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**Tocharian verb stems in -t khá-**

I.

One of the more bizarre aspects of Tocharian from the Indo-European point of view is the presence of a large class of verbs with stem-final -t khá-. A cluster of dental plus velar is quite rare in Indo-European. Oblique cases of the word for ‘earth’ must have had underlying *d(h)kʰ-*, but this sequence was subject to various phonological rules within Indo-European and is nowhere directly preserved1). Hittite shows dental plus velar in hatk- ‘close’, hatku- ‘narrow’ and waktu- ‘leap’, and from Indo-Iranian one may cite Vedic ḍkva- ‘coat’, ḍga- ‘twig’(?) and Av. vṛddka- ‘kidney’. All of these forms, however, are isolated and not part of a productive formation. We are therefore surprised to find in Tocharian some thirty verb stems in final -t khá-, nineteen of them shared by both A and B. Synchronically, -t khá- is part of the root, appearing in all forms of the verb, but not just the present system. The formation has obviously enjoyed considerable productivity. Since its unusual phonetic shape virtually eliminates any chance of its being old, we are led to seek its origin within the history of Tocharian.

The following summary of all the -t khá- verbs is based on that of Lane, JAO 85 (1965) 66f., with minor additions and modifications to be justifiably later. It does not purport to be a complete list of forms, but it does attempt to identify as far as possible the present (indicative), subjunctive, and preterite formations of each

(*) I would like to thank Professors Jay Jasanoff, Jochem Schindler and Calvert Watkins for having read a draft of this paper and offered many useful criticisms and suggestions in addition to those acknowledged in the body of the text. Final responsibility for the contents naturally is mine.

1) In Hitt. tkan/takna- the occasional spelling of the oblique stem as ta-a-ak-na- suggests that the cluster has been broken up by anaptyxis, either in Anatolian or already in Indo-European. By assuming that the vowel insertion is of IE date, we may also account for Toch. A tkan-; if the inserted vowel became Proto-Tocharian a or u, a *takan- or *tukan- would give Toch. A tkan- by regular syncope. On these and related forms see Schindler, Die Sprache 13 (1967) 191f., and NSF Report HAV-LING 02-75 (Indo-European Studies II), Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., (1976) 40f. (henceforth simply I-E Stud. II).
verb. The Roman numerals designating the various conjugation classes are those of Krause-Thomas, Tocharisches Elementarbuch (TE) I, except that I follow Lane in assigning the nasal-infix forms of A to Class VII.

1. A kātāc ‘arise’. Pres. act. 3 sg. kātākāsī VII; subj. 3 sg. kātākī V; pret. 3 sg. kātākāt II.

2. AB kātāc ‘rejoice’. caus. ‘gladden’. A pres. act. 2 pl. kākākā, B 3 sg. kākākārī II; pret. 3 pl. kācātīr I. Caus. A pres. act. 3 sg. kātākāsī VIII; B mid. 3 sg. kātākātīr IX; A pret. absol. kātākāvūrā, B pple. kātākājavātā II.

3. AB kātāc ‘cross over; pass (of time)’, caus. ‘to cross over’. A pres. act. 3 pl. kātākānē, B 3 sg. kātākānēsī VII and kātākānēm V; A subj. 3 sg. kākākā, B kākākām V; A pret. 3 sg. kōkā, B kākāsī I. Caus. B pres. act. 3 sg. kātākāsīm IX; B pret. mid. 2 sg. kātākāsātīr, A pple. kātākāsākātā II.


5. AB kātē ‘fill out, give substance to’. B pres. mid. pple. kātēkēmānē VII; B pret. act. 1 pl. kātēkām, A pret. mid. 3 sg. kātēkāt I. Caus. B pres. pple. kātēkāsātā II.

6. A lūkā, B klūkā ‘turn (intr.)’, caus. ‘cause to become’. B pres. mid. 3 pl. klūkākāntēr K; Caus. A pres. act. 3 sg. lūkāsā-ān VIII, B kūkākāsāpāt IX; A pret. 3 sg. lūkāsīs III, B pret. 2 sg. klūkākāsātā II.

7. A lōkā, B klōkā ‘turn (away)’ (intr.); return; become’, caus. ‘turn away (tr.)’, A pres. act. 3 sg. lōkākāsāpāt VIII, B mid. 3 pl. kōkākāntēr I; A subj. 3 sg. lōkākā, B klōkākām V; A pret. act. 3 sg. lōkākāsīm IX; B pret. 3 sg. klōkākāsātā II.

