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Watañi lāntaṃ: Khotanese and Tumshuqese loanwords in Tocharian

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2. LOANWORD STUDIES

This chapter presents and analyses the loanword corpus. It is divided into two parts. §2.1. is a collection of single word studies, organized in alphabetical order. Every entry lists the Tocharian and Khotanese/Tumshuqese occurrences of the word, discusses the material and presents the results of each investigation. §2.2. contains a full list of the examined lexical items classified into three categories (reliable, less reliable/doubtful and rejected loanwords).

2.1. SINGLE WORD STUDIES

TB *AṅKWAṢ(ṬAR)* 'ASA FOETIDA', LKh. *AṂGUṢḌA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- *aṃkwaṣ* PK AS 2A a5, *aṅkwaṣ* PK AS 2A b2.[13] Both forms appear in a list of ingredients belonging to the Tocharian bilingual (Sanskrit-Tocharian) fragments of the *Yogaśataka*. The Sanskrit equivalent is *hiṅgu-* 'id.'[14] in both cases (Tib. *shing-kun*).
- *aṅwaṣṭ* PK AS 3B b5.[15] The word appears again in a list of ingredients, although the text has not been identified yet. It was classified as a medical/magical text. The title of the section to which the text should refer is given in line b4 as a generic *bhūtatantra* "Treatise against the demons".

Khotanese occurrences

- In the *Siddhasāra* it occurs in various orthographic shapes: *aṃguṣḍä* Si 19r4, 128r4, 130v2, *aṃgūṣḍą'* 123r1, *aṃgūṣḍi* 126v4, *aṃgūṣḍi'* 126r4, *aṃgūṣḍä* 10v1, 12v4, 123r5, 124v1, *agūṣḍä* 122r4, *aṃgauṣḍä* Si P 2892.82 and 127.
- In the *Jīvakapustaka*: *aṃgūṣḍi* JP 56r4, *aṃgauṣḍa* 97r5, *aṃgauṣḍi* 52r1, 98r2, 98v2, 100v2, *aṃgauṣḍä* 61v5, 85v3, 104v5.

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[13] The text is not really late but shows at least the secondary *wiralom* for Skt. *viḍa-lavaṇa-* 'salt' and *curm* for Skt. *cūrṇa-* 'powder'.

[14] On the Sanskrit word, which is probably an Iranian loanword, see KEWA III: 593 and EWA III: 538.

[15] PK AS 3B is not an archaic text. For example, it has later *sātke* 'remedy' (next to original *saṃtke*) and later *klyiye* for *kliye*. However, it does have *cūrṇä* (for later *curm*, if *cūrṇä* is not a Sanskritism) and *aṅwaṣṭ*, which looks older because *-k-* is not written. This is a graphic phenomenon associated with older stages, but without phonological relevance (Peyrot 2008: 178).

- In other medical fragments: *aṃguṣḍi* P 2893.219, *aṃgụṣḍi* P 2893.165.[16]

Discussion[17]

The scholarly literature agrees on the Iranian origin of the Tocharian and the Khotanese word and posits a Proto-Iranian form **angu-ǰatu-*.[18] This is seen as a compound of **angu-* 'tangy, sour' (Bailey 1957: 51) and **ǰatu-* 'gum' and is continued by New Persian *angu-žad*.[19] From the occurrences in Late Khotanese medical texts, a Khotanese stem *aṃguṣḍa-* can be safely reconstructed as the original one.[20]

PIr. **-ǰat-* > Khot. *-ṣḍ-* is not a regular sound change in Khotanese. The regular outcome would have been probably ***angujsata-* with PIr. **-ǰ-* > Khot. *-js-* (cf. OKh. *pajsama-* < PIr. **upa-ǰama-* [Suv II: 293]). The first necessary step in order to obtain the Khotanese form is a syncope of the *-a-* in ***°jsata-*, which would have caused secondary contact between ***-js-* and ***-t-*. Such a contact, however, results in the cluster *-ysd-*, and not *-ṣḍ-*, as one can easily see in the formation of the 3sg. pres. mid. of type B verbs (SGS: 193), e.g. *dajs-* 'to burn' 3sg. pres. mid. *daysdi* (SGS: 43) and *dṛjs-* 'to hold' 3sg. pres. mid. *dṛysde* (SGS: 46). *-ṣḍ-* (/ʐɖ/) seems to point to secondary contact of original **-š-* (> **-ž-*) and **-t-*,[21] e.g. *pyūṣ-* 'to hear' 3sg. pres. mid. *pyūṣḍe* (SGS: 87).

In view of these problems with a derivation of *aṃguṣḍa-* from Proto-Iranian directly, it is preferable to see in LKh. *aṃguṣḍa-* a loanword from an Iranian language in which intervocalic **-ǰ-* underwent fricativisation (> **-ž-*). This might be e.g. Sogdian, in which old **-ǰ-* gives regularly *-ž-* (GMS: 42), or even Parthian, for which the same sound change is attested (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 96). Although highly speculative, a Sogdian or Parthian form might also be at the origin of the irregular *-ž-* found in New Persian *angu-žad*, which seems to alternate with a native form with *-z-* (*angu-zad*, Hasandust 2015: I n° 525).

The dating of the syncope is crucial to determine whether the Tocharian form was borrowed directly from the unattested Sogdian (or Parthian, or another unknown Middle-Iranian language of the area) cognate that may be posited, or from Khotanese. It seems that the attribution of the syncope to Khotanese is not problematic: *-a-* was first weakened[22] to *-ä-* in unstressed syllable (**angùžata-* > **angùžäta-*) and then lost. Moreover, New Persian *angu-žad*, if borrowed from Sogdian or Parthian, may show that the unattested form had no syncope (although this is far less certain). In other words, the

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[16] The edition of P 2893 is to be found in KT III: 82-93.

[17] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

[18] See DKS: 1, Bailey (1957: 50) and Rastorgueva and Èdel'man (2000: 166).

[19] See Hasandust (2015: I n° 525). Compounds with another second member are also present, cf. *angu-yān* (Hasandust 2015: I n° 535) and *angu-dān* (Hasandust 2015: I n° 523), all meaning '*Asa foetida*'.

[20] For the Late Khotanese alternations *u* : *ū* and *u* : *au* cf. Dresden (1955: 406 [4], [5]).

[21] See in detail Maggi (2019).

[22] On such weakening see Emmerick (1989: 211)

Tocharian form needs a source language in which syncope has already taken place. This may be identified with Khotanese, in which the loss of *-a-* can be accounted for without problems. More questionable would be the possibility that loss of *-a-* was already realized in the unattested Middle-Iranian antecedent. Therefore, the chance that the Tocharian form was borrowed directly from Khotanese may seem higher than the possibility that Tocharian borrowed from Sogdian or Parthian. Nevertheless, this second possibility cannot be excluded.

As for Tocharian, Iranian **-u-* was reinterpreted as *w* + *ə* and, more precisely, as k^w + *ə*, so that the word takes the aspect /ank^{w}áṣt/. This inner-Tocharian phenomenon is to be observed also for a series of other Tocharian medical terms (TB *kuñcit* ~ *kwäñcit*, *kurkamäṣṣe* ~ *kwärkamäṣṣi* and *kwarm* < Skt. *gulma-*).[23] Since the development of *u* to *u* ~ *wä* ~ *wa* is thus understandable within Tocharian, the form may be derived from Khotanese without any problem.[24] As already noted, the form *aṅwaṣṭ* with final *-ṭ* is older than the form without *-ṭ*, as *aṅkwaṣ* can be derived from the form with final *-ṭ* by sound law (Peyrot 2008: 67).

Old Uyghur *ʾnkʾpwš* (Röhrborn 1979: 145, HWA: 50), i.e. *angabuš*, probably via **anguwaš*, with absence of final *-t* as in Tocharian, and Chinese *ēwèi* 阿魏 [25] share the same semivocalic element *-w-* and must be therefore considered as Tocharian loans.

Results

The history of the word[26] may be provisionally reconstructed as follows: Proto-Iranian **angu-ǰatu-* > *Sogdian (or *Parthian?) [**-ǰ-* > **-ž-*] → Khotanese *aṃguṣḍa-* [**-žat-* > *-ṣḍ-*] → Tocharian *aṅ*(*k*)*waṣ*(*ṭ*) [*-kwaṣṭ* < *-guṣḍ-*] → Chinese and Old Uyghur (independently).

TB *AMÄKṢPÄNTA* 'WAGON-MASTER (?)', LKh. *MAŚPA* 'ROAD'

Tocharian occurrences

- PK AS K12 b3 *amäkṣpänta karpām lantäññai ytārine* 'O Wagenlenker, auf dem königlichen Weg sind wir abgestiegen.' (Couvreur 1954: 86)

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[23] This alternation has already been noted by Isebaert (1980: 73-5). Tremblay (2005: 438) claims that PIr. **angu-ǰatu-* has undergone a metathesis that resulted in **anguajt*, further adapted to Tocharian phonology in the form *aṅkwaṣ*(*ṭ*). However, this explanation is impossible because no vowel /a/ is present in the second syllable of the Tocharian form (the spelling <a> rather denotes /ə/). See further s.v. *kurkamäṣṣe*.

[24] Cf. already Bailey (1957: 50 fn. 2).

[25] As noted by Samira Müller (p.c.), the first attestations of the Chinese word are from the Tang dynasty (see also Laufer 1919: 358-361). Accordingly, the Tocharian spelling squares with the reconstructed Middle Chinese form *ʔa-ŋjwijH*. See further Baxter and Sagart (2014: 121) for the reconstruction of the second character.

[26] See further DoT: 7; Laufer (1919: 361); Bailey (1937: 913); Bailey (1946: 786); Henning (1965: 8) [= SelPap II, 604].

Khotanese occurrences

- *maśpa* IOL Khot S. 6.57[27] *cū aṣṭāga maśpa bvāri* 'who know the eight-membered path (*aṣṭāṅga-mārga*)' (Bailey 1974: 18). This was the crucial passage which permitted the identification of LKh. *maśpa* with Skt. *mārga*. P 2741.120 *cu sūha:cū ąna ḍyau-tcvịnä buri maśpa ṣi' ttattarāṃ jsa bastalīkä*[28] *ṣṭe* . 'That which is the road from Sūk-cū to Ḍyau-tcvinä, that is closed by the Tatars' (SDTV: 66). P 2783.32[29] *biṃda maśpa* 'on the road' (Emmerick Unpublished (a): [144c]), Or.12637/19.1a1 *maśpa* (isolated word) 'road' (KMB: 126).
- *maśpya* P 2781.53 *saṃduṣṭa maśpya tsvā* 'pleased she went on her way' (Emmerick Unpublished (a): [92c]), P 2783.31 *pātca naḍa maśpya tsve* 'Next a man was going along the road' (Emmerick Unpublished (a): [144a]).
- *maśma* JS 25v1 *byaudāṃdä maśma hvāha'* 'They reached the broad highway' (Dresden 1955: 437).
- *maśapa* Sudh 56 (Ch. 00266.68) *hārasta maśapa* 'The roads were overgrown' (De Chiara 2013: 65).
- *mäśpa* IOL Khot S. 47.3 *ttu mäśpa rraṣṭä* 'That right road' (KMB: 551).
- *magpa* Or.12637/57.12 (isolated word, KMB: 143).

Discussion

H.W. Bailey (1958: 46) was the first scholar to put forward the proposal that the TB *hapax legomenon amäkṣpänta* may be analysed as a two-member compound, of which the first member is related to Greek *ἅμαξα* 'wagon', the second to Proto-Iranian **pati-* 'lord'. The first member *amäkṣ*(*a*)° would be paralleled by Khotanese *maś*° in the compound *maś-pa*, which he derives from Proto-Iranian **amaxšya-pāda-* 'cart-path', hence 'road'.[30] This interpretation raises more difficulties than it solves, since it is based on too many conjectures. Firstly, despite Adams' efforts,[31] it seems that Greek ἅμαξα can hardly be etymologized within Indo-European and it is rather to be considered a Pre-Greek loan in view of the alternation *ἀμαχ-*/*ἀβαχ-* (Beekes 2010: 81-2). If Greek and Tocharian are to be kept apart, without the Greek correspondence the Khotanese connection loses meaning and seems therefore quite far-fetched. Bailey's proposal would regard Khotanese *maś*° as the only representant of the Greek word for 'wagon' outside Greek. If not a direct loanword, a possibility that looks fairly improbable, Bailey's etymology should now be

[27] Ch. 0048.57, see edition in KBT: 72.

[28] Instead of *basta līkä*, this is to be read as one word, cf. KS: 308.

[29] Rāma, see KT III: 73.

[30] See DKS: 325. Previously, he had derived it from **amaxšya-pātā-*, cf. Bailey (1958: 46). The etymology is also reported without changes in Dočkalová and Blazek (2011: 320). See also Chen (2016: 199 fn. 27). For the preservation of *-p-* as morpheme boundary, see Degener (1987: 63).

[31] See Adams (1984) for a new Indo-European etymology, with refs. to further literature. Cf. also DoT: 20.

abandoned.[32] Besides, the phonological correspondences would also be problematic, as no plausible explanation for the loss of initial *a-* in Late Khotanese and the different sibilants is available.

As suggested by G.-J. Pinault,[33] it is possible that the word had a totally different meaning. In fact, TB *amäkṣpänta* occurs in the context[34] of a dialogue between the 'charioteer' (*kokälpänta*)[35] and the *vidūṣaka*. Since the word is used in the vocative[36] in direct speech, as an apostrophe to the *vidūṣaka*, after the interjection *au*, Pinault suggested that it could be another way to refer to the *vidūṣaka* himself. He tentatively put forward the hypothesis that it may refer to his proverbial gluttony or to his ugliness.

On the other hand, having discarded Bailey's connection of LKh. *maśpa* with TB *amäkṣpänta*, it is now possible to reconsider the origin of the Khotanese word with new eyes. The attested forms all point to a stem *maśpa-*. In Late Khotanese, acc. sg. *-a*, nom. pl. *-a* and loc. sg. *-ya* are all possible endings of *a*-stems (SGS: 252). The only occurrence *mäśpa* can be ascribed to the occasional alternation of *a* and *ä* in LKh. orthography, which is sporadically found also in tonic position without apparent fronting triggers.[37] In *maśapa* in Sudh 56 an epenthetic vowel may have been introduced, as is very frequently the case in Late Khotanese, cf. LKh. *pasakāṣṭa* for LKh. *paskyāṣṭa* (OKh. *paskäyālsto* 'backwords', SVK II: 80). The form *maśma* (JS), however, is quite puzzling and requires a more extensive explanation. At first sight, one may think that an assimilation to the preceding *m* has taken place. If we consider the group *śp* as original, however, any

[32] Consequently, the name of the Mathura satrap *Hagāmaṣa*, appearing in numerous coin legends (Allan 1936: 183-4), and etymologized as **fraka-amaxša-* (Harmatta 1994: 412), should be probably interpreted differently. The name does not certainly seem Indic, but an Iranian derivation is also not particularly self-evident.

[33] He made this suggestion in the edition of PK AS 12 (see next footnote) that he is preparing together with Michaël Peyrot.

[34] PK AS K12 is part of a larger group of fragments narrating the life of the Buddha. In particular, PK AS K12 retells the events concerning the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* ('Great Renunciation'). For a preliminary translation, see Couvreur 1953: 282-3.

[35] Probably a reference to the legendary charioteer of the Buddha, Chandaka.

[36] However, if *kokälpänta* is nom. sg. (subject of the verb *weṣṣäṃ*) one would expect *amäkṣpänta* to share the same second member (°*pänta*) and be consequently a nom. sg. too. As there is no parallel for a nom. sg. in *-a* next to a voc. sg. in *-a*, the morphology remains unclear on this point for the time being.

[37] Cf. Aśoka 5.23.3 (P 2798.153-4), where the manuscript A has *raṃna* and B *räna* for OKh. *ratäna-* 'jewel' (see Dragoni 2013-2014: 78 and KBT: 43). In this case, however, one should think whether this confusion is more likely to be due to the similarity of the the diacritics for *ä* and *ṃ* in late cursive writing. Consequently, it is possible that in the case of *mäśpa* in IOL Khot S. 47.3, the intention of the copyist was to write an unetymological *anusvāra*. Indeed, it seems that in this particular text unetymological *anusvāra*s are very frequent, cf. e.g. *sąrąva* in line 30. In view of this reasoning, the form underlying <mäśpa> could have simply been **mąśpa*, which could have been a perfectly possible rendition of the attested *maśpa*.

attempt to explain the word within Khotanese will always have to cope with the fact that *śp* is extremely rare in this language. It is found only in the following words:

- LKh. *kharaśpa-* (Si 107r1; JP 93v2, 101v3), LW < Skt. *kharāśvā* 'Carum roxburghianum'.
- OKh. *viśpasta-* (Sgh 23) 'comforted, secure', LW < Skt. *viśvasta-* (Canevascini 1993: 119). A previously unnoticed occurrence of this word is to be found in IOL Khot 35/8 a2 (KMB: 254). In Late Khotanese, a derived *-ia* abstract *viśpastia-* 'confidence' was formed (JS 20r3; Aśoka 6.8).
- OKh. *biśpaḍā* (Suv 8.68; Z 16.14 etc.) 'first of all', derived from **biśśä-paḍā* with loss of internal unaccented *ä* and intervocalic *p* preserved in the presence of a morpheme boundary.
- OLKh. *aśpara-* (Z 13.91; Or. 11344.12 b4; IOL S. 13.29 etc.) was derived by Bailey (KT VI: 8) from **aśśa-para-* 'horse-fodder', with a development parallel to *biśpaḍā*. The meaning is quite certain, as evident from the following occurrences (corresponding to the passages listed above): *ṣa nä ṣṣu rrusa aśpari . vaska* 'this was certainly not barley for horse-fodder' (Emmerick 1968: 199), *paṃjsa ṣaṃga aśparä* 'five *ṣaṃga*s of lucerne' (KBT: 114), *hervī aśparä ni hauḍāṃdä* 'they had given no fodder at all' (KBT: 510). Alternatively, a *-ra* adjective derived in Khotanese from a Gandh. LW *aśpa-* 'horse' (Burrow 1937: 21) meaning '(food) pertaining to the horses' could be proposed. In view of *biśpaḍā*, however, Bailey's derivation appears to be phonologically and semantically fine.
- LKh. *śpaka-jsịma* (hapax in P 2739.16), a compound whose first member is of unknown origin (Kumamoto 1993: 150). It occurs in a very unclear passage: *bagalagvā śī śpaka-jsịma* 'Among the *bagalaga*s with white *śpaka*-eyes' (Kumamoto 1993: 149). Since the second member is evidently a compound form of *tcei'man-* 'eye' and *śī* refers to the colour of the eyes, it could be proposed that *śpaka* may refer to a living being possessing white eyes. If this is an animal, the closest connection may be with Skt. *śvaka* 'wolf'.[38] In this case, the only possible source language is Sanskrit, since intervocalic *-k-* was not lenited. If it had been borrowed from Gāndhārī, one would have expected ***śpaga* or the like. *śp* can hardly point to a native Khotanese derivative of *śve* 'dog'. Thus, *śī śpaka-jsịma* could be an ethnic attribute referring to the *bagalaga* people, who had 'white wolf eyes'. Toponyms and ethnic names containing 'wolf' are found very frequently in the Tarim basin, cf. e.g. the city of *birgaṃdara* in the Khotan area. In the absence of further parallels, however, the proposed solution remains quite tentative. Surely not to be read *śīśpaka* as in DKS: 401.

[38] For further refs. on this word, see KEWA III: 402.

- *varāśpī'* (Sum 926) is now to be read correctly as *varāśī'*, a form of *varāś-* 'to enjoy, experience', following Emmerick (1998: 399) and supersiding the difficult derivation implied by DKS: 378.
- *viśpaśśarma-* (Z 23.38, 48, 142) is the Khotanese name of the god Skt. *viśvakarman*. The strange *śś* in place of *k* of the Indic original has been explained by Leumann (1920: 175) as the result of a contamination with the very frequent personal name Skt. *viśvaśarman* (MW: 994). Leumann puts forward the hypothesis that perhaps in later 'popular' Sanskrit the name of *viśvakarman* was already contaminated with the personal name. This, however, is difficult to prove with certainty, because tangible examples for such cases could not be found. From the Khotanese point of view, one could think of a *-ma* derivative of an alleged root OKh. *śśar-* 'to serve' (DKS: 397). This root, however, has no parallels in other Iranian languages and it was posited in order to explain OKh. *śśāraṇa-* 'reverence, respect' (Suv II: 345 and KS: 26) and LKh. *śerāka-* 'servant' (KS: 51). Although clearly connected, the origin of these two words, however, is for the moment still obscure.[39]

In addition, the group *śph* is found in just one word:

- LKh. *aśphāṇḍa-* (Si 11r3; JP 82r4) of unknown origin. It translates Skt. *saptaparṇa* (Si) 'Alstonia scholaris' and *saptacchada* (JP) 'id.' It seems quite certainly a loanword from another Iranian language. The group *śph* may point to *šf* in the donor language. In this case, a superficial similarity with the Sogdian (*šywšp-δn*) and Parthian (*šyfš-d'n*) words for 'mustard seed' may be noted, but no exact source form could be detected. Cf. also perhaps NP *isfand* 'wild rue'.

Based on these data, it is now clear that *śp* can have two origins in Khotanese: 1. Skt. *śv* or Gandh. *śp*; 2. secondary contact of *ś* and *p* after syncope. *p* is preserved only in the case of a morpheme boundary.[40] Having rejected Bailey's etymology, which implied the presence of a morpheme boundary, it is necessary to consider the possibility of a loanword from Skt. **maśva-* or Gandh. **maśpa-*. None of these two forms, however, seems to be attested.

As no satisfactory result has been obtained with the group *śp*, it is now necessary to return to the Jātakastāva form *maśma*. If this is the original form, one could work with the hypothesis of a dissimilation *maśma* > *maśpa*, instead of an assimilation *maśpa* > *maśma*. The only attestation of *maśma* would have preserved the original undissimilated form. One could object that, if an assimilation took place, the word should have had the form **maśba* rather than *maśpa*. However, there is no trace of the group *śb* in Khotanese, so the closest phonological equivalent could have been indeed *śp*.

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[39] One could think of a loanword from a lengthened form of Skt. *śaraṇa* for the first word, but the semantics do not perfectly correspond. Hardly < PIr. **ćar-* 'to conceal, hide', on which see EDIV: 335.

[40] Otherwise, intervocalic *p* normally changes to /w/, noted as <v>.

This hypothesis allows us to analyse *maśma-* as *maś-ma-*, i.e. a *-ma* derivative (KS: 296-7) of a verbal root *maś-*, on the model of *kṣārma-* 'shame' and *rraysma-* 'battle-array' (KS: 297). A root *maś-* can point either to an original PIr. **mać-* > **mats-* or **maǰ-* > **madz-*. The absence of the subscript hook does not automatically imply an unvoiced consonant in Late Khotanese, since the group *śp* seems to be always unvoiced in Khotanese. The absence of the subscript hook in the undissimilated form *maśma* is also not diagnostic, because, since no cases of **śmV* have been detected, there was probably no way to orthographically distinguish voiced and unvoiced *śm* in any stage of Khotanese. Since no unvoiced verbal root which could have given Khot. **mas-* seems to be attested within Iranian, the only possible candidate seems to be PIr. **maǰ-* 'to break' (EDIV: 272). In this case, it is well-known that, at least within Indo-European, derivatives of roots meaning 'to break' are very often used in the sense of 'road', as the ultimate origin of the very English word suggests. Beside Lat. (*via*) *rupta*, one could also compare ON *braut* 'road' (Falk and Torp 1910: 95), from the verb PG **breutan-* 'to break (open), bud' (Kroonen 2013: 76), still preserved in the majority of the modern Scandinavian languages.

This semantic and phonological connection allows us to acknowledge with a fair degree of certainty the presence of the root PIr. **maǰ-* 'to break' in Khotanese. Previously, an attempt was made (Bailey 1958a: 522 and SGS: 119) to trace it in the Late Khotanese hapax *vameysāña* (Si 13511) which renders Tib. *dril-ba* 'twisted', but subsequent research (SVK I: 111) has shown that this is rather to be interpreted as a Late Khotanese spelling for older **va-malys-* (PIr. **Hmarǰ-* 'to wipe, rub', EDIV: 180), with regular *a* > *e* as a consequence of the loss of *l* and occasional omission of the subscript hook. Another proposal was made more recently by Emmerick (SVK III: 123), who tentatively assumed that the OKh. hapax *maśāña* in the *Ratnakūṭa* (IOL Khot 36/2 r4) could be traced back to this same verbal root. This word has the aspect of a ptc. nec. from a root *maś-*, i.e. **mays-ya-*. Since IOL Khot 36/2 consistently uses the double orthographies *śś* and *ṣṣ* to indicate unvoiced sounds, the reconstruction of a root *mays-* is certain.

The hapax *maśāña* was translated as '(is) to be navigated' by Skjærvø (2003: 417). Emmerick's semantic link could be justified if one keeps in mind the sense of motion which verbs for 'to break' usually have (cf. e.g. Germ. *sich Bahn brechen* etc.) and which is also ultimately at the origin of the semantic development 'to break' > 'road'. However, I do not see how a translation 'to navigate' is justified here, unless we do argue that the Khotanese translator chose to interpret the Sanskrit text, rather than to translate it literally. In fact, the Sanskrit version has *samudānay-* and the Tibetan *sbyar bar byed pa*. The same Sanskrit verb is used elsewhere in the same text and an occurrence of the same verbal form is found even in the preceding chapters of the Sanskrit version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (§153-4). Following in the main lines Edgerton (BHSD: 573), who argues that this verb is consistently used in BHS for the simile of the boat, Silk (2010: 902) translates 'he must make ready', with reference to the boat of the Dharma (*dharmanau*). Thus, a more precise rendition of the Sanskrit original by the Khotanese translator would imply that the verb *maś-* in this case should be translated as 'to make ready, prepare'. In this case, the semantic connection with 'to break' seems at best very obscure. It must be

noted, however, that under the same root **maj́-* Cheung (EDIV: 272) lists also Bajui (Shughni) *mōz-* : *mīzd* 'to make, form, build, prepare' (EVSh: 46). This connection is justified by the supposed link to PIE **mh₂eǵ-* 'to knead' (LIV: 421), which could have been also the alleged source of English 'to make'.[41] If this etymology is correct, the Bajui form may witness the preservation of the original semantics of the root. It is not impossible that also a peripheral language like Khotanese could have preserved the same old meaning. If this is correct, a translation 'to prepare, make ready' for the verb *maś-* would be more in line with the Sanskrit original and would be legitimized by its etymological connection.

At this point, it would be tempting to try to explain also the unclear substantive LKh. *māśa-* 'dwelling' (DKS: 330), but its very different phonological shape (unvoiced *ś* and long *ā*) cannot justify in any way a connection with the same root. Bailey's derivation is at any rate very dubious. His comparison with Oss. D *mæsug* 'tower' and the Pontic Greek ethnic name *Μοσσύνοικοι* is explicitly doubted by Brust (2005: 466) who concludes that this connection is still obscure.[42] For the time being, it seems then safer not to set up unfounded hypotheses on its origin. The same warning is also valid for Bailey's link with Ved. *majmán*, which is considered 'völlig entbehrlich' by Mayrhofer (EWA II: 292).[43]

It remains to explain the strange form *magpa* in Or.12637/57.12, which unfortunately occurs as an isolated word in a late document from the Khotan area. Instead of correcting the reading to **maśpa* with Bailey (KT V: 230), followed by KMB: 143, one may tentatively propose to see in it a loanword from Tib. *dmag pa* 'soldier' or *mag pa* 'bridegroom, son in law'.[44] In view of the economic and administrative nature of this kind of documents, the first proposal may seem more justified, but it remains obviously quite unsure. Tibetan official and military titles were often borrowed into Khotanese, cf. e.g. Tib. *blon* 'minister' (Zhang 2016: 447) borrowed as *bulāni* (Or. 11258 a1) and *lụnä* (Hedin 20 a2), with or without trace of Tib. *b*.[45]

Results

The Tocharian B hapax *amäkṣpänta* remains for the moment still unclear. As meaning and phonology do not agree, it seems that an Iranian derivation from **amaxšya-pāda-* 'cart-path' is to be excluded altogether. LKh. *maśpa-* 'road', on the other hand, may be explained as a dissimilated form of an original *maśma-*, which is also attested in one instance. It can be interpreted as a *-ma* derivative of a verb *maś-* (< **mays-ya-*). Khotanese **mays-* could be linked with the PIr. root **maj́-* 'to break', assuming a

[41] Cf. the observations in Kroonen (2013: 350), though.

[42] 'Eine positiv begründbare Lösung des Problems ist wohl nicht mehr möglich' (Brust 2005: 467).

[43] For further possible connections, see Duan (2013: 308 fn. 2).

[44] However, one cannot but acknowledge the graphic similarity between the two akṣaras.

[45] Military and administrative borrowings were travelling in both directions, as witnessed by the Khotanese loanword in Tibetan documents *spa* 'military official' (Late OKh. *spāta-* > LKh. *spā*), on which see Emmerick (1985: 315).

semantic development similar to that attested in Romance and Germanic languages. The hapax *maśāña* could also be linked to the same root, if correctly translated as 'to make, prepare', in line with the Sanskrit version, and assuming the preservation of the original meaning of PIr. **maj-*, attested as such in other Iranian languages. Whereas *magpa* in a late document could be tentatively interpreted as a loanword from Tibetan *dmag-pa* 'soldier', the origin of LKh. *māśa-* 'dwelling' remains still obscure. In addition, it is tentatively suggested that the unclear LKh. *śī śpaka-jsi̯ma* could be translated as an ethnic attribute meaning 'with white wolf eyes', with *śpaka* as a loanword from Skt. *śvaka*.

TB *AMPA-* 'TO ROT, DECAY', LKH. *HAṂBVA-* 'FESTER'

Tocharian occurrences

- prt. ptc. nom. pl. f. THT 9 b7 *stastaukkauwa āmpauwa spärkauw= ere :* 'swollen, rotten, void of colour', parallel THT 10 a3.

Discussion[46]

Adams (DoT: 48) regards *ampa-* as a Middle Iranian loanword from the same root as OKh. *haṃbūta-*, NP *ambusidan*, etc. Malzahn (2010: 525) seems to be of the same opinion but would rather take the word more specifically as a Khotanese loanword. If from Khotanese, one might envisage the possibility that the form has the aspect of a denominative formation from LKh. *haṃbva-* (< Old Khotanese *haṃbūta-*, see s.v. *ampoño*), resulting in TB *amp*(*w*)*a-*. This verb can be thus traced back with a fair degree of certainty to Late Khotanese.

Results

The Tocharian B verb *ampa-* 'to rot, decay' can be analysed as a loanword from Late Khotanese *haṃbva-* (< OKh. *haṃbūta-*). For more details, see s.v. *ampoño*.

TB *AMPOÑO* 'ROTTENNESS, INFECTION', LKH. *HAṂBVA-* 'FESTER'

Tocharian occurrences

- nom. sg. THT 510 b6 *ampoño*
- obl. sg. THT 503 a3 *ampoñai*
- gen. sg. PK AS 3A a1; a6; b1 *ampoñaṃtse*
- gen. sg. PK AS 3A a2 *ampoññaṃtse*

In PK AS 3A it is used consistently in the gen. sg. with *sāṃtke* 'remedy'. The text describes four remedies against *ampoño*. All other occurrences are from medical texts as well.

[46] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

Discussion[47]

Adams' second edition of his Tocharian B dictionary contains the following statement s.v. *ampoño*: "A nomen actionis from *āmp-* 'rot,' q.v., from Khotanese *hambu-*, i.e., *hambu-* + the Khotanese abstract-forming suffix *-oña*" (DoT: 21). In Old Khotanese there is indeed a word *haṃbūta-* occurring in Z 5.16 and 5.18, two passages which present us with two literary similes involving medical terminology:

Z 5.16 *trāmu māñaṃdu kho hvą'ndä haṃbūtä haṃbaḍä ysūna* *cvī ye ālīva nitcana īndä samvī ttaṃdu hamārgya*	'Similarly, in the case of a man's fester full of pus, when one puts ointments on it on the outside, there is only so much alleviation of it.' (Emmerick 1968: 99)
Z 5.18 *samu kho haṃbūvu bei'ttä . harbiśśī āchai jīye . trāmu nairātma-hvanaina uysnori ysaṃtha jyāre*	'Just as when one cuts open a fester all disease is removed for one, so through the doctrine of selflessness (*nairātmya*) births are removed for a being.' (Emmerick 1986: 73)

haṃbūta- has the aspect of a past participle from the Proto-Iranian root **pauH-* 'to stink, smell, rot' (EDIV: 302), to which a preverb **ham-* has been added. In the corresponding stanzas of the Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra, the word appears regularly as *ha(ṃ)bu* in both occurrences, as one would expect in Late Khotanese. It is clear from a second set of occurrences in the Late Khotanese medical text P 2893 (KT III: 82-93) at lines 184, 185 and 189 that the word is a technical term. Here the word occurs in the spelling *haṃbva(')-* (< *haṃbuva-* < *haṃbūta-*) always with the meaning 'fester'.

The reference to 'hambu' in DoT: 21 seems to take into consideration only one of the Late Khotanese forms, without commenting on the Old Khotanese one, which should be first compared with Tocharian. Otherwise, 'hambu' might stand for **hambu-* and might be a reference to the unattested present stem from which the past participle *haṃbūta-* is derived. However, although the suffix *-ūña-/-auña-* can be added to past or present participles, there is no example with the suffix being added directly to a present stem (KS: 159). If one were to add it to *haṃbūta-*, one would expect **haṃbūttauña-*, in line with the attested *hämättauña-* (from the past ptc. *hämäta-*) (KS: 164). The resulting intervocalic *-t-* seems to undergo strengthening rather than being lost altogether. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that intervocalic *-t-* was lost in this case already in Khotanese. In fact, *-tt-* in the hapax *hämättauña-* might be an example of 'morphologische Verdeutlichung' (KS: 162), i.e. a way to stress the presence of a morpheme boundary before the suffix.[48] If this is correct, one could see in *ampoño* the

[47] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

[48] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of Dragoni (2021) for this suggestion.

past part. LKh. *haṃbva-* to which the suffix *-auña-* has been added. This would confirm the hypothesis of a Late Khotanese origin of *ampoño*, as suggested by D.Q. Adams.

From the Tocharian point of view, however, there is still the possibility that *ampoño* is a genuine Tocharian formation based on the verb TB *ampa-* (borrowed from LKh. *haṃbva-*, see 3.2.). In fact, all attested forms point to a nom. sg. *ampoño* or *ampoña**. Because of the palatalisation, *ampoña* would be the expected original form (M. Peyrot, p.c.). THT 510, the fragment containing the only occurrence of *ampoño*, is normally classified as late, so the form might be simply interpreted as secondary for earlier *ampoña* (Peyrot 2008: 99-101). This form would have the appearance of a derivative in *-'eñña* from a verbal root, which in this case could be *ampa-* 'to rot', q.v. For the forms with single *-ñ-* for the expected *-ññ-* one might compare the obl. sg. of *wṣeñña*, which is attested four times with a single *-ñ-* (IOL Toch 117 b4, Km-034-ZS-R-01 a7, PK AS 16.7 a4, IOL Toch 62 a3).

In view of the rule formulated s.v. *keś*, according to which unaccented *ham-* is dropped and accented *ham-* is preserved as *am-* in TB, one should conclude that this second possibility is probably the correct one.

Results

The Tocharian B nom. sg. *ampoño* 'rottenness, infection' is secondary from an expected *ampoña**, an *-'eñña* formation to the verb TB *ampa-* 'to rot', q.v.

TA *ĀRT**, OKh. *HAḌA-* 'ENVOY'

Tocharian occurrences

- nom. pl. A 66 a2 *śāwaṃ wārtskās ypeyäntwäṣ kakmuṣṣ ārtañ lāñcäśśi :* 'envoys of the kings have come from all the great neighbouring countries' (DTTA: 47).
- gen. pl. A 66 b2 *tmäṣ mahendrasene wäl āmāśās kākkropuräṣ cesmäk ārtaśśi anaprä ypeyaṃ tpässi wotäk* || 'thereupon King Mahendrasena, having gathered all his ministers, ordered them to announce to the envoys in the country' (DTTA: 47).

Discussion

The identification of the Tocharian A substantive *ārt** as 'envoy, messenger' has a rather long history within Tocharian studies. In the *Tocharische Grammatik* (TG: 2), the substantive is translated as 'Freier'. As explicitly declared by the authors, a connection was sought with the verb TA *artā-* 'to love, praise, approve, adopt' (DTTA: 46). Hence the translation 'suitor'. However, this interpretation is not self-evident, if one examines the two occurrences in the broader narrative context of A 66. As it has already been noted (TG: 2), it should be stressed that the verb *artā-* is used in the same fragment (A 66 a6) as a pret. ptc. nom. sg. fem. to refer to Bhadrā, who is 'loved' by many suitors. Therefore, one could well conceive of a translation 'suitor (< 'lover')'. A possible connection with this

verb is also contemplated by Carling (DTTA: 47) and had been upheld as well by Poucha (1955: 24 'procus, sponsus').

On the one hand, this translation could perhaps fit the context of A 66 a2, where the reference could be to the suitors of Bhadrā, coming from different kingdoms for the *svayaṃvara*. The gen. pl. *lāñcäśśi*, however, would be semantically difficult to explain. On the other hand, it is quite hard to see how 'suitor' could fit A 66 b2, where the reference is clearly to the royal envoys, i.e. a well-defined official position within the court. In fact, the usual *topos* of the description of the *svayaṃvara* in Indian literature normally includes the king father summoning his envoys to notify the neighbouring kingdoms that his daughter has reached the age of marriage (cf. e.g. in the Mahābhārata). The 'envoy' is normally Skt. *dūta*. A compound *rājadūta* 'royal envoy' may possibly account for *ārtañ lāñcäśśi* in A 66 a2.

This could have been the reason why Sieg (1952: 8-9) in the first translation of the fragments of the Tocharian Ṣaḍdanta-Jātaka seemed to opt for a different interpretation ('Werber'). Recently, fragments of a Tocharian B and Old Uyghur version of the Ṣaḍdanta-Jātaka have been identified (Peyrot and Wilkens 2017). Luckily, they do seem to correspond to this same passage. Therefore, this wealth of material provides multilingual evidence for a more precise interpretation of the semantic range of TA *ārt**. In the following, the terms corresponding to TA *ārt** in the three languages within the same passage are listed:

Tocharian B	Tocharian A	Old Uyghur
ṣīto (IOL Toch 63 a1, b5; IOL Toch 1094 a1)	*ārt** (A 66 a2, b2)	*arkıš*, *yalavač* (MIK III 1054 /r/18/, /21/)

The identification of TB *ṣīto* as 'envoy' was suggested by Ogihara (2013: 207-8) based on the strong evidence of a Chinese parallel. Pinault (2017: 138-148) argued for a possible Indo-European etymology. It seems that the word is also used within the corpus of Tocharian B documents (Ching 2010: 316-7).[49] The Old Uyghur terms are both quite well-known words for 'envoy, messenger', both in literary texts and documents (HWA: 63, 856). Thus, the meaning of TA *ārt** can be now regarded as certain.

For semantic reasons, this identification excludes altogether any connection with the verb TA *artā-* (cf. *supra*). Thus, a different etymological explanation is needed. Carling (DTTA: 47) cautiously suggests a possible 'ultimate connection' with the adverb TA *ārt*

[49] Its semantic field and the ending nom. sg. *-o* make this word quite a good candidate for a loanword from Khotanese, but I have not been able to identify any precise Khotanese counterpart. A possibility would be to start from the past ptc. *hīṣṭa-* 'sent' (< **häṣ-* 'to send' [*hei'-* SGS: 154]), which could have undergone a word-initial metathesis after the loss of *h-* within Tocharian B, i.e. OKh. *hīṣṭa-* → TB **iṣto* > *ṣīto*. For the semantics, cf. Latin *missus*, and the etymological discussion in Pinault 2017. However, the lack of a precise justification for this metathesis renders the proposal admittedly quite weak and hardly plausible.

'over a distance', but this is unfortunately a hapax of unclear origin and meaning.[50] It is not self-evident that this could be the base for TB *ārt(t)e* TA *ārtak*, as possibly implied by DTTA: 47, since its meaning is likewise disputed. The phrases containing TA *ārt* and TB *ārt(t)e* TA *ārtak* were recently re-examined by Catt (2016). Based on a Sanskrit parallel for B 197 a4, he convincingly argued that TB *ārt(t)e* and TA *ārtak* could be considered as related to the verb for 'to love' (cf. *supra*). He further admitted that the hapax TA *ārt* is of difficult interpretation and left it unexplained (Catt 2016: 31). Therefore, the hypothesis of a connection of *ārt** 'envoy' with the alleged adverb *ārt* '?' cannot be safely justified and should now be abandoned. To be sure, the semantic reasoning behind Carling's connection would have actually been rather convincing, given such parallels as Skt. *dūta*, for which cf. the adj. *dūra* 'far'.[51] Thus, TA *ārt** can be convincingly translated as 'envoy', but none of the etymological explanations proposed so far stands closer scrutiny.

In view of the difficulties outlined above, it may be justified to put forward the hypothesis that TA *ārt** could be a loanword from a neighbouring language. In this case, Khotanese may offer quite an attractive solution to the problem. In fact, one of the most frequent words for 'envoy' in this language is *haḍa-*. The word is already attested in Old Khotanese. It occurs in the following passage of the Book of Zambasta (Z 5.33), where it seems to refer to an envoy of King Śuddhodana: *āmācu hā haḍu hīṣṭe* 'he (= the king) sent forth a minister as envoy' (Emmerick 1968: 103). Thus, *haḍa-* indicates precisely the official position of *rājadūta* which TA *ārt** seems to render. Bilingual evidence in Sgh §253.72 (Canevascini 1993: 110) confirms the equation with Skt. *dūta*. As for the later occurrences, Bailey (KT VI: 380) further refers to the Late Khotanese bilingual 'conversation manual' (P 5538b.82), where *haḍa-* is translated by *rajsavarī*. Kumamoto (1988: 69), following Bailey, identifies the source of *rajsavarī* as Skt. *rājadvārika-* 'royal porter, emissary' (MW: 873). *rajsavarī* is a regularly Khotanized Sanskrit form, which underwent depalatalisation (*j* > *js*), *dv-* > *v-* and loss of intervocalic *-k-*. In Late Khotanese documents and official letters, the standard designation of the '(royal) envoy' is always *haḍa-*. Thus, the meaning of *haḍa-* is not problematic and the word seems to cover exactly the same semantic range as TA *ārt**.

Whereas its meaning is assured, its etymology needs to be studied more carefully. In fact, Bailey's (DKS: 447) proposal to see in it a ptc. from the verb PIr. **xar-* 'to go, pass' (EDIV: 444-5), extremely common in Sogdian (*xr-*) but with no completely assured traces in Khotanese, is phonologically difficult. Surely it cannot be derived from **xarta-*, since this would have yielded ***khaḍa-*, not the attested *haḍa-*. Another possibility given by Bailey (DKS: 447) s.v. *haḍāa-* 'day', is that it could be the outcome of a zero grade **xr̥ta-*. This is also hardly possible, since, even if we posit such a late date for the vocalization of **r̥*, which is *per se* quite unlikely, the outcome of word-initial **xr-* would be invariably *gr-* in Old Khotanese (cf. *grūs-* 'call' < PIr. **xraus-*, SGS: 32). Therefore, both *haḍāa-* 'day' and *haḍa-* 'envoy' are in need of a better explanation. As for *haḍa-*, two main directions of

[50] I do not see any possible way to consider it again as the same subst. 'envoy'.

[51] This connection, although very likely, is also ultimately unsure, cf. EWA I: 738.

enquiry are possible. The first would trace back initial *h-* to PIr. **h-*. In this case, however, **har-* 'to guard, observe', **har-* 'to stretch, extend' or **harH-* 'to pay tribute; to barter, trade, exchange' (meanings follow EDIV) do not seem to offer suitable semantic connections.[52] A second option would be to consider also Proto-Iranian roots with initial laryngeal. Accordingly, one may propose a derivation from one of the two homophonous roots PIr. **Har'* 'to go to(wards), reach' or **Har-²* 'to set in motion'. As already mentioned, words for 'envoy, messenger' are frequently formed to the ptc. of verbs of motion, cf. MP *frēstag*, Latin *missus*, French *envoyé*. In view of these considerations, it may be argued that a form PIr. **Harta-* may have yielded OKh. *haḍa-*.[53]

Therefore, I would propose a reconstruction **(h)arda-* for Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese. The form has been reconstructed based on these assumptions: 1. initial **h-* has been put between brackets because, lacking precise Tumshuqese examples, its reconstruction for PTK is not certain. Moreover, if Kümmel (2018) is right, there are cases in which Khot. intial *h-* can be traced back to a PIr. laryngeal. However, not every initial laryngeal yields *h-* in Khotanese. Therefore, its reconstruction for PTK is based only on the Khotanese evidence, but, since the counterexamples are numerous and the material is still difficult to evaluate, its presence in PTK cannot be established with certainty. Needless to say, the Tocharian evidence is of no help in the matter, as initial *h-* is not possible and could have been easily dropped during the borrowing process, especially if one attributes the loanword to a very ancient period;[54] 2. in view of the Tumshuqese evidence for the development of the group **rt* > *rd*, it seems justified to reconstruct a PTK stage **rd*, as already suggested by Peyrot (2018: 273); 3. if one started from a form PIr. **Hr̥ta-*, Tocharian A /a/ would imply that the vocalization of **r̥* was already of PTK date. Since this is contradicted by a number of other cases (see s.v. *parso*, **ṣərtw-*) and by the very different outcomes of **r̥* in Khotanese and Tumshuqese (cf. Peyrot 2018: 273), it is probably safer to posit a source form PIr. **Harta-*; 4. based on the Tocharian A form, it may be possible to reconstruct a corresponding TB **ārto* as the older word for 'envoy' in Tocharian B; afterwards, Tocharian B lost **ārto* in favour of *ṣīto*.[55]

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[52] At first sight, the root **harH-* shares some semantic similarities. The meaning 'to exchange, trade', however, is not attested in Eastern Iranian (only MP and NP).

[53] As for *haḍāa-* 'day', Skjærvø's (2004: II 359) suggestion that it may derive from '**fra-r̥ta-* 'dawned" could be taken into consideration, but it still needs to be explored in detail.

[54] In order to overcome these difficulties, A. Lubotsky (p.c.) suggests an alternative reconstruction PIr. **fra-Hr̥ta-* for Khot. *haḍa-*. However, even if Kümmel's idea proved to be not feasible, unetymological *h-* ('prothetic' according to Bailey) would be at any rate very frequent in Khotanese. Moreover, a reconstruction **fra-Hr̥ta-* would be difficult to reconcile with TA *ārt**.

[55] It may be also argued that, on the basis of TA *ārt**, we could simply reconstruct a Tumshuqese subst. **arda-*, which was borrowed only into Tocharian A in historical times. However, I would suggest three arguments that could possibly speak against this scenario. On the one hand, no assured loanwords from Tumshuqese have been detected so far in Tocharian. Moreover, the direction of borrowing seems to have been rather from Tocharian B into Tumshuqese and not the opposite. This is likely to be ascribed to sociolinguistic reasons and has to do with the political

Results

None of the etymological proposals for TA *ārt** 'envoy' is satisfactory. Accordingly, based on this investigation, I suggest that the origin of TA *ārt** is ultimately to be sought in a loanword from the PTK antecedent of OKh. *haḍa-* 'envoy'. The acc. sg. PTK *(*h*)*ardu* 'envoy' was borrowed as **ārto* in Proto-Tocharian. Tocharian B lost this lexeme (TB **ārto*) and favoured *ṣīto* 'envoy', Tocharian A preserved it in its regular outcome *ārt**. The history of the word may be summarised as follows: PIr. **Harta-* > PTK *(*h*)*arda-* (OKh. *haḍa-*, Tq. *(*h*)*arda-*), acc. sg. PTK *(*h*)*ardu* → LPT **ārto* (TB **ārto*, TA *ārt**).

TB *ARMAÑIK* 'A KIND OF TEXTILE'

Tocharian occurrences

- nom. sg. SI B Toch 10 a2 *tseñai keṃ armañik piś cakäṃ piś tsuṃ pärkare wartstse trai cakäṃ trai tsuṃ* '*armañik* on a blue ground: five feet (and) five inches in length, three feet (and) three inches in width' (Ching 2010: 344).

Discussion

The hapax TB *armañik* occurs in the St. Petersburg fragment SI B Toch 10. Ching (2010: 344) tentatively proposed that it could be a kind of textile and put forward the hypothesis that it could have been borrowed from an Indo-Iranian language. Indeed, the context suggests that it could be a kind of woven stuff, as it is described as having a blue colored background (*tseñai keṃ*) and some measures are given, which could be fitting for a medium size rug, blanket or covering of any sort.

Recently, Begmatov (2019: 17-8) proposed to connect the unclear Sogdian hapax *rm'nykh* in the mount Mugh document A-1 (Livshits 2015: 120-4) with Tib. *'a rmo ni ka* (see other spellings in DKS: 32). This is used to render *pāṇḍu-kambala* in *pāṇḍu-kambala-śilā*, i.e. the throne of Indra in the Trayastriṃśa. In the Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki 1916: n° 7127) Skt. *pāṇḍukambalaśilātalam* is translated by Tib. *armonig lta bu'i rdo leb*, lit. 'stone endowed with (or resembling) *armonig*'. Bailey (DKS: 32) put forward the proposal that the word could have an Iranian origin and reconstructed a possible Iranian form **armānika-* or **armaunika-* based on Tibetan, but was not sure about the precise borrowing directions. Begmatov (2019: 18) convincingly argued that the Tibetan form

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expansion of Kuča into the Tumshuqese speaking areas, which, as a consequence, could have put Tocharian B in a position of prestige over Tumshuqese. If nevertheless Tumshuqese loanwords could be possibly detected, one would expect to find them more likely in Tocharian B, not in A, for evident geographical and political reasons. On the other hand, later loanwords from Tocharian B into Tocharian A usually maintain their final vowel. It would arbitrary to argue that loanwords from Tumshuqese in Tocharian A regularly lost their final vowel as a consequence of the adaptation.

may have been borrowed from Sogdian. His reconstruction of the pronunciation of *rm'nykh* as /ərmānīka/ seems indeed to agree with Bailey's first reconstruction.

I would suggest that TB *armañik* in SI P Toch 10 a2 may be a loanword from the same Sogdian form. Consequently, the phonetic shape of the Tocharian B word may be reconstructed as /armañík/. This identification provides therefore an almost perfect phonological match. The dating of the borrowing should have been quite late. This can be argued based on two arguments. On the one hand, the secondary palatalisation *ni* > *ñi* is found only in late and colloquial texts (Peyrot 2008: 90-1). On the other hand, the absence of the final vowel agrees with the patterns observed for late loanwords from a Sogdian source into Tocharian B (Tremblay 2005: 437-9). Needless to say, this identification also fits the overall context of the Tocharian document under analysis. In fact, even if the fragment contains many unclear hapaxes, it is clear that *armañik* should refer to a textile product.

Even though **armānika-* looks possibly genuinely Iranian, I am not able to offer any attractive solution for it at the moment. Bailey's (DKS: 32) hypothesis of a root **Har-* (as in Khot. *haḍa-* 'dress' < **Har-ta-* ?, see DKS: 447) seems quite difficult to prove and remains therefore very speculative. The same can be observed with regard to Bailey's connection with Gāndhārī *arnavaji*, which should designate a type of cloth.

Results

The Tocharian B hapax *armañik* in SI P Toch 10 a2 may be interpreted as a late loanword from Sogdian *rm'nykh* 'a type of textile'.

TB *AṢĀṂ* A *ĀṢĀṂ* 'WORTHY', OKH. *ĀṢANA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

The close similarity between the two words was already noted by Konow (SS: 118) and Bailey (1937: 914). Weber (1985: 681) claimed that both the Tocharian and the Khotanese word could be loanwords from Bactrian, without having at his disposal the actual Bactrian form. The Bactrian word is now attested as *αζανο* (Sims-Williams 2007: 188), which is interpreted as /ažān/ by Gholami (2014: 55) and derived from **arǰyāna-* by Sims-Williams (l.c., following Henning 1936a: 93).

Recently, Adams (DoT: 34) claimed that the Tocharian form could be borrowed from Khotanese. This is actually impossible because of the accent of the Tocharian B form, which, if borrowed from Khotanese, should have been written **<āṣaṃ> (/áṣan/), because Khot. *āṣana-* was accented on the first syllable.[56] Therefore, rather than a borrowing from Khotanese, TB *aṣāṃ* A *āṣāṃ* should probably be considered as a direct loanword from Bactrian.

[56] The position of the accent in *āṣana-* may be determined by the occurrence of the word in a 7-morae cadence of metre A in Z 2.148.

I do not have any precise explanation for the shortening of the medial long *ā* in Khotanese at the moment. For similar cases, which could speak in favour of an inner-Khotanese solution, cf. s.v. *orśa*. If the shortening happened within Khotanese, one could argue that TB *aṣāṃ* was borrowed from Pre-Khotanese, at a time when the medial vowel was still long and carried the accent. However, this possibility is to be excluded in view of the lack of final vowel in Tocharian B, which would point to a more recent borrowing (see §3.2.6.). Emmerick's proposal (SVK III: 24) to revive Bailey's derivation from **arg-s-ana-* is extremely tentative. As precise phonological parallels for the treatment of the group *rgs* and the shortening are lacking, the hypothesis of an independent Bactrian borrowing also into Khotanese may seem easier to accept.

Results

Because of its accent, TB *aṣāṃ* A *āṣāṃ* cannot be considered a loanword from Khotanese. It may be a direct borrowing from Bactrian *αζανο*.

TB *AS-* 'TO BRING, FETCH', OKH. *HAYS-* 'TO DRIVE, SEND'

Tocharian occurrences

- 1. 2sg. ipv. THT 91 a3 (*ke*)*r*(*cc*)*iyenne pāsa* || 'Bring die Kränze in den (Pa)last!' (Schmidt 2001: 321).
- 2. 2pl. ipv. THT 331 b5 *wentsi mā rittetär te śka pasāt tam śka pasāt* 'It is not proper to say «bring this here», «bring that here»' (Peyrot 2013: 697).
- a. 3sg. pres. THT 391 a4 *bhavāggärṣṣana kautatsy āṣṣäṃ vajropame* 'Um die bhavāgra-(Trübungen) zu zerstoren, bringt er die vajropama-samādhi hervor' (Krause 1952: 84).
- b. inf. all. THT 91 a1 (*ā*)*ntsesa watsālai premane war āṣtsiś yakne yamaṣäṃ* 'Auf der Schulter einen Schlauch (?) tragend, verhält er sich wie ein Wasserträger' (Schmidt 2001: 321).
- c. inf. THT 281 a3 *tsäṅkowa krentaunaṣṣen aṣtsi preke* 'It is time to bring about the arisen virtues'.

Discussion

As already remarked by Peyrot (2013: 724), the meaning 'to bring, fetch' is mainly suggested by the two imperative forms (1. and 2., THT 91 a3 and 331 b5). The non-imperative forms of the verb (a., b. and c.)[57] occur in quite difficult contexts and are not of help in determining the meaning. In fact, it seems that 'to carry' (THT 91) and 'to bring about' (THT 391) would be more suitable translations in those cases and it is not impossible that they belong to another root. Krause (1952: 58) already suggested that the two imperative forms might be taken as deriving from a verb *as-*, which may be

[57] For the Tocharian A infinitive *āssi*, which may belong here, see Itkin and Malyshev (2021: 59).

suppletive to B *pər-* 'to take' (Peyrot 2013: 773). However, it seems admittedly difficult to reconstruct a Tocharian etymology for such root.

Adams (DoT: 63-4) proposed to interpret it as a 'verbalization' of the locative particle TB *ā* (through the addition of *-s-*), on the model of *wəs-* (< *wi* 'away' + *-s-*), which is far-fetched and not accepted by anyone else. As noted by M. Peyrot (p.c.) the root structure *-asa-* in the ipv. forms *pāsa* |p-asá-Ø| (with accent shift) and *pasāt* |p-asá-t| and the inf. with *as-*, i.e. |as-'ə-tsi| are indeed difficult to connect with *as-*. Therefore, it is possible that 1. and 2. belong to a different root.

Alternatively, Van Windekens suggested an Iranian derivation (VW: 624, see also Tremblay 2005: 434). In fact, he put forward the hypothesis that the word may have been borrowed from a Middle Iranian form akin to Khotanese *hays-* 'to drive, send' (SGS: 148, < PIr. *Haǰ-* 'to drive, lead' [EDIV: 171-2]). Indeed, the Tocharian B verb cannot have been borrowed from Old Steppe Iranian, since in this case one would rather expect TB ***ets-*. Therefore, if borrowed from Iranian, it must have been borrowed from a Middle Iranian source. The only attested Middle Iranian language in which the continuant of Proto-Iranian **Haz-* has an independent existence as a full-functioning verb without any attached preverb is Khotanese. Otherwise, the same root is attested in the Parthian, Middle Persian and Sogdian nominal formation *ny'z*, formed with the preverb **ni-* (see EDIV: 171-2).[58] Accordingly, one may argue that TB *as-* is a late borrowing from Khotanese *hays-*. Whereas phonologically this hypothesis could work quite well, as initial *h-* is retained only in later borrowings from Indic, not from Khotanese, it has nevertheless some semantic problems. In fact, the Tocharian verb means 'to bring' and not 'to lead, drive'. On the other hand, however, it should be noted that imperatives can be frequently borrowed as simple strengthening interjections, and could successively develop an inflection of their own. A parallel may be sought in Turkish *haide*, which was widely borrowed throughout the whole Balkan area. In Romanian, it developed further a verbal-like paradigm (Gheorghe and Velea 2012: 143).

Results

In conclusion, the hypothesis of a Khotanese loanword seems quite far-fetched, although it cannot be excluded either. Possibly the phonetic similarities between the two roots are due to mere chance. On the whole, the connection seems quite weak.

[58] For another (neglected) hypothesis, see Emmerick (1977: 404). In a very short note, he suggests that the Tocharian verb may have been borrowed from Sogdian *'s-* 'to take' (DMSB: 22). In this case, however, the semantic correspondence is also not precise. Moreover, to my knowledge there are no other Tocharian verbs borrowed directly from a Sogdian verbal form.

TB *ᵤWĀTANO** A *WATAṂ** 'KHOTANESE', OKH. *HVATANA-* 'ID.'

Discussion[59]

No mention of the native ethnic name of the Khotanese (OKh. *hvatana-*) has been so far identified with certainty in the Tocharian text corpus. This discussion, which seeks to show that the name of the Khotanese was known to Tocharian people and was borrowed from speakers of Pre-Khotanese, will consist of the following parts:

a. the name of Khotan within the Khotanese and Tumshuqese text corpus;
b. foreign designations of Khotan and its people;
c. an alleged form of the name of Khotan in late Tocharian B documents;
d. a new identification of the name of Khotan in Tocharian A and B tune names;
e. dating of the borrowing into Tocharian and Bactrian;
f. on the etymology of the name of Khotan;
g. linguistic and historical conclusions.

a. The name of Khotan within the Khotanese and Tumshuqese text corpus

The oldest form is to be identified as OKh. *hvatana-*. On the history of this identification in general, one may consult Konow (1914: 342), Leumann (1933-1936: VIII), Konow (1935: 799-801), KT IV: 1, Pelliot (1959: 408-25), Emmerick (1968b: 88), KT VI: 431-2.[60] Already within OKh., the middle vowel could be weakened, so that the form *hvatäna-* is also found in the same texts alternating with *hvatana-*.

Most of the Old Khotanese material for the name of Khotan is found in the Book of Zambasta. Maggi (2009: 157) provides a useful statistics: in this text, the name occurs ten times, five times with weakening and five times without. Another source for the oldest form *hvatana-* in OKh. is Suv 0.17 (Suv I: 8). Surprisingly, another occurrence of *hvatana-* is to be found in a later manuscript from Dunhuang (P 2023.8, on which see Emmerick 1992: 38) and should be probably seen as an attempt of the scribe to confer to the text a more authoritative Old Khotanese appearance. This may be at any rate significant, because it could show that the oldest form of the name was known to Khotanese speakers throughout the whole history of the language. The form *hvataṃ-kṣīraa-*, an adj. meaning 'of the land of Khotan' occurring in Suv 0.19 shows no weakening and syncope of the middle vowel *a* of the compound adj. ***hvatana-kṣiraa-***. Konow claimed (1935: 799) that also a shorter form *hvata-* may have existed (Leumann 1920: 176), but this reading has been rejected by Emmerick (SDTV I: 26), who noted that the first akṣara could not be read as *hva*. The phonological development of *hvatana-* as normally accepted in the scholarly literature is outlined by Maggi (2009: 156): OKh. *hvatana-* > OKh. *hvatäna-* >

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[59] This study was partially presented during the 231st online meeting of the American Oriental Society (14 Mar. 2021).
[60] See also Peyrot (2018: 278) for the uncertain links to the ethnonym 'Saka'.

LKh. *hvaṃna-* > LKh. *hvana-*. The following expressions formed on the name of Khotan are found in Old Khotanese (Z):

- *hvatänä rre* (Z 5.114) 'the Khotanese king'
- *hvatana* (Z 23.4) 'the Khotanese (people)'
- *hvatäna-kṣīra* (Z 23.14, 15.9) 'the Khotanese realm'
- *hvatanau* (Z 23.4 etc.) 'in the Khotanese (language)'

The identification of the name of Khotan in the Tumshuqese documents seems to be less certain and it is fraught with problems. Konow (1935: 799) sought to recognize in *hvad̤na* (Tq. 8b6) and *hvad̤ane* (Tq. 6.6-7) the name OKh. *hvatana-*. He put forward the hypothesis that this could be a relic of the ethnic name of the people who first settled in the North-West of the Tarim basin. This would imply that the territory of Tumshuq was first colonized by people coming from the Khotan area, who somehow managed to maintain their autochthonous designation until historical times. This could well be possible, but is very difficult to prove with an acceptable degree of certainty. In addition, the passages in which *hvad̤na* and *hvad̤ane* occur are of uncertain interpretation. Several alternative interpretations are possible. Skjærvø (1987: 81) rightly pointed out that the two occurrences may be seen as belonging to an adj. derivative of a stem *hvata-* or *hvataa-* meaning 'lord'. This is attested as *hvatā* in the KV (§5 and §9 in Emmerick 1985a: 10), where it could translate Skt. *bhagavato*. However, the Tocharian version, upon which the Tumshuqese text was based, has *ñem-klawissu* 'der Erhabene' (Schmidt 1988: 313, Schmidt 2018: II 88), so that it is now clear that Tq. *nāma hvatā* is nothing but a calque of the Tocharian B form.[61] Consequently, *hvatā* in the KV has to be interpreted as a ptc. from the verb *hvan-* 'to call'. Alternatively, Skjærvø (1987: 81) also put forward the hypothesis that *hvad̤ane* could be interpreted as an infinitive from the the same *hvan-*. The passages are as follows:[62]

- Tq. 6.6-7 *ka ṣe dād̤u ṣa pyewid̤a hvad̤ane parmañu yi aramnai*
- Tq. 8b6 [...]*u hvad̤na ye g₂i ka the/rtha ti/ni ramäd̤a ·*

No translation will be attempted here, as both passages are still obscure. Suffice it to note that the context of the first passage may indeed favour an interpretation of *hvad̤ane* as deriving from the verb *hvan-*. In the same document (6.5), the syntagma *dad̤i-hvana dād̤u hvañi* appears, which was interpreted already by Konow (1935: 811) as 'sollte der Gesetzverkünder das Gesetz verkünden'. The phrases *dād̤u hvan-* and *dād̤u pyew-* are indeed very much reminiscent of the corresponding OKh. *dātu hvāñ-* (e.g. Z 13.109) 'to proclaim the Law' and *dātu pyūṣ-* (e.g. Z 13.120) 'to hear the Law'.[63] For the second passage, it may be proposed that the uncertain *ti/ni ra mä d̤a* could be read *niramäd̤a*, from a verb **ni-rām-* 'to throw down, overcome, suppress' (cf. Pa. and MP *n(y)r'm-*, EDIV: 312). If *hvad̤naye* is an adjective meaning 'belonging to *hvad̤na*', it can be easily taken

[61] See also Hitch (2020: 973).

[62] The transliteration closely follows Maue (2009). The word division is tentative.

[63] It may be noted in passing that this would confer to the text quite a distinguished Buddhist flavour. This is not necessarily in contrast with Henning's hypothesis (1936: 11-14) that this document concerns a Manichaean community.

together with *kathe*, which could be interpreted as the nom. or acc. pl. of a stem *kathā*- 'town' (cf. Khot. *kaṃthā*-). In this case, the text may refer to a military action against the '*hvaḍ,na*-towns'. In fact, Tq. *hvaḍ,na* may well refer to Khotan and may be derived from a syncopated form of *hvatana*-. According to Konow, the name of the kingdom (*χšera*-) of Agni may also be attested twice in the same fragment (Tq. 8b5, 6), but the reading is not at all straightforward (Maue 2007: 229 fn. 30) and this proposal remains therefore quite speculative. The overall meaning of the text is still obscure. Thus, the alleged Tumshuqese designation of Khotan remains for the moment highly uncertain and will not be further used for our purposes.

As it is now generally acknowledged, it seems that the Tumshuqese referred to their ruler as the *gūẓdiyā rid,e* (gen.-dat. sg.), i.e. 'of/to the king of Gūẓdik' (Rong 2009, Maue 2004: 209). This is confirmed by the identification of the toponym Gūẓdik with Chin. *Jùshǐdé* 据史德 and Tib. *gus-tik* (Rong 2009: 124). It is unclear whether this name was also used to refer to the name of the language itself or it was merely indicating the territory of Tumshuq.

A peculiar designation of the Khotanese kingdom which is mainly found in later documents from Dunhuang is LKh. *ysarnai bāḍa* 'the golden land' (Or. 8212/186.34, IOL Khot S. 21.34, P 2027.7, P 2786.197, P 2787.51, P 2958.127, P 4649.5 and 8). It is commonly believed to refer to Khotan proper, not to Dunhuang (Zhang and Rong 1984: 27). It has been very tentatively proposed that this was adopted after Khotan regained its independence from Tibetan rule in the second half of the 9th c. CE (Zhang and Rong 1984: 27). There seems to be no consensus on the exact origin of this designation. Whereas Bailey linked it immediately to Skt. *suvarṇagotra* and Tib. *gser-rigs* (Bailey 1940: 602), Kumamoto (1982: 220) explicitly denied this connection.[64] A recent survey of the Tibetan sources regarding *gser-rigs* and the diffusion of such a designation within the Tarim basin is offered by Zeisler (2010: 419-425), who concludes that it is rather to be identified with the Hunza region, which was probably connected to Khotan, both politically and geographically. Thus, it is indeed possible that the Khotanese name was also ultimately connected, but the precise directions of diffusion of this title are still rather unclear. Noteworthy are also the royal names of some of the earliest Kuchean kings, which all contain an element *suvarṇa* 'golden' (see already Lévi 1913: 319-21).

b. Foreign designations of Khotan and its people

The territory of Khotan was known in the Tarim basin under different forms. Some of these can be ultimately traced back to OKh. *hvatana*- or to one of the attested forms within the Khotanese text corpus, some were derived from later loanwords in their respective languages. In the following, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the main borrowing directions.

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[64] 'A connection with the 'Gold Country' of the 'Gold Race (Suvarṇagotra)' [...] should not be sought here'.

The earliest attestations of the name of Khotan are commonly believed to be found in the so-called 'Sino-Kharoṣṭhī' coins, which are also the earliest written local documentation extant from the Khotan area (Kumamoto 2009). Cribb (1984: 137 fn. 20, photos in Cribb 1985) put forward the hypothesis that the correct reading of the Kharoṣṭhī legends should be *yidi*/*yiti*. Given the fact that the Chinese character *yú* 于 also appears to be written on the coins and it is probably to be taken as short for *yúzhì* 于寘 'Khotan' (also attested in the legends, see Group 12 and 13 in Cribb 1984: 134-35),[65] then one should conclude that the current pronunciation of *yú* 于 when these coins were issued was reflected in the Kharoṣṭhī phonetic reading <yi>. Baxter and Sagart (2014: 260) reconstruct the following development for *yú* 于: OCh. **ɢʷ(r)a* > Hàn Chin. *ɦwa* > MCh. *ɦju*. This chronological development allows a slightly more precise periodisation of the borrowing chronology of the name of Khotan into Chinese. If the dating of the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins proposed by Cribb is correct, these were issued between the 1st and the 2nd c. CE (Cribb 1984: 149-51). Thus, Hàn Chin. *ɦwa* by that date should already have acquired its Middle Chinese shape. Consequently, the date of borrowing of Khot. *hvatana-* in Chinese should be placed roughly between the first mission to Khotan of the Chinese delegation of Zhāng Qiān (after 140 BCE, Kumamoto 2009) and the issue of the first Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins which bear the legend *yidi/yiti* (probably in the 1st c. CE), which could therefore constitute a *terminus ante quem*.

However, one has to admit that the phonetic shape of the Kharoṣṭhī transcriptions has a very late appearance. It is questionable whether the chronology implied squares with the materials known from Chinese reconstructions. One should consider that Pulleyblank (1991: 381) reconstructs still *wuă* for Early Middle Chinese. Moreover, this

[65] Apart from the place of finding, there are also other arguments which can speak in favour of the identification of the name of Khotan in the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins. Unfortunately, the attempts to identify the royal names in these early coin legends with the names actually attested in the Khotanese material have not yielded positive results. Enoki (1965: 242) tried to explain the early names of the coin legends containing the element *gurga* with the Iranian word for 'wolf'. Although the phonological details are not entirely clear, this explanation fit the facts that toponyms and ethnic names in the Khotan area made frequent use of the word for 'wolf', cf. perhaps the place name *birgaṃdara-*. The names with the element *gurga* listed by Cribb (1984: 138) are the following: *gurgadema* (group 1), *gurga* (group 2), *gurgamoa* (groups 3 and 4), *gurgamoya* (groups 5, 6, 7, and 8). The readings are probably in need of a revision, but three elements can be nevertheless identified: *gurga-*, *-dema* and *-mo*(*ya*). If Khot. *birgaṃdara-* (Tib. *be-rga-'dra*, see Emmerick 1967: 101) could be traced back to a form **wirgama-tara-*, then we may have a closer superficial resemblance between the reconstructed **wirgama-* and the *gurgamo* of the coins. It could be also tentatively suggested that *gurga-moya* may be interpreted as a compounded personal name meaning 'wolf-tiger', with the second element reflecting Pre-Khotanese **mōya-* 'tiger' (> Khot. *mūya-*, DKS: 335). A more likely equation, however, would be with the second element of the personal name in Niya Prakrit *sagamo*, *sagamoya* (Burrow 1935: 789), which has an Iranian appearance, but it is however of uncertain interpretation. On this name, see recently also Loukota (2020). It is hoped that further researches may clarify the external connections of these early names.

would perhaps imply an exceedingly early date of borrowing into Old Uyghur, which is *per se* quite unlikely. Cribb (1984: 137 fn. 20) does not seem to take into consideration these inconsistencies, when he quickly dismisses the problem by stating that 'Whichever pronunciation was current at the time of the issue of the coins, there is no reason to doubt that the Prakrit transliteration of the name of Khotan on the coins *yidi* or *yiti* closely resembles the Chinese transliteration of the same name.' Moreover, it should be noted that also the second syllable *di*/*ti* would not square with the Chinese form. Thus, the identification of *yidi*/*yiti* with the name of Khotan is very problematic and it is probably necessary to seriously consider the possibility that *yidi*/*yiti* represents a different toponym which could designate the Khotan region.

The earliest mentions of the name of Khotan in the Chinese literary sources have been preserved in the Shǐjì and in the Hànshū, which were probably both composed during the 1st c. BCE, a dating which theoretically could suit the time range outlined above. In the famous chapter 123 of the Shǐjì (§123.2a), whose authenticity has been doubted various times,[66] the name is attested as *yúzhì* 于寘 (cf. *supra* the name in the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins). The second character is given a reconstruction *tɕiă*^{h}/*tɕi*^{h} for Early Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank 1991: 407). The palatal element is quite puzzling, but it could have been a possible rendition of the Khotanese original (Pelliot 1959: 408). In the Hànshū (Hulsewé 1979: 96), it has a more 'regular' correspondence with the Khotanese antecendent, as it is given as *yútián* 于闐.[67] The second character is reconstructed as *dɛn* by Pulleyblank (1991: 306). This second form may have been borrowed into Old Uyghur as *odon* (Peyrot, Pinault and Wilkens 2019: 79, see also Maue 2015: 505),[68] attested various times in the 5th chapter of the biography of Xuánzàng. In Brāhmī script it is spelled as <otoṃ> in U 5208 a8. It is noteworthy that this version of the name was also 're-borrowed' into Late Khotanese, as in later documents from Dunhuang one finds such forms as *yūṭṭyaina kūauhą* (P 2739.43), which neatly reflects a very recent pronunciation of Chin. *yútián guó* 于闐國.

The passage of the Xīyù jì in which the name of Khotan is treated has been the object of numerous discussions (Pelliot 1959: 409), so it will not be considered here at length.[69] Suffice it to say that Xuánzàng's information on the current pronunciation of *hvatana-* in the Khotan area at his time perfectly agrees with the forms that are actually attested in the Khotanese corpus and provides a precise *terminus ante quem* (middle of the 7th c. CE) for the change *hvatäna-* > *hvaṃna-*.

Interesting information contained in the same passage is also Xuánzàng's statement that the *hú* 胡 people referred to Khotan with the name *huōdàn* 豁旦. Following Pulleyblank (1991: 135), the initial sound may be reconstructed as *xw* for Early Middle Chinese. As already noted by Pelliot (1959: 411), this name may refer to the forms current

[66] See e.g. La Vaissière (2005: 25 fn. 30), with further refs.
[67] It is also recorded as an 'ancient' name of Khotan by the later Xīyù jì.
[68] Cf. *supra* for the chronological problems involved.
[69] The first attempt at an interpretation of this passage dates back to Lévi (1904: 560).

among the Iranian people present in the Tarim basin in his time.[70] In fact, we know that Sogdians referred to Khotanese people with the adjective *xwδnyk*, which is attested in a late list (Ch/So 20166 c3) bearing the title *n'βn'm'k*, literally 'list of countries'. Henning (1944: 10), who first edited and commented upon this fragment, noted the later spelling with *δ* against the expected *t* in Sogdian script. It is not the only unusual feature of the fragment. In fact, Yoshida (1993: 151) argues for a very late date of the fragment (10th c. CE) and concludes that the list was intended as a didactic compilation in order to instruct Manichaean scribes in Turfan.

However, this is not the only occurrence of the name of Khotan in Sogdian. In fact, the name is attested another two times in a small fragment of a document from the Hoernle collection (IOL Khot 158/5).[71] Significantly, it seems to be a fragment of a letter sent from Khotan and it was found in the Khotan area.[72] IOL Khot 185/5 b1 has *xwδn'* and b4 *'xwδ'n*. Both occurrences confirm that the Sogdian name of Khotan had <δ> and /x/ in the first syllable. Thus, it is quite evident that this version of the name of Khotan cannot have been borrowed directly from Khotanese *hvatana-* in historical times. In view of initial /xū/, one should probably argue either for a very early date of borrowing (early enough to undergo the same treatment as **hwa-* > *xū* in Sogdian, GMS: §238) or for a borrowing from another Iranian language.

That the initial /xu/ or /xo/ for the name of Khotan was prevalent among Iranian people had already been noted since quite some time. One only needs to compare the forms attested in modern Iranian languages, which are usually derived from NP *xutan*. However, what has gone unnoticed is that the oldest attested form of the name after the problematic occurrences on the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins seems to point clearly to a form with initial /xo/ as well. In fact, the Niya documents mention Khotan and Khotanese people on numerous occasions. The form is *khotana-*. It is mostly attested in the loc. *khotaṃna*(*ṃ*)*mi* (e.g. CKD 14, 22, 135) or abl. sg. *khotaṃnade* (e.g. CKD 272, 283, 289). An adjective *khotaṇiya-* 'of Khotan' was also formed (e.g. CKD 30, 36, 86). The title *khotana maharaya* was borne by the king of Khotan. This titulature is attested in the famous tablet CKD 661, which was probably written in the Khotan area and displays a series of striking Khotanese features (Emmerick 1992: 2-3, Dragoni, Schoubben and Peyrot 2020:

[70] Additionally, it should be noted that in the same passage the character *huàn* 渙 is used to refer to the first syllable of the name of Khotan current among the Khotanese speakers at the time. Pulleyblank (1991: 131) reconstructs it as *γwan^{h}*. It could be thus argued that even in the 7th century the distinction between Khot. *hv-* and other Iranian versions of the name with initial *x-* was quite strong, as it could be precisely caught and recorded even by a foreign ear.

[71] I am grateful to Dr. Zhang Zhan, who kindly drew my attention to this fragment during the 231st meeting of the American Oriental Society. On the history of the fragment, cf. Sims-Williams and Hamilton (1990: 11) and Zhang (2018: 30 fn. 10). For an edition of IOL Khot 158/5, see Yoshida (2010: 6).

[72] Other Sogdian documents from the Khotan area are published by Bi Bo and Sims-Williams (2010, 2015).

344).[73] This points to the relevant fact that the Prakrit administration of Khotan did not use the native Khotanese form *hvatana-* to refer to Khotan. In fact, a development **hwa- > kho-* cannot be explained within Niya Prakrit. If, following Burrow (1935: 789), the personal name *khvarnarse* in CKD 661 has an element *khvar-* from a Middle Iranian source **xwar-* 'sun', we could surmise that Iranian *x* could be rendered with *kh*. Therefore, one should assume that the Iranian form implied by *khotana-* was more likely **xotana-* or **xodana-*, surely not **hwa-*. The interchange between <t> and <d> in intervocalic position is common in Niya Prakrit (Burrow 1937: 7-8), so the <t> cannot be used to reconstruct with certainty **t* or **d* in the Iranian form.

Thus, the Niya form must have been borrowed from an adjacent Iranian language of the area. In view of the initial, it cannot reflect a direct loanword from Khotanese *hvatana-*. If one excludes Sogdian, Khwarezmian, Middle Persian and Parthian for obvious geographical and chronological reasons, the only possible donor language remaining is Bactrian. Based on the Niya form, a hypothetical Bactrian **χ(ο/ω)δανο* or **χ(ο/ω)τανο* may be reconstructed as a likely source form. This would also fit the data known from Bactrian historical phonology, as if it were theoretically issued from Old Iranian **hwatana-*. For this development, one may compare the outcome of Ir. **hwa-paϑya-*, which is to be sought in Bactrian *χοβο* (Sims-Williams 2007: 279) and *οοχωβ* 'quarrel' < **wi-xwarša-* (Sims-Williams 2007: 248). It should be noted that, thanks to Niels Schoubben's research work, the linguistic evidence for the influence of Bactrian on Niya Prakrit has now increased considerably. The hypothesis of a Bactrian loanword would be in line with these recent discoveries. An additional argument in favour of this hypothesis is represented by the diffusion of the ethnonym of the Sogdian people in the Tarim basin, which may have been borrowed from Bactrian as well (N. Schoubben, ongoing research work).

