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New etymologies of Tocharian A words and related morphological issues

1. Gerd Carling & Georges-Jean Pinault, *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2023. Revision of the thesaurus and dictionary of TA by Pavel Poucha (1955) on the basis of materials which have been made available in the meantime, retrievable through the CEToM database. Yanqi manuscript of the MSN, ed. Ji Xianlin et al. (1998), several manuscripts of the Pelliot collection, unpublished fragments in TA of the “Turfan” collection, made available as THT manuscripts (TITUS, Tocharica project), retrieved on the basis of independent reading and with the contribution of Itkin (2019). Resorting to the secondary literature. Including the revision of the volume covering the letters *a* to *j*, of the *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*, compiled by Gerd Carling in collaboration with Werner Winter and Georges-Jean Pinault (2009).
2. Devastating reviews of Poucha (1955) by Couvreur (1955/56, 1956, 1959, 1960), reflecting to large extent Sieg’s teaching in Göttingen, as well as Sieg’s glosses and restorations available in his translations (*Übersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen*, 1944 and 1952). Corrections included in the TA part of the glossary of TEB (1964). It appears that Poucha during the years of the preparation of this dictionary had no access to these late translations by Sieg. His doctrine was based mostly on SSS (1931).
3. Further precious source of information: annotations of Wilhelm Siegling (1880-1946) on his personal copy of the *Tocharische Sprachreste* (1921), communicated by Melanie Malzahn (Vienna). Probably noted by Siegling between the 1930s and mid-1940s, few of them shared with Emil Sieg (1866-1951), and included in his translations.
4. Numerous loans from Indo-Aryan (IA): Sanskrit and Middle Indic (MI), i.e., Buddhist Middle Indic, Buddhist Sanskrit and Gāndhārī. The presence of this level extends very far beyond the technical Buddhist vocabulary. Henceforth Pa. = Pāli, Pkt. = Prākṛit, CToch. = Common Tocharian. Sources of the loans from IA traced in MW, CDIAL, BHSD, SWTF, PED, etc. The most important source of loans in TA is TB, then IA, and significantly to lesser extent, Middle Iranian languages (Saka [Khotanese, Tumshuqese], Sogdian, Bactrian), plus Old Steppe Iranian, see recently Dragoni 2023 and Bernard 2023; some loans from Chinese (partly shared with TB). Several of the loans from IA and MIranian are common with TB and may have been conveyed through TB intermediary. Pervasive influence of TB on TA. In addition, many calques from IA in both languages.
5. Revised reading and interpretation of several TA texts: MSN, *Maitreyāvādānavyākaraṇa*, *Puṇyavanta-jātaka*, *Garbhāvakraṅtisūtra*, *Vaṛṇārhavarṇastotra* by Mātr̥ceṭa, *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* by Aśvagoṣa, Abhidharma texts, several narratives, hell scenes, etc. New interpretations based on parallel texts in Sanskrit, Pāli, Uighur, Chinese, Tibetan. Restorations and

interpretations differing in several instances from *Tocharische Sprachreste* (1921) and from CEToM, on the basis of the original manuscripts, of photographs (when available, because many significant manuscripts and fragments have been lost) and of Siegling's notes.

I. Revised assessment of several verbal roots.

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

7. TA *nu-/nwā-* 'to consent', with infinitive complement, compare 'to bear, suffer (?)' (Malzahn 2010: 694). Ipf. mid. 3sg. 222 a7 *kul(e)yaṃ pältsäk cacrāṅku mrosāṅkātsi mā nwiññāt* 'the mind (of Nanda) [was] clung to the woman; he did not consent to feel disgust (for the world)'; pret. mid. 3sg. A 222 b4 (= 239 b5) (*mā*) *sām nārkässi antuṣ nwāt* 'from that (telling slander) this one did not consent to refrain'. < PIE **neu-* 'to nod' (LIV²: 455). To be kept apart from TA *nwām*, adj. 'sick', distantly cognate with the verb TA *not-*, TB *naut-* 'to disappear, be destroyed', cf. Adams (2013: 371) < **nah_{2u}-T-* (-T- = **-t-* or **-d^h-*). Possibly < **nuwāmo* < **nuh₂-mōn*, internal derivative of neuter **neh_{2u}-mṃ/*nh_{2u}-mén-s*, through laryngeal metathesis in the zero grade, eventually reshaped (through the so-called "ašnō-rule", see Nussbaum 2010: 269-272), as **-en-*stem **neh_{2u}-en-* underlying OIr. *núne* 'famine', W. *newyn* 'id.'. Cf. **neh_{2u}-ti-* > Gmc. **naufi-* 'distress' > Goth. *naufs*, ON *nauð*, OE *nīed*, OHG *nōt*, etc.; **neh_{2u}-i-* > Gmc. **nawi-* masc. 'corpse', underlying Goth. *naus*, ON *nár*, cognate with Lith. *nōvē*, Latv. *nāve* fem. 'oppression, agony, death' (see Kroonen 2013: 385).

