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# STUDI E SAGGI LINGUISTICI

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# SsL

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# Avestan -ā̊ŋhō, Young Avestan -ā̊, Old Khotanese -e and the development of the Old Iranian i- and u-stems in Khotanese

ALESSANDRO DEL TOMBA

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to trace the origin and the evolution of a group of Khotanese nouns whose historical analysis has always been a matter of debate. These nouns are well represented in Old Khotanese texts. They are masculine in gender and display an inflection partially merging with that of the masculine *a*-stems with the relevant exception of the nominative-accusative plural, which ends in -*e*. This ending is at odds with the regular nominative-accusative plural -*a* of the *a*-declension. Similarly, the secondary *aa*- and *ua*-declensions also have a few words showing the deviating ending -*e* in the nominative-accusative plural. Through a new collection of the members of these inflectional classes and an etymological recognition of the relevant endings and forms, it is argued that four Old Iranian stem-types merged their inflections in pre-Khotanese: (i) the Old Iranian thematic neuter (neuter *a*-stems), (ii) a few Old Iranian thematic masculine nouns (masculine *a*-stems), (iii) the Old Iranian masculine *i*-stems, and, possibly, (iv) the Old Iranian masculine *u*-stems.

KEYWORDS: Khotanese, Avestan, Middle Iranian, nominal morphology, inflectional morphology.

## 1. *Preamble*

Khotanese is an Eastern Middle Iranian language which was once spoken and written in the Saka kingdom of Khotan on the southern branch of the Silk Road, in the present-day Xīnjiāng, Uygur Autonomous Region of China[1]. The extant Khotanese corpus

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[1]    A list of the abbreviations employed is given at the end of the paper. The editorial conventions in quotations from Khotanese follow the current ones in the field. Restorations are enclosed in brackets [ ], which imply a gap in the manuscript (manuscript broken or erased). Roman type in quotations stands for *italics* in the editions and indicates uncertain readings.

consists of manuscripts, manuscript folios and fragments preserving religious (Buddhist), literary, and medical texts, as well as secular and administrative documents. In the manuscripts, a variety of linguistic stages are attested. They are traditionally grouped under the labels of Old and Late Khotanese. Whereas manuscripts written in Old Khotanese were mostly found within the Khotan area, the provenance of the main Late Khotanese findings is the Dunhuang area. The manuscripts cover a period of about five hundred years, dating from the second half of the fifth century to the end of the tenth century CE.

In the groundbreaking *Saka Grammatical Studies* (henceforth *SGS*), Ronald E. Emmerick opens the grammatical description of Khotanese nominal morphology by discussing endings and forms of the so-called *a*-declension. Nouns adhering to this declension are extremely common in Khotanese and the great majority of them can be traced back to the Old Iranian masculine thematic type (< *\*o*-stems of Proto-Indo-European). Suffice it to mention the Khotanese word *aśśa-* "horse" (m.), which continues IIr. *\*(H)áćṷa-* (cf. YAv. *aspa-*, Ved. *áśva-*), ultimately from PIE *\*h₁éḱṷo-* (Gk. ἵππος, Lat. *equus*, TB *yakwe*, etc.). A table of their inflection, limited to the nominative, accusative, and genitive-dative case, is given below[2]:

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|---|---|
| NOMINATIVE | *-ä* | *-a* |
| ACCUSATIVE | *-u* | *-a* |
| GENITIVE-DATIVE | *-i* | *-ānu* |

Table 1. *Declension of the* a-*stems.*

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[2] The paradigms presented here and below are based on a selection of the oldest attested forms and endings taken primarily from the main manuscript of the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* and similarly archaic texts. The nominative, accusative and genitive-dative represent the core cases of Khotanese nominal morphology. The instrumental-ablative and the locative will not be considered in this article, because they are less differentiated throughout Khotanese declensions. Note that in the plural no distinction is made between the nominative and the accusative; the two case markers are only differentiated in the singular.

There is a group of *a*-stem nouns whose inflection deviates from the norm in some endings, most notably in the nominative-accusative plural (NAP), which ends in OKhot. -*e* and thus contrasts with the regular marker OKhot. -*a*. Some of the nouns adhering to this parallel class are: *kīra-* "act, deed" (NAP *kīre*), *data-* "wild beast" (NAP *date*), *sana-* "enemy" (NAP *sane*), *ggara-* "mountain" (NAP *ggare*). Apparently, they show a mixed inflection because their declension descriptively alternates between a masculine *a*-stem paradigm in the singular (cf. NS -*ä*, AS -*u*, see *SGS*: 252, § 6[iv] and 255, § 8[v]) and a feminine *ā*-stem paradigm in the plural (cf. NAP -*e*, see *SGS*: 265, § 12[vii] and 278, § 23[iv]). A summary table of their inflection is as follows:

|  | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|---|---|
| NOMINATIVE | -*ä* | -*e* |
| ACCUSATIVE | -*u* | -*e* |
| GENITIVE-DATIVE | -*i* | -*ānu*, -[(i)]*änu* |

Table 2. *Declension of the* kīra-*type.*

As one can see, a distinction between GDP -*ānu* and GDP -[(i)]*änu* is displayed by some nouns belonging to the *kīra*-type. If these differences must be taken at face value, as I will demonstrate following a suggestion by Prods O. Skjærvø (2004 II: 89), they point to the reconstruction of (at least) two Old Iranian stem-types that are merging in Khotanese.

Within the so-called secondary declension, which arose in Khotanese as a result of the loss of intervocalic consonants, two further inflectional classes show the unexpected ending NAP -*e*. They are the *aa*-stem nouns *āstaa-* "bone" (NAP *āste*) and *spätaa-* "flower" (NAP *späte*), and some *ua*-stem nouns, including *bāysua-* "arm" (NAP *bāysuve* ~ *bāysve*) and *ysānua-* "knee" (NAP *ysānve*). Note that a regular *aa*-stem noun is expected to have a NAP -*ā* (e.g. *āchā* "diseases" to *āchaa-*), while a regular *ua*-stem noun should have had a NAP -*uva* (e.g. *aysmuva* "minds" to *aysmua-*).

|                     | SINGULAR        | PLURAL   |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------|
| NOMINATIVE          | *-ei* [aə][3]   | *-e* [eː] |
| ACCUSATIVE          | *-au*           | *-e* [eː] |
| GENITIVE-DATIVE     | *-ai*           | *-ānu*   |

Table 3. *Declension of the* āstaa-*type.*

|                     | SINGULAR | PLURAL  |
|---------------------|----------|---------|
| NOMINATIVE          | *-ū*     | *-uve*  |
| ACCUSATIVE          | *-ū*     | *-uve*  |
| GENITIVE-DATIVE     | *-uī*    | *-ānu*  |

Table 4. *Declension of the* bāysua-*type.*

The members of these inflectional classes have been described as neuters by Sten Konow (*SSt*: 40) and Manu Leumann (*apud* Ernst Leumann, 1933-1936: 386). Also in his posthumous manual of Khotanese, Emmerick (forth. § 5.1.7.1 of the Appendix) explicitly points to the fact that these nouns are neuter, a claim already presented in Emmerick (2009: 385; cf. also *SGS*: 251).

As I recently demonstrated, however, these nouns with NAP *-e* (both [e] and [eː]) cannot be regarded as 'neuter' from a functional point of view (Del Tomba, 2021). Indeed, they agree with a masculine nominal modifier whether the head-noun is inflected in the singular or in the plural. Nonetheless, this does not exclude *a priori* that they cannot be traced back to Old Iranian neuters, but it does imply that in Khotanese the neuter does not function as an independent gender category from a synchronic perspective.

The historical interpretation of these masculine nouns is closely connected with the puzzling origin of the NAP *-e*. In *SGS* (265, § 12[vii]), Emmerick follows Tedesco (1926: 127-131) in tracing this ending back to an Old Iranian nominative plural *\*-āh* reconstructed for the masculine *a*-stems (cf. Skt. *-āḥ* < PIE *\*-ōs*); of this, the regular NAP *-a* (< *\*-ā*) would have been its sandhi variant. This is notably at

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[3]   See EMMERICK (1998a).

odds with Emmerick's idea that these were originally neuter nouns. In addition, comparison between the Old Iranian languages seems to not allow the reconstruction of the formal and functional equivalent of Skt. -*āḥ* (< PIE *-*ōs* < *-*o-es*) for (Eastern) Iranian (see § 3 below). Therefore, the postulation of *-*āh* for pre-Khotanese is unwarranted.

The origin of this ending has not been the topic of further investigations since. Recently, Hiroshi Kumamoto (2019: 218) hastily referred to Emmerick's analysis, claiming that «[s]ince there is no discernible difference in the phonetic environment for the occurrence of the two [*scil.* the masculine plural endings -*e* and -*a*], they may be taken as alternative endings». This cannot be correct, however. Indeed, OKhot. -*e* and -*a* were not two optional NAP endings of the *a*-declension, but rather mandatory markers of what should be considered two different inflectional classes of masculine nouns. This means that masculine nouns with NAP -*e* previously thought to belong to the *a*-declension (-*e*), *aa*-declension (-*e* [eː]), and *ua*-declension (-*ve*, -*uve*) constitute three separate inflectional classes as compared to the corresponding masculine nouns with NAP -*a*, -*ā* and -*uva*.

The goal of this article is twofold: it aims to clarify what the origin of the NAP -*e* is and, more generally, which Old Iranian stems are continued into the relevant Khotanese inflectional classes. The result of my investigation is that four Old Iranian stem-types merged their inflections in pre-Khotanese: (1) the Old Iranian thematic neuter (neuter *a*-stems); (2) a few Old Iranian thematic masculine nouns (masculine *a*-stems); (3) the Old Iranian masculine *i*-stems; (4) the Old Iranian masculine *u*-stems, whose development is more problematic.

The article is organised as follows. I first address the problem of the thematic neuter origin of the *kīra*-type, by comparing Khotanese endings and forms with the neuter thematic paradigm of Young Avestan (§ 2). I then investigate the origin of some Khotanese masculine nouns referring to animate entities that cannot be traced back to the neuter thematic type (§ 3). I propose a possible new sound change in order to explain the evolution and inflection of the Old Iranian masculine *i*- and *u*-stems in Khotanese (§ 4). The conclusive section deals with the development of the previously mentioned inflectional classes from Old

Khotanese to Late Khotanese (§ 5). The article has an *Appendix* where the reader can find a detailed analysis of all nouns with NAP *-e* [e], *-e* [e:], and *-uve* that I was able to find in a selection of Old Khotanese texts[4].

## 2.  *The evolution of the thematic neuter in Young Avestan and Khotanese*

The generally assumed interpretation of the nouns of the *kīra*-type as neuter is no doubt based on a diachronic interpretation of the data, as some substantives belonging to this class can be traced back to the Old Iranian neuter thematic type. Suffice it to mention the following (cf. the *Appendix*):

– Khot. *kīra-* "act, deed" < OIr. *\*kar̥iam*, cf. Tum. *käri* and Av. *kairiia-* (nt.) (Leumann, 1933-1936: 411; Skjærvø, 2004 II: 255);
– Khot. *data-* "wild beast; animal" < OIr. *\*data-*, cf. Pahl. *dad* ⟨dtʼ⟩, ManMP *dd*, Sogd. *δṭw* (acc.nt.) to *δt-*, and also Av. *daitika-* (*EWAia* 1: 694)[5];
– Khot. *kamala-* "head; person" < PIr. *\*ka-mr̥da-*, cf. Av. *kamərəδa-* "head" (nt.) (Ved. *mūrdhán-* [nt.]), Bactr. καμιρδο "head, chief" (cf. also καμιρδοφαρο "(he who possesses) the glory of the Chief (God)"), Pahl. *kamāl* ⟨kmʼl⟩ (*AirW*: 440; Sims-Williams, 1997: 23; 2007: 220; 2010: 75);
– some higher cardinal numbers, e.g. *ysāra-* "thousand", cf. Av. *hazaŋra* (nt.), Ved. *sahásra-* (nt.) (Bailey *Dict*: 349-350) and *sata-* "hundred", cf. Av. *sata-* (nt.), Ved. *śatá-* (nt.) (Bailey *Dict*: 418).

On the basis of these clear etymologies, it is indeed conceivable to derive some of the nouns of the *kīra*-type from the Old Iranian neuter thematic type. The central problem, however, is how to explain the

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[4]   For a comprehensive introduction to the literary and philological aspects of Khotanese texts, see MAGGI (2009a).
[5]   According to BARTHOLOMAE (*AirW*: 678) and MAYRHOFER (*EWAia* 1: 694), Av. *daitika-* is masculine, but the word is only attested in the genitive plural.

NAP -*e*. It is therefore worth looking at the inflection of the thematic neuters in the Old Iranian languages in order to verify whether there are candidate forms that may be the antecedents of Khot. -*e*.

In both Old Avestan and Old Persian, the NAP of thematic neuters ends in -*ā* (cf. Ved. -*ā*) < PIE *-*eh*$_2$ (Kent, 1953: 58-59; Hoffmann and Forssman, 2004: 120; Gotō, 2013: 10), cf. OAv. *uxδā* "words", Ved. *ukthā́* "id."; OP *āyadanā* "places to sacrifice, temples".

Young Avestan has an additional ending. While this language regularly reflects OAv. -*ā* as -*a* (cf. OAv. *š́iiaoϑanā* vs. YAv. *š́iiaoϑna* to *š́iiaoϑ(a)na*- "deed, act" [nt.]), a new ending YAv. -*ā̊* was created. Examples include: YAv. *uxδā̊* "words" vs. OAv. *uxδā*, YAv. *kamərədā̊* "heads", YAv. *šōiϑrā̊* "regions". From a synchronic perspective, this ending has been commonly referred to as 'metaplastic' because it formally coincides with the NAP of the feminine *ā*-stem, where Av. -*ā̊* is the regular outcome of *-*ās* < IIr. *-*ā(H)as* < PIE *-*eh*$_2$-*es*. Wolfgang Hock (2014) has recently dealt with the distribution and origin of this ending in the neuter inflection, which Friedrich von Spiegel (1882: 399) already regarded as occurring in a «nicht verächtliche Zahl von Beispielen». Hock (2014) has definitely demonstrated that the NAP -*ā̊* of the neuter thematic inflection was not a subsidiary ending of Young Avestan as it was in serious competition with the historically expected NAP -*a* < OAv. -*ā*. As far as the origin of this ending is concerned, previous interpretations saw YAv. -*ā̊* as analogically borrowed from the neuter *as*-stems (cf. Bartholomae, 1895-1901: 233; Reichelt, 1909: 208; Martínez and de Vaan, 2014: 56). Conversely, expanding a theory first proposed by Tremblay (1997), Hock regards this ending as a secondary pluralisation in *-*s* of the inherited collectives in -*ā*. Thus, in Young Avestan neuter nouns often take feminine agreement, cf. *vīspāhu karšuuōhu* "on all continents" (Y 10.96) or *vīspā̊ dāmąn* "all creatures" (Vd 19.37). As these mistakes of gender agreement mostly occur in the plural, they can be explained as caused by the homonymy of the NAP markers of the thematic feminine and neuter, both ending in -*ā̊*[6].

