
[974] Personal names of Greek origin are conspicuously absent from the Niya documents (Baums 2018c: 43 fn. 2; 2023: 115 fn. 1). For a detailed study of the Greek political offices attested in Gāndhārī inscriptions, see Candotti & Giudice (2024).
[975] For the attestations of *khi*, I adopt the same principle as for the related unit of measurement *milima* (§3.2.2 s.v.): instances followed by the numeral signs "1" and "½" are classified as dir.sg., and the remaining ones (also debatable cases) as dir.pl.
[976] The same unit of measurement may also be attested in Tumshuqese (cf. Ogihara & Ching 2024: 310 fn. 27).

301f.), in which case the word would have been adopted too late into Khotanese for it to be relevant for Niya Prakrit.

Burrow (1935b: 669; LKD: 86 s.v.) made a more attractive comparison with the Greek unit of measurement χοῦς. This etymology is supported by the fact that the related measure *milima* can also be traced back to a Greek term, i.e. μέδιμνος. *milima* can be shown to have passed through a Bactrian intermediary, as the *-l-* in *milima* would otherwise remain unaccounted for (§3.2.2 s.v.). Consequently, it is worth considering that *khi* also passed through Bactrian. As there is, however, no conclusive linguistic argument to prove a Bactrian intermediary for *khi*, I did not include this word among the Bactrian borrowings discussed in Chapters 3–4.[977]

The main issue with Burrow's etymology is why χοῦς, phonologically /kʰūs/ or /xūs/, should have been rendered as *khi* and not as ***khu* (cf. Bailey 1946: 767). In an attempt to solve this problem, Burrow (1935b: 669; LKD: 86 s.v.) compared the Khotanese palatalisation of **-ū-* < **-au-* to *-ī-* before **-x-* in **tauxma(n)-* 'seed' > **tūxma-* > *ttīma-*. He thus implicitly assumes that *khi* was borrowed via a Khotanese intermediary, but it seems quite implausible that a Greek word would be borrowed first into Khotanese and only subsequently into Gāndhārī.

Until more evidence may appear, the *-i-* in *khi* is likely to remain a moot point. As units of measurement are frequently used with numbers higher than one (cf. the list of attestations above), I cautiously suggest that *khi* may derive from χοεῖς, an innovative nom.pl. of χοῦς attested since Hellenistic times next to the more archaic form χόες.[978] <ει> started already in the 4th

[977] Accepting Burrow's etymology, Töttössy (1980: 133) assumes that χοῦς was borrowed as the result of trade. In my view, units of measurement were more likely borrowed when Greek acted as the administrative language in Hellenistic Bactria. There is evidence for this role of the Greek language in the form of a few fragmentary Greek administrative documents discovered in the region; see Rea, Senior & Hollis (1994), Clarysse & Thompson (2007), and also Mairs (2014: 27–56) and Wallace (2016: 223–225).

[978] The earliest literary attestation of χοεῖς seems to be in fragment 23 Verhasselt of philosopher Dicaearchus of Messene (4th century BC), quoted by Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* IV 141 a ff.: … συμφέρει δ' ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικά, οἴνου δὲ χοεῖς ἕνδεκά τινας ἢ δώδεκα παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα τυροῦ σταθμόν τινα καὶ σύκων, ἔτι δὲ εἰς ὄψωνίαν περὶ δέκα τινὰς Αἰγιναίους ὀβολούς "each man contributes to the common meal at most about three Attic half-*medimnoi* of barley groats, about eleven or twelve pitchers of wine, and besides this a certain weight of cheese and figs, and also about ten

century BC to be pronounced as /ī/ (see VG[3]: 69–75), meaning that χοεῖς was probably pronounced at the time as /kʰoῑ̈s/ or /xoῑ̈s/.

The assumption that *khi* is borrowed from χοεῖς /kʰoῑ̈s/ or /xoῑ̈s/ would provide a straightforward explanation for the *-i-* in *khi*, and the assumed loss of final -ς /s/ can be paralleled in other Greek loanwords into Gāndhārī, including *stratega* 'general, commander' ← στρατηγός and *meridarkha* (and variants) 'district official' ← μεριδάρχης.[979] My proposal requires that the -o- /o/ in Gr. χοεῖς was also lost during the borrowing process. I admittedly have no cogent explanation for this peculiarity, but one could conjecture that the /o/ coalesced in speech with the accented long /ī/ which followed.

