

## CONTENTS

<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i> . . . . .	3
<b>M. Gadjev, A. Shikhsaidov.</b> The <i>Darband-nāma</i> on Hārūn Al-Rashīd and a Newly Discovered Arabic Inscription from A. H. 176 . . . . .	3
<b>I. Itkin.</b> The Linguistic Features of Tocharian A Manuscript <i>Maitreyāvādānavyākaraṇa</i> . . . . .	11
<b>E. Rezvan.</b> Qurʾānic Manuscripts as Birth, Death, Land and Library Register . . . . .	17
<b>M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.</b> A Sanskrit Manuscript on Birch-bark from Bairam-Ali. II. <i>Avadāna</i> and <i>Jātaka</i> (Part 8) . . . . .	26
<b>Sh. Vahidov.</b> The History of the ʿIshqiyya Brotherhood's Sacred Relics. II: the Katta Langar Quʾrāns (New Fragments) . . . . .	34
<i>TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION</i> . . . . .	42
<b>S. Klyashorniy.</b> Manichaean Text T II D and <i>Īrq Bitig</i> XIX . . . . .	42
<i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS</i> . . . . .	46
<b>E. Rezvan.</b> Oriental Manuscripts of Karl Fabergé. IV: Poetry and Miniatures (Part 2) . . . . .	46
<i>CONSERVATION PROBLEMS</i> . . . . .	53
<b>A.-G. Rischel.</b> The Danish Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts: Preliminary Analysis . . . . .	53
<i>ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES</i> . . . . .	59
<b>V. Jakobson, G. Lezin.</b> Computer Analysis of the Laws of Hammurabi: Basic Concepts . . . . .	59
<i>BOOK REVIEWS</i> . . . . .	66
<i>IN MEMORIAM</i> . . . . .	71
<b>Professor V. N. Goregliad (1932—2002)</b> . . . . .	71

### Front cover:

“Laylā visiting Majnūn in the desert”, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Central Deccan, 1780—1800.  
Miniature in Album (*Muraqqaʿ*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch  
of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 8b, 13.6×17.1 cm.

### Back cover:

- Plate 1.** ‘*Unwān* from *Khamsa* (“Pentateuch”) by Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf b. Muʿayyad Nizāmī Ganjawī. Manuscript C 1674 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Heart, ca. 1480—1490, fol. 1b, 13.0×21.4 cm.
- Plate 2.** “The night journey of Muḥammad and his ascent to heaven”, miniature in the same manuscript (later work modelled after Herat samples), fol. 3b, 13.0×21.4 cm.
- Plate 3.** “Nūshāba, Queen of Amazons, showing Iskandar his portrait”, miniature in the same manuscript (later work modelled after Herat samples), fol. 41a, 13.0×21.4 cm.
- Plate 4.** “Iskandar supporting the head of the dying Dārā (Darius)”, miniature in the same manuscript (later work modelled after Herat samples), fol. 258b, 13.0×21.4 cm.

THESA PUBLISHERS  
IN CO-OPERATION WITH  
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH  
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



# Manuscripta Orientalia

*International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*

Vol. 8 No. 3 September 2002



**75ESA**  
**St. Petersburg**

## THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF TOCHARIAN A MANUSCRIPT *MAITREYĀVADĀNAVYĀKARAṆA* \*

Despite the outstanding results that Tocharian studies have achieved in the 100 years since they came into existence, many key questions about the history, grammatical structure and functioning of the Tocharian languages remain unanswered. This is hardly surprising, as we deal here with languages that vanished over 1,000 years ago and are known to us only through a few poorly preserved texts. It is, however, important to stress that in addition to lacunae that result from objectively insurmountable difficulties (the absence of certain roots, grammatical forms, the paucity and obscurity of the texts, etc.), one notes certain omissions for which Tocharian scholars themselves are, to a certain extent, responsible. The most serious argument in favour of this view is the striking asymmetry between the study of Tocharian A and Tocharian B. By 1955, P. Poucha had already published a thesaurus for the texts in Tocharian A [1]. Unfortunately, it is not free of technical and sometimes substantive errors, and is now somewhat outdated, remaining however an irreplaceable source of information on the grammar and lexicon of Eastern Tocharian. No corresponding work for Tocharian B exists. Also in 1955, W. Winter in his standard work demonstrated that various groups of texts in Western Tocharian display significant differences in graphics and phonetics that are most easily interpreted as dialectical [2]. To the best of our knowledge, no one has conducted similar research on Tocharian A despite the fact that the body of Eastern Tocharian manuscripts, although smaller than that of Western Tocharian, is large enough, containing texts created over a period of several centuries to render dubious the tacitly accepted thesis of their linguistic uniformity.