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[6]   An additional argument in favour of this analysis is that even feminine nouns sporadically take neuter endings in Young Avestan, cf. YAv. *pərənābiiō* (for expected *pərənābiiō*) to *pərənā*- "hand" or *haēnābiiō* (for expected *haēnābiiō*) to *haēnā*- "army" (DE VAAN, 2003:

Back to Khotanese, a reconstructed ending *-āh implied by the NAPnt -ā̊ of Young Avestan can be the perfect antecedent of OKhot. -e. That the sequence *-āh is expected to have yielded -e in Khotanese is demonstrated by unambiguous examples:

– NAP -e (of feminine ā-stems) < OIr. *-āh < IIr. *-āH-as (cf. Av. -ā̊, Ved. -āḥ) < PIE *-eh$_2$-es;
– NS *pande* "path" < OIr. *pantāh < IIr. *pantāHs (cf. Av. *paṇtā̊*, Ved. *pánthāḥ*);
– NS *urmaysde* "sun" < OIr. *ahura-mazdāh (cf. Av. *ahurō mazdā̊*, OP *auramazdā*).

Thus, Khotanese inherited a situation that we can already find in Young Avestan, as the NAP of both thematic neuter and feminine ā-stems were starting to be marked by the same ending: Young Avestan NAPnt/NAPf -ā̊ = Khotanese NAPnt/NAPf -e both resulting from *-āh[7].

In Khotanese, the formal homonymy between the NAP ending of the feminine ā-stems on the one hand and the neuter thematic stems on the other also caused cases of shift of gender from neuter to feminine of some lexical items. A good example in this sense is the feminine noun OKhot. *ggūnā-* "hair", which contrasts with the masculine noun OKhot. *ggūna-* "colour". Both substantives are to be traced back to the neuter noun PIr. *gau̯na- (cf. Av. *gaona-* "hair; colour; manner" [*AirW*: 482b], and further Khwar. γwn [m.], Pashto γúna "colour; appearance" [f.], γúnay "body hair; skin", Oss. q̇yn, ǧun "hair, wool", Pahl. gōn ⟨gwnʼ⟩ "colour, complexion"). After the loss of the neuter as a gender category as a result of morpho-phonological confluences (see

431-432). On YAv. *nāmānīš* "names", see Oettinger (1986) and de Vaan (2003: 275-276; 2018: 25-26). Considering that this form agrees with the apparently feminine accusative plural *imā̊* "these" in Yasht 1.11-19, de Vaan (2018: 25-26) suggests that the obsolete *nāmānī was reinterpreted in Young Avestan as a feminine form and was then provided with a sigmatic plural.

[7]    See already Konow (1931). Hock (2014: 73-74) further stresses that the incipient disappearance of distinction between feminine and neuter in the plural would agree with a frequent typological tendency that the loss of gender distinctions often starts in the plural. Note that a few Khotanese relics going back to originally neuter nouns also took feminine agreement in the plural (cf. Del Tomba, 2021).

below), the word was reinterpreted as a masculine noun (cf. OKhot. *ggūna-* "colour").

More complicated is the case of *ggūnā-* "hair", whose feminine gender is unexpected. Again, parallels are to be found in Avestan, with respect to which Khotanese has merely gone one step further. Indeed, NAPnt *gaṇāh* "hair" > OKhot. *ggūne* is likely to have been perceived as a feminine form by Khotanese speakers and, accordingly, the noun started to take feminine agreement in the plural. This process has been caused by the fact that the outcome of the noun *gaṇa-* "hair" was likely mostly used in the plural. A piece of evidence in support of this analysis is that Khot. *ggūnā-* "hair" seems to be a mass noun since the Old Khotanese period (vs. Khot. *drau-* referring to both "single hair" and "single body hair").

The case of *ggūnā-* "hair" is probably not isolated in Khotanese, as a parallel can be adduced with the Khotanese noun *pārră̆-* "feather; petal, leaf" (Leumann, 1933-1936: 462; Canevascini, 1993: 271). The etymology of this noun is uncontroversial, since it can be compared with Av. *parə̄na-* "wing, feather", Ved. *parṇá-* < IIr. *parná-*. What is unclear, however, is the gender and the inflectional class to which this noun belongs. Bailey (*Dict*: 231) gives the noun as a masculine *a*-stem *pārra-*, while Canevascini (1993: 271) suggests it was a feminine *ā*-stem *pārrā-*. In fact, this noun is only attested in the plural *pārre* (with variants, e.g. *pārrä* in Z) and we have only two cases of agreement environment in the entire Old Khotanese corpus. Unfortunately, in the former (1) *pārre* agrees with a masculine modifier, while in the latter (2) it agrees with feminine modifiers[8].

(1)  *ysarrnai*              *nä*    *ṣuṃchä*           [*u*]
     golden:NOM.SG.M    their  beak(M):NOM.SG    and
     [*ysa*]rrn*ā*            *gaḍya*              *pārre*
     golden:NOM.PL.M    neck(M):LOC.SG    feather(M?):NOM.PL
     "Golden (was) their beak and golden (were their) feathers on the neck."
                                                              (Sgh 211.3; MS 11)[9]

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[8]  CANEVASCINI (1993: 271) gives another occurrence of feminine agreement in Z 22.126, where, however, the form *pārrai* should probably be analysed as belonging to the paradigm of another word (cf. BAILEY *Dict*: 231b s.v. *pārrā-* "heel, fetlock").

[9]  The sentence occurs almost identical in Sgh 214.3 (MS 8) *ysa*[*rrnai nä ṣuṃ*]*cä u ysarrnā nä gaḍya pārre* (CANEVASCINI, 1993: 88, 185).

(2) *kho      ju      myo*[10]   *bāggare*                *pārre*
     just     as      clouds    leaf(?):NOM.PL           feather(F?):NOM.PL
     *biśśūnye*                  *caṃbule*                *kaṣṭe*
     various:NOM.PL.F            treambling:NOM.PL.F      attached:NOM.PL.F
     "As storm clouds, foliage, leaves of all kinds, trembling, attached [...]"
                                                                    (Z 2.10b-c)

If both agreements are to be taken at face value, it may be argued
that the noun *pārra-* is in the process of changing its inflectional class,
and that the original outcome of the neuter noun *\*parna-* > *pārra-* is
becoming a feminine *ā*-stem *pārrā-* (cf. Young Avestan Yt 14.44 *cataŋrō
pərənā̊* 'four.F feathers').

To conclude, Khotanese regularly inherited thematic neuters from
Old Iranian. Already in Avestan, however, they suffered a gradual de-
pletion, as some case forms appeared to be identical to the inflection
of the masculine *a*-stems or to that of the feminine *ā*-stems: in the sin-
gular, the difference between masculine and neuter was only conveyed
by the nominative, which ended in YAv. *-ō* < IIr. *\*-as* < PIE *\*-os* in the
masculine and YAv. *-əm* < IIr. *\*-am* < PIE *\*-om* in the neuter (= AS);
in the plural, the original NAPnt Av. *-ă̄* < IIr. *\*-āH* < PIE *\*-eh$_2$* was ho-
monymous with the NPm *-ā̆*, while, in Young Avestan only, the new
NAPnt *-å̄* became homonymous with the NAPf *-å̄* < IIr. *\*-ā(H)as* <
PIE *\*-eh$_2$-es*. Khotanese inherited the same situation. Thus, Khotanese
lost the neuter as a category of controller gender and further reassigned
originally neuter nouns to either the masculine or the feminine para-
digm. A summary table with the development of the neuter thematic
inflection in Khotanese is offered below[11]:

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[10]   The word *myo*, *myau* is of uncertain interpretation. See BAILEY (*Dict*: 341a), who
translated it as "storm". The meaning "storm clouds" follows Maggi's translation «come
nembi, foglie, piume di ogni sorta, confuse, attaccate ...» (MAGGI, 2004: 1198).

[11]   For the development of the genitive singular PIr. *\*-ahi̯a* (OAv. *-ahiiā*, *-ax̌iiā°*, YAv.
*-ahe*, OP *-ahyā*) > GDS Khot. *-i*, cf. 2sg.impv.mid. *\*-ahu̯a* > Khot. *-u* (SIMS-WILLIAMS,
1990: 279). In Old Iranian, the thematic genitive plural ends in *\*-nām*. In Old Persian, it is
written ⟨-a-n-a-m⟩ *-ānām* in the *a-* and *ā*-stems (KENT, 1953: 59, 60). In Avestan, we find
*-nąm* (metrically disyllabic) in vowel stems (HOFFMANN and FORSSMAN, 2004: 116). It is
generally assumed that in East Iranian a special secondary shortening of *\*-ānām* to *\*-ānam*
occurred (*SGS*: 266-267, 278, 293-294; SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1990: 280-281). For a different
treatment of this ending, see recently PEYROT (2018).

|               | OLD IRANIAN     | PRE-KHOTANESE    | OLD KHOTANESE      |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| NOM.SG.       | *-am*           | > *-u*           | > -u > -ä          |
| ACC.SG.       | *-am*           | > *-u*           | > -u               |
| GEN.(DAT.)SG. | *-ahi̯a*        | > *-ī > *-i*     | > -i               |
| NOM.ACC.PL.   | *-ā̆*           | > *-a*           | > -a               |
|               | *-āh*           | > *-e*           | > -e               |
| GEN.(DAT.)PL. | *-ānā̆m* (?)    | > *-ānu*         | > -ānu             |

Table 5. *Evolution of the thematic neuter in Khotanese.*

The double cell in the nominative-accusative plural can be direct-
ly compared with YAv. -*ā̆* and -*ā̊* (cf. already *SSt.*). Originally neu-
ter nouns that may have continued the NAP ending *-ā̆ > -a* can be
found in Khotanese, including OKhot. *ysantha-* (frequently *ysaṃtha-*)
"birth" (NAP *ysaṃtha*)[12] < *zanθa-* (cf. Av. *ząθa-* [nt.]) and OKhot.
*ārra-* "fault" (NAP *ārra, ārre*) < *arna-* (cf. Av. *arəna-* [nt.], Skt. *ṛṇá-*
[nt.]).

As Emmerick (*SGS*: 253, § 6[v]) pointed out, a NS -*u* is frequently
found with higher cardinal numerals (cf. *byūrru* "ten thousand" [Av.
*baēuuarᵊ*] < *bai̯u̯arnam*). Sometimes, these forms are also matched by
a NAP -*e*, as in the case of *ysāru* "one thousand" (cf. Av. *hazaŋra-* [nt.],
Ved. *sahásra-* [nt.], Sogd. *zʾr*), which has a NAP *ysāre*. Also the word for
"hundred" has NAP *sate*, but NAS *satä*. The paradigm NAS -*u*, NAP
-*e* is also found in loanwords, e.g. *kūlu* "ten millions, crore" ← Prākrit
continuant of Skt. *koṭi-*, and possibly the measure *puka-* "cubit, ell"
(NAS -*u*, NAP -*e*; see the *Appendix*). Formal remnants of old neuter

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[12]  EMMERICK (*SGS*: 253) points out that some Old Khotanese nouns with NS -*u*
may have preserved the original neuter ending (from PIr. *-am*). The examples given by
Emmerick are all from the *Book of Zambasta*; they include NS *ysaṃthu* "birth" and NS
*ārru* "fault". These forms mostly agree with a modifier inflected as NSM, cf. e.g. Z 5.13c
*ṣī hvīʾyä ysaṃthu sārä mästä* "This human existence is a great pleasure". It should be noted
that NS -*u* is rare in the other Old Khotanese texts. The clearest example I was able to find
is NS *nasu* "portion, share" attested in Śgs 3.4 v2 (also in Suv 8.68 in the 'Middle Khota-
nese' MS S, while the corresponding text in the Old Khotanese MS Or has *nasä* instead).
Since OKhot. -*u* and -*ä* alternate in a number of cases in Z and «there are a considerable
number of old masculines with NS in -*u*» (*SGS*: 253), these NS -*u* might not be vestiges of
the old neuter declension.

forms in limited sections of the grammar are important formal archaisms, but they cannot be regarded as 'neuter' in a strict synchronic sense because they do not trigger agreement with a head-noun (similar to some pronominal forms and adverbial formations in *-u*).

The loss of the neuter is a common development of several Middle and Modern Iranian languages (Emmerick, 2009: 384; Del Tomba, 2021: 164-165). In the cognate but poorly attested Tumshuqese language it seems to have existed an opposition between *a*-stem nouns with NAP *-a* and *a*-stem nouns with NAP *-e*. The latter have been hesitantly regarded as neuter by Schmidt (1988: 312) and Emmerick (2009: 385). The matter, however, needs to be closely re-examined, but I wonder whether the situation of Tumshuqese may in fact closely mirror the Khotanese one. It is generally assumed that the survival of the neuter in Sogdian is marginal as many old neuter nouns have shifted to masculine or feminine. Khwarezmian has only two genders – masculine and feminine – and Bactrian has no gender distinction – with only very few traces of separate feminine agreement in older texts. Among the Eastern Modern Iranian languages, only a few of them have preserved the twofold gender system of masculine and feminine (e.g. Pashto and relics in some Pamir languages, Yidgha etc.), while in most of the languages gender distinction has been lost (Ossetic, Yaghnobi, etc.). With no relics of the neuter, a two-way gender distinction can also be found in Zazaki and other modern Western Modern Iranian languages[13].

Thus, although Khotanese lost the neuter as a grammatical category of controller gender, it retained important archaisms in the inflectional morphology that can be traced back to the Old Iranian thematic neuter and prove relevant from an Iranian comparative perspective[14].

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[13]  See Barbera (2002).

[14]  As for the nouns of the secondary declension in *-a-ka-*, like *astaka-* > Khot. *āstaa-* "bone" from the Old Iranian athematic noun *ast-* "bone" (Av. *ast-*, Ved. *ásthi*) it is possible that the suffix was added at an early stage (as comparison with the other Eastern Middle Iranian languages seems to indicate, see the *Appendix*) and that the suffix did not necessarily change the gender of the noun, which was therefore originally inflected following the thematic neuter declension. Thus, NAP *āste* [ˈaːsteː] may be from OIr. *astakāh* > *astakē(h)* > *āstake* > *āsta.e* > *āste*. A possible *caveat* of this reconstruction may be that Sogd. ʾstk "bone" is believed to be a masculine noun (Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst, 2012: 25).

### 3.  *Vestiges of Indo-Iranian* *-āsas (< PIE *-ōses) in Khotanese*

Within the so-called *kīra*-type we find some nouns that cannot be analysed as continuing old neuter formations. Examples include:

–   Khot. *ysana-* (NAP *ysane*) "kinsman, relative", cf. Av. °*zana-* "kind, race", OP °*dana-* and °*zana-*, Skt. *jána-* "race, man" (Maggi, 1997: 41-42; *EWAia* 1: 566);
–   Khot. *hīnāysa-* (NAP *hīnāyse*) "army leader, general" < *haināza- "one who drives the army";
–   Khot. *gyauysa-* (NAP *jauyse*) "fighter; fighting" (see the *Appendix*);
–   Old compounds with *kāra-* "doing" as second member, e.g. *dīraṃggāra-* (NAP *dīraṃggāre*) "evil-doing", *śśäraṃgāra-* (NAP *śäraṃgāre*) "well-doer, friend", *hāvaṃggāra-* (NAP *hāvaṃggāre*) "benefactor, causing blessing".