8. TA *sāk^ā-* 'to cut' (Kremmer 2022: 130-131), pres.part. *sāknāmāṃ*, pret. mid. 3pl. *skānt*, etc. PIE **sekH-* (LIV²: 524, cf. Lat. *secō*, *-āre*, OCS *seko*, etc.), not 'to follow' (SSS: 477, hence connected to PIE **sek^h-* by Van Windekens 1976: 420), see Malzahn (2010: 937).

9. TA *sān^ā-* 'to plan, intend': PIE **senh₂-* (LIV²: 532). Lemma *sāt^ā-* in Malzahn (2010: 937). But the reading with /n/ is possible in all instances.

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

10. TA *tāk^{wā}-* 'to urge', without gloss in Malzahn (2010: 646). A 237 a3 *spāltāñkāmāṃ skāṃ tāloñcās wrasas tāk^{wālune}(yo)* 'and making efforts by urging the miserable beings' (scil. to avoid bad actions or pleasures), A 356 b2-3 *triškās kāntwāsyo pācar (tā)kwāṣānt* 'with trembling tongues they [the children] urged their father', mid. 3pl., see 3sg. *tākwāṣāt*, A 449b1, stem of imperfect causative, alternatively of pret. IV, cf. Malzahn (2010: 647). < **-u-*present on the zero grade of the root *(s)*teug-* (LIV²: 602), cf. Ved. *toj-/tuj-* 'to move quickly, incite, urge', Gk. Hom. aor. *στυγέϊν*, etc. Further CToch. roots based on

PIE *-u-presents: TA *pānwā-* (TB *pānnā-*) ‘to stretch’, TB *pākw-* ‘to rely on, trust’. TA *kāt-* ‘to ridicule’, TA *malyw-* (TB *mely-*) ‘to crush, squeeze’.

11. TA *śi-/śāyā-* ‘to enter, penetrate’, inf. *śināssi*, pret. act. 3sg. *śi*, part.pret. *śāśyu*. A 69 a2 *samsārṣṣās puk klopāntwāṣ sn(e)-praski śāśyu-pāltskum* ‘whose mind has entered the absence of fear from all the sufferings of the Saṃsāra’. Based on the nasal present stem, adj. *śino* ‘entering’, in A 147 b3 *ślā ynāñmune śino ymām riṣa(knac) k(ā)ts(e) yeṣ* ‘going inside with respect, he went close to the sage’. PIE **kejh₂-* ‘to set in motion’ (LIV²: 346), root etymology mentioned by Adams (2013: 642), Malzahn (2010: 920), even though the meaning was deemed as uncertain.

II. Several new nouns, retrieved from revised segmentation and/or interpretation.

12. TA *ok* ‘increase’, A 150 b4 *cesām śpāt koṃsā kālytār ok prākronēyaṃ* ‘in this week, [the fetus] stands (...) in growth [and] firmness’, cf. *Garbhāvakraṅtisūtra*, 19th or 20th week (Kritzer 2014: 66). Action noun of verb TA *ok-* (TB *auk-*) ‘to promote, produce, show’ (Pinault 2019: 123-124) < **auk-* < PIE **h₂eug-*. TA all other occurrences: *mā ok* ‘not yet’ < **‘no more, not further’* (as suggested by Huard, p.c.). TB match *māwk* < (contraction) **mā-auk* (discussion by Adams 2013: 136).

