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Lifting up the light: *tläś* and *lkäś* in Tocharian A

Melanie Malzahn & Hannes A. Fellner

This paper treats the meaning and origin of the two enigmatic Tocharian A words *tläś* and *lkäś*. Based on our new edition and translation of the fragment THT 318/319 we propose that TA *tläś* belongs to the root *tālā*- ‘to lift up, carry, bear’ and is a verbal noun meaning ‘the lifting up’. Similarly, relying on a Sanskrit parallel text and arguments from Tocharian derivational morphology we argue that TA *lkäś* is a verbal noun meaning ‘light’ which is built to the root *luk-* ‘light up, be illuminated’. We trace the formation of these two TA verbal nouns back to the PIE suffix *-nt-i-, comparable to the Hittite *tukkanzi*-type.

1 Tocharian A has a number of nominals in -ś. TG 51 lists *kaś* ‘number’, *kārāś*2 ‘jungle’ (DThTA 115a), *karaś*3 ‘fight’ (DThTA 148a), *kuraś* adj. ‘cold’, *lkäś* (in TG without meaning; see below), *šoś* ‘small cattle’. To this list can be added *ākāś* ‘ether, atmosphere’ (DThTA 26a), *āmāś* ‘royal minister’ (DThTA 40a), *kaliṅkasparś* ‘touching of the Kāliṅga textile’ (DThTA 105b), *kroś* ‘krośa; measure of distance’ (DThTA 174bf.), *kleś* ‘affliction, depravity’ (DThTA 179a), *tläś* (in TLT 135 without meaning; see below), and *lepāś*, which only is referenced as an animal name in TLT 272.4

1 We would like to thank Georges-Jean Pinault, Olav Hackstein, Michaël Peyrot, Bernhard Koller, and Laura Grestenberger for discussion and valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper. The usual disclaimers apply.

2 In TG this word is listed with the outdated meaning ‘poverty’.

3 In TG this word is listed without meaning.

4 Not included in this list are words with Sanskrit spelling, e.g., *caturdaś*, name of 14th day in the lunar calendar, or proper names that are borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g., *Kuś* < Skt. *Kuśa*, name of several kings and heroes (MW 296c), or *aviś* < Skt. *avīci*- ‘waveless; Avīci-hell’, name of the lowest level of hell (DThTA 17).
Morphologically, these nominals in -ś do not form a coherent class in Tocharian. Only for āmāś (nom. pl. -āñ, obl. pl. -ās), kaś (obl.sg. kaś, nom. pl. -añ), kārāś (obl.sg. kārāś, obl. pl. -āntu), ākāś (obl.sg. ākāś, loc. sg. -aṃ), and kleś (obl.sg. kleś, nom. pl. -āñ, obl. pl. -ās) inflected forms other than the identical nominative/oblique singular are attested.

2 Some of the nouns in (1) are straightforward loanwords. The following are borrowed from Sanskrit: ākāś (TB akāś ‘id.’) < Skt. ākāśa- ‘region, place’ (BHSD 87a), ‘Raum, Luftraum’ (SWTF I 222b); āmāś (TB amāc ‘id.’) < Skt. amātya- ‘companion of the king, minister’ (MW 81b); kalinkašparś < Skt. kalīṅgasparśa- ‘touching of Kāliṅga’;5 kroś < Skt. krośa- ‘kos; Indian league’ (MW 322b); kleś (TB kleś ‘id.’) < Skt. kleśa- ‘impurity, depravity’ (BHSD 198a).

TA lepāś*, which means ‘jackal’ (Burlak and Itkin 2010: 354–356),6 seems to be a borrowing from Indo-Aryan as well, cf. Skt. lopāśa- ‘jackal, fox’ (Malzahn 2014: 92f.).

TA kārāś ‘jungle’ (presumably via TB karāše* ‘id.’) is borrowed from Khot. karāśsā- ‘creep, twig’ (DKS 54b).

