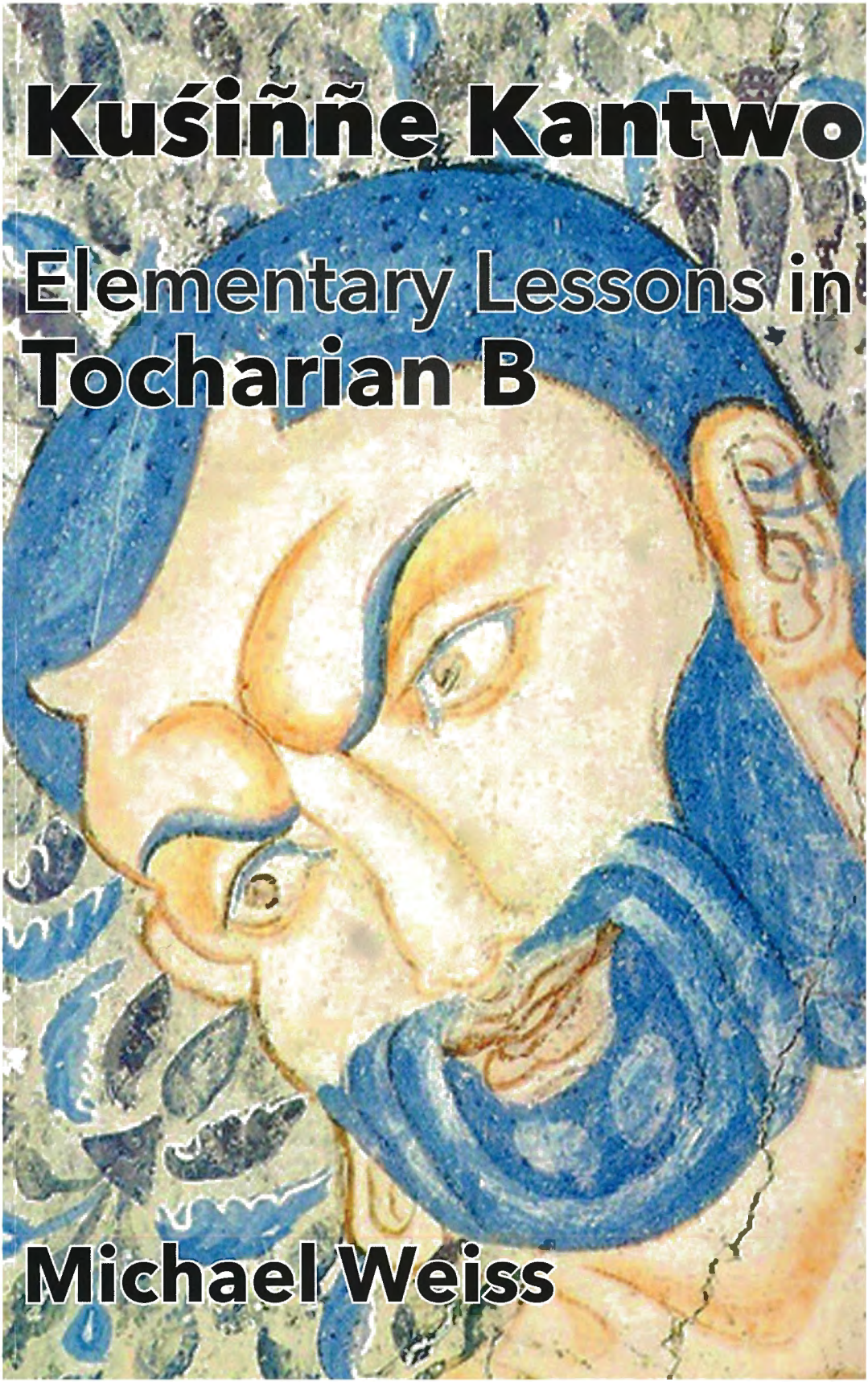
Kuśiññe Kantwo

Elementary Lessons in Tocharian B



Michael Weiss

Kuśiññe Kantwo

Elementary Lessons in Tocharian B

with Exercises, Vocabulary, and Notes on Historical Grammar

Michael Weiss

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Table of Contents

Preface xi

Abbreviations and Symbols xiii

Introduction xv

The Who, What, and Where of the Tocharian Languages: Where were the Tocharian languages spoken and written down? *xv* When was Tocharian spoken or written down? *xvi* Why are these languages called Tocharian and what was the self-designation of the speakers? *xviii* How are the Tocharian documents preserved? *xix* How were the Tocharian documents first deciphered? *xx* How were the Tocharian documents rediscovered? *xx* What is the geographical distribution of Tocharian A and B? *xxi* What kind of things are written in Tocharian A and Tocharian B? *xxi* What script was used to write the Tocharian documents? *xxiii* **Phonology of Tocharian B:** Consonants, *xxv* Vowels, *xxvi* Order of Alphabetization in Tocharian, *xxix* **A Note on the Transcriptions,** *xxix*

Lesson 1 1

The Verb: The structure of the verbal system, *1* The personal endings, *2* Active vs. middle personal endings, *4* Present class III, subjunctive class V, and preterite class I: The verbal pattern III,V,I, *5* The verb 'to be', *7* **Nominals:** The categories of nominals, *8* Number, *8* Gender, *9* The case system, *9* Meaning of the cases, *10* Noun class V.1, *11* Noun classes V.2 and V.3, *12* Adjective class I.1, *13* Case agreement with adjectives, *13* **Syntax,** *14* **Vocabulary,** *15* **Sentences,** *17*

Lesson 2 19

The Verb: The infinitive, *19* The present participle, *20* Present class IV, *20* Present class VI and the VI,V,I pattern, *21* The verb 'to do', *22* **The Noun:** Class VI.2, *22* **The Adjective,** *23* **The Pronoun:** The first- and second-person singular pronouns, *23* **Syntax:** The subordinating conjunction *mäkte* 'how, as, when, because', *24* **Vocabulary,** *24* **Sentences,** *26*

Lesson 3 28

The Verb: The gerundives, *28* Present class VIII, *30* Subjunctive class I, *31* Preterite class III, *32* The verbs 'to come' and 'to go', *33* **The Noun:** Nouns of class VI.1, *35* **The Adjective:** Class I.1: The *orotstse* 'great' subclass, *35* **The Pronoun:** Clitic pronouns, *35* **Syntax:** Conjunctive coordinators, *37* **Vocabulary,** *38* **Sentences,** *40*

Lesson 4 42

The Verb: Present class VII, *42* The imperfect, *42* The optative, *44* The verb 'to give', *46* **The Noun:** Class VI.3, *46* **The Adjective:** Class I.2: Adjectives with feminine plural in *-ona*, *47* **The Pronoun:** Demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns, *49* **Syntax:** Basic word order, *51* **Vocabulary,** *52* **Sentences,** *54*

Lesson 5 56

The Verb: Present/subjunctive class IX, *56* Preterite II, *57* The preterite participle, *59* Uses of the preterite participle, *61* The verb *we-ñ-* 'to say, speak', *62* **The Noun:** Classes I.1 and I.2, *63* **The Adjective:** Adjectives with masculine nominative plural in *-iñ* and *-aiñ*, *63* **Syntax:** Relative clauses, *64* **Vocabulary,** *66* **Sentences,** *68*

Lesson 6 70

The Verb: Present class I, *70* Present class II, *71* Preterite I *klyauṣa* type, *71* Preterite classes IV and V, *72* *ñca*-participles and their derivatives, *72* Verbal nouns derived from preterite participles, *73* Some irregular verbs, *73* **The Noun:** Class III.1: Nouns with plural in *-enta*, *75* **The Adjective:** Class II.3: Adjectives with nominative masculine plural in *-añ*, *75* **Syntax:** Negation and the particle *mapi*, *75* **Vocabulary,** *78* **Sentences,** *79*

Lesson 7 81

The Verb: Present classes V and X, *81* Subjunctive class IV and preterite class VII, *82* The verb *lä-n-t-* 'to go out', *83* **The Noun:** Nouns of class III.1 with plurals in *-nta* other than *-enta*, *84* **The Adjective:** Adjectives of class II.4 with nominative plural in *-eñ* and *-oñ*, *84* **The Pronoun:** Plural personal pronouns, *85* **Syntax:** Comparison and superlatives, *85* **Vocabulary,** *86* **Sentences,** *88*

Lesson 8 90

The Verb: Subjunctive class XII, *90* The imperative, *91* **The Noun:** Class II plurals in *-na*, *92* **The Adjective:** Class III adjectives with nominative plural in *-ñc*, *93* **The Pronoun:** The remaining demonstrative pronoun, *94* **Numerals:** The cardinals, *94* The ordinals, *95* **Syntax:** Reported speech, *96* Functions of the oblique case, *96* **Vocabulary,** *97* **Reading,** *99* **Sentences,** *101*

Lesson 9 102

The Verb: Imperative classes II, III, and IV, *102* **The Noun:** Class IV: Relationship nouns, *103* Class VII: *-nt-* stems, *104* **The Adjective:** *allek* 'other', *104* **The Pronoun:** The indefinite pronoun, *105* **Numerals:** Distributives and multiplicatives, *106* **Syntax:** Functions of the genitive, *106* **Vocabulary,** *108* **Reading,** *110* **Sentences,** *111*

Lesson 10 113

The Verb: Imperative classes V, VI, and VII, *113* **The Noun:** The vocative, *114* Irregular nouns, *114* Distributive plurals, *115* Compounds, *116* **The Dual Forms of Nouns, Pronouns, and Verbs:** Dual forms of nouns, *117* Dual adjective forms, *119* Dual pronouns, *119* Dual verb forms, *120* **Syntax:** Reflexive, *120* Functions of the ablative, *121* **Vocabulary,** *122* **Reading,** *123* **Sentences,** *124*

Lesson 11 125

Phonology: The fate of the Proto-Indo-European short vowels and syllabic segments, *125* **The Verb:** Verbal stems in *-tk-*, *127* **The Noun:** The structure of the nominal classes, *128* The fate of PIE stem types in Tocharian: The thematic noun, *129* **Syntax:** Functions of the allative, *129* Conditional clauses, *130* **Vocabulary,** *131* **Reading,** *133*

Lesson 12 134

Phonology: The fate of the PIE long vowels, *134* **The Verb:** Origin of the active personal endings of the present/subjunctive, *136* **The Noun:** The endings of the genitive, *137* **Syntax:** Functions of the perlative, *137* **Vocabulary,** *138* **Reading,** *140*

Lesson 13 141

Phonology: Diphthongs, *141* Conditioned changes affecting vowels, *142* **The Noun:** The prehistory of the secondary cases, *144* **Syntax:** Functions of the locative and causal, *144* **Vocabulary,** *145* **Reading,** *147*

Lesson 14 148

Phonology: Basic reflexes of stops, *148* Sibilant, *151* Sonorant consonants, *151* **The Verb:** The middle endings, *152* **Syntax:** Periphrastic constructions with *yam-*, *153* **Vocabulary,** *153* **Reading,** *155*

Lesson 15 157

Phonology: Palatalization, *157* **The Verb:** The preterite active endings, *159* **Syntax:** Experiencer predicates, *161* Group inflection, *161* **Vocabulary,** *163* **Reading,** *164*

Lesson 16 168

Phonology: Syncope and epenthesis, *168* **The Verb:** Origin of the preterite stem types, *168* **Syntax:** Valency alternations, *171* **Contact:** Turkic loanwords, *173* **Vocabulary,** *174* **Reading,** *176*

Lesson 17 179

Phonology: Clusters, *179* Auslautgesetze: Development of final consonants, *180* **The Verb:** Origin of present stems of classes I–V, *181* Origin of subjunctive classes I, III, IV, and V, *182* **Syntax:** Wh-questions, *186* **Contact:** Loans from Tocharian B to Tocharian A, *186* **Vocabulary,** *187* **Reading,** *189*

Lesson 18 191

Phonology: Sandhi, *191* **The Verb:** Origin of present and subjunctive classes VI–XI, *193* **Contact:** Iranian loans, *195* **Vocabulary,** *197* **Reading,** *200*

Lesson 19 206

Phonology: Metrics, *206* **Syntax:** Poetic word order, *207* **Sociolinguistics:** Temporal and spatial variation, *208* **Contact:** Sanskrit and Prakrit loans, *209* **Vocabulary,** *210* **Reading,** *212*

Lesson 20 215

Phonology: Tocharian B–Tocharian A correspondences, *215* **Morphology:** Major differences between Tocharian B and A, *217* **Contact:** Loans to and from Chinese, *220* Tocharian C?, *221* **Vocabulary,** *222* **Reading,** *223* **Brief Commentary on the Differences between Tocharian B and Tocharian A Illustrated Here:** Lexicon, *226* Phonology, *227* Morphology, *227*

Comprehensive Tocharian B–English Vocabulary 229

English–Tocharian B Vocabulary 245

Appendix: Paradigms 252

Key to the Exercises 283

Bibliography 300

Preface

There are now many excellent resources for learning the structure and grammar of the Tocharian languages,[1] but there are few resources for learning to read the languages.[2] The natural person to write such an introductory textbook would be one of the great Tocharianists, but they have better things to do. So, on the principle "fools rush in, etc.," I've put together twenty lessons that will introduce the basic grammar of Tocharian B—generally regarded as the more archaic and interesting of the two languages for Indo-European purposes—and a vocabulary of about 500 words. The first ten lessons present the rudiments of the synchronic phonology, morphology, and major syntactic topics. Lessons 11–20 cover some diachronic topics and continue the presentation of the syntax. My models are the bare-bones introductory texts of yesteryear (Perry, Quin, the original Wheelock) and the excellent Sanskrit samizdat of Craig Melchert. I assume that the student is familiar with some ancient or medieval language and conversant with traditional grammatical terminology. Some basic knowledge of phonology, syntax, and Indo-European linguistics is also assumed. The ideal reader for this book is a beginning graduate student in Indo-European linguistics, but I hope students in Buddhist Studies with a good background in Sanskrit grammar will also find it accessible. I have found that teaching the entire book requires about fifty 50-minute classes, which is a little more than a typical American semester. The instructor may want to omit some of the readings or diachronic material in the second half of the book in order to squeeze everything in.

I am grateful to the students who worked through this textbook with me *in statu nascendi* (Atli Freyr Steinþórsson, Emily Barth, Francesco Burroni, Andrew Merritt, Patrick Niedzielski, Yexin Qu) and to Ryan Windhearn, who helped me in editing the manuscript. My first and second Tocharian teachers, Don Ringe and Jay Jasanoff, gave the book a test run with their current students and provided much valuable feedback and many corrections. A group of students at Oxford under the leadership of Pat Snidvongs and with the consultation of John Penney rooted out many inconsistencies, unclear formulations, and errors. I gave the book a final run through *in statu perficiendi* with Hana Aghababian, Evan Colby, Nicole Dreier, David Goldstein, Anahita Hoose, and Alexander LaPorte, who helped me iron out some kinks, fill in some gaps, and clarify some obscurities. My learned Cornell colleagues, Daniel

[1] To name just the most recent: Adams 2015, Malzahn 2010, Peyrot 2013a, and Pinault 2008a.

[2] Mention should be made of Todd B. Krause and Jonathan Slocum's online lessons in Tocharian available at https://lrc.la.utexas.edu/eieol/tokol/10 and Gerd Carling and Hannes Fellner's Tocharian lectures in the series Ancient Indo-European Grammars online (https://spw.uni-goettingen.de/projects/aig/lng-toc.html). These sites are excellent resources for getting an overview of the structure and history of both languages, but they are not introductory textbooks in the traditional sense. I heartily endorse visiting both sites.

Boucher and Lawrence McCrea, kindly answered my questions about Buddhism, Buddhist Sanskrit, and Sanskrit. Martin Schwartz and Chams Benoît Bernard gave me crucial advice on Iranian, as did Marcel Erdal and Alexis Manaster Ramer on the Turkic data. Douglas Q. Adams kindly read a draft and did much to improve the accessibility, accuracy, and clarity of the book. I am grateful most of all to Professor Georges-Jean Pinault, *decanus Tocharologorum*, who gave me extensive and detailed criticism on a draft. I have followed in many places the teachings of Jay Jasanoff on the Tocharian verb even though not all scholars will agree with them. To me they seem the most coherent explanation of the Tocharian facts in the wider Indo-European context, but I have tried to highlight the controversial points and give references to alternative views.

To Ben Fortson and Steve Peter at Beech Stave Press, as always, go my profound thanks for wrestling an often challenging manuscript into great shape, and saving me from many additional errors and inconsistencies not previously caught. Of course any remaining infelicities are my responsibility alone.

I hope no serious scholar will be offended by the small bits of levity and play that I have permitted myself. I would be very happy to receive further corrections and advice at mlweiss36@gmail.com.

Michael Weiss
Ithaca

Abbreviations and Symbols

Languages

arch.	archaic
Aves.	Avestan
Bact.	Bactrian
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BuS	Buddhist Sanskrit
Chin.	Chinese
class.	classical
EME	Early Modern English
Gdh.	Gāndhārī
Gk.	Ancient Greek
Goth.	Gothic
Hi.	Hindi
Hitt.	Hittite
Khot.	Khotanese
Khwār.	Khwārezmian
Lat.	Latin
Lith.	Lithuanian
Mand.	Mandarin
Man.Parth.	Manichaean Parthian
MChin.	Middle Chinese
mod.	modern
MPers.	Middle Persian
MQ	Miŋ-Öy Qizil
NHG	New High German
OChin.	Old Chinese
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
OIr.	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OPers.	Old Persian
ORus.	Old Russian
Oss.	Ossetic
OTurk.	Old Turkic
OUygh.	Old Uyghur
Parth.	Parthian
PDE	Present-day English
Pers.	Persian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Pkt.	Prakrit
PT	Proto-Tocharian
PTB	Proto–Tocharian B
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Span.	Spanish
TA	Tocharian A
TB	Tocharian B
Turk.	Turkish
Ved.	Vedic Sanskrit
VOL	Very Old Latin
YAves.	Young Avestan

Grammatical

1p	1st person plural
2p	2nd person plural
3p	3rd person plural
1s	1st person singular
2s	2nd person singular
3s	3rd person singular
a.	alternans
abl.	ablative
abs.	absolutive
act.	active
adv.	adverb
all.	allative
arch.	archaic
athem.	athematic

caus.	causative
com.	comitative
cop.	copula
du.	dual
f.	feminine
gI	gerundive I
gII	gerundive II
gen.	genitive
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
ipf.	imperfect
ipv.	imperative
itr.	intransitive
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
mid.	middle
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique
opt.	optative
perl.	perlative
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
postp.	postposition
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
prtc.	particle
ptc.	participle
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
them.	thematic
tr.	transitive
voc.	vocative

Symbols

-	morpheme boundary
=	sandhi juncture
=	clitic boundary
*X	a reconstructed item of a proto-stage
X*	a non-attested but certain paradigmatic form of a word otherwise attested
†X	a form which would have occurred if the developments had been other than they actually were

In Middle Chinese transcriptions, *X* indicates 上聲 *shǎng shēng* 'rising tone'.

Tocharian Text Collections

Dd	*Documents divers* from Pinault 1987
G	Graffiti edited by Pinault 1987
Su	from Subeshi
IOL	India Office Library
LP	*Laissez-passer de caravans* edited by Pinault 1987
Or	Oriental collections, i.e. British Museum, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts
Otani	Otani Collection
PK	Pelliot Koutchéen, the Paris Pelliot collection. These are divided into
AS	Ancienne Série and
NS	Nouvelle Série
SI	Serindia, the St. Petersburg collection
THT	Die tocharischen Fragmente der Berliner Turfansammlung
W	Weber/McCartney MS

Introduction

The Who, What, and Where of the Tocharian Languages

Where were the Tocharian languages spoken and written down?

Tocharian A and B were spoken and written in what is now the Xinjiang[1] Uyghur Autonomous Region in western China (*Xīnjiāng Wéiwú'ěr Zìzhìqū* in Mandarin, *Shinjang Uyghur Aptonom Rayoni* in Uyghur).[2] This region is sometimes referred to, especially in earlier literature, as Chinese or Eastern Turkestan.

More specifically, texts have been discovered in the oases that dot the northern rim of the Tarim Basin, north of the Taklamakan desert. The Tarim Basin is bounded to the west by the Pamirs, to the north by the *Tiān Shān* (Uyghur *Tengri Tagh* 'heavenly mountain') range and to the south by the *Kūnlún* range that separates the Tarim Basin from Tibet.

The Silk Road, the modern name for the network of trading routes ultimately connecting China and the Near East, split at Kashgar into a southern and northern branch skirting the Taklamakan desert. Most Tocharian manuscripts have been discovered in ruins associated with oases along the northern branch, an area extending about 700 km. from west to east. Tocharian B has been found throughout the entire area and even in places outside of this region (see below), but Tocharian A is limited to the area from Šorčuq eastwards.[3] There are three main locations where Tocharian B texts have been found. First are sites associated with the city of Kuča.[4] These include:[5]

Qizil Miŋ-Öy,[6] lit. the 'thousand (*miŋ*) houses (*öy*) of Qizil (the name of a town)', the famous Buddhist religious complex made up of over 200 artificial caves carved into a cliff near the Muzart river 65 km. west of Kuča.[7] Many of the caves housed shrines with statues of the Buddha and murals. Others were monks' cells or storerooms.

[1] Also spelled *Sinkiang* in older Western sources.

[2] Xīnjiāng 新疆 means 'New Frontierlands' and was introduced in the 18th century when the region was conquered by the Qing dynasty. Prior to that the region now called Xinjiang was part of what the Chinese called the *Xīyù* 西域 'Western Regions'. See Hansen 2016:8.

[3] The spelling of these place names varies a lot. I have given the spellings used by the authoritative CEToM website (A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts Project) followed by the Chinese name in Pinyin and the current Uyghur form in the now official Uyghur Latin Alphabet in the footnotes. Uyghur is most commonly written in the Uyghur Arabic alphabet.

[4] About half of the Tocharian B documents are from the Kuča area according to Peyrot 2016b:128.

[5] The list is not exhaustive.

[6] Also often given in the order Miŋ-Öy Qizil.

[7] Some Tocharian B texts in the Hoernle collection are from Jigdalik. This may be the Jigdilik on the west bank of the Qizil river near Qizil Miŋ-öy. See Peyrot 2008:228.

Duldur Akhur, a monastery on the west bank of the Muzart river.

Qumtura, another cave complex very close to Duldur Akhur on the east side of the Muzart, 25 km. west of Kuča, made up of two distinct sets of caves about 3 km. apart, the North monastery and the South monastery.

Subeši, the site of the Zhāohùlí (昭怙厘) temple complex mentioned in Chinese sources with buildings, stūpas, and caves 19 km. northeast of Kuča.

Kuča[8] (庫車 Mand. Kùchē) itself was the ancient capital of the state of Kuča. Some documents from Kuča come from a site called Kuča Miŋ-öy, not to be confused with Qizil Miŋ-öy.

The next important locus centers around Šorčuq[9] (七个星 Mand. Qīgèxīng 'seven-star [temple]'), the site of (1) a large, ruined temple, and (2) a cave complex. Texts in both Tocharian B and A have been recovered there.[10] It is about 320 km. east of Kuča.

Finally, Tocharian B texts have been found in sites close to Turfan (吐魯番 Mand. Tǔlǔfān).[11] Three noteworthy sites are Sängim, Murtuk, and Khočo, a ruined town just outside of the modern city of Gāochāng.[12] Tocharian B is originally the language of the Kuča region. It is only here that archaic, classical, and late texts are found. The texts of the more eastern regions which are only classical and late reflect the expansion of the literary language.

Tocharian B texts have also been found outside these core areas. In Maralbeši[13] (巴楚 Mand. Bāchǔ) the main language was the East Iranian Tumšuqese,[14] a poorly known relative of the better attested Khotanese from Khotan on the southern edge of the Taklamakan, but small amounts of Tocharian B have also been found. A Tocharian B manuscript was discovered at Endere on the southern Silk Road route and a Tocharian B inscription is attested at Ladakh in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. But it is likely that these stray scraps were brought or inscribed by travelers and do not reflect the existence of Tocharian-speaking communities.

When was Tocharian spoken or written down?

Most Tocharian B texts date between the 5th and 10th centuries CE.[15] The Tocharian A texts extend from the 7th to 10th centuries. Some texts are dated according to the reign of local monarchs. Synchronisms with Chinese documents help us establish

[8] The ancient Kingdom of Kuča is called 龜茲 in Chinese (Mand. Qiūcí) and Kuci in Sanskrit.

[9] Or Xorqu or Shorchuk.

[10] The Tocharian A *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* was found near the temple; other texts have been found in the caves. More than three-quarters of Tocharian A texts are from Šorčuq according to Peyrot 2016b:128.

[11] Or Turpan.

[12] The site is also called Dakianus, perhaps because of the legend of the seven sleepers, a story that is narrated in the Quran. According to Ch. 18, verses 9–26, seven young people and a dog took refuge from religious persecution in a cave and slept for 309 years, though they thought it was just a day. This narrative is associated with the Roman emperor Decius, whence the name Dakianus.

[13] Or Maralbexi, also spelled Maralbashi.

[14] There are apparently no Tocharian B documents from Tumšuq itself.

[15] On the chronology of Tocharian texts see Malzahn 2007 and Peyrot 2008. The earliest texts date to the

the exact dates. For example, *Suvarṇadeva*, TB[16] *Swarnatepe*, king of Kuča, was a contemporary of the emperor Tàizōng of the Tang dynasty (626–649). Swarnatepe ascended the throne in 624.

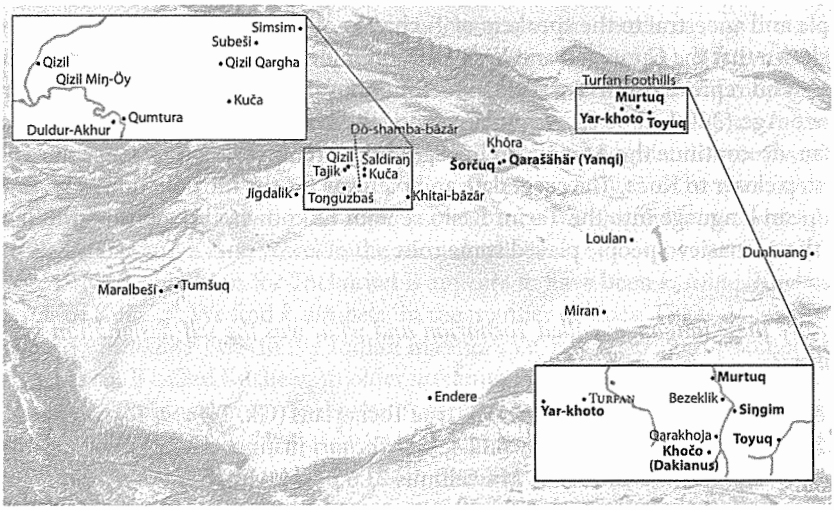

Figure 1. Map of Xinjiang. Find sites of both Tocharian A and B are in bold; those of just Tocharian B are in roman. Turfan is given as a reference point. (Adapted from the map on the CEToM website by Melanie Malzahn and Martin Braun based on Google Maps.)

Study of the ductus helps identify some few early (5th- or 6th-century) documents. The greatest share of texts dates to the first half of the 7th century CE.

The Chinese began to assert their power in the region starting in 630 CE and the Tocharian states lost their independence. However, Chinese hegemony did not last long since the entire area was Uyghurized by 800 and became part of the Uyghur Khaganate.

Chinese documents seem to attest to the presence of the Tocharians in this region already in the 2nd century BCE. They give no overarching ethnic designation to these people but simply name the kingdoms of Kuča, Qarashahr, and Turfan.

There are still unanswered questions about how an Indo-European language was introduced to the Tarim Basin. Many scholars point to the Afanasievo culture known from the Altai and Minusinsk regions in Southern Siberia as a possible vector for the eastward expansion of an Indo-European language. This archaeological culture,

end of the 4th cent. CE, so contemporary with Wulfila's Gothic. One Tocharian B text (B 296 from Khočo) has been dated by carbon-14 to 1178–1255! See Tamai 2005 and Adams 2006 for discussion. But this very late date should be treated with caution. The 11th-century Turkish lexicographer Kāšγarī notes that "the Uyghur have a pure Turkic language, and also another language which they speak among themselves" (*Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk* I.29, translated by Dankoff 1982:83.) This is probably a reference to Tocharian (B) and implies a survival of the language into the 2nd millennium CE. See Aydemir 2009:172–3.

[16] TB = Tocharian B and TA = Tocharian A. These abbreviations will be used from here on to label forms in these languages.

beginning around ca. 3100 BCE, is known to have been produced by people genetically close to the bearers of the Yamnaya culture of the Pontic-Caspian steppe.[17] Some have argued that the famous mummies from the early Bronze-Age sites of Gumugou (2135–1939 BCE) and Xiao He (1884–1736 BCE) might be related to the Afanasievo people and ancestral to the speakers of Tocharian.[18] Recent genetic work, however, has shown that the Gumugou and Xiao He mummies were not kin to the Afanasievo people and represent a distinct and autochthonous inner-Asian lineage,[19] but Early Bronze Age (3000–2800 BCE) remains from the Dzungarian Basin, just north of Turfan, do continue the Afanasievo lineage and therefore bring the Steppe ancestry one step closer to Kuča. The exact date and pathway for the introduction of an Indo-European language into the Tarim Basin remain unknown, though it is still likely that the Afanasievo people played some role.

Why are these languages called Tocharian and what was the self-designation of the speakers?

The name Tocharian is a misnomer. The true Tocharians (Gk. *Τόχαροι Tókharoi* Strabo 11.8.2 ~ *Τάχχοροι Tákhoroi* Ptolemy 6.12.4; Lat. *Tochari* Justinus 42.2.2 ~ *Thocari* Pliny *Nat.* 6.55, *Athagorae* Ammianus Marcellinus 23.6.66; Skt. *Tukhāra-* ~ *Tuṣāra*; Chin. 吐火羅 Mand. *Tǔhuǒluó*; Tibet. *Thod-gar*) were an ethnic unit responsible for the founding of the Kushan empire in Bactria.[20]

F. W. K. Müller (1907) gave the name "Tocharian" to our language for the following reason: two versions of a text known as the *Maitreya-samiti-nāṭaka-* 'The Play about the Meeting with *Maitreya-* (a future Buddha)' were found, one in Old Uyghur, the other in Tocharian A. The colophon of the Tocharian A text named the *vaibhāṣika*[21] Āryacandra as the arranger. But the colophon of the Uyghur version claimed that it

[17] On the dates of the Afanasievo culture, which until recently were controversial, see Honeychurch et al. 2021. On the genetic connection between the people of the Yamnaya and Afanasievo cultures see Narasimhan et al. 2019.

[18] Mallory and Mair 2000. Of course, human language and the human genome are transmitted by two distinct and independent replicatory processes, viz. biological reproduction and language acquisition. There is therefore no direct or necessary inference from patterns of genetics diffusion to patterns of language expansion. There are many examples of peoples with similar genetic profiles speaking unrelated languages, e.g. the Etruscans and the Romans, and many people of very varied genetic ancestries speaking the same language, e.g. the author speaks English natively though he has not a smidgen of English or Anglo-Saxon ancestry. Nevertheless, ancient DNA evidence does often provide very definite evidence for the expansion of people that cannot be dismissed. The migration of people with a Yamnaya-like genetic profile from the Pontic-Caspian steppe, the suspected original homeland of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European, to an area not far from the Tarim Basin is a primary datum that it is plausible to think may be connected with the introduction of an Indo-European language into that region.

[19] See Zhang et al. 2021.

[20] These people are often identified with the Yuèzhī (月氏) of Chinese sources. According to these sources the Yuèzhī originated in Gansu and began a migration after their defeat by the Xiongnu in 176 BCE. What language they originally spoke is unknown. The public monuments of the Kushan empire are in the Iranian language Bactrian. On the name(s) of the Tocharians see Pinault 2013.

[21] I.e. a follower of the *Vaibhāṣika* school of Sarvāstivādin Buddhism named for its adherence to the *Mahāvibhāṣa* 'the Great Commentary', a compendium of Abhidharma composed around 150 CE.

was the Uyghur translation of the arrangement of *Vaibazaki Ariacintri* born in the land of Agnideśa- (i.e. Yānqí) from the Indian language into the *Twqry* language.

Hence it seems clear that the Uyghurs called Tocharian A *Twqry*. The phonetic interpretation of the Uyghur spelling is ambiguous since the letter transcribed as *q* can represent either a voiced or voiceless consonant. But renderings of the name in the Sogdian alphabet, which distinguishes between [ɣ] and [χ], clarify that the consonant after the first vowel was a voiced velar fricative. The Sogdian Karabalgasun inscription[22] refers to the *ctβ'r twγr'ystn* 'the four *twγr'y*-stans', to designate the area around Qarašahr.[23] So at a minimum the Old Uyghur and Sogdian languages used a form of the shape [t–rounded vowel–ɣ–r–vowel] to designate the area around Yānqí. But this name is not directly superimposable on the Skt. *Tukhāra*-, which has a voiceless velar and a long vowel in the second syllable.

The native designation for Tocharian B appears to have been k_u*śiññe* 'Kuchean' or k_u*śiñ* 'of Kuča'.[24] We find k_u*śiñ-pele* 'in the manner of Kuča' (PK[25] M 500.1 b2) parallel to *yentukäñe-pele* 'in the Indian manner', i.e. in Sanskrit. One sometimes sees Tocharian B called Kuchean in older literature.

The native designation for Tocharian A appears to have been *ārśi-käntu* 'tongue of *ārśi*-' (A 229, THT[26] 862 b 7), i.e. the language of the land of *ārśi* (*ārśi-ype*, THT 1152 a 2) centered around *Qarašahr*.[27] In Chinese the city is called 焉耆, Mand. Yānqí. Sanskrit texts call this kingdom *Agni-viṣaya*- or *Agni-deśa*-. Hence one sometimes sees Tocharian A called Agnean in older literature.

How are the Tocharian documents preserved?

The texts are mainly written on paper made from the paper mulberry or from rags made with a mixture of fibers (hemp, flax, ramie, etc.). These texts were bound together to form a kind of book (TB *postak* ← Skt. *pustaka*-).[28] A few are written on birch bark (THT 1102–25, a Karmavācanā[29] text) in the same format. Caravan passes and some other documents are written on poplar wood. There are also some inscriptions on wall paintings and graffiti. There are a little over 10,000 mostly small

[22] A trilingual inscription in Sogdian, Old Turkic, and Chinese from Mongolia set up by the eighth Uyghur khagan (802–21).

[23] These four are probably the city states of Qarašahr, Khočo, and Bešbalık (Chin. Beiting, now a ruin north of Turfan) and some other city of the eastern Tarim Basin, perhaps Turfan, but not Kuča. See Henning 1938:560 and Pinault 2013:345-8.

[24] *Kuśiññe* is formed from *Kuśi**, the native name for the city of Kuča, which is rendered in Sanskrit as *Kuci*. On the forms of this name see Pinault 2013:348–51.

[25] PK stands for Pelliot Koutchéen, the collection of documents carted off to Paris from Kuča by the sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878–1945).

[26] THT stands for Tocharische Handschriften der (Berliner) Turfan(sammlung), the standard numbering system for Tocharian documents in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

[27] Doubted by Adams (1988:7), following Bailey (1937:906), who took it to ultimately reflect a translation of Skt. *āryabhāṣa*- 'noble language' and to be a name for Sanskrit.

[28] Probably ultimately borrowed from a derivative of OPers. *pavastā*- 'clay envelope', cf. Mod. Pers. *post* 'bark, skin'.

[29] See p. 178.

and fragmentary items in the Tocharian languages: about 8600 in Tocharian B and 1400 in Tocharian A. The surviving documents are only a small percentage of the writings composed in these languages. From the hundreds of manuscripts housed in the monastery libraries which could run to hundreds of pages we rarely have a single complete page and only in some rare instances consecutive pages from the same manuscript. It is a testament to the determination and brilliance of Tocharianists past that we have as good a grasp on Tocharian grammar as we do.

How were the Tocharian documents first deciphered?

The initial grammatical interpretation and translation of the Tocharian languages was the work of the German Indologist Emil Sieg (1866–1951) together with his former student Wilhelm Siegling (1880–1946). After only two years of work on the Tocharian manuscripts of the Turfan collection, Sieg and Siegling published in 1908 "Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen: Vorläufige Bemerkungen über eine bisher unbekannte indogermanische Literatursprache" ("Tocharian, the language of the Indoscyths: Preliminary remarks on a hitherto unknown Indo-European literary language") in the *Sitzungberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. In this work Sieg and Siegling established the Indo-European affiliation of the Tocharian languages and recognized that the manuscripts contained two related languages now known as Tocharian A and B.[30] This initial decipherment was aided by the existence of a small number of Sanskrit–Tocharian bilingual texts.[31]

How were the Tocharian documents rediscovered?[32]

The German expedition of Albert von Le Coq and Albert Grünwedel in 1904 discovered the first Tocharian documents in Xinjiang. However, the first document in Tocharian was published in 1892 from the collection of the Russian consul in Kashgar (Kashi).[33] Other important expeditions to the region producing hauls of documents were led by Sir Aurel Stein (British, 1862–1943), Paul Pelliot (French, 1878–1945), Sergey Oldenburg (Russian, 1863–1934), Mikhail Berezovsky (Russian, 1848–1912), Nikolai Petrovsky (Russian, 1837–1908),[34] and Count Otani Kozui (Japanese, 1876–1948). In the thirties Sven Hedin (Swedish, 1865–1952) led the last European ex-

[30] On Sieg and the history of the early decipherment of the Tocharian languages see Pinault and Peyrot 2014:ix–xx.

[31] Don Ringe related the following story, which he heard from Warren Cowgill: In the early course of the decipherment "Sieg could tell from the names in a Tocharian text he was working on that it was a Buddhist text, but he couldn't figure out which. One night he dreamt that he got up, went to his library, took a particular book, opened it to a particular page, and there was the Sanskrit parallel. Upon waking he did exactly that and found the parallel." The story may be apocryphal, but names have often played a key role in decipherment from Grotefend's and Champollion's day on.

[32] For details on the expeditions and collections see the essays in *Instrumenta Tocharica* (Malzahn 2007).

[33] This publication was Oldenburg 1892 [1893].

[34] As the Russian consul-general in Kashgar from 1867, he collected manuscripts and art objects from various locales in the Tarim Basin (Kuča, Korla, and Aksu) and excavated at Kuča.

pedition to the region.[35] Subsequent discoveries have been made by the Chinese expeditions of Huang Wenbi (1893–1966). Consequently the Tocharian documents are mainly housed in:

Berlin:	The so-called *Turfansammlung*
Paris:	Pelliot collection
London:	Hoernle, and Stein collections[36]
St. Petersburg:	Berezovskij and Petrovskij collections
Kyoto:	Otani collection[37]
Urumchi:	Xinjiang Museum

What is the geographical distribution of Tocharian A and B?

As mentioned above, texts in Tocharian B (a.k.a. West Tocharian or Kuchean) are found in both the eastern and western parts of the Tocharian-speaking area. Texts in Tocharian A (a.k.a. East Tocharian or Agnean), on the other hand, are localized in the northeastern part of the Tocharian-speaking area around the oases of Qarašahr (= Kingdom of Agni) and Turfan and are entirely lacking in the area of Kuča. The original home of Tocharian B is Kuča. The question of the original location of the speakers of Tocharian A is difficult, but the documents center around Qarašahr.

Tocharian B seems to have been the actual spoken language of the entire area, at least in later times, and it clearly had the upper hand. We find several instances of Tocharian A texts with glosses in Tocharian B and only Tocharian B is used in wall paintings in both the eastern and western parts of the area. The most archaic texts in Tocharian B come predominantly, but not exclusively, from the caves of Miŋ-öy Qizil 'The thousand dwellings of Qizil'.[38] In addition to distinct chronological strata Tocharian B texts show both regional and sociolinguistically conditioned variation and the language of poetic compositions differs in some features from prose.[39]

What kind of things are written in Tocharian A and Tocharian B?

Most of our Tocharian corpus consists of (free) translations of Buddhist texts from Buddhist Sanskrit belonging to the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin schools. According to Buddhist metaphysics, what a person perceives as his life and career is

[35] Read his probably somewhat fictionalized account in *My Life As an Explorer* (Hedin 1925). An entertaining account of the various looting/research expeditions to the region is Hopkirk 1980, in which, shockingly, the word "Tocharian" never appears.

[36] Part of Hoernle's collection, the so-called Weber/Macartney manuscript, a medical text, was divided between Rev. F. Weber and George Macartney. Weber's portion ended up in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Macartney's part ended up in the British Library.

[37] Some of Otani's collection was also deposited in the Tokyo National Museum.

[38] The famous Kizil caves. For information see the websites of the Digital Silk Road Project (http://dsr.nii.ac.jp/rarebook/04/) and the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/).

[39] Tocharian B has three stages: Archaic, Classical, and Late. See further discussion in Lesson 19. For more on chronological, regional, and sociolinguistic variation in Tocharian B see pp. 208–9.

the result of the momentary confluence of *dharmas*, cosmic factors such as matter and sensory faculties that combine under the influence of a person's past lives. These dharmas exist outside the illusory empirical world. The Sarvāstivādins differ from other schools of Buddhism in their belief that these dharmas exist not just in the moment when they are active but eternally in the past, present, and future. The name Sarvāstivādin refers to the doctrine that all dharmas exist (*sarvam asti* 'all exists').[40]

More specifically we have:

Monastic discipline (*Vinaya*)
Doctrinal texts (*Sūtra*)
Abhidharma (schematic reworking of doctrinal texts)
Narrative texts (*Jātaka* 'birth-tale', *Avadāna* lit. 'achievement', *Nāṭaka*'play')
Poetry (*Mahākāvya* 'epic' and *Stotra* 'praise hymn')[41]

In Tocharian B there is also a Manichaean text written in the Aramaic-derived Manichaean script.[42]

In addition, Tocharian B is used in secular documents like medical, astronomical, and grammatical texts; monastery accounts; letters; caravan passes; a love poem; and legends on wall paintings and graffiti. We now have evidence for secular documents in Tocharian A as well, from Šorčuq,[43] and Tocharian A is rarely used to gloss Sanskrit texts and for mural captions.[44] These facts show that Tocharian A was not just a book language.[45] Uyghur donors of Tocharian manuscripts used Tocharian A and the Tocharian A text *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* was translated into Old Uyghur for the sake of performance.

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[40] For more on the reasons the Sarvāstivādins held these views see Westerhoff 2018:60–73. The Mūlasarvāstivādin branch of this school was widely diffused in India, Central Asia, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, and Indonesia. Buddhism was apparently introduced into the Tarim Basin under the Kushan empire, which under the king Kaniṣka I (2nd cent. CE; on this date see Falk 2007, who argues that the first year of Kaniṣka I's reign, which began a new era in Indian chronology, was 127 CE) ruled northern India, Bactria, and the Tarim Basin. The Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin schools belong to the Śrāvakayāna 'vehicle of the (first) disciples' branch of Buddhism, which emphasizes monastic life. Tocharian texts also show the influence of Mahāyāna 'great vehicle' thinking. The Buddhist vocabulary of the two Tocharian languages often differs and from this fact we can infer that the languages were already distinct in the 2nd century CE. Examples of these differences include Skt. *karma* 'karma' = TA *lyalypu* lit. 'remainder', TB *yāmor*; Skt. *satya-* 'true' = TA *kārme*, TB *empreṃ*; Skt. *duḥkha-* 'suffering' = TA *klop*, TB *lakle*; Skt. *puṇya-* 'religious service' = TA *pñi*, TB *yarpo*; Skt. *dharma-* 'dharma, law' = TA *märkampal*, TB *pelaikne*; Skt. *daśabala-* 'with ten strengths' (epithet of the Buddha) = TA *ska-tampeyum*, TB *ska-maiyya*; Skt. *dhyāna-*, *samādhi-* 'meditation' = TA *plyaskeṃ*, TB *ompalskoññe*.

[41] For a literary history of Tocharian and the place of Tocharian in the larger context of Buddhist literature see Pinault 2016.

[42] For this see Pinault 2008b. The bilingual text is the Hymn to Father Mani in Tocharian B and Old Uyghur.

[43] See Malzahn 2007. It was previously thought that Tocharian A was only a written liturgical language.

[44] See Ching 2019.

[45] See Ogihara 2014.

What script was used to write the Tocharian documents?

All documents, except the Manichaean one, are written in the *brāhmī* script of Northern Turkestan. The earliest Tocharian texts are written in a script based on what is called Turkestan Brāhmī IV, used for contemporary Sanskrit texts in the region. A chart of the basic characters is given on the following page as Table 1.

The principles of the script are identical to those of the familiar Devanāgarī script. Each sign or *akṣara* has an inherent vowel *a*, the value of which is overridden if a different vowel sign is adjoined. Consonant clusters are indicated by ligatures of two *akṣaras*. The signs for voiceless aspirates, voiced stops, voiced aspirates, *v*, the retroflex series, and *ṛ̥* (in its Sanskrit value) are not used in the native lexicon.

New signs have been invented for Tocharian. These are: 1) two consonantal segments without Sanskrit parallel, *wa* and *tsa*; and 2) the so-called *Fremdvokal* sign and the *Fremdvokal* CV series. This is the name for a vowel in Tocharian A and B transcribed *ä* with no Sanskrit correspondent.[46] A new V sign was created for this vowel. CV *akṣaras* were invented with *ä* as the inherent vowel for *kä*, *pä*, *śä*, *tsä*, *sä*, *ṣä*, *nä*, and *mä*, and the unemployed signs for Sanskrit *ṛ̥*, *ḷ̥*, and *dha* were assigned the values *rä*, *lä*, and *tä*.

But a scribe could also indicate the presence of the *Fremdvokal* by using one of the normal *Ca* signs with the addition of two dots above the *akṣara*, rather like a German umlaut. For *cä*, *ñä*, *yä*, and *wä* this was the only possibility. In a strict transliteration of a Tocharian manuscript the special signs for *Cä* are rendered with an *a* vowel and an underline, i.e. *Ca* (i.e. *ka*, *ta*, *pa*, *ra*, *la*, *sa*, *tsa*, *ṣa*, *na*, *ma* = *kä*, *pä*, *tä*, *rä*, *lä*, *sä*, *tsä*, *ṣä*, *nä*, *mä*), but both the special signs and the dotted signs are normally rendered as *Cä* in transcriptions.

The *Cä* signs with the addition of a *virāma*[47] are normally used to indicate a final C. The underlying dental nasal /n/ is indicated by a dot above an *akṣara* like the Sanskrit *anusvāra* in word final position and before *t*, *ts*, and *n*, e.g.

keṃ 'earth', *keṃne* or *kenne* 'in the earth'
ākeṃ 'they lead', *aken-ne* 'they lead him'
3rd pl. mid. *-ntär* or *-ṃtär*
gen. pl. *-ṃts* or *-nts*

The *anusvara* ~ *n* alternation is usually interpreted as purely graphic in imitation of Sanskrit practice, though it must be admitted that the distribution of Skt. *anusvāra* according to the classical rules does not match that of TB *anusvāra*.

An unstressed high vowel *i*, *u*, or *ä* [ɨ] in an open syllable sometimes seems to

[46] See further below, p. xxvii. *Fremdvokal* means 'foreign vowel' in German. The terminology *Fremd-* was introduced by Sieg and Siegling (1908:918), who spoke of "eine Reihe von fremden Zeichen" ("a series of foreign signs"), i.e. signs not found in the orthography of Sanskrit.

[47] Sanskrit for 'cessation', the name given to a character modifying an *akṣara* in Brāhmī to denote that the inherent vowel is not to be pronounced. In the Tocharian script the *virāma* is either a small oblique stroke placed to the left of an *akṣara* joining it to the preceding *akṣara* or a curved stroke placed above the *akṣara*.

Table 1. Basic vowel and consonant signs in the Tocharian Brāhmī script. Signs transcribed in italics are only used in unnaturalized Sanskrit words. (Adapted from Malzahn 2007:227–8; images used by permission of the publisher.)

have been reduced. In these cases the scribes wrote a consonant cluster ligature made up of the CV sign of the first syllable plus the CV of the second syllable to which the signs for the vowels of both syllables were attached. For example, TB /kusé/ 'which' was apparently pronounced as [k^{w}se], which is transcribed as $k_{u}se$ with a subscript $_{u}$ representing the reduced vowel. In most Tocharological works this type of ligature is transcribed with an additional downward arc, e.g. $k\underset{\smile}{u}se$ = our $k_{u}se$.

Phonology of Tocharian B

Consonants

Tocharian B has the following consonants.

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
stop	p	t		c[48]	k
affricate		ts			
fricative		s	ṣ	ś	
nasal	m	n		ñ	[ṅ]
lateral		l		ly	
rhotic[49]		r			
glides	w			y	

The conventional renderings of these in the classroom are as the corresponding Sanskrit phonemes. *ts* is pronounced like PDE[50] *ts* in *tsetse fly*; *ly* [ʎ] is like in English *medallion* or traditional Castilian Spanish *lleno*;[51] *w* is pronounced like PDE [w].

Tocharian B has contrastive gemination for all consonants except *ly*, though they are often represented as singleton in writing. It's not always clear whether this single spelling represents a true degemination or an underspelling. Some examples of words with geminates are:

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
stop	*appakke*[a]	*rittetär*[b]		*orocce*[c]	*appakke*[a]
affricate		*orotstse*[d]			
fricative		*-ssi*[e]	*-ṣṣe*[f]	*śeśśamu*[g]	
nasal	*ammakki*[h]	*pänn-*[i]		*-(ä)ññe*[j]	
lateral		*kallam*[k]		——	
rhotic		*parra*[l]			
glides[52]	*tatākauwa*[m]			*paiyye*[n]	

a) 'dad'. b) 'is fitting'. c) 'great', obl. sg. m. d) 'great', nom. sg. m. e) Assimilated form of infinitive suffix *-tsi*. f) Suffix forming genitival adjectives. g) Assimilated form of *śceścamu* 'having placed'. h) 'mama'. i) 'stretch'. j) Suffix forming verbal abstracts. k) 'obtains', 3s pres. of *kälpa-*. l) 'outside'. m) 'be', fem. pl. pret. ptc. n) 'foot'.

Tocharian consonants underwent palatalization before front vowels and glides

[48] It is unclear whether this was really a palatal stop or an affricate [ʧ]. In any case, it is typically rendered in the classroom as [ʧ].

[49] A rhotic is a cover term for *r*-like sounds which can be produced by a number of distinct articulatory gestures.

[50] PDE = Present-day English.

[51] The phoneme [ʎ] could also be written *ll*.

[52] The examples for the glides are uncertain because they are normally considered to be diphthongs followed by a glide.

(with some fine conditioning). Subsequent changes in the language have obscured the original phonetic conditioning of the palatalization and therefore the palatalized consonants are contrastive. This process leads to the following consonantal alternations:

In a nonpalatalizing environment:	t	k	s	n	l	w	tk	tt	sk	st	ṅk	nt
In an originally palatalizing environment:	c	ś	ṣ	ñ	ly	y	cc	cc	ṣṣ	śc[53]	ñc	ñc

Examples:

trite 'third' nom. sg. ~ nom. pl. *trici*
ākeṃ 'they lead' ~ *āśäṃ* '(s)he leads'
lyak 'thief' nom. sg. ~ nom. pl. *lyśi*
naksentär 'they blame' ~ *nākṣtär* '(s)he blames'
kauṃ 'day' nom. sg. ~ nom. pl. *kauñi*
kokale 'chariot' nom. sg. ~ nom. pl. *kokalyi*
wastär 'will wear' 3s subj. vs. *yäskeṃtär* 'they wear' 3p pres.
kātkau 'I rejoice' ~ *kāccäṃ* '(s)he rejoices'
kertte 'sword' nom. sg. ~ nom. pl. *kercci*
wināskeṃ 'they honor' ~ *wināṣṣi* 'would honor' 3s opt.
stamāre 'they stood' ~ *śceścamu* 'having placed' caus. pret. ptc. ~ *śeśśamu*
eṅkastär 'seizes' ~ *eñcitär* 'would seize' 3s opt.
lānt 'king' obl. sg. ~ *lāñc* nom. pl.

In addition there are what may be called secondary palatalized consonants *(py-, tsy-, ky-, my-)*, which occur only in a limited morphological category, the preterites of class II. See Lesson 5.

Vowels

The graphic inventory of Tocharian vowels is as follows:

Monophthongs	*ä, a, ā, e, o, i, ī, u, ū*
Diphthongs	*ai au*
	āy $ā_u$
	ey e_u ~ *ew*
	oy o_u ~ *ow*

ai and *au* are written with unitary signs. In archaic texts they are often spelled *aiy* and *auw*, and in all stages of the language *ai* is normally spelled *aiy* before *y*, e.g. *paiyye* 'foot.' For *ai* and *au*, some interchange with *o* and *e* is found, suggesting that the diphthongs may have been in the process of monophthongizing. Over the course

[53] *śc* often assimilates to *śś*.

of attested Tocharian B, absolute final *-ai* became *-ey*.[54] Hence we find *trey* for *trai* 'three', *cey* for *cai* 'those' nom. pl. m. and *ṣey* for *ṣai* '(s)he was'.

Tautosyllabic *āy* and $ā_u$ occur only in word-final position, e.g. *āy* 'bone', *tallā*$_u$ 'poor'.

In archaic texts tautosyllabic PTB[55] **ew* is generally preserved as e_u. In the classical variant it has merged with *au*. Underlying /éwə/ surfaces as e_u in all varieties of Tocharian B, while in archaic texts, underlying final /-ówə/ surfaces as -o_u varying with *au*. Elsewhere it merges with *au*.

ī and *ū* are typically spelling variants of *i* and *u* in stressed syllables. For example *pīle* /pile/ 'wound' ~ pl. *pilenta* /pilénta/ 'wounds'. Tocharian scribes are not consistent in using *ī* and *ū*.

This leaves us with *ä*, *a*, *ā*, *e*, *o*, *i*, and *u*. The distinction between *a* and *ā* was probably not one of length, since it would be the unique instantiation of contrastive length in the language, but instead one of height.[56] Cf. Skt. *a* [ə] vs. *ā* [aː], which combines a height and length distinction.

ä, the *Fremdvokal*, is subject to syncope,[57] is the anaptyctic vowel,[58] and assimilates to *u* or *i* in rounded or palatal environments. This vowel was probably realized in unstressed position as [ɨ] and as [ə] in stressed position.

The synchronic[59] segmental inventory of vowels is:

Transcriptionally	Phonetically
i ä u	i ɨ u
e a o	e ə o
ā	a

In Classical Tocharian B *ä* and *a*, on the one hand, and *a* and *ā*, on the other, are in an alternation governed by the position of the stress. These rules are not yet in place in the archaic texts. In general, disyllabic words have initial stress and tri- and more syllabic words have stress on the second syllable from the left edge of the word, so-called peninitial stress. In tonic position *ä* becomes *a* and in atonic position *ā* become *a*. The underlying form[60] of the vowel that alternates between stressed *a*

[54] In archaic texts we find only *-ai*, in classical texts both *-ai* and *-ey*, and in late colloquial texts only *-ey*.

[55] Proto–Tocharian B. An asterisk before a form or segment means that the item is not attested but reconstructed by the application of the principles of historical linguistics. The prefix *proto-* refers to a reconstructed prehistoric state of a language.

[56] But note that length is contrastive only for low vowels in Vietnamese.

[57] *Syncope* is the name linguists give to the deletion of a vowel in the middle of a word. Syncope usually affects vowels that are less prominent, typically vowels in unstressed syllables. For example, PDE *camera* or *chocolate* are pronounced either as trisyllabic [ˈkæmərə] and [ˈtʃɔkələt] or, especially in less carefully articulated pronunciations, as disyllabic [ˈkæmrə] and [ˈtʃɔklət]. These latter forms have undergone syncope.

[58] An anaptyctic vowel is one that is introduced between the consonants of a consonant cluster, as in pronunciations of *athlete* [ˈæθlijt] as [ˈæθəlijt]. The process is called *anaptyxis*.

[59] *Synchronic* means "characteristic of a system considered at a specific time with no regard to its history" and is contrasted with *diachronic* which means "historical".

[60] An underlying form is an abstract representation posited by a linguist from which a surface form is

and unstressed *ä* is usually written as /ə/ (schwa). The underlying form of the vowel that alternates between stressed *ā* and unstressed *a* is written in this book as /a/, though others use /ā/. These alternations lead to the following graphic/phonological correspondences:

ā is always /á/
ä is always /ə/
a can be /a/ or /ə́/

We can see these alternations in action in the following forms:

PT[61] Underlying	Stressed	Unstressed
/yəkwe-/	*yákwe* 'horse'	*yäkwéṣṣe* 'equine'
/pake-/	*pāke* 'part'	*pakénta* 'parts'

This is a synchronically active rule of Tocharian B affecting even Sanskrit loanwords. In an unstressed open syllable /ə/ is syncopated.

PT Underlying	Stressed	Unstressed
/cəmel-/	*cámel* 'birth'	*cméla* 'births'

It should be noted, however, that there are some verbal categories which do not follow the synchronic phonological rule but must be assigned a fixed stress by a morphological rule. In particular, fixed initial stress is associated with causative meaning and the productive causative stem formants (present/subjunctive IXb and preterite II), but other paradigms also have items with exceptional fixed initial stress.

The vowels *i* and *u* pattern like underlying sequences of /əy/ and /əw/. For example, where a root of the shape *CərCa-* shows alternation between *CārCa-* and *CärCa-*, a root with an internal *i* or *u* will show alternation between *CaiCa-/CauCa-* and *CiCa-/CuCa-*.

tärka-: *tārkaṃ* '(s)he will release' ~ *tarkaṃ** 'they will release'
sruka-: *sraukaṃ* '(s)he will die' ~ *srukaṃ** 'they will die'

These alternations can be considered two different instantiations of alternation between /a/ and /ə/, i.e.

/t-a-rka-/ ~ /t-ə-rka-/
/sr-a-wka-/ ~ /sr-ə-wka-/

There are various places in Tocharian morphology where the patterning of *i* and *u* roots with *ä* roots will come into play and it will some times be convenient to refer to these as *ə* or *ä* roots.

derived by the application of phonological rules or ranked constraints. Underlying forms simplify the description of alternations in a language. Underlying forms are often but not always identical to earlier reconstructable surface forms. An underlying representation is enclosed between slashes.

[61] Proto-Tocharian.

Order of alphabetization in Tocharian

Tocharian is alphabetized in most works according to the principles of Sanskrit, which have been modified to account for the additional Tocharian-specific *akṣaras*. The order is:

a ā ä ǐ ŭ e ai o au k ṅ c ñ t n/ṃ p m y r l ly v w ś ṣ s h ts

A Note on the Transcriptions

The editorial practice of CEToM distinguishes between transliteration and transcription. Transliteration is meant to represent the characters of the surviving manuscript as closely as possible. At this level broken signs are restored with square brackets. For example, the beginning of THT 496 a 1 is represented as [*lt*]*s*[*e*] *pi* [*k*]*a la* in transliteration. A transcription is an interpreted rendering of the manuscript information. At this level, broken signs are simply restored with no bracketing, but items that are filled out because of the editor's linguistic interpretation of the text are enclosed within parentheses. So the same sequence at THT 496 a 1 is rendered in transcription as *(ya-)ltse pikala* 'a thousand years'. Note that the brackets are omitted but the syllable *ya* that presumably was the last character of the preceding page is put in parentheses because the editor (Hannes A. Fellner) has restored the word *yaltse* 'thousand' on the basis of his linguistic interpretation of the text, not on the basis of any character traces. In general in this book I will be citing transcriptions, not transliterations, and thus enclosing restored material in parentheses, following the practice of CEToM.

As is customary, I will also be using parentheses when citing forms in isolation to indicate vacillation in spelling in our sources. Thus e.g. *-(ä)ññe* in the citation of the suffix of the verbal abstract indicates that sometimes it is written *-äññe* and sometimes just *-ññe* in the manuscripts.

Lesson 1

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) the structure of the verbal system; (2) the personal endings; (3) active versus passive personal endings; (4) present class III, subjunctive class V, and preterite class I; (5) the verb 'to be'
The noun: nouns of classes V.1, V.2, and V.3
The adjective: the masculine forms of adjectives of class V.1

The Verb

The structure of the verbal system

The Tocharian B verb has the following distinctive stems:

a present stem, from which are derived the present and imperfect
a subjunctive stem, from which are derived the subjunctive and optative
a preterite stem
a preterite participle stem
an imperative stem

There are also nominal forms: an infinitive in *-tsi* derived from the subjunctive stem, a present participle in /-mane/, and two gerundives in *-lle* or *-lye*, one derived from the present stem (gerundive I of necessity) and one from the subjunctive stem (gerundive II of possibility). The gerundive II is the usual basis for a verbal abstract in *-(ä)ñne*.[1]

	present stem	subjunctive stem
primary endings	present	subjunctive
imperfect-optative endings	imperfect	optative
infinitive morpheme *-tsi*		infinitive
gerundive morpheme *-lle/-lye*	gerundive I	gerundive II
present participle *-mane*	present ptc.	

There are eleven classes of present stems and nine classes of subjunctive stems.[2] There are seven classes of preterite stems and six classes of imperatives.

[1] Simplified to *-ñe* after a consonant and by analogy in some cases.
[2] There are no class VII or VIII subjunctives in Tocharian B.

Verbal roots can be divided into those that end in final *-a* (I call these *sāṭ* roots after Skt. *seṭ*) and those that don't (*anaṭ* roots, after Skt. *aniṭ*).[3] We will start learning the Tocharian B verb with the roots in final *-a*, because they are more regular.[4]

The personal endings

Tocharian distinguishes between (1) primary, (2) imperfect-optative, (3) secondary, and (4) imperatival personal endings. Tocharian has also inherited two sets of personal endings called the active and the middle, a morphosyntactic contrast we will return to below. The primary endings are those of the present and subjunctive. The imperfect-optative endings are identical to the primary endings in the plural and middle, but distinct in the active singular. The secondary endings are used for the preterite. The imperative endings are used for the imperative and will be introduced in a future lesson. There are also dual personal endings, which we will leave out of consideration for now, because they are quite rare.[5]

	Primary				Secondary	
	Active		Middle		Active	Middle
	athematic[6]	thematic	athematic	thematic		
1s	*-u, -m*	*-e$_u$/-au*	*-mar*	*-emar*	*-wa*	*-mai*
2s	*-t(ä)*[a]	*'-t(ä)*[a, b]	*-tar*	*'-tar*[b]	*-sta*	*-tai*
3s	*-ṃ*	*'-äṃ*[b, c]	*-tär*	*'-tär*[b]	*-a/-sa*	*-te*
1p	*-m(ä)*[a]	*-em(ä)*[a]	*-mtär*	*-em(t)tär*	*-m(ä)*[a]	*-m(t)te*
2p	*-cer*	*'-cer*[b]	*-tär*	*'-tär*[b]	*-s(ä)*[a]	*-(a)t*
3p	*-ṃ*	*-eṃ*	*-ntär*	*-entär*	*-are, -är(ä)*[a, d]	*-nte*

Notes to the table

a) The *ä* in parentheses indicates a vowel that existed in an earlier stage of Tocharian and is often realized, chiefly in verse, as the "movable" *-o*.[7] It normally does

[3]Terminology jocularly coined by Warren Cowgill (Don Ringe, p.c.). In modern grammatical terminology, inspired by the ancient Indian grammarians, roots in Sanskrit are divided into those which insert an *i* after a full-grade root when followed by a consonant-initial suffix (e.g. *av-i-tár-* 'helper' beside *áv-as-* 'help' and *ū-tí-* 'help') and those that do not insert an *i* (e.g. *vak-tár-* 'speaker' beside *vác-as-* 'speech' and *uc-yáte* 'resounds'). The former are called *seṭ* 'with *i*' roots and the latter are called *aniṭ* 'without *i*' roots in traditional Sanskrit grammar. This *i* is the regular reflex of one of three Proto-Indo-European consonants called laryngeals. In theory, the Tocharian *a* also reflects an interconsonantal laryngeal, but it should be noted that the Tocharian verbal system has undergone much restructuring and it is not the case that the *sāṭ* ~ *anaṭ* contrast is directly superimposable on the Sanskrit *seṭ* ~ *aniṭ* contrast. It is also not the case that the presence of a root-final /a/ is in itself good evidence for the reconstruction of a root-final laryngeal.

[4]Most roots lose their *sāṭ* character in the causative. Malzahn (2010) indicates this by putting the stem-final *a* (-$^{\hat{a}}$ in her notation) in parentheses.

[5]See p. 120 for discussion of the dual verbal forms.

[6]On the terms athematic and thematic, see further below.

[7]In archaic texts the final vowel is sometimes written with the Fremdvokal, e.g. *yamästä* 'you do' in THT 295 b 6.

not surface in prose texts but counts as a syllable for the purposes of assigning stress. For example,

aksasto 'you proclaim' for *aksast** /aksə́stə/
pälwāmo 'we lament' for *pälwām* /pəlwə́mə/

b) The apostrophe before the ending indicates that the stem-final consonant appears as a palatalized consonant before this ending. For example,

verbal root *ak-* 'lead' → pres. II, 3s act. *āśäṃ* '(s)he leads'
verbal root *aik-* 'know' → pres. II, 2s mid. *aiśtar* 'you know' and 3s mid. *aiśtär* '(s)he knows'.

c) This vowel is /'ə/, which surfaces in the 3s active but is syncopated elsewhere in an open syllable. This underlying vowel /'ə/ is the reason the stem-final consonant is palatalized in the 2s, 3s, and 2p active and the 2s, 3s, and 3p middle primary thematic endings.
d) The endings *-are* and *-är(ä)* are typically realized under the accent as *-āre* and *-ar*.

Thematic endings are those found in paradigms continuing old Indo-European thematic stems.[8] These endings are characterized by an underlying vowel intervening between the root and the personal marker. In the 2s, 3s, and 2p active and middle this vowel is /'ə/, which surfaces in the 3s active but is syncopated elsewhere in an open syllable. In the 1s, 1p, and 3p active and middle the thematic vowel is /e/. In the 1s the combination /-e-u/ normally gives *-au*, but *-e_u* is found in archaic manuscripts.

Note how in the thematic present forms in the table below the alternation between palatalization of the stem-final consonant in the 3s vs. no palatalization in the 3p corresponds to the presence of a following *e* or *o* vowel in the cognate Greek forms:

	Greek *ag-* 'lead'	TB *ak-* 'lead'
3s	*ἄγει ágei*	*āśäṃ* < **ak'ən*
3p	*ἄγουσι ágousi*	*ākeṃ*

The imperfect-optative endings are identical to the primary endings, active and middle, except in the 1s where the ending is *-m* and the 3s where the ending is -∅,[9] e.g. the imperfect of 'be' 1s *ṣaim* (*ṣeym*), 2s *ṣait* (*ṣet*), 3s *ṣai* (*ṣey*), or 3s act. ipf. *tärkanoy*

[8] In Proto-Indo-European some verbs formed present or aorist stems by suffixing a vocalic formant before the personal endings which alternated between **e* and **o*. The **e* variant occurred in the 2s, 3s, and 2p, and the **o* variant occurred in the 1s, 1p, and 3p. This alternating vowel is called the thematic vowel and stems formed in this way are called thematic stems. All other ways of forming tense-aspect stems are called athematic. The personal endings taken by thematic stems are largely the same as those taken by athematic stems, with the notable exception of the 1s act. which is **-o-h_2* in thematic stems vs. **-mi* in athematic stems. In some thematic stems the thematic vowel is the only marker of the stem-formation. In other thematic stems such as those formed with the suffixes **-sk̑e/o-* or **-i̯e/o-* the thematic vowel was appended to other consonantal material.

[9] But note that the 1st sg. ending *-m* is found uniquely in the present/subjunctive I of *i-* 'go', i.e. *yam*. See p. 34. The symbol ∅ means that there is no overt expression of a morpheme.

/tərkə́na-i-∅/ 'was letting go', where *oy* is from stem-final *-a-* plus *-i-*, the ipf.-opt. marker vs. 3s act. pres. *tärkanaṃ* /tərkə́na-n/ 'lets go'.

Active vs. middle personal endings

Like most older Indo-European languages, Tocharian B (and Tocharian A as well) has two sets of personal endings, called active and middle, which express the category of voice. A given verb may take (1) exclusively active endings (a so-called *activum tantum*), (2) exclusively middle endings (a so-called *medium tantum*), (3) active endings in some tenses and middle endings in others. For example:

nes- 'to be' and its suppletive[10] subjunctive and preterite stem *taka-* always takes active ending: 3s pres. *nesäṃ*, 3s subj. *tākaṃ*, 3s pret. *tāka*

wäs- 'to wear clothes' always takes middle endings: pres. 3p *yäskentär*, 3s subj. *wastär*, 3s pret. *wässāte*

sruka- 'to die' takes middle endings in the present but active endings in the subjunctive and preterite: 3s pres. *sruketär*, 3s subj. *sraukaṃ*, 3s pret. *sruka*

Finally, (4) some verbs may take both active and middle endings with different meanings and valencies[11] associated with the different sets of endings. In general, contrastive middle endings in Tocharian B are associated with two different meanings:[12]

(a) Verb forms with middle endings may be used in passive constructions, e.g.

(1) *tane orottsa kwasalñeṣṣa weśeññа klyauṣāte*
then great.nom.s.f. mournful voice was.heard.mid.3s
Then a great mournful voice was heard. (THT 85 b 5)[13]

(b) For some verbs the middle forms may be anticausative[14] intransitives. Contrast, for example, the active of *näk-* which means 'destroys'

[10]Two morphemes belonging to the same paradigm show *suppletion* if they cannot be related by phonological rules. So-called strong suppletion occurs when the morphemes in question are entirely different, as in the case here of TB *nes-* ~ *taka-* or PDE *go* ~ *went*. Weak suppletion occurs when the morphemes in question show some similarity but not enough to be related by phonological rules. The case of PDE *buy* ~ *bought* would be an instance of weak suppletion, as would Lat. *premō* 'I press' ~ *pressus*. The two stems of the Tocharian B adjective 'good', *krent-* ~ *kärts-*, on which see p. 93, can be considered weakly suppletive.

[11]Valency may be defined as the number of arguments, or entities required for the meaning of a predicate to be complete, that a verb takes. A verb like PDE *burn* may be either monovalent (*the house burns*) or bivalent (*they burn the house*). See also n. 14 on anticausatives below.

[12]There are probably also oppositional middles that are associated other kinds of non-canonical subjects, i.e. subjects that are not agents, but it is hard to find clear-cut examples of this type, since the subtle nuances may often escape us.

[13]Example sentences from Tocharian B texts are cited by their collection numbers. See the list of abbreviations for details.

[14]Some verbs—generally, those describing motion or change of state or degree—describe events that can be conceived of either as happening spontaneously or as caused by an external agent. When the event

(2) *mäkte tne lāñe nakṣäṃ sarmana… mant tne yarkepeti nakṣäṃ*
as here flood destroys.3s seeds so here flattery destroys.3s
śilaṣṣana sarmana
of.moral.behavior seeds
As the flood destroys the seeds, so flattery destroys the seeds of moral behavior. (THT 33 b 7)

with the middle which means 'perishes, disappears':

(3) *śakātaṣṣa sā$_u$ sälyye mäkte (war)ne nakṣtär ṣe-prentse mant*
of.the.stick the mark as water.loc. disappear.3s instantly so
śāmnaṃts śaul nakṣtär
men.gen. life perish.3s
As the mark of a stick in water disappears (in) a single instant, so the life of men perishes. (THT 3 b 6–7)

Present class III, subjunctive class V, and preterite class I: The verbal pattern III,V,I

The most common pattern for intransitive verbs whose roots end in *-a* is: present III, subjunctive V, preterite I. For example, /sruka-/ 'die':[15]

	pres. III	subj. V	pret. I
1s	*sruke-mar**	*srauka-u*	*srukā-wa*
2s	*sruke-tar**	*srauka-t**	*srukā-sta**
3s	*sruke-tär*	*srauka-ṃ*	*sruka*
1p	*sruke-mtär**	*sruka-m**	*srukā-m(o)*
2p	*sruke-tär**	*sruka-cer**	*srukā-s(o)*
3p	*sruke-ntär*	*sruka-ṃ**	*srukā-re*

Present III is characterized by a consistent stem-vowel *-e-* that substitutes for the root-final *-a*. All present III paradigms take middle endings only (i.e they are so-called *media tantum*). Frequently, but not exceptionlessly, the middle-only presents combine with active forms in the subjunctive and preterite.

is conceived of as occurring spontaneously the subject is the patient. When there is an external agent as subject the patient is realized as the object. Examples from English would be: *Fiona broke the window ~ The window broke*; *Ailbe rolled the ball ~ The ball rolled*. These pairs illustrate the anticausative alternation.

[15] I have mainly presented complete paradigms for pedagogical purposes, but it is often the case that a particular cell of a particular verb or noun is not attested. In these cases I have given the expected form *followed* by an asterisk. This asterisk means that the particular paradigmatic form is not attested in the surviving documents but is inferable with a high degree of confidence. But the student should not get the impression that Tocharian B is largely reconstructed. Well-attested verbs give us confidence in the generality of the patterns. To give a parallel, no one doubts that the 2p present of Lat. *metō* 'I harvest' was *metitis*, though it is never attested in Classical Latin. Nevertheless, in the interest of scholarly accuracy, I have thought it best to let the student know which forms are actually attested and which are inferred. I take my information from Malzahn 2010 and Peyrot 2013a.

The root vocalism of present III may be any vowel but *a*, *ai*, or *au*. Roots with internal *a* form present IV, which will be introduced in Lesson 2. The most frequent vocalisms are *ä*, *i*, and *u*, but a few verbs have *e*. All verbs of class III do not undergo palatalization of the stem-final consonant before the imperfect suffix *-i-*. Most verbs which form a present III are intransitive and many indicate an entry into a state, but there are a few transitive verbs too, e.g. *lu(w)a-* 'send' and *märsa-* 'forget'.

The subjunctive V is formed by adding the primary endings to *sāṭ* roots. Subjunctive V has a number of subtypes. The main dividing line is between (1) roots with a full vowel (*a*, *e*, *ai*, *au*) and (2) roots with an *i*, *u*, or *ä*.[16]

(1) If the root has full vowel then this vowel is maintained without change throughout the subjunctive paradigm and, with few exceptions, the subjunctive has fixed initial accent. For example, the subjunctive V from the root *taka-* 'be' (introduced just below) has a 1s *tākau* and a 1p *tākam*. The form *tākam* shows that the accent is fixed on the first syllable because the first plural ending is underlyingly /-mə/ and normally this ending attracts the accent onto the penult.

(2) Roots with *i*, *u* or *ä* are more varied. These may adopt the persisent *a*-vocalism and fixed accent of type (1), but they more often show ablaut[17] between *a* in the active singular and *i*, *u*, or *ä* elsewhere. Most of these show fixed initial accent, but some do not. In the specific case of *sruka-* we have ablaut between *srauka-* in the active singular and *sruka-* elsewhere and the accent is fixed on the initial syllable, as we can see in the trisyllabic 2p *srukacer* /srə́wka-/. This pattern is frequent in subjunctive V, but is actually rare for subjunctive V forms with corresponding present III (only *sruka-* 'die', *märsa-* 'forget', *luwa-* 'send', and *tsäṅka-* 'arise'). Normally the subjunctive V to present III shows no ablaut. If *ä* is retained throughout the subjunctive paradigm, the accent is usually regular, e.g. 1p act. *mäṅkāmo*, 3s mid. *mäṅkātär* to *mäṅka-* 'lack', 3s mid. *wikātär* 'disappear' to *wika-*.

Preterite I is the go-to preterite for *sāṭ* roots and is the most common type of preterite in the language. It is formed by adding the preterite endings to the verbal root. Preterite I is accented by the regular rule since the first and second plural ending have an underlying final /-ə/, which sometimes surfaces in verse as the "movable *o*" (in German "bewegliches *o*"). There are a number of subtypes of Preterite I but we will only mention four of them here.[18]

(1) The type illustrated by *sruka-* has a root with a persistent *ä*, *i*, or *u* (*ä* roots) with no palatalization of the root-initial consonant, e.g *kärya-* 'buy', 1p act. *käryām*, 3s mid. *käryāte*.

(2) A second type of preterite I has a root with persistent *ä* but shows palatalization of the root-initial consonant in the active but not in the middle, for example, *käta-* 'strew', 3s act. *śata*, but 3s mid. *ktāte*, or *kärsa-* 'know', 3s act. *śarsa*, 3s mid. *kärsāte*.

[16] Recall that as explained in the Introduction, p. xxviii, *i* and *u* are realizations of underlying /əw/ and /əy/. We can therefore say that non-full-vowel roots are underlying schwa roots.

[17] Ablaut is a traditional term used in Indo-European linguistics to describe morphologically governed vowel alternations. We see traces of this system in PDE irregular, so-called strong, verbs like *sing*, *sang*, *sung*, where the root vowel alternates and is determined by the morphological category.

[18] For the *klyauṣa* type see p. 71, and for the suppletive preterite of the verb *käly-* built to the root *stäma-* see p. 74.

(3) Next there are preterite I forms with palatalization of the root-initial consonant in both the active and the middle, e.g. *nätka-* 'hold off', 3s act. *ñätka* (archaic for *ñatka*) 2s mid. *ñätkatai* (archaic for *ñätkātai*).

(4) Finally there are preterite I forms with non-ablauting *a*, *au* or *ai* throughout, e.g. *karpa-* 'descend', 3s *kārpa*; *rutka-* 'remove', 3s *rautka*; *lika-* 'wash', 3s mid. *laikāte*.

The verb 'to be'

The verb 'to be', as one would expect, has some irregularities. The present is derived from a stem *nes-*, but there is also a special copular form. The forms of *nes-* are athematic except for the 1s where thematic *nesau* has replaced expected athematic **nesu*. The preterite and subjunctive are from the stem *taka-*. Note again that the subjunctive has consistent initial accent. In fact, subjunctive V forms with root-internal *a* almost always have persistent initial accent. The accent of the preterite is regular. One further oddity about this verb is that the infinitive is derived from the present stem *nes-*, i.e. *nes(t)si*, not from the subjunctive stem.

pres. I (& II)	subj. V	pt. I
nesau (II)	*tākau*	*takāwa*
nest (I)	*tākat*	*takāsta*
nesäṃ (I)	*tākaṃ*	*tāka*
nesem (II)	*tākam*	*takām**
nescer (I)[19]	*tākacer*	*takās*
nesäṃ (I)	*tākaṃ*	*takāre*

Special copular forms:

3s *ste*, but *star-* before clitic pronouns
3p *skente*, *stare*

The form *stare* is only found in Late Tocharian B texts and is an analogical replacement of earlier *skente*.

The contrast between *nes-* and the copular forms, which only occur in the third person, is similar to that between the substantive verb and copular in Old Irish.[20] For example,

(4) *nesäṃ tne ytārye... saṃsārmeṃ.*
is.3s here road.nom. rebirth.abl.
There is here (only one) way out of the cycle (of rebirth) (*saṃsāra*). (THT 30 a 5)

Cf. made-up Old Irish: *At-tá sund oenśét di aithgin.*

[19] *neścer* is also attested.
[20] Or, of course, the difference between *estar* and *ser* in Spanish, to cite something more familiar.

(5) *āyor* *saimä* *ste*
giving.nom. protection.nom. cop.3s
Giving is a protection. (THT 23 b 2)

Cf. made-up Old Irish: *Is anacht dánaigiud.*

Here are brief definitions of the meanings of the tenses and moods:

The present is used for describing situations happening at the present time or statements that always hold true.

The subjunctive is used in main clauses to express the future and in subordinate clauses for some degree of uncertainty of the speaker.

The preterite is a simple past. It may also have a present perfect reading.

The imperfect is used for iterative and durative events in the past.

The optative is used to express the wish of the speaker, and for contrary-to-fact situations.

Nominals[21]

The categories of nominals

The Tocharian B nominal is inflected for number (singular, plural, and dual) and case. Tocharian B nouns have three genders: masculine, feminine, and alternating,[22] the last of which triggers masculine agreement in the singular and feminine agreement in the plural. Demonstrative pronouns have distinct neuter singular forms. Adjectives have masculine and feminine forms which are imposed by the gender of the noun they are modifying.

Number

Tocharian B has the familiar categories of singular and plural, and the slightly unusual dual.[23] The dual is a living category for Tocharian nominals, but it normally is combined with the number 'two' *wi*, the quantifier 'both' *antapi*, or the dual form of the demonstrative pronoun *tai*. Sometimes the dual is substituted for by the number *wi* 'two' plus the plural.[24]

[21] "Nominals" is used here as a cover term for nouns and adjectives.

[22] Often referred to by the Latin term *genus alternans*. Nouns belonging to this gender are called *alternantia*.

[23] Unusual, that is, from the point of view of Standard Average European languages. Proto-Indo-European and many old Indo-European languages had a dual.

[24] Some older works recognize a distinct plurative number, but there does not seem to have been any such category. See the discussion on p. 115.

Gender

The alternating nouns continue old Indo-European neuters. The fate of Latin neuter nouns in Romanian is similar, also resulting in an alternating gender which takes masculine agreement in the singular and feminine agreement in the plural.[25]

Another parallel to the development of Romance is seen in the retention of a distinct neuter form for singular demonstrative pronouns. These forms (nom.-obl. *te*, etc.) are used as substantives often referring to a sentence, e.g. *te keklyauṣormeṃ* 'having heard this'. Compare Spanish, which retains distinct neuter forms, e.g. *Aquello era cómico* 'That was hilarious' or *¿Que es eso?* 'What is that?'

The case system

Tocharian has a well-developed case system that is somewhat unusual from the point of view of other old and medieval Indo-European languages. The Tocharian B cases are divided into the primary cases (the nominative, the oblique [also called accusative], and the genitive) and the secondary cases, which are built to the oblique by the addition of (originally) postpositional morphemes.[26]

The secondary cases are the ablative, allative, perlative, locative, comitative, and causal, the last only found for a few nouns. They are formed by the addition of postposition-like morphemes to the oblique that are identical for singular and plural: for example, *yakwe-mpa* 'with (the) horse' built to the obl. sg. *yakwe* 'horse' and *yakweṃ-mpa* 'with (the) horses' built to the obl. pl. *yakweṃ* 'horses'. The secondary case forms are:

Ablative	*-meṃ*
Allative	*-ś(cä)*
Perlative	*-sa*
Locative	*-ne*
Comitative	*-mpa*
Causal[27]	*-ñ(ä)*

A useful mnemonic is *sa-meṃ ścä-mpa-ne* to be pronounced *Salmon Champagne.*

Most secondary cases do not affect the position of the accent. The exceptions are the causal, which was probably originally a primary *n*-stem genitive singular, and the ablative. The causal apparently always triggers an accent shift. So we find *lakle*

[25] Rom. *un scaun* 'chair' but *două scaune* 'two chairs' < Lat. *scamnum* n. In Standard Italian the analog of the genus alternans is limited to a class of about 30 nouns that trigger masculine agreement in the singular and feminine agreement in the plural, e.g. *il braccio* 'the arm', pl. *le braccia* 'the arms'. Unlike Italian, but like Romanian, when two or more singular alternantia are conjoined, the agreeing adjective or pronoun is feminine plural in Tocharian B. See Tomba 2020:35–8.

[26] At least in the clear cases. The origin of some secondary case endings is debated. The primary cases continue more or less the Indo-European nominative, accusative [= oblique], and genitive.

[27] The causal is only found with a few nouns expressing emotion e.g., *läkleñ* 'from sorrow', *entseño* 'from envy' with the final vowel realized as movable *o*.

'sorrow' but caus. *läkleñ* /ləkléñə/. The ablative also regularly triggers accent shift (*läklemeṃ*). Rare cases of the type *laklemeṃ* are analogical to the non-accent-shifting behavior of the other secondary case endings.[28]

Meaning of the cases

We will discuss the finer points of case usage later on with examples. At this point we'll just give a very basic description of the case functions.

The primary cases (nominative, oblique, genitive) function much like the nominative, accusative, and genitive of other Indo-European languages. They express the arguments of a verb, although the oblique and genitive also have non-argument functions.

The nominative is used for subjects and predicate nominatives.

The oblique is used for direct objects, extent of time and space (*kante ikäṃ pikwala* 'for 120 years'), but also for time when (*cau preke* 'at that time'). The oblique is also used for the goal of verbs of motion.[29]

The genitive is used for the possessive, subjective and objective genitives, partitive genitive, and, surprisingly from the point of view of most other Indo-European languages, for the indirect object with most verbs. But remember Tocharian has no dative case.[30]

The ablative is for motion away from a source and can be used for the standard of comparison in negative comparisons. When added to a verbal noun it means 'after X-ing' or 'after having X-ed', e.g. *yāmor-meṃ* 'after having done' from *yāmor* 'doing' the verbal noun, from *yam-* 'to do'.

The allative normally expresses the direction of literal or figurative motion without attainment of the goal. It is also common for the person spoken to and, added to the infinitive, it expresses purpose.

The perlative basically expresses location or motion above, the standard of comparison, time during which (*piś kṣuṃtsa* 'during the fifth year' lit. 'during year five'), instrument, cause, or agent with finite verbs.

The locative expresses location where (literally or figuratively) and can be used as an alternative to the perlative in comparisons. The locative plural is used to express the set from which a superlative is picked out.[31] It can also be used for the goal of motion and for time when.

The comitative is for accompaniment.

[28] See Pinault 2006a:251–6 for a demonstration.

[29] In competition with the locative and allative.

[30] Compare Old Persian, where the functions of the lost dative have been taken over by the genitive. Similarly in Modern Greek the indirect object functions of the old dative have been attributed to the genitive in the standard language.

[31] But there is no morphological expression of the comparative or superlative degree. The positive is used. There is, however, a distinct lexical item for 'best', *śpālmeṃ*.

The causal is found only with a very few nouns and only from the singular or with a plurale tantum.[32] It expresses the mental state that is the reason for an event, e.g. *trememñ* 'out of anger'.

Noun class V.1

The first class of nouns we will learn are the *e*-stems called V.1 according to the classification system of Krause and Thomas 1960.[33] These nouns are cognate with *o*-stems elsewhere in Indo-European and are numerous. They are predominantly masculine (but n.b. *yente* 'wind' f.!, and *yakwe* 'horse' is epicene, i.e. can refer to either a stallion, in which case it is masculine, or a mare, in which case it is feminine). The stem class is characterized by a stem-final vowel *-e-* in the singular and oblique plural and by the substitution of the ending *-i* in the nominative plural.

There are two main subtypes of this class. Those nouns referring to human beings (defined as men, fairies, and demons, but not god or gods) with *masculine* gender have an accusative singular in *-ṃ*. We will call this the *eṅkwe* ('man') type. This marker *-ṃ* is not limited to this declension type but is found for most types of masculine nouns referring to human beings and also for some adjective types when modifying masculine human beings.

All other nouns of class V.1 do not distinguish the nominative and oblique singular. We will call this the *yakwe* ('horse') type.

The nominative plural suffix *-i* normally does not cause palatalization, e.g. *yakwi* 'horses'.[34]

Here is a complete paradigm for the *eṅkwe* 'man' type with *-ṃ* in the oblique singular:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*eṅkwe*	*eṅkwi**
obl.	*eṅkweṃ*	*eṅkweṃ*
gen.	*eṅkwentse*	*eṅkweṃts**
abl.	*eṅkweṃmeṃ**	*eṅkweṃmeṃ**
all.	*eṅkweṃś(c)**	*eṅkweṃś(c)**
perl.	*eṅkwentsa**	*eṅkwentsa**
loc.	*eṅkweṃne*	*eṅkweṃne**
com.	*eṅkweṃmpa*	*eṅkweṃmpa**

[32] *Duale tantum* and *plurale tantum* are traditional grammatical terms describing nouns that only (Lat. *tantum* adv. 'only') occur in the dual or plural, respectively.

[33] Krause and Thomas 1960 refers to the as-yet unreplaced reference grammar, reader, and glossary of Tocharian A and B, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, published in two volumes by Wolfgang Krause and Werner Thomas.

[34] There are some disputed or irregular cases where we do see palatalization before *-i*, e.g. *kertte* 'sword', pl. *kercci*, but it is interesting that this noun is feminine in the plural.

A few details:

The singular and plural oblique and the secondary cases built from the obliques are identical in this class.

The allative ending is often reduced from *-śc* to just *-ś*. The final *-ṃ* of the oblique is often retained in spelling before the secondary suffixes, but it is sometimes written as *n*.

The *-t-* which appears in the perlative after the oblique marker *-n/ṃ* and before the *-sa* is epenthetic.[35]

Here is the paradigm for *yakwe*, which does not have any added marker in the oblique singular:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*yakwe*	*yakwi*
obl.	*yakwe*	*yakweṃ*
gen.	*yäkwentse**	*yakweṃts*
abl.	*yäkwemeṃ**	*yäkweṃmeṃ**
all.	*yakweś(c)*	*yakweṃś(c)**
perl.	*yakwesa**	*yakwentsa**
loc.	*yakwene*	*yakweṃne**
com.	*yakwempa*	*yakweṃmpa**

Noun classes V.2 and V.3

There are two other subtypes of class V. These two subtypes also have an ending *-i* in the nominative plural, but unlike class V.1 they don't have a stem vowel *-e-* in all the other case forms. Class V.2 has a final *-e* in the nominative singular but loses this vowel in the other cases. For example, here is the partial paradigm for the word *meñe* m. 'month':[36]

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*meñe*	*meñi*
obl.	*meñ*	*meñäṃ*
gen.	*meñantse*	*meñaṃts**

Class V.3 has no *-e* in any form. The ending *-i* in the nominative plural causes palatalization of the stem-final consonant. Here is the word *lyak* 'thief':

[35] "Epenthetic" refers to a sound inserted between two segments by a phonological rule. It is not part of the underlying representation.

[36] I won't normally be giving all the secondary case forms for noun paradigms from here on since they are largely predictable from the oblique.

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*lyak*	*lyśi*
obl.	*lykaṃ*	*lykaṃ*
gen.	*lykantse*	*lykaṃts*

This type partly continues Proto-Indo-European *u*-stem nouns.

Adjective class I.1

We will begin our study of the Tocharian B adjective with class I.1. The masculine forms of class I adjectives are very similar to those of class V.1 nouns. One of the most productive adjective formants in Tocharian B is *-ṣṣe*, which will be used to exemplify this class. This suffix forms genitival[37] adjectives from the oblique stem of nominal bases, e.g. *yakwe* 'horse' → *yäkwe-ṣṣe* 'equine' (note the accent shift). The adjective in *-ṣṣe* is formed from the oblique of any number (*cmelṣe* 'pertaining to birth' ← *camel* sg. 'birth', *cmelaṣṣe* 'pertaining to births' ← *cmela* pl. 'births')[38] but the *-ṃ* marking the oblique for masculine human beings is omitted before the suffix. The only forms different from the V.1 masculine nouns are the genitive singular *-pi* and the vocative *-u*.

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*-ṣṣe*	*-ṣṣi*
obl.	*-ṣṣe*	*-ṣṣeṃ*
gen.	*-ṣṣepi*	*-ṣṣeṃts*
voc.	*-ṣṣu*	

The adjective in *-ṣṣe* often alternates with possessive genitives, though it may have a more general meaning. It cannot be used to substitute for objective or subjective genitives with verbal nouns.

Case agreement with adjectives

When modifying a noun in the nominative or oblique, adjectives will agree in case, number, and gender. When the noun is in one of the secondary case forms the adjective is in the oblique with no case suffix. For example,

(6) *kokaleṣṣe* *(men)āksa*
of.the.chariot.obl. simile.perl.
through the simile of the chariot (THT 5 a 7)

[37] "Genitival" means 'with the function of a genitive'. Usually genitival adjectives can be paraphrased as 'characteristic of X'.

[38] Students, what is the underlying representation of *camel* and why does the vowel disappear in the derived forms?

where the adjective *kokaleṣṣe* in the oblique singular masculine modifies the perlative form *menāksa*. But if the noun is in the genitive the adjective may either be in the genitive or in the oblique. For example,

(7) *pelaikneṣṣepi*... *cakkarntse*
dharma.gen. wheel.gen.
of the dharmic wheel (BuS *dharma-cakra-*)[39] (THT 30 b 7)

where both noun and adjective are in the genitive, or

(8) *añmalāṣkeṃ* *käṣṣintse*
compassionate.obl. teacher.gen.
of the compassionate teacher (THT 295 a 9)

Note that adjectives with the suffix *-ṣke* have a distinct masculine human accusative with *-ṃ*. Hence *añmalāṣkeṃ*.[40] This is found for several other adjective formants (*-re*, *-śke*, *-i*, *-o*, and a few other forms) but not for adjectives in *-ṣṣe*. Thus 'of the dharmic teacher' would be *pelaikneṣṣe käṣṣintse* or, according to the first alternative of complete agreement, *pelaikneṣṣepi käṣṣintse*.

Syntax

Here are some very basic facts about syntax that will be helpful for you when translating and composing sentences for the exercises.

Tocharian B is what linguists call a "pro-drop" language, which means that a subject pronoun is not obligatory when there is a finite verb that otherwise lacks a subject. Thus *sruketär* could mean 'he dies', 'she dies', or 'it dies'. It is in this regard like Latin, Spanish, and Ancient Greek and unlike English, French, and German. For example,

(9) *ikäṃ-pikwalañe* *nesau*
twenty-years.old.nom.s am
I am twenty years old. (THT 330 b 5)

The most frequent word order for declarative sentences is Subject–Object–Verb.

[39]I use the term Buddhist Sanskrit to refer to words characteristic of the Sanskrit of Buddhism. The Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin schools used Sanskrit for their literature which diverged in some points from the classical norm. I avoid the term Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit which refers specifically to the language of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin school codified in Franklin Edgerton's dictionary of 1953. The various kinds of Buḍḍhist Sanskrit shared certain commonalities due to their common origin in the Sanskritization of a Buddhist Middle Indic lingua franca.

[40]The manuscript (THT 295) in Archaic Tocharian B actually reads *añmalāskai*. The expected classical form is *añmālaskeṃ*. *-ai* for *-eṃ* is a relatively easy graphic confusion.

(10) *ṣamāni* *makci* *naumīyenta* *pareṃ*
monks.nom. self.nom. jewels.acc. wear.3p
The monks themselves are wearing jewels. (THT 337 a 1)

Dependent genitives and adjectives generally precede the nouns they modify.

(11) *tañ* *śaulantse* *ākeś*
you.gen. life.gen.s end.all.
up to the end of your life (THT 520 a 4)

(12) *wrotsai* *wertsyaine*
great.obl.f. retinue.loc.f.
in the great retinue (THT 12 b 4)[41]

Vocabulary[42]

Nouns

V.1 *eṅkwe* type

eṅkwe m. 'man' (as opposed to woman)[43] < *$\underset{\circ}{n}\hat{k}\underset{\smile}{u}$o- 'mortal', cf. Lat. *nex* 'death', OIr. *éc* 'death' < *$\underset{\circ}{n}\hat{k}$u-
etre m. 'hero'
onolme m. 'living being' including 'human being, person', cf. Lat. *animus* 'mind', Ved. *ániti* 'breathes'
wārṣe m. 'thief, robber'
śerwe m. 'hunter'
ṣamāne[44] m. 'monk' ←[45] Middle Indic, cf. Gāndhārī[46] *ṣamana* < Skt. *śramaṇa-*

V.1 *yakwe* type

āntse m. 'shoulder' < *h_1ōmso-, cf. Lat. *umerus*, Gk. *ὦμος ômos*
kene m. 'tune', cf. Lat. *canere* 'to sing'
keme m. 'tooth', cf. Gk. *γόμφος gómphos* 'peg'

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[41] Nouns in the secondary cases are modified by adjectives in the oblique.

[42] I've added some of the most secure etymological comparanda to help learners with Indo-European interests acquire the vocabulary. People without those interests should feel free to ignore this information.

[43] For example, *päknāträ e(ṅ)keṃ klaiṃ wat no ekalmi yāmtsi* 'but (if) one intends to make subject a man (*eṅkweṃ*) or a woman (*klaiṃ*)' (Filliozat 1948, M 1 b 7) The word has undergone a specialization from 'mortal' to 'male person'.

[44] This word is thought to have passed through some Tungusic language to ultimately reach English as *shaman*.

[45] The arrow indicates either (1) that the word has been borrowed from the source to the right of the arrow or (2) that the word is derived from another word in Tocharian B.

[46] Gāndhārī is the name for the form of Middle Indic which originated in the northwest Indian subcontinental region of Gandhāra, the present-day Peshawar Valley, and which became a lingua franca of Central Asian Buddhism. For more see p. 209.

ñakte m. 'god, lord'. N.b. that this belongs to the *yakwe* type because gods are not considered human beings; but *ñakte* can be used to address a human social superior such as a king. Cp. *pañäkte* below.
nāge m. 'nāga, snake-(divinity)'; not just a regular snake but a snake-god with magical powers ← Skt. *nāga-*
pañäkte m. 'Buddha-god', the standard prose form; note the accent on the first syllable, underlying /pə́ñəkte/. A formal variant *pūdñäkte* exists (see Lesson 6).
prere m. 'arrow'
yakwe m. or f. 'horse', cf. Lat. *equus*
walkwe m. 'wolf', cf. Ved. *vṛ́ka-*[47]
ṣale m. 'mountain'

V.2 *meñe* m. 'month', obl. sg. *meñ*, nom. pl. *meñi*, cf. Gk. *μήν mḗn* 'month'

V.3 *kauṃ* m. 'day, sun', nom. pl. *kauñi*, obl. pl. *kaunäṃ*
lyak m. 'thief', nom. pl. *lyśi*, obl. pl. *lykaṃ* (note accent on final syllable, underlying /lyəkə́nə/)

Verbs

Verbs are given in their underlying stem form but I have omitted the slashes and written /ə/ with *ä* to stay closer to the graphic representation. **Note that this practice differs from other standard works** which typically cite roots having underlying /a/ with *ā*.[48] For example, the root 'to do, make' is cited here as *yam-* but in other works you will see it as *yām-*.

I/II,suppl.V,suppl.I
nes- 'be', 1s *nesau* (II), 3s *nesäṃ* (I), 1p *nesem* (II), 3p *nesäṃ*; special copular forms 3s *ste*, *star-* before clitic pronouns, 3p *skente*; the infinitive, *nestsi*, is exceptionally from the present stem *nes-*; the subj. and pret. are from *taka-*, subj. V non-ablauting with fixed accent 3s *tākaṃ*; pret. I 2s *tāka*, pret. ptc. *tatākau*

III,V,I Subjunctives with fixed initial accent
tuka- 'hide, seek refuge in'; present III has palatalization of root-initial consonant, 1s *cukemar*, subj. V 1s *taukau* (non-singular forms not attested), pret. I *tuka** inferred from pret. ptc. *tukau*;[49] probably metathesized from **keu̯dʰ-* or **gʰeu̯dʰ-*, cf. Gk. *κεύθω keúthō* 'I hide'

[47] Actually only attested once in the nominative plural *walkwi* as the name of something frightening. It occurs in a list of terrifying figures in Māra's host when he attacks the Buddha. Parallel texts list wolves among Māra's host and so it is very likely that it is the reflex of the PIE word for 'wolf'.

[48] Peyrot (2013:720–847), in his appendix on verb patterns, gives a consistent phonological representation of Tocharian verb stems.

[49] For the paradigms of the preterite participle see pp. 59–60.

trika- 'be confused', pres. III 3s *triketär*, subj. V *tríka-*, pret. I 3s *trika*, pret. ptc. *trikau*, obl. *trikoṣ*
nuwa- 'roar', pres. III 3s *ñewetär*, subj. V 3s act. *núwaṃ*, pret. I 3s mid. *nawātär**, cf. Ved. *náuti* 'bellows'
märsa- 'forget', pres. III 3s *märsetär*, ablauting subj. V 3s act. *mārsaṃ** ~ *mársa-*, pret. I 3s *marsa*, pret. ptc. *märsau*, obl. *märsoṣ*, cf. Ved. *mŕ̥ṣyate* 'doesn't heed'

III,V,I Subjunctives with regular accent
krämpa- 'be disturbed, hindered', pres. III 3s *krämpetär**, subj. V *krämpā-*, pret. I 2s *krämpāsta*, pret. ptc. *krämpau**, obl. *krämpoṣ*
triwa- 'be mixed with', pres. III 3s *triwetär*, subj. V also mid. 3s *triwātär*, pret. I 3s *triwa**, pret. ptc. *triwau**, obl. *triwoṣ*
pläṅka- 'be for sale', pres. III 3s *pläṅketär*, subj. V inf. *pläṅkātsi*, pret. I 3s *plaṅka*
wika- 'disappear', pres. III 3s *wiketär*, subj. V also mid. 3s *wikātär*, pret. I 3s *wīka*, pret. ptc. *wikau**, obl. *wikoṣ*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ām 'quietly'
ette 'down'
tumeṃ 'then, therefore'
tusa 'because of that, therefore'
ṣpä, ṣäp 'and' (conjoins phrases and clauses and must be in second position, i.e. preceded by a stressed word in its clause or phrase)

Sentences

The student should refer back to the syntax section for some basic hints for translation and composition. The comments in small type provide some additional and essential help for the exercises.

Tocharian B to English

1. *yakwe sruketär.*
2. *walkwi ṣalene ñewentär.*
3. *onolmi ñakteṃ märsāre.*
4. *saṅkantse yakwi warṣentse ostne pläṅkāntär.*

   saṅkantse gen. sg. of *sāṅk* 'saṅgha, community';[50] *ost* 'house'

[50]The saṅgha (Skt. *saṃgha-*, TB *sāṅk*) is the name for the Buddhist monastic community. Individual monks could own very little personal property.

5. *yäkweññi kemi walkwentse āntsempa triwāntär.*[51]

   yäkweññi nom. pl. m. of *yäkweññe* 'equine'

6–10 are a little narrative.

6. *kauṃ ñäktemts ṣlemeṃ*[52] *wika.*
7. *tsirauññetstse śerwe krampa.*

   tsirauññetstse 'brave'

8. *wälkwentse kene warttone klyauṣa.*

   wartto 'forest'; *klyauṣa* 'heard' 3s pret.

9. *stāmne tuka walkwe ṣpä ette lyāka.*

   stām 'tree'; *lyāka* 3s pret. 'saw'

10. *ām wäntaly pännāte, prere ṣäp karṣṣa. tumeṃ walkwe sruka. tusa tsirauññetstse śerwe plānta!*

    wäntaly(ä) 'bow' (as in bow and arrow); *pännāte* pret. I of *pänn-* 'stretch'; *karṣṣa* pret. I *klyauṣa* type[53] of *kärsk-* 'shoot'; *plānta* pret. I of 'rejoice'

11. *onolmi pañäkte märsāre. tusa nāge ypoymeṃ wika.*

    yapoy 'land'

English to Tocharian B

1. The horses died.
2. I sought refuge at the feet of the god.

   use *paine* the dual of *paiyye* 'foot'

3. Quietly you disappeared from the quinquennial festival gathering.

   use *pañcwarṣik* ← Skt. *pañcavarṣika-*, the festival-gathering of the Buddhist order every five years (*pañca* 'five' + *varṣa-* 'year', lit. 'rain[y-season]')

4. The human beings will be mixed with the gods.
5. Y'all[54] forgot to do good for another.

   yāmtsi 'to do'; *kartse* 'the good'; *allek* ~ *alyek* 'another'; use genitive; *alyek* declines like a *-ṣṣe* adj. in the genitive, adding *-epi*[55]

6. I am a brave teacher. You were my hero.

   käṣṣī 'teacher'; note it is an exceptional oxytone[56] word; 'my' *ñi*, placed after the noun

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[51] The imagined context of this sentence is the mixing of a magical medical preparation.

[52] *ṣlemeṃ* from *ṣale* with accent shift, as is normal in the ablative, and syncope of an unaccented Fremdvokal in an open syllable.

[53] See p. 71 for the *klyauṣa* type.

[54] I justify my pedagogical use of *y'all*, which is not native to my New Jersey American English, as a distinct second person plural by my six years of residence in North Carolina and by the growing frequency of its use among non-Southern young people throughout North America.

[55] See p. 104 for the paradigm of *allek*.

[56] *Oxytone* means with accent fixed on the final syllable.

