VERNACULARS OF THE SILK ROAD –
A TOCHARIAN B–OLD UYGHUR BILINGUAL

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Abstract

Edition and commentary of two fragments from the Turfan collection of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, U 5208 and U 5207. They belong to a bilingual Tocharian B – Old Uyghur manuscript, written in late Brāhmī script, which can be dated to late 10th century or early 11th century. The text, which was written on the verso of a Chinese manuscript, consists of bilingual sets of Tocharian B words or short phrases immediately followed by their Old Uyghur rendering. Due to the joint efforts of one Turcologist and two Tocharologists the complete text is edited for the first time. Besides remarks about spelling habits and phonetic peculiarities, the article discusses and explains each individual set. In these fragments several new words can be retrieved, which have wider connections in Central Asia.

Résumé

Édition et commentaire de deux fragments tirés de la collection de Turfan conservée par l'Académie des Sciences et Humanités de Berlin-Brandenburg, U 5208 et U 5207. Ils appartiennent à un manuscrit bilingue tokharien B – vieux ouïgour (turc ancien), en écriture brāhmī tardive, qui peut être daté de la fin du 10e siècle ou du début du 11e siècle de notre ère. Le texte, qui fut écrit au verso d'un manuscrit chinois, consiste en séquences bilingues : des mots ou syntagmes en tokharien B sont suivis immédiatement par leur traduction en vieux ouïgour. Grâce au travail commun d'un turcologue et de deux tokharologues, le texte complet est édité pour la première fois. En plus de remarques sur l'orthographe et la phonétique, l'article procure la discussion et l'explication de chaque séquence bilingue, ce qui permet d'enrichir la connaissance des deux langues en question, et d'ajouter aux perspectives sur les contacts linguistiques et culturels en Asie Centrale.

INTRODUCTION

The different collections of manuscripts from Central Asia have brought to light texts in many languages, and also bilinguals, which have often played a decisive role in the decipherment of several languages. These bilinguals testify to the multifarious cultural and linguistic contacts between peoples on the Silk Road, especially in the Tarim Basin in present-day Northwest China, during centuries. Among these manuscripts, the text edited in this contribution stands out as one of the very few Tocharian – Old Uyghur bilinguals identified so far.[1] Nevertheless, the translation activity from Tocharian to Old Uyghur is well known from major literary works attested in both languages, such as the Tocharian A *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka*, translated as the Old Uyghur *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, or the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, known through Tocharian B and Tocharian A fragments

and the much more complete Old Uyghur translation (Wilkens 2016). Both works are monuments of early Old Uyghur Buddhist literature, probably translated in the 10th century CE.

The present piece is peculiar in many respects. It is not a continuous literary text, but it consists of bilingual sets of Tocharian B words and short phrases immediately followed by their Old Uyghur rendering. It is not a bilingual glossary, nor is it a list of keywords in the modern sense. It is very likely that these words and short phrases have been selected from a continuous text, but the exact purpose of the separate items is often not clear. Even though some sets must belong together, there is no continuity on the whole. The content occasionally refers to classical Indian culture, but, strikingly, so far without any specifically Buddhist term or expression. In this point, it stands apart from the well-known instances of Sanskrit-Old Uyghur and Sanskrit-Tocharian bilinguals which contain keywords and short phrases extracted from Buddhist doctrinal texts (see Waldschmidt 1955 and Couvreur 1968).

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[1] Maue (2015: 499 fn. 5) gives an inventory of the Tocharian – Old Uyghur bilinguals known so far, amounting to only a handful.

Apparently this text has remained unknown to scholarship for a long time.[2] It has first been published in part by Maue (2015: 499–507), who limited himself to the Old Uyghur part, building on collaborative work with Peter Zieme. In addition, several words have been quoted by Klaus T. Schmidt in separate conference papers and articles without exact reference (see for instance Schmidt 2002: 12, 15; 2008: 330). As far as we can tell, there has been a phase of collaboration between Klaus T. Schmidt and Peter Zieme, starting in the 1980s, who were later joined by Dieter Maue.[3] Other authors have also quoted from the fragment: Zieme (2005a), Röhrborn (2010: 213), and Erdal (2017: 194b–195b) in his review of Maue's publication. Provisional readings of the Tocharian part are given in Peyrot (2015: 218–224), and two further fragments originally from the Ōtani collection, now in the Lǚshùn Museum, that belong to the same manuscript have been identified by Ogihara (2012). Our common work on this bilingual started in June 2016 in Berlin.[4]

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is part of the Turfan collection of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.[5] It has the shelf marks U 5208 and U 5207. The provenance is unknown, but it presumably comes from the Turfan oasis.

In the Berlin collection, two fragments of the manuscript are preserved, the larger one of which, U 5208 (Plates I and II), is a practically complete leaf. The smaller fragment, U 5207 (Plates III and IV), is from another leaf, together with the fragments discovered by Ogihara. The larger fragment U 5208 measures 13.4 cms in width × 19.4 cms in height, and the smaller fragment U 5207 7.2 cms in width × 7.0 cms in height (Maue 2015: 500).

The manuscript is written in Brāhmī script on the verso of a Chinese scroll, a copy of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Maue 2015: 499 fn. 1). This scroll was cut horizontally in the middle in order to prepare it for reuse. The preserved part of the Chinese text (Plates II and III) contains the lower part of the columns, having two sets of five characters each; the upper part also contained two sets of five characters each, so that the original height of the Chinese scroll was approximately 26 to 27 cms. The lower margin is 3.2 to 3.4 cms. In the margin of the recto side of U 5208 there are parts of two lines in Uyghur script, and at some distance a larger complex sign, perhaps a monogram.

At first glance, the bilingual side of the fragment (Plates I and IV) is similar to the late Tocharian B fragment THT 296. Both are written in late Tocharian Brāhmī, and the format is not the usual pustaka format: there is no string hole, and most importantly, the lines are parallel to the smaller edge instead of being perpendicular. On the other hand, the manuscript of fragment THT 296 is much more carefully prepared, with even margins on all sides, lines that are nicely horizontal, and a relatively stable interline spacing. By contrast, in the case of the bilingual fragment, the scribe has filled the space completely, without leaving any left or right margin; at the bottom, in fact, there is a margin of 0.9 cm, measuring from the lower part of the largest akṣara. In view of this margin, the lowest line must be the last line of this leaf. In the large fragment U 5208 (Plate I) the interline spacing is by no means constant, varying from 0.9 (between lines 3 and 4) to 1.7 (between lines 9 and 10) cms,[6] and the size of the akṣaras varies greatly as well. There is a blank space of 3.5 cms at the end of line 10. In the little fragment U 5207 (Plate IV) the interline spacing is 1.3 cms, and there is a top margin, of 1.6 cms.

Although the Chinese text on U 5208 is continued directly on U 5207 and then further on the Lǚshùn fragments LM20_1580_18 and LM20_1580_53, it must be remarked that U 5208 and U 5207 cannot be joined physically. Therefore the photographic reconstruction (Maue 2015: 500) can be confirmed with the following precision. The right column of U 5207 belongs to a verse part of the Chinese text, containing a sequence of five characters, so that its height relative to U 5208 can

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[2] It is worth noting that it was for the first time put on display, among other findings of the so-called Turfan expeditions, in a special exhibition ("Sonderausstellung") at the Museum für Indische Kunst, Dahlem, on the occasion of the international conference "Turfan Revisited. The first century of research into the arts and cultures of the Silk Road", Berlin, 8–13 September 2002. The note accompanying the two fragments U 5207 and U 5208 stated that they stemmed "aus der Turfan-Oase", containing "Stichwörter aus einer Erzählung über Hanuman"; it also mentioned that an edition by Klaus T. Schmidt and Peter Zieme was currently in preparation.

[3] In addition to the publication by Maue (2015), we could make use of a dossier of notes and letters sent by Klaus T. Schmidt to Peter Zieme between 1987 and 2006. Herewith we would like to express our thanks to Peter Zieme for sending us these files in September 2017. A joint publication was planned under the title "Eine westtocharisch-alttürkische Stichwortsammlung zur Rāma-Erzählung", but the cooperation was stopped and the paper withdrawn (Dieter Maue, "CV und Publikationen, Stand 2017-03-30", retrieved from www.academia.edu on 4 July 2018). This must be why Maue published only the Old Uyghur part in his 2015 catalogue.

[4] We would like to express our sincere thanks to the direction of the Arbeitsstelle "Turfanforschung" of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for the permission to study the original fragments. We had previously relied on very good photographs, but the recourse to the original has been decisive for controlling the readings.

[5] The official designation of the collection is "Depositum der BERLIN-BRANDENBURGISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN in der STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung".

[6] Examples of other lines: the interline spacing is 1.3 ~ 1.4 cms between lines 2 and 3; 1.5 cms between lines 4 and 5 and between lines 5 and 6; and 1.4 cms between lines 6 and 7 and between lines 14 and 15.

be established with certainty. Afterwards, the Chinese text continues in prose. This prose part is further continued on the Lǚshùn fragments.

Because of the margins on the bottom of the bilingual side of U 5208 and on the top of the bilingual side of U 5207, it is most likely that these fragments belong to two different leaves that have been cut out of the Chinese scroll in order to be reused. This does not imply that these two leaves of the bilingual were consecutive. For instance, the upper part of the scroll was probably used as well, and the order of the new fragments need not have any relationship with the order of the Chinese text. Maue labels the leaf to which the bilingual fragment U 5208 belongs "a" and the other leaf, to which U 5207 and the two Lǚshùn fragments belong, "b". This will not be taken over in the present edition.

Content

According to Maue (2015: 500), the text comes "aus dem Sagenkreis um Rāma" (see also the title of the unpublished article mentioned above in fn. 3). The obvious mention of Hanuman in set № 20 must have led to the hypothesis that the Tocharian B text contains extracts from a work pertaining to the legend of Rāma. Further indications have been noted by Maue in his comments about № 32–35 and № 37, referring to de Jong (1989) and Bailey (1941) for possible parallels. In view of different interpretations of the sets № 33 and № 35, these no longer apply. In № 32, the text refers to an image, not to a mirror, as in the alleged parallel of the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* translated by de Jong (1989: 30). In № 34, our text contains an adjective derived from 'calf', whereas the alleged parallel in the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* contains the simile "he becomes distracted as a calf which forgets the cow" (de Jong 1989: 41). As for № 37, 'to the mules', this was connected to the occurrence of mules in the Khotanese Rāma text translated by Bailey (1941: 569), but since № 37 belongs together with № 38, the context is completely different. Admittedly, our text contains several animal names, domestic as well as wild, but except for the monkey Hanuman, there is no connection with the Rāma legend. In our view, the occurrence of Hanuman alone is not enough to identify the text with the Rāma legend, since this figure pertains to pan-Indian lore and may easily occur in various types of texts, for instance in similes or proverbs.

It cannot be denied that the Rāma legend and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were well-known in Central Asia as shown by translations and references in Khotanese, Tocharian, Old Uyghur, Tibetan, etc., but this by itself does not prove that our text is based on it. Nevertheless, it is apparently extracted from a Tocharian text based on Sanskrit literature, since several items have an unmistakable Sanskrit flavour, cf. № 5, 10, 13, 16, 19, 20, 22, 32, 36, and possibly № 42.

The manuscript is not an autonomous piece of literature, and it does not have the shape of a calligraphic, prestigious work, but rather looks like a working text for pedagogical purposes. This could reflect the educational process of Uyghur translators. The Indian character of the text seems to place it in the same milieu in which the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* was studied. The Old Uyghur translations from Tocharian belong to the early phase of Uyghur Buddhism, probably 9th – 10th centuries. This text would be only slightly later. Linguistically, the Tocharian B text belongs to the late phase of the language, while on the Uyghur side nothing opposes dating it in the 10th century (cf. also Zieme 2005a: 290, who dates it in the late 10th or early 11th century).

Concerning the linguistic stage of the Tocharian B parts, the following facts of phonology and morphology point to the late phase, from the 7th century onwards: monophthongization of the diphthong *au > o*;[7] denasalisation of the palatalized nasal (*lñ > ly*);[8] simplification of the dental affricate (*ts > s*);[9] reduction of the final cluster -*Ct*;[10] the younger variant *sanai* (№ 18) of classical *somo*, the feminine obl. sg. of the numeral 'one';[11] and, probably, the use of the late suffix -*maṣṣe*.[12] The confusion of the final sibilants -*ś* and -*ṣ*[13] has no parallels elsewhere in the late language, and might be due to the fact that the scribe was a speaker of Uyghur, or to confusion of the relevant Fremdzeichen <ṣ́> and <ṣ̱>, which are almost identical in the late cursive script in which the manuscript is written.

A number of spelling peculiarities can be noted:
1) In the Tocharian part, the akṣaras <ta> and <na> are not strictly distinguished, which results in uncertainty in several interpretations; see under № 24, 30, 33, 40.
2) Geminates are found for expected single consonants in *peccem* for *bečen* (№ 20); *kkar* for *kar* (№ 10); *lyokkol* for *lyokol* (№ 25). Single consonants are found for expected geminates in *cocoqiyā* for *čočokkıya* (№ 12).
3) In the Old Uyghur part, only <p°> is found for *b*; <b°> does not occur. The only remaining example of *b* in *bir* (№ 18) is actually restored and it was probably written <pi ṟ>.

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[7] Peyrot (2008: 53). See *topi* (№ 41) for *taupi*, *tor* (№ 11) for *taur*, *tronta** (№ 29) for *traunta*, *mokaṣṣa* (№ 39) for *maukäṣṣa*, *yāyäṅko* (№ 28) for *yayäṅkau*, *lalopo* (№ 1) for *lalaupau*. However, the diphthong is preserved in *saukana* (№ 2). Note that by contrast the diphthong *ai* is preserved: *lestai* (№ 17), *sanai* (№ 18).

[8] See *lalye* (№ 6) for *lalñe*; cf. Pinault (1988: 137) with further examples.

[9] Peyrot (2008: 84); see *wināsisa* (№ 3) for *wināstsisa*.

[10] Peyrot (2008: 67); see *ram* (№ 35) for *ramt*.

[11] Peyrot (2008: 131–132); see № 18.

[12] Peyrot (2008: 93); see *to(r)maṣṣe* (№ 11), if correctly restored.

[13] See *lestaiṣ* (№17) for *lestaiś*.

3) *ā* is written for *a* in *yāyäṅko* for *yayäṅkau* (№ 28); *pṣāmñe* for *pṣaññe* (№ 9, if not with analogical suffix *-äññe* as in *lwäññe*); and *āppamāt* for *appamāt* (№ 42). *a* is written for *ā* in *pippaltsa* for *pippāltsa* (№ 19). *a* is written for *ä* in *wiyätär-{n}e* for *wiyätär-ne* (№ 33); and *mokäṣṣ{a}-me* for *maukäṣṣa-me* (№ 39). In the Old Uyghur part, *e* is written for *i* in *ešläšmäkiṅä* for *išläšmäkiṅä* (№ 24); and *elleg* for *ellig* (№ 22).