The natural question to ask at this point is whether the name of Khotan is actually attested in the Bactrian material at our disposal or not. The result is for the time being negative, but this may be due to the scarcity of the sources at our disposal. However, a possible candidate for the name of the Khotanese people may be attested in two so far unexplained personal names, which could contain Khot. *hvatana-*. These are *βρηδαγο οατανανο* in cm1, 25 (Sims-Williams 2007: 91) and *οηλ(ο)-οατανο* in cm4 and cl4-5 (Sims-Williams 2007: 89). They were treated more recently again by Sims-Williams (2010: n° 105, 319, 328). The etymology was left unexplained. *οατανο* is tentatively interpreted as 'perhaps in origin a patr. formed from a name-component **οατο*' (Sims-Williams 2010: n° 319). While stating the **οατο* has 'no obvious Iranian etymology', the author further suggests that its origin could perhaps be sought in a ptc. **wašta-* 'driven', given that Bactrian *τ* may also represent the outcome of older **št*. However, if *οατανο* were to be taken as a patronimic, how should one intepret *οατανανο*, attested in the very same document?

[73] The same title is to be found also in CKD 214.

I would like to put forward the proposal that *οατανο* is a direct loanword from Khotanese *hvatana-* and that *οατανανο* is its regular Bactrian obl. pl. Accordingly, *βρηδαγο οατανανο* would be 'the Bredag of the Khotanese (people)' and *οηλ(ο)-οατανο* would be 'Wel the Khotanese'. This would imply that *βρηδαγο* was used in this case as a title (Sims-Williams 1999: 198-9). Less likely is it, though not impossible, that it could also be a personal name, thus 'Bredag (belonging) to the Khotanese people'. It is not by mere chance that *οατανανο* and *οατανο* occur in the same document (cm). If these were simply patronimics, we should conclude that both Bredag and Wel were belonging to the same family. This appears to be not very likely, because *βρηδαγο οατανανο* is the addressee of the letter and was probably a person of high rank, if the ruler of Rob referred to him as a person of almost equal rank. *οηλ(ο)-οατανο*, on the other hand, seems to be a person of secondary importance. The aim of the letter is not clear, but it seems that the ruler of Rob wished to ensure that no more horses were taken from surrounding people without his authorization. The mention of *οηλ(ο)-οατανο* could be explained if we surmise that he belonged to the same community of *βρηδαγο οατανανο*, who was in charge in that period. The ruler of Rob may have addressed the *βρηδαγο οατανανο* because, in view of his connection with *οηλ(ο)-οατανο*, who was partly responsible for the horse theft, he could ensure that this practice stopped.

If this were correct, it would imply that these could be read as a reference to a community of Khotanese people that was present in Bactria around the date in which this letter was written. Since the document is not dated, it is difficult to exactly determine a precise time span. Thus, it may be surmised that the official geographical name of the Khotan region in Bactrian was **χ(ο/ω)δανο* or **χ(ο/ω)τανο*, as the Niya form confirms, whereas an ethnonym *οατανο* could be ascertained from the analysis of two proper names. Since *οατανο* was possibly used to refer to Khotanese people living in Bactria, who were very likely integrated in the local communities and were probably bilingual, it is not surprising that Bactrian borrowed their ethnic name without being aware of the actual geographical origin of these people, i.e. without making a connection with the toponym. In view of initial *οα* /wa/, *οατανο* appears to be quite surely a direct borrowing from Khot. *hvatana-*. The fact that Bactrian speakers failed to identify Khot. *hvatana-* with their own name of Khotan implies that Khot. initial *hv-* was pronounced very differently at the time of borrowing. One could tentatively put forward the hypothesis that it was a weak voiced aspiration, i.e. [ɦ].

It is not surprising to find Khotanese speaking communities in Bactria. As outlined above, contacts between Bactria and the Khotan region are documented at least since the 1st c. CE by the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins. It is very likely that these contacts involved movements of people in both directions as well.[74]

[74] Noteworthy in this respect is the observation made by N. Schoubben (p.c.) that, if we accept Maue's (2016) identification, a Tumshuqese inscription is to be found in Drangtse (Ladakh) and witnesses the presence of Tumshuqese travellers in the region. In fact, this could have been the route taken by Khotanese some centuries earlier to reach Bactria from the Khotan region.

Another form which was probably borrowed directly from Khot. *hvatana-* is Tib. *'u-then* or *'u-ten*. In view of the observations on Chinese historical phonology made above, it is less likely that this form was borrowed from Chinese for obvious chronological reasons. The forms are well-attested in the *li yul lung bstan pa* (Emmerick 1967: 104), which abounds in Khotanese loanwords and Khotanese toponyms, so a direct Khotanese origin is very likely in this case. The hypothesis of a direct borrowing from Khotanese is also confirmed by the use of the *'a-chung*.[75]

Designations of Khotan in foreign languages which do not have their ultimate origin in Khot. *hvatana-* are not treated here. For an overview, cf. e.g. Emmerick (1968b: 89-90). For the confusion between Khotan and Kashgar in a very late Tocharian B environment, possibly after the Qarakhanid conquest of Khotan (11th c. CE) cf. Peyrot, Pinault and Wilkens (2019: 68, 80).

c. An alleged form of the name of Khotan in late Tocharian B documents

As can be gathered from the discussion above, no name for Khotan has been found in the Tocharian text corpus yet. Recently, Ogihara (*apud* Ching 2010: 249) considered in a very short note the possibility that the name of Khotan could be attested in some late Tocharian B documents. However, he was cautious with regard to the identification, as he concluded that 'the meaning of these words remains to be studied'. The difficulties implied by his interpretation were considered too severe and, in his opinion, they could not enable a precise identification. This idea does not seem to have been considered further in the scholarly literature. The passages are as follows:

- 1. THT 2688.10 (*c*)*o*(*ki*)*ś ṣalywe ṣaṅk* ᵤ*watanaṃs magālaśe ṣa*(*ly*)*w*(*e*) /// '[the oil/ghee for lamps] ...: one pint. *Magālaśe* of [ᵤ*wātane*-people ?] ... [oil/ghee]' (Ching 2010: 248)
- 2. THT 2709.2-3 /// *·w· – – laṃṣānte ikäṃ wi ikäṃ ṣe* ᵤ*wāta*(*ne*) /// [l. 3] /// *ṣeṣṣe ottār pokai ṣe* ᵤ*wātane wi ya* /// '(ᵤ*wātane*-people?) have worked, twenty-two. Twenty one [ᵤ*wātane*-people?] [l. 3] ...: by eight arms/limbs. One ᵤ*wātane* (?), two ...' (Ching 2010: 271)
- 3. THT 459.2 *co komtak* ᵤ*watakas yap wsāwa wi* /// 'On the very same day, [I] gave barley to ᵤ*wataka*-people: two' (Ching 2010: 291)
- 4. THT 2761c.2 /// *ñi u* ᵤ*wātne*[76] *stare* /// 'of me ... *uwātne* are'

The precise value of initial <ᵤw> in Tocharian B is not straightforward and needs some comments. I have not been able to retrieve examples of it in Tocharian A. The only occurrence of <ᵤw> in A seems to be only word-internal in the personal name *re*ᵤ*wänt* (A 303 b1). This is actually written <re-ᵤwä-nt>, but, if Tremblay's (2005: 430) derivation is

[75] Hill (2009: 135) assigns to <ḫ> the value [ɣ]. Accordingly, we may have a close phonetic correspondence between the two forms (cf. *supra* for the value of Khot. *hv-*).

[76] The character before ᵤ*wā* looks like an independent *u* akṣara. The following ᵤ*wā* is quite uncertain.

correct,[77] <$_{u}$w> is likely to represent the two different sounds of the Sogdian original *rywβnt*(*k*), if, as it seems likely, there was a morpheme boundary between Sogd. *ryw* and *βnt*(*k*). Otherwise, it seems that Tocharian A <w> was used for Sogd. *β* at least in the personal names of the Maitrisimit, cf. e.g. *hkhutteṃ-wām* in A 303 a5, which is likely to be identified with a Sogdian name **xwt'yn-β'm* (Tremblay 2005: 430, Lurje 2010: n° 1462). In Tocharian B, initial <$_{u}$w> seems to have been mainly used in late documents for foreign personal names, cf. e.g. *$_{u}$wāṣṣi* (SI B Toch 11 a3),[78] of unknown origin. Its appearance may suggest a Chinese origin (Ching 2010: 432), but the exact source is not known. I would tentatively suggest that this may be identified with Chinese *fǎshī* 法師(EMC *puapʂi*, LMC *fjyapʂṛ*, Pulleyblank 1991: 89, 281), but the cultural implications of this connection are still to be explored. From Ching's (2010: 140-1) identification of the official title *hwuṣṣi* as Chinese *fùshǐ* 副使, we can surmise that <hw> reflected a pronunciation of Chinese *f* in the transitional period between Early and Late Middle Chinese (7th-8th c. CE). In view of this possible identification of *$_{u}$wāṣṣi*, I would propose that initial <$_{u}$w> was simply another way to write the same Chinese sound implied by <hw>. As the same sound was represented in Late Khotanese transcriptions by <hv:>, i.e. the digraph <hv> followed by a colon (Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 25, 32, 55), it seems reasonable to assume the TB <hw> was the most standard way to render the Chinese initial.

A natural question to be asked would be whether these two strikingly similar orthographies to transcribe the same Chinese sound arose independently in late Tocharian B and Late Khotanese or are somehow to be seen as the product of late contact. Noteworthy in this respect would be the fact that <hv> in Khotanese is a very well-established digraph and appears in inherited words since the beginning of the writing tradition in Khotan. Toch. <hw>, on the other hand, is definitely not Tocharian.[79] As the same Chinese title is also attested in Tumshuqese as *hvuṣi* (Tq. 3.8), it could be tentatively surmised that Tumshuqese acted as intermediary between Khotanese and Tocharian for the diffusion of this spelling convention (see further Ogihara and Ching 2017: 468). Apart from *hwuṣṣi*, it is only attested in the personal name (?) *hwār ppai* (SI B 9 a6).[80] Ching (2010: 315) convincingly read initial *h* instead of *y* (Pinault 1998: 4) and suggested it could be possibly interpreted as an Iranian name. She tentatively put forward the hypothesis that it could be a Khotanese compounded personal name formed on the basis of Khot. *hvāra-* 'bold' (DKS: 506) and *pāa-* 'foot'. Since this name is not attested within the Khotanese and Tumshuqese text corpus, it may be suggested that the

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[77] Cf. also Lurje (2010: n° 1049).

[78] It is noteworthy that the same manuscript shows also the unique spelling <ā-$_{u}$w> (a4, 7) for the word otherwise noted as <ā-u> (SI B Toch 13 a2) or <ā$_{u}$-w> (SI B Toch 11 a11), i.e. *ā$_{u}$* 'ewe'. Pinault (1998: 10) notes that this spelling was used in order to 'seemingly enforce the consonant character of the final sonorant'. It was certainly not a stable convention, as it is found in such a disturbing series of variants and only in late Tocharian B documents.

[79] <hv> is found in Tocharian only in Indic loanwords.

[80] The tiny fragment THT 3955.c has an isolated *hwā* (a2), but it is hardly possible to identify what word was meant.

initial *hw* was employed also in this case to indicate the same Chinese sound of *hwuṣṣi*. The final *r* may stand for LMC final *t*, as regular in the Late Khotanese transcriptions, cf. e.g. *hv:arä* for *fā* 發, LMC *ffyat*/*fa:t*, EMC *puat* (Pulleyblank 1991: 89, Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 7 ll. 19, 20, 22). Thus, *hwār ppai* may be more likely interpreted as a Chinese name.

From this analysis, some preliminary observations could be made: a. initial <hw> has a very narrow distribution in Tocharian, as it is only found in transpositions of Chinese words, only in late Tocharian B documents; b. initial <$_u$w> may have had the same function, and it shows at any rate the same distribution; c. word-internal <$_u$w> is also used in an inherited word (but again only in late Tocharian B documents); it appears also in transcriptions of foreign personal names in Tocharian A, which must have been at any rate late.

Pinault's (1998: 10) remark that <u> in the spelling *ā$_u$w* may have served to 'enforce the consonant character' of *w* seems to agree with what is commonly known about the development of the value of <w> within the history of Tocharian. It has plausibly been suggested that the akṣara *wa* has its origin in the independent vowel sign for *o* (Malzahn 2007: 260). Further, alternations such as *wnolme* ~ *onolme* in metrical texts point to a vocalic realization of /w/ in early Tocharian B. One may at any rate surmise that the actual value of <w> was not distant from [w] in the early stages (Peyrot 2008: 89). Only in late colloquial texts it alternates with <p>, so that one could assume a pronunciation [β] or [ʋ] for that period. Thus, the necessity of a digraph <$_u$w> may have been felt only in a relatively late period, when the value of <w> was no more as clear as in the early period. M. Peyrot (p.c.) suggests that this is also confirmed by the data coming from the adoption of the Tocharian system to write down foreign languages. In Tumshuqese, <hv> is used where etymologically expected, much in the same way as Khot. <hv> and <w> corresponds to Khot. <v>, probably [β] in most cases. In order to write [w], however, a new sign was created, i.e. <v$_ı$>. Evidence that this was pronounced as a [w] (Maue and Ogihara 2017: 423) is to be gathered from the corresponding signs in Sogdian and Old Uyghur Brāhmī (Maue 1996: 215-9, Maue 1997: 3). Thus, at the time of the adoption of the Tocharian writing system by the Tumshuqese, Tocharian <w> had already the value [β] and could not be used for [w].

This would agree with the data concerning the late distribution of <$_u$w>. It should be noted, however, that this explanation would apply only to the cases where <$_u$w> is used in inherited Tocharian words, which are extremely rare, and only word-internal. Otherwise, the evidence suggests that initial <$_u$w> was only used to transcribe a foreign sound, which should at any rate justify its late creation. I was not able to find cases of inherited Tocharian initial <$_u$w>. In classical Tocharian B, *uwe* 'learned', e.g. in THT 303.c b1, is always written <u-we>. On the basis of these considerations, it is now possible to interpret the four occurences listed above with new eyes.

Adams (DoT: 76) is inclined to interpret *$_u$watakas* (gen. pl. with *-s* for *-ṃts*) (occurrence 3. above) as possibly connected with *upātatse* (THT 4000 b7iii). Both could be in fact names of professions. Possibly, they could be analysed as Indic loanwords from a source with initial preverb *upa-*. The alternation between *p* and *w* in the late language

has been oulined above. The fact that <uwa> could also be written as <ᵤwa> could be actually conceivable in view of the orthography <ᵤpa> for Skt. *upa*, cf. e.g. PK DA M 507.8 b1 *ᵤpādhyāyeṃś*.[81] However, since no suitable Indic sources could be found, even if one could theoretically think of Skt. **upa-dā-ka-* or **upa-dhā-ka-*, the meaning and the origin of these two words remains for the moment uncertain.[82]

For *uwatne* (case 4.), on the other hand, a possible explanation may be outlined as follows. Adams (DoT: 76) tentatively proposed to see in *ᵤwaṃtne* (THT 429 b5) a loanword from Skt. *upānta* 'border, edge'. The passage is as follows: /// *entwemeṃ ᵤwaṃtne ynārki kauś kyāna amokäṣṣe* /// 'thereupon, on the border *ynārki*[83] above he fulfilled the artificial (?)'. If 4. were to be read as *uwante*, instead of *uwatne*,[84] we may have here the same word in the nom. sg. Tentative as it is, this may look as a possible preliminary suggestion in order to solve the problem of *uwatne*.[85]

Occurrences 1. and 2. appear to be more likely candidates for the name of Khotan. If the personal name *Magālaśe* (1.) could be traced back with certainty to Khotan or Tumshuq, the identification of Khotan would be more likely. However, this could have been easily formed on Skt. *magala* (MW: 772) or *maṃgala*, if we assume an omitted nasal. A personal name *maṃgala* or *maṃgalaka* is known from Khotanese documents (SDTV I: 143-4), but the precise origin of the final element *śe* in the Tocharian name is not certain. It could be suggested that *śe* could be compared with the final *-aiy)śe* of some Tocharian personal names formed on the basis of Sanskrit loanwords (cf. e.g. *saṅkayśe** in Cp. 37+36)[86] but this is certainly not sufficient to determine the origin of the person bearing it. From a purely formal point of view, *ᵤwātane* (2.) could well be considered as a loanword from Khotanese *hvatana-*, but final *-e* is extremely rare among Khotanese loanwords and does not seem to be a regular adaptation for the nom. sg. of Khotanese words in Tocharian B. It could be argued that this may be a very late loanword (cf. TB *krāke*) as opposed to more ancient borrowings with nom. sg. in *-o*, but this would not square with the otherwise very old appearance of the rest of the word (no syncope or weakening). However, it is true that, at least in 1. and 2., the semantics would be suitable, but no precise way to prove it beyond any doubt could be found.

In conclusion, as far as the documents are concerned, the identification of the name of Khotan appears to be impossible in occurrences 3. and 4. For the occurrences 1. and 2., the identification is difficult and could not be confirmed nor disproved. The following

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[81] Interestingly, the same spelling for the same word is also attested twice in THT 108 a6, 8 as *ᵤpādhyāyi* (as read by Sieg and Siegling [1953: 44], the fragment is lost). On the orthography of THT 108 see §e.

[82] If read *ᵤwanakas*, one could indeed think of a *-ka* derivative of LKh. *hvana-* 'Khotanese', but this cannot be proven or disproven with any methodological certainty.

[83] Cf. THT 1290 a2.

[84] Although it has to be noted that the akṣaras would be quite different in this case.

[85] One may think of a syncopated form of Khot. *hvatana-* in this case, for which one may compare the uncertain Tq. *hvad,na-* (cf. *supra*), but again I see no satisfactory way to prove it.

[86] See also Pinault (2008: 501).

discussion will show that useful evidence from the Tocharian tune names may help solving the problems outlined above.

d. A new identification of the name of Khotan in Tocharian A and B tune names

Ogihara (*apud* Ching 2010: 249) notes in passing that the tune name *suwāññe* *ᵤwātatane* in THT 108 b9 could be linked to the forms in the documents discussed above. However, he is unsure of its interpretation. He tentatively suggests to translate it as 'in pig's *ᵤwātato**'. In fact, should *suwāññe* be seen as a genuine Tocharian word, the most likely interpretation would indeed analyse it as an adjective derived from TB *suwo* 'pig', cf. *swāṃñe weṃṣiye* 'pig excrement' in the medical text PK AS 3 b3 (DoT: 763). Peyrot (2018a: 323), too, prefers to see in *suwāññe* a native Toch. B adjective 'of the pig' but does not translate the second word. However, he seems to imply that *ᵤwātatane* should not be considered Tocharian, as he mentions it as a tune 'with a native first part'.

As for *ᵤwātatane*, the nom. sg. could be reconstructed as *ᵤwātato**, as already suggested by Ogihara. A word with a non-Tocharian appearance which exhibits a nom. in *-o* in Tocharian B seems a very likely candidate for a loanword from OKh., PK or PTK. However, no possible source could be identified for *ᵤwātato**.[87] Already in the first edition of the text Sieg and Siegling (1953: 45 fn. 23) noted that 'Im Metrumsnamen kann statt *t* auch *n* gelesen werden', which suggests that they were also unsure about the identification of the element *ᵤwātatane*. Unfortunately, it is not possible to examine the original fragment in order to check the readings, as its whereabouts are unknown at the moment and no photos are available. However, based on the authority of Sieg and Siegling, I would suggest that a reading *ᵤwātanane* instead of *ᵤwātatane* is to be taken into serious consideration. Thus, it is possible to reconstruct a nom. sg. *ᵤwātano**. This seems to satisfy the phonological criteria of a loanword from Old or Pre-Khotanese and the initial accent of the Tocharian word would neatly correspond to the Khot. acc. sg. *hvátanu*.[88]

If this identification is correct, an alternative explanation for *suwāññe* is needed. It is hardly possible that the tune name could be translated as '(in the tune) of the pig of Khotan'. If we 'translate' it into Khotanese, we could obtain a compound ***hvatana-pā'saa-* 'of the pig of Khotan', but this is not attested within the Khotanese text corpus. One may tentatively try to explain the mention of this animal as a possible reference to the pig as the totemic animal of Khotan, but I was not able to find any textual or iconographic evidence that could prove it. The Chinese and Tibetan sources seem to agree on the fact that the animal associated with the foundation of Khotan was the cow.

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[87] It is hardly possible that this could be traced back to a form of the perfect of the verb *hvañ-*, cf. e.g. *hvatātä* in Z 2.82.

[88] In view of the spelling <ᵤp> for Skt. initial *up* in the same manuscript (cf. *supra*), one could also conceive of a possible **sukaropadāna* (?) as 'the act of offering the pigs', but I have not been able to find any possible justification for such a concept.

This is also reflected in Skt. *go-stana*, used to refer to Khotan (Emmerick 1968b: 89). Unlike the wolf (cf. *supra*), I am not aware of any symbolic importance of the pig within the Tarim basin. On the other hand, the pig is used in dating formulas which employ the Chinese animal cycle, both in Khotanese and in Tocharian.[89] Thus, a possible translation could be '(in the tune) of the Khotanese (year) of the pig', or even '(in the tune of the year) of the pig of the Khotanese (king)'. This could be a reference to a Khotanese festivity or ritual which was celebrated in the year of the pig. However, I was not able to identify any connection between dating formulas and tune names, so the correctness of this interpretation cannot be proven with certainty.

No animal names seem to have been found within the attested Tocharian tune names listed by Peyrot (2018a: 332-342). Thus, the mention of a pig would be quite unique. Therefore, it seems justified to seek another interpretation for *suwāññe*. A possibility which should be examined is that *suwāññe* may be a Tocharian adj. formation based on a loanword. If the donor language was Indic, one could identify two possibilities. On the one hand, one could envisage a possible connection with Skt. *svāna* (MW: 1283) or *svana* (MW: 1280) 'sound, noise'. The verb *svan-* may also mean 'to sing', so the semantic connection with the tune names would be quite suitable. However, it is questionable whether Skt. initial *sv-* could be represented by TB *suw-*, as this has no parallels.[90] TB *suw-* could point more easily to an initial *suv-* or *sup-* in a hypothetical Indic source. It has been already mentioned (§a.) that the names of the early kings of Kuča contained an initial element 'golden', i.e. Skt. *suvarṇa*. These are attested with either initial *sw-* or *sv-*, but a personal name *suwarne** appears in THT 490ii 2 (Ching: 2010: 456), which is probably to be identified with Skt. *suvarṇa*. Thus, the initial of Skt. *suvarṇa* could be well-represented in *suwāññe*. However, the absence of *r* needs an explanation. In Gāndhārī, the regular outcome of the OIA cluster *rṇ* seems to be *ṇ*(*ṇ*) (cf. e.g. Salomon 2000: 87). Ignoring some historical spellings with *rṇ*, the forms attested in the Niya documents can be traced back to a single adj. *suvaṃna-* 'golden'. I would then propose to analyse TB *suwāññe* as a TB adj. formation based on Middle Indic *suvaṇṇa* 'golden'. It could be argued that an adj. formation **suva*(*ṇ*)*ṇiya-* could have been already the base of TB *suwāññe* in the Middle Indic source. However, since this does not seem to be attested, it is probably safer to consider it as a Tocharian formation. Since Tocharian speakers were aware of the adjectival meaning of *suvaṇṇa-*, the final *-ṇa* of the source was 'Tocharianised' in order to equate it with the TB adj. suffix *-ñña*. It is also possible, and perhaps formally more convincing, that *suvaṇṇa-* was first borrowed as TB **suwāṃ* and a *-ñña* adj. was subsequently created from that. Thus, I would propose to interpret the tune name *suwāññe-ₐwātanane* as '(in the tune) of golden Khotan'. A possible connection with LKh. *ysarrnai bāḍa* (cf. *supra*) may be envisaged, but its cultural implications should be studied better.

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[89] In THT 549 a5-6 Skt. *sukhara* (sic) is translated as *suwo*.

[90] But *suv-* could appear as *sw-* or *sv-* in TB, e.g. in the names of the Kuča kings. However, *suv-* alternates with *sv-* already in Sanskrit, so it is probably not significant in this case.

In view of this possible identification, a necessary question to be asked is whether other toponyms or ethnic names are actually attested within the corpus of Tocharian tune names. If the answer is positive, this could provide useful confirmation of the connection made above. In fact, it is generally acknowledged that the two Tocharian A tune names *ārśi-lāñcinaṃ* and *ārśi-niṣkramāntaṃ* contain the element *ārśi*, which may refer to the Tocharian A language. Peyrot (2018a: 323) points out that the first name could be translated either as '[tune] of *Ārśi* kings' or '*Ārśi* [tune] of kings'. This can indeed be interpreted as a compound formed by the subst. *ārśi* and the adj. *lāñci* 'regal' in the loc. sg, as usual in tune names (Peyrot 2018a: 330-1). A similar compound is *ārśi-käntu**, i.e. '*Ārśi* language'. The second name could refer quite clearly to an *ārśi* variant of the tune *niṣkramānt*, which is otherwise known as an independent tune name in Tocharian A, B and even in Tumshuqese (Maue 2007: 227-8). Thus, it seems perfectly possible that ethnic or language designations could appear in tune names. [91]

Another tune name that unmistakably contains the Tocharian A word for 'king' (the substantive, in this case, not the adjective) in the loc. sg. is *watañi-lāntaṃ* (A24 b5, A163 b2). The first element *watañi* is obscure (Peyrot 2018a: 323). From a purely synchronic point of view, TA *watañi* could be interpreted as an *-i* adj. formed on a Tocharian A substantive whose nom. sg. may be reconstructed as *wataṃ**. In view of *ārśi-lāñcinaṃ*, it can be argued that the first element could contain a language or ethnic name. In this case, an identification with Khot. *hvatana-* suggests itself as very likely, both from the semantic and the phonological point of view. All the lines of argument pursued until now seem to point in this direction. *watañi-lāntaṃ* could thus be translated as '(in the tune) of the king of Khotan'. In view of this new identification, it is now possible to interpret with more confidence also the obscure tune name *watañinaṃ* (A71 b3, A260 b2, THT 1464 b2), which seems quite clearly a loc. sg. of the adj. *watañi* 'of Khotan'. *watañinaṃ* would be then '(in the tune) of Khotan'.

Now that both the Tocharian A and B versions of the name of Khotan have been possibly identified as TB *$_u$wātano** A *wataṃ**, it is necessary to comment on this new correspondence. It is quite unlikely that an ethnic name could be reconstructed for Proto-Tocharian. Moreover, for a smooth reconstruction one would at least expect the Tocharian A form to have been documented as ***wātaṃ*. A loanword from Tocharian B into A would probably require the same TA form ***wātaṃ*, perhaps with preservation of the final vowel. Thus, the most likely option is that they were borrowed into Tocharian A and B independently. The date of the borrowing should have been at any rate quite early, because the Tocharian A word is fully integrated within the morphology of the language and Tocharian B may have had final *-o*, a feature of the oldest loanwords from Pre-Khotanese and the oldest layers of Old Khotanese. A more precise dating of the loanword

[91] In this respect, the Iranian Manichaean texts offer interesting parallels, cf. the liturgical instructions Sogd. *pr ṯ'jyg'nyy ''w'k* (M 339) and MMP *swryg nw'g* (M 6950), on which see Sundermann (1993).

into Tocharian will be attempted in the following chapter. It is now necessary to comment on the Tocharian B initial *ᵤw*.

A first look at the orthography and the language of THT 108 shows that it clearly contains very late features. Noteworthy in this respect are the two occurrences of *ᵤpādhyāyi* (a6, 8) consistently spelled with initial *ᵤp* for Skt. initial *up* (Skt. *upādhyāya* 'teacher, preceptor'). This same spelling occurs also in the late Tocharian B document PK DA M 507.8, which is even written not in the formal, but in the cursive script. Thus, it is conceivable that the spelling of THT 108 was taken over from non-standard conventions of the late cursive documents. Accordingly, the same may be argued for initial <ᵤw>.[92] It is conceivable, at least, that the copyist of THT 108 was familiar with the spelling conventions of the documents, as he could also personally have been involved in their redaction. Accordingly, based also on the Tocharian A spellings, which, in view of their numerous attestations, look very standardized, I would tentatively suggest that the standard spelling of the name of Khotan in Tocharian B had initial <w>. Positing a standard spelling *<wātano> in classical Tocharian B would avoid the inconsistencies that would be evident if one sought to reconcile the otherwise very archaic phonological shape of the word with the late spelling for the initial. My proposal would be that the copyist of THT 108 was aware of the possibility of using initial <ᵤw> for foreign words in the late documents, where the device, at least for *ᵤwāṣṣi*, could have had also a phonological justification, and he simply took it over in order to hypercharacterize lexemes of extra-Tocharian origin. This graphical explanation may be also combined with Pinault and Peyrot's insights on the use of *ᵤw* in Late Tocharian B. It may be thus argued that the copyist of THT 108 was aware of the correct pronunciation of *<wātano> and chose the late digraph <ᵤw> to signal the pronunciation of *<w> as [w] and not as [β], as current during his time.

As an alternative, I would like to suggest further that a linguistic explanation for initial <ᵤw> may also be possible. From cases like TB *ᵤpādhyāyi* for Skt. *upādhyāya*, it could be argued that a form TB **uwātano* may be reconstructed from the attested *ᵤwātano**. This could reflect a PK form **hu̯atana-* or **h*(*u*)*watana-*, where the Old Khotanese sound /h^{w}/, one single consonant already in Old Khotanese (Hitch 2016: 49), was still pronounced as a sequence of two different consonants. However, I find this interpretation less likely, because it does not square with the other uses of the digraph <ᵤw> as attested in Tocharian B documents (cf. *supra*).

e. Dating of the borrowing into Tocharian and Bactrian

If we compare the newly identified forms in Tocharian and Bactrian with the known material, the most striking features can be summarised as follows: 1. the initials agree

[92] It should be noted, however, that in the case of <ᵤp> the find spots of the two manuscripts are quite distant from each other. Accordingly, it is hardly possible to argue for a local spelling convention. Besides, the spelling seems to be also attested in Tocharian A (cf. DTTA: 67). For <ᵤw>, on the other hand, it should perhaps be considered as a serious option.

with the Chinese form, not with Sogdian, New Persian or Gāndhārī; 2. the middle consonant seems to represent a dental stop, not a weakened fricative or a glottal stop; 3. the vowel of the middle syllable is rendered as /a/ in both the Tocharian and the Bactrian form, no weakening to *hvatäna-*, as attested already in Old Khotanese, could be detected. From these data, it can be argued that the source of the borrowings into Tocharian and Bactrian (?)[93] is to be identified with Khot. *hvatana-*, i.e. the oldest documented form in Old Khotanese. It is thus reasonable that the date of the borrowing should be placed roughly in the first centuries CE. This is based on the fact that the oldest written sources for Old Khotanese are possibly to be dated to the 5th c. CE. Since a form *hvatana-* is only attested as the oldest possible form in Old Khotanese and forms with weakening seem to have aready been common in the same period, the 5th c. CE should be posited as *terminus ante quem*.[94]

For Bactrian, the *terminus post quem* should be identified with the first documented contacts between Bactria and the Khotan area, i.e. the beginning of the 1st c. CE, based on the dating of the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins (cf. *supra*). In the case of Bactrian, it is difficult to posit a precise date, because 1. the letters in which the name occurs are not dated and 2. it is always possible that migrant communities detached from their own homeland may have preserved more archaic forms, i.e. the chronology of sound changes reconstructed for the Khotanese of the Khotan area may have been completely different in a Khotanese community abroad.[95] Thus, it seems reasonable to identify the date of the borrowing into Bactrian within the first five centuries AD. This agrees with the date (458 CE) proposed for the document (cm) by Sims-Williams and De Blois (2018: 70).

On the other hand, it is difficult to posit a *terminus post quem* for the borrowing into Tocharian. It seems sure that this cannot be traced back to Proto-Tocharian because of the Tocharian A form, but contacts between Tocharian and Khotanese seem to have taken place well before the first century CE. The initial *„w* of the Tocharian B form is also

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[93] The Bactrian evidence is weaker, as <α> can theoretically also stand for /ə/.

[94] One may argue that the Bactrian and the Tocharian forms may reflect a 'learned' borrowing, possibly preserving an archaizing form of the name that did not reflect the current form in use among speakers. However, this is hardly possible for two main reasons. On the one hand, no trace of the initial aspiration is found in both languages. If one were to borrow a learned form, possibly through a written source, we should be able to detect some traces of the initial sound. On the other hand, the Tocharian and the Bactrian forms are not attested as the official geographical designation of Khotan in administrative documents: in Bactrian, it occurs as an ethnonym, which was possibly felt as a kind of patronimic by Bactrian speakers, but there is no indication that they were aware of its connection with the Khotan area (cf. *supra*); in Tocharian, it is attested in tune names, i.e. in a literary context, where the link to actual political or geographical entities was not self-evident. The unclear occurrences in the late Tocharian B documents may reflect a similar context of labile boundary between ethnic designations and personal names, but they are for the moment too unsure to be properly interpreted.

[95] At the moment, it is not possible to determine whether this Khotanese community in Bactria had contacts with the Khotan area. Besides, it is not known to what degree they still had command of Khotanese. Were they still bilingual or were they completely bactrianised?

problematic because it could point to a later date of borrowing. However, if my suggestion (cf. *supra*) is correct, the digraph could be a later addition of the copyist, so that we may reconstruct a classical spelling *<wātano>, which would agree with Tocharian A. Thus, it seems safe to maintain the same time span identified for the borrowing into Bactrian. Because of the Chinese form preserved in the Shǐjì and in the Hànshū, which could be dated to the first century BCE, it is possible that a *terminus post quem* for the Tocharian borrowing may even be posited one or two centuries before the first contacts with Bactria. I would thus propose a time range 1st c. BCE – 5th c. CE for the Tocharian word.

Based on these considerations, it is possible to argue that the forms with intial /x/ attested in the other Iranian languages of the Tarim basin may go back to the official Bactrian designation of the Khotan area, as attested in the administrative documents in Niya Prakrit. It is not possible to determine exactly the date of borrowing of the name of Khotan into Bactrian. However, one can be sure that it was borrowed *before* οατανο, because it underwent the change **hwa- > χ(ο/ω)-*.

A quite evident consequence for the phonological history of Khotanese would be that at the time of borrowing into Tocharian and Bactrian, intervocalic *t* was still a dental stop. The Bactrian evidence would point in the direction that this was even still [t] in the Pre-Khotanese of the first five centuries AD.

f. On the etymology of the name of Khotan

With regard to the ultimate origin of Khot. *hvatana-*, many different hypotheses have been put forward in the last century. Three main research directions may be identified in the scholarly literature.

The first seeks to connect the name with the Proto-Iranian possessive pronoun **hwa*, from which an adverbial **hwatah* was derived, cf. YAv. *xᵛātō*, MP *xwad*, MSogd. *xwtyy*. This was suggested by the occurrence of the same adverb *hvatä* in Old Khotanese, which is clearly to be derived from **hwatah*. Already Konow (1935: 799), commenting on the alleged occurrence of the adjective in Tumshuqese, noted the following: 'Seit dem Erscheinen von Leumanns 'Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus' wissen wir, daß die einheimische Bezeichnung für Kh. *hvatana-*, *hvatanaa-* war. Dies Wort kann selbstverständlich von dem Stamm in Kh. *hvatä* 'von selbst' hergeleitet werden und etwa 'eigen, heimisch' bedeuten, etwa wie Namen wie 'Schweden', 'Schwaben' usw. Aber von vornherein sind wir geneigt, es mit dem Namen Khotan zu verbinden und 'khotanisch' zu übersetzen.' Konow's idea can be summarised as follows: 1. we know that Khotanese people defined themselves with the word *hvatana-*; 2. this word has an Iranian appearance and can be etymologized within Khotanese; 3. it can be most likely linked to the adverb *hvatä* 'of itself', so it could mean 'native' in Khotanese, cf. other similar cases in 'Sweden' and 'Schwaben'; 4. it should be most likely linked with the name of Khotan.

There can be no doubt that points 1. and 4. are substantially correct and no scholar has tried to argue against that since the publication of Konow's article. Point 2. is questionable, but it has been generally regarded as very likely. Indeed, there is always a chance that *hvatana-* is not an Iranian word, but since it is possible to etymologize it

within Iranian, it is worth exploring it further. What is not clear and in need of a revision is Konow's derivation from PIr. **hwatah*. Konow himself (1936: 194), in an article which was published just one year later, seemed to be sceptical about it, revising his 1935 statement as follows: 'The word *hvadana* can have been the designation used by the Iranians to denote themselves, perhaps derived from the pronoun *hva*, Skt. *sva*, which base is well-known to have been used for forming ethnic names. On account of the similarity in sound, it can then subsequently have been applied to the country itself, instead of, or at the side of, the old form *Khotan*.' It has been already shown that *Khotan* cannot be the older form on linguistic grounds (cf. *supra*) and is likely to reflect a regular Bactrian adaptation of older **hw-*. However, we cannot but agree with Konow in identifying the Bactrian form as the oldest in use within the official administration. The transition from Gandh. *khotana* to Khot. *hvatana-* is not to be read as a linguistic change, however, but as a political one. It probably reflected a significant change in the ruling élite of the Khotan area. As for the Iranian etymology, Konow seems to reject a derivation from **hwatah* in favour of a more general connection only with the pronoun **hwa*.

Both these suggestions, i.e. from **hwa* or **hwatah*, are to be taken in serious consideration. Both could explain very easily the initial syllable, but it is not clear how the finals should be interpreted. As already noted by Emmerick (1968b: 88), the first hypothesis would imply a suffix *-tana*. This suffix would be actually attested in Khotanese, but its mainly temporal function, just like Skt. *-tana*, is semantically unacceptable for our purposes. A derivation from **hwatah*, on the other hand, would be morphologically possible, if one could compare similar *-na* formations on the basis of adverbs as possibly attested in the case of *hamaṃgga-* 'same' < **hamā-na-ka-* (KS: xxxiii), but a *-na* derivative of **hwatah* would have no parallels within Iranian. A more substantial semantic obstacle to a derivation from **hwatah*, however, may come from Skjærvø's (SVK III: 174-9) remarks on the meaning of *hvatä* in Khotanese. In fact, it seems likely that *hvatä* meant 'separately' in Old Khotanese and not 'own'. Thus, unless we are dealing with a modern secessionist movement, it is hardly convincing that an adjective with the meaning 'separate' could be used as endonym by its own speakers. It could be more likely an exonym, but, since it would be perfectly transparent to Khotanese speakers, one cannot see an immediate semantic justification for its use.

The second etymological proposal is to be ascribed to Emmerick (1968b: 89). He derives *hvatana-* from **hu-wat-ana-*, possibly an adjective meaning 'very powerful'. Formations with strengthening *hu-* are indeed attested in Khotanese (cf. OKh. *huśśīya-* 'very white' in Z 19.39), but, as already noted by Emmerick himself (1968b: 89), the fact that no form ***huvatana-* is actually attested casts serious doubt on the correctness of this reconstruction. Moreover, the meaning 'to be able' for PIr. **wat-*, which otherwise means rather 'to inspire, be informed, acquainted' in other Iranian languages (following EDIV: 427) is attested in Khotanese only with the preverb **fra-* in the verb *hot-* 'to be able' and in the derived *hotana-* 'strong'. It is questionable that Khot. **vat-* without preverb could have meant as well 'to be able'. Thus, Emmerick's proposal is not

phonologically impossible (apart from the consistent *hv-* for **huv-*), but has important semantic difficulties.

Bailey (1982: 3) put forward the hypothesis that the name could mean 'lord', pointing to a possible connection with **hwa* and noting that in many surrounding languages words for 'lord' contain this element, but no precise derivational path is suggested.[96] Thus, this proposal remains quite vague and, although semantically attractive, no precise equivalents justifying this formation could be found within Iranian.

As can be gathered from this summary, it seems that no satisfactory explanation of *hvatana-* is available, despite the fact that it seems to show a strikingly Iranian shape. I would suggest that, if we accept Konow's proposal of an initial PIr. **hwa-*, it is possible to recognize in the second element °*tana-* the well-known Iranian word for 'body, person, self', i.e. **tanū-*. In Khotanese, no *ū-* or *u*-declensions are found, as the tendency was to transfer these stems to the *a-* or *ā*-declensions (SGS: 250). Therefore, **tanū-* could have been very easily **tana-* already in Old Khotanese. If this is correct, it is possible to trace back the formation Khot. *hva-tana-* to the very ancient idiom OAv. *x^{v}a- tanu-*, YAv. *hauua- tanu-* 'own body/person' (De Vaan 2003: 702-3), for which cf. Ved. *sváyā tanvà* 'by/with myself (lit. by (my own) body, as a reflexive)' (Pinault 2001: 186). Thus, a formation *hva-tana-* would have a strikingly solid history of Indo-Iranian date. Since Khotanese has preserved no trace of an independent **tanū-* in the lexicon, where 'body' is *ttaraṃdara-* (< **tanŭm-dara-* with dissimilation, see Emmerick *apud* Degener 1987: 39), it can be argued that **tanū-* survived only in this fixed idiom of Indo-Iranian origin ('(belonging to our) own people'), which specialised as an ethnonym at a very early date in the history of Khotanese, when **tanū-* was lost as an independent word. Thus, it can be surmised that the origin of *hvatana-* was no more transparent to Khotanese speakers in historical times.

g. Linguistic and historical conclusions

My main conclusions, based on the discussion above, can be summarised as follows:

1. OKh. *hvatana-* can be etymologized within Khotanese; its origin is most likely to be identified with an idiom of Indo-Iranian date (OAv. *x^{v}a- tanu-* 'own body/person, Ved. *sváyā tanvà* 'by/with myself') which was specialised as an endonym within Khotanese at an early date.
2. OKh. *hvatana-* was borrowed early into Bactrian, where it became **χ(ο/ω)δανο* or **χ(ο/ω)τανο*, either with the Bactrian change **hwa-* > *χο-*, or with adaptation of **hwa-* to *χ(ο/ω)-*, if that sound change had already occurred. The Bactrian form was used as the official administrative term for the Khotan region in the first centuries AD, as documented by Gāndhārī *khotana-*, which was borrowed from Bactrian. It is the source of the other Iranian terms for Khotan in the Tarim basin and beyond, being also ultimately the origin of our own term 'Khotan'.

[96] A hypothetical **hwa-tāwana-* would not yield the expected Khotanese form.

The substitution of Gandh. *khotana-* with Khot. *hvatana-* in the official administration probably reflects a political change.

3. Another set of names for Khotan was borrowed directly from OKh. *hvatana-*. This set points to a weak word-initial aspiration in the Khotanese source, possibly [ɦ], which was represented with a similar initial in Chinese and Tibetan, and dropped altogether in Tocharian and perhaps Bactrian (cf. 5.), when it was reborrowed at a later stage.
4. The name of Khotan is attested in Tocharian A and B tune names as TB *ᵤwātano** A *wataṃ**. As it occurs in a text with many late features, the late digraph <ᵤw> of Tocharian B may be seen as an effort of the copyist to preserve the pronunciation of <w> as [w] of a classical Tocharian B spelling *<wātano> at a time when Tocharian B <w> already had the value [β]. The date of the borrowing may be placed in the first centuries CE because of the rendering of the middle syllable as *ta* without weakening of *t* or *a*. The forms attested in late Tocharian B documents remain of uncertain interpretation.
5. Bactrian possibly borrowed the form *οατανο* at a later date directly from Khotanese speakers. *οατανο* is attested in personal names in two letters. It may be argued that the association with Khotan region was not evident to Bactrian speakers, and they did not connect it with their own official name for the region. Thus, *οατανο* may be taken as referring to a community of Khotanese people in Bactria, which were probably bilingual and fully integrated within the social and political system of the region. Contacts between Bactria and Khotan are documented since the 1st c. CE. It can be surmised that people were moving not only from Bactria to Khotan, but also from Khotan to Bactria.
6. The alleged Tumshuqese forms of the name are of unsure interpretation, so they cannot be profitably used for the discussion.
7. The Khotanese pronunciation of the name of Khotan within the five centuries preceding its earliest attestations can be reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty as [ˈɦwatana-].

Tocharian occurrences

- B *suwāññe-ᵤwātanane* THT 108 b9
- A *watañinaṃ*: A71 b3; A260 b2 *watañ(i)naṃ*; THT 1464 b2 *watañin(aṃ)*
- A *watañi-lāntaṃ*: A24 b5 *w(a)tañi-lāntaṃ*; A163 b2 (*watañi*)*-lāntaṃ*

Bactrian occurrences

- *βρηδαγο οατανανο* cm1, 25 (Sims-Williams 2007: 91)
- *οηλ(ο)-οατανο* cm4 and cl4-5 (Sims-Williams 2007: 89)

TB *USTAMO** '?', OKh. *USTAMA-* 'LAST'

Tocharian occurrences

- abl. sg. THT 566 b7 *ustamameṃ ysā-yokä(ṃ)* /// 'from the utmost (thing), gold coloured'.

Discussion

The context of the fragment THT 566 b7 is not useful for determining the meaning of the abl. sg. *ustamameṃ*. Therefore, the semantics 'last, utmost' is based on the tentative connection with Khot. *ustama-* 'id.' (DoT: 77). This is ultimately connected with Av. *ustama-* 'id.' and translates Skt. *anāgata* (Suv II: 249). Given the fragmentary state of the manuscript, it is difficult to prove or disprove this hypothesis. Phonologically, it does not present us with special problems. The abl. sg. *ustamameṃ* is formed to an obl. sg. *ustama**, which in turn suggests a nom. sg. *ustamo** (/ústamo/). This nom. sg. points to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. The reconstruction of this nom. sg. excludes other Iranian languages as possible sources.

Results

Following a suggestion by Adams (DoT: 77), the hapax TB *ustamo** might be connected to OKh. *ustama-* 'last, utmost' by way of borrowing. It is difficult to recover the original semantics of the word based on the Tocharian B occurrence alone.

TB *EÑCUWO* A *AÑCU** 'IRON', OKh. *HĪŚŚANA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

The reader is referred to a forthcoming article by M. Peyrot, F. Dragoni and C. Bernard (Peyrot, Dragoni, Bernard Forthc.) for a more detailed discussion of the spread of the word for iron in Central Asia, in particular the relationship between TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** and OKh. *hīśśana-*. Here only the principal results regarding the phonological reconstruction of the pre-stages of Khotanese and Tumshuqese will be summarised.

Results

The discussion in Peyrot, Dragoni, Bernard (Forthc.) has made clear that TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** can be derived from the PTK antecedent of OKh. *hīśśana-*. This form can be reconstructed as PTK **henśwanya*. The reconstruction is based on the following assumptions:

a. Initial **h-* of the PTK form was lost in the borrowing process, as it regularly happens in borrowings from Khotanese and from Iranian into Tocharian in general.

b. *-e-* in the first syllable is reconstructed as the intermediate stage after *y*-umlaut of *a* and before further raising to *ī*, as historically documented in the attested OKh. *hīśśana-*.
c. That the group PTK *-nś-* could be adapted as *-ñc-* in Tocharian is further proven by the borrowing path of the PTK ancestor of OKh. *śśaśvāna-* into TB *śāñcapo*, q.v.[97] This adaptation is parallel to *t*-epenthesis in Tocharian clusters like *ns* on the one hand, and to the palatalised counterpart *ñc* of *nk*, rather than *nś*, on the other.
d. The preverb **ham-*, in the shape **hen-* → **en-*, was retained in Tocharian because it was stressed in PTK. The position of the stress in PTK can be reconstructed on the basis of the umlaut, which only affects vowels under the stress.
e. Noteworthy for the reconstruction of PTK is the Tocharian adaptation **św* of the Proto-Indo-Iranian cluster **ćų*. This shows that in PTK the cluster was still palatal and contained **w* and demonstrates clearly the early split of PTK from Proto-Iranian.
f. The final *-ya-* of the PTK form has probably been taken over by analogy from other names for metals, cf. e.g. PIr. **ǰaranya-* 'gold' (cf. Khot. *ysīrra*).

TB *EŚPEṢṢE* 'BOERHAVIA DIFFUSA', LKH. *AIŚTA BĀ* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- *eśpeṣṣe* THT 500-502 b9-10. Otherwise, the more common word for the Boerhavia diffusa is *punarṇap*, LW < Skt. *punarnavā*, in PK AS 3A a5, W19 b1, W1 b4, W6 a6, W6 b5, W17 b5, W20 a5. Another *hapax legomenon* for the same plant is *wärścik*, LW < Skt. *vṛścika*, in PK AS 3A a5.

Khotanese occurrences

- The Khotanese equivalent occurs various times in the Siddhasāra and in the Jīvakapustaka, mostly preceding *bāta*, *bāva*, *bā* 'root':[98]
- Siddhasāra: *aiśca bāva* 100r4, *eśta bāta* 133r2, *eśtä bā* 135v2, *e'śte bāta* 129v2, *e'śte bāta* 135v3, *auśta bāta* 9v5, *auśte bāta* 140r2, *au'śte bāta* 139r5, *au'śtä bāta* Si P 2892.71.
- Jīvakapustaka: *aiśta bā* 49r1, *aiśta bāva* 58v3, *aiśta bā* 62v2, *auśta bā* 66r5, *iṃśta bā* 73r5, *iṃśta bāva* 77v3, *iṃśta bāva* 84r4, *äṃśta* 80v5, *iṃ'śta bāva* 79v2.
- In other medical texts: *u'śtä bāva* P 2893.213.

[97] A more recent parallel is offered by TA *sañce* 'doubt', borrowed from Skt. *saṃśaya* 'id.'.
[98] These are all different orthographies for the original *bāgā-* 'root' (see DKS: 274-5).

Discussion[99]

The Khotanese occurrences are attested in a puzzling series of different orthographies. From the following table, it is immediately clear that such a vowel alternation in the first syllable is unprecedented, and therefore difficult to assess:

iṃ-	äṃ-	ai-	e-	e'-	au-	au'-	u'-	Total
1×	1×	4×	2×	2×	2×	2×	1×	15

Five of fifteen total occurrences show a back vowel (au-, u-), whereas the rest points to a front vowel (*i-*, *ai-*, *e-*). Bailey's tentative explanation (DKS: 48) takes the forms with back vowel as original and posits a hypothetical **ā-vastyā-*.[100] However, this leaves the forms with front vowel, i.e. the large majority, unexplained. The subscript hook, which occurs five times, might signal the earlier presence of a lost *-l-*, as in the case of OKh. *balysa-* and LKh. *ba'ysa-*, *be'ysa-*, *bi'ysa-*, *bai'ysa-*. Only a few occurrences of the word have a subscript hook, but in the case of *ba'ysa-*, too, the subscript hook is often omitted.[101]

Indeed, the presence of both front and back vowels in the Late Khotanese notation might also point to a lost *-l-*, which is normally associated with fronting.[102] The case of *hälsti-* 'spear', however, which occurs in Late Khotanese both with initial *ha'°* and *hu'°* (DKS: 486), apparently shows that loss of *-l-* could also be associated with a back vowel. For the Khotanese word for Boerhavia diffusa, a hypothetic Old Khotanese form **alśta* or **älśta* can be then reconstructed. **älśta* could be further interpreted as an inflected form of a stem **älsti-*, a variant of OKh. *hälsti-* (SGS: 288) without initial *h-* (< PIr. **Hr̥šti-* 'spear', cf. Av. *aršti-* and OP *r̥šti-* 'id.').[103]

The use of terms for 'spear' to describe plants with reference to the oblong form of their leaves is documented in Latin, where the adjective *lanceolātus* 'lanceolate' is used as a botanical term.[104] Since the leaves of the Boerhavia diffusa are not oblong or spear-shaped, the term may refer here to the form of its roots. However, given the tentative nature of this explanation, there is always the possibility that the word could represent a borrowing from an unknown language.

Adams (DoT: 104) compares the Khotanese word with Tocharian *eśpeṣṣe.* The meaning is secured by the Khotanese and Sanskrit parallel (Maue 1990: 163 fn. 20). If *-ṣṣe* is an adjectival suffix, then we are left with something that closely resembles the Khotanese word, although Tocharian *-śp-* for Khotanese *-št-* is not paralleled elsewhere.

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[99] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

[100] With "Avestan *avō* 'herb'".

[101] See e.g. *beysa*, quite frequent in the Late Khotanese *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* (Duan 1992: 125).

[102] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of Dragoni (2021) for this suggestion.

[103] Kümmel (2018) discusses the issue whether initial *h-* is to be interpreted as an archaism (preservation of the Proto-Iranian laryngeal) or as a 'prothetic' *h-*.

[104] Additionally, A. Lubotsky (p.c.) draws my attention to English *garlic*, from OE *gār-lēac* 'spear-shaped leek'.

The cluster *-śp-* may be explained by considering the Tocharian word a borrowing from a compound LKh. *aiśta* + **bā*(*ga*) > *aiśtäbā* > *aiśtbā* > TB *eśpe*.[105] However, this leaves the Tocharian vocalism of the final syllable unexplained, since it is very unlikely that LKh. <ā>, which probably had the value /ɔ/ (Emmerick 1979: 245), could have been adapted as TB *-e*.[106]

Results

Overall, the comparison between the Tocharian B hapax *eśpeṣṣe* 'Boerhavia diffusa' and LKh. *aiśta bā* 'id.' seems rather doubtful. The Khotanese form may be interpreted as the Late Khotanese outcome of an *h*-less form of *hälsti-* 'spear', cf. Lat. *lanceolātus*. If this was borrowed into Tocharian B at a very late date, one might envisage the possibility that *eśpeṣṣe* may be a *-ṣṣe* adj. based on *eśpe*° < LKh. *aiśta-bā* (see in detail the discussion above).

TB *orśa* A *oräś** 'official title', OKh. *aurāśśaa-* 'councillor'

Discussion

The official title TB *orśa* A *oräś** is of unknown origin. It is attested in both Tocharian A and B. In Tocharian A, it occurs in the introductory act of the Maitreyasamitināṭaka (MSN) and in the colophon of act 26. In these occurrences, it seems to designate an official title borne by a certain Kulmäs, the benefactor who made possible the copying of the manuscripts of the MSN that are extant:

- A 251-252 *kulmäs*(*s*) *or*(*ś*)*e*(*s*) *ṣokyākāl nanemāñcāṃ* '[Für mich], den Orś(?) Kulmäs, [ist es] (zusammen mit) meiner (Frau) Nanemāñc der höchste Wunsch, …' (reconstruction and translation based on Schmidt 2002: 260-1).
- A 258 b3 /// (*säs postäk kulmäs o*)*rśess ākālā vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwu* 'Nach dem Wunsch von Kulmäs Orś (ist dieses Buch) von dem Vaibhāsika Āryacandra gedichtet worden' (Geng, Laut and Pinault 2004: 75).

As his wife Nānemañc had a clear Sogdian name (cf. Sogd. *nnym'nch*, Schmidt 2002: 264), it is possible that Kulmäs is an Iranian name, too. Indeed, one could compare the Bactrian names beginning with the element *κολ-* (of uncertain origin, cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 81), although an exact parallel for the second element *-mäs* is lacking.

In Tocharian B, the title is attested in a growing number of documents. It is normally placed *after* the proper name, although in the case of the name Cākare[107] and Arśol it seems to have been added *before* the name. In the following, a list of occcurrences of *orśa* in Tocharian B is given:

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[105] LKh. *ai-* (for /e/) may stand for TB *e-* without problems, see Dresden (1955: 406).

[106] Moreover, I do not see any reason for a morphological adaptation.

[107] The correct segmentation *orśa-cakare* instead of *or-śacakare* was first suggested by Schmidt (2002: 264). Later, it was also accepted by Ogihara and Pinault (2010: 186). See also Ching and Ogihara (2013: 112).

- TB *orśa c(c)āk(k)are* nom. sg. PK Bois A26, A49, B7, B25, B26, B31, B40, B45, B51, B65, B125, B134/142, B135, PK réserve 1517 B 3.2.
- TB *kṣemateworśa** all. sg. PK Bois B3 *kṣemateworśaiśco*, gen. sg. PK Bois B37 *kṣemateworśantse*.
- TB *laṃnkay orś(a)* THT 4000 b11v.
- TB *orśa arśol* THT 4001 b2.

From the occurrences, it seems that the following paradigm of the subst. *orśa* may be reconstructed: nom. sg. *orśa*, obl. sg. *orśai*, gen. sg. *orśantse*, all. sg. *orśaiśco*. In A, only the gen. sg. *orśes* is attested. Ogihara and Pinault (2010: 186 fn. 39) reconstruct a nom. sg. *oräś** based on this form.

As already noted, no etymology for *orśa* has been suggested yet. In the following, I would like to put forward the proposal that *orśa* may be connected with OKh. *aurāśśaa-* 'councilor' by way of borrowing. The oldest attestation of this word is to be found in the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*:

- Suv 17.168 [*ttī*] *[x]vā ttä saṃbatsara nämättaṃña aurāśśā āmāca kuṣṭa Jalavāhanä* [*harvaṣṣai bisa hā tsutändä*] 'And [*then*] these astrologers, interpreters of heavenly signs, officials, and ministers [*went to*] where Jalavāhana [*the merchant son's house* (*was*)]' (Skt. *atha te gaṇaka-mahāmātrāmātyā yena Jalavāhanasya śreṣṭhi-putrasya gṛhaṃ tenopasaṃkrāntā*) (Suv I: 322-3).

From the occurrence above, it seems that *aurāśśā āmāca* translates Skt. *mahāmātrāmātyā*. The Skt. manuscripts of the Suv (I: 323) offer also the following readings: *mahāmātrā*, *mahāmātyā*. Thus, it is likely that the *aurāśśā āmāca* are a special type of ministers of very high rank. An alternative, as Skjærvø seems to suggest in his edition, would be to consider *aurāśsā* and *āmāca* as two different titles. In this case, *aurāśśā* may be the translation of *mahāmātrā* 'high official, prime minister' (MW: 798) and *āmāca* would simply render Skt. *āmātyā*. Needless to say, this would suggest a dependence of the Khotanese translation on a Skt. version containing *āmātyā*. The translation 'councillor', which Skjærvø notes in the glossary (Suv II: 251), seems to be based on the meaning of the etymologically related MMP *'fr'h*, MPa. *'fr's* 'teaching, instruction'. In fact, the Old Khotanese subst. *aurāśśaa-* is to be derived from **ā-frās-(a)ya-ka-* (KS: 302). As already noted by Degener (l.c.), it is difficult to decide whether the word may be a *yaa*-derivative from the subst. *aurāsa-* 'information, report' or a direct *aa*-derivative from the verb *aurāśś-* (SGS: 20). In Late Khotanese documents, where *aurāsa-* is very frequent, one finds also a form *aurāśāka-* (KS: 45).

I would like to suggest that the title Khot. *aurāśśaa-* may have entered the Tocharian lexicon from the administrative jargon. In examining this possibility, two phonological problems may be detected: a. the Khotanese medial long vowel, which seems to have been dropped in Tocharian; b. the final *-a* of the nom. sg., where one should expect *-o* if from PTK, PK or OKh. As for the second problem, I do not have a precise solution for the moment, but it can be tentatively suggested that in this case the borrowing took place from the Khotanese vocative, which takes the ending *-ā* for *aa*-stems (SGS: 297). A confirmation of this hypothesis may come from the fact that the title is only used with

personal names in Tocharian. More arbitrary seems to be the hypothesis of a loanword from Tumshuqese (cf. s.v. *ārt*), as nearly nothing is known about the latter borrowing path. As for the first problem, on the other hand, I do not see any easy solution. A possible approach to it would entail the analysis of similar cases of trisyllabic shortening within Khotanese. Two cases are known to me: *ātama-* < **ā-kāma-*[108] and *āṣana-* < *āṣāna-* (see s.v.). The precise conditions of this change are not clear.[109] At any rate, the Tocharian form would imply that at a certain point in history, probably very late, the medial long *ā* was shortened to *a*. Subsequently, this short *a* may have been weakened to *ä*, which was lost in the end. The syncope can hardly be an inner-Tocharian development.

Results

The official title TB *orśa* A *oräś* is of unclear origin. The discussion above seeks to show that it may be derived from the Khotanese title OKh. *aurāśśaa-* 'councilor' by way of borrowing. Even if two main phonological problems may be detected (the shortening of the medial long *ā* in Khotanese and the final *-a* for expected *-o* in Tocharian B), the derivation seems quite secure.

TB *oś* 'EVIL', OKH. *ośa-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- PK NS 83 b5 *oś kakāmaṣ kleśänmants ra kc= āyit-me onwāññeṣṣe nemc= ekñi ñäktā 2* || '... [us] who have been led astray by the passions as it were. May you give us the riches consisting of eternity for sure, o lord!' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn and Fellner eds.).
- THT 94 a2-3 [parallel] (*lkāskau śaiṣṣe tallānto o*)*ś kakamaṣ kleśanmats* 'I see the miserable world [that] has been led astray by the Kleśas.'[110]
- PK NS 36 and 20 b5 [parallel] *lkāskau śaiṣṣe tallānto* (*oś kakā*)*maṣ kleśanmaś*
- THT 213 b5 *traiy rākṣatsets oś kakāmau tallā*$_u$ /// 'Unfortunate and led astray by three rakṣasas' (DoT: 132).

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[108] Although, as noted by Sims-Williams (1990: 289), this could have presupposed as well an antecedent **ā-kama-*.

[109] Maggi (1992: 81 fn. 2) tentatively links this phenomenon with the influence of the preverb. The same explanation might be also invoked in the case of *orśa*. Besides, the absence of the medial vowel in *orśa* clearly shows that the Khotanese form was accented on the first syllable. Alternatively, Alessandro Del Tomba (p.c.) suggests the possibility that we might have to do with a different formation **ā-fras-ya-ka-* > **auraśśaa-*, with a short medial vowel.

[110] For this and the previous occurrence see Couvreur (1964: 243 fn. 37) and Schmidt (2001: 326 fn. 144). For another translation, which ignores *oś*, leaving it untranslated, see CEToM (Pinault and Malzahn eds.): '(I see the miserable world that) has been brought under the control of the Kleśas'.

Discussion

The semantic range of *oś* was first determined by Couvreur (1964: 243 fn. 37), who noted that all contexts suggested a negative meaning 'op een dwaalweg gebracht, misleid'[111] for the phrase *oś pər-*. In fact, *oś* seems to occur in Tocharian only with the verb *pər-* (suppletive stem *kama-*) in the expression *oś pər-* 'to lead astray'. All occurrences of the phrase have either the *kleśas* or the *rakṣasas* as agents, both evil concepts, which suggest accordingly a negative meaning for *oś*. Hilmarsson (1986: 64, 340) in his doctoral thesis suggested a translation 'falsely' based on the idea that *oś* may be a borrowing from Khotanese *ośa-* 'bad, evil'. Such etymology is reported also by Adams (DoT: 132).

The adjective *auśa-/ośa-* is well-attested both in Old and Late Khotanese. For the semantics, bilingual evidence is available from the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. Three occurrences are enough to determine the meaning, which seems quite clearly 'bad, evil':

- = Skt. *pāpaka* OKh. Suv 1.9 (manuscript Or.) *o ce vā auśu hūnu daiyä* 'Or whoever sees an evil dream' (Suv I: 13) (Skt. *pāpakaṃ paśyate svapnaṃ*).
- = Skt. *duśkṛta* OKh. Suv 12.18 (manuscript Or.) *ttye anaṃdīśemate jsa ośānu adātyānu bvānānu. adāta huṣṣa tsīndä bihīyu* 'On account of his overlooking of evil, lawless ruins, lawlessness grows much greater' (Suv I: 241) (Skt. *duṣkṛtānām upekṣayā adharmo vardhate bhṛśaṃ*).
- = Skt. *aniṣṭa* LKh. Suv 3.53 (manuscript P) *cu buri maṃ īde karma. tcaṃna vīvā hame ośä'*. 'All those karmas that I have, which may produce evil fruition' (Suv I: 51) (Skt. *yac ca me pāpakaṃ karma aniṣṭa-phala-vāhakaṃ*).

Noteworthy is the compound OKh. *ośataraṇa-* 'evil-doing' (< *ośa-* + *karaṇa-*), occurring e.g. in Z 12.67, as opposed to *śśäragaraṇa-* 'well-doing' (< *śśära-* + *karaṇa-*, Suv 12.15, see also KS: 28). Khotanese *auśa-/ośa-* is usually explained as a *-ya*-derivative from the verb *oys-* 'to be angry' (KS: 301). From the same root, one may list also the *a*-derivative *oysa-* 'anger' (KS: 5) and the causative *auś-* : *auṣṭa-* 'to anger' (SGS: 20). The etymology of the verb *oys-* does not present us with particular problems. Bailey's derivation (*apud* SGS: 20) from Proto-Iranian **ā-uaz-* seems phonologically fine. As for the semantics, one may object that the reconstructed meaning of the Proto-Iranian root **uaz-* is rather 'to carry, drive' (cf. e.g. EDIV: 429) and that the simplex *bays-* is attested in Khotanese in the sense of 'to go (quickly)' (SGS: 93). However, it is well-known from other Iranian and Indo-European languages that words for 'anger' are frequently derived from verbs of movement. One may compare for example Av. *aēšma-* 'anger', which is originally a derivative of the verbal root Proto-Iranian **HaišH-* 'to set in motion' (EWA I: 271), and perhaps, from the same PIE root, Latin *īra-* 'id.' (De Vaan 2008: 308-9).

To sum up, TB *oś* may well be a borrowing from Khotanese, as phonology and semantics fit.[112] The lack of final vowel in the Tocharian form may suggest either the presence of an apocopated form from an original *ośo** or a borrowing from Late

[111] = 'led astray'.

[112] A similar conclusion, without attempting a periodisation, was also reached by Del Tomba and Maggi (2021: 215).

Khotanese. However, the poor number of occurrences of the Tocharian word prompts us to consider this possibility with caution.

It has been suggested (DoT: 132) that another thus far unexplained word may belong to the same root of TB *oś*. This is the mysterious *ośonai*, which occurs three times in broken contexts:

- IOL Toch 161 b4 /// – *cwī ñī kalymisa ośonai palskone y·* /// '... of that by my direction, in the anger/evil (and) in the thought (= in the evil thought?) ...'
- IOL Toch 360 b5 /// *ośo*(*n*)*ai* /// [bilingual Sanskrit-Tocharian, no Sanskrit equivalent is extant]
- THT 535 b3 /// *ta* ◆ *ośonai* /// [bilingual Sanskrit-Tocharian fragment; *-ta* is probably the end of the Sanskrit equivalent of *ośonai*]

The connection with TB *ścono* 'hate' and the interpretation of the word as an adverb meaning 'out of enmity, hostility', suggested by Hilmarsson (1991a: 145), has its basis in Broomhead's (1962: 166) reading of the passage in IOL Toch 161.[113] In fact, he read [*śon*]*ai*. However, even if Broomhead's reading were right, Adams (DoT: 132) rightly notes that *ś* for older *śc* is a rather late and colloquial feature (see Peyrot 2008: 70-1), which one should not expect to find in IOL Toch 161 (classical). Although the ink is partially faded, one can clearly distinguish the long right stroke of the *akṣara* <o> in the manuscript. If correctly read, the same word would be attested another two times in two bilingual (Sanskrit-Tocharian) fragments. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit equivalents have not been preserved and *ośonai* appears to be an isolated word. This could be tentatively interpreted as a loc. sg. (with *-nai* for *-ne* as a hypercorrect form, see Peyrot 2008: 59) of a substantive with obl. sg. in *-o*, meaning 'evil'. Accordingly, the substantive may have had a nom. sg. *ośo** and be derived directly from Khot. *ośa-*. This interpretation may be suggested by the occurrence immediately preceding the loc. sg. *palskone* in IOL Toch 161 b4. However, one cannot exclude that *ośonai* may be an obl. sg. in Gruppenflexion with *palskone*, from an unattested nom. sg. *ośono**. Indeed, this seems to be a safer solution, because it is highly unlikely that the same hypercorrect form with *ai* for *e* could be used in all three occurrences of the word. It is to be kept in mind that a nom. sg. in *-o* seems to be very frequent among Khotanese loanwords in Tocharian (cf. *tvāṅkaro*, *pito*, etc.). However, no clear Khotanese source for *ośono** has been so far detected. Therefore, the precise meaning and etymology of *ośono** remain uncertain. An alternative solution may see *ośonai* as an adverbial formation (*o-śona-i*), but the scarcity of attestations cannot confirm or disprove this interpretation.[114]

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[113] On this word, see also recently Ogihara (2012: 172), who, based on suggestions by G.-J. Pinault and M. Peyrot, translates it as 'detestable, hateful state'.

[114] Theoretically, from a substantive *ośo**, an adjectival formation ***oś-iye*** with the meaning 'bad, evil' may be obtained. In fact, there might be traces of this ***oś-iye*** in Tocharian. A word *auśiye* is actually attested twice in Tocharian B:

- THT 497 b2 *se ṣalype* (*au*)*wśiye motaṣṣe kaṣāysa kālkä päkṣalle ku*(*rma*)*ntse* 'with a decoction of (*au*)*wśiye* alcohol the paste [is] to be cooked as a cream (and is a remedy) for *gulma-*' (Couvreur 1954a: 116).

Results

I tentatively put forward the proposal that TB *oś* 'evil' may have been borrowed from the Late Khotanese adjective adjective *ośa-* 'evil'. Due to the absence of final vowel, the borrowing may be dated to the Late Khotanese stage. *ośonai* remains unclear.

TB *OSKIYE* A *OṢKE* 'HOUSE', LKH. *AUSKĀ-* 'DWELLING PLACE'

Tocharian occurrences

- obl. sg. TA *oṣke* A 220 b1 (*kl*)*oräṣ cam ṣñi oṣke lo* 'having led him away to his own house' (DTTA: 93).
- nom. sg. TB *oskiye* THT 108 a9 *tañ paiyneṣṣai saiym yāmskemntär*[115] *oskiye* 'nous prenons refuge en la demeure de tes pieds' (Meunier 2013: 144),
- obl. sg. *oskai* THT 44 b6 *tswaiñ*(*e*) *ka yku päst kreṃnt ṣamāññemeṃ ṣañ oskai* 'Just after having gone from the good monkhood into his house' (CEToM, Fellner ed.), THT 25 a1 *oskai* 'home' [isolated], PK AS 16.3 a5 *tumeṃ sai*(*m*) *o*(*sk*)*ai* (*lamatsi*) *kälpāre* 'Thereupon, these came to (reside) in a house as [their] refuge' (CEToM, Pinault and Malzahn eds.), IOL Toch 248 a5 *oskai wayāte-ne* 'führte sie in [ihre] Behausung' (Schmidt 1974: 329).

Khotanese occurrences

- P 2781.71 *katha biśä jiṇä būrvāṃ . tvā rakṣa'ysāṃ hīya auska . usthīyāṃda hīna bīysāṃja .* 'We will utterly destroy the whole city, the abode of the Rākṣasas. They levied a terrifying army.'[116]

· THT 499 b2 *auśiye casi* 'auśiye venom (?)' [magical/medical text]

Both occurrences are to be found in magical/medical texts. The first concerns a recipe for which a decoction made of wine is necessary. The adjective (*au*)*wśiye* clearly refers to *mot* 'wine'. If the adjective has been correctly interpreted as a derivative of *ośo** 'bad, evil', here it may refer to 'bad' wine, i.e. wine that has undergone a process of fermentation. Adams (DoT: 141) suggests instead a meaning 'aged, matured' based on a tentative connection with the verb *auk-* 'to increase'. Couvreur (1954a: 116) translates (*au*)*wśiye motaṣṣe* as 'brandewijn', having possibly in mind the same connection. Accordingly, it may refer to vinegar, which is otherwise designated in Tocharian medical texts as a borrowing from Sanskrit *cukra*. This last word actually occurs as a first member (*cukkr*°) of a compound whose second member is otherwise unknown in the com. sg. *cukkrikṣṣumpa* (PK AS 2B b1). The second occurrence remains unfortunately unclear, as the mysterious *casi*, the substantive to which the adjective *auśiye* should refer, has not been identified yet. However, if Adams' tentative translation 'venom' is nevertheless right, one may have no problems in referring to it an adjective meaning 'bad, evil'. It should be noted that the translation 'venom' had been suggested by Adams (1999: 252); this was eliminated in the new edition of the dictionary (DoT: 270), where no translation was given. On *casi* cf. perhaps the unclear *cas* in THT 1525 b3 and PK AS 13J a4.

[115] Cf. Peyrot (2008: 156) for *-mnt-* instead of *-mtt-*.

- P 2782.26 *myāṃ parṣi' vāvāra dimarāśä' niraṃdä hauda-raṃnī auski āśā'ṣṭä sa* 'In the midst of the pariṣad-assembly a dharmarājikā-stūpa emerged, the seven-jewelled mansion, rose to the sky' (Bailey 1971: 2, DKS: 49).

Discussion[117]

Of the four Khotanese occurrences quoted in Bailey's dictionary (DKS: 49), only the two above are currently accepted as such. For the remaining two, Skjærvø and Kumamoto have convincingly argued that they represent a spelling variant of the adverb *uska* 'up':

- IOL Khot S. 6.9 *u parauva auski väśtāña* 'and [must] place the orders on top of it' (KMB: 485).
- P 2786.70 *hatca tcahaisyau kamacū-pavā bīsā sūlyāṃ jsä auska-vaṃdā* 'Together with 40 Sogdian slaves (lit. slave Sogdians) of Kan-Chou, (he was) on his way upwards (to China?)' (Kumamoto 1982: 122).

Since Emmerick's review of VW, the Tocharian word is generally assumed to be a loanword from a Khotanese source,[118] more precisely from Late Khotanese *auskā-* 'dwelling place' (DKS: 49). The idea is reported again by J. Hilmarsson in his doctoral thesis,[119] and it has remained as such also in Tremblay's article on the Iranian loanwords in Tocharian.[120] Adams (DoT: 133) has been the first to express doubts on this explanation. He reconstructs a Proto-Tocharian form **wost(ŭ)kai-*, which he explains as a *-kā-* derivative of Proto-Tocharian **wostŭ* "house". He notes further that 'the reduction of the heavy consonant cluster in the middle of the word must be independent in the two languages as it occurred after the change of **-st-* to *-ṣt-* in TA.' Moreover, he puts forward the hypothesis that the Khotanese word could be a loan from Tocharian, and not *vice versa*, the word being attested only from Late Khotanese onwards.

It is true that no Old Khotanese occurrences of this word have been preserved. As already noted, two of the occurrences listed by Bailey have been explained away as Late Khotanese alternative orthographies of the adverb *uska* 'up'. We are then left with only two other occurrences. As it the second attestation occurs in the frequent expression *uska sarb-* 'to rise up', I propose that it could be also read as LKh. *uska* 'up'. This phrase is widely attested and occurs e.g. three times in the Late Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa:

- P 2783.44 *rahä sarba śakrrä hīvī* 'Śakra's chariot is coming up' (Emmerick Unpublished (a): [153d]).
- P 2783.43 *ha'śa sa uska* 'he rose up into a tower' (Emmerick Unpublished (a): [152d])

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[116] See Emmerick (Unpublished (a): [105a]) for this passage.

[117] This study was partially presented during the online conference 'Tocharian in Progress' (Leiden University, 8 Dec. 2020).

[118] Emmerick (1977: 403): 'It must surely be a loan-word from Khotanese *auska* 'dwelling place'.'

[119] Hilmarsson (1986: 70): '[…] surely loanwords from Iranian.'

[120] Tremblay (2005: 432) assumes a borrowing from '(Early) Late Khotanese'.

- P 2783.53 *auska pyaurvā sa* 'he rose up into the clouds' (Emmerick, unpublished (a): [160c])

The adjective *hauda-raṃnī* "seven jewelled" could simply refer directly to *dimarāśä' 'dharmarājikā*(-stūpa)'.[121] This could be the resulting translation:

- P 2782.26 *myāṃ parṣi' vāvāra dimarāśä' niraṃdä hauda-raṃnī auski āśā'ṣṭä sa* 'In the midst of the *pariṣad*-assembly a seven-jewelled *dharmarājikā*-stūpa emerged (and) rose up to the sky.'

Of the two remaining occurrences of *auskā-*, then, only one is left. Consequently, *auskā-* seems to be a hapax attested only in the Late Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa. However, an interpretation with *uska* 'up' might be possible also in this case. In fact, there is no compelling reason to take the syntagma *tvā rakṣa'ysāṃ hīya* 'that of the Rākṣasas' to refer to a feminine substantive *auskā-*. The feminine demonstrative *tvā* could represent a reference to the preceding *katha* 'city', also feminine. *auska* might be taken together with the preceding verb *būrv-* 'to destroy', with strengthening meaning, in a phrase which might be translated approximately as 'destroy up'. The orthography <auska> instead of <uska> is attested multiple times in the same text (see e.g. Emmerick Unpublished (a): [161a], [88b]). Therefore, I propose the following translation for the passage in question:

- P 2781.71 *katha biśä jiṇä būrvāṃ . tvā rakṣa'ysāṃ hīya auska* 'We will utterly destroy up the whole city, that of the Rākṣasas.'

It seems then quite clear that LKh. *auskā-* 'dwelling place' is a ghost. Therefore, the Tocharian word must be considered either as inherited or borrowed from a third (Iranian?) language. As a corollary, it might be noted that this interpretation has the advantage of eliminating the phonological difficulties which arise from Bailey's etymological interpretation. His initial idea was that in Khotanese the Proto-Iranian root **Hwah-* 'to dwell, remain' (EDIV: 202) was represented by two nouns, *auskā-* and *gvaha-*, both meaning 'dwelling'. The first he derived from PIr. **ā-was-kā-* (DKS: 49), the second from PIr. **wi-waha-* (DKS: 95). Apart from the difficulty of having an alternation *s*/*h* not attested elsewhere and too old to be still alive in Late Khotanese, *gvaha-* has been already compared to Buddhist Sanskrit *guhā-* "cave, hiding place" and seems therefore to be an Indic loanword (SVK II: 37).

Results

As LKh. *auskā-* has proved to be non-existent, it cannot have been borrowed into Tocharian as TB *oskiye* A *oṣke* 'house'.

[121] This is also the solution preferred by Degener (KS: 125-6), without reference to *auskā-*.

TB *AUSW-* 'TO CRY', KHOT. *OYS-* 'TO BE ANGRY'

Tocharian occurrences

- IOL Toch 2 b3 *kārene klāyä kwri auswann ot sa 4 empakwaccai mā pkwaly(e)* 'If she should fall (= falls) into a ditch, then she will cry out: one should never put one's trust in an unreliable one' (Malzahn 2010: 553).

Discussion

The reconstruction of a verb *ausw-* in Tocharian is based on the single occurrence of IOL Toch 2 b3. For another interpretation, which sees in *auswa* a form of the prt. ptc. of *wəs-* 'to wear', cf. Peyrot (2013: 823 fn. 862). If one follows Malzahn (2010: 553) for the interpretation of the Tocharian sentence, the verb *ausw-* may be tentatively connected with the Khotanese verb *oys-* 'to be angry' by way of borrowing. The form *ausw-* may conceal an original **auso*, borrowed from the Khot. infinitive *oysä* (cf. s.v. *parso* for a similar borrowing path). The preservation of the initial diphthong *au-* may point to a PTK or PK source form. Indeed, *oys-* is derived from PIr. **ā-waj-* (SGS: 20), so that the Tocharian diphthong could have preserved the original initial preverb **ā-*. The semantics 'to be angry' rather then 'cry out' may fit the Tocharian B passage better: 'If she should fall into a ditch, then she will be angry: one should never put one's trust in an unreliable one.'

Results

The unsure Tocharian B verb *ausw-* might be tentatively seen as a loanword from the PTK or PK antecedent of the infinitive of the Khotanese verb *oys-* 'to be angry'.

TB *KAŃKO/KAŃKAU* '?', OKH. *KAŃGA-* 'HUSK (OF RICE)'

Tocharian occurrences

- PK AS 3A b6 *kaṅko . śwatsi*[122] *tsäk . kapo(tsa yoka)l(l)e* 'The *kaṅko*-food certainly (?) is to be drunk (?) with natron (*kāpota*?).'
- THT 169 a2 *ñakesa warñai tsälpelyñeṣai kaṅkau* 'From now on, the *kaṅkau* regarding the redemption …'

Discussion

TB *kaṅko/kaṅkau* occurs in two passages of uncertain interpretation. As for PK AS 3A, it is clear that it refers to a kind of food, which could be consumed (?) together with *kāpota*

[122] A more likely reading, instead of CEToM *cwassi* (M. Peyrot, p.c.).