Lesson 2

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) the infinitive and the present participle; (2) how to form present classes IV and VI; (3) the verb 'to do'
The noun: feminine nouns of class VI.2
The adjective: the feminine forms of adjectives in *-ṣṣe*
The pronoun: personal pronouns of the first- and second-persons singular
Syntax: the subordinating conjunction *mäkte*

The Verb

The infinitive

Tocharian B has only one infinitive, which is formed from the subjunctive stem. The morpheme of the infinitive is *-tsi*, which is sometimes assimilated to *-ssi* and even simplified to *-si* in Late Tocharian B. For example,

(1) *se ṣalype päścane sanāpa-tsi*
this ointment chest.du.[1] rub-inf.
This ointment is to anoint the chest. (W 34 a 5)

where *sanāpa-tsi* is derived from the subj. V stem *sanāpa-* which contrasts with the present *sonop-* (pres. I).

The infinitive can be affixed with the allative, perlative, and locative secondary case-endings and even the genitive. For example,

(2) *eśane klautsane ṣeycer=me kartstse yolo lkā-tsi klyauṣ-tsi-sa*[2]
eye.du. ear.du. were.2p=us good evil see-inf. hear-inf.-perl.
You were eyes and ears to us through which to see and hear good and evil. (THT 108 a 6)[3]

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[1]The dual *päścane* is the direct object of the infinitive.

[2]The manuscript, which is a late eastern text, has the assimilated form *klyaussisa.* The perlative suffix only needs to appear on the final member of the conjoined infinitives. This is an example of so-called *Gruppenflexion*, on which see pp. 161–2.

[3]The manuscript has the late simplified form *klausane.*

The present participle

The present participle[4] is made with the formant /-mane/ added to the present stem of all stem-classes, e.g. pres. III *sruke-* 'die' makes *srukemane* 'dying'. In the case of thematic present stems, the non-palatalizing *e*-variant of the stem vowel is the base to which the suffix *-mane* is added, e.g. *aśä-* ~ *ake-* 'lead' makes *akemane* 'leading' or 'being led'. Although the form is cognate with the middle participle of other Indo-European languages, it is not normally middle or passive semantically,[5] though it tends to be formed from verbs with non-active presents. The participle can be attributive to a noun, e.g.

(3) *nesamane* *ṣamāneṃ*
be.pres.ptc. monk.obl.s
a monk who is present (THT 1543 fr. g-b)

but more often the participle represents an action that is contemporaneous with the action of the main clause and can best be translated with a subordinate clause of some sort, e.g.

(4) *auloñ* *cpī* *sätkentär=ne* *lyitkwanma* *srukemane*
vessels his spread.out=for.him tubes(?) dying
His vessels and tubes (?) dilate for him, as he is dying. (THT 139 a 3)[6]

(5) *rane* *keriyemane* *waiyke* *mā* *weṣṣälle*
even laugh.pres.ptc. lie not to.be.said
One should not speak a lie even when one is joking. (THT 333 a 10)

Present class IV

Present class IV forms a group with present III. It is also formed to *sāṭ* roots. Class IV presents show the same middle-only inflection, and, like present III, combine with subjunctive V and preterite I. They also do not undergo palatalization of the stem-final consonant before the imperfect suffix *-i-*. But the root vowel in present IV

[4]To call this form a "participle" is probably not quite justified since it is mainly used as an indeclinable converb. A converb is a non-finite verb form that expresses adverbial subordination. The few examples of inflected forms of the *-mane* participle are calques on Sanskrit. But I have kept the traditional terminology for the sake of scholarly continuity. See Peyrot 2017.

[5]The *-mane* participle of *ak-* 'lead' is used passively at THT 3 b 6: *kautsy akemane wnolme* 'a being led to be killed'.

[6]The archaic manuscript reads *lyitkwänmā srukemāne*. In Archaic Tocharian B the underlying vowel /*a*/ could be spelled with *ā* or *a* in both accented and unaccented syllables. The archaic form *-māne* spells /-mane/ with an unaccented /a/. The *-mane* form is a reflex of the middle participle suffix, PIE **-mh₁nos*, cf. Gk. *-μενος -menos*. In Classical Tocharian B the spelling *ā* was retained only for the accented form of the underlying vowel /a/. See pp. xxviii and 208.

is always underlying /a/, /au/, or /ai/, which are precisely the root vowels never found in present III. Thus the two present classes are in complementary distribution.[7]

A strange phonological change has affected the present class IV. When the root vowel /a/ is combined with the stem vowel /e/ (as we may infer from the present III, e.g. *sruketär* 'dies'), both the root vowel and the stem vowel surface as *o*. For example,

/planta/ + /etər/ → *plontotär* 'rejoices'.

Contrast the infinitive derived from the subjunctive stem: *plānta-tsi* 'to rejoice'. Here is the present paradigm of a present IV:

1s	*plontomar*	1p	*plontomtär**
2s	*plontotar**	2p	*plontotär**
3s	*plontotär*	3p	*plontontär*

Unlike present III forms, however, the present IV verbs always have subjunctive V forms with fixed initial accent, which normally are active. The corresponding preterite I is also normally active.

Present class VI and the VI,V,I pattern

Present VI is formed by infixing *-n-* before the final *-a* of *sāṭ* roots. There are two variants of the formant, *-na-* and *-äna-*, but there is no airtight synchronic principle for their distribution, although *-äna-* tends to occur after roots with *a*, *ai*, or *au*. In some cases the stem-final consonant and the suffix-initial *n* undergo changes. For example, /kərst-n-a/ becomes *kars-na-ṃ* 'cuts off, destroys'; /təl-n-a/ becomes *tal-la-ṃ* 'carries'. Verbs forming this present class are transitive and, like present III and IV, form subjunctive V and preterite I.

	/-əna-/	/-na-/
1s	*tärkanau* 'release'	*katnau* 'strew'
2s	*tärkanat*	*kätnāt**
3s	*tärkanaṃ*	*katnaṃ*
1p	*tärkanam*	*kätnām**
2p	*tärkanacer*	*kätnācer**
3p	*tärkanaṃ*	*katnaṃ**[8]

The accent in this type is regular. Note that the 3s and 3p are identical.

[7] Complementary distribution means one linguistic entity (whether a segment or a morpheme or even a syntactic structure) occurs in a given environment and never occurs in all other environments where instead another entity occurs, which, in turn, never occurs in the environments where the first entity is found. In this way we can regard the two entities as different realizations of the same underlying structure. The linguist Daniel Dinnsen introduced the following analogy to explain complementary distribution: Superman and Clark Kent can never be in the same place because they are both the same person. They could be said to be in complementary distribution.

[8] A 3p *käntaṃ* is attested in an archaic manuscript.

Preterites I going with present VI tend to have root-initial palatalization in the active and no palatalization in the middle, e.g. 3s act. *carka* '(s)he released' vs. 3s mid. *tärkāte*.

The verb 'to do'

The verb *yam-* 'to do, make' is, naturally, quite common in Tocharian B. It forms a present IXa, a subjunctive I and II, and a preterite IV. We will learn the formation of these paradigms later. For now just memorize the forms. There are also middle forms. In addition to the regular forms, Tocharian B also has a set of reduced forms of present and preterite found in informal genres. These forms have irregularly lost the initial syllable.[9]

	pres. IXa	reduced	subj. I & II	pret. IV	reduced
1s	*yamaskau*	*maskau*	*yāmu* (I)	*yamaṣṣawa*[10]	*maṣṣawa*
2s	*yamast*	*mas*	*yāmt* (I)	*yamaṣ(ṣ)asta*	
3s	*yamaṣṣäṃ*	*maṣṣäṃ*	*yāmäṃ* (I)	*yamaṣṣa*	*maṣṣa*
1p	*yamaskem**	*maskem**	*yamem* (II)	*yamaṣṣam**	*maṣam*
2p	*yamaścer**	*maścer*		*yamaṣṣas**	
3p	*yamaskeṃ*	*maskeṃ**	*yāmeṃ* (II)	*yamaṣṣare**[11]	*maṣṣare*

Some preterite forms found in metrical texts show syncope of the second syllable and accent retraction:[12]

1s	*yāmṣawa*		
2s	*yāmṣasta*	2p	*yāmṣaso*
3s	*yāmṣa*	3p	*yāmṣar*

The Noun

Class VI.2

Nouns of class VI all have a nominative plural in *-ñ* and an oblique plural in *-ṃ*. Class VI.2—let's call this the *pyāpyo* 'flower' class—is made up of feminine nouns, with the exception of *okso* 'ox' m., which form their nominative plural in *-aiñ* and the oblique plural in *-aiṃ*. These nouns have the accent on the *-ai-* in the plural because the nominative and oblique plural endings are underlyingly /-ñə/ and /-nə/. The nominative singular ends in *-iye*, *-ye*, or *-o* (in some nouns both are attested). To

[9] For a comparable irregular reduction of a verb meaning 'to do, make' cf. Ved. *karóti* 'makes' which, after first appearing in the latest book of the Rig Veda (Book X), eventually completely replaces the inherited *kṛṇóti*. The key factor in both reductions was a less articulated pronunciation of the verbs in question when they were functioning as part of (quasi-)periphrastic constructions.

[10] *yamäṣṣäwa* is also attested.

[11] The attested form is the peculiar *yamaṣṣere*.

[12] But it is also possible that these forms retain the initial accent, which would not have been regularly advanced in the environment /áCə/.

form the oblique stem the nominative singular endings *-(i)ye* and *-o* are deleted and replaced with *-ai*. Here is the paradigm of *pyāpyo* 'flower':

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*pyāpyo*	*pyapyaiñ*
obl.	*pyāpyai*	*pyapyaiṃ*
gen.	*pyapyaintse**[13]	*pyapyaiṃts*
abl.	*pyapyaimeṃ*	*pyapyainmeṃ**
all.	*pyāpyaiśc*	*pyapyainśc**
perl.	*pyāpyaisa*	*pyapyaintsa*
loc.	*pyāpyaine**	*pyapyainne**
com.	*pyāpyaimpa**	*pyapyainmpa**

The formation of the genitive singular is with the suffix *-ntse* added to the oblique stem, e.g. *yokiye* 'thirst, desire', gen. sg. *yokaintse*. In this class the oblique in *-ai* is always disyllabic and *-ai-* appears in all case forms other than the nominative singular.[14]

The Adjective

The feminine of the I.1 *-ṣṣe* adjectives is:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*-ṣṣa*	*-ṣṣana*
obl.	*-ṣṣai*	*-ṣṣana*
gen.	*-ṣṣai*	*-ṣṣanaṃts*

The feminine oblique and the genitive singular are identical in this paradigm. It is the feminine nominative-oblique plural in *-ana* which is the defining characteristic of adjective class I.1. Other class I adjectives with nominative masculine plural in *-i* make the feminine nominative-oblique plural in *-ona*, as we shall see.

The Pronoun

The first- and second-person singular pronouns

	1st person	2nd person
nom.	*ñäś ~ ñiś*	*twe*
obl.	*ñäś ~ ñiś*	*ci*
gen.	*ñi*	*tañ*

[13]The genitive *pyapyantse* quoted by Krause and Thomas (1960:1.104), which occurs at W 32 b 2, is analogical. See Pinault 2008a:487.

[14]Nouns with oblique stems in *-ai-* with more than two syllables substitute *-a-* for *-ai-* in all cases other than the nominative and oblique singular. These belong to class VI.3, to be introduced in Lesson 4.

In the first person, the variants with *i* are found in later texts. In the second person, a form *tuwe* is attested in THT 128 b 6.

The personal pronouns can take secondary case endings, e.g. loc. *ñäśne*, com. *ñäśämpa*, perl. *cisa*, abl. *cimeṃ*, etc.

Syntax

The subordinating conjunction mäkte *'how, as, when, because'*

The subordinating conjunction *mäkte*[15] has a number of distinct but related uses. It can mean 'as' and introduce a comparative clause correlated with a second clause headed by *mant* 'so', e.g.

(6) *mäkte cake... mā klautkoträ, mant śaulanma mā... wtentse*
as river.nom.s. not returns.3s so lives.nom.p. not again
klautkonträ
return.3p
As the river does not return, so also lives do not return again. (THT 3 a 4)

Here it is the equivalent of Sanskrit *yathā... evam...* Closely related to this use is *mäkte* in the sense 'when', e.g.

(7) *mäkte lyāka varddhane... ceyna orocceṃ aṣanikaṃ*
when saw.3s Varddhane these.obl.p. great.obl.p. worthy.obl.p.
katkomñaisa arañce pluṣā=ne
joy.perl. heart.nom. flew.3s=him
When Varddhane saw these great worthies, his heart flew up with joy. (THT 375 b 4)

mäkte can also mean 'how' in either a direct or indirect question:

(8) *tumeṃ no stamäṣṣälñe mäkte yentets*
then but placement how winds.gen.
'How then [is] the placement of the winds?' (THT 41 b 5)

Vocabulary

Nouns

III.1[16] *mīṣe* m. 'field', pl. *miṣenta* ← Khot. *miṣṣa-*

[15] Note that the first syllable of *mäkte* is apparently not stressed. Contrast the emphatic pronoun *makte* '(him)self' to be introduced in Lesson 16.

[16] See Lesson 6 for this type.

V.1 *aikne* 'duty'
mañiye m. 'enslaved person, servant'[17] ← Old or Middle Iranian **māniya-* 'domestic', cf. OP *māniya* 'household servants and enslaved persons'

VI.2[18] *okso* m. 'ox', cf. Ved. *ukṣáṇ-*, OE *oxa*
kaumiye f. 'pool'
*poko** f. 'arm', cf. Gk. *πῆχυς pêkhus* 'forearm'
yokiye, yoko f. 'thirst, desire'
ymiye f. 'way', obl. *yamai*, cf. *i-* 'go'
säly(i)ye f. 'border, rule, line', obl. *salyai*

Adjectives

I.1 *saṅkaṣṣe* 'of the community, communal'

Verbs

III,V,I *tsälpa-* 'pass away, be released (from the cycle of rebirth)', pres. III 3s *tsälpetär*, subj. V 3s. mid. *tsälpātär*, pret. I 3s *tsālpa*, pret. ptc. *tsälpau, -oṣ*; causative 'redeem, free', pres. subj. IXb 3s *tsalpäṣṣäṃ*, pret. II 3s mid. *tsyālpate*, ipv. II 2s mid. *pätsilpar* or ipv. IV 2s mid. *tsalpäṣṣar*

IV,V,I[19]
artta- 'be pleased with; praise', pres. IV 3s *orttotär*, subj. V *ārtatär**, pret. I 3s *artātte* (both mid. only, an unusual feature!), pret. ptc. *ārttau*
asa- 'dry out', pres. IV 3s *osotär*, no subj. attested, pret. I 3p *asāre*, cf. Lat. *āreō* 'be dry'
karpa- 'descend', pres. IV 3s *korpotär*, subj. V 3s *kārpaṃ*, pret. I 3s *kārpa*, pret. ptc. *kakārpau*
klautka- 'turn; become', pres. IV 3s *klautkotär* (n.b. the diphthong does not show rounding), subj. V 3s *klautkaṃ*, pret. I 3s *klautka*, pret. ptc. *kaklautkau*
planta- 'rejoice', pres. IV 3s *plontotär*, subj. V 3s *plāntaṃ**, pret. I 3s *plānta*, pret. ptc. *paplāntau*
waka- 'split apart' itr., 'burst, bloom', pres. IV 3s *wokotär**, subj. V 3s *wākaṃ*, no pret. attested, pret. ptc. *wawākau**, cf. Gk. *(ϝ)ἄγνυμι (w)ágnūmi* 'break'

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[17]The oblique singular of *mañiye* has been restored as *māñ(ye)* (a poetic syncopated form for *mañiye*) by Pinault (2008:294) at SI P 1 a 1 in the Buddhastotra from the Petrovsky collection. There is no trace of a final anusvara (G.-J. Pinault, p.c.). If we trust this form, it could be that *mañiye* was treated as a non-human *yakwe*-type noun, just as OCS *rabŭ* 'servant' often takes the accusative *rabŭ* rather than the genitive-accusative *raba* typically used for nouns higher on the animacy hierarchy.

[18]Remember that in this class the nom. in *-o, -iye*, or *-ye* is replaced by *-ai* in the rest of the paradigm.

[19]Remember that subj. V forms associated with pres. IV always have fixed initial accent.

VI,V,I (These verbs generally have subjunctives with ablaut and fixed initial accent.)

käta- 'strew, sow (seed)', pres. VI 3s *katnaṃ* but also archaic *käntaṃ*, subj. V 3s *kātaṃ* ~ *käta-* (inf. *katatsi*), pret. I *śata** with palatalization but mid. *ktāte*

kärsa- 'know', pres. VI 3s *kärsanaṃ*, subj. V 3s *kārsaṃ* ~ *kärsa-* (3s mid. *karsatär*), pret. I *śarsa* but mid. *kärsāte*, pret. ptc. *kärsau*, *-oṣ*

tärka- 'let go; utter; desist', pres. VI 3s *tärkanaṃ*, subj. V *tarka-* (3s *tārkaṃ*) ~ *tärka-* (inf. *tarkatsi*), pret. I *carka* but mid. *tärkāte*, pret. ptc. *tärkau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. 2s *ptārka*, 2p *ptarkas*, cf. Hitt. *tarna-* 'release' < **TarKna-*

pläska- 'consider', pres. VI 3s *pälskanaṃ*, subj. V *plaska-* (3s *plāskaṃ*) ~ *pälska-* (inf. *palkatsi*), pret. I 3s *palska*, pret. ptc. *pälskau*

lika- 'wash', pres. VI *laikana-* (3s *laikanatär*), subj. V *laika-* (inf. *laikatsi*), pret. I 3s *laikāte*. Though it follows the VI,V,I pattern, this verb does not show ablaut but has a consistent stem *laika-* throughout with fixed accent in the subjunctive. The forms are middle only in all stems.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ente 'where, when'
ente ente 'whenever'
kā 'why?'
kwri 'if, since'
taiysu 'thus'
no 'but' (must be in second position)
manta or reinforced with the particle *-k mantak* 'never'
mäkte 'how, as, when, because'
snai 'without' plus oblique, cf. Lat. *sine* 'without'
hā 'o woe!' ← Middle Indic. Tocharian B doesn't have a native /h/.

Sentences

Tocharian B to English

1. *mañiyi orocce oksai saṅkaṣṣe miṣemeṃ ākeṃ.*

   orocce obl. of *orotstse* 'great'; *ākeṃ* 'drive' 3rd pl.

2. *añmaṣṣe okso yokai tsälpelñeṣṣai kaumaine kessa.*

   āñme 'self'; *tsälpelñe* 'release' i.e. from the cycle of rebirth;[20] *kessa* 3s pret. III of *käs-* 'extinguish, quench'

3. *yamai sälyaimeṃ ñäkciyai riśc kärsanau.*

   ñäkc(i)ye 'divine' adj. I.1; *ri* obl. of *riye* f. 'city'

[20] *tsälpelñe* a. III.1 is a verbal noun derived from the gerundive I of necessity (see pp. 28–30), which, in turn, is derived from the present stem. The meaning would seem to be 'compulsory, inevitable liberation'. There is another verbal noun, *tsälpälñe* a. III.1, occurring below in sentence 6, which is derived from the gerundive II of possibility (ibid.) built to the subjunctive stem. Derivation of verbal nouns in *-(äñ)ñe* from the gerundive II is the norm.

4. *taiysu pälskāre: $k_u$se ste kartse? mäkte te yamem?*

   $k_u$se 'who, what'; *kartse* 'good', here substantivized 'the good'; *te* 'it'

5. *krentaṃts onolmeṃts pyapyaiṃ mīṣene śtāsta.*

   krent suppletive stem of *kartse* 'good' adj.

6. *mantak no śaul arttāmai. krentaṃts onolmeṃts aikne tsälpālñe ritatsi ste.*

   śaul 'life'; *ritatsi* 'to seek'

7. *kā ci wesañ pokainemeṃ tarkam?*

   wesañ 'our'; *pokainemeṃ* 'arms' abl. du.

8. *hā! walkwe klautkau ente meñepälle$_u$ lukaṃ. $k_u$se pälśalñemeṃ tsalpäṣṣäṃ=ñ?*

   meñepälle$_u$ 'full moon'; *luka-* subj. V 'shine'; *$k_u$se* 'who'; *pälśalñe* 'torture'; *tsalpäṣṣäṃ* 'will release' 3s subj. of IXb caus. of *tsälpa-* 'be released'; *-ñ* 1st person clitic

9. *pyāpyo wokotär mīṣentse salyaine, snai war no osotär.*

   war 'water'

10. *ñakti korpontär tsalpästsi eṅkweṃ saṃsārmeṃ.*

    tsalpästsi see note to sentence 8; *saṃsār* 'cycle of rebirth, *saṃsāra*'

English to Tocharian B

1. The heroes disappeared quietly from the battle.

   'battle' *weta* f. VI.3, obl. is the same as the nominative

2. The brave men ran to the royal city quickly.

   adjectives in *-tstse* palatalize to *-cci* in the nominative plural; 'run' *mäka-* pret. I mid.; 'royal' *lantaññe*, declines like *-ṣṣe* adjectives; 'city' *riye* f., obl. *ri*; 'quickly' *ramer*

3. They found the great king.

   'find' *kälpa-* pret. I; 'great' *orotstse*, obl. sg. m. *orocce*; 'king' *walo*, gen. *lānte*, obl. *lānt*

4. They killed the evil man.

   'killed' *kawar* 3p pret. III of *kau-*; 'evil' *yolo*, obl. m. sg. *yolaiṃ*

5. They washed the blood from their arms.

   'blood' *yasar*; 'their' *ṣañ*; 'arms' use the dual *pokaine*

6. The people of the city rejoice.

   For 'city' see English-to-Tocharian sentence 2 above.

Lesson 3

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) the gerundive I and II; (2) present class VIII; (3) subjunctive class I; (4) preterite class III; (5) 'to come' and 'to go'
The noun: nouns of class VI.1
The adjective: adjectives in *-tstse*
The pronoun: clitic pronouns
Syntax: conjunctive coordinators

The Verb

The gerundives

Tocharian B has two modal verbal adjectives called gerundive I and gerundive II. They are both formed with the suffix *-lye/-lle*.

If the verbal base is thematic (present and subjunctive II, present VIII, present and subjunctive IX, present and subjunctive X), then the gerundive is derived from the variant with stem-final /-ə-/ before the suffix *-lye/lle*.[1] For example, the thematic present II from the root *ak-* 'drive' (3s *āśäṃ*, 3p *ākeṃ*) makes the gerundive *aśalle*.

Both gerundives can be used attributively and predicatively, but gerundive I is derived from the present stem and has the meaning of necessity in positive sentences and of prohibition in negative sentences.[2] Gerundive II is derived from the subjunctive stem and has the meaning of possibility.

The gerundive I is a passive verbal adjective. The agent, if expressed, is given by a noun phrase in the genitive. If the verb from which the gerundive I is derived is intransitive, the construction is impersonal. An example of an impersonal construction with a genitive agent would be

(1) *pontaṃts srukelye*
all.gen.p. die.gI
All must die, lit. It must be died by all. (THT 298 a 1)[3]

Note that *srukelye* is singular, not agreeing with the genitive plural *pontaṃts*.

[1]Recall p. 3 on thematic paradigms. The gerundive of present subjunctive XII, another thematic paradigm, is an exception. See p. 90.

[2]The gerundive I typically translates a Sanskrit gerundive in *-ya* or *-tavya*.

[3]Cf. Cicero's (*Tusc.* 1.9) *moriendum est enim omnibus* 'For all men must die', lit. 'it must be died by

(2) Gerundive I from *tärka-* (pres. VI *tärkäna-*)
śaul… tärkanalle krencepi ste śaumontse
life release.gI good.gen. is man.gen.
Life must be released by a good man.
Vita relinquenda est homini bono. (THT 133 a 6)[4]

(3) Gerundive I from *yam-* (pres. IX *yamäṣṣä-*)
$k_u$se wesäñ tanneṃ yamaṣṣälle
what us.gen. on.this.occasion do.gI
What is to be done by us on this occasion? (THT 81 a 4–5)[5]

(4) Gerundive I from *i-* (pres. I *yä-*) in a negated clause
mā yalle ste
not go.gI is
He (the monk) must not go, lit. It must not be gone (by the monk). (THT 331 b 4)

Gerundive II sometimes functions as a passive verbal adjective, e.g.

(5) Gerundive II from *tärka-* (subj. V) in attributive position
mā wär-tarkalye[6] *ikene (taṣalya)*
not water-release.gII place.loc. put.gI
The bowl should not be put in a place where water can be released.[7] (IOL[8] 7a 2)

But it can also be used actively especially in periphrastic constructions with the verb 'to be', as in the next example where the gerundive II of *ai-* 'give' combines with the copula to form a periphrastic future.

(6) *mā tañ kc= āyor aille nesau*
not you.gen.s. prtc.= gift[9] give.gII be.pres.1.s
I will not give you any gift! (THT 23 b 5 c)

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all'. The text of the wall inscription painted in ink actually reads, in a more popular level of Tocharian B, *pontas srukelle*. The line is part of a famous Tocharian B poem about death from Ming-Öy Qizil, THT 298. For text, commentary, and translation of this poem see Pinault 2008a:15–8.

[4]The archaic manuscript reads *tärkänälle*.

[5]The manuscript reads *yamaṣä[l]le*.

[6]The text cited actually has the archaic forms *ma* and *tärkalye*. The classical forms would be *mā* and *tarkalye* since the gerundive II is derived from the weak stem of the initially accented subjunctive V stem. A parallel version (PK NS 95 b 6) copied from an archaic original has retained *ma* but has updated *tärkalye* to expected classical *tarkalye*. There is some evidence that *mā* /ma/ had a byform *ma* /mə/.

[7]That is, a monk should not put his bowl down in a latrine. See Pinault 2000:9–10.

[8]IOL stands for India Office Library, the institution first created in 1798 housing the Tocharian documents collected by Aurel Stein (1862–1943) on his expeditions to the Tarim Basin. The collection is now housed in the British Museum.

[9]The particle *kca* has combined with the vowel-initial *āyor*.

Note that the periphrastic construction is active with a first-person subject and a direct object.

The gerundive II when combined with the imperfect of the verb 'to be' expresses a contrary-to-fact situation, e.g.

(7) Gerundive II from *tsära-* 'separate' (subj. V)
(ṣu)k pakenta tarne mā tsrälle ṣey
seven parts skull not separate.gII be.ipf.3s
The skull could not have been separated into seven parts. (THT 405 a 5)

The gerundive II is the normal base for the formation of gerundival abstracts formed by the addition of the suffix *-(äñ)ñe*:

spärka- subj. V 'disappear' → *spärkälle* 'having the potential to disappear' → *spärkälñe* 'disappearance'

(8) *śak wäntarwaṃts spärkälñe*
ten things.gen. disappearance
the disappearance of ten things (PK AS 7I a 1)

The gerundival abstract is sometimes concretized, e.g. *srukalñe* 'death' from *sruka-* 'to die', *yätalñe* 'majesty' from *yata-* 'be capable'. Gerundival abstracts from intransitive verbs take their complements in the genitive, but those from transitive verbs can take an oblique complement.

Present class VIII

The present class VIII is made predominantly from *anaṭ* roots and typically co-occurs with a subjunctive I or II and a preterite III. The marker of the present VIII is a suffix *-s-* followed by the alternating thematic stem vowel *-'ä/e-*. The *s* is palatalized to *ṣ* in the 2s, 3s, and 2p active and the 2s, 3s, and 2p middle before /'ə/. This /'ə/ is then regularly deleted in an open syllable in the 2s and 2p active and the 2s, 3s, and 2p middle. In the 2p active the sequence **ṣc* becomes *śc*.

The root normally shows internal *ä* in this present class, but there are notable exceptions. Active verbs of present VIII are transitive. Middle forms are normally intransitive. Here are the paradigms for *präk-* 'ask' and *pruka-* 'overlook'.

	active		middle	
1s	*preksau*		*pruksemar**	
2s	*prekṣt*[10]	< **prekṣətə*	*prukṣtar*	< **prukṣətar*
3s	*prekṣäṃ*		*prukṣtär*	< **prukṣətər*
1p	*preksem**		*pruksemtär**	
2p	*prekścer**	< **prekṣəcer*	*prukṣtär**	< **prukṣətər*
3p	*preksem*		*pruksentär*	

If the root is *anaṭ*, as is usually the case, the subjunctive is typically subjunctive class I.

There are, however, a number of verbs where a present VIII has a transitive meaning in the active forms and an intransitive meaning in the middle forms; for example, *tsaksau* 'I burn' tr. vs. *tsäksemar* 'I burn' itr. In these cases, the verb may be associated with two different subjunctives: (1) a subjunctive I for the transitive meanings and (2) a middle subjunctive III (identical in formation to the present III we learned in Lesson 1) for the intransitive meanings. For example, the active *tsaksau* is associated with the subjunctive I *tsak-tsi* 'to burn' tr. whereas the middle *tsäksemar* is associated with the subjunctive III *tske-tsi* 'to burn' itr.

Another interesting pattern is the cooccurrence of class VIII presents with transitive meaning beside intransitive class III or IV presents:

Present III	Present VIII
*krämpetär** 'be disturbed'	*kram(p)ṣäṃ* 'disturb'
triketär 'be confused, go astray'	*trikṣäṃ* 'lead astray'
pläṅketär 'be for sale'	*plaṅkṣäṃ* 'sell'
wiketär 'disappear'	*wikṣäṃ* 'avoid'

Subjunctive class I

Subjunctive class I with the root vowel *ä* shows ablaut between *e* in the active singular and *ä* elsewhere. Most have fixed accent on the first syllable.[11] Here is the subjunctive I of *präk-* 'ask':

	sg.	pl.
1	*preku*	*parkäm**
2	*prekt**	*parkcer**
3	*prekäṃ, prekäṃ=ne* (with 3s clitic pronoun)	*parkäṃ, parkän=me* (with 3p clitic pronoun)

[10] The eagle-eyed student will have noted the contrast between this second person singular form (*prekṣt*) and the second singular of the class IXa present of *yam-*, i.e. *yamast*. In class IX presents of both the causative and non-causative subclasses (and in the closely related class X) there is no palatalization before a personal ending beginning with a dental stop, i.e. the 2s active and the 2s, 3s, and 2p middle. In class VIII presents and class II presents whose stems end in *-sk-*, palatalization is regularly seen in these forms, e.g. *pask-* 'protect' makes 3s mid. *pāṣtär* < **pask'ətər*.

[11] See the Appendix, pp. 269–70, for further details.

Note that the third person forms with the clitic pronouns do not shift the accent onto the second syllable, which shows that the accent is fixed on the initial syllable.

Roots with other vowels do not show ablaut and may have either fixed or regular accent. Here is the paradigm of *yam-* 'do', which does not have fixed initial accent.

	active	middle
1s	*yāmu*	*yāmmar*
2s	*yāmt*	*yāmtar*
3s	*yāmäṃ*	*yāmtär*
1p	*yamem* (them.)	*yamamtär*
2p	*yāmcer**	*yāmtär**
3p	*yāmeṃ* (them.)	*yamantär*

Subjunctive I is by definition made to *anaṭ* roots and is the *anaṭ* analog to the *sāṭ* subjunctive V. Compare the paradigms of *kärsa-* 'know' and *präk-* 'ask' which both have fixed initial accent.

	subj. V	subj. I
1s	*kārsa-u*	*preku*
2s	*kārsa-t*	*prekt**
3s	*kārsa-ṃ*	*prekäṃ*
1p	*karsa-m**	*parkäm**
2p	*karsa-cer**	*parkcer**
3p	*karsa-ṃ**	*parkäṃ*

By comparing these two paradigms we can see the original ablaut pattern common to both paradigms must have been *e* (act. sg.) ~ *ä* (elsewhere). The difference between the two surface ablaut patterns was created by a process known as *a*-umlaut whereby **e*...*a* > *a*...*a*.

Preterite class III

Present class VIII normally goes with a preterite class III. This association is not completely surprising, because the preterite III is also characterized by an *-s-* that appears in the 3s active and throughout the entire middle. The ending of the third person plural *-ar* /-ərə/ is also different from that learned for the preterite I (*-āre*). Here is the paradigm for *präk-* 'ask':

	active	middle
1s	*prekuwa, prekwa*[12]	*parksamai**
2s	*prekasta**	*parksatai**
3s	*preksa*	*parksate**

[12] *-uwa* is the normal form of the 1st person singular ending. *-wa* is a shortened form found in verse.

1p	*prekam**	*parksamte**
2p	*prekas*	*parksat**
3p	*prekar*	*parksante*

The accent pattern of the preterite III is peculiar. In the active it appears to follow the regular rule since the plural endings all once ended in *-ä*, but the 3rd singular actually has fixed initial accent as can be seen from the form with clitic pronoun *preksa=ne*, not †*preksā=ne*.[13] The middle has fixed initial accent. This pattern has been explained by positing an intervening union vowel /ə/ after the root and before the endings, which would have been accented by the normal rule. This /ə/ surfaces as *a* in the 2nd singular and the plural active. In the 1st singular it is realized as *u* before the ending *-wa*. But accented /ə/ was deleted before a single coronal obstruent[14] when the following syllable contained an *a*. and the accent was thrown back on the preceding syllable leading to the synchronically irregular accent of the 3s active and the entire middle. Thus

	active		middle	
1s	*prekúwa*	< **prekə́wa*	*párksamai**	< **pərkə́samay*
2s	*prekásta**	< **prekə́sta*	*párksatai**	< **pərkə́satay*
3s	*préksa*	< **prekə́sa*	*párksate**	< **pərkə́sate*
1p	*prekam**	< **prekə́mə*	*párksamte**	< **pərkə́samte*
2p	*prekas**	< **prekə́sə*	*párksat**	< **pərkə́satə*
3p	*prekar*	< **prekə́rə*	*párksante*	< **pərkə́sante*

The verbs 'to come' and 'to go'

The verb 'to come' is *käm-* (from PIE **g^{w}em-*, cf. PDE *come)*. It makes a present Xa, a subjunctive II, and both a middle preterite III and an irregular active preterite.

	pres. Xa	subj. II	pret. III	pret. VI
1s	*känmaskau**	*śamau**	*kamtsamai**	*kamau*
2s	*känmast**	*śamt*	*kamtsatai*	*śem*
3s	*känmaṣṣäṃ*	*śa(n)mäṃ*	*kamtsate*	*śem*
1p	*känmaskem**	*śmem**	*kamtsamte**	*kmem*
2p	*känmaścer**	*śamcer**	*kamtsat**	
3p	*känmaskeṃ*	*śanmeṃ*	*kamtsante*	*kameṃ, śemare*

The subjunctive shows root-initial palatalization. In the present the suffix *-näske-/*

[13] The † sign before a form means that the form has been created for explanatory purposes to show what the outcome or realization would have been if things had been different than they actually are, a kind of alternate-universe form.

[14] "Coronal" means produced with the flexible front part of the tongue. "Obstruent" is a cover term for stops and fricatives.

-näṣṣä- is added, which is the characteristic marker of present Xa, and **käm-näske/ṣṣä-* becomes *känmäske/ṣṣä-* by a regular metathesis.[15] The subjunctive standardly gets an infixed *-n-* (*śa-n-mäṃ*) by contamination with the present. The preterite VI has two forms in the 3rd plural, *kameṃ* and *śemare*, the latter an innovation on the basis of the 3rd singular. The 1st plural form *kmem* is from underlying /kəmémə/ with syncope of an unaccented schwa (i.e. Fremdvokal) in an open syllable. The accent is on the second underlying syllable because the 1st plural ending has the underlying shape /-mə/. The middle preterite forms follow the preterite III paradigm. The *-t-* in *kam-t-sate* etc. is epenthetic.

The verb 'to go' is *i-* (from PIE **h_1e̯i-*, cf. Gk. *εἶμι eîmi*, Ved. *émi*). The present and subjunctive are identical.

1s	*yam*	1p	*ynem(o)*
2s	*yat*	2p	*yacer*
3s	*yaṃ*	3p	*yaneṃ*

Note the ending of 1s *-m*, which is unique in the present. The 1st plural and 3rd plural are based on an extended thematic stem *yäne-*, which is also the basis for the present participle *ynemane*.[16]

The imperfect is from a stem *yai-*:[17]

1s	*yaim*	1p	*yeyem*
2s	*yait*	2p	*yaicer*
3s	*yai, yey*	3p	*yeṃ, yeyeṃ*

yai became *yey* in the 3rd singular by the change of final *-ai* to *-ey*. The 1st plural and 3rd plural seem to have always had *e(y)*. The form *yeṃ* is older in the 3rd plural and *yeyeṃ* is analogical to 1p *yeyem*.[18]

The preterite is formed from two suppletive stems, *mäs-* in the singular and *maita-* in the plural! The third plural ending is *-ar*, i.e. of the preterite III type.

1s	*msāwa**	1p	*maitam*
2s	*masta*	2p	*maitas*
3s	*masa*	3p	*maitar*

[15] Metathesis is the name for a change in the linear order of two segments.

[16] The stem *yän-* is also seen in the nominal derivatives of this root: *yneñca* 'going', *ynūca* 'going', and *ynanmo* 'walking'.

[17] Since the present and subjunctive stems for *i-* are identical, the forms cited above as the imperfect would be expected to function also as an optative, but these forms are rarely, if ever, found in optative function.

[18] See Peyrot 2011:107–8.

The Noun

Nouns of class VI.1

Here is another subclass of VI (with nominative plural in *-ñ* and oblique plural in *-ṃ*): class VI.1 nouns, the *riye* 'city' class, which have a nominative singular ending in *-(i)ye* while the oblique singular ends in *-i*. The plural forms may be derived from the oblique singular by adding *-ñ* in the nominative plural and *-ṃ* in the oblique plural. Thus *riye* f. 'city' and *ytārye* 'road' f.:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*riye*	*riñ*
obl.	*ri*	*riṃ*
nom.	*ytārye*	*ytariñ**
obl.	*ytāri*	*ytariṃ*

The plural endings *-ñ* and *-ṃ* are underlyingly *-ñä* and *-nä* and hence the accent is shifted onto the *i* of the second syllable in *ytariñ* and *ytariṃ*.

The Adjective

Class I.1: The orotstse *'great' subclass*

This productive class of adjectives, with possessive meaning in some instances, changes *-tsts-* to *-cc-* in all masculine cases except the nominative singular. The endings are otherwise identical to the endings we have already learned for the *-ṣṣe* type. Here is the paradigm of *orotstse* 'great':

	singular		plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*orotstse*	*orotstsa*	*orocci*	*orotstsana*
obl.	*orocce*	*orotstsai*	*orocceṃ*	*orotstsana*
gen.	*oroccepi*	*orotstsai*	*orocceṃts*	*orotstsanaṃts*
voc.	*oroccu*			

The Pronoun

Clitic pronouns

Like many older Indo-European languages, Tocharian B has a set of unstressed (clitic) pronominals. The forms are:

1s	*-ñ*	1p	*-me*
2s	*-c*	2p	*-me*
3s	*-ne*	3p	*-me*

As you can see, only the singular clitic pronouns have distinct forms for the different persons. These forms are always attached directly to the verb. They can express the direct object, indirect object, or genitive.

(9) *tneka preksau=me*
here ask.1s=y'all
Here I ask y'all. (G Su 1 d)

Context tells us the referent is second person. Grammatically it could be 'us' or 'them'.

(10) *winäskau=c*
honor.1s=you
I honor you. (THT 204 b 2)

When added to a disyllabic verb form with normal accent the clitic counts as an additional syllable and draws the accent one syllable rightward. In the example below *śamäṃ* /śə́mən/ 'will come' is realized as *śman* [śmə́n] before the clitic *-me*.

(11) *tetkāk ṣp śman=me srūkalñe*
suddenly and will.come.3s=them death
and (when) suddenly death will come to them (THT 1 b 5)

(12) *ṣarne paine kärsnoyeñ=c*
hands.du feet.du. cut.ipf.3p=you
They were cutting off your hands and feet. (THT 231 a 4)

The clitic pronouns may be suffixed with the ablative and allative cases only. For example:

(13) *ñäskau=c-meṃ*
require.1s=you.s.-abl.
I require from you. (THT 100 a 1)

(14) *träñcā=ne-ś*
complained.3s=him-all.
He complained to him. (THT 1507 b 5)

Combinations with other secondary cases are not found.

Syntax

Conjunctive coordinators

Two items can be conjoined with no overt coordinator. This is especially common in Tocharian B with naturally occurring pairs, e.g.

(15) *tu yparwe ñakti śāmna tsälpāre piś toṃ cmelameṃ*
that beginning.with gods men were.freed five these. births.abl.
Thereupon gods (and) men were freed from these five (re)births. (THT 30 b 8)

(16) *snai śwātsi yoktsi*
without food drink
without food (and) drink (THT 522 a 4)

(17) *pudñäktentse kektseño klawāte=ne lyawā=ne*
Buddha.god.gen. body.obl. stroked.3s=for.him rubbed.3s=for.him
The body of the Buddha he stroked (and) rubbed for him. (THT 5 b 5)

Tocharian B has two words that can be translated 'and': *ṣpä* and *wai. ṣpä*, sometimes surfacing as *ṣäp* (mainly in archaic texts from MQ), *ṣp* or *ṣ* (mainly before consonants), underlying /ṣəpə/, is the most frequent conjunctive coordinator. It conjoins mainly sentences, e.g.

(18) *makte pācer walo cwi comp lakle śala kā ṣpä*
himself father king him.gen. that.obl. suffering.obl. brought.3s why and
ñ(ake lä)klesu ste
now unhappy is
The father himself, the king, has brought that suffering to him and why is he now unhappy? (THT 88 b 3)

(19) *wesäñ ñake ṣarnene kekamu nest mā ṣ pāträ*
our now hands.du.loc. come.pret.ptc. are.2s not and father.obl.
(lkā)lle nest
see.gII are.2s
You have come now into our hands and you can/will not see your father. (THT 85 b 6)

but sometimes words or phrases, e.g.

(20) *ypomna k_uṣaiṃ ṣpä*
lands villages and
lands and villages (Dd 6.2 4)

ṣpä must be preceded by something in its prosodic domain. That is, it cannot stand in initial position in a clause or phrase. It is clear that *ṣpä* is an unstressed item since the underlying schwa surfaces as *ä* and not as *a* as would be expected if the word were accented. *ṣpä* may be placed after a single word or after a constituent.

wai conjoins words and phrases, e.g.

(21) *(kren)t pelkk(e)meṃ wai ṣañ ekalymiññetsäṃñemeṃ*
good.obl. zeal.abl. and own strength.abl.
from good zeal and his own strength (THT 600 a 1)

(22) *sak (w)ai lakle*
happiness and suffering
happiness and suffering (also attested without *wai*) (THT 197 a 2)

wai is positioned between the two elements it conjoins:

(23) *srūkalñeṣṣe wai aikarñeṣṣe īme*
of.death and of.emptiness thinking
thinking about death and emptiness (THT 600 b 4)

The preposition *śale/śle* 'with' plus the oblique is another way of conjoining nouns.

(24) *lyakām mokoṃ protär wes śle aklaṣlyeṃ*
saw.1p elder.obl. brother.obl. we with students.obl.
We saw our elder brother with his students. (THT 108 a 3)

Vocabulary

Nouns

III.1 *mrauskalläññe* 'aversion to the world' ← *mráuska-* subj. V 'feel aversion to the world'

VI.1 *riye* type
*olyiye** f. 'boat', obl. *olyi*
kälymiye f. 'direction', obl. *kalymi*, cf. Gk. *κλίμα klíma* 'direction'
pyorye f. 'shoulder-yoke',[19] obl. *pyori*
yṣiye f. 'night', obl. *yaṣi*
salyiye f. 'salt', obl. *sālyi*, cf. Lat. *sāl*, *salis* 'salt'

[19] *pyorye* is not a yoke of the kind used to harness animals, but a pole used for carrying pails on the shoulders (Fr. *palanche*). The shoulder yoke often has a carve-out to fit around the neck. We don't know the Tocharian B word for 'yoke' but Tocharian A has *muk*.

Adjectives

I.1 *orotstse* type

amoktse 'artist', substantivized from *'artful'
aletstse 'foreign'
aurtse, wartse 'broad'
kokaletstse 'riding in a chariot'
kramartse 'heavy' ← *krāmär* 'weight', cf. Lat. *grauis*, Ved. *gurú-* 'heavy' < $*g^{w}r̥h_2u$-
cämpamñetstse 'powerful'
ñwetstse 'new', substantivized 'novice', a derivative of *ñuwe* 'new' which is an exact match for Lat. *nouus* 'new'

Verbs

I/II,I/II,suppl.III

i- ' go'. This verb is quite irregular. Pres./subj. I~II 1s *yam* (only pres./subj. 1s preserving *-m*), 1p, 3p, and pres. ptc. from a stem /yəne-/ (1p *ynem(o)*, 3p *yaneṃ*, pres. ptc. *ynemane*). Imp. 3s *yey, yai*. The preterite is class III with the singular stem /məs-/ (3s *masa*) and the plural stem *mait-* (3p *maitar*). Pret. ptc. *yku*, obl. *ykuweṣ*, ipv. VI 2s *paṣ*, 2p *pcīso*.

IV,V,I *yata-* 'be able, be possible, be capable', pres. IV 3s *yototär*, subj. V 3s *yātaṃ*, pret. I 3s. *yāta**, pret. ptc. *yayātau*

VIII,I,III

er- 'cause', pres. VIII 3s *erṣäṃ*, subj. and pret. mid. only: subj. I 3s *ertär*, pret. III 3s *ersate*, pret. ptc. *eru, eroṣ*, ipv. 2s mid. *persar*, 2p mid. *persat*
kau- 'destroy, kill', pres. VIII 3s *kauṣäṃ*, subj. I 3s *kowäṃ*, pret. III 3s *kausa*, pret. ptc. *kakāwu*, cf. OE *hēawan* 'to hew'
präk- 'ask, beg', pres. VIII 3s *prekṣäṃ*, subj. I 3s *prekäṃ*, pret. III 3s *preksa*, pret. ptc. *peparku, -oṣ*, cf. Ved. *áprāṭ* < $*e$-$prēk$-s-t, Lat. *poscere* 'to ask' < $*pr̥k$-ske-

VIII,I tr./III itr.,III

näk- act. 'destroy', mid. 'be destroyed, disappear', pres. VIII 3s *nakṣäṃ*, subj. I sg. *nek-* (1s *neku*), pl. *näk-* beside subj. III *nketär* 'will be destroyed', pret. III *neksa*, cf. Ved. *naś-* 'perish', Lat. *nex* 'death'. This verb has two pret. ptc., *neneku* 'perished' and *nenku* 'destroyed'.
päk- act. 'cook, let ripen', mid. 'cook' itr., 'ripen', pres. VIII 3s *pakṣäṃ*, subj. in abstract subj. III itr. *pkelñe*, pret. ptc. *pepeku, -oṣ*, cf. Ved. *pácati* 'cooks'
tsäk- act. 'burn' tr., mid. 'burn' itr., pres. VIII 3s *tsakṣäṃ*, subj. I *tsäk-*, subj. III *tsketär*, pret. III *tseksa**, pret. ptc. *tsetseku** < $*d^{h}eg^{wh}$-, cf. Lat. *febris* 'fever', Ved. *dáhati* 'burns'

Xa,II,III/VI

käm- 'come' pres. Xa 3s *känmaṣṣäṃ*, subj. II 3s *śa(n)mäṃ*, pret. III mid. 3s

kamtsate, pret. VI act. 1s *kamau*, 2s, 3s *śem*, 3p *kameṃ*, pret. ptc. *kekamu*, *-oṣ*, ipv. III *kamp*, 2p *kamtso*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ike-postäṃ 'step by step', an idiom inspired by Skt. *anupadam*
ot 'then' (often introduces main clause after subordinate temporal or conditional clause)
tuyknesa 'in this way' < **tu-yäkne-sa*
näno(k) 'again', strengthened form of *nano*
ysomo 'together'
ram(t) (postposed) 'like, as'
wai 'and' (conjoins words and phrases)
ṣpä 'and', sometimes surfacing as *ṣäp*, *ṣp*, or *ṣ*, underlying /ṣəpə/, conjoins mainly sentences but rarely words or phrases

Sentences

Tocharian B to English

1. *lakle mrauskalläññe mā erträ.*

   lakle 'suffering'; *-trä* is a frequent alternative spelling for *-tär*

2. *orotstse walo krentäṃ amokceṃ kausa. rintse kreñc eṅkwi kawar=ne.*

   krentäṃ obl. pl. m. 'good'; *kreñc* nom. pl. m. 'good'

3. *cämpamñetstse nigranthe oksaiññe yasar stamantse pyapyaiṃ ysomo pakṣäṃ.*

   nigranthe 'heretical monk';[20] *yasar* 'blood'; *stām* 'tree'

4. *tuyknesa ktsaitsäññe srūkalñe wnolmentso śaul nakseṃ. ṣañ kalymiś aken=ne.*

   ktsaits(ä)ññe 'old age'; *wnolme* is a reduced form of *onolme*; *śaul* 'life'; *ak-* 'drive' pres. II

5. *käryorttau olyi āśäṃ po kalymiṃ, mā no sālyi kälpāṣṣäṃ=me.*

   käryorttau 'merchant'; *ak-* 'drive' pres. II; *po* 'all'; *kälpāṣṣä-* 'find', pres. IXa

6. *kauṃ-yaṣi orotstsa riye tsketär.*
7. *mäkte kokaleṃts yerkwantaṃ neksa, kokalecci śerwi ṣamāneṃ tsekar.*

   mäkte here 'because'; *yerkwantaṃ* 'wheels' obl. pl.; figure out what *kokale* means

8. *käryorttau ñi riśc śem, mā no campäṃ yolaiṃ yakweṃ plyaṃssi.*

   käryorttau introduced in sentence 5; *cämp-* pres. II 'be able'; *yolo* 'bad'; *plyaṃssi* from subjunctive II which is associated with the transitive pres. VIII of *pläṅk-*

[20] Actually *nigrantha*, a variant of *nirgrantha* 'free from bonds', refers to ascetic monks of the Jain tradition. The use of fire to cook was apparently forbidden so this sentence is historically unrealistic.

9. *brāhmaṇi ike-postäṃ ynemane araṇemiñ lānte yapoyne kameṃ.*

   yapoy 'land'; *araṇemiñ* a name, gen. sg.

10. *mā ṣ nänok śanmäṃ ciś retke.*

    ṣ reduced form of *ṣpä* 'and'; *retke* 'army'

11. *onolmeṃts śaul pelaiknesa mā kramartse pyorisa ramt perpente.*

    śaul introduced in sentence 4; *pelaikne* '*dharma*'; *perpente* m. 'burden' ← an Old Iranian cognate of Sogd. *prβndy*

12. *alecci amokcci mā kauṣalyi.*
13. *mā yātalle po karsatsi.*

    For *po* see glosses to sentence 5 above.

English to Tocharian B

1. He knew the duty of a good man: to do good in all directions.

   For 'the good' review Lesson 2, Tocharian-to-English sentence 4; for 'in all directions' use an oblique singular and double it. This will be accented like a compound on the second syllable. The doubling of a noun has distributive meaning, e.g. *kauṃ kauṃ* 'day by day, every day'.[21]

2. The great queen strewed flowers in a single line throughout the fields.

   'queen' *lāntsa*; *sanai* 'one, single' fem. obl.; use perlative for 'throughout'

3. They will forget the gods of night and will worship new gods.

   'worship' *wināṣṣ/ske-* pres./subj. IXa

4. The artist comes from the direction of the city and is going to the land of King Araṇemi.
5. When new grain ripens in the fields, then we make a sacrifice.

   śātre m. 'grain'; for 'then' at beginning of apodosis use *ot*; *telki* 'sacrifice'

6. The king and queen will descend from the palace and we will honor the gods together.

   kerccī plurale tantum 'palace', obl. *kercciyeṃ*

[21] Cf. the so-called *āmreḍita* or iterative compounds of Vedic like *divé-dive* 'from day to day'.

Lesson 4

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) present class VII; (2) the imperfect; (3) the optative; (4) 'to give'
The noun: class VI.3
The adjective: adjectives with feminine plural in *-ona*
The pronoun: the demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns *se* 'this', *su* 'he' and *seṃ* 'that (of yours)'
Syntax: basic word order and indirect objects

The Verb

Present class VII

Present class VII is another nasal-formant present, but in this class the nasal appears before the stem-final consonant. Ten out of eleven of the class VII presents are built to *sāṭ* roots ending in a velar. The exceptional verb is *pränts-* 'spatter' which ends in *-ts-*.[1] Despite these presents being built (almost) exclusively to *sāṭ* roots, the vowel before the personal endings is rarely *-a-*. Most forms have *-ä-* in the 3s and thematic forms in the 3p, 1s mid., and *m*-participle. The exceptions that do show *a* are *kättaṅkaṃ* 'crosses' and *puttaṅgaṃ* 'divides'. Here is the partial paradigm of *kätka-* 'cross' for the active and *putka-* 'divide, distinguish' for the middle. For roots in *-tk-* the *t* is geminated in the present before the infix.

	active			middle	
	a-form	athematic	thematic	athematic	thematic
1s					*puttaṅkemar**
3s	*kättaṅkaṃ*	*kättaṅkäṃ*		*puttaṅktär*	
3p		*kättaṅkäṃ*	*kättaṅkeṃ**		*puttaṅkentär**

The imperfect

The imperfect tense is formed from the present stem. The characteristic marker of this tense is *-i-* to which the imperfect-optative endings (see Lesson 1) are added.

[1]No forms not derived from the present stem are attested, so we can't say for sure whether this verbal root was a *sāṭ* or *anaṭ* stem. On this verb, the attested forms of which are 3s pres. *prantsäṃ* and 3s ipf. *präntsitär*, see Kim 2015, who connects it with **perd-* 'fart'.

These endings are identical to the primary endings in the dual, plural, and middle, but are partly distinctive 1s *-m*, 2s *-t*, 3s *-∅* in the active singular. For present III and IV the suffix *-i-* replaces the present stem vowel (III *-e-* or IV *-o-*) and does not cause palatalization of the root-final consonant:

Class III *mäsketär* 'is located, is' → *mäskitär* 'was located'
Class IV *sporttotär* 'turns' → *sporttītär* 'was turning'

But note that the *o* root vowel of the Class IV present is retained. For classes VII and VIII the root-final consonant is palatalized before the *-i-*:

Class VII *kluttańk-* 'turn, become' → *kluttañciyentär* 'they were becoming'
Class VIII *prekṣä-* 'ask' → *prekṣi* '(s)he was asking'

For class VI the stem-final *-a-* combines with *-i-* to surface as *-oy-*:

Class VI *kärsäna-* 'know, understand' → *kärsanoy* '(s)he used to understand'.

In the 3rd person plural the endings *-oṃ* and *-oyeṃ* are attested. *-oṃ* is found in archaic and classical texts and (classical and later) *-oyeṃ* is an analogical newer form.

We will call these imperfect patterns (a) *mäskitär*, (b) *prekṣi*, and (c) *kärsanoy*. The remaining present types follow either the *prekṣi* pattern (classes I, II, IX, X, XII) or the *kärsanoy* pattern (class V).

Here are some sample paradigms:

	mäskitär type	*prekṣi* type	*kärsanoy* type
1s	*mäskimar*	*prekṣim**	*kärsanoym**
2s	*mäskitar**	*prekṣit**	*kärsanoyt*
3s	*mäskitär*	*prekṣi*	*kärsanoy**
1p	*mäskiyemtär**		
2p	*mäskitär**	*prekṣicer**	*kärsanoycer**
3p	*mäskiyentär*	*prekṣiyeṃ*	*kärsanoyeṃ*

The imperfect of *nes-* 'to be' functions as both a copula and a substantive verb.

1s	*ṣaim* (*ṣeym*)	1p	*ṣeyem*
2s	*ṣait*	2p	*ṣaicer* (*ṣeycer*)
3s	*ṣai* (*ṣey*)	3p	*ṣeṃ* (*ṣeyeṃ*)

The 3s *ṣey* is the result of the change of final *-ai* to *-ey* (recall p. xxvii) and appears in classical and late colloquial texts. The 1s *ṣeym*, 2p *ṣeycer*, and 3p *ṣeyeṃ* also appear in classical and later texts. The 3p *ṣeṃ* is found in archaic texts and is the dominant form in classical texts.

The imperfect of *i-* 'to go' is as follows:

1s	*yaim*	1p	*yeyem**
2s	*yait*	2p	*yaicer**
3s	*yai* (*yey*)	3p	*yeyeṃ*

The form *yey* results from the change of final *-ai* to *-ey* and occurs in classical and late texts.

The imperfect is used for scene-setting in the past. For example:

(1) *käṣṣī* *pudñäkte* *rājagrine...* *mäskīträ*
teacher Buddha Rājagr̥ha.loc. be.ipf.3s
The teacher Buddha was in Rājagr̥ha.[2] (THT 23 b 3)

It is also used for repeated action in the past:

(2) *tumeṃ* *su* *upanandeṃmeṃ* *kampāl* *päst* *ñaṣṣi*
therefore he Upananda.abl. cloak away ask.ipf.3s
Therefore he repeatedly asked Upananda for his cloak. (THT 337 b 1)

The optative

The optative is formed from the subjunctive stem with the same marker *-i-* as in the imperfect and the same imperfect-optative endings.[3] The phonological distribution of subtypes is much the same as in the imperfect. Classes III (and classes I, II, IV, VII, IX, X, XII to be learned later) add *-i-*, but unlike in the imperfect, the stem-final consonant is normally palatalized if possible, even in optatives built to type III subjunctives:[4]

kän- 'come about', subj. III *knetär* → opt. *kñitär*

Contrast the non-palatalized stem-final cluster in the imperfect of a pres. III 3s like *maskitär*. Class V (*a*-stems to be learned later) and VI add *-i-* to the stem-final *-a-* to produce *-oy-*. When built to an ablauting subjunctive the optative is based on the weak stem found outside the active singular of the subjunctive. As in the imperfect, the older third person plural form is *-oṃ*, e.g. *tākoṃ* from *taka-* 'be', beside the newer analogical form *tākoyeṃ*, etc.

sruk- 'die', subj. V *srauka-* ~ *sruka-* → opt. *srukoy*

[2] A city in ancient Magadha, present-day Rajgir.

[3] The imperfect-optative marker *-i-* continues the PIE athematic optative suffix *$*-ih_1-$*. The development of an imperfect from an optative finds a precise parallel in Old and Middle Iranian, where the augmented optative becomes a past tense, e.g. YAves. *auuarōiṯ* 'raised' < **abarait*, 3s augmented optative of *bar-* 'carry'. Compare also the use of PDE *would* as a habitual past marker in *I would read Vedic every Tuesday morning before breakfast.*

[4] The class IV subjunctive is not parallel to the class IV present.

Here is the paradigm for the optative of *yam-* 'do, make', which forms a class I subjunctive. Note that the accent is usually attracted onto the second syllable in the first and second singular, which both end in an underlying /ə/. Of course, this accent attraction does not happen if the optative is formed to a subjunctive with fixed initial accent.

	Active	Middle
1s	*yamim*	*yamīmar*
2s	*yamit**	*yamītar** (archaic *yāmītār*)
3s	*yāmi*	*yamītär*
1p	*yamyem*	*yamiyemtär*
2p	*yamīcer*	*yamītär**
3p	*yāmyeṃ*	*yamintär**

And here is the paradigm for the optative of *kärsa-* 'know', which forms a class V subjunctive.

	Active	Middle
1s	*karsoym*	*kärsoymar**
2s	*kärsoyt**	*kärsoytar**
3s	*karsoy*	*kärsoytär*
1p	*kärsoyem**	*kärso(ye)mtär**
2p	*kärsoycer**	*kärsoytär**
3p	*karsoṃ, kärsoyeṃ**	*kärso(ye)ntär**

The optative in main clauses expresses a wish of the speaker:

(3) *po cmelane källoym krentäṃ wāṣmoṃ*
all births.loc. find.opt.1s good.obl.pl. friends.obl.
May I find good friends in all births! (PK AS 5 C a 3)

The optative may also be potential, dubitative, or contrary-to-fact:

(4) *toṃ mā tākoṃ śaiṣṣene, mā ṅke tsaṅkoy pudñäkte*
these not were.opt.3p world.loc. not prtc. arise.opt.3s Buddha
Were these things not in the world, the Buddha would not arise. (THT 5 a 6)

(5) *k$_u$se (pi) ksa wesäñ kekamor orocce lānt śarsäṣṣi*
who prtc. indef. our coming.obl. great.obl.s. king.obl.s. make.known.opt.3s
Who might let the great king know of our coming? (THT 81 b 3)

The verb 'to give'

The verb 'to give' is suppletive. The present and subjunctive stems are built to a root *ai-* which makes a present IX and a subjunctive I. Middle forms of this root mean 'take'.

	present				subjunctive			
1s	*aiskau*	1p	*aiskem*	1s	*āyu*			
2s	*aist(ä)*	2p	*aiścer*	2s	*ait*			
3s	*aiṣṣäṃ*	3p	*aiskeṃ*	3s	*aiṃ*	3p	*aiṃ* < **aiən*	

The preterite is suppleted by the root *wäs-* which forms a preterite I (all the singular forms and the 3p *wsāre*), while the 3p *wsar* points to a preterite III, but there are a bewildering variety of forms that are difficult to classify.[5]

1s	*wsāwa*	1p	*wasam, wsam*
2s	*wsāsta*	2p	
3s	*wasa*	3p	*wsar*, also *wsāre* (a preterite I form)

The verb 'to give' takes a direct object in the oblique and an indirect object in the genitive, e.g. *brāhmaṇeṃts aiskau=c* 'I give you (*-c* 2s clitic) to the brahmans (gen. pl.)'.[6] Either the direct or indirect object can be expressed by a pronominal clitic but there cannot be two clitic pronouns.

The Noun

Class VI.3

Class VI.3 is characterized by the stem vowel *-ā-* before the regular class VI plural endings nominative *-ñ* and oblique *-ṃ*. The appearance of *ā* or *a* is governed by the position of the accent. There is much variation in the nominative and oblique singular. Many nouns of this class show an oblique singular in *-ai*, similar to class VI.2 (the *pyāpyo -ai* type), which may have a nominative either in *-a* or *-o*. Class VI.3 nouns with oblique in *-ai* differ from class VI.2 in that the VI.2 nouns are disyllables whereas the VI.3 nouns in *-ai* are always longer. Here are paradigms of *witsako* 'root' and *wertsiya* 'group':

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	*witsako*	*witsakañ**	*wertsiya*[7]	*wertsiyañ**
obl.	*witsakai*	*witsakaṃ*	*wertsiyai*	*wertsiyaṃ*

[5] See Peyrot 2008:155 and Malzahn 2010:923 for details.
[6] Simplified from THT 83 5.
[7] In late texts *wertsyo* is sometimes found. The *i* may be syncopated in metrical texts.

We will call these the *witsako* and *wertsiya* classes. In some cases the ending *-o* is associated with the masculine and the ending *-a* with the feminine, e.g. *mewiyo* m. 'tiger' vs. *mewiya* f. 'tigress'.

Another subclass of VI.3 has nominative in *-o* and oblique in *-a*. For example, *kantwo* m. 'tongue':

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*kantwo*	*käntwāñ**
obl.	*kantwa*	*käntwāṃ**

yasa 'gold' has an identical nominative and oblique and the genitive is *ysāntse*. No plural is attested. It can be classified on the basis of the oblique as an irregular member of the *kantwo* type,

Yet another subclass of VI.3 is made up of diminutives in *-śke* and the adjectival suffix *-ṣke*. In the singular these decline like the *yakwe* or *eṅkwe* type depending on whether they refer to human or non-human beings, but in the plural they add the class VI endings to a stem in *-a-*, e.g. *śamaśke* 'child':

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*śamaśke*	*śamaśkañ*
obl.	*śamaśkeṃ*	*śamaśkaṃ*

The Adjective

Class I.2: Adjectives with feminine plural in -ona

Adjectives of this type are identical in the singular and masculine plural to the *-ṣṣe* type or the *-tstse* type, but the nominative-oblique feminine plural is not in *-ana* but in *-ona* in the classical language. The most common adjectives of this sort are the gerundives in *-lye/-lle*.

	singular		plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*-lle, -lye (-le)*[8]	*-lya*	*-lyi*	*-llona (-lyana)*
obl.	*-lye*[9]	*-lyai*	*-lyeṃ*	*-llona (-lyana)*
gen.	*-lyepi*	*-lyai*		
voc.	*-lyu*			

The nominative masculine singular form *-le* and the feminine nominative-oblique plural *-lyana* are late and colloquial.

Declining in the same way are:

[8] Parenthesized forms are found in non-classical texts.

[9] Note the difference between the nominative, which varies between *-lye* and *-lle*, and the oblique, which is almost always *-lye*. The alternative nominative *-le* results from a simplification of the geminate *-lle*.

1. Some adjectives in *-re* (*astare*, f. *astarya* 'pure'; *aikare*, f. *aikarya* 'empty'; *pärkare*, f. *pärkarya* 'long', etc.). This subclass is also noteworthy in taking *-ṃ* in the oblique masculine singular no matter the animacy of the modified noun, e.g. *astareṃ warne* 'in the pure water'.
2. The ordinal numerals that end in *-te*[10] substitute *-c-* outside of the nominative singular masculine and the nominative-oblique plural feminine (*wate* 'second', *trite* obl. *trice* 'third', etc.)

	singular		plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*trite*	*trica*	*trici*	*tritona**
obl.	*trice*	*tricai*	*triceṃ*	*tritona**
gen.	*tricepi*			

3. The privative verbal adjectives. These negate the concept of a verb, often indicating impossibility, inadvisability, etc. This class is normally formed from the subjunctive stem, and follows the same pattern as the ordinals in substituting *-cc-* for *-tt-* outside of the nominative singular masculine and the feminine plural. For example, *ayāmätte* 'not to be done':

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*ayāmätte*	*ayāmäcca*	*ayāmäcci*	*ayāmättona*
obl.	*ayāmäcce*	*ayāmäccai*	*ayāmäcceṃ*	*ayāmättona*
gen.	*ayāmcepi*	*ayāmäccai*	*ayāmäcceṃts*	

If the subjunctive is ablauting the weak variant is selected as the base for the privative.

yam- subj. I → *ayāmätte* 'not to be done'
kauta- subj. V non-ablauting → *akautatte* 'unsplittable'
klautka- subj. V non-ablauting → *aṅklautkatte* 'unchangeable'
katka- ~ *kätka-* subj. V ablauting → *ekatkatte* 'not crossing'[11]
klyauṣä- subj. II → *eṅklyauṣätte* 'unheard of'

The privative prefix is underlyingly /en-/. When followed by a root with internal *a*, the vowel of the prefix undergoes *a*-umlaut to become *a*. The nasal is lost in some forms. The original locus of the loss is not clear.

Note that the pattern of alternation between *-(t)t-* and *-(c)c-* in the privatives and the ordinals is not the same as the alternation between *-(ts)ts-* and *-(c)c-* in the *orotstse*-type adjectives. The *orotstse* type has *-(ts)ts-* in the nominative singular masculine,

[10] On the ordinals see p. 95.
[11] The archaic manuscript PK C 12 a 2 has the form *ekätkätte*.

in the nominative and oblique feminine singular and plural, and *-(c)c-* only in the oblique masculine and all cases of the masculine plural.

Summing up the formation of type I adjectives with nominative plural in *-i* we may say that they can be divided into four types:

1. Those with a palatalized stem-final consonant in all forms and a feminine plural in *-ana*. This includes all the adjectives in *-(i)ye*, *-ṣṣe*, *-ññe*, plus *krośce* 'cold' and *ñikañce* 'silver', which are perhaps hidden *-(i)ye* forms.
2. Those with a palatalized stem-final consonant only in the masculine outside the nominative singular and a feminine plural in *-ana*. These are the *orotstse* type.
3. Those with a palatalized stem-final consonant in all forms except the nominative singular masculine and the feminine plural and with a feminine plural in *-ona*. This class includes gerundives in *-lle* (taking the *-lle* rather than the *-lye* forms as basic),[12] ordinals in *-te*, and privatives in *-tte*.
4. Those with an *ry* sequence only in the feminine singular and a feminine plural in *-ona*. These are the adjectives in *-re* with this plural formation.[13]

The Pronoun

Demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns

Tocharian B has three demonstrative pronouns and one anaphoric pronoun. These pronouns are gender-distinguishing and even have a distinct neuter singular form to refer back to sentences or topics in the discourse as a whole. The neuter forms can never modify a noun because there are no neuter nouns in the language.[14] These pronouns are all derived from the same basic suppletive stem-system which has an *s-* in the masculine and feminine nominative singulars but substitutes a *t-* or *c-*, which is the result of the palatalization of *t-*, in all other case-forms. The basic stem-system is seen in the pronoun *se*, *sā*, *te* 'this'. The anaphoric pronoun *su*, *sā*$_u$, *tu* 'he, she, it' and the pronouns for nearer deixis *seṃ*, *sāṃ*, *teṃ* 'this here (of yours)' and for farther deixis *samp*, *somp*, *tamp* 'that' (to be introduced in Lesson 8) are derived from the basic stem-system by the addition of particles which have become fused.

Here is the paradigm of *se*, *sā*, *te* 'this' (comparable in meaning to Skt. *ayám*):

	singular			plural	
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.
nom.	*se*	*sā*	*te*	*cey* (*cai*)	*toy* (*toṃ*)
obl.	*ce*	*tā*	*te*	*ceyna* (*ceṃ*)	*toyna* (*toṃ*)
gen.	*cwi* (*cpi*)	*tāy*	*tentse*	*ceynaṃts* (*ceṃts*)	*toynants* (*toṃ*)

[12] Of course, this distribution breaks down if *-ll-* is just a spelling for palatal *l*.
[13] Not all adjectives with *-re* have plurals in *-ri*. *tapre* 'high', for example, has the plural *täpreñ*.
[14] Recall p. 9.

Note that the "neuter" forms also have a distinct genitive singular, with the same ending *-ntse* seen in nouns. The non-parenthesized forms are the forms that predominate in the classical standard and later Tocharian B. The parenthesized forms give the older forms which in many cases continue to occur in manuscripts in the classical language.

In the genitive singular the form *cwi* results from the lenition of early *cpi*. The nominative plural masculine *cey* is the regular development of older TB *cai*. Nominative plural feminine *toy*, the standard form in classical and late texts, competes with earlier *toṃ* found mostly in archaic and classical texts. The form *toy* was created on the basis of the diphthong seen in the old masculine nominative plural *cai*. The oblique plural feminine *toyna*, which replaced earlier *toṃ*, was created after oblique feminine plural adjectival *-na*. The masculine oblique plural *ceyna* begins to compete with older *ceṃ* in classical manuscripts. The form *ceyna* was built on the pattern *toy* : *toyna* :: *cey* : X, X = *ceyna*.[15] The genitive plurals masculine *ceynaṃts* and feminine *toynants* are obviously built on the oblique plural forms masculine *ceyna* and feminine *toyna*.

The plural of this paradigm is also used for the anaphoric pronoun[16] *su*, *sā*$_u$, *tu* 'he, she, it' (comparable in meaning to Lat. *is* or Skt. *sá*) and the demonstrative *seṃ*, *sāṃ*, *teṃ* 'this here (of yours)' (comparable in meaning to Lat. *iste* or Skt. *eṣá*). Here are the singular paradigms for *su* and *seṃ*:

	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
nom.	*su*	*sā*$_u$	*tu*	*seṃ*	*sāṃ*	*teṃ*
obl.	*ce*$_u$ (*cau*)	*tā*$_u$	*tu*	*ceṃ*	*tāṃ*	*teṃ*
gen.	*cwi* (*cpi*)	*tāy*	*tuntse*	*cwi* (*cpi*)		*tentse*

These forms are basically the same as the *se*, *sā*, *te* pronoun with the addition of the particles *-u* and *-ṃ* and a few small adjustments, like **se* + *u* > *su* and **te* + *u* > *tu*. Don't confuse *ceṃ*, the oblique singular of *seṃ*, with *ceṃ*, the oblique plural of all three paradigms.

Below are some examples of the usage of *su*, *se*, and *seṃ*. *su* often functions as the 3rd person pronoun:

(6) *kante ikäṃ su pikulaññe ste*
100 20 he years.old is
He is now 120 years old. (THT 375 a 4)

The reference of *su* is the older brother of the Kāśyapa brother who has just been introduced.

When modifying a noun *su* can often be translated with an English definite article:

[15]This is an example of historical-linguistic shorthand for what is called a proportional analogy. It schematizes, in the form of a proportion, the creation of a new form on the basis of an already existing morphological pattern. It can be read out loud as, "*toy* is to *toyna* as *cey* is to X, with X solved by *ceyna*."

[16]A pronoun that refers to an entity named elsewhere (usually earlier) in the immediate discourse context.

(7) *mā lauke kca kätkau sū preke ste*
not far prtc. pass.pret.ptc. the time is
The time is not at all far past. (THT 77 a 5)

se is for near deixis:

(8) *sā ste ytārye poyśiññna*
this.nom.s.f. is path.nom.s.f. of.the.all-knower.nom.s.f.
This is the path of the All-knower. (THT 296 a 3)[17]

seṃ often refers to something related to the addressee

(9) *mentsisa krui wikālle tākoy lakle yesäñ*
grief.perl. if disappear.gII be.opt.3s suffering.nom.s. you.gen.p.
seṃ
this.nom.s.
if this suffering of yours were to disappear through grief (THT 295 b 8)[18]

Syntax

Basic word order

As already noted in Lesson 1, the unmarked order of constituents in Tocharian B is Subject–Object–Verb. This is really a subspecies of an even more general word-order principle in the language: the verb follows its complement. In copular sentences, the complement of the verb is not an object, but a noun or adjective equated to or identified with the subject (e.g. *She is* ***a professor***; *The milk became* ***sour***). Accordingly, in copular sentences we typically have the order Subject–Complement–Copula. Thus the parallelism between

(10) *yāmorñäkte ṣe cau ñi palskalñe śarsa*
karma.god.nom. alone.nom. that.obl. my thought knew.3s
The god Karma alone knew that thought of mine. (THT 496 5)[19]

and

(11) *cey śtwer meñi päs takāre*
these four months past were.pret.3p
These four months were past. (THT 331 a 5–b 1)[20]

[17] The linguistically late manuscript has *ytāre* and *poyśiña*.
[18] The archaic manuscript has *wikalle*, *takoi*, *läkle*.
[19] The manuscript has the more advanced forms *ñīkte* and *palskañe*.
[20] The manuscript has the more modern form *śwer*.

In sentences with both a direct and an indirect object, the indirect object, in the genitive case, normally precedes the direct object:

(12) *cāṣāmtse ysāre wsam*
PN.gen. wheat give.pret.1p
We gave C. wheat. (Otani II.12a12)

(13) *aśrāddheṃts katkauñ= aiṣṣäṃ*
unbelievers.gen.p. joy= gives
He gives joy to the unbelievers. (THT 17 b 3)[21]

Vocabulary

Nouns

V.1 *kārṣake* m. 'farmer, plowman' ← Skt. *kārṣaka-*

VI.2 *pyāpyo* type
skiyo f. 'shadow', obl. *skiyai*,[22] cf. Gk. σκιά *skiá* 'shadow'

VI.3 *witsako* type
oṅkolma f. 'she-elephant'
oṅkolmo m. 'elephant'
kercapo m. 'donkey'[23]
mewiya f. 'tigress'
mewiyo m. 'tiger' ← an Iranian form similar to Khot. *mauya*, Sogd. *myw* 'tiger'
*yerkwanto** m. 'wheel', cf. Hitt. *ḫurki-* 'wheel'
w(i)cūko m. 'jaw, cheek'
witsako f. 'root'
wertsiya f. 'group, retinue'

VI.3 *kantwo* type
kantwo m. 'tongue', cf. OLat. *dingua*[24]
kātso f. 'belly, womb', obl. *kātsa*
tāno f. 'grain, seed', cf. Ved. *dhānā́ḥ* 'seeds', but possibly an Iranian loan, cf. Khot. *dānā-* f. 'grain'
yasa 'gold', obl. = nom, gen. sg. *ysāntse* (no plural attested)

VI.3 *śamaśke* type
yäkwaṣke 'pony'
werpiśke m. 'garden'
śamaśke m. 'child'

[21]The manuscript has *aśrāddhetsä*.

[22]Krause and Thomas (1960:2.257) classify *skiyo* as VI.3. The plural is not attested, but since disyllabic nouns with oblique singular stems in *-ai-* regularly belong to VI.2 with nom. pl. in *-aiñ*, I have classified *skiyo* as VI.2.

[23]The traditional comparison to Ved. *gardabhá-* is problematic. See Pinault 2008a:393–5.

[24]Note the masculine gender which doesn't match the feminine gender seen in the cognate forms.

Adjectives

I.2 with fem. nom. pl. in *-ona*
astare 'pure'
aikare 'empty'
trite, obl. *trice* 'third'
pärkare 'long', cf. Ved. *bṛhánt-* 'lofty'

Indeclinable
māka 'much' (with singular), 'many' (with plural); as adverb, 'very'

Verbs

III,V,I *mäska-* 'be located, be', pres. 3s *mäsketär*, no subjunctive forms attested, pret. *maska*, cf. Gk. *μένω ménō* 'I remain'
tsuwa- 'attach oneself to', pres. 3s *tswetär*, pret. I 3s *tsuwa*, pret. ptc. *tsuwau*

IV,V,I *klaya-* 'fall, fall down', pres. 3s *kloyotär*, subj. 3s *klāyaṃ*, pret. 3s *klāya*, pret. ptc. *kaklāyau*, *-aṣ*
spart(t)a-[25] 'revolve, turn', pres. 3s *sporttotär*, subj. 3s *spārttaṃ*, pret. 3s *spārtta*, pret. ptc. *paspārttau*, *-aṣ*

VII,–,–
pränts- act. 'sprinkle' tr., mid. 'spray' itr. (pres. only attested); a nasal-infixed present from the root **perd-*, cf. Gk. *πέρδομαι pérdomai* 'I fart'

VII,V,I
kätka- 'cross, pass (of time)', pres. VII 3s *kättaṅkäṃ* (also pres. VI 3s *kätkanaṃ*); subj. V *katka-* (3s *kātkaṃ*) ~ *kätka-* (inf. *katkatsi*), pret. I *śatka*, pret. ptc. *kätkau*
klutka- 'turn' itr., pres. VII 3p *kluttaṅkentär*, subj. V *klutka-* (inf. *klutkatsi*), no preterite attested, pret. ptc. *klutkau*
pika- 'write, paint', pres. 3s *piṅkäṃ*, subj. V mid. *paikatär*, pret. I *paiyka*, pret. ptc. *papaikau*, cf. Lat. *pingere* 'to paint'
putka- 'divide, separate', pres. VII *puttaṅgaṃ*, subj. V *pautka* ~ *putka-* (inf. *putkatsi*), pret. *putka**, 3p *putkār* (irregular), mid. 3s *putkāte*, pret. ptc. *putkau**, cf. Lat. *putāre* 'to prune'
sälka- 'pull (out), show', pres. VII mid. 3s *slaṅktär*, subj. V act. and mid. *salka-* (3s *sālkaṃ*) ~ *sälka-* (1s *salkamar*), pret. I mid. 3s *sälkāte*, pret. ptc. *sälkau**, cf. Gk. *ἕλκειν hélkein* 'to drag'

IXa,I,suppl.I/III
ai- 'give', pres. IXa 3s *aiṣṣäṃ*, subj. I 1s *āyu*, 3s *aiṃ*, pret. 1s *wsāwa*, 3s *wasa*, 3p *wsar* (III), *wsāre* (I), but the pret. ptc. is *āyu*, *āyoṣ*. The imperatives are VI (see Lesson 10) 2s *pete*, 2p *petso*, *petes*.

[25] The spelling of geminate stops in this environment is inconsistent. The source of geminate *-tt-* in this word is from **-tw-* as the Tocharian A cognate *spärtw-* shows.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

eṣe 'together', pre- or postposition with the comitative
ra 'also' (*mā ... mā ra* 'neither ... nor'); *ra* is also used in the sense of *ram(t)* 'like'

Sentences

Tocharian B to English

1. *ente śamaśkañ witsakaṃ śawāre, cey ot astari klautkāre.*

   śuwa-, pret. I *śāwa* 'eat'

2. *kwri cwi kātso orotstsa tākaṃ cwi spä kantwo pärkare tākaṃ, kercapo kartse tākaṃ.*
3. *ceṃśc nāki yolo tswentär skiyo ramt.*

   nāki 'blame' and *yolo* 'evil' are two conjoined nouns without a conjunction

4. *pyāpyai werpiśkemeṃ aiskem=c yasa ṣpä ait=me.*
5. *wcūko kemeṃts witsako.*
6. *kārṣake masa tanāṃ katatsi.*
7. *mäkte su tanāṃ kätnoy, somona ytārisa klayāre.*

   somona 'some' f. pl.

8. *ṣlyamñana lwāsa kameṃ toy ṣpä toṃ śawāre.*

   ṣlyamñana lwāsa 'birds' a.[26] nom. pl. lit. 'flying animals'; for *śawāre* see sentence 1

9. *somona kärweñäṣṣe ikene klayāre.*

   kärweñäṣṣe ike 'a rocky place'

10. *mā māka krāke takā=me. ramer aukṣiyare mäkte krāke tparṣke tāka.*

    krāke 'dirt'; *auks-* 'grow' 3p pret. VII, on which see Lesson 7;[27] *tparṣke* 'shallow'

English to Tocharian B

1. His tongue is pure, but his words are empty.

   'his' use gen. of *se*; 'word' *reki* a. pl. *rekauna*

2. I was going to the city of King Araṇemi when the children crossed the road and gave me a flower from the garden.
3. The tigress and the elephant divided the fruits and then gave them to the donkey.

   oko 'fruit' a., pl. *okonta*

---

[26] a. stands for (genus) alternans.

[27] The preterite of *auks-* is not attested but is safely assumed on the basis of the IXa present and IV subjunctive.

4. Were there no grain in my belly, I would go to the king's palace and write a letter.

   use the optative and introduce the first clause with *kwri*; 'letter' obl. *parso* 'if'

5. The great wheel revolves and will revolve again and again.
6. Together with his retinue King Araṇemi came.

   a title like 'king' normally follows the personal name

Lesson 5

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) present/subjunctive class IX, (2) preterite II, (3) preterite participles, (4) 'to say'
The noun: class I.1
The adjective: adjectives with masculine nominative plural in *-iñ* and *-aiñ*
Syntax: relative clauses

The Verb

Present/subjunctive class IX

This class, which we have already met in the present paradigm of *yam-* (*yamaskau*, etc.), is characterized by a suffix *-ske-* alternating with *-ṣṣä-*.

This suffix was originally thematic and therefore we should expect that the 2s active and 2s and 3s middle should be †*-ṣt*, †*-ṣtar*, and †*-ṣtär* with palatalization of the *sk* sequence to *ṣṣ* before the palatalizing thematic vowel *ä* followed by syncope of that *ä* in an open unaccented syllable and simplification of the geminate *ṣṣ*. Instead we find no trace of palatalization in the attested endings *-st*, *-star*, and *-stär*.

There are two subtypes of this class, called IXa and IXb. The IXa subclass has regular accentuation. The IXb class has fixed accent on the initial syllable. Class IXa presents, when derived from *sāṭ* roots, generally retain the stem-final *-a-* before the *-ske-*/*-ṣṣä-* suffix. When formed from an *anaṭ* root ending in a consonant, a union vowel *ä* precedes the suffix. Class IXb presents, on the other hand, generally truncate *-a-* from *sāṭ* roots and substitute a union vowel *-ä-*. This union vowel surfaces as *-ä-* because of the fixed initial accent of class IXb. Finally, class IXb presents are usually causative and occur beside a different present stem, which is typically less transitive. This is not the case for class IXa. Presents of class IXa do not occur beside another less transitive present stem formation, are not associated with the typical causative preterite class II, and form both transitive and intransitive present stems.

Here are paradigms for class IXa from the *sāṭ* root *kälpa-* 'obtain, reach' and the *anaṭ* root *yam-* 'make':

1s	*kälpāskau*	*yamaskau*
2s	*kälpāst*	*yamast*
3s	*kälpāṣṣäṃ*	*yamaṣṣäṃ*

1p	*kälpāskem*[1]	*yamaskem**
2p	*kälpāścer*	*yamaścer**[2]
3p	*kälpāskeṃ*	*yamaskeṃ*

On the other hand, the *sāṭ* root *wätka-* 'decide' makes the causative IXb present *watkä-ske-/-ssä-* 'command' with consistent root-initial accent and the union vowel *-ä-*:

1s	*watkäskau*	1p	*watkäskem**
2s	*watkäst*	2p	*watkäścer*
3s	*watkäṣṣäṃ*	3p	*watkäskeṃ**

Predicting the subjunctive and preterite stem to present IXa is not easy. There is no dominant pattern as there is for the present classes we have learned thus far.

If the root is a *sāṭ* root, then predictably the subjunctive is V and the preterite is I. This pattern is seen in *läka-* 'see, look': pres. IXa *lkāṣṣäṃ*, subj. V *lakaṃ*, mid. *lkātär*, pret. I *lyāka**.

Some verbs have identical IX present and subjunctive forms, e.g. *ana-* 'breathe' and *wina-* 'honor, worship' which has a pret. IV *wināṣṣa*.[3]

Two other frequent patterns are:

IXa,I(II),III, e.g. *eṅk-* 'seize, understand': *eṅkastär*, subj. I *eṅktär*, pret. III *eṅksate*. This pattern is a variant of the VIII,I,III pattern which we met in Lesson 3.

IXa,IV,VII, e.g. *akl-* 'learn' and *kälyp-* 'steal' (subj. IV—not identical to present IV!—is characterized by a suffix *-iy-* and always takes a present IXa; pret. VII has the suffix *-ya-*).

On the other hand, the causative IXb type is quite regular. The present and subjunctive are identical and, in general, the preterite is of class II if the root contains *ä*, *i*, or *u*. Roots with *a*, *e*, *o*, *ai*, and *au* make class IV preterites.[4]

We now turn to the formation of preterite II.

Preterite II

The preterite II is characterized by initial palatalization and fixed initial accent. The endings are identical to the preterite I. The root vowel is *-a-*. The initial palatalization

[1]The attested 1p and 2p are actually *kälwāskem* and *kälwāścer*. These forms show the lenition of *p* to *w* in non-initial position. Lenition is the name for sound changes which make a post-vocalic or intervocalic stop "weaker". This weakening can be either a change of a stop to a fricative or sonorant consonant or a change from a voiceless consonant to a voiced consonant. This change of *p* to *w* also results in some hypercorrect spellings of original *w* with *p*, as in *lypau-*, the preterite participle to *lu-* 'send'.

[2]But the reduced form *maścer* is attested.

[3]Peyrot (2013:820) prefers to take *wināṣṣäṃ* from a stem *winask-* and analyzes the present subjunctive as class II.

[4]One exception: the causative preterite of /sparta-/ 'turn' is *ṣpyārta*, a pret. II.

of this class is a bit weird in that it does not completely correspond to the results of the known phonologically regular process. Instead we see in some cases what can be called morphological palatalization. We can divide the treatments of the root-initial consonant or consonant cluster into four types.

First, roots beginning with *r*, *Cr*, and *y*- show no palatalization:[5]

ritta- 'be attached to', caus. 'connect, adapt' → 2s pret. *raittasta*
trika- 'be confused', caus. 'lead astray' → 3s *traika*
yäta- 'be adorned', caus. 'adorn' → 2s mid. *yātatai*

Second, roots with initial *t*-, *l*-, *Cl*-, and *st*- show their normal palatalization products, i.e. *c*-, *ly*-, *Cly*-, and *ś(c)*-:[6]

tuka- 'seek refuge, hide oneself', caus. 'hide (something)' → 3s mid. *caukate*
läma- 'sit', caus. 'set'→ 3s *lyāma*
klutka- 'turn' caus. 'make, turn into' → 3s *klyautka*
stäma- 'stand', caus. 'put' → pret. 3s *ścāma*

Third, roots beginning with *p*-, *m*-, or *ts*-, consonants that are not synchronically palatalizable,[7] show morphological palatalization by inserting a *y* after the onset becoming *py*-, *my*- and *tsy*-, but in the case of *m*- and *ts*-initial roots the preterite participle does not show any palatalization:

pälk- 'shine', appear', caus. 'illuminate' → 3s pret. *pyālka*
tsälpa- 'pass away, be released', caus. 'redeem' → 3s pret. mid. *tsyālpate* 'redeemed' but *tsuwa*- 'attach oneself', caus. 'add' → pret. ptc. *tsetsuwu*
märsa- 'forget', caus. 'make forget' → 3s pret. *myārsa* but *mi*-, which only has a causative paradigm 'harm', → 1s pret. *myāyawa* but pret. ptc. *memīyu*

Finally, roots beginning with *k*, *n*, *w*, and *sp*- show either the regular palatalizations to *ś*-, *ñ*-, *y*-, and *ṣp*- (*ṣp*- is found only in preterite participles), e.g.

kätka- 'cross, pass', caus. 'let pass' → 2s pret. *śātkasta*
nuwa- 'shout', caus. 'shout' → 3s pret. *ñāwa*
wika- 'disappear', caus. 'drive away' → 3s pret. *yaika*
sparta- 'turn, behave, be' itr., caus. 'turn' → pret. ptc. *peṣpirttu*

or morphological palatalization to *ky*-, *ñy*-, *wy*-, and *ṣpy*-:

[5] *y*, being a palatal already, obviously has no palatalized variant. Rhotics are resistant to palatalization in many languages. Roots beginning with invariant palatalized outcomes, i.e. *ś*, *ṣ*, also do not show palatalization.

[6] Presumably roots in initial *s*- also showed regular palatalization to *ṣ*-, but there don't seem to be any finite preterite II forms to roots in initial *s*- attested in Tocharian B. The verb *säla*- 'fly', which means 'throw down' in the causative, did have a past participle with root-initial palatalization, as can be seen from the verbal noun *ṣe-ṣlor*.

[7] *ts* originally palatalized to *ś* but this has largely been leveled out of existence. *p* and *m* were also originally palatalizable but they lost their palatalization. A trace of their former palatalization is seen in the fronting of an adjacent /ə/ to *i*, e.g. PIE **penk^{w}e* 'five' > PT **p'əñśə* > TB *piś*, TA *päñ*.

kän- 'occur', caus. 'fulfill' → 3s pret. *kyāna*
närs- 'urge' (only caus. attested) → 3s pret. *ñyārsa*
wäksa- 'turn away', caus. 'make turn away' → 3s pret. *wyāksa*
sparta- 'turn, behave, be' itr., caus. 'turn' → 3s pret. *ṣpyārta*

Morphological palatalization is only found in finite verb forms, never in the preterite participle. Palatalization evidently became a distinctive mark of this preterite type and was "enforced" where it would not have occurred by regular phonological development.

Here is the paradigm of the causative of the root *wätka-* 'decide', which means 'command' in the causative:

1s	*yātkawa*	1p	*yātkam**
2s	*yātkasta*	2p	*yātkas**
3s	*yātka*	3p	*yātkare*

The preterite participle

The preterite participle is a very common form in Tocharian B and combines with the present or *preterite* (n.b.) of the verb 'to be' to form a present perfect. The preterite participle plus the imperfect of the verb 'to be' make a pluperfect. The participle is voice-indifferent and can be used in either active or passive meaning. There are four basic types.

		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
sg.	nom.	*ltu*	*tärkau*	*keklyauṣu*	*tatākau*
	obl.	*ltuweṣ*	*tärkoṣ*	*keklyauṣoṣ*	*tatākaṣ*
	gen.	*ltuweṣepi*	*tärkoṣepi*	*keklyauṣoṣepi*	*tatākaṣepi*
pl.	nom.	*ltuweṣ*	*tärkoṣ*	*keklyauṣoṣ*	*tatākaṣ*
	obl.	*ltuweṣäṃ*	*tärkoṣäṃ*	*keklyauṣoṣäṃ*	*tatākaṣäṃ*
	gen.	*ltuweṣäṃts*	*tärkoṣäṃts*	*keklyauṣoṣäṃts*	*tatākaṣäṃts*

The feminine singular is formed by adding *-sa* to the nom. sg.: *ltu* → *ltusa*, *tärkau* → *tärkausa*, *keklyauṣu* → *keklyauṣusa*, *tatākau* → *tatākausa*. The feminine oblique singular is in *-sai*. Notice the absence of palatalization of the *-s*. The feminine plural ends in nom.-obl. *-wa: ltuwa*, *tärkauwa*, *keklyauṣuwa*, *tatākauwa*.

Type 1 is fairly rare. It is attested for *anaṭ* roots with internal *ä*. These preterite participles have no reduplication, a nominative singular in accented *-u*, and an oblique stem in *-úweṣ(o)*. For example, from *lä-n-t-* 'go out', preterite VI *lac*, we have *ltu*, *ltuweṣ* 'gone out'. There are a few class III preterites which also have preterite participles of this type, e.g. *täṅku* 'hindered', *putku* 'shut'. The irregular preterite participle of *i-* 'go', *yku*, *ykuweṣ* also follows this type.

Type 2 is associated with *sāṭ* roots with internal *ä*. This type is only found with

preterite I. It has no reduplication, a nominative singular in *-au* or *-ow(o)* and an oblique in *-oṣ(o)*. The accent is on the suffix. For example, *tärkau*, *tärkoṣ* 'let go'. The oblique stem in *-oṣ-* is contracted from **-owoṣ-* which results by mutual rounding assimilation[8] from **-åwåṣ-* < **-awoṣ-*.

Type 3 is associated with *anaṭ* roots with any root-internal vowel. They have reduplication and a nominative singular *-u* and an oblique singular in *-oṣ(o)*. The accent is on the root syllable. For example *pask-* 'protect' makes *papāṣṣu*, *papāṣṣoṣ* and *klyaus-* 'listen' makes *keklyauṣu*, *keklyauṣoṣ*. This type is found with preterite I of the *klyauṣa* 'heard' type (i.e. with palatalization of the root-final consonant before *-a*) and preterite I of the *lyāka* 'saw' type (with persistent palatalizing *ā* in the root).[9] It is the only form for preterite II and is regular for preterite III (and for IV, V and VII yet to be learned).[10]

Type 4 is associated with *sāṭ* roots in internal *a* which form preterite I. These participles are reduplicated and have a nominative singular in *-au* and an oblique singular in *-aṣ*. An example is *tatākau*, *tatākaṣ* 'been'.[11]

The chart below summarizes the associations between preterite indicative subtype and pretertite participle formation.

preterite subtype	preterite participle formation
preterite I without internal *a*	*tärkau*
preterite I with internal *a*	*tatākau*
preterite I *klyauṣa* type	*keklyauṣu*
preterite I *lyāka* type	*keklyauṣu*
preterite II	*keklyauṣu*
preterite III	*keklyauṣu* (rarely *ltu*)
preterite IV	*keklyauṣu*
preterite V	*keklyauṣu*
preterite VI	*ltu*
preterite VII	*keklyauṣu*
i-	*yku* (*ltu* type)

The reduplicating syllable, when present, has the shape C*e*-, unless it has undergone

[8] See p. 142.

[9] The verbs of this type are *pläwa-* 'complain' (pret. I *plyāwa*, absolutive [see p. 73] perl. *pepälyworsa*), *lu-* 'rub' (pret. I *lyawā=ne*, abs. *lelyuwormeṃ*), *läka-* 'see' (pret. I *lyāka*, pret. part. nom. *lyelyku*, abs. *lyelyakormeṃ*). *śuwa-* 'eat' (pret. I *śāwa*) has nom. *śeśu* but normally an oblique with *-eṣ* (abs. *śeśuwermeṃ*). *śeśwormeṃ* is a hapax, i.e. a word occurring only once in the surviving corpus.

[10] Note that this type of preterite participle does not have a stem-final *-a-* even though the corresponding preterite indicatives I and II do have an *-a*. This distribution could be taken as evidence that that the *-a-* in these preterite indicatives is a relatively recent addition.

[11] Mutual rounding assimilation should have operated in the preform of *tatākaṣ*, which was **tatakawoṣ-*, but the oblique stem has been leveled in favor of the nominative stem **tatakawə-* where there would have been no mutual rounding assimilation. For a different view see Peyrot (2013b:227), who suggests that the contraction of accented *á* + *e* was *o*, e.g. *tärkoṣ* /tərkóṣ/ < **tərkáeṣ* < **tərkáweṣ*, whereas the contraction of unaccented *a* + *e* was *a*, e.g. *tatākaṣ* /tatákaṣ/ < **tatákaeṣ* < **tatakaweṣ*. This is certainly a plausible synchronic analysis.

a-umlaut when the root syllable has *a*-vocalism in which case the reduplicating syllable surfaces as C*a*-, as in e.g. *tatākau*. Exceptional is *sosoyu* 'satiated' < **sesoy*- from the root *soy*-.

But reduplication in the preterite participle has some interesting details.

1. All preterite participles to preterite II palatalize the reduplicant- and root-initial consonant, if possible. For example, *täla*- 'carry' makes the causative paradigm pres. IXb *taläskau* 'lift up', pret. II *cālawa*. The participle is *ceclu* /cecəlu/.
2. Roots in initial vowel show no reduplication. For example, *aks*- 'announce', which has the preterite *ākṣa* (the *klyauṣa*-type), makes the preterite participle *ākṣu*, *ākṣoṣ*. Note that many of these forms have fixed initial accent.
3. Roots with initial *w*- and *y*- may have *yai*- as the surface "reduplicant", e.g. *yät*- 'decorate' has *yaitu* and the causative paradigm of *wätka*- 'decide' has *yaitku*. These are regular developments of earlier **yeyət*- and **w'ew'ətk*-. On the other hand, *yam*- makes unreduplicated *yāmu* and *wäs*- (2) 'dwell, pass time' makes *auṣu* and *wäs*- (1) 'wear clothes' makes *ausu*.
4. Initial *st*- reduplicates as a unit (*staukka*- 'swell' → *stastaukkau*, with palatalization *stäm*- 'stand' → *śceścamu*, *śeśśamu*), but *sp*- reduplicates as *p*-, e.g. *spartta*- 'turn' → *paspārttau*.

Uses of the preterite participle

The preterite participle may be used as an attributive:

(1) *emalyesa* *tsetsarkoṣ* *memyoṣ* *yokaisa*
heat.perl. tortured.nom.p. tormented.nom.p. thirst.perl.
(like flamingos) tortured by heat and tormented by thirst (THT 29 a 6)

But combined with the present or *preterite* of the verb 'to be' the preterite participle forms a present perfect.

(2) *sanune* *kekamu* *nesau*
danger.loc. come.prt.ptc. am
I am come into danger (i.e. I have come into danger). (THT 79 a 6)

(3) *ñi* *se* *pilko* *ste* *prākr=* *eṅku*
me this insight is firm= grasped.prt.ptc.
By me this insight has been firmly grasped. (THT 23 b 4)

(4) *toyä* *aśiyana* *po* *lalāṃṣuwa* *stāre*
these.nom.p.f. nuns.nom.p.f. all.obl.s. finished.nom.p.f. are.3p
These nuns have finished everything.[12] (PK AS 18B a 2)

[12]Tocharian does not have a distinction in the use of the auxiliary tied to unaccusativity like Italian. The

(5) *$k_u$ce* *wäntaresa* *kekamoṣ* *takās?*
what situation.perl. come.pret.ptc.nom.p. were.2p
For what matter have y'all come? (THT 82 a 1)

The pluperfect is expressed by combining the preterite participle with the imperfect of 'to be'.

(6) *ṣemi* *trikoṣ* *ṣeṃ* *wai(peccesa)*
some.nom.p. tricked.prt.ptc.nom.p. be.ipf.3p possession.perl.
Some had been led astray by possession. (THT 24 a 2)

(7) *ṣ(e)mi* *tetrikoṣ* *ytāriṃ* *ṣeṃ* *aknātsaññesa*
some.nom.p. mistaken.prt.ptc.nom.p. road.obl.p. be.ipf.3p ignorance.perl.
Some had mistaken the roads through ignorance. (THT 29 b 5)

The verb we-ñ- *'to say, speak'*

The verb 'to speak' is slightly irregular. The preterite V frequently shows a reduction of the vowel of the first syllable to zero. The attested forms are:

1s	*weñāwa, wñāwa*
2s	*weñāsta, wñāsta*
3s	*weña, wñā=ne*
1p	*weñām*
2p	*wñās*
3p	*weñāre, wñāre*, mid. *weñānte*

The preterite participle is *weweñu, weweñoṣ*. The subjunctive is mainly a simple class II thematic, but the stem-final *ñ* becomes *n* before the second personal ending *-t*.[13] The third person singular is reduced (haplologized) from **weñäṃ*:

1s	*weñau*	1p	*weñem*
2s	*went*	2p	*weñcer*
3s	*weṃ*	3p	*weñeṃ*

copula is the sole auxiliary for verbs no matter what their argument structure. The unaccusativity hypothesis posits that there are two kinds of intransitive verbs. Some have subjects which are not semantically agents (e.g. *fall, break*). These are called unaccusative. Others have subjects that are agents *(dance, run, resign)* and these are called unergative. In some languages these two kinds of intransitives exhibit different syntactic properties.

[13] But in older works it is classed together with the subjunctive of *länt-* 'go out' as a two-member class VII. In fact there really is no subjunctive class VII in Tocharian B.

The present is a class IXa derived from a stem *we-*. The middle forms are passive and mean 'be called'.

	act.	mid.
1s	*weskau*	*weskemar*
2s	*west*	*westar**
3s	*weṣṣäṃ*	*westär*
1p	*weskem*	
2p	*weścer*	
3p	*weskeṃ*	*weskentär*

The Noun

Classes I.1 and I.2

Nouns of class I can be any gender and have a nominative-oblique plural in -(C)*a*. In class I.1 there is either no consonant before the -*a*, e.g.

pikul a.[14] 'year', pl. *pikwala*
camel a. 'birth', pl. *cmela*

or an -*s*-:

luwo, a. 'animal', obl. *luwa*, pl. *lwāsa*

If a -*w*- precedes the ending -*a* then the noun is class I.2, e.g.

kwarsär, m. 'league', pl. *kwärsarwa*, *kursarwa*
ost a. 'house', pl. *ost(u)wa*

The Adjective

Adjectives with masculine nominative plural in -iñ *and* -aiñ

Tocharian has a class of adjective/agent nouns (class II.1) in -*i*, obl. -*iṃ*, nom. pl. -*iñ*, obl. pl. -*iṃ*. The feminine plural in -*iññana* is attested. With the exception of *salpi** 'glowing', this type is found in the second member of compounds. An example is *kärtse-yami* 'good-doer, -doing':

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*kärtse-yami*	*kärtse-yamiñ*
obl.	*kärtse-yamiṃ*	*kärtse-yamiṃ*

ārkwi 'white' and *poyśi* 'the all-knowing one', a frequent epithet of the Buddha,

[14] On the gender of this noun, usually given as feminine, see Tomba 2020:43.

are irregular. The plural of the latter is not the expected **poyśiñ* etc. but a class III plural *poyśinta*, perhaps created on the analogy of *käṣṣīnta* 'teachers'.

	singular		plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*ārkwi*	*arkwaññna*	*arkwiṃ* (for *-iñ*)	*arkwina*
obl.	*ārkwi*	*arkwaññai*	*arkwinäṃ*	*arkwina*
nom.	*poyśi*		*poyśinta*	
obl.	*poyśiṃ*		*poyśinta*	
gen.	*poyśintse*		*poyśintaṃts*	

A class with only one member (II.2) is the important and frequent adjective *yolo* 'evil':[15]

	singular		plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*yolo*	*yolyiya*	*yolaiñ*	*yolaina*
obl.	*yolaiṃ*	*yoly(i)yai*	*yolaiṃ*	*yolaina*
gen.	*yolopi*		*yolainaṃts*	

The secondary cases are built either to the stem *yolo-* (abl. *yolomeṃ*, perl. *yolosa*) or *yolaiṃ-* (loc. *yolainne*, perl. *yolaintsa*, com. *yolaimpa*).