4) Probably due to the monophthongization of the Tocharian diphthong *au* to *o* (see above), the scribe once used a graphic diphthong for an expected monophthong in the Old Uyghur part: *kyosyauñclyuk* for *kyosyoñclyuk* (№ 3).

5) A final anusvāra is missing in *usu* for *uzun* (№ 2).

6) The virāma is generally noted by an oblique stroke and a following dot. Rare instances of virāma without dot are <paitārˎ ttsana> (№ 34); and <iṃ kya k˵ ṇi ṅ[ɪ]> (№ 44).

Some facts indicate that the forms have originally been extracted from a literary, probably narrative text: see the verse form in № 35,[14] and the sequence of interjection plus particle in № 26. Likewise, the verbal forms with suffixed pronouns (№ 24, 31, 33, 39) point to a continuous text. A number of misspellings in the Tocharian B part[15] show that this text must have been copied several times, which suggests that the composition of the

Tocharian B text is considerably older than this copy. If the difficult set № 22 indeed shows that Khotan and Kashgar were confused, a possibility we consider below, this would point to a date of the Uyghur translation after the Qarakhanid conquest of Khotan in 1006.

CONVENTIONS OF TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

For the barred <k>, we have adopted the transliteration <q>, as in Maue (1996) and Gabain (1974), instead of <k̄>, according to Maue (2015). For barred <r>, we have adopted the transliteration <γ>, as in Maue (1996) and Gabain (1974), instead of <g₁>, according to Maue (2015). For Tocharian the convention to write akṣaras together in the transliteration is followed whereas for Old Uyghur akṣaras are separated with a space. For both languages we use the virāma convention of Tocharian studies. Thus, we use ˎ for * in the SHT series. Only one system of brackets is used in the transliteration, thus following the conventions in Tocharian studies rather than those in Uyghur studies. However, in the transcription of Old Uyghur words and phrases in the "discussion" below, in defective spellings are denoted with parentheses () and restored parts in brackets [ ]. In the transcription of Old Uyghur, normalised voiced vs. voiceless obstruents are indicated with a dot. Thus, *ḅ, ḍ, ġ, ẓ* are used for expected *b, d, g, z* written as <p, t, k/q, s>.

TRANSLITERATION

U 5208

a1 lal[o][1][p]o − −[2] | s[au]kana | u s[u] | wi[nā][3]si[s]a[4] | kyo [s]yau[5] ñclyu k˵[6] ·i (−)

a2 śke ‖[7] phāṃ qyā | pādapir˵[8] | śo [s]i[9] | lalyesa[10] | uyuṃ mi śtyā [k]i | esteye ⁝ qa

a3 thi γ˵ | k̲a̲rccitaki | pyo syā ñyā k̲[11] ki yyā si | p[ṣ]āmñe | [t]ā [w]i ṣ[q]ā[12] ṇi [ṅ]˵ [l] −

a4 kkar˵ stamoy˵ | e lī γiṃ sūṃ sā r˵ | tomaṣṣe | tu prā [q]˵ yyā[13] ///[14]

a5 ktiśke | co co qi yā[15] kidi luwo[16] | qo ṅū z˵ | sarkoy˵ | ta rtsa r̲[˵] [l bh]· [t]r · ///[17]

a6 śa ssi dhā | yamutsentse | to ti ṇi ṅ˵ | lestais˵[18] u ya si ṅā | sa[n]ai [l] ·[i] ///[19]

a7 pippaltsa | pi tpi te uyu syā | hanume | ha nu me pe cceṃ | taktsāntsa | u ///[20]

a8 ci | śrik̲r̲a̲dviṣpaiy[p]e[21] | o toṃ e lle γ˵ | moko | ulu γ˵ | nāte snarte | e

a9 ślyā śmyā ki ṅqa[22] l[y]okkol˵[23] | ke [p]˵ | hā wi | ya tā qi | ṣetkasta | ā

a10 r[tdh]i ṅ˵ | yāyäṅko[24] swi lmī s˵ | tr_uonta[25] | tya ṅ˵[26] | täkṣyäte[ṃ][27]

a11 oypsa −[28] [l t]· ya rmyā ṇi ṅ˵[29] | [y]ukti | kyo rktyā śiṃ | wiya[t̲a̲]rte ⁚ oyo

a12 γsi rryā yyu rā ṇi ṅ˵ | paitār˵ttsana[30] | pu sa γ[ū][31] lū γ˵ | krera | mu slu γ˵ | ṣ ka

a13 lna śur˵ | tγi co γi | etswentsa ke | qa thi rlā rqā | karśuwa | yyu tyu rmi −[γ][32]

a14 mokaṣṣe-me | eya ymyāṃ tyu rti o la rṇi | waṣākane | qo rqi ñciṃ[33] eya [y]··

a15 ciṃ | topi tessa | uyu kyu p˵ u rti | [ś]aiṣṣe āppamāt˵ | [c]akik·ā[34] | [ā][35]

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[14] One may also observe that the reversal of the standard prose word order in set № 9 points to an original Tocharian B text in verse.
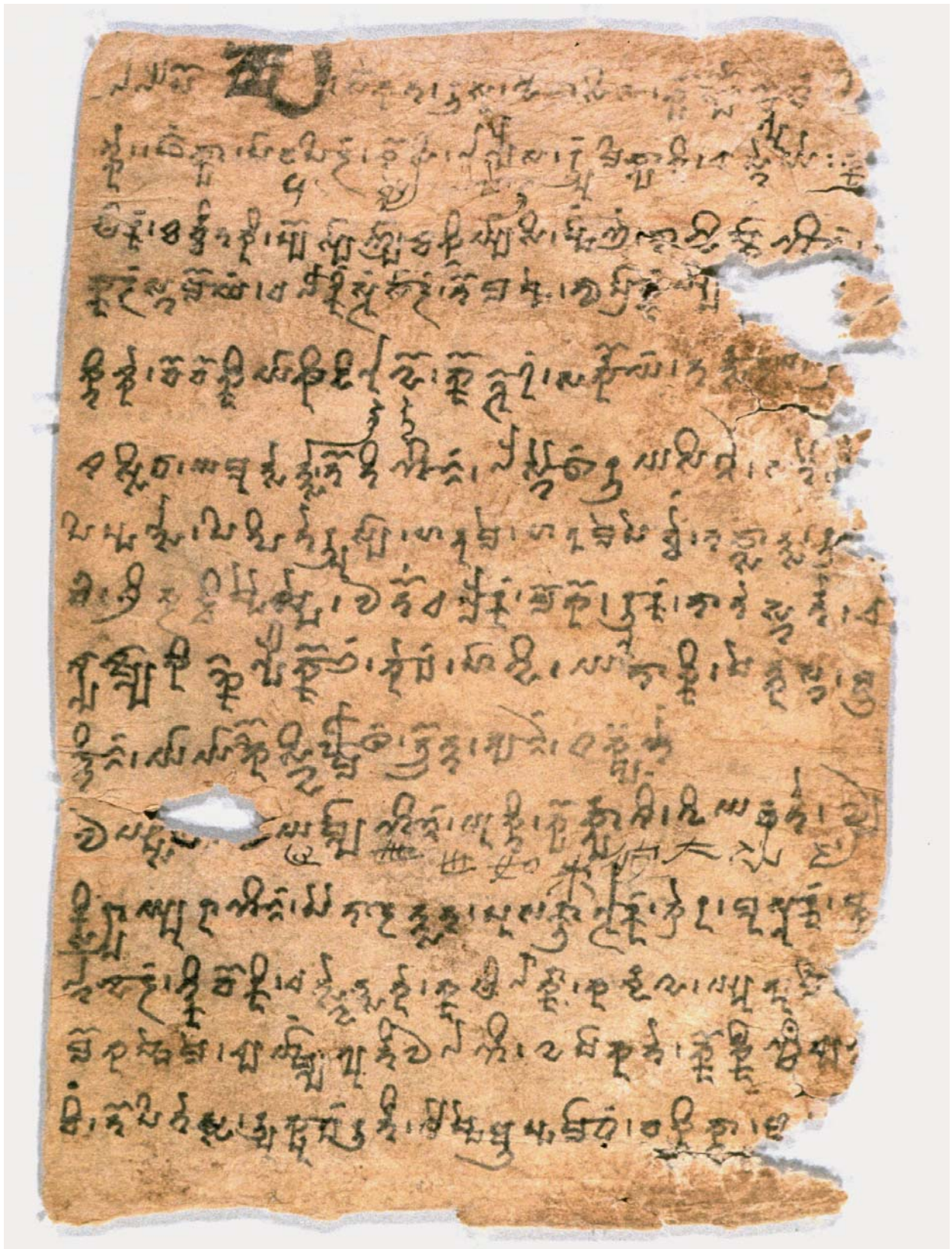
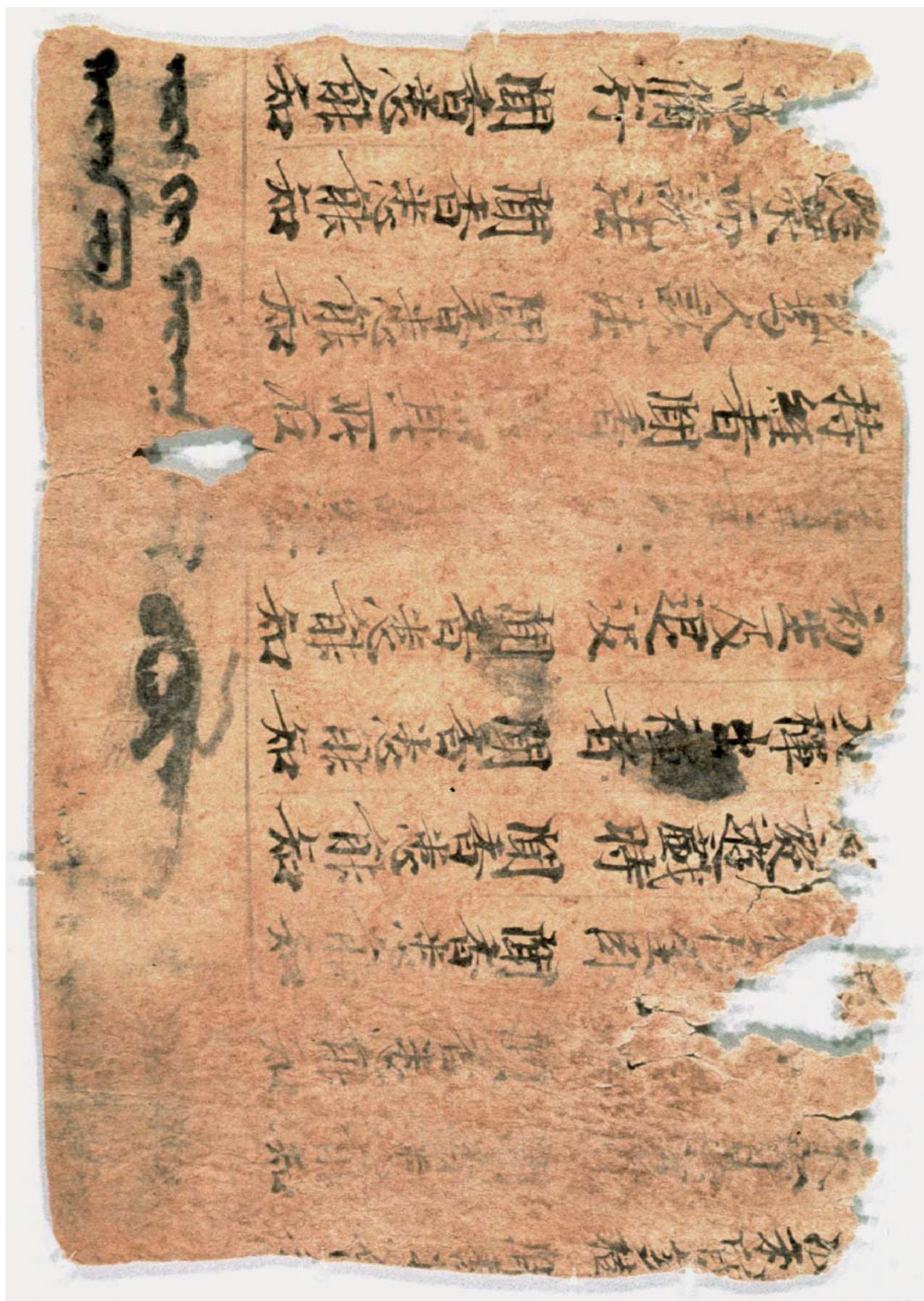[15] See № 17, 22, 28, 29, 31, 39.

Plate I : U 5208, verso. Bilingual.

Plate II : U 5208, recto. Chinese.

1   An alternative reading <l[au]> would also be possible.

2   There is a space of approximately 2 cms between <[p]o> and the daṇḍa, which is occupied by a sequence from another hand, apparently written earlier, because the top of these characters has been cut off. These characters, written with a brush instead of a pen, are much larger than the surrounding Brāhmī text. Possibly it is two signs, but either of them can be deciphered; even the text direction is not fully certain. Assuming that they are written in the same direction as the Brāhmī text, the second could tentatively be read as <rra> in Brāhmī. No Brāhmī text can be discerned under or over these two characters.

3   This vocalism seems the most likely, even though the arc goes down very far. The akṣara itself is not fully certain: apart from <nā>, <vā> would be a possibility.

4   The top of the <s> is a little large; perhaps it is <rsa>.

5   This ligature is complex. The vocalism is not directly attached to the base. The element <s> seems to have a large head. In any case, it cannot be <z>. Maue reads <xyau> in his transliteration (2015: 500), but "közönčlük" in the transcription (p. 503). Our reading accords with his transcription.

6   Supposing that the Old Uyghur translation ends here (cf. Maue 2015: 500), one would expect a daṇḍa, which is not visible.

7   The double daṇḍa does not occur elsewhere in the fragment, and one could be tempted to read e.g. <ṣa>. The preceding <śke> can perfectly be the end of a Tocharian B diminutive. This would fit the Old Uyghur equivalent, which ends in k(ı)ya. If the Old Uyghur word began with <ṣa>, this would mean that there was no punctuation between the Tocharian B and Old Uyghur in this case.

8   Under <dapi> there are traces of two characters, probably from a different hand. The first could perhaps be read as a Brāhmī <prā>. The next is almost completely erased.

