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The Khotanese instrumental-ablative and locative plural endings

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Outline

1. Introduction: nominal inflection in Khotanese
2. Previous accounts of ins.-abl. pl. *-yau* and loc. pl. *-vo'*
3. Instrumental-ablative plural *-yau*
4. The distribution of Old Khotanese <au> and <o>
5. The origin of *-yau*
6. The origin of *-vo'*
7. Concluding remarks



Introduction:

Nominal inflection in Old Khotanese

- Among Middle Iranian languages, **Old Khotanese** (OKh.) has best preserved the Proto-Iranian (Plr.) system of nominal inflection, distinguishing six cases in both singular and plural and multiple inflectional classes.
- Most of the case-number markers may be derived straightforwardly from their Plr. sources, e.g.
 - *a*-stem nom. sg. *gyast-ä* ‘god’ < Plr. **-ah*;
 - acc. sg. *-u* < Plr. **-am*;
 - nom./acc. pl. *-a* < Plr. **-ā*;
 - gen. pl. *-ānu* < **-ānām* < Plr. **-ānām*; or
 - *ā*-stem nom. sg. *kanth-a* ‘city’ < Plr. **-ā*;
 - acc. sg. *-o* < Plr. **-ām*;
 - nom./acc. pl. *-e* < Plr. **-āh*.



Nominal inflection in Old Khotanese: ins.-abl. pl. *-yau*, loc. pl. *-uvo'*

- In contrast, the endings of
 - ◆ instrumental-ablative plural (and homophonous vocative plural) *-yau* and
 - ◆ locative plural *-uvo'*have not yet received a satisfactory account, although scholars agree that they stand in some historical relation to the endings of the other Old Indo-Iranian languages.



Goals of this talk

- Tasks for today:
 - ◆ review previous discussions for these endings and attempts to connect them to those attested in Old (Indo-)Iranian languages and reconstructible for Proto-(Indo-)Iranian;
 - ◆ examine the textual distribution of word-final <au> and <o>, which plays a central role in these explanations; and
 - ◆ offer a historical account of the endings that is both compatible with their textual attestations and operates as far as possible only with regular sound changes and preforms supported by the comparative Indo-Iranian evidence.



New and improved features

- In comparison with the earlier version given at AOS 234, today's presentation
- ◆ completely revises the statistics for the *Śūraṅgama-samādhisūtra* (Śgs) by eliminating broken forms and taking into account the updated readings of Skjærvø (2002), including previously unpublished fragments;



New and improved features

- ◆ expands the data set to include
 - the extensive Macartney Folios (MS 10, 25 fragments) of the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* (Sgh) and the Berlin fragments KS 6+8 (Maggi 2017), which belong with MS 9; for those fragments of MSS 1–10 stored in the British Library, also incorporates the readings of Skjærvø (2002);
 - the fragments of the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (Rk) and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (VkN), like Śgs and MSS 1–4 of Sgh written in Old Orthography (see below);



New and improved features

- ◆ checks disputed readings against the images available at the website of the International Dunhuang Programme (IDP, idp.bl.uk);
- ◆ finally, takes into greater account the problems posed by the metrical behavior of the ins./abl. pl. ending *-yau*.
- The results will be published as two separate papers, one devoted to *au* and *o* in Old Khotanese, the other to the inflectional endings themselves.



Early treatments

- **E. Leumann** (1912:51) derived ins./abl. pl. *-yau* from a generalized Proto-Indo-Iranian (“arisch”) *ā*-stem ins. pl. **-ābiš* (and dat. pl. **-āb^hyas*).
- **Tedesco** (1926:132) credited Leumann’s explanation of *-yau*, but compared Old Persian *-aibiš* and Vedic *-ebhiḥ*, noting that both **-ābiš* and **-aibiš* would have fallen together as **-ēβ₁(š)*.
- He took loc. pl. *-uvo*’ “wohl aus alt **-aiš_u-ām*.”



Early treatments

- **Konow** (1932:42) stated of ins./abl. pl. *-yo, -yau* that “[t]he final *o, au...* must be *ām*” and proposed a “combination” of OIr. ins. pl. **-aibiš* and du. **-ābyām*.
- He implicitly followed Tedesco on the loc. pl. from “*aišu-ām*, i.e. the common Iranian *aišu* and a particle *ām*.”



Emmerick on the ins.-abl. pl.

- **Emmerick** (SGS:268) noted the “problem” of the final *au*.
 - “The frequency of the spelling *-yau* beside *-yo*...even in the oldest Kh. would lead us to expect something more than **-ām*, for the ASf has *-o* < **-ām*, but the spelling *-au* is extremely rare. *-yau* is, however, more common than *-yo*. Thus in Z[ambasta] we find *dukhyo* nine times beside *dukhyau* 51 times.”
 - Since the *y* of *-yau* does not cause palatalization (see below), he concludes that it must be “secondary in origin” and posits a development **-ābiš* > **-āvi* > **-yāvi* (palat.) > *-yau* (268–9; cf. *au*-stem nom. sg. *-au*).



Emmerick on the loc. pl.

- With respect to the loc. pl., Emmerick (SGS:270) accepted Tedesco's derivation of OKh. *-uvo'* < OIr. **-aišy-ām* and suggested that Late Khotanese (LKh.) *-vā'*, *-vā* was due to “a difference of dialect.”
- However, there are otherwise no clear indications of dialect differences within Khotanese.
- It is now accepted that the OKh. back vowels and diphthongs merged into a single vowel in LKh. Hence OKh. *-uvo'*, *-vo'* > LKh. *-vā'*, *-vā* [-wɔ] (Emmerick 1987:41; see below).



Emmerick on the loc. pl.

- Emmerick (1987:40–1) observed that LKh. *-vā* “appears to derive from OIr. **-aiš_u-ā*,” with the same postposition **-ā* found with other locative endings (cf. Younger Avestan *-aēšuuā*, OP *-aišuvā*).
- As for OKh. *myāño* ‘in the middle of’, which Tedesco also took from a preform in **-ām*, he noted that several other prepositions end in *-o* or *-au*: *anau* ‘without’, *pīrmo* ‘at the head of’, *bendo* ‘upon’, *vāno* ‘without’.
- “It is likely that *-o* has the same origin in all such cases.... *-o* in all these cases is probably merely a **secondary strengthening** of a final unstressed vowel.” (emphasis added)



Emmerick on the loc. pl.

- Since *š might not have been lost in *-aišu-ā, he posits Olr. *-aišu > *-ivu' > *-uvu' (assimilation) > -uvo' "by strengthening the final unstressed vowel."
See Sims-Williams (1990:284).
- Emmerick & Maggi (1991:71) modified this in light of their recognition of a phonemic contrast between short ě, ō and long ē, ō: *-uvu' > -uvŏ' by "weakening" of final *-u.



Recent studies

- **Sims-Williams** (1998:141, 2017:275) compares the OKh. endings with their Vedic, Avestan, and Old Persian counterparts, but does not enter into details.

Recent studies

TABLE 4.21 DECLENSION OF MASCULINE A-STEMS (PIE STEMS IN *O)

	Vedic	Avestan	Old Persian	Khotanese	Sogdian
Sg. nom.	<i>yajñ-ás</i>	<i>yasn-ō</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>-i</i>
acc.	<i>yajñ-ám</i>	<i>yasn-əm</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>
instr.	<i>yajñ-á</i>	<i>yasn-a</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-na</i>	(= abl.)
dat.	<i>yajñ-áya</i>	<i>yasn-āi, GAv. also -āi.ā</i>	(= gen.)	(= gen.)	(= gen.)
abl.	<i>yajñ-át</i>	<i>yasn-āt, LAv. also -āda</i>	<i>-ā</i>	(= instr.)	<i>-a</i>
gen.	<i>yajñ-ásya</i>	<i>yasn-ahe, GAv. -ahiiā</i>	<i>-ahəyā</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-e</i>
loc.	<i>yajñ-é</i>	<i>yesn-e, yasn-aiia</i>	<i>-ai, -ayā</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ya</i>
voc.	<i>yájñ-a</i>	<i>yasn-a</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>
Du. nom.acc.	<i>yajñ-á, -áu</i>	<i>yasn-a</i>	<i>-ā</i>		<i>-a</i>
instr.dat.abl.	<i>yajñ-ábhyām</i>	<i>yasn-aē'biia</i>	<i>-aibiyā</i>		
gen.	<i>yajñ-áyoṣ</i>	<i>yasn-aiiā</i>			
loc.	(= gen.)	<i>yasn-aiiō</i>			
voc.	<i>yájñ-ā, -au</i>	<i>yasn-a</i>			
Pl. nom.	<i>yajñ-ás, -ásas</i>	<i>yasn-a</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>
acc.	<i>yajñ-án</i>	<i>yasn-q, GAv. -əng</i>	(= nom.)	(= nom.)	
instr.	<i>yajñ-áiṣ, -ébhiṣ</i>	<i>yasn-āiš</i>	<i>-aibiš</i>	<i>-yau</i>	
dat.	<i>yajñ-ébhyas</i>	<i>yasn-aē'biio</i>	(= gen.)	(= gen.)	
abl.	(= dat.)	(= dat.)		(= instr.)	
gen.	<i>yajñ-ánām</i>	<i>yasn-anqm</i>	<i>-ānām</i>	<i>-ānu</i>	<i>-ān</i>
loc.	<i>yajñ-éṣu</i>	<i>yasn-aēšu, -aēšuuu</i>	<i>-aišuvā</i>	<i>-uvo'</i>	
voc.	<i>yájñ-ās, -āsas</i>	<i>yasn-a</i>		(= instr.)	



