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Khotanese *ph-* < Iranian *θu̯-*

Late Khotanese *phyaṣṭa-* and related words

Abstract: Late Khotanese *phyaṣṭa-* 'shining, brilliant' is from older *phiṣṭa-*, past participle of the inchoative *phīs-* 'to move; to shine' from the polysemic Indo-Iranian root *tu̯ai̯š-* 'to be excited, be in motion, glow' (Indo-European *tu̯eis-*, Skt. *tveṣ-*, Iranian *θu̯ai̯š-*). The Iranian cluster *θu̯ > *fu̯ resulted in Khotanese *ph-* initially and *-h-* between vowels similarly to Iranian *f* but with velarizing effects due to *u̯ before its disappearance. *θu̯- > ph-* is observed in eight words with so far uncertain etymology, all derived from *phīs-*. Scrutiny of the occurrences of the derivatives and reinterpretation of some of them confirm the continuation of the two senses of Indo-Iranian *tu̯ai̯š-* in Khotanese *phīs-*. Khotanese is thus the only Iranian language to continue Indo-Iranian *tu̯ai̯š-* also in verbal formations: *phyaṣṭa-* 'shining, brilliant'; *śśī-phīsa-* 'whitish' ← 'approaching white' or 'having the brightness of white'; *phīsūna-* '(symbolic hand) movement, gesture'; *usphīs-* 'to emerge; to shine forth' (with *us-* 'up, out'); *usphīsa-* 'upward movement' in *usphīsaroña-* 'arrogance'; iterative *phīś-* 'to escape from, avoid'; iterative *naṣphīś-* 'to depart from'; and causative *haṃphīś-* 'to combine' ← 'to cause to go together' (in addition to *pūhei̯ta-* 'slim, slender' < *pati-θu̯ai̯š-a-*).

Keywords: Indo-Iranian languages, Iranian languages, etymology, Khotanese

1 Late Khotanese *phyaṣṭa-* and related words

This article discusses the Khotanese outcomes of the comparatively rare Iranian consonant cluster *θu̯ and in particular its word-initial outcome *ph-* that can be observed only in a group of eight words with so far uncertain etymology. These words are shown to be etymologically related and their usage in the texts is assessed in detail.

The word *phyaṣṭa* occurs in the Late Khotanese *Pradakṣiṇasūtra*, a text similar to but divergent from the Sanskrit *Pradakṣiṇagāthā* and its Tibetan and Chinese translations (see Maggi 2009b: 392f.). In the absence of actual bilingual evidence for the word, Harold W. Bailey interprets *phyaṣṭa* in *Pradakṣiṇasūtra* IOL Khot S. 6 = Ch. 0048 46 KBT 73 as a 3rd singular present indicative meaning 'shines',

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which he distinguishes from a noun *phyaṣṭi* 'peak' in *Sudhanāvadāna* 296 A (ed. De Chiara 2013–2014: 1, 128) and from an adjective *phyaṣṭe* 'brilliant' in P 2891 23 KT 3.80 (Dict. 263 s.vv.). Conversely, De Chiara (2013–2014: 2, 133) aptly suggests that these are all occurrences of a single Late Khotanese adjective *phyaṣṭa-* that qualifies mountains and means 'shining, brilliant', as the *Pradakṣiṇasūtra* passage indicates on account of the comparison *rūpakāya tcarṣau ttrāma sa khū gara ysarni phyaṣṭa* (*Pradakṣiṇasūtra* IOL Khot S 6 = Ch. 0048 46 KBT 73) 'a physical form just as brilliant as a shining golden mountain'.[1]

No satisfying etymology has been proposed so far for the word. Bailey proposes to derive his *phyaṣṭa* 'shines', *phyaṣṭi* 'peak', and *phyaṣṭe* 'brilliant' all "[f]rom *fyas-* to *pais-* 'be marked' ... 'be sharp' " (Dict. s.vv. *phyaṣṭa*, *phyaṣṭi*), i.e. Iranian **paiĉ-* 'to adorn, paint' < Indo-European **peiĴ-* 'to carve, cut out',[2] but the alleged metathesis is untenable,[3] all the more so because the root has its regular shape in Khotanese *pīsa-* 'sculpture, carving, etc.' and *pīsaa-* 'sculptor, artist'.[4] De Chiara compares *phyaṣṭ-* with "IE *sweid-¹* 'glänzen, schimmern', Avestan *xᵛaēna-* 'glühend, lohend',"[5] but the final *d* of this dubious Indo-European root cannot be reconciled with the Khotanese outcome.

A clue for an alternative etymology is unintentionally given by Bailey himself in that he suggests that *phyaṣṭa* is connected with Old Khotanese *śśī-phīsa-* 'white' (Dict. 263 s.v. *phyaṣṭa*) and possibly with Late Khotanese *phīsūna-* 'seal' (Dict. 262 s.v. *phīs-*),[6] all of which he traces back to "*pais-*," that is, Indo-Iranian **paiĉ-* 'to adorn, paint'.[7] Though his etymology cannot be correct, in my opinion the three words are

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1 My translation. Cf. the translation 'a physical form ... brilliant, as the golden mountain shines' by Bailey (1974: 17). His partial and complete translations of *gara ysarni phyaṣṭa* in Dict. are 'it shines' (252 s.v. *pyaṣṭa-* 'visible') and 'the golden mountain shines' (263 s.v. *phyaṣṭa* 'shines' = Bailey 1974: 17).

2 See EDIV: 291f. s.v. **pais*; EWAia: 168f. s.v. *peĉ*; LIV²: 465f. s.v. **peiĴ-*.

3 Bailey refers to "*mais-* 'to mix', beside *myas-* (see Avestan *myas-*)" apparently on the basis of the Old Avestan forms *minaš* and *hōmōmiiāsaitē* (for *⁺hōmiiāsaitē*) grouped under a root "*myas-* ... 'mischen' " in AIW: 1190. These belong, however, to the two separate roots *miz-* 'to take care of' and *yam-* 'to keep' (see Kellens & Pirart 1988–1991: 2, 288, 291 s.vv.; Humbach 1991: 1, 136 [*hōmiiāsaitē*], 192 [*minaš*]; 2: 93, 186).

4 Cf. Sims-Williams in Emmerick & Skjærvø 1982–1997: 3, 94–96 s.v. *pīsä*, etc. for a discussion of these and other meanings.

5 With reference to IEW: 1042, cf. LIV²: 608 s.v. ²**su̯eid-*.

6 Bailey's interpretation of *śśī-phīsa-* as 'white' and *phīsūna-* as 'seal' needs to be improved (see §§4f.). A comparison of *śśī-phīsa-* with *phīsūna-* is suggested also by Skjærvø (2004: 2, 347).

