Linguistica e Filologia è inclusa in ERIH PLUS
(European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences)

Internet: http://aisberg.unibg.it/handle/10446/6133

I contributi contenuti nella rivista sono indicizzati nelle banche dati
Modern Language Association (MLA) International Bibliography
e Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts (LLBA),
Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) e Web of Science

Licenza Creative Commons:
This journal is published in Open Access under a Creative Commons License
Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).
You are free to share – copy, distribute and transmit –
the work under the following conditions:
You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author or licensor
(but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Volume pubblicato dal Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere e finanziato con fondi di Ateneo di ricerca.

ISSN: 1594-6517
Linguistica e Filologia

Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BERGAMO 2019
Direttore Responsabile:
Giuliano Bernini, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

Comitato Scientifico:
Maria Grazia Cammarota, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Régine Delamotte, Université de Rouen
Klaus Düwel, Universität Göttingen
Edgar Radtke, Universität Heidelberg
Ada Valentini, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

Comitato Editoriale:
David Ashurst, University of Durham
Lucia Avallone, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Mario Bensi, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Luisa Chierichetti, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Gabriele Cocco, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Adriana Conștâchescu, Universitatea din Craiova
Pierluigi Cuzzolin, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Cécile Desoutter, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Maria Gottardo, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Roberta Grassi, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Dorothee Heller, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Maria Iliescu, Universität Innsbruck
Stefania Maci, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
John McKinnell, University of Durham
Piera Molinelli, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Maria Chiara Pesenti, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Heidi Siller-Runggaldier, Universität Innsbruck
Andrea Trovesi, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
Marzena Wątorek, Université Paris VIII
Maria Żałęska, Uniwersytet Warszawski

Comitato di Redazione:
Jacopo Saturno, Università degli Studi di Bergamo
INDICE

MARIA GRAZIA CAMMAROTA
Ricordo di Maria Vittoria Molinari.................................................. pag. 7

LUCIA AVALONE
Le parole e il gesto.
Il discorso del Presidente Sādāt alla Knesset ............................... » 9

MAURO MAGGI
Le parole e il gesto.
Morphology of the Khotanese verbs in -Vṣ- ................................. » 43

LUCA ALFIERI
La storia della derivatio, il problema del tempo
e le grammatiche “filosofiche” tra il XIII e XVIII secolo .......... » 63

MARIA LAURA RESTIVO
Sulla segmentazione delle parole in lettere di semicolti .......... » 107

FILIPPO PECORARI
Punteggiatura in rete: i puntini di sospensione
nella comunicazione mediata dal computer.............................. » 129

GIULIANO BERNINI
Marina Chini e l’italiano L2: dalla linguistica acquisizionale
alla linguistica educativa ............................................................ » 177
All Khotanese verbs in -Vṣ- with attested third singular present indicative have been regarded so far as type B verbs, that is, synchronically, verbs with no intervening vowel between the present stem and the third singular endings -iṭä active < Iranian *-a-ti and -te middle < Iranian *-a-taj (variously assimilated to the stem finals, e.g. -tā, -ṣ-de). Besides, all of them have been considered to be middle verbs with third singular present indicative -ṣde apart from the active verbs *kāṣ- ‘to think; to protect’, and *hāṣ- ‘to send’ with third singular present indicative -ṭā. This article shows that, among the verbs in -Vṣ-, some of the type B verbs (*druṣ- ‘to bite’, *birāṣ- ‘to split’, *ṛṣṣaṣ- ‘to cling’, *harāṣ- ‘to burst’) are active, not middle, and that *kāṣ- and *hāṣ- are not type B, but type A verbs, that is, verbs with the active ending -ätā (as against B -iṭā) < Iranian *-a-ti. It also suggests etymologies for ttāṣ- ‘to sprinkle’ and *bruṣ- ‘to break up’.

1. Verbs in -Vṣ-

Khotanese has a fair number of present stems ending in -ṣ- [z] preceded by a vowel. I term them collectively “verbs in -Vṣ-”. Their voiced final sibilant basically goes back to Iranian *-s- between vowels (Emmerick 1989: 214). It is most clearly visible with consonants in secondary contact: for instance, pyūṣde 3S prs. ind. mid. with ṣd [zd], pyūṣta-pst. ptcp. with ṣṭ [ṣṭ] from pyūṣ- ‘to hear’. Before suffixes and endings beginning with a vowel, -ṣ- was soon dropped in Old Khotanese and replaced by the so-called subscript hook (possibly expressing breathiness and usually transliterated as an apostrophe or an aleph sign), which was often combined with hiatus-bridging consonants: -tʾ-, -nʾ-, -ṣʾ(-), and -ʾ- (Emmerick 1992a: 158-165).

---

1 I am grateful to Federico Dragoni (Leiden), Alessandro Del Tomba (Rome), Douglas A. Hitch (Whitehorse), and Nicholas Sims-Williams (London) for useful comments on a draft of this article. Doug Hitch was also so kind as to check and polish my English.
Several verbs in -Vṣ- are only attested in the past participle, but their present stem can be established fairly confidently: *²kūṣ ‘to agitate; to flay’ [4] < Ir. *¹kaųš-; *na-rāṣ- ‘to break’ [9], *pā-rāṣ- ‘to burst (tr.)’ [13], *va-rāṣ- ‘to split (intr.)’ [22], all < Ir. *raįš-; and *nā-ʂʂāṣ- ‘to be attached (intr.)’ [11] < Ir. *tšraįš-. In contrast, morphophonologically speaking, the expected present stem corresponding to the pst. ptcp. naṣpuṣṭa- cannot be *nasptū-, but is rather *nasptūs- (or *naspušš- with šš [ʃ] if palatalised by a suffix), because the Khotanese verb, like the Middle Persian denominative pōšidan ‘cover, put on, wear’, New Persian pušidan ‘id.’, etc., is not from Ir. *pauš- (KT 6.129), but *pautš- (EDIV 303).