If one wants to posit a Bactrian intermediary, the sound substitutions could be explained along the following lines. Final -ς /s/ is not only lost in Greek borrowings into Gāndhārī but also in those into Bactrian (cf. Scarborough 2021: 604), and Gr. -o- /o/ is substituted with Bactr. -o- /u/ in χϸovo /xšunə/ '(calendar/regnal) year' ← χρόνος 'time (period)' (§3.2.1 s.v. *kṣ̌una*). Consequently, χοεῖς /kʰoῑ̈s/ or /xoῑ̈s/ would most likely have been rendered in Bactrian as **xuī*, which in turn could have developed to **xwī* to avoid an atypical vowel hiatus, just as in native Bactrian words initial χo-was in all likelihood pronounced as /xw/ in front of another vowel (e.g. χοην- /xwēn/ 'to declare' < **hwānya*-). If so, one could assume that the semivowel *-w-* in a Bactrian word *χοει / *χοι /xwĭ̄/ was lost when the word was borrowed as Niya Prakrit *khi*. This loss of **-w-* would square well with the absence of Niya clusters such as ***khvi* or ***khy̰i* and the fact that *-y̰i-* /wi/ is only found after another vowel, never after another consonant.[980]

In sum, Burrow's etymological derivation of *khi* from Gr. χοῦς 'unit of measure' is semantically convincing and supported by the Greek origin of the related term *milima*. Although tentative, one way to account for the unexpected vocalism is to say that *khi* continues the Hellenistic nom.pl. χοεῖς rather than the nom.sg. χοῦς.

Aiginetan obols to buy the food." (Verhasselt 2018: 127). Observe the combination of χοεῖς 'pitchers' with the numerals ἔνδεκα 'eleven' and δώδεκα 'twelve'.

[979] The loss of final -ς can be attributed to the general MIA constraint against final consonants other than *-ṃ.* Deriving *khi* from the nom.sg. χοῦς of course also necessitates the final -ς to have been lost.

[980] In addition, one may compare the Niya Prakrit rendering of Iranian *-wă̆-* as *-o-* (§4.3.1). In this case, the loss of *-w-* is accompanied by the colouring of the following *-ă̆-* to *-o-*, but for *-wi-*, one could assume that *-w-* was lost without any effect on the following vowel.

2. *drakhma*, a unit of measure

Attestations of the base form

DIR.SG. *drakhma*: CKD 702
DIR.PL. *drakhma*: CKD 702; *trakhma*: CKD 324 + 328
abbr. *dra*: CKI 90; 173; 190; 241; 260; 450; 716; 722; 729; *tra*: CKI 721

drakhma is borrowed from Gr. δραχμή, originally a type of coin, but later also used as a measure of weight.[981] There is no concrete indication, phonological or other, to assume that *drakhma* was not borrowed directly from Greek.

3. *paraṃpula* 'military camp'

Attestations of the base form

ABL.SG. *parabulade*: CKD 415 (cf. TKD: 83f.)
LOC.SG. *paraṃpulaṃmi*: CKD 586

Thomas (1936b) plausibly connected Niya *paraṃpula* to Gr. παρεμβολή in its Hellenistic meaning 'military camp'.[982] Endorsing Thomas' conclusions, Bailey (1946a: 778; 1946b: 9–11; 1946c: 205) made the additional suggestion that παρεμβολή would likewise survive as a postposition 'around' in Ossetic, i.e. I. *alfambylai*; D. *falæmbulai* (so also Weber 1997: 35).

Including these Ossetic forms would raise all kinds of questions on the chronology of the Ossetic sound change of **p* > *f* (for which cf. Lubotsky 2002: 190). The main problem is that a more likely borrowing from Bactrian into both Ossetic and Niya Prakrit presents us with a different picture: in the case of I. *byru*; D. *buru* 'enclosure, castle' ← *πιρωβο /pirōvə/ 'fortress', Bactr. π /p/ would be substituted with *b* in Ossetic and not as ***f* (cf. §3.2.3 s.v. *piro*). Due to the uncertainty of the Ossetic evidence, I will leave it out of consideration here.