(natron?).[123] In fact, the passage in question of this so far unidentified medical text lists a series of remedies against the 'third day fever' (*trice kaunaṣṣe kapilleṃtse*, b4-5). The remedy immediately preceding the occurrence of *kaṅko* describes how to crush a series of plants to be drunk with hot water. Consequently, it is possible that the obscure sentence containing *kaṅko* could also refer to a solid edible to be crushed and drunk as a drug against the third day fever. In this case, the suggestion made by Pinault, Malzahn and Peyrot, the editors of the CEToM page dedicated to this text, to connect *kaṅko* with Skt. *kaṅgu* 'Panicum italicum' or *kaṅku* 'a variety of panic seed' (CDIAL: n° 2605) may seem appropriate from the semantic point of view. However, the most frequent adaptation of Skt. *u*-stems in Tocharian within the medical lexicon involves the preservation of the Indic final *-u*, cf. TB *akaru* for Skt. *agaru* 'Aquilaria agallocha' and TB *priyaṅku* for Skt. *priyaṅgu* 'Aglaia roxburghiana'.

As a derivation from Sanskrit by way of borrowing seems quite difficult, it seems justified to posit a borrowing from a neighbouring language. In this case, final *-o* may easily point to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh., where a suitable candidate may be found in *kaṃga-* (DKS: 50, SVK III: 38-9), which in Late Khotanese medical texts indicates the 'husk' or skin of the rice. Cf. e.g. the following passage of the Siddhasāra (§3.4.): *cu ṣi' rrīysu cu kṣaṣṭyā haḍāṃ jsa daśde' cuai kaṃga haryāsa hame* . 'As for that rice which ripens in sixty days whose husk becomes black (*asitas*)' (Emmerick Unpublished). If this tentative identification is correct, one may additionally note the correspondence Khot. /a/, TB /ä/ under the stress, which may have a parallel in *śarko* (see s.v.).

On the other hand, the second occurrence listed above (THT 169) is of very difficult interpretation. It is true that final *-au* may stand for *-o* in late texts. However, it is difficult to justify the presence of a word for 'skin' or 'husk (of rice)' in this case. Thus, the occurrence of *kaṅkau* remains for the moment unclear.

Results

As a Sanskrit origin by way of borrowing of TB *kaṅko* in PK AS 3A b6 is not possible because of the final *-o*, I tentatively put forward the proposal that it may be a loanword from OKh. *kaṃga-*, used in medical texts to refer to the 'skin' or 'husk (of rice)'. The occurrence of *kaṅkau* in THT 169 remains however unexplained.

TB *KATTĀKE* A *KĀTAK** 'HOUSEHOLDER', OKH. *GGĀṬHAA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

It is difficult to determine the precise origin of TB *kattāke* A *kātak**. A look into the scientific literature on this word shows that there is no agreement among scholars. On

[123] If not a mistake for *kraṅko* 'chicken'. However, the context would suggest a kind of plant (see *infra*).

the one hand, Bailey (1937: 905) put forward the proposal that the word may have been borrowed from Khotanese *ggāṭhaa-* 'id.', itself a borrowing from Gandh. **gahaṭha-* (cf. *ghahaṭha-* in Dhp 32, see Brough 1962: 123 and §43a). On Khotanese *ggāṭhaa-* and, in particular, on Gandh. *-aha-* borrowed as *-ā-*, cf. Bailey (1946: 791-2). More recently, this proposal was revived by Pinault (1996: 23).[124]

On the other hand, Tremblay (2005: 434) seemed to be more inclined to see in TB *kattāke* A *kātak** a direct borrowing from Gāndhārī because of the suffix *ka*, which could be theoretically reconstructed for PK – cf. also Sogd. *k'rt'k* (Hansen 1936: 579) – but finds no parallel in the Khotanese of the historical period. As final *-e* could be interpreted as a feature indicating a late loanword (cf. s.v. *krāke*), I see no way in which the presence of the suffix could be accounted for.[125] Another difficulty with a Khotanese derivation by way of borrowing is the accent. Whereas the Khotanese word is clearly accented on the first (long) syllable,[126] TB *kattāke* is accented on the second.

Results

It is difficult to decide whether TB *kattāke* A *kātak** 'householder' may have been borrowed directly from Gāndhārī or from Khotanese *ggāṭhaa-*. As I am unable to offer a satisfactory solution, I leave the problem open for the moment.

TA *KATW-* 'TO RIDICULE', KHOT. *KHAN-* : *KHAṂTTA-** 'TO LAUGH'

Tocharian occurrences

- A 28 a5 *ktuseñc-äṃ* 'They ridicule him' (cf. DTTA: 128) or (...)*k tuseñc-äṃ* 'They kindle him/it' (Malzahn 2010: 553, adopted also in CEToM)
- A 232 b6 (*pru*)*ccamoñcäs katuṣtär mācar p*(*ā*)*car käṣṣis pat : tarśonāsyo* 'The beneficial ones he causes to be ashamed by tricks: mother, father, or the teachers' (DTTA: 128-9).
- A 7 b1 (*h*)*ai ṣokyo nu kakätwu tākā yaṃträcāreṃ käṣṣinā* 'O dear! I have been terribly ridiculed by the master mechanician!' (cf. also Peyrot (2013: 283) and CEToM, Carling ed.).
- A 188 b3 *kakätwu täpäkyaṃ* 'ridiculed in the mirror'

Discussion

Whereas its meaning is relatively secure and backed up by parallels (DTTA: 129), the etymology of the Tocharian A verb *katw-* 'to ridicule' is unknown. Some debate has been

[124] See also DTTA: 110-1.

[125] A possible solution may be sought in reconstructing a parallel form ***ggāṭhāka-* as a possible source form, but this would seem quite *ad hoc*.

[126] The position of the accent in *ggāṭhaa-* may be determined by its frequent occurrence in 7-morae cadences of metre A in the Book of Zambasta (e.g. Z 22.90, 96, 315, 318, 321).

sparked by the correct interpretation of the root vowel. Traditionally, based on the first occurrence above (A 28 a5), manuals have always given a form *kätw-* (cf. e.g. DTTA: 128). However, as noted by Malzahn (2010: 553), this contradicts the clear present *katuṣtär* in A 232 b6. Consequently, Malzahn (l.c.), followed by Peyrot (2013: 740), prefers to set up a root *katw-*. This is supported by a different interpretation of the passage of the fragment A 28 (cf. *supra*). Accordingly, TA *katw-* can be seen as distinct from its alleged match TB *kätt-* and the subst. TA *katu* B *ketwe* 'jewel, ornament', which had been previously connected to *katw-* by Hilmarsson (1996: 114).

In view of the final *-w* of the root, it seems attractive to seek its origin in a loanword from PTK, PK or OKh. In fact, the Khotanese past ptc. of the verb *khan-* 'to laugh' (PIr. **xand-*, EDIV: 442-3), may present us with a suitable source. For this borrowing path, cf. s.v. **ṣərtw-*. The form can be set up as *khaṃtta-** (SGS: 25).[127] The semantic development involved 'to laugh' > 'to ridicule' does not show any particular difficulty. As for the phonology, it can be surmised that the source form may have been an acc. sg. *khaṃttu** ['kʰãtu]. Because of the realization of *aṃ* as a nasalized *a* – no trace of a separate nasal is visible in the Tocharian word – the dating of the borrowing may be placed in the Old Khotanese stage As for the puzzling formation of *khaṃtta-*, cf. Maggi *apud* Hitch (2016: 229 fn. 124), proposing a late formation from the present stem **xand-ta-*. A similar solution had been proposed by Bailey (DKS: 71, s.v. *khattāvīhā*, < **xand-äta-*). As both proposals imply that the past ptc. was formed before the change **nd* > *n*, Bailey's option seems less satisfactory because it would imply a younger formation. It can be surmised that **xand-ta-* > *khaṃtta-* instead of the expected ptc. ***xasta-* > ***khasta-* was formed with a view to distinguish it from the homophonous *khasta-* 'wounded' (< **khad-*, SGS: 25).

Results

The verb TA *katw-* 'to ridicule' may be connected to the past ptc. of the Khot. verb *khan-* 'to laugh', acc. sg. *khaṃttu** ['kʰãtu]. I further suggest that the borrowing may have taken place during the Old Khotanese stage.

TB *KĀMARTO** A *KĀKMART* 'CHIEF', KHOT. *KAMALA-* 'HEAD'

Discussion

This Tocharian word has been the object of numerous discussions. For a comprehensive treatment of the previous literature, see Bernard (Forth.). As summarised by Carling (DTTA: 108), the most accepted opinion, following Pinault (2002: 263-4), sees in it a borrowing from Bactr. *καμιρδο*. This Bactrian word is attested only in one document (T, cf. Sims-Williams 2000: 98-105) and it seems to be a theonym ('(the god) *καμιρδο*'). It is also attested in the proper name *καμιρδο-φαρο* (Sims-Williams 2007: 221). According to

[127] Cf. also the verb *bihan-* : *bihaṃtta-* < **wi-xand-* (SGS: 99).

Sims-Williams (2007: 220), *καμιρδο* would be the Bactrian outcome of PIr. **kam̥rda-* 'head', without the pejorative meaning of Av. *kamərəδa-*.[128] Hence *καμιρδο* would be the 'chief (god)' in Bactrian (Sims-Williams 1997: 23).

As already noted by Adams (DoT: 149),[129] the main difficulty with a Bactrian derivation is the vowel of the second syllable, which is /a/ in Tocharian. This does not correspond to Bactr. *ι*, for which Tocharian /ə/ would be expected. Because of the abstract *kamartāññe* 'rulership', it is possible to set up a nom. sg. *kāmarto** (DTTA: 108). A nom. sg. *kamārto** could be also possible, but it would not square with the Khotanese accentuation (cf. *infra*). As a nom. sg. in *-o* points to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. rather than Bactrian, I would like to suggest that the donor language may have been Khotanese. This also accounts for the *a* vowel of the second syllable. The source form I would identify with the acc. sg. of the PTK antecedent of OKh. *kamala-*, i.e. **kámardu*, with early vocalization of PIr. **r̥* > **ar*. With Bernard (Forthc.), I take TB *kamartīke* 'ruler' as a later Tocharian formation suffixed with the Pre-Bactrian suffix *-ike-* (cf. *aṣanīke* 'wothy one, arhat').

Results

TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* 'chief' may have been borrowed into PT from the PTK acc. sg. **kámardu* (> OKh. *kamala-*) 'head', rather than from Bactrian.

TA *KAR* 'ONLY, JUST', OKH. *KARÄ* 'AT ALL'

Discussion

The precise function of the Tocharian A particle *kar* is not clear. Peyrot (2013: 286) tentatively suggested a meaning 'merely, just, only', which successively came to be used in contexts of 'surprise' or for events 'contrary to expectation'. The Old Khotanese particle *karä* is often translated as 'at all' and is always used in negative contexts. Cf. the following examples from the Book of Zambasta: Z 2.121 *ne balysi hoto hve' harbiśśu butte karä* 'A man does not at all know all the power of a Buddha' (Emmerick 1968: 31); Z 3.62 *karä ne märāre ne ne pātcu ysyāre karä* 'They do not die at all. They are not born again at all' (Emmerick 1968: 63). If borrowed into Tocharian A the negative meaning of OKh. *karä* may have easily developed into the exclusive 'only, just'.

On the phonological side, the borrowing would not present us with particular difficulties. However, as the meaning of the Tocharian word is not entirely settled and the word has already been given a suitable Tocharian etymology – Hilmarsson (1996: 82-3) derived from the two particles *ka* 'only, just' and *ra* 'also, even' – it is difficult to prove

[128] The attested *-ρδ-* would be late for regular **-ρλ-* (see Sims-Williams 1997: 23 fn. 49 and Peyrot 2015).
[129] Cf. also Peyrot (2015).

it with a fair degree of certainty. Moreover, the etymology of the Khotanese particle *karä* is not settled, as its alleged relation with *käḍe* 'very' (DKS: 60) is not without difficulties.

Results

The Tocharian A and Old Khotanese particles *kar* and *karä* are very similar semantically and phonologically. The hypothesis of a borrowing of the Old Khotanese particle into Tocharian A, however, is very difficult to prove and there is an inner-Tocharian etymological alternative.

TB *KARĀŚ* A *KĀRĀŚ* 'WILDERNESS (?)', OKH. *KARĀŚŚĀ-* 'CREEPER'

Tocharian occurrences

- TB loc. sg. PK AS 17F b3-4 (*saṃ*)*sā*(*r*)*ṣṣe c*(*e*)$_u$ *karāśne lä*(*kle*)*ntasa lalāloṣ tākoym s*(*n*)*ai ā*(*ñmci*)*:* 'In this forest of the (Saṃ)sāra being tired by the sufferings, may we become without self!' (CEToM, Pinault and Malzahn eds.).
- TB loc. sg. PK NS 40 b1 /// – *k*(*a*)*rāśne salañcäntsa keṃ kruññaimpa tasem*(*ane*) /// 'In the [artificial] forest (strewn) with (grains of) sandy soil, comparable to the ground of a hut ...' (CEToM, Pinault and Malahn eds.).
- TB loc. sg. THT 212 a4 *saṃsārāṣṣe karāśne ce tetrikoṣä* · 'Diese [Welt] in dem Saṃsāra-Urwald irregeleitete ...' (Krause 1952: 177).
- TB loc. sg. THT 239 a2 + THT 3597 a7 *empe*(*le*) *karāśne seyi mīsa śawāre trikoṣ kess*(*a*) *:* 'In the terrible wilds they ate the flesh of their own son, confused because of hunger' (Peyrot 2010: 152).[130]
- TA loc. sg. A 70 a3 *mā ontaṃ ñuk cwā särki ymāṃ kārāśaṃ ṣtare kaś wālyi* 'Not in any way will I care about the hardship in the wilds if I follow you' (Peyrot 2013: 275).[131]
- TA loc. sg. A 98 a1 *ārwar kārāśaṃ* 'ready in the wilds.'
- TA loc. sg. A 321 a8 /// *ñ tāṣ kārāśaṃ :* '...wäre im Wald' (Carling 2000: 111).
- TA loc. sg. YQ I.5 b3 *hai tālo ṣokyo nu cam ypeṣiṃ kārāśaṃ ānāntāpā śol śāwāṣt* 'Hello, miserable one! You have lived in the forest of this land a life of endless misery' (Ji 1948: 41).
- TB obl. sg. THT 23 b2 (*āyor*) *sāle ste karāś ynūcaṃ ceṃ wnolmeṃtsä* '[the] gift is the basis for those creatures going into the wood' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).
- TB obl. sg. THT 118 b1 *wektse w*(*e*)*k tärkänaṃ ñätke kārāś y*(*aṃ*) (·) '... laut entlässt er die Stimme, [wenn] er ...(?) in den Wald geht...' (Carling 2000: 111).

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[130] The translation and the reconstructed text are based on the integration of both parallel manuscripts. For more details, cf. this discussion and the edition of the text (Peyrot 2010).
[131] Cf. also Peyrot (2010: 156 fn. 56).

- TB obl. sg. THT 286 b6 (*mäkt=ema*)*l*(*y*)*ai* (*pre*)*śyaine yku karāś wrocce* (*kälpau*) *yol*[*m*]*e kro*(*śc*)*e* (*warsa*) /// '(Wie) ein zur (heissen) Zeit in den grossen Wald Gegangener, einen Teich (mit) kaltem (Wasser) (erlangt habend), ...'[132]
- TA obl. sg. A 60 b6 *kus nu säm wrasom māka-ñātse kārāś kä*(*tkoräṣ*) 'And who is the being who (having) cro(ssed) the jungle of many dangers ... ?' (CEToM, Carling, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).
- TA obl. sg. A 155 b2 *täm śwāmāṃ kārāś katkar* 'eating that, they crossed the wilds.'
- TA obl. pl. YQ II.8 a7 *kārāśäntwä wärtäntwaṃ ytäṣtr oki tkaṃ ākāś caṣi :* 'In jungles and woodlands are earth and sky adorned for him as it were' (Ji 1998: 107).
- TB abl. sg. THT 1552.e b1 /// *karāśmeṃ lyu* – /// 'going away (*lyucalñe*?)/ in order to go away (*lyutsi*?) ... from the wilds ...'
- TA gen. sg. A 372 b4 *saṃsā*(*r*)*ṣināṃ kārāś*(*i*)*s ane paryāye* '... in dem Saṃsāra-Wald, eine Wundertat...' (Carling 2000: 357).
- Deriv. TA *kārāśnu* 'inhabitant of a jungle' (DTTA: 115) TA 41 a1 *kārāśänw oki* ... 'Like the inhabitant of the jungle ...' (CEToM, Carling, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).
- TB (?) PD Bois B87 b4 *karāśo*. Ching (2010: 320) does not translate it. It is found in a 'register of movables'.

Khotanese occurrences

- OKh. nom. pl. fem. (*karāśśā-*) Suv 6.4.22 (manuscript Or.) *vicitre buśañīgye karāśśä* ^{x}*narāmīndä* 'various perfumed creepers will come out' (Suv I: 137) (Skt. *nānā-gandha-dhūpa-latā niścariṣyanti*).
- OKh. nom. pl. fem. Suv 6.4.39 (manuscript Or.) *tte vicitre buśañä paṭhute buvī'gye karāśśä kṣatru *ganāre* '[*they will*] *place those various burnt perfumes, perfumed creepers, (and) umbrella(s)' (Skt. *tāni nānā-gandha-dhūpa-latā-cchatrāṇi saṃsthāsyanti*).
- OKh. nom. pl. fem. Z 20.3 *karāśśä haṣprīye* "The creepers have blossomed" (Emmerick 1968: 287).
- LKh. nom. sg. (pl. also possible) JS 5r2 *ā mīrāhīja karāśä āvā bora* 'or [like] a string of pearls, or snow' (Dresden 1955: 423).
- LKh. JS 20v1 *karāśi jsa bastādä hīya dasta* 'You bound your own hands with the creeper' (Dresden 1955: 433).
- LKh. JS 37r3-4 *braṃmąnuṃ haudva habasta kīḍye jsa . bu'yse khainuḍe kerāśe ttye jsaṃ hvaste* 'The brahman bound them both with a withy; he struck them with a long, thorny creeper' (Dresden 1955: 444).

[132] For the restorations and the translations, see Carling (2000: 111).

- LKh. IOL Khot S. 10.8 *ustā karāśa paiśkya u spūleka* = P 2025.15 *ustā karāṣa paiśkyä u spūlaka* 'Twig, creeper, spike and bud' (DKS: 42).
- Additionally, the word occurs several times in verses of lyrical poetry, which are still of uncertain interpretation:
- LKh. P 2956.26 *bachadā bahyą karāśą śūjañāṣṭa* = P 2025.45 *bachadą bahya . karąṣä śūjañ<ā>ṣṭa* 'The tree's creepers are embracing (?) one another' (DKS: 365).
- LKh. IOL Khot S. 10.29-30 *ūysdvīda karaśā jsa vīyārastū śūje* = P 2956.28 *aysdīda karāśau jsa vīyārastū śūje* = P 2025.46 *ūysdvīdi karąṣau jsa vīyārastū śūje* '(The nubile young women) beat with withies one with another the virile youths' (DKS: 387).
- LKh. IOL Khot S. 10.10 *paijakya gvīthāre tta ma jsāṃ hada karaśau* = P 2025.18 *paijaṃkya gvīthārä tta ma jsāṃ hada karąṣau* 'The breasts expand, thus here the other creepers (?)' (DKS: 96).

Discussion

As pointed out by Peyrot (2010: 156 fn. 56), the translation of the Tocharian word as 'forest, jungle' was initially based on the Sanskrit parallel to A 70 a3 (*Viśvāntarajātaka*) in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*,[133] which contains the correspondent compound *vanavāsa* 'living in the forest'. However, a translation 'forest' does not fit the passage of the Buddhastotra fragment (THT 239 a2 + THT 3597 a7). In fact, the passage in question speaks about a terrible place in which men are forced to eat their own sons because of hunger. Therefore, Schmidt (1983: 273), followed by Peyrot (2010: 152), opted for a more general translation 'Wildnis, wilderness'. It might be noted, again following Peyrot and as already pointed out by Yoshida, that the Sogdian version of the *Viśvāntarajātaka* also alludes to *δxšt-* 'plain, desert' (315-6, 800, 813; see Benveniste 1946: 21, 52, 53). Moreover, the most frequent translation of Skt. *vana* in the same fragment A 70 and elsewhere appears to be actually TA *wärt* (B *wart*(*t*)*o*). In YQ II.8 a7 the obl. pl. *kārāśäntwä* occurs even together with the loc. pl. *wärtäntwaṃ* 'in forests'. It is conceivable that the two substantives are in hendiadys with almost the same meaning. However, it seems more probable that they designate two distinct places, i.e. 'desert/wilderness' and 'forest'. A translation 'wilderness' seems to fit also the other numerous occurrences of the word. Moreover, bilingual evidence from the MSN[134] confirms a meaning 'desert' or 'wilderness' (OUygh. *öŋ kürtük*, cf. HWA: 534).

This interpretation raises questions on the correctness of the traditional opinion on the origin of the Tocharian word. In fact, A *kārāś* is normally believed to have been borrowed from B *karāś*, which is thought to be a loanword from Khotanese *karāśśā-* 'creeper' (TEB II: 90; Adams 1999: 142; DTTA: 115). The Tocharian and the Khotanese words were first connected by Bailey (1947: 149), who thought they were just 'similar in

[133] Cf. Sieg (1952: 43 fn. 6): *naiva ca khalu me deva vanavāso duḥkha iti pratibhāti.*
[134] Geng and Klimkeit (1988: 144).

form'.[135] Van Windekens was the first scholar to openly speak of a borrowing, rejecting his previous Indo-European derivation (VW: 625).

Khotanese *karāśśā-* is well-attested both in Old and Late Khotanese. Although the entry in Bailey's dictionary (DKS: 54) gives it as a masculine *a*-stem, the word is feminine (OKh. nom. pl. in *-ä* for *-e*), as had been correctly seen by Leumann (1933-1936: 408).[136] Bilingual evidence (cf. *supra*) shows that it translates Sanskrit *latā* 'creeper' (MW: 895) in the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. Likewise, the occurrence in the Book of Zambasta must refer to a plant, as it is attested as the subject of the verb *haṣprīs-* 'to bloom'. In Late Khotanese, exactly like in Sanskrit, it occurs also in its figurative meaning of 'slim, slender oblong object' like e.g. a 'string of pearls' (JS 5r2).

As far as the semantics are concerned, there seems to be no doubt about its meaning. Its derivation, however, presents us with quite some problems. Bailey (DKS: 54) proposed to see in it a root *kar-* ('base of words for branches') to which a suffix *-āśśa-* was attached. However, no such suffix is attested elsewhere in Khotanese and the suggestion of a root *kar-*, isolated within Khotanese, seems quite far-fetched. According to Bailey, this root would be attested also in four other words, *kīra-*, *kīḍa-*, *cakala-* and *sakala-*. For the first word, only two occurrences are listed in the dictionary (DKS: 60), of which one has already been explained otherwise by Emmerick.[137] The other occurs in the document of purchase Or. 6397/1.5:

- Or. 6397/1.5 *khuī bugura tä kīra kä'stä īdä* 'If Bugura has not sown *kīra* on it'[138]

As is to be seen in Skjærvø's translation of the passage, where it was left untranslated, *kīra* can hardly be rendered as 'work'. Consequently, it remains unclear. However, one might argue that *kīra* might stand for *kera-*,[139] a *ya*-derivative[140] of the root *ker-* : *kilsta-* 'to plant' (SGS: 23) with the meaning 'what is to be planted (i.e. seed)'. In this case, *kera-* would work as internal object of the verb *ker-* in an expression meaning 'to sow seed'. Therefore, a new translation of the passage could be proposed:

- Or. 6397/1.5 *khuī bugura* (*n*)*ä kīra kä'stä īdä* 'If Bugura has *not* sown ***seed*** on it.'

More recently, in a new edition of the document in question, Skjærvø (2017: 456-7) proposed the reading *khuī bugura śā kara kä'stä īdä* and the translation 'if Bugura has sown (at least as much as) one 'plot' of it'. He put forward the hypothesis that this could

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[135] See KT VI: 41. No mention of a borrowing in DKS: 54.

[136] The possibility that it could be a feminine *i*-stem *karāsi-* or *karāśi-* (Alessandro Del Tomba, p.c.) should be probably also taken into account, but no decisive proof can be obtained from the available occurrences.

[137] See SVK I: 17, *kīrä* for *kṣīrä* 'resin', a loanword from Skt. *kṣīra-*.

[138] KMB: 9. The 'not' in the translation is probably another reading of *tä* in the text. Indeed, the *akṣara* is faded and only the two dots on the top are clearly visible, and it could be read as *tä* or *nä*. However, one cannot exclude alternative readings, so that the translation remains uncertain in this point. See *infra* for another reading.

[139] For the alternation *ī* ~ *e* in Late Khotanese, see Dresden (1955: 406 (7)).

[140] See KS: 297-8. The suffix *-ya-* can form abstracts from verbal roots and it is directly attached to the present stem. In the case of **kera-*, the palatalisation is not visible, because *-e-* is a front vowel.

be an administrative formula, for which one might compare Or. 6393/21.4-5 and SI P 103.17 l.5. Whereas the reading of *śā* seems a very fittingly restoration, no explanation is offered for *kara* instead of *kīra*, where the *ī*-diacritic is clearly visible on top of the *ka*-akṣara. His reading is probably based on the analogy with the other two occurrences of the sentence, both showing *kara*. Whatever the exact translation of this *kara*/*kīra*, which still remains quite obscure, I think that the possibility of a derivation from PIr. **karH*- 'to sow' cannot be ruled out.

Thus, of the four words allegedly containing the root *kar*-, one (*kīra*-) appears to be non-existent. We turn now on *kīḍa*-, of which two occurrences are extant in Late Khotanese:

- LKh. JS 37r3 *braṃmąnuṃ haudva habasta kīḍye jsa .* 'The brahman bound them both with a withy' (Dresden 1955: 444).
- LKh. Mañj P 4099.19-21 *khva ja vyehāra vaska tcahaura : tta prracā tcana padeda cakala gaysa kīḍā u auysama vyehāra ttī byehī nauma 10 5* 'Since for the sake of a dwelling (*vihāra*) four things (are necessary): those (are) the causal factors due to which it is made (namely) wood, reeds, creepers, and clay. Then it would get the name 'dwelling (*vihāra*)" (Emmerick Unpublished (b)).

Bailey identified the meaning of *kīḍa*- as 'creeper', basing himself on a possible Pāli parallel to the passage contained in the Majjhima Nikāya. The passage in the Pāli text runs as follows:

- Majjhima Nikāya 28 (Mahāhatthipadopamasutta):[141] *Seyyathā pi āvuso kaṭṭhañ-ca paṭicca valliñ-ca paṭicca tiṇañ-ca paṭicca mattikañ-ca paṭicca ākāso parivārito agāran-t'eva saṅkhaṃ gacchati evam-eva kho āvuso aṭṭhiṃ ca paṭicca nahāruñ-ca paṭicca maṃsañ-ca paṭicca cammañ-ca paṭicca ākāso parivārito rūpan-t'eva saṅkhaṃ gacchati.*
- 'Your reverences, just as a space that is enclosed by stakes and creepers and grass and clay is known as dwelling, so a space that is enclosed by bones and sinews and flesh and skin is known as a material shape' (Horner 1964 I: 236).

It is immediately clear that the parallel is quite striking.[142] Both texts speak about four constituent elements of a dwelling, LKh. *vyehāra* (Skt. *vihāra*) and Pāli *agāra* ('house'[143]). However, the elements have slight differences in the two versions, so that it is difficult to establish a one-to-one correspondence. The common elements would be, in Bailey's view, *cakala* (Pāli *khaṭṭha*- 'wood') and *kīḍa* (Pāli *valli* 'creeper'). *gaysa* 'reed' and *auysama* 'earth', however, do not seem to relate exactly to Pāli *tiṇa* 'grass' and *mattikā* 'clay'.

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[141] The text follows Trenckner (1888: 190).

[142] For the significance of this topos in the Book of Zambasta and in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, see further Chen and Loukota Sanclemente (2018: 146-153).

[143] See Cone (2001: 8).

As the correspondence is not perfect, it seems quite dangerous to draw conclusions on the semantic range of *kīḍa* based only on this parallel. Besides, the other occurrence of *kīḍa* in the *Jātakastava* does not seem to point unequivocally to a type of plant. The only semantic information conveyed by the passage is that *kīḍa* is some sort of instrument with which the brahman binds or imprisons other people. There is no compelling reason for it to be a creeper. In fact, a possibility not envisaged by Bailey is that the word may be an Indic loanword. One may think for example about Sanskrit *kīla-*/*khīla-*, a well-attested word meaning 'stake'.[144] If not originally Indic,[145] the alternation *l* ~ *ḍ* is well-known in Khotanese, especially in Indian loanwords, cf. e.g. *kīḍaiśa'* for Sanskrit *kleśa* in P 4099.81. As one can build a house with (wooden) stakes and bind someone to (or with) a stake,[146] it seems that this translation fits perfectly the occurrences of *kīḍa*. Therefore, a new translation of the two passages may be proposed:

- LKh. JS 37r3 'The brahman bound them both with a ***stake***.'
- P 4099.19-21 'Since for the sake of a dwelling (*vihāra*) four things (are necessary): those (are) the causal factors due to which it is made (namely) wood, reeds, ***stakes***, and clay. Then it would get the name 'dwelling (*vihāra*)'.'

Consequently, Bailey's tentative derivation of the word from **karitaka-*, which he thought to be parallel to *ysīḍaa-* from **ǰaritaka-* (DKS: 60), seems to be unusually complicated, both semantically and phonologically, and therefore may be rejected.

Having thus excluded *kīra-* and *kīḍa-*, the alleged root *kar-*, is, according to Bailey, also attested in *cakala-* 'wood'. For this word, bilingual evidence is available in Old Khotanese:

- OKh. Sgh §199 [4] [*u*] **[*tt*]*ī *[*r*]*o hamara gūsīndä samu khau cakalä ttaraṃdarä* '[And also these] joints (of the body) are loosened. (Our) body is just like a piece of wood' (Skt. *aṅga-m-aṅgāni mucyaṃti kāṣṭhā iva acetanāḥ*) (Canevascini 1993: 80).

Although the Khotanese version of the Sanskrit text does not appear to be a word-for-word translation of the original, it is quite certain that *samu khau cakalä* corresponds to Skt. *kāṣṭhā iva*. The word is further attested twice in the Late Khotanese *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra*:

- P 4099.20 *cakala gaysa kīḍā u auysama* 'Wood, reeds, stakes and clay' (cf. *supra*).
- P 4099.137-8 *sa khu daśta cā'yara beṣṭa haga'ja bāva vecettra cakala gaysa gītsarū gūla narmada cā'yau* 'It is just as when a skilful magician's pupil

[144] KEWA I: 216, EWA I: 453, CDIAL: n° 3202, SWTF II: 79, Pāli *kīla-* see Cone (2001: 696).

[145] See CDIAL: n° 3202 for other similar phonetic shapes of the same word.

[146] It may be noted that also a denominative verb from the subst. *kīla* is attested both in BHS *kīlāyate, °ti* (BHSD: 184) and in Pāli *kīlati* (Cone 2001: 696) with the meaning 'to fasten, bind'. Although this might be merely due to chance, the Pāli expression *kīla bandh-* recalls very closely the LKh. phrase *kīḍye jsa habañ-* (< PIr. **fra-bandaya-*) in the *Jātakastava*.

assembles various things (and) conjures up wood, reeds, gypsum, and clay by his magic powers' (Emmerick Unpublished (b)).

I have left out of the list the occurrences in Late Khotanese documents in which *cakala* seems to be a proper name.[147] In the form *cikala-* it occurs several times in the *Siddhasāra*:[148]

- Si 10v5 (§2.5) *kaṇḍārya u vāttāka cikalä* 'Kaṇṭakārikā and vārtākī ***plants***'
- Si 13r4 (§2.21) = Si 137v2 (§23.19) = Si 143v2 (§25.20) *kharä cikalä* 'The khadira ***plant*** (catechu tree)'

These *Siddhasāra* occurrences seem to show a more general use of *cakala-* in the meaning 'plant'. In fact, it is unlikely that *cakala-* here refers to 'tree', as the *vārtākī* (Solanum indicum), unlike the catechu tree, is not a tree. Unfortunately, there is no parallel for *cakala-* in the Indian and Tibetan text, so the word must be an addition of the Khotanese version.

Whereas the semantic range of *cakala-* seems to be quite clear, the same cannot be said of its origin. Bailey (DKS: 97) tentatively proposed to see in it either a 'reduplicated **ča-kala-* to base *kar-*, *kal-* 'part of trees" or a 'base *čak-* 'pointed", for which he compared LKh. *cakurīka-* 'wood sorrel'. Both proposals are impossible from a phonological point of view, since **č-* would have yielded **tc-* in both cases. Moreover, it has been shown that LKh. *cakurīka-* is an Indic borrowing.[149] The phonetic appearance of the word, in fact, does not seem Khotanese at all.[150] Its etymology remains unclear and it cannot be excluded that it may have been borrowed from another language of the area. Consequently, *cakala-* cannot be used as an argument in favour of the existence of an alleged Iranian root **kar-* for plants or part of trees.

The fourth substantive, *sakala*, is also obscure. As it occurs as a hapax in the *Jīvakapustaka* (97v4), where the corresponding Sanskrit text has **śatāhvā* [151] 'Peucedanum graveolens' it may be inferred that *sakala-* is a translation of Skt. *śatāhvā*. However, as noted by Emmerick (1994: 37), the usual rendering of *śatāhvā* in the *Jīvakapustaka* is *śattapūṣpa*, which is based on Sanskrit *śatapuṣpa*, another name for the same plant. In the *Siddhasāra*, it is also translated as *bāta-ttī* (§21.11.19, §21.13.8, §21.32.3) but never as *sakala*. As the Sanskrit text of the *Jīvakapustaka* is known to be extremely corrupt (Emmerick 1994: 29) and correspondences between the Sanskrit and Khotanese

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[147] These are Or. 12637/78 1.2-3 (KMB: 163) and IOL Khot 23/14 b2 (KMB: 219).

[148] There may be no need to separate the different sets of occurrences, as Bailey seems to do in the dictionary (DKS: 101). In addition to the occurrences listed, *cikala-* is further attested in two broken passages of difficult interpretation. These are IOL Khot 197/7.2 (KMB: 439) and IOL Khot 46/3.3 (KMB: 278). In the second occurrence *cikala* is translated by Skjærvø as 'children', probably with reference to Skt. *cikka* 'small', for which cf. Maggi (1997: 65-6).

[149] From Skt. *cukrikā*, see SVK I: 42-3.

[150] A word similar in form is LKh. *caukala-* 'he-goat'. However, despite Bailey's efforts (DKS 105) to demonstrate an Iranian origin, I suspect that the word may be another Indic borrowing (cf. Skt. *chagala-* and related forms in CDIAL: n° 4963).

[151] For MS *śanāhvā*, see KT I: 178.

texts are quite often blurred, it would be not surprising if *sakala* designated another type of plant. In fact, Bailey proposed to see in *sa-kala* a calque from Sanskrit *śata-puṣpa*. However, even if *sa-* can be taken as 'hundred', there is no way one can relate °*kala* to *puṣpa*, even with the help of an alleged root *kar-*. Unfortunately, *sakala* remains an obscure hapax, which cannot be adduced in support of the existence of a root *kar-*.[152]

The other alleged Iranian cognates quoted by Bailey (DKS: 54) include °*kərəna-* in Av. *gao-kərəna-* and Oss. I *k'ala, k'alīw* D *k'ala, k'wala, k'alew*. Av. *gao-kərəna-*, the designation of a mythical tree in Zoroastrian cosmology (AIW: 480), have been explained otherwise by Klingenschmitt (1965: 31), who proposed to see in it a compound of Av. *gav-* 'milk' and PIr. **kr̥na-* 'resin, Harz' (< PIIr. **kr̥dna-*, ultimately connected with Germanic **harta-* 'resin, pitch', see Kroonen 2013: 212), meaning 'Weihrauchbaum'. Despite the ingenuity of Bailey's alternative explanation of the Avestan compound,[153] Klingenschmitt's derivation is probably to be preferred. Further, with regard to the Ossetic word, its non-Indo-European appearance is quite striking. Accordingly, one would not see any reason not to follow Abaev, who put forward the hypothesis that the word had entered Ossetic from a Caucasian language of the area (Abaev I: 617).

As a matter of fact, it is now clear that no root **kar-* exists within Iranian, as it would have as its continuant only Khotanese *karāśśā-*. Indeed, the meaning 'branch, part of trees' of Bailey's root **kar-* was mainly based, at an Indo-European level, on the comparison with Greek *κλάδος*. However, Greek *κλάδος* 'branch, twig, sprout'[154] is no more considered as a derivative of the PIE root **kelh₂-* 'schlagen', as per IEW: 546. Beside the fact that the semantic development would be quite problematic, Greek *κλάδος*, and with it the Germanic (OE *holt*) and Slavic (OCS *klada*) words for 'wood', would rather suggest a root **kld-* (Beekes 2010: 708-9). Consequently, Bailey's hypothesis of a root *kar-* for 'part of trees' cannot be justified, both from an Iranian and from an Indo-European point of view.

This renders Tremblay's (2005: 432) etymological proposal for Khotanese *karāśśā-* (< PIr. **kara-sϑraia-* 'scattering of twigs') rather doubtful, as *kara°* cannot be taken to mean 'twig' anymore. Besides, the evidence for PIr. **-sϑr-* > Khot. *-ṣṣ-* is scanty, if not inexistent. The quoted development **wasϑra-* > *hvāṣṣa-* 'grass', expressly rejected by Bailey (KT VI:

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[152] There are other two occurrences of *sakala* which have probably nothing to do with the plant. These are Or. 8211/1454 r1, tentatively translated as '*in all' by Skjærvø (KMB: 39) (cf. Skt. *sakala* 'whole'), and Or. 8212.162.13, where it is probably part of a scribal exercise, omitted in the translation in KMB: 45.

[153] Bailey (1974a: 371) rendered the Avestan compound as 'the plant with branch or stem [°*kərəna-* from the same alleged Iranian root *kar-*] reddish or yellowish [*gao°*, which he derived from a root **gau-* used for colours, cf. OInd. *gaurá-* 'weißlich, gelblich, rotlich' (EWA I: 503)]'. However, *gvā°* in the *Siddhasāra* compound *gvā-ysirūṃ* has been explained otherwise by Emmerick (SVK II: 38-9). He sees in it merely a Late Khotanese orthography for OKh. *gūna-* 'colour'.

[154] And perhaps *κλών*, see Kuiper (1956: 121), which was probably quoted in DKS: 54 without mentioning the source.

436), would be the only example.[155] In addition to this, the semantic plausibility of the Benennungsmotiv 'scattering of twigs' to designate a creeper is doubtful.

Having acknowledged the difficulties of an Iranian derivation for Khot. *karāśśā-*, it may be not out of place to envisage the possibility that the word may be a loanword from a neighbouring language. Indeed, Sanskrit seems to present us with a possible candidate. One may compare the root Skt. *karś-* (EWA I: 318-9) 'to be lean, thin', with the derived adjective *kṛśa-* 'lean, thin'. One may tentatively suggest that the word was used to designate a creeper with reference to the 'thinness' of its branches, as opposed e.g. to the trunk of a tree. If this is correct, Khot. *karāśśā-* may be seen as a loanword from an Indo-Aryan language from the area, probably neither Sanskrit nor Gāndhārī, where the outcomes of *-ṛ-* would have been different (one would expect a form akin to ***kriśa-*). In Nuristani languages the same Indo-Aryan root seems to have been borrowed to refer to the snake (Aškun *karaš*, Waigalī *koṣ*).[156] The Nuristani forms (especially the Aškun one) may provide the missing semantic and phonetic link between the Sanskrit forms and Khot. *karāśśā-*. In fact, one may compare English *creeper*, which can be used to refer to *creeping* animals (such as snakes) or *creeping* plants as well. It is not to be excluded that we have to do with a Central Asian Wanderwort of Indo-Aryan origin.

Results

The discussion above has made clear that no root **kar-* for 'part of trees' exists in Khotanese or within Iranian in general. Consequently, I put forward the proposal that Khot. *karāśśā-* 'creeper' is a borrowing from the same Indo-Aryan source as that implied by Aškun *karaš* 'snake'. The root may be that of Skt. *karś-* 'to be lean, thin'. The word was further borrowed into Tocharian B and A from Khotanese. The semantic development may be tentatively reconstructed as follows: 'to be lean, thin' (Skt.) > *'thin, lean thing' > 'snake' (Aškun) > 'creeper' (Khot.) > *'forest' > 'wilderness' (Toch.).[157] As no vowel is present in word-final position in Tocharian, I would suggest that the dating of the borrowing should be placed after the Old Khotanese stage. As the semantic development involved in the borrowing path from Khotanese to Tocharian is admittedly quite

[155] Normally, Proto-Iranian *(-)*str-* is retained word-initially and intervocalically (cf. the verb *straṃj-* 'to stiffen', with preverb *pastraṃj-*, which could be however a recent formation, and the subst. *strīyā-* 'woman'). Nicholas Sims-Williams (p.c.) convincingly suggests a development *°*wāstra-* > *°*wāsra-* > *°*wāṣṣa-* with extrusion of *-t-* in the difficult consonant cluster *-str-* (see also EDP: 93).

[156] CDIAL: n° 3441. Both forms may also be alternatively derived from *karṣa-* 'dragging' (Skt. *karṣ-* 'to draw, pull'), with reference to the 'dragging or trailing on the ground' tipical of snakes (CDIAL: n° 2905).

[157] For this last semantic development, cf. e.g. Skt. *kāntāra* and *araṇya* which can mean both 'forest' and 'wilderness'. Another possible parallel may be sought in the possible relation between the two PG subst. **walþu-* 'field, uncultivated area, wood' (Germ. *Wald,* Kroonen 2013: 572) and the adj. **welþja-* 'wild, uncultivated, untamed' (Germ. *wild*, Kroonen 2013: 579).

complicated, it should be stressed that the hypothesis of a Khotanese borrowing into Tocharian remains for the moment quite tentative.

TA *KĀRE* 'SWORD', OKH. *KĀḌARA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

On this word and on TB *kertte* 'sword', see the comprehensive treatment by Bernard (Forthc.). According to a suggestion by C. Bernard (p.c.), TA *kāre* 'sword' may be a direct borrowing from Khot. *kāḍara-* 'id.' (DKS: 58). One may start from a form enlarged by a *ka*-suffix, which underwent weakening of the medial syllable, i.e. **kartaraka-* > OKh. **kāḍaraa-* > **kāḍäraa-*. The nom. sg. in Old Khotanese may have been **kāḍärei*/**kāḍärai*. This form may have been borrowed into Tocharian A as **käräre*. For the adaptation of an original *ṭ* as *r*, especially in Indic loanwords, cf. e.g. TA *kor* '10,000,000' ← Skt. *koṭi* (DTTA: 165). Through syncope of the unaccented medial *ä*, **kärärei* or **kärärai* may have become **kärre*, further simplified to *käre*.

Results

TA *kāre* 'sword' is assumed to be a likely borrowing from OKh. *kāḍara-* 'id.' Starting from a hypothetical Khotanese form enlarged by a *ka*-suffix, the following path may be reconstructed: **kāḍaraa-* > OKh. nom. sg. **kāḍärei*/**kāḍärai* → TA **kāṭäre* > **käräre* > **kärre* > *käre*.

TA *KĀLTAṄK* 'DRUM', OKH. *GGĀTĀ'KA-* 'BELL'

Tocharian occurrences

- A 255 b7 *kāl*(*ta*)*ṅk klyoṣtär* 'The drum is heard' (DTTA: 118).
- A 375 a5 *śertmāṃ kāltaṅk tāsmāṃ ṣñi kotär kāmar kropant* 'Crying (and) beating the drum, they gathered their family together.'
- A 335 b9 *kāltaṅky oki śla naweṃ me*(*yeñc*) 'They trembled with roaring like drums' (DTTA: 118).

Discussion

Whereas its meaning is assured by bilingual evidence (DTTA: 118), the etymology of the Tocharian A subst. *kāltaṅk* is unknown. Blažek and Schwarz (2015a: 12) put forward the hypothesis that it could be a loanword from OKh. *ggätā'ka-* 'bell', which they interpret as a further loanword from a diminutive of Skt. *ghaṇṭhā* 'bell'. This proposal, however, seems hardly possible for the following reasons:

a. OKh. *ggätā'ka-* has no retroflex, which could be adapted in Tocharian as *lt*. OKh. *t* should have been rendered only by Tocharian *t*, not *lt*. The ideal source form for TA *kāltaṅk* would be Khot. ***gaṭaṃga-*.

b. The *t* in the Khotanese form seems to have the function of a hiatus filler, which, along with the subscript hook, may signal the loss of e.g. an old palatal sibilant (**š* > **ž* > ø). Unfortunately, the etymology of the Khotanese word is unknown.
c. As a consequence of point b., it is difficult to assume that the Khotanese form is derived from Skt. *ghaṇṭhā*, as no dental is present in the Khotanese form.
d. No dental is present in the Khotanese word.

In view of these observations, I would like to reject Blažek and Schwarz's proposal. More attractive would seem to me a direct derivation of *kāltaṅk* from Sanskrit by way of borrowing, in view of the rendering of the retroflex. The final part of the word, however, remains unexplained.

Results

The Tocharian A subst. *kāltaṅk* 'drum' cannot be derived from OKh. *ggätā'ka-*.

TB *KĀSWO* 'NAME OF A DISEASE'

Discussion

An extensive discussion of this word and its possible Iranian etymology can be found in the forthcoming doctoral thesis by Bernard (Forth.). Recently, this same word had also been discussed by Del Tomba (2020: 122-4). An overview of the previous etymological proposals can additionally be found in Adams (DoT: 165).

Bernard (Fortch.), even though not completely excluding Del Tomba's PIE derivation of the Tocharian B lexeme, concludes that a subst. **kasū-* with the meaning 'scabies' may be reconstructed for Old Iranian and may possibly even be traced back to a Proto-Indo-Iranian **kasćú-* (**kasćuH-*), if the comparison with Skt. *kacchū* 'id.' is correct. In Bernard's view, the attested Av. *kasuuiš* would be an adjective meaning 'scabby'. What is less clear is the borrowing path from Old Iranian **kasū-* to TB *kāswo*. Noting that TB *kāswo* cannot be a loanword from Old Steppe Iranian because Ir. /a/ is here adapted as TB /a/ instead of /e/, he is forced to posit a generic 'Middle Iranian' source form, without specifying the precise source language. Here I argue that the source language may be identified with PK or Old Khotanese. In doing that, I also put forward the tentative hypothesis that the unexplained medical term LKh. *kasaa-* may be interpreted as a late continuant of the same PIr. **kasū-*.

In an attempt to reconstruct a plausible prehistory of PIr. **kasū-* within the Tumshuqese-Khotanese branch, one could start by positing an unchanged PTK **kasū-*. Given the fact that no *ū*-stem declension has survived within Khotanese or Tumshuqese, two alternative scenarios may be reconstructed for the more recent history of the word in PK and Old Khotanese. The first possibility assumes the transfer of the substantive to *a-* or *ā*-stems, a well-attested morphological path which is to be dated at least as early as the PK stage (SGS: 250). Accordingly, we may reconstruct an intermediate PK form

**kasa-* from PTK **kasū-*. It is possible that a *ka*-derivative of this **kasa-* is actually attested in the Late Khotanese Jīvakapustaka (cf. e.g. JP 92r1, DKS: 57[158] and Konow 1941: 56). In this late medical text, LKh. *kasaa-* seems to translate Skt. *jvara* 'fever', as it is found in the expression *cārthiṃ kasiṃ*, a rendition of Skt. *caturthaka jvara* 'quartan fever'. As the most common translation of Skt. *jvara* in Khotanese medical texts seems to be *ttavaa-* (DKS: 124, from PIr. **tap-* 'to warm up, heat', EDIV: 378-9), it is possible that in this case the reference is not to the high temperature of the fever but rather to the itches and the skin eruptions or inflammations procured by a high fever.

Neither **kasa-* or **kasaa-*, however, can be the source of TB *kāswo*. Accordingly, a second possible development of PTK **kasū-* within the Tumshuqese-Khotanese branch may be envisaged. This entails the creation of a simple *ka*-derivative of **kasū-* which would have had the shape PTK **kasū-ka-* > PK **kasūwa-* > OKh. **kasūa-*. In Old Khotanese, this substantive would have followed the pattern of the *ūa*-declension (cf. *prūa-* 'fort' and *rrahamūa-* 'washerman'), for which see SGS: 327. It is possible to surmise that in PK the *-k-* of the suffix was still an approximant, so that we could reconstruct a PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* > OKh. **kasū* (SGS: 327). Therefore, I would like to suggest that this **kasūwu* may have been the source of TB *kāswo* by way of borrowing.[159]

Results

Building upon the results of Bernard's (Forthc.) investigation on the possible Iranian origin of Tocharian *kāswo*, it is suggested that the Tocharian B word may be derived from a PK form acc. sg. **kasūwu*. Further, I tentatively put forward the hypothesis that LKh. *kasaa-*, a Late Khotanese medical word of uncertain origin, may be a *ka*-derivative of the same subst. PIr. **kasū-* after its transfer to the *a*-stem declension.

TB *KĀTSO* A *KĀTS* 'BELLY, STOMACH, ABDOMEN, WOMB', LKH. *KHĀYSĀNA-* 'STOMACH'

Tocharian occurrences (only medical occurrences cited)

- nom. sg. *kātso* W4 a4 *kātso sonopälya* 'l'abdomen est à oindre' (Filliozat 1948: 80), W 14 a6 *ñorīya kātso orottsa tākaṃ* '[if] the lower abdomen is big',[160] b1, W 30 a5, W 37 b3, IOL Toch 306 b5 (on the restoration, see Friis 2021: 13 fn. 23).
- perl. sg. *kātsasa* W 14 b2.

[158] Bailey's (DKS: 57) suggestion of a new root without any known Iranian cognate to explain *kasaa-* is hardly justifiable.

[159] A borrowing from *khaysma-* 'abscess' (DKS: 72) appear less likely because of the imperfect correspondence Khot. *m* ~ Toch. *w*.

[160] The adj. *ñorīya* shows that the gender of *kātso* must have been feminine.

- obl. sg. *kātsa* W 27 b1 *mälkwersa kātsa sanāpalle* 'à appliquer en onctions au ventre avec du lait' (Filliozat 1948: 85), W 29 b1 *kātsa sanāpatsi* 'oindre l'abdomen' (Filliozat 1948: 86).
- loc. sg. *kātsane* W 42 a5 *wrantse kātsane* 'in (case of) water-belly (= dropsy).'

Khotanese occurrences (only Siddhasāra and Piṇḍaśastra occurrences cited)

- loc. sg. Si §1.19 *cu śiliṣāṃ ṣṭe, ṣi' khāysāṇya* 'As for phlegm (*kaphasya*), it is based (*sthānaṃ*) in the receptacle for (undigested) food (*āmāśayaḥ*)' (Emmerick Unpublished).
- instr./abl. sg. Si §24.7 *haśai khāysānai jsa uskyāṣṭä pārautta hame* 'One's swelling is based upwards (*upary*) from the receptacle of (undigested) food (*āmāśaya-*)' (Emmerick Unpublished).
- In §9, 10-14 and §24-27 of the Late Khotanese Piṇḍaśastra (Luzzietti 2018-2019: 81), it is very frequent in the loc. sg. *khāysāña* 'in the stomach'.

Discussion

TB *kātso* A *kāts* occur both in medical texts and in fragments of religious, literary or doctrinal content within the Tocharian text corpus. Since I believe that the word entered the Tocharian lexicon from the medical jargon (see §4.3.1.), only the occurrences in medical texts are listed above. An overview of the uses of *kātso* in literary texts is given by Carling (2000: 212-4). From her list, it is clear that the semantic range covered by *kātso*, both in Tocharian B and A, is that of e.g. German *Bauch*, i.e. 'stomach, belly, abdomen' and even 'womb' (see also DoT: 165).

Several hypotheses regarding its etymology were put forward in the last century. They are all quite problematic: for an overview of the diffulties involved with each theory, cf. Adams (DoT: 165-6) and Del Tomba (2020: 124-5). Malzahn (2011: 99) likewise states that 'for *kātso* 'belly' itself and for *kāswo* '(kind of) skin disease', no undisputed etymologies are available'.

As a derivation within Tocharian seems difficult, it may be justified, as a working hypothesis, to consider *kātso* as a loanword from a neighbouring language. In this case, Khotanese as a donor language (cf. the suspect nom. sg. in *-o* as a feature of PTK, PK and OKh. loanwords) may deliver quite a suitable candidate which could solve the problem of the ultimate origin of this Tocharian substantive. In fact, a very frequent word in medical text, used to refer to the stomach or the abdomen in general is LKh. *khāysāna-*. As for the semantics, the occurrences listed above clearly show that it translates Skt. *āmāśaya* lit. 'receptacle (*āśaya*) for undigested food (*āma*)'. If Bailey's etymology (DKS: 72) of *khāysāna-* (< **khāysa-dāna-*) is correct, the formation may have been parallel to Skt. *āmāśaya*, with Khot. *khāysa-* 'food' corresponding to Skt. *āma* and **dāna-* 'container' to Skt. *āśaya*. For the early loss of intervocalic **-d-*, cf. e.g. *śśaśvāna-* 'mustard (seed)', possibly from **śśaśva-dānā-* (see s.v.).

In the case of a connection with Khot. *khāysāna-* by way of borrowing, it can be noted that the semantics would not present us with any serious problem. In fact, the extension of the semantics of words for 'stomach, belly' to mean also 'womb' is not uncommon (cf. e.g. Skt. *kukṣi*). However, some phonological details are still unclear and require a more extensive analysis. Two problems may be identified. The first concerns the final TB *-o* and Khot. *-na*, the second the Tocharian dental affricate, which apparently does not find a perfect correspondence in Khot. <ys> (/z/).

As in the case of TB *eñcuwo* ← OKh. *hīśśana-* and TB *śāñcapo* ← *śśaśvāna-* (see s.v.), it seems that the final *-o* cannot correspond to the final acc. sg. *-nu* of the source form. Whereas for TB *śāñcapo* the problem can be solved by positing a source form without the second element **dānā-*, for TB *eñcuwo* a back-formation from an adj. **eñcuwañña*, extracted from **eñcuwañño*, in its turn borrowed from a source form acc. sg. **henśwanyu*, has been suggested (cf. Peyrot, Dragoni and Bernard in a forthcoming article). It seems that a back-formation may be posited also in the case of TB *kātso*. In fact, it seems that the most frequent form attested in Late Khotanese medical texts is the loc. sg. *khāysāña*. To a Tocharian ear, this may have sounded either as an adj. *katsāñña** 'pertaining to the abdomen' or as a nom. pl. *katsāñ* 'abdomens'. Both possibilities may have led to a secondary a nom. sg. in *-o*. As the nom. pl. *katsāñ* is actually the regular plural attested for TB *kātso*, this possibility seems to me more likely. A close parallel to this type of back-formation is the TA nom. pl. *kappāñ* 'cotton', formed to *kappās*, borrowed from MInd. *kappāsa-* and reinterpreted as an obl. pl. (DTTA: 100). The obl. sg. in *-a*, and therefore the fact that TB *kātso* belongs to the *kantwo*-type, may be justified by the existence of other medical terms (e.g. *kāswo*) or terms for body-parts (e.g. *kantwo*) in this declension type.

On the other hand, the correspondence TB <ts>, Khot. <ys> is difficult to justify. A possible solution may be put forward by acknowledging with Cheung (EDIV: 445) that the Proto-Iranian antecedent of Parthian *x'z-* 'to devour' and Khot. *khāys-a-* 'food' may be sought in PIr. **xād-s-*, i.e. the root **xād-* 'to devour, eat, gorge' enlarged with an *s*-suffix as perhaps in the case of Av. **ruuāz-* 'to become joyous, rejoice' and **ruuād-* 'to be proud, haughty; to entertain, regale' (Kümmel 2000: 623). Accordingly, the source form of TB *kātso* may have been still **kʰādˢāna-*, i.e. with a dental affricate (or, less likely, a cluster **ds*). I would like to suggest that the dating of the borrowing may be posited in the PK stage, because of the early loss of intervocalic *-d-*. The fact that the word can be reconstructed for Proto-Tocharian, however, can be theoretically taken as an argument in favour of an earlier (PTK) dating. In this case, however, the early loss of *-d-* is difficult to account for in such an early period.[161] Therefore, I would consider the Tocharian A and B words as independently borrowed from PK.

[161] If the form is rather to be analysed as *khāys-āna-*, with a different suffix, the hypothesis of an earlier borrowing from PTK could be more easily defended. *khāys-āna-* may be a Khotanese participial formation meaning 'the devouring (organ)', with reference to the stomach (for the suffix *-āna* attached also to active verbs in Khotanese, see KS: 78). For the semantics, A. Lubotsky (p.c.) suggests a possible parallel in Greek *γαστήρ* 'belly, paunch, womb' (< *γράω* 'to eat, gnaw'), for which see also Beekes (2010: 262). This derivation, however, remains for the moment quite hypothetical.

Results

As TB *kātso* A *kāts* 'stomach, belly, abdomen, womb' has no convincing etymology within Tocharian, I put forward the proposal that it may be a loanword from the late PK ancestor of LKh. *khāysāna-*, which translates Skt. *āmāśaya* 'stomach' in Late Khotanese medical texts. The history of the word may be thus reconstructed as follows: Pre-PK **khād-s-a-dānā-* > PK **khāḍ̊āna-*, loc. sg. **khāḍ̊āña* (SGS: 252) → TB nom. pl. *katsāñ* (through back formation nom. sg. *kātso*, obl. sg. *kātsa*).

TB *KITO** (*EKITA*) 'HELP', OKH. *GGĪHA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- Phrase *ekita yām-* 'to help' in PK AS 7H a2 *ṣesa ṣñaṣṣeṃmpa po se ñy ekita yamaṣare ce postakäśc paiykatsi ñiś yātkawa* 'avec tous mes proches qui m'ont apporté de l'aide pour ce livre, j'ai donné l'ordre de [l']écrire' (Meunier 2013: 173-4) and THT 520 b5 *krenta wäntarwan= ekīta yāmṣeñca kᵤs(e)* 'whoever is helping in good things' (DoT: 80).
- *ekitatstse* adj. 'helpful' in PK AS 17B a5 (*lāṃs*) *poyśiṃñai pos= arwāre pyutkäṣṣäṃ ekītatstse* 'It realises the … (work) of the Omniscient more readily and more helpfully than anything' (CEToM, Pinault, Illés, Peyrot eds.), THT 82 b4 (*yā*)*t*(*a*)*lle ot tañ ste kr*(*eṃ*)*t wäntarene ekītattse nestsi* '[wenn es] möglich [ist], steht es bei dir, bei einer guten Sache hilfreich zu sein' (Schmidt 2001: 311), THT 89 b1 (*e*)*kitatse śaulyñe* '.... (nicht?) hilfreich, das Leben ....' (Schmidt 2001: 319), IOL Toch 255 b2 *yo – s·* (*śau*)*mo yolo ekitatse mä*(*s*)*keträ* '... the evil man is helpful',[162] obl. *ekitacce* in THT 1116 b5 *– – –* (*pe*)*r*(*ā*)*k no wäntare ekītacce kä-* /// '(eine solche(?) ... glaub)würdige Sache aber (von dem?) hilfreichen Le(hrer?)' (Schmidt 1986: 96), plur. *ekitacci* in THT 338 a6 (*eki*)*tacci tākoycer ṣleṣṣi kenäṣṣi akaśäṣṣi wä*(*rttoṣṣi*) '... may you be helping, [you, the beings] of the mountain, of the earth, of the sky, [and] of the forest' (CEToM, Malzahn ed.).
- *ekītatsñe* subst. 'helpfulness, assistance' in B SI P/2 a 5 *po pelaiknenta*(*ṃts nesalñenta cämpalñenta*) *ṣarm ekītatsñe okonta* 'Les réalités, les capacités, la cause, le soutien, les fruits de toutes les qualités' (Meunier 2015: 29 fn. 47), perl. plur. in IOL Toch 64 a1 *ekītatsñentasa tarya sa* /// 'To the supports, three ...'.

[162] CEToM, Peyrot ed. M. Peyrot (p.c.) further suggests to restore *yo*(*lo*)*s*(*a*) and translates 'through evil (*yolosa*) a man is helpful to evil.'

Discussion[163]

Tocharian B *ekita* has been variously discussed within the scholarly literature. Van Windekens (VW: 176) considered TB *ekita* as the acc. sg. of a reconstructed nom. sg. *ek-ito**, an *-ito* derivative (cf. TB *laukīto*) of a base TB *ek-*. This base he inferred from TB *ekañ̃ñi* 'possession' and he considered it as a loanword from Tocharian A *ek* 'fodder'. This theory presents us with some problems and has already been challenged quite a few times in the scholarly literature. On the one hand, the hypothesis of a loanword from Tocharian A into Tocharian B seems rather doubtful. On the other hand, as Carling (DTTA: 2) and Adams (DoT: 79-80) have shown, *ekañ̃ñi* is rather to be seen as related to TA *akäṃtsune* 'possession, tenure'. As remarked by Adams (DoT: 80), the origin of *ek-* remains thus unknown. Regarding the formation, his hypothesis is likewise dangerous, as no nom. sg. is attested. Moreover, the word could also be interpreted as an adverb.[164]

As too many uncertainties surround the investigation of this word, it might not be out of place to look around for a possible loanword from a neighbouring language. In fact, Khotanese seems to present us with a possible candidate. A frequent substantive meaning 'help' occurring already in the Book of Zambasta is the masc. subst. OKh. *ggīha(a)-*. This is traditionally interpreted as a nominal formation from the verb OKh. *ggīh-* (KS: 5). Its etymology seems unclear. E. Leumann, the first editor of the Book of Zambasta, saw in it a denominative in **ya* (**gah(a)y-*?) from OKh. *ggāha-* 'verse' and translated 'loben, billigen' (Leumann 1933-1936: 419). With the help of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Bailey was able to clarify the semantics and proposed the meaning 'to assist, help', but concluded that 'the base remains uncertain.'[165] Emmerick was likewise cautious and, following Bailey for the semantics, simply noted that the forms 'imply **gaid-* or **gaiϑ-*' (SGS: 28-9). Some years later, Bailey (DKS: 84) proposed a derivation from PIr. **awa-yat-* (EDIV: 214-5), which is highly problematic, both from the semantic and the phonological point of view. In fact, among the many phonological problems, it is unclear how the Proto-Iranian preverb **awa* should yield *ggī-* (the regular outcome is *va-*, cf. SGS: 241).

Skjærvø took note of the problem and, after having labelled Bailey's etymology as 'impossible' (Suv II: 260), proposed a derivation of the substantive from PIr. **gaiϑa-*. The verb he explained as a denominative form.[166] **gaiϑa-* may be the masculine counterpart of PIr. **gaiϑā-*, the well-known base of Av. *gaēϑā-* 'Wesen, Lebewesen, Welt' (AIW: 476-9,

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[163] This study was partially presented during the online conference 'Tocharian in Progress' (Leiden University, 8 Dec. 2020).

[164] Meunier (2013: 173): 'L'étymologie de *ekita* est obscure; il s'agit peut-être d'un adverbe. Je n'ai pas trouvé d'emploi libre à confronter à cette locution.' Del Tomba (2020: 109) is likewise cautious in the analysis of this word and concludes stating that 'its origin and derivation are unclear.'

[165] KT VI: 71. He adds cautiously that 'the initial *gg-*, the *-ī-* are ambiguous, but the final consonant of the base will be a dental.' The first identification is to be found in Bailey (1940a: 584).

[166] That the verb is a denominative may be pointed out by the long *-ī-* of the past part. *ggīsta-* (SGS 28), which one would otherwise expect to be short (zero grade).

Hintze 1994: 425) and OP *gaiϑā-* 'Vieh(besitz), Herde' (Schmitt 2014: 178). From the Old Iranian meaning of 'livestock, small cattle', it seems that the semantics shifted more towards 'flock (of small cattle)', as witnessed by Sogd. *γyδh* 'flock' (Gharib 1995: 180), MMP *gyh* 'property, esp. flocks, herds' (DMMP: 169) and Pšt. *γele* 'flocks' (EDP: 30). Only in Khotanese the meaning developed further into 'support, help'.[167] Therefore, from the semantic point of view, if TB *ekita* is an Iranian loanword, it cannot come but from Khotanese. Given the specificity of the semantic connotation of the Khotanese term compared to the rest of the Iranian material, it is necessary to examine more closely the Khotanese occurrences in order to determine the semantic range of the root.

The verb *ggīh-* : *ggīsta-* 'to help' (SGS: 28-9) is widely attested, both in Old and Late Khotanese. The key to understand the semantics is given by the bilingual evidence in Suv 12.47: *adātī rre hämäte. o adātyānu pakṣä vaṣṭätä u gītte nä* 'The king will become lawless, or he will side with lawless (people) and help them' (Suv I: 247) (Skt. *adhārmiko bhaved rājā adharma-pakṣa-saṃsthitaḥ*). From the Sanskrit text it is clear that the literal translation of *pakṣa-saṃsthita* 'to take side' is OKh. *pakṣa vaṣṭ-* and that *gītte* is added as a gloss to *pakṣa vaṣṭ-* with approximately the same meaning ('to take side' = 'to help'). In the following the other occurrences of the verb are listed:

- pres. 1sg. mid. OKh. Z 12.51 *u kari nä ggīhä* 'And I will not assist it at all' (Emmerick 1968: 173).
- pres. 3sg. mid. OKh. P 51.1 b1 *tta nä vātcu ggītte ku biśśä ṣamana hämāre* 'Then he so helps them that they all become monks' (SDTV I: 42), LKh. Ch. 00275 27b2 *biśä parī hālai gītti* 'all helps the cause of deliverance' (Emmerick Unpublished (c)), LKh. Hedin 7v8 *gītti* 'he helps' (KT IV: 86), P 4099.292 *gītte* 'he helps', OKh. IOL Khot 150/2 v5 *gītte* 'he helps' (KMB: 337). The pres. 3sg. is further attested in OKh. Z 12.114, 12.115, 19.74.
- pres. 3pl. mid. OKh. IOL Khot 163/1 v3 *ggīhā*[*re*] 'are of assistance (?).'[168]
- pres. 3pl. act.(!) LKh. P 2022.39 *gīhidai* 'they help' (SGS: 29).
- opt. 3sg. OKh. Z 13.86 *ṣä hā ggīhīyä* 'Would he help him?' (Emmerick 1968: 198), Z 13.89 *balysä ttū māri ne ggīhīya* 'Māra would not help the Buddha in this' (Emmerick 1968: 198).
- imp. 2sg. mid. OKh. Z 23.105 *ggīhu aysuryau juśtä* 'Help fight the Asuras!' (Emmerick 1968: 354), Z 24.435 *ttu mä ggīhu* 'Help me in this!' (Emmerick 1968: 404).
- imp. 2pl. mid. LKh. Or. 8210/S. 5212 (S. 5212b).3 (= P 2925.15) *gīhyara vā caiga ttī jsā hva*[*tta*]*na* 'Help us, O Chinese as well as Khotanese!' (KMB: 36), LKh.

[167] A different meaning is to be noted for the Avestan compound *haδō.gaēϑā-* 'zum selben Hausstand gehörig; Hausgenosse' (AIW: 1759). In other Middle Iranian languages there is a similar compound formed with **han-*°. This was already noted by Gershevitch (1959: 267), who listed Khwar. *angēϑ*, Pa. *h'mgyẖ* and the Aramaic LW *hngyt* 'having property in common; partner.' Cf. also Hintze (2009: 173 fn. 9).

[168] The emendation is due to Skjærvø (2003: 412) and it is probably based on the Skt. *saṃvartaṃte*.

P 2781.103 = Rāma 79c *aḍarä vā gīhya:rä jse* 'help (me) to kill that one' (Emmerick Unpublished (a)).

- imp. 2sg. act.(!) *prrañaisū ttravīle jīyai ttą gīha* 'Prañaisū, knower of the three *piṭaka*s, assist his life(?)!' (KMB: 49).
- perf. tr. 3sg. LKh. IOL Khot S. 2.16 *ttīñä ysītha khva gīste* 'If it helped her in this life',[169] Si 1br5 *ṣi' hā pā gīsti vinau mātsarä śirkä* 'He then helped without grudging, excellently' (Emmerick 1983a: 21), IOL Khot 206/1.3 *ṣi' buri uvaysaṃbatī jsāṃ ṣṣą̄mañä gīstai* 'He, for his part, helped him to be initiated in monkhood' (KMB: 454).
- perf. tr. 1sg. m. LKh. Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī fol. 5r5 *ā vā haṃdarāṃ ggīste īmä yuḍe* 'Or I have helped others to do' (SDTV I: 239).
- per. perf. tr. 1sg. m. LKh. Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī fol. 16r1 *ā vā haṃdarāṃ ggīstemä īmä yuḍ*[*e* 'Or I have helped others to do' (SDTV I: 246).
- perf. tr. 2sg. m. LKh. JS 36v1 *beśāṃ tte tta gīstai khvaṃ āvaṃ sije .* 'All of them you so assisted that their desire was realized' (Dresden 1955: 444).
- pot. pres. 3pl. OKh. IOL Khot 153/4 r1 *ggīstu yīndä* 'They can help' (KMB: 342).
- past part. LKh. Or. 8210/S. 5212 (S. 5212b).5 = P 2925.16 *ttyai gīsta jsa maista baiysūśta bvīryau :* 'By that help, you will obtain great *bodhi*' (KMB: 36).
- inf. LKh. Hedin 7r9 *śarū vā pastāṃda giśte* 'You have condescended to aid me well' (KT IV: 82).
- part. nec. OKh. Z 12.114-115 *ku bodhisatvä anandīśśäte hvą'ndäna puṣṣo kye ju puña yande ni ggītte śśärku käḍe kho bodhisatvä . ggīhāñu hvaṃ'dä puña . ārru anārru kuī handari ggītte hve'* 'When a Bodhisattva is completely indifferent with regard to a man who is acquiring merits (and) does not help him very well as a Bodhisattva should help with regard to a man's merits, there is fault. There is no fault if another man helps him.' (Emmerick 1968: 181).

For the substantive *ggīha-*, the bilingual evidence is not as straightforward. In Old Khotanese it is attested in manuscript Or. of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (Suv 1.15) in the instr. abl. sg.: *ttä hā tsīndä haṃtsa hūñe jsa gīhäna bāryau* 'Those will go there with army, *help, (and) vehicles' (Suv I: 13) (Skt. *te ca tatropasaṃkramya sa-sainya-bala-vāhanāḥ*). If *hūñe* = *sanya* and *bāryau* = *vāhanāḥ*, one should conclude that *gīhäna* = *bala*. Skjærvø (Suv II: comm. on §1.15) suggests that the meaning here might be that of 'auxiliary troops'. It may be noted that in Sanskrit *bala-* can mean also 'military force, army' (MW: 722). It would be not impossible that in this case the Khotanese word maintained its common Middle Iranian original meaning of 'flock, group', to designate a troop, i.e. an (armed) group of people. The word is further attested in Suv 3.58 in the Late Khotanese manuscript P: *cu drrātai aysmū kiṇa asịdāṃ hayunāṃ gīhna* 'Whatever (was done) because of a flighty mind, through company with evil friends' (Suv I: 51) (Skt.

[169] Skjærvø (KMB: 483) translated 'if it helps her in her life' but the form cannot be interpreted as pres. 3sg.

cāpalya-citta-saṃkaṭe pāpa-mitrāgama-saṃkaṭena ca). In this case, *gīhna* seems to translate Skt. *-āgama* 'company' and to mean simply 'with the company', or simply 'with'. This bilingual evidence, however, is less decisive. In fact, it is known that the frozen instr.sg. *gīhna* is frequently used in Late Khotanese as a postposition meaning simply 'with' (cf. the occurrences below).[170] In the following, further attestations of the substantive are listed.

- Only a stem *ggīhaa-* (with *-ka-* suffix, KS: 17) occurs in Old Khotanese, cf. nom. pl. Z 23.102 *uhu nu hā ggīhā väta sta* 'you have been their helpers' (Emmerick 1968: 354), acc. sg. Z 24.256 *kalä-yuggä ṣṣu . ttīyä māru ggīho nāte .* 'The Kaliyuga then accepted Māra as helper' (Emmerick 1968: 389) and nom. pl. in IOL Khot 220/1 b1 *ggīhā* (context unclear, in a fragment of religious content). For the same stem in Late Khotanese, cf. nom. pl. P 4099.74 *gīhā* 'helpers, auxiliaries (in the retinue of the king).'[171] It occurs also in the wooden documents IOL Khot Wood 2 b1 *u birgaṃdaraje gīhā 5* 'and five *auxiliaries from Birgaṃdara' (KMB: 559) and it may be hidden in the unclear IOL Khot Wood 3 b1-2 *phaṃnāje gīhā nau hālai* 'And the *gīhā*s in *Phaṃnai* (are) nine and a 'half' (KMB: 560).
- *gīhāka-* seems to be attested only once in Late Khotanese, cf. IOL Khot 55/1 v1 *cu saidä gihāka daivatta ṣai' brāṃmiysättī* 'As for the deity who helped (his) *siddhi*, (her) name was Brāṃmiysättī' (KMB: 293, cf. also KS: 46).
- More frequent in LKh. is the stem *gīha-* cf. nom. pl. P 4099.72, 73, 291 *gīha* 'helpers, auxiliaries' (Emmerick Unpublished (b)). As already noted (cf. *supra*), the instr. abl. sg. of *gīha-* is used very frequently in Late Khotanese as postposition meaning 'with', cf. e.g. IOL Khot S. 10.293 *vyachada bāvaña gīhna vasva nairvaṇa parrī* 'They explain with the help of the *bhāvanā* the release of pure nirvana.' (KMB: 493).

From the occurrences examined above, the key to understand the peculiar Khotanese semantic shift may lie in the passage of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (Suv 1.15) where *ggīha-* translates Skt. *bala*. It may be argued that the Old Iranian meaning of 'subsistence (i.e. cattle, property)' was generalized as to designate 'strength' in general. From this general meaning of 'strength', the word took in Khotanese the sense of 'military force' (Skt. *bala*) and was later used to designate 'help' in general. This last semantic shift ('military force' > 'help') is paralleled e.g. by Latin *auxilium* which originally was used in the plural (*auxilia*) in a military sense to designate 'reinforcement' troops and was later generalized as the common Latin word for 'help' (cf. *auxilio esse*, *auxilium ferre*, cf. Ernout and Meillet 1979: 57-8). N. Sims-Williams (p.c.) drew my attention to a parallel semantic development in Sogdian, where the frequent collocation MSogd. *zʾwr δβr-* with the meaning 'to help' can be literally translated as 'to give force'. The semantic development may be thus summarised as follows: Old Iranian 'subsistence

[170] For *gīhna* as 'with', cf. also Dresden (1955: 472-3).
[171] Mañj 61, cf. Emmerick Unpublished (b).

(cattle, property)' > *'force, strength' > Khotanese 'military force' (cf. Lat. *auxilium*) Skt. tr. *bala* > 'help'.

As for the Tocharian form, TB *ekita* can be easily interpreted as an adverbial formation construed with the prefix TB *e(n)-*. For the loss of *-n-* in the nasal prefix *en-*, see Hilmarsson (1991a: 195). This presupposes the existence of a subst. *kita** in the obl. sg., as required by an adverbial formation in *en-* + obl. Although one cannot exclude other declension patterns,[172] the obl. sg. *kita** points in principle to a nom. sg. *kito** (*kantwo*-type). As shown by TB *tvāṅkaro* (q.v.), it is not unprecedented that loanwords from Khotanese take the *kantwo*-type declension pattern.

As for the phonology, Tocharian *-t-* suggests that the word is an old loan from Pre-Khotanese (PK), which was borrowed before the change **-VϑV-* > *-VhV-* but after the monophthongization of the diphthongs **-ai-* and **-au-* to *-ī-* and *-ū-*. This is exactly paralleled by TB *pito* (q.v.), which is probably to be interpreted as a loanword from Pre-Khotanese **pīϑa-* (DKS: 242).

Results

Altogether, it seems clear that TB *ekita* is a Tocharian adverbial formation based on an unattested *kito**, a borrowing from PK **gīϑa-* (acc. sg. **gīϑu*) . The Tocharian evidence further confirms that the pre-form of Khot. *ggīha-* contained a dental obstruent and is of help in determining the Iranian origin of the Khotanese word, which may be sought in PIr. **gaiϑa-*.

TA *kᵤÑAŚ* 'FIGHT, CONFLICT', OKH. *GŪRĀŚ-* 'TO QUARREL'

Tocharian occurrences

- A 238 a3 *mar wac kᵤñaś yāmiṃtär* 'They would not do fight nor conflict' (cf. also Thomas 1958: 293).
- A 353 a5 *mā kᵤñaś ypamāñ(cs)ā* 'without making conflict.'
- A 375 b5 *arkämnā(ṣṣ)ā(s su)krānāśśi lepśäśśi kᵤñaś yāmä(s)* – – – – 'He fought with vultures and jackals of the cemetery' (cf. also CEToM, Carling ed., DTTA: 148, Malzahn 2014: 92-3).
- PK NS 1 b1 *kākmärtikās wrassaśśäl tñi wac kᵤñāś lkātär kᵤle ṣurmaṣ* 'Because of the/a woman, fight and quarrel with ruler-beings are seen by you' (cf. also CEToM, Pinault and Fellner eds.).

Discussion

The Tocharian A word *kᵤñaś* is of uncertain etymology. Its meaning, however, can be established with a sufficient degree of certainty based on bilingual evidence in the

[172] Notably, a nom. sg. *kita**. However, substantives with nom. sg. *-a* and obl. sg. *-a* are much less frequent.

Tocharian A version of the *Pratimokṣasūtra* (A 353). There, *mā kᵤñaś ypamāñ*(*cs*)*ā* (cf. *supra*) seems to translate Skt. *avivadamānaiḥ* (Schmidt 1989: 106), from the verb Skt. *vi-vad-* 'to contest, dispute, quarrel' (MW: 986). Additionally, as noted by Carling (DTTA: 148), its occurrence in hendiadys with *wac* 'fight' is also a useful confirmation of the meaning 'fight, dispute, quarrel'.

As no Indo-European etymology for this lexeme is available, I would like to suggest a possible connection of the Tocharian A word with the Khotanese verb *gūrāś-* 'to quarrel' (SGS: 30). This proposal, however, although semantically unproblematic, has admittedly some phonological problems. According to Schwartz (1974: 399-400), the most likely origin of this verb is to be sought in **wi-brāz-*(*a*)*ya-*, from the root PIr. **braHǰ-* 'to shine, set on fire, alight' (EDIV: 21). The semantics are supported by CSogd. *'br'z-* 'to become angry' (< 'to be lit up', cf. Sims-Williams 2016: 21). As in the case of *parso*, q.v., the Tocharian word may have been borrowed from an infinitive *gūrāśä*. As for the dating of borrowing, because of the initial *gu-* (< PK, PTK **wi-*), it can be confidently placed within the historical period (Old or Late Khotanese). Another argument in favour of this proposal may be sought in the fact that this same Khotanese lexeme has also been borrowed into Old Uyghur as *küräš-* 'miteinander kämpfen' (HWA: 444).

