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The East Tocharian Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna: Linguistic Remarks (O. Hackstein)

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The linguistic commentary is part of a full edition of the East Tocharian Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna which is currently being undertaken by Hiromi Habata (ICABS, Tōkyō) and myself. — Earlier versions of the present paper were presented to the *International Symposium: Variety of Jātaka and Avadāna Transmission*, *International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*, Tōkyō, 27 November 2023, and the Conference *Borderlands Language and Culture in the Borderlands of the Eastern Silk Road*, Vienna, 4 September 2024.

A340 (= THT 974) and A341 (= THT 975)

The fragments under discussion exhibit many linguistic peculiarities, among which we find hapaxes, rare forms and morphosyntactic archaisms, featuring idiomatic and stylistically highly artful adaption of the presumed Sanskrit sources, cf. already Thomas 1968, p.723 (“Allerdings stellt die tocharische Version **keine wortgetreue Übersetzung aus dem Sanskrit** dar. Sie ist vielmehr **eine Nachdichtung** in einem kunstvollen Metrum und mit gewissen Freiheiten im Wortlaut.” [emphasis mine]). In what follows I will focus on

- the description of the hungry ghosts, the *pretas* (Pādas 77b, 79b, 80cd, 81b)
- the East Tocharian term *lyalypu* ‘left-over, karmic consequence’ and Koṭikarṇa’s adventures (Pādas 82d, 83, 84, 85, 92bc).

1 The description of the hungry ghosts, the *pretas* (Pādas 77b, 79b, 80cd, 81b)

Strophe 77

b ^[A340a2] [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | (ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ | klo(pantyo | škam) tā(t)wsu(ṣ) mū(r)l(i)ññ ok(i)

^b(ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ klo(pantyo) (škam) tā(t)wsu(ṣ) Sieg 1952: 37n.1, mū(r)l(i)ññ ok(i) Itkin 2024: 84

“^a(...) ^b(...) emaciated by hunger and aflame/blazing by the pains like torches ^c(...)”

Commentary

77b: Pāda 77b contains the description of the hungry ghosts, the Pretas, as emaciated and aflame.

These properties are rendered in Tocharian as preterite participles:

(ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ ‘shrunk by hunger’: (ka)ṣ[t]yo instr.sg.m ‘by hunger’ (A *kaṣt*, B *kest* ‘hunger; famine’; Hitt. *k/gašt* c. ‘hunger; famine’ [Rieken 1999: 133]). – *rukoṣ* ‘emaciated’, prt.ptc.nom.pl.m of AB *ruk-* (cognate of Lith. *rūkti* ‘verschrumpfen’, Krause & Thomas 1960: 58 §32). –

klo(pantyo škam) tã(t)wsu(s) ‘afame by the pains’: *tã(t)wsu(s)* ‘ignited and burning’ prt.ptc.nom.pl.m of *twã-* ‘burn’, Hackstein 1995: 348–353. – Sieg 1952:37 translates ‘(durch) die Leiden glühend’. **The Tocharian “so-called” preterite participles often convey an attained-state and a presential stative meaning, cf.:**

- A *twãs-* ‘ignite, be set on fire’ → pre-A **tãtwãsu* > A *tã(t)wsu(s)* ‘**having been set on fire & burning**’. PIE inchoative **d^huh_{2/3}-s-* ‘being to burn, be set on fire’ > Toch. AB *twãs-*; **d^huh_{2/3}-je/o-* > Lat. *suffire*, Gk. θύειν ‘sacrifice by burning sth.’, cf. Hackstein 1995: 348–353.
- A *kãn-* ‘generate’ (PIE **ĝenh₁-*) → A **kakanu* > *kaknu*, B *kekenu* ‘having been generated and extant (with); provided with’; Homeric Greek γενε- ‘produce’ γεγαώς, γεγονώς ‘having become, being’; Gk. γεγονώς ἔτη περὶ πεντήκοντα ‘having become about fifty years’ > ‘being about fifty years old’ (D 21.154).

PIE **ĝeĝonh₁-/ĝeĝnh₁-*

→ i) vowel copying rule in reduplicant †*ĝoĝonh₁-*, Toch. B *kekenu*;

→ ii) leveling of strong perfect stem as in Greek γεγαώς → γεγονώς.