There is no concrete evidence favouring a Bactrian intermediary for this word: the final *-a* in *paraṃpula* contrasting with the -η /ē/ in παρεμβολή merely means that the word has been adopted into the productive *a*-declension and has no phonetic relevance; the apparent substitution of Gr. -ε- /e/ with Gandh. *-a-* is paralleled by, amongst others, *Arthamisiya*, a

[981] Cf. Bailey (1949a: 128f.); Töttössy (1980: 131f.); Wang (2004: 67). An additional Gāndhārī measure of weight derived from Greek is the abbreviation *o* in CKI 190, probably a borrowing from ὀβολός 'obol'. See further s.v. *sadera*.
[982] For this meaning, cf. e.g. Polybius 3.74.5.

month name borrowed from Gr. Ἀρτεμίσιος (CKI 152; 159; 509);[983] and the required rendering of Gr. -ο- /o/ as Gandh. -*u*- finds parallels in the calendrical term *yaṃbulima* 'intercalary' ← Gr. ἐμβόλιμος 'idem' (CKI 328) and Skt. *kunta*- 'spear, lance' ← Gr. κοντός 'pole, pike' (used in a military context in Lucian *Alexander* 55; cf. Burrow 1973[3]: 387; EWAia III: 105).

4. *sadera*, a unit of measure

Attestations of the base form

DIR.SG. *ṣadera*: CKD 431 = 432
DIR.PL. *sadera*: CKD 702; 808 (?); *satera*: CKD 324 + 328
abbr. *sa*: CKI 91; 190; 241 (2x); 260; 262; 450; 716; 717; 718; 722; 724; 725; 727; 728; 729; *s[y]a* (*ṣa* intended by the scribe?): CKI 90; 263; 714; *s[r]a*: CKI 715; *sade*: CKI 173; *śa*: CKI 241; *dra* (probably as a mistake for *sa*; cf. Falk 2001: 314 = 2013a: 53): CKI 721

Compounds

DIR.SG. *suṿarnasadera* 'golden stater': CKD 419; 889
DIR.PL. *suṿarnaṣadera* 'idem': CKD 12 + 43
abbr. *susadera* 'idem': CKM 430

As first noted by Thomas (1924), *sadera* is another Greek loanword.[984] Its source, i.e. Gr. στατήρ, initially referred to a coin but became secondarily also used as a weight measure (cf. s.v. *drakhma*). Other derivatives of the same term in Asian languages include Arm. *sater*, Georgian *satiri*, MP *satēr* (as per Bailey 1930: 17), Sogd. *st'yr*, Old Khot. *satīra*-, TB *satera*, and Old Uyghur *sıtır*.[985]

All forms simplify the initial *st*- to *s*-, presumably due to a dissimilatory effect of the -*t*- in the next syllable. Because the dissimilated form is found consistently from Georgian to Old Uyghur, one suspects that the dissimilation happened in one specific language, conceivably an Iranian one, and spread from there throughout Asia (*pace* Thomas 1926a). As, however, it seems hardly possible to determine the exact source of the dissimilated form, I have considered it best to discuss *sadera* in this section and not as part of the discussion on Iranian loanwords in Chapters 3–4.[986]

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[983] For the alternative rendering of Gr. -ε- /e/ as Gandh. -*i*-, cf. §3.2.2 s.v. *milima*.
[984] See also Agrawala (1953c); Falk (2001: 309–314 = 2013a: 48–53); Wang (2004: 66f.).
[985] For its use as a weight in Bactrian and Sogdian, see Sims-Williams (2016a).
[986] In the case of Gandh. *stratega* 'general, commander' ← Gr. στρατηγός, dissimilation may have been blocked by the additional -*r*-.

5. *sotira*, a title

Attestations of the base form
DIR.SG. *sotira*: CKD 580

While attested only once, the context suggests that *sotira* is another official or honorific title. Burrow (LKD: 94 s.v. *tasuca*; 132 s.v. *sotira*) reasonably connected this word to Gr. σωτήρ 'saviour, protector', a word undoubtedly known in Gandhāra, as it is attested on bilingual coins.[987]

If Burrow's etymology is correct, the *-i-* in *sotira* could either be due to the Gāndhārī interchange between *-i-* and *-e-* (LKD: §1) or *sotira* could have been borrowed from a pre-form that had already undergone iotacism in Hellenistic Greek.