8. A tākē ‘1’. (caus.) inf. tākāsāsī VIII; pret. mid. 3 sg. tākākāt II.

9. A nātikā ‘thrust (away); urge’. B pres. act. 3 sg. nātākāmān VII and nātākāmān VII; B subj. 3 sg. nātākām V; pret. mid. 2 sg. nātākāsī I. Caus. A inf. nātākāsīs VII; pret. mid. 3 sg. nātākākāt, pple. nātākāsātā II.

10. B pātkā ‘give up, lay aside’. Opt. pātkāy V; pret. absol. papātākāmān VII.

11. A yōtkā ‘divide’. A pres. act. 3 sg. yōtkāsāpāt, B 3 pl. yōtkākāntēr VIII; A subj. 3 sg. yōtkākā, B yōtkākām V; A pret. pple. yōtkūkā, B yōtkūkā I. Caus. B pres. mid. 3 pl. yōtkākākāntēr IX; pret. pple. yōtkūkātā II.

12. A ṣṛkā ‘come about, occur’. (caus.) A pres. act. 3 sg. ṣṛkāsā-ān VIII, B ṣṛkākāsāpāt IX; A pret. 3 sg. ṣṛkāvūt, B ṣṛkāvūtka II, A pple. ṣṛkāṣātā III.

13. A prukā ‘be shut, clogged’. caus. ‘shut, clog’. B pres. mid. 3 sg. prukākāntār III; A subj. 3 sg. prukākā, B mid. 3 sg. prukākātār V; A pret. act. 3 pl. prukākākā, B prukākākār I. Caus. B pres. act. 3 sg. prukākāsāpāt IX; A pret. 3 pl. prukākāvūt, B 3 sg. prukākāsātā II.

14. A plūkā ‘swell; arise; overflow’. B pres. mid. pple. pylumāmānē II/III; subj. 3 sg. plūkāsī I; pret. 3 pl. plūkāvātā III; pret. pple. plūkākāsātā, B plūkākāsātā II.

15. A plūkā ‘arise’, caus. ‘cause to overflow’. Pret. 3 sg. pylumāsāsātā II. Caus. pret. 3 pl. pylumākāsātā II.
determining the original present-class inflection of a verb and have been omitted from this table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Conjugation Classes of -tk- Verbs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB kätk- 'rejoice' AI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A gätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>B kätk- AI</td>
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<tr>
<td>A wätk- MI</td>
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<td>B nätik- AT</td>
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<td>B prätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>B lätik- AT</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B plätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>A kätk- 'arise' AI</td>
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<tr>
<td>B mlätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>AB kätk- AI</td>
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<tr>
<td>B lätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>B kat- 'T</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>B nät- AT</td>
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<tr>
<td>B klätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>AB prätik- AT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B rätik- AI</td>
<td></td>
<td>AB rätik- MT</td>
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<tr>
<td>A mlätik- AT</td>
<td></td>
<td>A lätik- AT</td>
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<tr>
<td>A lot- AI</td>
<td></td>
<td>A lotik- AI</td>
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<tr>
<td>A wätik- AI</td>
<td></td>
<td>A wätik- 'A</td>
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<tr>
<td>A spätik- MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>A spätik- 'MI (B IX)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Active  M = Middle  T = Transitive  I = Intransitive

In addition to the verbs A mlæuk- and AB lit-/læik-, there are also nominal forms related to the -tk- verbs: A käke, B katkarña 'joy' to kätk- 'rejoice'; A lotåk, B klæw 'way, manner' to läk-, B klæw- 'turn'; A potåk 'hand'); B præwks 'tribute' to prætk- 'divide, distribute'; A puräk 'discoid' to the same verb; A prätk, B præwks 'prison, lock' to prætk- 'be shut'; A vætåks, B vætåksse 'decisive' to væt- 'decide'; A letåk and letkær 'separately' to letk- 'withdraw'; and A spæwk, B spæle(ke) 'striving, zeal', A spæwkæse, B spæelkæsæseu 'striving for, zealous' to spælk- 'strive'. Further more prob ematic cases will be discussed below.

II.

To my knowledge there have been three previous treatments of the Tocharian -tk- verbs. The first is that of K. Schneider, IF 58 (1941) 45f., who takes as his starting point the -tk- verbs of Class VII, which show a nasal infix: e.g. A puränkäs 'divide', B käkknä 'crosses over'. He then proceeds to search for etymologies from IE roots in a final dental for these and other -tk- verbs. Concluding on the basis of these etymologies that the final -tk- is not part of the root, Schneider goes on to attribute to the -tk- suffix an 'intensiv-iterativen, inchoativen Verbalaspekt'. He claims that there are other cases of a final -tk- with this function in Tocharian, but cites no examples. He further suggests the possibility that this -tk- suffix may have resulted from a false abstraction from the IE *-sk- suffix. Schneider concludes with etymologies for several Tocharian -sk- verbs.