- A *pāk-* ‘cook’ (PIE **pek^w-*) → Pre-A **papaku* > **paku* > A *pakku*, B *pepeku* ‘**having been cooked & being ripe**’, cf. B *pepekwa oko(nta)* ‘ripe fruits’ (THT1572a3, Malzahn 2010: 700).
- A *wãr^ã-* ‘wak e up’ (PIE **uorh₃-* ‘gain conscience of, perceive’) → PP **wã-wãru* > PP [2] A *wãwru* ‘**having gained conscience & awakened, awake**’, Toch. B PP [2] *yairu* ‘having directed one’s attention towards something, having become attentive, concentrated’. Toch. A *ptãñkãtt ats wãwrunt lkãm* ‘I see ... the Buddha-god **awakened** indeed’ (A YQ 3 [I.8]b3, ed. Ji, Winter & Pinault 1998: 56).
- B *aiku* ‘**having become acquired & being known**’ (< PIE **h₂e-h₂ik̑-uōs* ‘id’ x **h₂e-h₂oik̑-e* → ***h₂o-h₂oik̑-*, **h₂o-h₂ik̑-*) forms an equation with the Germanic preterite-present Gothic *aih*, *aigun* ‘have at one’s disposal’ (PIE **h₂e-h₂oik̑-e*) and Ved. *īśe* ‘I have at my disposal’. The reduplicated preterite-present stem has given rise to a neo root Toch. B *aik-* ‘have acquired command of, know’ and West Germanic G. *eig-nen*, E. *ow-n* (novel weak present [4]) ‘possess’.

In sum, the Tocharian past participle displays **the attained state & stative semantics of the classical Indo-European perfect** as found in Germanic, Slavic, Greek and Vedic; cf. Saito 2006:12; for **Vedic**, cf. inter alios Renou 1925, Kümmel 2000, pp. 66ff., aliter: a stative reading, a resultative reading and a universal reading Dahl 2010, p. 423; for **Greek**, inter alios Wackernagel 1904, Chantraine 1927, Forssman 2019, pp. 335–338, LIV 21 (“Bedeutung: als Folge einer Veränderung am Subjekt erreichter Zustand”).

The attained-state value and a presential meaning of *tã(t)wsu(s)* ‘burning’ is furthermore confirmed by the immediately following context which has recently been restored by Itkin as *klo(pantyo) | (škam) tã(t)wsu(s) mũ(r)l(i)ññ ok(i)* ‘**and being burned by pains like torches**’ (Itkin 2024: 84), who narrowed down the meaning of *mũ(r)l(i)ññ* to ‘torches’, comparing inter alia A295a2 *sãlpmã[m] murlisyo* ‘with burning *murlisyo* [instr.pl.f]’. Toch. A *murli-* likely derives from Middle Indic **murlī-* and Skt. *muralī-* ‘flute, pipe’ (cf. also Carling/Pinault, DTA 350 s.v. *murli** ‘pipe, reed’).

Finally the comparison of the hungry ghosts to burning sticks or torches is supported by the description of the *pretas* in Avadānaśataka V,3, ed. p. 249, transl. Rotman 2021: “There he saw a hungry ghost who looked **like burned-out tree stump**, totally covered with hair, with [a] mouth like [the] eye of a needle [cf. 92b below] and a stomach like a mountain. **She was ablaze, alight, aflame, a single fiery mass, a perpetual cremation.**” (cf. Zin 2023: 132); Divyāvadāna I, trs. Rotman 2008,

p. 47 “like scorched wooden pillars” (cf. Zin 2023, p. 516). The *burning pretas* as reflected in the Avadānaśataka and the East Tocharian Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna are later features that are absent from the pictorial descriptions in Kucha, where “only the very thin bodies of the pretas signalize their insatiable hunger and thirst”, and “[f]eatures like large stomachs or minute mouths were not realized in Kucha.” (Zin 2023, p. 132) –

Strophe 79

- b** (tmāk ce)m pretāñ | litkoṣṣ oki | āmpy esām ṣātre nāntsūs | klār tkan(ā prāksānt-ām śkaṃ:)
^b(tmāk ce)m Sieg 1952: 37n.8 klār tkan(ā prāksānt-ām śkaṃ:) Sieg 1952: 37n.9 ^c(nātāk) Sieg 1952: 37n.9
 “^b(Then th)ese *pretas*, as if having sunk down, fell on(to) the earth, gone limp at both shoulders (and asked him:)”

Commentary

79b: Description of the *pretas*: *litkoṣṣ* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m ‘sunk/slid down’ (^A*litā-*, *litk-* ‘slide down’, cf. Hackstein 2002b: 8–9), cf. the pictorial description of the two preta women in Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle” as kneeling down (Waldschmidt 1952, p. 140 fig. 5, Zin 2023, p. 517 drawing 430). Sieg’s translation 1952: 37 ‘downtrodden’ [‘niedergeschlagen’] is not to be preferred. – *oki* ‘as if’. – *āmpy esām* obl.du.m ‘at both shoulders’ (Kim 2018, pp. 81–82) with oblique case of reference (aliter Carling/Pinault, *DTA* 74: “nom.”). – *ṣātre* nom.pl.m. ‘limp, loose’ [not ‘soft’]. The shoulders of the Pretas are described as A *ṣātre* ‘having lost all strength, weak and loose’; this description meets with the recent etymological analysis by Imberciadori 2024/5, pp. 416–418 s.v. 112. *ṣātre*: PIE **seh₁-i-* ‘let loose’ (*LIV* 518), PToch. **s₂oh₁-te-h₂-ró-* ‘released, let loose’ > **s₂jōtāro-* > urtoch. **s₂jatāraē* > A **ṣātara* > *ṣātar* ‘weich, schlaff’ (*DTA* 486 s.v. *ṣātar* ‘soft, flabby’). – *nāntsūs* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m ‘having become’. –

Strophe 80

- c** āyāntwāṣiñi | k_urekāri oki
d kaṣṭyo āsūs, | ṣñi lyaly(pā)n(tw)ā | prutkoṣ riyam | añcwāṣṣām. || **80** ||
 “‘being like house-skeletons of bones ^ddried out due to hunger and being enclosed in the iron city through the consequences of [our previous] deeds (lit. ‘left-overs’).”

