

Chapter 1

1.1. Khotanese is written in a variety of script of Indian origin known as Brāhmī. The variety of Brāhmī script in which Khotanese was written was peculiar to Central Asia. It was adapted by the Khotanese for writing an Iranian language that had a different phonemic system from those of Indian languages (see Figure 1 on p. 7).

1.2. The following consonant phonemes appear to have been similar in both Khotanese and Indian (Sanskrit): /p/ written *p*, /k/ written *k*, /s/ written *s*, /m/ written *m*, /n/ written *n*, /h/ written *b*, /w/ written *v*, /j/ written *y*, /l/ written *l*, /r/ written *r*.

1.3. The following vowel phonemes appear to correspond: /i/ written *i*, /e/ written *e*, /a/ written *a*, /o/ written *o*, /u/ written *u*.

1.4. A special symbol was used to indicate the vowel /ə/. This was written in Brāhmī by placing two dots above the sign for the immediately preceding consonant(s). It is transliterated by *ä*. The vowel *ä* was not always distinguished from *i* and *e* e.g. *nä* /nə/, *ne* /ne/, *ni* /ni/ 'not'.

1.5. Vowel length is phonemic and distinguished by the script in the case of *i*, *a*, and *u*, which contrast with *ī* /i:/, *ā* /a:/, and *ū* /u:/. Contrast *mura* /'mura/ 'birds' (9) and *mūra* /'mu:ra/ 'coin'. There was a phonemic distinction between /e/ and /e:/ and also between /o/ and /o:/, but these were not distinguished in writing. In general, *e* and *o* in non-final position and when they arose as a result of contraction represent /e:/ and /o:/.

1.6. *b*, *d*, *g* in Khotanese were thought to have represented the voiced fricatives /β/, /ð/, /ɣ/ respectively e.g. *bīsa* /'βi:sa/ 'servants'. It is now considered more likely that *b* and *d* had the same value as in Sanskrit, namely /b/ and /d/ e.g. *bīsa* /'bi:sa/ 'servants'. *bh*, *dh* are also used, usually in Indian loanwords. However, *bh*, *dh* alternate with *b*, *d* and do not represent aspirate stops in Khotanese.

1.7. *ph*, *th*, *kh* in Khotanese represent the voiceless aspirate stops /p^h/, /t^h/, /k^h/ e.g. *pharu* /'p^haru/ 'many'; *kant^ha* /'kant^ha/ 'city'.