The present work aims to show that differences do exist between texts written in Tocharian A and should be considered in deeming this or that form “standard”, “rare”, “anomalous”, etc. The basic material for the study provide texts Nos. 219—242 from the Berlin collection [3]; they are fragments of a translation of the Sanskrit work *Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa* (henceforth, *MAV*), a large poetic composition dedicated to the Buddha Maitreya. As our very preliminary examination of the entirety of Tocharian A texts shows, this manuscript contains perhaps the largest number of non-trivial linguistic oddities, sometimes unique, and sometimes shared by other manuscripts [4]. Unfortunately, the Tocharian translation of *MAV* has not been well preserved. In a number of places it is difficult to understand, as we see from several mistakes in word division committed by E. Sieg and W. Siegling in their publication of the text [5].

The text has been of little interest to Tocharian scholars, and the literature treats *MAV* in terms of its content exclusively [6]. (The brief description of the manuscript found in Ivanov lacks its linguistic characteristics as well [7].) The present article aims to enumerate and analyse in detail all of the most important linguistic features of *MAV* that we were able to discover. They are divided, somewhat arbitrarily, into five sections — graphics, phonetics, morphonology, morphology, and lexicon. Various statistic calculations are based here on both Tocharian A texts, published by Sieg and Siegling in 1921, and on the manuscript of *Maitreyasamiti-Nātaka* (henceforth, *MSN*) discovered in 1975 in the region of Yanqi in China and recently introduced in full into scholarly circulation thanks to the remarkable work of Ji Xianlin in collaboration with W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault [8].

### Graphics

1. High-frequency usage of signs for  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$ .

Manuscript *MAV* is distinguished only by one graphic feature, that is, by the frequent use of signs for the vowels  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$ , much more often than is the average for Eastern Tocharian texts: approximately every seventh  $i$  and every

third  $u$  is long. (It is all the more striking if one considers that in some manuscripts signs for  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  are missing altogether.) This is a purely graphic feature: as we know, Tocharian A had no long-short opposition for narrow vowels. Further, long and short  $i$  and  $u$  can be found in the same

\* This work was completed with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, project No. 00-06-80068.

words, cf., for example, *käššī* and *käšši* “teacher” in text No. 222. The varying usage of signs for long and short narrow vowels may have been the result of different traditions among scribal schools or the individual preferences of scribes [9].

Manuscript *MAV* has no other clearly discernable graphic features, and we have to disagree with V. V. Ivanov, who remarks that texts Nos. 219–242 are “in the nature of their signs somewhat different than other manuscripts” [10].

## Phonetics

### 1. Forms that contain *kw*.

*MAV* contains a number of forms that include the combination *kw*, cf. *///* *ts[š]kwántuyo* (219 a4), *tri-lkwär* (222 b3), *kw-ññēnc* (230 b6), *täkwälune* (237 a3), *štäm-kwreiyunt* (239 a1), *skwä ///* (242 b5).

Unlike Tocharian B, which has a number of words that regularly feature *kw*, not only does Tocharian A not have such words, it has not forms in which *kw* appears even sporadically. Tocharian B words with *kw* are in Tocharian A matched by words with *k*, and, under the influence of the neighbouring *k*, the reflexes of proto-Toch. \**ə* and \**e* are labialised, cf., for example, Toch. B *pikwala* (Nom. Acc. Pl. of *pikul* “year”)¹ — Toch. A *puklā* < proto-Toch. \**p'əkwälā*; Toch. B *pässakw* “garland” — Toch. A *psuk* < proto-Toch. \**pässakwə*; Toch. B *kweṃ* (Acc. of *ku* “dog”) — Toch. A *koṃ* < proto-Toch. \**kwenə*.