7 Cf. Bailey 1954: 142 n. 3 ("from *pais-* 'to mark' "), followed by Almuth Degener (KS: 169 s.v. *phīsūna-*). As an alternative to IIr. **paiĉ-*, Bailey (Dict. 262 s.v. *phīs-*) proposes to compare *phīsūna-* with "Av. *paiš-* (in *pištra-* 'wound'), Skt. *peṣ-* 'to crush, grind' [i.e. IIr. **paiš-*] with variant *-ĉ-* [i.e. a homophonous IIr. **paiĉ-*!] > *phīs-*" and leaves the question open (cf. Dict. 462 s.v. *haṃbīsa-*: "*phīsūna-* 'seal' ('struck mark')."

actually connected and belong with the verb *phīs-* 'to move; to shine' (see §2), which forms the basis of a word family comprising not only *phyaṣṭa-* as a Late Khotanese spelling for its past participle *phiṣṭa-* (see §3), *śśī-phīsa-* (see §4), and *phīsūna-* (see §5), but also the compound verb *usphīs-* 'to emerge; to shine forth' (rather than 'to splash' or the like; see §6), with its derivative *usphīsaroña-* 'arrogance' (see §7), and the derived verbs LKh. *phīś-* 'to escape from, avoid', OKh. *naṣphīś-* 'to depart from', and LKh. *haṃphīś-* 'to combine' (all with *ś* for *śś* [ʃ]; see §8).

Bilingual evidence is available for the meanings of *śśī-phīsa-*, *phīsūna-*, *us-phīsaroña-*, *phīś-*, *naṣphīś-*, and *haṃphīś-*. In the following, I first offer an etymology for the verb *(us)phīs-* and then check it against the meanings of the related words.

2 Khotanese *phīs-* 'to move; to shine' and Iranian *θu̯-* > Khotanese *ph-* and -*h-*

The verb *phīs-* is not directly attested as a simplex, apart from its Late Khotanese past participle *phyaṣṭa-* with adjectival force, but it is part of the compound verb *usphīs-*. For *usphīs-*, Emmerick (SGS: 19 s.v.) gives the senses " 'splash' (of water), 'flash' (of rays)," following Bailey's translation of the few occurrences of the verb (Bailey 1965: 104) and offers two alternative etymologies suggested to him by Bailey himself and by Ilya Gershevitch. According to Bailey, -*phīs-* is "[p]ossibly inch. < *bag-*, cf. Skt. *bhájati* 'sich auf den Weg machen'."[8] He proposes this again in Dict. 44 s.v. in the following terms: "From *us* with *phīs-* to base *bag-* 'go fast', hence from *bhag-sk̂-*, *phaγś-*, *phīs-*." The obvious difficulty with such an etymology is the exceptional and unjustified devoicing of *bh > *ph*, which should have occurred at the Indo-Iranian stage already, before IIr. *bh* developed regularly to Ir. *b*, and should thus have affected also the Indo-Aryan continuations of the root. This is not the case, however, because *bhaj-* is well attested in Sanskrit. Moreover, an Indo-Iranian root *bhaǰ-* meaning 'to reach, advance (on a way)' and different from *bhaǰ-* 'to divide, distribute, etc.' can scarcely be established.[9]

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8 Cf. the translation of *R̥gveda* 8.14.10 ('macht sich ... auf den Weg'), 8.27.8 ('Machet euch auf den Weg'), 8.103.2 ('hat sich auf den Weg gemacht'), 9.86.16 ('hat sich auf den Weg ... gemacht') by Geldner (1951–1957: 2, 314, 338, 434; 3, 80).

9 See EWAia: 2, 241f. s.v. *bhaj* with references, especially 242: "Mit anderen *BHAJ*-Sippen ist schwerlich zu rechnen. ... *BHAJ*³ 'fliehen' suchte man bereits in RV-Belegen für 'sich auf den Weg machen' [= 'einen Weg erreichen'] wie 7,18,16 oder 7,39,1 und leitete es—mit Belegen aus der Jü[ngeren] S[prache] und aus rezenteren Sprachstufen—aus *bʰegʷ* 'laufen, fliehen' [gr. φέβομαι u.a.] her." Cf.

The problem with the etymology of -*phīs*- is the initial aspirate stop that usually goes back to Ir. *f. In this respect, much more promising is Gershevitch's suggestion in SGS: 19 that, "[i]f Kh. *ph* can be < O.Ir. *θw, we may have inch[oative] of *θwiš-, O.Ind. *tviṣ*-." The Indo-Iranian root **tu̯ai̯š*- 'to be excited, be in motion, glow' is well-attested in Sanskrit as *tveṣ*- 'to be excited, be in motion, be impetuous, be inflamed, glow' and can be safely traced back to IE **tu̯ei̯s*- 'to excite, shake' (cf. Greek σείω 'to shake, move to and fro').[10] In Sanskrit, the root is found in both verbal and nominal formations. Conversely, in Iranian the root **θu̯ai̯š*- was so far known to occur only in nominal derivatives: Av. *θβaēša*- 'danger', *θβaēšah*- 'danger' (rather than 'fear', see Nowicki 1976: 201–203), *θβisra*- 'gleaming' (Kellens & Pirart 1988–1991: 2, 252: 'scintillant'), and Kh. *pūhäṣa- 'slim, slender' (spelled *pūhei'tä* in *Book of Zambasta* 22.168; Emmerick 1968b: 314) < Ir. **pati-θu̯ai̯š-a*- 'fast, swift' (Maggi 2022: 325–330). Recognition of *phīs- 'to move; to shine' as a continuation of IIr. **tu̯ai̯š*-, shows that the root was used in verbal formations also in Iranian, specifically in Khotanese. The polysemy of the Indo-Iranian root agrees with the meanings of Khotanese *us-phīs*- 'to emerge; to shine forth' as well as of the other related words, as we shall presently see.

From a formal point of view, the long vowel and final consonant in -*phīs*- < Ir. **θu̯iš-śća*- are regular. Long *ī* is due to compensatory lengthening caused by the simplification of the consonant cluster as in *ṣvīda*- 'milk' < Ir. **xšu̯ifta*- (see Emmerick 1989: 214 §3.2.3.3.3.2.4.3.). A practically identical simplification of the consonant cluster **š(H)sć*- > *s* can be observed in the inchoatives *īs*- 'to return' and *patīs*- 'to withdraw (intr.)' < Ir. *-*iš-śća*- from the root **Hai̯šH*- 'to set in motion' (with the preverbs *ā- and *pati- respectively).[11]

As for initial *ph*- < Ir. **θu̯*, there are unfortunately only a few certain instances of the Khotanese treatment of this consonant cluster between vowels and there are no other ones in initial position:

1. The stressed 2nd singular accusative pronoun **θu̯ām* (Av. *θβąm*, Old Persian *θuvām*, Skt. *tvā́m*) was replaced in Khotanese by the corresponding 2nd plural accusative pronoun *uhu, uho* (possibly < **i̯ūžam*, cf. Old Av. *yūžəm*, Young Av.