Commentary

80c: *āyāntwāṣiñi* | *k_urekāri oki*: *āyāntwāṣiñi* nom.pl.m ‘of bones’. – *k_urekāri* nom.pl.m ‘houses’ of *k_urekār* ‘house (or pavilion) with a vaulted roof’ (Carling/Pinault, *DTA* 143, skt. *kūṭāgāra-* ‘upper room’); *oki* ‘like’; metaphor, literally like ‘structures of a house’, ‘wie knöcherne Haus-Gerippe’, ‘wie Knochengerüste’ (Sieg 1952: 37) ‘emaciated to the bones’, ‘like skeletons of bones’. This accords with the pictorial description of the two preta women in Kizil cave 212, main chamber, right side wall (Zin 2023, p. 132, drawing 77 and pp. 516–517, drawing 430). “The main and easily-depicted characteristic of the *pretas* is (...) their extremely emaciated bodies” (Zin 2023, p. 133), as featured by the pictorial description of the two preta women in Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle”.

80d: *kaṣṭyo* ‘by hunger’ (see above 77b), *āsūs* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m ‘dried out, dry’ (the pretas). – *prutkoṣ* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m ‘enclosed’. – hyperbaton *riyam* loc.sg.f ‘in the city’ plus attr. adjective *añcwāṣṣām* obl.sg.f ‘iron’.

Strophe 81

b wār-pārmañkyo | lcār tmāṣ pretāñ, | wältsantuyo | ārwar ymām, | ṣūñkac entsuṣ |
(kapśi)ññās.

^b(kapśi)ññās Sieg 1952: 38n.1

“^bIn the desire of water then the *pretas* came out, by thousands readily going, making a hand gesture towards the mouth (lit.: holding [their] (corp)oral extremities towards the cavity of the mouth).”

Commentary

81b: *lcār tmāṣ pretāñ*: *lcār* prt.3pl.act. ‘they left, came forward’, postcaesural fronting of the finite verb (cf. 2.1.2).

ṣūñkac entsuṣ (kapśi)ññās ‘holding [their] (corp)oral extremities towards their mouth’. *ṣūñkac* all.sg ‘towards cavity of the mouth’, directional allative, see Carling 2000, p. 203. – *entsuṣ* prt.ptcp.nom.pl.m of attained state meaning ‘having seized and holding’, cf. Saito 2006, p. 284. – *(kapśi)ññās* obl.pl.f ‘(corporal) extremities’ (Toch. A *kapsaṇi*, B *kektseñe* akin to Lat. *coxa*, *coxendix*, the body as an “ensemble de points articulés; ensemble articulé”, see Pinault 1999, p. 474). Sieg (1952, p. 38) translated “taking their body posture to their mouth” “[ihre] Körper[haltung] nach dem Rachen zu nehmend”. Kizil cave 212, main chamber, right side wall (Zin 2023, p. 132, drawing 77, p. 517, drawing 430) depicts the *pretas* in the iron city, the two preta women each kneeling down with a raised arm in a begging gesture, and Simsim cave 41 (Zin 2023, p. 301, drawing 246). In sum, a better translation is ‘making a hand gesture towards the mouth’, begging for food and drink.

2 The East Tocharian term *lyalypu* ‘left-over, karmic consequence’ and Koṭikarṇa’s adventures (Pādas 82d, 83, 84, 85, 92bc)

Strophe 82

d ṣñy entsyo y(ā)mūnt | lyalypāntwā (was | pretāñ. k_ucāṣ) tñ(i) | wrāyīmās? || 82 ||

^d(was | pretāñ. k_ucāṣ) Sieg 1952: 38n.7, (*tṣaṃ tatmuṣ. k_ucāṣ*) Thomas 1964: 33n.4

“^dThrough the consequences caused by our own greed we are *pretas*. From where should we give you water?”