Whereas the semantics do not present us with any relevant problems, the correspondence TA *-VñV-* ~ Khot. *-VrV-*, however, is unprecedented and difficult to explain. It does not yet occur in any other borrowing from Khotanese, where intervocalic *r* is regularly represented by *r* in Tocharian. Accordingly, this connection remains for the moment quite uncertain.

Results

The subst. TA *kᵤñaś* 'fight, conflict' may have been borrowed from Khot. *gūrāś-* 'to quarrel'. TA *kᵤñaś* may have been borrowed from the infinitive *gūrāśä* in the historical period (Old or Late Khotanese). However, since no convincing explanation for the correspondence TA *ñ* ~ Khot. *r* is available, this proposal remains uncertain.

TB *KUÑI-MOT* 'GRAPE WINE', LKH. *GŪRÄṆAI MAU* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- *kuñi-mot* IOL Toch 305 b1.
- *kuñi motäṣṣe* W20 a4.
- *kuñi motsa* W22 a3.
- *kuñi *mot* W38 a6 (cf. Filliozat [1948: 78 fn. 1] for the emendation).

All occurrences are from medical texts.

Khotanese occurrences:

- *gūra-* 'grapes' e.g. in Siddhasāra 12r2.
- *gūräṇai mau* 'grape wine' P 2895.29 (Paris Y, cf. KT III: 41 l. 29).

Discussion[173]

D.Q. Adams (DoT: 193) put forward the hypothesis that the first part of *kuñi-mot* 'grape wine' may derive from LKh. *gūräṇaa-* (KS: 142), adjective to *gūra-* 'grapes', with loss of the medial syllable. LKh. *gūräṇaa-* is an adjectival formation which was formed with the suffix *-īnaa-* (PIr. **-ainaka-*). The long *-ī-* of the suffix was shortened to *-i-* or *-ä-* in unstressed position. This phenomenon may be part of a more general tendency of vowel weakening before the nasal *-n-*, which is already attested in Old Khotanese (KS: 136). For the adjective *gūräṇaa-*, therefore, a proto-form **gudrainaka-* may be reconstructed. If TB *kuñi* is really derived from the adjective *gūräṇaa-*, we must reckon with a loan from Khotanese, after the shortening of the long *-ī-* of the suffix (already Old Khotanese) and the loss of intervocalic *-k-*: *kuñi* < *gūni* < *gūrṇi* < LKh. *gūräṇai* (< PIr. **gudrainakah*).

At first sight, Adams' suggestion might appear rather far-fetched. However, the occurrence of the adjective *gūräṇaa-* with *mau* 'wine' in the Late Khotanese lyrical poem contained in the manuscript P 2895 might back his hypothesis. Indeed, the parallel TB *kuñi-mot* ~ LKh. *gūräṇai mau* seems rather striking. The Tocharian B form would then be a partial calque with TB *kuñi* < LKh. *gūräṇai* and TB *mot* for LKh. *mau*. It might be worth noting here that TB *mot* cannot have been borrowed from Sogdian, as stated e.g. by Tremblay (2005: 438).[174] The form *mwδy* quoted by Gershevitch (GMS: 408) from the Ancient Letter IV, l. 5, is now recognized to stand for 'price' (LW < Skt. *mūlya*).

The occurrence of LKh. *gūräṇai mau* in a fixed phrase renders Ching's (2010: 383) hypothesis of a possible connection with LKh. *gūñi* 'bag, sack' (DKS: 86), borrowed from Niya Pkt. *goni* (Skt. *goṇi*), rather difficult. In fact, it seems that no **gūñi mau* has so far been detected within the Khotanese text corpus.

Results

TB *kuñi-mot* may be interpreted as a compound of *kuñi* 'pertaining to grape', borrowed from the adj. LKh. *gūräṇai* 'id.', and *mot* 'wine'. Because of the shortening and syncope of original **ī* in the Khot. adj., the word should have been borrowed in the historical period (OKh. or, more likely, LKh.).

TB *KUÑCIT* ~ *KWÄÑCIT* A *KUÑCIT* 'SESAME', OKH. *KUṂJSATA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- TB *kuñcit* PK AS 3A a1; a3 (medical), PK AS 8C a7 (medical), THT 18 b5 (2×) (doctrinal), THT 3998 a3 (wooden tablet), W7 a6 (medical)
- TB *kuñcitä* THT 505 b2, THT 2676 b3
- TB *kwäñcitä* THT 1535.c b3 (literary)
- TB *kwäñcitṣa* adj. (?) THT 1535.e b3 (literary)

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[173] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

[174] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of Dragoni (2021) for this suggestion.

- TB *kuñcitäṣṣe* adj. "made from sesame" IOL Toch 306 a5 (medical), PK AS 2B a6; b4, PK AS 2C b6, PK AS 3A a6, PK AS 3B a2; b1 (*Yogaśataka*), PK AS 9B b6 (medical), THT 364 b1, THT 2677.d b1 (literary), W10 a3; a4, W19 b3, W24 a3 (medical)
- TB *kuñcītäṣṣe* adj. THT 27 a8 (doctrinal), THT 497 b4; b9, W4 a4; b2, W6 b1, W21 b2, W23 a2, W27 a3; b3, W30 b4, W31 b2, W33 b2, W34 a4, W35 a5 (medical)
- TB *kuñcītaṣṣe* adj. THT 497 b5 (medical)
- TB *kuñcitäṣe* THT 2348.i b2 (literary), THT 2347.a a2, b3 (literary)
- TA *kuñcitṣi* adj. "pertaining to sesame" A 103 a5, A 152 a3, A 153 b6 (literary)
- TA *kuñcit* PK NS 2 a2 (medical)
- TA *kuñcitaśśäl* PK NS 3 b1 (medical)

The TB *-ṣṣe* adjective can refer to milk (*malkwer*), oil (*ṣalype*) or taste (*śūke*, only in THT 27, not medical).

Khotanese occurrences

- In Old Khotanese the form is *kuṃjsata-* 'sesame', in *Saṅghāṭasūtra* 72.2, 73.1, 88.2, 72.2.[175]
- The most frequent form in Late Khotanese is *kuṃjsa-*, in *Siddhasāra* 9v1, 16v2, 100r3, 101v2, 106r3, 132v3, 133r2, 142v1, 142v5, 143r1 (10x), Si P 2892.60, in other medical texts P 2893.35, 46, 48, 80, 89, 113, 120, 127, 131, 147, 158, 211, 218, IOL Khot. S. 9.2, 24, 31, 35, 40,[176] P 2781.29, in documents P 103.52 col. 2.1 (SDTV: 158). Without anusvāra (*kujsa-*) in Siddhasāra 9r4, P 2893.247, 251, 255, 262, KT IV: 26.4, 5, P 103.26.1, *kāṃjsa* in P 2893.235 and in the documents P 94.8.4 (SDTV: 98), P 94.23.4,7, P 95.6.2, P 96.4.2, P 96.4.3, P 97.3.2, P 98.6.5, P 98.7.1, P 103.5.2,7, P 103.5.4, P 103.5.8, *kājsa* in P 95.5.6, *kuṃjsą* in JP 95r3, *kuṃjsaṃna* P 2893.56.[177]
- The Old Khotanese adjective *kuṃjsatīnaa-*, °*īṃgyā-* 'pertaining to sesame' is to be found in *Saṅghāṭasūtra* 73.2, 37.3, 28.4, 73.1, 74.2, 88.2, 28.3, *Śuraṅgamasamādhisūtra* 3.14r3, 3.13v2; 4,[178] IOL Khot 34/2.a1 and IOL Khot 41/1.9.
- The Late Khotanese form of the same adjective is mostly *kuṃjsavīnaa-*: *kuṃjsavīnā* Si 139r2, 141r1, *kuṃjsavīṇį* JP 97r2, 97v1, 96v4, 98r2, 98v2, 99v2, *kuṃjsąvīṇį* JP 99r4, 101v3, *kuṃjsavīnai* Si 15r1, 100v2, 101r3, 104v1, 109v5, 129v4, 130r2, 144r1, 156r1, 156r4, P 2893.165, *kuṃjsąvīnai* P 2893.139, without

[175] Numbers refer to the edition in Canevascini (1993).

[176] = Ch. 00265, see Skjærvø's catalogue (KMB: 487). It is to be inserted between P 2893.91a and 91b, see Maggi (2008). Maggi (2018: 251 fn. 30) names the resulting medical text 'Piṇḍaśāstra'. See further Luzzietti (2018-2019: 29-33).

[177] Not to be read *kuṃjsąna*, see Luzzietti (2018-2019: 45-6).

[178] The numbering follows Emmerick (1970: 43-47).

anusvāra kujsavīña Si 155r4, *kujsavīña* Si 153v4, *kujsavīnai* Si 128r2, 128r4, 128r4, 130r3, 130r4, 131r2, 141r3, IOL Khot. S. 9.22, 110, P 2893.167, 256 *kujsavīnai* Si 129r5, P 2893.179, *kujsavīnya* Si 141r2.

- *kuṃjsārgye* 'sesame oil-cake' in Si 9r5, P 2893.83.

Discussion[179]

The most recent Tocharian lexicographical works consider the word as a loan from Khotanese (DTTA: 148, DoT 193). This *communis opinio* is probably to be traced back to a note by Bailey (1937: 913). However, he does not state directly that the form was borrowed from Khotanese. He writes rather that the Tocharian B word represents 'an older stage than Saka *kuṃjsata-*'. He further derives the Khotanese form (DKS: 61) from a reconstructed **kuncita-*, which is based on Skt. *kuñcita-*, even if this seems to be used for another type of plant, the Tabernaemontana coronaria.[180] In fact, the Tocharian and Khotanese occurrences both in the *Yogaśataka* and in the *Siddhasāra* translate Skt. *tila-* 'Sesamum indicum', (KEWA I: 504), not *kuñcita-*.

Tremblay (2005: 440) does not give any identification more precise than 'Middle Iranian'. If the form is really Iranian, it might not be so easy to find out if the Tocharian word actually derives from the proto-form **kunčita-*, which seems to be at the origin of Sogdian *kwyšt'yc*,[181] Khotanese *kuṃjsata-*, Old Uyghur *künčit*[182] and Middle Persian *kwnc(y)t* (CPD: 52). For Pashto *kunjə́la*, an Indian origin is preferred by Morgenstierne.[183] He further extends his hypothesis to all Iranian forms, which he considers as old loans from Indian. In general, the Pashto form seems to share with Khotanese the voiced affricate and a different vowel in the second syllable instead of the expected *-i-*.[184] Whereas the voiced dental affricate instead of the unvoiced palatal is regular in both languages,[185] no satisfactory explanation for the different vowel is available.

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[179] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

[180] See Böthling and Roth (1855-1875: II 70). The word seems to be attested only in lexicographical works. Variants of the same word, used to designate other plants, are *kuñcikā-* 'Nigella indica' and *kuñcī* 'cumin'.

[181] See Gharib (1995: 202). Henning (1946: 734) proposes the following: 'kwyšt- (if = sesame) = kṵišt < *kṵinšt < *kṵinčt < *kunčit.' An orthographic explanation is preferred by Benveniste (1940: 180) ("Est-ce une mauvaise graphie pour *kwnšt-?"). A form *kwync'*[is also attested in P 29.9 (Sims-Williams and Hamilton 1990: 33), which seems to be phonetically closer to the forms occurring in the neighbouring languages. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of Dragoni (2021) for this suggestion.

[182] An old loan from Sogdian, according to Tremblay (2005: 440) (?).

[183] See Morgenstierne (1927: 33) and EDP: 39 "certainly" old LW < Indo-Aryan (Skt. *kuñcita-*) in Pashto.

[184] C. Bernard (p.c.) draws my attention to Balochi *kunčat* (beside *kunčīt* and *kunčit*), quoted in Korn (2005: 192), which shows the same vowel as Khotanese.

[185] Cf. OKh. *haṃjsaṣ-* < PIr. *ham-čaš-* (SGS: 139) and Pashto *anjór* < PIr. **han-čāra-* (EDP: 9).

Results

On the whole, it is difficult to trace the history of the word. Since the Indic forms are attested rather late and occur only in lexica, it is dangerous to reconstruct a Proto-Indo-Iranian form. In this case, Tremblay's general label 'Middle-Iranian' seems the safest solution for the time being.[186]

TB *KURKAMÄṢṢE* ~ *KWÄRKAMÄṢṢI*, KHOT. *KURKUMA-** ADJ. 'PERTAINING TO SAFFRON'

Tocharian occurrences

- *kurkamäṣṣi* PK AS 3B b5, THT 497 b8, THT 498 a8, W4 b1; b4, W7 b3, W19 b5, W20 a5, W21 b4, W26 b4, W32 a4, W38 a5, W39 a3, W41 b3.
- *kwärkamäṣṣi* W29 b1.

All occurrences are from medical texts. THT 2676 a3 (*kurku*(*mä*)///), at the end of the line, could also be restored as *kurku*(*mäṣṣe*) (Peyrot 2014: 139 fn. 47).

Khotanese occurrences

- *kurkāṃ* JP 97v3 and P 2893.62
- *kṵrkāṃ* P 2893.57
- *kurkuṃ* Si 10v2
- *kūrkāṃ* JP 108r5
- *kūrkūṃ* JP 105v1
- *kṵ̄rkūṃ* JP 44v1
- *kurkumīnā* [...] *prahaunä* "saffron [...] garments" KT III: 1.9r5,[187] < adj. *kurkumīnaa-* (KS: 141).

Discussion

It is not here the place to reconsider the whole history of the word, which does not seem to be specifically Iranian and can be traced back in time up until Akkadian *kurkanū* and Greek κρόκος.[188]

The basis for the Tocharian form must have been provided by an unattested **kurkuma-*. As in the case of *aṃkwaṣṭ* and *kuñcit* ~ *kwäñcit* (cf. the relative chapters), **ku* was reinterpreted in Tocharian as k^w + *ə*, so that we obtain /k^{w}ərk^{w}əm/, further dissimilated to /k^{w}ərkəm/. The dissimilated form **kurkäm* is the basis from which the adjective was derived with accent shift (/k^{w}árkəm/ > /k^{w}ərkám°/). The tiny fragment

[186] On this word and on the Tocharian alternation *ku* ~ *kwä*, see further Bernard (2020: 52-4).

[187] The text is the *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇi*. See SDTV 1: 241-2 for edition and translation of the passage in question.

[188] A very short summary with further references can be found in KEWA I: 219.

THT 2676 belongs to one of the earliest Tocharian manuscripts (Peyrot 2014: 139 and Malzahn 2007: 267) and has evidently preserved the undissimilated form /kʷərkʷəm/. Since all Indian forms (CDIAL: n° 3214, cf. Skt. *kuṅkuma-*) have a nasal instead of the expected *-r-*, it is more probable that the Tocharian word derives from Iranian.

Given the fact that saffron is known to grow in Persia (Laufer 1919: 320), a Middle Persian origin (Pahlavi *kwlkwm* (CPD: 52) and New Persian *kurkum*[189]) is suggested by Tremblay (2005: 437). Otherwise, the Middle Persian form might have reached Tocharian through Khotanese **kurkuma-* (DKS: 63).[190] In fact, this is the form which might be reconstructed for Old Khotanese on the basis of the Late Khotanese occurrences.[191] However, there is no special phonetic feature that might be attributed to Middle Persian proper.[192] Tremblay's idea seems thus quite arbitrary and a Middle Persian origin remains highly doubtful.

Results

For the time being, it seems safer to consider the origin of the Tocharian word as coming from a general 'Middle-Iranian' context, without further specification. It might be noted further that Sogdian *kwrkwnph*,[193] because of the final labial plosive, remains a less probable candidate. An Iranian origin has been also suggested for Tib. *kur-kum* (Laufer 1916: 474).

TAB *KURKAL* 'BDELLIUM', LKH. *GURGULA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- TB PK AS 8A b9 *kurkalä*
- TB PK AS 8C a5 *kurkalä tuñe* 'perfume of bdellium'
- TA PK NS 3 a3 *kurkal*

Khotanese occurrences

- Si §2.4 *gūrgūlä bu'* 'perfume of bdellium'
- Si §24.12 *gurgula bu'* 'id.'
- Pś §22.4 *gurgula bū'* 'id.'

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[189] See Hasandust 2015: IV n° 3955.

[190] This reconstruction is confirmed by *kurkumīnaa-* attested in the *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇi* (cf. *supra*).

[191] For the alternation *-āṃ/-ūṃ* and *u/ū*, usual in Late Khotanese, see Dresden (1955: 406 [2] and [4]).

[192] I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of Dragoni (2021) for this remark.

[193] P 3.173, 271 (Benveniste 1940: 67 and 71).

Discussion

Although a form *gulgulu* exists in Late Vedic (MW: 360),[194] Emmerick (1985: 303) decided nevertheless to take the Khotanese form *gurgula-* as a hyper-Sankritized form of Skt. *guggulu*, more frequent in the medical literature. Luzzietti (2018-2019: 66-7) seems to prefer a direct derivation from Skt. *gulgulu*. It is true that the form Skt. *guggulu* is more frequent in the medical jargon. Moreover, according to Potts et al. (1996), *guggulu* is the original form, borrowed during the first half of the first millennium BCE from Akkadian *guḫlu* 'id.'.[195] Therefore, Emmerick's option seems to be the safest solution for the moment.

I would tentatively put forward the proposal that Tocharian B *kurkal* may have been borrowed from LKh. *gurgula-*, as this is the only language with *-rg-* instead of Indic *-lg-*. Because of the absence of the word-final vowel in Tocharian B, the dating of the borrowing should be placed after the Old Khotanese period (cf. s.v. *aṅkwaṣ(ṭ)*). The only difficulty of this hypothesis is the different position of the accent in the Tocharian and in the Khotanese word. In fact, whereas the Khotanese word might have been probably accented on the first syllable, the Tocharian B word was /kurkə́l/. The vowel correspondences would be Khot. *u_u* → Toch. *u_ə*, as in TB *kurkam°*, q.v. Whereas in *kurkam°* the difference in the accent may be due to the Tocharian derivational pattern (see s.v.), I have no explanation for *kurkal* at the moment. If one considers the fact that the word was a borrowing also into Khotanese, however, one cannot safely exclude that the accent of the Khotanese word lied on the second syllable, thus perfectly matching the Tocharian one.

Results

It is suggested that Tocharian B *kurkal* 'bdellium' may be a loanword from LKh. *gurgula-* 'id.'. The dating of the borrowing may be placed after the Old Khotanese stage.

TB *KETO* 'PROPERTY, ESTATE', PTK **GĒΘA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- perl. sg./gen. sg. Ot 19.1 a2-3 *ynaiymyāṣṣi ketasa cāneṃ kamānte yältse piś känte . tāy saṅkrāmiññai ketāntse* '(The people) of Ynaimya carried (here) the coins (produced in? / as the price of?) the field: one thousand five hundred. (The four limits) of this field belong to the monastery' (Ching 2010: 323).
- obl. sg. PK DA M 507.32 a11 *mäkte saṅkrām wtetse keta mā ·ā ·kaṃ saṅkantse ayāto nesañ̈e mā karsnatär* 'So that the monastery will not (lose?) estate

[194] The word is found in the *Atharvaveda* (book 19), both in the Śaunaka and in the Paippalāda recension. On these occurrences, see Potts *et al.* (1996: 298-301).
[195] I am grateful to A. Lubotsky for this reference.

again, (so that) the well-being of (my) *saṃgha* will not be spoilt' (cf. Ching 2010: 227).

- obl. sg. PK DA M 507.37 and 36 a105 *po puttewante keta päst m· ///* 'All the estate (that) Puttewante has ... away ...' (cf. Ching 2010: 217)
- adj. *ketāṣṣe* HWB 74(4) a1 *utpat cāñi esalyī ketāṣṣi* 'The revenue (of) coins pertaining to the estate inside the boundary' (Ching 2010: 311).

Discussion

The Tocharian B word obl. sg. *keta* 'estate, property' has been the object of several discussions. In this chapter, after having discussed the previous literature, I will first put forward a proposal on the possible reconstruction of the nom. sg. of *keta*. In the second part I will suggest that the word may be a borrowing from the PTK outcome of PIr. **gaiϑa-* 'property'. The results of this investigation will be summarised in the third part.

On the nom. sg. of the Tocharian B obl. sg. *keta*

Only an obl. sg. *keta* may be extracted from the occurrences above. The precise identity of the final vowel of the nom. sg. is not known and different proposals have been put forward recently. Whereas the *communis opinio* (TEB) wants to set up a nom. sg. *keta**, Malzahn (2011: 86 fn.9) suggested that the nom. sg. may have been *keto**. Her proposal is based on the derivation of the substantive from a Prakrit form *khetta* 'field' (Skt. *kṣetra*, cf. *infra*), which would have been at first adapted as **ket*, as regular in Indic loanwords into Tocharian B. She further speculates that a 'by-form' *keto** may have also existed, which could subsequently have entered the TB *-o*/*-a* declension. In support of her assumption, the author adduces the fact that at least four well-attested Sanskrit loanwords into Tocharian B show a nom. sg. in *-o*. They are attested in prose texts, so that it is theoretically preferable not to resort to mobile *-o* in order to explain these occurrences:

- *karuno* 'pity' in 333 b7
- *curmo* 'powder' in THT 2348e b2
- *dhyāno* 'meditation' in 333 b6
- *padārtho* 'category' in 182 a3; a4; b2[196]

In my view, Malzahn's hypothesis of a nom. sg. *keto** can hardly be defended. Moreover, the four words above may be probably explained away also as cases of mobile *-o*. Indeed, in the same prose text one finds also *ke$_u$wco* (THT 334 a4) for classical *kauc*. Accordingly, as it is found quite frequently in the same text also in originally Tocharian words, the *-o* may have nothing to do with Buddhist Sanskrit terms or Tocharian inflectional patterns.

On the other hand, however, the classical assumption that an *-a*/*-a* declension type[197] may exist in Tocharian B is also not without difficulties. The only assured member would

[196] Cf. also the table in Malzahn (2012: 54-60).

be *yasa* 'gold' (Malzahn 2011: 84), which may be rather interpreted as a loanword from Proto-Samoyedic (Peyrot 2019: 101). Apart from the unsure *śalna*, whose nom. sg. may have been also in *-a* according to Malzahn (2011: 85), the other five members of this class (*pilta* 'leaf', *weta* 'fight', *śarka* 'song', *śāmpa* 'conceit' and *keta* 'estate') are all attested only in the obl. sg. Notably, I have shown that two of these five substantives (*śarka* and *śāmpa*) may be very old loanwords from PTK and may therefore have shown a nom. sg. in *-o* (cf. s.v. *śarko** and *śāmpo**). Thus, it is difficult not to consider the option that also *keta* may be seen as a Khotanese loanword and may have had a nom. sg. *keto**.

In addition to these arguments, it seems that a form *keto* is actually attested in the Tocharian B magical fragment PK AS 8B a2:

- *suśākhne khadiräṣṣe ṣat twer*(*e*)*ne tsapanale kete ñ*(*e*)*mtsa yämäṃ su keto mäske*(*t*)*rä* (*kwri*) *sälkaṃ mokṣa* 'In [the lunar mansion] Suśākhā a piece [thorn?] of khadira [wood] [= Acacia catechu] [is] to be crushed in the door, in whose name one does [that], this one will be destroyed. [If] one pulls [it] out, [it means] release [= Skt. *mokṣaḥ*]' (CEToM, Pinault and Malzahn eds.).

Adams (DoT: 204) tentatively proposed a meaning "± harmed, destroyed' or (n.) '± damage' (?)' based on the context. Pinault and Malzahn (*apud* CEToM) tentatively connected this word to TA *kat* 'destruction, damage' (in the phrase *kat yām-*).[198] Whereas the connection of the Tocharian A word with *keta*/*kete* 'damaged' (DTTA: 97) is no more actual – the word has been recognized as *keta* 'estate' – the connection with *keto* is possible, but remains quite hypothetical. I would like to suggest that *keto* in PK AS 8B a2 is the lost nom. sg. of *keta*. A translation 'property' seems to fit very well the context of the fragments:

- 'In [the lunar mansion] Suśākhā a piece [thorn?] of khadira [wood] [= Acacia catechu] [is] to be crushed in the door, in whose name one does [that], this one will be <u>(his) property</u>. [If] one pulls [it] out, [it means] release [= Skt. *mokṣaḥ*]'.

Two additional arguments may speak in favour of this identification: a. the preceding line speaks about two spells 'to make subject living beings' (*onolmeṃ ekalmī yāmtsi* PK AS 8B a1), which is the same as 'making one his own property' (*keto*); b. the following indication ('[If] one pulls [it] out, [it means] release [= Skt. *mokṣaḥ*]') is understandable only with the assumption that the preceding sentence may have entailed the submission of a man to one's own wish.

Therefore, I would like to suggest that the nom. sg. of *keta* 'estate, property' may have been *keto*, actually attested in PK AS 8B a2.

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[197] On the members of this declension pattern, which could have been old plurals, cf. recently Del Tomba (2020: 198-9).

[198] The same derivation is proposed by Schmidt for the almost completely restored (*ke*)*t*(*oṃc*) in THT 1540 a+b a2, which he translates as 'hilflos' (Schmidt 2007: 325).

On the etymology of TB *keto*

As already noted, a nom. sg. in *-o* may easily point to a loanword from PTK, PK or OKh. I would like to put forward the hypothesis that TB *keto* was borrowed from the PTK outcome of PIr. **gaiϑa-* (PTK acc. sg. **gēϑu*), which designated the livestock or the 'wordly' possessions in Old Iranian (hence 'property'). For the exact meaning 'property', one may compare e.g. MMP *gyh* (see a more detailed treatment of PIr. **gaiϑa-* s.v. *kito**). Notably, it seems that Tocharian borrowed the same word twice, first from PTK, with the meaning 'property' and later from the PK acc. sg. **gīϑu* 'help' → TB *kito** 'help' (see s.v.). Noteworthy are the two different stages in the development of the Proto-Iranian diphthong **ai* > PTK **ē* > PK, OKh. **ī* and the preservation of the Old Iranian semantics, before the development to 'help' attested in Old Khotanese.

Results

It is suggested that the nom. sg. of *keta* 'estate, property' may be recognized in TB *keto*, attested in PK AS 8B a2. The new translation contributes to a better understanding of the text. Further, it is proposed that TB *keto* may have been borrowed from the PTK acc. sg. **gēϑu* 'property', the outcome of PIr. **gaiϑa-*.

TB *KEŚ* A *KAŚ* 'NUMBER', OKH. *HAṂKHĪŚ-* 'TO COUNT'

Discussion

The Tocharian word for 'number' has not received so far a convincing etymology. This discussion seeks to show that it could have been borrowed into PT from a nominal form of the PTK antecedent of the Old Khotanese verb for 'to count', i.e. OKh. *haṃkhīś-*. This investigation will first try to critically assess the previous etymological proposals for TB *keś* A *kaś*. The second part will be devoted to the analysis of the Khotanese vocabulary related to numbers and counting. The third part will outline a possible borrowing scenario and will address problems of chronology and reconstruction of PTK.

Tocharian B *keś* A *kaś* 'number'

The meaning of the word is undisputed. As for its usage, the following phrases can be identified (Hilmarsson 1991: 155-7):

- B *snai* (*yarm*) *keś* A *sne* (*yärm*) *kaś* 'without (measure and) number'
- B *keś tättalñe* 'Skt. *samyak-saṃkalpa* (right resolve)'
- A *kälymeyā kaś tā*(*lune*)/// 'Skt. *samyak-saṃkalpa-*'
- B *keś weñ-* 'recite in order (?)'
- B *keś təs-* 'judge, consider, weigh'
- B *keś yam-* 'count'
- B *keś ak-* 'to pay attention to'
- A *kaśaṃ i-* 'to follow, lit. go in a row (loc.)'
- A *kaśaṣi* (adj.) 'pertaining to numbers'

- A *kaśom* (adj.) 'counted, counting'
- A *kaśal* (adj./adv.) 'together, conjoint, in conjunction'
- B *keśne* (loc.) 'in total (frequent in documents)'.

As is clear from the list above, TB *keś* TA *kaś* is the normal word for 'number' in Tocharian. The phrases in which it is attested come from a Buddhist milieu. In fact, TB *snai keś* TA *sne kaś* frequently translate Skt. *asaṃkhyeya* 'innumerable (*a-saṃkhyā*, lit. 'no (or without) number', cf. also ZMP *a-marag*, *an-ōšmār*).

The most famous etymological proposal for the Tocharian word for 'number' has been put forward by Duchesne-Guillemin (1941: 158): 'B *keś* A *kaś* 'nombre' viennent de **q^{w}eḱ(s)* 'apparaitre, voir, montrer', (…) qui donne skr. *caṣṭe* (plur. *cakṣate*) 'apparaître, voir, regarder, etc.', et plus particulièrment, en composition: 'annoncer, montrer', av. *čašte* 'il enseigne', m. ir. *čāšītan* 'enseigner' et surtout (…) av. *a-hą-xš-ta-* 'innombrable' (Bartholomae, s.v.) qui eclaire à souhait l'èvolution sémantique de la racine en tokharien'. Other proposals are to be traced back on the one hand to Van Windekens (VW: 190), who reconstructed a PIE **ḱons-ti* from the root **ḱens-* 'to say something, to speak in a solemn manner, etc.' On the other hand, rejecting these previous proposals, Hilmarsson (1991: 158-9, 1996: 212) suggested that TB *keś* TA *kaś* could be derived from the PIE root **ḱas-*/**ḱos-* 'in continuous sequence with, following upon'. He extracted a meaning 'series, sequence' from *keś* as attested in the phrase *keś weñ-* (cf. *supra*) 'to recite in sequence' and argued that the meaning 'number' could be a later, secondary development. As for the declension pattern, he reconstructs a **-ti* stem with nom. sg. **keśce* (or already *keśe*), obl. sg. **keś* (type *meñe* – *meñ*, see Del Tomba 2020: 59). Since a nom. sg. *keś* is actually attested, Hilmarsson (1996: 137) is forced to admit a generalization of the oblique form, which ousted the original nom. sg. **keśe*. On PIE **ḱas-*/**ḱos-* see in detail Klingenschmitt (1975) and Beekes (2010: 760, 615).

Hilmarsson's derivation is not impossible in principle, but it has admittedly quite some problems. On the one hand, the Tocharian text corpus shows no trace of forms with *śc*; only *ś* is attested. This is at variance with what is known about the Tocharian B change *śc* > *ś* which seems to be exlusively late and colloquial (Peyrot 2008: 70). In fact, one should expect to find a *śc*-form in the earliest occurrences of *keś*, but no such form has been detected yet. On the other hand, Hilmarsson's derivation has serious semantic problems.[199] In fact, the meaning 'series, sequence' can only be extracted from a single, late and colloquial Tocharian B phrase. Every other occurrence of the word, both in A and in B, points to 'number, counting'. Moreover, the fact that *keś* cannot be forced into any known Tocharian declension pattern, showing always the same zero-ending with palatalisation, suggests that *keś* could be a loanword from a neighbouring language. In the next subchapter, it will be shown that a possible donor language may have been Khotanese.

[199] It should be noted that also the previous etymologies (cf. *supra*) present us with profound semantic difficulties.

‘Number’ in Khotanese

It is well-known that a number of economic terms in Tocharian were borrowed from Khotanese into Tocharian at an earlier age, i.e. PK or even PTK. The most famous example is TB *pito*, q.v., borrowed from the PK acc. sg. **pīϑu*. Thus, it seems justified to analyse in detail the words for ‘number’ in Khotanese, in search of a possible source. The most plausible candidate seems to be the Old Khotanese verb *haṃkhīys-** ‘to count’ (with ptc. *haṃkhiṣṭa-*), from which the subst. OKh. *haṃkhīysa-* ‘number’ (KS: 11), *haṃkhīysgyā-* ‘counting’ (KS: 207), the verb *haṃkhīś-* : *haṃkhiṣṭa-* ‘to count’ (SGS: 136) and the negative adj. *anaṃkhiṣṭa-* ‘unnumbered’ and *aha*(*ṃ*)*khīysa-* ‘numberless’ were formed.

The underlying Proto-Iranian root is normally identified with **xaiǰ-* ‘to rise, ascend; increase’ (EDIV: 440-1) and has no assured Old Iranian or PIE antecedents. In fact, the difficult hapax Av. *ahąxšta-* ‘innumerable’, which Leumann (1912: 31-2) first sought to connect with OKh. *anaṃkhiṣṭa-*, remains of uncertain interpretation (EDIV: 442). It is important to note that the meaning ‘to count’ is only attested in Khotanese and only with the preverb *ham-*;[200] **xaiǰ-* can be found in Khotanese also with other preverbs, but the meanings are very different.

OKh. *haṃkhīś-*, TB *keś* A *kaś*

Among the different possibilities listed above, the most likely source seems to be the verb *haṃkhīś-*. Whereas it is not necessary to comment on the correspondences Khot. *kh* – TAB *k* and Khot. *ś* – TAB *ś*, three problems deserve a more detailed discussion: 1. the fate of the preverb *ham-*, of which no trace is visible in TB *keś*; 2. the absence of final *-o*, which is one of the features of the oldest PTK, PK and OKh. loanwords in Tocharian; 3. the vowel TB *e*.

1. The absence of the preverb *ham-* can be accounted for by examining other loanwords from Khotanese which are derived from a source with initial *ham-*. These are *ampoño* ‘rottenness, infection’, *ampa* (v.) ‘to rot, decay’, *eñcuwo* ‘iron’ and possibly *keś* ‘number’. For *ampoño* and *ampa-* (q.v.) a margin of uncertainty was noted as for their origin: are both words derived from two different Late Khotanese sources (LKh. *[ham'bwoña-] = **haṃbvauña-* and LKh. *['hambwa-] = **haṃbva-*, both < OKh. *haṃbūta-*) or is *ampoño* a Tocharian formation based on the verb *ampa-*, borrowed from Khotanese? To answer this question it is necessary to examine *eñcuwo*, which is most likely borrowed from PTK **hénśwanya-*, the ancestor of Khot. *hīśśana-* (cf. Peyrot, Dragoni and Bernard Forthc.). The source of *keś* may be sought in a formation based on the verb *haṃkhīś-*, i.e. *haṃkhīśV** (more details below under 3.). If one considers *ampoño* as a Tocharian formation based on the verb *ampa-*, the main difference between the source forms LKh. **hámbva-*, PTK **hénśwanya-* and *haṃkhīśV** seems to lie in the

[200] The superficial (?) phonological and semantic similarity with Skt. *saṃkhyā* ‘number’ (cf. especially the same preverb and the *kh* element) should be the object of future, more detailed research.

position of the accent. It seems therefore justified to formulate the following rule for the borrowing process of the preverb *ham-* into Tocharian from Khotanese: it is preserved under the accent, and otherwise it is dropped without leaving any trace.[201]

2. According to this rule, the expected form would at first sight be ***keśo* in Tocharian B. However, Tocharian B final *-o* is the adaptation of the acc. sg. ending of a Khot. substantive. Since no nominal derivative of the verb *haṃkhīś-* is attested in Khotanese, it seems justified to posit as a possible source form an infinitive derived from the present stem, i.e. OKh. *haṃkhīśä** (SGS: 218). In Proto-Iranian terms, this would reflect a formation **ham-xaiǰyai* (> PTK **ham-xéźi* > OKh. *haṃkhīśä**). It can be surmised that PTK final *-i* could have been borrowed into Tocharian as *-ə* after palatal, cf. the endings TB /-cə/, /-ścə/, /-ñə/ etc. Tocharian *i* was not suitable because it was probably felt as long (< **-əy*).

3. The vowel TB *e* A *a* is of the utmost importance to determine the dating of the borrowing. As this allows a reconstruction PT **e*, the borrowing can be dated with a fair degree of approximation to the PTK stage (PIr. *ai* > PTK *ē* > PK and OKh. *ī*).

Results

Based on the discussion above, the history of the word may be reconstructed as follows: pres. inf. PIr. **ham-xaiǰyai* > PTK **ham-xéźi*[202] (OKh. v. *haṃkhīś-*) → PT *keś*(*ä*) > TB *keś*, A *kaś*.

TB *KOTO** '± CREVICE, HOLE IN THE GROUND, PIT', KHOT. *GŪHA-* 'FAECES'

Tocharian occurrences

- PK AS 7H b3-4 *waṣe reki no lāre yamanträ tuntse oko*(*sa*) */// nma ṣpä kotaiñ mäskenträ* 'But [if] they love slanderous speech, as a fruit of that ... (on the ground) appear (pebble)s and pits' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- THT 31 a2-3 *kᵤse yikne-ritañ sosoyoṣ weṃṣyetsai ramt kotaisa yarkesa wikṣeñcañ* 'Those who, longing for the [right] way, are satisfied and like from a sewer keep away from veneration' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).
- THT 33 b6-7 *päklautkäṣṣat päst pälskonta weṃṣyetsai ramt kotaimeṃ* 'let [your] thoughts turn away [from it] as from this excrement sewer' (CEToM, Fellner ed.)

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[201] A similar rule seems to have been active also in a certain period of the history of Pashto. Cf. e.g. *bə́n* 'co-wife' < **ha-páϑnī-* (Cheung 2010: 118). I am grateful to C. Bernard for this reference. A similar phenomenon may be observed for Wakhi, cf. the verb *giz-* : *gəzd-* 'to get up' < **ham-xaiǰ-* (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 177).

[202] Unfortunately there seem to be no elements to determine whether at this stage PIr. *x* was still *x* or had already undergone strengthening to become *kh*, as Tocharian *k-* could represent both *x-* or *kh-* in the source language. However, because of *sanapa-*, q.v., the fricative seems more likely.

- THT 42 b5 *laute ka kalloy sāw weṣyetsai kotaiśc om katoytr arwāre : śuwoy katkemane ālisa weṃṣy= eṃntwe mīt śakk· ///* 'She only needed the chance to find a sewer, she wanted to spread out there [and] gladly then eat the dung from the palm of [her] hand (like) honey and sugar ...' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).

Discussion

It is not easy to establish the correct etymology and meaning of TB *koto**. With regard to the semantics, no exact bilingual evidence is available, even though Adams (DoT: 215) seems to imply that in the Karmavibhaṅga passage (PK AS 7H) *koto** could be the translation of Skt. *śvabhra* 'hole, pit'. In fact, the corresponding Sanskrit passage runs as follows:

- *piśunavacanasyākuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena pṛthivyāṃ śarkarakaṭhallyādīni duḥkhasaṃsparśādīni prādurbhavanti. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākena jātivyasanā mitravyasanā bhavanti bhedyaḥ parivāraś ca bhavati.* 'La calomnie est un Sentier-d'Acte mauvais qui a pour conséquence l'apparition sur le sol de cailloux, de gravier, etc, de matières qui font mal quand ont les touche; et en conséquence de cet Acte on a des dissentiments avec les amis, des dissentiments avec les parents, et tout l'entourage est disposé à la désunion' (§LVI in Lévi 1932: 142).

The equation *koto** = *śvabhra* seems to have been first suggested by Lévi (1933: 123), but the textual basis of his claim is not known to me. Sieg (1938: 38) is moderately optimistic ('wohl mit Recht') with regard to this translation, although he notes that, if Lévi is right, the Tocharian version may bear more resemblance with an alternative description of the same act which is extant in the Tibetan version (indicated with T in Lévi 1932). The Tibetan text quoted by Sieg runs as follows (in Lévi's translation):

- 'Si on renonce à la calomnie, grâce à la maturation de cet acte, des gorges et des précipices, et des moiteurs ou des vapeurs qui font vomir ne viennent pas à se produire.' (Lévi 1932: 81).

If one were to take *koto** as corresponding to the 'moiteurs ou vapeur qui font vomir' rather than to the 'gorges et précipices', then a connection with Khot. *gūha-* 'faeces' by way of borrowing may be envisaged. The Tocharian B nom. sg. in *-o** may suggest a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. Because of the preservation of the dental *t* (← **ϑ*),[203] the Old Khotanese stage can safely be excluded. Thus, the borrowing presupposes a source form PTK or PK acc. sg. **gūϑu*. The vowel assimilation *u_o* > *o_o* has probably taken place within Tocharian B and is reminiscent of *o*-umlaut of schwa or **u* as in *klyomo* 'noble' < **ḱleumōn* and *okso* 'ox' < **uksōn*. Cf. also s.v. *cowo**.

This already tentative explanation, however, is made even more difficult by the other three occurrences of the word, which present us with a phrase *weṃṣyetstsa koto**. This expression is normally translated as 'sewer, latrine', on the basis of Lévi's equation with

[203] Cf. the case of Khot. *pīha-* and TB *pito*, q.v.

Skt. *śvabhra* ('hole for the excrements'). TB *weṃṣyetstse** is an adjectival formation built on TB *weṃṣiye* 'excrement'. The substantive is not to be separated from its synonym TB *weṃts*, although their etymology is unknown (Del Tomba 2020: 260). In medical texts, it seems that TB *weṃṣiye* is the exact equivalent of Khot. *gūha-*, cf. e.g. PK AS 3A b3 *kräṅkañe weṃṣiye* 'chicken excrement'[204] and its equivalent LKh. *krriṃgūha-* (< *krriṃga-gūha-*) 'id.' I would tentatively suggest that in this case the expression may mean simply 'excrement' or 'faeces', being a sort of hendiadys formed by an inherited (?) and a borrowed substantive.[205] I would also venture to put forward the hypothesis that this expression may have been formed within a medical environment. Therefore, *koto** may have entered the Tocharian lexicon from the medical jargon.

Results

The Tocharian B substantive *koto**, usually translated as 'hole, pit' on the basis of a difficult equation with Skt. *śvabhra*, may have been borrowed from the PTK or PK acc. sg. **gūϑu*, the antecedent of Khot. *gūha-* 'excrement, faeces'. It is possible that the Tocharian word should be also translated as 'excrement' rather than 'hole, pit'. Alternatively, a semantic shift 'excrement' > 'hole for the excrements' may have taken place within Tocharian. The word may have entered the Tocharian lexicon from the medical jargon.

TB *KONTSO** '?', OKh. *GGAṂJSĀ-* 'FLAW'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 325 a1 *klyiye ṣamānentse asāṃ nātkaṃ āmapi kontsaisa wat mant tsā ///*
  'If a woman knocks against the seat of a monk, or he [raises her up] by both ... ///' (Ogihara 2009: 288)

Discussion

The precise meaning of the difficult hapax *kontsaisa* in THT 325 a1 is not known. Since the nom. sg. can be reconstructed as *kontso**, a possible solution may be to assume that it is a loanword from OKh. *ggaṃjsā-* 'flaw' or the PTK or PK antecedent of it. This would involve an inner-Tocharian late vowel assimilation *a_o* > *o_o*, for which cf. also s.v. *kompo** and *sanapa-* (pres. *sonop-*). The perlative *kontsaisa* could then be tentatively translated as 'by mistake'. This would allow the following translation: 'If a woman knocks against the seat of a monk, or he (will rise [*tsā*(*ṅkaṃ*)]), *āmapi* (= by intention?) by mistake (= transgression)'.

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[204] See also s.v. *kraṅko*.

[205] Alternatively, it may be also possible that the Tocharian word meant 'pit for faeces', by metonymy from a source form meaning simply 'faeces'.

Unfortunately, the hapax *āmapi* is of unclear interpretation. Peyrot (2008: 58) suggested that it could stand for *āntpi* 'both',[206] but the phonological passages required by this interpretation are difficult. In view of this new interpretation of *kontsaisa*, a meaning 'by intention' may be tentatively suggested, even if the word remains unfortunately obscure. It is noteworthy that in Khotanese *ggaṃjsā-* translates Skt. *doṣa* (Suv II: 259). Here the reference may be to Skt. *duṣkṛta*, which appears as a borrowing from Sanskrit in the same line (THT 325 a1 *duṣkär*) and is the general subject of this *vinaya* fragment.

Results

The hapax *kontsaisa* (THT 325 a1) may be tentatively connected to OKh. *ggaṃjsā-* 'flaw' by way of borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. The resulting translation fits the overall context of the text.

TB *KOMPO** '?', OKH. *GGAṂPHA-* 'PLAIN'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 588 a1 (*winamā*)*ñ*ñ*i pyapyaicci wawakāṣ po kompaino ayato eśnaisäñ* 'Flowery pleasure-gardens abloom, all <u>*kompaino*</u> a pleasure to the eyes' (cf. DoT: 216).

Discussion

The Tocharian B hapax *kompaino* is of unknown origin. As remarked by Adams (1999: 202, DoT: 216), the form may be analysed as a plural *kompaiṃ** (< *kompaiñ**, with mobile *-o*) and may point to a nom. sg. *kompo**.[207] Since a nom. sg. in *-o* may easily suggest a loanword from PTK, PK or OKh., I would like to put forward the hypothesis that *kompo** may be connected to the Old Khotanese subst. *ggaṃpha-* 'plain' or '*yojana* (as a measure)' (DKS: 79) by way of borrowing. The two meanings may both fit the Tocharian occurrence: 'Flowery pleasure-gardens abloom, each *yojana*/plain (land) a pleasure to the eyes.' For the assimilation *a_o* > *o_o* in Tocharian B see also s.v. *kontso** and *koro*.

It is questionable that the Tocharian A subst. *kämpo* 'circle (?)', of unknown origin and uncertain meaning (DTTA: 132), may also belong here, as the semantics and the vowel of the first syllable are difficult to reconcile with TB *kompo**.

Results

It is suggested that the Tocharian B hapax *kompo** may be a loanword from the Old Khotanese acc. sg. *ggaṃphu* '*yojana*, plain'. The dating of the borrowing may be posited

[206] Cf. earlier Sieg and Siegling (1953: 209).
[207] Less likely, but also theoretically possible, is the hypothesis of a nom. sg. *kompaino*.

in the PTK, PK or OKh. stage, as no features enable a more precise periodisation. It is difficult to include also TA *kämpo* 'circle (?)' in this group of words.

TB *KORO* 'MULE', OKH. **GGŪRA-* 'WILD ASS' OR OKH. *KHARA-* 'DONKEY'

Discussion

Pinault (2008: 392-3) established the meaning of TB *koro* as 'mule'[208] and put forward the hypothesis that this may be connected to the substrate word **k^{h}ara-* 'donkey' (Lubotsky 2001: 311). Pinault's (l.c.) interpretation involves analogy with *okso* 'ox' for the declension pattern and Umlaut *a_o* > *o_o*.

In view of final *-o*, an alternative derivation from PTK, PK or OKh. may be envisaged. As the substrate word **k^{h}ara-* is also attested in Khotanese as *khara-*, one might put forward the hypothesis of a borrowing from Khotanese as **karo*, which became *koro* through Umlaut (cf. *supra*). Alternatively, a very widespread word for the 'wild ass', or 'onager' is PIr. **gaura-*, for which cf. MP *gōr* (CPD: 37), MSogd. *γwr* (DMSB: 90) and NP *gōr*. Further, one may also compare Ved. *gaurá-* (EWA I: 503), which, however, seems to designate another animal, i.e. the *Bos gaurus*. Since a direct borrowing from Sogdian would leave the final *-o* unexplained, I would suggest that the same word was present also in PTK, although it is not attested in the Khotanese and Tumshuqese text corpus. Accordingly, the PTK source form for TB *koro* may have been an acc. sg. **gōru*.

It is difficult to decide which of these two options is more likely. In fact, both words (**k^{h}ara-* and **gaura-*) are widely attested within Iranian and may have been easily borrowed into Tocharian from Khotanese. However, since the outcome of **gaura-* does not seem to be attested in Khotanese, the first option could have been more probable.

Results

It is suggested that TB *koro* 'mule' may be a from the Khotanese acc. sg. *kharu* 'donkey' (→ TB **karo* > *koro*). Alternatively, it may be a PTK borrowing in Tocharian B, from a reconstructed acc. sg. **gōru*. Although not attested in Khotanese itself, the word represents a widespread designation of the 'wild ass', or 'onager', in Iranian languages.

TB *-KKE*, *-KKA*, *-KKO* (SUFFIX)

Discussion

The most recent treatment of the Tocharian B suffixes *-kke*, *-kka*, *-kko* is to be found in Malzahn (2013: 112-4).[209] Since these suffixes are not frequently attested, it is difficult to

[208] Adams (DoT: 218) prefers 'camel', with reference to Gandh. *kori*. Should the connection with the Gāndhārī word and its meaning 'camel' be correct, the theory presented in this study cannot be considered valid anymore.

[209] Cf. also Pinault (2011: 180-3).

establish their precise function and morphological behaviour. According to the material available, the suffixes are mostly attached to substantives to form other substantives. There is only one assured case of *-kke* attached to an adjective to form another adjective, i.e. TB *larekke** 'dear' (*lare* 'id.'), which occurs in the *Araṇemijātaka* (THT 85 a3) in the form of the voc. sg. m. *larekka*. The meaning of TB *naumikke** (*naumiye* 'jewel') is not clear (DoT: 372 has 'shining', but see Pinault (2011) for a different proposal) and for TB *malyakke* 'youthful (?)' no base is attested.

The function of these suffixes seems to be twofold. On the one hand, two examples show that they were used to form diminutives: TB *tanākko* 'grain seed', from *tāno* 'corn of grain' (see Peyrot 2018b: 257) and perhaps *naumikke** 'little jewel' (Pinault 2011: 182). From the diminutive function, the suffixes may have developed a 'caritative' connotation, like in TB *appakke* 'daddy', from *āppo** 'father'. On the other hand, as shown by the case of TB *yirmakka** '(female) treasurer, measurer',[210] from *yarm* 'measure', the suffix *-kka* is used to form *nomina agentis*. The most widespread use of the suffixes, however, concerns personal names. A preliminary list of these names ending in *-kke* or *-kka* is given in the following:

- *atakke*
- *aṣṭamikka*
- *kuṃñcakke*
- *koñikka*
- *kotaikke* (or *konaikke*?)
- *korakke*
- *capeśakke*/*capiśakke*
- *ñwenakke*
- *pällentakke*
- *puttikka*
- *purnakke*
- *malakke*
- *mäkkokke*
- *yarekke*
- *wärweśakke*
- *wiśikke*

Only two among the names listed above can be tentatively etymologized within Tocharian: *ñwenakke* (*ñuwe* 'new (moon)') and *pällentakke* (*pälle*$_u$* 'full (moon)'). According to Malzahn (2013: 113), the name *aṣṭamikka* may be based on Skt. *aṣṭamī* 'eighth (f.)'. Ching (2010: 432) recognized in *capeśakke* a suffixed form of the name *capeś*, which she convincingly relates to Sogd. *cp'yš* 'general', on which see Yoshida (2004a: 130-2). For *puttikka*, I would like to suggest a tentative connnection with BSogd. *pwt*(*t*)*y* 'Buddha' (Lurje 2010: 313), to which a *ka*-suffix may have been added, either already in

[210] This word is assumed to be of feminine gender on the basis of the female proper name with which it is combined (Malzahn 2013: 113).

Sogdian or directly in Tocharian B.[211] A Sogdian origin may also be tentatively proposed for *wärweśakke*, which I would connect with the element *wyrwys*° in the Sogdian name *wyrwysprn* (Lurje 2010: 426). The Tocharian B palatal *ś*, however, is not expected. Likewise, *purnakke* may conceal the Sogdian adjective *pwrn* 'full', in the sense of 'full (moon)', for which one may compare the proper name *pällentakke* (cf. *supra*).

The Tocharian B proper name *mäkkokke*, attested in SI B Toch 12 a2, deserves a more detailed analysis. I would like to suggest that *mäkkokke* is connected with the Khotanese name *mukauka-*, which occurs in IOL Khot Wood 6 b3, a wooden tablet found in Farhad-Beg-yailaki containing a list of proper names. As the Khotanese name was probably /mu'koka-/, it provides a perfect source form for TB *mäkkokke* (/məkkókke/). The final *-e* instead of the expected *-o* may be another example of inner-Tocharian morphological adaptation (cf. *krāke*). Thus, it can be suggested that the name identified a person from Khotan. As for the etymology of the Khotanese name, M. Peyrot (p.c.) puts forward the hypothesis that it could be based on a loanword from TB *moko* 'elder'. The correspondence between Khotanese *u* and Tocharian B *o* in the first syllable may be parallel to that in OKh. *puka-* 'cubit', a borrowing from TB *poko** 'arm' (KT VI: 197, Tremblay 2005: 444).[212] Thus, TB *o* may have been adapted as OKh. *u* in borrowings from Tocharian B. The possibility that TB *moko* 'elder' could have been borrowed into Khotanese is further backed by the fact that TB *ktsaitstse* 'old' is found in the South of the Tarim basin as a loanword into Niya Prakrit (*kitsayitsa*, see Burrow 1937: 82).

The newly discovered correspondence TB *kk* ~ Khot. *k*, found in the proper name TB *mäkkokke*, allows a fresh examination of the origin of the suffixes *-kke*, *-kka* and *-kko*. It is difficult to posit an Indo-European origin for these suffixes. In fact, the presence of the ending nom. sg. *-o* speaks in favour of a possible PTK, PK or OKh. origin of the suffixes. Moreover, the diminutive function and its use in the formation of *nomina agentis* is directly comparable to its Proto-Iranian (and Khotanese) counterpart **-ka-*. In Khotanese, the *-k-* of this Proto-Iranian suffix is regularly lost in intervocalic position. Therefore, the *ka*-suffix attested in Khotanese, very productive in every stage of the language, may be better explained with Degener (KS: 181) as the product of the strengthening of a *ka*-suffix by means of another *ka*-suffix, i.e. **-ka-ka-* > **-kka-* > *-ka-*.[213] It is therefore suggestive to think that a PTK or PK stage **-kka-* may have been borrowed into Tocharian B as *-kko*. The concurrent forms *-kke* and *-kka* may have been created later

[211] Alternatively, Nicholas Sims-Williams (p.c.) suggests to compare Pkt. *puttī* 'daughter'.

[212] It is worth noting that the OKh. nom.-acc. pl. *puke* (Z 22.124) suggests that *puka-* may have been originally neuter in Khotanese. It is tempting to explain the choice of the neuter gender in Khotanese as due to the Tocharian B ending *-o* of the source form *poko**, which could have been interpreted as the neuter nom.-acc. sg. ending *-u* by Khotanese speakers.

[213] Alternatively, A. Lubotsky (p.c.) suggests also a possible **-ta-ka-* > **-tka-* > **-kka-* > **-ka-*.

within Tocharian B: *-kka* may be the regular feminine couterpart of *-kko* and *-kke* may have been a later morphological adaptation used for adjectives and proper names.[214]

Results

In the discussion above it is suggested that the Tocharian B suffixes *-kke*, *-kka*, *-kko* may have been borrowed from the PTK or PK suffix **-kka-* (< **-ka-ka-*), which had as outcome the Old Khotanese suffix *-ka-*.

TB *KRAṄKO* 'CHICKEN', KHOT. *KṚṄGA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- nom. sg. THT 549 a5 *kukkuṭa* ◆ *kraṅko* '[Skt.] *kukkuṭa*, [Toch.] chicken' (Animals of the zodiac cycle, bilingual Sanskrit-Tocharian, cf. Lüders 1933: 1113).
- com. sg. IOL Toch 127 a1 *postañ̈ñe kr*(*a*)*ṅkaimp*(*a*) ◆ 'Finally with a chicken' (CEToM, Peyrot ed.).
- nom. sg. IOL Toch 871 b3 /// ◆ *kräṅk·* /// 'chicken' [isolated, context broken, see CEToM, Peyrot ed.].
- perl. pl. PK AS 16.8 a4 *śaṅki-y*(*o*)*käṃ kräṅkaiṃtsa* 'With chickens of the colour of a shell (Skt. *śaṅkha*?)'
- adj. *kräṅkañ̈ñe* nom. sg. PK AS 3A b3 *kräṅkañ̈ñe weṃṣiye* ◆ 'Chicken excrement' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- adj. *kräṅkañ̈ñe* W 39 b3 ◆ *kräṅkañ̈ñe yotsa laupe kā*(*tsa*) *yāmu* 'With chicken broth [as] a salve [on] the treated stomach' (DoT: 554).
- adj. *kräṅkaiñ̈ñe* THT 1520 a3 /// [*ge*] *ma kräṅkaiñ̈ñi ṣīmä*[*nta*] *ṣamiñ̈ñe* [*pre*] *ge* – /// '... the roofs (?) pertaining to the chickens ...' (Malzahn 2007: 274; for the text, cf. Peyrot 2014: 145).
- adj. *kräṅkañ̈ñe* W 14 b1 *smur kräṅkañai maikisa kauc caṅkesa kātso* (*sono*)*palya* '*Smur* with chicken broth high over the lap, the stomach [is] to be rubbed' (DoT: 737).

Khotanese occurrences

- In Old Khotanese, it occurs as *kṛṅga-* in the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*, cf. Sgh 51[2] *ne ne ju vara gyasta ne hva'ndä ne banhya o vā kṛṅga vara tto diśo daindä* 'Neither devas, nor men, nor trees or cocks are (seen) there at all' (Canevascini 1993: 24) (Skt. *na vṛkṣā na ca pakṣiṇaḥ janaṃ cātra na paśyāma*), Sgh 214.1 *ttäte tcahaurebästä kūla kṛṅga* 'These twenty-four crores of cocks' (Canevascini

[214] Given the prevalence of Sogdian loanwords among the Tocharian personal names listed above, one could also suggest a likely Sogdian origin for the suffix *-kke* (when used with proper names), as suggested by N. Sims-Williams (p.c.) with reference to Sogd. *-kk*.

1993: 88) (Skt. *te caturviṃśati pakśiṇa-kukkuṭa-koṭyo*), further Sgh 214.4, 214.7, 211.3 (*kṛṃgga*), *-īña*-adj. Sgh. 168.5 acc. sg. *kṛṃggūñu* [*śūnu*] '[In the womb] of hens' (Canevascini 1993: 69) (Skt. *kukkuṭa-yonyā*), Z 22.115 *samu hatärra brāhā kṛngi* 'Only once would the cock rise up' (Emmerick 1968: 307).

- In Late Khotanese, it is attested various times in the *Siddhasāra*; for the subst. cf. Si 17r2 [§3.20.8] *krriṃgä hīya gūśta* 'The flesh of fowl' (Tib. *bya-gag-gi sha*, Skt. *kurkuṭaḥ*), *-īña*-adj. Si 148v4 [§26.30] *krriṃgīñe āha hīvī dalai* 'The shell of a fowl's egg' (Tib. *khyim-byahi sgo-ngahi shun-lpags*, Skt. *dakṣāṇḍa-tvak*), Si 149r1 [§26.31], Si 9r3 [§1.56.8], first member of compound Si 142v4 [§25.11] *krriṃgūha* 'Fowl dung'[215] (Tib. *bya-gag … rtug-pa*, Skt. *dakṣa-viṭ*).
- In the *Jīvakapustaka* it occurs as *kṛiṃga* (JP 73v1), *krriṃga* (JP 93r4) and *krraiga* (JP 52r4).
- Additionally, the word occurs both in the Si and the JP as a first member of a compound meaning 'anus' (for the second member °*rūva* 'orifice' cf. DKS: 367), a translation of Skt. *guda-* and Tib. *gzhang* or *rkub*. The logic of this designation escapes me, as it is difficult to conceive how a compound 'chicken-orifice' should translate simply 'anus'. The occurrences are Si 4v4 [§1.17] *krriṃga-rūvya* (Tib. *gzhang*, Skt. *guda*), Si 101r1 [§13.27] *krriṃga-rūvai* (Tib. *gzhang*, Skt. *guda*), Si 102r4 [§13.35] (Tib. *gzhang*, Skt. *guda*), Si 103r1 [§13.39] (Tib. *rkub*, Skt. *guda*), Si 121v4-5 *krreṃga-rūvya*, JP 56v4 *kṛaiga-rūvya*, JP 67r4 *kṛiṃga-rūviṃ*.
- Other occurrences are IOL Khot 159/6 b3 *krriṃ*[*ga*], IOL Khot 193/9 *krriṅga*, IOL Khot S. 2.39 *krraga*, BM OA 1919.1-1.0177.1-3 fol. 8 r1 *krriga*, KT II 45.1, 7, 63 *krriṃgä*, Or. 11252/1 r12 *krregä*, P 2893.164 *krregä*, P 2893.163 *krreṃgä*, P 2893.165 *krreṃga*, P 2891.20 *krraigä*, M1 r1 *krraiga*.

Discussion

Thanks to bilingual evidence in Khotanese and Tocharian, it is possible to determine with certainty the semantic range of both words, which refer generally to 'chicken', probably both male and female. The origin of the Tocharian word seems undisputed. It should derive from a nasalized variant of the widely attested PIE (onomatopoeic) root **krek-*, **kerk-* (Greek *κρέξ* 'ruff' [Beekes 2010: 776], Ved. *kṛka-vā́ku-* 'cock' [EWA I: 388], Av. *kahrka-tāt-* 'cock' [AIW: 452] and NP *kark* 'id.'). As noted by Adams (DoT: 229), the same nasalized variant may occur in Germanic (cf. Old Norse *hrang* 'noise').

However, except for Khotanese, no Indo-European language once spoken in the proximity of the Tocharian-speaking area has a form with a nasal like Tocharian. In addition, Khotanese seems to be the only Iranian language to have developed a nasal. It would be then quite natural to try to explain the similarities between the Tocharian and

[215] With haplology. On the compound, see also Degener (1987: 32).

the Khotanese form as due to contact. However, it is hard to establish the direction of borrowing. In his Tocharian B dictionary, Adams (DoT: 229) seems to have no doubts in stating that the word is a Tocharian borrowing in Khotanese. Del Tomba (2020: 141 fn. 205) is more cautious and admits that both borrowing directions may be possible. In fact, if the word had been borrowed into Khotanese from Tocharian, one would have expected the second unvoiced *-k-* to be preserved as such, and not to undergo voicing to *-g-*, as shown by OKh. *kṛṅga-*. Normally, it seems that in Khotanese the cluster *-ṅk-*, at least in Indian loanwords, remains unchanged and does not undergo any voicing. One may compare the following cases:

- OKh. *ahaṃkārä mamaṃkāri* (Z 4.77) < Skt. *ahaṃkāra-*, *mamaṃkāra-*.
- OKh. *saṃkalpa* (Z 4.109) < Skt. *saṃkalpa-*.
- OKh. *saṃkāśi* (Z 23.135) < Skt. *saṃkāśa-*.
- LKh. *pāpaṃkārä* (Ja 16r4) < Skt. *pāpamkāra-* (?).
- LKh. *dīpaṃkarä* (Ja 23v1) < Skt. *dīpaṃkara-*.
- LKh. *sūtrālaṃkārä-śāstri* (IOL Khot S. 5.6) < Skt. *sūtrālaṃkāra-śāstra-*.
- LKh *prrabaṃkara* (P 3513.24v2) < Skt. *prabhaṃkara-*.

However, Khotanese word-formation shows that *-k-* after nasal could undergo voicing, both in primary and in secondary contact, cf. *haṃggār-* 'to draw together' (SGS: 137) < **ham-kāra-* and *haṃgga-* 'total' < **hama-ka-*. This is in favour of a Tocharian derivation, but only if the borrowing took place at a very old stage, i.e. before Sanskrit loanwords began to enter Khotanese.

Unproblematic would seem the opposite borrowing direction, i.e. Khotanese → Tocharian, with usual unvoicing of Khotanese *-g-*. The Tocharian nominative in *-o* would square with other known cases of Khotanese borrowings in Tocharian (cf. *supra*). As no particular PTK or PK features are to be detected, the dating of the borrowing is difficult to establish. Because of the ending *-o*, a *terminus ante quem* should be the Old Khotanese period. However, one should also bear in mind that the form, being probably onomatopoeic, may display phonological irregularities.[216]

Additionally, archeological findings seem to point to the fact that the domestic chicken originated in South East Asia and only later spread westwards (Mallory 2015: 18). This may speak in favour of the hypothesis that the word could have been borrowed into Tocharian from a neighbouring language.

Results

TB *kraṅko* and Khotanese *kṛṅga-* are probably related through borrowing. However, the direction of borrowing is admittedly difficult to determine. From the phonological point

[216] Among these irregularities, one may also note that initial *kr-* does not immediately point to a native Khotanese formation, as one would perhaps expect more easily ***gṛṅga-*. In this case, the possibility that the word could have been also borrowed into Khotanese from another unknown language of the area cannot be excluded with certainty.

of view, borrowing from Khotanese into Tocharian seems more likely. In this case TB *kraṅko* may have been borrowed from the OKh. (or PK or PTK) acc. sg. *kṛṅgu*.

TB *KRAK-* 'TO BE DIRTY'

Tocharian occurrences

- *krākṣtär* PK AS 7M b1 (doctrinal, *Karmavibhaṅga*)

Discussion[217]

As reported by Adams (DoT: 229), the meaning 'to be dirty' for TB *krak-* was suggested by Peyrot (*apud* Malzahn 2010: 612) on the basis of the substantive TAB *krāke*, q.v., a borrowing from Late Khotanese, from which the verb is derived. The passage in question, which refers to poor, blurred eyesight, seems to justify such an interpretation.

Results

The verb *krak-* 'to be dirty' is derived from *krāke* 'dirt', a borrowing from Late Khotanese, within Tocharian.

TB *KRĀKE* 'DIRT, FILTH', KHOT. *KHĀRGGA-* 'MUD'

Tocharian occurrences

- A *krāke* nom. sg.? A 211 a1, a3, THT 2494 a2, nom.pl. *krākeyäntu* THT 2401 a3, obl. pl. *krākes* A 152 a4 (all literary texts).
- B *krāke* gen. sg. IOL Toch 4 *kr*(*ā*)*ke*(*t*)*s*(*e*) (doctrinal), IOL Toch 262 b4 (literary), PK NS 49B a2 (doctrinal, *karmavibhaṅga*), THT 7 a7; b2 (doctrinal), THT 159 b6 (*abhidharma*), THT 221 b4 (literary), THT 334 b1 (literary, *vinaya*, here it may refer to sperm [Peyrot 2013: 694]), THT 388 a6, THT 408 b6 (both literary in THT 408 in the expression *kleśanmaṣṣe krāke*, 'the filth due to *kleśas*'), THT 522 a4 (doctrinal), THT 537 b5 (doctrinal), THT 1118 (vinaya, *snai krāke* 'unstained'), THT 1192 a6 (literary, *cmelṣe krāke* 'the filth pertaining to rebirth'), THT 1227.a a3 (literary, very fragmentary), THT 1258 a4 (literary), THT 2227 b1 (literary), W2 a6 (only occurrence in a medical text, *ratre krāke* 'the red filth').

The Tocharian A form is probably borrowed from Tocharian B.

Khotanese occurrences

- OKh. *khārggu* acc. sg. Z 19.53.

[217] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

- OKh. *khārggä* nom. sg. IOL Khot 150/3 r4 (*Bodhisattva-compendium*, KMB: 337).
- OKh. *khārja* loc. sg. Z 5.90 (*kho ju ye viysu thaṃjäte khārja* 'as one pulls a lotus out of the mud').
- LKh. *khā'ja* loc. sg. P 4099.355 (*sa khu vaysa khā'ja sūrai* 'just like the clean lotus in the mud').
- LKh. *khā'je* loc. sg. Si 136v3, 136v4 (in both cases tr. of Skt. *kardama-*), P 4099.278 (*sa khu veysa khā'je sūrai* 'just like the clean lotus in the mud').
- LKh. *khāje* loc. sg. P 4 12r4 (*Adhyardhaśatikā*, see SDTV I: 29).
- LKh. *khāji* loc. sg. P4 12r4-5 (*Adhyardhaśatikā*, see SDTV I: 29).
- LKh. *kheja* loc. sg. (with further fronting of *-ā-*) *Jātakastava* 27v4.
- LKh. *khājaña-* loc. sg. (see SGS: 262 for the ending) *Jātakastava* 23v2.

Discussion[218]

It seems that the first scholar who proposed that Tocharian B *krāke* is borrowed from Old Khotanese *khārgga-* was Van Windekens (1949). Isebaert (1980: §180) does not find the derivation convincing and suggests an Indo-European origin for the Tocharian word. His main criticism to Van Windekens' proposal is based on morphological arguments. According to him, Middle Iranian loanwords never receive the masculine ending *-e*. Whereas Bailey's Dictionary (DKS: 74) does not seem to take note of the possibility of a loanword, Tremblay (2005: 433) returns to Van Windekens' proposal and reports it without any further comment.

The Khotanese word is formed from the Proto-Iranian root **xard-* 'to defecate'[219] to which the suffix *-ka-* has been attached (KS: 181), resulting in **xardaka-*. In order to obtain the attested forms, one has to assume a series of metatheses which took place very early, at least earlier than the sound change *-rd-* > *-l-* in Khotanese: **xardaka-* > **xadraka-* > **xadarka-*. This might have been the base for Yidgha *xəlarγo* (from a feminine **xadarkā-*, EVSh: 79) and Khotanese *khārgga-*, through loss of intervocalic *-d-* and voicing of *-k-*.

Given the specificity of the formation, if the word is a borrowing, it cannot come but from Khotanese. After all, it seems that Khotanese 'mud' refers to the same semantic areas of Tocharian 'dirt' and 'filth'.[220] A possibility to be discussed is whether the Khotanese form could have undergone in Tocharian a further metathesis to become *krāke*. Given the fact that such metatheses are without parallels within Tocharian, it is more likely that the Tocharian word is based on a Khotanese variant form **grāga-*,[221]

[218] This word study has been published in Dragoni (2021).

[219] See EDIV: 444. The verb is attested in Khotanese with preverb as *saṃkhal-* (SGS: 130).

[220] As noted by M. Maggi (p.c.), Skt. *kardama-* covers the whole semantic spectrum, see MW: 258 'mud, slime, mire, clay, dirt, filth'.

[221] Or, rather, **khrāga-*, as the metathesis is likely to have happened *after* **xr-* > /γr-/ <gr> (N. Sims-Williams, p.c.).

which could have been issued from *khārgga-* already in the Old Khotanese period. Such variants are documented e.g. by the survival of both OKh. *grāma-* and *garma°* (in compounds) for 'hot' (PIr. **garma-*). The final *-e* may be taken as an indicator of the late date of the borrowing into Tocharian (cf. perhaps also *eśpe°*, another medical term), against nom. sg. *-o* regular in PTK, PK or OKh. loanwords, but it remains difficult to explain.

Results

TB *krāke*, borrowed into TA as *krāke*, can be analysed as a Late Khotanese borrowing into Tocharian. It can be surmised that the source form was an unattested variant **grāga-* of the frequent Khotanese substantive *khārgga-*, with the meaning 'mud' (tr. Skt. *kardama*). The Tocharian B nom. sg. in *-e* should perhaps be taken as an indicator of the late date of the borrowing, but it remains difficult.

TAB *KRĀSO* 'TORMENT', LKH. *GR(R)AYSA-* 'TORMENT'

Tocharian occurrences

- A 66 a1 *tanäk ṣurmaṣ täṣ ñi krāso kakmu* 'For this reason, torment has come to me' (cf. DTTA: 171)
- A 66 a4 *caṣ näṣ krāso cu ṣurmaṣ pältsäṅkātsi* 'In order to think about my torment for your sake' (cf. DTTA: 171).
- PK AS 17J b5 *nem(c)ek · – cwi maiyyane se cwi ypoytse krāso päst wikātär* || 'Certainly, ... by his power this torment of his country will disappear' (cf. Peyrot 2013: 666).
- PK NS 31 and 294 b6 */// eṃṣke lāṅk-riṣṣi krāso tākañc kloṣ totka :* '... if some people of Laṅkā town have brought torment[222] to you' (cf. also CEToM, G.-J. Pinault, H. Fellner eds.)
- THT 283.a b6 */// pälyśalyñene ket krāso yäkt-añm {m}entsi ///* '... who in penance [has?] torment, feebleness, grief ...'
- THT 386 b4 */// kalṣäṃ krāso anaiktai* 'he endures an unknown torment' (DoT: 231).
- THT 512 b1 */// (te)ki mentsi krasonta proskai ///* 'sickness, grief, torments, fear' (DoT: 231).

Khotanese occurrences

- Sudh 286-7 *vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau' jsa grrayse dūāha . gara kaicai raha'kṣajsā jsa grrayse strrahai'* '(It is) hurtful, dangerous because of guarding yakṣas (and) nāgas, (there are) terrible mountain clefts, hard because of rakṣasas' (De Chiara 2013: 127).

[222] For the translation 'torment' here and in the examples above, cf. the discussion *infra*.

- Sudh 51 *grraysya harahausta ca pha patsyauda kṣīra* 'Frightened (and) dispossessed, [^{C}pitiful, helpless^{C}] [^{P}many (were) those who abandoned the country^{P}]' (De Chiara 2013: 63).
- Cf. also Mañj 308-9 and 313 and the verb *grays-āñ-* in JP (DKS: 92).[223]

Discussion

The Late Khotanese adjective *gr(r)aysa-* is often translated as 'wild' (Bailey) or 'terrible' (De Chiara). Apart from Bailey's proposal (DKS 91-2), which could not stand closer scrutiny, no assured etymology has been found yet. This discussion will try to prove that the Khotanese word is connected with TAB *krāso* 'vexation, torment' by way of borrowing from Old Khotanese into Tocharian B. Firstly, the occurrences of TAB *krāso* and derivatives of the same noun will be examined. The second subchapter will deal with the Khotanese occurrences of *graysa-* and a possible etymological connection will be proposed. The third section will clarify the possible borrowing path into Tocharian B.

TAB *krāso* and derivatives

The subst. TB *krāso*, borrowed into Tocharian A, is normally analysed as a deverbal noun from the verb TB *krasa-* A *krāṣäyñ-*. There is no bilingual evidence available for this verb, but a survey of the most important occurrences (DoT: 231, DTTA: 171) shows that a translation 'to annoy, vex (tr.)' or 'be annoyed (intr.)' seems appropriate.

Peyrot (2013: 741 fn. 163) reconstructs PT **kras-* with the *caveat* that 'with the few diverging forms from productive patterns no reconstruction is feasible.' Van Windekens (1941: 45, VW: 234) first connected the verb with Lith. *grasà* 'Drohen, Androhung, Strenge, strenge Zucht, Disziplin' (LEW I: 166). This would imply an ultimate connection with Lat. *frendō* and PG **grindan* 'to grind'. This solution, however, has formal problems (Hilmarsson 1996: 176) and has not been upheld by any other scholar. Alternatively, Schmidt (1982: 371-2) tried to argue for a relation with the Greek verb κορέννυμι 'to satiate, fill, be satiated' (Beekes 2010: 751), but, apart from the formal problems (Hilmarsson 1996: 176), it is difficult to see a semantic connection between the two forms.

The latest proposal was put forward by Hilmarsson (1991: 146, 1996: 177). It implies a connection with PG **hrōzjan* 'to touch, move, stire (v.)' and **hrōza-* 'motile (adj.)', which Kroonen (2013: 250) takes as a possible outcome of PIE **ḱroH-s-*°. It is not impossible that verbs of movement may be taken to express 'anger' *vel sim.* (cf. e.g. Av. *aēšma-* 'anger', Khot. *oysa-* 'id.'). The main criticism to Hilmarsson's theory lies in the fact that 'anger' does not seem to be the central semantic connotation of *krāso*. In fact, 'torment, grief, lament' would fit more precisely all the available occurrences.

[223] These occurrences will be the object of a detailed investigation in the future.

LKh. *graysa-* and *graysāñ-*

As it has been outlined in the discussion above, no satisfactory etymology for TAB *krāso* has been found yet. Therefore, it seems justified to try to explain the word as a loanword from a neighbouring language, for which Khotanese presents us with a suitable candidate. In fact, Late Khotanese has an adjective *gr*(*r*)*aysa-* occurring in the Sudh and in the Mañj. The occurrences in the Sudh were initially translated by Bailey (DKS: 91-2) as 'wild', having in mind a possible connection with OCS *groza* 'horror', Greek *γοργός* 'fierce, terrible' and PCelt. **gargo-* 'rough' (as per IEW: 353). This alleged root, however, seems to have no parallels within the Indo-Iranian branch. Moreover, recent research has shown the inconsistencies of such a reconstruction. The OCS word seems to be isolated within Slavic (Derksen 2008: 191), the Greek one is of uncertain interpretation (Beekes 2010: 283) and the Celtic adjective has been tentatively explained as an onomatopoeic word (Matasović 2009: 151). LKh. *gr*(*r*)*aysa-*, therefore, is in need of a new etymological analysis.

I would like to suggest that LKh. *gr*(*r*)*aysa-* is connected with the Proto-Iranian root **garź-* (**garz-* in Cheung's notation, cf. EDIV: 111-2) 'to lament, weep'. The meaning 'to complain, torment' is assured e.g. by Bactrian *γιρζ-* (Sims-Williams 2007: 207), NP *gilah* 'complaint, lamentation' and Oss. I *qast* 'complaint, grief' (EDIV: 112). It seems that two forms are attested in Late Khotanese, one with a final *-ya* (Sudh, Mañj) and one without (only Sudh), i.e. *gr*(*r*)*aysa-* and *gr*(*r*)*aysya-*.

Emmerick (*apud* KS: 248) explains *gr*(*r*)*aysya-* as the Late Khotanese outcome of an Old Khotanese ptc. **graysäta-*, but his etymological connection with Skt. *karj-* 'to pain, torment', a verb of uncertain origin ('unklar' according to Mayrhofer, cf. EWA III: 67), cannot explain the phonological shape of the Khotanese word, even if we admit the possibility of an Indic loanword. On the other hand, De Chiara (2014: 180) sought to explain *gr*(*r*)*aysya-* as a *-ia* adjective derived from *gr*(*r*)*aysa-* with the meaning 'terrified, cruel'. In this case, however, it is hard to explain why the suffix *-ia* did not cause palatalization of /z/. *gr*(*r*)*aysa-* is tentatively explained by De Chiara (2014: 180) as an adjective, presumably from a verb *grays-** (the attested *grays-āñ-* is quoted). It is not impossible that *a*-derivatives from the present stem of Khotanese verbs yield an adjective (KS: 3-4). Much more regularly, however, they should be substantives. This reasoning may have been possibly at the base of Degener's (KS: 5) hesitation in translating *gr*(*r*)*aysa-* as 'Schrecken' or 'schrecklich'.

In the light of the new etymological connection made above, it is possible to re-examine with new eyes this intricate question. The existence of a verb **garys-* (< PIr. **garź-*), which became *grays-** by metathesis already in Old Khotanese,[224] is now likely. Emmerick's synchronic explanation *gr*(*r*)*aysya-* as an *-äta-* ptc. is to be preferred for phonological reasons (cf. *supra*). One could thus reconstruct an Old Khotanese verb *grays-** with a ptc. *graysäta-** which was created secondarily instead of the regularly

[224] For this type of metathesis, with or without previous lengthening, cf. e.g. PIr. **garma-* > OKh. *grāma-* 'hot'.

expected **grasṭa-.[225] The meaning would be 'tormented, afflicted'. As for *gr(r)aysa-*, its low number of occurrences (only twice in the Sudh) might suggest a possible mistake for *gr(r)aysya-*. However, the readings are very clear and are supported by the manuscripts C (Ch 00266) and P (P 2025), which represent together the most reliable branch of the *Stemma codicum* of the Sudh (De Chiara 2013: 9). Therefore, this possibility has to be rejected. The easiest way to account for *gr(r)aysa-* would be to consider it a nominal derivative of *grays-* and translate it as 'grief, torment' (subst., not adj.). In fact, this translation seems to fit very well the passage in which it occurs. The ending *-e* may stand for older *-ä* of the nom. sg. m. Therefore, I would propose the following translation for the passage in question: '(It is) a dangerous torment because of guarding yakṣas (and) nāgas; the mountain clefts (are) a hard torment because of the rakṣasas'.[226]

TAB *krāso* as a loanword from Old Khotanese

As already outlined above, *krāso* is normally considered as a deverbal noun from the corresponding verb TB *krasa-* A *krāṣäyñ-*. Contrarywise, I would like to suggest that first TB *krāso* was borrowed from the Khot. acc. sg. *graysu* and a denominal verb was formed. Subsequently, TB *krāso* was borrowed also into Tocharian A and another denominal verb was created from the substantive. As remarked by M. Peyrot (p.c.), both verbs follow productive patterns: that of Tocharian B could be denominal,[227] and that of Tocharian A certainly needs to be. My main argument to take the verbs to be derived from the noun is that, as indicated by Peyrot (2013), no Proto-Tocharian stem pattern can be reconstructed. The borrowing may be dated in the Old Khotanese period or immediately before, to account for final *-o* (not later than Old Khotanese) and the Old Khotanese metathesis **gar-* > *gra-*. The semantics do not seem to present us with any relevant problem.