As can be seen, these nouns refer to animate entities, mostly male human beings. Before proceeding further with the origin of the NAP ending -*e* in these nouns, a short note on the compounds with °*ggāra-* "doing, doer" is in order. As Henning (1940: 102) pointed out, these compounds have important cognates in Sogdian (cf. e.g. Khot. *baśdaṃggāra-* "evil doing, sinner", MSogd. *ʾβzyʾkʾry*, MSgod. *βjngʾryy*, ChSogd. *bžngʾry* "evildoer, sinful"; Khot. *dīraṃggāra-* "evil doing", BSogd. *δrγwʾnkʾrʾk*; Khot. *śśäraṃggāra-* "well-doer", BSogd. *šyrʾnkʾrʾk*). Gershevitch (1961: 172, § 1126) individuated the second compound members as Khot. °*aṃggāra-* and Sogd. °*nkʾr* and traced them back to *ham-kāra-. This explanation has been reviewed by Emmerick (*Studies* 1: 117), who came to the conclusion that both the Khotanese and the Sogdian compounds contain as first element the accusative singular neuter of the adjective, and *kāra-* as second element, without any preverb (also see Degener, 1987). Emmerick's analysis is certainly correct and proves the archaicity of this type of compounds. In addition, that these formations, in Khotanese, should be regarded as primary *a*-stems and not as members of the secondary declension in *-aka- > -aa-* is made clear by some case forms (e.g.

GDS *śśäraṃggäri* in Z 2.91, see the *Appendix*) and the metrics of the *Book of Zambasta*[15].

(3) *kye baśdaṃ|ggāre ttä rrundä . || śśädūtani | pūra hämīru*
　　 ◡ – – | – ◡ ◡ – ◡ || ◡ – ◡ ◡ | – ◡ ◡ – ◡ (type A)
　　 "Would those who do evil deeds become sons of King Śuddhodana?"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Z 13. 70ab)

(4) *ttäna badɽ | hanaśśäte vaysña || cvī dīraṃ|ggāre hayūna .*
　　 ◡ ◡ – ◡| ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ || – – ◡ | – ◡ ◡ – ◡ (type A)
　　 "For this does Bhadra fail now: because his friends are evil-doers." (Z 2. 69ab)

As can be seen, the NAP ending *-e* scans as short in both occurrences (°*ggāre* – ◡), thus contrasting with a hypothetical long *-e* of the secondary declension (as if from NAP \*-*ake* > \*-*a.e* > *-e* [e:]).

Back to the origin of this ending, with Emmerick (*SGS*: 265, § 12[vii]), one may legitimately wonder whether the NAP *-e* of these nouns continued an Indo-Iranian nominative plural ending \*-*ās* of the masculine thematic stems. However, comparison with Old Iranian languages seem to invalidate this reconstruction. Indeed, while the NP *-ā* of Old Persian (e.g. ⟨h-x-a-m-n-i-š-i-y-a⟩ *Haxāmanišiyā* "Achaemenids") is ambiguous, as the main obstacle to understanding the morphology of Old Persian lies in its simplified orthography (Skjærvø, 2007: 893; Brust, 2018: 49; Mancini, 2019), the Avestan ending *-ə̄* unambiguously points to an asigmatic ending, cf. OAv. *maṣiiā* "mortals, men" vs. Ved. *mártiyāḥ* (Hoffmann and Forssman, 2004: 97; Martínez and de Vaan, 2014: 55; Skjærvø, 2009: 74)[16]. Thus, another source for the NAP *e* of the masculine thematic nouns referring to male entities needs to be found.

　　[15]　Metre A is made of 5+7+5+7 morae. See Hitch (2014) and Leumann (1933-1936: xxx-xxxv). Cf. also the *Appendix* s.v. i.22 *śśaraṃggāra-*.
　　[16]　This reconstruction is partially confirmed by the Eastern Middle Iranian languages. Sogdian has notably remade the plural inflection adding the agglutinative-like plural suffix *-t-*. As pointed out by Sims-Williams (1979: 337), however, there seem to be sporadic attestations of a NP *-ʾ* in the so-called 'Ancient letters', and few instances of a similar NAP of light-stem adjectives (Gershevitch, 1961: 179, 181, § 1185, § 1205, 183-184, § 1217). In Khotanese, the standard NAP of masculine *a*-stems is *-a* < OIr. \*-*ə̆* . Conversely, the Khwarezmian plural *-i* and the plural of the Bactrian of the Kushan period *-ε* can hardly derive from a hypothetical Proto-Iranian ending \*-*āh*.

Within the nominal system of Indo-Iranian, one important morphological innovation links Indo-Iranian languages to Germanic: the nom.pl. *-*ōses*, attested in Old Indian (cf. Ved. -*āsaḥ*), Old Iranian languages (cf. Av. -*å̄ŋhō*, OP -*āha*), and in some Germanic languages (cf. e.g. Gothic -*os*)[17].

Vedic -*āsaḥ* is in decline. According to Wackernagel (1930: 100) and Renou (1952: 255), Ved. -*āsaḥ* occurs once against two instances of -*ās* in the R̥gveda, but in the Atharvaveda the ending is found only once against twenty-four instances of the other ending. The Old Indian proses completely ignore it. It further survives in Pāli -*āse*, cf. *paṇḍitāse* "wise men", *ariyāse* "good ones", etc.[18].

In Old Persian, the continuant of IIr. *-*āsas* occurs only twice in DB IV 62 and 63 *aniyāha bagāha* "the other gods". Conversely, Av. -*å̄ŋhō* is found both in Old and Young Avestan. According to Beekes (1989: 29) it is found 12 times in the Gāthās, against some 35 instances of -*å̄*[19].

It is generally assumed that this ending does not survive in any Middle Iranian language. Conversely, I think that an important relic can be found in Khotanese as PIr. *-*āhah* can be the direct antecedent of the NAP -*e* of masculine nouns of the *kīra*-type denoting male entities.

Therefore, there are good reasons to suppose that Khotanese retained the outcome of PIr. *-*āhah* in a few nouns. From a formal point of view, the derivation of Khot. -*e* from *-*āhah* is unproblematic. Indeed, *-*h*- is frequently lost in some contexts (*SSt*: 37), particularly in word-final position between vowels and in unaccented syllables, cf. 2sg.prs.act. -*ⁱä*, -*ⁱi* < PIr. *-*ahi* (*SGS*: 192), 2sg.prs.mid. Khot -*a* < PIr. *-*aha* (*SGS*: 198), 2sg.subj.mid. -*ā* < PIr. *-*āha* (*SGS*: 204), 3pl.prs.mid. *ā're* "they sit" < *-*āhāre* (cf. Av. *å̄ŋhāire*). Thus, PIr. *-*āhah* may have first evolved into *-*ā.ah* and then *-*āh* > OKhot. -*e*, a development we have already seen for the thematic neuter and the feminine plural.

[17]  Since SCHERER (1868: 427) it has been supposed that Skt. -*āsas* has a parallel in Germanic. See the fundamental article by LAZZERONI (1968) and further BEEKES (1989: 37-42).

[18]  See OBERLIES (2001: 145), VON HINÜBER (2001: 230, § 312). Cf. PISCHEL (1981: 298-299, § 347) for Prākrit.

[19]  See SCHMITT (1967) for a discussion of all Avestan forms. He believes that -*å̄ŋhō* was the 'ahuric' ending, while -*ā̆* was the 'daevic' ending. Cf. further PANAINO (2007: 13).

The reason why this ending has been maintained only in a limited group of nouns may be due to the fact that these nouns refer to male human beings and are mostly used in apposition, as in the examples (3-4) pointed out before and also in the following occurrences:

(5)  *hā buhu mäḍā*na gy*asta balysa mästa hīnāyse yakṣānu spāvate haṃtsa parvārna*
     "There we, O gracious Lord Buddha, the great generals, the commanders of the *yakṣas*, together with (our) retinue." (Suv 11.6)

(6)  *ttätä mulysgyaṣṣonä ysamaśśa[n]dya ttätä satvānu hāvaṃggāre ttätä natānu utārānu dātañä[nu] padāne. ratanānu*
     "These (are) compassionate in the world [...] These (are) benefactors of beings. These are containers of jewels for the profound noble *dharma*s."     (Suv 14.30)

(7)  *śśakkrä tterä ho*ta      *śśakkra närmäte gyoy[se]*[20]
     "So great is Śakra's power, (yet) he created Śakras as fighters."          (Z 14.90a-b)

(8)  *aysu hastä māñämä jau—ysä kyeri halci pūrnyau bitte*
     *biśśu sahyätä tta aysu      sahyīma ysīra ho panye uysnaurä*
     "I am like a fighting elephant: however much anyone pierces it with arrows, it endures all. So I endure the harsh words of every being."          (Z 2. 138)[21]

This explanation is in line with the recent findings by Coenen and Frotscher (2020), according to whom in Vedic Sanskrit the variant *-āsas* occurs mostly once in a noun phrase encoding a feature of the whole nominal expression. In addition, Hill (2018: 99-102) argues that *-āsas* generally serves as a marker of a high degree of agentivity, whereas *-ās* is used to indicate a low degree of agentivity. This hypothesis is supported by the tendency of nominalised adjectives to correlate with the selection of the nominative plural in *-āsas* when the context presupposes a high agentivity.

Note that the NAP *-e* has also been used to re-characterise the original *n*-stem noun *naḍaun-* "man" < *\*nr̥tāu̯an-* (Bailey, 1953: 103; *SGS*: 336-338), whose NAP *naḍaune* contrasts with the expected athematic ending NAP *-ä* < *\*-ah* regularly found in e.g. OKhot. *śśuvānä* ~

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[20]  Emmerick (1968: 224) read *gyoy*s*a*, but neither the *s* nor the *a* can actually be read from the facsimile in Konow (1914), who tentatively read *gyoya* (Konow 1914: 22), but left it without translation. I propose to restore *gyoy[se]* instead (cf. NAP *jauyse* in KV 1.9).

[21]  For the reading *ysīra ho* and the translation, see Maggi (2009b: 162-163).

*śvānä* to *śve* "dog". As *naḍaun-* refers to a (heroic) male person, translating Skt. *puruṣa-* in the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*, the secondary addition of NAP -*e* is totally justified[22].

The analysis pointed out above has important consequences for the historical interpretation of the thematic inflection in Khotanese and for the mergers of the three inherited genders. Indeed, since Khotanese inherited a masculine plural paradigm with allomorphs for the NP *-*ă̄* and *-*āhah*, a feminine plural paradigm with NAP *-*āh*, and a neuter plural with allomorphs NAP *-*ă̄* and *-*āh*, morpho-phonological confluences between the three declensions and respective genders would have been inevitable. And the candidate gender to be lost would have been the thematic neuter, as it had not only plural endings homonymous with *both* the masculine and the feminine plural, but also a singular paradigm that, with the exception of the nominative singular, was formally identical to the masculine.

## 4.   *The development of the Old Iranian masculine* i- *and* u-*stems in Khotanese*

As pointed out in the Preamble (§ 1), a few nouns belonging to the *kīra*-type stand out in having a GDP -*(i)änu*, and not -*ānu*. The etymology of some of them is beyond any doubt. A particularly evident case is that of OKhot. *ggara-* "mountain", which can unambiguously be compared with YAv. *gairi* (cf. Ved. *girí-*), Sogd. *γr-*, Bactr. γαρο, Pashto γar, etc. A related question is therefore whether some masculine *i*-stem nouns are continued into a subclass of the *kīra*-type.

It is generally assumed that the various types of Indo-Iranian *i*- and *ī*-stem inflections fell together to form a single declension in Khotanese. From a synchronic perspective, the Khotanese *i*-declension is typically made of feminine nouns and most of its endings are accompanied by palatalisation. From a diachronic perspective, the nouns

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[22]   The reason why Khot. *uysnora-* "living being" has a NAP *uysnora* (and not **uysnore*) is probably due to the fact that this is a generic noun referring to both humans and animals (= Skt. *sattva-*). This substantive is not individualising and can hardly be used in apposition.

belonging to this class can be traced back to both Old Iranian *i*- and *ī*-stems (*SGS*: 288-289), cf. Khot. *hūni*- "blood" < *\*u̯ahunĭ̄*- (cf. Av. *vohunĭ̄*- [f.] "blood")[23], *nāri*- "wife" < PIr. *\*nārī*- (cf. Av. *nāirī*-, Ved. *nā́rī*-), *hälsti*- "spear" < PIr. *\*(H)r̥šti*- (cf. Av. *aršti*- [f.; m.] "id.", OP *aršti*- "throwing weapon; javelin", Ved. *r̥ṣṭí*- [f.]), etc. As can be seen some of the Old Iranian feminine *i*-stems have also merged into the feminine *i*-declension of Khotanese, for instance OKhot. *palsti*- "back; bottom" (cf. Av. *paršti*- [f.] "back")[24]. Both Sanskrit *i*- and *ī*-stem loanwords can be found in this class, e.g. Skt. *arāti*- "envy" → Khot. *arāti*-, Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi*- "doctrine, belief" → Khot. *dr̥ṣṭi*-, Skt. *dhāraṇī*- "spell" → Khot. *dhāraṇi*-. However, feminine *ī*-stem nouns of Sanskrit referring to female entities have more regularly been assigned to the *ā*-declension in Khotanese (cf. Skt. *vyāghrī*- "tigress" → Khot. *vyāgrā*-).

Even so, it has been proposed to attribute some Khotanese nouns to a parallel masculine *i*-declension, but these have not yet been established properly. Emmerick (1989: 218) was quite sceptical about this reconstruction, while Bailey, on the other hand, implicitly assigned some nouns to this masculine *i*-declension (cf. Bailey *Dict*: s.v. *ggari*-, *ysani*- etc.). A recent note by Prods O. Skjærvø has brought Bailey's hypothesis back to the attention of the scholars. In the commentary of his edition of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Skjærvø (2004 II: 89) has dealt with the inflection and origin of those nouns that are masculine in gender and regularly have NAP *-e* (with variants) and GDP *-(i)änu*. If we do not consider loanwords, there are only three nouns cited by Skjærvø[25]:

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[23]  See *AirW*: 1434 and DE VAAN (2003: 277 fn. 296).

[24]  In this regard, cf. also LAZZERONI (1992). Comparing Vedic Sanskrit with Classical Sanskrit data, he noted that the feminine substantives in *-i-* and *-u-* gradually adhered to the *ī*- and *ū*-inflection respectively, while the masculine substantives in *-ī-* and *-ū-* became *i*- and *u*-stems. As a consequence, in the history of Old Indian, the vowel quantity became a morphological marker of gender contrast: the masculine took short vowels, and the feminine long vowels. This development must have started from the opposition between the masculine stem in *-a-* (< PIE *\*-o-*) and the feminine in *-ā-* (< PIE *\*-eh₂*). The same principle has been applied to the other vocalic sounds, through a process that Lazzeroni calls "synergetic drift".