3 Among the nouns in (1) that are not loans only two have comparatively plausible Indo-European etymologies.

TA kaś (TB keś) ‘sequence, number, calculation’ is traced back to a preform *kos-ti- by Hilmarsson (1991: 159f.) who compares Skt. šaś-vant- ‘numerous’ (for which see Klingenschmitt 1975=2005: 149–157). The phonological development of the sequence *-sti- > TA -ś TB -ś(c-) is paralleled by TA pāś(ś-) TB paś(c-) ‘breast’ < PIE *psten- in the duals TA pāśśāṁ TB paścane.7

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5 See BHSD 181a for kāliṅga-.
6 This meaning can be supported by cemetery scenes from Qizil paintings (see Howard and Vignato 2015: 109 on Qizil Caves 116 and 220 depicting jackals and vultures devouring corpses).
7 For TB cf. also maś(ce) ‘fist’ < PIE *mus-ti-, Skt. muṣṭi- ‘fist’. The form TB maś is attested in THT 597a5.
Lifting up the light: tläś and lkäś in Tocharian A

TA šoś ‘small cattle’ goes back to late-PIE *pḱēu̯-d-es according to Pinault (1997: 209–211) and thus is related to Lat. pecūs, pecūd- ‘head of cattle’.

The origin of kuñaś ‘fight’ and the hapax kraś ‘cold’ are notoriously difficult and etymological interpretations so far remain unconvincing, cf. Hilmarsson (1996: 192f. and 194 with literature).

The two remaining words on the list in (1), tläś and lkäś, even lack an established meaning and will be treated next.

TLT 135 lists an adverb tläś without meaning attested once in THT 319a4 with the verb kätā- ‘disperse’. Sieg and Siegling in TochSprR(A) 174 read tläśtont instead. A second co-occurrence of tläś with the verb kätā- ‘disperse’ in the small fragment THT 3333b2 now makes the existence of this form certain since tläś is not followed by tont. While the preserved context of THT 3333b2 /// tläś knānträ-m : s- /// ‘… they disperse the tläś for him/her’ is insufficient to determine the meaning of tläś, things look much better concerning THT 319.

It turns out that THT 319 and fragment THT 318 can be joined together into one leaf. The possibility of a joint has already been assumed by Sieg and Siegling in TochSprR(A): 174, but without establishing the details. The calculation below is based on the size of the original leaf (based on the almost complete leaf A 312) and on the metrical analysis; unfortunately, the original manuscript is missing.

TRANSCRIPTION

(bhi) -

a1 -ṇḍipālyo kärsā(smāṃ mā ā)lsanträ • şome yu(kneñc) /// (approx. 8 syll.) /// yp(e)ńc • ce[š] şome kumpa-kump klyanträ neṣinäs /// (approx. 10 akṣaras)

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8 Siegling in his personal copy of TochSprR(A) also did not make an attempt at joining the two fragments.

9 According to the context, kärsā must be derived from a root kärs- ‘to shoot an arrow’ being the equivalent of TB kärsk- ‘id.;’ also attested in TA pärра-krase ‘(distance of an) arrow shot;’ the precise grammatical form is uncertain, but
a2 češ penu some kropa-krop ňáktañň oki tsărkr ts. /// (9 syll.) /// tuňk arseñc || pranäde tränkäš ehe näš nu vidy(ādharñās  śm) -
a3 -näsši¹⁰ kräntsonäs pikäräs lkämäm märso oki ňä- /// (8 syll.) /// kₚ yalte
- || maṃndhottarinăm || lₚ, käsšnut wmāři,¹¹mracäm näm; /// (7 syll.)
a4 ; pärkont tåkenc : ia Klošnam tarkañ , /// (7 syll.) /// , hărasyo ; tläš tont
knäs-äm : ib – r-äm wämponent , kₜ /// (7 syll.)
a5 -kem nam ; sokyo cińcräm ; ic yetunt tim me(m)¹² , /// (3 syll.) /// ; y(e)
tunt wiraṃ kₚ, lewañ wrošïm¹³ /// (3 syll.) ₁d (12 syll.) (yi)-
a6 -ńc pre šontac : ia šomam nu rpeńc , kispar wic ; šomam tsărkr /// (4
syll.) /// ; (kä)l(ns)ēnc¹⁴ šulas : ib triwont šom(äm) /// (10 syll.)
a7 ; vidyādharñān : ₂c not timašim , cińcrone ; märsneñc oki , wire(s)i ;
/// (4 syll.) ₂d /// (vidyādha)rñān prusaṃ¹⁵ yāmn² /// (10 syll.) ₃a (2
syll.)
a8 -š tsäńkrä , (kₚ,ya)ll aśśi ; kätkmäm waṅkmäm , karemäm ; šmeñc
pyäppyasäm : ₂b /// (18 syll.) ₃c (7 syll.)
b₁ ; wäry(o) (ṣul)y(im)¹⁷ , himavant ; cänćär kāln[ā]s : ³ – – – ryo , kä- ///
(13 syll.) ₄a (11 syll.) , (kä)-