13. TA *omke* ‘honey’ (Skt. *madhu-*), meaning warranted through a parallel text (to A 3 b2), see Ogihara (2009: 134-136, 170), and by *omke* as referring to a medicine (A 103 a6) < **omāk-e*, with productive collective/abstract suffix TA *-e*. < CToch. **æmäke* < **ṃb^hi-ko-* ‘pertaining to the swarm’ (of bees); for the phonetic evolution, see TA *kam*, TB *keme* < **kæmβæ* < **gómb^h-o-*. Cf. OHG *imbi* ‘(Bienen-)Schwarm, examen’, MHG *imbe, imme* ‘Bienenschwarm, -stand’, G. *Imme*, fem. ‘die einzelne Biene’, OE *imbe*, etc. < **imb(i)ia-*, cf. OIr. *imbed* ‘Fülle, Menge’ < Celt. **imbeto-*. Relatively rare case of independent PIE origin for TA, vs. TB *mit* ‘honey’ < **m’ätä* < PIE **méd^hu-*.

14. TA *kolām*, fem. ‘pool, pond’, as per Huard (2022: 411-416), not ‘ship, boat’ as previously assumed by Sieg (1952: 28) and endorsed by TEB II:97. Evident connection with OHG *scalm* ‘ship’, then PIE etymology (see Hilmarsson 1996: 164; Adams 2013: 219). This revised meaning fits the uses of the TB match, *kolmo**, obl. sg. *kolmai*. Basically same derivational analysis, **g^hol(H)mō* < **-mōn*, with suffix **-on-*, added to **g^hol(H)-mo-*, from the root **g^helH-* (LIV²: 207) ‘träufeln, quellen’, cf. Ved. *gálati* ‘to drip’, OHG *quellan* ‘to well’, Hitt. *kueluṣana-* c. ‘washbasin’ (Kloekhorst 2008: 485).

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

16. TA *sārk* ‘back (of the body)’, expected match of TB *sark* ‘id.’ (Huard 2022: 161, n. 75), not ‘disease’ (‘Krankheit, Leiden’, as per TEB II: 154). A 19 b6 *ptāñkūt kāṣyāp want-wraskeyo sārka wraṣ* ‘through wind-disease, the back of the Buddha-lord, the teacher, suffers’.

Basis of several derivatives: *sārkaṣi*, adj. ‘of back’ (A 19 b4), *sārki*, adv. ‘later’, postposition + perlativ ‘after, following upon’, adj. **sārkiñc*, basis of *sārkiñcā*, adv. ‘from behind’ (Skt. *pr̥ṣṭhataḥ*), *sārkiñco*, adv. ‘finally’; *sārsi*, adj. ‘of the back’ (A 146 a4, cf. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha-vamśa-* ‘bone of the back’); compound *sārka-pe* ‘instep’ (lit. ‘foot-back’, cf. G. *Fußbrücken*).

< **sārk* < PIE **sṛk-i-* or **sṛk-u-*, cf. Hitt. *šarku-* ‘high, eminent’ (Kloekhorst 2008: 734-735). Further connected to the verb TA/TB *šark-* ‘to surpass, exceed’ < **serk-* (Malzahn 2010: 928).

17. TA *ṣpal* ‘powder, clod’, Skt. *loṣṭa-* ‘a lump of earth or clay, clod’ (MW: 908b), not ‘Kügel(chen)’ (TEB II: 151, 252), match of TB *ṣpel*, not ‘pill, pellet’, nor ‘mud; (medicinal) mud-pack, poultice’ (Adams 2013: 731), cf. Huard (2022: 429-433). < **ṣpael* < **spēl* (root noun), alternatively **spēl-i-*, **spēl-u-*, from the root **spel-* ‘spalten, abspalten, abspplittern, abreiben’, with dental enlargement in Germanic, OHG *spaltan*, etc., cf. IEW: 985-986, Kroonen (2013: 464).

18. TA **kāñi*, fem. ‘trap’ < **kāñyā*, basis of adj. *kñāṣi*, cf. THT 1141.f b2 *kñāṣi yṣam ṣokyo k_upār tsopats* ‘a pit for a trap, very deep [and] big’. A 222 b5 *kñāṣyo yṣam wāla-ṇ eṣāk* ‘he covered for him a pit/ditch over with traps’: prepared by a wicked person, the householder Śrīgupta, for killing the Buddha. CToch. **kāñyā* < **g^hd-n-ih₂* (or **g^hṇd-n-ih₂*) from the root **g^hed-* ‘to grasp, seize’, with allomorph **g^hend-* (LIV²: 194; de Vaan 2008: 487), cf. Lat. *praeda*, *prehendō*, *-ere*, etc.

