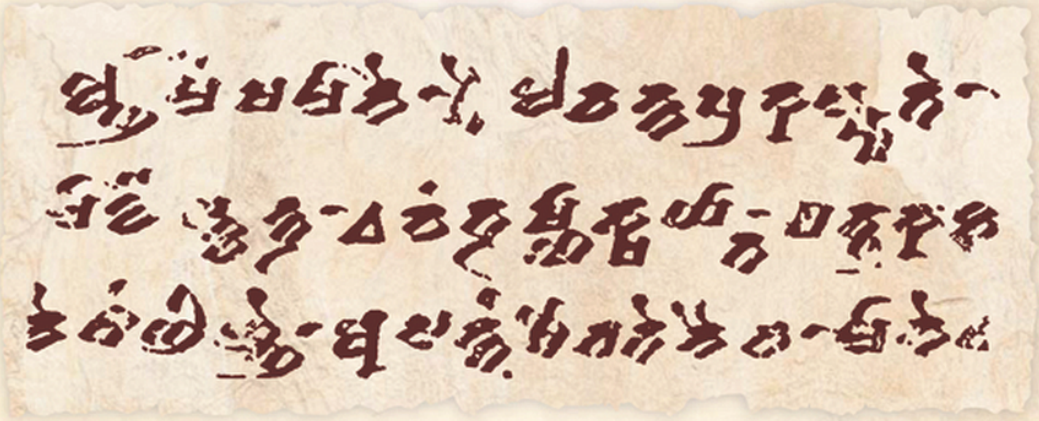
Václav Blažek

Tocharian Studies

Works 1



Masaryk University

Brno

Tocharian Studies

Works 1

muni
PRESS

This book was kindly reviewed by

Ronald Kim
&
Melanie Malzahn

Václav Blažek

Tocharian Studies

Works 1

Edited by Michal Schwarz

Masaryk University
Brno 2011

This book was published under patronage of the Centre for the Interdisciplinar Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (project code: MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University in Brno and thanks to the grants GAAV No. IAA901640805 & MUNI/21/BLA/2011.

All articles are reprinted with kind permission from following journals (in alphabetical order):

Archív orientální
Historische Sprachforschung
Indogermanische Forschungen
Journal of Indo-European Studies
Lingua Posnaniensis
Linguistica Baltica
Linguistica Brunensia
Tocharian and Indo-European Studies

© 2011 Václav Blažek
© 2011 Masarykova univerzita
ISBN 978-80-210-7645-7 (online : pdf)

ISBN 978-80-210-5600-8 (brožovaná vazba)
ISBN 978-80-210-5599-5 (Box Set)

DOI: 10.5817/CZ.MUNI.M210-5600-2011

Content

Preface (Melanie Malzahn)	VIII
Introduction and Plan of the Works of Václav Blažek	X
Chronological list of all Tocharian articles of Václav Blažek with editorial notes	XII
I. Etymology	**1**
Tocharian Linguistics During the Last 25 Years. *Archív Orientální* 56 (1988), 77-81.	2
Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses I. Sl. **kъpъ* : Toch. **kwip-* "shame". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 5 (1991), 123-128.	10
Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses II. Sl. **čьlnъ* : Toch. **kolmo-* "ship". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 5 (1991), 129-133.	15
Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses III. *Linguistica Baltica* 4 (1995), 233-238.	19
Tocharian-Anatolian isoglosses (1-4). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7 (1997), 229-233.	25
It is possible to restore Tocharian A *ku////* "nave, hub"? *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7 (1997), 234-235.	30
The Tocharian word for "monkey" – inherited or borrowed? *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7 (1997), 236-238.	32
Tocharian – Anatolian isoglosses II (5 – 6). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8 (1999), 75-78.	35
Alimenta Tocharica (1 – 3). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8 (1999), 79-84.	40

The Tocharian and Celtic "span". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8 (1999), 85-86. 46

Toward the Cardinal Points in Tocharian. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 9 (2000), 29-32. 48

Tocharian A *muk* 'yoke' and A *maku*, B *mekw* pl. '(finger)nails' – why *m*? *Historische Sprachforschung* 114 (2001), 191-195. 52

Tocharian AB *kät-* "to scatter", its derivatives and relatives. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 106 (2001), 81-83. 57

Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses IV. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 10 (2003), 11-13. 60

A Tocharian key to the etymology of the bird-name **srĝó-* "stork". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 10 (2003), 15-16. 63

Tocharian A $k_u li$, B *klyiye* "woman" < **ĝ/gleH$_2$u̯i-H$_1$en-*? *Historische Sprachforschung* 118 (2005), 92-100. 65

Tocharian 'camel'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 11 (2009), 39-42. 74

Tocharian AB *kwär-* 'to grow old'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 12 (2011), 57-62. 78

II. Grammar **83**

Nástin tocharské historické gramatiky. ["A sketch of the Tocharian historical grammar"]. *Linguistica Brunensia. Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, A56 (2008), 33-58. 84

III. Ethno-Linguistics & History **112**

Tocharians. Who they were, where they came from and where they lived. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 50 (2008), 47-74. 113

IV. Bio- & Bibliographies **148**

Werner Winter (*25 October 1923 – †7 August 2010). *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 39 (2011). 235-254. 149

Pavel Poucha (*29. 12. 1905 Vienna - † 15. 1. 1986 Prague) – his life, travels and complete bibliography. 173

Index of words **211**

Tocharian A 212
Tocharian B 218

Preface

Since the decipherment of the two Tocharian languages in 1908 this easternmost branch of Indo-European has fascinated linguists as well as non-linguists. Apart from analyzing the Tocharian languages as such, the question of the migration of the speakers of Proto-Tocharian to nowadays China and the position of Tocharian among the other branches of Indo-European have been much discussed topics ever since. During three decades of active publishing Václav Blažek has without a doubt made a significant contribution to Tocharian studies in all its respect. Being both a comparative philologist in the narrow sense of studying Indo-European languages (the further prospective volumes will show that Professor Blažek indeed published on almost every branch of Indo-European) as well as an historical linguist with wide knowledge of non-Indo-European languages of Central and Inner Asia (among others), Professor Blažek's main focus in Tocharian studies was on etymological connections with neighboring languages and their consequences for language contact. The first part of this volume concentrating on his contributions to all kinds of matters Tocharian hence contains eighteen etymological studies that appeared from 1988 to 2011, the second part being a long sketch of the grammar of Tocharian A and B (co-written with Michal Schwarz). Although it is written in Czech, even readers without a command of that language will no doubt judge the many paradigms and reconstructions to be found in it very useful. Part three offers the reprint of a rich paper on the position of Tocharian (again co-written with Michal Schwarz) making much use of the method of lexicostatistics, which was so far not so easy to access.

Also other Czech scholars have made important contributions to the field of Central and Inner Asian studies in general and Tocharian as well as Iranian and Indian in particular. The eminent work of the Czech Orientalist Pavel Poucha was and still is rightly acknowledged in the field, especially his Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A (Praha 1955), which remained the standard reference work until very recently. Václav Blažek not only picked up and

continued that tradition, he now in the final part of this volume (Bio- and Bibliographies) also published for the first time a highly welcomed biographical article on Pavel Poucha's life and work.

It is reasonable to hope that the present volume of selected writings by Václav Blažek will both further enhance Tocharian studies in the author's home country in the future and make Tocharian studies more visible internationally as well.

Melanie Malzahn

Introduction and Plan of the Works of Václav Blažek

Prof. Václav Blažek has published many linguistic studies in international as well as regional journals, proceedings and memorial volumes within the last decades. I have thought it impossible to acknowledge or appreciate the extent and scope of his work without the articles being published together. So I decided to prepare a series of thematic volumes corresponding to the various spheres of linguistic interests of my tutor. This first volume is dedicated to the Tocharian languages. The next volumes will be devoted to the following language groups and topics according to Václav Blažek's updated bibliography: Indo-European (2-3 volumes), Slavic (1-2 volumes), Germanic (2 volumes), Afro-Asiatic (2 volumes), Baltic, Celtic, Indo-Iranian, Uralic, Altaic, Semitic, Distant relationship, General Linguistics, Comparative Mythology. Studies of other language groups could be published in volumes under the designation "Varia" (Italic & Romance, Palaeo-Balkanian, Hellenic, Anatolian, Kartvelian, Paleo-Siberian, Dravidian, Elamite, Austric, Australian). Were there demands for bulky editions, some topical volumes described above could be combined. If possible, any future monographs will be published in this series (i.e. Works) as well. Naturally I anticipate and hope for several more decades of prolific work by Prof. Blažek and consequently I expect modifications of the plan outlined here, both in topics and number of volumes.

In this first volume I compiled the list of articles and rewrote the earliest articles from the pre-computer era, and those written in outdated software and phonetic fonts. While selection, authorisation and updating of articles were done by the author, the organisation of the volume and typing errors remain my responsibility. The content of this Tocharian volume is divided into sections: I. Etymology, II. Grammar, III. Ethno-linguistics & History and IV. Bio- & Bibliographies. (The biography and first complete bibliography of Pavel Poucha is the only article written especially for this volume – the previous Czech version was too short due to demands of the journal Linguistica Brunensia). Instead of original pagination the full bibliographical titles are used and some articles were updated or partly modified. The index is comprised of the Tocharian A

and B words only because a special comprehensive index-volume is planned. The following volumes will continue in analogous style. Speed of preparation will depend on author's and editor's working capacity, and availability of financial sources.

I am very indebted to John D. Bengtson for corrections of my English in all parts of this book and to Dan Šlosar and Mgr. Radka Vyskočilová for kind help with my first typesetting. Special thanks belong to the director of the MUNI Press (Masaryk University Publishing House) PhDr. Alena Mizerová for accepting the series to the academic publishing house. Printing costs of this volume were kindly offered by Mr. Václav Švehla from PBTisk, s. r. o.

The editing work was finished during the time of my study stay at the National University of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar in September & October 2011.

Michal Schwarz

Contact information

In case of any suggestions, need for a printed version of this volume, information about possible sponsorship, etc., please do not hesitate to use the following contacts:

Prof. RNDr. Václav Blažek, CSc.
blazek@phil.muni.cz

Mgr. Michal Schwarz
schwarz.michal@yahoo.com

Department of Linguistics and Baltic languages
Masaryk University – Faculty of Arts
Arna Nováka 1
602 00 Brno
Czech Republic

Chronological list of all Tocharian articles of Václav Blažek with editorial notes

1984

(1984): The Sino-Tibetan etymology of the Tocharian A *mkow*-, B *moko* "monkey"? *Archív orientální* 52, 390-392. (This article is published in this volume in its updated version = 1997c – see below.)

1988

(1988): Tocharian Linguistics During Last 25 Years. *Archív orientální* 56, 77-81.

1991

(1991a): Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses I. Sl. **kъpъ* : Toch. **kwip*- "shame". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 5, 123-128.
(1991b): Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses II. Sl. **čьlnъ* : Toch. **kolmo*- "ship". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 5, 129-133.

1994

(1994): Sl. **čьlnъ* "člun" a toch. **kolmo*- "lod"' (k terminologii pojmenování plavidel v severoindoevropském areálu). *Slavia* 62, 489-492. (This Czech version of the article 1991b is not published in this volume.)

1995

(1995): Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses. *Linguistica Baltica* 4, 233-238.

1997

(1997a): Tocharian-Anatolian isoglosses (1-4). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 229-233.
(1997b): It is possible to restore Tocharian A *ku////* "nave, hub"? *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 234-235.
(1997c): The Tocharian word for"monkey" – inherited or borrowed? *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 236-238. (This article is published instead of its previous Czech version from 1984.)
(1997d): Praslav. **kъpъ* 'vulva' ~ tox. **kwip*- 'styd' – specifičeskaja slavjansko-toxarskaja izoglossa? *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija*, 1997, 226-229. (This Russian version of the article 1991a is not published in this volume.)

1999

(1999a): Tocharian – Anatolian isoglosses II (5 – 6). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 75-78.
(1999b): Alimenta Tocharica (1 – 3). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 79-84.
(1999c): The Tocharian and Celtic "span". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 85-86.

2000

(2000): Toward the Cardinal Points in Tocharian. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 9, 29-32.

2001

(2001a): Tocharian A *muk* 'yoke' and A *maku*, B *mekw* pl. '(finger)nails' – why *m*? *Historische Sprachforschung* 114, 191-195.
(2001b): Tocharian AB *kät-* "to scatter", its derivatives and relatives. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 106, 81-83.

2003

(2003a): Slavic-Tocharian Isoglosses IV. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 10, 11-13.
(2003b): A Tocharian key to the etymology of the bird-name **srĝó-* "stork". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 10, 15-16.

2005

(2005): Tocharian A $k_u li$, B *klyiye* "woman" < $*ĝ/gleH_2ui\text{-}H_1en$-? *Historische Sprachforschung* 118, 92-100.

2007

(2007a – together with Michal Schwarz): Tocharové. Kdo byli, odkud přišli, kde žili. *Linguistica Brunensia. Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* A55, 85-113. (This article is published in this volume in its English updated version = 2008b – see below.)
(2007b – together with Michal Schwarz): Pavel Poucha (1905-1986). *Linguistica Brunensia. Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* A55, 322-325. Instead of this Czech article (not included in this volume) the new English biography and bibliography of Pavel Poucha is published – see 2011e below).

2008

(2008a – together with Michal Schwarz): Nástin tocharské historické gramatiky. ["A sketch of the Tocharian historical grammar"]. *Linguistica Brunensia. Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, A56, 33-58. This article was written for Czech readers; but for better reference: all Tocharian A and B words reconstructed in this article were added to index.

(2008b – together with Michal Schwarz): Tocharians. Who they were, where they came from and where they lived. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 50, 47-74.

2009

(2009): Tocharian 'camel'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 11, 39-42.

2011

(2011a – together with Michal Schwarz): Werner Winter (25.10. 1923 – 7.8. 2010). *Linguistica Brunensia* 59, 286-299. Instead of this Czech version an English article 2011b is published in this volume.

(2011b – together with Michal Schwarz): Werner Winter. *Journal of Indo-European Studies*. 235-254. This article is included in this volume instead of its Czech version = 2011a. For the version in this book we added full contents of Winter's *Studia Tocharica* from 1984 and *Kleine Schriften = Selected Writings I.+II.* from 2005.

(2011c – together with Michal Schwarz): Tocharian AB *kwär-* 'to grow old'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 12, 57-62.

(2011d – together with Michal Schwarz): Tocharian AB *kulyp-* 'to crave, desire' and the Indo-European root **leub*^{h}-. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 116, 72-86. This article will be published in one of future volumes because of copyrights.

(2011e – together with Michal Schwarz): Pavel Poucha – his life, travels and complete bibliography. In: Blažek, Václav. *Tocharian Studies*. *Works 1*. (ed. Michal Schwarz). Brno: Masarykova univerzita/MUNI Press. 173-210.

I. Etymology

Tocharian Linguistics During the Last 25 Years. *Archív orientální* **56, 1988. 77-81.**

Václav Blažek

Now we can find a complete survey of recent Tocharian research in the detailed study *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen* (1960-1984), Stuttgart, Steiner-Verlag Wiesbaden-GmbH 1985, ix, 187 pp., by a well-known specialist Werner Thomas.

The book is divided into the following parts: *Vorwort* (I-IX); *Vorbemerkungen* (1-6); A. *Bibliographien* (7); B. *Allgemeine und zusammenfassende Werke* (8-20); C. *Die Sprache* (20-125): I. *Texte bzw. Textstellen und ihre Interpretation*, II. *Wörterbücher bzw. Glossare*, III. *Grammatik*; D. *Die sprachliche Stellung des Tocharischen* (126-154): I. *Verhältnis der beiden tocharischen Sprachen zueinander*, II. *Die indogermanischen Komponente*, III. *Die nichtindogermanischen Komponente*; *Schlussbemerkungen* (155); *Literaturverzeichnis* (156-178); *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* (179-192); *Nachträge aus dem Jahre 1984* (185-187).

The part *Literaturverzeichnis* catalogues 434 books, articles and reviews concerning Tocharian problems. Linguistic studies proper and reviews consist of 324 and 43 titles respectively (there are 8 more citations in the last part, *Nachträge aus dem Jahre 1984*). I think it will be useful to range authors according to the numbers of their original titles about the Tocharian language (total 324): Van Windekens 91, Thomas 44, Winter 20, Lane 13, Isebaert 13, Adams 9 (10 including supplements in the last part), Schmidt K. H. 8, Couvreur 7, Naert 7, Bonfante 5, Lindeman 4, Schmalstieg 4, Ji 4, Brock 4, Hilmarsson 4 (5), Čop 3, Ivănescu 3; 18 authors – 2 titles and 54 authors – 1 title.

It is difficult for the bibliographical study of such an extent to cover all published titles. The following titles can be added:

V. N. Toporov, "Toxarskaja ėtimologia za dvadcať let". In: *Ėtimologija* 1963, Moskva 1963, pp. 236-249 ... (ad A);

V. V. Ivanov, "Funkcii"tocharskich" jazykov i "toxarskoj" literatury v Vostočnom Turkestane i problema tjurksko "toxarskich" kontaktov". In: *Centralnaja Azija i Tibet. Istoria i kuľtura Vostoka Azii*, T. 1, Novosibirsk 1972 ... (ad B);

T. V. Gamkrelidze, V. V. Ivanov, *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy*. Tbilisi 1984 “Vydelenie toxarskogo iz obščeindoevropskogo jazyka i migracii nositelej toxarskich dialektov”, pp. 935-936) ... (ad D II.);

V. I. Georgiev, *Introduction to the History of the Indo-European languages*, Sofia 1981 (Chap. IX: “Tocharian and Balto-Slavic”, pp. 281-297) ... (ad D II.);

V. Blažek, “The Sino-Tibetan Etymology of the Tocharian A *mkow*-, B *moko*- ‘Monkey’”, *Archív orientální* 52 (1984), pp. 390-392 ... (ad D III., but reflected in Vorwort, p. X);

V. V. Ivanov, “K ėtimologii nekotorych migracionnych kuľturnych terminov”. In: *Ėtimologija* 1980, Moskva 1982 (7. Avstro-aziatskij istočnik tox. A *oṅkaläm*, B *oṅkolmo* ‘slon’, p. 166) ... (ad D III.);

V. V. Ivanov, “A korai ugor és az östokhár alapnyelv fonologiai”. *Rendszerének párhuza mossága és ennek lehetséges diakrón megyarázata, Nyelvtudományi közlemények* 85 (1983), pp. 357-359 ... (ad D III.). The Russian version of the last article was published in 1986: “Paralelizm fonologičeskich sistem raneugorskogo i oščetoxarskogo prajazykov i jego vozmožnoe diachroničeskoe objasnenie”. In: *Fonetika jazykov Sibirii sopredeľnych regionov*. Novosibirsk 1986, pp. 11-14.

It is also a pity that Thomas’ survey does not inventory the articles in which the name “Tocharian” does not appear their titles, e.g. E. Schwentner, “Khotansakisch *sahä*, *sahe* ‘Hase’”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Bd. 77 (1961), p. 160 (Toch. B *ṣaṣe* “hare” borrowed from OInd. *śaśa*- id.) or V. V. Ivanov, “Mikenskoe grečeskoe *wa-na-ka* i ego indoevropejskie sootvetstvija”. In: *Balkanskij lingvističeskij sbornik*, Moskva 1976, pp. 165-171 (Toch. A *ñkät*, B *ñakte* “God”, A *nātäk* “lord”, *nāśi* “lady” and Greek *wanakt*- “king”, **wanakya* “queen” with detailed discussion and older literature), etc.

The research of the last ten years has given precision to our notions about the place of Tocharian among the Indo-European languages, cf. Thomas pp. 128-147. A. J. Van Windekens, the author of an excellent etymological dictionary of Tocharian, tallied isoglosses between Tocharian lexicon and lexicons of other Indo-European groups (Van Windekens 1976: 614-619). He obtained the following rank order: (1) Germanic, (2) Greek, (3) Indic, (4-5) Baltic and Iranian, (6) Latin, (7) Slavic, (8) Celtic, (9) Anatolian, (10) Armenian, (11) Albanian. D. Q. Adams (1984: 399-400) obtained a rather different rank order: (1) Germanic, (2) Greek, (3) Baltic, (4) Indic, (5) Slavic, (6-8) Latin + Celtic + Iranian, (9) Albanian, (10) Anatolian, (11) Armenian. But a different picture arises if we accept etymological interpretations other than those of A. J. Van Windekens.

Toch. A *wär*, B *war* “water” is usually connected with OInd. *vā́ri* “water, rain” etc. (Van Windekens 1976: 557). An alternative etymology derives PToch. **wär* “water” from IE **wod̥r* (Normier 1980: 277). A similar phonological development is known, cf. A *swār*, B *swāre* “sweet” < **swādro-* from IE root **swādu-* (Normier 1980: 277; Thomas 1985: 58-59). Afterwards we obtain the Germanic-Anatolian-Tocharian isogloss instead of the Indic-Tocharian one.

Toch. B *ālme* “source, well” is analysed as the intensive prefix **ā-* + **l̥mo-s* (Thomas 1985: 122). But it corresponds rather to ‘alteuropäische’ hydronyms **almā*, **almos* (Georgiev 1981: 171, 350-351). Cf. also Lith. *almė́ti* “to run; flow”, *ãlmė* “pus” (Toporov 1975: 76-77); also Hit. *alalam(m)a-*, *alalima-* may belong here, if its meaning was “river-bed” (cf. Tischler 1977: 13).

Toch. A *lu*, B *luwo* “animal” is derived from IE **lāu-* (Sl. **lovŭ* “hunting”) or **lūs*, **luw-* “louse” (“animal”?) (Poucha 1955: 270; Pokorny 1959: 655, 692; the etymologies follow Van Windekens and Pedersen respectively), cf. also Hit. *lalawes(s)a-*/*lalakwesa-* “ant” (reduplication?; Čop 1972: 167). Now Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984: 507-510) present a new etymology for the IE designation of “lion”, cf. Germanic **liuwaz* and Greek **lewont-* (Mycenaean *re-wo-te-jo* and *re-wo-pi*). The relationship of Albanian *letë* (**leut-*) “mane” and Sl. **ljutŭ* “ferocious” borrowed into Lith. *liũtas* “id.; lion” and even Hit. *walwa-*, *walwi-*, Luw. *walwa-* (reduplication: **lwalwa-*?) are more problematic (Sumnikova 1986: 59-77). Ultimately a non-IE origin is not excluded either, cf. ST **lwa˙y* “buffalo” (Blažek 1984: 392).

Toch. AB *pälk-* “shine, burn; see” has been connected with IE **bʰelg-* (Greek *φλέγω* “I burn“, etc.) (Van Windekens 1976: 358). But *pä-* can be interpreted as the old imperative (originally perfective?) prefix (Van Windekens 1982: 233-236; Thomas 1985: 82-83). Consequently Toch. AB *pälk-* represents only an extended form of the verb AB *läk-* “see”, cf. the present stem A *lka-* (Poucha 1955: 266-267; Van Windekens 1982: 35).

The exclusive Tocharian-Anatolian isogloss A *kast*, B *kest* “hunger” and Hit. *kast-* id., *kestwant-* “hungry” (Van Windekens 1976: 189; Tischler 1982: 535-537; Thomas 1985: 145) can be complemented by Greek *γαστήρ* “belly”, if its original meaning was “hungry” (Watkins 1974: 14), cf. East Iranian (Pamir) forms as Sarikoli *morz* “hunger”, Waxi *mərz* id., Shughni *mōǯj* id., etc. and Avestan *mərəzana-* “belly” (Morgenstierne 1970: 337). A direct relation between Hit.-Toch. **kast-* and Basque *gose* “hunger, hungry” proposed by Ivănescu (1969: 242-243) is excluded for geographical reasons. The missing link of comparison between Basque and Indo-European could be sought in North Caucasian as a possible relative of the hypothetical Mediterranean

substratum. In fact the form **gašē* "hunger" (cf. Tabasaran *gašti* "hungry") is reconstructed [Nikolayev & Starostin 1994, 431]. But the vector of borrowing was from IE into North Caucasian rather than the opposite direction (Nikolaev 1985: 62). And Basque *gose* may be of Romance origin (cf. Spanish *gazuza* "hunger" : *gazuzo* "very greedy, voracious", see Löpelmann 1968: 463-464 [and Corominas 1990: 295]). Some scholars, e.g. John Bengtson (personal correspondence), preffer the opposite vector of borrowing.

Toch. A *kroṅse*, B *kroṅ(k)śe*, acc. sg. *krokś* "be" is usually connected with IE **ḱr̥̄s-en-* "hornet" (Poucha 1955: 92 after Schrader; Pokorny 1959: 576). Van Windekens submitted a new interpretation – borrowing from ST **(s-)brəṅ* "fly, bee" (Benedict 1972: 167, 177; Van Windekens 1965: 139-140; Van Win-dekens 1976: 627; Thomas 1985: 108), but this etymology is phonologically improbable. On the other hand, Sino-Tibetan influence is not really excluded, cf. ST **kraṅ* "mosquito" (Burm. *khraṅ*, Kachin *dźi-groṅ*, where *dźi* is "winged insect", etc. – see Benedict 1972: 71). We would have to assume a compound **kraṅ-dźi* (cf. Kachin) or the like. But the traditional Indo-European etymology remains most probable; a missing Anatolian counterpart may be indicated at least indirectly by the probable IE loan in Kartvelian: Georgian *ṇrazana* "wasp" (Klimov 1986: 198).

Several lexical borrowings from Sino-Tibetan (Chinese) were detected by Van Windekens and Naert (Thomas 1985: 153; from earlier authors H. Lüders. *Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises*. Sitzungsberichte der Preusischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933 must be named). But these relations are bilateral and more intimate than they have shown. We have selected the following comparisons as illustrations.

Toch. B *plewe* "boat" has a good IE etymology (Pokorny 1959: 835-837). It was probably borrowed into ST languages, cf. Gurung (= Bodic division according to R. Schafer) *plava* "boat" and Arch. Chin. *plyôg*, Anc. Chin. *plyəw* id. (Benedict 1972: 176 – in footnote 469 he compares them with Indonesian **parau* id.; Ulving 1968/1969: 948 = IE + Chin.).

Toch. A *kuryar*, B *karyar* (**kwräyor*) "business, purchase", B *käry-* (**kwräy-*) "to buy", pres. med. *kärnāsk-* (**kwränāsk-*), reflect IE **k^{w}rey-* "to buy" (Pokorny 1959: 648; Normier 1980: 257-258; Benveniste 1969: 129-137 – also with Baltic and Slavic parallels). TB **kroy* in Burm. *krwè* "debt", Kachin *khoi* "borrow or lend (presupposes a return in kind" (Benedict 1972: 68; A. Gluhak in the letter from 19. VI. 1986 – ST + IE) could represent a Tocharian loanword.

Toch. AB *pär-* "bring, take" is derived from IE **bher-* "bring" (Pokorný 1959: 128-132). The TB voiceless **p-* in **par* "trade, buy, sell" (Benedict 1972: 35) reveals Tocharian origin, although even Iranian influence is not excluded, cf. Avest. *fra-bara* "deliver, hand over", Khwarezmian *haβar-* "give", *βar* "get", etc. (Levinton 1977: 21-23).

Toch. A *oṅkaläm*, B *oṅkolmo* "elephant" is analysed on the IE level as **ank-* "to bend, curve, bow" and the suffixal extension **-ālimo-*, cf. Toch. B *onolme* "man" (Van Windekens 1979: 24, 110). V. V. Ivanov, with reference to E. Sapir, connected this word with Tib. *glaṅ* "elephant; ox" (Ivanov 1977: 156), which is probably related to Arch. Chin. *zyaṅ* (**dzyaṅ*), according to P. Benedict from *sgyaṅ* (Benedict 1976: 188), Burm. *tshaṅ*, etc. (similar forms with initial affricate are known also from Austro-Asiatic languages – Benedict 1972: 133). Ivanov's comparison does not explain Toch. *oṅ-*. An acceptable solution seems to be the alternative ST reconstruction for Tib. *glaṅ* according to R. Shafer – ST composite **(n-)go-laṅ*, cf. Tibetan dialect Tseku *galon* "bull", and loan in the Dardic language Pashai *go-laṅ* "bull" (Shafer 1965: 459). This version can be modified. If the first component was ST **ṅə* "tooth, tusk" (Shafer 1974: 36, 57, 162), the original composite was **ṅə-laṅ* (> **gV-laṅ*) "tusked ox" (?) [further see Lushei *ṅᶜṅᶜo* id., Kapwi *ṅa* "tooth", Newari *ṅa-*, Hwalngau *hṅau* "eyetooth, tusk", etc., maybe Arch. Chin. **ṅra* besides *ṅa* and later *ya* "tooth, tusk, ivory", Proto-Thai **ṅa* "ivory" (Shafer 1974: 469, according to Haudricourt), Proto-Viet-Müöng **ṅa* "ivory" (Sokolovskaja 1978: 163) and Proto-Mnong (Bahnar) **ngo'la* "tusk" (Norman & Mei 1976: 288). Later, V. V. Ivanov (1982: 166 - see above) connected Tocharian "elephant" directly with Austro-Asiatic "ivory" (in his article incorrectly "trunk of elephant").]. But the above is questionable, if the transformation of the ST initial **ṅ-* in Toch. *oṅ-* is regular, cf. Toch. A *nkiñc*, B *ñkante* "silver" (n.), A *nkäñci*, B *ñikañce* "silver" (adj.), probably borrowed from a ST source close to Arch. Chin. *ṅyɛn* "silver" (which was a source of Proto-Thai **ṅə(ə)n* id. and Proto-Miao-Yao **ṅaan*, var. **ṅ[ua]n* id.), Burm. *ṅwe*, Gyarung *paṅei*, Tibetan *dṅul*, Śerpa *ṅul*, etc., all from ST **(d-)ṅul* "silver" (Van Windekens 1976: 634; Benedict 1972: 15, 173; Benedict 1976: 171; Shafer 1974: 36, 75, 96). A direct borrowing from Tibetan *glaṅ* may be identified in Toch. A *klaṅk*, B *kleṅke* "vehicle; saddle animal", as already proposed by E. Sapir (1936: 264).

Toch. A *śiśäk*, B *ṣecake* "lion", A *śiśak-śanweṃ* "leaving the jaws of a lion" was analysed as a derivative of various IE roots, e.g. **seng-* "attacher à" and Celtic **sogno-* "poil the queue, brosse" (Van Windekens 1941: 120-121), **singʰeko-* "lion" with the suffix *-ko-* (Van Windekens 1964: 223-228; Adams 1984b: 284-286: A *śiśäk* < *säyśäke-* < **sänśäke-* < *sänkyäke-*, A *śiśak* <

**sänkyēke-* and B *ṣecake* < **ṣencake-* < **syenśäke-* < **sänśäke-* < **sänkyäke-*), *sĭ̆t-e-ko-* (> *śiśäk*), **sĭ̆t-ē-ko* (> *śiśak*) and **sēt-e-ko* (> *ṣecake*) in comparison with Lat. *saeta* "mane, bristles, hosehair" (Van Windekens 1976: 480-481; Lat. *saeta* corresponds to Hit. *settis* "Nackenmähne" [cf. J. Tischler 1982b: 123]; a semantic shift "mane" → "lion" is acceptable, but the etymology is improbable for phonological reasons). A source was also sought in Chinese (Middle) *syi-tsyə'* "lion" (Pelliot, Lüders). On the contrary E. G. Pulleyblank supposes a borrowing from Tocharian into Chinese (Pulleyblank 1962/1963: 109). But a ST origin is possible too: from a compound consisting of components corresponding to ST **si* "lion" and TB **zik* "leopard" (Blažek 1984: 392). S. A. Starostin, the author of a new reconstruction of the ST proto-language, modified this source as **s-cik* "leopard, lion" with the typical ST animal prefix *s-* (Starostin, March 1986 – personal communication).

Toch. B *mewiyo* (m.), *mewiya* (f.) "tiger" has been connected with Sogdian *myw* and Sacan *muya* id. (Van Windekens 1941: 67 – Schwentner; Van Windekens 1979: 9). All these words have a promising ST etymology (Tocharian is a probable source of the Iranian designation of "tiger"), cf. Arch. Chin. *myau-*, *mău-* "wild cat" (Shi Jing), "cat" (Li Ji) borrowed into Thai *mēw*, Shan *miau*, Ahom *miu* "cat", further TB: Limbu *mīyo-n* "cat", Lalung *myaŏ*, Tengsa *měyăŭ*, Pwo *miayu*, etc. (Shafer 1965: 464-465; Shafer 1974: 65, 278, 448). "Cat" and "tiger" are not so different in meaning, cf. Burm. *kroṅ* "cat", Maru *rauṅ* "wildcat", and Nung *khaṅ* "tiger", Kachin *roṅ*, *śəroṅ*, *śaro* "tiger, leopard", TB **roṅ* (Benedict 1972: 107). An excellent example of the semantic shift "cat" → "tiger" may be found in the Munda languages. Santali *ruṇḍa* "wild cat" is used in the forest as a taboo substitute for *kul* "tiger" and *tạrup* "leopard". Prakrit *bheruṇḍa-* "tiger" is probably formed from this Munda root – cf. also Mundari *ruṇḍā* "wild cat" (Kuiper 1948: 151, footnote 48).

It is possible to conclude that the reviewed book excellently demonstrates the progress in Tocharian etymology over the last 25 years. If Tocharian etymologies of the past were noted for their liberal interpretations of phonological rules, contemporary Tocharists work with a more exact historical-comparative method. Our examples were intended to show „the untapped reserve" in Tocharian comparative linguistics: the old isoglosses with other Indo-European languages and the areal relations with the neighbouring non-Indo-European languages.

Abbreviations: Anc. Ancient, Arch. Archaic, Burm. Middle Burmese, cf. confront, Chin. Chinese, Germ. Germanic, Hit. Hittie, IE Indo-European, Lat. Latin, Lith. Lithuanian, Luw. Luwian, OInd. Old Indic, P Proto, Sl. Slavic, ST Sino-Tibetan, TB Tibeto-Burmic, Tib. Written Tibetan, Toch. Tocharian.

Bibliography (excluding titles mentioned in the full form in the article):

Adams, D. Q. 1984. The position of Tocharian among the Other Indo-European Languages. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104, 395-402.

Adams, D. Q. 1984b. Tocharian A *śiśäk*, B *secake*, the Proto-Indo-European word for 'lion'. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97, 284-286.

Benedict, P. K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* (ed. J. Matisoff). Cambridge.

Benedict, P. K. 1976. Sino-Tibetan: Another Look. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1976). 167-197.

Benveniste, E. 1969. *Vocabulaire des institutions indoeuropéenes* I. Paris.

Corominas, J. 1990. *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua Castellana*$_5$: Madrid.

Čop, B. 1972. Indouralica II. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 44 (1972). 162-178.

Ivănescu, G. 1969. Un élément japhetique en hittite et en tokharien: hittite *kašts* 'faim, famine', tokh. A *kast*, B *kest* 'faim'. *Studia et Acta Orientalia* 2 (1969[60]). 242-243.

Ivanov, V. V. 1977. Nazvanija slona v jazykach Evrazii. 1-3. *Ėtimologija* 1975. Moskva, 1977. 148-161.

Klimov, G. A. 1986. *Vvedenie v kavkazskoe jazykoznanie*. Moscow.

Kuiper, F. R. I. 1948. *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit*. Amsterdam.

Levinton, G. A. 1977. Iz indoevropejskoj terminologii obmena. In: *Nostratičeskie jazyki i nostratičeskoe jazykoznanie*. Moscow. 21-23.

Löpelmann, M. 1968. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der baskischen Sprache*. Berlin.

Lüders, H. 1933. Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises. *Sitzungsberichte der Preusischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1933, 998-1022.

Morgenstierne, G. 1970. The Development of Iranian r + Consonant in the Shughni Group. In: *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*. London: Asia Major Library. 1970. 334-342.

Nikolaev, S. L. 1985. Severokavkazskie zaimstvovanija v xettskom i drevnegrečeskom. In: *Drevniaja Anatolia*. Moskva 1985. 60-73.

Nikolayev, S.L. & Starostin, S.A. 1994. *A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*. Moscow.
Norman, J. & Mei, Ts. L. 1976. The Austroasiatics in Ancient South China:Some Lexical Evidence. *Monumenta Serica* 32 (1976). 274-301.
Normier, R. 1980. Tocharisch *ñkät* / *ñakte* 'Gott'. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 94 (1980). 251-281.
Pokorny, J. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern.
Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*, *Pars I* (*Monografie Archívu orientálního Vol. XV*). Praha.
Pulleyblank, E. G. 1962/1963. The Consonantal System of Old Chinese. *Asia Major* 9 (1962-63). 59-144, 206-265.
Sapir, E. 1936. Tibetan Influence on Tocharian, I. *Language* 12 (1936). 259-271.
Shafer, R. 1965. The Eurasian Linguistic Superfamily. *Anthropos* 60 (1965). 445-468.
Shafer, R. 1974. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*. Wiesbaden.
Sumnikova, T. A. 1986. O slovosočetanii ljutyj zveŕ v nekotorych pamjatnikach vostočnoslavjanskoj pismennosti. *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija* 1984. Moskva 1986. 59-77.
Sokolovskaja, N. K. 1978. Materialy k sravniteľno-ėtimologičeskomu slovarju vjetmyongskix jazykov. In: *Issledovanija po fonologii i grammatike vostočnyx jazykov*. Moskva. 126-180.
Tischler, J. 1977. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Lief. 1. Innsbruck.
Tischler, J. 1982. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Lief. 3. Innsbruck.
Tischler, J. 1982b. *Hethitisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis mit einem semasiologischen Index*. Innsbruck.
Toporov, V. N. 1975. *Prusskij jazyk* (A-D). Moskva.
Ulving, T. 1968/1969. Indo-European elements in Chinese? *Anthropos* 63-64 (1968-1969). 944-951.
Van Windekens, A. J. 1941. *Lexique étymologique des dialects tokhariens*. Louvain.
Van Windekens, A. J. 1964. Études de phonétique tokharienne VI. *Orbis* 13 (1964). 223-228.
Van Windekens, A. J. 1965. Deux mots tokhariens d'origine non-indo-européenne. *Orbis* 14 (1965). 139-140.
Van Windekens, A. J. 1976. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain.
Van Windekens, A. J. 1979. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II. *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain.
Van Windekens, A. J. 1982. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II. *La morphologie verbale*. Louvain.
Watkins, C. 1974. Indo-European 'Star'. *Die Sprache* 20 (1974). 10-14.

Slavic – Tocharian Isoglosses I. 1. Sl. *kŭpŭ "vulva" ~ Toch. *kwip- "shame". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **5 (1991), 123-128.**

Václav Blažek

§ 1. Sl. **kŭpŭ* is reconstructed on the basis of OCz. *kpen* (?) "vulva, burgulium, culus, matrix", (older) Cz. *kep* m. "external part of female genitals, shameless fool", Slk. *kiep* "slatter", OPol. *kiep* "cunnus, fool, idler", (older and dial.) Pol. *kiep*, gen. *kpa* m. "female genitals; fool", Pom.Sln. *ħìep* m. "knave, scoundrel", and possibly Sln. *kêpec* m. "parson's nose, dwarf" (Trubačev 1987: 205).

The etymology of Sl. **kŭpŭ* is not unambiguous. Traditionally it is connected with the IE root **kŭp*- "hole, opening, hollow", reflected in OInd. *kū́pa*- "pit, hollow, depression", Gk. *κύπη* "opening, hole", OEng. *hȳf* "beehive", etc. (Berneker 1908: 664-665; Pokorny 1959: 591). This etymological association finds semantic confirmation in such a parallel as Hbr. *poṯ* "vulva; opening", related to Arab. *faut* "space, gap", Angas (West Chadic) *fut* "hole", etc. (Gesenius & Buhl 1921: 665-666; Müller 1975: 64-65). -

An alternative etymology is based on the not so evident semantic connection of Sl. **kŭpŭ* "vulva" and **kypěti* "to seethe", with the apophonic variant **kvapiti* "to be in a hurry" (Trubačev 1987: 205-206 who rejects the interpretation "seething, frothing place" and suggests "breath; an opening through which breath escapes"). The parallels from other IE languages appear semantically distant as well: Lith. *kūpėti* "to seethe, boil; be rank", *kvẽpti* "to breathe", *kvìpti* "to smell", *kvãpas* "breath, breathing; smell", Latv. *kûpêt* "to smoke", OPr. *kupsins* "fog", Alb. *kapitem* "I breathe heavily (being exhausted)", Gk. *καπνός* "smoke", *κάπος*, *κάπυς · πνεύμα* (Hes.), OInd. *kúpyati* "he is angry, excited", Lat. *cupiō* "I wish", etc. (Pokorny 1959: 596-597).

These two etymological suggestions need not mutually exclude each other, cf. e.g. Toporov (1984: 296-300) who tries to accommodate them. The attempt to connect Sl. **kŭpŭ* with lat. cunnus, derived via **kumnos* from **kupnos*, is in principle possible but unprovable (Machek 1971: 249).

§2. Toch. **kwip*- "shame" is reflected in both Tocharian languages: A *kip*, B *kwĭ̄pe*. The correspondence A *k* vs. B *kw* is regular, cf. A *koṃ*, B *kweṃ* (obl. sg.) "dog", A *ṣuṅk*, B *ṣaṅkw* "throat", A *suk*, B *sakw* "happiness", A *tuṅk*, B *taṅkw*

"love", A *oṅk*, B *eṅkwe* "man" (Hilmarsson 1986: 129). Therefore, evidently, B *oṅkipṣe* "shameless" represents a borrowing from East Tocharian.

This word does not have a reliable etymology either. Van Windekens (1941: 51) compared Toch. **kwip*- with Gk. *καυνός · κακός* (Hes.), Ir. *cuan* "deceit", Goth. *hauns* "humble", Latv. *kàuns* "shame". But this etymology cannot explain the difference in initial consonantism (IE **k*- vs. Toch. **kw*-) and vocalism (Toch. -*i*- can hardly be derived from IE *-*a*- or *-*au*-). Furthermore, the final root-consonants of IE **kaun*- and Toch. **kwip*- are quite different. Later, the same author presented a comparison with Lat. *in-quināre* "to soil, dirty" deriving the Toch. word from **quw(e)i-wo*- or **kuw(e)i-wo*- (Van Windekens 1976: 216). The Latin word together with *cūnīre* "stercus facere" is probably related to Lat. *obscēnus*, *obscaenus* "dirty, immoral, disgusting", *caenum* "impurity, dirt" (Pokorny 1959: 628; against Ernout & Meillet 1939: 131, 694). The other IE parallels also oscillate in their semantics near the meaning "dirty" (Pokorny 1959: 628), while a meaning resembling the Tocharian "shame" does not appear. Pedersen (1943: 210) connected Toch. **kwip*- with IE **kewep*-, **kwēp*- "to seethe, breathe, be angry", etc. (see above).

§2.1. Probably the most recent and best argued etymology of Toch. **kwip*- is the comparison with Gmc. **wība*- "woman, wife" > ON. *víf*, OEng., OHG. *wīb* (K. T. Schmidt as quoted by Hilmarsson 1987: 40; Pinault 1988: 142; for a full argumentation, see K. T. Schmidt & Strunk 1989: 251-284). This solution is based on the hypothetical protoform **ghweibho*-, **ghwībho*-, or **ghwipó*- (K. T. Schmidt & Strunk 1989: 272), with an original meaning "shame". The authors envisage the following development in euphemisms of the type Toch. A. *kip-kapśañi* "vulva", lit. "shame-body", or Toch. *kwipe-ike* "penis", lit. "shame-place". The final result is a semantic shift from "vulva" to "woman, wife", as is known, e.g., from Sumerian, cf. the determinative "vulva" with the meaning "woman, female" or Arab. *ħann*- "woman, wife" vs. OAram. *ħn* "vulva", *ħnt* "female slave" (Majzel & Militarev 1983: 222).

However, Gmc. **wība*- "woman, wife" has usually been connected with the verbal root attested in Goth. *bi-waibjan* "to wind", OEng. *wǣfan* "to dress", etc. (Pokorny 1959: 1132; de Vries 1962: 661, 651; Kluge 1975: 844). If it is correct, the IE protoform **weip*- would exclude a connection of Gmc. "woman, wife" with Toch. **kwip*-. A concrete argument against K. T. Schmidt's etymology follows from the absence of the effect of palatalisation that would be regularly expected before front vowels or diphtongs (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 94 for *gh^w-, 66 for **w*-, cf. B *ikäṃ* "2" < **wīḱm̥t*).

§3. Sl. **kŭpŭ* "vulva" and Toch. **kwip-* "shame" are semantically closer than all the preceding examples, irrespective of whether Sl. "vulva" is derived from IE **kŭp-* "hole, opening" or **kewep-*, **kwēp-*, etc. "to seethe" (see Pedersen's etymology in §2). The semantic connection of "vulva" and "shame" can be typologically confirmed, cf. Akk. *ūru*, *urû* "pudendum muliebre", Hbr. *'ärwā* "nakedness, shame, disgust", Arab. *'awrat* "pudenda", etc. (Gesenius & Buhl 1921: 618; Majzel & Militarev 1983: 220-221). The main problem is to explain the phonological correspondence of both the Slavic and Tocharian words.

§3.1. Sl. **kŭpŭ* probably reflects IE **kupo-*, while Toch. **kwip-* originates most likely from IE **kwepo-* (a radical **-i-* would have resulted in A **kup*, B **kwape*, cf. K. T. Schmidt & Strunk 1989: 269). But an *e*-vocalism would have been expected to cause palatalization as shown by Toch. A *śtwar*, B *śtwer* "four" < **k^{w}etwores* (Van Windekens 1976: 489) or A *śeru*, B *śerwe* "hunter", *śer-* "to hunt" < **g^{h}wēr-* "beast" (Van Windekens 1976: 478). Hilmarsson (per litt.) explains this contradiction by the analogical levelling of the strong and weak cases of an old s-stem: **kwep-os* > **św'äp-œ* > **śäp-œ* > **śip-œ*, gen. sg. **kup-es-(e/o)s* > **kwäp-äs-* (+ ending). During the following development, the palatal initial of the strong cases was replaced by the **kw-* of the weak cases, while the **-i-* of the strong cases was generalized in the weak cases.

The reconstruction of the thematic vowel **-o-* on the basis of the correspondence of Toch. A *-Ø* vs. B *-e* is well-known, e.g., A *yuk*, B *yakwe* "horse" < IE **eḱwos* (m.), cf. also the non-thematic *s*-stem A *klyu*, B *kälywe* "reputation" < IE **ḱlewos* (n.) (Van Windekens 1979: 4-8, 74-75). The traces of an old neuter stem (as in the last example) appear in the adjective A *kipsu*, B *kwipassu* "disgraceful", where *-(s)su* reflects **-s-wōnts*, similarly as in B *klawi(s)su* "celebrated, glorious" (Van Windekens 1979: 131-132; K. T. Schmidt & Strunk 1989: 270).

If Sl. **kŭpŭ* and Toch. **kwip-* are related to IE **kewep-*, **kwēp-* "to seethe, breathe, be angry", etc., there is a possibility to see promising morphological parallels in other *s*-stems, probably derived from the same IE root: Lat. *uapor*, gen. *uapōris* "steam, smoke" (Hilmarsson, per litt.) and OPr. *kupsins* "fog" < ? **kups-is*, **kups-in-(a)s* (Toporov 1984: 296).

4§. The evident semantic proximity, confirmed by the phonological compatibility and the deeper morphological parallelism, allows us to conclude that Sl. **kŭpŭ* and Toch. **kwip-* represent a common IE heritage.

References

Berneker, E. 1908. *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bd. I. Heidelberg: Winter.

Ernout, A. & Meillet, A. 1939. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Gesenius, W. & Buhl, F. 1921. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 17. Auflage. Leipzig: Vogel.

Hilmarsson, J. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology*. Reykjavík: Author.

Hilmarsson, J. 1987. Stray notes on the interrogative pronominal stems in Tocharian. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 1, 40-48.

Kluge, F. 1975. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 21. Auflage. Berlin & New York: Gruyter.

Machek, V. 1971. *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*. Praha: Academia.

Majzel, S. S. & Militarev, A. Ju. 1983. *Puti razvitija kornevogo fonda semitskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.

Müller, W. W. 1975. Beiträge zur hamito-semitischen Wortvergleichung. In: Bynon, J. T. (ed.). *Hamito-Semitica*. The Hague-Paris: Mouton. 63-73.

Pedersen, H. 1943. Tocharische Beiträge. *Revue des Études indo-européennes* 3, 17-19, 209-213.

Pinault, G.-J. 1988. Le Pratītyasamutpāda en Koutchéen. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 2. 96-165.

Pokorny, J. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Schmidt. K. T. & Strunk, K. 1989. Toch. B *kwīpe* 'Scham; Schande', A *kip* 'Scham' und Germ. **wība*- 'Weib'. In: Heller, K. & Panagl, O. Tischler, J. (eds.). *Indogermanica Europaea. Festschrift für W. Meid zum 60. Geburtstag*. Graz: Grazer Linguistische Monographien 4. 251-284.

Toporov, V. N. 1984. *Prusskij jazyk. Slovar' K-L*. Moskva: Nauka.

Trubačev, O. N. (red.). 1987. *Ètimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov*. V. 13. Moskva: Nauka.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1941. *Lexique étymologique des dialects tokhariens*. Louvain: Bureau de Muséon.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1976. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes. Vol. I. La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1979. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes. Vol. II,1. La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

de Vries, J. 1962. *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden: Brill.

Slavic – Tocharian Isoglosses II. 2. Sl. *čĭlnŭ "boat" ~ Toch. *kolmo "ship". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **5 (1991), 129-133.**

Václav Blažek

§ 1. Sl. **čĭlnŭ* "boat" is recognised on the basis of Bulg. *člun*, *člĭnŭ*, *čjunŭ*, Maced. *čoln*, dial. *čun*, S.-Cr. *čûn*, Sln. *čôln*, Slk. *čln*, Czech *člun*, Upper Sorb. *čołm*, Lower Sorb. *cołn*, dial. *čołm*, Polab. *cău̯n*, Pom.Sln. *č`è·u̯n*, Pol. (15th cent.) *czoln*, *czlon*, (later) *czółno*, (dial.) *czołen*, ORuss. *člŭnŭ*, *čelnŭ*, *čelenŭ*, Russ. *čëln*, Ukr. *čóven*, *čovnó*, Belarusian *čóven* (Berneker 1908: 166-167; Trubačev 1977: 142).
There have been various attempts to find IE cognates here:
(I) Lith. *kelnas* "fishing boat, punt" (Zupitza 1896: 152; Fraenkel 1962: 237; Machek 1971: 695; Berneker 1908: 167 doubts the existence of the Lithuanian word quoted by Miežinys);
(II) Lith. *kélta(s)* "punt", *kéltuvas* "little punt", Latv. *celtava* id. (Būga 1912: 235; Fraenkel 1962: 238);
(III) Lith. *kélmas* "stump, stemp", Latv. *celms* "stump", OPr. *kalmus* "stick, staff, rod, stump" (Zupitza 1896: 152; Fraenkel 1962: 237-238; Toporov 1980: 171-175, who also adds Lith. *kelmuõ* "stem, trunk of a tree" and Hitt. *kalmuš* "lituus", *kalmi-* "log; thunderbolt", *kalmanna-* "fire-wood", see Tischler 1983: 467-469);
(IV) OHG *scalm* "navis", Dutch *schalm* "dünner Holzstreifen oder Latten als Deckel der Schiffsluken" (Schmidt 1875: 32; Miklosich 1886: 31; Zupitza 1896: 152; Boisacq 1916: 869 adds Gk. *σκαλμός* "oar-peg");
(V) ON *hjalmr*, *hjalm-vǫlr* "rudder-stick", OE *helma* "tiller", OHG *helmo*, *halmo* "rudder-stick" (Pedersen 1906: 378, who hesitatingly adds Arm. *k'eli* "helm, rudder", *k'elanem* "to drive, navigate" and Gk. *κέλης* "schnellsegelndes Jachtschif", etc.).

§2. Toch. A *koläm*, B **kolmo* (acc. sg. *kolmai*) f. "ship" has been compared with OHG *scalm* "navis", ON *skalm-tré* "a cleft tree" (Van Windekens 1961: 383; Van Windekens 1976: 19, 228-229; Hilmarsson 1986: 29, 197), usually derived from IE **(s)kel-* "to cut" (Pokorny 1959: 923-927).

§3. The quoted series of cognates imply a connection of Sl. **čĭlnŭ* + OHG *scalm* (see §1 IV) on the one hand, and Toch. **kolmo* + OHG *scalm* on the other hand (see §2). It means that the Slavic and Tocharian words should be related too.

Let us look at the possibility of a direct relationship of Sl. **čĭlnŭ* and Toch. **kolmo*. Evidently there is a superficial difference in the suffixal extensions here. Schmidt (1895: 110) postulated that the IE suffixes **-mo-* and **-no-* are but dissimilatory variants, determined by the presence or absence of a labial element in the root preceding an original suffixal **-mno-*. In modern terms, therefore, Sl. **čĭlnŭ* and Lith. *kelnas*, *kéltas*, etc. (see §1 II), would derive from **kelH$_3$-* with *-H$_3$-* conditioning the loss of **-m-* in the underlying suffixal **-mno-*, while Lith. *kélmas*, Latv. *celms*, ON *hjalmr*, etc. (see §1 III, V) would reflect **kelH$_2$-* with no labial element and therefore with preservation of the **-m-* of the suffix. Consequently, we can assume the development Sl. **čĭlnŭ* < **k̥lH$_3$no-* < **k̥lH$_3$mno-*.

Hilmarsson (1986: 29) operates with an *o*-umlaut, i.e. *o – o* < *æ – o*, in his internal reconstruction of the Tocharian word for "ship": **kolmo* < **kælmo* < **kælmā* /*-ōn* < **kolmā* / *-ōn*. Since a laryngeal is lost after an *o*-grade root-vocalism, he suggests the preform **kolH$_3$mā* (probably the oldest form) or **kolH$_3$mōn* resp. (Hilmarsson, per litt.). Pre-Toch. **kolH$_3$mōn* "ship" is fully compatible with Pre-Sl. **k̥lH$_3$mno-* "boat", a thematic extension of the *n*-stem observed in Tocharian.

Provided that our thought are correct on this matter, we have got a Slavic-Tocharian isogloss "boat / ship" derived from the verb **kelH$_3$-* "to protrude, lift" (Pokorny 1959: 544).

§4. Another isogloss from the same semantic field may be represented by Sl. **aldĭjí*, acc. **áldĭjǫ* "ship" (BER III: 276), alternatively **oldī* (Vasmer II: 510) or **oldĭji* (Fraenkel 1962: 120) and Toch. B (obl. sg.) *olyi* id. (Hansen 1940: 151; Van Windekens 1976: 334). The Slavic word has usually been connected with Lith. *aldijà*, *eldijà* "boat (made from a single stem)" and Germanic forms like ON *alda* "wave; bottom of a valley where a brook flows", Norw. dial. *olda* "vessel, trough" < **alđōn*, cf. High Germ. dial. *alden* "furrow, depression in a field", OE *ealdoð*, *aldot*, *aldaht* "trough, vat" (Trautmann 1923: 6; Pokorny 1959: 31-32; Vries 1962: 5; Fraenkel 1962: 120; Stang 1972: 13). The Germanic forms derive from **aldh-* or **oldh-* and so they could be compatible with the Lithuanian and Slavic parallels but not with Toch. **olyi-* < **oldy-*, because only IE **-d-* is regularly lost before **-y-* in Tocharian (Van Windekens 1976: 82). The closer semantic affinity suggests that the Balto-Slavic and To-

charian words are cognates to the exclusion of the Germanic ones. Conversely, Gmc. **alđ-* "trough; river-bed" may have a promising cognate in Hitt. *altanni/a-* "fountain, well, water-basin" and in numerous "Old European" hydronyms beside properly Anatolian ones such as *Alda* [name of a river] or *Allatinna-* [name of a fountain] (Rosenkranz 1966: 129; Tischler 1983: 20).

Finally, Lith. *aldijà*, *eldijà* may not be an indigenous word. Hilmarsson (1986: 196-197) suggests that the circumflex accentuation (cf. acc. sg. *alt̃diją*, *elt̃diją*) precludes a derivation from **old-*, demanding **oldh-* because of Winter's Law of lengthening. Hilmarsson (l.c.) quotes Kortlandt's opinion that Lith. *aldijà* might be a borrowing from Slavic.

It appears then that we have here another exclusive Slavic-Tocharian isogloss.

References

Berneker, E. 1908. *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bd. I. Heidelberg: Winter.

BER - *Bălgarski etymologičen rečnik*. T. III. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na bălgarskata akademija na naukite. 1986.

Boisacq, E. 1916. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Heidelberg & Paris: Winter & Klincksieck.

Būga. K. 1912. Slavjano-baltijskie ėtimologii. *Russkij filologičeskij vestnik* 67. 233-260.

Fraenkel, E. 1962. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bd. I. Heidelberg & Göttingen: Winter & Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hansen, O. 1940. Tocharisch-iranische Beziehung. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 94. 139-164.

Hilmarsson, J. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology*. Reykjavík: Author.

Machek, V. 1971. *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*. Praha: Academia.

Miklosich, F. 1886. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*. Wien: Braumüller.

Pedersen, H. 1906. Armenisch und die Nachbarsprachen. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 39. 334-484.

Pokorny, J. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Rosenkranz, B. 1966. Fluß- und Gewässernamen in Anatolien. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 1. 124-144.

Schmidt. J. 1875. *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus*. Bd. 2. Weimar: Böhlau.

Schmidt. J. 1895. *Kritik der Sonantentheorie*. Weimar: Böhlau.

Stang, Chr. 1972. *Lexikalische Sonderübereinstimmungen zwischen dem Slavischen, Baltischen und Germanischen*. Oslo & Bergen & Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget.

Tischler, J. 1983. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. T. 1. *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*. Innsbruck.

Toporov, V. N. 1984. *Prusskij jazyk. Slovar'* I-K. Moskva: Nauka.

Trautmann. R. 1923. *Baltisch-Slawisches Wörterbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Trubačev, O. N. (red.). 1977. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov*. V. 4. Moskva: Nauka.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1961. *Deux traitements, inconnus jusqu'ici, de groupes consonantiques*. Orbis 10. 376-386.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Vasmer, M. 1986. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka.* T. II. (2nd edition) Moskva: Progress.

de Vries, J. 1962. *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden: Brill.

Zupitza, E. 1896. *Die germanischen Gutturale. Schriften zur germanischen Philologie.* H. 8. Berlin.

Slavic-Tocharian isoglosses III. *Linguistica Baltica* **4 (1995), 233-238.**

Václav Blažek

This article presents new Slavic-Tocharian isoglosses: (1) Sl. **uprěmъjь* "sincere" < **on-prēmo-* ~ Toch. B *empreṃ* "true" < **n̥-prēm(o)-*; (2) Sl. **lěviti* "to become weak, remit" < **lă̄/ŏiweye-* ~ Toch. B *laiwo* "fatigue" < **lă̄/ŏiwōn*; (3) Sl. *klęsati* & *klęsnǫti* "to let down" < **klN̥s-/*kleNs-* ~ Toch. A *klis-*, B *klänts-*, pret. act. *klyantsa* "to sleep" < **klN̥s-* & **kleNs-*; (4) Sl. *kalъ* "mud, mire, dirt" < **kālo-* Toch. B *kärkkāle* "mud, mire" < *krāke* "dirt, feces" & **kālle* < **kālyo-*.

1. Slavic **uprěmъjь* ~ Toch. B *empreṃ*

1.1. Sl. **uprěmъjь* attested in Old Czech *upřiemý*, cf. *úmysl neupřiemý* "insincere intention", Czech *upřímný*, Slovak *uprimný* "sincere", Polish *uprzejmy* "kind, favourable, compliant", earlier "sincere", Russian *uprjámyj* "obstinate" (Brückner 1974: 594; Machek 1971: 493-494; Vasmer & Trubačev 4: 165) is derived from Sl. **prěmь/*prěmmъjь* "direct, straight" by the prefix **u-* < **vъ* < **ŭn-* < **on-*, an apophonic variant of IE **en-* "in" (Machek 1971: 665-673). Consequently, Sl. **u-prěmъ(jь)* can be derived from **on-prēmo-*. The proper stem **prěmь* < **prēmo-* has an apophonic variant in Serbocroatian *pram(a)* "opposite, facing" < **pramъ* < **prōmo-* (Vasmer & Trubačev 1987: 394-395). The other eventual cognates are attested with a short *-o-*: **promo-* > Greek *πρόμος* "the first, prince" (Aristophan's *πράμος* is rather erroneous for *πρόμος*, Umbrian *promom* "primum", Gothic *fram* "farther, from, near", Old Norse *fram* "forward, away, from" or with zero grade: **pr̥̄mo-* > Gothic *fruma* "first", Lithuanian *pìrmas*, Old Prussian *pirmas* "first" (Lehmann 1986: 124, 129-130; Pokorny 1959: 814-815).

1.2. Toch. B *empreṃ* "true, truth" (Thomas 1964: 173) has no unambiguous etymology.

Van Windekens (1976: 177) sought cognates in Old Indic *-bhará* "qui porte, qui maintient", *bháraṇa* "fait de soutenir, d'assurer la subsistance".

Isebaert (1988: 139-140) has quite plausibly argued that B *empreṃ* might be borrowed from Iranian **ham-wrama-* "confidence".

Hilmarsson (1990[1994]: 46) has proposed the following internal reconstruction: *empreṃ* < **æn-præwænän* < **-prōwo-won-m̥* (acc.), comparing it with Slavic **pravъ* "true, right". Later he has admitted as an alternative solution the borrowing from the Iranian source proposed by Isebaert (Hilmarsson 1991a: 171-172).

1.3. Toch. B *empreṃ* can be derived from *$(H_1)n̥$-prēm(-m̥/-om)* where *$(H_1)n̥$-* is interpreted as a local prefix, cf. e.g. B *emparkre*, A *apärkär* adv. "long, fully, in detail", derived from B *pärkare*, A *pärkär* "long" (Hilmarsson 1991a: 13, 171). Toch. B *-e-* reflects the original **-o-* or **-ē-* (Van Windekens 1976: 19, 25). The final **-m* regularly gives *-ṃ* in Tocharian, cf. A *tkaṃ*, B *keṃ* "earth" < **d¨hom* (Van Windekens 1976: 74, 507). Hilmarsson (1990[1994]: 45-46 & Id. 1991a: 186-187) has interpreted the final nasal as an old accusative marker in zero-grade, similarly as in the case of B *yṅkauṃ* "by day", etc.

The internal reconstruction *empreṃ* < **n̥-prēm(o)-* allows us to connect this word with Slavic **uprěmъ(jь)* < **on-prēmo-*. The functional parallelism in prefixation and the semantic closeness confirm this conclusion.

2. Slavic **lěviti* ~ Toch. B *laiwo*

2.1. Sl. **lěviti* is continued by Serbo-Croatian *léviti* "to lose time", Czech *u-leviti* "to faciliate, remit", Ukrainian *livyty* "to slacken, diminish", *livyj* "weak, light, rare" (ĖSSJ 15: 28-29; ĖSUM 3: 256). It has been derived from IE **lēu-* and compared with Gothic *lewa* (dat.) "cause, opportunity", *ga-lewjan*, Old High German *gi-lāwen* "to betray" etc. (Lehmann 1986: 232) and Lithuanian *liáuti(s)* "to cease", Latvian *ļaut* "to allow, admit", refl. *ļauties* "to cease" (Fraenkel 1962: 362).

2.2. Toch. B *laiwo* "fatigue, tiredness" belongs to the nouns reflecting the termination **-ō(n)* in nom. sg. (Van Windekens 1979: 38-40). The diphthong *-ai-* can represent any *i*-diphthong except **-ei-* (Van Windekens 1979: 30-31, 34-36). There are probably only two etymological attempts:

Couvreur (1950: 129) compared it with Greek *λῃδεῖν* "to be tired" < IE **lē(i)-*, better **lē[i]d-* "to let" (Pokorny 1959: 666). This comparison is acceptable only if one reconstructs **lēidwō(n)* as a protoform for Toch.

Van Windekens (1976: 253-254) derived it from IE **laiwo-* "left". It is certainly possible phonetically but the semantic connection remains rather doubtful.

2.3. Sl. *-*ē*- reflects IE *-*ē*- and diphthongs *-*ai*-, *-*oi*-, *-*āi*-, *-*ēi*-, *-*ōi*- (Mikkola 1913: 53-60). It is evident that the Slavic and Tocharian forms are compatible phonetically and semantically too.

3. Slavic **klęsati* ~ Toch. B *klänts*-

3.1. Sl. **klęsati* & **klęsnǫti* attested in Bulgarian *klesam* "I move my body forward and backward", Slovenian *klésniti* "to incline with limp knees", Czech *klesati* & *klesnouti*, Slovak *klesať* & *klesnúť* "to sink, fall, let down", Polish (dial.) *klęsać* "to press", *klęsnąć* "to grow less, fall down" (ĖSSJ 10: 36-37) have no convincing etymology.

Zubatý (1945: 25f) compared Polish the form with Lithuanian *klemšióti* "mit gespreizten Beinen, breitspurig ausschreiten", Latvian *klemst* "müde, ungewandt gehen" (Fraenkel 1: 268-269).

Machek (1971: 255) compared Slavic **klęs*- with Lithuanian *klim̃pti*, *klimpstù* "to plunge into mud, snow". Both stems have a common root **klm̥/n̥*- but differ in termination -*s*- : -*p*-.

Similarly Trubačev (ĖSSJ 10: 36) sees in Sl. **klęsati* a verbal *s*-intensive stem **klen-s-ati* paralleled by **klękati* < **klen-k-ati* "to knell, limp".

3.2. Toch. B *klänts*- (*klants*-) "to sleep" reflects an original stem **klṆs*- [*N* = *n*/*m*], cf. Van Windekens (1976: 40-43) for B -*än*- (-*an*-) < *-*Ṇ*- and 102-103 for B -*nts*- < *-*Ns*- (Douglas Q. Adams 1995 [p.c.] prefers to distinguish IE *-*ns*- > pToch. *-*s*- and IE *-*ms*- > pToch. *-*ns*-). The *e*-grade **kleNs*- appears in pret. act. *klyantsa*. An unambiguous etymology does not exist.

Pedersen (1941: 203) connected it with Toch. A *klis*- & *kles*- "to lie, sleep" which is derived from **kleis*- by Van Windekens (1976: 220-221) and compared with Old Indic *ślis*-, Avestan *sraēš*- "to cling". Hilmarsson (1991b: 77) has derived A *klis*- & *kles*- from **klä*ⁱ*ns*-, doubtless related to B *klänts*-.

Van Windekens (1976: 218-219) has derived it from a nominal form (part. pret.) **klm̥-to*-, secondarily extended by *-*yo*-, comparing Old Indic *klam*- "to be tired", *klā́nti* "fatigue".

3.3. Slavic nasalized *-*ę*- continues original *-*eN*- or *-*Ṇ*- (Mikkola 1913: 71). This means that the Slavic and Tocharian forms can be derived from the same stem **klṆs*- or **kleNs*-, s-derivatives of the roots **klen*- (**klon*-) or **klem*-, represented e.g. by Sl. **kloniti* "to bend" and **klemati* "to dream, move slowly" (ĖSSJ 10: 66-68; 9: 194, respectively, or only the last example, accepting Adams's correction).

4. Slavic **kalъ* ~ Toch. B *-kālle* (in B *kärkkālle*)

4.1. Sl. **kalъ* is continued in practically all Slavic languages, cf. e.g. Old Church Slavonic *kalъ* "mud, mire", Bulgarian *kal* "dirt, mud, sediment", dial. *kaľ* (*kalъ*), Serbocroatian *kâl* "mud, mire, dirt, pool", Czech *kal* "mud, mire, sediment", Lusatian *kała* "mud, pool", Old Russian *kalъ* "dirt, mud, mire; feces, dung" etc. (ĖSSJ 9: 127-129). It can be derived from older **kāl-* or **k*^{w}*āl-*. Accepting the derivation of Sl. **kalina* "snowball tree, Viburnum opulus" from **kalъ* and its relationship to Germanic **holana-* "elder, Sambucu" (Kluge 1975: 315), the original velar seems to be more probable than labiovelar. The closest cognates appear in Iranian (Pamir): Wakhi *čāl* "mud, dirty liquid", Ishkashim *čal* "mud, swamp, bog, morass, marsh" (Paxalina 1983: 69). The other comparanda are semantically more distant: Greek *κηλίς* "stain", Latin *cālidus* "(horse) with a white spot", Old Irish *caile* "stain" etc. (Blažek & Peňáz in ESJS 1995: 300).

4.2. Toch. B *kärkālle* has been connected with A *kärt-kāl*, pl. *kärtkālyi*, usually translated as "pond" (uncertain, cf. Hilmarsson 1986: 183). Van Windekens (1976: 208) has analyzed it as **kr̥to-* + **-tk-* (verbal class marker) + **-lyo-* (verbal adjective suffix) comparing the first component with Old Indic *kartá-* "separation", Middle Indic *kaṭá-* "depth". Later Thomas (1976: 112) and Schmidt (1984: 152) have presented a new translation "mud, mire" for B *kärkkālle*.

Abstracting from A *kärtkāl*, the B form is analyzable as a compound *kärk* & *kālle* (already Van Windekens 1942: 164). The first component can be derived from **kr̥k-* or **kr̥Hk-* (Van Windekens 1976: 38-39, 47). The second possibility is more probable with regard to AB (B > A?) *krāke* "dirt, feces" < **krāko-* or **krōko-* < **kreH*$_{2/3}$*ko-*, comparable with Khotan Saka *khargga* "mud, mire", Armenian (< Iranian?) *kork* "dirt, dung", Old Indic *kalka-* "paste, dirt, sin", Old Irish *corcah* "swamp" (Van Windekens 1989: 95). Taking in account A *kärt-kāl*, there are probably two possibilities: (i) *kärt-* < **kärkt-* with *-t-* extension, cf. e.g. A *kākmart* "domination" (Van Windekens 1979: 98); (ii) A *kärt-kāl*, B *kärk-kālle* < **k*$^{(w)}$*r̥(H)T-kālyo* where the first component is compatible with Celtic **k*^{w}*rēd-* > Middle Irish *cré*, gen. *criadh* "clay", Welsh *pridd* "eart", Breton *pri* "clay" (Mann 1987: c. 1656).

The second component A *-kāl*, pl. *-kālyi* & B *-kālle* reflects the protoform **kālyo-* (cf. A *ṣulyi* & B *ṣlyiye* < **selwiyo-* see Van Windekens 1979: 102, 118]. It is very probable that it belongs to the same semantic field as the whole compound, cf. perhaps a parallel formation in Sl. **kaluža* "pool" < **kalo-luža* "muddy puddle" (Machek 1971: 237).

It is evident both Slavic and Tocharian preserve the root **kāl-* describing the semantic field "mud, mire, dirt".

References

Brückner, Aleksander. 1974. *Slownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*[3]. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.

Couvreur, Walter. 1950. B-Tocharische Etymologien. *Archív orientální* 18. 126-130.

ESJS = Havlová, Eva (ed.). 1995. *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, 5. Praha: Academia.

ĖSSJ = Trubačev, Oleg. N (ed.). 1974f. *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ slavjanskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.

ĖSUM = Melničuk, Aleksandr S. (ed.). 1982f. *Ėtimologičnij slovnik ukrainskoj movi*. Kiiv: Naukova dumka.

Fraenkel, Ernst. 1962f. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg & Göttingen: Winter & Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian phonology, morphology and etymology*. Reykjavík: Author.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1990[1994]. The nasal prefix and the privative in Tocharian. In: Bernfried Schlerath (ed.). T*ocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesselschaft. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Suppl. series* 4. Reykjavík. 37-60.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1991a. *The nasal prefixes in Tocharian. A study in word formation. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Suppl. series* 3. Reykjavík.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1991b. *The elements* -ñ- *and* -ññ- *in Tocharian present and subjunctive classes. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Suppl. series* 5. 61-122.

Isebaert, Lambert. 1988. Adnotamenta Irano-Tocharica. In. Peter Kosta (ed.). *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica. Festgabe für Werner Thomas zum 65. Geburtstag*. München: Sagner. 137-140.

Kluge, Friedrich. 1975. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Lehmann, Winfred P. 1986. *A Gothic etymological dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.

Machek, Václav. 1971. *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*. Praha: Academia.

Mann, Stuart E. 1987. *An Indo-European comparative dictionary*. Hamburg: Buske.

Mikkola, Jooseppi J. 1913. *Urslavische Grammatik. I: Lautlehre, Vokalismus, Betonung*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Paxalina, Taťjana I. 1983. *Issledovanija po sravnitělno-istoričeskoj fonetike pamirskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.

Pedersen, Holger. 1941. *Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachen*. Copenhague: Det Kgl. Danske Vid. Selsk., hist.-fil. medd., 28: 1.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1984. Bericht über das Projekt eines Sanskrit-tocharischen Wörterbuchs. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97. 148 -153.

Thomas, Werner. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*. Bd. II: *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Thomas, Werner. 1976[1977]. Ein weiteres tocharisches Udānavarga-Fragment. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 90, 104-113.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1942. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Grammatik des Tocharischen. *Archív orientální* 13. 151-166.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo- européennes*. Vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de dialectologie Générale.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1979. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II,1. *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1989. Notes d'étymologie et de phonétique tokhariennes. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 3. 91-110.

Vasmer, M. & Trubačev, Oleg N. 1987. *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ russkogo jazyka*[2]. Moskva: Progress.

Zubatý, Josef. 1945f. *Studie a články*. *I: Výklady etymologické a lexikální*. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění.

Tocharian-Anatolian isoglosses (1-4). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **7 (1997), 229-233.**

Václav Blažek

The question of the position of Tocharian within Indo-European has not been definitively answered. The richest set of isoglosses connects Tocharian with the 'Northwest block', i.e. Germanic and Balto-Slavic. Also the Tocharian-Greek list of lexical correspondences is remarkably extensive (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 614-616). On the other hand, the rather modest list of the Tocharian-Anatolian parallels (Van Windekens 1976: 618; Thomas 1985: 145-146; Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1990-1991: 277-278) can be enlarged. That is the purpose of this small article.

§1. Toch. A *kñā*- f. "stone" has no secure etymology. Van Windekens (1976: 225) thought about relatives in Greek *ἀκόνη* "grindstone" and Old Indic *aśáni*- "lightning; point of arrow" but he offered no explanation of the loss of **a*- preserved in A *āk*, B *āke* "point, summit, end" < **aǩ*- (= **H_2eǩ*-) "sharp" (Van Windekens 1976: 157). However, some of his thoughts are certainly plausible. He supposed that the word was probably remodelled after the adj. *kñāṣi*. Comparing it with the adj. *wṣāṣi* derived from *wäs* (B *yasa*) "gold", the hypothetical original form in Toch. A would be **käñ*, reflecting pre-Toch. **Kniā* / **K^{w}niā* / **Kuniā*.

Hitt. *kunkunuzzi*- "a kind of stone (diorite?; also used as a "millstone")", is formed with the implement-suffix -*uzzi*- (Kronasser 1966: 121; Melchert 1984: 166). It is usually derived from the verb *kuen*- "to strike" (Carruthers, Language 9 [1933]: 154f), but for this verb no reduplication is attested. Total reduplication is typical for a nominal sphere (Kronasser 1966: 121; Tischler II: 635), cf. *lulluri*- "some mineral or metal" (Tischler II: 76) from the same semantic field. The semantic difference "stone" vs. "millstone" has an analogy in Toch. B *kärweñe* "stone, rock" vs. e.g. Old Norse *kvern* "millstone" (Van Windekens 1976: 209; I am indebted for this semantic parallel to D. Q. Adams).

The preceding thoughts allow us to isolate an unreplicated root **kun*- in Hittite, which is fully compatible with pre-Toch. **Kuniā* / **K^{w}niā*.

Note: Pinault (DTA 127) ingeniously deduces the meaning "mud brick" for **käñ*, instr. pl. *kñās-ya*, comparing the Tocharian A text from the Berlin fragment 222 b5: *(k)ñās-ya yṣaṃ wālaṃ eṣäk* "he lined the (sides of the) moat with bricks [all] over", and the Sanskrit description of a town: *tāḥ khalu parikhāś caturvidhābhir iṣṭikābhiś citā abhūvan* "now these moats were lined with bricks of four kinds". Although both texts describe the lining moats, it is not warranted that the same building material was used.