Commentary

82d: *ṣñy entsyo y(ā)mūnt* | *lyalypāntwā* ‘through/as a result of your left-overs, through the consequences caused by your own greed’: *ṣñy entsyo* ‘through (our) own greed’. – *yāmūnt* obl.pl.f ‘made, caused’. – *lyalypāntwā*: *lyalypāntu* obl.pl.f, suffixed with perlativ -ā ‘through the deeds’. – *lyalypu* ‘caused to remain, left-over, remain, consequence’, ‘das Übriggelassene’ (Sieg / Siegling / Schulze 1931, p. 6). – caus. prt[2].ptc. of *lip-* ‘to stick to, adhere, remain’, NHG *bleiben*, Gothic *bi-leiban*. For the causative *s*-present B *ly(ī)psentar* ‘they let remain; they leave, single out’, see Catt 2016, p. 24, 24. –

East Tocharian *lyalypu* and West Tocharian *yāmor* serve as translational equivalents of the Sanskrit Buddhist term *karman*. While West Tocharian *yāmor* ‘deed’ is a literal translation of

Sanskrit *karma*, East Tocharian *lyalypu* notably deviates in not being derived from East Tocharian *yā(m/p)-* ‘do’ but rather from $\sqrt{AB}lip-$ ‘to adhere to, be left over’ whose Indo-European etymological connection with Germanic, Gothic *bi-leiban*, NHG *bleiben* ‘remain’ has long been established since Meillet 1911, p. 633 (cf. Pinault 2001, pp. 254–256, Malzahn 2010, pp. 850–851, LIV 408–409 s.v. **leip-* ‘stick/adhere to’ [‘klebenbleiben’]).

What is new in 2024? In accordance with what I have stressed above regarding the preterito-presential attained-state value of Tocharian preterite participles, the participle ^A*lyalypu* denotes ‘**what has been left from the past and remains in the future**’ and thus directly addresses the causation and the consequences of actions.

3 Toch. A *lyalypu* and Koṭikarṇa’s adventures (Strophes 83, 84, 92bc)

Koṭikarṇa is witness of alternating joys and pains of men and women that are suffering from the karmic consequences of previous deeds.

Strophe 83

- a** lotāk tmāṣ. pālko^[A340b2] | [5 syll.] | [5 syll.] | [2 syll.] ākālyo.
b mā wār kālpāt, | ṣtāmis pāltwā | rāswāt. tām tāp. | tām wṣe cam | (ṣtāmis) p(o)saṃ | oṅk
yo k_uli
c rarkunt āsānā | lmoṣ pākā^[A340b3]r tākar).
d [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | s_ukuntu wārpānt | ṇākcim pal. || **83** ||

^b(ṣtāmis) p(o)saṃ Sieg 1952: 38n.10 ‘pākā(r tākar) Sieg 1952: 38n.9,11

“^aThen he went back. Having noticed (a Palāśa-tree, he approached it) in his desire (for water). ^bHe didn’t find water, he tore off for himself the tree’s leaves. These he devoured. In that night beneath the tree a man together with a woman became visible, ‘having taken sat down on a spread-out bed. ^d ... They enjoyed pleasures in god-like manner.”

Commentary

83a: *lotāk* prt.3sg.act. ‘he went back’ of *lotk-* ‘turn, go back’. – *tmāṣ pālko* ... *ākālyo*: the missing context can be restored on the basis of the Chinese parallel (Sieg 1952, p. 38n.8, Thomas 1964, p. 33n5).

83b: *mā wār kālpāt* ‘he didn’t find water’. – *ṣtāmis* gen.sg.m ‘of a tree’. – *pāltwā* oblique collective ‘the foliage’, taking singular reference in the anaphoric pronoun *tām* of the ensuing sentence. – *rāswāt* prt.3sg.mp ‘he tore off for himself’. – *tām* ‘that (foliage)’. – *tāp* suppletive prt.3sg.act. ‘he ate’ of *śuwā-* ‘eat’.

83b-c: ^b*oṅk* ‘man’. – *yo* ‘and/together with’, see below 2.5.2. – *k_uli* ‘woman’; cf. the asyndetic juncture in **87a** (*o*)*ṇk k_(u)i* below. – ‘*rarkunt* obl.sg.m ‘spread out’. – *āsānā* perl.sg.m ‘bed’, G. Hochbett, *Lagerstätte*, Skt. *śayanam* (SHT 1, 591: M 655 V2, R1, Waldschmidt 1952, p. 131). – *lmoṣ* nom.pl.m features the masculine gender as unmarked gender encompassing male and female sex; for a detailed commentary, see below 2.5.2. – *pākā(r tākar)* ‘they became visible’.

83d: *s_ukuntu* obl.pl.f ‘pleasures’. – *wārpānt* ‘they enjoyed’, literally ‘they encompassed, received and consumed’, cf. Huard 2019, pp. 51–2. – *ñākcim pal* obl.sg.m ‘in god-like manner’.

Strophe 84

- a** lyokāt wše. ślāsām | nakāt k_uli. tmāk kū | pākār tā(k tsopa)ts | kapśño empele.
b entsāt onkam | śāyū oki | ^[A340b4][4 syll.] | [3 syll.] | (kātsašim tru)ñk| tatrūsā-m
c tāpaṃ śāmānām. | Koṭikarṇa tām
d pālkat mroskat. | (śkam ṣṇike)k sāk | tām wše, tāmnek | pālkat n_unak. || 84 ||

*tā(k tsopa)ts Sieg 1952: 38n.13 ^b(kātsašim) Thomas 1964: 33 (tru)ñk Sieg 1952: 38n.14 ^d(śkam ṣṇike)k Sieg 1952: 38n.15

“^aThe night had brightened up/lit up. Together with the seat the woman had disappeared. Instantly a dog became visible, a big one, horrifying with his body. ^bHe seized the man. And a kind of (giant) *śāyū*-worm/snake/insect slit up (the cavity of his belly) [and] ate him alive. Koṭikarṇa ^dsaw this and became weary of it. Nevertheless, he stayed. At night, he saw the same anew.”