Grassmann 1996: 923 s.v. *bhaj* for the various senses of the root, including "einen Weg … erreichen, d.h. zurücklegen" ('to reach, advance [on a way]').

10 EWAia: 1, 686: 'erregt sein, in Bewegung sein, ungestüm sein, entbrennen, glühen'; LIV²: 654 s.v.: 'erregen, erschüttern … gr. σείω schüttle, erschüttere'.

11 See SGS: 14 s.v. *īs*-, 68 s.v. *patīs*-, cf. 153 s.v. *hīs*-; EDIV: 159 s.v. *HaišH; EWAia: 1, 271f. s.v. *eṣ²*; LIV²: 234 s.v. **h₁ei̯sh₂*-.

yūžəm)[12] or was conflated with **ị̄ūžam* into *uhu, uho* (see below on Ir. **-θṷ-* > Kh. *-h-*).

2. The etymology of Kh. *thurs-* 'to be oppressed' from the Iranian root **θṷarć-* proposed by Bailey (Dict. 149 s.v.) has been shown to be wrong by Emmerick, who explains *thurs-* as "an inchoative present from an Old Iranian root **θraṷ-,*" that is, Ir. **θraṷH-* 'to oppress' < IE **treṷH-* 'to wear out'.[13]

3. The verb *vāj-* 'to seize, grasp, take hold of' is derived by Prods O. Skjærvø from Ir. **θṷāǰ-ịa-* 'to get, acquire' through an intermediate **dṷāǰ-ịa-* by a supposed voicing of the initial cluster.[14] It is true that "the OIr. unvoiced spirants *f, θ, x* became voiced initially before *r,*" but voicing of the voiceless fricative before *ṷ* "did not happen in the case of initial *x*, of course, since OIr. *xw-* gave *hv-* in Khotanese" (Skjærvø 1985: 66). This makes his etymology of *vāj-* not very likely.[15]

Judging from the few words that most probably contained the Iranian consonant cluster **θṷ* at word beginning, that is, **phīs-* and the words derived therefrom, this appears to have first given **fṷ* and to have then resulted in *ph* in a similar way as original Ir. **f*.

A development Ir. **θṷ-* > **fṷ-* > **f-* > Kh. *ph-* with loss of the labiovelar approximant is not surprising. In Khotanese, it parallels the development of the voiced cluster Ir. **dṷ-* > Kh. *v-* [w] identified by Skjærvø and seen in Kh. *vara-* 'door, gate' < Ir. **dṷar-*, Kh. *vāñ-* 'to throw, winnow' < Ir. **dṷān-aịa-*, and possibly *vāna-* 'temple' < **dṷāna-* < Ir. **dmāna-*, as well as in Tumshuqese *biḍa-* < *vita-* 'second' < Ir. **dṷita-*, which contrasts with the "singular ... and unexpected phonetical development" *ś* [ʒ] in Kh. *śäta-* 'second'.[16] In both cases, a cluster consisting of a dental consonant

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12 See Emmerick 1989: 220 §3.2.3.4.2.1 for the replacement. For the etymology, see Sims-Williams 1983: 49; Skjærvø 1987: 81; Emmerick 1989: 214 §3.2.3.3.3.3.3.7; EWAia: 2, 416 s.v. *yūyám*.

13 SGS: 43 s.v. *thurs-*; Emmerick in Emmerick & Skjærvø 1982–1997: 2, 51–54 s.v. *thurs-*. See EDIV: 396f. s.v. **θraṷH-*, cf. 400 s.v. **θṷars-*; LIV²: 652f. s.v. **treṷH-* (cf. IEW: 1072f. s.v. ³*ter-*, quoted in SGS).

14 Skjærvø 1985: 63–66 and in Emmerick & Skjærvø 1982–1997: 2, 128 s.v.

15 Skjærvø's etymology is implicitly rejected by Cheung (EDIV: 398 s.v. **θṷa(n)ǰ*), who conversely refers to Skjærvø's article in EDIV: 83 s.v. **dṷanH* (cf. below on Kh. *vāñ-* 'to throw, winnow'). Skjærvø has shown that Bailey's and Emmerick's derivation of *vāj-* "< **vāǰaya-* iter[ative] < **vag-*, cf. O[ld] P[ersian] *avajam*, Bal[ochi] *gwaǰag* 'to pull out' " (SGS: 122 s.v. *vāj-*) is improbable. Therefore, I suggest assigning the Ir. **aṷa-ač-ịa-* that yields Kh. *vāj-* to the Indo-Iranian root **Hanč-* 'to draw', cf. Modern Persian *āz-* : *āx-tan* 'to draw (a sword)', Skt. *vy-ác-anti* 'they draw (water)', *úd-ak-ta-* 'drawn (of water)', *vy-ac-yá-māna-* 'from which (water) is drawn', which is semantically plausible and has the advantage of being phonologically unquestionable (see EDIV: 161 s.v. **Hanč*; EWAia: 1, 53 s.v. *añc²*, possibly in origin distinct from *añc¹* 'to bend', and cf. Hoffmann 1975: 162–165 for the occurrences in Sanskrit).

16 Skjærvø 1985: 60–63, 66–70 (cf. fn. 15); see Ogihara & Ching 2017: 471 for Tum. *biḍa-*.

(*θ* or *d*) and *u̯* results in a labial continuant, that is, in the voiceless labiodental *f (> *ph-*) and in the voiced labiovelar *v-* [w] respectively. More generally in Iranian, a similar development **hu̯* > *f* is to be found in the Kavīr dialects of Xūr, Farroxī, and Mehrǰān (e.g. Xūrī *fah-* 'oneself' < **hu̯a-*, Farroxī [Farvi] *fār* 'sister' < **hu̯ahar-*) and in Sivandī (e.g. *fārdan* 'to eat' < **hu̯ar-*).[17] Elsewhere, a virtually identical change [θw] > *f* is observed in Buchan Scots, for example *fəit* 'to cut' < Old English *þwītan*, *fʌtl* 'to whittle' < Middle English *þwittle*, and *faŋ* 'chunk' < Old English *þwang*.[18]

Ir. *f resulted in Kh. *ph-* at word beginning and after consonants, whereas it was reduced to *-h-* between vowels,[19] for example (a) **farnah-* > *phārra-* 'high position, glory',[20] (b) **us-fan-* > *usphan-* 'to be happy', **niš-fan-* > *naṣphan-* 'to come out' (SGS: 18, 52), (c) **ćafa-* > *saha-* 'hoof', **au̯a-fan-* > *vahan-* 'to disappear'.[21]