In case of the disappearance of a labialised vowel, the remaining labialisation was depicted in writing with the “subscript *u*”: *p<sub>u</sub>käl* “year” < proto-Toch. \**p'əkwäl* (cf. Toch. B *pikul*); *k<sub>u</sub>rekār* “apartment on top of the house” < proto-Toch. \**k<sub>u</sub>ərakārə*, which is an early borrowing from ancient Indian *kūtāgāra-* (cf. Toch. B *kw<sub>u</sub>rakār*) [11].

One of the few Tocharian A words always used with *kw* is the verb *täkw-* “?”, various forms of which appear more than once in Tocharian A texts (cf. 69 a4, b1, 321 a5, 356 b3, 449 b1). It is this verb that forms the abstract noun *täkwälune*. It would seem that we encounter here not the proto-Toch. \**kw* reflex, but the proto-Toch. \**kəw* reflex, where \**əw* can be a suffix, cf. the same *w* in combination with other consonants at the end of such verb stems as *kätw-* “laugh” or *malw-* “crush”, as well as the spelling *kw* in forms of the word *säku* “headhair” (< proto-Toch. \**k'äkəwV*): Gen. *säkwis*, Abl. *säkwäs*.

All the rest of the cited forms are not found outside of *MAV*. Unfortunately, only one of them allows for a sustainable interpretation: the compound *tri-lkwär* undoubtedly means “three times”, and the second part is a borrowing from Toch. B *l(y)kwar* “time, occasion” — a hypothetical accent variant of the usual *lyäkur*. We note the Nom. Pl. *lkwärwa* (B 21 a6), which demonstrates the same depalatalisation of *ly* before *k* as in the Tocharian A form [12].

All of the Tocharian A words that appear in other manuscripts with *u* are regularly written in *MAV* in the same fashion, cf., e.g., the pronouns *kuc* “what” (Loc. *k<sub>u</sub>cam* 221 b5 and others) and *puk* “all, every” (Abl. *p<sub>u</sub>käs* 234 a3 and others), the nouns *k<sub>u</sub>li* “woman” (Loc. *k<sub>u</sub>leyam* 222 a7, 239 a5) and *k<sub>u</sub>ñās* “strife, quarrel” (238, 3), the adverb

*k<sub>u</sub>pār* “deep” (229 b1). Hence, not only the form *lkwär*, but also at least several others of the enumerated forms are, probably, borrowings from Tocharian B. If this is the case, we can posit, without any particular surety though, the following conjecture for 230 b6: *///* (*s*)*kw(a)ññēnc cam puk mañkant tärne[ñcām]* “[they] make (?) him happy [and] free-him from all sins”, where *skwaññēnc* is the 3 Pl. Pres. formed from the Tocharian B verb *skwaññ-* (< Toch. B *sakw*, Toch. A *suk* “(good) fortune, happiness”), usually translated as “be lucky, fortunate, happy”. In our view, however, a transitive reading is also possible. In all other cases, the source of the borrowing could not be established even hypothetically.

### 2. The spelling of *kenpar* (220 b7, 222 a2, b7).

The adverb “falsely”, consisting of the adjective *keṃ* “false; reverse” and the element *-par*, of somewhat unclear status and meaning, is found in *MAV* in the form *kenpar* and in other Tocharian A manuscripts only in the form *kempar* (cf. 11 a5, 353 b5 and, possibly, 289 b3). This difference, in and of itself hardly significant, is important because Tocharian A allows for neither the combination *np* nor *mp* within one word (one would expect *mp*). Hence, *keṃ* and *-par* are not root and suffix, but either parts of a compound or even of a combination of two independent words. We note the spelling with *m* of the form *keṃ-päikāntwäsš* (227/8 b7) Abl. Pl. of *keṃ-päik* “false thought, false doctrine (lit. ‘false view’)” — undoubtedly a compound phonetically close to *kempar*. If so, the retention of the final *n* in the example, that is, its failure to transform into a nasalization of the preceding vowel conveyed by the sign *m*, can be placed alongside a number of similar examples also from manuscript *MAV*, cf. the spelling *krañcän* (221 b3, 7, 230 a5, 232 b4, 236 a6, 240 a3) Acc. Sg. Masc. of *käsu* “good”, *umparñän* (229 b4) Acc. Sg. Masc. of *umpar* “bad”, *lyalymä=n* (224 b3) 3 Sg. Pt. Caus. with EP 3 Sg. of *šäm-* “sit”.