Syntax

Relative clauses

There are two relative pronouns. These are k_u*se* and *mäksu*. k_u*se* is gender- and number-indifferent and can be translated 'who' or 'what', but *mäksu* has separate masculine and feminine forms and at least some trace of a plural. Here are the forms:

nom.	k_u*se*
obl.	k_u*ce*
gen.	*ket(e)*

The final *-e* of *kete* is sometimes apocopated and the form appears as *ket*.

		m.	f.	n.
sg.	nom.	*mäksu*	*mäksā*$_u$	*mäktu*
	obl.	*mäkce*$_u$	*mäktā*$_u$	*mäktu**
	gen.	*mäkcpi, mäkcwi, mäkcepi*		

[15] A YOLO attitude quickly leads to *yolo* actions.

pl.	nom.	*mäkci*	*mäkcai*
	gen.	*mäkcenas*	*mäktoynas*

Relative clauses may be simple adjective clauses like PDE relative clauses or part of a correlative construction. A correlative construction is made up of two parallel clauses where one clause is introduced by the relative pronoun and the other clause is introduced by anaphoric pronoun referring back to the same phrase. In Tocharian B correlative constructions the relative clause is typically positioned before the main clause with the antecedent (called the head by linguists) included in the relative clause. For example,

(8) *cauwak yakne eṅkaskemttär mäkcau procer eṅsate.*
that way take.1p which.obl.s. brother took.3s
We take that way (our) brother took, lit. That way we take which brother took. (THT 108 a 4)

The correlative construction is an inherited way of doing relativization with exact matches in Vedic and Greek.

In prose the relative pronoun is clause-initial, but in poetry, this is not always the case. *mäksu* tends to occur in definite relatives, of the type "the person who ..." *$k_u$se* is preferred in indefinite correlative structures, of the type "whoever X, that one Y." Examples:

(9) *kly(omo) lkālñesa $k_u$se kekenu tākaṃ tne sū su kälpāṣṣäṃ*
noble.nom. insight.perl. who provided be.3s here he he[16] achieves.3s
śaiṣṣene tne yṣwarkaññe
world.loc. here comfort
The noble one who is provided with insight, he alone achieves comfort in the world here. (THT 14 a 7)

(10) *śconiye mā sū ksa nesäṃ ce śaiṣṣene $k_u$se ñi(ś)*
hatred.nom. not this indef. is this.obl. world.loc. who.nom. me
maiyyasa cämpalle ṣai ceṃ er(k)atñene kalatsi
strength.perl. be.able.ger.II be.ipf.3s this.here.obl. anger.loc. bring.inf.
There is no such hatred in this world which by its strength could bring me into this anger.[17] (PK NS 36 b 3)

Notice the imperfect (*ṣai*) and gerundive II (*cämpalle*) in the relative clause, which is regular after a negated existential main clause. The combination of imperfect plus gerundive II is of course not limited to occurring in relative clauses:

[16] The pronoun is doubled for emphasis.

[17] Peyrot (2013a:340) prefers to take *śconiye* as part of another sentence and translates the sentence as, 'There is no one in this world who could have brought me into this misfortune by [his] power'.

(11) *$k_u$ce te mant wñāwa, tu ṅke weñau anaiśai*
what this thus said.1s that now will say.1s
What I have thus said, that I will now speak carefully (i.e. in detail). (PK AS 7B a 5–6)

Vocabulary

Nouns

I.1 *āka* f. plurale tantum a kind of grain, probably 'millet'
āyo a. 'bone', obl. *āya*, pl. (irregular) *āsta*, cf. for the plural Gk. *ὀστέον ostéon* 'bone', Ved. *ásthi*
or a. 'wood', pl. (with *a*-umlaut) *ārwa*, cf. Gk. *δόρυ dóru* 'wood'
camel a. 'birth', pl. *cmela*
pikul f. 'year', pl. *pikwala*
pūwar a. 'fire; digestion', gen. *pwārntse*, pl. *pwāra*, cf. Gk. *πῦρ pûr* 'fire'
mīsa f. plurale tantum 'meat', cf. Ved. *māṃsám* 'meat', Lat. *membrum* 'limb'
yasar a. 'blood', pl. *ysāra*, cf. Hitt. *ēšḫar* 'blood'
ṣñor 'sinew', pl. *ṣñaura*, cf. YAves. *snāuuarə* 'sinew'

I.2 *ost* a. 'house', abl. sg. *ostameṃ*, pl. *ost(u)wa*, cf. Ved. *vā́stu* 'living place'
kwarsär m. 'league; course, path', pl. *kwärsarwa*, *kursarwa*

V.1 *kamartīke* m. 'ruler' ← Iranian, cf. YAves. *kamərəδa-* 'head'

Indeterminate

kest 'hunger' m., gen. *kestantse* (only sg. attested), cf. Hitt. *kašt-* 'hunger', *kištant-* 'hungry'

Adjectives

I.1 *oktatstse* 'eightfold'[18]
on(u)wañňe 'immortal', substantivized 'immortality' < *$n̥$-nuh_2- 'not sick or dead', cf. TA *nwām* 'sick', ORuss. *navĭ* 'dead person, corpse'

II.1 with m. nom. pl. in *-iñ*
-nakṣi 'X-destroying'
poyśi 'all-knowing', i.e. Buddha, a compound of *po-* 'all' and *-aiśi* 'knowing' ← *aik-* 'know' (Pāli *sabbaññu-*, Skt. *sarvajña-*), but the plural is irregular: nom.-obl. *poyśinta*

[18]The eightfold path, often called "the noble eightfold path" (Pāli *ariya- aṭṭhaṅgika- magga-*; Skt. *āryāṣṭāṅgamārga-*), is a summary of the eight right actions that a Buddhist must follow to achieve liberation from the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra-*). The eight elements of the path are: right view, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right meditation (*samādhi-*).

II.2 with nom. pl. in *-aiñ*

yolo 'evil' m. obl. *yolaiṃ*, f. nom. *yolyiya*, nom. pl. m. *yolaiñ*, nom. pl. f. *yolaina*

Verbs

II,I/III,III

käs- act. 'extinguish', mid. 'come to extinction', pres. II *keṣäṃ*, subj. I *kastsi* 'to extinguish', subj. III *ksetsi* 'to come to extinction', pret. III *kessa*, pret. ptc. *kekesu*. The present was originally a class VIII *s*-present built to a root in *-s* which has been simplified.

III,V,I *ritta-* 'be attached to, fit, be fitting', pres. 3s *rittetär*, subj. 3 *rittātär*, pret. 3s *ritta*, pret. ptc. *rittau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. 2p *prittāso*, ipv. mid. 2s *pärrittar*, 2p *pärittat*; caus. 'connect, translate', pres./subj. 3s *rittäṣṣäṃ*, pret. 2s *raitāsta*

VII,V,I

rutka- 'remove, take off', pres. VII mid. *ruttaṅkemar*, subj. V ablauting, with fixed root accent *rautka-* ~ *rutka-*, pret. I *rautka**, pret. ptc. *rutkau**

IXa,I,III

eṅk- 'seize, take, understand', all tenses mid. only, pres. IXa *eṅkastär*, subj. I *eṅktär*, pret. III *eṅksate*, pret. ptc. *eṅku*, *-oṣ*

treṅk- 'cling, adhere', all tenses mid. only, pres. IXa *treṅkastär*, subj. I *treṅktär**, pret. III *treṅksate*, pret. ptc. *tetreṅku*, *-oṣ*

wäs- (1)[19] 'don, wear', all tenses mid. only, pres. IXa *yastär**, subj. I *wastär*, pret. III *wässāte*, pret. ptc. *ausu*, *-oṣ*, cf. Gk. ἕσται *héstai* 'wears', Ved. *váste*

tsärk- 'heat, burn, torture', pres. IXa *tsärkaṣṣäṃ*, subj. I *tsarkäṃ**, pret. III *tsarksa**, pret. ptc. *tsetsarku*, *-oṣ*

Other IXa presents

re- 'flow', pres. IXa 3s *reṣṣäṃ*, other stems unattested; this verb could also be analyzed as a stem *resk-* making a pres. II

läka- 'see, look', pres. IXa *lkāṣṣäṃ*, mid. *lkāstär*, but also a pres. V mid. *lkātär*,[20] subj. V *lakaṃ*, mid. *lkātär*, pret. I *lyāka** with 3s enclitic pronoun *lyakā=ne*, pret. ptc. *lyelyku*, *-oṣ*. The verb *läka-* also provides the present for the stem *pälka-* 'see' which has no present but makes an ablauting subjunctive V with fixed initial accent 1s *pālkau*, 3s *pālkaṃ*; 1p *palkam*, inf. *palkatsi* and a pret. I *palyka*, mid. 3s *pälkāte*. The ipv. is 2s *pālka*.

lut- act. 'expel', mid. 'go out from, leave', pres. 3s *l(y)utaṣṣäṃ* (initial palatalization often omitted), subj. II *lyucäṃ**, pret. III 3s *lyautsa*, 3s mid. *lyutsāte**, pret. ptc. not attested, cf. Gk. ἤλυθον *éluthon* 'came'

wina- act. 'worship, honor', mid. 'confess', pres. 3s *wināṣṣäṃ*, subj. IXa 3s opt. *wināṣṣi*, pret. IV 3s *wināṣṣa*, pret. ptc. *wewinaṣṣu**, *-oṣ*

[19] The (1) distinguishes *wäs-* 'wear' from the homophonous root *wäs-* (2) 'dwell' to be introduced in Lesson 7.

[20] In the active the present is always IXa and the subjunctive is V, but in the middle both the present and the subjunctive are normally V, although there are some IXa present middle forms. See Peyrot 2013a:807.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

taiknesa 'in this way'

Sentences

Tocharian B to English

1. *poyśi wñā=neś: kr$_u$i toy mīsa tañ śwāllona mā ṣeṃ ot tañ lakle wikālle ṣai.*

   kr$_u$i is a variant spelling of *kwri*; *śwā-* pres./subj. V 'eat'; *lakle* a., pl. *läklenta* 'suffering' (a very common word!)

2. *gaṅkne kekamu mäkte war samudrämpa reṣṣäṃ, taiknesa sā oktats=ākṣusa ytārye onuwaññeś āśäṃ.*

   gāṅk 'Ganges'; *war* 'water'; *samudtär* 'ocean' ← Skt. *samudra-*; *oktats=ākṣusa* is sandhi[21] for *oktatstsa ākṣusa*; *aks-* 'proclaim'; *ak-* 'lead'

3. *maitar ikeśc kekesoṣ.*

   ike kekesoṣ 'nirvāṇa', lit. 'extinguished place' (*kekesoṣ* obl. pret. ptc. from *kes-* 'extinguish')

4. *pwāra yasarne oktatstsai ytārisa kesasta.*
5. *k$_u$se arwāmeṃ kokale yamaṣṣa, se śänmānmasa yakweṃ rittäṣṣäṃ.*

   śänmānmasa perl. pl. of *śanmau* 'fetter, bond'

6. *āsta ṣñormpa misāmeṃ rutkaṃ. mīsa ākampa puwarśc aiṃ.*
7. *orotstsa lāntsa ārkwi wastsi wastär ente telkiśc śamäṃ.*

   wastsi a. II.2 an infinitive functioning as a noun 'clothing'; for *telki* review p. 41, English to TB sentence 5

8. *läkle-nakṣi poyśi ñwetstsai rimeṃ lyutsāte. tsetsarku brāhmaṇeṃts mā onuwaññe tākaṃ.*
9. *kokalecci walo wai lāntsa ysomo ike postäṃ ynemane ñäkteṣṣai riśc kameṃ.*
10. *srūkalñe śman=ne ente mā lkātär.*
11. *yolaiñ puwar ostne kastsiśc kekamoṣ mā takām.*

English to Tocharian B

1. The doubt-destroying all-knower said to him: If you know this eightfold path, you will be without suffering and you will go to nirvāṇa.

   sklok a. II.2 'doubt'; for 'nirvāṇa' see the notes to sentence 3 above

2. The fire burned the grain in the field. Therefore the people of the city died from hunger.

[21] *Sandhi* (Skt. 'putting together') is the name for the changes forms undergo when they are combined in a sentence. The term originates in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. See Lesson 18, pp. 191–3.

3. With great honor we worship the bones of the god, which we brought from the city of Kuča.

   'great honor' *māka yarke*; for 'worship' see sentence 3 on p. 41; 'of Kuča' *k_uśiññe*. Translate this sentence using the Tocharian B correlative construction introduced above, i.e. 'Which bones of the god we brought from the city of Kuca, those we worship with great honor'.

4. He saw the brave swimmers in the water.

   naṣṣeñcaṃ obl. pl. of ptc. of *nask-* 'bathe, swim'

5. May I not cling to life when death comes.

   use optative for 'may . . . cling'; 'life' *śaul*; use subjunctive for 'comes'

6. He said to them: I am called King Araṇemi. I am the ruler of this country.

   Translate 'I am called King Araṇemi' by 'I am King Araṇemi by name'. You can use either the nominative *ñem* as a kind of parenthetical or the perlative *ñemsa*. The middle forms of the verb are rarely used as passives in imitation of Sanskrit. So *araṇemi weskemar* would be less idiomatic. 'Country' is *yapoy*, gen. *ypoyntse*.

Lesson 6

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) presents I and II; (2) preterites I (*klyauṣa* type), IV, and V; (3) *ñca*-participles/agent nouns; (4) verbal nouns from preterite participles and the absolute construction; (5) some irregular verbs
The noun: class III.1 nouns with plurals in *-enta*
The adjective: adjectives with nominative plural in *-añ*
Syntax: negation

The Verb

Present class I

We have already met this athematic type in the paradigm of the verbs *nesäṃ* 'to be' and *yaṃ* 'to go'. This class has no characterizing suffix at all. The personal endings are added directly to the root except that in the third person active forms a union vowel *-ä-* is inserted. In the middle, the same union vowel is attested in the 1st singular and 3rd plural, where it surfaces as *-a-* since it is stressed. Thematic forms sometimes replace the expected athematic forms and this is always the case in the 1p active (*-em*) and also in the 3p active (*-eṃ*) with the exception of *nesäṃ*. Present I never shows any ablaut. Here is the active paradigm of *yok-* 'drink':

1s	*yoku**	1p	*yokem**
2s	*yokt*	2p	*yokcer**
3s	*yokäṃ*	3p	*yokeṃ**

The middle paradigm is like this (*päkw-* 'rely on'):[1]

1s	*pkwamar* /pə.kwə́.mar/	1p	
3s	*paktär*, *pak$_u$tär*	3p	*pkwantär* /pə.kwə́n.tər/

[1]Note that *ä* is syncopated in an unaccented open syllable and therefore we may infer that *kw* was treated as an onset cluster.

Present class II

This is the simple thematic type, a class which is somewhat underdeveloped in Tocharian. In most other Indo-European branches, except Anatolian where they are very rare, this class is normally productive. We have already met the pattern of palatalization and syncope, but in the case of this class these features are the only markers of the class. Here is the paradigm for *klyaus-* 'hear':

1s	*klyausau**	1p	*klyausem**
2s	*klyauṣt**	2p	*klyauścer**
3s	*klyauṣäṃ*	3p	*klyauseṃ*

And here is the middle verb *aik-* 'know, recognize':

1s	*aikemar*	1p	*aikemtär**
2s	*aiśtar*	2p	*aiśtär**
3s	*aiśtär*	3p	*aikentär*

Preterite I klyauṣa *type*

We met preterite class I back in Lesson 1, but there is a special subtype of it called the *klyauṣa* type which has two distinctive features. First, whereas your garden-variety class I preterite is made to *sāṭ* roots (this is typical for present classes III, IV, V, VI, and VII), the *klyauṣa* type is made from *anaṭ* roots. Second, the stem-final consonant or cluster is regularly palatalized before the *-a-*. Below is the paradigm of *klyauṣa*, which is made to the *anaṭ* root *klyaus-* 'hear' (pres./subj. II):

1s	*klyauṣāwa*	*klyauṣāmai**
2s	*klyauṣāsta**	*klyauṣātai*
3s	*klyauṣa*	*klyauṣāte*
1p	*klyauṣām**	*klyauṣāmte**
2p	*klyauṣās(o)*	*klyauṣāt**
3p	*klyauṣāre*	*klyauṣānte*

In the case of the verb *cämp-* 'be able' the palatalization is realized as a *y* inserted between the stem and the preterite formant, e.g. 1s *cämpyāwa*, 2s *cämpyāsta*,[2] 3s *campya*. As noted in Lesson 5, preterite participles made to verbs with *klyauṣa*-type preterites also normally show palatalization of the stem-final consonant or cluster but lack the *-a-*, e.g. *keklyauṣu* 'having heard'.

[2]The attested forms are 1s *cämyāwa*, 2s *cimpyāsta*.

Preterite classes IV and V

We have already seen the preterite IV as the preterite of *yam-* 'do'. It is characterized by a consistently palatalized *-ṣṣ-* and the endings of preterite I. These preterites are associated with suffixal *-sk-* presents. This makes sense because the stem-final *-ṣṣ-* results from palatalized *-sk-*. Preterite IV forms are mostly found as the preterite to causative presents with full-vowel roots, i.e. those with *a*, *e*, *o*, *ai*, or *au*. (The other typical causative preterite, class II, is associated with roots in *ä*, *i*, and *u*.) When associated with causative presents the accent is fixed on the initial syllable.

We have also basically seen preterite V too. It is the type characterized by a palatalized *-(ñ)ñ-* before the preterite I endings. This type is quite rare in Tocharian B but it is found in the frequently occurring preterite *weña* 'said', which, unlike the other members of this class, is never written with a geminate *ñ*. The preterite V is otherwise associated with class XII present/subjunctives, which have a thematic suffix *-ññä/e-*. Most of these are synchronically denominatives. Aside from *weña*, there is 3s mid. *kwipeññāte* 'was ashamed' and a few preterite participles: *tetaṅwañoṣ* ← *täṅkw-äññ-* 'love', *tsetserñu* ← *tsere-ññ-* 'deceive', *tsetskäññoṣ* ← *tsk-äññ-* 'characterize'.

ñca*-participles and their derivatives*

Tocharian forms what are traditionally called "participles" from mainly transitive present stems with the formant *-'eñca*. In fact they are perhaps better called *ñca*-agent nouns because (1) they are rarely used as adjectives and are normally nouns; (2) they denote permanent characteristics, not actions that happen to be currently ongoing; (3) they take the nominal genitive *-ntse*, not the adjectival *-epi*; and (4) they do not distinguish gender in the singular.[3] The stem-final consonant is palatalized if possible. In the plural the forms are nom. pl. *-añ* and obl. pl. *-aṃ* (like nouns of class VI.3).[4] They are normally associated with thematic presents. There are only four or five from other present-stem types, e.g. *mäskeñca* 'being located' from class III *mäske-* 'be located', *śawäñca* 'an eater' from class V *śuwa-* 'eat'. Here is the paradigm of the participle from *aiṣṣä-* 'give' class IXa:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*aiṣṣeñca*	*aiṣṣeñcañ*
obl.	*aiṣṣeñcai*	*aiṣṣeñcaṃ*
voc.	*aiṣṣeñcai*	

Below are some attestations of the *-ñca* forms:

[3]There are a few distinctive feminine plural forms in attributive function, but these are probably inspired by Sanskrit models. See Peyrot 2013b:230.

[4]Fellner 2014b:54.

(1) *$k_u$ce tu* *pwārntse* *yarke* *yamaṣṣeñcaṃ* *ṣeyeṃ*
because fire.gen. honor doer.nom.p. be.ipf.3p.
because they were fire worshippers, lit. honor-doers of fire[5] (THT 108 b 9)

(2) *śak* *pärkāwänta* *wassi* *aiṣṣeñca* *kälpāṣṣäṃ*
ten advantages.obl. clothing.obl. giving.nom.s. obtains.pres.3s
wnolme
person.nom.s.
The person giving clothing obtains ten advantages. (PK AS 7J a 2)

Besides these forms are a number in *-nta* which are only attested as agent nouns, e.g. *kauṣenta* 'killer' ← *kau-* 'kill', *prekṣenta* 'judge' ← *präk-* 'ask', *yokänta* 'drinker' ← *yok-* 'drink'. These also decline like VI.3 nouns.

Verbal nouns derived from preterite participles

Tocharian B forms verbal nouns from preterite participles by substituting *r* for the final *-ṣ* of the oblique, e.g. *srukoṣ* → *srukor* 'death', *yāmoṣ* → *yāmor* 'deed, karma'. In the ablative these forms make a so-called absolutive, which indicates that the action of the absolute clause was prior to the action of the main clause. For example,

(3) *epiyac* *klormeṃ* *cau* *bimbasāreṃ* *lānt* *wrocce*
memory.obl. having.brought that.obl. Bimbisāra.obl. king.obl. great.obl.
cwi *warsa* *soṃśke*
his grieved.3s little.son.nom.
Having remembered that great King Bimbisāra, his little son grieved. (THT 22 a 1)[6]

Here *klormeṃ* is the absolutive from *klor* from *kälau*, *käloṣ* ← *käla-* 'bring'.

Some irregular verbs

The root *śaw-* 'live' makes a class II thematic present and subjunctive. We would expect the present stem to vary between *śāw-* before non-palatalizing endings and *śāy-* before palatalizing endings, but the present and subjunctive stems have generalized a non-alternating stem *śāy-*:

1s	*śāyau* replacing expected **śāwau*	1p	*śayem* replacing expected **śawem*
3s	*śaiṃ* < **śāyən*	3p	*śāyeṃ* replacing expected **śāweṃ*

[5] *-aṃ* is a colloquial variant for *-añ* here.
[6] The manuscript reads *epiyaic* and *ce_u*.

The preterite I for this verb is of the *klyauṣa* type with palatalization of stem-final consonant: 3s *śāya*, pret. ptc. *śaśāyu*, *-oṣ*.

So why is this verb root set up as *śaw-* at all? Because we find the stem *śaw-* in a class IXa present form, 3s *śawaṣṣäṃ* 'lives', which has the preterite IV 3s mid. *śawṣate*. This present has normal accentuation and does not mean anything different than the class II present. Nevertheless, because it occurs beside another more basic present and uses the suffix of class IX, it is normally called a causative.[7] Nominal forms like *śaul* 'life' also continue a reflex of the variant with the the non-palatalized stem-final consonant.

The root *ta-* 'put, place'[8] can mean 'be compared with' in the middle. It forms a present VIII 3p act. *tāseṃ*, 3s mid. *tāṣtär*.[9] The subjunctive V is based on a reduplicated stem *tätta-* (3s *tattaṃ*). There are two different preterite formations for this verb. It makes a preterite I 3s mid. *tasāte* and a preterite III 3s act. *tes(s)a*, mid. *tässāte*. The preterite middle is normally *tasa-*, which is about twice as common as *tässa-*. The preterite participle is normally *tättāu*. The imperatives (a category to be learned in a future lesson) are:

	2s	2p
act.	*ptes*	*ptässo* (arch.)
mid.	*ptäsar* (arch.)	*pättāsat*

Note the different vowels in the root in the present (underlying /a/) vs. the pret. act. (/e/) vs. the pret. mid. of class III (underlying /ə/).

The verbs for 'to sit' and 'to stand' have similar patterns to each other. Both have a present II formed from one stem which is suppleted by a *sāṭ* root that forms the subjunctive V and preterite I. In the case of 'to stand', also meaning 'to last', the present II is from the stem *käly-*: mid. 3s *kaltär*, 3p *klyentär*, gerundive I *klyelle* (an irregular form as if from a present III; we expect †*klyalle*), *nt*-ptc. *klyeñca*, *-māne*, ptc. *klyemane*. The subjunctive and preterite are formed from from *stäma-*. The subjunctive V is formed with ablaut and fixed initial accent (3s *stāmaṃ*, inf. *stamatsi*). The preterite I preserves a unique ablaut pattern of singular *'ä* vs. dual and plural *a*: 3s *s(c)ama**, 3d *stāmais*, 3p *stamāre*, but we also have a 3p *simāre* < **scəmāre* with the ablaut grade of the singular leveled to the plural. The preterite participle is *stmau*, *-oṣ*. For 'to sit' the present II is made to the stem *ṣäm-* (3s *ṣamäṃ*, 3p *ṣameṃ*). The subjunctive V and preterite I are suppleted from the root *läma-*: the subjunctive V is ablauting with fixed accent (3s *lāmaṃ*, 3p *lamaṃ*). The preterite I is *lyama*. The

[7]Malzahn calls a present formed with the class IX suffix occurring beside another present stem with identical valency a Kausativum III.

[8]This root is traditionally set up as **tas-* and the present is therefore classified as class II, but if we integrate the subjunctive stem *tätta-* then it is probably better to set up a root *ta-* with a class VIII present as suggested by Peyrot (2013:757) and followed here. Even so the verb is still irregular.

[9]A 2s mid. *taṣtar* is attested (THT 84 a 1). Peyrot (2013:434) takes this as a bad spelling for *tāṣtar* rather than as representing /təṣtar/, which is Malzahn's interpretation (2010:642).

preterite participle is *lmau*, *-oṣ*, and the imperatives are 2s *plāma* and 2p *plamas*. The root *läma-* also made a present V attested in the imperfect 3s *lamoy*.

The Noun

Class III.1: Nouns with plural in -enta

Class III.1 is characterized by a nominative-oblique plural in *-nta*. In the subtype we are learning here, the singular ends in *-e* and the plural in *-enta*. We have already met the famous *lakle* 'sorrow', which has the plural *läklenta*, as well as *mīṣe*, *miṣenta* 'field'. Note the accent shift. The plural of *īke* 'place' is *ykenta*. An important type of noun that belongs to this class is the abstracts in *-ñe*, including the verbal abstracts derived from gerundives, e.g. *palskalñe* 'thought', pl. *palskalñenta* ← *pläska-* 'think'.[10]

The Adjective

Class II.3: Adjectives with nominative masculine plural in -añ

The adjectives in *-śke*, *lykaśke* 'little' and *wlaṃśke* 'soft, tender' (originally diminutives), and adjectives formed with the suffix *-ṣke*, decline as follows:

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*lykaśke*	*lykaśka*	*lykaśkañ*	*lykaśkana*
obl.	*lykaśkeṃ*	*lykaśkai*	*lykaśkaṃ*	*lykaśkana*
gen.	*lykaśkepi*			

There are a few other adjectives of this class as well, e.g. *aṣanike* 'worthy one, *arhat*'.[11]

Syntax

Negation and the particle mapi

Clausal negation in Tocharian B is mainly expressed by *mā*, which is used both for simple negation and as a prohibitive particle. The negative can be placed either in clause-initial position or in immediately preverbal position.

(4) *onmiṃ* *mā* *yāmṣa(so)* *kṣānti* *mā* *takās*
repentance not did.2p forgiveness not were.2p
You did not repent. You were not forgiving. (THT 42 a 3)[12]

[10] This noun has fixed initial accent because it is derived from a subjunctive stem with fixed initial accent.

[11] An *arhat* (Skt. *arhat* 'deserving' ← *arh-* 'earn') is a person who has progressed on the path to enlightenment but has not yet achieved Buddhahood.

[12] Though there is no hole in the manuscript, there is something missing in the text to govern *kṣānti* 'forgiveness', perhaps a present participle of *yam-* 'do'.

(5) *mā tañ kc= āyor aille nesau m= ālyekepi*
not you.gen.s. prtc.= gift give.ger.II am not= another.gen.s.
I will not give a gift to you nor to another. (THT 23 b 5–6)

Note the use of the gerundive II plus the present of the verb 'to be' as a periphrastic future!

In prohibitive sentences clause-initial position is the rule. Note that prohibition is expressed with *mā* plus the present or the subjunctive.

(6) *mā traṅko yamast=ne*
not guilt make.2s=him
Don't make guilt for him! i.e. Don't blame him! (THT 88 b 4)[13]

mā can be followed by various strengthening particles, e.g. *-auk*,[14] contracting to *mā$_u$k*:

(7) *ñiś ikäṃ-pikwalaññe mā$_u$k nesau*
I twenty.years.old. not.prtc. am
I am not yet twenty years old. (THT 330 b 4)

or *mā ... nta*:

(8) *śaiṣṣentse kartseśc mā palsko nta sīntsate=c*
word.gen.s. good.all. not thought prtc. got.depressed=for.you
Your spirit has never been despondent for the good of the world. (THT 224 a 1)[15]

manta(k) means 'never':

(9) *m(a)nta āke weskau=ne*
never end tell.1s=for.him
I will never tell his end. (THT 291 a 4)

The negative *mā* can also enter into composition:

mā-yāmor 'non-doing'
ma-yalle 'inaccessible'

[13] The manuscript reads *yamas=ne*.
[14] Cf. TA *mā ok*.
[15] The archaic manuscript reads *kärtseśc* and *pälsko*.

But similar compounds can also be formed with *snai-* 'without':

snai-wace 'without equal'
snai-lyipär 'without remainder, perfect'

Finally, the privative adjectives, which we have already met (e.g. *yam-* subj. I → *ayāmätte* 'not to be done'; see p. 48), are another way to express negation.

On the other hand, the particle *mapi* /mə́pəy/ does not contain the negative. It seems to function rather like a tag question in English but it can be either positive or negative. For example,

(10) *auspa poks(e)=ñ mapi twe nest*
truly tell=me prtc. you are.2s
Truly tell me! It is you, isn't it? (PK NS 36 a 1)

It translates Skt. *nanu*, which like Lat. *nōnne*, expects a positive answer:

(11) Skt. *nanu dr̥ṣṭam* = TB *mapi ka lyelyako(ṣ)*
It is seen, isn't it? (THT 196 b 6)[16]

But *mapi* can apparently also be used in expectation of a negative answer like Lat. *num*, e.g. in the *Karmavācanā*

(12) *mapi käryau nestä*[17]
prtc. buy.pret.ptc.nom.s. are.2s
You haven't been bought, have you? (i.e. you're not an enslaved person, are you?) (THT 1111 b 1)

where it translates Skt. *mā vikrītakaḥ* 'You haven't been sold, have you?',[18] or in

(13) *mapi mārsat te*
prtc. forget.subj.2s. it
You won't forget it, will you? (THT 128 b 5)

[16] The manuscript has *lelyako(ṣ)*.

[17] The final *-ä* of *nestä* is an archaic-style writing of the final schwa, which surfaces in verse as o-mobile, but which is normally apocopated in Classical Tocharian texts.

[18] In Buddhist Sanskrit *mā* sometimes introduces a question expecting a negative answer. See Edgerton 1953:202 for examples from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

Vocabulary

Nouns

III.1 with nom. pl. in *-enta*

astarñe a. 'purity'
āke a. 'end'
īke a. 'place', pl. *ykenta* < **u̯eiḱos*, cf. Lat. *uīcus* 'village, neighborhood', Goth. *weihs* 'village'
erepate a. 'form'
ompalskoññe a. 'meditation' < *en-* + *palsko* 'thought', a calque[19] on Pāli (vel sim.) *adhicitta-* 'higher form of thought, meditation'; the first element *en-* originally meant 'in, on' and the vowel was rounded to *o* before the labial.
krāke a. 'dirt'
cake a. 'river' < **tekʷos*, cf. OIr. *teichid* 'flees, runs'
ñ(y)ātse a. 'danger, emergency'
palskalñe a. 'thought'
pāke a. 'part', cf. Ved. *bhága-* 'share', but it might also be an Iranian loan
lakle a. 'sorrow, suffering' (= Skt. *duḥkha-*), cf. Gk. λυγρός *lugrós* 'baneful'
wase a. 'poison', cf. Ved. *viṣám* 'poison', Lat. *uīrus*
ṣalype a. 'oil', cf. Gk. ἔλπος *élpos* 'fat', Ved. *sarpíḥ* 'melted butter'

V.1 *pūdñäkte* 'Buddha', lit. 'Buddha-god'; the *u* is most often given as long. This form is typically found in verse. The prose variant is *pañäkte* (Lesson 1).
brāhmaṇe m. 'brahman', a member of the priestly order of Ancient India ← Skt. *brāhmaṇa-*. In Buddhist literature brahmans are often the villains of the story.

V.2 *kektseñe* f. 'body', obl. *kektseñ*, nom. pl. *kektseñi*

Adjectives

II.3 with m. nom. pl. in *-añ*

aṣanike 'worthy one, *arhat*' ← *aṣāṃ* 'worthy' ← Khot. *āṣaṇa-* which ultimately is related to or borrowed from Parthian **aržān* (Man.Parth. *'rj'n* 'worthy'). So *āṣaṇa-* is ultimately a root cognate with *arhat-*.
takarṣke 'clear, pious, believing'
tparṣke 'shallow'
lalaṃṣke 'tender'

[19] A calque is a word or phrase that is a more or less literal translation of the elements of a compound or phrase in another language. For example, the English word *skyscraper*, which originally referred to a highly placed sail, a tall hat, a tall horse, or a tall person, was applied to a new kind of tall building in late-19th-century American English. *Skyscraper* has then formed the model for the name for this kind of building in many languages, e.g. French *gratte-ciel* lit. 'scrape-sky', Spanish *rascacielos* lit. 'scrape-sky', NHG *Wolkenkratzer* lit. 'cloud-scratcher' (whence Hungarian *felhőkarcoló*), Russian *neboskrjob*, Turkish *gökdelen* 'sky-piercer'. A phrase may also be a calque, e.g. PDE *it goes without saying* is modeled on French *ça va sans dire*. Tocharian is full of calques based on Sanskrit.

Verbs

I,I,– *yok-* 'drink', pres. I 3s *yokäṃ*, subj. I inf. *yoktsi*, pret. ptc. *yāku*, *-oṣ*,[20] cf. Hitt. *ekuzzi* 'drinks', Lat. *ēbrius* 'drunk'

I/XII,I,–
päkw- 'rely on, trust' mid. only, 1s *pkwamar*, 3s *paktär*, 3p *pkwantär*, also a mid. pres. XII *pkwaññemar*, verbal noun from ger. II *pkwalñe*

I,–,I *pälk-* 'shine', appear', ipf. *palyśi*, no subjunctive attested, pret. I *palka**, 3p *pälkāre*, cf. OLat. *fulgere* 'to shine'

II,II,– *lyäk-* 'lie, recline', pres. 3s *lyaśäṃ*, subj. 1s *lyakau*, opt. 3s *lyaśi*, no pret. attested, cf. OE *licgan* 'to lie', Faliscan *lecet* /leget/ 'lies'

II,II,I *cämp-* 'be able', pres. II 3s *campäṃ*, subj. II 2s *cämpät*, pret. I (*klyauṣa* type) 3s *campya*
śaw- 'live' (see pp. 73–4), cf. Lat. *uīuere* 'to live', Skt. *jī́vati* 'lives'

II,II,III
aik- 'know, recognize', 3s mid. *aiśtär*, pret. III *aiksate**, pret. ptc. *aiku*, *-oṣ*, cf. Ved. *ī́śe* 'has power over', Goth. *aih* 'possesses'

VIII,V,I/III
ta- 'put, place' (see p. 74), cf. ultimately Gk. *τίθημι títhēmi* 'I place', *ἔθηκε éthēke* '(s)he placed'.

II,suppl.V,I
käly- 'stand, last' (see p. 74), cf. for the present stem cf. Ved. *śráyate* 'leans'.
ṣäm- 'sit' (see p. 74).

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ñake, syncopated *ñke* 'now'; the syncopated form occurs almost exclusively in poetry
parna 'outside', sometimes written *parra* with assimilation
mapi 'it's not the case that ... is it?' or 'it is the case that ... isn't it?'
mā ... nta 'by no means'

Sentences

Tocharian B to English

1. *tañ lykaśka kektseñe palka, ṣalene klyemane.*
2. *poyśi takarṣkepi eṅkwentse ostne ompalskoññe lyama.*

[20] The finite preterite forms attributed to this verb are uncertain.

3. *mā ñäś tañ wase yokalle nesau. pūdñäkteṣṣana palskalñenta pkwamar.*

   For the periphrastic future see example on p. 22; *pūdñäkte* 'Buddha', lit. 'Buddha-god'; the *u* is most often given as long. This form is typically found in verse. The prose variant is *pañäkte* (recall p. 16).

4. *cai ñake ṣamāññe erepatesa tsäksenträ.*

   ṣamāññe is an adj. derived from *ṣamāne* 'monk'; the 3rd person middle endings vary between 3s *-tär* and *-trä* and 3p *-ntär* and *-nträ*

5. *sā lāntsa wñā=neśc: aṣanikentse ṣarnene tāṣtar=ñ.*

   ṣarne 'hands' du.

6. *aiksatai ra saṃsārṣṣana po läklenta.*

   saṃsār '*saṃsāra*, cycle of rebirth'

7. *kā twe rintsi mā campät onolmeṃts läklenta wsenta?*

   rintsi 'give up'

8. *śaulantse ñi ñyātse ste nesalle?*

   nesalle is ambiguous, so the construction has more than one possible interpretation

9. *orotstsana ckenta kaumaiño kaunts=osontär.*

   -o in *kaumaiño* is movable *o*; *kaunts* is elided[21] for *kauntsa* from *kauṃ* 'day, sun'

10. *kuñcītäṣṣe ṣalype ṣeme pāke wasesa päkṣalle.*

    kuñcīt 'sesame'; *ṣeme* the oblique masculine sg. of *ṣe* 'one' can be translated here as equal'; the perlative, which means 'with' here, governs *ṣeme pāke* and *wase*. *ṣeme pāke* and *wase* are in partitive apposition 'an equal part, poison'

English to Tocharian B

1. These brahmans cook his tender little son.

   'little son' *soṃśke*, no *-ṃ* in obl. sg.

2. Making an end to all births, Buddha will come and will be able to release people from sorrow.

   for 'making' use the *-eñca* participle; for 'to release' use a form of *tsälpa-*

3. The noble heroes are standing outside to see the king and they will stand for a long time.

   'noble' nom. pl. *klyomoñ*; for 'for a long time' use just *walke* 'long'

4. I stood in the river. I did not cross it.
5. He should lie down or sit but he must not stand.

   for 'should lie' use the optative; for 'must not stand' use the gerundive I

6. By no means can we release them from death.

[21] "To elide" is to delete a vowel at the end of a word is before another word beginning with a vowel, i.e. it is a subtype of sandhi (Lesson 18). The noun is *elision* and the terminology originates in Greco-Latin metrics.

Lesson 7

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) presents V and X; (2) subjunctive IV and preterite VII; (3) the verb *lä-n-t-* 'to go out'
The noun: class III.1 nouns with plurals in *-nta* other than *-enta*
The adjective: class II.4 and II.5 adjectives with nominative masculine plural in *-eñ* and *-oñ*
Pronouns: plural personal pronouns
Syntax: comparison and superlatives

The Verb

Present classes V and X

Class V presents are very similar to class V subjunctives which we learned in Lesson 1. They are formed by directly appending the primary personal endings to *sāṭ* roots. Generally, they do not show ablaut, but the verb *präska-* 'fear' does show ablaut and fixed accent identical to that seen in its class V subjunctive form:

1s	*prāskau*	1p	*parskam**
2s	*prāskat*	2p	*parskacer**
3s	*prāskaṃ*	3p	*parskaṃ*[1]

Here is a non-ablauting paradigm from *śuwa-* 'eat':

1s	*śu*[2]	1p	*śwām**
2s	*śwāt* < **śəwātə*	2p	*śwācer**
3s	*śuwaṃ*	3p	*śuwaṃ*

Generally class V presents have identical class V subjunctives and a preterite I.

Class X presents, a type we have already met in the present of *käm-* 'come', are formed by a suffix *-nāṣṣä-/-nāske-* when built to a *sāṭ* root and *-naṣṣä-/-naske-* (underlying /-nəṣṣə-/ ~ /-nəske-/) when built to *anaṭ* roots. When added to roots in *m* the *n* and *m* metathesize. Here is the middle paradigm of *täm-* 'be born':

[1] Ger.I *parskalle* shows fixed initial accent.
[2] A very irregular form! We'd expect †*śuwau*.

1s	*tänmaskemar**	1p	*tänmaskemtär**
	< **täm-näske-mar*		
2s	*tänmastar*[3]	2p	*tänmastär**
3s	*tänmastär*	3p	*tänmaskentär*

And here is the middle paradigm of the *sāṭ* root *päka-* 'intend':

1s	*päknāskemar**	1p	*päknāskemtär**
2s	*päknāstar*	2p	*päknāstär**
3s	*päknāstär*	3p	*päknāskentär*

Present class X with normal accent is called Xa. The Xa verbs make a causative by adopting fixed initial accent. These causatives to present Xa are called Xb by analogy with the IXa (non-causative, normal accent) ~ IXb (causative, fixed initial accent) pattern. For example, *täm-* makes a causative with fixed initial accent and active endings meaning 'beget':

1s	*tanmäskau*	1p	*tanmäskem**
2s	*tanmäst*	2p	*tanmäścer**
3s	*tanmäṣṣäṃ*	3p	*tanmäskeṃ*

There are no really dominant patterns for present Xa. A few *sāṭ* verbs have a subjunctive VI and a preterite I, e.g. *kärya-* 'buy': pres. X *kärnāstär*, subj. VI *kärnātär*, pret. I *käryāte*, pret. ptc. *käryau*, *-oṣ*. Similarly, *päka-* 'intend': pres. X *päknāstär*, subj. VI *päknātär*, pret. I *pkāte*.

Subjunctive class IV and preterite class VII

The subjunctive IV is a small class made from only seven roots. It is formed by the addition of a thematic suffix *-i-* (< *-iyä-*)/*-iye-* to the root. The *i* in the sequence *-iye-* may be syncopated in metrical texts, leading to a surface form *-ye-*. The subjunctive IV, as we have already mentioned, always goes with a class IXa present and a pret. VII. Here is the paradigm of *wäs-* 'dwell' (pres. IXa *wsaṣṣäṃ*, pret. VII *wṣīya*):

1s	*wṣiyau*	1p	*wṣiyem**
2s	*wṣit**	2p	*wṣicer**
3s	*wṣiṃ**	3p	*wṣiyeṃ*

The preterite VII is closely associated with the subjunctive IV. All verbs that make a subjunctive IV have a preterite VII but the reverse is not true. Some verbs pair preterite VII forms with other types of subjunctives. The preterite VII forms suffix a

[3]The attested 2s form is *tänmastär*.

vowel *-i(y)-* between the root and the regular preterite I endings. The final consonant of the root is palatalized if possible. The vowel *i* may be syncopated in metrical texts.

Forms of *wäs-* 'dwell' would be:

1s	*wṣiyawa*	1p	*wṣiyam**
2s	*wṣiyasta**[4]	2p	*wṣiyas**
3s	*wsiya*	3p	*wṣiyare**

No plural forms happen to be attested. The preterite participle is *auṣu -oṣ*, not to be confused with *ausu*, the preterite participle of *wäs-* (1) 'wear'. The middle paradigm from *akl-* 'learn' would be:

1s	*aklyiyamai, aklyamai*	1p	*aklyiyamte**
2s	*aklyiyatai*, aklyyatai*	2p	*aklyiyat**
3s	*aklyiyate*, aklyyate*	3p	*aklyiyante**

The verb lä-n-t- *'to go out'*

The verb *lä-n-t-* is irregular. The preterite VI is thematic:

1s	*latau*			1p	*ltem**
2s	*lac*			2p	*latso*
3s	*lac* (popular *laś, laiś*)	3d	*ltais*	3p	*lateṃ*

The preterite participle is *ltu ltuweṣ*. The class VII subjunctive is:

1s	*lannu*	1p	
2s	*lant*	2p	
3s	*laṃ*	3p	*laṃ*

The present is class Xa to an apparent root *l-* that results from cluster reduction of the root *lät-* or the subjunctive stem:

1s	*lnaskau*	1p	*lnaskem**
2s	*lnast**	2p	*lnaścer**
3s	*lnaṣṣäṃ*	3p	*lnaskeṃ*

Note the idiom *ostameṃ lantsi* lit. 'to go out from the house' which means 'to become a monk'.[5]

[4] The actually attested form is *wṣeyawa* with a hypercorrect spelling of *i* as *e* in a late colloquial eastern text.

[5] This is a calque on an Indic model. In the inscriptions of Aśoka we find a contrast between *pravrajita[ni] grahathani ca* (Shāhbāzgaṛhī) 'those who have wandered forth and those who stay at home', meaning

The Noun

Nouns of class III.1 with plurals in -nta *other than* -enta

Alternantia ending in *-o* in the singular have plurals in *-onta*:

oko 'fruit', pl. *okonta*

The plural *-(ä)nta* is used to form the plural of verbal nouns in *-or*, e.g. *yāmor* 'deed' pl. *yāmornta*, and for other alternantia like *war* 'water' pl. *wranta* and especially for loanwords like *amok* 'art' pl. *amokänta* from Man.Parth. *'mwg* /ammōg/ or MPers. *hmwg* /hammōg/ 'doctrine' and *nrai* 'hell' pl. *nrainta* from Skt. *niraya-*.

The words *käṣṣī* 'teacher' pl. *käṣṣīnta* and *poyśi* 'omniscient one', i.e. the Buddha, pl. *poyśinta* are distinct in that they are masculine also in the plural, e.g. THT 11 b 4 *käṣṣinta śāstr aiśeñcañ* (nom. pl. masc.) 'the teachers, knowing the treatise' and PK NS 32 a 1 *nauṣaññeṃ poyśintaṃts* 'of the previous omniscients' (obl. pl. masc.).

The Adjective

Adjectives of class II.4 with nominative plural in -eñ *and* -oñ

We have already learned that some adjectives in *-re* have an ending *-i* in the masculine nominative plural (*astare*, *astari* 'pure'), but several others have nominative plural in *-eñ*, obl. *-enäṃ*, which is sometimes shortened to *-eṃ*. For example, *lāre* 'dear':

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*lāre*	*lariya*	*lareñ*	*larona*
obl.	*lareṃ*	*lariyai*	*lare(nä)ṃ*	*larona*
gen.	*larepi*	*lariyai*	*larenäṃts*	

Note that adjectives with nominative plural in *-reñ* have the accent on the suffix in the oblique singular masculine and nominative plural masculine. Interestingly, the abstracts from *re*-stems of this sort are in *-auñe*, e.g. *larauñe* 'love', whereas *re*-stems of the *astare* type have abstracts in *-ñe*, e.g. *astarñe* 'purity'. There are a few other adjectives of this type, e.g. *śāte* 'rich', a loanword from Middle Iranian.

Adjectives of class II.5 in *-mo* have a nominative plural in *-moñ*. For example, *klyomo* 'noble':

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*klyomo*	*klyomña*	*klyomoñ*	*klyomñana*
obl.	*klyomoṃ*	*klyomñai*	*klyomoṃ*	*klyomñana*
gen.	*klyomontse**	*klyomñai*	*klyomoṃts*	

monks and householders (Skt. *gṛhastha-*). The contrast between monks and householders is phrased in a similar way in Pāli (*pabbajitā* vs. *gahaṭṭhā*).

The genitive singular is expected to be *klyomontse** since this type is the model for the agent nouns in *-mo*, where the gen. sg. *-ontse* is well attested, e.g. *waṣamontse* 'friend' gen. sg. (THT 1114 a 4, 1262 b); but a genitive singular *klyomopi**, formed on the model of the genitive singular in *-epi*, is also likely to have existed since *aiśamo* 'wise' has the attested genitive singular *aiśamopi* (IOL Toch 308 b 1).

The Pronoun

Plural personal pronouns

The first and second plural forms are

	1p	2p
nom.	*wes*	*yes*
obl.	*wes, wesäṃ*	*yes, yesäṃ*
gen.	*wesäñ, wesi*	*yesäñ, yesi*

The second forms given above in the oblique and genitive are late. The dual forms are nom.-obl. 1st *wene*, 2nd nom.-obl. *yene*.

Syntax

Comparison and superlatives

Tocharian B has no overt comparative or superlative form of the adjective. Instead it simply uses the positive. To express a positive comparison the standard of comparison is put in the perlative. The perlative standard precedes the adjective:

(1) *(mā) ñ(i) (ci)sa śomo… (l)āre tāka*
no me.gen. you.perl. creature dear was
No creature was dearer to me than you. (THT 496 a 1–2)

Negative comparison uses the word *meṅki* 'lack' plus the standard in the ablative:

(2) *wi lakṣānäñc päñaktemeṃ nandentse meṅki ṣai*
two *lakṣanas* Buddha.abl. Nanda.gen. lack was
Nanda's lack was two *lakṣaṇas*[6] from Buddha, i.e. Nanda had two fewer *lakṣanas* than Buddha. (IOL 247 b 3)

The superlative may be expressed by adding a locative noun phrase[7] giving the set out of which the superlative is picked as the maximal example, e.g.

[6] A *lakṣaṇa* is a physical mark of excellence of which there were a total of 32 according to Buddhist lore.
[7] The genitive is also found, but this may be based on Sanskrit, e.g. THT 310 a 4 *śp(ā)lme(ṃ) śāmnaṃts* = Skt. *śreṣṭho manuṣyāṇām* 'best of humans'.

(3) *ñakteṃ śāmnane śpālmeṃ*
gods humans.loc. best
best among gods and men (THT 30 b 4)

A distinct way of expressing a superlative degree is by using *po* 'all' in the perlative:

(4) *pernerñesa tsatsaikaṣ posa pernent wināskau=c*
glory.perl. formed all.perl. glorious.obl. honor.1s=you
I honor you formed by glory as the most glorious of all. (THT 204 b 1–2)

There is a special indeclinable word for 'best', *śpālmeṃ*, just encountered above in (3):

(5) *sam rṣāke posa śpālmeṃ ste*
that sage all.perl. best is
That sage is the best of all. (THT 107 b 5)

Vocabulary

Nouns

III.1 *amok* a. 'art', pl. *amokänta* ← Man.Parth. *'mwg* /ammōg/ or MPers. *hmwg* /hammōg/ 'doctrine'
āyor a. 'giving, gift', pl. *āyornta*
oko a. 'fruit, effect', pl. *okonta*
käṣṣī m. 'teacher', pl. *käṣṣīnta*
nrai a. 'hell', pl. *nrainta* ← Skt. *niraya-*
palsko a. 'thought, mind', pl. *pälskonta*
pelaikne a. 'law, *dharma*', pl. *pelaiknenta* ~ m. (V.1 pl. *pelaikni*) ← *pele* 'way' + *yakne* 'manner'
yarke a. 'honor', pl. *yärkenta*, cf. Ved. *ṛ́c-* 'hymn'
yāmor a. 'deed, karma', pl. *yāmornta*
larauñe a. 'love'
war a. 'water', pl. *wranta*, cf. Gk. *ὕδωρ húdōr*, PDE *water*
wartto a. 'forest', pl. *wärttonta*

V.1 *eṅkwe* type
rṣāke m. 'rishi, sage' from a Middle Indic reflex of Skt. *ṛṣi-*

V.1 *yakwe* type
śaiṣṣe m. 'world, people'

Adjectives

I.1 *krośce* 'cold'
śarware 'arrogant, proud'

II.4 with nom. pl. in *-eñ*
uwe 'learned' < **u̯idu̯o-*, cf. Ved. *vidúṣ-* 'wise'
prākre 'firm, fast'
maiwe substantivized 'young person', cf. ON *mjór* 'thin' < **moi̯u̯os*
ratre 'red', cf. Lat. *ruber* 'red'
lāre 'dear'
śāte 'rich' ← Iranian, cf. MPers. *šād* 'happy'
ścire 'harsh, hard', cf. Gk. *στερεός stereós* 'firm'
swāre 'sweet', cf. Ved. *svādú-* 'sweet'

II.5 with nom. pl. in *-oñ*
aiśamo 'wise'
klyomo 'noble'
cämpamo 'capable'
pälkamo 'shining'
waṣamo substantivized m. 'friend', poetic syncopated form *wāṣmo*

Verbs

VIII,V,I
yuk- 'win, conquer', pres. VIII 3s *yukṣäṃ*, subj. V 3p *yūkaṃ*, pret. I 3s *yuka**, pret. ptc. *yukau*, *-oṣ*; a present VIII with a subj. V and pret. I is an unusual pattern—normally we find VIII,I,III or VI,V,I; cf. Lat. *iungere* 'to yoke', *subiugāre* 'to subjugate'

IXa,I,III[8]
aun- act. 'hit, wound', mid. 'begin', pres. IXa 3s *aunaṣṣäṃ*, 3s mid. *aunastär*, subj. I 3s *auṃ*, pret. III 3s *auntsa*, 3s mid. *auntsate*, pret. ptc. *aunu*, *-weṣ**
klin- 'be obliged', pres. IXa *klyinaṣṣäṃ*, subj. I 3s *klyiṃ*, pret. III *klaintsa*, cf. Gk. *κλίνειν klínein* 'to lean'
rin- 'leave, give up', mid. only, pres. IXa *rinastär*, subj. I *rintär*, pret. III *rintsate*, pret. ptc. *rerinu*, *-oṣ*, cf. Ved. *riṇā́ti* 'makes flow', Goth. *rinnan* 'to run'

IXa,IV,VII
akl- 'learn', no finite present attested but the *-ñca* ptc. is *aklaṣṣeñca*, subj. IV 3s mid. *aklyitär*, pret. VII 3s mid. *akly(i)yate*, pret. ptc. *āklu** inferred from verbal noun *āklor*. The causative *ākläṣṣäṃ* means 'teach'.

[8]These three verbs are classified as Xa by Malzahn (2010), but synchronically in Tocharian B there is no morpheme boundary before the *n*, which appears in all forms. Therefore I've followed Peyrot 2013a and classified them as IXa.

wäs- (2) 'dwell, live', pres. IXa *wsaṣṣäṃ*, subj. IV *wṣiṃ**, pret. VII *wṣīya*, pret. ptc. *auṣu*, *-oṣ*, cf. Gk. *ἄ(ϝ)εσα á(w)esa* 'I spent the night'

Xa,III,III

täm- 'be born', mid. only, pres. Xa *tänmastär*, subj. III 3s mid. *cmetär*, pret. III 3s pret. *temtsate*, pret. ptc. obl. *tetemoṣ*; causative 'beget, generate' *tanmäṣṣäṃ*

Xa,V,I

käla- 'lead, bring', pres. Xa *källāṣṣäṃ* (n.b. regular assimilation of *-ln-* to *-ll-*), subj. V *kālaṃ*, mid. *kalatär* (*a* ~ *ä* ablaut, fixed initial accent), pret. I *śala*, mid. *klāte*, pret. ptc. *kälau*, *-oṣ**, ipv. 2s *pkāla*, 2p *kalas* (a late form with loss of *p-*), 2s mid. *pkalar*, 2p mid. *pkalat*

Xa,VI,I

kärya- 'buy', mid. only, pres. Xa *kärnāstär*, subj. VI *kärnātär*, pret. I *käryāte*, pret. ptc. *käryau*, *-oṣ*, cf. Ved. *krīṇā́ti* 'buys', OIr. *crenaid* 'buys', ORus. *krĭnuti* 'to buy'

päka- 'intend', mid. only, pres. Xa *päknāstär*, subj. VI *päknātär*, pret. I *pkāte*, cf. Ved. *páśyati* 'sees'

Xa,VI/I,III

yänma- 'achieve, reach, enter', pres. Xa *yänmāṣṣäṃ*, the subj. is usually class VI *yanmaṃ*, but there is also a subj. I *yonmäṃ* (n.b. the *o*!), pret. III *yonmasa*, pret. ptc. *yainmu*, *-oṣ*

Xa,VII,VI

lä-n-t- 'go out' (see p. 83 for present, preterite, and subjunctive), ipv. 2p *platstso*; *ostameṃ lantsi* 'to become a monk', calqued on Indic (ibid.)

Adverbs, particles, etc.

enepre (adv. and postposition + gen.) 'before'
ompostäṃ (adv. and postposition + gen.) 'after' (mainly postpositional)

Sentences

Tocharian B to English

1. *yolaimpa mā triwoymar! yukoym weta srukalñeṣṣai!*

   for *weta* review Lesson 2, English-to-Tocharian sentence 1

2. *pelaiknene prākre stmau ṣeme kauṃ śayim, su śaul śpālmeṃ tākoy.*

   stmau from *käly-* 'stand'; this sentence is connected with the next one; interpret the clause with *śāyim* as a conditional protasis;[9] *ṣeme* 'one' obl. sg. m.

[9] Protasis, a traditional grammatical term, refers to the "if" clause of a conditional sentence. The "then" clause is called the apodosis.

3. *mā no kante pikwala snai pelaiknempa rittoṣ śaul ārttoymar.*

   kante '100'; take *snai pelaikne* as a compound 'lawlessness'

4. *mitravārgä paiykāmai. po cmelane källoym krentäṃ wasamoṃ.*

   mitravārgä, a chapter of the *Udānavarga* on friendship, *källoym* from *kälpa-* 'obtain', subj. VI *kallāṃ* < **kəlpna-*

5. *lāntsa lac pyāpyai kärnātsi, sā$_u$ no walkwe käryāte.*
6. *pälkamo śaiṣṣe, war, puwar! k$_u$se yesne pkwalñe keṃtsa ette yātka=ñ?*

   pälkamo is not a verb form! *keṃtsa* perl. of *(t)keṃ* 'earth'

7. *k$_u$cene mā twe cämpamo cewne mā śarware tākoyt.*

   cämpamo is not a verb form!

8. *käṣṣīnta wentsi aunaskentär. po onolmi klyausentär=me.*

   wentsi < **weñ-tsi*

9. *taiknesa onolme nraine tänmastär. kroścana nrainta skente okt.*

   okt guess! (hint: it's a number between 1 and 10); take *taiknesa* as modifying *onolme*, i.e. 'a thus man' = 'a man of such a sort'

10. *mäktā$_u$ ytāri rṣāke pälskontasa yonmasa, tā$_u$ klyomoṃśc weña.*

English to Tocharian B

1. You were (ipf.) a sage again. You did honor to Sunetra in the forest.

   'Sunetra' *sunetre*, gen. *sunetri*

2. But if you intend to expel a man from a house, a mandala of cow blood should be made.

   'mandala' (*maṇḍala*, magic circle) *maṇḍāl*; 'cow' *kewiye*; for 'should be made' use gerundive I

3. Dharmacandra commanded these arts to be written.

   Tocharianize the Sanskrit name by making it end in *-e*

4. The sweetest food is good for rich men, but not for the harshest in body.[10]
5. Relying on the learned teachers, he became a monk.

   päkw- in the sense 'relying on' takes just an oblique object

6. Who begins to give up the law, he will go to eight hells before (re)birth.

   an indefinite relative clause with present or future reference normally takes the subjunctive

[10] Harshness of body is a characteristic of those reborn in an inferior birth through an act of hatred in a previous life.

Lesson 8

Learning Goals

The verb: (1) present subjunctive class XII; (2) imperative class I
The noun: class II plurals in *-na*
The adjective: class III adjectives with nominative plural in *-ñc*
The pronoun: the remaining demonstrative pronoun
Numerals: cardinals and ordinals
Syntax: reported speech; functions of the oblique
Reading: Araṇemijātaka pt. 1

The Verb

Subjunctive class XII

Present subjunctives of class XII are formed with a thematic suffix *-ññä/e-*. Subjunctives of class XII always have identical class XII presents but class XII deverbal presents may form class V subjunctives. Here is the paradigm of *mänta-* 'stir, destroy', in the middle 'be stirred, be angry':

	Active	Middle
1s	*mäntaññau**	*mäntaññemar*[1]
2s	*mäntant**	*mäntantar**
3s	*mäntaṃ*	*mäntantär*
1p	*mäntaññem**	*mäntaññemtär**
2p	*mäntañcer**	*mäntantär**
3p	*mäntaññeṃ*	*mäntaññentär**

Note the 3s act. form *mäntaṃ* from **məntə́ññən*. Here the stress remains on the second syllable /məntə́n/ after the reduction of the word from a trisyllable, leading to an exceptional final stress. The *ñ* of the suffix is depalatalized to *n* before a suffix beginning with *-t-* or *-n-*, as in the 2s and 3s act. and 2s, 3s, and 2p mid. and in the infinitive in those cases where the subjunctive stem is identical, e.g. /təṅkwəññə-tsi/ → *täṅkwantsi* 'to love'. The gerundive usually shows no trace of the formant *-äññä-*

[1]The attested form is spelled *mäntañemar*.

before the gerundive suffix, e.g. *täṅkwalye** (inferred from verbal noun) vs. pres. *täṅkwaññä/e-* 'love' or *mäntalle* vs. pres. *mäntaññä/e-* 'destroy'.

The suffix *-ññä/e-* can be used to form both denominative and deverbative verbs. In the case of deverbatives the suffix is preceded by a union vowel *-ä-* which replaces stem-final *-a-* in *sāṭ* roots—and all class XII deverbal presents are derived from *sāṭ* roots. In the case of denominatives, however, the presuffixal vowel copies the stem vowel of the nominal base. For example, *lāre* 'dear' makes *lare-ññ-* 'to love' and *wīna* 'joy' makes *wināññ-* 'enjoy'.

The imperative

There are seven classes of imperatives in Tocharian B. Here we will begin learning the imperative with imperative class I. The other imperative classes will be introduced in future lessons.

The imperative stem is an independent stem, but in most cases it is closely related to the preterite stem. In some instances the imperative stem is more closely related to the subjunctive stem. Imperatives are normally prefixed with an element *pä-*, unless the root itself begins with *p*. The *ä* of the prefix is syncopated if the root begins with a single consonant, e.g. **pətaka* > *ptāka* 'be!', but surfaces before a root-initial consonant cluster, e.g. *päklautka* 'become!' A variant *po-* is attested in some forms.

The endings of the imperative are:

	act.		mid.
2s	-∅	2s	*-r*
2p	*-s(o)*[2]	2p	*-t*

The imperative class I is formed to roots that make a class I preterite in *-a*. In the 2s imperative the root vowel is typically *a*, which results by *a*-umlaut from **e*. The other imperative forms, if from roots in *ä*, *i*, or *u*, show non-palatalizing *ä*. Roots of other shapes show no ablaut. For example,

tärka- 'let go, utter, desist', pret. I *carka* → ipv. I 2s *ptärka* < **pə-terka*, 2p *ptarkas(o)* < **pə-tərka-sə*

kaka- 'call', pret. I *kāka* → ipv. I 2s *pkāka*, 2pl. *pokkākas*

The imperative is used for positive commands and cannot be negated. A prohibition is expressed with the negative particle *mā* and the present or subjunctive. In the sentence below we see a positive command in the imperative combined with a prohibition using the present stem.

(1) *te parra ptārka yatsi. auṣap mā tärkanat*
this further let.ipv.2s go.inf. more not let.pres.2s
Let this (much) go further. Don't let more (go). (an instruction to a guard at a checkpoint) (PK B 3 a 4f)

[2]But note that in the ipv. III the 2p act. ending is consistently *-so* even in prose. See p. 103.

The imperative is normally clause-final just like other finite verbs:

(2) *cwimp* *nai* *tāṃ* *oṅkorñai* *pkalas*[3]
that.gen.s. prtc. this.acc.f. porridge.acc.f. bring.ipv.2p
Bring that one this porridge. (THT 1554 b 3)

The Noun

Class II plurals in -na

This class shows plurals formed by the addition of the suffix *-na*. Some nouns add *-na* to a stem-final consonant, e.g. *ñem* 'name' pl. *ñemna*. In some cases an epenthetic *ä* appears, e.g. *ṣarm* 'cause' pl. *ṣärmana*. In the case of *stām* 'tree' the plural is *stāna*.

Feminine nouns for female persons ending in nominative singular *-a* take a plural in *-na*, e.g.

aśiya 'nun', obl. *aśiyai*, pl. nom.-obl. *aśiyana*
ṣerśka 'little sister', pl. nom.-obl. *ṣerśkana*

Three important and irregular nouns of this class are:

kliye (later *klyiye*) 'woman', obl. *klaiṃ* (later *klaiñ*), gen. sg. *klaiñantse*, pl. *klaina*
śana 'wife', obl. *śano*, gen. *śnoy*, pl. *śnona*
lāntsa 'queen' (declines like *śana*)

Some nouns have a *ū* or diphthong ending in *-u* before the ending *-na*:

*ākär** a. 'tear', pl. *akrūna*
reki a. 'word', pl. *rekauna* (archaic *rekewna)*
yapoy a. 'land', pl. *ypauna*

Some nouns, which are always alternantia, have a plural in *-nma* which comes from an earlier **-mna*. These are classified as II.2.

kante '100', pl. *käntenma*
nāki 'blame', pl. *nakanma*
was(t)si 'clothing, garment', pl. *wäs(t)sanma*
śaul 'life', pl. *śaulanma*
śwātsi 'food', pl. *śwatsanma*

Quite a few Sanskrit loanwords also take this plural, e.g. *ślok* 'verse', pl. *ślokanma* borrowed from Skt. *śloka-*.

For Sanskrit loanwords the plurals in *-nma* and *-nta* have an interesting distribution. If the singular stem is an underlying disyllable, the plural is *-nma*, e.g. /śloka/ → *ślokanma*, but if the stem is three or more syllables then the plural is normally in *-nta*, e.g. /lakṣanə/ → *lakṣānänta* 'marks (of the Buddha)'.

[3]The manuscript has the simplified forms *cwim* and *kalas*.

The Adjective

Class III adjectives with nominative plural in -ñc

These adjectives are old *nt*-stems.[4] The adjective *po* 'all' is potentially uninflected in all forms but does have an inflected plural:

	sg.		pl. (also indecl. *po*)	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*po*	*po*	*poñc*	*ponta*
obl.	*po*	*po*	*pontäṃ*	*ponta*
gen.	*po*	*po*	*pontaṃts*	*pontaṃts*

When a substantive, the singular has the forms nom.-obl. m., f. *po* and gen. m., f. *ponte*.

And here, finally, is the entire suppletive paradigm of *kartse* 'good':

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*kartse*	*kartsa*	*kreñc*	*krenta*
obl.	*krent*	*kartsai*	*krentäṃ*	*krenta*
gen.	*kreñcepi*		*krentaṃts*	*krentaṃts*

Adjectives ending in -e_u and -$ā_u$ in the nominative masculine singular have plurals in -*ñc*. Here are the paradigms for *perne*$_u$ 'glorious, brilliant' and *tallā*$_u$ 'suffering':

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*perne*$_u$	*pernauntsa*	*perneñc*	*pernenta*
obl.	*pernent*	*pernauntsai*	*pernentäṃ*	*pernenta*
gen.	*pernente*		*pernentäṃts*	*pernentaṃts*
nom.	*tallā*$_u$	*tallauntsa*	*tallāñc*	*tallānta*
obl.	*tallānt*	*tallauntsai*	*tallāntäṃ*	*tallānta*
gen.	*tallānte*		*tallāntäṃts*	*tallāntaṃts*

Finally, denominal adjectives in -*ssu*, e.g. *ymassu* 'thoughtful' ← *īme* 'thought', follow the same pattern with an oblique stem *ymassont*, f. nom. sg. *ymassuntsa*.

[4] A type of athematic nominal inflection found in other Indo-European languages making participles and adjectives, e.g. Ved. *bṛhánt-* 'lofty', Lat. *ingēns*, *ingentis* 'huge'.

The Pronoun

The remaining demonstrative pronoun

We have already met the demonstrative pronouns *se*, *sā*, *te* 'this', *seṃ*, *sāṃ*, *teṃ* 'this (by you)' and the anaphoric pronoun *su*, *sā*$_u$, *tu* 'he, she, it'. Now we will learn the remaining demonstrative pronoun, the one for further deixis, comparable to Lat. *ille* or Skt. *asau*: *samp*, *som*, *tamp* 'that (over there)'. The final *p* can be omitted.

	sg.			pl.	
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.
nom.	*samp*	*somp*	*tamp*	*ceymp*	*toym*
obl.	*comp*	*tomp*	*tamp*	*ceympa**	*toym*
gen.	*cwimp*			*cempaṃts*	*toympaṃts**

samp is sometime paired contrastively with *se*, e.g. *se sampä ksa pautoy ñäś* 'this (or) that person should flatter me' lit. 'this that someone' (THT 33 b 3).

Numerals

The cardinals

The cardinals 'one', 'three', and 'four' are inflected for case and gender. Here is *ṣe* 'one'; in the plural *ṣemi* it means 'some':

	sg.		pl.	
	m	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*ṣe*	*sana*	*ṣemi*	*somona*
obl.	*ṣeme*	arch. *somo*, class. *sanai*	*ṣemeṃ*	*somona*
gen.	*ṣemepi*		*ṣemeṃts*	*somonaṃts*

The numerals for 'two' through 'ten' are:

wi m., f. 'two'
trai, *trey*[5] m., *tarya* f., gen. *täryāṃts* 'three'
śtwer m., *śtwāra* f., gen. *śtwarāṃts** 'four'
piś, gen. *piśaṃts* 'five'
ṣkas, gen. *ṣkassaṃts* 'six'
ṣukt, gen. *ṣuktaṃts** 'seven'
okt, gen. *oktaṃts* 'eight'
ñu, gen. *ñwaṃts** 'nine'
śak, gen. *śkaṃts** 'ten'; as a noun 'decade' the plural is *śkanma*

[5] *trai* became *trey* by the change of final *-ai* to *-ey*.

'Eleven' to 'nineteen' are formed by combining *śak* 'ten' and the unit numerals. The unit agrees for gender if possible:

śak ṣe 'eleven' etc.

The decades are:

ikäṃ 'twenty'	*ṣkaska* 'sixty'
täryāka 'thirty'	*ṣuktańka* 'seventy'
śtwārka 'forty'	*oktańka* 'eighty'
p(i)śāka 'fifty'	*ñumka* 'ninety'

The units can be added to these, e.g. *ikäṃ ṣe* 'twenty-one'.

'One hundred' is *kante*. The higher hundreds are formed by compounds of the units plus *-känte*, e.g. *piśkänte* 'five hundred'. As a substantive *kante* has the plural *käntenma*.

The unit multiples of 1,000 are formed by compounds that have undergone various degrees of phonological reduction in late and colloquial texts. In some cases the reduction has been quite severe, leaving nothing but *-se* as the last trace of *yaltse*.

wiltse < **wi-yältse* '2,000'	*ṣkasyiltse* '6,000'
täryältse, tarältse, tarltse, tars(s)e '3,000'	*ṣukyältse* '7,000'
śtwärältse, śwārse '4,000'	*okyiltse* '8,000'
piśyältse, piśiltse '5,000'	*ñul(tse)* '9,000'

The word for 10,000 is *t(u)māne*, which is related to similar words in various languages spoken in Asia, e.g. Turkish *tümen*, Pers. *tūmān*, Manchu *tumen*, and perhaps Chinese 萬 (Mand. *wàn*).

The ordinals

The ordinals in *-te* decline as class I.2 with an oblique singular in *-ce*, e.g. *wate*, obl. *wace* and a feminine plural in *-ona*:

pärweṣṣe 'first'	*ṣkaste* 'sixth'
wate 'second'	*ṣuktante* 'seventh'
trite 'third'	*oktante* 'eighth'
śtarte 'fourth'	*ñunte* 'ninth'
piṅkte 'fifth'	*śkante* 'tenth'

The ordinals in the *-te* variant may also be use as adverbs, e.g. *wate* 'for a second time'. These may be extended by case endings, e.g. *watesa* 'again', *wtentse*. These forms (n.b. *watesa*, not †*wacesa*) must reflect an old neuter.

'Both' is *antapi* or *āntpi*. It does not have distinct masculine and feminine forms.

Syntax

Reported speech

Tocharian B normally does not employ any explicit marker for reported speech—no accusative plus infinitive construction (as in Latin), no quotative marker (as in Sanskrit or Hittite). Speech is simply directly quoted. But under Sanskrit influence Tocharian B sometimes uses *te mant* 'thus' in a fashion similar to Sanskrit *iti*, e.g.

(3)	*poyśi*	*tākau*	*te*	*mant*	*ñāwa*	*newe*	*wrocce*
	all-knower.nom.	be.subj.1s	that	like	roared.3s	roar.obl.	great.obl.
	ṣecakäññe	*ce*$_u$					
	leonine	this					

"I will be an all-knower." Thus he roared this great lion roar. (THT 220 a 2)

Functions of the oblique case

The oblique case has most of the functions associated with the accusative in other Indo-European languages. It can express the direct object (here of the periphrastic verb *ekalmi yam-*):

(4)	*päknäträ*	*eṅkweṃ*	*klai(ṃ)*	*wat*	*no*	*ekalmī*	*yāmtsi*
	intends.3s	man.obl.s.	woman.obl.s.	or	but	subject	make.inf.

but if one intends to make a man or woman subject[6] (PK AS 8A b 6)

The oblique is also used for extent of time and space:

(5) *wī pikwala*
for two years (THT 415 a 3)[7]

(6) *kauṃ yaṣi*
day and night (THT 15 a 6)

But it can also express a time when:

(7) *cau preke*
(at) that time (PK NS 398 b 4)

The oblique is used for goal of motion:

[6]The context describes a magical ritual for gaining control of people's wills.
[7]The manuscript reads *pikla*.

(8) *wertsiyai yaṃ*
He goes into the assembly. (THT 306 a 3)

The verb 'to be' combines with the noun *peri* 'debt' to mean 'owe' with the accusative for the thing owed:

(9) *ce peri nesem tu päs aiskem=ne.*
what.obl.s. debt are.1p that back give.1p=him
Whatever we owe, that we give back to him.[8] (PK DAM 507 a 9)[9]

Vocabulary

Nouns

I.2 *wäntare* a. 'thing, reason', pl. *wäntarwa*. In poetry this word sometimes has the form *wäntre* with syncope of an accented *ä*. Strangely the accent is not reassigned to the first syllable as is usually the case, which would lead to †*wantre*. Apparently, we have *wäntré*.

II.1 with nom. pl. in *-na*
aśiya, f. 'nun', obl. *aśiyai*, pl. *aśiyana* ← Khot. *aśyā-* 'nun'
kliye f. 'woman' (later *klyiye*), obl. *klaiṃ* (later *klaiñ*), gen. sg. *klaiñantse*, pl. *klaina*
ñem a. 'name', pl. *ñemna*, cf. Lat. *nōmen* 'name'. The Tocharian B form must have had a **ē* in the root.
lāntsa f. 'queen', obl. *lāntso*, gen. *lāntsoy*, pl. *lāntsona* ← *walo*, *lānte* 'king'
śana f. 'wife', obl. *śano*, gen. *śnoy*, pl. *śnona*, cf. OIr. *ben* 'woman', Gk. *γυνή* *gunḗ* 'woman'
ṣarm a. 'cause', pl. *ṣärmana*
ṣerśka f. 'little sister', pl. *ṣerśkana*
stām a. 'tree', irregular pl. *stāna*

II.1 with nom. pl. in *-una*
*ākär** 'tear', *akrūna*, cf. Ved. *áśru* 'tear'
yapoy a. 'land', pl. *ypauna*
reki a. 'word', pl. *rekauna*, cf. OCS *rěčĭ* 'word'
ṣotri a. 'sign', pl. *ṣotruna*

II.2 with nom. pl. in *-nma* (all alternantia)
kante a. '100', pl. *käntenma* as a substantive, cf. Lat. *centum* 'hundred'
nāki a. 'blame', pl. *nakanma*

[8] *ce* is reduced from $k_u ce$.
[9] From a monastic letter edited by Pinault (1984).

wastsi a. 'clothing, garment', pl. *wäs(t)sanma*, originally the infinitive of *wäs-* 'wear'
śaul a. 'life', pl. *śaulanma*
ślok a. 'verse', pl. *ślokanma* ← Skt. *śloka-* 'stanza'
śwātsi a. 'food', pl. *śwatsanma*, originally the infinitive of *śuwa-* 'eat'

III.1 *akālk*, a. 'wish', pl. *akālkänta* ← Bact. *αγαlγο* 'wish'
naumiye a. 'jewel', pl. *naumiyenta*

V.1 *meske* m. 'connection, section, band, sandhi' < **mozgos*, cf. Lith. *mãzgas* 'knot, hitch, bond'

Indeterminate
epiyac 'memory' ← Iranian, cf. MPers. *aβyād* 'memory'
perne m. 'dignity, worth, status, rank' (only sg. attested) ← Old Iran. **farnah-*

Adjectives

I.1 *krentaunatstse* 'virtuous'
spaktanīke 'serving', substantivized 'servant'

I.2 *alālätte* 'untiring', privative from *lal-* 'strive', caus. 'tire out'

III with nom. pl. in *-ñc*
kartse, obl. *krent*, *kartsa*, pl. m. *kreñc*, f. *krenta* 'good'
tallā$_u$, *tallauntsa*, pl. *tallāñc*, f. *tallānta* 'suffering'
perne$_u$, *pernauntsa*, pl. m. *perneñc*, f. *pernenta* 'glorious, brilliant' ← *perne* 'glory'
po, *po*, pl. m. *poñc*, f. *ponta* 'all', cf. Gk. *πᾶς pâs* 'all' < **pānts*
ymassu, obl. *ymassont* 'thoughtful' ← *ime* 'thought'
läklessu, obl. *läklessont* 'miserable' ← *lakle* 'sorrow'

Indeclinable
ākteke ~ *āktike* 'wonderful'; *ākteke* is the older variant

Verbs

III,V,I *tsäṅka-* 'arise, get up', pres. 3s *tseṅketär*, subj. 3s *tsāṅkaṃ* ~ inf. *tsäṅkatsi*, pret. I 3s *tsaṅka*, pret. ptc. *tsäṅkau*

XII,V,I
kawa- 'desire', pres. *kawāññä-*, subj. *kāwatsi*, pret. I 3s mid. *kawāte*
käska- 'scatter', pres. *käskaṃ* < **kəskə́ññən*, mid. *käskantär* < **kəskə́ññətər*, ipf. *käskaññitär*, subj. with ablaut *kāskaṃ*, mid. *käskātär*, pret. mid. *käskāte*, pret. ptc. *käskau*, *-oṣ*
kläntsa- 'sleep', pres. *kläntsaṃ**, subj. (opt.) *klantsoy*, pret. *klyantsa*
mänta- 'stir, destroy' mid. 'be stirred, be angry', pres. 3s *mäntaṃ* < **məntə́ññən*, subj. 3s *māntäṃ*, 3s mid. *māntatär*, pret. 1s *mantāwa*, pret. ptc. *manāntau*, *-aṣ* with the meaning 'evil'.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ārwer adv. 'ready'
om 'then, there'
ololyesa 'very'
ka 'scarcely, just, already'
tusāksa 'therefore, for this reason'
nai 'isn't it?', 'why dontcha?' Most often *nai* strengthens an imperative. It can also be used with a non-imperative verb and invites the hearer's support or agreement.[10]
rano 'also, even; but'
ṣpak 'moreover, also', cf. *ṣäp* 'also, and'

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* part 1

The Buddhist cosmos is divided into three planes of existence (*tridhātu* 'the triple world'). These are the *Kāmadhātu* or 'world of desire', the *Rūpadhātu* 'world of form', and the *Arūpadhātu* 'the formless world'. The *Kāmadhātu* is the world we live in and it has six levels: the *deva* 'god' realm, the *asura* 'demi-god' realm, the *manuṣya* 'human' realm (our actual locus), the *tiryagyoni* 'animal' realm, the *preta* 'hungry ghost' realm,[11] and the *naraka* 'hell' realm. All beings in these worlds (with some exceptions) are ruled by desire and subject to *Māra* 'Death'. The *deva* realm is further subdivided into six levels. Level number 3 is for the *Tuṣitā Devāḥ* 'the contented gods' and is located above the *Yāma* level and below the *Nirmāṇarati* level. It was the home of the Bodhisattva Śvetaketu, who was born as the historical Buddha Gautama and is the current home of the Bodhisattva Nātha, who will be born as the Buddha Maitreya. Our story opens with a conversation between two devas of the Tuṣita level. They discuss the case of a certain King Araṇemi who was willing to give up all, including his son, for the sake of achieving Buddhahood. This text is preserved on the document THT 77 from Šorčuq and is written in Classical literary Tocharian B.

A note on Tocharian punctuation

This manuscript makes extensive use of punctuation. I have not included it in this normalized text because I have introduced my own punctuation, but it is worth explaining what the punctuation looks like and where it occurs. Tocharian texts use four punctuation marks: a vertical line (|) called a *daṇḍa* in Sanskit, a double *daṇḍa* (||), a dot (·), and a double dot (:). In this passage the double *daṇḍa* is used to mark a change of speaker. Thus sentences 4 and 6 in our text below are each preceded by a double *daṇḍa*: || *jñānasthite weṣṣäṃ* 'Jñānasthita says' and || *guṇasaṃpade weṣṣäṃ* 'Gunasaṃpada says'. The double *daṇḍa* is also used to enclose the name of the meter || *riññäktesa* || 'in the Riññäkte tune/meter'. The single dot is used to mark the end of

[10] See Peyrot 2013a:350–6.
[11] Like flesh-eating zombies or the ghouls in Michael Jackson's *Thriller*.

a line of verse, e.g. *mā lauke kca kätkau sū preke ste · sāmñe naumye araṇemi walo tne · aruṇāvati rīne mäskīträ* · But after the last line of the stanza *yaitu ṣai sū krentaunṣṣeṃ tsaiññentsa* we find the number 1 and a double *daṇḍa*, presumably marking the new subsection that the next sentence begins. A double dot is used at the end of sentence 5 (*ente se krentaunatstse araṇemi ñemtsa walo ṣai, ot rano sū ololyesa ākteke wäntare yamaṣṣa* :). It is not clear why this particular sentence-end gets marked in this way.

1. *guṇasaṃpade weṣṣäṃ: cämpamñeccu! tusāksa nai ñake ārwer tākam.*

   cämpamñeccu voc. of *cämpamñetstse*

2. *ente se krentaunatstse sunetre walo pañäkte śaiṣṣene tsāṅkaṃ, ot cwi spaktanīki alälacci tākam.*

   pañäkte here a secondary predication, 'as Buddha'

3. *mapi kca sū cämpan=me laklene waste nestsi.*

   mapi kca 'can't he, somehow?"; *waste* V.1 'refuge'

4. *jñānasthite weṣṣäṃ: waṣama, epiyac pi tu pkalar!*

   waṣama voc. of *waṣamo*; *epiyac* 'memory' + *käla-* 'bring' (Lesson 7) = 'remember'; *pi* 'please', used with orders and wishes with a softening function

5. *ente se krentaunatstse araṇemi ñemtsa walo ṣai,*[12] *ot rano sū ololyesa ākteke wäntare yamaṣṣa.*
6. *guṇasaṃpade weṣṣäṃ: cämpamñeccu, snai nerkenta ṣpak anaiśai epiyac kalatsi porcaññar cwi araṇemiñ lānte krent yamalñe.*

   nerke 'hesitation'; *anaiśai* 'carefully'; *arc-äññ-* pres. XII mid. 'ought to', here an imperative, but translate as 'you ought'; *yamalñe* degerundival abstract from *yam-* 'do', translate as 'deed'

7. *jñānasthite weṣṣäṃ: sasāllaṣ palskosa snai wyakṣep päklyauṣ cau jātakäṣṣe meske!*

   sasāllaṣ pret. ptc. of *sala-* 'fly, arise', here meaning 'uplifted' (pret. I, mid. *salāte*), modifies *palsko*; *wyakṣep* 'disturbance' (Skt. *vyākṣepa-*); *päklyauṣ* ipv. 2s of *klyaus-* 'listen'; *jātakäṣṣe* 'of a *jātaka*' (a *jātaka* is a 'birth tale', a story about a former incarnation of the Buddha)

8. *riññäktesa: mā lauke kca kätkau sū preke ste.*

   riññäkte name of a tune or meter. The stanza that follows alternates lines of 10 syllables (with a word break after four syllables, i.e. 4+6) and 11 (4+7) syllables. *lauke* adv. 'far, long'; *kca* 'at all'; *kätkau* pret. ptc. of *kätka-* 'cross' (Lesson 4). This verb also has the meaning 'pass (of time)'; *preke* m. V.1 'time'

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[12]The story of Araṇemi also exists in Tocharian A, Uyghur, Tumshuqese, and Sogdian versions. The name is also known from Sanskrit and Pāli in the form *Aranemi-*. The Araṇemi story follows the well-known scheme of the extreme liberality of a king who is also a Bodhisattva. A famous version of this story type is the *Vessantara Jātaka* whose hero also gave his children away to an evil brahman. One version of this tale exists in Sogdian.

9. *śāmñe naumye araṇemi walo tne / aruṇāvati*[13] *rīne mäskīträ.*

   śāmñe 'of mankind' derived from *śāmna* the plural of *śaumo* 'man' m. II.1; *naumye* 'jewel', poetically reduced form of *naumiye*;[14] *tne* 'then'; the / indicates the end of a line of verse.

10. *yaitu ṣai sū krentaunaṣṣeṃ tsaiññentsa.*

    yaitu pret. ptc. of pres. IXb *yatäṣṣäṃ* 'adorn', pret. II *yātamai*, here passive; *tsaiñne* a. III.1 (*tsaiññenta*) and V.1 (*tsaiññi*) 'adornments'; *tsaiññentsa* is for *tsaiññentasa*[15]

11. *om no ñake se araṇemi walo, (akālk)*[16] *ka pañäktäṃñe perneścä tsäṅkau...*

    Take the first six words as an independent topic unconnected with the syntax of the rest of the sentence, a so-called *nominativus pendens*; *-ścä* is the full form of the allative

Sentences

English to Tocharian B

1. Tortured by hunger and thirst the beings desired to eat and drink.

   'tortured' *memiyu -oṣ* from *mi-* 'harm'

2. The wind scatters the flowers in all directions.
3. Now I ask y'all. Why do you sleep without care?

   'care' *meṃtsi* m.

4. The male sign perished for me. In five hundred births I was a woman.

   'male' *eṅkwaññe;* for 'for me' use clitic

5. The king gave the woman as a wife to the artist.
6. I am rich. Y'all are suffering and miserable. Make ready to go!

   pyāmso 2p act. ipv. III of *yam-*

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[13] Skt. *Aruṇāvatī* 'endowed with dawn', a mythical place.

[14] This and similar reduced forms result from a linguistically real syncope process that operated in Archaic Tocharian B. These syncopated forms were then preserved as useful metrical variants in verse.

[15] Cf. Nala's characterization in the *Nalopākhyānam* as *upapanno guṇair iṣṭaiḥ* 'endowed with desirable virtues'.

[16] A restoration just for the sake of this lesson. This is not a possible reading of the traces.

Lesson 9

Learning Goals

The verb: imperatives II, III, and IV
The noun: class IV (relationship nouns) and class VII (*nt*-stems)
The adjective: allek 'other'
The pronoun: ksa 'a certain, some'
Numerals: distributives and multiplicatives
Syntax: functions of the genitive
Reading: Araṇemijātaka continued

The Verb

Imperative classes II, III, and IV

Imperative class II is associated with preterite II. Remember (or I should say *epiyac pi tu pkalar!*) that preterite II are the go-to preterites for causative presents of roots with internal schwa.[1] Imperative class II has root-initial palatalization like the related preterites but has *ä* as the root vowel rather than *ā* like the preterite II. Examples:

yät- 'be decorated', caus. 'adorn', pret. II *yātate** → ipv. II 2s *pīta* < **pəyəta*
wätka- 'be decided', caus. 'order', pret. II *yātka* → ipv. II 2s *pitka* < **pə-ẃətka*,[2] pl. *pitkaso*

Imperative class III is the imperative form almost always associated with preterite class III (the so-called *s*-preterites). The imperative III is endingless in the 2s, e.g. *aun-* 'hit' makes *pauṃ*, but adds the imperatival endings to the characteristic *-s-* in the other persons. If the corresponding preterite III shows ablaut then the imperative III will also show ablaut, but the distributions of ablaut grades don't exactly match. In the imperative III the pattern is *e* in the 2s active but *ä* in the 2p active and all middle forms. Contrast from the root *ta-* 'put':[3]

[1] I.e., the set {*ä*, *i* /əy/, *u* /əw/}.

[2] **ẃ* is the segment resulting from the palatalization of **w*. In Tocharian B it merges with *y* and in Tocharian A it merges with *w*, e.g. **ẃæntæ* 'wind' > TB *yente*, TA *want*.

[3] The pattern is complicated by the fact that the verb *ta-* has two different middle paradigms, (1) pret. III *tässāte* and (2) *tasāte*. It is to this latter preterite stem that the 2p middle imperative *pättāsat* belongs.

	sg. active	pl. active	middle
pret. III	3s *tessa*	3p *tesar*	3s *tässāte*
ipv. III	2s *ptes*	2p *ptasso*	2s *ptasar*[4]

Note that the ending of the 2p *-so* is not an instance of movable *o*. The final *-o* is regular and attested in prose as well.

A verb that makes an imperative III even though it doesn't have a preterite III is *yam-* 'make', which has the following imperative III forms:

	active	middle
2s	*pyām*	*pyāmtsar*
2p	*pyāmtso*	*pyāmsat*

Another interesting set of imperative III forms are the imperatives of *käm-* 'come', which forms a middle preterite III. These forms are not preceded by /pə-/. Instead, at least in the case of the 2s active imperative the /pə-/ seems to follow the verbal root:

2s act. *kamp*, 2p act. *kamtso*

Imperative class IV is associated not only with preterite class IV, as one would expect, but occasionally also with preterite class II. For example,

katk- pret. IV *kātkäṣṣa** 'made glad' → ipv. IV 2p mid. *pkātkäṣṣat*
kätk- pret. II *śātka** 'let pass' → ipv. IV 2s mid. *kätkäṣṣar* (sic)[5]

The Noun

Class IV: Relationship nouns

Nouns of this class are the cognates of the names for primary relatives in other Indo-European languages (Lat. *pater* 'father', *māter* 'mother', *frāter* 'brother', Gk. *θυγάτηρ thugátēr* 'daughter', etc.). These nouns end in *-cer* in the nominative singular and *-tär* in the oblique singular. The genitive singular is formed by the addition of *-i* to the oblique stem. The plural is formed in two different ways, either with a nominative-oblique ending *-a* or with a nominative-oblique ending *-ñ*. Both types of plural may be found for the same noun. The genitive plural is usually *-tär-nts*. Here are the paradigms for *pācer* 'father', *mācer* 'mother', *procer* 'brother', and *tkācer* 'daughter':

sg.	nom.	*pācer*	*mācer*	*procer*	*tkācer*
	obl.	*pātär*	*mātär*	*protär*	*tkātär*
	gen.	*pātri*	*mātri*	*protri*	*tkātri**[6]

[4] The attested forms are the archaic *ptässo* and *ptäsar*.
[5] The initial cluster **pk-* has been reduced in this late form.
[6] Various sources cite a supposed genitive *tkātre*, but this turns out not to be real.

pl.	nom.-obl.	*pacera, pātärñ*	*macera*	*procera*	*tkacera, tkātärñ*
	gen.	*pātärnts(o)*		*protärñts*	*tkātärts*

The Tocharian B term for 'parents' is the compound *pācer-mācer* lit. 'father (and) mother'.

The word for 'sister', *ṣer*, probably also followed this pattern. A nom.-obl. pl. *ṣera* is attested.

There is some evidence that the original oblique plural was *pātäräṃ*, etc.

Class VII: nt-*stems*

These forms are nominalized adjectives or participles. We have already met most of the paradigm of *walo* 'king':

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*walo*	*lāñc*
obl.	*lānt*	*lāntäṃ*
gen.	*lānte*	*lantaṃts(o)*

The word for 'merchant' appears to be an old compound of *karyor* 'buying' and *-ttau* 'doer' vel sim.:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*käryorttau*	*käryorttañc*
obl.	*käryorttant*	*käryorttantäṃ*
gen.	*käryorttante*	*käryorttantäṃts*

The Adjective

allek *'other'*

The word for 'other', *allek*, has a unique paradigm. In this word the inflected forms have been extended by a particle *-k(ä)*. But this particle itself receives case endings in the genitive singular and the oblique and genitive plural.

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*allek*	*alyāk*	*alyaik*	*alloṅk*
obl.	*alyek*	*allok*	*alyeṅkäṃ*	*alloṅkna*
gen.	*alyekepi*		*alyeṅkäṃts*	

Note the difference between *ll* in the nominative masculine singular, the oblique feminine singular, and the feminine plural and *ly* in the other forms. This pattern

probably results from the analogy of other adjectives and pronouns that show similar palatalization patterns, e.g. the demonstrative pronoun.

	masc. sg.	fem. sg.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
nom.	*se*	*sä*	*cai*	*toṃ*
obl.	*ce*	*tä*	*ceṃ*	*toṃ*

The Pronoun

The indefinite pronoun

The indefinite pronoun is *ksa*, obl. *kca*, gen. *ket(a)ra*. It makes no gender or number distinctions. When used as a pronominal adjective it means 'a certain' (Lat. *quīdam*) and occurs after the noun, e.g.

(1) *käryorttau ksa lyakā=ne*
merchant indef. saw.3s=him
A certain merchant saw him. (THT 593 a 4)

ksa can also be a pronoun:

(2) *kos śaiṃ ksa kaunaṃts meñaṃts kätkorne kärsnātr*
how.much live.3s indef. days.gen. months.gen. passing.loc. is.cut.off
attsaik postäṃ
only later
However much someone lives, in the passing of days and months it is only later cut off. (THT 3 b 5)

ksa combines with the relative pronoun *k^{u}se* to make an indefinite relative:

(3) *k$_{u}$se ksa laikān(t)e yāmorṣṣana krakenta*
who indef. washed.3p of.deeds.f.obl.p. dirt.p.
whoever washed away the dirts of deeds (THT 244 a 4)

With the negative particle and the demonstrative it means 'nothing, no one':

(4) *mā lipeträ ksa… ma*[7] *nta ksa campya srukalñe taṅt(s)i*
not remains.3s indef. not at.all indef. could death hinder.inf.
Nothing remains…Nothing at all could hinder death. (THT 46 b 3)

ksa can also be used to modify the demonstrative *su*. *mā su ksa* means 'no one':

[7] *ma nta* is sometimes treated as one word. Note that the vowel of the negative in this form seems to be underlying /ə/, not the underlying /a/ of *mā*.

(5) *mā sū ksa nesäṃ ce śaiṣṣene $k_u$se ñiś maiyyasa cämpalle*
not dem. indef. is this world.loc. who me power.perl. able
ṣai ce erkatñene kalatsi
be.3s.ipf. this misery.loc. bring.inf.
There is no one in this world who could have brought me into this misfortune by his power. (PK NS 36 + PK NS 20 b 3)[8]

But in some contexts *ksa* or *kca* has become bleached to an indefinite particle.

Numerals

Distributives and multiplicatives

Distributive numerals can be created by complete doubling, e.g. *somo somo* 'one by one', *okt okt* 'eight by eight'. Another formation adds the suffix *-ār*, e.g. *wiyār* 'by twos', *śtwerār* 'by fours'. In *śkār-śkār* 'by tens', the *-ār* form is doubled.

Multiplicatives of increase

wästo-yäkne 'twofold'
täryā-yäkne 'threefold', etc.

Multiplicatives of repetition

ṣe 'one time', e.g.

(6) *mā ṣṣe nta kca cmelane ñem ra klyaussi kälpāwa*
not one.time prtc. prtc. births.loc. name also hear.inf. get.pret.1s
Not even one time in the rebirths have I got to hear the name. (IOL 5 b 2)

tarya lykwarwa 'three times'
śtwāra lykwarwa 'four times', etc.

Syntax

Functions of the genitive

The genitive functionally—and in part, formally as well—continues the Indo-European genitive and dative. First, the genitive is frequently used adnominally to indicate possession, appurtenance, etc.:

[8]This is only one possible interpretation of this passage. For another recall p. 65.

(7) *(sme)r-ṣlentse* *troṅkne* *lyam=* *ompalskoññe*
Sumeru-mountain.gen. hollow.loc. sat.3s= meditation
He meditated in the hollow of the Sumeru mountain. (THT 4 b 7)

(8) *tañ* *śaulantse* *ākeś*
your life.gen. end.all.
to the end of your life (THT 520 a 4)

Note that the genitive, in its possessive use, is more or less functionally interchangeable with genitival adjectives in *-ṣṣe* or *-ññe*, though the latter tend to be more general and the former more specific: *lantuññe* (adj.) *stāṅk* 'royal palace' but *lānte* (gen.) *stāṅk* 'the king's palace'. The possessive genitive may also be predicative, e.g.

(9) *pr(o)sko* *ket* *mā* *nesäṃ*
fear who.gen. not is
to whom there is no fear, i.e. who has no fear (THT 240 a 1)

The subjective and objective genitives are adnominal genitives modifying verbal nouns and nominalizing respectively the subject and object functions. In the phrase in (10) below, for example, the genitive *kaunantse* 'of the sun' corresponds to the subject of a clause like *kauṃ parka* 'the sun rose', while in (11) and (12) the genitives correspond to direct objects of the verbs underlying the action nouns *tsror* 'separation' and *spärkālñe* 'dissolution', respectively:

(10) *kaunantse* *parkorne*
sun.gen. rising.loc.
at the rising of the sun (PK AS 12K b 2)[9]

(11) *ñiśmeṃ* *tsrorsa* *larepi* *soṃśke(nts)e*
me.abl. separation.perl. dear.gen. son.gen.
by separation of my dear son from me (THT 86 b 4)

(12) *śak* *wäntarwaṃts* *spärkālñe*
ten things.gen. dissolution
the dissolution of ten things (PK AS 7I a 1)

Verbal abstracts in *-lñe*, however, may also govern the oblique:

(13) *ṣañ* *nakanma* *lkālyñesa*
own faults.obl. sight.perl.
to the sight of its own faults (THT 1191 b 4)[10]

[9] The archaic manuscript reads *pärkorne*.
[10] The archaic manuscript reads *ṣän nakänma lkalyñese*.

The genitive is also the case for the agent with passive verbal nominalizations (participles, gerundives, infinitives).[11]

(14) *ṛsākeṃts lānte peṣpirttu pelaikn(e)ṣṣ(e cākkär)*
sages.gen. king.gen. turned dharmic wheel
the dharmic wheel turned by the king of sages (PK NS 25 a 1)

But the the perlative can also be used to express agent with passive verbal nominalizations, e.g.

(15) *ytārye sā śpālmeṃ śaiṣṣe kär(s)aucaisa apākärtse*
path.nom.f. this.nom.f. best world.obl. knower.perl.s. visible.adv.
yāmusa klyomña
made.nom.f. noble.nom.f.
This noble path has been made visible as the best by the world-knower. (THT 30 a 3–4)

The use of the perlative in this function might be due to Sanskrit interference. This sentence for example translates Uv. 12.14: *mārgo hy ayaṃ lokavidā prakāśitaḥ* 'for this path was made visible by the world-knower', where the agent is expressed by the instrumental *lokavidā* 'world-knower'. For agents with finite verbs the perlative is the norm. See p. 138.

Finally, the genitive is also the case for the indirect object with ditransitive[12] verbs.

(16) *yapoy yesäṃ kalpäskau*
country.obl. you.p. bestow.1s
I bestow my kingdom to you. (THT 372 b 4)

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.2 *śanmau*, a. 'fetter, bond', pl. *śänmānma*
sanu a. 'danger', pl. *snūnma*

III.1 *erkattämñe, erkattäññe, erkatñe* a. 'indignation' ← *erkatte* 'hostile'

IV *tkācer* f. 'daughter', nom.-obl. pl. *tkacera* or *tkātärñ*
pācer m. 'father', obl. *pātär*, gen. *pātri*, nom.-obl. pl. *pacera* or *pātärñ*
procer m. 'brother', obl. *protär*, nom.-obl. pl. *procera* or *protärñ*
mācer f. 'mother', obl. *mātär*, nom.-obl. pl. *mācera*

[11] There may be rare instances of the genitive of agent with finite verbal forms, but most of the alleged cases seem doubtful to me. On the genitive of agent see Meunier 2013:316–19.

[12] Ditransitive verbs are verbs that regularly take both a direct and an indirect object.

V.1 *kertte* 'sword', nom. pl. *kercci*, obl. pl. *kertteṃ* ← Iranian, cf. Aves. *karəta-*, Sogd. *krt* 'knife'
preke m. 'time'
preṅke m. 'island'

V.2 *āñme* 'self; wish', obl. *āñm*

V.3[13] *keṃ* f., archaic *tkeṃ* 'earth', gen. *kenantse*, cf. Hitt. *tēkan* 'earth'

VI.2 *proskiye*, *prosko* f. 'fear', obl. *proskai*, cf. *präska-* 'fear' (Lesson 12)
śconiye, *ścono* 'hatred, anger; birth', obl. *śconai*[14]

VI.4[15]
saswe m. 'lord', pl. *säsweñ* (note accent movement!)

VII *olyit(t)au* m. 'boatman' ← *olyiye** 'boat'
walo m. 'king', gen. sg. *lānte*, nom. pl. *lāñc*, obl. pl. *lāntäṃ*, cf. Lat. *ualeō* 'be strong', OIr. *flaith* 'rule' < **u̯latis*
saṃtkinau m. 'doctor', derived from *sāṃtke* 'remedy' ← a Middle Indic reflex of Skt. *śāntaka-* 'calming'

Indeterminate[16]
oṅkor ± 'scabbard' (probably m.; not all agree on this meaning)
taṅkw m. 'love' (only sg. attested)

Adjectives

I.1 *añmaṣṣe* 'personal'
käṣṣīññe 'of a teacher'
walkeññe 'long' (of time), a doublet of *walke* 'long'

I.2 *akalṣälle* substantivized adj. 'student', originally the gerundive I of *akl-* 'to learn'

II.3 *aknātsa*, obl. *aknātsai*, nom. pl. *aknātsañ* 'ignorant', cf. Lat. *ignōtus* 'unknown'

Indeclinable
ite 'full'
erkatte 'scornful, hostile'; *erkatte yam-* 'treat badly'

[13] This word is classed as V.3 because of its Tocharian A cognate (nom. pl. *tkañi*). No plural forms are known from Tocharian B.

[14] The semantic connection between the negative emotions ('hatred' = Skt. *dveṣa-* and 'anger' = Skt. *krodha-*) and 'birth' (= Skt. *yoni-*) is unclear.

[15] This is a small subclass of class VI, characterized by an *-e-* before the class VI plural endings *-ñ* and *-ṃ*.

[16] I use "indeterminate" to indicate that the plural formation is unattested and therefore that the form cannot be assigned to one of the synchronic Tocharian classes. In some cases the stem formation points unambiguously to a particular class. The learner should not suppose that there were "indeterminate" forms in Tocharian B.

Verbs

–,V,I *mälka-* 'put on X (obl.); put X (obl.) into Y (obl.)', subj. V *malkatsi*, pret. I mid. *mälkāte*, pret. ptc. *mälkau*

II,II,I *klyaus-* 'hear, listen', pres. II *klyauṣäṃ*, subj. II *klyauṣäṃ*, pret. I *klyauṣa*,[17] pret. ptc. *keklyauṣu*, *-oṣ*, ipv. VII 2s *päklyauṣ*, 2p *päklyauṣso*. In archaic texts we find e.g. *klyewṣa*. Cf. Ved. *śrṇóti* 'hears'

pask- 'guard, observe, respect', subj. II mid. 3p *paskeṃtär*, inf. *pāṣtsi*, *pässi*, pret. I (*klyauṣa* type) mid. 2s *paṣṣātai*, pret. ptc. *papāṣṣu*, *-oṣ*, cf. Lat. *pāscō* 'I feed'

IV,V,I *pauta-* 'flatter', pres. IV *pautotär*, subj. V *pautaṃ*, pret. I ptc. obl. *papautaṣ*, cf. Ved. *bódhati* 'be awake, observe', OCS *bljudǫ* 'pay attention'

VI,V,–

skaya- 'strive', pres. VI *skainaṃ*, subj. V *skāyaṃ*, ipv. 2s *päskāya*, 2p *päskāyas*

VIII,I,III

käl- 'endure', pres. VIII *kalsäṃ*, subj. I *kelu*, pret. III *keltsa*, ipv. 2s *pkel*

IXb,IXb,II

śänm- 'bind, determine' (rules), pres. IXb *śanmästär*, subj. IX *śanmäṣṣäṃ**, pret. II *śānmya* (note irregular palatalization of *m*), pret. ptc. *śeśśanmu*, *-oṣ*

Pronouns

ksa indefinite pronoun and adjective 'a certain, some' obl. *kca*, gen. *ket(a)ra*; in some contexts *ksa* has become an indefinite particle

Adverbs, particles, etc.

aṣkār 'back', also a noun meaning 'reverse'
ekalymi postposition + gen. 'in the power of'
epe... *epe* 'whether... or'
ś(a)le preposition + obl. 'with'
spantai 'confidently'

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* continued

Conversation of King Araṇemi with his ministers about the Vidūṣaka, Rudramukha. The Vidūṣaka 'buffoon' is a stock character of Indian drama. He is a Brahman, therefore educated in Sanskrit, but he speaks Prakrit, and is characterized by his excessive appetites. In this scene the king's ministers have told the king that Rudramukha must

[17] This is the form after which the *klyauṣa* type of preterite I with palatalization of the stem-final consonant(s) is named.

go. The episode given in sent. 1–6 is preserved on the leaf THT 79 from Šorčuq and written in the classical language.