Recent studies

- **Kümmel** (2008:§§5.1.3, 5.2.2) gives the following Proto-Saka sources for the Kh. (and Tumšugese) endings.
 - *a*-stem *-yau jsa* < **-ābiš?*
 - *ā*-stem *-yau jsa*, Tum. *-yo* < **-ābiš*
 - *i*-stem *-yau jsa* < **-ībiš*
 - dem. *ttyau* < **tābiš*

 - *a*-stem *-uvo' / -uvā'*, Tum. *-wā* < **-aišw-ā(m)*
 - *ā*-stem *-uvo(') / -uvā(')*, Tum. *-wā* < **-āhw-ā(m)*
 - *i*-stem *-uvo'* < **-īšw-ā*
 - dem. *ttävo' / ttuvo'* < **tāhu-ā*



Recent studies

- In the most recent grammatical description, **Skjærvø** (2022) states that
 - “[t]he instrumental-ablative plural ending *-yau* is theoretically from **-aibyām* (or similar form); it usually takes the postposition *jsa* ‘from, with’”; and
 - “[t]he locative plural is Old Khotanese *-uvo*’ < **aišuwām* (and similar forms), Middle Khotanese *-vā*, in some manuscripts *-vau*.”
- Dragoni (2023:189) follows Emmerick (*SGS*:268) on ins./abl. pl. *-yau* < **-ābiš* and Emmerick & Maggi (1991:71) on loc. pl. *-uvo*’ < **-aišu*.



Instrumental-ablative plural *-yau*

- The analysis of the ending *-yau* must proceed from three observations:
 - first, despite the overt segment *y*, the ending never causes palatalization of the stem;
 - second, the preceding syllable is never scanned as long in the meter of the *Book of Zambasta*;
 - finally, the ending is consistently spelled <au> in Old Khotanese texts.



Old Khotanese umlaut

- With respect to the first point, several nominal and verbal morphemes are associated with a process of **umlaut** affecting the preceding stem-final consonant or vowel (or in rare instances, both).
- These changes were historically caused by pre-Kh. *y.
 - Thus in the *a*-stem loc. sg. *-i*a and *ā*-stem gen./dat., ins./abl. *-i*e and loc. sg. *-i*a, umlaut results from syncope in endings of the shape **-ǎyā*, **-ǎyāh* > **-ya*, **-ye*.
 - In verbs, umlaut occurs in denominals and causatives, respectively from OIr. **-ya-*, **-aya-*.
- Umlaut was also caused by an apocopated **i*, most importantly pres. act. 3sg. *-itā*, e.g. *bīḍā* ‘carries’, *jsīndā* ‘strikes’ < **barati*, **janati*. Note 1sg. *-īmā*, 3pl. *-īndā* < **-ǎmi*, **-anti*.



...but not before *-yau*

- However, the ins.-abl. pl. ending *-yau* **never** causes palatalization of the stem despite containing an overt *y* (SGS:268). Hence we find
 - *bisā-* ‘house’: ins./abl. sg. *biśśe jsa*, loc. sg. *biśśa*, but *bisyau jsa* ‘from the houses’;
 - *tcohora* ‘four’: gen. pl. *tcuīrnu*, *tcuīnu* vs. *tcūryau (jsa)*.



Old Khotanese umlaut as synchronic process

- Hitch (1990) argues that the rules for Old Khotanese umlaut may be described in entirely synchronic terms.
- This analysis is largely followed in the new handbook of Emmerick (2024:21–2).



Old Khotanese synchronic umlaut: consonants (from Hitch 1990:183)

(1) Umlautable	(2) Absorbing or Umlauted	(3) Neutral
5.1 /k/ <i>k</i>		7.1 /t/ <i>tt, t</i>
5.2 /g/ <i>gg, g</i>		7.2 /d/ <i>t, d</i>
5.3 /k ^h / <i>kh</i>		7.3 /t ^h / <i>th</i>
5.4 /t ^s / <i>tc</i>	/č/ <i>c, ky</i> 6.1	7.4 /ṭ/ <i>ṭ</i>
5.5 /d ^z / <i>js</i>	/j̣/ <i>j, gy</i> 6.2	7.5 /ḍ/ <i>ḍ</i>
5.6 /t ^{sh} / <i>ts</i>	/č ^h / <i>ch</i> 6.3	7.6 /ṭ ^h / <i>th, tḥth</i>
	(umlaut only)	
5.7 /s/ <i>s</i>	/š/ <i>śś, ś</i> 6.4	7.7 /ṣ/ <i>śś, ś</i>
5.8 /z/ <i>ys</i>	/ž/ <i>ś</i> 6.5	7.8 /ẓ/ <i>ś</i>
5.9 /n/ <i>n, ṅ</i>	/ñ/ <i>ñ</i> 6.6	7.9 /nd/ <i>nd</i>
		7.10 /nth/ <i>nth, ṃth</i>
	/y/ <i>y</i> 6.7	7.11 /r/ <i>rr, r</i>
	(absorption only)	7.12 /ṛ/ <i>r</i>
		7.13 /l/ <i>l</i>
		7.14 /w/ <i>v</i>
		7.15 /m/ <i>m</i>
		7.16 /h/ <i>h</i>



Old Khotanese synchronic umlaut: vowels (from Hitch 1990:183)

Segment Behavior in Umlaut: Vowels

(all stressed except 10.5)

8.1	/a/	a	—————	/ī/	ī	9.1	10.1	/i/	i
8.2	/ā/	a	—————	/ē/	e	9.2	10.2	/e/	ä
8.3	/ū/	ū	—————	/wī/	vī, uī		10.3	/u/	u
8.4	/a ^w /	au, o	—————	/wē/	ve, vai, e		10.4	/o/	o, au
							10.5	(/a/ unstressed; only in -āmatā-)	



Why not umlaut with *-yau*?

- The umlauting morphemes are usually indicated with a superscript *i*, e.g. *ā*-stem gen./dat., ins./abl. *-ⁱe* (see above) or pres. act. 3sg. *-ⁱtä*. From Hitch (1990:196n.8):

⁸ I follow the convention of using a superscript *-i* at the beginning of a suffix to show that the suffix has the potential to umlaut a morpheme. This *-i* is perhaps an underlying /y/ on the synchronic level: it causes palatalization in consonant final morphemes but is realized as y in vowel final ones. For instance, the LSm of consonant final *byūka*- ‘chamber’ is *byūca* while the LSf of vowel final *nitāa*- ‘river’ is *nitāya*. One might formulate the LSm/f suffix as /-ya/. But note that the instrumental-ablative plural suffix *-yau* does not cause palatalization: *balysa*- > *balysyau* ‘Buddha’, *hīnā*- > *hīnyau* ‘army’. The rule therefore may be the following: ‘when in contact with a morpheme-final consonant, suffix initial /y/ becomes an umlaut potential except in the instrumental-ablative plural /-yau/.’

- Such a “rule” immediately raises two questions:
 - **why** should ins.-abl. pl. *-yau* be an exception? and
 - what prehistoric developments are responsible for its exceptional status?



The metrical behavior of *-yau*

- This leads us to the second point, the **metrical** behavior of *-yau*.
- E. Leumann (1912:50, *E*:xxxii) had already noted that *y* “metrisch als nicht vorhanden gilt”, i.e. that the preceding syllable is light in *biśyau* ‘with all’ or *ratanyau jsa* ‘from jewels’.
- He concluded that *y* is not a consonant, but marks frontness (“Palatalisierung”) of the following vowel as in Old Turkic.
- Note that the ending is (almost) never written as *-iy-* or *-äy-*, i.e. there are no alternations of the sort of pres. 3pl. *jiyāre* ~ *jyāre* ‘disappear’, *buvāre* ~ *bvāre* ‘know’.

See now Sims-Williams 2023:33–40.



The metrical behavior of *-yau*

- Emmerick (1968a:8–9, 1973:149–51) thought that *-yáu jsa* was always stressed and heavy, but *-yau* without *jsa* could be heavy or light.
- Hitch (2014:27–31, 2016:277–82) proposes a complex set of rules according to which *-yau* counts as a heavy syllable when followed (as often) by the postposition *jsa* or standing in the “X-position” (the second of two heavy syllables in certain cadences), but otherwise as light.
- Sims-Williams (2023) argues for a return to Leumann’s view: *-yau*, *-yō* is always heavy and *y* does not count as a consonant.



Metrics and phonetics of *-yau*

- The phonetic interpretation of <y> in *-yau* remains an open question.
- E. Leumann took it as marking frontness of the vowel: *äu* or *ō* (Leumann 1912:50), *äü* or *ō* (E:xxxii).
- Hitch (2016:281–2): *-yau* “is underlyingly a triphthong /*̥i̥ḁu̥*/ and then resolves in the derivation to /*yḁu̥*/”; phonetically shortened [*y̥äu̥*] “is no longer a full two moras but is perhaps longer than a single mora so may fill the metrical X position.”
- Sims-Williams (2023:36fn.61) prefers “a triphthong [*iau*] alternating with a diphthong [*iō*].”



The ending *-yau* and Old Khotanese *au* and *o*

- With respect to the third point, the OKh. **diphthong** *au* “seems to have been monophthongised to *o* right at the beginning of our transmitted texts” (Emmerick 1979:245), as in
 - *haur-*, *hor-* ‘give’ < OIr. **fra-bar-*;
 - *nautä*, *notä* ‘ninety’ < OIr. **nawatī-*; or
 - *uysnaura-*, *uysnora-* ‘being’ < OIr. **uzanā-bara-* (cf. Tumšūqese pl. *usānavara*).

Note that OKh. *au* is always of secondary origin, since inherited OIr. **au* became *ū*, as in *ggūna-* ‘color; hair’ < OIr. **gauna-*.



Old Khotanese *au* and *o*

- In final position, however, the contrast between *au* and *o* was maintained longer. Hence we find
 - *nau*, *no* ‘nine’ < OIr. **nawa* (YAv. *nauua*) and
 - *aa*-stem acc. sg. *-au*, *-o* < **-akam* vs.
 - *ā*-stem acc. sg. *-o* < **-ām*, “where *-au* is rare” (Emmerick 1979:245).
- The merger product of OKh. *au* and *o* then merges with *ā* in Late Khotanese, so that we find frequent spellings such as *uysnāra-* for *uysnora-*, *uysnaura-* ‘being’, or reverse spellings such as *noma*, *nauma* for OKh. *nāma* ‘name’ (< OIr. **nāma*).

On the LKh. three-vowel system, see Emmerick 1979:249 and Kumamoto 1995.