§2. Toch. B *kwele* "blackish, dark grey" (Schmidt 1984: 153) has no unambiguous etymology. Perhaps only Hilmarsson (1991-1993: 184) offered any solution. He proposed the development **kuwœlæ* < **käwœlæ* < **k̂iwo-lo-*, comparing the stem with Gmc. **hiwa-* > OIc. *hý* "fine (esp. grey) hair", English *hue* "colour", Gothic *hiwi* "appearance" and Middle Irish *céo* "fog".

An exact cognate can be found in Hitt. *kuliu-* / *kuwaliu-* "dark, blue" – of course, only if the traditional translation (Ehelolf) is correct (Kronasser 1966: 196, 252; Tischler I: 624-626; Melchert 1984: 53; on the other hand Oettinger 1995: 211 prefers the translation "ruhig, still"). Kronasser (1966: 252) has identified the *u*-stem. Melchert (l.c.) adds also the derivatives *kuliyawahh-* and *kuliyawess-*. Accepting the spelling rule *-Cu-wa-* = [*-C(u)wa-*] (Melchert 1984: 51) and separating the termination *-u*, the original stem was **K(u)wali-* / **K(u)woli-* (*K* means any velar stop).

Toch. B *-e-* reflects regularly IE **o* (or **-ē-*), cf. *leke* "bed" < **log^{h}os*, *plewe* "boat" < **plowos* (Van Windekens 1976: 18-19). But a hypothetical **Kwolos* or **K^{w}olos* would give **kele*, cf. *kele* "navel" < **k^{w}olHos* (Hilmarsson 1991-1993: 177). The most trivial solution is to suppose a protoform **Kuwo-lo-* agreeing with the corresponding pre-Hitt. **Kuwo-li-*.

§3. Toch. A *mänt-* "to injure", B *mänt-* "hurt, injure", also "to scatter, throw", mid. *mānt-* "to abuse" etc. (Thomas & Krause 1964: 125) must belong together with B *mänts-*, *ments-*, *mānts-* "to be inferior; lose, belacking"). Hilmarsson (1991: 30) quotes the opinion of W. Thomas who assumes here a root-verb in final laryngeal, probably **mentH$_2$-*.

The closest cognates appear in Lycian *mẽte-* "harm" (acc. sg. *mętę*) (Melchert 1993a: 43) and with *l*-extension in Lydian *męt*l/*rid* "harm (of some kind)" besides Luwian *mantalla*/*i-* "slanderous / slandere" (Melchert 1993b: 137-138) and Hittite *mantalli-* "feindlich, schädlich" (Tischler II: 126-127) or "venomous, poisonous, rancorous" (CHD 176-177), probably related to *manza* [*mant-s*] "Gift- ?, Zauberei ?" (Tischler II: 128-129).

Other IE parallels can be found in Latin *mendum*, *menda* “Fehler, Gebrechen”, *mendāx* “lügnerisch”, Old Indic *mindā́-* “Körperfehler, Mangel”, perhaps remodelled after *nindā́-* “Schmähung” etc. (Pokorny 1959: 729; Anreiter 1984: 95-96 with detailed discussion of the Tocharian data and their IE comparanda but still without the Anatolian material).

§4. Toch. A *mkälto* “iuvenis, parvus”, acc. sg. m. *mkältont*, abstr. *mkältorñe* “parvitas, juventus” (Poucha 1955: 233) probably represents a continuation of the extensions in **-to(r)* and **-nt-* (Van Windekens 1979: 98-99 who rejects his older solution suggesting a compound of **mkäl-* and **tā-* “to stand, put, be” – see id. 1976: 299). In agreement with the phonetic rules proposed by Van Windekens (1976: 16, 20, 22) the base proper **mkäl-* can reflect (a) **miklo-*, (b) **muklo-* or (c) **meklo-* (cf. *rkäl* “covering” < **reglo-* from the verb *räk-* “to cover”). But Van Windekens (1976: 198-199) reconstructed **mīklo-*, to compare it with Greek *μῑκρός*, *σμῑκρός* “little, short” and Latin *mīca* “bit, small piece”, *mīcidus* “slight”, although the rule **CVCRo- > *CCäR* operates only with the short vowels **i*, **u*, **e*.

A promising cognates could be Hitt. *maklant-* “thin, emaciated”, *maklatar* “emaciation” (CHD 121-122). Kronasser (1966: 265, 295) isolates the stem **makla-* here and the extensions in *-tar* and *-nt-*, remarkably corresponding to the Tocharian counterparts. The only open question remains the correspondence of the root vowels. Hitt. **makla-* is usually derived from **mə̯klo-* (Tischler II: 98-99). This reconstruction and the identification *ə̯* = H_2 (Beekes 1995: 146) is based on the other parallels, e.g. Latin *macer* “lean; barren” (cf. macilentus “voll Magerkeit”), OHG *magar* “lean” and perhaps Greek *μακρός* “long” besides Doric *μᾶκος*, Attic *μῆκος* “lenght”. The expected reflex of **ə̯* is Toch. A *ā* (Van Windekens 1976: 29). But Adams (1988: 18) has demonstrated that this rule is valid only in word initial position and in open syllables. Otherwise the IE laryngeals give pToch. **ä* alternating with a zero reflex. Explicitly, Adams (1988: 33) says that a laryngeal is lost after a non-syllabic resonant when before another consonant. It means that the original protoform of Toch. **mkäl-* could also be **mə̯ko-*, which is fully compatible with the Hittite counterpart including the extensions in **-tor* and **-nt-*.

Another plausible possibility would be an apophonic pair **meklo-* : **moklo-* for Toch. and Hitt. respectively. But this solution probably excludes the other cognates.

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1983. *Tocharian historical phonology and morphology*. New Haven: American Oriental Series, Vol. 71.

Anreiter, Peter P. 1984. *Bemerkungen zu den Reflexen indogermanischer Dentale im Tocharischen*. Innsbruck: IBS 42.

Beekes, Robert S. P. 1995. *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

CHD = Güterbock, H. G. & Hoffner (eds.). 1989. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

DTA = *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*, Volume 1: *A-J*, compiled by Gerd Carling in collaboration with Georges-Jean Pinault and Werner Winter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2009.

Gamkrelidze, Tamas & Ivanov, Vjačeslav. 1990-1991. Les premiers indo-européens de l'historie: les ancêtres des tokhariens en Asie Mineure ancienne. *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 6-7. 265-296.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1991a. *The nasal prefixes in Tocharian. A study in word formation. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Suppl. series* 3. Reykjavík.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1991-1993. Development of labiovelars (and tectals plus *u̯*) in initial position in Tocharian (an overview). *Die Sprache* 35. 176-186.

Kronasser, Heinz. 1996. *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, I. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1984. *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1993a. *Lycian Lexicon*$_2$*. Lexical Anatolica*, Vol. 1. Chapel Hill.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1993b. *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon. Lexical Anatolica*, Vol. 3. Chapel Hill.

Oettinger, Norbert. 1995. Griech. *ὀστέον*, heth. *kulēi* und ein neues Kollektivsuffix, in: H. Hettrich, W. Hock, P.-A. Mumm & N. Oettinger. *Verba et structurae. Festschrift für Klaus Strunk zum 65. Geburtstag.* Innsbruck: IBS 83. 211-227.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A. Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*, Pars I (Monografie Archívu orientálního Vol. XV). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1984. Bericht über das Project eines sanskrit-tocharischen Wörterbuchs. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97. 148 -153.

Thomas, Werner. 1985. *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen (1960-1984)*. Stutt-Stuttgart: Steiner.

Thomas, Werner & Krause, Wolfgang. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*. Bd. 2. Heidelberg: Winter.

Tischler, Johann. 1983-1990. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, I-II. Innsbruck: IBS 20.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1979. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II,1. *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Is it possible to restore Tocharian A *ku*//// **"nave, hub"?** *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **7 (1997), 234-235.**

Václav Blažek

§1. K. T. Schmidt (1994: 265, fn. 148 and 281, fn. 216) has found a special Tocharian A term for "Nabe, Achse" in the fragmentarily preserved word *ku*// //, differing from Tocharian B *ṣem* "id.". In spite of Schmidt's rather sceptical conclusion "Nicht wieter ergänzbarer Wortrest", p. 281, fn. 216) there is one promising chance of restoring at least the second consonant of this word.

§2. Already T. Ulving (1968-1969: 950) compared Old Chinese 轂 *kuk* "wheel, nave" (Karlgren 1940: #1126j; id. 1923: #505 for Middle Chinese *kuk* "nave, hub", while Starostin 1989: 560, 605 reconstructs pre-Classic Old Chinese **kōk*) and Indo-European **k*^{w}*ek*^{w}*lo*- (Pokorny 1959: 639-640). However, it seems to be a preferable solution to equate the semantically identical Tocharian *ku*//// with Old Chinese *kuk*. The most natural hypothesis is that of a borrowing from Tocharian into Old Chinese which would agree with the generally accepted direction of cultural influence of Tocharian upon the Chinese civilization already in the second millenium BC (Pulleyblank 1966: 35). If this solution is correct, the Tocharian A word can be reconstructed as **kuk*^{o}.

§3. Concerning the etymology the following two proposals seem to be most promising:
(1) A derivative or a compound of A *kukäl*, acc. pl. *kuklas*, B *kokale* "wagon, chariot".
(2) A metaphorical use of A *kukäṃ*, B *kukene* (du.), usually translated "heels" (e.g. Winter 1962: 113, although recently Adams 1983: 612-613 concludes, "There is nothing against the translation "heel" here but nothing in the context that necessitates it").

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1983. Studies in Tocharian Vocabulary II: Words Pertaining to the Lower Limbs in Tocharian B. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103. 611-614.

Karlgren, Bernhard. 1923. *Analytic Dicitonary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*. Paris.

Karlgren, Bernhard. 1940. *Grammata Serica. Script and phonetics in Chinese and Sino-Japanese*. Stockholm: Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, N. 12.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Pulleyblank, Edgar G. 1966. Chinese and Indo-European. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 9-39.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1994. Zur Erforschung der tocharischen Literatur. Stand und Aufgaben. In: B. Schlerath (Hrsg.). *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Berlin 1990). Tocharian and Indo--European Studies, Supplementary Series, Volume* 4. Reykjavík. 239--283.

Starostin, Sergej A. 1989. *Rekonstrukcija drevnekitajskoj fonologičeskoj sistemy*. Moskva: Nauka.

Ulving, Thor. 1968-1969. Indo-European Elements in Chinese? *Anthropos* 63 -64. 944-951.

Winter, Werner. 1962. Nominal and Pronominal Dual in Tocharian. *Language* 38. 111-134.

The Tocharian word for "monkey" – inherited or borrowed? *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **7 (1997), 236-238.**

Václav Blažek

Abstract:
PToch. **moko* < Old Chinese **m(h)ōk gō* < pLolo **myok* "monkey" + **'-ko* "macac rhesus".

0. Toch. A *mkow-* (pl. *mkowañ* and *mkowy arämpāt* "simiae figura" – see Poucha 1955: 233) and B *moko-* (dim. *mokoṃśke*) "monkey" have no unambiguous etymology. There are several attempts to determine their origin – as an inherited word (1., 2.) or as a loan (3., 4.).

§1. Van Windekens' (1941: 68-69) derivation of the Toch. "monkey" from IE **mā-* "to wave, swing" (Pokorny 1959: 693) is unconvincing phonetically and semantically (a possible semantic parallel in OI *mayú-* "man-like animal [monkey?]; antelope, deer" has been derived from OI *mā-* "to roar, sound" – see Monier-Williams 1899[1988]: 804).

§2. Van Windekens (1976: 299) reconstructs pToch. A **muko*/**moko*, while in B *mokoṃśke* he sees a borrowing from language A extended by a diminutive suffix. The base **moko* has to be derived from Toch. A *mok*, B (< A) *moko* "old". In spite of the more plausible phonetic side of this etymology and its acceptance by such a prominent Tocharologist as W. Thomas (1985: X), the semantic connections remain doubtful.

§3. Bailey (BSOAS 8 [1937]: 928 saw a Middle Indic borrowing here, possibly mediated by Iranian languages, cf. Kroraina Prakrit *makaḍ'a* (vs. the more distant OI *markaṭa-* rejected by Lüders 1933: 1018 as a direct source of the borrowing), Saka *makala-* Sogdian *mkr'* "monkey", but he did not explain the absence of the last syllable in Tocharian.

§4. Lüders (1933: 1018) proposed a borrowing of the Toch. "monkey" from Chinese, quoting the modern forms *mǔhóu* 母猴, *mùhóu* 沐猴, míhóu 猕猴. Only Lüders' solution seems promising. Let us evaluate the details.

The corresponding Old Chinese forms reconstructed by S. Starostin (1989: 676, 605, 697) are as follows: *mə'*gō* 母猴, **m(h)ōkgō* 沐猴, **m(h)ejgō*

猕猴. Only the reconstruction **m(h)ōkgō* bears a marked resemblance to pToch. **moko* proposed by Van Windekens (§2). Also the rather strange, in fact inconsistent, vocalism of the Tocharian words (Hilmarsson 1986: 63) may point to a foreign origin. On the other hand, the unstable and binomic spelling of the Chinese words together with the fact that monkeys did not occur in Northern China during the period of Chou offers strong evidence for foreign origin of the Chinese word for "monkey" as well. S. Jaxontov (in a letter of July 23, 1991) has proposed a borrowing of this Old Chinese word for "monkey" from aboriginal languages of Sichuan, the territory of the old kingdoms Shu and Pa conquered in 316 BC by the Qin Empire. Monkeys live in Sichuan up to the present time. Two thousand years ago the local population probably spoke some Lolo-Burmic language rather than Old Chinese. Finally, it is possible to reconstruct pLolo **myok* + **'-ko* "macac rhesus". Only the compound **myok* + **'-ko* still surviving in Akha as a *myo k˙œ* (Bradley 1978: 296, nn. 23 and 26A) could represent a source of Old Chinese **m(h)ōkgō* and indirectly also of proto-Tocharian **moko* (cf. also Blažek 1984: 390-391 and 1992: 103-104).

References

Blažek, Václav. 1984. The Sino-Tibetan Etymology of the Tocharian A *mkow*-, B *moko*- "monkey". *Archív orientální* 52. 390-392.

Blažek, Václav. 1992. *Historická analýza indoevropské zoologické terminologie (savci)*. Brno: PhD. Dissertation.

Bradley, David. 1978. *Proto-Lolish*. (Scandinavian Institute of Asiatic Studies. Monograph Series No. 39). London & Malmö: Curzon Press.

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian phonology, morphology and etymology*. Reykjavík: Author.

Lüders, Heinrich. 1933. *Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises. Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 998-1022 [see also Philologia Indica, Göttingen 1940. 727-751].

Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. 1898[1988]. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A. Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*, Pars I (Monografie Archívu orientálního Vol. XV). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Starostin, Sergej A. 1989. *Rekonstrukcija drevnejitajskoj fonologičeskoj sistemy*. Moskva: Nauka.

Thomas, Werner. 1985. *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen (1960-1984)*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Van Windekens, Albert Joris. 1941. *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens*. Louvain: Bureaux de Muséon.

Van Windekens, Albert Joris. J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Tocharian - Anatolian isoglosses II (5-6). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **8 (1999), 75-78.**

Václav Blažek

This article represents a continuation of the collection of Tocharian-Anatolian isoglosses started in *TIES* 7 [1997], pp. 229-235.

§5. Toch. B *atāne* is attested twice in the following contexts:

watkāltsa täne atānesa wärñai śänmāṃnmāsa kektseñe śeśänmusa (PK 12 Ib6)
"different here (is the case of) the body tied up with bonds on the *atāne*"

/// *rene atānene yamaṣare-ne pelene ṣalāre-ne* (H 149.40a5)
"they put...on (his) *atāne* and threw him in prison"

Isebaert (1980: 152, fn. 1) presents an approximate translation "kluister, boei", deriving it from *η-d^hōno-. Despite the skepticism of Thomas (1985: 122) and Hilmarsson (1989: 84), the solution proposed by Adams (1983a: 612, fn. 4 and 1983b: 760) remains the most promising (cf. the later more positive standpoint in Hilmarsson 1996: 50). In *atāne* Adams sees the dual of **āto* and, considering the fact that this paired body part can be bound, assumes the meaning "wrist". Adams does not present any etymology.

A promising cognate can be found in Hittite *haz(z)ila-* "double fistful, measure of cupped hand" attested e.g. in the following contexts (according to Puhvel 1991: 281-282):

MUN *ha-az-zi-e-la-aš* "*hazzelas* of salt" (KBo V 2 I 14)

ŠA ITU.1.KAM-*m!* ZÍD.DA *kissan 1 ha-az-zi-la 1* UPNI-*ya* ZÍD.D[A.A (KBo II 11-12)
"flour for one month [is] as follows: one *hazzila* and one UPNU [of] flour..."
1 *ha-zi-la-aš memal* "one *hazilas* [of] flour" (KUB XII 4 I 8)

wātar-samas 3 *ha-a-zi-la-an pian[zi]* "they give them three *h*. [of] water" (KUB I 13 IV 36) etc.
In *hazze*/*ilas* Puhvel l.c. sees a petrified gen. pl. of **hazzel* which was reinter-

preted as nom. sg. He separates the suffix *-el* (cf. *hurk-el*) or *-zel* (cf. *sarnik-zel*) forming abstract derivatives from the root *hat(t)-* "to stick, hit, jab" (cf. Latin *pugnus* "fist" vs. *pungō* "I prick, sting").

Both Toch. B **āto* (< **atō(n)*) and Hittite **hatt-el* can be derived from the same root reconstructable as **$H_{2/3}$et-*, perhaps continued in Hittite *hat(t)-* "to stick" etc. (thus Puhvel 1991: 248-255) or Luwian *hizza(i)-* "to hand over(?)" (cf. Melchert 1993: 70).

§6. Toch. B *trau*, pl. *traunta*, du. *trauñc* "measure of capacity" (e.g. *ṣalype śak traunta* "zehn trau Fett" - see Krause & Thomas 1960: 82) probably reflects **T*[ ]*ro-unt(s)* ~ *-went-* (cf. Van Widekens 1979: 54, 62, 238). The symbol **T* means any dental stop, but for **T* = **d* the sequence **dr-* is excluded, because **d* is regularly missing before **y*, **w*, **r*, **l*, **n*, **m* (Van Windekens 1976: 82). Between **T* and **r* there could be a vowel, not causing palatal effect (cf. B *cake*, pl. *ckenta* "river" < **tek^{w}o-*) and missing in Tocharian. The only candidate is **u* (cf. B *tkācer*, A *ckācar* "daughter" < **d^{h}ugH$_2$tēr*). The etymology of Van Windekens (1976: 511) who reconstructs **d$_{e}$rou-nt*, comparing it with the derivatives of IE **doru-* / **drou-* "wood, tree": Greek *δροίτη* "cuve en bois, baignoire; cercueil" < **δροϝίτᾱ*; Old Swedish *trō* "ein bestimmtes Massgefäss", Old English *trīg* "auge; plateau" < Gmc. **trauja-* < **drou-yo-*, cannot be unreservedly accepted. The Tocharian continuant of IE **doru-* / **drou-* is AB *or* "wood", B pl. *ārwa*. The regular loss of **d* in the oblique stem **drou-* was apparently also generalized for the reflex of **doru-* > Common Toch.**œru-* whence via *u*-umlaut > *or* (Hilmarsson 1986: 102-103, 142-143, 146, 169).

There is a more promising cognate in Anatolian. Hittite (or Luwian according to Melchert) *taraw(a)r*, abl. *tarawaną*[*z*] also means "measure of capacity", cf. the following contexts:

-]x *pí-ra-an ta-ra-a-ụr dạ-a-i* "stellt ein *taraur* vor [ ] hin" (KBo XVII 74 + I 54)

ki-it-ta-ri-ma-aš-ša-an ^{NINDA}*wa-ge-eš-šar da-ra-a-u-ur Ù pár-šu-ul-li*
"darauf liegen ein Imbiss, *tarawar* und ein Brotbrocken" (KBo XXII 186 Rs. V 2)

[*I-N*]*A* UD II ^{KAM}*-ma ke-e* [*wa-aš-*]*ši*$^{HI.A}$ *da-a-i* [(-)]*a-ri-ya-at-ta-ri-ya-an*^{SAR}
GA-A-PA-A-NU I GÍN.GÍN *šal-li-in ha-a-ri-ya-ti-in*^{SAR} *a-ru-um-mu-ra-aš ta-a-ra-u-wa-ar*
na-at an-da tar-nai nam-ma-at ki-i-naiz-zi pu-u-wa-a-iz-zi SIG$_5$*-ah-zi*

"am 2. Tag aber nimmt er folgende Ingredienzien:]a.-Kraut, l Schekel (s)eines Blattwerks?, ein
grosses *h*.-Kraut, ein *tarawar* von der *arummura*(-Substanz); und das legt er (in den Mörser)
hinein; dann zerkleinert er es, zerstampft es (und) bereitet es richtig zu" (KUB XLIV 64 II 10)
(see Tischler 1991: 154-55).

The original meaning was probably "handful, fistful" judging from the Hittite or Luwian verb *tarāwi(ya)-* "to hand over, deliver" (Tischler 1991: 155-156; Melchert 1993: 211). It can reflect **T(e/o)reH$_2$-wr̥ ~ -wen-* (cf. Melchert 1994: 86 concerning the Anatolian suffix **-āwar*; similarly Hittite karawar "horn" < **k̂reH$_2$-wr̥* - see Melchert 1994: 14). The Tocharian and Anatolian words are derivable from the common base **Tro-/-eH$_2$*. Let us examine if also the alternative variant **Turo-* reconstructable for Toch. B is compatible with the Anatolian data. Indeed, the syllable **ta-* can be derived from **dwo-*, cf. Hittite *d/tāiuga-* "two-year-old" (**dwoyo-yugo-*, see Tischler 1991: 29-31), *d/tān* "a second time" (**dwoyom*, see Melchert 1994: 128) etc. (the length was caused by contraction of **-oyo-*). This implies the possibility to derive *taraw(a)r* from **TworeH$_2$-wr̥*. The pre-Anatolian base **Twor-eH$_2$-* is undoubtedly compatible with pre-Tocharian **Tur-o-*. The only remaining difference is in the termination. The Anatolian nouns in **-āwar* correspond to Tocharian words in *-or* (cf. Hittite *karawar* "horn" vs. Toch A *kror* "crescent, horn of the moon", B *krorīyai* obl. sg. "horn"); that is evidently not the case here. Toch. B *trau* is formed with the suffix **went-* representing possessive adjectives.

Let us assess the possibilities of external comparison. Melchert (1992: 53, fn. 31) mentions "..The first extra-Anatolian comparandum to come to mind is Greek *δῶρον* "palm of the hand", but the divergent meaning and problematic *ō* raise doubts..". His point of view is perhaps too skeptical: Greek *δῶρον* denotes also a measure of length, viz. "span", cf. also *ὀρθόδωρον* "der Abstand von der Handwurzel zur Fingerspitze", Homeric *ἑκκαιδεκάδωρος* "16 Spannen lang" and so it covers practically the same semantical field as its Anatolian counterpart. Concerning the ambiguous phonetic correspondences, the other cognates of *δῶρον* do not correspond exactly either: Celtic **durno-/-ā* > Irish *dorn* "fistful", Welsh *dwrn* "knob, handle", *dyrnfedd* "four-inch handbreadth", Breton *dorn* "hand", including Romance borrowings, e.g. Medieval Latin *durnus* "3 digitos", Old Provençal *dorn*, Old French *dor* "mesure contenant 4 doigts", French dial. (Annecy) *tour* "mesure de la grosseur des porcs qui se fait au moyen du poing fermé et du pouce étendu" (Hamp 1986: 253) and Latvian

dùre, *dûris* “fist” (Pokorny 1959: 203). All the quoted words representing a common semantic field “fist, fistful, handful, measure of length or capacity motivated by fist, span or handful”, can be derived from an ablauting root **dwŏ̆r-* : **dŭ̆r-* as follows:
**dwor-eH$_2$-wr̥* / *-w(e)n-* “handfulness” > Anatolian **tarawar* /*-wan-* “handful” > “measure of capacity”;
**dwōr-o-* > Greek *δῶρον* “palm of hand, span (= length measure)”;
**dur-o-unt(s)* / *-went-* “belonging to handful” > Toch. B *trau* “measure of capacity”;
**dur-no-* > Celtic **durno-* “hand(breadth)”;
**dūr-iyā* > Latvian *dùre* etc. “fist” (cf. *duřt* “stechen, stossen“ = Latin *pugnus* : *pungō*).

References

Adams, Douglas, Q. 1983a. Studies in Tocharian Vocabulary II: Words Pertaining to the Lower Limbs in Tocharian B. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103. 611-613.

Adams, Douglas, Q. 1983b. Studies in Tocharian Vocabulary III: Three Tocharian B Terms for Parts of the Upper Body. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103. 759-760.

Hamp, Eric P. 1986. Notulae Praeromanicae. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 41. 251-255.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology*. Reykjavík: PhD Diss.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1989. *The Dual Forms of Nouns and Pronouns in Tocharian. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series* 1. Reykjavík.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1996. *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series* 5. Reykjavík.

Isebaert, Lambert. 1980. *Deutschland Indo-Iraanse bestanddelen in dee Tocharische woordenschat. Vraagstukken van foniche productinterferentie, met bijzondere aandacht voor de Indo-Iraanse diafonen a*, *ā*. Leuven: Diss.

Krause, Wolfgang & Thomas, Werner. 1960. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, I. *Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1992. The third Person present in Lydian. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 97. 30-54.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1993. *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon. Lexica Anatolica* 2. Chapell Hill.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1994. *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Puhvel, Jaan. 1991. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Vol. 3: *Words beginning with* H. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Thomas, Werner. 1985. *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen (1960-1984)*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Tischler, Johann. 1991. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Teil III, Lief. 8. Innsbruck: IBS 20.

Þórhalsdóttir, Guðrún. 1988. Tocharian contraction across *-w-*. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 2. 166-210.

Van Windekens, Albert Joris. J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Van Windekens, A. J. 1979. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II,1. *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Alimenta Tocharica (1 – 3). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8 (1999), 79-84.

Václav Blažek

Our information about Tocharian food is mostly based on regular reports about the daily consumption of food and expenses for food in various monasteries. Let us analyze the following three records (cf. Thomas 1964: 73):

(3) *ikäṃ ñune śle trukāle:* ***kantiś*** *yikṣye ok tom piś ṣaṅkäṃ,* ***klese*** *tau*
"on 29th [day] moreover a grant: for *kanti* flour 8 ten-pounds, 5 pounds, *klese* ten-pound"

(5) *ñweṃne trukāle Sumaśe wase:* ***kantine*** *yikṣye ok tom piś ṣaṅkäṃ,* ***klese*** *tau piś ṣaṅkäṃ*
"on new moon a grant Sumaiśe gave: in *kanti* flour 8 ten-pounds, 5 pounds, *klese* ten-pound, 5 pound"

(6) *wi meñantse ne trukāle Vinaiyśe wasa:* ***kantine*** *yikṣye cāk wi tom,* ***klese*** *wi tom*
"on the 2nd [day] of month a grant Vinaiyiśe gave: in *kanti* flour hundred-pound, 2 pounds, *klese* 2 pounds"

§1. Tocharian B *klese*
(A revisited version of the article Valčáková & Blažek 1997)
It is not possible to determine anything more than that Tocharian B *klese* designates some kind of food or ingredient necessary for supporting *kanti*. Its consumption must have been proportionally 6 - 8 times less than that of *yikṣye*, i.e. "flour".

In agreement with the rules of historical phonology of Tocharian B, *klese* is derivable from **Kloso-* where K represents any velar stop. Van Windekens (1976: 219-220) proposed a root etymology based on comparison with Greek *δέλεαρ*, Aeolic *βλῆρ* "bait, decoy"(!), deriving the Tocharian word from **g*^{w}*l-os-os*. Hilmarsson (1996: 150) saw in *klese* an abstract to the verb *käls-* "to pour, gush; press". But he found this interpretation uncertain himself.

Regarding the tendency to metathesis **CVCC > CCVC* (Van Windekens 1976: 122, §381), an alternative reconstruction **Kolso-* is also legitimate. This hypothetical solution opens a possibility to connect *klese* with Common Slavic **kolsъ* "ear of corn", Early Albanian (Buzuku) *kall*, Modern Albanian *kallë* "ear of corn, stalk" (**kolso-*), usually compared with Old High German & Old Saxon *hul(i)s*, Middle Low German *huls* "holly / Ilex aquifolium" (Pokorny 1959: 545). Another cognate can be found in Iranian **karša-ka-* or **kr̥ša-ka-* "barley" > Khotanese *chaska*, Modern Persian *kašk*, Munji *kosk*, Yazghulami *kusk*, *kåsk*, Sarikoli *čůšč*, Shugni *čūšǰ* etc. (Bailey 1979: 107 - his comparison with Greek *ákoστή* "barley", usually derived from **aḱ-* "sharp, pointed" - see Pokorny 1959: 21, would imply Iranian **(a)s^{o}*; Paxalina 1983: 115 proposed **kr̥sa-ka-*, in regard to the *RUKI*-law better **kr̥ša-ka-*). The semantic difference between "barley" vs. "ear of corn" is fully acceptable - barley awns are the most characteristic feature of this corn. But what about the difference between "food" vs. "barley" or even "ear of corn"? Similar semantic shifts are actually attested, even in the case of Slavic **kolsъ*. Besides Russian dial. *kolós'ja* "sacrificial bread baked in the end of May when ears of corn ripen", there are suggestive examples in Church Slavonic of Russian redaction (NomJas): *ащє которыи епископъ ли попъ принєсєтъ на жьртвоу єтєро что развъ нъвъ класъ* (Lv 2, 14); cf. the variant of the final passage (NomJefr) *развъ новыихъ кроупъ* and its Greek equivalent in Septuaginta *πλὴν νέων χῐδρων* where nom. sg. *кроупа = χῐδρον* means "Gericht von frischen Gerstenkörnern oder anderen Vegetabilien" (Valčáková & Blažek 1997: 27).

There are more examples confirming that "corn" and "food" represent the same semantic field:

a) Greek *σίτος* means both "corn", especially "wheat", and "bread, food";

b) Russian *xleb* (< Common Slavic **xlěbъ* < Germanic **xlaiβa-* "bread") also means both "corn" and "bread";

c) Gothic *bairzeins* "(prepared of) barley", Old English *bėre* "barley", Old Icelandic *barr* "grain" vs. Old Russian *bórošno* "rye flour" and Old Church Slavonic *brašьno* "food" (Lehmann 1986: 62);

d) Lithuanian *pūraĩ* "Winterweize", Latvian *pūŗi* id., Prussian *pure* "Tresp", Church Slavonic (of Russian redaction) *pyro* 'ὅλυρα, κέγχρος', Greek (Hom.) *πῡρός · ψωμός* "wheat" vs. Greek (Hom.) *πύρνον* "wheaten bread", Old Indic *pūrá* "Kuche" (Schrader & Nehring II: 647; Fraenkel 1965: 671).

Note: In Tocharian A an expected counterpart would have been *$^{+}$klas* (cf. A *klaṅk*, B *kleṅke* "vehicle" < **klongo-*, see Hilmarsson 1996: 149). This form perfectly agrees with Old Chinese **klas* 稼 "grain; sow" (Bodman 1985: 153) > Middle Chinese *ka'* > Mandarin *kia* (Karlgren 1923: 124). Peiros &

Starostin (V: 62) reconstruct Old Chinese **krās*, comparing it with Tibetan *khra* "a species of grain", but at least for some dialects (or periods) of Old Chinese the cluster **kl-* can be confirmed by the Common Daic borrowing **kla* "young rice plants, rice seedlings" (Bodman 1985: 153).

§2. Tocharian B *kanti*

Tocharian B *kanti* (obl. sg.) means approximately "a kind of bread or a baked product made of flour". It can reflect **K$^{(w)}$(o)NToi-*. Reconstructing **gn̥t-*, Van Windekens (1976: 187) connected it with IE **gnet-* > Old High German *knetan* "to knead", Old Prussian *gnode* "Trog zum Brotknete", Lithuanian *gnẽtyti* "to rub"; Old Church Slavonic *gnetǫ*, *gnesti* "to press" (Pokorny 1959: 371; Toporov 1979: 271). Hilmarsson (1996: 78) quoted no etymology, but for the verbal root **gnet-* he found a continuant in Tocharian B *kānt-* "to rub, rub of", proposing the subj. V stem **kā́ntā-* derivable via *ā*-umlaut from **g(o)NT-(H)-* (Hilmarsson 1996: 77). The zero grade can be reflected not only in the Tocharian verb, but also in Old Swedish *knodha* < **knuda-* < **kunda-* (Rix & Kümmel, LIV 169-170).

If we start from the same semantic field as in the preceding case, it is legitimate to relate Tocharian B *kant^{o}* with the following Anatolian forms: Hittite *kanta-* c. (acc. sg. *kantan*), Cuneiform Luwian *kant-* n. "wheat (Einkorn = Triticum monococcum" (nom.-acc. pl. *kanza*), adj. *kantann(i)-* "Einkorn habend" (Starke 1995: 116, fn. 226; Puhvel 1997: 55-56 who does not distinguish Hittite & Luwian) and further with their Indo-Iranian counterparts: Avestan *gaṇtuma-* "wheat", Zoroastrian Pahlavi & Modern Persian *gandum*, Baluchi *gandím*, Khotanese *ganama-* (**gandama-*), Sogdian *γntwm*, Yaghnobi *γantum*, Wanetsi *γandəm*, Pashto *γanəm* (**gandūma-* ?), Shugni *žindam* id., dial. Bajui "grain" m./ "sowing" f., Sarikoli *žandam* "wheat", Ormuri *ganum*, Yidgha *γadum*, Wakhi *ɣ̌idīm*, *γudīm* id., Yazghulami *γ^{w}ont* "cooked wheat" etc., cf. further *γάνδομα · πυροί* and *γανδόμην · λευρα* (Hesych.), apparently of Iranian origin; Old Indic *godhū́ma-* "wheat, Triticum sativum", Kati *gūm* etc. (Bailey 1979: 79; Morgenstierne 1974: 110; Paxalina 1983: 19, 130; Mayrhofer 1956: 347-348 and 1986: 498-499). The different Indo-Aryan form was probably influenced by Dravidian counterparts, cf. Kannada *gōdi*, Tamil *kōti* "wheat", with a following 'volksetymologisch' rebuilding after *gó-* / *gáv-* & *dhūmá-*.

(Indo-)Iranian **gantuma-* is formed by the *-ma-* suffix from ***gantu-*, cf. Avestan *zaṇtuma-* "dem Gau angehörig" vs. *zaṇtu-* "Gau, Stamm" (cf. Brugmann 1906: 250). The Indo-Iranian stem ***gantu-* is derivable from **g$^{(w)}$oN-tu-* (**N* = **n* or **m*), similarly with Old Indic *gántu-* m. "way, course" reflec-

ting *g^{w}óm-tu-, the *o*-grade stem of the root **gem*- "to squeeze, press" > Greek *γέμω* "I am full", (Hom.) *γέντο* "seize", Tocharian B *kām*- "to carry, bring, fetch" (Hilmarsson 1996: 72-73), Latvian *gùmt* "greife", Old Church Slavonic *žьmǫ*, *žęti* "to squeeze", Russian *žom* "pressure", *sžatyj* "squeeze" etc. (Mann 1984-87: 269; Rix & Kümmel, LIV 186). The semantic motivation is comparable e.g. with Common Slavic **pьšeno* > Slovenian *pšénọ* "das in der Stampfe von den Hülsen befreite Getreide", Russian *pšenó* "enthülste Hirse" etc., Old Prussian *som-pisinis* "grobes Brod" vs. Old Indic *piṣṭā*- n. "flour", Modern Persian *pišt* id., Avestan *pišaṇt*- "zerstossend", Latin *pinsere* "stampfen, zerstossen", Church Slavonic (of Russian redaction) *pьxati* "stossen, ausschlagen", Czech *pěchovati* "stampfen" etc. (Trautmann 1923: 221; LIV 466).

Note: The analysis presented here allows us not only to connect Tocharian B *kānt*- "to rub (off)" and the verb **gnet*-/**gn̥t*- "to knead", but also to derive them from the primary root **gem*- "to squeeze". From this point of view Van Windekens' etymology is acceptable. The Tocharian, Anatolian and Indo-Iranian data were already connected by Adams & Mallory, EIEC 639.

§3. Tocharian AB *klu*

For Tocharian A *klu* m. sg., B *klu* (gender unknown) "rice", *kluṣṣe* "pertaining to rice" there are several etymologies. Van Windekens (1976: 222) rejected Meillet's old comparison (from 1916) with Latin *glū* "gum, adhesive", because it reflects **gloi*-, cf. Greek *γλοιός* "id., gummy", and connected it with Old Indic *śāru*- "arrow, spear", and further with *śarā*- "reed, arrow, spear", *śalyá*- "point of arrow, thorn, spine", explaining the semantic difference on the example of Greek *'ακοστή* "barley" vs. Gothic *ahs* and Tocharian B *āk* "ear of corn". Hilmarsson (1996: 152) mentioned the form A *kälweñi* of a contextless Berlin fragment which '..might be seen as the m. nom. pl. to an adjectival $^{+}$*kälweṃ* "pertaining to rice"'. This idea implies early A **kälwă* (and a borrowing B < A) allowing the comparison with Germanic **xulwō* & **xelwō* > Old English *hulu* "Schale, Hülse", Old High German *hel(a)wa* "Haferspreu" respectively, and Greek *κολεός* "sheath". Still another etymological solution can be based on A *klu*- "to make clear", cf. the semantic strategy in denotations of cereals e.g. in Semitic languages: Akkadian *burru(m)* "a kind of cereal", Hebrew *bar*, *bār* "threshed grain or corn", Arabic *burr*, Sabaic *br*, Mehri *barr* "wheat, corn" etc., vs. Akkadian *barru(m)* "purified, pure", Ugaritic *brr* "to shine; be pure", Hebrew *bārar* "to purify, select", Aramaic *bārēr* "rendre clair", Arabic *barra* "to shine" (Cohen 1970f: 87; Klein 1986: 82, 86).

Besides these etymologies operating with Tocharian or Indo-European data, it is legitimate to ask if a borrowing of the knowledge of rice from au-

tochthonous populations (cf. Hilmarsson 1996: 152) might not imply a borrowing of its denotation from some indigenous source. The answer may be positive. The most promising source seems to be Old Chinese **lhū'* ~ **Łhū'* 稻 "growing rice, paddy" (Peiros & Starostin III: 43) > Middle Chinese *'d'âu* > Mandarin *tau'* (Karlgren 1923: 90). The substitution **lh-* > *kl-* is perhaps comparable with the analogous, although opposite, substitution *kl-* > **l-* attested in Common Tocharian **klæṅkæ* > A *klaṅk*, B *kleṅke* "vehicle", together with the denominative AB *klāṅk-* "to ride, travel by vehicle" (Hilmarsson 1996: 149, 141), which can be a source of Old Chinese **ləŋs* 乘 "chariot", **ləŋ* "to mount, ride on" > Middle Chinese *'d'ź'i̯əng'*, cf. also Burmese *hlaṅh* "vehicle", Jingpo *leŋ* "vehicle, wheel" (Lubotsky 1998: 382; Peiros & Starostin III: 26; Karlgren 1923: 343). Let us mention that chariotry (together with a domesticated horse) was introduced into China ca. 1200 BCE from the West (Shaughnessy 1988: 228).

References

Bailey, Harold W. 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan-Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bodman, Nicholas C. 1985. Evidence for *l* and *r* medials in Old Chinese and Associated Problems. In: *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: The State of the Art. Papers presented to Paul K.Benedict for his 71st birthday*, eds. G. Thurgood, J.S. Matisoff, D. Bradley. (Pacific Linguistics, Ser. C - Nº 87). Canberra: Department of Linguistics of The Australian National University. 146-167.

Brugmann, Karl. 1906. *Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre der indogermanischen Sprachen*$_2$, Bd. II.1. Strassburg: Trübner.

Cohen, David. 1970f. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*. Paris & La Haye: Mouton.

Fraenkel, Ernst. 1962-65. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelbeg: Winter & Göttingen: Ruprecht & Vandhoeck.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1996. *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary*. (Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series, Vol. 5). Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Karlgren, Bernhard. 1923. *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*. Paris: Geuthner.

Klein, Ernest. 1987. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. New York & London: Macmillan.

Lehmann. Winfred P. 1986. *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.

LIV = *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, eds.: Helmut Rix et al. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998.

Mann, Stuart. 1984-87. *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary*. Hamburg: Buske.

Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1956. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986f. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, I. Heidelberg: Winter.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1974. *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shugni Group*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Paxalina, Tat'jana N. 1983. I*ssledovanie po sravnitel'no-istoričeskoj fonetike pamirskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.

Peiros, Ilia & Starostin, Sergei. 1996. *A Comparative Vocabulary of Five Sino-Tibetan Languages*, III. (*Laterals*), V. (*Velars, Uvulars and Laryngeals*). Melbourne: Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics of the University of Melbourne.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Puhvel, Jaan. 1997. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Vol. 4: *Words beginning with* K. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. 1988. Historical Perspectives on the Introduction of the Chariot into China. *Harward Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48. 189-237.

Schrader, Otto & Nehring, Alfons. 1929. *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II. Berlin & Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.

Starke, Frank. 1995. *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden. Eine hippologisch orientierte Interpretation des Kikkuli-Textes*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Thomas, Werner. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, II. *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Toporov, Vladimir N. 1979. *Prusskij jazyk*, II (*E-H*). Moskva: Nauka.

Trautmann, Reinhold. 1923. *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch*. Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Valčáková, Pavla & Blažek, Václav. 1997. Psl. **kolsъ*. *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* A 45. 27-30.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976: *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Vol, I: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

The Tocharian and Celtic „span“. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **8 (1999), 85-86.**

Václav Blažek

§1. Tocharian B *raso* “span” reflects **resōnt,* cf. pl. *rsonta* and du. *rsoñc* (Thomas & Krause 1964: 231; Van Windekens 1979: 52, 238). It is transparently derived from AB *räs-* “recken”. Van Windekens (1976: 403) derived the Tocharian verb from **dres-* on the basis of a comparison with Old Icelandic *tarra* (& *terra*) “ausbreiten” < **tarzōn* (cf. de Vries 1962: 582-583), quoting the derivatives of the root **der-* with semantics “span” etc., e.g. Greek *δῶρον* “palm (of the hand)”, also “measure”, Laconian *δάρ*[*ε*]*ιρ* “span”. Let us mention that de Vries also offered an alternative etymology based on Swedish dial. *tasa* “ausbreiten; züpfen”, excluding originality of the *-r-*.

§2. Old Irish *réise* f. “finger; span”, acc. pl. *na resi* gl. “digitos” (Vendryes 1974: R-18) is inflected as an **-iā-*stem (cf. Thurneysen 1946: 184-185). As far as I know, so far the following two etymologies have been presented. First Strachan (BB 19 [1893]: 104) proposed a protoform **reg-s-iā-*, a derivative of the verb *reg-* “tendre, diriger” (Vendryes 1974: R-13) < **H_3reĝ-* “ausstrecken, gerade richten” (LIV 269-270), explaining the length by analogy with *rén* “span” < **(H_2)reg-no-/ā* (cf. Hitt. *harganau-* “palm; sole” < **H_2rĝnu-*, see Puhvel 1991: 168-169). Later and elsewhere Strachan (apud Macbain 1911: 289) reconstructed **prendsiā*, seeking a support in Lithuanian *sprìndis* “Spanne (der gespreizten Hand vom Daumen zum Mittelfinger, Längenmass von etwa 20 cm)”, Latvian *sprîdis* “Spanne, Breite der ausgespannten Hand vom Daumen bis zum Mittelfinger”, derivatives of Lithuanian *spréndžiu*, *sprę́sti* “(Finger) spreizen, spannen, mittels Spannens stellen, um-, an-, einspannen, eine Spanne messen” etc., Latvian *spriêst* “strecken, spannen, messen, urteilen” etc. (Fraenkel 1965: 880-881).

§3. The Tocharian and Old Irish forms are obviously similar. It is tempting to verify whether they are really related. The two reconstructions of Old Irish *réise* presented here naturally do not exhaust all the possibilities. We can also depart from **rens-(-sti-)-iā* with **rens-* extended from **res-* by the nasal in-

fix, plus the hypothetical suffix *-*(s)ti*-, frequently forming parts of the hand ("palm", "span"), cf. Germanic & Slavic *$p\eta\underset{\circ}{k}^{w}$-*sti*- "fist", Indo-Iranian **mus-(s)ti*- "fist", **vi-t$\eta\underset{\circ}{s}$-(s)ti*- "span", **diś-(s)ti*- "span", Greek *παλαιστή* "Handfläche" (**p$\underset{\circ}{l}$Hstiā*), etc.

§4. The final answer can be positive: both of the protoforms **resōnt* and **rens(s)tiā* are derivable from the same root **res*- "to stretch".

References

Fraenkel, Ernst. 1962-65. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelbeg: Winter & Göttingen: Ruprecht & Vandhoeck.

LIV = Rix, Helmut et al. 1998. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Macbain, Alexander. 1911. *Etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language*. Stirling: MacKay.

Puhvel, Jaan. 1991. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Vol. 3 (H). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Thomas, Werner & Krause, Wolfgang. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, II: *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Thurneysen, Rudolf, 1946. *A Grammar of Old Irish*. Dublin: Institute for advanced studies.

Van Windekens, Albert Joris. 1976, 1979. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, I: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*; II.1: La *morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale, Fasc. XI, XII.

Vendryes, J. 1974. *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien (R-S)*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique & Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies.

de Vries, Jan. 1962. *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*[2]. Leiden: Brill.

Toward the cardinal points in Tocharian. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 9 (2000), 29-32.

Václav Blažek

§1. Tocharian A *ṣuliñc* and B *oṣṣale* designate the same cardinal point interpreted as follows: A "nördlich", B "Norden" (Schmidt 1994: 282), A "northeast" (Adams 1994: 32, fn. 32 [sic]), B "north" (Adams 1999: 127), but A & B "west" (Winter 1988: 782, 784). Both forms are derivable from A *ṣul*, B *ṣale* "mountain" (**sṷelo-*), i.e. *ṣuliñc* < **sṷel-n̥tio-* or **-n̥Kio-* * "by the mountain" (Winter 1988: 787) and *oṣṣale* < **H$_1$n̥-sṷelo-* "in the mountain" (Adams 1999: 127), but the etymology, though basically convincing, does not decide between "north" and "west" (Winter 1988: 787 mentions an analogous semantic development in Turkic languages where Common Turkic **dāg* "mountain" is continued in Orkhon Turkic *tay* and Chuvash *tăv* ~ *tu* meaning besides "mountain" also "north" and "west" respectively - see Sevortjan 1980: 117-118). A promising solution could be found in Chinese *xī* 西 "west" < Early Middle Chinese *sɛj* < Old Chinese **ʃə̀l* (Pulleyblank 1995: 189; Baxter 1992: 463 reconstructs Old Chinese **sɨj*, but in view of the same phonogram used for Chinese *xǐ* 洗 < *sejX* < Old Chinese **sɨjʔ* "wash" corresponding to Written Tibetan *bsil* id., for which cf. Gong 1995: 67 who reconstructs Old Chinese **silx* "wash", we should accept the final **-l* reconstructed by Pulleyblank for the word "west"). The Chinese word stands isolated within Sino-Tibetan. That is why it is legitimate to seek its origin in neighboring languages. Its source could be a predecessor of B *ṣale* "mountain" reconstructed as **ṣəlV* (< **ṣyə^o* < **syə^o* < **sw'ə^o*) < **sṷelo-*, see Winter 1988: 786. If the preceding arguments are valid, the meaning "west" proposed by Winter is more probable than the usually accepted "north".

§2. Tocharian A *wmānt* "west" is apparently derived from the verb attested only in B *wām-* "to disappear into, be covered up", judging by the formulation (A 259a2) *yäṣ koṃ-pärkāntac yäṣ ṣkārā koṃ-wmānt* "he goes to the east ('sun-rising'), he goes back to the west ('sun-disappearing' ?)", cf. Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 5; Van Windekens 1976: 578; Adams 1999: 593; and (YQ 1.28b2, ed. Ji Xianlin) *säs koṃ-ñkät wmāluneyaṃ yäṣ* "the sun is going down" (cf. Pinault 1998: 363). Adams accepts Van Windekens' reconstruc-

tion **dṷemōnt(m̥)* based on the comparison with Greek *δύω* "s'enforcer, se plonger", *δύσις* "coucher (des astres); occiden". I offer an alternative solution, viz. to derive B *wäm-* from the verb A *yom-*, B *yäm-* "to achieve, obtain, reach" (Adams 1999: 497-498) with the prefix **aṷ-* expressing the phenomenon of 'missing' (note that Van Windekens 1976: 591 and 603-604 recognizes A *yom-* "obtenir, atteindre", B *yäm-* 1. "id."; 2. "entrer", cf. the derivative *kauṃ-yänmālle* "sunset" [PK NS 49b3]; it was probably Pinault 1998: 363 who first proposed the connection of A *-wmānt* "west" and B *yäm-* "to enter" & *kauṃ-yänmālle* "sunset"). The same prefix probably forms Germanic **westa-* "west" (Pokorny 1959: 73 and de Vries 1962: 658 directly connect it with Old Indic *avás* "herab"). Pulleyblank (1995: 189) modifies this etymology proposing the compound of the prefix **(a)ṷe-* "off" & the verb *sed-* "to sit / set".

§3. Tocharian A *mäcriṃ* occurs in the text A 379b4 *mäcriṃ koṃ*[*tp*]*ānt kälymentwāṃ*. Winter (1988: 781-82) proposes the translation "in the directions southeast and south". Considering the Old Turkic documents, Pinault (1998: 364) offers a different sequence of the cardinal points, viz. "south" & "west", assuming the emendation **koṃ-*[*yp*]*ānt* with the second component derivable from *yäp-* "to enter", cf. B *kauṃ-yaptsi-täṅtsi* "untill sundown" (PK NS18a3). Both interpretations are compatible with Pinault (1998: 364) deriving this cardinal term from the idea "midday". His reconstruction **mäcär* < **m'äcäræ* < **medʰiro-* is in principle possible. However, in other IE languages where **medʰi-* "middle" was used to express this semantic pattern, the term has been based on a compound "mid-day": Greek *μεσημβρία* (Aeschyl.), *-ίη* (Archil., Hekat.), *μεσαμβρίη* (Herodotus) < **medʰi̯-āmr-* and Latin *merīdiēs* < **medʰi̯ei-di̯ē*. It is natural to expect a similar compound in Tocharian. A good candidate for this role could be a 'virtual' zero grade **H₂i̯er-* / **H₂ir-* of the stem **H₂ei̯-er*, obl. *-en-* > Avestan *aiiarə*, gen. *aiiąn* "day", and the loc. in *-i* continuing in Greek *ἦρι* "early", Gothic *air*, Old Icelandic *ār* id. etc. (Pokorny 1959: 12). After the fall of laryngeals we can expect **medʰi̯erᵒ* / **medʰirᵒ* > **mäTi̯ärᵒ* > **mäcärᵒ*. The same etymological starting point is possible for the B counterpart **æn-motä*r reconstructed on the basis of *omotruññaiṣṣe* "southerly, southern, of the south" (Otani 19.1a3/4), cf. *kottär* "family" vs. *kotruññe* "pertaining to family" (Hilmarsson 1991: 132; Pinault 1998: 365). Note the parallel prefixation in B *omotruññaiṣṣe* and *oṣṣale* (see §1). The etymological connection with the root **medʰ-* was proposed by Adams (1999: 118) who assumes *-o-* < **-ē-*. Using the example *ompalskoññe* vs. *ompolskoññe* "meditation", Hilmarsson (1991: 133) speculates about at least sporadic assimilation to explain the root *-o-* in the similar position. Another solution was offered by

Svetlana Burlak (p.c., June 2000), who sees in the unexpected *o*'s which are here not due to Tocharian *o*-umlaut, an effect parallel to *akan'je* of East Slavic. The absence of palatalization in the B form may perhaps be explained from the accusative *$H_1\underset{\circ}{n}$-m[e]$d^h\underset{\frown}{i}r\underset{\circ}{m}$ where this effect could be neutralized, cf. B *procer* "brother" < *$b^hrātēr$, acc. sg. *protär* < *$b^hrātr\underset{\circ}{m}$.

Note 1: I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Georges-Jean Pinault for his valuable philological corrections and bibliographical supplements.

Note 2: The compound consisting of *med^hi- & *$H_2e\underset{\frown}{i}er$ is really attested in the Pamir group of Iranian languages: Shughni, Khufi, Roshani, Bartangi, Oroshori *maδōr*, Sarikoli *maδur*, Wakhi *mədīr* "noon" < Iranian *$madi\underset{\frown}{a}$-$a\underset{\frown}{i}ara$- (Morgenstierne 1974: 43) or *maδ(i)-$a\underset{\frown}{i}ara$- (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 237).

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1994. PIE Locative Prefixes in Tocharian, in: Schlerath 1994, 9-36.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Baxter, William H. 1992. *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gong, Hwang-cherng. 1995. The System of Finals in Proto-Sino-Tibetan, in: Wang 1995, 41-92.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1991. *The Nasal Prefixes in Tocharian. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series* 3. Reykjavík.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1974. *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Pinault, Georges-Jean. 1998. Tocharian Languages and Pre-Buddhist Culture, in: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, ed. Victor H. Mair. Washington D.C.: The Institute for the Study of Man & The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications (Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series, No. 26). 358-371.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Pulleyblank, Edgar G. 1995. The Historical and Prehistorical Relationships of Chinese, in: Wang 1995, 145-194.

Schlerath, Bernfried (ed.). 1994. *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Berlin 1990)*. (Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series 4). Reykjavík: Mál-vísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1994. Zu Stand und Aufgaben der sprachwissenschaftlichen Erschliessung des Tocharischen. in: Schlerath 1994, 207-283.

Sevortjan, Ėrvand V. 1980. *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ tjurkskix jazykov* (*v-g-d*). Moskva: Nauka.

Sieg, Emil & Siegling, Wilhelm & Schulze, Wilhelm. 1931. *Tocharische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Steblin-Kamenskij, Ivan M. 1999. *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ vaxanskogo jazyka*. Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, I: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

de Vries, Jan. 1962. *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden: Brill.

Wang, William S.-Y. (ed.). 1995. *The Ancestry of Chinese language*. Berkeley: Journal of Chinese Linguistics, Monograph Series 8.

Winter, Werner. 1988. Cardinal points and other directions in Tocharian A and B. In: *Languages and Cultures. Studies in Honor of E. C. Polomé*, Eds. M. J. Jazayery & W.Winter. Berlin & New York & Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter. 775-791.

Tocharian A *muk* "yok" and A *maku*, B *mekwa* pl."(finger)nail" - why *m-* ? ***Historische Sprachforschung* 114 (2001), 191-195.**

Václav Blažek

In Tocharian there are two problematic etymons with puzzling initial *m-*:
1. Tocharian A *muk* corresponds to Sanskrit *yugá-* , cf. 360, 13: *yugaṃ vā* / *mu(k)*; further 361,5: *ṣi ñi muk kälkāṃ āreñ* / iṣā ca hrí mano yoktraṃ; 66b4: *ke ne kus ne naṣ nati muk tampe oñi* //// (Sieg & Siegling 1921: 201-02; Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 48; Poucha 1955: 229). It was already Feist (1913: 151) who connected *muk* with Indo-European **i̯ugóm* "yoke". Sapir (Language 12 [1936]: 179) modified this solution, starting from **i̯ungóm*. Trying to explain the puzzling initial *m-*, Schneider (IF 58 [1941]: 40) assumed the false segmentation **tod i̯ugóm* > pre-Tocharian **täm yukóm*. The other etymological attempts are collected in Van Windekens 1976: 306. Taking in account such the forms as Slovincian *dvjĩgɵ* "a yoke for two oxen" (Trubačev 1978: 189), Latin *bīgae*, *trīgae*, *quadrīgae* "Zwei- Drei-, Viergespann" (cf. Walde & Hofmann 1938: 105), Greek *ὁμό-ζυξ* "wedded", *σύ-ζυξ* "yoked together, united, paired, also of wedded pairs" (Chantraine 399), *δί-ζυξ*, *-ζυγος* "double-yoked", Hittite *t/dāiuga-* "two years old", Old Indic *sa-yúgvan* "united or associated; having a team of horses", i.e. the compounds of numerals "1", "2", "3", "4" + derivatives of **yug-*, it is tempting to think about an analogous compound in Tocharian, maybe consisting of the neuter forms **sem* "one" & **i̯ugóm* > pre-Tocharian **ṣmyukæ* (the development **sem^o* > **ṣm^o* can be documented by A *ṣme*, B *ṣmāye* "summer" < **semH-*) > A *muk* (the cluster *sm-/ṣm-* is as unstable as the other Tocharian cases of '*s*-mobile', cf. Van Windekens 1976: 76; the cluster *my-* is attested only in late, secondary formations in Tocharian, cf. Hilmarsson 1986: 82-83).

2. The initial *m-* in Tocharian pl. A *maku*, B *mekwa* "fingernails, claws" represents a similar problem. The word has usually been derived from **(H$_3$)nog^{h}wo-* including the most recent handbooks (Van Windekens 1976: 277 and Hilmarsson 1986: 174; Ringe 1996: 154 reconstructs **x^{w}nog^h-*; similarly Adams 1999: 467 **h$_3$nog^{wh}-*) without any convincing attempt to explain the initial *m-* instead of the expected *$^+$n-*. The 'labial assimilation' **n....w* > **m...w* assumed by Van Windekens 1976: 120 and Adams 1999: 459 is based on the only example, viz.

A *nätsw*- vs. B *mätsts*- "to starve" < **n-H$_1$d^s-tw-ye/o-*; but in contrary to the Common Tocharian "fingernail" the change **n > m* concerns only the language B. Perhaps an influence of AB *mā* "not, no, un-" can represent an easier solution. The puzzling *m*- can be again explained as a compound of **sem-/*sm̥-* "one" & **(H$_3$)nog^h-u-o-*, maybe according to the following scenarios differing in preservation (i) or loss (ii) of the initial laryngeal in Tocharian: (i) **sm̥-H$_3$nog^h-u-o-* > Common Tocharian **[sä]mānækwæ > *māmækwæ > *mækwæ* > A *maku*, B **mekwe* (cf. A *saku* vs. B *sekwe* "pus" < **sok^{w}o-*). The assumed haplology has an analogy e.g. in B acc. sg. *manarkai* "bank, shore", if it is derivable from **mana-mark^o* < **menā-mr̥ĝ^o* (Van Windekens 1976: 279; rejected by Adams 1999: 438-439). The loss of the first syllable is not clear. Could it be identified with the synchronic numeral "1" meaning also "together" (A *ṣa*-, B *ṣe*) or the demonstrative (A *sa*-, B *se(n)* "this") ? (ii) **sem-* & **nog^h-u-o-* > Common Tocharian **ṣämnækwæ > *ṣänmækwæ* (but metathesis **-mn- > -nm-* is regular only for the language B) reinterpreted as "own fingernail", cf. A *ṣñi*, B *ṣañ* "own". The proposed compound should be older than the really attested compounds originated thanks to the inner Tocharian development, e.g. A *ṣoma-pācär* "having one [and the same] father" < **sēmo-* with *o*-umlaut. A witness of the inherited, i.e. archaic, character of the assumed formation can be found in the analogous compounds consisting of **sem-/*sm̥-* & **H$_3$nog^h-u-/*H$_3$ong^h-u-*:

a) Greek *μώνυξ* "with single (i.e. uncloven) hoof" was studied by Beekes (1971). He analyzed previous etymologies based on compounds **μον(ϝ)ο-* & *ὄνυξ* and **σμ-ωνυξ*, rejected them, and presented convincing arguments for own solution **sm̥-H$_3$nog^h-u-*. The root vowel u has origin in dissimilation *o..o > o..u* (Beekes 1969: 47).

b) Hittite *sanku(wa)i*- "fingernail" has been derived from IE **H$_3$ong^h-u-* plus *s*-mobile (cf. Eichner 1985: 165 reconstructing **[s-]H$_3$ong^{h}u̯^{o}*). Beekes (1969: 47) correctly objects that one would expect *$^+$ishanku^o*. The idea of assibilation of the expected laryngeal (so Josephson 1979: 100-101) appears to be quite unconvincing. Beekes' etymology of the Greek word can represent an inspiration for this etymons too, namely the compound consisting of **sm̥-* "one", originally perhaps in the function "together", plus **H$_3$ong^h-/*H$_3$nog^h-* "fingernail, claw": **sm̥-H$_3$ong^h-u-* > **sananku^o* (accepting the loss of all laryngeals before **o* in Anatolian - see Beekes 1988: 80-81) > Hittite *sanku^o* (via haplology).

c) For Armenian *ełowngn* "fingernail, claw, nail, hook" there are more alternative etymologies: (i) Meillet (1936: 47, 163) derived it via dissimilation plus 'prothetic' vowel from **e-nungn* and further from **onog^h-* etc. (ii) Ačaṙyan (II:

711f) connected it with Germanic **nagla-* "nail" via metathesis (cf. Džaukjan 1967: 236, fn. 48, admitting metathesis from **ong^{h}-l-*). (iii) Osthoff (1901: 278f) proposed a compound consisting of **el-* "horn" (cf. *elǰiwr* "horn" and the IE denotation of "deer") & *-owng-* corresponding with Greek *'óvυξ*, *-υχος* "fingernail, claw" etc. (Pokorny 1959: 780). In agreement with the preceding etymologies it seems to be purposive to start from **sem-H$_{3}$ong^{h}- > *(h)enong-* + *-n* (cf. other Armenian body part terms, e.g. *ot-n* "foot", *ak-n* "eye" etc. - see Beekes 1969: 47) > **enungn* > Armenian *ełowngn* (via dissimilation **n...n > ł...n*, probably preceding the change **ěN > iN* - cf. Meillet 1936: 41).
d) There is also a hypothetical possibility to identify the same compound in Slavic, namely in the hydronyms *Minoga* / *Minóżka* (the right tributary of Dłubnia emptying into Wisła near Kraków; first attested by Długosz in 1470-80; the toponym already in 1257); *Mnoha* (East Ukraina); *Mnoga* (the tributary of Velikaja empting into Peipus Lake; attested already in the Old Russian sources: *na Mnogi rěki*, *vo Mnogu rěku* etc.) - see Udolph 1990: 160-162 who derives these river names from the 'Old European' hydronym root **mein-*/ **moin-*. But the forms in *-oga* collected by Udolph are only from the territory of the Slavic languages, with one exception, the Lithuanian lake *Minaga* which is apparently named after the fish *minagà*, *minãgas* "tokia žuvis, niegė, upinė septyntaškė" (Vanagas 1981: 216), probably borrowed from Russian *minóga* or Polish *minóg*, cf. also Czech *minoha* - all borrowed from German *Neunauge* "the fish Petromyzon", Middle High German *niunouge* or Middle Low German *negenôge* (Vasmer II: 624; Machek 1971: 363-364). If the Slavic origin of the studied hydronym is possible, we can derive it from **(s)mĭ̄-nog^{h}ā* "one-legged". The use of the Slavic word **noga* "foot, leg" in hydronymy is well documented, beginning from Joan Exarch (Bulgaria; 9th-10th cent.): *..a sъstavy vodnye rekše pazuxy i nogy..* (cf. Udolph 1979: 420), till the present time (Russian from Altai *otnoga* "ramification of the river" - see Murzaev 1974: 128).

The idea of the compounds consisting of **sem-*/**sm̥-* offers a nonviolent solution of both the troublesome etymons.

Note: Recently Klaus T. Schmidt (2009[10]: 188-189) tries to support the 'labial assimilation' **n....w > *m...w*, adding the example in Tocharian B *maiwe* "young" < *nóu̯i̯o-, besides A *ñu*, B *ñuwe* "new" < **néu̯o-*. His solution excludes the traditional comparison with Old Icelandic *mjór*, *mjár*, *mær* "thin, narrow" < Germanic **maiwa-*/**maiwi-* (Pokorny 1959: 711). For Schmidt the

semantic difference is also too big. But it is possible to identify a good external cognate of Tocharian *maiwe* supporting the primary initial *m-*, namely the Attic comparative *μείων* "minor, lesser", Mycenaean *me-wi-jo* /*mew(i)jōs*/ (Bartoněk 2003: 269). Pre-Tocharian **móu̯i̯o-* "young" (with the metathesis **-u̯i̯-* > **-i̯u̯-* proposed as regular in Tocharian by Schmidt) and pre-Greek **mewjōs* "lesser" are undoubtedly compatible. Concerning semantics, e.g. Latin *minor* meant both "lesser" and "younger".

References

Ačaṙyan, H. 1926-1937. *Hayeren armatakan baṙaran*, I-VII. Erevan:University Press.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Bartoněk, Antonín. 2003. *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Beekes, Robert S. P. 1969. *The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek*. The Hague & Paris: Mouton.

Beekes, Robert S. P. 1971. μώνυχες ʽίπποι. Orbis 20. 138-142.

Beekes, Robert S. P. 1988. Laryngeal Developments: A Survey. In: *Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems*, ed. A. Bammesberger. Heidelberg: Winter. 59-106.

Chantraine, Pierre. 1968-1980. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Paris: Klincksieck.

Džaukjan, Gevork B. 1967. *Očerki po istorii dopis'mennogo perioda armjanskogo jazyka*. Erevan: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Armjanskoj SSR.

Feist, Sigmund. 1913. *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*. Berlin: Weidmann.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology*. Reykjavík: Author.

Josephson, Folke. 1979. Assibilation in Anatolian. In: *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch*, eds. E. Neu & W. Meid. Innsbruck: IBS 25. 91-104.

Machek, Václav. 1971. *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*. Praha: Academia.

Meillet, Antoine. 1936. *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*. Vienne: Imprimerie des Mekhitharistes.

Murzaev, Éduard M. 1974. *Očerki toponimiki*. Moskva: Mysl'.

Osthoff, H. 1901. *Etymologische Parerga* I. Leipzig: Hirzel.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*, Pars I: *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A*. (Monografie Archivu orientálního, XV). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Ringe, Donald. 1996. *On the Chronology of Sound Changes in Tocharian*, 1. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 2009[2010]. Zu den konsonantischen Fernwirkungen im Tocharischen. in: *$h_2$nr. *Festschrift für Heiner Eichner*, herausgegeben von Robert Nedoma und David Stifter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Die Sprache 48. 2009). 182-191.

Sieg, Emil & Siegling, Wilhelm. 1921. *Tocharische Sprachreste*, Bd. I: *Die Texte A. Transkription*. Berlin & Lepzig: Walter de Gruyter.

Sieg, Emil & Siegling, Wilhelm, & Schulze, Wilhelm. (1931): *Tocharische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Trubačev, Oleg N. (ed.) 1978. *Étimologičeskij slovaŕ slavjanskix jazykov*, 5. Moskva: Nauka.

Udolph, Jürgen. 1979. *Studien zu slavischen Gewässernamen und Gewässerbezeichnungen*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Udolph, Jürgen. 1990. *Die Stellung der Gewässernamen Polens innerhalb der alteuropäischen Hydronymie*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes* I: *La phonétique et la vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Vanagas, Aleksandras. 1981. *Lietuvių hidronimų etimologinis žodynas*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Vasmer, Max (in Russian translation of O. N. Trubačev: Fasmer, Maks). 1986. *Étimologičeskij slovaŕ russkogo jazyka* II. Moskva: Progress.

Walde, A. & Hofmann, J. B. 1938-54. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*$_3$, I-II. Heidelberg: Winter.

Tocharian AB *kät-* **“to scatter”, its derivatives and relatives.** *Indogermanische Forschungen* **106 (2001), 81-83.**

Václav Blažek

Tocharian AB *kät-* “to scatter, spread”, is well attested in both languages:
A: pres. VI (3 sg.) *knāṣ-äṃ*, (3 pl. med.) *knānträ*, pret. I (3 pl.) *katar*, (ptc. absol.) *ktoräṣ*;
B: pres. VI (1 sg.) *katnau* (verse), (3 sg.) *katnaṃ* (verse), and pres. VII (3 pl.), *käṃtaṃ*, subj. V (3 sg.) *kātaṃ*, (opt. 3 sg. med.) *katoytär*, pret. Ia (2 sg.) *śtasta*, (3 pl.) *śtare*, (3 pl. med.) *ktānte*, (ptc.) *ktau*, *ktowä* (Poucha 1955: 65; Krause & Thomas: 1960: 203, 240; quoted after Hilmarsson 1996: 108-109).

Hilmarsson (1996: 109) reconstructed the Common Tocharian pres. stem VI **kắtnā-* (**KTnā-*) vs. pres. stem VII **käntắ-* (**Kn̥Tā-*), further the subj. stem V **kætā-* / **kắtā-* (**KoTā-* / **KTā-*), and the pret. stem I **śätắ-* / **kätắ-* (**KeTā-* / **KTā-*). There are also interesting derivatives, viz. B *śäktālye* “seed”, *ktakät* “finger gesture, spreading of the fingers” (Hilmarsson 1996: 186), maybe also *käsk-* “to scatter, disperse, split apart” if it represents the *sk̂-* extension of *kät-* and not of **g^{wh}en-* (Van Windekens 1976: 210, cf. Hilmarsson 1996: 104-105; contra LIV: 218-219).

So far the following two etymological attempts were presented:

(1) A comparison with Greek *πάσσω*, Attic *πάττω* “I sprinkle” (Pedersen 1941: 185; Poucha 1955: 65);

(2) A comparison with Greek *(σ)κίδναμαι* “I am scattered, spread”, *σκεδάννῡμι* “I scatter, disperse” (Van Windekens in Orbis 12 [1963]: 464 and 1976: 211; Hilmarsson 1996: 109; LIV: 550).

Let us analyze both the solutions.

Ad (1): Rix & Lipp (LIV: 563-564) propose **kuH$_1$t-i̯ō* → **kṵat-i̯ō* (> *πάσσω*) after the root aorist **kṵēt-i̯ō* with a secondary ablaut *ē* : *a* comparable with *ἐρρηζα* (**u̯rēg-*) vs. *ἐρράγην* (**u̯rag-*), and connect it with Latin *quatiō-, -cutiō, -ere* “schütteln”, Old High German *scutten* “schütten; schütteln” etc., reconstructing **(s)kṵeH$_1$t-*. One would expect a hypothetical Tocharian counterpart depending on the root vocalism: (i) **kṵeH$_1$t-* > A $^{+}$*kat-* / B $^{+}$*ket-* (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 25); (ii) **kuH$_1$t-* > A $^{+}$*kut-* / B $^{+}$*kwät-* (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 28); (iii) AB $^{+}$*kāt-* (corresponding to Greek *πάσσω*).

Ad (2): Rix & Lipp (LIV: 550) compare the Greek & Tocharian data with Avestan *sciṇdaiieiti* "zerbricht, zerstört", Albanian *çan* "spaltet, zerreißt, pflügt", Lithuanian *kedénti* "to pluck, crash" etc., reconstructing the pres. **(s)k$_e$d-né/n̥-H$_2$-* vs. aor. **(s)kédH$_2$-* / **(s)k$_e$dH$_2$-*.

The loss of *-t-* before *-n-* in Tocharian A need not represent a witness for the derivation *-t-* < **-d-* missing regularly before *-n-* (and *-m-*, *-r-*, *-l-*, *-i̯-*, *-u̯-*, see Van Windekens 1976: 81-83). The loss of the auslaut root consonants (not only *-t-* < **-d-*) before the nasal suffix characterizing the present stem VI is frequent in Tocharian A (Krause & Thomas 1960: 203), cf. A *kārna-* from *kārp-* "to descend, step down", *kärnā-* from *kärk-* "to steal, take away", etc. On the other hand, the Tocharian B present stem VI *katna-* preserves *-t-* and so excludes its derivation from **-d-*. The reconstruction **(s)kedH$_2$* – etc. indicates the final laryngeal as an integral part of the root. But there is a more natural explanation of the stem auslaut in **-(n)ā-* directly in Tocharian, namely the productive present markers of the V and VI classes in **-ā-* (**-eH$_2$-*) and **nā* (**-neH$_2$-*) respectively (Krause & Thomas 1960: 202-205).

These thoughts allow us to reconstruct a root **KeT-* / **KoT-* / **KT-* where *K* and *T* represent any velar or dental stops respectively, with exception of *T* = **d*. With regard to problems of the etymologies (1) & (2) it is legitimate to seek still another solution. A convenient candidate for a cognate can be seen in Lithuanian *kẽsti*, pres. *kečiù*, pret. *kečiaũ* (**k$^{(u)}$et-i̯ō*) "ausbreiten, ausspannen, entfalten, öffnen", intens. *ketóti rankàs*, *rañkomis* "die Hände ausbreiten, mit den Händen fuchteln" (Fraenkel 1962: 246-247). If the Lithuanian verbs are compatible with their Tocharian counterparts, we can conclude: *K* = **k* or **k^u* and *T* = **t*. Especially regarding the Tocharian B derivative (an expressive reduplication?) *ktakät* "finger gesture, spreading of the fingers", the Tocharian data represent a suggestive support to the etymology of the Indo-European numeral **k^{u}etu̯ŏr* "4" = **"span" < "stretched [fingers]", based on the Lithuanian verbs *kẽsti* and *kėtóti* proposed by V. N. Toporov (1983: 130, fn. 79) and independently by W. Schmidt (1989: 24).

References

Fraenkel, Ernst. 1962. *Litauisches etymological Wörtrebuch*, Bd. I. Heidelberg: Winter & Göttingen: Vandenoeck & Ruprecht.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1996. *Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary*. (Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series 5). Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Krause, Wolfgang & Thomas, Werner (1960): *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. I: *Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.

LIV = Rix, Helmut et al. 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*$_2$. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Pedersen, Holger. 1941. *Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung*. København: det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historikfilologiske Meddelelser 28,1.

Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*, Pars I: *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství (Monografie Archivu orientálního, XV).

Schmidt, Wolfgang P. 1989. *Wort und Zahl*. Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 1989, Nr. 8. Mainz).

Toporov, V. N. 1983. K semantike četveričnosti. *Étimologija* 1981. 108-130.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes* I: *La phonétique et la vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Slavic - Tocharian Isoglosses IV. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **10 (2003), 11-13.**

Václav Blažek

This article continues a series of articles devoted to the Slavic - Tocharian isoglosses (see *TIES* 5[1991], 123-133; *Linguistica Baltica* 4[1995], 233-238).

7. Sl. **kъmy*, gen. **kъmene* "stem, trunk, branch" ~ Toch. A *kom*, B *kaume* "(fresh) shoot".

Old & Modern Czech *kmen* m. "stem, trunk; tribe, generation" and Lower Sorbian *kmjeń* m. "Zweig, Spross; Stamm, Reis, Stock" reflect proto-Slavic **kъmy*, gen. **kъmene* (Schuster-Šewc 1981-1984: 565; ĖSSJ 13[1987]: 196: **kъmenь*) which is derivable from **kumōn*, gen. **kumenes*. With long root vowel and a different suffixal extension there is Ukrainian *kymák* "block of wood", in dialects also "beam, log, branch, bee-hive" (ĖSSJ l.c.).

Tocharian A *kom*, B *kaume* "(fresh) shoot" has been derived from **koudmo-*, which should have been formed from **(s)keud-* "to shoot, throw" (Van Windekens 1976: 229; Adams 1999: 212). But the derivation from **koumo-* is more natural and simple. And just this starting point is easily compatible with pre-Slavic **kumōn* /**kumen-*.