1. [King A.:] *(mā mäntana)tär=ñ! ptarkaso śconai. mapi wase ñi käṣṣīññe… stmormeṃ, kertteṃ oṅkor mälkānte.*

   mänta- pres. VI 'stir' (this verb also make a pres. XII *mäntaññä-*); the clause after *śconai* is incomplete; *stmormeṃ* an absolutive based on *stmau*, preterite participle of *stäma-*, suppletive root of the verb *käly-* 'stand'

2. *śle yärke lāntaś weskeṃ.*

   yärke archaic spelling for *yarke*

3. [The ministers:] *mā wes cämpalyi erkattäṃñe kaltsi tañ.*
4. [King A.:] *mäkte teṃ watkäścer=ñ, käṣṣiṃ ypoymeṃ lyutsi?*
5. [The ministers:] *epe saswe wess eṅträ epe brāhmaṇeṃ, mā ra tsak wes comp (kaltsi cämpam).*[18]

   wess is for *wes* with gemination of final consonant before vowel-initial word; *ra tsak* 'at any rate'

6. [King A.:] *sanune kekamu nesau. yesäñ pi ekalymi tākaṃ seṃ?*

The ministers get their wish and Rudramukha is expelled. Rudramukha plots revenge. He sends five of his students to the king to ask for the king's son to be handed over for education! The story continues on THT 81:

7. [Rudramukha:] *skaināmane*[19] *piś uweṃ akalṣälyeṃścä makā-yäkne papautarmeṃ weṣaṃn=meśc.*

   weṣaṃn = *weṣṣäṃ*. The *ṣ* reflects a simplification of the geminate, which becomes more widespread in the later stages of Tocharian B but which is attested already in the classical language. The final *-ṃn* is probably meant to indicate a non-assimilated pronunciation of the final nasal. The accent is drawn onto the second syllable by the clitic.

8. *säsūśkaṃ, nesäṃ ksa ñi yesäśc añmaṣṣe reki.*

   säsūśkaṃ = *säsūśkañ* (VI,3) 'dear sons', a diminutive based on *säsuwa-*, the pl. stem of *soy*, here a vocative referring to Rudramukha's students; *nesäṃ ñi* 'there is of me', i.e. 'I have'

9. *kapilavarṇe brāhmaṇe weṣṣäṃ: spantai käṣṣi weṃ.*

   kapilavarṇe, personal name of one of Rudramukha's students, lit. 'brown-colored'; *weṃ* subjunctive, translate 'may speak'

Sentences

English to Tocharian B

1. This earth was without islands and filled with water.

[18] Restoration *exempli gratia*.

[19] The manuscript has a broken]*namane*. If the verb *skai-* is correctly restored the *-mane* participle form should be *skaināmane*.

2. You are a boatman on the Ganges. You gave the horses to the merchants for gold.

   'for gold' use the perlative

3. You were bound fast for a long time with fetters.
4. But they are ignorant and do not respect the giving of a gift.

   use degerundival abstract for 'giving' plus oblique *āyor* 'gift'

5. He spoke the word about desire. Y'all listen to it with love.

   for 'about desire' use the *-ṣṣe* adjective from *yokiye*, obl. *yoko* 'thirst, desire'; 'listen' ipv. 2p *päklyauṣṣo*

6. He treated me badly and expelled me from his land. (Rudramukha speaking!)

Lesson 10

Learning Goals

The verb: imperatives V, VI, VII
The noun: the vocative; irregular nouns; forms in *-aiwenta*; compounds
Dual forms: nouns, pronouns, and verbs
Syntax: reflexives; functions of the ablative
Reading: Araṇemijātaka, Rudramukha's evil plans

The Verb

Imperative classes V, VI, and VII

Class V imperatives are attested for three verbs that have present XII and preterite V. These are:

arc-äññ- 'should'	2s mid. *porcaññar*
we-ñ- 'say'	2s *poñ* < **pə-weñ*, 2p *poñes, pontso*
täṅkwä-ññ- 'love'	2s *ptaṅkwäññe*

We have already met the imperative *porcaññar* in the dialogue of the Tuṣita gods. The 2s *poñ* appears to be endingless, while *ptaṅkwäññe*[1] shows an apparent ending *-e*. The 2p *poñ-e-s* seems to show the same *-e-* before the person marker *-s*, but *pontso* does not have that *-e-*. The form *poñes* is an eastern, probably later form.

The *-e-* that we have just met also appears as the defining feature of class VI imperatives. These imperatives don't have any consistent associations with other parts of a particular verbal paradigm, so we will just list them:

aks- 'announce'	2s *pokse*, 2p *pokses*
ai- 'give'	2s *pete*, 2p *petes, petso*
täla- 'carry'	2s *ptalle*[2]
pläṅka- 'be sold'	2s *peplyaṅke* 'sell!'[3]

[1] Attested in the archaic form *ptäṅkwäññe*.
[2] Attested in the archaic form *ptälle*.
[3] Note that the *pe-* is not the imperative particle here (recall that verbs beginning with *p-* don't take the particle), but a reduplication associated semantically with the transitive present VIII *plaṅksäṃ* 'sells' and also seen in the verbal noun *peplyaṅkor*.

yärp- 'take care'	2s *pīrpe*
śaw- 'live'	2s *pśāy(e)* (an uncertain reading), 2p *pśaiso*

Class VII imperatives are just flat-out irregular.

i- 'go'	2s *paṣ*, irregularly shortened < **pə-yə́ṣə*, 2p *pcīso, cisso*
klyaus-' listen'	2s *päklyauṣ(ä)*, 2p *päklyauṣso*
lä-n-t- 'go out'	2p *platstso*

The Noun

The vocative

Like many Indo-European languages, Tocharian B has, for some nouns and adjectives, a separate case form for directly addressing someone. This is the vocative. Most nouns simply use the nominative for this purpose and the nominative is always used in the plural, but several important classes of nouns and adjectives have distinct vocative forms. In Tocharian B there are three distinct endings for the vocative case:

- *-a* is used for nouns and some adjectives ending in *-e*. For example, the class V.1 nouns *eṅkwe* 'man', *ñakte* 'god', and the personal name *Ānande* have the vocative forms *eṅkwa, ñakta, Ānanda*. But the same morpheme is used for the class VI.3 nouns *soṃśke* 'sonny' (voc. *soṃśka*) and *saswe* 'lord' (voc. *saswa*). Sometimes substantivized adjectives in *-e* also have vocatives in *-a*, e.g. *añmālaṣka* from *añmālaṣke* 'compassionate'.
- *-ai* is used for agent nouns and other verbal adjective ending in nom. sg. *-a*, e.g. *aiṣṣeñcai* 'o giver!' (*aiṣṣeñca*), *tärkaucai* 'o releaser!' (*tärkauca*). Here too belongs the vocative of *klyomo* 'noble', which is *klyomai*.
- *-u* is used for nouns belonging to class V.2, e.g. *arañcu* 'o heart!' (*arañce*), and for most adjectives ending in nom. sg. m. *-e*, e.g. *arañcäṣṣu* 'o kind-hearted one!' (*arañcäṣṣe*), *oroccu* 'o great one!' (n.b. from the oblique masculine stem *orocce-*, not the nom. sg. *orotstse*), *täṅkwaññu* 'o dear one!' (*täṅkwaññe*).

Irregular nouns

Three nouns whose declensions are very irregular are gathered here for convenience.

The body-part term *paiyye* m. 'foot', whose oblique singular is identical to the nominative, has an irregular dual *paine* (cf. below, p. 119) and a plural nom. *paiñ**, obl. *paiṃ*.

The unit of measurement *tau* f. 'ten quarts', borrowed from Chin. 斗 (Mandarin *dǒu*, MChin. *tuwX*), has a plural form that varies a lot: *towi*, *towäṃ*, *towaṃ*, *tom*, *taum*, and *towä* are all attested. The two most common forms are *tom* and *towä*. The plural forms reduce to two different integrations of this foreign word into the Tocharian B morphological system: *towi* is like a class V noun and **towəñ* like a class VI. **towəñ*

became *towäṃ*, which gave *tom*, of which *taum* is a hypercorrect spelling.[4] (Final *-m* for *-ṃ* is a popular development also see in *kaum* for *kauṃ* 'day'.) Note that the form *towä*, which is really an alternate form of the singular, has different syntactic behavior from *toṃ*: a numeral follows *towä* but precedes *toṃ*.

An important relationship term not belonging to the *pācer* type and that inflects irregularly is *soy* m. 'son': nom.-obl. *soy*, gen. *seyi*, nom.-obl. pl. *säs(u)wa*.

Distributive plurals

Some scholars recognize a category called the plurative, which supposedly makes count plurals for collectives. In fact there does not seem to be any such category. Instead when Tocharian B wanted to highlight the distributive meaning of a plural, it made a univerbated[5] collocation of the plural noun form with the plural word **aiwenta* 'units', from an unattested singular **aiwe* 'unit'. The contrast in meaning between the regular plural and the compound form in *-aiwenta* is clearest in the case of *ost* 'house'. The regular plural *ost(u)wa* just means 'houses' (n.b. not a collective), as in the following example:

(1) *a(l)l(o)ṅkn= ostwaśco mas= ānande ot pintwāto*
other.obl.pl.= house.pl.all. went.3s= Ānanda then alms
Then Ānanda went to other houses for alms. (THT 23 b 6)

By contrast, *ostuwaiwenta* means 'individual houses', e.g.

(2) *ṣamāni no ostuwaiwentane kakākaṣ tākoṃ śwātsiśco*
monks.nom.p. but house.unit.p.loc. call.pret.ptc.nom.p. be.opt.3p eat.inf.all.
but if monks should be invited to eat in individual houses (i.e. one monk per house) (IT 248 b 5–6)

mīsa 'meat' *is* a collective plurale tantum, e.g.

(3) *läksañana misa lykaśk kekarśwa*
fishy.f.p. meat finely chopped.f.p.
fish meat finely chopped (PK AS 3A a 1–2)

But the context for the oft-cited form *misaiwenta* is unfortunately too broken to be certain of the meaning. Thus there does not seem to have been any productive formant *-aiwenta* building a distinct plurative category.[6]

[4] See Malzahn 2012:44–6.

[5] "Univerbated" means joined together as a single word.

[6] Other forms: *täṅwaṃñana eśaiwentasa* 'with lovely eyes' (THT 368 a 4); *ṣpä śle yasar misaiwentasa* 'and with blood and pieces of flesh' (IOL Toch 188 b 1); *naś kwalyiṃne yokaiwenta tesare* 'they put individual hairs in the *kwalyiye** (strainers?)' (PK AS 16.1 a 5). See Pinault 2008a:442, 462. See Melchert 2000 on the PIE background of plurals in *-nta*.

Compounds

Nominal compounding is moderately productive in Tocharian B, but some of what is attested may have been motivated by Sanskrit models. The situation is typologically comparable to Latin, where compounding was revivified to an extent under Greek influence. The types recognized by the Sanskrit grammarians are all attested in Tocharian B, e.g. dvandvas,[7]

ñem-kälywe 'renown' ← *ñem* 'name' + *kälywe* 'fame'
pācer-mācer 'parents' ← *pācer* 'father' + *mācer* 'mother'[8]

tatpuruṣas,[9]

kauṃ-ñäkte 'sun-god' ← *kauṃ* 'day' + *ñakte* 'god'

and bahuvrīhis:[10]

astre-pälsko 'with pure spirit' ← *astare* 'pure' + *palsko* 'mind, spirit'
pyapyai-yok 'flower-colored' ← *pyāpyo* 'flower' (note the oblique stem used as the first member of the compound) + *yok* 'color'
yolo-pilkotstste 'with evil insight' with the addition of the suffix *-tstse* ← *yolo* 'evil' + *pilko* 'insight'

Compounds are normally accented on the final syllable of the first member. If the first member is disyllabic, which is the most frequent case, then the surface accent coincides with the accent that would have been assigned by the general accent rule.

totkā-yärm 'of small measure' ← *totka* 'little' + *yarm* 'measure' /yərm/
ysā-yok 'gold-colored' /yəsá-yok/ ← *yasa* 'gold' /yəsa/
pyapyai-yok 'flower-colored' ← *pyāpyo*, obl. *pyāpyai* 'flower'
kärtse-yami 'do-gooder'; notice the accent must be on the second syllable

There are some cases where the accent is not on the second syllable but on the final syllable of the first member:

pud-ñäkte 'Buddha-god' ← *pud* 'Buddha' + *ñakte* 'god' /ñəkte/
mäntrakkā-yäkne 'so formed' ← *mäntrākka* 'so' + *yakne* 'way' /yəkne/[11]

[7] Dvandas are compounds made up of two (or more) elements X-Y that represent the conjunction of the constituent elements, e.g. American English *beanie-weenie*, the name of a casserole made up of equal parts baked beans and sliced hot dogs, i.e. wieners.

[8] Cf. Skt. *mātāpitarau* 'mother-father' du. = 'parents', Yiddish *tate-mame* 'father-mother = parents'.

[9] Tatpuruṣas, also known as determinatives, are compounds where the first element modifies the sense of the second, e.g. *matchbox*.

[10] Bahuvrīhis or possessive compounds describe an external entity which possesses the quality described by the compound. A bahuvrīhi of the structure X-Y can be paraphrased 'whose Y is X' or 'having a Y that is X'. For example, *knucklehead* is not a 'head which is a knuckle' but 'having a head which is (like) a knuckle (in density)'.

[11] Beside *mäntrākayäkne* with second-syllable stress. Notice, as in this example, that the first member of a nominal compound doesn't have to be a noun or an adjective.

The absence of stress on the second member is often the only sign that one is dealing with a compound.[12] In some cases there is an intervening vowel between the first and second member, which as the final syllable of the first member of the compound hosts the accent.

osta-ṣmeñca lit. 'house-sitting', whence 'a householder' (i.e. a lay supporter of the Buddhist monastic community, a calque of Skt. *gṛhastha-*) ← *ost* 'house' + *ṣmeñca* present participle of *ṣäm-* 'to sit'
aśca-sanāpalle 'head-ointment' ← *āśce*, obl. *āśc* 'head' (tatpuruṣa type)
kau$_u$rṣa-pkai obl. lit. 'having a yak's tail',[13] i.e. 'having a chowry' ← *kau$_u$rṣe*, obl. *kau$_u$rṣ* (bahuvrīhi type)

The Dual Forms of Nouns, Pronouns, and Verbs

Dual forms of nouns

The nominal dual category is relatively vibrant in Tocharian B, but even so, dual nominal forms are usually accompanied by *wi* 'two', *antapi* 'both', or the dual form of the demonstrative pronoun, *tai*.[14] All duals have identical nominative and oblique forms. Many duals are extended by a morpheme *-ne*. This morpheme, unlike the segmentally identical loc. *-ne*, usually affects the place of the accent, for example:

āntse 'shoulder', pl. *āntsi*, du. *antsane* 'shoulders'[15] /antsə́ne/ ~ *āṃtsne* with syncopated schwa in poetry
pärwāne 'eyebrows' /pərwáne/

But duals are also found without the *-ne* morpheme,[16] sometimes alongside forms with *-ne*:

orotse pacere du. 'grandparents', i.e. 'grandfather (and grandmother)'
keni 'knees'[17]
eś in the idiom *eś lmau* 'blind' lit. 'set with regard to the eyes' beside *eśane*

[12] But there are also some apparent compounds which retain stress on both members, e.g. *pākri-nesalyñe* 'obviousness' ← *pākri* 'clear' + *nesalyñe* /nesə́lyñe/ 'being' and *pācer-mācer* 'parents'.

[13] A chowry is a flywhisk originally made from a yak's tail. The word is an Anglo-Indian borrowing from Hindi *caūrī* < Skt. *cāmara-* 'the bushy tail of the yak, used as a long brush for whisking off insects' ← Skt. *camara, -ī* 'yak'.

[14] *antapi* and *tai* always modify a dual noun, but *wi* may modify a plural noun, e.g. *wī yṣintsa* 'for two nights' (THT 1539.g b 3). The plural after *wi* is apparently the rule for nouns referring to human beings, e.g. *wi procera* 'two brothers' (PK DA M.507 37+36 100). See Itkin 2021:129–30.

[15] English just uses the plural for natural pairs.

[16] Some earlier works claim that the *-ne* morpheme expresses a distinct numeral category for natural pairs, called the paral. This is not correct.

[17] *keni* is the regular form of the dual. It is thought that it may be by haplology from **kenine* because Tocharian A has *kanweṃ* < **kænwæynæ* which would give TB **kenine*. The attested hapax perlative form *kenīnesa* could continue the inherited form without haplology, but since another manuscript of the same text has *kenīsa* it has been argued that the form *kenīnesa* is an error. See Peyrot 2008:116–7 and Itkin 2021:126.

There are a number of different dual morphemes.[18] The various formation types do not align very well with the standard nominal classifications of Krause and Thomas 1960. Thus we see some V.1 nouns make a dual in *-ene* (*ñäktene* 'the god and goddess') but also in /-əne/ (*antsane* 'shoulders').

1. Most nouns of classes VI.2 and VI.3 create duals by substituting *-ne* for the *-ñ* /-ñə/ of the nominative plural.

   oksaine 'two oxen' ~ pl. *oksaiñ*, nom. sg. *okso* (VI.2)
   pokaine 'arms', pl. *pokaiyñ(o)* (VI.2)
   śamäśkane 'two children' ~ pl. *śamaśkañ*, sg. *śamaśke* (VI.3)

2. Palatalizing schwa can (a) be appended to the singular stem or (b) substitute for the alternans plural morpheme *-a*.

   (a) is potentially extended by *-ne*

   eśane, gen. *eśnaisäñ* 'eyes' vs. sg. *ek* 'eye', pl. obl. *eśaiṃ* (VI.2)

   (b) forms the dual for class III nouns and class I.1 nouns with plurals in *-sa*, all alternantia. The dual ending /-'ə/ substitutes for the final *-a* of the plural.

   Class III
   wi rsoñc 'two spans' ~ pl. *rsonta*, sg. *raso*
   wi lakṣānäñc 'two characteristics' ~ pl. *lakṣān(än)ta*, sg. *lakṣāṃ*
   tai menākäñc 'these two comparisons' ~ sg. *menāk* (III by inference)
   mlyuweñc 'thighs' < **mlyuwent'ə* ~ sg. *mlyuwe* (III by inference)

   Class I.1 with plural in *-sa*
   piltāṣ 'two leaves' ~ pl. *piltāsa*, sg. *pilta* 'leaf' (note the position of the accent which shows that the underlying form is /pəyltáṣə/)

3. a schwa without synchronic palatalization,[19] extended by *-ne*

   klautsane 'ears' ~ *klautso* 'ear'
   antsane 'shoulders' ~ *āntse* 'shoulder' (V.1)

4. a non-palatalizing *-i* in two varieties

   (a) *-i* substitutes for the final *-a* of the plural stem in classes I.1 (at least those ending in *-ra*), I.2 *-wa*, II.1 *-na*, and II.2 *-nma*:

   wi pwāri 'two fires' ~ pl. *pwāra* 'fire'
   cakkarwisa mittarwisa 'with two wheels and two suns' ~ sg. *cākkär* and *mittär*[20]
   klaiñ=eṅwaññemeṃ ṣotrūni 'from the two signs masculine and feminine' ~ pl. *ṣotruna*

[18] On the Tocharian nominal duals see Jörundur Hilmarsson 1989 and Kim 2018, the latter offering a different arrangement based on the synchronic types of Proto-Tocharian. For more on the dual see Itkin 2021.

[19] *ts* does not undergo synchronic palatalization.

[20] Plurals unattested, but probably *cakkarwa** and *mittarwa**.

tai wi kleśänmi 'these two kleśas' ~ pl. *kleśanma*
tai ślokanmine 'in these two ślokas' ~ pl. *ślokanma*

(b) *-i* is also found as the marker of the dual in *keni* 'knees', *lymine* 'lips', and *alyine* 'palms'. A singular form is unknown for *keni* and *lymine* but the singular oblique of 'hand' is *ālyi*, which points to a class VI.1 *alyiye*.

5. *-e* is found as a dual for a few masculines:

   ñäktene 'god (and goddess)' ~ sg. *ñakte*
   eṅ(k)wene 'two men' ~ sg. *eṅkwe*
   orotse pacere 'grandparents' ~ sg. *pācer* 'father'

6. Some forms do not fall exactly into any of these classes:

   paine ~ sg. *paiyye*
   ṣarne 'hands' ~ sg. *ṣar*
   pärwāne 'brows', a duale tantum

The dual, like the plural and singular, can be the basis for further derivation, e.g. *eśaneṣṣe* 'of the eyes'.

Dual adjective forms

For adjectives ending in nominative-oblique singular *-e* the dual endings are *-i* or *-ane*, e.g.

laktsi eśane täṅkwaññane[21] (THT 224 b 1–2) 'the shining loving eyes'

with *laktsi* the dual of *lak$_{(u)}$tse* (I.1; the plural would be *lakcci**) and *täṅwäññane* the dual of *taṅkwaññe* (I.1).

Adjectives in *-ṣṣe* normally take the dual ending in *-i*, but other types, e.g. *-re*, *-tse*, and *-ṣke*, vary. These dual adjective forms are used indiscriminately for nouns of all genders in poetry. In prose, *-i* is masculine dual and *-ane* is feminine.[22]

Adjectives with stems in *-nt-* and *-s-* have duals in underlying /-ñcə/ (*perneñc* 'glorious') and /-ṣə/ (*lmoṣä* 'fixed'), respectively, and are identical to the masculine plural. They can be spotted when they modify dual nouns in the accusative.

Dual pronouns

wene 'we two' vs. *wes* 'we' pl.
yene 'you two' vs. *yes* 'you' pl.
tai 'these two', gen. *tainaisäñ/tainaisi*

[21] The archaic manuscript reads *läkts(i) eśän(e) (tä)-ṅwäññane*.
[22] See Itkin 2021:142.

Dual verb forms[23]

Dual verb forms are quite rare. Most of the attested forms are cited below. The 3rd dual present active ending is *-teṃ*:

(4) *samäśkane westeṃ*
the two boys say < **wesksteṃ* ← pres. IXa *weṣṣä/ske-* (THT 1248 a 4)

(5) *antapi mā nesteṃ*
Both (good and bad deeds) don't exist. ← pres. I/II *nes-* (THT 23 b 4)

The 3rd dual present middle ending -is *-aitär*, with the union element *-ai-* that is also seen in secondary dual endings and in the 2nd dual imperative:

(6) *(yäl-ñä)ktentse* *tskertkanempa* *tasaitär*
gazelle.god.gen.s. calves.com. place.mid.3du
(The two somethings) resemble the calves (of the leg) of the gazelle-lord. ← pr. VIII *ta-* (THT 74 a 5)

The preterite 3rd dual ending is *-ais*:

(7) *ltais ñaktene*
The two gods left, i.e. The god and his wife left. ← pret. VI *lät-* (THT 85 b 5)

(8) *cańkene* *ṣlentse* *stāmais*[24]
lap.loc. mountain.gen. stood.3du
The two of them stopped in the lap of the mountain. ← pret. I *stam-* 'stand' (THT 338 b 7)

The imperative 2nd dual ending is *-ait*:

(9) *ce$_u$* *ṣap* *yene* *saim* *pyamttsait*
this.obl. and you.du. refuge.obl. make.ipv.2du
and you two make it (the law) a refuge (THT 295 a 9)

Syntax

Reflexive

The reflexive pronoun in Tocharian B is *ṣañ* or *ṣañ-añmantse* in the genitive and in the oblique *ṣañ-āñm* 'own-self'. It is used for all three persons singular and plural.

[23] On the structure and prehistory of the dual verbal endings see Adams 2021.
[24] The manuscript reads *cäńkene*.

(10) *mā ṣ keś (t) āsau ṣañ la(kle)*
not and account put.1s own suffering
And I do not reckon my own suffering. (THT 85 a 6)

(11) *inte yes ṣañ wrat lau tärkanacer*
if you own vow afar let.2p
if y'all break your own vow (THT 108 a 7)

(12) *cau pilycalñe ṣañ rintsate*
this penance own abandoned.3s
He abandoned his own penance. (THT 108 a 4)

(13) *mäntak weñau ṣañ= añmantse kartseś*
Thus will.speak.1s own= self.gen. good.all.
Thus I will say for my own benefit. (THT 71a 3)

(14) *ṣañ āñm rerinu ñiś*
own self having.abandoned I
I have abandoned myself. (a nominal sentence with a predicate participle) (IOL Toch 5 b 1)

(15) *walo aknātsa su märsau ṣañ āñm*
king ignorant the forgotten own self
this ignorant king having forgotten himself (THT 81 a 2)

Functions of the ablative

The basic meaning of the ablative is movement away from or separation. The functions are similar to the Sanskrit ablative or the Latin ablatival ablative (i.e. not the instrumental, comitative, or local senses).

(16) *päst paṣ ñy ostameṃ*
away go.ipv.2s my house.abl.
Go away from my house! (THT 23 b 6)

(17) *(mā) (ta)ñ yolyai imaimeṃ prosko nesäṃ*
not you.gen. wicked way.abl. fear is
You have no fear of the wicked way. (THT 588 b 7)

(18) *śak- meñyantse-meṃ mante*
10 month.gen.-abl. from
from the 10th of the month on (Otani II.12)

Notice the ablative added to the complex *śak-meñyantse* in the last example.

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.2 *wāki*, a. 'difference', pl. *wakanma*
śāstär a. 'regulation', pl. *śastarma* reduced from **śastarnma* ← Skt. *śāstra-*

III.1 *pruccamñe* a. 'advantage' ← *pruccamo* 'advantageous, profitable'
m(ñ)cuṣke[25] m. 'prince', pl. *mcuṣkanta*

V.1 *upādhyāye* m., voc. *upādhyāya* 'master' ← BuS *upādhyāya-*[26]
yakne m. 'way, custom', cf. OE *wægn* 'wain'[27]

VI.3 *osta-ṣmeñca* m. 'householder, lay person'
soṃśke m. 'little son', pl. *soṃśkañ*

Indeterminate
kwīpe m. 'shame, modesty' (sg. only attested)

Irregular
tau, *towä* f. 'ten quarts', pl. *towi*, *towäṃ*, *tom* (sic), *taum* (sic) ← Chin. 斗 Mandarin *dǒu*, MChin. *tuwX*
paiyye 'foot' nom.-obl., dual *paine*, nom. pl. *paiñ**, obl. pl. *paiṃ*
soy m. 'son', nom.-obl. *soy*, gen. *seyi*, nom.-obl. pl. *säs(u)wa*

Adjectives

I.1 *aiśaumye* 'wise', substantivized m. 'a wise person, pundit'

Verbs

VI,V,I *räma-* 'bend, bow', pres. VI *ramnaṃ**, subj. V 3p mid. *rmantär*, pret. I mid. *rämāte*
rita- 'seek, cherish', pres. VI *ritanatär*, subj. V mid. *ritatär* (fixed initial accent), pret. I mid. *ritāte*, pret. ptc. *ritau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. I mid. *prītar*. This verb is hardly attested in the present stem. The normal present to express this idea is *ñäsk-*

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[25] On the variation between *mñcuṣke* and *mcuṣke* see Pinault 2015:172–5. Note too the unusual plural *mcuṣkanta* and the masculine gender, which is very unusual for class III.

[26] *upādhyāya* gave Middle Indic **vājjhāa*, which was then borrowed into Persian as *xvāja* and then into Turkish *hoca* 'religious teacher' (the source of the family name of Enver *Hoxha*, the longtime communist leader of Albania until 1985), whence PDE *khoja* 'teacher in a Muslim school'.

[27] Both *yakne* and *wain* are derivatives of a PIE root **u̯eǵʰ-* 'convey'. The Tocharian form is from PIE **u̯eǵʰ-nos* 'that on which one is conveyed'. The Germanic form goes back to PIE **u̯oǵʰ-nos* 'that in which one is conveyed'. The more familiar PDE *wagon* is a loan from Dutch *wagen*, which comes from the same proto-form as *wain*.

IXa,III,III

kän- 'occur, come about', pres. IXa mid. *knastär*, subj. III *knetär*, pret. III in pret. ptc. *kekenu, -oṣ*;[28] causative IXb 'bring about, fulfill' *kanaṣ(ṣ)äṃ*, subj. V mid. *kyānamar* (an odd and late form, usually IXb presents have identical IXb subj.), pret. II *kyāna*, cf. Lat. *gignere* 'beget', Ved. *jā́yate* 'is born'

Adverbs, particles, etc.

a(t)tsaik 'indeed'
oly(a)po 'more, rather than'
ṅke 'then'
tanneṃ 'on this occasion'
nemcek 'surely'
päst (archaic *pest*) 'away, completely'

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* continued. Rudramukha's evil plans

1. *rudramukhe brāhmaṇe weṣṣäṃ, ‖ niṣkramāntne ‖*

   niṣkramānt[29] the name of a meter/tune made up of four lines, each with 17 syllables. There are regular word breaks after the sixth and twelfth syllables, symbolized as 6|6|5, or alternatively after the fifth and twelfth syllables (i.e. 5|7|5). Pāda b has one too many syllables before the first required word break.

   a. *walo aknātsa su märsau ṣañ āñm atsaik ñem araṇemi*
   b. *yāmṣate ñiśś erkatte, lyautsa=ñ päst ṣañ ypoymeṃ wertsaints=enepre*

      wertsaintse for normal *wertsyantse*
   c. *srukor aiśaumyepi olypo (ritoytär) päst. mä kwīpe rmoytär*

      ritoytär is *exempli gratia*; interpret *ritoytär* as passive; *päst* is intensive here; *rmoytär* is intransitive here; translate *kwipe* as the subject 'sense of shame'
   d. *su te-ñem walo yāmṣate ñiśś erkatte. mäkte ṣ teṃ kelu?*

2. *akalṣälyi weskeṃ: upādhyāya, $k_u$se wesäñ tanneṃ yamaṣälle?*
3. *brāhmaṇe weṣṣäṃ: tusāksa nai yes ñī yaitkorsa pcīso!*

   yaitkor is from *watkäṣṣä-* 'command'

4. *araṇemiñ lānte uttare ñemtsa soṃśke ste ṣañ śaulameṃ snai wāki larauñesa.*
5. *sū no walo pañäktäṃñe-perneṣṣe akālksa po aiṣṣeñca nemcek cau uttareṃ mñcuṣkeṃ yesäṃññ aiṣṣäṃ.*

   yesäṃññ is a pedantic spelling for *yesäñ*. The gemination of the *ñ* is due to prevocalic sandhi, but the scribe has combined this spelling with a knowledge of the archaic form of the gen. pl. 2nd person pronoun *yesäṃ*; *aiṣṣäṃ* here in future sense.

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[28] The supposed subj. I 3s *kantär* is not securely attested.

[29] The manuscript reads *niṣkramāṃne*, but this is corrected to *niṣkramāntne* on the basis of the well-attested Tocharian A loc. sg. *niṣkramāntaṃ*.

6. *cwī lkällona läklenta ñiś uttari mñcuṣkentse lkātsi āyu.*

   cwī refers to *Araṇemi*; *Uttari* is a genitive in indirect object function.

7. *kr$_u$i yes ñi ce akālk kanaścer, ot ṅke ñśameṃ śastarsṣe yäknesa pruccamñe yanmacer.*
8. *brāhmaṇi weskeṃ: mäkte watkäṣṣäṃ, upadhyāye! lateṃ brāhmaṇi.*

Sentences

English to Tocharian B

1. The two boys say: these two gods went and they stood in the refuge of the law.
2. Both monks go to the shining houses. The householders honor them and give them alms.

   'alms' *pintwāt* ← a Middle Indic descendant of Skt. *piṇḍapāta-*

3. I will bring about the sun wonder and therefore all will know that I am Buddha.

   'wonder' *raddhi*;[30] for 'that' use *mäkte*

4. You were as dear to me as my own life.

   For an idiomatic Tocharian B way to say this see Tocharian-to-English sentence 4 above.

5. Together with his retinue he achieved the first rank.
6. Go to the city. Sell all the horses. Bring back ten quarts of barley.

[30] *raddhi*, pl. *räddhinma* ← Skt. *ṛddhi* 'growth, abundance, supernatural power'. Note that /rə/ was used to represent the syllabic consonant and the /ə/ was spelled as *a* under the accent.

Lesson 11

Learning Goals

Phonology: the fate of the PIE short vowels and syllabic segments
The verb: verbal stems in *-tk-*
The noun: The structure of nominal classes; the fate of PIE stem types in Tocharian: thematic nouns
Syntax: functions of the allative; conditional clauses
Reading: Araṇemijātaka, the Brahmans' mission

Phonology

The fate of the Proto-Indo-European short vowels and syllabic segments

Proto-Indo-European (PIE) had the following short vowels:

**i*		**u*
**e*		**o*
	**a*	

In addition the liquids and nasals could function as syllable peaks in some environments.[1] When these segments were syllabic,[2] Indo-Europeanists write them as **r̥*, **l̥*, **n̥*, and **m̥*.

This system was completely transformed in Proto-Tocharian (PT). The front vowels **i* and **e* became **'ə*,[3] and **u* became **ə*. **o* became PT **æ* > TB *e*, TA *a*.[4] **a* became **a*. The syllabic consonants all developed to a non-palatalizing **ə* before a nonsyllabic version of themselves. Additionally, the PIE laryngeals between consonants merged with **a* to give PT **a*. Thus the outcome of these changes was:

[1]Nasals are sounds produced with airflow through the nasal cavity. Liquids are the lateral *l* and the rhotic *r*. The syllable peak is the most vowel-like heart of the syllable.

[2]By syllabic we mean that the consonant was capable of constituting a syllable all by itself. Cf. Czech *vlk* 'wolf' or *prst* 'finger'.

[3]But note that the palatalizing effects of **i* are somewhat different and more limited than those of **e*. See pp. 157–8.

[4]The apostrophe before the vowel indicates that it caused palatalization. The symbol **æ* is merely a graphic mnemonic to indicate that the outcome is TA *a* and TB *e*.

*ə

*æ

*a

Examples:

*i

*li-mn̥ 'lake' > PT *l'əm- > TB *lyam*, TA *lyäm*. Cf. Gk. λίμνη *límnē* 'pool'.
*h_1i-tōr 'road' > PT *'ətar[5] > *yətar (in word-initial position 'ə develops a prothetic *y-*) > TB *ytār-ye*, TA *ytār*. Cf. Lat. *iter* 'journey'.

*e

*k^{w}et̯óres 'four' > PT *k'ətwær'ə > *śə.twer'ə[6] > TB *śtwer*, TA *śtwar*. Cf. Ved. *catvā́raḥ*, Gk. τέτταρες *téttares*.
*$h_1$ék̯os 'horse' > PT *'əkwæ > *yəkwæ > TB *yakwe*, TA *yuk*. Cf. Lat. *equus*.

*o

*ĝómb^{h}os 'tooth-like projection' > PT *kæmæ > TB *keme* 'tooth', TA *kam*. Cf. Gk. γόμφος *gómphos* 'peg'.

*u

*d^{h}ugh$_2$tḗr 'daughter' > PT *təkat'ær > TB *tkācer*, TA *ckācar*. Cf. Gk. θυγάτηρ *thugátēr*.

*CHC[7]

*d^{h}ugh$_2$tḗr 'daughter' > PT *təkat'ær > TB *tkācer*, TA *ckācar* Cf. Gk. θυγάτηρ *thugátēr*.

*h_2e,[8] *a

*$h_2$éntos 'front' > PT *antæ > TB *ānte*, TA *ānt* 'surface, forehead'. Cf. Hitt. *ḫanza* 'forehead', Ved. *ántaḥ* 'end, border'.
*sal- 'salt' > PT *sal-əyæ > TB *saliye*. Cf. Lat. *sāl*, gen. sg. *sal-is*.

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[5]The reflex of PIE **i* and **e* is written conventionally as *'ə, but it must in actuality have been a somewhat front vowel which contrasted with the reflex of **u* and the syllabic consonants. In absolute initial position this vowel developed a prothetic yod, i.e. *y-* /j-/.

[6]The . indicates the syllable boundary. The cluster **tw* must have been assigned to the onset of the following syllable because *ə* was only deleted in an open syllable.

[7]*H* stands for any of the three laryngeal consonants.

[8]**h*$_2$, the second laryngeal, changes an adjacent **e* to **a*. **h*$_3$, the third laryngeal, changes an adjacent **e* to **o*. For this reason the laryngeals **h*$_2$ and **h*$_3$ are said to "color" adjacent vowels.

*$m̥$

*$k̑m̥tóm$ 'hundred' > PT *kəntœ > TB *kante*, TA *känt*. *$m̥$ assimilates to $n̥$ before dental except in Baltic. Cf. Lith. *šimtas* 'hundred'.

*$r̥$

*$b^h r̥ ĝ^h rós$ 'high' > PT *pərkəræ 'long' > TB *pärkare*, TA *pärkär*. Cf. Ved. *bṛhánt-* 'high'. The semantic shift is also seen in Khot. *bulysa-* /bulza/ 'long'.[9] In Tocharian the suffix *-*ro-* (TB *-re*) sometimes occurs where other languages have other Caland suffixes like *-u-*.[10] Cf. Hitt. *parku-* 'high'.

*$l̥$

*$b^h l̥ g$ *-o-tor* 'burns' itr. > PT *pəlkætər > TB *pälketär*. Cf. Lat. *fulget* 'shines'.

In the case of *i and *u we tend to find the expected phonological reflexes *'$ə$ and *$ə$ only in isolated forms. Generally, in ablauting paradigms the expected reflexes of *i and *u were remade as *i* /əy/ and *u* /əw/. The model for this replacement was the pattern provided by roots of the shape TERT.[11] In roots of this shape the ablaut alternations TeRT ~ T$\underset{\circ}{\text{R}}$T ~ ToRT gave Proto-Tocharian T'əRT ~ TəRt ~ TeRT. In roots of the shape Te$\underset{\smile}{\text{U}}$T (where $\underset{\smile}{\text{U}}$ stands for $\underset{\smile}{i}$ or $\underset{\smile}{u}$) the PIE ablaut pattern Te$\underset{\smile}{\text{U}}$T ~ TUT ~ To$\underset{\smile}{\text{U}}$T gave Proto-Tocharian T'ə$\underset{\smile}{\text{U}}$T ~ TəT ~ Te$\underset{\smile}{\text{U}}$T. The relationship between the ablaut grades was obscured by the development of *i and *u to *'$ə$ and *$ə$ and the zero-grade was redone on the principle "zero-grade equals full-grade minus palatalization". So in the verb *luk-* 'illuminate' we have the pres. VIII 3s *lukṣäṃ* with analogical zero-grade, but in the adjective *lak$_{(u)}$tse* 'shining' we have the expected phonological outcome of *luk-.

These are the most basic outcomes, but there are some conditioned outcomes as well which we will return to in Lesson 13.

The Verb

Verbal stems in -tk-

One feature of Tocharian morphology that is unusual from the Indo-European point of view is the existence of a number of verbal roots ending *-tk-* or *-tka-*. We have already met a few of these (*kätka-* 'cross', *klautk(a)-* 'turn, become', *klutka-* 'turn',

[9] The curious or skeptical might like to know that Khot. *bulysa-* /bulza-/ shows the regular development of Proto-Iranian *b^h*rza-* from the PIE root *b^h*er*$ĝ^h$- 'high'. Proto-Iranian *$r̥$ becomes *ul* after a labial when not before *t, *g, or *$š$. Cf. Khot. *mulysga-* /mulzga-/ 'short' < *$m r̥$*zuka-* from the PIE root *$mre ĝ^h$- 'short' and contrast Khot. *muḍa-* 'dead' < *$murta$- < Proto-Iranian *$m r̥ta$-.

[10] In Proto-Indo-European some roots form a particular set of derivatives including adjectives in *-*ro-*, *-*u-*, or *-*nt-*, substantives in *-*es-*, and stative verbs in *-*eh*$_1$-. This system is called the Caland system after the Dutch Indologist Willem Caland (1859–1932), who made a crucial contribution to its definition.

[11] Where T stands for any obstruent and R for the liquids and nasals.

putka- 'divide', *rutka-* 'remove'). This unusual phonotactic[12] pattern originates from the affixation of the thematic verbal suffix **-ske̯/o-* to roots ending in a final dental and the deletion of the *s* between *t* and *k*. A few roots with *-tk-* can be connected to PIE roots ending in a dental, e.g. *nätka-* 'push away, hold off' <<[13] **nud-ske̯-*, cf. Ved. *nudáti* 'pushes'. One would predict that these verbs would show thematic inflection (Class II present or subjunctive), but in fact the only verb to show this type is *katk-* 'rejoice' (pres. II 1s *katkau*, 3s *kaccäṃ* < **gh₂dʰ-ske̯-*; cf. Gk. *γηθέω* 'I rejoice'). Most *-tk-* verbs have been transferred to the III,V,I pattern if they are intransitive or the VI or VII,V,I pattern if they are transitive. For example, intransitive *prutka-* 'be shut, be filled': pres. III *prutketär*, subj. V *prutkätär*, pret. I 3p *prutkäre*, but transitive *putka-* 'divide, separate': pres. VII *puttaṅgaṃ* (*g* for *k* due to Sanskrit interference), subj. V 1s *pautka*, pret. I 3s mid. *putkäte*.

The Noun

The structure of the nominal classes[14]

Now that we have learned all the noun classes of Tocharian B we can see that they fall into two larger groups.

Group A

Nouns of classes I, II, III are unified by the fact that in all these classes the nominative and oblique plural are identical: class I nom.-obl. pl. *-(C)a*; II.1 nom.-obl. pl. *-na*, II.2 nom.-obl. pl. *-nma*; III nom.-obl. pl. *-nta*.

It is also generally the case that nouns of this group have nominative and oblique *singulars* that are identical. The two exceptions to this general rule are *āyo*, obl. *āya* 'bone' and nom. *luwo*, obl. *luwa* 'animal'. These two nouns both have weakly suppletive plurals *āsta* and *lwāsa*.

Most of the nouns in these classes are alternantia. The exceptions to this general pattern are (1) a subgroup of feminine nouns referring to female persons which belong to class II.1, e.g. *aśiya* f. 'nun', pl. *aśiyana*; and (2) a group of five nouns referring to masculine persons that belong to class III: *poyśi* m. 'all-knower, Buddha', *käṣṣi* m. 'teacher', *amāc* m. 'minister', pl. *amācänta*, *aśari* m. 'teacher', *m(ñ)cuṣke* m. 'prince', pl. *mcuṣkanta*.

There are also a scattering of other masculines in classes I and II, e.g. I *wamer*, pl. *wmera* m. 'jewel' and II.2 *śaumo*, pl. *śāmna* m. 'person'.

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[12] Phonotactics are the principles governing the combination of speech sounds in a given language. Indo-European strongly disfavored root-final sequences of two stops.

[13] This symbol means "derives from by a combination of phonological and analogical developments." Similarly, >> means "becomes by a combination of phonological and analogical developments."

[14] This section is based on the discussion in Tomba 2020:42–5. to which the reader is directed for further details.

Group B

Nouns of the remaining classes (IV, V, VI, and VII) all have distinct nominative and oblique plural forms and are never alternantia: IV nom. p. *-ñ/a*, obl.pl. *-ṃ*; V nom. pl. *-i*, obl. pl. *-äṃ*, VI nom. pl. *-ñc*, *-ntäṃ*. Classes IV and VI are either masculine or feminine. Class V is almost entirely masculine with rare feminines, e.g. *yente* 'wind'. Class VII is only masculine.

The fate of PIE stem types in Tocharian: The thematic noun

PIE thematic nouns were characterized by an alternating stem vowel **-o/e-* before the case endings. Nouns of this class could be of any gender, though they were predominantly masculine. Neuter thematic nouns took the distinctive ending **-m* in the nominative-oblique singular. In Tocharian B these are continued as class V.1. The reflexes of the nominative and oblique singular are regular:

nom.	**$h_1$ek̂u̯os* > TB *yakwe*
obl.	**$h_1$ek̂u̯om* > TB *yakwe*

The expected nominative plural **-ōs* (< ***-o-es*)[15] has been replaced—as happened independently in Greek, Latin, Old Irish, and Balto-Slavic—by **-oi̯* of pronominal origin.

nom.	**$h_1$ek̂u̯oi̯* > *yakwi*
obl.	**$h_1$ek̂u̯ons* > *yakweṃ*

From these forms we can infer that final **-m* and **-s* were deleted and that **-oi̯* in final position became *-i*.[16]

The genitive singular *-entse* and the genitive plural *-eṃts* are simply the general endings *-ntse* and *-ṃts* added to the thematic vowel *-e-*. The further etymology of these endings is debated.

Syntax

Functions of the allative

The allative normally expresses the direction of literal or figurative motion without attainment of the goal.

(1) *po* *yaneṃ* *samudtärśc* *aiwol*
all.nom.p. go.3p. ocean.all. toward
All (rivers) go toward the ocean. (THT 30 a 8)

[15] A double asterisk before a form means that it is the hypothesized ancestor of a given reconstructed form, i.e., that it belongs to a more remote stage of the proto-language.

[16] But final **-ns* was retained in Proto-Tocharian because the Tocharian A outcome of **-ns* is *-s*, as in *yukas* 'horses' obl. pl.

(2) *sāṅk* *nāriṃ.* *tsyāṅkuneś* *yärṣalñe* *yamasträ*
community Nāri general.all. honor make.3s
The community does honor to General Nāri. (THT 1574)

The allative, not the genitive, is used for the person spoken to:

(3) *lāntäś* *weṣṣäṃ*
king.all. speak.3s
He speaks to the king. (PK NS 34 a 4)

(4) *weñā=neśc*
spoke.3s=him.all.
He spoke to him. (PK NS 398 a 2)[17]

The allative, when added to an infinitive, is used to express purpose:

(5) *poyśi* *toṃ* *ślokanma* *wertsyaine* *ākṣa* *ceṃts* *palsko*
all-knower these verses company.loc. taught.3s these.gen.p. spirit
tsārwässiś
comfort.inf.all.
The Buddha taught these verses in the company to comfort their spirit. (THT 30 a 2)[18]

Conditional clauses

The most common type of conditional clause in Tocharian B has a subjunctive verb in the conditional clause (protasis) and a present in the main clauses (apodosis).[19] These sentences usually express a general principle rather than a concrete future event. For example,

(6) *kwri* *war* *tākaṃ* *yolmene,* *winäññenträ* *omp* *lwāsa* *laksäṃ*[20]
if water be.subj.3p. pool.loc. enjoy.pres.3p. there animals fish.obl.p.
warñai
beginning.with
If there should be water in the pool, the animals, beginning with fish, will enjoy themselves there. (THT 11 b 4)

Frequently there is no overt conditional particle:

[17] The manuscript reads *weñā=neś.*
[18] The manuscript reads *cets.*
[19] For more on conditional clauses see Peyrot 2013a:309–37.
[20] Here we meet the famous fish word: *laks* m. V.3, nom. pl. *läkṣi*, obl. pl. *laksäṃ*. This word has often

(7) *sraukaṃ ṣ… nraine tänmastär lkāṣṣäṃ lakle(nta)*[21]
dies.subj. and hell.loc. born.pres.3s. sees.pres.3s. sufferings
And if he should die, he will be reborn in hell and see sufferings. (THT B 12 b 4)

But conditional sentences with subjunctives in both clauses are also found:

(8) *kr$_u$i twe wroccu wlo yāmt ñi rekisa, käll(ā)t. yñ(ak)t(eṃ)*
if you great king do.subj.2s. my word obtain.subj.2s. among.gods
śale yśmna käre-perne lantuññe
with among.men glory royal
If you, great king, act according to my word, you will obtain royal glory among gods and men. (THT 128 b 4)

Conditional sentences with the present in both clauses are rare and probably based on Sanskrit models.

Conditional sentences with optatives in both clauses describe hypothetically possible but unlikely situations:

(9) *kektseñ mā takoṃ onolmentso śaiṣṣene mänta wärponträ*
body.obl.s. not be.opt.3p. being.gen.p. world.loc. not.at.all receive.opt.3p.
kektseñṣana läklenta
bodily sorrows
If there were no body to the beings in the world, they would not receive bodily suffering. (THT 284 b 5–6)

Vocabulary

Nouns

III.1 *asāṃ* a. 'throne, seat', pl. *asānänta* ← Skt. *āsana-*

Indeterminate
plaktukäññna f. 'door-keeper', obl. *plaktukäññai*
ṣar m. 'hand', du. *ṣarne* (no plural attested), cf. Hitt. *kiššar* 'hand'[22]

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been compared to the Germanic, Balto-Slavic, and Iranian words for 'salmon' or 'trout' (OHG *lahs*, Russ. *losós'*, Lith. *lašišà*, Ossetic *læsæg* 'brown trout'), but the phonology is difficult because the /ə/ of the first syllable of the Tocharian word does not regularly continue the **o* or **a* that the other forms continue. See Pinault 2009:241 for a completely different etymology < **luk̑si-* 'shining one'.

[21] The manuscript reads *tänmasträ* and *lkle(nta)*.

[22] The Tocharian B form appears to have been haplologized from **śəṣər-* as if from **ĝ^{h}eser-ṃ*. Hittite *kiššar* goes back to **ĝ^{h}es-r̥*.

Adjectives

ālyauce ~ *ālyewce* 'one another' ← *ālye* 'other' + *wace* obl. 'second'; does not occur in the nominative. The accent is irregular.

Verbs

II,II,I *katk-* 'rejoice', pres. II 3s *kāccäṃ*, pret. I (*klyauṣa* type) 3p *kaccāre*, pret. ptc. *kakāccu*, cf. Gk. γηθέω *gēthéō* 'I rejoice'
ñäsk- 'seek, require', pres. II, subj. II 3s act. *ñäṣṣäṃ* (Archaic, Classical TB would be *ñaṣṣäṃ*), 1s mid. *ñäskemar*, pret. I (*klyauṣa* type) *ñaṣṣa*

II,suppl.V,I
ak- 'lead', pres. II *āśäṃ*, suppletive subj. V *wāyaṃ*, pret. I *wāya*, pret. ptc. *wawāyau*, *-aṣ*, ipv. I 2s mid. *pwāyar*, cf. Lat. *agere* 'to drive, lead', Ved. *ájati*

V,I,– *täll-* 'carry, bear', pres. *tallaṃ*, subj. I *täll̈ätsi*,[23] cf. Lat. *tollere* 'to lift', OIr. *tlenaid* 'takes away'

IXb,–,II
täl- caus. 'lift up', pres. *taläṣṣäṃ*, pret. II *cālawa*, pret. ptc. *ceclu*[24]

Xa,I,III
yäp- 'enter', pres. 3s *yänmaṣṣäṃ* < **yəpnə́ṣṣə-*, subj. 3s *yopäṃ* (*o* only in singular of subj.), opt. *yapi*, pret. 3s *yopsa*, pret. ptc. *yaipu* < **yayəp-*, ipv. III 2s *pyop*), cf. Ved. *yábhati* 'fucks'

Some *-tk*-verbs

III,V,I *prutka-* 'be shut, be filled', pres. 3s *prutketär*, subj. 3s *prutkätär*, pret. I 3p *prutkāre*, but also the irregular and late *prauktar*, pret. ptc. *prutkau**
mlutka- 'escape', pres. 3s *mlutketär*, subj. 1s *mlutkāmar*, no preterite attested
wätka- 'decide, be decided; differ', no present forms attested, subj. stem in opt. 2s *wätkoyt*, pret. 1s *wätkāwa*, pret. ptc. *wätkau*, *-oṣ*. The causative IXb *watkäṣṣäṃ*, pret. II *yätka* means 'order'. Cf. Ved. *vídhati* 'distribute an offering'.
sätka- 'spread out' itr., pres. 3p *sätkentär*, subj. in derivative of verbal abstract *sätkälñecci*, pret. 3p *sätkāre*, pret. ptc. *sätkau**

VI/VII,V,I
nätka- 'hold off, push away', pres. VI *natknaṃ*, pres. VII *nättaṅkäṃ*, subj. V *nätkaṃ* (non-singular forms not attested), pret. I *ñätka* (Archaic, Classical TB would be *ñatka*), cf. Ved. *nudáti* 'pushes'

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[23] This verb is difficult to fit into the synchronic patterns of Tocharian B. The present was originally a class VI **təlnan*, so we expect a class V subjunctive **talaṃ*, but instead we find a form which has a double *ll*, obviously imported from the present stem, and no final *-a* in the archaic infinitive *täll̈ätsi*.

[24] This verb is obviously related to *täll-* but it has a single *l* throughout its paradigm.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ecce 'hither'
kauc, kauś, koś 'high, upward'
tane, tne 'here' (*tne* occurs almost exclusively in poetry and is a metrical syncopation)
tot 'so'
pi 'please'
bho 'hey!', vocative particle ← Sanskrit
ramer 'quickly'
wra(t)tsai 'opposite'

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* continued. The Brahmans' mission

1. *tumeṃ cai brāhmaṇi tot ike postäṃ ynemane araṇemiñ lānte yapoyne kameṃ.*

   ike postäṃ see Lesson 3

2. *tā rrine yaipormeṃ ālyauceś weskeṃ: bho bho! $k_u$se pi ksa wesäñ kekamor orocce lānt śarsäṣṣi?*

   The gemination in *rrine* is a sandhi effect caused by its position after a vowel; *śarsäṣṣi* caus. opt. from *kärs(a)-* 'know', takes a double object

3. *tane plaktukäññna brāhmaṇeṃ lyelyakormeṃ kercīyenne yopsa, śle yärke lāntaś weṣṣäṃ:*
4. *ñakta, alyek-ypoyṣi brāhmaṇi parna klyenträ. säsweṃ lkātsi ñäskenträ.*

   ñakta voc. of *ñakte; klyenträ* a Fremdvokal has been syncopated in an initial unaccented syllable

5. *walo weṣṣäṃ: ramer ecce pwāyar=me! kärtse-yamiñ cai ñi.*
6. *tane brāhmaṇi kerciyeṃne yaipormeṃ poñc ṣar koś ceccalorsa ka lānte yarke yamaskeṃ.*
7. *tane araṇemi walo brāhmaṇeṃ wratsai tsäṅkormeṃ käṣṣīññe yäknesa asānne lyāmate=me.*

Lesson 12

Learning Goals

Phonology: the fate of the PIE long vowels
The verb: origin of the active personal endings of the present/subjunctive
The noun: the genitive case and the secondary cases
Syntax: functions of the perlative
Reading: Araṇemijātaka, the separation of Uttara, Araṇemi's son

Phonology

The fate of the PIE long vowels

Proto-Indo-European had few long vowels. Most long vowels reflected by the various Indo-European languages result from earlier sequences of a short vowel plus a laryngeal before a consonant. But with the input of laryngeal compensatory lengthenings the following system was reached:

*ī	*ū
*ē	*ō

ā

Tocharian more or less reflects a starting point of this sort, but there are a few points where Tocharian behaves in its own fashion.

The most straightforward development is that of *ē, which becomes PT *'æ as we have already seen in the 'daughter' word.

*ē > PT *'æ > TB *e*, TA *a*

- *d^hugh$_2$tḗr* 'daughter' > PT *təkat'ær > TB *tkācer*, TA *ckācar*. Cf. Gk. *θυγάτηρ thugátēr*.
- *h$_2$u̯eh$_1$n̥to-* 'wind' > *u̯ēntos > PT *w'æntæ> TB *yente*, TA *want*. Cf. Gk. *ἄ(ϝ)ησι á(w)ēsi* 'blows', Lat. *uentus* with Osthoff's Law from *u̯ēntus*.
- *g^wēmet* 'came' > TB *śem*. Cf. Lat. *uēnit* 'came'.

**ā* (from **eh₂* and **ā*) > PT **å*[1] > TB *o*, TA *a*[2]

**bʰreh₂tēr* 'brother' > PT **præt'ær* > TB *procer*, TA *pracar*. Cf. Lat. *frāter*, Gk. *φρᾱ́τηρ phrā́tēr* 'member of a fraternal organization'.
**u̯āstu* 'residence' > PT **wåstə* > TB *ost*, TA *waṣt*. Cf. Ved. *vā́stu*.

This is also the development in absolute final position:

**dn̥ĝʰu̯eh₂* 'tongue' > **kəntwå* > TB *kantwo*, TA *käntu*.[3]

**ō* on the contrary became *a*

**n̥-ĝneh₃tiu̯ōn-* 'not knowing'> **n̥-ĝnōtiu̯ōn-* >> **enknatsa* >> TB *aknātsa*, TA *āknats* 'foolish, fool'.

But in absolute final position **-ō* became **-å*, i.e. it merged with the reflex of **ā*. The best evidence for this development is

**uksō* 'ox' > **okså* by lowering of initial **u* > TB *okso*. Cf. OHG *ohso*.[4]

The long high vowels in the inner IE languages are almost always of laryngeal origin, but in Tocharian things are a bit different. **ih₁* yielded **i*, i.e. **əy*, as expected. This is clear from the optative morpheme *-i-* < PIE **-ih₁-*. But **ih₂* and **ih₃* gave *ya*:

**-ih₂*, the *devī* suffix,[5] becomes **-ya*, e.g. **u̯lōnt-ih₂* > **lantya* > *lāntsa* 'queen'.
**gʷih₃u̯e-* 'live' > **k'yaw'e-* > TB *śāy-/śāw-*.

There seem to be no certain cases of the development of **uH*. The plural ending *-wa* as in *ārwa* 'woods' could be a reflex of **uh₂*, but it could also be analogical.[6]

The Proto-Tocharian system resulting from these changes and the changes to short vowels was:

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[1] The symbol **å* is used as a mnemonic device to represent the Proto-Tocharian sound that became TB *o* and TA *a*.

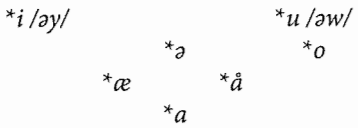
[2] Adams (1988:20), however, argues that **eh₂* became PT **ā* except before word-final nasals, where it became *o*, e.g. TB *śana* nom. < **gʷeneh₂* ~ *śano* obl. 'woman' < **gʷeneh₂m*.

[3] An alternative view holds that **ā* (< **-eh₂*) became PT **a* word-finally. An example of this treatment might be TB *sā* 'this' nom. sg. f. < **seh₂*. See Ringe 1996:94. Alternative explanations have been offered for *kantwo* (by metathesis from **dn̥ĝʰu̯eh₂s*) and *tāno* 'seed, grain' (an exact match for the Ved. plurale tantum *dhā́nāḥ*). See Fellner 2014a for a review and additional arguments for the view supported in the text.

[4] An alternative view holds that final **-ō* became *-u*. The examples cited to support this view are TB/TA *ku* 'dog' < **ḱu̯ō*, TA *wu* 'two' < **du̯oh₁*, and TA *ampu-k* 'both' < **h₂entbʰoh₁*. Further TB *okt*, TA *okät* 'eight' need to have originally ended in some sort of rounded vowel to help preserve the rounding of the pre-PT *o* of the first syllable. See Ringe 1996:89–90 and Pinault 2008a:421. The competing views are discussed in Jasanoff 2018.

[5] The so-called *devī* suffix, PIE **-ih₂*, is a suffix that makes feminine nouns and adjectives from athematic bases. It is named after the Vedic word for 'goddess', which exemplifies it.

[6] A probable case may be seen in the development of TB *soy* 'son' < **swayu-* < **suh₂/₃i̯us*, on which see p. 142.



The Verb

Origin of the active personal endings of the present/subjunctive[7]

The endings of the present and the subjunctive are called the primary endings. Here we will give a brief account of the prehistory of the active primary endings, which are recapitulated below:

	athem.	them.
1s	*-u, -m*	*-e$_u$/-au*
2s	*-t(ä)*	*'-t(ä)*
3s	*-ṃ*	*'-äṃ*
1p	*-m(ä)*	*-em(ä)*
2p	*-cer*	*'-cer*
3p	*-ṃ*	*-eṃ*

The first singular primary ending *-m* is found uniquely in the present in *yam* 'I go'. Otherwise it is continued in the imperfect and optative. The accent of optatives like *yamim* suggest that the ending was historically **-mə* < PIE 1s primary **-mi*. The form *-u* most probably continues **-m*, an irregularly apocopated[8] outcome of **-mi*.[9] There is some independent evidence for the lenition of **m* to *w* in Tocharian B. For example, TB *su*, obl. *ce$_u$* 'he' matches TA *säm*, obl. *cam*, and TB *wāki* 'difference', pl. *wakanma* matches TA *wākäm*; these latter point to a proto-from **wakəmen* that became in Tocharian B **wakəw'ən* > *wāki*. Tocharian A has only *-m* as the 1s marker.

The second singular *-t* is underlyingly /-tə/, and the final schwa sometimes surfaces as *o*-mobile or in archaic texts is spelled with *ä*, e.g. *yamästä* 'you do' (THT 295 b 6) = classical *yamast*. It does not directly continue the expected 2s **-si*. Conceivably it reflects a clitic form of the 2nd person pronoun **tu*.

The 3s *-ṃ* does not continue the expected 3s **-ti*. It has been suggested that the *-ṃ* may result from a particle **nu* 'now' appended to an undercharacterized ending resulting from the loss of final **-t* in the injunctive or in an apocopated form. But the final *-u* of **nu* would have to have been apocopated very early because unlike the 2s the ending of the 3s does not attract the accent. The Tocharian A 3s is *-ṣ*, which probably does reflect PIE **-t(i)*.

The plural endings are a bit more straightforward. First plural *-m(ä)* continues

[7] See the discussion in Malzahn 2010:26–48.

[8] "Apocopated" means having undergone apocope, which is the deletion of a sound or syllable at the end of a word.

[9] An old final **-m* would have been lost, as in *kante* 'hundred' < **ḱṃtóm*.

*-*me* or *-*mes*, both securely reconstructible endings in PIE (cf. Ved. *-mas*). Second plural *-cer* points to *-*t'œr* < *-*tēr*. Tocharian A has *-c* from *-*te*, a plausible 2p form, cf. Gk. *-τε -te*. The origin of both the long vowel and the final *r* are uncertain. The 3p *-ṃ* continues *-*nt* apocopated from *-*nti* (cf. Ved. *-nti*, Doric Gk. *-ντι -nti*). Tocharian A has *-ñc* < *-*nti*.

The Noun

The endings of the genitive

The old athematic genitive singular *-*os* is preserved in *lānte* 'king' < **u̯lōntos* and in the class III *nt*-stem adjectives, e.g. *tallānte* 'suffering'. The ending *-i* is found in names of relatives, e.g. *pātri* 'father', *soyi* 'son', in some names borrowed from Sanskrit, in some pronouns (*ñi* 'of me', *cwi* ~ *cpi* 'of this) and added to the oblique stem of the feminines *śnoy* 'woman' and *lāntsoy* 'queen' = TA *lāntse*. Most probably this continues the athematic dative *-*ei̯* (cf. VOL *-ei*). The Tocharian dative is functionally and formally a syncretism of the genitive and the dative.

The productive genitive singular *-ntse* has been alleged to go back to *-*ns-os*. This is understood to be a recharacterization (via the addition of gen. sg. *-*os*) of an earlier genitive singular *-*(e)ns* that was no longer productive.[10] Others derive it from thematic *-*osio̯* added to a *n*-stem base.[11]

The ending *-epi* (TA *-āp*, *-yāp*) is found as the masculine genitive for most adjectives and participles. It is of uncertain origin. See Pinault 2008a:490 for a theory connecting it to the thematic *-*ī* genitive of Latin and Celtic.

The genitive plural *-ṃts(o)* is the only gen. pl. ending found in Tocharian B. It has no clear etymology. It has been suggested that the form results from the addition of a particle of the shape *-*tie̯* to the accusative plural *-*ns*.[12]

Syntax

Functions of the perlative

The use of the perlative for the standard of comparison has been covered in Lesson 7. The basic local sense of the perlative is to express motion or location above:

(1) *jambudvipäṣṣai ortstsai tā kentsa yaṃ*
of.India.obl. broad.obl. this.obl. earth.perl. goes
He goes over this wide Indian[13] earth. (THT 345 b 2)

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[10] See Pinault 2008a:490. *-*(e)ns*, to be segmented *-*(e)n-s*, was originally an old *n*-stem genitive, as in OIr. *abae* 'of the river' < **ab-en-s*. The recharacterization of this as *-*(e)ns-os* is like that seen in the regional PDE plural *feets*.

[11] Adams 1988:139 and Jasanoff 2019b:51.

[12] Jasanoff 2019b:52–7.

[13] *Jambudvīpa* lit. 'Island of the Malabar plum (*Syzygium cumini*)' is the name in Buddhist cosmology of the continent where humans live or, more specifically, the Indian subcontinent.

But the perlative also expresses instrument and cause

(2) *antapi kenīnesa*[14] *keṃ teksa*
both knees.perl. earth touched
He touched the earth with both knees. (IOL 247 a 5)

(3) *sinäskentär laklesa*[15]
get.depressed.mid.3p. suffering.perl.
They become depressed because of suffering. (THT 1191 b 5)

as well as the agent of a finite verb:

(4) *mäkte lkāntär ka älyaucesa wnolmi cai*
how see.mid.3p. prtc. each.other.perl. beings.nom. these
How indeed are these beings seen by each other? (THT 590 b 2)[16]

The perlative can also be used for a nonlimited period of time:

(5) *piś kṣuṃtsa*
five year.perl.
during the fifth year (of the reign) (LP 8 a 1)

Vocabulary

Nouns

I.2 *eṅkäl* a. 'feeling, passion'

II.1 *śaumo* m. 'man, person', obl. sg. *śaumoṃ*, irregular pl. *śāmna* < **śaumna* with reduction of the diphthong *au* before a consonant cluster
ṣarya f. 'lady', obl. sg. *ṣaryo*

III.1 *traṅko* a.'sin', pl. *träṅkonta*
pratiṃ a. 'decision', pl. *pratinta*

V.1 *appakke* m. 'dad'
rākṣatse m. 'rakshasa', a class of demons ← Skt. *rākṣasa-*
*larekke** 'dear one', voc. *larekka*, a diminutive of *lāre* 'dear'

[14] On *kenīne* see n. 17 in Lesson 10.
[15] The archaic manuscript has *läklesa*.
[16] For the perlative of agent with non-finite forms see p. 108.

VI.3 *rupaśke* 'little face', a diminutive of *rup* 'face, form, shape' ← Skt. *rūpa-* 'form'
śaulapreñca 'life-bearing'

Indeterminate

ammakki f. 'mama' (sg. only attested)
āppa voc., obl. *āppai* 'father' (sg. only attested, nom. not attested)
keni 'knee', duale tantum, loc. *kenīne*,[17] cf. Lat. *genū*
wek m. 'voice' (sg. only attested), cf. Lat. *uōx*
syelme 'sweat' (sg. only attested), cf. OE *swāt*

Adjectives

–,V,– *skawa-* 'lick', subj. V *skāwatsi*[18]

I.1 *srakantse* 'disturbed'

I.2 *ylāre* 'limp'
wate 'second', cf. Ved. *dvitīya-* 'second'

Verbs

II,I,III

plätk- 'overflow, develop, arise', pres. II mid. ptc. *plyetkemane*, subj. I *pletkäṃ*, pret. III 3p *pletkar=c*, pret. ptc. *plätku*, *plätkweṣ*

V,V,I *präska-* 'fear' (+ gen.), pres./subj. V 3s *prāskaṃ*, 3p *parskaṃ*, pret. I *pärska* (Archaic, Classical TB would be *parska*), pret. ptc. *pärskau*, *-oṣ*, cf. OE *fyrhtu* 'fright', *forht* 'afraid'
śuwa- 'eat, consume', pres./subj. V 3s *śuwaṃ*, pret. I *śāwa* (*śuwa* is also attested for the 3s), *śawāre*, pret. ptc. *śeśu*, *śeśuweṣ* (the /a/ of the preterite is also seen in the present participle form *śawāñca* 'eating'), cf. OE *cēowan* 'to chew'

VI,V,I *krästa-*[19] 'cut off, destroy', pres. VI 3s *karsnaṃ*, subj. V fixed accent and ablauting *krāstäṃ* (sic, we expect *krāstaṃ**) ~ *karstatsi*, pret. I *karsta*, pret. ptc. *kärstau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. *pkrāsta*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ate 'away'

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[17] Not to be confused with the extended dual *kenīne* attested one time in the perlative *kenīnesa* in the sentence quoted above as (2).

[18] This is a hapax, so the meaning is not certain. In context it describes a gesture of affection performed with the tongue. On licking as a gesture of affection and respect in Central Asian Buddhist literature, see Wilkens 2015:262–5.

[19] See Peyrot 2013b:233.

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* continued. The separation of Uttara, Araṇemi's son

1. *eṅkormeṃ kenīne lamästär=ne, au(n)tsate=ne rupaśke kantwasa skāwatsi.*

   the subject is Araṇemi, the object is his son Uttara; *lamästär* caus. of *ṣäm-* 'sit'

2. *śaulapreñcai soṃśka, se wate appakke snai träṅko. ñake päst rinastär ci (tañ pärweṣṣe pācer).*[20]

   Araṇemi is speaking; *śaulapreñcai soṃśka* are vocatives

3. *uttare weṣṣäṃ: āppa, ate yāmtsi päknāstar=ñ? walo weṣṣäṃ: larekka, brāhmeṃts āyor aiskau=c.*

   ate yāmtsi 'to do away', i.e. 'to send away'

4. *(miwama)ne weṣṣäṃ: saswa appakka, yakṣī caimp skente, mā brāhmaṇi! päst ṅke śwā=ñ. . . . yakṣāts ṣarnene tāṣtar=ñ.*[21]

   Uttara is the speaker; *miwamane* 'trembling'; *yakṣī* nom. pl. *yakṣas* 'demons'; *śwā=ñ* = *śwāṃ=ñ*

Uttara appeals to his mother who is heartbroken to be separated from her son.

5. *weksa srakañce (mācer) kwoytär=ne taṅ(k)sa snai kärsto.*

   snai kärsto 'without interruption'; *kärsto* popular form for *kärstau*, pret. ptc. of *krästa-* 'cut off'

6. *tumeṃ uttare mñcuṣke wcukaisa mätär lāntso eṅku weṣän=neścä: ṣarya ammakki, poññ āppai! mā ñiś cempaṃts rakṣatsents aiṣṣäṃ.*

   poññ sandhi form of *poñ* before a vowel, ipv. to *weña*

7. *tane araṇemiñ lānte mñcuṣkenne eṅkältsa po kektseñmeṃ läkleñ syelme (pletksa).*

   läkleñ causal, see p. 144; this sentence has the genitive, locative, perlative, ablative, causal, and nominative cases!

8. *(su no) ylāre kaklautkau tärraskemane rekisa uttareṃ mñcuṣkeṃśc weṣṣäṃ:*

   tärraskemane 'comforting', a hapax, probably pres. IXa from a root *tär-*

9. *larekka, śāmna caimp skente mā yakṣī. mā twe prāskat!*
10. *brāhmaṇi weskeṃ: mapi, oroccu walo, ṣañ pratinmeṃ klautkalle nest.*

    For gerundive II + copula as periphrastic future see p. 29.

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[20] Restored *exempli gratia*.

[21] The manuscript has *taṣtar=ñ*, on which see p. 74 n. 9.

Lesson 13

Learning Goals

Phonology: the diphthongs; conditioned changes affecting vowels
The noun: the prehistory of the secondary cases
Syntax: functions of the locative and causal
Reading: Araṇemijātaka, The separation of Uttara, Araṇemi's son, continued

Phonology

Diphthongs

In diphthongs the first vowel mainly develops as it does in other environments, but **oi̯* is an exception since it yields not †*ei*, but *ai*.

**eu̯* > PT **'əu̯* > TB *'u* /əw/

**leu̯kos* 'light' > **l'əu̯kæ* > *lyuke* 'light'. Cf. Gk. λευκός *leukós* 'white', Ved. *roká-* 'light'.

**ou̯* > PT **æu̯-* > Archaic TB *eu* > Classical TB *au*

**lou̯kos* 'field, clearing' > **læu̯kæ* > **leuke* > TB *lauke* 'far'
**g^{w}ou̯s* 'cow' > PT **kæu* > TB *ke$_u$*. Cf. Gk. βοῦς *boûs* 'cow'.

Exceptionally *eu* is retained in the word for 'cow' into the classical period. In almost all other cases Archaic TB *eu* from any source becomes *au* in classical texts. Cf. e.g. 1s thematic *-e$_u$* < **-æβä* < **-omi* which becomes classical *-au*.

**au* (mainly from **h$_2$eu̯*) > PT **au* > TB *au*

**h$_2$eu̯gs-* 'grow' > PT **auks-* > TB *auks-*. Cf. Lat. *augeō* 'I increase'.

**ei̯* > PT **'əi̯* > TB *i* /əy/

**lei̯p-* > *lyipär* 'rest, remainder'. Cf. Goth. *bi-leiban* 'to remain'.

**ai̯* (mainly from **h$_2$ei*) > PT **ai* > TB *ai*

**h$_1$ai-* 'give' > PT **ai-* > TB *ai-* 'give'. Cf. Gk. αἴνυμαι *aínumai* 'I take'.[1]

[1] Absolute final *-ai* became *-ey* over the course of the attested history of Tocharian B, e.g. *trey* < *trai* 'three'.

**oi̯* > PT **æi̯* > TB *ai* (perhaps **æi* merged with *ai* in prehistoric Tocharian B)

**-oiu̯o-* 'one' >> *-aiwenta* in compounds meaning 'units of X' (Lesson 10). Cf. Aves. *aēuuō* 'one', OLat. *oi-nos*.

Conditioned changes affecting vowels

Mutual rounding assimilation

When an **a* (from various PIE sources) was followed by an **o* or **u* (here the PIE or pre-Tocharian vowels) in a subsequent syllable it became PT **å*. For example,

PIE **suh$_{2/3}$i̯us* 'son' > **swayu-* > **swåyu* > **såyu* > *soy*, cf. Gk. *υἱυς huîus* 'son'

If the conditioning vowel was a medial **o*, this vowel did not become PT **æ* > TB *e*, but instead it too became **å* because of the rounding effect of the preceding **å*.

**klayotər* > **klåyotər* > **klåyåtər* > *kloyotär* 'falls'

Recall the class IV presents are in complementary distribution with class III presents in which mutual rounding assimilation does not occur:

**sətkotər* > PT **sətkætər* > TB *satketär* 'extends, spreads out'

a-umlaut

The vowel **æ* becomes **a* when the following syllable contains **a*.[2] This sound change is responsible for the split between the *anaṭ* subjunctive I and the *sāṭ* subjunctive V:

subj. V PT **læmatə* 'you will sit' > TB *lāmat* vs. subj. I PT **nækətə* 'you will perish' > TB *nekät*
PT **mæka*[3] > TB *māka* 'much, many', cf. Gk. *μέγας mégas* 'big'

Labial umlaut

A PIE **ē* becomes *o* between *y* and a labial or labialized consonant.

**h$_1$ēg^{wh}-* 'drink' > PT **yæk^w-* > TB *yok-tsi* 'to drink, drink', cf. Lat. *ēbrius* 'drunk'
**h$_x$i̯ēb^h-*[4] 'enter' > **yæp-* > TB *yop-sa* 'entered', cf. Ved. *yábhati* 'fucks'

Lowering of initial **u-*

**n̥-* negative prefix > **un-* > **on-* > PT **æn-* > TB *en-*, e.g. *eṅ-klyauṣätte* 'unheard of'[5]

[2] It is uncertain whether *a*-umlaut affected PT **å*. See Kümmel 2009 for arguments in favor of extending *a*-umlaut to PT **å*.

[3] According to Pinault 2012a, this is metathesized from **æmka*, which has been extracted from compounds and matches the Gk. intensive prefix *ἀγα- aga-*.

[4] **h$_x$* stands for a laryngeal consonant that cannot be further specified.

[5] But with *a*-umlaut and loss of *n* the negative prefix is realized as *a-*, in *a-knātsa* 'ignorant', etc.

o-maintenance

An **o*, either from PIE **o* or by lowering of initial **u*, is maintained before **u* or **å*.

PT **oru* > TB/TA *or*, cf. Gk. δόρυ *dóru*[6]
Pre-PT **mod^{h}rutio-* > TB *motartse** 'green', cf. Cz. *modrý* 'blue'
**ukså* > **okså* > TB *okso* 'ox', cf. OHG *ohso*

We can see that the same rule also applied to **å* if we include the evidence of Tocharian A. In Tocharian B the regular outcome of **å* is *o* but in Tocharian A the outcome is normally *a*, e.g. PT **påcœr* 'brother' > TB *procer*, TA *pracar*. But when PT **å* is followed by **u*, the outcome in Tocharian A is also *o*. For example,

**b^{h}āĝ^{h}u-* 'arm' > PT **påku-* > **pokə* >> TB *pokai* obl. and TA *poke* obl. not †*pake*

The *tarya* rule

The sequences **CRiiV* and **CRuuV* become /CəRi̯V/ and /CəRu̯V/, respectively.

**triia* 'three' f. > *tarya* /tə́rya/
**pruuane* 'two eyebrows' > *pärwāne*, cf. OE *brú* 'brow'
akliiu-* pret. ptc. 'learn' > **akəli̯u-* by loss of post-consonantal yod (remember that coronal consonants are not palatalized by a following yod) > **akəlu* > *āklu

As the last example shows, the *tarya* rule applies before palatalization and this ordering distinguishes the *tarya* rule from the *kalywe* rule introduced immediately below.

The *kalywe* rule

A sequence **Cl$^{(')}$əC* metathesizes to /Cəl$^{(')}$C/.

**kl'əwœ* 'fame' > *kalywe* /kə́l'we/, cf. Gk. κλέ(ϝ)ος 'fame'
PIE **b^{h}leg-ih$_1$-* 'burn' opt. > **pl'əśi-* > **pəl'śi-* attested in 3s mid. *palyśitär*
**kl'əyətər* 3s 'stands' > **kəl'yətər* > TB *kaltär*, TA *kälytär*
**kl'əyœntər* 3p 'stand' > **kəl'yœntər* > *klyentär*
PIE **k̂l̥nu-* 'hear' (cf. Ved. *śr̥ṇóti*), remade as **klunu-* (cf. YAves. *surunaoiti* < **srunauti*) > **klənə-* > **kəlnə-* >> TB 3p *kalneṃ* 'resound'

This rule evidently applied after the operation of palatalization.

[6] **d* was lost before a consonant in Proto-Tocharian. In the word *or*, the **d* was lost before **r* in some ablauting oblique case with a zero-grade root (cf. Ved. *dróḥ* 'wood' gen., YAv. *draoš*). Strangely, on the basis of the loss of **d* in preconsonantal position in the weak stem the **d* was subtracted from the beginning of the strong stem even though it should have survived before a vowel.

The Noun

The prehistory of the secondary cases[7]

The secondary cases are in origin postpositions. This origin is clear from Gruppenflexion (see pp. 161–2) and from instances where the case ending can still be separated from its noun by an intervening genitive, e.g. *śwer meñantse-ne* 'on the fourth of the month' (THT 433 a 15). Even though Tocharian A and B are structurally parallel in having almost all the same secondary cases, the disagreements in the formation of some of them suggests that the various grammaticalizations of postpositions as secondary cases happened independently in the prehistories of both languages.

The final vowel of TB perlative *-sa* is equatable with TA perl. *-ā* which continues PT **-a*. Tocharian B has inserted an *s* that has probably been falsely segmented from the Proto-Tocharian accusative plural **-ns*.

The Tocharian B ablative *-meṃ* does not match TA abl. *-äṣ*. Note that *-meṃ* pulls the accent rightward unlike all the other secondary cases.[8]

The Tocharian B allative *-ścä* matches TA all. *-äc*, both continuing PT **-cə*. But further connections are uncertain. It might continue **-dʰi* and be compared with the Greek locative particle *-θι -thi*, e.g. *τηλόθι tēlóthi* 'at a distance'. The *s* of Tocharian B is again by false segmentation of the accusative plural **-ns*.

The Tocharian B comitative *-mpa* is of uncertain origin.[9] It does not match TA *-aśśäl*.

The causal in *-ñ* is probably generalized from the old genitive-ablative of an *n*-stem < **-n-es*.

Finally, the Tocharian B locative *-ne* and TA *-äṃ* continue a Proto-Tocharian **-næ*. This is usually compared with OCS *na* 'on', Lith. *nuõ* 'from' and the Lithuanian illative *-n* < OLith. *-na* < **-no*.[10]

Syntax

Functions of the locative and causal

The locative expresses location where (literal or figurative location). In (3) below, it marks a defined time frame.

(1) *nraine* *tanmästär*
hell.loc. will.be.(re)born
He will be reborn in hell. (THT 14 b 4)[11]

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[7] See Gippert 1987 as well as the treatment in Pinault 2008a:469–74.

[8] See Pinault 2006a. For other views of the ablative's prehistory see Kim 2014:132–3 and Adams 2017.

[9] Kim (2014:134) suggests tha *-mpa* goes back to a reduced form of *antapi* 'both', i.e. X (and) Y *both* was reinterpreted as *X Y-with*.

[10] The illative case is for motion into, e.g. Lith. *laivañ* 'into the ship'. The Lithuanian illative is an independent innovation. See Petit 2021.

[11] The manuscript reads *tänmasträ*.

(2) *wīna* *kallaṃ* *kästwer* *ṣpanene*
pleasure find.3p at.night sleep.loc.
At night they find pleasure in sleep. (THT 27 a 4)

(3) *ṣeme* *kṣanne* *tseṅkenträ*
one.obl.m. instant.loc. arise.3p
They arise in one instant. (IOL 146 b 2)

The locative is the norm with the superlative:[12]

(4) *r̥ṣākeṃne* *śpālmeṃ*
seer.loc.p. best
best of seers (THT 107 a 6)

The locative can also be used for motion into:

(5) *rine* *śem*
city.loc. came.3s
He came into the city. (THT 592 a 5)

The causal in *-ñ* is found only with a very few nouns and only in the singular or with pluralia tantum. It expresses the emotion that is the reason for an event.

(6) *po* *kektseñmeṃ* *läkleñ* *syelme* *(pletksa)*
all body.abl. sorrow.causal sweat arose.3s
Sweat poured forth from his entire body because of sorrow. (THT 85 a 2–3)

Vocabulary

Nouns

V.2 *arañce* m. 'heart', obl. *arañc*, nom. pl. *arañci*

VI.3 *weśeñña* ~ *weśeñño* f. 'voice', obl. *-ai*
säsuwerśke m. 'little son' ← *säsuwa*, the weakly suppletive plural stem of *soy* 'son'

Indeterminate
keś 'account, number, reckoning' (sg. only attested); *keś ta-* or *keś ak-* 'to take account of'
pit 'bile' (sg. only attested) ← Skt. *pitta-*
mithyadr̥ṣṭi 'falsehood' (sg. only attested) ← Skt. *mithyādr̥ṣṭi-* 'wrong view'
śastär m. 'knife' (sg. only attested) ← Skt. *śastram*

[12]Though the perlative of *po*, *posa*, is also found in superlative constructions. See p. 86.

Adjectives

I.1 *kärp(i)ye* 'low, common', subst. 'commoner', pl. *kärpi; kärpye-yakne* 'with a common way'
kwasalñeṣṣe 'pertaining to lamentation' ← *kwasalñe* 'lamentation' ← *kwäsa-* 'lament', cf. Lat. *queror* 'I lament'
träntätstse 'exhausted'

Indeclinable
amäskai 'difficult'

Irregular
antapi, äntpi, obl. *antapi, äntpi* duale tantum 'both'. *äntpi* results from an Archaic Tocharian syncope which was kept as a convenient metrical alternative. Cf. Lat. *ambō* 'both'.
-yok 'X-like' in compounds, originally the word for 'color, appearance'

Verbs

–,V,I *taksa-* 'destroy', subj. V *täksaṃ**, pret. I *täksa**
pläwa- 'lament', pres./subj. V *palwaṃ*, pret. I *plyäwa*, pret. ptc. *pepalywu**, *-oṣ**

I,–,I *yärtta-* 'drag', pres. I 3s *yarttäṃ*, pret. I *yartta**, pret. ptc. *yärtau, -oṣ*

I,V,I *miwa-* 'tremble', pres. I *miwäṃ*, subj. V inf. *maiwatsi*, pret. I *maiwa*, pret. ptc. *mamaiwau**

VI,–.–
staukka- 'swell', pres. VI *staukkanatär*, pret. ptc. *stastaukkau**; caus. *staukkäṣṣäṃ*

VI,V,I *skära-* 'scold', pres. VI *skarraṃ* < **skárnan*, subj. V inf. *skäratsi*, pret. I 3p *skarāre*, pret. ptc. *kaskärau*

IXa,V,I
sampa- 'take away', pres. IXa mid. *sompastär* (n.b. *somp-*!), subj. V inf. *sämpatsi*, pret. I *sampäte*, pret. ptc. *sassämpau**, *-aṣ*, ipv. 2s *psämpar*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ykäk adv. 'still' /yəkákə/; the form *yaka* /yə́ka/ also occurs without the strengthening particle *-kä*
lauke, loke adv. 'away'
ṣarmtsa 'because of, for the sake of' perlative of *ṣarm* 'cause', postposition + gen. or obl.

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* continued. The separation of Uttara, Araṇemi's son continued

1. *tumeṃ walo ṣeme ṣarsa uttareṃ mñcuṣkeṃ eṅku... arañcä staukkäskemane mñcuṣkeṃ āyo(rmeṃ brāhmaṇeṃśc weṣṣäṃ)* || *taruṇadivākarne* ||

   taruṇadivākar is the name of a tune accompanying a stanza type with lines of 19|19|10|19 syllables[13] and with word breaks distributed in the pādas as follows: (a) 4|3|4|3|5 (b) 4|3|4|3|5 (c) 5|5 (d) 4|3|4|3|5

2. Arranged in a stanza (the dash – means an unrestorable syllable)

   a. *mäkte aiskau [uttareṃ ñäkte-yokäṃ säs($_u$)werśkeṃ] amāskai rilye,*
   b. *mā ṣ keś tāsau ṣañ lakle* – – – – – – – – – – – –
   c. – – *te ṣarmtsa* – – – – – – –
   d. – – – *ṣṣe śastärsa lykaśke tāksoym śaiṣṣentse mithyadṛṣṭi po*

   rilye < **rinlle* from the subj. I stem *rin-* 'leave'

3. *tumeṃ mñcuṣkeṃ brāhmaṇeṃts āyormeṃ miwamane la(klene ṣamäṃ* || *(tumeṃ b)r(ā)hmaṇi uttareṃ mñ(cu)skeṃ antapi pokainesa yärtt(amane...) kercīyeṃnmeṃ parna (lateṃ).*
4. *tane uttare pätär lānt lkāskemane träntācce käntwāśkesa pälwāmane weṣṣäṃ: saswa appakka, mapi psāmpar ñiś ceṃ rakṣatsenmeṃ loke! ykāk tve śāmane nest, ñake ṅke cai ñiś päst śuwaṃ.*

   tve = *twe*

5. *te keklyauṣormeṃ araṇemiñ lānte pit maiwāte=ne, keṃtsa klāya. tane orottsa kwasalñeṣṣa weśeñña klyauṣāte.*

   araṇemi-ñ gen. sg. The special genitive singular *-ñ* is used exclusively for personal names of Sanskrit origin in *-i*, *-a* (*uppalavarṇañ*), and *-u* (*ajātaśatruñ*).[14] According to the Indian *tridoṣa* doctrine there were three vital principles or humors: *vāta-* 'wind', *pitta-* 'bile', and *kapha-* or *śleṣman-* 'phlegm'. The trembling of the bile precedes a fainting spell. *orottsa* a variant spelling for *orotstsa*; take *klyauṣāte* as a passive.

6. *tane ñake brāhmaṇi uttareṃ m$_ā$ñcuṣkeṃ ścirona rekaunasa skärrāmane weskeṃ=ne: paṣ paṣ, kärpīyeṃts soṃśka! wesäñ ñake ṣarnene kekamu nest, mā ṣ päträ lkālle nest!*

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[13] It also occurs with a 20|22|10|15 stanza.

[14] See Pinault 2008a:488 for a possible explanation.

Lesson 14

Learning Goals

Phonology: basic reflexes of obstruent and sonorant consonants
The verb: the middle endings
Syntax: periphrastic constructions with *yam-*
Reading: The Torment of Uttara

Phonology

Basic reflexes of stops

The Tocharian languages are characterized by a general collapse of the voicing and aspiration distinctions of Proto-Indo-European. But it is clear that Proto-Tocharian did inherit the three-way contrast between voiceless, voiced, and voiced aspirate stops because there are clear distinct reflexes of **d* (PT **ts*) vs. **t* and **d^h* (PT **t*), and there is also evidence of a Grassmann's-Law-like dissimilation of aspiration, which shows that the aspirated series was also inherited.[1]

The Tocharian languages are "centum languages" in that the PIE palatovelars and velar consonants merged and the labiovelars had a distinct outcome, although the labiovelars also eventually merged with the other two series in many environments, but not before leaving their mark on the surrounding vocalisms.

Most Proto-Tocharian consonants were palatalized before front vowels and the glide **i̯* and the palatalized allophones became contrastive in many instances, but there are some interesting wrinkles to this development that will be covered in the next chapter.

**p > p*

**ph$_2$tḗr* 'father' > PT **pat'œr* > TB *pācer*, TA *pācar*. Cf. Lat. *pater*.

[1]Grassmann's Law is the name given to two parallel dissimilatory changes that happened independently in Greek and Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, if two successive syllables begin with voiced aspirated stops, the first consonant is dissimilated to a voiced stop, e.g. **b^{h}ab^{h}ū́va* 'became' > *babhū́va* 'became'. In Greek, if two successive syllables begin with voiceless aspirated stops, the first consonant is dissimilated to a voiceless stop **p^{h}ep^{h}ūke* 'has engendered' > *πέφῡκε pépheūke*. Grassmann's Law is named after the great mathematician and Vedicist Hermann Grassmann (1809–77).

$*b > p$

There are no absolutely certain examples of PIE *$*b$* in Tocharian B. The oft-cited example of TB *tapre*, TA *tpär* 'high', supposedly from *$*d^h$*ubros* from the root *$*d^h$*eub-* 'deep', is problematic not because of the meaning (cf. Lat. *altus* 'high' and 'deep'), but because it is not certain that the root in question ended in a *$*b$* rather than a *$*b^h$*.[2] If the root ended a *$*b^h$* then any Tocharian reflex of *$*d^h$*ub^h*- should have undergone dissimilation of aspiration to *$*dub^h$*- which would have given TB †/tsəp-/.

A possible reflex of *$*b$* in Tocharian A is *siptsi* 'to anoint' from the root *$*se\underset{\smile}{i}b$*- (Hom. Gk. *εἴβω eíbō* 'I pour', Midde Dutch *sīpen* 'to drip').

$*b^h- > p$

*$*b^h$*réh$_2$*tēr* 'brother' > PT *$*$*prå*t'*ær* > TB *procer*, TA *pracar*. Cf. Ved. *bhrā́tar-*.

Note that *$*-mb^h$*- assimilates to PT *$*m$*, but *$*-mp$*- is retained: *$*ĝómb^hos$* 'tooth' > PT *$*$*kæmæ* > TB *keme*, TA *kam*. Cf. Ved. *jámbhaḥ*, but *$*temp$*- 'stretch' > PT *$*$*cəmp-* 'be able' > TB *cämp-*, TA *cämp-*. Cf. Lith. *tempiù* 'I stretch', Lat. *tempus* '(stretch of) time'.

$*t > t$

*$*tuh_x$*óm* 'thou' > PT *$*$*təwæ* > TB *twe*,[3] TA *tu*. Cf. Ved. *t(u)vám*.

$*d^h > t$

$*méd^hu$ 'sweet stuff' > PT *$*$*m'ətə* > TB *mit* 'honey'. Cf. Ved. *mádhu* 'sweet drink', Gk. *μέθυ méthu* 'wine'.[4]

$*d > ts$

$*d\underset{\circ}{r}$- 'split' > PT *$*$*tsər-* > TB *tsär-* pres. III *tsremar* 'I am separated'. Cf. OE *teran* 'to tear'.

Some dental details

Tocharian Grassmann's Law. How can we tell Proto-Tocharian had its own Grassmann's Law? Because the dissimilated reflex of *$*d^h$* fell together with *$*d$* and became *ts*:

$*d^hoi\underset{\smile}{g}^h$- 'fashion' > *$*doi\underset{\smile}{g}^h$*- >> *$*$*tsæyk-a-* > TB 3s subj. V *tsaikaṃ* 'will fashion'. Cf. Goth. *digan* 'to mold', Lat. *fingō* 'I fashion'.

[2]The Baltic and Slavic reflexes of the 'deep' word (Lith. *dubùs* 'hollow, deep', OCS *dŭbrĭ* 'gorge') do not show the effects of Winter's Law. According to Winter's Law, if the root ended in a plain voiced consonant, we would expect an acute intonation of the vowel before the voiced stop. The absence of this feature in the Balto-Slavic reflexes argues for a reconstruction of the root as *$*d^heu\underset{\smile}{b}^h$*-. The Germanic cognates, at first sight, appear to point to a *$*b$* (Goth. *diups* 'deep' with *p* from *$*b$* by Grimm's Law) but the *p* of the Germanic forms could be the result of inner Germanic developments.

[3]The loss of the schwa suggests that this form might have been unstressed in some environments.

[4]On the borrowing of the pre-Tocharian form into Chinese see p. 221.

*$d^h eg^{wh}$- 'burn' > *deg^{wh}- > TB *tsäk-*. Cf. Ved. *dáhati* 'burns', Lat. *febris* 'fever'.

Before another consonant **d* is deleted, another trace of an original contrasting series:

**su̯adros* 'sweet' > PT **swaræ* > TB *swāre*, TA *swār*. Cf. Ved. *svādúḥ*.
**du̯ōu̯* 'two' > PT **wu* > TA *wu* m. Cf. Ved. *dváu*.

N.b. **t* and *d^h become *t* in preconsonantal position, e.g. *trai* 'three', cf. Lat. *trēs* 'three' and *ratre* 'red' < *$h_1$rud^{h}rós, cf. Gk. *ἐρυθρός eruthrós* 'red'.

*k^5 > *k*

**lou̯kos* 'clear space' > PT **læu̯kæ* > TB *lauke* 'far', TA *lok*. Cf. Lith. *eīti laukañ* 'to go out' (etymologically 'into the field, clear space').

**g* > *k*

**mosgos* 'knot' > PT **mæskæ* > TB *meske* 'joint', TA *masäk*. Cf. Lith. *mãzgas* 'knot'.

*g^h > *k*

*$ĝ^h$ou̯- 'pour' > PT **kæw-* > TB subj. I 1s *kewu*. Cf. Ved. *juhóti* 'libates'.

Labiovelars

The development of the PIE labiovelars is complicated and controversial. The labial element of the labiovelar is deleted before a PIE **o* or a consonant.

*$k^w olh_1 os$ 'hub' > PT **kælæ* > TB *kele* 'navel, center'. Cf. Gk. *πόλος pólos* 'axis'.
*$g^w ou̯s$ 'cow' > PT **kæw* > TB *ke$_u$*, TA *ko*. Cf. Gk. *βοῦς boûs*.
*$u̯ok^w$-s 'voice' > PT **wæk-* > TB *wek*, TA *wak*. Cf. Lat *uōx*, Gk. *ὄπα ópa* acc. sg.
*$g^w roh_2 m̥$ 'weight' > PT **kramər* > TB *krāmar*. Cf. Gk. *βαρύς* 'heavy'.

There are also analogical restorations:

*$u̯l̥k^w os$ 'wolf' > PT **u̯əlk^wæ* > TB *walkwe* (restored from vocative or genitive?[6] Contrast *cake* 'river' from the neuter *s*-stem *$tek^w os$.)

Before **ə* of any origin the labialization was retained in Proto-Tocharian, although in Tocharian B it is not always reflected.

PT **p'əkwəl* > TB *pikul*, TA *pukäl* 'year'. Cf. TB pl. *pikwala* /p'əkw'ə́la/.
*$g^w m̥ sk̂$é/ó- 'come' >> *k^wəmnəs'k'ə- > TB *känmaṣṣä-*, TA *kumnäṣä-*. Cf. Gk. *βαίνω baínō* 'I come', Ved. *gácchati* 'goes'.

Before a front vowel and **i̯* the labiovelars were palatalized in the same way as the other velar series, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

A sequence of **k* plus **u̯* behaves the same way as an original labiovelar:

*$h_1$ékou̯os 'horse'> **yəkwæ* > TB *yakwe*, TA *yuk*. Cf. Ved. *áśvaḥ*.

[5] I'll just use **k* to represent the merged outcome of **k* and **k̂* and so on for the other palatovelars and velars.

[6] See Pinault 2008a:479 for another possibility.

Sibilant

**s* remains **s* but is deleted in word-final position.

**su̯adros* > PT **swaræ* > TB *swāre*, TA *swār*. Cf. Lat. *suāuis*.

In the cluster *-Tsk-* **s* is deleted. This is the source of the *tk*-stem verbs.[7]

**nutsk̑e-* 'push' >> PT **nətka-* > TB *nätka-* 'push away'. Cf. Ved. *nudáti*.

Sonorant consonants

The nasals, liquids, and glides are fairly stable in Proto-Tocharian.

**n* > *n*

**gʷénh₂* 'woman' > PT **śəna* > TB *śana*, TA *śäṃ* 'wife'. Cf. OIr. *ben* 'woman'.

**m* > *m*

**mn̥sk̑e/o-* 'remain' > **mənsk'ə/æ-* >> TB *mäsketär* 'be (located)'. Cf. Gk. *μένω* *ménō* 'I remain'.

Note that a nasal is deleted before **s* in this example and in **mems-* 'meat' > PT **m'əns-* > TB *misa* plurale tantum. Cf. Goth. *mimz*. But normally, a nasal is retained before *s*, e.g. **h₁ōmsos* 'shoulder' > TB *āntse*. Perhaps the loss of the second nasal in these words is due to the dissimilatory effect of the first nasal.

**l* > *l*

**luglo-* 'sorrow' > PT **ləklæ* > TB *lakle*. Cf. Gk. *λευγαλέος leugaléos* 'mournful'.

**r* > *r*

**h₁rudʰrós* 'red' > PT **rətræ* > TB *ratre*, TA *rtär*. Cf. Lat. *ruber*.

**i̯* > *y*

**i̯h₂-sk̑e/o-* 'seek' > PT **ya-sk'ə/æ-* > TB *yāsk-* 'beg' (subj. II 3s *yāṣtär*), cf. OAv. 3s injunctive *yāsaṭ* 'demands', Gk. *δίζη-μαι dízē-mai* 'I seek' dissimilated from **dzidzā-mai* < **i̯i-i̯eh₂-*.

The third plural imperfects *yeṃ* 'were going' and *ṣeṃ* 'were' seem to result from the contraction of **yeyeṃ* and **ṣeyeṃ* (the attested forms of these shapes are later and analogical) and this suggests that a Tocharian B yod[8] could be lost between like vowels. But secure examples of the loss of PIE **i̯* between vowels are hard to come by.

[7] Recall Lesson 11, pp. 127–8.

[8] Yod is the name linguists give to the palatal glide /j/.

*u̯ > w

*k^w^etu̯ores 'four' > PT *śətwœr'ə > TB śtwer, TA śtwar. Cf. Lat. *quattuor*.

*u̯ is lost in intervocalic position, at least between some vowels:

TB śamāne, TA śāmaṃ 'living' < *śawœmanœ, a -*mane* participle from the thematic verb B śāw- (A śo-) 'to live'.

The Verb

The middle endings

athem.	them.	secondary
-*mar*	-*emar*	-*mai*
-*tar*	'-*tar*	-*tai*
-*tär*	'-*tär*	-*te*
-*mtär*	-*emttär*	-*mtte*
-*tär*	'-*tär*	-(*a*)*t*
-*ntär*	-*entär*	-*nte*

The Tocharian languages offer the clearest evidence that the -*r* morpheme, which is also found in Italic, Celtic, Anatolian, was a primary marker.[9] The origins of the endings are mostly clear.

The 1st singular -*mar* is refashioned from the inherited ending *-h_2*e-r* with -*m*- imported from the active endings. Cf. Hitt. -*ḫḫari* and, for another language that imported the -*m*-, Gk. -*μαι* -*mai* << *-*ai*. An *m*-less ending is retained in the Tocharian A secondary 1s -*e* < *-*ai*.

The 2nd singular -*tar* comes from *-*th*$_2$*e-r*, cf. Hitt. -*ttari*, OIr. -*thir*.

The PIE source of 3s -*tär* is *-*tor*, but this evidently underwent raising to *-*tur* in the prehistory of Tocharian. Perhaps **o* was raised to **u* before word-final *r* (admittedly ad hoc), cf. Lat. -*tur*?[10]

The 1st plural -*mtär* is analogically remade from *-*m'ətar* < *-*med*^{h}*h*$_2$*r*, cf. Gk. -*μεθα* -*metha*. The addition of -*r* to the 1p primary middle is also a Tocharian innovation.

The relationship of the 2nd plural -*tär* with the corresponding PIE ending *-*d*^{h}*u̯e* (Gr. -*σθε* -*sthe*, Ved. -*dhve*) is unclear.

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[9] Proto-Indo-European employed one set of personal endings for the present tense and the subjunctive. These are called the primary endings. All non-present tenses, the optative, and optionally, the subjunctive employed a related but different set of endings called the secondary endings. In the active endings the primary marker was *-*i*, which was suffixed to the secondary endings in the 1s (prim. *-*m-i* vs. sec. *-*m*), 2s (prim. *-*s-i* vs. sec. *-*s*), 3s (prim *-*t-i* vs. sec. *-*t*), and 3p (prim. *-*nti*, vs. sec. *-*nt*). In the middle endings the primary marker (according to the evidence of Tocharian and Anatolian) was *-*r*. Thus 1s prim. *-*h*$_2$*e-r* vs. sec. -*h*$_2$*e*, 2s prim. *-*th*$_2$*e-r*, vs. sec. *-*th*$_2$*e*, 3s prim. *-*to-r* vs. sec. *-*to*.

[10] Pinault (2010) argues that the environment for the raising of **o* was specifically *-*ror*.

The 3rd plural *-ntär* is the result of the same raising as in the corresponding 3rd singular < *-*ntur* < *-*ntor*, cf. Lat. *-ntur*.

The secondary endings of the 3rd person continue *-*to* and *-*nto*. The 1s and 2s have a particle added, maybe something like *-*yən*. Cf. Span. *soy* 'I am' << **sum ibi*.[11]

Syntax

Periphrastic constructions with yam-

There are two basic constructions that make use of the light verb *yam-* 'do'.[12] On the one hand, *yam-* can be combined with an indeclinable adverb or an adjective, e.g. *pākri yam-* 'proclaim', lit. 'make clear', *ite yam-* 'fill', lit. 'make full'. On the other hand, *yam-* can be combined with an oblique form of a noun, e.g. *āke yam-* 'end', lit. 'make an end' plus a genitive, *ākli yam-* 'teach' plus a locative. These constructions are the most productive way of creating denominative verbal expressions in Tocharian B.

In particular, note the productivity of the combination of a form in *-it* (borrowed from Sanskrit or Middle Indic nominalized participles in *-ita-*) with *yam-*. These are regularly used to represent Sanskrit causatives, e.g. *cotit* (← *codita-*) *yam-* 'to accuse', *deśit* (← *deśita-* = *deśanā*) *yam-* 'to make a confession', *anumodit* (← *anumodita-*) *yam-* 'to approve', *sarit* (*sārita-*, cf. Pāli *sāreti* 'memorizes') *yam-* 'to memorize', etc., and *vyākarit* (< *vyākarita-*) *yam-* 'to prophesy'.[13]

Vocabulary

Nouns

I.2 *koyn* a. 'mouth', pl. *koynuwa*, cf. TB *kāy-* 'gape'

II.2 *kālp* 'period of time, rule, treatment' ← Skt. *kalpa-*
rūp a. 'shape, form, face', pl. *rupanma* ← Skt. *rūpa-*

III.1 *pilko* a. 'look', pl. *pilkonta* ← *pälka-* 'see'; *pilko* is from **p'əlko*
māṃtsalyñe a. 'sorrow' (sg. only attested), verbal abstract from *mäntsa-* 'be sad'

V.1 *tremi* 'anger', plurale tantum, obl. *tremeṃ*, cf. TA *tärm-* 'be furious', Gk. τρόμος *trómos* 'trembling'
waste 'refuge' < **h₂usto-*, cf. OIr. *foss* 'rest' < **h₂u̯osto-*

Indeterminate
mā-ṣekaṃñe 'inconstancy' (sg. only attested) ← *ṣekaṃñe* 'constant' indecl. adj./adv. ← *ṣek* 'always' ← *ṣe* 'one' (translates the Buddhist concept of *anityatā*)

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[11] For more on the middle endings see Malzahn 2010:36–8.