Results

LKh. *gr(r)aysa-* 'torment' and *gr(r)aysya-* 'frightening' are best explained respectively as a subst. from a verb *grays-** and a ptc. *graysäta-* from the same verb. The ultimate origin of this verb may be sought in PIr. **garǰ-* 'to lament, weep'. LKh. *gr(r)aysa-* 'torment' was further borrowed into Tocharian B during the early Old Khotanese period. Successively, the Tocharian B substantive was also borrowed into Tocharian A. Two denominal verbs were formed independently on the basis of this substantive both in Tocharian A and B.

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[225] The reason for the creation of this secondary past ptc. may be connected with the later initial metathesis, so that the original **garys- : **garṣta-* was lost and the newly created *grays-* was given a later, secondary past ptc.

[226] In this case, also a nom. pl. could fit: '(There are) dangerous torments because of guarding yakṣas and nāgas; the mountain clefts (are) hard torments because of the rakṣasas' (Alessandro Del Tomba, p.c.).

[227] The only unclear point would be the *iya*-preterite in TB, for which I have no explanation at present.

TB *cowo** (IN *cowai tərka-* 'TO ROB'), LKH. *dyūka-* 'ROBBER'

Tocharian occurrences

- PK DA M 507.32 a8 *taiseṃ terisa* (*c*)*owai carka* 'he robbed in such a way' (cf. also Ching 2010: 227).
- PK DA M 507.32 a9 *ñakta ce cowai carka tu mā pälskanaṃ* 'Oh lord! What he has seized (lit. 'robbed'), he does not think (about its value)' (Ching 2010: 227).
- THT 17 b1-2 (parallel THT 15 a8) *aiśamñe spaktā*(*ṃ*) *ślek ompalskoññe cowai ram no tärkanaṃ-me*[228] *pälskoṣṣana krentauna* 'Reason, [eagerness] to serve, also meditation, the spiritual virtues he steals from them as it were' (Meunier 2013: 168).
- THT 22 a2-4 *tu yparwe w*(*e*)*ña ślok pudnäkte l*(*āntäśco*) *c*(*owai tär*)*k*(*a*)*n*(*aṃ*) *ś*(*aumo*) *kos* (*c*)*wi* (*rittetär tumeṃ no a*)*l*(*y*)*ai*(*k*) (*c*)*owai tärknaṃ cowaicce : cowai tärkauca cowai tärkau mäske*(*tär 6*)*5 ṣñār ekñentasa soytsi lāñco mā campe*(*ṃ : co*)*wai tärkan*(*aṃ ypauna*) *k*$_{u}$(*ṣ*)*aino alyeṅkäts* 'Thereupon the Buddha spoke this strophe to the king: If it suits him the man will rob, (but then) others rob the one robbing, the robber becomes the one robbed. [65d] Of each of their own possessions kings are not able to be satiated, [so] they rob the (lands) [and] villages of others' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).
- THT 33 a4-5 *lyśi no alyeṅkäṃs cowai tärkanaṃ* 'Thieves rob them from others, too' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).
- THT 255 b3-4 *isälyäntse ṣṣertwentsā cowai käntwa tärkänaṃ* 'With the incitement of jealousy, they take away [his] tongue' (DoT: 724).
- THT 1859 a1 *cowai tärkananträ* '[They] steal' (Huard 2020: 20-1, 25).
- THT 3596 b3 *cowai tärknan* 'They rob'

Discussion

As evident from the occurrences above, TB *cowai* is to be found only in the collocation *cowai tərka-* 'to rob'. Regarding the semantics, bilingual evidence is available from the occurrence in THT 22, a fragment of the Udānālaṅkāra which quotes *verbatim* Uv 9.9: *vilumpate hi puruṣo yāvad asyopakalpate | tato 'nye taṃ vilumpanti sa viloptā vilupyate* (Bernhard 1965: 172).[229] The correspondence Skt. *vi-lup-* 'to seize, rob' ~ Toch. *cowai tərka-* can thus be established. The origin of the word, however, seems to be debated and no consensus has been reached among scholars as for its etymology.

Adams (DoT: 277), after having recognized that the etymology is 'uncertain',[230] reports two proposals, one by Van Windekens (VW: 253) and the other by Hilmarsson

[228] For manuscript *tärkanaṃ-ne*.

[229] 'Es raubt ein Mensch soviel, wie ihm gefällt; dann nehmen's ihm die anderen weg – der Räuber wird beraubt' (Hahn 2007: 40). See also Thomas (1969: 315) and Penney (1989: 65-6).

[230] 'Unclear' also for Hilmarsson (1986: 38).

(indicated as a p.c. to Adams). Whereas Van Windekens' derivation can be safely discarded, as it implies an improbable borrowing from Tocharian A, Hilmarsson's connection with the Germanic word for 'thief', **þeuba-*, should be seriously considered. However, a closer scrutiny reveals that also this hypothesis is problematic. On the one hand, PG **þeuba-* is itself of unclear origin (Kroonen 2013: 539). On the other hand, it is questionable whether PIE **p* (> PG **b*) may yield Toch. *w*, as this is a variant of *p* only in Late Tocharian B (Peyrot 2008: 90). Therefore, this proposal does not stand on solid ground.

Given the possibility of setting up a nom. sg. *cowo** on the basis of the seemingly frozen obl. sg. *cowai*, it seems justified to investigate the possibility of borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. Indeed, Khotanese seems to present us with a possible source form. A word for 'robber' in LKh. is *dyūka-* (DKS: 166). It is attested in a Late Khotanese rendering of the famous Buddhist parable of the six senses, which are compared to six thieves in a village, according to Bailey (l.c.). The Late Khotanese text (KBT: 56 20r2-3), being the first part of the simile, runs as follows: *ttyi herä prracaina cu maṃ kṣa 'idre tti ttrāṃä māñaṃdä ṣṭāri khu śīña vyahera kṣa dyūka himārai* 'For this reason, regarding the six senses, they resemble the six robbers in one *vihāra*' (cf. also Bailey 1977: 155). The same simile is also attested in Z 6.24: *ttarandari āvuī māñandä rraysvai indriya trāma . kho ju hamäña āvuvo' ttāṣe' kṣäta ni śśūjīye bvāre .* 'The body is like an empty village. Like thieves in the same village, so the six senses do not perceive one another' (Emmerick 1968: 121). Here the '*vihāra*' is substituted by 'village' and the word for 'thief' is the more frequently attested *ttāṣe'*. The same terminology is also to be met with in the version of the simile contained in the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (§5.7): *o kho ṣä āvū ˣtcamäña kṣäṣa' ttāṣe' ā're.* 'Or like that village in which six thieves dwell' (Suv I: 77, cf. also §5.4). The Sanskrit version has here *grāma* for *āvū* and *caura* for *ttāṣe'* (Suv I: 76).

Whereas the connection with *dyūma-* (DKS: 166) is no more acceptable (KS: 94), this term for 'robber' is not to be separated from OKh. *ḍyūla-* 'deception' (Z 4.5). According to Bailey, both substantives could be derived from the same root PIr. **dab-* 'to deceive' (EDIV: 42). As for the semantic development 'to deceive' > 'to rob', this is paralleled by Wakhi *δьıv(ьı)y-* : *δovoyd-* 'to steal' < **dābaya-* (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 168) What is not clear, is the precise derivational path from Proto-Iranian to Khotanese. Degener proposes, quite enigmatically, **dab-yu-ka-* for *dyūka-* (KS: 47) and **dab-ya-la-* for *dyūla-* (KS: xxxiv). As no suffix *yu* is attested in Khotanese, I would suggest that **dab-yu-ka-* should be corrected to **dab-ya-ka-*(*ka-*). The peculiar initial cluster *dy-* I would explain as the result of a metathesis: **dab-ya-* > **dawya-* > **daywa-* > **dyūa-*. This last development is paralleled by the Khotanese word for 'demon', i.e. PIr. **daiwa-* > OKh. *dyūa-*.

I would like to put forward the proposal that a form **dyūa-* 'stealing' may be identified as the source form of TB *cowo**, through the acc. sg. PK **dyūwu*. See s.v. *tsuwo** and *kāswo* for adaptations of Khotanese *ua*-stems in Tocharian B. For the Tocharian B

assimilation **u_o* > *o_o*, see s.v. *koto**. A form with an additional *ka*-suffix is attested in LKh. *dyūka-* 'robber' (cf. *supra*).[231]

Results

TB *cowai* is attested only in the collocation TB *cowai tərka-* 'to rob'. As it can be analysed as a frozen acc. sg. from a nom. sg. *cowo**, I put forward the proposal that it may be a loanword from PK. The source form is identified in the PK acc. sg. *dyūwu*, from PIr. **dab-ya-* 'stealing' (cf. LKh. *dyūka-* 'robber').

TB *COSPĀ*, TQ. *CAZBĀ-*, NIYA PKT. *COZBO*

Tocharian occurrences

- A 302 b8 (*co*)*spā* ◆ *śeri* ◆ *kāttuṃ tarmots lārat* (...)*kiñ·ā elāk parno ākk·āc hkutteṃ-wām parnots nā*(*śi*) 'Cospā Śeri Qatun, the righteous Lārat [...] Elläg, the honorable Aq[.]āc, Xutēn-βām, the honorable la[dy ...' (Tremblay 2005: 429).
- A 303 b1 /// *cospā wräntār mäkkottsi ślak re$_u$wänt n$_u$nak oppal* 'Cospā Vryantar, Mäkkot/ntsi as well as Rēw-βant and also Oppal' (Tremblay 2005: 429).

Discussion

The Tocharian A title *cospā* occurs twice in the colophon of the fourth act of the Tocharian Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka. It seems that the first scholar to connect TA *cospā* with its Tumshuqese and Niya Prakrit equivalents was Bailey, who probably also proposed the restoration (*co*)*spā* in A 302 (Bailey 1947: 149, 1949: 127). Different hypotheses on its etymology have been put forward. Whereas Bailey's (1949: 127) derivation from the 'satrap' word (OP *xšaçapāvan-* < **xšaϑra-pā-wan-*) seems at best quite far-fetched on phonological grounds, Henning's (1936: 12 fn. 6) hypothesis seems to have not met any criticism (Tremblay 2005: 429). Henning compared Tq. *cazbā-* with OAv. *cazdōŋhuuant-* (Y31.3 *cazdōṇŋhuuadəbiiō*, Y44.5 *cazdōṇghuuaṇtəm*) and reconstructed a nom. sg. OIr. **čazdahwāh* > **čazdawāh* > **čazdwāh* > Tq. *cazbā-*.

Both Tremblay and Henning, however, seem to tacitly accept the irregular change implied by this derivation, in which PIr. *č* is not depalatalized to Tq. /ts/ but kept as /c/. The survival of the palatal without apparent palatalization triggers may rather suggest two alternative scenarios: a. if Henning's derivation is correct, the word may be a loanword into Tocharian A, Niya Prakrit and Tumshuqese from an unknown Iranian language; Tumshuqese, Khotanese and even Bactrian (Gholami 2014: 37) are excluded because of the initial palatal. b. the word may belong to a fourth unknown, non-Iranian

[231] An alternative solution may see a connection with a nominal form of the verb MSogd. *cf-* 'to steal' through borrowing. Sogdian loanwords, however, never receive the ending nom. sg. *-o* in Tocharian B.

language of the area. As OAv. *cazdōŋhuuaṇt-* is still of uncertain interpretation[232] and the Tumshuqese word does not show a recognizable Iranian structure, I would like to suggest that the second option may be the most likely.

Another difficult problem involves the exact provenance of the borrowing into Tocharian A. A Tumshuqese origin, as argued by Tremblay (2005: 430)[233] may seem very likely for geographical reasons, although at least one of the two names associated with *cospā* in the colophon (cf. *supra*) is Turkish.[234] Moreover, the vocalism of *cospā* is difficult to evaluate. The first vowel is closer to Niya Prakrit, while the *ā* of the second syllable is puzzling. If the word is a loanword from Tumshuqese, a very tentative solution may be to take the final *ā* as a TA adaptation of the Tq. gen. sg. *-ā*. This proposal, however, appears quite arbitrary.

The usage of the word in Tocharian A, at any rate, is very different from that observed in Tumshuqese and Niya Prakrit. While in these two languages the word was part of the official language and denoted a specific position in the administration, the only two occurrences in Tocharian A in a colophon point to the fact that the word was simply taken over from a foreign language in strict connection with the proper name of the person who was bearing the title.

Results

TA *cospā*, Tq. *cazbā-* and Niya Pkt. *cozbo* likely reflect a borrowing from a fourth unknown language of the area. A native Khotanese, Tumshuqese or Bactrian derivation is probably to be excluded.

TB *TĀNO* 'SEED, GRAIN', KHOT. *DĀNĀ-* 'ID.'

Discussion

The reader is referred to the ample treatment of TB *tāno* 'seed, grain' in Peyrot (2018b: 257-9). Following Peyrot's (2018b: 258) suggestion that the word may be a loanword from Iranian, I would like to put forward the hypothesis that it may be a borrowing from PTK,

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[232] The etymology of the Old Avestan word was treated by Pirart (1984: 48), who put forward the hypothesis that it may be connected with Ved. *cano-dhā́-* 'gnädigt, geneigt' (EWA I: 528). However, this proposal has been explicitly rejected by Werba (1986: 356-7) and criticised by Tremblay (2005: 429 fn. 37). Another argument in favour of the second scenario is the apparent absence of the word in Khotanese: if inherited, it would be strange to find it only in Tumshuqese and not also in Khotanese.

[233] Tremblay further argues that the word has ultimately a 'Śaka' origin, but this is very hard to prove with a sufficient degree of certainty.

[234] The second name connected with the title *cospā* is *wräntār*. Tremblay's (2005: 430) tentative comparison with PIr. **friya-* as attested e.g. in the Tq. name *brika* (...), of which *wräntār* would reflect the comparative, i.e. a hypothetical Khot. **bryāntara-*, cannot stand closer scrutiny. In fact, the initial would have been probably *p* in Tocharian and not *w*.

PK or OKh., in view of the final *-o*. The source form would thus be an acc. sg. *dāno*. A further specification of the chronology is not possible because of the lack of distinguishing features. Another argument in favour of a Khotanese connection may be sought in the occurrence of a form *tanākko*, enlarged with the suffix *-kko*, which could be of Khotanese origin (see s.v.).[235]

Results

TB *tāno* 'seed' may be a borrowing from the PTK, PK or OKh. acc. sg. *dāno* (OKh. *dānā-*). No further distinguishing features allow a more precise periodisation.

TB *TAPATRIŚ* 'TRAYASTRIṂŚA', OKH. *TTĀVATRĪŚA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

TB *tapatriś* 'trayastriṃśa' is attested in THT 99 a2, THT 70.a a6, PK AS 19.5 a2, PK AS 17F a3. In IOL Toch 80 a5 and perhaps a3 an adjective *tavatriśäṣṣe*, with *v* in the second syllable, is attested.[236] The striking similarity with OKh. *ttāvatriśa-* 'id.' was already noted by Adams (DoT: 296), who put forward the hypothesis that it may be a loanword from Khotanese. This Khotanese word, however, is attested in a series of diverse spellings. In the following, its Old Khotanese spellings are listed:

- Suv: 1.14, 6.4.29, 14.24 *ttāvatrīśa-*, 15.41 *ttāvatīśa-*, 2.71 *ttrāvattīśa-*.
- Z: 2.85, 23.2 *ttāvattrīśa-*, 4.32, 4.11, 14.88, 14.92, 5.33, 22.255 *ttāvatrīśa-*.
- Sgh: §142.3, 204.2-3, 204.5 *ttāvatrīśa-*.

From the occurrences above, it seems that the most widespread form is indeed OKh. *ttāvatrīśa-*. It is difficult to evaluate the other concurrent forms: are the other different dissimilatory paths (*t_t*, *tr_t* besides the more frequent *t_tr*) an inner-Khotanese development or are they based on a Middle Indic model? Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit has *trāyatriṃśa*, *trāyastriṃśa*, *trayastriṃśa*, *trayatiṃśa* (BHSD: 257). The last form, if it reflects a linguistic reality, may show a similar tendency to dissimilation under Middle Indic influence.

It must be stressed that the *v* in *ttāvatrīśa-* categorically excludes a Gāndhārī source, as *VyV* > *VvV* is an 'eastern' development (cf. Pāli *ttāvattiṃsa*, Von Hinüber 2001: 175). Besides, even if this change could be due to dissimilation as well, initial *tr-* in Gāndhārī does not become *t-* as in Pāli (Baums 2009: 156). The Gāndhārī equivalent could be attested in CKM 244.73, but unfortunately only the last syllable *śa* is visible on the manuscript. The form was restored as (*trae*)[*t*](*ri*)*śa* by Silverlock (2015: 659), based on other occurrences of *trae* (< *traya* '3') in the same manuscript. However, it is not to be excluded that Gāndhārī had adopted an eastern form akin to Pāli *tāvatiṃsa* or Khot.

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[235] Bernard (Forthc.) notes that an Old Steppe Iranian origin of TB *tāno* may be not completely excluded. In fact, in his opinion OSIr. **dānā-* may have been borrowed as PT **tána* and could have been later remade into *tāno*, on the model of *maiyyo*, for which cf. archaic TB *meyyā*.

[236] The same adjective with *p* occurs in PK AS 16.8 b4 as *tapatrīśäṣṣi*.

ttāvatriśa-. From Gāndhārī, the form may have been borrowed into Khotanese and, later, it may have reached Tocharian. On the whole, however, it is not easy to determine with certainty whether the Tocharian word was borrowed from Khotanese or directly from a Middle Indic source form. If from Khotanese, the absence of a final vowel points to a borrowing from Late Khotanese. It should be noted that the absence of a final vowel would also be regular if the word were borrowed from Middle Indic directly.

Results

Even if TB *tapatriś* 'trayastriṃśa' and Khot. *ttāvatriśa-* 'id.' are very similar, it is difficult to determine whether the Tocharian form may have been borrowed from Khotanese or directly from a Middle Indic source. This Middle Indic source cannot be identified with genuine Gāndhārī for phonological reasons; it is still conceivable, though, that Gāndhārī itself had borrowed the word from an eastern dialect.

TB *TONO* 'SILK (?)', OKH. *THAUNA-* 'CLOTH'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 1105 a1 *tono wäsanma kleśanma erṣeñc*(*ana*) 'Seidengewänder, die Kleśas hervorrufen' (Schmidt 1986: 73), a4 *tonoṃ wäsanma ausormeṃ* 'Durch das Tragen von Seidengewändern' (Schmidt 1986: 74).
- PK DA M 507.22 a8 *wi tom 2. tono I*[*ndr·*]- /// 'TWO pecks. tono (?) Indra-?' (Ching 2010: 201).
- THT 259 *tonokäṃ* (obl. pl.?) [Context unclear].

Discussion

Schmidt (1980: 411) was the first scholar to link TB *tono* to the Khotanese word *thauna-* 'cloth'. The same etymology is reported by Adams (DoT: 329). The meaning of the Khotanese word is given by Bailey (DKS: 149) as 'silk' or 'cloth'. Schmidt referred to two occurrences in the Tocharian Karmavācanā (cf. *supra*) in which *tono* is attested preceding *wäsanma* 'clothes'. For this reason, he put forward the hypothesis that *tono* was to be interpreted as referring to *wäsanma*, meaning 'silk' and not simply 'cloth'. The phrase *tono wäsanma* would then mean 'silk-clothes' (Schmidt 1986: 73-4). As some scholars have already noted, this translation is problematic in several respects.

On the one hand, the Karmavācanā passage speaks of clothes prohibited to monks. If a hypothetical translation 'silk-cloth' is accepted for the passage, one should conclude that silk clothes were prohibited to monks, which is not what the tradition has transmitted.[237] As noted by Ching (2011: 76), the passage in the document PK DA M 507.22 does not offer much context for *tono* and is therefore not helpful to establish its meaning. The context of the hapax *tonokäṃ* (if correctly interpreted as obl. pl. < Khot.

[237] Silk is included in the list of permitted cloth materials, see Ching (2011: 76 fn. 44).

thaunaka-, although the pattern would be extremely rare) is also broken and consequently of no help.

On the other hand, Khotanese *thauna-* seems to mean more generally 'cloth', and not specifically 'silk'. In Old Khotanese, it translates Skt. *vastra* in Sgh §29.4 *gyastūñäna thaunäna* 'with a divine garment' (Canevascini 1993: 12). In the *Suvarnabhasottamasūtra* it translates Skt. *paṭa-* or *vastra-*, both generic terms for 'cloth' (Suv II: 277-8). The word is attested several times in the Book of Zambasta (Z 3.82, 4.96, 5.86, 22.209, 24.218) also with the generic meaning 'cloth'. The same general semantic range seems to be attested for Late Khotanese. The two occurrences in the Siddhasāra (*thau* §24.31, §25.24) render respectively Skt. *vastra-* and *caila-paṭṭa-* and Tib. *ras* 'cloth' in both cases.

Bailey's statement (DKS: s.v. and KT VI: 113) that the Khotanese word has also the meaning 'silk' in Late Khotanese deserves a more detailed analysis. He had already noted that, in a series of bilingual (Khotanese-Chinese) Late Khotanese documents,[238] LKh. *thau* is translated by Chinese *shīchóu* 絁紬 'pongee made out of floss silk'.[239] After the republication of some of these documents by Skjærvø in his catalogue (KMB), Yoshida has recently re-examined the problem. He has convincingly argued that the Khotanese equivalent of *shīchóu* 絁紬 seems to be *pe'mīnai thau* 'cloth made of floss silk'.[240] When standing alone, *thau* would then be an abbreviated form of *pe'mīnai thau*, i.e. it would not mean 'silk' by itself, as stated by Bailey. Instead, it would maintain its original meaning of 'cloth'.[241] On the other hand, Duan Qing (2013: 310-11) suggests that the derived form LKh. *thaunaka-* should be interpreted as 'a piece of silk brocade', more precious and expensive than 'woven floss silk' (*pe'mīnai thau*). It is well possible that the *-ka-* suffix gave the word a more specialized meaning restricted to the economic language.

As for the etymology, the first hypothesis put forward by Konow (SS: 185) and Leumann (1933-1936: 439) is still valid and is now recognised to be the standard one (cf. e.g. Suv II: 277-8). They derived the Khotanese word from PIr. **tāfna-*, a *-na-* formation based on the root **tāp-* 'to twist, wind' (EDIV: 389).[242] The initial *th-* has been explained as arising through transfer of aspiration from the second consonant,[243] a case similar to

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[238] These are in the main Domoko C and D, Hedin 1, 13, 15, 16 and Or. 11344/4, cf. Yoshida (2004: 29).

[239] Cf. KT IV: 53. For the translation, see Yoshida (2004: 29).

[240] Against the usual etymological translation as 'cotton', see Yoshida (2004: 29), Yoshida (2008: 110), Duan (2013: 309).

[241] This was also noted by Ching (2010: 404-5).

[242] The same *-na-* formation would be attested in NP *tafna* 'web', cf. Hasandust (2015: II n° 1517) with further refs.

[243] Cf. already Bailey (1945: 26-7). For the transfer of aspiration see Sims-Williams (1983: 48-49) and Chen (2016: 198). I suspect that another word for 'cloth' in Khotanese, *prahauṇa-*, rather than be derived from the verb *prahauy-* (DKS: 255), could be analysed as **pra-thauna-* (< **para-tāfna-*), with retroflex *ṇ* due to the preceding *r*. However, the different declension patterns of *prahauṇa-* (nom. pl. *-e*) and *thauna-* (nom. pl. *-a*) invite one to take this proposal with caution.

thatau 'swift' < **tahau* < **taxuakam* (Sims-Williams 1983: 48).[244] It seems that this transfer was relatively early. Also, the word occurs with initial aspirate in Niya Prakrit *thavaṃna*(*ǵa*).[245] Because of word-initial *th-*, it is very likely that the form is a Khotanese loanword. The original cluster **-fn-* was probably simplified with the insertion of an epenthetic vowel *-a-*. If this is true, the vocalisation *-āf-* > *-au-* would be then very late. Since the Tocharian word shows a monophthongised *au* > *o*, the dating of the borrowing may be placed in the Late Old Khotanese stage. The nom. sg. in *-o* does not allow a more recent dating.

It may be worth noting here that Old Uyghur *ton* 'cloth, garment' has been considered for a long time a loanword from Khotanese *thauna-* (cf. e.g. Gabain 1974: 372). This attribution has probably originated from an idea by Schaeder, recorded in Lüders' *Texilien im alten Turkistan* (1936: 466). Although some Turcologists have been more inclined to see in it a genuine Turkish word,[246] Wilkens (HWA: 730) seems to imply a borrowing, either from Tocharian or directly from Khotanese.

Results

TB *tono* does not mean 'silk', but 'cloth' in general. This is confirmed by OKh. *thauna-* 'cloth', from which the Tocharian subst. can be derived by way of borrowing. The dating of the borrowing can be attributed to the late Old Khotanese stage, because of the monophthongisation of *au* > *o* and the Tocharian B nom. sg. in *-o*. Old Uyghur *ton* is probably borrowed from Tocharian B or perhaps directly from Khotanese *thauna*.

TB *TVĀṄKARO* 'GINGER', LKH. *TTUṂGARA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- *twāṅkaro* THT 497 a7; b5, PK AS 9B a4 (medical).
- *twaṅkaro* PK AS 9B b2 (medical).[247]
- *tvāṅkaro* PK AS 2A b2, PK AS 3B b5 (all *Yogaśataka*), PK AS 9A b7 (medical), THT 500-502 b7 (*Jīvakapustaka*).
- *tvāṅkaraimpa* (com. sg.) PK AS 2B a2.
- *tvāṅkaracce* (obl. sg. m. of *tvāṅkaratstse*) PK AS 2A a6 (medical).[248]

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[244] According to Sims-Williams (l.c.), the intervocalic <t> would just indicate a hiatus between dissimilar vowels.

[245] The word occurs both with and without the suffix **-ka-*, cf. Burrow (1934: 512) and Lüders (1936: 463-6).

[246] Cf. Clauson (1972: 512), Doerfer (1963-1975 IV: 450) 'gut und ursprünglich türkisch' and Doerfer (1991).

[247] Since the text has older forms, <a> for /á/ might be an archaic feature, rather than simply a mistake.

[248] Since no phonetic explanation is available, <v> for <w> might simply signal that the word had a foreign association. For another view, see Malzahn (2007: 270).

Khotanese occurrences

- *ttūṃgara* JP 78v4, 82v3, 88r2, 93v3, 98v2, 99r3, 99v2, 99v3, 101v2, 106v4, 109r5, 11v1, 112r4, 115r2, 115v5, 116r5
- *ttūgara* JP 98r2
- *ttūṃgarą* JP 58v2
- *ttūṃgarä* JP 88r4, 106r4, 110r3, 111r1, 113r1, 115r5
- *ttūgarä* JP 87r2
- *ttūṃgarāṃ* Si 130v5
- *ttūgare* JP 57r4
- *ttūṃgare* Si 146r2
- *tūṃgare* Si 101v5

Discussion

Bailey (1937: 913) first proposed a connection between TB *tvāṅkaro* 'ginger' and LKh. *ttuṃgara-* 'id.'. His initial idea (l.c.) sought to explain TB *-vā-* against Khotanese *-u-* by comparing TB *aṅkwaṣ(ṭ)* and Khotanese *aṃguṣḍa-*, simply taking note of the same correspondence, without offering any further explanation. This is not possible because the Tocharian form contains here clearly /wá/ (<wā>) and not /wə́/ (<wa>) for /u/ as in *aṅkwaṣṭ* (see s.v.). Some time later, however, he developed a new etymological proposal.[249] He derived the Khotanese word from **tuwam-kara-* with **tuwam-* from the Proto-Iranian root **tauH-* 'to be strong, swell' (EDIV: 386). In this case, the Tocharian form would have preserved the Pre-Khotanese state of affairs and should be considered as a very old loan (Tremblay 2005: 428 and DoT: 343).

Bailey's derivation seems to imply a nominal form **t(u)v-a-* from the verb **t(u)v-* 'to be strong' (DKS: 144). This root is attested as a verb with causative suffix *-āñ-* in LKh. *tv-āñ-* 'to strengthen' (SGS: 41). Several nominal forms from the same root are also to be found as medical terms, e.g. LKh. *tv-āñ-āka-* 'strengthener' (KS: 46)[250] and LKh. *tv-āmā-* (< **tv-āmatā-*) 'strengthening' (KS: 94).[251] The case ending of the first member of the compound would have been preserved in the nasal **-m-* before the second member **-kara-*, as it is the case in similar compounds, cf. e.g. *dīraṃggāra-* 'evil-doing' (SVK I: 56, Degener 1987: 39).

This derivation, however, seems semantically difficult. *tv-a-* must be a substantive (KS: 1) with the meaning 'strong one', 'strong thing' or 'fat'. The resulting compound could be then approximately translated as 'maker of strong (things or beings)'. Admittedly, such an attribute would be suitable for a person, not for a plant. It would be then desirable to have an adjective as first member of the compound. This is indeed

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[249] First proposed *apud* Ross (1952: 15). See also DKS: 130.

[250] This is used as a medical term to describe the properties of an ingredient, cf. Si 16v3-4 *cu mi'ña guśta* [...] *tvāñāka* "As for sheep flesh, [...] it (is) a strengthener."

[251] Also a medical term, occurring in Si 144v1.

possible if one starts with a form *tv-āna-*, an *-āna-* derivative (pres. part. mid. KS: 78) from the root *tv-*, which could produce a proto-form **tvāna-kara-* 'strong-maker'. This would yield OKh. **tvāṃgaraa-*[252] through syncope of internal unaccented *-a-*.

Both Old Khotanese reconstructed forms, **tv-aṃ-garaa-* and **tv-āṃ-garaa-*, may have been antecedents of the attested LKh. *ttūṃgara-*, since both OKh. *tvā°* and *tva°* may result in LKh. *ttū°*. For *tvā° > ttū°* one may compare the possessive adj. OKh. *tvānaa-* 'your' (KS: 85) which occurs in LKh. as *ttūnā* (IOL Khot S. 15.11) and for *tva° > ttū°* OKh. *tvaṃdanu* 'reverence' (SGS: 219) and its Late Khotanese counterpart *ttūda* (IOL Khot S. 6.27). Both Old Khotanese reconstructed forms may as well have been borrowed into Tocharian B. There is no need to consider TB *tvāṅkaro* a Pre-Khotanese loanword. The evidence suggests that the word may have been borrowed from the Early Old Khotanese antecedent of LKh. *ttūṃgara-*.[253]

It might be worth noting that Tib. *li dong-gra*, which translates Skt. *nāgara-* 'ginger' in the *Siddhasāra* (Emmerick 1985: 313 and Bielmeier 2012: 21-2) is also a Khotanese loanword. That the borrowing took place from Khotanese is made clear by the preceding *li*, which always refers to Khotan (Laufer 1916: 455 fn. 1).

Results

TB *tvāṅkaro* 'ginger' is a loanword from the Early Old Khotanese antecedent of LKh. *ttuṃgara(a)-*, which can be reconstructed as ***tv-aṃ-garaa-* or **tv-āṃ-garaa-*.

TA *TWANTAṂ* 'REVERENCE', OKH. *TVAṂDANU* 'ID.'

Discussion

The connection between the Tocharian A and the Khotanese word was first suggested by Konow (1945: 207-8), who saw in it a loanword from Khotanese. Phonologically, the correspondence does not show particular difficulties. As already noted by Pinault (2002: 250), the striking similarity between the usages of *twantaṃ* and *tvaṃdanu* in Khotanese and Tocharian, where they are both employed to translate the Buddhist phrase *pradakṣiṇī-kṛ-*, supports this conclusion.

The Khotanese word was already recognized by Konow (SS: 52) to be an old infinitive in *-tanam > -tanu*, which was added to a verb **tvan-* < PIr. **ati-(H)wandH-* 'to cherish, praise' (EDIV: 205). This derivation was supported by Emmerick (SGS: 219-220, with further refs.) and found its way even into Benveniste's *Les infinitifs avestiques* (1935: 105). Phonologically, this would be entirely justified, cf. *tvāy-* 'to convey across' < **ati-Hwād-*

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[252] According to KS: 20, the second member **-garaa-* < **-kara-ka-* is only attested with *-ka-* suffix in Old Khotanese; the forms without it are all Late Khotanese.

[253] Another argument in favour of a later dating of the borrowing is the spelling with *v* in Tocharian B, which may be an indicator of more recent loanwords and in any case is not expected in an old loanword.

aya- (SGS: 39, the simplex is *bāy-* < **Hwād-aya-*).[254] Skjærvø (Suv II: 276) seems inclined to doubt this derivation, but does not suggest an alternative solution. It is true that the hypothesis of an archaism is geographically quite far-fetched. Indeed, the infinitive of the type OP *-tanaiy* is not met with frequently outside Western Iranian, a doubt already raised by Benveniste (l.c.). However, as the same type of infinitive seems to be attested also in Tumshuqese, cf. KVā *pātanäya* (§4) and *patoni* (§6) (Emmerick 1985a: 14),[255] the hypothesis of an archaism seems to me quite acceptable.

Noteworthy is the lack of a corresponding form in Tocharian B (Pinault 2002: 250). One should conclude that, as some other Khotanese loanwords in Tocharian A, the borrowing probably took place directly from Khotanese to Tocharian A. This group of words (cf. s.v. *pissaṅk*) seems to consist exclusively of Buddhist lexicon. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine with certainty the date of the borrowing, which should be posited at any rate in the historical period (Old or Late Khotanese). The fact that Tocharian shows no final vowel, however, does not necessarily point to Late Khotanese, as it may also have been lost within Tocharian A. Given the seemingly high level of standardization of expressions with *twantaṃ* in Tocharian A, I am inclined to date the borrowing to the Old Khotanese period.

Results

TA *twantaṃ* 'reverence' is a loanword from Khot. *tvaṃdanu* 'id.' The date of the borrowing may be posited within the historical stage. Just like TA *pissaṅk*, q.v., the word may be part of a group of Buddhist words which were probably borrowed directly into Tocharian A from Khotanese.

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[254] As for the verb *tvan-**, the simplex is also attested as OKh. *van-*. As initial *v* clearly points to a loanword, it is difficult to follow Emmerick (SGS: 118) and Cheung (EDIV: 205) in considering this verb as Iranian. OKh. *van-* might be a borrowing from Central Asian Gāndhārī, where, as kindly pointed out to me by N. Schoubben, *nd* > *n* also occurs very frequently (Burrow 1937: 17). However, as the verb *vand-* does not seem to undergo this change in Gāndhārī (Baums 2009: 670), I see two possible solutions: a. the Khotanese verb was borrowed *after* the Khotanese change of **w-* > *b-* but *before* the Khotanese change of **-nd-* > *-n-*; b. there was a concurrent form *van-* in Gāndhārī, perhaps in a less formal register from the Khotan area. It should be stressed that, in support of option b., *-nd-* > *-n-* seems to be much more frequent in the Khotan Dharmapāda (cf. e.g. *vinadi* < *vindati* in Brough 1962: 98-99). Moreover, the Khotanese change **-nd-* > *-n-* seems to be quite old, as Sanskrit loanwords in Khotanese do not seem to undergo such change. One asks himself whether this peculiar sound change, only attested in Gāndhārī within Middle Indic, was a result of contact with Khotanese, as probably implied by Baums' (2015: 76) reasoning, or whether it was perhaps an areal feature (N. Schoubben, p.c.).

[255] For possible Sogdian parallels, cf. also Sims-Williams (1989: 48).

TB *twār* '?', OKh. *ttuvare* 'moreover'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 91 b6 *tumeṃ candramukhe w(alo) ṣecakecce asānne ṣmemane twār ṣpä araṇemiṃ werpiśkacce cä(rkenta) ///* 'Thereupon ki(ng) Candramukha, sitting on the lion-throne and *for this reason* (beholding?) the gardener Araṇemi (carrying) ga(rlands) ...' (CEToM, Malzahn ed., cf. also Schmidt 2001: 322).
- IOL Toch 5 b2-3 *mā ṣṣe nta kca cmelane ñem ra klyaussi kälpāwa twār ṣä postañ̈ñe krentä käṣṣintsa meṅkitse yolaiñesa mā ṣṣe nta aṣkār śmāwa* 'Not even once in the births have I got to hear (this) name, and *therefore* afterwards, lacking a good teacher, I have not once stood back because of evil' (CEToM, Peyrot ed.).

Discussion

The Tocharian B word is of unknown meaning and etymology. Adams (DoT: 343) translates it provisionally as '± consequently', having in mind a possible derivation from the demonstrative pronoun *tu*, to which the distributive suffix *ar* may have been attached. However, as noted by himself (l.c.), this formation would not have any parallel within Tocharian and the expected meaning would be quite different: 'per this (?)' or 'each time this (?)'. Unlikely is also Van Windekens' suggestion of a loanword from Tocharian A (VW: 519). I would like to put forward the hypothesis that TB *twār* may be connected with OKh. *ttuvare* 'moreover' (Emmerick 1970: 122) by way of borrowing. In view of the absence of the final vowel in Tocharian B, I would suggest that the borrowing took place in the Late Khotanese stage (cf. e.g. LKh. *tvarä* in Vajr 1b2). According to Skjærvø, the form *ttuvare* may be derived from **ati-tar-* (Suv II: 143, PIr. **tarH-* 'to cross over' EDIV: 380-1).[256] A translation 'moreover' fits the two Tocharian B occurrences of the word very well:

- THT 91 b6 'Thereupon ki(ng) Candramukha, sitting on the lion-throne and, *moreover*, (beholding?) the gardener Araṇemi (carrying) ga(rlands) ...'
- IOL Toch 5 b2-3 'Not even once in the births have I got to hear (this) name, and *moreover* afterwards, lacking a good teacher, I have not once stood back because of evil.'

[256] Bailey's (DKS: 132) derivation from **ati-bar-* is probably better phonologically, but the semantics are not entirely satisfactory.

Results

TB *twār* may be an adverb connected to OKh. *ttuvare* 'moreover' by way of borrowing. The date of the borrowing may be placed in the Late Khotanese period, because Tocharian shows no trace of the OKhot. final vowel.

TB *PAÑO** '?', OKH. *BAÑA-* 'BIND'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 554 a6 *pañai treṅke cmelaṣṣe tne= klautkäsi* (*yatäṃ ṣpä 12*) '(And they are able) to turn away from the clinging to existence and ***glory*** (12)' (Peyrot 2013: 664). *pañai* is taken as a mistake for *peñyai* (Peyrot, l.c., fn. 53).

Discussion

The meaning and etymology of the hapax *pañai* in THT 554 a6 are not known. Peyrot (2013: 664 fn. 53) takes *pañai* as a mistake for *peñyai* 'glory'.[257] However, one should first try to interpret the word without emendation. As *pañai* may be an obl. sg., its nom. sg. can be set up as *paño** or *paña**. The ending *-o* may point to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. In this case, a connection with the verb OKh. *bañ-* 'to bind' (SGS: 92) may be envisaged. The source form may have been a subst. *baña-*, which may be attested in Khotanese (DKS: 266).[258] Accordingly, I would like to suggest the following translation for THT 554 a6:

- 'And they are able to turn away from the clinging and ***binding*** to existence (12).'

Results

The Tocharian B hapax *paño** may be a PK or OKh. borrowing. The source form may be identified in a Khotanese subst. *baña-* 'binding'.

TA *PAṂ* (PARTICLE), OKH. *PANA-* 'EACH, EVERY'

Discussion

The meaning and etymology of TA *paṃ* are quite uncertain. Following the tentative meaning given by Thomas (TEB II: 113) of a general 'intensive' particle – he translates it as 'completely (vollständig)' – a tentative connection may be established with the OKh. adj.

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[257] The emendation was probably already implied by Sieg and Siegling (1953: 349 fn. 12), who commented the form with 'Sic!', thereby suggesting a mistake, and is reported also by Thomas (1979: 21).

[258] Although its occurrence in Or. 12637/51 a2 is very uncertain. Skjærvø (KMB: 139) seems to read a different word.

and pron. *pana-* 'each, every'. However, it must be stressed that, even if the correspondence would seem reasonable phonologically, the semantics of TA *paṃ* are very unclear. Peyrot (2013: 279 fn. 186) explicitly rejects Thomas' hypothesis but abstains from giving an alternative explanation. One should note that Peyrot's (l.c.) suggestion that 'the particle entails a certain type of reciprocity or distributivity' may be in line with the prevalently distributive meaning of OKh. *pana-*.

Results

A very tentative connection between the Tocharian particle *paṃ* and the Old Khotanese adj. and pron. *pana-* 'each, every' is put forward. The Tocharian A word may have been borrowed from Khotanese in the historical period.

TB *pātro* A *pātär* 'alms-bowl', Khot. *pātra-*, Skt. *pātra-*

Discussion[259]

As noted by Bernard (p.c.), the ending *-o* of the nom. sg. of TB *pātro* 'alms-bowl' (obl. sg. *pātrai*) excludes a direct borrowing from Skt. *pātra-* 'id.' It rather points to a borrowing from PK or OKh. *pātra-* (acc. sg. *pātro* Z 2.170). Previously, the word had been analysed as a borrowing from Sogdian *p'ttr* (Hansen 1940: 152-3), impossible because of the nom. sg. ending *-o*, or from Skt. *pātra-* (Schwentner 1958: 57, DoT: 391).

Results

TB *pātro* 'alms-bowl' can be analysed as a loanword from OKh. (or PK) *pātra-* 'id.', itself borrowed from Skt. *pātra-* 'id.'.

TAB *pānto* 'friend, companion', OKh. *pandāa-* 'path'

Tocharian occurrences

- 1. nom. sg. A 14 a6-b1 || *pñi waste näṃ* (*p*)*ñ*(*i*) –[1]– – – – *ṅkä* – *pñi pänto pñi tsärwṣant näṃ :* 'Virtue/merit is its protection [1], virtue/merit ..., virtue is its <u>*pänto*</u>, virtue is comforting him' (CEToM, ed. Carling, based on Sieg 1944: 18).[260]
- 2. nom. sg. (?) PK AS 8C a3-4 *// māladaṇḍike kenekne piṅkale* – – – [*4*] (*pā*)*nto* · 'A Māladaṇḍikā [is] to be painted on cotton cloth ... [4] [as] (<u>*pā*</u>)<u>*nto*</u>' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).

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[259] I am grateful to C. Bernard, who drew my attention to this word.

[260] Lane (1947: 50) had previously restored *pñi waste näṃ* [*pñ*]*i* – [1] [*pñi pärma*]*ṅk* [*näṃ*] and translated 'Merit is a refuge, merit is - - - [1] merit is hope, merit (is) peace'.

- 3. nom. sg. (?) PK AS 9B b5 /// *-s (p)ā(nt)o säṅwits* ◆ || *karaviräṣṣa* 'as *pānto* (?) for the *säṅkwi* [disease],[261] (the root) of oleander ...' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- 4. nom. sg. (?) PK AS 9D b3 *(pānt)o śänmäṣṣeñca putna(k)e(śi)* '(as *pānt)o* (?) binding ... nard (?)' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).
- 5. nom. sg. THT 29 a8 *(po spe)l(k)e pyāmtso warkṣältsa ñiś yesäṃ pānto :* 'Exert all zeal energetically [with] me as your [pl.] *pānto*' (Peyrot 2013: 373).
- 6. nom. sg. (as voc.) THT 229 b4 *läkle näkṣi säkw aiṣṣeñcai käṣṣi pānto :* 'you, destroyer of sorrow, bestower of happiness, teacher, *pānto*!'
- 7. nom. sg. THT 281 b5 *(pelaikn)e pānto eṅtsi ṣek su preke* 'it (is) always the time to take the *pelaikne-pānto*'.[262]
- 8. nom. sg. THT 364 a5 /// *(weśe)ñ̃naisa (?) pānto tākoy tne nervā(ṃ)* /// 'by the ... voice may he/it be *pānto* here (to?) the nirva(na)'.
- 9. nom. sg. THT 385 b4 · *pānto pärmaṅko* /// '*pānto* hope'.
- 10. nom. sg. THT 1252 b2 /// *– ntane pānto :*
- 11. nom. sg. THT 2377.v a2 *(pe)laikne pānto e* /// '... law ... *pānto*'.
- 12. nom. pl. THT 108 a6-7 *inte yes wesi pantañ* [7] *mahāśramaneṃ käṣṣiṃ arttastär ṣañ wrat lau tärkanacer wes ce āktike nesem* · 'If you, our *pāntos*, recognise Mahāśramaṇa as your teacher [and] break [lit. give up] your own vow, why should we be amazed?' (Peyrot 2013: 668).
- 13. obl. sg. PK AS 4B a5 (parallel M 500.1 b4-5) *pāntai källoym imeṣṣe tsirauwñeṣṣe sahāye mā ñiś ārī :* 'may I obtain the *pānto* of awareness, may the companion of firmness not leave me!' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).
- 14. obl. sg. IOL Toch 369 a2 /// *·ai ne pantai –* ///[263]
- 15. perl. pl. THT 274 b4 *āyorṣṣe aiśämñeṣṣe pantaintsā* 'of gift (and) wisdom ... with the *pāntos*'.

Discussion

Tocharian B *pānto* (borrowed into Tocharian A as *pānto*) has been treated multiple times in the scholarly literature. As no definitive conclusion has been reached regarding its meaning and etymology, it seems justified to re-examine all the occurrences of this word. Therefore, this discussion will first try to determine the precise semantic range of *pānto*. Subsequently, previous etymological explanations will be critically assessed and a possible connection with OKh. *pandāa-* by way of borrowing will be proposed.

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[261] Adams (DoT: 748) tentatively suggests a meaning 'facial wrinkles (?), pockmarks (?)' for this unclear word.

[262] The origin of the restored *(pelaikn)e* is probably due to Thomas (1954: 735). Perhaps it was based on THT 2377.v a2 (11.). It is not in the first edition of the text (Sieg and Siegling 1953: 172).

[263] Given the archaic character of the fragment, this *pantai* may stand for *pāntai*, but the context is fragmentary.

Among the occurrences listed above, only numbers 1., 5., 6., 7., 8., 9., 12., 13. may be of help in determining the meaning of *pānto*. Since 2., 3. and 4. are from medical texts and the word has been restored based on very few traces in the fragments, they do not represent a safe starting point. 10., 11. and 14. are too fragmentary to be taken into consideration. In 1., *pānto* is associated with TA *pñi* 'puṇya'. In 5., the Buddha is speaking, and he identifies himself as *pānto*. In 6., it seems also to refer to the Buddha, and it occurs after *käṣṣi* 'teacher', in what seems to be a vocative. In 7., it refers to a positive thing or person that has to be taken at the right time. In this case, if the restoration is correct, it occurs after *pelaikne* 'dharma', as perhaps in 11. In 12., *pānto* is used in the nom. pl. and it refers to the two Kāśyapa brothers. It is used as a deferential address to the brothers who are about to take refuge by their disciples. Some lines above, the same disciples had addressed the Kāśyapa brothers with *„pādhyāy*(*i*) (a6) 'teachers' (cf. 6.). In 13., *pānto* seems to be someone which is endowed with awareness or mindfulness (*imeṣṣe*) and whose company is to be wished for. Immediately after *pānto*, *sahāye* 'friend, companion' is used in the same passage. In 15., it is associated with gift and wisdom.

Unfortunately, no bilingual evidence is available. However, from the observations made above, it seems possible to roughly determine the semantic range of *pānto*: it refers to a person, not to an abstract concept, and it seems to have an intrinsic positive quality. Based on the textual associations, its meaning can be thus assumed to be in the same range as 'teacher' (*käṣṣi*, *upādhyāye*) and 'friend, companion' (*sahāye*).

The association with *sahāye* (Skt. *sahāya*) in PK AS 4B is particularly promising and deserves a more extensive treatment. The fragment belongs to the Tocharian Udānastotra, a 'collection of pious wishes resulting from the merit hopefully gained from writing each chapter of the Udānavarga' (Peyrot 2016: 306). As the occurrences of *sahāye*, a loanword from Skt. *sahāya* 'friend, companion', are very limited in number in the Tocharian text corpus (a preliminary search in CEToM identified only two other occurrences in Tocharian B in fragmentary contexts and one in Tocharian A), it seems reasonable, as a working hypothesis, that this rare occurrence of *sahāye* in PK AS 4B may be due to the presence of Skt. *sahāya* in the original. As the Udānastotra is an original Tocharian composition, this would imply that the passage in question could be a direct quotation or a paraphrase of a Sanskrit source. This is even more likely if we recognize the still unclear function and extremely composite nature of the so-called 'introduction II' of the longer version of the Tocharian Udānastotra, to which the text of PK AS 4B a5 belongs (Peyrot 2016: 319). Given the strong connection of the Tocharian Udānastotra with the Sanskrit Udānavarga, it is possible that the quotation could have been taken from the Udānavarga itself. In fact, chapter 14 of the Udānavarga, the so-called Drohavarga, presents us with a suitable passage containing *sahāya* (§14.13) which could be of help in interpreting PK AS 4B a5. The stanza is about the famous *topos* of the necessity of finding a wise friend to associate with (see e.g. Salomon 2000: 158 for the wider textual dimensions of these two verses): *sa cel labhed vai nipakaṃ sahāyaṃ loke*

caran sādhu hi nityam eva | abhibhūya sarvāṇi parisravāṇi careta tenāptamanā smṛtātmā | (Bernhard 1965: 211).[264]

Based on this parallel, it is possible to argue that the Tocharian passage may represent a paraphrase of the first verse. Thus, the following lexical correspondences can be established: *pāntai* and *sahāye* = *sahāya*, *källoym* = *labhate*, *imeṣṣe* = *nipaka*, *tsirauwñeṣṣe* = *nitya*. Accordingly, I would like to suggest the following translation for PK AS 4B a5: 'May I find a wise friend! May the strong friend not abandon me!'. This yields a good argument for the identification of *pānto* as a translation of Skt. *sahāya*. This was already suggested by Sieg (1944: 18), who commented on the translation of *pānto* as 'Gefährte' in Tocharian A with 'etwa = Skt. *sahāya*'. However, I was not able to find any justification for this enigmatic comment,[265] which may have been based on the occurrence of *pānto* next to *sahāye* in PK AS 4B.

If this is correct, it should now be possible to translate more precisely also the other passages. In fact, a translation 'friend, companion' seems to fit all the certain occurrences of the word. A matter for future investigation may be the existence in Tocharian of a compound *pelaikne pānto*, which, according to the discussion above, may refer to Skt. *dharma-sahāya* and could perhaps contribute to a better understanding of passage 7. ('It is always time to take a *dharma-sahāya* (?)').

On the etymology of TAB *pānto*

The etymology of *pānto* is likewise debated. Two proposals have been put forward in the last century. The first is to be traced back to Schmidt (1987: 289-90), who wanted to see in it the Tocharian outcome of the Indo-European word for 'path', thus implying a formation similar to PIIr. **pantaH-*. He was followed by Peters (2004: 267 fn. 5). Malzahn (2011: 95 fn. 31) convincingly rejected this proposal on phonological grounds (/a/ in Tocharian B would not be expected) and clarified the declension pattern of *pānto*, which should be seen as belonging to the *okso*-type, (obl. sg. *-ai*, not *-a*,[266] followed also by Del Tomba 2020: 140). She seemed further inclined to accept Hilmarsson's (1986: 223) proposal of an **ōn*-derivative of an *nt*-participial formation from PIE **peh₂-* 'to protect'. However, as remarked by L. Friis (p.c.), it is noteworthy that no such stem is attested in Tocharian B. Instead, only a **-ske/o-* formation is attested in TB *pask-* A *pās-*. Although one could argue for an early lexicalization of this root stem (L. Friis, p.c.), this renders this derivation quite difficult.

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[264] 'Findest du einen klugen Gefährten, der mit dir geht durch dick und dünn, gefestigt, klug und richtig lebend, dann folge ihm mit frohem Herzen, achtsam, und du wirst alle Schwierigkeiten überwinden.' (Hahn 2007: 54)

[265] Likewise, I could not justify Lévi's (1933: 71) first tentative translation 'paix', for which cf. also Poucha (1955: 166).

[266] She convincingly argued that *pantañ* in THT 108 (12.) should be taken as a hypercorrect form for an older *pantaiñ*. On the deviating late features of THT 108 see further s.v. *„wātano*.

Accordingly, it seems that no satisfactory etymology has been proposed for TAB *pānto* so far. Therefore, as a working hypothesis, it seems justified to consider *pānto* as a loanword from a neighbouring language. In this case, the nom. sg. in *-o* may point to Khotanese as a donor language. In fact, the outcome of **pantaH-* in Old Khotanese can be found in *pandāa-* 'way, path'. The peculiar declension pattern of OKh. *pandāa-* was treated by Emmerick (SGS: 308-10). Whereas in almost all cases the endings are those regularly expected for the polysyllabic *āa*-declension (from older **-āka-*), in the nom. sg. *pande* and in the acc. sg. *pando*, the endings are those inherited, i.e. **-āh* > *-e* and **-ām* > *-o*. Thus, a borrowing from the acc. sg. *pando* could perfectly account for the phonological shape of the Tocharian word. The word maintains its masculine gender in Tocharian.

The semantic development 'way, road' > 'companion', however, is not self-evident and deserves a more detailed analysis. As for the semantics of the Old Khotanese word, bilingual evidence shows that it translates Skt. *mārga* (Canevascini 1993: 270). Various compounds with *pandāa-* are attested, cf. e.g. *pandā-rāysa-* 'guide'. Later *-ka* derivatives of this word are quite frequent within Iranian, cf. Bactrian *πανδαγο* (Sims-Williams 2007: 251) 'road'. In Ossetic, it seems that the *-ka* formation *fændag* (Abaev I: 445-6) maintained the original meaning of 'road', whereas the simplex Oss. I *fænd*, D *fændæ* acquired the secondary semantic connotation of 'intention, plan, wish' (Cheung 2002: 61). It may be argued that this second meaning originated from an intermediate stage 'support, advice', so that the semantic path could be outlined as follows: 'way' > 'advice, support' > 'intention'. This intermediary passage is actually documented by MP *pand* 'advice' (CPD: 64), which has been preserved also in New Persian. In Manichaean Middle Persian, *h'm-pnd* /hāmpand/ is 'companion' (DMMP: 174).

From the forms presented above, it can be argued that, even if the meaning 'friend' for *pandāa-* is not directly documented for Khotanese, a similar semantic development ('way' > 'advice' > 'advisor, friend') is widely attested in different Middle and Modern Iranian languages of the area. Thus, we may assume the same developments also for Khotanese. In view of final *-o* of the Tocharian form, a loanword from Sogdian (cf. MSogd. *pnd* [S *pnt*] 'near [prep.], kinsman [subst.]') can be safely excluded. Regarding the dating of the borrowing, the Old Khotanese period can be posited as *terminus ante quem*. It cannot be excluded, however, that the borrowing took place on an earlier date (PTK or PK), but there is so far no feature proving that with any degree of certainty.

Results

In view of the possible identification of PK AS 4B a5 as a paraphrase of Uv §14.13, I would propose that TAB *pānto* could be translated more precisely as 'friend, companion (Skt. *sahāya*)', thus confirming Sieg's (1944: 18) suggestion. As no etymological proposals within Tocharian or from PIE seem to be satisfactory, I put forward the hypothesis that *pānto* could be a loanword from PTK, PK or OKh. *pando*, acc. sg. of *pandāa-* 'path'. As for the semantic development 'path, way' > 'support, advice' > 'friend, companion', it can be argued that this could have happened also in Khotanese, even if not directly attested. This can be suggested through the analysis of numerous similar developments in Middle and Modern Iranian languages of the area.

TB *PARAKA-* 'TO PROSPER, THRIVE', OKh. *PHARĀKA-* 'MORE'

Tocharian occurrences

- Bilingual evidence: inf. IOL Toch 106 b5 *parākatsi* = Skt. *vṛddhiṃ* 'to prosper' (Schmidt 1984: 152), caus. *parakəsk-* (agent noun) *parākäṣṣeñca* = *hlādī*, Toch. 'making prosper', Skt. 'rejoicing' (Schmidt 2000: 226, Peyrot 2013: 769 fn. 400, see the discussion below for more details).
- Base verb *paraka-* impf. 2pl. THT 370 b5 *porośicer*, 3pl. THT 404 a4 *porośyeṃ* (Schmidt 2000: 226, DoT: 380), abstract THT 177 b2 *parākalñe*.
- Caus. *parakəsk-* pres. ptc. THT 549 b3, THT 176 a7 *parākäskemane*.

Discussion

As already established by Schmidt (2000: 226), the base verb *paraka-* means 'to prosper, thrive' (Skt. *vṛdh-*, cf. *supra*) and the causative *parakəsk-* 'to make prosper, rejoice' (Skt. *hlād-*). Adams (DoT: 380) gives 'to prosper' for the Grundverb and 'to refresh' for the causative, which seems a good compromise. It is difficult to attribute the secondary meaning 'to comfort' also to the base verb, which is what seems to be implied by Peyrot (2013: 769).

With regard to its etymology, the verb TB *paraka-* belongs to a series of four verbs which, because of their trisyllabic structure, are quite unique within Tocharian verbal morphology. These are *kalaka-* 'to follow', *paraka-* 'to prosper', *walaka-* 'to stay' and *sanapa-* 'to anoint' (Peyrot 2013: 69). It is significant that for two of these verbs (*paraka-* and *sanapa-*) an extra-Tocharian origin has been proposed. Whereas for *sanapa-* a PTK or PK origin may be posited with a high degree of certainty (cf. s.v. *sanapa-*), the same cannot be said for *paraka-*. Van Windekens' hypothesis (VW: 635) regarding the origin of this verb, as already noted by Adams (1988: 402), cannot stand closer scrutiny. In fact, he put forward the hypothesis that it may have been borrowed from a recontructed Middle Iranian form **para-ka-* (?), namely, in his own words, a *na*-less variant of the famous Av. *x^{v}arənō* ('il constitue une trace d'une forme de l'ancien iranien **hvar-*, **xvar-* [...] sans suffixe en *-n-*'). If we follow Van Windekens' proposal, the only '*na*-less variant' of Av. *x^{v}arənō* at disposal within Middle Iranian which has additionally an initial labial is unmistakably Khot. *phārra-* (DKS: 261). However, even if the semantics would not be impossible – but VW's parallel with English *glad* is based on the older meaning attributed to the Tocharian verb – no *ka*-derivative of *phārra-* is attested within Khotanese. Moreover, the Old Iranian word was already borrowed from Old Steppe Iranian in the form TB *perne* A *paräṃ*. Thus, it is difficult to admit a more recent borrowing from another donor language for such an extremely well-known and important concept.[267]

[267] In principle, however, a double borrowing may not be completely excluded (cf. TB *kāmarto** 'chief' ← PTK and *melte* 'pile' ← OSIr.).

Accordingly, it seems that the origin of *paraka-* is still uncertain. Therefore, it seems justified to look for other possible source forms in the neighbouring Iranian languages. In this case the very frequent adjective OKh. *pharāka-* 'many' (KS: 193) may present us with a suitable candidate. On the one hand, this connection would not present any significant problem on the phonological side. On the other hand, this derivation would presuppose a semantic change 'many' > 'to multiply' > 'to prosper', which is not impossible, but also not totally trivial. The meaning 'to refresh' or 'to rejoice' assigned to the causative would be a later, secondary development within Tocharian. As for the dating of the borrowing, *sanapa-* shows that this class of trisyllabic verbs was open to borrowing into the PTK or PK period. Accordingly, the PK or PTK dating for *sanaka-* could be posited also for *paraka-*.

Results

As Van Windekens' previous etymological proposal could not stand closer scrutiny, it is proposed that the verb TB *paraka-* 'to prosper' may be connected to the Old Khotanese adjective *pharāka-* 'many'. This would entail a semantic development 'many' > 'to multiply' > 'to prosper'. The meaning 'to refresh' or 'to rejoice' assigned to the causative would be a later, secondary development within Tocharian. This verb may have been formed on an adjective borrowed from PTK or PK.

TB *PARSO* A *PÄRS* 'LETTER', PTK **PR̥SU* 'TO ASK'

Tocharian occurrences

- B *parso* THT 65 a3 *kᵤse parso watkäṣṣäṃ pai*(*katsi*) 'Whoever orders a letter to be written' (DoT: 384), THT 492 a2 *tākaṃ parso ette paiyka śka plāwa* 'If [you have] the letter, sign [it] and send [it to me]!' (Peyrot 2013: 346), THT 492 a3 *parso ḻywāwa-ś plāś aṣkār mā ḻywāsta* 'I have sent you a letter, [but] you haven't sent an answer' (Peyrot 2013: 346), PK DA M 507.37 and .36 a26 - *me koroy taiṣiś parso kā* /// '... *Koroy* ... a letter to the Great Commissioner ...' (Ching 2010: 211), PK LC 25 a1 *ṣäryoy parso* 'A letter to my love' (Ching 2010: 149).
- B *pärso* THT 389 b3 *sā kca pärso somp ślokä kca sa* – /// 'she some letter, she over there some strophe ... (?)', PK NS 58 b3 ◆ *käryortañ̈ñe* ◆ *pärso* 'the merchant letter (?)', THT 463 a5 *pärso ñatti cāneṃ wsāwa* 'A letter to Ñ. (and) coins I have given.'[268]
- B *pärsonta* PK DA M 507.32 a6 *ñāke Śiṅkunmeṃ pärsonta yauyekänta klāstär* 'Now, he (Puttisene?) has undertaken the official labor services (to deliver) letters from Śiṅku(n)' (Ching 2010: 226).

[268] Cf. Thomas (1957: 141).

- B *pärsanta* THT 206 b2 /// *pärsanta ṣem= akṣarsa ne* /// 'Letters, one single akṣara (?)' (if *pärsanta* is for *pärsonta*).
- A *pärsant* A 403 a5 /// *pärsant p(e)kar* || 'They wrote letters.'

Discussion

The origin of TB *parso* A *pärs* has been the object of numerous discussions and remains still debated. Two main hypotheses have been put forward by different scholars in the last century. The first, which is also the oldest, tries to link the word with the Tocharian verb TB *pərsa-* A *präsa-* 'to sprinkle' (for the verb, see Peyrot 2013: 774). The second sees in it a borrowing from Middle-Iranian, in particular from Pre-Khotanese **parsa-*. Both proposals deserve a more detailed analysis.

The idea that the word is a genuine Tocharian formation goes back to an article by Van Windekens (1962: 343-4) and has been taken up multiple times in the literature (VW: 364-5, Pinault 2008: 378). He sought to explain the semantics by comparing the adjective TB *pärsāntse* A *pärsānt* 'resplendent, speckled' (DoT: 402), a derivative from the same root TB *pərsa-* A *präsa-* 'to sprinkle'. Close parallels for the semantic shift ('to make speckled' > 'draw, write' > 'letter') would be given by the continuants of the PIE root **peiḱ-* (LIV: 465), cf. Greek *ποικίλος* 'varicolored' and TB *pəyk-* A *päyk-* 'to write'. Although ingenious, and formally possible, the theory has admittedly some semantic problems and seems therefore quite far-fetched. The main semantic difficulty lies in the fact that the derivative of the same verb TB *pərsa-* A *präsa-*, the adjective *pärsāntse*, already means 'resplendent, speckled'. Thus, it seems quite difficult that two derivatives from the same verb could have meanings that are so different.

Thus, TB *parso* and A *pärs* are in need of a new etymology. Bailey (SDTV: 67, DKS: 224) was the first to link the Tocharian word to Late Khotanese *pa'sa-* 'messenger'. This word occurs mainly in late documents. Its meaning was established by Bailey (1964: 11-2), who suggested that, since it occurs in the same context of LKh. *haḍa-* 'messenger', it should also cover the same range of meaning. In order to assess the validity of Bailey's hypothesis, it is necessary to reconsider the occurrences of *pa'sa-* in Late Khotanese. Bailey (DKS: 224) lists six occurrences:

- 1. P 2898.12-13 *khu pa'sa kaje ra māśti ma kamacū āvūṃ* 'When as messenger in the month *Kaja* (second spring month) I came here (*ma* = *mara*) to Kam-cū (Kan-ṭṣou)' (Text KT II: 117, translation DKS: 224).
- 2. P 2741.3 *khu vā ñaśä bīsä pa'sa mistye ysarrnūṃje jänave vī ą̄na ysa kąmäcū vāṣṭä ysarrnai parau nāteṃ* . 'When I, the humble servant, as envoy, received the Golden (= imperial) Order from the Great Golden Land to go to Kamcū' (Text KT II: 87, translation SDTV: 64).
- 3. Or. 12637/25 a1 / (*ś*)*irī maṃ āmāci pa' sa pastai* '... Councilor rMąmi?] Śirī here ordered the minister Sa in Pa'(?).'[269]

[269] M.T. 0460, see KMB: 133 where Skjærvø reads *pa' sa* and interprets it as personal name + place name. However, the order of *pa'* and *sa* is strange and does not seem to justify his translation. It

- 4. Or. 12637/25 a4 *āmā*]*c*[*i*] *pa' sa vā* (*by*)*āta hamā* /'... the *minister Sa in Pa'... shall recall ...'[270]
- 5. P 2786.60-62[271] *ca ma pā tcau ttūau-ttau āstaṃna ṣacū bīsā haḍa tsvāṃda paisa hadyaja māśtai haḍa ttyāṃ hadara vya bīsai vą̄ tcā yāṃ-yīkä naumą śau ā mūtcaica māśtai* 'Then those who left here as messengers (*pai'sa*) in Haṃdyaja (5th) month, (namely) Tcau Dutou (a Chinese surname plus title) and other envoys (*haḍa*) of Shazhou, among them one came back, Cā Yāṃ-yīkä by name, in Mūtcaca (9th) month' (SVK II: 82).
- 6. = P 2786.146-149 *cą maṃ pā tcau ttu-ttau āstaṃ*[*na*] *ṣaca bīsā haḍa tsvāṃda pai'są haṃdyaja māśtai ttyau vā hadara vya bīsai ra vā cā yāṃ-yīką naumą śau ā mūtcaicą māśtai* (cf. *supra* for the translation).

In addition to these six occurrences, two more attestations can be listed:[272]

- 7. P 2925.50-51 *auna ttraikṣa bīdai kāṣṭa : paisa pharāka hasta yai cau a ttara*
- 8. SI P 94.18 a1 *maṃ tta pa'sa āstaṃna* 'Those messengers remained here' (SDTV I: 102).

From the list of occurrences, it can be easily seen that a meaning 'messenger' could fit the context in 1, 2, 5 and 6. However, 3 and 4 seem to point to a proper name and 7, 8 are still unclear. It may be noted that in 1, 5 and 6 *pa'sa-* immediately precedes a month name. I explored the possibility that in these three cases *pa'sa-* could stand for *pā'sa* (*salya*) and be interpreted as '(the year of the) pig' as in a dating formula.[273] However, I have not found any parallel case for dating formulas in which *salya* 'year' is omitted. On the whole, there is in the context no compelling evidence that *pa'sa-* should mean 'messenger'. At best, one could argue that, from the occurrences, *pa'sa-* refers to some unknown official title.

Bailey's translation was also motivated by etymological considerations. He derived *pa'sa-* from OKh. **palsa-* which, in turn, he suggested to be from older **parsa-*. The first mention of this derivation is to be found in Bailey (1964: 11-12). This is not impossible on phonological grounds, as it is known that OKh. *-l-* in clusters like *-ls-* could be lost and replaced by a subscript hook, while OKh. *-ls-* in turn derives from Proto-Iranian **-rs-*. What is less convincing, and hardly acceptable, is his claim that this *parsa-* would be the only Iranian continuant of PIE **pelh*$_2$-(*ḱ*)-.[274] In fact, this proposal seems to have been thought as an *ad hoc* explanation for the alleged meaning 'messenger'.

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would be perhaps more natural to see in *pa'sa* the full name of the *amātya*. Bailey (DKS: 224) read earlier *āmāci pa'sa pastai* (KT II: 198) and translated 'The *amātya*-minister commanded the messenger.'

[270] KMB: 133. DKS: 224 reads instead [*āmā*]*c*[*i*] *pa'sa*.

[271] For P 2786.64 *pasakāṣṭa* and not *pasa kāṣṭa* see Kumamoto *apud* SVK II: 80-2.

[272] For *pa'sīña-*, which is not to be interpreted as a derivative of *pa'sa-*, see Skjærvø *apud* SVK III: 89.

[273] Cf. IOL Khot 165/1b 12 *pā'sä salya siṃjsīji māśti 28mye haḍai* 'In the Year of the Pig, the 28th day of the month of Siṃjsīja.' (*Amṛtaprabhadhāraṇī*, see KMB: 372).

[274] LIV: 407 'sich nähern'. His suggestion that one should look for a possible Iranian loanword in Armenian *parsem* 'to throw (in a sling)' is quite difficult ('unsicher' for Hübschmann [1897: 514])

Overall, it seems that both etymological proposals present us with unsurmountable difficulties. As pointed out by Bernard (Forthc.), it may be profitable to further develop Isebaert's (1980: 104) suggestion of a loanword from an Old Iranian form **pr̥sā-*. On the one hand, the semantics seems to be quite fitting. In fact, Isebaert's (1980: 104) reconstructed Old Iranian form is based on Skt. *pṛcchā-* (MW: 645) and OAv. *frasā-* (Kellens and Pirart 1990: 270), a substantive meaning 'question, (lit.) asking'. As already noted by Isebaert (l.c.), the passage in THT 492 a3, which mentions both 'letter' ('question') and an 'answer' (*plāś*) may be a nice confirmation in support of this explanation. As for the phonology, on the other hand, it is clear that an Old Iranian form akin to the Old Avestan one cannot have been the source of TB *parso*, as the adaptation in Old Steppe Iranian would have been ***persa* (for the adaptation of *ā*-stems in OSIr. see Bernard Forthc.).

Accordingly, as a derivation from Old Steppe Iranian seems to be difficult, it may be justified to look for possible parallels within the various linguistic stages of Khotanese. In fact, the same verb in Old Khotanese is *puls-* 'to ask' (SGS: 85), which is the regular outcome of PIr. *pr̥sa-*, with vocalization of **r̥* as **ur* > *ul* because of the initial labial. Tocharian B final *-o* seems to point at any rate to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. However, since no subst. ***pulsa-* 'question' is attested in Old Khotanese, I put forward the proposal that Tocharian B *parso* /pə́rso/ may be an adaptation of a PTK infinitive based on the present stem. In fact, the regular pres. infinitive of *puls-* would be ***pulsä*. It is not to be excluded that Tocharian speakers saw in the final *-ä* the marker of a nom. sg. and set up an acc. sg. in *-u*, which they borrowed as a subst. with nom. sg. *-o*. However, *pulsu* is also attested in Old Khotanese and Emmerick (SGS: 218) takes this ending as a variant spelling (?) of the more frequent *-ä*.[275] Consequently, a PTK form **pr̥su* may be reconstructed as the source of TB *parso* by way of borrowing. This derivation throws new light on the phonology of PTK. In fact, it may be now argued that this language still had a vocalic **r̥* in its phoneme inventory.[276] As for the semantics, it can be argued that PTK **pr̥su* was borrowed with the meaning of 'request' at a time when writing did not exist yet and only afterwards it came to be used as 'letter'.

Results

Among the different theories on the etymology of TB *parso* A *pärs* 'letter', following a suggestion by C. Bernard (p.c.), I support Isebaert's (1980: 104) explanation. However,

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and has semantic problems, as already noted by Del Tomba (2020: 190). Bailey's link with Tib. *par-śa* (DKS: 224) seems also quite far-fetched. Earlier, Thomas (1951: 439 and Thomas 1930: 82) had suggested that the expression Tib. *par-śa-ris-ma* (also attested as *par-sa-re-śi-ma*) could be a Khotanese phrase, but had not speculated on the possible source.

[275] It is not likely that this *-u* may be simply due to assimilation. For another occurrence of this ending, cf. *nāju* in Z 4.118 (Maggi 2009: 161 fn. 14).

[276] However, the possibility of a reconstruction PTK **pursu* with early vocalization of **r̥* and PTK **u* borrowed as TB /ə/ cannot be fully ruled out for the moment.

instead of Isebaert's source form **pṛsā-* 'question', I suggest that the most likely source may be identified in PTK **pṛsu*, an infinitive based on the pres. stem of the verb OKh. *puls-* 'to ask'. The same infinitive is attested in Old Khotanese as *pulsu* (Z 2.159).

TA *PĀŚIṂ* 'TREASURE (?)', KHOT. *PĀRGYIÑA-* 'ID. (?)'

Tocharian occurrences

- Nom. sg. A 333 b3 *arthis pāśinn oki nāntsu abhidharm-śāsträ* 'The abhidharma-śāstra is like a treasure (or receptacle?) of meaning (Skt. *artha-kośa*?).'[277]
- Nom. pl. A 74 a1 *neñci pāśināñ ypic ñemi*(*ntuyo*) 'Sicherlich Gefäße voller Perlen' (Sieg 1952: 22).
- Obl. pl. A 63 a6 *rotkar pākär pāśinās* 'They carried the treasures into the open', A 57 a5 *pāśoñcsaṃ elantyo pätstsāc pāśīnās* 'put (pl.) treasures with gifts among the begging ones!'[278]
- Com. sg. THT 1412.i a2 *pāśina*[*śś*](*äl*) 'with treasures' (Itkin 2019: 143).

Khotanese occurrences

- In Old Khotanese, only one form with *-r-* is to be found: this is the loc. pl. in Z 22.135, which has been tentatively translated as 'garden': *pārgyiñuvo späte vicitra* 'In the gardens will be variegated flowers' (Emmerick 1968: 309).
- All other occurrences have only *-j-*: loc. pl. Z 22.156 *rrundä pājiñuvo' ttuvīḍä* 'He will bring them to the king's treasuries (*rājakośa* ?)' (Emmerick 1968: 313), acc. sg. Z 24.512 *thu paro dritai balysąnu utāru hastamo pājiñu dātīṃju aggaṃjso* 'You have kept the noble Buddha-command, the best, faultless treasury of the Law (*dharmakośa* ?)' (Emmerick 1968: 419).
- The subst. occurs in the same form also in LKh. Buddhist texts: nom./acc. pl. Suv 3.91[279] *bīsīvīrā satva himāṃde. spa-masve pājiñä tsāvi* 'May the beings be noble sons, (their) hoards sufficient, rich' (the Sanskrit version [Suv I: 59] has *kośāḥ* for *pājiñä*), nom./acc. pl. P 4099.139 *baśuña pājeña* 'all kinds of treasuries' (Emmerick Unpublished (b)), loc. sg. P 4099.150-151 *ā khu* {*ā khu*} *artha spaśa carauna ttāra va pājaña ṣīya* 'or as one sees objects with a lamp in a dark treasury at night',[280] P 3513.50r3 *ajāṃja pājẹñä ī bu'jsyāṃ byauda*

[277] Böhtlingk and Roth (I: 110) give the compound *arthakośa-* as meaning 'Schatzkammer' (?). I was not able to individuate any other occurrence in which *pāśiṃ* can be seen as translating precisely Skt. *kośa-*. Therefore, this translation remains uncertain.

[278] For this and the previous translation, cf. CEToM, Carling, Pinault, Malzahn eds. Cf. also Schmidt (2004: 311) who has 'Gefäße' instead of 'treasures'. The Sanskrit parallel suggests that *pāśiṃ* in this case may translate Skt. *nidhi* 'store, hoard, treasure' (MW: 548).

[279] MS P, see Suv I: 58.

[280] Emmerick Unpublished (b), superseding DKS: 228 and 439.

'may the inexhaustible treasury be [these things that are] possessed of virtues' (Skt. *sarva-guṇair bhavi akṣaya-kośaḥ*) (Asmussen 1961: 21-2).

- Note two additional occurrences in documents of the Hedin collection: Hedin 16.1-2 *cirāṃ naṃdakä ṣṣau ąni sąmi pājiña ysārī haṃbā mūri hauḍä drrai ysāri* 'Naṃdaka from Cira delivered 3000 (*mūrās*) in (strings of) 1000 *mūrās* into the treasury of *ṣṣau* An Sam' (Zhang 2016: 252) and Hedin 19.13-14 *kṣvā auvā namaubudi ṣau ąni sąmi pājiña mūri hauḍä ysārī haṃbā tcahau'si ysā'cya* 'Namaubuda in the Six Towns delivered into the treasury of Ṣau An Sam 40000 *mūrās* with (strings of) 1000 *mūrās*' (Zhang 2016: 284).

Discussion

Since Bailey's article 'Recent work in 'Tokharian'' (Bailey 1947: 149), the idea that TA *pāśiṃ* was borrowed from Old Khotanese *pārgyiña-*/*pājiña-* has not been challenged and seems to have been tacitly accepted. Besides, it has been quoted several times in the literature (KT IV: 108, KT VI: 176, VW: 636, DoT: 193). To assess the validity of this hypothesis it is necessary to re-examine all the occurrences in the two languages. First, the etymology and meaning of TA *pāśiṃ* will be analysed. The second section will examine the two Old Khotanese words *pārgyiña-* and *pājiña-*. Finally, the results of this enquiry will be presented.

TA *pāśiṃ*

As for the Tocharian form, the meaning seems to cover the semantic range of Sanskrit *kośa-*, i.e. 'vessel, store-room, treasury'.[281] Although an exact equation TA *pāśiṃ* = Skt. *kośa* is not supported by bilingual evidence, Bailey (1947: 149) and Poucha (1955: 168) quote it as equivalent of Skt. *kośa-* without giving any reference to a concrete passage in Tocharian. I suspect that this correspondence is based on the bilingual evidence available for Khotanese *pājiña-* (cf. *supra*). However, it is still not clear whether the word is a loanword from Khotanese or not, so this reasoning seems quite circular. The only hint at a possible Sanskrit equivalent is given by the passage contained in the fragment A 57 (cf. *supra*). According to Schmidt (2004: 311), a parallel Sanskrit passage to A 57 would have *nidhi*, which is translated as 'store, hoard, treasure' (MW: 548).

There have been two attempts to consider the word as inherited. On the one hand, Poucha (1955: 168) tried to link TA *pāśiṃ* with the PIE root **b^{h}eg-* 'divide, distribute' (LIV: 65, Ved. *bhájati*, etc.). This is not completely impossible on phonological grounds, although a formation **b^{h}ōg- + 'in-* would be unprecedented. Moreover, the semantic problems involved make the derivation quite difficult to accept. On the other hand, a derivation from the Tocharian verb A *pāś-* 'to beg' (Peyrot 2013: 668) seems to have been implied by Dietz's typescript notes (VTW: s.v.). In fact, he translated the word as 'Bettelschale, Almosenschale, Gefäß' with a later, handwritten addition 'Schatz'. Further

[281] MW: 314. SWTF: 168 has 'Behälter, Gehäuse; Hülle, (Schwert)scheide; Kiste, (Schatz)truhe'.

proof that he considered TA *pāśiṃ* a derivative of *pāś-* 'to beg' is given by a second handwritten annotation which points the reader to Skt. *pātra*, which is used to refer to the Buddhist alms bowl. In fact, a translation '*pātra*' would fit the available occurrences. It is possible that the meaning was further generalized to mean 'receptacle' or 'container' in general. This would fit e.g. the occurrence in A 333 and A 74.