Both the Slavic and Tocharian forms are derivable from the verbal base attested in Greek *κυέω* "I bear in the womb, have conceived, be pregnant with a child", cf. *κύημα* "embryo, foetus", *κῦμα,-ατος* "foetus in the womb, embryo; young sprout of plants", *ἀκύμων* "without fruit, barren", and further Latin *in-ciēns* "trächtig" etc. (Frisk II: 42, 47). These thoughts rehabilitate the old idea of Machek who compared Greek *κῦμα* and Slavic **kъmen-* (Machek 1968: 261 [first 1957]; he added Lith. *kamẽnas* "stem, trunk", explaining the different root vowel by analogy with *kamuolỹs* "tuft, bunch"). The Greek verb has been derived from **k̂uH$_1$-éi̯e/o-*, where the palatal velar should have been confirmed by the Indo-Iranian parallels as Vedic *śváyati* "schwillt an, nimmt zu", Khotanese *ha-svīṃdä* "schwillt" (LIV 339-340; the other parallels are collected in Pokorny 1959: 592-594). Slavic **k* vs. Indo-Iranian **ś* needs an explanation. If we do not want to speculate about the 'centum' elements in

Slavic, there is a suggestive analogy in Slavic **kamy*, gen. **kamene* "stone", Lithuanian *akmuõ*, gen. *-eñs* id. vs. Old Indic *áśman-* "stone; heaven", Avestan *asman-* id., where the same anomaly occurs in similar circumstances.

8. Sl. **skoro-vornъ* "lark" ~ Gmc. **skĕr(i)-* "sea-gull" ~ Toch. B *skren* "sp. of bird".

The reconstruction **skoro-vornъ(kъ)* seems to be the most probable starting point for the Slavic designation of "lark", attested in numerous variants: Bulgarian *skovrán* & *skolovránec* "Amsel", *skovránec* "Star", Macedonian *skolovranec* "Star", Slovenian *škrjanek* "Lerche", Slovak *škovran* id., Czech *skřivan* id., Upper Sorbian *škowronc*, Lower Sorbian *škobronk*, arch. also *schkowrionk* id., Polish *skowronek*, Kashubian *skoewronk*, Slovincian *skovårnek*, Ukrainian *škávoronok*, Russian *skovóronok*, besides *ščevrónok* etc. "Lerche / Alauda" (Vasmer III: 644; Schuster-Šewc 1985-1988: 1446-1447).

The corresponding Germanic bird-name differs in the root vocalism: Old Icelandic *skári* "junge Möwe", Middle Low German *holt-schere* "jay", Modern Low German *scherke* "kleine Möwe", cf. also Old English *secge-scēre* "cicada, locust", Old High German *hewi-screcko* "Heuschreck", in semantics matching Lithuanian *skėrỹs*, *skėrẽlis* id. (Pokorny 1959: 934).

The Tocharian B ornithonym *skren* "dove"(?) is attested in such forms as gen. sg. *skrenantse paruwa* "the feathers of a dove", and adj. *skrenśe paiyye* "a dove's foot" (Adams 1999: 708), which do not allow to apply the internal reconstruction to project them in the proto-language level. An old compound of the Slavic type cannot be excluded.

All the studied bird- & insect-names are derivable from the verbal base **sker-* "to be in a fast motion", cf. Greek *σκαίρω* "springe, hüpfe, tanze"; Breton *skara* "to run", Old High German *scerōn* "mutwillig sein", Middle High German *scher(e)n* "eilen", Middle Low German *scheren* "laufen, eilen; spotten, höhnen"; Old Church Slavonic *skorъ* "schnell" etc. (Pokorny 1959: 934; Mann 1984-87: 1162; LIV: 556).

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

ĖSSJ = *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ slavjanskix jazykov*, 1-26, ed. by O. N. Trubačev. Moskva: Nauka 1974-1999.

Frisk, Hjalmar. 1991. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bd. II_3. Heidelberg: Winter.

LIV = *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, eds. Helmut Rix et alii. Wiesbaden: Reichert 2001.

Machek, Václav. 1968. *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*$_2$. Praha: Academia.

Mann, Stuart E. 1984-1987. *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary*. Hamburg: Buske.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Schuster-Šewc, Heinz. 1981-1984, 1985-1988. *Historisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der ober- und niedersorbischen Sprache*, Bd. 2, 3. Bautzen / Budyšin: Domowina.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, vol. I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Paris: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Vasmer, Max. 1986-87. *Ėtimologičeskij slovaŕ russkogo jazyka*, I-IV. Moskva: Progress (translated by O. N. Trubačev from the original title Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg: Winter 1950-1958).

A Tocharian key to the etymology of the bird-name *_sr̥ĝó-_ "stork".
Tocharian and Indo-European Studies **10 (2003), 15-16.**

Václav Blažek

Kaczor & Witczak (1991: 151-53) proposed a suggestive etymon for the Indo-European designation of "stork", connecting its Germanic name **sturka-* id. (Old Icelandic *storkr*, Old English *storc*, Old High German *storah*; let us add the unrecorded Bible-Gothic **staurks* which could have been sought in the borrowing into Slavic where Old Church Slavonic [Codex Suprasliensis 6.1] *strъkъ*, Old Russian [12th cent.] *stьrkъ* "stork" reflect proto-Slavic **stŭrkŭ* - cf. Kiparsky 1934: 161-162), the Greek counterpart *πελᾱργός* and Old Indic m. *sr̥jayá-* m. (*Kāṭhaka*), f. *sr̥jayā́-* (Taittirīya-Saṁhitā) "a wading bird". For this undoubtedly tempting etymology they had to solve several problems: (i) A proof of the regular development of the initial cluster **sr̥C-* > pre-Ger-manic **str̥C-* > Germanic **sturC-*. The detailed discussion was presented by Witczak 1991: 106-107. (ii) A convincing analysis of Greek *πελάργός*. Here the authors identify **άργός* *"stork" < **sr̥ĝós*, while the first member of the compound should have been derived via dissimilation from *πέρᾱ* "darüber hinaus, weiter, länger, mehr, jenseits" (after Van Windekens). But the authors themselves felt that from the point of view of semantics this solution is not quite convincing. A deeper semantic motivation of this etymon is solvable with a help of Tocharian B *sark* "back", A *särśi* "backbone" (Adams 1999: 676-677) < **srk*^{o}. With respect to the typical black color of back parts of Ciconia alba, otherwise white, it is quite legitimate to derive *πελᾱργός* from **πελαϝός* "schwärzlich" (cf. *πελιός* "dunkelfarben, fahl" etc., Lithuanian *palvas* "falb"; see Kretschmer, Glotta 3[1911]: 294f, who interpreted the compound as "black-white"; similarly already Etymologicum Magnum 659, 7), plus **άργός* "back", hence *"that with a black back". There are formally corresponding compounds describing various birds in Old Indic: 1) *kāla-kaṇṭha-* "peacock; gallinule; wagtail; sparrow", lit. "black-necked"; 2) *kr̥ṣṇá-gala-* "a kind of bird", lit. "black-throated"; 3) *śyāmá-kaṇṭha-* "peacock; a kind of small bird", lit. "black-throated"; 4) *nī́la-kaṇṭha-* "peacock; a species of gallinule or water-hen; wagtail; sparrow;

blue-necked jay; Ardea Sibirica", lit. "blue-necked" (Monier-Williams 1899: 277, 307, 1094, 566). This explanation implies an elliptic omission of the first member expressing a color in the hypothetical compound in Germanic and Old Indic.

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Kaczor, Idaliana & Witczak, Krzysztof T. 1991. Grec *πελᾱργός* "cigogne, Ciconia alba" et indo-européen **sr̥ĝós* "même sen". In: *Studia Etymologica Indoeuropaea memoriae A. J. Van Windekens dicata*, ed. Lambert Isebaert. Louvain: Peeters, 151-153.

Kiparsky, Valentin. 1934. *Gemeinslavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, B XXXII,2. Helsinki.

Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899[1993]. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.

Witczak, Krzysztof T. 1991. Indo-European **sr̥C*- in Germanic. *Historische Sprachforschung* 104, 106-107.

Tocharian A *$k_u$li*, **B** *klyiye* **"woman" < *ĝ/gleH$_2$u̯i-H$_1$en-? *Historische Sprachforschung* 118 (2005), 92-100.**

Václav Blažek

1. The common Tocharian word for "woman" is well attested in both A and B languages:

A - Sg.: Nom. *$k_u$li* (8x), *$k_u$lyi* (3x), Acc. *$k_u$le*, Gen. *$k_u$leyis*, Pl.: Nom. *$k_u$lewāñ*, Acc. *$k_u$lewās*, Gen. *$k_u$lewāśśi*; adj. *$k_u$leñci* (Poucha 1955: 80; Thomas 1964: 95-96; Hilmarsson 1996: 158);

B - Sg.: Nom. *klyiye* (10x), *klyīye* (1x), *klīye* (3x), *kliye* (1x), Acc. *klai* (4x, including mistaken *klaiṃ*), *klaiñ* (2x), Gen. *klaiñantse*, Pl.: Nom.-Acc. *klaina*, Gen. *klainaṃts*; adj. *klaiññe* (Thomas 1964: 190; Hilmarsson 1996: 157; Adams 1999: 224).

2.1. The first etymological attempt was probably proposed by Pedersen (1925: 26) who sought the relatives in Irish *caile* "country woman, maid, serving girl" and Breton *pl-ac'h* "girl" (cf. Pedersen 1913: 64), although the Breton word is probably borrowed from Latin *pellex* "concubine" (Henry 1900: 224). His solution was accepted by Van Windekens (1976: 241; 1979: 27: Nom. *k^uli̯ā̆ vs. Obl. *k^uloi̯^{o}) and Delamarre (1984: 50 *k^uəli-). Hilmarsson (1996: 159) offers an alternative protoform of the Tocharian words, viz. *k^ul̥H$_2$-ōn which is in principle compatible with Irish *caile*, derivable from Celtic *k^uali̯ā like *caire* "fault, crime" from **kari̯ā* (Thurneysen 1946: 61) and further from IE *k^ul̥H-i̯ā (*"Herumgehende" after de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 208, fn. 51; her starting-point *k^ul̥Hi̯^{o} would probably give *klā^o in Irish - that is why ^{o}i̯ā implying the sequence *ClHV > Irish **CalV* (cf. Beekes 1990: 181).

2.2. Poucha (1955: 80) derived it from IE *g^uelH- "to spring" (Pokorny 1959: 471), unfortunately without any comment explaining this surprising semantic development.

2.3. K.T. Schmidt (1980: 409-410) presented a radically new etymology, deriving the Tocharian word for "woman" from the zero-grade form *g^unai̯- or its Siever's variant *g^un̥nai̯-, corresponding to Greek Gen. Sg. *γυναικός* and Armenian Nom. Pl. *kanay-k'*. In spite of the assumption of dissimilation *$k_u$naiN- > *$k_u$laiN-, which remains without analogy in Tocharian,

Schmidt's etymology has become very popular, being accepted by Kortlandt (1988: 77-79), Hilmarsson (1996: 157-159), Huld (EIEC [1997]: 648) and Adams (1999: 224-225). Let us repeat their arguments:

2.3.1. Kortlandt proposes the following development:

stage I	stage II	stage III	stage IV = B
*$g^{u}_{o}nH_{2}$-$H_{1}ēn$	*$k^{u}_{o}lH_{1}ēn$	*k^{u}lye	klyiye
*$g^{u}_{o}nH_{2}$-$H_{1}n$-	*$k^{u}_{o}lH_{1}n$-	*k^{u}lan-	klain-

Like Hilmarsson (1986: 231-236) he stresses the palatalizing effect of the ending *-iye* in Tocharian B, operating in the Class VI.1, but not when the word is transferred to a foreign flexional category (Class VI.2).

2.3.2. Hilmarsson starts from the protoform *$g^{u}_{o}nH_{2}$-ōn* which should be dissimiled in Common Tocharian **kwälo*, replaced by **kwäliyæ*, directly continuing in A $k_{u}li$, while B *kliye* has generalized the *k-* of the oblique cases. He judges that the unpalatalized nominatives A $k_{u}li$ and B *kliye* are primary. In agreement with Krause & Thomas (1960: 135, §191), Hilmarsson includes the B word into the class II.1 (because of the B Nom. Pl. in *-na* like e.g. B *śnona*"wive") and the A form into the class VI.3., but the oblique stem in B *-ai(-)* indicates the class VI.2. Hilmarsson (1986: 218) thinks that the shift from VI.2 to II.1 could be caused by semantics: "Class II.1 nouns with Obl. Sg. *-ai* denote female beings exclusively, whereas in Class VI.2 *klyiye* / *klīye* would have been the only word of such semantic content. Therefore, one might assume that it was transferred and received the plural form klaina instead of **klaiñ*".

2.3.3. Adams reconstructs the starting-point *$g^{u}neH_{a}$-$H_{1}ēn$* for the Nom. Sg. and *$g^{u}neH_{a}$-$H_{1}en$-m_{o}* for the Acc. Sg., which should have given proto-Tocharian **kwlāi̯ē(n)* and **kwlāi̯ä* respectively, and finally Nom. Sg. **kwloyo* > **kwlaye* under the influence of the Acc. Sg. **kwlai*. The transformation of the final *^{o}aye* into B *^{o}iye* has to be a regular change (Adams 1988b: 26). In the deviant plurals, A $k_{u}lewāñ$ and B *klaina*, Adams sees the analogical development after A *sewāñ* "sons" and B *aśiyana* "nuns" respectively.

3.1. The weakest point of these certainly elegant hypotheses consists in assumption of the dissimilative change **Cn...n* > *Cl...n.* The only attempt to operate with dissimilation in the development of the sequence **Cn...n* is the etymology of Tocharian A *kroṅkśe*, B *kroṅ(k)śe* "bee" proposed by Hilmarsson (1986: 35-37; 1996: 181-82). To connect the Tocharian "bee" with Germanic **huna(n)ga-* "honey", he speculated about the dissimilation **Cn...n* > *Cr...n*

in Tocharian. Without analogous examples his hypothesis remains highly speculative and the traditional etymology connecting *kroṅkśe* with Latin *crābrō*, Old English *hyrnet* "hornet", Lithuanian *širšuõ* "wasp", *širšuonas* "hornet", Russian-Church Slavonic *srъšenь* id. (Schrader & Nehring 1929: 654) seems to be the best solution.

3.2. Let us return to the Tocharian continuants of IE *$g^{u}enā$. They are recognized in A *śäṃ*, B *śana* "woman, wife", where B Nom. Pl. *śnona* also reflects the synchronical sequence *Cn...n*. Yes, against this example there are at least two objections: (i) The initial cluster *Cn-* must be derived from *Cen^{o}, here concretely from *$g^{u}en^{o}$, to cause the effect of palatalization. (ii) The B Pl. *śnona* probably represents a relatively late formation, consisting of the Acc. Sg. **śanō(n)*, plus the plural morpheme **-nā*, originally abstracted from neuter *n*-stems (Adams 1988: 114-115). But in derivatives e.g. of A *knā-* "to know", where the initial cluster **Cn-* (**ĝn-*) is undubitable, there occur even more than two nasals: 2 Sg. Pres. *knānant*, Pres. Part. Med. *knānmāṃ*, and *knānmune* "knowledge" (Thomas 1964: 98).

4. It seems that none from the preceding etymologies is satisfactory. Seeking another solution, it is necessary to take into account that the meaning "woman" belongs to the core lexicon. It means to seek the most probable ancestor of the Tocharian word for "woman" among the core kinship terms. The most promising candidate for this role could be the designation of "husband's [unmarried] sister" (the semantic reconstruction is discussed by Hermann 1918: 222-223), traditionally reconstructed as *$\hat{g}_{(e)}l\bar{o}u̯$*-s* (Pokorny 1959: 367-368). In reality there are two stem variants: terminated in (a) *-$u̯^{o}$* and (b) in *-i^{o}*:

4a.1. Phrygian *γελαρος · ἀδελφοῦ γυνή . Φρυγιστί* (Hesych.), if the conjecture **γελαϝος* (Hermann 1918: 222; he quotes a parallel substitution in other Hesychius' glosses: *δεδροικώς* [*δεδϝοικώς*] · <*δε*>*δοικώς* and *τρέ* [*τϝέ*] · *σε . Κρῆτες*) is correct, can be projected in **ĝelH$_a$(e)u̯o-* (Beekes 1976: 15).

4a.2. Greek Attic *γάλως* "sister of husband" is usually derived from **γάλωϝος* (Pokorny, l.c.). Eichner-Kühn (1976: 30 following K. Hoffmann) and independently Beekes (1976: 13-14) have demonstrated that the starting-point must be **γάλαϝος* (cf. the interpretamentum *γαλάος* of Hesychius' gloss *γάλις*), similarly Homeric Dat. Sg. *γαλόῳ* < **γαλάϝωι*, Nom. Pl. *γαλόῳ* < **γάλαϝοι*, Gen. Pl. *γαλόων* < **γαλάϝων* (Cowgill apud Anttila 1969: 83; Eichner-Kühn 1976: 35, fn. 31). The primary starting-point is apparently **ĝ$_o$lH$_2$eu̯o-* (Anttila 1969: 83 thinks about an assimilation **gelawo-* > **galawo-* in Greek).

4a.3. Latin *glōs*, Gen. Sg. *glōris*, is defined almost only by lexicographers as "husband's sister" (*uiri soror*, a Graeco *γαλόως* by Paulus ex Fest.

87, 16, 2nd cent. A.D.; *ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφή*, *γάλως* in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II 34, 29; *Andromachae glos = Polyxena*, the sister of Hector, quoted by Ausonius in his *Technopaegnion*, 4rd cent. A.D.), or "wife of brother" (cf. the gloss"*ἀδελφὴ γαμετὴ ὡς Πλαῦτος*" which must belong to *glōs* and not to *glumea*, how it is attested in *Corpus*, l.c., besides *glos appellatur mariti soror atque item fratris uxor* by Nonius Marcellus, 4rd cent. A.D.). The word has been derived from **ĝlō[u̯]s* (Kretschmer 1892: 453: like *bōs* from **bōus*; Pokorny 1959: 368). The protoform **ĝl̥H$_2$ōu̯s* proposed by Schrijver (1991: 122) is rather problematic. The author himself admits that according to rules mapped in his monograph the expected Latin continuant would be *$^{+}$galōs*. He speculates about an alternative starting point of the type **ĝleH$_2^o$*. Sihler (1967: 203; followed by Anttila 1969: 83-84 and Szemerényi 1977: 89) would solve this discrepancy by the syncope **galōs > glōs*. But for Szemerényi (l.c.) Sihler's pre-Latin **galōs* is a borrowing from Greek. Another possibility is offered by Eichner-Kühn (1976: 36, fn. 37) who reconstructs the following development: Nom. Sg. **ĝl̥H$_2$u̯ós > *glāvos > *glās*, besides Gen. Pl. **glāvōrum > glōrum*, stimulating the change **glās > glōs*, and finally leading to the application of the declension type *flōs* : *flōris* (cf. Kretschmer 1892: 333, 453).

4a.4. In Slavic, the etymon is attested in Church Slavonic *zъlъva*, Bulgarian *zăl'va*, Serbo-Croatian *z`àova*, Slovenian *zôlva*, Old Czech *zel-va*, Polish *zełw*, *zołwica* & *żełw* & *żołwica*, Russian *zolóvka*, dial. *zólva*, Ukrainian *zolvýca*, "husband's sister". Their common starting-point has been reconstructed as **zъly, gen. *zъlъve* < **ĝl̥H$_2$ū-* (not *$^{+}$ĝl̥ə$_2$u̯^{o}*, giving hypothetical Serbo-Croatian *$^{+}$z`ùva*, Old Czech *$^{+}$zluva*; cf. Eichner-Kühn 1976: 35, fn. 33), with *^{o}ū-* usually interpreted as the influence of **svekry* "mother-in-law" < **su̯ek̂rū-*). The Polish forms could indicate the vacillation **ĝ-* / **g-* (Jokl). Let us mention that the historically attested Slavic forms were extended by the most frequent feminine marker **-ā*.

4b.1. Old Indic *giri-* in Gr̥hiya Sūtra [Mantra] has to correspond to *yātr̥-* "husband's brother's wife" in the parallel passage from Paippalāda-saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda (XIX 19, 11). It is derivable from **gl̥Hi-* (Eichner-Kühn 1976: 29; accepted by Szemerényi 1977: 90; Mayrhofer 1986: 487). But Griffiths & Lubotsky (2009: 118-120) convincingly demonstrate that the word *giri-* is in reality "mountain". This solution simplifies situation with reconstruction of initial: only **ĝ-*.

4b.2. Armenian *tal*, Gen. Pl. *-ic'* "husband's sister", instead of the expected form *$^{+}$cal* (probably under the influence of *t-* of the male correspondent *taygr* "husband's brother") also reflects the *i*-stem **ĝl̥Hi-* (Eichner-Kühn 1976: 29; Szemerényi 1977: 90; Pedersen 1905: 347 derived Armenian *tal* from the Acc. Sg. **ĝl̥lōm*, assuming the regular development of **ĝ > t* before **l*).

4b.3. The Greek glosses *γάλις · γαλαός* and *γαλίς · ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφή καθάπερ Κασάνδρα τῇ Ἀνδρομάχῃ* (Hesychius) mean the same, "husband's sister", and are derivable from the same protoform **ĝ̥lHi-* (Eichner-Kühn 1976: 30).

5.1. On the basis of her careful analysis, Eichner-Kühn (1976: 31) reconstructs the noun **ĝ̥lH$_2$í-* and the adjective formation **ĝ̥lH$_2$u̯o-* (besides the hypothetical variant in *-ro-* indicated by the Phrygian gloss, abstracting from the emendation). Her choice between **ĝ* > Slavic **z* and **g* > Old Indic *g* for **g* is based on assumption that *z-* of the Slavic form **zъly*, *-ъve* can be explained as analogical to **zętь* "son-in-law", similarly as Armenian *t-* in tal after *taygr* (4.1.b2.). But in this case, a hypothetical starting-point in Armenian would be *+kal* and not *+cal*. The reinterpretation of the meaning of Old Indic *giri-* unambiguously confirms the reconstruction **ĝ-*.

5.2. On the other hand, Beekes (1976: 14-15) tries to reconstruct a basic paradigm, with respect to the extension in *-ōu-* hysterodynamic as for Greek *πάτρως* "father's brother" (cf. also Beekes 1990: 215, 221): Nom. **ĝélH$_2$-ōu-s*, Acc. **ĝ̥lH$_2$-éu̯-m̥*, Gen. **ĝ̥lH$_2$-u̯-ós*.

5.3. The conclusions of Eichner-Kühn and Beekes are in agreement at least in one thing. The pattern **p ́ə$_2$trōus* : **pə$_2$tḗr* implies a primary noun for **ĝélH$_2$ōus* (or **ĝ̥lH$_2$u̯o-* directly derivable from Beekes's Gen.) and it could be identified in **ĝ̥lHí-*.

6. Although the preceding conclusions are not definitive, it is necessary to prove if the Tocharian forms are compatible with the more or less probable protoforms quoted in §§4-5.

6.1. The first step that should be taken is the exclusion of the sequence **ĝe^o*, causing the palatalizing effect leading to the Tocharian *+ś*.

6.2. The zero-grade **ĝ̥lH$_2$u̯^{o}* would imply the development parallel with AB *käly-* "to stand, stay" (**k̑l̥H$_1$-i̯e/o-*) and A *pärwat* "first", B *parwe* "first; earlier", *pärweṣṣe*"first" (**pr̥H$_{2/3}$u̯o-*).

6.3. In the case of **ĝ̥lH$_2$eu̯^{o}* one expects the development of the diphthong **eu̯* parallel to B *mlyotkau* "paste derived by grinding" (**m(e)lH$_2$eu̯^{o}*) : *mlutk-* "to crush" (cf. Adams 1999: 479).

6.4. It seems that only **ĝleH$_2$u̯^{o}*, plus Hofmann's suffix **-H$_1$en-*, lead to Common Tocharian **klāu̯i̯ē(n)* and the following development, which is very close to the scenario proposed by Adams (§ 2.3.3.), only with a small modification, namely without dissimilation and with the inherited **u̯*.

6.4.1. The epenthesis of *u̯ into the first syllable in Tocharian A is not unique. It occurs in the group *-ä(ṅ)kw- transforming in A -u(ṅ)k-, cf. A *tuṅk* : B *taṅkw* "love" < *tn̥g-u̯n̥, A *yuk* : B *yakwe* "horse" < *eĥu̯o-, but also when *u̯ is preceded by a liquid: A *ṣul* : B *ṣale* "mountain" < *selu̯o- (Adams 1988a: 38; 1999: 277, 482, 652). The closest example of the development parallel to the first syllable of A k_u*li* "woman" probably occurs in Nom. Sg. A k_u*raś* : B *krośce* "cold" < *krústōn or *kréu̯stō and Acc. Sg. A *krośśäṃ* : B *krościäṃ* < *krusténm̥ (cf. Thomas 1964: 95; Adams 1999: 218).

6.4.2. In Tocharian the IE i̯-diphthongs (with the exception of *ei̯) changed into A *e*, B *ai* (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 30-31, 34-35). The sequence *-u̯i̯- is metathesized in A and after palatalization of *u̯ simplified in *y* in B (A *malyw*-, B *mely*- "to crush, squeeze, lay waste" < *mol(H$_2$)u̯-(e)i̯e/o-, matching Gothic *gamalwjan* "to grind"; see Adams 1999: 470). The palatalization of Common Tocharian *u̯ before *i̯ (including *i̯ originating secondarily before IE *ĕ̄) and their following merging is regular in Tocharian B, cf. *śāy*- / *śāw*- "to live" < Common Tocharian *ś(y)āwi̯ä / *ś(y)āwe < *g$^{u̯}$i̯eH$_3$u̯-e-/*g$^{u̯}$i̯eH$_3$u̯-o- (Adams 1988a: 36). Concerning the sequence *-Vu̯i̯/i- in B, Adams (1999: 346) offers an attractive example, *naimaññe*, adj. denoting the first month, deriving the stem *naim- from the superlative *nou̯ismos "newest". These rules confirm a regular development from Common Tocharian *klāu̯i̯ē(n) to A *klew^o via *klaiw^o (really attested k_u*lew^o* probably after the singular stem k_u*le^o*) and B *klai^o* via *klawy^o.

6.4.3. The stem of our kinship term probably terminated in -*i*-, i.e. *ĝleH$_2$u̯i-, like the derivatives of the *ōu̯-stems: Greek *μήτρως* "male relative of mother" : *μητρυιά* "stepmother", adj. *μητρυι-ώδης*, *πάτρως* : Old Indic *pítr̥vya*-, Avestan *tūiriia*-.

7. It is remarkable that apart from the A plural forms as Nom. k_u*lewāñ*, Acc. k_u*lewās*, Gen. k_u*lewāśśi*, there is only one corresponding plural paradigm, namely of the word *se* "son" (B *soy*): Nom. *sewāñ*, Acc. *sewās*, Gen. *sewāśśi*. The A plural base *sew^o* is derivable from the hypothetical protoform *soi̯u̯es with *o instead of expected *ŭ̄. It has usually been explained from the dissimilation of the type Homeric *υἱός* vs. Laconic, Gortynian *υἱύς* "son", only in the opposite order. Hilmarsson (1986: 74-75) added an alternative solution, namely the influence of the possesive *su̯oi̯os, forming such kinship terms as Icelandic *sveinn* "boy", Lithuanian *sváins* "husband of wife's sister". The convergence in the plural inflection of two Tocharian words, "woman" and "son", that seem to have different internal structures can probably be explained by

their semantic closeness. The meaning "son" is firm with respect to its Greek cognate. On the other hand, the synchronically attested meaning "woman" is hardly primary. It seems that the opposition of Common Tocharian **śänā* : **klāu̯i̯ē(n)* can be described as "married woman" : "unmarried woman", and the latter, with respect to its exclusive relation to "son", perhaps concretely "bride" ← "daughter-in-law" (cf. Russian *nevesta* : *nevestka* respectively).

8. It is useful to mention the semantic dispersion of some kinship terms with close functions:

8.1. Russian dial. *zólva*, *zólvica*, *zolóvka* (Olonets.) "daughter-in-law" vs. Russian *zolóvka* "husband's sister", Slovak *zolva*, *zolvica* "husband's sister, son's wife, brother's wife, daughter-in-law" (Trubačev 1959: 136);

8.2. Bulgarian *nevésta*, *nevjásta* "bride, young wife, woman", Serbian *nèvjesta* "bride, daughter-in-law, son's wife, brother's wife", Polish *niewiasta* "woman" : Old Church Slavonic *nevěsta* "νύμφη, sponsa" (Trubačev 1959: 90);

8.3. Common Turkic **gẹlin* "daughter-in-law" continues in some of the daughter languages as follows: Turkish *gelin* "daughter-in-law, bride, son's wife", but also "young woman", Altai *kelin* "son's wife, young woman, young (about woman)", Koibalsan *kîlen* "wife of younger brother" (Sevortjan 1980: 16-18).

It seems that the semantic shift to a more general meaning proposed for Tocharian is quite legitimate.

9. Summing up, the Tocharian word for "woman" attested in A $k_u li$, Obl. stem $k_u le^o$, Pl. stem $k_u lew^o$, and B *klyiye*, Obl. and Pl. stem $klai^o$, is derivable from Common Tocharian **klāu̯i̯ē(n)* and further from **ĝleH$_2$u̯i-H$_1$ēn*. The original meaning of the Tocharian word could probably be "bride" → "young unmarried woman".

Note: The article was written during my fellowship at the Netherland Institute of Advanced Study in Humanities (Wassenaar) in February-June 2003. I am very grateful for this occasion to study inaccessible sources and to discuss the present etymology with Dutch colleauges from the 'Indo-European circle' around Prof. R. Beekes and Prof. A. Lubotsky who prefer the point of view of Prof. F. Kortland quoted above (2.3.1). For the additional remark (§4.b.1) eliminating Old Indic *giri-*, in reality "mountain" and not "husband's brother's wife", I also owe Alexander Lubotsky.

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1988a. *Tocharian Historical Phonology and Morphology*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, Vol. 71.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1988b. The expansion of PIE *n*-stems in Tocharian: The systematic development of a paradigm. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 2. 7-30.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Anttila, Raimo. 1969. *Proto-Indo-European schwebeablaut*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beekes, Robert S. P. 1976. Some Greek *aRa*-Forms. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*.

Beekes, Robert S. P. 1990. *Vergelijkende taalvetenschap. Een inleiding in de vergelijkende Indo-europese taalwetenschap*. Utrecht: Aula.

de Bernardo Stempel, Patrizia. 1999. *Nominale Wortbildung des älteren Irischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Delamarre, Xavier. 1984. *Le vocabulaire indo-européen. Lexique étymologique thématique*. Paris: Maisonneuve.

Eichner-Kühn, Ingrid. 1976. Vier altindische Wörter. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 34. 21-37.

EIEC = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, ed. by J. P. Mallory & D. Q. Adams. London & Chicago: Fitzroy Dearbon Publishers, 1997.

Griffiths, Arlo & Lubotsky, Alexander. 2009. Two Words for 'sister-in-law'? Notes on Vedic *yātar*- and *giri*-. in: *Zarathushtra entre l'Inde et l'Iran. Études indo-iraniennes et indo-européennes offertes à Jean Kellens à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*, ed. par Éric Pirart et Xavier Tremblay. Wiesbaden: Reichert. 115-121.

Henry, V. 1900. *Lexique étymologique du breton moderne*. Rennes: Plihon et Hervé.

Hermann, Eduard. 1918. Sachliches und sprachliches zur indogermanischen Grossfamilie. *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1918 (Berlin: Weidmann). 204-232.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur G. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology with special emphasis on the o-vocalism*. Reykjavík: Author.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur G. 1996. *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary.* Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series, 5. Reykjavík.

Kortlandt, Fredrik. 1988. The Tocharian word for "woman". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 2. 77-79.

Krause, Wolfgang & Thomas, Werner. 1960. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. I: *Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Kretschmer, Paul. 1892. Indogermanische accent- und lautstudien. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 31. 325-472.

Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, I. Heidelberg: Winter.

Pedersen, Holger. 1905. Zur armenischen sprachgeschichte. *KZ* 38. 194-240.

Pedersen, Holger. 1909-1913. *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, I-II. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Pedersen, Holger. 1925. *Groupement des dialectes indo-européennes*. Copenhagen: Høst.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1980. Stand und Aufgaben der etymolog. Erforschung des Tocharischen. In: *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie. Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Wien, Sept. 1978)*, eds. M. Mayrhofer, M. Peters & O. E. Pfeiffer. Wiesbaden: Reichert. 394-411.

Schrijver, Peter. 1991. *The reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Sevortjan, É. V. 1980. *Étimologičeskij slovaŕ tjurkskix jazykov* (*B-D*). Moskva: Nauka.

Sihler, Andrew L. 1967. *Proto-Indo-European post-consonantal resonants in word initial sequences*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Yale University.

Thomas, Werner. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. II: *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Thurneysen, Rudolf. 1946. *A Grammar of Old Irish*. Dublin: Institute of Advanced Studies.

Trubačev, Oleg N. 1959. *Istorija slavjanskix terminov rodstva i nekotoryx drevnejšix terminov obščestvennogo stroja*. Moskva: Izdateľstvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976, 1979. *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Vol. I: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire* Vol. II.1: *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre Internationale de Dialectologie Générale.

Tocharian 'camel'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **11 (2009), 39-42.**

Václav Blažek

1.0. The designation of "camel" in Tocharian B was first identified by K.T. Schmidt in his unpublished ms. "Die Gebrauchsweisen des Mediums im Tocharischen" (Göttingen 1974), quoted by Van Windekens (1988: 99). Let us mention the context (Filliozat 1948: 94):

> *kete āñme tākaṃ tweri ruwyenträ partāktaññe pitkesa ṣarne laikanalle* (M-3b1)
>
> "whoever has the wish [that] the doors might open, [he is] to wash [his] hands with camel spittle"

1.1. In his unpublished dissertation, Isebaert (1980: 66) reconstructed the nominative **partākto* according to the pattern of *krańko* "cock" : adj. *krańkaññe* "pertaining to a chicken", and suggested it was borrowed from a Middle Iranian source of the type **pari-taxta-*, seeking a support in Avestan *pairi-taxti-* "das Herumlaufen" : *tačaṭ* "er soll laufen", comparing it with the semantic motivation of Greek *δρομάς*, *-άδος* "laufend" and its later derivative *δρομαδάριος* (quoted after Van Windekens 1988: 99).

1.2. Van Windekens (1988: 100) proposed another solution based on a hypothetical compound consisting of **bʰorto-* and **aĝto-*, cf. Greek *φόρτος* "ship's freight, cargo" & Latin *āctus* (with secondary *ā-*); both the primary verbs are well-known in Tocharian: AB *pär-* "to carry, bear" and AB *āk-* "to lead". The author explained the vowel *-ā-* in B **partākto* as a result of 'équilibre vocalique' characteristic for an interdialectal borrowing from an unattested A form ***partakt*.

2. Instead of the presented ad hoc etymologies based on virtual constructions, there are real parallels in the Iranian languages which could be identified as the most probable source:
Osset Digor & Iron *bajrag*, pl. Digor *bajrægutæ*, Iron *bajrægtæ* "foal" (**bārayaka-tā*); Lubotsky: p.c.) = Yazgulam *varág*, pl. *vergáθ* "horse"

(Ėdeľman 1971: 280), Sanglechi *worak*, Ishkashim *wərok*, Roshani *warč*, Shughni *vârǰ*, Sarikoli *vurǰ* id. < **bāraka-*; Middle Persian *bārak* "riding animal", Classical Persian *bāregī* (*Šāhname* I, 21.27), Modern Persian *bāre* "horse"; Khotanese *bāraa-* "riding animal; vehicle" < **bāraka-*, cf. adj. *bärgyi* "riding, rider" = Ossetic Digor and Iron *baræg* "rider", Sogdian *β'r'k*, *β'ryh* [**βārāk*, **βārē*] "rider", Yaghnobi *vóra* id., Khwarezmian *β'rcyk* f. [**bāračī-ka-*] "animal for riding", all from the Iranian base **bar-* "to carry, bear; be carried = ride" < **b*^{h}*er-* "to bear, carry" (Abaev 1958: 236-237; Bailey 1979: 278; Horn 1893: 37, #37; Morgenstierne 1974: 85-86; Tomaschek 1880: 763). It is important to emphasize that the plural ending in *-t* is characteristic for the East Iranian languages: Ossetic *-tæ* < **-tā* (Thordarson 1989: 469; he explaines Digor *-u-* preceding the plural suffix as a connecting vowel, cf. *finsæg* "writer" : pl. *finsgutæ*), Yazgulam *-aθ* (see above) and Wakhi *-iš-t*, further Sogdian *-t'* continuing in Yaghnobi *-t*, and *-ται* in the Scythian tribal names (Skjærvø 1989: 379). In this specific plural marker N. Sims-Williams (BSOAS 42, 1979: 337f) sees the primary feminine abstract suffix **-tā-* (cf. Bielmeier 1989: 483). With respect to these facts the East Iranian starting point should have been **bāra(ya)ktā-*, pl. to **bāra(ya)ka-* "riding animal". For Tocharian, the starting-point of the type **paryākt*^{o} may be postulated. For the difference *y* instead of *t* there is no better explanation than the scriptor's mistake in this hapax.

Regarding the similarity of the ligatures *rta* and *rya* (see Malzahn 2007: 245, 246) it is in principle possible.

3. From an Iranian source of the type Ossetic *bajræg(u)tæ* the following East Caucasian forms were probably borrowed: Akusha *bartken* "deer", Lak *balčan* "horse", *burttij* "on horse-back", *burttijhu "*rider", Avar *bárti* "stallion", Lezghin *balṇan* "horse", etc. (S. Nikolaev & S. Starostin 1994: 285: **bʕaltkē* "a big hoofed animal"). The final *-n* can represent the plural marker known from both some East Caucasian and Middle Iranian languages, e.g. Khotanese *-añä* (Emmerick 1989: 219) or the Sogdian gen. pl. in *-ān* < **-ānăm* (Sims-Williams 1989: 183).

4. A similar source is also probable for the Ugrian forms as Hungarian dial. *bergány* "feuriges Pferd", Mansi LM *pärwėn*, N. *pārėn* "Zauberpferd" (Munkácsi & Kálmán 1986: 414; Munkácsi 1905: 210: Ugrian + East Caucasian). The final *-n* could be directly borrowed from a donor-language, if it was some Middle-Iranian language with the plural in *-n* (cf. §3).

5. Summing up, the Tocharian B **partākto* "camel" can represent the same etymon as the designation of "animal for riding" in general, or specifically "horse" or "deer", in Iranian, East Caucasian and Ugrian languages. Regarding the transparent Iranian etymology and historical and geographical circumstances, the East Iranian provenance of the donor-language seems most probable. It re-mains to explain the first *-t-* in Tocharian.

Acknowledgment: The contribution was prepared in cooperation with the Centre for the Interdisciplinary Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University in Brno. Thanks to valuable discussions with Alexander Lubotsky and Melanie Malzahn some important details could be supplemented.

References

Abaev, Vasilij I. 1958. *Istoriko-ėtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, I. Moskva & Leningrad: Izdateľstvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Bielmeier, Roland. 1989. Yaghnōbī. In: *CLI*. 480-488.

CLI = Rüdiger Schmidt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1989.

Ėdeľman, Dž. I. 1971. *Jazgulamsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Nauka.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1989. Khotanese and Tumshuquese. In: *CLI*. 204-229.

Filliozat, Jean. 1948. *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médicine et de magie*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Horn, Paul. 1893. *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Isebaert, Lambert. 1980. *De Indo-Iraanse bestanddelen in de Tocharische woordenschat. Vraagstukken van fonischen productinterferentie, met bijzondere aandacht voor de Indo-Iraanse diafonen* a, ā. Leuven: Unpublished dissertation.

Malzahn, Melanie. 2007. A Tocharian Brahmi chart. In: Melanie Malzahn (ed.), *Instrumenta Tocharica*. Heidelberg: Winter. 223-254.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1974. *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group*. Wiesbaden: Reichert

Munkácsi, Bernhard. 1905. Die Urheimat der Ungarn. *Keleti Szemle* 6. 185-222.

Munkácsi, Bernát & Kálmán, Béla. 1986. *Wogulisches Wörterbuch*. Akadémiai Kiadó.

Nikolaev, Sergei & Starostin, Sergei. 1994. *A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*. Moscow: Asterisk.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 1989. Modern East Iranian Languages. In: *CLI*. 370-383.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1989. Sogdian. In: *CLI*. 173-192.

Thordarson, Fridrik. 1989. Ossetic. In: *CLI*. 456-479.

Tomaschek, Wilhelm. 1880. *Centralasiatische Studien, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 96, 735-900.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1988. *Réflexions sur l'origine de quelques termes tokhariens*. Indogermanische Forschungen 93, 96-101.

Tocharian AB *kwär-* **"to grow old".** *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* **12 (2011), 57-62.**

Václav Blažek & Michal Schwarz

The aim of the present article is to discuss the etymology of the Tocharian verb *kwär-* and its derivatives. We shall try to demonstrate that none of the existing etymological solutions is definitive and shall offer new solutions. In this discussion we shall touch on the question of the development of Indo-European labiovelars in Tocharian. Our etymology of the AB verb *kwär-* is in support of the development of the sequence $*K^{u}_{o}rH^{o}$ > Tocharian **kwär^{o}* (Pinault 2008: 445).

The Tocharian AB verb *kwär-* "to age, grow old" is attested in the following forms (Adams 1999: 236; DTA 152; Hilmarsson 1996: 203-204; Pinault 2008: 456; Poucha 1955: 79; Thomas 1964: 95, 190; Van Windekens 1976: 244):

A: 3pl. med. of the caus. pres. VIII *kursaṃntär*, past participle nom. sg. m. *kakuru*.
B: 3pl. med. of the pres. III *kwreṃnträ* < **kwäré-* < $*K^{u}_{o}rH_{x}o$-, past participle *kuro* for $^{+}$*kurau* < **kwärāu* < $*K^{u}_{o}r(H_{x})$-H_{2}-$u̯ōs$, where *-H_{2}- was the preterite marker (cf. Hilmarsson 1991: 156).

There are two forms which may be derivatives of this verb: A *oṅkrac* and A *kwreyunt*.

A *oṅkrac* "eternal, immortal", *oṅkraci* "eternity, immortality", B obl. sg. m. *oṅkrocce* "immortal" < $*œṅK^{(w)}råtstsœ$ (cf. Hilmarsson 1986b: 257-260; 1991: 155-156), but the derivation from AB *kwär-* is not unambiguous.

A *kwreyunt* nom. pl. "growths, fruits" is attested in the compound *ṣtām-kwreyunt* "tree-fruits". Hilmarsson (1996: 211) reconstructed the nom. sg. A **kwre*, derivable from **kwäre*, originally nomen actionis from the verb *kwär-* "to grow old". With regard to the parallel development in A *āklye* "doctrine" vs. *ākl-* "to learn, teach", he proposed Common Tocharian **kwäriyœ* with an extension in

*-*en*-. But there is also an alternative interpretation "clay, earth" as proposed by Pinault in DTA 184. This solution would naturally exclude this form from the range of relatives of the verb *kwär*- "to grow old". Pinault bases his idea on the identification of A **kwre* with B **kwäriye* or **kwäro*, obl. **kwärai*^{o}, reconstructed according to the adjective *kwraiññe* "made of clay" (Pinault 2000: 94, 105-108; he finds the same development in the verb *kwär*- with such forms as *kwreṃnträ*). He assumes that the compound *ṣtām-*kwreyu* is a calque of Sanskrit *vr̥kṣa-mr̥d-bhū*- "a sort of cane or reed", lit. "tree-earth-born". But there is no certainty that the Sanskrit triple compound, recorded only by lexicographers (cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 1008), corresponds to Tocharian A *ṣtām-*kwreyu*. If one accepts Pinault's interpretation, the question remains whether **kwreyu* corresponds to Sanskrit *mr̥d*- "earth, soil, clay" or to *bhū*- "arisen". The latter possibility agrees with the traditional interpretation of A *kwreyunt* as "growths, fruits". On the other hand, the Tocharian A counterpart of B **kwäriye* "clay" can be found in A *tukri* "clay" (Adams in Mallory & Adams 2006: 121: **tk*^{u}-; contra: Pinault 2000: 106-107). For these reasons we prefer the traditional interpretation of A *kwreyunt* as "growths, fruits".

If the meaning "growths, fruits" of Tocharian A *kwreyunt* is correctly established, it indicates the primary semantics "to grow, ripen" of the AB verb *kwär*-. In this case the function of the prefix **æn*- in Common Tocharian **æṅK*$^{(w)}$*rå̊tstsæ* (A *oṅkrac*, B *oṅkrocce*) should not be negative, as it is usually interpreted, but "in", cf. B *omprotärtstse* "brotherly, who is in a brotherly relation with someone" < **H*$_{1}$*n̥-b*^{h}*rāt̥r-ti̯o*-, *oṅkor* "in a cover, fold" < **H*$_{1}$*n̥-kou̯Hr̥* (Hilmarsson 1991: 134-135), hence **æṅK*$^{(w)}$*rå̊tstsæ* < **H*$_{1}$*n̥-K*^{u}*rā-ti̯o*- "in ever growing age" or so.

From at least six etymologies proposed thus far the following four should be analyzed seriously:

1. From IE **ĝ̊rH*$_{2}$*-u̯/u*-, a derivative of the root **ĝerH*$_{2}$- "to age, ripen" (LIV 165), cf. Avestan *zauruuan*- "old age", Vedic *jū́rvati* "reibt auf" (Van Windekens 1976: 252). Hilmarsson (1986b: 253) correctly objected that these *seṭ*-forms would give quite different Tocharian continuants: **ĝ̊rH*$_{2}$*u̯*- > $^{+}$*krāw*-, **ĝ̊rH*$_{2}$*u*- > $^{+}$*kärw*-. Adams (1999: 236) speculated about the parallel labial vocalization of the syllabic sonant in Tocharian, comparable with Old Indic *jū́ryati* (RV) & *jī́ryati* "grows old", but there are no examples of an analogous development in Tocharian.

2. From IE *$\hat{g}^{h}\underline{u}er$- “to walk crookedly” (Normier 1980: 256). But Vedic *hvárate* and Young Avestan *zbarəṇt*-, together with Lithuanian *pa-žvìlti* “sich neigen”, Latvian *zveļu* : *zveĩti* “wälzen, umwerfen, fortbewegen”, rather reflect IE *$\hat{g}^{h}\underline{u}el$- (Pokorny 1959: 489; Hilmarsson 1986b: 261; both alternatives are discussed by Kümmel, LIV 182). Incidentally, the semantic development leading to the meaning of the Tocharian words would also be rather enigmatic.

3. From IE *$g^{(h)}\underline{u}erH$-, attested in Lithuanian *gvérti* “to expand, break up”, *gùrti* “to disintegrate, crumble, become loose, weak”, Latvian *guŗt* “to become weak, diminish”, Lithuanian *gurlùs*, Latvian *gurls* “tired, weak, frail” (Adams 1999: 236; cf. already Normier 1980: 256). The primary, apparently “destructive”, meaning is not easily compatible with Tocharian A *kwreyunt* “growths, fruits”.

4. From IE *$d^{h}g^{\underline{u}h}er$- (but *$g^{\underline{u}}\hat{g}^{h}er$- according to LIV 213-214) “im Wasser dahintreiben, fliessen” (Hilmarsson 1986b: 252-262; 1996: 203-204; Pinault 2008: 456). Although some of the continuants of this root are semantically compa-tible with Tocharian A *oṅkrac*, B *oṅkrocce* “immortal”, e.g. Vedic *akṣára*- “imperishable”, Greek *ἀφθαρσία* “immortality”, a connection with the Tocharian verb, if its primary meaning was “to grow, ripen”, remains uncertain.

We offer a new etymology based on the comparison with Latin *crēscō*, perf. *crēuī*, part. perf. pass. *crētum* “to be born; increase, grow” (*$k^{(\underline{u})}reH_{1}$-; cf. Schrijver 1991: 124 who separated it from *Cerēs* etc.), with such derivatives as *prōcrēscere* “to grow up”, *crēmentum* “increase”; further *creō*, *-āre* “to procreate; be born; cause”, *recreāre* “to recreate, restore”, and Slavic **krějǫ* : **krějati* or **krъjati* “to recover, become fresh and strong” (*$k^{(\underline{u})}reH_{1}$-$\underline{i}e/o$-) > Church Slavonic (of the Serbian redaction) *okrijati* “to recover”, Old Czech *kŕěji* : *křati*, Russian dial. *krejáť* “to heal”, Ukrainian *krijáty* “to become healthy”, and **krěsъ* “summer solstice” (*$k^{(\underline{u})}reH_{1}$-$e/os$-) > Church Slavonic (of the Russian redaction) *krěsъ*, Serbo-Croatian *krìjes* (ĖSSJ 12: 130-131; 27: 206-207), all derivable from *$k^{(\underline{u})}reH_{1}$- (cf. Hill 2006: 191 and de Vaan 2008: 142-144, who discuss in detail this Latin-Slavic comparison). If the Tocharian counterpart is added, the protoform should be reconstructed with an initial labiovelar as *$k^{\underline{u}}reH_{1}$-. The development *$K^{\underline{u}}\underline{r}H^{o}$ > Tocharian **kwär^{o}* is regular, cf. Tocharian B obl. sg. *kwaräṣ* “stools, faeces” < *$g^{\underline{u}}\underline{r}H_{3}$-, from the verb *$g^{\underline{u}}erH_{3}$- “to devour” (Pinault 2008: 445). The semantic dispersion of our etymon resembles the root *$\hat{g}erH_{2}$- and its derivatives, e.g. Old Church Slavonic *sъ-zъrěti* “to

ripen, mature", Church Slavonic *zьrěti* "τίκτειν" vs. Old Indic *jū́ryati* (RV) & *jī́ryati* "grows old", *jā́ra-* "growing old" = Persian *zār* "weak", Avestan *zauruuan-* "Greisenalter, Altersschwäche" etc. (Kümmel, LIV 165-166; Pokorny 1959: 390-391; Vasmer I: 462). Summing up, the present solution satisfies both historical phonetics and semantics.

Acknowledgment

This study was prepared in cooperation with the Centre for the Interdisciplinary Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University, Brno, and thanks to the grant No. IAA901640805. We are very grateful to the editors for their valuable comments and to John Bengtson for correction of our English text.

References

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

DTA = *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*, Vol. I: *A-J*, compiled by Gerd Carling in collaboration with Georges-Jean Pinault and Werner Winter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

ĖSSJ = *Étimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka, 1974f.

Hill, Eugen. 2006. Lateinisch *crēscō* 'wachsen' etymologisch: urslavisch **krě-jǫ* 'genesen', litauisch *šeriù* 'füttern' oder armenisch *serem* 'erzeugen'? *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 3: 187-209.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986a. The etymology of Toch. A *kur-*, B *kur-* / *kwr-* "to grow old, decrepit" and their derivatives A *oṅkrac* (indecl.), B *oṅkrocce* (obl. sg. m.) "immortal, eternal". *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 47, 87-98 (see also Hilmarsson 1986b: 252-262).

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986b. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology with special emphasis on the* o-*vocalism*. Reykjavík: Author / Diss. Leiden.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1991. *The Nasal Prefixes in Tocharian. A Study in Word Formation* (Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series, Vol. 3). Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1996. *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary* (Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series, Vol. 5). Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Ís-lands.

LIV = *Lexicon der indogermanischen Verben*$_2$, by Martin Kümmel et alii, directed by Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001.

Mallory, James P. & Adams, Douglas Q. 2006. *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*. Oxford: University Press.

Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899[1993]. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Normier, Norbert. 1980. Tocharisch *ñkät / ñakte* 'Gott'. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 94. 251-281.

Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2000. Nouveautés dans un commentaire de la Discipline bouddhique. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 9. 77-113.

Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2008. *Chrestomathie tokharienne. Textes et grammaire*. Leuven & Paris: Peeters.

Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern & München: Francke.

Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*, Pars I: *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Schrijver, Peter. 1991. *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.

Thomas, Werner. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. II.: *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

de Vaan, Michiel. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européenes*, I. *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Vasmer, Max. 1953. *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I (*A-K*). Heidelberg: Winter.

II. Grammar

Nástin tocharské historické gramatiky. *Linguistica Brunensia. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, **A56 (2008), 33-58.**

Michal Schwarz & Václav Blažek

V r. 2008 uplyne právě 100 let od publikování důkazu, že tocharština představuje novou svébytnou větev indoevropských jazyků (viz Blažek & Schwarz 2007). Jediný český ‘náčrt tocharské mluvnice’ vychází v roce 1930 jako součást článku *O nových jazycích indoevropských nalezených ve střední Asii, zvláště o jazyce tocharském*. Unikátní text Pavla Pouchy předchází všechny významné práce oboru. Až o rok později vydávají němečtí sanskrtisté Schulze, Sieg a Siegling obsáhlé dílo *Tocharische Grammatik*. První srovnávací gramatiku publikoval Pedersen (1941). Krauseho popis slovesa jazyka B vychází r. 1952. Základní gramatiku *Tocharisches Elementarbuch* vydávají Krause s Thomasem r. 1960. Svůj originální vklad přidal Van Windekens (1976/1979/1982). Další pokrok přineslo zpracování neanalyzovaných rukopisů. Velmi ceněna je disertace J. Hilmarssona (1986) a jeho etymologický slovník (1996), pro předčasnou smrt žel nedokončený. D. Q. Adams vydal r. 1988 *Tocharian Historical Phonology and Morphology*, o rok později následuje *Introduction au tokharien* od G.-J. Pinaulta. Jen na historickou fonetiku se soustředili D. Ringe (1996) a S. Burlak (2000). Pavel Poucha má prvenství v sestavení jediného výkladového slovníku tocharštiny A (1955), slovník jazyka B vydává Adams v roce 1999. Senzací je nové datování rukopisů. Radiokarbonová metoda posunula dobu vzniku pozdních textů až na přelom 12. a 13. století (Adams 2006); vídeňská badatelka Melanie Malzahnová zase odhalila rukopisné podobnosti nejstarších textů s guptovským písmem ze 4. a 5. století n. l. (Malzahn 2007: 277). Oproti původním předpokladům (6.-8. stol. n. l.) se časový interval vzniku textů rozšířil třikrát a je příslibem pro další výzkum.

Fonologie

Tocharské rukopisy jsou kromě několika manichejských zlomků zapsány severo-turkestánskou variantou indického slabičného písma *brāhmī*. Tocharskou fonologii nejvíce ovlivnily buddhistické lexikální výpůjčky a s nimi fonologický systém buddhistického hybridního sanskrtu. Původní fonologický systém tocharských jazyků nezná např. znělé a znělé přídechové okluzívy. Výpůjčky z

BHS nebývají vždy tocharizovány – v rekonstrukci tocharského fonologického systému je proto potřeba od nich odhlédnout. Kupř. vl. jm. v BHS *Buddhamitra* = B *Puttamitre*; ale BHS adj. *buddhavacana-* „s buddhovským hlasem“ = B *buddhavacaṃ* idem. (Adams 1999: 391, 431); podobně skt. *gotra* = A *kotär* „rodina“, ale vl. jm. skt. *Gautama* = A *Gautam* (Poucha 1955: 86, 100).

Původní systém:
vokály: *a*, *ā*, *ä*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *u*, *ū*, *o*; *ä* je v tocharštině původní, avšak pro zápis v brāhmī „cizí“ ultrakrátký vokál analogický slovanskému jeru ъ. Realizuje se podle okolního přízvuku jako *a*, *e* nebo *i*.
diftongy: *ai*, *au*, *eu*; převažují v jazyce B, kde je i *oy*
okluzívy: *k*, *t*, *p*; v B dochází k sekundární palatalizaci *ky*, *py*
palatály: *c* [*č*]
afrikáty: *ts*; v B sekundární palatalizace *tsy*
spiranty: *s*, *ṣ* [*š*], *ś*
polovokály: *y*, *w*
likvidy: *r*, *l*; v B sekundárně palatalizované *ly*
nasály: *n*, *ñ* (palatalizované), *ṃ*, *ṅ* (velární), *m*; v B sekundární palatalizace *my*

Slovní přízvuk je v obou jazycích zpravidla na první slabice (B *lákle* „utrpení“), v trojslabičných slovech v jazyce B na druhé slabice (B *wärttónta* „les“).

Sandhi (vzácné varianty jsou uvedeny vždy za lomítkem): vokalické: před iniciálním vokálem se *-i* a *-e* mění v *-y*; *-u* a *-o* ve *-w*; *-är*, *-äl*, *-än* v *-r*, *-l*, *-n*. Dva stejné vokály se spojují v jeden s uchováním větší délky (*a* + *a* = *a*/*ā*; *e* + *e* = *e*; *o* + *o* = *o*; *i* + *i* = *i*; *a* + *ā* = *ā*; *ā* + *ā* = *ā*). Různé vokály: ve většině případů dochází k redukci koncového a uchování iniciálního vokálu (*a* + *e* = *e*/*a*; *a* + *o* = *o*; *a* + *i* = *i*; *a* + *ai* = *ai*; *a* + *au* = *au*; *e* + *a* = *a*/*ā*; *e* + *o* = *o*/*e*; *e* + *i* = *i*); výjimkami jsou koncová *-ā* a *-o*, kdy se redukuje naopak iniciální vokál (*ā* + *e* = *ā*; *o* + *e* = *o*; *o* + *a* = *o*) nebo modifikuje diftong (*ā* + *ai* = *āy*; *o* + *ai* = *oy*). Je-li ale iniciální vokál dlouhý či diftong, má vždy přednost jak pro *-o* (*o* + *ā* = *ā*) tak v jiných kombinacích, kdy se redukuje koncový vokál: (viz výše a dále *a* + *au* = *au*; *a* + *ai* = *ai*; *e* + *ā* = *ā*; *e* + *ai* = *ai*; *e* + *au* = *au*). V konsonantickém sandhi se objevuje částečná nebo úplná asimilace (např. v A *ālakäñ caṃ* → *ālakäṃcaṃ* „jiný“ (obl. sg. m.); v B *täñ no* → *tän no* „jen [bez] vás [dvou]“) a zdvojení konsonantu na konci slova před iniciálním vokálem (např. A *maññ oki* „jako měsíc“) nebo na začátku slova po koncovém vokálu (např. B *po lläklenta* „všechna utrpení“).

Typické gramatické změny hlásek se týkají vokálů: *a*/*ä*, *ā*/*a*, *ä*/*i*; dochází k nim v ablautu: *i*/*ai*, *u*/*au*, *ä*/*e*, *e*/*ā*, *o*/*ā*, a u konsonantů: *k*/*ś*, *ṅk*/*ṃś*/*ñś*/*ñc*, *tk*/*ck*, *t*/*c*, *tt*/*cc*, *nt*/*ñś*/*ṃś*/*ś*, *st*/*śc*/*śś*/*ś*, *n*/*ñ*, *l*/*ly*, *s*/*ṣ*; jen v A *ts*/*ś*, *ṣt*/*śc*/*śś*/*ś*; jen v B *tk*/*cc*, *sk*/*ṣṣ*, *w*/*y*, *k*/*ky*, *p*/*py*, *m*/*my*, *ts*/*tsy*.
Vývoj indoevropského konsonantického a vokalického systému v historické tocharštině A a B shrnuje následující tabulka (* ... pozdní ie. prajazyk; ** raný ie. prajazyk s laryngálami; *E* znamená přední vokál):

ie. *	**tocharské příklady**
p	A *por*, B *pūwar* „oheň“ < ***peH*$_2$*-u̯r*
b	AB *präṅk-* „zdržovat; nedostavit se“, kauz. „vyhýbat se, odmítat“ < **brenk/g^h-*
b^h	A *pracar*, B *procer* „bratr“ < **b^{h}rātēr*
-mb^h-	A *kam*, B *keme* „zub“ < **ĝomb^{h}o-*
t	A *tu*, B *tuwe* „ty“ < ***tuHom*
t / *E*	AB *cämp-* „být schopen“ < **temp-*; A *pats*, B *petso* „pán“ < **poti-*
d	A *tāp(p)-*, B *tāpp-* „jíst“ < **də̯$_2$p-u̯-ā-*
d / *E*	AB *tsär-* „oddělit“ < **der-*
d /*i̯*	A *kri* „vůl“, B *käryāñ* pl. „srdce“ < **k̂r̥di̯ā-*
d^h	AB *tā-* „umístit“ < **d^{h}ə̯$_1$-*
d^h / *E*	AB *tsäk-* „spálit“ < **d^{h}eg^{uh}-*
k	AB pres. *källā-* „vést, přinést“ < **kl̥-n-ā-*
k / *E*	A *śala-*, B *śälā-* (pret. Ia) < **kelə̯$_2$-*
g	AB *kātk-* „být rád, radovat se“ < **gād^h-sk̂e/o-*
g / *E*, *i̯*	A pl. *tāśśi*, B *tāś* „náčelník“ < **tāgi̯u-*
g^h	AB *krās-* „trápit“ < **g^{h}rōs-*
g^h/ *E*	A *śpāl* „hlava“, B *śpālu* „vyšší, vynikající, nadřazený“ < **g^{h}eb^{h}ə̯$_2$l-*
k̂	A *kror* „srpek měsíce“, B *krorīya* „roh“ < ***k̂reH$_1$-u̯r*
k̂ / *E*	AB opt. méd. 3sg. *nśitär* (od kořene *näk-* „zničit“) < ***nk̂-i̯eH$_1$-tr̥*
ĝ	AB *āk-* „vést, řídit“ < **aĝ-* < ***H$_2$eĝ-*
ĝ / *E*	A méd.-pas. 3sg. *āśträ* < **aĝetor*, B akt. part. *aśeñca* < **aĝentes*
ĝ^h	AB *ku-* „lít“ < **ĝ^{h}u-*
ĝ^h/ *E*	A *śärme*, B *śimpriye* ~ *śimpro* „zima“ < **ĝ^{h}imrā-(H$_1$)en-*
k^u	A *kukäl*, B *kokale* „vůz“ < **k^{u}uk^{u}lo-*
k^u / *E*	A *śtwar*, B *śtwer* „4“ < **k^{u}etu̯ores*
g^u	A ak. sg. *ko*, nom. pl. *kowi*, B *ke$_u$* „kráva“ < **g^{u}ou̯-*

g^{u} / *E*	A *śäṃ*, B *śana* „žena“ < **g^{u}en-ā*
g^{uh}	AB *kärk-* „vázat“ < **kerg^{uh}-*; A *lykäly*, B *lykaśke* „malý“ < **leg^{uh}-l̥i̯o-/-sko-*
g^{uh} / *E*	A opt. méd. 3pl. *tsāśintär* (*tsāk-* „svítit“) < ***d^{h}ōg^{uh}-i̯eH$_{1}$-nt̥r*, B opt. méd. 2pl. *tsiśitär* (*tsäk-* „spálit“) < ***d^{h}eg^{uh}-i̯eH$_{1}$-tHe* + *-r*
s	A *sa-*, B *se* „tento“ < **so-*
s / *E*	A *ṣme* „léto“, B *ṣmāye* „patřící k létu“ < ***semH$_{2}$-(H$_{1}$)en-*
r	A *rake*, B *reki* „slovo“ < **rēk-*
l	A *lak* „dno (řeky)“, B *leke* „postel“ < **log^{h}o-*
l / *E*	A *lyak-*, B *lyäk-* „ležet“ < **leg^{h}-*
m	A *mañ*, B *meñe* „měsíc“ < **mēnē(n)*
n	A *nakcu*, B *nekcīye* „v noci“ < **nok^{u}teu̯i̯o-*
n / *E*	A *ñu*, B *ñuwe* „nový“ < **neu̯o-*
r̥	A *päärkär*, B *päärkare* „dlouhý“ < **b^{h}r̥ĝ^{h}ro-*; A *tärkär*, B *tarkär* „mrak“ < **d^{h}r̥gru-*
l̥	AB *pälk-* „pálit“ < **b^{h}l̥g-*
m̥	A *ṣäptänt*, B *ṣuktante* „sedmý“ < **septm̥to-*
n̥	A *käntu*, B *kantwo* „jazyk“ < **tänkwo* < **dn̥ĝ^{h}u̯ā-(n-)*
i̯	A *yäs-* „kypět“, B *yäs-* „být sexuálně vzrušen“ < **i̯es-*
u̯	A *wak*, B *wek* „hlas“ < **u̯ok^{u}-*
u̯- / *e*	A *wkäṃ*, pl. *wäknant*, B *yakne* „cesta, způsob“ < **u̯eg^{h}no-*
i	A *wäs*, B *wase* „jed“ < **u̯iso-*
u	A *rtär*, B *ratre* „rudý“ < ***H$_{1}$rud^{h}ro-*
ī	A *wiki* & *wīki*, B *ikäṃ* & *īkäṃ* „20“ < **(H$_{1}$)u̯ik̂n̥tī*
ū	AB *su-* „pršet“ < **sū-* < ***suH$_{3}$-*
e-	B *yakwe*, A *yuk* „kůň“ < **ek̂u̯o-* < **H$_{1}$ek̂u̯o-*, A *yärk-*, B *yarke* „čest“ < **erko-*
-e-	A *päñ*, B *piś* „5“ < ptoch. **pääñś* < **pénk^{u}e*, vedle A *śäk*, B *śak* „10“ < **dek̂m̥*
a	A *ākär*, pl. *ākrunt*, B pl. *akrūna* „slzy“ < **ak̂ru-*
o	A *ak*, B *ek* „oko“ < **ok^{u}-*, A *talke*; B *telki* „obět“ < **tolk-*
ē	A *want*, B *yente* „vítr“ < **u̯ēnto-* < ***u̯eH$_{1}$nto-*; A *mañ*, B *meñe* „měsíc“ < **mēnē(n)*
ā	A *swār*, B *swāre* „sladký“ < **su̯ādro-* < ***su̯eH$_{2}$dro-*
ō	A *kāts*, B *kātso* „břicho, žaludek; lůno“ < **g^{u}ōt-i̯ōn-*
CəC	A *pācar*, B *pācer* „otec“ < **pə$_{2}$tēr*
ei̯	A *tsek-*, B *tsik-* „budovat, vyrábět“ < **d^{h}ei̯ĝ^{h}-*
ai̯	A *e-*, B *ai-* „dát“ < **ai̯-*; A *ekär-*, B *aikare-* „prázdný“ < **ai̯gro-*
oi̯	A *ke*, B *kaiyye* „čí“ < **k^{u}oi̯(H)o-*
e*u̯*	A *klyom*, B *klyomo* „urozený“ < **k̂leu̯mōnt(s)*
au̯	A *ok-*, B *auk-* „růst“ < **au̯g-* < ***H$_{2}$eu̯g-*
ou̯	A *top*, B *taupe* „důl“ < **d^{h}ou̯bo-*

Struktura tocharského kořene

Transformace indoevropského kořene do pratocharské podoby proběhla podle pravidel, která lze rekonstruovat jen do té míry, jakou nám dovoluje neznalost skutečné pozice přízvuku (Adams 1988: 23-24):

ie.	*TR̥T*	*TeRT*	*ToRT*	*TēRT*	*TōRT*
ptoch.	*TärT*	*T^{i}äRT*	*TeRT*	*T^{i}ēRT*	*TāRT*
ie.	*T$_{e}$T / TT / TeT*	*TeT*	*ToT*	*TēT*	*TōT*
ptoch.	*TäT / TT / T^{i}äT*	*T^{i}äT*	*TeT*	*T^{i}ēT*	*TāT*
ie.	*TuT*	*Te$_{u}$T*	*To$_{u}$T*	*Tē$_{u}$T*	*Tō$_{u}$T*
ptoch.	*TäT*	*T^{i}ä$_{u}$T*	*Te$_{u}$T*	*T^{i}ē$_{u}$T*	*Tā$_{u}$T*
ie.	*TiT*	*Te$_{i}$T*	*To$_{i}$T*	*Tē$_{i}$T*	*Tō$_{i}$T*
ptoch.	*T^{i}äT*	*T^{i}ä$_{i}$t*	*Te$_{i}$T*	*T^{i}ē$_{i}$T*	*Tā$_{i}$T*

Morfologie jména

Oba tocharské jazyky rozlišují stejné druhy slov jako ostatní indoevropské jazyky. U jmen se uplatňuje deklinace podle rodu (m., f., n.), čísla (sg., du., pl.) a podvojného systému pádů: indoevropský typ flexe uchovávají koncovky primárních pádů: nominativu, genitivu a pádu předmětu zvaného obliquus (tj. akuzativ); v jazyce B se ještě dochoval vokativ, který je v jazyce A shodný s nominativem. Ostatních sedm sekundárních pádů se tvoří aglutinačně: neměnné koncovky se připojují ke tvaru obliquu. Aglutinační koncovky patrně vznikly dlouhodobým vlivem neindoevropských jazyků. Slova se tvoří derivací i skládáním, např. B *malkwer* „mléko“ = *malk* „mléko“ + *wer* „voda“; A *akmal* „obličej“ = *ak* „zrak“ + *mal* „tvář“.

Substantiva

Rod: Všechny rody jsou zastoupeny u substantiv a zájmen; adjektiva tvoří pouze tvary maskulin a feminin. Např. subst. m. B *yakwe*, A *yuk* „kůň“; subst. f. B *riye*, A *ri* „město“; subst. n. A *kāsu* „dobro“ (= substantivované neutrum z adj. m. *kāsu* „dobrý“). Adj. m. B *orotstse*, A *tsopats* „velký“; adj. f. B *klyomña*, A *klyomiṃ* „urozená, vznešená“. Zájm. m. A *säs*, B *se* „tento“; f. A *sās*, B *sā* „tato“; n. A *te*, B *täṣ* „toto“. Rod substantiv bývá zpravidla určující i pro deklinační tvary přibíraných adjektiv. Pouze některá abstraktní substantiva

vykazují tzv. genus alternans = a., kdy se přibírané adjektivum skloňuje v sg. koncovkami maskulina, zatímco v pl. koncovkami feminina (Krause & Thomas 1960: 75-76): např. „čisté myšlení“ B nom. sg. *astare palsko*, nom. pl. a*starona pälskonta*, A nom. sg. *āṣtär pältsäk*, nom. pl. *āṣtraṃ pälskant*.

Pád: Deklinace probíhá podle tzv. primárních a sekundárních pádů. Nominativ se užívá pro vyjádření podmětu nebo předmětu ve vazbě s infinitivem. Nejčastější koncovka nominativu substantiv: *-e* (B *yakwe* „kůň“ < **eḱu̯os*; A *rake* „slovo“ < **rēkoi̯*), včetně koncovek abstrakt A *-une*/ *-one*, B *-ñe* (A *kläṣmune* „trpělivost, vytrvalost“, *täprone* „výška“, B *ṣañäññe* „přirozenost, povaha“). Méně časté jsou koncovky *-o* (B *okso* „býk“ < **uku̯sō(n)*), *-i* (B *krāñi* „šije“ < **ḱ̥rH₁sni̯i̯om*), *-a* (B *śana* „žena“ < **gu̯enā*), *-u*, *-r*, *-l*, *-n*, *-t*, *-nt*, a další. Obliquus, odrážející ie. akuzativ, vyjadřuje předmět, způsob, cíl, směr, rozlohu v čase a prostoru, označuje oslovené osoby a užívá se v perifrastických obratech. Tvary primární představují dědictví ie. **-m* u kmenů vokalických a **-m̥* u konsonantických: B *yakwe* < **eḱu̯om* vs. A *koṃ*, B *kweṃ* „pes“ < **ḱu̯on-m̥*, B *mātär* „matka“ < **mātr̥-m̥*. Sekundární formy se tvoří 1) nazální extenzí: *eṅkweṃ* „člověka“ < **n̥ḱu̯on-m̥*; 2) redukcí koncovky nominativu: nom. *arañce* : obl. *arañc* „srdce“ (***H₂eH₂rentēn* : *°nten-m̥*), 3) palatalizací suffixu: nom. *-te* : obl. *-ce*; *-tte*/ *-tstse* : obl. *-cce*; 4) koncovkami: B *-ai* od nom. *-a*/ *-o*: *orotstsa* f. „velká“ : obl. *orotstsai* (**uru-ā-ti̯āi̯m̥*), *yoko* : obl. *yokai* „žízeň“; u feminin v B nom. *-a* : obl. *-o* a nom. *-o* : obl. *-a*: nom. *śana* „manželka“ **gu̯enā* : obl. *śano* < **gu̯enām*. Genitiv je užíván podobně jako v ostatních ie. jazycích a také ve smyslu dativu po slovese dávání nebo značí činitele v pasivních konstrukcích. Tvoří se koncovkami B *-e*, A *-Ø* (B *lānte*, A *lānt* „krále“ < **u̯l̥Hōnt-os*); AB *-i* (B *pātri*, A *pācri* „otce“ < **pə₂tr-ī* či **-ei̯s* nebo dat. **-ei̯*); B *-oy* : A *-e* (B *lāntsoy*, A *lāntse* „královny“ < **u̯l̥Hōnti̯āi̯*); B *-ñ* < **-n-es*; B *-ntse*, A *-s* (B *yäkwentse*, A *yukes* „koně“ < **eḱu̯on-s-os*); popř. B *-epi*, A *-āp*/ *-yāp* < **V-bʰom* (Adams 1988, 140). Vokativ je v jazyce A nahrazen nominativem, v B má koncovky *-a* nebo *-u* od nom. na *-e*: nom. *Ānande* vl. jm., *soṁśke* „synáček“, *kaurṣe* „býk“ : vok. *soṁśka* „synáčku“, *Ānanda* „Ánando“, *kaurṣu* „býku“ (přeneseně o člověku) atp. Třetí koncovka vok. *-ai* se tvoří od nom. na *-a* nebo *-o* zpravidla u slovesných jmen a adjektiv: nom. *aiṣṣeñca* „dárce“, *klyomo* „vznešený“, vok. *aiṣṣeñcai*, *klyomai*.

Sekundární pádové affixy:
Instrumentál jen v A *-yo* (*mā poryo… mā wäryo* „ani ohněm ani vodou“). Má funkce podobně jako v češtině. V jazyce B plní jeho funkci perlativ. Perlativ B

-sa/ *-sā*, A *-ā* ve funkcích činitele, srovnání, vyjádření způsobu (A *ṣpät koṁsā* B *ṣuk kauntsa* „po sedm dní“). Lokativně značí směr či polohu po předložkách „na“ a „v“; v B i ve funkci instrumentálu. Komitativ B *-mpa*/ *-mpā*, A *-aśśäl*. Vyjadřuje slučovací funkci a doprovod; dále se používá po slovese B *tās-* A *täsk-* jako „podobat se“ (A *ṣälypaśśäl triwo* „smíšený s olejem“, B *pātär mātärmpa tasemane* „podobající se otci a matce“). Allativ B *-ś*/ *-śc*/ *-śco*, A *-ac* značí cíl tělesného a duševního hnutí (A *Metraknac kumnäṣ* „přichází k Mai-tréjovi“). Ablativ B *-meṃ* (*maṃtstsaś* „pod“?), A *-äṣ* jako lokál ve funkci „z“ a „od“ (zde i ve smyslu času), vyjadřuje duševní hnutí, užívá se po slovese AB *pärsk-* „bát se“, dále jako ablativus comparationis (B *asānmeṃ tsańka* „zvedl se z trůnu“). Lokativ B *-ne*, A *-aṃ* se užívá místně ve smyslu otázek „kam“, „kde“ (B *nraine tänmastär* „zrodí se v pekle“), jako cíl duševních pohnutek i vyjádření času („kdy“) a superlativu. Kausalis jen v B *-ñ* v citových hnutích: *kawāñ* „z žádostivosti“.

Číslo: Duál bývá v obou jazycích nahrazován plurálem. Vzhledem k početnosti rukopisů je lépe doložen v jazyce B. Krause (1955: 15n.) navíc rozlišoval zvláštní číslo parál s koncovkami B *-ne* a A *-ṃ*, které měly označovat přirozenou podvojnost tělesných částí. V jazyce B se ještě rozlišoval tzv. plurativ neboli distributivní plurál např. *ostuwaiwenta* „jednotlivé domy“ vedle sg. *ost* „dům“ a pl. *ostwa* (např. Krause & Thomas 1960: 76-78 a Pinault 1989: 70-71). Všechny tvary však lze odvodit z indoevropského duálu (Hilmarsson 1989; Adams 1991). Dochované formy duálu jazyka B mohou být neutra končící v nom. na palatalizované hlásky *-ñc*, *-ṣ* nebo vokál *-i* (sg. *mlyuwe* „stehno“, du. *mlyuweñc*; sg. *pilta* „list“, du. *piltāṣ*, pl. *piltāsa*; sg. *kleś* „zákal“, du. *kleśanmi*, pl. *kleśanma*). Druhou skupinu tvoří maskulina či feminina končící na *-e*/ *-ne*; *-e* samo tvoří duál, i když je doloženo jediným výskytem *pacere* (od. sg. *pācer* „otec“, pl. *pacera*); *-ne* tvoří duál buď u atématických nebo tématických tvarů (atématické: sg. *pokai* „paže“, du. *pokaine*, pl. *pokaiñ*; tématické vždy po vokálu *-e*: sg. *ñakte* „bůh“, du. *ñaktene*, pl. *ñakti*); koncovky duálu a plurálu se tedy přidávají ke stejnému kmeni (Adams 1991: 26). Nečetné tvary jazyka A končí na *-eṃ* & *-āṃ*, výjimečně na *-äṃ* (*lymeṃ* „rty“, *pärwāṃ* „obočí“, *päśśäṃ* „ňadra“). Genitiv duálu má v jazyce A koncovky *-nis* a *-ne* (*klośnis* „dvou uší“, *aśnis* „dvou očí“, *tine* „těchto dvou“, *āmpine* „obou“); v jazyce B jsou koncovky *-naisäñ* a *-naisi* (*eśnaisäñ* „dvou očí“; *komñäktenaisäñ* „dvou bohů-sluncí“; *tainaisi* „těchto dvou“).