[12] A light verb is a verb which has little semantic content and combines with an action noun to express the verbal action, e.g. *do the cleaning* = *clean*, *make a decision* = *decide*.

[13] See Pinault 2008a:30, 327.

senik 'care, guarantee' ← Middle Iranian **zēnik*, cf. Sogd. *zynyh* 'deposit'; *senik kalpäṣṣäṃ* 'entrust someone to something' (*kalpäṣṣäṃ*, causative of *kälpa-* 'obtain' below)

Adjectives

I.1 *ainake* 'common, base, mean', an early Iranian loan, cf. Aves. *aēnah-* 'evil deed'[14]
kärwāṣṣe 'of reed' ← *karwa** 'reeds'
tsakātstse 'thorny' ← *tsaka-* 'pierce, bite'

I.2 *empele, empelye* 'terrible, dangerous', lit. 'with no *pele*' (law), a calque on Skt. *a-dharma-*
räskare 'bitter', (adv.) 'roughly, strongly', with syncopated form *räskre* (another form where accent seems to have shifted rightward after syncope)[15]

II.3 *añmāla(ṃ)ṣke, añmālarṣke* 'merciful, compassionate'

II.5 *ynamo* 'going'

Verbs

–,V,I *tsarwa-* 'be comforted', subj. V opt. 3s *tsārwoytär*, pret. I in pret. ptc.*tsatsārwaṣ*; caus. *tsārwästär* 'comforts', pret. IV *tsārwäṣṣate*, ipv. 2p *ptsārwäṣṣate*

I,–,– *walaka-* 'tarry', pres. I *woloktär*[16]
tsop- 'poke', pres. I *tsopäṃ*

II,–,– *śauk-* 'cry', pres. II *śauśäṃ*

III,V,I *spärka-* 'disappear', pres. III *spärketär*, subj. V opt. 3s *spärkoytär*, pret. I *sparka**,[17] pret. ptc. *spärkau, -oṣ*

V,V,I *kwa-* 'calls', pres. V mid. *kwātär*, subj. V weakly suppletive *kākatär*, pret. I *kāka*, ipv. 2s *pokkāka, pkāka*, 2p *pokkākas*, pret. ptc. *kakākau*
mäka- 'run', pres. V, subj. V fixed accent *makatsi*, pret. I 3p mid. *mkānte*, pret. ptc. *mkau, -oṣ**

[14]The stress of this word seems to be irregularly fixed on the initial syllable, therefore the medial /a/ is normally spelled in Classical Tocharian with *a*. The archaic spelling of this word attested at THT 274 a 3 is *eynāke*.

[15]It might be that the "syncopated" form is old and preserved in verse, and when an epenthetic schwa developed it attracted the accent.

[16]This verb is synchronically an athematic class I present, but the mutual rounding effects seen in the present stem suggest that the verb originally belonged to class IV.

[17]The attested from is *sparkā=ne*, pointing to /sparka/, but by the normal pattern we would expect /spərka/. See Peyrot 2013a:838.

VI,V,–
kwäsa- 'lament', pres. VI mid. *kwäsnätär*, subj. V 3p opt. *kwāsoye(ntär)*[18]

VI,V,I *pärsa-* 'sprinkle', pres. VI *parsnaṃ**, pret. I 3p *pirsāre*, 3s mid. *pärsāte*, pret. ptc. *pärsau*, cf. Hitt.*papparš-* 'sprinkle'

IXa,VI,I
kälpa- 'reach, obtain', pres. IXa *kälpāskau*, subj. VI *kallaṃ* < **kəlpna-*, pret. I *kalpa*, pret. ptc. *kälpau*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

erkatte 'scornfully'; with *yam-*, 'to treat with disrespect'
orkäntai 'back and forth'
yak 'yet'
wa 'nevertheless'

Reading: *Araṇemijātaka* continued. The torment of Uttara

1. *kantwo koynameṃ parna lnaṣṣi=ne. tumeṃ durmukhe brāhmaṇe uttareṃ śamaśkeṃ kärwāṣṣai witsakaisa räskare tsopaṃ=ne siñcai ṣorpor ite (cewsa yā)mormeṃ auntsante=ne ścīre makästsi.*

   koynameṃ /koinə́men/ (remember that the ablative, unlike other secondary cases, draws the accent rightward); *räskare* used as an adverb here; *siñcai ṣorpor ite (cewsa yā)mormeṃ* 'having made pants (*ṣorpor*) full of thorns for him'[19]

2. *tane ñake uttari śamaśkentse kālpsa painemeṃ ette kloyomane, alyekä kca warttoṣṣe makūltsa tatrāpparmeṃ rūpsa klāya. pärsāte keṃne mrakwe yopsa=ne.*

   uttari gen. sg.; *mākul* 'root' ← Skt. *makula-* 'bud'; *tatrāpparmeṃ* 'having tripped'; *mrakwe* 'mud'(?)[20]

3. *tane rudraśarme brāhmaṇe portsaisa uttareṃ mñcuṣkeṃ eṅkormeṃ tsakātsai*[21] *keṃtsa orkäntai yärtta=ne.*

   portsaisa perl. of a noun of uncertain meaning, perhaps 'belt' or 'ankle'?

4. *tu lyelyakormeṃ vṛkṣavāsike ñakte śle māṃtsalyñe śanoś weṣṣaṃ: lariya, pālka nai mā-ṣekaṃñe wäntarwats sparkālye āke.* || *pañcagatine*||

   vṛkṣavāsike 'tree-dwelling'; *sparkālye* ger. II from *spärka- sparkālye āke* lit. 'disappearing end' i.e. 'ending in disappearance'; *pañcagati* name of a meter of four pādas with the syllabic pattern 21|21|18|13. This pattern is not followed exactly in all the verses below.

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[18] A dubious form. The verbal abstract *kwasalñe* suggests that the subjunctive stem was **kwəsa-*.
[19] See Pinault 2004:259–60 for this interpretation of the passage.
[20] Others take *mrakwe* as 'a portion, some'.
[21] The manuscript reads *tsakatsai*.

5. Arranged as a stanza
   a. *ykāk cwi śamāne pācer wlo. viṣṇuntaṃts ra amāskai yāmtsi sū erkatte.*
      viṣṇuntaṃts ra 'even for Vishnus', i.e. for ones powerful like the god Vishnu
   b. *yak no cwi soṃśke lalaṃṣkeṃ ainäki caimp brāhmaṇi yärtten=ne śle tremeṃ:*
   c. *pilkos=āñmālaṣkeṃ lkāṣṣan=me tańsa sam mñcuṣke lareṃ pātär ramt.*
      pilkos sandhi for *pilkosa*; *tańsa* = *tańksa*; the pāda is a syllable too long
   d. *mā wa ksa ṣ cwimp mäsketrä waste comp laklene.*
6. a. *kälymiṃ sportoträ pācer cwimp. kurār lūwo tu yäknesa kwäsnāträ snai kärsto.*
      kurār lūwo 'osprey animal', possibly a compound ← Skt. *kurara-*
   b. *kwātar=ne tańsa śauśaṃ=ne. cwī ykuwa toṃ ykentane wolo(kträ yna)mw ente,*
      ynamw = *ynamo*; *ente* 'where' is the complementizer of the clause containing *wolokträ*
   c. *lwāsāts ra ṣpä senik comp kalpäṣṣaṃ :ñśameṃ wätkoṣ kr$_u$i lkācer ñī soṃśke,*
      lwāsāts = *lwasāṃts* (the genitive plural ending *-ṃts* ends in an underlying *ä*); *wätka-* here 'separate'
   d. *ptsārwaṣṣat=ne ñi ykene ytārin=empelyai.*
      ytārin sandhi for *ytārine*
7. *śana ñäkteñña weṣṣäṃ: makte pācer walo cwi comp lakle śala. kā ṣpä ñake läklesu ste? vr̥kṣavāsike-ñäkte weṣṣäṃ: pañäktäṃñe perneṣṣe akālksa rinsāte=ne. mā trańko yamas=ne. pok läkleñ arañce nittaṃ. wesäñ no pernesa sū toṃ laklenta lkāṣṣäṃ. te weweñormeṃ ltais ñaktene.*

   ñäkteñña guess what it means! *läklesu* = *läklessu*; *yamas* = *yamast*; *nittaṃ* 'breaks'; *ltais* 3rd du. of *lac* 'go out'; *ñaktene* nom. du.; the last sentence is a stage direction
8. *om no ñake tott īke-postaṃ ynemane brāhmaṇi uttareṃ mñcuṣkeṃ ākemane candramukhi lānte yapoyne klānte=ne. tumeṃ brāhmaṇagrāmne yaipormeṃ akalṣälyi rudramukheṃ purohiteṃ weñāre.*

Lesson 15

Learning Goals

Phonology: palatalization
The verb: the preterite endings
Syntax: experiencer predicates; group inflection
Reading: Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādin school

Phonology

Palatalization

Before front vowels and glides the general rule is that consonants were palatalized in Proto-Tocharian, leading to the following synchronic alternations in Tocharian B:

In a nonpalatalizing environment:	t	k	s	n	l	w	tk	tt	sk	st	ṅk	nt
In an originally palatalizing environment:	c	ś	ṣ	ñ	ly	y	cc	cc	ṣṣ	śc	ñc	ñc

Examples:

trite 'third' ~ nom. pl. *trici*
ākeṃ 'they lead' ~ *āśäṃ* '(s)he leads'
lyak 'thief' ~ nom. pl. *lyśi*
naksentär 'they blame' ~ *nakṣtär* '(s)he blames'
kauṃ 'day' ~ nom. pl. *kauñi*
kokale 'chariot' ~ nom. pl. *kokalyi*
wastär '(s)he will wear' (3s subj.) ~ *yäskeṃtär* 'they wear'
kātkau 'I rejoice' ~ *kāccäṃ* '(s)he rejoices'
kertte 'sword' ~ nom. pl. *kercci*
winäskeṃ 'they honor' ~ *winäṣṣi* '(s)he would honor' (3s opt.)
stamāre 'they stood' ~ *śceścamu* 'having placed' (caus. pret. ptc.) ~ *śeśśamu*
eṅkastär '(s)he seizes' ~ *eñcitär* '(s)he would seize' (3s opt.)
lānt 'king' obl. sg. ~ *lāñc* nom. pl.

What caused palatalization and what consonants got palatalized are difficult questions. In general PIE **e*, **ē*, and **ī* seem to be the most palatalizing vowels while **i* and **i̯* had more limited palatalizing effects. This counterintuitive tendency is reminiscent of Ancient Greek, where **i* failed to palatalize a preceding voiced labiovelar, which

was, however, regularly palatalized by **e*, e.g. **g^{w}ih$_3$os* 'life' > *βίος bíos* vs. **g^{w}elb^{h}u-* > *δελφύς delphús* 'womb' where the *d* comes from earlier **dz*, the palatalization outcome of **g^w*.

A **u̯* or the labial element of a labiovelar is not palatalized before **i*:

**du̯itos* 'second' > TB *wate*.
**k^{w}is-so* 'who' > **kwəse* > TB *k$_u$se*.

Contrast **h$_2$u̯eh$_1$n̥tos* > PT **ŵæntæ* > TB *yente*, TA *want* 'wind'.

A PT **t* (< PIE **t* or **d^h*) plus **i̯* yields PT **ts*.

**wlanti̯a* 'queen' > TB *lāntsa*.
**-d^{h}i̯Vi̯* infinitive morpheme > TB/TA *-tsi*. Cf. Ved. *-dhyai*.

All remaining coronals were not palatalized before **i̯*:[1]

**lətəwsi̯a* nom. sg. f. pret. ptc. 'having gone out' > TB *ltusa*.
**səmi̯a* nom. sg. f. 'one' > **sənya* > TB *sana*.
**ali̯æ-* 'other' > TB **ale-*, preserved in the derivative *ale-tstse* 'foreign'.

The phonologically regular palatalization of *ts* < **d* is *ś*, e.g.

**dékm̥* 'ten' > **ts'əkən* > TB *śak*.
**d^{h}eu̯g^{h}os* > **deu̯g^{h}os* > **ts'əukæ* > TB *śuke* 'taste, juice'. Cf. Ved. *duh-* 'give milk', Goth. *daug* 'avails'.

But synchronically *ts* does not undergo palatalization alternations.[2] The labial obstruents **p* and **m* were palatalized in Proto-Tocharian, but they lost distinctive palatalization in Tocharian B. Traces of their prior palatalization may be seen in the change of a following **ə* to *i*. For example:

**penk^{w}e* 'five' > **p'ənśə* > *piś*. Cf. Gk. *πέντε pénte*.
**memsh$_2$* 'meat' > **m'ənsa* > *mīsa*. Cf. Goth. *mimz*, Lat. *membrum* < **memsrom*.

Tocharian has developed a number of morphological palatalization processes. In adjectives in *-ts(ts)e* the oblique masculine in *-cce* is analogical to the pattern seen in adjectives in *-te* like *trite* 'third', obl. m. *trice*. The more important locus of morphological palatalization is the root-initial consonant of causative preterite class II as discussed above on pp. 58–9 (e.g. *myāska* 'exchanged' ← *mäsk-*).

[1]The view presented here follows Fellner 2013:46–50. Others believe that **l* and **n were* palatalized before yod. The best case for **l* palatalizing before **i̯* is *allek* 'other' from **ali̯o-* (Pinault 2008a:548–9). In Pinault's view, *ll* spells [ʎ]. The best case for **ni̯* palatalizing is the suffix of present class XII, e.g. *täṅkw-añṅä-* 'to love', where the suffix *-äṅṅä-* could be directly compared with Gk. *-αίνω -aínō*. But this theory does not explain the geminate *ṅṅ*, which is not an automatic side-effect of palatalization in Tocharian B. In the case of adjectives in *-ṅṅe*, the proto-form was **-ni̯os*, cf. TA *-ṅi*. See p. 194 for a different account of present class XII.

[2]Adjectives in *-tstse*, e.g. *orotstse*, have "palatalized" allomorphs in *-cce*, e.g. obl. sg. m. *orocce*, nom. pl. m. *orocci*, obl. pl. m. *orocceṃ*. This pattern is not of phonological origin and is modeled on the pronouns, e.g. nom. sg. *se*, obl. sg. m. *ce*, nom. pl. m. *cai*, obl. pl. m. *ceṃ*.

The Verb

The preterite active endings

	Pret. I,II, IV,V active	Pret. III
1s	*-wa*	*-wa*
2s	*-sta*	*-sta*
3s	*-a*	*-sa*
1p	*-m* /-mə/	*-m* /-mə/
2p	*-s* /-sə/ ~ *-so*	*-s* /-sə/ ~ *-so*
3p	*-āre*	*-ar* /-ərə/

The preterite endings in general derive from the *-h_2e set, which are most obviously continued in the PIE perfect, but in Anatolian are continued by the preterite of the *-ḫi* conjugation. Bracketed forms in the table below are not original to the *-h_2e set.

	*h_2e-endings	Anatolian *ḫi*-conj.	Vedic perfect	Greek perfect
1s	*-h_2e	Luv. *-ḫa*	*-a*	*-α -a*
2s	*-th_2e	Hitt. *-ta*	*-tha*	*-θα -tha*
3s	*-*e*	[Hitt. *-š*][3]	*-a*	*-ε -e*
1p	*-*mē*	Hitt. [*-wen*]	*-mā*	[*-μεν -men*]
2p	*-*e*	Hitt. [*-ten*]	*-a*	[*-τε -te*]
3p	*-*ēr*, *-*r̥s*[4]	Hitt. *-er*	*-ur*	[*-ᾱσι -āsi*]

The endings of the preterite III are identical to those of the other preterites with the exception of the 3rd singular and plural. For the endings of preterite VI, which continue thematic or thematized aorists, see pp. 170–1.

The source of the 1st singular *-wa* is uncertain. Jasanoff suggests that the *-w-* is comparable to the *-u-* of the Latin *v*-perfect and the *-u-* of Vedic perfects to roots in *-ā*. According to him, a word-final sequence *-*oH-(h₂)e* became *-*ōu̯* (Ved. *dadáu* 1s and 3s 'gave') under some conditions.[5] In Tocharian this was recharacterized as *-*ōu̯-a* (where *-a* is the regular outcome of *-h_2e in other environments, cf. the Luvian 1st sg. secondary *ḫi*-conjugation ending *-ḫa*) and this was resegmented as *ō-u̯a.[6]

-sta continues PIE 2s *-th_2e, cf. Ved. perf. *-tha*, Gk. *-θα -tha*. The *-s-*, which is reminiscent of the Latin 2s perfect *-i-stī* < *-*i-stai*, probably results from resegmentation of an *s* that arose when this dental-initial ending was added to dental-final roots. It is not likely that the *s* has anything to do with the *s*-aorist since the ending *-sta* is

[3] Square brackets enclose forms that do not continue the PIE *-h_2e endings directly but which have been borrowed from the *-*mi* conjugation.

[4] The ending *-*ēr* derives from *-*ers* by Szemerényi's Law. The zero-grade ending *-*r̥s* is continued by Ved. *-ur* and Old Avestan *-ərəš*.

[5] Jasanoff (2003:62) suggests that the outcome of word-final *-*oHe* was *-*ōu̯* when the vowel was accented and the next word began with a laryngeal or vowel.

[6] Jasanoff 2003:60–2.

found in all types of preterites. The 3s ending of preterite classes I–V *-a* originates in roots ending in a final laryngeal. In root aorists of the normal *-*mi* conjugation type the final laryngeal of the root became *a* before the 3s secondary ending *-*t*, e.g. *śarsa* '(s)he knew' as if from *-$h_x t$. What was originally the final segment of the stem was reanalyzed as the 3s ending. This morpheme has spread to all preterites except the preterite VI *lac, śem* type.

In preterite III the morpheme *-a* is preceded by an *-s-*. The same pattern is seen in Tocharian A, where the 3s 'asked' is *prakäs*. This *-s-* cannot be separated from the *-s-* that appears throughout the middle of preterite III (*parksamai**, *parksatai**, *parksate**, *parksamte**, *parksat**, *parksante*). Further, most scholars agree that the *-s-* is to be connected with the *-*s-* of the *s*-aorist of Inner Indo-European and the 3rd sg. preterite ending of the Hittite *ḫi*-conjugation *-š*, e.g. *dāš* '(s)he took'. Jasanoff argues that the preterite III as a whole continues the active *s*-aorist in its most archaic form, i.e. an aorist which took *-h_2e endings in all persons except the 3rd singular, which continued a displaced imperfect of an *s*-present with lengthened *ē-grade. After the departure of the Proto-Tocharians the Inner Indo-European[7] speakers generalized the lengthened *ē-grade and *s to the entire indicative paradigm, an innovation which gave the PIE *s*-aorist, as continued in Greek, Sanskrit, etc.[8]

The 1st plural *-m* is the same ending as in the present/subjunctive. No forms with movable *o*mobile are attested, but the accent of the vowel immediately before the ending shows the form was *-*mə*.

The 2nd plural shows up both as *-s* < *-*sə* and *-so*. One would normally be inclined to take the ending *-so* as an instance of the movable-*o* phenomenon, i.e. as spelling for final /-ə/ in metrical contexts. But in fact the 2p preterite ending *-so* is also found in prose, and this suggests that the final vowel of this form was not /ə/, but a real *o*. The form *-s* < *-*sə* may have been remade on the basis of 1p /-mə/.[9]

The 3rd plural shows two different endings. In all preterites except preterite III the ending is *-are*, which continues PT *-*a-ræ*, where *-*ræ* < *-*r-ont*, the old 3rd plural *-h_2e extended by thematic *-*ont*. Cf. typologically the Latin 3p perfect *-ērunt*. The Proto-Tocharian *-*a-* that precedes *-*ræ* is, like the *-a-* of the 3s, extracted from roots ending in a final laryngeal.

The preterite III 3p *-ar* /-ə-rə/ perhaps continues a *-*rəs* remade from *-*ərs* < *-*r̥s*. Cf. the Vedic 3p perfect *-ur* < *-*r̥s*.

[7] I use "Inner-Indo-European" to refer to the node of the Indo-European family tree dominating all sub-branches other than Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Tocharian, which were, respectively, the first and second sub-branches to separate in the view followed here.

[8] See most recently Jasanoff 2019a:36–65.

[9] See Jasanoff 2019a:30 for an attempt to reconstruct a Proto-Tocharian form.

Syntax

Experiencer predicates

In so-called canonical marking the experiencer is coded as the subject, as in *I like chocolate, I am hot, I think*. In so-called non-canonical marking the experiencer is marked in some oblique case, e.g. EME *methinks*,[10] NHG *mir gefallen Blumen* 'I like flowers', Span. *me gusta bailar* 'I like to dance'. Tocharian B almost exceptionlessly shows canonical marking with the experiencer in the nominative. For example, with verbs of seeing and hearing, thinking, or knowing:

(1) *stām ñor cau lmoṣ lyakāre*
tree.obl.s. under him sit.pret.ptc.obl.s.m. see.pret.3p.
They saw him sitting under a tree. (THT 107 a 7)

(2) *pañäkte klyauṣa nāksate*
Buddha heard reproached
The Buddha heard it and reproached it. (PK AS 18A a 3)

(3) *mā no wnolmy aikenträ*
But beings don't know (it). (THT 3 b 6)

The one verb showing non-canonical marking, not surprisingly, is *cäṅk-* 'please, like':

(4) *mā cäñcan=me āyor aitsi olypotse śateñ no*
not please=them gift give.inf. very rich.nom.p. prtc.
It does not please them to give a gift, though they are very rich. (PK AS 7F a 2)

The stimulus of the experience is usually coded as the oblique, but there are a few verbs that code it as the perlative (*katk-* 'rejoice, be glad', *planta-* 'rejoice, be glad'), ablative (*yäka-* 'be careless, neglect'), or locative (*wina-ññ-* 'enjoy, find pleasure in', *skwäññ-* 'be happy').[11]

Group inflection

In a phrase made up of a noun plus an adjective or of several conjoined nouns in the same secondary case, the case may be explicitly marked only once. This phenomenon is called group inflection or Gruppenflexion, the German term. In prose the case marker is on the right edge of the phrase.[12] For example:

[10] *Methinks* is a fossilized phrase of Early Modern English occasionally still used today with humorous intent. The verb *thinks* here is an impersonal 3rd-person form meaning 'seems' (originally a different verb than transitive *think*, though they are from the same root) and the *me* continues an old dative form. *Methinks* thus means 'it seems to me'.

[11] See Viti 2016.

[12] But in poetry it may appear in other positions.

(5) *kektseñ* *reki* *palsko-sa*
body.obl. word.obl. thought-perl.
with body, word, and thought (IOL 307 a 5)

(6) *kokaleṃ* *oṅkolmaṃ-mpa*
chariots.obl.p. elephant.obl.p.-com.
together with the wagons and the elephants (THT 363 b 9)[13]

(7) *ce* *yāmorsa*
this.obl. act.perl.
through this act (PK AS 4B a 2)

But less commonly, the secondary case ending may also be repeated:

(8) *riṃne* *kuṣaiṃne* *ostwane*
city.obl.p.loc. village.obl.p.loc. house.obl.p.loc.
in cities, in villages, in houses (THT 31 b 6)

Since the Tocharian secondary cases originate, for the most part, as postpositions, it is not surprising that only one postposition was originally required to govern the entire postpositional phrase. Compare typologically Span. *rapida y claramente* 'rapidly and clearly' where the single use of the adverbial morpheme *-mente* reflects its origin as the ablative of Lat. *mēns* 'mind'.

Gruppenflexion is sometimes extended to the genitive:

(9) *añmalāṣkeṃ* *käṣṣintse*
compassionate.obl. teacher.gen.
of the compassionate teacher (THT 295 a 9)[14]

beside historically expected

(10) *lānte* *kreñcepi*
king.gen. good.gen.
of the good king (M 500.1 b 2)[15]

[13] The archaic manuscript reads *kokleṃ*.
[14] The manuscript reads *añmalāṣkai*.
[15] A now-lost text from the Pelliot collection, cited after the 2013 CEToM edition of Pinault and Malzahn.

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.2 *plāki* a. 'agreement, permission' (sg. only attested, but the derivational type of verbal abstracts in *-i* are alternantia) ← *plak-* 'be in agreement with', cf. Lat. *placet* 'is pleasing'
yarm a. 'measure'
sāṅk a. 'saṅgha', the Buddhist monastic community, pl. *saṅkanma* ← Skt. *saṃgha-* 'community'

III.1 *kāko* a. 'invitation'

VI.2 *kwaṣo** or *kuṣiye** (equally possible nominative singulars corresponding to the attested oblique) f. 'village', obl. *kwaṣṣai*, nom. pl. *kuṣaiñ*, obl. pl. *kuṣaiṃ*

Indeterminate
trikelye 'intoxication', substantivized gerundive from *trik-* 'be confused'
mālo, obl. *māla* 'intoxicating drink'[16] ← Bactrian *μολο molo*
mot 'alcohol' (sg. only attested), probably cognate with Gk. *μέθυ méthu* 'strong drink', Ved. *mádhu* 'sweet stuff', but it would have to continue *mod^hu or *$mēd^hu$
wasaṃpāt 'rite of ordination of a monk' (sg. only attested) ← a Middle Indic outcome of Skt. *upasaṃpadā*
śak$_{(u)}$se 'brandy, spirits' (no plural attested)

Adjectives

I.1 *postaññe* 'last', as adverb 'finally, at the most'
meṅki-īkäṃ-pikwalaṃñe 'less than 20 years old'

II.1 *klausa-pilṣi* 'with ears pricked up', cf. *klautso* f. 'ear', obl. *-ai* or *-a*, and *piltär* 'pricks up (the ears)'. The simplification of *ts* to *s* is a popular feature.

III *wetā$_u$* 'fighting', substantivized 'fighter, warrior'
śalnā$_u$, *śilnā$_u$* 'quarreling'

Indeterminate
pudgalyik 'personal' ← an apparently unattested derivative **pudgalika-* from BuS *pudgala-* 'body, person; handsome'
wasaṃpaṃ 'ordained' ← Middle Indic reflex of Skt. *upasaṃpanna-*, cf. *wasaṃpāt* above

[16] For the nom. *mālo* see Ogihara 2011:135.

Verbs

VI,V,–
rapa- 'dig', pres. VI *rapanaṃ*, subj. V *rāpatsi*

VI,V,I *wärpa-* 'enjoy, suffer', pres. VI *wärpanaṃ*, subj. V *warpatsi*, pret. I *wärpāte*, pret. ptc. *wärpau*, *-oṣ**, ipv. 2s mid. *purpar*

VIII,I,III
nak- 'blame', pres. VIII *nakṣtär*, subj. I *nāktsi*, pret. III *nāksate*, pret. ptc. *nanāku*
mi- 'harm' (caus. only attested), pres./subj. IXb *miyiṣṣäṃ*, pret. II mid. *myāyate*, pret. ptc. *memiyu*, cf. Ved. *minā́ti* 'harms'

Adverbs, particles, etc.

amplākätte 'uninvited, without orders'
olya 'more'
nauṣ 'before, earlier, in front'
maṃt, *mant* 'so, in this way'
wat 'or'

Reading: *Prātimokṣasutra* of the Sarvāstivadin school

Prātimokṣasutra is the name of a list of rules for correct behavior contained within the *Vinaya*, lit. 'leading out, education', a kind of constitution for governing conduct within the Buddhist monastic community (*saṅgha*). These rules were recited by the *saṅgha* at the new and full moon. Most rules are formatted as conditional relative sentences introduced by *se* (= k_u*se*) *ṣamāne* 'which monk'. The apodosis in this section is always *pāyti*, a crime requiring expiation, from Pāli *pācittiyam*, BHS *pāyattika*, *pāyitti*, Skt. *pātayantikā*.[17] The numbers at the end indicate the numbering in the original list of rules. In the footnotes I've included the Sanskrit originals so you can see what decisions the translators made.[18]

1. *se ṣamāne lykaṃ wārṣeṃmpa plākisa ytāri yaṃ: pāyti.* 71.[19]

[17]The Sanskrit form is an erroneous re-Sanskritization of the Middle Indic form represented by BHS. Tocharian B *pāyti* is obviously related to the BHS form and was presumably borrowed from a similar form in the Buddhist Sanskrit of the Sarvāstivādins. The actual Sanskrit source is *prāyaścittika* 'requiring expiation' ← *prāyaścitti-* 'atonement', lit. 'predominant thought'.

[18]The Sanskrit text is from von Simson 2000. The English translation is based on von Simson's German one.

[19]*yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ steyasārthena sārdhaṃ saṃvidhāya samānamārgaṃ pratipadyeta antato grāmāntaram api pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk having arranged a joining with a company of thieves, takes to a common road, even only to the next village, it is *pātayantikā*'.

2. *se ṣamāne meṅki-īkäṃ-pikwalaṃñepi onolmentse wasaṃpāt yamaṣṣäṃ: pāyti. su mā wasaṃpaṃ tākaṃ, ṣamāni nakṣalyi.* 72.[20]
3. *se ṣamāne ṣañ ṣarsa keṃ rapanaṃ rāpatsi wat watkäṣṣäṃ: pāyti.* 73.[21]
4. *śtwer meñtsa postaññe ṣ ṣamānentse pudgalyik kāko wärpanalle. tumeṃ olya wärpatär: pāyti.* 74.[22]

   meñtsa is probably haplologized for the expected plural form †*meñäntsa*; translate *tumeṃ olya wärpatär* as a conditional protasis (if-clause).

5. *se ṣamāne, prātimokṣäsūtär weskemane, maṃt weṣṣäṃ: mā ñiś yesäñ aknātsaṃs rekisa yamaskau; preku, se sūtär winai abhidhārm aiykemane tākaṃ: pāyti.* 75.[23]

   translate *weskemane* as a passive participle; *aknātsaṃs* = *aknātsaṃts*; *rekisa* 'according to the word'; *se* = *kₐse*, here introducing an indirect question; *sūtär winai abhidhārm* = vinaya and abhidharma sutras; *aiykemane* = *aikemane*.

6. *se ṣamāne śilnāntäṃ wetāntäṃ ṣamāneṃts klausa-pilṣi kalträ: pāyti.* 76.[24]

   śilnāntäṃ wetāntäṃ ṣamāneṃts is an attempt at translating the Sanskrit genitive absolute; translate as a temporal clause

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[20] *yaḥ punar bhikṣur ūnaviṃśativarṣaṃ pudgalaṃ bhikṣubhāvenopasaṃpādayet pātayantikā sa ca pudgalo 'nupasaṃpannas te ca bhikṣavo garhyā iyaṃ tatra sāmīciḥ* 'Whichever monk should ordain with monkhood a person less that 20 years old, it is *pātayantikā*. And the person is not ordained and the monks are deserving reproach. This is proper in this case'.

[21] *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ pṛthivīṃ khanyāt khānayed vā pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk should dig the earth or cause it to be dug, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[22] *caturmāsikā bhikṣuṇā pravāraṇā sādhayitavyā anyatra nityapravāraṇāyā anyatra punaḥpunaḥ-pravāraṇāyā anyatra pratyekapravāraṇāyā tata uttaraṃ sādhayet pātayantikā* 'A four-month invitation may be performed by a monk except a permanent invitation, a repeated invitation, an individual invitation; if he should perform beyond, it is *pātayantikā*'. The four-month period is the rainy season of India.

[23] *yaḥ punar bhikṣur prātimokṣasūtroddiśyamāne evaṃ vaden nāhaṃ yuṣmākaṃ bālānāṃ mūḍhānāṃ duṣprajñānāṃ vacanenātra śikṣāyāṃ śikṣiṣyāmi anyān ahaṃ bhikṣūṃ prakṣyāmi sūtradharān vinaya-dharān mātṛkādharān iti pātayantikā | ājñātukāmena bhikṣuṇā tatra śikṣāyāṃ śikṣitavyaṃ bhikṣavaś ca praṣṭavyāḥ sūtradharā vinayadharā mātṛkādharāḥ | iyaṃ tatra sāmīciḥ* 'Whichever monk when the *prātimokṣasūtra* is being recited, says thus: "I will not here perform the precept according to the word of you foolish, stupid, weak-minded ones. I will ask other monks who are masters of the *sutra* (doctrine), the *vinaya* (discipline), and the *mātṛka* (scholastic)," it is *pātayantikā*. This precept should be practiced by a monk desiring knowledge, and monks who are masters of *sutra*, the *vinaya*, and the *mātṛka* should be questioned. This is the correct practice in this case'. In this rule the Tocharian text is following version A of the *prātimokṣasūtra*. Version B substitutes *prātimokṣasūtroddiśyamāne* with *bhikṣubhir ucyamāna iha te śikṣāyāṃ śikṣitavyam ity* 'addressed by monks in this way: "here this precept should be performed by you."'

[24] *yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣūṇāṃ kalahajātānāṃ bhaṇḍanajātānāṃ vigṛhītānāṃ vivādam āpannānāṃ tūṣṇīm upaśrutikas tiṣṭhed yad ete bhikṣavo vakṣyanti tad ahaṃ śrutvā tathānuvyāhariṣyāmīti pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk should stand listening silently to monks entering into dispute, bickering and quarreling, thinking, "What these monks will say, I, having heard, shall remember it then," it is *pātayantikā*'. The last clause *yad... iti* is omitted from the Tocharian translation in this manuscript but is translated in other manuscripts.

7. *se ṣamāne, saṅkantse pelaiykneṣṣe wäntare wätkau tākaṃ, amplākätte parra tseṅketär: pāyti.* 77.[25]

   The clause beginning with *saṅkantse* can be taken as a temporal clause 'when…'; *parra* variant of *parna* 'outside'

8. *se ṣamāne pañäktentse maṣṣāt yamaṣṣäṃ: pāyti.* 78.[26]

   maṣṣāt 'disrespect'

9. *se ṣamāne mot māla trikelyesa śakse yokäṃ: pāyti.* 79.[27]

10. *se ṣamāne kätkoṣ preke amplākätte kwaṣ(ṣ)aine yinmaṣṣäṃ: pāyti.* 80.[28]

    Here *kätkoṣ preke*, a kind of oblique absolute construction, is to be taken as a temporal clause; *yinmaṣṣäṃ* = *yänmaṣṣäṃ*.

11. *se ṣamāne nauṣ tsaṅkalyñesa postäṃ śinmalyñesa sāṅk miyiṣṣäṃ: pāyti.* 81.[29]

    tsaṅkalyñe verbal noun from *tsänka-* 'arise'; *śinmalyñe* verbal noun from *käm-* 'come'. This rule doesn't seem to correspond with the Sanskrit.

12. *se ṣamāne yaka yaṣisa lānte kercyenne yaṃ parna tuyknesa ṣärmameṃ: pāyti.* 82.[30]

    yaka 'still', here in temporal sense, cf. *ykāk*; *yaṣisa* ← *yṣīye* 'night'; *parna* here a preposition governing the ablative 'except'

13. *$k_u$se ṣamāne prātimokṣ po añmtsa mā klyauṣäṃ: pāyti.* 83.[31]

    This rule is really abbreviated compared to the Sanskrit! This may be because the Tocharian translators were working from a somewhat different version than the one printed in the footnotes.

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[25] *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ saṃghasya niścitāyāṃ kathāyāṃ vartamānāyāṃ tūṣṇīm utthāya prakramet saṃtaṃ bhikṣum anavalokya pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk, when a determined matter (i.e. a matter to be determined) of the community is being discussed, having stood up silently walks out without having looked to a competent monk, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[26] *anādareyakāt pātayantikā* 'From disrespectful conduct, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[27] *surāmaireyamadyapānāt pātayantikā* 'From drinking intoxicating beverages, spirits, and liquors, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[28] *yaḥ punar bhikṣur akāle grāmaṃ praviśet santaṃ bhikṣum anavalokyānyatra tathārūpapratyayāt pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk enters a village at the wrong time, not having looked to a competent monk except when there is a reason, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[29] *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ sabhaktaṃ kuleṣūpanimantritaḥ pūrvabhaktaṃ paścādbhaktaṃ kuleṣu cāritram āpadyeta pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk invited by a family to a common meal should visit among the family before or after the meal, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[30] *yaḥ punar bhikṣu rājñaḥ kṣatriyasya mūrdhābhiṣiktasya aniṣkrāntāyām rajanyāṃ anirgṛhīteṣu ratneṣu indrakīlaṃ vā indrakīlabhūmiṃ vā samatikramed anyatra tathārūpapratyayāt pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk enters the threshold or threshold territory of a consecrated *kṣatriya* king, when night has not passed and the jewels have not been locked away, unless there is a reason, it is *pātayantikā*'. Other mss. read *aniṣkrānte rājñi* 'when the king has not gone out', which is probably the original reading.

[31] *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ prātimokṣasūtroddiśyamāne evaṃ vaded idānīm ahaṃ jānāmi yad ayaṃ dharmaḥ sūtragataḥ sūtraparyāpanna iti taṃ ca bhikṣavo jānīyuḥ saṃniṣaṇṇapūrvo 'yam āyuṣmāṃ dvis triḥ prātimokṣasūtroddeśe kaḥ punar vādo bhūya iti tasya punar bhikṣor nāsty ajñānān mokṣo yāṃ cāpattim āpannaḥ syāt tāṃ yathādharmaṃ kārayitavya uttaraṅ ca saṃvejayitavyas tasya te āyuṣmann alābho na lābdhaḥ durlabdho na sulabdhaḥ yo hi nāma tvam anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddiśyamāne na satkṛtyārthīkṛtvā na gurukṛtvā na manasīkṛtvā naikāgracitto nāvahitaśrotro na sarvacetasā samanvāhṛtya*

14. *se ṣamāne ayāṣṣe kemeṣṣe sucīkar yamastär: pāyti.* 84.[32]
    sucīkar 'needle case' ← Pāli *sūcighara-*
15. *se ṣamāne pir mañcāk yamasträ, yarmtsa yamaṣälle pa(ñäktentse).*[33]
    pir 'chair' ← Skt. *pīṭha-*; *mañcāk* 'couch' ← Skt. *mañcaka-*

śṛṇoṣi iyaṃ tasya saṃvejanāt pātayantikā 'Whichever monk, when the *prātimokṣasūtra* is being recited, should say thus: "Just now I understand this case is in the *sutra* and is included in the *sutra*," and the monks should know that this venerable one had previously attended two or three times when the *prātimokṣasūtra* was recited, not to say more, there is no release for this monk because of ignorance, and into whatever offense he has fallen let him be dealt with in that regard according to *dharma* and he should be further punished. "For you, o venerable one, have acquired a fault and not won profit for yourself. For you, So-and-So, who when the half-monthly *prātimokṣasūtra* is being recited, not paying respect, not making it your own, not taking it seriously, not meditating with a one-pointed mind, do not listen with an attentive ear, and do not listen with the conviction of the entire mind, for the sake of punishment of this one this is *pātayantikā*."'

[32] *yaḥ punar bhikṣur asthimayaṃ dantamayaṃ viṣāṇamayaṃ vā sūcīgharakaṃ kārayet pātayantikā* 'Whichever monk should have made a needle-case of bone or tooth or horn, it is *pātayantikā*'.

[33] *pīṭhaṃ vā bhikṣuṇā mañcaṃ vā kārayatā sugatāṣṭāṅgulipramāṇāḥ pādāḥ kārayitavyā anyatrāraṇyās tata uttaraṃ kārayet pātayantikā* 'By a monk having a chair or couch made, the legs should be made to measure eight fingers of the *sugata* (apparently a conventional measure later interpreted as referring to Buddha), except for the frame rods. Should he have it made beyond, it is *pātayantikā*'.

Lesson 16

Learning Goals

Phonology: syncope and epenthesis
The verb: origin of preterite stem types
Syntax: valency alternations
Contact: Turkic loans and influence
Reading: caravan passes and monastery accounts

Phonology

Syncope and epenthesis

The Fremdvokal (see pp. xxiii, xxvii) is susceptible to syncope. In general syncope happens in unaccented open syllables:

camel /cə́mel/ 'birth', pl. *cmela*
yapoy /yə́poy/ 'land', pl. *ypauna*
lakaṃ /lə́kan/ 'will see' ~ *lkān=me* 'will see them'
lykwara /lyəkwə́ra/ 'times' ~ sg. *lyakur** /lyə́kwər/ with /wə/ surfacing as *u*
ñäkciye /ñəkcə́ye/ 'divine' ~ *patarye* /patə́rəye/ 'paternal' with two realizations of the genitival suffix /-əye/ < **-əyæ* < **-iio̯s*. Cf. Gk. *πάτριος pátrios*.

In poetry even an accented Fremdvokal can be syncopated for metrical necessity, e.g. prosaic *astare* /astəre/ 'pure' appears as *āstre* in poetry with the accent retracted to the first syllable; prosaic *ketara* /ketə́ra/ 'someone' gen. sg. ~ poetic *ketra*.

Consonant clusters may be broken by an epenthetic Fremdvokal:

sälpamane /səlpə́mane/ 'burning' < **səlpmanæ* from the root *sälp-*
antapi /antə́pəy/ 'both' < *āntpi*
wraṣṣe /wrə́ṣṣe/ 'watery' < **wərəṣṣe* < **wərṣṣe* ~ *war* /wə́r/ 'water'

The Verb

Origin of the preterite stem types

Tocharian has six main classes of preterites.

Preterite I made to *sāṭ* roots is essentially uncharacterized and continues, in its core, root aorists to laryngeal-final roots and stative-intransitive aorists.[1] Below are the active and middle paradigms for the roots *kälpa-* 'obtain' and *käla-* 'bring'. The active 3s of *käla-* is *śala*, which shows the root-initial palatalization before a full-grade **e* expected in an active singular root aorist.

	act. *kälpa-*	act. *käla-*	mid. *käla-*
1s	*kälpāwa*	*śälāwa**	*klāmai*
2s	*kälpāsta*	*śälāsta**	*klātai*
3s	*kalpa*	*śala*	*klāte*
1p	*kälpām*	*śälām**	*klāmtte*
2p	*kälpās**	*śälās**	*klāt**
3p	*kälpāre*	*śilāre* (for *śälāre*)	*klānte*

But there is also a completely different type called the *klyauṣa* type, which is made to *anaṭ* roots and which features a palatalization of the stem-final consonant before the *-a-*, e.g. *klyaus-* 'hear', pret. *klyauṣa*, or *cämp-* 'be able', pret. *campya*. These would appear to go back to a PT suffix **-'a* of uncertain origin.

Another subtype of Preterite I is the *lyāka* 'saw' type. This variety has a persistently palatalizing /a/ as the root vowel and takes the standard Preterite I endings. The root vocalism of the *lyāka* type is similar to that of Preterite II, but, unlike Preterite II, the *lyāka* type does not have causative meaning and does not have fixed initial accent (e.g. 3p *lyakāre*). The Tocharian A cognate of *lyāka*, *lyāk*, functions as an imperfect. These forms may go back to old imperfects with lengthened grade roots. In fact, *lyāka* may find a close match in the Lat. perfect *lēgī* 'I collected'.[2]

Preterite II from the causative of *wätka-* in the meaning 'order' is as follows:

1s	*yātkawa*	1p	*yātkam**
2s	*yātkasta*	2p	*yātkas**
3s	*yātka*	3p	*yātkare*

The preterite II is associated with causative root-initial accent and shows a palatalizing /a/ in the root which, under the fixed accent characteristic of this type, surfaces as *ā*. The origin of preterite II is one of the most controversial questions about the Tocharian verbal system. The corresponding formation in Tocharian A is reduplicated. For example, *kärsa-* 'know' makes TA 3s *śa-śärs* 'made known, taught', 3p *śa-śärsār*, which corresponds functionally and semantically to TB 3s *śārsa*, 3p *śārsare*. For this reason scholars since Wilhelm Schulze[3] have tried to explain the Tocharian B

[1] The stative-intransitive aorist was a category of Proto-Indo-European with (sg.) *o* ~ (pl.) *e* ~ ∅ ablaut and **-h_2e* endings. It is reflected by the so-called aorist passive of Vedic (3s *ábodhi* ~ 3p *ábudhran* 'woke up') as well as by the Tocharian preterite I and subjunctive V, on which see pp. 184–5. See Jasanoff 2003:165–73.

[2] See Malzahn 2010:159.

[3] Schulze 1924.

preterite II as continuing in some fashion an originally reduplicated form, but this is not the only solution.[4]

Preterite III from *präk-* 'ask':

	act.	mid.
1s	*prekuwa, prekwa*	*parksamai**
2s	*prekasta**	*parksatai**
3s	*preksa*	*parksate**
1p	*prekam**	*parksamte**
2p	*prekas**	*parksat**
3p	*prekar*	*parksante*

The preterite III is obviously related in some fashion to the *s*-aorist known from Greek and Sanskrit, but the absence of *s* in all forms of the active except the 3rd singular is striking—the *s* in the 2nd singular is part of the ending and characteristic of all preterites. Jasanoff has argued that this paradigm continues the true Proto-Indo-European distribution of **s*, i.e. only in the 3rd singular active and throughout the middle for some but not all verbs. In other words the PIE *s*-aorist was a mixed paradigm. The category ancestral to the Tocharian preterite III, called the presigmatic aorist, had a 3rd singular with *ē*-grade root, a suffix *-s-*, and the secondary ending **-t*. The other slots of the paradigm originally had *o*-grade (1s, 2s, 1p, 2p) or *e*-grade (3p) and took **-h₂e* endings. In the active Tocharian generalized the *ē*-grade (whence the palatalization of the root-initial consonant seen in *lyaukar* 'they illuminated' < **lēu̯kr̥s*) but kept the *s* limited to the third person singular. On this view, the Tocharian preterite III would continue the PIE situation quite faithfully.[5]

Preterite IV is seen in the preterite of the verb *yam-* and the preterite for causatives built to roots with internal *a, ai, au*.

1s	*yamaṣṣāwa*	1p	*yamaṣṣam**
2s	*yamaṣasta*	2p	*yamaṣṣas**
3s	*yamaṣṣa*	3p	*yamaṣṣare*

These are obviously derived directly from the characterized present stem in *-ṣṣä-* ~ *-ske-* to which *-'a-* has been appended. This is presumably the same morpheme as the *-'a-* which makes the *klyauṣa* type. Preterite V is simply the same morpheme appended to present stems of class XII in *-ññä-*.

Finally, preterite VI is made up of two old relics of PIE aorist formations. The verb *lä-n-t-* 'go out' with the preterite paradigm shown below continues an old thematic aorist **h₁lud^h^om*, **h₁lud^h^es*, **h₁lud^h^et*, **h₁lud^h^omes*, **h₁lud^h^ete*, **h₁lud^h^ont*, which matches Gk. *ἤλυθε éluthe* and OIr. *luid* exactly.

[4] See Malzahn 2010:184–9.

[5] This is the view offered by Jasanoff (2003:174–213). For a survey of other views and a new attempt at an explanation, see Melchert 2015 and in response, Jasanoff 2019a. See pp. 159–60 and 183 for more discussion.

1s	*latau*	1p	*ltem**
2s	*lac*	2p	*latso*
3s	*lac* (popular *laś, laiś*)	3p	*lateṃ*

The preterite of *käm-* 'come' also belongs to this small class:

1s	*kamau*	1p	*kmem*
2s	*śem*	2p	
3s	*śem(o)*	3p	*kameṃ, śemare* (a late and analogical form)

The 2s and 3s of this preterite go back to a lengthened-grade *g^w*ēm-* comparable to the lengthened grade seen in Lat. *uēnit* 'came'. The other persons go back to *g^w*ṃ̥-*. The *ē*-grade may originate in the 2s of the root aorist *g^w*em-s* which became *g^w*ēn* by Szemerényi's Law.[6] The Tocharian forms have been thematized. For the original root aorist cf. Ved. 2s, 3s *ágan* 'went'.

Syntax

Valency alternations

Most verbs in Tocharian B productively form a Class IXb present with fixed initial accent. These IXb presents are traditionally called "causatives" even though they are not, strictly speaking, always causatives. Many are simply transitive where the base verb (called a Grundverb in the German terminology) is intransitive. For example, *klautk-* 'turn, become' (pres. IV *klautkotär*)

(1) *mäkte cake (ṣ)liye (kl)autkot(rä), mant kättaṅkäṃ śaulanma mā*
as stream mountain turns.pres.3s so pass.pres.3p lives not
ṣp wtentse klautkonträ
and second.time turns.pres.3p
As a mountain stream ... turns, so lives pass and do not return a second time. (THT 3 a 4)

makes the transitive *klautkäṣṣäṃ* 'turn' tr.:

(2) *ceṃ ṣamāneṃ klautkäs(ts)i(śc) śalna(ntameṃ)*
these.obl.p. monks.obl.p. turn.tr.inf.all. quarrels.abl.
in order to turn these monks from quarrels (THT 36 a 8)

The same morphology when added to a transitive root creates a causative. For example, *kälpa-* 'obtain', pres./subj. IXa *kälpāṣṣäṃ*

[6] See Kim 2001. Szemerényi's Law is the name for a pre-PIE sound change whereby a word-final sequence of a vowel followed by a sonorant consonant and a fricative (including **s* and at least the second laryngeal) became a long vowel and a single sonorant consonant, i.e. ***-VRS# > *-V̄R#*.

(3) *sū* *ce*$_u$ *rilñemeṃ* *oko* *wroc(c)e…* *kälpāṣṣäṃ*
he this.obl. renunciation.abl. fruit.obl. great.obl. obtain.3s
He will obtain a great result by this renunciation. (THT 8 a 3)

→ pres. IXb *kalpäṣṣäṃ* 'make obtain, bestow'

(4) *ñi* *yapoy* *yesäṃ* *kalpäskau*
I country.obl. you.gen.p. bestow.pres.1s
I bestow my kingdom on you, lit. I cause you (*yesäṃ* 'you' pl. gen.) to obtain my kingdom. (THT 372 b 4)

These IXb forms usually function as both present and subjunctive stem and are associated with class II or IV preterites. The IXb ~ II/IV paradigm is the most widespread system of valency alternation, but it is not the only one operative in Tocharian B. For some verbs a transitive stem was created by the addition of an *-s-* morpheme creating a class VIII present with a corresponding class III preterite. These typically correlate with a class I or II subjunctive. Malzahn calls this type of stem when found beside another intransitive stem an "Antigrundverb".[7] For example, *pälk-* 'burn', pres. III

(5) *pälketär=ne* *po* *kektseñe* *antāpce* *ramt* *eṅkältsa*
burns.3s=for.him all.nom. body.nom. firebrand like passion.perl.
His whole body burns like a firebrand with passion. (THT 8 a 5)

→ pres. VIII *pälkṣäṃ* 'burns' tr.

(6) *aṅkain-pilkoṣṣe* *kaun* *pälkṣän=ne*[8]
false-insight.nom. sun.nom. burns=it
the sun of false insight burns it (THT 282 a 3)

In some cases a verb may show both a causative IXb and an antigrundverb. For example, *waka-* makes a present IV *wokotär* 'split apart' itr. (*po ratanta wokonträ=ṃ* 'all the jewels are splitting, i.e. blooming for him' THT 553 b 5), a present VIII antigrundverb meaning 'differ' in the middle *wākṣtär* (*posa auṣap pos=olypo pomeṃ wākṣtär=ś*[9] *seṃ yakne* 'More than all, above all, from all, this manner differs for you' THT 231 b 4), and apparently also a present IXb 'to judge' from the preterite IV *wākäṣṣasta* known only from a broken context.

Valency may also be changed through use of the active vs. middle endings. For example, *lāñe näkṣäṃ sarmana* 'the flood destroys seeds' (THT 33 b 7) vs. *śāmnaṃts śaul nakṣtär* 'the life of men perishes' (THT 3 B 7).

[7] Malzahn 2010:51. Peyrot (2013b:216) prefers the term '*s*-transitives'.
[8] The manuscript has the plural clitic *-me*, but the antecedent 'world' is singular.
[9] *-ś* is a late/popular form of the 2nd sg. clitic *-c*.

Contact

Turkic loanwords

The Turkic family of languages may have originated somewhere in the region stretching from Mongolia south of Lake Baikal west to the regions which are now the Tuvan, Khakhas, and Altai Republics in southern Siberia. In the regions close to Kuča the earliest Turkic polity on record is the First Turkic Khaganate, which began in 552 CE. The documents of the First Turkic Khaganate were in Sogdian, but the Second Turkic Khaghanate (682–744 CE), which was centered around the Orkhon River in Mongolia, used the so-called Turkic runiform script to write the earliest attested form of a Turkic language, usually called Orkhon Turkic. Writing in this system continued into the successor state, the Uyghur Khaganate.[10]

The Uyghur people first appear in the Tuul River Valley in Mongolia, and from 744–840 CE the Uyghurs were at the head of a Khaganate centered at Ordu-Baliq in Mongolia.[11] Under the ruler Bögü Khagan in 763 the Uyghurs adopted Manichaeism as the state religion. From the 9th century the Uyghurs wrote their own language, called Old Uyghur, in the Uyghur alphabet, which via the Sogdian script is derived ultimately from the Aramaic alphabet, but they also wrote in the Manichaean script, the Syriac script (for Christian documents), Brāhmī, and even Tibetan. The contents of these texts, manuscripts from Xinjiang and Gansu, are similar to the contents of Tocharian. Much of it is Manichaean and Buddhist religious literature, some of which has been translated from Tocharian. But there are also secular documents. When the primacy of the Uyghurs was replaced by the Kirghiz, many immigrated to the Tarim Basin, eventually absorbing the Tocharians linguistically. Literature in Old Uyghur continued until the 13th century.[12] But Tocharian may also have been in contact with Turkic speakers at an earlier date.

There are a number of Tocharian words that have been derived from Turkic. The most probable is TB *yolo* 'bad, false', which is borrowed from Khot. *yola-* 'falsehood', which in turn is borrowed from an Old Turkic form, cf. OUygh. *yavlak* 'bad, evil'.[13] Some other cases of alleged Turkic loans into the Tocharian languages are problematic.

Some other cases of alleged Turkic loans into the Tocharian languages are problematic. TB *kauṃ*, TA *koṃ* 'day, sun' < PT **kaunV-* has been compared to OTurk. *kün* 'day, sun' and the collocation *kauṃ ñäkte* 'sun god' to OUygh. *kün täŋri* 'sun god'. But the Tocharian words have a plausible Indo-European etymology < **keh₂u-n-i-* 'burning', cf. Gk. *καίω kaíō* 'I burn' < **kau̯-iō*, and it is not likely that the OTurk. form could have given the Proto-Tocharian forms. It may even be that the word is a loan from Tocharian into Turkic, if not just a chance resemblance. But it is interesting that both the Tocharian and the Turkic words combine the meaning 'sun' and 'day',

[10] See Golden 2022 and Erdal 2004:1–6.

[11] Ordu-Baliq 'camp-city' is the same place as Karabalgasun mentioned on p. xix.

[12] Together Orkhon Turkic and Old Uyghur are two of the three representatives of Old Turkic, the third being the corpus of 11th-century texts of the Karakhanid state written in the Arabic script. See Erdal 2004:6–9.

[13] Peyrot 2016a.

a colexification which is common in the languages of the world, including many Uralic, Sino-Tibetan, and Turkic languages, but occurring in Indo-European to my knowledge only in Tocharian A and B and Northern Kurdish.

TB *taur*, TA *tor* 'dust' < PT **taur* has been compared to OUygh. *toz*, Türkmen *tōz*, etc. The Chuvashic (Bulgaric, alias Lir) branch of Turkic has *r* where the non-Chuvashic (Shaz) languages have *z*, but scholars do not agree what the Proto-Turkic reconstruction for this *z*/*r* correspondence is. If Chuvashic preserves something closer to the Proto-Turkic proto-form, then Proto-Tocharian may have borrowed the word before the change affecting non-Chuvashic Turkic. Alternatively, the word could simply be borrowed from a Chuvashic language after the split of Turkic into the two branches, much as a large number of Turkic words borrowed into Mongolic were (though this is controversial among Turcologists), as well as into Hungarian (which is uncontroversial, or nearly so). But an Indo-European etymology has also been proposed for *taur*.[14]

A possible loan from Tocharian A into Turkic may be the *küü* 'fame' in the idiom *at küü* 'name (and) fame' which renders TA *ñom klyu* (= TB *ñem-kälywe*) 'name and fame'.[15]

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.2 *cāk* a measure made up of 10 *tau*, pl. *cakanma* ← 石 MChin. *dzyek*, Mand. *shí*[16] ± '100 liters'
saim m. 'refuge, protection', pl. *saimanma*, derived from the verb *sai-* 'support oneself'

III.1 *yärṣalñe*, *yirṣalñe* a. (probably III.1; sg. only attested) 'respectful address', verbal noun from *yärs-* 'address respectfully'
yaitkor 'order', verbal noun from *wätka-*

V.1 *kapyāre* lay servants of Buddhist community who perform all activities forbidden to monks ← BuS *kapyāri-*, a Sanskritization of a Middle Indic **kappiyāri* < **kalpikārin-*. Cf. Pāli *kappiyakāraka-* and BuS *kalpikāra-* lit. 'who makes things fitting'

VI.3 *maiyya* f. 'strength', obl. *maiyya*, later nom. *maiyyo*[17]

[14] Pinault 1994:376.
[15] Pinault 1998:359.
[16] The character in this meaning is now normally pronounced *dàn*.
[17] *Maiyya* can be classified as VI.3 but is actually a special case. The older nominative is *maiyya*. *Maiyyo* is a younger form created on the pattern obl. *-a* : nom. *-o*. The plural is either nom. *maiyyañ*, obl. *maiyyaṃ*, or nom. and obl. *maiyyana*. Tomba (2020:138) argues that *maiyya* was originally a feminine adjective which has been substantivized.

Indeterminate

kṣun 'regnal year' (sg. only attested), cf. Bact. *χþovo*,[18] Khot. *kṣuna-* Niya Gdh. *kṣuṇa-* 'time'[19]
tāś 'commander'
malyak(k)e 'young man'
yap 'barley' (sg. only attested)
ysāre 'wheat', cf. TA *wsār* 'heap of grain'
śwelyāṅk 'food provisions' < *śwaiylyāṅk* << **śwālye-lyāṅk* a partial calque of Chinese 食糧 MChin. *zyik ljang* (Mand. *shí liáng*) 'food contributions'
ṣletaś 'mountain-commander' ← *ṣale* 'mountain' + *tāś* 'commander'

Adjectives

I,1 *naimañe* name of first month
makte 'self', e.g. *makte tāś* 'the commander himself' (not to be confused with *mäkte* 'how, why')
rapañne name of twelfth month, sometimes just called *rāp* ← Chin. 臘 OChin. **C.rˤap* 'winter sacrifice' (Baxter-Sagart), **ra:b* (Zhengzhang)
wärsaññe name of the eleventh month, possible 'the rainy month', cf. Ved. *varṣám* 'rain' (the other months get numerical designations), but the rainy season in the historical Tocharian region is June–September

Indeterminate

ñuwe 'new', loc. pl. *nweṃne* 'in the new (days)', i.e. the period of the new moon or the last day of the month, cf. Lat. *nouus* 'new'

Verbs

VIII,II/III,III

luk- act. 'illuminate', mid. 'light up, be illuminated', pres. VIII *lukṣäṃ*, subj. II *lyuśtär* (n.b. transitive), subj. III *lyuketär*, pret. III 3s act. *lyauksa*, 3s mid. *lauksāte*, pret. ptc. *lyelyuku*, *-oṣ*. This verb is unusual in having a middle subj. II with transitive meaning. The normal pattern would be an active subj. I.[20] Cf. Ved. *rócate* 'shines'

XI,II,I

aks- 'declare, teach', pres. XI (the only one! basically a type IXa to a root ending in *s*) *aksaskau*, subj. II *ākṣäṃ*, pret. I (*klyauṣa* type) *ākṣa*, pret. ptc. *ākṣu*, ipv. VI 2s *pokse*, 2p *pokses*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

auṣap, *ṣap*, *oṃṣap* 'more'

[18] The sign transcribed as thorn spells some sort of sibilant.
[19] On the problematic further connection with Gk. *χρόνος khrónos* 'time' see Scarborough 2021.
[20] See Peyrot 2013b:811.

täṅktsi postposition + obl. 'up to and including', originally the infinitive of *täṅk-* 'to block', cf. for the meaning PDE *include, including*

Reading: Caravan Passes and Monastery Accounts

From the literary documents that survive one could get the impression that the speakers of Tocharian B were unrelentlingly high-minded and spiritual. Fortunately we see from secular documents that they, like all peoples, also had more mundane concerns.

Caravan passes

Among the secular documents of Tocharian B are small wooden tablets that contain a message with instructions from one customs officer to the customs officer of the next stopping point for a caravan. These formulaic texts are normally written on just one side of the tablet, but the other side may sometimes have a short address. These documents, mainly housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, were discovered by the expedition of Paul Pelliot at the base of an ancient guard tower near Kuča.

LP 1 recto

ṣletaś piṅkäṃ yuṣaiśco · twe ñī yaitkorsa maṃt pyām $k_u$ce kaṣake puttamitre parra yaṃ · caumpa śāmna ikäṃ · kercapaṃ treyä · yakwe ṣe · te parra tārka · tentsa auṣap mā tärkanat śak kṣ(u)ṃtsa · śtarce meṃne

In the dating formula Tocharian B uses the cardinal number for the year and the day and the ordinal or a specific name for the month; *yuṣai* (personal name), oblique of *yuṣo**; k_u*ce* obl. of the relative pronoun, here meaning something like 'to wit, i.e.'; *kaṣake puttamitre* a personal name, the caravan leader; *kercapaṃ* = *kercapañ* with depalatalization; *tārka* = *ptārka*, understand *yatsi* as the complement

Verso

yuṣaints(e) *klāṣle*

klāṣle syncopated from *kälāṣṣälle* from *käla-* 'bring'

LP 2 recto

śtwer oksai(ṃ) śtwer te parra ptārka ikäṃ ṣe kṣuṃntsa wärsaññe meṃne ikäṃ okne swarnetepi kṣu(ṃ)ne orśa cākare ākṣa

okne a popular form = *oktne*; *orśa* a personal name *Orśa* attested in Tocharian A as *oräś*; *swarnetepi* gen sg. from Skt. *Suvarṇadeva-* (*p* is a frequent rendering of Skt. *v*.); *cākare* a title whose precise meaning is unknown[21]

[21] See Ogihara and Pinault 2010:186–7.

Verso

sknatatti klāṣle

sknatatti (personal name) = *Saṃghadatta* gen. sg.

LP 11 recto

ptārka · se tesa ṣap tākaṃ · tu mā tärkanat · piś kṣuṃntsa ñuñce meṃne · ñweṃne · makte tāś ākṣa

se = *$k_u$se* introducing a conditional relative protasis

Verso

yuṣ(ai)ytse klāṣle

yuṣ(ai)ytse = *yuṣ(ai)yntse*

Monastery accounts

Among the secular documents in Tocharian B, economic records loom large. These documents, typically written in cursive on paper with a brush (rather than in calligraphic *brāhmī* on leaves or paper in *pustaka* format with a pen, as literary documents normally are), record the expenses and income of a monastic community over the year.

PK DA.M.507(8) recto from Pinault 2008a

1. *piś kṣuṃntsa ṣkacce meṃne sańkantse śeśu yap cakanma wi towä 4*

   ṣkacce = *ṣkaśce*; *sańkantse* gen. of agent; *śeśu* '(was) consumed'

2. *sańkantse śeśusa ysāre cakanma 3 towä 7* | *sańkantse śeśusa āka-lyekśye cakanma 4 towä 8*

   āka-lyekśye apparently a collocation or compound of *āka* 'millet' and *lyekśye*, *lyekśiye*, *lyekśe*, obl. *lyekśai* of unknown meaning. It could refer to a subtype of millet or a millet product

3. *ṣuktañce meṃne sańkantse śeśu yap cakanma 2 towä* 8 *sańkantse śeśusa ysāre cakanma 9 towä 4*
4. *sańkantse śeśusa āka-lyekśye cakanma cāk 1 towä ñu* |
5. *meñe oktante sańkantse śeśusa ysāre cāk 1 towä 6 sańkantse śeśuwa āka cāk 1*
6. *ñuñce meṃne sankantse śeśusa ysāre cakanma 3 towä 2*

   This line was omitted and added later in smaller size.

7. *sańkantse śeśu yap towä 3 sańkantse śeśuwa āka cakanma 5* |
8. *śkañce meṃne śeśusa ysāre cakanma ṣuk 7* | *towä 7 sańkantse śeśu yap cakanma 2 towä 2* | *sańkantse śeśusa āka-*

9. *lyekśye cakanma 8 towä ñu 9 | wärsaññe meṃne sańkantse śeśusa ysāre cakanma 7 | towä 9 sankantse śeśu yap cakanma 4 towä 8*
10. *sańkantse śeśuwa āka cakanma 8 tau sanai 1 | rapaññe meṃne sańkantse śeśusa ysāre cakanma 8 towä 3 | sańkantse śeśu yap*
11. *cakanma 4 towä sanai 1 | sańkantse śeśusa āka-lyekśye cakanma śak 10 | towä śwāra 4*

    śwāra = *śtwāra*

12. *ṣkacce meñameṃ rapañe meñ täńktsi sańkantse ś(e)śu yap cakanma 16 towä ṣuk 7*
13. *ṣkacce meñameṃ rapañe meñ täńktsi sańkantse śeśusa ysāre ca(ka)nma 41 | towä 8*
14. *ṣkacce meñameṃ rapañe meñ täńktsi sańkantse śeśusa āka lyekśye cakanma 40 towä 7*
15. *ṣkacce meñameṃ rāp täńktsi kapyāres śeśusa śwelyāńk āyusa ysāre laiś cakanma 49*

    kapyāres = *kapyāreṃts*; *laiś* = *lac*, here 'was spent'

The opposite side of the paper has a completely different kind of text on it. It is the *Pravrajyā* (leaving [the world]) section of the *Karmavācanā*. The *Karmavācanā* is a catechism in which the processes and formulas to be used in the rituals of the Buddhist communities, especially ordination, are collected.[22]

Verso

1. *ᵤpādhyāyeṃś ṣañ aklaṣle amrätatewe śle-yirke yirṣalñe yamastär*
2. *ñiś ykāk malyake pātär mātär rintsamai ci saim waste eńksamai ᵤpādhyāyeṃntse maiyyane ostameṃ lantsi kälpāwa*

    The space after *ᵤpādhyāyeṃś* is meant to show the respect a student has for the teacher. *aklaṣle* = *akalṣälle* 'pupil', substantivized ger. I of *ākl-* 'teach', a calque on Skt. *śiṣya-* 'pupil' ← *śās-* 'instruct'; *yirke* late variant of *yarke* 'honor'; *amrätatewe* (personal name) *Amṛtadeva*; *ñiś* = *ñäś*; *kälpa-* with an infinitive means 'begin, undertake'

[22] Pinault 2008a:371–4.

Lesson 17

Learning Goals

Phonology: clusters and Auslautgesetze
The verb: origin of present and subjunctive stems I–V
Syntax: wh-questions
Contact: loans from Tocharian B to Tocharian A
Reading: The Chariot Simile and a conversation between Buddha and Ānanda about aging

Phonology

Clusters

Some Proto-Indo-European consonant clusters were changed either in Proto-Tocharian or on the way from Proto-Tocharian to Tocharian B. The changes immediately below are also found in Tocharian A and are of Proto-Tocharian date.

**mi̯ > ni̯*

**səmi̯a* nom. sg. f. 'one' > **sənya* > TB *sana*, TA *säṃ*, cf. TB obl. m. *ṣeme* (n.b. the absence of palatalization of the coronal before yod, cf. p. 158).

**mb^h > m*:

**ĝómb^{h}os* 'tooth' > TB *keme*, TA *kam*. Cf. Gk. *γόμφος gómphos* 'bolt, dowel'.

**dC > C*

**su̯adros* 'sweet' > TB *swāre*, TA *swār*. Cf. Ved. *svādú-*.

**-ln- > -ll-*

**təl-n-a- > tal-la-ṃ* 'carries'. Cf. *tlanatär* 3s mid. < **tə́lna-tər* with no assimilation in the variant of the class VI present with an epenthetic *-ä-*.

**-rn- > -rr-*

**skər-n-a- > skar-raṃ* 'scolds', pres. VI.

**kst* develops an epenthetic *ə*

**su̯ekstós* 'sixth' >> **sekstos* > PT **ṣəkəstë* > TB *ṣkaste*, TA *ṣkäṣt*.

The following changes are only found in Tocharian B:

**mn > nm*

**kwəm-nə́sk'ə-* 'come' > TB *känmaṣṣä-* vs. TA *kumnäs-*.

The plural suffix in *-nma* (e.g. *teki*, pl. *tekanma* a. II.2 'sickness') is from **-mna*. The original order has been restored in *ñemna* 'names' on the basis of the singular *ñem*.

**-stn- > -sn-*

**kərst-na- > kars-na-ṃ* 'cuts off, destroys'. TA *kärṣnāṣ* (with parallel but independent loss in Tocharian A after the specific Tocharian A change of **st* to *ṣt*)

Consonants plus *w*

In some cases in Tocharian B, a *w* assimilates to a preceding consonant in medial position, e.g.:

**-tw- > -tt-*: **ritwetär > rittetär* 'is fitting', cf. TA *ritwatär*
**-nw- > -nn-*: **pənw- > pänn-* 'stretch' , cf. TA *pänw-*
**-sw- > -ss-*: **rəsw-* 'tear' > *räss-*, cf. TA *räsw-*

But in initial position C*w* is retained, e.g. *twere* 'door' < **d^{h}u̯oros*, *swāre* 'sweet' < **su̯adros*. In word-internal position in most nouns a lost *w* has been restored, e.g. *kantwo* 'tongue', *saswe* 'lord', *raitwe* 'combination', but note *spertte* 'behavior' < **spertwe*, cf. TA *spartu* 'a curl', both from the root *spartta-* 'turn' < **spartwa-*.

Auslautgesetze:[1] *Development of final consonants*

It is difficult to say exactly what happened to final consonants in Proto-Tocharian because Tocharian A has lost most final syllables. In Tocharian B original final consonants other than *r* and *l* were lost.

**-m > -∅*

**h$_1$éku̯om* 'horse' acc. sg. > *yákwe* obl. sg., cf. TA *yuk*
**tuh$_x$om* 'thou' > TB *twe*, cf. Ved. *t(u)vám*, cf. TA *tu*
**sēm* 'one' > TB *ṣe*

[1] *Auslautgesetze* (sg. *Auslautgesetz*) is German for 'laws of word end' and refers to special sound changes that effect the end of a word.

Contrast the retention of the liquids in *camel* 'birth' and *pācer* 'father', cf. TA *cmol* and *pācar*.

Final consonants other than *-r* and *-l* in native Tocharian B words are (1) followed by an underlying schwa, e.g. the 2p active secondary ending *-s* is /-sə/ as we can see by the accent in *takās* /takásə/; (2) the result of the reduction of final clusters (see the examples of *-*ns* and *-*nd* below); or (3) originally non-final consonants that have become final by apocope of an original final syllable, e.g. TB *piś*, TA *päñ* 'five' < **p'əñś* < **p'əñśə* < **penkʷe*, cf. Gk. πέντε *pénte*.

Before being lost, final *-*m* became *-*n*, to judge from TB [*t*]*keṃ* 'earth', where the final *-n* must have developed from *-*m* in the nominative and accusative **dʰĝʰōn* << **dʰeĝʰōm* just as in Gk. χθών *khthōn*. Cf. Lat. *humus* 'earth' with preserved *m*.

*-*s* > -∅

**h₁ékṵos* 'horse' nom. sg. > *yákwe* nom. sg.

*-*d* > -∅

**tod* 'this' neut. nom.-acc. sg. > *te*

*-*ns* > -*n*

**h₁ékṵons* 'horses' acc. pl. > obl. pl. *yakweṃ*, cf. TA *yukas* 'horses' obl. pl., but note that *-*ns* must have been retained in to Proto-Tocharian because the cluster is resolved as *-s* in Tocharian A.

*-*nt* > *nt* > -*n*

3p thematic *-*ont* > TB *-eṃ*[2]

*-*nd* (perhaps by way of *-*nts*) > -∅

*-*a-rond* 3p pret. > *-āre* /-are/, e.g. TB *takāre* 'they were'

*-*nts* > -∅

**peh₂n̥ts* 'all' > **pānts* > *po*

The Verb

Origin of present stems of classes I–V

Present class I continues PIE athematic presents from roots not ending in a laryngeal. These verbs originally added the personal endings directly to the root, but in Tocharian B a union vowel *-ä-* is found between the root and endings unless it has

[2]The Tocharian A 3p ending *-ñc* clearly continues *-*nti*. The Tocharian B form must continue either a secondary ending *-*nt* or a primary ending with an irregular apocope of the *-i*. See Malzahn 2010:35-6.

been deleted in an unaccented open syllable. Some forms that were originally suffixed have been absorbed into this class, e.g. *käln-* 'resound', which cannot continue an Indo-European unsuffixed root[3] and probably is from **k̂lu-n-u-*,[4] cf. Ved. *śr̥ṇóti* 'hears'. Not many present I forms have exact matches elsewhere, but TB *yok-* 'drink' matches Hitt. *ekuzzi*, probably continuing a Narten present **h₁ēg^{wh}-ti*.[5] *plyew-* 'float' also continues a Narten stem **plēu̯-*.

Present and subjunctive class II continues thematic presents. These are not very numerous and many are not simple unsuffixed thematic presents but incorporate various pieces of derivational morphology. A few old simple thematics are continued by TB *āk-* 'drive', 3s *āśäṃ* (cf. Gk. *ἄγει ágei*, Ved. *ájati* 'drives'), *kaltär* 'stands' < **k̂leḭ-e-tor* (cf. Ved. *śráyate* 'leans'), *ṣäṃs-* 'count (as)', 3s *ṣaṃṣäṃ*[6] < **sk̂ens-* (cf. Ved. *śáṃsati* 'praises'). On the other hand, *pask-* 'protect', 3s mid. *pāṣtär*, for example, is an old **-sk̂e/o-* present (Lat. *pāscere* 'to pasture'). *klyaus-* 'hear', 3s *klyauṣäṃ* < **k̂lēu̯s-e-* is the old subjunctive of an athematic *s*-present.

Present classes III and IV are in complementary distribution. Class III is built to roots without internal *a* and class IV is built to roots with internal *a*. The origin of these classes is debated. Most probably the underlying stem vowel /-e-/, which does not palatalize, continues an **o* which was the original 3s middle ending. This old ending was renovated with the innovative **-tor*. The verbs of this class mainly continue old zero-grade ending-accented stative-intransitives.[7]

Presents of class V are basically athematic root presents to roots ending in a stem-final *-a-*, which in most cases reflects a laryngeal. For example, *śuwa-* 'eat' 3s *śuwaṃ* from **ĝi̯uh₂/₃-*, cf. OHG *kiuwan*, OE *ciuwan* 'to chew', OCS *žĭvati* and *kwa-* 'call, invite' 1s mid. *kwāmar* from **guh₂-* 'call', cf. Gk. *γοάω goáō* 'I lament').

Origin of subjunctive classes I, III, IV, and V[8]

The Tocharian subjunctive in general continues Proto-Indo-European indicatives, both presents and aorists. In some cases we can see that the subjunctive stem matches the indicative seen in other Indo-European traditions, whereas the Tocharian indicative has further derivational morphology. Thus subj. VI *kär-na-* 'buy' continues PIE pres. **k^{w}ri-n(e)-h₂-* (cf. Ved. *krīṇā́ti* 'buys', RCS *krĭnuti* 'to buy', OIr. *crenaid* 'buys'), while the Tocharian present is the innovative class X form *kärnāstär* < pre-Tocharian **k^{w}ri-na-sk̂e-tor*.

Subjunctive I is regularly associated with preterite III and present VIII. In other words, they are part of the complex of sigmatic forms. For example, *präk-* 'ask' makes

[3] Because roots in PIE could not end in two sonorant consonants.

[4] Remade from **k̂l̥-n-u-* like YAves. *surunaoiti* 'hears'. A preform **k̂l̥-n-u-* would have assimilated to †*käll-*.

[5] A Narten present is an athematic present stem with an *ē*-grade in the active singular and an *e*-grade elsewhere. The type was established by the great Indo-Iranist, Johanna Narten (1930–2019).

[6] The manuscript has *ṣäṃṣaṃ* before a break so there may have been a clitic pronoun attracting the accent.

[7] Jasanoff 2003:155–60. For other opinions see Malzahn 2010:393–402.

[8] For other views of the origin of the subjunctive categories see especially Peyrot 2013a.

pres. VIII 3s *prekṣäṃ*, pret. III 3s *preksa*, and subj. I 3s *prekäṃ*. It has been argued by Jasanoff (2003 and 2019a) that the subjunctive I and the preterite III are both reflexes of a unitary Proto-Indo-European category, the presigmatic aorist.[9] This paradigm had an *o*-grade in the root in the 1st and 2nd singular and plural and *e*-grade of the root in the 3rd plural. The endings of these persons were from the *-h_2e set.[10] The 3rd singular, however, was a suppletive form with *ē*-grade, the suffix *-s-*, and a secondary third person ending *-*t*. Below is the presigmatic aorist of **prek̑-* 'ask':

1s	**prok̑-h_2e*	1p	**prok̑-me*
2s	**prok̑-th$_2e$*	2p	**prok̑-(t)e*
3s	**prēk̑-s-t*	3p	**prek̑-r̥s*

This paradigm was split in two in Tocharian. On the one hand, in the paradigm that would become the subjunctive I the *o*-grade was generalized in the singular and the plural was renovated with a typically Tocharian zero-grade, i.e. a non-palatalizing "schwa grade". The *-h_2e endings were replaced by the standard Tocharian primary endings.

PIE	Pre-Tocharian	Proto-Tocharian	subj. I
**prok̑-h_2e*	**prok-mi*	**prækəu*	*preku*
**prok̑-th$_2e$*	**prok-si*	**præktə*	*prekt**
**prēk̑-s-t*	**prok-ti*	**prækən*	*prekäṃ*
**prok̑-me*	**prek-me*	**pərkəmə*	*parkäm**
**prok̑-(t)e*	**prek-te*	**pərkcær*	*parkcer**
**prek̑ r̥s*	**prek-n̥ti*	**pərkən*	*parkäṃ*

On the other hand, in the preterite III the *ē*-grade was generalized and the *-h_2e endings were basically retained. In particular, the original distribution of the *-s-* in the 3rd sg. was retained.

Subjunctive III looks identical to present III but has a different distribution and origin. First, there are only eight members of this class and unlike the present III, which is built to *sāṭ* roots, the subjunctive III forms are built to *anaṭ* roots. These roots are all characterized by the causative/anticausative alternation. That is, the middle forms of the root indicate that the subject undergoes a change of state while the active forms indicate that the subject causes a change of state. For example, *täm-* mid. 'be born, come into being' vs. act. 'beget', *näk-* mid. 'fall into ruin, disappear' vs. act. 'destroy'.[11] The subjunctive III forms the intransitive subjunctive to verbs that make

[9] Peyrot (2012:252–3) argues for a similar derivation of the subjunctive I and preterite III from a unitary aorist formation. In his view these forms go back to the *s*-aorist, which (in contrast with Jasanoff's view, see p. 160) Tocharian inherited in its classical form and remodeled in such a way that in the active the *s* was only restored in the third singular.

[10] See the discussion of these endings on pp. 159–60.

[11] In PDE there may be no formal difference between the two constructions, e.g. *The window breaks* vs. *The hammer breaks the window.*

a present VIII and preterite III. To express transitive meaning in the subjunctive these verbal stems use subjunctive I. The subjunctive III therefore forms part of the *s*-associated complex. These forms originate in the old aorist middle of the presigmatic aorist (Stage 1 in the table below). In verbs that made this category and that were capable of undergoing the causative/anticausative alternation, the old middle forms of the presigmatic aorist generalized the *e*-grade of the root (Stage 2) and were fitted out with primary middle endings (Stage 3). The *-o-* in the 3rd singular ending **-or* was reinterpreted as the stem vowel, as in the present III, and the ending was remade as **-o-tor*, whence the rest of the paradigm with invariant stem vowel *o* (Stage 4) that gave PT **æ* and TB *e*.

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Tocharian B
**tem-h₂e*	**tem-h₂e*	**tem-mar*	**temomar*	*cmemar**
**tem-th₂e*	**tem-th₂e*	**tem-tar*	**temotar*	*cmetar*
**tom-e*	**tem-o*	**temor*	**temotor*	*cmetär*

cmetär is the only verb of this class that retains palatalization of the root-initial consonant, but *ñmetsi* is attested once as the infinitive of *näm-* 'bow' and these relic forms argue that palatalization was once regular.

Subjunctive IV is characterized by the suffix *-i-*, which can be derived from **-eie̯-*. The category is probably of heterogeneous origin. Some verbs like *śeri-* 'to hunt' ← *śerwe* 'hunter' are straightforward denominatives. On the other hand, *akl-* 'learn' 3s mid. *aklyitär* is from the thematic present **ō-k̑leie̯tor* (Ved. *śráyate* 'leans').[12]

Subjunctive V is regularly associated with the preterite I. These are the regular subjunctive and preterite forms for Tocharian *sāṭ* roots. The subjunctive V/preterite I complex results from the merger and mutual influence of (1) PIE root aorists of the normal type with **-m*, **-s*, **-t* endings and (2) root aorists of the stative-intransitive system which took **-h₂e* endings.[13] In root aorists of the normal type the *e*-grade was found in the singular active and the first and second plural. Zero-grade was limited to the 3rd plural. Cf. the root aorist of Ved. *kr̥-* 'do': *ákaram*, *ákar*, *ákar*, *ákarma*, *ákarta*, *ákran*. In parallel fashion, root aorists of the stative-intransitive type had *o*-grade in the singular active and in the first and second plural and zero-grade was limited to the 3rd plural.

In the subjunctive V the *o*-grade original to the stative-intransitive aorists was generalized in the singular and the zero-grade common to the third plural of both

[12] See Jasanoff 2016. For a different explanation see Pinault 2012b, who suggests that the suffix of the subjunctive III goes back to **-iie̯/o-*, a Sievers-like variant of the **-ie̯/o-* suffix (see pp. 193–4 for more on Sievers' Law). According to Pinault, the suffix **-iie̯/o-* developed to **-əyə/æ-*, which contracted to **-æ-* > TB *-e-*. Pinault compares the subjunctive III forms to intransitive middle **ie̯/o-*presents like Ved. *jā́yate*, OIr. *gainithir* 'is born' = TB *knetär* 'come about', Ved. *pácyate* 'ripens' = TB *pketär**.

[13] Alternatively, Peyrot (2012:251) derives the preterite I/subjunctive V complex from root aorists and in his view the ablaut pattern of the subjunctive V (*a* [< **æ* by *a*-umlaut] ~ *ä*) is modeled on that of the subjunctive I (Peyrot 2012:254).

types was generalized in the plural. This ablaut was subsequently obscured a bit by the effect of *a*-umlaut leading to the attested paradigm.

	Tocharian B subj. V	Pre-Tocharian I subj. V	Pre-Tocharian II subj. V
1s	*kārsa-u*	**kærsaw*	**korsa-mi*
2s	*kārsa-t*	**kærsatə*	**korsa-si*
3s	*kārsa-ṃ*	**kærsan*	**korsa-ti*
1p	*karsa-m**	**kərsamə*	**kr̥sa-me*
2p	*karsa-cer**	**kərsat'ær*	**kr̥sa-te*
3p	*karsa-ṃ**	**kərsant*	**kr̥sa-nti*

In the preterite I, on the other hand, the *e*-grade of the normal root aorists, which became a Tocharian palatalizing "schwa-grade", was generalized in the singular active, but in the plural the *o*-grade original to the 1st and 2nd plural of the stative-intransitive aorist was generalized. The middle forms usually show the reflex of a zero-grade. This led to a pattern well preserved in Tocharian A but that barely survives in Tocharian B. Normally, Tocharian B generalizes palatalizing schwa in the active and non-palatalizing schwa in the middle, as in the case of *kärsa-* 'know':

	Tocharian B pret. I	Tocharian A pret. I	Proto-Tocharian pret. I	Pre-Tocharian pret. I
1s	*śärsāwa*	*śärsā*	**śərsāwā*	**kersa-*
2s	*śärsāsta*	*śärsāṣt**	**śərsāstā*	**kersa-*
3s	*śarsa*	*śärs*	**śərsā*	**kersa-*
3p	*śärsāre*	*krasar*	**kærsāræ*	**korsa-*
3s mid.	*kärsāte*	*kärsāt*	**kərsātæ*	**kr̥sa-*

But other verbs generalize the non-palatalizing schwa, e.g. *krästa-* 'cut off, destroy', 3s *karsta*. The clearest Tocharian B survival of the original ablaut pattern singular active **'ə* ~ plural active **æ* ~ middle **ə* is in the preterite I of the verb *stäm-* 'stand':

	Tocharian B	Tocharian A	Proto-Tocharian	Pre-Tocharian
1s	*śimāwa, śmāwa*		**ścəmāwā*	**st'əm-*
2s	*śmasta* (archaic *ścmasta*)		**ścəmāstā*	**st'əm-*
3s	*śama, ścmā=c*	*śäm*	**ścəmā*	**st'əm-*
3p	*stamāre*[14]	*ṣtamar*	**stæmāre*	**stom-*
3d	*stāmais*		**stæmæis*	**stom-*

Roots with internal *a* do not ablaut in the Tocharian B preterite I.

[14] Beside analogical *śimāre* < **ścämāre* with the palatalizing schwa-grade introduced from the singular.

Syntax

Wh-questions

Wh-questions ask for particular pieces of information using an interrogative word like *who?* or *when?* They are therefore questions that query some argument or adjunct of a clause. Like all questions, wh-questions can be direct or indirect. When direct, wh-questions in Tocharian B have a split behavior. If the argument of a verb is queried (who? what?), this almost invariably causes the wh-word to appear in initial position (so-called wh-movement):

(1) *$k_u$se wesäñ tanneṃ yamaṣälle?*
what we.gen. about.it do.gI
What are we to do about it? (THT 81 a 4–5)

But querying an adjunct (how? why?) very often leaves the wh-word somewhere close to the verb in final position (so-called wh–in situ behavior):

(2) *somo-aiñyai somo ytārye kā westär*
single-goal.obl. single road.nom. why is.called.3s
Why is it called the single road to a single goal? (THT 29 b 1)[15]

(3) *tumeṃ no stamäṣṣälñe mäkte yentets*
therefrom but establishment how wind.gen.p.
But how is the establishment of the winds therefrom? (THT 41 b 5)

In indirect questions wh-movement is obligatory even for adjunct questions:

(4) *walo preksa cī kā nai śintsai mā [św](āsta)*
king ask.pret.3s you why then fodder not eat.pret.3s
The king asked you why then you did not eat fodder. (THT 1540 a 3)

Contact

Loans from Tocharian B to Tocharian A

Since Tocharian B was the more widely spoken language and the language that apparently survived for a longer time, it is not surprising that there are many loans from Tocharian B into Tocharian A and few, if any, in the opposite direction. Many loanwords in A can be identified because they match the Tocharian B form perfectly

[15]The manuscript has the scribal error *somo-añyai*. Professor Pinault suggests (p.c.) *somo-aiñyai* is the oblique of an noun in directive meaning. The noun would be a derivative of the subjunctive II of the root *aiw-* 'turn toward, incline'.

and do not show the regular phonological correspondences. For example, A *empele* 'awesome, dangerous' exactly matches B *empele* and does not show the expected Tocharian A changes (loss of final *-e* and internal TA *a* for TB *e*, cf. B *were* : A *war* 'odor'). Similarly identifiable as loans are A *ñäkteññā* : B *ñäkteñña* 'goddess', A *yepe* : B *yepe* 'knife', A *yerpe* : B *yerpe* 'disk', A *yetwe* : B *yetwe* 'adornment'. Even a function word like *epe* 'or' was borrowed by Tocharian A from Tocharian B. There do not appear to be any absolutely certain loans from Tocharian A to Tocharian B.

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.1 *ersna* f., plurale tantum 'form'

II.2 *teki* a. 'sickness', pl. *tekanma*
leṃ a. 'monk's cell', pl. *lenma* ← Pāli *leṇa-*, Skt. *layana-*
sklok a. 'doubt, worry', pl. *sklokanma*

III.1 *īlārñe* a. 'feebleness' ← *ylāre* 'feeble'
ktsaits(ä)ññe a. 'old age'
*puwe** 'spoke' of a wheel, pl. *pwenta*
menāk m. 'simile' ← Sogd. *myn'k* 'like'; a nominative dual *menākäñc* is attested, suggesting that this noun belonged to class III.1 with a plural in *-nta*
ynāñm(ä)ññe a. 'esteem' ← *ynāñm* indecl. 'worth'
laitalñe a. 'a falling down', abstract from *laita-* 'fall down'
ṣañäññe a. 'unique character', a substantivization of *ṣañäññe* 'one's own'

V.1 *traike* m. 'confusion'
pūdñäkte m. 'the Buddha', a learned variant of the more popular form *pañäkte* which is systematically employed in verse

VI.1 *alyiye* 'palm of the hand', du. *alyine, alīne*

VI.3 *preściya, preśyo* f. 'time', cf. TA *praṣt*, OE *first, frist* 'period of time'

VI.5[16] *passoñ* 'ligaments', plurale tantum, obl. *passoṃ**, perl. *passontsa*

Indeterminate
karuṃ m. 'compassion' (sg. only attested) ← Skt. *karuṇā*
trīcīwär 'the three pieces of clothing of a Buddhist monk' ← Skt. *tricīvaram*
yetse m. 'skin' (sg. only attested)
ṣem 'axle' (sg. only attested)

[16]This is a small subclass of class VI, characterized by an *-o-* before the class VI plural endings *-ñ* and *-ṃ*. The word *auloñ* 'vessels' quoted in (4) of Lesson 2 is another member of this class. The only singular form to a VI.5 plural is the obl. sg. *prāri* 'finger', pl. *praroñ*.

Adjectives

I.1 *anaiwatse* 'unpleasant'
pärsāntse 'spectacular, shining'
lantuññe 'royal' ← *lant-* 'king'
śar(i)ye 'upper'
sklokatstse 'worried, doubtful' ← *sklok* 'doubt'

I.2 *kätkare* 'deep'; *kätkr-ārth* 'of deep meaning' (showing up in verse with movable *-o* as *kätkr-ārtho*); *ārth* ← Skt. *artha-* 'meaning'

Indeterminate
śka-maiyya 'possessing ten strengths', an epithet of the Buddha, a calque on Skt. *daśabala-*
sark 'back', cf. Hitt. *šarku-* 'lofty'

Verbs

–,V,I *pärka-* 'rise' (of the sun), subj. V abstract *pärkālñe*, pret. I *parka*, pret. ptc. *pärkau*, cf. Hitt. *park-* 'rise'

II,V,I *klep-* 'touch, investigate', pres. II mid. *klyeptär*, subj. V abstract *klapālñe*, pret. I mid. *klawāte* (with *w* for lenited *p*), pret. ptc. *kaklāpau**

III,–,–
kura- 'grow old', pres. III *kwretär**

IV,V,I *laita-* 'to fall down', pres. IV *laitotär*, subj. V no ablaut fixed accented *laitaṃ*, pret. I *laita*, pret. ptc. *lalaitau*

V,V,– *iya-* 'travel in a vehicle', pres./subj. V 3s *iyaṃ*

VI,V,–
mrauska- 'be surfeited, be tired out', pres. VI mid. *mrausknātär*, subj. V *mrauskātär*, pret. I mid. *mrauskāte*, pret. ptc. *mamrauskau*

VI,V,I *kauta-* 'split, break', pres. VI *kautanaṃ*, subj. V fixed non-ablauting *kautaṃ*, *kautatsi*, pret. I mid. *kautāte*, pret. ptc. *kakautau*, cf. Lat. *cūdō* 'beat'

–,–,I *lu-* 'rub, wipe away', pret. I *lyāwa*, pret. ptc. in *lyelyuwormeṃ* < **leu̯h₃-*, cf. Hitt. *lāḫu-* 'pour'.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

anaiśai 'carefully'
eñwetstse 'ever anew' ← *ñuwe* 'new'
epe 'or', sometimes combined with *wat*, also 'or'

olyapotstse, olypotse 'more, very, much' ← *olya* 'more' + *po* 'all'
kos 'how much, how many, as much, as many'
taisa 'so'
mai in questions 'maybe'; with the optative 'indeed'
wat 'or' postposed, e.g. *pañäkte wat yopsa Nānde wat?* "Has Buddha entered or Nanda?'
walke 'for a long time'
waiptār, waipte, waiptāyar 'apart, in pieces'
spe postposition 'near, at', cf. Lat. *sub* 'under'
hiśt 'phooey' (an expression of disgust)
tsoṅkaik(o) 'in the morning'

Reading: The Chariot Simile and a Conversation between Buddha and Ānanda about Aging

This passage is preserved on THT 5, an almost complete page in the classical language from Šorčuq. Sadly the original is lost. It was included in Krause and Thomas's *Elementarbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 53–4. This section was part of the *Anityavarga* 'the Chapter on Impermanence' of the *Udānālaṅkāra*.[17]

It contains stanzas of 4 × 14 syllables. There are regular word breaks after syllables 4 and 11 so that the line falls into two cola of 4 and 3 syllables (4|3). The stanzas are numbered in the no longer extant manuscript.

Note that there are several instances of moveable *-o* in this poetic text.

1. *$n_{ä}$nok pudñäkte mäskīträ śrāvastī spe sāṅkämpa.*

   Śrāvastī was the chief city of Kosala

2. *kokaletstse īyoy sū prasenacī walo. ot ṣem kautāte koklentse. waiptār pwenta käskānte.*
3. *walo (rano) ce_u preke śaultsa tāka sklokatstse.* ‖66‖
4. *jetavaṃne pudñäkteś masa. yarke ynāñmñesa kokalentse kautalñe preksa poyśiṃ (ot) walo:*

   Jetavana name of a Buddhist *vihāra* 'monastery' where Buddha spent most of his time; *preksa* takes two objects here, 'to ask someone about something'

5. *mai ñi tākaṃ laitalñe wrocc-asānmeṃ laṃntuññe epe wat no śaulantse ñyātse ñi ste nesalle?* ‖67‖

   laṃntuññe = *lantuññe*; *nesalle* is both the gerundive I and II of *nes-* 'be'. Here the meaning is probably 'can there be' so *nesalle* is to be interpreted as a gerundive II.

6. *wñā=neś (po)yśi karuntsa: mā tañ ñyātstse śolantse mā r=asānmeṃ laitalñe.*
7. *ceṃ sklok ptārka pälskomeṃ! kos tne, ñakta, pelaikni (po) śaiṣṣents=ānaiwacci!*

   śaiṣṣents=ānaiwacci i.e. *śaiṣṣentse anaiwacci*

8. *tary=akṣā=ne pudñäkte: teki, ktsaitsñe, srukalñe.* ‖68‖

[17] For more on this text see p. 200.

9. *toṃ mā tākoṃ śaiṣṣene, mā ṅke tsaṅko(y) pudñäkte. toṃ ñyatstsenta wikässiś poyśinta tne tseṅkeṃt(ä)r.*

   The optatives are used in a present counterfactual condition; the causative of *wika-* means 'to remove, drive out'

10. *tumeṃ weña ska-maiyya l(ā)nte palsko mrauskatsiś, kokaleṣṣe (men)āksa ślok ce weña kätkr=ārtho:* ‖69‖
11. *kwreṃntär lānte kokalyi olyapotstse pärsāñci. taik(n)esāk ra kektseñi kätsai(tsäññe yänmāskeṃ).*
12. *(krentaṃts rano) pelaikne mā ktsaitsäññe yänmāṣṣäṃ, kreñc no c(ai po) kr(e)n-täṃne śarsäskeṃ=ne eñw(et)sts(e)* ‖70‖[18]
13. *mäkte meski śeśś(anmoṣ koklentse śänmānmasa) mant astāṣṣi meski tne ṣñor-passontsa śeśśanmoṣ.*
14. *anaiśai kwri pa(pā)ṣṣoṣ, walke klyen(tä)r k(o)kalyi. k(ar)ts(a rano) kektse(ñe) ramer slaṅk(tär) ṣañäññe.* ‖71‖
15. *allok nano preśyaine śrāvastine mä(skītä)r.*[19] *ñäkteṃts ñakte pūdñäkte. lac lename(ṃ tso)ṅkaiko. kauc ka kauṃ (ṣai) pärkawo.*
16. *lyama poyśi asāṃne, śarye wassi rutkāte, kaunäś sark kauc yāmṣate.* ‖72‖
17. *lyam=ānande kenisa, ālyinesa antapi pudñäktentse kektseño klawāte=ne lyawā=ne.*
18. *weña poyśiṃś ānande: lkāntär=c, ñakta, (indri)ntaṃts allek tesa nesalyñe eśne warñai piśantso.* ‖73‖

    allek tesa nesalyñe 'a being other than that', i.e. 'a change', governing *indrintaṃts* 'sense organs' gen. pl. of *indri*. The plural verb *lkāntär*, which is to be translated as a passive, is agreeing with this genitive.

19. *kautaläñe yetsentse misāṃts lkāntär=c īlārñe.*
20. *taisa teṃ ste, āna(nda, snai) ersnā sste ktsaitsäññe.*
21. *tumeṃ weña pūdñäkte saṅkaṣṣai tā$_u$ wertsyaine. tarya śpālmeṃ ślokanma ñwecceṃts traike wikässi(ś:* ‖74‖*)*
22. *hiśt t(w)e tākoyt, (kts)aitsäññe! kärpye-yakne, mā klyomo. yolai erepate twe yamaṣṣeñca wnolmentso.*

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[18]These lines translate Uv. I.28 *jīryanti vai rājarathāḥ sucitrā hy atha śarīram api jarām upaiti, | satāṃ tu dharmo na jarām upaiti, santo hi taṃ satsu nivedayanti.* The rhetorical priamel formulation is reminiscent of the Old Norse *Hávamál* 77:

Deyr fé, deyja frændr,	Cattle die, friends die,
deyr sjalfr it sama,	and so dies oneself.
ek veit einn, at aldrei deyr:	I know one thing that never dies
dómr um dauðan hvern.	the fame of each dead man.

[19]This story is told in the *Jarādhammasutta* in the *Jarāvagga* subsection of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* of the Pāli canon. Apparently, the Buddha was sunbathing, not for the sake of a nice tan, but because as an elderly monk he believed the sun might be good for his skin.

Lesson 18

Learning Goals

Phonology: sandhi
The verb: origin of present/subjunctive stems VI–X
Contact: Iranian loans
Reading: The story of Ajātaśatru and Devadatta

Phonology

Sandhi

Tocharian B, like Sanskrit, often indicates in writing the phonological interactions between words, but these sandhi phenomena in Tocharian are not quite as pervasive or consistently indicated as they are in Classical Sanskrit.[1] Interestingly, the Sanskrit documents of the Tarim Basin are also a little less than perfect in their implementation of sandhi rules. Vowel-plus-vowel sandhi, which crucially changes the syllable count, is an almost exclusively metrical phenomenon. It is not employed or indicated in prose texts. Consonantal sandhi, which does not change the syllable count, does show up in both prose and poetry.

Vowel-plus-vowel sandhi

In general, a final vowel is elided before another vowel unless the first can be converted into a glide. The vowels which can become glides are *-i*, *-u*, and, somewhat surprisingly, *-o*.[2] Here are some examples of glide-formation:

ñi ostameṃ 'from my house' > *ñy ostameṃ*
tu ākṣa 'that he taught' > *tw ākṣa*
po akālkänta 'all wishes' > *pw akālkänta*

Sometimes in the process of glide formation, especially after *o*, an initial *a* becomes *ā*, e.g.

nano alyek 'again another' > *nanw ālyek*

[1] See Stumpf 1971.

[2] Unlike Tocharian A, where final *-e* also becomes a glide in sandhi before a vowel-initial word, in Tocharian B final *-e* normally is elided before a following vowel; but there are rare cases of glide formation, e.g. *śaiṣṣene alek* > *śaiṣṣenyalek* (THT 289 b 3), loc. of *śaiṣṣe* 'world' + *al(l)ek* 'another'.

but also

kautsi akemane 'led to killing' > *kautsy akemane*

The principle governing whether initial *a* becomes *ā* in such cases is not clear. Here are some examples of elision:

saswa appakka 'lord father!' > *sasw=appakka*
ñakteṃmpa eṣe 'together with the gods' > *ñakteṃmp=eṣe*

Here too an initial *a* sometimes becomes *ā*:

tāka anaiśai 'was carefully' > *tak=ānaiśai*
sañanma akṣāsta 'you announced the skills' > *sañanm=ākṣāsta*

The negative *mā*, however, is an exception to the general elision rules. When *mā* occurs before a vowel-initial word, the second vowel is elided:

mā atākacce 'not untrue' > *mā=tākacce*
mā eṅksate 'did not grasp' > *mā=ṅksate*

Other exceptions to the general rule of eliding the first of two vowels are the sequences *o* + *a/e* > *o* and *o* + *ai* > *oy*, e.g.:

yärpo entwe 'a good deed then' > *yärpo=ntwe*,
po aiśeñcai 'all knowing' > *po=yśeñcai*.

Consonant-plus-vowel sandhi

A final liquid, *n*, or *ñ* is resyllabified as the onset of the following syllable, and an immediately preceding schwa, now in an unaccented open syllable, is deleted.

kärsnātär attsaik 'he knows indeed' > *kärsnātr attsaik*
eṅkäl aknātsañṅe 'the passion of ignorance' > *eṅkl aknātsañṅe*
nesäṃ āyor 'is a gift' > *nesn āyor*

A final consonant is often geminated before an initial vowel.

wes eṅträ 'will seize us' > *wess eṅträ*
poñ appai 'speak, father!' > *poññ appai*

Vowel-plus-consonant sandhi

Conversely to the previous item, an initial consonant is sometimes geminated after a final vowel.

po läklenta 'all sorrows' > *po lläklenta*

Consonant-plus-consonant sandhi

Here we find frequent assimilation of place of articulation.

ñem kälywe 'name and fame' > *ñemṅ kälywe*
ṣuk-kauṃ yarkesa > *ṣuk-kauñ yarkesa* 'for seven days with honor'
täñ no 'but of you' > *tän no*

The Verb

Origin of present and subjunctive classes VI–XI

Present class VI originates in nasal-infixed presents to laryngeal-final roots. The suffix *-na-* continues *-nh_x-, which has been generalized from the non-singular and non-active forms. This class is etymologically identical to the Sanskrit class IX presents of the *punā́ti* 'purifies' type or the Old Irish S 3 *benaid* 'beats' type.[3] A nice equation is TB *tallaṃ* 'carries' = Lat. *tollō* 'I lift', OIr. *tlenaid* 'steals' << *$t\underset{\circ}{l}$-ne-h_2-. Some old nasal-infixed presents have become class VI subjunctives like TB *kärnā-tsi* 'buy' = Ved. *krīṇāti*, RCS *krĭnuti*, OIr. *crenaid* << *k^wri-ne-h_2-. The innovative present is the class X form *kärnāstär* < *k^wri-na-sk̑e-tor.*

Present class VII is mostly the result of the insertion of the infix *-n-* into roots ending in *-tk-* and a metathesis of *-tkna-* to *-ttäṅka-*, e.g. *putka-* 'divide' → **putk-n-a* > **put-n-k- a* > *puttäṅk-a-*. But one member of this class reflects an old nasal-infixed present to a root in a final obstruent, pres. VII *piṅkäṃ* 'paints, writes' from *pik-*, which still retains its original athematic character (3s *piṅkäṃ* with no palatalization, a notable archaism in contrast to thematic Lat. *pingit* 'paints', Ved. *piṃśáti* 'carves').

The older grammars recognize a subjunctive class VII, which is *not* identical to present class VII, made up of only two verbs in Tocharian B:

'speak'	*weñau, went, weṃ, weñem, weñcer, weñeṃ*
'go out'	*lannu, lant, laṃ*, —, —, *laṃ*, inf. *lantsi*

In fact, more recent analyses prefer to identify *weñau* as a class II thematic subjunctive. The 1st person singular and plural and the 3rd plural are all clearly thematic. The paradigm shows a final *-ñ-* except in the 2nd and 3rd singular, where the forms have been reduced (*went, weṃ* < **weñət* and **weñə-ṃ*). This suggests that the forms go back to a Sievers-like[4] variant of a *$\underset{\smile}{i}e/o$-denominative, e.g. *$\underset{\smile}{u}ok^w ni\underset{\smile}{i}e$-. Forms of

[3] S 3, i.e. Strong 3, is the standard designation for Old Irish verbs with a stem ending in non-palatal *n* which is only found in the present indicative. The subjunctive of *benaid*, for example, is *-bia*, and the preterite is *bí*.