Commentary

84a: root preterites 3sg.mp *lyokāt* ‘had lit up’, *nakāt* ‘had disappeared’. *lyokāt* ‘had lit up’, *nakāt* ‘had vanished’ and 92b *pakt* ‘had cooked for herself’ show a pluperfect meaning. The morphological interpretation of these forms has remained controversial (Malzahn 2010, pp. 113–115), ranging from putative hyperarchaic *o*-grade root aorists (Jasanoff) to more recent analogical creations. Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 247 analysis of these forms as due to aorist-perfect syncretism continues to carry most conviction. The *o*-grade is of perfect origin, and the pluperfect meaning of the forms in question points to reduplicated novel *o*-grade pluperfect of the Homeric type †*h₂ueh₂uórtō* > (αἰὲν) ἄωρτο ‘(the sword) had been hung and was (always) hanging’ (Il. 3.272 = 19.253, confirmed by Theoc. 24.43 as per Hackstein 2002, pp. 202–204); likewise innovative †*[ne]nókto* > PToch. **néktæ* > Toch.A *nákāt* ‘had vanished’. – *pākār tā(k)* ‘became visible’: colon-initial and post caesural fronting (cf. 2.1.2).

84b: *śāyū oki* ‘a kind of *śāyū*-worm/snake/insect’ (see Pinault 2004: 257, DTA 464, s.v. *śāyū* with references, or DTA 494, s.v. *ṣūci-śpāl* ‘a[s] kind of gigantic insect’). This interpretation of *śāyū oki* is supported by the Sanskrit parallel SHT I, 591: M 655 (ed. Wille 1993, pp. 294, 297) *śata[p]adī prādarbhūtā ... khāditvā nirmāmsa asthiśaṃkal[ā](va)śeṣo ‘vastāpi[tah]* “ein Hundertfüßler erschien ... und fraß den Mann an, bis das Fleisch aufgebraucht und (nur noch) die Knochen übrig waren”.

According to the plausible etymology suggested by Pinault 2004, p. 258 Toch.A *śāyū* is an indigeneous East Tocharian word and cognate of Greek κίς, κίος ‘worm’ to be connected to PIE **kih₂*- ‘move’ and to be added to the list of Tocharian-Greek lexical isoglosses in Nikolaev 2022, pp. 25–6n.16. Toch.A *śāyū* might mean ‘creaky crawler’ (PIE **kih₂-jo-*, Toch.A *śāyā-* ‘crawling leg’ + possessive suffix *-*uōnt*-?).

Further support may come from the pictorial description in cave 212 (Seefahrerhöhle, Waldschmidt 1952, p. 138, Zin 2023, p. 517 drawing 430), cf. Waldschmidt (1952, pp. 138–139 fig. 4): “Auf der rechten Seite des Bildes sieht man abermals Śroṇakoṭikarṇa. Er sitzt in einem Baum und sieht betrübt der Szene zu, die sich zu seinen Füßen abspielt. Dort liegt ein Mann am Boden, dem zwei

Hunde den Leib zerfressen; **und noch weiter rechts, leider besonders zerstört, windet sich ein wurmartiges Ungeheuer um abgenagte Knochen.** Der Künstler hat hier zwei sich nacheinander abspielende Ereignisse abgekürzt dargestellt (...)” (my emphasis).–

(*kātsaṣim tru*)*ñk tatrūsā-m* causative prt.[2].3sg.act ‘he caused the cavity of his belly to be torn apart’, hapax legomenon, of Toch.A *tru-s-* ‘tear apart’. The verbal root toch. ^{AB}*tru-s-* is an inchoative *s*-stem ‘begin to be torne apart’ and amenable to either one of the two explanations.

i. It may be connected with PIE < PIE **tūr*(*H*)-, **tūr*(*H*)- ‘stir up; aufrühren, erregen, antreiben’ (**tūr*-*e*- > OHG *dweran* ‘aufrühren, aufwühlen’, cf. *LIV* 655), and akin to Ru. *o-tverit* ‘open’ and E. *stir*, NHG *stören* (from PGmc. **stur-ja-na* ‘stir up and out’ < PIE **s-tūr*-). The phonological development is PIE **tūr**H*- > **truH*- > PToch. **trū*- > Toch. *tru-* or PIE **tūr*- > **tru-* > PToch. **trā*- → *tru-* by analogical leveling as per Adams 1978 (Toch. *lät*- → *lut*-; *tsäk*- → *tsuk*-). For the metathesis of PIE **uR* > **Ru*, cf. Byrd 2015, pp. 142–3. Del Tomba 2021 adduced evidence for metathesis of PIE **-uR* > Toch. **-Ru* in word-final position. Word-internal examples include PIE **k^wetūr-to* > **k^wetru-to* > PToch. **kjätär(ä)-tæ* > Toch. B *štarte*, A *štärt*. Unmetathesized PIE **k^wetūr-to* ought to have yielded PToch. **k^wätwār-tæ* > †B *štuarte*, and Toch.AB *trus-*.

ii. Alternatively Toch.AB *trus-* may be akin to Gk. θραύω ‘to break in pieces’ < PIE **d^hreh₂us-* (Nikolaev 2022, p. 25n16).