Plurál jmen často tvoří ukazatel *-nt-*, sr. het. kol. a luv. pl. *-ant-* (B sg. *palskañe* „myšlenka“, pl. *palskañenta*) a rozmanité koncovky. Pro nom. a obl.

se shodují koncovky 1) B *-a*, A *-ā* < *-H_2* (B sg. *camel*, pl. *cmela* „zrození“); 2) B *-wa*, A *-u*/ *-wā* (B sg. *ost*, pl. *ostwa*, A *waṣt*, pl. *waṣtu* „domy“ < **u̯ə̯₂s-tu-H_2*; A sg. *pält*, pl. *pältwā* „listy“); 3) B *-na*/ *-nma*, A *-mnā* (B sg. *ṣarm*, pl. *ṣarmana*/ *ṣarmanma* „příčiny“ < **su̯er-mn̥-H_2*); 4) A *-nt*, B *-nta* < **-nt-H_2* (A *pont*, B *ponta* „všichni“ od sg. B *po*, A *puk*). Od tvarů v obl. B *-ṃ* : A *-s* (**-ns*) se liší jednotlivé příslušné tvary nominativu: AB *-i*, kdy je koncová slabika palatalizovaná (nom. sg. B *meñe*, A *mañ* „měsíc“ < **mēnēn*, nom. pl. B *meñi*, A *mañi* < *°eu̯es*, obl. pl. B *meñäṃ*, A *mañäs* < *°ens*) nebo nepalatalizovaná (nom. sg. B *rṣāke*, A *riṣak* „světec“, nom. pl. B *rṣāki*, A *riṣaki* < **-oi̯*); další koncovky AB *-ñ* s variantami B *-eñ*, A *-añ* (A *yukañ* „koně“ < **-ones*), AB *-iñ* (*riñ* „města“ od sg. nom. B *riye*, A *ri*), B *-añ*, A *-añ*/ *-āñ* (např. B varianta tématického nom. pl. *klyomoñ* „slavní“ < **ĥleu̯-mōn-es* od nom. sg. *klyomo*; A nom. pl. *swāñcenāñ* „paprsky“ od nom. sg. *swāñceṃ*), B *-aiñ* (B *swāñ-caiñ* „paprsky“ od nom. sg. *swāñco*) a pl. B *-ñc* < **-ntes*. Genitiv plurálu se tvoří koncovkami A *-is*, B *-ṃts* (*yäkweṃts* „koní“, *läklentaṃts* „utrpení“ < **-nsōm*), & A *-śśi* (gen. pl. *wramnis* & *wramnāśśi* „věc” : nom. sg. *wram*).

Substantiva se dělí do 7 deklinačních tříd. Příklad úplné (dvojsystémové) deklinace V. třídy: B *yakwe*, A *yuk* „kůň“; B *eṅkwe*, A *oṅk* „člověk“ (viz Pinault 1989: 73; Gippert 1987: 22-39; Carling 1999: 95-110):

B	Sg.	Pl.	A	Sg.	Pl.
nom.	*yakwe*, *eṅkwe* < **ekᵘos*, **n̥kᵘos*	*yakwi*, *eṅkwi* < **ekᵘoi*,**n̥kᵘoi*	nom.	*yuk*, *oṅk* < **ekᵘos*, **n̥kᵘos*	*yukañ*, *oṅkañ* < **ekᵘones*, **n̥kᵘones*
obl.	*yakwe*, *eṅkweṃ* < **ekᵘom*, **n̥kᵘonm̥*	*yakweṃ*, *eṅkweṃ* < **ekᵘons*,* *n̥kᵘons*	obl.	*yuk*, *oṅkaṃ* < **ekᵘom*, **n̥kᵘonm̥*	*yukas*, *oṅkas* < **ekᵘons*,* *n̥kᵘons*
gen.	*yäkwentse*, *eṅkwentse* < **ekᵘons-os*, **n̥kᵘons-os*	*yäkweṃts*, *eṅkweṃts* < **ekᵘons-ōm*, **n̥kᵘons-ōm*	gen.	*yukes*, *oṅkis* < **ekᵘons-os*, **n̥kᵘons-os*	*yukaśśi*, *oṅkaśśi* < **ekᵘons-*, **n̥kons-* + **Tei?*
			instr.	*yukyo* < **ekᵘo-* + A *yo* a	*yukasyo* < **ekᵘons-* + *yo*
perl.	*yakwesa*, *eṅkwentsa* < **ekᵘo-sā*, **n̥kᵘon-sā* < **-s-ā* /**-ad*; *-s-* podle pl.	*yakwentsa*, *eṅkwentsa* < **ekᵘons-ā*/*-ad*, **n̥kᵘons-ā* /*-ad*	perl.	*yukā*, *oṅknā* < **ekᵘo-ā*/*-ad*, **n̥kᵘon-ā*/*-ad*	*yukasā*, *oṅksā* < **ekᵘons-*, **n̥kᵘons- ā*/*-ad*
kom.	*yakwempa*, *eṅkweṃmpa* < **ekᵘo-*, **n̥kᵘon-* + B *mapi* přeci ?	*yakweṃmpa*, *eṅkweṃmpa* < **ekᵘon(s)-*, **n̥kᵘon(s)-* + B *mapi* přeci ?	kom.	*yukaśśäl*, *oṅknaśśäl* < **ekᵘo-*, **n̥kᵘon-* + A *śla*, B *ś(a)le* dohromady	*yukasaśśäl*, *oṅksaśśäl* < **ekᵘons-*, **n̥kᵘons-* + A *śla*, B *ś(a)le* dohromady
all.	*yakweś(c)*, *eṅkweṃś(c)* < **ekᵘo-de*, **n̥kᵘon-de?*	*yakweṃś(c)*, *eṅkweṃś(c)* < **ekᵘons-de*, **n̥kᵘons-de?*	all.	*yukac*, *oṅknac* < **ekᵘo-de*, **n̥kᵘon-de*	*yukasac*, *oṅksac* < **ekᵘons-de*, **n̥kᵘons-de*
abl.	*yakwemeṃ*, *eṅkweṃmeṃ* < **ekᵘo-*, **n̥kᵘon-* + *mon-*?	*yakwemeṃ*, *eṅkweṃmeṃ* < **ekᵘons-*, **n̥kᵘons-+mon-?*	abl.	*yukäṣ*, *oṅknäṣ* < **ekᵘo-Vti*, **n̥kᵘon-Vti?*	*yukasäṣ*, *oṅksäṣ* < **ekᵘons-Vti*, **n̥kᵘons-Vti?*
lok.	*yakwene*, *eṅkweṃne* < **ekᵘo-no*, **n̥kᵘon-no*	*yakwene*, *eṅkweṃne* = sg. ?	lok.	*yukaṃ*, *oṅknaṃ* < **ekᵘo-no*, **n̥kᵘon-no*	*yukasaṃ*, *oṅksaṃ* < **ekᵘons-no*, **n̥kᵘons-no*

Následují příklady vzorů primárních pádů a perlativu z jednotlivých deklinačních tříd; u šesté třídy jsou vedle singuláru uvedeny i tvary duálu (Krause & Thomas 1960: 138-144): I,1: B *pikul* f., A *p$_u$käl* f., „rok“; II,1: B *ñem* a. „jméno“, A *wram* a., „věc“; III,1 B *yarke* a., A *yärk* a., „soustředění“; IV *pācer* m., *pācar* m. „otec“; V,1: B *yakwe* m., A *yuk* m. „kůň“; VI,2: B *ek* a., A *ak* a., „oko“; VII: B *walo* a., A *wäl* a., „král“.

B	I,1	II,1	III, 1	IV	V, 1	VI, 2	VII
Sg. nom.	*pikul*	*ñem*	*yarke*	*pācer*	*yakwe*	*ek*, du. *eś(a)ne*	*walo*
obl.	*pikul*	*ñem*	*yarke*	*pātär*	*yakwe*	*ek*, du. *eś(a)ne*	*lānt*
gen.	*pikulntse*	*ñemantse*	*yärkentse*	*pātri*	*yäkwentse*	*ekantse*, du. *eśnaisäñ*	*lānte*
perl.	*pikultsa*	*ñemtsa*	*yarkesa*	*pātärsa*	*yakwesa*	*eksa*, du. *eś(a)nesa*	*lāntsa*
Pl. nom.	*pikwala*	*ñemna*	*yärkenta*	*pācera*	*yakwi*	*eśaiñ*	*lāñc*
obl.	*pikwala*	*ñemna*	*yärkenta*	*pācera*	*yakweṃ*	*eśaiṃ*	*lāntäṃ*
gen.	*pikwalaṃts*	*ñemnaṃts*	*yärkentaṃts*	*paceraṃts*	*yäkweṃts*	*eśaiṃts*	*lāntäṃts*
perl.	*pikwalasa*	*ñemnasa*	*yärkentasa*	*pacerasa*	*yakwentsa*	*eśaintsa*	*lāntäntsa*

A.	I,1	II,1	III,1	IV	V,1	VI,2	VII
Sg. nom.	*p$_u$käl*	*wram*	*yärk*	*pācar*	*yuk*	*ak*, du. *aśäṃ*	*wäl*
obl.	*p$_u$käl*	*wram*	*yärk*	*pācar*	*yuk*	*ak*, du. *aśäṃ*	*lānt*
gen.	*p$_u$klis*	*wramis*	*yärkes*	*pācri*	*yukes*	*akis*, du. *aśnis*	*lānt*
perl.	*p$_u$klā*	*wramā*	*yärkā*	*pācrā*	*yukā*	*akā*, du. *aśnā*	*lāntā*
Pl. nom.	*puklā*	*wramäṃ*	*yärkant*	*pācri*	*yukañ*	Ø	*lāṃś*
obl.	*puklā*	*wramäṃ*	*yärkant*	*pācrās*	*yukas*	Ø	*lāñcäs*
gen.	*puklākis/-āśśi*	*wramnis/-āśśi*	*yärkäntwis*	*pācräśśi*	*yukaśśi*	Ø	*lāñcäśśi*
perl.	*puklākā*	*wramnā*	*yärkäntwā*	**pācrsā*	*yukasā*	Ø	*lāñcsā*

Skupinová flexe: u vícenásobných souřadných větných členů mají pádovou koncovku buď všechny nebo jen poslední – viz. B perl. *kektseñ reki palskosa* „tělem, řečí a myslí“, A instr. *kuklas yukas oṅkälmāsyo* „s vozy, s koni a se slony“. Ve vazbách substantiv s adjektivy a ukazovacími zájmeny mívá substantivum příslušnou sekundární koncovku, zatímco zájmenný či adjektivní atribut je v základním tvaru obliquu bez koncovky B lok. *pakwārona ymainne* „na nesprávných stezkách“. Pokud je substantivum v genitivu, určující zájmeno nebo adjektivum bývá kromě obliquu (A pl. *śāwes käṣṣiśśi* „velkých učitelů“) také v genitivu (B sg. *cwi yāmorntse* „tohoto činu“; A sg. *eṅkälṣināp poris* „ohně utrpení“).

Adjektiva

Adjektiva se typologicky dělí na čtyři třídy dle tvarů mask. pl. v jazyce B (třídy i vzory podle Krause & Thomas 1960: 144-158):

třída	nom. pl.	obl. pl.
I.	*-i*	*-eṃ*
II.	*-ñ*	*-(nä)ṃ*
III.	*-ñc*	*-ntäṃ*
IV.	*-ṣ*	*-ṣäṃ*

I. třída zahrnuje adjektiva odvozená nejčastěji od obliquu subst. koncovkami: B *-ṣṣe*, A *-ṣi*; B *-(i)ye*, A *-i*; B *-ññe*, A *-ñi*; B *-tstse*, A *-ts* ; adjektivní sufixy B *-ke*, A *-k* jsou íránského původu (B *spaktanīke*, A *spaktanīk* „ministr, sloužící“). Podle tvarů této třídy se skloňují i gerundiva I. a II. B *-lye*/ *-lle*, A *-l*; dále řadové číslovky (např. B *trite*, A *trit* „třetí“), adjektiva končící na B *-re*, A *-r* (B *astare*, A *āṣtär* „čistý“) nebo v A na *-ñci* (*k*$_u$*leñci* „ženský“) a *-e(ṃ)* (jen pl.: *oṅkalmeṃwäl* „sloní král“). Koncovky B *-ṣṣe*, A *-ṣi* jsou ke konsonantním substantivům připojeny vokálem B *a*/ *ä*, A *a*/ *ā* (B *stām* „strom“: *stamaṣṣe* „stromový“, A *ṣtām*: *ṣtāmaṣi* idem.), u obl. sg. & nom. + obl. pl. feminin může být *-ṣ-* nahrazeno *-ṣṣ-*. Další příklady B *-(i)ye*, A *-i* (B *ñäkciye*, A *ñäkci* „božský“); B *-ññe*, A *-ñi* (B *Dharmasomäññe* „Dharmasómův“); koncovky B *-tstse*, A *-ts* (B *orotstse* „velký“, A *tsopats* idem.) mají i posesivní význam (B *kokaletstse* „mající vůz“), u mask. je *-tsts-* jen v nom. sg., jinak se mění v *-cc-*; stejně se mění *-t-* v *-c-* v B *trite* : obl. *trice* „třetí“ aj.

Různá adjektiva II. třídy (včetně participií i činitelských jmen) spojuje tvar nom. m. pl. *-ñ* s variantami *-iñ* (v nom. sg. m. *-i* např. B *ārkwi*, A *ārki* „bílý“), *-aiñ* (jediné slovo B nom. sg. m. *yolo* „zlý“), *-añ* (v B nom. sg. m. *-e*/*-a*/ *-ṃ*/*-k*/*-s*/ v pl. *-ñ*, např. B *lykaśke* „malý“, B *ynūca* „jdoucí“, AB *tseṃ* „modrý“, AB *-lyāk* „vidoucí“, B *anās* „chudý“, B m. pl. *ysā-yokañ* „zlataví“), *-eñ* (nom. sg. m. *-e*, např. B *tapre*, A *tpär* „vysoký“), *-oñ* (nom. sg. m. *-mo*, nom. sg. m. B *klyomo*, A *klyom* „vznešený“).

III. třída je odvozena od původních *-nt-* kmenů. V nom. sg. m. bývá B *-e*$_u$, *-ā*$_u$ (v obou případech v A *-o*) nebo AB *-u*. Podle sg. v B byly zvoleny vzory: B *perne*$_u$, A *parno* „zářící“; B *tallā*$_u$, A *tālo* „chudý“; AB *ymassu* „pamětlivý“. Spadají sem sklonné tvary B *po*, A *puk* „všechen, každý“ a adj. B *kartse* „dobrý“, kterému v A odpovídá nepříbuzné *kāsu* idem.

IV. třídu tvoří participia préterita a v jazyce A některá prézentní participia média v m., nejčastěji *knānmāṃ* v titulu Buddhy *puk-knānmāṃ* „Vševědoucí“. Participia préterita končí nejčastěji v sg. na AB *-u* (AB *yāmu* „udělaný“) s podskupinou zvláštních tvarů v B *ltu*, A *lantu* „vyšlý“. Druhou skupinu tvarů na B *-au*, A *-o* (B *kälpau*, A *kälpo* „dosažený“) doplňují tvary s reduplikací iniciální slabiky a koncovkami B *-au*, A *-u* (vzor B *papaikau*, A *pāpeku* „malovaný“).

Srovnání pádových koncovek adjektiv všech tříd obou jazyků je excerpováno z výběru vzorů pro jednotlivé třídy: I. adjektivní koncovky B *-ṣṣe*, A *-ṣi*; II. B *lāre* „milý“, A *klyom* „vznešený“; III. B *perne*$_u$, A *parno* „zářící“; IV. AB *yāmu* „udělaný“.

B mask.	I.	II.	III.	IV.
sg. nom.	*-e*	*-e*	*-e*$_u$	*-u*
obl.	*-e* (*-eṃ*)	*-eṃ*	*-ent*	*-oṣ*
gen.	*-epi*	*-epi*	**-ente*	*-oṣepi*
pl. nom.	*-i*	*-eñ*	*-eñc*	*-oṣ*
obl.	*-eṃ*	*-e(nä)ṃ*	*-entäṃ*	*-oṣäṃ*
gen.	*-eṃts*	*-enäṃts*	*-entäṃts*	*-oṣäṃts*

B fem.	I.	II.	III.	IV.
sg. nom.	*-a*	*-iya*	*-auntsa*	*-usa*
obl.	*-ai*	*-iyai*	*-auntsai*	*-usai*
gen.	**-antse*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*
pl. nom.	*-ana* (*-ona*)	*-ona*	*-enta*	*-(u)wa*
obl.	*-ana* (*-ona*)	*-ona*	*-enta*	*-(u)wa*
gen.	*-anaṃts*	*Ø*	*-entaṃts*	*-(u)waṃts*

A mask.	I.	II.	III.	IV.
sg. nom.	*-i*	*-Ø*	*-o*	*-u*
obl.	*-i/-iṃ/-inäṃ*	*-änt*	*-ont*	*-unt*
gen.	*-ināp*	*-äntāp*	*-ontāp*	*-untāp*
pl. nom.	*-iñi*	*-äṣ*	*-oṣ*	*-uṣ*
obl.	*-inäs*	*-äñcäs*	*-oñcäs*	*-uñcäs*
gen.	*-inäśśi*	*-äñcäśśi*	*-oñcäśśi*	*-uñcäśśi*

A fem.	I.	II.	III.	IV.
sg. nom.	*-i/-iṃ*	*-iṃ*	*-oṃts*	*-us*
obl.	*-i/-iṃ/-ināṃ/-(ṣṣ)āṃ /-yāṃ*	*-ināṃ*	*-ontsāṃ*	*-usāṃ*
gen.	*-ine*	*-ine*	**-ontse*	*Ø*
pl. nom.	*-ināñ/ -(ṣṣ)āñ (-aṃ)*	*-ināñ*	*-ont*	*-unt*
obl.	*-inās/-(ṣṣ)ās (-aṃ)*	*-inās*	*-ont*	*-unt*
gen.	*-ināśśi*	*Ø*	**-ontāśśi*	*-untāśśi*

Tvary vokativu adjektiv v sg. m. končí u všech tříd v B *-u*: např. I. *-ṣṣu*. Adjektiva I. třídy B *-re* mají obl. sg. m. *-eṃ*. U gerundiv, řadových číslovek a adjektiv na B *-re* & A *-r* a B *-tte* & A *-t* jsou tvary feminin nom. +

obl. pl. B *-ona* & A *-aṃ*. V rámci II. třídy se nejvíce liší koncovky u B *ārkwi*, A *ārki* „bílý“: nom. pl. m. B *-iṃ*, A *-yaṃś*; nom. sg. f. B *-añña*, A *-yant*. V B je sg. f. *-ñña* častější (*tseñña* „modrá“). III. třída je zcela pravidelná, pouze nom. pl. m. B *-ñc* odpovídají varianty v A *-ñś*, *-ṃś*, nebo po vokálu *-ṣ*. V obl. sg. m. v B místo *-nt* bývá *-ñcäṃ* (*poñcäṃ* „každého“). IV. třída je také pravidelná, s výjimkou podskupiny v B *ltu* „vyšlý“, kde se v nenominativních tvarech m. sg. vokál před *-ṣ* mění na obl. *ltuweṣ* „vyšlého“); u A *knānmāṃ* „vědoucí“ se místo nom. *-ṃ* klade v gen. *-nt* apod.

Tvary duálu: I. třída du. B *kenine* „kolena“: *kenineṣṣe*, A *kanweṃ* id.: *kanweṃṣi*. U tvarů na *-(ts)ts-* jsou dochovány tvary duálu *-tsane* (*wartsane* „širocí“ od sg. *wartse*, *cakkartsane* „mající dvě kola“ od sg. *cakkartse*) a *-tsi* (*aurtsi* „širocí“ od sg. *aurtse*, *läktsi* „zářící“ od *lak$_u$tse*). Jediné dva tvary adjektiv duálu v jazyce A jsou *yetuntin* „ozdobení“ a *laläṅkuntiṃ* „ověšení“ (Adams 1991: 31).

Adjektivní tvary substantiv se tvoří příponami, typicky např. A m. et f. *-ṣi*/ *-ṣiṃ*, B m. *-ṣṣe*, f. *-ṣṣa* s flexí: B mask. sg nom. et obl. *-ṣṣe*, gen. *-ṣṣepi*, vok. *-ṣṣu*; pl. nom. *-ṣṣi*, obl. *-ṣṣeṃ*, gen. *-ṣṣeṃts*. B fem. sg. nom. *-ṣṣa*, obl. *-ṣṣai*, gen. **-ṣṣantse*, pl. nom.-obl. *-ṣṣana*, gen. **-ṣṣanaṃts*. A mask. sg. nom. *-ṣi*, obl. *-ṣi*/ *-ṣiṃ*/ *-ṣinäṃ*, gen. *-ṣināp*, pl. nom. *-ṣiñi*, obl. *-ṣinäs*, gen. *-ṣinäśśi*. A fem. sg. nom. *-ṣi*/ *-ṣiṃ*, obl. *-ṣi*/ *-ṣiṃ*/ *-ṣināṃ*/ *-ṣyāṃ*/ *-ṣṣāṃ*, pl. nom. *-ṣināñ*/ *-ṣṣāñ*, obl. *-ṣinās*/ *-ṣṣās*, gen. **-ṣinaśśi*.

Jako příklad adjektivního skloňování mohou posloužit např. B *kartse*, A *kāsu* „dobrý“.

		m.		f.	
		B	A	B	A
sg.	nom.	*kartse*	*kāsu*	*kartsa*	**krä(ṃ)ts?*
	obl.	*krent*	*krant, krañcäṃ*	*kartsai*	*kräntsāṃ*
	gen.	*kreñcepi*	*krantāp*	*Ø*	*Ø*
pl.	nom.	*kreñc*	*kraṃś*	*krenta*	*krant*
	obl.	*krentäṃ*	*krañcäs*	*krenta*	*krant*
	gen.	*krentaṃ*	*krañcäśśi*	*krentaṃts*	**krantāśśi*

Pronomina

Plné tvary osobních zájmen jsou doloženy jen pro 1. a 2. osobu; zvláštní tvary pro m. a f. jsou jen v A u 1. os. sg.; duál je jen v B nom. + obl. Mimo vzory (Krause & Thomas 1960: 162) je doložen duál 3. os. nom. + obl. B *taine* „ti/ ty dva“ (Adams 1991: 30). Podkladem pro následující rekonstrukce je Jasanoff (1989), Pinault (1989: 111n) a Adams (1988: 149-156)

	B 1.os.	A 1. os.	B 2. os.	A 2. os.
sg. nom.	*ñäś* (*ñiś*) < **(m)ege*	nom.-obl. f. *ñuk* < **(m)eǵō*	*twe*, *tuwe* < **tuHom*	*tu* < **tuHom*
obl.	*ñäś* (*ñiś*) < **mege*	nom.-obl. m. *näṣ* < **ñäś-äṣ* < abl. **meg-eti*	*ci* < **cäyä* < **ṭi̯äwi̯ä* < **t(e)u̯e*	*cu* < **cäwä* < **ṭi̯äwi̯ä* < **t(e)u̯e*
gen.	*ñi* < **m'ñäi* < **meneis*	m. *ñi* < **meneis* f. *nāñi* < **mǎneis*	*tañ* < **tune*	*tñi* < **tuneis*
du. nom. + obl.	*wene* < **u̯o-n-oH$_1$*	Ø	*yene* < **i̯o-n-oH$_1$*	Ø
du. gen.	*wenaisäñ* < **u̯o-n-oi̯ṣ-ne*		*yenaisäñ* < **i̯o-n-ois-ne*	
pl. nom. + obl.	*wes* < **u̯os*	*was* < **u̯os*	*yes* < **i̯os*	*yas* < **i̯os*
gen.	*wesi* < **u̯osoi(s)* *wesäñ*, *wesäṃ* < lok. **u̯os-ne,-o*	*wasäṃ* < **u̯os-ne,-o*	*yesi* < **i̯oso(i)* *yesäñ*, *yesäṃ* < **i̯os-ne,-o*	*yasäṃ* < **i̯os-ne,-o*

Tvary genitivu se používají i jako posesiva; stejnou funkci má vztažné B *ṣañ* & A *ṣñi* (**sene* & **seneis*). Všechny tři osoby se dochovaly u slovesných enklitik: sg. 1. B *-ñ*, A *-ñi* < **mene*; 2. B *-c*, A *-ci* (např. B *winäskau-c*, A *winäsam-ci* „obdivuji tě“) < **te*; 3. B *-ne*, A *-ṃ* < **eno-*/**ono-*; pl. 1.-3. shodně B *-me*, A *-m* < 1.**n̥smo*, 2. **usmo*, 3. **smo-* (Adams 1988: 155).

Ukazovací zájmena mají tři stupně deixe, v m. I. B *su*, A *säm* „te”; II. B *se*, A *säs* „tento“; ještě silnější deiktickou variantu představuje III. B *seṃ*, A *saṃ*; iniciální *s-* je v m. vždy jen v nom. sg., jinak se mění v *c-* < **tE-*. Stejně se mění u f. iniciální *s-* na *t-*. Všechny tvary neutra začínají na *t-*. Duál je doložen v nejslabší deixi u nom. + obl. m. B *tai*, A *tim* (od sg. B *su*, A *säm*), gen. B *tainaisi*/ *tainaisäñ*, A **time*; v nejsilnější deixi jsou jen A tvary nom. + obl. *tiṃ*, gen. *tine*. Detailní analýza ukazuje, že se zde kombinují demonstrativní kmeny **so-*/ **sā-* & **to-*/ **tā-* s deiktickými elementy **u*, **nu*, v A také **mu*, **se*.

B		sg.			pl.		
deixe		I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.
m.	nom.	*su* < **so+u*[1]	*se* < **so*	*seṃ* < **so+nu*[1]	*cey*, *cai* < **toi̯*[2] či **tēi̯-es*[3]	*cey*, *cai* < **toi̯*[2] či **tēi̯-es*[3]	*cey*, *cai* < **toi̯*[2] či **tēi̯-es*[3]
	obl.	*ce$_u$* < **tom+u*[2] *c-* dle g. **teso*	*ce* < **tom*[2] *c-* dle g. **teso*	*ceṃ* < **tom+nu*[2] *c-* dle g. **teso*	*ceṃ* < **tons*[2] či **tēns*[4]	*ceṃ* < **tons*[2] či **tēns*[4]	*cenäṃ* < **tēns+nu*[5] *ceyna*
	gen.	*cwi*, *cpi* < **csäw-i* < **teso+u-oi̯*[5] či **tebʰei̯*[6]	*cwi*, *cpi* < **teso+u-oi̯*[5] či **tebʰei̯*[6]	*cwi*, *cpi* < **teso+u-oi̯*[5] či **tebʰei̯*[6]	*ceṃts* < **tēns-ōm*	*ceṃts* < **tēns-ōm*	*ceynaṃts*, *caynaṃts*
f.	nom.	*sā$_u$* < **sā+u*	*sā* < **sā*	*sāṃ* < **sā+nu*	*toṃ* = obl.?	*toy* < **tāi̯ +u-es?*	*toyna* < **tāi̯ +u-es+nā?*
	obl.	*tā$_u$* < **tām+u*	*tā* < **tām*	*tāṃ* < **tām+nu*	*toṃ* < **tā+u-ns*[7]	*toy* = nom.	*toyna* = nom.
	gen.	*tāy* < dat. **tāi̯*	*tāy* < dat. **tāi̯*	Ø	*toṃts* < **tāns-ōm*	Ø	*toynaṃts*

n.	nom.	*tu* < **to(d)+u*	*te* < **tod*	*teṃ* < **tod+nu*	Ø	Ø	Ø
	obl.	*tu* < **to(d)+u*	*te* < **tod*	*teṃ* < **tod+nu*	Ø	Ø	Ø
	gen.	*tuntse* < **to+u-nsos*	*tentse* < **to-nsos*	*tentse* < **to-nsos*	Ø	Ø	Ø

A		sg.			pl.		
deixe		I.	II.	III.	I.	II.	III.
m.	nom.	*säm* < **so+mu*	*säs* < **sos+se*[8]	*saṃ* < **so+nu*	*cem* < **toi̯+mu* či **tēi̯-es+mu*	*ceṣ* < **toi̯+se* či **tēi̯-es+se*	*ceṃ* < **toi̯+nu* či **tēi̯-es+nu*
	obl.	*cam* < **tom +mu*	*caṣ* < **tom +se*	*caṃ* < **tom + nu*	*cesäm* < **tēns + mu*	*cesäs* < **tēns +se*	*cesäṃ* < **tēns + nu*
	gen.	*cami* < **tom +mu-ei̯s*	*caṣi* < **tom +se-ei̯s*	*cani* < **tom + nu-ei̯s*	*cesmi* < **tēns+mu-eis*	*cessi* < **tēns+se-eis*	*cesni* < **tēns+nu-eis*
f.	nom.	*sām* < **sā+mu*	*sās* < **sā+sā*	*sāṃ* < **sā+nu*	*tom* < **tā+u?-es+mu*	*toṣ* < **tā+u?-es+se*	*toṃ* < **tā+u?-es+nu*
	obl.	*tām* < **tām+mu*	*tāṣ* < **tām +se*	*tāṃ* < **tām+nu*	*tosäm* < **tā+u-ns +mu*	*tosäs* < **tā+u-ns+se*	*tosäṃ* < **tā+u-ns+nu*
	gen.	*temi* < **tāi̯ +mu-ei̯s*	Ø	Ø	*tosmāśśi* < **tāns +mu-āsk̂i̯āā*	Ø	Ø
n.	nom.	*täm* < **tod+mu*	*täṣ* < **tod+se*	*taṃ* < **tod+nu*	Ø	Ø	Ø
	obl.	*täm* < **tod+mu*	*täṣ* < **tod+se*	*taṃ* < **tod+nu*	Ø	Ø	Ø
	gen.	*tmis* < **to+mu-ensos*	**tṣis* < *to+se-ensos*	*tanis* < **to+nu-ensos*	Ø	Ø	Ø

Pozn.: 1) Adams 1988: 164, 163; Pinault 1989: 115; 2) Pinault 1989: 114; 3) Van Windekens 1979: 266; 4) Van Windekens 1979: 267; 5) Adams 1988: 165-66; 6) Pinault 1989: 114; 7) Van Windekens 1979: 267; 8) Adams 1988: 166 s odvoláním na Wintera, který vysvětlil formy se *s* namísto *ṣ* jako důsledek spojení °*s+se*.

Flexe hlavních <u>tázacích</u> a <u>neurčitých</u> zájmen je stejná pro všechna čísla: tázací „kdo, co“: nom. B k_u*se*, A *kus*; neurčité „někdo, něco“: nom. B *ksa*, A *saṃ*:

	B tázací/vztažné	B neurčité	A tázací/vztažné	A neurčité
nom.	k_u*se* < **k^{u}u-so*	*ksa* < **k^{u}u-sā*	*kus* < **k^{u}u-so*	*saṃ* < **so + nu*
obl.	k_u*ce* < **k^{u}u-tom*	*kca* < **k^{u}u-tā(m)*	*kuc* < **k^{u}u-tom*	*caṃ* < **tom + nu*
gen.	*ket(e)* < **k^{u}o-tos*	*ket(a)ra = ket(e)+ra*	*ke* < **k^{u}o-iHos* ~ B *kaiyye* „čí“	

Ke vztažným a tázacím zájmenům se v A připojuje částice *-ne* (*kusne*).

Tázací, resp. vztažné zájmeno B *intsu*, A *äntsaṃ*/ *äntsanne* „který“ (**eni-* + B *su* & A *saṃ*) rozlišuje zvláštní tvary m. a f. v sg. a pl: v sg. obl. m. B *iñcau*/ *iñcew*, A *äñcaṃ*; gen. m. *äñcani-k*; obl. f. A *äntāṃ*; v pl. gen. m. *äñce--sni*. U tázacího, resp. vztažného zájmena B *mäksu* „který“ (**mé(n)+k^{u}u-so+u*) je kromě m. a f. i n.; koncovky se shodují s ukazovacím B *su* (jen gen. pl. m. *mäkcenas*, f. *maktoynas*). Tvary m. a f. se dochovaly i u zájmenných adjektiv

B m. *makte*, f. *mäkciya*, A m. *mättak*, f. *mäccāk* „sám“ a B m. *alyek*, f. *alyāk*, A m. *ālak*, f. *ālyāk* „jiný“ (podle tohoto vzoru se skloňují i např B *aletstse* „cizí“, A *āläṃ* „jiný“):

	B m.	B f.	A m.	A f.
sg. nom.	*makte* < **me(n)+ku-to-*	*mäkciya* < *°ku-t-i̯i̯ā*	*mättak* < *°ku-t-āko-*	*mäccāk* < *°ku-t-ākā*
obl.	*makce*	*mäkciyai*	*mäccakäṃ*	*mäccākyāṃ*
gen.	*mäkcepi*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*mäccākye*
pl. nom.	*makci*	*maktona*	*mäccek*	*mätkont*
obl.	*mäkceṃ*	*maktona*	*mäckes*	*mätkont*
gen.	*mäkceṃts*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*

	B m.	B f.	A m.	A f.
sg. nom.	*alyek* / *allek* < **ali̯o-ko-*	*alyāk* < **ali̯ā-kā*	*ālak* < **ali̯o-ko-*	*ālyāk* < **ali̯ā-kā*
obl.	*alyek* / *allek*	*alyok* / *allok*	*āl(y)akäṃ*	*ālyäkyāṃ*
gen.	*alyekepi*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*
pl. nom.	*alyaik*	*alloṅk(na)*	*ālyek*	*ālkont*
obl.	*alyeṅkäṃ*	*alloṅkna*	*ālykes*, *ālyekäs*	*ālkont*
gen.	*alyeṅkäṃts*	*Ø*	*ālu*	*Ø*

Od tvarů tázacích zájmen se odvozují některé spojky, např: A *tā*, B *ente* „kde“ < abl. **on(i)-tōd* (Adams 1999: 85) = B *ente* „když“ ~ A *äntāne*; dále A *kupre* „zda“; B *k$_u$ce*, A *k$_u$cne* „protože“; A *k$_u$yal* „proč“; A *k$_u$yalte* „neboť“; B *kā* „proč“ < abl. f. **k^{u}ā(d)*, srov. lat. *quā* „jak, jakým způsobem“; AB *kos* / A *kospreṃ* „kolik?, jak daleko?“; B *kos*, A *kosne*/ *kospreṃne* „tolik“; B *mäkte*, A *mänt* „jak“; B *mäkte*, A *mäṃtne* „tím“.

Dílčí tvary zájmen se užívají adverbiálně: obl. B *tu* (srov. slovanské *tu*), A *täm* = „zde, právě“, podobně lok. A *ṭsaṃ* = „zde“; instr. + perl. B *tusa*, A *tamyo* = „odtud, kolem“; abl. B *tumeṃ*, A *tmäṣ* = „potom“; B *taisa* „tedy, tak“ < gen. pl. **to̯i̯som* či lok. pl. **to̯i̯su*/*i* (Adams 1999: 308).

<u>Číslovky</u> 1-1000 představují indoevropské dědictví, vyšší byly přejaty:

	B	A	*
1	*ṣe* m., *sana* (*somo*) f.	*sas* m., *säm* f.	**sēms* m., **smi̯ə$_2$* f., **sĕm* n. (B 152)
1.	*pärweṣṣe*		**pr̥H$_1$u̯o-* + adj. suf. **-(o)ski̯o-* (B 153)
		maltowinu	
2	*wi* m. et f.	*wu* m., *we* f.	**du̯ōu̯* m., **du̯āi̯* f., méně pravděpodobně **du̯oi̯* (B 172)
2.	*wate*	*wät*	**du̯ito-* (B 172)
3	*trai* m., *tarya* f.	*tre* m., *tri* (*täryā-*) f.	**tri̯es* m. < coll., **triH$_2$* f. (B 192)

3.	*trite* & *trīte*	*trit*	**tri-to-*, zřejmě kontaminací **triio-* a **duito-* (B 193)
4	*śtwer* m., *śtwāra* f.	*śtwar* m. et f.	**kᵘetuores* m.-f., **kᵘetuorə₂* n. > B f. (B 208-09)
4.	*śtart(t)e*	*śtärt*	**kᵘet(u)r-to-* (B 209)
5	*piś*	*päñ*	**penkᵘe* (B 224)
5.	*piṅkte*	*pänt*	**penkᵘto-* (B 224)
6	*ṣkas*	*ṣäk*	**s(u)eks* (B 238)
6.	*ṣkaste*	*ṣkäṣt*	**s(u)eks-to-* (B 238)
7	*ṣukt*	*ṣpät*	**septm̥*, *-k-* v B *ṣukt* se vysvětluje analogií *okt* 8 (B 250)
7.	*ṣuktante*	*ṣäptänt*	**septm̥-to-* (B 250)
8	*okt*	*okät*	**okto(u)* (B 268)
8.	*oktante* & *oktunte*	*oktänt*	**okto(u)-N-to-*; *-N-* podle A *ṣäptänt* „7.“ a B *ñunte* „9.“ (B 268)
9	*ñu* & *ñū*	*ñu*	**neun̥*; **-n̥* rekonstruováno podle „90“ (B 283)
9.	*ñunte*	**ñunt*	**neun̥-to-* (B 283)
10	*śak*, *śśak* & *śäk*	*śäkk*	**dekm̥* (B 295)
10.	*śkante*	*śkänt*	**dekn̥-to-* (B 295)
20	*ikäṃ* & *īkäṃ*	*wiki* & *wīki*	**(H₁)uikn̥t-iH₁* (B 172)
30	*täryāka*	*taryāk*	**triH₂-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* (Winter) či **-(d)konts* (Klingenschmitt; B 192)
40	*śtwārka*	*śtwarāk*	**kᵘetuərH-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* či **-(d)konts* (B 209)
50	*p(i)śāka*	*pñāk*	**penkᵘē-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* či **-(d)konts* (B 224)
60	*ṣkaska*	*säksäk*	**s(u)eks-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* či **-(d)konts* (B 238)
70	*ṣuktaṅka*	*ṣäptuk*	**septm̥-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* či **-(d)konts*; *-uk* v A *ṣäptuk* podle *oktuk* (B 250)
80	*oktaṅka* & *oktaṃka*	*oktuk*	**okto(u)-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* či **-(d)konts*; B *-N-* podle 70, 90 (B 268)
90	*ñumka* & *ñuṅka*	*nmuk*	**neun̥-(d)kn̥t-ə₂* či **-(d)konts* (B 283)
100	*kante* & *känte*	*känt*	**kn̥tom* (B 306)
1000	*yaltse*	*wälts*	**uelsos*, *-es-os* n., spíše než **ueltio-* (B 316)
10^4	*tmāne* (*tᵤmane*)	*tmāṁ*	< stř.írán. **tu-māna-* „velká míra“ (Adams 1999: 301)
10^5		*lakṣ*	
10^6		*kor*	

Další číslovky: B m. *ṣeske*, A m. *sasak*, f. *snāki* „jediný“; distributivní číslovky se tvoří buď prostým zdvojením čísla (B *okt okt* „po osmi“) nebo koncovkou *-ār* (B *w(i)ār* „po dvou“). Dále např. B *wasto*, A *wäṣt* „dvojnásobný“; B *watesa*, A *wtaṣ* „podruhé“ nebo *wtā(k)* „zase“. Starý duál zachovává B *antapi*/*āntpi*, A m. *āmpi*, f. *āmpuk* „oba“ < ***Hent-bʰoiH₁*/*-bʰoH₁u*.

Morfologie slovesa

Tocharská slovesa mají jednoduché kořeny. V konjugaci se uplatňuje osoba (1., 2., 3.), číslo (sg., pl., zřídka du.), rod (aktivum a médium), čas (prézens, imperfektum, préteritum, v B navíc v iterativní funkci tzv. durativum, zvané i intenzivní préteritum) a způsob (konjunktiv, optativ, imperativ). Rod je navíc rozlišen paralelní konjugací většiny sloves v základním tvaru (pasivum) a kauzativu (aktivum). Systém koncovek se dělí do dvou hlavních tříd I a II. Viz nejobvyklejší koncovky prézentu a konjunktivu v A i B (v A též u optativu a imperfektních tvarů sloves *yem* „šel jsem“, *ṣem* „byl jsem“) u tematických sloves v rekonstrukci dle Pinaulta (1989: 153, 155):

I. Prézens & subjunktiv: AB *āk-* „vést“; B *klyaus-*, A *klyos-* „slyšet“; B *we-* „mluvit, říci“

	B akt.	A akt.	B méd.	A méd.	*
1 sg.	*ākau* < **aĝ-ō*	*ākam* < **aĝ-o-mi*	*klyausemar*	*klyosmār*	**k̂leu̯s-o-mH$_2$+ri*
2	*āśt(o)* < **aĝ-e-tH$_2$e*	*āśt* < **aĝ-e-tH$_2$e*	*klyauṣtar*	*klyoṣtär*	**k̂leu̯s-e-tH$_2$e+ri*
3	*āśäṃ* < **aĝ-e+nu*	*āśäṣ* < **aĝ-e+se*	*klyauṣtär*	*klyoṣtär*	**k̂leu̯s-e-tri*
3 du.	*westeṃ* < **-tom nu*[1]				
1 pl.	*ākem(o)* < **aĝ-o-mō?*	*ākamäs* < **aĝ-o-mes-*	*klyausemt(t)är*	*klyosamtär*	**k̂leu̯s-o-med^{h}H$_2$+ri*
2	*āścer* < **aĝ-e-tē+r?*	*āśäc* < **aĝ-e-te*	*klyauṣtär*	*klyośśär*	**k̂leu̯s-e-d^{h}e+ri*
3	*ākeṃ* < **aĝ-o-nt*	*ākeñc* < **aĝ-o-nti*	*klyausentär*	*klyosantär*	**k̂leu̯s-o-ntri*

Pozn.: 1) Adams 1988: 62.

V 1. os. sg. může být méně časté *-m*. Obvyklé je *-u*, které se u tematických sloves mění na *-e$_u$*, později *-au*. Obdobné koncovky platí pro optativ s výjimkou 1. sg. *-m* a 3. sg. *-Ø* v jazyce B (omezují se pouze na aktivní flexi; viz Pinault 1989: 156; Adams 1988: 79-80):

AB *kärs-* „znát“

	B	A	ptoch.	*
1 sg.	*kärsoym*	*kärsim*	**kärsā-y-m(ä)*	** k̥r̥s-ā-iH$_1$-mi*
2	*kärsoyt*	*kärsit*	**kärsā-y-t(ā)*	** k̥r̥s-ā-iH$_1$-tā*
3	*karsoy*	*kärsiṣ*	**kärsā-y-Ø*	** k̥r̥s-ā-iH$_1$-t*
1 pl.	*kärsoyem*	*kärsimäs*	**kärsā-y-o-mV*	= préz.
2	*kärsoycer*	*kärsic*	**kärsā-y-e-tē+r*	= préz.
3	*kärsoyeṃ*	*kärsiñc*	**kärsā-y-o-nt*	= préz.

Jiné jsou v AB koncovky préterita a v A imperfekta (Pinault 1989: 157, 159):

II. Préteritum: B *kaut-*, A *kot-* „zlomit, rozbít“; B *lät-* „odejít“, *tāk-* „být“ (prét. kmen)

	B akt.	A akt.	ptoch.	*	B méd.	A méd.	ptoch.	*
1 sg.	*kautāwa*	*kotā*	**kautā-wā*	*-uH$_1$ < -H$_2$u*	*kautāmai*	*kote*	**kautā-(m)ai*	*-H$_2$e+i*
2	*kautāsta*	*kotaṣt*	**kautā-stā*	*-stH$_2$e*	*kautātai*	*kotte*	**kautā-tai*	*-tH$_2$e+i*
3	*kauta*	*kota*	**kautā-Ø*	*-t?*	*kautāte*	*kotat*	**kautā-tă*	*-to*
3 du.	*ltais*[1]			*°ā-i̯H$_1$+s..*[2]				
		tākenas[1]		*°ā-i̯H$_1$-nā+s..*[2]				
1 pl.	*kautām(o)*	*kotmäs*	**kautā-mV(sV)*	*-mesi* = préz.	*kautāmt(t)e*	*kotamät*	**kautā-mätă(-)*	*-med^{h}H$_2$*
2	*kautās(o)*	*kotas*	**kautā-stäs?*	*-stesi*[3]	*kautāt*	*kotac*	**kautā-tä*	*-d^{h}uwe*
3	*kautāre*	*kotar*	**kautā-ră*	*-ro / -r*	*kautānte*	*kotant*	**kautā-ntă*	*-nto*

Pozn.: 1) Adams 1988: 62; 2) Adams 1988: 62-63, 101; 3) Adams 1988: 100: **-s(ä)* < **-ssä* < **-sṭ̇säsä* < **-sṭi̯äsä* < **-stesi*.

Koncovky imperativu se dochovaly jen pro 2. os.:
AB *käl-* „přinést, přivést“; B *klyaus-*, A *klyos-* „slyšet“; AB *yām-* „dělat“; B *ai-* : imp. *pete-* „dát“; AB *i-* „jít“ (Pinault 1989, 161; Adams 1988, 82; Van Windekens 1982, 294-97):

	B akt.	A akt.	ptoch.* < ie.**	B méd.	A méd.	ptoch.* < ie.**
sg.	*pkāla* *pyām* *päklyauṣ* *pete* *paṣ*	*pkal* *pyām* *päklyoṣ* *paṣ*[1] *piṣ*	**pä-kālā-Ø* < ***pe-k̯̊lH$_3$-ā* **pä-yām-Ø* ***pe-k̂lēu̯s-e* ***po-dH$_3$-o* ***pe-H$_1$i+d^{h}i*[2] či ***pe-H$_1$i+si*[1]	*pkalar* *pyāmtsar*	*päklār* *pyāmtsār* *päklyossū*	**pä-kälā+r*[3] **pä-yām-sā+r*[3] ***pe-k̂lēu̯se-su̯e*[4]
du.				*pyamttsait*		**pä-yām-sā-ī-t*
pl.	*pkalas(o)* *pyāmtso* *päklyauṣso* *petes/petso* *pcīso/cisso*	*päkläs* *pyāmäs* *päklyoṣäs* *pac* *pic/picäs*	***pe-k̯̊lH$_3$-ā-stesi*[5] **pä-yām-stäs*[5] ***pe-k̂lēu̯se-stesi*[5] ***po-dH$_3$o-stesi*[5] ***pe-H$_1$ite(+stesi)*	*pkalat* *pyāmtsat*	*päklāc* *pyāmtsāc*	**pä-kälā-tă*[6] **pä-yām-sā-tă*[6]

Pozn.:
1) Van Windekens 1982: 246, 296 srovnává s lat. infinitivy na *-se*/*-re* (**-si*): *esse*, *īre* aj. a skt. na **-si*: *néṣi*, *dárṣi*, *vákṣi*.
2) Adams 1999: 61. 3) Finální **-r* je zřejmě totéž jako *-r* v prohibitivní částici A *mar*; srov. dále B *mā ra* „ani ... ani“ : *ra* „také; jako“. Ve slovesném systému se *-r* objevuje v arm. 2. sg. imperativu na *-(i)r* a het. imperativu mediopassiva na *-ru* (přehled viz Van Windekens 1982: 295). Pinault (1989: 162) dává přednost vysvětlení, které předpokládá primárně nulový ukazatel imperativu jako v aktivu, plus *-r* signalizující médium. 4) Finální *-sū* < **-su̯e* představuje pravděpodobně reflexívum kterému přesně odpovídá *-sva* v skt. *bhára-sva* „přines!“ (Pinault 1989: 162; Van Windekens 1982: 296). 5) = 2pl. prét. akt. 6) = 2pl. prét. méd.

Významy základních tvarů sloves bývají intranzitivní pasivní, zatímco kauzativních tvarů tranzitivní aktivní (zákl. B *tsälpetär*, A *śalpatär* „je vysvobozen“; kauz. B *tsalpästär*, A *tsälpäṣtär* „vysvobozuje, zachraňuje“). Nejčastější kauzativní sufix je v B *-sk-*/ *-ṣṣ-*; u sloves s kořenem na *-k* sufix *-s-*/ *-ṣ-* (zákl. sg. *rittetär* „spojuje se“, kauz. sg. *rittäṣṣä* „spojuje“, pl. *rittäskeṃ* „spojují“).

Jazyk A má kauzativní sufix *-s-* (3. os. pl. préz. zákl. *läṅkiñc* „visí“, kauz. *läṅkseñc* „věší se na“). Až na výjimky se v jazyce B kauzativní tvary používají i jako konjunktivní.

Tvary média se užívají jako aktivum (B *twe ñi yaitkorsa mant pyām* „činíš tak na můj rozkaz“), médium (B *teśi cimeṃ ñäskemar* „vyprošuji si od tebe prominutí“) nebo pasivum (B *tane orottsa kwasalñeṣṣa weśeññа klyauṣā-te* „byl tu slyšet silný [dosl. velký] naříkavý hlas“).

Většina sloves má základní kmeny v prézentu (12 tříd), konjunktivu (11 tříd) a préteritu (6 tříd). Od prézentních kmenů se koncovkami odvozují indikativ prézentu a některá imperfekta v A a většina v B. Od konjunktivních kmenů se koncovkami tvoří konjunktiv a optativ. Od obou kmenů se jednotlivými sufixy tvoří:

tvary	od kmene	sufixy	*
part. préz. akt.	préz.	B *-ñca*, A *-nt*	**-ont-* m. : **-ānt-* f.
part. préz. méd.	préz.	B *-mane*, A *-māṃ*	**-mə̯no-*
I. gerundivum	préz.	B *-lye* (*-lle*), A *-l*	**-li̯o-*
II. gerundivum	konj.	B *-lye* (*-lle*), A *-l*	**-li̯o -*
I. abstrakta	préz.	B *-l(äñ)ñe* / A *-lune*	**-l-uni̯o-*/**-l-uno̯i̯-*
II. abstrakta	konj.	B *-l(äñ)ñe* / A *-lune*	**-l-uni̯o-*/**-l-uno̯i̯-*
inf.	A préz., B konj.	AB *-tsi*	**-ti̯ōi* (dat. **-ti̯o-*)
jmenné tvary	préz. et konj.	B *-nta*, A *-nt*	**-nt-ā*
privativa	konj.	B *–tte*, A *-t*	**-to-*

Kmeny préterita se většinou shodují s konjunktivem, mají ale odlišné koncovky.

Imperativ se tvoří prefixem *p(ä)-*, který může chybět v B před slovesy na *p-* (B *parskat* „ptejte se!“). Před labiovelárami se *pä-* mění na A *pu*, B *po* (A pl. *pukmäs* „běžte!“, B sg. *pokkāka* „volej!“). Tento prefix má nejbližší obdobu ve slovanském prefixu **po-*, který vyjadřuje perfektivnost (Adams 1988: 62).
Co do sufixů se imperativ tvoří šesti způsoby (= třídami):
I. bez sufixů od základních tvarů sloves (A *kām-* „nést“, pl. *pkāmāc*)
II. bez sufixů od kauzativu (A *yär-* „koupat se“, sg. *päyrār*)
III. sufixem *-s-* (B *er-*, A *ar-* „vyvolat“; B pl. *persat*, A sg. *parsār*)
IV. sufixem *-ṣṣ-* (B *kätk-* „překročit“, sg. *kätkäṣṣar*)
V. sufixem *-ññ-* (B *ārk-*/ *ārc-* „mít [povinnost]“, sg. *porcañ̃ñar*)
VI. nepravidelně (např. AB *i-* „jít“, B akt. pl. *paṣ*, A akt. pl. *piṣ*, méd. pl. *pic*; AB *we-* „mluvit“, B sg. *poñ*, pl. *poñes*).

12 prézentních tříd se dělí na tematické a atematické. Podle zavedeného dělení (Krause & Thomas 1960: 196-217, Pinault 1989: 136-143) je 8 (II.-IV., VIII. -XII.) tematických: u tříd II. – IV. se ke slovesným kmenům připojuje vokál:
II. AB *ä*, B *e*, A *a* < ie. **e*/**o* (AB *āk-* „vidět“, préz. akt. sg. B *āśäṃ*, ale B *aśeñca*, A *āśant*)
III. B *e*, A *a* < ie. **o* (AB *mäsk-* „být, nacházet se“, 3. os. sg. méd. B *mäsketär*, A *mäskatär*)
IV. B *o*, A *a* (AB *ār-* „přestat“, 3. os. sg. méd. B *orotär*, A *aratär*).

U tříd VIII. – XII. se ke slovesným kmenům připojují jako sufixy jednotlivé konsonanty nebo slabiky; mezi styčné konsonanty se vkládá vokál *-a-*/ *-ā-* (např. VIII. *yām-* „dělat“, 1. os. sg. préz. *yam-a-sk-au*):
VIII. AB *-s-* (B *er-*, A *ar-* „vzbudit“, 3. os. sg. préz. B *ersau*, A *arsam*)
IX. jen B *-sk-* (B *ai-*, A *e-* „dávat“, 3. os. sg. préz. B *aiskau*, A *esam*)
X. B *-näsk-*/*-näsk*, A *-näs-*/*-näs-*; u -n- ale dochází k metatezi z *-mn-* na *-nm-* (AB *täm-* „zrodit se“, 3. os. sg. préz. B *tänmastär*, A *tämnäṣtär*; jinak AB *päk-* „mít v úmyslu“, 3. os. B sg. méd. *päknāstär*)
XI. B *-sask-*/*-säsk-*, A *-sis-* (AB *āks-* „oznámit, učit“, B 3. os. sg. préz. *aksaskau*; A *ok-* „přibývat“, 1. os. sg. préz. *oksisam*)
XII. AB *-ññ-* se často asimiluje (A *kāṣ-* „plísnit“, inf. *kāṣiñtsi*; B *kläntṣ-* „spát“, 3. os. sg. préz. *kläntsaṃ*).

Ostatní třídy jsou atematické:
I. Koncovky se ke kmeni slovesa připojují pomocným vokálem *ä*, na rozdíl od II. třídy, ale bez palatalizace finálního konsonantu: (*pälk-* „hořet“, 3. os. sg. préz. B *palkäṃ*, A *palkäṣ*).
V. klade před koncovky vokál *ā* (AB *läk-* „vidět“, 3. os. préz. akt. A *lkāṣ*)
VII. jen v B nasální infix (B *pik* „malovat“, 3. os. sg. préz. *piṅkäṃ*)
VI. v AB infix *-nā-* do kmene s krátkým vokálem, *-na-* do kmene s dlouhým vokálem (A *kärs-* „vědět“ : 3. os. sg. préz. *kärsnāṣ*; B *tsāk-* „kousat“ : 3. os. sg. préz. *tsāknaṃ*)

Podle tvarů 1. třídy prézentních kmenů probíhá i konjugace slovesa „jít“ AB *i-*; zatímco tvary v A jsou pravidelné, v B je infix *-n-* (A préz. *yäm*, *yät*, *yäṣ*, *ymäs*, *yäc*, *yiñc*, part. préz. *ymāṃ*; B *yam*, *yat*, *yaṃ*, *ynem*, *yacer*, *yaneṃ*, part.

préz. *ynemane*). Do první třídy prézentních kmenů patří i supletivní sloveso existence, jehož paradigma tvoří tři různé ie. kořeny: 1) *$*H_1es$*- „být“, 2) *$*d^heH_1$*-*(-k-/-s-)* „dít se, dělat“, 3) *$*steH_2$*- „stát (se)“: 1a) préz. B *nes*-, A *nas*- „být“ < *$*H_1$*no- + *$*H_1$*s-, srov. lokativní postpozice B *-ne* < *$*H_1$*no*, 1b) impf. B sg. *ṣai*-, pl. *ṣey*-, A *ṣe*- < *$*H_1$*s-i̯eH_1*-, 1c) *skente* < *$*H_1$*s-sk̂o-nto*; 2) prét. a jeho deriváty **tāk-ā*-; 3) kopula *ste* < *$*stH_2$*-ó, *stare* < *$*stə̯_2$*-ró*; čtvrtý kořen **men*- „zůstat“ může být přidán, pokud do paradigmatu slovesa existence zařadíme AB *mäsk*- „stát se“ < *$*mn̥-sk̂$*- (viz Pobożniak 1986: 267; Batke 1999: 63-74; Adams 344-46: 458-59).

	os.	B		A	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
prézens	1.	*nesau*	*nesem*	*nasam*	*nasamäs*
	2.	*nest*	*nescer /neścer*	*naṣt*	*Ø*
	3.	*nesäṃ*	*nesäṃ*	*naṣ*	*neñc*
imperfektum	1.	*ṣaim/ ṣeym*	*ṣeyem*	*ṣem*	*ṣemäs*
	2.	*ṣait*	*ṣeycer*	*ṣet*	**ṣec*
	3.	*ṣai*	*ṣeyeṃ*	*ṣeṣ*	*ṣeñc*
préteritum	1.	*takāwa*	*Ø*	*tākā*	*tākmäs*
	2.	*takāsta*	*Ø*	*tākaṣt*	*Ø*
	3.	*tāka*	*takāre*	*tāk*	*tākar*
konjunktiv	1.	*tākau*	*tākam*	*tām*	*tamäs*
	2.	*tākat*	*tākacer*	*tāt*	*tāc*
	3.	*tākaṃ*	*tākaṃ*	*tāṣ*	*tākeñc*
optativ	1.	*tākoym*	*tākoyem*	*tākim*	*takimäs*
	2.	*tākoyt*	*tākoycer*	*tākit*	*Ø*
	3.	*tākoy*	*tākoyeṃ*	*tākiṣ*	*tākiñc*
imperativ	2.	*ptāka*	*ptākas*	*päṣtäk*	*päṣtakäs*
kopula	2.	*star*			
	3.	*ste, star-*	*stare(-)* *skente, skentar-*		

Většina z 11 konjunktivních tříd (II., III., VI., IX.-XII.; Krause & Thomas 1960: 221-233; Pinault 1989: 144-146) se zcela shoduje s prézentními (jen IX. třída je rozšířena nejen v B o *-sk*-, ale i v A o *-s*-: A *kän*- „vznikat“, 1. os. sg. *knāsam*). Liší se třídy:
IV. jen vzácně v B sufix *-i*- (*kälyp*- „ukrást“, 1. os. akt. *kalypi*, inf. *kälypitsi*).
VII. sufix AB *-ñ*-; častěji v A (AB *we*- „mluvit“, 3. os. akt. sg. A *weñäṣ*)
I. atematicky jako v prézentu, koncovky se připojují k nepalatalizovanému kořenu končícímu vokálem (B *ai*-, A *e*- „dávat“, 1. os. akt. sg. B āyu, A *em*)
V. sufixem AB *-ā*- (AB *wik*- „zmizet“, B inf. *wikātsi*, 3. os. sg. méd. A *wikātär*)

Jazyk B vytváří od konjunktivu privativní tvary pomocí negativních prefixů a sufixu *-tte*, např. *kaut-* „rozdělit, rozštěpit“, *akautatte* „nerozštěpitelný“; *klyaus-* „slyšet“, *enklyauṣätte* „neslýchaný“.
Préterita se dělí do tříd podle způsobu tvoření na šest základních tříd (Krause & Thomas 1960: 237-254; Pinault 1989: 147-152):
I. atematická odvozená bez sufixu od základního tvaru slovesa (AB *kälk-* kořen minulého tvaru od *i-* „jít“, 3. os. sg. akt. A *kälk*);
II. od kauzativu odvozený tvar s palatalizovaným iniciálním konsonantem, který je v A reduplikován, v B následován prodlouženým vokálem (AB *täl-* „zdvihnout“, A *cacäl*, B *cāla*; AB *kärs-* „znát“, A *śaśärs*, B *śārsa*);
VI. tematická: slovesa AB *käm-* „přijít“, AB *länt-* „vyjít“ – u obou je 3. os. sg. akt. bez koncovky. B *käm-*: sg. 1. os. *kamau*, 3. os. *śem(o)*, pl. 1. os. *kmem*, 3. os. *kameṃ*/ *śemare*; B *lä-n-t-*: sg. 1. os. *latau*, 3. os. *lac*, pl. 1. os. *latso*, 3. os. *lateṃ*, du. 3. os. *ltais*;
IV. sufixem *-ṣṣ-* (AB *yām-* „dělat“, 1. os. akt. prét. *yamaṣṣa*, srv. IX. prézentní třída 1. os. préz. sg. *yamaṣṣäṃ*);
V. sufixem *-ñ(ñ)-* (AB *we-* „říkat“, 1. os. sg. akt. B *w(e)ñāwa*, A *weñā*);
III. částečně sigmatická - v obou jazycích v aktivu schází *-s-*; např. u slovesa B *prek-*, A *prak-* „ptát se“: koncovky osob aktiva B sg. *-wa*, *-asta*, *-sa*, pl. *-am*, **-as*, *-ar*; A sg. *-wā*, *-äṣt*, *-äs*, pl. *-mäs*, **-äs*, *-är*; v médiu se ke kořenům B *park-* A *präk-* připojují koncovky: B sg. *-samai*, *-satai*, *-sate*, pl. *-samt(t)e*, *-sat*, *-sante*; A sg. *-se*, *-sāte*, *-sāt*, pl. *-sāmät*, *-sāc*, *-sānt*.

Prézens označuje přítomný děj i při vyprávění minulých dějů (prézens historický); užívá se i pro bezprostředně očekávaný budoucí děj: A *wältkālts ymār kumsam* „určitě rychle přijdu“; se záporkou A *mar*, B *mā* vyjadřuje zákaz: B *mā trańko yamas-ne* „neobviňuj ho!“.
Imperfektum vyjadřuje děj v minulosti nebo minulé jednání durativní (B *pañäkte Kapilavāstune mäskītär* „Buddha prodléval v Kapilavastu“) a iterativní (B *yetse tsäkṣyeñ-c kektseñmeṃ latkanoyeñ-c misa po* „odpalovali ti z těla pokožku a odřezávali ti veškeré maso“). Préteritum označuje nedurativní minulý děj. Užívá se narativně.
Perfektem je vyjádřen dokonavý děj či jednání v minulosti (např. B *poyśiṃñeṣṣe kauñkte parka* „vyšlo vševědoucí slunce [= Buddha]”).
Tzv. intenzivní préteritum je zvláštní tvar jazyka B. Je jakoby složen z tvarů imperfekta a préterita a má nejednoznačné durativní nebo iterativní užití; např. *ñiś tremeṃñ pruśiya* „ze zlosti mne přehlížel“.
Konjunktiv je v hlavních větách užit modálně a vyjadřuje očekávání (B *mäkte ṣ teṃ kelu* „Ale jak to mám snést?“), přání (A *täṣ nātkis kärsor tāṣ* „ať se to pán dozví!“) nebo ve vazbě se záporkou preventivní zákaz (B *mā nai ñakta*

prañkäs-me „Přece nás, ó bože, neodmítneš!“). Konjunktivními tvary se tvoří vedlejší věty vztažné, podmiňovací a příslovečné časové, místní a způsobové. Výjimečně se konjunktivem vyjadřuje budoucí děj: A *ārkiśoṣṣis sem waste pākär tāt* „Staneš se ochranou a útočištěm světa [= lidí]“.

Optativ se tvoří pomocí *-i-*, jen v V. a VI. konjunktivní třídě v B sufixem *-oy-*; v hlavních větách vyjadřuje přání (B *po cmelane källoymä krentäṃ wāṣmoṃ* „ať ve všech zrozeních získám dobré přátele“), předpis (A *mā yaläṃ wram mar yāmiṣ* „věc, která se nemá činit, ať se nečiní“) nebo možnost. Dále se užívá k tvorbě vedlejších vět vztažných, podmiňovacích a příslovečných místních, časových, způsobových a finálních.

Imperativ – výjimečně se užívá adhortativně (B *carit päs pyāmtso* „ukončeme hostinu!“), popř. může být imperativ základního tvaru slovesa užit kauzativně: A *pkanā-ñy ākāl* „splň mi přání!“. Imperativ duálu se dochoval vzácně jen v jazyce B, např. *pyamttsait* „vy dva dělejte!“.

Infinitiv AB *-tsi* se v jazyce B tvoří od konjunktivu, v A od prézentu. Tvar infinitivu může přibírat koncovky sekundárních pádů, v jazyce A jen allativu, v B navíc perlativu, lokativu a genitivu. Např. allativ (tučně) B *toṃ ñyatstsenta* ***wikässiś*** *poyśinta tne tseṅkeṃtär* „vševědoucí zde [= ve světě] povstávají, aby **zahnali** takové nesnáze“. Infinitiv může být užit i pasivně nebo predikativně a infinitiv základního tvaru slovesa vyjadřuje i kauzativní význam: A *war wipāsi lywā-ṃ* „poslala mu vodu k omytí“.

Od prézentních forem se tvoří prézentní participium akt. a méd. s koncovkou *-e*: B *nesamane* „jsoucí“; od préterita se tvoří participium préterita s koncovkou *-u* a často iniciální reduplikací; např. *pälk-* „hořet“, B part. prét. *pepalyku* „trpěv [ve významu „pálen, spalován“]“, *kārp-* „sestoupit“, A *kā-kärpṣu*, B *kakkārpäṣṣu* „sestoupiv“, apod. Všechny tvary mohou mít aktivní i pasivní užití; např. part. préz. B *mäkte kautsy akemane wnolme* „jako je bytost vedena k smrti“; part. prét. slovesa základního tvaru A *wrasaśśi āñmaṣi īme yāmu* „bytostmi byla vytvořena představa já“; part. prét. kauzativa B *emalyesa tsetsarkoṣ memyoṣ yokaisa* „spalováni horkem, sužováni žízní“. Od participia préterita se koncovkou *-r* tvoří slovesná jména, např. *yāmu* „učiniv“, *yāmor* „čin“, atp.

Gerundivní koncovky jsou B *-lye* / *-lle*, v A *-l*. Gerundivum I. se odvozuje od prézentu a označuje to, co je potřeba učinit, tedy nutnost, popř. se záporkou zákaz (B *kärsanalle* „to co je třeba vědět“, A *yal* „to co je třeba učinit“). Užívá se ve větách jako atribut (B *kärsanälyeṃ wäntarwane* „ve věcech, které se musí znát“); užívá se také predikativně (B *ṣāmaṃ mā ñomā kenäl* „není označován jménem mnich“) nebo tvoří jména, např. A *ākälṣäl*, B *akalṣälle* „žák“, dosl.

„ten, kdo má studovat“. Gerundivum II. se odvozuje od konjunktivu a označuje možnost. Ve větách se užívá stejně jako první tvar, např. predikativně A *wrasaśśi mā kälpāl naṣ* „není pro bytosti dosažitelné“.

Od gerundiv se tvoří častá gerundivní abstrakta koncovkami A *-une*, B *-(äñ)ñe* (A *wäl-* „zemřít“, *wlalune* „smrt“; B *yuk-* „přemoci“, *yukalñe* „překonání“). Činitelská jména vznikají příponami A *-ts*, B *-tsa* (A *aknāts*, B *aknātsa* „nevědoucí“). Jiná slovesná jména se tvoří sufixy:

A *-nt*, B *-nta* (B *kauṣenta* „vrah“)
B *-uca*/ *-auca* (*ynūca* „jdoucí“, *kärsauca* „vědoucí“)
B *-uki* (*tanmaṣṣuki* „vyvolavač“)

Od sloves se tvoří i adjektiva koncovkami AB *-m(o)* (B *ynamo* „jdoucí“); jen v B koncovkami *-a*, *-i* (*rita* „hledající“, *poyśi* „vševědoucí“); jen v A kompozitně s koncovkou -e (*ākāl-käṃṣe* „splňující přání“).

Nesklonné druhy slov: adverbia, prepozice & postpozice, konjunkce, partikule a citoslovce (Krause & Thomas 1960: 169-172).

Adverbia mohou být místní, časová a způsobová. Výběr místních: B *om(p)* / *om(p)te* / *omteṃ* = skt. *tatra* „tam, tady“; B *etsuwai* = skt. *upa* „u, k“; B *mante* = skt. *ūrdhvam* „nahoře, nahoru“; B *ywārcka*, A *ywārckā* (altern. *c*/*ś*) „uprostřed, mezi“; B *ate*, A *atas* „ven“; B *parne*, A *parna* „ven(ku)“; B *eneṃ* / *eneṅka*, A *an(n)e* „uvnitř“; B *enepre*, A *anapar* „vpředu“; B *lauke*, A *lok* „daleko“; B *lau*, A *lo* / *lek* „pryč“; B *päst*, A *pest* idem.; B *kauc*, A *koc* „vysoko“; B *ette*, A *āñc* „dole, dolů“; B *ñor*, A *posaṃ*/ *posac* „pod, vedle“; B *śwālyai*, A *śālyās* „vlevo“; B *saiwai*, A *pācyās*/ *pāccās* „vpravo“. Se slovesy pohybu se pojí směrové prefixy: B *ecce-*, A *aci-* + B *e-* < skt. *ā-* „sem, při-“; B *cowai-*, A *pre-* „pryč, od-“; A *ṣu-* „sem“; A *āsuk-* = skt. *ati* „dál, pře-“, A *śu-* idem.
Adverbia času B *ñ(a)ke* (**neg^{h}o*, sr. sch. *nego* „než“), A *tāpärk* „nyní“ (sr. r. *teper’*); B *ṣek*, A *skam* „vždy“; B *nauṣ*, A *neṣ* „dříve“; B *yparwe* „nejdříve“; B *postäṃ* / *ompostäṃ*, A *särki* „později“; B *entwe*, A *antus* „potom“; B *akek*, A *toriṃ* „nakonec“; B *tsoṅkaik*, A *ksär* „ráno“; B *oṣle* & *nekcīye*, A *noktiṃ* „večer“; B *artsa kauṃ*, A *ārts koṃ* = skt. *anvaham* „den po dni“; B *yṅkauṃ kästwer*, A *ykoṃ oṣeñi* „ve dne v noci“.
Adverbia způsobu B *taisa* / *taisu* / *taise(ṃ)* „tak“; B *totka*, A *tsru* = skt. *alpa* „málo“; B *olaṅk* = skt. *alam* „dost“; B *(e)śatkai* / *śitkai* „velmi“; B *oly(a)po* / *olyapots(ts)e* / *ololyesa*, A *ṣokyo* „víc“; B *auṣap* / *oṃṣap*, A *lyutār* idem.; B *solme*, A *salu* „zcela“ (**solmo-*/**soḷṵo-*); A *ypic* / *ṣitsrāk* id.; AB *ysomo* „celkem“ (**en-somHām*); B *r(a)mer*, A *ymār* „rychle“ (**dru-mor*).

Prepozice a postpozice: před slovo se kladou typicky jen B *śle*, A *śla* „s“ a B *snai*, A *sna* „bez“ (sr. lat. *sine*); lokativně se ještě užívá prefix *y(n)*- např. B *yñakte* „mezi bohy“ nebo B *yṅkauṃ*/ *iṅkauṃ*, A *ykoṃ*/ *ykonā* „ve dne“. Za slova se kladou např. B *pkante*, A *pkänt* „bez“; B *täṅtsi*, A *okāk* „až do“; B *eneśle* „jako“; B *(e)ṣe*, A *ṣyak* „s, dohromady“; B *warñai*/*wärñai*, A *aci* = skt. *ādi* „počínaje [něčím]“; A *neṣontā* „s [něčím] na vrcholu“. Jako postpozice se užívají i různé gramatické tvary slov (Carling 1999): B *ṣärmtsa*, A *ṣurmaṣ* „kvůli“ jsou B perl. od *ṣurm* a A abl. od *ṣarm* „příčina“; A *posac* / *posaṃ* „vedle“ je all./ lok. od **pos*-; A *korpā* „proti“ je perl. od **korp*- „obrat“ se vztahem k AB *kārp*- „sklánět se“ < ptoch. **k*^{w}*ärp*-; B *warñai* / *wärñai* „počínaje“ je obl. od **wärñ-o*.

Konjunkce: B *wai*, A *yo* „a“ ve stejné funkci u vět B *ṣ*/ *ṣp*/ *ṣäp*/ *ṣpä*, A *śkam*. Dále AB *epe ... epe* „ať … či …“; B *wat*, A *pat* „nebo“; B *no*, A *nu* „jen, ale, také“; B *wat no*, A *pat nu* „nebo i“; B *ra* / *rano*, A *pe* / *penu* = „také“; B *noṅk* „přesto“; B *ṅke* „ale“; B *katu* „neboť, totiž”; B *nano*, A *nuṃ* „zase“; B *kwri*, A *k*$_{u}$*pre ne* „když, jestliže“ (**k*^{u}*u-b*^{h}*roi*). Souřadné větné členy bývají spojeny asyndeticky: B *ṣarm oko* „příčina a účinek [dosl. plod]“, A *ātli k*$_{u}$*lewāñ* „muži a ženy“. I souvětí může být beze spojky (viz níže).

Partikule: B *ram(t)*, A *oki* „jako“; B *nai* (sr. ř. *ναί* „vskutku“), A *aśśi* „snad“; B *nemcek*, A *ṣakkats* „zajisté“ – v témž významu B *auspa*, A *wäṣpā* i B *attsaik*, A *āttsek*. V B jsou i *yaka* / *ykāk* „ještě“ (sr. sl. **ju že* „již“); *taka* / *tkā* „potom“. Univerzální tázací částicí je v jazyce A jen *te* (Lühr 1997), ostatní jsou specifické: A *pe(nu)*, B *pi* „přece, snad, tak”; *aśśi* „asi, snad“; B *mäpi*/ *mapi*/ *māpi* „jen, přece, také ne“. Částice mohou stát vedle osobních popř. tázacích zájmen; částice B *-nai*, A *-ne* se připojuje k tázacím zájmenům a adverbiím a mění je na vztažné A *kus* „kdo“, *kusne* „který“. V častých spojeních *mäṃtne* a *tämne* znamená „právě“.

Negace se provádí záporkou AB *mā*, A *mar* nebo složeninami B *mā ... nta*, A *mā ontam* „vůbec ne“; B *mantanta* „nikdy“; B *māwk*, A *mā ok* „ještě ne“.

Citoslovce: např. AB *hai* „ó běda“, AB *hā* „ach“, AB *hiśt* = skt. *dhik* „fuj“; jen v B např. *arai* „ó“.

Zásady syntaxe

Tocharské texty se zpravidla řídí syntaxí sanskrtu, nejběžnější je model SOV (MacDonell 2000: 178). Podmět stojí na začátku věty: B 569a1 [*akn*]*ātsaṃ-ñ*[*e*] *prutkātär* „nevědomost bude zastavena“. Po podmětu následuje předmět

B 45b4/5 *mā=psāl mā māskwo srūkalñe* [*ce*] *ceṃsträ* „ani meč ani překážka smrt nezastaví“. Na konci větného segmentu stojí sloveso: A 1b2f. *tmaṣ rākṣtsāśśi dvipaṃ yeṣ tmaṣ yakṣāśśi (tmaṣ) baladvipaṃ yeṣ* „Poté se odebral [dosl. šel] na ostrov rákšasů, potom jakšů [a] potom šel i na Baladvípu“. Přívlastky stojí před určovaným jménem B 17b1 *nāki welñe preresa* „šípem vyčítavé řeči“ – jednotlivě: obl. *nāki* „kritika“; obl. *welñe* „řeč“ (= deverbální abstraktní jméno od *we-* „říkat“); perl. *preresa* „šípem“. V podřadných souvětích vyjadřuje konjunktiv potenciálnost, optativ ireálnost. Konjunktiv v A66a3 *ṣomāp lānt em k̯pre ne cu ālyek yäsluṣ tāke-ñi* „Kdybych tě dal jednomu králi, druzí by se stali mými nepřáteli“. Optativ v souvětí beze spojky B5a6 *toṃmā tākoṃ śaiṣṣene mā ṅke tsaṅkoy pudñäkte* „Kdyby nebyly na světě [tj. stáří, nemoc a smrt], buddha by nemusel vzniknout [tj. aby osvobodil bytosti]“.

