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April 20, 2023

Tocharian lexicography and etymology

1. Revision of the dictionary of TA by Pavel Poucha (1955) on the basis of materials which have been made available in the meantime.

Gerd Carling & Georges-Jean Pinault, *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2023.

2. Numerous loans from Indo-Aryan: Sanskrit and Middle Indic (MI), i.e. Buddhist Middle Indic, Buddhist Sanskrit and Gāndhārī. The presence of this level extends very far beyond the technical Buddhist vocabulary. Henceforth P. = Pāli, Pkt. = Prākṛit, CToch. = Common Tocharian.

3. Competition of alternative forms which reflect different prehistories: ‘rich, wealthy’, TA *dhanike* ‘rich man’ < TB < Skt. *dhanika-* (MW: 509a), TA *dhani* masc. ‘rich person’, adj. ‘wealthy’ < Skt. *dhanī*, nom.sg. of *dhanin-* ‘possessing wealth or treasures, wealthy, rich’, TA *dhañi*, uninflected adj. via MI < Skt. *dhanya-*, see also P. *dhanika-*, *dhaniya-*, Pkt. *dhañia-* ‘rich’ (CDIAL: 384a, No. 6722); TA *sārvhavāk* ‘caravan leader’ < Skt. *sārvhavāha-* (MW: 1209c), besides *sārvhavāhe* ‘id.’, borrowed from TB *sārvhavāhe*, closer to the Skt. form.

4. Many reflexes of MI forms, under various guises.

TA/TB *kor* ‘myriad’, 10 millions, via MI from Skt. *koṭi-* ‘the highest number in the older system of numbers’ (MW: 312c, CDIAL: 181b, No. 3498). But preserved in the more recent loans TA *koṭiśvar* masc. ‘millionaire, rich man’ < Skt. *koṭiśvara-* and PN *Koṭikarṇe*, name of a merchant.

TA *pāreṃ*, fem. ‘(flat) stone, slab’ (Huard 2022: 40), perl.sg. phrase *pāṇḍukampal pārenā* A 187 b5, 315+316 b4!, THT 2249 a2. Semi-calque of Skt. *pāṇḍukambala-śīla-* (BHSD: 340a), name of Indra’s throne. As per Huard (*ibid.*), derivative in *-eṃ* from the loan via MI from Skt. *paṭṭa-* ‘slab’ (MW: 579b, CDIAL: 434a, No. 7699).

TA *kurak*, masc. ‘slaughterer, butcher’, allative pl. in A 72 b5 (parallel to the Mṛgajātaka) *(sa)s yäl brahmadattes lānt k_rraksac kuṃṣā* ‘one deer kept coming to the butchers of king Brahmadata’. Translated as ‘kitchen’ by Thomas (1957: 67), Peyrot (2011: 44). Via MI from Skt. *kuṭṭaka-*, agent noun of the verb *kuṭṭayati* ‘to crush, grind, cut into pieces’ (CDIAL: 166, No. 3241).

TB *pratim* ‘decision, resolve’, loan from Skt. *pratijñā-* ‘promise, agreement, resolution’ (MW: 665c), through MI, see P. *paṭiññā-* ‘promise, vow’, Pkt. *paḍiññā-* (CDIAL: 484b, No. 8563b), cf. Adams 2013: 442. Borrowed in TA *pratim*, pl. *pratimāntu*, through remodeling after the plural **pratin-mnā* > **pratimān*, hence *pratimāntu*, with productive plural suffix, re-segmented as *pratim-āntu*

TA *patatam*, adv. or uninflected adj. ‘fortunate, happy’, cf. ‘glücklich (?)’ (TEB II: 112). A 395 a1 *ṣūikek wasām se ṣokyo patatam* ‘for sure our son (was) very fortunate’. Via MI from Skt. *pradattam*,

adv. from adj. *pradatta-* ‘granted, bestowed, gifted’ (MW: 679c), or from Skt. *bhadratama-*, the superlative adj. coupled with *bhadratara-* ‘more prosperous, happier, better’ (MW: 746a).