9   There is a long curve going down from the <s>, which makes the akṣara look like <sri>. However, the curve is too long for a normal <r>, and it is attached in the middle of the <s> instead of the right, as would be usual. As an alternative, one may consider that it belongs to the addition below the line, because it ends in the large ligature that is found under the preceding akṣara <śo>. Nevertheless, this large curve is difficult to interpret also there. Below the line there is a complex sequence of possible Brāhmī characters, which Maue (2015: 500 fn. 2) reads as <dʰla rri>. The l-element would be quite deformed. In addition, there is in fact a vowel diacritic on top of the <dh>, probably <e>.

10   Below the line there are traces of three or four characters from a different hand.

11   This virāma has no dot. Possibly it is lacking because the next word is also Old Uyghur; in most other cases of "Fremdzeichen" with the virāma, an additional dot is used (admittedly, also in kkar̤ in line 4, which is also in the middle of the Tocharian text).

12   The horizontal stroke of the <q> is not visible, but may have been lost in lacuna.

13   Compared to <yyā> in line 3, the reading here is certain. The alternative "yye" of Maue (2015: 501) does not seem possible to us.

14   Lacuna of 4 to 5 akṣaras.

15   The daṇḍa is missing here.

16   Uyghur script under the line.

17   Lacuna of 1 or 2 akṣaras.

18   The daṇḍa is missing here.

19   Lacuna of 1 or 2 akṣaras.

20   Lacuna of 1 or 2 akṣaras.

21   The akṣara now read as <ṣpai> may stand for <ṣṣai>, but the palaeography clearly speaks for <ṣp>. The following akṣara seems to have <y> as the first element, but this seems to be a correction from another akṣara. The second element might theoretically be either <y> or <p>; palaeographically, <p> would be more likely.

22   The daṇḍa is missing here.

23   An alternative reading could be <l[p]okkol̤>, but this is palaeographically clearly less likely.

24   The daṇḍa is missing here.

25   The reading of the akṣara <trᵤo> is relatively clear, but it should be noted that this sequence of vowels is unique in the corpus.

26   The second akṣara is connected with a virāma stroke to the preceding, and vocalised as well. Therefore, an alternative reading would be <tya ṅāṃ>.

27   The t is not fully clear. One could perhaps alternatively consider a reading <l[n]aṃ> or <l[t]aṃ>, but the <l> would be very small compared to other instances in the fragment. The word is followed by a blank of about 5 akṣaras long.

28   On the photo there is a black spot above the akṣara <ypsa>, but it does not seem to be part of the original writing.

29   From here to right to the end of the line there are several characters below the line. According to Maue, the first is xīn 心 'heart' in the Small Seal Script. Then follow shì 世 'world' (twice, the first would have one vertical stroke too many); rúlái 如来 'Tathāgata'; possibly bǐ 彼 'that'; dà 大 'great'; and then probably Brāhmī akṣaras, <ye> (here Maue reads "ya (?)") and perhaps <ja>, but with a strange loop at the right. There is no relation to the contents of the line above, nor of that below.

30 <paitāṟttsana> is written with an internal virāma, which may be due to the morpheme boundary between the base and the suffix.

31 The akṣara has an *u*-diacritic below, and a length stroke on top. This combination could in theory be <γuā> v.s. However, since this akṣara has a horizontal stroke in the middle, the normal place to attach a length stroke for <u> is already taken, so that it is more likely that the length stroke on top is to be taken as an alternative length stroke for <u>. Maue (2015: 501) also transliterates <g₁ū>.

32 Lacuna of one akṣara, possibly followed additionally by a daṇḍa.

33 The anusvāra dot is placed within the circle of the *i*-diacritic.

34 The reading and segmentation are uncertain. The first akṣara is probably <ca>, but <va> cannot be excluded. The second akṣara is <ki>, and cannot be <kri>, a possibility considered by Maue (2015: 507). The third akṣara is <k·ā>: it is certainly a ligature, but the lower element cannot be read with any certainty. Possibilities seem to be <ktā>, <kttā>, <kwā>.

35 Lacuna of three akṣaras. Traces of the length stroke of the <ā> are visible under the preceding daṇḍa. Compare especially the <ā> of *āppamāt* in the same line, which has a very long length stroke.

U 5207

Plate III : U 5207, recto. Chinese.

a1   /// –[1] kaintse[2] | iṃ kya ḵ ṇi ṅ[ᵻ][3] ///

a2   /// | qāṃ ti ṅrā qli γᵻ | ot ta ///

a3   /// – | teṅkeṃ | qa rqu[4] lri γᵻ | ttā[5] –[6] ///

a4   /// – [ñ]i –[7] – [t]i[8] – ·[ā][9] ··[ṃ] (–) r·ai ///

TEXTUAL REMARKS

1 The right part of a character is visible. It reminds one of a daṇḍa, but for that it would be too high. Also for many other characters, it would be too high. Perhaps initial <e> is possible, since this is quite high in U 5207 a13. However, <e> seems to have normally a little knob on top, which is not visible here. One might also think of <v>.

2 The last akṣara <ntse> is not fully straightforward. The middle element looks like <s> to the left, but like <t> to the right. Probably the scribe mistakenly started to write an <s> but actually intended <t>.

3 The virāma dot is not visible, but may be assumed to have been there.

4 As noted by Maue (2015: 507), this character has been redrawn from <γ>, while actually <γ> would

Plate IV : U 5207, verso. Bilingual.

have been correct. The result is that the original top of the <γ> has now become <r>, which is therefore too low. The *u*-diacritic has been added to the <q> only; the original <γ> did not yet have an *u*-diacritic. The character was therefore redrawn immediately, not afterwards.

5 The ligature <ttā> is not written in the correct way: the head of the second <t> is still there.

6 This must be a larger ligature, possibly with <k> or <u> as the lower element. Furthermore, there seems to be a small blank space after the preceding akṣara <ttā>, which may suggest that *ttā* is an independent word.

7 The place for this trace is very narrow; it may well be a daṇḍa.

8 Or possibly <[w]i>.

9 The length stroke is left bound, as for instance with <ṅā>, <jā>, <ṇā>, <ṭā>. Otherwise, it could be initial <o>.

TRANSCRIPTION

U 5208

a1 lalopo − − | saukana | usu | wināsisa | közönčlük {|} ·i (−)

a2 śke || pankıya | pādapir | šosı | lalyesa | ünmištäki | esteye : ka-

a3 tıg | kärccitaki | ḅösäñäkkiyäsi | pṣāṃñe | tavıšġannıŋ | –

a4 kkar stamoy | eligin sunsar | tomaṣṣe | tuprak yä(r) ///

a5 ktiśke | čočokkıya {|} kidi luwo | koŋuz | sarkoy | tartsar | bh· tr· ///

a6 šassıda | yamutsentse | totınıŋ | lestaiṣ {|} uyasıŋa | sanai | (b)i(r) ///

a7 pippaltsa | pidpidi üẓä | hanume | hanume ḅečen | taktsāntsa | u(vda)-

a8 čı | śrikrädviṣpaiype | oḍon elleg | moko | ulug | nāte s{t}ar-{n}e | i-

a9 šläšmäkiṇä {|} lyokkol | kep | hā wi | ya takı | ṣetkasta | a-

a10 rtdıŋ | yāyåṅko {|} s(a)vılmıš | tr_uonta | täŋ | täkṣyäteṃ

a11 oypsa-(ñ) | t(a)yar mäniŋ | yukti | körkḍäšin | wiyatär-{n}e : ö-

a12 gsiräyür anıŋ | paitārttsana | ḅuẓagulug | kre ra | muẓlug | ṣ ka-

a13 lnaśur | t(i)gi čogı | etswentsa ke- | katırlarka | -karśuwa | yüḍürmi(š)

a14 mokaṣṣ{a}-me | äymäntürdi olarnı | waṣākane | korkınčın äy(män)-

a15 čin | topi tessa | üküp urtı | śaiṣṣe āppamāt | čakikā | ā-

U 5207

a1 /// – kaintse | inġäkniŋ ///

a2 /// | kan tıŋraklıg | ot ta ///

a3 /// – | teṅkeṃ | karġul(a)rıg | ttā – ///

a4 /// – ñi – – ti – ·ā ··ṃ – r·ai ///

DISCUSSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL SETS

№ 1 *lalopo* (a1)

TochB *lalopo* is a late form of class. *lalaupau*, preterite participle of *lup-* 'smear; defile'. The next word that is written in the regular way, *saukata* or *saukana*, cannot be Turkic; therefore it cannot be the OU equivalent of *lalopo*. Probably the equivalent of *lalopo* is either lacking in the manuscript, or it was covered by the large characters in an apparently different hand that follow, or, perhaps, these large characters themselves are the equivalent. For the possibly two (or three?) larger characters no interpretation can be proposed so far.

№ 2 *saukana : uẓu(n)* <u su> (a1)

For the OU equivalent <u su>, Maue gives two options: 1) *uzun* 'long' (Clauson 1972: 288b), which would presuppose that the expected anusvāra was not written or abraded, or 2) *usu*, the vowel converb of *us-* 'be thirsty' (Clauson 1972: 241a). Proceeding from the latter suggestion, one might consider that *sauk°* stands for *tsauk°*, a form of the root *tˢuk-* 'drink', suppletive to *yok-*, but this does not lead to any convincing interpretation. And what is more, the OU vowel converb to be expected is rather *usa* as the aorist is recorded as *usar* (ibid.). As Erdal (1979: 105) has demonstrated, verbal stems ending in the consonants *p*, *v*, *m*, *s*, *š*, *y*, *ñ*, *G* and *ŋ*

– with the exception of *täg-* 'reach' and *ay-* 'speak' – have /A/ as aorist and converb vowel. In addition, the verb *us-* is rare in Old Uyghur. More likely is the first interpretation as *uzun* 'long'.[16] In this case, *saukana* can be interpreted as the feminine plural of *sauke*. This word is registered as a noun meaning 'streamer' in Adams (2013: 771), but it is more likely an adjective. In B 92 b3 *erkatñene kekmu ra sauke ymī(ye mäsketär)* it seems to mean 'even': 'even having come in this miserable state his going (is) even'. In B 74 a3 *lyāk sauke taṅki* it is combined with *lyāk* 'flat' and the same meaning makes sense: 'very flat [and] even'. However, in THT 429 a5 /// *(pyā)pyai śaskastottärntaṣṣai piñña saukeṃ walāneṃ* 'extended' is strongly suggested rather than 'even': 'he braided[17] the flower of the *śaska* praises into extended garlands' (Sieg and Siegling 1953: 285 correct *śaska* into *śaṣkas* '16', for expected *śak-ṣkäs*). In our view, these two meanings are not too far apart, and especially the second fits very well as the source of OU *uzun* 'long', which also means "extended, wide" (Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary).

№ 3 *wināsisa* : *közönčlük* <kyo [s]yau ñclyu k̥> (a1)

Probably, the OU suffix is to be taken as +*lXk*, the suffix which can have a purposive meaning (Erdal 1991: 121). This would accord well with the TochB perlative suffix -*sa*. The TochB word could contain the infinitive suffix -*tsi* in its late variant -*si* before this perlative suffix.[18] In that case, the most straightforward identification would be *wināsi*, the late variant of the class. infinitive *wināstsi* of *winask-* 'honour, worship'; this would mean 'for honouring'.[19]

Maue reads the OU equivalent as *közönčlük* "Schatz" without explanation (2015: 503). Presumably he based this assumption on the Tocharian word *wināsi*, interpreted as "something to be honoured". The reading *közönčlük* and the gloss "Schatz" were possibly inspired

by the word *közünč* which appears twice in the Christian text known as "The visit of the three Magi". Müller, the first editor of the double leaf, translated *üč törlüg közünč* as 'drei Arten Schätze' and 'drei Arten Kostbarkeiten' respectively (1908: 6–7). Clauson mistakenly discusses this word under *küsänč*, a Middle Turkic derivative of *küsä-* 'wish, desire', and translates it with 'desirable thing' (1972: 751a). In fact, *közünč* is not related to *küsänč* at all.

According to Erdal, the quality of the first vowel is uncertain (1991: 278, quoting further examples).[20] The text was recently re-edited by Zieme (2015: 51, lines 18, 29) who prefers the transcription *küzünč*, whereas Röhrborn (2015: 278 s.v. *artut*) chooses to spell the word with *ö* in the first syllable. This latter tallies better with the spelling of the bilingual as well as with the etymology because we have to assume a deverbal noun derived from *közün-* 'appear, become visible, to report to somebody, to present oneself at ...'. In the bilingual, we have *közönčlük* with assimilation of the *ü* in the second syllable to the *ö* in the first syllable. Röhrborn is certainly right in claiming that the meaning of the word in the Christian text is synonymous with *artut* "present for a ruler, tribute", with which it is used as binomial *közünč artut*, literally 'present [and] tribute'. Next to the resultative meaning 'present', we find the action noun meaning 'audience, hearing' in the phrase *közünčlüg yazıdakı* 'in the field of audience', a rather clumsy rendering of Chinese *cháo yě* 朝野 'court and wilderness' attested in the Biography of Xuanzang (Röhrborn 1996: 207). Another attestation is *közünčlüg oron* in Umemura and Zieme (2015: 6) which is rendered by the editors as "precious throne". The corresponding Chinese term is *cháo* 朝 'court'. It is highly likely that the meaning of *közünčlüg oron* is rather literally "throne of audience", i.e. 'court' (the part of the court which is open to the public).

Thus, two basic meanings of *közünč* emerge: first, 'something that is presented at the court, i.e. a gift', and second, 'the act of presenting oneself at the court, i.e. audience or obeisance'. In the light of the Tocharian model the OU form *közönčlük* is best rendered as 'for the purpose of obeisance', as the translation of *wināsisa* 'in order to honour'.[21]

№ 4 *·i – śke* : *pank(ı)ya* <phāṃ qyā> (a1–2)

TochB °*śke* is a diminutive suffix that corresponds perfectly to the OU suffix +*kıya* (cf. Erdal 1991: 47–56). The TochB root is almost completely lost: it was probably

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[16] The following argument is based in part on the notes of Klaus T. Schmidt.

[17] In this passage, the meaning 'stretch' (e.g. Adams 2013: 396–397) does not fit. We therefore propose 'braid'.

[18] We find 25 examples of such infinitives with the perlative suffix in the CETOM corpus.

[19] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt's reading is the same, but his interpretation is different. According to him, *wināsisa* is a compound of *wīna* 'pleasure' and *sisa*, an otherwise unknown word, which would be related to Tocharian A *sisā*. This Tocharian A word is normally interpreted as the equivalent of the Sanskrit name *Sītā* (A 10 b5; cf. Sieg 1944: 14, fn. 2 and Poucha 1955: 374). This name appears as *Sījsa*, *Sīysā*, etc. in the Rāma story in Khotanese (cf. Bailey 1941: 560). This alleged correspondence may have contributed to the identification of our bilingual as pertaining to the Rāma literature by Klaus T. Schmidt and Dieter Maue.