OKh. *pārgyiña-/pājiña-*

Although the hypothesis of a Tocharian native formation may seem more appealing, it is also necessary to examine the theory of a possible borrowing from Khotanese. A closer look at the Khotanese occurrences shows that also *pārgyiña-* presents us with several problems. First, the reconstruction of the original shape of the Khotanese word is not straightforward. In fact, only one Old Khotanese occurrence has internal *-r-*, whereas all other Old and Late Khotanese forms have simply *-j-*. Bailey considered the form with *-r-* as the original one, thus implying loss of *-r-*. This is quite plausible, given the fact that loss of *-r-* before consonants seems to be more frequent and older than intrusive *-r-*,[282] which is also attested.

However, the derivation proposed by Bailey in DKS is impossible on phonological grounds. Earlier he (1939: 1058 and KT VI: 177) had dismissed Morgenstierne's etymology (< **pari-či-*) and proposed a derivation from **pāri-*°, which seems quite difficult as well. However, he returned to the old hypothesis in DKS: 233. Suv II: 302 (s.v. *pājini-*, although the occurrences in Z point to a short *a*-stem) reports the etymology with long *-ā-* of KT VI: 177 with a question mark. Bailey's reconstructed form **pari-činyā-* (from the Proto-Iranian root **čai-* 'to heap up, gather, collect'[283]) would have yielded ***palj(s)iñā-* (cf. the verb **paljsan-* < **pari-čana-*, cf. SGS: 76), which is quite far from the occurrences at disposal. In fact, the absence of a subscript hook is not compatible with a lost *-l-*, which, at any rate, does not normally cause lengthening, as would be needed here, but rather fronting of the preceding vowel.

For the time being, no straightforward Khotanese derivation for *pārgyiña-* can thus be given. As for the meaning, all occurrences seem to fit the same semantic range as Sanskrit *kośa-*, which seems to be the preferred Sanskrit equivalent of *pājiña-* (cf. *supra*) in the bilingual texts that are extant. The only exception is Z 22.135, for which a translation 'garden' has been proposed. This is also the only occurrence of *pārgyiña-* (with *-r-*). Indeed, it seems that the loc. pl. *pārgyiñuvo'* cannot but indicate a place in which the *späte vicitra*, the 'variegated flowers' are situated. I explored the possibility that the occurrence in Z 22.135 might hint at a distinct word from the usual *pājiña-*. M. Maggi (p.c.) noted that in this case a derivation from Khotanese *pārra-* 'leaf' might be suggested. He referred to the derivative *°vārgia-*, which occurs as a second member in the compounds *viysa-vārgia-* 'having lotus leaves' (Z 2.141) and *ysāra-vārgia-* 'having

[282] See Dresden (1955: 408 (8) and (9)). However, given the fact that the forms with *-r-* are limited to one, it cannot be excluded that the *-r-* in *pārgyiña-* was simply intrusive.
[283] EDIV: 26, quoting also Khotanese *pārgyiña-* under the same root.

thousand leaves' (Z 3.80). According to Degener (KS: 122), °*vārgia-* is formed from *pārra-* 'leaf' through the addition of a combination of the suffixes *-aka-* and *-ika-*. In Proto-Iranian terms, this would be reconstructed as **parnakika-* (> Pre-Khotanese **pārragiga-* > **pārragyia* > **pārgyia-*; with intervocalic *p* > *ν* when °*vārgia-* is the second member of a compound). In order to obtain *pārgyiña-*, it would be necessary to add a third suffix *-iña-* or *-ña-*. However, these are suffixes which are mainly used to form adjectives from substantives (KS: 129 and 216) and would not fit, unless one could accept the possibility that we have to do with a substantivized adjective meaning 'having leaves'. In this case, one could argue that the word might refer to a tree or a bush, on which flowers grow.[284]

An alternative explanation may involve a re-examination of Bailey's original etymology (< **pari-čai-*). As it has already been noted, the phonological irregularities associated with a Khotanese derivation from this root are quite difficult. However, the formation is attested in neighbouring Iranian languages, both Eastern and Western: cf. MP *prcyn* 'wall, fence' and *przyn* 'shut in', both /parzīn/,[285] Yidgha *paržīn* 'enclosure for sheep'.[286] In fact, one should consider the possibility that the word might have entered Khotanese from another unattested Iranian language of the area. This language may have been akin to Parthian, for which ***paržīn* may be reconstructed.[287] Such a form might have been the source of the TA word too, through loss of *-r-* and unvoicing of *-ž-*. It might also have been borrowed independently in Khotanese, where *-ž-* was defricativized and the suffix *-ia-* was added. This is, however, very speculative and cannot account for *pājiña-*.[288] Therefore, this alternative solution remains for the moment very hypothetical.

Results

Following Dietz (2013), I suggest that TA *pāśiṃ* may be seen as a genuine Tocharian formation. With Maggi (p.c.), the hapax OKh. *pārgyiña-* may be analysed as an *-iña-* formation from *pārgya-** 'having leaves'. At the moment, I am not able to offer any solution with regard to the etymology of OKh. *pājiña-* (or *pājiñi-*, = Skt. *kośa*), which should be kept distinct from *pārgyiña-*.

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[284] As suggested by Sims-Williams (p.c.), it is also possible to take the final *-ñuvo'* as a loc. pl. ending of a subst. *vārgia-*. Even if no ending *-ñuvo'* is attested for the *ia*-stems, endings of the *n*-stems generally tend to spread to other declensions in Khotanese (see SGS: 269).

[285] Although they represent quite likely the same word, they are translated with two different meanings in DMMP: 278 (*prcyn* 'wall, fence') and DMMP: 283 (*przyn* 'shut in').

[286] Wakhī *palč*, *parč*, quoted by Bailey under the same root in DKS: 233 is more likely to come from **parnačī-*, see Steblin-Kamenskij (1999: 256).

[287] The same verb, with different preverb, is attested in Pa. *wycyn-*/*wžyn-* 'to choose'/wižīn-/, see DMMP: 338.

[288] Moreover, the occurrence in Z 24.512 would more easily point to a fem. *i*-stem *pājiñi-*, as kindly pointed out by Alessandro Del Tomba.

TB *PITO* 'PRICE', OKH. *PĪHA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- Nom./obl. sg. *pito* IOL Toch 574 b3 *///·yo pito 19* '… price 19'
- Ot 12 a14 *pito ysāre kamāte* 'He has taken wheat as the payment' (Ching 2010: 340).
- PK AS 7A a1 *saṅkaṣ(ṣ)e pito my(āska) ///* 'He traded the price of the Saṃgha' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- PK AS 18A b5 *karyor pito yamaṣyenträ* 'used to do business [lit. selling and buying]'[289]
- PK DA M 507.5 b2 *pito cāneṃ wsāwa-ne* 'I gave to him coins as the (milling) fee' (Ching 2010: 151).
- PK DA M 507.23 a10 *tunek pito masa* 'Therein, the fee (of milling) has been spent' (Ching 2010: 197).
- PK DA M 507.37 and .36 a76 *ṣe pito piś(ār) cāñi takāre* '(Given) the price (per peck as) [five] (coins, the equivalent amount of) coins was' (Ching 2010: 215).
- PK LC 39 a2 *pito toromñe kälwāsta* 'you obtained the price (and) the retribution'
- THT 99 b3 *$k_u$se tuṃtse pito kr$_u$i ksa /// (kl)y(au)ṣtsi* 'What [would be] the price of it if someone (gave you the Law) to hear?' (CEToM, Malzahn ed.).
- THT 100 a1 *mā ca(mpät) c(e)$_u$ pito rīntsī* 'you cannot afford the price' (Peyrot 2013: 365).
- THT 315 b3 *wastsitse pito wat* 'or the price of clothes' (DoT: 412).
- THT 337 a2 *ṣaḍvarginta karyor pito misko ailñe yamaṣyenträ* 'The Ṣaḍvargikas were engaging in trade (lit. were doing buying, price, exchange, giving)' (CEToM).
- THT 337 b3 *$k_u$se ṣamāne karyor pito yamasträ* 'If a monk engages in trade (lit. does buying and price)' (CEToM).
- THT 1107 a5 *karyor pito yamalyñe* 'trade (lit. doing buying and price)'
- THT 1548.a a5 *pito pepr(utku)* '[When] the price is established' (Ogihara 2012a: 113).
- nom./obl. sg. *pitto* THT 147.6 a1 *wsawā pitto* "I gave the *pitto* (price?)"
- nom./obl. sg. *pīto* IOL Toch 134 a1 *(cakra)vā(r)tt(i) lānte pelaikneṣṣe pīto* 'The price of the Law of a Cakravartin king', IOL Toch 222 b2 *piś-känte tināränta pīto* 'The value of five hundred denarii' (Ogihara 2009: 374), PK AS 18A a5 *$k_u$se ṣamāne* (…) *karyor pīto yamasträ* 'If a monk does business (…) (lit. does buying and price)' (cf. *supra*), PK NS 95 b2 *pīto kārpäṣṣäṃ* 'He beats down the price' (Ogihara 2009: 331-2).

[289] CEToM, eds. G.-J. Pinault and M. Malzahn. Cf. Pinault 2008, 73, where *karyor pito* is taken as a doublet akin to Skt. *kraya-vikrayaḥ* 'selling and buying'.

- All. sg. *pitoś* PK DA M 507.34 a26 *waltsasintse pitoś* 'For the sake of paying the milling fee' (Ching 2010: 461), PK DA M 507.38 a69 *waltsasintse pitoś* 'in order to (pay) the fee of milling' (Ching 2010: 167).
- Perl. sg. *pitosa* THT 203 b4 = THT 204 a3 (parallel) *śaulänmaṣe pitosa ce p(e)rnerñe kraupatai* 'Durch den Preis von Leben hast du diesen Glanz gesammelt' (Schmidt 1974: 402), THT 1460.a a2 (*śwā*)*tsitse pitosa wat* 'or with the price of the food' (Ogihara 2009: 211).
- Perl.sg. *pītosa* IOL Toch 159 b5 *śaulanmaṣṣe pītosa* "by the price of life", THT 1548.b b3 *kwri tu pītosa kärnänträ* 'If they buy it for [that] price' (Ogihara 2012a: 113).

Khotanese occurrences

- In Old Khotanese, the form is *pīha-*, cf. nom. pl. *pīha* Z 15.127 *ne ni pīha busta hämāre* 'Their prices cannot be known' (Emmerick 1968: 243).
- Likewise, in Late Khotanese Buddhist texts it is *pīha-*. It occurs multiple times in the LKh. *Aśokāvadāna*:[290] gen./dat. sg. §5.14.2 A *biśūṃ vā nva pīhi: pirāthyarä*[291] 'sell them all at a price!', §5.15 A *biśūau nva pīha: pirāṃdä*[292] 'they sold them all at a price', §5.18.2 A *iḍāri kimalai biśi nva pīha: para yuḍāṃdūṃ . u cu hvī: kamalai ṣṭe ttu āṃ nva pīha: ṣi' yaśä ąmāci ni parā īṃdä*[293] 'All other heads we could sell at a price but, as far as the human head is concerned, the minister Yaśas cannot sell it at a price', acc. sg. 5.17.3 A *tturi pīha: vī cu ṣi' giṃde* .[294] 'At this price, who will buy it?'; gen./dat. sg. also in *Jātakastava* 21r2 *jīvīji pīhä* 'At the price of life' (Dresden 1955: 434) and 25v4 *pīha udiśāyä śirye ba'ysāṃ dā* 'As price for the good Law of the Buddhas' (Dresden 1955: 437) and in the *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* P 4099.130 *jīvīje pīhye jsa* 'At the price of his life' (Emmerick Unpublished (b)), IOL Khot 147/2 v4 *pīhi jsa ysīrrä nādä* '... they took (bought) the gold at the price' (KMB: 331).
- The word is very frequent in LKh. documents: Or. 11252.15 b2 *vaña dva jūṇa pīha hauḍi yiḍeṃ* 'Now, I already paid the price twice',[295] Or. 6397/1 (G.1).3 *pīha ve mūrä ysārä* 'At the price of 1000 *mūras*' (KMB: 9), IOL Khot 9/4 a1 *viśa'kāṇta pīha hauḍā hamā* 'Viśa'kąntā paid the price' (KMB: 179), P

[290] For the numbering and the translations see Dragoni (2013-2014). A = P 2958, B = P 2798 (parallel).

[291] B *biśū vā nva pīhi* (*pa*)*rāthyari.*

[292] B *ba/śū\ ḍva pīha pirāṃdi.*

[293] B *iḍāri ki*(*ma*)*lai biśī nva pīha parā yuḍādū . u cu hva kamalai ṣṭe tta āṃ nva pīha: ṣi' yaśi āmāci ni parā īdi .*

[294] B */. ttu\ri pīha vī cu ṣi' gidi .*

[295] Zhan (2016: 431) and KMB: 94. Skjærvø (KMB: 94) integrates [*p*]*īhai* also in Or. 11252 b3 and reads [*p*]*īhai paśūṃ'* 'I send as (?) price'.

2786.244 *ca vä pabauna yai ttu jairmāṃ stūrau vą pīhą hūḍāṃda :* 'As the price of (these) excellent (?) draft horses, they gave what had been reported' (Kumamoto 1982: 131), Hedin 4.5 . *cī ra jsārä pīhya himāte ttī ra ṣi' pī*[*hä*] /// [. *ru*]*sa* || 'However much the corn may be in price, so much this price (shall be for wheat and) barley' (KT IV: 74).

- The *-ja-* adjective *pīha'ja* 'costly' occurs in P 2024.45 *u śā jsā pvaica pīha'ja hūḍāṃdū* 'And we gave one costly roll' (Kumamoto 1995: 233).
- With negative *a-* in P 2782.16 *raṃnä avīhä* 'priceless jewel (*ratana-*)', Ja 33r4 *raṃne avīha'* 'id.', Ja 14r2 *avīhyo raṃnyo* 'with priceless jewels'.

Discussion

From the occurrences above, it is clear that TB *pito* and Khotanese *pīha-* cover exactly the same semantic range. In Buddhist texts, the word is used in stock phrases, which are probably derived from the same Buddhist Sanskrit model. The first striking parallel is the phrase meaning "at the price of life", expressed in both languages by an adjectival formation (TB *-ṣṣe*, Khot. *-ja-*) based on the word for 'life' and the word for 'price':

- TB *śaulanmaṣṣe pītosa* IOL Toch 159 b5, THT 203 b4 (= THT 204 a3)
- LKh. *jīvīji pīhä* Ja 21r2, P 4099.130

The second is represented by the reference to the price of the Law (*dharma*), expressed with slightly different constructions in the two languages, but always with the same word TB *pito* Khot. *pīha-*:

- IOL Toch 134 a1 (*cakra*)*vā*(*r*)*tt*(*i*) *lānte pelaikneṣṣe pīto* 'The price of the Law of a Cakravartin king.'
- Ja 25v4 *pīha udiśāyä śirye ba'ysāṃ dā* 'As price for the good Law of the Buddhas.'

It is also striking that the word is used in documents with the same economic sense of 'price' (of goods, cf. Skt. *mūlya*).

As for the Tocharian word, what seemed once a puzzling declension pattern has been recently clarified by Del Tomba (2020: 187-9). He was able to read all the *okso*-type forms in the paradigm of *pito* (*pitai*) as belonging to the new subst. *ṣito* (obl. sg. *ṣitai*) 'envoy' (see s.v. *ārt**). Thus, for what can be gathered from the occurrences, TB *pito* behaves like a regular alternating noun of the *oko*-type. However, despite its genuine Tocharian declension pattern, it seems admittedly difficult to postulate for *pito* a Tocharian derivation. As TB *pito* and Khot. *pīha-* agree in meaning and share phonological similarities, it is possible that contact took place in this case.

Indeed, the traditional view on this word sees TB *pito* as a loanword from the pre-form of Khot. *pīha-*, i.e. from PK **pīϑa-*. Originally, Bailey had taken the two words as cognates,[296] but, after the publication of the *Prolexis*, Van Windekens recognized TB *pito*

[296] Cf. KT VI: 196-7 and DKS: 242, where no mention of a borrowing had been made. Before Bailey, Leumann (1933-1936: 461) had interpreted the occurrence in the Book of Zambasta as loc. sg. from a base *paha-*, which he thought of as a borrowing from Skt. *patha* 'way'.

as a borrowing.[297] Adams (DoT: 412) followed Van Windekens in taking *pito* as a loanword. Unfortunately, however, in spite of Bailey's efforts, a derivation of the word within Iranian seems quite complex.[298] His proposal of a root *pā-*/*pai-*/*pi-* meaning 'give over, pay' is unprecedented and does not have parallels within Iranian. In fact, MP *ābām*, NP *āvām* etc. are rather to be analysed as based on the Proto-Iranian root **Hmai-*[2] (EDIV: 178) preceded by the preverb **apa-*.

The only possible comparison outside Iranian, also listed by Bailey in DKS, would be Hittite *pai-* 'to give', if this is understood as a univerbation of the root PIE *h_2ei-* 'to give' with the preverb *pe* 'away'. However, this verb has been recently explained otherwise by Kloekhorst (2006 and 2008: 615-6), who has shown that a derivation from the zero grade of PIE **h₁ep-* followed by an ablauting suffix **-oi-*/*-i-* is to be preferred.

The only Iranian form which can be compared with a fair degree of certainty is the Ossetic verb I *fidyn* D *fedun* 'to pay'. Rejecting Abaev's etymology (< **pati-dā-*), Cheung (2002: 189) suggests that the Ossetic forms may point to a proto-form **paida-*. He further argues that the verb might be a denominative based on **paida-* and he compares the Khotanese and Tocharian forms without commenting on their possible etymology. However, this comparison, too, is not without problems. In fact, if the Proto-Iranian form had **-ϑ-*, this would have yielded Oss. *-t-*, and not *-d-*.[299]

Results

For the time being, it can only be noted with certainty that the word is a lexical formation isolated within East Iranian, which is represented only in Khotanese and Ossetic. From East Iranian, the word was borrowed into Tocharian. The phonological irregularities involved in reconstructing an Eastern Iranian proto-form and the lack of certain Iranian cognates, however, may point to an independent borrowing from a third source both in Ossetic and in Khotanese. The final *-o* in the Tocharian B form, however, points clearly to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. Because of the Toch. *t* for Khot. *h* < **ϑ*, OKh. can be excluded. Further, because of the *ī* in the first syllable, which shows monophthongisation of an original **ai*, on the evidence of Ossetic, it is possible to determine with a fair degree of certainty that the borrowing into Tocharian can be dated to the PK stage. Therefore, based on this evidence, it is also possible to attribute to the PK period the preservation of the dental character of **ϑ*. The history of the word may be

[297] VW: 637. Tremblay (2005: 428) reports the same conclusion.

[298] No Khotanese denominative verb based on *pīha-* exists. Bailey's hypothesis that the 1 pl. of such a verb may be attested in the hapax *pāṃdu* (DKS: 229) in IOL Khot 45/4.3 (KMB: 277) is quite far-fetched, as recognized by Bailey himself (DKS: 229). Moreover, LKh. *pīha-* 'hearth' (DKS: 242) is to be interpreted otherwise, see SVK II: 171.

[299] Cheung (2002: 21) cf. PIr. **paϑana-* > Oss. *fætæn* 'wide'. A. Lubotsky (p.c.) suggests that, if one were to accept Abaev's etymology and Kümmel's (2018) hypothesis, the different dental in Khotanese (**ϑ*) may be due to an original **dH* (**pati-dHa-*). Based on this suggestion, a hypothetical path PIr. **pati-dHa-ya-* > **paϑaya-* > PTK **peϑa-* > PK *pīϑa-* > OKh. *pīha-* may be reconstructed.

therefore reconstructed as follows: **paida-* 'price' → Oss. D *fedun* 'to pay'; **paiϑa-* 'price' → PTK **pēϑa-* > PK *pīϑa-*, acc. sg. *pīϑu* → TB *pito*; PK *pīϑa-* > OKh. *pīha-*.

TA *PISSAṄK* 'BHIKṢUSAṂGHA', LKH. *BI'SAṂGA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

The first scholar to establish a link between Tocharian A *pissaṅk* 'bhikṣusaṃgha' and the Late Khotanese word *bi'saṃga-* 'id.' was Hansen (1940: 154), who put forward the hypothesis that TA *pissaṅk* may be a loanword from Khotanese, without giving more detailed explanations. The same idea is to be found in Bailey (1946: 771), who identified the source form in Late Khotanese *bi'saṃga-* (< OKh. *bilsaṃga-*). A more detailed discussion on these two words is to be found further in Bailey (1954: 9-10) and in KT VI: 242. The same idea is also supported by Isebaert (1980: 134-5) and, more recently, by Pinault (2015: 159).

Indeed, the derivation of the Tocharian A word from Late Khotanese does not show particular phonological or semantic problems and can be considered as established.[300] The etymology of the Khotanese word, on the other hand, has not been given due attention. In fact, it seems that Bailey's (KT VI: 242) derivation from *bhikṣu-saṃgha-* has been accepted without any critical evaluation (see e.g. Tremblay 2005: 434, Suv II: 314). In its latest formulation (KT VI: 242), his theory takes for granted a development *-kṣ-* > *-xš-* > *-ɣž-* > *-ž-* > *-l-* (in front of *s*) which has no parallels either within Khotanese or Middle Indic. In fact, the most likely native pronunciation of <kṣ> in Gāndhārī was [ʈʂ] (Baums 2009: 168), as discovered by Bailey himself (1946: 770-8). The *kh* in *bhikhu* beside the regular *bhikṣu*, should rather be explained as a loanword from another Middle Indic dialect (Allon 2001: 95, Salomon 2008: 124).[301] For Khotanese, a pronuciation [ʈʂʻ] for <kṣ> has been posited by Emmerick and Pulleyblank (1993: 37), explicitly rejecting Emmerick's previous hypothesis of a value [χʃ] (cf. also Emmerick 1992a: 155-6).[302] Should we consider the hypothesis of a direct borrowing from Skt. *bhikṣusaṃgha*, we may rather expect the preservation of *kṣ* as such, as evident in OKh. *bhikṣusaṃgha-* (Z 22.228, 24.652). Thus, Bailey's derivation cannot stand closer scrutiny and OKh. *bilsaṃga-* is in need of a new analysis.

Bailey's theory originally included also other terms for 'bhikṣusaṃgha' in neighbouring languages. Thus, he analysed also BSogd. *pwrsnk* as borrowed from *bhikṣusaṃgha*. The difficult vowel *u* in the first syllable he explained from a Gāndhārī

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[300] The Tocharian A double *s*, however, is not so easily explained. It is possible that the loss of *l* in Khotanese resulted at first in a longer *s*, noted in Late Khotanese orthography by the subscript hook. In Tocharian A, this sound could have been represented by a double *s*.

[301] A dissimilation from this Middle Indic form *bik-saṃgha* > *bilsaṃga-*, as put forward by Bailey (1954: 10, not in KT VI: 242) is also very difficult, as no parallels can be adduced.

[302] Hitch (2016: 48) further argues that, in Old Khotanese, <kṣ> represented an unaspirated [ʈʂ], which became an aspirated [ʈʰ] only in Late Khotanese.

form with vowel assimilation *bhukṣu*° (cf. *bhukṣusaṃgasya* in CKD 703, Brough 1962: 83). However, as already noted, it is difficult to justify his claim that Gandh. [ʈʂ] became BSogd. *r*, even when the hypothesis of an unprecedented dissimilation in front of *s* is accepted. It is not disputed that OUygh. *bursaŋ* (HWA: 202) is a direct loanword from Sogdian *pwrsnk* (l.c. and KT VI: 242). What appears to be a problem, however, is the derivation of Sogd. *pwrsnk* – and consequently of OUygh. *bursaŋ* – from Chin. *fó sēng* 佛僧 (LMC *ffijyt səəŋ* EMC *but səŋ*, cf. Pulleyblank 1991: 99, 273), as *communis opinio* among turkologists (cf. HWA: 202). This is in direct contrast with Bailey's position, who explicitly stated that 'there is of course no **buddha-sangha-*' (Bailey 1982: 17). This problem was recently addressed by Yoshida (1994: 372-3), who seemed inclined to follow Bailey's theory. However, he did not properly evaluate the improbable phonological steps involved (cf. *supra*). On the other hand, as shown by Yoshida himself (1994: 372), there are no obstacles to interpreting BSogd. *pwrsnk* as a loanword from Early Middle Chinese (i.e. before the change of the initial EMC *b-* to *f-*).

The main difficulty with a derivation from Middle Chinese seems to have been a philological one. In fact, no **buddha-saṃgha* seems to be attested in Buddhist texts. However, only a rapid search in the Sanskrit version of some of the major Mahāyāna texts found that the compound *bodhisattva-saṃgha* has a considerable number of occurrences in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā and in the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra. In the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā a compound *bodhi-saṃgha* occurs together with *bodhisattva-saṃgha* and in Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā a compound *pratyekabuddha-saṃgha* is to be found. Thus, it is not impossible that a compound **buddha-saṃgha* may have been formed in a Central Asian milieu. Further confirmation of this hypothesis may come from Khotanese onomastics. In fact, two very frequent names in the Hedin documents are *saṃgabuda-* (e.g. Hedin 9.4)[303] and *budasaṃga-* (Hedin 2, 4, 25, 26, 29). The second name is sufficient to justify a Central Asian compound **buddha-saṃgha* as the ultimate source of BSogd. *pwrsnk*. Moreover, the same name is also attested in the Khotanese colophon of the Khotan manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (Von Hinüber 2015: 218) in the instr.-abl. sg. *budasaṃgäna* (Fol. 456 b8).

Keeping in mind these considerations on BSogd. *pwrsnk*, it is now necessary to return to OKh. *bilsaṃga-*. In the Book of Zambasta it occurs 26 times with *i* in the first syllable and 6 times with *ä*. In the Or. manuscript of the Suvarṇabhasottamasūtra it is consistently spelled with *ä*, as *bälsaṃg*(*h*)*a-*. In view of this distribution in Old Khotanese texts, it is necessary to test the hypothesis that the form with *ä* may be the original one. In fact, starting from a form *bälsaṃga-*, I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the Khotanese form may be derived from **balysa-saṃga-* '*buddha-saṃgha'. The phonological development may have been as follows: **bálysa-sáṃga-* > **balysäsáṃga-* > **balsáṃga-* > *bälsáṃga-*. In this case, the developments involved (assimilation of *yss* > *s*,

[303] This name seems to be attested also in Gāndhārī, cf. *sagha*[*bu*]*dhasa* in CKI 197 and *saṃghabudhiṣa* in CKD 464. I am grateful to N. Schoubben for this reference.

weakening of unaccented *a*) may be neatly explained within Khotanese historical phonology, without recurring to unprecedented and unlikely sound changes. It is possible that the later generalization of forms with *i* in the initial syllable (cf. *supra*, already in Z) may be due to analogy with the initial vowel of Skt. *bhikṣusaṃgha*, of which *bälsaṃga-* is a frequent translation.

The *i* vowel in TA *pissańk* does not represent a problem, as it was probably borrowed from Late Khotanese, where *i* and *ä* were not kept distinct anymore, the form with *i* instead of original *ä* was generalized. Noteworthy is the lack of a Tocharian B match for TA *pissańk*. As in the case of TA *twantaṃ*, q.v., it seems that this specific set of Buddhist terms was borrowed only by Tocharian A speakers directly from Khotanese in the historical period. I would like to suggest that this phenomenon may be linked with the presence of a Khotanese religious mission in Tocharian A speaking areas from the 5th c. CE onwards (Maggi 2004: 186). On this problem cf. further §4.3.4.

Results

TA *pissańk* 'bhikṣusaṃgha' is considered a loanword from LKh. *bi'saṃga-* 'id.' This derivation is not problematic. The etymology of OKh. *bilsaṃga-* (> LKh. *bi'saṃga-*) as commonly accepted in the literature, on the other hand, is based on a hypothetical phonological development from Skt. *bhikṣusaṃgha* which cannot stand closer scrutiny. I would like to suggest that the variant *bälsaṃga-* is original, and that this can be analysed as a compound **balysa-saṃga-* '*buddha-saṃgha'. Comparison with BSogd. *pwrsnk* and OUygh. *bursaŋ*, both used to translate Skt. *bhikṣusaṃgha*, shows that this compound was widespread in the Tarim basin.

TB *PERI* A *PARE* 'DEBT'

Tocharian occurrences

- B *peri* IOL Toch 92 a2 *///-naṃ śaul peri tāseṃ* '… they put their lives in pledge' (Peyrot 2013: 432).
- IOL Toch 116 50-2 k_u(*s*)*e cwī peri waipecce ce ·e ///* 'Who … his debt and possessions …'
- IOL Toch 169 a5 */// cai snai peri wa ·ñ· ·i* 'They … without debt …'
- IOL Toch 187 a5 *ṛṇaśeṣaṃ peri lyipär* '*ṛṇaśeṣaṃ* (Skt.), 'remaining debt' (Toch.)'.
- IOL Toch 258 a2-3 (*p*)*erisa te we*(*ñ*)*āsta kos tañ peri mā āyu tot ṣamāne mā ṣeske* '… on account of the debt you said this: «As long as I don't give you the debt [back], so long the monk … not alone …' (Peyrot 2013: 710).
- PD Bois B97 a2 *perṇiśke ysāri peri cāk* 'Perṇiśke, the wheat to be paid [lit. debt]: one picul' (Ching 2010: 321).
- PK Bois C1 b5ii $_u$*mātśitse ysāre peri wsam* 'We have given wheat to be paid to $_u$Mātśi*' (Ching 2010: 351).

- PK DA M 507.32 a10 *aṣkārsa ṣorye perisa eṅku ṣe-ñ* 'It is imposed on me as the **ṣorye*-debt because of the violation (of contract?)' (Ching 2010: 227).
- PK DA M 507.37 and .36 a32-33 *saṅkantse perisa* 'Because of the dues/debt (assigned to?) the saṃgha' (Ching 2010: 211).
- PK LC 11 a1 *snai peri pauśye karpo- ///* 'without *peri*, the *pauśye* [shall be distributed (?)]' (Ching 2010: 442).
- SI B Toch 9 a13 *ce śaiyye Raktakule perisa wāya* 'Raktakule carried this *śaiyye* owing to (him) away' (Ching 2010: 316).
- SI B Toch 11 a4 *Paiytiñe Sutane perisa āuw wāya* (*orocce keme*)*sa śle yari* 'Sutane of Paiyti, for sth. owed (to him), carried away a full-mouthed ewe, with a new-born (lamb)' (Ching 2010: 348).
- THT 375 a5 *///* (*śre*)*ṣṭhinmeṃ peri yāmmar* 'If I borrow money from the distinguished [Priyadeva, my neighbour]' (Peyrot 2013: 310).
- THT 462 a5 *otaṃk tukikäṃntse peri«sa» sarmwātsai* '…'
- THT 491 b5ii *saṅkatepe ysāre peri towä 5* 'Saṅkatepe: wheat to be paid, 5 pecks' (Ching 2010: 354).
- THT 1111 b2 *mapi ketra ca peri nestä* 'You are not indebted to anyone, are you?' (CEToM, Fellner and Illés eds.).
- THT 1335.a a7 */// mce ksa peri* – '… any debt …'
- THT 4000 b1i *et passim*[304] *lāpārññe carśole kuśāneṃ peri 70-5* 'Carśole of Lāpār (is) owing *kuśāne*s: 74' (Ching 2010: 358).
- THT 4001 a8 *snai yakau snai peri ce – ka* 'Without *yakau*, without (any)thing left to be paid. …' (Ching 2010: 360).
- A *pare* A 94 b5 *tämyo pare mar yat-ñi mar kenät-ñi smā*(*lokāṃ*) 'Deshalb gib mir keine Schuld! Nenne nicht mich einen Lü(gner)!' (Schmidt 1974: 96), MY1.6 a6 *lyutñam pare tām skassu* 'I will get out of [my] debts and be happy' (Peyrot 2013: 265).

Discussion[305]

Apart from some sporadic occurrences in doctrinal texts, B *peri* is mostly attested in late documents of economic nature. After examining the different occurrences, Ching (2010: 442) concludes that the meaning of *peri* is somewhat broader than previously thought and that 'it is better to consider it as a general term for something owing, rather than a specific notion such as private debts or commercial obligations.'

As for the etymology, one can identify at least three different hypotheses which have been put forward throughout the last hundred years (Peyrot 2008: 162-3): 1. Loanword

[304] *peri* is repeated at every line in what seems to be a list of debtors and debts to be paid, cf. Ching (2010: 358).

[305] This study was partially presented during the online conference 'Tocharian in Progress' (Leiden University, 08.12.2020).

from Old Turkish *berim* 'id.', 2. Loanword from Iranian (specifically from Pre-Khotanese) and 3. Inherited Tocharian formation.

That *peri* could have been borrowed from Old Turkish was first proposed by Stumpf (1990: 104). He noted that the word occurs mainly in the late language and he put forward the hypothesis that it could be a loan from Old Turkish *berim*, which covers the same range of meanings (Clauson 1972: 366). There are many problems associated with this etymology. Above all, this proposal does not account for the TA equivalent and for the fact that the word can be reconstructed for Proto-Tocharian. As already noted by Peyrot (2008: 162), Stumpf's hypothesis would imply that the word was borrowed in TA and B independently, which is highly unlikely. The remarkable late distribution could be explained as a coincidence. One should not forget that the word belongs to a very specialized semantic category. Secondly, there is no easy explanation for the disappearance of *-m*, which would have been lost without leaving any trace.

The second hypothesis deserves a more extensive treatment. In fact, the idea of a loanword from Iranian dates back to the early days of Tocharian studies, when Lévi and Meillet first identified the word as the translation of Skt. *ṛṇa* 'debt' in the bilingual fragment IOL Toch 187 (cf. *supra*) and compared Av. *pāra-* 'debt'.[306] In the last century, other Iranian forms have come to light, which belong to the same root **par-* 'to get even, equalize, commit oneself (to a legal obligation, contract)' (EDIV: 293) and share the same range of meaning: Pa. *p'r* 'debt' (DMMP: 259), Sogd. *p'r* 'loan' (Henning 1948: 607 fn. 2), Bactr. παρο 'debt, obligations, loan, amount due' (Sims-Williams 2007: 252), Khot. *pāra-* 'debt' (KS: 9).

With regard to Khotanese, Bailey (KT IV: 56-7) drew the attention to two additional forms, *pīra* (IOL Khot 27/10 b3, see KMB: 230) and *peri* (Hedin 3.15), both hapaxes (KT IV: 22). These he tentatively derived from **parya-* and **pārya-*, through the usual palatalisation rules active in Khotanese (*a* > *ī* and *ā* > *e*). The first form is particularly interesting from the Tocharian point of view, as it provides a possible Iranian source with short *-a-* in the first syllable. As first noted by Van Windekens (VW: 635-6), a short *-a-* is required to explain both TB and A forms.[307] Adams follows VW in choosing the Pre-Khotanese form with short *-a-* (DoT: 425). He reconstructs Proto-Tocharian **peräi*, which he explains as deriving from **parya-* with loss of the final vowel and insertion of an epenthetic *-a-* to simplify the cluster *-ry-*. In fact, the Proto-Tocharian reconstruction would point more in the direction of Iranian **paraya-* (?) than to **parya-*. This is *per se* quite problematic and it does not seem to be possible to explain it out recurring simply to epenthesis.

Moreover, it seems that the Late Khotanese hapax *pīra*, i.e. the only form on which the reconstructed form **parya-* is based, could be interpreted otherwise. The new interpretation is due to Skjærvø (*apud* SVK III: 90), who, rightly noting that a broken

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[306] Cf. Lévi and Meillet (1916: 159).

[307] Tremblay (2005: 428) wants to derive the Tocharian forms from **pārya-*, through PK **peria-*. However, this does not account for the vowels of TA *pare*.

passage is not the best place to look for a hapax, has suggested the following tentative translation for IOL Khot 27/10 b3:

- */ x pīra pāḍä īdä dasau vā thauna haura* '... (as soon as?) he has raised the (silk) *worms(?) give us ten cloths' (KMB: 230).

It might be noted that also the Late Khotanese hapax *peri* in the Hedin document 3 is of uncertain meaning. However, lacking a better solution, Bailey's translation 'to be paid' (< **pārya-*) is to be taken in consideration:

- *ci ttye tta hārū-ṃ peri ṣṭāte puṣai vā hajsẹma thyau* 'No matter how much is to be paid to my officials, quickly send it all to me!' (Zhang 2016: 160).

Previously, Bailey (KT IV: 67) had translated 'what therefore is to be paid by me to the merchant, send it to him fully at once.' On *hārua-* 'official' and not 'merchant' in the documents, see Zhang (2016: 150-1). As for *peri*, Zhang (2016: 160) does not offer a new interpretation. Degener (KS: 301) is likewise very cautious and lists the words with three question marks. Difficult is a connection with *pera-* (KS: 303), as its meaning and etymology are as well obscure. My suggestion is that the Late Khotanese hapax *peri* may be connected with the well-attested *pāra-* 'debt' (cf. *supra*), of which it could be the loc. sg. Accordingly, I would like to propose the following translation of the passage in question: 'What of it (*ttye*) my official (*harū-ṃ*) is thus (*tta*) in debt (*peri*), quickly send it all!' = 'Thus, what my official owes (to me), quickly send it all!'

Thus, the discussion above has made clear that the hapaxes *pīra-* and *peri* in Late Khotanese are to be interpreted respectively as acc. sg. of *pīra-* 'silk-worm' and the loc. sg. of *pāra-* 'debt'. In fact, all Khotanese forms seem to point to a root with long *-ā-*, as do all other Old and Middle Iranian attestations. The alleged Tq. form *para-* (Konow 1935: 821) cannot be trusted for the quantity of the vowel, as in Tumshuqese long and short vowels are not consistently noted. Moreover, the two occurrences of the word listed by Konow are quite dubious. The first (II, 9) is probably part of the verbal form *paratha* (< *parath-* 'to sell'), so we are left with just one attestation. This is *parāñi* (II, 8), an alleged plural of *para-* which would take the ending of the *n*-declension (?). This is not impossible in principle, although it is not backed by Khot. *pāra-*, which behaves regularly. Consequently, there is no trace of a form with short *-a-* within Iranian, which is alone necessary to explain the Tocharian forms.

Of the three hypotheses formulated at the beginning, the most probable seems then to be the third. Indeed, the possibility that we have to do with an inherited Tocharian word has been variously discussed in the literature.[308] It must be noted that similar correspondences to that of TB *peri* A *pare* do exist and are not to be underestimated. As already noted by Ringe (1996: 85-6), TB *leki* A *lake* 'bed' from the root *ĺək-* 'to lie (down)' (Peyrot 2013: 813) is one of them. In fact, one would see no difficulty in deriving TB *peri* A *pare* from **pər-*, with the meaning 'to take' (Peyrot 2013: 773).[309]

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[308] The first tentative explanation was suggested by Schneider (1939: 253), who compared Gothic *fairina* 'fault'.

[309] On this class of abstract nouns, see recently Del Tomba (2020a: 28-29).

A Tocharian derivation seems the only way to explain both vowels. However, as already noted by Ringe (1996: 86) and Peyrot (2008: 162), it has semantic difficulties. In fact, a formation PIE **bhor-oi* could mean 'thing carried, burden', but the connection with 'debt' is not clear. This is the reason why Ringe (1996: 86) put forward the hypothesis that the meaning 'debt' is due to influence of the similar sounding Iranian words (cf. *supra*). However, it is known that Tocharian *pər-* can be translated as 'to take' (cf. e.g. Malzahn 2010: 707). Accordingly, one may not need Iranian influence if one recognizes that a perfect semantic parallel can be offered by Old Turkish *alım* 'debt' (lit. 'a single act of taking' < *al-* 'to take', cf. Clauson 1972: 145), frequent in hendiadys with *berim* 'debt (due to be paid)' < *bēr-* 'to give' (cf. Clauson 1972: 366). For the hendiadys, cf. also Erdal (1991: 296).

Results

TB *peri* A *pare* cannot be derived from any pre-stage of LKh. *pīra-* or *pera-*, as the two Khotanese words are rather to be read as the acc. sg. of *pīra-* 'silk-worm' and the loc. sg. of *pāra-* 'debt'. It is further proposed that the word may have a native Tocharian origin.

TB *MAṄKĀRA/MAṄKĀRE/MAṄKARĀÑCANA* 'OLD', OKH. *MAṂGĀRA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- nom. sg. *mańkāre* SI B Toch 10 a4 *mańkāre sarkalyi mäntātse ṣe* 'Old/Long *sarkalyi* watering can(?): one' (Ching 2010: 344).
- nom. sg. *mańkāra* PK DA M 507.39 and .43 a2 *yap masa cāk mańkāra ///* 'Barley has been spent: one picul. The old (grains) ...' (Ching 2010: 181).
- PK DA M 507.41 a5 *mańkāra āra śātre | ñwema(ṣṣe) ///* 'The old (grains) ran out. (These are the items concerning) grains. | The new (grains) ...' (Ching 2010: 184).
- PK DA M 507.41 b1 */// (ṣka)s«†ä» meñantse -meṃ mante sańkantse śeśu mańkāra* '... by the [6th day] of the month, the old (barley) eaten by the saṃgha ...'
- nom. pl. *mańkarāñcana* PK Bois C1 a2 *ṣṭalāṣṭinmeṃ mańkarāñcana āka warpāmte cakanma 264* 'From the side of Ṣṭalāṣṭi, we have received/gained old millet *āka*: 264 piculs' (Ching 2010: 350).
- PK Bois C1 a5-7 *ṣe keśne āka mańkarāñcana takāre cakanma 357 towa 6 ñwemaṣṣana ṣañ cmalyana āka takāre cakanma 452 to(wa) 9 po ṣe keśne ce mańkarāñcana ce ñwemaṣṣana āka cakanma 810 towa 5* 'In total, the old millet *āka* is: 357 piculs, 6 pecks. (a6) The new produced millet *āka* is: 452 piculs, 9 [pecks]. (a7) In [total], the old and the fresh millet *āka*: 810 piculs, 5 pecks' (Ching 2010: 350).

Discussion

From the third series of occurrences above, it is clear that *mañkarāñcana āka* is opposed to *ñwemaṣṣana āka*, which designates the 'new' *āka*-millet.[310] This was the main reason why Ogihara (*apud* Ching 2010: 352) assigned to *mañkarāñcana āka* the meaning 'old' *āka*-millet. The word seems to be attested another four times, without the final *-āñca*-element, always in late Tocharian B documents. Ching and Ogihara agree on the fact that it should denote an 'old' edible (grain or millet) also in these occurrences. Ogihara (l.c.) assumes a borrowing from Khot. *maṃgāra-* 'old', which seems to me very attractive, both from the semantic and the phonological point of view.

In this case, however, two problems remain to be solved. The first involves the declension pattern of the Tocharian B word. In fact, the occurrences at our disposal do not allow the inclusion of the word in any known pattern. Moreover, the origin of the apparent suffix TB *-āñca* is unknown. Phonologically, it could reflect the well-known Khotanese *-āṃgyā-* of a source form ***maṃgarāṃgyā-*. However, the form is not attested in Khotanese as such, and none of the three Khot. *-āṃgyā*-suffixes at disposal can be added to an adjective without modifying the meaning (KS: 73-8). The second problem involves the fact that Khot. *maṃgāra-* has no assured etymology, as Bailey's (DKS: 321) tentative proposal cannot stand closer scrutiny. He derives it from **mara-kāra-*. In fact, it is difficult to admit with Bailey that *maṃgāra-* could be derived from **margāra-* by dissimilation, as no root with a suitable meaning exists within Iranian (**mar-* 'to die', **marH-* 'to rub, crush', **marH-* 'to block, hinder' [meanings according to EDIV]). The problem of *maṃgāra-* may be connected to that of *ysaṃgara-* 'old' (DKS: 321), but at the moment I am unable to offer any suitable solution.

In view of these problems, it is admittedly difficult to posit with certainty a borrowing from Khotanese into Tocharian B. My preliminary suggestion is that we may have to do with an independent borrowing into Khotanese and Tocharian from a third, non-Indo-European substrate language of the area.

Results

Building upon a proposal by Ogihara (*apud* Ching 2010: 352), it is suggested that the Tocharian B adjective *mañkāre*/*mañkāra*/*mañkarāñca* could be derived from OKh. *maṃgāra* 'old' by way of borrowing. This solution, however, presents us with two unsolved problems, i.e. the puzzling declension pattern of the Tocharian B adjective and the impossibility to analyse Khot. *maṃgāra-* within Iranian. In view of these problems, my suggestion is that both terms were borrowed independently into Khotanese and Tocharian from an unknown substrate language of the area.

[310] On TB *āka*, a type of millet whose etymology is still unclear, see Ching (2016: 50) and Peyrot (2018b: 253-4).

TB *mātār*, *mādār* A *mātār* 'makara (sea-monster)'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 295 b2-3 *t(e tve ke)śä mäṃ*[311] *ptesä srukālleṣṣe mādār se pontäṃ nuknaṃ pontäṃntso akalkänta kärstoca* 'Pay thus attention to this: this sea monster of death swallows all [and] is cutting off the wishes of all' (CEToM, Peyrot ed.).
- THT 282 b4 *mātārä srukalyñeṣṣe koyn kakāyau tekiṣṣeṃ kemeṃtsa po treṣṣäṃ śaiṣṣe* 'Das Ungeheuer des Todes, den Rachen aufgesperrt habend, zerkaut mit den Zähnen der Krankheit alles Lebendige [die Welt]' (Hackstein 1995: 179).
- THT 1382.e *mātār* [isolated word].
- A 29 b1 /// – (*ā*)*rwar yäṣ mātāreṃ ṣuṅkaṃ pälkāc mātār tā* – /// '... (this ship?) is readily going into the [gaping] mouth of the sea monster. Behold the monster! ...' (CEToM, Carling, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- A 31 a1 *mātār sāmudraṃ tāk* 'There was a sea monster in the ocean' (CEToM, Carling, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- A 60 a1-2 *camäk camäk wlaluneṣi mātā*(*r*) /// 'The monster of death (will swallow) [the bodily forms] one after the other' (cf. CEToM, Carling, Pinault, Malzahn eds.)

Discussion

The equivalent of Skt. *makara* 'sea-monster' is in Tocharian A *mātār*, in Tocharian B *mādār* or *mātār* and in Old Uyghur *madar*. All these forms show a dental in place of the expected velar of the Sanskrit form, from which the Tocharian A and B words should have been borrowed. The Old Uyghur word may be quite safely regarded as a loanword from Tocharian (so HWA: 458). The Tocharian A and B equivalents are traditionally (since Bailey 1937: 915) considered as borrowings from a 'khotanized' variant of Skt. *makara-*, where the Sanskrit velar became at first [ɣ] (attested in OKh. *magara-* 'id.' in Z 24.239) and was then lost, leaving a hiatus, ['ma'ara-], which was most probably substituted by a glottal stop [ʔ]. As <t> in Khotanese may indicate a glottal stop, together with <v> and <g>, Bailey (1937: 915) put forward the hypothesis that the Tocharian forms may be derived from an unattested Khot. **matara-*, the regular late Khotanese spelling of ['maʔara]. Since the source of the borrowing would be a written form, not on the actual pronunciation, this would imply learned contact.

This option is not impossible, although it presents us with some difficulties. First, it is hard to explain the Tocharian B variant *mādār* with a *d* instead of the expected *t*. In fact, in Khotanese <t> can stand for a glottal stop, but <d> cannot. Therefore, Tremblay's (2005: 434) hypothesis that Skt. *makara* passed through a stage '**mādara-*' in Khotanese

[311] For *mäṃt*.

cannot be upheld. Therefore, Tocharian B <d> is better interpreted as an inner-Tocharian phenomenon, perhaps a hypersanskritism (cf. e.g. the *ṿ* in *tvāṅkaro*, for which see s.v.). The forms with <t> should therefore be regarded as original. Second, a form with <t> is not directly attested in Khotanese and no other examples of such specific contact on a written level are documented otherwise. For this reason, Bailey's proposal remains hypothetical for the moment. If correct, however, it could prove that Tocharian copyists could read and understand Khotanese written texts and knew the principles of Old Khotanese writing. As the word is attested in archaic Tocharian B (THT 295, 282), it seems reasonable to surmise that the word was borrowed from Old Khotanese. Because of the absence of final vowel and the implied presence of a glottal stop in place of [ɣ], however, the borrowing can hardly be older than the late Old Khotanese stage.

Results

Bailey's hypothesis that TA *mātār* and B *mādār*, *mātār* may derive from a 'khotanized' variant of Skt. *makara*, presupposing learned contact through the script, seems possible but remains hypothetical due to the isolation of this particular case.

TB *miṣ(ṣ)e* A *miṣi* 'FIELD, *kṣetra*', KHOT. *miṣ(ṣ)a-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- B *mīṣe* PK NS 13 and 516 b3 *ṣañ mīṣe yaikorme(ṃ)* 'having removed (his) own field', THT 73 b3 *kätkre wartse kele ywārśka mīṣe kare pe(rnettse)* 'a deep, wide navel in the middle of the worthy field' (DoT: 498) parallel to IOL Toch 89 /// *mīṣe kare pernettse* 'of the worthy field', PK NS 53 a5 *mīṣe (ra) c(i) .e* 'like a field (is) ...',[312] B *miṣe* IOL Toch 466 (parallel to THT 73) *k(e)le ywārśka miṣe k(are)* 'navel in the middle of the worthy field.'
- B loc.sg. *mīṣene* PK NS 53 a6 *(mī)ṣene lāṃs ramt yāmornta* 'Comme le travail dans le champ [sont] les actes' (Pinault 1988: 115).
- B plur. *miṣenta* PK AS 16.2 a4 *calle ṣ wesäṃ miṣenta* 'we have to abandon (?) our fields' (Pinault 1989: 195 and Peyrot 2013: 661).
- B *miṣṣe*[313] PK DA M 507.37 and .36 a40-41 *cau werwyeś miṣṣe eṅku ste ṣkas caka(nma)* 'In order to (pay the tax on) the enclosed farm, a land is imposed: six [piculs]' (Ching 2010: 212), THT 1468 a5 *miṣṣe yirpo(n)t(a)ṣṣe* 'field of meritorious services' (DoT: 522).

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[312] See Peyrot (2018b: 265). Pinault (1988: 115) had previously read *mīṣe (rapā)l(ñe)* and translated 'labourer un champ.'

[313] The variant with double *-ṣ-* seems to be a late feature. Both THT 1468, with late b5 *aknāsaṃ* for *aknātsañ*, and THT 294, with late *pācir* for *pācer*, are to be classified as late. The occurrence in THT 294 is the only one with final *-i* and may be a particular feature of this late manuscript only (cf. *pācir* for *pācer*).

- B *miṣṣi* THT 294 b4 *yärpontaṣṣe ynamont miṣṣi wi*(*nāskau*) /// 'I honour the field of meritorious services, going …'[314]
- A perl. *miṣisā* YQ 1.23 [III, 4] a4 *miṣisā kākmärtikāṃ kṣatrapai kāk* 'She called the overseer of the fields, the *kṣetrapati*' (Pinault 2003: 267).
- A *miṣi* YQ 1.23 [III, 4] a5 *k*(*a*)*knu miṣi tāṣ cam tu kāsu āneñci pleṣār* '(when) this field has become […], then you work it well and carefully'; A 252 (parallel A 251) *ymatunt miṣi sne lyutār* ¦ *wināsam näṣ śl=āñcālyi* ¦ *pissaṅkṣiṃ kro*(*p*) 'I revere (*wināsam*) excellently (*sne lyutār*) the *kṣetra* (*miṣi*) of the *bhikṣusaṃgha* gathering (*krop*) going with my hands put together (*śl=āñcālyi*).'[315]
- *miṣī* A 62 a1 *ymatunt miṣī pissaṅkṣiṃ* ¦ *wināsamäs mrāc* (*śpālyo*) 'We worship (*wināsamäs*) through (?) the *kṣetra* (*miṣī*) of the *bhikṣusaṃgha* going (with) the head [and] (front of the head).'[316]

Khotanese occurrences

- In Old Khotanese it is attested both with double and single -*ṣ*-: as instr./abl. pl. *mäṣṣyau* in Z 17.26 *paljsatä uryānyau banhyo jsa mäṣṣyau* 'surrounded by gardens, trees, seed-fields' (Emmerick 1968: 269), as acc. sing. in *Saṃghāṭasūtra* 43.6 *ttu mäṣa byehäte balysāna* 'reaches that Buddha-field [Skt. *buddhakṣetra*-]' (Canevascini 1993: 20) and as loc. pl. *mäṣvo*' in *Saṃghāṭasūtra* 72.2 *tcūrvo dīvuo mäṣvo*' 'in the field of the four continents [Skt. *caturṣu dvīpa-kṣetreṣu*]' (Canevascini 1993: 32).
- Also in Late Khotanese both variants are attested: nom. pl. *miṣṣa* in Hedin 17.19 *ttrai vī miṣṣa āstañāñä u vyihāra padīmāñña u baṃhya kerāña* 'on the

[314] If *ynamont* is a late form for *ynamoṃ*, obl. sg. of *ynamo* 'going'.

[315] Peyrot (2016a: 207) had previously translated 'I revere the *ymatu* assembly with my hands put together, [and] the gathering of the monks' community.' The translation 'assembly' is no more acceptable ('field' would be preferred). If the obscure word *ymatunt* is to be taken as a sort of participial formation (?) from *y*- 'to go' meaning 'going' (as translated by Peyrot and by Itkin [2019, 173 'идущий'] who lists for the word, among other uncertain occurrences, a possible nom. sg. *ymatuṣ* in THT 1475.d a3), a new tentative translation of the sentence may be given as outlined above. A translation 'going' would fit also the next occurrence of *ymatunt* in A 62 a1. Accordingly, one may propose the following tentative translation: 'We worship (*wināsamäs*) through (?) the *kṣetra* (*miṣī*) of the *bhikṣusaṃgha* going (with) the head [and] (front of the head)'. To back such tentative translations, one may note that the Sanskrit *cliché* upon which the Tocharian phrase 'to worship with the hands in *añjali*-position or with the head and the front of the head' was likewise formed with a verb meaning 'to go' (*kram*-), cf. e.g. *Avadānaśataka* 40 (Vaidya 1958: 101) *upasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvaikānte'sthāt*. In Late Khotanese, the phrase was likewise translated with the verb *tsu*- 'to go', cf. Aśoka 5.4 *u tteri jsai pākā aurgi tsve* 'and went with homage to his feet with his head' similar to P 2787.176 (*Kaṇiṣka*).

[316] Cf. the previous footnote for a commentary on this translation. For the reading *miṣī* instead of *miṣā*, cf. Itkin and Malyshev (2021: 65).

third day the fields are to be tended, and *vihāras* to be built, and trees to be planted' (Bailey 1953: 539) and loc. sg. *miṣa* in Or. 9268A c1 *hamya miṣa haṃtsa kīrä yanāda* 'They shall work together in the same field' (KMB: 68).

- Less sure are the occurrences of *mūṣa* (P 2024.46 and P 2027.16) and the corresponding adjective *mūṣijä* (P 2027.18). Although Bailey (1953: 539) had initially no doubt that they belonged here, later (DKS: 339) he took into account the possibility that they should be taken together with *mūṣaka-* 'clothes'.

Discussion

A similar word occurs also in Niya Prakrit. The first attempts to explain this well-attested word were made by Burrow (1937: 111). He put forward the hypothesis that the Niya Prakrit adjective *miṣi* could be compared with the second member of the Khotanese compound *ttumäṣa* (if derived from PIr. **tauxma-miṣi-*, according to Burrow [1937: 111]) of the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* (§43.6, cf. *supra*). As was shown later (cf. Maggi *apud* SVK III: 69-70), the word is to be read correctly as *ttu mäṣa* 'this field (tr. Sanskrit *kṣetra-*).'

Burrow's idea was first followed by Bailey (1953: 538-9). Bailey's first suggestion of an *-s* derivation from the PIE root **maǵ-* (LIV: 421), not attested in Proto-Iranian, was later (Bailey 1956: 36 and 1958) modified in order to enable a comparison with the Proto-Iranian root **maiǰ*, 'to take care, foster', hence 'to grow', a root which is reconstructed by Cheung (EDIV: 261-2) only based on two rather dubious Avestan occurrences.

Based on the ccurrences listed above, it is possible to determine with a fair degree of certainty that the original form contained an unvoiced /ṣ/. To begin with, in Late Khotanese it never has a subscript hook (in one occurrence it has even a double *ṣṣ*, probably reminiscent of the classical orthography). Moreover, the two occurrences in the Sgh occur in two manuscritpts (MS 10 and 22, see Canevascini 1993: 195 and 239) that have preserved aboundant traces of the archaic orthography, i.e. *ṣ* and *ś* are mostly not doubled and there is no way to distinguish the voiced and unvoiced variant in the manuscripts. Additionally, the classical orthography of the Book of Zambasta writes it consistently with double *ṣṣ*.

The first connection with Tocharian was made by Bailey,[317] who saw in TA *mṣapantiṃ* a compound whose first member *mṣa*° he compared to Khotanese *mäṣṣa-*. In attributing the meaning 'community' to it, he followed Couvreur (1956: 71), who in a review of Poucha's dictionary gave the translation 'Gemeinde'. A double translation of TAB *miṣ(ṣ)e/i* both as '*kṣetra-*' and 'community' has survived in TEB (II: 126) and VW: 632-3 and it has been continued until very recently e.g. by Adams (DoT: 498). Such double meaning is no more actual and it has been suggested (Pinault 1988: 143 fn. 82 and 83) that the word covers simply the wide spectrum of meaning of Sanskrit *kṣetra-* both in Khotanese and Tocharian (cf. also Pinault 2002: 267).

[317] First in Bailey (1956: 35), then Bailey (1957a: 49-52) and Bailey (1958: 45-46).

As for TA *mṣapantiṃ*,[318] traditionally translated as 'army-chief', Bailey's (1957a: 49-52) latest interpretation was challenged by Pinault (2008: 266), who saw in it a compound of *mṣa-* '*kṣetra-*' and *-pantiṃ*, an *-iṃ* derivative of Middle-Iranian **panti-* as in MMP *h'mpnd* '(travel) companion'. However, it is difficult to see how a compound 'field-path' can be reconciled with the reconstructed meaning 'army-chief', which seems to fit all occurrences better. The connection with Sogdian *'myδry* put forward by Bailey is no more possible, as this is rather to be interpreted as the name of the god Miθra (Tremblay 2005: 439). It is worth noting that, in addition to the occurrences listed above, an abstract noun *mṣapantune* is also attested in THT 1590.e b2. Itkin, Malyshev and Wilkens (2017: 89), based on the Old Uyghur version, propose the meaning 'heroism, steadfastness', rather than 'generalship'.

Results

It is difficult to evaluate the precise directions of borrowing of this Tarim-basin culture word. As already noted by Peyrot (2018b: 268-9), the Tocharian word cannot be considered as inherited and it must have been borrowed from another language independently in A and B. In fact, it is not possible to reconstruct a single Tocharian proto-form. Likewise, the Niya Prakrit form is most likely a borrowing. Khotanese would be in this case the donor language. However, as no certain Iranian derivation is available for the Khotanese word and very few borrowings from Khotanese are to be found in Niya Prakrit, one cannot exclude the possibility that Khot. *miṣṣa-* was borrowed from another non-Iranian language of the area.

TB *MEWIYO* 'TIGER', LKH. *MŪYA-** 'ID.'

Discussion

The Tocharian B subst. *mewiyo* 'tiger' occurs in the famous bilingual calendar list (Sanskrit – Tocharian B, THT 549), where it corresponds to Skt. *vyāghra* (Lüders 1933: 742). Therefore, the word has been known since the early days of Tocharian studies. Three main etymological proposals have been put forward in the last century.

On the one hand, Poucha (1931: 177) and Van Windekens (VW: 632) connected *mewiyo* with the Tocharian B verb *məyw-* 'to tremble'. The semantic link, however, appears to be at best very opaque. On the other hand, Lüders (1933: 742), following Müller (1907: 464), who had argued the same for Sogdian *myw* (cf. *infra*), put forward the proposal that TB *mewiyo* may have been borrowed from Chinese *māo* 貓 'cat' (< MChin. *maew*, cf. Baxter and Sagart 2014: 296). The idea that all these words may simply have an onomatopoeic origin is probably to be traced back to a comment by Sieg (see VW: 632). However, it is very difficult to prove or disprove this theory. Bailey (1937a: 929), after

[318] Occurrences: *mṣapaṃtināp* A6 b5, (*mṣapantinäs* [restored]) A10 a4, A62 b4 *mṣapantnis*, A62 b5 *mṣapantniṣ*, A62 b5 *mṣapantiṃ*, A118 b3 *mṣapantiṃ*, THT 2388 b1 *mṣapantim*.

having labelled the Chinese derivation as an 'improbable connection', proposed to see in the Tocharian word a borrowing from Iranian, without further specifying either the donor language or the borrowing path. The same idea is also reported in Adams' dictionary (DoT: 506), again without further details.

According to Bailey (l.c.), the Khotanese and the Sogdian words may be traced back to a pre-form **mauya-*. It is difficult to see how TB *mewiyo* could have been borrowed from Sogdian, Khotanese or Old Steppe Iranian. In fact, final *-o* seems to point to Khotanese, thus excluding Sogdian and Old Steppe Iranian. The adaptation of the diphthong with Ir. *a* corresponding to TB *e*, however, would be typical of an Old Steppe Iranian borrowing. Given these difficulties, I would like to suggest that TB *mewiyo* is a loanword from the substrate language attributed to the inhabitants of the BMAC (Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex), where, according to Bernard (Forthc.), final *-o* and Ir. *a* ~ TB *e* are attested side by side and names of animals seem to be very frequent (cf. e.g. *kercapo* 'ass, donkey'). The pre-form might have to be set up as **mawiya*. The Iranian forms may also have been borrowed from the same source.

Results

The Tocharian B subst. *mewiyo* 'tiger' has received a variety of intepretations during the last century. In the impossibility of deriving it directly from a precise Iranian language by way of borrowing, I put forward the proposal that it may be a loanword from the substrate language of the BMAC people.

TB *MRAÑCO* 'BLACK PEPPER (PIPER NIGRUM)', LKH. *MIRIṂJSYA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- *mrañco* THT 500-502 b7 (medical, see discussion)
- *mräñco* THT 1535d b3 (isolated word, probably in a medical list)
- *mrañco* PK AS 3B b5 (with *pippāl* and *tvāṅkaro*, same context as THT 500-502)
- *mrañco* IOL Toch 106 a5 (medicine/magic)

Khotanese occurrences (Siddhasāra and Jīvakapustaka)

- In the Siddhasāra: *miriṃjsya* Si §2.5, 2.18, 26.23, 26.29 (2×); *mīriṃjsya* §3.23.2, 26.79; *mīrijsya* 26.79; *mirijsya* §2.24, 3.23.1, 14.18, 24.11, 26.30; *merejsya* §15.22, 20.23, 22.11, 26.65; *mṛreṃjsya* §20.11; *mirejsya* §21.16, 21.36; *mereṃjsya* §21.12, 26.79.
- In the Jīvakapustaka: *mīriṃjsya* JP 93r3, 93v3, 96r2, 98v2, 99r4, 100r2, 101r4, 104v5, 105v1, 106r2, 107v2, 109r5, 112r5, 113r1, 113v2, 114r5, 115r1, 115r5, 115v5, 116v1; *mīrijsya* 100r3.

Discussion

That both TB *mrañco* and LKh. *miriṃjsya-* refer to the black pepper (Piper nigrum) is documented by bilingual evidence in both languages. THT 500-502, as discovered by D. Maue (1990), contains the translation of a medical recipe which is also extant in Late Khotanese. In this passage, three spices are mentioned in the Tocharian and the Khotanese version, which are referred to as a group as *vyoṣa*, 'the three 'hot' substances (viz. dry ginger, long pepper, and black pepper)' (MW: 1041), in the Sanskrit version:

Tocharian B	*mrañco*	*pipāl*	*tvā*[*ṅkaro*]
Late Khotanese	*mīraijsa*	*papala*	*ttūṃgarą*

In the Siddhasāra, LKh. *miriṃjsya-* translates Skt. *marica*, which refers to the black pepper (Emmerick 1971: 373).[319] Thus, in this case one can establish the meaning of *mrañco* based on trilingual evidence.

As for the phonological shape of the Khotanese word, a form *miriṃjsya-* can be set up for Old Khotanese with a fair degree of certainty based on the extant occurrences. In fact, from the occurrences in the Siddhasāra and the Jīvakapustaka, forms with *-i-* + nasal *-ṃ-* clearly outnumber those with *-e-* and/or without nasal. It is possible that the *-i-* in the first syllable was an epenthetic vowel which was inserted to simplify the forbidden initial cluster **mr-* (cf. OKh. *mrāha- ~ mirāha-* 'pearl' s.v. *wrāko*). Thus, the form may have been originally **mriṃjsya-*. I would like to suggest that this form may have been at the origin of TB *mrañco* by way of borrowing.[320] The final *-o* of the Tocharian B form points to an old loan from PTK, PK or Old Khotanese. No other distinguishing features are to be observed, so that a more precise dating of the borrowing is not possible.

The oldest mention of a connection between TB *mrañco* and LKh. *miriṃjsya-* is to be traced back to a footnote in an article on the Siddhasāra by Emmerick (1971: 373 fn. 17).[321] However, he did not imply any borrowing path. He rather simply noted that the Tocharian B form is to be compared to the Khotanese one for the extra nasal, which is not found in any other language except Sogdian (*mr'ynck'*). More recently, Emmerick (1996: 52) put forward the convincing hypothesis that both the Sogdian and the Khotanese form may have been borrowed from Skt. *marica* through a Gāndhārī intermediary, which he reconstructs as **miriṃcikā-*.[322] It is possible that also Old Uyghur *mirč ~ murč* (HWA: 476) is connected, as had already been noted by Bailey (1954: 6).

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[319] For other uses of LKh. *miriṃjsya-*, see Emmerick (1971: 372-3).

[320] Otherwise, the vowel of the first syllable may have been lost within Tocharian B (Khot. *miriṃjsyu* → TB /mərə́ñco/ > /mrə́ñco/.

[321] Recently, cf. also Blažek and Schwartz (2015: 423-4).

[322] Although not explicitly stated by Emmerick, it is possible that also the Chin. *móliànzhē* 摩練遮 (< EMC **malian^{h}tɕia*) goes back to the same reconstructed Gāndhārī form. On the Chinese form and its connection to the Sogdian one, see MacKenzie (1976: 11) and Sims-Williams *apud* Emmerick (1996: 52).

However, it seems that this form may have been more easily borrowed directly from Skt. *marica* than from TB *mrañco*, because of the absence of the second nasal.

It is diffcult to admit that the source form of LKh. *miriṃjsya-* may have been Skt. *marica*. The principal argument against such an assumption would be the second nasal, which is consistently represented both in the Tocharian and the Khotanese form. An old adaptation of Skt. *marica* would have rather yielded LKh. ***marijsa-*, with depalatalisation and voicing of the intervocalic Skt. *-c-*.[323] Certainly not **mriṃjsya-* or *miriṃjsya-*. Therefore, Emmerick's hypothesis of an unattested Gāndhārī intermediary seems to be most appropriate solution. As it is not possible to etymologize **mriṃjsya-* (nor Skt. *marica*, see KEWA I: 588) within Indo-Iranian, I would like to further suggest that both forms go back to a substrate designation of the black pepper in Central Asia.

Results

TB *mrañco* and LKh. *miriṃjsya-* are both used in medical texts to translate Skt. *marica* 'black pepper (Piper nigrum)'. I put forward the proposal TB *mrañco* was borrowed from a PTK, PK or OKh. acc. sg. **mriṃjsyu* (or *miriṃjsyu*), a pre-form of the attested LKh. *miriṃjsya-*. It is difficult to see how this word may have been borrowed directly from Skt. *marica*. It is more likely that the Khotanese form may go back to another Central Asian substrate variant form of *marica* which had an additional nasal. The Old Uyghur form *mirč ~ mırč* is probably a direct loan from Skt. *marica*.

TB *YOLO* 'EVIL, BAD', OKH. *YAULA-* 'FALSEHOOD'

Discussion

A comprehensive discussion of the Tocharian B adjective and substantive *yolo* and of its borrowing relationships with OUygh. *yavlak* and OKh. *yaula-* is to be found in Peyrot (2016b). After having examined the Tocharian B word, the author concludes that an Indo-European derivation is hardly acceptable. Therefore, the Tocharian B word may have been borrowed from Khotanese *yaula-*, which in turn could be interpreted as a borrowing from OUygh. *yavlak*.

The relationship between TB *yolo* and OKh. *yaula-* is clear. In this case, Peyrot's conclusion is supported by the Tocharian B final *-o*, which points to a direct borrowing from the oldest stages of Khotanese. As the Khotanese word seems to have preserved its neuter gender (pl. *yaule*) it is even possible that the borrowing took place from the nom. sg. nt. *-u* (< **-am*) rather than from the acc. sg. However, since such a nom. sg. does not seem to be attested in Old Khotanese, one would then be forced to date the borrowing to the prehistoric period (PK or PTK). Because of the Khotanese diphthong *au* represented

[323] This depalatalisation in old Indic borrowings into Khotanese may be paralleled by Khot. *mijsaā-* 'marrow', which I would interpret as an old loan from Gāndhārī °*mi*[*ja*] 'id.', cf. Pāli *miñja*, Skt. *majjan-* (Glass 2007: 156).

by TB *o*, however, it is hard to accept that the borrowing is from a prehistoric layer of Khotanese. Thus, this alternative remains quite hypothetical and I would be inclined to date the borrowing to the Old Khotanese period. What is less clear, however, is the connection between OKh. *yaula-* and OUygh. *yavlak* 'evil'. Peyrot's hypothesis is based on two important facts. On the one hand, OKh. *yaula-*, because of the initial *y-*, must be considered a loanword from another language. On the other hand, OUygh. *yavlak* has a strong inner-Turkish etymology (Peyrot 2016b: 331-2) which seems to exclude borrowing into Old Uyghur from a third source. Still, the problem of the absence of other Old Uyghur loanwords into Old Khotanese casts some doubts on this derivation.

Accordingly, an alternative explanation may seek a connection with Bactr. *ιωλ-* 'to fight' (to PIr. **Hyaud-*, EDIV: 176-7). The semantic development involved may be summarised as follows: 'to fight' > 'to injure' > 'to deceive'. For the semantic closeness of 'to deceive' and 'injure', cf. Lat. *fraus* 'harm, danger, deceit' (De Vaan 2008: 240) and Skt. *drogh-* 'trügen, betrügen, jemanden ein Leid antun' (EWA I: 760). Thus, the history of the word may be reconstructed as follows: Bactr. **ιωλο* 'fight, quarrel' > 'harm, danger' → OKh. *yaula-* 'falsehood' → TB *yolo* 'evil'. OUygh. *yavlak* would be thus unrelated.

In this case, however, the difficult semantic developments involved cast serious doubts on this alternative derivation. Accordingly, it may be useful to return to the first hypothesis. It is true that no Old Turkic borrowings were detected within Old Khotanese so far. However, there may be some evidence for very old contacts between Khotanese and Old Turkic, which may be dated to the early Old Khotanese stage. I am referring to OUygh. *balto* 'axe', which may have been borrowed from the OKh. acc. sg. *paḍu* (HWA: 141), and OUygh. *küräš-* 'miteinander kämpfen' (HWA: 444), which seems to have been borrowed from OKh. *gūrāś-* 'to quarrel' (SGS: 30, see also s.v. *kuñaś*). As these two items witness the existence of Old Khotanese – Old Turkic linguistic relationships, it is possible to surmise that the opposite direction of borrowing (Old Turkic → Khotanese) also took place.[324] In this case, Peyrot's initial hypothesis may be considered more likely.

[324] According to Bailey (KT VII: 104), traces of Turkish – Khotanese contacts pre-dating the first written attestations of the two languages may be detected in the tribal name Chin. *Āshǐnà* 阿史那 (EMC ʔaʂiʼna^{h}, Pulleyblank 1991), if this was borrowed from Khot. *āṣṣei'ṇa-* 'blue' as an ethnic name (cf. *kök* 'blue' in *Kök Türk*). If this is an Iranian borrowing, it cannot come but from Khotanese because of **-xš-* > *ṣṣ*. Recently, the name has been also found in a Runic inscription and in the text of the Karabalgasun inscription and in that of the Bugut inscription as *"šyn's* (Yoshida 2011: 80-1). Consequently, the Khotanese derivation cannot be correct, because Khotanese has no trace of *s*. However, the Sogdian orthography could reflect Khot. **āṣṣīnāsa-*. A 'colour' suffix *-asa-* or *-āsa-*, probably distinct from the 'animal' suffix, occurs also in Khot. *haryāsa-* 'black' (KS: xxxiv), which could theoretically justify a form **āṣṣīnāsa-*.

Results

TB *yolo* was borrowed from the Old Khotanese acc. sg. *yaulu**.[325] Even with the *caveat* that it would be the only so far recognized Old Turkic loanword into Khotanese, following Peyrot (2016b), OKh. *yaula-* may be interpreted as an Old Turkic borrowing into Old Khotanese.

TB *YAUYEK** '?', KHOT. *YYAUVAKA* 'BUTTERFLY (?)'

Discussion

After Ching's (2010: 137-8) identification of the hapax TB *yauyek*, found in a late TB document, with Chin. *yáoyì* 徭役 'labour services, duty work' (EMC *jiaw-jwiajk*, see Pulleyblank 1991: 361, 371). Adams' (DoT: 557) uncertain connection with Khot. *yyauvaka-* 'butterfly (?)' can be rejected. Bailey (DKS: 343) assigned the meaning 'butterfly' to this hapax in a late lyrical poem on a very tentative basis. Because of initial *yy*, it is certainly a loanword in Khotanese itself (from Sogdian?), but its meaning and origin remain unknown. As the context is not that of a document, a derivation from the same Chinese word as the Tocharian can be excluded altogether.

Results

The Tocharian B word *yauyek** 'labor service' cannot be connected with the very unsure Late Khotanese hapax *yyauvaka-*, whose meaning and etymology are unclear. It could be a Sogdian loanword into Khotanese, although a precise source form has not been identified yet.

TB *RAPAÑÑE* 'PERTAINING TO THE 12TH MONTH', KHOT. *RRĀHAJA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

The Tocharian name of the 12th month, *rapaññe*, is of uncertain origin. Both a Chinese and a Khotanese etymology have been proposed. In the following, it will be argued that its origin is most likely Chinese. In the second section (b.), it will be argued that also the first month of the Tumshuqese and Khotanese calendar may be derived from a Chinese source. The third part (c.) of the enquiry will re-examine the Tumshuqese calendar based on these new discoveries.

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[325] As noted by Alessandro Del Tomba, it is possible that the 'Middle Khotanese' occurrence of the lexeme in IOL Khot 165/1b 21 may point to a feminine stem *yaulā-*. In this case, however, the final *-a* might be also due to the preceding *haṭha* (fem.).

a. On the etymology of TB *rapaññe*

Adams (1999: 527) first proposed to interpret TB *rapaññe* (/rapə́ññe/) as an adjective presupposing a noun *rāp*,[326] a borrowing from the Middle Chinese antecedent of Chin. *là* 臘 (EMC *lap*, cf. Pulleyblank (1991: 181)). Pinault (2008: 363-4) casts doubts on this suggestion, by arguing that the correspondence *l* ~ *r* is not perfect. Further, he tentatively proposes a possible derivation from the Tocharian B verb *rapa-* 'to plough, dig' (with an agricultural connotation) or from the PK antecedent of Khot. *rrāha-* 'disease', in his opinion at the base of the name of the Khotanese 12th month *rrāhaja-*. In the first scenario, however, one would rather expect ***rapāññe* (/rapáññe/) or perhaps ***rāpaññe* (/rápaññe/, if from the verbal noun *rāpalñe*). Moreover, as the Old Chinese antecedent of EMC *lap* is *r*ˤ*ap*, following Baxter and Sagart's (2014) reconstruction, one cannot see why a direct borrowing from Old Chinese (early Han period?) would not be possible.[327] With Lubotsky and Starostin (2003: 264), I would then see in *rāp* an Old Chinese borrowing into Tocharian B.

Pinault's idea that the Khotanese month *rrāhaja-* may be connected deserves a more extensive analysis. Bailey (1982: 30) tentatively derived the Khotanese month name from the root PIr. **rap/f-* 'to help, assist, support' (EDIV: 314). However, the suggested semantic link ('ease (from the frost)' according to Bailey 1982: 30) seems very opaque. More attractive would seem Pinault's connection with the root **Hrab/f-* 'to attack, fight' (EDIV: 185), which lies at the origin of the Khotanese substantive *rrāha-* 'disease' (DKS: 362). The 12th month, therefore, would be the 'month of illness', which could be indeed a fitting *Benennungsmotiv* for the last month of winter, but could also reflect a folk etymology. A justified question at this point would be whether the Khotanese month name may be also derived from the same source as the Tocharian month or not. The answer is at first sight negative, since a derivation from OChin. *r*ˤ*ap* would have probably yielded Khot. *rava-*, because of **p* > *v* intervocalically. However, it is not to be excluded that the final *p* of the Old Chinese form may have been heard as an aspirate *ph* by speakers of PK. In this case, intervocalic *ph* may have yielded *h* regularly. The long *ā* in the first syllable may have been due to folk etymology (cf. *rrāha-* 'disease'). As this explanation is very tentative, however, it remains quite hypothetical.

b. On the etymology of the first month of the Khotanese and Tumshuqese calendar

In Dragoni (2020: 221-2), following a suggestion by Konow (1935: 798), I tentatively put forward the hypothesis that the first month of the Khotanese calendar, i.e. *cvātaja-*, may be connected with the Tumshuqese month name *tsvix*$_6$*āna-*, of uncertain origin and interpretation. Given the uncertain phonological correspondences, I could not suggest a

[326] Now attested as such, see Ching (2010: 449-50).

[327] There are other Old Chinese borrowings into Tocharian, cf. e.g. *klu* 'rice' (Lubotsky and Starostin 2003: 262).

precise solution for this problem. As the etymology of both month names is unknown, I will first try to see if the terms can be inherited from Proto-Iranian. However, since an Iranian etymology seems impossible, I will tentatively put forward the hypothesis that the name may be an old loanword from Early Middle Chinese.

b.1. A tentative PTK reconstruction

D. Maue (p.c.) kindly drew my attention to the Late Khotanese hapax *cūvija-* (DKS: 104), which seems to be more in agreement with the Tumshuqese form. As *ū* > *vā* is more frequent in Late Khotanese than *vā* > *ū* (also occurring, cf. s.v. *tvāṅkaro*), it could be surmised that the Old Khotanese form of the month name may have had a vowel *ū*. The intervocalic *t* in *cvātaja-* and *v* in *cūvija-* may be simply interpreted as hiatus fillers. In this case, the correspondence with Tq. x_{6}, to which I assigned a preliminary value [ɟ], may suggest that the correct reconstruction of the second consonant was **y*. The second vowel I would reconstruct as *a*, as *i* in *cūvija-* seems due to Late Khotanese trisyllabic weakening.

Therefore, one could reconstruct a form **cūya-ja-* for Old Khotanese – the adjectival suffix *-ja-* being directly comparable with Tq. *-ana-* in *tsvix$_{6}$āna-*. In this way, it is possible to reconstruct a PTK form by comparing OKh. **cūya°* and Tq. *tsvix$_{6}$a°* ([tswiɟa]). If one assumes a secondary palatalisation **ts-* > *c-* due to the following *y* in the Old Khotanese name, the form to reconstruct is PTK **tsūya-*.