[25]  Loanwords with a GDP *-änu* are: *bramanänu* (Z 1.35a), *skandhänu* (Z 6.43b, Z 6.48a), *dātänu* (Z 6.48a), *lakṣaṇänu* (Z 10.14c), *ggaja-ggaṇḍänu* (Z 13.33b-c, 13.34b), *vetänu* (Z 22.205b), *rakṣaysänu* (Z 24.115c, Z 24.118a), *arhandinu* (Z 13.87b). For some of them, the expected ending *-ānu* is equally and, sometimes, even more frequently found, e.g. *braṃmanānu* (Z 22.198ab), *skandhānu* (Z 6.8a). See further the *Appendix* s.v. iv.2 *d(h)āta*- "element".

– *ggara-* "mountain" (cf. NAP *ggare*), GDP *ggaräṇu*, *ggariṇu*;
– *ysana-* "living being" (cf. NAP *ysane*), GDP *ysañinu*;
– *sāna-* "enemy" (cf. NAP *sāne*), GDP *sāñänu*.

These words have been regarded as *a*-stems by Emmerick (*SGS*: 267), who explained the GDP ending as either representing OIr. \**-anām* or under the influence of the ending -*añänu* found in the *n*-declension (Emmerick, 1989: 218). Only in the case of *ggariṇu* did Emmerick consider the possibility of a trace of its *i*-stem origin (*SGS*: 293, § 57[iv]), although he also claimed that OIr. \**gari-* was transferred to the *a*-declension in Khotanese (*SGS*: 250). However, the consistent use of the endings -*e* and -⁽ⁱ⁾*änu* with these nouns seems to indicate that they represent an older declension that was originally different from the *a*-declension.

This analysis works fine for the noun *ggara-*, for which an original *i*-stem is beyond any doubt (cf. YAv. *gairi-*, Ved. *girí-*). Khotanese *sāna-* "enemy" has a parallel in Sogd. *s'n* and in Tocharian B *sāṃ*. In Tocharian B this noun also has a peculiar inflection, particularly in the nom.pl. *sañī* /sañɜy/, of which the palatalised stem contrasts with the nom.sg. *sāṃ* /sán/. This noun is usually interpreted as an Iranian loanword (Tremblay, 2005: 439), which has been inserted into a class which seems to continue inherited *i*-stems (*TEB*: § 184).

Another noun that can be interpreted as an old masculine *i*-stem is *spāvata-* "general, army commander" that Bailey (*Dict*: 436b) convincingly traced back to \**spāda-pati-* "the lord of the army" (cf. MP *spāhbed* ⟨sp'hpt'⟩ "general, commander", Bactr. σπαλοβιδο)[26]. The NAP *spāvate* is attested once in Suv 11.6 in the Old Khotanese manuscript Or (SI M13.1 r3) and appears to be the older form of the word commonly attested as *spāta* or even *spā* in Late Khotanese (Emmerick, 1995: 63). A singular form *spāvatä* is now attested in a Sampul carpet bearing a line of text in Khotanese woven into it. The carpet is referred to as 'Carpet No.3' by Duan Qing (2010: 95-96), and it is now kept in the Xinjiang Lop Museum[27].

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[26] For criticism of Bailey's stem *spātā-*, see EMMERICK (1995: 63).

[27] DUAN (2010: 95) gave the transcription and translation as follows: *spāvatä meri sūmä hoḍä* "The spāvata-official Meri gave (this) to Sūma". Recently, she has translated the line differently, interpreting *spāvatä meri* as a GDS and *sūmä* as the subject, thus "soma was given to general Meri" (DUAN, 2020: 35). See further SKJÆRVØ (2021: 262-263).

In light of the above, I agree with Skjærvø that there are good etymological and formal reasons for analysing a few nouns belonging to the *kīra*-type as going back to Old Iranian masculine *i*-stems. What we have to account for is the origin of the endings NAP *-e* and GDP *-⁽ⁱ⁾änu*.

The latter can be traced back to the genitive plural of the proterodynamic *i*-stems IIr. *\*-īnām* > *\*-īnam* (cf. Av. *gairinąm*, Ved. *girīṇā́m*), which has yielded *-ⁱänu* or *-änu* in Khotanese. The difference between the two endings is only synchronic and, apparently, it depends on the stem final consonant of the noun: consonants that could be palatalised took *-ⁱänu*, while the same ending surfaces as *-änu* if the consonant could not be palatalised[28].

The NAP *e* is a more complex case. Skjærvø (2004 II: 89) traced it back to IIr. *\*-āi̯as*. Already in Old Iranian languages, however, this ending had a limited distribution. Skjærvø refers to the forms Av. ⁺*haxāiiō*, Ved. *sákhāyaḥ* < *\*sokʷh₂-ói̯-es*[29]. The Avestan is actually restored, as the attested form is *haxaiiō*, where short *-a-* might be ascribed either to a phonetic shortening or to analogy with the usual *i*-stem endings (de Vaan, 2003: 142; Hoffmann and Forssman, 2004: 58-59). The nominative plural ending *\*-āi̯as* is therefore unproductive and it is further confined to the word *sakhā-* in Old Indian[30].

Therefore, I would be quite surprised if pre-Khotanese would have generalised a nom.pl. *\*-āi̯ah* as the mandatory NAP ending of the masculine *i*-declension, because already in Avestan the expected outcome

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[28] If we do not consider the loanwords, the allomorph *-inu*, *-änu* is only attested in *ggariṇu*, *ggaräṇu* (with retroflex *ṇ* due to preceding *r*), where vibrant *r* has absorbed the palatal effect of the ending. Based on the rules of Old Khotanese synchronic palatalisation, a form *\*ggīräṇu* would have probably been expected (Hitch, 1990: 189), but this could have easily been removed through paradigmatic leveling.

[29] See further *EWAia* 2: 684-668, Tremblay (1996: 105), Cantera (2007: 14), and Gotō (2013: 29). Long *-ā-* in IIr. *\*-āi̯as* possibly originated for Brugmann's Law. Skjærvø (2004 II: 89) further refers to the numeral for "three", Khot. *drai* < *\*ϑrāi̯ah* (cf. Av. *ϑrāiiō*) or *\*ϑrai̯ah*, where the lengthening is secondary (cf. Ved. *tráyas*).

[30] In Avestan there seems to be only one more noun showing a similar inflection, i.e. *kauuaii-* "seer, poet-priest", which is, however, traced back to *\*koṷH-ē(i̯)* by Schaffner (2001: 427) and has a NP *kāuuaiias°* < IIr. *\*kaṷái̯as* (cf. Ved. *kaví*, with NP *kavayas*). In this closed inflectional class, Cantera (2007: 9, 11 fn. 7) also includes the city name (Y)Av. *raγi-* (for usual *raγā-*, cf. OP *ragā-*) on account of the abl.sg. *rajōiṯ*.

has been normalised in the attested *-aiiō* < *\*-aii̯ah* and, in any case, this ending belongs to an unproductive stem-type.

Conversely, the most productive class of *i*-stem nouns in Indo-Iranian follows the proterodynamic inflection (Skjærvø, 2009: 75; Kümmel, 2018: 1895), with ablauting stem formants *-i/ai̯-* and no synchronic lengthened grade in strong cases. A good example is namely the word IIr. *\*gr̥Hi-* "mountain" (*EWAia* 2: 487), of which the reconstructed NAP is IIr. *\*gr̥Hai̯as* > Av. *garaiiō*, Ved. *giráyaḥ*. Also IIr. *\*páti-* "lord, master"[31] (cf. Khot. *spāvata-* "general" < *\*spāda-pati-*) inflected proterodynamically, cf. NAP YAv. *pataiiō*, Ved. *pátayaḥ* < IIr. *\*patai̯as*.

A better working hypothesis is therefore trying to see whether the NAP *-e* of Khotanese can be traced back to PIr. *\*-ai̯ah*. Skjærvø (2004 II: 89) provides the Khotanese locative singular as a counter-example of *\*-ai̯ah* > OKhot. *-e*, namely LS *-ⁱa* < *\*-ai̯ā* (cf. Av. *-ayā*). Indeed, the ending of the locative singular shows that the expected outcome of the sequence *\*-ai̯V* would have resulted in palatalisation of the stem and shortening of word-final *\*-ā* > *-a*[32]. Another possible counterevidence I would add is that of the GDS *-ⁱe* of the feminine *ā*-stems that can be traced back to *\*-ai̯āh* (cf. Av. *-ayā̊* < *\*-āi̯āh*)[33]. Still I do not think that these forms are necessarily strong counterevidence. Indeed, they are different as for the phonotactics, as the final syllable of *\*-ai̯ā* and *\*-ai̯āh* had a long vowel, while *\*-ai̯āh* had a short vowel. In addition, word-final *\*-ā*, *\*-āh*, and *\*-ah* of Proto-Iranian are expected to yield three different vowels in pre-Khotanese, namely *\*-a*, *\*-e*, and *\*-ə*, which may have contracted differently with the preceding diphthong *\*-ai̯-*.

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[31]  In the meaning of "husband", IIr. *\*páti-* had a different inflection. See Gotō (2013: 29) and Kümmel (2018: 1895-1896).

[32]  See Hitch (1990: esp. 182-183) for a description of how palatalisation works in Khotanese.

[33]  See Sims-Williams (1990: 280): «One aspect of phonological development in which Khot. and Sogd. do agree is in the shortening, and subsequent loss, of the first *\*-ā-* in the endings *\*-āyāh* and *\*-āyā*. In this case the shortening is attested also in Avestan [...]. This is part of a more general tendency for endings with two or more long vowels to shorten at least one of them [...]». For the secondary LS *-ⁱe* of Khotanese *ā*-stems, cf. Sims-Williams (1990: 285), *contra* Emmerick (*SGS*: 276-277).

Therefore, if the Old Iranian diphthong $*a\underbar{\i}$ first became $*\bar{e}$ on its way to $*\bar{\i}$, the NAP -*e* of Khotanese may have resulted from the contraction of this $*\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}$ and the outcome of word-final $*\text{-}ah > \text{-}\partial$. Hence $*\text{-}a\underbar{\i}ah > *\text{-}a\underbar{\i}\partial > *\text{-}\bar{e} > $ OKhot. -*e*[34].

Another solution that one may consider is that the final sequences $*\text{-}a\underbar{\i}a$ and $*\text{-}a\underbar{\i}ah$ have evolved in a different way word-finally, with loss of the intervocalic glide between identical vowels and subsequent contraction[35]. I found no counterevidence to this phonetic change in word-final position, but I have equally found no other direct evidence in support of it, because the final sequences $*\text{-}a\underbar{\i}a$ and $*\text{-}a\underbar{\i}ah$ are extremely rare.

An argument in support of this sound change might come from the outcome of Old Iranian *u*-stems in Khotanese[36]. It is generally assumed that Old Iranian *u*-stems are not continued in Khotanese. Emmerick claims that they have been thematised by changing -*u*- to -*a*- and gives the word *pasa*- "sheep" < OIr. *\*pasu*- as an example (*SGS*: 250). It is peculiar, however, that the outcomes of some masculine *u*-stems nouns have not been transferred to the regular

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[34] Cf. also Kümmel (forth.). It may be worth mentioning that OKhot. -*ai*, which originated as the outcome of a contraction between *\*a* and *\*i*, first monophthongised in Late Khotanese [ɛ] (written *ai*, but also *e*) and was then apparently raised to [i] as the spellings with *i* of later texts seem to suggest (cf. *prracęna* [Aśoka], *prracena* [Vajrayāna], *prracina* [Aśoka; *Cat*: 484, 535]). See further Emmerick (*SGS*: 298).

[35] See already Tedesco (1926: 130 fn. 2). If the development put forward above is correct, then the NAP -*iä* of the feminine *i*-declension cannot be derived from *\*-aiah* but only from feminine NP *\*-iah* (Av. -*iiō*, Ved. -*yaḥ*, *SGS*: 293[v]) or *\*-īš* (Av. -*īš*, Ved. -*īḥ*). As a matter of fact, it is preferable to reconstruct the bulk of Khotanese *i*-declension as from Old Iranian feminine nouns of either *devī́*- or *vṛkī́*-type. Thus, AS -*iu* < -*iam* (of the *vṛkī́*-type, *SGS*: 291, § 52[viii]), GDS -*ie* < -*iās* (of the *devī́*-type, *SGS*: 292, § 56[ix]), etc. A frequent allomorph of the NAS -*iä* is -*ie*. One would be tempted to see here a vestige of PIr. *\*-aiah*, but NAP -*ie* could have easily originated through analogy from the NAP -*e* of the *ā*-stems (not with Emmerick from an otherwise unattested *\*-iāh*). Note that *devī́*- and *vṛkī́*-type influenced each other and joined into one inflectional class in Indo-Aryan (see e.g. Cardona, 2003: 161; Gotō, 2013: 22) and in many other Indo-European languages.

[36] In the Indo-European domain, the loss of semivowels between like or similar vowels is widespread, as the same development has happened in Latin (e.g. *lavātrīna > lātrīna* "latrine", gen.sg. *dīvitis* "rich" > *dītis*, *\*treies* "three" > *trēs*, *\*mon-eie-ti* [cf. Ved. *mānáyati*] > *\*monēt > monet* "teach", etc.), Greek (e.g. *\*treies* > τρεῖς [Cretan τρέες, Thera τρῆς]), Germanic (e.g. *\*staya*- "to stand" > Proto-Germanic *\*stā*-), Tocharian (e.g. *\*treies* > *\*trē* > TB *trey* [secondary final -*y*], TA *tre*; *\*perne-uent*- "worthy" > obl.sg. TB *pernent*), etc.

masculine *a*-declension but to the *kīra*-type. A good example in this sense is namely the outcome of IIr. *paću-* "(head of) livestock" (cf. Av. *pasu-*, Ved. *páśu-*), for which the attested NAP is *pase, pasi*. The word mostly occurs in documents drafted in Late Khotanese (e.g. *pase* SI P 136.1 v1 and v2; *pasi* SI P 94.23 lines 5 and 8, SI P 95.14 line 6). An important new document from Karadong (90-YKC-040), written in good Old Khotanese and recently edited by Mauro Maggi (2021: 164-168), also attests the ending -*e* at line 3 (*pase 10 8* // "sheep 18 …").

In Avestan, the outcome of IIr. *paću-* "cattle" seems to have had no alternation in the ablauting element between strong and weak cases, and a generalised *a*-grade in the root. For the plural, the attested forms are NP *pasuuas-ca* and AP *pasuuō*. The latter has a straightforward comparability with the AP *paśváḥ* of Vedic (e.g. ṚV 1.166.6d, ṚV 4.6.3c-d). As for the nominative plural, Vedic has *paśávaḥ* (e.g. ṚV 3.9.7c, ṚV 8.100.11b), which cannot be reconciled with Av. *pasuuas°*. As for Avestan, Tremblay (1999: 172-173) adduced sporadic forms of Av. *pasauuas°* (= Ved. *paśávaḥ*) and concluded that forms with °*uuō* should be regarded as the oldest forms and °*auuō* as a secondary formation.

Now, the NAP *pase* of Khotanese can hardly be derived from a NP *pasu̯ah*, as this form is expected to have yielded something like **pas(v)ä* or *pasū*. Conversely, if *-au̯ah* (nominative plural of the proterodynamic inflection) contracted into *-āh*, this ending may have yielded regularly the attested -*e*.