[20] We can add Zieme (2005: 170; H141, variant of a word which was restored as *k[ü]zg[ünč]*).

[21] Erdal (2017: 194b) has also questioned Maue's interpretation. In the light of Peyrot's (2015) review and the purposive meaning of the suffix +*lXk* he suggests "token of esteem".

two syllables, with *i* as the vowel in the first. The OU lexical base is interpreted by Maue as a borrowing from Chin. *bǎn* 板 'board' (Late Middle Chinese *paːn´*; Pulleyblank 1991: 28);[22] for the diminutive he gives "Brettchen, Täfelchen". Clauson gives *ban* more specifically as 'a wooden writing tablet' (1972: 346a). None of these leads to an obvious interpretation of the TochB traces. However, since the remnant of the first akṣara is compatible with *pi*, one may consider a derivative of the root *pik-* 'to write' (and 'to paint'), hence *pi(ki)śke*, diminutive of *pikiye**, compare TochB *werpiśke* 'garden', based on *werwiye*. The base noun **pikiye* would be a concretized action noun, calque of Skt. *lekhya-* 'written document' (CDIAL, № 11108: 647), cf. Niya Prakrit *lekha-* 'document'.

№ 5 *pādapir* : *šosı* <śo [s]i> (a2)

TochB *pādapir* is obviously a loanword from Sanskrit, very probably from *pādapīṭha-* 'footstool' (MW: 617b). The representation of the retroflex stop by Tocharian *r* is well established.[23] OU *b(a)ḍrapir* (<< Skt. *bhadrapīṭha-*) 'throne' was also borrowed via Tocharian (Wilkens 2016, vol. 2, 586, line 07038). The Old Uyghur rendering *šosı* cannot be genuinely Turkic, and is almost certainly borrowed from Chinese. As the Chinese source, Maue suggests *xiāngzǐ* 箱子 'box, container' (LMC *siaŋ*; Pulleyblank 1991: 337). Since the meaning of the latter does not fit very well, one might consider as an alternative *zuòzǐ* 座子 'pedestal' (LMC *tshua`*; Pulleyblank 1991: 424); 'pedestal' is one of the semantic variants of Skt. *pādapīṭha-*. A borrowing from *zuòzǐ* 座子 is already attested in Uyghur script as *šutse* (or: *šutsı*) which was left unexplained in the edition (Tekin 1980: 185, plate 73 recto 31). The second Chinese character can occasionally appear in Old Uyghur in simplified form as *si* or *sı* for which see *tepsi* 'plate, bowl' borrowed from Chinese *diézǐ* 碟子 (LMC *thiap tsẓ´*).

№ 6 *lalyesa* : *ünmištäki* <uyuṃ mi śtyā [k]i> (a2)

TochB *lalyesa* can without ambiguity be identified as the later variant of class. *lalñesa*, perl.sg. of *lalñe*, verbal noun of *lət-* 'go out'. It must mean 'by going out'. This corresponds well to OU *ünmištäki*, translated as "beim Aufstehen, Hinausgehen befindlich" by Maue (2015: 504).

ünmištäki is the *-mIš* participle of *ün-* 'rise' in the locative case, followed by the so-called converter *+kI* (Erdal 2004: 187).

№ 7 *esteye* : *katıg* <qa thi γₔ> (a2–3)

The OU member of this pair can without problems be identified as the adjective *katıg* 'hard, firm'. On the other hand, TochB *esteye* is so far unattested. There is an abstract noun *stemye*, *stemiye* 'stability', obl.sg. *stemi* (Adams 2013: 778), apparently derived from the root *stəma-* 'stand', suppletive to *kəĺ-*. *esteye* could perhaps be a simplification of *estemye**, which would be a prefixed derivative of *stemye*. But it has to be admitted that such a prefixed derivative would normally have been formed to the oblique singular, so that one would have expected *estemi**, not *estemye*. Also, the required simplification of *-my-* to *-y-* is not parenled. To be preferred, therefore, is probably an analogical replacement of *estemye** by *esteye* on the model of *ñormiye* 'lower' and *ñoriye* 'id.'. A direct derivation from a Proto-Indo-European formation based on the root **steh₂-* 'stand' would need an especially tailored form.

It is tempting to connect *estemye** with an OU word which usually appears as *istim* (Wilkens, forthc. dictionary) but also occasionally as *istimi* (Wilkens 2016, vol. 1, 212, line 00181; Zieme forthc.), both meaning 'constantly' or 'always'. There are variants with /ä/ in the second syllable as well.[24] The etymology has remained obscure despite Zieme's (1985: 100, note to line 13.135) tentative proposal to derive it from Skt. *stīma*. This form is recorded in MW 1259a for the *Atharvaveda*, but the classical Skt. form is *stimita*. The possible etymological connection with Parthian *istem* 'lastly, at last' as proposed earlier by Wilkens (2007, vol. 1, 193) is to be discarded for semantic reasons. Should the Tocharian etymology prove to be correct, then the transcription should be altered to *estem* and *esteme* respectively.

№ 8 *kärccitaki* : *ḅ̇öẓäñäkkiyäsi* <pyo syā ñyā ḵ ki yyā si> (a3)

In this pair, the Tocharian word is so far unknown. In the Uyghur equivalent, *+kiyäsi* is the possessive form of a diminutive with the suffix *+kIyA*. According to Maue (2015: 504), the base *ḅ̇öẓäñäk* contains in turn the diminutive suffix *+Ak*. While *+kIyA* is frequent and productive, *+Ak* is much rarer (Erdal 1991: 40–43). Thus, *+kIyA* clarifies the older formation in *+Ak*, which had become opaque.

The base *ḅ̇öẓäñ-* presents a number of problems: 1) in Old Turkic, the word *böžän* 'young hare' is only attested

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[22] Compare also Sogdian *p'n* 'table' (Sims-Williams 2016: 127), borrowed from the same source.

[23] See for instance Toch B/A *kor* 'ten millions' from Skt. *koṭi-*, Prakrit *koḍi-*, Toch. B *kāpar*, A *kāpār* from Skt. *kavaḍa-* 'mouthful, morsel'.

[24] E.g., *istäm* in Zieme 1985: 100, variant cp in line 135.

in Karakhanidic, namely in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* (see the important emendation in Tezcan 1993: 263; Hauenschild 2003: 71–72); 2) deviant forms are found in modern Turkic languages, for example Kyrgyz *böjök* (Judachin 1965:150a); 3) in Mongolian, there is an obviously related word; 4) the palatal *ñ* in the bilingual is yet to be explained; and 5) the etymology is so far unknown.

To begin with, the Mongolian forms are difficult to reconstruct. The Classical Mongolian form is *böǰün* (Lessing 1982: 128b), but Ordos *böǰöŋ* and Eastern Yugur *peǰeŋ* suggest *böǰeŋ* (Nugteren 2011: 21–22, 287). The *Muqaddimat al-adab* has the form *böǰän*.[25] Because of the *-ǰ-*, the Mongolian forms must be borrowed from Turkic, the substitution of *ǰ* for Turkic *z* being regular. It is likely that the Mongolian forms go back to a Turkic loan with an *ä* in the second syllable of which the attestation in our manuscript is the first witness.[26] The velar nasal in Mongolian may go back to a syncopated form *bözänäk > *bözäñk > *bözäŋ. The unsuffixed Turkic form *bözäñ could be the source of the Mongolian forms with final *-n*. Modern Turkic forms with *ǰ*, like Kyrgyz *böjök* and Modern Uyghur *böjän*, are reborrowed from Mongolian. Even the Karakhanidic form *böžän* looks suspicious and seems to be borrowed from Mongolian. The only form with the original dental *z* would then be the *bösäñ-* of our bilingual, where *z* is written with <s>.[27]

The palatal nasal of the Old Uyghur form *böẓäñ-* in the bilingual is peculiar. At the same time, it is very close to the Tocharian B word *pṣāṃñe* 'of the hare' of the following correspondence. This form, or the actually expected formation *pṣaññe* (see below), could be the source of *böẓän-*. Since Old Uyghur had no initial *p-*, this was represented by *b-*. The initial cluster obviously had to be resolved, and the resulting vowel probably became rounded because of the initial *b-*. The front vowels of the Old Uyghur may have been triggered by the *ññ* in Tocharian. The *ṣ* may have been perceived as voiced, which would at the same time explain why it was borrowed with *z (here written <s>), since in inherited words there was no *ž*.

At first sight, *kärccitaki* looks like the nominative plural of a noun *kärccitake**. However, this set probably belongs together with the next one, where the adjective *pṣāṃñe* rather is a singular masculine, either nominative or oblique. It is unlikely that *kärccitaki* is a mistake for *kärccitake* or that *pṣāṃñe* is a mistake for *pṣāṃñi*, the expected nom.pl.masculine. The best option would then be to take *kärccitaki* as a genitive singular, even though the normal genitive singular ending would be *-entse*; cf.

ṣecakentse of *ṣecake* 'lion'. The genitive in *-i* could easily be analogical after *seyi*, the genitive singular of *soy* 'son'. However, it should be noted that *böẓäñäkkiyäsi* is the nominative.

Apparently, the only possible morphological segmentation of *kärccitake** is *kärcci-ta-ke* with the same suffix as in *tekita* 'sick person' from *teki* 'disease, illness'. The base *kärcci-* can be derived from the root *kərtk-* with regular palatalisation. The meaning of this root can be set up as 'gush out, rise', a causative derivative of *kərtka-* 'sprout' (Peyrot 2013: 733). Then, *kərccita-* would have meant 'sprout, offspring'. It may have referred to the young of any animal, while it was specified by the following *pṣāṃñe* of the next set.[28]

№ 9 *pṣāṃñe* : *tavıšġannıŋ* <[t]ā [w]i ṣ[q]ā ni [ṅ]ᵧ> (a3)

OU *tavıšġannıŋ* is the gen.sg. of *tavıšgan* 'hare' (Clauson 1972: 447a–b). The TochB equivalent *pṣāṃñe* is an adjective of appurtenance based on the oblique stem allomorph of *paṣe* 'hare', obl.sg. *paṣ* (on which see Pinault 2004). For this adjective one would expect *pṣaññe** < *pəṣ-śñe*. Possibly, the long *ā* belongs to the cases of long *ā* for short *a* in the manuscript; otherwise, the suffix may be analogical after other animal adjectives, in particular *lwāññe* 'belonging to an animal' and *swāññe* 'belonging to a pig', which are phonologically regular derivations from the oblique singular stems *luwa* and *suwa*, respectively.[29]

If this set is taken together with the preceding, the order of the two elements is remarkable in both languages. The expected order is *pṣāṃñe kärccitaki* and *tavıšġannıŋ böẓäñäkkiyäsi*. It can be assumed that the order of the Uyghur words imitates the Tocharian model. For the Tocharian original, one can surmise that the marked order is due to a verse composition. If our interpretation is correct, in Tocharian only *pṣāṃñe* refers explicitly to a hare, while *kärccitaki* means 'offspring' in general. In Uyghur, on the other hand, both terms refer to this mammal.

№ 10 – *kkar stamoy* : *eligin sunsar* <e lī γiṃ sūṃ sā rᵧ> (a3–4)

In this case, we have a small phrase, of which the OU parts are well known: *eligin sunsar* 'if he stretches out his hand' (cf. Clauson 1972: 834a), with a conditional form of *sun-* 'stretch out (one's hand)'. In the TochB version, the verb *stamoy* is intransitive, 3sg. optative act. of

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[25] We would like to thank Hans Nugteren for the reference.

[26] Also in the Modern Uyghur form *böjän*.

[27] Since only *z* is substituted with *ǰ* in Mongolian, not *s*, the <s> must stand for /z/ here.

[28] No interpretation of *kärccitaki* is offered by Klaus T. Schmidt in his notes.

[29] In his notes (as well as in 2002: 12), Klaus T. Schmidt explains *pṣāṃñe* as an adjective derived from a feminine *paṣa* 'female hare, doe', derived from the attested *paṣe*. This is unlikely from the derivational point of view (Malzahn 2013).

kəĺ- + *stəma-* 'stand, stand still, stand up'. Accordingly, *kkar* must be the subject. The best option is to take it as a borrowing from Skt. *kara-* 'hand' (MW: 253a).[30] This would lead to a translation 'if the hand should rise' or similar. Probably, this phrase begins with a further akṣara, which may tentatively be restored as *kwri* 'if'. It should be noted that *kkar* is not attested elsewhere: the normal word for 'hand' is *ṣar*.

№ 11 *tomaṣṣe* : *tuprak yä[r]* <tu prā [q]ₓ yyā ///> (a4)

The OU member of this pair is reasonably clear: *tuprak yä(r)* is a known binomial group meaning 'earth' (the first is in origin 'soil, earth dust' etc., the second, 'ground, earth'). We prefer the reading *yä(r)* <yyā> of Maue to his alternative *ye(r)* <yye>. As he notes, this variant is attested elsewhere (cf. also Clauson 1972: 954a–b). In the transcription of *tuprak*, we follow Maue, Gabain, and Erdal (cf. esp. 1991: 249); Clauson (1972: 443a) has *toprak* instead.

The TochB equivalent *tomaṣṣe* is so far unattested. At first sight, the most probable morphological segmentation is *tom-aṣṣe*, i.e. *tom* + the adjectival suffix *-ṣṣe*, which does not lead to a straightforward interpretation. Another option would be, nevertheless, that it contains the late suffix *-maṣṣe* (Peyrot 2008: 93–94), in which case the base would be *to*; cf. in particular the semantically close *iścemaṣṣe* 'made of clay' (Pinault 2002: 328). Neither *tom* nor *to* are easily connected to any lexeme within Tocharian or elsewhere in Indo-European. It would be extremely speculative and formally impossible to relate it to a form like Proto-Indo-European *$d^h\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m$-* (cf. Greek χθών 'earth'). Rather, we see two options. The first is to assume that the base is *tom*, the late variant of class. *tomp*, the obl.sg.f. distal demonstrative pronoun (nom.sg.m. *samp*). This would be parallel to, or a calque on, the use of Sanskrit *iyam* 'this one (nom.sg.f.)' for 'earth'. The second option is to assume that *tomaṣṣe* is a mistake for *tormaṣṣe*, which would be a derivative in *-maṣṣe* from *tor*, the late form of classical *taur* 'dust' (we may note that this late form happens to be identical with the Tocharian A equivalent *tor*).[31]

Since the OU binomial phrase *tuprak yär* may also refer to the dusty ground, this fits well semantically. It is conceivable that this set belongs together with the following one. On the Uyghur side, it may then have been, with a locative suffix, *tuprak yärdä čočokkıya* 'a piglet on the dusty ground'. This would also explain why *to(r)maṣṣe* is an adjective: it would have been something like 'a piglet in the dust' (lit. 'a piglet pertaining to dust').