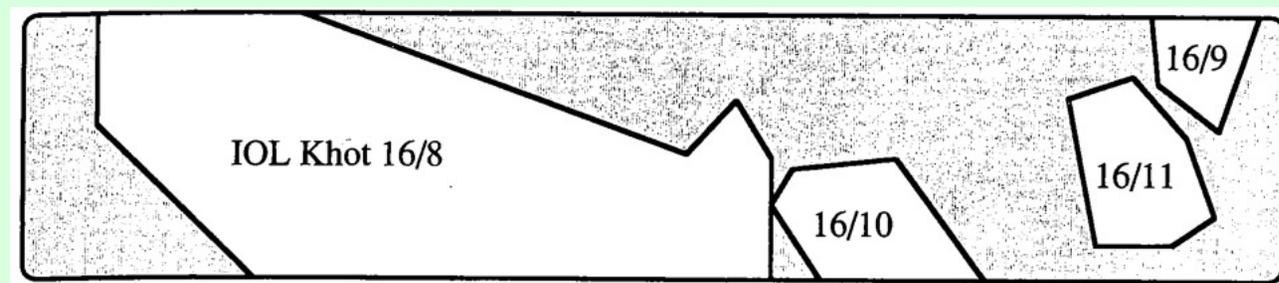


Old Khotanese <au> and <o>: the evidence

- But...is this in fact the actual state of affairs?
 - To answer this question, I examined the distribution of <au> and <o> in medial and final position in selected Old Khotanese texts.
 - The task is made difficult by the state of preservation of many fragments, especially since <au> differs from <o> solely in having an extra superscript stroke.
-

Difficult cases in Sgh: <au> or <o>?

- Early instance of au for o 'or' in MS 4r3 [54.1], IOL Khot 16/11
- r2 nya]ṇḍānu dātu *hvā*[ñīmā
r3 hīviñe hvete] jsa **au** [
'I (myself) will teach the Law...
to the nigranthas....
(By means of which strength shall
I go, Lord Buddha,) by (my own
strength) or (by Lord of Lords
Buddha's strength)?'





Difficult cases in Sgh: <au> or <o>?



- that[o] for *thatau* ‘quickly, at once’ in MS 10.14r1 [159.1], IOL Khot 182/1
- *trāmā māñandäna **thato** kho pä x* ‘just as quickly as’
- N.B. read as *thato* (Canevascini 1993:206), *thato* (Skjærvø 2002:402); but top edge lost, so <au> perhaps not impossible.



Disputed readings in Sgh: <au> or <o>?



- pātūkyau, acc. sg. of *pātūkyāñ*- ‘conversation, talk’ in MS 10.23v2 [217.2], IOL Khot 184/2
- ne ju hvāñīndä u ne pätāyīndä u ne **pātūkyau** yanīndä ‘They do not speak and do not talk and do not make conversation...’
- Skjærvø (2002:405) reads pātūkyo, but the image at IDP seems to show <au>.



Disputed readings in Sgh: <au> or <o>?



- hālo for hālau, acc. sg. of *hālaa*- ‘side, direction’ in MS 10.25v4 [221.1], IOL Khot 184/3
 - v4 pat[ä]na v[ästā]tä kāmu **hālo** ca[nd]rāvatā-kṣetrā gyastānu
v5 gyastā balysä āste...
‘He bowed in the direction in which the Lord of Lords Buddha Candrāvatikṣetra sat...’
 - Skjærvø (2002:405) reads hālau, but the top stroke is not clearly visible in the image at IDP.
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Old Khotanese texts

- The texts chosen for this purpose are universally considered to belong to “Old Khotanese.”
 - ◆ *Śuraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (Śgs) ‘Sūtra of the Concentration of Heroic Progress’, tr. into Chinese by Kurāmajīva (cf. Lamotte 1965, 1998) and Tibetan; three folios belonging to two MSS (1, 2+3), ed. Emmerick (1970) with English translation, glossary, plates; additional fragments published by Skjærvø (2002).
 - ◆ *Saṅghāṭasūtra* (Sgh) ‘Sūtra of the Vessel (Storing the Treasures of the Law)’, MSS 1–10 of 27; prose and verse; ed. Canevascini (1993) with Sanskrit source passages, English translation, glossaries; for the MSS in the British Library collections, see also Skjærvø (2002).
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Old Khotanese texts

- ◆ fragments of the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (Rk) from the Kāśyapa-parivarta (Skjærvø 2003, Maggi 2015); and
- ◆ the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (VkN), cf. Lamotte 1962, 1976, Thurman 1976 (based on Tibetan and Skt. MSS), Gómez & Harrison 2022 (tr. from the Skt. original discovered in the Potala Palace in Lhasa in 1999): preserved in 10 folios (ed. Skjærvø 1986) plus one fragment in St. Petersburg (*SD* III:213–214);

The oldest MSS of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* (Suv), namely A, B, C, F, and Or. (Skjærvø 2004), could not be considered for lack of time, but will be included in the published version of this study. On the *Book of Zambasta* (Z), see below.



Old Khotanese texts

- Note that Śgs, MSS 1–4 of Sgh, Rk, and VkN are composed in what Maggi (2021:150) calls “Old Orthography”, characterized by
 - *g* for both [g] and [ŋ] (cf. *gg* vs. *g* in Classical Orthography),
 - *ś* for both [s] and [z] (Classical *śś* vs. *ś*, Late *ś* vs. *ś'*), and
 - *ş* for both [s] and [z] (Classical *şş* vs. *ş*, Late *ş* vs. *ş'*).

See also Emmerick 1987:36, Del Tomba 2022:363–364. Maggi (2021) describes an even older system (“Archaic Orthography”) preserved in a few wooden documents and literary fragments, where *t* represents both [t] and [ʔ], in contrast to Old and Classical *tt* vs. *t*.



A note on chronology

- Khotanese is traditionally divided into “**Old**” and “**Late**” periods, a distinction going back to Leumann (1908:83). Among the most important features of the latter are weakening and loss of final and medial vowels (Leumann 1912:57–61).

Leumann distinguished the “Textsprache” and “Urkundensprache” and, within the former, further between “die ältere Textsprache” and “die jüngere Textsprache”; but as noted by Emmerick (1987:33), all the features he assigned to “die jüngere Textsprache” also apply to the “Urkundensprache”.

- This binary classification was upheld by Bailey (1949: 138–9), who gave a list of features separating Old from Late Khotanese.

Bailey (1937:923) spoke of “three linguistic stages”, but did not elaborate.



A note on chronology

- Later, Bailey (*KT* 5:vii–viii) proposed to group the Kh. texts into “two forms in four linguistic stages (1*a*, 1*b* and 2*a*, 2*b*).”
 - He assigned *Śgs*, *Sgh*, and manuscript E of the *Book of Zambasta* (*Z*) to the most archaic stage 1*a*, which “may in comparison with Italic and Indo-Aryan languages be placed on a level with Latin or Sanskrit.”
 - However, “[t]he intrusion of later phonetic forms (type 1*b*) indicates that for the scribes the language in type 1*a* was already somewhat archaic.”
-



A note on chronology

- Emmerick (SGS) distinguished consistently between OKh. and LKh., but did not specify the diagnostic features of the latter.
 - Tremblay (2009:13–4) contrasted “Archaic” and “Old Khotanese”, with Śgs belonging to the former and MSS 1–5 of Sgh to the latter.
 - Skjærvø (2022) has made a detailed case for three principal stages, **Old**, **Middle**, and **Late**. Among the features of Middle Khotanese is the merger of acc.sg. with nom. sg., with “the endings *-u*, *-o*, and *-au*...replaced by *-i/-ä*, *-a*, and *-ā*” respectively.
-



From Old to Late Khotanese: language and script

- As stressed by Emmerick (1987:35–6, 38–9), even Z not infrequently shows LKh. features, e.g.
 - pret. 3pl. *tsvāndi* ‘they went’ (Z 24.512) vs. *tsutāndä* (9x), *tsutāndi* (3x);
 - loc. pl. *-vā* (*drahvā* Z 2.66, *patārahvā* Z 20.69) vs. usual *-vo’*, *-vo*; and
 - added prose passages in cursive script.

I have therefore left Z out of consideration here. The final version will include a statistical analysis of <au> and <o> in two selections from Z.

- Conversely, LKh. texts such as the *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* (*Avdh*), where e.g. the loc. pl. consistently ends in *-vā*, show occasional OKh. forms.
-



From Old to Late Khotanese: language and script

- With respect to Sgh, Canevascini (1993:xiii-xiv) groups the existing MSS by script according to Sander's labels:
 - MSS 1–4
script 1: Early Turkestan Brāhmī (second half of 5th c.?) with “Old Orthography” (Maggi 2021:150; see above);
 - MS 5
script 2: Early South Turkestan Brāhmī (early 7th c.);
 - MSS 6–27
script 3: South Turkestan Brāhmī (early 8th c.).
- The change in spelling from *g*, *ś*, *ṣ* (MSS 1–5) to *gg*, *śś*, *ṣṣ* (MSS 6–27) may thus be dated to the 7th c. (xv–xvi).
-



From Old to Late Khotanese: language and script

- He remarks that “the influence of Late Khotanese becomes more and more marked in the course of the copying process until we find proper Late Khot. forms in the later MSS in script 3”, and continues:

The influence proves that the copyists were Late Khotanese speakers since they obviously let increasingly slip into the text their spoken language, mainly owing to increasing ignorance of Old Khotanese. The fact agrees with the recent realization that some of the documents written in Late Khotanese are much earlier than it was previously thought (cf. H. Kumamoto, ‘A new look at the chronology of the Khotanese documents’, forthcoming: ‘Many of the documents are datable. Thus we have those earlier probably than the 6th century’). If Late Khotanese was commonly written at such an early date we can only think that it was probably the most widely spoken language in Khotan already during the fifth century and that, at the same date, the use of the more prestigious language (Old Khotanese) was already restricted to the upper layers of the society.



From Old to Late Khotanese: language and script

- The Khotanese texts thus cannot be neatly classified into two (or three or four) groups, but exist along a complex continuum reflecting date of original composition (text), date of copy (script), and literacy of the scribe.
 - This conclusion accords with external evidence for the coexistence of “Old” and “Late” forms. From the travel memoirs of the great scholar-monk Xuanzang (602–664):
-



From Old to Late Khotanese: language and script

«...One arrives at the kingdom of 瞿薩旦那 Ch'ü-sa-tan-na (*G'ju-sât-tân-nâ). [Note :] In the language of the T'ang (= in Chinese), [this] means 'Earth-teat' (地乳 Ti-ju); it is the elegant name [used] locally (卽其俗之雅言). The local language (俗語 *su-yü*) says 'Kingdom of 馿那 Huan-na (*Xuân-nâ)'. The 匈奴 Hsiung-nu call it 于遁 Yu-tun (*Jü-d'uən); the Hu (Iranians), 豁旦 Ho-tan (*Xuât-tân); the Hindus (Yin-tu), 屈丹 Ch'ü-tan (*K'juët-tân). Formerly [the Chinese] said Yü-t'ien; it is an incorrect [form].»