a present VIII m-participle would make some sense, morphologically and
syntactically.
10 The restoration (šomi)näśši is proposed by Siegling in his personal copy.
11 The symbol < ; > marks colon end, < , > marks subcolon end, and the symbol
< # > marks pāda end in the transcription.
12 For metrical reasons, me(m) ’measure’ seems the only possible restoration,
maybe an obliquus of manner. Even though the reading of the preceding
word nim or tim cannot be checked, the dual pronoun tim is the only syntact-
ically possible solution.
13 The colon division of pāda 1d after the lacuna is unclear; note that this would
still be true without accepting the joint.
14 (kä)l(ns)ēnc is proposed by Siegling in his personal copy with two question
marks, restoration to šom(äm) at the end of the line is proposed without
question mark.
15 The hapax prusaṃ can be a locative sg. or pl. of a noun pru or prus, respec-
tively.
16 The colon division is unclear.
17 Since himavant is exclusively attested with ṣul ‘mountain’ or the adjective
ṣulyim, we propose to restore (or correct the reading) yā – · y. to wäry(o)
b2 -rtkālsaṃ; śomināśśi: ₄b waṅkmām wraṃn āṅc, siṅantrā; nkā(ṅci)¹⁸ mātā(r), /// (7 syll.) ₄c (3 syll.) /// kr·s, m(ā)trā tim; pāssā(ṁ) /// (11 syll.) ₄d (smi)-

b3 -mā(ṃ) nineteen akmalyo indre trāṅkāś wāspā nu nākciṃ śulāś (himava)nt śul (k’ya)lte kinnaras vidyādha(ṛ) ///

b4 wsāryās pyāppyāsyo śuliṃi tsāṅkrunṭ wā(wluṣ)²⁰ jim)utaketuy vidyādhareśśi lā(nt) /// (k’ya)-

b5 -lte toṣ tri-wāknā lānci-waṣṭantu /// (7 syll.) /// -ṅcā(ṃ)n oki · toṣ penu tri lāntsān (tri)-w(ā)knā āṅkteṅ(ṅ)ā(ṅ oki) /// (7 syll.)

b6 worpunt nāṁ²¹ || citraśokaṃ || # nākci wāll oki sās; vidyādhareśśi wāl); (jimutake)tu²²: ₁a yetu nēmintuyo; worpu antiṣ puryo; triko =ki /// (2 syll.) ₁b (5 syll.)

b7 -ryo; lāntsas antiṣpurśas; skenaś kātkāsśi: ₁c p·i²³ /// (9 syll.) /// lāntsac; lyutār potatrā: ₁ || some trāṅkāś sās ·i (− − −)

(ṣul)y(ṃ) with the instrumental wāryo. Note that the following 3sg. kālnas for kālnaś is certainly a misspelling (thus Hilmarsson 1996: 64) – it is quite certain that the original manuscript indeed had the reading kālnaś, because Siegling, who still had access to the original, marked the form with a question mark in his personal copy.

nkā(ṅci) ‘silver’ is the only known possible form, while restoration to mātā(r) is suggested by the perlicative mātrā in the following line – most likely not a variant of mātār ‘sea monster’, but rather derived from the Sanskrit water plant mātar- ‘Asian Watermoss’ [Salvinia cucullata Roxb.].

The restoration to (smi)mā(ṃ) is proposed by Siegling in his personal copy.

The reduced form of the copula, which surfaces with pronominal suffixes in nāṁ and nāṁ, is indifferent to number, as was shown by TG 167 and Burlak and Itkin (2009: 47). Therefore, the agreement between nāṁ and the plural participle worpunt is unproblematic. We thank Ilya Itkin (p.c) for pointing this issue out to us.

Restoration to (jimutake)tu is already proposed by Siegling in his personal copy.

One may restore to p(ṅ)i(ntuyo) ‘with merits’.
b8 -r klyomim lālamṣkā (pālsa-pā)še\textsuperscript{24} lyutār śkaṁ lā(lamṣkā)\textsuperscript{25} /// /// (lāntsa)c lyutār potatrā k,yalte pālsa-pāše wrasom ///