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[30] This interpretation is also found in the notes by Klaus T. Schmidt.
[31] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt independently offers the same interpretation of *tomaṣṣe* as *tormaṣṣe*.

№ 12 /// *ktiśke* : *čočok(k)ıya* <co co qi yā> (a5)

OU *čočokkıya* is analysed by Maue (2015: 504) as a *+kIyA* diminutive of *čočok* 'sucking pig' (Clauson 1972: 400b). The final °*śke* of the TochB equivalent corresponds nicely to the OU diminutive *+kıya*, but the root is almost completely lost. Since the lacuna at the end of line a4 is as large as 4 to 5 akṣaras, the TochB expression probably consisted of more than one word, the only other option being that a whole TochB ~ OU correspondence set is lost, for which the lacuna is probably again too small. A possible, very tentative restoration could be *(swāññe ye)ktiśke* 'little one of a pig'.

№ 13 *kidi luwo* : *koŋuz* <qo ṅū zₓ> (a5)

The meaning of OU *koŋuz* is clear: 'beetle' (Maue 2015: 504; Clauson 1972: 641a), and also 'insect' (see also Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary). The TochB equivalent has *luwo* 'animal' as the second element. As in other cases, *luwo* is here probably added to a Sanskrit loanword; cf. *kurār lūwo* 'osprey' (Adams 2013: 195). The first element *kidi* must be related to the etymon of Sanskrit *kīṭa-* 'insect, worm', probably through a Prakrit intermediary of the type **kīṭiya-* for **kīṭika-*; cf. Skt. *kīṭaka-*, Pkt. *kīḍī-*, *kīḍiyā-* (CDIAL: 163a, № 3193).[32]

№ 14 *sarkoy* : *tartsar* <ta rtsa r̲[ₓ]> (a5)

OU *tartsar* is the conditional of *tart-* 'pull, drag' (Clauson 1972: 534b), i.e. 'if he pulls'. The interpretation of TochB *sarkoy* is difficult. It clearly is a 3sg.opt.act., but the root is not easy to identify. There exists a root *sərka-*, but this seems to have a meaning that is incompatible with OU *tart-*. The meaning 'pull' for *sərka-* as per Schmidt (2008: 330) was based only on this attestation in U 5208. Malzahn suggests 'take care of' (2010: 939–940), Adams 'take care of, be concerned with, etc.' (2013: 749), and Peyrot 'make good' (2013: 540–542). Even though the range of these meanings is rather wide, none of them seems suitable for a translation by *tart-*.

There is a possible semantic link with some of the many extended meanings of *tart-*, such as 'procure (fruit), bring (result), produce' (see Clauson l.c. and also Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary).[33] Also, if one admits that the notion of torture or torment has some relationship with dragging, pulling, etc., it would be allowable to set up an optative form *tsārkoy** from the root *tsarka-* 'torment'

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[32] Klaus T. Schmidt offers the same interpretation in his notes, but reads *kiṭi*. However, in our opinion it should really be *kidi*, as it was already read by Dieter Maue, quoted by Schmidt.
[33] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt considers the possibility that *sarkoy* is a mistake for *salkoy* 'if he drew', from the verb *səlk-* 'draw'. To us, such a confusion of *r* and *l* seems unlikely.

(Peyrot 2013: 543, 840; Malzahn 2010: 977). This would, however, presuppose two spelling mistakes: *a* for *ā*, and *s* for *ts*. Although both spelling peculiarities do occur otherwise in this text, it seems that both solutions are too far fetched, so that this set is rather to be regarded as unexplained so far.

№ 15 *bh· ·r·* /// : *šassıda* <*śa ssi dhā*> (a5–6)

According to Maue (2015: 504–505), the Uyghur word *šassıda* is a locative and may be identified with *šatsı*, attested once in Brāhmī, where it seems be the equivalent of Skt. *vedikā* 'balustrade, fence'. *šatsı* is possibly borrowed from Chin. *zhàzǐ* 栅子 (LMC *tʂʰaːjk tsʐ´*; Pulleyblank 1991: 395), which has the same meaning, but, as noted by Maue, the coda of the first Chinese character does not fit very well. Since LMC *tʂʰ-* is nearly always represented by *č-* in Old Uyghur, perhaps a better possibility is to assume that the first element is a borrowing from *shà* 厦 'verandah, mansion' (LMC *ʂːaˋ*; Pulleyblank 1991: 274).

The Tocharian equivalent cannot be restored with safety. The reading is *bh· ·r·* or *bh· tr·* with one or two more syllables following. Probably the word ended in the locative *-ne*. One may consider to restore *bh(i)tr(iśke-n)e*: the basis term, before the diminutive suffix *-śke*, would be *bhitär** < **bhitra-*, issued from the false Sanskritization of *bhitta-* 'split timber', hence several reflexes meaning 'plank, shelf, board' and 'wall, door, window', etc. in Indo-Aryan languages (CDIAL, № 9493: 541b). Pieces of Indian architecture, such as fence, balustrade, verandah, etc. were made of wood.

№ 16 *yamutsentse* : *totinıŋ* <*to ti ni ṅ˯*> (a6)

For this pair, both words are well understood. TochB *yamutsentse* is the gen.sg. of a word traditionally set up as *yāmuttsi*, translating Skt. *haṃsa-* 'goose, swan, flamingo, etc.' (Adams 2013: 532; Sieg and Siegling 1949: II, 156). Since the word is obviously related to Sogdian *ʾymʾwtsy* and Chin. *yīngwǔ* 鸚鵡 or *yīngwǔzǐ* 鸚鵡子, both 'parrot', the correct meaning must be rather 'parrot'.[34]

As a matter of fact, the attestation here is the only one that needs no restorations. The other two occurrences are B 29 a3 *(yām)utts(i)nts(e)* and B 575 b2 *yam(uttsi)*. If the second of these is correctly identified, there is no reason to assume long *ā* in the first syllable. Also, the final *-i* is restored in both cases, and based only on Tocharian A *yāmutsi*. It is perfectly possible, therefore, that the word should be set up as it is found in our text, namely *yamutse* or *yamuttse*.[35]

On *totinıŋ*, the gen.sg. of *toti* 'parrot', see Zieme (2005a: 290) and on the word *toti* in other languages, Rybatzki (2008: 195–197). *toti* is a borrowing from Iranian; cf. Sogd. *twty*; according to Zieme, the Old Uyghur word occurs here and further in U 5656 v9. A derived form *totilug yemišlik arıg* "parrot orchard₂" is now attested in Wilkens (2017: 237; folio 15 recto 14). The term is the Old Uyghur equivalent of *šukačanmuki*, a corrupted form of Skt. *śukacampaka*. Although the *campaka* is a fruit tree (Syed 1990: 277–281), the meaning 'orchard' is problematic from the point of view of Sanskrit studies.

Probably, this set belongs together with the next.

№ 17 *lestaiṣ* : *uyasıŋa* <*u ya si ṅā*> (a6)

TochB *lestaiṣ* must be for *lestaiś*, class. *lestaiśc*, the allative singular of *lesto* 'nest'. This is matched by OU *uyasıŋa* 'to his/their nest'. As Maue notes (2015: 505), this correspondence is probably to be taken together with the preceding, i.e. *yamutsentse lestaiṣ* and *totinıŋ uyasıŋa* 'to the nest of the parrot'.[36]

№ 18 *sanai* : *[b]i[r]* <*·[i]* ///> (a6)

TochB *sanai* is the obl.sg. of the feminine *sana* of *ṣe* 'one'; it is the late variant of *somo* (Peyrot 2008: 131–132). The OU equivalent *(b)i(r)* as restored by Maue (2015: 505) is apparently based on the identification of TochB *sanai*.

№ 19 *pippaltsa* : *pidpidi üẓä* <*pi tpi te uyu syā*> (a7)

The OU postposition *üẓä* renders the TochB perlative *-sa*, here probably 'with'. The base is in both languages clearly 'pepper'. In Tocharian B, this has its normal shape, except that we find short *a* for expected long *ā*: the correct form would be *pippāltsa*, from *pippāl*, loan from Skt. *pippalī-* 'Piper longum' (Filliozat 1948: 130). The shape of the Old Uyghur word is not fully clear. Clauson gives *pitpiti*, noting that the pronunciation is uncertain (1972: 305a). Maue reads *pıdpıdı* (2015: 505), and argues for a "Aussprachevariante" *pədpədə* on the basis of several spelling variants (2015: 388). The Uyghur word was borrowed from Sogdian *ptpδy*.

№ 20 *hanume* : *hanume ḇečen* <*ha nu me pe ccem*> (a7)

TochB *hanume* is clearly borrowed from Sanskrit *hanumant-* (MW: 1288a), proper name 'Hanumat' or

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[34] Hans Nugteren refers us to Korean *aengmusae* 'parrot'.
[35] This explanation is also found in the notes by Klaus T. Schmidt.

[36] The same interpretation is given by Klaus T. Schmidt in his notes.

'Hanuman' through a Middle Indic intermediary that had transposed this *nt*-stem to an *n*-stem or even an *a*-stem. Both *n*-stems and *a*-stems are in Tocharian B regularly reflected as *e*-stems. OU *hanume* is obviously a faithful copy of the TochB form, but the translator felt obliged to add *bečen* 'monkey'. In the Old Uyghur Rāma fragment edited by Zieme, Hanumat is called *Hulumi bečen* ("*xulumi bičin*"; 1978: 25, 28), apparently based on Tibetan.

№ 21 *taktsāntsa* : *u[vda]čı* <u /// ci> (a7–8)

TochB *taktsāntsa* is so far unknown, but looks like an agent noun in *-ntsa* (Malzahn 2010: 485–487). It then presupposes a root *taktˢa-* with a prt.-sbj. stem |taktˢa-|. The damaged Old Uyghur equivalent seems to be either a present participle with the suffix *-dačı*, often forming agent nouns, or a denominal noun in *+čI* denoting an agent (Erdal 1991: 110–118). Maue restores *u(da)čı* "einer der etwas kann, Könner", based on the root *u-* 'be capable' (Clauson 1972: 2a–b). This restoration has to remain uncertain because the size of the lacuna seems to be so large that it contained two akṣaras or a large ligature, larger than the one akṣara required by Maue's restoration. In addition, it seems that Maue's translation "Könner" of *u(da)čı* is a little artificial, and probably inspired by the connection of TochB *taktsāntsa* with Skt. *takṣaṇ-* 'carpenter' and its Proto-Indo-European etymon (cf. in particular Klaus T. Schmidt apud EWAia I, 614[37]; see also Ringe 1996: 4, referring to personal communication by Jochem Schindler[38]).

We propose an alternative interpretation. The TochB root *taktˢa-* presupposed by *taktsāntsa* is in fact almost identical to a root that is already known: *taksa-* 'destroy, smash to pieces' (Malzahn 2010: 647; Peyrot 2013: 750). Indeed, *t*-epenthesis is not only found in the clusters *-ls-*, *-ns-* and *-ms-*, as is well known, but also in *-ps-* and *-ks-*. Examples of *t*-epenthesis in *-ks-* with the perlative are: PK DA M 507.37+36 a53 *sānktsa*; B 201 a3, B 591 a6 *menāktsa*; B 296 b1, B 297a a5 *śloktsa*; B 380 a2 *skloktsa*; B 510 b1 *ektsa*; B 516 b5 *aṃśūktsa*; B 541 a2 *alyektsa*; THT 1392f a2 *gāṅktsa*. In this case, *taktsāntsa* would mean 'destroyer, smasher'.

A possible interpretation of the Old Uyghur match would be a present participle in *-dačı* from the verb *uv-* 'crush, crumble, reduce to powder' (Clauson 1972: 4b–5a). The assumed *u(vda)čı* may have been written <u wda ci>, and possible traces of the second akṣara are visible.

№ 22 *śrikrädviṣpaiype* : *oḍon elleg* <o toṃ e lle γ‹ₓ›> (a8)

OU *oḍon elleg* is by Maue interpreted as *oDon elleg* 'realm of *Odon*', where *Odon* is one of the names of Khotan in Old Turkic. He refers to the work by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī. In OU *odon* is attested several times. To quote only from the fifth chapter of the biography of Xuanzang, we find numerous instances there, e.g., the simple place name *odon* (Dietz, Ölmez & Röhrborn 2015: 224, line 2119, ibid. 225, line 2129, ibid. 236, line 2262 etc.) but also *odon han* 'the king of Khotan' (ibid. 206-207, lines 1910, 1917, ibid., 214, line 2003, ibid. 222, line 2097 etc.) and *odon uluš* 'the realm of Khotan' (ibid. 207, line 1922). The OU term can be compared with Chinese *yútián* 于闐 (Early Middle Chinese pronunciation according to Pulleyblank 1991 *wuǎ dɛn*) and with the "Xiongnu" variant *yúdùn* 于遁 given by Xuanzang (Pelliot 1959: 412–415; Early Middle Chinese pronunciation according to Pulleyblank 1991 *wuǎ dwən'*). Ultimately both Chinese words go back to the Khotanese self-designation *hvatana-*.

As it is written, the Tocharian word makes no sense and it must be seriously misspelled. We think that the second half contains a borrowing of Sanskrit *viṣaya* 'realm', which would correspond nicely to *elleg*. This requires the assumption of a number of misspellings in this part. The attested °*viṣpaiy[p]e* may contain two cases of <p> for <ṣ>, akṣaras that are close in form. In addition, the <y> seems to be a correction from earlier <ṣ>; a correction that may have been inspired by the Tocharian A word *ype* 'country', the equivalent of OU *el*. This would give *viṣ{ṣ}ai{ṣṣ}e*, for expected *viṣaiṣṣe*, an adjective in *-ṣṣe* derived from *viṣai*, a borrowing from Skt. *viṣaya*, which is attested several times as a technical term meaning 'range, sphere' (Edgerton 1953: 502a). The *-ṣṣe* adjective would be reflected exactly in the Uyghur rendering *elleg* by the suffix *+lig* (here written *-leg*). [39]

The first element *śrikräd°* calls to mind a Sanskrit compound *śrī-kṛt-* or *śrī-kṛta-*, compare *śrī-kara-* 'causing prosperity, giving good fortune', *śrī-karaṇa-* 'causing glory or distinction', name of the capital of the northern Kosalas (MW: 1098c). We have not found these or similar forms referring to Khotan in historical sources (e.g. Emmerick 1967; Stein 1907: 153–156, Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1984; Pelliot 1959: 408–425). Nevertheless, there may be a semantic association of fortune or prosperity expressed by *śrikräd°* with traditional designations of the realm of Khotan as "The Golden Land"

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[37] This interpretation is also found in his notes.
[38] The source of this information was obviously Klaus T. Schmidt. The connection was already doubted by Pinault (2006: 130–131).