84c: *mroskat* prt.3sg.mp ‘he felt disgust’ (*DTA* 357). – *sāk* prt[1].3sg.act. ‘he endured, stayed’ (Sieg, Siegling, Schulze 1931, p. 476, Thomas 1964, Malzahn 2010, p. 933, *DTA* 512 s.v. *sāk*-) with *a*-umlaut in the *a*-preterite descends from PIE **[se]sóg^he* ‘he prevailed’.

Strophe 85

Strophe 85 contains the conversation between Koṭikarṇa and a man, who enjoys divine pleasures by night but suffers hellish pains by day. Koṭikarṇa enquires about the man’s previous deeds that caused his miserable state.

- a** [A340b5] [5 syll.] | [3 syll.]: (kus) *tñi* | *lyalypu oṣeñi* | *ñkātt oki planttār*,
- b** *ykonā klopan* | *ñ(areṣṣās) lkāt*. | *weñām onk sām*: | *kñasāṣ(t)u* | *Vāsavagrām* | *ṣūkṣam*
[A340b6] (te)
- c** [5 syll.] | [1syll.] [e]mpele.
- d** *sām nāṣ tām praṣt* | *ṣem. kāruṇyo* | *Kātyāyane* | *weñā(ñi:)* || **85** ||)

^a(kus) Thomas 1964: 33 ^bñ(areṣṣās) Sieg 1952: 38n.17 (te) Sieg 1952: 38n.18 (cam) Carling/Pinault *DTA*158 ^dweñā(ñi:) Sieg 1952: 38n.21

“^a... What (deed) has been caused by you to linger on? At night you enjoy pleasures like a god, ^bby day you encounter pains from hell. The man replied to him: Are you informed about the village of Vāsavagrāma? ^c... (There lived) a cruel (butcher). ^dI was this butcher at that time. Out of compassion Kātyāyana spoke to (me):”

Commentary

85a: (*kus*) *tñi lyalypu* ‘What (deed) has been caused by you to linger on?’ Sieg’s translation (1952: 38 “Welches war deine Tat?”) has been followed by most translators, see, e.g., *DTA* 409, but it is possible to construe this passage differently with *tñi* functioning as a genitive agent (cf. Krause / Thomas 1960, pp. 82–83, Meunier 2015, pp. 94–5) and *lyalypu* as predicative participle and

periphrastic verb form (with covert copula), meaning ‘has been caused to linger on’. For parallels, cf. A116b3 **ñi wewñunt** pāttaññākte märkampalis ‘(because) of Buddha’s law spoken by me’, B30a7 **ñi** no ytārye **ākṣusa** ... ‘but the ... way proclaimed by me’. –

85b: *weñā-m onk sām* colon-initial and post-caesural fronting (2.1.2). – *kñasās(t)u Vāsavagrām* *śūkṣam* ^[A340b6] (*te*)?

In pāda 85b, the man introduces his answer with a question containing the verbal form *kñasāstu*. The interpretation of this verbal form and the restoration of the missing final syllable of pāda 85b have been much debated. Sieg restored the missing final syllable as the interrogative particle *te*; cf. Sieg, Siegling, Schulze 1931, pp. 189–190. Sieg’s restoration of the East Tocharian interrogative particle *te* in **85b** squares nicely with the interrogative particle *kiṃ* in Sanskrit parallel text identified and edited by Waldschmidt in 1952. In the Sanskrit text, the question is phrased with the Sanskrit interrogative particle *kiṃ*:

Sanskrit manuscript SHTF M 655 R3–4: (R3) *kiṃ tava (jñāto 'śmakāvantijanapadeṣu grāmo vāsavo)* (R4) *nāma* ‘Is a village by the name of Vāsava known to you in the land of Aśmaka-Avanti?’ (Waldschmidt 1952, p. 132). In the same vein, the Chinese version, which in the French translation by Chavannes 2011, p. 248 reads: “connaissez-vous le bourg de *Wangsa-po* (Vāsava) dans le royaume de *A-che-mo-kia-a-p'an-ti* (Açmaka avanti)?”

A problem lies in the sentence-final placement of the interrogative particle (*te*) which normally takes clause-second position, cf. Lühr 1997.