[987] The usual Gāndhārī equivalent of σωτήρ is *tradara* (and variants) < OIA *trātr̥-* 'protector'. In a later article (1970), Burrow added Pkt. *soḍīra-* / *soṇḍīra-* and Skt. *śauṭīra-* / *śauṇḍīra-* 'heroic' as potential further derivatives from σωτήρ (accepted by EWAia III: 498).

APPENDIX 2
A new join in the Niya documents: CKD 324 + 328

Niya document CKD 324 is a rectangular under-tablet registering the sale of a man called Saṃrpina; its corresponding cover-tablet is generally assumed to be missing. See, for instance, Høisæter (2020: 395), who remarks that this absence "is very unfortunate, as it would likely have contained valuable details about who ended up storing the document and further details about the parties involved as well as whom oversaw the exchange and where".

It seems that CKD 328 is the missing cover-tablet. This conclusion is supported by the matching content of CKD 324 and CKD 328, and by the fact that the two documents fit regarding their size: the under-tablet (CKD 324) measures 8,8 × 19,6 cm, whereby the raised edges of the long side of the rectangle measure 2 cm in width each; the size of the cover-tablet (CKD 328) is 8,9 × 15,6 cm, thus fitting precisely in between the raised edges of the under-tablet. A glance at the available images moreover shows the handwriting of both documents to be the same.

To show that CKD 324 and 328 can be joined, both texts are presented below as one document. The Prakrit text is accompanied by a modified version of Burrow's translation (TKD: 60–62).

Obverse of the cover-tablet (part of CKD 328)

1 + + + + + + + [śa] ? ? prace ka ? ? ?[988]
2 [dharidavo]
3 eṣa guśurana Ca(*k)urata Aśogaṣa [ca mudra]

Obverse of the under-tablet (CKD 324)

1 saṃvatsare 4 mahanuava maharaya Maïri devaputraṣa maṣe 3 divaṣe 10 3 iśa
2 kṣunaṃmi mahap[o] ? ? bulena kuṣena Supiya Calmadanaṃmi agataṃti raja para-
3 sitaṃti maṃnuśarupa paraṣa kiḍaṃti ẏasu[989] Yonuaṣa dajha maṃnuśa Saṃrpina nama Supiya
4 ṣayitaṃti Cina Ṣgaṣiyaṣa prahuḍa prahitaṃti Cina Ṣgaṣi imade maṃnuśaṣa prati-

[988] *ka ? ? ?* can perhaps be restored as *Ka(*tgeyaṣa)*.
[989] Here and in line 5f., I read *ẏasu* instead of KD's (118) *vasu*.

5 kara suy̲arna satera 2 trakhma 2 s̲e maṃnuśa Ṣg̲aṣiyaṣa tanuv̲ag̲a huda tanu bhaṭarag̲a y̲a-
6 su Yonu na ichita maṃnuśa tanu nikhalaṃnae parihara oḍ̲ita aṃñeṣa vaṃti vikrinana-
7 e udhiśa e[da] maṃnuśa Cina Ṣg̲aṣi Katg̲eyaṣa vaṃti vikrita maṃnuśamuli Supi-
8 [ya] ? [ṭa] dhaṃnu 1 laṃcag̲a huati Cina Ṣg̲aṣiya suvikrita Katg̲eya sukritā aja kṣ̣u-
9 na uvatae

Reverse of the cover-tablet (part of CKD 328)

1 eda maṃnuśami Katg̲ayaṣa eśvarya siyati sarva karaṃnena tatra sakṣ̣i oguana Caku-
2 rata Aśog̲a Cakuraya Śamaṣ̲ena kala Kunalaṣa ca puri .utaṣa kridena devaputraṣ̲a
3 ciṃtidavo lihida maya Vutsay̲ena

Translation

… concerning … should be hold … This is the seal of the princes (*guśuras*) Ca[k]urata and Aśog̲a.