The existence of a separate verb “nijsuṣ- : [*]nijsuṣṭa- ‘show’” from a palatalised variant *čaųš- of *kaųš- as postulated by Harold W. Bailey (Dict. 182; cf. [1] and [3]) is debatable. Apart from OKh. nijsū’ 2S impt. mid. in the Suvarṇabhāsasūtra 19.32 (easily explained as a contraction *nijsātu’ from nijsaṣ-, cf. Skjærvø 2004: vol. 2, 288 s.v. nājsāṣ-), all of the forms assigned to “nijsuṣ-” by Bailey are written in the highly unstable orthography of Late Khotanese texts from Dunhuang (the past participle being spelled there najsūṣa-/nūjsūṣa-/najsaṣa-/*nijsaṣa*/nījsaṣṭa-) and are commonly assigned to the verb nijsaṣ-: LKh. nijsuṣde’ 3S prs. ind. mid. (Karmāṃ Deśana 42 Ch. 00268 202, Emmerick 1977: 106), nūjsūṣa 3S prf. tr. m. (Maṇjuśrīnairāṭmyāvatārasūtra 402 KBT 133, SGS 53), nījsaṣṭa pst. ptcp. (Vajrayāna Text v3, Degener 1989: 231). Accordingly, I only have nijsaṣ- ‘to show’ [10] here.

Verbs in -Vṣ- [Vz] must not be confused with verbs in -Vṣṣ- [Vʃ], whose last consonant derives from Ir. *-xš-, for instance, huṣṣ- ‘to grow’ (3S prs. ind. huṣṭā) < Ir. *uxš-a- from *yuxš- ‘to grow; increase’ with unetymological h- (SGS 154, EDIV 428-429). Thus, though Ronald E. Emmerick listed parruṣ- among the verbs in -ṣ- in his “Reverse index of present stems” (SGS 169), this is not a verb in -Vṣ- but in -Vṣṣ-, as is shown by OKh. parruṣte 3S prs. ind. (not -ṣde, cf. pyūṣde above) from *parruṣṣ- ‘to be afflicted (by)’ < Ir. *rauxš-, s-extension of *rauk- “desire”’ (SGS 74), and is not taken into account here.

2 Homophonous stems and roots are distinguished by raised number before them. Numbers in brackets refer to the list of -Vṣ- verbs in § 1.1, where also references to SGS and other secondary literature can be found.
Emmerick (SGS 86) lists a verb “pūhätʾ- ‘to bind (?)’” with uncertain meaning and etymology and with an OKh. 3S prs. ind. pūheiʾtä (Book of Zambasta 22.168). This hapax does not exist and will be dealt with elsewhere.

Also not included here are the loanwords ājīṣ- ‘to ask for; to beseech’ (← Gāndhārī < Buddhist Sanskrit adhyeṣ(ay)ati, SGS 8) and marṣ- ‘to forgive’ (← Buddhist Skt. marṣayati, SGS 108). Intervocalic -ṣ- [ʐ] in the comparatively recent loanword ājīṣ- is not dropped nor accompanied by the subscript hook (OKh. ājīṣämä 1S prs. ind. act., ājīṣäte 3S prs. act., ājīṣäte 3S prf. m.). The cluster -rṣ- in marṣ- is original and not due to syncope of a vowel before -ṣ- as in, for instance, OKh. harṣdü 3S prs. ind. from *haräs- ‘to burst’ [26].

1.1. Alphabetical list

The following list provides summary information on the verbs in -Vṣ-. The heading is standardised, and reconstructed if necessary, in that the classical orthography of Old Khotanese is adopted throughout (e.g. ʂʂ [ʂ], šš [ʃ] as against Late Khotanese ʂ [ʂ], š [ʃ] etc.: see Emmerick 1989: 208). Also the underlying stem final -ṣ- is restored, whatever its attested spellings may be (-tʾ-, -vʾ-, etc.). Reference is made to SGS and occasionally other secondary literature where references to the textual sources of the forms quoted can be found. Information on derivational classes of present stems (Ib, Ic, IIb), voice (act./mid.), and synchronic inflection types (A/B) is provided where possible in line with SGS (see esp. 177-178). The forms quoted, usually in the most conservative spellings available, are: (1) the 3S prs. ind., (2) the 3P prs. ind., and (3) the pst. ptcp.; when these are not attested or do not furnish sufficient information for the present study, other forms are quoted as required. Etymology is mostly limited to the Iranian root as given in EDIV, with slight modifications, and preverb, if any.

[1] uskūṣ- ‘to act frivolously’ Ib mid. B (SGS 17)
3S prs. ind. OKh. uskūṣdü
Et. < *²kaṣš- (+ *us/z-).