As will become clear from the following discussion, any attempt to derive all the -tk- verbs from existing IE roots in a final dental produces a few good etymologies and many dubious ones. Schneider himself implicitly recognizes this in deriving pyutk- 'come to pass, from IE *hējeh- 'grow, be (come)' via a nominal stem like that of Skt. bhāti- '(well-)being'. Beyond this there is little to say. Schneider's suggestion that the -tk- of -tk- has somehow been abstracted from -sk- is intriguing, but he makes no attempt to actually prove this hypothesis.

The -tk- verbs are also discussed by Pedersen, Toch. 170-73, who likewise takes the nasal presents of Cl. VI and VII as the starting point of the formation. He asserts that these verbs are denominative, citing examples like A putåk 'discoid', alongside AB purk- 'divide' and A lotåk, B klæwks 'manner' beside A lotk-, B klæwks- 'turn; become'. Pedersen also recognizes the parallelism between the -tk- verbs and some of those in -sk- (A mrosńkētār, B mrosńkētār 'becomes disgusted'), but he views this connection as secondary. No source for the -tk- suffix is offered, partly because Pedersen is unsure about the phonetic shape of the IE preform. For the formation of denominatives by the addition of -nā-, he compares Germanic forms such as ON myrkr 'dark' < mykr 'dark' and Goth. (ga)hailnan 'get well' < hailis 'healthy'. The transfer from Cl. VI (-nā-) to Cl. VII (nasal infix) would have been in imitation of thematicized forms of inherited nasal-infix verbs.3)

This account is unsatisfactory on several counts. Pedersen cannot explain the shape of the -tk- suffix nor suggest a likely IE origin for it. The formation of Cl. VI (> Cl. VII) -tk- verbs by a denominative -nā- suffix does not explain why we find at least five -tk- presents in Cl. III and IV. This becomes all the more serious when

3) Such as B pīk- 'write, paint' (Cl. VII 3 pl. pīkəm ~ Lat. pingunt). Pedersen does not cite this verb here, but cf. his Toch. 160.

7 Zeitvorn. f. vgl. Sprachw., 41, 91, Heft 1
we note that the latter form a unified class formally and functionally: they are all intransitive middles with stative or inchoative meaning. On the other hand, the -tk- verbs of Cl. VI and VII are a varied lot in terms of diathesis, transitivity and semantics. This state of affairs does not square with the idea that those of Cl. VI and VII are original, and those of Cl. III and IV secondarily derived from them. Note in particular that the comparison with Germanic predicts just the opposite: the nasal forms should be consistently inchoative middles, while one might expect the forms not characterized by -ná- to show some variety in diathesis and semantics.

Furthermore, if the -ná- in these forms is denominative, it is surprising that it does not appear outside the present indicative. The non-present forms of Cl. VI -tk- verbs are just like those of any Cl. VI verb: cf. A kátk- 'cross over' subj. 2 sg. kaktat, pret. 3 pl. kátkar, pret. pple. kátko just like lárk- 'release' subj. 3 sg. tárka, pret. 3 pl. tárkar, pret. pple. tárko. It is true that IE denominatives were originally limited to the present, but the typical practice in the various languages is to build a complete conjugation on the characterized present stem. Compare the formation of the Germanic nasal verbs cited by Pedersen: Goth. fulgan 'become full', pret. 3 sg. fulnáda, opt. 3 sg. fulnai, inv. 2 sg. fuln, pres. pple. fulnands; ON vaka 'wake up', pret. 3 sg. vakaná, losna 'get loose', subj. 3 pl. losni. Within Tocharian one may compare the behavior of the denominative verbs of Cl. XII (with suffix -ná-): B aínna-ní- 'wish' (aínne 'wish'), impf. mid. 2 sg. aínnaí, AB twíkní-twíkn- 'love' (twíkn-twíkn- 'love'), A impf./pret. act. 1 sg. twíkí, subj. vbl. subst. twíkí, B impf. act. 2 sg. tánkwanít, inv. 2 sg. ptánkwaní; B kwipe-ní- 'be ashamed' (< kwípe 'shame'), pret. mid. 3 sg. kwípení.* We therefore have some right to expect that a denominative -ná- would be reflected outside the present indicative.