Outside of this manuscript final *n* is found very rarely, cf., for example, *wkän* in place of *wkäm* “manner, way” (429 b6). The majority of the other examples are not reliable.

### 3. The spelling *ññ* in place of *ñ*.

On several occasions in the manuscript we find a doubled *ñ* in place of the single, which is utterly uncharacteristic of Tocharian texts, cf. *oññi* “male” (220 a4), *kapsaññi* “body” (221 a3), *omäskeññi* [13] Nom. Pl. Masc. of *omäskeṃ* “bad” (222 a1), *klesaññäk* Nom. Pl. with the emphatic particle *-(ä)k* from *kles* “pain, affliction” (239 a2). The causes of this phenomenon are not clear.

¹ In the present article, the following abbreviations are used: Abl. — Ablative; Masc. — masculine gender; Acc. — Accusative; Nom. — Nominative; Conj. — Conjunctive; Opt — Optative; EP — enclitic pronoun; Perl. — Perative; Gen. — Genitive; Pl. — plural; Instr. — Instrumental; Pres. — Present; Imp. — Imperfect; Pt. — preterite; Caus. — Causative; Sg. — singular; Loc. — Locative. One should also note that in the grammatical descriptions of word forms singular nouns and active verbs do not receive special designation.

## Morphonology

1. The spellings *āšyā(ñ)* (225 b7), *[ā]rk(i)šoşyis* (220 b6), *(ārki)šoşyis* (231 a2), *ārkišoşyam* (229 b6), *ñemi-şyām* (227/8 a1).

All of the above-enumerated spellings show that the combination “palatalized consonant (*ś*, *ş*, also *ñ*) + *y*” remained unchanged here, while in non-initial position they were usually transformed into C’C’: in the case of *ś* and *ş* only in the absence of a morphemic border, cf. *nāši* “lady” — Nom. Pl. *nāśś-āñ*, *poşi* “wall” — Perl. *poşş-ā*, *tsraşi* “energetic (person)” — *tsraşş-une* “energy”, but *kay* “fathom” — Instr. *kaş-yo*, in the case of *ñ* — even if a border is present, cf. *kapşañi* “body” — Instr. *kapşiñ-ño* (from {*kapşañi-yo*}).

Cases where *y* is retained after palatalized constants are very rare: in all known texts in Tocharian A we find only 15 occurrences, including the only (!) example with *ñy* — *kapşiñyam* (430 b6), while the spelling *śś*, *şş* и *ññ* occurs more than 200 (!) times.

It is significant that all of the C’y spellings occur in 4 manuscripts — Nos. 1—54, 89—143, 219—242 and 429—435. They seem to reflect an earlier linguistic state. Even so, spellings of the type C’C’ are relatively widespread in all of these manuscripts (with the exception of the last, where such forms are absent because of the scarcity of material).

2. The spelling of *pyāpyāñ* (220 b3).

To the best of our knowledge no one has noticed the curious fact that the oblique stem of the word *pyāpi* “flower” appears in Tocharian A texts in two forms: *pyāpy-* and *pyāppy-*. Moreover, these two forms are clearly divided among the manuscripts, cf., for example, the data received from a juxtaposition of manuscripts Nos. 1—54 and 55—88: in the former we find the forms *pyāpyāşyo* (22 a3), *pyāpyāñ* (25 b1), *pyāpyā-şi* (33 b2); in the latter *pyāppyāşyo* (58 a3, 63 b5), *pyāppyāñ* (68 a2), *pyāppyā-şinās* (70 b2) and *pyāppyāşşi* (77 a2). Since the purely graphical doubling of consonants before *y* is entirely uncharacteristic of Tocharian A, the spelling *ppy* apparently reflects actual pronunciation (for example, the appearance of a soft heminate of the type [p’p’] in place of an original [py]). If we do, in fact, see here the assimilation of *y* to a preceding consonant, the phenomenon should be in some fashion parallel to the C’y—C’C’ transition described above.