3 Ib = full grade root + -a-; Ic = zero grade root + -ā-; IIb = reduplicated zero grade root + -ā-.
[2] *käš- ‘to think; to protect’ Ib act. A (SGS 22 kät’- B) 3S prs. ind. OKh. kei’tä < *kätä’tä < *käšätä 3P prs. ind. OKh. kätī’ndi, kei’ndā pst. ptcp. OKh. kāșṭa- Et. < *kaš-.  

[3] 'kuš- ‘to look at’ Ic mid.? B (SGS 22 mid.) 3S prs. ind. OKh. kuṣše Et. < *2kayš-. 

[4] *2kūš- ‘to agitate; to flay’ (SGS 22-23 *2kuš-) pst. ptcp. LKh. kuṣṭa-, kauṣṭa- Et. < *1kayš-. 


[8] *druš- ‘to bite’ Ic act. B (not in SGS) 3S prs. ind. OKh. duršḍā 3P prs. ind. LKh. drvǐdā < *druvī’ndā pst. ptcp. LKh. dū(r)štā- Et. < *drau(H)š-.  

[9] *naräš- ‘to break’ (not in SGS; see Degener 1989: 127-128) pst. ptcp. *naršt’a- in LKh. narštīka- ‘(having a) rupture or hernia’ Et. < *rajš- (+ *niš/ž-). 

[10] nijsaš- ‘to show’ Ib mid. B (SGS 53) 3S prs. ind. OKh. nijsaṣde 3P prs. ind. OKh. nājsātā’re 

---

4 The Khotanese occurrences of this verb, on which see Maggi 2018 (esp. 249-250 for the etymology), lend support to the reconstruction of a root *drau(H)š-, given in EDIV 80 with a query and without reference to any Khotanese cognate.
pst. ptcp. OKh. näjsaṣṭa-
Et. < *¹çaš- (+ *ni-).

[11] *näṣṣaṣ- ‘to be attached (intr.)’ (SGS 130 s.v. šśiṣ-; see Emmerick 1967b: 22)
pst. ptcp. OKh. näṣaṣṭa-
Et. < *śraś- (+ *ni-).

[12] *pasūṣ- ‘to become soundless’ class? voice? B (SGS 78 pasuṣ- Ib mid.)
3S prs. ind. LKh. pasuṣḍi, pasauṣde’
Et. < *ṣauš- (+ *pa-).

pst. ptcp. LKh. pā(r)ṣṭa-
Et. < *raš- (+ *pa(ti)-).

[14] pājsaṣ- ‘to look at’ Ib mid.? B (SGS 82 mid.)
3S prs. ind. OKh. pājsaṣde
pst. ptcp. OKh. pājsaṣṭa-
Et. < *caš- (+ *pati-).

[15] pyūṣ- ‘to hear’ Ib mid. B (SGS 87)
3S prs. ind. OKh. pyūṣde
3P prs. ind. OKh. pyūvā ’re
pst. ptcp. OKh. pyūṣta-
Et. < *guš- (+ *pati-).

[16] *bīraṣ- ‘to split’ Ic act. B (SGS 98 birāt’- Ib act. tr., mid. intr.)
3S prs. ind. LKh. berṣḍā (cf. OKh. 3S subj. or opt. act. birāta’)
3P prs. ind. OKh. birṣṭāṇdi
pst. ptcp. OKh. birṣṭa-
Et. < *raš- (+ *uši-).

[17] *byūṣ- ‘to burn’ Ib mid. type? (SGS 105 byūv’-)
3P prs. ind. OKh. byūvā ’re
Et. < *Haš- (+ *uši-).

[18] *bruṣ- ‘to break up’ Ic voice? B (SGS 101-102 burṣ- “Probably act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.)”)
3S prs. ind. LKh. bu(r)ṣḍā, bauṣdi
pst. ptcp. OKh. burṣṭa-
Et. < *rauš- (+ *uši-) (see § 2.2).
[19] **ysūṣ-** ‘to value; to approve’ Ib mid. B SGS 113
3S prs. ind. OKh. *ysūṣde*
3P prs. ind. OKh. *ysvā’re*
pst. ptcp. OKh. *ysūṣṭa-*
Et. < *džauš-.*

[20] **vajsāṣ-** ‘to perceive, see’ Ib mid. B (SGS 117)
3S prs. ind. OKh. *vajsāṣde*
3P prs. ind. OKh. *vajsā’re*
pst. ptcp. OKh. *vajsāṣṭa-
Et. < *¹čaš- (+ *aš-).*

[21] **vatciṣ-** ‘to besprinkle’ Ic mid.? B (SGS 117 Ib mid.)
3S prs. ind. OKh. *vatciṣde*
pst. ptcp. *vatcāṣṭa-
Et. < *²čaš- ‘to drip; to drink’ (+ *aš-)(see EDIV 35-36).