TA *pāśrāk*, TB *paśrāk*, masc. ‘lofty mansion, platform, terrace’; for the meaning, see Itkin (2018). Loan via MI from Skt. *prāsādaka-*, based on *prāsāda-* ‘a lofty seat or platform for spectators, terrace, the top-story of a lofty building, a lofty palatial mansion’ (MW: 709c, CDIAL: 503a, No. 8971), cf. P. *pāsāda-* ‘id.’. Wrongly hyper-Sanskritized, with evolution *d > r*, as known in Gāndhārī.

5. Tocharian writers kept apparently searching for terms of dwelling and architecture, in order to translate Buddhist narratives, see TA *k_urekār*, TB *kwrakār* ‘house (or pavilion) with a vaulted roof’ < Skt. *kūṭāgāra-* (MW: 299c), TA *kuccatāk**, TB *k_ucatāk* ‘high house, tower’, TA/TB *wimām* ‘palace’ < Skt. *vimāna-* (MW: 980a), TA *āntiṣpur*, TB *antiṣpūr* ‘harem’ < Skt. *antaḥpura-* (MW: 43a), TA *ṣtānk*, TB *stānk* ‘palace’, TA *sakkāk* (perl. *skākā*, nom.pl. *skāki*, loc.pl. *skāksaṃ*) ‘terrace, top-story, oriel’, TB *skāk**, pl. *skakanma*, TB *patstsānk*, TA *pātsānk* ‘window’, TB *kercci*, pl. tantum ‘palace’. The lone indigenous term, inherited from PIE, was TB *ost*, TA *wašt* ‘house’.

6. Loans integrated to the Toch. derivational system.

TA *sām̐kenu*, masc. ‘doctor, physician’, related to *sāntāk* ‘medicine, remedy’, TB *sām̐tke*, loan (with final *-e* analogical after TB *ṣalye* ‘fat’) via MI from Skt. *sāntaka-* ‘allaying, appeasing’. TA *sām̐kenu* based on a compound (Pinault 2015: 161), parallel to TB *saṃtkīnau*, masc. ‘doctor, physician’, both independently reshaped. Extraction of a new suffix *-enu*, used for making TA *yokmenu* ‘doorkeeper’ (THT 2064 a3), based on TA *yokām* ‘gate, entry’, compare the parallel TB term *yenme_u* ‘gate-keeper’ (calque of Skt. *dvārika-*), derivative based on *yenme* ‘city-gate, portal’. Become doublet of the genuine TA adjectival suffix *-nu* (*orkāmnu*, *lukṣanu*, *ākārnu*, etc.), being a longer form (issued from derivatives based on stems ending in nasal) of the secondary suffix *-u*.

7. Hyper-Sanskritization of Middle Indic forms.

TA *appārmāt*, adv. ‘despised, not considered’, from MI *appamāta-*, see Pkt. *appamāta*, P. *appamatta-* < Skt. *alpamātra-* ‘a little, a little merely’ (MW: 95c). The TB match *appamāt* reflects the Pkt. form.

TA *mār̐kampal*, alt. ‘Law, rule’; ‘quality, property, peculiar condition’, translating Skt. *dharmā-*. Compound based on a binomial phrase (Pinault 2020: 464-466), second member TA *pal* ‘rule, correct manner’ = TB *pele* ‘id.’, = first member of TB *pelaikne*, alt., standard equivalent of Skt. *dharmā-* (< **pele-yākne*). TA *mār̐ka^o*, loan via MI, cf. P., Pkt. *magga-* from Skt. *mārga-* ‘track, road, path, way’ (MW: 812b). Metaphor for the fourth truth of the Buddhist doctrine, the noble path in eight parts, Skt. *āryāṣṭāṅga-mārga-*, TB *oktatsa klyomña ytārye*, TA *oktatsi klyomiṃ ytār*.

TA *sarāsyāśkī** fem. ‘lotus-eyed woman’, perl.sg. *sarāsyāśkīsyā* A 143 a5, sequence to be read as a single word. Loan from Skt. *sarasijākṣī-*, fem. of *sarasijākṣa-* ‘lotus-eyed’ (MW: 1182b), through MI intermediary **sarasiyākki-* or **^oyācchi-*.