- 1.8.** *c, j, ñ* represent the palatals /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ɲ/ respectively e.g. *cakra-* /'tʃakra/ 'discus; wheel' (2); *sāj-* /'sa:dʒ/ 'to learn'; *hvāñ-* /'hwa:ɲ/ 'to speak'. *c* and *j* seem to be almost completely interchangeable with *ky* /k/ and *gy* /g/ except in the very earliest texts.
- 1.9.** *tc, js* represent the affricates /ts/, /dz/ respectively e.g. *hatcañ-* /'hatsaɲ/ 'to break up'; *jsan-* /'dʒan/ 'to kill'.
- 1.10.** A dot above a syllable was used to indicate nasalisation of the vowel in that syllable. This dot is called 'anusvāra' and is transliterated either by *ṃ* following the vowel or by a nasalisation mark under the vowel e.g. *braṃmana* or *br̥mana* /'br̥mana/ 'brahmins'.
- 1.11.** *t* has the value /t/ in groups such as *st, tr, tv* e.g. *hasta* /hasta/ 'elephants', but otherwise it is merely a historic spelling, *t* being realised intervocalically as a glottal stop. It is represented in the phonemic transcriptions here by an apostrophe e.g. *hvatana* /'hwa'ana/ 'the Khotanese'.
- 1.12.** As in Sanskrit, *ṣ* represents in Khotanese the retroflex voiceless sibilant /ʃ/ in groups e.g. *oṣku* /'o:ʃku/ 'always'.
- 1.13.** *kṣ* was probably pronounced /tʃʰ/ e.g. *kṣatra* /'tʃʰatra/ 'umbrellas'.
- 1.14.** *ṣ* was used to represent the voiced sibilant /z/, which was not phonemic in Sanskrit e.g. *balysa-* /'balza/ 'Buddha'.
- 1.15.** Khotanese had a stress accent that lay on the first heavy syllable from the end of the word but not on the final syllable itself. A heavy syllable is defined as a syllable containing a long or nasalised vowel or a syllable ending in one or more consonants. Thus, *yanīmā* /ja'ni:mə/ 'I do' (2) is stressed on the penult (second last syllable) because it contains the long vowel *ī*, while *namaštā* /na'maštə/ 'he worships' (2) is stressed on the penult because it ends in the consonant *ś*.
- 1.16.** Words containing no heavy syllables or whose only heavy syllable is their final syllable are stressed on the first syllable e.g. *pharu* /'pʰaru/ 'many', *thato* /'tʰa'o:/ 'quickly', *hvatana* /'hwa'ana/ 'the Khotanese'.
- 1.17.** Nouns have grammatical gender and may be either masculine or feminine. There are traces of the neuter.
- 1.18.** In all lists and vocabularies in this book words are arranged in the following alphabetic order: *a ā/ā ä/i ī/ī u ū/ū e/ai/ei o/au; k kb g/gg/gb ṅ; c/ky ch j/gy ñ; ṭ ṭh ḍ ṇ; t/tt th d/dh n; p ph b/bh m; y r/rr l v; ś/śś ṣ/ṣṣ s h*. Nasalised vowels are treated as the alphabetic equivalent of non-nasalised vowels e.g.

$aṃ = q = a$ (1.10). The subscript hook (4.3) is disregarded for purposes of alphabetisation. Vocalic $ṛ$ (14.24) is equated with $rā/ri$. The aspirates $gb\ dh\ bh$ are equated with $g\ d\ b$ (1.6, 3.8). This ordering follows in principle that of the Central Asian alphabets.

Vocabulary 1

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>īmu</i> /'i:mu/ adv. 'today' | <i>balysa-</i> /'balza/ m. 'Buddha' |
| <i>oṣku</i> /'o:ṣku/ adv. 'always' | <i>bisā-</i> /'bisa:/ f. 'house' |
| <i>kanthā-</i> /'kant ^h a:/ f. 'city' | <i>bīsa-</i> /'bi:sa/ m. '(house) servant' |
| <i>ḡṣatra-</i> /'ṣ ^h atra/ m. 'umbrella' (Gāndh. < Skt. <i>chattra</i>) | <i>braṃmana-</i> /'brāmana/ m. 'brahmin' (Gāndh. < Skt. <i>brāhmaṇa</i>) |
| <i>jsan-</i> /'dzan/ vb. 'to kill' | <i>mūrā-</i> /'mu:ra:/ f. 'coin' |
| <i>thato</i> /'t ^h a'o:/ adv. 'quickly' | <i>sāj-</i> /'sa:dž/ vb. 'to learn' |
| <i>dāta-</i> /'da:'a/ m. '(Buddhist) Law' (trans. Skt. <i>dharma</i>) | <i>svī</i> /'swi:/ adv. 'tomorrow' |
| <i>dīra-</i> /'di:ra/ adj. 'bad, evil; weak' | <i>hatcañ-</i> /'hatsaṅ/ vb. 'to break up' |
| <i>ne, nā, ni</i> /ne/ /nə/ /ni/ adv. 'not' | <i>hasta-</i> /'hasta/ m. 'elephant' |
| <i>p^haru</i> /'p ^h aru/ indecl. adj. 'much, many' | <i>hvatana-</i> /'hwa'ana/ m. 'Khotanese (man)' |
| <i>bar-</i> /'bar/ vb. 'to carry, bring' | <i>hvāñ-</i> /'hwa:ñ/ vb. 'to speak, preach' |

Exercise 1

A. Transcribe into phonetic script Exercise 2 A 1–15.

Answers will be found at the beginning of the key to the Khotanese–English exercises.