III. Reassessment of several nouns, e.g. ‘left’ and ‘right’: revised instalment.

19. TA *sālyi*, adj. ‘left’, *sālyi pāci* ‘left [and] right’, *sālyi tsar* ‘left hand’, adv. *sālyās* ‘left, on the left’, extracted from the phrase *sālyās poṣṣāsā* (perlativ plural) ‘on the left side’, parallel to *pāccās*, based on *pāci*. Meaning of *pāci* warranted by the translation OU *oṇ* ‘right’; adv. *āpat* (< **ā(n)-pāt* < **æ(n)-pāt*) ‘on the right’ corresponding to Skt. *dakṣiṇa-* and OU *oṇaru*. Cf. Pinault (2002: 248-261).

20. Alleged equation of TA *sālyi* with TB *śwālyai*, as per SSS: 17 n.1, TEB II: 145, 248. Explained by Winter (1985: 590), from a noun ‘eating’ (cf. TB *śwāl* ‘food’, TA *śwāl* ‘flesh, meat’) based on **śuwā-* / **śāwā-* with contraction **śāwā-* > TA *śā-*. Formal solution generating semantic difficulties, see Pinault (2002: 254-261), for a not so compelling account of the meaning ‘left’.

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

22. TA *sālyi* had an independent origin: adjective in *-i*, based on **sāly* < **sālyæ* ‘left’ < **śśālyæ* < **ścyālyæ* < **skih₂-ljo-*, ultimately PIE **skih₂-lo-* (laryngeal metathesis) < **skh₂-lo-*, cf. **skēh₂-uo-* > lat. *scaevus*, Gk. *σκαίος* ‘left’. Cognate with TB *skiyo* ‘shadow’, cf. Gk. *σκιά*, Ved. *chāyā-*, etc.

23. TB *saiwai* ‘left’ (Winter 1985; Adams 2013: 767), uninflected adj., issued from an adverb, parallel to *śwālyai* ‘right’. Probably cognate with TB *saiwe*, masc. ‘itch, itching’ < **saiwæ* < **sah₂i-uo-* > Lat. *saevus* ‘harsh, savage’, ultimately from the root **sh₂ei-* ‘to tie’; not cognate with Ved. *savyá-*, Av. *haoiia-*, OCS *šujū* (IEW: 915), which would entail kind of unparalleled metathesis in Tocharian (Pinault 2002: 258).

IV. Complex derivational history of several nouns.

24. TA *ytārso*, adj. ‘worn out by the road’ > ‘exhausted’, nom.pl.masc. *ytārsoṣ* A 293 a1, obl.pl.masc. A 279 a7 (restored). Derived from **ytārse* ‘hardship of the path’, compound of *ytār* and *rse* ‘hatred’ (< *‘hurting, injuring’), cf. B *rser* ‘id.’ (contraction < **räsæwær*), based on CToch. **räsæ* (> TA **räs*, reshaped as *rse*, with ubiquitous abstract/collective suffix *-e*), ultimately from PIE **reiṣ-* ‘to be hurt, suffer damage’ (IEW: 859; LIV²: 505).

25. TA *waṣkārs*, adv. ‘running to (next) house’ < **waṣt-kārs*, same simplification as in *waṣ-nātāk* ‘house-lord’ (Skt. *gr̥ha-pati-*), < **waṣt-nātāk*, doublet of *waṣt-lmo*, masc., calque of Skt. *gr̥hastha-*. Not yet understood, cf. ‘sogleich (?)’ (TEB II: 139). A 8 b4 *tmäṣ waṣkārs vārtskāñ ypeṣiñi wrasañ māḱ ṣoṣi kakropuṣ* ‘then, running (from one door) to the next, the surrounding beings of the country gathered as a big crowd of people’. Verbal governing compound, second member cognate with the verb TB *kārsk-* ‘to shoot (an arrow)’ (TA *kārs-*) < *‘to let run’ < **kārs-sk-*, present stem from the root < **kṛs-*, cf. PIE **kers-* in Lat. *currō, -ere* ‘to run’, Gk. ἐπίκουρος ‘running towards’ > ‘helping’ (IEW: 583).

