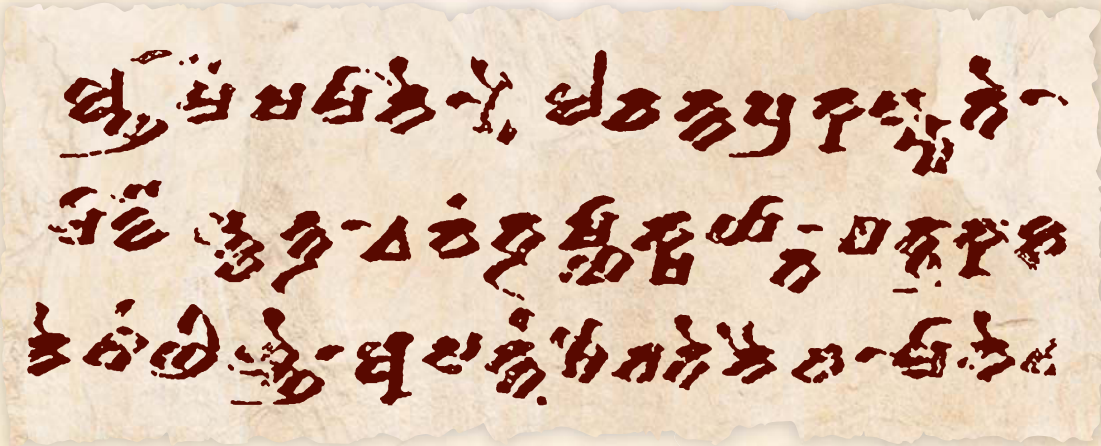


Václav Blažek

# Tocharian Studies

## Works 1



Handwritten Tocharian script on a piece of aged, torn paper. The script is arranged in three lines, written in a dark ink. The characters are stylized and characteristic of the Tocharian languages.



# 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

## IV

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## 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 lexico-statistics, 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’ – speciřčeskaja slavjansko-toxarskaja izoglossa? *Balto-slavjanskije 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 *\*srǵó-* “stork”. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 10, 15-16.

**2005**

(2005): Tocharian A *k<sub>u</sub>li*, B *klyiye* “woman” < *\*ǵ/gleH<sub>2</sub>ui-H<sub>1</sub>en-?* *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).

## XIV

### 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<sup>h</sup>-*. *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 I.* (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); *Vorbermerkungen* (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 étimologija za dvadcať let". In: *Étimologija* 1963, Moskva 1963, pp. 236-249 ... (ad A);

V. V. Ivanov, "Funkcii"tocharskich" jazykov i "toxarskoj" literatury v Vostočnom Turkestane i problema tjurksko "tocharskich" kontaktov". In: *Centralnaja Azija i Tibet. Istorija i kul'tura Vostoka Azii*, T. 1, Novosibirsk 1972 ... (ad B);

T. V. Gamkrelidze, V. V. Ivanov, *Indoevropskij jazyk i indoevropejcy*. Tbilisi 1984 “Vydelenie toxarskogo iz obščeeindoevropskogo 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 ètimologii nekotorych migracionnykh kul’turnykh terminov”. In: *Ètimologija* 1980, Moskva 1982 (7. Avstro-aziatskij istočnik tox. A *oñkaläm*, B *oñkolmo* ‘slon’, p. 166) ... (ad D III.);

V. V. Ivanov, “A korai ugor és az östokhár alapnyelv fonologiai”. *Rendszerének párhuza mossága és ennek lehetséges diakrón megvárázata*, *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 sopredel’nykh 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 *šaše* “hare” borrowed from OInd. *śaśa-* id.) or V. V. Ivanov, “Mikenskoe grečeskoe *wa-na-ka* i ego indoevropskie sootvetstvija”. In: *Balkanskij lingvističeskij sbornik*, Moskva 1976, pp. 165-171 (Toch. A *ñkät*, B *ñakte* “God”, A *nātāk* “lord”, *nāši* “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 *wār*, B *war* “water” is usually connected with OInd. *vāri* “water, rain” etc. (Van Windekens 1976: 557). An alternative etymology derives PToch. *\*wār* “water” from IE *\*wodr̥* (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-* + *\*l<sub>e</sub>mo-s* (Thomas 1985: 122). But it corresponds rather to ‘alteuropäische’ hydronyms *\*almā*, *\*almos* (Georgiev 1981: 171, 350-351). Cf. also Lith. *almėti* “to run; flow”, *almė* “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. *liūtas* “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 *pālk-* “shine, burn; see” has been connected with IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>elg-* (Greek *φλέγω* “I burn”, etc.) (Van Windekens 1976: 358). But *pā-* can be interpreted as the old imperative (originally perfective?) prefix (Van Windekens 1982: 233-236; Thomas 1985: 82-83). Consequently Toch. AB *pālk-* represents only an extended form of the verb AB *lāk-* “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 *mōŷj* 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 *gazuz* “hunger” : *gazuzo* “very greedy, voracious”, see Löpelmann 1968: 463-464 [and Corominas 1990: 295]). Some scholars, e.g. John Bengtson (personal correspondence), prefer the opposite vector of borrowing.