Zkratky

A východotocharský, a. genus alternans, abl. ablativ, adj. adjektivum, aj. a jiný, ak. akuzativ, akt. aktivum, all. allativ, arm. arménský, av(est). avestský, b- baltsko-, B západotocharský, BHS buddhistický hybridní sanskrt, com. genus communis, dat. dativ, dosl. doslova, du. duál, f./fem. femininum, gen. genitiv, germ. germánský, het. hetitský, ie. indoevropský, imp. imperativ, impf. imperfektum, instr. instrumentál, írán. íránský, jm. jmenný, kaus. kausalis, kauz. kauzativ, kol. kolektivum, kom. komitativ, konj. konjunktiv, lat. latinský, lit. litevský, lok. lokativ, luv. luvijský, m./mask. maskulinum, méd. médium, n. neutrum, nom. nominativ, obl. casus obliquus = nepřímý pád, opt. optativ, part. participium, pas. pasivum, p- pra-, perl. perlativ, pl. plurál, préz. prézens, ptoch. pratocharský, ř. řecký, sg. singulár, skt. sanskrt, sl. slovanský, sr. srovnej, st- staro-, stř- středo-, subst. substantivum, suf. sufix, toch. tocharský, vok. vokativ, vs. versus, zákl. základní tvar slovesa.

Literatura

Adams, Douglas Q. 1978. On the Development of the Tocharian Verbal System. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98, 277-288.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1988. *Tocharian Historical Phonology and Morphology*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1991. The Dual in Proto-Indo-European and Tocharian. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 5, 11-43.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1993. Revisiting the Person-Number Endings of Tocharian B. T*ocharian and Indo-European Studies. Supplementary Series*, Vol. 6. Reykjavík. Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 15-27.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1994. PIE Locative Prefixes in Tocharian. In: Schlerath, Bernfried (ed.). *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft Berlin, September 1990. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies. Supplementary Series*, Vol. 4. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 9-36.

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Atlanta: Rodopi.
Adams, Douglas Q. 2006. Some Implications of the Carbon-14 Dating of Tocharian Manuscripts. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 34, Num. 3-4, 381-389.
Batke, Christianne. 1999. Das Präsens und Imperfekt der Verben für 'Sein' im Tocharischen. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 1-74.
Blažek, Václav & Schwarz, Michal. 2007. Tocharové. Kdo byli, odkud přišli, kde žili. *Linguistica Brunensia. Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity A 55*, 85-113.
Burlak, Svetlana. 2000. *Istoričeskaja fonetika tocharskich jazykov.* Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija RAN.
Carling, Gerd. 1999. The Tocharian inflected adverbials and adpositions in relation to the case system.*Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 95-110.
Gippert, Jost. 1987. Zu der sekundären Kasusaffixen des Tocharischen. *Tocharian and Indo -European Studies* 1, 22-39.
Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology and Etymology*. Reykjavík: Dissertation.
Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1989. *The Dual Forms of Nouns and Pronouns in Tocharian. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies. Supplementary Series*, Vol. 1. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.
Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1996. *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary. Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series*, Vol. 5 Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.
Jasanoff, J. H. 1988. The sigmatic aorist in Tocharian and Indo-European. *Tocharian and Indo- -European Studies* 2, 52-76.
Jasanoff, J. H. 1989. Language and gender in the Tarim Basin: the Tocharian 1. sg. pronoun. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 3, 125-147.
Krause, Wolfgang. 1955. Tocharisch. In: *Handbuch der Orientalistik,* IV. Band – *Iranistik*, 3. Abschnitt. Leiden: Brill.
Krause, Wolfgang & Thomas, Werner. 1960. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. I: *Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Lane, George S. 1967. On the Significance of Tocharian for Indo-European Lingustics. In: *Studies in Historical Linguistics in Honor of George S. Lane*, ed. by Walter W. Arndt et al. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 76-87.
Lühr, Rosemarie. 1997. Zur osttocharischen Fragepartikel *te*. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 89-119.
MacDonnel, Arthur A. 2000 (reprint of the 3rd edition: Oxford, 1926.). *A Sanskrit Grammar for Students*. Delhi: S.G.V. Press.
Malzahn, Melanie (ed.). 2007. *Instrumenta Tocharica*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Melchert, H. Craig. 2000. Tocharian Plurals in -nt- and Related Phenomena. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 9, 53-75.
Melčuk, I. A. 1959. Kratkij očerk morfologii tocharskich jazykov. In: Ivanov, V. V. (ed.). *Tocharskije jazyky*. Moskva: Izdateľstvo inostrannoj literatury, 158-202.
Pedersen, Holger. 1941. *Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung*. København: Munksgaard.
Pinault, Georges J. 1989. *Introduction au Tokharien*. Paris: Lalies.
Pobożniak, Tadeusz. 1986. Język tocharski. In: Bednarczuk, Leszek (ed.). *Języky indoeuropejskie*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukove, 245-273.
Poucha, Pavel. 1930. O nových jazycích indoevropských nalezených ve Střední Asii, zvláště

o jazyce tocharském. (S náčrtem tocharské mluvnice.) In: *Dvacátá výroční zpráva Českého státního gymnasia v Praze XI. za školní rok 1929-1930*. Praha.
Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A. Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae*. Pars I. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
Ringe, Donald A. 1989. The imperative prefix /*pə*-/ in the Tocharian B dialects. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 3, 51-63.
Ringe, Donald A. 1996. *On the Chronology of Sound Changes in Tocharian*, Vol. 1: *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Tocharian*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
Schulze, Wilhelm & Sieg, Emil & Siegling, Wilhelm. 1931. *Tocharische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Sieg, Emil & Siegling, Wilhelm. 1949. *Tocharische Sprachreste. Sprache B. Die Udānālaṅkāra-Fragmente*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Thomas, Werner. 1957. *Der Gebrauch der Vergangenheitstempora im Tocharischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Thomas, Werner. 1964. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. II: *Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. I: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.
Van Windekens, Albert J. 1979. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II.1: *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.
Van Windekens, Albert J. 1982. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. Vol. II.2: *La morphologie verbale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Poznámka

Předkládaná studie vznikla jako jeden z dílčích výstupů v rámci spolupráce se Střediskem pro interdisciplinární výzkum starých jazyků a starších fází jazyků moderních (MSM 0021622435).

Summary

A purpose of our study, which represents a continuation from the last year (Blažek & Schwarz 2007), is to offer a brief grammatical sketch of two Tocharian languages, the projection of the most important language features into Common Tocharian or Indo-European proto-languages, and, in limited number of cases, the external comparisons with other Indo-European languages, in agreement with present level of our knowledge.

III. Ethno-Linguistics & History

Tocharians.Who they were, where they came from and where they lived. *Lingua Posnaniensis* **50 (2008), 47-74.**

Václav Blažek & Michal Schwarz

In 2008 one century will be passed after the recognition of inhabitants of Tang's Chinese Turkestan as speakers of until that time unknown original branch of Indo-European languages. So the eastern border of the Indo-European pre-colonial space passed even the 90th meridian eastwards from Greenwich (to be exact, in the same time also Indo-Iranian people overpassed this line in the area of contemporary Bangladesh and the Indian confederative state of Assam). Tocharians kept their Indo-European identity not only by their long trans-continental drift through Eurasia, but still some thousands years after their arrival to the Chinese border. Interesting is that they didn't yield Chinese cultural and linguistic assimilation; on the contrary, the ancestors of Tocharians brought to the early Chinese civilization achievements from field of technology (war chariot), food (honey), knowledge of some exotic animals (lion) and religion (especially buddhism). Situation of the 9th (or 10th?) century, when the Tocharians became to disappear from the history of Central Asia, remains in darkness of informational vacuum. The only thing that we certainly know is that they didn't yield sinization, but vanished away in expansion of the Turkic nations, represented in this area by Old Uyghurs.

Content

1. History of early research.
2. Tocharian A, B, C?
3. Tocharian texts + sites and dating of finds.
4. Classical (western) reports about the "Tocharian" speakers / nation.
5. Chinese reports about the ethnicity of areas inhabited (not only) by Tocharians.
6. Origin of the ethnonym in the light of ancient and early medieval resources.
7. Debate about hypothetical trajectories of migrations of ancestors of the Tocharians to the Central Asia.
8. Appendix I.
9. Appendix II.
10. Conclusion.

1. The first Tocharian text came to Europe at the end of 19th century. It was a photograph of one page of a manuscript written in an unknown language in the

northwest variant of the North Indian Brāhmī script. The page was published by Sergei Oldenburg in 1892, who received two sheets of the manuscript from Russian consul Petrovski in Kašghar (in North-Western China, 新疆 Xinjiang province with the majority of Uyghur population). British Hoernle edited the same text in 1893, transcribing it and identifying one Sanskrit name. German Leumann was the first one who had published both sides of the manuscript from Petrovski-collection, trancribed them accurately and recognized other Sanskrit proper names. Thanks to Leumann, both sides of the manuscript were later identified as translation of Sanskrit text Buddhaṣṭōtra. But the first Tocharian manuscripts were discovered earlier. In 1890 two Uyghurs sold two manuscripts to British lieutenant Bower. These manuscripts written on birch bark were found in a stupa near Qumtura. Bower brought them to the Asian Society in Calcutta, from where they got into Hoernles' hands. Although poor, this discoveries stimulated high interest not only on the side of European orientalists but also by native citizens (really amazing discovery in the 敦煌莫高 Dunhuang Mogao caves was done by the local Daoist priest Wang Daoshi in 1900 during his amateur reconstruction of wallpaintings in an abandoned temple). If we determine the earliest era of the tocharology by the beginning of the First World War, it is very remarkable how many expeditions to Chinese Turkestan were lead by Russians or by European orientalists in the Russian employment: V. I. Roborovski (1893-95), D. A. Klementz 1897-98), A. I. Kochanovski (1906-07), M. M. Berezovski (1905-07), S. E. Malov (1909-11, 1913-15), S. Oldenburg (1909-10: Xinjiang; 1914-15: Dunhuang). Also Swedish Sven Hedin (1894-96) inquired in the region. British Bower (1890) and M. A. Stein (1906-08) travelled here as well; the leaders of French expeditions were Dutreil de Rhins (1892) and Paul Pelliot (1906-09: Kuqa), and some of the best German expeditions leaded Albert Grünwedel and A. von Le Coq (1902-03: Turpan; 1904-05: Turpan, Qomul; 1905-07: Kuqa, Qarašahr, Turpan, Qomul; 1913-14: Kuqa, Maralbashi). It is evident that original reason to finance this expensive expeditions was not altruistic interest about unknown languages, but power ambitions of European superpowers to control over the Central Asia. From the time of Napoleon's hauling to Egypt (1798-99) the European strategists knew the importance of presence of experts in the areas. So it shouldn't surprise that most of the above mentioned names belongs to the top orientalists in the world in that time. In the first decade of the 20th century most of the expeditions establishing inventaria of the Tocharian manuscripts in museums in Sankt-Peterburg, Berlin, London and Paris were realized. In the same time a fundamental progress in understanding texts, grammatical structure and

genetical relations of language succeeded. In 1908 the Berlin indologists E. Sieg and W. Siegling published a short article about this language, identifying it with "Tocharian" (to this time the working name was "Indo-Scythian") and determining its two different, although closely related dialects: in traditional terminology Tocharian A and B or Eastern and Western Tocharian. Important was a clear proof of their Indo-European identity and so establishment of the additional and independent branch of Indo-European languages. Their discovery that this eastern IE language resembles western IE languages with some of its features, particularly Italic or Celtic, e.g. the preservation of the velar nature of the hypothetical IE palatal velars *$\hat{k}$, *$\hat{g}$, *$\hat{g}^h$, which are changed in Baltic, provoked an immense surprise. Slavic and Indo-Iranian to sibilants and affricates (Toch. A ***k**änt*, B *kante* next Greek *he**k**aton*, Lat. ***c**entum* (still in the time of Caesar it was pronounced with /*k*/, even his name), Celtiberian ***k**antom*, Old Irish ***c**ét*, Welsh ***k**ant*, Goth. pl. ***h**unda*. Another obvious common feature is so called "*r*-" mediopassive. Similar characteristics were identified in Hittite only some years later. To this time we consider them more likely as peripheral archaisms, hence no isoglosses confirming closer genetical relations.

2. Today the term Tocharian covers two closely related languages from present-day 新疆维吾尔自治区 Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Area (formerly known as Chinese or Eastern Turkestan). They constitute an independent branch of Indo-European languages and in these languages an abundant translational buddhist literature was written. Appendix 1 demonstrates close relations and differencies of both languages. Some researchers (T. Burrow, D. Q. Adams) see the traces of another member of Tocharian languages, hypothetical southern Tocharian "C", in loanwords in the Middle Indic language of the oasis-state Kroraina (Chin. 楼兰 Loulan) in southeastern Tarim Basin. The language called Prākrit *niya* or, according to the script, *Kharoṣṭhī*-prākrit was used to the administrative purposes of the state depending on caravan trade in the 3rd century A.D. The loanwords reminding Tocharian (see Burrow 1935) cannot be ranked either to language A or to B. So the hypothesis of the third Tocharian idiom seems quite promising. Let us quote some examples:

"C" *kilma* "district" = A *kälyme* "direction" (Burrow 1935: 674-675; Mallory & Mair 2000: 278)
"C" *meta* = B *mit* ~ *mīt* "honey" < **med^{h}u*-. Researchers generally conclude that Chinese 蜜 *mi* "honey" < Old Chinese **mjit* (so first Polivanov 1916; cf.

Lubotsky 1998: 379) is also of Tocharian origin. There is interesting Old Turkic *mïr*, its final *-r* can indicate the Chinese mediation (Clauson; see Lin 1998: 478).
"C" *oǵana* "some agricultural product" = B *oko* "fruit" (Burrow 1935: 673; Mallory & Mair 2000: 278).
"C" *paḱe*, pl. *paḱeyu* "package" = B *pāke*, A *pāk* "part, share" (Burrow 1935: 671-672).
"C" *kitsaits* "elder" = B *ktsaitstse* "old (of age)", A *ktsets* "ended, perfect" (Burrow 1935: 673).
"C" *tipara* "high" = A *tpar* "high", B *tapre* "high; fat" < **dʰubʰro*- "deep"; the original meaning still preserves the diminutive B *tparṣke* "shallow" (Lin 1998: 480-481; Adams 1999: 280).

There are also many personal names, which can be interpreted as Tocharian (Burrow 1935: 675):

Caṃpe - cf. AB *cämp*- "be able (to)", A *tampe* "power, ability".
Laroae - cf. B *lāre* "dear, beloved".
Moǵaca - cf. A *mokats* "strong".
Pośarsa - cf. B *po* "all" & AB *kärs*-/*śärs*- "know", something as "all-knower". Similar compound appears in A *puk knānmāṃ,* also in B *poyśi* (*po* & *aik*- "know"), as a calque from Sanskrit compound *Sarvajña* denoting Buddha (Adams 1999: 403).

3. Most of the Tocharian manuscripts have been dated from 6th to the end of 8th century. The recent results of detailed paleographical studies (Malzahn 2007: 277) and the radio-carbon tests (Adams 2006) shift the oldest B manuscripts even before AD 400, while the youngest manuscript designated as B-296 is dated between AD 1178 and 1255. The known A texts originate from the period c. AD 700 to c. AD 1000 (Adams 2006: 382-383). Until now the manuscripts were found only in the Chinese autonomous region Xinjiang – in a town-oasis at the northern rim of the Tarim Basin (Chin. 塔里木盆地 *Talimu Pendi*) with the desert Taklamakan (Chin. 塔克拉玛干 *Takelamagan*). Today more than 500 texts, fragments or graffiti in the language A are studied, and more than 3200 in the language B. The real number of all documents with Tocharian inscriptions and writings is about 7600 and almost all will be digitalised in years to come. The A documents were found only in the east, while the B texts come from the west and from most of the places of the A text's origin.

The alphabetical order of places, where Tocharian manuscripts were found, follows. Except of usual names, variants, alternatives and actual Chinese local names are added. Only locations of founds of A texts are especially marked.

Bäzäqliq = Bezeklik = Bezäklik, Chin. 伯孜克里克 Bozikelike (A).
Chami, Chin. 哈密 Hami, also Qumul, Kumul, Komul – oasis, where 293 sheets of manuscripts and fragments of Old Uyghur version of the Maitrēia-samītināṭaka-texts were found; according to this text was reconstructed the same text in Tocharian, discovered in Yanqi 1974.
Duldur Aqur – near of Kuča.
Dunhuang (exactly Chin. 莫高 Mogao caves in Gansu province).
Endere (southern edge of the Tarim Basin).
Jigdalik.
Kuča/Kuqa = Chin. 库车 Kuche, early also 龟兹 Qiuci.
Loulan 楼兰 (East of the Tarim Basin near Lobnur).
Maralbaši = Maralwexi, Chin. 巴楚 Bachu.
Ming-öi Qizil = Qizilchoqa, Chin. 克孜尔确恰 Kezi´erqueqia.
Mirän, Chin. 米兰 Milan (South-East of the Tarim Basin).
Murtuq (A).
Qara-chočo, Karakhoja, Chin. 哈拉和卓 Halahezhuo and also 高昌 Gaochang.
Qarašahr = Qarašähär = Karašahr, early Agni; this name obviously appears in today's Chinese name 焉耆 Yanqi; in 1974 there were found 44 sheets of fragments of Maitrēiasamītināṭaka A text here (A).
Qizilqaġa = Kizilgaha, Chin. 克孜尔尕哈 Kezi'ergaha.
Qočo = Kocho; also Ïdiqut (Šähär), Chin. 高昌 Gaochang (A).
Qumtura = Kumtura, Chin. 库木吐拉 Kumutula.
Qumul/Komul – see Chami.
Sayram = (Kizil-)Sairam.
Sängim = Singim, Chin. 胜金口 Shengjinkou (A).
Simsim, Chin. 森木塞姆.
Subaši = Subeši, Chin. 苏巴什 Subashi.
Šorčuq – a temple near of Qarašahr + area of Šikčin (A).
Tajik.
Tonguzbash.
Tumšuq, Chin 图木休克 Tumuxiuke.
Turfan = Turpan, Chin. 吐鲁番 Tulufan (A).
Tuyuq = Toyuk = Toyok = Toek Mazar, Chin. 土峪沟 Tuyugou (A).
Yanqi – see Qarašahr (A).
Yarkhoto = Chin. 交河 Jiaohe near Turfan.

We should also mention the city of Kašghar (= Qäšqär, Chin. 喀什 Kashi) where many texts were purchased from merchants, and the city of Khotan = Chotan, Chin. 和田 Hetian, place of abundant founds of Khotan-Saka buddhist texts.

The A texts come from Turfan, Qarašahr and surroundings. They have religious character, all are buddhist, some of them continue in Indian dramas of *jātaka* and *avadāna*. In many cases we have Turkic names of donators of these texts. The B manuscripts have a gaier content. Most texts are also buddhist, but some have a medical content. There are also magical and astronomical works and completely secular records: commercial correspondences, caravan passes and economical records of temples. The German researcher Werner Winter (1984: 16) differentiates three local dialects of Tocharian B: western from the area of Kuqa (especially around Qizil), central from Šorčuq near Qarašahr; eastern from Turfan, as well as from the area of Qizil in the far west. Orientalists Lévi and Lüders very struggled for dating of the texts. Some date from the beginning of 7th century A.D. Winter (1984: 17) discovered another chronological information. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang visited Kuqa in 630 and noted presence of monks from the kingdom of Agni. They lived in southeastern part of the town. In 648 Kuqa was destroyed by Chinese armies and their allied Turkic tribe Tölös. Subsequently the spiritual centre of Tocharians B moved to Qarašahr, where – near Šorčuq – the temple *Yurpāška* was cited in many texts. This is also an explanation of the fact that the language of these texts attained more and more character of Šorčuq's dialect, although texts come from another places.

4. Although Central Asia is far from Mediterranean, antique authors recorded surprisingly abundant information about Middle-Asian populations. We can compare some testimonies: first from Pompeius Trogus (1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.) in abstract of *Epitome historiarum Philipicarum* from Marcus I. Iustinus (3rd century A.D.), second from Strabo (the same time as Trogus), and third from Ptolemaeus from the mid of the 2nd century A.D. (italics have to reflect – if possible – exact forms of the given ethnonyms, including Greek plurals):

> Pompeius Trogus > Marcus Iustinus [XLII, 2]
> "On this place Artabanus, his uncle (i.e. Phraata), became a king. Scythians, satisfied by their victory and devastation of Parthia, returned to the homeland. But Artabanus fighting with Tocharians [*Tochariis*],

was wounded on arm and after this immediately died. He was substituted by his son Mithridates, whose deeds brought to him epitheton The Great"

Nation known as *Tocharii* permeated to the west of Pamir about 124 or 123 B.C., where they fighted with Parthian king Artabanus.

Strabo [XI, 8.2]
"From the area of Caspian sea, the most (tribes) of the Scyths names *Daai* [*Δᾶαι*]. Races living to the east name *Massagetai* and *Sakai*, another are called with common name *Skythai*, but every nation uses its own name. They all are especially nomads. Particularly famous are this nomads, which took up Bactria from hands of Greeks, that is to say *Asioi*, *Pasianoi*, *Tokharoi* [*Τόχαροι*] and *Sakarauloi*, they moved from area of opposite bank of Iaxartes along the territory of Sakkas and Sogdians, in the hands of Sakkas. From the Daai one part is called *Aparnoi*, another *Xanthianoi*, the third *Pissouroi*. The Aparnoi live in the nearest to Hyrcania and it's bordering see, another nations extend to the area opposite to Aria."

Ptolemaios [VI, 11.6]
"The northern parts of Bactria, edging the river Oxos, inhabit *Salatarai* and *Zariaspai*, to the south from Salatarai (below from Salatarai) live *Khomaroi*, southly *Kómoi*, then *Akinakai* and *Tambyzoi*, but below Zariaspai the strong nation *Tokharoi*, below them *Marukaioi*/*Marikaioi*, then *Skordai* and *Varnoi*, and still below from them *Auadioi*/*Sabadioi*, then *Orsitoi*/*Orsipoi* and *Amarispoi*."

Ptolemaios [VI, 12.4]
"The territories edging mountain Oxeia inhabit *Pasikai*, areas edging northern part of the river Iaxartes inhabit *Iateioi* a *Takhoroi*. Below from them live *Autaloi*/*Augaloi*, then along the Sogdian mountains *Oxydrangkai* and *Drybaktai* and *Kandaroi*. Under mountains live *Mardyénoi* and along the Oxus *Óxeianoi* and *Khórasmioi.*"

Ptolemaios [VI, 16.6-8]
"The towns noted be suited in *Sériké* (= China), are this: *Damna*, *Pi-ada*, *Asmiraia*, *Throana*. *Issédón Sériké*: *Aspakara*, *Drósakhé*, *Paliana*, *Thogara*, *Abragana*, *Daxata*, *Orosana*, *Ottotokara*, *Solana*, *Séra Métropolis.*"

5. According to contemporary Chinese sources, inhabitants of areas where Tocharians lived from 6th to 8th century are depicted as farmers and breeders of livestock and horses largely living in towns. The men and women have their hair long to shoulders or even shorter. In frescoes in abandoned buddhist temples we can see typical Mongoloids, "Iranian" and people of Caucasoid physiognomy with straight narrow noses and blue eyes as well (Winter 1984: 13). The most detailed Chinese reports about the Tocharians can be found in information from buddhist scholar Xuanzang (600/602-664). He mentioned them in A.D. 630 (during his travel to the Central Asia and India. We can cite his description of Agni and Kuča – areas of the Tocharians A and B [2002: 21-25; after Josef Kolmaš]: "The region of **Agni** have more than 600 li [1 li = 576 m] from the east to the west and above 400 li from the south to the north. The capital city have circuit 6 or 7 li and is surrounded by mountains from all four directions. There are dangerous paths in that place, but it's easy to defend them. Many flows are united in one stream, by it fields are irrigated. Land is suitable for growing of millet, winter wheat, dates, grapes, pears, plums and other fruits. Climate is mild and convenient. Customs and habits of people are simple and modest. Their script has Indian origin and only some minute changes and supplements. Clothes are made from cotton or wool. People cut their hairs and wear any caps. They use gold, silver and small copper coins in a trade. The ruler was born just in this land. He is courageous man. Although he gives not too much time to military affairs, he very like boasting by his war expeditions. The land has no stable legal rules, the laws are cruel and have no order. When one walks above 200 li further to the southwest and crosses one small mountains and two large rivers, arrives to the west to the flat valley. When one continues further 700 li and more, arrives to Kuqa. The land of Kuqa have more than 1000 li from the east to the west and more than 600 li from the south tot the north. The circuit of the capital city is about 17 or 18 li. Land is suitable for growing of millet and wheat, people grow rice keng-tao as well. The land also give grapes, pomegranate and many sorts of pears, plums, peaches and apricots. The land produces gold, copper, iron, lead and tin. Climate is mild and customs of peoples are simple. The script has Indian origin and many modifications. The local peoples dominate between all countrymen in the play on woodwind and strings. Their clothes are made from fine brocade

or rough wool. They cut their hairs and wear turbans on their heads. They use money from gold and silver and small copper coins in a trade. The ruler was born in the local family Bai. His natural talent isn't large and he is controlled by influential ministers. If a baby is born, they usually compress its head between the tablets to make it flat."

6. A very complex question remains the name of Tocharians – from themselves and as well as from their neighbours. Adams (2000) tried to put an order to a little bit chaotic mixture of views. He is our most important guide here. We can start by the term *Agni*, which refers to the Tocharians using the A language. The Central Asian Sanskrit texts use the term and derivatives *Agnideśa* & *Agniviṣaya* "the land of Agni" to denote the city and its surroundings. The Uyghurs called it Qarašahr and in Chinese the name Yanqi is used. The people in the neighbouring oasis-state Tumšuq spoke one of the Saka-dialects. The land was named *Agñ(y)e xšera* "the land of Agni" in this language. Another testimony is brought by Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (he visited the area in the 7th century A.D.). In his records we read name *Â-g'ji-nji* (in Karlgren's reconstruction of Middle-Chinese, *c*. A.D. 800), or *ʔa-gji-nri* (Pulleyblank's reconstruction to *c*. A.D. 600). The same toponym appears in one of the oldest Tocharian B manuscripts found in Kuqa in 1907, published in 1913. In the manuscript the fifth year of reign of king Suvarṇapuṣpa is mentioned. We know that he died in 624, when his son Suvarṇadeva succeeded in the reign. He governed until 646 and in this year he was replaced by his younger brother Haripuṣpa. We don't know how long was Suvarṇapuṣpa reigned, but he was successful ruler, so it could be, that the time of his reign was the same as by his son. Manuscript is then related to events from the beginning of the 7th century, i.e. this time precede the time of origin of the oldest dated graffiti and caravan passes (641-656) at least about one generation. In the manuscript we read the fourth line: *Akeñe ypoy^{a}-moko Nāñiṣte* "Nāñiṣta, the older of the land Akeñe". The form *akeñe* is probably adjective (we would expect **akeññe*), which can be derived from *āke* "end" = A *āk*. So it may be the land "at the end/ at the edge". This semantical motivation isn't unusual. We know many similarly motivated toponyms: for example Slavic *Ukrajina*, **Krajina**, the Old English kingdom *Mierce*, Italian *Le Marche*, German *Mark* about Brandenburg, and other. The name of today's Chinese town 焉耆 *Yanqi* (= Uyghur Qarašahr) was pronounced *i̯äng'ji* (Karlgren) or *ʔiangji* / *ʔɨangji* (Pulleyblank) in the time of Tang's dynasty. In addition final *-n* can reflect older *-r* in adaptation of

originally non-Chinese words. Today's Iranian sources confirm the old *-r-*. The Khotan-Saka toponym *Argīna-* appears in the list of places on the Silk-Road. Sogdian *'rkčyk* (from the work *Nāfnāmak*) follows after toponyms: Kašghar, Khotan and Kuqa. A possible continuation is just today's Yanqi/Qarašahr. Corresponding is also Middle Persian *'rkčyk xwt'* = **arkčīk χwataw* "the lord of [the city] Ark" according to the text *Mahrnāmag*. Adams (2000: 9) links these toponyms to modern Persian *arg*/*ark* "small stronghold", Pahlavi *'rkpaty* "the lord of citadel". Related could be Latin *arx* "stronghold, citadel, castle".

The A language is sometimes called *Ārśi*. Really, the compounds *ārśi-käntu* "the *ārśi* language" and *ārśi-ype* "the land of ārśi" indicate it could be an ethnonym. But there is no evidence of its relation to the A Tocharians. The word appears only in translations from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, so more probable is that it is a mechanical equivalent of the standard Sanskrit compounds *āryabhāṣa* "language of the Āryas", i.e. "Sanskrit" and *āryadeśa* "land of the Āryas" (also land of those who keep laws of the Āryas). Another Tocharian A text specifies further meaning of the word *ārśi*, i.e. "buddhist monk" (= who keeps the law of the Āryas or brought the buddhist doctrine to the areas of Tocharians). Distraction of the meaning of the word has analogy in Khotan Saka *āśī*. This word denoted both: the Āryas and monks. This is not a new conclusion, its authors are British iranists Henning & Bailey (30th years of the 20th century). But identification *ārśi* = Tocharian A is still repeated and is evident that it cannot be a palatalized form derived from root **ark-*, which obviously denoted a metropolis of the Tocharians A.

The West Tocharian metropolis is denoted Kuča in Uyghur now, in the 9th century its Old Uyghur name was *Küsän*. This obviously reflects Toch. B adjective *kuśiññe*, which we know from titels written in caravan passes: *kuśiññe orotstse walo* "the great Kuchean king/ the great king of Kucha". The correspondable noun is **kuśi*, as it is confirmed by parallels in other languages: Khot. *Akuśi*, Sogd. *'kwcyk* ~ *'kwcyq*, Skt. *Kuci*, Chin. 龟兹 *Qiuci* < Middle Chinese *Kuw-dzá* (Pulleyblank). The Sanskrit and Sogdian names can be traced already in the first century A.D. Together with Chinese forms they indicate original affricate. According to this we can point out that the change **-ć-* > *-ś-* operated in the first centuries A.D. Adams (2000: 20) still discusses the attractive hypothesis on identification of Tocharians and northwestern barbarians, called in Chinese records 月支 *Yuezhi*. In 126 B.C. returned Zhang Qian – the ambassador of the Han dynasty – from his travel to the land Daxia, i.e. Bactria to inform the Emperor Wu. In the 123rd chapter of the chronicle Shiji we can read his notes: "The nation of Yuezhi originally lived in the area between the

Qilian mountains (= Tianshan) and the city of 敦煌 *Dunhuang*, but after their total defeating by the *Xiongnu* tribes (= Huns), they moved far to the west behind 大宛 *Dawan*/*Dayuan* (= Ferghana), where invaded and dominated people of the land 大夏 *Daxia* (= Bactria) and founded settlement of their king on the northern bank of river *Kui*" (Lin 1998: 476). Chinese sources also mention that part of the defeated, so called 小月支 *Xiao Yuezhi* "the Lesser *Yuezhi*", didn't go to the west but settled in mountains to the northwest from Gansu (Adams 2000: 10). In 108 B.C. the king of the Lesser Yuezhi subordinated to China. In sources as *Shiji* or *Hanshu* he was called *Ruoju* [= pinyin; i.e. *Jo-chü* in Wade-Giles] King. Pulleyblank (1966: 19) suppose that in fact his name is a title in Middle Chinese form *nyâk-tsi̯o* and in time of Han dynasty **nyak-tsïa*. He identified it as the Tocharian adjective A *ñäkci*, B *ñäkc(i)ye* "divine, heavenly", formed from A *ñkät*, B *ñakte* "god". So the ruler of the Xiao Yuezhi was titled "the Divine King" or "the Heavenly/ Celestial King". The similar title *βαγο þαο* "god-king" appears in an inscription of the most prominent Bactrian king Kanishka. Interesting is that the kings of 匈奴 *Xiongnu* tribes probably accepted these titles of Tocharians. In the time of Han dynasty their names were accompanied by the epithet *ruodi* [= *jo-ti* after Giles] < **nyak-tei* (Pulleyblank 1966: 19-20).

Pulleyblank's Middle Chinese reconstruction of the ethnonym Yuezhi is **ŋuat-tɕiă*, in other variants: *yuzhi* < **ŋuătɕiă*, *niuzhi* < **ŋuwtɕiă*. The Chinese annalists knew these tribes from the end of the 2nd millenium B.C. According to the book *I Zhou shu* they firstly appeared in semimythical list of tribes bringing the tributs to the court of *Zhou* dynasty. Fully realistic is already information from the book *Guanzi* which contents documents from the 5th to the 1st century B.C. According to the book the western nation *Yuezhi* used jade with only one possible origin from surroundings of Khotan (Pulleyblank 1966: 19). Adams supposes the starting point **gutyiyɪ*. This reconstruction perfectly corresponds with the external Indo-European etymology of this ethnonym (Witzcak 1993), based on the etymological analysis of the name of East Germanic Goths: Goth. *Gutþiuda* < **Guti-þeuđō* "the nation of Goths"; Gr. *Γύθωνες*, Lat. *Gutones*, Old Engl. *Gotan* < **gut-an-*, cf. Old Nord. *gotnar* "men", between Old Eng. *Géatas*, Old Nord. *Gautar* < pl. **gautōz*, cf. Old Nord. *gautar* "men", from this sg. **gautaz*. Otrębski (1950, 79-98) was the first who published this analysis, later developed by Hamp (1991, 85-86). Otrębski added comparison with Nor. *gutt* & *gut* "boy", cf. also Danish *gud* and Swedish *gutt*. Hamp projected these forms to the later IE forms: collect. **g^{h}ud-i-* : singulative **g^{h}ud-on-* : **g^{h}oud-o-*. The ethnonym, if motivated by the

original meaning "young man, boy", is not isolated in the IE context. Compare the name *Čech*, which in fact is the apellative "boy" preserved in two archaic peripheral dialects: Kashubian and Slovenian (Blažek & Klain 2002). There is still another alternative etymology deriving the name of the capital of the western Tocharians $K_u ci$ from the pl. **k̂witeyes* "the whites, the luminous". This etymology is supported by the Chinese denotation of the reign dynasty in Kuqa called *Bo* = "white / luminous". But there are some arguments against this hypothesis: (i) genitive of *Kuciñ* proofs that $K_u ci$ is singular; (ii) the reign dynasty in Kuqa used its own designation – in Sanskrit sources *suvarṇa*- "gold"; the corresponding Tocharian B term was *Ysaṣṣe*.

The most complex situation seems to be in the case of the ethnonym *Tochar*. The Chinese designation of Ferghana *Dayuan* was probably pronunciated as **Taxwār* in the last centuries B.C. (Henning 1938; Pulleyblank 1962: 90, 224; 1966: 22). Strabo (referring to Apollodoros) and in the 2th century Ptolemaeus [VI, 11.6] localized the tribe *Τόχαροι* to Bactria (now Afghanistan) in the 1st century A.D. But Ptolemaeus still knew *Τάχοροι* from northern Sogdiana [VI, 12.4] and the town *Θογάρα*, now in Gansu province [VI, 16.8] = *Tagorae* which mentioned Plinius. Greek *-o-* reflects **-u-* in loanwords from the Middle East. This is confirmed by Sanskrit ethnonyms *Tukhara*-, *Tukhāra*-, *Tuṣśara*-, *Tuṣāra*- and others. *Kumārajīva*, member of Kuchean royal family and famous translator of buddhist texts to Chinese gives the definite equality between *Tukhāra*- and *Yuezhi*. He explained Sanskrit ethnonym by Chinese term *Xiao Yuezhi*, i.e. "the Small *Yuezhi*" at the beginning of 5th century A.D. (Adams 2000: 10, footnote 19). The Sanskrit *-kh-* can function as transcription of Middle Iranian *-g-* /ɣ/, as Skt. *vakhu* from Bactrian *bago* "god" proofs. Sogdian texts (economical records in the book *Nāfnāmak* – about 800 A.D.) give two variants: *tγw'r'k* and *'tγw'r'k*. This forms may be vocalized as **taγwārak* (or **taxwārak*; from this possibly derived Khot. *ttahvāra*) and **ətγwārak* (or **ətxwārak*). Both variants could be derived from original proto-form **tuγārak* or **tuxārak*. Curious evidence of the second form could be the Ossetic *toxar* "warlord" (if *tox* "war" is reversely derived form). We can demonstrate analogical functional drift from ethnonym to appelative in Slavic word **vitędzь* "victor, hero, warrior", which could be an adaptation of Old Nor. *víkingr* "sea robber, pirate, viking", later commonly "Norman" (detailed discussion to the problem: see Vykypěl 2004, 120-29). We have also two transcriptions from Chinese: *dou-qia-luo* < **təu-k'ia-lâ* (Karlgren) = **təw-k^{h}ɨa-la* (Pulleyblank) a *tu-huo-lo* <**t'uo-xuâ-lâ* (Karlgren) = **t^{h}ɔ'-xwa'-la* (Pulleyblank). Some modern Chinese toponyms document notable traces of historical presence

of the Tocharians in the Tarim Basin: central village 托胡拉 Tuohula to the west from Khotan (Li Yinbing 2006: 15), village 托乎拉 Tuohula north from Aqsu = Chin. 阿克苏 Akesu. The same origin has most probably the name of the village 吐葫芦 Tuhulu in area of ancient Tocharian settlement near 伊吾 Yiwu. We can still mention Tibetan term *Thogar* used for northeastern Tibet (Adams 2000: 10, note 19). Probably both Chinese variants and the Tibetan word have origin in Sogdian term without prothetic vocal. Adams (2000: 16-17) reconstructs original word as **tugra*- which gives common Tocharian **tukäre*-; this may be inherited word or loan, most probably from Iranian. Presented existence of loadable ("epenthetic") vowel before -*r*- is just typical for Tocharian languages and it is at least indirect evidence that historical Tocharians (also?) used this ethnonym. In 1907 the orientalist F. W. K. Müller from Berlin identified ethnical name *TWTR* in Old Uyghur colofon of the Toch. A drama *Maitrēiasamītināṭaka*. He vocalized it as *Toχrï* and Sieg and Siegling (1908) identified it with the ethnonym *Τόχαροι*, which Strabo and Ptolemaeus located to Bactria, i.e. Afghanistan today. In Old-Uyghur version of drama Maitrisimit Āryacandra (Old Uyghur Aryačintri) is mentioned as translator of the work from Sanskrit to *toχrï tili*. Müller deciphered his origin as the land of *Nakardeśa* (*Nkrydyš*). That is near the modern Jalālābād, south from Kābul. But in 1949 British iranist Henning clearly demonstrated that this toponym must be read as *"knydyš* and this can be vocalised only as *Agnideśa*, ie. area of the Tocharians A. It makes sense: Āryacandra translated drama from Sanskrit original into his mother tongue Tocharian A, then the Tocharian A text was translated in Old Uyghur. There are also other arguments, unknown to Müller, for identification of Tocharians A and ethnonym *TWTR*. There was found a trilingual Sogdian-Uyghur-Chinese inscription honoring deeds of the Uyghur ruler, in the Uyghur kingdom capital of Qara Balgasun. It contains information about total defeating of Tibetan army and nation of the four *TWTRY* (Sogd. *ctβ'r twγr'k*). This is related to the war 791-792. Similar terms are also in Manicheian documents in two forms: Middle Persian (*ch'r twγtyst'*[*n*]) and Old Uyghur (*twyrt twγr*). The Sogdian book *Mahrnāmag* (written about 800) informs us about members of Manicheian church. There are five small city-states among them in north of the Tarim Basin. Four of them were in areas where Tocharian language was probably spoken. There are contemporary places Qočo (Turpan), Kuqa (with Kašghar and Aqsu), Qarašahr (Yanqi), Uč.

7. Historical notes of antique and Chinese authors document presence of the Tocharians in the Central Asia in the last centuries B.C. Analysis of early To-

charian loanwords in Chinese "chariot" and its parts) moves datation of the first contact to 1200 B.C. The famous mummies with typical Caucasoid features were discovered in the Tarim Basin and can be 4000 years old (Mallory & Mair 2000). If we accept the most probable hypothesis that they represent the ancestors of the Tocharians (also confirmed by analysis of DNA – cf. Francalacci 1998: 537-547), their migration from the west must have happened before horizon 2000 B.C. Researchers formulated two alternative hypothesis reconstructing routes of their migration from supossed Indo-European original homeland to Central Asia. Let us compare arguments of both: the northern and the southern hypothesis. The promoters of the northern hypothesis find the strongest arguments in the presence of some primarily Indo-European cultural words in Fenno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages which cannot be explained as Iranian loanwords. We gather from the work of A. Joki (1973) who was the first who tried to explain some Indo-European words in Fenno-Ugric as loanwords from Tocharian. J. Janhunen (1983) made the same conclusion in the case of some Samoyedic etymons. The number of potential Tocharian loanwords in Uralic languages was extended to 18 by V. Napoľskikh (2001). The following mini-list contains 5 etymons and presents a choice only of the most convincing etymologies.

(1) FU **mete* "honey" < OToch. **m^{y}ótə* < IE **med^{h}u* (Ringe 1996: 108): B *mit* "honey", "C" *meta* (Joki 1973: 283-284; Napoľskikh 2001: 372). Iranian **madu* "wine" and Indo-Aryan **mad^{h}u* "sweet drink, sweetness, milk, soma, honey" differ in meaning. The original meaning was probably "mead". IE **e* changes regularly to **a* in Indo-Iranian. This is conserved in old loans in Fenno-Ugric languages, cf. Fin. *vasa* "calf", Lap. (Inari) *vyesi* "calf of reindeer", Mord. Mokša *vaza* "calf" < FM **vasa* < Indo-Iranian. **vatsa*-: OInd. *vatsá*- "calf", Ossetic *wäs*, Yaghnobi *wása* id., all from IE **wetso*- "yearling" : **wet-es*- "year" (Joki 1973: 338).

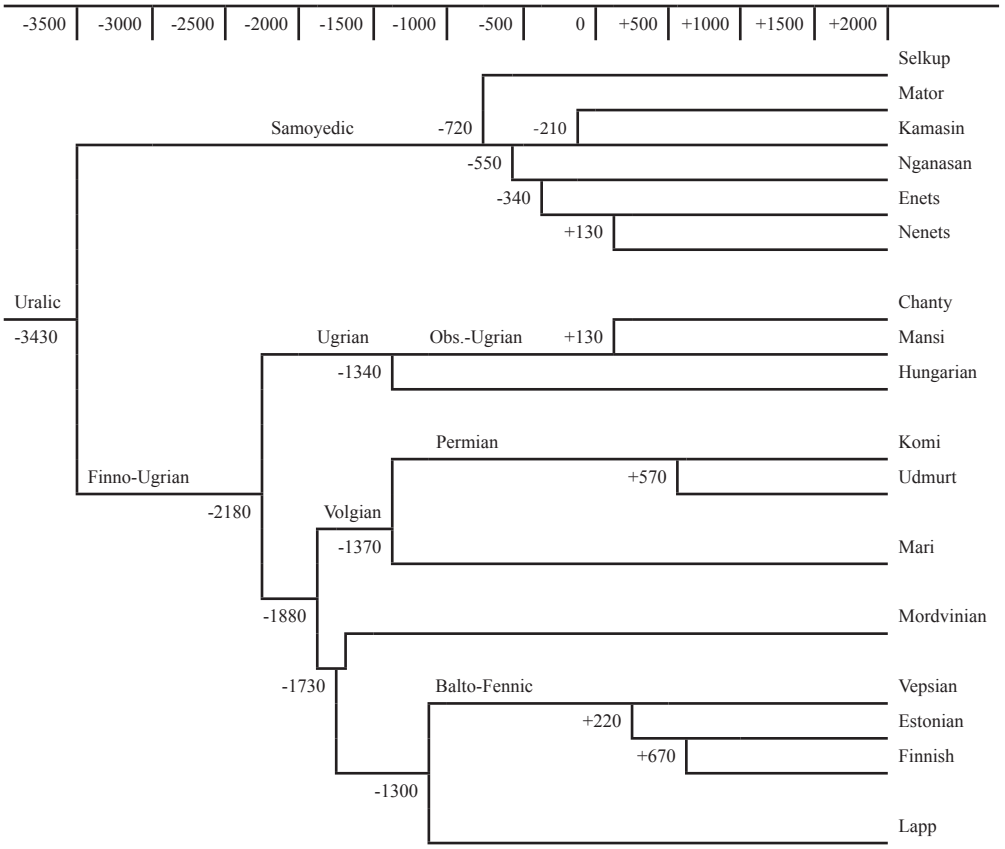
(2) FP **sōle* (Fin. *suola*) /**sale* (Mord. *sal*, Mari *šancal*, Udm. *sə̑lal*, Komi *sol*/*sul*) "salt" < **sāle* (corresponding Balto-Fin. **ō* : Mord. a reflects old **ā* in stems of words ending by **-e*; see Illič-Svityč 1971: XXV) < OToch. **sāliyē(n)* (cf. Hilmarsson 1986: 231) : A *sāle*, pl. *sāleyäntu*, B *salyiye*, acc. *sālyi* "salt" (Joki 1973: 316; Napoľskikh 2002: 373-374). In Indo-Iranian languages we know only one cognate in semantically and word-formation distant OInd. *salilám* "see, flood". The adj. *salilá*-/*sarirá*- still could mean "salty".

(3) North Samoyedic **menüjə̑* “full moon” < OToch. **mʸeñə-* “moon” < **mēnes-* (Ringe 1996: 108-109): A *mañ*, B *meñe* (Napoľskikh 2001: 371). Indo-Aryan **mās-*, Iranian **māh-* “moon” cannot be a source.

(4) Samoyedic **sejptə̑* “seven” < OToch. **ṣəptə́* id. (Ringe 1996: 67) < **septm̥* (Janhunen 1983: 119; Napolskikh 2001: 373). Indo-Iranian & Indo-Aryan **sapta* and especially Iranian **hapta* “seven” are more remote.

(5) Samoyedic **wesä* “iron; money” < OToch. **wʸäsā* “gold” (Adams 1999: 487): A *wäs*, B *yasa* < **$H_a$wes-* (Joki 1973: 339-340; Napoľskikh 2001: 374). Similar etymon is reconstructible in Fenno-Ugric languages: BF. **vaski* “copper, bronze, brass” | Lap. **vēškē* “copper” | Mord. Erzya *viśkä* “metal wire” | Mari *važ* “or” | Permian **weś* “metal gem”; also cf. Udm. *azveś*, Komi *eziś* “silver”, Udm. *uzveś* “tin, lead”, Komi *oziś* “tin” | Mansi *ātwės* “lead” | Khanty *wăχ* “metal, iron; money” | Hung. *vas* “iron” < FU. **waśke* ~ **wäśke* (Joki 1973: 339-340). The Fenno-Ugric forms with the velar extension can reflect Old Tocharian compound **wʸesā-yāku-* “gold colours” > A *wsā-yok*, B *ysā-yok* very well explains semantical allowance and development in some lines: “gold coloured metal” → “copper/bronze/brass” → “iron”; → “jewel”; → “money”. It is also evident that the adaptation of the Tocharian lexeme into Finno-Ugrian and Samoyedic languages was independent and so probably occurred in different times. In the Indo-Iranian languages the IE root **$H_a$wes-* in the meaning “iron” doesn’t occur.

A hypothetical contact between Tocharian and Fenno-Ugric laguages should occur before the disintegration of the Fenno-Ugric protolanguage, traditionally dated to the end of 3rd millenium B.C. (Hajdú 1985: 173). The dating is confirmed by the glottochronological test applied to Uralian languages by the team of Sergei Starostin, the author of the recalibrated method (Santa Fé 2003). According to his conclusion, the interval between dissolution of the Uralic proto-language and dissolution of Fenno-Ugric was c. from 35th to 22th centuries B.C. (see the next genetic schema):



In application of the same recalibrated test on Indo-European languages, the separation of the Tocharian languages from the remaining mainstream can be dated to 3800 B.C. There is no reason to suppose a direct contact between peoples speaking Tocharian and Uralic protolanguages. Hence the ancestors of Tocharians needed at least 4 and at most 16 centuries to reach neighbouring areas of independent, but still undifferentiated Finno-Ugrian. An original homeland of the Fenno-Ugrians has been located in the area between the middle stream of the Volga and the central part of Ural. The contact between the early Tocharians and Fenno-Ugrians should happen in the southern part of the forest-steppes area where only forest hunters and fishermen (= Fenno-Ugrians) and breeders of horses and cattle (= ancestors of Tocharians) could be met. The hypothetical Tocharian stock in Samoyedic lexicon was realized undoubtedly later, when ancestors of the Tocharians moved to the east. But this occurred certainly before the 8th century BC, when the Samoyedic protolanguage dis-

solved. Some of the mummies come from 2000 B.C. If their Tocharian identity is true, we can confirm the contact between the Tocharians and Samoyedic people in the 3rd millenium B.C. Again, it may have most probably occurred in the forest-steppes area in the southern part of Siberia. Even if a direct identification of archeological culture with specific ethnic is always problematic, there is a broad consensus about important role of ancestors of the Tocharians in archeological complex of **Afanasievo culture** from 3500 to 2500 B.C. This culture is localized between the upper flow of the rivers Ob and Angara, to the north from the Altai with the centre around the area of Minussin valley by northern Yenisei. This culture is characterised by knowledge of copper and bronze, there are interesting and evident cultural parallels with such North Pontic cultures as the Srednij Stog (4500-3500 B.C.), see Mallory, EIEC 4-5, Mallory & Mair 2000: 294-97. We can add that the Afanasievo culture was followed by the culture of Okunievo in the 2nd millenium B.C. and that the bearers of this culture probably were early Samoyeds (Vadeckaja 1990: 73). Geographically the territory of both cultures significantly coincides with the original homeland of the Samoyeds, determined by the method of linguistic archaeology into the quadrangle Narym-Tomsk-Jenisejsk-Krasnojarsk by E. Xelimskij (1988: 13-14).

The hypothesis of the **southern** trajectory of ancestors of the Tocharians was firstly formulated by the British iranist P. Henning in 1962 (published first in 1978). His concept was further developed by the Georgian and Russian authors T. Gamkrelidze & V. Ivanov (1989) and Polish K. Witczak (1993). The advocates of the southern route see the main argument in a similarity of the proper names Guti and Tukriš, attested already in the 3rd and especially from the 2nd millenium B.C. in the Western Iran, with the name of the capital of the Western Tocharians Kuča, and the ethnonym Tochar respectively (see above). This concept is certainly seductive, but it spares the linguistic proof of mutual loanwords between Tocharian and one of the ancient Near-Eastern languages. It may be especially Sumerian, Akkadian and Elamite, with which the Proto-Tocharians must be contacted. The only exception is the contribution of K. Witczak. He collected 10 lexical parallels, which should document a mutual contact of ancestors of the Tocharians as well as of the Hurrians and the Urarteians. This is a key argument for the Near Eastern migration, so we will cite this comparisons with short commentaries:

(1) Hurr. *ag*-, Ur. *agu*- “lead, bring” || Toch. AB *āk*- “lead”. Hurr.-Ur. **ag*- has the closest cognates in Nakh languages, concretely in Chech. -

ig-a, Bats *-iḳ* “lead, manage”; other parallels in Dagestanian languages as Archi *aḳa-s* “manage”, Dargi *-irḳ-*/*-urḳ-* lead to pDagestan **’VrḳV* (Diakonoff & Starostin 1986: 57).

(2) Hurr. *mann-*, Ur. *man-* “to be, exist” || Toch. AB *mäsk-* “to be, become, be situated” < **mn̥-sk-* (Adams 1999: 458). Hurr.-Ur. verb could be without problems derived from Dagest. **’i-ma(n)* “stay” (Diakonoff & Starostin 1986: 21).

(3) Hurr. & Ur. *pal-* “know, express, say” || Toch. AB *pälsk-* “think, consider” (not “know”). Toch. word is probably the *sk*-derivative from the verb *pälk-* “see, look” (Adams 1999: 377, 380-381).

(4) Hurr. *wali* “worm” || Toch. A *wal*, B *yel* id. The Hurrian word, in modern transcription *φali*, has the closest cognates in Nakh languages: Chechen *bō-ḫalla*, Ingush *bʕeḫal* “snake”; also Tsez *bekol*, Bezhit *bekela*, Avar *borox* “snake”, Tindal *bek´a* “snake, worm” (Diakonoff & Starostin 1986: 50).

(5) Ur. *gunuše* “battle” || Toch. A *k$_u$ñaś* “struggle, conflict” (no *kunaś* “battle“). The Toch. word reflects the protoform **g^{wh}n̥-yont-ēn* derived from the root **g^{wh}en-* “fight, struggle” (Hilmarsson 1996: 192). Ur. *-še* represents a productive suffix of abstracts (Wilhelm 2004b: 125).

(6) Ur. *šuše* “sheep” || Toch. A *śoś* id. It is not possible to separate *śoś* from A *śāyu*, B *śaiyye* < **śāw-ye-*(Adams 1999: 634); W. Winter (1999: 251-254) appointed the meaning “small domestic animals”. For A **śoś* Winter expected the assimilation from **śos*, this may be the acc. pl. with analogical development as the acc. pl. *kos* “cows” < **g^{w}own̥s*. Toch. A *śoś* and *śāyu*, B *śaiyye* are undoubtedly derived from the verb attested in B *śāw-*/*śāy-*, A *śo-* “live”; due to semantics cf. Welsh *biw* “Hornvieh” : Lat. *vīvus*. Also B *śānta* “sheep” derivable from **śāwentā* (Adams 1999: 634) is ranked here.

(7) Hurr. *šapḫal(d)i* “left”, Ur. *salmatḫi* id. || Toch. A *śālyi*, B *śwālyai* id. But the Toch. words do not mean “left”, but in contrary, “right”. This is the fossilized acc. f. gerund *śwālle* “convenient to eat” from the verb *śu-* “to eat”, cf. Khotanese *hvarandaa-* “right hand” : *hvar-* “to eat” (Winter

1985: 590; Adams 1999: 645). On the other hand, the Hurr. word has persuasive etymology in Dagestanian **čaH(V)ṗVl-* "left" > Agul *čaIṗl-an-*, Lezgin *čapla*, Dargwa *čipil* (Diakonoff & Starostin 1986, 54; the authors reject the Urarteian parallel, actually it could be a loanword, for example from some of Semitic languages, cf. Akkadian *šumēlu*, Ugaritic *šmȧl*, Hebrew *ŝəmō(ʾ)l*, Syriac *səmālā* "left side").

(8) Hurr. *p/wandi* "right" || Toch. A *pāci* id., *apāt* "to the right". Toch. word has no definitely assigned meaning, cf. analysis of W. Winter (1985).

(9) Hurr. *ubi* "millet", Ur. **ebi* id. || Toch. AB *yap* id. Hurr. *ubi* is translated as "Gerste", i.e. "barley" (Wilhelm 1992: 135). The Toch. etymon is often connected with IE **yewH$_1$o-* "grain; barley" (Adams 1999: 482). Witczak himself accepted this etymology too (2004: 43).

(10) Hurr. *umini*, Ur. *ebani* "land, area" || Toch. A *ype*, B *yapoy* "land (country)". Ur. *-ni* forms several substantives (Wilhelm 2004b: 125); The Hurrian word is now transcribed as *ōmini* (Wilhelm 2000a: 107). The Tocharian words have many etymological attempts: **H$_1$epowen*, pl. **H$_1$epounā*, lit. "dominion" : **H$_1$ep-* "take, hold (keep)", **H$_1$en-b^{h}uH-i* or **H$_1$ep(i)-ouden* (Adams 1999: 483).

In confrontation of the northern and southern hypotheses the first seems more convincing, presuming the starting point of transcontinental drift of ancestors of the Tocharians in the Western Eurasian wood-steppe area, most probably in the area between Danubius and Dniepr. Only this ecological nica allowed to Indo-Europeans to preserve the skills of agropastoralists, as well as surprising mobility. The northern trajectory is also confirmed by important contribution to the cultural vocabulary of Fenno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages. Interesting is also the affinity of the first South Siberian chalcolithic Afanasievo culture with North Pontic archeological complexes as the culture of Srednij Stog.

8. APPENDIX 1: THE APPLICATON OF LEXICOSTATISTICS FOR TOCHARIAN

	A	B	Etymology
1. all	*pont-* & *pu-k*	*po, pont-*	**pōnts*; cf. Gr. *πῶς, παντο-* id.
2a. ashes	*tor*	*taur*	< Turk. **tōŕ* dust; cf. also Yakut *tor* smut (LS, 259; EDAL 1465); comparison with R. *dur* fatuity, Br. *dura* stagger (**d^{h}ouro-*) is semantically not persuasive
2b. ashes	*twe*	*tweye*	**d^{h}woyo-* from IE *d^{h}eu(H)-* to blow, smoke, cf. Lit. *dujà* fine dust, Khot. *duya-* dusty

3. bark		*enmetre*	
4. belly	*kāts*	*kātso*	*g^{w}ōt-yōn-*; cf. Goth. *qiþus* abdomen, bosom
5a. big	*śāw-*		cf. A *śāw-*, B *śāy-* live (#64b; problematic is the comparison with OInd. *śávas-* power)
5b. big	*tsopats*		*d^{h}ēubo-tyo-* deep; cf. Goth. *diups* id.; zero grade is in A *tpär* high < *d^{h}ubro-*
5c. big		*orotstse/wr^{o}*	*uru-(e)H-tyo-*, cf. Luw. *ura-* great
5d. big		*trekte*	*d^{h}rog^{h}-to-* (original possibly "firm"); cf. OInd. *dŕ̥hyati* he makes firm
6. bird		*lwāsa ṣlyamñana*	cf. *luwo* animal (Adams 1999, 731)
7. bite		*tsāk-*	*dēnk̂-(nā-)*, cf. Gr. *δάκνω* I bite, OInd. *dáśati* he bites
8. black	*arkant-*	*erkant-*	*Hr̥g^{w}-ont-*, cf. OInd. *rájanī-* night, Arm. *erek* evening, Goth. *riqis* darkness
9. blood	*ysār*	*yasar*	*H_{1}ésH$_{2}$ōr*, cf. Hit. *ēshar* id.
10a. bone	*āy*	*āy*	*$H_{2/3}$ést-yo-*?
10aa. bone		pl. *āsta*	*$H_{2/3}$ést-ā*; cf. Hit. *hastāi-* bone
11. breast	*päśśäṃ*	*päścane*	*psteno-*, cf. OInd. *stánā* breast, Avest. *fštāna-*, Arm. *stin*, Gr. *στηνίονίον· στῆθος*
12a. burn	*tsäk-/tsak-*	*tsāk-/tsek-*	*d^{h}eg^{wh}-*; cf. Old Ind. *dáhati* he burns, Alb. *djek*, Lit. *degù* I burn
12b. burn	*pälk-*	*pälk-*	*b^{h}l̥g-*; cf. Lat. *fulgeō* I blaze, Gr. *φλέγω* I burn
13. claw	*maku*	pl. *mekwa*	*sm̥-H$_{3}$nog^{h}wā*; cf. Hit. *sankuwai-* < *sananku-*, Arm. *ełowngn* id. < *enong- < *sem-H$_{3}$ong^{h}-*, Gr. *μῶνυξ* single-hoofed < *sm̥-H$_{3}$nog^{h}-u-*
14. cloud	*tärkär*	*tarkär*	*d^{h}r̥gru-*, Cf. Lit. *dárga* rainy weather, OR. *padoroga* stormy weather
15. cold	*k$_{u}$raś/krośś-*	*krośce*	*krustōn*, acc. *krustén-m̥*, cf. Gr. *κρυστάλλος* ice, OHG *hroso* id.
16. come	*kum-*	*käm-*	*g^{w}em-*; cf. OInd. *gámati* he walks, Goth. *qiman* come, Lit. *gemù* : *giñti* be born
17a. die	*wäl-/wal-*		*welH$_{3}$-*; cf. Hit. *walahzi* he beats, Hier. Luvian *wa/i-la-* decease
17b. die		*sruk-/srauk-*	*streug-*, cf. ONord. *strjúka* go away, Gr. *στρεύγομαι* I give out
18. dog	*ku*	*ku*	*k̂úwōn*; cf. Hit. *kuwan-/kun-* id., Gr. *κύων*, gen. *κυνός* id.
19a. drink	*yok-*	*yok-*	*H_{1}ēg$^{w(h)}$-*, cf. Hit. *eku-/aku-* id.
20. dry	*āsar*	*asāre*	AB *ās-* dry, cf. Lat. *āreō* I am dry, *āridus* dry < *H_{2}ēs-*
21. ear	*klots*	*klautso*	*k̂louti-H$_{1}$ōn-*; cf. OInd. *śrúti-* hearing, OIr. *cluas* ear
22a. earth	*tkaṃ*	*keṃ*	*d^{h}g^{h}om-*; cf. Hit. *tēkan*, dat.-loc. *taknī* id., Gr. *χθών*
22b. earth	*päts*	*ptsa*	*pedā*; cf. Hit. *pēdan* place, Gr. *πεδίον* field, plane
23a. eat	*śwā-*	*śwā-*	*ĝyeuH-eH$_{a}$-*, cf. Pers. *jāvīdan*, OHG. *kiuwan*, OChSl. *žьvati* id.
23b. eat	*tāp-*	*tāpp-*	*dap-w-ā-*; cf. Latv. *daps* banquet
24. egg			
25. eye	*ak*, du. *aśäṃ*	*ek*	*H$_{3}$ok^{w}*, du. *-iH$_{1}$*; cf. Lit. *akìs*, pl. *akì*, OChSl. *oko*, du. *oči*
26. fat n.	*ṣälyp*	*ṣalype/ṣalywe*	*sélpo-*, cf. Gr. *ἔλπος* (Hes.), Alb. *gjalpë* butter, OHG. *salba*
27. feather		pl. *paruwa*	*p(e)rwā*, cf. OChSl. *pero* : *perǫ* I fly
28. fire	*por*	*pūwar*	*peH$_{2}$wr̥* ntr. : *peH$_{2}$wōr* coll.; cf. Hit. *pahhu(wa)r*, Gr. *πῦρ* id.
29. fish		*laks*	*lok̂si-*; cf. ONord. *lax*, Lit. *lãšis*, R. *losós*, Osset. *läsäg*
30a. fly v.	*plu-*	*plu-*	*pleu-* put, flow; cf. Gr. *πλέ(ϝ)ω* I put, I swim, OChSl. *plujǫ* I swim
30b. fly v.	*säl-*	*säl-*	*sel-* move fast; cf. Lat. *saliō* I leap
31. foot	*pe*	*paiyye*	*pēds* or *podyo-*; cf. Lat. *pēs* or Avest. *paiδā*, Gr. *πέζα* id.

32. full	*ypic/ywic*	*īte*	A **y(n)-wic* < acc. **en-wītem*; B **wīto-*; cf. OHG *wīt* ONord. *víðr* wide
33a. give	*e-*	*ai-*	**H$_a$ei-*, cf. Hit. *pāi-* give, Lyc. *ije-* buy, Hier. Luw. *iyasa-* id., Gr. *ἀίνυμαι* I take
33b. give		Imp. *pete*	**po-doH$_3$-*; cf. Hit. *pēda-* bear
33c. give	*wäs* : PP *wawu*	*wasa* he gaves	**us-(ā-)* < **wes-(* buy; cf. Hit. *wāsi* he sells (LIV 693)
34a. good	*krant-*	*krent-*	**g^w$_o$rH$_a$-ont-*; cf. Lit. *gẽras* good
34aa. good		*kartse*	**g^w$_o$rH$_a$-to-*; cf. OInd. *gūrtá-*, Lit. *gĩrtas*, Lat. *grātus*, all from **g^{w}erH$_a$-* chant
34b. good	*kāsu*		cf. A *käs-* be bright, shine, *ksā-* shine on, illuminate?
35. green	*motarci*	*motartstse*	**mod^h$_o$ṛtyo-*; cf. Slav. **modrъ* blue, Hit. *āntara-* id.
36a. hair	*śāku*		**dēk̂wā*; cf. Khot. *dasa-* filament, OInd. *daśā-* thrum, Goth. *tagl* hair
36b. hair	*yok* (hair; colour)	*yok*, pl. *yākwa*	(B: hair, wool; colour) < **yā*/*ēk̂u*; cf. OInd. *yā́śu-* pubic hair
36c. hair		*matsi*	**metyo-*, cf. Latv. *mats*, pl. *mati* hair(s)
37. hand	*tsar*	*ṣar*	A: **ĝ^{h}esēr*; B: **ĝ^{h}esér-m̥*; cf. Hit. *kissar-* id.
38a. head	*śpāl*	(*śpālu* excellent)	**g^{h}eb^{h}ōl* or **g^{h}eb^{h}ə̯$_o$lom*; cf. OHG *gebal*, Gr. *κεφαλή* id.
38b. head	*lap*		**lob^{h}o-*; cf. Gr. *λόφος* scruff of animal
38c. head		*āśce*	**H$_a$ek̂st-en-*: **H$_a$ek̂-* sharp, pointed; cf. Gr. *ἀκτή* headland, steap bank
39. hear	*klyos-*	*klyaus-*	**k̂lēus-*; cf. OInd. *śróṣati* he hears, OChSl. *slušati* & *slyšati*, Lit. *klausýti* hear
40a. heart	*āriñc*	*arañce*	**H$_2$eH$_2$(e)ri-*, cf. Hit. *hah(a)ri-* lungs / milts, Celt. **āren-* milt > Welsh *arenn*, pl. *eirinn*, Old Ir. *áru*, gen. *árann* heart
40b. heart	(*kri* will)	pl. *käryāñ*	**k̂$_o$rdyā*, cf. Gr. *καρδία*, Old Ir. *cride* heart
41. horn	(*kror* crescent of moon)	*krorīyai*	**k̂reH$_2$w$_o$* or **k̂$_o$rH$_2$sru-*, cf. Hit. *karāwar* id. or Myc. *ono-karaor* = /*oino-krāhōr*/ unicorn
42. I	*nāṣ* m./ *ñuk* f. < **ñäku*	*ñäś*/*ñiś*	acc. **H$_1$meĝe* crossed with nom. **H$_1$eĝō* > *ˀyäku*; *ñ-* < **m(ä)ñä* < gen. **mene*; cf. Hit. *ūg* : *ammug*, Goth. *ik* : *mik*
43a. kill	*ko-*	*kau-*	**kāu-*; cf. OSaxon *hauwan*, Lit. *káuti* beat, bang
43b. kill	*sruk-*		cf. B *sruk-*/*srauk-* die (#17b)
44. knee	du. *kanweṃ*	du. *keni*	**ĝonu-*; cf. Hit. *gēnu-*, Gr. *γόνυ* id.
45a. know	*knā-*	(*nān-* appear)	**ĝneH$_3$-*; cf. OInd. *jānā́ti* he knows < **ĝ$_o$n̥H$_3$-neH$_2$-*
45b. know	*kärs-*	*kärs-* pres. *śärsäsk-*	**k$_o$rs-* : **kers-* cut, cf. Hit. *kars-* cut off; semantics possibly as Lat. *scīre* know : *secāre* cut
45c. know	(*eś* attendance)	*aik-*	**H$_a$eik̂-* possess, cf. Goth. *aih*, *aigum* id., have, Old Ind. *ī́še* he is master (of something)
46. leaf	*pält*	*pilta*	coll. **b^h$_o$l̥H$_1$tōs*, cf. OHG *blat* id.
47a. lie	*klis-*/*kles-*	(*klänts-* sleep)	**klm̥H$_a$-s-*; cf. OInd. *klām(y)ati* he is tired, *klānta-* tired
47b. lie	(*lake* = B *leki* bed)	*lyäk-*	**leg^h-*; cf. Goth. *ligan* id., OIr. *laigid* he lies, he lies down
48. liver		*wästarye*	**udt$_o$ryo-*; cf. Gr. *ὕστερος* stomach, *ὑστέρα* bosom; OInd. *udára-* abdomen, Lat. *uterus* bosom
49. long	*pärkär*	*pärkare*	**b^h$_o$ṛĝ^h-ró-*; cf. Hit. *parku-*, Arm. *barjr* high
50. louse		*pärśeri*/*pärṣere*	< Turk. **bürče* flea, cf. Chuv. *pă^{w}rźa* (Lubotsky & Starostin 2003: 261)
51a. man	*oṅk*	*eṅkwe*	**$_o$ŋk̂wo-* mortal, cf. OIr. *éc* dead < **$_o$ŋk̂u-* : **nek̂-* kill, die > AB *nāk-* destroy; be lost, disappear; cf. Lat. *necō* : *necāre* kill
51b. man	*ātäl*		**at(i)-al-*; cf. OHG *adal* gentle

52a. many	*māk*	*māka*	**m̥ĝH$_a$-* (> **mH$_a$ĝ-?*) : **meĝōH$_a$* cf. OInd. *mahā-* : *máhi* n. big = Gr. *μέγα* id., Arm. *mec* id., Hit. *mekki-* plentiful, Alb. *madh* great
52b. many	*käṣtär*		**k̊s-tro-/-ā*; cf. A *kaś*, B *keś* line, account, number < **kæscæ* < **k̊os-tē(i)*
53a. meat	*śwāl*		sr. *śwā-* eat (#23a)
53b. meat		pl. *mīsa*	**memsā* (pl. of ntr. **memsom*); cf. Goth. *mimz* id.
54. moon	*mañ*	*meñe*	**meH$_1$nē(n/s/t?)*; cf. Goth. *n*-stem *mena* id.
55. mountain	*ṣul*	*ṣale*	**selwo-*; cf. Lat. *silva* wood
56. mouth	*ko*, loc. *koyaṃ*	*koyṃ*	A *śew-* / B *kāy-* gape, open mouth < **ĝ^{h}eH$_1$i(w)-* / **ĝ^{h}oH$_1$(y)-*; cf. Lat. *hīscō* I open mouth, OChSl. *zějǫ* : *zijati* id.
57. name	*ñom*	*ñem*	**H$_1$nēmn̥*; cf. Arm. *anown*, Gr. *ὄνομα*, Alb. *emër*/*emën*
58a. neck	*kñuk*		**gneugo-*; cf. MHG *knock* neck or **kneig^{wh}o-*; cf. Goth. *hneiwan* bend
58b. neck		*kor*	**k̊uHr̥*; cf. Gr. *κύαρ* eye of needle, hole of ear; Av. *sūra-*, Arm. *sor* hole
58c. neck		*krāñi*	**k̊r̥H$_2$sniyom*; cf. OInd. *śīrṣán-* head, Gr. *κρᾶνίον* vertex
59. new	*ñu*	*ñ(u)we*	**newo-*; cf. Hit. *newa-*, Gr. *νέος* id.
60a. night	*wṣe*	*yṣīye*	**wesyā-H$_1$en-* lit. "veiled", cf. Lat. *vesper*, Gr. *ἕσπερος* evening < **that, what is in shroud* : Hit. *waspa-* clothes; shroud (Katz 2000, 69-93)
60b. night		*kästwer* at night	**g^{w}sp-wor*; cf. Old Ind. *kṣáp-*, Avest. *xšap(ar)-*, *xšafn-*: *xšapan-*, Hit. *ispant-* night
61. nose	pl. *malañ*	pl. *meli*	**(s)melo-*; cf. MEng. *smell* smell
62. not	*mā*	*mā*	**mē*; cf. Arm. *mi*, Gr. *μη*, Alb. *mos* id.
63. one	*sas* m. / *säṃ* f.	*ṣe* m. / *sana* & *somo*	**sḗms* / **sm̥yā* ; cf. Gr. *εἷς* / *μία*
64a. person	*napeṃ*		< Iran.: Avest. *nāfah-* propinquity, family, Sogd. Bud. *n'β* people, clan
64b. person	(*śoṃ* youth)	*śaumo*	from *śāw-/śāy-* live < **g^{w}yeH$_3$-w-e/o-*; cf. OInd. *jīvati*, Lat. *vīvere* live
64c. person	*oñi* < **oṅkñi*	*eṅkwaññe*	see #51a
64d. person		*onolme*	**ān(H)-olmo-* : **ān(H)-* < **H$_a$enH$_1$-* breathe, cf. B *anāsk-* inspire
65. rain n.	*swase*	*swese*	**suH$_3$-oso-*; cf. AB *su-* rain, Gr. *ὗει* it rains, Prus. *soye* rain
66. red	*rtär*	*ratre*	**H$_1$rud^{h}ó-*; OInd. *rudhirá-*, Gr. *ἐρυθρός* id.
67a. road	*yme*	*ymīye*	**H$_1$eimn̥-ā-H$_1$en-*
67b. road	*ytār*	*ytārye*	**H$_1$itōr*; cf. Hit. *itar*, Lat. *iter* id.
68a. root	*tsmār*		AB *tsäm-* growth < **dem(H$_a$)-*; cf. Lyd. *tam-* frame, Gr. *δέμω* I frame
68b. root		*witsake*	< Iran. **waitāka-*, cf. Osset. Iron. *wīdag*, Digor. *wedagä* id.
69. round	*akritär*		**(s)kritro-*; cf. Lit. *ãpskritas*, Latv. *skritulỹs* id.
70. sand	*wāryāñc*	*warañce*	pToch. **wārw-āñce* < **(H)wōru-* : B *yare* gravel < **(H)wero-*; cf. ONord. *aurr* sand blended with clay, OIr. *úr* soil, clay
71. say	*weñ-*	*weñ-*	**wond-ye/o-* : OInd. *vándate* he celebrates ‖ **wokn-ye/o-* : OHG *giwahanan* note
72. see	*läk-*/*lyāk-*	*läk-*/*lyāk-*	**luk-* blaze (rather than **leĝ-* collect. or comparison with WGerm. **lōkōjan* look)
73a. seed	*säryām* Saat *sārm* Same pl. *sārmntu*	*sārm*, pl. *sarmana*	**s̥ryā-* : AB *sāry-* plant < **soH$_1$-r-*, cf. Lat. *serere* : *serō* : *seruī* & *serī* plant **sōrmn̥^{o}*
73b. seed	*śäktālyi*	*śäktālye*	AB *kät-(nā-)* strew; cf. Lit. *kẽsti* : *kečiù* diffuse, dispel

73c. seed		*ṣaiweññа*	**seH$_1$i-won-yā* : **seH$_1$-* to seed, cf. Goth. *saian* id., OChSl. *sějǫ* I drill
74a. sit	*l(y)äm-* / *lam-*	*l(y)äm-/l(y)ām-*	**lemb-*; cf. OInd. *lámbate* he hang (on), Eng. *limp*
74b. sit	*ṣäm-*	*ṣäm-*	**sed-m-* or **H$_1$s-em-*
75a. skin	*yats*	*yetse*	**H$_1$ēd-so-* : **H$_1$ed-* eat
75b. skin	*kāc*		**kūt-ē(i)* : obl. *-i-m*; cf. ONord. *húð*, Lat. *cutis* id.
75c. skin		*ewe*	**H$_1$ow-es-* : **H$_1$eu-* clothe, shoe; cf. Hit. *unu(wa)-* decorate; OChSl. *ob-ujǫ* I shoe
76. sleep	*klis-* / *kles-*	*klänts-*	cf. #47
77a. small	*lykäly* / *lyäkly-*	*lykaśke*	**H$_3$lig-*: ř. *ὀλίγος* small, few, Alb. *lig* bad, evil, poor
77b. small	*mkälto*		**mə$_2$klo-*; cf. Hit. *maklant-* slight, Lat. *macer* : *macilentus* slight, poor
78. smoke n.			
79a. stand	*käly-*	*käly-*	**klH$_1$-ye/o-*; cf. Lit. *kélti* raise : *kìlti* get up
79b. stand	*stäm-*	*ṣtäm-*	**stm-* : **steH$_2$-* stand (be) as **g^{w}m-* : **g^{w}eH$_2$-* go // **stmb^{h}-* designate
80. star	*śre*	*ścirye*	**H$_2$(H)ster-*; cf. Hit. *hasterza*, Gr. *ἀστήρ* id.
81a. stone	*kña-*		**Kunyā*; cf. Hit. *kunkunuzzi-* sort of stone (diorit?)
81b. stone	*pāreṃ*, perl. *^{o}enā*		**pōr-en-*; cf. Hit. ntr. *pēru*, com. *perunas* rock, OInd. *párvata-* mount, Avest. *pauruuatā-* mountain range < **perwn̥t-*, OIr. *airne* stone
81c. stone		*kärweñe*	**g^{w}rHwon-en-* : **g^{w}reHwen-* > OInd. *grāvan-* stone for pressing of soma
82. sun	*koṃ*	*kauṃ*	< Turk. **gün* sun, day, cf. Chuv. *kon* day (LS 2003, 257; EDAL, 553), rather than from virtual IE **kauni-*; cf. Gr. *καῦμα* burning heat (of sun) : *καίω* I burn < **kawyō*
83. swim		*näsk-*	**(s)neH$_a$-*; cf. OInd. *snāti* he baths; Lat. *nāre* swim
84. tail		*päkā-*	**puk̂ā*; cf. OInd. *púccha-* id. < **puk-sk̂o-*, Goth. *fauho* fox (EIEC 563)
85a. that .	*saṃ* m. : *sām* f.	*su* m. : *sā$_u$* f.	A **sono-* m. : **sā-m^{o}* f. / B **so+u* m. : **sā+u*
85b. that	*täm* ntr.	*tu* ntr.	A **tu-m* < **to(d)+u-m^{o}* / B **to(d)+u*
86a. this	*säs* m.: *sās* f.	*se* m. / *sā* f.	A **su-so* < **so+u-so* : **sā-s^{o}* / B **so* m. : **sā* f.
86b. this		*seṃ*	B **so-n^{o}*
86b. this	*täṣ* ntr.	*te* ntr.	A **tu-se* < **to(d)+u-se* / B **tod*
87. thou	*tu*	*t(u)we*	**tuHóm*; cf. OInd. *t(u)vám*
88. tongue	*käntu*	*kantwo*	**dn̥g^{h}wā*; cf. OLat. *dingua*, Goth. *tuggo* id.
89. tooth	*kam*	*keme*	**ĝomb^{h}o-*; cf. OInd. *jámbha-*, Gr. *γόμφος* id.
90. tree	*ṣtām*	*stām*, pl. *stāna*	**steH$_2$-smn̥*, pl. **steH$_2$-smn-ā*; cf. Germanic **stamma-* trunk
91. two	*wu* m. / *we* f.	*wi*	A **dwō(u)* m. / **dwoi* ntr. : B **dwoi* ntr.
92a. walk	*i-*	*i-*	**H$_1$éi-mi* I walk : **H$_1$i-mé* we walk; cf. OInd. *emi* : *ima*
92aa. walk	*ya-*	*ya-*	**H$_1$ei-ye/o-*; cf. #92a
92b. walk	*kälk-* / *kalk-*	(*kalāk-* follow)	A: **k^{w}l̥-K-* B: **k^{w}olH-K-*; cf. OInd. *cárati* he moves : *cáritum* : *cūrtí-*
92c. walk		*mäs-*	**mus-(ā-)* : AB *mus-* move < **meus-*; cf. Hit. *maus-* : *mu-* fall
93a. warm	*omäl*	*emalle*	**H$_1$n̥-ml̥-(y)o-*; cf. Icel. *molla* (be) hot
93b. warm	*sāt*	(*satāsk-* exspire)	
94. water	*wär*	*war*	**udrom* (Adams) or loc. **udrn̥* (Normier); cf. Alb. *ujë* id. < **udryā*; Gr. *ὑδρία* bucket

95. we	*was*	*wes*	**wos* (from crossing of IE nom. **wei-* and obl. **nos*); cf. Hit. *wēs*, Goth. *weis*
96. what	*kuc*	*k$_u$ce*	**k^{w}u-tóm* = acc. from *kus* / *k$_u$se* who (#98)
97. white	*ārki*, pl. *ārkyañc* m./ *ārkyant*	*ārkwi*	**H$_2$erĝ-u-i-n^o*, pl. **H$_2$erĝ-u-yon-t-*; cf. Hit. *harki-* id.
98. who	*kus*, acc. *kuc*	*k$_u$se*, acc. *k$_u$ce*	**k^{w}u-só*; cf. Alb. *kush* id.; acc. **k^{w}u-tóm*
99. woman	*k$_u$li*	*kl(y)ĭye*	**ĝleH$_2$wi-H$_1$en-* *daughter-in-law/spouse; cf. ChSl. *zъlъva*, Gr. *γάλως* husband's sister
100. yellow		*tute*	**dʰūto-*; cf. OInd. *dhūta-* turbulent, Pers. *dūd* fume, OEng. *dýþ* fuel, tinder (M 226), Cz. *doutnat* smoulder : IE. **dʰeuH$_2$-* fume; to semantics cf. OInd. *dhūmrá-* & *dhūmala-* fume's coloured, *russet* : *dhūmá-* fume (P 261-262)

Lexicostatistical analysis

Missing items

A: 3, 6, 7, 24, 27, 29, 41, 48, 50, 78, 83, 84, 100.