Alternatively Carling/Pinault *DTA* 158 suggest to restore the indefinite obl.sg pronoun *cam* (“Did you know (anyone) in the village Vāsavagrāma?”). There are two problems: First, according to the Skt. and Chinese parallels the focus of the question is the village of Vāsavagrāma. Second, the question is not in the preterite but bears presential meaning ‘Do you know about ...?’. The tense-aspect of the *kñasāst* is aoristic denoting an accomplished action and paralleled by e.g. Greek ἔγνων ‘I understand; I’m informed; I know’ (Soph. *Aias* 36), which often occurs in Greek dialogues.

Another alternative might be to opt for a restoration of *cam* as a pronominal particle in adverbial use (as per Carling/Pinault *DTA* 504 s.v. *cam* sub 3) meaning ‘perhaps, in any way ever’.

Syntactically, the East Tocharian question *kñasās(t) tu* appears to be an authentic East Tocharian rendering of the Sanskrit original, because the East Tocharian text features verb fronting and subject-verb inversion, i.e., the overt pronominal subject (*t)u* and the verb are inverted, as in German and (partly in) English, to yield *kñasāst* plus (*t)u*. In Tocharian, subject-verb inversion is not obligatory, but is possible; cf. Hackstein 2013, pp. 110–111,

kārsanoyem	toy^ä	tu	epe	mā
knew	they	this	or	not

Did they [the animals] know this or not? (B575 a3–4)

nesañcä	śāmane	tañ	pācer	mācer
are.they	alive	your	father	mother

Are your father and mother still alive?

plāksatai-me		ostamem	laṃtsi
asked.for.agreement=them	...	house.ABL	leave

Have you asked them for permission to leave the house (= become a monk)?
(K.T. Schmidt 2018: 27, KVāc 19b4 = THT1111b4 (text), 74 (trsl.))

Regarding its Indo-European reconstruction, the form *kñasāšt* has remained controversial down to the present day; cf. Hackstein 1993, Malzahn 2010, p. 609, and Peyrot 2013, p. 442. The verb form *kñasāšt* was identified as **an s-preterite** by Winter/Schmidt 1992, Hackstein 1993, pp. 152-153 (cf. also Malzahn 2010, pp. 609–610) ‘are you knowledgeable, are you acquainted with’ (1952 and Hackstein 1993, pp. 152-153).

The insight that *kñasāšt* is **not a present form but an s-preterite** rendered Jasanoff’s equation of *kñasāšt* with the Hittite present *kanešzi* from an underlying Narten s-present PIE 3sg. **ǵneh₃-s-ti*, 3pl. **ǵneh₃-s-nti* (Jasanoff 1988¹ and 2003, p. 133, 192) obsolete. Likewise impossible is the form’s interpretation as the **imperfect of a Narten s-present** as presumed by Jasanoff 2003, **impf. PIE 3sg. **ǵneh₃-s-t*, 3pl. **ǵneh₃-s-nt*** of inchoative meaning ‘**was getting knowledgeable about**’. The intransitive and presential semantics of *kñasu* ‘I have known, I’m informed, I know’, and *kñasāšt tu* ‘are you informed?’ **are reconcilable only with a Tocharian preterite form** and crucially not with a Tocharian imperfect.

Only the functional array of a Tocharian preterite encompasses a presential attained state meaning, as I already argued in Hackstein 1993, pp. 155–156. This presential and intransitive function is borne out by the Toch. A 1sg form *kñasu*, which correlates with the 2sg *kñasāšt*. The 1sg. preterite *kñasu* is attested in A214b6 + 76YQ1.4a1 *mā kñasu*, matching the Uighur negated participle *uqmaz* with auxiliary *ärdim* ‘I cannot tell apart; ich kann nicht unterscheiden’ (Shimin/ Klimkeit 1988, p. 119, line 1491); cf. A305b3 *šärsä* ‘I know; I’m well aware’; see further examples in Thomas 1957, pp. 209–217.

Strophe 92

b [4 syll.] | ^[A341a7]lyalypurši want | wortam kumpam | šūci-špāl | paktām ymār tmaṃ |
kapšaṇi :

c šṇi lyalypāmntu(yo) | [5 syll.]

^bšūci-špāl DTA 494 ‘lyalypāmntu(yo) Sieg 1952: 40n.6

“^a(...) ^bthe karmic wind had let her whirl into the cauldron head-over. She, having a head with a needle-mouth, had quickly cooked (for herself) her own body therein. ‘By the consequences of her own deeds (...) ^d(...)”

Commentary

92b: *lyalypurši want* nom.sg.m/f ‘the wind of the deeds and their consequences’ (DTA 409, 423), *wortaṃ* causative reduplicated prt[2].3sg.act. ‘had let her turn/whirl’, *kumpam* ‘into the cauldron’. – *šūti-špāl* (Sieg) is to be read as *šūci-špāl* (DTA 494). The compound *šūci-špāl* means neither ‘kopfüber’ (Sieg 1952, p. 40, Thomas 1964, p. 150) nor ‘needle-headed (ghost)’ (DTA 494, Skt. *sūci-mukha-*), but rather denotes a preta that has a head with a mouth like a needle, referring to the outward characteristics of the *pretas*. Owing to their extreme hunger and emaciation (cf. pādas 77b,