A comparative analysis shows that all four manuscripts that allow the spelling C’y insist on the spelling *py*. The reverse, however, does not hold; manuscripts Nos. 144—211 and *MSN*, where the spelling C’y is absent, also contain only forms with one *p*. Thus, the *py-ppy* transition was undoubtedly correlated with the C’y—C’C’ transition but “lagged” behind it: at the stage reflected by manuscripts Nos. 144—211 and *MSN*, the second of these changes had already taken place, but not the first. One cannot, of course, exclude the theoretical possibility that the absence of spellings with *y* in these manuscripts is simply a coincidence. In our view, however, this is unlikely, as we deal here with rather lengthy works: in the first of them, forms with C’C’ in place of the earlier C’y

are attested some 20 times in the second, more than 30 times.

3. The spellings *kapşaññā-şi* (220 a7), *kapşaññe* (240 a1).

In general, the writing of the oblique stem of the word *kapşañi* “body” with *ä* is “etymologically correct” and reflects the regular *a ~ ä* alternation in the middle syllable of three-syllable Tocharian A nouns cf. *oñkälām* “elephant” — Nom. Pl. *oñkälāmāñ*, *tāpaki* “mirror” — Gen. *tāpākivis*, etc. But in the word *kapşañi* this alternation is added to a later shift of *ä* to *i* before *ññ* and *ñc* [14], so the spellings that retain *ä* seem to be an even rarer archaism than the spellings with C’y in place of C’C’: in addition to the two forms given above, there is only one another example — *kapşaññās* (82 b5), while such forms as *kapşiññis*, *kapşiñño*, *kapşiññāñ* are attested in the texts no fewer than 80 times.

In this regard, the archaic nature of *MAV* is confirmed not only by the fact that two of the three examples with *ä* occur in this work, but primarily by the fact that in the manuscript Nos. 55—88, which contain the third example, we also find the form *kapşiñño* (56 b2), while spellings with *i* are wholly absent in *MAV*.

4. The spellings *lāñc* (222 a2), *krañc* (230 b5, 242 a4).

One can identify in Tocharian A a group of noun lexemes — *wäl* (oblique stem — *lānt-*) “king”, *puk* (*pont-*) “all, every”, *kāsu* (*krant-*) “good”, *ārki* (*ārkyant-*) “white”, *ark-* (*arkant-*) “black” — that form the Nom. Pl. (Masc.) by palatalizing the final *-nt* of the stem. The resultant final combination can be written in four ways: as *-ñc*, *-ñś*, *-mś* and *-ś*, cf., for example, *lāñc* (222 a2) — *lāñś* (74 a2) — *lāmś* (101 a4) — *lās* (2 b3). As the usual result of palatalizing the group *nt* is *ñc*, spellings of the first type, which apparently go back to an even earlier *\*-ñci*, should be treated as the starting point. But such spellings — and only such spellings — are attested exclusively in *MAV*. In other Eastern Tocharian texts, where Nom. Pl. (Masc.) forms of the five lexemes cited above occur in total more than 50 times, there are **no** examples of retaining *-ñc*. The “most similar” spelling is the hybrid form *krañcs* (*MSN*, YQ-12 a7).

Curiously, *MAV* records the reverse effect for intervocalic *ñc*: the adverb “attentively; clearly” occurs twice in this work (226 b5, 230 a1) and both times in the form *āneñsi*; in other Tocharian A texts it is attested some 15 times and only in the form *āneñci*.

5. The spellings *pācār*, *mācār*.

The words *pācar* “father” and *mācar* “mother”, as well as their derivatives, are in *MAV* usually written with *ä* in place of *a*. cf. *pācār* (220 b2), *mācār* (222 b6, 230 b4), *pācār-mācār* “parents” (223 b2), *şoma-pācār* “having the same father” (222 a6). The only deviation from this rule is the form *māca[r]-p(ā)car* (232 b6), distinguished also by the unusual order of parts within the compound.

Although a confusion between *a* and *ä* is sometimes found in Tocharian A texts, spellings with *ä* in the words *pācar* and *mācar* are not attested **even once** outside of *MAV*.