[22] **varṣāṣ-** ‘to split (intr.)’ (not in SGS; see Degener 1989: 234; Dict. 380 differs)
pst. ptcp. LKh. *vaṣṭa- < *varṣṭa-
Et. < *raš- (+ *aš-).*

[23] **ššāṣ-** ‘to cling’ Ic act. B (SGS 130 ššiṣ- ‘to take hold of’ mid.)
3S prs. ind. LKh. *šiṣḍā*
3P prs. ind. LKh. *š(s)aidā < OKh. *ššei’ndā*
pst. ptcp. LKh. *šiṣṭa-, šaiṣṭa-
Et. < *tšraiš-.*

3P prs. ind. LKh. *hamgvāre*
pst. ptcp. LKh. *hamgūṣṭa-
Et. < *gaš- (+ *ham-).*

[25] **hamjṣaṣ-** ‘to be about, intend to’ (SGS 139) Ib mid. B
3S prs. ind. OKh. *hamjṣaṣde*
3P prs. ind. OKh. *hamjṣaṣā’re*
pst. ptcp. OKh. *hamjṣaṣṭa-
Et. < *¹čaš- (+ *ham-).*

[26] **harāṣ-** ‘to burst’ Ic act. B (SGS 149 harāt’- Ib mid.)
3S prs. ind. OKh. *ha(r)šdā, harṣdī (cf. 2S prs. impt. act. harāṭa’)*
pst. ptcp. OKh. *harṣṭa-
Et. < *raš- (+ *fra-).*
2. Etymological questions

2.1. *tāṣ- ‘to sprinkle’ [6]

I have shown recently on the basis of parallels in Pali and other Indian languages that OKh. *tāṣḍā (Book of Zambasta 2.139) does not mean ‘he cuts’ (< Ir. *taš-: KT 6.274-275, 105, 91; Emmerick 1967a: 90; 1968a: 35; SGS 38; EDIV 384), but ‘he sprinkles’, and I have proposed that the verb *tāṣ- ‘to sprinkle’ is an *-s- “inchoative” from *ati- + *saik/č- ‘to pour out, moisten’ (EDIV 127-128): Ir. *ati-šix-sa- > *ti-žiš- > *ti-žis- *ti-žs- > Kh. *tāṣ- (Maggi 2019). While the meaning is not in doubt, I now find it simpler and hence preferable to derive Kh. *tāṣ- ‘to sprinkle’ < Ir. *ati-HišH-a- from the root *HaišH- ‘to set in motion’ (cf. *hāṣ- ‘to send’ [27] < Ir. *fra-HišHa-).

2.2. *bruṣ- ‘to break up’ [18]

Emmerick (SGS 102) proposed deriving *bruṣ- from Ir. ““*vi-rauxš-, [...] s-extension < *raug- in O[ld] Ind[ian] rujáti ‘breaks’ and probably Av[estan] fra.uruxti-””. The voiced cluster -ṣḍ- in the 3S prs. ind. LKh. bu(r)ṣḍā, bauṣḍi rules out this etymology because Ir. *-xš- + -t- results in the voiceless cluster -ṣṭ-; as is shown by comparison with parruṣṭe 3S prs. ind. of *parruṣṣ- ‘to be afflicted (by)’, supposedly from the same root *rauxš- (see § 1). One expects Indo-Iranian *u- + *rauš-, but the meaning of Skt. roṣ- ‘to resent, become cross, be angry’, which lacks a satisfactory etymology, is unsuitable5. Rather, the Khotanese verb is from IE *reus- ‘to dig’ known in this meaning from Balto-Slavic (LIV² 511).

5 Cf. EWAia 2.471 s.v. ROŠ (‘übelnehmen, verdrießlich werden, zürnen [...] Nicht zufriedenstellend erklärt’).
2.3. List by Iranian root

*¹čaš- see *kaš-
*²čaš- (EDIV 35-36) vatcíš- ‘to besprinkle’ [21]
*drau(H)š- (EDIV 80) *druš- [8]
*džauš- (EDIV 473) ysůš- [19]
*gaũš- (EDIV 115-116) pyůš- [15], hamggůš- [24]
*HaũHš- (EDIV 159) ttás- [6], *hůš- [27]
*Haũš- (EDIV 170) *byůš- [17]
*Hhaũš- (EDIV 173-174) huš- [28]
*jaũ- (EDIV 209-210) jīš- (< *ja-š- by reduplication) [5]
*kaš-/¹čaš- (EDIV 35) *kůš- [2], *tcaš- [7], nijsaš- [10], pâjsaš- [14], vajšaš- [20], hamjsaš- [25]
*¹kaũš- (EDIV 251-252) *²kůš [4]
*²kaũš- (EDIV 252) uskůš- [1], ḫuš- [3]
*raũš- (EDIV 308-309) *narâš- [9], *pârâš- [13], *birâš- [16],
*varâš- [22], *harâš- [26]6

*raũš- (not in EDIV) *bruš- [18]
*tsauš- (not in EDIV) *pasůš- [12]
*tśraũš- (EDIV 355) *nâssůš- [11], *ššůš- [23].

3. Morphological questions

In Saka grammatical studies, Ronald E. Emmerick described all verbs in -Vš- with attested third singular present indicative as type B verbs, that is, verbs with no intervening vowel between the present stem and the endings act. -ită < Ir. *-a-ti and mid. -te < Ir. *-a-taj (variously assimilated to the present stem finals, e.g. -š-de)7. Besides, he regarded all of them as middle verbs apart from *kâš- ‘to think; to protect’ and *hâš- ‘to send’ and attributed the outcome -ʾtă in these verbs as against -šde in all others to their different voice8. This can be summarised as follows:

6 These verbs are not from Ir. *Hrai-tš- ‘to tear’ as in EDIV 189.
7 Hitch (2015: 666 and esp. 2016: 192, 194-197) has shown that these endings can be described synchronically as act. -ttă and mid. -tte with /tt/ resulting from reanalysis of specific forms. I keep to the traditional forms for simplicity’s sake.
8 See SGS 177 on verb types, and 193 no. 13 (last two columns) on the postulated outcomes in the active and middle (Ir. *-š-a-ti act. > *-ž-a-ti (“*-ž-t-”) > -tă, e.g. keiʾtă ‘he thinks’; Ir. *-š-a-taj mid. > *-ž-a-te (“*-ž-t-”) > -šde e.g. pyůšde ‘he hears’).
This description is unconvincing because of several inconsistencies to be surveyed below. Most importantly, it does not account for the fact that, “[i]f a verb shows a third person plural in -īndā, we can be sure it is active, if in -āre it is middle, however these terminations may be spelled” (SGS 4), as we shall see.