**Translation**

a1 … shoot(ing) with a (jave)lin they do (not) hold … in check. Some overcome …, [some] do … These stand [together] in individual groups. The previous [ones] …

a2 These [ones], single group by single group, also (make) [lute] music like gods, … [and] they evoke love. || Praṇāda says: “Oh! Now I, looking at the beautiful gestures of the

a3 [female] Vidyādharīs, as if forgetting … because of … || In [the tune] Mandodharinam || Shining jewels are on top of their head[s] [i.e. of the Vidyādharīs] …

a4 they [fem.] will arise (in the air?). Earrings [lit. hanging on both ears] (are on them) … with pearls, … (wind?) spreads up the [adornment] put on them. The decorated …

a5 (make a) … bow towards the very lovely [women]. 1c. Both [ears] are adorned according to measure (with) …, the young women [are] adorned (with) … [made of] pearls. 1d.

a6 … they (go) out onto the street. 2a. Now some [women] play the kis-par wic, others [play] the lute, … they (let resound?) the mountains. Some [women] mixed (with) …

a7 the [female] Vidyādharīs. 2c. As if they forget the loveliness of both not, … of the young [masc.]. 2d. The [female] (Vidyādha)ritis having done … in the prus … 3a. …

\textsuperscript{24} Restoration to (pālsa-pā)še is suggested by what follows in the line; what is more, only this kind of verbal governing compounds can end in TA °še.

\textsuperscript{25} Thomas (1967: 179) proposed to join the two fragments and to restore to lā(lntsa)c, but according to the calculation, there is a lacuna of at least 8–9 syllables between them. Siegling in his personal copy proposes to restore to lā(lamṣkā). In total, about 20 akṣaras are missing in this line.
a8 over the mountain peak, why then are they sitting in the flowers being joyful, chatting [and] laughing? 3b. …

b1 (pools filled? with) water from the Himalaya (mountain), it resounds sweetly. 3d. With … 4a. …

b2 in the pools of the girls. 4b. Chatting down in the water they will be satiated, the sil(ver) watermoss, … over the watermoss the two breasts (are floating ?) … 4d.

b3 With a (laugh)ing face Indra says: “But indeed Mount Himalaya [is] the [most] divine mountain, because Kiṃnaras [and] Vidyādharas …

b4 With …, grassland [and] flowers the peaks of the mountains of Jimūtāketu, ki(ng) of the Vidyādharas [are] covered …

b5 (be)cause these royal palaces in three-fold [manner] … like …. Likewise three queens in a (three-)fold [manner] (like) goddess(es) …

b6 are surrounded by …. || In [the tune] Citraśok || This one, (Jimūtāke)tu, (king of the) Vidyā(dharas) [is] like a divine king. 1a. Adorned with jewels, surrounded by [his] harem, as if confused … 1b. …

b7 With … he strives to please the queens of the harem. 1c. (With merits ?) … he pays more homage to the queens. || Soma says: “This [queen] …

b8 … [is] noble, tender [and] (regardful about the mi)nd and more te(nder) … pays more homage to the (queen) because a being [which is] regardful about the mind …”

The leaf contains a detailed description of a Vidyādharā procession, demigods and -goddesses who according to Indian tradition inhabit the Himalaya region (Liebert 1976: 336). In line a4 the adornment of the Vidyādharīs is described. Since pārkont ‘arise’ at the end of pāda 1a makes either an allusion to (part of) the decor or to the fact that Vidyādharas are themselves able to fly, the same image ought to be referred to in pāda 1b by the phrase tlāś kätā-. The subject here may be the wind spreading the
adornments upwards. It may even precisely refer to garlands by means of which the Vidyādhāras fly in the air as often depicted in Indian art.\textsuperscript{26}

Syntactically, taking \textit{tlāś} as an adverb is indeed the only likely possible analysis (as already proposed by Poucha).\textsuperscript{27} The form itself patterns with the root \textit{tālā}- ‘to lift up, carry, bear’ (TVS 659f.; \(*\textit{telh}_2-\) LIV 622f.),\textsuperscript{28} so that it is possible to envisage an oblique of a verbal noun ‘the lifting-up’, i.e. ‘upwards’. For adverbs made from oblique forms in TA, cf. for instance \textit{kātse} ‘nearby’ (Pinault 2008: 486). A closer parallel for the use of the oblique of \textit{tlāś} as an adverb ‘upwards’ is provided by development of the ablative suffix TB -\textit{meṁ} < CT \(*\textit{mæn} from the PIE acc.sg. \(*\textit{món-}\) from a root noun \(*\textit{món-}/\textit{men}\) ‘height’, i.e.\textit{món-} meaning ‘to the height, upwards’ (Pinault 2006: 277f.).