In the 4th year of the great king of great Nuava Mairi the son of heaven, on the 13th day of the 3rd month, at this date (?) the Supis came to Calmadana; they plundered the kingdom and carried off the inhabitants. The Supis seized a man called Saṃrpina, a slave of the *y̲asu* Yonu and sent him as a present to the Chinese Ṣg̲aṣi. The Chinese Ṣg̲aṣi (provided) from here, as a recompense for the man, two golden staters and two drachmas. (Consequently) that man became the rightful property (?) of Ṣg̲aṣi. His own master, the *y̲asu* Yonu, did not wish to remove the man himself, and permission was given to Ṣg̲aṣi to sell him to others. Considering this the Chinese Ṣg̲aṣi sold this man to Katg̲e. As the price of the man [ ] and one bow was right. The Chinese Ṣg̲aṣi has sold well and Katg̲e has bought well. From now on Katg̲aya shall have ownership over this man for all matters. Witnesses there (are) the *ogu*s Cakurata, Aśog̲a, Cakuraya and Śamaṣ̲ena, and the *kala* Kunala. On the matter of (?) his majesty must think. (This) has been written by me, Vutsay̲a (?).

APPENDIX 3
Linguistic features of CKD 661 (Khotan Prakrit)

This appendix contains a list of the linguistic features in which the Khotan Prakrit document CKD 661 differs from Niya Prakrit (cf. §5.4.7). Although most of these features can be found elsewhere,[990] I thought it helpful to include this list here to allow for easy access to this information. The features are divided into three categories: (i) lexicon; (ii) orthography and phonology; and (iii) morphology.

1. Lexicon

(i) *kidȧ* 'on account of' (2x, ll.4; 6)

kidȧ < loc.sg. *kṛte*, whereas Niya Prakrit always has ins.sg. *kritena* / *kridena* in the meaning 'on account of'.

(ii) *dhalavaḡu* 'document (?)' (l.7)

A hapax of uncertain etymology not used in Niya Prakrit.

(iii) *dheva* 'god, lord' (l.1)

This term is used in Khotan Prakrit as a king's title instead of the usual *devaputra* 'son of god'.

(iv) *naḡaraḡȧ* 'city-dweller' (l.2)

This adjectival formation does not occur in the Niya documents, but cf. the gen.sg. *[na]garaka[sa]* in CKI 78.

(v) *puradu* 'in front of' (l.7)

The corresponding postposition in Niya Prakrit is *puraṭha* 'in front of' < *purastāt*, like Khotan Pkt. *puradu* frequently used to identify witnesses (cf. LKD: §92). Boyer et al. (1920–29) read a Niya form *purata* 'in front of' in CKD 377, a possible cognate of Khotan Pkt. *puradu* (cf. LKD: 106 s.v.), but Burrow (TKD: 76) corrected this reading to *puraṭha*.

[990] See Noble (1931); Burrow (1934: 514f.; 1936: 430–434); Konow (1936); Salomon (2011b: 182f.); Dragoni, Schoubben & Peyrot (2020).

(vi) *śudhi* ‘clearing, payment’ (l.5)

i-stem < OIA *śuddhi-*, whereas the Niya equivalent is *śudha* < OIA *śuddha-*.

(vii) *saṃvritä* ‘been’ (l.5)

Derivatives of OIA *sam* + √*vṛt* are not used as a copula in Niya.

(viii) *hinajha* ‘general’ (l.1)

A Khotanese loanword absent from other Kharoṣṭhī sources; see §3.5.1 s.v. and §4.2.5.

2. Orthography and phonology

(i) Vowel raising: *-e-* > *-i-* and *-o-* > *-u-* (Burrow 1934: 515; 1936: 430)

Cf. loc.sg. *kali* ‘at the time’ < *kāle* (2x; ll.2; 6); *sagaji* ‘to’ < *sakāśe* ‘in the proximity of’ (l.4); *niravaśiṣo* ‘without remainder’ < *niravaśeṣa-* (l.4); opt.3sg. *cudiyadi* ‘he would complain’ (~ *codeyati*) (l.6); opt.3sg. *vidiyadi* ‘he would inform’ (~ *vedeyati*) (l.6); opt.3sg. *uthaviyadi* ‘he would stir up’ (~ *uthaveyati*) (l.6); pres.3sg. *dhinadi* ‘he gives’ (~ *denati*) (l.7); and ins.sg. *ajiṣanayi* ‘at the order of’ < *adhyeṣaṇă-* (l.7).