Pedersen's explanation of the transfer from Cl. VI to Cl. VII is also problematic. The infixed forms of A are athematic (ending in -á-), which is unexpected if they have been formed in imitation of thematized forms like B 3 sg. pínkám, 3 pl. pínkem.

The fullest account of the -tk- verbs is that of Lane, JAOS 85 (1965) 66ff. (reprinted in Studies in Historical Linguistics in Honor of George S. Lane, 88ff.). Unlike Schneider and Pedersen, Lane does not concentrate on the nasal presents of Cl. VI and VII, but rather emphasizes the variety of present-class inflection. He does follow Pedersen in citing the related nominal forms, some of which he considers to be independent of the verb. In a subsequent etymological survey Lane attempts to supply plausible IE nominal bases for all the -tk- forms. Noting that many of these turn out to be *-to- participles, Lane finds support for this derivation in the fact that all the Tocharian stems with umbragous vocalism show the expected zero-grade. For the following -k- suffix, he compares the various IE formations where verbal adjectives in *-to- are extended by *-ko-: Grk. τινόδω 'discerning, critical' (< τινώ 'picked, chosen', Lat. donātūs < donātus both 'presented, given'. One would expect the front vowel i to palatalize the preceding t in Tocharian. While one could date the loss of the vowel before the palatalization, Lane prefers to assume the vocalism of Baltic -aka-, Slavic -oko-, Germanic -aga- (where the sequence of thematic vowel plus -ko- has been abstracted as a unitary suffix) 6).

Lane clarifies the relation of Cl. VI (-ná-) to Cl. VII (nasal infix). Given a difficult sequence -tkná-, there were a couple of alternative solutions 8). One was to break up the sequence by vowel insertion: B kátkná (< *kátkná-m). The other was to metathesize: A tolákná (via *tolákná). In A the metathesized form remained athematic. In B it was secondarily metathesized after the model of the inherited nasal infix type, which had already been thematized, as elsewhere: B kát(i)nákm for expected *kátánkám (< *kátánkám) after the model of pínkákm 'writes, paints' ~ Lat. pingit. Lane's reconstruction of verbal adjectives in *-tokos is formally plausible, although they are not attested elsewhere in this shape. However, he offers no parallels for the crucial syncope of -o- needed to produce the sequence -tk-. The denominative explanation also faces the same objections as it does in Pedersen's formulation, a point Lane himself is well aware of. He doubts the comparison with the Germanic type of gotainan, because many of the Tocharian

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1) In Germanic compare OHG nôttag 'forced' and OCSk. kraft're 'powerful' to the Gmc. i-stems *naujiti and *kruiti (Bruggmann, Grundz., 2.244). For the rather sparse examples of Baltic -ako- and Slavic -oko- see respectively Skardžius, Lietuvių Kalbos Žodžių Daryba 125, and Veillant, Gram. comp. 4.462-3,543. One could also point to Sktt. -aka-: see Wackernagel-Debrunner Il. 2 § 44f.

2) Note, however, that neither step was obligatory: B natknám 'pushes (away) preserves the original situation.

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4) The extension of the suffix to the non-present forms is not universal: kawá-ní- 'desire' (< kawo 'desire') has a Cl. I preterite: kawáta.
-tk- verbs show no nasal affix. He still believes in an ultimate denominative origin, but admits that he cannot account for the various present formations actually found with -tk- verbs in Tocharian.

Since part of the motivation for a denominative explanation is the existence of nouns in -tk-, something should be said at this point about their relationship to the -tk- verbs. Pedersen simply assumes that the verb stems are secondary from the nouns without presenting any evidence for the claim. Lane’s argumentation on this point is not entirely clear. He first suggests that all the cases which point to an old e-stem (A ə = B -e) are independent of the verb. But he claims later that A putak, B pustke must be derived from the verb pustke, since they show a strong grade as in the subjunctive: A potaka, B pustkau. On the other hand, A putak ‘discord’ with its zero-grade could be the basis for the verb stem, not a derivative from it. If zero-grade is made the criterion for the noun being independent of the verb, then A putak is in fact the only case which may be cited as evidence for deriving the verb stems from nouns.