## Morphology

1. Use of the 3 Pl. Pres. and Conj. forms with *-ī-e*.

The most striking morphological characteristic of *MAV* is the frequent use of a "truncated" 3 Pl. Pres. Conj. marker *-ī-e* in place of the usual *-iñc/-eñc*. Forms without *-ñc* are attested 16 times in *MAV*, cf. *kumse* (229 b6), *tränki* (227/8 b7 bis), *ype* (229 a2), *lotänke* (227/8 b6, 7), *lke* (232 a1) Pres. of *käm-* "come", *tränk-* "speak", *ya-* "do, make", *lotk-* "turn, become", *läk-* "see" respectively; *tsäkse* (229 a1) Pres. Caus. of *tsäk-* "burn (tr.)"; *kärse* (221 b4), *cämpe* (229 b5), *täke* (226 b2, 227/8 b3) and *te* (229 b3), *yām)e* (226 b1), *läñce* (221 b4), *lotke* (229 a4) Conj. of *kärs-* "know", *cämp-* "be able", *nas-* "be", *ya-* "do, make", *länt-* "go out", *lotk-* "turn, become" respectively; while forms with *-ñc* appear only 19 times. Thus, the endings with and without *-ñc* are in *MAV* free variants of equal status, while in the remaining manuscripts of the Berlin collection 3 Pl. forms without *-ñc* are found only 6—7 times (some examples are unreliable), cf. *tränki* (15 a4), *winäse* (274 b7), *kumse* (302 a2) Pres. of *tränk-* "speak", *winäs-* "honour", *käm-* "come" and several others, and they do not occur at all in *MSN*. No one seems to have offered any explanation for these "truncated" 3 Pl. forms. Of course, the purely phonetic disappearance of a final *-ñc* cannot be possible in Tocharian A, cf. the numerous noun forms such as *ärñc* "heart", *ñkiñc* "silvern", *mäskitänñc* "princess", etc. In our view, the most likely cause of this "truncation" are the forms of 3 Pl. Pres. Conj. with EP 1 Sg. =ñi, for the disappearance of the final *-ñc* was entirely regular before this particle, cf. *pälkse=ñi* (101 b3, 5) Pres. Caus. of *pälk-* "burn (Trans.), torture", *pränki=ñi* (115 a4) Pres. of *pränk-* "stay away; restrain oneself", *tsäkse=ñi* (101 b4) Pres. Caus. of *tsäk-* "burn", *täke=ñi* (66 a3, 215 a6) Conj. and *täki=ñi* (67 b2) Opt of *nas-* "be". Apparently, "truncated" variants of the 3 Pl. prespra from the position before =ñi to forms without enclitics.

2. Use of the form *teñc* ~ *te* in the 3 Pl. Conj. of the verb "be".

Alongside the 3 Pl. Conj. form of the verb *nas-* "be" — *täke(ñc)* — common to Eastern Tocharian, we find in *MAV* the form *teñc* (226 a1, 229 b3) ~ *te* (229 b3), which is lacking in other manuscripts. The emergence of the variant should be seen as an entirely natural modification of 3 Pl. Conj. form *te(ñc)* of the existential verb caused, on the one hand, by the influence of the 3 Pl. Pres. and 3 Pl. Imp. forms *neñc* and *šeñc* and, on the other, by the structure of the conjunctive sub-paradigm itself, other forms of which — 1 Sg. *tām*, 2 Sg. *tāi*, etc. — do not contain *k*.

3. The forms Gen. *kapsäñne* (240 a1) and Acc. *kapsaṃ* (240 a3).

The form *kapsäñne* Gen. of *kapsaṃi* "body" (Nom. Pl. *kapsiññāñi*) found in *MAV* is unique: in Tocharian A the

Gen. Sg. ending *-e* is usual only for nouns with Nom. Pl. in *-āñ*, but only animates, cf. *šomiñ* "girl" — Nom. Pl. *šomiñāñ*, Gen. Sg. *šomine*, *šāmañ* "monk" — Nom. Pl. *šāmnāñ*, Gen. Sg. *šāmnē*, *oñkalām* "elephant" — Nom. Pl. *oñkälmañ*, Gen. Sg. *oñkälme*, etc. In texts outside of *MAV* the Gen. of the word "body" is formed in accordance with the general rule — *kapsiññis* (59 b1, 243 a2, 244 b2, 397 a3).