[39] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt reconstructs the Tocharian word as *siṃharadvīpäṣṣe*, according to him from **siṃhaḍadvīpa* 'Ceylon, Skt. *siṃhaladvīpa*'. This seems far-fetched to us, and motivated in the first place by the assumption that the text is related to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(Khot. *ysarrnai bādä*, Chin. *jīn guó* 金國, OU *altun>el*) , "The Land of the Great Jewel(s)" (Chin. *dà bǎo guó* 大寶國) and "Land of Gold and Land of Jade" (Khot. *ysarrnai bādä ū ranījai janaivai*, Chin. *jīn yú guó* 金玉國; Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1984: 25–33). There is no thinkable relation between *śrī-* or *śrī-kṛta-* and the name of the jade, for which Khotan is famous. A Sanskrit form *śrīkṛtātī-* has been restored as a name for Kashgar on the basis of a Chinese transcription by Xuanzang (Pelliot 1959: 197). Although Khotan and Kashgar were separate kingdoms until the Qarakhanid conquest, first of Kashgar and then of Khotan in the early 11th century, confusion in this later period is conceivable. Under this interpretation, this set would in Tocharian mean literally, 'belonging to the realm of Kashgar', understood as 'Khotan'.

№ 23 *moko* : *ulug* <ulu γ_ɣ> (a8)

For this pair, the two terms are well known. There is, however, a semantic discrepancy that has to be addressed. The basic meanings are 'elder' for TochB *moko* and 'great' for OU *ulug*. However, the latter is also used metaphorically in phrases such as 'eldest (son)' or 'grand(father)' (Clauson 1972: 136b). Occasionally, the meaning 'elder' can be assigned to OU *ulug*, too. See for instance the phrase *ög kaŋ bahšılar uluglar üčün* 'on behalf of mother, father, teachers and elders' in the *Kšanti kılguluk nom bitig* (Wilkens 2007, vol. 1, 68, line 0253). The word is also attested in apposition to *bahšı* 'teacher': *bahšım ulugum käv bahšı* "my teacher, my elder Käv Bahšı" (SUK II 130; Em01-4). In late Tocharian B, a similar usage is also found, to judge from B 108 a3 (Siŋgim manuscript) *mokoṃ protär* 'oldest brother'.[40]

№ 24 *nāte s{t}ar-{n}e* : *išläšmäkiŋä* <e ślyā śmyā ki ṅqa> (a8–9)

It seems impossible to interpret the TochB sequence *nātesnarte* as one word, and without assuming confusion of *t* and *n*. Only if it is segmented and corrected to *nāte s{t}ar-{n}e*, it can be read in a meaningful way: *star-ne* is the 3sg. copula with the 3sg. pronoun suffix, and *nāte* may be a borrowing from Skt. *nātha-* 'help, refuge, support; protector, patron, lord'. The final *-e* of the Tocharian borrowing suggests that the word refers to a person, so that it was 'protector', 'patron' or 'lord'. Together, the phrase would mean '[he] is a protector to him' or 'he has a protector'.[41]

The OU equivalent obviously is a dative of the 3sg. possessive of a so-called infinitive in *-mAk* (Maue 2015: 505). For the lexical root, Maue gives two options: 1) *ešläš-*, a verb derived from the noun *eš* 'companion, comrade' (Clauson 1972: 263b), or 2) the verb *išläš-* 'to work together' (Clauson 1972: 263b), derived from the noun *iš* 'work'. Both verbs would be reciprocal / cooperative forms in *-š* from denominative verbs in *+lA-*. The first he translates as "für ihre wechselseitige Kameradschaft" and the second as "für gemeinsames Tun". Even though it requires to interpret the first vowel, spelled <e> in the manuscript, as /i/, the second option seems preferable, because this verb, and the intermediary formation *išlä-* 'work', is attested elsewhere (cf. also Erdal 1991: 558), while *ešläš-* is set up for this form only.[42] We would translate OU *išläšmäkiŋä* as 'for [the sake of] their working together'.[43]

The correspondence between the TochB and the OU terms is not literal, but if the Old Uyghur is taken as a paraphrase, it seems nevertheless acceptable.

№ 25 *lyokkol* : *kep* <ke [p]_ɣ> (a9)

Maue (2015: 506) proposes to read this word as *kib* 'mould, model' (in Oghuz 'likeness, resemblance'; Clauson 1972: 686a), probably because of Modern Turkish *gibi* 'as'. However, it is not necessary to correct the spelling:[44] in the manuscript it is spelled *kep* which is the expected form according to Mongolian *keb* (see also Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 527, who assume closed *ē* for "East Old Turkic"). The Mongolian form was borrowed from Old Uyghur.

Accordingly, TochB *lyokkol* can be interpreted as a derivation from the root *ləwk-* 'illuminate', which is also found in the nominal derivatives *lyuke* 'light, splendour' and *lyukemo* 'shining'. As for the formation, *lyokkol*, which probably stands for *lyokol*, is to be compared with a small group of words in *-ol*: *aiwol* 'towards; direction' from *ayw-* 'be turned towards'; *trokol* 'provisions' from *trəwk-* 'allot'; and **yotkol* 'command', reconstructable on the basis of *yotkolau* 'commander', from *wətk-*caus. 'command' (Pinault 2009: 481–483). The meaning of *lyokkol* may have been 'vision' or 'visible appearance'.[45]

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[40] About the semantics of TochB *moko* 'elder' and TochA *mok* 'old', see Pinault (2006: 129–130).

[41] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt reads *tānestarne*, in which he sees the locative of a compound of *tāne* 'together' and *star* 'effort' (related

to Tocharian A *ṣtār-*). In our view, both compound members do not exist.

[42] Erdal (2017: 195a) who opts for keeping the vowel /e/ in the first syllable points out that *ešläš-* is attested in Middle Turkic.

[43] Morphologically, the possessive suffix *-i* would refer to a single person, but the reciprocal / cooperative suffix *-š* requires a plural reading.

[44] Erdal (2017: 195a), too, opines that the shape of the word must be *kep*.

[45] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt has a similar interpretation, taking *lyokkol* as 'image'. He derives the noun from *ləka-* 'see', which is not possible according to us.

There appears to be a little discrepancy between the reconstructed meaning of the Tocharian B word and its Old Uyghur translation, but the Hungarian loanword *kép* 'picture, shape, form' (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011: 527) shows that at some stage these meanings were also present in Turkic.

№ 26 *hā wi* : *ya takı* <ya tā qi> (a9)

This pair is difficult to interpret in both languages, and the segmentation is uncertain. Maue (2015: 506) proposes two possible solutions for the Old Uyghur part: 1) *yatak+ı* 'his bed; his lair' (Clauson 1972: 888a); or 2) *ya+ta+kı* 'on the bow' (with the converter *+kI*; Clauson 1972: 869a). The first option is problematic because *yatak* 'bed, lair' is not attested in Old Uyghur,[46] and the second does not fit the Tocharian side. Judging from the Tocharian side, *hā* can only be the interjection *hā* (Adams 2013: 797). The remaining *wi* looks like the numeral '2'.

In fact, in the Old Uyghur equivalent, the first syllable *ya* can also be an interjection (Clauson 1972: 869a; Erdal 2004: 354), which nicely matches Tocharian B *hā*. The remaining *takı* would then be the coordinating conjunction meaning 'and, even, finally, in addition, furthermore' (Clauson 1972: 466a–b; Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary). There is a vague semantic resemblance between *wi* '2' and *takı* 'furthermore' (etc.), but it is much simpler to interpret *wi* as a late form of *pi*, which would be borrowed from Buddhist Sanskrit *pi* (SWTF III: 123a; Edgerton 1953: 344a), a doublet of *api* 'and, also, moreover' (MW: 55a).

If our interpretation is correct, it is worth noting that this phrase, consisting of an interjection and a particle, was selected to be included in the bilingual.

№ 27 *ṣetkasta* : *artdıŋ* <ā r[tdh]i ṅ‹› > (a9–10)

Tocharian B *ṣetkasta* is obviously a 2sg. act. preterite in -*sta*. This form is most easily attached to the verb *sətk-* 'spread out (tr.)', the *s*-transitive to *sətka-* 'spread out (intr.)' (Adams 2013: 748; Malzahn 2010: 938). *ṣetkasta* is the expected active counterpart of the attested 1sg.prt. mid. *sätkasamai* 'I have spread'. Both the initial palatalisation and the *e*-grade are regular in this *s*-preterite.[47]

For the OU equivalent *artdıŋ*, which must be a 2sg. preterite (Erdal 2004: 237), Maue (2015: 506) proposes three possible interpretations (see also Röhrborn 2010: 76–77): 1) *art-* 'become bigger, increase; be, or become

excessive', i.e. "du bist gewachsen"; 2) *art-* 'load onto, load with', i.e. "du hast aufgeladen" (only attested in *Erntesegen*, line 45, see Zieme 1975: 114,118); and 3), on the assumption of "unausgedrückter Palatalität", *ärt-* 'pass', i.e. "du bist vorbei-, hinübergegangen" (cf. also Clauson 1972: 201b–202a). The third option, hesitantly proposed by Maue, is unlikely. The first option is difficult because this verb is intransitive, while the Tocharian B verb is transitive.

Taken at face value, the second option of Maue does not fit Tocharian *ṣetkasta* semantically. However, the semantic nuance found in the passage in *Erntesegen* where the second verb *art-* is attested, *öšniŋä arṭıp yügürü* 'sich auf die Schultern ladend gehen' can be connected with an "eastern dialect form" mentioned by Räsänen (1969: 27b), "eine Sache über einen Gegenstand so herüberlegen, dass die Enden zu beiden Seiten herabhängen, z.B. Wäsche, Kleider über eine Stange".[48] In this very specific meaning of putting something around an object, the notion of spreading of the Tocharian verb is included; the point is that something is spread over a support that is not necessarily flat, so that it may hang down on both sides.

№ 28 *yāyāṅko* : *s(a)vılmıš* <swi lmī ṣ‹› > (a10)

The TochB form *yāyāṅko* is the nom.sg.m. of the preterite participle of the verb *yaṅka-* 'be deluded' (Adams 2013: 526) with monophthongisation of the final -*au* to -*o* and long *ā* for expected short *a* in the first syllable; the regular form would be *yayāṅkau* 'having been deluded'.

We read the Old Uyghur equivalent not with Maue (2015: 506) as *s(ä)vilmiš* "geliebt", which is semantically far fetched, but as *s(a)vılmıš*, a past participle from the verb *savıl-*, a passive from *sav-*, according to Clauson (1972: 788b–789a) 'drive away, repulse; avoid, escape from; bring to an end; let loose' (transitive) and 'go away, come to an end' (intransitive). The passive form means 'anything when it declines from a fixed position or inclines' (Erdal 1991: 671). Erdal (1991: 271) has also noticed that *sav-* is the verbal base of *savıš* which he renders as 'exorcism' but which is perhaps better translated as 'jinx' or 'hex'. The Āgama text from which Erdal quotes *savıš* has a parallel in the OU Candrasūtra (Zieme 2000: 75). In both attestations we find the correct form *savıš* whereas the instance quoted by Röhrborn (2015: 281, s.v. *arvıš*) is mistakenly spelled *sarvıš*, obviously influenced by *arvıš* with which it appears as a binomial. The meaning of the passive verb *savıl-* can be established as 'to be bewitched'. We can conclude that one of the meanings of *sav-* must be 'bewitch'. This can

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[46] Erdal (2017: 195a) has also called into question this interpretation because the *g* in *yatgak* was lost only in Oghuz.

[47] The same interpretation is offered by Klaus T. Schmidt in his notes.

[48] However, Räsänen treats both verbs *art-* under one entry.

be linked to the other meanings cited above if it is understood as 'move (e.g. the mind) away from the natural position'.[49]

№ 29 tr~u~onta : täŋ <tya ṅ~ç~> (a10)

For this pair, both terms are unknown, and both spellings are problematic. Tocharian B tr~u~onta, which cannot be correct, probably is a mistake for tronta, the expected late form of traunta, the plural of trau, a measure of capacity, possibly a small measure for liquids ("± 2 teaspoonsful?" according to Adams 2013: 342). Concerning the spelling tr~u~o°, we must note that trau has a variant tro~u~ (THT 2677d+a b3, du. tro~u~ñcä (THT 4122 b3^bis^), pl. tro~u~nta (THT 2677d+a b1, THT 2676+3211 a1), but all these forms are from the most archaic Tocharian B manuscript (Malzahn 2007; Peyrot 2014), so that they cannot be used here (not to mention the fact that tro~u~ and tr~u~o are by no means equivalent spellings).[50]

The problem with the Old Uyghur spelling is that the second akṣara has both a vowel diacritic and virāma, so that the shape of the word could theoretically be täŋ (if the vowel diacritic is ignored) as well as täŋän (if the virāma is ignored). Maue opts for the first possibility and reads täŋ "Maß" (2015: 506). This corresponds to the entry 1 täŋ in Clauson (1972: 511a–b), 'equal, equivalent', with related meanings such as 'measure, measurement' (Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary; Clauson's "6 taŋ", "a large measure of capacity for seed cotton", is probably the same word, and to be read täŋ as well).

The paleographically possible alternative reading täŋän could in this context only be an instrumental, but the regular form would be täŋin. Moreover, an instrumental would not be matched by Tocharian tr~u~onta.

№ 30 täkṣyäteṃ (a10)

This seems to be the Tocharian half of a pair, without Old Uyghur equivalent (Maue 2015: 506). However, it is difficult to interpret. There are several options for the reading: the first akṣara could be read dha or tä;[51] the second akṣara seems to be clear; and the third akṣara could be teṃ or neṃ (perhaps even lteṃ if the <l> is very small).

If one reads dha for the first akṣara, this suggests a Sanskrit interpretation. If a is read for ä, and the final anusvāra is considered a mistake, it can be read as the 3sg.fut.mid. dhakṣyate of dah- 'burn' or 3sg.fut.act.

dhakṣyati (with confusion of the endings -ti and -te, which is widespread in Prakrit and Buddhist Sanskrit). However, this interpretation needs too many corrections to be convincing.

If the first akṣara is read as tä, it should be Tocharian. However, the sequence täkṣyäteṃ is difficult because of the vocalism: one of the two syllables with ä should have been accented and accordingly written with a. A possible connection might be with the verb tǝnk- 'stop, hinder', which has an s-transitive with an s-present, to which it would be the imperfect. If the ending is correct, it can only be a form of the very rare dual. The expected form would be täṅkṣitem /tǝnkṣíten/ |tǝnk-s-'i-ten| 'both hindered', compare especially westem to weñ- 'say' (Malzahn 2010: 48). The loss of ṅ in this cluster is regular in late texts (Peyrot 2008: 65–66).[52]

If this scenario is plausible, this would explain why the Uyghur translator was at a loss when facing this bizarre form[53] and simply left the place for the translation blank.