B. Read aloud and transcribe into Khotanese orthography the following:

1. /'da:'u 'i:mu hwa:'ña:mə/.
2. /'brāmana 'mu:re 'swi: ba'ri:ndə/.
3. /'p^haru 'bi:sa 'hastu dza'ni:ndə/.
4. /'balza 'da:'u hwa:'ñi:ndə/.
5. /'hwa'ana 'ṣ^hatra ba'ri:ndə/.
6. /'brāmana 'di:ro 'biso hatsa'ñi:ndə/.
7. /'hastu 't^ha'o: dza'ni:mə/.
8. /'bi:sa 'da:'u 't^ha'o: nə sa:'dži:ndə/.
9. /'bi:sa 'p^haru 'ṣ^hatra 'o:ṣku ba'ri:ndə/.
10. /'hwa'ana 'brāmana ne dza'ni:ndə/.

Answers will be found at the beginning of the key to the English–Khotanese exercises.

Chapter 2

- 2.1.** The subject of a verb is in the nominative case and the direct object of a verb is in the accusative case. In the plural no distinction is made in Khotanese between the nominative and the accusative. Hence the form which a noun takes in the nominative and accusative plural is termed ‘nominative-accusative plural’.
- 2.2.** Nouns belonging to the *a*-declension are masculine and those belonging to the *ā*-declension are feminine. The stem of a noun is the form it has before the case endings are attached to it. Nouns are quoted by the stem plus the vowel *a* if they belong to the *a*-declension or the stem plus the vowel *ā* if they belong to the *ā*-declension. Thus, *bīsa-* ‘servant’ has the stem *bīs°*, to which *a* has been added because it belongs to the *a*-declension.
- 2.3.** Nouns belonging to the *a*-declension have the ending *°u* added to the stem in the accusative singular and *°a* added to the stem in the nominative-accusative plural. Thus, *bīsa-* ‘servant’ has acc. sg. *bīsu*, nom.-acc. pl. *bīsa*.
- 2.4.** Nouns belonging to the *ā*-declension have the ending *°o* added to the stem in the accusative singular and *°e* in the nominative-accusative plural e.g. *bīsā-* ‘house’ has acc. sg. *biso*, nom.-acc. pl. *bise*.
- 2.5.** The normal, but by no means invariable, word order is subject, object, verb. Adjectives usually precede the noun they qualify and adverbs the verb or other word they modify. Thus, *dīra bīsa hastu īmu jsanīndä* ‘the bad servants kill an elephant today’.
- 2.6.** Most adjectives inflect in agreement with the noun they qualify e.g. *dīra bīsa dīru hastu jsanīndä* ‘the bad servants kill the bad elephant’.
- 2.7.** A few adjectives and all adverbs are uninflected. The adjective *pharu* ‘many, much’ is uninflected: *pharu bīsa pharu hasta jsanīndä* ‘many servants kill many elephants’. Adverb: *bīsa dīro bīso thato hatcañīndä* ‘the servants quickly break up the bad house’.
- 2.8.** The verb inflects for singular and plural in all three persons.

2.9. The present indicative is the tense used for statements concerning the present or future that are not modified with regard to their probability or the like. Examples: *bīsa pharu hasta īmu jsanīndā* ‘the servants are killing many elephants today’; *bīsa hastu svī jsanīndā* ‘the servants will kill the elephant tomorrow’.

2.10. Some verbs have active endings only, some have middle endings only, and some have either active or middle.

2.11. The present indicative active has among its endings: 1 sg. *īmā*, 1 pl. *āmā*, 3 pl. *īndā* e.g. *jsanīmā* ‘I kill’, *jsanāmā* ‘we kill’, *jsanīndā* ‘they kill’.