It is by no means clear, however, that a zero-grade form like putak cannot also be derived from the verb stem. Compare A pātak, B polako ‘mind’ < AB pālok- ‘think’. Here we are certainly dealing with an -sk- present (see details below), and the noun is secondary. The formation reminds us of Skt. prohā-, Arm. haw, OHG forsca ‘question, inquiry’ from the stem of prabhāt ‘asks’ or Skt. iṣcād ‘desire’, Arm. aip ‘investigation’, OHG iesca ‘seeking’ to iṣcāt ‘seeks, desires’. While I would not insist that the Tocharian is also an a-stem, it is clear that we have a nominal derivative from a characterized verb stem with zero-grade. While in the same way, putak may be derived from pustak, and the only evidence for deriving the -tk- verbs from the corresponding nouns disappears. On the other hand, we have unambiguous examples of nominal forms derived from -tk- verbs (B kattakūna, AB wōtkūla/ůtakūlta). In the absence of evidence to the contrary we may thus derive all the related nominal forms from the -tk- verbs.

III

While Lane’s summary of the conjugation classes of -tk- verbs is generally accurate, his stress on the variety of present-class membership is misleading. As noted above, the productive formations of Cl. VIII and IX are of no significance in determining the original present inflection of the -tk- verbs. Any verb in B can potentially form a Cl. IX present, and in A a corresponding Cl. VIII present. Furthermore, not all of the derived forms show a causative sense: B korpold (IV), kārpastār (IX) both mean ‘descend’. Given this situation, one is not surprised that in some cases the base verb has disappeared: AB mi- ‘harm’ shows only A miyās

(VIII), B miyāsām (IX). Thus a case like AB gynuk- ‘occur’ (only A VIII/B IX) tells us nothing about the original distribution of the -tk- presents.

When we remove the Cl. VIII/IX presents from consideration, much of the ‘variety’ in the -tk- present inflection disappears. As we have already seen, the nasal ‘infixed’ presents of Cl. VII are derived from Cl. VI -nā- presents. The distribution of verbs between Cl. III and IV is a function of the root vocalism: those with ə, i or u in Cl. III, those with a, ai, or au/o in Cl. IV. Thus with a single exception (AB kāluk- ‘rejoice’ Cl. II), all the -tk- presents fall into one of two groups: Cl. III/IV or Cl. VI/VII.

Faced with the alternatives of Cl. III or Cl. VI as the original locus of the -tk- verbs, the choice seems clear. Aside from the obvious greater ease in explaining derivation by addition instead of deletion of a suffix, there is the fact mentioned above: the Cl. III -tk- verbs form a coherent functional and semantic group of static and inchoative intransitive middles, while those of Cl. VII/VII show a great variety in diathesis, transitivity and semantics. If the Cl. III -tk- verbs are to be derived from those of Cl. VI by deletion of -nā-, it is hard to see why the variety of the original formation was lost. In fact, the very lack of coherence in the Cl. VI/VII type suggests that it is a conglomeration of more than one original formation. This possibility will be pursued below.

Recalling the pair B mütuk-, A mūsk- ‘escape’ and Schneider’s suggestion of a relationship between -tk- and -sk-, it seems advisable to look at the present-class distribution of Tocharian -sk- verbs with a similar function, i.e. intransitive middles:

Conjugation Classes of -sk- Verbs (Intransitive Middles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>A tāsk- ‘resemble’</th>
<th>AB mūsk- ‘be’</th>
<th>B mrausk- ‘become disgusted’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
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<td>VI</td>
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<td>XI</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

While there are only seven examples, their pattern of distribution bears a striking resemblance to that of the -tk- verbs. B wōsk- ‘move, stir’ stands outside the pattern in Cl. XII, but A wōskākār Cl. VII points to an older *waskār Cl. IV (cf. B klas-
Tocharian verb stems in -ṭk-

has suggested that the formation originated in -sk- derivatives from roots in a final dental, where -ṭk- was the regular phonological result of -ṭ-sk: e.g. yut-śk- > A yukk- 'become upset, worry' < IE *jeuđh- 'move rapidly' (likewise for the root Van Windekens, Lex. 197 and Schneider, loc. cit.). Lane, loc. cit., repeats Van Windekens' gloss 'be sad' for yut-śk- and objects to the etymology on semantic grounds, citing only Skt. yudhāti 'fights' and Lat. inābō 'order' (< *jeuđhē-j- 'set in motion'). However, one may marshall support for the derivation from the side of both Indo-European and Tocharian. Schneider points out other instances where the root refers to mental agitation: Lith. įsūdinti (refl.) 'become excited'; Skt. ud-yādhati 'well up (of water)' but also 'start up angrily' (cf. also Av. yavasāti 'become agitated (water and emotions)') and OPer. yassutātā 'get stirred up').