B: 24, 69.

Loanwords: 2a, 50, 64b, 68b, 82.

K = Number of incomplete or quite missing pairs and semantical units attested only as loans: 3, 6, 7, 24, 27, 29, 41, 48, 50, 69, 78, 82, 83, 84, 100; in all 15.

L = Number of complete pairs: L = 100 - K = 85.

M = Number of semantical units, if the A and B counterparts are etymologicaly distinct ('non-cognates'): ## 5, 17, 38, 47, 53, 58, 75, 81; in all 8.

N = Number of lexical correspondences: N = L - M = 77

R = Share of preserved lexical correspondences due to all complete pairs: R = N / L = 77 / 85 = 0.906.

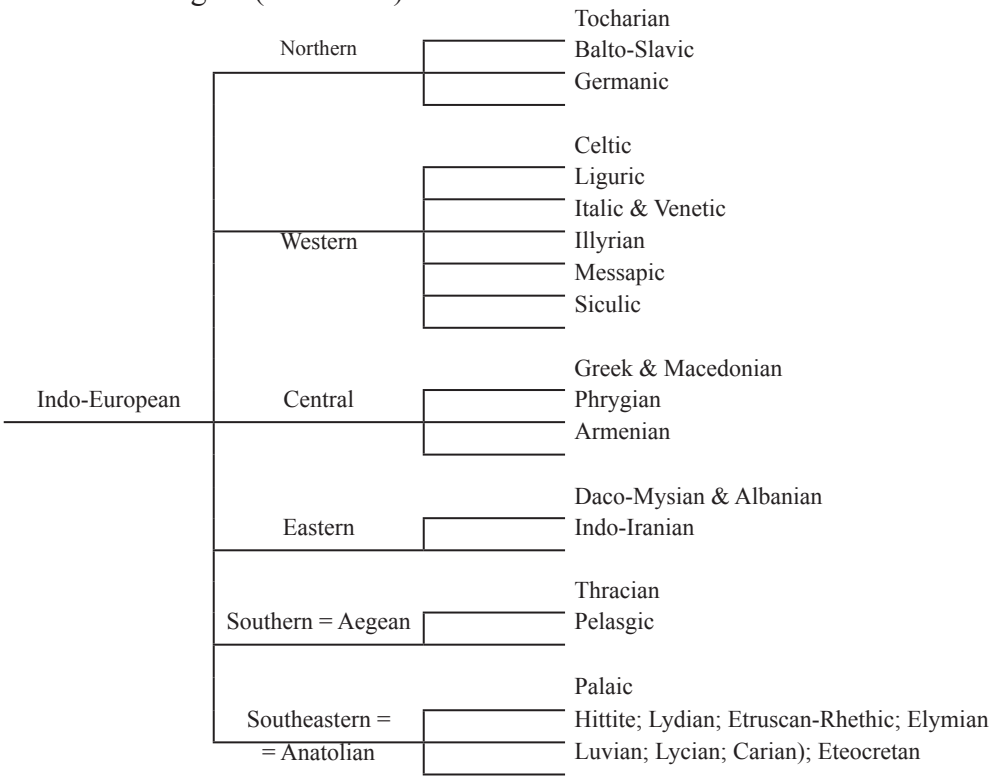
If Tocharian A and B were contemporary living languages, we could conclude that they diverged about 1050 years ago, i.e. they should separate during the 10th century A.D. But these languages are dead and known only from literary – even asychronic – tradition. It is difficult to express the age of Tocharian texts by the only date. It can be only a statistical average: Tocharian A to A.D. 700 and Tocharian B to A.D. 600 (see §3). Then there are two strategies of calculation of the time of their divergence. According to Swadesh's method we subtract the time of divergence (i.e. 1050 years) from an arithmetic mean of dates of recording of both languages, i.e. from the fictive average A.D. 650. The result 400 BC seems quite realistic. Starostin's approach is different. Starostin uses the projection of historically documented languages to the present. The time space of 1300 years separates the language A (A.D. 700) from the present and 1400 years separates the language B (A.D. 600). The corresponding coefficients of preservation are p: $p_A = 0.925$; $p_B = 0.913$. In relation to the present, the proto-language common to A and B would have the following share of

preservation of the basic lexicon $c = R \cdot p_A \cdot p_B = 0.906 \cdot 0.913 \cdot 0.925 = 0.765$ (about the method see Burlak & Starostin 2005: 163). This result corresponds to the date c. A.D. 200 (thus just before the end of the Han dynasty, A.D. 220, when the Chinese influence spread to the area of the Tocharian people). We can add that according to Starostin Tocharian A and B diferentiated about 20 B.C. (Dybo 2006: 782-83). But details of this calculation were not published. Summing up, the oldest dating of the A vs. B divergence, 400 BC, seems to be in the best agreement with expectation of both historians and linguists.

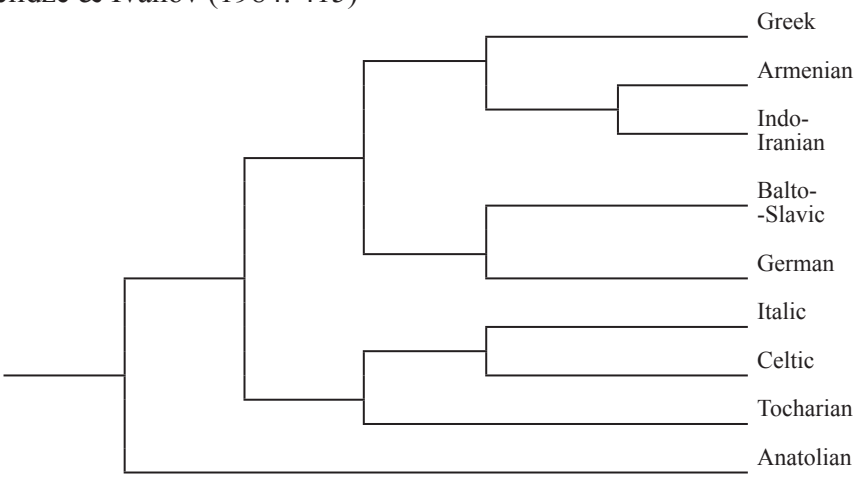
9. APPENDIX 2: POSITION OF THE TOCHARIAN BRANCH BETWEEN OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Following diagrams are ranked chronologically according to the year of publication, documenting views of distinguished Indo-Europeanists on development and mutual relations of Indo-European languages:

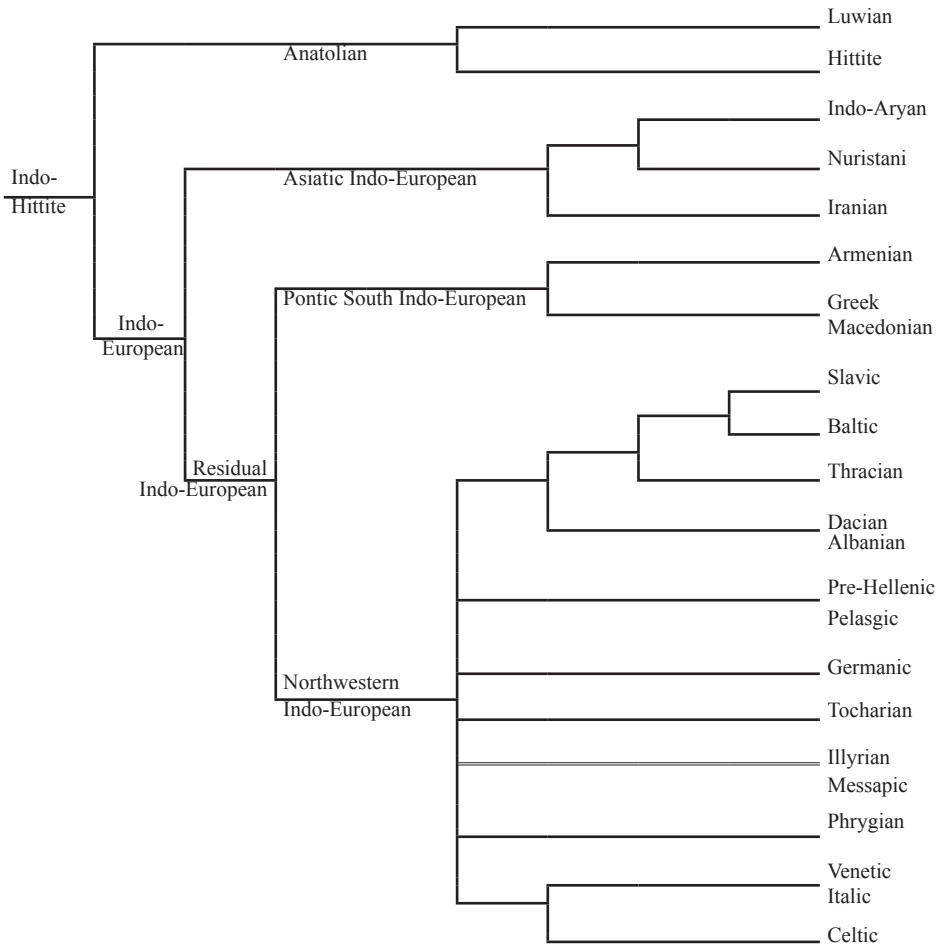
Vladimir Georgiev (1981: 363)



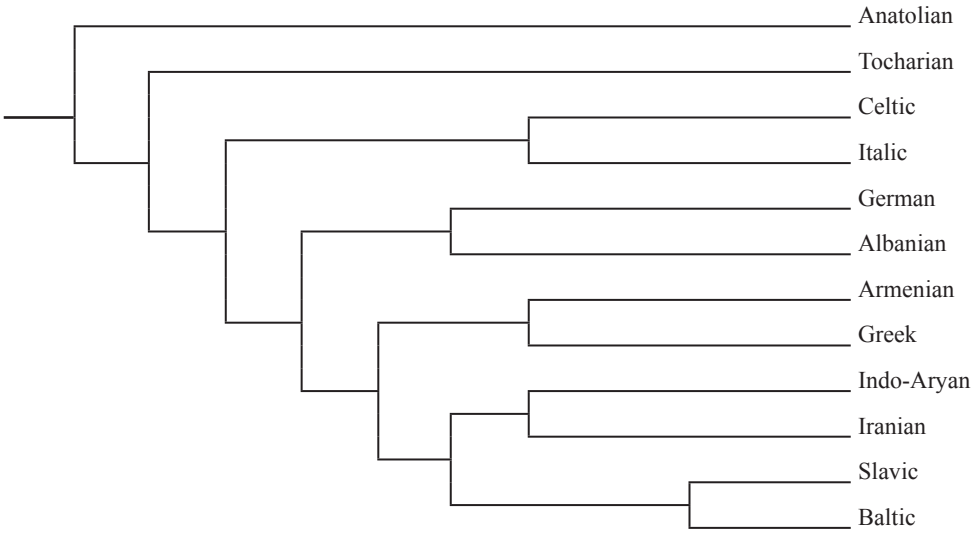
Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984: 415)



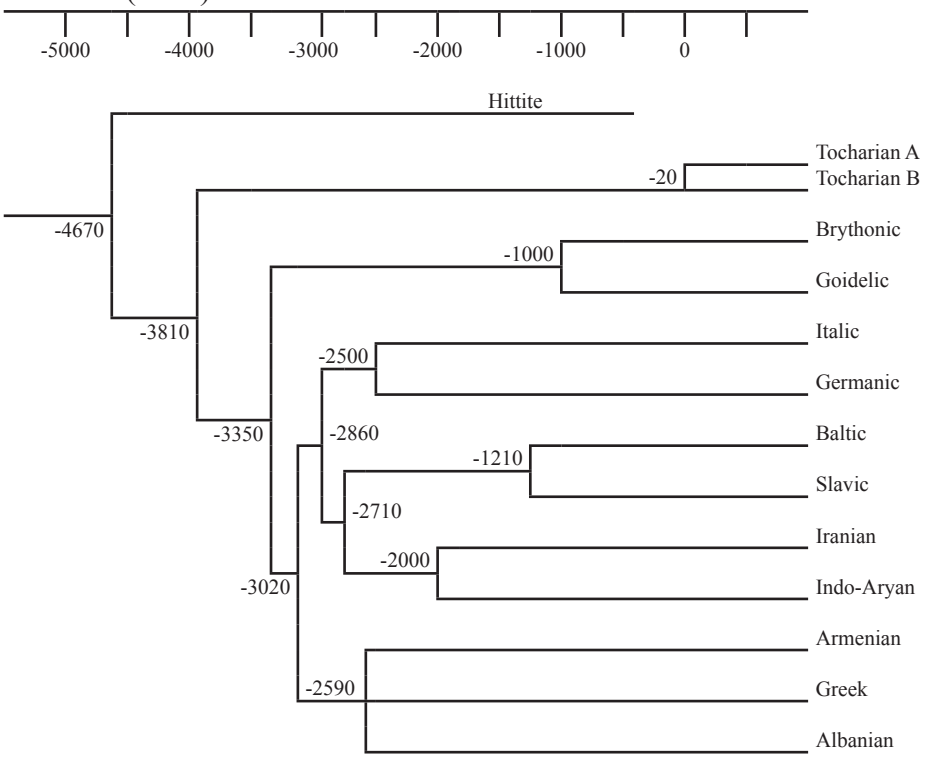
Eric Hamp (1990)



D. Ringe, T. Warnow & A. Taylor (2002: 87)



Starostin (2004)



In three fifths of cases Indo-Europeanists agree in conclusion that Tocharian is a branch separated from the Indo-European dialect continuum as the second

after the separation of the Anatolian branch. Georgiev ranked Tocharian in the so-called northern bloc, represented by Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages, Hamp accents vicinity of German and Tocharian.

10. CONCLUSION

In the present study we gathered and dared to assess material allowing to formulate the following scenario. The Indo-European dialect continuum is splitted for the first time in the first half of 5th millenium B.C., when the Anatolian branch is separated. Roughly after 8-9 centuries, c. 3800 B.C., another dialect, developing to the Tocharian branch, made independent. The ancestors of the historical Tocharians separated probably from the eastern part of the Indo-European oikumena, perhaps in the area between Danubius and Dniepr. The area is a logical platform to the further penetration to the east, where the contact with populations speaking still undisintegrated Finno-Ugric proto-language could be realized. This happened probably in the second half of the 4th millenium B.C. We can conceive the area of middle stream of the Volga and Ural (or southern Ural respectively) as pertinent contact zone. The route of Proto-Tocharians led further to the east until it stopped on the northern slopes of the Sajany-Altai, between the upper Irtyš and Angara, where the archeological complex Afanasievo was constituted from 3500 to 2500 B.C. The complex has an evident genetical relation to the culture Srednij Stog, which had dominated in regions to the north from the Black Sea one millenium ago. Culture Okunievo appears in the northern periphery of Afanasievo culture after 2000 B.C. The Okunievo culture obviously contained part of ancestors of Samoyedic populations separating from their Finno-Ugrian relatives around the half of 4th millenium B.C. The vicinity or succession of ancestors of Tocharians and Samoyedic people left some traces in Samoyedic lexicon. The main stream of Proto-Tocharian population moved perhaps to the south still in the last centuries of the 3rd millenium B.C. The most passable route of their migration could lead along the upper flow of Irtysh across the Jungar Basin (*Zhunga'er Pendi*) to the Tarim Basin (*Talimu Pendi*). They were likely to penetrate here from the east (Mallory & Mair 2000: 315) and to gradually colonize the northern edge between the river Tarim and southern uphills of 天山 *Tian Shan* mountains, where the eastern language A and western B were later crystalized. They settled also at the southern rim along the river Qargan and by northern uphills of the Kunlun mountains where hypothetical language C left some traces. The contact with Chinese civilization occured at the latest about 1200 B.C. Spreading of war chariots in Chinese army was the main result (Shaughnessy 1988), documented also in loanword from pre-Toch. **klæṅkæ* > A *klaṅk*, B

kleṅke “wagon”, AB *klāṅk-* “to go by wagon”, to Old Chinese **ləŋs* “wagon”, **ləŋ* “run” (Lubotsky 1998: 379-390; Blažek 1999: 82). Another cultural loans between Tocharian and Chinese follow, in adverse order as well (for example Toch. AB *klu* “rice” < Old Chin. **lhu’*~ **Łhu* “sprouting rice” - see Blažek 1999: 81-82). In the first half of the 2nd century B.C. the Tocharians were invaded by nomadic ethnics of Xiongnu, who appears as the Huns at the European borders after some centuries. Tocharian’s militant elite runs away to the west, where dominated Bactria for some time. Then some exclusive Bactrian loanwords penetrated in Tocharian et vice versa, although Bactrian was not spoken in the Tarim Basin. This fact confirms that part of the Tocharians returned back from Bactria to Xinjiang. In the following examples chosen from Tremblay (2005: 435-436) the semantics or phonetic pecularities typical for Bactrian exclude other Middle Iranian languages as a source:

Bactrian and other Iranian languages	Tocharian
αρλο “side, bank (of a ditch)” : Khot. *hala* “side, half”, Sogd. *’rd’r* “domain”, Avestan *arəδa-* “side, half”	B *ārte* “canal”
αγαλγο “wish” : Sogd. *āγēδē*	A *ākāl*, B *akālk* “wish”
καμιρδο ‘titel of god’ : Khot. *kamala* “head”, Avestan *kamərəda-* id.	B *kamartīke* “ruler” : *īke* “place”, *kamartāññe* “sovereignity”
μολο “wine” : Sogd. *mδw*	B *māla* “strong spirit”

There was also an opposite direction of borrowing: *φρογαοο* “profit” ~ Toch. A *pärko*, B *pärkā*$_u$ id.; *σπαχνιο* “obligated by service” ~ Toch. B *spaktānīke* “minister” < *spaktāṃ* “service” & *īke* “place”; Bactrian words see Sims-Williams 2001). Western and Eastern Tocharian (B : A) separate about the beginning of common era. Hypothetical southern language “C” was probably separated earlier. During the first eight centuries A.D. the population of Tarim Basin become multi-national. With the except of two (or three) Tocharian idioms people use there some written Iranian languages, in particular Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, two variants of the Saka language (from Tumšuq and Khotan), from Indo-Aryan languages Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Prākrit from Niya are used, plus two Sino-Tibetan literary languages: Chinese and Tibetan. By the end of this era Old Uyghur became a literary language as well. This language and the arrival of Islam in the area (from 9th century) begun to replace not only the Tocharian idioms, but also all of the mentioned Iranian languages.

Abbreviations:
A East Tocharian, acc. acusative, adj. adjective, Akkad. Akkadian, Alb. Albanian, Arm. Armenian, Av(est). Avestan, B- Baltic-, B West Tocharian, Bactr. Bactrian, Br. Belorussian, bud. buddhist, Celt. Celtic, cf. compare, Chech. Chechen, Chin. Chinese, Chuv. Chuvash, coll. Collectivum, com. genus communis, Cz. Czech, Dagest. Dagestan, dat. dative, Digor. Digorian, Eng. English, Fin. Finnish, FU. Fenno-Ugric, gen. genitive, Germ. Germanic, Goth. Gothic, Gr. Greek, Hebr. Hebrew, Hit. Hittite, H(ier).Luw. Hieroglyphic Luwian, Hung. Hungarian, Hurr. Hurrian, IA Indo-Aryan, IE Indo-European, II Indo-Iranian, Ind. Indic, Iran. Iranian, Iron. Ironian, Icl. Icelandic, Khot. Khotan Saka, Lat. Latin, Latv. Latvian, Lit. Lithuanian, loc. locative, Lap. Laponic, Luw. Luwian, Lyc. Lycian, Lyd. Lydian, M Middle-, MHG Middle High German, Mord. Mordvinic, nom. nominative, N North, Nor. Norwegian, ntr. neutrum, obl. casus obliquus = indirect case, O Old, OChSl. Old Church Slavonic, OHG Old High German, OInd. Old Indic, OIr. Old Irish, ONord. Old Nordic, Osset. Ossetic, p/P- Proto-, perl. perlative, Perm. Permian, Pers. Persian, praes. praesens, Prus. Prussian, R. Russian, Skt. Sanskrit, Sm. Samoyedic, Sogd. Sogdian, Syr. Syriac, Toch. Tocharian, Turk. Turkic, Udm. Udmurtian, Ugar. Ugaritic, Ur. Urarteian, W West, Wels. Welsh, Yakut. Yakutic.

Bibliography:

Adams, Douglas Q. 1988. *Tocharian historical phonology and morphology.* New Haven: American Oriental Society (American Oriental Series, Vol. 71).

Adams, Douglas Q. 1999. *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam - Atlanta: Rodopi (Leiden Studies in Indo-European, Vol. 10).

Adams, Douglas Q. 2000. Some observations of peoples, places, and languages in the Tarim Basin in the first millennium AD. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 9, 1-28.

Adams, Douglas Q. 2006. Some implications of the Carbon-14 Dating of Tocharian Manuscripts. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 34, 381-389.

Adams, Douglas Q. & Mallory, James P. 1997. Tocharian Languages. In: *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, ed. by James P. Mallory & Douglas Q. Adams. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 590-594.

Blažek, Václav. 1997. Tocharian-Anatolian isoglosses (I). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 229-233.

Blažek, Václav. 1999. Alimenta Tocharica (1-3). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 79-84.

Blažek, Václav. 2001a. Tocharian A *muk* 'yoke' and A *maku*, B *mekwa* pl. '(finger)nails' - why *m*-? *Historische Sprachforschung* 114, 191-195.

Blažek, Václav. 2001b. Celtic-Anatolian Isoglosses. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 52, 125-128.

Blažek, Václav. 2001c. Tocharian AB *kät-* "to scatter". *Indogermanische Forschungen* 106, 81-83.

Blažek, Václav. 2005. Tocharian A $k_u li$, B *klyiye* "woman" < **ĝ/gleH$_2$u̯-H$_1$en*-? *Historische Sprachforschung* 118, 92-100.

Blažek, Václav. & Václav Klain. 2002. Etnonymum Čech v kontextu slovanských a indoevropských etnonym. In: *Čeština: univerzália a specifika* 4, 2002, eds. Zdenka Hladká & Petr Karlík. Praha: Lidové noviny 2002, 37-50.

Burlak, Svetlana A. & Starostin, Sergej A. 2005. *Sravniteľno-istoričeskoe jazykoznanie.* Moskva: Academia.

Burrow, Thomas. 1935. Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 1935, 667-675.

Carling, Gerd. 2005. Proto-Tocharian, Common Tocharian, and Tocharian – on the value of linguistic connections in a reconstructed language. In: *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, Nov 2004)*, ed. by Karlene Jones-Bley, Martin E. Huld, Angela Della Volpe, Miriam Robbins Dexter. Washington: Institute for the Study of Man (Journal of Indo-European Monograph Series, No. 50), 47-71.

Diakonoff, Igor M. & Starostin, Sergei. 1986. *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language*. München: Kitzinger.

Dybo, Anna V. 2006. Xronologija tjurkskix jazykov i lingvističeskie kontakty rannyx tjurkov. In: *Sravniteľno-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov: tjurkskij jazyk-osnova; kartina mira pratjurkskogo ėtnosa po danym jazyka*, ed. Ė.R. Tenišev & A.V. Dybo. Moskva: Nauka, 766-817.

EDAL = *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*, I-III, eds. Starostin, Sergei, Dybo, Anna & Mudrak, Oleg. Leiden - New York: Brill.

EIEC = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, eds. J. P. Mallory & D. Q. Adams. London - Chicago: Fitzroy Dearbon.

EWAI = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986n. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarisch*, I-II. Heidelberg: Winter.

Francalacci, Paolo. 1998. DNA Analysis on Ancient Desiccated Corpses from Xinjiang (China): Further Results. In: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, Vol. II, ed. Victor Mair. Washington-Philadelphia: The Institute for the Study of Man – The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 537-547.

Gamkrelidze, Tamas V. & Ivanov, Vjačeslav V. 1984. *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy*. Tbilisi: Izdateľstvo Tbilisskogo univerziteta.

Gamkrelidze, Tamas V. & Ivanov, Vjačeslav V. 1989. Pervye indoevropejcy v istorii: predki toxar v drevnej Perednej Azii. *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 1989/1, 14-39.

Georgiev, Vladimir I. 1981: *Introduction to the History of the Indo-European Languages*. Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Hajdú, Péter [Xajdu, Peter]. 1985. *Uraľskie jazyki i narody*, transl. by E. Xelimskij. Moskva: Progress.

Hamp, Eric P. 1990. The Pre-Indo-European Language of Northern (Central) Europe. In: *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*, eds. T.L. Markey & J.A.C. Greppin. Ann Arbor: Karoma, 291-309.

Hamp, Eric P. 1991. Otrębski on the name of the Goths. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 32-33, 1989-90[91], 85-86.

Henning, W. P. 1938. Argi and Tocharians. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9, 545-571.

Henning, W. P. 1978. The first Indo-Europeans in history. In: *Society and History: Essays in Honor of Karl A. Wittfogel*, ed. G.L. Ulmen. The Hague - Paris - New York: Mouton, 215-230.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1986. *Studies in Tocharian phonology, morpholoy and etymology*. Reykjavík: Author.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur.1991. *The Nasal Prefixes in Tocharian*. A Study in Word Formation. Reykjavík: *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary series*, Vol. 3.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur. 1996. *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary*. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands (Tocharian and Indo-European Studies, Supplementary series, Vol. 5).

Humbach, Helmut & Ziegler, Susanne. 1998. *Ptolemy: Geography, Book 6 (Middle East, Central and North Asia, China)*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Illič-Svityč, Vladislav M. 1971. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*, I. Moskva: Nauka.

Janhunen, Juha. 1983. On early Indo-European-Samoyed contacts. In: *Symposium Saeculare Societatis Fenno-Ugricae*. Helsinki: MSFOu 185, 115-127.

Joki, Aulis. 1973. *Uralier und Indogermanen. Die älteren Berührungen zwischen den uralischen und indogermanischen Sprachen*. Helsinki: MSFOu 151.

Katz, Joshua. 2000. Evening dress: The Metaphorical Background of Latin *uesper* and Greek *ἕσπερος*. In: *Proccedings of the Eleventh Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, June 1999)*, ed. by K. Jones-Bley, M.E. Huld & A. Della Volpe. Washington, D.C.: Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series No. 35, 69-93.

Li, Yingbing. 2006. *Hetian chunqiu*. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe.

Lin, Meicun. 1998. Qilian and Kunlun – The Earliest Tokharian Loan-words in Ancient Chinese. In: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, Vol. I, ed. Victor Mair. Washington-Philadelphia: The Institute for the Study of Man – The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 476-482.

LIV = *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*$_2$, ed. Helmut Rix et al. 2001. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

LS = Lubotsky, Alexander & Starostin, Sergei. 2003. Turkic and Chinese loanwords in Tocharian. In: *Languages in Time and Space: A Festschrift for Werner Winter on Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, ed. B. Bauer & G.-J. Pinault. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 257-269.

Lubotsky, Alexander. 1998. Tocharian Loan Words in Old Chinese: Chariot Gear, and Town Building. In: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, Vol. I, ed. Victor Mair. Washington-Philadelphia: The Institute for the Study of Man – The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 379-390.

Mair, Victor & Kamberi, Dolkun. 1998. Place, People, and Site Names of the Uyghur Region Pertinent to the Archeology of the Bronze Age and Iron Age. In: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, Vol. II, ed. Victor Mair. Washington-Philadelphia: The Institute for the Study of Man – The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 857-864.

Mallory, James P. & Mair, Victor H. 2000. *The Tarim Mummies. Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Malzahn, Melanie. 2007. The Most Archaic Manuscripts of Tocharian B and the Varieties of the Tocharian B Language. In: *Instrumenta Tocharica*, ed. by Melanie Malzahn. Heidelberg: Winter, 255-297.

MSFOu = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Helsinki).

Müller, F. W. K. 1907. Beitrag zur genaueren Bestimmung der unbekannten Sprachen Mittelasiens, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1907, 958-960.

Napoľskikh, Vladimir. 2001. Tocharisch-uralisch Berührungen: Sprache und Archäeologie. In: *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, ed. by Ch. Carpelan, A. Parpola, P. Koskikallio. Helsinki: Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 242, 367-383.

Otrębski, Jan. 1950. Miscellanées onomastiques [Chapter 5: L'interprétation du nom des Goths]. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 2, 79-98.

P Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern-München: Francke.

Pinault, Georges-Jean. 1989. *Introduction au tokharien*. Paris: LALIES (Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature 7).

Pinault, Georges-Jean. 1998. Tocharian Languages and Pre-Buddhistic Culture. In: *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, Vol. II, ed. Victor Mair. Washington-Philadelphia: The Institute for the Study of Man – The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 358-371.

Polivanov, E. D. 1916. Indoevropskoe **medhu-* ~ obščekitajskoe mit. *Zapiski Vostočnogo otdelenija Russkogo arxeologičeskogo obščestva*, T. 23, vyp. I-II, Petrograd, 263-264.

Poucha, Pavel. 1930. O nových jazycích indoevropských nalezených ve střední Asii, zvláště o jazyce tocharském (S náčrtem tocharské mluvnice). Praha: *Dvacátá výroční zpráva českého státního gymnasia v Praze XI za školní rok 1929-30*.

Poucha, Pavel. 1931. O střední Asii podle nových objevů (Obraz zeměpisný, dějepisný, národopisný a kulturní). In: *Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné*. Praha, 75-85.

Poucha, Pavel. 1940. O"tocharštin" čili jazyku Áršiů. *Listy filologické* 67, 197-217.

Poucha, Pavel. 1955. *Institutiones linguae Tocharicae*, Pars I. *Thesaurus linguae Tocharicae dialecti A*. (Monografie Archivu orientálního, Vol. XV). Praha: SPN.

Pulleyblank, Edgar G. 1962. The consonantal system of Old Chinese. *Asia Major*, N.S. 9, 58-144, 206-265.

Pulleyblank, Edgar G. 1966. Chinese and Indo-Europeans. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1966 (April), 9-39.

Ringe, Don. 1996. *On the chronology of sound changes in Tocharian*, Vol. 1: *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Tocharian*. New Haven: American Oriental Society (American Oriental Series, Vol. 80).

Ringe, Don, Warnow, Tandy & Taylor, Ann. 2002. Indo-European and computional cladistics. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 100/1, 59-129.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1994a. Zu Stand und Aufgaben der sprachwissenschaftlichen Erschliessung des Tocharischen. In: *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Berlin, Sept. 1990)*, ed. Bernfried Schlerath. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands (Tocharian and Indo-European, Supplementary Series, Vol. 4), 207-237.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1994b. Zur Erforschung der tocharischen Literatur. Stand und Aufgaben. In: *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Berlin, Sept. 1990)*, ed. Bernfried Schlerath. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands (Tocharian and Indo-European, Supplementary Series, Vol. 4), 239-283.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1997. Interdisciplinäre Zentralasienforschung. Kontakte von Sprachen, Kulturen und Religionen an der Seidenstrasse. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 177-197.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. 1988. Historical Perspectives on the Introduction of the Chariot into China. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48, 189-237.

Sieg, Emil & Siegling, Wilhelm. 1908. Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen, vorläufige *Bemerkungen über eine bisher unbekannte indogermanische Literatursprache. Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1908, 915-932.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2001. Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan I: *Legal and Economic Documents*. Oxford: University Press / Nour Foundation.

Strabon. *Geografija v semnadcati knigax*, (translation to Russian by G. A. Stratanovskij). Moskva: Olma-Press 2004.

Strabonis Geographica recognivit Augustus Meinecke. Leipzig: Teubner 1909-13.

Süan-cang. 2002. *Zápisky o západních krajinách za Velkých Tchangů*, translation of Josef Kolmaš. Praha: Academia.

Tremblay, Xavier. 2005. Irano-Tocharica et Tocharo-Iranica. *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies* 68/3, 421-449.

Tyomkin, E. N. 1997. S. Th. Oldenburg as Founder and Investigator of the St. Petersburg Collection of Ancient Manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 177-197.

Vadeckaja, Ė.B. 1990. Južno-samodijskie komponenty kuľtury drevnego naselenija Prisajan'ja. In: *Uralo-Indogermanica* II, ed. V. V. Ivanov et al.. Moskva: Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki, 71-80

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1976. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, vol. I: *La phonétique et la vocabulaire*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Van Windekens, Albert J. 1979. *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, vol. II.1: *La morphologie nominale*. Louvain: Centre International de Dialectologie Générale.

Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, Margarita I. 1997. The Ancient Manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan in the St. Petersburg Collection: Some Results of Recent Research. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7, 205-212.

Vykypěl, Bohumil. 2004. *Studie k šlechtickým titulům v germánských, slovanských a baltských jazycích*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Wilhelm, Gernot. 1992. *Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue aus Boğazköy*. Orientalia 62/2, 122-141.

Wilhelm, Gernot. 2004a. Hurrian. In: *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard. Cambridge: University Press, 95-118.

Wilhelm, Gernot. 2004b. Urartian. In: T*he Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard. Cambridge: University Press, 96-137.

Winter, Werner. 1984. *Studia Tocharica – Selected writings*. Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.

Winter, Werner. 1985. 'Left' or 'right'? In: *Historial Semantics & Historical Word-Formation*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak. Berlin-New York-Amsterdam: Mouton, 583-595.

Witczak, Krzysztof T. 1993. Goths and Kucheans: An Indo-European Tribe? *Lingua Posnaniensis* 35, 163-169.

Witczak, Krzysztof T. 2004. *Indoeuropejskie nazwy zboż*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo uniwersytetu łódzkiego.

Xelimskij, Evgenij. 1988. I*storičeskaja i opisateľnaja dialektologija samodijskix jazykov*. Tartu: Dokt. Diss.

Resumé

The present article summarizes the contemporary knowledge about Tocharians and the region, where they were historically attested, especially from the point of view of linguistics. The early history in the field of Tocharian research opens §1. Two literary languages, Eastern A and Western B, plus the fragments of the Southern idiom C, are briefly described in §2. In §3 the overview of the places, where Tocharian manuscripts were discovered, follows. Especially are analyzed the Roman & Greek and Chinese sources (§§4 and 5 respectively). From the point of view of etymology are discussed the ethnonyms connected with the Tocharians (§6). In §7 the arguments of two alternative hypothetical routes of the ancestors of the Tocharians are confronted, northern and southern ones. The northern trajectory is identified with the zone of the forest & steppe, where the direct contact with the ancestors of Fenno-Ugrians and later Samoyeds could be realized. The southern route had to lead through the Near East. From the point of view of linguistics, the northern solution seems to offer a more realistic scenario. In the Appendix 1 (§8) the etymological analysis of the basic hundred-word-list is demonstrated. The results are used for the glottochronological test according to the 'recalibration' of Sergei Starostin. In the Appendix 2 (§9) the various opinions about the position of Tocharian in the Indo-European dialect continuum are confronted. Most frequently Tocharian is characterized as the second Indo-Eropean branch after Anatolian, which separated from the dialect mainstream. In Conclusion (§10) the multinational history of the Tarim Basin is described. The mutual Tocharian-Chinese and Tocharian-Bactrian loans illustrate these complex relations.

Footnote: The present work is one of partial outputs of interdisciplinar **Research project focused to the old languages and older periods of modern languages** (code 0021622435).

IV. Bio- & Bibliographies

Werner Winter (*25 October 1923 – †7 August 2010). *Journal of Indo-European Studies* **39 (2011), 235-254.**

Michal Schwarz & Václav Blažek

Three very renowned specialists in Indo-European languages passed away in 2010. They were Johann Knobloch (*5 January 1919 – †25 July 2010), further Wolfgang Schmid (*25 October 1929 – †22 October 2010) and Werner Winter. The last mentioned was able to extend his mastery beyond the scope of Indo-European languages and became an honoured scholar in languages distant in geography, structure and genetic relations from Indo-European. Werner Winter became one of the most prominent historical and descriptive linguists thanks to his generalism in combination with brilliant and convincing argumentation.

Werner Winter studied at universities in Hamburg and Bern. He defended his dissertation "'Prothetische Vokal' im Griechische" in Bern in 1949 (published as 1950a). It is very interesting that in his first profession he was a tamer of wild beasts in circus. Perhaps he tried to forestall entering the armed forces, i.e. the *Wehrmacht*. But his decision in favor of linguistics turned out to be auspicious, since he contributed to the development of several branches in the field. He was back in Hamburg as *Lehrbeauftragter* in 1950-53, then he worked as *Assistent Professor* at the University of Kansas in Lawrence (1953-57). After those four years he moved to Austin to the University of Texas, where he later (1961) gained the position of *Full Professor*. He came back to Germany in 1964 as the head of the Department of Indo-European and General linguistics at the Christian-Albrecht University in Kiel and stayed there next 28 years. During this time he was, in addition, a visiting professor at many universities in the USA (Texas, Kansas, Berkeley, UCLA, Stanford, Yale) and also visited many universities in Europe: in Copenhagen, Kaliningrad and Poznań. Collection of Winter's pivotal articles about Tocharian languages was published here in Poznań (1984a) where he obtained also a title of honorary doctorate (1984). The same title he obtained once again in Kaliningrad in 2000.

He worked in close cooperation with Mouton Publishing house from 1963 (the name was changed to Mouton de Gruyter in 1976), where he was a director of the section *Janua Linguarum* with the first set called *Series Critica* which was later transformed to *Trends in Linguistics* in the seventies; other subseries were *Studies and Monographs*, *Documentation*, *State-of-the-Art Reports*.

Thanks to his many-sided erudition and extraordinary diligence, Winter as editor helped in publishing around 220 publications, in many cases such fundamental works as *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* by W. H. Baxter (1992), *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* by D. T. Tryon & M. D. Ross (1995); *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans* from T. Gamkrelidze & V. V. Ivanov (1995 = English translation of the Russian original from 1984); *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas* by S. A. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler & D. T. Tryon (1996); *A Historical Dictionary of Yukaghir* by I. Nikolaeva (2006) and many others. As a generaly renowned linguist, Werner Winter was a member of editorial boards of many prestigious journals in linguistics (for example *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, *Quaderni semantici*, *Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*) and many societies and academical institutions as *Societas Linguistica Europaea* (secretary 1966-91, president 1991-92), *Linguistic Society of America*, *Linguistic Society of Nepal*, *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, *Institut für deutsche Sprache*, *Alexander von Humboldt Foundation*, *Academia Europaea*, *Finnish Academy*. He was acting also as the director of Linguistic Survey of Nepal (1980-84).

Werner Winter opened his career in Indo-European studies with a series of works dedicated to the most "significant" IE languages, i.e. Sanskrit and Greek, with 17 publications about Germanic languages to follow. His reputation in major has grown thanks to series of 22 articles about Armenian. The discovery of two (or in some cases three) different continuants of IE protophonemes in Armenian (without positional conditioning) gave him the motivation for a fundamental deduction: Armenian (beginning with classical text from the 5th century) is a conglomerate language derived from a mixture of two or three IE languages (1966b).

But Werner Winter was most productive in the field of Tocharian languages with 54 articles and 12 reviews. Many articles were published for the second time in collections *Studia Tocharica* (Poznań 1984) and *Kleine Schriften* with 2 volumes (Bremen 2005). The titles of his articles confirm his key role in setting up Tocharology: he used the name"Tocharia" only in quotes up to 1959. Few of his articles consist of editing or revising former readings + translations of Tocharian manuscripts (1958a, 2003b); he wrote about literary form and metrics (1955f, 1959b), the classification of Tocharian languages (1955g). Other areas were Tocharian dialectology (1958c), studies of relations and loanwords between both idioms A and B (1962d, 1962i). Winter was famous for using Tocharology for the reconstruction of Indo-European

(proto)-language and the theory of linguistics (1960d, 1962c, 1965e, 1969e, 1980b, 1982b, 1992c, 1993b). Studies of grammatical forms (1961c, 1962e, 1965f, 1968a, 1970e, 1980f, 1990d, 1991b, 1992k, 1994b, 1994c) were the most common, together with works dedicated to the development of sounds by comparation of lexicon in Tocharian A and B (1972c, 1976b, 1978b, 1980e, 1984c, 1984d, 1985c, 1987e, 1988b, 1988d, 1989c, 1989d, 1990b, 1993d, 1997a, 1998e, 1999f). Winter's articles about relations of Tocharian and other languages (1963a, 1971b, 1984e, 1984i – ethnonym, 1989b) and Tocharian numerals (1987c, 1992i) remain very important to this day. It is no wonder that after such a broad scope of work he became a respected and sought-after editor in all areas of Tocharian studies. We must mention not only his coedition of the *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China* (1998b), but also the first part (words beginning with A-J) of the *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A* (2009a). The work on this last publication was started due to the need for revision of the only extant Tocharian A dictionary by Pavel Poucha (1955: *Thesaurus*). After the author's death further volumes will probably take more time to realize. One of Winter's last coeditions of *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* (Vol. 12) will appear posthumously (2011).

Werner Winter wrote only a few but important, studies dedicated to Balto-Slavic languages (1978c, 2002). They led to the formulation of the law called after him (sometimes also Winter-Kortlandt's law).

From his general studies into Indo-European language we must mention his focus on numerals, their inner structure and etymology. Conclusions of his studies (1987c,1989a, 1990g, 1992d, 1992g, 1992i) are generaly accepted. But Winter was active in analyses of non-IE languages too – see his study about the numerals in the languages of Nepal (1999e).

As the head of *Linguistic Survey of Nepal* (1980-84) Winter did not work only as a ceremonial director, but he also started to study non-Indo-European language families: see his 14 publications about Sino-Tibetan languages of Nepal (1985a, 1985d, 1986a, 1986b,1987b, 1990f, 1991a, 1992f, 1992h, 1996, 1997f, 1999e, 2003a, 2004). Among non-Eurasian languages he focused on the Yuman languages of the Hoka family in the American South-West (13 publications).

Werner Winter was exceptional in possessing a rare combination of such competences as 1) an excellent philologist dealing with old literary languages, 2) a pioneer descriptive linguist who was able to be the first to analyse and desribe non-literary languages by the use of modern methods, 3)

a clear-thinking etymologist and 4) a typologist. It may be that due to such extraordinary generalism and today's era of microspecialisations, Winter's chair remained vacant after his superannuation.
We could conclude that Winter"permutated" (almost) all the material he surveyed into linguistic gold. It is a pity that his productive career was limited to"only" 60 years.

Topical overview of Werner Winter's works

Indo-European: 1952a, 1953a, 1963c, 1968b, 1970a, 1982a-b, 1989a, 1990g, 1992g, 1994d, 1995b.
Greek: 1950a, 1950c, 1951, 1956a, 1958d, 1960h, 1993f, 1994a.
Old-Indic: 1950b, 1955b, 1962k, 1980a, 1987d, 1993f.
Tocharian: 1952c, 1955f, 1955g, 1955i, 1958a, 1958c, 1959b, 1960d, 1961c, 1962c, 1962d, 1962e, 1962i, 1963a, 1963d, 1965e, 1965f, 1968a, 1969e, 1970e, 1971b, 1072c, 1975d, 1976b, 1976f, 1978b, 1980b, 1980e, 1980f, 1981a, 1981b, 1982b, 1982d, 1984a, 1984c, 1984d, 1984e, 1984g, 1984i, 1985c, 1987c, 1987e, 1988b, 1988d, 1988e, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991b, 1991c, 1992c, 1992i, 1992k, 1993b, 1993d, 1993e, 1994b, 1994c, 1997a, 1997d, 1998b, 1998e, 1999f, 2001, 2003b, 2003c, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2011.
Iranian: 1975a.
Balto-Slavic: 1978c, 1980d, 2002.
Germanic: 1953c, 1955d, 1958b, 1959e, 1959g, 1960b, 1960g, 1962a, 1962b, 1965b, 1965c, 1967a, 1971d, 1972d, 1979c, 1987d, 1999c.
Armenian: 1954a, 1954b, 1955a, 1955c, 1955e, 1956c, 1957b, 1959c, 1960c, 1961d, 1962f, 1965d, 1966b, 1975c, 1980d, 1983b, 1992c, 1992d, 1993b, 1997e, 1998c, 1999a.
Albanian: 1958e.
Yuman: 1957a, 1966a, 1976d, 1998d.
Walapai: 1963b, 1976e, 1983a, 1990e, 1992e, 1995c, 1998a.
Paipai/Akwa'ala: 1967c.
Washo: 1970f.
Languages of Nepal: 1985a, 1986a, 1992h, 1996, 2004.
Rai: 1985d, 1987b, 1991a, 1992f.
Bantawa: 1986b, 1990f, 1997f, 2003a.
Altaic: 1956b, 2010 (co-editor).

Laryngeals: 1960c, 1960d, 1965a, 1965d, 1965e.
Language and style: 1962g, 1962h, 1964b, 1967b, 1969c.
Translation problems: 1961a, 1961b, 1964c, 1964d, 1969d, 1970d.

Bibliography

1949
(1949): Goethe und die Demokratie. Notizen zum Vortrag von Thomas Mann, *Berner Student* 17, 214-216.

1950
(1950a): *Studien zum 'Prothetischen Vokal' im Griechischen. Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumwissenschaft 7*, Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag.
(1950b): On the origin of the saṃprasaraṇa reduplication in Sanskrit, *Language* 26, 365-370.
(1950c): The reduplication type *bharībharti*/*bharibhrati* in Greek, *Language* 26, 532-533.

1951
(1951): Two Greek names for the truffle, *American Journal of Philology* 72, 63-68.

1952
(1952a): An Indo-European prefix **n̥-* 'together with', *Language* 28, 186-191.
(1952b – review): Hans Krahe: Ortsnamen als Geschichtsquelle + Sprachwissenschaft im alten Europa, *Language* 28, 269-272.
(1952c – review): Jean Filliozat, Fragments de textes koutchéens de medecine et de magie, *Language* 28, 286-288.

1953
(1953a): Gruppe und Reihe. Beobachtungen zur Systematik indogermanischer Zählweise, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 71, 3-14.
(1953b – review): Bruno Schnell, Der Aufbau der Sprache, *Language* 29, 193-195.
(1953c – review): Heinz Koss, Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950, *Language* 29, 195-197.

1954
(1954a): Problems of Armenian phonology I., *Language* 30, 197-201.
(1954b – review): Dirair Froundjian, Armenisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, *Language* 30, 406.

1955
(1955a): *Armenian manuscripts*, An exhibit at the University of Kansas Library, Kansas: Lawrence.
(1955b): Nochmals vedisch *aśnā́ti*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 72, 161-175.
(1955c): Problems of Armenian phonology II., *Language* 31, 4-8.
(1955d): Juncture in Proto-Germanic: some deliberations, *Language* 31, 530-532.
(1955e): Armenian cryptography, *Armenian Review* 8, 53-56.
(1955f): Some aspects of 'Tocharian' drama: Form and techniques, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75, 26-35.
(1955g): A linguistic classification of 'Tocharian' B texts, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75, 216-225.

(1955h): [Bibliographical contributions (Russian literature) to Joseph Rubinstein, *Catalogue of books burned and banned.*]
(1955i – review): Emil Sieg & Wilhelm Siegling, Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B, *Language* 31, 105-109.

1956
(1956a – review): Emmett Bennett, The Pylos Tablets + Vladimir Georgiev, Slovar' krito-mikenskix nadpisej; Dopolednie, *Language* 32, 504-508.
(1956b – review): Robert P. Blake & Richard N. Frye, History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc', *Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft* 106, 224-226.
(1956c – review): N. E. Vrouyr, Répertoire étymologique de l'arménien, *Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft* 106, 227.

1957
(1957a): Yuman languages I: First impressions, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 23, 18-23.
(1957b – review): M. A. van den Oudenrijn, Eine alte armenische Übersetzung der Tertia Pars der Theologischen Summa des hl. Thomas von Aquin, *Speculum* 32, 620-622.
(1957c – review): Werner Winter & O. P. Backus, Indiana Slavic Studies I., *American Slavic and East European Review* 16, 571-572.

1958
(1958a + von Gabain, Annemarie): *Türkische Turfantexte IX: Ein Hymnus an der Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*. A*bhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 2*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
(1958b + Shaw, Leroy R. & Winter, Ingrid; eds.): *Active German. Reader*, Austin, TX [Preliminary Edition].
(1958c): Zur Dialektgliederung von 'Tocharisch' B, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 75, 233-237.
(1958d – review): Michael Ventris & John Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, *American Journal of Philology* 79, 201-208.
(1958e – review): Leonard Newmark, Structural grammar of Albanian, *Language* 34, 522-530.

1959
(1959a): Über eine Methode zum Nachweis structureller Relevanz von Oppositionen distinktiver Merkmale, *Phonetika* 4, 28-44.
(1959b): Zur 'tocharischen' Metrik, *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongress München 1957*, 520-521.
(1959c): Some remarks on a plan for a repertory of Armenian etymology, *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongress München 1957*, 447.
(1959d): [Obituary] Johann Albert Debrunner, *Language* 35, 335-336.
(1959e – review): Oscar Landau, Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 7.), *American Journal of Philology* 80, 325-328.

(1959f – review): Carl Hj. Borgstrom, Innforing i sprogvidenskap, *Language* 35, 303-306.
(1959g – review): Eberhard Zwirner & Wolfgang Bethge, Lautbibliothek der deutschen Mundarten, *Language* 35, 712-715.

1960
(1960a, ed.): *Evidence for laryngeals*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
(1960b + Shaw, Leroy R. & Winter, Ingrid; eds.): *In einer deutschen Stadt. Active German readings Book 1*, New York: Holt.
(1960c): Armenian evidence for Proto-Indo-European laryngeals, in: Werner Winter (ed.), *Evidence for laryngeals*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 27-40.
(1960d): Tocharian evidence for Proto-Indo-European laryngeals, in: Werner Winter (ed.), *Evidence for laryngeals*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 173-186.
(1960e – review): Henry Kahane & Renée Kahane & Andreas Tietze, The Lingua Franca in the Levant, *Language* 36, 454-462.
(1960f – review): Helmut Protze, Das Westlausitzische und Ostmeissnische, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 59, 763-766.
(1960g – review): Karl Bischoff, Sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen niederdeutschem Altland und Neuland im Bereich der Elbe. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 59, 766-767.
(1960h – review): John Chadwick, The decipherment of Linear B, *American Journal of Philology* 81, 210.

1961
(1961a): Impossibilities of translation, in: W. Arrowsmith & R. Shattuck (eds.), *The craft and context of translation*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 68-82.
(1961b): Translation as politic action, in: W. Arrowsmith & R. Shattuck (eds.), *The craft and context of translation. Austin*, TX: University of Texas Press, 172-176.
(1961c): Zum sogenannten Durativum in Tocharisch B, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 77, 89-96.
(1961d – review): Hans Jensen, Altarmenische Grammatik, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81, 54-58.

1962
(1962a + Shaw, Leroy R. I. & Shaw, Rosemary; eds.): *Focus on German*, Part II: *Book for intermediates*, Austin: TX [Preliminary edition].
(1962b + Shaw, Leroy R. I. & Shaw, Rosemary; eds.): *Focus on German*. *Student's Book III.* Section 3, Austin: TX.
(1962c): Die Vertretung indogermanischen Dentale im Tocharischen, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 67, 16-35.
(1962d): Lexical interchange between 'Tocharian' A and B, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81, 271-280.
(1962e): Nominal and pronominal dual in Tocharian, *Language* 38, 111-134.
(1962f): Problems of Armenian phonology III, *Language* 38, 254-262.
(1962g): Relative Häufigkeit syntaktischer Erscheinung als Mittel zur Abgrenzung von Stilarten, *Phonetica* 7, 193-216.
(1962h): Styles as dialects, *Preprints of papers for the 9th International Congress of Linguists*, Cambridge: MA, 214-219.

(1962i): Further evidence of inter-Tocharian lexical borrowing, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82, 71-73.
(1962j): [Contributions to discussions, published in Studies in American English. Texas conference on problems of linguistic analysis in English. University of Texas, Austin.]
(1962k – review): Meinrad Scheller, Vedisch *priyá-* und die Wortstippe *frei*, *freien*, *Freund*. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 61, 101-103.

1963
(1963a): Tocharians and Turks, *Uralic and Altaic Studies* 23, 239-251.
(1963b): Stories and songs of the Walapai, *Plateau* 35, 114-122.
(1963c): Indo-European, in: Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Lingustics* I, The Hague: Mouton, 205-216.
(1963d – review): Wolfgang Krause & Werner Thomas, Tocharisches Elementarbuch I: Grammatik, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 83, 1066-1069.

1964
(1964a): Form and meaning in morphological analysis, *Linguistics* 3, 5-18.
(1964b): Styles as dialects, in: Horace G. Lunt (ed.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguistics*, The Hague: Mouton, 324-330.
(1964c): Impossibilities of translation, in: W. Arrowsmith & R. Shattuck (eds.), *The Craft and Context of Translation*, Garden City-NY: Doubleday, 93-112.
(1964d): Translation as political action, in: W. Arrowsmith & R. Shattuck (eds.), *The Craft and Context of Translation*, Garden City-NY: Doubleday, 295-301.
(1964e – review): P. E. Cleator, Lost languages, *Romance Philology* 18, 124-125.

1965
(1965a, ed.): *Evidence for laryngeals*, The Hague & London & Paris: Mouton.
(1965b + Shaw, Leroy R. I. & Shaw, Rosemarie; eds.): *Focus on German for intermediates*, New York & Evanston & London.
(1965c): Vom Genitiv im heutigen Deutsch, *Westdeutscher Rundfunk Kulturelles Wort* 8, 11.
(1965d): Armenian evidence, in: Werner Winter (ed.), *Evidence for Laryngeals*, The Hague & London & Paris: Mouton, 100-115.
(1965e): Tocharian evidence, in: Werner Winter (ed.), *Evidence for Laryngeals*, The Hague & London & Paris: Mouton, 190-211.
(1965f): Zur Vorgeschichte einiger Verbformen in Tocharisch A, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 79, 203-210.
(1965g): Transforms without kernels, *Language* 41, 484-489.

1966
(1966a): Yuman languages. II: Wolf's son – a Walapai text, *International Journal of American Lingustics* 32, 17-40.
(1966b): Traces of early dialectical diversity in Old Armenian, in: Henrik Birnbaum & Jaan Puhvel (eds.), *Ancient Indo-European dialects*, Berkeley & Los Angeles-CA: University of California Press, 201-210.

1967
(1967a): Vom Genitiv im heutigen Deutsch, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Sprache* 22, 21-35.

(1967b): Stil als linguistisches Problem, *Sprache der Gegenwart* 1, 219-235.
(1967c): The identity of the Paipai (Akwa'ala), in: D. Hymes & W. E. Bittle (eds.), *Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics* (Studies in General Anthropology 3.), The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 372-378.
(1967d): A note on cases, in: *To Honor of Roman Jacobson. Essays on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 2250-2253.

1968
(1968a): Archaismen in der tocharischen Adjektiv- und Nominalbildung, in: Johannes C. Heesterman & Godard H. Schocker & V. I. Subramoniam (eds.), *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian, and Indo-European Studies Presented to Franciscus B. J. Kuiper on his 60th Birthday*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 60-64.
(1968b): Aus der Arbeit des Seminars für Allgemeine und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, *Christiana Albertina* 6: 52-54.

1969
(1969a): Analogischer Sprachwandel und semantische Struktur, *Folia Linguistica* 3, 29-45.
(1969b): Vocative and Imperative, in: Jaan Puhvel (ed.), *Substance and Structure of Language*, Berkeley & Los Angeles - CA: University of California Press, 205-223.
(1969c): Styles as dialects, in: Lubomir Dolezel & R. W. Bailey (eds.), *Statistics and style*, New York & London & Amsterdam: Elsevier, 3-9.
(1969d): Impossibilities of Translation, in: Thomas M. Olshevsky (ed.), *Problems in the Philosophy of Language*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 477-489.
(1969e): The importance of Tocharian for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European - [résumé] Bulletin du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague 1967-1968, *Acta Linguistica Hafnensia* 12: 236.
(1969f – review): Simeon Lexac'i, Putevye zametki, *Der Islam* 45, 224-225.

1970
(1970a): Some widespread Indo-European titles, in: G. Cardona & H. M. Hoenigswald & A. Senn (eds.), *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, Philadelphia – PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 49-54.
(1970b): Some basic difficulties in the application of quantifying techniques to morphological typology, in: A. Graur (ed.), *Actes du Xe Congrès International des Linguistes 3*, Bucarest: Académie de la République de Roumaine, 545-549.
(1970c): Basic principles of the comparative method, in: Paul L. Garvin (ed.), *Method and Theory in Linguistics*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 147-153 (+ Contributions to discussion, 153-156).
(1970d): Nemožnosti překladu, in: J. Čermák & B. Ilek & A. Skoumal (eds.), *Překlad literárního díla*, Praha, 519-535.
(1970e): Über tocharische Verbformen und ihrem Verhältnis zum Satzakzent, in: W.-J. Marggraf (ed.), *Untersuchungen zum Akzent in Tocharisch B*, Dissertation, University of Kiel, 95-103.
(1970f): Reduplication in Washo: A restatement, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 36, 190-198.

1971

(1971a): Comparative linguistics: Contribution of new methods to an old field, *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics* 24, 145-156.
(1971b): Baktrische Lehnwörter im Tocharischen, in: Robert Schmitt-Brandt (ed.), *Donum Indogermanicum. Festgabe für Anton Scherer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 217-223.
(1971c): Alte und neue Formen der Zusammenarbeit in der Philosophischen Fakultät, *Kieler Universitätstage* 1971, 39-59.
(1971d – review): George Y. Shevelov, A prehistory of Slavic. The historical phonology of Common Slavic, *Zeitschrift für Ostforshung* 20, 152-153.
(1971d – review): Ernest Klein, A Comprehensive etymological dictionary of the English language, *Linguistics* 71, 108-118.

1972

(1972a): Formal frequency and linguistic change. Some preliminary comments, *Folia Linguistica* 5, 55-61.
(1972b): A proposal concerning metaphor, in: E. S. Firchow & K. Grimstad & N. Hasselmo & W. O'Neil (eds.), *Studies for Einar Haugen*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 562-567.
(1972c): Zur Vertretung von **w* nach Konsonant in Tocharisch B, *Orbis* 21, 385-390.
(1972d): Untersuchungen zur quantitativen Stilistik: Implikationen für den Deutschunterricht an Deutsche und Ausländer, *Studia Leibnitiana* 3, 102-115 (+ Comments in discussion, 160-165).

1973

(1973): Areal linguistics: Some general considerations, in: Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics* 11, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 135-147.

1974

(1974): Echte und simulierte gesprochene Sprache, *Gesprochene Sprache, Jahrbuch 1972 des Institut für deutsche Sprache, Sprache der Gegenwart* 26, Düsseldorf, 129-143.

1975

(1975a, transl. + Oranskij, Iosif M., ed.): *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion*, (2 vols.), The Hague & Paris: Mouton.
(1975b): Intralanguage variation and interlanguage comparison, in: Hakan Ringbom (ed.), *Style and Texts. Studies presented to Nils Erik Enkvist*, Stockholm: Sprakförlaget Skriptor, 299-302.
(1975c): Die Personalendungen des Imperfekts und Aorists im Armenischen, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 89, 110-122.
(1975d – review): Peter Stumpf, Der Gebrauch der Demonstrativ-Pronomina im Tocharischen, *Kratylos* 18, 136-138.

1976

(1976a + Jazayery, Mohammad & Polomé, Edgar C.; eds.): *Linguistic and literary studies in honor of Archibald A. Hill*. Vol. 1. *General and theoretical linguistics*, Lisse: Rider.
(1976b): Tocharisch B *-au-*: tocharisch A *-e-*, *Orbis* 25, 27-33.

(1976c): Louis Hammerich 1. November 1975, *Christiana Albertina* – N. F. 5, 289-290.
(1976d): Switch reference in Yuman languages, in: Margaret Langdon & Shirley Silver (eds.), *Hokan Studies*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 165-174.
(1976e + Jarr Butchel, Christel): Robber's Roost – A Walapai tale, *International Journal of American Linguistics – Native American Text Series* 1, 3, 61-67.
(1976f – review): Peter Stumpf, Der Gebrauch der Demonstrativ-Pronomina im Tocharischen, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126, 179-181.

1978
(1978a + Jazayery, Mohammad & Polomé, Edgar C.; eds.): *Linguistic and literary studies in honor of Archibald A. Hill.* (4 vols.), The Hague & Paris & New York: Mouton.
(1978b): Internal structure and external relationship of two verbal paradigms: Tocharian B *wen-*, A *weñ-* 'say', *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 5, 133-159.
(1978c): The distribution of short and long vowels in stems of the type Lith. *ėsti : vèsti : mèsti* and OCS *jasti* : *vesti* : *mesti* in Baltic and Slavic languages, in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Recent Developments in Historical Phonology*, The Hague & Paris & New York: Mouton, 432-446.

1979
(1979a): *Linguistics and literature. Sociolinguistics and applied linguistics*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1979b): On the importance of links not missing, in: Bela Brogyanyi (ed.), *Current issues in linguistic theory. Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* – 2, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 989-994.
(1979c): Zur "Uberlänge" im Deutschen, in: Kennosuke Ezawa & Karl H. Rensch & Wolfgang Bethge (eds.), *Sprache und Sprechen. Festschrift für Eberhard Zwirner zum 80. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 197-200.

1980
(1980a): OInd. *máhi* : Gk. *méga* 'great' reconsidered, in: Kathryn Klar & Margaret Langdon & Shirley Silver (eds.), *American Indian and Indo-European Studies. Papers in Honor of Madison S. Beeler*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 487-495.
(1980b): Zum Beitrag der tocharischen Sprachen zu Problemen der lautlichen Rekonstruktion des Indogermanischen, in: M. Mayrhofer & M. Peters & O. E. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie. Akten der VII. Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 542-563.
(1980c): Markedness and normalcy/naturalness: Some reflections, *SAIS* 2, 162-170.
(1980d): Eine verschüttete armenisch-baltoslavische Isoglosse?, *Lingua Posnaniensis* 23, 209-214.
(1980e): Tocharisch B *yok*, A *yok* 'Körperhaar, Farbe' und Verwandtes, in: G. Brettschneider & Christian Lehmann (eds.), *Wege zur Universalienforschung*. Beiträge zum 60. Geburtstag von Hansjakob Seiler, Tübingen: Narr, 469-472.
(1980f): Morphological signalling of selection properties: transitiveness in Tocharian A and B verbs, in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Morphology*, The Hague & Paris & New York: Mouton, 421-422.

1981

(1981a – review): A. J. van Windekens, Le tokharien confronté avec les autres languages indo-européenes I,II:1, *Kratylos* 25, 125-132.
(1981b – review): A. J. van Windekens, Le tokharien confronté avec les autres languages indo-européenes I, *Language* 57, 935-941.

1982

(1982a): Indo-European words for 'tongue' and 'fish': A reappraisal, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 10, 167-186.
(1982b): Tocharian and Proto-Indo-European, *Lingua Posnaniensis* 25, 1-11.
(1982c): O markirovannosti, sootvetstvii norme i "estestvennosti", *Voprosy jazykoznania* 4, 72-77.
(1982d – review): A. J. van Windekens, Le tokharien confronté avec les autres languages indo-européenes I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 132, 399-402.

1983

(1983a): A tentative English-Walapai dicitonary und Etymologicum Tocharicum: Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten, in: Alfred Bammesberger (ed.), *Das etymologische Wörterbuch. Fragen der Konzeption und Gestaltung*, Regensburg: Pustet, 313-327.
(1983b): Nochmals arm. hiwsn 'Zimmermann', *Die Sprache* 29, 177-181.
(1983c): Summary of the plenary session on sociolinguistics, in: Shirô Hattori & Kazuko Inoue (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Linguistics*, Tokyo, 384-385.
(1983d): Tradition and innovation in alphabet making, in: Florian Coulmas & Konrad Ehlich (eds.), *Writing in Focus*, Berlin & New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 227-238.

1984

(1984a): *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge*. Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM. List of contained articles + pages:

Preface. 7-8.
1. The Tocharians in cultural, historical, and linguistic perspective
1.1. Cultural and linduistic cross-currents in Central Asia. 9-26
1.2. Tocharians and Turks. 27-38
1.3. Baktrische Lehnwörter im Tocharischen. 39-46
1.4. Some aspects of "Tocharian" drama: Form and Techniques. 47-64.
1.5. Lexical interchange between "Tocharian" A and B. 65-85.
1.6. Further evidence of inter-Tocharian borrowing. 86-90.
2. The Tocharian languages: Studies with an intra-Tocharian emphasis.
2.1. A linguistic classificaton of"Tocharian" B texts. 91-111.
2.2. Zur Dialektgliederung von 'Tocharisch' B. 112-116.
2.3. Toch. B *śka*, A *śkā*; B *ecce*, A *aci*. 117-123.
2.4. Nominal and pronominal dual in Tocharian. 124-159.
2.5. Zum sogenannten Durativum in Tocharisch B. 160-168.
2.6. Zur Vorgeschichte einiger Verbformen in Tocharisch A. 169-177.
2.7. Internal structure and external relationship of two verbal paradigms: Tocharian B *weñ*-, A *weñ*- "say". 178-204.
2.8. Zur Vertretung von *w* nach Konsonant in Tocharisch B. 205-211.

2.9. B *staukka*-. 212-216.
3. Tocharian and Indo-European
3.1. Tocharian and Proto-Indo-European. 217-231.
3.2. Zum Beitrag der tocharischen Sprachen zu Problemen der lautlichen Rekonstruktion des Indogermanischen. 232-257.
3.3. Die Vertretung indogermanischer Dentale im Tocharischen. 258-277.
3.4. Archaismen der tocharischen Adjektiv- und Nominalbildung. 278-283.
3.5. Tocharisch B *yok*, A *yok* 'Körperhaar; Farbe' und Verwandtes. 284-290.

(1984b; ed.): *Anredeverhalten*, Tübingen: Narr.
(1984c): Toch B *śka*, A *śkā* ; B *e* ; B *ecce*, A *aci*, in: *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge*. Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM, 117-123.
(1984d): B *staukka*-, in: *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge*. Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM, 212-216.
(1984e): Cultural and linguistic cross-currents in Central Asia, in: *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge*. Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM, 9-26.
(1984f): In memoriam Erich Hofmann 4. März 1895 – 7. November 1982, *Christiana Albertina* N. F. 19, 231-232.
(1984g): Preface – Vorwort, in: *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge.* Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM, 7-8.
(1984h): Reconstructed comparative linguistics and the reconstruction of the syntax of undocumented stages in the development of languages and language families, in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Syntax*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 613-625.
(1984i): Zur tocharischen Entsprechung von skt. *tokharika*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 97, 131-133.

1985
(1985a): *Materials towards a dictionary of Chamling*, Kiel: Linguistic Survey of Nepal.
(1985b): 'Left' or 'right', in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Semantics. Historical Word-Formation,* Berlin & New York & Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 583-595.
(1985c): Tocharian B *soy*, A *se* and related forms, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, 259-264.
(1985d + Hannson, Gerd): On some Rai numeral of Indo-Aryan origin, *Indian Linguistics* 46, 33-35.

1986
(1986a): Aus der Arbeit des Linguistic Survey of Nepal, in: Bernhard Kölver (ed.), *Formen kulturellen Wandels und andere Beiträge zur Erforschung des Himalaya*, Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 451-459.
(1986b): Bantawa *rV*-< ? An exercise in internal and comparative reconstruction, in: Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek (eds.), *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries I: Linguistic Theory and Historical Linguistics*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 763-772.
(1986c): Doctoris lectio, in: *Wernerus Winter, doctor honoris causa Universitatis Studiorum Mickiewiczianae Posnaniensis*, Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukove UAM, 22-26 + 27-30.
(1986d): Hayereni anvanakan t'ek'man mi k'ani harc'er, *Patma-banasirakan Handes* 113, 17-24.

1987

(1987a + Laycock, Donald C.; eds.): *A world of language: Papers presented to Professor S. A. Wurm on his 65th birthday*, Canberra, ACT: Pacific Linguistics.
(1987b): Differentiation within Rai: Non-lexical isoglosses, in: Donald C. Laycock and Werner Winter (eds.), *A World of Language: Papers Presented to Professor S. A. Wurm on his 65th birthday*, Canberra – ACT: Pacific Linguistics, 729-734.
(1987c): Distributive numbers in Tocharian, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 1, 238-244.
(1987d): Old Indic *sūnú-*, Greek *huiús* 'son', in: George Cardona and Norman H. Zide (eds.), *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Tübingen: Narr, 405-408.
(1987e): Tocharian B *ñakte*, A *ñkät* 'god'. Two nouns, their derivatives, their etymology, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 15, 297-325.

1988

(1988a + Jazayeri, Mohammad Ali; eds.): Languages and cultures. *Studies in honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, Berlin & New York & Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1988b): Cardinal points and other directions in Tocharian A and B, in: Mohammad Ali Jazayery & Werner Winter (eds.), *Languages and Cultures. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 775-791.
(1988c): Metaphors in dialectical diction. A critical note, in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Dialectology Regional and Social*, Berlin & New York & Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 775-791.
(1988d): The loss of Tocharian B **-we-* and its conditions, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 2, 211-220.
(1988e – review): Werner Thomas, Tocharische Sprachreste. Sprache B. Teil I. Die Texte. Band I. Fragmente Nr. 1-116 der Berliner Sammlung, *Kratylos* 33, 95-99.

1989

(1989a): Nekotorie mysli ob indoevropejkix čislitel'nyx, *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 2, 32-45.
(1989b): On a new claim concerning substratum influence upon Tocharian, *Central Asiatic Journal* 33, 126-132.
(1989c): Tocharian B *-aiñ*: B *-āñ* / *-añ* and related problems, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 3, 111-120.
(1989d): B *-ñn-*: *-wñn-* and related problems, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 4, 5-31.

1990

(1990a): Linguistic reconstruction: The scope of historical and comparative linguistics, in: Edgar C. Polomé (ed.), *Research Guide on Language Change*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 11-21.
(1990b): The importance of fine points in spelling: Deletion of accented vowels in Tocharian B, in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical Linguistics and Philology*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 371-379.
(1990c): Vorwort, in: Peter Stumpf, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Westtocharischen. Ihre Beziehungen zueinander und ihre Funktionen* (*Tocharian and Indo-European Studies Supplementary Series* 2.), Reykjavik, 11-14.

(1990d): Verbale Paradigmen des Tocharischen, in: Werner Bahner & Joachim Schildt & Dieter Viehweger (eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Linguistics 1987*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2534-2537.
(1990e): Non-Walapai words in Walapai, in: James E. Reden (ed.), *Proceedings of the 1990 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop (Occasional Papers on Linguistics 15.)* Carbondale: Department of Linguistics – Southern Illinois University, 191-197.
(1990f + Novel, Kishore Rai): Triplicated verbal adjuncts in Bantawa, in:"Linguistic fiesta". *Festschrift for Professor Hisao Kakehi's 60th Birthday*, Tokyo, 135-150.
(1990g): Some thoughts about Indo-European numerals, in: "*Essays on Indo-European Linguistics"*, ed. S.R. Banerjee, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society 1986, 23-42.

1991
(1991a): Introduction, in: Gerd Hansson, *The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping. Findings of the Linguistic survey of Nepal*, Kirtipur & Kathmandu: Linguistic Survey of Nepal and Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies & Tribhuvan University, i-ii.
(1991b): The mediopassive present participle in Tocharian A, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 5, 45-56.
(1991c – review): Werner Thomas, Tocharische Maitreya-Parallelen aus Hami, *Central Asiatic Journal* 35, 317-320.