Other words with NAP -*e* that can be traced back to Old Iranian *u*-stems are:

– *paḍa-* "axe" < *partu-* < *paratu-*, cf. Oss. *færæt*, Khwar. *pdyk* and further Ved. *paraśú-*, Greek πέλεκυς (see the *Appendix*);
– *ttāṣaʾ-* "thief" related to (or regularly from?) Av. *tāiiu-*, Ved. *tāyú-*, Khwar. *tʾh*, Sogd. *tʾy* (Skjærvø, 2004 II: 271).

As in Indo-Iranian the most productive type of *u*-inflection is the proterodynamic one (Kümmel, 2018: 1895-1896), it is probable that in the first place the inherited *u*-stems were levelled and adhered all

together to this inflection, a development the first traces of which may be dated back to the Old Iranian period[37].

All in all, the following developments may be proposed for the outcome of the Old Iranian masculine *i-* and *u-*stems in Khotanese[38]:

| | PROTO-IRANIAN | PRE-KHOTANESE | OLD KHOTANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.SG. | *-iš* | > *-ə* | > -*ä* [ə] |
| ACC.SG. | *-im* | > *-u* (?) | > -*u* |
| GEN.(DAT.)SG. | *-aiš* | > *-ī* > *-i* | > -*i* |
| NOM.ACC.PL. | *-aiah* | > *-e* | > -*e* |
| GEN.(DAT.)PL. | *- īnằm* | > *- inu* | > -* iänu, -inu* |

Table 6. *Evolution of the Old Iranian masculine* i-*stems in Khotanese.*

| | PROTO-IRANIAN | PRE-KHOTANESE | OLD KHOTANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.SG. | *-uš* | > *-u* | > -*ä* [ə] |
| ACC.SG. | *-um* | > *-u* | > -*u* |
| GEN.(DAT.)SG. | *-auš* | > *-ū* > *-u* | > -*i* |
| NOM.ACC.PL. | *-auah* | > *-e* (?) | > -*e* |
| GEN.(DAT.)PL. | *-ūnằm* | > *-unu* | > -*ānu* (?) |

Table 7. *Evolution of the Old Iranian masculine* u-*stems in Khotanese.*

Therefore, in a non-attested stage of Khotanese, the *i-*stems did not distinguish the nominative from the accusative in the singular inflection. The same holds true for the *u-*stems, which also did not have an unambiguous marker for the genitive-dative. Both situations could not last for long, and the inflection of both types was partly aligned with the *a-*stems.

[37]   Incidentally, the loss of Khot. *-u*- between identical vowels might explain the nominative singular form of some nouns belonging to the masculine *n-*declension, including *naḍe* < *nṛtāu̯āh* (?), *naḍaun-* "hero, man" < OIr. *nṛtāu̯an-*. Since the discussion of this development goes beyond the aim of the present article, it is intended to deal with this morphophonological change on another occasion.

[38]   PIr. *ī* and *ū* are regularly shortened before *n* and *r*, cf. EMMERICK (1989: 210). PIr. *-u* was expected to be maintained in word-final position, cf. impv.3sg. OKhot. *-tu* < IIr. *-tu* (Av. *-tu*, Ved. *-tu*). For the development of *-im* > *-u*, one might compare the enclitic particle *ju* < *čim* (cf. Sogd. *nyδcw*, Av. *naēδa.cim*, see SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1986: 412).

But the partial merger with the thematic type has not been the only solution to solve such morpho-phonological coalescence. Indeed, in line with other Middle Iranian languages, Khotanese has enlarged with a *ka*-suffix some old *u*-stems. Examples include:

– *bāysua-* "arm" < *\*bāzuka-*, cf. Pahl. *bāzūg* ⟨bʾcwkʾ⟩, ManParth. *bāzūg* ⟨bʾzwg⟩, Av. *bāzu-*, Ved. *bāhú-* (*AirW*: 955; Bailey *Dict*: 277)[39];
– *ysanuā-* "jaw, chin" < *zanukā-*, cf. Pahl. *zanak* ⟨znkʾ⟩, ManMP *dnwq* (South-Western form), Sogd. *znwq*, Balochi *zanūk*, YAv. *zanu-* (f.), Ved. *hanú-* (f.) (Bailey *Dict*: 345)[40];
– *ysānua-* "knee" < *\*zānuka-*, cf. Pahl. *zānūg* ⟨zʾnwkʾ⟩, ManParth. *zānūg* ⟨zʾnwg⟩, BSogd. *zʾnwk*, YAv. *zānu°*, Balochi *zān*, *zānuk*, Ved. *jā́nu-* (*AirW*: 1689; Bailey *Dict*: 348).

Both words for "arm" and "knee" show instances of a NAP -*uve*, -*ve* (see the next section and the *Appendix*). This may have descriptively originated from older *\*-uke* > *\*-u.e* > -*ve*. However, IIr. *\*bāHǰ[b]ú-* was masculine and inflected proterodynamically, with a NP ending *\*-au̯as* (cf. also the dual NA forms YAv. *bāzauua*, Ved. *bāhávā*), while IIr. *ǰánu-* "knee" was neuter, although a masculine variant YAv. *žnūm* is attested. Given the fact that these words refer to body parts and have similar forms in their paradigm, analogy is a plausible candidate to account for their NAP form. It can therefore be hypothesised that the ending *\*-e* (as if from *\*-au̯ah*) has been transferred to the *ka*-variant.

The distribution of the suffix *\*-ka-* was originally conditioned by its low sociolinguistic feature. In particular, Jamison (2009: 312) argues that *\*-ka-* functions as a feature of linguistic register and

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[39] On the relation in Middle Persian between *bāzug* ⟨bʾcwkʾ⟩ and *bāzā(y)* ⟨bʾcʾy⟩, see recently Ciancaglini (2020).

[40] On the Middle Persian lexical forms for "knee", see Filippone (2020). The Old Khotanese NS *ysanuva* is attested once in Z 20.40 with feminine agreement, cf. *śśīya śśo ysanuva śśäte* "there lies one white.ꜰ jawbone". The maintenance of the original gender of the base *\*zanu-* is relevant. On the relationship between *\*zanu-* and *\*zānu-*, see Narten (1969). The Indo-Aryan initial consonant in *hanú-* remains difficult to explicate, but the form can hardly be separated from the feminine PIE *\*ǵenu-*.

originally belongs to an informal level, which cannot clearly be detected from the high-culture texts of the most ancient stages of the Indo-Iranian languages. As for Iranian, this would explain the relatively few attestations of *-ka-* in Old Avestan and the higher number of attestations in Young Avestan (Ciancaglini, 2019). In Middle Iranian languages, the Old Iranian suffix \*-*ka-* became greatly widespread and appears to be a very productive means of derivation. In these languages, the primary function of *-ka-* was a sort of 'normaliser' of the inflection, that is, it was used to create thematic derivative from a base noun, without modifying the original meaning of the base. This category already had been discovered by the Indian grammarians, who named this function of *ka*-suffix *anartha* "without value, without meaning". As it was originally perceived as sociolinguistically low, it may be possible that derived and underived forms coexisted for a time until the *ka*-variant reached the status of standard or more common form. During this period, the two forms may have influenced one another, and this would have caused the transposition of the NAP ending *-e*, whatever its origin, to the *ka*-variant.

## 5.  *Further developments in Late Khotanese*

Up to now, it has been attempted to account for the origin of the inflectional classes outlined at the beginning of the article and to explain their inflectional peculiarities for the Old Khotanese period. It is now time to clarify what was the fate of the *kīra-*, *āstaa-* and *bāysua-*-types in Late Khotanese.

As for the outcome of the Old Iranian masculine *i*-stems, we notice an early trend of development for the original GDP -*⁽ⁱ⁾änu* to be analogically replaced by *-ānu* since the later phases of Old Khotanese. Taking the GDP of *ggara-* "mountain" as an example, both *ggariṇu* (spelling variant of *ggaräṇu*) and *ggarāṇu* occur even within the same text, as in the examples below from the Old Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*:

(9)  *naysdä ggariṇu*[41]       *ttye nätāyä tcalco vätä*
"Near the mountains, on the bank of the river."                    (Z 17. 21a-b)

(10)  *haṃdṛ vätä ttānu ggarāṇu*       *väysa upala ūtca pharāka*
"Within those mountains are lotuses, blue lotuses, much water." (Z 16. 66a-b)

Both variants are also attested in the Old Khotanese MS 10 of the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* and in Skjærvø's 'Middle Khotanese' MS Q of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*[42]:

(11)  *kyau gyasta balysa* [*hary*]*āsānu gga*ri*ṇu kamalu hanemäte baña su*mīrä *ga*rā*ṇu* [*rrundä*]
"Which one indeed, Lord Buddha, of the black mountains (Skt. *kālaparvatāḥ*) bends down (its) head before Sumeru, [the king] of the mountains (Skt. *parvata-rājasya*)?"                    (Sgh 53.1)

(12)  *Mahācakravāla ggaräṇu rrundä*
"Mahācakravāḍas, kings of mountains (Skt. *parvata-rājñāṃ*)."    (Suv 6.4.26)

(13)  [*ggar*]*ānu rrundä*
"The king of mountains (Skt. *girīndraṃ*)."                    (Suv 6.6.7)

In Late Khotanese, we only find GDP *garāṃ* (JS 29a [7v4], Rāma 43b, Si 20.24 [Ch 128r5]), which unambiguously continues OKhot. *ggarāṇu*.
  A parallel case is that of the GDP of *sāna-* "enemy". The only GDP attested in an Old Khotanese text I was able to find is *sāñānu* in Suv 6.1.65 (MS Or) *u sāñānu nihaljākä āya u purrākä* "and it may be subduer and a conqueror of enemies"[43]. In Late Khotanese, we do not find

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[41]  Note that the metrics requires *\*ggarāṇu* to respect the first cadence of seven morae of metre C (the hemistich scans −◡◡ −◡ || ◡◡−◡ | ⏑́− ◡́◡). The spelling *ggariṇu* may therefore be regarded as a writing archaism by the scribe who copied the *Book of Zambasta*. Otherwise, it may be hypothesised that the copyist forgot to write an *akṣara* corresponding to the missing mora (cf. LEUMANN, 1933-1936: 221). If so, a possible edition of the passage could be *\*naysda<kä> ggariṇu* (−◡◡ ◡◡◡) "near the mountains", with editorial supplement of the adjective *naysdakä* instead of the adverb *naysdä* (cf. *KS*: 191).
[42]  Roman type in quotations stands for italics in the editions and indicates uncertain reading.
[43]  As SKJÆRVØ (2004 II: 155) clarifies, this passage is found only in the Khotanese version of Suv. For the expression *u sāñānu nihaljākä ... u purrākä* "subduer and conqueror of enemies", Skjærvø refers to the passages in Z 22.142 *handarye hīne nihaljāka* "suppressor of the foreign army", Z 24.40 *sāne harbiśśa purdä* "he will overcome all enemies", and Kha. i.95a3 a3 (IOL Khot 20/12, *Cat*: 208) *sāni ni'hīy*[−] "overcome the enemies".

any continuant of this form, but rather the outcome of an unattest-
ed *sānānu, cf. e.g. GDP sānạnä (Vajr), sānāṃ (Vajr), sānā (JS). From
these clear examples, we can conclude that the older ending GDP
-⁽ⁱ⁾änu has been normalised to -ānu, which regularly yields -āṃ in Late
Khotanese.

A different development occurs to the NAP -e. From an inflec-
tional point of view, nouns belonging to the kīra-type have undergone
a twofold evolution in Late Khotanese: while in some cases they have
preserved the Old Khotanese inflection, in the majority of texts they
seem to have merged with the regular a-declension. In the so-called
Book of Vimalakīrti, which is witnessed by two manuscripts, we find
spellings of the type kīrä in MS C and kīrai in MS P for the NAP.
Both word-final -ä and -ai can be Late Khotanese spellings of OKhot.
-e. On the other hand, NAP -a is found in the great majority of the
Late Khotanese texts, including Rāma (kīra), Aśoka (kīra, but cf. kīrä
in MS A), Aps (kīra), Mañj (kīra), etc. In the Jātakastava and manu-
script P of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, various spellings are attested,
cf. kīra (Suv 3.75, JS 9v3+), kīri (Suv 3.51), kīre (Suv 3.52, JS 30v2+).
Also, NAP ggare "mountains" is continued as garä, gari, gi in Sudh,
but as gara in Mañj; NAP sāne is continued as sạni, sānai in Sum,
but as sāna in Vajr. Additional evidence for the maintenance of the
expected ending is NAP dave (Mañj), divi, davi (Sudh) "wild beasts"
< OKhot. date (but data in JS), NAP śśaysde (Avdh)[44] "snakes"
< OKhot. śśaysde, or NAP kāḍare "swords" in Mañj 208, which cor-
responds to kāḍare in the parallel passage in Z 5. 74. Conversely, an
early instance of NAP -a is kamala in Bhaiṣ 73, while later OKhot.
käḍäyāne "(evil) deeds" is continued as NAP kiḍiyạna in Sum § 35.

These developments foreshadow both a phonological and a mor-
phological change. As a result of the incipient weakening of short
final vowels, that culminated in the simplified inflections and trun-
cated words of Late Khotanese, there is a tendency for them to be
confused. The merger of the Old Khotanese final, unstressed vowels

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[44] As demonstrated by EMMERICK (1987: 35), the manuscript of the Avdh is not in
Old Khotanese (despite the formal script and the classical orthography with which it is writ-
ten), but rather in 'old Late Khotanese' (SDTV 3: 239).

-*ä*, -*i*, -*u* into LKhot. [ə] entails that the Old Khotanese distinction between nominative, genitive-dative and accusative singular of the *a*-declension nouns is no longer maintained (Maggi, forth. § 30.31.1). However, while the regular *a*-stem nouns still distinguished the NAS -*ä* from the NAP -*a*, as OKhot. -*a* regularly yields LKhot. -*a*, the same cannot be said for the nouns of the *kīra*-type, where the NAP -*e* of Old Khotanese tends to be written -*ä* in word-final position already in Old Khotanese (cf. Z 14.93a *kamalä*, Z 13.152c *kīrä*, etc.). Thus, Late Khotanese was in the course of not distinguishing the nominative and accusative cases in both singular and plural. For this reason, nouns belonging to the *kīra*-type started to adhere to the *a*-declension, where a distinction between NAS and NAP could have been maintained.

A different development can be reconstructed for the members of the secondary declension. Indeed, I expect that word-final -*e* in the outcomes of the *aa*-stem nouns OKhot. *āste* "bones" and *späte* "flowers" would have been maintained, as this vowel, the original outcome of a contraction, was long in Old Khotanese and counted as two morae in metrics (Emmerick and Maggi, 1991: 68-69; Hitch, 2015: 303). This is confirmed by a scrutiny of the occurrences in Late Khotanese text, where the spellings *āste* and *spye* < *späte* for the NAP are common.