The current Khotanese form was evidently the one meant by Hsüan-tsang when he says that the name in the local language was Huan-na (*Xuân-nâ). This statement finds a striking confirmation in the late Khotanese texts, where the usual name for Khotan was Khotanese Hvatana-, Hvatäna-, later Hvamna-, Hvana-, Hvam-, locative sing. Hvamnya, Hvanya; adjective hvatanaa-, hvamnaa-, hvanaa-, «Khotanese» (cf. Sten KONOW, in *JRAS*, 1914, 342; *Saka Studies*, 145; BAILEY, in *BSOS*, IX, 522, 540). Sogdian used Xwônyk, quoted by W. B. HENNING in his *Sogdica*, p. 10, from a list of peoples. Hsüan-tsang's transcription is a faithful rendering of Hvamna = *Hvanna, *Hvanna; it shows that the original intervocalic dental of the name was already assimilated to the following *-n* in the first half of the 7th cent. But the original form is preserved in more ancient Khotanese mss. as Hvatäna-, Hvatana- (cf. LEUMANN, *Das nordarische Sakische Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, 3rd Part, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, xx, No. 3 [1936], 528).

See Pelliot 1959:409, 411, Emmerick 1987:42.



Śgs: “real” Old Khotanese?

- Whereas Z shows some LKh. forms, Śgs remains “[t]he oldest and best written” OKh. manuscript (Emmerick 1987:37). Emmerick (1970:xix–xx, 1987:37–8) identified these archaic features:
 - single writing of *g*, *ś*, *ṣ* (vs. later *gg*, *śś*, *ṣṣ*; see above);
 - *a*-stem nom. sg. *-ã* vs. gen./dat. sg. *-i*;
 - *a*-stem ins./abl. sg. *-ãna* (never *-ina*);
 - *aa*-stem nom. sg. *-ei* vs. gen./dat. sg. *-ai*;
 - neuter *n*-stem nom./acc. pl. *-i*;
 - pres. 3sg. act. *-ätä* vs. mid. *-äte*.
 - A compromise between Śgs and Z is thus taken as the basis for the new OKh. handbook of Emmerick (2024:3).
-



Śgs: innovative features

- However, even Śgs exhibits *nāta'skya* 'end' (3.2r5*) beside ins./abl. *nāṣa'skye jsa* (3.5v1,2), which could hardly have been invented until *-t-* had been lost at least in some cases. This word will have been pronounced **nīyasča* at the time when Śgs was written. The spellings with *-t-* and *-ṣ-* are archaising and semi-historical.
 - Emmerick (1987:38) also noted *bvaimate*['knowledge' (4.9v3) for *bvemate* (3.3v5 4.14r2), with the distinctively LKh. reverse spelling *ai* for *e* (< umlauted **ā*).
 - To this may be added the (supposedly) LKh. spellings *lauvadāta* (2.1v1), *hauvana* (1.1.v4) for *lova-*, *hotana-* (see below).
-



Śgs: innovative features

- Within Śgs, the (fragmentary) folio 1 shows later forms in comparison with folios 2 and 3 (Emmerick 1970:xxii):
 - *aa*-stem nom. sg. *-ai* (1r2,4) vs. *-ei*, i.e. merger with gen. sg. *-ai*;
 - *ttīyā* 'then' (1.1v3) vs. *ttītā* (16x).

The merger already in OKh. of *aa*-stem nom. sg. *-ei* and gen. sg. *-ai*, and of *a*-stem nom. sg. *-ā* and gen. sg. *-i*, has important ramifications for the whole system of nominal inflection and syntax of the noun phrase. See in detail del Tomba (2022, 2023).



<au> and <o> in Old Khotanese

- We must therefore keep in mind that even the “oldest” OKh. documents are not a pristine reflection of the (reconstructed) state of the language at the time of composition of the oldest literary texts (no later than the 5th c. in the case of Z; Maggi 2004).
 - All the more striking, then, are the patterns that emerge from an analysis of the distribution of <au> and <o> in the selected sources.
-



Word-final <au> in Śgs

- With one exception, **all** forms in Śgs with expected *-au* are written with <au>.
 - ◆ ins./abl. pl. *-yau* (44x), *-yo* (1x):
 - *agāṣṭa*- ‘inconceivable’ 3.11v1;
 - *anatanaria*- ‘deadly sin’ 3.13r3–4 ([a]nantanaryau);
 - *appramāṇa*- ‘infinite’ IOL Khot 187/2r5;
 - *avamāta*- ‘immeasurable’ IOL Khot 189/2v4;
 - *avarrūṣkya*- ‘kleśa-free’ 3.12v3 (avarrū[ṣky]au);
 - *avātsara*- ‘apsara’ IOL Khot 189/6v1;
 - *uysnora*- ‘being’ 2.6r3;
 - *kṣatra*- ‘umbrella’ 3.5v4,4–5 ([kṣa]tryau);
 - *tcei’maunda*- ‘able to see’ 2.6r3 (tcei’m[au]ndyau);
 - *tcohora* ‘four’ 2.5v2 (tc[ū]ryau) IOL Khot 187/2r5 (tcūryau);
 - *dasau* ‘ten’ 3.4v4 (daśyau);
-



Word-final <au> in Śgs

- *diśā-* ‘direction’ 3.4v4;
 - *paṃjsa* ‘five’ 3.13r3 (*paṃjyau*);
 - *pā’ga-* ‘power’ 3.12v2 (*pā’gañyau jsa*), IK188/3v2 (*pā’tañyau*);
 - *pātāma-* ‘confusion’ 2.8r4;
 - *pāṣkala-* ‘thing analyzed’ 3.11v1;
 - *praca-* ‘cause, *pratyaya-*’ 3.8v3;
 - *balysūñavūysaa-* ‘bodhisattva’ Berlin Khot 2a1;
 - *bāyi-* ‘ray’ IK188/1v2 (**bā[’]yyo jsa**).
 - *buljsyaā-* ‘virtue, merit’ 3.1v5 (*bulj[sy]au*);
 - *mūra-* ‘coin’ IK188/1v1;
 - *ysāra-* ‘thousand’ IK189/6v1 (*yseryau*) v4 (*y[s]e[ry]au*);
 - *ratana-* ‘jewel’ 3.5v3 IK189/6r4;
 - *ratanīnaa-* ‘pert. to jewels’ IK188/1v1;
-



Word-final <au> in Śgs

- *vajraprabhāysa*- ‘Vajraprabhāsa’ Ik188/1v1;
 - *vicitra*- ‘various’ 3.9r4;
 - *ṣa*- ‘this’ 2.5v2 (t_{ty}au) 2.8r5 (t[ty]au) 3.5v4 (t_{ty}au 2x);
 - *saña*- ‘plan, method’ 3.9r4;
 - *sata*- ‘hundred’ IK189/6v1 (sī_{ty}au) v4 (sī[ty]au);
 - *salāva*- ‘speech’ 3.12v3 ([sa]lāvyau);
 - *handara*- ‘other’ 2.6r3;
 - *harbiśa*- ‘all’ 2.8r4;
 - *hāra*- ‘thing’ 2.5r4,v2;
 - *hīva*- ‘own’ IK188/3v2;
 - *hauda* ‘seven’ 3.5v3.
-



Word-final <au> in Śgs

- ◆ *aa*-stem acc. sg. *-au* (13x):
 - *agūnaa*- '(state of) being without characteristics' 2.7v2;
alysānaa- 'prince, *kumārabhūta*-' 3.7v4 11v1;
 - *kumṛjsatīnaa*- 'pert. to sesame' 3.13v2 3.13v4 ([kumṛj][satīn]au);
 - *ttuśaa*- 'empty' 2.7v2;
 - *nyāttara-kṣīraa*- 'pert. to a lesser land' 3.1r4;
 - *bvāmatīnaa*- 'pert. to bodhi' IK188/3v2;
 - *spātainaa*- 'consisting of flowers' 3.11r3 (spāt[ai]nau);
 - *hahālsandaa*- 'rejoicing' 3.9v2*;
 - *hvanaa*- 'speech' 2.5r2 3.2v1 3.12v5 (hva]nau);
-



Word-final <au> in Śgs

- ◆ *au*-stem (3x):
 - *hamau* ‘vessel’ nom. sg. 3.13v4 v5 ([ham]au);
 - *darra-hamau* ‘having a broken vessel’ nom. sg. 3.14v1;

 - ◆ *śau* ‘one’ (3x): nom. sg. 3.2v1, acc. sg. 3.2r4 3.10v2;
 - ◆ *dasau* ‘ten’ (3x): 2.7v2 ([das]au) 2.8v4 3.2r5;
 - ◆ *thatau* ‘quickly’ (1x): 3.5r5;
 - ◆ *anau* ‘without’ (1x): 3.8v4;
 - ◆ *cu mānau* ‘though indeed’ (1x): 3.13r5.
-



Word-final <o> in Śgs

- Similarly, all forms in Śgs with expected -o are written with <o>:
 - ◆ loc. pl. -uvo' (16x), -ävo' (2x), -vo', -uto', -to' (1x each):
 - *avamāta*- 'immeasurable' 2.3r4;
 - *kaṃthā*- 'city' 2.3v1;
 - *kṣīra*- 'country' 2.3v1 (-aṅuvo');
 - *janavata*- 'district' 3.10v4;
 - *tcohorvaretcoholsä* 'forty-four' 3.6r4 (-śuvo');
 - *ttaṃdrāma*- 'such' IK190/5r4;
 - *parmiha*- 'settlement' 2.3v1;
 - *buddha-kṣetra*- 'Buddha-field' 2.3r4,v3;
 - *ysāra*- 'thousand' 3.6r4 (yseruvo');
 - *lovadāta*- 'world-sphere', *lokadhātu*- 3.12r4;
 - *sata*- 3.6r4 (sītuvo');
-