3.1. Type B middle verbs in -Vṣ-

Emmerick’s description of verbs in -Vṣ- having the B middle ending -ṣḍe (Table 1) works perfectly in the case of verbs also attested in the third plural indicative with the ending -āre: OKh. nājsātā’re from nijsāṣ- ‘to show’ [10], OKh. pyūvā’re from pyūṣ- ‘to hear’ [15], OKh. ysvā’re from ysūṣ- ‘to value; to approve’ [19], OKh. vajsā’re from vajsāṣ- ‘to perceive, see’ [20], OKh. haṃjsāṣā’re from haṃjsaṣ- ‘to be about, intend to’ [25], and LKh. hvāri from huṣ- ‘to become dry’ [28].

One cannot be entirely sure that the middle verbs *tcāṣ- ‘to perceive’ [7], *byūṣ- ‘to burn’ [17], and haṃggūṣ- ‘to heed’ [24] are B verbs because they are not attested in the third singular, but this is likely in the case of *tcāṣ- and haṃggūṣ- on account of the B inflection of other middle verbs from the same Iranian roots *šaṣ- and *gauš- (nijsaṣ- [10], vajsāṣ-[20], haṃjsaṣ-[25], and pyūṣ-[15] respectively).

Likewise, it is virtually certain that the B verbs pājsaṣ- ‘to look at’ [14], ‘kuṣ- ‘to look at’ [3], and vatciṣ- ‘to besprinkle’ [21] are middle, though not attested in the third plural, because their 3S prs. ind. OKh. pājaṣṣde, kuṣde, and vatciṣṣde (Book of Zambasta 23.161, 22.249, and 22.140 respectively) are spelled with -e, which should be taken at face value in Old Khotanese and points, thus, to the middle B ending -te (see

Table 1. Verb type and grammatical voice of verbs in -Vṣ- in SGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>3S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>-ʾtā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M. Maggi, *Morphology of the Khotanese verbs in -Vṣ-*
§ 3.2). A middle inflection of pājaṣ- is likely also on account of the middle inflection of other B verbs from the same root *¹caṣ- (see above).

Also the 3S prs. ind. OKh. uskuṣḍä (from uskuṣ- ‘to act frivolously’ [1]), can be safely regarded as containing the rare variant spelling -tā of the middle ending -te, because this form does not show the palatalisation of -ū- to -vī- required by the active ending -ṭā (see § 3.2 and cf. e.g. rrvīṭā 3S prs. ind. act. from rrūḍ- ‘to grow’, Book of Zambasta 15.4 etc.: SGS 116).

3.2. Type B active verbs in -Vṣ-

Other type B verbs, however, cannot be middle because their 3P prs. ind. forms end in -īndā or variants thereof and, thus, do not fit into Emmerick’s description (Table 1):

(1) *druṣ- ‘to bite’ [8] has 3S prs. ind. OKh. durṣḍā (Berlin fragment bi 43 b2, Maggi 2018: 247), but 3P prs. ind. LKh. drvīḍā (Jivakapustaka 76r2 KT 1.161) < *druvī’ndā.

(2) *birāṣ- ‘to split’ [16] has 3S prs. ind. (mid.?) berṣḍā ‘(the swelling) bursts’ in Late Khotanese (Siddhasāra 24.3 138v1 KT 1.76), but 3P prs. ind. act. (!) birāṭīndi ‘they split (my belly)’ in Old Khotanese (Book of Zambasta 22.330), which indicates that the verb is active. Emmerick supposed that berṣḍā is middle because it is used intransitively and birāṭīndi is active because transitive9, but this is improbable because the OKh. 3S prs. subj. or opt. act. (!) birāta’ ‘(the earth) would split’ (Book of Zambasta 13.79) is used intransitively as well.

(3) *sṣāṣ- ‘to cling’ [23] has 3S prs. ind. (mid.?) LKh. sīḍā ‘(fever) clings (to him)’ (Siddhasāra 23.4 136r4, 23.6 136v1 KT 1.72), but 3P prs. ind. act. (!) LKh. s(ṣ)aidā ‘(the eyes) cling’ (Piṇḍaśāstra 6, 8, 128 P 2893 45, 65, 266 KT 3.84, 85, 93) and saide ‘(diseases) cling’ (Siddhasāra 21.17 131r3 KT 1.64) < OKh. *ṣṣei’ndā.