26. TA *plyaskeṃ*, masc. ‘meditation, recollection’, translating Skt. *samādhi-*, *dhyāna-*, *adhicitta-*, *adhicetas-*. Based on **plyak-eṃ*, remade after the verb TA/TB *pālsk-* ‘to think’, cf. TB *palsko* ‘thinking’, *ompalskoññe* ‘meditation’; issued from ‘pertaining to vision’ (through calque of Skt. *dhyā-na-*), basis TA **plyak* < CToch. **plyæk* based on the root *pālk-* ‘to see’ (< **b^hl̥g-*, zero grade of **b^hleg-* ‘to shine’, LIV²: 86), < **b^hlēg-*, root noun, alternatively **b^hlēg-o-*, vṛddhi derivative based on root noun **b^hlēg-*. The appurtenance/genitival suffix TA *-eṃ* was in widespread use, cf. *oñkālmeṃ* ‘of elephant(s)’ (based on *oñkalām*, cf. TB *oñkolmaññe: oñkolmo*), *luweṃ* ‘of animal(s)’ (based on *lu*, cf. TB *lwāññe: luwo*), *pättāññkteṃ* ‘of Buddha-lord’ (based on *ptāññkāt*), etc. TA *-eṃ* < **-aⁱn* < **°aññ* < CToch. **°æ-ññæ*, ultimately related to the TB appurtenance/genitival suffix *-ññe* < **-n-(i)jo-*.

V. Tracing an underlying lexical basis.

27. TA **yār-* found in several items, deprived of TB matches: TA *yri*, fem. ‘fence, enclosure’ (Skt. *vedikā-*), *yārsār*, adv., postposition with perlativ, ‘around, all around’ (TA/TB *śār* ‘over’), *yruñci*, adj. ‘independent, special’ (Skt. *āveṇika-*), *yreki*, masc./fem. (?) ‘face’ (not ‘like, as if’, as per Burlak & Itkin 2010, assuming a loan from TB, compound with second member *reki* ‘speech’). Basic notion: ‘border, limit, division’, PIE root **h₁erh₂-* ‘divide’, cf. Hitt. *er̥ḫa-lar̥ḫa-*, c., HLuw. *ir̥ḫa-* ‘line, boundary’

(Kloekhorst 2008: 245-247), OIr. *or* ‘border’, Lat. *ōra* ‘id.’, Lit. *irti, iriù* ‘to tear open’, *irti, inrù* ‘to dissolve oneself’, see Weiss (1998: 42-47). Those TA nouns do not contain the prefix **yā(n)-* ‘in’.

28. TA *yri* < **yāryæ* < **h₁er(h₂)-i-o-*, cf. Gk. ἔρις ‘quarrel’ < ‘division’ (< **h₁ér(h₂)-i-*), *yār(-šār)* < **yārā* < **h₁ér(h₂)-i-*; *yru-ñci* with secondary adjectival suffix *-ñci* found in *šmeñci* ‘pertaining to summer’ (based on *šme*), *k_uleñci* ‘female, feminine’ (based on *k_ule*, obl.sg. of *k_uli* ‘woman’), *atroñci* ‘pertaining to hero’ (based on **atro*, related to *atär*, TB *etre* ‘hero’), based on **yāru* < **yārāw* < **h₁er(h₂)-i-u-* or **h₁er(h₂)-u(u)-o-* ‘divided, defined’, cf. Gmc. **erwan-* > OHG *ero* ‘earth’. Semantic evolution ‘divide’ > ‘mark the boundary, define’, > ‘encircle, surround’. TA *yreki* ends with the suffix *-ki*, found in *ksärki*, adj. ‘of the morning, early’ (adv. *ksär* ‘in the morning’), *snāki* ‘alone’, fem. of *sasak* (< **sänā-ki*, cf. TA *sām*, TB *sana*, fem. of TB *še* ‘one’); based on **yārai* ‘circle, roundness’ (< **eray-* < **h₁erh₂-e_i-*), cf. Skt. *bimbaka-*, based on *bimba-* ‘disk’ (MW: 732c): ‘the disk of the sun or moon’; ‘a round form, roundness (of a face)’, found in the *Divyāvadāna*.