Similarly, on the one hand Ir. **θu̯* resulted in Kh. *ph* at word beginning in Ir. **θu̯išta-* > OKh. **phiṣṭa-* > LKh. *phyaṣṭa-* 'shining, brilliant' and after consonants in Ir. **us-θu̯iš-śća-* > *usphīs-* 'to emerge; to shine forth' as well as in the connected derivatives *naṣphīś-* 'to depart from' (with **niš-*) and *haṃphīś-* 'to combine' (with **ham-*). On the other hand, intervocalically we have Ir. *-*θu̯-* > Kh. *-h-* in **páti-θu̯ai̯ša-* > OKh. **pūhäṣa-* > *pūhei̯ta-* 'slim, slender' (see above), **ča̪θu̯ára-* > *tcahora* 'four', and **θu̯ā* > *ho > OKh. *-o* enclitic 2nd singular accusative pronoun, whose loss of *-h-* parallels the similar loss in the 3rd singular enclitic pronoun *-ä* < Ir. *-*hai̯* (see Sims-Williams 2021: 480f.).[22]

In contrast to *f, however, **θu̯* > **fu̯* had a velarizing effect before the labiovelar approximant was lost. In **páti-θu̯ai̯ša-* > OKh. **pūhäṣa-* > *pūhei̯ta-* we observe velarization at a distance of stressed *a > *ū* by anticipatory assimilation as in **táruna-* > *ttūrra-* 'tender' in parallel with the palatalization at a distance of stressed *a* before

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17 See Morgenstierne 1958: 170; Skjærvø 1983: 249; Lecoq 1989a: 324; Borjian 2020; Lecoq 1989b: 348; Molčanova 1997: 363f.

18 See Dieth 1932: 117 §124 (and 121 §126 on a possible explanation of the Buchan Scots change).

19 All three Iranian voiceless fricatives *f, *θ, and *x merged into *h* intervocalically (Emmerick 1989: 214 §3.2.3.3.3.3.3.8).

20 See Emmerick 1989: 213 §3.2.3.3.3.3.1 and Emmerick & Skjærvø 1982–1997: 3, 103f.; Skjærvø 2004: 2, 193f., 316 s.v.

21 See SGS: 122 s.v. *vahan-* and EDIV: 84 s.v. *fan.

22 The change Ir. *-*θu̯-* > *-*fu̯-* > Kh. *-h-* between vowels might seem to be contradicted by the preservation of **u̯* in Kh. *ahva-* ← **ahvā-* 'fear' (see Emmerick 1989: 227 §3.2.3.4.6.8 and Degener 1987: 66 for *-a-* taken as the stem vowel by *-ā-* stems used as prior element of a compound) < Ir. **afu̯ā-* < IIr. *apu̯á-* (Old Persian *afuvā-* 'panic', Skt. *apvá-*) attested in the compound *ahva-rīysä* 'terror' (*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 1.8; Skjærvø 2004: 1, 120), literally 'trembling from fear' (< "*afu̯u̯ā-raiza-* 'Angst-Zittern'," Hoffmann 1968: 370 n. 2 = 1975: 210 n. 2; cf. Skjærvø 1985: 66 n. 10). However, such a preservation can well be illusory if *ahva-* continues a trisyllabic **afu̯u̯ā-* like Skt. *apvá-*, which counts metrically as three syllables, that is, *apuvá-* (see Hoffmann 1955: 85 = Hoffmann 1975: 57, EWAia: 1, 89 s.v. *apvá-*).

*i or *i̯ for example in Ir. *pátati > OKh. *pīttä* 'he falls' and Ir. *járani̯a- > OKh. *ysīrra-* 'gold' (Maggi 2022: 329).[23] As for *tcahora*, Skjærvø (1985: 66 n. 10) observes that "this form obviously derives from a form with metathesis: *caθwára- > *caθāwra- > tca-haura-*." This is possible, of course, but it is equally possible to explain the change *θu̯ā > *ho seen both in *čaθu̯ára- > tcahora* and in *θu̯ā > *ho > -o as a simplification of the consonant cluster accompanied by a different kind of velarization where *u̯*, combined with the preceding *f* in *fu̯ < *θu̯*, velarizes a following *ā > o by lag assimilation, irrespective of the stress since an enclitic is also affected.[24] This latter kind of velarization recalls the "secondary palatalization" that Emmerick termed Khotanese "ruki," which "is of course simply a kind of palatalization triggered off by a sound that palatalized a following sound under certain conditions" and by which "the final *i* of a preverb caused palatalization of the initial consonant of a verb stem," for instance in OKh. "*pachīys-* 'to be considered, estimated' … < *pati-xaiza-* beside *haṃkhīys-* in *haṃkhīś-* 'to count' … < *ham-xaiz-aya-*" (Emmerick 1986: 75–77).

Coming now to semantics, the approximate senses 'to move; to shine' can be confidently assigned to the verb *phīs-* since, on the one hand, they are in line with the polysemy of the Indo-Iranian root *tu̯ai̯š-* 'to be excited, be in motion, glow' and, on the other hand, they are compatible with the meanings of the related words *phyaṣṭa-*, etc. In the following, the passages containing words related to *phīs-* are examined and support is given for this relationship and the derivation of *phīs-* from Ir. *θu̯ai̯š-*.

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23 This kind of velarization of stressed *a > ū due to a following *u/u̯ may have originated as a velar epenthesis (*a > *au > *ō > ū) and parallels the much more frequent palatalization presumably originating as a palatal epenthesis of stressed *a > *ai > *ē > ī due to a following *i/i̯. Since the Iranian root *θu̯ai̯š- is also continued in Khotanese words other than *pūhei'tä*, the prefix *pati- was velarized to *pū- in *pūhei'tä* not so much because "*patiθu̯ai̯ša- soon remained lexically isolated and became morphologically opaque to the speakers, so that the prefix was no longer felt as such" (Maggi 2022: 329), but because the nominal prefix *pati- could bear the accent in nominal formations as in Sogdian, as Nicholas Sims-Williams suggested in Maggi 2022: 329. Conversely, *pu-* with short *u* in OKh. *puvāta-* 'cool' < *pati-vāta- does not result from velar epenthesis and seems to be due merely to the labial environment *p…v* (cf. SGS: 237).

24 That velarization is brought about in these cases by *fu̯*, not simply *u̯*, is indicated for example by the outcomes Ir. *du̯ān-ai̯a- > Kh. *vāñ-* 'to throw, winnow' and possibly Ir. *dmāna- > *du̯āna- > Kh. *vāna-* 'temple' that do not show the change *ā > o (see above).