№ 31 oypsa-[ñ] : t[a]yar mäniŋ <[t]· ya rmyā ṇi ṅ~ç~> (a11)

Both parts of this set are problematic. Tocharian B oypsa° looks like a 3sg. active s-preterite form, but the root is unclear. No word of the form oyp- exists, and the diphthong oy- is not expected in a nominal or verbal root at all. A first option would be that oypsa- is a mistake for yopsa 'he entered'. Another option would be to admit a misspelling for aipsa 'he covered', the expected 3sg.prt. of the root aip- 'cover'. A third option is to assume that oypsa results from a wrong segmentation of words written together in the original. If the following akṣara is to be read <ñ^ä^~ç~> (no trace of the virāma is visible, but it could be lost in the hole in the paper that follows), together it would read {ai}psa-ñ 'he covered me; he covered my ...' or {yo}psa-ñ 'he entered my ...'.

The pronoun suffix -ñ would correspond perfectly to the translation OU mäniŋ 'my'. However, the preceding OU word is damaged. As Maue remarks (2015: 506), -yar could be the final of an aorist, but the root is difficult to complete. Since there is a punctuation mark after the last akṣara ñ of the Tocharian entry, only one akṣara is missing of the Uyghur gloss. A possible reading of the remaining traces of this akṣara is <t·>, which can be completed as tayar 'glides down, slips' of the root tay- (Clauson 1972: 567a). Even though a semantic discrepancy

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[49] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt bases himself on the reading of the Old Uyghur equivalent as s(ä)vilmiš 'loved' and concludes, wrongly in our view, that yañka- does not mean 'be deluded' but 'love'.

[50] Klaus T. Schmidt reads tro~u~nta, which is not possible. In the present context, we leave aside the problem of the etymology of trau.

[51] The akṣaras <ta̲> = tä and <dha> = dha are identical.

[52] Klaus T. Schmidt has the same reading, but no interpretation of this form.

[53] The dual, which is on the whole a rare and vanishing category for the Tocharian verb, is unknown in Old Turkic, which opposes only plural to singular; cf. Erdal (2004: 158).

remains, this reading seems acceptably close to {*yo*}*psa-ñ* 'entered my ...', one of the options for the Tocharian part.

In Old Uyghur, the word order is irregular, and it is copied from the Tocharian original; see also № 33 and № 39. It is not necessary to assume attributive use of the aorist, as Maue does (l.c.), "von mir, der ich ...".

№ 32 *yukti* : *körkḍäšin* <kyo rktyā śiṃ> (a11)

The OU term *körkḍäšin* denotes "the human figure in drawing or in a mirror" (Erdal 1991: 119), and it has the accusative 3sg. possessive suffix, i.e. 'his image' or 'their image' or the instrumental suffix (Maue 2015: 506). Further meanings are 'image, likeness, figure, double, shadowy being, soul of a dead person' (Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary).

The Tocharian B term *yukti* is most probably not genuinely Tocharian, but a borrowing from Sanskrit. Skt. *yukti-* means 'union, junction, etc.', and also 'artifice, trick, stratagem' (MW: 853c). It is probably the latter sense that is intended here. The meanings of both terms do not match exactly, but a semantic link between 'artifice' for Tocharian and 'image' for Old Uyghur seems possible.[54]

№ 33 *wiyatär-{n}e* : *ögsiräyür anïŋ* <oyo γsi rryā yyu rā ṇi ṅ˯> (a11–12)

The Tocharian form must be from the intransitive verb *wi-* 'be afraid, be frightened', of which the only other surely attested form so far is the verbal noun PK AS 15D b4 *wiyälyñe*, a fragment in classical language, so that the accent must be on the first syllable: /wíyəĺñe/. There is another form, 3pl. *wīyäskeṃ* in PK NS 30 a2, which belongs to the derived causative 'frighten', which is transitive (Peyrot 2013: 818). A form *wiyatär-ne* is cited by Malzahn (2010: 900) from PK NS 45 b2 following a reading by Georges-Jean Pinault, but this has to be read differently.[55] In view of the initial accent in *wiyälyñe*, one would expect *wiyätär-ne* (subjunctive or perhaps present-subjunctive); the two dots may have been left out in *wiyatär-{n}e*.

The form *wiyatär* is translated by OU *ögsiräyür* 'faints, loses consciousness, swoons' (see also Clauson 1972: 118a). The remarkable following genitive demonstrative *anïŋ* seems to translate the 3sg. pronoun suffix *-ne* mechanically. The interpretation assumed by Maue,

namely "ist verwirrt, dessen" or "dessen, der verwirrt ist" is not possible from the Tocharian point of view (for similar cases, see № 31 and № 39). In the original Tocharian text, *-ne* might have denoted the agent, i.e. "he is frightened by him, by it", but more probably it referred to some (possibly not expressed) satellite noun like *palsko* 'mind'. The semantic match of the verbs is not exact, but the link between "be frightened" and "lose consciousness" is close enough. In Tocharian, a semantic parallel is found with *trika-* 'be confused, go astray', causative 'lead astray' (active) 'faint' (middle; Malzahn 2010: 669).[56]

№ 34 *paitārttsana* : *ḅuẓagulug* <pu sa γ[ū] lū γ˯> (a12)

The Uyghur word *buzagu* is perfectly understood as meaning 'calf', more precisely 'new-born calf' or 'milk calf' (Hauenschild 2003: 77; Clauson 1972: 391a). This is followed by the adjective suffix +*lXg* denoting possession or relation, which matches the Tocharian suffix *-ttsana*, pl.f. of *-ttse*, *-tstse* perfectly. Therefore, Tocharian B *paitār** can be interpreted on the basis of this OU gloss as 'calf'. The word is already found in Schmidt (2002: 15, quoted by Adams 2013: 431) without text reference, but it is obvious that his source was this text. The diminutive cited by Schmidt (l.c.), also without text reference, is found in the archaic fragment THT 1536g b3 (Adams l.c.) under the archaic form *paitarśke* for expected *paitārśke** (Pinault 2017: 153–154). Adams hesitantly connects also IOL Toch 165 b4 (not PK AS 17A b6) *painārña*, but this form is really to be read with *n*, not with *t*, and is therefore unrelated (Pinault 2017: 155 fn. 27).

№ 35 *krera* : *muẓlug* (to be read *kre ram* : *uẓlug*) <mu slu γ˯> (a12)

By itself, the sequence *krera* does not make sense as a Tocharian word. Maue (2015: 506) interprets the following OU <mu slu γ˯> as *muẓlug*, a dialectal variant of *buzlug*, adjective to *buz* (*būz*) 'ice' (Clauson 1972: 389a). This remains dubious because two misspellings are involved: *s* for *z* and *m* for *b*. On top of this, *krera* does not fit any known adjective pattern in Tocharian and does not contain any element that could be interpreted as 'ice'.

Therefore we propose to segment differently and read *uẓlug*, an adjective derived from the noun *uz*, which has

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[54] Klaus T. Schmidt mentions and rejects the interpretation of *yukti* as a borrowing from Sanskrit, but does not offer an alternative.

[55] Upon further examination, this form seems to read rather *wāyatär-ne* 'he will lead him' (a reading *sāyatär-ne* as suggested by Peyrot 2013: 818 is not possible).

[56] Klaus T. Schmidt's interpretation is quite different. He reads *wiyacane*, which he takes as the locative singular in *-ne* of a present participle active of *wi-*, which means according to him "verwirrt, verstört sein bzw. werden". As noted by himself, the expected form would be *wiyañcaine* or *wiyaṃcaine*, so that he needs to assume two mistakes.

many meanings, such as 'expert, specialist, craftsman; something excellent' (Clauson 1972: 277b; Wilkens, forthcoming dictionary[57]). This also requires to read *z* for *s* in the manuscript. This adjective would mean 'of a specialist; of an expert' or 'of something excellent'.

If so, we can interpret the resulting Tocharian *kreram* as *kre ram* 'like excellent'. *ram* is the regular late form of the particle *ramt* 'as, like; likewise; as it were', while *kre* is to be identified as the verse form of *kare* 'excellence, excellent', often found in the combination *kare-perne* 'excellent rank', the match of Tocharian A *kär-paräṃ* (Winter 1968: 61; Adams 2013: 151–152). One may surmise that the difference between the particles *ramt* (*ram*) 'likewise; as, like' and *ra* 'also; even; as, like' was not fully understood by foreign speakers. For another example of wrong segmentation, see № 37/38.[58]

№ 36 *ṣ kalna śur : t(i)gi čogɩ* <tγi co γi> (a12–13)

Maue (2015: 506) reads the OU translation as *tigi čogɩ*, an onomatopoeic expression referring to all kinds of sounds and noise (Clauson 1972: 406b, 478).

The sequence *ṣkalnaśur* found as the Tocharian equivalent is not a normally formed Tocharian word. We propose to segment *ṣ kalna śur*. The first element *ṣ* would be the coordinative particle *ṣ*, short form of *ṣp*, *ṣpä*. The following *kalna*, not attested so far, is in fact the expected 3sg. act. of the preterite 1 next to the present 1, 3pl.act. *kalneṃ* of *kəln-* 'resound'. This *kalna* fits the type *səlp-* 'glow' (Peyrot 2013: 167); it could be a secondary formation next to the irregular *s*-preterite 3 *kälnsāte*, if the latter stem is interpreted correctly. The third term would be *śur*. By itself, this form evokes the TA verb *śur-* 'be concerned, sorrowful; worry'. If related to this verb, which is not attested in Tocharian B itself, *śur* should be a root noun with abstract meaning. Semantically, however, this does not seem to fit with *kalna*, nor with the OU translation *t(i)gi čogɩ*.

An alternative interpretation may be to take *kalnaśur* as a single word, borrowed from Sanskrit *karṇaśūla-* 'ear-ache' (*Atharvaveda Śaunakīya* 9.8, stanzas 1, 2, see also Zysk 1985: 46, 47, 161; *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Uttaratantra 20.3, 6;

MW 257a), with confusion of the liquids, perhaps due to a Middle Indic intermediary. This would also fit the Old Uyghur part quite well, since it may refer to buzzing in one's ears, and as expected, the binomial *t(i)gi čogɩ* would translate a single Tocharian word, not two.

№ 37 *etswentsake : katɩrlarka* (to be read *etswentsa : katɩrlarka*) <qa thi rlā rqā> (a13)

The Tocharian part of this and the following set have been wrongly segmented by the scribe, whose knowledge of Tocharian must have been rather limited: instead of *etswentsake karśuwa*, one has to read *etswentsa kekarśuwa*. In this set, *etswentsa* is clearly a perlative plural, which is matched nicely by the dative plural *katɩrlarka* of the OU translation.

OU *katɩr* means 'mule' (Clauson 1972: 604a; Hauenschild 2003: 128–129), which allows to conclude that *etswe* also denotes a mule. The newly identified word *etswe* must have been borrowed from Old Iranian **atswa-* (Avestan *aspa-*, Sogd. *'sp*, Khot. *aśśa-*, Skt. *aśva-*; Peyrot 2015: 223; Peyrot 2018). The OU term is apparently a loan from Sogdian *γrtr'k* (Gharib 2004, № 4270) ~ *xrtry* (Gharib 2004, № 10629).

This set probably belongs to the next; see below.

№ 38 *karśuwa : yüḍürmi(š)* (to be read *kekarśuwa : yüḍürmi(š)*) <yyu tyu rmi –[̣]> (a13)

The Tocharian part *karśuwa* has to be read *kekarśuwa* (see above). This *kekarśuwa* is the feminine plural of the preterite participle of *kərś-* 'chop'; this preterite participle is already attested as *kekarśwa* 'chopped' in PK AS 3A a2.

At first sight, the best option for the Old Uyghur equivalent is to interpret *yüḍürmi(š)* with Maue (2015: 506) as the perfect participle of *yüdür-* 'load' (Clauson 1972: 893b). However, the meaning does not fit. Another option is to take *yüdür-* as a variant of *üdür-* 'separate, choose, scatter' (Clauson 1972: 67b–68a).

We assume that this set belongs together with the preceding, № 37. The two sets together could then mean 'scattered / divided by the mules', for instance in an agricultural process, or 'divided over the mules', for instance with reference to trade goods.

On the basis of the interpretation of *yüḍürmi(š)* as 'loaded', it has been suggested to correct *kekarśuwa* into *kekarkuwa*, the preterite participle of *kərk-* 'bind' (Peyrot 2015: 223), but this is not necessary in view of the proposal above.[59]

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[57] *uz* is more frequently used as an adjective, but this is excluded here because of the suffix *+lXg*.

[58] Klaus T. Schmidt reads *krera*, for which he considers two interpretations: 1) 'provided with horns' (with Indo-European connections), and 2) 'provided with ice'. The latter matches Maue's understanding of *muslug* as *buzlug* 'icy', while the former corresponds to another interpretation, also mentioned by Maue, namely that *mus°* stands for **müz*, in turn for *müyüz* 'horn' (Clauson 1972: 352a–b). Maue doubts the interpretation as 'horn' "wegen fehlender Palatalität" (p. 506), but in fact this word has many variants, even within Old Uyghur, including *muyuz*. Nevertheless, we think that the connection is unlikely, because in Old Uyghur a contraction of *uyu* to *u* is only a very remote possibility.

[59] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt has the same resegmentation of the two sets into *etswentsa kekarśuwa*, but he assumes that *kekarśuwa* is from an otherwise unknown root *kərś-* meaning 'load'.

№ 39 *mokaṣṣ{a}-me* : *äymäntürdi olarnı* <eya ymyāṃ tyu rti o la rṇi> (a14)

The Tocharian form is clearly a finite verb with a plural suffix pronoun. It is most probably misspelled for *mokaṣṣa-me*, which stands for classical *maukäṣṣa-me*. This form is the 3sg. causative preterite of *mauk-*. The meaning of the corresponding non-causative *mauka-* is 'refrain from, desist' (Malzahn 2010: 778; Peyrot 2013: 784), and that of the causative appears to be 'make despair' judging from PK AS 12A a3 2sg.prs. *maukästār*.[60]

Tocharian B *mokaṣṣ{a}-me* corresponds to *äymäntürdi* in the OU translation (Maue 2015: 506), a 3sg. preterite of the *-tUr-* causative to *äymän-* 'be timid, fear' (Clauson 1972: 273b). The causative is documented by Röhrborn (2010: 213), quoted from the bilingual under discussion. The Tocharian suffix pronoun has been translated in OU by *olarnı*, the accusative plural of the demonstrative pronoun *ol*. Note that in the OU rendering the demonstrative follows the verb, which is copied from the Tocharian original (see also № 31 and № 33). Röhrborn reverses the word order in his quotation, whether deliberately or not is not clear.

The translation of both sets would be 'frightened them; scared them'.