Conversely, final -*e* in the NAP ending -*uve*, -*ve* of the *ua*-declension nouns (cf. *bāysuve*, *bāysve* and *ysānve*) was not long, but it has been regularly maintained in Late Khotanese texts, cf. *bāysve* in JS 52[13r1], JS 88[20v3], Mañj 50 and *ysāṇve* in Si § 21.8. Apparently, a NAP *bāysva* occurs only once in the late Old Khotanese manuscript H of Suv, cf. Suv 4.11 *dasta . khauysaṃdā bāysva* "hands, moving arms" (Skt. °*hasta-pralaṃbita-bāhuṃ*), where one may suggest a scribal mistake. Note, however, that the formal maintenance of the final vowel -*e* in the NAP -*ve* may be explained as a graphic archaism rather than as a phonetic one, since even a word-final -*ä* of Old Khotanese is written -*e* in Late Khotanese after -*y*- [j] and -*v*- [w], cf. 3sg.perf.intr.m. OKhot. *hämätä* "became" > LKhot. *himye*, *hamye* or NSm OKhot. *vasutä* "pure" > LKhot. *vasve* (Maggi, forth. § 30.26).

*Acknowledgments*

## List of abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1/2/3 | first/second/third person | NP | New Persian |
| A, acc. | accusative | nt. | neuter |
| Arm. | Armenian | OAv. | Old Avestan |
| Av. | Avestan | OKhot. | Old Khotanese |
| Bactr. | Bactrian | OIr. | Old Iranian |
| BSogd. | Buddhist Sogdian | OP | Old Persian |
| ChSogd. | Christian Sogdian | Oss | Ossetic |
| f. | feminine | OUygh. | Old Uigur |
| G | genitive | P, pl. | plural |
| GD | genitive-dative | Pahl. | Book Pahlavī |
| Germ. | Germanic | Parth. | Parthian |
| Gk. | Ancient Greek | PIE | Proto-Indo-European |
| IIr. | Indo-Iranian | PIr. | Proto-Iranian |
| Khot. | Khotanese | prs. | present |
| Khwar. | Khwarezmian | S, sg. | singular |
| L | locative | Skt. | Sanskrit |
| Lat. | Latin | Sogd. | Sogdian |
| LKhot. | Late Khotanese | TA | Tocharian A |
| m. | masculine | TB | Tocharian B |
| MP | Middle Persian | Tum. | Tumshuqese |
| ManMP | Manichean Middle Persian | Ved. | Vedic Sanskrit |
| | | YAv. | Young Avestan |
| MS | manuscript | Yagh. | Yaghnōbī |
| MSogd. | Manichean Sogdian | Yidgh. | Yidghā |
| N, nom. | nominative | | |

## *Khotanese texts*

AdhŚ   *Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (later OKhot.). Ed. and trans. *SDTV* 3: 24-39 (SI P 4) + ed. in *KT* 5: 43 (H 143 NSB 2).

Aśoka   *Aśokāvadāna* (LKhot.). Ed. and trans. Dragoni (2013-2014).

Avdh   *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī* (older LKhot.). Ed. and trans. *SDTV* 3: 239-250.

Bhaiṣ   *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra* (OKhot; later OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Emmerick (1985) (cf. also *KT* 3: 124-125), Leumann (1920) (cf. also *KT* 5: 87-89), *SDTV* 3: 71-75 and 222, *Cat*: 20-24.

BoComp   *Bodhisattva compendium* (OKhot.). Ed. *KT* 5: 91-102; Ed. and trans. Leumann (1920: 116-150).

JS   *Jātakastava* (LKhot.). Ed. and trans. Dresden (1955).

KV   *Karmavibhaṅga* (later OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Maggi (1995).

Mañj   *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* (LKhot.). Partial ed. and trans. Emmerick (1968: 437-453; 1997; 1998b).

Rāma   *Rāma Story* (LKhot.). Ed. *KT* 3: 65-76, trans. Bailey (1940).

Rel   Old or 'Middle' Khotanese religious texts written in formal Brāhmī (*Cat*: xxxiii). Ed. and trans. *Cat.* under label 'Rel'.

Rk   *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* (OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Skjærvø (2003) and Maggi (2015).

Si   *Siddhasāra* (LKhot.). Ed. *KT* 1: 2-132 (Ch. ii.002) + *KT* 5: 315-324 (P 2892).

Sgh   *Saṅghāṭasūtra* (arch. OKhot. and OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Canevascini (1993).

Śgs   *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (arch. OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Emmerick (1970); *Cat*: 169, 182-188, 220, 223, 266-268, 327-330, 409-423, 586.

Sudh   *Sudhanāvadāna* (LKhot.). Ed. and trans. De Chiara (2013; 2014).

Sum   *Sumukha(nāmadhāraṇī)sūtra* (LKhot.). Ed. and trans. Emmerick (1997-1998).

Suv      *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (OKhot. and LKhot.). Ed. and trans. Skjærvø (2004).

Vajr      *Vajracchedikāsūtra* (LKhot.). Ed. and trans. Konow (1916).

Vim      *Book of Vimalakīrti* (LKhot.). Ed. and trans. Maggi (in preparation).

VkN      *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Skjærvø (1986).

Z      *Book of Zambasta* (later OKhot.). Ed. and trans. Emmerick (1968).

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*Appendix*

The *Appendix* contains all attested forms of masculine nouns with NAP -*e* (both [-e] and [-e:]) and -*uve* occurring in the following Old Khotanese texts: Adhś, Bhaiṣ, BoComp, KV, Rel, Rk, Śgs, Sgh, Suv, VkN, Z. When a given text is attested by multiple manuscripts, I give the conventional editorial reference to the manuscript only in the case of the Suv and the Sgh. The generic label 'Rel' follows Skjærvø (*Cat.*) and means Old or 'Middle' Khotanese religious texts in the British Library written in formal Brāhmī. Each entry is arranged as follows:

–   a standardised heading consisting of the lemma, a gloss giving the general meaning, and a reconstructed phonetic transcription aiming to give an abstract idea of the spoken language underlying the spelling conventions of the written texts[45];
–   the etymology and, if needed, comments and remarks on individual forms;
–   a list of references as for the etymology and the comparative analysis;
–   a list of the occurrences as found in the aforementioned Old Khotanese texts.

Occasional reference to Late Khotanese is only made in the commentary section. The Appendix is divided into five sections, which correspond to specific groups of nominals:

(i)    nouns belonging to the so-called *kīra*-type, i.e. masculine nouns with NAP -*e* [-e] and GDP -*ānu*, -*(i)änu*;
(ii)   nouns belonging to the so-called *āstaa*-type, i.e. masculine nouns of the secondary declension with NAP -*e* [-e:];
(iii)  nouns belonging to the so-called *bāysua*-type, i.e. masculine nouns of the secondary declension with NAP -*uve*;

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[45]   The phonetic values of Khotanese follow EMMERICK and PULLEYBLANK (1993: 55) and EMMERICK (2009), while the position of the stress in phonetic transcriptions follows MAGGI (1992). The exact phonetic nature of the two *r*-sounds transliterated as *r* and *rr* is unknown. EMMERICK (2009) suggests that *r* is a dental trill and *rr* a dental approximant. For a recent view, see HITCH (2016: 37-39).

(iv) loanwords (mostly from Indo-Aryan);

(v)  nouns that may belong to one of the aforementioned classes but for which the attested forms do not allow for a certain annexation;

(vi) nouns that have been considered to be members of one of the aforementioned classes, but that should in reality be explained otherwise.

Considering that the *Appendix* is only based on a selection of Old Khotanese texts, the list of members of each class does not aim to be comprehensive. As a matter of fact, a closer inspection of Late Khotanese texts may reveal additional nouns. Furthermore, since the main differences between these and other inflection classes rely either on the nominative and accusative singular endings or on the nominative-accusative plural ending, the possibility cannot be ruled out that nouns not attesting the 'deviating' ending could actually be included.

(i)   kīra-*type*

i.1   *āṣka-* "tear" ['aːṣka]-
      From *\*asru-ka-*, cf. Av. *asru-* (nt.), Ved. *áśru-* (nt.), MSogd. *ʾckw-*, ChSogd. *cwq-*, Khwar. *ʾšwk*, NP *ars*, *ašk*, Oss. *syg*, *sug*, Waxī *yaṣk*, Pashto *óẋa*, *úẋka* (f.), etc. Cf. *āṣkaraunda-* "full of tears". It is probable that word-internal *\*-u-* was early on reduced to *\*-ə-* due to vowel weakening in unstressed syllables, and then vanished. Comparison with e.g. *āska-* "deer, antelope" (< *\*āsuka-* "the swift one", BSogd. *ʾʾsʾwkʾ*, Pahl. *āhūg* ⟨ʾhwkʾ⟩, ManMP ⟨ʾ⟩ʾ*hwg*) shows that syncope of short *\*-u-* is more frequent in the proximity of a sibilant.
      REFERENCES: *SSt*: 118; Bailey *Dict*: 27; *KS*: 181; *ESIJ* 1: 242-243.
      NAP *āṣke* (Z);
      IAP *āṣkyau jsa* (Suv[F]).

i.2   *āhūḍa-* "skeleton, bone" [aːˈhuːḍa]-
      Etymology uncertain. Bailey reconstructed *ah-* "bone" with *-ūḍa-* "covered".
      REFERENCES: Bailey *Prolexis*: 23, *Dict*: 28 and 30; *ESIJ* 1: 234.
      IAS *āhūḍäna* (Z);
      NAP *āhūḍe* (Z).

i.3   *kamala-* "head, person" ['kamala]-
From PIr. *\*kamr̥da-*, cf. Av. *kamərəδa-* "daevic head" (cf. Skt.
*mūrdhán-*), Bactr. καμιρδο "the chief (god)", Pahl. *kamāl* ⟨kmʾl⟩,
ManMP *kamār* ⟨qmʾr⟩. Khot. *-l-* is regularly from *\*-rd-*. In *SGS*,
Emmerick reconstructed an *n*-stem *kamalan-*, which was prob-
ably based on the LS *kamalña* only found in Z 13.74. However,
the loc.sg. *kamalña* could have been modelled on other *n*-stem
nouns denoting body parts.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 52; *AirW*: 440; *ESIJ* 4: 159; *SGS*:
341; Sims-Williams (1997: 23).
NS *kamalä* (Z);
GDS *kamali* (Z);
AS *kamalu* (Sgh[1, 10, 17, 18], Rel, Z);
LS *kamalña* (Z);
NAP *kamale* (Z), *kamalä* (Z), *kamala* (Bhaiṣ);
IAP *kamalyo jsa* (Z).

i.4   *kāḍara-* "cutting weapon, knife, sword" ['kaːḍara]-
From *\*karta-ra-*, cf. Av. *karəta-* (m.), Sogd. *krt*, Khwar. *krc*, Pahl.
*kārd* ⟨kʾltʾ⟩, NP *kārd*, Oss. *kard*, Yagh. *kōrt*. Note that a LKhot.
NAP *kāḍare* is also attested in Mañj 208 as corresponding to
*kāḍare* in Z 5. 74. The origin of the alleged suffix *\*-ra-* of Khota-
nese is unclear.
REFERENCE: Bailey *Dict*: 58; *ESIJ* 4: 314-315.
NS *kāḍarä* (Z);
AS *kāḍaru* (Z);
IAS *kāḍarna* (Sgh[1], Z);
NAP *kāḍare* (Z), *kāḍarä* (Z);
IAP *kāḍaryau* (Z).

i.5   *käḍägāna-* "(evil) deed, sin" [kəḍəˈɣaːna]
From *\*kr̥ta-kāna-*, cf. BSogd. *ʾkrtʾnyh* "evil deed, sin". A NAP
*kiḍiyą̄na* is found once in the Late Khotanese version of the Sum
§ 35.
REFERENCES: *SSt*: 151; Bailey *Prolexis*: 46-47; Sims-Williams
(1981: 16-17; 1983: 42); Skjærvø (2004 II: 254).
NS *käḍägānä* (Sgh[1]);

GDS *käḍägāni* (Sgh[1, 5]), *käḍägānä* (Sgh[1], Suv[Or]);
AS *käḍägānu* (Sgh[6]), *käḍyānu* (KV);
IAS *käḍägānäna* (Śgs), *kiḍägānäna* (Sgh[22]);
NAP *käḍägāne* (Śgs, Suv[Or, C], Sgh[6, 17, 24], Rel[IOL Khot 155/4 r4]), *käḍätāne* (Sgh[9, 10, 17], Z), *käḍäyāne* (Sgh[6], Z), *käḍyāne* (Adhś), *käḍägānä* (Sgh[17]), *käḍäyānä* (Z);
GDP *käḍätānānu* (Suv[Or]), *käḍyānānu* (Suv[Or]);
IAP *[käḍä]gānyau jsa* (Sgh[18]), *käḍätānyau* (Sgh[10]).

i.6 *kīra-* "act, deed" [ˈkiːra]-
From the neuter form of the gerundive *\*karịa-* "to be done", cf. Av. *kairiia-*, Tum. *kari*, *käri* (?) < *\*karịam*.
REFERENCES: Leumann (1912); Bailey *Dict*: 60; Skjærvø (1987: 86; 2004 II: 255).
NS *kīrä* (Suv[Or], Z, Rk), *kīri* (Z);
GDS *kīrä* (Z);
AS *kīru* (Suv[Or], Z);
IAS *kīrrna* (Suv), *kīrina* (Z);
LS *kīro* (Z);
NAP *kīre* (Adhś, Śgs, Sgh[10], Suv[Or, D], Rk, Rel, Z), *kīrä* (Adhś, Z), *kīri* (Z);
IAP *kīryau* (Adhś).

i.7 *kṣīra-* "region, land, country" [ˈʈṣʰiːra]-
From *\*šaịϑra-*, which Sims-Williams interpreted as a blend of *\*xšaϑra-* (cf. Av. *xšaϑra-* [nt.]) and *\*šaiϑra-* (cf. Av. *šōiϑra-* [nt.]). Cf. Tum. *xšera-*. The plural stem is shifting from *kṣīr-* to *kṣīrañ-*.
REFERENCES: Sims-Williams *apud* Boyce (1990: 7); *Studies* 3 (Emmerick): 45-46; Skjærvø (2004 II: 258); Del Tomba (2021: 183-184).
NS *kṣīrä* (Suv[Or, L], Z), *kṣīri* (Z);
GDS *kṣīrä* (Suv[Or]);
AS *kṣīru* (Suv[Or], Z);
IAS *kṣīrna* (Suv[Or]), *°kṣīräna* (Z);
LS *kṣīra* (Adhś, Bhaiṣ, KV, Śgs, Suv[Or], Sgh, Z), *kṣīro* (Suv[Or]);
NAP *kṣīre* (Suv[Or]), *kṣīrañi* (VkN), *kṣīrañä* (Suv[A, Or, G, R], Z);
GDP *kṣīrañänu* (Suv[Or]);

LP °*kṣīruvoʾ* (Suv[Or], Sgh[3]), *kṣīruvoʾ* (Sgh[9]), *kṣīrvo* (Suv[Or]), *kṣīrañuvoʾ* (Śgs, Suv[Or, E]), *kṣīrañuvo* (Suv[Or]), *kṣīrañvoʾ* (Suv[Or]), *kṣīrañuo* (Suv[L]), *kṣīrañuau* (Suv[L]).

i.8   *ggara*- "mountain" [ˈgaːra]-

Ultimately from IIr. \**gr̥Hí*-, cf. YAv. *gairi*-, Ved. *girí*-, Sogd. *γr*-, Bactr. γαρο, Pahl. *gar* ⟨gl⟩, Yidgh. *yar*, Pashto *γar*, etc. Bailey gives two stems *gara*- and *ggari*-, somehow mixing synchrony and diachrony.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 80; *AirW*: 513-514; *ESIJ* 3: 191-193; Skjærvø (2004 II: 259-260).