3 Late Khotanese *phyaṣṭa-* 'shining, brilliant'

The meaning 'shining, brilliant' indicated by De Chiara (see §1) applies to all three occurrences of LKh. *phyaṣṭa-*:

1. *dvāradirsa lakṣaṇa brūna anuvyajana haṣṭā bida / rūpakāya tcarṣau ttrāma sa khū gara ysarni phyaṣṭa* 'Furthermore, the splendid thirty-two marks (of a great man), the eighty minor marks, (and) a physical form just as brilliant as a shining golden mountain' (*Pradakṣiṇasūtra* IOL Khot S. 6 = Ch. 0048 45f. KBT 73, my trans.);
2. *āśi' skaṃdhīną̄ dva kathiri bīḍi / caṃ jsi gi byą̄śdi' phyaṣṭi bīma u ttairkhye* 'He will carry two axes, *āśi* and *skaṃdhina*, by which he will stride brilliant mountains, rocks and mountain tops' (*Sudhanāvadāna* 295f. A; De Chiara 2013–2014: 1, 128f.);
3. *mista ttraikhye gvagye baysgyā hvālai phyaṣṭe* 'great peaks, compact hills, both brilliant' (P 2891 22f. KT 3.80; trans. Dict. 506 s.v. *hvālai*).

I regard *phyaṣṭa-* as a Late Khotanese spelling for OKh. *phiṣṭa- < Ir. *θu̯išta-*, the past participle of *phīs-* used as an adjective.[25] The variant spellings *yǎ*/*yĭ* for earlier *ĭ* after a consonant, which may hint at incipient diphthongisation, are not uncommon in Late Khotanese and are paralleled by *vǎ*/*uā* for earlier *ŭ* (see Dict. 306 s.v. *bya-*; Maggi 1995: 434f.).[26] Such spellings are to be found also with other words in two of the three manuscripts where *phyaṣṭa-* occurs: so we have *pyahastai* 3rd singular perfect masculine of *pähad-* : *pihasta-* 'to strike' in *Sudhanāvadāna* 105 A (De Chiara 2013–2014: 1, 76) and *phyīśä* (Bailey *-i*) 3rd singular present indicative active of *phīś-* 'to escape from, avoid' (on which see §8) in *Pradakṣiṇasūtra* IOL Khot S. 6 = Ch. 0048 28 KBT 72.

As for the non-past value of *phiṣṭa-* 'shining, brilliant', this is another instance of a past participle whose meaning is not related to the past like *āsuta-* 'burning', *pabasta-* 'continuous', and *paduta-* 'smoking' (see KS: 228 §42.10.1).

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25 See §1 with fn. 3 for Bailey's superseded etymology of *phyaṣṭa-*.
26 I now regard the merely orthographic explanation of these spellings offered in Maggi 1995 as unconvincing.

4 Old Khotanese *śśī-phīsa-* 'whitish'

The Old Khotanese hapax *śśī-phīsa* (*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 6.3.28; Skjærvø 2004: 1, 120) is a compound adjective containing *śśī-* < *śśīya-* 'white' as prior member with a reduction similar to *ggrrī-* < **ggrrīva-* 'person' in OKh. *ggrrī-vaktrrä* 'a person's mouth' (IOL Khot 7/7 v2 [*Book of Zambasta* 15.80?]; Maggi 2021: 138) and *ī-* 'one' < **īva-* in OKh. *ī-garśä* 'with one throat' (*Saṅghāṭasūtra* 51.1; Degener 1987: 66; Canevascini 1993: 128). Kh. *śśī-phīsa-* translates Sanskrit *pāṇḍara-* 'whitish-yellow, pale, white' (MW: 616) but is rendered simply as 'white' by Bailey (KT 6.192 s.v. *päsā*, Dict. 262 s.v. *phīsa-*, 400 s.v. *śśī-phīsa*).[27]

The very fact that *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 6.3.28 juxtaposes *śvetāni pāṇḍarāṇi* in Sanskrit and that the two adjectives are translated *śīya śśī-phīsa* in Khotanese indicates that Skt. *pāṇḍara-* and Kh. *śśī-phīsa-* are not mere synonyms of Skt. *śveta-* and Kh. *śśīya-* 'white' respectively in this passage. Prods O. Skjærvø appropriately translates *śīya śśī-phīsa* as 'white, light-colored' and has the gloss '*white-colored' for *śśī-phīsa-* in his glossary (Skjærvø 2004: 1, 121; 2, 347).

I find that *śśī-phīsa-* can simply be translated as 'whitish' and I regard its second member *phīsa-* as an action noun derived through the suffix *-a-* from the present stem of **phīs-* 'to move; to shine' (cf. KS: 3 §§1.6.12, 1.7.1).[28] Its meaning will approximately be 'movement; brightness'. On account of the two presumable senses of the verb and the noun, *śśī-phīsa-* may literally mean either 'characterized by movement towards, approaching white' or simply, and more probably, 'having the brightness of white', that is, in both cases, 'whitish'.

5 Late Khotanese *phīsūna-* 'movement, gesture'

The word *phīsūna-* occurs three times in Late Khotanese texts and is in my opinion a regular derivative from the verb **phīs-* in the sense of 'to move' through the suffix *-ūna-* that forms verbal nouns (KS: 167 §28.A.2–3.1, 169 s.v.).[29]

Leumann (1930: 60f., 80) equated the two occurrences of *phīsūna-* in the *Adhyardhaśatikā* with Skt. *naya-* 'doctrine' and translated the word as 'Lehrabschnitt' in *Adhyardhaśatikā* SI P 4 12r2–3 and 'Lehrmacht' in 13v5 (Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 29f.).

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27 To 'white' Bailey adds 'white-showing' as an attempt at a literal translation in Dict. 400 s.v. *śśī-phīsa.*

28 See §1 with fn. 8 for Bailey's superseded etymology of *-phīsa-* in *śśī-phīsa-.*

29 See §1 with fn. 8 for Bailey's superseded etymology of *phīsūna-.*

It was Bailey who first recognized that *phīsūna-* is actually "[t]he Khotanese in-digenous word for 'seal'," that is, for Skt. *mudrā-* in the religious technical sense of 'symbolic hand gesture or movement', and that Khotanese *mūrakă-* (from *mūrā-* 'coin, jewel')[30] "is used … [s]everal times in the Vajrayāna text in KBT, pp. 143 ff. [= Ch. ii.004]" with the same meaning (Bailey 1954: 142 with n. 3).[31] In Buddhism, the Sanskrit term "*mudrā-* often refers to hand and arm 'gestures' made during the course of ritual practice or depicted in images of buddhas, bodhisattvas, tantric deities, and other Buddhist images. Mudrās commonly associated with figures of the Buddha, such as the 'gesture of fearlessness' (*abhayamudrā*) …, are found in the earliest Indian representations of Śākyamuni. With the development of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna iconography, the number of mudrās depicted in Buddhist art prolif-erated … Mudrās are also *dynamic hand movements performed during the course of tantric ritual practice*" (Buswell & Lopez 2014: 551 s.v. *mudrā*, my emphasis).