1992
(1992a + Polomé, Edgar C.; eds.): *Reconstructing languages and cultures*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1992b): A note on parasystems, in: Tom Dutton & Malcolm Ross & Darrell Tryon (eds.), *The Language Game: Papers in memory of Donald C. Laycock*, Canberra – ACT: Pacific Linguistics, 521-526.
(1992c): Armenian, Tocharian, and the"glottalic" theory, in: Edgar C. Polomé & Werner Winter (eds.), *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 111-127.
(1992d): Armenian, in: Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European Numerals*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 347-359.
(1992e): Borrowing and non-borrowing in Walapai, in: Ernst Håkon Jahr (ed.), *Language Contact.Theoretical and Empirical Studies*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 213-228.
(1992f): Diversity in Rai languages: An inspection of verb systems in selected idioms, *Lingua posnaniensis* 34, 141-156.
(1992g): Some thoughts about Indo-European numerals, in: Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European Numerals*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 11-28.
(1992h): The linguistic survey of Nepal, in: Bernhard Kölver (ed.), *Aspects of Nepalese Traditions*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 171-175.
(1992i): Tocharian, in: Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European Numerals*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 97-161.
(1992j + Polomé, Edgar): Preface, in: Edgar Polomé & Werner Winter (eds.), *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, v-vi.
(1992k + Schmidt, Klaus T.): Die Formen der 1. Singular Aktiv der unerweiterten Präterita in Tocharisch B (i.e., A", *Historische Sprachforschung* 105, 50-55.

1993

(1993a): Abstract mapping, in: Wolfgang Viereck (ed.), *Historische Dialektologie und Sprachwandel. Sprachatlanten und Wörterbucher. Verhandlungen des internationalen Dialektologenkongresses Bamberg 1990*, 2, 258-262.
(1993b): Armenian, Tocharian, and the "glottalic" theory, in: L. Hovsepian & N. Parnasian & S. Simonian (eds.), *The Second International Symposium on Armenian Linguistics 1987*, Yerevan: Armenian Academy Press, 218-241.
(1993c): Some conditions for the survival of small languages, in: Ernst Håkon Jahr (ed.), *Language Conflict and Language Planning*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 299-314.
(1993d): The development of underlying accented"schwa" before dental in Tocharian B, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 6, 197-205.
(1993e): Tocario, in: Anna G. Ramat & Paolo Ramat (eds.), *Le lingue indoeuropee*, Bologna: il Mulino, 181-196.
(1993f): Überlegungen zum Fehlen der Reduplikation in aind. *véda*, gr. *oîda*, usw., in: Gerhard Meiser et al. (eds.), *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 479-483.

1994

(1994a): Griechisch *-men* und griechisch *-mes*, in: Roland Bielmeier and Reinhard Stempel (eds.), *Indogermanica et Caucasica. Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 265-271.
(1994b): Syncope in Tocharian A, in: Jens Elmegård Rasmussen (ed.), *In honorem Holger Pedersen*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 401-415.
(1994c): Zum tocharischen Verb, in: Bernfried Schlerath (ed.), *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1990*. Reykjavík: TIES, 284-308.
(1994d): Proto-Indo-European: A multiangular view. VII: Comments on *reks deiwos-k^{w}e*, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 22, 82-83.

1995

(1995a, ed.): On languages and language. *The Presidential Addresses at the 1991 meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1995b, ed.): Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vjačeslav Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, Translation by Johanna Nichols of *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy* [1984], Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1995c): Reduplication forms in Walapai, in: Michael Dürr & Egon Renner & Wolfgang Oleschinski (eds.), *Language and Culture in Native North America. Studies in Honor of Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow*, München & New Castle: Lincom, 227-235.

1996

(1996 + Bickram, Ingwaba Subba D. & Hansson, Gerd & Weidert, Alfons K.; eds.): *A synoptic glossary of Athpare, Belhare, and Yakkha with fu(r)ther contributions. Findings of the 'Linguistic Survey of Nepal'*, München & New Castle: Lincom Europa.

1997

(1997a): Lexical archaisms in the Tocharian languages, in: Hans Henrich Hock (ed.), *Historical, Indo-European, and Lexicographical Studies. A Festschrift for Ladislav Zgusta on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 183-193.

(1997b): A lone loanword and its implications, in: Stig Eliasson and Ernst Håkon Jahr (eds.), *Language and its Ecology, Essays in the Memory of Einar Haugen*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 435-440.
(1997c): A sound change in progress?, in: Raymond Hickey and Stanisław Puppel (eds.), *Language History and Linguistic Modelling. A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1113-1123.
(1997d): Tocario, in: Anna G. Ramat & Paolo Ramat (eds.), *Le lingue indoeuropee. Nuova edizione*, Bologna: il Mulino, 181-196.
(1997e): Armenian *arj* 'bear', in: Alexander Lubotsky (ed.), *Sound Law and Analogy. Papers in honor of Robert S. P. Beekes on the Occasion of his 60th birthday*, Amsterdam & Atlanta – GA: Rodopi, 349-351.
(1997f + Novel, Kishore Rai): Triplicated verbal adjuncts in Bantawa, in: David Bradley (ed.), *Tibeto-Burman Languages of the Himalayas (Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics 14. Pacific Linguistics A – 86.)*, Canberra – ACT: Australian National University, 119-134.

1998
(1998a): *Walapai (Hualapai) texts. (Native American Texts Series 2)*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1998b + Pinault, Georges-Jean & Ji, Xianlin; eds.): *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(1998c): Cases of cross-over between finite verb forms and nouns in Armenian, in: Mark Janse (ed.), *Productivity and Creativity. Studies in General and Descriptive Linguistics in Honor of E. M. Uhlenbeck*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 629-632.
(1998d): *?* in Yuman nouns, in: Leanne Hinton and Pamela Munro (eds.), *Studies in American Indian Languages. Description and Theory* (University of California Publications, Linguistics 131.), Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: university of California Press, 72-76.
(1998e): Lexical archaisms in the Tocharian languages, in: Victor H. Mair (ed.), *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age peoples in eastern Central Asia* I: *Archeology, migration and nomadism*. Linguistics, Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man & Philadelphia – PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 347-357.

1999
(1999a): Consonant harmony in Armenian, in: Edgar Polomé & Carol Justus (eds.), *Language change and typological variation: in honor of Winfred P Lehmann on the occasion of his 83rd birthday* (Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph 31), Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man, 313-319.
(1999b): Ökonomie in der Rekonstruktion und typologische Plausibilität, in: Colette Cortès & André Rousseau (eds.), *Catégories et connexions en hommage à Jean Fourquet pour son centième anniversaire le 23 juin 1999*, Villeneuve d'Ascq (Nord): Septentrion, 379-385.
(1999c): Ordered pairs of words in German and elsewhere, in: Jerzy Bańczerowski and Tadeusz Zgólka (eds.), *Linguam amicabilem facere. Ludovico Zabrocki in memoriam*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo UAM, 331-352.
(1999d): Sociolinguistics and dead languages, in: Ernst Håkon Jahr (ed.), *Language change. Advances in Historical Socioliguistics*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 67-84.
(1999e): When numeral systems are expanded, in: Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.), *Numeral Types and Changes Worldwide*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 43-53.
(1999f): Tocharian marginalia, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 247-274.

(1999g – review): Frederik Otto Lindeman, *Studies in comparative Indo-European linguistics presented on the occasion of his 60th birthday March 3, 1996*, Norsk Lingvistik Tidsskrift 17, 327-330.

2000
(2000): Eyes and ears, in: Christianne Dalton Puffer and Nikolaus Ritt (eds), *Words: Structure, Meaning, Function. A Festschrift for Dieter Kastovsky*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 323-327.

2001
(2001 – review): Douglas Q. Adams, A dictionary of Tocharian B, *Central Asiatic Journal* 45, 128-138.

2002
(2002): The distribution of short and long vowels in stems of the type Lith. *ẽsti* : *vèsti* : *mèsti* and OCS *jasti* : *vesti* : *mesti* in Baltic and Slavic languages, in: *Mouton Classics* 1, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 343-358.

2003
(2003a): *A Bantawa Dictionary*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
(2003b): A new look at a Tocharian B text, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 10, 105-124.
(2003c – review): Douglas Q. Adams, A dictionary of Tocharian B, *Journal of American Oriental Society* 123, 202-208.

2004
(2004): Preverbal Modifiers in Sunwar, in: Saxena, Anju (ed.). *Himalayan Languages: Past and Presen*t. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 239-272.

2005
(2005): *Kleine Schriften = Selected writings : in zwei Bä nden : Festgabe aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstags / Werner Winter*, selected and edited by Olav Hackstein. Bremen: Hempen. List of contained articles + pages in *Kleine Schriften* at the end of every entry:

Bd. I.
Inhaltsverzeichnis; V-X.
Vorwort/Preface; XI-XIV.
Tabula Gratulatoria; XV.

I. Tocharisch und Indogermanisch
1. A linguistic classification of "Tocharian" B texts. *JAOS* 75 (1955), 216-225;1-10.
2. Some aspects of "Tocharian" drama: Form and techniques. *JAOS* 75 (1955), 26-35; 11-20.
3. Zur Dialektgliederung von "Tocharisch" B. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 75 (1958), 233-237; 21-25.
4. Zur "tocharischen" Metrik. In: *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses München* 1957 (1959), 520-521; 26-27.

5. Zum sogenannten Durativum in Tocharisch B. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 77 (1961), 89-95; 28-35.
6. Lexical interchange between "Tocharian" A and B. *JAOS* 81 (1961), 271-280; 36-45.
7. Die Vertretung indogermanischer Dentale im Tocharischen. *IF* 67 (1962), 16-35; 46-65.
8. Further evidence of inter-Tocharian lexical borrowing. *JAOS* 82 (1962), 71-73; 66-68.
9. Nominal and pronominal dual in Tocharian. *Language* 38 (1962), 111-134; 69-92.
10. Tocharians and Turks. *Uralic and Altaic Studies* 23 (1963), 239-251; 93-105.
11. Tocharian evidence. In: Werner Winter (1965, ed.), *Evidence for laryngeals*. The Hague - London - Paris: Mouton, 190-211; 106-127.
12. Zur Vorgeschichte einiger Verbformen in Tocharisch A. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 79 (1965), 203-210; 128-135.
13. Archaismen in der tocharischen Adjektiv- und Nominalbildung. In: J. C. Heesterman & G. H. Schokker & V. I. Subramoniam (1968, eds.), *Pratidānam*. The Hague - Paris: Mouton, 60-64; 136-140.
14. Über tocharische Verbformen in ihrem Verhältnis zum Satzakzent. In: Wolf-Jürgen Marggraf (1970), *Untersuchungen zum Akzent in Tocharisch B*. Kiel, 95-103; 141-149.
15. Baktrische Lehnwörter im Tocharischen. In: Robert Schmidt-Brandt (1971, ed.), *Donum Indogermanicum*. Hedielberg: Winter, 217-223; 150-156.
16. Zur Vertretung von **w* nach Konsonant in Tocharisch B. *Orbis* 21 (1972), 385-390;157-162.
17. Tocharisch B *-au-* : Tocharisch A *-e-*. *Orbis* 25 (1976), 27-33; 163-169.
18. Internal structure and external relationship of two verbal paradigms: Tocharian B *weñ-*, A *weñ-* "say". *JIES* 5 (1977), 133-159; 170-196.
19. On the importance of links not missing. In: Bela Brogyanyi (1979, ed.), *Current issues in linguistic theory. Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi on the occasion of his 65th birthday*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 989-994; 197-202.
20. Morphological signalling of selection properties: transitiveness in Tocharian B and A verbs. In: Jacek Fisiak (1980, ed.), *Historical morphology*. The Hague – Paris – New York: Mouton, 421-442; 203-224.
21. Tocharisch B *yok*, A *yok* "Körperhaar; Farbe" und Verwandtes. In: Gunter Brettschneider & Christian Lehmann (1980, eds.), *Wege zur Universalienforschung*. Tübingen: Narr, 469-472; 225-228.
22. Zum Beitrag der tocharischen Sprachen zu Problemen der lautlichen Rekonstruktion des Indogermanischen. In: Manfred Mayrhofer - Martin Peters - Oskar E. Pfeiffer (1980, eds.), *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie. Akten der VII. Fachtagung der Idg. Gesellschaft, Wien, 24.-29. September 1978*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 542-563; 229-250.
23. Tocharian and Proto-Indo-European. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 25 (1982), 1-11; 251-261.
24. B *śka*, A *śkā*; B *e*; B *ecce*, A *aci*. In: *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge*. Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM (1984), 117-123; 262-268.
25. B *staukka-*. In: *Studia Tocharica. Selected writings. Ausgewählte Beiträge*.

Poznań: Wydawnictvo Naukowe UAM (1984), 212-216; 269-273.
26. “Left” or “right”? In: Jacek Fisiak (1985, ed.), *Historical semantics. Historical word-formation*. Berlin - New York - Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 583-595; 274-286.
27. Tocharian B *soy*, A *se* and related problems. *JAOS* 105 (1985), 259-264; 287-292.
28. Distributive numbers in Tocharian. *TIES* 1 (1987), 238-244; 293-299.
29. Tocharian B *ñakte*, A *ñkät* “god”. Two nouns, their derivatives, their etymology. *JIES* 15 (1987), 297-325; 300-328.
30. Cardinal points and other directions in Tocharian A and B. In: Mohammad Ali Jazayery & Werner Winter (1988, eds.). *Languages and cultures. Studies in honor of Edgar C. Polomé*. Berlin - New York - Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 775-791; 329-345.
31. The loss of Tocharian B *-*we*- and its conditions. *TIES* 2 (1988), 211-220; 346-355.
32. Tocharian B *-aiñ* : B *-añ* / *-āñ* and related problems. *TIES* 3 (1989), 111-120; 356-365.
33. B *-ññ-* : *-wññ-* and related problems. *TIES* 4 (1989), 5-31; 366-392.
34. The importance of fine points in spelling: deletion of accented vowels in Tocharian B. In: Jacek Fisiak (1990, ed.), *Historical linguistics and philology*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 371-391; 393-413.
35. Verbale Paradigmen des Tocharischen. In: Werner Bahner – Joachim Schildt – Dieter Viehweger (1990, eds.), *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Linguistics, Berlin/GDR, August 10-August 15, 1987*, 2534-2537; 414-417.
36. [Review] Werner Thomas: Tocharische Maitreya-Parallelen aus Hami. *Central Asiatic Journal* 35, 317-320; 418-421.
37. The mediopassive present participles in Tocharian A. *TIES* 5 (1991), 45-56; 422-433.
38. Werner Winter & Klaus T. Schmidt: Die Formen der 1. Singular Aktiv der unerweiteren Präterita in Tocharisch B [i.e., A], *Historische Sprachforschung* 105 (1992), 50-55; 434-440.
39. The development of underlying accented “shw” before dental in Tocharian B. *TIES* 6 (1993), 197-205; 441-449.
40. Syncope in Tocharian A. In: Jens Elmengård Rasmussen (1994, ed.), *In honorem Holger Pedersen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 401-415; 450-464.
41. Zum tocharischen Verb. In: Bernfried Schlerath (1994, ed.), *Tocharisch. Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, September 1990*. Reykjavík: TIES Suppl. Vol. 4, 284-309; 465-490.
42. Lexical archaisms in the Tocharian languages. In: Hans Henrich Hock (1997, ed.), *Historical, Indo-European, and lexicographical studies. A festschrift for Ladislav Zgusta on the occasion of his 70th birthday*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 183-193; 491-501.
43. Tocharian. In: Anna Giacalone Ramat - Paolo Ramat (1998, eds.), *The Indo-European Languages*. London - New York: Routledge, 154-168; 502-516.

44. [Review] Douglas Q. Adams: A dictionary of Tocharian B. *Central Asiatic Journal* 45 (2001), 128-138; 517-527.
45. A new look at a Tocharian B text. [2001, Erstpublikation, inzwischen auch in TIES 10, 2003, 105-124]; 528-543.

Bd. II. Indogermanistik, historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft und darüber hinaus
II. Armenisch und Indogermanisch
46. Problems of Armenian phonology I. *Language* 30 (1954), 197-201; 544-548.
47. Problems of Armenian phonology II. *Language* 31 (1955), 4-8; 549-553.
48. Problems of Armenian phonology III. *Language* 32 (1962), 254-262; 554-562.
49. Armenian evidence. In: Werner Winter (1965, ed.), *Evidence for laryngeals*. The Hague/London/Paris, 100-115; 563-578.
50. Traces of early dialectical diversity in Old Armenian. In: Henrik Birnbaum – Jaan Puhvel (1996), *Ancient Indo-European dialects*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 201-211; 579-589.
51. Nochmals arm. *hiswn* "Zimmermann". *Die Sprache* 29 (1983), 177-181; 590-594.
52. Armenian. In: Jadranka Gvozdanović (1992, ed.), *Indo-European numerals*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 347-359; 595-607.
53. Armenian *arǰ* "bear". In: Alexander Lubotsky (1997, ed.), *Sound law and analogy. Papers in honour of Robert S. P. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Amsterdam - Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 349-351; 608-610.
54. Cases of cross-over between finite verb forms and nouns in Armenian. In: M. Janse (1998, ed.), *Productivity and creativity. Studies in general and descriptive linguistics in honor of E. M. Uhlenbeck*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 629-632; 611-614.
55. Consonant harmony in Armenian. In: Edgar C. Polomé/Carol F. Justus (1999, eds.), *Language change and typological variation: in honor of Winfred P. Lehmann on the occasion of his 83rd birthday (JIES, monogr. 31)*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man, 313-319; 615-621.

III. Indogermanistik allgemein
56. An Indo-European prefix *$*\underset{\circ}{n}$- "together with". *Language* 28 (1952), 186-191; 622-627.
57. Gruppe und Reihe. Beobachtungen zur Systematik indogermanischer Zählweise. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 71 (1953), 3-14; 628-639.
58. Nochmals vedisch *aśnā́ti*. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 72 (1955), 161-175; 640-654.
59. The distribution of short and long vowels in stems of the type Lith. *ė́sti* : *vèsti* : *mèsti* and OCS *jasti* : *vesti* : *mesti* in Baltic and Slavic languages. In. Jacek Fisiak (1978, ed.), *Recent developments in historical phonology*. The Hague - Paris - New York: Mouton, 431-446; 655-670.
60. OInd. *máhi* : Gk. *méga* "great" reconsidered. In: Kathryn Klar - Margareth Langdon - Shirley Silver (1980, eds.), *Armenian Indian and Indo-European studies. Papers in honor of Madison S. Beeler*. The Hague - Paris - New York: Mouton, 487-

495; 671-679.
61. Old Indic *sūnú*: Greek *huiús* "son". In: George Cardona & Norman H. Zide (1987, eds.), *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. Tübingen, 405-408; 680-683.
62. Armenian, Tocharian, and the "glottalic" theory. In: Edgar C. Polomé - Werner Winter (1992, eds.), *Reconstructing languages and cultures*. Berlin - New York, 111-127; 684-700.
63. Eyes and ears. In: Christiane Dalton-Puffer/Nikolaus Ritt (2000, eds.), *Words: Structure, meaning, function. A festschrift for Dieter Kastovsky*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 323-327; 701-705.

IV. Methoden der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft
64. Über eine Methode zum Nachweis struktureller Relevanz von Oppositionen distinktiver Merkmale. *Phonetica* 4 (Supplement 1959), 28-44; 706-722.
65. Form and meaning in morphological analysis. *Linguistics* 3 (1964), 5-18; 723-736.
66. A note on cases. In: (1967, eds.) *To honor Roman Jakobson*. The Hague - Paris: Mouton, 2250-2253; 737-740.
67. Analogischer Sprachwandel und semantische Struktur. *Folia Linguistica* 3 (1969), 29-45; 741-757.
68. Vocative and imperative. In: Jaan Puhvel (1969, ed.), *Substance and structure of language*. Berkeley - Los Angeles: University of California Press, 205-223; 758-776.
69. A proposal concerning metaphor. In: Evelyn S. Firchow et al. (1972, eds.), *Studies for Einar Haugen*. The Hague - Paris: Mouton, 562-567; 777-782.
70. Areal linguistics: Some general considerations. In: Thomas A. Sebeok (1973, ed.), *Diachronic, areal and typological linguistics*. The Hague - Paris: Mouton, 135-147; 783-795.
71. Intralanguage variation and interlanguage comparison. In: Håkon Ringbom (1975, ed.), *Style and text. Studies presented to Nils Erik Enkvist*. Stockholm: Skriptor, 299-302; 796-799.
72. Thoughts about markedness and normalcy/naturalness. In: Olga Mišeska Tomić (1981, ed.), *Markedness in synchrony and diachrony*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 103-109; 800-806.
73. Reconstructional comparative linguistics and the reconstruction of the syntax of undocumented stages in the development of languages and language families. In: Jacek Fisiak (1984, ed.), *Historical syntax*. Berlin - New York - Amsterdam: Mouton, 613-625; 807-819.
74. Linguistic reconstruction: The scope of historical and comparative linguistics. In: Edgar C. Polomé (1990, ed.), *Research guide on language change*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 11-21; 820-830.
75. A note on parasystems. In: Tom Dutton – Malcolm Ross – Darell Tryon (1992, eds.), *The language game: papers in memory of Donald C. Laycock*. Canberra, ACT: Pacific Linguistics, 521-526; 831-836.
76. Some thoughts about Indo-European numerals. In: Jadranka Gvozdanović (1992, ed.), *Indo-European numerals*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 11-28; 837-

854.
77. A lone loanword and its implications. In: Stig Eliasson & Ernst Håkon Jahr (1997, eds.), *Language and its ecology. Essays in memory of Einar Haugen*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 435-440; 855-860.
78. Ökonomie in der Rekonstruktion und typologische Plausibilität. In: Colette Cortès - André Rousseau (1999, eds.), *Catégories et connexions en hommage ẹ Jean Fourquet pour son centième anniversaire le 23 Juin 1999*. Villeneuve d′Ascq (Nord): Septentrion, 379-385; 861-867.
79. Ordered pairs of words in German and elsewhere. In: Jerzy Bańczerowski - Tadeusz Zgółka (1999, eds.), *Linguam amicabilem facere. Ludovico Zabrocki in memoriam*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo UAM, 331-352; 868-889.

80. Realism in reconstruction. *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 44,1 (2002), 17-30; 890-903.

2009
(2009a + Gerd Carling & Georges-Jean Pinault; eds.): *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A, A-J*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
(2009b + Pinault, George-Jean & Schmidt, Klaus T. & Rasmussen, Jens Elmegård & Olander Thomas; eds.): *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* – Vol. 11, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press & University of Copenhagen.

2010
(2010 + Ozolina, L. V. & Simonov, M. D. & Bulhakova T. & Majewicz E. & Wicherkiewicz, T; co-eds.) in: Alfred F. Majewicz (gen. ed.), *Materials for the Study of Tungusic Languages and Folklore* (Trends in Linguistics – Documentation 15-4, The Collected Works of Bronislaw Pilsudski, Volume 4), Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

2011
(2011 + Olander, Thomas & Peyrot, Michael & Pinault, Georges-Jean & Rasmussen, Jens & Schmidt, Klaus T.; eds.): *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* – Vol. 12, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press & University of Copenhagen.

Further reading about Werner Winter

Studia Linguistica Diachronica et Synchronica : Werner Winter sexagenario anno MCMLXXXIII : gratis animis ab eius collegis, amicis discipulisque oblata, quae redigenda curaverunt atque ediderunt Ursula Pieper et Gerhard Stickel. Berlin- New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1985.

Brigitte L.M. Bauer & Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2003. Werner Winter: ad multos annos. In: *Language in time and space : a Festschrift for Werner Winter on the occasion of his 80th birthday*, ed. by Brigitte L.M. Bauer, Georges-Jean Pinault. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003 (Trends in linguistics Studies and monographs, 144) xxiii-xxv..

Acknowledgment

This study was written thanks to cooperation with the Center for interdisciplinary Research into ancient languages and older stages of modern languages (MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk university in Brno and thanks to the grants GAAV No. IAA901640805 & MUNI/21/BLA/2011. We are grateful to John D. Bengtson for correction of English.

Pavel Poucha (*29. 12. 1905 Vienna - † 15. 1. 1986 Prague) – his life, travels and complete bibliography

Michal Schwarz & Václav Blažek

Note: we are very indebted to Prof. PhDr. Josef Kolmaš for his personal memoirs and borrowed archive documents.

Life and work

Pavel Poucha was the first Czech scholar of international renown whose life and academical career were fully devoted to languages, texts and ethnic history of Central or Inner Asia. Although an Indologist in his main work, he founded Mongolian, Tibetan and Tocharian studies in Czechoslovakia. His grammar of Tocharian A, written in Czech in 1930 (1930a, 28 pages) was one of the first descriptive grammars of Tocharian. And his Latin dictionary of Tocharian A (1955d; used shortly as *Thesaurus*) remained the only separately published dictionary of this language for several decades.

Pavel Poucha was born in Vienna and returned with his Czech parents back to Bohemia to Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus) in 1912. The multilingual atmosphere of Vienna and exceptional classical philologists at the Gymnasium in bilingual (Czech + German) Jindřichův Hradec inspired Pavel Poucha toward the study of philology at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University (1924-1929). He studied not only Slavic and Germanic philology and literature, but also attended lectures on Comparative Indo-European linguistics, Latin and Greek dialectology and courses in many languages (Old Lithuanian, Old Prussian, Sanskrit, Avestan, Hebrew, Hittite, Osman Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Hindi, Bengali). Poucha also acquired a good knowledge of German, French, English, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Latin and Greek. He was a student of such great Czech Orientalists as Vincenc Lesný (1882-1953: Indology & Buddhism), Bedřich Hrozný (1879-1952: Hittite), Jan Rypka (1986-1968: Persian & Turkish), Otakar Pertold (1884-1965: Indology & Comparative Study of Religions) and Oldřich Hujer (1880-1942: Indology). The last mentioned turned Poucha's attention to newly discovered Tocharian manuscripts. Poucha

became his assistant (1925-1930) and librarian at the departments of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics and Indology. After defendig his unpublished dissertation *Příspěvky k tocharskému jazyku a literatuře* [Contributions to Tocharian languages and literature] (1928a) Poucha attained the degree of PhDr. in 1929. He was a teacher of Czech and German languages at several gymnasiums in Prague for about twenty years (1927-1947). This was a usual start of scientific career for many linguists and Orientalists in Czechoslovakia and Poucha became full Professor (for secondary schools) in 1931. Thanks to his parallel research and the intervention of Bedřich Hrozný he became a member of the Cultural Department at the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Science and Arts (later the Czechoslovakian Academy of Science) in 1932. The work at the Oriental Institute became his full-time job in 1947 with habilitation in Indology and Central Asian philology one year later. His habilitation lecture *O překladech ze sanskrtu do tocharštiny* [On the translations from Sanskrit into Tocharian] shows that Tocharology was the main theme of Poucha's early scientific work. But the most important publications were published during the next decade: the title *Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae* covers two books, i.e. the dictionary of Tocharian A (1955a) and Chrestomathia of the same language one year later (1956b). In the area of Tocharian studies Poucha further described some of the Sanskrit loanwords in Tocharian (1930c, 1931a, 1932a, 1933a and 1939a), published an article about the name "Tocharisch" (1939b) and reviewed important publications in Tocharology (1935d, 1936h, 1942e, 1942f, 1951n, 1955t, 1955u, 1979a, 1981d, 1981g, 1982d). In other articles he informed scholars about the language according to the most current data (1940b), about the importance of Tocharian in relation to the Indo-European homeland (1943a) and compared Tocharian A *tiri*, B *teri* with Mongolian *törü* and Hebrew *tōrah* (1974b). Apart from this research Poucha was also Deputy Director and Scientific Secretary of Oriental Institute and Head of the Indology Department, but due to political reasons (he did not join any political party) he was removed from leading positions in 1957. After that he concentrated fully on research-work, international conference stays and published actively throughout the rest of his life including the years after superannuation in 1970. Pavel Poucha was married and had one son.

Poucha did not stop his pedagogical activity after the Second World War. On the contrary he gave lectures (Sanskrit, Mongolian, Tibetan, Introduction to Altaic philology, Central Asian nations, Old Javanese) not only at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University, but also at the School of Oriental lan-

guages (later the State School of Languages) in Prague – he was also its head for some years. For students he prepared hand-written grammars and textbooks of Tibetan, Javanese and the first part of a Czech-Mongolian dictionary.

The third pillar of Pavel Poucha's public activity could be seen in popularisation of Oriental studies and Asian culture in post-war Czechoslovakia and Czech science abroad. He prepared the ground for Oriental studies in the home country with translations from Sanskrit, Classical Written Mongolian, modern Khalkha, Tibetan and other languages, further by publishing nearly two hundred dictionary entries, two important travelogues and several popular newspaper articles (these mainly about China and Chinese culture).

List of important topics according to other language areas

Mongolian studies: translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols* into Czech with very detailed notes (1955b); the monograph *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal* (1956a) – won the prize of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (further article about this 1964a); Mongolische Miszellen (1955f, 1955g, 1961f, 1962b, 1963f, 1963g, 1963h, 1965a); Mongolian verse (1956c); bio and bibliography of the great Mongolian scholar Byambin Rinchen (1986a); study on Mongolian Law (1970a); travelogue from Mongolia (1957a, in German 1960a); Moghol language (1961a); Kalmyk (1967a) and Kalmyk epos *Zhangar* (1961b); relations between the Mongols and Jurchens (1970b).

Central Asian philology: Central Asian nations (1931b) and loanwords (1932a), Inner Asian chronology, traces of Huns and Avars in present day Europe (1981b). Travelogue to China (1962a) – mainly to Chinese Turkestan [i.e. Xinjinag] and Inner Mongolia.

Tibetan studies: works on Tibetan poetry (1950a, 1954c), Tibetan grammar (1955h, 1958c, 1963), study and later translation of parts of *The Book of the Dead* (1952b), analyses of Tibetan language (1963i, 1978a).

Indology: structural position of Old Indic (1941a), Old Indic accent (1943b), *Rgveda* (1942b, 1946a), *Upanishads* (1940a, 1941b), several studies in Indian literature, problem of the origin of the Indo-Europeans (1936a, 1943a) and the

time of origin of the *Mahābhārata* (1934b), Vedic folk etymology (1935b), reedition of Kālidāsa's poems (1942a), history of Indology in Czechoslovakia (1951b).

Comparative Asian linguistics: comparison of sentence structure in Tibetan, Newārī, Burmese, Mongolian, Manchu, Turkish, Tamil and Malāyam with Indo-Aryan (1949a); phonetical comparison of Tibetan, Tangut, Newari and Balti languages (1967b); relation of Mongolian to other languages (1969a).

Travels

Poucha visited Mongolia (4 months in 1955) and China (11 months in 1957-1958) and published travelogues for both academicians and public enlightenment. Poucha was the first Western scholar who was allowed to visit Mongolia after the death of Stalin, and in China especially the sites of Central Asian manuscripts in North-Western areas (Xinjiang and Gansu), part of Amdo, Inner Mongolia, China's North-East and big cities in the South. We have also compiled a list of sites in Mongolia and China visited and described by him. In Mongolia his travels covered rarely visited places important for Mongolian, Turkic and Indo-European history. Due to the itinerary Poucha had to overnight in yurts along the road. It enabled him to have direct contact with people of various ethnic and social origins. Such a global picture of Mongolia was very complete and the travelogue was also translated into German. Other study and conference trips led Poucha to Hungary (1955), Rumania (1959), Mongolia (for second and third time in 1959, 1967), Moscow (1960), Poland (1963), Holland (1964), Finland (1967), both German Republics (1965, 1966, 1968), Italy (1966) and so on.

Mongolia (August to December in 1955):

Ulaanbaatar with important museums, temples and several academical, cultural, political institutions and some new factories; trips to surroundings of Ulaanbaatar (Ikh Tengri Am + Bogd-Uul / Choibalsan-Uul, Songino, Bayan-Tsogt with the Stele of Tonyukuk, Selbi, ovoo near Nalaikh, cooperative farm Jargalant [north of Ulaanbaatar]).

The first long expedition to the West of Mongolia together with academician Byambin Rinchen: stops in Lung-somon, somon centre Dashinchi-ling (including visit of Castle of the prince Tsogtu-Taiji, rock-carvings, inscriptions and funeral steles around the somon centre), archaeological sites Kara-Balgasun and Bayshingin-Uud, Bulgan (administrative city of the Bulgan aimag), volcanic mountain Uran-Togoo / Uran-Bürkhuul, Unito, Khutug-somon, Tariyalang-somon, Ikh-Uul-somon, Mörön (capital of the Khövsgöl aimag), Khadkhal / Khadgal on the southern bank of the Khövsgöl sea (here trip to Chandman-Öndör-somon, Tsagaan-Üür-somon, ruins of the temple Dayin-Deerkhiin-Khüree, shamanistic cave Dayin-Deerkhiin-Agui and back); crossing of the sea from Khadkhal to Turtu / Khanga / Khankh and back; Mörön, Khar-Tolgoi, the first bag of the Bayan-Tul-somon (in Zavkhan aimag) with Eljigit tribe, cooperative farm Baruun-Turuun, Ulaangom (capital of Uvs aimag) and trip to Uvs-Nuur, Tsagaan-Nuur-somon, Bayan-Ölgii, Khovd / Kobdo, Baatar-Vangyn-Khüree, Tsagaan-Chuluud-somon, Uliastai / Zhavkhlant (capital of Zavkhan aimag), Otgon-somon, Bayan-Bulag, Tsetserleg / Zayin-khüree (capital of Arkhangai aimag), Tsagaan-Suburgatu-Bulgas, Khanui-Balgas, Khöshöö-Tsaidam, Lung-somon, remains of the city Karakorum + temple Erdeni-Dzuu, spa resort Khujirt, Dashinchi-Ling, return to Ulaanbaatar with trip to Nalaikh.

The second expedition to the East: Tsenkher Mandal (Burgaastai Am + Bichigtei Zokhio), Öndör-Khaan (capital of the Khentii aimag), Choibalsan (capital of this time Choibalsan aimag /present day Dornod aimag/), Tamsag-Bulag, Buir-Nuur, Khalkh-Golyn-somon and the site of war against Japanese armies, Buir-Nuur, return to the city Choibalsan and visit of Choibalsan's birth place (Kherlengiin Tsagaan Dalbai), Ereen (cooperative farm 215 km North of Choibalsan city) and Bayan-Uul-somon (area of Buryads and Khamnigans), Deliün-Boldag (birthplace of Temüjin / Chingis-Khaan), Khödölmör-Negdel, Burkhan-Khalduun (perhaps the area of Chingis-Khaan's burial site), return to Deliün-Boldag, Öndör-Khaan, Mörön-somon (here the mountain Salbuur-Uul and the rock Bichigtu-Khanan with carvings and inscriptions), Bayan-Mod, Tsenkher-Mandal-somon, Erdeni-somon (in Töv aimag), return to Ulaanbaatar.

The third brief visit by train to Sainshand in the Gobi (semi-)deserted area, Dzüün-Bayan, return to Sainshand and then by air to Ulaanbaatar.

China (June 1957 to May 1958)

Arrival in Beijing as a starting point. Then the expedition to Xinjiang: by train to Luoyang, Xi'an / Chang'an, Lanzhou, Jiuquan; by jeep to Dunhuang (+ Mogao caves) and back to Jiuquan; by plane to Urumqi / Wulumuqi; by jeep to Turpan (and important archaeological sites in surroundings: Lükčün, Sirkip, Tuyoq, Idikut-šähri = Jiaohe, Sengim), Toksun, Karashar / Yanqi, Shorchug, Korla, Kucha (and archaeological sites in surroundings), Kyzyl, Aksu, Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Keriya and return to Khotan; then return by plane via Kashgar to Urumqi, Lanzhou and Beijing.

Visit of Amdo: trip to Hezheng / Hezuo and Labrang (it is decribed after the return from Xinjiang, but Poucha had to visit it from Lanzhou along the first expedition at the end of October).

Trip to Inner Mongolia in August (probably before the visit of Xinjiang): Beijing, by train to Hohhot / Khökh-khöt / Huhehaote / Guihua / Guisui, and Baotou; by jeep to Ordos / E'erduosi / Dongsheng to the temple of Chingis-Khaan, back to Baotou, by train to "Sinin" / Jining and Saikhantala / Suniteyouqi / Xisunqi, then by jeep to Züün-Sünit / Sunitezuoqi / Dongsunqi, Abagaqi and Xilinhot / Xilinhaote; back to Beijing and further by train to Shenyang / Mukden, Qiqiha'er / Longjiang, Ananxi, Haila'er / Hulubei'er; then by jeep to Solon(-Khoshuun), Khoi-Somon / Tsaahum at the bank of Khashaan-Nor and back to Haila'er; by train to Bükhedü and Nanmu / presentday Elunchunxian, Zhalantun (here visit of Chingis-Khaan Wall), Harbin, Jinzhou, Chengde (+ Zhehol), Datong (+ Yunggang caves) and back to Beijing (here trips to surroundings = Xiangshan in Xishan, Beihai).

Trip to Southern China by train: Nanjing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Guangzhou / Canton, Wuhan, then undescribed return to Beijing and Czechoslovakia (this second travelogue from China was corrected and compiled from Poucha's letters by editors of the publishing house).

Overview of the work

In numbers, the work of Pavel Poucha comprises about 654 items in the following categories:

Monographs: 6
Dissertation: 1
Monographical article: 1
Articles: 170
Short articles for daily newspapers: 25
Reviews of books: 177
Reviews of journals: 45
Dictionary entries: 190
Poem (translated by C. Damdinsüren into Mongolian and published in a newspaper): 1
Translations of books into Czech: 11 (sources: Mongolian 4, Sanskrit 3, Russian 2, Tamil 1, Tibetan 1)
Free or short translations into Czech: 21 (sources: Mongolian 10, Tibetan 4, Sanskrit 2, Newari 2, Tocharian 2, Russian 2)

Other manuscripts of planned publications remain unedited in the inheritance (for example the manuscript of Tibetan grammar).

Topical overview

Tocharian: dictionary of Tocharian A: 1955a; articles and reviews 1928a, 1930a, 1930c, 1931a, 1932a, 1933a, 1933b5, 1933b6, 1935d, 1936h, 1939a, 1939b, 1940b, 1942e, 1942f, 1943a, 1943c, 1943d4, 1943d5, 1951n, 1955t, 1955u, 1956b, 1962a, 1974b, 1975g, 1979a, 1981d, 1981g, 1982d; free translations of short stories: 1948i, 1949i.

Iranian: 1932c4, 1932g, 1934f, 1935e, 1935f, 1937a4, 1937c, 1939c2, 1940c1, 1942g, 1983f.

Indic & Indology: 1928c, 1928e, 1928f, 1929f, 1930b, 1931c, 1931e1, 1931e3, 1931e4, 1931e5, 1931e6, 1931e7, 1931e8, 1931e9, 1931e10, 1931e11, 1932d1, 1932d6, 1932f, 1933b17, 1933b26, 1933b34, 1933c, 1934a, 1934b, 1934c, 1934e, 1935a, 1935b, 1935c1, 1935c2, 1935c3, 1935c4, 1935c5, 1935c6, 1935c7, 1935α, 1936b, 1936c2, 1936c3, 1936c5, 1936c6, 1936c8, 1936c11, 1936d, 1936e, 1936f, 1936g, 1937a2, 1937a3, 1937a5, 1937a6, 1937a7, 1937a8, 1973a9, 1937a11, 1937a12, 1937a13, 1937a14, 1937a15, 1937a16, 1937b1, 1937b2, 1937b3, 1937b4, 1938a1, 1938a3, 1938a5, 1938a6, 1938a7, 1938a8, 1938a9, 1938a10, 1938b1, 1938b2, 1938c, 1939c9, 1940a, 1941a, 1941b, 1941c, 1941d, 1942b, 1942c, 1942d-a, 1942d-b, 1942d-c, 1943b,

1943c, 1943e, 1946a, 1948a, 1948b, 1948c, 1948d, 1948g, 1948k, 1948n, 1948p, 1949b, 1949d, 1949e, 1949f, 1949h, 1951b, 1951m, 1951p, 1951s, 1952e, 1952g, 1953b, 1955d, 1955m, 1955n, 1955o, 1955p, 1955r, 1955γ, 1955ι, 1961e, 1961k, 1962a, 1963e, 1965b, 1967b, 1974c, 1974f, 1976g, 1976n, 1977g, 1978e, 1979b, 1980d, 1981i, 1985c; translations of books from Sanskrit: 1942a, 1959a; translation of book from Tamil: 1944; short and free translations from Indic: 1934e, 1982a, from Newari: 1946b.

Dravidian: 1932d5, 1933b7, 1937b5, 1943d1, 1943d2, 1948l.

General & Indo-European linguistics (including short biographies of linguists and writers from Soviet Union): 1927a, 1927b, 1928b, 1928h, 1928i, 1929a, 1929c, 1929e, 1929g, 1929h, 1930d, 1931d, 1931e2, 1932b, 1932c1, 1932c3, 1932c5, 1932d4, 1932e, 1933b1, 1933b2, 1933b3, 1933b4, 1933b8, 1933b12, 1933b15, 1933b18, 1933b19, 1933b20, 1933b21, 1933b22, 1933b23, 1933b24, 1933b25, 1933b26, 1933b27, 1933b28, 1933b29, 1933b30, 1933b31, 1933b32, 1933b33, 1933b34, 1933b35, 1933b36, 1933b37, 1935c1, 1935c2, 1935f, 1936a, 1936c4, 1936c9, 1936c10, 1936c12, 1936c13, 1936c14, 1937a1, 1937a10, 1937a13, 1937a15, 1938a2, 1938a4, 1939c1, 1939c3, 1939c4, 1939c5, 1939c6, 1939c7, 1939c8, 1940c2, 1940c3, 1940c4, 1940c5, 1943d3, 1947a, 1951d, 1955e, 1955j, 1957p, 1958y, 1960g, 1961d, 1962f, 1962g, 1964d, 1964e, 1966b1-1966b30, 1966f, 1966g, 1969d, 1970c, 1972a, 1972b, 1975f, 1975j, 1975k, 1977h, 1977i, 1979f, 1980i, 1981l, 1983h.

Slavic philology: 1927c, 1927d, 1927e, 1927f, 1928g, 1928j, 1928k, 1929i, 1929j, 1929k, 1933b13, 1935f, 1955s, 1958b, 1977b, 1978b, 1981b.

Greek:1928d, 1929a, 1932c2, 1935g, 1973e, 1977b, 1978b.

Latin: 1929d.

Semitic: 1929b, 1932d2, 1974b.

Sumerian: 1970α.

Comparative Asian linguistics: 1949a, 1967b, 1969a, 1974b, 1979c, 1979d, 1980e.

Central Asian Studies: 1931b, 1932d3, 1947c, 1948h, 1949l, 1951b, 1951g, 1951q, 1955q, 1958s, 1961e, 1962a, 1962e, 1968a, 1968b, 1971c, 1973a, 1975d, 1975i, 1976f, 1977j, 1979e, 1980h, 1981k, 1982k, 1985e, 1985g.

Asian history, linguistics, culture and articles about oriental studies: 1934d, 1935α, 1948f, 1948o, 1949g, 1949m, 1949n, 1949o, 1950b, 1950c, 1951r, 1955l, 1955κ [= Greek κ], 1957l, 1961c, 1970β, 1976b, 1976o, 1981j, 1982e, 1983a, 1983e.

Sinology (popularizing works): 1931c, 1942h, 1955α, 1955β, 1955ι 1957i, 1957k, 1957m, 1958i, 1958j, 1958k, 1958l, 1958n, 1958o, 1958p, 1958q, 1958r, 1958s, 1958t, 1958u, 1958v, 1958w, 1960b, 1962a, 1971d, 1973d, 1976h, 1976m, 1982c, 1982f, 1982g, 1984.

Tibetology: 1931e4, 1932d7, 1948e, 1948j, 1949c, 1950a, 1951h, 1951i, 1951o, 1952b, 1952c, 1952d, 1952i, 1952j, 1953f, 1954c, 1955h, 1955k, 1955γ, 1955δ, 1955ε, 1955ζ, 1955η, 1955θ, 1958c, 1958m, 1958x, 1960b, 1963a, 1963i, 1966a, 1967e10, 1969c, 1974a, 1976i, 1976k, 1978a, 1980g, 1982f. Translation of book from Tibetan: 1952a; short and free translations from Tibetan: 1947b, 1949k, 1958f, 1962c.

Mongolian studies: 1948e, 1948m, 1949c, 1949j, 1949p, 1951c (Kalmyk), 1951f, 1951j, 1951k, 1951l, 1952f, 1952h, 1953a, 1953c, 1953e, 1953g, 1954b, 1954d, 1954e, 1954f, 1955c, 1955f, 1955g, 1955x, 1955y, 1955z, 1955α, 1955β, 1956a, 1956c, 1956c-a, 1956c-b, 1956d, 1956e, 1956f, 1956g, 1957a, 1957b, 1957d, 1957e, 1957h, 1957n, 1957o, 1958d, 1958g, 1958h, 1959b, 1960a, 1960b, 1960d, 1960e, 1961a (Moghol), 1961b (Kalmyk), 1961f, 1961g, 1961h, 1961j, 1962b, 1962d, 1963b, 1963c (Buryat), 1963d (Kalmyk), 1963e, 1963f, 1963g, 1963h, 1963j, 1963k, 1964a, 1964b, 1964c, 1965a, 1965b, 1966a, 1966c, 1966d, 1966e, 1967a (Kalmyk), 1967c, 1967d, 1967e1, 1967e2-1967e9, 1967e11-1967e22, 1967f, 1968c (Kalmyk), 1968c-a, 1968d, 1968e, 1969a, 1969a-a, 1969b, 1969c, 1970a, 1970b, 1970e, 1970f, 1970g, 1970h, 1970i, 1970γ, 1970δ, 1971#, 1971a, 1971b (Kalmyk), 1971e, 1973b, 1974a, 1974b, 1974d, 1974e, 1974g, 1974h, 1974i, 1974j, 1975a, 1975a-a, 1975c, 1975e, 1976j, 1976p, 1977c, 1977d, 1977e, 1977f, 1978d, 1980f, 1981e, 1981f, 1982b, 1982c, 1982h, 1982i, 1983c, 1983g, 1985b (Dagur + Solon), 1985c, 1985d, 1985f, 1986; translations of books from Mon-

golian: 1954a, 1955b, 1957c, 1958a; translations of short stories and poetry: 1947d, 1953d, 1957f, 1957g, 1957j, 1958e, 1959c, 1960f, 1961i, 1975b; poem in Mongolian 1955i.

Common Altaic studies & Turkology: 1932d9, 1933b10, 1938a4, 1943d6, 1951d, 1955s, 1955v, 1955w, 1970d, 1974e, 1976a, 1976c, 1976d, 1976l, 1976m, 1977f, 1978c, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981b, 1981c, 1981e, 1981h, 1982j, 1983b, 1983d, 1985a.

Finno-Ugric: 1932d8, 1933b9.

Uralic: 1933b11.

Van: 1933b14, 1933b16.

Ket: 1976e.

Burushaski: 1960c.

Malay-Polynesian: 1936c1.

Mon-Khmer: 1936c7.

Munda: 1938b2.

Translations from Russian: books: 1951a, 1977a; article: 1951e.

Transcription or revision of names in oriental languages: 1957p, 1959d, 1961l, 1961m, 2000.

Bibliography

1927

(1927a/1 – review of journal): Listy filologické 53. *Slavia* 6 (1927-1928), 205-206.

(1927b/2 – review of journal): Časopis pro moderní filologii a literatury 13 (1927). *Slavia* 6 (1927-1928), 636-637.

(1927c/3 – review of journal): Časopis za slovenski jezik, književnost in zgodovino 3, 3/4 (1921-1922), 4 (1924), 5 (1926), 6 (1927). *Slavia* 6 (1927-1928), 637-640.

(1927d/4 – review of journal): Archiv für slavische Philologie 40 (1925-1926). *Slavia* 6 (1927-1928), 852-853.

(1927e/5 – review of journal): Južnoslovenski filolog 5 (1925-1926). *Slavia* 6 (1927-1928), 856-858.
(1927f/6 – review of journal): Sborník Matice Slovenskej pre jazykozpyt, národopis, dejepis i literárnu historiu 3 (1925), 4 (1926). *Slavia* 6 (1927-1928), 858-859.

1928
(1928a/[without number] = unpublished dissertation): *Příspěvky k tocharskému jazyku a literatuře*, Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.
(1928b/7): O současných i zaniklých písmech evropských, jejich vývoji a původu. *Širým světem* 6, 145-149.
(1928c/8 – review): A. Carnoy, Grammaire élémentaire de la langue sanscrite comparée avec celle des langues indo-européennes. *Listy filologické* 55, 54-57.
(1928d/9 – review): Mgr. Jaquet, Grammaire du grec du Nouveau Testament. *Listy filologické* 55, 280.
(1928e/10 – review): V. Gordon Childe, The Aryans. A Study of Indo-European origins. *Listy filologické* 55, 280-281.
(1928f/11 – review): F. Nau, Étude historique sur transmission de l´Avesta et sur l´époque probable de sa dernière redaction. *Listy filologické* 55, 281.
(1928g/12 – review of journal): Sborník Matice Slovenskej pre jazykozpyt, národopis, dejepis i literárnu historiu 5 (1927). *Slavia* 7 (1928-1929), 219-220.
(1928h/13 – review of journal): Listy filologické 53. *Slavia* 7 (1928-1929), 220-221.
(1928i/14 – review of journal): Prace filologiczne 10 (1926), 11 (1927). *Slavia* 7 (1928-1929), 440-442.
(1928j/15 – review of journal): Revue études slaves 6 (1926), 7 (1927). *Slavia* 7 (1928-1929), 442-444.
(1928k/16 – review of journal): Južnoslovenski filolog 6 (1926-1927). *Slavia* 7 (1928-1929), 716-717.

1929
(1929a/17): O původu písma řeckého a o některých jiných písmech. *Širým světem* 6, 391-394.
(1929b/18): Písma původu semitského a jejich rozšíření. *Širým světem* 6, 542-546.
(1929c/19 – entry): Meillet A. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 4, 847-848.
(1929d/20 – review): J. Cahour, Manuel pour l´étude de la langue latine adaptée aux usages de la vie moderne. *Listy filologické* 56, 172-173.
(1929e/21 – review): A miscellany”Bier und Bierbereitung bei den Völkern der Urzei”. *Listy filologické* 56, 173.
(1929f/22 – review): S. Lévi, L’Inde et le monde. *Listy filologické* 56, 297.
(1929g/23 – review of journal): Listy filologické 55 (1928). *Slavia* 8 (1929-1930), 198-199.
(1929h/24 – review of journal): Časopis pro moderní filologii a literatury 14 (1928). *Slavia* 8 (1929-1930), 439-440.
(1929i/25 – review of journal): Časopis za slovenski jezik, književnost in zgodovino 7 (1928). *Slavia* 8 (1929-1930), 440-441.
(1929j/26 – review of journal): Slavia occidentalis 2 (1922), 3-4 (1925), 5 (1926), 6 (1927), 7 (1928). *Slavia* 8 (1929-1930), 441-446.
(1929k/27 – review of journal): Balkan-Archiv 1 (1925), 2 (1926), 3 (1927), 4 (1928). *Slavia* 8 (1929-1930), 677-679.

1930

(1930a/28): O nových jazycích indoevropských nalezených ve střední Asii, zvláště o jazyce tocharském. S náčrtem tocharské mluvnice. *20. Výroční zpráva Českého státního gymnasia v Praze XI za školní rok 1929-30*, Praha: Jaroš a spol., 1-28.
(1930b/29): Indian Literature in Central Asia. *Archív orientální* 2, 27-38.
(1930c/30): Tocharica. I. Die indischen Lehnwörter im Tocharischen. – II. Beiträge zur tocharischen Wortkunde. – III. Die tocharische Lautverschiebung. *Archív orientální* 2, 300-326.
(1930d/31): O starých obrázkových písmech a jejich vývoji. *Širým světem* 7, 147-152.

1931

(1931a/32): Tocharica. IV. Aus der tocharischen Wortbildungslehre. – V. Substantiva auf vortoch. **ūni̯ā*. *Archív orientální* 3, 162-188.
(1931b/33): O střední Asii podle nových objevů. (Obraz zeměpisný, dějěpisný, národopisný a kulturní). *Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné* 37, 75-86.
(1931c/34): Písma kulturní oblasti indické, písmo čínské a písma z něho odvozená. *Širým světem* 8, 443-448.
(1931d/35 – entry): „písmo“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 5, 710-711.
(1931e1/36-1 – entry): „indická filosofie“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 10, 53-54.
(1931e2/36-2 – entry): „indoevropský jazykozpyt srovnávací“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 10, 59.
(1931e3/36-3 – entry): „indoíránské jazyky“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 10, 59-60.
(1931e4/36-4 – entry): „lamaismus“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 11, 274-275.
(1931e5/36-5 – entry): „Mahábhárata“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 12, 196-197.
(1931e6/36-6 – entry): „Mahábhášjam“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 12, 197.
(1931e7/36-7 – entry): „Mahádéva“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 12, 197.
(1931e8/36-8 – entry): „náboženství indická“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 13, 222-224.
(1931e9/36-9 – entry): „novoindické jazyky“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 14, 26-27.
(1931e10/36-10 – entry): „pishacanské (pišáčanské) řeči“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 15, 26.
(1931e11/36-11 – entry): „prákrt“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 15, 191.

1932

(1932a/37): Zur mittelasiatische Lehnwortkunde. *Archív orientální* 4, 79-91.
(1932b/38): O mezinárodních jazycích jindy a nyní. *Širým světem* 9, 372-374 + 441-443.
(1932c1/39-1 – entry): „rod“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 6, 184.
(1932c2/39-2 – entry): „Řekové, novořečtina“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 6, 364-365.
(1932c3/39-3 – entry): „S“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 6, 411.
(1932c4/39-4 – entry): „sogdičtina“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 6, 787.
(1932c5/39-5 – entry): „sykavky“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 6, 1113.
(1932d1/40-1 – entry): „sanskrt“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 16, 95.

(1932d2/40-2 – entry): „semitské jazyky“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 16, 117.
(1932d3/40-3 – entry): „Středoasijská filologie“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 16, 247.
(1932d4/40-4 – entry): „substrát (jazykový) v jazycích indoevropských“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 16, 257-258.
(1932d5/40-5 – entry): „telugu“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 17, 52.
(1932d6/40-6 – entry): „Thákur Rabíndranáth“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 17, 67.
(1932d7/40-7 – entry): „tibetsko-birmská skupina jazyková“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 17, 78.
(1932d8/40-8 – entry): „ugrofinské jazyky“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 17, 133-134.
(1932d9/40-9 – entry): „uigurština“. *Nový velký ilustrovaný slovník naučný*, Vol. 17, 137.
(1932e/41 – review): A. Cuny. La categorie du duel dans les langues indo-européennes et chamito-sémitiques. *Archív orientální* 4, 270-271.
(1932f/42 – review): J. Witte. Der Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart. *Archív orientální* 4, 284-286.
(1932g/43 – review): Arische Forschungen. Yaghnōbī-Studien. I. Die sprachgeographische Gliederung des Yaghnōb-Tales von F. J. Junker. *Archív orientální* 4, 289-292.

1933
(1933a/44): Tocharica. VI. Tocharisch *yāmutsi*. *Archív orientální* 5, 88-90.
(1933b1/45-1 – entry): „Š“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 1.
(1933b2/45-2 – entry): „Šercl, V. J. Čeněk“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 24.
(1933b3/45-3 – entry): „T“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 131.
(1933b4/45-4 – entry): „Th“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 229.
(1933b5/45-5 – entry): „Tocharové“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 288.
(1933b6/45-6 – entry): „Tocharština“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 288-289.
(1933b7/45-7 – entry): „Tulu“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 396.
(1933b8/45-8 – entry): „U“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 433.
(1933b9/45-9 – entry): „Ugrofinské jazyky“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 444.
(1933b10/45-10 – entry): „Uráloaltajské jazyky“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 482.
(1933b11/45-11 – entry): „Urálské jazyky“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 482.
(1933b12/45-12 – entry): „V“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 516.
(1933b13/45-13 – entry): „Valašská nářečí“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 530.
(1933b14/45-14 – entry): „Van“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 550.
(1933b15/45-15 – entry): „Vaníček A.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 556.
(1933b16/45-16 – entry): „Vanský jazyk“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 558.
(1933b17/45-17 – entry): „Veddové“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 589.
(1933b18/45-18 – entry): „Verbickij V. I.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 613.
(1933b19/45-19 – entry): „Verbum“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 613.
(1933b20/45-20 – entry): „Veth Jan“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 637.
(1933b21/45-21 – entry): „Vid“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 645.
(1933b22/45-22 – entry): „Viëtor W.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 650.
(1933b23/45-23 – entry): „Vlastní jméno“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 690.
(1933b24/45-24 – entry): „Vočadlo O.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 698.

(1933b25/45-25 – entry): „Vokativ“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 717.
(1933b26/45-26 – entry): „Vrddhi“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 749.
(1933b27/45-27 – entry): „Vsouvání (hlásek)“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 757.
(1933b28/45-28 – entry): „Wailly N.-F.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 804.
(1933b29/45-29 – entry): „Wiedemann F. I.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 845.
(1933b30/45-30 – entry): „Windisch E.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 860.
(1933b31/45-31 – entry): „Winternitz M.“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 863-864.
(1933b32/45-32 – entry): „X“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 889.
(1933b33/45-33 – entry): „Y“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 894.
(1933b34/45-34 – entry): „yuga“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 899.
(1933b35/45-35 – entry): „Z“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 900.
(1933b36/45-36 – entry): „zeugma“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 985.
(1933b37/45-37 – entry): „znaménka“. *Masarykův slovník naučný*, Vol. 7, 1010.
(1933c/46 – review): J. Przyluski, Le bouddhisme. *Archív orientální* 5, 160-161.

1934
(1934a/47): ᵓAláuddín Chaldží a Fírúz Šáh Tughluq. In: *Tvůrcové dějin* II. Praha, 468-472.
(1934b/48): The Problem of the Age of Mahābhārata. *Archív orientální* 6, 53-57.
(1934c/49): Z náboženského života dnešních Indů. *Oasa* 2, 105-107 + 131-133 + 153-154 + 183-185 + 198-200 + 218.
(1934d/50): Z dějin židovských. *Oasa* 2, 166-167.
(1934e/51): O statečném psu a jeho vděčném pánu (Indická povídka). *Oasa* 2, 278.
(1934f/52 – review): E. Benveniste, Essai de grammaire sogdienne II. *Archív orientální* 6, 307-309.

1935
(1935a/53): Šivádží, zakladatel maráthské říše. In: *Tvůrcové dějin* III. Praha, 363-368.
(1935b/54): Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirukta. *Archív orientální* 7, 423-436.
(1935c1/55-1 – entry): „Lesný V.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1158.
(1935c2/55-2 – entry): „Macdonnel A. A.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1340.
(1935c3/55-3 – entry): „Magadhové“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1373.
(1935c4/55-4 – entry): „Mahábháratam“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1378.
(1935c5/55-5 – entry): „Mahárášṭra“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1378.
(1935c6/55-6 – entry): „Mahátma“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1378.
(1935c7/55-7 – entry): „Mahávíra“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 3, Part 2, 1378-1379.
(1935α/55a): Die Tätigkeit der Indischen Gesselschaft in Prag. *Prager Presse* (November 3rd). Prague. 7.
(1935d/56 – review): S. lévi, Fragments de textes koutchéennes Udānavarga, Udānastotra, Udānālaṁkāra et Karmavibhaṅga. *Archív orientální* 7, 258.
(1935e/57 – review): S. Konow. Saka Studies. *Archív orientální* 7, 258-261.
(1935f/58 – review): H. Arntz. Sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Arisch und Baltoslawisch. *Archív orientální* 7, 261-262.
(1935g/59 – review): J. M. Kořínek. K takzvanému thráckému nápisu na prstenu ezerovském. *Archív orientální* 7, 262-264.

1936

(1936a/60): Zur Frage nach der Urheimat der Indogermanen. *Anthropos* 31, 937-938.
(1936b/61): Ein Vedisches Zeugnis für den Arbeitsgesang. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 10, 288-289.
(1936c1/62-1 – entry): „malajsko-polynéské jazyky“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 10.
(1936c2/62-2 – entry): „maráthí“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 51.
(1936c3/62-3 – entry): „Maráthové“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 51.
(1936c4/62-4 – entry): „Masson-Oursel P.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 124.
(1936c5/62-5 – entry): „Mitanni“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 287.
(1936c6/62-6 – entry): „Mohendžo-dáro“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 301.
(1936c7/62-7 – entry): „món-khmérské jazyky“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 312.
(1936c8/62-8 – entry): „Mughalové“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 376.
(1936c9/62-9 – entry): „Müller, F. M.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 380.
(1936c10/62-10 – entry): „Müller, F. W. K.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 380.
(1936c11/62-11 – entry): „Muṇḍové“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 383-384.
(1936c12/62-12 – entry): „Negelein J.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 487.
(1936c13/62-13 – entry): „Neisser, W“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 492.
(1936c14/62-14 – entry): „Neumann K. E.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 556-557.
(1936d/63 – review): C. Poison, Les Aryans. *Archív orientální* 8, 155-156.
(1936e/64 – review): Batakrishna Ghosh, Les formations nominales et verbales en p du sanskrit. *Archív orientální* 8, 156-157.
(1936f/65 – review): K. Coomaraswamy, The Rg Veda as Landnáma-Bók. *Archív orientální* 8, 157.
(1936g/66 – review): L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes. *Archív orientální* 8, 157-158.
(1936h/67 – review): E. Schwentner, Tocharisch. *Archív orientální* 8, 158-163.

1937

(1937a1/68-1 – entry): „Oertel H.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 712.
(1937a2/68-2 – entry): „paiśáčí“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 835.
(1937a3/68-3 – entry): „páli“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 850.
(1937a4/68-4 – entry): „pamírská nářečí“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 857.
(1937a5/68-5 – entry): „Paňčatantra“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 863.
(1937a6/68-6 – entry): „Pándavové“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 863-864.
(1937a7/68-7 – entry): „paňdžábí“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 864.
(1937a8/68-8 – entry): „Páṇiṇi“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 867-868.
(1937a9/68-9 – entry): „Pánípat“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 868.

(1937a10/68-10 – entry): „Pargiter F. E.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 898.
(1937a11/68-11 – entry): „Párvat“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 916.
(1937a12/68-12 – entry): „Pataňdžaliḥ (1. and 2.)“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 931.
(1937a13/68-13 – entry): „Pertold O.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 1019.
(1937a14/68-14 – entry): „peśvá“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 1024.
(1937a15/68-15 – entry): „Pischel R.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 1081.
(1937a16/68-16 – entry): „Pradžápatiḥ“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 712.
(1937b1/69-1 – entry): „Brahmá“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 1, 73.
(1937b2/69-2 – entry): „Bráhmani“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 1, 73.
(1937b3/69-3 – entry): „bráhmanism“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 1, 73.
(1937b4/69-4 – entry): „buddhismus“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 1, 174-176.
(1937b5/69-5 – entry): „Drávidové“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 2, 482-483.
(1937c/70 – review): H. Sköld. Materialien zu den Iranischen Pamirsprachen. *Archív orientální* 9, 268-270.

1938
(1938a1/71-1 – entry): „prákrt“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 68-69.
(1938a2/71-2 – entry): „Przyluski J.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 241.
(1938a3/71-3 – entry): „purána“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 275-276.
(1938a4/71-4 – entry): „Radloff F. W.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 332.
(1938a5/71-5 – entry): „rádžajógaḥ“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 338.
(1938a6/71-6 – entry): „rádžasthání“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 338.
(1938a7/71-7 – entry): „Rámájaṇam“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 399-400.
(1938a8/71-8 – entry): „Raňdžit Singh“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 408.
(1938a9/71-9 – entry): „Rapson E. J.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 410.
(1938a10/71-10 – entry): „Ṛgvédaḥ-“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 610-612.
(1938b1/72-1 – entry): „indická náboženství“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 5, 521-525.
(1938b2/72-2 – entry): „Mundové“. *Komenského slovník naučný*, Vol. 8, 145.
(1938c/73 – review): V. Lesný, Rabíndranáth Thákur (Tagore). *Archív orientální* 10, 348-349.

1939
(1939a/74): Tocharische Etymologien. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 93, 204-215.
(1939b/75): Zur Benennung des”Tocharischen”. *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 26/1, 18-23.
(1939c1/76-1 – entry): „Rost R.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 745.
(1939c2/76-2 – entry): „śačtina“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby,* Vol. 5, Part 2, 955ṚṚ
.
(1939c3/76-3 – entry): „Senart E. Ch. M.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1115.
(1939c4/76-4 – entry): „Scheftelowitz I.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1155.
(1939c5/76-5 – entry): „Scherman L.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1161.

(1939c6/76-6 – entry): „Schrader F. O.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1190-1191.
(1939c7/76-7 – entry): „Schröder L.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1193.
(1939c8/76-8 – entry): „Sieg E.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1216.
(1939c9/76-9 – entry): „Sikhové“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 1225-1226.

1940
(1940a/77): Iśāvasyopaniṣad. Über die Entwicklung eines upanishadischen Textes. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 94, 409-417.
(1940b/78): O ‘tocharštině’ čili jazyku Árśiů. *Listy filologické* 67. 197-217.
(1940c1/79-1 – entry): „sogdijský jazyk“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 1, 92-93.
(1940c2/79-2 – entry): „Sorabjí C.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 1, 118.
(1940c3/79-3 – entry): „Stein O.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 1, 355.
(1940c4/79-4 – entry): „Straka B.“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 1, 407.
(1940c5/79-5 – entry): „Sundar Singh“. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 1, 499.

1941
(1941a/80): Zur strukturellen Stellung des Altindischen. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 95, 350-358.
(1941b/81): Íśāvāsjopanišad (Jağurveda- XL). *Listy filologické* 68, 351-364.
(1941c/82): O pravopisu a skloňování vlastních jmen indických (osobních i zeměpisných, pokud jich bylo užito v české literatuře původní i překladové). *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 27, 337-351.
(1941d/83 – postscript): H. Mansúruddín Ahmad. *Tajemná Indie? Indie, jak ji vidí Ind*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 168-177.

1942
(1942a/84 – translation from Sanskrit + postscript): Kálidásah, *Šestero ročních počasů. Rtusanháram*. Praha: Evropský literární klub. 56 pages.
(1942b/85): Schichtung des Ṛgveda. Bestimmung des relativen Alteres der Lieder des Ṛgveda mit Hilfe zahlenmässiger Berechnung I.+II. *Archív orientální* 13, 103-141 + 225-269.
(1942c/86):”Bandé mátara”, hymna probouzející se národní Indie. *Listy filologické* 69, 150-158.
(1942d/87): Prof. dr. Vincenc Lesný šedesátníkem. *Lidové noviny* 50, No. 170 (3 April 1942), 6.
(1942d-a/87a): Podzim v básni indického básníka (Autumn in a Poem of an Indian Poet. *Čteme* 4, No. 12 (September 16th), 1.
(1942d-b/87b): Zrcadlo japonského maloměšťáka (A Miror of the Japanese Petty Bourgeois). *Lidové noviny*, Brno, 50, No. 524 (October 17th).
(1942d-c/87c): Náruč nových knih o Indii (An Armful of New Books on India). *Lidové noviny*, Brno, 50, No. 574 (November 15th).
(1942e/88 – review): H. Pedersen, Tocharisch. *Archív orientální* 13, 144-145.
(1942f/89 – review): A. J. van Windekens, Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens. *Archív orientální* 13, 145-146.
(1942g/90 – review): S. Konow, Khotansakische Grammatik. *Archív orientální* 13, 146-147.

(1942h/90a – review): J. Průšek, Umělá literatura a lidová slovesnost v Číně /Polite Literature and Folk Literature in China/. *Střední škola – Praha 22* (1941/1942), No. 4. Praha: V. Petr, 246.

1943

(1943a/91): Die synchronische Stellung des Tocharischen und die Frage nach der idg. Urheimat. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 68, 83-98.
(1943b/92): Vom vedischen zum Sanskritakzent. *Archív orientální* 14, 129-151.
(1943c/93): K fonologii tocharštiny a staré indičtiny (Report on a lecture given on 11 May, 1942, in the Circle linguistique de Prague). *Slovo a slovesnost* 9, 54-55.
(1943d1/94-1 – entry): „tamilština". *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 971.
(1943d2/94-2 – entry): „telugu". *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 1044-1045.
(1943d3/94-3 – entry): „Tilak B. G". *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 1142.
(1943d4/94-4 – entry): „Tocharové". *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 1164.
(1943d5/94-5 – entry): „tocharština". *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 1164.
(1943d6/94-6 – entry): „Ujgurové". *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 1308.
(1943e/95 – review): B. Hrozný, Nejstarší dějiny Přední Asie a Indie. *Archív orientální* 14, 154-156.

1944

(1944/96 – translation from Tamil + notes and postscript): *Příhody indického šaška. Tennáliráman katäi*. Praha: Česká grafická unie. 50 pages.

1946

(1946a/97): Schichtung des Ṛgveda III. *Archív orientální* 15, 65-86.
(1946b/98 – Translation from Newari): Živá loutka. *Nový orient* 2 (1946-1947). 2-3, 42.

1947

(1947a/99): Jan Kollár a afrikanistika. *Nový orient* 3 (1947-1948), 181.
(1947b/100 – translation from Tibetan): O chytrém bráhmanu Jugpačänovi. *Nový orient* 3 (1947-1948), 202.
(1947c/101): Východní Turkestán, křižovatka kultur. *Nový orient* 3 (1947-1948), 205-206.
(1947d/102 – translation from Mongolian): Osm drahocenných koní. *Nový orient* 3 (1947-1948). 241. According Šíma (1986: 364) this entry belongs to year 1948 after the article No. 110.

1948

(1948a/103): O indickém umění a indickém uměleckém řemesle. In: *Indie v české kultuře*. Praha: Náprstkovo muzeum, 5-8.
(1948b/104): Vincenc Lesný. (K 65. narozeninám řádného profesora indologie na Karlově universitě v Praze Ph. Dra Vincence Lesného dne 3. dubna 1947. - Bibliografie prací univ. prof. Dra Vincence Lesného za dobu 1909 až 1948. *Archív orientální* 16, 149-161.
(1948c/105): Cārvākadehātmadarśanam. (Iz istorii indijskoj filosofii). *Archív orientální* 16, 185-193.
(1948d/106): La Jyotiṣaratnamālā ou Guirlande des joyaux d'astrologie de Śrīpatibhaṭṭa. *Archív orientální* 16, 277-309.

(1948e/107): O písmu a knihtisku v Tibetě a v Mongolsku. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 7-9.
(1948f/108): Holubice míru, holubice lásky. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 11-12.
(1948g/109): Ind o české literatuře. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 25-26.
(1948h/110): Dánská výprava do Střední Asie. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 26.
(1948i/111 – translation from Tocharian): Pohádka o umělém lvu. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 43.
(1948j/112 – postscript and notes): J. Marquès-Rivière, *Ve stínu tibetských klášterů*. Praha: Symposion, 180-213.
(1948k/113 – review): V. Lesný, Deux livres tchèques sur le bouddhisme. *Archív orientální* 16, 367-369.
(1948l/114 – review): J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes. *Archív orientální* 16, 369-370.
(1948m/115 – review): L. Hamble, Grammaire de la langue mongole écrite. *Archív orientální* 16, 370-373.
(1948n/116 – review): B. Hrozný, Nejstarší dějiny Přední Asie, Indie a Kréty. *Archív orientální* 16, 373-377.
(1948o/117 – review): A. A. Avdijev, Istoria drevnego Vostoka. *Archív orientální* 16, 384.
(1948p/118 – review article): Dvě nové české knihy o buddhismu – Univ. prof. Dr. V. Lesného "Dhammapadam" a "Buddhismu". *Slovesná věda* 1 (1947-1948), 166-167.

1949

(1949a/119): The Syntactical Relationship of Some Asiatic Languages. The sentence structure in Tibetan, Newārī, Burmese, Mongolian, Manchu, Turkish, Tamil and Malayāḷam in comparison with Indo-Aryan languages. A linguistic study from the synchronic standpoint. *Archív orientální* 17, 265-292.
(1949b/120): Tanec v indických památkách literárních a uměleckých. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 76-79.
(1949c/121): Náboženské tance v Tibetě a v Mongolsku. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 102-103.
(1949d/122): Mudrá – indické taneční gesto. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 108-109.
(1949e/123): Indie objevená a přece tajemná. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 139.
(1949f/124): Co je védant? *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 166.
(1949g/125): Z české orientalistiky. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 167.
(1949h/126): Předhistorická Indie ve světle bádání prof. B. Hrozného. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 176-177.
(1949i/127 – translation from Tocharian): Umělá služebnice. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 193-194.
(1949j/128): Náruč nových i staronových knih o Mongolsku. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 206-208.
(1949k/129 – translation from Tibetan): Kvintesence učení těch, kdo dosáhli druhého břehu poznání /Prajñāpāramitāḥrdayasūtra/. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 217-218.
(1949l/130): Karavanní propustky ze 7. stol. po Kr. *Nový orient* 5 (1949-1950), 8.
(1949m/131): Z dějin české orientalistiky. *Nový orient* 5 (1949-1950), 23.
(1949n/132): Čeští orientalisté spolupracují na světovém díle. *Nový orient* 5 (1949-1950), 68.
(1949o/133 – review): L. Matouš, Stopami zašlých kultur. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 167.

(1949p/134 – review): Nad novou mapou Mongolska (Na okraj knihy akademika V. A. Obručeva „Vostočnaja Mongolija“. *Nový orient* 4 (1948-1949), 240.

1950

(1950a/135): Les vers tibétain. *Archív orientální* 18/4, 188-235.
(1950b/136): Goethe a Východ. *Nový orient* 5 (1949-1950), 109-110
(1950c/137): T. G. Masaryk a jeho vztahy k Orientu. *Nový orient* 5 (1949-1950), 142-143.

1951

(1951a/138 – translation from Russian with notes, postface and index; supplemented with translations from Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR, serija istorii i filosofii VI/3, 1949, 246-262; VII/6, 1950, 514-529 and 577-578): S. P. Tolstov. *Po stopách dávného Chorézmu*. Praha: Slovanské nakladatelství. 427 pages.
(1951b/139): L'indianisme et les études tchécoslovaques concernant la Haute Asie et l'Asie Central. *Archív orientální* 19, 182-206.
(1951c/140): Le verbe kalmouk moderne – une parallèle à l'évolution du verbe indo-européen. *Archív orientální* 19, 406-408.
(1951d/141): Gustaf John Ramstedt. (Ein Nachruf). Mit einer Bibliographie. *Archív orientální* 19 (1951), 617-624.
(1951e/142 – translation from Russian with notes): Dr. Ed. Murzajev, Třicet roků nového Mongolska. *Nový orient* 6 (1951), 29-32.
(1951f/143): Nové mongolské písmo. *Nový orient* 6, 108-109.
(1951g/144): Starý Chórezm. *Nový orient* 6, 124-128.
(1951h/145): Půl druhého tisíciletí mezinárodních vztahů Tibetu. *Nový orient* 6, 147-149.
(1951i/146 – review): G. Uray, Kelet-Tibet nyelv járásainak osztályozása. The classification of the dialects of eastern Tibet. *Archív orientální* 19, 307-308.
(1951j/147 – review): F. Weller, Zum mongolischen Tanjur. *Archív orientální* 19, 308.
(1951k/148 – review): L. Ligeti, Catalogue du Kanǰour mongol imprimé. Vol. I. *Archív orientální* 19, 309.
(1951l/149 – review): Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol. Un document du Moyen Mongol. *Archív orientální* 19, 310.
(1951m/150 – review): Lin Li-Kouang, Dharma Samuccaya. Compendium de la Loi. Ière partie. *Archív orientální* 19, 310-311.
(1951n/151 – review): J. Filliozat, Fragmente de texte koutchéens de médicine et de la magie. *Archív orientální* 19, 311-312.
(1951o/152 – review): W. Y. Evans-Wentz, Le Yoga tibétain et les Doctrines Secrètes ou les Sept Livres de la Sagesse du Grand Sentier suivant la traduction du Lāma Kazi Dawa Samdup. *Archív orientální* 19, 312-313.
(1951p/153 – review): India Antiqua. A Volume of Oriental Studies presented ... to J. Ph. Vogel. *Archív orientální* 19, 313-314.
(1951q/154 – review): S. P. Tolstov, Po sledam drevnechorezmijskoj civilizacii. *Archív orientální* 19, 314-315.
(1951r/155 – review): M. O. Kosven, Matriarchat. Istorija problemy. *Archív orientální* 19, 315.
(1951s/156 – review): „Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, August 194“. *Archív orientální* 19, 315-316.