NS *ggarä* (Suv, Z), *ggari* (Z);

GDS *ggari* (Z), *garri* (Rel), *garä* (Sgh[2, 6]), *ggarä* (Sgh[17], Z);

AS *garu* (Sgh[2, 6]), *ggaru* (Suv[Or], Z);

IAS *garna* (Sgh[10]), *ggaräna* (Z), *ggarina* (Z), *ggarna* (Suv[Or], Z);

NAP *gare* (Suv[Or], VkN), *ggare* (Z), *ggari* (Z);

GDP *ggariṇu* (Sgh[10]), *ggariṇu* (Rel, Z), *ggaräṇu* (Suv[Q], Z), *garāṇu* (Sgh[10]), *ggarāṇu* (Z), *ggarānu* (Suv[Q]);

IAP *garyau* (Suv), *ggaryau* (Sgh[20], Z), *ggaryau jsa* (Z);

LP *garuvoʾ* (Suv[Or]), *ggaruvoʾ* (Suv[Or], Z), *ggaruvo* (Sgh[6]), *ggarvā* (Suv[Q]).

i.9   *groṇa*- "garland" [ˈgroːṇa]- (?)

Etymology uncertain. According to Bailey (*Prolexis*), comparison with *thauna*- "cloth" indicates a derivation from \**grabana*-. The masculine gender of the word has been correctly expounded by Maggi (*Studies*). A recent edition by Maggi of two additional fragments of Sgh, covering the thus far unattested paragraphs 121.5-124.3 (Canevascini's MS 9), attests a new occurrence of the NAP *groṇe*.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Prolexis*: 77; *Dict*: 93 (s.v. †*grauṇā*-); Sims-Williams (1983: 46); *Studies* 3 (Maggi): 51-52; Maggi (2017); *KS*: 135.

NAP *groṇe* (Sgh), *grauṇe* (Z).

i.10  *gyauysa*- "fighter; fighting" [ˈʤoːza]-

Etymology uncertain. Bailey traced it back either to *yaud*- with suffix -*s*- or to a base *yauz*-. In Z 14.90, Emmerick read *gyoysa*, but

neither the -s- nor the -a can actually be read. I propose to restore *gyoy[se]* instead. Note that it cannot be excluded that we are actually dealing with an adjectival formation.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 113.

NS *jauysä* (Z);

AS *gyoysu* (Sgh[2]);

NAP *jauyse* (KV), *gyoy[se]* (Z), *joysä* (Z).

i.11  *ttāṣaʾ-* "thief" [ˈtaːₕẓa]-

Cf. Av. *tāiiu-*, Skt. *tāyú-*, Khwar. *tʾh*, Sogd. *tʾy*. Bailey mechanically reconstructs *\*tāši-*. Also compare Hittite *tāi̯e/a-* "to steal", Old Church Slavonic *taiti* "conceal", OIrish *táid* "thief".

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 126; Skjærvø (2004 II: 271); Maggi (2021).

GDS *ttāʾṣäʾ* (Z);

NAP *tāṣeʾ* (SI P 83.2 b7), *ttāṣeʾ* (Z, Suv[Or]), *ttāʾte* (Z).

i.12  *data-* "wild animal" [ˈdaʾa]-

From OIr. *\*data-* (nt.), cf. MSogd. *δṭw* (nt.), MP *dad* ⟨dtʾ⟩, ManMP *dd* "wild animal", NP *dad*, *dada* "id." and further Av. *daitika-* "wild, undomesticated animal". That the noun is synchronically a masculine *a*-stem is proved by the agreement, cf. Sgh § 243[27] *hạndara date* "other.M wild animals". In Late Khotanese texts, the NAP is spelled *dave* (Mañj), *divi*, *davi* (Sudh), *data* (JS).

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 151, 153; *ESIJ* 2: 330-331.

NAP *date* (Sgh[10], Z).

i.13  *dīraṃggāra-* "evil-doer" [diːrāˈgaːra]-

From *\*dīram-kāra-*, cf. BSogd. *δrγwʾnkʾrʾk*. See s.v. *śśäraṃggāra-* below. Emmerick (*Studies*) links *dīra-* to Av. *drigu-* "poor".

REFERENCES: *Studies* 1 (Emmerick): 55-56; Skjærvø (2004 II: 281).

NAP *dīraṃggāre* (Z);

GDP *dīraṃgārāṇu* (Suv[Or]), *dīraṃggārāṇu* (Suv[Or]);

IAP *dīraṃgāryau* (Rk).

i.14  *paḍa-* "axe" [ˈpaḍa]-

From *\*partu-* < *\*paratu-*, cf. Oss. *færæt*, Khwar. *pdyk*, and further Ved. *paraśú-*, Greek πέλεκυς and the Iranian loanwords TB *peret*,

A *porat*, OUygh. *balto*, *baltu*. It is unclear how the Indo-Aryan and Greek form could be reconciled with the Iranian words. Khotanese *-ḍ-*, however, can only be the outcome of older \**-rt-* (cf. *sāḍa-* "cold" < \**sarta-*, Av. *sarəta*; *ysāḍa-* "old" < \**zarta-*, Av. *zarəta-*), as PIr. \**-rć-* would have yielded *-rs-* and \**-rϑ-* would have yielded *-ṭh-* (cf. \**ham-u̯arϑi̯a-* > *haṃbīṭh-* "to retain"). The lack of vowel lengthening in Khotanese is also problematic. Possibly, the weakening and subsequent loss of medial *-a-* have occurred after vowel lengthening before consonant cluster. Sims-Williams suggests that the Khotanese word has been borrowed from an Old Scythian descendant of PIr. \**paraću-*.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 203, (1982: 55); *EWAia* 2: 87; Cheung (2002: 74); Sims-Williams (2002: 239); *HWA*: 141.

AS *paḍu* (Sgh[11]);

NAP *paḍe* (Sgh[11]).

i.15 *padāna-* "vessel" [pa'da:na]-

From \**pati-dāna-* (Bailey).

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 208; Skjærvø (2004 II: 297).

NS *padānä* (Śgs, Z), *padāni* (Z);

AS *padānu* (Z);

LS *padāña* (Rel);

NAP *padāne* (Śgs, Suv[Or], Z).

i.16 *pasa-* "sheep" ['pasa]-

Ultimately from IIr. \**paću-*, cf. OAv. *pasu-* "small cattle" (in contrast to *staora-* "big cattle"), Skt. *paśú-* (m.), Sogd. *ps-*, *psw*, Bactr. ποσο, Oss. *fys*, *fus* "sheep", Waxī *pus*, Pahl. *pah* ⟨p'h⟩. The NAP form is variously spelled *pase*, *pasi*, *pasä* in Late Khotanese documents. Mauro Maggi has edited a new inscribed wooden tablet from Karadong (90-YKC-040) in Old Khotanese, where the NAP *pase* "sheep" can be read.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 224; Canevascini (1993: 150, for the meaning); Maggi (2021).

NS *pasä* (Sgh[10], Z);

NAP *pase* (90-YKC-040 line 3);

LP *pasuvo* (Z).

i.17  *prahauṇa-* "dress, garment" [praˈhoːṇa]- (?)

Etymology uncertain. Note that a comparable noun occurs three times as *prahoni* in a Gāndhārī document from Niya (no. 318, under-tablet r7, covering tablet v1-2 [2×]) datable to around the third century.

REFERENCES: Boyer *et al.* (1920-1929: 116); Burrow (1934: 514; 1940: 59); Agrawala (1953: 85-86); Bailey *Prolexis*: 210-211; *Dict*: 255; *KS*: 25.

NS *prahauṇä* (BoComp), *prahoṇä* (Sgh[10], Z);

AS *prahauṇu* (Sgh(23), Suv[Or], KV, BoComp), *prahoṇu* (Sgh[1], Bhaiṣ);

IAS *prahauṇna* (Suv[SI¹]), *prrahoṇäna* (Z);

NAP *prahauṇe* (Suv[Or]), *prahoṇe* (Adhś, Sgh[17], Suv[Or, H], Z);

IAP *prahauṇyau* (Suv), *prahoṇyau* (Sgh[9]).

i.18  *baśdaṃggāra-* "evil doer" [baʒdāˈgaːra]-

From OIr. *\*bazdi̯am-kāra-*, cf. MSogd. *ʾßzyʾkʾry*, MSgod. *ßjngʾryy*, ChSogd. *bžngʾry* "evildoer, sinful", and further OKhot. *baśdaā-* "sin" (< *\*bazdyakā-*). See s.v. *śśaraṃggāra-* below.

REFERENCES: Henning (1940: 102); Sims-Williams (1983: 359); *Studies* 2 (Emmerick): 102-103.

NAP *baśdaṃggāre* (Z).

i.19  *ysana-* "kinsman, relative" [ˈzana]-

From *\*zana-*, cf. Av. *°zana-* "kind, race", OP *°dana-* and *°zana-*, Ved. *jána-* "man, race", MSogd. *zng* "kind, sort". The word is synchronically related to *ysan-* "to give birth". Bailey (*Dict.*) lemmatised the word as an *i*-stem *ysani-*, but Maggi has questioned this analysis as there is no evidence for the reconstruction of an *i*-derivative from OIr. *\*zan-* < *\*i̯anH-* < *\*ǵenh₁-*. It is possible that the GDP *ysañänu* found in Suv[Or] has been influenced by the continuant of other masculine *i*-stems because of the homonymy of the singular paradigm and the NAP form. Conversely, the IAP *ysañau* (*KT* 3: 59.b4 and *KT* 5: 96.v3) of Late Khotanese may simply be a case of secondary palatalisation from older *ysanyau*.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Prolexis*: 287; *Dict*: 344-345; Maggi (1997: 41-42); Skjærvø (2004 II: 329).
NAP *ysane* (Sgh[6, 17], Z);
GDP *ysañänu* (Suv[Or]);
IAP *ysanyau* (Suv[Or], Z).

i.20 *ysāysa-* "herb, grass" ['za:za]-
Cf. ManMP *zāz* ⟨zʾz⟩ "weed, useless plant", NP *žāž*, Oss. *zaz* "palm, yew", Pashto *zoz*. Similar forms are also widely found in Caucasian languages. Cf. *ysāysīnaa-*, *ysāysänaa-* "covered with grass" (Z).
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 349; Cheung (2002: 253); *KS*: 148.
AS *ysāysu* (Z);
NAP *ysāyse* (Suv[Or], Z).

i.21 *śśaysda-* "snake" ['ʃazda]-
Etymology uncertain, but it may be related to Av. *siiazd-* "to distance from, chase away". Cf. Tum. GDS *śazdā*. A masculine agreement can be found in the 'old Late Khotanese' manuscript of the Avdh 7r2 *mästa śśaysde* 'Mahoragas' (= 17r2).
REFERENCE: Bailey *Dict*: 395; Lubotsky (2004: 323); *EDIV*: 343; *SDTV* 3: 240, 246.
NS *śśaysdä* (Z);
GDS *śśaysdä* (Z);
NAP *śśaysde* (Z).

i.22 *śśaraṃggāra-* "well-doer, friend" [ʃərāˈga:ra]-
From OIr. *\*srīram-kāra-* "doing good", cf. BSogd. *šyrʾnkʾrʾk*. The meaning "friend" follows Emmerick's translation of Śgs 2.4v2, as corresponding to Tibetan *dge ba'i bshes gnyen* "spiritual friend". According to Emmerick (*Studies*), the GDS *śśaraṃggäri* in Z 2.91, with *-ä-* for expected *-ā-*, is a scribal error. However, the emended *\*śśaraṃggäri* (6 morae) would yield a hypermetrical pāda. Assuming that *śśaraṃ°* counts as ⌣⌣ (as per Leumann), original *\*ggāri* could have yielded *\*ggari > ggäri* (with [ə] for /a/) *metri causa* (Maggi p.c.). Emmerick clarified that the second member of the compound is simply *\*°kāra-*, not the *\*ham-kāra-* postulated by Gershevitch, as both the Khotanese and Sogdian compounds contain as first element

the accusative singular neuter of the adjective. Other nouns that show a similar formation but for which no NAP form is attested in Old Khotanese are: *pyaḍaṃgāra-* "causing harm" (IAP *pyadaṃgāryau* KB 20.866), LKhot. *pyaucaṃgāra-* "causing counteraction", *byanaṃgāra-* "causing obstruction" (IAP *byanaṃggāryau* K3 1.13 v1).

REFERENCES: Leumann (1933-1936: xxxiv, 19); Gershevitch (1961: 172); *Studies* 1 (Emmerick): 117-118; Degener (1987: 30-31).
GDS *śśäraṃggäri* (Z);
NAP *śäraṅgāre* (Śgs).

i.23   *sāna-* "enemy, foe" ['saːna]-
Cf. Sogd. *sʾn*, Oss. *son* "enemy; misery", TB *sāṃ* /sán/ (nom.pl. *sañī* /sañəy/). The inflection of the Tocharian noun, a loanword from a Middle Iranian language, is peculiar.

REFERENCES: *SSt*: 179; Bailey *Prolexis*: 359-360; *Dict*: 424; Duchesne-Guillemin (1996); Skjærvø (2004 II: 353); DTB: 745.
NS *sānä* (KV, Suv[Or], Z);
GDS *sāni* (Z, Suv), *sānä* (Suv[Or, G], Z);
AS *sānu* (Z);
NAP *sāne* (Suv[C, L], Rk, Z);
GDP *sāñänu* (Suv[Or]), *sānäṇu* (SI P 83.2 a4, unclear);
IAP *[sā]ñyau* (Suv[Or]), *sānyau* (Suv[Or]).

i.24   *spāvata-* "general, army commander" ['spaːwaʔa]-
From OIr. *\*spāda-pati-* "chief of the army" (compound of *\*spāda°* "army" and *\*°pati-* "lord, master"), cf. Sogd. *spʾdpt*, Bactr. σπαλοβιδο, MP *spāhbed* ⟨spʾhpt⟩, NP *sepāhbad*, and further the loanwords Tibetan *spa*, Syriac (ʾ)**sphbyd**, OUygh. *sp(a)hb(a)d*, Gk. σπαπίπου (gen.sg.), Arm. *(a)sparapet*. The older spelling *spāvata-* is attested in Suv 11.6 (SI M13.1 r3) and in the Sampul Carpet No. 3. Shortened *spāta* is an administrative title that usually precedes personal names in documents.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 546; Emmerick (1995: 63); Skjærvø (2004 II: 357; 2021); Duan (2010; 2020); Ciancaglini (2008: 110-111); Bolognesi (1960: 14, 44); *HWA*: 624.