Furthermore, the only Tocharian occurrence with a complete context also points more toward 'worry, become agitated' than 'be sad'. In the Saṅgītaka Śāntakas (A 65a1–b1)10 King Mahendra'sena is concerned about the marriage of his daughter Bahdrā. Since her beauty and other virtues are known far and wide, he is afraid that whichever suitor he chooses as his husband, he will be in trouble: gomārā pātaṁ kṣūpaṁ avarmeda, dhyāta deśas tāve-hi, sāke saśvār-vaśānā rahabbad [-----] caś nāṣ kārva ca yarma pādākākāti tāvāvānāmā dharmo bharīyaṁ. sūdrāḥ, chācāmā māntu yaś kāṁ? 'If I give you to one king, the others will be my enemies. They will come with their fourfold armies (...). In order to think over this vexation on your account, I have sat high in the palace with my chin in my hand. Think, daughter, what am I to do?'—Bahdrā, who has been born with the wish to be Brahmadatta's wife, replies: nātīkā, tāṁ yarma tu mar yuktātār ... evamāparāṇān āśāpūrṇā śīṁ mārāmā pari śāfrāmā, mar tāṁ śāfrāmā khamāṁā! 'Lord, do not worry on that account ... having attained evamāparāṇa (self-choice), I will choose a husband according to my own judgment. No danger shall come to you!'—One fragmentary passage, A 111a1, seems to concern a similar situation: Jāmgo yutkās lāmō sē 'Wronged/upset by that, she (had) sat ...'. While it is difficult to determine whether the sense is inchoative 'become upset' or durative 'worry', the general meaning of mental agitation is clear. Semantically, then, the derivation yutk- < yut-śk(o)- < *jeuđh- is sound.

In testing the validity of the proposed phonological rule -ṭ-sk- > -ṭk-, we are essentially limited to the formation under discussion, since just such a sequence would occur nowhere else. However, one can easily conceive of other outcomes of -ṭ-sk- whose existence would constitute counterevidence.

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10 Textual citations preceded only by A or B refer to the respective editions of the Tochar. Sprachreste by Sieg and Siegling. Other abbreviations are those of Krause, Westtoch. Gram. 310–12.
One possibility is that the sequence would be preserved as *tsk-. There is evidence that the sequence -ts- falls together in Tocharian with the affricate *ts resulting from the palatalization of IE dental stops: *lunt- ‘drive away’ forms a Cl. VIII (-t-) present, whose third plural active is *luteic < *luts-onti. Furthermore, there is no synchronic constraint in Tocharian barring a sequence -tsk-. Compare the forms of the verb AB tsak- ‘burn’ (< *dheyrh) where syncope of the vowel produces -tsk-: A tskalune, B tskenmar, tsketst. Therefore we need to ask: are there any verb stems in *tsk- pointing to an underlying *tsk-?

There is only one possible candidate: A pəlt(ə)sk- ‘think’. Is it from -tsk-? The answer appears to be no. First of all, the appearance of -tsk- instead of -sk- is sporadic even in A, and the corresponding form in B is always pəlsk-. Second, Tocharian shows many examples of openthesis in a sequence of sonant plus s: B kektsəs perl. to keks ‘earth’, kelsə 3 sg. pret. to kals- ‘endure’, A yə♠tsəts 3 sg. pret. mid. to yə♠- ‘do’, əlsətə and əlsət 3 sg. pret. mid. to əl- ‘keep at a distance’.

The form pəlsk- is thus easily explainable from pəlsk-.

Etymologically, the verb has been derived from IE *bhel- ‘bright’ (Van Windekens, Lex. 85). For the semantics compare first of all Skt. sam-, ni-bhālayati ‘looks at’, Grk. παύσας ‘look at with amazement’, attributed to the same root. The connection of light and vision is widespread in IE: cf. Grk. λενὸς ‘look at’ to λένος ‘bright’ and aυδῆ ‘see clearly’ to aυδῆ ‘brightness’. For the passage from ‘perceive, see’ to ‘think’ compare Skt. cētati ‘perceives’, cētate ‘reflects’ or Grk. οἰστροματα ‘look at; consider’ > ModGrk. ‘think’. One need not go so far for a comparison, however. Toch. AB shows pəlsk- ‘grow bright’ (< IE *bhelyt-; cf. Skt. bhāgās ‘brightness’) and pəlsk- ‘see’ (suppletive to lətk-). In view of the development -sk > -sk- to be discussed below, one should consider the possibility that pəlsk- ‘think’ is from *pəlsk-. All three stages of semantic development would then be attested within Tocharian. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that A pəlt(ə)sk- should be derived from *pəlsk-, and it does not constitute a counterexample to the proposed rule -tsk- > -sk-.