2.12. The phonetic realisation of Kh. *rr* is not clear, but it seems to have indicated a different sound from single *r*. For convenience *rr* is here transcribed as /R/ and *r* as /r/.

Vocabulary 2

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>uysnora-</i> /uz'no:ra/ m. ‘(living) being’ (trans. Skt. <i>sattva</i>) | <i>bīnāñā-</i> /bi:'na:ña/ m. ‘music’ |
| <i>cakra-</i> /'tšakra/ m. ‘discus; wheel’ (Skt.) | <i>yan-</i> /'jan/ vb. ‘to make, do, perform’ |
| <i>gyasta-</i> /'gja:sta/ m. ‘god’ (trans. Skt. <i>deva</i>) | <i>ratana-</i> /'ra'ana/ m. ‘jewel’ (Pkt. < Skt. <i>ratana</i>) |
| <i>drūgyā-</i> /'dru:gja:/ f. ‘lie, falsehood’ | <i>satva-</i> /'satwa/ m. ‘(living) being’ (Skt. <i>sat-tva</i> ; = <i>uysnora-</i>) |
| <i>namas-</i> /'namas/ vb. ‘to worship, honour’ (Pkt. < Skt. <i>namasyati</i>) | <i>stunā-</i> /'stuna:/ f. ‘pillar’ |
| <i>parrīj-</i> /pa'Ri:dž/ vb. ‘to rescue, deliver’ | <i>hīnā-</i> /'hi:na:/ f. ‘army’ |
| <i>pārysa-</i> /'pa(:)rza/ m. ‘servant’ | <i>hor-</i> /'ho:r/ vb. ‘to give’ |
| <i>puls-</i> /'puls/ vb. ‘to ask’ | |

Exercise 2

A. Translate into English:

1. braṃmana hastu jsanīndā.
2. balysa dātu hvāñīndā.
3. dīra bīsa biso hatcañīndā.
4. pharu braṃmana dātu sājīndā.
5. bīsa kṣatra īmu ne barīndā.
6. bīsa mūre barīndā.
7. hvatana dātu thato ne sājīndā.
8. mūre svī barāmā.
9. dātu nā hvāñīmā.
10. kantho hatcañāmā.
11. dātu thato sājāmā.

12. dīra bīsa hvatanu jsanīndä.
13. braṃmana pharu kṣatra barīndä.
14. dīro biso svī hatcañīmä.
15. dīra braṃmana pharu hasta thato jsanīndä.
16. parysa cakra thato barīndä.
17. drūgye ni hvāñīmä.
18. hvatana bīnāñu svī yanīndä.
19. braṃmana pulsāmä.
20. ratana horāmä.
21. stuno ne hatcañāmä.
22. hīno parrījīmä.
23. dātu oṣku namasāmä.
24. balysa uysnora oṣku parrījīndä.
25. braṃmana gyasta namasīndä.
26. parysa drūgyo ne hvāñīndä.
27. dīra pārysa pulsīndä.
28. pharu satva dātu sājīndä.
29. braṃmana pharu kṣatra svī barīndä.
30. hastu ne jsanīmä.

B. Translate into Khotanese:

1. I will learn the Law quickly.
2. The Khotanese (pl.) will bring the coins tomorrow.
3. We are breaking up the bad house.
4. The Buddhas do not preach bad laws.
5. They are carrying many umbrellas.
6. The Khotanese do not break up houses.
7. We will preach the Law today.
8. The bad brahmins do not learn the Law.
9. Many servants are carrying the coins.
10. I will bring the umbrellas tomorrow.
11. Brahmins do not tell a lie.
12. We worship the Buddhas.
13. I will ask the servants tomorrow.
14. The Buddhas deliver beings.
15. The servants are making music today.
16. The Khotanese rescue the army.
17. The servants give a discus.
18. The bad brahmins break up many houses.
19. I will bring the coins tomorrow.
20. The brahmins worship many gods.