In addition to the tantric *Adhyardhaśatikā*, a third occurrence of Kh. *phīsūna-* is found in the phrase *prrattejña phīsūṃ* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*[32] P 3513 39v4 KBT 61) 'gesture of commitment (of a Bodhisattva)', which implies an underlying Skt. *(bodhisattva-)pratijñā-mudrā-*, a term that, as far as I have been able to establish, occurs in Sanskrit texts only in the tantric *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra* 37 from Gilgit (ed. Cohen 2010: 219).[33]

Skt. *mudrā-* 'seal' and its equivalents in other languages are often translated literally as 'seal' also when they are used in the sense of 'symbolic hand gesture or movement' as in the two *Adhyardhaśatikā* passages.[34] A similar approach was in fact adopted by the Khotanese in using *mūrakă-* 'seal' for Skt. *mudrā-* in the *Vajrayāna* text of IOL Khot 55 = Ch. ii.004 (see above). Conversely, Kh. *phīsūna-*, as a derivative from **phīs-* in the sense of 'to move', is an interpretive translation that conveys precisely the technical sense of '(symbolic hand) movement, gesture' of Skt. *mudrā-*.

The three Late Khotanese passages where *phīsūna-* occurs should accordingly be translated as follows:

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30 Cf. Dict. 336f. s.v. *mūrā-* and KS: 195 s.v. *mūrakă-*.

31 In their translation of the *Adhyardhaśatikā*, Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja (1995: 29f.) render Kh. *phīsūna-* as '*mudrā*'.

32 See Maggi 2009b: 373f. on this text, not to be confused with the large sūtra collection bearing the same title in the Chinese canon (Taishō 5–7, no. 220).

33 Cohen (2012: 23) translates Skt. *bodhisattva-pratijñā-mudrā-* as 'manifestation [*mudrā*] of … vow as a bodhisattva'.

34 So for instance Conze 1965: 105, 107; Conze 1973: 186, 188 (ed. Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 28 11v1, 29 13r2); Miyata 2015: 15f.

1. *kāmu jä ī ci ttū biśśāṃ dātañāṃ vīra hamegge ūyāme vī rrāysanaundä hajvatte-tīnai phīsūnä pyūṣḍe … ne … b[r]īye hīvyau gaṃjsyo jsa saṃkhi'tte* 'whoever he may be who hears [the exposition of] this gesture of wisdom (*jñāna-mudrā*) [in the fourth method (*naya*) of the Prajñāpāramitā] that has mastery over view-ing the sameness (that is) in all phenomena …, … he will not be tainted by the faults of passion' (*Adhyardhaśatikā* SI P 4 12r1–4; Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 29, their trans. with modifications);

2. *ci jä halci ṣä ī ci … biśśānu balysānu hīvī bvāmatīnai phīsūnäna ayäṣṭhye vaśärä māṇ̇ṇdä kṣemä pra[jñ]ā[p]ā[rami]tā-nayä pvā'te … ṣä harbiśye śśire sijā[ma b]y[e]h[e]* 'whoever he may be who … should hear the sixth method (*naya*) of the Prajñāpāramitā that is like a thunderbolt (*vajra*) blessed with the gesture of knowledge (*jñāna-mudrā*) of all the Buddhas …, he will obtain the achieve-ment of all goodness' (*Adhyardhaśatikā* SI P 4 13v3–14r1; Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 30, their trans. with modifications);

3. *u cī mą ḃąḍhasatvä ba'ysuṇavuysai tvā atsūṃavīja . tsūmą . ttāra tca'ca ne'h-vastä yūḍą īdi ttī-t-ī* (manuscript *ttī . tī*) *harbiśä sarvajñāṇä sejąma häme u pīr-māttamye ba'ysāna ba'ysūštä haṃbīdą u ṣā'-v-ī prrattejña phīsūṃ* 'and when the awakening-seeking Bodhisattva here is able to go beyond this careerless career to the further shore, then the achievement of all and every knowledge will be his and he will be filled by the foremost Buddha-awakening and the gesture of commitment (*pratijñā-mudrā*) will be his' (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* P 3513 39v2–4 KBT 61).[35]

6 Late Khotanese *usphīs-* 'to emerge; to shine forth'

No bilingual evidence for the meaning of *usphīs-* (from *phīs-* 'to move; to shine' with *us-* 'up, out') is available, but its approximate senses 'to emerge; to shine forth' are assured by the contexts. Three occurrences of *usphīs-* are listed by Emmer-ick, Bailey, and Degener, all of them present participles in *-anda(a)-* taken from the Late Khotanese *Panegyric on King Viśa' Saṃgrāma* (no other occurrences have been found so far).[36] Of these, one is certain (P 2787 80 *ūsphīsadai*), another requires

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35 Cf. Bailey's translations in Dict.: 'and this is the seal of the promise' (262 s.v. *phīs-*); 'this is the seal of his promise' (408 s.v. *ṣā*).

36 See SGS 19 s.v. (on the basis of Bailey 1965: 104, 112), Dict. 44 s.v., KS: 34 §4.11 s.v. *usphīsaṃdaa-*. For the text, see Maggi 2009b: 412.

an obvious emendation (69f. *ūsphīsaryāṃ*), and a third has to be discarded (77f. *ūsphīsaradą̄*):

1. Morphology indicates that the present participle *ūsphīsadai* 'emerging' in *satsą̄-rū māhāsamūdrrä myą̄ña ūsphīsadai* (P 2787 80 KT 2.104) '(this world) emerging in the midst of the great ocean of the cycle of births' is singular masculine (*-ai*, not plural masculine *-ā*) and is one of the terms that qualify the previously mentioned 'protectorless world' (77 *aną̄ha'ysamaśadai*), so that it cannot refer to the world's protectors 'being exalted [*ūsphīsadai*] in the midst of the great ocean of migration', as Bailey has it (Dict. 44) in replacement of his earlier translation 'spouting in the midst of the *mahāsamudra* of *saṃsāra*' (Bailey 1965: 104; cf. Degener's 'sprudelnd (?) inmitten des Saṃsāra-Ozeans' in KS: 34).