Another possibility to be considered is that -tsk- goes to -sk-. As intimated above, there is evidence for -skks- > -sk-: Schneider, 11)

11) For the openthesis after liquids compare the Hittite compound pı̇r-taḫaḫa(n) and the nom. sg. hattuwa ‘star’ < *h₃(a)ı̇tər +s. See also the Luvi examples in Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite 133.

Tocharian verb stems in -tsk-

loc. cit., and Van Windekens, Lex. 141, have plausibly related AB trsk- ‘graw’ to Grk. ποχύρω ‘idem’, presupposing *träh-sk-. AB pərsk- ‘be afraid’ is undoubtedly to be related to Goth. faurhils, ON. OE, OHG forhī ‘afraid’ via *pærsk- (Holthausen, IF 39 (1921) 65). We have already seen A təsk- ‘semble’ < *təsk-, cognate with Hitt. dəkki ‘matches, resembles’ 12). Van Windekens, Lex. 142, also derives A trsk- ‘resound’ from *trəsk-, comparing Grk. (e)ρήσω ‘shriek’. However, the use of the word in the texts (subjects ‘music’, ‘heaven and earth’, ‘world’) suggests a deep, resonant sound more than a shrill, piercing one. Furthermore, the CL I (athematic) inflection raises considerable doubt as to whether this is a genuine -sk- verb at all. It may be a purely onomatopoetic creation. The three solid examples of -skks- > -sk- mean that we should also consider whether any of the Tocharian -sk- verbs represent -tsk-. A survey of the forms shows the following results:

B pəsk- ‘protect’ < *pəsk- ~ Lat. paśō; cf. Hitt. paš- ‘protect’;
B nəsk- ‘batho’ < *nəsk-; cf. Skt. mūti etc.:
AB trsk- ‘graw’ < *trəsk- < *trəgg-ak-; cf. Grk. ποχύρω;
AB pərsk- ‘be afraid’ < *pərsk- < *pərk-ak-; cf. Goth. faurhils etc.
AB pəlsk- ‘think’ < *pəlsk- or *pəlsk- (see above);
A təsk- ‘semble’ < *təsk- > *təsk-; cf. Hitt. dəkki etc.;
A trsk- ‘resound’ < *trəsk- < *trəgg-ak- or onomatopoetic;
AB məsks- ‘bo’ < *məns-ak- < *my-sk-; cf. Grk. μια, Lat. manco etc.
A məsk- ‘switch, juggle’ < *məsk-; cf. Lith. mēši ‘wave the hand’;
B məsk- ‘exchande’ < *mi-sk-; cf. Skt. māyate etc.
B təsk- ‘scatter’ < *təms-ak- < *təmsk-; cf. Grk. (e)ρήσω ‘shriek’;
B wərsk- ‘smell’ < *wəsk-; cf. A war, bare ‘smell’, OHG waer neman ‘perceive’;
AB munsk- ‘be lost, disappear’ < *mu-sk-; cf. Lat. movēscit, Skt. māvata ‘move, above’;
B yəsk- ‘beg for’ < *yəsk- < *jəsk-; cf. Skt. yēcata ‘beg’;
AB wəsk- ‘move, stir’ < *wəsk- < *wəg-sk-; cf. Goth. gauvjan ‘shake’ etc.
AB məska-/məskaht- ‘become disgusted’;
AB unmisak- ‘press’;
B nəsk- ‘desire, demand’;
B berek- ‘give up’;

The first seven verbs in the list require no further comment. The derivation of AB məsk- ‘be’ from *my-sk- (a)goes back to