Word-final <o> in Śgs

- *harbiśa-* ‘all’ 2.3v1 ([harbiśu]vo’) 3.10v3 3.12r3–4 (harbi[śu]vo’);
 - *haṣṭa* ‘eight’ IK187/2v2 (haṣṭuvo’);
 - *parräta-* ‘passed’ 3.6r5 (parrävo’, for parrä[tu]vo’? Emmerick 1987:37fn.3; see also Skjærvø in *SVKh* I:68);
 - *mästa-* ‘great’ 3.1v1 (mištävo’);
 - *biśa-* ‘all’ IK187/9v3 ([bi]ś[v]o[’]);
 - *āvua-* ‘village’ 2.3v1 (āvuto’ < *āvutuvo’, Emmerick 1987:37fn.3);
 - *janavata-* ‘district’ 3.1v1 (janavato’).
-



Word-final <o> in Śgs

- ◆ ā-stem acc. sg. -o (66x), incl. *ṣa* ‘this’ (*tto*), redupl. *ṣāta-* (*ttuto* 5x, *ttuvo*, *tvo* 2x);
 - ◆ aā-stem acc. sg. -o (6x): *uysānaā-* ‘self’ (3x), *patārahaā-* ‘basis’ (3x);
 - ◆ aa-stem acc. sg. f. -gyo (2x): *balysūñīnaa-* ‘pert. to bodhi’ (*balysūñīgyo*), *bvāmatīnaa-* ‘id.’ ([b]vā[ma]tīgyo);
 - ◆ a-stem loc. sg. -o (8x), -o’ (2x): *āvua-* ‘village’ (*āvuto* 3.1v1), *kalpa-* ‘eon’ (3.8v1), *dāta-* ‘the Law’ (3.4v2), *dukha-* ‘suffering’ (IK39/10a4), *naria-* ‘hell’ (-yo 3.13r5), *parmiha-* ‘settlement’ (3.1v1), *vairocana-* ‘name of eon’ (3.8v1), *saṅga-* ‘couch’ (IK189/1r4); *janavata-* ‘district’ (-o’ 3.10v4); *gua-* ‘ear’ (*guvo* 3.2v2);
 - ◆ ā-stem loc. sg. -o (5x): *śūraṅgamā-* ‘name of meditation’ (3.12v3 3.13r5), *patātsāmātā-* (3.15r5), *parṣā-* ‘assembly’ (IK39/6b4), *gā’tā-* ‘group’ (3.6v1);
-



Word-final <o> in Śgs

- ◆ imp. 3sg. -*āto*: *hām-* ‘be, become’ (3x);
 - ◆ sbjv. 3pl. -*āro*: *ah-* ‘be’ (*āro*), *hām-* ‘be, become’ (1x each);
 - ◆ opt. 3pl. -*īro*: *ah-* ‘be’ (*vīro*), *vamas-* ‘believe in’ (1x each);
 - ◆ *tso*, imp. of *tsu-* ‘go, come’ (1x);
 - ◆ acc. *muho* ‘us’, *uho* ‘you (pl.)’ (1x each);
 - ◆ *puṣo* ‘completely’ (2x);

 - ◆ *varālsto* ‘thither’ IK190/1r3;
 - ◆ *o* ‘or’ (15x), *ko* ‘if’ (2x), *kho* ‘as; how; when’ (23x), *buro* indef. ptcl. (10x), *ro* encl. ptcl. ‘also’ (9x)
- Many if not all of the latter probably had short *ō* (Emmerick & Maggi 1991); note the more common spelling -*ālstu* of the directional suffix (*varālstu* 3.6r4 3.14v4, *nārvāñālstu* ‘toward Nirvana’ 3.12r3, *balysūstālstu* ‘toward bodhi’ 3.13r4).
-



Fluctuation of word-final <au> and <o>

- Aside from the isolated *bā[']yyo* ‘rays’, the **only** fluctuation between word-final *-au* and *-o* involves the *au*-stem *hamau-* ‘vessel’:
 - *hamau* nom. sg. 3.13v4 v5 (*ham]au*), *darra-hamau* ‘having a broken vessel’ nom. sg. 3.14v1 vs.
 - *hamo* nom. sg. 3.14r2, nom./acc. pl. 3.13v3, *hatcasta-hamo* ‘having a broken vessel’ 3.14r4.

Isolated is *pabastago* ‘eloquence’ (3.2r5* nom. sg. m.): also an *au*-stem?

An unexpected *-o* is found in *a*-stem acc. sg. *praciya-sambuddho* ‘Pratyekabuddha’ 3.9r2 (cf. *praciya-sambuddhu* 3.6v4–5, *-sambudu* 3.9r3 with regular *-u*): isolated instance of the lowering of **-u > *-ō* posited by Emmerick & Maggi (1991:70–2)? Note also *kīro jsā-* ‘go to work for’ (3.14r3 *kīro jsāne*, r5 *kīro jsāte*), for which cf. Z 4.41 *ttāna ju mā kīro ni tsīndi* ‘therefore they have no effect on us’ vs. Z 2.97 *mamdrai ni kīru nā tsīndi* ‘his spells do not do their work’.

The loc. sg. m. variants *lovadātā* 2.1v2 2r4, *vairocani* 3.7v1 could have the old ending < Olr. **-ai* (SGS:262), but this seems unlikely (Tedesco 1926:131).



Word-medial <au> and <o> in Śgs

- The same seems to apply to <au> and <o> in word-medial position, where we find e.g.
 - *uysnora-* ‘being’ (29x), *a-uysnoratāti-* ‘non-being’ (gen./dat. sg. *a-uysnorate[t]e*);
 - *tcohorvaretcoholsä* ‘forty-four’ (loc. *-śuvo*’);
 - *lova-* ‘world’ (3x), *lova-dāta-* ‘world-sphere’ (4x), *lova-pāla-* ‘world-protector’ (2x);
 - *hotā-* ‘power’ (1x), *hotana-* ‘powerful’ (3x);but
 - pret. 3pl. *byaudāndä* ‘they found, obtained’ (2x), *hu-byauda-* ‘well-found’, *a-byauda-* ‘unobtained’ (2x);
 - *hauda** ‘seven’ (ins./abl. *haudyau*), *haudātä** ‘seventy’ (dvā]varehau[dātä ‘seventy-two’).
-



Word-medial <au> and <o> in Śgs

- However, we do find a few instances of variation, namely
 - pret. 3sg. m. *byode* 3.7v3, 3pl. *byodāndä* IK188/3v3 vs. *byaudāndä*;
 - *uysnaura* ‘being’ nom./acc. pl. IK187/10r2 for *uysnora*;
Reading after Skjærvø (2002:412), but the stroke distinguishing <au> from <o> is very faint on the image at IDP, and an ink smudge cannot be ruled out.
and the Late Khotanese forms
 - *lauvadāta* 2.1v1 for *lov-* (N.B. *lo]vadātä* in the next line!);
 - *hauvana* 1.1v4 (nom./acc. pl. m.) for *hotana-*.

The example *būmattoñä* ‘strength’ 3.4r3 beside *[b]ū[ma]tt[au]ñu* IK187/3r2 is only apparent, since the diphthong is restored in the latter (Skjærvø 2002:410). Also to be kept aside is *arahandoña-* ‘Arhatship’ (3.5r2-3 gen./dat. sg. a[ra]handoñä) vs. *arahandūña-* (3.13r3 acc. sg. arahamdūñu), which reflects competition between the abstract suffix allomorphs *-auña-* / *-oña-* and *-ūña-* (Degener 1989:158–65).

<au> for <o> in Śgs?



- r1 vaṣṭāmato byaudāndā o /
r2 balysa **uysnaura** x -ā /
‘have obtained...the establishment [of the mind...] or...
...O [Lord] Buddha, beings...’ (Skjærvø 2002:412)
-



First conclusions on OKh. *au* and *o*

- The limited data of Śgs indicates that
 - (pre-)OKh. *-ō* and *-au* remained distinct in word-final position; but
 - word-medial *-au-* began to be monophthongized and confused with *-ō-* (*byode* for *byaude** ‘found’), leading to a possible hypercorrect spelling in *uysnaura* for *uysnora*.
- This process may have been more advanced in the MS comprising IOL Khot 187–190 (*byodāndä*, *uysnaura*), which also shows *varālsto* ‘thither’ for *-ālstu* and *bā[']yyo* ‘rays’, the only ins./abl. pl. with *-yo* for *-yau*.

The LKh. spellings *lauvadāta* and (with loss of intervocalic *-t-*) *hauvana* for *hotana* suggest that the merger was more advanced before *-v-*, but may simply reflect alternative attempts to render the phonetic sequence [ow].



A tentative chronology for (pre-)OKh. **o* and **au*

- There is an apparent exception: word-final *-au* appears to have been variably monophthongized in *hamau-* ‘vessel’ (3x *-au*, 3x *-o*).
 - But why then is the ins./abl. pl. ending so consistently spelled *-yau* (44 of 45x), and the *aa*-stem acc. sg. always written *-au* (13 of 13x)?
 - We will return to this problem below.
-



<au> and <o> in other OKh. sources

- These conclusions are supported by other OKh. sources, where we can trace the growing confusion between <au> and <o>:
 - ◆ the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (Rk) fragments;
 - ◆ MSS 1–10 of the *Sanghāṭasūtra* (Sgh); and
 - ◆ the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (VkN).
-



<au> and <o> in Rk

- OKh. <au> and <o> are almost perfectly retained word-finally in the *Rk* fragments.
 - Word-final <au> occurs in:
 - ins./abl. pl. *-yau* (13x) and
 - *śśau* 'one' ([śś]au 157.4).
-



<au> and <o> in Rk

- Word-final <o> occurs in
 - loc. pl. *-uo* (*āra]ñuo* ‘forest retreats’ 142.1; *biśuo* ‘all’, *gatuo* ‘states of existence’, *śāruo* ‘good’ 24(17)), *-vo* (*māstvo* ‘great’ 155.2, *vāmvo* ‘surges’ 155.2), *-uṣo* (*hāruṣo* ‘things’ 95.5);
 - *ā*-stem acc. sg. (8x);
 - *aā*-stem acc. sg. (1x);
 - *a*-stem loc. sg. (3x);
 - **no** ‘ship’ (155.1) for *nau*;
 - *o* ‘or’ (9x), *odä* ‘until’ (1x), *ko* ‘if (only)’ (2x), *kho* ‘when’ (2x), *na-ro* ‘not yet’ (1x), *haṃdāro* ‘closely’ (1x), *pīrmo* ‘superior’ (1x); and
 - [*hā*]sto ‘thither’ 154.12, *varāṣṭo* ‘towards’ 23(5).
-



<au> and <o> in Rk

- Word-medial <au> and <o> are also mostly maintained, e.g. *uysnora-* ‘being’ (7x), abstract suffix *-oña-* (3x).
- But note the variation of
 - **o**ṣkājsya ‘everlasting’ 94.9, a]n**o**ṣkājsya ‘non-everlasting’ 94.9 vs. an**au**ṣkājsyatetä ‘non-everlastingness’ 94.9; and
 - *parau-* ‘command’, loc. sg. par**o**ya 24(14) (2x).