2. It is unlikely that *ūsphīsaryāṃ* in P 2787 69f. is the instrumental-ablative plural of an adjective *usphīsara-*, as Emmerick suggests (SGS: 19), because this could only be interpreted as a Late Khotanese secondary form for **usphīsa-garaa-* 'arrogant', whose meaning does not suit the noun *bvaiyau jsa* 'rays' it qualifies (see §7).[37] Degener (Suffixe 34) convincingly proposes regarding *ūsphīsaryāṃ* as a trivial misspelling for the present participle *ūsphīsadāṃ[38] due to confusion of *ry* and *d*, which may have very similar shapes in the Khotanese documentary script (cf. wrong *pvārye* for *pvāde 'they may hear' in *Book of Vimalakīrti* 152a; Maggi 2009a: 285, 290). The emendation provides a semantically plain passage: *māhāpūraṣa-lakṣa'nyau jsa* **ūsphīsadāṃ bvaiyau jsa pyaṣṭi* (P 2787 69f. KT 2.104) 'adorned with the rays shining forth from the marks of a great man' or 'adorned with the marks of a great man (and) the rays (of his halo) shining forth' (cf. 'with outrushing rays' in Bailey 1965: 112, 'with up-rising rays' in Dict. 44, and 'mit sprühenden ... Strahlen' in KS: 34).

3. The third supposed occurrence of *usphīs-* is in all likelihood a ghost occurrence and has to be discarded. The word *ūsphīsaradą̄* in P 2787 77f. cannot be a form of **ūsphīsar-* because such a present stem is in itself unlikely on morphological grounds. Emmerick suggests that in *ūsphīsaradą̄* one should expunge the syllable "*-ra-* due to adj. ... *ūsphīsaryāṃ* P 2787. 69–70" (SGS 19) in order to obtain the present participle *ūsphīsa{ra}dą̄* from *usphīs-*. As we have just seen, how-

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[37] Cf. KS: 20 s.v. *-garaa-* on LKh. *-gara-*, which is unknown in Old Khotanese and probably only emerged secondarily from the agent noun *-garaa-* '-doer, -doing' under the influence of the verbal noun *-gāra-* '-doer, -doing' likewise used as second compound member. At any rate, the instrumental-ablative plural ending *-yāṃ* (OKh. *-yau*) is in principle the same for both *-a-* and *-aa-* stems.

[38] Degener proposes **ūsphīsad(y)āṃ*, but *-y-* is not required on account of the Late Khotanese trend toward coalescence of the plural endings *-āṃ/-au* (genitive-dative < OKh. *-ānu*) and *-yāṃ/-yau* (instrumental-ablative < OKh. *-yau*) irrespective of the declension (see e.g. SGS: 267 for the *-a-* declension).

ever, the alleged adjective *ūsphīsaryāṃ* has itself to be emended to **ūsphīsadāṃ* 'shining forth', so that it can hardly have prompted the scribe to write a spurious *ra*. In addition, *ūsphīsaradą* here qualifies *ūtcyai* 'waters' (a rare variant or a sheer misspelling for **ūtcyau*) and is likely to be a misspelled present participle from the verb *usphīr-* 'to splash' (SGS 18, cf. Dict.: 43f.), whose meaning fits perfectly with water. Therefore, the spurious syllable to be expunged is *sa*, not *ra*, which gives *ūsphī{sa}radą*, that is, *ūsphīradą* 'splashing' from *usphīr-*. The passage under consideration should be read and translated thus: *ūsphī{sa}radą ūtcyai drraiṣṭīyīnyāṃ daga-rakṣaysyāṃ jsa panādai* (P 2787 77f. KT 2.104) '(this world) *noisy with the water-demons of false views (that arise) from the splashing waters (of the ocean of the cycle of births)'. This does not change the previous translations of *ūsphī{sa}radą ūtcyai* 'with splashing water [sg.]' (Bailey 1965: 104), 'with splashing waters [pl.]' (Dict.: 44), and 'sprühende Wasser' (KS: 34), but makes clear that the participle is from *usphīr-* 'to splash' rather than from an impossible **usphīsar-* or from *usphīs-*.

Tu sum up, *usphīs-* means only 'to emerge; to shine forth' in line with the simplex **phīs-* 'to move; to shine'.

7 Old Khotanese *usphīsa⟨ga⟩roña-*

A hapax *usphīsaroñä* occurs in the only fragment of an Old Khotanese translation of the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (see Maggi 2009b: 381), where it renders Skt. *unnamanā-* 'pride, arrogance', so that its meaning is assured (cf. BHSD: 132 s.v. *unnamana*; Dict. 44 s.v. *usphīs-*). The word contains the suffix *-auña-*, which forms abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives.

Degener (KS: 159 §26.A.B.4.2) suggests that the base lexeme of *usphīsaroña-* could be an agent noun **usphīsar-aa-* and compares a present participle **ūsphīsa-raṃdaa-* (i.e. the previously discussed *ūsphīsaradą* in P 2787 77f.). This is untenable, however, because a present stem **ūsphīsar-* does not exist and because *ūsphīsaradą* has to be read *ūsphī{sa}radą* 'splashing' (< **usphīr-andaa-*), as we have seen (§6).

More appropriate is Bailey's idea of seeing a "compound with *-kara-* 'making'" in *usphīsaroña-* (Dict. 44), that is, to be precise, an *-auña-* derivative from an adjectival compound **usphīsa-garaa-* 'arrogant' consisting of **usphīsa-* and the agent noun *-garaa-* '-doer, -doing' (cf. KS: 20 s.v.). This explanation implies that *usphīsaroña-* is a late form of OKh. **usphīsagarauña-* with loss of earlier *-ag-* (cf. *ttagata-* 'wealth' > LKh. *ttata-*, see Dict. 121 s.v.). This is not surprising because the Late Khotanese language of the copyist of manuscript IOL Khot 8/2, containing

part of *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* 4, surfaces variously in the Old Khotanese text he was copying, as is especially clear from the pseudoarchaism r1 *tsuetä* 'he went' combining LKh. *tsue* (e.g. *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 3.08; Skjærvø 2004: 1, 34) and OKh. *tsūte* (*Book of Zambasta* 2.47+; Emmerick 1968b), the 3rd singular perfect transitive masculine r3 *stavye* 'he praised' < OKh. **staväte* (cf. the plural *stavätāndä* in *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 6.1.6; Skjærvø 2004: 1, 84), the instrumental-ablative singular v2 *hajvatte jsa* 'in wisdom' < OKh. *hajvattete jsa* (*Book of Zambasta* 2.224, 4.115; Emmerick 1968b: 48, 96), and the expression v5 *śśärāṃ śśärä* 'good among the good ones' with the genitive-dative plural ending *-āṃ* < OKh. *-ānu*.

That the text originally had OKh. **usphīsagarauñä* is confirmed by metrics, since the sentence where the word occurs is a meter A hemistich that can be made regular precisely by adding the missing akṣara *ga*: *[nä-n jsa]*[39] *usphīsa⟨ga⟩roñä karä aśtä härṣṭai balysä* [HL]H HL⟨L⟩HL ‖ LLHL HHHL ‖[40] (*Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* 4(3) IOL Khot 8/2 v3f.) 'the Buddha has [thereby no] arrogance at all', translating Skt. *tenonnamanā na cāsti śāstuḥ* 'yet the Teacher has no arrogance because of that' (cf. Skjærvø 2002: 176). The supplement in *°phīsa⟨ga⟩roñä* provides the most common type of meter A cadence HLLHL in the first pāda. Similar Late Khotanese spellings with omission of *-ag-* to be restored on metrical grounds in the Old Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* are for example *tt⟨ag⟩ate* 'riches' (in 15.1; Emmerick 1968b: 228) and the *-garaa-* compound *byāt⟨a-g⟩arā* 'mindful' (in 22.277; Emmerick 1968b: 330; see Leumann 1933–1936: 207 [xvi.1] and Sims-Williams 2022: 267, respectively).