5 TA \textit{lāś} is glossed as ‘visum’, i.e. ‘appearance, sight vision’, in TLT 274. It occurs in A 249a2.\textsuperscript{29} The text is part of the Tocharian version of the Buddhastotra Varṇārṇavaṇa by Mātṛceṭa (see Schmidt 1980, 1983, 1987, and Pinault 2008: 281–291) which is a close rendition of the Sanskrit original (see Hartmann 1987, 1988, 2009, and Hartmann and Maue 1991). Light can be shed on the correct meaning of \textit{lāś} by comparing the relevant passages of the Sanskrit original and the Tocharian version. The Sanskrit text and its translation are based on Hartmann (1987).

\textbf{SANSKRIT TEXT (VAV)}

\begin{verbatim}
II.57 sati pradīpe saty agnau satsu tārāmaṇinduṣu |
apūrṇa evārkam rte prakāśo bhavatī kṣitau ||
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{26} Cf. the Flying Vidyādhara couple from Gwalior, 5th century A.D, National Museum, New Delhi; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vidyadhara.jpg (retrieved 30.03.2015).

\textsuperscript{27} Unless \textit{tlāś} can also be used as a plural form agreeing with the plural of the participle \textit{tont}.

\textsuperscript{28} Note that Peyrot (2013: 756) argues that there are no certain base verb forms and that the verb seems to be causative only in TA.

\textsuperscript{29} The other possible occurrence in A 40a3 /// \textit{rāṃ kākmart lā /// is too fragmentary to make a firm judgment.}
Mag eine Lampe vorhanden sein, mag Feuer vorhanden sein, mögen Sterne, Juwelen und der Mond vorhanden sein, ohne die Sonne ist das Licht auf der Erde nur unvollständig.

Selbst wenn es diese Lichtquellen gäbe und andere, die noch vorzüglicher sind als diese, ist die Welt lichtlos ohne dich.

In diesem Gedanken (sei) dir Verehrung, der du zum Licht geworden bist für die verfinsterte Welt, deren Geist bedeckt ist von dem schrecklichen Schleier, (nämlich) der Blindheit der Unwissenheit.

**TOCHARIAN TEXT (A 249)**

a1  (wi)nāsam : nešc puno koṃ mañ ṇākcyān swāṇcenān wāwlu nu sās ārkiśoṣi ākntuneye ptukk orkām : tīni

a2  (ka)pśiño nu tri wältsem lyalyku knānmuneyo puk traidhātuka wināsam cu lkāś nāmtsunt

a1  ... I venerate ... Although there are sun, moon [and] divine rays now this world is covered with ignorance [and] there is only(?) darkness.

a2  And with your body and your wisdom you have illuminated the three thousand-fold traidhātuka completely, I venerate you having become the light.

TA wināsam cu lkāś nāmtsunt is the exact translation of Skt. jyotirbh(ū)tāya te namaḥ with lkāś corresponding to jyotiṣ- ‘light’ (cf. already the translation ‘lumière’ in Pinault 2008: 288). Thus there is no doubt that lkāś means ‘light’ and belongs to the root TA luk- ‘light up, be illuminated’ (TVS 855f.; *leu̯k- ²LIV 418f.). This is further corroborated by the fact
that *lkäś ‘light’ served as the derivational basis of the adjective TA *lukäšnu ‘shining, luminous’ and is related to TA l(y)ukšone ‘illumination’.

Having established the correct meanings and synchronic patterning of tläś and lkäś as verbal nouns belonging to luk- and tälā-, respectively, it is now possible to address their origin. Phonologically, there are different potential sources of TA -ś:

1. The pre-TA (or rather underlying) sequence -äṣäc gives -ś as is illustrated by the 2pl. pret. VIII wätkäṣäc > wätkäś (A 95a4, A 342a2).
2. Pre-Proto-Tocharian *-KV [+pal] -, e.g., TA aś- [TB eš-] in the dual TA aśāṃ [TB ešane] ‘eyes’ from PIE *h₃okw-ih₁.
4. Pre-Proto-Tocharian *-stV [+pal] -, e.g., TA pāś(ś-) [TB paś(c-) ‘breast’ < PIE *pst-en- in the dual TA pāśāṃ [TB paścane].

The first possibility (1) can be excluded right away since it has been established that tläś and lkäś are nominal forms.

While the development in (2) could be entertained for an equation of lkäś with Ved. rúci- ‘light’, tläś would then have to be explained differently. Separating tläś and lkäś, however is uneconomic, since tläś and lkäś are morphologically and semantically similar.