In 154.9 r1, Skjærvø (2003:416) reads *byoje haspījsye jsa bāyāña ku hūduvo tcalco makkuvä jsāte* ‘It should be conducted with application (and) dedication when the *ship goes toward the two shores.’ (Skt. *vipaśyanā-pra[yo]gā | ubhayor antayor asakta-vāhinī*). However, *hūduvo tcalco* cannot be loc. pl., for which the unattested OKh. form of *duva* ‘two’, *hūduva* ‘both’ would be *(hū)dvīvo** vel sim.; and inspection of the image on the IDP website confirms that the reading is highly uncertain.



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 1–5

- MSS 1–5 of the *Sanghāṭasūtra* present a similar picture.
 - Word-final <au> occurs in:
 - ins./abl. pl. *-yau* (9x);
 - *aa*-stem acc. sg. *-au* (8x);
 - *thatau* ‘quickly’ (1x *tha]tau*); *cu mānau* ‘to the extent that’ (1x);
 - **au** ‘or’ (MS 4r3 [54.1]) for usual *o*.
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 1–5

- Word-final <o> occurs in
 - loc. pl. *-uvo*’ (4x), *-uṣo*’ (*nātātuṣo*’ MS 1r5 [36.3] to *nātāa*-‘river’);
 - *ā*-stem acc. sg. (3x);
 - *aā*-stem loc. sg. (1x);
 - *muho* ‘us’ (2x);
 - *o* ‘or’ (5x MS 1v2 [37.3]), *ko* ‘if’ (1x), *kho* ‘as, how’ (5x), *buro* indef. ptcl. (2x), *rro* ‘also’ (4x), *hālsto* ‘thither’ (2x).

MS 5 is paleographically later than MSS 1–4, being written in Early South Turkestan Brāhmī (early 7th c.?) as opposed to Early Turkestan Brāhmī (second half of 5th c.); but the relevant forms there fit the pattern of the first four MSS: *aa*-stem acc. sg. *hālau* ‘side, direction’ vs. acc. *muho* ‘us’; consistent *uysnora*-‘being’ (4x).



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 6–9

- The picture for MSS 6–9 is not appreciably different, but we find multiple examples of confusion in inflectional markers, including the case endings under discussion.
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 6–9

- Word-final <au> occurs in:
 - ins./abl. pl. *-yau* (30x);
 - *aa*-stem acc. sg. *-au* (5x);
 - *śau* ‘one’ (6x), *dasau* ‘ten’ (1x);
 - *au*-stem *hamphau* ‘heap; meeting’ (1x);
 - *ttānau* < ins. sg. *ttāna* + 2pl. encl. *-ū*;
 - *pand]au* (2.2v5 [129.1]) for *pando*, acc. sg. of *pandāa*- ‘path’;
 - *lovyau* (8.1v4 [193.4]), acc. sg. fem. (?) of *lovia*- ‘pert. to this world’ (*lovyau u [pīrmo-lovyau hajvattetu paysānīndä]* ‘[they know wisdom] of this world and [of the world beyond]’);
 - *naryau* (3x), loc. sg. of *naria*- ‘hell’;
 - *khau* ‘as, how’ (MS 7v3 [199[4]]) for usual *kho*.
- pand]au* is the reading of Skjærvø (2002:240), but the image at IDP shows only what would be the top stroke of superscript <au>.
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 6–9

- Word-final <o> occurs in
 - loc. pl. *-uvo* (3x), *prī(yu)vo* ‘pretas’, *ttävo*, *ggaruvo* ‘mountains’, *gavušo* ‘ears’
 - *ā*-stem acc. sg. (17x); *aā*-stem acc. sg. (3x); *pando* ‘path’ (1x)
 - *a-*, *ia-*, *ā*-stem loc. sg. (5x)
 - *uho* ‘you (pl.)’ (1x)
 - ins./abl.pl. *tcemanyo* ‘with eyes’ for *-yau* (MS 7v2 [199[3]])
 - ptcp. nec. nom. sg. n. *tsuño* for *tsuñau* ‘is to go’ (MS 6.2v2 [99[3]])
 - sbjv. 3pl. *-āro* (3x): *man-* ‘harm’, *vāj-* ‘hold, restrain’, *hām-* ‘be, become’
 - *cālsto* ‘whither’ (1x), *varālsto* ‘toward’ (2x), *hālsto* ‘thither’ (3x)
 - *o* ‘or’, *ko* ‘if’ (2x), *kho* ‘as, how’ (11x), *pātco* ‘again; then’ (2x), *pīrmo* ‘foremost’, *pušo* ‘completely’, *buro* indef. ptcl., *rro* ‘also’ (4x, *ro* 3x, *na-ro* 9x), *haṃgašo* ‘altogether’ (2x)
-



Innovative features in Sgh MSS 6–9

- These MSS, which belong to the older layer of those written in the main type of South Turkestan Brāhmī, show other typical innovations:
 - *au* for *o*: **au**ṣku ‘always’ (MS 6.2r1 [98.1]),
uysn**au**ra- ‘being’ (MS 8 [1x], 9 [3x]),
śāma-**au**vya ‘pert. to the world of Yama’ (MS 7r1 [198.3]);
 - *-t-* as hiatus breaker for historical *-g-*:
kāḍät**t**āne, k[ä]ḍ[ä]**t**ānyau ‘karma’ (MS 8.2r3 [214.5[2]]; cf.
MS 1r5 kāḍägānā beside kāḍätānā),
vyā**t**araṇo ‘prophecy’ (MS 9.9v2 [125.4] vs. 3x *-g-*);
 - *vārāṣṭo* ‘toward’ (MS 9.9r2 [124.4]) with loss of *-l-* and
palatalization for *varālsto*.

Canevascini (1993:183, 186) notes that “influence of Late Khot.” is clearly visible in MSS 7 and 9 in such telltale forms as *dye* ‘to see’ (MS 7v1 [199.2[2]]), *kāḍyāne* ‘evil deeds’ (MS 9.15v1 [186.4]) for OKh. *dāte*, *kāḍägāne*. To these may be added the “interesting spelling *dūḷkha* showing strong Late Khotanese influence” in MS 9.6v1 (Maggi 1996:121–2, for Canevascini’s reading *du.kha*).



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 10

- The incipient confusion of <au> and <o> is more advanced in the extensive Macartney Folios (MS 10), made up of 25 fragments.
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 10

- Word-final <au> occurs in:
 - ins./abl. pl. *-yau* (26x);
 - *aa*-stem acc. sg. *-au* (18x);
 - *śau* ‘one’ (7x *śau*, 6x *śśau*), *dasau* ‘ten’ (3x);
 - *thatau* ‘quickly, at once’ (1x);
 - *vānau* ‘without, except’ (1x);
 - contractions with 2pl. *-ū*: *ku ṣṭau* ‘where’ (< *ku ṣṭe* + *-ū*, 2x), *kyau* ‘who’ (< *kye* + *-ū*, 1x)
 - **au** ‘or’ (MS 10.5r6 [54.1]) for *o*;
 - **kau** ‘if’ (MS 10.16v3 [173.1]) for *ko*;
 - **dīrau** (MS 10.3r3–4 [34.14], loc. sg. f. of *dīra-* ‘bad, evil’) for *dīro**;
 - *anavamakya**au*** (MS 10.17v4 [181.1], acc. sg. of *avanama(ṃ)kyā-* ‘not originating’) for *-o**?
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 10

- Word-final <o> occurs in
 - loc. pl. (41x total):
 - -uvo' (12x): *kūluvo* 'crores', *gaṃguvo* 'Ganges' (3x), *ttāvatrīśuvo* 'Trāyastriṃśa(deva)s' (2x), *tcārīmuvo* 'fields' (2x), *tcūruvo* 'four', *drraiśuvo* 'thirteen', *dvāśuvo* 'twelve', *buddha-kṣetruvo* 'Buddha-fields'
 - -vuo' (1x): *nātāvuo* 'rivers'
 - -vo' (9x): *ggaṃgvo*, *ttāvatrīśvo*, *tcūrvo*, *diśvo* 'directions', *nātāvo* (2x), *māṣvo* 'fields', *yservo* 'thousand', *haṣṭevo* 'eighty'
 - -vo or -vo['] (5x): *daśvo[']* 'ten', *diśvo[']*, *nātā[v]o[']*, *balysānvo[']*, *biśvo[']* 'whole, all'
 - -uvo (2x): *kūluvo*, *kṣaṣṭuvo* 'sixty'
 - -uo (5x): *kulāruo* 'pavilions', *gyastuo* 'gods', *dīvuo* 'continents' (2x), *pusparenvetuo* 'ninety-five' (cf. MS 20 -*nvevau*)
 - -vo (7x): *kūlvo*, *tcārīmvo* (2x), *tcūrvo*, *tvo* 'those', *balysānvo* 'pert. to a Buddha' (2x)
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 10