¹ Pace Jasanoff (1988, p. 236, 2003, p. 192), Alb. *njoh-* does not descend from **ǵnē-ske/o-*, but goes back to **ǵnh₃-ske-*, with analogical restoration of the onset **ǵn-* after the root aorist **ǵneh₃-*; see Klingenschmitt 1981, p. 130, Schumacher/ Matzinger 2013, pp. 231–232. – For an account of Hittite *kane/išš-^{zi}*, see Kloekhorst 2008, pp. 434–435, s.v. *kane/išš-^{zi}* (Ib1) ‘to recognize, to acknowledge’: PIE **ǵneh₃-s-ti*, **ǵnh₃-s-enti*, (p. 435: 3sg. **knāšzi*, 3pl. *kane/iššanzi* /knīšant^{si}/). While Kloekhorst doesn’t accept the Narten-type of verbal inflection, he assumes the stem **ǵneh₃-s-*, which under the Narten type would function as the weak stem alternant.

79b above), the *pretas* had shrunk mouths looking like [the] eye of a needle and narrow needle-pin necks so that they were no longer able to swallow food and were constantly starving, cf. the description of the *pretas* in the *Avadānaśataka* V,3, ed. p. 249, transl. Rotman 2021: “There he saw a hungry ghost (...) **with [a] mouth like [the] eye of a needle (...)**” [cf. 77b above] Everything they attempted to eat turned into pus. *ṣūci-śpāl* must therefore better be translated as ‘needle-mouth head’, for which cf. Zin 2023, p. 132 and Moretti 2017.

The verb *paktzām ymār tmaṃ kapśaṇi* is not intransitive as previously thought (Schmidt 1969, p. 130 “schnell kochte ihr Körper darin”), but a transitive-reflexive middle (“She, as a needle-headed ghost, cooked herself quickly therein”, *DTA* 494), cf. the *pretas*’ habit of eating dead (cremated) flesh (Moretti 2017 sub 10). – The root preterite 3sg.mp **92b** *paktz* ‘had cooked for herself’ shows a pluperfect meaning like **84a** *lyokāt* ‘had lit up’, *nakāt* ‘had vanished’. The morphological interpretation of these forms has remained controversial (Malzahn 2010, pp. 113–115), ranging from putative hyperarchaic *o*-grade root aorists (Jasanoff, Villanueva-Svensson 2007/2008, p. 215) to more recent analogical creations.

Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 247 analysis of these forms as due to aorist-perfect syncretism continues to carry most conviction. The *o*-grade comes from the classical Indo-European perfect, and the pluperfect meaning of the forms in question points to novel *o*-grade pluperfects of the Homeric type †*h₂ueh₂uórto* > (αἰέν) ἄωρο ‘(the sword) had been hung and was (always) hanging’ (*Il.* 3.272 = 19.253, confirmed by Theoc. 24.43 as per Hackstein 2002a, pp. 202–204); likewise innovative †*[ne]nókto* → **[no]nókto* > PToch. **néktæ* > Toch.A *nakāt* ‘had vanished’. –

Root prt. [0]	Preterite participle
A <i>pákāt</i> ‘had cooked’ A <i>nakāt</i> ‘had disappeared, was gone’	A * <i>pá-pk-u</i> > <i>pákku</i> A <i>ná-nk-u</i>
PIE perf. strong stem, PToch. unstressed reduplicant * <i>k^wétuores</i> > * <i>k^wetuóres</i> accent shift ; red. <i>o</i> -vowel copied; elision of unstressed red. syllable:	PIE perf. weak stem, leveling of reduplicant <i>o</i> -vowel from strong to weak stem; PToch. accent retraction in disyllabics; stressed reduplicant:
* <i>pé-pok^w</i> - > * <i>pe-pók^w</i> - → † <i>[po-]pók^w</i> -to > A <i>pákāt</i> * <i>né-nok^w</i> - > * <i>ne-nók^w</i> - → † <i>[no-]nók^w</i> -to > A <i>nakāt</i>	* <i>pe-pk^w-uós</i> > → * <i>pó-pk^w-uós</i> > A <i>pákku</i> * <i>ne-nk^w-uós</i> > → * <i>nó-nk^w-uós</i> > A <i>nánku</i>

Some results

The **linguistic make-up** of the East Tocharian Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna is variegated, featuring morpho-syntactic patterns inherited from (classical) Proto-Indo-European (attained-state presential perfect forms, unmarked masc. gender) and innovative patterns like the *nakāt*, *pakāt* aorists which instead of being archaic allow for other interpretations.

The **description of the *pretas*** in the East Tocharian Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna largely coincides with the famous pictorial description in Kizil cave 212 without being fully identical. There are at least two deviations. The motif of burning *pretas* and the motif of the *pretas* having mouths as small as needle heads are absent from the pictorial description.

Abbreviations

DTA = Carling, Gerd, Georges-Jean Pinault (2023) *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

*LIV*² = Rix, Helmut (2001) *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

THT = Tocharische Handschriften der (Berliner) Turfansammlung.

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