TA *wār̐tsak** ‘neighboring, belonging to the surroundings’, nom.pl.masc. *wār̐tskāñ*, *vār̐tskāñ*, etc. Derived with directional suffix TA *-ak* (or with the reflex of MI *-aka-*) from the loan via MI of Skt. *vāṭa-*

‘enclosure’, *vāṭī-*, *vāṭikā-* ‘enclosed land’, Pkt. *vāḍa-*, °*aga-* ‘enclosure, circle, fence’ (CDIAL: 669b-670a, No. 11481). < **vārtra-* from the root Skt. *var-/vṛ-*. Possibly re-etymologized in TA through mistaken connection with the root Skt. *vart-/vṛ-* and/or with the verb *wārp-* (TB *wārp-*) ‘to surround’.

8. Numerous calques from Sanskrit. See Pinault (2015).

TA *yālymi*, *yālymi* ‘lesson, chapter’, based on *yāl*, gerundive abstract from *yā-* ‘to go’, with secondary suffix, modelled after Skt. *adhyāya-* ‘lesson, lecture, chapter, reading’, based on *adhi-i-* ‘go over, study, learn by heart, read’.

TA *ṣāt-akmalyo*, adv. (or phrase) ‘with downwards face’, based on *ṣāt*, adv. ‘below, downwards’, *akmal* ‘face’, cf. Skt. *adho-mukha-* ‘having the face downwards’ (MW: 20b).

9. Hybrid nouns by semi-calque.

Skt. *purāṇa-jaṭila-* ‘formerly wearer of topknot’ (SWTF II: 280a, III: 125b), transposed by TA *neṣ-jatilṣi** (obl.pl.masc. YQ III.2 a1!), *neṣ-jadhile* (nom.sg.masc. A 409 a2, so to be read), besides TB *jaṭilapūrvake* ‘formerly having a topknot’, adj. *jaṭilāññe* > noun ‘ascetic’ (Adams 2013: 279).

TA *ṣūci-ṣpāl*, masc., some kind of hungry ghost (*preta*), A 341 a7 (revised reading). Compound with hyper-Sanskritization of *sūcī-* ‘needle or any sharp-pointed instrument’ (MW: 1241a) and TA *ṣpāl* ‘head’, transposition of Skt. *sūcī-mukha-*, lit. ‘needle-headed’, naming in Skt. various beasts, such as a bird, a gnat or some other stinging insect, compare *sūcīka-* ‘stinging insect’.

10. ‘Left’ and ‘right’: revised instalment, cf. Pinault (2002: 248-262).

TA *śālyi*, adj. ‘left’, *śālyi pāci* ‘left [and] right’, *śālyi tsar* ‘left hand’, adv. *śālyās* ‘left, on the left’, extracted from the phrase *śālyās poṣṣāsā* ‘on the left side’, parallel to *pāccās*, based on *pāci*. Meaning of *pāci* warranted by the translation OU *oṅ* ; adv. *āpat* (< **ā(n)-pāt* < **æ(n)-pāt*) ‘on the right’ corresponding to Skt. *dakṣiṇa-* and OU *oṅaru*.

11. Alleged equation of TA *śālyi* with TB *śwālyai*, as per SSS: 17 n.1, TEB II: 145, 248. Explained by Winter (1985: 590), from a noun ‘eating’ (cf. TB *śwāl* ‘food’, TA *śwāl* ‘meat’) based on **śuwā-/śāwā-* with contraction **śāwā-* > TA *śā-*.

12. TB *śwālyai* ‘right’, assumed by Winter for etymological reason (followed by Adams 2013: 706-707), has been confirmed by Huard (2022: 511-522) from independent evidence. This complies with the etymological connection in synchrony with the root ‘to eat’. In the Indian culture, the right hand is the eating hand. Replacement of the descendant, if it ever survived, of PIE **deksi-uo-*, etc.

13. TA *śālyi* had an independent origin: adjective in *-i*, based on **śāly* < **śālyæ* ‘left’ < **śśālyæ* < **ścyālyæ* < **skih₂-ljo-*, ultimately PIE **skih₂-lo-* (laryngeal metathesis) < **skh₂-lo-*, cf. **skēh₂-uo-* > lat. *scaevus*, Gk. σκαίός ‘left’. Cognate with TB *skiyo* ‘shadow’, cf. Gk. σκιᾶ, Ved. *chāyā-*, etc.