Chapter 3

- 3.1. The nominative singular of the *a*-declension ends in °*ä* e.g. *balysä* /'balzə/ 'Buddha'.
- 3.2. The nominative singular of the *ā*-declension ends in °*a* e.g. *hīna* /'hi:na/ 'army'.
- 3.3. The genitive and dative of Proto-Iranian fell together in Khotanese to form a single case, which is known as the 'genitive-dative' because it has the functions of both genitive and dative.
- 3.4. The genitive-dative singular of the *a*-declension ends in °*i*, the genitive-dative plural in °*ānu* e.g. *balysi* 'of the Buddha' or 'to the Buddha', *balysānu* 'of the Buddhas' or 'to the Buddhas'.
- 3.5. The commonest function of the genitive-dative is to express possession. That was originally a function of the genitive. Example: *braṃmani bisa* 'the brahmin's house'.
- 3.6. The genitive-dative is commonly used with certain verbs in the function of the dative. Examples: *braṃmanānu hvāñīmā* 'I speak to the brahmins'; *khāysu braṃmanānu borīmā* 'I give food to the brahmins'.
- 3.7. As in Sanskrit *ḍ* represents in Khotanese the voiced retroflex stop *ḍ* e.g. *kāḍe* /'kəḍe/ 'very'.
- 3.8. Some voiceless sounds were represented in Khotanese by writing their voiced counterparts double. Moreover, *tt* was used to represent /t/ as opposed to the glottal stop /ʔ/ (1.11) and *gg* was used to represent /g/ (also spelled *gh* in Indian loanwords) as opposed to the voiced fricative /ɣ/. The following cases occur in the *Book of Zambasta* and elsewhere in Old Khotanese:
- tt* /t/ ~ t /ʔ/ *gg* /g/ ~ g /ɣ/ *śś* /ʃ/ ~ ś /ʒ/ *šš* /ʂ/ ~ š /z/.
- Examples: *tta* /'ta/ 'thus, so' but *pata* /'pa'a/ 'stanzas' (18); *ggara-* /'gara/ 'mountain' (7) but *kāḍägāna-* /kəḍə'ɣa:na/ 'evil deed' (7); *śśāra-* /'šəra/ 'good' but *āgāśa-* /a:'ɣa:za/ 'sky, space'; *ššamana* /'šamana/ 'monks' but *šā* /'zə/ 'that, this, the, he' (7.13).

3.9. In certain groups *t*, *ś*, and *ṣ* retain their voiceless character even when written single: see **1.11–12** for examples of *t* and *ṣ*. An example of *ś* for /š/ is *pulśtā* /'pulštə/ 'he asks'.

3.10. Verbs can be classified according to their third singular present indicative active into four types:

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---|--------------------|------------------------------------------|
| A | ^o ätä | e.g. <i>bvāñätä</i> 'he speaks' | C | ^o aittä | e.g. <i>bvaittä</i> 'he strikes' |
| B | ^o tä | e.g. <i>pulśtā</i> 'he asks' (see 3.13) | D | ^o aitä | e.g. <i>daitä</i> 'he sees' (8) |

3.11. By far the commonest of these four types are A and B, to which belong all the verbs met with so far:

| | |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Type A: | <i>parrīj-</i> 'to rescue, deliver', <i>sāj-</i> 'to learn' |
| | <i>batcañ-</i> 'to break up', <i>bvāñ-</i> 'to speak, preach' |
| Type B: | <i>jsan-</i> 'to kill', <i>yan-</i> 'to make, do, perform' |
| | <i>bar-</i> 'to carry, bring', <i>hor-</i> 'to give' |
| | <i>namas-</i> 'to worship, honour', <i>puls-</i> 'to ask' |

3.12. The third singular present indicative active ending ^oätä is added directly to the stem of type A verbs without modification of the stem e.g. *bvāñätä* 'he speaks', *sājätä* 'he learns'.