Georges-Jean Pinault (p.c.) opts for (3) tracing lkäś back to an abstract noun pre-PT *luk-id-i- built to an adjective *luk-id-o- that could be re-

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30 For adjectives in -nu in Tocharian A, cf. ākärnu ‘tearful’ ← ākār ‘tear’, orkāmnnu ‘dark, gloomy’ ← ‘darkness, gloom’. Note that l₃kāšnu has a variant lukšanu.
31 TA l(y)ukšone is probably reshaped for *luktsone, the exact match of TB lāk₃tsauña ‘light’, after l₃kāšnu (Georges-Jean Pinault, p.c.). The attested forms of l(y)ukšone with palatalization are probably due to influence of the averbo of luk- (in which the preterite forms show ly-).
32 Cf. also TA nom. pl. m. kraš ‘good’ [TB kreš] (next to krañc [TB kreñc]) and nom. pl. m. arkaš ‘black’ [TB erkent-] (next to obl. pl. m. arkañcās).
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... in Tocharian and at most marginal in other Indo-European branches.\(^{33}\) In the case of a \(*-id-i\)- at least two derivational steps would have to be assumed that cannot be corroborated independently in or outside Tocharian.

Option (4) presupposes secondary \(*ti\)-derivatives to \(*s\)-stems. This kind of formation is usually associated with Caland system adjectival abstractions of the shape \(*-os-ti\)- (Melchert 1999a: 365ff.) that were part of a derivational chain; e.g., \(*h₂emgʰos-ti\)- ‘narrowness’ (OCS \( ẓozostv \) ‘id.’) \( \leftrightarrow \) \(*h₂emgʰos-to\)- ‘narrow’ (Lat. \( angustus \) ‘id.’) \( \leftrightarrow \) \(*h₂emgʰo/es\)- ‘narrowness’ (Ved. \( ámhas\)- ‘distress, constriction’, YAv. \( qzah\)- ‘constriction, distress’), and shows full grade both of the root and the \( s\)-suffix. Only \(*leuk\)- is associated with the Caland system and if \( lkäś\) continued a secondary \(*to/i\)-derivative to an \(*s\)-stem it would go back to a formation with zero-grade of the root and the \( s\)-suffix.\(^{34}\) However, continuants of \( s\)-stems in Tocharian always have full grade of the root,\(^{35}\) which indicates that a secondary derivatitive with zero-grade has to be old.\(^{36}\) While this could well be true

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33 For another possible reflex of a \(*d\)-stem in Tocharian besides TA \( ʃoś \) < late-PIE pl. \(*pkëu̯\)-es, see TB \( kektsēn\) TA \( kapša\) ‘body’, see Pinault (1999).

34 According to Pinault (2009: 241), TB \( laks\) reflects a secondary \( s\)-stem derivatrive with zero-grade in the root and the \( s\)-suffix: TB \( laks < PT \*lāksā < *luk-s-i- \( \leftrightarrow \) *luk-s-o- \( \langle \) Ved. \( rukšā\)- ‘shining, radiant’ \( \rangle \) \( *leuk-es\)- \( \langle \) Av. \( raōcah\)- ‘light’ \( \rangle \), cf. Gk. \( λεῦκος\) name of a fish, Lat. \( lūc ius\) ‘pike’, ON \( lýrr\) a kind of cod, for the semantics.

35 E.g., TB \( āke\) TA \( āk\) ‘end, tip’ < \(*h₂ek-os\)- (cf. Lat. \( acus\), -\( eris\) ‘husk of grain, chaff’, OHG \( ahir\), \( ehir\) ear (of corn’), TB (\( ŋem\))kālywe TA (\( ŋom\))klyu ‘(name and) fame’ < \(*kļēu\)-os (cf. Ved. \( šrávas\)- ‘fame’, Gk. \( κλέος\) ‘id.’, OIr. \( clú\) ‘id.’ etc.), TB \( šalype\) TA \( šālyp\) ‘oil, ointment’ < \(*sēlp-os\) (cf. Gk. (Hsych.) \( ἐλπὸς\) ‘oil, fat’, Alb. \( gjalpē\) ‘butter’); for other potential examples cf. Höfler (2012: 132–138 with discussion and literature).