[4] The Germanicist Eduard Sievers (1850–1932) proposed that non-syllabic glides occurring after a heavy syllable in post-consonantal and prevocalic position were realized as syllabic in Proto-Germanic, e.g. **wilþjaz* > **wilþijaz* > Goth. *wilþeis* 'wild'. This phenomenon is known as Sievers' Law. Sievers' Law may

lannu, on the other hand, never show palatalization and the 1st singular is athematic. Synchronically this paradigm can be classified as a class I subjunctive. It probably reflects a *nu*-present *$*h_1lu\text{-}d^h\text{-}n(e)u$- to the root *$h_1lud^h$- (cf. Gk. *ἤλυθον éluthon* 'I came', etc.).

Present class VIII is characterized by a thematic suffix *-se-/-ṣä-*. These forms are closely associated with class III preterites. It is probable that they originate as subjunctives to the *s*-aorist. A form like *prekṣäṃ* 'asks' reflects **prek̑-s-eti* comparable to Vedic *s*-aorist subjunctives like *vakṣat* 'will carry' < *$*u̯eĝ^h\text{-}s\text{-}et$. Alternatively, Peyrot, expanding on a suggestion of Couvreur 1947, argues that the *s*-presents derive from earlier **-sk̑e*-presents. He suggests that **-Vksk-* was reduced to **-Vks-*. Thus pre-TB **preksk'ə-* 'ask' became **prekṣə-*. In the cluster **-Cksk-*, on the other hand, the same sequence was preserved. Thus pre-TB **enksk'ə-* gave /eṅkəṣṣə-/ 'take'. According to Peyrot the development **-Vksk-* to **-Vks-* must be a secondary treatment because original **-Vksk-* was reduced to *-Vsk-*, e.g. TB *tresk-* 'chew' < **trog-ske-* or **trēg-ske-*, cf. Gk. *τρώγω trṓgō* 'I chew'.[5]

Present class IX continues the PIE suffix **-sk̑e/o-*. The suffix acquires an epenthetic *ä* when added to roots ending in a consonant, e.g. **yam-ske-u* > *yamaskau* /yamə́ske-u/ 'I make'. Contrast *ai-skau* 'I give'. In the productive causative function, this present class has generalized fixed initial accent and shows truncation of stem-final *-a-* before the suffix *-äsk-/-äṣṣ-*. Present class X is just present class IX added to nasal-suffixed bases, and the class XI recognized by Krause and Thomas is really just one class IX present made to a root that happens to end in *s*, namely *aks-* 'teach, declare': subj. II *ākṣ-äṃ*, pres. XI *aks-aṣṣäṃ*.

Most of the verbs in present class XII are denominatives, e.g. *tańkw* 'love' → *täńwaññä-*, pres. ptc. *täńwaññeńca*, but some are deverbal, e.g. *mäntaññä-* built to a root *mänta-* 'destroy' (subj. V 3s mid. *māntatär*). The formant of this class has been compared to the Greek suffix *-αίνω -aínō* < *$*\text{-}n̥i̯e/o$-, as in *ὀνομαίνω onomaínō* 'I name' ← *ὄνομα ónoma* 'name', which is in essence just the *$*\text{-}i̯e/o$- suffix added to an *n*-stem base. But, according to the phonology followed here, a consonantal yod does not palatalize a preceding coronal and hence *$*\text{-}n̥i̯e/o$- would not do the trick. Alternatively, this type has been compared to the Hittite "duratives" in *-anna/i-* < *$*\text{-}nh_2\text{-}i$- like *iyanna/i-* 'start marching' ← *iya-* 'march'. In Hittite, this type took *$*\text{-}h_2e$ endings and was not a thematic *i̯e/o*-present.[6] Such a proto-form could have led in Tocharian to a stem **-Vni-*, to which thematic endings were later appended. It is possible that the deverbal type and the denominal type have coalesced in Tocharian.[7]

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have operated in Proto-Indo-European, but many daughter languages show evidence for later iterations of a similar process.

[5] See Peyrot 2013a:515–23 and Couvreur 1947:62.

[6] Jasanoff 2003:124.

[7] See Fellner 2013:54 and Malzahn 2010:478–9 for more discussion.

Contact

Iranian loans[8]

The ancestors of the Tocharians were long in contact with Iranian speakers. We can identify several strata of loans from different Iranian languages into Tocharian. But before we examine the loan strata, let's say a few words about the relevant languages and their corpora.

Native to the Tarim Basin itself are the two closely related languages Khotanese and Tumshuqese. Khotanese texts are from the kingdom of Khotan located to the southeast of Kuča on the other side of the Taklamakan desert. These texts are more or less contemporaneous with Tocharian B documents (most between the 7th and 10th centuries CE with a few texts as early as the 5th century) and likewise are mainly Buddhist texts. Tumshuqese is attested on a small number of manuscripts from Tumshuq, located roughly in between Kuča and Khotan. Both languages employ varieties of the Brāhmī script.

Bactrian originated in Bactria (now northern Afghanistan, southwestern Tajikistan, and southern Uzbekistan). It was the official language of the Kushan Empire, which at one point extended as far as east as Khotan. Our earliest documents are from the 2nd century CE and the language continued to be used in official documents under the Hephthalites until the 7th century. The last Bactrian documents date to the 9th century. The Bactrians wrote in a modified form of the Greek alphabet and the text genres include coin legends, royal decrees, and legal documents.

Sogdian originated in Sogdiana, a region centering around the city of Samarkand now divided between Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. But Sogdian was a lingua franca of the Silk Road from Sogdiana to China and most of our texts are from Turfan and Dunhuang. These texts include merchant letters and religious documents of the Manichaean, Christian, and Buddhist traditions. The earliest substantial texts are the "Ancient Letters" dating from the 4th century CE and discovered by Aurel Stein 90 km. west of Dunhuang. The modern language Yaghnobi is descended from Sogdian. Sogdian was written in the Sogdian and Manichaean scripts, which are both ultimately developments of the Aramaic alphabet.

Middle Persian, a southwest Iranian language, was the language of the Sassanian Empire and its state religion, Zoroastrianism. But the language was also used by the Manichaeans, and many Manichaean Middle Persian texts written in the Manichaean script come from Turfan. The earliest Middle Persian dates from the 1st century BCE and Manichaean texts in Middle Persian were probably composed from the 3rd to 8th centuries CE.

Parthian, a northwest Iranian language, originally the language of Parthia and the official language of the Arsacid dynasty (ca. 247 BCE–224 CE), was also an important language of Manichaeism and is recorded in many Manichaean documents from Turfan. Forms quoted from these documents are refered to in this grammar as Manichaean Parthian (Man.Parth.).

[8] On Iranian loans in Tocharian see Pinault 2002, 2006b, Tremblay 2005, and Peyrot 2018.

Early loans

The earliest stratum of loans treats Iranian **a* as *e*:

TB *etswe* 'donkey' ← PIr. **aćṵa-*, cf. Aves. *aspa-* 'horse'. For the semantics cf. Arm. *ēš* 'donkey' < **h₁ékṵos* 'horse'.

Note the affricate reflex of Proto-Iranian **ć* < PIE **k̂* and the survival of the *w* in this cluster, which is usually changed in some way in the historically attested Iranian languages. Contrast Khot. *aśśa-* 'horse'. This must be a really old loanword.[9]

TB *waipecce* 'possession' ← either from **hṵāi̯-paθi̯a-* 'possession' (cf. OPers. *uvāipašiya-*), a vr̥ddhi derivative[10] of **hṵai̯-paθi̯a-* 'one's own' (cf. Aves. *xᵛaē-paiθiia-*), or **hṵai̯-paθi̯a-* itself.

Note also the survival of the Old Iranian diphthong.

TB *perne*, TA *paräṃ* 'glory' ← **farnah-*, cf. Aves. *xᵛarənah-*, OP personal name *Vinda-farnah-* 'who finds glory', MP *farr* 'radiant glory', Oss. Digor *farnæ*, Iron *farn* 'divine grace, favor, prosperity'

TB *eñcuwo*, TA *añcu** 'iron', inferred from *añcwāṣi* 'made of iron', cf. Khwār. *hnčw* 'tip of spear'[11]

TB *retke*, TA *ratäk* 'army' ← **ratka-* < OIr. **rataka-* 'line (of battle)', cf. MPers. *radag* 'line'[12]

Some have seen the words TB *kenek*, TA *kanak* 'cotton cloth' < PT **kænæk* as loans from an OIr. **kanaka-*, cf. Oss. Digor *gænæ*, Iron *gæn* 'hemp'. Lubotsky and Starostin (2003) instead suggest that this word is a loan from PTurk. **köjŋek* 'shirt', cf. Turkmen *köjnek*. Most probably this is a Wanderwort.[13]

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[9] Cf. also *tsain*, pl. *tsainwa* 'weapon', borrowed from **dᶻainu-*, cf. YAves. *zaēnu-* 'baldric' and the Iranian loan reflected by Armenian *zên*, *zinowc'* 'weapon'. Bernard (2023) identifies these early loans as originating in what the author calls "Old Steppe Iranian." I thank the author for discussing his findings with me.

[10] Vr̥ddhi was a derivational process of Proto-Indo-European whereby a base noun or adjective formed a derived adjective with genitival meaning by increasing the ablaut grade of the first syllable and adding a suffix, either **-o-* or **-i-*. The process of vr̥ddhi remained productive in Indo-Iranian and was named by the ancient Indian grammatical tradition: *vr̥ddhi* means 'increase'.

[11] Peyrot, Dragoni, and Bernard (2022) argue that an ancestor of the Khotanese form was the source for the Tocharian words. It is uncertain whether the Iranian words for 'iron' (Khot. *hīśśana-*, Pashto *ōspana-*, Sogd. *(ə)spen*, Shugni *sipin*, Wakhi *yišn*, Baluchi *āsin*, Mod.Pers. *āhan*, MPers. *"hwn* /āhun/, Man.Parth. *'swn* /āsun/) are connected.

[12] But Adams (2013:586) is dubious of this etymology because the Iranian forms never mean specifically 'line of battle' and are not attested in any East Iranian language.

[13] *Wanderwort* (German for 'wandering word') means a word that has been borrowed into many different languages, usually as the result of trade or the diffusion of a cultural practice. It is often difficult to pin down the exact origin of a Wanderwort.

Pre-Khotanese and Khotanese loanwords[14]

A probable pre-Khotanese loan is TB *kamartīke* 'leader', TA *kākmärtik* (with a second *k* by contamination with *kāk-* 'call, command'), TB *kamartāññe* 'sovereignty'. The base of these forms can be derived from the ancestor of Khot. *kamala* 'head' < **kamarda-* with a specifically Khotanese outcome of **r̥* as *ar*, cf. Aves. *kamərəδa-* 'head' (of a daevic being).[15] The suffix *-īke*, however, is probably borrowed from Pre-Bactrian, cf. Bact. *-ιγο*.

Tocharian medical literature has quite a few words of Khotanese origin for various materia medica, e.g. *aṅkwaṣ(t)* 'asafoetida' ← Khot. *aṃguṣḍa-*, *tvāṅkaro* 'ginger' from an Old Khotanese antecedent of Late Khot. *ttūṃgara-*.[16]

Pre-Bactrian and Bactrian loanwords

TB *mālo* 'alcoholic drink' ← Pre-Bact. **malu*, cf. Bact. *μολο* 'wine'.[17] Note that this word shows the typical Bactrian change of **VdV* > **VδV* > *VlV*, but not the rounding triggered by the old final *-u*. Cf. Sogd. *mδw*, the possible source of TB *mot*, also 'alcoholic drink', though *mot* might be a native word < **mod^{h}u*.

TB *akālk*, TA *ākāl* 'wish' ← Bact. *αγαλγο* 'desire'

TB *pärkā$_u$*, TA *pärko* 'profit' ← Bact. *φρογαοο*

TB *perāk* 'faithful, credible' ← Bact. **πηραγο* ← *πηρο* 'belief'

A fairly early loanword from Middle Iranian must be the word /pət/ seen in TB *pat* 'stūpa' and in the first half of the compounds TB *pa-ñäkte*, TA *ptāñkät* 'Buddha-god'. Here we see that Middle Iranian **but* (cf. Sogd. *pwty*, MPers. and Man.Parth. *bwt*) was borrowed early enough that the *u* underwent the same treatment as inherited PIE **u*: **but* → PT **pət* > TB *pat* 'stūpa'.

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.1 *krentauna* f. plurale tantum 'virtues', archaic *krentewna*

II.2 *akṣār* 'syllable', pl. *akṣaranma* ~ pl. III *akṣāränta* ← Skt. *akṣara-*

III.1 *ekaññi*, *ekñi* a. 'possession', pl. *ekñinta*

[14] See Dragoni 2022.

[15] According to the Zoroastrian worldview, creation and creatures are divided into good (Ahuric) and bad (daevic) spheres. In Avestan there are often different words for what we would consider the same thing or action depending on whether the thing is possessed or performed by a daevic or Ahuric being. The Ahuric term for 'head' is *sāra-*. See Dragoni 2022:78.

[16] See Dragoni 2021.

[17] The Bactrian form is also the probable source of Classical Persian *mul* 'wine', a doublet of *may*, the native Persian reflex of Old Iranian **madu-*.

ailñe a. 'giving, gift, inheritance', verbal noun from *ai-* 'give'
ontsoytñe 'insatiableness', an abstract ← *ontsoytte* 'insatiable', privative adj. from *soy-* 'satisfy'
meṃtsñe a. 'ill will' (sg. only attested)
yarpo a. 'religious service', pl. *yärponta*
lantuññe a. 'kingship', a substantivization of the adjective *lantuññe* 'royal'
waipecce a. 'possession' ← Old Iranian **hu̯āipaθiia̯-* 'possession' or **hu̯aipaθiia̯-* 'one's own' (see above, p. 196)
spaktāṃ a. 'service'

V.1 *ṣertwe* m. 'instigation', cf. *ṣärtt-*, TA *ṣärtw-* 'turn, drive, instigate' (note assimilation of *tw* in verb but not in noun)

V.2 *āśce* f. 'head', obl. *āśc(o)*, irregular perl. *āṣtsa*, *āssa*, nom. pl. *aścī*, obl. pl. *āstäṃ*

V.3 *sāṃ*, m. 'enemy' obl. *sanaṃ*, pl. *sañi*, obl. *sananäṃ*, *sanaṃ*; the forms other than the monosyllabic nominative singular appear to be accented on the final syllable; ← Khot. *sāna-* or Sogd. *s̓n* 'enemy'.

Indeterminate
ānte m. 'surface, forehead', cf. Ved. *ánta-* 'end, limit'
cowai 'robbery', a noun only found in the fixed idiom *cowai tärka-* and the derived nominal *cowai tärkauca* 'robber'
tarne m. 'crown of head, skull' (sg. only attested)
pele m. 'law; prison' (sg. only attested), cf. *hoosegow* 'prison' ← Span. *juzgado* 'court'
yāṣṣu 'alms' ← *yask-* 'ask'
spaitu 'dust, pollen' (sg. only attested)

Adjectives

I.1 *eñcuwañne* 'of iron' ← *eñcuwo* 'iron'
cowaitstse 'robbing', substantivized 'robber'
ywarśkāññe 'in the middle' ← *ywārśka* 'in the middle'
wteṃtse ~ *wtetstse* 'second, for a second time'

I.2 *pakwāre* 'bad, weak'

II.3 *śrāy* nom. pl. < **śrāñ* 'adult men', obl. pl. *śrānäṃ*, gen. pl. *śrānäts* (pl. only attested)

II.5 *sälpamo* 'burning'

III *wetā$_u$*, *wetānte* substantivized 'fighter, warrior'

Verbs

–,–,I *wärsa-* 'grieve', pret. I *warsa*

–,–,I/VII
krasa-[18] 'annoy', pret. I *krāsa*, pret. VII *kraṣīyate* 'was angry'

–,V,I *nauta-* 'disappear', subj. V 3p *nautaṃ*, pret. I *nauta*, pret. ptc. *nanautau*, *-aṣ*

II,II,I *soy-* 'be satisfied', pres. I 2p *soy-cer*, subj. II inf. *soytsi*, pret. I 3p *soyāre*, pret. ptc. *sosoyu*, *-oṣ*; caus. pres./subj. IXb 3p *soyäskeṃ*, inf. *soyäs(t)si*, pret. IV *soy(ä)ṣṣa*

III,V,I *kula-* 'decline, disappear', pres. III *kuletär*, subj. V *kulātär*, pret. I *kula**
luwa- 'send', pres. III *lyewetär*,[19] subj. V *lāwaṃ** (non-singular forms not attested), pret. I *lyuwa*, pret. ptc. *lwau**,[20] *-oṣ*.

V,V,I *kwa-* ~ *kaka-* 'call, invite', pres. V mid. *kwātär*, subj. V. *kākatär*, pret. I *kāka*, mid. *kakāte*, pret. ptc. *kakākau**, ipv. I 2s *pkāka*, 2pl. *pokkākas*

VI,V,I *waltsa-* 'grind', pres. VI *wāltsanaṃ*, subj. V *wāltsaṃ*, pret. I *wāltsa*, pret. ptc. *wawāltsau*

IXa,II,I
yask- 'beg', pres. IXa *yaskastär*, subj. II *yāṣtär*, pret. I (*klyauṣa* type) mid. 3s *yaṣṣāte*, pret. ptc. *yayāṣṣu**, *-oṣ*

IXa,IV,VII
lal- 'strive', caus. 'tire out', pres. IXa *lalaṣṣäṃ**, subj. IV inf. *lalyitsi*, pret. VII 2s *lalyasta*, pret. ptc. *lalālu*; caus. IXb *lälāṣṣäṃ*

IXb,I,III
ala- 'restrain', pres. IXb *alastär*, subj. I inf. *āltsi*, opt. *ālyintär*, pret. ptc. *ālu*

IXb,IXb,I
ṣäl- 'throw (down), defeat', pres./subj. IXb *ṣaläṣṣäṃ*, pret. I *ṣālla*, pret. ptc. *ṣeṣalu**, *-oṣ*[21]

XII,V,I
käsk- 'scatter (to destruction), confuse', pres. XII 3s mid. *käskantär*, subj. V *kāskaṃ*, pret. I 3p mid. *käskānte*, pret. ptc. *käskoṣ-*

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[18] There is also evidence for pres. IV *krosotär* 'be annoyed', but this belongs to a synchronically distinct verb.

[19] Note that the pres. III with an *e* root vocalism and transitive meaning is quite unusual. Pres. III usually has *ä* vocalism and intransitive meaning.

[20] The attested form is *lypauwa* for *lwauwa*.

[21] This verb is difficult to fit into to general Tocharian B patterns. See Peyrot 2013a:831.

Indeterminate

snätk- 'suffuse, spread out', pret. ptc. *snätku, snätkuweṣ*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

alokälymi 'directed in a single direction, privately'
epiṅkte, epiṅte postposition, adv. 'within, for' (note that *ṅ* was pronounced as the velar nasal /ŋ/ even when *k* was not written); related to the ordinal *piṅkte* 'fifth'
omte 'there'
tu yparwe 'thereupon'
yäkte-skeyeṃ 'with little effort'; *yäkte* is a reduced form of *yekte-* 'little, weak'
yśe 'hey!'
yṣwarka, iṣwarka 'in a friendly fashion'
ṣñār 'each to their own, respectively'[22]
sorromp 'down' (with *klāy-* 'fall')
solme 'completely, at once', cf. Lat. *sollus* 'complete'

Reading: The Story of Ajātaśatru of Devadatta (after Hackstein, Habata, and Bross 2015 and 2019 with the suggested corrections of Pinault 2017)

This story is preserved in fragmentary form in Tocharian B, but the narrative can be compared with versions preserved in Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit. We've given this reading because it is a good example of the typical fragmentary state of preservation of Tocharian documents without being completely unreadable. The triple slashes /// mean the page is broken off at this point. Restorations are put between parentheses and broken letters (called *akṣaras*) are indicated by a sublinear dot.

The text is preserved on two manuscript fragments, B 21 and B 22 from Šorčuq, and is written in Classical Tocharian B with some later forms.

The text forms part of the *Udānālaṅkāra*, i.e. 'The Ornament (*alaṅkāra*) of the *Udāna(varga)*', a narrative commentary on the *Udānavarga*, a popular Buddhist collection of sayings (BuS *udāna-*).[23] The commentary on chapter IX, the *Karmavarga* "chapter about Karma', takes up stanzas 50 to 76.

The stanzas are made up of four lines of 12 syllables, each with a major word break after syllable 5 and a minor word break after syllable 9. This divides the line into two cola 5|7 with the second colon is divided as 4|3.

The part treated in B 21 and 22 is made up of three legends (*avadāna*). The three stories are connected by the mischief-making of Devadatta, a monk with a competitive streak who was jealous of the Buddha's enlightenment. Devadatta was a cousin of Siddhārtha, who became the Buddha Śākyamuni. He was responsible for various evil

[22] E.g. *ṣñār wepeṃś aśan=me* 'He drives them (cattle) each to their own paddock' (THT 3 a 3).

[23] The *Udānavarga* of the Sarvāstivadin school largely corresponds in content with the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* of the Dharmaguptaka school, on which see p. 207 n. 9 and the Pāli *Dhammapada*, but also incorporates the content of a different collection of sayings corresponding to the Pāli canon's *Udāna*.

plans. One plan, told in the first story here, was to encourage the king Ajātaśatru to imprison his father and make war on the king of Kośala. This part of the story occupies the first two-thirds of the narrative below. The next story relates how King Prasenajit (called Prasannaka here, cf. Skt. *prasanna-* 'clear, bright') finally conquered Ajātaśatru after three defeats with the financial aid of a rich merchant (TB *śreṣṭake*). The last story comes back to Devadatta, who at this point has died and ended up in hell, where he suffers amusingly elaborate tortures and receives a visit from Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, two disciples of the Buddha.

1. 5 syll. /// *(weña ślo)k ce pudñäkte*
   yolome(ṃ) āltsiś krentauna(ne rittässiś)
   (mäkte yāmorntse oko $k_u$se kartse yolo wa)
   cwik śawāñc=ailñe (po wnolme warpatär) (50)[24]

   cwi-k 'of just this'; *śawāñca* 'eating', participle from *śuwa-* 'eat', pres. V. The *a* of the root is anomalous since the participle is normally derived from the present stem. *śawāñc=ailñe* is a calque on Skt. *dāyāda-* 'heir', which was interpreted by the Tocharian translators as 'eating (*ada-*) the gift' (*dāya-*). In a Buddhist context this refers to the inheritance of the fruits of actions, either good or bad, performed in a previous life. Stanza 50 summarizes the main idea of the Sanskrit original (Uv. IX.8), which is translated more literally in stanza 51. Cf.:

Uv. IX.8	Th.[25] 144 a–c
yat karoti naraḥ karma	*yaṃ karoti naro kammaṃ*
kalyāṇam atha pāpakam	*kalyāṇaṃ yadi pāpakaṃ,*
tasya tasyaiva dāyādo	*tassa tass' eva dāyādo*
na hi karma praṇaśyati	*yaṃ yaṃ kammaṃ pakubbati*

   'What deed a man does, good or evil, of that very deed he is an inheritor, for the deed does not perish (Pāli: whichever deed he does)'.

2. *(ce ślok a)kṣā=me: $k_u$ce tne wnolmi yamantär*
   krent yo(laiṃ yāmor $k_u$ce yäknesa tākaṃ
   cwik cwik ka oko) ailñe śūwaṃ cmelane
   (mā no suk yāmor päst wike)tär mā=lleko (51)

   oko ailñe "the fruits as the given part"; *mā=lleko* = *mā alleko* 'not another'. In this text *allek* is used as the nom. sg. and *alyek* as the obl. sg. Note the unusual sandhi of *mā* which always retains its vowel contrary to the general rule of vowel-vowel sandhi according to which the first vowel is deleted.

3. *nanw ālyek preke, kartsai* /// 5 syll.
   11 syll. /// *mñe :*
   walo māgatṣe a(jātaśatru kausā=ṃ)
   (yo)laiṃ wāṣmontse devadatti ṣertwentsa (52)

   nanw = *nano* 'again'; *kausā=ṃ* 'killed him', i.e. his own father Bimbisāra; Ajātaśatru is famous as a patri- and regicide in Buddhist lore.

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[24] Restorations not found in Hackstein, Habata, and Bross 2015 or 2019 are after Pinault *per litteras electronicas.*

[25] *Theragāthā* 'Verses of the Elder Monks', a collection of sayings attributed to early Buddhist monks.

4. /// 12 syll.///
prautka pelene śwātsi yo(ktsi sampāte=ṃ)
(karsta) ṣpä paine kṣurs=ompostäṃ tārkatsi
/// 12 syll. /// (53)

prautka pret. II of causative of *prutka-* 'be shut up'; *kṣur* 'knife'; there is a clause boundary after *kṣursa*. Cf. *tasya ca pādau kṣureṇa nirlikhata* 'and he scraped with a knife his feet' (*Saṅghabhedavastu* II 156.24–5). The owner of the feet is Ajātaśatru's own father King Bimbisāra! *tārkatsi* is an unusual form because the infinitive is normally derived from the weak stem of an ablauting subjunctive. The normal infinitive is *tarkatsi* /tə́rkatsi/ with fixed initial accent.

5. *(kly)auṣa ceu wäntre prasaṃna(ke walo su)*
/// 6 syll. /// *ajātaśatruṃś* ce_u
tu yparwe śemo māgatäṣ(ṣ)e (walo su)
12 syll./// (54)

prasaṃnake a name for the king of Kośala usually called Pasenadi in Pāli and Prasenajit in Sanskrit. Pāda b probably related how Prasannaka sent a message to Ajātaśatru, who interpreted it as a declaration of war. *māgata* = Magadha, the kingdom from which Buddha came. Pāda d is something like 'he entered the country of Kośala together with his army'

6. *tarya lkwarwa śem pra(saṃnake)* /// 3 syll. ///
(ajātaśatru) retke ṣālla kausalṣets
räskre krāsa tu pra(saṃnakeṃ) (māgatṣe lānt)
(tumeṃ su palska) (śrāva)sti ṅke eṅtär sū (55)

kausalṣe inhabitant of Kośala; *eṅtär* = *eṅktär*; *sū* = *Ajātaśatru*; the sentence *(śrāva)sti ṅke eṅtär sū* represents represents the thoughts of Prasannaka after the threefold defeat of his army

7. /// 12 syll. ///
sū śem lāntä(śco) lānt kakāte waipe(cceś)
/// 12 syll.
5 syll. /// *yāmeṃ spaktāṃ* /// 3 syll. (56)

The subject *sū* is a rich man, probably introduced in pāda a, who offered to subvene Prasannaka's war effort.

8. 3 syll. /// *(snai) k(e)ś yasa wa(sa ekñi)nta*
orocce ti /// 8 syll.
10 syll. /// *snai keś*
/// 12 syll. /// (57)

This stanza contained a list of the possessions of the rich man.

9. *lyuwa ṣ parkāsaṃ walo śtwāra kälymintsa*
/// 12 syll. ///
(cai ṣa)mānene | ktsaitsñ(e)s=ostmeṃ | (ltuweṣo)
/// | *(ā)lyaucemp=ālokälymi* (58)

parkāsaṃ ← Middle Indic, cf. Pāli *pakāsana-*, Skt. *prakāśana-* 'explanation, information', here meaning 'spies'; the king sent spies out in all directions to collect information from the people. The spies overhear two aged monks (formerly soldiers) who are privately

discussing battle tactics with each other. This is established by the Sanskrit version of the tale preserved in the *Avadānaśataka*. *ālokälymi* 'privately'

10. *padmakesar ñem* /// 7 syll.
5 syll. /// *prasaṃnake walo sū :*
po /// 7 syll. /// *ceṃ ywarśkāññeṃ :*
āntene stamṣlyi | *$k_u$se (pakwāri mäskentär)* (59)

This stanza seems to concern the tactical arrangement called *padmakesar* 'lotus filament' ← Skt. *padmakesarī*. This particular formation involved placing the weakest (*pakwāre* 'bad') soldiers in front. *stamṣlyi* (prose form *stamäṣṣälyi*) from the causative of *käly-*, *stäma-* 'stand'.

11. *(plānta ajātaśa)tru walo olypotse*
ṣamā(ni /// 6 syll. /// *ntär wetāntse :*
pakwāreṃmpa nauṣ /// 7 syll.
(tu-yknesa retkentse att)s(ai)k maiyyo k_ulātär=me (60)

Prasannaka has arrayed his army in the formation recommended by the monk-warriors and pādas b–c report Ajātaśatru's thoughts: the monks are not experts in battle. 'With the weakest ones placed in front (*nauṣ*) ...'

12. /// 9 syll. /// *(la)lāloṣ* ·
yäkte-skeyeṃ ka ṣp sañi klāyaṃ /// 3 syll.
6 syll. /// *(ajātaśa)tru sū*
retkemp=orocce va(lo /// 5 syll. /// (61)

Ajātaśatru imagines the defeat of his enemies. The dot represents a punctuation mark found in the Tocharian manuscript. Pādas c–d: probably to be restored to mean, 'Thus thought the King Ajātaśatru, the noble son of Vaidehī with his great army'. Vaidehī was Ajātaśatru's mother.

13. *(śem prasaṃna)ke māgatäṣṣe lānt wrattsai*
witār=ālyau(ce) /// 7 syll.
9 syll. /// *māgatṣṣe*
śānmya=ne /// 9 syll. /// (62)

witāre 'they fought' pret. I; Prasannaka wins this battle and captures Ajātaśatru.

14. *(pu)dñäkte lkātsi prasaṃnake walo śem*
mä(ntak weñā=neś) ; (ajātaśatru walo :)
(mā sanantse) ñi poyśeñcai sāṃ empe(le)
(walke mäskītär) kausa=ñ śrānäṃ wetāntäṃ (63)

mā sanantse ñi 'of me not being an enemy'; the genitive phrase is dependent on *sāṃ empe(le)* 'terrible enemy' which in turn is the subject of *walke mäskītär*

15. *epyaic klormeṃ ce_u bimbasārem lānt wrocce*
cwi warsa soṃśke tu(sa walo cärkā=ne :)
(wñā)=neś pudñä(kt)e (su wlo eṣe) retkempa :
stāmaṃ pratiṃne mā ṣ $n_ä$nok śanmäṃ ciś retke (64)

epyaic spelling error for *epiyac*

16. *tu yparwe w(e)ña ślok pudñäkte 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) (65)

cowai tärkau mäsketär 'is robbed'. The pret. ptc. is passive here. This stanza translates *Udānavarga* IX.9:

vilumpate hi puruṣo	For a man robs
yāvad asyopakalpate	as long as it is suitable for him.
tato 'nye taṃ vilumpanti	Then others rob him.
sa viloptā vilupyate	The robber is robbed.

17. *ṣñār ekñentasa soytsi lāñco mā campe(ṃ :*
co)wai tärkan(aṃ ypauna) ku(ṣ)aino alyeṅkäts
nautaṃ=me perne tumeṃ yukseṃ ceu aly(ai)k
taiknes=erkatte lāñc mäskeṃtr=ontsoytñesa (66)

18. *prasaṃnake wl(o carka ajātaśatruṃ)*
lyāma=n=asāṃne wteṃtse wsā=ne lantuññe
ñaṣṣa śreṣṭakeṃ kakāte=ne akālkäś
tañ (mai)yyane ñiś sanaṃ au(n)u takāwa (67)

śreṣṭake 'merchant', from **śreṣṭhaka-*, an unrecorded variant of Skt. *śreṣṭhin-* 'merchant'; *maiyyane* 'through your (financial) power'

19. *(ṣuk-kauñ yaṣṣāte su) k(au)salne lantuññe*
walw alokälymi lyama ṣuk-kauṃ epiṅte
po ypauna ku(ṣ)aiṃne yāmtsi yā(tka krent yāmor)
soyṣa po wnolmeṃ śwā(ts)i (yoktsi āyorsa) (68)

ṣuk-kauñ sandhi for *ṣuk-kauṃ* obl. pl. before the following *y-*; *kausalne* 'in Kośala'; *alokälymi* here means 'exclusively', i.e. without interference from the king

20. *makte kakāte ṣuk-kauṃ poyśiṃ sāṅkämpa*
yātka śakrenta pāssi wnolmeṃ yā(mo)rnta
ṣuk-kauñ ya(rkesa wa)sa wassi poyśintse
ponta(ts wertsyaintse yāṣṣu wasa) trīcīwär (69)

makte here 'ipse, himself'; *śakrenta* = *śak krenta*; the 'ten good actions' are a typical formulation of ethical behavior in early Buddhist discourse. These are: (1) no killing, (2) no stealing, (3) no adultery, (4) no lying, (5) no slandering, (6) no rude speech, (7) no gossip, (8) unselfishness, (9) good-will, (10) right views.

21. *(ri)tāte akālk sorro(mp) k(l)āya poyśintse*
kuce ñiś ṣuk-kauntsa wsāwa wno(lmets s)n(ai) meṃtsñe
kuce ṣp pudñäkte (ṣuk-kauṃ kakāwa wertsyaimpa)
ce krent yāmorsa | källoym perne | poyś(iññe) (70)

kuce 'because'

22. *eś lmoṣepi cwi waste tākoym śaiṣṣe(ntse*
yāmṣa)=ne poyśi vyākarīto ceu (preke
yarpo yāmṣa)sta wrocce palsko yonmasta
tākat ompostäṃ po piścmelṣets saim-wäs(t)e (71)

lmoṣepi pret. ptc. of *läma-*, suppletive stem of the verb *ṣäm-* 'sit' in combination with *eś* 'eyes' du. means 'paralyzed'. The idiom is a calque on Skt. *netra-stambhin-* 'eye-fixed' ← *netra-stambha*, an eye disease; *lmoṣepi* modifies *śaiṣṣentse; yāmṣa* syncopated from *yamaṣṣa*; *vyākarīto yam-* 'make a prediction', with *vyākarīt(o)* ← Skt. *vyākarita-*, perf. ptc. of Skt. *vyākṛ-* 'to utter a prophecy'; in Buddhist Sanskrit *vyākarita* replaced *vyākaraṇa-* 'announcement, prophecy, declaration'

23. *śrāvasti ri(ne) j(e)tavaṃne mäskītär*
käṣṣi (pudñäkte poyśi eṣe kr)aupempa
anantārśänta solme tarya yāmṣate
devadatte sū apiś nraine temtsate (72)

anantārś- from a Middle Indic reflex of Skt. *ānantarya-* 'irredeemable (sins)', a class of sins that include serious offenses like killing one's parents; *apiś nraine* 'in Avīci hell', one of the many Buddhist hells[26]

24. *te(te)mu k=omte lkāṣ(ṣ)i (māka läklenta)*
(nāra)keñc kektseñ käccīyeṃ=ne yāresa
oṅkolm=eñcwañña | waltsanoy=n=āsta lykaśke
ṣale säl(pa)mo (kälyi)tär=ne kektsentsa (73)

Note the switch to the imperfect beginning with *lkāṣṣi; nārakeñc* 'two hell guardians', nom. du. of **nārake$_u$*, from Skt. *nārakeya-*; *käccīyeṃ* of uncertain analysis but meaning is approximately 'set down'; *yāre* approximately 'rough ground'

25. *laursa eñcwaññe tarne räskre tsopyeṃ=ne*
käskaññītär=ne waiptār āśce po lykaśke
kmeṃ=ne lkā(tsiśco śāriñ soy maudgalyāyaṃ
pre)kar=n=iṣwarka pudñäktentse rekisa (74)

laur 'spike'; *po lykaśke* 'very small'; *śāriñ soy* = *Śāriputra* 'son of Śāri'; Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were two of Buddha's disciples

26. *eñcwaññai kentsa (k)l(āya) sorromp läklessu*
w(e)ña rekauna śārip(u)treṃś po taṅsa(:
yśe upati)ṣya lakl=empelye wärpnamar
snätkwa po pwāra ñ(i) kektseṃne nraiṣṣana (75)

upatiṣya voc. of *upatiṣye*, a second name for Śāriputra

27. *ṣeme akṣār ṣpä mā (ksa nārake$_u$ carka)*
ly(kaśk)e (wā)ltsā=ñ po oṅkolm=ā)sta spaitu ramt
ykāk ñiś kälāstär epyac poyśy añmālaṃske
wñā=neś śāriñ (soy) (twe vyākarit kälpātai) (76)

[26]The word *Avīci* was the inspiration for the DJ name of the late Tim Bergling, Avicii.

Lesson 19

Learning Goals

Phonology: metrics
Syntax: poetic word order
Sociolinguistics: temporal and spatial variation
Contact: Sanskrit and Prakrit loans
Reading: The Hymn to Father Mani

Phonology

Metrics

The constitutive features of Tocharian verse are syllable count and word-end. Tocharian meter is not sensitive to any kind of syllable weight, but the distribution of stress may have played a role.[1] Nevertheless, even though the constitutive features of Tocharian verse are distinctive, it is probable that Tocharian meter is not an independent creation or inheritance from Proto-Indo-European; rather it is a transformation of Classical Sanskrit metrics.

Tocharian verses are typically organized into stanzas of a fixed number of lines made up of the same number of syllables. For example, a common stanza type is four lines made up of twenty-five syllables each (usually symbolized as 4×25). This is the most common type of stanza in Tocharian B, making up about 18% of all stanzas. Word breaks, called caesuras, are required after the 5th, 10th, 14th, 18th, and 22nd syllables. Using the Greek letter sigma (σ) to represent a syllable and a | to represent a caesura, a line of this stanza can be schematized as follows:

$\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma \mid \sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma \mid \sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma \mid \sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma \mid \sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma \mid \sigma\,\sigma\,\sigma$

For example:

(1) *sū temeñ sraukaṃ | nraine tänmastär | māka lykwarwa | māka cmela | māka lkāṣṣäṃ | läklenta*
If someone dies on this account, he will be (re)born in hell, many times, and he will experience many births, many sorrows. (THT 17 a 8)

[1] See Adams 2003. Work in preparation by Dieter Gunkel investigates the role of stress in the 4×25 stanza.

The caesuras after syllables 14 and 22 are slightly less strict than the others, though they are still observed about 96% of the time. This relatively greater violability suggests that they are minor caesuras separating sub-cola.

The existence of major and minor caesuras plus the avoidance of word-end after the 9th and 24th syllables suggest that the verse can be analyzed into the following constituent units:

[[[5 5]] [[4 4] [4 3]]]

That is, the line is broken into two half-verses, the first half-verse ending after the 10th syllable. The second half-verse is made up of two units, one extending from the 11th to the 18th syllable and a final unit extending from the 19th syllable to the verse-end.

This type is probably a transformation of the Sanskrit krauñcapadā (lit. 'curlew-verse'),[2] a 4×25 stanza type attested in Sanskrit verse in the Kuča region. Each verse in the quantitative Sanskrit krauñcapadā has the following arrangement:

— ◡ ◡ — — | — ◡ ◡ — — || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —

If we count each heavy syllable as two moras[3] and each light syllable as one mora, we see that the two half-verses each equal 16 moras. Since the Tocharian languages did not have distinctive syllable weight, they took over the syllable count and caesuras only, leading to the Tocharian 25-syllable line.[4]

Other common stanza types are 4×12 (5|4|3), 4×14 (4|3|4|3), 4×15 (4|3|3|5), and 4×18 (4|3|4|3|4).

Syntax

Poetic word order

Tocharian poets had the option of diverging from the normal prosaic word order. These divergences may have been motivated by metrical, rhetorical, or pragmatic reasons. One notable feature is the placement of a verb immediately after a caesura, called post-caesural fronting.[5] Here are some examples from the Ajātaśatru tale that you just read in Lesson 18:

(2) *(tumeṃ su palska)* | *(śrāva)sti ṅke* | ***eṅtär*** *sū* 55d
Then he thought: now he will seize Śrāvastī.

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[2] A curlew is a bird with a long curved beak of the genus *Numenius*.

[3] A mora is an abstract unit of phonological weight. In the familiar systems of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit metrics, a syllable with a long vowel or diphthong and a short vowel in a closed syllable both are assigned two moras, i.e. they are "heavy". All other syllables are assigned one mora, i.e. they are "light". It is the regulated alternation of heavy and light syllables that is the key constitutive feature of these verse systems.

[4] See Gunkel 2016.

[5] See Hackstein 2015.

(3) /// 5 syll. /// | ***kausa***=*ñ śrānäṃ* | *wetāntäṃ*
He killed my fighting men.

Sociolinguistics

Temporal and spatial variation

It has long been known that texts in Tocharian B show considerable linguistic variation, but it is only fairly recently that scholars have converged on an explanation of the cause of this variation. In a famous article of 1955, Werner Winter argued that the Tocharian B texts fell into three geographically based dialects: (1) a western dialect centered around Kuča, especially the site of Miŋ-Öy Kizil; (2) a central dialect found in documents from Šorčuq; and (3) an eastern dialect from the area around Turfan. This view was countered by the Tocharianist Peter Stumpf in a work written in the 1970s but first published only in 1990, who argued that the three main types of Tocharian were not geographical but chronological, corresponding to Archaic (5th cent.), Classical (6th–7th cent.), and Late Tocharian B (8th cent. and beyond). Stumpf's view was argued for conclusively by Michaël Peyrot (2008) and is now *communis opinio*.

But this is not the whole story either because there is sociolinguistically conditioned variation as well. Colloquial texts, i.e. non-literary documents such as caravan passages and records, are found exclusively in the western region, and features found in these texts often recur in eastern literary texts but not in central or western ones.

Some of the features found in colloquial and late texts are:

1. Monophthongization of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* to *e* and *o*, e.g. *śaumo* 'man' > *śomo*, *aikasta* 'you knew' > *ekasta*, and contemporaneous hypercorrect spelling of old monophthongs with diphthongs, e.g. *oraucce* for *orocce* 'great' obl. sg. m.
2. Simplification and assimilations of clusters, e.g. *okt* 'eight' > *ok*, *śtwer* 'four' > *śwer*, *nesalñe* 'being' > *nesaññe*.
3. Raising of /ə/ in palatalizing environments, e.g. *ñäś* 'I' > *ñiś*.

On the other hand, archaic texts have a number of features that distinguish them from the classical standard, including:

1. The realization rule applying to the underlying vowels /ə/ and /a/ does not apply, e.g. underlying /ləc/ '(s)he came' is written *läc*, not *lac* as in later texts. Underlying /a/ can be written as *a* or *ā* whether stressed or unstressed, whereas the classical language only permits the spelling *ā* when stressed and *a* when unstressed, e.g. *pälskontā* for classical *pälskonta* 'thoughts'. Likewise archaic *yāmäst* or *yamäst* 'you do' corresponds to classical *yamast*, underlying /yamə́stə/ < **yamə́ṣ-ṣ(ə)tə*.
2. The diphthong -e_u is kept apart from -*au*, e.g. *winaske*$_u$ 'I honor' vs. Classical *winäskau*.

Another aspect of textual stratigraphy is that Tocharian texts can be assigned a relative chronology on the basis of the development of the script, as Malzahn (2007) demonstrated. She identified four orthographic strata: (1) most archaic, (2) middle archaic, (3) common archaic, and (4) standard. But the language of the orthographically most archaic texts does not differ appreciably from texts in the other archaic strata, and there are linguistically archaic texts in standard ductus. This is because the linguistically archaic texts in later ductus have most probably been recopied from older manuscripts no longer extant.[6]

Contact

Sanskrit and Prakrit loans

Loans from Indic languages, chiefly Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit, make up about 35–40% of the preserved lexicon of Tocharian. Some words derive not from Sanskrit but from some Middle Indic language. The most probable Middle Indic source language is Gāndhārī, the language originally from Gāndhāra, a region now split between Pakistan and Afghanistan that became a kind of lingua franca of certain *nikāya*s (divisions or sects) of Buddhism in Central Asia.[7] The Gāndhārī language was chiefly associated with the *Dharmaguptaka nikāya* but it was also used by the Sarvāstivādins, the *nikāya* followed by the Tocharian speakers.

Words from Middle Indic can be identified because of their more advanced phonology in comparison to Sanskrit. For example, in Gāndhārī intervocalic *th* and *dh* became some sort of fricative, perhaps [đ], written with a special letter in the Kharoṣṭhī script transcribed as *s̱* that later merged with [s]. The Tocharian B and A indeclinable adjective *anās* 'miserable' is from a Gdh. *anasa* 'without protector' < Skt. *a-nātha-*, cf. Pāli *anātha-*.[8] The word *leśp* 'phlegm, froth', cf. Skt. *śleṣman-*, is reminiscent of the Gāndhārī treatment of intervocalic *-sm-* as *-sv-*, but *-ṣm-* is normally retained in Gāndhārī. But cf. the form *ṣoloṣp* 'mucus', the cognate form in Khowar, a modern Indo-Aryan language from the Chitral district in northern Pakistan. In general, Gāndhārī, unlike other forms of Middle Indic, keeps the three sibilants of Old Indic

[6] See Peyrot 2014.

[7] Gāndhārī is a modern name given by H. W. Bailey to the northwestern Middle Indic language (often called a Prakrit) written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and originating in the Peshawar valley region. We have Gāndhārī texts from the 3rd century BCE to the 5th century CE. The earliest texts are found in the versions of Aśoka's inscriptions from Shābāzgaṛhī and Mansehra. There are some 500 mainly short inscriptions and coin legends from between the 1st century BCE and 2nd century CE and about 1000 texts from Niya, on the southeastern side of the Tarim Basin in the Kroraina kingdom. A version of the *Dharmapada* (Pāli *Dhammapada)* written on birch bark was purchased in Khotan in 1892 by Jules Leon Dutreuil du Rhins and Fernand Grenard and was edited by John Brough [bɪʌf] in 1962. Starting in the 1990s, many new manuscripts from various sites in Pakistan have come to light. Most of these have been edited by Richard Salomon of the University of Washington and his students. For resources for Gāndhārī including a dictionary see https://gandhari.org/. For an introduction to Gandharan studies see Salomon 2018.

[8] *nātha-* 'protector' occurs in the Sanskrit compound *jagannātha-* 'lord of the world', an epithet of Krishna, the source of PDE *juggernaut*.

separate, but *śr-* becomes *ṣ*, e.g. in the word *ṣamana-*, which is the probable source of TB *ṣamāne* 'monk' (vs. Skt. *śramaṇa-*), and *sy* becomes *ś*.

Other items are surely from Middle Indic, but it is not possible to say with certainty that they are from Gāndhārī. For example, *akappi* 'impurity', cf. Pāli *akappiya-*, BuS *akalpya-*, shows assimilation of the cluster *lp*, but that is a universal feature of Middle Indic. A number of Tocharian words represent Sanskrit *j* or *c* with *ś*, presumably through some Middle Indic intermediary where the affricates *c* and *j* had been simplified to fricatives. These were then rendered as *ś* in Tocharian A and B, languages with no voicing contrast; for example, TB/TA *waśir* 'diamond', cf. Skt. *vajra-*, Pāli *vajira-* 'thunderbolt; diamond', and TB *aśari*, TA *āśari* 'teacher', cf. Skt. *ācārya-*, Pāli *ācariya-*.

Other words come directly from Buddhist Sanskrit[9] or Sanskrit, the latter of which was much used by the Sarvāstivādins. These words show varying degrees of nativization. Some loans preserve, at least orthographically, Sanskrit phonemes that have no Tocharian analogs, e.g. the voiced and voiced aspirated obstruents (e.g. *kāmadhātu* '*Kāmadhātu* world', lit. 'region of wishes' ← Skt. *kāmadhātu-*, *devadāru* 'deodar' (a kind of cedar) ← Skt. *devadāru-*), retroflex stops (e.g. *śreṣṭhi* 'merchant' ← Skt. *śreṣṭhin-*), and *v* (e.g. *Viṣṇu* ← Skt. *Viṣṇu-*). Direct representation of the Sanskrit segments would appear to be the majority pattern for words in literary and technical genres. Other words show greater integration by substituting native sounds for the unfamiliar Sanskrit segments. For example, *Tārmarakṣite*, a personal name found in a graffito, represents *Dharmarakṣita-*, and *Wäryasene*, a personal name from monastic records, represents *Vīryasena-*.

Sanskrit *a* and *ā* are normally represented as such, but sometimes Skt. *a* appears as *ā* if it is stressed by the Tocharian accent rules, e.g. *cākkär* 'wheel' ← Skt. *cakra-*.

One interesting pattern of morphological integration is shown by Sanskrit *a*-stems. If the Sanskrit *a*-stem has an animate reference, it becomes a Tocharian B *e*-stem, but if the word has inanimate reference it becomes a Tocharian B consonant stem with an underlying final schwa. Thus e.g. *ājīvike* ← BuS *ājīvika-* 'a member of the Ājīvika school', a rival śramaṇic religion, and all personal names borrowed from Sanskrit *a*-stems, vs. *anubhāp* 'perception' ← Skt. *anubhava-*, *cākkär* 'wheel' ← Skt. *cakra-*.

Vocabulary

Nouns

I.1 *wamer* m. 'jewel', pl. *wmera*

II.2 *kor*, *koṭ* 'a myriad', pl. *koranma* ← Skt. *koṭi-* 'ten million'[10]
kleś a. 'disturbance, *kleśa*' (a technical Buddhist term for any negative emotion), pl. *kleśanma*

[9] On Buddhist Sanskrit and the term Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit see p. 14 n. 39.
[10] The source of the Anglo-Indian *crore* 'ten million' ← Hi. *karoṛ*.

III.1 *aklyilñe* a. 'learning'
cintāmaṇi a. name of a fabulous jewel ← Skt. *cintāmaṇi-*
papāṣṣorñe a. 'moral behavior'
pässak(w) a. 'garland', pl. *pässakänta* ← Iran. **pusaka-* (Man.Parth. *pwsg*, Arm. *psak* also an Iranian loanword)
mäktauñe a. 'final end, last resort' ← *makte* 'ipse, himself'
śūke a. 'taste, juice'
sā(ṃ)tke 'remedy, medicine' ← Middle Indic outcome of Skt. *śāntaka-* 'healing'
tsirauñe a. 'energy'

V.1 *kraupe* m. 'heap, community'
ylaiñikte 'king-god, Indra' a calque on Skt. *deva-rāja-*; *ylai-* is an archaic stem form of *walo*

VI.1 *ścirye* f. in pl., gender in sg. not attested 'star', obl. pl. *ściriṃ* < **ścərye*, cf. Gk. *ἀστήρ astḗr*, Lat. *stēlla*

VI.3 *wertsiya* type
yoñiya f. 'path', obl. *yoñiyai*
sätkauca m. 'spreader', obl. *sätkaucai*, agent noun from *sätka-* 'spread out'

Indeterminate
entse m. 'greed' (sg. only attested)
candān 'sandalwood' ← Skt. *candana-*
culñe 'top-ornament' ← Pkt. *cūlā* 'topknot'
nervāṃ m. 'nirvana' (sg. only attested) ← Skt. *nirvāṇa-* 'extinction'
mukur 'diadem' ← Middle Indic form of Skt. *mukuṭa-*
mrāce, obl. *mrāc*, *mrāś* 'top' (sg. only attested)

Adjectives

I.1 *olyartse* 'superior, excellent'
vaineyäṣṣe 'to be converted' ← Skt. *vaineya-*
śilaṣṣe 'pertaining to moral behavior' ← *śīl* m. 'moral behavior' ← Skt. *śīla-* 'habit, virtue'
ṣañäññe 'one's own' (can be used for all persons)

I.2 *etaṅkätte* 'unhindered', privative from *täṅk-* 'hinder'

Indeclinable
ayāto 'suitable, pleasant'
aṣāṃ 'worthy' ← Khot. *āṣaṇa-* 'worthy'
pākri indecl. 'clear, obvious', cf. *pākre* 'clear'; *pākri nes-* 'be apparent, be clear'; *pākri yam-* 'make clear'

Verbs

II,suppl. II,suppl. I

pär- 'carry, wear, take', pres. II, 3s *paräṃ*, suppletive subj. *ās-*, subj. II inf. *āṣtsi*, suppletive pret. I *kama-*, 1s mid. *kāmmai* with haplology from **kamamai*, 3s mid. *kamāte*, pret. ptc. *kakāmau*, *-aṣ*, ipv. I *pāsa*, cf. Ved. *bhárati* '(s)he carries', Lat. *ferō* 'I carry', Gk. *φέρω phérō*

VI,V,I *päla-* 'praise', pres. VI 1s mid. *pällāmar*, subj. V fixed 1s mid. *pālamar*, pret. I 3s mid. *palāte*, pret. ptc. *papālau*

IXb,IXb,–

yu- 'aspire, turn towards', pres./subj. IXb *yuwäṣṣäṃ*

Adverbs, particles, etc.

āktikesa 'wonderfully' ← *āktike* indecl. 'wonderful'
warñai postposition + obl. 'beginning with' (translating Skt. *ādi-*)

Reading: The Hymn to Father Mani

A unique document of Tocharian B is the *Hymn to Father Mani*, written in the Manichaean script[11] with an Old Uyghur translation. This text forms part of a book dating perhaps to the 10th cent. CE, otherwise written entirely in Old Uyghur, found by the third Prussian Turfan expedition (1905–7) in Kuča. The text was recognized as Tocharian by W. Siegling but was first edited by Annemarie von Gabain and Werner Winter in 1958. The text here follows the edition of Pinault 2008b. The hymn is made up of three stanzas of four lines of 22 syllables each. Each line is made up of three cola of 7, 8, and 7 syllables. The cola are divided by a caesura after the 4th syllable, thus either 4|3 or 4|4. The text below is printed to reflect the line divisions of the original, not the metrical structure. The longer and shorter lines follow the same order in each stanza. The three stanzas, in traditional Buddhist fashion, are dedicated to one aspect of the *triratna-* 'triad of jewels', i.e. Buddha (replaced here with Father Mani), the law, and the community. The language of the hymn is late.

	Restored and interpreted text	Transcribed text
1.	*komñiktentse (pä)r(kor ram)*	kwm[ny]qtynz[yy]//r//////
	sā(tke yāmu) men śomonśo	mynš
	ylaiñiktense mukur ram	[yl'ynq]tynzyy mvkr r'm
	bramñiktense pässak ram	brmnyk ps'k r'm

sātke = *sāṃtke*; *yāmu* pret. ptc. here; *men* = *meñ* obl. of *meñe*; *śomonśo* = *śaumoṃś*

[11] An Aramaic-derived *abjad* (i.e. a writing system where only consonants are indicated and vowels are left unexpressed) used by Manichaeans in Central Asia to write several different languages, including Middle Persian and Parthian. There are also two fragments of this hymn that are written with other Manichaean material in Middle Persian, Sogdian, and Parthian. On the different representations of Tocharian B in the Turkic and Middle Iranian versions see Hitch 1993:113–28.

2. *lkāsi śuke (pidär-mani)*	[l]k'sy śwkyh
tusa tusa pällāmar	tws' tws' pl'*m*///
cintāmaṇi wame(r) ra	čynt'm'nyy w'myr'h
t(arnes=āss)i cuññe aṣāṃ	t/////y čw*n*yy 'ž'n

lkāsi = *lkātsi*; the metaphor is of drinking in a lovely sight with the eyes; *pidär-mani* 'father Mani'; *pidär* is from Middle Persian; *āssi* = *āṣtsi* inf. from suppletive subj. II *ās-* to *pär-*, here in a passive sense; *cuññe* = *culñe*

3. *mant twe ṣ lkāstar* ly_u*śilñesa*	m'nḍ t*v*wyy plk'st'r lšylyns'h
(mant) t(w)e pälk(mo ścirinne)	///t///y plk///////////////
lkāsi śuke pidär-mani	*l*k'/yy švkyy pydrm////
tusa tusa (pällāmar)	//s' tvs'//////

ṣ is a correction due originally to Krause of the transmitted *p*. *ṣ* and *p* are easily confused in a Brāhmī original from which this version may have been transcribed. ly_u*śilñe* metrical shortening of a late form of *lyuśälñe**, abstract of *luk-* 'light up'; *pälkmo* metrically shortened form of *pälkamo*

4. *(entse warñ)ai kleśanma*	////////y'y klyš'nm'
etaṅkätte (ko)r wikäṣṣeñca	'yt'ngk'ntyy *r v*yk'šynč
(kartse nervā)n ṣañiññe	//////////n š'nyyy
kätko-preke poyśintans	k'tkv brygyy bvšynt'nz

ṣañiññe = *ṣañäññe*, the predicate of a nominal sentence; *kätko-preke* a compound adjective 'of passed time' modifying *poyśintans*; *poyśintans* = *poyśintaṃts*; the genitive noun phrase is the agent of the infinitive *yuwssi* in the next stanza

5. *mrāś tarnene yuwssi aṣāṃ*	mr'š t'rnynyy *y*[w]*w*syy'ž////
tusa tusa (pällāmar)	tws' ////////
vaineyäṣṣe(ṃ) wl(olm)encsa	v'ynyyšyy wl[wlm]ynčs[']
krent-pälskoṣṣe(ṃ) yo(ñiyanmen)	kryn*t*plskvš y(w)[ny'nmyn]

yuwssi = *yuwässi* with a metrical reduction, from *yu-* i.e. 'worthy to be aspired to'; *mrāś tarnene* are in a part–whole relationship 'in the top, the head', i.e. 'in the top of the head'; *wlolmencsa* = *onolmeṃts* with an assimilation or graphic anticipation of *n*...*l* to *l*...*n*; the spelling *-yncs*['] may result from some late confusion of the perlative and the genitive and the *nč* may be taken over from the nominative plural.

6. *pākri tākow olyart(s)e*	p'gryy t'gvv 'vly'rt[s]y
(śi)l(ṣ)e (ca)ndā(n sät)k(ocai)	[šy]l[š]yy [č']nd'[n] [st]k[wč'y]
(pelaikneṣṣe nomiyeśo)	////////
tusa tusa pällāmar	[tws' tw]*s'* pl'm'r

tākow dereduplicated or metrically shortened form of *tatākau*; *-ow* late spelling for *-au*; *sätkocai* = *sätkaucai*; *nomiye* = *naumiye*

7. *papāṣṣorñe (aklyiññe)*	p'p'švrnyy//////////
ompol(skoññe) (tsiromñe) ce	'vmpvls ///////////
krentomnatsa nomyenta	kryntvm n'z' nvmynt//////////
(wmer-sa)mutär ram śāte	///////////t///r'm š'dyy

aklyiññe = *aklyilñe*; *ompolskoññe* = *ompalskoññe*; *tsiromñe* = *tsirauñe*; *ce* = *cai* nom. pl., subject of the nominal sentence of which *nomyenta* is the predicate; *krentomnatsa* = *krentaunaṃtso* with *-a* for movable *-o*; *samutär* = *samudtär* 'ocean'

8. *ayātautse (kartse wāṣmo)*	"y't'wts[y]//////////
āktikesa nesalye	'gtygys' nys'lyy
(mäk)tomñeṣṣe kārṣa(ke)	//tvm nyšyy k'rš'k
(osta-ṣm)eñcans āyoräṣṣe	//////////ynč'nz "yvyršyy

ayātautse hypercorrection for what would be standard TB *ayātotse*, derivative of the indeclinable adjective *ayāto* 'suitable, pleasant'; *(mäk)tomñeṣṣe* = *(mäk)tauñeṣṣe* ← *mäktauñe*; *āyoräṣṣe* 'generous', dependent on *āñm* in the next stanza

9. *preke preke snai (yärm keś)*	pyryg////ygyy syn'y/////
(mā)k(=arañcs=āñm er)ṣeñca	/////k/////////////////šynč'
(se kraupeṣṣe) sār nomiye	/////////s'r nvmyyy
yarke(sa ci winā)skow	y'rgyy//////////k[w]w

preke preke distributive reduplication, 'at all times'; *māk=arañcs=āñm* i.e. *māka arañcsa āñm*; here *āñm* has the meaning 'wish'; *erṣeñca* is in apposition with *kārṣake* in the previous verse; *sār* apparently a loanword from Skt. *sāra-* 'quintessence'.

Lesson 20

Learning Goals

Phonology: Tocharian B–Tocharian A correspondences
Morphology: major differences between Tocharian B and A
Contact: loans to and from Chinese, Tocharian C?
Reading: The Mechanical Maiden in my Tocharian B translation and the Tocharian A original

Phonology

Tocharian B–Tocharian A correspondences

Tocharian B, of course, is not the only Tocharian language, and although Tocharian B is certainly on average closer to Proto-Tocharian phonologically, Tocharian A does preserve features that Tocharian B has eliminated. Tocharian A has also evolved some interesting phonological processes of its own. Furthermore, Tocharian A preserves its own literature, some of which has become quite famous. For these reasons, you should also learn Tocharian A, and, after having mastered this textbook, that should be relatively easy.

First consider this set of cognates:

	Tocharian B	Tocharian A	gloss
1.	*luwo*	*lu*	animal
2.	*yasar*	*ysār*	blood
3.	*ost*	*waṣt*	house
4.	*kauta-*	*kot-*	split
5.	*pokai*	*poke*	arm, obl.
6.	*we-*	*we-*	say
7.	*yasa*	*wäs*	gold
8.	*oṅkrocce*	*oṅkrac*	immortal
9.	*yakwe*	*yuk*	horse
10.	*walo*	*wäl*	king
11.	*lānte*	*lānt*	king, gen. sg.
12.	*procer*	*pracar*	brother
13.	*yente*	*want*	wind
14.	*ñakte*	*ñkät*	god

15.	*$k_u$se*	*kus*	which
16.	*meske*	*masäk*	connection
17.	*kew*	*ko*	cow
18.	*putkau*	*putko*	divided, pret. ptc.
19.	*keṃ*, archaic *tkeṃ*	*tkaṃ*	earth
20.	*entse*	*ents*	greed
21.	*kraupe*	*krop*	heap
22.	*päklyauṣ*	*päklyoṣ*	hear ipv.
23.	*kest*	*kaṣt*	hunger
24.	*lyauksa*	*lyokäs*	illuminated
25.	*maim*	*mem*	judgment
26.	*tańkw*	*tuńk*	love
27.	*eńkwe*	*ońk*	mortal
28.	*moko*	*mok*	old
29.	*astare*	*āṣtär*	pure
30.	*lāntsa*	*lānts*	queen
31.	*sārm*	*sārm*	seed
32.	*ṣpane*	*ṣpäṃ*	sleep
33.	*trai*	*tre*	three
34.	*keme*	*kam*	tooth
35.	*yakne*	*wkäṃ*	way

Many of these correspondences have already been discussed, but we may note the following macrotrends.

1. Tocharian A loses all word-final monophthongs (nos. 1, 8, 9, etc.).
2. Tocharian A monophthongizes the diphthongs **ai* and **au* to *e* and *o* respectively (nos. 4, 5, 33, etc.).
3. Tocharian A does not have either of the Tocharian B stress lowering rules. An underlying schwa, provided it is not eliminated in an open syllable, is realized as *ä* no matter what syllable it is in, and the vowel corresponding to an underlying TB /a/ is normally realized as *ā*.[1]
4. TB *e* and *o* normally correspond to TA *a*, which is a distinct vowel in Tocharian A, not a realization of underlying /ə/ or /a/ as it is in Tocharian B (nos. 12, 13, 16, etc.).
5. Tocharian A vowels are more liable to be rounded by a labial element (nos. 26, 27).
6. In Tocharian A, final clusters that arise by the loss of final vowels are broken up by an epenthetic schwa, e.g. **ñəkte* > **ñəkt* > **ñəkət* > *ñkät* 'god' (nos. 14, 16).
7. Vowel Balance (NHG *Vokalbalance*) is the name traditionally given to a vowel

[1]I.e. we cannot read the position of the accent from these vowels as we can in Tocharian B. But Tocharian A does have its own rules affecting this vowel, as will be explained just below.

weakening phenomenon of Tocharian A. An *ā* following a full vowel (i.e. *a*, *ā*, *e*, or *o*) in an initial syllable is weakened to *a* in a closed syllable in a two-syllable word:

kropat 3s mid. pret. I 'gathered' < **kropāt*, cf. TB *kraupāte* and contrast TA *kälpāt* 'obtained'.

In medial syllables an *ā* is weakened to *a*. If the following syllable contains an *ä* or *i*, the vowel *a* (whether by weakening or original) is retained.

pekatär 3s mid. subj. V 'paint' < **pekātər*, cf. TB 3s subj. V *paikatär* /páikatər/.

But if the following syllable contains a vowel other than *ä* or *i*, the *a* is further weakened to *ä*, which is retained in a closed syllable but syncopated in an open syllable.

kākärpu 'having descended' < **kākarpau* < **kākārpau*, cf. TB *kakārpau*.
kropnatsi 'to gather' vs. *kropmāṃ* 'gathering' ptc. < **kropnəmān* < **kropnāmāṃ*.

We will comment on some further differences in the exercises.

Morphology

Major differences between Tocharian B and A

The overall structure of the verb is very similar in both Tocharian languages. Both have a contrast between present, subjunctive, and preterite. Both have an imperfect derived from the present and an optative derived from the subjunctive. Both have an active vs. middle contrast. Both have more or less the same types of present/subjunctive and preterite formations. Both have a productive causative present formation, though the Tocharian A forms are built with the suffix *-s-* rather than *-sk-*. But there are important differences too.

Basic verbal morphology

1. In Tocharian A the infinitive is derived from the present stem, not the subjunctive stem as in Tocharian B, e.g. TA *kärsnātsi* 'to know' from pres. VI vs. TB *karsatsi* from subj. V.
2. Tocharian A has eliminated *sk*-presents (class IX) in favor of *s*-presents (class VIII): TB *tsälpetär* (3s, III) 'is freed' → caus. *tsalpäṣṣäṃ* (3s, IXb) 'frees' but TA *tsalpatär* (3s, III), caus. *tsälpäṣtär* (3s, VIII).
3. Whereas Tocharian B makes class II preterites with a palatalizing internal *a*, Tocharian A has a reduplicated form in its corresponding class II. Thus TA *cacäl* : TB *cāla* 'lifted' ← *täla-* 'lift'; TA *wawik* : TB *yaika* 'removed, drove out' ← *wik-* 'disappear'.

4. Tocharian A has only one optative formant, *-i-*. When added to *sāṭ* bases, this morpheme replaces the stem-final vowel. Contrast TA *kärsim* 'may I know' 1s opt. act. with TB *kärsoym* < **kərsa-i-m*.

Personal endings

Whereas Tocharian B has three sets of personal endings—(1) the primary for the present and subjunctive, (2) the imperfect and optative set, and (3) the secondary for the preterite—in Tocharian A there are only two sets of endings, (1) the primary used for the present, subjunctive, and optative, and (2) the preterite used for the imperfect and preterite.

The personal endings of Tocharian A are as follows:

Primary		athem. act.	them. act.	athem. mid.	them. mid.
	1s	*-m*	*-am*	*-mār*	*-amār*
	2s	*-t*	*'-t*	*-tār*	*'-tār*
	3s	*-ṣ*	*'-äṣ*	*-tär*	*'-tär*
	1p	*-mäs*	*-amäs*	*-mtär*	*-amtär*
	2p	*-c*	*'-c*	*-cär*	*'-cär*
	3p	*-iñc/-i*	*-eñc -e*	*-ntär*	*-antär*

Preterite		act. *anaṭ*	act. *sāṭ*	mid. *anaṭ*	mid. *sāṭ*
	1s	*-ā, -āwā*	*-wā, -u*	*-e, -āwe*	*-e, -we*
	2s	*-āṣt*	*-äṣt*	*-āte*	*-te*
	3s	*-ø, -ā-ṃ*[a]	*-äs/-sā-ṃ*[a]	*-āt*	*-t*
	1p	*-āmäs*	*-mäs*	*-āmät*	*-mät*
	2p	*-ās*	——	*-āc*	*-c*
	3p	*-ār*	*-är*	*-ānt*	*-nt*

(a) The final *-ā* is preserved before the clitic pronouns.

Imperfect

The formation of the Tocharian A imperfect matches the Tocharian B imperfect for two verbs, *i-* 'go' and *nas-* 'be':

	TB *i-*	TA *i-*	TB *nes-*	TA *nas-*
1s	*yaim*	*yem*	*ṣaim, ṣeym*	*ṣem*
2s	*yait*	*yet*	*ṣait*	*ṣet*
3s	*yai, yey*	*yeṣ*	*ṣai, ṣey*	*ṣeṣ*
1p	*yeyem*		*ṣeyem*	*ṣemäs*
2p	*yaicer, yeycer*		*ṣaicer, ṣeycer*	
3p	*yeṃ*	*yeñc*	*ṣeṃ*	*ṣeñc*

But the most common imperfect type in Tocharian A is the so-called imperfect III, which is built to the present stem. The stem-final consonant is always palatalized before the endings, which are identical to those of the preterite of *sāṭ* roots except that the 1st singular is always *-āwā* in contrast to *-ā* in the preterites, e.g. *ken-* 'call' → 3s *keñā*.

Nominal morphology

The nominal categories are largely parallel in the two languages. The secondary cases are functionally the same except that Tocharian A has an instrumental, which expresses some of the functions of the perlative, and it has no causal. But the morphological expression of the secondary cases do not obviously match in most forms, though some do nevertheless have a common Proto-Tocharian origin. See the discussion in Lesson 13.

Instrumental	*-yo*	cf. *yo* 'and'
Perlative	*-ā*	
Comitative	*-aśśäl*	cf. *śla* 'with' = TB *śle*, *śale*
Allative	*-ac*	
Ablative	*-äṣ*, *-aṣ*	
Locative	*-aṃ*	cf. TB *-ne*

-aṣ is an archaic variant of the ablative preserved in some words: *mem-aṣ* 'measure', *ṣurm-aṣ* 'cause', *āñmaṣ* from *āñcäm* 'self'. Here is the paradigm of TA *yuk* 'horse', the cognate of TB *yakwe*:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*yuk*	*yukañ*
obl.	*yuk*	*yukas*
gen.	*yukes*	*yukaśśi*
abl.	*yukäṣ*	*yukasäṣ*
all.	*yukac*	*yukasac*
com.	*yukaśśäl*	*yukasäśśäl*
loc.	*yukaṃ*	*yukasaṃ*
perl.	*yukā*	*yukasā*
inst.	*yukyo*	*yukasyo*

Pronominal morphology

Tocharian A has only three demonstrative pronouns in contrast to Tocharian B's four. These are *säs* 'this' (equivalent to TB *se*); *säm* 'he, she, it' (cf. TB *su*); and *saṃ* 'that', which is the semantic equivalent of TB *samp* 'that' but the formal match of TB *seṃ*. The paradigms are as follows:

	this	he, she, it	that
m. nom. sg.	*säs*	*säm*	*saṃ*
m. obl. sg.	*caṣ*	*cam*	*caṃ*
m. gen. sg.	*caṣi*	*cami*	*cani*
m. nom. pl.	*ceṣ*	*cem*	*ceṃ*
m. obl. pl.	*cesäs*	*cesäm*	*cesäṃ*
m. gen. pl.	*cessi*	*cesmi*	*cesni*
f. nom. sg.	*sās*	*sām*	*sāṃ*
f. obl. sg.	*tāṣ*	*tām*	*tāṃ*
f. gen. sg.		*temi*	
f. nom. pl.	*toṣ*	*tom*	
f. obl. pl.	*tosäs*	*tosäm*	*tosäṃ*
f. gen. pl.		*tosmāśśi*	
n. sg.	*täṣ*	*täm*	*taṃ*
du.		*tim*	

Tocharian A, unlike B, distinguishes a relative pronoun nom. *kusne*, obl. *kucne* from an interrogative pronoun nom. *kus*, obl. *kuc*. In Tocharian B these are both k_u*se*, k_u*ce*.

In the 1st singular pronoun, Tocharian A distinguishes between a masculine and feminine form—a highly unusual distinction in the Indo-European family.[2] The first and second person pronouns are as follows:

	1s m.	1s f.	2s	1p	2p
nom.	*näṣ*	*ñuk*	*tu*	*was*	*yas*
obl.	*näṣ*	*ñuk*	*cu*	*was*	*yas*
gen.	*ñi*	*nāñi*	*tñi*	*wasäṃ*	*yasäṃ*
clitic	*-ñi*		*-ci*	*-m*	*-m*

The reflexive genitive is *ṣñi*.

Contact

Loans to and from Chinese

Not surprisingly, given the cultural saliency of China, there are a number of loanwords from Old and/or Middle Chinese into the Tocharian languages. Some of these loans are quite old, apparently borrowed before the Middle Chinese period, e.g.

TA/TB *klu* 'rice' is thought to come from 稻 OChin. **[l]ʕu?* (Baxter-Sagart), **lˤu:?* (Zhengzhang). The MChin. form is *dawX* (Mand. *dào*).[3]

[2]Distinguishing gender in the 1s pronoun is not exactly common outside of Indo-European, either. The Ngala language from Papua New Guinea has 1s m. *wn* and 1s f. *ñən*.

[3]As is obvious from the competing reconstructions, the phonetic interpretation of Old Chinese is not without uncertainties.

TB *rapaññe* 'last month of the year' ← **rāp* 'winter sacrifice' is borrowed from 臘 OChin. **C.rˤap* 'winter sacrifice' (Baxter-Sagart), **ra:b* (Zhengzhang). In MChin. the initial *r* became *l*, yielding MChin. *lap* (Mand. *là*).

Similarly, TA *ri*, TB *rīye* 'town' ← 里 OChin. 'village' **(mə.)rəʔ* (Baxter-Sagart), **ruʔ* (Zhengzhang), MChin. *liX* (Mand. *lǐ*).

Other loans appear to be more recent, e.g.

TB *cāne* 'money' ← 錢 MChin. *dzjen* (Mand. *qián*)

TB *ṣaṅk* unit of volume ← 升 MChin. *sying* (Mand. *shēng*)[4]

Loanwords in the opposite direction are much harder to come by, but one that is solid is the Chinese word for 'honey':

蜜 Mand. *mì*, MChin. *mjit*, OChin. **mit* borrowed from an ancestor of TB *mit* 'honey'.[5]

Tocharian C?

On the south side of the Tarim Basin lies the ruined site of Niya, known as Caḍota in the language of its inhabitants and called 精絕 (Mand. *Jīngjué*, OChin. **tseŋ-[dz]ot* [Baxter-Sagart], **ʔsleŋ-zod* [Zhengzhang]) in Chinese records. Niya was part of the kingdom of Kroraina (Sogd. *krʾwrʾn*, Gdh. *kroraïna*, *krorayina*, 樓蘭 OChin. **g·ro: g·ra:n* [Zhengzhang][6]), Mand. *Lóulán*). Sir Aurel Stein discovered a rich trove of documents dating from the 3rd and 4th cent. CE. These documents, written on wood in the Kharoṣṭhī script, are in Gāndhārī. In 1935 the Sanskritist Thomas Burrow suggested that a number of non-Indic words in these documents were borrowed from the local language and that some of these words at least were reminiscent of forms known from the Tocharian languages.[7] This theoretical southern Tocharian language is occasionally referred to as Tocharian C.

Niya *amklatsa* an epithet of young male camels, cf. TB *aknātsa* 'foolish'
Niya *kilme* 'fief', cf. TA *kälyme*, TB *kälymiye* 'direction'
Niya *kitsaitsa* 'an official title (elder?)', cf. TA *ktsets* 'excellent', TB *ktsaitse* 'old'

Further, there is at least one inferable phonological feature of this substratum language which is reminiscent of Tocharian: the local language, like Tocharian, did not distinguish voicing in consonants, as we can see from the confusion of voiced and voiceless stops in words of Indic origin, e.g. Niya *canati* vs. *janati* 'is' < Skt. *janati*. But these facts are not really sufficient to show that a kind of Tocharian was spoken in Niya, only that the Niya language was, not surprisingly, in contact with the

[4] See Lubotsky and Starostin 2003 and Blažek and Schwarz 2017.

[5] See Meier and Peyrot 2017.

[6] Baxter and Sagart do not reconstruct an Old Chinese value for the first character. The second is **k.rˤan*.

[7] Burrow 1935.

Tocharian-speaking world. The evidence is also not sufficient to prove a distinct third descendant of Proto-Tocharian. The forms could well be borrowed from an ancestor of either Tocharian A or B.

Vocabulary

Nouns

II.1 *śamñāṃśka* f. 'girl', obl. *śamñāṃśkai*, pl. *śamñāṃśkana*

II.2 *cok* a. 'lamp', pl. *cokanma*

III.1 *kwipassorñe* 'bashfulness, modesty'
pärkā$_u$ a. 'profit', pl. *pärkāwänta*

IV *ṣer* f. 'sister', pl. *ṣera*, cf. Lat. *soror*, Ved. *svásar-*, OE *sweostor*

V.1 *ime* m. 'thought, consciousness, memory', gen. sg. *ymentse*

V.2 *plāce* f. 'word', obl. *plāc*, nom. pl. *plāci*, obl. pl. *plātäṃ*

VI.3 *emalya* f. 'heat', obl. *emalyai*
katkauña f. 'joy'

Indeterminate
avasth 'state, condition' ← Skt. *avasthā*
kuñcit m. 'sesame' ← Middle Iranian, cf. Khot. *kuṃjsata-*[8]
cańke 'lap'
päścane du. 'breasts'
prāpmahur 'jewelry' ← BuS *prabhā* 'light, splendor' + Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī)[9] *ma.ura*, cf. Prakrit *ma.uḍa* < Skt. *makuṭa-* 'headdress'
yase 'shame, modesty', a virtual synonym of *kwipe*
leki m. 'bed' ← *lyäk-* 'lie down'
laukito m. 'stranger' ← *lauke* 'far off'

Adjectives

I.1 *snaitse* 'poor' ← *snai* 'without'

I.2 *cäñcare* 'lovely' ← *cäńk-* 'please'

III *kwipassu* 'shameful, chaste'
mentsissu 'sorrowful, agitated'

Indeclinable
yneś 'real', also av. 'really' ← *yn* 'in' + *eś* 'eyes' du.

[8] For more on this word and its relatives see Dragoni 2021.
[9] The Prakrit of the Jain canon.

Verbs

II,–,– *kery-* 'laugh', pres. 3p *keriyeṃ*, *keryeṃ*; caus. IXb 3s *kerästär* 'makes laugh'

VI,–,I *musa-* 'rise', pres. 3s mid. *musnātär*, pret. ptc. *musau*, cf. Ved. *muṣṇā́ti* 'steals'

VIII,I/II,III
räk- 'spread out, cover', pres. 1s *raksau*, subj. I inf. *raktsi*, pret. 3s *reksa*, pret. ptc. *reraku*, *-oṣ*, cf. Lat. *regere* 'to fix the line of (boundaries), direct'

XII,V,I
wäska- 'move', pres 3s mid. *wäskantär* /wəskə́ntər/ beside unexpected *waskantär* /waskə́ntər/. Somehow this verb had variants with two different vowels in the root.

Adverbs, particles, etc.

ats 'indeed'
käst(u)wer 'at night'
totka 'a little'
maṃtstsaś 'downward'
rano 'but, even'
wa 'nevertheless'
tsa 'indeed'

Reading: The Mechanical Maiden. Parallel Texts in the Original Tocharian A and My Translation into Tocharian B

Attention! There is no Tocharian B version of the Mechanical Maiden. I composed this translation myself in the year 2020. Please do not cite anything from this as if it were real Tocharian B. The composition is purely for pedagogical purposes.

The single most famous piece of Tocharian literature is the well-known tale of the Mechanical Maiden, which unfortunately exists only in Tocharian A. In this story a painter goes to visit his friend who is a *yantrācāre* 'a maker of mechanical devices',[10] or mechanic as he is usually called. The mechanic appoints a beautiful female servant to attend to the painter. The painter is attracted to her and takes hold of her hand. The young woman then flies to pieces, because she is not a young woman but a robot devised by the skillful mechanic to trick his friend. The painter soliloquizes about the falseness of the concept of self. He then decides to get back at the mechanic by playing a similar trick and paints a picture of himself having hanged himself. The painting is so realistic that the next morning the mechanic, seeing the wreckage of the robot, thinks the painter has killed himself in shame. The mechanic calls for an

[10]TA *yantrācāre* reflects a Middle Indic outcome of Skt. *yantrācārya* 'master *(ācārya-)* of mechanical devices *(yantra-)*'. Skt. *ācārya* is borrowed in Middle Indic guise into Tocharian B as *aśari*. Hence TA *yantrācāre* is rendered in our little exercise as **yantrāśari*.

axe to cut down his friend, but the painter reveals himself and gives the moral of the story, *ālak peke ālak pekant* 'alia pictura, alius pictor', 'One thing is painting, another thing is the painter'.[11]

Tocharian B

(1) *tākaṃ rano onolme erepatesa kekenu, lkātsi kartse, aiśamñe tsa mā tākan=ne, tot palkäṃ mäkte *tsaikeṣṣe *paikeṣṣe wat erepate tākaṃ. taṅkw larauñe ertsi campäṃ, pärkā$_u$ yāmtsi no mā campäṃ.*

Tocharian A

(1) *tāṣ penu wrasom arämpātyo kaknu lkātsi kāswe, knānmune ats mā tāṣ=äṃ, täpreṃ ats pälkäṣ, mäṃtne tsekeṣi pekeṣi pat arämpāt tāṣ. tuṅk kāpñune arässi cämpäṣ, pärko yatsi nu mā cämpäṣ.*

The first clause should be translated as a conditional; **tsaikeṣṣe* 'fashioned'; **paikeṣṣe* 'painted'

(2) *mäkte preścyai allok alyek ksa *paikenta *yantrāśarintse ostne laukito yai. tumeṃ su *yantrāśari *paikantai po yäknesa yarke yāmormeṃ kästwer waipte ostne leki reksa=ne, kuñcitäṣṣe ṣalypempa orṣṣai yantarṣṣai śamñāṃśkai cokmeṃ ṣpä lyāmate=ne*

(2) *mäṃtne ālyäkyāṃ praṣtaṃ ālak saṃ pekant yaṃtrācāres waṣtā lokit yeṣ. tmäṣ säm yaṃtrā(cāre pe)käntāṃ puk wäknā yärkā yāmuräṣ oṣeñi pkäntäk waṣtaṃ lake raksā=ṃ kuñcitṣiṃ ṣä(lypaśśäl orṣ)ṣāṃ yantärṣināṃ śominäṃ śkaṃ lamäṣ[12] lyalymā=ṃ*

**paikenta* 'painter'; **yantrāśari* 'master of devices'; *śamñāṃśkai* is an attested diminutive (the unattested Tocharian B equivalent to TA *śominäṃ* would be **śāmña*); *cokmeṃ* abl. translate as 'by the lamp'

(3) *sā$_u$, cwi śle yärṣalñe*[13] *ramt, ersna wai spaktāṃ yarkesa yamalle ṣpä ṣarne eṅkusa, *pene yamaṣṣa=ne: tu no k$_u$ce yaknesa ‖ ṣarmirśkeṃne ‖*[14]

(3) *sām cami śla wäktasurñe oki kāwält(une spaktāṃ) yärkā yāmäl yo tsaraṃ eṃtsus paṃ ypā=ṃ täm nu mänt wäknā ‖ ṣāmnernaṃ ‖*

ersna 'form' is being used here in the sense of 'beauty', which is not actually attested for the word, but cf. the derivative *ersnāssu* 'beautiful'; in the A original *kāwältune* and *spaktāṃ yärkā yāmäl* are conjoined by *yo* 'and'. These nouns are the objects of *eṃtus*.

[11] The same tale exists in two Sanskrit versions (in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and in the *Kaṭhināvadāna*), a Tibetan version, and three Chinese versions. The Tocharian A texts forms part of the *Puṇyavantajātaka*. The tale does not occur in the Sanskrit version of the *Puṇyavantajātaka*. For the literary background of the story see Beguš 2020.

[12] TA *lamäṣ* abl. of *lam** 'lamp' is usually emended to *lapäṣ* 'at the head' but Pan (2022) shows that the Chinese parallel texts note that the robot woman was stationed 'by the lamp'. TA *lam** is a loanword by way of Middle Iranian ultimately from Gk. *λαμπάς lampás* 'torch'.

[13] In the interest of keeping the translation literal and in view of my limited mastery of poetic technique, these lines are not actually in any meter.

[14] Burlak and Itkin (2010:351–3) suggest reading *wäknasurñe* (the signs for *na* and *ta* are indistinguishable) and give the gloss 'ability'. If this is correct, then maybe TB *yäknessor* 'good manner' would be the correct translation.

spaktāṃ yärkā yāmäl 'service to be done with honor'; TA *paṃ* is of uncertain meaning but the idiom *paṃ ypā-ṃ* seems to mean 'she did service to him'. Klingenschmitt (1994:313) compares *paṃ* to Gk. *πόνος pónos* 'toil'. On the basis of that theory I have made up the potential Tocharian B cognate **pene. ṣarmirśkeṃ* 'little monk, novice' is attested in Tocharian B as the name of an identical meter (4×12; 5|7) . The Tocharian A meter name also means 'little monk, novice'. Both are ultimately from BuS *śrāmaṇera-*.

(4) *kwipassuntsa ramt sā$_u$ totka maṃtstsaś lkāskemane śār-lyaka *mäsratstsa ramt mā plāc weṣṣi, mā keryi : śle tańkw *rsaññi pokai *pene yamaskemane. po kektseñmeṃ emalyai wikäṣṣi *paikentantse*

(4) *proṣmiṃn oki sām tsru ṣät lkāmāṃ śāri-lyāk mätsratsi oki mā plāc crańkäs mā karyā : śla tuṅk oki nu räsñā poke (paṃ) ypamāṃ pontsāṃ kapśiññäṣ omlyi wikṣā pekäntāp ||*

**mäsratstsa* 'ashamed'; **śār-lyaka* 'gazing all over'. TA *śāri-lyāk* is a verbal governing compound made up of *śāri* 'over, upper' (= TB *śariye*) and *-lyāk* 'looking'. Tocharian B has an adverb *śār* 'all over'. The point is that the robot woman looks down or all over but not directly at the artist, which would have been immodest and revealed that she was not fully human. Apparently the robot resides in the uncanny valley. **rsaññi* 3s ipf. from *räsa-* based on the idea that this poorly attested verb is a class XII present.

(5) *tumeṃ su *paikenta aknātsaññesa tā$_u$ orṣṣai śamñaṃśkaine yneś śamñaṃśkaiṣṣe ime kälpau āñmmpa pälskanaṃ au tot ersna au tot kwipassorñe klaiññe yasempa || *soktene ||*

(5) *tmäṣ säm pekant āknt suneyo tām orṣināṃ śominānaṃ yneś śomiṃṣiṃ ime kälpo āñmaśl-äkk pältsäńkāṣ ote täpreṃ kāwältune ote täpreṃ k$_u$leńciṃ mäsratsuneyo proṣmune || soktaṃ ||*

TA *ote täpreṃ* + N(oun) P(hrase) means something like 'Oh, what NP!'; **sokte* the name of a meter; if *sokt* is from a Middle Indic form of Skt. *sotka-* 'full of desire', the Tocharian B form might have been **sotkene*

(6) *mā olyapo lkāṣṣäṃ katkauñaiśc; mā no mentsissuntsa klyomña klyīye. *rāsaṃ pokai, *pene yamaskemane, sompasträ ram cańkene. wäskantär totke päścanene prāpmahur tumeṃ musnātär*

(6) *mā ṣokyo lkāṣ kāckeyac mā nu yutkos klyom-śoñi*[15] *rasaṣ poke paṃ ypamāṃ sumnātr oki cwańkeyaṃ wäsäńkātär tsru päśnäṃ propmahur tmäk musnāträ*

**mäsratstsa ra wa no kātkäṣtär=ñ tańksa arañc*

mäsratsi pe ṣñikek nu kātkäṣtär=ñi tuńky=āriñc ||

mentsissuntsa predicate of a nominal sentence; **rāsaṃ* hypothetical subj. V to *räsa-* 'stretch out'; the subjunctive should be translated as an iterative, 'whenever she stretches'; TB *ṣñikek* is an exact formal match for TA *ṣñikek* but means 'indeed' rather than 'nevertheless'

[15] *klyom-śoñi* 'of high status' derives from *śoṃ* 'status, low condition, bad state'.

(7) *$k_u$se ats? sā *yantrāśarintse nesäṃ ṣer tkācer epe śana epe spaktanīka* epe ñäś ramt *laukita kekmusa nesäṃ?*

(7) *kuss aśśi sās yaṃtrācāres mäskatär ṣar ckācar epe śäṃ epe spaktānik epe nṣ-äkk oki lokit kakmus nä*

*spaktanīka** the expected feminine of *spaktanīke*; **laukita* created on the model of *mewiyo* 'tiger' ~ *mewiya* 'tigress'

Brief Commentary on the Differences between Tocharian B and A Illustrated Here

Lexicon

Although a high percentage of the lexical stock is shared between Tocharian B and Tocharian A, there are also significant divergences in all parts of the lexicon. Note the following:

TB *onolme* 'being' and TA *wrasom* 'being' are derived from different roots meaning 'to breathe': *onolme* ← *h_2enh_1- (Ved. *ániti* 'breathes', Lat. *anima* 'soul', etc.) but *wrasom* ← TA *wärs-* 'breath'.

TB *kartse* 'good' is part of a suppletive paradigm with the stem *krent-*. The Tocharian A semantic match is *kāsu*,[16] which also forms part of a suppletive paradigm with *krañc-* ~ *krant-*, the cognate of TB *krent-*.

TB *aiśamñe* is derived from the verb *aik-* 'know' whereas TA *knānmune* is a derivative of the other verb *knā-* 'know'. Tocharian B has lost verbal reflexes of the PIE root **ĝneh*$_3$-, which survives in the nominal *aknātsa* 'ignorant', but Tocharian A has a number of verbal forms from this root (*kñas-* 'know', *kñāñ-* 'recognize', and *knā-* 'know').[17]

TA *oṣeñi* 'at night' and its Tocharian B translation *kästwer* are obviously not related. The former is related to TA *wṣe* 'night', TB *yṣiye*.

The word for 'head' in Tocharian A is *lap* (cf. Gk. λόφος *lóphos* 'nape, crest') but in B, *āśce*.

There are some cases where the Tocharian A form has a cognate in Tocharian B with a different meaning or where the paradigms are integrated in a different way:

TA 3s ipf. *crańkäs* is derived from the root *träńk-* 'speak', but the Tocharian B cognate *träńk-* means 'lament', which is probably the older meaning.[18] In Tocharian A, *träńk-* only provides the present stem. The subjunctive, preterite, and imperative are suppleted by the root *we-* 'say'.

In Tocharian A the verb 'to do' has a suppletive paradigm. The present stem is derived from *yä(p)-* and hence the infinitive in A (which, remember, is derived from the present stem) is *yatsi* and the *-māṃ* participle is *ypamāṃ*. The present

[16] TA *kāswe* 'good' is probably a loan from an unattested Tocharian B cognate.
[17] But Adams (2013:353) suggests that TB *nana-* (3s *nanātär*) 'appear' is from **knana-* 'become known'.
[18] From this we can infer that the speakers of Tocharian A were fond of kvetching (a joke!).

paradigm in Tocharian A—pres. II *ypam, yat, yaṣ; ypamäs, yac, ypeñc*—has a stem *yäp-* before the forms that had the *o*-grade of the thematic vowel.

In TA *ālak saṃ pekant* 'some other painter' (≈ TB *alyek ksa *paikentsa*) we see an example of the deictic pronoun *saṃ* 'that' in the meaning 'some'.

Phonology

Besides the major phonological differences noted, there are some additional changes illustrated in the texts above. For example, the pair TB *yäknesa* : TA *wäknā* illustrates the correspondence TB *y* : TA *w* that reflects PT **ẃ* from PIE **u̯* before a palatalizing vowel. TB *yakne*, TA *wkäṃ* go back to PIE **u̯eĝʰno-*. The pair TB *ost* 'house' : TA *waṣt* illustrates two changes. Tocharian B has lost initial **w* before a rounded vowel and Tocharian A has changed **st* to *ṣt*. TA *cwaṅke* 'lap' does not match TB *caṅke* since the Tocharian B form has an underlying schwa that does not match TA *a*. We must be dealing with two different ablaut grades and two different stem formations.

In Tocharian B the intervocalic cluster *-Cw-* assimilates to *-CC-* (at least in verbs) but it is retained in Tocharian A, e.g. TB *rittetär* 'is attached' but TA *ritwatär*, TB *pänn-* 'stretch' but TA *pänw-*. The Tocharian B verbal noun is *raitwe* 'combination'. Contrast the retention of initial *Cw-* in TB *twere* 'door', *swese* 'rain'.

Proto-Tocharian intervocalic **-ks-* and **-kṣ-* are retained in Tocharian B but become *ps* and *pṣ* in Tocharian A. For example, TB *okso* 'ox' = TA *opäs**, nom. pl. *opsi*; TB *ekṣalye* 'season' = TA *opṣäly* 'occasion, festivity'.

Morphology

There is an interesting difference between the Tocharian B and A forms of the subjunctive V of the verb 'to be'. In B the paradigm has a consistent stem *tāka-*, but in A the extended form in *-k-* is only found in the 3rd plural and in the optative. The *k*-less forms in the Tocharian A 3rd plural (*teñc, te*) are more archaic on the basis of their textual distribution. It's probable that the *k* was lenited to zero between identical vowels in Tocharian A.

	TB subj.	TB opt.	TA subj.	TA opt.
1s	*tākau*	*tākoym, tākom*	*tām*	*tākim*
2s	*tākat*	*tākoyt*	*tāt*	*tākit*
3s	*tākaṃ*	*tākoy*	*tāṣ*	*tākiṣ*
1p	*tākam*	*tākoyem*	*tāmäs*	*tākimäs*
2p	*tākacer*	*tākoycer*	*tāc*	—
3p	*tākaṃ*	*tākoyeṃ, tākoṃ*	*tākeñc, take, teñc, te*	*tākiñc*

There are, of course, many other differences and much more to Tocharian A than can be covered here. And, naturally, we have just scratched the surface even of Tocharian B. In the words of Rabbi Hillel, זיל גמור *zil gʾmor!* 'Go and learn!'[19]

[19] Babylonian Talmud, tractate Shabbat 31a.

Comprehensive Tocharian B–English Vocabulary

Order of alphabetization:

a ā ä ǐ ŭ e ai o au k ṅ c ñ t n/ṃ p m y r l ly v w ś ṣ s h ts

The bracketed number at the end of each entry refers to the lesson in which the word is introduced. "ex" means it appears in the notes to the exercises/readings.

Verbs are alphabetized in their underlying form, i.e. *a* and *ä* are used for the vowel realized as *ā* and *a* under stress. They are cited in the third person singular. Third singular active forms are unlabeled. If no third singular is attested or confidently reconstructible, an attested form is given.

The stem class for present, subjunctive, and preterite is given with roman numerals at the head of each entry after the gloss. If a stem is unattested and not inferable from general patterns, a dash (–) is used in its place.

The principal parts given are the present, the subjunctive, the preterite, the preterite participle, and the imperative, though one or more of these may be absent for a given verb.

The productively formed causative system is normally not given unless the causative paradigm is used in this book or the meaning of the causative is not predictable from the base verb.

ak- (II,suppl.V,suppl.I) 'lead', pres. *āśäṃ*, suppl. subj. *wāyaṃ*, pret. *wāya*, pret. ptc. *wawāyau*, *-aṣ*, ipv. I 2s mid. *pwāyar* [11]

akalṣälle (I.2) substantivized adj. 'student' [9]

akālk a. (III.1) 'wish', pl. *akālkänta* [8]

aknātsa (II.3) 'foolish', obl. *aknātsai*, nom. pl. *aknātsañ* [9]

akrūna 'tears', pl. II only attested [8]

akl- (IXa,IV,VII) 'learn', pres. *-ñca* ptc. *aklaṣṣeñca*, subj. 3s mid. *aklyitär*, pret. 3s mid. *akly(i)yate*, pret. ptc. *āklu** inferred from verbal noun *āklor*; caus. *ākläṣṣäṃ* 'teach' [7]

aklyilñe a. (III.1) 'learning' [19]

akṣār a. 'syllable', pl. II.2 *akṣaranma*, III.1 *akṣāränta* [18]

aks- (XI,II,I) 'declare, teach', 1s *aksaskau*, subj. *ākṣäṃ*, pret. (*klyauṣa* type) *ākṣa*, pret. ptc. *ākṣu*, ipv. VI 2s *pokse*, 2p *pokses* [16]

añmaṣṣe 'personal' [9]

añmāla(ṃ)ṣke, añmālarṣke (II.3) 'merciful, compassionate' [14]

ate 'away' [12]

attsaik, atsaik 'indeed' [10]

anaiwatse (I.1) 'unpleasant' [17]

anaiśai 'carefully' [17]

antapi, poetic **āntpi** 'both', duale tantum, obl. *antapi* [13]

appakke m. (V.1) 'dad' [12]
amāskai (indecl.) 'difficult' [13]
amok a. (III.1) 'art', pl. *amokänta* [7]
amoktse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'artist', substantivized from 'artful' [3]
amplākätte (I.2) 'uninvited, without orders' [15]
ammakki f. 'mama', sg. only attested [12]
ayāto (indecl.) 'suitable, pleasant' [19]
arañce m. (V.2) 'heart', obl. *arañc*, pl. *arañci* [13]
arcäññ- (XII,–,–) 'ought to', pres. 3s mid. *arcantär*, ipv. 2s mid. *porcaññar* [8ex]
artta- (IV,V,I) 'be pleased with, praise', pres. 3s mid. *orttotär*, subj. 3s mid. *ārtatär**, pret. 3s mid. *artātte*, both mid. only, pret. ptc. *ārttau* [2]
ala- (IXb,I,III) 'restrain', pres. 3s mid. *alastär*, subj. inf. *āltsi*, opt. 3p mid. *ālyintär*, pret. ptc. *ālu* [18]
alälätte (I.2) 'untiring' [8]
aletstse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'foreign' [3]
alokälymi 'directed in a single direction, privately' [18]
allek pron. adj. 'other' [9]
alyiye (VI.1) 'palm of the hand', du. *alyine* [17]
avasth 'state, condition' [20]
aśiya f. (II.1) 'nun', obl. *aśiyai*, pl. *aśiyana* [8]
aṣanike (II.3) 'worthy one, *arhat*', nom. pl. m. *-añ* [6]
aṣāṃ (indecl.) 'worthy' [19]
aṣkār adv. 'back'; subst. 'reverse' [10]
asa- (IV,V,I) 'dry out', pres. 3s mid. *osotär*, no subj. attested, pret. 3p *asāre* [2]
asāṃ a. (III.1) 'throne, seat', pl. *asānänta* [11]
astare (I.2) 'pure' [4]
astarñe a. (III.1) 'purity', pl. *-enta* [6]
ats 'indeed' [20]
atsaik see **attsaik**
āka f. (I) a kind of grain, 'millet', plurale tantum [5]
āka-lyekśye name for either a variety of millet or a millet product [16]
āke a. (III.1) 'end', pl. *-enta* [6]
āktikesa 'wonderfully' [19]
ākteke, āktike (indecl.) 'wonderful' [8]
āñme (V.2) 'self, wish', obl. *āñm* [9]
ānte m. 'surface, forehead' [18]
āntpi see **antapi**
āntse m. (V.1) 'shoulder' [1]
āppa m. voc. 'father', sg. only attested, nom. not attested, obl. *āppai* [12]
ām 'quietly' [1]
āyo a. (I) 'bone', obl. *āya*, suppl. pl. *āsta* [5]
āyor a. (III.1) 'giving', pl. *āyornta* [7]
ārwer 'ready' [8]
ālyauce, ālyewce 'one another' [11]
āśce f. (V.2) 'head', obl. *āśc(o)*, irregular perl. *āṣtsa* or *āssa*, nom. pl. *aścī*, obl. pl. *āstäṃ* [18]
ās- see **pär-**
i- (I/II,I/II,suppl.III) 'go', pres./subj. 1s *yam*, 3s *yaṃ*, 1p, 3p, and pres. ptc. stem /yəne-/ (1p *ynem(o)*, 3p *yaneṃ*, pres. ptc. *ynemane*), imp. *yey*, *yai*, pret. sg. stem /məs-/ (3s *masa*), pl. stem *mait-* (3p *maitar*), pret. ptc. *yku*, *ykuweṣ*, ipv. VI 2s *paṣ*, 2p *pcīso* [3]
ikäṃ 'twenty' [8]
īke a. (III.1) 'place', pl. *ykenta* [6]
ike-postäṃ 'bit by bit' [3]
ite (indecl.) 'full' [9]
ime m. (V.1) 'thought, consciousness, memory', gen. sg. *ymentse* [20]
iya- (V,V,–) 'travel in a vehicle', pres./subj. *iyaṃ* [17]
īlārñe a. (III.1) 'feebleness' [17]
iṣwarka see **yṣwarka**
upādhyāye m. (V.1) 'master', voc. *upādhyāya* [10]
uwe (II.4) 'learned', pl. *-eñ* [7]
ekaññi, ekñi a. (III.1) 'possession', pl. *ekñinta* [18]
ekalymi postp. + gen. 'in the power of' [9]
eṅk- (IXa,I,III) 'seize, take, understand', all tenses mid., pres. 3s mid. *eṅkastär*, subj. 3s mid. *eṅktär*, pret. 3s mid. *eṅksate*, pret. ptc. *eṅku*, *-oṣ* [5]
eṅkäl a. (I.2) 'feeling, passion' [12]
eṅkwaññe (I.1) 'male, masculine' [8ex]
eṅkwe m. (V.1) 'man', i.e. male [1]

ecce 'hither' [11]
eñcuwaññe (I.1) 'of iron' [18]
eñwetstse 'ever anew' [17]
etaṅkätte (I.2) 'unhindered' [19]
ette 'down' [1]
etre m. (V.1) 'hero' [1]
enepre adv. and postp. + gen. 'before' [7]
ente 'where, when, whenever' [2]
entse m. 'greed', sg. only attested [19]
epiṅkte, epiṅte postp. 'within, for' [18]
epiyac 'memory' [8]
epe, epe wat 'or' [17]; **epe ... epe ...** 'whether ... or ...' [9]
emalya f. (VI.3) 'heat', obl. *emalyai* [20]
empel(y)e (I.2) 'terrible, dangerous' [14]
er- (VIII,I,III) 'cause', pres. *erṣäṃ*, subj. and pret. mid. only: subj. 3s *ertär*, pret. 3s *ersate*, pret. ptc. *eru*, *-oṣ*, ipv. 2s mid. *persar*, 2p mid. *persat* [3]
erepate a. (III.1) 'form', pl. *-enta* [6]
erkattämñe, erkattäññe, erkatñe a. (III.1) 'indignation' [9]
erkatte (indecl.) 'scornful, hostile'; **erkatte yam-** 'treat badly' [9]
ersna f. (II.1) 'form', plurale tantum [17]
eṣe prep. or postp. + com. 'together' [4]
ai- (IXa,I,suppl.I/III) 'give', pres. *aiṣṣäṃ*, subj. 1s *āyu*, 3s *aiṃ*, pret. 1s *wsäwa*, 3s *wasa*, 3p *wsar*, pret. ptc. *āyu*, *āyoṣ*. ipv. VI 2s *pete*, 2p *petso*, *petes* [4]
aik- (II,II,III) 'know, recognize', pres. 3s mid. *aiśtär*, pret. 3s mid. *aiksate**, pret. ptc. *aiku*, *-oṣ* [6]
aikare (I.2) 'empty' [4]
aikne (V.1) 'duty' [2]
ainake (I.1) 'common, base, mean' [14]
ailñe a. (III.1) 'giving, gift, inheritance' [18]
aiśamo (II.5) 'wise', pl. *-oñ* [7]
aiśaumye (I.1) 'wise', subst. m. 'wise person, pundit' [10]
oṃṣap 'more' [16]
oko a. (III.1) 'fruit, effect', pl. *okonta* [7]
okt 'eight', gen. *oktaṃts* [8]
oktaṅka 'eighty' [8]
oktante 'eighth' [8]
oktatstse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'eightfold' [5]
okso m. (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'ox' [2]
oṅkor 'scabbard' (?) [9]
oṅkolma f. (VI.3, *wertsiya* type) 'she-elephant' [4]
oṅkolmo m. (VI.3, *witsako* type) 'elephant', obl. *oṅkolmai* [4]
ot 'then' (often introduces main clause after temporal/conditional clause) [3]
onuwaññe, onwaññe (I.1) 'immortal'; subst. 'immortality' [5]
onolme m. (V.1) 'human being' [1]
ontsoytñe (III.1) 'insatiableness' [18]
om 'then, there' [8]
omte 'there' [18]
ompalskoññe a. (III.1) 'meditation', pl. *-enta* [6]
ompostäṃ adv. and postp. + obl. 'after' [7]
or a. (I.2) 'wood', pl. *ārwa* [5]
orotstse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'great' [3]
orkäntai 'back and forth' [14]
ololyesa 'very' [8]
olya 'more' [15]
olyapo, olypo 'more, rather than' [10]
olyapotstse, olypotse 'very, much, more' [17]
olyartse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'superior, excellent' [19]
olyittau, olyitau m. (VII) 'boatman' [9]
olyiye* f. (VI.1, *riye* type) 'boat', obl. *olyi* [3]
olyp- see **olyap-**
ost a. (I.2) 'house', abl. sg. *ost(a)meṃ*, pl. *ost(u)wa*; **ostameṃ lantsi** 'to become a monk' [5]
osta-ṣmeñca m. (VI.3) 'a householder', i.e. a lay supporter of the Buddhist monastic community [10]
auks- (IXa,IV,–) 'grow', pres. *auksäṣṣäṃ*, subj. inf. *auksitsi*, pret. ptc. *auksu* [4ex]
aun- (IXa,I,III) act. 'hit, wound', mid. 'begin', pres. *aunaṣṣäṃ*, 3s mid. *aunastär*, subj. *auṃ*, pret. *auntsa*, 3s mid. *auntsate*, pret. ptc. *aunu*, *-weṣ** [7]
aurtse, wartse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'broad' [3]
auṣap 'more' [16]
ka 'just, scarcely, already' [8]
kaka- see **kwa-**
katk- (II,II,I) 'rejoice', pres. *kāccäṃ*, pret.