14. TB *saiwai* ‘left’, uninflected adj., issued from an adverb, parallel to *śwālyai* ‘right’. Probably cognate with *saiwe*, masc. ‘itch, itching’ < **saiwæ* < **sah₂-uo-* > Lat. *saevus* ‘harsh, savage’, ultimately from the root **sh₂ei-* ‘to tie’ (Adams 2013: 767).

15. Revised assessment of some verbal roots.

TA *mäs-* ‘to shine, be resplendent’, pres. 3sg. mid. *msäṣṣtrā*, part.pret. *mamsu*. YQ V.1 b7 (*jambu*)*dv(ip)* (*an*)*n(e)* *ketumati ri sām mamsuss oki* ‘inside the Jambudvīpa, this city (named) Ketumatī, resplendent as it were’, parallel MaitrHami V, 4 b2-3 *čoglug yalinlag* ‘shining [and] resplendent’ (Semet – Israpil 2015: 558, 564). < **mäs-* < **mis-*, PIE **meis-* ‘flimmern, blinzeln’ (IEW: 714), cf. Ved. *meṣ-/miṣ-* ‘to open the eyes’, beside other enlarged roots, **mei-k-*. **mei-g^(h)-*.

TA *nwā-* ‘to consent’, with infinitive complement, compare ‘to bear, suffer (?)’ (Malzahn 2010: 694). Ipf. mid. 3sg. 222 a7 *k_ul(e)yaṃ päḷtsāk cacrāṅku mrosāṅkātsi mā ṅwiññāt* ‘the mind (of Nanda) [was] clung to the woman; he did not consent to feel disgust (for the world)’; pret. mid. 3sg. A 222 b4 (= 239 b5) (*mā*) *sām nārkāssi antuṣ nwāt* ‘from that (telling slander) this one did not consent to refrain’. < PIE **neŷ-* ‘to nod’ (LIV²: 455). To be kept apart from TA *nwām*, adj. ‘sick’, distantly cognate with the verb TA *not-*, TB *naut-* ‘to disappear, be destroyed’, cf. Adams (2013: 371) < **nah₂u-T-* (*-*t-* or *-*d^h-*). Possibly < **nuwāmo* < **nuh₂-mōn*, internal derivative of **neh₂u-mŷl*/**nh₂u-mén-s*, through laryngeal metathesis in the zero grade, eventually reshaped as *-*en*-stem **neh₂u-en-* underlying OIr. *núne* ‘famine’, W. *newyn* ‘id.’. Cf. **neh₂u-ti-* > Gmc. **naufi-* ‘distress’ > Goth. *naufs*, ON *nauð*, OE *nīed*, OHG *nōt*, etc. ; **neh₂u-i-* > Gmc. **nawi-* masc. ‘corpse’, underlying Goth. *naus*, ON *nár*, cognate with Lith. *nōvė*, Latv. *nāve* fem. ‘oppression, agony, death’ (see Kroonen 2013: 385).

TA *sāk^ā-* ‘to cut’ (Kremmer 2022: 130-131), pres.part. *sāknāmām*, pret. mid. 3pl. *skānt*, etc. PIE **sekH-* (LIV²: 524), not ‘to follow’ (SSS: 477), see Malzahn 2010: 937.

TA *sān^ā-* ‘to plan, intend’: PIE **senh₂-* (LIV²: 532). Lemma *sāt^ā-* in Malzahn 2010: 937.

A 222 b6 *lltām praṣṭaṃ snāt nuṃ kossi pättāṃñkāt* ‘at that time again he planned to kill the Buddha-lord’. Substantivized ger. *snāl* ‘plan, intention’ in 317 b5 *sās ṣom nu āñc to* (written *dho*) *pe snālā* ‘this one, having set down but a single foot, on purpose’. Description of the ‘semi-crossed-legged position’ (Skt. *ardha-paryāṅkāśana-*) of seating on a throne, with one foot resting on a stool.