36 It is possible that Tocharian reflects the cognate of Lith. \( akštis\) ‘skewer, spit’, Russ. \( ostv\) ‘awn’ < \(*h₂ek-s-ti\)- (: \(*h₂ek-os\)- in TB \( āke\) TA \( āk\) ‘end, tip’) with full-grade of the root and zero-grade of the \( s\)-suffix in TB \( āsče\) ‘head’; see 2DoT 61f. with literature. For a potential phonological obstacle for this etymology see the next footnote.
for *lkäś,*\(^{37}\) it cannot be for *tläś*. The latter would then have to be an ana-
logical creation on the basis of *lkäś*, which is not very likely given the dif-
ferent morphological and semantic profiles of the roots *luk*- and *tālā*- and
their predecessors.

A way of deriving *tläś* and *lkäś* from the same morphological fore-
runner is to envisage the phonological development in (5). PIE had *i-
stem abstracts that were derived from *nt*-stems of the type found in
Hittite *tukkanzi*- ‘cultivation, breeding’ (Melchert 1999b: 23) which are
also reflected in Hittite nouns in -*anzan*, e.g., *laḫḫanzan*- ‘shelduck’ <
*laḫḫantiō/on- ‘migrating one’ ← *laḫḫantjo- ‘migrating’ ← *laḫḫanti-
‘migration’ ← *laḫḫant- ‘migrating’ (Melchert 2003: 135) and presup-
posed by the Latin type *absentia* ‘absence’ ← *absēns* ‘being away from’
(Nussbaum apud Melchert 1999: 23 n. 32; see Pinault 2014 for possible
Vedic reflexes of the *tukkanzi*-type). As Pinault (2012: 189) shows, the
latter type also occurs in Tocharian in the formations with TB -nts* (e.g. TB
*wapānts*, TA *wapants*\(^{38}\) ‘weaver’ to TA/TB *wāpā*- ‘weave’
and TB *sarānts* ‘planter’ to TA/TB *sār*- ‘plant’. The semantics of *tläś* and
*lkäś* are exactly as expected from an abstract built to a verbal adjective.
It is thus not far-fetched to assume that *tläś* and *lkäś* also go back to an

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\(^{37}\) However, a virtual *-k-s-ti*- would probably have been affected by the change
of the sequence pre-PT *-ks*- > TA -ps-, cf. TA *kapśaṇi* [TB *kektseñe*] ‘body’,
nom. pl. TA *opsi* [TB *okso*], TA *klepsā*- [TB *klaiksā*-] ‘dry up, wither’ (TVS
629); see Pinault (1999 and 2008: 49).

\(^{38}\) TA *wapants* is presupposed by the abstract *wāpāntsune* ‘(art of) weaving’.

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*nt-i-type formation preserving the old zero-grade of the *nt-suffix in the weak stem since in PIE *nt-stems originally inflected according to the amphikinetic type R(é)-S(o)-E/R(ø)-S(o)-E(é). A secondary *i-stem regularly built to the weak stem of the participle39 of *telh₂- and *leuk₂-, *tlh₂-nt-i- and *luk-nt-i-, would give PT *tälänčä⁴₀ and *läk(ø)änčä⁴¹ which with syncope would develop to pre-TA *tlänčä and *lk(ø)änčä⁴² and further to *tläś and *lkäś. The isolated forms *tläś and *lkäś would thus represent a morphological archaism in Tocharian A.

Appendix

It is now possible to turn to the two remaining words from the list of Tocharian A nominals in -ś (1), *kuñaś ‘fight’ and *kuraś ‘cold’, which also are isolated in form and function.

TA *kuñaś is attested four times in A 238a₃, A 353a₅, A 375b₅, and PK NS ib₁.⁴₃ Besides occurring three times as part of an idiom with the verb yām-/ya(p)- ‘do’ (TVS 788f.; TVS 783) in A 353a₅, A 375b₅, and A 238a₃,