(*klyauṣa* type) 3p *kaccāre*, pret. ptc. *kakāccu* [11]
katkauña f. (VI.3) 'joy' [20]
kante adj. and subst. (II.2) '100', pl. *kāntenma* [8]
kantwo m. (VI.3, *kantwo* type) 'tongue' [4]
kapyāre m. (V.1) 'lay servants of Buddhist community who perform all activities forbidden to monks' [16]
kama- see **pär-**
kamartīke m. (V.1) 'ruler' [5]
karuṃ m. 'compassion', sg. only attested [17]
karpa- (IV,V,I) 'descend', pres. 3s mid. *korpotär*, subj. *kārpaṃ*, pret. *kārpa*, pret. ptc. *kakārpau* [2]
kartse (III) 'good', obl. *krent*, f. nom. *kartsa*, pl. *kreñc*, *krenta* [8]
kawa- (XII,V,I) 'desire', pres. 3p mid. *kawāññentär*, subj. *kāwatsi*, pret. mid. *kawāte* [8]
kā 'why?' [2]
kāko a. (III.1) 'invitation' [15]
kārṣake m. (V.1) 'farmer, plowman' [4]
kālp (II.2) 'period of time, rule, treatment' [14]
kātso f. (VI.3, *kantwo* type) 'belly, womb' [4]
käta- (VI,V,I) 'strew, sow (seed)', pres. *katnaṃ* (arch. *käntaṃ*), subj. *kātaṃ* ~ *käta-* (inf. *katatsi*), pret. *śata** with palatalization but mid. 3s *ktāte* [2]
kätka- (VII,V,I) 'cross, pass (of time)', pres. *kättaṅkäṃ* (also pres. VI *kätkanaṃ*), subj. V *katka-* (3s *kātkaṃ*) ~ *kätka-* (inf. *katkatsi*), pret. *śatka*, pret. ptc. *kätkau* [4]
kätkare (I.2) 'deep' [17]
kätkr-ārtho 'of deep meaning' [17]
kän- (IXa,III,III) 'occur, come about', pres. 3s mid. *knastär*, subj. 3s mid. *knetär*, pret. ptc. *kekenu*, *-oṣ*; caus. 'bring about, fulfill', pres. IXb *kanaṣ(ṣ)äṃ*, subj. V 1s mid. *kyānamar* (late), pret. II *kyāna* [10]
käm- (Xa,II,III/VI) 'come', pres. *känmaṣṣäṃ*, subj. *śa(n)mäṃ*, pret. 3s mid. *kamtsate*, pret. act. 1s *kamau*, 2s, 3s *śem*, 3p *kameṃ*, pret. ptc. *kekamu*, *-oṣ*, ipv. III 2s *kamp*, 2p *kamtso* [3]
kärpiye, kärpye (I.1) 'low, common, commoner'; **kärpye-yakne** 'with a common way' [13]
kärya- (Xa,VI,I) 'buy', mid. only, pres. *kärnāstär*, subj. *kärnātär*, pret. *käryāte*, pret. ptc. *käryau*, *-oṣ* [7]
kärwāṣṣe (I.1) 'of reed' [14]
kärweñäṣṣe (I.1) 'rocky' [4ex]
kärsa- (VI,V,I) 'know', pres. *kärsanaṃ*, subj. *kārsaṃ* ~ *kärsa-* (3s mid. *karsatär*), pret. *śarsa* (3s mid. *kärsāte*), pret. ptc. *kärsau*, *-oṣ* [2]
kärsk- (II,II,I) 'shoot, throw', *m*-ptc. *kärskemane*, ger. *kärṣalye**, pret. *karṣṣa*, pret. ptc. *kekarṣṣu* [1ex]
käl- (VIII,I,III) 'endure', pres. *kalsäṃ*, subj. *kelu*, pret. *keltsa*, ipv. 2s *pkel* [9]
käla- (Xa,V,I) 'lead, bring', pres. *källāṣṣäṃ*, subj. *kālaṃ*, 3s mid. *kalatär* (*a* ~ *ä* ablaut, fixed initial accent), pret. *śala*, 3s mid. *klāte*, pret. ptc. *kälau*, *-oṣ**, ipv. 2s *pkāla*, 2p *kalas*, 2s mid. *pkalar*, 2p mid. *pkalat* [7]
älpa- (IXa,VI,I) 'reach, obtain', pres. 1s *kälpāskau*, subj. *kallaṃ*, pret. *kalpa*, pret. ptc. *kälpau* [14]
käly- (II,suppl.V,suppl.I) 'stand, last', 3s mid. *kaltär*, 3p *klyentär*; subj. and pret. from **stäma-**: subj. (with ablaut and fixed initial accent) *stāmaṃ*, inf. *stamatsi*, pret. (with root ablaut sg. *'ä* ~ du. and pl. *a*) *ś(c)ama**, 3d *stāmais*, 3p *stamāre*, *śimāre*, pret. ptc. *stmau*, *stmoṣ* [6]
kälymiye f. (VI.1, *riye* type) 'direction' [3]
käṣṣī m. (III.1) 'teacher', pl. *käṣṣīnta* [7]
käṣṣīññe (I.1) 'of a teacher' [9]
käs- (II,I/III,III) 'extinguish', mid. 'come to extinction', pres. *keṣäṃ*, subj. I inf. *kastsi* 'to extinguish', subj. III inf. *ksetsi* 'to come to extinction', pret. *kessa*, pret. ptc. *kekesu* [5]
käska- (XII,V,I) 'scatter (to destruction), confuse', pres. *käskaṃ*, 3s mid. *käskantär*, ipf. *käskaññitär*, subj. with ablaut *kāskaṃ**, 3s mid. *käskātär*, pret. 3p mid. *käskānte*, pret. ptc. *käskau*, *-oṣ* [8]

kästuwer, kästwer 'at night' [20]
kuñcit m. 'sesame' [20]
kura- (III,–,–) 'grow old', pres. *kwretär** [17]
kula- (III,V,I) 'decline, disappear', pres. *kuletär*, subj. *kulātär*, pret. *kula** [18]
k_uśiññe (I.1) 'of Kuča' [5ex]
kuṣiye* see **kwaṣo***
$k_u$se 'who, what', obl. *$k_u$ce*, gen. *ket(e)* [5]
kektseñe f. (V.2) 'body', obl. *kektseñ*, nom. pl. *kektseñi*
keni 'knee', duale tantum, loc. *kenīne* [12]
kene m. (V.1) 'tune' [1]
keme m. (V.1) 'tooth' [1]
kercapo m. (VI.3, *witsako* type) 'donkey' [4]
kertte 'sword' (V.1), nom. pl. *kercci*, obl. pl. *kertteṃ* [9]
kery- (II,–,–) 'laugh', pres. 3p *keriyeṃ*, *keryeṃ*; caus. 'make laugh', pres. IXb 3s mid. *kerästär* [20]
kerrcī 'palace', plurale tantum, obl. pl. *kerrciyeṃ* [3ex]
kewiye (I.1) 'bovine' [7ex]
keś 'account, number, reckoning', sg. only attested; **keś ak-**, **keś ta-** 'take account of' [13]
kest m. 'hunger', sg. only attested, gen. *kestantse* [5]
kokaletstse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'riding in a chariot' [3]
koyṃ a. (I.2) 'mouth', pl. *koynuwa* [14]
kor, koṭ (II.2) 'a myriad', pl. *koranma* [19]
koś see **kauc**
kos 'how much, how many, as much, as many' [17]
kau- (VIII,I,III) 'destroy, kill', pres. *kauṣäṃ*, subj. *kowäṃ*, pret. *kausa*, pret. ptc. *kakāwu* [3]
kauc, kauś, koś 'high, upward' [11]
kauta- (VI,V,I) 'split, break', pres. *kautanaṃ*, subj. (fixed accent, non-ablauting) *kautaṃ*, inf. *kautatsi*, pret. 3s mid. *kautāte*, pret. ptc. *kakautau* [17]
kauṃ m. (V.3) 'day, sun', nom. pl. *kauñi*, obl. pl. *kaunäṃ* [1]
kaumiye f. (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'pool' [2]
kauś see **kauc**
kramartse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'heavy' [3]
krasa- (–,–,I/VII) 'annoy', pret. I *krāsa*, VII 3s mid. *kraṣīyate* [18]
krāke a. (III.1) 'dirt', pl. *-enta* [6]
krämpa- (III,V,I) 'be disturbed, be hindered', pres. 3s mid. *krämpetär**, subj. *krämpā-*, pret. 2s *krämpāsta* [1]
krästa- (VI,V,I) 'cut off, destroy', pres. *karsnaṃ*, subj. (fixed accent and ablauting) *krāstäṃ* (sic for expected *krāstaṃ**), inf. *karstatsi*, pret. *karsta*, pret. ptc. *kärstau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. *pkrāsta* [12]
kr_ui see **kwri**
krentauna f. (II.1) 'virtues', plurale tantum [18]
krentaunatstse (I.1) 'virtuous' [8]
krośce (I.1) 'cold' [7]
kraupe m. (V.1) 'heap, community' [19]
klaya- (IV,V,I) 'fall, fall down', pres. 3s mid. *kloyotär*, subj. *klāyaṃ*, pret. *klāya*, pret. ptc. *kaklāyau*, *-aṣ* [4]
kläntsa- (XII,V,I) 'sleep', pres. *klantsaṃ**, subj. opt. *klantsoy*, pret. *klyantsa* [8]
klin- (IXa,I,III) 'be obliged', pres. *klyinaṣṣäṃ*, subj. *klyiṃ*, pret. *klaintsa* [7]
kliye, late **klyiye** f. (II.1) 'woman', obl. *klaiṃ* (later *klaiñ*), gen. sg. *klaiñantse*, pl. *klaina* [8]
klutka- (VII,V,I) 'turn' itr., pres. 3p mid. *kluttaṅkentär*, subj. *klutka-* (inf. *klutkatsi*), no preterite attested, pret. ptc. *klutkau* [4]
klep- (II,V,I) 'touch, investigate', pres. 3s mid. *klyeptär*, subj. abstract *klapālñe*, pret. 3s mid. *klawāte*, pret. ptc. *kaklāpau** [17]
kleś a. (II.2), pl. *kleśanma* 'kleśa, disturbance' a technical Buddhist term for all negative emotions [19]
klautka- (IV,V,I) 'turn, become', pres. 3s mid. *klautkotär* (n.b. without rounding of the diphthong), subj. *klautkaṃ*, pret. *klautka*, pret. ptc. *kaklautkau* [2]
klausa-pilṣi (II.1) 'with ears pricked up' [15]
klyiye see **kliye**
klyomo (II.5) 'noble', pl. *-oñ* [7]
klyaus- (II,II,I) 'hear, listen', pres. *klyauṣäṃ*, subj. *klyauṣäṃ*, pret. *klyauṣa*, pret. ptc. *keklyauṣu*, *-oṣ*, ipv. VII 2s *päklyauṣ*, 2p *päklyauṣṣo* [9]

kwa-, kaka- (V,V,I) 'call, invite', pres. 3s mid. *kwātär*, subj. 3s mid. *kākatär*, pret. *kāka*, 3s mid. *kakāte*, pret. ptc. *kakākau**, ipv. I 2s *pokkāka*, *pkāka*, 2p *pokkākas* [14]
kwarsär m. (I.2) 'league, course, path', pl. *kwärsārwa*, *kursārwa* [5]
kwaṣo*, kuṣiye* f. (VI,2) 'village', obl. *kwaṣṣai*, nom. pl. *kuṣaiñ*, obl. pl. *kuṣaiṃ* [15]
kwasalñeṣṣe (I.1) 'pertaining to lamentation' [13]
kwäsa- (VI,V,–) 'lament', pres. 3s mid. *kwäsnätär*, subj. opt. 3p *kwāsoye(ntär)* [14]
kwipassu (III) 'shameful, chaste' [20]
kwipassorñe a. (III.1) 'bashfulness, modesty' [20]
kwipe m. 'shame', sg. only [10]
kwri, kr$_u$i 'if, since' [2]
kṣun 'regnal year', sg. only attested [16]
ksa indef. pron. and prtc. 'some, a certain', obl. *kca*, gen. *ket(a)ra* [9]
ktsaitsäññe, ktsaitsññe a. (III.1) 'old age' [17]
ṅke 'then' [10]
cake a. (III.1) 'river', pl. *-enta* [6]
cańke 'lap' [20]
camel a. (I.1) 'birth', pl. *cmela* [5]
cāk (II.2) 'a measure made up of 10 *tau*', pl. *cakanma* [16]
cäñcare, ciñcare (I.2) 'lovely' [20]
cämp- (I,II,I) 'be able', pres. *campäṃ*, subj. 2s *cämpät*, pret. (*klyauṣa* type) *campya* [6]
cämpamo (II.5) 'capable', pl. *-oñ* [7]
cämpamñetstse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'powerful' [3]
ciñcare see **cäñcare**
cok a. (II.2) 'lamp', pl. *cokanma* [20]
cowai 'robbery', only in the fixed idiom **cowai tärka-** 'rob' and the derived nominal **cowai tärkauca** 'robber' [18]
cowaitstse 'robbing'; subst. 'robber' [18]
ñake, ñke 'now' [6]
ñakte m. (V.1, n.b. *yakwe* type) 'god, lord' [1]
ñātse see **ñyātse**
ñäkciye, ñakcye (I.1) 'divine' [2ex]
ñäś, ñiś 'I', obl. *ñäś*, *ñiś*, gen. *ñi*, clitic *-ñ* [2]
ñäsk- (II,II,I) 'demand, seek, require', pres./subj. *ñäṣṣäṃ* (arch.), 1s mid. *ñäskemar*, pret. (*klyauṣa* type) *ñaṣṣa* [11]
ñu 'nine', gen. *ñwaṃts** [8]
ñunte 'ninth' [8]
ñumka 'ninety' [8]
ñultse 'nine thousand' [8]
ñuwe 'new'; loc. pl. as adv. **nweṃne** 'in the new (days)', the period of the new moon or the last day of the month [16]
ñem a. (II.1) 'name', pl. *ñemna* [8]
ñyātse, ñātse a. (III.1) 'danger, emergency', pl. *ñ(y)atsenta* [6]
ñke see **ñake**
ñwetstse (I.1, *orotstse* type) 'new, novice' [3]
ta- (VIII,V,I/III) 'put, place', mid. 'be compared with', pres. 3p act. *tāseṃ*, 3s mid. *tāṣtär*, subj. *tätta-* (3s *tattaṃ*), pret. I 3s mid. *tasāte*, III 3s act. *tes(s)a*, mid. *tässāte*, pret. ptc. normally *tättā$_u$*, 1× *tatās(aṣ)*, ipv. 2s *ptes*, 2p *ptässo* (arch.), 2s mid. *ptäsar* (arch.) [6]
taka- see **nes-**
takarṣke (II.3) 'clear, pious, believing', nom. pl. m. *-añ* [6]
taksa- (–,V,I) 'destroy', subj. *tāksaṃ**, pret. *tāksa** [13]
tańkw m. 'love', sg. only attested [9]
tane, tne 'here' [11]
tanneṃ 'on this occasion' [10]
tarne m. 'crown of head, skull', sg. only attested [18]
tarya see **trai**
tallā$_u$, f. **tallauntsa** (III) 'suffering', pl. *tallāñc*, *tallānta* [8]
tāno f. (VI.3, *kantwo* type) 'grain, seed' [4]
tāś 'commander' [16]
täńktsi postp. + obl. 'up to and including' [16]
täm- (Xa,III,III) 'be born', mid. only, pres.3s mid. *tänmastär*, subj. 3s mid. *cmetär*, pret. 3s mid. *temtsate*, pret. ptc. obl. *tetemoṣ*; caus. 'beget, generate', pres. *tanmäṣṣäṃ* [7]
tärka- (VI,V,I) 'let go, utter, desist', pres. *tärkanaṃ*, subj. *tarka-* (3s *tārkaṃ*) ~ *tärka-* (inf. *tarkatsi*), pret. *carka* (3s mid. *tärkāte*),

pret. ptc. *tärkau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. 2s *ptārka*, 2p *ptarkas* [2]
täryāka 'thirty' [8]
täl- (IXb,–,II) caus. 'lift up', pres. *taläṣṣäṃ*, pret. *cālawa*, pret. ptc. *ceclu* [11]
täll- (V,I,–) 'carry, bear', pres. *tallaṃ*, subj. *tällätsi* [11]
tuka- (III,V,I) 'hide, seek refuge in', pres. (with palatalization of root-initial consonant) 1s mid. *cukemar*, subj. (fixed accent) 1s *taukau*, pret. *tuka** inferred from pret. ptc. *tukau* [1]
tumeṃ 'then, therefore' [1]
tuyknesa 'in this way' [3]
tu yparwe 'thereupon' [18]
tusa 'because of that, therefore' [1]
tusāksa 'for this reason, therefore' [8]
teki a. (II.2) 'sickness', pl. *tekanma* [17]
telki a. (II.2) 'sacrifice', pl. *telkanma* [3ex]
taiknesa 'in this way' [5]
taiysu, taisu 'thus' [2]
taisa 'so' [17]
tot 'so' [11]
totka 'a little' [20]
tau, *towä* f. unit of volume of ca. 10 liters, ten of which make up a *cāk*, pl. *towi*, *towäṃ*, *tom*, *taum* [10]
tkācer f. (IV) 'daughter', nom.-obl. pl. *tkacera* or *tkātärñ* [9]
(t)keṃ f. (V.3) 'earth' [9]
tne see **tane**
tparṣke (II.3) 'shallow' [6]
traṅko a. (III.1) 'sin', pl. *traṅkonta* [12]
träntätstse (I.1) 'exhausted' [13]
trika- (III,V,I) 'be confused', pres. 3s mid. *triketär*, subj. (fixed accent) *tríka-*, pret. *trika*, pret. ptc. *trikau*, *-oṣ* [1]
trikelye 'intoxication' [15]
trīcīwär 'the three pieces of clothing of a Buddhist monk' [17]
trite (I.2) 'third' [8]
triwa- (III,V,I) 'be mixed with', pres. 3s mid. *triwetär*, subj. 3s mid. *triwätär*, pret. *triwa** [1]
treṅk- (IXa,I,III) 'cling, adhere', all tenses mid., pres. 3s mid. *treṅkastär*, subj. 3s mid. *treṅktär**, pret. 3s mid. *treṅksate*, pret. ptc. *tetreṅku*, *-oṣ* [5]
tremi (V.1) 'anger', plurale tantum, obl. *tremeṃ* [14]
trai, trey m., **tarya** f. 'three', gen. *täryāṃts* [8]
traike m. (V.1) 'confusion' [17]
twe 'you' (sg.), obl. *ci*, gen. *taṅ*, clitic *-c* [2]
nak- (VIII,I,III) 'blame', pres. 3s mid. *nakṣtär*, subj. inf. *nāktsi*, pret. 3s mid. *nāksate*, pret. ptc. *nanāku* [15]
-nakṣi '-destroying' (in compounds), nom. m. pl. *-iñ* [5]
nask- (II,II,I) 'bathe, swim', pres. *nāṣṣäṃ*, subj. inf. *nāṣṣi*, pret. (*klyauṣa* type) *nāṣṣa*, pret. ptc. *nanāṣṣu* [5ex]
nāki a. (II.2) 'blame', pl. *nakanma* [8]
nāge m. (V.1) 'nāga, snake(-divinity)' [1]
näk- (VIII,I/III,III) act. 'destroy', mid. 'be destroyed, disappear', pres. *nakṣäṃ*, subj. I sg. *nek-* (1s *neku*), pl. *näk-*, III *nketär* 'will be destroyed', pret. *neksa*, pret. ptc. *neneku* 'perished' alongside *nenku* 'destroyed' [3]
nätka- (VI/VII,V,I) 'hold off, push away', pres. VI *natknaṃ*, VII *nättaṅkäṃ*, subj. *nātkaṃ*, pret. *ñätka* (arch.) [11]
näno(k) 'again' [3]
nigranthe m. (V.1) 'heretical monk' [3ex]
nuwa- (III,V,I) 'roar', pres. 3s mid. *ñewetär*, subj. (fixed accent) *nuwaṃ*, pret. 3s mid. *nawātär** [1]
-ne clitic 3s [3]
nemcek 'surely' [10]
nerke a. (III.1) 'hesitation', pl. *nerkenta* [8ex]
nervāṃ m. 'nirvāṇa', sg. only attested [19]
nes- (I/II,suppl.V,suppl.I) 'be', pres. 1s *nesau* (II), 3s *nesäṃ* (I), 1p *nesem* (II), 3p *nesäṃ*; special copular forms 3s *ste*, *star-* before clitic pronouns, 3p *skente*; inf. *nestsi*; the subj. and pret. are from **taka-**: subj. non-ablauting with fixed accent 3s *tākaṃ*; pret. 2s *tāka*, pret. ptc. *tatākau* [1]
nai 'isn't it?, why dontcha?' [8]
naimañe I.1 'name of first month' [16]
no 'but' (must be in second position) [2]

nauta- (–,V,I) 'be destroyed, be lost', subj. 3p *nautaṃ*, pret. *nauta*, pret. ptc. *nanautau*, *-aṣ* [18]
naumiye a. (III.1) 'jewel', pl. *naumiyenta* [8]
nauṣ 'before, earlier, in front' [15]
nrai a. (III.1) 'hell', pl. *nrainta* [7]
pakwāre (I.2) 'bad' [18]
pañäkte (V.1) 'the Buddha', the prosaic form [1]
pañcwarṣik 'name of the quinquennial Buddhist festival' [1ex]
papāṣṣorñe a. (III.1) 'moral behavior' [19]
parna, parra 'outside' [6]
parso* a. (III.1) 'letter', pl. *pärsonta* [4ex]
palskalñe a. (III.1) 'thought', pl. *-enta* [6]
palsko a. (III.1) 'thought', pl. *pälskonta* [7]
pask- (II,II,I) 'guard, observe, respect', pres./subj. mid. 3p *paskeṃtär*, subj. inf. *pāṣtsi*, *pāssi*, pret. (*klyauṣa* type) 2s mid. *paṣṣātai*, pret. ptc. *pāpāṣṣoṣ-* [9]
passoñ (VI.5) 'ligaments', plurale tantum [17]
pāke a. (III.1) 'part', pl. *-enta* [6]
pākri indecl. 'clear, obvious'; **pākri nes-** 'be apparent, be clear'; **pākri yam-** 'make clear' [19]
pācer m. (IV) 'father', obl. *pātär*, gen. *pātri*, nom.-obl. pl. *pacera*, *pātärñ* [9]
päk- (VIII,III[itr.],III) act. 'cook, let ripen', mid. 'cook', itr. 'ripen', pres. *pakṣäṃ*, subj. in abstract *pkelñe*, pret. III inferred from pret. ptc. *pepeku*, *-oṣ* [3]
päka- (Xa,VI,I) 'intend', mid. only, pres. 3s mid. *päknāstär*, subj. 3s mid. *päknātär*, pret. 3s mid. *pkāte* [7]
päkw- (I/XII,I,–) 'rely on, trust', mid. only, pres. I 3s mid. *paktär*, XII 1s mid. *pkwaññemar*, subj. ger. *pkwalñe* [6]
pänn- (II,V,I) 'stretch, pull (out, up)', pres. *peññäṃ*, also a stem /pənn-/ (e.g. 3s *päññäṃ*), 3s mid. *peññatär*, subj. (fixed accent and ablauting) *pännaṃ*, opt. *pannoy*, pret. *piñña*, 3s mid. *pännāte*, pret. ptc. *pännau* [1ex]
pär- (II,suppl.II,suppl.I) 'carry, wear, take', pres. *paräṃ*; subj. and ipv. from **ās-**: subj. inf. *āṣtsi*, ipv. I *päsa*; pret. from **kama-**: 1s mid. *kāmmai*, 3s mid. *kamāte*, pret. ptc. *kakāmau*, *-aṣ* [19]
pärka- (–,V,I) 'rise (of the sun)', subj. abstract *pärkālñe*, pret. *parka*, pret. ptc. *pärkau* [17]
pärkare (I.2) 'long', f. pl. *-ona* [4]
pärkā$_u$ a. (III.1) 'profit', pl. *pärkāwänta* [20]
pärweṣṣe 'first' [8]
pärsa- (VI,V,I) 'sprinkle', pres. *parsnaṃ**, pret. 3p *pirsāre*, 3s mid. *pärsāte*, pret. ptc. *pärsau* [14]
pärsāntse (I.1) 'spectacular, shining' [17]
päla- (VI,V,I) 'praise', pres. 1s mid. *pällāmar*, subj. (fixed accent) 1s mid. *pālamar*, pret. 3s mid. *palāte*, pret. ptc. *papālau* [19]
pälk- (I,–,I) 'shine, appear', imp. *palyśi*, subj. 3s *palkäṃ*, pret. *palka** [6]
pälka- (suppl.IXa,V,I) 'see', pres. from **läka-** (q.v.), subj. (ablauting with fixed initial accent) 1s *pālkau*, 3s *pālkaṃ*, 1p *palkam*, inf. *palkatsi*, pret. *palyka*, mid. 3s *pälkāte*, ipv. 2s *pālka*. [5]
pälkamo (II.5) 'shining', pl. *-oñ* [7]
pälśalñe a. (III.1) 'torture' [2ex]
päścane du. 'breasts' [20]
päst, arch. **pest** 'away, completely' [10]
pässak(w) a. (III.1) 'garland', pl. *pässakänta* [19]
pi 'please' (softens imperatives and wishes) [11]
pika- (VII,V,I) 'write, paint', pres. *piṅkäṃ*, subj. 3s mid. *paikatär*, pret. *paiyka*, pret. ptc. *papaikau* [4]
pikul f. (I.1) 'year', pl. *pikwala* [5]
piṅkte 'fifth' [8]
pit 'bile', sg. only attested [13]
pintwāt m. 'alms' [10ex]
pir 'chair' [15ex]
pilko a. (III.1) 'look', pl. *pilkonta* [14]
piś 'five', gen. *piśaṃts* [8]
piśāka, pśāka 'fifty' [8]
piśkänte 'five hundred' [8]
putka- (VII,V,I) 'divide, separate', pres. *puttaṅgaṃ*, subj. *pautka* ~ *putka-* (inf. *putkatsi*), pret. *putka**, 3p *putkār*, 3s mid. *putkāte*, pret. ptc. *putkau** [4]
pudgalyik 'personal' [15]

pūdñäkte m. (V.1) 'the Buddha', poetic form [17]
puwar a. (I.1) 'fire; digestion', gen. *pwārntse*, pl. *pwāra* [5]
puwe* f. (III.1) 'spoke (of a wheel)', pl. *pwenta* [17]
perne m. 'dignity, worth, status, glory, rank', sg. only attested; **pernesa** 'for X's sake' [8]
perne$_u$, f. **pernauntsa** (III) 'glorious, brilliant', m. pl. *perneñc*, f. pl. *pernenta* [8]
perpente m. 'burden' [3ex]
pele m. 'law; prison', sg. only attested [18]
pelaikne a. (III.1, pl. *pelaiknenta*) or m. (V.1, pl. *pelaikni*) 'law' [7]
pest see **päst**
paiyye 'foot', du. *paine*, nom. pl. *paiñ**, obl. pl. *paiṃ* [10]
po (indecl. or III) 'all', pl. *poñc*, *ponta* [8]
poko* (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'arm' [2]
poyśi m. (III.1) 'all-knowing', i.e. Buddha, pl. nom.-obl. *poyśinta* [5]
postaññe (I.1) 'last'; adv. 'finally, at the most' [15]
pauta- (IV,V,I) 'flatter', pres. 3s mid. *pautotär*, subj. *pautaṃ*, pret. I inferred from pret. ptc. obl. *papautaṣ* [9]
pyāpyo f. (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'flower' [2]
pyorye f. (VI.1, *riye* type) 'shoulder-yoke', obl. *pyori* [3]
pratiṃ a. (III.1) 'decision', pl. *pratinta* [12]
prākre (II.4) 'firm, fast', pl. *-eñ* [7]
prāpmahur 'jewelry' [20]
präk- (VIII,I,III) 'ask, beg', pres. *prekṣäṃ*, subj. *prekäṃ*, pret. *preksa*, pret. ptc. *peparku*, *-oṣ* [3]
pränts- (VII,–,–) act. 'sprinkle' tr., mid. 'spray' itr., pres. only attested [4]
präska- (V,V,I) 'fear', pres./subj. *prāskaṃ*, 3p *parskaṃ*, pret. *pärska* (arch.), pret. ptc. *pärskau*, *-oṣ* [12]
pruccamñe a. (III.1) 'advantage' [10]
prutka- (III,V,I) 'be shut, be filled', pres. 3s mid. *prutketär*, subj. 3s mid. *prutkātär*, pret. 3p *prutkāre*, *prautkar* (late), pret. ptc. *prutkau** [11]
preke m. (V.1) 'time' [9]
preṅke m. (V.1) 'island' [9]
prere m. 'arrow' [1]
preściya, preśyo f. (VI.3) 'time' [17]
procer m. (IV) 'brother', obl. *protär*, nom.-obl. pl. *procera*, *protärñ* [9]
proskiye, prosko f. (VI.2) 'fear', obl. *proskai* [9]
plaktukäññe f. (II.1) 'door-keeper', obl. *plaktukäññai* [11]
planta- (IV,V,I) 'rejoice', pres. 3s mid. *plontotär*, subj. *plāntaṃ**, pret. *plānta*, pret. ptc. *paplāntau* [2]
plāki a. (II.2) 'agreement, permission', no pl. attested [15]
plāce f. (V.2) 'word', obl. *plāc*, nom. pl. *plāci*, obl. pl. *plātäṃ* [20]
pläṅka- (III,V,I) 'be for sale', pres. 3s mid. *pläṅketär*, subj. inf. *pläṅkātsi*, pret. *plaṅka* [1]
plätk- (II,I,III) 'overflow, develop, arise', pres. *m*-ptc. *plyetkemane*, subj. *pletkäṃ*, pret. 3p *pletkar=c*, pret. ptc. *plätku*, *plätkweṣ* [12]
pläwa- (V,V,I) 'lament', pres./subj. *palwaṃ*, pret. *plyāwam*, pret. ptc. *pepalywu**, *-oṣ** [13]
pläska- (VI,V,I) 'consider', pres. *pälskanaṃ*, subj. *plaska-* (3s *plāskaṃ*) ~ *pälska-* (inf. *palkatsi*), pret. *palska*, pret. ptc. *pälskau* [2]
pśāka see **piśāka**
brāhmaṇe m. (V.1) 'brahman', a member of the priestly order of Ancient India [6]
bho 'hey!' [11]
makte emph. pron. '(my-, him-, etc.)self', pl. *makci* [16]
mañiye m. (V.1) 'enslaved person, servant' [3]
mañcāk 'couch' [15ex]
maṇḍāl '*maṇḍala*, magic circle' [7ex]
maṃt, mant 'so, in this way' [15]
manta, mantak 'never' [2]
maṃtstsaś 'downward' [20]
mapi 'it's not the case ... is it?', 'it is the case, isn't it?' [6]
malyake 'young man' [16]
maṣṣāt 'disrespect' [15ex]
mā negative prtc. for prohibition and negation

mā . . . nta 'by no means' [6]
māṃtsalyñe a. (III.1) 'sorrow' [14]
māka 'much' (with sg.), 'many' (with pl.); adv. 'very' [4]
mācer f. (IV) 'mother', obl. *mātär*, nom.-obl. pl. *mācera* [9]
mālo f. 'intoxicating drink', obl. *māla* [15]
mā-ṣekaṃñe 'inconstancy', sg. only attested [14]
mäka- (V,V,I) 'run', pres./subj. (fixed accent) *makatsi*, pret. 3p mid. *mkänte*, pret. ptc. *mkau*, *mkoṣ** [14]
mäkte 'how, as, when, because' [2]
mäktauñe a. (III.1) 'final end, last resort' [19]
mäksu, mäksā$_u$ f., *mäktu* n. 'who, what' [5]
mänta- (XII,V,I), act. 'stir, destroy', mid. 'be stirred, be angry', pres. *mäntaṃ*, subj. *mäntäṃ*, 3s mid. *mäntatär*, pret. 1s *mantäwa*, pret. ptc. *manäntau*, *-aṣ* as adj. 'evil' [8]
märsa- (III,V,I) 'forget', pres. 3s mid. *märsetär*, subj. (fixed, ablauting) *märsaṃ** ~ *ársa-*, pret. *marsa*, pret. ptc. *märsau*, *-oṣ* [1]
mälka- (–,V,I) 'put on; put (obl.) into (obl.)', subj. V inf. *malkatsi*, pret. 3s mid. *mälkäte*, pret. ptc. *mälkau* [9]
mäska- (III,V,I) 'be located, be', pres. *mäsketär*, no subjunctive forms attested, pret. *maska* [4]
mi- (IXb,IXb,II) 'harm', caus. only attested, pres./subj. *miyiṣṣäṃ*, pret. 3s mid. *myäyate*, pret. ptc. *memiyu* [15]
mithyadṛṣṭi 'falsehood', sg. only attested [13]
miwa- (I,V,V) 'tremble', pres. *miwäṃ*, subj. inf. *maiwatsi*, pret. *maiwa*, pret. ptc. *mamaiwau** [13]
mīṣe a. (III.1) 'field', pl. *miṣenta* [2]
mīsa f. (I.1) 'meat', plurale tantum [5]
musa- (VI,–,I) 'rise', pres. 3s mid. *musnätär*, pret. ptc. *musau* [20]
-me clitic pl. pron. for all three persons [3]
meṃtsñe a. (III.1) 'ill will, worry', sg. only attested [18]
meṃtsi m. 'sorrow, care' [8ex]
meṅki-īkäṃ-pikwalaṃñe 'less than twenty years old' [15]
meñe m. (V.2) 'month', obl. *meñ* [1]
meñepälle$_u$ (VII) 'full moon', gen. sg. *pällente*, obl. sg. *pällent* (*pälle$_u$* also occurs without *meñe* in the same meaning) [2ex]
menāk m. (III.1?) 'simile', nom. du. *menäkänc* [17]
mewiya f. (VI.3, *wertsiya* type) 'tigress' [4]
mewiyo m. (VI.3, *witsako* type) 'tiger' [4]
meske m. (V.1) 'connection, section, band, sandhi' [8]
mai 'maybe' (in questions); 'indeed' (with opt.) [17]
maiyya, late **maiyyo** f. (VI.3) 'strength', obl. *maiyya* [16]
maiwe (II.4) substantivized adj. 'young person', pl. *-eñ* [7]
mot 'alcohol', sg. only attested [15]
mñcuṣke m. (III.1) 'prince', pl. *mcuṣkanta* [10]
mrāce 'top, summit', obl. *mrāc*, *mrāś*, sg. only attested [19]
mrauska- (VI,V,I) 'be surfeited, be tired out', pres. 3s mid. *mrausknätär*, subj. 3s mid. *mrauskätär*, pret. 3s mid. *mrauskäte*, pret. ptc. *mamrauskau* [17]
mlutka- (III,V,I) 'escape', pres. *mlutketär*, subj. 1s *mlutkämar*, no pret. attested [11]
yak 'yet' [14]
yakne m. (V.1) 'way, custom' [10]
yakwe m./f. (V.1) 'horse' [1]
yata- (IV,V,I) 'be able, be possible, be capable', pres. 3s mid. *yototär*, subj. *yätaṃ*, pret. *yäta**, pret. ptc. *yayätau* [3]
yap 'barley', sg. only attested [16]
yapoy a. (II.1) 'land', pl. *ypauna* [8]
yam- (IXa,I and II,IV) 'do, make', pres. *yamaṣṣäṃ*, subj. *yämäṃ*, pret. *yamaṣṣa*; see Lesson 2 for details [2]
yarke a. (III.1) 'honor', pl. *yärkenta* [7]
yarpo a. (III.1) 'religious service', pl. *yärponta* [18]
yarm a. (II.2) 'measure' [15]
yaltse 'one thousand' [8]
yasa (VI.3, *kantwo* type) 'gold' [4]
yasar a. (I.1) 'blood', pl. *ysāra* [5]

yase 'shame, modesty' [20]
yask- (IXa,II,I) 'beg', pres. 3s mid. *yaskastär*, subj. 3s mid. *yāṣtär*, pret. (*klyauṣa* type) 3s mid. *yaṣṣāte*, pret. ptc. *yayāṣṣu**, *-oṣ* [18]
yāmor a. (III.1) 'deed', pl. *yāmornta* [7]
yāṣṣu 'alms' [18]
yäkte-skeyeṃ 'with little effort' [18]
yäkwaṣke (VI.3, *śamaśke* type) 'pony' [4]
yäkweññe (I.1) 'equine' [1ex]
yänma- (Xa,VI/I,III) 'achieve, reach', pres. *yänmāṣṣäṃ*, subj. is usually class VI *yanmaṃ*, but there is also a subj. I *yonmäṃ*, pret. *yonmasa*, pret. ptc. *yainmu*, *-oṣ* [7]
yäp- (Xa,I,III) 'enter', pres. *yänmaṣṣäṃ*, subj. *yopäṃ* (*o* only in sg. of subj.), opt. *yapi*, pret. *yopsa*, pret. ptc. *yaipu*, ipv. III 2s *pyop* [11]
yärtta- (I,–,I) 'drag', pres. *yarttäṃ*, pret. *yartta**, pret. ptc. *yärtau*, *-oṣ* [13]
yärṣalñe, yirṣalñe a. (III.1) 'respectful address' [16]
yu- (IXb,IXb,–) 'aspire, turn towards', pres./subj. *yuwäṣṣäṃ* [19]
yuk- (VIII,V,I) 'overcome, conquer, win', pres. *yukṣäṃ*, subj. 3p *yūkaṃ*, pret. *yuka*, pret. ptc. *yukoṣ-* [7]
yene 'you two' [7]
yepe (V.1) 'knife' [17]
yerkwanto* m. (VI.3, *witsako* type) 'wheel' [4]
yes 'you' pl., obl. *yes*, *yesäṃ*, gen. *yesäñ*, late *yesi*, clitic *-me* [7]
yetse m. 'skin' [17]
yaitkor m. (III.1) 'order' [16]
yok- (I,I,–) 'drink', pres. *yokäṃ*, subj. inf. *yoktsi*, pret. ptc. *yāku*, *-oṣ* [6]
-yok '-like' (in compounds) [13]
yokiye, yoko f. (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'thirst, desire' [2]
yoñiya f. (VI.3, *wertsiya* type) 'path', obl. *yoñiyai* [19]
yolo (II.2) 'evil, bad, false', m. obl. *yolaiṃ*, f. nom. *yoliya**, nom. pl. m. *yolaiñ*, f. *yolaina* [5]
ykāk 'still' [13]
ytärye f. (VI.1) 'road, way', obl. *ytāri*, nom. pl. *ytariñ* [3]
ynamo 'going' (II.5) [14]
ynāñm(ä)ñne a. (III.1) 'esteem' [17]
yneś (indeclinable) 'real'; adv. 'really' [20]
ymassu (III) 'thoughtful', obl. *ymassont*, pl. *-ñc* [8]
ymiye f. (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'way' [2]
ylāre (I.2) 'limp' [12]
ywarśkāñne (I.1) 'in the middle' [18]
yśe 'hey!' [18]
yṣiye f. (VI.1, *riye* type) 'night', obl. *yaṣi* [3]
yṣwarka, iṣwarka 'in a friendly fashion' [18]
ysāre 'wheat' [16]
ysomo 'together' [3]
ra 'also; (= *ram(t)*) like'; **mā . . . mā ra** 'neither . . . nor'; **ra tsak** 'at any rate' [4, 9ex]
ratre (II.4) 'red', pl. *-eñ* [7]
raddhi a. (II.2) 'wonder, supernatural ability' [10ex]
rano 'also, even, but' [8]
rapa- (VI,V,–) 'dig', pres. *rapanaṃ*, subj. *rāpatsi* [15]
rapañne, rāp I.1 'name of the twelfth month' [16]
ram, ramt 'like, as' [3]
ramer 'quickly' [11]
rākṣatse m. (V.1) 'rakshasa', a class of demons [12]
rāp see **rapañne**
räk- (VIII,I,III) 'spread out, cover', pres. 1s *raksau*, subj. inf. *raktsi*, pret. *reksa*, pret. ptc. *reraku*, *-oṣ* [20]
räma- (VI,V,I) 'bend, bow', pres. *ramnaṃ**, subj. 3p mid. *rmantär*, pret. 3s mid. *rämāte* [10]
räskare, räskre (I.2) 'rough, bitter' [14]
rita- (VI,V,I) 'seek, cherish', pres. 3s mid. *ritanatär*, subj. (fixed initial accent) 3s mid. *ritatär*, pret. 3s mid. *ritāte*, pret. ptc. *ritau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. I mid. *prītar* [10]
ritta- (III,V,I) 'be attached to, fit, be fitting', pres. 3s mid. *rittetär*, subj. 3s mid. *rittätär*, pret. *ritta*, pret. ptc. *rittau*, *-oṣ*, ipv. 2p *prittāso*, ipv. mid. 2s *pärrittar*, 2p *pärittat*;

caus. 'connect, translate', pres./subj. *rittäṣṣäṃ*, pret. II 2s *raitāsta* [5]
rin- (IXa,I,III) 'leave, give up', mid. only, 3s mid. *rinastär*, subj. 3s mid. *rintär*, pret. 3s mid. *rintsate*, pret. ptc. *rerinu*, *-oṣ* [7]
riye f. (VI.1) 'city', obl. *ri*, nom. pl. *riñ* [3]
rutka- (VII,V,I) 'remove, take off', pres. 1s mid. *ruttankemar*, subj. (ablauting, with fixed root accent) *rautka-* ~ *rutka-*, pret. *rautka**, pret. ptc. *rutkau** [5]
rūp a. (II.2) 'shape, form, face', pl. *rupanma* [14]
rupaśke (VI.3) 'little face' [12]
re- (IXa,–,–) 'flow', pres. *reṣṣäṃ* [5]
reki a. (II.1) 'word', pl. *rekauna* [8]
rṣāke m. (V.1) 'rishi, sage' [7]
lak$_{(u)}$tse (I.1) 'shining' [10]
lakle a. (III.1) 'sorrow', pl. *-enta* [6]
lantuññe[1] (I.1) 'royal' [17]
lantuññe[2] a. (III.1) 'kingship' [18]
larekke* m. (V.1) 'dear one', voc. *larekka* [12]
larauñe a. (III.1) 'love' [7]
lal- (IXa,IV,VII) 'strive', pres. *lalaṣṣäṃ**, subj. inf. *lalyitsi*, pret. 2s *lalyasta*, pret. ptc. *lalālu*; caus. 'tire out', pres. IXb *lälāṣṣäṃ* [18]
lalaṃṣke (II.3) 'tender', nom. pl. m. *-añ* [6]
lāntsa f. (II.1) 'queen', obl. *lāntsa*, gen. *lāntsoy*, pl. *lāntsona* [8]
lāre (II.4) 'dear', pl. *-eñ* [7]
läka- (IXa/V,V,I) 'see, look', pres. *lkāṣṣäṃ*, 3s mid. *lkāstär*, V 3s mid. *lkātär*, subj. *lakaṃ*, 3s mid. *lkātär*, pret. *lyāka**, *lyakā=n*, pret. ptc. *lyelyku*, *-oṣ*. This verb also provides the present for **pälka-** (q.v.). [5]
läklessu (III) 'miserable', obl. *läklessont*, pl. *-ñc* [8]
länt- (Xa,VII,VI) 'go out', pres. *lnaṣṣäṃ*, subj. 1s *lannu*, 2s *lant*, 3s, 3p *laṃ*, pret. 1s *latau*, 2s, 3s *lac*, popular *laś* or *laiś*, 3p *lateṃ*, pret. ptc. *ltu*, *ltuweṣ*, ipv. 2p *platstso* [7]
läma- see **ṣäm-**
lika- (VI,V,I) 'wash', pres. 3s mid. *laikanatär*, subj. inf. *laikatsi*, pret. 3s mid. *laikāte*, pret. ptc. *lalaikau*, *-aṣ* [2]
lu- (–,–,I) 'rub, wipe away', pret. *lyāwa*, pret. ptc. in *lyelyuwormeṃ* [17]
luk- (VIII,II/III,III) act. 'illuminate', mid. 'light up, be illuminated', pres. *lukṣäṃ*, subj. II 3s mid. *lyuśtär* (n.b. transitive), III 3s mid. *lyuketär*, pret. *lyauksa*, 3s mid. *lauksāte*, pret. ptc. *lyelyuku*, *-oṣ* [17]
lut- (IXa,II,III) act. 'expel', mid. 'go out from, leave', pres. *l(y)utaṣṣäṃ* (initial palatalization often omitted), subj. *lyucäṃ**, pret. *lyautsa*, 3s mid. *lyutsāte** [5]
luwa- (III,V,I) 'send', pres. 3s mid. *lyewetär*, subj. *lāwaṃ**, pret. *lyuwa*, pret. ptc. *lwau**, *lwoṣ* [18]
leki m. 'bed' [20]
leṃ a. (II.2) 'monk's cell', pl. *lenma* [17]
laita- (IV,V,I) 'fall down', pres. 3s mid. *laitotär*, subj. (no ablaut, fixed accent) *laitaṃ*, pret. *laita*, pret. ptc. *lalaitau* [17]
laitalñe a. (III.1) 'falling down' [17]
loke see **lauke**
laukito m. 'stranger' [20]
lauke, loke 'away' [13]
lyak m. (V.3) 'thief', nom. pl. *lyśi*, obl. pl. *lykaṃ* [1]
lyäk- (II,II,–) 'lie', pres. *lyaśäṃ*, subj. 1s *lyakau*, opt. *lyaśi* [6]
lykaśke 'little' (II.3), pl. *-añ* [6]
wa 'nevertheless' [14]
waka- (IV,V,I) 'split apart (itr.), burst, bloom', pres. 3s mid. *wokotär**, subj. *wākaṃ*, no pret. attested, pret. ptc. *wawākau** [2]
wat 'or' [15]
wate 'second' [8]
wamer m. (I.1) 'jewel', pl. *wmera* [19]
war a. (III.1) 'water', pl. *wranta* [7]
warñai postp. + obl. 'beginning with' (translating Skt. *ādi-*) [19]
wartto a. (III.1) 'forest', pl. *wärttonta* [7]
wartse see **aurtse**
walaka- (I,–,–) 'tarry', pres. 3s mid. *woloktär* [14]
walo m. 'king', gen. sg. *lānte*, nom. pl. *lāñc*, obl. pl. *lāntäṃ* [9]
walke 'for a long time' [17]

walkeññe (I.1) 'long (of time)' [9]
walkwe m. (V.1) 'wolf' [1]
waltsa- (VI,V,I) 'grind', pres. *wāltsnaṃ*, subj. *wāltsaṃ*, pret. *wāltsa*, pret. ptc. *wawāltsau* [18]
waṣamo (II.5) substantivized adj. 'friend', pl. *-oñ* [7]
wasaṃpaṃ 'ordained' [15]
wasaṃpāt 'rite of ordination of a monk', sg. only attested [15]
wase a. (III.1) 'poison', pl. *wsenta* [6]
waste (V.1) 'refuge' [14]
wastsi, wassi a. (II.2) 'clothing, garment', pl. *wäs(t)sanma* [8]
wāki a. (II.2) 'difference', pl. *wakanma* [10]
wārṣe m. (V.1) 'thief, robber' [1]
wätka- (III,V,I) 'decide, be decided, differ', no pres. forms attested, subj. opt. 2s *wätkoyt*, pret. 1s *wätkāwa*, pret. ptc. *wätkau*, *-oṣ*; caus. 'order', pres. IXb *watkäṣṣäṃ*, pret. II *yātka* [11]
wäntare, (poetic) **wäntre** a. (I.2) 'thing, reason', pl. *wäntarwa* [8]
wäntaly(ä) 'bow', obl. only attested [1ex]
wärpa- (VI,V,I) 'enjoy, suffer', pres. *wärpanaṃ*, subj. inf. *warpatsi*, pret. 3s mid. *wärpāte*, pret. ptc. *wärpau*, *-oṣ**, ipv. 2s mid. *purpar* [15]
wärsa- (–,–,I) 'grieve', pret. *warsa* [18]
wärsañño 'name of the eleventh month' [16]
wäs-[1] (IXa,I,III) 'don, wear', all tenses mid., pres. 3s mid. *yastär**, subj. 3s mid. *wastär*, pret. 3s mid. *wässāte*, pret. ptc. *ausu*, *-oṣ* [5]
wäs-[2] (2) (IXa,IV,VII) 'dwell, live', pres. *wsaṣṣäṃ*, subj. *wṣiṃ**, pret. *wṣīya*, pret. ptc. *auṣu*, *-oṣ* [7]
wäska- (XII,V,I) 'move', pres. 3s mid. *wäskantär*, *waskantär*, ger. II *wäskalle*, pret. 3s mid. *waskāte*, pret. ptc. *wawāskau*, *-aṣ* [20]
wi m., f. 'two' [8]
wika- (III,V,I) 'disappear', pres. *wiketär*, subj. also mid. *wikātär*, pret. *wīka*, pret. ptc. *wikau**, *-oṣ* [1]
wicūko, wcūko m. (VI.3, *witsako* type) 'jaw, cheek' [4]
wina- (IXa,IXa,IV) act. 'worship, honor', mid. 'confess', pres. *winäṣṣäṃ*, subj. opt. *winäṣṣi*, pret. *winäṣṣa*, pret. ptc. *wewinaṣṣu**, *-oṣ* [5]
wiltse 'two thousand' [8]
witsako f. (VI.3, *witsako* type) 'root' [4]
wek m. 'voice', sg. only attested [12]
we-ñ- 'speak' see p. 277
wetā$_u$ (III)'fighting', gen. *wetānte*; subst. 'fighter, warrior' [15]
wene 'we two' [7]
werpiśke m. (VI.3, *śamaśke* type) 'garden' [4]
wertsiya f. (VI.3, *wertsiya* type) 'group, retinue' [4]
weśeñña, weśeñño f. (VI.3) 'voice', obl. *-ai* [13]
wes 'we', obl. *wes*, late *wesäṃ*, gen. *wesäñ*, late *wesi*, clitic *-me* [7]
waipecce a. (III.1) 'possession' [18]
waiptār, waipte, waiptāyar 'apart, in pieces' [17]
wcūko see **wicūko**
wteṃtse, wtetstse (I.1) 'second, for a second time' [18]
wra(t)tsai 'opposite' [11]
wlaṃśke (II.3) 'soft, tender' [6]
śak 'ten', gen. *śkaṃts**; subst. 'decade', pl. *śkanma*; **śak ṣe**, etc. 'eleven', etc. [8]
śak$_{(u)}$**se** m. 'brandy, spirits', no pl. attested [15]
śana f. (II.1) 'wife', obl. *śano*, gen. *śnoy*, pl. *śnona* [8]
śanmau a. (II.2) 'fetter, bond', pl. *śänmānma* [9]
śamaśke m. (VI.3, *śamaśke* type) 'child' [4]
śamñāṃśka f. (II.1) 'girl', obl. *śamñāṃśkai*, pl. *śamñāṃśkana* [20]
śariye, śarye (I.1) 'upper' [17]
śarware (I.1) 'arrogant, proud' [7]
śalnā$_u$, **śilnā**$_u$ (III) 'quarreling' [15]
śaw- (II,II,I) 'live', pres./subj. stem *śāy-* (1s *śāyau*, 3s *śaiṃ*, 1p *śayem*, 3p *śāyeṃ*), pret. (*klyauṣa* type) *śāya*, pret. ptc. *śaśāyu*, *-oṣ*. There is also a IXa present from the non-palatalized stem: *śawaṣṣäṃ* 'lives', pret. IV 3s mid. *śāwṣate* [6]

śastär m. 'knife', sg. only attested [13]
śāte (II.4) 'rich', pl. *-eñ* [7]
śātre m. 'grain' [3ex]
śāstär a. (II.2) 'regulation', pl. *śastarma* [10]
śänm- (IXb,IXb,II) 'bind, determine (rules)', pres. 3s mid. *śanmästär*, subj. *śanmäṣṣäṃ**, pret. *śānmya* (with irregular palatalization of *m*), pret. ptc. *śeśśanmu, -oṣ* [9]
śilnā$_u$ see **śalnā**$_u$
śuwa- (V,V,I) 'eat', subj. *śuwaṃ*, pret. *śāwa* (3s also *śuwa*), *śawāre*, pret. ptc. *śeśu, śeśuweṣ* [12]
śerwe m. (V.1) 'hunter' [1]
śaiṣṣe m. (V.1) 'world, people' [7]
śauk- (II,–,–) 'cry', pres. *śausäṃ* [14]
śaumo m. (II.1) 'man, person', obl. sg. *śaumoṃ*, pl. *śāmna* [12]
śaul a. (II.2) 'life', pl. *śaulanma* [8]
śaulapreñca (VI.3) 'life-bearing' [12]
śkante 'tenth' [8]
śka-maiyya (II.3) 'possessing ten strengths' [17]
ścire (II.4) 'harsh, hard', pl. *ścireñ* [7]
ścirye f. in pl. (VI.1) 'star', gender in sg. unknown, obl. pl. *ścirim* [19]
śconiye, ścono (VI.2) 'hatred; birth', obl. *ścona*i [9]
śtarte 'fourth' [8]
śtwārka 'forty' [8]
śtwer m., **śtwāra** f. 'four', gen. *śtwarāṃts** [8]
śrāy nom. pl. 'adult men', pl. only attested, obl. pl. *śrānäṃ*, gen. pl. *śrānäts* [18]
śle prep. + obl. 'with' [9]
ślok a. (II.2) 'verse', pl. *ślokanma* [8]
śwātsi a. (II.2) 'food', pl. *śwatsanma* [8]
śwelyāṅk 'food provisions' [16]
ṣañ 'own' [3]
ṣañäññe[1] (I.1) 'one's own' [19]
ṣañäññe[2] a. (III.1) 'unique character' [17]
ṣap 'more', cp. **auṣap, oṃṣap** [16]
ṣamäññe (I.1) 'of a monk' [6ex]
ṣamäne m. (V.1) 'monk' [1]
ṣar m. 'hand', du. *ṣarne*, no pl. attested [11]
ṣarm a. (II.1) 'cause', pl. *ṣarmana* [8]
ṣarmtsa 'because of, for the sake of' (+ gen. or obl.) [13]
ṣarya f. (II.1) 'lady', obl. sg. *ṣaryo* [12]
ṣale m. (V.1) 'mountain' [1]
ṣalype a. (III.1) 'oil', pl. *-enta* [6]
ṣäm- (II,suppl.V,suppl.I) 'sit', *ṣamäṃ*; subj., pret., and ipv. from **läma-**: subj. (ablauting with fixed accent) *lāmaṃ* ~ *lamaṃ*, pret. *lyama*, pret. ptc. *lmau, lmoṣ*, ipv. 2s *plāma*, 2p *plamas* [6]
ṣäl- (IXb,IXb,I) 'throw down, defeat', pres./subj. *ṣaläṣṣäṃ*, pret. *ṣālla*, pret. ptc. *ṣeṣalu*, -oṣ* [18]
ṣukt 'seven', gen. *ṣuktaṃts** [8]
ṣuktaṅka 'seventy' [8]
ṣuktante 'seventh' [8]
ṣe m., **sana** f. 'one', pl. *ṣemi* 'some' [8]
ṣem 'axle', sg. only attested [17]
ṣer f. (IV) 'sister', pl. *ṣera* [20]
ṣertwe (V.1) 'instigation' [18]
ṣerśka f. (II.1) 'little sister', pl. *ṣerśkana* [8]
ṣotri a. (II.1) 'sign', pl. *ṣotruna* [8]
ṣkas 'six', gen. *ṣkassaṃts* [8]
ṣkaska 'sixty' [8]
ṣkaste 'sixth' [8]
ṣñār 'each to his own, respectively' [18]
ṣñor (I.1) 'sinew', pl. *ṣñaura* [5]
ṣpak 'moreover, also' [8]
ṣpä 'and' (conjoins phrases and clauses, must be in second position) [1]
ṣletaś 'mountain-commander' [16]
ṣlyamo* (II.5) 'flying' [4ex]
saṃtkinau m. (VII) 'doctor' [9]
saṃsār 'cycle of rebirth, saṃsāra' [2ex]
saṅkaṣṣe (I.1) 'of the community, communal' [2]
sanu a. (II.2) 'danger', pl. *snūnma* [9]
samudtär a. (III.1) 'ocean' [5ex]
samp m., **somp** f., **tamp** n. 'that there' [8]
sampa- (IXa,V,I) 'take away', pres. 3s mid. *sompastär*, subj. inf. *sāmpatsi*, pret. 3s mid. *sampāte*, pret. ptc. *sassāmpau*, -aṣ*, ipv. 2s *psāmpar* [13]
sark 'back' [17]
saly(i)ye f. (VI.1, *riye* type) 'salt', obl. *sālyi* [3]
saswe m. (VI.4) 'lord', voc. *saswa*, obl. *säsweṃ*, pl. *säsweñ* [9]

sāṅk a. (II.2) 'saṅgha', the Buddhist monastic community, pl. *saṅkanma* [15]
sāṃ m. (V.3) 'enemy', obl. *sanaṃ*, pl. *sañi*, obl. *sananäṃ*, *sanaṃ* pl. *sañi* [18]
sätka- (III,V,I) 'spread out' itr., pres. 3p *sätkentär*, subj. in derivative of abstract *sätkālñecci*, pret. 3p *sätkāre*, pret. ptc. *sätkau** [11]
sätkauca (VI.3) 'spreader', obl. *sätkaucai* [19]
sälka- (VII,V,I) 'pull (out), show', pres. 3s mid. *slaṅktär*, subj. act. and mid. *salka-* (3s *sälkaṃ*) ~ *sälka-* (1s *salkamar*), pret. 3s mid. *sälkäte*, pret. ptc. *sälkau** [4]
sälpamo (II.5) 'burning' [18]
säly(i)ye f. (VI.2, *pyāpyo* type) 'border, rule, line' [2]
säsuwerśke (VI.3) 'little son' [13]
säsūśkañ (VI.3) 'dear sons', pl. only attested [9ex]
su m., **sāu** f., **tu** n. 'he, she, it' [4]
sucīkar 'needle case' [15]
se m., **sā** f., **te** n. 'this' [4]
seṃ m., **sāṃ** f., **teṃ** n. 'this here (of yours)' [4]
senik 'pledge'; **senik kälpa-** 'entrust' [14]
saim m. (II.2) 'refuge, protection', pl. *saimanma* [16]
soṃśke m. (VI.3) 'little son', pl. *soṃśkañ* [10]
soy m. 'son', nom.-obl. *soy*, gen. *seyi*, nom.-obl. pl. *säs(u)wa* [10]
soy- (II,II,I) 'be satisfied', pres. 2p *soycer*, subj. inf. *soytsi*, pret. 3p *soyāre*, pret. ptc. *sosoyu*, *-oṣ*; caus. pres./subj. IXb 3p *soyäskeṃ*, inf. *soyäs(t)si*, pret. IV *soy(ä)ṣṣa* [18]
sorromp 'down' (with *klāy-* 'fall') [18]
solme 'completely, at once' [18]
skaya- (VI,V,–) 'strive', pres. *skainaṃ*, subj. *skāyaṃ*, ipv. 2s *päskāya*, 2p *päskāyas* [9]
skawa- (–,V,–) 'lick', subj. inf. *skāwatsi* [12]
skära- (VI,V,I) 'scold', pres. *skarraṃ*, subj. inf. *skāratsi*, pret. 3p *skarāre*, pret. ptc. *kaskārau* [13]
skiyo f. (VI.2) 'shadow' [4]
sklok a. (II.2) 'doubt, worry', pl. *sklokanma* [17]
sklokatstse (I.1) 'worried, doubtful' [17]
stām a. (II.1) 'tree', pl. *stāna* [8]
stäma- see **käly-**
staukka- (VI,–,–) 'swell', pres. 3s mid. *staukkanatär*, pret. ptc. *stastaukkau**; caus. *staukkäṣṣäṃ* [13]
snätk- 'suffuse, spread out', pret. ptc. *snätku*, *snätkuweṣ-* [18]
snai 'without' [2]
snaitse (I.1) 'poor' [20]
spaktanīke (I.1) 'serving'; subst. 'servant' [8]
spaktāṃ a. (III.1) 'service' [18]
spantai 'confidently' [9]
spartta-, **sparta-** (IV,V,I) 'revolve, turn', pres. 3s mid. *sporttotär*, subj. (fixed accent) *spārttaṃ*, pret. *spārtta*, pret. ptc. *paspārttau*, *-aṣ* [4]
spärka- (III,V,I) 'disappear', pres. *spärketär*, subj. opt. *spärkoytär*, pret. *sparka**, pret. ptc. *spärkau*, *-oṣ* [14]
spe postposition 'near, at' [17]
spaitu 'dust, pollen', sg. only attested [18]
syelme 'sweat', sg. only attested [12]
srakantse (I.1) 'disturbed' [12]
swāre (II.4) 'sweet', pl. *-eñ* [7]
hā 'o woe!' [2]
hiśt 'phooey!' (expression of disgust) [17]
tsakātstse (I.1) 'thorny' [14]
tsarwa- (–,V,I) 'be comforted', subj. opt. 3s mid. *tsārwoytär*, pret. in pret. ptc. *tsatsārwaṣ*; caus. 'comfort', pres. *tsārwästär*, pret. IV *tsārwäṣṣate*, ipv. IV 2p *ptsārwäṣṣate* [14]
tsäk- (VIII,I/III,III) 'burn', active transitive, middle intransitive, subj. I inf. *tsaktsi*, III 3s mid. *tsketär*, pret. *tseksa**, pret. ptc. *tsetseku** [3]
tsäṅka- (III,V,I) 'get up', pres. 3s mid. *tseṅketär*, subj. *tsäṅkaṃ*, pret. *tsaṅka*, pret. ptc. *tsäṅkau* [8]
tsärk- (IXa,I,III) 'heat, burn, torture', pres. *tsärkaṣṣäṃ*, subj. *tsarkäṃ**, pret. *tsarksa**, pret. ptc. *tsetsarku*, *-oṣ* [5]

tsälpa- (III,V,I) 'pass away, be released (from the cycle of rebirth)', pres. 3s mid. *tsälpetär*, subj. 3s. mid. *tsälpātär*, pret. *tsālpa*, pret. ptc. *tsälpau*, *-oṣ*; caus. 'redeem, free', pres./subj. IXb *tsalpäṣṣäṃ*, pret. II 3s mid. *tsyālpate*, ipv. II 2s mid. *pätsilpar*, IV 2s mid. *tsalpäṣṣar* [2]

tsälpālñe a. (III.1) 'release' [2ex]

tsälpelñe a. (III.1) 'release', i.e. from the cycle of rebirth [2ex]

tsirauñe a. (III.1) 'energy' [19]

tsirauññetstse (I.1) 'brave' [1ex]

tsuwa- (III,V,I) 'attach oneself to', pres. 3s mid. *tswetär*, no subj. attested, pret. 3s *tsuwa*, pret. ptc. *tsuwau* [4]

tsoṅkaik(o) 'in the morning' [17]

tsop- (I,–,–) 'strike', poke', pres. *tsopäṃ* [14]

English–Tocharian B Vocabulary

The student should refer to the Tocharian B–English Vocabulary for full information.

(be) able *cämp-*, *yata-*
account *keś*
achieve *yänma-*
adhere *treṅk-*
adult men *śrāy*
advantage *pruccamñe*
after adv. and postp. *ompostäṃ*
again *näno(k)*
agreement *plāki*
alcohol *mot*
all *po*
all-knowing *poyśi*
alms *yāṣṣu*
also *ra*, *rano*
and *ṣpä*; *wai*
anger *tremi*
annoy *krasa-*
apart *waiptār*, *waipte*, *waiptāyar*
(be) apparent *pākri nes-*
appear *pälk-*
arhat *aṣanike*
arise *plätk-*, *tsäṅk-*
arm *poko**
arrogant *śarware*
art *amok*
artist *amoktse*
as *mäkte*
ask *präk-*
as many *kos*
as much *kos*
aspire *yu-*
at *spe*
at any rate *ra tsak*
at night *käst(u)wer*
at once *solme*
at the most *postaññe*
(be) attached *ritta-*
attach oneself to *tsuwa-*
away *ate*; *lauke*, *loke*; *päst* (archaic *pest*)
axle *ṣem*
back (of the body) *sark*
back (adv.) *aṣkār*
back and forth *orkäntai*
bad *yolo*; *pakwāre*
band *meske*
barley *yap*
base (adj.) *ainäke*
bashfulness *kwipassorñe*
bathe *nask-*
be *nes-*; *mäska-*; *spart(t)a-*
bear *täll-*
because *mäkte*
because of *ṣarmtsa* (postp.)
become *klautk(a)-*
become a monk *ostameṃ lantsi*
bed *leki*
before *nauṣ* (adv.); *enepre* (postp.)
beg *yask-*, *präk-*
beget caus. of *täm-*
begin *aun-* mid.
beginning with *warñai*
behave *spart(t)a-*
believing *takarṣke*
belly *kātso*
bend *räma-*
bile *pit*
bind *śänm-*
bit by bit *ike-postäṃ*
bitter *räskare*
blame *nāki* (n.); *nak-* (v.)
blood *yasar*
bloom *wak(a)-*
boat *olyiye**
boatman *olyit(t)au*
bond *śanmau*
bone *āyo*
border *säly(i)ye*
(be) born *täm-*
both *antapi*
bovine *kewiye*
bow (v.) *räma-*
bow (weapon) *wäntaly(ä)* obl.
brandy *śak$_{(u)}$se*
brave *tsirauññetstse*
break *kauta-*
breasts *päścane*
brilliant *perne$_u$*
bring *käla-*
broad *aurtse*, *wartse*
brother *procer*
Buddha *pūdñäkte* (poetic); *pañäkte* (prose)
burden *perpente*
burn *tsärk-*; *tsäk-*
burning *sälpamo*
burst *waka-*
but *no*; *rano*
buy *kärya-*
by no means *mā . . . nta*
call *kwa-/kaka-*
capable *cämpamo*
(be) capable *yata-*
care *meṃtsi*
carefully *anaiśai*
carry *pär-*; *täll-*

cause *ṣarm* (n.); *er-* (v.)
chair *pir*
chaste *kwipassu*
cheek *w(i)cūko*
cherish (a wish) *rita-*
child *śamaśke*
clear *pākri*; *takarṣke*
(be) clear *pākri nes-*
cling *treṅk-*
clothing *was(t)si*
cold *krośce*
come *käm-*
come about *kän-*
come to extinction *käs-*
(be) comforted *tsarwa-*
commander *tāś*
common *ainäke*; *kärp(i)ye*
commoner *kärp(i)ye*
compassion *karuṃ*
compassionate *āñmāla(ṃ)ṣke*, *āñmālarṣke*
completely *päst*; *solme*
condition *avasth*
confess *wina-* mid.
confidently *spantai*
confuse *käska-*
(be) confused *trika-*
confusion *traike*
connect caus. of *ritta-*
connection *meske*
conquer *yuk-*
consciousness *ime*
consider *pläska-*
cook *päk-*
couch *mañcāk*
course *kwarsär*
cover *räk-*
cross (v.) *kätka-*
crown of head *tarne*
cry *śauk-*
custom *yakne*
cut off *krästa-*
cycle of rebirth *saṃsär*
dad *appakke*; *āppa* voc.
danger *ñyätse*; *sanu*
dangerous *empel(y)e*
daughter *tkācer*
day *kauṃ*
dear *lāre*
dear one *larekke*
decide *wätka-*
(be) decided *wätka-*
decision *pratiṃ*
declare *aks-*
decline *kula-*
deed *yāmor*
deep *kätkare*
(of) deep meaning *kätkrārtho*
defeat *säla-*
demand *ñäsk-*
descend *karpa-*
desire *yokiye*, *yoko* (n.); *kawa-* (v.)
desist *tärka-*
destroy *krästa-*; *kau-*; *näk-*; *taksa-*
(be) destroyed *näk-* mid.; *nauta-*
-destroying *-nakṣi*
determine (rules) *śänm-*
develop *plätk-*
differ *wätka-*
difference *wāki*
difficult *amāskai*
dig *rapa-*
digestion *puwar*
dignity *perne*
direction *kälymiye*
dirt *krāke*
disappear *spärka-*; *kula-*; *näk-* mid.; *wik(a)-*
disrespect *maṣṣāt*
disturbance *kleś*
disturbed *srakantse*
(be) disturbed *krämpa-*
divide *putka-*
do *yam-*
doctor *saṃtkinau*
don *wäs-*
donkey *kercapo*
door-keeper *plaktukäñña*
doubt *sklok*
doubtful *sklokatstse*
down *ette*; *sorromp* (with *klāy-* 'fall')
downward *maṃtstsaś*
drag *yärtta-*
drink (v.) *yok-*
dry out *asa-*
dust *spaitu*
duty *aikne*
each to his own *ṣñār*
earlier *nauṣ*
earth *(t)keṃ*
eat *śuwa-*
effect *oko*
eight *okt*
eightfold *oktatstse*
eighth *oktante*
eighty *oktaṅka*
elephant *oṅkolmo* (m.); *oṅkolma* (f.)
eleven *śak ṣe*
eleventh month *wärsañña*
emergency *ñyätse*
empty *aikare*
end *āke*
endure *käl-*
enemy *sāṃ*
energy *tsirauñe*
enjoy *wärpa-*
enslaved person *mañiye*
enter *yäp-*
entrust *senik kälpa-*
equine *yäkweñña*
escape *mlutka-*
esteem (n.) *ynāñm(ä)ñña*
even *raṇo*
ever anew *eñwetstse*
evil *yolo*
excellent *olyartse*
exhausted *träntätstse*
expel *lut-* act.
extinguish *käs-*
face *rūp*
fall (down) *klaya-*; *laita-*
falling down *laitalñe*
false *yolo*
falsehood *mithyadṛṣṭi*

farmer *kārṣake*
fast (= fixed) *prākre*
father *pācer*
fear *proskiye, prosko* (n.); *präska-* (v.)
feebleness *īlārñe*
feeling *eṅkäl*
fetter *śanmau*
field *mīṣe*
fifth *piṅkte*
fifty *p(i)śāka*
fighter *wetā$_u$*
fighting *wetā$_u$*
(be) filled *prutka-*
final end *mäktauñe*
finally *postaññe*
fire *puwar*
firm *prākre*
first *pärweṣṣe*
first month *naimañe*
fit, be fitting *ritta-*
five *piś*
five hundred *piśkänte*
flatter *pauta-*
flow *re-*
flower *pyāpyo*
flying *ṣlyamo**
food *śwātsi*
food provisions *śwelyāṅk*
foolish *aknātsa*
for *epiṅkte, epiṅte* (postp.)
for a long time *walke*
for a second time *wteṃtse, wtetstse*
for the sake of *ṣarmtsa*
for this reason *tusāksa*
for X's sake *pernesa*
forehead *ānte*
foreign *aletstse*
forest *wartto*
forget *märsa-*
form *erepate; ersna; rūp*
forty *śtwārka*
four *śtwer*
fourth *śtarte*
friend *waṣamo*
fruit *oko*
full *ite*
garden *werpiśke*
garland *pässak(w)*
generate caus. of *täm-*
get up *tsäṅka-*
gift *ailñe*
girl *śamñāṃśka*
give *ai-*
give up *rin-*
giving *ailñe; āyor*
glorious *perne$_u$*
glory *perne*
go *i-*
go out from *lut-* mid.
god *ñakte*
gold *yasa*
good *kartse*
grain *tāno; śātre; āka*
great *orotstse*
greed *entse*
grieve *wärsa-*
grind *waltsa-*
group *wertsiya*
grow *auks-*
grow old *kura-*
guard *pask-*
hand *ṣar*
hard *ścire*
harm *mi-*
harsh *ścire*
hatred *śconiye, ścono*
he, she, it *su, sā$_u$* f., *tu* n.
head *āśce*
hear *klyaus-*
heart *arañce*
heat *emalya* (n.): *tsärk-* (v.)
hell *nrai*
here *tane, tne*
hero *etre*
hesitation *nerke*
hey! *bho; yśe*
hide *tuk(a)-*
high *kauc, kauś, koś*
hindered *krämpa-*
hit *aun-*
hither *ecce*
hold off *nätka-*
honor *yarke*
horse *yakwe*
hostile *erkatte*
house *ost*
householder *osta-ṣmeñca*
how? *mäkte*
how many *kos*
how much *kos*
human being *onolme*
hundred *kante*
hunger *kest*
hunter *śerwe*
I *ñäś, ñiś*
if *kwri*
illuminate *luk-*
(be) illuminated *luk-*
ill will *meṃtsñe*
immortal *on(u)wañne*
immortality *on(u)wañne*
in a common way *kärpye-yakne*
in a friendly fashion *yṣwarka, iṣwarka*
inconstancy *mā-ṣekaṃñe*
indeed *ats, a(t)tsaik; mai*
indignation *erkattämñe*
in front *nauṣ*
inheritance *ailñe*
in pieces *waiptār, waipte, waiptāyar*
insatiableness *ontsoytñe*
instigation *ṣertwe*
intend *päka-*
in the middle *ywarśkāññe*
in the morning *tsoṅkaik(o)*
in the power of *ekalymi*
in this way *maṃt, mant; taiknesa; tuyknesa*
intoxicating drink *mālo*
intoxication *trikelye*
investigate *klep-*
invitation *kāko*
invite *kwa-/kaka-*
(of) iron *eñcuwañne*
island *preṅke*
isn't it? *nai*

"it's not the case... is it?", "it is the case, isn't it?" *mapi*
line *säly(i)ye*
jaw *w(i)cūko*
jewel *naumiye*; *wamer*
jewelry *prāpmahur*
joy *katkauña*
kill *kau-*
king *walo*
kingship *lantuññe*
kleśa *kleś*
knee *keni*
knife *yepe*
know *aik-*; *kärsa-*
(of) Kuča *k_uśiññe*
lady *ṣarya*
lament *kwäsa-*; *pläwa-*
(of) lamentation *kwasalñeṣṣe*
lamp *cok*
land *yapoy*
lap *cańke*
last *postaññe* (adj.); *käly-* (v.)
last resort *mäktauñe*
laugh *kery-*
law *pele*; *pelaikne*
lay servant of Buddhist community *kapyāre*
lead (v.) *ak-*; *käla-*
league *kwarsär*
learned *uwe*
learning *aklyilñe*
leave *lut-* mid.; *rin-*
less than 20 years old *meńki-īkäṃ-pikwalaṃñe*
let go *tärka-*
letter (= epistle) *parso*
lick *skawa-*
lie (= recline) *lyäk-*
life *śaul*
life-bearing *śaulapreńca*
lift up *täl-*
ligaments *passoñ*
light up (itr.) *luk-*
like (prtc.) *ra*
-like *-yok*
limp *ylāre*
listen *klyaus-*
little *lykaśke*; *yekte*
(a) little *totka*
little face *rupaśke*
little sister *ṣerśka*
little son *säsuwerśke*; *soṃśke*
live (v.) *śaw-*
(be) located *mäska-*
long *pärkare*; (of time) *walkeññe*
look *pilko* (n.); *läka-* (v.)
lord *saswe*
(be) lost *nauta-*
love *larauñe*; *tańkw*
lovely *cäñcare, ciñcare*
low (= common) *kärp(i)ye*
make *yam-*
make clear *pākri yam-*
male *eńkwaññe*
mama *ammakki*
man *śaumo*
mandala *maṇḍāl*
masculine *eńkwaññe*
master *upādhyāye*
maybe (in questions) *mai*
mean (= common) *ainäke*
measure *yarm*
measure made up of 10 *tau cāk*
meat *mīsa*
meditation *ompalskoññe*
memory *ime, epiyac*
merciful *āñmāla(ṃ)ṣke, āñmālarṣke*
millet *āka*
miserable *läklessu*
(be) mixed with *triwa-*
modesty *kwipassorñe*; *yase*
monk *ṣamāne*; (heretical) *nigranthe*; become a monk *ostameṃ lantsi*
(of a) monk *ṣamāññe*
monk's cell *leṃ*
month *meñe*
moral behavior *papāṣṣorñe*
more *olya*; *oly(a)po*; *olya-potstse, olypotse*; *auṣap, ṣap, oṃṣap*
moreover *ṣpak*
mother *mācer*
mountain *ṣale* m.
mountain-commander *ṣletaś*
mouth *koyṃ*
move *waska-*
much *olyapotstse, olypotse*
myriad *kor, koṭ*
name *ñem*
near *spe*
needle case *sucīkar*
neither ... nor *mā ... mā ra*
never *manta(k)*
new *ñuwe*
night *yṣiye*
nine *ñu*
nine thousand *ñultse*
ninety *ñumka*
ninth *ñunte*
nirvana *nervāṃ*
noble *klyomo*
novice *ñwetstse*
now *ñake*
number *keś*
nun *aśiya*
(be) obliged *klin-*
observe *pask-*
obtain *kälpa-*
obvious *pākri*
occur *kän-*
ocean *samudtär*
oil *ṣalype*
old age *ktsaits(ä)ññe*
one *ṣe*
one another *ālyauce, ālyewce*
one's own *ṣañäññe*
one thousand *yaltse*
on this occasion *tanneṃ*
opposite *wra(t)tsai*
or *wat*; *epe wat*
ordained *wasaṃpaṃ*
order *yaitkor*
ought to *arc-äññ-*

outside *parna, parra*
overcome *yuk-*
overflow *plätk-*
own *ṣañ*
o woe! *hä*
ox *okso*
paint *pika-*
palace *kerccī*
palm (of the hand) *alyiye*
part *pāke*
passion *eṅkäl*
path *kwarsär; yoñiya*
period (of time) *kālp*
permission *plāki*
person *śaumo*
personal *añmaṣṣe; pudgalyik*
phooey *hiśt*
pious *takarṣke*
place *īke* (n.); *ta-* (v.)
pleasant *ayāto*
please (interj.) *pi*
(be) pleased with *artta-*
pledge *senik*
plowman *kārṣake*
poison *wase*
poke *tsop-*
pollen *spaitu*
pony *yäkwaṣke*
pool *kaumiye*
poor *snaitse*
possessing ten strengths *ska-maiyya*
possession *ek(añ)ñi; waipecce*
powerful *cämpamñetstse*
praise (v.) *artt(a)-; pälа-*
prince *mñcuṣke*
prison *pele*
privately *alokälymi*
profit *pärkā$_u$*
protection *saim*
proud *śarware*
pull (out) *sälka-*
pundit *aiśaumye*
pure *astare*
purity *astarñe*
push away *nätka-*
put *ta-*
put on, put (obl.) into (obl.) *mälka-*
quarreling *śalnā$_u$*
queen *lāntsa*
quickly *ramer*
quietly *ām*
quinquennial Buddhist festival *pañcwarṣik*
rakshasa *rākṣatse*
rank *perne*
rather than *oly(a)po*
reach *kälpa-; yänma-*
ready *ārwer*
real *yneś*
really *yneś*
reason *wäntare*
reckoning *keś*
recognize *aik-*
red *ratre*
(of) reed *kärwāṣṣe*
refuge *waste, saim*
regnal year *kṣ(u)n*
regulation *śāstär*
rejoice *katk-; plant(a)-*
release (from rebirth) *tsälpälñe, tsälpelñe*
religious service *yarpo*
rely on *päkw-*
remove *rutka-*
require *ñäsk-*
respect *pask-*
respectful address *yärṣalñe, yirṣalñe*
respectively *ṣñār*
restrain *ala-*
retinue *wertsiya*
reverse (of a page) *aṣkär*
rich *śāte*
riding in a chariot *kokaletstse*
ripen *päk-*
rise *musa-*; (of the sun) *pärka-*
rite of ordination of a monk *wasaṃpāt*
river *cake*
roar *nuw(a)-*
robber *wārṣe; cowaitstse*
robbery *cowai*
robbing (adj.) *cowaitstse*
rocky *kärweñäṣṣe*
root *witsako*
rough *räskare*
royal *lantuññe*
rub *lu-*
rule (n.) *kālp; säly(i)ye*
ruler *kamartīke*
run *mäka-*
(be for) sale *pläṅka-*
sacrifice *telki*
salt *salyiye*
sandhi *meske*
(be) satisfied *soy-*
scabbard (?) *oṅkor*
scatter (to destruction) *käska-*
scold *skära-*
scornful *erkatte*
seat *asāṃ*
second *wate; wteṃtse, wtetstse*
section *meske*
see *läka-; pälka-*
seed *tāno*
seek *ñäsk-; rita-*
seek refuge in *tuk(a)-*
seize *eṅk-*
self *āñme*; (intensive pron.) *makte*
send *luwa-*
separate *putka-*
servant *spaktanīke, mañiye*
service *spaktāṃ*
serving *spaktanīke*
sesame *kuñcit*
seven *ṣukt*
seventh *ṣuktante*
seventy *ṣuktaṅka*
shadow *skiyo*
shallow *tparṣke*
shame *kwipe; yase*
shameful *kwipassu*

shape *rūp*
shine *pälk-*
shining *pälkamo*; *pärsāntse*; *lak$_{(u)}$tse*
shoot (an arrow) *kärsk-*
shoulder *āntse*
shoulder-yoke *pyorye*
show *sälka-*
(be) shut *prutka-*
sickness *teki*
sign *ṣotri*
simile *menāk*
sin *traṅko*
since *kwri*
sinew *ṣñor*
sister *ṣer*
sit *ṣäm-*
six *ṣkas*
sixth *ṣkaste*
sixty *ṣkaska*
skull *tarne*
sleep *kläntsa-*
snake(-divinity) *nāge*
so *maṃt*, *mant*; *tot*
soft *wlaṃśke*
some *ksa*; *ṣemi* pl. of *ṣe* one
sorrow *lakle*; *māṃtsalyñe*, *meṃtsi*
sow (seed) *käta-*
spectacular *pärsāntse*
spirits *śak$_{(u)}$se*
split *kauta-*
split apart (itr.) *wak(a)-*
spoke (of a wheel) *puwe**
spread out *räk-*; (itr.) *sätka-*; *snätk-*
spreader *sätkauca*
sprinkle *pärsa-*; *pränts-* act. tr.
stand *kälу-*
star *ścirye*
state *avasth*
status *perne*
still *ykāk*
stranger *laukito*
strength *maiyya*
stretch *pänn-*
strew *käta-*
strike *tsop-*
strive *lal-*; *skaya-*
student *akalṣalle*
suffer *wärpa-*
suffering *tallā$_u$*
suffuse *snätk-*
suitable *ayāto*
summit *mrāce*
sun *kauṃ*
superior *olyartse*
surely *nemcek*
surface (n.) *ānte*
(be) surfeited *mrauska-*
sweat *syelme*
swell *staukka-*
swim *nask-*
sword *kertte*
syllable *akṣār*
take *eṅk-*; *pär-*
take account of *keś ta-*, *ak-*
take away *sampa-*
take off *rutka-*
tarry *walaka-*
teach *aks-*
teacher *käṣṣī*
(of a) teacher *käṣṣīññe*
tears *akrūna*
ten *śak*
tender *lalaṃṣke*; *wlaṃśke*
ten liters *tau*, *towä*
tenth *śkante*
terrible *empel(y)e*
that there *samp*
then *ṅke*; *ot*; *om*; *tumeṃ*
there *om*; *omte*
therefore *tumeṃ*; *tusāksa*
thereupon *tu yparwe*
thief *lyak*; *wārṣe*
thing *wäntare*
third *trite*
thirst *yokiye*, *yoko*
thirty *täryāka*
this *se*
this here (of yours) *seṃ*
thorny *tsakātstse*
thought *ime*; *palskalñe*; *palsko*
thoughtful *ymassu*
three *tray*, *trey*
three pieces of clothing of a Buddhist monk *trīcīwär*
throne *asāṃ*
throw *kärsk-*
throw down *säla-*
thus *taiysu*
tiger *mewiyo*
tigress *mewiya*
time *preke*; *preściya*, *preśyo*
tire out *lal-* caus.
(be) tired out *mrauska-*
together *eṣe* (prep./postp.); *ysomo* (adv.)
tongue *kantwo*
tooth *keme*
top *mrāce*
torture *pälśalñe* (n.); *tsärk-* (v.)
touch (v.) *klep-*
travel in a vehicle *iya-*
treat badly *erkatte yam-*
treatment *kālp*
tree *stām*
tremble *miwa-*
trust *päkw-*
tune *kene*
turn *spart(t)a-*; (itr.) *klutka-*, *klautk(a)-*
turn towards *yu-*
twelfth month *rapañne*, *rāp*
twenty *ikäṃ*
two *wi*
two thousand *wiltse*
understand *eṅk-*
unhindered *etaṅkätte*
unique character *ṣañäñne*
uninvited *amplākätte*
unpleasant *anaiwatse*
upper *śar(i)ye*
upper skin *yetse*
up to and including *täṅktsi* (postp.)
upward *kauc*, *kauś*, *koś*

utter *tärka-*
verse *ślok*
very *ololyesa*; *olyapotstse*, *olypotse*
village *kwaṣo** or *kuṣiye**
virtue *krentauna*
virtuous *krentaunattse*
voice *wek*; *weśeññа*, *weśeññо*
warrior *wetā*$_u$
wash *lika-*
water *war*
way *yakne*; *ymiye*
we *wes* (pl.); *wene* (du.)
weak *yekte*
wear *wäs-*; *pär-*
wheat *ysāre*
wheel *yerkwanto**
when *ente*
whenever *ente*
where *ente*
whether ... or *epe* ... *epe*
who, what *k*$_u$*se*; *mäksu*
why? *kā*
wife *śana*
win *yuk-*
wipe away *lu-*
wise *aiśamo*
wise person *aiśaumye*
wish (n.) *akālk*; *āñme*
with *śle*
with ears pricked *klausa-pilṣi*
within *epiṅ(k)te*
with little effort *yäkte-skeyeṃ*
without *snai*
without orders *amplākätte*
wolf *walkwe*
woman *kliye*
womb *kātso*
wonder *raddhi*
wonderful *ākteke*, *āktike*
wonderfully *āktikesa*
wood *or*
word *reki*; *plāce*
worried *sklokatstse*
worry *meṃtsñe*; *sklok*
worship *wina-*
worth *perne*
worthy *aṣāṃ*
worthy one *aṣanike*
wound *aun-*
write *pika-*
year *pikul*
yet *yak*
you *twe* (sg.); *yene* (du.); *yes* (pl.)
young man *malyake*
young person *maiwe*

Appendix: Paradigms

NOUNS

Secondary Case Endings

Ablative	*-meṃ*
Allative	*-ś(cä)*
Perlative	*-sa*
Locative	*-ne*
Comitative	*-mpa*
Causal	*-ñ(ä)*

Class I.1 (plurals in *-(C)a*): *pikul* f. 'year', *luwo* a. 'animal'

sg.	nom.	*pikul*	*luwo*
	obl.	*pikul*	*luwa*
	gen.	*pikulntse*	*luwāntse*
pl.	nom.	*pikwala*	*lwāsa*
	obl.	*pikwala*	*lwāsa*
	gen.	*pikwalaṃts*	*lwasāṃts*

So also *camel* a. 'birth', pl. *cmela*; *puwar* a. 'fire', gen. *pwārntse*, pl. *pwāra*; *yasar* a. 'blood', pl. *ysāra*; *wamer* m. 'jewel', pl. *wmera*; *ṣñor* 'sinew', pl. *ṣñaura*; and the pluralia tantum *āka* f. 'kind of grain' and *mīsa* f. 'meat'.

Class I.2 (plurals in *-wa*): *ost* a. 'house'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*ost*	*ost(u)wa*
obl.	*ost*	*ost(u)wa*
gen.	*ostantse*	*ostwaṃts*

So also *eṅkäl* a. 'feeling', pl. *eṅkalwa*; *or* a. 'wood', pl. *ārwa*; *koyṃ* a. 'mouth', pl. *koynuwa*; *kwarsär* m. 'mile', pl. *kwärsarwa*, *kursarwa*; *wäntare* a. 'thing', pl. *wäntarwa*.

Class II.1 (plurals in *-na*): *ñem* a. 'name', *ṣarm* a. 'cause', *stām* a. 'tree'

sg.	nom.	*ñem*	*ṣarm*	*stām*
	obl.	*ñem*	*ṣarm*	*stām*
	gen.	*ñemantse**	*ṣärmantse*	*stamantse*
pl.	nom.	*ñemna*	*ṣärmana*	*stāna*
	obl.	*ñemna*	*ṣärmana*	*stāna*
	gen.	*ñemnaṃts*	*ṣärmanaṃts*	*stanāṃts*

So also plurale tantum *ersna* f. 'form'.

Class II.1 (subclass: feminines with nom. sg. *-a*): *aśiya* f. 'nun'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*aśiya*	*aśiyana*
obl.	*aśiyai*	*aśiyana*
gen.	*aśiyantse*	*aśiyanaṃts*

So also *ṣerśka* f. 'little sister', pl. *ṣerśkana*; *plaktukäññna* f. 'door-keeper', obl. *plaktukäññai*; *śamñāṃśka* f. 'girl', obl. *śamñāṃśkai*, pl. *śamñāṃśkana*.

Class II.1 (subclass: with *u* or *u*-diphthong before the ending *-na*): *yapoy* 'land'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*yapoy*	*ypauna*
obl.	*yapoy*	*ypauna*
gen.	*ypoyntse*	*ypaunaṃts*

So also *ākär**, 'tear', pl. *akrūna*; *reki* a. 'word', pl. *rekauna*; *ṣotri* a. 'sign' pl. *ṣotruna*; and the plurale tantum *krentauna* f. 'virtues'.

Class II.1 (irregular): *kliye* f. 'woman', *śana* f. 'wife', *lāntsa* f. 'queen', *śaumo* m. 'man'

sg.	nom.	*kliye*, later *klyiye*	*śana*	*lāntsa*	*śaumo*
	obl.	*klaiṃ*, later *klaiñ*	*śano*	*lāntso*	*śaumoṃ*
	gen.	*klaiñantse*	*śnoy*	*lāntsoy*	*śaumontse*
pl.	nom.	*klaina*	*śnona*	*lantsona*	*śāmna*
	obl.	*klaina*	*śnona*	*lantsona*	*śāmna*
	gen.	*klainaṃts*	*śnonaṃts**	*lantsonaṃts**	*śāmnaṃts*

Like *śana* is *ṣarya* f. 'lady', obl. sg. *ṣaryo*.

Class II.2 (plurals in *-nma*; all alternantia): *śaul* 'life', *teki* 'sickness'

sg.	nom.	*śaul*	*teki*
	obl.	*śaul*	*tekintse**
	gen.	*śaulantse*	
pl.	nom.	*śaulanma*	*tekanma*
	obl.	*śaulanma*	*tekanma*
	gen.	*śaulanmaṃts*	*tekanmaṃts*

Like *śaul* are: *cok* 'lamp'; *ślok* 'verse'; *saim* m. 'refuge'; *sklok* 'doubt'; *kor/koṭ* 'a myriad' pl. *koranma*. Cf. also *akṣār* 'syllable', pl. *akṣaranma* (also III *akṣāränta*); *kālp* 'period of time', pl. *kalpanma*; *cāk* 'unit of measure', pl. *cakanma*; *yarm* 'measure'; *rūp* 'shape' pl. *rupanma*; *leṃ* 'monk's cell', pl. *lenma*; *śāstär* 'regulation', pl. *śastarma*; *sāṅk* 'saṅgha', pl. *saṅkanma*.

Like *teki* are: *telki* 'sacrifice', pl. *telkanma*; *nāki* 'blame', pl. *nakanma*; *plāki* 'agreement'; *raddhi* 'wonder'; *was(t)si* 'clothing', pl. *wässanma*; *wāki* 'difference', pl. *wakanma*; *śwātsi* 'food', pl. *śwatsanma*.

With other vocalic finals: *kante* '100' (as a subst.), pl. *käntenma*; *śanmau* 'fetter', 'bond', pl. *śänmānma*; *sanu* 'danger', pl. *snūnma*.

Class III.1 (plurals in *-nta* other than *-enta*): *oko* a. 'fruit', *war* a. 'water'

sg.	nom.	*oko*	*war*
	obl.	*oko*	*war*
	gen.	*okontse*	*wrantse*
pl.	nom.	*okonta*	*wranta*
	obl.	*okonta*	*wranta*
	gen.	*okontaṃts**	*wrantaṃts**

So also, with vocalic final: *kāko* a. 'invitation', pl. *kakonta*; *traṅko* a. 'sin', pl. *träṅkonta*; *parso** a. 'letter', pl. *pärsonta*; *palsko* a. 'thought', pl. *pälskonta*; *pilko* a. 'look', pl. *pilkonta*; *yarpo* a. 'religious service', pl. *yärponta*; *wartto* a. 'forest', pl. *wärttonta*; *ek(añ)ñi* a. 'possession', pl. *ekñinta*; *käṣṣī* m. 'teacher', pl. *käṣṣīnta*; *pratiṃ* a. 'decision', pl. *pratinta*; *nrai* a. 'hell', pl. *nrainta*. Irregular: *mñcuṣke* m. 'prince', pl. *mcuṣkanta*.

With consonantal final: *āyor* a. 'giving' pl. *āyornta*; *yāmor* a. 'deed', pl. *yāmornta*; *akālk* a. 'wish', pl. *akālkänta*; *amok* 'art', pl. *amokänta*; *asāṃ* a. 'throne', pl. *asānänta*; *pärkā*$_u$ a. 'profit', pl. *pärkāwänta*; *pässak(w)* a. 'garland', pl. *pässakänta*; *samudtär* a. 'ocean'; *spaktāṃ* a. 'service'.

Class III.1 (plurals in *-enta*): *yarke* a. 'honor'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*yarke*	*yärkenta*
obl.	*yarke*	*yärkenta*
gen.	*yärkentse**	*yärkentaṃts**

So also (alternantia unless otherwise marked): *astarñe* 'purity'; *āke* 'end', pl. *akenta*; *īke* 'place', pl. *ykenta*; *īlārñe* 'feebleness'; *erepate* 'form'; *erkattämñe* 'indignation'; *ontsoytñe* 'insatiableness'; *ompalskoññe* 'meditation'; *krāke* 'dirt', pl. *krakenta*; *kwipassorñe* 'bashfulness'; *ktsaits(ä)ññe* 'old age'; *cake* 'river', pl. *ckenta*; *ñ(y)ātse* 'danger', pl. *ñ(y)atsenta*; *naumiye* 'jewel'; *palskalñe* 'thought' (pl. also V.1 *palskalñi*); *pāke* 'part', pl. *pakenta*; *papāṣṣorñe* 'moral behavior'; *pälśalñe* 'torture'; *puwe** f. 'spoke (of a wheel)', pl. *pwenta*; *pelaikne* 'law' (pl. also V.1 *pelaikni*); *pruccamñe* 'advantage'; *māṃtsalyñe* 'sorrow' (singular only attested); *mäktauñe* 'final end'; *mīṣe* 'field', pl. *miṣenta*; *ynāñm(ä)ññe* 'esteem'; *lakle* 'sorrow', pl. *läklenta*; *lantuññe* 'kingship'; *larauñe* 'love'; *wase* 'poison', pl. *wsenta*; *waipecce* 'possession'; *ṣañäññe* 'unique character'; *ṣalype* 'oil', pl. *ṣälypenta*; *tsälpelñe* 'release'; *tsälpälñe* 'freedom'; *tsirauñe* 'energy'.

Class IV: *pācer* 'father', *mācer* 'mother', *procer* 'brother', *tkācer* 'daughter'

sg.	nom.	*pācer*	*mācer*	*procer*	*tkācer*
	obl.	*pātär*	*mātär*	*protär*	*tkātär*
	gen.	*pātri*	*mātri*	*protri*	*tkātri**
pl.	nom.-obl.	*pacera, pātärñ*	*macera*	*procera*	*tkacera, tkātärñ*
	gen.	*pātärnts(o)*		*protärñts*	*tkātärts*

So also *ṣer* f. 'sister', pl. *ṣera*.

Class V.1 (nom. pl. in *-i*): *eṅkwe* 'man', *yakwe* 'horse'

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
nom.	*eṅkwe*	*eṅkwi**	*yakwe*	*yakwi*
obl.	*eṅkweṃ*	*eṅkweṃ*	*yakwe*	*yakweṃ*
gen.	*eṅkwentse*	*eṅkweṃts**	*yäkwentse**	*yakweṃts*
abl.	*eṅkweṃmeṃ**	*eṅkweṃmeṃ**	*yäkwemeṃ**	*yäkweṃmeṃ**
all.	*eṅkweṃś(c)**	*eṅkweṃś(c)**	*yakweś(c)*	*yakweṃś(c)**
perl.	*eṅkwentsa**	*eṅkwentsa**	*yakwesa**	*yakwentsa**
loc.	*eṅkweṃne*	*eṅkweṃne**	*yakwene*	*yakweṃne**
com.	*eṅkweṃmpa*	*eṅkweṃmpa**	*yakwempa*	*yakweṃmpa**

Belonging to the *eṅkwe* type are: *appakke* m. 'dad'; *upādhyāye* m. 'master', voc. *upādhyāya*; *etre* m. 'hero'; *onolme* m. 'human being'; *kapyāre* m. 'lay servant of Buddhist community'; *kamartīke* m. 'ruler'; *kārṣake* m. 'farmer'; *nigranthe* m. 'heretical monk'; *brāhmaṇe* m. 'brahman'; *ṛṣāke* m. 'rishi'; *wārṣe* m. 'thief'; *śerwe* m. 'hunter'; *ṣamāne* m. 'monk'.

Belonging to the *yakwe* type are: *āntse* m. 'shoulder'; *ime* m. 'thought', gen. sg. *ymentse*; *aikne* 'duty'; *kene* m. 'tune'; *keme* m. 'tooth'; *kerrcī* 'palace', plurale tantum, obl. pl. *kerrciyeṃ*; *kertte* 'sword', nom. pl. *kercci*, obl. pl. *kertteṃ*; *kraupe* m. 'heap';

ñakte m. 'god'; *tremi* 'anger', plurale tantum, obl. *trememṃ*; *traike* m. 'confusion'; *nāge* m. 'snake(-divinity)'; *pañäkte* m. 'Buddha-god'; *pūdñäkte* m. 'the Buddha'; *preke* m. 'time'; *preṅke* m. 'island'; *prere* m. 'arrow'; *mañiye* m. 'enslaved person'; *meske* m. 'connection'; *yakne* m. 'way'; *rākṣatse* m. 'rakshasa'; *larekke** m. 'dear one', voc. *larekka*; *walkwe* m. 'wolf'; *waste* 'refuge'; *ṣale* m. 'mountain'; *ṣertwe* 'instigation'.

Class V.2 (nom. pl. -*i*; nom. sg. -*e*, obl. sg. -∅): *meñe* m. 'month'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*meñe*	*meñi*
obl.	*meñ*	*meñäṃ*
gen.	*meñantse*	*meñaṃts**

So also *arañce* m. 'heart', obl. *arañc*, nom. pl. *arañci*; *āñme* 'self', obl. *āñm*; *āśce* f. 'head', obl. *āśc(o)*, irregular perl. *āṣtsa*, *āssa*, nom. pl. *aścī*, obl. pl. *āstäṃ*; *kektseñe* f. 'body', obl. *kektseñ*, nom. pl. *kektseñi*; *plāce* f. 'word', obl. *plāc*, nom. pl. *plāci*, obl. pl. *plātäṃ*.

Class V.3 (nom. pl. in -'*i*, nom.-obl. sg. -∅): *lyak* m. 'thief'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*lyak*	*lyśi*
obl.	*lykaṃ*	*lykaṃ*
gen.	*lykantse*	*lykaṃts*

So also *kauṃ* m. 'day', nom. pl. *kauñi*, obl. pl. *kaunäṃ*; *(t)keṃ* f. 'earth'; *sāṃ* m. 'enemy', nom. pl. *sañi*.

Class VI.1 (nom. pl. in -*ñ*; nom. sg. -*e*, obl. sg. -∅): *riye* f. 'city', *ytārye* f. 'road'

sg.	nom.	*riye*	*ytārye*
	obl.	*ri*	*ytāri*
	gen.	*rintse*	*ytarintse*
pl.	nom.	*riñ*	*ytariñ**
	obl.	*riṃ*	*ytariṃ*
	gen.	*riṃts**	*ytariṃts*

So also *alyiye* 'palm of the hand', du. *alyine*; *olyiye** f. 'boat'; *kälymiye* f. 'direction'; *pyorye* f. 'shoulder-yoke', obl. *pyori*; *yṣiye* f. 'night'; *ścirye* f. in pl. 'star', gender in sg. not attested, obl. pl. *ścirim*; *salyiye* f. 'salt', obl. *sālyi*.

Class VI.2 (nom. pl. in *-aiñ*; nom. sg. *-o* or *-iye*, obl. sg. *-ai*): *pyāpyo* 'flower'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*pyāpyo*	*pyapyaiñ*
obl.	*pyāpyai*	*pyapyaiṃ*
gen.	*pyapyaintse**	*pyapyaiṃts*
abl.	*pyapyaimeṃ*	*pyapyainmeṃ**
all.	*pyāpyaiśc*	*pyapyainśc**
perl.	*pyāpyaisa*	*pyapyaintsa*
loc.	*pyāpyaine**	*pyapyainne**
com.	*pyāpyaimpa**	*pyapyainmpa**

So also *okso* m. 'ox'; *kaumiye* f. 'pool'; *poko** 'arm'; *proskiye*, *prosko* f. 'fear', obl. *proskai*; *yokiye*, *yoko* f. 'thirst'; *ymiye* f. 'way'; *śconiye*, *ścono* 'hatred', obl. *śconai*; *säly(i)ye* f. 'border'; *skiyo* f. 'shadow'; *kwaṣo** or *kuṣiye** f. 'village', obl. *kwaṣai*, nom. pl. *kuṣaiñ*, obl. pl. *kuṣaiṃ*.

Class VI.3 (nom. pl. *-añ*, obl. sg. *-ai*): *witsako* 'root', *wertsiya* 'retinue'

sg.	nom.	*witsako*	*wertsiya*
	obl.	*witsakai*	*wertsiyai*
pl.	nom.	*witsakañ**	*wertsiyañ**
	obl.	*witsakaṃ*	*wertsiyaṃ*

Like *witsako* are: *oṅkolmo* m. 'elephant'; *kercapo* m. 'donkey'; *mewiyo* m. 'tiger'; *yerkwanto** m. 'wheel'; *witsako* f. 'root'; *w(i)cūko* m. 'jaw'.

Like *wertsiya* are: *emalya* f. 'heat'; *oṅkolma* f. 'she-elephant'; *osta-ṣmeñca* m. 'householder'; *katkauña* f. 'joy'; *preściya*, *preśyo* f. 'time'; *mewiya* f. 'tigress'; *yoñiya* f. 'path'; *weśeññа* or *-o* f. 'voice'; *śaulapreñca* 'life-bearing'; *sätkauca* m. 'spreader', obl. *sätkaucai*.