It is immediately clear that this reconstruction does not yield any useful result. In fact, a form **tsūya-* could formally be connected with the verb *tsū-* 'to go', but the semantic connection between this verb and the first month of the year is obscure.

b.2. A Middle Chinese connection

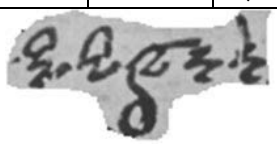
As the hypothesis of a native origin of Khot. *cvātaja-* ~ Tq. *tsvix$_{6}$āna-* is not defendable, it seems justified to compare the designations of month names in neighbouring cultures. In fact, since the correspondence Tq. *ts-* ~ Khot. *c-* is not regular, it is possible that both forms were borrowed independently from a third language of the area.

As already seen in the case of *rapaññe*, Chinese seems to have exerted a certain degree of influence on the Tocharian calendar during pre-Tang times. I would like to suggest that the name of the first month Khot. *cvātaja-* may be derived from the name of the first month in the Chinese pre-Tang calendar, i.e. *zōuyuè* 陬月 '(lit.) month of the corner'. This denomination is part of the ancient phenological designations of the months of the year, which were substituted by simple ordinal numbers in the Later Han period (Wilkinson 2000: 179). In fact, the Early Middle Chinese pronunciation of *zōuyuè* can be reconstructed as *tsəw.ŋuat* or *ʦɯw.ŋuat*, according to Pulleyblank (1991: 422, 388). The second reconstruction would neatly correspond to Khot. *cvāta°*, if the medial velar nasal was dropped, probably after having become *ɣ* (*-ɯwŋua-* > *-ɯwɣua-* > *-ɯwa-*, Khot. <vā>). The difference in the initial between Tumshuqese and Khotanese may be ascribed to the alternation between *ts* and *ʦ* noted already for Chinese by Pulleyblank (l.c.).

This identification allows to establish that the original consonant noted by *t* and *v* in Khotanese may have been a real [t]. Whereas *cūvija-* can be interpreted without problems as a Late Khotanese variant of an original *cvātaja-* (i.e. the converse of what I suggested above), it is difficult to reconcile the second syllable of the Tumshuqese form with that of Khotanese, as one would expect <d$_1$> and not <x$_6$>. I would like to put forward the tentative proposal that, like in the correspondence OChin. *r$^{\varsigma}$ap* ~ Khot. *rrāha*°, the Chinese final *-t* may have been heard as an aspirate *-t^h* and, therefore, may have been treated in Tumshuqese as PIr. **ϑ*. Trisyllabic weakening of *a* to *i* (**tsɯwat^{h}a-* > **tsɯwit^{h}a-*) may have created the conditions for the appearance of [j̯], noted by <x$_6$>.

Alternatively, as the Late Middle Chinese reconstruction of *yuè* 月 is *ŋyat*, i.e. *ŋüat* (Pulleyblank 1991: 388), with a front vowel, it is perhaps more likely that the Tumshuqese form reflects a later borrowing from the same source. Accordingly, the Late Middle Chinese source form for *tsvix$_6$āna-* may have been *tsəwŋyat*, with the same treatment of the nasal velar as in Khotanese (*-ɯwŋüa-* > *-ɯwɣüja-* > *-ɯwi̯ja-* > *-ɯwï̯a-*, Tq. <vix$_6$a>). Two alternative explanations are available for the apparent absence of final *-t* in the Tumshuqese form. On the one hand, one could think that the borrowing was so late that final *-t* was not clearly distinguishable. However, since in Late Khotanese LMC final *-t* was regularly represented by *rä* (Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 34), and the Tumshuqese month name is attested at least two centuries before, this hypothesis seems at best very weak. On the other hand, as suggested by Konow (1935: 798), it seems possible that the first *na* akṣara of the Tumshuqese form may have to be read as *ta*. Accordingly, the reading would be *tsvix$_6$āta-* (instead of *tsvix$_6$āna-*).

There are three occurrences of this month name in Tumshuqese (Dragoni 2020: 221): TS 29.2, TS 24.1 and the newly found TUMXUQ 002.a2. Whereas in the first two documents the scribe did not distinguish between *na* and *ta*, which leaves both options open, it is not clear whether the third document made a difference between the two akṣaras. In the following table, the akṣaras *na* and *ta* have been gathered from TUMXUQ 002.a2, in order to spot the principal differences.

na								
line	a1	a1	a2	a4	a10	a10	a12	a17
ta								
line	a3	a3	a4	a5	b3	*tsvix$_6$ānane* (a2)		

It seems very difficult to establish precise distinguishing features between the two akṣaras. At first sight, the upper stroke of *ta* seems to be longer than that of *na*. However, this is contradicted by the third, the seventh and the eighth *na* akṣaras in the table above. Another possible distinguishing feature may be the orientation, which seems to be slightly bent leftwards in *ta*. However, this is again contradicted by the fifth *na* akṣara in the table. On the whole, one can establish at least two distinguishing features, but they are both falsified by counterexamples. Accordingly, there may not be a consistent method of distinguishing *na* from *ta* in this document.

An additional argument may be that the first *na* in the Tumshuqese month name (see the picture in the table above) may have been influenced by the shape of the final -*ne*. Therefore, a reading *tsvix$_6$āta-* may be fully justified. The *t* instead of the expected *d*, again an irregular correspondence, may be as well explained with the fact that this aberrant Tumshuqese orthography is the result of a borrowing process from Late Middle Chinese into Tumshuqese.

b.3. Preliminary conclusions

From the discussion above, it may be thus argued that the two different treatments of the same Chinese lexeme in Khotanese and Tumshuqese are to be explained as a result of independent borrowing paths in both languages. The Khotanese form *cvātaja-* I derived from an Early Middle Chinese form, the Tumshuqese form, correctly read as *tsvix$_6$āta-*, from a later LMC form of the same name.

c. The Tumshuqese calendar

If the equation Khot. *cvātaja-* ~ Tq. *tsvix$_6$āta-* ~ Chin. *zōuyuè* 陬月 is correct, this would allow a more precise analysis and interpretation of the Tumshuqese calendar. In fact, the main consequence of this identification is that *tsvix$_6$āna-* has to be the first month of the Tumshuqese calendar. Previously, nearly nothing was known about the correct sequence of the Tumshuqese months. The month *ahve/arja*(*na*)-, the only other attested month name, had been previously taken by Konow (1935: 798) and Henning (1936: 11-12) as a loanword from Sogdian *xwrjn*(*yc*), the name of the second month. Sims-Williams and De Blois (1996: 152) put forward the tentative hypothesis that this may be further related to the Bactrian month αυρηζνο (< **ahura-yazniya-* ?).

As can be seen from the table below, the Tumshuqese calendar seems to use only two month names,[328] *ahve/arja*(*na*)- and *tsvix$_6$āta-*. The other months are designated with their corresponding ordinal number. This reminds one of the Tocharian calendar, according to which only the first (*naimañ̈e*), eleventh (*wärsañ̈e*) and twelfth month

[328] The alleged month name *buzad,ina* (TS 30.5) does not occur in any dating formula. Acknowledging the religious character of the document in which it occurs, Henning (1936: 12) tentatively connected it with Skt. *uposatha*, the month of fasting in the Manichaean tradition. If it were not for the word *māste* 'month', which follows the name, one could think of an alternative connection with the day name Skt. *budha-dina* 'Wednesday' (MW: 734).

(*rapaññe*) receive a proper name. The other months are designated with an ordinal number. In Niya Prakrit and in Chinese (after the later Han period, cf. *supra*) only ordinal numbers are used to refer to months in dating formulas. In Khotanese, on the other hand, all months have a name.

	Khotanese	Tumshuqese	Tocharian
1	cvātaja-	tsvix$_6$āta-	naimaññe
2	kaja-	*ahvarja(na)-?*	2nd month
3	hamārīja-	?	3rd month
4	siṃjsīṃja-	4th month	4th month
5	haṃdyāja-	?	5th month
6	rarūya-	6th month	6th month
7	ttuṃjāra-	?	7th month
8	braṃkhaysja-	8th month	8th month
9	mutca'ca-	?	9th month
10	muñaṃja-	10th month	10th month
11	skarhvāra-	*ahvarja(na)-?*	warsaññe
12	rrāhaja-	?	rapaññe

In the table above, the similarities between the Tocharian and the Tumshuqese calendar are evident. I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the Tumshuqese calendar may have been influenced by the Tocharian one. Accordingly, one would expect to find only the 1st, 11th and 12th month names in Tumshuqese. Consequently, the month *ahve/arja*(*na*)- may be only the 11th or the 12th. The 12th month name is not attested, but one could hypothesize that it may have been borrowed from the same Chinese source as TB *rapaññe* and, perhaps, Khot. *rrāhaja-*. If it is to be identified with the 11th month, then one might envisage a possible connection with the Khotanese 11th month *skarhvāra,* which I would interpret as derived from **skara-hvāra-* 'coal-taking'.[329] Accordingly, rather than a loanword from Sogdian *xwrjn*(*yc*), which in itself would not preclude the possibility that this may not be automatically the second month also in Tumshuqese, it may represent an adj. **ā-hvara-ja-* with the meaning 'pertaining to the taking (of the coal)'.

d. Results

The first part of this discussion has shown how the name of the 10th month in Khotanese (*rrāhaja-*) and Tocharian B (*rapaññe*) may be derived from the same Old Chinese (or very early Middle Chinese) month name. In the second part I have put forward the proposal that the Tumshuqese match of the 1st month *cvātaja-* may be *tsvix$_6$āta-* (so to be tentatively read instead of *tsvix$_6$āna-*). The Khotanese form *cvātaja-* I derived from an

[329] Bailey (1982: 30) proposed a connection with *skarba-* 'rough, hard', but the phonological developments involved are hardly acceptable.

Early Middle Chinese form and the Tumshuqese form, correctly read as *tsvix$_6$āta-*, from a later LMC form of the same name. In the third part I suggested that the Tumshuqese calendar may have been influenced in the structure by the Tocharian one. Accordingly, the Tumshuqese month *ahve/arja(na)-* may be identified with the 11th month and may be connected with the corresponding Khot. month *skarhvāra-*.

TB *RASO* 'SPAN', KHOT. *HARAYSA-* 'EXTENSION, EXPANSE'

Discussion

The verb TB *rəs-* A *räsā-* 'stretch' has a very specific semantic connotation, i.e. it is used exclusively with 'arm(s)' as object, in the phrase 'to stretch one's own arm'. The more general verb is TB *pənn-* A *pänw-*, which can cover the same semantic range as *rəs-*, but has also other uses. Given the specific semantics of TB *rəs-* A *räsā-* and the lack of a secure etymology for this verb, it may be a good candidate for a borrowing from a neighbouring language.

A noteworthy semantic correspondence to the verbs TB *rəs-* A *räsā-* is represented by OKh. *harays-* (SGS: 149, < PIr. **fra-Hraǰ-* [EDIV: 196]), which is also used with the specific meaning of 'to stretch out (the arms)'. This expression is very frequent in Buddhist literature and it probably has its origin in an adaptation of a Buddhist Sanskrit stock phrase. One may compare e.g. the following case:

- A 315 a2 *aṣuk wsā-yokāṃ poke rsoräṣ* 'He stretched out his stout (?), golden-coloured arm' (cf. CEToM, Carling, Illés, Peyrot eds.).
- Sum §91 *hvaradau ysarra-gūnä bāysu haraṣṭe* 'he stretched out his golden-coloured right arm' (Emmerick 1998: 418).

The Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent is to be found e.g. in Sgh §225.1 *dakṣiṇaṃ pāṇi-talaṃ prasārayati*. This phrase can be extended with 'golden-colored' *vel sim.* In view of these considerations, as already noted, it is natural to think about a Khotanese borrowing into Tocharian. The phonological correspondences, however, are not straightforward. Two problems may be identified: the inexplicable loss of accented initial *ha-* in the Tocharian verb and the different vowel, i.e. Toch. /ä/ ~ Khot. /a/. One could get over the second difficulty by positing a borrowing from the Old Khotanese or Pre-Khotanese antecedent of the Late Khotanese subst. *haraysa-* 'expanse, extent' (Emmerick 2002: 13) with trisyllabic weakening to **haräysa-* into TB *raso* 'span' – the verb could have been formed later from the noun *raso* – but the problem of initial *ha-* remains. In fact, it seems that only *unaccented* initial *ham-* could be dropped in the borrowing process from Khotanese to Tocharian (see s.v. *keś*). Therefore, even if the semantics may point to a relatively recent borrowing within a Buddhist context, the remaining phonological problems invite one to consider the possibility of a loanword with caution. In fact, the possibility that PTK **hra-raza-* was borrowed as TB **/ráraso/* which became **/ráso/* by haplology cannot be completely ruled out. In this case, however, the different vowel of the reconstructed Tocharian form (/a/ against the attested /ə/) cannot be easily explained.

Results

The verb TB *rəs-* A *räsā-* has a very narrow semantic specialization which may point to a borrowing. In Old Khotanese, the same semantic range is covered by the verb *harays-*, which may also provide a fitting phonological correspondence. The problematic initial *ha-*, however, of which no trace is found in Tocharian, casts doubts on the correctness of this connection.

TB *WARÄÑCE**, A *WĀRYĀÑC** 'SAND', KHOT. *GURVĪCA-* 'GRAIN (OF SAND)'

Tocharian occurrences: TB *waräñce**

- com. sg. THT 552 b1 *kaṅkcene waräñcampa eneśle* 'like the sand of the Ganges'
- ? (restored) THT 566 b6 *aurtsai ysā-yokäṃ waraṃ(c) ///* 'the broad, golden sand' (DoT: 628).
- ? (isolated) THT 1450b a2 */// wäräñci ///* 'sand (?)' (DoT: 628 cautious).
- *ṣṣe-*adj. THT 142 a4 */// wäräñcäṣṣa mäṣce ra käskäntär postäṃ : ///* 'like a fist of sand he scatters [it] afterwards'
- *tstse-*adj. (restored) IOL Toch. 7 a3 */// (ma) (wara)ñcäcce meltesa käccillya* 'it is (not) to be scoured (?) with sand and dung' (Peyrot *apud* CEToM).

Tocharian occurrences: TA *wāryāñc**

- com. sg. A 217 a2 (*sne kaś* ?) *sne y(är)m wāryāñc(a)śś(äl tāskmāṃ) ptā(ñäktāñ)* '(without number ?) without measure, like [grains of] sand (are) the Buddhas ...' (M. Peyrot, p.c.).
- com. sg. A 114 b4 */// p· wā(ryā)ñc(a)śśäl tāskmāṃ āṣāni(kā)ñ ñäktaśś(i) pättāñäktañ ṣ(me)ñcinäs tre mañäs nā* '... comparable to [grains of] sand, arhats, and divine Buddhas ... during the three months of the rainy (summer?) season ...' (M. Peyrot, p.c.).

Discussion

The etymology of the word for 'sand' in Tocharian B and A is unknown. In the following, I put forward the proposal that it may be connected to OKh. *gurvīca-* 'grain (of sand)' by way of borrowing. The investigation involves the following steps: a. 'Sand' in Tocharian A and B; b. Khotanese *gurvīca-*; c. the borrowing path from Khotanese to Tocharian; d. results.

a. 'Sand' in Tocharian A and B

Following Adams (DoT: 628), the reconstruction of the phonological shape of the word is based on its attestation in THT 142, a fragment which is to be classified as archaic. As the manuscript to which THT 142 is part of consistently writes /ə/ as <ä>, irrespective of the accent, there are no reasons not to posit /ə́/ for the first syllable. An additional argument for the position of the accent is the lack of syncope of the first syllable, which should

have disappeared if the accent was on the second syllable (**/wərə́ñce/ > **/wrə́ñce/). The ending *-e** is set up on the basis of the obl. sg. *warcäñc** as can be deduced amongst others from the *ṣṣe-* and *tstse*-adjectives. Therefore, one can safely reconstruct a form *waräñce** for classical Tocharian B.

There are fewer attestations of the word in Tocharian A. The word occurs only in the com. sg., governed by *täskmāṃ* 'comparable to' in a presumably fixed phrase. The form should undoubtedly be reconstructed with a nom. sg. *wäryāñc**. As noted for the first time by Couvreur (1956: 72), it is clear that *wäryāñc** is the Tocharian A match of Tocharian B *waräñce**. Such a correspondence, however, is not perfect and presents us with at least two phonological problems. On the one hand, the vowels are radically different. On the other hand, I see no explanation for the extra *y* of the Tocharian A form. In the following, I argue that these apparent mismatches may be ascribed to the fact that the word may be a loanword from Khotanese *gurvīca-* 'grain (of sand)'.

b. Khotanese *gurvīca-*

In Late Khotanese medical texts, a word *gurva-* is attested with the meaning 'grain'. For bilingual evidence, one may consult the Siddhasāra, where it corresponds in §1.56 to Skt. *dhānā* and in §15.16 to Skt. *lāja*. As for its etymology, Bailey (DKS: 88) gives two alternative explanations. The first sees in it a form **wi-ruxta-* (> **wi-rūta-* > **wi-rūva-* > *gu-rva-*) 'broken apart (i.e. in pieces)', from the Proto-Iranian root **rauǰ-* 'to break, burst' (EDIV: 318). The second connects *gurva-* to the West-PIE 'gravel' root **g^{h}reuh$_{2}$-* (Kroonen 2013: 188). Since no continuants of this root are to be found within Indo-Iranian, I would suggest that Bailey's first option is to be preferred, as it is completely suitable both from the semantic and the phonological point of view.

Given these premises, it is easy to see how Khot. *gurvīca-* may have been formed on the basis of *gurva-* with the addition of the diminutive suffix *-īca* (KS: 128). The meaning of Khot. *gurvīca-* may have been therefore 'small grain'.

c. The borrowing path from Khotanese to Tocharian

I would like to put forward the proposal that TB *waräñce** A *wäryāñc* were borrowed from the PTK or PK antecedent of OKh. *gurvīca-*. This implies the acknowledgement of the antiquity of the Tocharian A seemingly 'intrusive' *y* and of the Tocharian B vowels. This results in a somewhat 'hybrid' post-PT form that could be reconstructed as **wäryäñce*. The Tocharian initial *wä-* corresponds neatly to the PTK or PK preverb *wi-*, as does the medial *r*. *y* may have arisen due to dissimilation of two consecutive *w* in a form PTK or PK **wirwīca-* > **wiryīca-*. In order to explain the *ñ* and the unexpected final *-e*, I would resort to analogy with other frequent words for earth-like elements, like *salañce* 'saline ground' (DoT: 742). In a similar way, the second vowel of the Tocharian A word may be due to analogy with *wiskāñc* 'mud, dirt'. The first vowel in Tocharian A remains for the moment unexplained. Because of these discrepancies, it seems reasonable to place the date of the borrowing after the split of the two Tocharian languages.

An additional argument in favour of this borrowing scenario is offered by the semantics and the usage of both words in Tocharian and Khotanese. In fact, it seems that they are employed to translate the same Buddhist stock phrase of the innumerability of the grains of sand (Skt. *vālukā*) of the river Ganges.[330] Among the many examples, one may compare the following:

- TB THT 552 b1 *kaṅkcene waräñcampa eneśle* 'like the sand of the Ganges'[331]
- LKh. Vim 248 *khu jai gaga grruīcyau sye* 'just as the grains of sand of the Ganges' (lit. 'just as the sands with [their] grains in the Ganges').

d. Results

In the discussion above, I tried to argue how TB *waräñce* * A *wāryāñc* * may go back to the same post-PT form **wäryäñce*. On its turn, this may be tentatively connected with the PTK or PK ancestor of OKh. *gurvīca-* 'small grain (of sand)', which could have been **wirwīca-*. The final *-ñce* of the Tocharian B word and the two vowels of the Tocharian A form may have been due to analogy with other terms for earth-like elements, like e.g. TB *salañce* 'saline ground' and TA *wiskāñc* 'mud, dirt'.

TB *WARTTO*, A *WÄRT* 'FOREST', OKH. *BĀḌA-* 'LAND'

Discussion

The etymology of TB *wartto* A *wärt* 'forest' is not clear. The traditional connection with OE *worþ* 'piece of land, farm' and Skt. *vṛti-* 'enclosure' (VW: 56, DoT: 630) has admittedly some semantic problems. Adams (l.c.) is forced to surmise a semantic development 'enclosure' > 'sacred enclosure' > 'sacred grove' > 'forest', which, although not impossible in principle, seems unusually complicated.[332] Because of the Tocharian B final *-o*, the possibility of a Khotanese borrowing has to be explored. Indeed, from the same root PIE **uer-*, Khotanese has *bāḍa-* (DKS: 276, Suv II: 312) in the meaning of 'country, land'.

However, two facts may speak against a derivation of TB *wartto* from the ancestor of OKh. *bāḍa-*. On the one hand, OKh. *bāḍa-* presupposes a PTK antecedent **warda-* (< PIr. **wr̥ta-* ?), with later compensatory lengthening, not ***wr̥ta-*, as TAB /ər/ may suggest. In this case, however, one may note that, as in the case of *kaṅko* and *śarko*, q.v., it seems that, before nasals and liquids, Khot. *a* may also be adopted as TB /ə/. On the other hand, the semantic difficulties involved in this derivation are exactly the same as those connected with a Proto-Indo-European derivation. Moreover, the Tocharian B declension pattern nom. sg. *-o*, obl. sg. *-o*, although attested (cf. TB *pito*), is not very

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[330] On the compound TB *gaṅgavāluk* in the Udānastotra and its alleged Mahayanistic flavour, see Peyrot (2016: 322).

[331] Lit. 'in the Ganges'.

[332] A parallel may be sought e.g. in Dutch *tuin* 'garden' from PG **tūna-* 'fenced area' (Kroonen 2013: 526). However, forests do not normally have fences.

frequent in loanwords from Khotanese (see §3.4.). Therefore, this option remains for the moment quite hypothetical.

Results

The etymology of TB *wartto* A *wärt* 'forest' is for the moment unclear. In the discussion, I consider the hypothesis that it may be a loanword from the PTK antecedent of OKh. *bāḍa-* 'land'. From the phonological point of view, the derivation does not pose particular problems. However, the semantic difficulties involved make this derivation difficult.

TB *waṣāko** 'FEAR', BACTR. *BIZAΓO* 'BAD'

Discussion

The hapax *waṣāko** is attested in the loc. sg. *waṣākane* in the Tocharian B – Old Uyghur bilingual U 5208 a14, for which cf. the edition and the commentary in Peyrot, Pinault and Wilkens (2019: 85). A meaning 'fear, terror' can be inferred from the Old Uyghur gloss *korkunčın äy(män)čin* 'with fear and shame'. On this basis, the authors propose a tentative connection with an unidentified Iranian donor language. The original form may have been related to MSogd. *βj-*, BSogd. *'βz-* 'bad' (< PIr. **bazdya-*), OKh. *baśdaā-* 'sin' (< PIr. **bazdyakā-*).

Indeed, it is difficult to identify a precise donor language. As so far no borrowings from Sogdian ending in *-o* have been identified, the final *-o* may point to a borrowing from Khotanese. However, the Tocharian B *ṣ*, as noted by the authors, could reflect more likely Sogdian /ž/ in *βj-*, rather than Khot. *śd*. The initial *w* may also point to Sogdian rather than Khotanese, if one takes TB <w> as representing [β] of the source form. Within Middle Iranian, besides Khotanese, forms with a *ka*-suffix are attested in MSogd. *βjyk* /βəžǐk/ and Bactr. *βιζαγο* (Sims-Williams 2007: 203). In fact, the Bactrian form may provide a suitable phonological match. Its occurrence in the Bactrian fragment written in Manichaean script as *βyźg* (Sims-Williams 2011: 248) confirms that <ζ> may have been pronounced as [ʒ], rather than [z], as surmised by Gholami (2014: 48). For the ending *-o* in borrowings from Bactrian cf. perhaps TB *mālo*, which, according to Del Tomba (2020: 126), may be a loanword from the pre-form of Bactr. *μολο*.

An alternative explanation may see a connection with the Old Khotanese verb *vaś-* 'to shun, avoid'. A derivative **vaśaa-* or **vaśaā-* may have the meaning of 'act of avoidance', hence 'fear'. To this derivative, a *ka*-suffix may have been attached later, without modifications in the meaning,[333] obtaining a form **vaśāka-* as a result. The different sibilant (TB *ṣ*, Khot. *ś*), however, casts serious doubts on this derivation.

[333] Cf. *dandaa-* 'tooth' and *dandāka-* 'id.' (KS: 190).

Results

The etymology of the hapax TB *waṣāko** 'fear, terror' is unknown. In the discussion above, two possible derivations from Bactr. *βιζαγο* (MBactr. *βyźg*) and Khot. *vaśāka-* are examined. Whereas a Bactrian derivation seems phonologically quite fitting, Khotanese is rejected because of the different sibilants (TB *ṣ*, Khot. *ś*).

TB *WICUKO* 'CHEEK, (JAW)BONE', PK **WI-JWA-KA-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- loc. sg. PK AS 2 a3 *krāñi wicūkaine* '[The pain is] in the neck [and] in the jaw' (CEToM Carling and Pinault eds.).
- nom. sg. IOL Toch 100 b2 /// *wcuko kemeṃts witsa*(*ko*) /// 'the jaw [is] the root of the teeth' (DoT: 669)
- obl. sg. IOL Toch 803 b2 /// (*mā*) *wcukai āline tättā*$_{u}$ *os*(*ne ṣmalle*) /// 'One should not sit in the house having put the cheek in the palm of the hand' (Ogihara 2009: 264).
- obl. sg. PK AS 7M a5 *kaklāyaṣ kemi laṃtse wcūkai-wäñcintsa* 'The teeth have fallen out because of the feeble gums [lit. holding the jaw]' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.).
- nom. dual PK AS 13B b4 *wcūkane yailwa toṃ lānte ṣeckeṃntse* '[His] two curved jaws [are] those of the lion king' (Wilkens, Pinault and Peyrot 2014: 12).
- perl. sg. THT 85 a1-2 *tumeṃ uttare m*(*ñcu*)*ṣk*(*e*) *wcukaisa mātär lāntso eṅku weṣän-neścä* 'Thereupon prince Uttara while grasping [his] mother, the queen, by the chin speaks to her' (CEToM, Malzahn ed., cf. also Schmidt 2001: 314).

Discussion

According to Adams (DoT: 669), the meaning of the Tocharian B subst. *wicuko* is secured by the bilingual evidence offered by the *Yogaśataka*, which shows that it translates Skt. *hanu* 'jaw, cheek'. To my knowledge, apart from Van Windekens' (VW 573) and Adams' (1984a: 285) tentative explanations, which are phonologically very difficult,[334] no etymological explanation of the term, which does not look genuinely Tocharian because of the alternation *wic-* ~ *wc-*, has been put forward in the scholarly literature.

Two elements may indicate extra-Tocharian origin, and, more specifically, an Iranian (Khotanese) provenance of the borrowing. These are initial *wi-*, which could be equated with the Proto-Iranian preverb **wi-* and final *-o*, which could point to a PTK, PK or OKh. borrowing. In fact, it is possible to identify a very suitable semantic and phonological match in the Khotanese root °*jv-* 'to chew' (PIr. **ǰyauH-*, see EDIV: 226), attested in

[334] The second edition of Adams' dictionary does not mention any of these two theories.

Khotanese only with the preverb *ham-* (SGS: 138-9). It is thus possible to set up a hypothetical PTK or PK **wi-jwa-ka-*, which could have been borrowed as TB *wicwako* or *wäcwako** from an acc. sg. **wijwaku*.[335] In order to explain the TB medial *u*, it is probably necessary to start from a form PK **wijwäka-*, which could have undergone weakening of the medial unaccented *-a-*. This form may have been borrowed as TB **wicwäko*. For the alternation TB *wä* ~ *u*, see s.v. *aṅkwaṣ(ṭ)* 'Asa foetida'. The jaws would then be 'the chewing (organ)'.

As a working hypothesis, it may be surmised that Tocharian preserved an ancient word for 'jaws' in Khotanese. In the historical stage, **wi-jwa-ka-* was lost in favour of derivatives of PIr. **ǰanu-* (cf. (*pa*)*ysaṇua*(*ka*)- KS: 192, DKS: 345).

Results

The subst. TB *wicuko* 'cheek, jaw(bone)' could be connected with a reconstructed PK form **wi-jwäka-*, a *ka*-formation based on the Khotanese verb °*jv-* 'to chew'.

TB *WIÑCAÑÑE* 'PERTAINING TO A SPARROW', OKH. *BIṂJI-* 'SPARROW'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 282 a7-b1 *t*(*a*)*l*(*lā*$_u$) /// /// *sn*(*ai*) *parwā lestaimeṃ tsāṅkaṃ su kl*(*ā*)*y*(*aṃ*) *n*(*o*) *k*(*eṃ*)*tsa wiñcaññe śa*(*r*)*wa*(*r*)*ñ*(*e*)*sa tr*(*i*)*kṣä*(*ṃ*) *mäkt*(*e*) *palsk*(*o cwi*) – "If miserable ... without feathers [the young bird] rises from its nest and falls down on earth, then it misses *wiñcaññe* because of pride. Like the mind ...' (Peyrot 2013: 676). Adams (DoT: 654) has '[if] without feathers he rises from [his] nest, he will fall to earth; so his spirit tricks [him] with a nestling's pride.'

Discussion

The Tocharian B hapax *wiñcaññe* is attested in the verse-text found in THT 282 b1. The sentence is part of a larger metaphor which concerns a young bird leaving its nest without knowing how to fly and, therefore, falling down on earth. Whereas Peyrot (2013: 676) leaves this hapax untranslated, Adams (2011: 37-8) had previously suggested a possible explanation of *wiñcaññe* as 'a denominal adjective to a noun meaning 'nestling'', hence his translation (cf. *supra*). Phonologically, <wiñcaññe> would then be /wiñcə́ññe/, with <a> for /ə́/, remarkable in an archaic text as THT 282, where normally /ə́/ is written as <ä>. He further derived this hypothetical *wañce** from a root PIE **wendh-*, which should mean 'hair'. Therefore, the Tocharian 'nestling' in his opinion should be the 'downy' one.

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[335] Noteworthy would be in this case the preservation of intervocalic *k*, which is otherwise borrowed as *w* (§3.3.2.2.j). From PK **ka-ka-* one would rather expect TB ***wicukko* (see s.v. *-kke*, *-kka*, *-kko*).

Adams' interpretation is well worth considering. However, he offers no parallel for the questionable semantic path 'downy' > 'nestling', which renders this proposal quite tentative. Therefore, the hypothesis of a loanword from a neighbouring language should be examined. In this case, Khotanese may offer a good candidate for a possible source form. In fact, the text of the Late Khotanese Siddhasāra (§3.20.11, 25.11) has preserved the Khotanese word for 'sparrow' (tr. Skt. *cakaṭa*), *biṃji-*. Bailey (DKS: 281) reconstructs a pre-form **winǰi-*. The reconstruction of an *i*-stem seems to be confirmed by the Late Khotanese palatal *j*, which preserved its palatal character because of the following *i* and was not depalatalised to *js*. Although with a different suffix, the word is quite well-known within Middle and Modern Iranian, cf. e.g. MP *winǰišk*, NP *gunjišk* (CPD: 91). I would suggest that the word was borrowed as *wañc** in the PK or even PTK stage (cf. TB *keś* A *kaś* for the final), because of the retained initial *w-*, which invariably has changed to *b-* already in Old Khotanese. The source form may have been the nom. or acc. sg. PTK/PK **winǰi* (SGS: 290).

Accordingly, I would propose the following translation for the passage in THT 282 b1: '(if) the miserable (young sparrow) without feathers rises from its nest and falls down on earth, he is led astray because of (his) sparrow pride.'

Results

The hapax TB *wiñcaññe* may be interpreted as a denominal adjective from the PTK or PK pre-form of Late Khotanese *biṃji-* 'sparrow' (tr. Skt. *caṭaka*). The reconstructed subst. may have been TB *wañc** 'sparrow', which could be connected to a reconstructed PTK or PK nom. or acc. sg. **winǰi* by way of borrowing.

TB *WRĀKO* A *WROK* 'PEARL', OKH. *MRĀHĀ-* 'ID.'

Discussion

As noted by Bernard (Forthc.) in his thesis, to which the reader is referred for further reference, it is not possible to consider TB *wrāko* A *wrok* 'pearl' as a borrowing from OKh. *mrāhā-* 'id.', as often argued in the scholarly literature (cf. Tremblay 2005: 434). The main phonological problem seems to be the initial *mr-*, which can hardly have been adapted as TAB *wr-*. Thus, Bernard (Forthc.) concludes that the source of the Tocharian words may be sought in an unknown Middle Iranian language which underwent the change **mṛ-* > *vr-*. This unknown language may have been close to some Hindu-Kush languages which show a similar treatment of **mṛ-*.

The more famous word for 'pearl' (cf. MP *murwārid*, Greek *μαργαρίτης*), from which the Tocharian and the Khotanese words are clearly derived, may be ultimately traced back to the Proto-Iranian word for 'bird', **mṛga-* (Beekes 2010: 905). Accordingly, since the regular outcome of **mṛga-* is OKh. *mura-*, OKh. *mrāhā-* can hardly be a genuine Khotanese word (*pace* Bailey, DKS: 341). Moreover, the initial cluster *mr-* clearly reflects a foreign sound, as it is not to be found elsewhere in Khotanese. In fact, an epenthetic

vowel *ä*/*i*/*ī* is frequently inserted between *m* and *r* to simplify this difficult cluster (cf. *mirāhā-*, *märāhā-*, *mīrāhā-* in the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra [Suv II: 326]).

Bernard (Forthc.) notes that a form **mrăγ-*, from which TB *wrāko* may be derived, is reflected in Yidgha *brấγiko* and Munǰī *bráγiko, brấγiko* 'sparrow'. In my view, it is possible that a competing form **mrăx-* may have existed beside **mrăγ-*. As intervocalic *x* is known to become *h* in Khotanese, this form may easily have yielded the attested OKh. *mrāhā-*, if it was borrowed before the change **mr-* > **br-* common to Yidgha and Munǰī. The fact that intial *mr-* is retained as such in Old Khotanese,[336] however, points to a more recent borrowing, which is at variance with the antiquity of the change *-VxV-* > *-VhV-*. Therefore, this derivation is still problematic.

Results

TB *wrāko* A *wrok* 'pearl' cannot have been borrowed from OKh. *mrāhā-*. The Khotanese word may have been borrowed from the same unknown Middle Iranian Hindu-Kush source as the Tocharian word, although the details remain to be settled.

TB *WRANTSO** 'AGAINST, OPPOSITE', OKH. *VARĀLSTO* 'TOWARDS'

Discussion

The adverb and postposition TB *wrantsai* has no convincing etymology (DoT: 670). As in other cases, the final *-ai* may in origin be the obl. sg. of a noun. If so, as the nom. sg. can be set up as *wrantso**, the final *-o* may point to a borrowing from PTK, PK or OKh. Unfortunately, no suitable etymology suggests itself. In fact, the required source form ***biraṃjsa-* does not exist in Khotanese. On the basis of the meaning, however, it is suggestive to think of a connection with OKh. *varālsto*, a postposition with the meaning 'towards' (*vara* + suff. *-ālsto*, see KS: 111). The *l* in the difficult cluster *lst*, which does not occur in Tocharian, may have undergone a dissimilation to *n*, also because of the preceding *r*. The resulting cluster *nst* may have become *ntst* through *t*-epenthesis, and may have been subsequently simplified to *nts*. The first, unaccented *a* of *varālsto* may have been dropped. Thus, the developments involved may be simplified as follows: OKh. *varālsto* → TB **wransto* > **wrantsto* > *wrantso**. I must stress, however, the tentative character of this explanation. In fact, even if correspondences of the type TB /ä/ ~ Khot. *a* have been found – cf. s.v. *kaṅko* and *śarko** – I am not able to offer any example for TB /ä/ ~ Khot. *ā*.

An alternative solution, which appears to be formally more fitting, would seek a connection with a reconstructed adverbial **upari-anč-am*, which could have yielded Khot. ***vīraṃjsu*, a suitable source for TB *wrantso**. For a similar formation in Khotanese,

[336] Cf. Z 22.253. The fact that the word was bisillabic in Old Khotanese is confirmed by its use at the end of a cadence of type A metre in Z 22.253 (˗ ⏑).

cf. the adjective *paraṃjsa-* 'adverse', from **paranča-* (Suv II: 298). As ***vīraṃjsu* does not occur in Khotanese, however, this proposal remains also fully hypothetical.

Results

The Tocharian B adverb and postposition *wrantsai*, whose nom. sg. can be set up as *wrantso**, might be a borrowing from the postposition OKh. *varālsto* 'towards', through a Tocharian simplification of the difficult Khotanese cluster *lst*. In view of the complicated phonological passages involved, however, this explanation remains very tentative. Alternatively, a connection with a reconstructed **upari-anč-am* is proposed, which would be phonologically unproblematic. However, this reconstructed form is not attested within the Khotanese and Tumshuqese text corpus.

TAB *ŚĀÑCAPO* 'MUSTARD', OKH. *ŚŚAŚVĀNA-* 'ID.'

Discussion

The arguments for the identification of TAB *śāñcapo* with 'mustard', instead of 'Dalbergia sissoo', were orally presented by Bernard and Chen during an online presentation with the title 'A spicy etymology. On Tocharian B (and A) *śāñcapo*' on 8 December 2020 at the *Tocharian in Progress* online conference (Leiden University).[337] Here only the most important results concerning the phonological reconstruction of the ancestor of Khotanese and Tumshuqese will be presented.

Results

Building upon the recent identification of TAB *śāñcapo* with 'mustard', it is possible to put forward the hypothesis that TB *śāñcapo*[338] may have been borrowed from the PTK ancestor of OKh. *śśaśvāna-*, i.e. **śaNźapa-*. This reconstruction is based on the following points:

a. The reconstruction of the nasal is based on the parallel forms in New Persian, Parthian and Sogdian, on the basis of which Henning (1965: 44) reconstructed an Iranian pre-form **sinšapa-*. I suggest that it could have been dropped in front of the cluster *śv* after the synope of the medial syllable (see point c.).
b. For TB *ñc* corresponding to PTK *-nś-* see further s.v. *eñcuwo* (Results, point c.). This adaptation is parallel to *t*-epenthesis in Tocharian clusters like *ns* on the one hand, and to the palatalised counterpart *ñc* of *nk*, next to the more regular *nś*, on the other.
c. The cluster <śv> in Khotanese arose within PK or OKh. through weakening and subsequent syncope of the medial unaccented syllable, i.e. PTK **śanźapa-* > PK **śaNźäwa-* > OKh. /śaźwa°/ <śśaśva°>.

[337] The authors are preparing a publication on this subject.
[338] The Tocharian A form was certainly borrowed from Tocharian B.

d. The ending *-āna-* is traditionally explained as due to a second element **dānā-* 'seed' which was probably added during the PK or OKh. period (DKS: 396). The borrowing into Tocharian would thus reflect a PTK form without the second element **dānā-*. Since the only certain Old Khotanese occurrence of the word (Z 2.118) seems to point to a masculine *a*-stem, however, the existence of the second element **dānā-* is questionable.[339] Accordingly, an alternative explanation may involve the suffix *-āna-*, an old adjectival suffix of the type seen in *ysämāna-* 'winter' (KS: 85).

TB *ŚĀMPO**, TA *ŚĀMPĀṂ** 'HAUGHTINESS, CONCEIT, PRIDE', OKH. *TCAṂPHA-* 'DISTURBANCE, TUMULT'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 100 b6 *lauke tattārmeṃ laṃntuñeṃ yetweṃ amāṃ śämpa añcalī ṣarne yämu* 'Having set afar the ornaments of kingship, pride and arrogance, he put the hands in the *añjali* gesture' (cf. also DoT: 19).
- THT 138 a3 (*po ai*)*śämñesa kekenoṣ snai śampā* 'Provided with all wisdom without conceit' (cf. DoT: 683).
- IOL Toch 163 a4 *ñäkteññana klainantsä śämpa* 'The pride of divine women' (Broomhead 1962: 235).
- adj. *śampässe* PK AS 7L a5 *jämadagniṃñe su räme śampässe po neks*(*a*) *kṣatriy*(*eṃ*) /// 'Rāma, this haughty son of Jamadagni, killed all kṣatriyas' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Peyrot eds.), THT 240 a2 *mā śampasse prakreñ=ci* 'not haughty, … (?)'
- adj. *śampāṣṣe** THT 575 b3 *śampāṣṣi erkatteśañ* /// '(those) haughty and quick to anger' (DoT: 100), *9 yk· ṣṣä ś*(*a*)*mpāṣṣeṃ mā k·* /// [isolated].
- TA instr. sg. A 329 b3 /// *āmāṃ śämpānyo :* '… pride and arrogance' (cf. THT 100 b6).

Discussion

The meaning of the Tocharian B subst. *śämpa* and TA *śämpāṃ** is assured by their occurrences (A 329 and THT 100) in hendiadys with TB *amāṃ* A *āmāṃ* 'pride, arrogance', itself a borrowing from BSogd. *"m'n* 'power, authority' (DoT: 19). Its etymology, however, is not clear. In fact, Van Windekens' (VW: 473-4) connection with the PIE root **stemb^{h}H-* 'sich stützen, sich stemmen' (LIV: 595-6) can hardly be accepted in view of the Tocharian development PIE **mb^h* > PT **m* (Malzahn 2011: 104, DoT: 683). Moreover, archaic and classical TB *ś* categorically excludes an old **st'*, which should have become *śc*. It should be also noted that the same verb is already attested in Tocharian as B *stəma-* A *ṣtämā-*.

[339] The occurrence in SI P 45.3 2 (*śśaśvänä*) might also point to an *a*-stem, but, being isolated, it is not clear which case should represent.

As evident from the occurrences above, the Tocharian B subst. *śāmpa* is only attested in the obl. sg. (see also Malzahn 2011: 87). As in the case of *śarko** and *keto*, q.v., a nom. sg. ending in *-a** was traditionally set up (TEB I: 136).[340] However, it is also possible to set up the nom. sg. as *śāmpo**.[341] In this case, I would like to suggest that, as in the case of *śarko** and *keto*, *śāmpo** may be considered a loanword from PTK, PK or OKh. too. In fact, the initial may show exactly the same correspondence Khot. *tc-* ~ TB *ś* as already seen for *śarko**, q.v. and the dating of the borrowing may be placed in the PTK stage. Accordingly, the source form may be identified with OKh. *tcaṃpha-* 'violence, disturbance, tumult' (KS: 6). The semantic link may be sought in the possibility to view 'haughtiness' or 'conceit' as a confused or 'disturbed' state of mind. The Old Khotanese substantive *tcaṃpha-* is attested twice, once in Old Khotanese (Z) and once in Late Khotanese (JS):

- Z 24.414 *panä śśando tcaṃphä u dū mästä bajāṣṣä halahala hoḍa nä haṃbitta pähatta* 'In every place there are tumults and troubles, a loud din, cries: 'Give it to them, pierce, strike!' (Emmerick 1968: 403)
- JS 34v1 *dedrrāmye tcephine drro mestye ṣkalana . tcure-ysąña hīne cu hā kṣīrāṣṭe trraṃda* 'With so great a tumult roared, with mighty noise, the four-divisioned army which entered into the land.' (Dresden 1955: 442)

As for the etymology of *tcaṃpha-*, Bailey (DKS: 136) sets up a root *tcaṃph-* 'be disturbed, be violent', which, in his opinion, could account for all the different formations based on it. In the following, the remaining different formations are listed:

- Except for *tcaṃpha-*, the simplex seems to be only attested in the past ptc. *tcautta-* (< **čafta-*), for which Degener (KS: 251) gives a translation 'behindert, geschadet'. Likewise, Kumamoto (1986: 272) has 'injured', following Bailey (DKS: 136).
- + **pari*: verb *paltcīṃph-*. Emmerick (SGS: 76) has the very general translation 'to check', Degener (KS: 49) prefers 'eindämmen'. Subst. *paltcīṃphāka-* 'Eindämmer' (KS: 49).
- + **niš*: verb **naltcīṃph-*. Emmerick (SGS: 49) 'to remove', Degener (KS: 47) 'unterbinden'. Subst. *natciphāka-* 'Vernichter' (KS: 47). Subst. *ṇitcaṃpha-* 'Auflösung' (KS: 7).
- + **wi*: adj. *bitcaṃpha-*. 'Verstört' (KS: 10), 'distressed, troubled' (DKS: 283). + suff. *-ttāti- bitcaṃphā-* (LKh.) 'Verwirrung' (KS: 281).
- + **awa*: verb *vatcīṃph-* 'to cast down (?)' (DKS: 136).
- + *śa*: *śatcaṃpha-* 'außer sich, zerrütet' (KS: 11). + suff. *-ttāti- śatcaṃphā-* (LKh.) 'Zerrüttung' (KS: 282), '(mental) disorder'.

From the list above, it seems clear that the semantics of the root *tcaṃph-* in Khotanese range from 'be violent, destroy' to 'be in distress, confused, troubled'. Accordingly, as also reported by Cheung (EDIV: 344), it is difficult to accept Emmerick's

[340] Malzahn's (2011: 103) hypothesis, after a suggestion by Pinault (2012: 198), that it may be an old *plurale tantum* does not change the fact that a Tocharian etymology for *śāmpa* is very difficult.

[341] The apparent mismatch with the final of Tocharian A *śāmpāṃ** is explained by Malzahn (2011: 103) through analogy with *āmāṃ* (cf. *supra*).

(SGS: 49, 76) derivation from PIr. **skamb-* 'to support, use as support'. Indeed, it is hard to see any acceptable semantic connection between 'support' and 'be violent, in distress'. Moreover, the Proto-Iranian root **skamb-* is already attested in Khotanese as *ṣkīm-* : *ṣkaunda-* 'to create' (SGS: 128), with the regular change **mb* > *m*. Further, it is hard to see how Khot. *ph* could have developed from **b*.

In view of these difficulties, I would like to put forward the proposal that Khot. *tcaṃph-* may derive from the root set up by Cheung as PIr. *čap-* 'to seize, attach, stick, strike' (EDIV: 32).[342] It is possible that a secondary **čaf-* existed (cf. e.g. the root **kap/f* 'to (be)fall, strike (down)' or 'to split, cut, scrape, dig', EDIV: 234-5). Further, the Balochi (*čāmpit*/*čāmp-* 'to snatch') and Yaghnobi (*čŭmf-*/*čumfta* 'to push (to)') forms support the existence of a nasal variant of the root, which could be reconstructed as **čamf-*. This is exactly the pre-form needed for Khot. *tcaṃph-*.

Results

TB *śāmpo** 'haughtiness, conceit, pride' may be a loanword from the PTK antecedent of OKh. *tcaṃpha-* 'violence, disturbance, tumult'. The PTK form may be reconstructed as **čamfa-*. As previous proposals on the etymology of Khot. *tcaṃph-* could not stand closer scrutiny, a new derivation from a nasal variant of PIr. **čap/f-* 'to seize, attach, stick, strike' is proposed.

TB *ŚARKO** 'SONG, SINGING', A *TSÄRK* '±LUTE (?)', KHOT. *TCARKĀ-* 'PLAY'

Tocharian occurrences: TA *tsärk*

- YQ I.9 a2 /// – *śla tsärk karel* '(...) with musical instruments and laughter' (CEToM). DTTA: 103 has 'with (lute-)music and laughter'.
- YQ I.9 b3 (*na*)*mo buddha rake karel tsärkaśśäl ywār klyoṣäl tāk* 'the words 'Reverence to Buddha' [namo buddha] were heard among laughter and music' (CEToM).
- A318 a2 *ceṣ penu ṣome kropa-krop ñäktañ oki tsärk ts*(...) 'These [ones], single group by single group, also (make) [lute] music like gods, (...)' (Malzahn and Fellner 2015: 66).
- A318 a6 *ṣomaṃ nu rpeñc kispar wic ṣomaṃ tsärk* (...) 'Now some [women] play the *kispar wic*, others (play) the lute (...)' (Malzahn and Fellner 2015: 66).
- A126 a6 *nandenac tsärk yaṣ* 'she does lute to Nanda (? = she plays lute or she sings for Nanda, cf. the similar collocation in Tocharian B).

[342] The Khotanese root *cev-*, listed by Cheung (l.c.) under the same root, is rather to be taken as an Indic loanword, together with *cav-* (SVK I: 44).

- In compound with *rape* 'music': A15 *śilpavāṃ penu tsärk-rape yāmluneyo* (... *akäṃt*)*sune kropñāt* 'Śilpavān, too, delighting the people with making music on [his] lute, gained property' (CEToM, Carling ed.).

Tocharian occurrences: TB *śarko**

- Km-034-ZS-L-01 a6 *tane śikhiṃ pañäktentse śarka ploriyaisa yarke yamaṣasta walo ṣait* 'Ici, au Buddha Śikhin tu rendis hommage avec (de la musique de) flûte [et] luth; tu etais roi' (Pinault 1994: 179).
- PK AS 17A b1-2 *t*(*ane*) *ñak*(*e pūrvavedīd*)*v*(*ī*)*pn*(*e*) *mäsk*(*e*)*ñca ñ*(*a*)*kt*(*e*) *pūrv*(*o*)*ttare ñem y· – ś*(*ar*)*k*(*a*) *ploriy*(*ai*)*sa suppr*(*i*)*y*(*eṃ ca*)*kravārttiṃ lānt wrantsai śem* 'Here now, the god who stayed in Pūrvavedīdvīpa, Pūrvottara by name, ... came with lute [and] *ploriya* [instrument] towards the cakravartin king Supriya' (CEToM, Pinault, Illés, Peyrot eds.).
- PK NS 399 a3 *mäñcuṣke patarye ypoyne śem maṅkäläntasa ploriyaṃ śarka*(*ntsa*) /// 'the prince went to the country of the father with good omens, with flutes [and] lutes ...' (CEToM, Pinault, Fellner eds.).
- THT 588 a2 /// *śärka ramt«†ä» yamäskeṃ täñ«†ä» klautsnaisäñ källaskeñ-c«†ä» säkwä* '... sie machen gleichsam Musik und bringen deinen Ohren Lust' (Schmidt 1974: 390).
- IOL Toch 116 a1 *-pe śarka cäñcaṃ-ne* 'she pleases him [with] ... and song' (maybe more likely a restoration (*tsai*)*pe śarka* 'dance and song' (Fellner *apud* CEToM, cf. KVāc) than the usual restoration (*ra*)*pe śarka*).
- THT 382 a1 /// *gandharvv*(*i*) *śark*(*a*) *yāmṣyeṃ* '... die Gandharven machten Musik' (Thomas 1957: 49).[343]
- THT 1104 a4 /// (*tsai*)*p*(*e*)*ṃ śarka ploriyaṃ yetweṃ lkātsi yale* '[nor] shall you go to see (dances), singing (?), music (?) [and] shows [lit. ornaments] (?)' (CEToM, Fellner, Illés eds.).

Discussion

It seems difficult to determine the exact semantic connotation of TB *śarko** A *tsärk*. As it is clear from the list of occurrences above, the translations seem to oscillate between music in general or singing and a non-specified sort of instrument, perhaps a lute. For TB *śarko**, it seems reasonable to assume with Schmidt (2018: 97) that in the passage of the KVāc in THT 1104 a4, (*tsai*)*p*(*e*)*ṃ śarka ploriyaṃ yetweṃ* may correspond to Pālī *naccagītavādanavisūkadassana* and Skt. *nṛtyagītavāditra*. If so, the correspondences are as follows: *tsaipeṃ* = Skt. *nṛtya*, *śarka* = Skt. *gīta*, *ploriyaṃ* = Skt. *vāditra*. As it does not seem to be a perfect case of bilingual evidence – the Indic parallel occurs in a slightly different position of the KVāc – it is probably not necessary to give it too much credit.

[343] With fn. 1: 'Die genaue Bedeutung des mehrmals belegten śarka läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit ermitteln.'

However, as no more precise evidence is available, it seems wise to adopt the translation 'song, singing' for TB *śarko**, after Adams (DoT: 679).

For TA *tsärk*, I am hesitant to accept Pinault's (1994: 189-191) suggestion that it could designate a 'lute', or another specialised plucking instrument. On the contrary, I would suggest that TA *tsärk* may also mean 'singing, song', and that it may indeed be the Tocharian A counterpart of TB *śarko**. This hypothesis is backed by the Old Uyghur parallel passages of the MSN, which offer *ır üni* 'der Laut von Gesang' (Geng and Klimkeit 1988: 105) for YQ I.9 a2 and [*ı*]*r oyun* '[Ge]sang' (Geng and Klimkeit 1988: 107) for YQ I.9 b3. Both Old Uyghur terms refer to 'singing, song' rather than to a particular musical instrument. These are the resulting translations:

- YQ I.9 a2 '(...) with singing and laughter'.
- YQ I.9 b3 'the words 'Reverence to Buddha' [namo buddha] were heard among laughter and singings'.
- A318 a2 'These [ones], single group by single group, also sing like gods, (...)'.
- A318 a6 'Now some [women] play the *kispar wic*, others sing (...)'.
- A126 a6 'She sings to Nanda'.
- A15 'Śilpavān, too, delighting the people with making music and singings, gained property'.
- Km-034-ZS-L-01 a6 'Here, you paid homage to the Buddha Śikhin with flute music and singing'.
- PK AS 17A b1-2 'Here now, the god who stayed in Pūrvavedīdvīpa, Pūrvottara by name, ... came with singing [and] a flute towards the cakravartin king Supriya'.
- PK NS 399 a3 'the prince went to the country of the father with good omens, with flutes [and] singings ...'.
- THT 588 a2 '... At the same time they sing and bring pleasure to your ears'.
- IOL Toch 116 a1 'She pleases him [with] ... and singing'.
- THT 382 a1 /// *gandharvv*(*i*) *śark*(*a*) *yāmṣyeṃ* '... The Gandharvas sang'.
- THT 1104 a4 /// (*tsai*)*p*(*e*)*ṃ śarka ploriyaṃ yetweṃ lkātsi yale* '[Nor] shall you go to see (dances), singing (?), music (?) [and] shows [lit. ornaments] (?)'.

In the following, it is further suggested that both lexemes could be related to LKh. *tcarkā-* 'play, sport, delight' by way of borrowing.

Khot. *tcarkā-* is attested in Old and Late Khotanese in Suv 12.42 and 3.23 in the following sentences:

- LKh. Suv 3.23 *nahąryūṇaṃ tcarkāṃ kiṇa* 'because of plays and games' (Skt. *krīḍa-rati-vaśāc caiva*).
- OKh. Suv 12.42 *cu ttä härа kū jsa hatäro tcarke būsä khanei vätä u śśära sasta ttä vā* $^{+}$*araysūna amanāva pva'ṇavīya. haysguṣṭanavīya u biśśūnyau* $^{+}$*vyāvulyau* $^{+}$*vyātulasta* 'Whatever things from which formerly came play, pleasure, and laughter and (which) seemed good, those will be distasteful, unpleasant, fearsome, distressing, and fraught with all kinds of confusions.' (Skt. *pūrva-ramyāṇi bhāvāni krīḍā-hāsya-ratīni ca | sannāramyā bhaviṣyanti āyāsa-śata-vyākulāḥ ||*).

In the Late Khotanese sentence it seems to translate Skt. *rati*, in the Old Khotanese one Skt. *krīḍa*. The same expressions (*tcarkā-* + (*na*)*haryūna-*) are to be found quite frequently in the later Khotanese literature (Suv II: 115). It is possible that, beside the attested meanings of 'play, sport, amusement, delight', a reference to music or singing may also have been present. This is supported by a possible new etymology of *tcarkā-*. I would suggest that it could be derived from a palatal variant of PIr. **karH-* 'to praise, celebrate' (EDIV: 239), as attested in Sariqoli *čīr-* 'to sing, twitter, chirp' (EVSh: 27). This Sariqoli verb was already tentatively derived from PIr. **karH-* by Morgenstierne (EVSh: 27). Bailey's derivation of *tcarkā-* from the same root as Gr. *σκαίρω* seems doubtful, as the Greek verb is also of uncertain etymology (LIV: 556). The semantic development of *karH-* in Eastern Iranian may therefore be sketched as follows: OIr. 'celebrate, praise' > Sariqoli and PTK 'to sing' (→ TB *śarko** 'singing, song') > PK, OKh. *tcarkā-* 'play, delight, amusement' (→ TA *tcärk*). Therefore, TB *śarko** could be seen as an old loanword from PTK into Tocharian B. As such, the word may have preserved its intermediate meaning of 'to sing' between OIr. 'to celebrate, praise' and OKh. 'play, delight, amusement'. This intermediate stage would be attested in the Sariqoli verb.

As for the phonology, if the assumed semantic development is accepted, this etymology presents us with a possible explanation of the difficult initial correspondence of the Tocharian A and B words. TB *śarko** would be a borrowing from PTK – with initial *ś* reflecting PT **ć*, an adaptation of PTK **č* – and TA *tsärk* a borrowing from PK or Old Khotanese in the historical stage, when **č* was depalatalised to **ts*. I see two main difficulties with this approach: a. the correspondence Khot. *a* – TAB /ä/ is not perfect, although cases are to be found (cf. s.v. *kaṅko*), but the overall conditions are not clear; b. as the semantics of TA *tsärk* is not clear, it is difficult to accept that it could also mean 'song, singing' as TB *śarko**, if it was borrowed from Old Khotanese in the historical period, where the meaning was different. A tentative approach to the second problem may be to posit for TA *tsärk* not a borrowing in the historical period, but a borrowing from PK. Even if this may look a bit artificial, one may surmise that in PK the semantic range was the same as in PTK. Therefore, the semantic development 'to sing' > 'play, amusement' may have happened between the PK and the Old Khotanese stage. [344]

Results

The etymology of the difficult words TB *śarko** A *tsärk* has remained so far mysterious. In the discussion above, I tentatively put forward the proposal that they may mean both 'song, singing'. TB *śarko** may be a borrowing from the PTK antecedent of OKh. *tcarkā-*,

[344] An alternative solution may even consider the possibility that both TB *śarko** and TA *tsärk* were borrowed from the same PTK antecedent. The different adaptation of the initial may be due to the fact that PTK **č* was already a sound between the PIr. palatal **č* and the historically attested <tc> [ʦ]. Tocharian B speakers maintained the old palatal feature, while Tocharian A speakers lost it. This would imply that the word was borrowed after the Proto-Tocharian stage.

which means 'play, amusement' as a result of a later semantic change, and TA *tsärk* may be a borrowing from its PK antecedent.

TB *śītO* '?', OKh. *śśītA-* 'WHITE'

Discussion

The hapax TB *śīto* is attested in a very broken context in the fragment THT 623 b5. The word is clearly readable, but no meaning can be extrapolated from the context. Its etymology is likewise unknown. Because of the final *-o* of what seems to be a nom. sg., a very tentative connection with OKh. *śśīta-* 'white' (< PIr. *ćwaita-*) can be put forward. In this case, because of the *t*, the borrowing should have taken place before either the Old Khotanese stage (cf. s.v. *ᵤwātano**), or through a written model.

Results

The hapax TB *śīto* may be a loanword from OKh. *śśīta-* 'white'. Because of the difficulty in establishing a meaning for the Tocharian B word, however, the connection remains very tentative.

TB *śINTSO** '?', LKh. *śīṂJĀ-* 'ZIZYPHUS JUJUBA (?)'

Tocharian occurrences

- perl. sg. THT 1540 a + b a2 *wär śintsaisa twe arts kauṃ spāktaṃ yāmäṣṣīt* 'du versorgest sie bei(de) Tag für Tag mit Wasser [und] Futter' (Schmidt 2007: 326).
- obl. sg. THT 1540 a + b a3 *twe mā ṣäp śintsai* (*śā*)*w*(*ā*)*stā*[345] *tū-läkleñ* 'so daß du aus Schmerz darüber kein Futter zu dir nahmst' (Schmidt 2007: 327).
- obl. sg. THT 1540 a + b a3 *wälo preksa cī kā nai śintsai mā św*(*ātä*) 'The King asked you: 'Why are you not eating any food?'' (M. Peyrot, p.c. Cf. also Schmidt 2007: 327).

Discussion

A Tocharian B substantive in the obl. sg. *śintsai* occurs three times in THT 1540 a + b. As the word is of unclear origin, Schmidt opted for a generic translation 'Futter' in the first edition of the text, commenting that *śintsai* 'scheint allgemein die feste Tiernahrung zu bezeichnen' (Schmidt 2007: 326 fn. 37). Adams (DoT: 690) tentatively proposes a reconstruction 'PIE **$g^{w}ih_{3}$-nt-yeh$_{a}$-*', comparing OCS *žito* 'corn, fruits' for the semantics (*Lebensmittel*). However, this proto-form should have yielded ***śāntso* (with **ih_{3}* > **ya*),

[345] Schmidt (2007: 327) has (*ś*·)[*w*](*ā*)*st*[*ā*], but, following Peyrot (2012) the only possible restoration seems to be (*śā*)[*w*](*ā*)*st*[*ā*].

not the attested *śintso**. Moreover, Adams' derivation is probably based on Schmidt's cautious translation. It is striking that a word with such generic meaning should be only attested in this fragment. The etymology and precise meaning of the obl. sg. *śintsai* remain therefore uncertain.

The narrative context in which *śintsai* occurs is that of the so-called 'Mātṛpoṣa Jātaka', the story of the captured elephant that refuses any food in the king's palace because he cannot care for his old parents anymore, who are left alone and helpless in the forest. In the end, the king, moved by the behaviour of the elephant, frees him and lets him return to his parents. The final scene takes place in the forest by a lotus-pond: the elephant finds his mother blind by the pond and, when he sprinkles her with water, she regains the sight. On the different sources of the story and the numerous discrepancies of the extant versions, see in detail Schlingloff (2000: 126) and Pinault (2009: 253-5). It seems that the fragmentary Tocharian version contains all the narrative nuclea of the other versions, although with slightly different details. The Tocharian main character, for example, seems to be a female elephant rather than a male, which finds a correspondence only in the Mahāvastu. Moreover, no mention is made of the blind mother. The reference is always to the two parents (*pacere*).

No other version of the story mentions in detail the exact nature of the food given to the elephant. The reference is only to 'food and water'. As it is difficult to explain the obl. sg. *śintsai* within Tocharian (cf. *supra*), and the nom. sg. may be reconstructed as *śintso** (*okso*-type), it could be surmised that the word may be a loanword from Khotanese (nom. sg. *-o* for the Khot. acc. sg. *-u*). In this case, a possible source may be identified as LKh. *śīṃjā-* (DKS: 399), which denotes the Zizyphus jujuba in Late Khotanese medical texts. As the identification of the exact meaning and etymology of this word in Khotanese is not without problems, a more detailed analysis is needed. The discussion will first seek to determine its precise meaning within the Late Khotanese medical text corpus. Subsequently, the etymology of the word will be discussed and *śīṃjā-* will be compared with its related Iranian forms. In the last section, I will try to justify this new possible connection based on the Tocharian occurrences.

On the occurrences of LKh. *śīṃjā-* in Khotanese medical texts

In the Siddhasāra, LKh. *śīṃjā-* is attested 9 times without anusvāra and 5 times with *ṃ*, in total 14 occurrences. In 10 out of 14 occurrences, it occurs in a compound with *bara-*, which is the Late Khotanese outcome of OKh. *batara-*,[346] an old loanword from Skt. *badara* 'Zizyphus jujuba', with *t* for Skt. *d* as in OKh. *pata-* 'stanza' (Skt. *pada*). All the occurrences of *bara-śīṃjā-* (§2.2, §2.3, §13.48, §3.22.8, §14.12, §14.18, §15.16, §22.12, §21.12, §26.55) translate Skt. *badara*, *badarī*, *bādara* or *kola* (Tib. *rgya shug*), all designations of the jujube tree (Zizyphus jujuba) or of its fruit. Interestingly, however, the four

[346] OKh. *batara-** in the adj. acc. sg. fem. *batarīgyo* (*batarī(ṃ)gyā-** KS: 146) is attested in VkN 5.15.2 (Skt. *badara*, Tib. *rgya shug*), see Skjærvø (1986: 243-4) and Emmerick (1983: 46). On the different meanings of LKh. *bara-* alone in the Siddhasāra, see Emmerick (1983: 46-7).

occurrences of *śīṃjā-* alone do not refer to the Zizyphus jujuba. In §2.20, *śīṃja* translates Skt. *dhava* 'Anogeissus latifolia Wall (axlewood)'. In the same passage (§2.20), there is a reference to a 'second sort of *śīṃjā-*' (*śe' pacaḍä śīṃja*), which, based on the Sanskrit version, should refer to Skt. *śiṃśapā* 'Dalbergia sissoo'. In the following chapter, however, Skt. *śiṃśapā* is translated by *śīśapä*, i.e. a direct loanword from Sanskrit. In §2.21 and §23.19, *śīṃjā-* alone likewise refers to Skt. *dhava*.

From the occurrences above, it could be argued that *śīṃjā-* was the native Khotanese word for the jujube tree or its fruit. The compound **batara-śīṃjā-* may have been created within a learned environment (Si, perhaps already VkN) to strengthen the association of the Khotanese name with the Sanskrit original, thereby conferring to it a higher status. Due to its superficial similarity with Skt. *śiṃśapā*, LKh. *śīṃjā* came to be used also for different varieties of trees, only at a later date. In defining LKh. *bara-śīṃjā-* as a 'tautological compound', Luzzietti (2018-2019: 65) seems to imply a similar explanation. However, I will argue below that *śīṃjā-* did not refer specifically to the Zizyphus jujuba, but to another type of tree.

On the alleged Iranian etymology of *śīṃjā-*

Bailey (1951: 933) first recognized the word as belonging to a larger group of Central Asian plant names. As for Middle Iranian, the word appears as *srinjad* or *sinjad* in the 16th chapter of the Bundahišn (Pakzad 2005: 217), which contains a classification of plant species. Daryaee (2006-2007: 82) argues that the Middle Persian word may refer in this context not to the jujube tree but to the oleaster (Elaeagnus angustifolia), as also NP *sinjad*/*sinjid* seems to imply (Hasandust 2015: III n° 3118). Apart from the slightly different semantics, however, there can be no doubt that *śīṃjā-* belongs to the same group of words.

In Buddhist Sogdian, a related form seems to refer to the fruit of the oleaster. A form *synkt°* can be extracted from the compound *synktškrδ'k* (*mrγ'k*) (SCE 321), which MacKenzie (1970: 70), based on the Chinese version, interprets as meaning 'the oleaster-fruit-piercing bird' (the mynah bird). In Manichaean Sogdian, the word is confirmed as *syngt** (Manichaean orthography) and *synkt** (Sogdian orthography) in the fem. adj. M *syngtync* S *synktync*, which occurs in the two parallel texts M 1060 (r6) and So 10100m (v9), for which cf. Sims-Williams (2014: 72). The corresponding masculine adjective may be reconstructed as *synktyny** (GMS: 160).

The Pashto form *sənjàla* (EDP: 74) refers to the oleaster as well and Sh. *sizd*, Yd. *səziyo* may be possibly related (EVSh: 77). Doubtful seems Bailey's (DKS: 399) connection with Skt. *siñcatikā*, the designation of an unknown species of plant ('nicht klar', according to EWA III: 512). Outside Iranian, Khowar *šinjùr* (EDP: 74) has a word-initial palatal as in the Khotanese word.

The forms listed above clearly show irregular correspondences that exclude that the word is inherited from Proto-Iranian. In particular, the alternation between palatal and non-palatal sibilant word-initially may indicate a non-Iranian origin, as possibly in the Indo-Iranian words for 'sand' and 'needle' (Lubotsky 2001: 302). The variety of different sounds for the internal cluster (Sogd. /ng/, Khot. and MP /nj/, Pšt. /ndz/, Sh. /zd/) is also

quite puzzling and further suggests the hypothesis that we are dealing with a Central Asian Wanderwort, as in the case of the word for 'sesame', q.v. Bailey's (DKS: 399) connection with the 'thorn' word, for which cf. Oss. D *sindzæ*, is semantically attractive, but cannot explain all the different forms.

However, even with the *caveat* that it may be a Wanderwort, it is at any rate necessary to explain how LKhot. *śīṃjā-* may have been formed. Based on the Iranian forms quoted above, it may be argued that two forms **sinjata-* and *singata-* could be reconstructed as the sources of the Iranian forms. **sinjata-* may have regularly yielded a form **sinjsata-* in PK or OKh., which probably underwent secondary palatalization of **si-* > **śi-* (cf., independently, the Khowar form) to result in **śśinjsata-*. This could have been further reduced to **śśiṃjsaa-* or **śśiṃjsā-* already in OKh. or late OKh. I would like to suggest that this form may have been the source of the borrowing into Tocharian B *śintso*, i.e. acc. sg. **śinjso* → TB *śintso*.

In order to further explain the attested LKh. *śīṃjā-*, however, it is necessary to return to the Sogdian material adj. in *-ynyy*. The equivalent suffix in Khot. is *-īnaa*, fem. *-īṃgyā* (KS: 133). It can be argued that a similar adj. may have existed also in Old Khotanese as **śśiṃjsatīnaa-*. This may have yielded **śśiṃjseinaa-* already in Old Khotanese (cf. *āljseinaa-* 'made of silver' < *ālsätīnaa-*, KS: 140). The fem. counterpart of this material adj. may have been **śśiṃjsatīṃgyā-* > **śśiṃjsīṃgyā-*.[347] For this last development, cf. LKh. *ā'jsījā-* < OKh. *āljsatīṃgyā-* 'made of silver (fem.)' (KS: 140). A secondary palatalization **ṃjs* > *ṃj* may have occurred in front of *i*, as not infrequent in Late Khotanese, so that LKh. **śiṃjīṃjā-* may have been formed. Alternatively, an assimilation to the following palatal may also have been possible. It is thus conceivable that a simple haplology may have yielded the attested form *śīṃjā-*.

As for the semantics, it is noteworthy that the meaning 'jujube tree' is not attested in any other language. Since this meaning in Khotanese occurs only in a compound with Skt. *badara*, it is natural to put forward the hypothesis that *śīṃjā-* did not originally indicate the Zizyphus jujuba in Khotanese, but another tree. This explains the necessity to associate *śīṃjā-* with Skt. *badara* to further specify the precise reference to the jujube tree. This may also explain the fact that the occurrences of *śīṃjā-* alone refer to other species of trees. Unfortunately, it may not be possible to determine with certainty whether *śīṃjā-* indicated the oleaster also in Khotanese or another type of plant. However, it seems likely that in Khotanese it did not originally designate the jujube tree.

On TB *śintso** in THT 1540 a + b

If the identification of TB *śintso** as a borrowing from a pre-form of LKh. *śīṃjā-* is correct, one should be able to justify its occurrence within the Tocharian version of the Matṛpoṣa Jātaka. As already outlined above, no other known version of the story mentions more precisely the type of food which the elephant refused. Nevertheless, as pointed out above,

[347] The phonological similarity with the name of the 4th spring month *siṃjsīṃja-* (DKS: 425) is noteworthy but requires a more detailed investigation.

this must be the case in the Tocharian version, since *śintso** cannot be a generic term as it occurs only here. This fact seems to have been at the base of Schmidt's preliminary translation 'Futter'. However, it is known from Indian literature that the science of keeping, nourishing and curing elephants had a very significant diffusion within the subcontinent. This can be argued from such famous treatises as the Mātaṅgalīlā of Nīlakaṇṭha (Edgerton 1931). The first allusions to this 'elephant-lore' can even be traced back to the Arthaśāstra. Therefore, it is likely that this traditional knowledge found its way also to the Tarim basin. Possibly, this may be linked to the ample diffusion of Ayurvedic medical texts in Central Asia in the first centuries CE.

In the Mātaṅgalīlā, for example, an entire chapter (§9) is devoted to the correct feeding of the 'newly caught' elephants which were captured from the forest. This is exactly the situation of the main character of the Matṛpoṣa Jātaka. The Mātaṅgalīlā (§9.3-4) states that 'thinking on the pleasure he formerly experienced in the jungles, [...] becoming excessively haggard from the hardships of the town, in a few days the newly caught elephant comes to death [...] he does not eat nor rest (or enjoy himself), nor does he recognize signs given him (by a driver); like a king exiled from his kingdom, he is a prey to anxiety and longing' (Edgerton 1931: 92-3). The dietary regimen of the newly caught elephant is described in more detail in §9.9: '(One shall feed them) stalks and bulbs of lotuses (*padma*) and (other) water lilies (*utpala*), plantains (bananas), edible lotus roots, *Trapa bispinosa*, *dūrvā* grass, *udumbara* (kind of fig), *Boswellia thurifera*, sugar cane, spikenard, banyan (leaves or fruits), bamboos etc. And the sprouts (or buds) and fruits of (two kinds of) figs (*Ficus infectoria* and *Ficus religiosa*), and wood-apples are always to be given to elephants, King of Aṅga, to ease their distress; also other sweet delicacies which they love' (Edgerton 1931: 94).

As the precise plant species to which LKh. *śīṃjā-* refers is no more recoverable, it is difficult to search for a precise parallel within the Indian elephant treatises. What seems to emerge from the passage listed above, however, is that several species of trees are quoted as possible food for elephants (*Boswellia thurifera*, bamboos, banyan tree and various other types of fig trees). It may be well possible that also the tree which LKh. *śīṃjā-* and TB *śintso** indicated could be part of the dietary regimen of newly caught elephants.

Results

As Tocharian B *śintso** is of unclear origin, I put forward the hypothesis that it may be a loanword from the OKh. pre-form of LKh. *śīṃjā-*, used in the Siddhasāra to indicate the Zizyphus jujuba, the Dalbergia sissoo and the Anogeissus latifolia Wall. A reconstructed OKh. acc. sg. **śśiṃjso* (nom. sg. **śśiṃjsā-*) was borrowed into TB as *śintso**. A comparison with the other Iranian and non-Iranian forms of this plant name shows that the word can hardly be considered as inherited, as claimed by Bailey. Moreover, its original meaning in Khotanese cannot have been 'Zizyphus jujuba'. The attested LKh. form *śīṃjā-* may be derived through haplology from the feminine form of a material adjective LKh. **śiṃjīṃjā-*, from a reconstructed PK **siṃjsata-*. The occurrence of a specific plant name in the Tocharian version of the Matṛpoṣa Jātaka instead of a generic term for 'fodder' may

be explained as due to a contamination with the descriptions of the dietary regimens of newly caught elephants in Indian elephant treatises. This kind of veterinary knowledge may have entered the Tarim basin together with ayurvedic treatises. Passages from the Mātaṅgalīlā are further compared, in an effort to determine the precise plant species to which *śintso** may refer.

TB *ŚKA*, (A *ŚKĀ* ?) 'CLOSE BY', LKH. *ŚKA* '?'

Discussion

TB *śka* and TA *śkā* have been the object of numerous discussions. Peyrot (2008: 161), following Winter (1984: 117-8), is inclined to consider TA *śkā* as an unrelated form, on phonological and semantic grounds. As a consequence, TA *śkā* would not be related to TB *śka*. In Tocharian B, *śka* seems to have a peculiar distribution (Stumpf 1990: 104), as it appears only in late and colloquial texts as a substitute of *ecce* (Winter 1984: 122). This is recognized to be an example of lexical change by Peyrot (l.c.).

If TB *śka* is not to be connected with TA *śkā*, its isolation and distribution within late and colloquial Tocharian B makes it a good candidate for a late borrowing from a neighbouring language. In fact, Adams (DoT: 699) proposed to connect it with the Late Khotanese particle (or adverb) *śka* (DKS: 305). This would not present phonological difficulties. The semantics of the Late Khotanese particle, however, is not clear and its very few occurrences do not allow a smooth analysis. Its attestations are as follows:

- IOL Khot 166/1.a1-2 (= IOL Khot 165/1.a32-33) *śirka ma maṃ maraña burai śka* 'It is nice for me here until death' (KMB: 370).
- Mañj §109 (P 4099.124-5) *cu bure ī hvaṇḍvā sūha cakrravarttauña bure śka* 'Whatever pleasure there may be among men, even world dominion perhaps' (Emmerick Unpublished (b)).
- A third occurrence in the still unedited text of the so-called Khotanese *Amṛta-prabha-dhāraṇī* (IOL Khot 165/1.b12), in the line of the date (Emmerick 1992: 36) is of very uncertain interpretation and will be therefore left out of the discussion.

As is clear from the two occurrences above, *śka* occurs always after LKh. *bure*, the Late Khotanese equivalent of Old Khotanese *buro*. In Old Khotanese, *buro* is an enclitic particle expressing indefinitness, but it can be also used as a postposition meaning 'until' (cf. Suv 10.18), normally with the preposition OKh. *odä*. I would suggest that in the first occurrence *bure* is used as a postposition with the meaning 'until', while in the second it has an indefinite meaning. In both cases, *śka* seems to strengthen the meaning of *bure*, but it is difficult to determine its precise meaning. If one were to follow the etymological meaning 'perhaps, even' attributed to it by Bailey (DKS: 405), one should assume that LKh. *śka* derives from OKh. *aśka* 'perhaps', itself a contraction of *aśtä ka*, lit. 'it is if'. However, the nine occurrences of *aśka* in Old Khotanese[348] can hardly be connected to

[348] Sgh §199; Suv 3.69; Z 2.67, 2.131, 2.179, 19.16, 22.319, 23.34, 23.118.

the usage of *śka* in the attestations listed above. In fact, in seven of the nine occurrences it occurs at the beginning of a clause. In the remaining two it seems to act as an independent adverb with the meaning 'perhaps', not as a clitic. Notably, there is no Old or Late Khotanese example of *aśka* following *buro*. In light of these data, it seems difficult to accept Bailey's derivation, although I am not able to offer any other satisfactory explanation. In fact, it cannot be excluded that *aśka* may have undergone a radical semantic change in Late Khotanese. In this case, the option that TB *śka* may be a borrowing from Late Khotanese should be considered more in detail.

However, it is not easy to connect with a fair degree of certainty LKh. *śka* and TB *śka*. If, as outlined above, LKh. *śka* was an enclitic particle with a general strengthening value – a more precise function is difficult to extract from its occurrences – it may be well possible that it could have been borrowed into late Tocharian B, where it began to be used with verbs of motion with a directional and deictic (?) meaning (Winter 1984: 119-120). On the other hand, it is not impossible that TB *śka* was borrowed into Late Khotanese. However, the scarcity of Tocharian loanwords into Khotanese detected until now does not square with the high level of language contact necessary for such a borrowing to be adopted by Khotanese speakers.

Another argument in favour of a Late Khotanese borrowing into Tocharian is that both LKh. *śka* and TB *śka* seem to be characteristic of the late colloquial language. Accordingly, the scarcity of attestations of *śka* in Late Khotanese may be due to its belonging to a spoken variety, rather than to the written, official language. If this is correct, it would point to a significant level of contact in the later period.

This hypothesis is only valid if one interprets *śka* as an independent word, a possibility which is highly doubtful. If one were to follow Degener (KS: 312) in interpreting *bureśka*/*buraiśka* as a single word with the same semantics as the postposition *buro* (cf. OKh. *brokyä*), LKh. *śka* would simply be a ghost word.

Results

Following a suggestion by Adams (DoT: 699), it is tentatively suggested that LKh. *śka*, an enclitic particle with strengthening meaning, may have been borrowed into late colloquial Tocharian B as TB *śka* 'close by'. However, there is always the possibility that LKh. *śka* might be a ghost word.

TA *ŚRITTĀTAK*, TB *ŚRADDHATĀK* 'WELL-BEING', OKH. *ŚŚÄRATTĀTI-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- A 270 a8 /// (*pācar*)-*mācräṣ śrittātak śaśmāwā-m* '... from (father) and mother. I have established well-being for them' (Pinault 1997: 127).
- THT 292 a2 /// *śraddhatāksa lupṣtär ṣ po : ai* /// 'By the *śraddhatāk* it is entirely smeared' (cf. the discussion).
- THT 412 b2 /// (*pātär mā*)*tärṣṣe śraddhatāk ṣällatsi* '... in order to lay to rest the *śraddhatāk* of the parents' (cf. the discussion).