(4) *harāṣ- ‘to burst’ [26], though not attested in the third plural, also has 3S prs. ind. (mid.?) OKh. harṣḍā ‘(that king) breaks up (the land)’ (Suvarṇabhāsasūtra 12.22), haṣḍā ‘(the connection) is (not) broken’ (Book of Zambasta 5.81), and harṣdi ‘(breath) is broken up (by the lips)’ (Book of Zambasta 20.57) used both transitively and intransitively (=

9 “Where [...] there is a distinction between act. and mid. [with the same verb], the regular usage is to oppose act. tr. to mid. intr. e.g. bar- act. tr. ‘to carry’, but mid. intr. ‘to ride’” (SGS 4; cf. Canevascini 1991). There are, at any rate, transitive verbs inflected in the middle (e.g. drjṣ- ‘to hold’, SGS 46) and intransitive verbs inflected in the active (e.g. hīṣ- ‘to come’, SGS 153).
passively) (Emmerick 1969: 72-73), but the transitive 2S prs. impt. act. (!) OKh. haräta' ‘Shatter (doubts)!’ (Book of Zambasta 6.23)\(^\text{10}\).

All this suggests that the 3S prs. ind. forms LKh. dursđä, bersđä, sîsđä, and OKh. harśđä/haśđä/harśdi are not middle but contain the active B ending -tä. In particular, the OKh. spellings harśđä, haśđä, harśdi, and dursđä, with -äli, are significant and point decidedly to the active B ending -tä, though final -ä in LKh. bersđä and sîsđä might, but need not, be a variant spelling for -e compatible with the middle ending -te.

Concerning the third singular present indicative endings of the middle, Emmerick writes that “-äte (mid.) is never in Z spelled -ätä” in type A verbs and “O.Kh. has -te, -tä and rarely -ti” in type B verbs, and gives the examples from the Book of Zambasta listed in Table 2 nos. 1-5 (SGS 198, 199). As a matter of fact, however, -tä and -ti occur rarely and even the verbs of Emmerick’s examples more frequently have the regular middle ending -te. The endings -tä and -ti are definitely rare with other verbs too. Suffice it to say that, of the common verbs nās- ‘to take’, bud- ‘to perceive, know’, and yan- ‘to make, do’, there is only one occurrence of nāstä in the Book of Zambasta (12.63) as against 36 occurrences of nāste, 52 of butte, and 46 of yande (Table 2 nos. 6-8) and that, of all the certainly middle verbs in -Vṣ- attested in the third singular in the Book of Zambasta, there is only one occurrence of vajsiṣḍä (22.170) against a total of 65 occurrences with -te (Table 2 nos. 9-14).

Further, “[o]ne may note that with type B verbs the 3 sg. prs. act. is always -tä, -ti/mid. -te” in the early, orthographically conservative manuscript of the Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra (Emmerick 1970: xx). The rarity of the spellings -tä, -ti of the middle ending, combined with the unmistakably active forms ďrvīdā, birātīndi, ś(s)aïdā/șaide (3P prs. ind.), birāta’ (3S prs. subj. or opt.), and harāta’ (2S prs. impt.), confirms that dursđä, bersđä, sîsđä, and harśđä/haśđä/harśdi are active and contain the active ending -tä. Once the existence of active B verbs in -Vṣ- has thus been established, it seems advisable to take at face value the vowel -ä in OKh. ttāśđä (from ttāṣ- ‘to sprinkle’ [6]) and to regard this verb as active too\(^\text{11}\).

\(^{10}\) Emmerick (1968a: 119) has the slightly free translation ‘Suppress doubts’.

\(^{11}\) It may be recalled that Emmerick himself was prepared to accept an active B ending -tä since he not only left undecided the voice of OKh. ttāśđä but also postulated that LKh. bu(r)śdä/ bauṣḍi (from *bruś- ‘to break up’ [18]) may be middle (-te) when intransitive and active (-tä) when transitive (but see below, § 3.4).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples in SGS 199</th>
<th>-te</th>
<th>-tā</th>
<th>-ti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 īś- ‘to return’</td>
<td>īste 4×</td>
<td>īstā 2×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kaśś- ‘to appear; to fall’</td>
<td>kaṣte 5×</td>
<td>kaṣtā 2×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 did- ‘to appear’</td>
<td>ditte, dätte 15×</td>
<td>dittā 2×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ysān- ‘to shine’</td>
<td>ysānde 4×</td>
<td>ysāndi 1×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 hvañ- ‘to be called’</td>
<td>hvaṅde 33×</td>
<td>hvaṅdi 2×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample common verbs</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-tā</td>
<td>-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 nās- ‘to take’</td>
<td>nāste 36×</td>
<td>nāstā 1×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 bud- ‘to perceive, know’</td>
<td>butte 52×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 yan- ‘to make, do’</td>
<td>yande 46×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certainly middle verbs in -Vṣ-</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-tā</td>
<td>-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 nijsaṣ- ‘to show’</td>
<td>nijsaṣde, nājsaṣde 16×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 pājsaṣ- ‘to look at’</td>
<td>pājsaṣde 1×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 vaj(saṣ)- ‘to perceive, see’</td>
<td>vaj(s)āṣde, vaj(s)āṣde 18×</td>
<td>vajsiṣḍā 1×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 haṃjaṣaṣ- ‘to be about, intend to’</td>
<td>haṃjaṣaṣde 7×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ysūṣ- ‘to value; to approve’</td>
<td>ysūṣde 1×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 pyūṣ- ‘to hear’</td>
<td>pyūṣde 22×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Frequency of the 3Sprs. ind. mid. endings -te, -tā, -ti of selected verbs in the Book of Zambasta
The ending *-tä has a palatalising effect on the palatalisable phonemes in the previous morpheme. Non-palatalisable phonemes either are already palatal and stop palatalisation or are neutral to palatalisation and enable it to be transmitted further back up to the stressed vowel in the morpheme\(^\text{12}\). Thus, mid. *yande, from *yan- ‘to make, do’ with the non-palatalising ending *-te, contrasts with act. *yīndä, where the cluster *-nd- is neutral to palatalisation and the previous *-a- is palatalised to *-ī-. In *durṣḍä, *bersḍä, *ṣiṣḍä, and *harṣḍä/haṣḍä/harṣḍi, where the phonemes in -(r)ṣḍ- are neutral to palatalisation, the potential for palatalisation simply does not emerge, which may have hindered their recognition as active forms. However, the absence of palatalisation is only apparent: in *durṣḍä, the vowel *-u- is neutral and cannot be palatalised; in *tāṣḍä and *ṣiṣḍä, the vowels *-ä- and *-i- are already palatal and absorb palatalisation; in *bersḍä (from *bi-räs-) and *harṣḍä/haṣḍä/harṣḍi (from *ha-räs-), the vowel in *-räs-, though dropped in the actual forms, was likewise already palatal.