Toch. A *kronše*, B *kron(k)še*, acc. sg. *krokś* “be” is usually connected with IE \**k̑s-en-* “hornet” (Poucha 1955: 92 after Schrader; Pokorny 1959: 576). Van Windekens submitted a new interpretation – borrowing from ST \**(s-)brāñ* “fly, bee” (Benedict 1972: 167, 177; Van Windekens 1965: 139-140; Van Windekens 1976: 627; Thomas 1985: 108), but this etymology is phonologically improbable. On the other hand, Sino-Tibetan influence is not really excluded, cf. ST \**krañ* “mosquito” (Burm. *khrañ*, Kachin *dži-groñ*, where *dži* is “winged insect”, etc. – see Benedict 1972: 71). We would have to assume a compound \**krañ-dži* (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 Preussischen 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<sup>w</sup>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 *oñkaläm*, B *oñkolmo* “elephant” is analysed on the IE level as *\*ank-* “to bend, curve, bow” and the suffixal extension *\*-ālīmo-*, cf. Toch. B *onolme* “man” (Van Windekens 1979: 24, 110). V. V. Ivanov, with reference to E. Sapir, connected this word with Tib. *glañ* “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. *oñ-*. An acceptable solution seems to be the alternative ST reconstruction for Tib. *glañ* 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 *\*ñā* “tooth, tusk” (Shafer 1974: 36, 57, 162), the original composite was *\*ñā-laṅ* (> *\*gV-laṅ*) “tusked ox” (?) [further see Lushei *ñ<sup>c</sup>ñ<sup>c</sup>o* id., Kapwi *ña* “tooth”, Newari *ña-*, Hwalngau *hñau* “eyetooth, tusk”, etc., maybe Arch. Chin. *\*ñra* besides *ña* and later *ya* “tooth, tusk, ivory”, Proto-Thai *\*ña* “ivory” (Shafer 1974: 469, according to Haudricourt), Proto-Viet-Müöng *\*ña* “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 *\*ñ-* in Toch. *oñ-* 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. *nyen* “silver” (which was a source of Proto-Thai *\*ñ(ə)n* id. and Proto-Miao-Yao *\*ñaan*, var. *\*ñ[ua]n* id.), Burm. *ñwe*, Gyarung *pañei*, Tibetan *ñul*, Šerpa *ñul*, etc., all from ST *\*(d-)ñul* “silver” (Van Windekens 1976: 634; Benedict 1972: 15, 173; Benedict 1976: 171; Shafer 1974: 36, 75, 96). A direct borrowing from Tibetan *glañ* may be identified in Toch. A *klañk*, B *klenke* “vehicle; saddle animal”, as already proposed by E. Sapir (1936: 264).

Toch. A *śiśäk*, B *šecake* “lion”, A *śiśak-šanwem* “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), *\*sing<sup>h</sup>eko-* “lion” with the suffix *-ko-* (Van Windekens 1964: 223-228; Adams 1984b: 284-286: A *śiśäk* < *säyśäke-* < *\*säñśäke-* < *sänkyäke-*, A *śiśak* <

\**sänkyēke-* and B *ṣecake* < \**ṣencake-* < \**syenśäke-* < \**sänśäke-* < \**sänkyäke-*), *sīt-e-ko-* (> *śiśäk*), \**sīt-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-*, *māu-* “wild cat” (Shi Jing), “cat” (Li Ji) borrowed into Thai *mēw*, Shan *miau*, Ahom *miu* “cat”, further TB: Limbu *mīyo-n* “cat”, Lalung *myaō*, Tengsa *měyǎū*, Pwo *miayu*, etc. (Shafer 1965: 464-465; Shafer 1974: 65, 278, 448). “Cat” and “tiger” are not so different in meaning, cf. Burm. *kron* “cat”, Maru *rauñ* “wildcat”, and Nung *khañ* “tiger”, Kachin *roñ*, *śaroñ*, *śaro* “tiger, leopard”, TB \**roñ* (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 *ṭarup* “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. Hittite, 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.

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