Discussion

The most recent treatment of the Tocharian B and A words is to be found in Pinault (1997: 128-30). He argued that the Tocharian A hapax *śrittātak* may be translated as 'happiness, well-being'. Moreover, he identified TB *śraddhatāk* as the same word and argued that in both of its two occurrences it could be translated in the same way. The Tocharian B word would be a hyper-sanskritism which was brought about by folk-etymology (cf. Skt. *śraddhā* 'faith'). According to Pinault (1997: 129), the two Tocharian B occurrences may be translated as follows:

- THT 292 a2 'et il est submergé tout entier par la félicité'
- THT 412 b2 'pour rejeter le bonheur de père et mère'

The weak point of these translations lies in the fact that one is forced to admit for the two verbs *ləwp-* 'to smear, sully' and *ṣəl-* 'to throw (down)' a metaphorical or figurative meaning which is not frequently met with. Accordingly, I would side with Adams (DoT: 704) who, without translating the occurrences, suggests a borrowing from a *ka*-derivative of Skt. *śrāddhada-* 'a donor at the ceremony honoring deceased relatives (Skt. *śrāddha*)'. The source he identifies as a hypothetical BHS **śraddhadāka*. This translation would actually agree with the more frequent meaning of *ləwp-*, i.e. 'to smear, sully', with reference to a ritual action to be performed by the donor of the *śrāddha*-ritual. Moreover, it would allow a more precise translation of *ṣəl-* as 'lay to rest [of the dead]' (DoT: 751).[349] Accordingly, I would like to propose the following translations for the passages in question:

- THT 292 a2 'by the donor of the *śrāddha*-ritual it is entirely smeared.'
- THT 412 b2 '... in order to lay to rest the *śraddhatāk* of the parents.'

While for the first occurrence a translation 'donor of the *śrāddha*-ritual' seems to fit very well, the second occurrence remains for the moment quite obscure, also because of its fragmentary attestation. Thus, I think that TB *śraddhatāk* is not related to the Tocharian A word, for which, indeed, Pinault's translation should be accepted.

For TA *śrittātak*, Pinault (1997: 135-137) convincingly argued that its origin may be traced back to a Khotanese borrowing. However, his hypothesis of a 'croisement ancien' of the two Khotanese abstracts *śśäḍaā-* (< **śśäratākā-*) and *śśäratāti-* (KS: 275, 283), in order to explain the final *-ak* in the Tocharian A word, cannot stand closer scrutiny. In fact, this would imply a PTK or PK dating for the borrowing, a chronological classification which is not compatible with the phonological shape of the rest of the word. Accordingly, I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the Tocharian A word is a loanword from OKh. *śśäratāti-* and that final *-ak* may be a later Tocharian addition. In this case, a borrowing from the acc. sg. *śśäratetu* is excluded in view of the vowel of the suffix. It is more likely that TA *śrittātak* may have been borrowed from the nom. sg. OKh. *śśäratātä*. As already noted by Pinault (1997: 136), a contamination with Skt. *śrī* – of which OKh. *śśäratāti-* is a frequent translation – may explain the different initial syllable.

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[349] For this meaning of *ṣəl-*, cf. THT 559 a1-2: *orotsana erkenmasa en· – – srukoṣäṃ ṣaläskemane ṣekaṃñe tākaṃ* 'When, moreover, laying to rest the dead in great cemeteries' (DoT: 751).

The double *-tt-* seems not to be attested with this lexeme in Khotanese (*pace* DKS: 401, cf. Suv II: 36), but the suffix *-tāti-* appears frequently as *-ttāti-* with 'phonologische Verstärkung' (KS: 276).

Results

In the discussion above I put forward the hypothesis that TA *śrittātak* 'well-being' should be separated from TB *śraddhatāk*, which could have been borrowed from a *ka*-derivative of BHS *śrāddhada* 'donor of the *śrāddha*-ritual'. Following a proposal by Pinault, TA *śrittātak* may be interpreted as a loanword from the Old Khotanese nom. sg. *śśäratātä* 'well-being'.

TB *ṣupākīÑE* '(enclosed farm) pertaining to suppositories (*ṣpakīye*)'

Tocharian occurrence

- HWB 74(4) a8 *olyīśkaṃtsa ṣupākīñe werwiyetse pautkeṣṣi cāñi piś-käṃnte* 'The coins as the land rent of the enclosed farm pertaining to **ṣupākī* in the area of Olyīśka: five hundred' (Ching 2010: 312).

Discussion

Ogihara (*apud* Ching 2010: 312) put forward the proposal that *ṣupākīñe* in HWB 74(4) (cf. *supra*) may be a *-ñña* adjective derived from TB *ṣpakīye* 'suppository', a borrowing from Late Khotanese (see s.v.). Thus, *ṣupākīñe werwiyetse* would mean 'of the enclosed farm pertaining to medical preparates (suppositories, medicines)'. However, he admitted some difficulties in interpreting the final *ī* before the adjectival suffix. Indeed, such a formation would rather have been based on the oblique *-ai* (cf. s.v. *ṣpakīye*). Moreover, the additional *u* in the first syllable is difficult to interpret.

I would like to suggest that one may rather interpret the final element *-īñe* as reflecting the Khotanese suffix *-īña-* (KS: 129), which forms denominal adjectives in Khotanese. The final *-e* of the Tocharian B form may be due to a contamination with the Tocharian suffix *-ñña*, or since it is apparently still used as an adjective, the inflexion may have been adapted. The additional *u* in the first syllable may be seen as a trace of the Old Khotanese antecedent of LKh. *ṣvakā-*, which can be reconstructed as **ṣṣūvakā-* (cf. s.v. *ṣpakīye*). Thus, the borrowing may be dated to the Old Khotanese stage, i.e. before *ṣpakīye*.

This derivation strengthens Ogihara's hypothesis that *ṣupākīñe* in HWB 74(4) may indeed refer to 'suppositories', or any kind of similar medical preparate.

Results

The discussion above has made clear that *ṣupākīñe* in HWB 74(4) may be derived from an Old Khotanese form **ṣṣūvakīña-*, an adjective meaning 'pertaining to suppositories'. This confirms the tentative meaning assigned to it by Ogihara (*apud* Ching 2010: 312).

TB *ṣərt-*, A *ṣärttw-* 'to incite', OKh. *ṣṣarr-* : *ṣṣuḍa-** 'to exhilarate'

Discussion

The verb TB *ṣərt-* A *ṣärttw-* 'to incite', which can be reconstructed for Proto-Tocharian as **ṣərtw-*, is of uncertain etymology. The most recent hypothesis on its origin is due to Adams (DoT: 717) and tries to connect it tentatively with the PIE root **sred*^{h}*-/sret-* (as per IEW: 1001). This root, however, seems to be exclusive to Germanic and Celtic and its Proto-Indo-European provenance is doubtful (Kroonen 2013: 484). In fact, no such root was recorded in the LIV. Pokorny's Greek comparandum *ῥόθος* 'roar (of waves, of oars)' is taken as a Pre-Greek loanword by Beekes (2010: 1290). This verb has at least three nominal derivatives within Tocharian B, all with the meaning 'incitement, encouragement, instigation':[35º]

- *ṣartaṣṣiññe* (DoT: 712)
- *ṣārtto** (obl. *-ai*, DoT: 715)
- *ṣertwe* (DoT: 724)

Given these suspect uncertainties, the possibility that the Tocharian verb could be a loanword from a neghbouring language should be investigated. Indeed, a thus far ignored perfect semantic match is represented by the Old Khotanese verb *ṣṣarr-* : *ṣṣuḍa-** 'to exhilarate' (SGS: 129-30). Its meaning is secured by bilingual evidence in Śgs 3.6v1-2, where the Tibetan version has *sems zhum pa* 'discouragement' for the Old Khotanese abstract *a-ṣarr-āmatā-* (KS: 90, Emmerick 1970: 118). The past ptc. can be set up as *ṣṣuḍa-* on the basis of the adj. *ā-ṣṣuḍa-*, which occurs in the Book of Zambasta (Z 20.8). The PTK antecedent of this form can be reconstructed as **šr̥ta-*. For the presence of **r̥* here, cf. already Bailey (1958a: 543). The outcome *ur* < **r̥*, however, requires an explanation. As there are no labial consonants in the vicinity of **r̥*, I would like to suggest that the *u* may be due to vowel assimilation from the ancient neuter form in *-u* (< PIr. *-am*), as in the case of the past ptc. of the verb *yan-* 'to do', *yuḍu* (< **kr̥tam*, see Emmerick 1989: 212).

I would like to propose that PT **ṣərtw-* may reflect a borrowing from the PTK antecedent of the past ptc. *ṣṣuḍa-**, i.e. the acc. sg. or neuter nom. sg. **šr̥tu*. *ṣārtto* and *ṣertwe* may be considered inner-Tocharian nominal derivatives from the verb.

Results

The verb TB *ṣərt-* A *ṣärttw-* 'to incite' has a perfect semantic and phonological match in the Old Khotanese verb *ṣṣarr-* : *ṣṣuḍa-** 'to exhilarate'. The acc. sg. or neuter nom. sg. PTK **šr̥tu* may have been the source of the borrowing into PT **ṣərtw-*.

[35º] A matter for future investigations may be whether the tune name loc. sg. *ṣartanīkaine* (Peyrot 2018a: 340), which may point to a nom. sg. *ṣartanīko**, may also belong here or not. Isebaert (1980: §81) connects this tune name with OKh. *ṣer-* 'to move' (DKS: 412), but the exact derivational path is not clear to me.

TB *ṣpakīye* 'SUPPOSITORY', LKh. *ṣvakā-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

- *ṣpakīye* THT 510 b1, W15 b3 (2×), W38 b5, W39 b1.
- *ṣpakaiṃ* W3 a3, W8 b4, W9 a3, W 10 a4, W34 b2, W42 b1 (all medical).

All occurrences of the plural co-occur together with *yamaṣṣällona*, gerundive of *yam-* 'to make', e.g. in the phrase W3 a3 *ṣpakaiṃ yamaṣṣällona* 'suppositories are to be made'. This is exactly paralleled by the Khotanese technical phrase *ṣvakyi padīmāñä* (e.g. Si 122r1, gerundive of *padīm-* 'to make'), with the same meaning.

Khotanese occurrences

- *ṣvaka* Si 121v5, 150v5.
- *ṣvakyi* Si 122r1, 122r3, 148v5, 149r4, 149v5, 151r1.
- *ṣvakye* Si 121v5, 151r1 (2×), 151r2, 151r4, 151r5 (2×).
- All occurrences of *ṣvakā-* are from the *Siddhasāra*. It translates Skt. *varti* 'suppository' and *guḍikā* 'pill' and Tib. *reng-bu* and *ri-lu* 'pastil').

Discussion

The first scholar to make known the word was Bailey (1935: 137). The striking correspondence with the Tocharian word was again noted by him some years later (Bailey 1947: 149). A further clarification of the meaning and the etymology has been offered by Emmerick (1981: 221).[351] There the meaning is established as 'suppository' against Bailey's 'pastil'. The etymology is given as < PIr. *xšaudakā-*, a formation from the root **xšaud-* 'to wash' (EDIV: 455).

Since the word is a very specialized medical term, one should assume that the borrowing took place quite late, when Indian medical texts were already circulating within the Tarim basin. As it is attested only in the Late Khotanese *Siddhasāra*, the word was possibly borrowed from Late Khotanese, although it is not to be excluded that Old Khotanese translations of medical texts existed, even if they are no more extant. In this case, a possible Old Khotanese form may have been **ṣṣūdakā-* or **ṣṣūvakā-*, as intervocalic *-d-* might have been lost already in Old Khotanese (see e.g. OKh. *pāa-* < PIr. **pāda-*). The preservation of intervocalic *-k-* is noteworthy. The possibility that the Tocharian word was borrowed from Late Khotanese seems more probable, as the most likely source of the Tocharian initial cluster *ṣp-* is LKh. *ṣv-* rather than OKh. **ṣṣūv-*.[352]

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[351] A summary is to be found also in SVK II: 147-8 and DoT: 729.

[352] However, the possibility that the fem. ending *-iye* may have replaced an original *-o* could be also taken into consideration. If so, OKh. **ṣṣūvakā-* may have been borrowed first as TB **ṣpāko*. However, the existence of the Tocharian B adjective *ṣupakīñe*, q.v., with retained *-u-* from Old Khotanese, renders this hypothesis less appealing.

Results

The discussion above has made clear that TB *ṣpakīye* can be best interpreted as a Late Khotanese borrowing into Tocharian B.

TB *SĀÑ*, *ṢĀÑ*, A *ṢĀÑ* 'ARTIFICE, EXPEDIENT, MEANS, METHOD', KHOT. *SAÑA-* 'ID. (SKT. *UPĀYA*)'

Discussion

In a recently published article, Del Tomba and Maggi (2021) convincingly argue that TB *sāñ*, *ṣāñ*, A *ṣāñ* 'artifice, expedient, means, method' is a loanword from Khotanese *sañа-* 'id.', a genuine Khotanese word (< PIr. **śćand-ya-*). Accordingly, contrary to the opinion expressed by Tremblay (2005: 434), TB *saṃjñä*, A *saṃjñi* 'perception, idea' and Khot. *saṃñā-* (f.) 'id.' are to be kept separate for phonological and semantic reasons and are best to be interpreted as loanwords from Gandh. *saṃña* 'id.'.

Because of the absence of final vowel, it is possible to date the borrowing to the Late Khotanese period (see §3.4.1.2.). The fact that only TA *ṣāñ* is used to translate Skt. *upāya*, a concept typical of Mahāyāna traditions (Del Tomba and Maggi 2021: 217), while in Tocharian B the word has mostly a non-technical meaning, could be connected with the supposed Khotanese influence on Tocharian A Buddhist vocabulary (see §4.3.4.).

Results

As convincingly argued by Del Tomba and Maggi (2021), TB *sāñ*, *ṣāñ*, A *ṣāñ* 'artifice, expedient, means, method' is a loanword from Khotanese *sañа-* 'id.'. The dating of the borrowing may be placed in the Late Khotanese period.

TB *SANAPA-* 'TO RUB IN, RUB ON, ANOINT, EMBROCATE (PRIOR TO WASHING)', KHOT. *YSÄNĀH-* 'TO WASH'

Tocharian occurrences

- 3sg. pres. mid. *sonopträ* W40 b3 *se ce ṣalype sonopträ* 'C'est cette huile qui est ointe' (Filliozat 1948: 88).
- 3sg. opt. mid. *sonopitär* PK AS 6B a6 *sonopitär likṣītär wästsanma krenta yäṣṣītär* 'anointing himself, washing himself, [and] wearing beautiful clothes'.
- pres. ger. *sonopälle* PK AS 8C b1 *partāktañña pitkesa ṣarne s(o)nopäll(e)* 'one has to smear both hands with spittle of viper (Vipera russelli)', PK AS 9A b8 *se ṣälype mel(eṃn)e (yänmā)ṣṣä«ṃ»* ◆ *tärne sonopälle* 'This oil (reache)s the nos(trils). The crown of the head [is] to be anointed', THT 497 b1, THT 2677.d b2, W7 b5, W26 b3, W40 b2.
- subj. ger. *sanāpalle* W27 b1 *mälkwersa kātsa sanāpalle* 'à appliquer en onctions au ventre avec du lait' (Filliozat 1948: 85), W35 a6, W39 a4, W41 b2.

- inf. *sanāpatsi* W4 b3, W14 a2, W29 b1, W34 a5.
- perl. *san*(*āpo*)*rsa* PK AS 8C b1 *san*(*āpo*)*rsa ka tweri rusenträ* 'just by smearing the doors will open'.

All occurrences are from medical texts.

Khotanese occurrences

ysänāj-:

- 3sg. opt. OKh. Z 3.102, *kho ju ye ysänājä nei'ṇa uysnauru samu* 'as if one should bathe a being with nectar alone' (Emmerick 1968: 69).
- inf. OKh. Z 24.220, *ttī akṣuttāndä pajsamä käḍäna ysänājä* 'then [they] began to bathe him to do him reverence' (Emmerick 1968: 383).
- 3pl. pres. LKh. Suv 3.47 *ysināj̄de muhu ba'ysa. mu'śdī'je ūci jsa pvāśkye* 'may the Buddhas bathe me in the cool water of compassion' (Suv I: 49).

ysänāh-:

- 1sg. pres. LKh. P 2027.28 *ysīnāha'* (< OKh. **ysänāhe*) 'I wash (off myself ?)' (Kumamoto 1991: 65).
- 3sg. pres. LKh. *Jātakastava* 6v1-2: *tta khu ttaudäna haṃthrrī satvä viysāṃji ysināhe* (< OKh. **ysināhätä*) 'just as a man tormented by heat bathes in a lotus pool' (Dresden 1955: 424) and *Sudhanāvadāna* 373: *haḍai sṭāṃ drai jūnäka aharṣṭi ysīnāhe* 'Because of that she bathes three times a day' (De Chiara 2013: 151).
- part. nec. OKh. Suv 8.36: *ysänāhāñu* 'he should bathe' (Suv I: 189).
- part. nec. in *Siddhasāra* 135v2 (as a medical term) LKh. *vameysāṇä u ysīnāḥāñą* 'must be massaged and bathed' (Emmerick Unpublished), *Sudhanāvadāna* 235 and 233 (De Chiara 2013: 111, 139) and IOL Khot 160/4 v3 *u drrai jūna haḍe ysināhāña* 'and three times a day one should wash' (KMB: 359)
- 3pl. perf. tr. IOL Khot 147/1 r5 *haṃdāra ysinauttān*[*d*]*ä* 'some washed (themselves)' (KMB: 331).
- past part. OKh. Suv 13.17 + *hu-* 'well-' *huysänauttī ttarandarä* 'his body well-bathed.'[353]

haysñ-

- 2sg. impv. P 5538b 88 *rīmajsa pamūha ttai haysña* 'dirty clothes. Wash' (Kumamoto 1988: 69).
- 3sg. pres. OKh. Z 4.96 *o kho käḍe rrīmajsi thauni kṣārä biśśä haysñäte rrīma* 'or as when lye cleans all the dirt on a very dirty garment' (Emmerick 1968: 93).
- part. nec. LKh. as a medical term in *Siddhasāra* 100r5 *haysñāña* '(a medicinal herb) is to be washed.'

[353] See Suv I: 261. See further Suv 1.9 and 6.3.16 with the same form.

- 3sg. perf. tr. m. OKh. Z 2.170 *pātro haysnāte* 'he has washed the bowl' (Emmerick 1968: 39), and 21.13 *kvī ye haysnāte käḍe* 'when one had washed it [the face] thoroughly' (Emmerick 1968: 299), LKh. IOL Khot 75/4 b2[354] *pā haysnātä* 'he washed (his) feet', IOL Khot 28/14 b3-4 *kamalä haysnā*[*te*] 'he washed the head' (KMB: 233).
- Past part. in the LKh. adj. *haysnālīka-* (KS: 309 < *haysnāta-* + suffix *-līka-*) 'washed (of clothes)' in IOL Khot 140/1a6-7, 10, 11, 12.[355]

Discussion

From the occurrences above, it seems that in Khotanese the three verbs had adopted three different semantic specializations: *ysänāj-* 'to wash, bathe another person', *ysänāh-* 'to wash, bathe oneself' and *haysñ-* 'to wash, clean a thing or a part of the body'. This gives a meaning which is slightly different from Tocharian 'to anoint'. Whereas *haysñ-* can be derived without difficulties from **fra-snā-ya* (with past ptc. *haysnāta-* < **fra-snāta-*) and *ysänāh-* from **snāfta-* (with past part. *ysinautta-* < **snāfta-*), the derivation of Khotanese *ysänāj-* is not straightforward. The **k/g* increment hypothesised by Bailey (DKS: 351) and Emmerick (SGS: 113) seems quite arbitrary and it is not attested in any other language (EDIV: 348). The voiced fricative at the beginning of the verb can be explained by the vicinity of *-n-*, so that we might have had **snā-* > **znā* > **zənā-* (<ysänā>) with the additional development of an epenthetic *-ä-*.

Adams (1988: 402-3) proposed that TB *sanapa-* 'to rub, anoint'[356] could be derived from the Pre-Khotanese antecedent of Khotanese *ysänāh-* 'to wash', i.e. from the stage in which Proto-Iranian intervocalic **-f-* had still not shifted to *-h-*. Since no *-f-* exists in Tocharian, this could give only TB *-p-*. The vocalism he explains by arguing that the Khotanese verb was borrowed first as **senāp-*, probably implying that the Khotanese vowel *-ä-* of the first syllable was pronounced as [ę], i.e. a mid front vowel. This vowel, however, is rather to be interpreted as [ə], since it occurs as an epenthetic vowel in unstressed position (Emmerick 1979: 442). Whatever the interpretation of the first vowel, however, there is no need to postulate a further metathesis (**senāp-* > /sānep-/), as done by Adams (1988: 403), since, if the verb was borrowed as *senapa-*, *sanapa-* may be simply obtained through *a*-umlaut.

Results

In conclusion, Adams is probably correct in interpreting the word as a borrowing from Iranian. Further, it seems clear that *sanapa-* can only be derived from PTK or PK, as these

[354] = Ch.00275 (*Vajracchedikā*), see KMB: 302.

[355] = Ch.cvi 001, see KMB: 321-2.

[356] See also Peyrot (2013: 159) and Malzahn (2010: 934). No mention of it in Tremblay (2005).

are the only Iranian languages which show a *-p-* increment to the root PIr. **snaH-* (EDIV: 348), no word-initial palatal[357] and an extra epenthetic vowel in the first syllable.

TB *SANU* 'DANGER'

Tocharian occurrences

- obl. sg. THT 247 b2 *sanu maskākamñememṃ tal(ā)nt śaiyṣe sälkatai* 'Thou hast pulled the suffering world out of danger, difficulty, and darkness' (DoT: 738).
- loc. sg. THT 79 a6 *sanune kekamu nesau* 'Ich bin ... (sehr) in Gefahr geraten' (Schmidt 2001: 305).
- ? THT 1442 b3 *sanu* [isolated word].
- abl. sg. PK NS 34 *śaiṣṣe snūmeṃ slaṅkenträ* 'They pull the world out of danger' (CEToM, Pinault and Fellner eds.).
- abl. sg. THT 1619.c b4 *snūmeṃ* [isolated word].
- nom. pl. THT 44 a6 *māka omp snūnma ent= ākn(atsañ yama)skenträ* 'Many dangers (are) there where fools act' (DoT: 738).

Discussion

The etymology of the Tocharian B word *sanu* /sə́nu/ 'danger' is unknown (DoT: 738). No bilingual evidence for the meaning of this word is available. Should one accept a broader semantic range for the word, i.e. 'trouble, ruin, injure, damage', which would fit the occurrences listed above as well, I would like to suggest that the substantive may be connected with the PIr. root **ǰaiH-* 'to destroy; to take away, deprive of' (EDIV: 462-3). In Khotanese, the verb is *ysän-* : *ysäta-* (SGS: 112). Specifically, the source form may have been a Khotanese nominal form derived from the present stem, e.g. a present infinitive *ysänä* (cf. s.v. *parso* and *keś* for the same borrowing path). The vowel of the first syllable fits the /ə/ of Tocharian B quite well. However, as no convincing explanation for the Tocharian B final *-u* is available, this derivation remains for the moment nothing more than a tentative suggestion.

Results

It is suggested that TB *sanu* 'danger' might be a borrowing from a pres. inf. OKh. *ysänä* (< *ysän-* 'to take by force').

[357] As New Persian *šināvidan*. I expect word-initial *š-* to remain unchanged in Tocharian, represented by *ṣ-*.

TB *SAMĀKANE* 'CUIRASS (?)'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 214 b2-3 *mälkau kreñcä samākane* ◆ *empreṃ pilko warñai krentä okt pokaiyñ(o)* ◆ *ai(y)ś(a)mñeṣṣeṃ yepeṃ eṅku waiyptār maśne : wikṣṇu nes= twe poyśiññeṣṣe po yukṣeñcai* 'Having put on the good *samākane*, true insight, etc., [are] the eight good arms; seizing separately in the fists the weapons of wisdom, O Viṣṇu, thou art all knowing and all conquering' (cf. DoT: 739).

Discussion

The etymology and meaning of the hapax *samākane*, occurring in THT 214 b2, are not known. Adams (DoT: 739) put forward the hypothesis that *samākane* may be a dual and tentatively translated 'cuirass' based on a connection with Khotanese *samuvā* 'covering part' (DKS: 420). The existence of this Khotanese word, however, is very uncertain and, according to Bailey, it occurs only twice within the Khotanese text corpus:

- JS 2811 *gode nāṃma prrāṇe yai ysareguṃ che jsa . samuvā ūḍāṃde raṃñau jse *pacaḍena .* 'The lizard you were *godha* by name with a golden-colored skin. Your scales [?] (*samuvā*) were well covered with precious stones' (Dresden 1955: 439).
- IOL Khot 171/1.5-6 *khvaṃ ye ī thvai bustī ū samū vā garśä khaste* 'What I had today you knew it, and only *my throat was hurt(?)' (KMB: 381).

As evident from the list above, the second occurrence has already been read differently (*samū* 'only' + particle *vā*) by Skjærvø in his catalogue. Likewise, it may be possible to read also the first occurrence of *samuvā* as *samu vā*, obtaining the following translation:

- 'You were a lizard, *godha* by name, with a golden-colored skin. In due course (**pacaḍena* ?), they covered (you) only with precious stones.'

Accordingly, Adams' Khotanese connection seems to be based on a ghost word. It is important to note that, if the form *samākane* could be interpreted as a dual, its nom. sg. could be set up as *samāko**, a good candidate for an old borrowing from Khotanese. However, I was not able to identify a suitable source form. Therefore, the origin and meaning of this Tocharian B hapax remain for the moment unknown.

Results

The Tocharian B hapax *samākane* was tentatively interpreted by Adams as a loanword from Khotanese *samūvā* 'covering part', hence 'cuirass'. Since the Khotanese word does not exist, however, this connection has to be rejected. The meaning and etymology of *samākane* remain for the moment unknown.

TB *SÄLYAKKO** '?'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 1535b b3 *sälyakkatse* 'pertaining to *sälyakko**' [isolated]

Discussion

Given the predominantly medical character of the five fragments belonging to THT 1535 (a-e), it is almost certain that the substantive which is the base of *sälyakkatse*, i.e. *sälyakko**, is also part of the medical jargon. In this case, as no Tocharian derivation was found possible, a connection with the Khotanese root **sal-* 'to smear, rub' (< PIr. **sard-*, cf. EDIV: 336) by way of borrowing may be suggested. Within Khotanese, this root is attested in the following derived lexemes:

a. **pasal-* 'to besmear' < **apa-sard-*, attested with weakening of the initial vowel **a* > *i* in the verb *pisal-* (SGS: 78) and the abstract *pisalyāmā-* (KS: 97). The abstract may be rather from **apa-sard-aya-*, which could have yielded an Old Khotanese abstract **pīsalyāmatā-* (for *-ly-* cf. point b. below). The alternation <i> ~ <ī> is trivial in Late Khotanese.

b. **ā-saly-* 'to besmear' < **ā-sard-aya-*, attested with the usual palatalisation rule in the verb *esaly-* (SGS: 12). Noteworthy is the preservation of the *y* of the suffix after *l*.

Thus, based on the material discussed, an Khotanese form **sīlyaka-*, can be set up, which could have issued on its turn from a PTK form **serd*(*a*)*ya-kka-* > PK *sīlyakka-*. Because of the Tocharian suffix *-kko*, q.v., still with double *k* (KS: 181), it seems reasonable to posit the dating of the borrowing in the PK stage. In fact, a PTK borrowing would have implied an *e* in the first syllable. Consequently, the meaning of *sälyakko** may have been that of 'ointment (Germ. Salbe)'

Results

The isolated hapax TB *sälyakko** may be part of the medical lexicon. In this case, I would suggest that it is connected with the Khot. verbal root **sal-* 'to besmear', attested as the base of several verbs in Late Khotanese medical texts. The source form may be individuated in a reconstructed acc. sg. PK *sīlyakku*, with the meaning 'ointment'.

TB *SIÑCO** '?', LKH. *SIṂJĀ-* 'PLANT NAME'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 88 a1-2 *tumeṃ durmukhe brāhmaṇe uttare«ṃ» śamaśkeṃ kärwāṣṣai witsakaisa räskare tsopaṃ-ne siñcai ṣorpor ite – – (ya)mormeṃ auntsante-ne ścīre makästsi* 'Thereupon the Brahmin Durmukha jabs the boy Uttara sharply with a reed root. After they had (put?) a ... [piece of] cloth (?) (onto

his eyes/legs?), they began to chase him hard' (CEToM, Malzahn ed., based on Schmidt [2001: 316] and Pinault [2004: 259]).

Discussion

The unclear hapax *siñcai* occurs within one of the central episodes of the Tocharian B Araṇemijātaka, namely the punishment of Prince Uttara on behalf of the Brāhmin Durmukha. On the precise narrative, see in detail Schmidt (2001: 316). Unfortunately, the upper right part of the fragment has now been lost, so that today the first line (THT 88 a1) ends after the first akṣara *si* of *siñcai*. However, one can rely on Sieg and Siegling's (1953: 25) first readings, even without the possibility to check the original.

Pinault (2004: 259-60) put forward the hypothesis that *siñcai ṣorpor* could be translated as '(Brustbeere-)Dornen-Hose(n)'. The interpretation of *ṣorpor* as a piece of cloth seems to be assured, although its exact origin still awaits a more detailed analysis (C. Bernard, p.c.), which will not be attempted here. Since *siñcai*, however, was derived from a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit plant name *siñcatikā* by Pinault (2004: 259), and therefore possibly connected with LKh. *śīṃjā-* (see s.v.), it is necessary to comment on its origin. As already outlined s.v. *śintso**, it is difficult to determine the original meaning of Skt. *siñcatikā*. Moreover, its connection with the Iranian plant name and, ultimately, with Oss. D *sindzæ* 'thorn' (Abaev III: 201-2) is highly doubtful. In addition to that, Skt. *siñcatikā* would have yielded something like **siñcadi*(*a*)- in Gāndhārī. This renders Pinault's derivation quite difficult. Recently, Kim (2015: 35 fn. 22)[358] sought to revise Pinault's analysis of *siñcai* by reconstructing an 'early Middle Iranian' **sinčā-*, based on the Ossetic form, as the possible source of a reconstructed nom. sg. *siñco** by way of borrowing. As shown s.v. *śintso**, it seems that Tocharian B already had a word borrowed from the pre-form of LKh. *śīṃjā-*, so that it is unlikely that *siñcai* was borrowed from the same source. It may be argued that this could be a more recent loanword from Late Khotanese, but the absence of the word-initial palatal sibilant and the possibility to set up a nom. sg. *-o*, found only in loanwords from PTK, PK and OKh., render this hypothesis quite unlikely. A loanword from other Middle Iranian languages can be also safely excluded (cf. the list of forms given s.v. *śintso**).

Bailey (DKS: 425) registers another Late Khotanese plant name s.v. *siṃjau*, which occurs in a manuscript of the Pelliot collection (P 2739.19). He translates it tentatively as 'greyish plant (?)' seeking a possible connection with a reconstructed colour adjective PIr. **saina-*, which, in his view, should mean 'grey' (cf. OCS *sěrъ* 'grey'?). Since this tentative explanation seems highly doubtful, I would suggest that LKh. *siṃjau* could be interpreted as a variant form of the Late Khotanese plant name *śīṃjā-* which does not show the secondary palatalization *s* > *ś*. I would put forward the hypothesis that this variant may have been present also in Old Khotanese. However, as this solution appears quite complicated, it may be also argued that the word was borrowed from another unknown language of the area. In any case, no matter what the exact origin of LKh.

[358] I am grateful to C. Bernard for this reference.

siṃjau was, TB *siñco** can be interpreted as loanword from the acc. sg. of the plant name Khot. *siṃjā-* (*siṃjo*).

The context in which *siṃjau* occurs is extremely difficult to interpret and needs a more detailed analysis. Following Kumamoto's (1993: 146-156) interpretation of P 2739, the text begins with several trials of beginning of a formal letter. The main section of the text consists in a check list of food items (*hvīḍi pamarä* 'food-report'), to which *siṃjau* seems to belong, and articles of cloth. The sentence in which *siṃjau* occurs runs as follows: *śau rraha: śīyi ttrihe: ttye nvaiyi ūspurä palaijä . e'ysajä siṃjau dva dva bāgä*. The translation is difficult. A striking element is the phrase *dva dva bāgä*, which seems to have been taken directly from the learned medical jargon, cf. e.g. Si §27.12 *dva dva bāga* 'two portions each', which translates Skt. *dvau dvau bāgau*. It could be argued that the copyist of this document, which has the aspect of a scribal exercise, was familiar with the medical terminology. Another word that can be identified with certainty is *ttrihe:*, which seems clearly LKh. *ttrahā-* 'radish' (Skt. *mūlaka-*). It is tempting to interpret *śau rraha: śīyi ttrihe:* as *śau rraha:* (*ttrīhe:*) *śīyi ttrihe:*, and translate 'one (portion) of red radish and white radish'. *śīyi ttrihe:* could be Skt. *śveta-mūla* and *rraha: ttrihe:* may be identified as Skt. *piṅga-mūla*. The precise identification of these two items, however, is in need of a more detailed research. As for *palaijä*, it was already connected by Kumamoto (1993: 151) with *palaigä* in Si 3.21.5, which translates Skt. *pālaṅkya* 'Beta bengalensis (?)'. I am not able to offer a satisfactory explanation for *e'ysajä*, but I would tentatively suggest that it could be connected with the unclear *aysā'ya* in the Piṇḍaśāstra (e.g. in §14). Thus, it seems assured that the context in which *siṃjau* occurs strongly suggests the identification of the word as a plant name.

Results

It is proposed that the Tocharian B hapax *siñco** is a loanword from the Old Khotanese antecedent of LKh. *siṃjā-*. The context in which *siṃjā-* occurs, although unclear, suggests that LKh. *siṃjā-* may be interpreted as a plant name.

TA *sīsā** 'SĪTĀ', OKH. *sīysā-*, LKH. *sījsā-* 'ID.'

Discussion

TA *sīsā**, Old Uyghur *siza* and Old Khotanese *sīysā-* are all names for the princess Sītā, Rāma's wife in the famous Indian epic. They all show a sibilant in the second syllable as opposed to Sanskrit *t*. This phenomenon was noted for the first time by Bailey (1939: 465) for Khotanese. The Tocharian A *comparandum* was noted in Bailey (1940a: 560).[359] In both publications, Bailey reconstructs a hypothetical Gandh. **siza* as possible source for both languages. However, as intervocalic *t* does not yield Gandh. <s> [z], this reconstruction is problematic. Intervocalic *t* should rather yield [ð], written as <d>

[359] Cf. also KT VI: 362.

(Baums 2009: 137). In view of this, it is clear that the Khotanese form is nothing but an adaptation of this Gāndhārī sound [ð] (<d>) as [z] <ys>. In fact, Old Khotanese has no fricative *d* in its phoneme inventory.[360] Therefore, it can be established that Old Khotanese borrowed the name from its Gāndhārī form.

It is difficult to determine whether Tocharian A borrowed from Old Khotanese or directly from Gāndhārī. The scholarly literature seems inclined to admit an Old Khotanese borrowing (Peyrot 2013: 633 fn. 46; Ji 1943: 287 fn. 2 was not able to decide about the source form). As for Old Uyghur *siza*, it was recognized as a possible loanword from Old Khotanese by Zieme (1978: 24). Wilkens (HWA: 617) seems to leave open also the possibility of a borrowing from Tocharian A. However, Zieme's (1978: 26) observations on further agreements between the Khotanese version of the Rāma story and the Old Uyghur one may favour a Khotanese origin for OUygh. *siza*. Noteworthy is the fact that the form with sibilant seems to be attested only in Tocharian A; Tocharian B has *sītañ* in IOL Toch 259 b4. The puzzling affricate found in the Late Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa (*sījsā-*) may be very tentatively explained as an independent adaptation of Gandh. [ð].

A possible reconstruction of the history of the word may be summarised as follows: Gandh. *<*sida*> /siða/ → OKh. *sīysā-* → Tocharian A *sisā** and Old Uyghur *siza* (independently). If this reconstruction is correct, it suggests that the Khotanese were in part responsible for the diffusion of the Rāma story in the Tarim basin.

Results

The name of Rāma's wife, Skt. *sītā*, was borrowed into Khotanese through an intermediary Gāndhārī form *sida*, with Gandh. [ð] (<d>) adapted as OKh. [z]. From Old Khotanese, the name was taken into Tocharian A *sisā** and Old Uyghur *siza* independently.

TB *SUMO* 'LIBATION (?)', LKH. *YSŪMA-* 'BROTH'

Tocharian occurrences: TB *sumo*

- PK AS 8A b7-8 nom. sg. *puṣ«†ä» näkṣātärne päknäträ iñcew ra tsa e«ka»lmī yāmtsi sumo pwa(rne) hom yamaṣäle – su ekalmī mäsketrä* 'In the lunar mansion Puṣya [if] one intends to bring whomever under one's control, a *sumo* [is] to be put [lit. made] into the fire as an oblation [and] he will become subject' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).

[360] An alternative solution may involve an original variant of the name *sīthā*, with aspirate, next to the normal *sītā*. In fact, intervocalic *th* yields Gandh. <s> [z]. However, since a variant *sīthā* is not attested anywhere, this option remains very doubtful. The possibility that Gandh. [ð] could also result in [z] is discussed by Brough (1962: 96) but explicitly doubted. *samughaṣa* (Skt. *samudghāta*) is tentatively explained by Baums (2009: 145) as a loanword from another Middle-Indo-Aryan dialect.

Tocharian occurrences: TB *smaññe* 'broth'

- IOL Toch 79 a4 /// (*tā*)*koy wäspā smaññe* /// 'may he be, the *wäspa* broth (?)' (quite uncertain).
- IOL Toch 248 b6 *tane klu pete* ◆ *tane smaññe pete* ◆ 'Give rice here! Give soup here!' (Peyrot 2013: 348). Parallel: *sūpaṃ dehi*, see Peyrot (2013: 348).
- IOL Toch 1121 a3 /// *klusa smaṃñe wa*(*lanalle*) /// 'broth should (not) be concealed by rice' (Ogihara 2011: 121). Parallel: Skt. *sūpa* see Ogihara (2011: 120).
- THT 335 a5 *ñmetsi śwātsi smaṃñe* 'to bend, to eat broth (?)' (quite uncertain).

Discussion

The hypothesis that the three lexemes listed above may be all related goes back to the respective entries in Adams' dictionary (DoT: 762). Adams' derivational path implies that both TB *sumo* and *smaññe* could be derived from the verb TB *səwm-*. TB *smaññe* 'broth' was already derived from the same verb by Van Windekens (VW: 446). However, the existence of the Tocharian B verb *səwm-* is not certain. This verb is only attested in two occurrences, which, according to Peyrot (Forthc.), can be interpreted as containing different verbs. [361] Therefore, this Tocharian verb seems to be a ghost.

In order to overcome these difficulties, I would rather suggest that the hapax TB *sumo* was borrowed from Khot. *ysūma-* 'broth'. LKh. *ysūma-* (DKS: 353) is frequent in Late Khotanese medical texts, where it translates Skt. *rasa* 'soup' (cf. e.g. Si §22.16). The Tocharian B nom. sg. would be a regular adaptation of a PTK, PK or OKh.– a more precise dating is not possible in this case – acc. sg. **zūmu* (OKh. *ysūmu*). TB *sumo* could be then translated more precisely as a kind of 'broth' or 'soup'. It is not impossible that a particular kind of broth could be put into the fire as an oblation (*hom*, PK AS 8A b7), particularly within a magical context. Because of the final *-o* of the nom. sg., the hypothesis of a connection with Skt. *suma* 'kind of flower' by way of borrowing, as indicated by Pinault and Malzahn (*apud* CEToM), can be safely excluded. For the moment, I am not able to offer any solution regarding the etymology of TB *smaññe*, which may be connected.

Results

Rather than to be derived from the verb TB *səwm-* 'to trickle', which seems to be a ghost, I put forward the proposal that TB *sumo* may be connected with LKh. *ysūma-* 'broth' by way of borrowing.

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[361] W 42 b1 *slaṅkälya eṣe satkentampa ṣukäṣälya* 'it is to be pulled out and together with medicines [it is] to be dangled (?)' (DoT: 762, previously read *sumäṣälya*) and W 13 a6 *eśanene stamäṣṣalle* 'it is to be put in the eyes' (DoT: 761 previously read instead *sumäṣṣalle*). On these new readings and interpretations, see Peyrot (Forthc.).

TAB *SENIK* 'CARE, PLEDGE'

Discussion

TAB *senik* reflects a word of Iranian origin which appears in almost all of the attested languages of the ancient Tarim basin, cf. OKh. *ysīnīya* (variously attested also as *ysīnīta*, *ysīnīyä*, *ysīnī*, see Skjærvø 1991: 281), Pa. *zyn'yy*/*zynyẖ* (DMMP: 387), BSogd. *zyn'y*, Niya Pkt. *zeniǵa* (Burrow 1937: 93) and TAB *senik* (DoT: 764-5). The Iranian origin of this group of words is not in doubt. As argued by Skjærvø (1991: 282), the base may have been PIr. **ʃaini-* (cf. Av. *zaēni-* 'vigilance'). It seems that even the compound Pa. *zyny-xw'rg*, Sogd. *zynyh-xw'ry* 'truce-breaker (= 'he that eats what is entrusted to him', see Henning 1946: 716)' was calqued into Tocharian B *senik-śawa* A *senik-śo*, for which cf. further Pinault (2002: 272-3).

The precise borrowing directions of the word within the Tarim basin, however, are not clear. On the one hand, Isebaert (1980: §156), followed by Pinault (2002: 272), sets up a generic 'Middle Iranian' form **zēnīk* as a possible source of the Tocharian word. On the other hand, Adams (DoT: 765) tentatively derives it from the Pre-Khotanese ancestor of OKh. *ysīnīya*. Similarly, Tremblay (2005: 431) argues for a 'Śaka' borrowing into Tocharian, i.e. from a dialect akin to Khotanese, not from Khotanese itself. To be sure, the absence of a final vowel safely excludes a borrowing from a pre-stage of Khotanese, while the presence of *k* in Tocharian but no longer in historical Khotanese would require a very early date of borrowing. As Sogdian and Parthian have no final *-k*, they cannot be the source of the Tocharian word. Thus, by exclusion, I would like to suggest that TAB *senik* was borrowed from Niya Pkt. *zeniǵa*.

If the Tocharian word was borrowed from Niya Pkt., from which Iranian language was the Niya Pkt. word borrowed in turn? Tremblay (2005: 431) seems to suggest a 'Śaka' origin also for Niya Pkt. The inconsistency of this language label, however, has been already outlined (cf. s.v. *cospā*). An alternative which should be investigated more in detail is the possibility of a Pre-Khotanese loanword in Niya Pkt. This is indirectly suggested by the occurrence of the puzzling form *ysenikāṃ* as an (almost) isolated word in a tiny Sanskrit fragment preserved in the British Library (Kh. i.120).[362] The identification of *ysenikāṃ* as the ancestor of OKh. *ysīnīya* is due to Skjærvø (1991). Decisive for establishing the Khotanese provenance of the word would be the digraph *ys*, which cannot point but to Khotan. The *e* would reflect a stage in which the diphthong **ai* had not shifted to *ī* yet. According to the system described in this study (§3.3.1.1.b), this stage would correspond to Proto-Tumshuqese-Khotanese, where the vowel was *ē*. In Skjærvø's interpretation, therefore, *ysenikāṃ* would be an ancient PTK loanword into Buddhist Sanskrit.

In examining this hypothesis, several points may be noted. First, a loanword of PTK age into Buddhist Sanskrit is quite anachronistic, as the PTK stage can be dated several

[362] My efforts to trace a modern photography of the fragment and its current precise signature have not been fruitful yet.

centuries BC (cf. §5.2.2.1.); given the Southern provenance of the fragment, a loanword from Tumshuqese can be safely excluded. Moreover, Skjærvø explains the *e* and the *k* in *ysenikāṃ* as archaic features, but he does not mention the final *-āṃ*. Is it to be seen as a Sanskrit case ending (acc.)? Or is it Khotanese? In this case, an ending *-āṃ* could be seen as a late form of the gen.-dat. pl. *-ānu*. This, however, would not square with Skjærvø's claim about the antiquity of the word. In view of these difficulties in the interpretation of this form, I would like to suggest another interpretation for *ysenikāṃ* in Kh. i.120. The very fragmentary line runs as follows: ///*6 ysenikāṃ sarvva nā*///. The numeral at the beginning of the line, immediately before *ysenikāṃ*, is suspect: it is in fact possible that *ysenikāṃ* may not belong to the Sanskrit text of the work copied by the scribe. It may be the beginning of a colophon, in which a Khotanese donor may have been mentioned with his proper name *ysenikāṃ*. Judging from the following *sarvva* this colophon may have been written in Sanskrit, not in Khotanese. A parallel for this type of colophons mentioning Khotanese donors with their proper names is provided by the numerous Sanskrit colophons to the Khotan manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (Von Hinüber 2015: 229-30). The only difficulty of this interpretation lies in the fact that no proper name *ysenikāṃ* has been found yet within the Khotanese text corpus.[363]

It seems difficult to derive Niya Pkt. *zeniǵa* from PTK or PK by way of borrowing. Another argument against such derivation is the virtual absence of loanwords from prehistorical layers of Khotanese into Niya Pkt. For the difficulties involved in the traditional analysis of Niya Pkt. *thavaṃna*(*ga*), see s.v. *tono*. One should also note that *hinaza* in CKD 661 has <i> which reflects Khot. *ī*, not **ē* (< **ai*). Niya Pkt. *zeniǵa* should therefore be derived from another Iranian language. N. Schoubben (p.c.) suggests that a derivation from a conservative form of Bactr. °ζινιγο (with **ē* in the first syllable), attested as second member of proper names (cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 85, 91, 109), but this possibility still awaits a thorough examination.

Results

TAB *senik* should have been borrowed from Niya Pkt. *zeniǵa*. The Iranian source of the Niya Pkt. form is still not determined, but a prehistorical stage of Khotanese can be safely excluded.

[363] Perhaps some resemblance with the frequent proper name *senili* (e.g. in Hedin 9.3) may be noted. If *senili* contains a suffix *-la-* (KS: xxxiv), a form ***senika-* may show instead a *ka*-suffix. However, as no explanation for the initial is available, the resemblance may be just superficial.

TB *SKAWA-* 'TO LICK', KHOT. *SKAU-* 'TO TOUCH'

Tocharian occurrences

- THT 83 a3 /// (*e*)*ṅkormeṃ kenīne lamästär-ne autsate-ne rupaśke kantwas*(*a*) *skāwa*(*tsi*) /// '... ergriffen habend, setzt er ihn auf seine Knie (und) begann, (sein) Gesichtchen mit der Zunge zu küssen' (Schmidt 2001: 312).
- PK AS 15G b2 /// *sa skāwa – ta ·e* /// [isolated].

Discussion

The Tocharian B verbal form *skāwa*(*tsi*) is usually interpreted as an infinitive from a verb *skawa-* with the meaning 'to kiss' (Peyrot 2013: 836, Malzahn 2010: 957). Following a suggestion by Van Windekens (VW: 640), Adams (DoT: 773) tentatively put forward the hypothesis that the Tocharian B verb may have been borrowed from the Old Khotanese verb *skau-* 'to touch' (< PIr. **skauH-*, EDIV: 347-8). As both phonology and semantics do seem to agree I do not see any reason to reject this etymology. In view of the lack of monophthongisation of the diphthong *au*, the borrowing may be dated to the PTK or PK stage. Since the Tocharian B word is a hapax, however, this suggestion remains quite hypothetical.

Recently, Itkin and Malyshev (2021: 62-3) have convincingly argued that the Tocharian A match of TB *skawa-* may be attested in the verbal form *skāwiṣ* (A 83 b2), which they interpret as an opt. 3sg. Further, they argue for a translation 'to lick' instead of 'to kiss', which would fit the available occurrences better. This new translation is also closer to the meaning of the alleged Khotanese source form and renders the hypothesis of a loanword from Khotanese even more concrete.

Results

The Tocharian B verb *skawa-* 'to lick' may be a loanword from the PTK or PK antecedent of OKh. *skau-* 'to touch'.

TB *TSUWO** 'TOWARDS'

Discussion

A Tocharian B nom. sg. *tsuwo** can be set up on the basis of the following attested forms, which all show a frozen obl. sg. in *-ai*:

- *etsuwai* 'towards, near to' (DoT: 105)
- *tsuwai* 'towards' (DoT: 810)
- *tswaiññe* 'directly' (DoT: 814)

The traditional analysis of *tsuwo** connects the word with the verb TB *tsəwa-* 'attach oneself to, stick to' (Hilmarsson 1991a: 179). Although the derivation is phonologically unproblematic, the semantic changes involved ('to attach oneself to' > 'towards' ?) do not inspire much confidence. Since final *-o* may point to an old borrowing from Khotanese, it

is necessary to examine the possibility of a loanword. Indeed, it seems that a suitable source form may be sought in a nominal derivative of the verb *tsū-* 'to go' (< PIr. **čyawa-*, SGS: 42), e.g. a *nomen actionis* **tsūa-* 'going' < **tsūka-*. Even if this derivative is not attested in the Khotanese text corpus, numerous other nominal derivatives occur within the language, cf. e.g. the *nomen agentis tsūka-* 'goer' (KS: 43). As in the case of *kāswo* and *cowo**, q.v., the acc. sg. in PK may be reconstructed as **ts^{h}ūwu* > OKh. **tsū*. Because of the long *ū* in Khotanese, represented by *u* in the Tocharian form, the date of the borrowing cannot be older than the Pre-Khotanese stage (PIr. acc. sg. **čyawakam* > PTK **č^{y}ōku* > PK **ts^{h}ūwu*). The lack of Umlaut (*u_o* > *o_o*) may allow to date the borrowing after *cowo** and *koto**, q.v.

As for the semantics, it could be argued that the *nomen actionis* may have been grammaticalized at a very early stage. The grammaticalization may have been based on frequent expressions like 'going to [destination]'. From this usage, the word may have come to be used in the sense of 'towards'. It should be noted that the verb 'to go' is very frequently subject to grammaticalization processes in numerous languages (cf. among others, the use of *going to* as a future marker in English).

Results

The adverb TB *tsuwai* and derivatives are formed on the basis of a nom. sg. *tsuwo**. I would like to suggest that this form may have been borrowed from a PK *nomen actionis* **tsūa-* 'going', whose acc. sg. may have been **ts^{h}ūwu*. The semantics may be explained through an old grammaticalization of the *nomen actionis*, which came to be used as an adverb meaning 'towards' from an expression like 'going to [destination]'.

TB *TSEREÑÑ-* 'TO DECEIVE', KHOT. *JSĪR-* 'ID.'

Tocharian occurrences

There are several words which are commonly believed to be formed from an alleged Tocharian verbal root *tser-** 'to deceive'. These are the substantive *tserekwa* (pl.) 'deception(s), deceit, illusion' and the verb *tsereñ-* 'to trick, deceive'. Additionally, two unclear words of similar phonetic appearance, *tseriteke* and *tsärtsäkwa* (pl.?) may be also included in the discussion. In the following, their occurrences are presented.

tserekwa

- IOL Toch 4 b4 *skeyeṃ rano aikareṃ tserekwa lkāṣṣäṃ* 'He sees even the exertions as empty and as deceit' (CEToM, Peyrot ed.).
- IOL Toch 23 a4 *tserekwa* 'deceit (isolated)'
- IOL Toch 214 b4 *kete wa(sts)i – (w)sāwa snai tserekwa* 'whom I gave a garment without deceit' (cf. Broomhead 1962: 250).
- PK NS 54 b3 *saṃsārṣṣana tserekwa aiśamñesa anaiśai mā rītoyträ* 'He should not desire the deceits of the Saṃsāra through accurate wisdom' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn, Fellner eds.).

- PK NS 56 b5 (*e*)*r*(*e*)*patempa : tasemane po pīś āntseṃ tserekwa ka kärsoṣ cai* 'these ones have understood all the five skandhas comparable to the form as deception' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).
- THT 229 b1 *saṃsārṣṣana tserekwa snai lyiprä* (*ñäś aiśi*)*mar* 'may I know the delusions of the *saṃsāra* completely' (DoT: 631).
- THT 271 b2 *kᵤce ñiś kāmmai tesa nauṣ larauwñesa arañcne po tserekwa* 'Alle Trug[bilder], die ich früher aus Freude daran im Herzen trug' (Schmidt 1974: 364 fn. 7).
- THT 277 b2 *ṣaṃñ pälskauntse tserekwa ke*(*t*)*e* 'To whom the delusions of his own thoughts …'
- THT 496 a4 *sanai ṣaryompa śāyau karttse*(*ś*) *śaulu-wärñai snai tserekwa* 'With the very beloved one I will live (for) good lifelong, without deceit' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).
- THT 1541.j b2 *toṃ tserekwa* '… these deceptions …'
- adj. *tserekwatstse** obl. sg. THT 295 a6-7 *tserekwacce läṅwcene ṣäññäññeṣṣe akalksa : yokaiṣṣe śvāl nukowä kᵤse ceᵤ postäṃ mäkoyträ* '[Only] who out of selfishness in deceptive carelessness has swallowed the bait of thirst might run after him' (CEToM, Peyrot ed.).

tsereññ-

- prt. ptc. IOL Toch 205 a4 *lyuke tsetserñ*(*u*) 'The light is led astray' (CEToM, Peyrot ed.).
- prt. ptc. PK AS 17K b4 *räskr*(*e*) *takāsta* (*t*)*s*(*e*)*tserñu ste emparkre* '[Although] it has been trickery for long, you remained harsh' (CEToM, Pinault, Malzahn eds.).
- prt. ptc. THT 282 b3 (*su*) *palsko ṣañ tsetserñu trikṣäṃ wäntre* 'Having deceived his own mind he misses the object' (Peyrot 2013: 676).
- inf. PK AS 17A a3 *yāmorṣṣepi s·ltre«ṃ»tse memiskusa kektseñe wes tserentsi* 'The body [is] disguised by the craftsman (?) of the deed to deceive us' (CEToM, Pinault, Illés, Peyrot eds.).
- pres. THT 11 b2 *ṣarm okone tserenträ* (*su t*)*n*(*e w*)*n*(*o*)*lm*(*eṃ*) 'In cause and effect it deceives (here) the beings' (CEToM, Fellner ed.)
- pres. THT 23 b4 *yes no śakkeññi snai keś onolmeṃ tserenträ* 'But you, the followers of Śākya, deceive beings without number' (CEToM, Fellner ed.).
- pres. THT 100 b1 *puwarne yaptsi mapi tserentar-ñ* 'You fool me [about] your entering the fire, don't you?' (Peyrot 2013, 365 fn. 467).
- pres. (?) THT 136 b8 *täne ra tseren*(*tär?*) 'Here he also deceives (?)'[364]

[364] Only the akṣara *na* is clearly visible on the manuscript. It seems likely that no vowel diacritic was present on top of it, but one cannot exclude that another akṣara may have been written beneath *na*. It could be also possible that *na* is the beginning of another word and *tsere* the word for 'a measure of liquid volume' (DoT: 810). However, this word seems to be only attested in

- THT 1250 a5 *(i)st(a)k ś(a)rsa tsereṃñentär-ñ*[365] 'Immediately he understood, "... They deceive me!" ...'

tsärtsäkwa

- THT 282 b6 *tumeṃ kälpāsken-ne rsercci śāmna nakanma tsärtsäkwa waṣe wentsi wäntre klaṅktsi* 'Thus malevolent people get him to speak reproaches, deceptions (?), to lie, and to doubt thing[s].' (DoT: 806).

tseriteke

- *ṣamāne : tseriteke menākäccepi ///* 'a monk, comparable with ...' (Ogihara 2009: 406).

Discussion

Whereas their semantics are settled, there is no complete agreement among scholars with regard to the etymology of *tserekwa* 'deceit' and *tsereññ-* 'to deceive' (see further in this chapter for *tsärtsäkwa* and *tseriteke*). The most recent theory is to be ascribed to Adams (DoT: 811), who saw in *tsereññ-* a denominative verb based on the same root *tser-** 'to deceive' as seen in *tser-ekwa*. Whereas no explanation is given for *°ekwa* in *tser-ekwa*, the root *tser°* is derived from Khotanese *jsīr-* 'to deceive' by way of borrowing, without commenting on the phonological problems involved.

The idea that *tser-** is a loanword from Khotanese *jsīr-* is very attractive from the semantic point of view. However, it has quite some phonological weaknesses and requires therefore a more detailed analysis. A comparison between the two verbs was first suggested by Bailey (1960: 31), who simply noted in passing the phonological and semantic similarity. Emmerick (SGS: 38) also noted the connection but, since he could not offer any assured etymology for OKh. *jsīr-*, he could not advance any hypothesis on the ultimate origin of TB *tser-**. Some years later, Bailey returned on the problem in his dictionary (DKS: 115-6) and suggested that the Tocharian form may be a loanword from Tumshuqese, because in Tumshuqese the digraph <ts> is sometimes used for the sound corresponding to Khot. /dz/ <js>.[366]

However, his etymology of *jsīr-* from an alleged Iranian root **gai-* 'to twist' with an '*r*-increment' cannot stand closer scrutiny, both from the semantic and the morphological point of view. Moreover, it is now recognized that the use of the Tumshuqese digraph *ts* to represent a sound otherwise known from Khotanese to be voiced, is a particular idiosyncracy of the older orthography of the Tumshuqese Karmavācanā. In any case, as no voiced *js*-sound is present within the Tocharian B phoneme inventory, I would expect both Khot. or Tq. /dz/ or /ts/ to be represented in Tocharian B with the digraph <ts>, i.e.

Tocharian B late documents. Therefore, its appearance in a fragment of literary content may seem at least quite suspect.

[365] It seems that this is the form quoted without source in TEB I: 217 and presented also by Malzahn (2010: 998), likewise without reference. For the reading and the restoration, see Ogihara (2012a: 188).

[366] Cf. e.g. KV *tsenā-* and OKh. *jsīnā-* 'life'.

with an unvoiced dental affricate. Recently, Maue and Ogihara (2017: 424) have additionally shown that the Tumshuqese Fremdzeichen n° 8 was used in the later documents to represent the sound written in Khotanese as <js>. Therefore, there is no compelling reason to consider the Karmavācanā digraph <ts> as representing an unvoiced dental affricate. On the contrary, it could be used to write both /dz/ and /ts/. This ambivalence is probably to be ascribed to a still defective orthography, a fact that confirms the common dating of the Tumshuqese Karmavācanā as the earliest Tumshuqese source in Brāhmī. Moreover, Maue and Ogihara (2017: 428) identify a probable candidate for a Tumshuqese cognate of Khot. *jsīr-* in the isolated Tq. verb *dzeräma* in TS 18d b4, a fragment belonging to the Tumshuqese version of the Haṃsasvarāvadāna.[367]

As outlined in the discussion above, it seems difficult to determine with certainty the precise direction of borrowing. In fact, lacking a persuasive etymology within Iranian for Khot. *jsīr-*, it is in theory possible, as already suggested by Van Windekens (VW: 532) that the donor language was in fact Tocharian and that the borrowing took place from PT into PTK at a very early date. However, I suggest that an Iranian etymology for Tq. *dzer-* Khot. *jsīr-* (< PTK **ǰēr-*)[368] is indeed possible, but this verb has nothing to do with the Tocharian root *tser-**, which I argue to have been possibly borrowed earlier from Old Steppe Iranian.

As for the Iranian origin of Tq. *dzer-* Khot. *jsīr-*, it is useful to return to Emmerick's tentative suggestion (SGS: 38) of a pre-form PIr. **ǰaraya-*. This could theoretically be a palatal variant of the Proto-Iranian root **garH-* 'to greet, call' (EDIV: 107). As an **aya* formation should require **garaya-*, it is better to posit a **ya* formation as the immediate antecedent of Khot. *jsīr-* (< **ǰarya-*). **ǰāraya-* may be attested in the Khot. verb *ttäjser-* < **ati-ǰāraya-* 'to speak with abuse' (SGS: 38).[369] The preservation of the dental affricate, instead of the expected *j*, would be remarkable and may point to a very late date for the formation of the verb *ttäjser-*. The comparison between Tq. *dzer-* and Khot. *jsīr-* confirms that it is possible to reconstruct for PTK an intermediate stage of the Umlaut PIr. **a_y* > PTK **e* > OKh. <ī>, Tq. <e>. Thanks to the forms listed in EDIV: 107 it is possible to determine more precisely the semantic developments required from 'to call' to 'to deceive'. In fact, the Western forms NP *jerr* 'discussion' and Kurd. *čēr* 'curse, abuse' may mirror a similar semantic shift as the one attested for Khotanese.

As for the Tocharian root *tser-**, it could be argued at this point that this may be indeed a direct borrowing from Tumshuqese *dzer-* in the historical stage. In fact, historical Khotanese and PK can be safely excluded because of the vowel (Tocharian *e*

[367] The authors seem to support the theory of a borrowing from Tumshuqese *dzer-*, without however explicitly saying it (Maue and Ogihara 2017: 427 fn. 49).

[368] In the PTK stage the depalatalisation process of PIr. **č* and **ǰ* had probably not started yet, see s.v. TB *śarko* A *tsärk*.

[369] For another view on this verb cf. DKS: 127, where it is derived from **ati-čāraya-* and translated as 'overwhelm, surpass'. Emmerick (SDTV I: 247) seems to prefer Bailey's interpretation, as he translates it as 'pass by'.

requires **ē*, not *ī*) and PTK cannot be used because of the Tocharian initial dental affricate (not palatal, as would be expected from PTK, cf. *supra*). However, since no assured loanwords from Tumshuqese have been found yet within Tocharian, the option of an alternative explanation for the origin of Tocharian B *tser-** should be considered.

In fact, an attractive solution may come from the analysis of TB *tser-** as a borrowing from Old Steppe Iranian. In this case, based on the correspondences established by Bernard (Forthc.), a possible source form may be PIr. **ǰarH-*. This root is indeed attested within Iranian and it is listed by Cheung (EDIV: 469), with the meaning 'to hurt, wound, anger (with words)'. Semantically, the clear negative meaning of 'vex, torment, speak in an offensive way' may have very easily shifted to 'to deceive'. This OSIr. connection may allow an explanation of *tser-eññ-* as denominative from a subst. OSIr. *dzara-*. A *-ka-*enlargement of the same substantive may have been at the origin of a nom. sg. TB *tserke** (OSIr. **dzaraka-*), with pl. *tserekwa*[370] (cf. *wäntare*, pl. *wäntarwa*).[371]

We are left with the hapaxes *tsärtsäkwa* and *tseriteke*. In the case of *tsärtsäkwa*, the meaning 'delusion, deceit' posited for *tserekwa* fits quite well, but I am not able to offer a solution for the deviation in form for the moment. *tseriteke*, on the other hand, of which the meaning cannot be established in the fragmentary context, may on the basis of its form be considered a borrowing from OSIr. **dzaritaka-*, a *ka*-derivative of the equivalent of Av. *zairita-* 'yellow', as seen for example in Khot. *ysīḍaa-* 'id.'. For further details on this derivation, see Bernard (Forthc.).

Results

The Tocharian B verb *tsereññ-* 'to deceive' cannot be connected to Khot. *jsīr-* (PTK **ǰēr-*) by way of borrowing, and the assumption of a loanword from Tq. *dzer-* is difficult. The discussion above outlines a possible explanation of *tsereññ-* as an OSIr. loanword from the root PIr. **ǰarH-* (EDIV: 469) 'to hurt, wound, anger'. Moreover, it is suggested that the subst. TB nom. pl. *tserekwa* may be interpreted as a borrowing from a *ka*-derivative of the same root. The Tumshuqese and Khotanese forms may be derived from a *ya*-formation of a palatal variant of the root PIr. *garH-* (EDIV: 107), i.e. **ǰarya-*. It is further suggested that *tseriteke* may be another OSIr. loanword from the equivalent of Av. *zairitaka-* 'yellow', although the fragmentary context in which it is attested does not allow a more precise identification of the meaning.

2.2. REFERENCE LISTS

The following lists group together the results obtained in §2.1. They are intended for reference purposes. Four groups of items are distinguished: reliable loanwords (§2.2.1), which will constitute the material of the next two chapters, less reliable and doubtful loanwords (§2.2.2) and rejected loanwords (§2.2.3). Additionally, one word has proven to

[370] This interpretation implies that the plural was formed before the syncope **tsereke* > **tserke*.
[371] Alternatively, the verb may be derived from the substantive, see Malzahn (2010: 998).

be of Sogdian origin (§2.2.4) and two were classified as Old Steppe Iranian loanwords (§2.2.5.). They are given in alphabetic order.

2.2.1. Reliable loanwords

1. subst. TB *aṅkwaṣ(ṭ)* 'Asa foetida' ← LKh. *aṃguṣḍa-* 'id.'
2. v. TB *ampa-* 'to rot, decay' ← LKh. *haṃbva-* (< OKh. *haṃbūta-*) 'fester'
3. subst. TB **ārto* TA *ārt** 'envoy' ← PTK acc. sg. **(h)árdu* (OKh. *haḍa-*) 'id.'
4. subst. TB *„wātano** A *wataṃ** 'Khotanese' ← PK acc. sg. **hwatanu* 'id.'
5. subst. TB *eñcuwo* A *añcu** 'iron' ← PTK **hénśwanya-* (OKh. *hīśśana-*) 'id.'
6. subst. TB *orśa* A *oräś** 'official title' ← OKh. *aurāśśa-* 'councillor'
7. subst. TB *oś* 'evil' ← LKh. *ośa-* 'id.'
8. v. TA *katw-* 'to ridicule' ← OKh. past ptc. *khaṃttu** 'to laugh'
9. subst. TB *kāmarto** A *kākmart* 'chief' ← PTK acc. sg. **kamardu* (OKh. *kamala-* head')
10. subst. TB *kāswo* 'name of a disease' ← PK acc. sg. **kasūwu* (LKh. *kasaa-* 'quartan fever')
11. subst. TB *kātso* A *kāts* 'belly, stomach, abdomen, womb' ← PK **k*^{h}*āḍ*^{s}*āna-* 'stomach' (LKh. *khāysāna-*)
12. subst. TB *kito** 'help' ← PK acc. sg. **gīϑu* 'id.' (OKh. *ggīha-* 'id.')
13. subst. TB *kuñi(-mot)* 'grape wine' ← LKh. *gūräṇai* (*mau*) 'id.'
14. subst. TB *kurkal* 'bdellium' ← LKh. *gurgula-* 'id.'
15. subst. TB *keto* 'property, estate' ← PTK acc. sg. **gēϑu* 'id.' (OKh. *gīha-* 'help')
16. subst. TB *keś* A *kaś* 'number' ← PTK inf. **ham-xéźi* (OKh. v. *haṃkhīś-*) 'to count'
17. subst. TB *koto** 'excrement' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gūϑu* (OKh. *gūha-* 'id.')
18. subst. TB *kraṅko* 'chicken' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **kr̥ṅgu*, OKh. *kṛṅgu* 'id.'
19. subst. TB *krāke* 'dirt, filth' ← LKh. **grāga-* (OKh. *khārgga-* 'mud')
20. subst. TB *krāso* 'vexation' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **grazu*, OKh. *graysu* 'torment' (LKh. *gr(r)aysa-*)
21. subst. TB *cowo** 'robbing' ← PK acc. sg. **dyūwu* 'id.' (LKh. *dyūka-* 'robber')
22. subst. TB *tāno* 'seed, grain' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **dāno*, OKh. *dāno* 'id.'
23. subst. TB *tono* 'cloth' ← OKh. acc. sg. *thaunu* 'id.'
24. subst. TB *tvāṅkaro* 'ginger' ← OKh. acc. sg. **tvăṃgarau* 'id.' (LKh. *ttuṃgara-*)
25. subst. TA *twantaṃ* 'reverence' ← OKh. *tvaṃdanu* 'id.'
26. adv. TB *twār* '?' ← LKh. *tvarä* 'moreover' (OKh. *ttuvare*)
27. subst. TB *pātro* A *pātär* 'alms-bowl' ← OKh. acc. sg. *pātru* 'id.'
28. subst. TAB *pānto* 'friend, companion' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **pando*, OKh. *pando* 'path'
29. v. TB *paraka-* 'to prosper, thrive' ← PTK, PK **farāka-* 'more' (OKh. id.)
30. subst. TB *parso* A *pärs* 'letter' ← PTK inf. **pṛsu* (OKh. *pulsu*)
31. subst. TB *pito* 'price' ← PK acc. sg. **pīϑu* 'id.' (OKh. *pīha-*)
32. subst. TA *pissaṅk* 'bhikṣusaṃgha' ← LKh. *bi'saṃga-*(OKh. *bälsaṃga-*)

33. subst. *mrañco* 'black pepper' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **mirind^{z}yu*, OKh. **miriṃjsyu* 'id.' (LKh. *miriṃjsya-*)
34. subst. TB *yolo* 'evil' ← OKh. acc. sg. *yaulu** 'falsehood'
35. subst. TB *waräñce** A *wāryāñc** 'sand' ← PTK, PK **wirwīca-* 'grain (of sand)' (OKh. *ggurvīca-*)
36. subst. TB *wañc** 'sparrow' ← PTK, PK **winǰi* 'id.' (LKh. *biṃji-*)
37. subst. TAB *śāñcapo* 'mustard' ← PTK acc. sg. **śanźapu* (OKh. *śśaśvāna-*)
38. subst. TB *śāmpo** TA *śāmpāṃ* 'haughtiness, pride' ← PTK acc. sg. *čamfu* 'violence, disturbance' (OKh. *tcaṃpha-*)
39. subst. TB *śarko** 'song, singing' ← PTK acc. sg. **čarko*, A *tsärk* ← PK acc. sg. **tsarko* (OKh. *tcarkā-* 'play, amusement')
40. subst. TB *śintso** 'a species of tree' ← OKh. acc. sg. **śśīṃjso* (LKh. *śīṃjā-* 'id.')
41. subst. TA *śrittātak* 'well-being' ← OKh *śśäratāti-* 'id.'
42. v. TB *ṣərt-* A *ṣärttw-* (PT **ṣərtw-*) 'incite' ← PTK past ptc. **šr̥tu* 'id.' (OKh. *ā-ṣṣuḍa-*)
43. adj. TB *ṣupakīñe* 'pertaining to suppositories' ← OKh. **ṣṣūvakīña-* 'id.'
44. subst. TB *ṣpakīye* 'suppository' ← LKh. *ṣvakā-* 'id.'
45. subst. *sāñ*, *ṣāñ*, A *ṣāñ* 'artifice, expedient, means, method' ← Khot. *saña-* 'id.'
46. v. TB *sanapa-* 'to anoint, embrocate' ← PTK, PK **zənāf-*
47. subst. TB *siñco** 'plant name' ← OKh. acc. sg. **siṃjo* 'id.' (LKh. *siṃjā-* 'id.')
48. subst. TB *tsuwo** 'going' (adv. *tsuwai* 'towards') ← PK acc. sg. **ts^{h}ūwu* (OKh. *tsūka-*)

2.2.2. Less reliable and doubtful loanwords

1. v. TB *as-* 'to bring, fetch' ← OKh./LKh. *hays-* 'to drive, send'
   [The relation between the two is weak.]
2. adj. (?) TB *ustamo* '?' ← PTK, PK, OKh. acc. sg. *ustamu* 'last'
   [The TB word is a hapax of uncertain meaning.]
3. subst. *eśpeṣṣe* 'Boerhavia diffusa' ← LKh. *aiśta bā* 'id.'
   [The phonological changes involved are difficult.]
4. v. TB *ausw-* 'to cry' ← PTK/PK *āuz-* (OKh. *oys-* 'to be angry')
   [The TB word is a hapax of uncertain meaning.]
5. subst. TB *kaṅko* '?' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **kaṃgo*, OKh. *kaṃgo* 'skin, husk (of rice)'
   [The TB word is a hapax of uncertain meaning.]
6. subst. TB *kattāke* A *kātak** 'householder' ← OKh. *ggāṭhaa-*
   [The word may have been also borrowed from Gāndhārī.]
7. particle TA *kar* 'only, just' ← OKh. *karä* 'at all'
   [The TA word already has a convincing Tocharian etymology.]
8. subst. TB *karāś* A *kārāś* 'wilderness' ← LKh. *karāśśā-* 'creeper' (OKh. id.)
   [The semantic relation is not entirely convincing.]
9. subst. TA *k$_{u}$ñaś* 'fight, conflict' ← OKh. *gūrāś-* 'to quarrel'
   [The correspondence TA *ñ* ~ Khot. *r* is difficult.]
10. subst. TB *kontso** '?' ← PTK, PK, OKh. acc. sg. *ggaṃjso* 'flaw'
    [The TB word is a hapax of uncertain meaning.]

11. subst. TB *kompo** '?' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gaṃ(ph/f)u*, OKh. *ggaṃphu* 'plain'
    [The TB word is a hapax of uncertain meaning.]
12. subst. TA *kämpo** 'circle' ← PTK, PK acc. sg. **gaṃ(ph/f)u*, OKh. *ggaṃphu* 'plain'
    [The semantic relation is not convincing.]
13. subst. TB *koro* 'mule' ← PTK acc. sg. *gōru* 'wild ass' or PTK, PK, OKh. *kharu* 'donkey' or BMAC
    [Several options possible.]
14. subst. TB *tapatriś* 'trayastriṃśa' ← OKh. *ttāvatriśa-* 'id.'
    [The word may have been also borrowed from Gāndhārī.]
15. subst. TB *paño* '?' ← PK acc. sg. **bañu* OKh. *bañu* 'bind'
    [The TB word is a hapax.][
16. particle TA *paṃ* ← OKh. *pana-* 'each, every'
    [The meaning of the Tocharian word is uncertain.]
17. subst. TB *mātār, mādār* A *mātār* 'makara (sea-monster)' ← Khot. **matara-* 'id.'
    [The Khot. word is not attested as such.]
18. TB *raso* 'span' ← OKh. acc. sg. *haraysa-* 'extension, expanse'
    [The absence of Khot. initial *ha-* in the TB word is difficult. If < PTK **hra-rasa-* with haplology, the vowel does not fully correspond.]
19. TB *wartto*, A *wärt* 'forest' ← PTK acc. sg. *wartu* 'land'
    [The semantic relation is not convincing.]
20. subst. TB *waṣāko** 'fear' ← OKh. acc. sg. **vaśāku* 'id.'
    [The Khotanese is not attested and has a different sibilant. A Bactrian derivation seems more likely.]
21. subst. TB *wicuko* 'cheek, (jaw)bone' ← PK acc. sg. **wi-jwäku* (OKh. °*jv-* 'to chew')
    [The word is not attested with the same preverb in Khotanese.]
22. postpos. TB *wrantso** 'against, opposite' ← OKh. *varālsto* 'towards' or PTK, PK **vīrañjsu* (< PIr. **upari-añc-am*)
    [The first option is phonologically difficult; the second is a reconstruction with no outcome attested in Khotanese.]
23. adj. (?) TB *śīto* '?' ← OKh. acc. sg. *śśītu* 'white'
    [The TB word is a hapax of uncertain meaning.]
24. particle TB *śka* 'close by' ← LKh. *śka*
    [The semantics are difficult.]
25. subst. TB *sanu* 'danger, trouble' ← OKh. inf. *ysänä* 'to take by force'
    [The TB final *-u* is difficult to explain.]
26. subst. TB *sälyakko** ← PK acc. sg. **sīlyakku* (LKh. **sal-* 'to besmear')
    [The Tocharian word is a isolated hapax, although it surely is a medical term.]
27. subst. TA *sīsā** 'Sītā' ← OKh. *sīysā-*
    [The possibility that the TA word may have been borrowed from Gāndhārī still exists.]
28. subst. TB *sumo* 'libation (?)' ← OKh. acc. sg. **ysūmu* 'broth' (LKh. *ysūma-*)
    [The Tocharian occurrences of the word are difficult.]
29. v. TB *skawa-* 'to lick' ← OKh. *skau-* 'to touch'

[The TB v. is not well-attested, but the meaning is quite certain.]

2.2.3. Rejected loanwords

1. subst. TB *amäkṣpänta* 'wagon-master (?)' and LKh. *maśpa* 'road'
   [The two words have no relation.]
2. subst. TB *ampoño* 'rottenness' and LKh. acc. sg. **haṃbvauñu*
   [The TB subst. is rather a Tocharian formation based on the v. TB *ampa-*.]
3. adj. TB *aṣāṃ* A *āṣāṃ* 'worthy' and OKh. *āṣana-* 'id.'
   [The two words are rather borrowings from Bactrian *αζανο*.]
4. subst. TB *oskiye* A *oṣke* 'house' and LKh. *auskā-* 'id.'
   [The LKh. word does not exist.]
5. subst. TA *kāltaṅk* 'drum' and OKh. *ggätā'ka-* 'bell'
   [The two words have no relation.]
6. subst. TAB *kuñcit* 'sesame' and OKh. *kuṃjsata-* 'id.'
   [The two words are rather borrowings from the same unidentified Middle Iranian source.]
7. adj. TB *kurkamäṣṣe* 'pertaining to saffron' and Khot. **kurkuma-* 'saffron'
   [The two words are rather borrowings from the same unidentified Middle Iranian source.]
8. subst. TA *cospā* 'official title' and Tq. *cazbā-*
   [The two words are most likely borrowings from a third non-Iranian source.]
9. subst. TA *pāśiṃ* 'alms-bowl' and Khot. *pārgyiña-* 'treasure'
   [The two words have no relation.]
10. subst. TB *peri* A *pari* and PK **pārya-*
    [The TB word has a Tocharian etymology and the PK word does not exist.]
11. adj. TB *maṅkāre*/*maṅkāra*/*maṅkarāñca* and Khot. *maṃgāra-*
    [The two adjectives were most likely independently borrowed from a third unknown language.]
12. subst. TB *miṣ(ṣ)e* A *miṣi* 'field' and Khot. *miṣ(ṣ)a-* 'id.'
    [Most likely independently borrowed from a third unknown language.]
13. subst. TB *mewiyo* 'tiger' and PK **mauya-* 'id.' (LKh. *mūya-*)
    [Most likely BMAC loanwords.]
14. subst. TB *yauyek* 'labor service' and LKh. *yyauvaka-* 'butterfly'
    [The two words have no relation.]
15. adj. TB *rapaññe* 'pertaining to the 12th month' and Khot. *rrāhaja-*
    [The TB word is rather a Chinese borrowing.]
16. subst. TB *wrāko* A *wrok* 'pearl' and OKh. *mrāhā-* 'id.'
    [The two words may independently have been borrowed from the same Middle Iranian Hindu-Kush source.]
17. subst. *samākane* 'cuirass (?)' and LKh. *samuvā* 'scale (?)'
    [The LKh. word does not exist.]
18. subst. TAB *senik* 'care, pledge' and PTK *sēnika-*

[The TAB word is rather a borrowing from Gāndhārī.]

19. v. TB *tsereññ-* 'to deceive' and Khot. *jsūr-* 'id.'
[The TB v. may have been rather borrowed from OSIr.]

2.2.4. Sogdian loanwords

1. subst. TB *armañik* 'a kind of textile' ← Sogd. *rm'nykh* 'id.'

2.2.5. Old Steppe Iranian loanwords

1. adj. TB *tseriteke* '?' ← OSIr. **dzaritaka-* 'yellow' (cf. Av. *zairita-*)
2. v. TB *tserke**, pl. *tserekwa* 'deception(s)' ← OSIr. **dzaraka-* (PIr. **ʃarH-*)