3.13. The third singular present indicative active of type B verbs ends in ^otä, the raised *i* before ^otä denoting preceding palatalisation. If the present stem ends in *s*, the *s* is palatalised to *ś* /š/ e.g. *namaśtā* /na'maštə/ 'he worships', *pulśtā* /'pulštə/ 'he asks'.

3.14. If the present stem ends in *n*, the third singular present indicative active ending ^otä of type B verbs becomes ^odä and the root vowel of the present stem is palatalised. Hence if the root vowel is *a* it becomes *i* in the third singular present indicative active. Thus, *jsīndä* /'dzi:ndə/ 'he kills' ← *jsan-*; *yīndä* /'ji:ndə/ 'he makes' ← *yan-*.

3.15. The ^otä of type B verbs when added to present stems ending in *r* first became ^odä and then ^ord became *d* /d/. The root vowel of the present stem is palatalised so that *a* becomes *i* and *o* becomes *e*. Examples: *bīdä* /'bi:də/ 'he brings, carries' < ^o*bīrdä* ← *bar-*; *hedä* /'he:də/ 'he gives' < ^o*herdä* ← *hor-*.

3.16. *jsīno paśś-* 'to abandon life' is used idiomatically to mean 'to die'.

Vocabulary 3

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>aśśa-</i> /'aša/ m. 'horse' | <i>khāyasa-</i> /'kha:za/ m. 'food' |
| <i>āgāśa-</i> /a:'ga:ša/ m. 'sky, space' (Gāndh. < Skt. <i>ākāśa</i>) | <i>ggamuna-</i> /'gamuna/ m. 'robber' |
| <i>kāde</i> /'kəde/ adv. 'very' | <i>jsīnā-</i> /'dzi:na:/ f. 'life' |
| | <i>tta</i> /'ta/ adv. 'thus, so' |

paśś- /'paš/ vb. A 'to release, throw; abandon, give up'

mara(ta) /'mara(ʔa)/ adv. 'here'

māsta- /'māsta/ adj. 'big, large, great'

rraysga- /'Razga/ adj. 'swift'

rrusā- /'Rusa:/ f. 'barley'

vaysña /'wazña/ adv. 'now'

vara(ta) /'wara(ʔa)/ adv. 'there'

śśāra- /'šāra/ adj. 'good'

ṣṣamana- /'ṣamana/ m. 'monk' (Gāndh. < Skt. *śramaṇa*)

strīyā- /'stri:ja:/ f. 'woman'

bīs- /'hi:/ vb. B 'to come, arrive'

hvar- /'hwar/ vb. B 'to eat'

Idiom

jsīno paśś- /'dzi:no 'paš/ 'to die' (3.16).

Exercise 3

A. Translate into English:

1. kāḍe rraysga aśśa hīsindä.
2. dīra strīya vaysña mara hīstā.
3. māstā aśśā pharu rruso hvīḍā.
4. ggamunā cakru paśśātā.
5. ṣṣamanā ggamunu ne jsīndä.
6. bīsā brammanānu khāysu oṣku heḍā.
7. ggamunānu tta hvāñāmā.
8. pharu uysnora balysu namasindä.
9. ṣṣamanā aśśi rruso varata hvīḍā.
10. śśārā bīsā gyasta oṣku namaštā.
11. aśśā bīsī mūre thato biḍā.
12. ṣṣamani bīsā bīnāñu svī marata yīndä.
13. pharu satva jsīno paśśindä.
14. dīra ggamuna vaysña tta pulsīmā.
15. parysa pharu ratana mara barīndä.

B. Translate into Khotanese:

1. The bad horse is not eating much barley today.
2. The horse is eating the monk's food today.
3. The good servant abandons life (= dies).
4. I will ask the woman tomorrow.
5. The Buddha preaches the good Law to the monks.
6. The bad robber kills a good monk here.
7. We will now give the monks' horses barley.
8. The robber breaks up the pillar there.
9. Many Khotanese are coming here today.
10. The monk is performing very bad music.