VI. Internal development of Tocharian patterns of derivation.

29. Suffix *-m̄ts, -um̄ts* < **-nt-īo-*, **-um̄t-īo-*. TA *wrum̄ts* ‘smell, odor’, *knum̄ts* ‘supple, thin’ (Skt. *tanu-*), *kulum̄ts* ‘small bell’, *polkām̄ts* ‘lightning’, *kulmām̄ts* ‘blowpipe’. TA *wrum̄ts* based on **wār* < **uér-os*, action noun from the root **uer-* ‘to perceive’ (LIV²: 685) of TA/TB *wār-* ‘to smell’; *polkām̄ts* based on **polkā*, remade after *lākā-* ‘to see’ (but see below for an alternative) on the basis of **polk* < **pælk* < ? **b^holg-o-*, from **b^hleg-* ‘to shine, sparkle’ (LIV²: 86), see Gk. φλέγω, Lat. *fulgō, -ere*, etc.,

30. TA *kulum̄ts* ‘small bell’ (Skt. *kin̄kiṇa-, kin̄kiṇī-, kin̄kiṇīka-*, belonging to the nets made of metal surrounding a fortress, as per Huard, p.c.), based on **kul*, cf. TB *kul* ‘bell’ < **kā^wlw* < **kälwä* < **klu-t-* ‘resounding’ (Ved. *śrūt-*); *knum̄ts* based on **kän* < *kṇn-o-* or **kṇn-u-* from **ken-* ‘to rub, make smooth’ (IEW: 559-563); *kulmām̄ts*, based on **kuläm* < **g^hlh₁-m̄ṇ* ‘throwing’ from the root **g^helh₁-* ‘to throw’ (LIV²: 208). In order to avoid *Schwebeablaut* (if from **b^hleg-* ‘to shine’) and for the sake of economy, it seems commendable to surmise ‘resounding, thunder’, as the meaning of the basis of TA *polkām̄ts* (*‘provided with thunder’, or ‘thunderbolt’) and to set up **pælkā* ‘thundering’, as related to **pælkæ*, reflected by TB *pelke* ‘solemn utterance’ (Skt. *udāna-*) < **b^hólgh^h-o-*, from an enlarged root **b^helgh^h-* (**b^helgh^h-*) ‘to utter loudly’ (Adams 2013: 429), cf. Gmc. **bulgian/*bulkjan* ‘to bellow’, OE *bylgian*, MDu. *bulgen*, related to OE *bealcan* ‘to utter, belch’, MDu. *balken* ‘to bellow’, etc. (Kroonen 2013: 83).

31. This suffix **-um̄t-īo-* is but a thematic avatar of the **-uont-* suffix, with possessive value, which the Tocharian has in adjectival derivatives of the type (TEB I: 155) TB *perne_u*, obl.sg.masc. *pernent*, TA *parno*, obl.sg.masc. *parnont* ‘glorious’, i.e. CToch. **^oænt-* < (contraction) **^oæ-wænt-* < **-o-uont-*.

VII. Nominal derivation: underlying nouns with *-t*-suffix.

32. Substantivizing suffix *-t(-)* in TA *lokit*, TB *laukito* ‘guest’, TA *mäskit* ‘prince’, originally masc./fem. (cf. Pinault 2015: 176). The source of final TA *-t* is by essence ambiguous, unless there exists a TB

parallel. CToch. **laukitā*, related obviously to the adverb TB *lauke*, TA *lok* ‘far off, away’, may be interpreted as derived from an abstract **lauki* ‘far distance’, with a suffix reflecting the collective suffix **-tah₂* with individualizing value, type Lat. *nauta*, Gk. *ναύτης*, or containing an original second compound member **-itā*, reflecting **-h₁i-t-eh₂*, enlargement of a second compound member **-h₁i-t-* (cf. Lat. *comes*, *comit-is*), type Gk. Hom. *περικτίτης* ‘neighbor’, vis-à-vis of Ved. *parikṣīt-* ‘dwelling around’. Independent origin for the apparently similar suffix of TA *kuryart* (nom.pl. *kuryartāñ*), matched by TB *käryorttau* (gen.sg. *käryorttante*, nom.pl. *käryorttañc*, obl. pl. *käryorttantäm*) ‘trader, merchant’, based on a CToch. noun derived from the prototype of TB *karyor*, TA *kuryar* ‘trade, commerce’, see Hilmarsson (1996: 101), Pinault (2015: 161-162).