Note also that <ȧ> can sometimes be used instead of <e>, so in pres.3sg. *madrȧdi* ‘he says’ (~ *ma(ṃ)treti*) (l.2); ins.sg. *mulyȧna* ‘price’ (~ Niya *muliyena*) (l.3); *kidȧ* ‘on account of’ < *kṛte* (2x; ll.4; 6); and ins.sg. *tȧna* ‘this’ (~ *tena*) (l.6).

(ii) Spelling of dentals (Burrow 1936: 430f.; Konow 1936: 234ff.)

The outcome of OIA *#d-* is consistently written with 𐨤 *dha* in CKD 661. The examples are *dhivajha* ‘day’ < *divasa-* (l.1); *dheva* ‘god, lord’ < *deva-* (l.1); *dhahiaghi* ‘a branded mark’ with first element continuing √*dah* ‘to burn’ (l.3); *dhitu* ‘given’ < **ditta-* (l.4); *dhaḍu* ‘punishment’ < *daṇḍa-* (l.7); and pres.3sg. *dhinadi* ‘he gives’ ~ *denati* (l.7). The etymology of *dhalavaḡu* ‘document (?)’ (l.7) is unknown (cf. supra).

Intervocalically, OIA *-t-* and *-d-* merge. Unlike in Niya Prakrit, the result of this merger is consistently written with 𐨣 *da* in CKD 661, as exemplified by gen.sg. *Vijidasiṃhasya,* PN < *Vijita-siṃha-* (l.2); pres.3sg. *madrȧdi* ‘he says’ (l.2); pres.3sg. *haradi* ‘he carries’ (l.3); *idani* ‘now’ < *idānīm* (l.3); *kidȧ* ‘on account of’ < *kṛte* (2x; ll.4; 6); *grahidu* ‘taken’ < *gṛhīta-* (l.5); *uvaḡadu* ‘approached’ < *upagata-* (l.5); *uvadayi* ‘starting from’ < *upādāya* (l.5); opt.3sg. *cudiyadi* ‘he would complain’ < √*cud* (l.6); opt.3sg. *vidiyadi* ‘he would inform’ < √*vid* (l.6); acc.sg. *vivadu* ‘dispute’ < *vivāda-* (l.6); opt.3sg. *uthaviyadi* ‘he would stir up’ < *ud* + √*sthā* (l.6); pres.3sg. *dhinadi* ‘he gives’ (l.7); opt.3sg. *syadi* ‘he would be’ (l.7); *likhidu* ‘written’ < *likhita-* (l.7); and *puradu*

'in front of' < *purataḥ* (l.7). In the introductory part of the document, where Sanskrit influence is generally more visible (cf. Burrow 1936: 422), there are two exceptions: *Khotana* 'Khotan' and *rayatiraya* 'king of kings' < *rājātirājan-*.

A geminate /tt/ is spelled with 𐨟 *ta* in the case of *dhitu* 'given' < **ditta-* (l.4) and *saṃvritä* 'been' < *saṃvṛtta-* (l.5).

(iii) The use of 𐨯 *ṣa* and 𐨰 *ṣṭa*

Niya Prakrit never uses the special sign 𐨯 *ṣa* to write /ʐ/, whereas this is the normal practice in CKD 661. See *maṣa* 'coin' (l.3); *niravaśiṣo* 'without remainder' (l.4); and *ajiṣanayi* 'at the request of' (l.7). Cf. also §2.1.2.

The cluster /ṣṭ/ is spelled with 𐨰 *ṣṭa* in Khotan Pkt. *aṣṭi* 'eight' and not with 𐨱 *ṭha*, of which there is no example in CKD 661. The final *-i* in *aṣṭi* 'eight' (l.3) may be due to influence from Khot. *haṣti* 'idem' (cf. Burrow 1936: 431).

(iv) Minor observations

In Niya Prakrit (and many other forms of Gāndhārī), the outcome of OIA *iha* 'here' is normally written as *iśa*. Khotan Pkt. *ija* (l.1) is the only time this word is spelled with 𐨬 *ja*.