Even more interesting is the form *kapsaṃ*. This form, like the oft-attested usual form *kapsaṃi*, is undoubtedly the Acc. Sg. of the noun "body" [15]. The form *kapsaṃ* is attested in three different manuscripts and cannot be the result of an error or slip of the pen. Nonetheless, works on Tocharian A grammar usually do not mention it at all. An exception is the dictionary by Van Windekens, who points out that *kapsaṃi* and *kapsaṃ* are simply two equal morphological variants of the Nom. Acc. Sg. of the word "body" [16], although this hypothesis can be accepted with some caution, as *kapsaṃ* appears exclusively as an Acc. (but not a Nom.) of this noun. In our view, the form *kapsaṃ* is the only evidence of the fact that at an early stage of the development of Tocharian A some inanimate nouns retained a special form of the Acc. Sg. with a zero ending, as is found in Tocharian B. Moreover, an analysis of the corresponding fragment of *MSN* (YQ-43 b4: *kapsaṃ rake pälsäkyo käsu skamat käkropuṣ pštākäs* "... have always accumulated virtue with body, word, and mind..." [17]) suggests that this form is an exact etymological equivalent of the Tocharian B form Acc. *kektseñ* [18] (with Nom. *kektseñe*, which also corresponds regularly to Toch. A *kapsaṃi*). In actuality, the expression *kapsaṃ rake pälsäkyo* is undoubtedly a stable formula with the meaning "body and soul; by all means", notably attested also for Tocharian B in the form *kektseñ reki pälskosa* [19]. The combination *kapsaṃ ra* (248 b4) before the break is almost certainly the beginning of this very construction.

The use of Acc. *kapsaṃ* in *MAV* differs from the two examples noted above. The presence of the form *kapsaṃ* in an archaic Buddhist formula may have been determined by tradition and may not have corresponded to the actual linguistic usage of scribes. Even so, this interpretation is impossible for *MAV*, as the form *kapsaṃ* appears there as an ordinary object: *winäs kapsaṃ pättām ñktenām* [20] "honours the Buddha-god's body".

Thus, if the form *kapsäñne* is not an error, manuscript *MAV* shows traces of a morphologically and morphologically non-trivial paradigm for the word "body" that is similar to the paradigm for animate nouns with a Nom. Pl. in *-āñ* (Gen. Sg. in *-e*, Nom. Sg. ≠ Acc. Sg.) (see *Table 1*).

Table 1

Grammatical form	<i>MAV</i>	"Standard" Tocharian A
Nom. Sg.	<i>kapsaṃi</i>	<i>kapsaṃi</i>
Acc. Sg.	<i>kapsaṃ</i>	<i>kapsaṃi</i>
Gen. Sg.	<i>kapsäñne</i>	<i>kapsiññis</i>

## Lexicon

### 1. The use of emphatic particles.

*MAV* differs noticeably from other manuscripts in its usage of emphatic particles. In Tocharian A this function is usually performed by the particles *aśśi* and *ats*. The first tends to appear after interrogative pronouns the second after all other words, although this tendency displays variation; cf., for example, *kuss ats* (9 a6 and others; *kus* — “who”), and *kālk aśśi* (119 b4; *kālk* — 3 Sg. Pt. of *y-* “go”). Also, we find the form *atsek*, which corresponds regularly to Toch. B. *attsaik* and is used exclusively in the phrase *šakk atsek* (alongside *šakk ats*) “certainly, surely”.

In manuscript *MAV*, the particle *aśśi* does not appear at all, while the particle *ats* (not counting the combination *šakk ats*) is encountered only twice (224 b6, 231 a1); in

their stead we find the particle *atsam*, which is uncharacteristic of “standard” Tocharian A: of the twelve occurrences of this particle, 8 come in texts Nos. 219—242 (222 a2, 222 b6, 229 b1, 233 b2, 234 b1, 236 b2, 236 b7, 237 a5) and only four in all other Tocharian A texts (70 a4, 124 a1, 353 a3, 452 a2). It is telling that *atsam* does not occur at all in *MSN*.

The particle *atsek* is used in *MAV* in accordance with the general rules, that is, only with *šakk*, but in this manuscript we find four times (222 a5, 224 a6, 231 a3, 236 a3), without a preceding *šakk*, the similar particle *ātsek*, which is attested nowhere else. The combination *its*, unusual for Tocharian A, suggests that it is a borrowing from Tocharian B *attsaik* (the contraction of diphthongs in Tocharian A occurs in borrowings of all periods).