16. New nouns, retrieved from revised segmentation and/or interpretation.

TA *ok* ‘increase’, A 150 b4 *cesām ṣpāt koṃsā kālytār ok prākroneyaṃ* ‘in this week, [the fetus] stands (...) in force [and] firmness’, cf. *Garbhāvakraṅtisūtra*, 19th or 20th week (Kritzer 2014: 66). Action noun of verb TA *ok-* (TA *auk-*) ‘promote, produce, show’ (Pinault 2019: 123-124) < **auk-* < PIE **h₂eug-*.

17. TA all other occurrences: *mā ok* ‘not yet’ < *‘no more, not further’ (as suggested by Huard, p.c.). TB match *māwk* < **mā-auk* (discussion by Adams 2013: 136).

18. TB (> TA) *pruccamo*, adj. ‘advantageous, useful’, OU *asiḡlig*, abstract TB (> TA) *pruccamñe* ‘advantage, usefulness’. Agent noun based on a thematic present from **prutk-*, to be kept apart from TB/TA *prutk^ā-* ‘to be shut, be filled’, caus. ‘to shut, contain, check’. Roots in °*tk-* based on *-*ske/o-* presents from any basis ending in dental stop (Melchert 1977). PIE **b^hruh₁-t-* (action noun) or **b^hruh₁-to-* (verbal adjective) from **b^hreuh₁-* (<< **b^hreh₁-u-*) ‘to boil, seethe’ (LIV²: 96), Gmc. **brewwan* ‘to

brew' (Kroonen 2013: 76), Lat. *dēfrutum* 'must', etc. Semantic evolution 'overflowing, brimming, bursting' > 'profitable, advantageous'. The homophonous root TA/TB *pruk-* 'to be shut' < 'to get limit(s)' issued from **prwät-sk-* < **pärwänt-sk-*, based on **pr-unt-*, issued from the weak stem allomorph of the PIE neuter **pér-ur/*pr-úént-*, cf. Gk. πείραρ, pl. πείρατα, 'limit, boundary, goal', Ved. *párvan-* 'knot, joint, section', nom.sg. *páruṣ* reshaped as *páruṣ*, etc.

19. TA *omke* 'honey' (Skt. *madhu-*), meaning warranted through a parallel text (to 3 b2), see Ogihara (2009: 134-136, 170) < **omäk-e*, with ubiquitous collective/abstract suffix TA *-e*. < CToch. **æmäka* < **mb^{hi}-ko-* 'pertaining to the swarm' (of bees), cf. OHG *imbi* '(Bienen-)Schwarm, *examen*', MHG *imbe*, *imme* 'Bienenschwarm, -stand', G. *Imme*, fem. 'die einzelne Biene', OE *imbe*, etc. < **imb(i)ja-*, cf. OIr. *imbed* 'Fülle, Menge' < Celt. **imbeto-*. Relatively rare case of independent PIE origin for TA, vs. TB *mit* < **m'ätä* < PIE **médh^u-*.

20. TA *ṣnal* 'despair, torment', all.sg. *ṣnalac* 74 b2, instr. sg. 152 b2 (*ṣoma-käly*)*m(e) klopyo ṣoma-kälyme ṣnalyo p(o)ñcām nati wärṣṣälyo cam tämnässi ske y(ä)ṣ* 'with only pain [and] only torment, she [the mother] goes into labor to bear this [fetus] with all [her] force [and] strength'. Equivalent (Huard, p.c.) of Skt. *ekānta-duḥkha-* 'exclusive, entire pain' (BHSD: 154a), in the description of suffering at birth (Kritzer 2014: 73-74). < CToch. **sänelä* < **sen-oli-* 'poorness, poor status', cf. PIE **sen-*, expressing separation and deprivation, TB *snai*, TA *sne* 'without', TB *snaitse* 'poor'.