Intervocalic *-bh-* normally develops to *-h-* in Niya Prakrit, but the labial element is still preserved in Khotan Pkt. acc.sg. *avhiñanu* 'recognition mark' < OIA *abhijñāna-*.

CKD 661 has *aji* 'today' < OIA *adya*. In the Niya variant, the default spelling of this word is *aja* (cf. Noble 1931: 453).

3. Morphology

(i) Nominative

In contrast to Niya Prakrit (and most forms of Gāndhārī), nominative and accusative are still kept distinct in the Khotan Prakrit of CKD 661 (see also Burrow 1936: 431f.).

The nom.sg. ends, except for neuter nouns, by default in *-ȧ* or *-ä.* The transliteration *-ä* was proposed by Konow (1936: 237f.), whom I follow here, against Noble, Burrow, and others, who write *-aḥ* and interpret this ending as a Sanskritism. The examples are *manuśȧ* 'man' (l.2); *nagaragȧ* 'city-dweller' (l.2); *uṭä* 'camel' (3x; ll.2; 5); *tanuvagä* 'own' (2x; ll.2; 5); *Vagiti Vadhagȧ*, PN (l.4); *saṃvritä* 'been' (l.5); *garaniyä / karanīyä* 'to be done' (ll.5; 6); *Bahudhivȧ*, PN (l.7); *Nani Vadhagȧ*, PN (l.9); *Śaśivakȧ*, PN (l.9); and *Spaniyakȧ*, PN (l.9).

Interestingly, the nom.sg. of the demonstrative pronoun is *so* and not *se* < *saḥ*, as in Niya Prakrit (LKD: §80). Cf. 2x *so uṭä* (ll.2; 5) and 1x as acc.sg. in *so uṭo* (l.3).

(ii) Accusative and neuter nouns

The acc.sg. and nom. / acc.neut.sg. ending is *-u*, sometimes *-o*. Cf. *avhiñanu* 'recognition mark' (l.3); *tadriju* 'such' (l.3); *uṭo* 'camel' (l.3); *niravaśiṣo* 'without remainder' (l.4); *mulyo* 'price' (l.4); *dhitu* 'given' (l.4); *grahidu* 'taken' (l.5); *uvagadu* 'reached, obtained' (l.5); *vivadu* 'dispute' (l.6); *dhaḍu* 'punishment' (l.7); *rajadharmu* 'the state's law' (l.7); *dhalavagu* 'document (?)' (l.7); and *likhidu* 'written' (l.7).

(III) Genitive

CKD 661 exclusively uses the Sanskritic gen.sg. ending *-sya.* Cf. *Vijidasiṃhasya,* PN (l.2); *Vagiti Vadhagasya*, PN (2x; ll.4; 5); *tasya* 'this' (2x; ll.4; 6); *uṭasya* 'camel' (2x; ll.4; 6); and *Khvarnarsasya*, PN (2x; ll.5; 7).

The gen./dat.sg. of the 1sg. personal pronoun is *mayi,* contrasting with Niya *mahi* < *mahya(m)* (cf. LKD: §78).

(iv) Locative

The word for 'time', *kala* < OIA *kāla-*, forms its loc.sg. in *-i* < OIA *-e*, i.e. *kali* (2x; ll.2; 6), while in Niya Prakrit the loc.sg. of this word is regularly *kala(ṃ)mi* < **kālasmin*.

More crucially, CKD 661 uses *sagaji* < *sakāśe* 'in the proximity of' (l.4) as the postposition for animate locatives and not *vaṃti* < *upānte* 'in the proximity of', as is always the case in Niya Prakrit (see §5.4.7 for more details).

(v) Preterite

For transitive verbs, the pret.3sg. ends in *-u* in Khotan Prakrit (*dhitu* 'given' (l.4); *grahidu* 'taken' (l.5); *uvagadu* 'reached, obtained' (l.5); *likhidu* 'written' (l.7)), but the intransitive pret.3sg. *saṃvritä* 'been' (l.5) agrees in number, gender, and case with the subject *so uṭä*. In Niya Prakrit, there is no morphological distinction between the preterite of transitive and intransitive verbs (Burrow 1936: 432).