Coming now to the meaning of the prior member of **usphīsa-garaa-* 'arrogant', which is what interests us here, it is apparent that the verbal noun **us-phīsa-* literally meant 'upward movement' and that it developed the figurative meaning 'arrogant behaviour', possibly in contrast to bowing down before a person of higher rank, as is clear from the action noun **usphīsa-garaa-* 'behaving arrogantly, arrogant' and from the abstract noun *usphīsa⟨ga⟩roña-* 'arrogance'. The semantic development of **us-phīsa-* recalls that of Skt. *unnamana-* 'the act of bending upwards' compared to Buddhist Skt. *unnamanā-* 'pride, arrogance'.

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39 My restoration. Cf. *Book of Zambasta* 13.153 *nä-n jsa*, 24.164 *ne-ṃ jsa* (Emmerick 1968b: 208, 374). Bailey restores only *[nä]* (Dict. 44 s.v. *usphīs-*) and Degener *[ne]* (KS 161 s.v. *usphīsaroña-*).

40 H = heavy syllable (2 morae), L = light syllable (1 mora), ‖ = pāda end (cf. Sims-Williams 2022: 12).

8 The verbs *phīś-* 'to escape from, avoid', *naṣphīś-* 'to depart from', and *haṃphīś-* 'to combine'

Outside of texts with no parallels, LKh. *phīś-* : *phīśa-* 'to escape from, avoid' (< OKh. **phīśś-* : **phīśśäta-*) occurs several times in the *Siddhasāra*, the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, and the *Vajracchedikā*, where it translates Skt. *varjaya-* 'to remove, avoid, etc.', *vivarjaya-* 'to exclude, avoid, etc.', *vyativṛt-* 'to escape, avoid' (MW: 1008 s.v. *vṛj*, 988 s.v. *vivṛj*, 1030 s.v. *vyativṛt*), and *jah-* 'to abandon, remove' (BHSD: 239 s.vv. *-jaha*, *jahāti*) (see SGS: 90f. s.v. **phīśś-*; Dict. 262 s.v. *phīś-*; Skjærvø 2004: 2, 309 s.v. *phīś-*). The action noun *phīśāmā-* 'turning away, avoidance' (< OKh. **phīśś-āmatā-*) that occurs in the *Bhadracaryādeśanā* as *phīśǟma* likewise corresponds to Skt. *vṛj-* (see Asmussen 1961: 77; KS: 98 s.v.).

Bailey's etymology of *phīś-* from a "base *spaik-* 'to burst out from' ... **sphixś-* > *phīś-*" raises phonological problems because, from an inchoative "**sphixś-*," one expects *phīś-*, not *phīś-* (cf. §2).

Skjærvø tentatively proposes, with a query, that *phīś-* is a Late Khotanese outcome of an otherwise unattested OKh. **pahiśś-*, causative of *pahīs-* 'to flee' (< **apa-hax-śca-*, SGS 80 s.v.). This is unlikely, however, because **phīś(ś)-* must be the simplex of the compound verbs (1) OKh. *naṣphīś-* (i.e. **naṣphīśś-*) 'to depart from', whose only occurrence in the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* corresponds to Tibetan *'das* from *'da ba* 'to abandon, depart from, etc.' (SGS 52 s.v. *naṣphīśś-*; Emmerick 1970: 123 s.v. *naṣphīś-*), and (2) LKh. *haṃphīś-* (OKh. **haṃphīśś-*) 'to combine', frequent in the *Siddhasāra* where it translates Tibetan *sbyar* from *sbyor ba* 'to put together, etc.' (SGS 142 s.v. *haṃphīśś-*).

It seems safer to keep to Emmerick's analysis of these three verbs as **-aiạ-* intransitive iteratives governing the instrumental-ablative (*phiś-*, *naṣphīś-*) and as a transitive **-aiạ-* causative governing the accusative (*haṃphīś-*), all from the inchoative **phīs-* (SGS 91, 52, and 142 respectively).[41] Emmerick explains *phīś-* as originally iterative. Skjærvø (2004, 2: 130 at 3.90) has pointed out that *phīś-* governs both the instrumental-ablative and the accusative. To the examples of *phīś-* with the instrumental-ablative provided by Skjærvø one may add *akṣaṇau phyīśä* (Bailey *-i*) 'he will escape from the (eight) unfavorable births' in *Pradakṣiṇasūtra* IOL Khot S. 6 = Ch. 0048 28 KBT 72. The transitive use of the verb with the accusative is presumably secondary. Emmerick's analysis fits in well not only with the syntax of these derived verbs, but also with the first sense of **phīs-* 'to move; to shine', as established in the previous paragraphs:

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41 See SGS: 178, 184 for **-aiạ-* intransitive iterative and transitive causative stems (class Ve).

    – *phīś-* 'to escape from, avoid' ← 'to move (away) from';
    – *naṣphīś-* 'to depart from' ← 'to move away from';
    – *haṃphīś-* 'to combine' ← 'to cause to go together'.

The meanings of the Khotanese iteratives *phīś-* 'to escape from, avoid' and *naṣphīś-* 'to depart from' tally well with the meaning of Av. *θβaēša-* and *θβaēšah-* that denote 'danger' as something to be avoided.

Abbreviations

AIW	Christian Bartholomae (1904). *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg: Trübner.
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton (1953). *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. 2: *Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Dict.	Harold W. Bailey (1979). *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
EDIV	Johnny Cheung (2007). *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
EWAia	Manfred Mayrhofer (1986–2001). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.
IEW	Julius Pokorny (1959). *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Bern & München: Francke.
KBT	Harold W. Bailey (1951). *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*. London: Taylor's Foreign Press (rev. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
KS	Almuth Degener (1989). *Khotanische Suffixe*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
KT	Harold W. Bailey (1945–1985). *Khotanese texts*. 7 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
LIV²	Helmut Rix & Martin J. Kümmel (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
MW	Monier Monier-Williams (1899). *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
SGS	Ronald E. Emmerick (1968a). *Saka Grammatical Studies*. London: Oxford University Press.
Taishō	Takakusu Junjirō, Watanabe Kaikyoku & Ono Gen'myō, eds. (1924–1932). *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. 100 vols. Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai.

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