33. TA *ymatu*, adj. ‘going, mobile, animate’, not ‘gepriesen’ (Schmidt 2002: 261 n.29), nor ‘attentive’ (Couvreur). Meaning confirmed by Peyrot (2016: 206-207), for the bilingual A 425.e+f a1. A 251 b4 *ymatunt miṣi sne-lyut(ār wi)nāsam näṣ śl=āñcālyi pissañkṣiṃ kro(p)* ‘I revere with joined palms the gathering of the community of monks (*bhikṣu-saṃgha-*), the unsurpassed animate field [of merits]’ (cf. *puṇya-kṣetra-*), compare B THT 294 b4 *yārpontaşe ynamont miṣi wi(nāskau)* ‘I revere the living (lit. moving, animate) field of merits’. Phrase TA *ymatu miṣi*, translating Skt. *dvipādaka-puṇyakṣetra-* (BHSD: 274b), detected by Huard (p.c.). Cognate with TA *yme*, TB *ymīye* ‘way’ and the verb *yä-li-* ‘to go’. Derived with *-u* suffix from **ymat* ‘going’, action noun << **h₁i-mo-teh₂* or abstract **-mo-t-eh₂*, cf. suffix *-at* in TA *salat* ‘flying’, see *salat lu* ‘flying animal’, i.e. ‘bird’ (Skt. *pakṣin-*), parallel to TB *salamo luwo*, pl. *lwāsa ṣyamñana ynamñana* ‘flying [and] running animals’, based on the root *sāl^ā-* ‘to fly’ (Malzahn 2022). Possible enlargement of **sol-o-t-* (> **sælæt*) in **sol-o-t-eh₂* ‘the flying one(s)’

34. TA *sne-pältik* (3 occurrences) ‘being without justice, depraved’, cf. ‘ungerecht, mitleidlos’ (Couvreur), but the latter gloss is only based on the cooccurrence of *sne kārūṃ* ‘without mercy’ in A 64 b2, bearing on a different and preceding agent. One single telling passage: A 222 a2 *lāñc āmāsāñ ṣoštāñkāñ sne-pältikāñ prakṣāntāñ (: āpṣātrikāñ ṣukṣeñi) kenpar entsuṣ märkampal* : ‘kings, ministers, clerks, – depraved ones –, judges, (people) belonging to suburbs [and] villages, did take wrongly the Law’: *sne-pältikāñ* bears on all these beings, who live in an epoch of decay of the Law, see the next description (a3) ‘They were avid from birth, searching for profit [and] gain. Through the greed pertaining to injustice (*sne-palṣīnām rīteyo*), the beings in the countries were deluded’; *sne-pältikāñ* has been moved before *prakṣāntāñ* for metrical reasons, in a *pāda* of 14 syllables, rhythm 7 (4+3)/7 (4+3).

35. Based on *sne-pal* (TB *snai-pele*) ‘unrighteousness, injustice’, calque of Skt. *a-dharma-*, masc. ‘unrighteousness, injustice, demerit, guilt’ (MW: 20a). Suffix TA *-ik* relatively productive, found in nouns issued from Indo-Aryan terms with suffix *-ika-* (e.g. *kārūṃnik*, *pūrvāntik*, *kāpālik*, *vaibhāṣik*, *dharmarājik*), also in nouns borrowed from MIranian, reflecting possibly Bactrian *-iyo* < **(i)ya-ka-*, e.g. *āṣānik*, *kākmārtik*, *spaktānik*. Heterogeneous suffix added also to Toch. nouns, TA *ypantik* ‘maker, doer’ (based on pres. participle *ypant* of *ya-*), *spārḱṣantik* ‘causing disappearance’ (of the Law), based

on the pres. participle *spärkšant* of causative of *spärk^ā*. Hence *sne-pältik* < **sne-pal-t-ik*. Marking of substantivization by *-t*, of whichever origin, but possibly individualizing **-t-eh₂*.