39 For other examples of a secondary derivative from the non-renewed weak stem of amphikinetic *nt-stems, cf. Goth. hulundí ‘cave’ < *kl̥-nt-ih₂ or Ved. satyá- ‘true, real’ < *h₁ś-nt-jo-.
40 The loss of the intervocalic laryngeal is regular.
41 The form pre-TA *lkʷänčä is seen in the derived adjective l₃kāśnu / lukšanu. The labial element of the labiovelar was prone to fluctuation in this root, cf. TA 3sg. prs. l₃kuṣ / l₃kāś and the adjective TB lak₂tse / laktse ‘shining, bright, brilliant’. Furthermore, <lᵲk₃> and <lk₂> are difficult to distinguish in Tocharian Brahmi, so that the form lkäś may well reflect expected l₃kāś.
42 The sequence pre-TA -änč(-) does not turn into TA -ǐnç universally as is proved by forms like nkānçi adj. ‘silver’ (next to nkiṅc subst. ‘silver’), cānçār ‘pleasant, lovely’ (next to ciṅcār), obl. sg. m. pānçām ‘fifth’, and in the subjunctive stem (class II), läṅc-, of the root länt- ‘go out, emerge’.
43 In PK NS ib₁ the spelling k₃uñaś is found. This is an error by the scribe, who seems to have placed the virāma stroke a bit too high on the <k>. Interestingly, there is a cross between the lines 1 and 2 in the vicinity of k₃uñaś. Usually this sign marks an addition made by a corrector of a manuscript to the line underneath it, but no akṣara is added.
it appears twice in a collocation with wac ‘struggle’ in A 238a3 and PK NS 1b1. The meaning ‘fight’ for k₅naś is assured by this collocation and in addition by a Sanskrit parallel that exists for A 353. This text is a rendition of the final section of the Prātimokṣasūtra (Schmidt 1989) in which TA mā k₅naś ypamān(cs)ā perl. pl. ‘by not doing a fight’ corresponds to Skt. avivada(māna)ir inst. pl. ‘by not fighting’.

TA k₅raś is a hapax attested in A 257b2. The fragment belongs to the eleventh act of the Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka for which the Old Uyghur version is attested in MaitrHami XI, 11a6–12a12 (see Geng, Klimkeit, Laut 1988). Accordingly, TA k₅raś corresponds to OUygh. soyq ‘cold’.

Concerning the etymology, Van Windekens already (1941: 48 and 1976: 245) connected k₅naś with the PIE root *gʷhew- ‘beat’ (2LIV 218f.) and k₅raś with the PIE root *gʷher- ‘become warm’ (2LIV 219f.). He did so, however, by proposing now outdated morphological and phonological developments (cf. also Hilmarsson 1996: 192f.).

Based on the morpho-phonological solution proposed for tlāś and lkāś, it is possible to take a new look at k₅naś and k₅raś. As Peters (2004: 267 n. 4) pointed out, the original locative of the amphikinetik singular paradigm of *nt-stems in PIE ended in *-ent-i or *-ēnt.47 Assuming that the suffixed and the lengthened-grade variants of the locative could be blended (as happened, for instance, in the loc. pl. *pēd-su > OIr. is ‘un-

44 For the semantics cf. Modern Engl. fight and NHG fechten ‘fence’.
45 For the semantics cf. expressions like Modern English ‘burning cold’. Also, note the possibility that the two roots 2*kel- ‘become warm’ (2LIV 323), e.g. in Lat. caleō ‘be warm’, and *kelH- ‘become cold, freeze’ (LIV 323), e.g. in Lith. šaliū, might be one and the same (Yamazaki 2009: 450ff.).
46 Already Hilmarsson (1996: 182f., 192f.) argued against the connection of TA k₅raś with TB krośce TA krośś- ‘cold’. The latter are probably related to the family of Gk. κρύσταλλος ‘ice’ (as already suggested by Duchesne-Guillemin 1941: 155) and Lat. crusta ‘hard surface-layer’.
47 Peters (loc. cit. and 2006: 344 n. 48) argues that the leveled locative allomorph *-ēnt- is at the origin of the stem-final palatalization in the Tocharian nt-participle (cf. the contrast between Gk. ἄγω ‘drive, lead’ and TB/TA āk- ‘id.’ in the nt-participle ἄγοντ- vs. TB ašeñca, TA āsant); see Fellner (2014) for a different view.
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der’, Alb. pēr-posh ‘id.’), such forms of the roots in question, *g^whn-ēnt-i and *g^whr-ēnt-i, would result in PT *kʷänænçä and *kʷärænçä. With syncopation in pre-TA these would give *kuñañc and *kurañc resulting in attested kuñaś and kuraś.

Semantically, these forms would first have developed to adverbial phrases ‘at X-ing’ (cf. the semantics of *pēd-su originally ‘at the feet’ > ‘under’) functioning as converbs. On the way to Proto-Tocharian the predecessors of kuñaś and kuraś were then probably interpreted as belonging to the continuants of the old *nt-i-type abstracts of the lkäś-type with a semantic development from ‘at fighting’ to ‘fight’ and ‘at being cold’ to ‘cold’, respectively, cf. loc. *h₂us(s)-ēr (Ved. uṣar-) ‘at dawn’ → *h₂us(s)-ēr (Gk. ἄηρ) ‘mist, dimness’ (Nussbaum 1986: 237).

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VAV = Hartmann (1987)

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