1952

(1952a/157 – translation from Tibetan with postface): Lu Ḏub [Klu-sgrub], *Šerab Dongbu [Šes-rab sdoṅ-bu] to jest Strom moudrosti. Mudrosloví tibetského lidu*. Praha: Melantrich. 99 pages.

(1952b/158): Das tibetische Totenbuch im Rahmen der eschatologischen Literatur. *Archív orientální* 20, 136-162.

(1952c/159 – review): Čhos kyi tshigs su bčad pa bžugs so. Dhammapada. Translated into Tibetan by The Rev. Gedun Chomphel. *Archív orientální* 20, 321-323.

(1952d/160 – review): Bod yig gi ka dpe daṅ po bžugs so. Tibetan Primer. *Archív orientální* 20, 323-324.

(1952e/161 – review): D. R. Shackleton Bailey, the Śatapañcāśatka of Māṭṛceṭa. *Archív orientální* 20, 324-326.

(1952f/162 – review): F. Weller. Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes. *Archív orientální* 20, 326-327.

(1952g/163 – review): E. Waldschmidt, Das Mahāparinirvānasūtra, I-III. A*rchív orientální* 20, 327-328.

(1952h/164 – review): E. M. Murzajev, Geografičeskije issledovania Mongol'skoj Narodnoj Respubliki. *Archív orientální* 20, 328-330.

(1952i/165 – review): J. Bacot, Grammaire tibétaine littéraire, I., II. *Archív orientální* 20, 330-332.

(1952j/166 – review): J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, ch. Toussaint, Documents de Touen-Houang rélatifs" l'histoire du Tibet. *Archív orientální* 20, 332.

1953

(1953a/167): Tři doby mongolských dějin. *Nový orient* 8, 24-27.

(1953b/168): He created Indo-Czech Friendship. *Czechoslovak Life* 8, No. 7 (July), 24-25.

(1953c/169): Cendijn Damdinsüren v Praze. *Literární noviny* 2, No. 52 (25 December), 4.

(1953d/170 – translation from Mongolian): Cendijn Damdinsüren, Československým soudruhům. *Literární noviny* 2. No. 52 (25. December), 4.

(1953e/171): Svátek mongolského lidu. *Zemědělské noviny* 9, No. 165 (11 July), 5.

(1953f/172 – review): H. Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 48, 182-185.

(1953g/173 – review): F. Weller, Zum mongolischen Tanjur. - F. Weller, Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 48, 275-277.

1954

(1954a/174 – translation from Mongolian, with index): Ch. Čojbalsan, *Dějiny mongolské revoluce. Stručný nástin*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství politické literatury. 138 pages.

(1954b/175): Zum Stammbaum des Tschingis Chan. *Asiatica [Festschrift Friedrich Weller]*. Leipzig, 442-452.

(1954c/176): Les vers tibétain II. *Archív orientální* 22, 563-585.

(1954d/177): O nové mongolské literatuře. *Nový orient* 9, 30-31.

(1954e/178): Mongolská návštěva v Československu. *Nový orient* 9, 44-46.

(1954f/179): Mongolsko se představuje. *Svět práce* 4, No. 5 (28 January), 7.

1955

(1955a/180): *Institutiones linguae Tocharicae, Pars I: Thesaurus linguae Tocharicae dialecti A*, (Monografie Archivu orientálního, Vol. XV.). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství. xiv + 466 pages.

(1955b/181 – translation from Mongolian, with postface, notes and indexes): *Tajná kronika Mongolů*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění. 279 pages.

(1955c/182): Zwei Parallelen zur Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen. *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 4, 165-170.

(1955d/183): Maǰar(at), Mad(a)sarï, Ματζάροι (Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen). *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 4, 171-175.

(1955e/184): A Csehszlovák orientalisztika munkája, célkitüzései és szervezete. Kül̊önlenyomat. *A Magyar tudományos akadémia nyelv és irodalomtudományi osztalyának Közleményei* VII/1-2, 91-101.

(1955f/185): Mongolische Miszellen. I. Reduplication, Alliteration, Figura etymologica, Volksetymologie und altmongolische Stammesnamen in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen. *Central Asiatic Journal* 1, 63-74.

(1955g/186): Mongolische Miszellen. II. Aša-Gambu von den Tangut. – III. Zwei Ortsnamen des MNT. – IV. Zum Hunnenproblem. *Central Asiatic Journal* 1, 284-291.

(1955h/187): *Gramatická konstrukce tibetštiny*. *Supplement to Archív orientální* 23, 10-11.

(1955i/188): Ulaanbaatar ireẹd nad sanagdsan züjl. *Utga zochiol* 1, No. 3 (1 September), 1.

(1955j/189): Putování za maďarskou orientalistikou. *Nový orient* 10, 77-80.

(1955k/190): O tibetské literatuře. *Nový orient* 10, 148-150.

(1955l/191 + O. Klíma & S. Segert – review): F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen. Das Alter der Jesaja-Rolle. *Archív orientální* 23, 265-268.

(1955m/192 – review): E. Waldschmidt, Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, I. *Archív orientální* 23, 275-276.

(1955n/193 – review): J. Nobel, Suvarṇaprabhāsotamasūra. Das Goldglanz-Sūtra. *Archív orientální* 23, 276.

(1955o/194 – review): J. Ensink, The Questions of Rāṣṭrapāla. *Archív orientální* 23, 276-277.

(1955p/195 – review): J. Knobloch, Romāni-Texte aus dem Burgenlande. *Archív orientální* 23, 278-279.

(1955q/196 – review): J. Nobel, Central Asia, the connecting link between East and West and other lectures. *Archív orientální* 23, 286-287.

(1955r/197 – review): N. Pigulevskaja, Vizantija na putjach v Indiju. – M. V. Fechner, Torgovlja Russkogo gosudarstva so stranami Vostoka v XVI veke. *Archív orientální* 23, 287-289.

(1955s/198 – review): A. Zajączowski, Związky językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie. *Archív orientální* 23, 290.

(1955t/199 – review): E. Sieg, Übersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen II. *Archív orientální* 23, 290-291.

(1955u/200 – review): W. Thomas, Die tocharischen Verbaladjektiva auf *-l*. Eine syntaktische Untersuchung. *Archív orientální* 23, 291-292.

(1955v/201 – review): S. Je. Malov, Jenisejskaja pis'mennost' tjurkov. Teksty i perevody. *Archív orientální* 23, 292-294.

(1955w/202 – review): G. J. Ramstedt, Aufsätze und Vorträge. – G. J. Ramstedt, Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft, II. Formenlehre. *Archív orientální* 23, 294-295.

(1955x/203 – review): Grigor Of Akanc', History of The Nation of The Archers (The Mongols). *Archív orientální* 23, 295-296.

(1955y/204 – review): Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols by bLo. bzaṅ bsTan. ’jin. *Archív orientální* 23, 296-297.
(1955z/205 – review): N. Poppe, Grammar of the Written Mongolian. *Archív orientální* 23, 297-300.
(1955α/206 – review): E. Haenisch, Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. *Archív orientální* 23, 300-301.
(1955β/207 – review): M. Lewicki, La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389. *Archív orientální* 23, 301-303.
(1955γ/208 – review): F. Weller, Tibetisch-sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryāvatāra. Heft I. *Archív orientální* 23, 303-304.
(1955δ/209 – review): S. Hummel, Elemente der tibetischen Kunst. *Archív orientální* 23, 304-305.
(1955ε/210 – review): S. Hummel, Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien. *Archív orientální* 23, 305.
(1955ζ/211 – review): S. Hummel, Lamaistische Studien. *Archív orientální* 23, 305-306.
(1955η/212 – review): S. Hummel, Geschichte der tibetischen Kunst. *Archív orientální* 23, 306-308.
(1955θ/213 – review): S. Hummel, Tibetische Kunsthandwerk in Metall. *Archív orientální* 23, 308.
(1955ι/214 – review): Th. Kluge, Die Völker und die Sprachen des indo-chinesischen Raumes. *Archív orientální* 23, 308-309.
(1955κ/215 – review): E. Haenisch, Zur japanischen Phototypieausgabe des fünfsprachigen Wörterspiegels. *Archív orientální* 23, 310-311.

1956
(1956a/216): *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Erklärung* (Archív orientální – Supplementa IV). Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd. 247 pages.
(1956b/217): *Institutiones linguae Tocharicae*, Pars II: *Chrestomathia Tocharica* (Monografie Archívu orientálního, Vol. XV), Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství. 44 pages.
(1956c/218): Zur Entwicklung des mongolischen Verses (Vom Altaischen zum Khalkha-Mongolischen). In: *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 233-252.
(1956c-a/218a): Dorno dachiny sudlal čechoslovakt chögžiž bajgaa n’. *Šinžlėch uchaan* 16, No. 2, 44-50.
(1956c-b/218b): Kamenné srdce muže na hoře Šoncholaj (Rozhovor s orientalistou dr. Pavlem Pouchou. Zapsal L. Buzek). *Svobodné slovo* 12, No. 237 (30 September), 3.
(1956d/219): Zpráva o studijním pobytu v Mongolské lidové republice. *Věstník ČSAV* 65, 246-250.
(1956e/220): Křížem krážem novým Mongolskem. *Nový orient* 11, 60-62.
(1956f/221): K šamanské jeskyni Dajin-dérchin aguj. *Nový orient* 11, 140-142.
(1956g/222): Vyrostla z partyzánských oddílů (Ke dni mongolské lidové armády). *Zápisník agitátora Ministerstva národní obrany*, No. 6. Praha, 19-24.

1957
(1957a/223): *Třináct tisíc kilometrů Mongolskem autem, parolodí, letadlem*. Praha: Svobodné slovo - Melantrich. 326 pages.

(1957b/224): *Mongolyn nuuc towčoo bol tüüch ba uran zochiolyn dursgalt bičig mön*. Ulaanbaatar: B. N. M. A. U. Šinžlech Uchaany Chüreelen. 18 pages.
(1957c/225 – translation from Mongolian, with postface and notes): *Nejlepší z mužů Dzáng-Dzalúdaj*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd. 48 pages.
(1957d/226): Mongolská lidová republika. In: *Kulturně politický kalendář*. Praha: Orbis, 196-209.
(1957e/227): Mongghol-un nighuča tobčij-a bol teüke ba uran ǰokijal-un durasghaltu bičig mön. In: *Mongghol kęl bičig*. (Chöchechoto). No. 10, 24-49.
(1957f/228 – translation from Mongolian): Pověst o dvou jízdních koních Čingisových. *Nový orient* 12, 100-102.
(1957g/229 – translation from Mongolian): Povídka o krásné Naran-Gerel. *Světová literatura* 1/1, 193-195.
(1957h/230): O vývoji mongolské literatury. *Světová literatura* 1/1, 196-207.
(1957i/231): Na okraji velké Číny. *Socialistický směr* 7, No. 17 (1 October), 19-23.
(1957j/232 – translation from Mongolian, with a pseudonym "Dr. Pavel Petrí"): *Ebesün* oron. Krajina trav. *Život* 7, No. 28 (11th June), 14.
(1957k/233): V Pekingu. *Svobodné slovo* 13, No. 188 (7 August), 2.
(1957l/234): Kompas pomáhá živým i mrtvým. *Svobodné slovo* 13, No. 210 (1 September), 2.
(1957m/235): Čína nezpívá, ale pracuje. *Svobodné slovo* 13, No. 228 (22 September), 1.
(1957n/236): Ke hrobu Čingischána. *Svobodné slovo* 13, No. 263 (3 November), 3 + 6.
(1957o/237): Neznámé národy Vnitřního Mongolska. *Svobodné slovo* 13, No. 281 (24 November), 3 + 6.
(1957p/238 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 16 (1955). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 52, 378-380.
(1957q/239 – revision of names in oriental languages): J. Hunt, *Výstup na Everest*. Praha: Sportovní a turistické nakladatelství.

1958
(1958a/240 – translation from Mongolian, with postface and notes): B. Rinčen. *Slunce vychází* [*Üürin tujaa*]. Praha: Svobodné slovo & Melantrich. 546 pages.
(1958b/241): Orientální náměty v díle Julia Zeyera. In: Julius Zeyer. *Světla východu*. Praha: Svobodné slovo & Melantrich, 535-634.
(1958c/242): Tradicionalismus v tibetské gramatice. In: *O vědeckém poznání soudobých jazyků*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 37-40.
(1958d/243): Mongolische Volksrepublik. In: *Kalender 1958*. Prag: Orbis, 214-231.
(1958e/244 – translation from Mongolian): Vyprávění o ženě, která ukradla srdce. *Nový orient* 13, 123.
(1958f/245 – translation from Tibetan): Létající stroj. *Nový orient* 13, 162.
(1958g/246): Bogdo Čingis – zakladatel mongolské říše. *Nový orient* 13, 190-191.
(1958h/247): O výživě v Mongolsku. *Výživa lidu* 13/2. 26-27.
(1958i/248): Jídlo v Číně. *Výživa lidu* 13/6, 89-90.
(1958j/249): Buddhismus a islám v nové Číně. *Socialistický směr* 8, No. 3 (1 February), 27-28.
(1958k/250): Čína cestou k socialismu. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 4 (15 February), 18-20.
(1958l/251): Potíže růstu socialismu v Číně. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 8 (15 April), 22-24.
(1958m/252): Americké intriky kolem Tibetu. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 11 (1 June), 18-20.

(1958n/253): Na jih pravé Číny. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 14 (15 August), 16-18.
(1958o/254): Školství v Čínské lidové republice. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 15 (1 September), 15-17.
(1958p/255): Politika Číny v dobytkářských oblastech. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 16 (15 September), 22-23.
(1958q/256): O Tchaj-wanu. *Socialistický směr* 8. No. 20 (15 November), 18-20.
(1958r/257): Stopami Fa-sienovými. *Svobodné slovo* 14, No. 35 (9 February), 3 + 6.
(1958s/258): Ve vlasti Ujgurů a dávných Tocharů. *Svobodné slovo* 14, No. 65 (16 March), 1; No. 66 (18 March 1958), 1; No. 67 (19 March 1958), 1; No. 68 (20 March 1958), 1.
(1958t/259): Bubny hřmí Pekingem. *Svobodné slovo* 14, No. 84 (9 April), 1.
(1958u/260): Pekingská opera. *Svobodné slovo* 14, No. 113 (13 May), 1.
(1958v/261): Vstříc moři a palmám. *Svobodné slovo* 14, No. 122 (23 May), 1.
(1958w/262): K obratníku Raka. *Svobodné slovo* 14, No. 127 (29 May), 1.
(1958x/262a): Úvodem. In: V. Sís & J. Vaniš, *Tibet*. Praha: Naše vojsko, 5.
(1958y/263 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 17 (1956). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 53, 408-410.

1959
(1959a/264 – translation from Sanskrit, with preface & notes): Dandí, *Dobrodružství deseti princů. Daśakumaracaritam*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění. 250 pages.
(1959b/265): Krátce o Mongolech, o jejich jazyce, a jejich kultuře. *Co vás zajímá*, No. 5, 9-15.
(1959c/266 – translation from Mongolian): Mongolská přísloví. *Co vás zajímá*, No. 5, 16.
(1959d/267 – transcription of Indian names): Bhattacharya Bhabani, *Kdo jede na tygru*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství politické literatury.

1960
(1960a/268): *13000 Kilometer durch die Mongolei*. Leipzig: VEB F. A. Brockhaus Verlag. 271 pages.
(1960b/269 + E. Vlček & J. Kolmaš): Diagnosis of the „Wild Man" according to Buddhist Literary Sources from Tibet, Mongolia and China. *Man* 60, Article No. 194, 153-155.
(1960c/270): Bruža – Burušaski? *Central Asiatic Journal* 5, 295-300.
(1960d/271): První mezinárodní kongres mongolistů. *Věstník ČSAV* 69, 138-139.
(1960e/272): Süchbátar – osvoboditel. *Nový orient* 15, 10-11.
(1960f/273 – translation from Mongolian): Mongolská přísloví. *Nový orient* 15, 159 + 174.
(1960g/274 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 18 (1957) and 19 (1958). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 55, 331-332 + 427-428.

1961
(1961a/275): Afghanistan dachĭ mogol chel, cholidson chelnij onol choër + Die Sprache der Mogholen in Afghanistan und die Theorie der Mischsprachen. *Olon ulsyn mongol chel bičgijn erdemtnij anchdugaar ich chural* 1. dewter = *Studia Mongolica*, t. 2, fasc. 16. Ulaanbaatar, 234-251 + 251-270.
(1961b/276): Chalimagijn tuulĭ Žangaryn tuchaj + Zum kalmückischen Epos Džangar. *Olon ulsyn mongol chel bičgijn erdemtnij anchdugaar ich chural* 3. dewter = *Studia Mongolica*, t. 2, fasc. 29. Ulaanbaatar, 106-117 + 117-129.

(1961c/277 – translation from Russian): *Novověké dějiny orientálních zemí*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství politické literatury, Vol. I, 234-254 + 517-526 + Vol. II, 86-97.
(1961d/278): Answers on a symposium. In: *Co číst ze světových literatur*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 138-140.
(1961e/279): Indická a středoasijská historiografie. Sborník referátů IV. vědecké orientalistické konference, Liblice dne 28.-30. listopadu 1960. *Zprávy Československé společnosti orientalistické* 3, No. 2, 46-56.
(1961f/280): Mongolische Miszellen. V. Die Sprache der Mogholen in Afghanistan und die Theorie der Mischsprachen. *Central Asiatic Journal* 6, 27-43.
(1961g/281): Mongolische Miszellen. VI: Zum kalmückischen Epos Džangar. *Central Asiatic Journal* 6, 235-246.
(1961h/282): The Shaman Cave of Dayin Derchin Agui. *New Orient Bimonthly* 2/2, 4-5.
(1961i/283 – translation from Mongolian): Mongolská přísloví. *Nový orient* 16, 53.
(1961j/284 – notes): I. A. Jefremov. *Cesta větrů. Zápisky z Gobi*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 209-213.
(1961k/285 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 20 (1959) and 21 (1960). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 56, 325-326 + 653.
(1961l/286 – revision of names in oriental languages): H. A. Förster, Až na vrchol světa; + F. Grassler, *Od Mont Blanku k Mount Everestu*. Praha: Orbis.
(1962m/287 – transcription of the Indian names): S. Rádhakrišnan, *Indická filosofie I.-II*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.

1962

(1962a/288): *Do nitra Asie*. Praha: Orbis. 282 pages.
(1962b/289): Mongolische Miszellen. VII. Innerasiatische Chronologie. *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, 192-204.
(1962c/290 – translation from Tibetan): Veršovaná tibetská přísloví. *Nový orient* 17, 135.
(1962d/291): Básník mongolské přírody. *Nový orient* 17, 211-212.
(1962e/292): Do nitra Asie. *Nové knihy*, No. 7, 2.
(1962f/293 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 21/2 (1960); 21/3-4 (1960) and 22 (1961). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 57, 556 + 643-644 and 644-645.
(1962g/294 – review of journal): Rocznik orientalistyczny 24/2 (1961). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 56, 653-654.

1963

(1963a/295): Tibetská literatúra. In: *Dejiny svetovej literatúry* I. Bratislava: Vydavatel'stvo Osveta, 99-103.
(1963b/296): Mongolská literatúra. In: *Dejiny svetovej literatúry* I. Bratislava: Vydavatel'stvo Osveta, 182-188.
(1963c/297): Burjatská literatura. In: *Z dějin literatury Asie a Afriky* III (Asijské literatury SSSR). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 179-185.
(1963d/298): Kalmycká literatura. In: *Z dějin literatury Asie a Afriky* III (Asijské literatury SSSR). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 186-187.
(1963e/299): Kálidása v Mongolsku. In: *Orientalistický sborník. Materiály z V. vedeckej konferencie orientalistov*. Bratislava: Vydavatel'stvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 151-155.

(1963f/300): Mongolische Miszellen. VIII. Über die Notwendigkeit des Studiums der neuen mongolischen Schriftsprachen. *Central Asiatic Journal* 8, 174-184.
(1963g/301): Mongolische Miszellen. IX. Über die neumongolisch Literatur und ihrem Wert für die Mongolistik. *Central Asiatic Journal* 8, 253-269.
(1963h/302): Mongolische Miszellen. X. Die zwei mongolischen Inschriften vom Tschabtschijal-Pass als mongolische Poesie des 14. Jahrhunderts. *Central Asiatic Journal* 8, 270-280.
(1963i/303): The Tibetan Language. *Central Asiatic Journal* 8, 219-229.
(1963j/304): Království Amazonek u Mongolů. *Nový orient* 18, 158.
(1963k/305): Co se neví o mongolštině. *Nový orient* 18, 304.

1964
(1964a/306): Weitere Beiträge zu den Problemen der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 65, 91-98.
(1964b/307 – notes and postscript): *Putování k Mongolům* (transl. by E. Knobloch). Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění, 309-377.
(1964c/308 – review): W. Heissig, Helden-Höllenfahrts- und Schelmengeschichten der Mongolen. Aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 59, 299-300.
(1964d/309 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 23/1-2 (1962). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 59, 106-107.
(1964e/310 – review of journal): Studia et Acta Orientalia 1 (1957), 2 (1959) and 3 (1960). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 59, 107-108 + 219-220.

1965
(1965a/311): Mongolische Miszellen. XI. Einiges über das Pferd in der mongolischen Literatur und der heutigen Mongolei. *Central Asiatic Journal* 10, 286-306.
(1965b/312): A Kālidāsa Text in New Mongolian. *Indo-Asian Studies* 2 (New Delhi), 149-160.

1966
(1966a/313): Über einige in der Mongolei gesammelte lamaistische, mongolische und tibetische Schriften. *Collectanea Mongolica* (Asiatische Forschungen 17), Wiesbaden, 163-171.
(1966b1/314-1 – entry): Abidujev Babasan Doržijevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 13.
(1966b2/314-2 – entry): Balakan Aleksej. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 49.
(1966b3/314-3 – entry): Basngha Baatr. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 53.
(1966b4/314-4 – entry): Bazaron Bato Bazarovič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 54.
(1966b5/314-5 – entry): Cydendanbajev Čimit Cydendambajevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 87.
(1966b6/314-6 – entry): Damdinov Darižap Dugarovič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 100.
(1966b7/314-7 – entry): Dordžin Basng. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 108.
(1966b8/314-8 – entry): Erndžänä Konstantin. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 126.
(1966b9/314-9 – entry): Galsanov Geden Galsanovič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 138.

(1966b10/314-10 – entry): Chiltuchin Danri Danilovič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 184.
(1966b11/314-11 – entry): Indžin Lidž. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 193.
(1966b12/314-12 – entry): Kaljan Sandž. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 214.
(1966b13/314-13 – entry): Kanukov Chanti Badijevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 215.
(1966b14/314-14 – entry): Kim Inokentij Aleksejevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*. Praha, 226.
(1966b15/314-15 – entry): Kögltin Dawa. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 235-236.
(1966b16/314-16 – entry): Köktän Eldä. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 236.
(1966b17/314-17 – entry): Leedžňä Cern. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 268.
(1966b18/314-18 – entry): Lidžin Erncn. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 271.
(1966b19/314-19 – entry): Madason Ilja Nikolajevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 283-284.
(1966b20/314-20 – entry): Mandžin Nimgr. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 293.
(1966b21/314-21 – entry): Namsarajev Choca Namsarajevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 315-316.
(1966b22/314-22 – entry): Nimbujev Širab Nimbujevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 326.
(1966b23/314-23 – entry): Nomtojev Cokto Nomtojevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 327.
(1966b24/314-24 – entry): Sanhdžinová Bosja. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 387.
(1966b25/314-25 – entry): Sjan-Bělgin Chasr. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 399-400.
(1966b26/314-26 – entry): Susejev Aksěn Iljumdžinovič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 420.
(1966b27/314-27 – entry): Torojev Apollon Andrejevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 456.
(1966b28/314-28 – entry): Tumunov Žamso Tumunovič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 461.
(1966b29/314-29 – entry): Žalsarajev Damba Žalsarajevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 510.
(1966b30/314-30 – entry): Žimbijev Cydenžap Žimbijevič. *Slovník spisovatelů národů SSSR*, Praha, 512.
(1966c/315 – review): Pentti Aalto, Quṭuṛṭu Pañcarakṣā kemekü Tabun Sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 84-85.
(1966d/316 – review): Lumír Jisl, Mongolei, Kunst und Tradition. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 85.
(1966e/317 – review): Walther Heissig, Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongoli-schen buddhistischen Kanons. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 188.
(1966f/318 – review of journal): Trudy dvacať pjatogo Meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov 1960. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 298-315 + 425-428 + 518-524.
(1966g/319 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1964. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 291-293.

1967

(1967a/320): Von Ĵaya-Paṇḍita zum Neukalmückischen. *Archív orientální* 35, 383-406.

(1967b/321): Die Vorsilben und Töne im Tibetisch, das Tangutische, das Newarische und das Baltische. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität* (Gesselschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftlichen Reihe) 16, 213-218.

(1967c/322): Čech chęlnęę garsan mongol zochiolyn tuchajd /Mongolian literature in Czech language/. *Utga zochiol urlag* 13, No. 48 (24 November), 4.

(1967d/323): Román o Alexandru Makedonském v mongolské literatuře. *Zprávy Československé společnosti orientalistické* 7, 22-27.

(1967e1/324-1 – entry): Altan tobči. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, Praha, 175-176.

(1967e2/324-2 – entry): Bolur erike. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 228.

(1967e3/324-3 – entry): Cedendžaw, Cerendordžín. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 238.

(1967e4/324-4 – entry): Čaghan teüke. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 252.

(1967e5/324-5 – entry): Čchien-lung. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 260-261.

(1967e6/324-6 – entry): Čojdži-Odser. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 270.

(1967e7/324-7 – entry): Damdinsüren, Cendín. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 280-281.

(1967e8/324-8 – entry): Džangar. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 306.

(1967e9/324-9 – entry): Geserchán. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 342.

(1967e10/324-10 – entry): Hor čhos bjung. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 383.

(1967e11/324-11 – entry): Indžanaši Vangčinbalajin. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 1, 424.

(1967e12/324-12 – entry): Lodojdamba, Čadráwalyn. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 80.

(1967e13/324-13 – entry): Nacagdordž, Dašdordžín. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 136.

(1967e14/324-14 – entry): Ojdow, Čojdžamcyn. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 176.

(1967e15/324-15 – entry): Ojún Erdenebat. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 176-177.

(1967e16/324-16 – entry): Rinčen Bjambyn. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 225-226.

(1967e17/324-17 – entry): Sanghang Sečen. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 236.

(1967e18/324-18 – entry): Senghé Dašdzewegín. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 249.

(1967e19/324-19 – entry): Šira tughudži. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 298.

(1967e20/324-20 – entry): Tajná kronika Mongolů. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 310.

(1967e21/324-21 – entry): Uliger-ün dalai-jin sudur. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 358.

(1967e22/324-22 – entry): Zaja-Bandida. *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky*, Vol. 2, 393-394.

(1967f/325 – review): Miscellany Olon ulsyn mongol chęl bičgijn ęrdęmtnij anchdugaar ich chural. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 62, 102-104.

1968

(1968a/326): Azjatyckie opowieści o Aleksandre. *Przegląd orientalistyczny* 65, 65-69.
(1968b/327): Bodenbauern und Nomaden im alten Mittel- und Zentralasien. In: *Das Verhältnis von Bodenbauern und Viehzüchtern in historischer Sicht* (Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Orientforschung zu Berlin, Nr. 69), 121-126.
(1968c/328): Kalmückische Ausdrücke beim tschechischen Jesuiten Johannes Milan – Franciscus Emilianus. *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 32, 61-66.
(1968c-a/328a): Moi dva vizita. *Sovremennaja Mongolija* 12, No. 3, 22.
(1968d/329): My two visits. *Mongolia today* 10, 12-13.
(1968e/330): Mongolská lidová hudba. *Album pro zeměpis na ZDŠ*. Praha: Státní hudební nakladatelství.

1969

(1969a/331): Das Mongolische im Zusammenhang mit einigen anderen Sprachen. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. 1, Vorträge, Teil 2, 726-737.
(1969a-a/331a): Mongolyn nuuc tovčoony zarim nėg šinė sudalgaa. *Mongolyn sudlal* 6, 19-32.
(1969b/332): Über eine mongolische Hippologie (Morin-u šinǰil-un sudur). *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. 1, Vorträge Teil 2, 738-741.
(1969b-a/332a): Moi dva vizita. *Novosti Mongolii* 23, No. 24 (22 March), 3.
(1969c/333 – review): Róna-Tas A. Tibeto-Mongolica. The Tibetan Loanwords of Monguor and The Development of the Archaic Tibetan Dialects. *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 64, 402-404.
(1969d/334 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 28 (1966). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 64, 512-514.

1970

(1970a/335): Über den Inhalt und die Rekonstruktion des ersten mongolischen Gesetzbuches. *Mongolian Studies* (ed. L. Ligeti, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XIV). Amsterdam & Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 377-415.
(1970b/336): Relations between the Mongols and the Jurchens in the thirteenth century, according to Mongol and Manchu chronicles. *Proceedings of Conferences held by the Czechoslovak Society for Eastern Studies 1969* (Inter-relations in Asia and Africa, Dissertationes orient. No. 23), Prague, 93-98.
(1970c/337 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 29 (1967). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 65, 217-219.
(1970d/338): Avarská problematika. *Studia Balkanica Bohemo-Slovaca*. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 59-67.
(1970e/339): Vztahy Mongolů a Džurčenů v 13. století podle mongolských a mandžuských letopisů (= Materiály z IX. orientalistické konference, část I.) + Relations between the Mongols and the Jurchens in the 13th century, according to Mongolian and Manchu chronicles. *Zprávy Československé společnosti orientalistické při ČSAV* VIII/1 (Proceedings of Conferences held by the Czechoslovak Society for Eastern Studies 1969), Praha, 57-59 + 93-98.
(1970f/340): Rang und Titel bei den Völkern des mongolischen Raumes im Laufe der Jahrhunderte. *Proceedings of the IXth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaic Conference*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. Seminario di Turcologica, 169-258.
(1970g/341): Mongolistik (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abt.: Der Nahe und der Mittlere

Osten, 5. Bd.: Altaistik, 2. Abschnitt). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 65/9-10, 498-507.
(1970h/342 – review): J. Schubert. Ritt zum Burchan-chaldun. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 65/11-12, 596-598.
(1970i/343 – review): W. Heissig. Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 65/11-12, 598-600.

In preparation as in 1970 and not cited later (according to Kolmaš & Šíma 1970: 57):
(1970α/343a): Einige Gedanken zum Proben. Sumerisch und andere Sprachen. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
(1970β/343b): Stopy pobytu orientálních národů na půdě Československa. In: *Sessions of the Ethnographical Conference*. České Budějovice, 1969.
(1970γ/343c): Mongolsko po 2. světové válce. In: *Asia after the Second World War*, Prague.
(1970δ/343d): Right in Mongolian People's Republic. In: *International Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law*, Vol. 1/1969.

1971
(1971#/343d-a): Mongol ornoor arvan gurvan mjangan kilometr ajalsan min'. *Gadaadynchan mongolyn tuchaj*, Ulaanbaatar, 458-472.
(1971a/344 – review): W. Heissig. Die mongolische Steininschrift und Manuskriptfragmente uas Olon süme in der Inneren Mongolei. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 66/5-6, 298-300.
(1971b/345 – review): A. Bormanshinov & J. R. Krueger (eds.). Kalmyk-Oirat Symposium. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 66/5-6, 300-301.
(1971c/346 – review): E. Allworth. Central Asian Publishing and the Rise of Nationalism. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 66/7-8, 409-410.
(1971d/347 – review): W. Fuchs. Chinesische und mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 66/9-10, 501-502.
(1971e/348 – review): K. Sagaster. Subud Erike. Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 66/9-10, 503-505.

1972
(1972a/349 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 30/1-4 (1968), 31/1-4 (1969), and 32/1-4 (1970). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 67/5-6, 304-310.
(1972b/350 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 1 (1967), 2 (1968), and 3 (1969). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 67/5-6, 316-318.

1973
(1973a/351 – review): D. Sinor. Inner Asia. *Archív orientální* 41, 296-297.
(1973b/352 – review): L. Krader. Social Organisation of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads. *Archív orientální* 41, 297-298.
(1973c/353 – review): R. Rupen. Mongols of the Twentieth Century I, II. *Archív orientální* 41, 298.
(1973d/354 – review): C. Hintze. Funde in Alt-China. Das Welterleben im ältesten China. *Archív orientální* 41, 298-299.

(1973e/355 – review): S. Szádeczky-Kardoss. Ein Versuch zur Sammlung und chronologischer Anordnung der griechischen Quellen der Awarengeschichte nebst einen Auswahl von anderssprachigen Quellen. *Byzantinoslavica* 34 (Praha), 106-107.

1974

(1974a/356): Une version mongole – texte bilingue – du Livre des mots tibétain. *Études mongoles* 5 (Cahier), 97-107.
(1974b/357): Tocharische A *tiri*, B *teri*, mongolisch *törü*, hebraisch *tōrah*. *Orbis* 23, 218-223.
(1974c/358): The *Vaiṣṇavagītā* and its social ideas (with a tentative edition of the text). *Anantapāraṃ kila śabdaśāstram* (*Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Eugeniusza Słuszkiewicza*), Warszawa, 181-190.
(1974d/359 – review): L. Ligeti (ed.). Mongolian Studies. *Archív orientální* 42, 70-71.
(1974e/360 – review): S. I. Rudenko. Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 69/1-2, 88-91.
(1974f/361 – review): V. G. Erman & E. N. Těmkin. Ramajana. Literaturnoje izloženije. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124/1. 189-190.
(1974g/362 – review): N. Poppe. Mongolian Handbook. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124/1, 196-199.
(1974h/363 – review): E. Haenisch (Hrsg.). Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin tobčiya. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124/1, 201-202.
(1974i/364 – review): Pao Kuo-yi. Studies on the Secret History of the Mongols. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124/1, 202-203.
(1974j/365 – review): G. Kara. Chants d'un barde mongol. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124/1, 203-205.

1975

(1975a/366): Mongolia. In: *International Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law*, Vol. I *National Reports* (eds. J. C. B Mohr & P. Siebeck), The Hague & Paris: Tübingen & Mouton, 83-91.
(1975a-a/366a): Zdravice mongolskému lidu. In: I. Domanský & J. Průša. *Země stepí a hor*, 6.
(1975b/367 – translation from Mongolian): Povídka o krásné Naran Gerel. *Mladý svět* XVII/11, 31.
(1975c/368 – review): S. Iwamura. Mongkoru shakai keizai shi no kenkyū. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 70/1, 94-95.
(1975d/369 – review): Zentralasiatische Studien 4 (1970), 5 (1971), and 6 (1972). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 70/1, 107-110.
(1975e/370 – review): Louid Ligeti (ed.), Histoire secrète des Mongols, Budapest. *Archív orientální* 43, 269-270.
(1975f/371 – review): Jánosz Juhász, Probleme der Interferenz. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970. 174 p. *Archív orientální* 43, 285.
(1975g/372 – review): Peter Stumpf, Der Gebrauch der Demonstrativ-Pronomina im Tocharische. *Archív orientální* 43, 365-366.
(1975h/373 – review): Iwamura Shinobu, Mongkoru shakai keizai shi no Kenkyu (Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Mongols). Kyoto Univ. 1968. *Orientalistische Litera-*

turzeitung 70, No. 1, 94-95. [This review was noted twice by previous bibliographers (firstly as 1975c/368), so 1975h/373 is not included in total numbers of all works of Pavel Poucha. M. S.]
(1975i/374 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn 4 (1970), 5 (1971), 6 (1972). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 70, No. 1, 107-110.
(1975j/375 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1972. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 70, No. 5, 522-524.
(1975k/376 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1971. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 70, No. 6, 621-622.

1976
(1976a/377 – review): Popular Beliefs and the Folklore Tradition in Siberia. Ed. by V, Diószegi, Budapest 1968. *Archív orientální* 44, 83-86.
(1976b/378 – review): Proceedings of Conferences held by the Czechoslovak Society for Eastern Studies 1969, Praha 1970. 190 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 1, 12.
(1976c/379 – review): I. A. Batmanov, Talasskie pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pismennosti, Frunze 1971, 66 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 3, 278-279.
(1976d/380 – review): Ujġur tili boji̇či tikšürüšlėr (Issledovanija po ujgurskomu jazyku), Almuta 1965, 224 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 391-392.
(1976e/381 – review): V. Vs. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, B. A. Uspensky (eds.), Studia ketica. Mythology, Ethnology, Texts. Moskva 1969, 292 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 392-393.
(1976f/382 – review): E. A. Grantovskij, Rannjaja istorija iranskih plemen Perednej Azii, Moskva 1970, 396 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 393-394.
(1976g/383 – review): Étienne Lamotte, La traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Māhaprajñāpāramitāsāstra), I-III, Louvain 1970. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 407-410.
(1976h/384 – review): Gunhild Gabbert, Buddhistische Plastik aus China und Japan. Bestandskatalog des Museums für ostasiatische Kunst der stadt Köln, Wiesbaden 1972. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 415-416.
(1976i/385 – review): Michael Hahn, Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache, Hamburg 1971, 354 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 416-417.
(1976j/386 – review): Miyoko Nakano, A Phonological Study in the 'Phagspa Script and the Meng-ku Tzu-yün, Canberra 1971, 172 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 417-418.
(1976k/387 – review): Anne-Marie Blondeau, Matériaux pour l'étude de l'hippologie et de l'hippichie tibétaines, Genève 1972, 427 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 4, 418-419.
(1976l/388 – review): L. N. Gumilev, Drevnie tjurki, Moskva 1967, 504 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 5, 487.
(1976m/389 – review): T. R. Rachimov, Kitajskie elementy v sovremmenom ujgurskom jazyke. Slovar. Moskva 1970, 350 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 5, 490-491.
(1976n/390 – review): (F. I. Ščerbatskoj) Indijskaja kul'tura i buddizm. Sbornik statej. Moskva 1972, 280 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 5, 496.
(1976o/391 – review): Pennti Aalto, Oriental Studies in Finland 1828-1918, Helsinki 1971, 174 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 5, 516-518.

(1976p/392 – review): Johannes Schubert, Paralipomena Mongolica, Berlin 1971, 324 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 71, No. 6, 608-610.

1977

(1977a/393 – translation from Russian): Jeremej Parnov, *Úsměv v bronzu*. Praha: Lidové nakladatelství. 1977. 269 pp.
(1977b/394): Tři pruty Svatoplukovy a jejich řecké a orientální paralely. *Slavia* 46, No. 2, 148-159.
(1977c/195): Orčuulagčijn üg (translated from Czech by G. Dašsavaa). *Gadaadynchan mongolyn uran zochiolyn tuchaj*, Ulaanbaatar, 348-354.
(1977d/396 – review): B. Rinčen, Mongol bičgijn chėlnij züj Tėrgüündėvtėr, Udirtgal. Dėd dėvtėr, Avian züj: Dötgöör dėvtėr, Ögüülbėr züj. Ulaanbaatar 1964-1967. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 1, 103-104.
(1977e/397 – review): St. Kałużyński, Imperium mongolskie, Warszawa 1970, 200 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 1, 104.
(1977f/398 – review): Katalin Köhalmi-Uray, A steppék nomádja lóháton, fegyverben, Budapest 1972, 222 pp.. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 3, 252.
(1977g/399 – review): Michael Hahn, Jñānaśrimitras Vṛttamalāstuti. Eine Beispielsammlung zur altindischen Metrik, Wiesbaden 1971, 388 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 6, 634.
(1977h/400 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1973. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 3, 316-318.
(1977i/401 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1974. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 4, 434-436.
(1977j/402 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 7 (1973). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 72, No. 5, 542.

1978

(1978a/403): The Tibetan Language as Example of General Validity of Linguistic Laws. *Asienwissenschaftliche Beiträge*, Berlin, pp. 113-121.
(1978b/404): Alexandreida jakožto literární téma spojující světovou literaturu (Alexander Makedonský u Slovanů a v Orientě).. *Slavia* 47, No. 4, 386-398.
(1978c/405 – review): A. v. Gabain, Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850-1250). Wiesbaden 1973. *Archív orientální* 46, 180-181.
(1978d/406 – review): St. Kałużyński, Die Sprache des mandschurischen Stammes Silbe aus der Gegend von Kuldscha, Warszawa 1977, 287 pp. *Archív orientální* 46, 365.
(1978e/407 – review): (Eugenius Sluszkiewicz) Anantapāram kila śabdaśāstram, Warszawa (1974), 290 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 73, No. 2, 199-200.

1979

(1979a/408 – review): A. J. van Windekens, Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres indo-européennes, Vol. I. La phonétique et le vocabulaire, Louvain 1976, XXI, 697 pp. *Archív orientální* 47, 201-202.
(1979b/409 – review): Jñānasrīmitras Vrtamālāstubi. Hrsg., übersetzt und erläutert von Michael Hahn, Wiesbaden 1971, X, 388 pp. *Archív orientální* 47, 202-203.
(1979c/410 – review): Odnosostavnye predloženija v vostočnych jazykah, Moskva 1976, 136 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 74, No. 5, 433-434.

(1979d/411 – review): Pis'mennye pamjatniky Vostoka. Istoriko-filologičeskie issledovania. Ežegodnik 1971, Moskva 1974, 573 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 74, No. 6, 523-525.
(1979e/412 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 9 (1975). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 74, No. 2, 206.
(1979f/413 – review): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1975. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 74, No. 6, 616-618.

1980

(1980a/414 – review): N. A. Baskakov, Gramatika hakasskogo jazyka, Moskva 1975, 418 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 1, 60.
(1980b/415 – review): V. I. Rassadin, Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka. Ulan-Ude 1971, 252 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 1, 60-61.
(1980c/416 – review): Hans-Joachim Paproth, Studien über das Bärenzeremoniell. I. Bärenjagdriten und Bärenfest bei den Tungusischen Völkern. Uppsala 1976, 366 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 3, 293-295.
(1980d/417 – review): Étienne Lamotte, Le traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse Nagarjuna (Mahāprajñapāramitāśāstra) avec une étude sur la Vacuité. IV, Louvain 1976. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 5, 485-486.
(1980e/418 – review): Klaus L. Janert, Nachi-Handschriften, Teil 3. Nachihandschriften nebst Lolo- und Chungchia-Handschriften, Teil 4, Wiesbaden 1975 und 1977. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 5, 596-597.
(1980f/419 – review): J. Šíma, J. Janešová & L. Prokopová, Česko-mongolská konverzace, Praha 1978, 368 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 6, 597-599.
(1980g/420 – review): M. Brauen-Per Kvaerne (ed.), Tibetan Studies Presented at the Seminar of Youngs Tibetologists in Zürich (1978), 232 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 6, 599-600.
(1980h/421 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 8 (1974). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 4, 414.
(1980i/422 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1975. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75, No. 5, 507-509.

1981

(1981a/423): Marginalia zu: El Libro Precolombino. *Archív orientální* 49, No. 2, 172-186.
(1981b/424): L'ecriture "hunniqu" et Pavel Josef Šafařík. Une contribution à l'historie des recherches sur l'écriture runique vieux-turque chez les Siculi-Székely de la Transylvanie. *Slavia* 50, No. 3-4, 293-304.
(1981c/425 – review): L. Ligeti, Researches in Altaic Languages, Budapest 1975. *Archív orientální* 49, 75-77.
(1981d/426 – review): St. Zimmer, Tocharische Bibliographie ... 1959-1975 mit Nachträgen für den vorgehenden Zeitraum, Heidelberg 1976, 53 pp. *Archív orientální* 49, 77-78.
(1981e/427 – review): Drei neue rückläufige Wörterbücher: H.-P. Vietze, E. Matter und H. Zeuner, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuča Tobca'an (Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen), Leipzig 1969, 154 pp.; H.-P. Vietze, L. Zenker, I. Warnke, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der türkischen Sprache, Leipzig 1975, 197 pp.; H.-P. Vietze unter mitarbeit von L. Zenker, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der mongolischen Sprache, Leipzig 1976, 239 pp. *Archív orientální* 49, 78-79.

(1981f/428 – review): Tipologičeskie i chudožestvennye osobennosti Džangara. Elista 1978, 128 pp. *Archív orientální* 49, 188-189.
(1981g/429 – review): A. J. van Windekens, Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indoeuropéennes, Louvain 1979. *Archív orientální* 49, 189-190.
(1981h/430 – review): P. Zieme & G. Kara, Ein Uigurisches Totenbuch, Budapest 1978, 347 pp. *Archív orientální* 49, 195-196.
(1981i/431 – review): Nepal: Istorija, etnografija, ekonomika, Moskva 1974, 152 pp. *Archív orientální* 49, 201.
(1981j/432 – review): (J. Schubert) Asienwissenschaftliche Beiträge, Berlin 1978, 201 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 76, No. 5, 512.
(1981k/433 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 10 (1976). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 76, No. 5, 525-526.
(1981l/434 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1977. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 76, No. 6, 615-616.

1982
(1982a/435 – translation from Sanskrit): Dhammapada. In: *Duchovní prameny života*. Praha: Vyšehrad. 256-259 (2nd edition in 1997, 307-311).
(1982b/436 – review): Sinasi Tekin, Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan Zeit, Budapest 1980, 383 pp. *Archív orientální* 50, 197-198.
(1982c/437 – review): Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Bauer, Wiesbaden 1979. 470 pp. *Archív orientální* 50, 254-256.
(1982d/438 – review): W. Thomas, Formale Besonderheiten in metrischen Texten des Tocharischen: Zur Verteilung von B *tane* / *tne* "hie" und *ñake* / *ñke* "jetzt", Wiesbaden 1979, 64 pp. *Archív orientální* 50, 351-352.
(1982e/439 – review): Zdroje nerostných surovin asijských zemí. Sborník II. symposia. Praha 1975, 309 pp. *Archív orientální* 50, 352.
(1982f/440 – review): J. Kolmaš, Tibetan Books and Newspapers (Chinese Collection), Praha 1978, 134 pp. *Archív orientální* 50, 355.
(1982g/441 – review): V. A. Bogoslovskij, Tibetskij Rajon KNR 1949-1976, Moskva 1978, 200 pp. *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 77, No. 3, 306-307.
(1982h/442 – review): N. Poppe, Mongolische Epen IX., Wiesbaden 1980, VII, 515 pp. *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 77, No. 5, 514-515.
(1982i/443 – review): W. Heissig (Hrsg.), Die Mongolischen Epen (Ein Symposium), Wiesbaden 1979, 216 pp. *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 77, No. 5, 515-516.
(1982j/444 – review of journal): Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 46 (1974), 47 (1975), 48 (1976). *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 77, No. 2, 214-216.
(1982k/445 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 11 (1977). *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 77, No. 4, 430.

1983
(1983a/446 – review): N. A. Nevskij, Fol'klor ostrovov Mijako, Moskva 1978, 192 pp. *Archív orientální* 51, 281-282.
(1983b/447 – review): M. H. Imazov, Orthografia dunganskogo jazyka, Frunze 1977. *Archív orientální* 51, 282.

(1983c/448 – review): Deutsch-manjurisches Wörterverzeichnis (nach H. C. von der Gabelentz' Mandschu-Deutschen Wörterbuch) durchgesehen von H. Walrevens und M. Gimm, Wiesbaden 1978, IX, 612 pp. *Archív orientální* 51, 284-286.
(1983d/449 – review): E. V. Sevortjan, Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov, Moskva 1978, 352 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78, No. 1, 72.
(1983e/450 – review): P. Aalto-T. Pekkanen, Latin Sources on North-Eastern Eurasia I. und II., Wiesbaden 1975 + 1980. 267 + 305. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78, No. 1, 94-96.
(1983f/451 – review): F. A. Salimzjnova, Vejsi. Chab-name "Kniga snovidenija"), Moskva 1977, 182 pp., *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78, No. 3, 274-275.
(1983g/451a – review): St. Kalużyński, tradycje i legenda ludów Mongolii. Warszawa 1978, 410 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78, No. 6, 609-611.
(1983h/452 – review of journal): Przegląd orientalistyczny 1978. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78, No. 1, 108-110.

1984
(1984/453 – review): R. Hoffmann, Der Untergang des konfuzianischen China. Vom Mandschureich zur Volksrepublik, Wiesbaden 1980, 185 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 79, No. 3, 306-307.

1985
(1985a/454 – review): K. Röhrborn, Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien, Wiesbaden 1977, 1979, 1981. *Archív orientální* 53, 72.
(1985b/455 – review): A. O. Ivanovskij, Mandjurica I. Specimens of the Solon and the Dagur Languages, Budapest 1982. *Archív orientální* 53, 72-73.
(1985c/456 – review): G. Kara, Le Sūtra d Vimalakīrti en mongol. Texte de Ergilu-a Rinčin ms. de Leningrad. 1. Mon. Ling. Mong. Coll. IX, 1,2, Budapest 1982. *Archív orientální* 53, 75.
(1985d/457 – review): L. Lörincz, Molon Toyin's Journey to the Hell. Altan Gerel's Translation. Mon. Ling. Mong. Collecta VIII, 1, 2, Budapest 1982. *Archív orientální* 53, 75.
(1985e/458 – review): Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien. Hrsg. von K. Röhrborn und Wolfgang Veenker. *Archív orientální* 53, 379-380.
(1985f/459 – review): Ch. R. Bawden, Mongolische Epen X., Wiesbaden 1982, IX, 209 pp. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 80, No. 1, 95-96.
(1985g/460 – review of journal): Zentralasiatische Studien 12 (1978). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 80, No. 1, 109-110.

1986
(1986a/461): Life and work of Byambin Rinchen. *Archív orientální* 54, 168-179.

1997
(1997a/462 – translation from Sanskrit): Dhammapada. In: *Duchovní prameny života*. Praha: Vyšehrad. 307-311 (2nd edition of 1982a).

2000
(2000a/463 – help to Pavel Eisner with translation from Sanskrit): Nágárdžuna, *Strom moudrosti. Prameny staroindického myšlení*. Praha: Garamond.

Further sources about the life and publications of Pavel Poucha (except of personal correspondence)

Altangerel, D. 1986. Mongolč erdemten Pavel Poucha. Mendelsnij n' 80 žilijn ojd, *Utga zochiol urlag*, No. 4 (1530), 1986, p. 4. Ulaanbaatar.

Blažek, Václav & Schwarz, Michal. 2007. Pavel Poucha (*29.12. 1905 Vídeň – †15.1. 1986 Praha). *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity – Linguistica Brunensia,* A55 (2007). Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 320-323.

Klíma, Otakar. 1955. Padesát let Pavla Pouchy. *Nový orient* 10, 147-148.

Kolmaš, Josef. 1965. *Řeč u příležitosti šedesátin P. Pouchy*. Prague: typescript in personal archive of Prof. Josef Kolmaš.

Kolmaš, Josef. 1970. *Oratio publica occasione anniversarii sexagesimi quinti nativitatis viri ilustrissimi Pauli Josephi Pouchae ab eiusdem discipulo Josepho Francisco Kolmaš die XVIII° decembris anno MCMLXX° in aede Instituti orientalis Pragensis facta*. Prague: typescript in personal archive of Prof. Josef Kolmaš.

Kolmaš, Josef & Šíma, Jiří. 1970. *Bibliography of Pavel Josef Poucha's Works*. Prague: Oriental Institute.

Kolmaš, Josef & Šíma, Jiří. 1976. The Septuagenary of Pavel Poucha. *Archív orientální* 44. 54-62.

Kolmaš, Josef. 1986. *Smuteční proslov nad rakví P. Pouchy – 23. 1. 1986*. Prague: typescript in personal archive of Prof. Josef Kolmaš.

'Poucha, Pavel'. In: *Masarykův slovník naučný* V. 1931. p. 923.

'Poucha, Pavel'. In: *Malá československá encyklopedie* V. Praha. 1987. 48.

Šíma, Jiří. 1986a. Obituary Pavel Poucha 1905-1986. *Archív orientální* 54. 362-368.

Šíma, Jiří. 1986b. Život Pavla Pouchy se uzavřel. *Nový orient* 41, No. 4, 116-117.

Šíma, Jiří. 1989. Vklad doktora P. Pouchy v izučenije Central'noj Azii. In: *Cybikovskije čtenija. Tezisy dokladov i soobščenij*, Ulan-Ude. 129-131.

Šíma, Jiří. 1999. Poucha, Pavel. In: *Kdo byl kdo: čeští a slovenští orientalisté, afrikanisté a iberoamerikanisté*. Praha. 400-403.

Turek, Jiří. 1971. Poválečný vývoj československé mongolistiky (k pětašedesátinám dr. Pavla Pouchy). *Nový orient* 26, 181-182.

Index of words

Tocharian A

aci- 107
ak 87, 132
akritär 134
apāt 131
apärkär 20
arämpāt 32
arkant- 132
aśäṃ 132

āk 25
āk- 74, 86, 129
ākam 100
ākamäs 100
ākāl 141
ākär 87
ākeñc 100
ākl- 78
āklye 78
ākrunt 87
ālak 98
ālyāk 98
āmpi 99
āmpuk 99
-āp 89
āriñc 133
ārki 136
ārkyant 136
ārkyañc 136
ārśi 122
ārśi-käntu 122
ārśi-ype 122
āśäc 100
āśäṣ 100
āśt 100
āśträ 86
āsar 132
ātäl 133
āy 132

äntsaṃ 97
äntsanne 97

e- 87
ekär- 87

cam 97
cami 97
caṃ 97
cani 97
caṣ 97
caṣi 97
cämp- 86, 116
cem 97
ceṃ 97
ceṣ 97
cesäm 97
cesäṃ 97
cesäs 97
cesmi 97
cesni 97
cessi 97
-ci 96
ckācar 36
cu 96

e- 133
eś 133

i- 101, 135

kakuru 78
kalk- 135
kam 86, 135
kanweṃ 133
kast 4
$^{+}$*kat-* 57
katar 57
kāc 135
kākmart 22
-kāl 22
-kālyi 22
$^{+}$*kāt-* 57
kāts 87
kārna- 58

kārp- 58, 108
kāsu 133
kātk- 86
kāts 132
käl- 101
kälk- 135
källā- 86
+kälweṃ 43
kälweñi 43
käly- 69, 135
kälyme 115
känt 99
käntu 87, 135
kärk- 58, 87
kärnā- 58
kärs- 100, 116
kärsic 100
kärsim 100
kärsimäs 100
kärsiñc 100
kärsiṣ 100
kärsit 100
kärt- 22
kärt-kāl 22
kärtkāl 22
kärtkālyi 22
käṣtär 134
kärs- 133
kät- 57
kät-(nā-) 134
ke 87, 97
kip 10
kip-kapśañi 11
kipsu 12
klaṅk 44, 140
+klas 41
klāṅk- 41, 44, 141
kläṅk- 6
kles- 21, 133, 135
klis- 19, 21, 133, 135
klots 132
klu 43, 141
klu- 43
klyom 87
klyośśär 100
klyoṣtär 100
klyos- 101, 133
klyosamtär 100
klyosantär 100
klyosmār 100
klyu 12
knā- 67, 133
knānant 67
knānmāṃ 67
knānmune 67
knānträ 57
knāṣ-äṃ 57
kña- 135
kñā- 25
kñāṣi 25
kñās-ya 26
kñuk 134
ko 86, 133, 134
koläm 15
kom 60
koṃ 10, 89, 135
korpā 108
kos 98
kot- 100
kota 101
kotac 101
kotamät 101
kotant 101
kotar 101
kotaṣt 101
kotas 101
kotat 101
kotā 101
kote 101
kotmäs 101
kotte 101
kowi 86
koyaṃ 134
krant- 133
krāke 22
krās- 86
kri 86, 133
kroṅkśe 66
kroṅse 5
kror 37, 86, 133
krośś- 132
krośśäṃ 70
ktoräṣ 57
ktsets 116

ku 132
ku- 86
ku//// 30
kuc 97, 136
kukäl 30, 86
kukäṃ 30
kuklas 30
k$_u$le 65
k$_u$le^o 70, 71
k$_u$leñci 65
k$_u$lew^o 70, 71
k$_u$lewāñ 65, 66, 70
k$_u$lewāśśi 65, 70
k$_u$lewās 65, 70
k$_u$leyis 65
k$_u$li 65, 66, 70, 71, 136
k$_u$lyi 65
kum- 132
k$_u$ñaś 130
k$_u$pre ne 108
k$_u$raś 70, 132
kursaṃntär 78
kuryar 5
kus 97, 136
$^+$*kut-* 57
kwär- 78, 79
kwipe-ike 11
kwreyunt 78, 79, 80

-l 102
lak 87
lake 133
lam- 135
lap 133
lānt 89
lāntse 89
läk- 4, 134
lka- 4
lu 4
-lune 102
lyak- 87
lyāk- 134
lyäkly- 135
l(y)äm- 135
lykäly 87, 135

-m 96
maku 52
malañ 134
malyw- 70
mañ 87, 91, 127, 134
mañäs 91
mañi 91
mā 53, 134
māk 134
-māṃ 102
mäccāk 98
mäcriṃ 49
mänt- 26
mättak 98
mäsk- 104, 130
mkälto 27, 135
mkältont 27
mkältorñe 27
mkow- 32
mkowañ 32
mkowy 32
mok 32
mokats 116
motarci 133
muk 52
mus- 135

-ṃ 96

nakcu 87
napeṃ 134
nas- 104
nāk- 133
nāñi 96
nāśi 3
nātäk 3
näṣ 96, 133
nätsw- 53
nkäñci 6
nkiñc 6
nmuk 99
nśitär 86
-nt 91, 102

ñäkci 123
-ñi 96
ñi 96
ñkät 3, 123
ñom 134
ñu 54, 87, 99, 134
ñuk 96, 133
ñunt 99

ok- 87
okät 99
oktänt 99
oktuk 99
omäl 135
oñi 134
oṅk 11, 91, 133
oṅkaläm 6
oṅkaṃ 91
oṅkañ 91
oṅkaśśi 91
oṅkas 91
oṅkis 91
oṅknac 91
oṅknaṃ 91
oṅknaśśäl 91
oṅknā 91
oṅknäṣ 91
oṅkrac 78, 79, 80
oṅkraci 78
oṅksac 91
oṅksaṃ 91
oṅksaśśäl 91
oṅksā 91
oṅksäṣ 91
or 36

pac 101
paṣ 101
pats 86
pācar 87
pāci 131
pācri 89
pāk 116
pāreṃ 135
päklāc 101
päklār 101
päkläs 101
päklyoṣ 101
päklyoṣäs 101
päklyossū 101
pälk- 4, 87, 130, 132
pälsk- 130
pält 133
pänt 99
päñ 87, 99
pär- 6, 74
pärkär (*päärkär*) 20, 87, 133
pärko 141
pärwat 69
päśśäṃ 132
päts 86, 132
pe 132
pic 101
picäs 101
piṣ 101
pkal 101
plu- 132
pñāk 99
pont- 131
por 86, 132
posac 108
posaṃ 108
pracar 86
präṅk- 86
pu-k 131
puk knānmāṃ 116
pyām 101
pyāmäs 101
pyāmtsāc 101
pyāmtsār 101

rake 87, 89
räk- 27
räs- 46
riṣak 91
riṣaki 91
rkäl 27
rtär 87, 134

śala- 86
śāku 133
śālyi 130
śāw- 132
śāyu 130
śäk 87
śäkk 99
śäktālyi 134
śäṃ 67, 87
ṣäptuk 99
śärme 86
śärs- 116
śeru 12
śew- 134
śiśak 6
śiśak-śanweṃ 6
śiśäk 6
śkänt 99
śo- 130
śoṃ 134
śoś 130
śpāl 86, 133
śre 135
śtärt 99
śtwar 12, 86, 99
śtwarāk 99
śwā- 132
śwāl 134

-ṣ 91
*ṣa-*53
ṣam- 97
ṣäk 99
ṣälyp 132
ṣäm- 135
ṣäptänt (*ṣääptänt*) 87, 99
ṣäptuk 99
ṣe- 104
ṣkäṣt 99
ṣme 52, 87
ṣñi 53, 96
ṣoma-pācär 53
ṣpät 99
ṣtām 79
*ṣtām-*kwreyu* 79
ṣtām-kwreyunt 78
ṣul 48, 70, 134
ṣuliñc 48
ṣulyi 22
ṣuṅk 10

sa- 53, 87
saku 53
salu 107
saṃ 97, 135
sas 98, 134
sāle 126
sāleyäntu 126
sām 97, 134, 135
sāṃ 97
sārm 134
sārmntu 134
sāry- 134
sās 97, 135
sāt 135
säksäk 99
säl- 132
säm 97, 98
särśi 63
säryām 134
säs 97, 135
se 70
sew° 70
sewāñ 66, 70
sewāśśi 70
sewās 70
skente 104
sruk- 133
stare 104
stām- 135
ste 104
su- 87
suk 10
-sū 101
swase 134
swār 4, 87

-t 102
talke 87
tampe 116
taṃ 97

tanis 97
taryāk 99
tā 98
tā- 86
tāk- 100
tākenas 101
tām 97
tāṃ 97
tāp- 132
tāpärk 107
tāp(p)- 86
tāśśi 86
tāṣ 97
täm 97, 135
tärkär 87, 132
täryā- 98
täṣ 97, 135
temi 97
tkaṃ 20, 132
tmāṁ 99
tmis 97
tñi 96
tom 97
toṃ 97
top 87
tor 131
toṣ 97
tosäm 97
tosäṃ 97
tosäs 97
tosmāśśi 97
tpar 116
tre 98
tri 98
trit 99
tsak- 132
tsar 133
tsāk- 87
tsāśintär 87
tsäk- 86, 132
tsäm- 134
tsär- 86
tsek- 87
-tsi 102
tsmār 134
tsopats 132
tu 86, 96, 135
tukri 79
tuṅk 10, 70
twe 131

-u(ṅ)k- 70

wak 87
wal 130
wal- 132
want 87
waṣt 91
waṣtu 91
was 96, 136
wasäṃ 96
wawu 133
wāryāñc 134
wäknant 87
wäl- 132
wälts 99
wär 4, 135
wäs 25, 87, 127, 133
wät 98
we 98, 135
weñ- 134
wiki 87, 99
wīki 87, 99
wkäṃ 87
wmānt 48, 49
wṣāṣi 25
wṣe 134
wsā-yok 127
wu 98, 135

ya- 135
yap 131
yas 96
yasäṃ 96
yats 135
-yām 101
-yāp 89
yärk- 87
yäs- 87
ymār 107
yme 134

yok 133
yok- 132
yom- 49
ype 131
ypic 133
ysār 132
ysomo 107
ytār 134
yuk 12, 70, 87, 91
yukac 91
yukaṃ 91
yukañ 91
yukaśśäl 91
yukaśśi 91
yukas 91
yukasac 91
yukasaṃ 91
yukasaśśäl 91
yukasā 91
yukasäṣ 91
yukasyo 91
yukā 91
yukäṣ 91
yukes 89, 91
yukyo 91
ywic 133

Tocharian B

ai- 87, 101, 133
aik- 133
aikare- 87
akālk 141
akeñe 121
akrūna 87
allek 98
alyāk 98
alyek 98
antapi 99
arañc 89
arañce 89, 133
aśeñca 86
aśiyana 66
asāre 132
atāne 35
auk- 87

āk 43
āk- 74, 86, 129
ākau 100
āke 25
ākem(o) 100
ākeṃ 100
ālme 4
āmpuk 99
āntpi 99
ārkwi 136
ārte 141
ārwa 36
āśäṃ 100
āśce 133
āścer 100
āśt(o) 100
āsta 132
āy 132

-c 96
cai 96
cake 36
cämp- 86, 116
ce 96
ceṃ 96
ceṃts 96
cenäṃ 96
ce$_{u}$ 96
cey 96
ci 96
cisso 101
ckenta 36
cpi 96
cwi 96

e 107
ecce- 107
ek 87, 132
emalle 135
emparkre 20
empreṃ 19, 20

ente 98
eṅkwañ̃ñe 134
eṅkwe 11, 91, 133
eṅkweṃ 89, 91
eṅkweṃmeṃ 91
eṅkweṃmpa 91
eṅkweṃne 91
eṅkweṃś(c) 91
eṅkweṃts 91
eṅkwentsa 91
eṅkwentse 91
eṅkwi 91
-epi 89
erkant- 132
ewe 135

i- 101
ikäṃ 11, 87, 99
intsu 97
īke 141
īkäṃ 87, 99
īte 133

kaiyye 87
kalāk- 135
kamartāñ̃ñe 141
kamartīke 141
kant° 42
kante 99
kanti 40, 42
kantwo 87, 135
karsoy 100
kartse 133
karyar 5
katna- 58
katnaṃ 57
katnau 57
katoytär 57
kau- 133
kaume 60
kauṃ 135
kauṃ-yänmälle 49
kaut- 100
kauta 101
kautāmai 101
kautām(o) 101
kautāmt(t)e 101
kautānte 101
kautāre 101
kautās(o) 101
kautāsta 101
kautāt 101
kautātai 101
kautāte 101
kautāwa 101
kā 98
-kālle 22
kām- 43
kānt- 42, 43
kārp- 108
+kāt- 57
kātaṃ 57
kātk- 86
kātso 87, 132
kāy- 134
käl- 101
källā- 86
käls- 40
käly- 69, 135
kälywe 12
käm- 132
käṃtaṃ 57
känte 99
kärk- 22, 87
kärkkāle 19, 22
kärnāsk- 5
kärs- 100, 116, 133
kärsoycer 100
kärsoyem 100
kärsoyeṃ 100
kärsoym 100
kärsoyt 100
+kärw- 79
kärweñe 135
käry- 5
käryāñ 86, 133
käsk- 57
kästwer 134
kät- 57
kät-(nā-) 134
kca 97
kele 26

keme 86, 135
keṃ 20, 132
keni 133
kest 4
+*ket-* 57
ket(a)ra 97
ket(e) 97
ke$_u$ 86
klai 65
klai^o 70, 71
klaiṃ 65
klain- 66
klaina 65, 66
klainaṃts 65
klaiñ 65
klaiñantse 65
klaiññe 65
klants- 21
klautso 132
klawi(s)su 12
klāṅk- 44, 144
klänts- 19, 21, 133, 135
kleṅke 6, 41, 44, 141
klese 40
kliye 65, 66
klīye 65, 66
klu 43, 141
kluṣṣe 43
klyantsa 19
klyauṣtar 100
klyauṣtär 100
klyaus- 100, 101, 133
klyausemar 100
klyausemt(t)är 100
klyausentär 100
klyiye 65, 66, 71
klyīye 65
kl(y)ĭ̄ye 136
klyomo 87
klyomoñ 91
kokale 30, 86
kolmai 15
**kolmo* 15
kor 134
kotruññe 49
kottär 49
koyṃ 134
kraṅkaññe 74
kraṅko 74
krāke 19, 22
krāñi 87, 134
krās- 86
+*krāw-* 79
krent- 133
krokś 5
kroṅ(k)śe 5, 66
krorīya 86
krorīyai 37, 133
kroścäṃ 70
krośce 70, 132
ksa 97
ktakät 57
ktau 57
ktānte 57
ktowä 57
ktsaitstse 116
ku 132
ku- 86
k$_u$*ce* 97, 136
K$_u$*ci* 124
Kuciñ 124
kukene 30
+*kurau* 78
kuro 78
kuśiññe 122
k$_u$*se* 97, 136
kwaräṣ 80
kwär- 78, 79
+*kwät-* 57
kwele 26
kweṃ 10, 89
kwipassu 12
kwĭ̄pe 10
kwraiññe 79
kwreṃnträ 78, 79
kwri 108

laiwo 19, 20
laks 132
l(y)ām- 135
lānte 89
lāntsoy 89
lāre 116

läk- 4, 134
lät- 100
l(y)äm- 135
-l(äñ)ñe 102
leke 26, 87
leki 133
-lle 102
ltais 101
luwo 4
lwāsa 132
lyāk- 133, 134
l(y)ām- 135
lyäk- 87
l(y)äm- 135
-lye 102
lykaśke 87, 135

maiwe 54, 55
makte 98
manarkai 53
-mane 102
matsi 133
mā 53, 134
māka 134
māla 141
mānt- 26
mānts- 26
mātär 89
mäkciya 98
mäksu 97
mänt- 26
mänts- 26
mäs- 135
mäsk- 104, 130
mätsts- 53
-me 96
mekwa 52, 132
meli 134
mely- 70
ments- 26
meñe 87, 91, 127, 134
meñäṃ 91
meñi 91
mewiya 7
mewiyo 7
mit 115, 126
mīsa 134
mīt 115
mlutk- 69
mlyotkau 69
moko 32
mokoṃśke 32
motartstse 133
mus- 135

-ṃ 91
-ṃts 91

naimaññe 70
nāk- 133
nān- 133
nāsk- 135
-ne 96, 104
nekcīye 87
nes- 104
nśitär 86
-nta 91, 102

-ñ 96
ñ(a)ke 107
ñakte 3, 123
ñäkc(i)ye 123
ñäś 96, 133
-ñc 91
-ñca 102
ñem 134
ñi 96
ñikañce 6
ñiś 133
ñkante 6
ñu 99
ñumka 99
ñunte 99
ñuṅka 99
ñuwe 54, 87
ñ(u)we 134
ñū 99

oko 116

okso 89
okt 99
oktaṃka 99
oktante 99
oktańka 99
oktunte 99
olyi 16
omotruññaiṣṣe 49
ompalskoññe 49
ompolskoññe 49
omprotärtstse 79
onolme 6, 134
oṅkipṣe 11
oṅkolmo 6
oṅkrocce 78, 79, 80
or 36
orotstsa 89
orotstsai 89
orotstse 122, 132
oṣṣale 48, 49
ost 91
ostwa 91

paiyye 61, 132
**partākto* 74, 76
paruwa 61, 132
parwe 69
paṣ 101
pācer 87
pāke 116
pātri 89
päkā- 135
päklyauṣ 101
päklyauṣṣo 101
pälk- 4, 87, 130, 132
pälsk- 130
pär- 6, 74
pärkare (*päärkare*) 20, 133
pärkā$_{u}$ 141
pärśeri 133
pärṣere 133
pärweṣṣe 69, 98
päścane 132
pcīso 101
pete 101, 133
petes 86, 101
petso 101
pilta 133
piṅkte 99
piś 87, 99
p(i)śāka 99
pkalar 101
pkalas(o) 101
pkalat 101
pkāla 101
plewe 5, 26
plu- 132
po 116, 131
pont- 131
poyśi 116
präṅk- 86
procer 50, 86
ptsa 132
pūwar 86, 132
pyamttsait 101
pyām 101
pyāmtsar 101
pyāmtsat 101
pyāmtso 101

r(a)mer 107
raso 46
ratre 87
räs- 46
reki 87
r(a)mer 107
rṣāke 91
rṣāki 91
rsonta 46
rsoñc 46

śaiyye 130
śak 10, 99
śana 67, 87, 89
śano 89
śaumo 134
śānta 130
śāw- 70, 130
śāy- 70, 130
śäk 99
śäktālye 57, 134

śälā- 86
śärs- 116
śärsäsk- 133
ścirye 135
śer- 12
śerwe 12
śimpriye 86
śimpro 86
śkante 99
śnona 66, 67
śpālu 86, 133
śtare 57
śtart(t)e 99
śtasta 57
śtwāra 99
śtwārka 99
śtwer 12, 86, 99
śśak 99
śwā- 132
śwālle 130
śwālyai 130

ṣai- 104
ṣaiweñña 135
ṣale 48, 70, 134
ṣalype 132
ṣalywe 132
ṣańkw 10
ṣañ 53, 96
ṣar 133
ṣarm 91
ṣarmana 91
ṣarmanma 91
ṣaṣe 3
sām- 135
ṣe 53, 98, 134
ṣecake 6, 7
ṣem 30
ṣey- 104
ṣkas 99
ṣkaska 99
ṣkaste 99
ṣlyamñana 132
ṣlyiye 22
ṣmāye 52, 87
ṣtäm- 135
ṣukt 99
ṣuktante 87, 99
ṣuktańka 99
ṣuliñc 48

sakw 10
salyiye 126
sana 98, 134
sark 63
sarmana 134
satāsk- 135
sā 96, 135
sālyi 126
sāṃ 96
sārm 134
sāry- 134
sā$_u$ 96, 135
säl- 132
se 53, 87, 96, 135
sekwe 53
seṃ 96, 135
skren 61
skrenantse 61
skrenśe 61
solme 107
somo 98, 134
soy 70
spaktāṃ 141
spaktānīke 141
srauk- 132
sruk- 132
stām 135
stāna 135
su 96, 97, 135
su- 87
swāre 4, 87
swese 134

taisa 98
tańkw 10, 70
tañ 96
tapre 116
tarkär 87, 132
tarya 98
taupe 87

taur 131
tā 96
tā- 86
tāṃ 96
tāpp- 86, 132
tāś 86
tā$_{u}$ 96
tāy 96
täryāka 99
te 97, 135
telki 87
teṃ 97
tentse 97
tkācer 36
tmāne 99
toṃ 96
toṃts 96
toy 96
toyna 96
tparṣke 116
trai 98
trau 36, 37, 38
traunta 36
trauñc 36
trekte 132
trite 99
trīte 99
tsāk- 132
tsäk- 86, 87, 132
tsäm- 134
tsär- 86
tsek- 132
-tsi 102
tsik- 87
tsiśitär 87
-tte 102
tu 97, 135
t$_{u}$*mane* 99
tuntse 97
tute 136
t(*u*)*we* 86, 96, 135
tweye 131

walo 122
war 4, 135
warañce 134
warñai 108
wasa 133
wase 87
wate 98
wām- 48
wäm- 49
wärñai 108
wästarye 133
wek 87
wenaisäñ 96
wene 96
weñ- 134
wes 96, 136
wesäṃ 96
wesäñ 96
wesi 96
westeṃ 100
wi 98, 135
witsake 134
wrotstse 132

ya- 135
yaka 108
yakne 87
yakwe 12, 70, 87, 89, 91
yakwemeṃ 91
yakwempa 91
yakweṃ 91
yakweṃmpa 91
yakweṃś(c) 91
yakwene 91
yakwentsa 91
yakweś(c) 91
yakwesa 91
yakwi 91
yaltse 99
yap 131
yapoy 131
yare 134
yarke 87
yasa 25, 127
yasar 132
yākwa 133
yām- 101
yäkweṃts 91
yäkwentse 89, 91

yäm- 49
yäs- 87
yel 130
yenaisäñ 96
yene 96
yente 87
yes 96
yesäṃ 96
yesäñ 96
yesi 96
yetse 135
yikṣye 40
ykāk 108
ymīye 134
yṅkauṃ 20
yok 133
yok- 132
yṣīye 134
Ysaṣṣe 124
ysā-yok 127
ysomo 107
ytārye 134

Scientific Board of Masaryk University
prof. RNDr. Jana Musilová, CSc.
Mgr. Iva Zlatušková
prof. RNDr. Zuzana Došlá, DSc.
Mgr. Michaela Hanousková
doc. PhDr. Jana Chamonikolasová, Ph.D.
doc. JUDr. Josef Kotásek, Ph.D.
Mgr. et Mgr. Oldřich Krpec, Ph.D.
doc. PhDr. Růžena Lukášová, CSc.
prof. PhDr. Petr Macek, CSc.
Mgr. Petra Polčáková
doc. RNDr. Lubomír Popelínský, Ph.D.
prof. MUDr. Anna Vašků, CSc.
prof. PhDr. Marie Vítková, CSc.
Mgr. Martin Zvonař, Ph.D.
PhDr. Alena Mizerová

Václav Blažek
Tocharian Studies
Works 1

Edited by Michal Schwarz

Published by Masaryk University
Brno 2011
First Edition
Printed by PB Tisk s.r.o.

ISBN 978-80-210-5600-8
ISBN 978-80-210-5599-5 (Box Set)

DOI: 10.5817/CZ.MUNI.M210-5600-2011

ISBN 978-80-210-5600-8