36. The productivity of the appurtenance suffix TA *-eṃ* leads to segment some items, revealing underlying *-t*-stems. See the basis of TA *kāwält-eṃ* ‘handsome, beautiful’, TA *mälkärt-eṃ* ‘noble’, term of address. Terms without any match in TB. TA *kāwält-eṃ*, adj. masc., cf. obl.sg. *kāwältēnäm*, gen.sg. *kāwältēnāp*, nom.pl. *kāwältēni*, obl. pl. *kāwältēnäs*, but nom. sg. reshaped as *kāwälte* (5x), either through influence of TB, or rather after TA *kāswe* ‘good’ (nom. pl. masc. *kāsweñ*), since TA *kāwälte(ṃ)* has the feminine suppletive adjective *krämtso*, *kräntso* ‘beautiful, pretty’, related to the oblique stem *krant-* of TA *kāsu* ‘good’, obl. sg. masc. *krant*, nom.pl.masc. *krañc*, *krañś*, *krañś*, etc. The basic stem **kāwält* is also presupposed by the abstract *kāwält-une* ‘beauty, attractiveness’. Classified by TEB (I: 147, § 219.3) with the *-eṃ*-adjectives, without any cogent explanation of the nom.sg. *kāwälte*, nor of the derivation. Related obviously to TB *kāwo* ‘desire’, *kawātse* ‘desirous’ (see Pedersen 1941: 109, assuming the addition of two suffixes to the basis, of adjective and of abstract/collective). Not based on a compound, as per Winter apud Hilmarsson (1996: 123). The basis was **kāwal*, gerundive of *kāw^ā*- ‘to desire’ (Malzahn 2010: 562-563), based on the subjunctive V stem **kāwā-* (TB *kāwatsi*, abstract *kāwalyñe*, TA subj. 3sg. act. *kāpaṣ*) ‘desirable, attractive, lovely’; hence *kāwäl-t-eṃ* ‘pertaining to attractiveness’, or ‘belonging to the group of the attractive ones’.

37. TA *mälkärtēṃ*, term of address, translated by OU *tüzün* (*töziün* ‘edel’, Wilkens 2021: 748a) ‘noble’, and corresponding to Skt. *ārya-* ‘noble’. Not specifically used for addressing people of inferior rank, «Anredeform an niedriger Stehende, etwa „mein Lieber“», as per TEB II: 125, cf. Pinault 1993: 161-169. Translated by OU *töziün-iim* (with possessive pronoun of 1st person sg., used in titles and forms of address, ATG: 61, § 55), *töziün tnlıg* ‘o noble being’. Alternative translation of Skt. vocative masc.sg. *ārya*, as term of address, by TB *klyomai* (specific vocative), TA *klyom*, of adjective TB *klyomo*, TA *klyom* ‘noble’. Etymology based on IE comparative phraseology by Pinault (1993: 174-177): ‘o you having good heart’ < PIE **mele-k̑don-*, cf. Gk. *μεγάθυμος*, *μεγαλήτωρ* (used in the vocative in Homer), Lat. *magnanimus*, E. *good-hearted*, etc. This is however falsified by the now accepted evolution of **d* > **dz* > CToch. *ts* in non-palatalizing context. Search for an alternative scenario based on the Tocharian literary context.

38. Since TA *mälkärtēṃ* is used in dialogues belonging to dramas and narratives, an imitation of Sanskrit is likely. Relation in synchrony with the root of the verb TA/TB *mälk-* ‘to interweave, bind on, fold’ (jewels, weapons), cf. Adams (2013: 489), Malzahn (2010: 762-763). Root connection advocated superficially by Van Windekens (1976: 297), but hardly believable: assumed without reconstruction of the derivation, nor any cogent semantic scenario, which should be based on the comparison with Skt. terms of address. Skt. *ārya-miśra-* ‘distinguished, respectable’, masc. ‘an honorable person, a gentleman’ (MW:152c), also used in the plural ‘you gentle persons’, *bhāva-miśra-* masc. (in drama) ‘a gentleman, person of dignity or consequence’ (MW; 754c), reinforced doublet of *bhāva-* masc. (in

drama) ‘a discreet or learned man’ (as a term of address = ‘respected sir’), with second member *miśra-* adj. ‘mixed, mingled, blended, combined’; ‘manifold, diverse, various’; *miśra-* in the plural after honorific epithet (e.g. *āryamiśrāḥ*) ‘respectable or honorable people’, often also in the singular postposed to proper names by way of respect (MW: 818a), dozens of instances in Skt. onomastics, in names of authors, scholars, and sages.

TA **mälkär*, stative adjective based on *mälk-*, with suffix *-r* (< *-ræ*), cf. TA *pärkär*, TB *pärkare* ‘long’ (Caland formation, with suffix **-ræ* < **-ro-*), as calque of Skt. *miśra-*. Hence TA **mälkär-t*, substantive, and *mälkärt-em*, adj., literally ‘belonging to the group of respected people’. To conclude, the precise analysis of Tocharian terms in their cultural context complies with patterns of derivation.

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