- Word-final <o> occurs in
 - *ā*-stem acc. sg. (26x), incl. *dajo* (MS 10.16v1 [172.2]) for *daju** to *daji*- ‘flame, torch’
 - *aā*-stem acc. sg. (*dātīmḡ*]yo ‘pert. to the Law’, 1x)
 - *pando* ‘path’ (2x)
 - *a*-, *aā*-stem loc. sg. (4x)
 - *aa*-stem acc. sg. *hālo* (MS 10.25v4 [221.1]) for *hālau* ‘side, direction’ (5x)
 - ins./abl. pl. *grūīc*]yo (MS 10.12r5 [92.5] to *gurvīca*- ‘particle, grain (of sand, dust)’
Cf. *grūkyau* (MS 1r5 [36.3]), *gurvīcyau*, *guruīcyau* (MS 9.2r4 [18.2]), *grūcyau* (MS 10.9r6 [87.2]).
-



<au> and <o> in Sgh MSS 10

- Word-final <o> occurs in
 - *muho* ‘us’ (1x), *uho* ‘you (pl.)’ (1x)
 - sbjv. 3pl. *-āro* (12x: 9x *hām-* ‘be, become’, 1x *hars-* ‘?’, 2x *hvān-* ‘speak’), imp. 2sg. *tso* ‘come!’ (3x)
 - *hālsto* (3x, *hāṣto* 1x) ‘thither’, *varālṣto* ‘toward’, [*uskyā*]/[*st*]o ‘upwards’ (1x), *natāṣto* ‘downwards’ (1x),
 - o ‘or’ (5x), *ko* ‘if’ (3x), *kho* ‘as, how’ (16x), *pātco* ‘again; then’ (3x, *vātco* 1x), *pīro* ‘on, upon’ (1x), *pīrmo* ‘foremost’ (2x), *puṣṣo* ‘completely’ (1x), *buro* indef. ptcl. (9x), *rro* ‘also’ (11x)
 - *thato* ‘quickly, at once’ for *thatau* (1x)
-



Innovative features in Sgh MSS 10

- Compared to MSS 6–9, the Macartney Folios show further confusion of word-internal *au* and *o*...
 - *uysn**aura***- ‘being’ (6 or 7x) for *uysn**ora***- (42 or 43x),
 - pret. 3sg. m. ***au**ṣṭe* ‘angered’ (MS 10.18r3 [199[8]]) vs. ***o**ṣṭe* (MS 10.18r6 [200.3])
 - *tca**haur***- (4x: *tcahaure[b]ä[st]ä*, *tcahaureb[i]st[ä]* ‘twenty-four’, *tcahaurvarehaṣṭätä*, *tcahau[r]e[haṣṭätä* ‘eighty-four’) vs. *tca**hor***- (*tcahorehaṣṭätä*)
 - *pusparen**otä*** ‘ninety-five’ (MS 10.12v5 [94.1]) vs. *n**autä*** ‘ninety’ (MS 6.1r4 [58.5])
 - ***hautä***- ‘power’ (2x) vs. Śgs *h**otä***- (1x), *h**otana***- ‘powerful’ (3x)
 - pres. 3pl. *h**autäre*** ‘are able’, inj. mid. 3sg. *h**autta*** vs. *h**otäre*** (2x)
 - acc. sg. *h**auru*** (6x), *h**aurä*** (1x) ‘gift, giving’ vs. *h**oru*** (2x; cf. MS 9.9r5 [125.2])
 - opt. 3sg. *h**aurä*** ‘would give’ (3x) vs. *h**orä***, *h**oru*** (1x each)
-



Innovative features in Sgh MSS 10

- as well as other typical innovations...
 - loss of intervocalic consonants;
 - *käḍätāna-* ‘karma’, *käḍätānīnaa-* ‘pert. to karma’ (MS 10.1v6 3v3.v4–5.v5 13r3.r5 21r6.v1.v6) for *-g-* (MS 10.13v3 [käḍä]gānā)
 - pret. 3sg. m. *hve* (MS 10.9v5 19r2.v2 20r2.v2 21r6 22v2 23r4.r5 25v6) for OKhot. *hvate*; N.B. *hvetä* (MS 10.19v2 22r1 23r5) with incorrectly archaizing spelling!
Cf. ins./abl. pl. *ranyau* (MS 11r3 [211.2]) for *ratanyau* ‘with jewels’.
 - *varālṣṭo* ‘thither’ (MS 10.21r4 [213[2]]), *hāṣṭo* ‘thither’ (MS 10.15r5 [162.1]), *natāṣṭo* (MS 10.7r2 [66.8]) with loss of *-l-* and palatalization for *-ālsto*;
-



Innovative features in Sgh MSS 10

- weakening of final vowels...
 - ins./abl. sg. *hvetä jsa* (MS 10.5r6.r6–v1 6r2) for *hвете* ‘strength’
 - pret. 1sg. m. *hämätämä* (10.6v4) for *hämätämä* ‘became’
 - pret. 3sg. m. *hämäta* (10.13r6) for *hämätä* ‘became’

 - ...leading to merger of case endings;
 - *aa*-stem nom. sg. *-ai* for *-ei*, e.g. *puñinai* ‘pert. to merits’ (MS 10.8v3.v6 9r2.r3.r5.v4 10r3.v3.v6 11r2.r4.v1)
 - *a*-stem gen. sg. *-ä* for *-i*, e.g. *gyastä balysä* (MS 10.15r1 22r6)
 - *a*-stem acc. sg. *gyastä balysi* (MS 10.11r5) for *-u -u*, *haurä* ‘gift’ (MS 10.10r3 [88.3]) for *hauru*, and conversely
 - opt. 3sg. *horu* ‘would give’ (MS 10.10r2 [88.3]) for *horä*
 - *i*-stem acc. sg. *balysū]stä* (MS 10.25v4) for *-štu* (or blend of nom. *-stä* and acc. *-štu*?)
-



On the way to Late Khotanese

- and most importantly for our purposes, loss of the “hook” (whatever its value) reflecting OIr. *š in the loc. pl.
 - Śgs: 0/21
 - Sgh MSS 1–5: 0/5
 - Sgh MSS 6–9: 1/7 (*ggaruvo* ‘mountains’)
 - Sgh MS 10: 14/36 (2x *-uvo*, 5x *-uo*, 7x *-vo*; 5x indet. *-vo*['])
- As there is no metrical motivation for elision of the “hook”, this must indicate a change in progress from Old to Late Khotanese, where (as noted above) the ending is regularly written *-vā*, e.g. MS 26r3 [64.1] *balysānvā tcārīmvā* ‘in the Buddha-fields’ corresponding to MS 10.6r4 *balysānvo tcārīmvo*.

These observations would lead one to qualify the statement of Canevascini (1993:195) that “influence of Late Khot. [is] felt but not strong” in MS 10. The scribe(s) of MS 10 lived at a time when the spoken language had already undergone the numerous innovations listed above, but were still capable to a large extent of composing normative OKhot. forms.



<au> and <o> in Vkn

- Finally, the Vkn fragments mostly preserve <au> and <o>, but betray signs of innovation away from OKh.
 - Word-final <au> occurs in:
 - ins./abl. pl. *-yau* (10x);
 - *hālau*, acc. sg. of *hālaa-* ‘side, direction’ (3x);
 - *a*-stem loc. sg. **-au** (1x);
 - *au*-stem nom. pl. *hārau* ‘plants’ (1x); and
 - *śau* ‘one’ (3x).
-



<au> and <o> in Vkn

- Word-final <o> occurs in:
 - loc. pl. -(v)o' (4x: *daśvo* 'ten', *diśvo* 'directions', *lovadhāto* 'world systems', *po* 'feet');
 - ā-stem acc. sg. (4x);
 - aā-stem acc. sg. (1x);
 - a-stem loc. sg. (12x);
 - sbjv. 3pl. -āro: *hām-* 'be, become' (1x);
 - *tso*, imp. of *tsu-* 'go, come' (1x);
 - *uskālsto* 'upwards';
 - *myāño* 'in the middle of' (1x);
 - *o* 'or' (7x), *buro* indef. ptcl. (1x), *kho* 'as, how' (1x), *ro* encl. ptcl. 'also' (4x)
-



<au> and <o> in Vkn

- Noteworthy is the fluctuation of loc. sg. -o ~ -au in IOL Khot 153/2 (1.8.2–1.8.3).
 - *r2 u cu ro tṭrsahasro mahāsahasryau lauvadhātā vātā,*
r3 u cu ro ttrasahasryo mahāsahasryo lovadhātu vātā,
cātādīvyo
'And whatever (there is) in the triple-thousand, great-thousand world-sphere, with its four continents...'
See Skjærvø 1986:232–233.
 - This folio also shows confusion of word-internal <au> and <o> and weakening of final vowels in loc. sg. *lauvadhātā* 'world system' vs. *lovadhātu*...
-



<au> and <o> in Vkn

- along with monophthongization of OKh. *ei* in v3–4 *tce'mañyau* 'with eyes'...
 - and even an example of suspended affixation (*Gruppenflexion*) in v4 *gyastä balysi.na* 'with the Lord Buddha', a typical LKh. feature for expected OKh. *gyastäna balysäna!*
 - These “post-archaic traits”, along with the frequent use of unetymological anusvāras <ṅ>, suggest that “the scribe let his spoken language slip into the text while copying an antecedent drafted in pure Old Khotanese” (del Tomba 2022:377).
-



Conclusion: “real” OKh. *au* and *o*

- I conclude that Emmerick’s statement that OKh. *au* “seems to have been monophthongised to *o* right at the beginning of our transmitted texts” (1979:245) requires slight modification.
- The contrast of (pre-)OKh. /-ō/ and /-au/ was consistently maintained in Śgs, Rk, and the earliest MSS of Sgh.
- In comparison, monophthongization of /au/ and merger with /ō/ was more advanced in word-medial position, where we find instances of confusion already in Śgs.
- By MS 10 of Sgh, even the high-frequency *uysnora-* ‘being’ is spelled *uysnaura-* in one eighth of its occurrences, and there is seemingly random fluctuation in *tcahor-* ~ *tcahaur-* ‘four’, *hot-* ~ *haut-* ‘be able’, *hor-* ~ *haur-* ‘give; gift’.



Return to “real” OKh. *-yau*, *-uvo*’

- It follows that neither <au> in OKh. ins./abl. pl. *-yau*, nor <o> in OKh. loc. pl. *-uvo*’ may be plausibly explained away as hypercorrect or otherwise “secondary” within the evolution of Khotanese.

The final diphthong of *-yau* remains persistent even in later texts, e.g. the *Siddhasāra* has only 2 tokens of *-yo* according to Emmerick & Maggi (1991:71).