№ 40 *waṣākane* : *korkınčın äy[män]čin* <qo rqi ñciṃ eya [y]·· ciṃ> (a14–15)

The OU part can be understood as a binomial in the instrumental, *korkınčın äy(män)čin* 'with fear and shame' (Maue 2015: 506; Erdal 1991: 283; morphologically, it could also be an accusative after 3sg. possessive).

The Tocharian could be read as *waṣākate* or *waṣākane*, but neither of these gives an obvious match to the OU translation. The form *waṣākane* could be a locative, but of a noun that is otherwise unknown. Morphologically, it would be parallel to *kantwo* 'tongue', obl.sg. *kantwa*, though it should be noted that this class contains no other trisyllabic words. The noun *waṣāko** would mean something like 'fear, terror', but with a different nuance compared to the normal word for 'fear': Tocharian B *prosko*, *proskiye*, Tocharian A *praski*. Because of its phonetic structure, this noun can hardly be inherited from Proto-Indo-European. Rather, we think it is borrowed from an Iranian word related to Sogd. *βj-* 'evil', Khot. *baśdaā-* 'evil, sin' < **bazdi°* (Gershevitch 1954: 28 (§179), 57 (§379); Bailey 1979: 273a; Degener 1989: 146b). In order to explain the Tocharian word, a palatalisation of the group *zdi* to *ž* like in Sogdian (where *ž* is spelled <j>) would be needed, plus a suffix *-ākā-* or *-akā-* like in Khotanese.

The alternative would be to read *waṣākate*, which looks like a 3sg. preterite middle, but no such stem is attested or expected. In our view, it would be too speculative to assume a misspelling for a form like *wāskäṣṣate* 'move away (tr.)', the 3sg. preterite middle of the causative *wask-* to *wəsk-* 'move (intr.)': several mistakes would have to be assumed at the same time, and the meaning does not fit either.

In conclusion, we can note in addition that it seems more likely that the OU binomial translates a nominal form of the Tocharian original. The correspondence between the locative in Tocharian and the instrumental in Old Uyghur is straightforward since the Tocharian word refers to a psychological state. In light of the etymology proposed above, the meaning of Tocharian B *waṣākane* may be further specified as 'in an evil state'.[61]

Maue suggests that this set belongs together with the preceding one (2015: 506–507), which would be syntactically difficult in our view. Nevertheless, the sets could be from the same passage.

№ 41 *topi tessa* : *üküp urtı* <uyu kyu p¿ u rti> (a15)

In this set, Tocharian B *tessa*, 3sg. preterite of *təs-* 'put', corresponds neatly to OU *urtı*, 3sg. preterite of *ur-* 'put, strike' (Clauson 1972: 194b). OU *üküp* is a *p*-converb of the verb *ük-* 'heap up, accumulate' (Clauson 1972: 100a–b). Maue (2015: 507) translates the combination as 'aufhäufend setzte er, er setzte obendrauf'.

The Tocharian word *topi* is unknown, but may plausibly be connected with Tocharian B *taupe*, Tocharian A *top* 'mine; rich source; abundance'. The monophthongisation of *au* to *o* is expected in this text. From the derivational point of view, *taupi** can be an action noun of the type *leki* 'bed' (besides *leke* of apparently the same meaning) to *lək-* 'lie down', or it can be an agent noun of the type *salpi* 'glowing' to *səlp-* 'glow'. The second interpretation would agree better with the OU translation *üküp*. In line with the Old Uyghur, the Tocharian text can then be translated as 'he put up while heaping up'. However, one cannot exclude that in the original Tocharian text the first interpretation was meant, i.e. 'he put up a mass' or 'he put up a mass (of smth.)' and that the OU translator misinterpreted the action noun *topi* as an agent noun.

№ 42 *śaiṣṣe āppamāt* : *čakikā* <[c]a ki kā> (a15)

The two words of the Tocharian part are well known: *śaiṣṣe* 'world' and *āppamāt* for *appamāt*, which occurs

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[60] A similar interpretation is given by Klaus T. Schmidt in his notes.

[61] Klaus T. Schmidt has the same reading, but offers no interpretation.

only in the set phrase *appamāt yam-* 'treat badly, disdain' with the verb *yam-* 'do, make' (Meunier 2013: 159–160). One would therefore expect that *āppamāt* was originally followed by a form of the verb *yam-* 'do', e.g. 3sg. present middle *yamasträ* or 3sg. preterite middle *yamaṣṣate*.

Maue hesitantly interprets the OU translation as the vocative in *-a* of a borrowing from Sanskrit *cakrika-* 'juggler; tricky, crafty person' (Edgerton 1953: 221b) but concludes, "Besser aber wird man die Stelle als vorerst ungelöst ansehen" (2015: 507). The reason that Maue proposes that the OU word is borrowed is that it combines two *a*-vowels with non-uvular *k*-signs. Maue's suggestion is appealing because the Sanskrit words *cakrika-*, *cakrin-* and *cākrika-* refer to inferior or despised persons in society.[62] However, according to us, the second syllable cannot be read as <kri>, so that this hypothesis can only be maintained if we assume a Middle Indic intermediary *cakkika-* with assimilation of *kr* to *kk* (a close form *cakkia-* is attested in Prakrit; Edgerton 1953: 226b). This interpretation presupposes that the last akṣara <k·ā> is to be read <kā>, which is a possibility.

A derivation of the verbal root *čak-*, meaning 'strike, bite, sting; slander, decry, betray' (Clauson 1972: 405b), is unlikely because it would require that <k> is spelled twice for uvular *k* here.[63]

№ 44 /// – *kaintse* : *ingäkniŋ* <iṃ kya k͘ ṇi ṅ[ᵡ]> (U 5207 a1)

The OU word *ingäkniŋ* is the genitive singular of *ingäk* 'cow' (Clauson 1972: 184a; Hauenschild 2003: 93). The genitive of the OU word must correspond to the final *-ntse* of the Tocharian original, but the preceding part in Tocharian is difficult to interpret: it cannot be a form of the normal word for 'cow', *ke_u* (a reading *kontse*, gen.sg. of *ke_u* 'cow', as per Peyrot 2015: 224, is impossible). It cannot be the genitive of the adjective *kaiyye* 'bovine' either, since this would be *kaiyyepi**. Although one might want to take the trace preceding *kaintse* as a punctuation mark, we rather think that the word is incomplete. Since the genitive has the stem final *-ai*, the stem should be a disyllabic word ending in *-a* or *-o* according to the distribution discovered by Winter (1989).

On the other hand, the oblique *°kai* together with the genitive *°kaintse* would be expected for a female animal name; cf. obl. sg. *mewyai* from *mewiya* 'tigress' or obl. sg. *oṅkolmai* from *oṅkolma* 'she-elephant'. A stem with final *°ka* may reflect a noun from Indo-Aryan origin. Since the Old Uyghur word *ingäk* is the ordinary name

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[62] MW: 381c, 391c. See also Skt. *cākrika-* Pali *cakkika-* in CDIAL, № 4732: 256b.

[63] In his notes, Klaus T. Schmidt interprets *śaiṣṣe āppamāt* as a compound "von der Welt verächtlich [gemacht], verachtet".

for 'cow', a likely candidate would be Skt. *dhenukā-* (from AV onwards) 'milch-cow' (MW: 520b; CDIAL, № 6877: 394a), borrowed as TochB *dhenuka**, or alternatively *gāvika** from late Skt. **gāvikā-*, the expected doublet of Skt. *gāvī-* (the same in Pali and Prakrit) 'cow' (CDIAL, № 4147: 222a). The second option would be slightly more plausible, to judge from the remnants of the previous akṣara.

№ 45 *kan tuŋraklıg* <qäṃ ti ṅrā qli γᵡ> (a2)

No Tocharian B equivalent has been preserved. According to Maue (2015: 507), *kan tuŋraklıg* means "mit blut(iger) Kralle versehen". Of course, a plural is also possible, 'with a bloody talon' or 'with bloody talons'. The OU phrase is complete because of the preceding daṇḍa.

№ 46 *ot ta* /// (a2)

The OU translation is missing. The Tocharian part is obviously incomplete, and it cannot be one word. The first element *ot* is a particle meaning 'then'; the following *ta* may have to be completed as *ta(ne)* 'here'.

№ 47 *teṅkeṃ* : *karġul(a)rıg* <qa rqu lri γᵡ> (U 5207 a3)

The Tocharian word *teṅkeṃ* is the oblique plural of a noun *teṅke*. From the Tocharian point of view, *teṅke* has the structure of an action noun derived from the root *tənk-* 'check, stop' (Adams 2013: 322). The OU term is the accusative plural of *kargu* 'watch-tower' (Maue 2015: 507; see also Clauson 1972: 653a). The noun *teṅke* is attested several times in economic documents in the allative *teṅkeś* (Kizil Wood 4 a1; THT 434 a9; THT 484 a4; THT 2682 a7), and also in the adjective *teṅkeṣe* (PK DA M 507.17 a5), *teṅkeṣṣe* (PK DA M 507.35 a45) and the diminutive (also in the allative) *teṅkiśkeś* (PK DA M 507.37 and 36 a63). Probably the word denoted a defense structure, like a wall, provided with watch posts.

№ 48 *ttā* – /// (U 5207 a3)

The only words in Tocharian B beginning with *ttā°* are forms of the subjunctive and preterite participle of the verb *təs-* 'put', with stem variant *tətta-* (Malzahn 2010: 650; Peyrot 2013: 757). Possible restorations would be the infinitive *tₐttātsi*, the verbal noun *tₐttālñe*, the preterite participle *tₐttā_u*, or for instance a 3sg.sbj.mid. *tₐttātär*, but with the first syllable written *ttā°*, a spelling that is found only here.

GLOSSARY[64] OF THE BILINGUAL TEXT

Tocharian B

āppamāt (U 5208, a15, № 42)
esteye (U 5208, a2, № 7)
etswentsa (U 5208, a13, № 37)
ot (U 5207, a2, № 46)
oypsa-ñ (U 5208, a11, № 31)
kalnaśur (U 5208, a12-13, № 36)
kärccitaki (U 5208, a3, № 8)
kidi (U 5208, a5, № 13)
kekarśuwa (U 5208, a13, № 37–38!)
°kaintse (U 5207, a1, № 44)
kkar (U 5208, a4, № 10)
kre (U 5208, a12, № 35)
taktsāntsa (U 5208, a7, № 21)
tane (U 5207, a2, № 46!)
täkṣyäteṃ (U 5208, a10, № 30)
teṅkeṃ (U 5207, a3, № 47)
tessa (U 5208, a15, № 41)
topi (U 5208, a15, № 41)
tomaṣṣe (U 5208, a4, № 11)
ttā° (U 5207, a3, № 48)
tr$_u$onta (U 5208, a10, № 29)
nāte (U 5208, a8, № 24)
pādapir (U 5208, a2, № 5)
pippaltsa (U 5208, a7, № 19)
paitārttsana (U 5208, a12, № 34)
pṣāṃñe (U 5208, a3, № 9)
mokaṣṣa-me (U 5208, a14, № 39!)
moko (U 5208, a8, № 23)
yamutsentse (U 5208, a6, № 16)
yāyäṅko (U 5208, a10, № 28)
yukti (U 5208, a11, № 32)
yektiśke (U 5208, a5, № 12!)
ram (U 5208, a12, № 35!)
lalopo (U 5208, a1, № 1)
lalyesa (U 5208, a2, № 6)
luwo (U 5208, a5, № 13)
lestaiṣ (U 5208, a6, № 17)
lyokkol (U 5208, a9, № 25)
waṣākane (U 5208, a14, № 40)
wi (U 5208, a9, № 26)
wināsisa (U 5208, a1, № 3)
wiyatär-ne (U 5208, a11, № 33)
śaiṣṣe (U 5208, a15, № 42)
°śke (U 5208, a2, № 4)
śrikrädviṣpaiype (U 5208, a8, № 22)
ṣ (U 5208, a12, № 36)
ṣetkasta (U 5208, a9, № 27)
sanai (U 5208, a6, № 18)
sarkoy (U 5208, a5, № 14)
saukana (U 5208, a1, № 2)
stamoy (U 5208, a4, № 10)
star-ne (U 5208, a8, № 24!)

64 References to restored forms are followed by an exclamation mark.

hanume (U 5208, a7, № 20)
hā (U 5208, a9, № 26)

Old Uyghur

anıŋ (U 5208, a12, № 33)
artdıŋ (U 5208, a9–10, № 27)
äymänčin (U 5208, a14–15, № 40!)
äymäntürdi (U 5208, a14, № 39)
bečen (U 5208, a7, № 20)
bir (U 5208, a6, № 18!)
bözäñäkkiyäsi (U 5208, a3, № 8)
buzagulug (U 5208, a12, № 34)
čakikā (U 5208, a15, № 42)
čogı (U 5208, a13, № 36)
čočok(k)ıya (U 5208, a5, № 12)
eligin (U 5208, a4, № 10)
elleg (U 5208, a8, № 22)
hanume (U 5208, a7, № 20)
inġäkniŋ (U 5207, a1, № 44)
išläšmäkiŋä (U 5208, a8–9, № 24)
kan (U 5207, a2, № 45)
karġul(a)rıg (U 5207, a3, № 47)
katıg (U 5208, a2–3, № 7)
katırlarka (U 5208, a13, № 37)
kep (U 5208, a9, № 25)
koŋuz (U 5208, a5, № 13)
korkınčın (U 5208, a14, № 40)
körkḍäšin (U 5208, a11, № 32)
közönčlük (U 5208, a1, № 3)
mäniŋ (U 5208, a11, № 31)
oḍon (U 5208, a8, № 22)
olarnı (U 5208, a14, № 39)
ögsiräyür (U 5208, a11–12, № 33)
pankıya (U 5208, a2, № 4)
pidpidi (U 5208, a6, № 18)
savılmıš (U 5208, a10, № 28)
sunsar (U 5208, a4, № 10)
šassıda (U 5208, a6, № 15)
šosı (U 5208, a2, № 5)
tartsar (U 5208, a5, № 14)
tavıšġannıŋ (U 5208, a3, № 9)
tayar (U 5208, a11, № 31!)
täŋ (U 5208, a10, № 29)
t(i)gi (U 5208, a13, № 36)
tıŋraklıg (U 5207, a2, № 45)
totınıŋ (U 5208, a6, № 16)
tuprak (U 5208, a4, № 11)
ulug (U 5208, a8, № 23)
urtı (U 5208, a15, № 41)
uvdačı (U 5208, a7-8, № 21!)
uyasıŋa (U 5208, a6, № 17)
uzlug (U 5208, a12, № 35!)
uzun (U 5208, a1, № 2!)
üküp (U 5208, a15, № 41)
ünmištäki (U 5208, a2, № 6)
üzä (U 5208, a7, № 19)
yär (U 5208, a4, № 11!)
yüḍürmiš (U 5208, a13, № 38!)

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