Class VI.3 (nom. sg. *-o*, obl. sg. *-a*): *kantwo* 'tongue'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*kantwo*	*käntwāñ**
obl.	*kantwa*	*käntwāṃ**

So also *kātso* f. 'belly', obl. *kātsa*; *tāno* f. 'grain'; *maiyya* or *-o* 'strength'; *yasa* 'gold' nom. and obl.

Class VI.3 (nom. sg. *-e*, obl. sg. *-eṃ*): *śamaśke* 'child'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*śamaśke*	*śamaśkañ*
obl.	*śamaśkeṃ*	*śamaśkaṃ*

So also *yäkwaṣke* 'pony'; *rupaśke* 'little face'; *werpiśke* m. 'garden'; *säsuwerśke* 'little son'; *säsūśkañ* pl. 'dear sons'; *soṃśke* m. 'little son'.

Class VI.4 (nom. sg. *-e*, obl. sg. and pl. *-eṃ*): *saswe* 'lord'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*saswe*	*säsweñ*
voc.	*saswa*	
obl.	*säsweṃ*	*säsweṃ*

Class VI.5 (nom. pl. *-oñ*, obl. pl. *-oṃ*)

Here belong *prāri* obl. 'finger', nom. pl. *praroñ*; *auloñ* 'vessels' (plural only attested); *passoñ* 'ligaments' (plurale tantum), obl. *passoṃ**.

Class VII (*nt*-stems): *walo* m. 'king', *käryorttau* m. 'merchant'

sg.	nom.	*walo*	*käryorttau*
	obl.	*lānt*	*käryorttant*
	gen.	*lānte*	*käryorttante*
pl.	nom.	*lāñc*	*käryorttañc*
	obl.	*lāntäṃ*	*käryorttantäṃ*
	gen.	*lantaṃts(o)*	*käryorttantäṃts*

So also *olyit(t)au* m. 'boatman'; *meñepälle*$_u$ m. 'full-moon', gen. *pällente*, obl. *pällent*; *saṃtkinau* m. 'doctor'.

Irregular

āyo 'bone', obl. *āya*, f. pl. *āsta*. The singular follows the VI.3 *kantwo* type.
paiyye m. nom.-obl. *paiyye* 'foot', dual *paine*, nom. pl. *paiñ**, obl. pl. *paiṃ*
tau f. 'ten quarts', pl. *towi*, *towäṃ*, *tom*, *taum*
soy m. 'son', nom.-obl. *soy*, gen. *seyi*, nom.-obl. pl. *säs(u)wa*

ADJECTIVES

Class I.1 (nom. pl. m. *-i*, f. *-ana*)

-ṣṣe type

		m.	f.
sg.	nom.	*-ṣṣe*	*-ṣṣa*
	obl.	*-ṣṣe*	*-ṣṣai*
	gen.	*-ṣṣepi*	*-ṣṣai*
	voc.	*-ṣṣu*	
pl.	nom.	*-ṣṣi*	*-ṣṣana*
	obl.	*-ṣṣeṃ*	*-ṣṣana*
	gen.	*-ṣṣeṃts*	*-ṣṣanaṃts*

Here belong: *kärwāṣṣe* 'of reed'; *kärweñäṣṣe* 'rocky'; *kwasalñeṣṣe* 'pertaining to lamentation'; *sańkaṣṣe* 'communal'; and many others. This is the most productive formant for genitival adjectives in Tocharian B.

-ts(ts)e type *orotstse* 'great'

		m.	f.
sg.	nom.	*orotstse*	*orotstsa*
	obl.	*orocce*	*orotstsai*
	gen.	*oroccepi*	*orotstsai*
	voc.	*oroccu*	
pl.	nom.	*orocci*	*orotstsana*
	obl.	*orocceṃ*	*orotstsana*
	gen.	*orocceṃts*	*orotstsanaṃts*

Like *orotstse* are: *anaiwatse* 'unpleasant'; *amoktse* (subst.) 'artist'; *aletstse* 'foreign'; *oktatstse* 'eightfold'; *orotstse* 'great'; *olyartse* 'superior'; *aurtse, wartse* 'broad'; *kokaletstse* 'riding in a chariot'; *krentaunattse* 'virtuous'; *cämpamñetstse* 'powerful'; *cowaitstse* 'robbing'; *ñwetstse* 'new'; *träntätstse* 'exhausted'; *pärsäntse* 'spectacular'; *lak(u)tse* 'shining'; *wteṃtse, wtetstse* 'second'; *sklokatstse* 'worried'; *snaitse* 'poor'; *srakantse* 'disturbed'; *tsakätstse* 'thorny'; *tsirauññetstse* 'brave'.

In *-ñ(ñ)e*: *eńkwaññe* 'male'; *eñcuwaññe* 'of iron'; *on(u)waññe* 'immortal'; *käṣṣīññe* 'of a teacher'; *kuśiññe* 'of Kuča'; *naimañe* 'name of first month'; *postaññe* 'last'; *meńki-īkäṃ-pikwalaṃñe* 'less than 20 years old'; *yäkweññe* 'equine'; *ywarśkäññe* 'in the middle'; *lantuññe* 'royal'; *walkeññe* 'long (of time)'; *wärsaññe* 'name of eleventh month'; *rapaññe* 'name of twelfth month'; *ṣañäññe* 'one's own'; *ṣamäññe* 'of a monk'.

Others: *älyauce/älyewce* 'one another'; *ainäke* 'common'; *aiśaumye* m. (substantivized) 'wise person'; *kärp(i)ye* 'low', pl. *kärpi*; *kewiye* 'bovine'; *krośce* 'cold';

ñäkc(i)ye 'divine'; *makte* 'self', obl. *makce*, pl. *makci*; *wate* 'second'; *śar(i)ye* 'upper'; *śarware* 'arrogant'; *spaktanīke* 'serving'.

Class I.2 (nom. m. pl. -*'i*, nom. f. pl. -*ona*)

Gerundives

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*-lle, -lye, -le*	*-lya*	*-lyi*	*-llona (-lyana)*
obl.	*-lye*	*-lyai*	*-lyeṃ*	*-llona (-lyana)*
gen.	*-lyepi*	*-lyai*		
voc.	*-lyu*			

So *akalṣalle* (subst.) 'student', *empel(y)e* 'terrible', and some adjectives in *-re*: *astare* 'pure'; *aikare* 'empty'; *kätkare* 'deep'; *cäñcare* 'lovely'; *ylāre* 'limp'; *pakwāre* 'bad'; *pärkare* 'long'; *räsk(a)re* 'rough'.

Ordinals in -*te*: *trite* 'third'

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*trite*	*trica*	*trici*	*tritona**
obl.	*trice*	*tricai*	*triceṃ*	*tritona**
gen.	*tricepi*			

Privatives: *ayāmätte* 'not to be done'

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*ayāmätte*	*ayāmäcca*	*ayāmäcci*	*ayāmättona*
obl.	*ayāmäcce*	*ayāmäccai*	*ayāmäcceṃ*	*ayāmättona*
gen.	*ayāmcepi*	*ayāmäccai*	*ayāmäcceṃts*	

So also *alālätte* 'untiring'; *etaṅkätte* 'unhindered'.

Class II.1 (nom. pl. in -*iñ*): *ārkwi* 'white', *kärtse-yami* 'good-doer, -doing', *poyśi* 'Buddha'

		m.	f.		
sg.	nom.	*ārkwi*	*arkwaññ̇a*	*kärtse-yami*	*poyśi*
	obl.	*ārkwi*	*arkwaññ̇ai*	*kärtse-yamiṃ*	*poyśiṃ*
	gen.			*kärtse-yamintse*	*poyśintse*
pl.	nom.	*arkwiṃ* (for *-iñ*)	*arkwina*	*kärtse-yamiñ*	*poyśinta*[1]
	obl.	*arkwinäṃ*	*arkwina*	*kärtse-yamiṃ*	*poyśinta*[1]
	gen.				*poyśintaṃts*

So also *klausa-pilṣi* 'with ears pricked up'; *-nakṣi* '-destroying'.

Class II.2 (nom. m. pl. in *-iñ*): *yolo* 'evil'

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*yolo*	*yoliya**	*yolaiñ*	*yolaina*
obl.	*yolaiṃ*	*yoly(i)yai*	*yolaiṃ*	*yolaina*
gen.	*yolopi*		*yolainaṃts*	

The secondary cases are built either to the stem *yolo* (abl. *yolomeṃ*, perl. *yolosa*) or *yolaiṃ* (loc. *yolainne*, perl. *yolaintsa*, com. *yolaimpa*).

Class II.3 (nom. pl. in *-añ*): *aiṣṣeñca* 'giving'

	sg.	pl.
nom.	*aiṣṣeñca*	*aiṣṣeñcañ*
obl.	*aiṣṣeñcai*	*aiṣṣeñcaṃ*
voc.	*aiṣṣeñcai*	

So also all *-ñca* participles; *aknātsa* 'foolish', obl. *aknātsai*; *añmāla(ṃ)ṣke*, *añmālarṣke* 'compassionate'; *aṣanike* 'worthy one'; *takarṣke* 'clear'; *tparṣke* 'shallow', nom. pl. m. *-añ*; *lalaṃṣke* 'tender'; *lykaśke* 'little'; *wlaṃśke* 'soft'; *ska-maiyya* 'possessing ten strengths'.

Class II.4 (nom. m. pl. in *-eñ*): *lāre* 'dear'

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*lāre*	*lariya*	*lareñ*	*larona*
obl.	*lareṃ*	*lariyai*	*lare(nä)ṃ*	*larona*
gen.	*larepi*	*lariyai*	*larenäṃts*	

So also *uwe* 'learned'; *prākre* 'firm'; *maiwe* subst. 'young person'; *ratre* 'red'; *lāre* 'dear'; *śāte* 'rich'; *ścire* 'harsh'; *swāre* 'sweet'.

Class II.5 (nom. m. pl. in *-oñ*): *klyomo* 'noble'

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*klyomo*	*klyomña*	*klyomoñ*	*klyomñana*
obl.	*klyomoṃ*	*klyomñai*	*klyomoṃ*	*klyomñana*
gen.	*klyomontse**	*klyomñai*	*klyomoṃts*	

So also *aiśamo* 'wise'; *klyomo* 'noble'; *cämpamo* 'capable'; *pälkamo* 'shining'; *ynamo* 'going'; *waṣamo* subst. 'friend'; *ṣlyamo** 'flying'; *sälpamo* 'burning'.

Class III

Adjectives of Class III have a number of different subtypes: *perne*$_u$ 'glorious', *tallā*$_u$ 'suffering', *ymassu* 'thoughtful', and the irregular *po* 'all' and *kartse* 'good'.

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*perne*$_u$	*pernauntsa*	*perneñc*	*pernenta*
obl.	*pernent*	*pernauntsai*	*pernentäṃ*	*pernenta*
gen.	*pernente**		*pernentäṃts*	*pernentaṃts*

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*tallā*$_u$	*tallauntsa*	*tallāñc*	*tallānta*
obl.	*tallānt*	*tallauntsai*	*tallāntäṃ*	*tallānta*
gen.	*tallānte*		*tallāntäṃts*	*tallāntaṃts*

So also *wetā*$_u$ 'fighting'; *śalnā*$_u$ 'quarreling'.

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*ymassu*	*ymassuntsa*	*ymassoñc*	*ymassonta*
obl.	*ymassont*	*ymassuntsai*	*ymassontäṃ*	*ymassonta*
gen.	*ymassonte*		*ymassontäṃts*	*ymassontaṃts*

So also *kwipassu* 'shameful'; *läklessu* 'miserable'.
The adjective *po* 'all' is indeclinable in the singular.

	sg.			pl.	
	m.	f.		m.	f.
nom.	*po*	*po*	*poñc*	*ponta*	
obl.	*po*	*po*	*pontäṃ*	*ponta*	
gen.			*pontäṃts*	*pontaṃts*	

kartse 'good' is semi-suppletive with a stem *krent-*:

	sg.			pl.	
	m.	f.		m.	f.
nom.	*kartse*	*kartsa*	*kreñc*	*krenta*	
obl.	*krent*	*kartsai*	*krentäṃ*	*krenta*	
gen.			*krentäṃts*	*krentaṃts*	

allek 'other'

	sg.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
nom.	*allek*	*alyāk*	*alyaik*	*alloṅk*
obl.	*alyek*	*allok*	*alyeṅkäṃ*	*alloṅkna*
gen.	*alyekepi*		*alyeṅkäṃts*	

Indeclinable

amāskai 'difficult'; *ayāto* 'suitable'; *aṣāṃ* 'worthy'; *ākteke, āktike* 'wonderful'; *ite* 'full'; *erkatte* 'scornful'; *pākri* 'clear'; *pudgalyik* 'personal'; *māka* 'much, many'; *yneś* 'real'.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns

		First	Second	Third
sg.	nom.	*ñäś, ñiś*	*tuwe, twe*	
	obl.	*ñäś, ñiś*	*ci*	
	gen.	*ñi*	*tañ*	
	clitic	*-ñ*	*-c*	*-ne*
du.	nom.	*wene*	*yene*	
	obl.	*wene*	*yene*	
pl.	nom.	*wes*	*yes*	
	obl.	*wes*, late *wesäṃ*	*yes*, late *yesäṃ*	
	gen.	*wesäñ*, late *wesi*	*yesäñ*, late *yesi*	
	clitic	*-me*	*-me*	*-me*

Demonstrative Pronouns

se, sā, te 'this'

	sg.			pl.	
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.
nom.	*se*	*sā*	*te*	*cai* (*cey*)	*toṃ* (*toy*)
obl.	*ce*	*tā*	*te*	*ceṃ* (*ceyna*)	*toṃ* (*toyna*)
gen.	*cwi* (*cpi*)	*tāy*	*tentse*	*ceṃts* (*ceynaṃts*)	*toṃ* (*toynants*)

su and *seṃ*

	sg.			pl.		
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
nom.	*su*	*sā$_u$*	*tu*	*seṃ*	*sāṃ*	*teṃ*
obl.	*ce$_u$ (cau)*	*tā$_u$*	*tu*	*ceṃ*	*tāṃ*	*teṃ*
gen.	*cwi (cpi)*	*tāy*	*tuntse*	*cwi (cpi)*		*tentse*

samp 'that'

	sg.			pl.	
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.
nom.	*samp*	*somp*	*tamp*	*ceymp*	*toym*
obl.	*comp*	*tomp*	*tamp*	*ceympa**	*toym*
gen.	*cwimp*			*cempaṃts*	*toympaṃts**

Relative Pronouns

nom.	*k$_u$se*
obl.	*k$_u$ce*
gen.	*ket(e)*

	sg.			pl.	
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.
nom.	*mäksu*	*mäksā$_u$*	*mäktu*	*mäkci*	*mäkcai*
obl.	*mäkce$_u$*	*mäktā$_u$*	*mäktu**		
gen.	*mäkcpi, mäkcwi, mäkcepi*			*mäkcenas*	*mäktoynas*

VERBS

Personal Endings

	Primary				Secondary	
	Active		Middle		Active	Middle
	athematic	thematic	athematic	thematic		
1s	*-u, -m*	*-e$_u$/-au*	*-mar*	*-emar*	*-wa*	*-mai*
2s	*-t(ä)*	*'-t(ä)*b	*-tar*	*'-tar*	*-sta*	*-tai*
3s	*-ṃ*	*'-äṃ*	*-tär*	*'-tär*	*-a*	*-te*
1p	*-m(ä)*	*-em(ä)*	*-mtär*	*-em(t)tär*	*-m(ä)*	*-m(t)te*
2p	*-cer*	*'-cer*	*-tär*	*'-tär*	*-s(ä)*	*-(a)t*
3p	*-ṃ*	*-eṃ*	*-ntär*	*-entär*	*-are, -är(ä)*	*-nte*

Imperative Endings

	act.	mid.
2s	*-∅*	*-r*
2p	*-s(o)*	*-t*

Present Class I: *yok-* 'drink', *päkw-* 'trust'

	Active	Middle
1s	*yoku**	*pkwamar*
2s	*yokt*	
3s	*yokäṃ*	*paktär, pak$_u$tär*
1p	*yokem**	
2p	*yokcer**	*paktär**
3p	*yokeṃ**	*pkwantär*

So also *walaka-* 'tarry', *woloktär*; *tsop-* 'strike', *tsopäṃ*; *pälk-* 'shine'; *yärtta-* 'drag', *yarttäṃ*; *miwa-* 'tremble', *miwäṃ*.

Present Class II: *klyaus-* 'hear', *aik-* 'know'

	Active	Middle
1s	*klyausau**	*aikemar*
2s	*klyauṣt**	*aiśtar*
3s	*klyauṣäṃ*	*aiśtär*
1p	*klyausem**	*aikemtär**
2p	*klyauścer**	*aiśtär**
3p	*klyauseṃ*	*aikentär*

Irregular imperatives: 2s *päklyauṣ(ä)*, 2p *päklyauṣso*

So also *kery-* 'laugh', 3p *ker(i)yeṃ*; *śauk-* 'cry', *śausäṃ*; *plätk-* 'overflow', *m*-ptc. *plyetkemane*; *lyäk-* 'lie', *lyaśäṃ*; *katk-* 'rejoice', *kāccäṃ*; *kärsk-* 'shoot', *m*-ptc. *kärskemane*; *cämp-* 'be able', *campäṃ*; *ñäsk-* 'demand', *ñäṣṣäṃ* (archaic), 1s mid. *ñäskemar*; *nask-* 'bathe', 3s *nāṣṣäṃ*; *pask-* 'guard', mid. 3p *paskeṃtär*; *soy-* 'be satisfied', 2p *soycer*; *käs-* 'extinguish', *keṣäṃ*; *ak-* 'lead', *āśäṃ*; *käly-* 'stand', mid. *kaltär*; *klep-* 'touch', mid. *klyeptär*; *pänn-* 'stretch', *peññäṃ*; *ṣäm-* 'sit', *ṣamäṃ*; *pär-* 'carry', *paräṃ*. *śaw-* 'live' has generalized the stem *śāy-*: 1s *śāyau*, 3s *śaiṃ* < **śāyən*.

Present Classes III and IV (middle only): *sruk-* 'die', *planta-* 'rejoice'

1s	*srukemar**	*plontomar*
2s	*sruketar**	*plontotar**
3s	*sruketär*	*plontotär*
1p	*srukemtär**	*plontomtär**
2p	*sruketär**	*plontotär**
3p	*srukentär*	*plontontär*

Like *sruk-* are: *kura-* 'grow old', *kwretär**; *kula-* 'decline', *kuletär*; *krämpa-* 'be disturbed', *krämpetär**; *trika-* 'be confused', *triketär*; *triwa-* 'be mixed with', *triwetär*; *nuwa-* 'roar', *ñewetär*; *prutka-* 'be shut', *prutketär*; *pläṅka-* 'be for sale', *pläṅketär*; *märsa-* 'forget', *märsetär*; *mäska-* 'be located', *mäsketär*; *mlutka-* 'escape', *mlutketär*; *luwa-* 'send', *lyewetär*; *wika-* 'disappear', *wiketär*; *ritta-* 'be attached to', *rittetär*; *sätka-* 'spread out', *sätkentär*; *spärka-* 'disappear', *spärketär*; *tsäṅk-* 'arise', *tseṅketär*; *tsälpa-* 'pass away', *tsälpetär*; *tsuwa-* 'attach oneself to', *tswetär*. *tuk(a)-* 'hide' has palatalization of root-initial consonant: 1s *cukemar*. For *wätka-* 'decide', no present forms are attested.

Like *planta-* are: *artta-* 'be pleased with', *orttotär*; *asa-* 'dry out', *osotär*; *karpa-* 'descend', *korpotär*; *klaya-* 'fall', *kloyotär*; *klautka-* 'turn', *klautkotär* (note no rounding of the diphthong); *pauta-* 'flatter', *pautotär*; *yata-* 'be able', *yototär*; *laita-* 'to fall down', *laitotär*; *waka-* 'split apart', *wokotär**; *spart(t)a-* 'revolve', *sporttotär*.

Present Class V: *präska-* 'be afraid' (ablauting), *śuwa-* 'eat' (non-ablauting)

1s	*prāskau*	*śu*
2s	*prāskat*	*śwāt*
3s	*prāskaṃ*	*śuwaṃ*
1p	*parskam**	*śwām**
2p	*parskacer**	*śwācer**
3p	*parskaṃ*	*śuwaṃ*

Ger.I *parskalle* shows fixed initial accent.

So also *iya-* 'travel in a vehicle', *iyaṃ*; *kwā-/kaka-* 'call', mid. *kwātär*; *pläwa-* 'lament', *palwaṃ*; *mäka-* 'run', 1s mid. ipf. *makoymar*.

Present Class VI: *tärka-* 'release' (/-əna-/), *käta-* 'strew' (/-na-/)

1s	*tärkanau*	*katnau*
2s	*tärkanat*	*kätnāt**
3s	*tärkanaṃ*	*katnaṃ* (arch. *käntaṃ*)
1p	*tärkanam*	*kätnām**
2p	*tärkanacer*	*kätnācer**
3p	*tärkanaṃ*	*katnaṃ**

Like *tärka-* are: *staukka-* 'swell', mid. *staukkanatär*; *rapa-* 'dig', *rapanaṃ*; *kärsa-* 'know', *kärsanaṃ*; *kauta-* 'split', *kautanaṃ*; *pläska-* 'consider', *pälskanaṃ*; *rita-* 'seek', mid. *ritanatär*; *lika-* 'wash', mid. *laikanatär*; *wärpa-* 'enjoy', *wärpanaṃ*; *waltsa-* 'grind', *wāltsanaṃ*.

Like *käta-* are: *kwäsa-* 'lament', mid. *kwäsnātär*; *skaya-* 'strive', *skainaṃ*; *pärsa-* 'sprinkle', *pärsnaṃ**; *mrauska-* 'be surfeited', mid. *mrausknātär*; *räma-* 'bend', *ramnaṃ**; *nätka-* 'hold off', *natknaṃ* (also VII *nättaṅkäṃ*); *musa-* 'rise', mid. *musnātär*. With assimilation or simplification: *täla-* 'carry', *tallaṃ* < **təlnan*; *päla-* 'praise', mid. 1s *pällāmar*; *skära-* 'scold', *skarraṃ*; *krästa-* 'cut off', *karsnaṃ*.

Present Class VII: *kätka-* 'cross', *putka-* 'divide'

		Active		Middle	
	a-form	athematic	thematic	athematic	thematic
1s					*puttańkemar**
3s	*kättańkaṃ*	*kättańkäṃ*		*puttańktär*	
3p		*kättańkäṃ*	*kättańkeṃ**		*puttańkentär**

So also *klutka-* 'turn', 3p *kluttańkentär*; *pika-* 'write', *piṅkäṃ*; *rutka-* 'remove', mid. *ruttańkemar*; *sälka-* 'pull (out)', mid. *slańktär*; *pränts-* 'sprinkle', 3s *prantsäṃ*.

Present Class VIII: *präk-* 'ask'

	Active	Middle
1s	*preksau*	*pruksemar**
2s	*prekṣt*	*prukṣtar*
3s	*prekṣäṃ*	*prukṣtär*
1p	*preksem**	*pruksemtär**
2p	*prekścer**	*prukṣtär**
3p	*prekseṃ*	*pruksentär*

So also *er-* 'cause', *erṣäṃ*; *käl-* 'endure', *kalsäṃ*; *kau-* 'destroy', *kauṣäṃ*; *nak-* 'blame', mid. *nakṣtär*; *präk-* 'ask', *prekṣäṃ*; *räk-* 'spread out', 1s *raksau*; *näk-* 'destroy', *nakṣäṃ*); *tsäk-* 'burn', *tsakṣäṃ*; *luk-* 'illuminate', *lukṣäṃ*; *päk-* 'cook', *pakṣäṃ*; *yuk-* 'overcome', *yukṣäṃ*; *ta-* 'put', 3p act. *tāseṃ*

Present Class IXa: *kälpa-* 'reach' (*sāṭ*), *yam-* 'do' (*anaṭ*)

1s	*kälpāskau*	*yamaskau*
2s	*kälpāst*	*yamast*
3s	*kälpāṣṣäṃ*	*yamaṣṣäṃ*
1p	*kälpāskem*	*yamaskem**
2p	*kälpāścer*	*yamaścer**
3p	*kälpāskeṃ*	*yamaskeṃ*

From *anāṭ*: *akl-* 'learn', *-ñca* ptc. *aklaṣṣeñca*; *eṅk-* 'seize', mid. *eṅkastär*; *ai-* 'give', *aiṣṣäṃ*; *auks-* 'grow', *auksäṣṣäṃ* (archaic for *auksaṣṣäṃ*); *aun-* 'hit', *aunaṣṣäṃ*, mid. *aunastär*; *kän-* 'occur', mid. *knastär*; *klin-* 'be obliged', *kl(y)inaṣṣäṃ*; *treṅk-* 'cling', mid. *treṅkastär*; *yask-* 'beg', mid. *yaskastär*; *rin-* 'leave', mid. *rinastär*; *re-* 'flow', *reṣṣäṃ*; *lal-* 'strive', *lalaṣṣäṃ**; *lut-* 'expel', *l(y)utaṣṣäṃ* (initial palatalization often omitted); *wäs-* 'don', mid. *yastär**; *wäs-* (2) 'dwell', *wsaṣṣäṃ*; *tsärk-* 'heat', *tsärkaṣṣäṃ*.

From *sāṭ*: *läka-* 'see', *lkāṣṣäṃ*; *wina-* 'worship', 3s *wināṣṣäṃ*; *sampa-* 'take away', mid. *sompastär*.

Present Class IXb (fixed initial accent; "causative" meaning): *wätka-* caus. 'command'

1s	*watkäskau*
2s	*watkäst*
3s	*watkäṣṣäṃ*
1p	*watkäskem**
2p	*watkäścer*
3p	*watkäskeṃ**

So also *ala-* 'restrain', mid. *alastär*; *śänm-* 'bind', mid. *śanmästär*; *mi-* 'harm', (caus.) *miyiṣṣäṃ*; *yu-* 'aspire', *yuwäṣṣäṃ*; *ṣäl-* 'throw down', *ṣaläṣṣäṃ*.

Present Class Xa: *täm-* 'be born' (*anaṭ*), *päka-* 'intend' (*sāṭ*)

1s	*tänmaskemar**	*päknāskemar**
2s	*tänmastar*	*päknāstar*
3s	*tänmastär*	*päknāstär*
1p	*tänmaskemtär**	*päknāskemtär**
2p	*tänmastär**	*päknāstär**
3p	*tänmaskentär*	*päknāskentär*

So also *yäp-* 'enter', *yänmaṣṣäṃ* < **yəpnə́ṣṣn*; *yänma-* 'achieve', *yänmäṣṣäṃ* (n.b. the minimal pair with *yänmaṣṣäṃ* 'enters'); *käm-* 'come', *känmaṣṣäṃ*; *käla-* 'lead', *källäṣṣäṃ*; *kärya-* 'buy', mid. *kärnästär*; *länt-* 'go out', *lnaṣṣäṃ*.

Present Class XI

aks- 'declare', 1s *aksaskau* (follows IXa)

Present Class XII: *mänta-* act. 'stir', mid. 'be stirred'

	Active	Middle
1s	*mäntaññau**	*mäntaññemar*
2s	*mäntant**	*mäntantar**
3s	*mäntaṃ*	*mäntantär*
1p	*mäntaññem**	*mäntaññemtär**
2p	*mäntañcer**	*mäntantär**
3p	*mäntaññeṃ*	*mäntaññentär**

So also *arc-äññ-* 'ought to', mid. *arcantär*; *kawa-* 'desire', mid. 3p *kawaññentär*; *käska-* 'scatter (to destruction)', *käskaṃ* < **kəskə́ññən*, mid. *käskantär* < **kəskə́ññətər*; *kläntsa-* 'sleep', *klantsaṃ**; *wäska-* 'move', mid. *wäskantär*, *waskantär*.

The class XII verb *täṅkwä-ññ-* 'love' has pres. ptc. *täṅwaññeñca*, 2s ipv. *ptaṅkwäññe*.

Imperfect Types: *mäskitär* 'was located', *prekṣi* 'was asking', *kärsanoy* 'used to understand'

1s	*mäskimar*	*prekṣim**	*kärsanoym**
2s	*mäskitar**	*prekṣit**	*kärsanoyt*
3s	*mäskitär*	*prekṣi*	*kärsanoy**
1p	*mäskiyemtär**		
2p	*mäskitär**	*prekṣicer**	*kärsanoycer**
3p	*mäskiyentär*	*prekṣiyeṃ*	*kärsanoyeṃ*

Present classes III and IV follow the *mäskitär* type; V and VI follow the *kärsanoy* type; the others follow the *prekṣi* type.

Irregular Imperfects

	nes- 'be'	*i-* 'go'
1s	*ṣaim* (*ṣeym*)	*yaim*
2s	*ṣait*	*yait*
3s	*ṣai* (*ṣey*)	*yai* (*yey*)
1p	*ṣeyem*	*yeyem*
2p	*ṣaicer*	*yaicer* (*yeycer*)
3p	*ṣeyeṃ* (*ṣeṃ*)	*yeyeṃ* (*yeṃ*)

Subjunctive Class I: *präk-* 'ask'; *yam-* 'do'

	ä root	full-vowel root	
		active	middle
1s	*preku*	*yāmu*	*yāmmar*
2s	*prekt**	*yāmt*	*yāmtar*
3s	*prekäṃ* (*prekäṃ=ne*)	*yāmäṃ*	*yāmtär*
1p	*parkäm**	*yamem* (them.)	*yamamtär*
2p	*parkcer**	*yāmcer**	*yāmtär**
3p	*parkäṃ* (*parkän=me*)	*yāmeṃ* (them.)	*yamantär*

To *ä* roots. Ablauting, with fixed initial accent, like *präk-*: *käl-* 'endure', 1s *kelu*; *näk-* act. 'destroy', 1s *neku*; *plätk-* 'overflow', *pletkäṃ*; *yäp-* 'enter', *yopäṃ*; *yänma-* 'achieve', *yonmäṃ*. With regular accent, ablaut uncertain: *päkw-* 'rely on', abstr. II *pkwalñe*; *tsäk-* 'burn' tr., inf. *tsaktsi*; *tsärk-* 'heat', ger. II *tsärkalle*. With uncleaer accent pattern: *wäs-* 'don', mid. *wastär*; *käs-* 'extinguish', inf. *kastsi*; *räk-* 'spread out', inf. *raktsi*.

To full-vowel roots (all non-ablauting). With fixed accent: *er-* 'cause', mid. *ertär*; *kau-* 'destroy', *kowäṃ*; *nak-* 'blame', inf. *nāktsi*. With regular accent, like *yam-*: *ai-* 'give', *aiṃ*; *aun-* 'hit', *auṃ*; *nes-* 'be', inf. *nestsi*, gII *nesalle* (other forms from *taka-*); *yok-* 'drink', inf. *yoktsi*. With both fixed and regular accent: *eṅk-* 'seize', mid. *eṅktär*. With unclear accent pattern: *treṅk-* 'cling', mid. *treṅktär*; *ala-* 'restrain', inf. *āltsi*.

A number of non-ablauting athematic subjunctives of various origins with unknown accentual properties have ended up in Class I: *i-* 'go', 1s *yam*; *rin-* 'leave', mid. *rintär*, *klin-* 'be obliged', *klyiṃ*; *täll-* 'bear', inf. *tällätsi*.

Subjunctive Class II: *käm-* 'come'

1s	*śamau**
2s	*śamt*
3s	*śa(n)mäṃ*
1p	*śmem**
2p	*śamcer**
3p	*śanmeṃ*

So also *aks-* 'declare', *ākṣäṃ*; *aik-* 'know', mid. *aiśtär*; *käm-* ' come', *śa(n)mäṃ*; *kärsk-* 'shoot', ger. *kärṣalye**; *klyaus-* 'hear', *klyauṣäṃ*; *cämp-* 'be able', *campäṃ*; *ñäsk-* 'demand', *ñäṣṣäṃ*; *nask-* 'bathe', 3s opt. *nāṣṣi*; *pask-* 'guard', inf. *pāṣtsi*; *yask-* 'beg', mid. *yāṣtär*; *luk-* 'illuminate', mid. *lyuśtär*; *lut-* 'expel', *lyucäṃ*; *lyäk-* 'lie', *lyaśäṃ*; *śaw-* 'live', 1s *śāyau*; *soy-* 'be satisfied', inf. *soytsi*.

Subjunctive Class III identical to Present Class III

Here belong *kän-* mid. 'occur', mid. *knetär*; *käs-* mid. 'come to extinction', 1s *ksemar*; *täm-* mid. 'be born', mid. *cmetär*; *näk-* mid. 'disappear', *nketär*; *päk-* 'ripen', abstract II *pkelñe*; *luk-* mid. 'light up', mid. *lyuketär*; *tsäk-* 'burn' itr., inf. *tsketsi*.

Subjunctive Class IV (not parallel to Present Class IV!): *wäs-* 'dwell'

1s	*wṣiyau*
2s	*wṣit**
3s	*wṣiṃ**
1p	*wṣiyem**
2p	*wṣicer**
3p	*wṣiyeṃ*

So also *akl-* 'learn', mid. *aklyitär*; *auks-* 'grow', inf. *aukṣitsi*; *lal-* 'strive', inf. *lalyitsi*; *wäs-* 'dwell', 1s *wṣiṃ*.*

Subjunctive Class V: *sruka-* 'die'

1s	*sraukau*
2s	*sraukat**
3s	*sraukaṃ*
1p	*srukam**
2p	*srukacer**
3p	*srukaṃ**

To roots with a full vowel (*a*, *e*, *ai*, *au*), non-ablauting Subj. V, almost always with fixed accent: *artta-* 'be pleased with', *ārttatär**; *karpa-* 'descend', *kārpaṃ*; *kawa-* 'desire', inf. *kāwatsi*; *kauta-* 'split', *kautaṃ*; *klaya-* 'fall', *klāyaṃ*; *klautka-* 'turn', *klautkaṃ*; *klep-* 'touch', degerundival abstract *klāpalñe*; *kwa-/kaka-* 'call', mid. *kākatär*; *taka-* 'be', *tākaṃ*; *taksa-* 'destroy', 1s opt. *tāksoym*; *nauta-* 'disappear', *nautaṃ*; *pauta-* 'flatter', *pautaṃ*; *planta-* 'rejoice', 1p *plāntam*; *mrauska-* 'be surfeited', gerundive II *mrauskalye*;[2] *yata-* 'be able', *yātaṃ*; *rapa-* 'dig', inf. *rāpatsi*; *laita-* 'fall down', *laitaṃ*; *waka-* 'split apart', *wākaṃ*; *waya-* (suppletive subj. of *ak-*) 'lead', *wāyaṃ*; *waltsa-* 'grind', *wāltsaṃ*; *sampa-* 'take away', inf. *sāmpatsi*; *skaya-* 'strive', *skāyaṃ*; *spartta-* 'revolve', *spārttaṃ*; *tsarwa-* 'be comforted', 3s mid. opt. *tsārwoytär*.

To roots with underlying /ə/, Subj. V with non-ablauting *a* and fixed initial accent: *kwäsa-* 'lament', mid. 3p opt. *kwāsoye(ntär)*; *päla-* 'praise', mid. 1s *pālamar*; *pika-* 'write', mid. *paikatär*; *mänta-* 'stir', *māntaṃ*; *miwa-* 'tremble', *maiwaṃ*; *lika-* 'wash', inf. *laikatsi*; *wäska-* 'move', gerundive II *wāskalle*; *skära-* 'scold', inf. *skāratsi*.[3]

To roots with underlying /ə/, Subj. V with *a* ~ *ə* ablaut. With fixed accent: *käta-* 'strew', *kātaṃ*; *käla-* 'lead', *kālaṃ*; *krästa-* 'cut off', *krāstaṃ**; *tärka-* 'let go', *tārkaṃ*; *pänn-* 'stretch', *pānnaṃ*; *pälka-* 'see' (suppletive subj. of *läka-*), *pālkaṃ*; *putka-* 'divide', inf. *putkatsi*; *präska-* 'fear', *prāskaṃ*; *pläska-* 'consider', *plāskaṃ*; *märsa-* 'forget', *mārsaṃ*; *rutka-* 'remove', *rautkaṃ*; *läma-* 'sit' (suppletive subj. of *ṣäm-* 'sit'), *lāmaṃ*; *sälka-* 'pull (out)', *sālkaṃ*; *stäma-* (suppletive subj. of *käly-* 'stand'), *stāmaṃ*; *sruka-* 'die', *sraukaṃ*.[4] With evidence for fixed accent in some forms beside others with regular accent: *kätka-* 'cross', *kātkaṃ*, mid. 3s *kätkātär*, degerundival abstract *katkalñe*; *kärsa-* 'know', *kārsaṃ*, 3s opt. *karsoy*, 3s mid. opt. *kärsoytär*; *käska-* 'scatter', 2s *kāskat*, mid. 3s *käskatär*; *tsänka-* 'arise', *tsāṅkaṃ*, 3p *tsaṅkaṃ*, gerundive II *tsäṅkālle*.

To roots with underlying /ə/ that retain the schwa, non-ablauting Subj. V, with normal accent: *ta-* 'put', reduplicated *tattaṃ*; *räma-* 'bend' 3p opt. *ramoṃ*, 3p *rmantär*

[2] But *mrauska-* has a few form which point to regular accent, e.g. mid. *mrauskātär*. Cf. also the exceptional accentuation of 1s mid. *kakāmar* and degerundival abstract *rapālñe*.

[3] Exceptional is *nuwa-* 'roar', *nuwaṃ*, which is apparently non-ablauting with fixed accent but which retains schwa vocalism in the active singular subjunctive. Peyrot (2013b:766) considers the possibility that *nuwaṃ* is actually a 3p.

[4] *tuka-* 'hide', 1s *taukau*; *luwa-* 'send', *lāwaṃ**; and *nätka-* 'hold off', *nātkaṃ* probably belong here, but non-singular indicative forms are not attested.

(archaic for *rmāntär**); *läka-* 'see', *lakaṃ*; *wätka-* 'decide', 2s opt. *wätkoyt*; *śuwa-* 'eat', *śuwaṃ*, gerundive II *swälle*.

To roots with underlying /ə/, Subj. V with indeterminate ablaut pattern. With fixed accent: *kläntsa-* 'sleep', opt. 3s *klantsoy*; *klutka-* 'turn', inf. *klutkatsi*; *mäka-* 'run', mid. 1s *makamar*; *mälka-* 'put on', inf. *malkatsi*; *yuk-* 'overcome', degerundival abstract *yukalñe*; *rita-* 'seek', mid. *ritatär*; *wärpa-* 'enjoy', mid. *warpatär*. With regular accent: *kula-* 'decline', mid. *kulātär*; *krämpa-* 'be disturbed', degerundival abstract *krämpālñe*; *trika-* 'be confused', degerundival abstract *trikalyñe* (archaic for *trikālyñe**); *triwa-* 'be mixed with', mid. *triwātär*; *pärka-* 'rise (of the sun)', mid. *pärkātär*; *prutka-* 'be shut', mid. *prutkātär*; *pläṅka-* 'be for sale', inf. *pläṅkātsi*; *pläwa-* 'lament', *palwālñe*; *mlutka-* 'escape', 1s *mlutkāmar*; *ritta-* 'be attached to', mid. *rittātär*; *wika-* 'disappear', mid. *wikātär*; *spärka-* 'disappear', mid. opt. *spärkoytär*; *tsälpa-* 'pass away', mid. *tsälpātär*; *sätka-* 'spread out', degerundival abstract *sätkālñe**.

Other Subjunctive Classes

Class VI: *kärya-* 'buy', mid. *kärnātär*; *kälpa-* 'reach', *kallaṃ*. Class VII: *lä-n-t-* 'go out', *laṃ*. Class IXa: *wina-* 'worship', 3s opt. *wināṣṣi*. Class IXb: *ṣal-* 'throw down', *ṣaläṣṣäṃ*; *śänm-* 'bind', *śanmäṣṣäṃ*; *mi-* 'harm', *miyiṣṣäṃ*; *yu-* 'aspire', *yuwäṣṣäṃ*.

Optative: *yam-* 'do' (class I subjunctive), *kärsa-* 'know' (class V subjunctive)

	Active	Middle	Active	Middle
1s	*yamim*	*yamīmar*	*kärsoym**	*kärsoymar**
2s	*yamit**	*yamītar** (archaic *yāmītār*)	*kärsoyt*	*kärsoytar**
3s	*yāmi*	*yamītär*	*kärsoy*	*kärsoytär*
1p	*yamyem*	*yamiyemtär*	*kärsoyem**	*kärso(ye)mtär**
2p	*yamīcer*	*yamītär**	*kärsoycer**	*kärsoytär**
3p	*yāmyeṃ*	*yamintär**	*karsoṃ, kärsoyeṃ*	*kärso(ye)ntär**

Preterite Class I: *sruka-* 'die'

1s	*srukāwa*
2s	*srukāsta**
3s	*sruka*
1p	*srukām(o)*
2p	*srukās(o)*
3p	*srukāre*

With palatalization of the root-initial consonant in active but not in middle: *käta-* 'strew', *śata*, mid. *ktāte*; *kärsa-* 'know', *śarsa*, mid. *kärsāte*; *käl-* 'lead', *śala*, mid. *klāte*; *tärka-* 'let go', *carka*, mid. *tärkāte*; *pänn-* 'stretch', *piñña*; *pärsa-* 'sprinkle', 3p *pirsāre*,

mid. *pärsāte*; *pälka-* 'see', *palyka*, mid. *pälkāte*; *läma-* 'sit' (suppletive preterite to *ṣäm-*), *lyama*, mid. *lmāte*; no middle attested: *kätka-* 'cross', *śatka*; *kläntsa-* 'sleep', *klyantsa*.

Without palatalization in the active (including also forms that are only attested in the middle and roots beginning with non-palatalizable sequences and therefore technically ambiguous): *kärya-* 'buy', 1p *käryām*, mid. *käryāte*; *kälpa-* 'reach', *kalpa*; *käska-* 'scatter', mid. 3p *käskānte*; *krästa-* 'cut off', *karsta*, mid. *kärstāte*; *kula-* 'decline', *kula**; *krämpa-* 'be disturbed', 2s *krämpāsta*; *trika-* 'be confused', *trika*; *triwa-* 'be mixed with', *triwa**; *präska-* 'fear', *pärska* (archaic for *parska*); *pälk-* 'shine', *pälka* (archaic for *palka**), *pläṅka-* 'be for sale', *plaṅka*; *pläska-* 'consider', *palska*; *prutka-* 'be shut', 3p *prutkāre*; *mäka-* 'run', mid. 3p *mkānte*; *märsa-* 'forget', 3p *märsāre*; *mälka-* 'put on', mid. *mälkāte*; *mäska-* 'be located', *maska*; * *yärtta-* 'drag', *yartta**; *yuka-* 'overcome', *yuka*; *räma-* 'bend', mid. *rämāte*; *rita-* 'seek', mid. *ritāte*; *ritta-* 'be attached to', *ritta*; *wätka-* 'decide', 1s *wätkāwa*; *wärpa-* 'enjoy', mid. *wärpāte*; *wäska-* move', mid. *wäskāte*; *wika-* 'disappear', *wīka*; *sätka-* 'spread out', 3p *sätkāre*; *sälka-* 'pull (out)', mid. *sälkāte*; *sruka-* 'die', *sruka*; *tsäṅka-* 'arise', *tsaṅka*.

With non-ablauting *a* throughout: *artta-* 'be pleased with', 3s *artātte*; *asa-* 'dry out', 3p *asāre*; *kwa-/kaka-* 'call', *kāka*; *karpa-* 'descend', *kārpa*; *kama-* 'carry' (suppletive preterite to *pär-*), *kamāte*; *kawa-* 'desire', mid. *kawāte*; *kauta-* 'split', mid. *kautāte*; *klaya-* 'fall', *klāya*; *klep-* 'touch', mid. *klawāte*; *klautka-* 'turn', *klautka*; *taka-* 'be' (suppletive preterite to *nes-*), *tāka*; *taksa-* 'destroy', *tāksa**; *nuwa-* 'roar', mid. 2s *nawatai* (archaic for *nawātai**); *nauta-* 'disappear', *nauta*; *päla-* 'praise', mid. *palāte*; *pika-* 'write', *paiyka*; *planta-* 'rejoice', *plānta*; *mänta-* 'stir', 1s *mantāwa*; *miwa-* 'tremble', *maiwa*; *yata-* 'be able', *yāta**; *rutka-* 'remove', *rautka*; *lika-* 'wash', mid. *laikāte*; *laita-* 'fall down', *laita*; *waya-* 'lead' (suppletive preterite of *ak-*), *wāya*; *waltsa-* 'grind', *wāltsa*; *sampa-* 'take away', mid. *sampāte*; *spärka-* 'disappear', *spārka**; *spart(t)a-* 'revolve', pret. *spārta*; *tsalpa-* 'pass away', *tsālpa*.

With palatalization in both active and middle: with *ə* throughout: *nätka-* 'hold off', *ñätka* (archaic for *ñatka*), 2s mid. *ñätkatai* (archaic for *ñätkātai*); with *a* throughout: *pläwa-* 'lament', *plyāwa*; *läka-* 'see', *lyāka*, mid. *lyakāte*; *ṣäl-* 'throw down', *ṣālla*, mid. *ṣallāte*.

With palatalization of the stem-final consonant or cluster (the *klyauṣa* type): *aks-* 'declare', *ākṣa*; *katk-* 'rejoice', 3p *kaccāre*; *kärsk-* 'shoot', *karṣṣa*; *klyaus-* 'hear', *klyauṣa*; *cämp-* 'be able', *campya*; *ñäsk-* 'demand', *ñaṣṣa*; *nask-* 'bathe', *nāṣṣa*; *pask-* 'guard', mid. 2s *paṣṣātai*; *yask-* 'beg', mid. *yaṣṣāte*; *śaw-* 'live', *śāya*; *soy-* 'be satisfied', 3p *soyāre*.

Finally *stäma-*, the suppletive preterite to *käly-* 'stand', has a palatalizing *ə* in the root in the singular (*śama* for *ścama**) alternating with non-palatalizing *a* in the dual *stāmais* and the uncertain plural *stamāre* beside leveled *śimāre*. *śuwa-* 'eat', may also have followed this pattern 3s *śuwa* (beside analogical *śāwa*) 3p *śawāre*.

Preterite Class II (forms causative preterites to light-vowel roots): *wätka-* caus. 'command'

1s	*yātkawa*
2s	*yātkasta*
3s	*yātka*
1p	*yātkam**
2p	*yātkas**
3p	*yātkare*

Preterite II is the regular preterite formation for causative IXb presents with *ə* in the root: *śänm-* 'bind', *śānmya*; *mi-* 'harm', mid. *myāyate*.

Preterite Class III: *präk-* 'ask'

	Active	Middle
1s	*prekuwa, prekwa*	*parksamai**
2s	*prekasta**	*parksatai**
3s	*preksa*	*parksate**
1p	*prekam**	*parksamte**
2p	*prekas*	*parksat**
3p	*prekar*	*parksante*

So also *eṅk-* 'seize', mid. *eṅksate*; *er-* 'cause', mid. *ersāte*; *aik-* 'know', mid. 3s *aiksate**; *aun-* 'hit', *auntsa*; *käm-* 'come', mid. *kamtsate*; *käl-* 'endure', *keltsa*; *käs-* 'extinguish', *kessa*; *kau-* 'destroy', *kausa*; *klin-* 'be obliged', *klaintsa*; *ta-* 'put', mid. *tasāte*; *täm-* 'be born', mid. *temsate*; *treṅk-* 'cling', mid. *treṅksate*; *nak-* 'blame', mid. *nāksate*; *präk-* 'ask', *preksa*; *yäp-* 'enter', *yopsa*; *yänma-* 'achieve', *yonmasa*; *räk-* 'spread out', *reksa*; *rin-* 'leave', mid. *rintsate*; *luk-* 'illuminate', *lyauksa*; *lut-* 'expel', *lyautsa*; *tsäk-* 'burn', *tseksa*; *wäs-* (1) 'don', *wässāte*; *wäs-* (suppletive preterite to *ai-* 'give'), 3p *wasar* (beside pret. I forms in other persons); *tsärk-* 'heat', *tsarksa**.

Preterite Class IV and V: *yam-* 'do', *we-ñ-* 'speak'

1s	*yamaṣṣawa, yamäṣṣāwa*	*weñāwa, wñāwa*
2s	*yamaṣ(ṣ)asta*	*weñāsta, wñāsta*
3s	*yamaṣṣa*	*weña, wñā=ne*
1p	*yamaṣṣam**	*weñām*
2p	*yamaṣṣas**	*wñās*
3p	*yamaṣṣare*, yamaṣṣere*	*weñāre, wñāre*, mid. *weñānte*

Preterite IV is the normal preterite formation for causative IXb presents with full-vowel roots (*a, ai, au*): *wina-* 'worship', *wināṣṣa*. Belonging to Preterite V: *kwipe-ññ-* 'love', mid. *kwipeññate*.

Preterite Class VI: *lä-n-t-* 'go out', *käm-* 'come' **(the only members of this class)**

1s	*latau*	*kamau*
2s	*lac*	*śem*
3s	*lac* (popular *laś, laiś*)	*śem(o)*
3d	*ltais*	
1p	*ltem**	*kmem*
2p	*latso*	
3p	*lateṃ*	*kameṃ, śemare* (a late and analogical form)

Preterite Class VII: *wäs-* 'dwell', *akl-* 'learn'

	Active	Middle
1s	*wṣiyawa*	*aklyiyamai, aklyamai*
2s	*wṣiyasta**	*aklyiyatai*, aklyyatai*
3s	*wsiya*	*akliyate* aklyyate*
1p	*wṣiyam**	*akliyamte**
2p	*wṣiyas**	*akliyat**
3p	*wṣiyare**	*akliyante**

So also *lal-* 'strive', 2s *lalyasta*.

IMPORTANT VERBAL PARADIGMS

***nes-* and *taka-* 'be'**

	Pres. I, II	Subj. V	Pret. I
1s	*nesau* (II)	*tākau*	*takāwa*
2s	*nest* (I)	*tākat*	*takāsta*
3s	*nesäṃ* (I)	*tākaṃ*	*tāka*
1p	*nesem* (II)	*tākam*	*takām**
2p	*nescer* (I), *neścer*	*tākacer*	*takās*
3p	*nesäṃ* (I)	*tākaṃ*	*takāre*

Special copular forms: 3s *ste*, but *star-* before clitic pronouns; 3p *skente, stare*.

käm- 'come'

	Pres. X	Subj. II	Pret. III	Pret. VI
1s	*känmaskau**	*śamau**	*kamtsamai**	*kamau*
2s	*känmaṣt**	*śamt*	*kamtsatai*	*śem*
3s	*känmaṣṣäṃ*	*śa(n)mäṃ*	*kamtsate*	*śem*
1p	*känmaskem**	*śmem**	*kamtsamte**	*kmem*
2p	*känmaścer**	*śamcer**	*kamtsat**	
3p	*känmaskeṃ*	*śanmeṃ*	*kamtsante*	*kameṃ, śemare*

i- 'go'

	Pres. I,II	Impf.	Pret.
1s	*yam*	*yaim*	*msāwa**
2s	*yat*	*yait*	*masta*
3s	*yaṃ*	*yai, yey*	*masa*
1p	*ynem(o)*	*yeyem*	*maitam*
2p	*yacer*	*yaicer*	*maitas*
3p	*yaneṃ*	*yeṃ, yeyeṃ*	*maitar*

Imperative: 2s *paṣ* < **pə-yə́ṣə*, 2p *pcīso, cisso*.

ai- 'give'

	Pres. IXa	Subj. I	Pret. III
1s	*aiskau*	*āyu*	*wsāwa*
2s	*aist(ä)*	*ait*	*wsāsta*
3s	*aiṣṣäṃ*	*aiṃ*	*wasa*
1p	*aiskem*		*wasam, wsam*
2p	*aiścer*		
3p	*aiskeṃ*	*aiṃ* < **aiən*	*wsar, wsāre* (pret. I)

Imperative: 2s *pete*, 2p *petes, petso*.

yam- 'do, make'

	Pres. IXa	reduced	Subj. I, II	Pret. IV	reduced
1s	*yamaskau*	*maskau*	*yāmu* (I)	*yamaṣṣere, yamaṣṣawa*	*maṣṣawa*
2s	*yamast*	*mas*	*yāmt* (I)	*yamaṣ(ṣ)asta*	
3s	*yamaṣṣäṃ*	*maṣṣäṃ*	*yāmäṃ* (I)	*yamaṣṣa*	*maṣṣa*
1p	*yamaskem**	*maskem**	*yamem* (II)	*yamaṣṣam**	*maṣam*
2p	*yamaścer**	*maścer*		*yamaṣṣas**	
3p	*yamaskeṃ*	*maskeṃ**	*yāmeṃ* (II)	*yamaṣṣare**	*maṣṣare*

we-ñ- 'say, speak'

	Pres. IXa		Subj. II	Pret. V
	act.	mid.		
1s	*weskau*	*weskemar*	*weñau*	*weñāwa*, *wñāwa*
2s	*west*	*westar**	*went*	*weñāsta*, *wñāsta*
3s	*weṣṣäṃ*	*westär*	*weṃ*	*weña*, *wñā=ne*
1p	*weskem*		*weñem*	*weñām*
2p	*weścer*		*weñcer*	*wñās*
3p	*weskeṃ*	*weskentär*	*weñeṃ*	*weñāre*, *wñāre*, mid. *weñānte*

Imperative: 2s *poñ* < **pə-weñ*, 2p *poñes*, *pontso*.

lä-n-t- 'go out'

	Pres. X	Subj. VII	Pret. VI
1s	*lnaskau*	*lannu*	*latau*
2s	*lnast**	*lant*	*lac*
3s	*lnaṣṣäṃ*	*laṃ*	*lac* (popular *laś*, *laiś*)
3d			*ltais*
1p	*lnaskem**		*ltem**
2p	*lnaścer**		*latso*
3p	*lnaskeṃ*	*laṃ*	*lateṃ*

Imperative: 2p *platstso*.

ta- 'put'

	Pres. VIII		Subj. V	
	act.	mid.	act.	mid.
1s	*tāsau*	*tasemar**	*tattau**	*tättāmar**
2s	*taṣt**	*tāṣtar**[5]	*tättāt**	*tättātar**
3s	*tāṣän=ne*	*tāṣtär*	*tattaṃ*	*tättātär*
1p	*tasem**	*tasemtär**	*tättām**	*tättāmtär**
2p	*taścer**	*tāṣtär**	*tättācer**	*tättātär**
3p	*tāseṃ*	*tasentär*	*tattaṃ*	*tättāntär*

[5]The probably erroneous *taṣtar* is attested.

	Pret.I	Pret. III	
1s	*tasāmai*	*tesuwa**	*tässāmai**
2s	*tasātai*	*tesasta**	*tässātai**
3s	*tasāte*	*tes(s)a*	*tässāte*
1p	*tasāmte**	*tesam**	*tässāmte**
2p	*tasāt**	*tesas**	*tässāt**
3p	*tasānte*	*tesar, tesare*	*tässānte*

The optative is irregular 3p *täcciyeṃ*, 1s mid. *taccimar* since it does not add the optative marker to the final *-a* of the stem /tətta-/. Pret. ptc. normally *tättāu*, 1× *tatās(aṣ)*. Ipv. 2s *ptes*, 2p *ptässo* (arch.), 2s mid. *ptäsar* (arch.).

Preterite Participles

		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
sg.	nom.	*ltu*	*tärkau*	*keklyauṣu*	*tatākau*
	obl.	*ltuweṣ*	*tärkoṣ*	*keklyauṣoṣ*	*tatākaṣ*
	gen.	*ltuweṣepi*	*tärkoṣepi*	*keklyauṣoṣepi*	*tatākaṣepi*
pl.	nom.	*ltuweṣ*	*tärkoṣ*	*keklyauṣoṣ*	*tatākaṣ*
	obl.	*ltuweṣäṃ*	*tärkoṣäṃ*	*keklyauṣoṣäṃ*	*tatākaṣäṃ*
	gen.	*ltuweṣäṃts*	*tärkoṣäṃts*	*keklyauṣoṣäṃts*	*tatākaṣäṃts*

CLASSIFIED LIST OF VERBS BY PRINCIPAL PART PATTERNS

Pattern	Verb	Present	Subjunctive	Preterite
–,V,I	*taksa-* 'destroy'		*tāksaṃ**	*tāksa**
	nauta- 'disappear'		*nautaṃ*	*nauta*
	pärka- 'rise (of the sun)'		*pärkālñe*	*parka*
	mälka- 'put on'		*malkatsi*	*mälkāte*
	tsarwa- 'be comforted'		*tsārwoytär*	*tsatsārwaṣ*
I,–,I	*pälk-* 'shine'	*palyśi*		*palka**
	yärtta- 'drag'	*yarttäṃ*		*yartta**
I,I,–	*päkw-* 'rely on'	*paktär*[6]	*pkwalñe*	
	yok- 'drink'	*yokäṃ*	*yoktsi*	
I,V,I	*miwa-* 'tremble'	*miwäṃ*	*maiwatsi*	*maiwa*

[6] Alongside XII *pkwaññemar*.

II,I,III	*käs-* 'extinguish'	*keṣäṃ*	*kastsi*[7]	*kessa*
	plätk- 'overflow'	*plyetkemane*	*pletkäṃ*	
II,II,–	*lyäk-* 'lie'	*lyaśäṃ*	*lyakau*	
II,II,I	*katk-* 'rejoice'	*kāccäṃ*	*kaccalya*	*kaccāre*
	kärsk- 'shoot'	*kärskemane*	*kärṣalye**	*karṣṣa*
	klyaus- 'hear'	*klyauṣäṃ*	*klyauṣäṃ*	*klyauṣa*
	cämp- 'be able'	*campäṃ*	*cämpät*	*campya*
	ñäsk- 'demand'	*ñäṣṣäṃ*	*ñäskau=ne*	*ñaṣṣa*
	nask- 'bathe'	*nāṣṣäṃ*	*nāṣṣi*	*nāṣṣa*
	pask- 'guard'	*paskeṃtär*	*pāṣtsi*	*paṣṣātai*
	śaw- 'live'	*śaiṃ*[8]	*śāyau*	*śāya*[9]
	soy- 'be satisfied'	*soycer*	*soytsi*	*soyāre*
II,II,III	*aik-* 'know'	*aiśtär*	*aiśtsi*	*aiksate**
II,V,I	*ak-* 'lead'	*āśäṃ*	*wāyaṃ*	*wāya*
	käly- 'stand'	*kaltär*	*stāmaṃ*	*ś(c)ama**
	klep- 'touch'	*klyeptär*	*klapālñe*	*klawāte*
	pänn- 'stretch'	*peññäṃ*	*pānnaṃ*	*piñña*
	pär- 'carry'	*paräṃ*	*āṣtsi*	*kamāte*
	ṣäm- 'sit'	*ṣamäṃ*	*lāmaṃ*	*lyama*
III,V,I	*kula-* 'decline'	*kuletär*	*kulātär*	*kula**
	krämpa- 'be disturbed'	*krämpetär**	*krämpālñe*	*krämpāsta*
	tuka- 'hide'	*cukemar*	*taukau*	
	trika- 'be confused'	*triketär*	*trikalyñe*[10]	*trika*
	triwa- 'be mixed with'	*triwetär*	*triwātär*	*triwa**
	nuwa- 'roar'	*ñewetär*	*núwaṃ*	*nawātär**
	prutka- 'be shut'	*prutketär*	*prutkātär*	*prutkāre*
	pläṅka- 'be for sale'	*pläṅketär*	*pläṅkātsi*	*plaṅka*
	märsa- 'forget'	*märsetär*	*mārsaṃ**	*marsa*
	mäska- 'be located'	*mäsketär*		*maska*
	mlutka- 'escape'	*mlutketär*	*mlutkāmar*	
	ritta- 'be attached to'	*rittetär*	*rittātär*	*ritta*
	luwa- 'send'	*lyewetär*	*lāwaṃ**	*lyuwa*
	wätka- 'decide'		*wätkoyt*	*wätkāwa*
	wika- 'disappear'	*wiketär*	*wikātär*	*wīka*

[7] Tr. 'to extinguish' alongside III *ksetsi* itr. 'to come to extinction'.
[8] Alongside IXa *śawaṣṣäṃ*.
[9] Alongside IV mid. *śāwṣate*.
[10] Archaic for *trikālyñe**.

	sätka- 'spread out'	*sätkentär*	*sätkälñecci*	*sätkāre*
	spärka- 'disappear'	*spärketär*	*spärkoytär*	*sparka**
	tsäṅka- 'arise'	*tseṅketär*	*tsäṅkaṃ*	*tsaṅka*
	tsälpa- 'pass away'	*tsälpetär*	*tsälpātär*	*tsālpa*
	tsuwa- 'attach oneself to'	*tswetär*	*tsuwa*	
IV,V,I	*artta-* 'be pleased with'	*orttotär*	*ārtatär**	*artātte*
	asa- 'dry out'	*osotär*		*asāre*
	karpa- 'descend'	*korpotär*	*kārpaṃ*	*kārpa*
	klaya- 'fall'	*kloyotär*	*klāyaṃ*	*klāya*
	klautka- 'turn'	*klautkotär*	*klautkaṃ*	*klautka*
	pauta- 'flatter'	*pautotär*	*pautaṃ*	
	planta- 'rejoice'	*plontotär*	*plāntaṃ**	*plānta*
	yata- 'be able'	*yototär*	*yātaṃ*	*yāta**
	laita- 'to fall down'	*laitotär*	*laitaṃ*	*laita*
	waka- 'split apart'	*wokotär**	*wākaṃ*	
	spart(t)a- 'revolve'	*sporttotär*	*spārttaṃ*	*spārtta*
V,V,–	*iya-* 'go by vehicle'	*iyaṃ*	*iyaṃ*	
V,V,I	*kwa-/kaka-* 'call'	*kwātär*	*kākatär*	*kāka*
	präska- 'fear'	*prāskaṃ*	*prāskaṃ*	*pärska*
	pläwa- 'lament'	*palwaṃ*	*pälwālñe*	*plyāwa*
	mäka- 'run'	*makoymar*	*makatsi*	*mkānte*
	śuwa- 'eat'	*śuwaṃ*	*śuwa*	*śāwa*
VI,–,I	*musa-* 'rise'	*musnātär*		*musau*
VI,I,–	*täla-* 'carry'	*tallaṃ*	*tällātsi* (?)	
VI,V,–	*kwäsa-* 'lament'	*kwäsnātär*	*kwāsoye(ntär)*	
	rapa- 'dig'	*rapanaṃ*	*rāpatsi*	
	skaya- 'strive'	*skainaṃ*	*skāyaṃ*	
VI,V,I	*käta-* 'strew'	*katnaṃ*	*kātaṃ*	*śata**
	kärsa- 'know'	*kärsanaṃ*	*kārsaṃ*	*śarsa*
	kauta- 'split'	*kautanaṃ*	*kautaṃ*	*kautāte*
	krästa- 'cut off'	*karsnaṃ*	*krāstäṃ*	*karsta*
	tärka- 'let go'	*tärkanaṃ*	*tārkaṃ*	*carka*
	nätka- 'hold off'	*natknaṃ*[11]	*nātkaṃ*	*ñätka*
	pärsa- 'sprinkle'	*pärsnaṃ**		*pirsāre*
	päla- 'praise'	*pällāmar*	*pālamar*	*palāte*
	pläska- 'consider'	*pälskanaṃ*	*plāskaṃ*	*palska*

[11] Alongside VII *nättaṅkäṃ*.

	mrauska- 'be surfeited'	*mrausknātär*	*mrauskātär*	*mrauskāte*
	räma- 'bend'	*ramnaṃ**	*rmantär*	*rämāte*
	rita- 'seek'	*ritanatär*	*ritatär*	*ritāte*
	lika- 'wash'	*laikanatär*	*laikatsi*	*laikāte*
	waltsa- 'grind'	*wāltsnaṃ*	*wāltsaṃ*	*wāltsa*
	wärpa- 'enjoy'	*wärpanaṃ*	*warpatsi*	*wärpāte*
	skära- 'scold'	*skarraṃ*	*skāratsi*	*skarāre*
VII,V,I	*kätka-* 'cross'	*kättaṅkäṃ*[12]	*kātkaṃ*	*śatka*
	klutka- 'turn'	*kluttaṅkentär*	*klutkatsi*	
	pika- 'write'	*piṅkäṃ*	*paikatär*	*paiyka*
	putka- 'divide'	*puttaṅgaṃ*	*putkatsi*	*putka**
	rutka- 'remove'	*ruttaṅkemar*	*rautkaṃ*	*rautka*
	sälka- 'pull (out)'	*slaṅktär*	*sālkaṃ*	*sälkāte*
VIII,I,III	*er-* 'cause'	*erṣäṃ*	*ertär*	*ersate*
	käl- 'endure'	*kalsäṃ*	*kelu*	*keltsa*
	kau- 'destroy'	*kauṣäṃ*	*kowäṃ*	*kausa*
	nak- 'blame'	*nakṣtär*	*nāktsi*	*nāksate*
	präk- 'ask'	*prekṣäṃ*	*prekäṃ*	*preksa*
	räk- 'spread out'	*raksau*	*raktsi*	*reksa*
	näk- 'destroy'	*nakṣäṃ*	*neku*[13]	*neksa*
	tsäk- 'burn'	*tsakṣäṃ*	*tsäktsi*[14]	*tseksa*
VIII,II,III	*luk-* 'illuminate'	*lukṣäṃ*	*lyuśtär* [15]	*lyauksa*
VIII,III,III	*päk-* 'cook'	*pakṣäṃ*	*pkelñe*	*pepeku*
VIII,V,I	*yuk-* 'overcome'	*yukṣäṃ*	*yukaṃ*	*yuka*
	ta- 'put'	*tāseṃ*	*tattaṃ*	*tasāte*[16]
IXa,I,III	*eṅk-* 'seize'	*eṅkastär*	*eṅktär*	*eṅksate*
	ai- 'give'	*aiṣṣäṃ*	*aiṃ*	*wasa*
	aun- 'hit'	*aunaṣṣäṃ*	*auṃ*	*auntsa*
	klin- 'be obliged'	*kl(y)inaṣṣäṃ*	*klyiṃ*	*klaintsa*
	treṅk- 'cling'	*treṅkastär*	*treṅktär**	*treṅksate*
	rin- 'leave'	*rinastär*	*rintär*	*rintsate*
	wäs- (1) 'don'	*yastär**	*wastär*	*wässāte*
	tsärk- 'heat'	*tsärkaṣṣäṃ*	*tsarkäṃ**	*tsarksa**

[12] Alongside VI *kätkanaṃ*.
[13] Alongside III *nketär*.
[14] Alongside III *tsektsi*.
[15] Alongside III *lyuketär*.
[16] Alongside III *tes(s)a*.

IXa,II,I	*yask-* 'beg'	*yaskastär*	*yāṣtär*	*yaṣṣāte*
IXa,II,III	*lut-*'expel'	*l(y)utaṣṣäṃ*	*lyucäṃ**	*lyautsa*
IXa,III,III	*kän-* 'occur'	*knastär*	*knetär*	*kekenu*
IXa,IV,VII	*akl-* 'learn'	*aklaṣṣeñca*	*aklyitär*	*akly(i)yate*
	auks- 'grow'	*auksäṣṣäṃ*	*auksitsi*	
	lal- 'strive'	*lalaṣṣäṃ**	*lalyitsi*	*lalyasta*
	wäs- (2) 'dwell'	*wsaṣṣäṃ*	*wṣiṃ**	*wṣīya*
IXa,V,I	*läka-* 'see' {	*lkāṣṣäṃ*[17]	*lakaṃ*	*lyāka**
		pālkaṃ	*palyka*	
	sampa- 'take away'	*sompastär*	*sāmpatsi*	*sampāte*
IXa,VI,I	*kälpa-* 'reach'	*kälpāskau*	*kallaṃ*	*kalpa*
IXa,IXa,IV	*wina-* 'worship'	*wināṣṣäṃ*	*wināṣṣi*	*wināṣṣa*
IXb,I,III	*ala-* 'restrain'	*alastär*	*āltsi*	*ālu*
IXb,IXb,–	*yu-* 'aspire'	*yuwäṣṣäṃ*	*yuwäskeṃ*	
IXb,IXb,I	*ṣäl-*	*ṣaläṣṣäṃ*	*ṣaläṣṣälñe*	*ṣālla*
IXb,IXb,II	*mi-* 'harm'	*miyiṣṣäṃ*	*myāyate*	
	śänm- 'bind'	*śanmästär*	*śanmäṣṣäṃ**	*śānmya*
Xa,I,III	*yäp-* 'enter'	*yänmaṣṣäṃ*	*yopäṃ*	*yopsa*
Xa,II,III	*käm-* 'come'	*känmaṣṣäṃ*	*śa(n)mäṃ*	*kamtsate*[18]
Xa,III,III	*täm-* 'be born'	*tänmastär*	*cmetär*	*temtsate*
Xa,V,I	*käla-* 'lead'	*källāṣṣäṃ*	*kālaṃ*	*śala*
Xa,VI,I	*kärya-* 'buy'	*kärnāstär*	*kärnātär*	*käryāte*
Xa,VI,III	*yänma-* 'achieve'	*yänmaṣṣäṃ*	*yanmaṃ*[19]	*yonmasa*
Xa,VII,VI	*lä-n-t-* 'go out'	*lnaṣṣäṃ*	*laṃ*	*lac*
XI,II,I	*aks-* 'declare'	*aksaskau*	*āksäṃ*	*āksa*
XII,V,I	*kawa-* 'desire'	*kawaññentär*	*kāwatsi*	*kawāte*
	käska- 'scatter'	*käskaṃ*	*kāskaṃ**	*käskānte*
	kläntsa- 'sleep'	*klantsaṃ**	*klantsoy*	*klyantsa*
	mänta- 'stir'	*mäntäṃ*	*māntäṃ*	*mantāwa*
	wäska- 'move'	*wäskantär*	*wāskalle*	*waskāte*

[17] Alongside V *lkātär*.
[18] Alongside VI 1s *kamau*, 2s, 3s *śem*, 3p *kameṃ*.
[19] Alongside I *yonmäṃ*.

Key to the Exercises

Lesson 1

Tocharian B to English

1. The horse dies.
2. Wolves roar (howl) on the mountain.
3. Men forgot the gods.
4. The community's horses are for sale in the thief's house.
5. Horses' teeth will/should be mixed with wolf's shoulder.
6. The sun disappeared from the mountain of the gods.
7. The brave hunter was disturbed.
8. He heard the song of the wolf in the forest.
9. He took refuge in a tree and he saw the wolf below.
10. Quietly he stretched the bowstring and he shot an arrow. Then the wolf died. Therefore the brave hunter rejoiced.
11. Humans forgot the Buddha-god. Therefore the naga disappeared from the country.

English to Tocharian B

1. *yakwi srukāre.*
2. *ñäktentse painene tukāwa.*
3. *pañcwarṣikmeṃ ām wikāsta.*
4. *onolmi ñakteṃmpa triwāntär.*
5. *alyekepi kartse yāmtsi märsās.*
6. *tsirauññetstse käṣṣī nesau. etre ñi takāsta.*

Lesson 2

Tocharian B to English

1. The servants drive the great ox out of the field of the community.
2. The ox of the self quenched his thirst in the pool of redemption.
3. I know the way from the border to the divine city.
4. Thus they thought. What is the good? How shall we do it?

5. You strewed the flowers of the good men in the field.
6. But I never praised life. It is the duty of good people to seek release.
7. Why shall we release you from our arms?
8. Alas! I will become a wolf when the full moon shines. Who will release me from torture?
9. The flower blooms at the edge of the field. But without water it dies.
10. The gods descend to release men (or: a man) from the cycle of rebirth.

English to Tocharian B

1. *etri wetāmeṃ ām wikāre.*
2. *tsirauññecci eṅkwi lantaññai riśc ramer mkānte.*
3. *orocce lānt kälpāre.*
4. *yolaiṃ onolmeṃ kawar.*
5. *ṣan pokainemeṃ yasar laikānte.*
6. *rintse onolmi plontontär.*

Lesson 3

Tocharian B to English

1. Suffering will not cause aversion to the world. (or:) Aversion to the world will not cause suffering.[1]
2. The great king killed the good artists. The good men of the city killed *him.*
3. The powerful heretical monk cooks ox blood (and) the flowers of the tree together.
4. In this way old age (and) death destroy the life of people. They drive it to their own end.
5. The merchant drives his ship in all directions, but he does not find salt for them.
6. Day and night the great city will burn.
7. The chariot hunters burned the monk because he destroyed the wheels of the chariots.
8. The merchant came to my city, but he is not able to sell the bad horses.
9. The brahmans going bit by bit came into the land of king Araṇemi.
10. And the army will not come to you again.
11. Through dharma the life of men is not heavy like a burden through a shoulder yoke.
12. Foreign artists must not be killed.
13. It is not possible to know everything.

[1]But the second alternative is less likely because the basic word order is SOV. In Buddhist philosophy, aversion (Skt. *dveṣa-*) *does* cause suffering.

English to Tocharian B

1. *kreñcepi* (or: obl. *krent*) *onolmentse aikne śarsa: kälymi kälymi kartse yāmtsi.*
2. *orotstsa lāntsa pyapyaiṃ mīṣeṃtasa sanai salyaine śata.*
3. *yṣintse ñakteṃ marsaṃ ñwecceṃ ṣpa ñakteṃ wināskeṃ.*
4. *amoktse rintse kälymimeṃ känmaṣṣäṃ lānte ṣpä araṇemiñ yapoyne yaṃ.*
5. *ente ñwetstse śātre miṣentane pakṣtär, ot telki yamaskem.*
6. *walo wai lāntsa kercciyeṃmeṃ kārpaṃ ñakteṃ ṣp ysomo wināskem.*

Lesson 4

Tocharian B to English

1. When the boys ate the roots, then they became pure.
2. If his belly is/will be big and his tongue is/will be long, it will be a good donkey.
3. Blame and Evil are joined to them like a shadow.
4. We give a flower from the garden to you and you will give gold to us/you pl./them.
5. The jaw is the root of the teeth.
6. The farmer went to strew seeds.
7. As he was strewing the seeds, some fell by the road.
8. Flying animals (i.e. birds) came and ate them.
9. Some fell in a rocky place.
10. There was not much dirt for them. They grew quickly because the dirt was shallow.[2]

English to Tocharian B

1. *cwi kantwo astare ste, cwi no rekauna aikarona skente* (or: *stare*).
2. *lānte araṇemiñ riśc yaim ente śamaśkañ ytāri śätkāre pyāpyai ṣpä werpiśkemeṃ wsar* (or: *wsāre=ñ*).
3. *mewiya wai oṅkolmo okonta putkāre toṃ ṣpä kercapaintse wsar.*
4. *kwri tāno kātsane mā tākoy, lānte kercciyeṃne yaim parso ṣpä paikoymar.*
5. *orotstse yerkwanto* (or: *cākkär*) *sporttotär näno(k) näno(k) spār(t)taṃ.*
6. *araṇemi walo wertsiyaimpa eṣe śem.*

Lesson 5

Tocharian B to English

1. The all-knower said to him: If these meats had not been eaten by you, your suffering would have disappeared.

[2]Sentences 6–10 are inspired by the Parable of the Sower, Mark 4:3–5.

2. As water having gone into the Ganges flows together with the sea, so the eightfold path, when taught, leads to immortality.
3. They went to the extinguished place (i.e. *nirvāṇa*).
4. You extinguished the fires in the blood by the eightfold path.
5. He who made the chariot from pieces of wood, he attaches the horses with the fetters/bonds.
6. They will remove the bones with sinew from the meat. They will give the meat together with grain to the fire.
7. The great queen will wear a white garment when she will come to the sacrifice.
8. The suffering-destroying all-knower went out from the new city. (If) tortured by brahmans he will not be immortal.
9. The king and queen riding in a chariot together going bit by bit came to the city of the gods.
10. Death will come for him when he is not/will not be looking.[3]
11. We, evil ones, have not come to extinguish the fire in the house.

English to Tocharian B

1. *sklok-näkṣi poyśi weñā=neśc* (or: *wñā=neśc*): *kwri tā oktatstsai ytāri kärsanat* (or: *aiśtar*), *snai lakle tākat twe ṣpä ike kekesoṣ yat.*
2. *puwar āka miṣene tseksa. tusa riṣṣi onolmi kestsa srukāre.*[4]
3. *$k_u$ce ñäktentse āsta k_uśiññai rimeṃ ślām* (or: *klāmte*), *toṃ māka yarkesa winäskem.*
4. *tsirauññecceṃ naṣṣeñcaṃ warne lyāka.*
5. *mā śaul treñcimar ente srukalñe śanmäṃ.*
6. *w(e)ñā=meśc: araṇemi walo ñem* (or: *ñemsa*) *nesau. cwi ypoyntse kamartīke nesau.*

Lesson 6

Tocharian B to English

1. Standing on the mountain, your little body shone.
2. The all-knower sat in meditation (i.e. meditated) in the house of the pious one.
3. I will not drink your poison. I trust in the thoughts of the Buddha.
4. Now they burn in a monk's form.
5. This queen said to him: You place me in the hands of an *arhat.*
6. You also knew all the sufferings of the cycle of rebirth.
7. Why are you not able/will you not be able to give up the sufferings and poisons of mortals?
8. Must/Will there be danger to my life?

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[3] *lkātär* is both present and subjunctive.

[4] *tseksa* is better than a form of *tsärk-*, which is used primarily in a metaphorical sense of 'torment'. The adjective *riṣṣi* is more idiomatic than the genitive *rintse.*

9. The great rivers and pools dry up in/by the sun.
10. Sesame oil is to be cooked with an equal part of poison.

English to Tocharian B

1. *cai brāhmaṇi cwi wlamśkeṃ* (or: *lalamṣkeṃ*) *soṃśke paksem.*
2. *po cmelaṃts āke yamaṣṣeñca pudñäkte* (or: *pañäkte*) *śanmäṃ läklemeṃ ṣpä onolmeṃ tsalpästsi campäṃ* (or: *yātaṃ*).
3. *klyomoñ etri parna klyentär lānt palkatsi* (or: *lkātsi*) *walke ṣpä stamaṃ.*
4. *cakene ś(c)māwa. mā ce$_u$ śätkāwa.*
5. *lyaśi wat lamoy mā no klyelle ste.*
6. *mā ceṃ nta srukalñemeṃ tsalpästsi cämpem.*

Lesson 7

Tocharian B to English

1. May I not be mingled/mixed with an evil one. May I win the mortal contest.
2. If I lived a single day standing firm in the law, this life would be best.
3. But may I not be pleased with life connected with lawlessness even for 100 years.
4. I wrote the Mitravarga. May I find good friends in all births.
5. The queen went out to buy a flower. But she bought a wolf.
6. Shining world, water, fire! Who ordered me to trust in you down on earth?
7. You should not be proud of that of which you are not capable.[5]
8. The teachers start to speak. All people listen to them.
9. A person of that sort is reborn in hell. There are eight cold hells.
10. The sage says the way that he has achieved by thoughts to the noble ones.[6]

English to Tocharian B

1. *nänok rṣāke ṣait. warttone sunetri yarke yamaṣṣasta.*
2. *kwri no ostameṃ eṅkweṃ lyutsi päknāstar, maṇḍāl kewiyepi ysārntse yamaṣṣälle.*[7]
3. *dharmacandre toṃ amokänta paikatsi yātka.*
4. *posa swāre śwātsi śatenäṃts kartse ste, mā no posa ścirenäṃts kektseñtsa.*
5. *uwe(nä)ṃ käṣṣīnta pkwamane ostameṃ lac.*
6. *k$_u$se pelaikne rintsi auntär se cmelntse enepre okt nrainta yaṃ.*

[5] Literally: In what you are not able, in that you should not be proud.
[6] Literally: Which way the sage has achieved by thoughts, that (way) he says to the noble ones.
[7] The gen. sg. of *yasar* is not attested, but on the analogy of *puwar* gen. sg. *pwārntse* it should be *ysārntse*.

Lesson 8

Tocharian B Passage

1. Guṇasaṃpade says: O powerful one! Therefore we will now be ready, won't we?
2. When this virtuous king Sunetre will arise in the world as a Buddha, then we will be his untiring servants.
3. Can't that one somehow be a refuge for us in suffering?
4. Jñānasthite says: O friend, please remember this.
5. When this virtuous one Araṇemi by name was king, then he did an even more wonderful thing.
6. Guṇasaṃpade says: O powerful one, and without hesitations you ought to carefully recall the good deed of this king Araṇemi.
7. Jñānasthite says: With uplifted thought, without disturbance listen to this section of a *jātaka*.
8. In the Riññäkte meter: The time is not long passed.
9. The pearl of mankind, king Araṇemi was in the city of Aruṇāvati.
10. He was adorned with virtuous ornaments.
11. But then now this king Araṇemi, (after) the wish for Buddhahood had just arisen...

English to Tocharian B

1. *kest yokaisa memiyoṣ onolmi śwātsi yoktsiśc kawānte.*
2. *yente pyāpyaiṃ po kälymintsa* (or: *kälymi-kälymi*) *käskaṃ.*
3. *ñake preksau=me. kā snai meṃtsi kläntsañcer?*
4. *eṅkwaññe ṣotri neksate=ñ. piśkänte cmelane kliye takāwa.*
5. *walo amoktsentse klaiṃ śano wasa.*
6. *śāte nesau. tallāñc wai läklessoñc neścer* (or: *nescer*). *pyāmso ārwer yatsi.*

Lesson 9

Tocharian B Passage

1. [King A.:] Don't be angry with me (i.e. stop scolding me)! Release hate! Isn't it the case that the poison of my teacher...? Having stood, they put swords into the scabbard.
2. With honor they say to the king.
3. [The ministers:] We cannot bear your scorn.
4. [King A.:] How do you command me to do this, to drive my teacher from the country?
5. [The ministers:] Whether the lord will take us or the brahman, we at any rate cannot bear that one.

6. [King A.:] I have come into danger. Will this one be in your power?
7. [Rudramukha:] Striving after the five (most) learned students, having flattered in many ways, he (Rudramukha) says to them.
8. Dear sons, I have a personal word for you.
9. The brahman Kapilavarṇe says: The teacher may speak trustingly.

English to Tocharian B

1. *sā (t)keṃ snai preṅkeṃ warsa ite tāka.*
2. *twe olyittau gāṅkne nest. yakweṃ käryorttantäṃts yasasa wsāsta.*
3. *śänmānmasa walke śānmyatai prākre.*
4. *cey no aknātsañ nesäṃ. mā āyor ailñe paskeṃtär.*
5. *weña yokaiṣṣe reki. ce$_u$ taṅksa päklyauṣṣo.*
6. *erkatte ñiś yamaṣṣate ṣañ spä ypoymeṃ lyautsa=ñ.*

Lesson 10

Tocharian B passage

1. Rudramukha the brahman says in the Niskramānt meter.
   a. This ignorant king, Araṇemi (his) name, having forgotten himself indeed
   b. treated me with contempt. He drove me away from his own country in front of his retinue.
   c. Death should more be sought by a wise man (rather than) his sense of shame should bend.
   d. The king of this name has treated me with contempt. How shall I endure that?
2. The students say: Teacher, what is to be done by us in this case?
3. The brahman says: Therefore go now at my command!
4. Uttara by name is the son of king Araṇemi in love without difference from his own life (i.e. whom he loves as much as his own life).
5. But this king giving all surely will give that prince Uttara to you, with a desire for the status of Buddhahood.
6. I will give to Uttara the sorrows to be seen by him (i.e. by king Araṇemi).
7. If you fulfill this wish of mine, then you will obtain an advantage from me according to the way of the rule.
8. The brahmans say: As the teacher orders! The brahmans went.

English to Tocharian B

1. *śamäśkane westeṃ: tai ñaktene ltais tai ṣpä pelaiknentse saimne stāmais.*

2. *antapi ṣamāni*[8] *pälkamñana ostuwaśc yaneṃ. ostaṣmeñcañ tai winäskeṃ. pintwāt tainaisäñ aiskeṃ.*
3. *kauṃ raddhi kyānamar tusa poñc karsaṃ* (or: *aikentär*) *mäkte ñiś pañäkte nesau.*
4. *twe lāre ñi snai wāki ṣañ śaulameṃ takāsta.*
5. *su ysomo wertsyaimpa pärweṣṣe perne kalpa.*
6. *riśc paṣ. pontäṃ* (or: *po*) *yakweṃ peplyaṅke. tau ypantse aṣkār pkāla.*

Lesson 11

Tocharian B passage

1. Then these brahmans going step by step came into the land of king Araṇemi.
2. Having entered into this city, they say to one another: Hey, hey! Who will make known our arrival to the great king?
3. Then the female doorkeeper, having seen the brahmans, entered into the palace. She says with honor to the king.
4. O god (i.e. Your Majesty), foreign brahmans are standing outside. They seek to see the lord.
5. The king says: Lead them in here quickly. They are my benefactors.
6. Then the brahmans having entered the palace with the raising high of their hand all do honor to the king.[9]
7. Then king Araṇemi having risen toward the brahmans seated them on the throne in the manner of a teacher.

Lesson 12

Tocharian B passage

1. Having taken him he sets him on his knees. He began to lick his little face with his tongue.
2. O life-bearing little son, this one is a second dad without sin. Now your first father leaves you.
3. Uttara says: Father, do you intend to do away with me? The king says: O dear one, I am giving you as a gift to the brahmans.
4. Trembling he says: Lord father, those are demons, not brahmans. They will surely eat me up. You will place me in the hands of the demons.
5. With a hoarse voice his mother called him, with love, without interruption.
6. Then prince Uttara having taken his mother by the cheek says to her: Dear mommy! Tell father! He should not give me to those rakshasas.

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[8]The plural can be used when a noun is modified by a dual form like *wi* 'two', e.g. *toṃ wi wäntarwa* 'these two things'; the dual of *ṣamāne* is unattested, perhaps *ṣamānene**?

[9]This might mean that they weren't very respectful!

7. Then, because of suffering, sweat arose from all his body because of his affection for the prince.
8. But he, having become limp, comforting with a word says to prince Uttara.
9. Dear one, those are people, not yakṣas. Don't be afraid.
10. The brahmans say: O great king, you will not turn from your decision, will you?

Lesson 13

Tocharian B passage

1. The king, taking prince Uttara with one hand, swelling his heart (i.e. with a heavy heart), after having given the prince to the brahmans says in the Taruṇadivākar meter.
2. a. How do I give my god-like little son difficult to leave?
   b. Don't I take account of my own suffering...
   c. for this reason
   d. With a knife I would destroy into little pieces all the falsehood of the world.
3. Then having given the prince to the brahmans he sat trembling in sorrow. Then the brahmans dragging the prince Uttara by both arms went out of the palace.
4. Then Uttara looking at his father, the king, lamenting with his little tongue speaks: O lord daddy, take me away from these rakshasas, please! You are still alive. But now these will eat me up!
5. After having heard this, the gall trembled for him, king Araṇemi (i.e. he fainted), he fell to the ground. Then a great voice of lament was heard.
6. Then now the brahmans threatening prince Uttara with harsh words say to him: Go, go! Son of a commoner! You have come into our hands now and you will not see your father!

Lesson 14

Tocharian B passage

1. His tongue was going out from his mouth. Then the brahman Durmukha pokes the boy Uttara with a rough reed root. Having made pants full of thorns for him, they began to chase him hard.
2. Then because of the treatment of the boy Uttara falling down from his feet, having tripped on some root of the forest, fell on his face. Mud spattered on the ground and entered him (or: permeated it, i.e. his clothing?)
3. Then Rudraśarma, the brahman, having taken the prince Uttara by the belt, dragged him back and forth over the earth.
4. Having seen that the tree-dwelling god said to his wife with sorrow: My dear one, see the inconstancy of things and the disappearing end. In the Pañcagati meter:

5. a. His father a king is still living. He (Araṇemi) is difficult to treat with contempt even by Vishnus.
   b. But still these mean brahmans drag his tender little son with anger.
   c. That prince looks at them with a compassionate look, with love, like his dear father.
   d. And nevertheless no one is a refuge for that one in that suffering.
6. a. That one's father turns to the directions, (like) an osprey he keens without stop.
   b. He calls him and cries for him with love. Where he (the king) tarries going to the places gone to by him (Uttara),
   c. he entrusts him to the animals: If you see my little son separated from me,
   d. comfort him in my place on the terrible road.
7. The goddess says: The father himself, the king has brought that suffering to him. And why is he unhappy now? The tree-dwelling god says: He left him with the desire of Buddhahood. Don't blame him. Because of sorrow his heart is breaking completely. But he sees these sorrows for our sake. Having said this the god and goddess departed.
8. But then now going step by step the brahmans leading prince Uttara brought him into the land of king Candramukha. Then the students having entered into the brahman village spoke to the priest Rudramukha.

Lesson 15

Tocharian B passage

1. Whichever monk by agreement with thieves and robbers takes to the road, it is *pāyti.*
2. Whichever monk makes an ordination of a person less than twenty years of age, it is *pāyti.* He (i.e. the youngster) will not be ordained, the monks should be blamed.
3. Whichever monk digs the earth with his own hand or orders it to be dug, it is *pāyti.*
4. A personal invitation must be enjoyed by a monk for four months at the most. If he will enjoy it for more time, it is *pāyti.*
5. Whichever monk, when the *prātimokṣasūtra* is being spoken, says as follows: I will not act according to the word of you ignorant ones. I will ask one who is knowledgeable about the sutras of *vinaya* and *abhidharma*, it is *pāyti.*
6. Whichever monk stands with ears erect (i.e. eavesdropping) when monks are fighting and quarreling, it is *pāyti.*
7. Whichever monk, when a dharmic matter of the monastic community will be decided, gets up (to go) outside without permission, it is *pāyti.*
8. Whichever monk disrespects the Buddha, it is *pāyti.*

9. Whichever monk drinks wine, intoxicating drink, brandy for intoxication, it is *pāyti.*
10. Whichever monk enters into a village without permission when the time has passed, it is *pāyti.*
11. Whichever monk, by rising earlier or by coming late harms the monastic community, it is *pāyti.*
12. Whichever monk goes into the king's palace while it is still night, except for a reason in this way, it is *pāyti.*
13. Whichever monk does not listen to the *prātimokṣa* with all his soul, it is *pāyti.*
14. Whichever monk makes a needle case of bone or tooth (i.e. ivory), it is *pāyti.*
15. Whichever monk makes a chair or a couch, it should be made according to the measure of the Buddha.

Lesson 16

Tocharian B passages

LP 1 Recto

The mountain commander writes to Yuṣo. Act according to my order, to wit: You, let Puttamitre (i.e. Buddhamitra) go further. With him twenty people; donkeys three; horse one; let this much (go) further. Don't let more than that. In year ten, in the fourth month.

Verso

To be brought to Yuṣo.

LP 2 Recto

...four; cattle four; let this much go further; in the year twenty-one, in the month *wärsañne* on the twenty-eight (i.e. on the twenty-eighth day) in a year in the reign of Suvarṇadeva. The *cākara* Orśa instructed.

Verso

To be brought to Sknatatte.

LP 11 Recto

Let (this pass). Whatever will be more than this, you, don't let it pass. In year five, in the ninth month. At the new moon, the commander himself instructed.

Verso

To be brought to Yuṣo.

Monastery Accounts PK DA.M.507(8)

1. In year five, in the sixth month, by the monastic community were consumed: barley: 2 cāks, 4 taus.
2. By the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 3 cāks, 7 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: millet: 4 cāks, 8 taus.
3. In the seventh month by the monastic community were consumed: barley: 2 cāks, 8 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 9 cāks, 4 taus.
4. By the monastic community were consumed: millet: cāks, 1 cāk, 9 taus.
5. The eighth month. By the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 1 cāk, 6 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: millet: 1 cāk.
6. In the ninth month by the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 3 cāks, 2 taus.
7. By the monastic community were consumed: barley: 3 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: millet: 5 cāks.
8. In the seventh month by the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 7 cāks, 7 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: barley: 2 cāks, 2 taus. By the monastic community were consumed:
9. millet: 8 cāks, 9 taus. In the month of *wärsañṅe* (the eleventh month) by the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 7 cāks, 9 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: barley: 4 cāks, 8 taus.
10. By the monastic community were consumed: millet: 8 cāks, 1 tau. In the month of *rapañṅe* (the winter festival) by the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 8 cāks, 3 taus. By the monastic community were consumed: barley:
11. 4 cāks, 1 tau. By the monastic community were consumed: millet: 10 cāks, 4 taus.
12. From the sixth month up to and including the month of *rapañṅe* by the monastic community were consumed: barley: 16 cāks, 7 taus.
13. From the sixth month up to and including the month of *rapañṅe* by the monastic community were consumed: wheat: 41 cāks, 8 taus.
14. From the sixth month up to and including the month of *rapañṅe* by the monastic community were consumed: millet: 40 cāks, 7 taus.
15. From the sixth month up to and including the winter festival, as food provision given to the lay servants: wheat was spent: 49 cāks.

Verso

1. To the teacher. His student Amr̥tadeva pays homage with honor.
2. I, still young, left my father and mother. I took his refuge and shelter. In the strength of the teacher I undertook to become a monk.[10]

[10] Literally: go out from home.

Lesson 17

Tocharian B passage

1. The Buddha was again at Śrāvastī with the community.
2. The king Prasenaci was traveling in a chariot. Then the axle of the chariot broke. The spokes scattered apart.
3. The king even at this time was worried about his life.
4. He went to the Buddha at Jetavana. Then with honor and esteem the king asked the all-knower about the breaking of the chariot.
5. Will there be perhaps my downfall from the great royal throne or can/will there be a danger to my life?
6. The all-knower said to him with compassion. There is no danger to your life, also no downfall from the throne.
7. Let this worry go from your thought, as much as (i.e. although) unpleasant here are the laws of all people, o lord!
8. The Buddha taught three things to him: sickness, old age, and death.
9. If these were not in the world, a Buddha would not then arise. All-knowers arise here to drive out these dangers.
10. Then the one with ten strengths spoke in order to make the thought of the king feel an aversion to the world. He spoke this verse with deep meaning with a simile.
11. The very spectacular chariots of the king grow old. In this very way also bodies reach old age.
12. But the dharma of the good does not reach old age. But these good ones (i.e. Buddhas) make it (dharma) known among all good ones ever anew.
13. As the connections of the chariot are bound with fetters, so the connections of bones are bound with tendons and ligaments.
14. If they are carefully protected, chariots stand for a long time. Even a good body quickly shows its unique character.
15. Again at another time he was abiding in Śrāvastī, the god of gods, the Buddha. He went out from his cell in the morning. The sun had just risen high.
16. The all-knower sat on his seat. He took off his upper garment. He made his back high to the sun.
17. Ānanda sat on his knees. With both hands he stroked and rubbed the Buddha's body for him.
18. Ānanda said to the all-knower: O lord, a change of the five sense organs are seen beginning with eyes.
19. The breaking of the upper skin and the feebleness of the flesh are seen on you.
20. So it is, Ānanda, old age is without form.
21. Then the Buddha said in the gathering of the community three excellent verses to dispel the confusion of the novices.

22. Phooey on you, old age (literally, Fie may you be), with a common way, not noble. You are making bad the form of people!

Lesson 18

Tocharian B passage

1. The Buddha said this verse
   to restrain them from evil and to bind them in the virtues.
   [because the fruit of action, which is good or bad,
   every being will enjoy (it)] as the eater of given part of just this' (i.e., as heir of his act).
2. This verse he taught to them: What people will do here
   good or evil (deed, whichever kind it will be),
   they will eat (the fruit of each one) as a given part in subsequent births.
   (Then this very act, does not disappear) not another.
3. Again, at another time, good
   ...
   The king of Magadha, Ajātaśatru killed him (Bimbasāra)
   at the instigations of the evil friend Devadatta.
4. ...
   he shut him up in prison. He deprived him of food and drink.
   And he cut his two feet with a knife. Later to let him go...
   ...
5. The king Prasaṃnake heard this matter
   ...to Ajātaśatru.
   Subsequently, the king of Magadha came.
6. Three times Prasaṃnake came...
   Ajātaśatru defeated the army of the Kosalans.
   This harshly annoyed Prasaṃnake, the king of Magadha.
   Then he thought: He will now take Śrāvastī.
7. ...
   He (the rich man) came to the king. He invited the king to his property.
   ...
   ...they will do service.
8. ...without count he gave gold and possessions
   great...
   ...countless
   ...
9. And the king sent spies in four directions.
   ...
   these two monks with old age, having gone from the house
   with one another privately..

10. Lotus filament by name
    ...Prasaṃnake the king
    all...these in the middle.
    In front are to be placed those who are bad.
11. King Ajātaśatru rejoiced greatly.
    the monks...of battle.
    with the bad fighter in the front
    (In this way) indeed the strength (of the army) will decline for them.
12. ...worn out
    and even with little effort the enemies will fall
    ...the Ajātaśatru
    the great king with the army.
13. Prasaṃnaka came against the king of Magadha
    They fought one another...
    ...of Magadha
    He had him bound.
14. Prasaṃnaka the king came to see the Buddha.
    Th(us he said to him: Ajātaśatru the king) was (for a long time a terrible enemy of me not being an enemy), O all-knower.
    He killed my men and fighters.
15. Having called to memory the great king Bimbasāra
    his little son was grieved. Thus the king released him.
    The Buddha said to him: The king together with his army
    will stand in his decision and his army will not come again against you.
16. Thereupon the Buddha said this verse to the king:
    A person commits robbery as much as it is fitting for him (i.e. whenever he gets the chance).
    But then other robbers rob the robber.
    The robber is robbed.
17. Each in his own possessions kings cannot be sated.
    They rob the lands and villages of other peoples.
    If glory will disappear for them, then others conquer such a one.
    So kings become hostile through their own insatiability.
18. Prasaṃnake the king (released Ajātaśatru).
    He seated him on his throne and gave the kingship to him for a second time.
    He desired the merchant. He invited him to grant him his wish.
    Through your power I have struck the enemy.
19. He (the merchant) asked for kingship over Kosala for seven days.
    As king exclusively he sat for a period of seven days.
    In all lands and villages he ordered a good deed to be done.
    He satisfied all people through giving food and drink.

20. He himself invited the all-knower with his community for seven days.
    He ordered people to observe the ten good deeds.
    For seven days he gave clothing to the all-knower with honor.
    He (gave alms and clothing) to all (of the retinue).
21. He cherished a wish. He fell down before the all-knower.
    Because I gave to people for seven days without worry
    and because I invited the Buddha with his retinue for seven days
    by the doing of this good deed may I obtain the status of all-knower.
22. May I be a refuge for this blind world
    The Buddha made a prediction at that time.
    You performed a religious service. You achieved a great thought.
    You will be hereafter a refuge and shelter for all beings belonging to the five birth types.
23. In the city of Śrāvastī in Jetavana was
    the teacher, the Buddha, the all-knower, together with his group.
    He (i.e. Devadatta) committed completely the irredeemable sins
    that Devadatta was (re)born in Avīci hell.
24. As soon as he was reborn there he saw a lot of sufferings.
    two hell guardians set down his body on the rough ground.
    An iron she-elephant trampled his bones fine.
    A burning mountain stood on his body.
25. With an iron spike they stuck him roughly in the skull.
    His head scattered/was smashed very fine.
    Śāri's son (Śāriputra) and Maudgalyāyana came to see him.
    They asked him in friendly fashion according to the word of Buddha.
26. Sorrowful he fell down on the iron ground.
    He spoke words to Śāriputra with all love
    Hey, Upatiṣya! I am experiencing terrible suffering
    all the fires of hell are spread on my body.
27. And no hell guardian has uttered a single syllable.
    The she-elephant has crushed my bones very fine like dust.
    Still the compassionate all-knower remembers me.
    Śāriputra spoke to him: (You have achieved a prophecy.)

Lesson 19

The Roman numerals refer to the stanzas. The Arabic numbers in parentheses refer to the line numbers.

I. (1) (Like the rising) of the sun-god, (2) having made the moon as medicine for the man, (3) like the diadem of god Indra, (4) like the garland of god Brahma, (5) (you are) a nectar to be seen, o Father Mani, (6) therefore, therefore I praise (you). (7) Like the cintamaṇi-jewel, (8) (you are) worthy to be worn on the top of the head as ornament. (9) As you also, you are seen through your enlightening, (10) as you

are gleaming among (the stars), (11) (you are) a nectar to be seen, o Father Mani, (12) therefore, therefore I praise (you).

II. (14) Driving away the myriad, without being hindered, (13) of the passions, starting with greed, (15) the good nirvāṇa (is) your own nature, (17) (you are) worthy to be brought forth in the top of the head(s) by the omniscients of past time; (18) therefore, therefore I praise (you). (20) From the paths of good thoughts (19) (taken) by the converted human beings, (21) he has appeared obviously as superior. (23) To the jewel of the Law, (22) having spread the sandal (fragrance) of pure behavior, (24) therefore, therefore, I praise.

III. (25) Moral behavior, (teaching), (26) meditation, (energy), these (27) (are) the jewels of the virtue. (28) Rich like an ocean of gems, (29) appropriately (a good friend), (30) it will become manifest as a wonder (in the world), the plowman of the relief, (32) concerning the alms of the (householders), (33) time after time, without (limit), (34) arousing (much desire in the heart), (35) (this) jewel of the quintessence (of a community) ; (36) with reverence (I worship you).

Lesson 20

1. If a being is provided with form, lovely to look at, but has no wisdom, then it looks exactly as if it were a fashioned or painted figure. It can arouse love, but it cannot create advantage.
2. Just as at another time some other painter went to the house of a mechanic as a guest. The mechanic, having done honor in every way, in the evening spread a bed for him separately in the house. He set an artificial wooden girl for him by the lamp together with sesame oil.
3. She, with his reverence/good manners, having held in her hand beauty and service to be done with honor, attended to him. But this in what manner? In the Ṣarmirśkeṃ meter:
4. She, as if bashful, looking down a little, looking all over, as if ashamed, did not say a word. She did not laugh. She stretched out her arm with love, doing service. She made the heat disappear from the entire body of the painter.
5. Then the painter because of his ignorance, having conceived an idea that the wooden girl was a real girl, thinks to himself: O what beauty! What womanly bashfulness with modesty! In the Sotke meter:
6. She does not look too much for joy. The noble woman is not agitated. Whenever she stretches out her arm doing service, she pulls (me) on her lap, as it were. The jewels on her breasts hardly move. Then it rises. But though shy, she gladdens my heart with love.
7. Who is she? Is she the sister or daughter or wife or servant or has she come here as a guest like me?

Bibliography

Where to Go from Here

If you have completed this primer, you should be able to read simple texts in Tocharian B and have a good command of the basics of its phonology and morphology, both synchronic and diachronic. But to progress in Tocharian studies—and indeed Indo-European—you will also need a good command of French and German, because many of the most important scholarly works are written in those languages. I would recommend that you go next to Georges-Jean Pinault's *Chrestomathie tokharienne: Textes et grammaire* (Pinault 2008a), which has a rich selection of commented texts in both Tocharian B and Tocharian A as well as a detailed discussion of the phonology and morphology of both languages. The grammar and texts with glossary presented in the two volumes of Wolfgang Krause and Werner Thomas's *Tocharisches Elementarbuch* (Krause and Thomas 1960) are still indispensable and you have already read a few of them in this book. Douglas Q. Adams's *Tocharian B: A Grammar of Syntax and Word Formation* (Adams 2015) offers many valuable insights on the understudied subject of syntax. The same author has also produced the most extensive etymological dictionary of Tocharian B, *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*, 2nd ed. (Adams 2013).

There are three recent monographs of wide coverage and great importance that everyone who studies Tocharian will find themselves consulting often. These are Michaël Peyrot's *Variation and Change in Tocharian B* and *The Tocharian Subjunctive* (Peyrot 2008 and 2013a, respectively) and Melanie Malzahn's *The Tocharian Verbal System* (Malzahn 2010).

There is one journal devoted exclusively to Tocharian research, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, but articles about Tocharian are published in many venues both linguistic and philological.

Finally, everyone should consult the CEToM (A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts) website (https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/), which aims to present a complete corpus of Tocharian texts with translation, commentary, and search functions.

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The author and his dog peruse some Tocharian B.

Michael Weiss is a professor in the Department of Linguistics at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell in 1993 and taught at Yale and the University of North Carolina before returning to Cornell in 2000. He is the author of *Language and Ritual in Sabellic Italy* (2010), *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin* (2nd edition, 2020), and dozens of articles on the phonology, morphology, and syntax of individual Indo-European languages. He is also interested in the reconstruction of Indo-European ritual, archeobotany, and linguistic paleontology.

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