3.3. Type B verbs in *-Vṣ- with undetermined voice

In the case of verbs that are not attested in unambiguously middle forms like the third plural in *-āre and cannot display palatalisation, it is impossible to rely on the spellings of the third singular present indicative (act. *-tä or mid. *-te), because the vowels *i, *ä, and *e interchange freely in Late Khotanese. Accordingly, it is impossible to determine the voice of *jīṣ- ‘to boil’ [5] (LKh. *jiṣḍi’), *pasūṣ- ‘to become soundless’ [12] (LKh. *pasuṣḍi, pasauṣḍe’), and *bruṣ- ‘to break up’ [18] (LKh. *burṣḍä, *buṣḍä, *bauṣḍi).

Emmerick suggested that *bruṣ- ‘to break up’ is “[p]robably act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.)”, compared the similar use he postulated for *biräṣ- ‘to split’, and gave LKh. *burṣḍä in Jātakastava 83 (19v1) as an instance of the intransitive (= passive) use of the verb. We have seen above that this is not correct for *biräṣ-, which is active whether it is used transitively or intransitively (§ 3.2). All the more so Emmerick’s suggestion does not hold true for *bruṣ- because *burṣḍä is transitive also in Jātakastava 83, where the power of the Buddha destroying ignorance is compared to the power of the thunderbolt: *tta khu viṣi’ rā paṃna *udārīnai\(^\text{13}\) garā *burṣḍä.

\(^{12}\) See Hitch (1990: esp. 182-183) for a description of how palatalisation works in Khotanese.

\(^{13}\) *udārīnai ‘pertaining to crystal, made of crystal’ emended by Dresden (1955: 470) for manuscript urvārīnai on account of LKh. *ūḍāra-, which translates Skt. kāca- ‘crystal’ in Siddhasāra 26.31 148v5 KT 1.92, “the signs for rv and d being similar”.
This was translated ‘as the thunderbolt bursts the crystal mountain’ by Mark J. Dresden, who did not translate *pamna and commented “pamna uncertain 19vl” (Dresden 1955: 433, 459). Bailey translated ‘(the bolt [...]) bursts the mountain’ at first (KT 6.252; Dict. 298), but must have changed his mind because, in an attempt to account for *paṃna, he translated ‘just as before [pamna] the thunderbolt the crystal mountain bursts’ elsewhere (Dict. 40). Actually, the passage needs one further emendation since the problematic *paṃna falls into Dresden’s category, though not listed by him there (1955: 405), of “misspelling [...] which are partly due to misreading, paralleled elsewhere, by the copyist because of similarity of characters”. The similarity of *p and the open form of *rr in the Late South Turkestan Brāhmī script of the Jātakastava manuscript suggests that *paṃna has to be emended to *rraṃna ‘jewel’ to obtain tta khu višiʾrā *rraṃna *uḍārīna gara burṣḍā ‘as the thunderbolt jewel bursts crystal mountains (so you destroyed the darkness of ignorance)’, which is paralleled by vīśaiʾra raṃna māṇaṃda gara bauṣḍi tta tta šaʾ rūṃ tta āchā jaida ‘As the thunderbolt jewel bursts mountains, so this oil removes diseases’ (Jīvakapustaka 8.3 55r2 KT 1.147).

Finally, there is no way to determine the grammatical voice of those verbs that only occur in the past participle: *²kūṣ- ‘to agitate; to flay’ [4], *narāṣ- ‘to break’ [9], *nāṣṣāṣ- ‘to be attached (intr.)’[11], *pāräṣ- ‘to burst (tr.)’ [13], and *varāṣ- ‘to split (intr.)’ [22].

3.4. Type A active verbs in -Vṣ-

It is apparent that, if berṣḍā, sīṣḍā, harṣḍā/haṣḍā/harṣdi, and durṣḍā are from type B active verbs, this cannot apply at the same time to keiʾtā from *kāṣ- ‘to think; to protect’ [2] and heiʾtā from *hāṣ- ‘to send’ [27]. As Emmerick (1998) has shown, OKh. ei [aə] is the result of a + ā and ā + ā15. It is thus clear that keiʾtā and heiʾtā derive from *kätāʾtā and *hätāʾtā respectively and contain the 3S prs. ind. act. ending -ätā peculiar to type A verbs. Accordingly *kāṣ- and *hāṣ- are active A, not B verbs.