21. TA *pukolye* uninflected adjective 'lavish, prodigal', abstract *pukolyune* 'lavishness', not 'trust' ('Vertrauen', TEB II: 117), through connection with TB *päkw-* 'to rely on, trust', pres. I, mid. 1sg. *pkwamar*, 3pl. *pkwantär*, subj. I, abstract *pkwalñe*. TA *pukal*, adj. 'bound to mature' (A 20 a3), is the variant of *pkal*, ger. based on the subj. III of *päk-* 'to cook, ripen'. Abstract *pukalune* 'ripening, maturity', in A 267+268 b>a8!, translated by OU *bīṣmuṣ*, cf. MaitrHami XVI, 2a16. See Malzahn 2010: 701-703. A 6 a4 *ṣokyō nu yaṃtrācāre nṣaṃ pukolyune (ynāñmune śkaṃ) lalākṣu* 'But very much the mechanic master has shown his lavishness (and reverence) towards me', through setting this girl to service.

The adjective *pukolye* could have a somewhat negative aspect, cf. A 390 b2 *pkolye āmām* 'lavish, wasteful pride'. Reflecting an abstract based ultimately on **puko*, from the root 2. **b^heug-* 'jmdm. nützen, Nutzen bringen' (LIV²: 84-85), cf. Ved. *bhoj-/bhuj-* act. 'to benefit', mid. 'to enjoy, consume', *bhoga-* masc. 'enjoyment, fruition', etc.

22. TA *särk* 'back (of the body)', expected match of TB *sark* 'id.' (Huard 2022: 161, n. 75), not 'disease' ('Krankheit, Leiden' TEB II: 154). A 19 b6 *pāñkāt käṣyāp want-wraskeyo särk wraṣ* 'through wind-disease, the back of the Buddha-lord, the teacher, suffers'.

Basis of several derivatives: *särkaṣi*, adj. 'of back' (A 19b4), *särki*, adv. 'later', prep. + perlativ 'after, following upon', adj. **särkiñc*, basis of *särkiñcā*, adv. 'from behind' (Skt. *prṣṭhatas*), *särkiñco*, adv. 'finally'; *särśi*, adj. 'of the back' (A 146 a4, cf. Skt. *prṣṭha-vamśa-* 'bone of the back'); compound *särk-pe* 'instep' (lit. 'foot-back', cf. G. *Fußbrücken*).

< **särk* < PIE **sṛk-i-* or **sṛk-u-*, cf. Hitt. *šarku-* ‘high, eminent’; further connected to the verb TA/TB *šärk-* ‘to surpass, exceed’ < **serk-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 734-735).

23. TA *špal* ‘powder, clod’, Skt. *loṣṭa-* ‘a lump of earth or clay, clod’ (MW: 908b), not ‘Kügel(chen)’ (TEB II: 151, 252), match of TB *špel*, not ‘pill, pellet’, nor ‘mud ; (medicinal) mud-pack, poultice’ (Adams 2013: 731), cf. Huard (2022: 429-433). < **špæl* < **spēl* (root noun), alternatively **spēl-i-*, **spēl-u-*, from the root **spel-* ‘spalten, abspalten, absplittern, abreißen’, with dental enlargement in Germanic, OHG *spaltan*, etc. cf. IEW: 985-986.

24. TA *ymatu*, adj. ‘going, mobile, animate’, not ‘gepriesen’ (Schmidt 2002: 261 n.29), nor ‘attentive’ (Couvreur). Meaning confirmed by Peyrot (2016: 206-207), for the bilingual A 425.e+f a1. A 251 b4 *ymatunt miṣi sne lyut(ār wi)nāsam nāṣ śl=āñcālyi piṣṣaṅkṣiṃ kro(p)* ‘I revere with joined palms the gathering of the community of monks (*bhikṣu-saṃgha-*), the supreme animate field [of merits]’ (cf. *punya-kṣetra-*), compare B THT 294 b4 *yārpontaṣṣe ynamont miṣṣi wināskau* ‘I revere the living (lit. moving, animate) field of merits’. Phrase TA *ymatu miṣi*, translating Skt. *dvipādaka-puṇyakṣetra-* (BHSD : 274b), detected by Huard (p.c.). Cognate with TA *yme*, TB *ymiye* ‘way’ and the verb *yä-li-* ‘to go’. Derived with *-u* suffix from **ymat* ‘going’, action noun << **h₁i-mo-teh₂* or **-mēt-eh₂*, cf. suffix *-at* in TA *salat* ‘flying’, see *salat lu* ‘flying animal’, i.e. ‘bird’ (Skt. *pakṣin-*), parallel to TB *salamo luwo*, pl. *lwāsa ṣlyamñana ynamñana* ‘flying [and] running animals’, based on the root *säl^ā-* ‘to fly’.