- These final segments must have evolved regularly, and their sources should be sought in the OIr. preforms that have given rise to other instances of word-final <au> and <o>, respectively.



Origins of ins./abl. pl. *-yau*

- The predominant spelling *-yau* in Śgs, Sgh, and Z cannot continue
 - Plr. ins. pl. **-aibiš* (OP *-aibiš*, cf. Ved. *-ebhiḥ*; Tedesco 1926:132) or
 - Plr. dat./abl. pl. **-aibyah* (OAv. *-aēibiiō*), both of which would have given something like †*-iu*.
Note that OIr. **ai* became *ī*, as in *śśīta-* 'white' < OIr. **ćwaita-*.
- Rather, it must go back to a sequence **-ǎbV* that was secondarily added to a front vowel.



A new proposal

- I propose that the Plr. *a*-stem ins. pl. **-āiš* (Av. *-āiš*) regularly became pre-Kh. **-ī̃*.
- The reflex of *ā*-stem ins. pl. **-ābiš* > pre-Kh. **-aβ* was then added to distinguish this ending from
 - nom. sg. **-i* (> OKh. *-ä*) and
 - gen. sg. **-ī* (> OKh. *-i*).



A new proposal

- The resulting sequence $*-iya\beta > *-iyau$ was precociously syncopated to $-yau$.
- This change may have begun with demonstrative $ttyau < *tiyau$ in pretonic position. The spread of pronominal endings is otherwise well documented in Khotanese: cf.
 - ins./abl. sg. $-ãna$, generalized in a -stem nouns in both Kh. and Tumšūqese; and
 - loc. sg. $-ãña$, generalized to a few nouns already in OKh. (e.g. $dãña$ to $dãa$ - ‘fire’).

Depending on the relative chronology of changes, this scenario may provide an explanation for the metrical peculiarities of the ins./abl. pl. ending (see above).
More work needed!



Two peculiarities of *-yau* explained

- This hypothesis will account for two synchronic peculiarities of *-yau*: 1) its failure to trigger palatalization; and 2) its metrical behavior.
- Re 1: Since the ending was originally just **-i* (later extended to **-i-au*), there was no yod to cause palatalization of the stem. The sequences *-C-yau* arose later, after palatalization had run its course.
- Re 2: At the stage when the ending was **-iyau*, the preceding syllable would have scanned light in forms like **biśiyau* ‘with/from all’, **rataniyau* ‘with/from jewels’. After syncope to **-yau*, this remained a synchronic rule in Old Khotanese: a preceding light syllable remains light.

I have **no** explanation at present for the bizarre identity of the OKh. **vocative** plural with the ins./abl. pl.!



Origins of loc. pl. *-uvo'*

- We return to the loc. pl. ending, which as we have seen is almost always written *-uvo'* in the oldest sources.
- The analysis above casts serious doubt on the “secondary strengthening of a final unstressed vowel” proposed by Emmerick (1987:40–1) for OIr. **-aišu* > **-ivu'* > **-uvu'* > *-uvo'*.
- Rather, the consistent final <o> should come from one of the known sources of OKh. -o, in the first place OIr. **-ām*.



Return to an old proposal

- I therefore propose to revive the nearly century-old suggestion of Tedesco (1926:132) that OKh. *-uvo'* goes back to OIr. **-aišy-ām*.
- This ending would stand in the same relation to **-aišy-ā* as Ved. loc. sg. (*ā*-stem) *-āyām*, rel. pron. *yāsyām* to OP *-āyā*, Av. *yeŋhe*.

5 — und den Lok. *-uv'o*, wohl aus alt **-aišu-ām*, das, obzwar vorläufig ohne Anknüpfung, sich zu ap. *-aišuvā*, jAw. *-aēšva* verhielte wie im Lok. Sg. fem. ai. *yasyām* zu jAw. *yeŋhe* und ai. *kanyāyām* zu ap. *arbirāyā* etc.³⁾

Tedesco's idea was cited with approval by Emmerick (SGS:270), who however later abandoned it; see above.



Return to an old proposal

- As seen by Tedesco (1926:132fn.3), the same preform would underlie the postposition *myāño* ‘in the middle of’ < OIr. **madyānāyām*.
- It would not however account for *anau* ‘without’ or *vānau* ‘without, except’, whose frequent spelling with *-au* requires a different origin (cf. *anau* Śgs 3.8v4, *vānau* Sgh MS 10.8v4 [74.1]).
- At least in the case of *bendo* ‘upon’ (Z) the final vowel must be secondary, since the older form is *bendä* (Śgs 2.4r3; Sgh MS 10.15r1 [161.5], also 70.3 70.5).



Concluding remarks

- If the analyses presented here are correct, they demonstrate the desirability of coordinating the chronology of Khotanese texts with the relative chronology of sound changes as an essential tool for further progress in Khotanese historical grammar.
- This approach has only rarely been attempted, even in the few instances where the sparse Tumšugese data can shed light on Khotanese developments.
- Only careful examination of manuscript variants, combined with (forward) reconstruction of historical phonology, can determine which forms had “real” *au* and which had “real” *o*.



Relative chronology: a case study

- To take just one example, OKh. *hor-* ‘give’ is universally agreed to go back to OIr. **fra-bar-*.
- This implies the following sequence of changes:
 - OIr. **fra-bar-*
 - > **fra-βar-* (intervocalic lenition)
 - > **frawar-* (merger of **[β]* and **[w]*)
 - > **hrawar-* (**fr-* > **hr-*; relative chronology indeterminate)
 - > **hrōr-* (contraction of **awa* > **ō*)
 - > OKh. *hor-*, Tumšugese *ror-*.
- The consistent spellings with <o> in Śgs (2x), Sgh (2x MS 9) suggest that *haur-* is in fact not an archaic, but an innovative (hypercorrect) spelling in MS 10 (4 of 6x) and later manuscripts.



Relative chronology: a case study

- Similarly, we would have
 - *hot-* ‘be able’ < OIr. **fra-wat-* (to **wat-* ‘inspire; be informed, acquainted’; SGS:155, Cheung 2007:427)
 - *notä* ‘ninety’ < OIr. **nawatī-* (*nautä* influenced by *nau* ‘nine’ < OIr. **nawa*); and
 - *uysnora-* ‘being’ < OIr. **uzanā-bara-* (but Tumšugese pl. *usänavara*; different chronology connected with date of compound?).
- However, the frequency of <au> in ‘gift’ (7x *haura-* vs. 2x *hora-* in MS 10) gives one pause. Perhaps syncope was earlier in trisyllabic forms and so bled contraction of *-*awa-*, e.g. nom. sg. **fra-barah* > **hrawri* > *haurä*?



Forward reconstruction and its limits

- Inherited word-medial *-au-* must therefore go back to secondarily arisen **-ǎw-* (by syncope < **-ǎwa-*?), as in
 - *naḍaun-* ‘man’ < **nṛtā-wan-* ~ **nṛtā-wṇ-* (Bailey 1979:172b);
- or sequences of the shape **-aβC-*, as in
 - *hauda* ‘seven’ < **haβda* < Plr. **hafta*;
 - ppp. *byauda-* ‘obtained’ < **byaβda-* < Olr. **abi-Haf-ta-* (to **Hap-* ‘reach, attain’; SGS:20, 86, 89, 106, Cheung 2007:162).
- A few cases remain unclear due to the unique phonological environments involved, above all
 - *tcohor-* (Śgs) ~ *tcahaur-* (Sgh MS 10) ‘four’ < Olr. **čaθwārah*.



Khotanese and the reconstruction of Proto-Iranian

- Finally, the derivation of *-uvo* from an OIr. **-aiš̥u-ām* not continued in any other Old or Middle Iranian language, but paralleled in Vedic loc. *-āyām*, *yásyām*, is not an isolated case.
- The *i*-stem acc. sg. *-ju* continues generalized Plr. **-yam* in *vṛkī-* type *ī*-stems **-yam* (Ved. *vṛkyām*), an ending only marginally attested in Old Iranian.

See SGS:289, 291; for traces in Avestan, see Mayrhofer 1980:139–41. Emmerick (SGS:278) suggests that the OKh. loc. sg. in *-o* could be from OIr. *ā*-stem **-ayām* (cf. Ved. *-āyām*), but one would expect *-jo* with palatalization. These are probably just generalized acc. sg. forms (Sims-Williams 1990:284, forthcoming:§2).

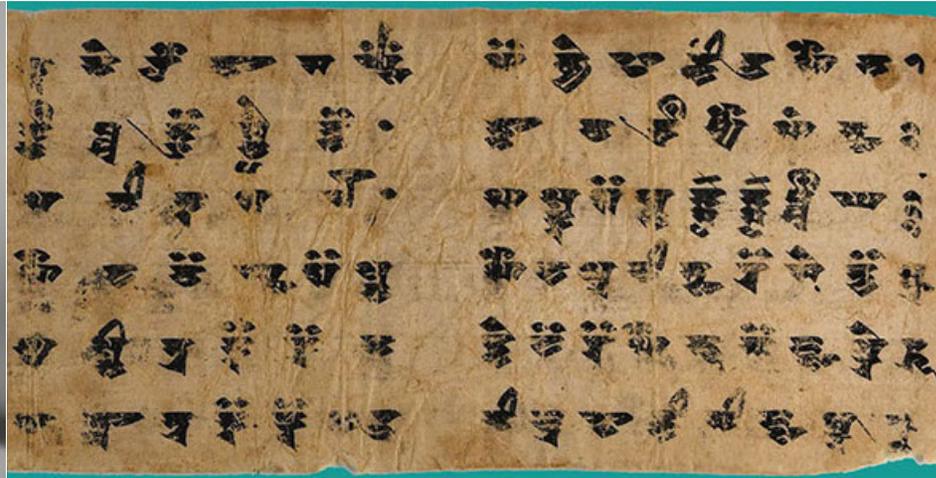
- The locative plural case ending thus offers another example of the potential contribution of Khotanese to the ongoing reconstruction of Proto-Iranian.

Thank you for your attention!

Danke für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!

Dziękuję za uwagę!

Спасибо за внимание!



感谢您的关注！

관심을 가져주셔서 감사합니다!

ご清聴ありがとうございました！



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