## Conclusion

Without the support of extra-linguistic data — archaeological, palaeographic, historical, etc. — our analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of *Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa* is hardly sufficient for sustainable conclusions about the relative chronology and dialectal division of Toch. A texts. Nonetheless, the following two circumstances suggest themselves. On the one hand, we find a number of specific features of *MAV* in the areas of morphology and especially morphonology — the spellings *śy* and *ṣy* alongside *śś* and *ṣṣ*, the retention of a single *p* in the oblique stem of the word “flower”, the spelling with *ä* of the oblique stem of the word “body” and the use of this word in the special form *kapsam* in the Acc. Sg., the relatively frequent examples of forms with final *n*, the retention of *ñc* in the Auslaut of the forms *lāñc* and *krañc*.

These can only be interpreted as archaisms, not attested in some cases in other Eastern Tocharian text. If this conclusion stands, we have reason to believe that manuscript *MAV* is one of the most ancient Eastern Tocharian *Sprachreste*.

On the other hand, such phenomena as the widespread use of the 3 Pl. marker *-ī-e*, the appearance of the 3 Pl. Conj. form *te(ñc)* of the existential verb, and possibly the transformation of the general Eastern Tocharian adverb *āneñci* “attentively; clearly” to *āneñsi*, should naturally be viewed as specific innovations. This suggests that the original text of the *Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa* was not only created earlier than other known Tocharian A texts, but on a slightly different dialectal basis.

## Notes

1. P. Poucha, *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A* (Praha, 1955—1956).
2. W. Winter, “A linguistic classification of Tocharian B texts”, *JAOS*, 75/4 (1955).
3. *Tocharische Sprachreste*. Bd. 1: *Die Texte*, herausgegeben von E. Sieg und W. Siegling (Berlin—Leipzig, 1921), pp. 107—21.
4. Here and elsewhere we write simply “manuscript *MAV*”, although fragments Nos. 219—238 and Nos. 239—242 belong to two different copies of the work undoubtedly executed by different scribes. This seems permissible, as there are no linguistic differences between the copies, which is itself an extremely important fact indicating the care and precision of both copyists.
5. See *Tocharische Sprachreste*.
6. See, for example, W. Thomas, “Zum Problem der Übersetzung buddhistischer Sanskrit-texte in Tocharischen”, *Beiträge zur Indienforschung*. Veröffentlichung des Museum für Indische Kunst, Bd. 4 (Berlin, 1977); *idem*, “Tocharische Sprachreste. Sprache B. T. 1: Die Texte, Bd. 1, Fragmente 1—11 b der Berliner Sammlung”, *AKGWG*, F. 3 (1983), No. 33.
7. V. V. Ivanov, “Pamiatniki tokharoiazycnoñ piš'mennosti” (“Texts of Tocharian literature”), *Vostochnyi Turkestan v drevnosti i ranem srednevekov'e: etnos, iazyki, religii* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 233—4.
8. Ji Xianlin (in collaboration with W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault), *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nātaka of the Xingjiang Museum, China*. Transliterated, translated and annotated by... (Berlin—New York, 1998). — *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs*, vol. 113.
9. Cf. S. A. Burlak, *Istoricheskaia fonetika tokharskikh iazykov* (The Historical Phonetics of the Tocharian Languages) (Moscow, 2000), p. 59.
10. Ivanov, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
11. For more detail on the rules governing the usage of the “subscript *u*” in Tocharian A, see S. Burlak, “A peculiar feature of the Tocharian script. I. (towards an explanation of the usage of ‘additional *u*’ in Tocharian A)”, *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 8 (Copenhagen, 1999); and *idem*, *Istoricheskaia fonetika*, pp. 29—41.

12. Cf. A. J. Van Windekens, *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, vol. 1: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire* (Louvain, 1976), pp. 264—5, 274.
  13. In Sieg and Siegling's *Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. 110, erroneously *omäskeñ ñi*.
  14. Burlak, *Istoricheskaia fonetika*, pp. 54—5.
  15. Already Poucha wrote about this, cf. Poucha, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
  16. Van Windekens, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
  17. Ji Xianlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—9.
  18. The correspondence between Toch. B *ñ* and Toch. A (final) *m* is unusual, but theoretically possible. Cf., in particular, adjectives in *-ññe* — *-m* such as Toch. B *oñkolmaññe* — Toch. A *oñkälmeṃ* “pertaining to an elephant”.
  19. W. Krause, W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. 1 (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 91.
  20. In Sieg and Siegling's *Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. 120, erroneously *pättäṃñkte nām*.
-