25. Collective/abstract suffix *-i(-)* in TA *lokit*, TB *laukito* ‘guest’, TA *māskit* ‘prince’, originally masc./fem. (cf. Pinault 2015), see below (§ 29) TA *sne-pältik*.

26. TA *ytārso*, adj. ‘worn out by the road’ > ‘exhausted’, nom.pl.masc. *ytārsoṣ* A 293 b1, obl.pl.masc. A 297 a7. Derived from **ytārse* ‘hardship of the path’, compound of *ytār* and *rse* ‘hatred’, cf. B *rser* ‘id.’, based on CToch. **räsæ*, ultimately from PIE **reṣ-* ‘to be hurt, suffer damage’ (IEW: 859).

27. TA *waṣkārs*, adv. ‘running to (next) house’ < **waṣt-kārs*, same simplification as in *waṣ-nātāk* ‘house-lord’, doublet of *waṣt-lmo*, masc., translation of Skt. *grhastha-*. Not yet understood, cf. ‘sogleich (?)’ (TEB II: 139). A 8 b4 *tmāṣ waṣkārs vārtskāñ ypeṣiñi wrasañ māḱ ṣoṣi kakropuṣ* ‘then, running from one door to the next, the surrounding beings of the country gathered as a big crowd of people’. Verbal governing compound, second member cognate with verb TB *kārsk-* ‘to shoot (an arrow)’ < *‘to let run’ < **kārs-sk-*, present stem from the root < **kṛs-*, cf. PIE **kers-* in Lat. *currō*, *-ere* ‘to run’, Gk. ἐπίκουρος ‘running towards’ > ‘helping’.

28. TA **kāñi*, fem. ‘trap’ < **kāñyā*, basis of adj. *kñāṣi*, cf. THT 1141.f b2 *kñāṣi yṣam ṣokyo k_upār tsopats* ‘a pit for a trap, very deep [and] big’. A 222 b5 *kñāṣyo yṣam wāla-ṇ eṣäk* ‘he covered for him a pit/ditch over with traps’ : prepared by a wicked person, the householder Śrīgupta, for killing the Buddha. CToch. **kāñyā* < **g^hd-n-ih₂* (or **g^hṇd-n-ih₂*) from the root **g^hed-* ‘to grasp, seize’ (LIV²: 194), cf. Lat. *praeda*, *prehendō*, *-ere*, etc.

29. TA *sne-pältik* (3 occurrences) ‘being without justice, depraved’, cf. ‘ungerecht, mitleidlos’ (Couvreur), but the latter gloss is only based on the cooccurrence of *sne kāruṃ* in 64 b2, bearing on a

different and preceding agent. One single telling passage: A 222 a2 *lāñc āmāsāñ ṣoṣṭāñkāñ sne-pāltikāñ prakṣāntāñ (āpṣātrikāñ ṣukṣeñi) kenpar entsuṣ märkampal* ‘kings, ministers, clerks, – depraved ones –, judges, (people) belonging to suburbs [and] villages, did take wrongly the Law’: *sne-pāltikāñ* bears on all these beings, who live in an epoch of decay of the Law, see the next description (a3) ‘They were avid from birth, searching for profit [and] gain. Through the greed pertaining to injustice (*sne-palṣinām rīteyo*), the beings in the countries were deluded’; *sne-pāltikāñ* has been moved before *prakṣāntāñ* for metrical reasons, in a *pāda* of 14 syllables, rhythm 7 (4+3)/7 (4+3).