NS or GDS *spāvatä* (Carpet No. 3);
NAP *spāvate* (Suv[Or]), *spāva* (Z).

i.25 *hāvaṃggāra-* "benefactor, causing blessing" [ha:wā'ga:ra]-
Compound *\*hāvam-kāra-*. See further s.v. *śśāraṃggāra-* above.
REFERENCES: Skjærvø (2004 II: 367).
NS *hāvaṃggārä* (Suv[Or]);
NAP *hāvaṃggāre* (Suv[Or]).

i.26 *hīnāysa-* "army leader, general" [hi:'na:za]-
From *\*haināza-* "one who drives the army". The formation is
parallel to that of Av. *navāza-*, Ved. *nāvājá-*. Note that the king of
the Prākrit Endere inscription bears the title *hinajha*, which Bur-
row has first explained as the Iranian equivalent of Skt. *senāpati-*.
A NS *hīnāysä* is also attested in Sum § 63, as the equivalent of
Skt. *senāpatir*.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 482; Skjærvø *Cat*: lxv; Burrow (1934:
514; 1940: 137); Emmerick (1992: 2 fn. 7).
GDS *hīnāysä* (Suv[Or]);
NAP *hīnāyse* (Suv[Or]).

(ii)  *āstaa-type*

ii.1 *āstaa-* "bone" ['a:staa]-
From *\*asta-ka-*, cf. MSogd. *ʾstk*, Khwar. *ʾst(y)k*, MP *astag* ⟨ʾstkʾ⟩,
ManMP *ʾstg*. Cf. *āstainaa-* "pertaining to bone". In Late Khota-
nese texts, final *-e* in the NAP *āste* has been generally maintained,
cf. *āste* in Si 26.51 and PiŚ 48 (P 2893.106), but *āsta* in Mañj 18.
In his edition of the Suv, Skjærvø gives the NAP as *\*āstā* in Suv
18.110, but this form is actually restored, as the manuscript has
only *āst///* (Kha. 0013c3 v1, MS F). Since MS F is drafted in pure
Old Khotanese, a form *āst[e]* should be restored.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 28; *AirW*: 211-212; *ESIJ* 1: 232-234;
Skjærvø (2004 I: 340).
GDS *āstai* (Z);
AS *āsto* (Z);
IAS *āstaina* (Z);
NAP *āste* (Z), *āst[e]* (Suv[Or]).

ii.2   *spätaa-* "flower" ['spə²aa]-
From *\*spixta-ka-*. Cf. *spätainaa-* "pertaining to flower".
REFERENCES: Bailey *Prolexis*: 437; *Dict*: 437; *SGS*: 299; *KS*: xxix; Skjærvø (2004 II: 357).
NAP *späte* (KV, Suv[Or], Z), *spye* (Suv[Q]);
IAP *spätyau* (Suv[Or], Z), *spyau* (Sgh[11], Suv[Q]).

(iii)   bāysua-*type*

iii.1   *āvu(t)a-* > *āvua-* "village" ['aːwu^(?)a]- (?)
Possibly from OIr *\*ā-gava-*. This noun appears to have a split stem, with a more conservative variant *\*āguva-*, *\*āguta*. Comparison with Av. *gauua-* "district" (Bailey *Dict*.) is appealing, but Skjærvø has cast some doubts on it since intervocalic *\*g* is expected to be lost.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 15-16; Skjærvø (2004 II: 240-241); Hitch (2016: 283).
NS *āvū* (Suv[Or]);
GDS *āvuī* (Z, Suv[Z]);
LS *āvuvoʾ* (Suv[Z], Z), *āvuvo* (Z), *āvuto* (Śgs, Suv[Or]), *āguvo* (Suv [Or]), *āvutoʾ* (Suv[Or], Z);
NAP *āvute* (Z, VkN);
GDP *āguvānu* (Suv[Or]);
LP *āvutoʾ* (Bhaiṣ, Śgs), *āvuʾto* (Suv[Or]), *āvuto* (Suv[A]), *āvuo* (Suv [L]).

iii.2   *bāysua-* "arm" ['baːzua]-
From *\*bāzuka-*, cf. Av. *bāzu-*, Ved. *bāhú-* (m.), MSogd. *βʾzʾ*, ChSogd. *bʾzʾ*, Oss. *bazyg, bazug*, Pahl. *bāzūg* ⟨bʾcwkˈ⟩, NP *bāzū*.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 277; *AirW*: 955.
NAS *bāysū* (Sgh[8], Z);
NAP *bāysuve* (Z), *bāysve* (IOL Khot 166/2v4), *bāysva* (Suv[H]).

iii.3   *ysānua-* "knee" ['zaːnua]-
From *\*zānu-ka-*, cf. YAv. *zānu°*, Ved. *jā́nu-* (nt.), BSogd. *zʾnʾwk*, Pahl. *zānūg* ⟨zʾnwkˈ⟩, ManParth. *zʾnwg*.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 348; *AirW*: 1689.
NAS *ysānū* (Sgh[1, 9, 18], Suv[Or, Q], Z);
NAP *ysānve* (Suv[H]);

GDP *ysānvānu* (Suv[L]);
IAP *ysānuvyau* (Suv[L]), *ysānvyau* (Sgh[10, 17]).

(iv)  *Loanwords*

iv.1  *indria-* "sense"
Loanword from Skt. *indriya-* "power, force, sense". Skjærvø analyses the noun as an *a*-stem, but it probably belongs to the *ia*-declension. The NAP *indriye* alternates frequently with *indriya*. In Z, the NAP *indriya*, *indrya* has 19 occurrences, while *indriye* has only 2.
REFERENCES: Skjærvø (2004 II: 243); Hitch (2016: 262 fn. 5).
GDS *indriye* (Suv[Or]);
AS *indriyu* (Suv[Or]);
NAP *indriye* (Suv[Or], Z), *indrye* (Suv[G, L]), *indriya* (Suv[C], Z), *indrya* (Z);
IAP *indriyyau* (Suv[Or]), *indryau* (*jsa*) (Suv[M], Z);
LP *indriyvo'* (Suv[Or]).

iv.2  *d(h)āta-* "element"
Loanword from Skt. *dhātu-*. As can be seen, this noun also attests a GDP -*änu*. The same ending can sporadically be found in other loanwords, e.g. *bramanänu* (← Skt. *brāhmaṇa-*), *skandhänu* (← Skt. *skandha-*), *lakṣaṇänu* (← Skt. *lakṣaṇa-*), *rakṣaysänu* (← Skt. *rakṣas-*), *arhandinu* (← Skt. *arhanta-*), °*ggaṇḍänu* (← Skt. *gaṇḍa-*), *vedänu* (cf. below).
GDS *dātä* (Adhś);
AS *dātu* (Suv[H, L]);
IAS *dātäna* (Suv[L]);
NAP *dāte* (Suv[Or, L], Z), *dhāte* (Z);
GDP *dātänu* (Suv[C, L], Z), *dātānu* (Suv[H]).

iv.3  *puka-* "cubit, ell"
A connection with TB *pokai* (obl.sg.), TA *poke* "arm" by way of borrowing has first been suggested by Konow.
REFERENCES: Konow (1942: 210); Van Windekens (1947: 307); Bailey *Dict*: 197; Tremblay (2005: 444).
NAS *puku* (Z);
NAP *puke* (Z).

iv.4  *veda-* "Veda"
   Loanword from Skt. *veda-*.
   NAP *vedä* (Z);
   GDP *vedänu* (Z).

iv.5  *hasta-* "elephant"
   Loanword from a Middle Indic continuant of Skt. *hastin-* (cf. Gāndhāri *hasti*).
   NS *hastä* (Z);
   AS *hastu* (Suv[Q], Z);
   GDS *hastä* (Sgh[6]);
   NAP *haste* (Suv[Or, L, H]), *hastä* (Z).

(v)   *Problematic or irregular nouns*

v.1   *ārra-* "sin, fault" [ˈaːɹa]- (?)
   From *\*arna-*, cf. Av. *arəna-*, Ved. *r̥ṇá-*. The NAP is usually *ārra*, but we find *ārre* once in Z 12.53.
   REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 22-23.

v.2   *drau-mūjsaa-* (?) "hair-pore" [droˈmuːdʐaa]-
   Compound of *drau°* "single hair" and *°mujsaa-* "pore". Annexation uncertain. The noun is not frequently attested in Old Khotanese, where, however, it seems to be a member of the secondary declension as the termination *°js(i)ya* of the locative singular scans as 2 morae in Z 6.4a and Z 23.366a. The only NAP forms attested are from Late Khotanese texts (*drrą̄-mujse* [JS 14r4], *drą̄-mūjse* [Sudh 161 MS A]).
   REFERENCES: Konow (1939: 55-56); Dresden (1955: 476); *SGS*: 299; Hitch (2015: 303-304).
   LS *drau-mūjsya* (Z), *drrau-mūjsiya* (Z).

v.3   *pārră̄-* "feather; petal" [ˈpaːɹa]- or [ˈpaːɹaː]- (?)
   From *\*parna-*, cf. Av. *parəna-*, Ved. *parṇá-*, Sogd. *prn'k*, Man-Parth. *prg*, MP *parrag* ⟨plk', plg⟩, NP *parra*.
   REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 231. See the analysis in § 2.
   NAP *pārre* (Sgh, Z), *pārrä* (Z).

v.4   *pālsuă̄-* "rib, side" [ˈpaːlsua]- or [ˈpaːlsuaː]- (?)
   Annexation uncertain because the noun is only attested in the plural

(without agreement). Cf. YAv. *pərəsu.masah-* "having the size of a rib", Ved. *párśu-* (f.), Sogd. *prs'(kh)*, Yz. *parák*, Oss. *færsk, færsk'æ*, Pahl. *pahlūg* ⟨p'hlwk'⟩. Usually traced back to *\*parćukā-, \*pərćukā-* (?).

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 234a; *EWAia* 2: 100; Sadovski (2017: 581).

NAP *pālsve* (Z), *pālsuve* (Z).

v.5    *puă̆-* "(foot)step, (foot)print" ['pua]- or ['pua:]- (?)

Etymology uncertain. Konow took it from *\*pada-*, while Bailey reconstructed *\*paduka-* (*Prolexis*) or *paduvā, \*padukā-* (*Dict*.).

REFERENCES: *SSt*: 173; Bailey *Prolexis*: 200; *Dict*: 246.

NAP *puve* (Z), *pve* (Z).

v.6    *bāggară̆-* "leaf" ['ba:gara]- or ['ba:gara:]- (?)

From *\*u̯arka-ra-*, cf. Sogd. *wrkr*, ManParth. *wrgr*, a derivative of *\*u̯arka-*, cf. YAv. *varəka-*, Pahl. *warg* ⟨wlg⟩, NP *barg*. Skjærvø has an *ā*-stem *bāggarā-*, but the etymology of the word is in favour of Bailey's *bāggara-* (cf. further AS *bāggaru* in *KT* 5: 691.b3). The masculine agreement in Suv 10.21 *biśśūnya bāggare späte hīyāra u jsārañä* "all kinds of leaves, flowers, fruits, and grains" may not be probative, as the NAPm *biśśūnya* "all" could be an unmarked form in agreement with the following four masculine and feminine conjuncts.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 275a; Skjærvø (2004 II: 312).

NAP *bāggare* (Suv[Or], Z);

IAP *bāgaryau* (Sgh[11]).

v.7    *braukală̆-* "eyebrow" ['bro:kala]- or ['bro:kala:]- (?)

To be related to *brau-* "brow". A NAP *braukale* is attested only once in Z 24.515 *[br]aukale muṣṭyau jsa vahaste* "brows struck with fists". However, in Late Khotanese we found NAP *brraukala* (e.g. Rāma 72b) and *braukalä spalāte* "the brow may quiver" (*KT* 3: 130 [59 b5]). The Late Khotanese attestations seem to suggest a stem *braukala-*.

REFERENCES: Bailey *Prolexis*: 271; *Dict*: 316b.

NAP *[br]aukale* (Z).

v.8    *rrā̆a-* "vein" ['ɹaa]- or ['ɹa:a]- (?)

Annexation uncertain. The noun seems to be only attested in the plural. Bailey reconstructs an *ā*-stem *rrā-* < *\*rahā-* (cf. YAv. *raŋhā-*

"river Rasā"), while Emmerick reconstructs *rraa-* < *\*rahaka-* (cf. Sogd. *rʾk*).

REFERENCES: *SGS*: 297, 299; Bailey *Dict*: 361a.

NAP *rre* (Z).

v.9   *hajsă-* "maggot, worm" [ˈhaʣa]- or [ˈhaʣaː]-
      This appears to be a hapax only attested in Suv 5.15 *pära u hajse hämāre* "worms and maggots arise".
      REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 444; Skjærvø (2004 II: 359).
      NAP *hajse* (Suv[Or]).

v.10  *haphāra-* "distraction, confusion, confused speech" [haˈpʰaːra]-
      A derivative of *haphär-*. A NAP *haphāre* is attested once in Z 12.89, but the regular form seems to be *haphāra*, attested in Z 5.6 and in Late Khotanese (JS, Mañj, SI P 103.32).
      REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 455b; *KS*: 12.

   (vi) *Nouns assigned to a different declension*

vi.1  *ggūnā-* (not †*ggūna-*) "hair" [ˈguːnaː]-
      From *\*gaṷna-*, cf. Av. *gaona-* "hair; colour hair; colour" (nt.). The agreement clearly speaks for a feminine *ā*-stem, but the etymology suggests an originally neuter noun. As the noun was mostly used in the plural, it first became a *plurale tantum* and then changed inflectional class and gender (see § 2 of the main text above).
      REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 343b (s.v. †*ggūna-*).
      NAP *gūne* (Sgh [2, 17], Rk), *ggūne* (Z).

vi.2  *gyamānā-* (not †*gyamāna-*) "unguent" [ʤaˈmaːnaː]-
      Emmerick and Bailey give the stem as *gyamāna-*. On the basis of the GDS *gyamāñi* (spelling variant of expected *\*gyamāñe*) in Z 19.73, the noun is better analysed as a feminine *ā*-stem *gyamānā-* (so already Leumann). Bailey derives it from *gyam-* "to hold together, adhere, hold in".
      REFERENCES: Leumann (1933-1936: 426); Emmerick (1970: 121); Bailey *Dict*: 108.
      GDS *gyamāñi* (Z);
      NAP *gyamāne* (Śgs, Z), *jimą̄ne* (Suv[P]);
      IAP *gyamānyau* (Suv[Or]).

vi.3   *yaulā-* (not †*yaula-*) "falsehood, evil" ['yo:la:]-
To be linked in some way to TB *yolo*, OUygh. *yavlak*. This noun is
only attested in the plural in Old Khotanese, but it is never found
in agreement with a nominal modifier from which we could de-
duce the grammatical gender and inflectional class. Peyrot points
to a NS *yaula* in IOL Khot 165/1b21 (Skjærvø's 'Middle Khota-
nese') and to an AS *yāla* in Late Khotanese texts, arguing that
these forms are not diagnostic. Conversely, since both OKhot. -*a*
and -*o* merged into LKhot. -*a*, while OKhot. -*ä* and -*u* merged into
LKhot. -*ä*, I think it is probable to analyse *yaulā-* as an *ā*-stem.
REFERENCES: Bailey *Dict*: 343; Peyrot (2016); Pan (2021: 123-
127); *HWA*: 878.
NAP *yaule* (Suv[Or]), *yole* (Z);
IAP *yaulyau* (Suv[Or]).

*Latin alphabetical index of Khotanese words discussed in the* Appendix

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