---

14 For instance in 19r1 parrīyastāni (see the facsimile in Bailey 1938: 163).
15 The development ā + ā > ei was already recognised by Ernst Leumann (but only in conjunction with the subscript hook, i.e. āšā > ei) in an unpublished paper titled “Hiatus und Kontraktion im Nordarischen”, an incomplete photocopy of which is now preserved in the library of the Asien-Afrika-Institut of the University of Hamburg (not listed in Plutat 1998). Its present whereabouts is unknown.
3.5. **Summary**

To sum up, the information in Table 1 can be supplemented and rearranged thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3S</td>
<td>3P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>-ʾtā</td>
<td>-ʾīndā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>-ṣḍā</td>
<td>-<em>ʾīndā</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Type and grammatical voice of verbs in -Vṣ-

Type A active verbs in -Vṣ- (§ 3.4):
* kāṣ- ‘to think; to protect’ [2]
* hāṣ- ‘to send’ [27].

Type B active verbs in -Vṣ- (§ 3.2):
* ttāṣ- ‘to sprinkle’ [6]
* druṣ- ‘to bite’ [8]
* birāṣ- ‘to split’ [16]
* ṣṣāṣ- ‘to cling’ [23]
* harāṣ- ‘to burst’ [26].

Type B middle verbs in -Vṣ- (§ 3.1):
* kuṣ- ‘to look at’ mid.? [3]
* tcāṣ- ‘to perceive’ B? [7]
* niṣaṣ- ‘to show’ [10]
* pājṣaṣ- ‘to look at’ mid.? [14]
* pyūṣ- ‘to hear’ [15]
* ysūṣ- ‘to value; to approve’ [19]
* vatciṣ- ‘to besprinkle’ mid.? [21]
vajsāṣ- ‘to perceive, see’ [20]
hamggūṣ- ‘to heed’ B? [24]
hamjspāṣ- ‘to be about, intend to’ [25]
huṣ- ‘to become dry’ [28].

Type B verbs in -Vṣ- with undetermined voice (§ 3.3)
*²kūṣ- ‘to agitate; to flay’ [4]
jīṣ- ‘to boil’ [5]
*narāṣ- ‘to break’ [9]
*nāssāṣ- ‘to be attached (intr.)’[11]
*pāšūṣ- ‘to become soundless’ [12]
*pārāṣ- ‘to burst (tr.)’ [13]
*bruṣ- ‘to break up’ [18]
*varāṣ- ‘to split (intr.)’ [22].

Middle verbs in -Vṣ- of undetermined type (§ 3.1)
*byūṣ- ‘to burn’ [17]

Mauro Maggi
Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza
Istituto italiano di studi orientali
Circonvallazione Tiburtina 4
I-00185 Roma
mauro.maggi@uniroma1.it

Abbreviations

Books
Catalogue Skjaervø 2002
Dict. Bailey 1979
EDIV Cheung 2007
EWAia Mayrhofer 1992-2001
KBT Bailey 1951
KT Bailey 1945-1985
LIV² Rix et al. 2001
SGS Emmerick 1968b.
Other
1/2/3P  first/second/third plural
1/2/3S  first/second/third singular
act.    active
dat.    dative
gen.    genitive
impt.   imperative
ind.    indicative
Ir.     Iranian
LKh.    Late Khotanese
loc.    locative
m.      masculine
mid.    middle
OKh.    Old Khotanese
opt.    optative
pl.     plural
prf.    perfect
prs.    present
pst. ptcp. past participle
ptcp. nec. participle of necessity
Skt.    Sanskrit
subj.   subjunctive
tr.     transitive.

Khotanese texts
Book of Zambasta  Emmerick 1968a
Jātakastava       Dresden 1955 (Ch. 00274)
Jīvakapustaka     KT 1.135-196 (Ch. ii.003); paragraph numbers according to Konow 1941 with added verse numbers according to Emmerick 1992b and Chen 2005

Karmāṃ Deśana  Emmerick 1977
Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra  KBT 113-135 (P 4099)
Piṇḍaśāstra      KT 3.84-93 (P 2893) + Catalogue 487-489 (IOL Khot S 9); paragraph numbers according to Maggi 2008
Saṅghāṭasūtra     Canevascini 1993
Siddhasāra

Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra

Suvarṇabhāsasūtra

Vajrayāna Text

KT 1.2-132 (Ch. ii.002), 5.315-324 (P 2892); paragraph numbers according to Emmerick 1980-1982

Emmerick 1970

Skjærvø 2004

Catalogue 292-296.

References

Bailey, Harold W., 1938, Codices Khotanenses: India Office Library Ch. ii 002, Ch. ii 003, Ch. 00274 reproduced in facsimile with an introduction, Copenhagen, Levin and Munksgaard.


Chen, Ming 陳明, 2005, Dunhuang chutu Hu yu yi dian “Qipo shu” yanjiu 敦煌出土胡語醫典 <<耆婆書>> 研究 = A study on Sanskrit text of Jīvaka-pustaka from Dunhuang, Taipei 臺北, Xin Wenfeng Chuban Gongsì 新文豐出版公司.


Konow, Sten, 1941, A medical text in Khotanese: Ch. ii 003 of the India Office Library with translation and vocabulary, Oslo, Dybwad.


Plutat, Birte, 1998, Catalogue of the papers of Ernst Leumann in the Institute for the Culture and History of India and Tibet, University of Hamburg, Stuttgart, Steiner.


Skjærvø, Prods O., 2004, This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras: the Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, [Cambridge, Mass.], Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2 vols.