Based on *sne-pal* (TB *snai-pele*) ‘unrighteousness, injustice’, calque of Skt. *a-dharma-*, masc. ‘unrighteousness, injustice, demerit, guilt’ (MW: 20a). Suffix TA *-ik* relatively productive, found in nouns issued from Indo-Aryan terms with suffix *-ika-* (e.g. *kāruṇik*, *pūrvāntik*, *kāpālik*, *vaibhāṣik*, *dharmarājik*), also in nouns borrowed from Iranian, reflecting possibly Bactrian *-iyo < *(i)ya-ka-*, e.g. *āṣānik*, *kākmārtik*, *spaktānik*. Heterogeneous suffix added also to Toch. nouns, TA *ypantik* ‘maker, doer’ (based on pres. participle *ypant* of *ya-*), *spārṣantik* ‘causing disappearance’ (of the Law), based on the pres. participle of causative of *spārṣ-*. Hence *sne-pāltik < *sne-pal-t-ik*. Marking of substantivization by *-t*, of whichever origin. See the basis of TA *mālkārt-eṃ* ‘noble’, term of address, *kāwālt-eṃ* ‘handsome, beautiful’ (cf. obl.sg.masc. *kāwāltēnām*, nom. sg. remade as *kāwālte*, abstract *kāwālt-une*). The appurtenance suffix TA *-eṃ* was in widespread use.

30. Internal development of Tocharian patterns of derivation. Suffix *-mṣts*, *-uṃts < *-nt-ṣo-*, **-uṃt-ṣo-*. TA *wruṃts* ‘smell, odor’, *knuṃts* ‘supple, thin’ (Skt. *tanu-*), *kluṃts* ‘small bell’, *polkāṃts* ‘lightning’, *kulmāṃts* ‘blowpipe’. TA *wruṃts* based on **wār < *uér-os*, action noun from the root **uer-* ‘to perceive’ of TA/TB *wār-* ‘to smell’; *polkāṃts* based on **polkā*, *< *polk < *pælk < ? *b^holg-o-* (from **b^hleg-* ‘to shine, sparkle’ ?), remade after *lākā-* ‘to see’; *kluṃts* ‘small bell’ (Skt. *kinkīṇa-*, *kinkīṇī-*, *kinkīṇīka-*, belonging to the nets made of metal surrounding a fortress, as per Huard, p.c.), from **kwāl*, cf. TB *kul* ‘bell’ *< *kāwlw < *kālwā < *klu-t-* ‘resounding’ (Ved. *śrūt-*); *knuṃts* based on **kän < kṣn-o-* or **kṣn-u-* from **ken-* ‘to rub, make smooth’; *kulmāṃts*, based on **kulām < *g^hlh₁-mṣ* ‘throwing’ from the root **g^helh₁-* ‘to throw’ (LIV²: 208). In order to avoid *Schwebeablaut* and for the sake of economy, it seems commendable to surmise ‘resounding, thunder’, as the meaning of the basis of TA *polkāṃts* (*‘provided with thunder’, or ‘thunderbolt’) and to set up **pælkæ* as reflected through special semantic evolution by TB *pelke* ‘solemn utterance’ (Skt. *udāna-*) *< *b^hólgh^h-o-*, from an enlarged root **b^helgh^h-* (**b^helgh^h-*) ‘to utter loudly’, cf. Gmc. **bulgjan/*bulkjan* ‘to bellow’, OE *bealcan*, MDu. *bulgen*, etc. (Adams 2013: 429).

31. Complex prehistory of several terms: TA *plyaskem*, masc. ‘meditation, recollection’, translating Skt. *samādhi-*, *dhyāna-*, *adhicitta-*, *adhicetas-*. Based on **plyak-eṃ*, remade after *pālsk-* ‘to think’, cf. TB *palsko* ‘thinking’, *ompalskoññe* ‘meditation’; issued from ‘pertaining to vision’ (through calque of Skt. *dhyā-na-*), basis TA **plyak < CToch. *plyæk* based on the root *pālk-* ‘to see’ (**b^hleg-* ‘to shine’, LIV²: 86), *< *b^hlēg-*, root noun, alternatively **b^hlēg-o-*, *ṽṛddhi* derivative based on root noun **b^hlēg-*.

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This lecture has been prepared in the frame of the project HisTochText (PI Georges-Jean Pinault). This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 788205).

I received much benefit from discussing several issues of Tocharian lexicon with members of the team HisTochText, affiliated to EPHE, PSL: Athanaric Huard, Timothée Chamot-Rooke, Véronique Kremmer. I remain alone responsible for the opinions presented in the above pages, including errors.