12) Laroche, BSL 58 (1983) 65–71, relates Hitt. dəkki to Hitt. təsk- ‘arrange, fit together, make conform’ and derives both from IE *dek-; cf. especially Grk. δοκει ‘it seems good’ and Lat. docet ‘it is proper’. For the assignment of Toch. təsk- to this root see already Van Windekens, Lex. 137.
Meillet, JA 17 (1911) 456. Van Brock, KZ 85 (1971) 280f., argues that the reflexes of IE *r̥ and *r are distinct in Tocharian: while *r gives ān (A kánt, B kante ‘hundred’) < *kœtyon, non-initial *r appears variously as Tocharian ŏ, a or ā, the specific reflex depending on both the IE and Tocharian accent. In making this claim, Van Brock rejects the evidence of A kántu, B kanteo ‘tongue’ (< *djhyt̥u) for *r > ān, based on the taboo deformation of the word. I do not see how the metathesis of the consonants could affect the presence or absence of the nasal element in the reflex of *r. Furthermore, it is implausible that Tocharian would distinguish *r before a dental (as in *kœtyon) from *r. I therefore prefer to retain *r > ān and posit *myruk > *män-sk > mäsk-, with loss of n before s, a nasal change attested elsewhere in Tocharian: cf. A wes ‘urine’ (versus B yents with epanthesis, B lâssi inf. to lâns ‘carry out, execute’.

Krause-Thomas treat B mäsk- ‘exchange’ (Cl. IX) as the causative of mäsk- ‘be’. They likewise gloss A mäsk- (Cl. VI) as ‘exchange’ and claim that it too was originally the causative of mäsk- ‘be’. The attempt to relate the two verbs in A faces a serious formal difficulty: what is the source of the ā in mäsk? Furthermore, while Tocharian causatives often show an idiomatic sense vis-à-vis the base verb, the development from ‘cause to’ to ‘exchange’ is not obvious.

Finally, A mäsk- does not really mean ‘exchange’ in the sense ‘trade, barter’: A 222a3-4 opšyantu mäšamšāt-ām vontu sevace, mā cesmi (škam štām-kweqynt praštāp kāṃśāntā mā kāṃśāntā, mā kāṃśānta pakkant ...13) ‘It turned around the seasons for them, the wind and rain. And their trees-1 (s) were not produced by time, were not produced. They (were) not ripened in the proper way...’ kweqynt is hapax, and the overall context obscure, but it is clear that the sense of mäsk- is unfavorable: the permutation of the seasons upsets the natural order of things. – A 230a4-5 skāgi arth pāṣi varentu νu māskant ḥī māsk vākmā ‘I tried to preserve the sense, but my words were jumbled in many ways’. Here again the connotation is pejorative: ‘switch, juggle’. The words are confused against the speaker’s will. The usage of the verb is thus compatible with derivation from IE *mā-, which means something like ‘wave the hand’ hence ‘juggle, deceive’. Compare Lith. mōją mōtį ‘wave, signal with the hand’, Latv. mádīt ‘idem’, mádītēs

13) The restorations in parentheses are from the parallel text A 239a1.

Tocharian verb stems in -tk-

‘juggle’, Russ. ob-manuť ‘trick, deceive’, perhaps Skt. māyā ‘trick, illusion’. There is no need to force a connection with mäsk- ‘be’.

B mäsk- (Cl. IX) does mean ‘exchange, barter’, as in the Buddha’s criticism of monks’ engaging in commerce: B 337a3 ēīrsa samāne naumisye naumisyesa maskāsāṁ ‘What monk shall trade a jewel for a jewel?’ The corresponding noun is miskasa ‘trade’, and the past participle is attested as memisko. B mäsk- / misksa- is thus formally ambiguous. It could be from original mäsk-, with an ā in some forms (cf. B pilko ‘gazoo’ versus A pālk to pālka ‘see’; TE I § 15b2 has further examples). However, there are also examples of i > ā before dentals: A lākkaraś to litk- ‘withdraw’, A vāś, B vose ‘poison’ < *vāś-, etc. Therefore misksa and memisko may preserve an original misksa- outside the finite paradigm. This points to IE *mēi- ‘exchange’: Skt. māyā ‘trades’, Lat. mānus ‘office, duty’, etc. (on these forms see Benveniste, Vocab. 1.96f.). So long as we do not control the precise conditioning for the changes ā > i and i > ā, no final decision is possible, but the semantics favor derivation from *mēi-.

B kāsk- is glossed ‘scatter’ and ‘confuse’ (the mind), meanings which do fit the occurrences in the texts: B 142a3 [ jēvāracagpa māsce re kāskāntā ‘and a fist(ful) of sand is scattered’; B 555a2 [nē]me[en]e] tu postem cen sravalyhe kāskan-me ‘Afterwards death will surely scatter them’; B 9b8 evi palako kāskātrā waiptār unstrā mäk(atsi) ‘Whose mind is confused and begins to wander’. However, Sieg points out in the glossary of Toch. Sprachr. B that the verb almost always occurs with waiptār ‘apart, separately’. Much of the semantic load of ‘scatter’ is thus carried by the adverb.

Furthermore, several occurrences point to physical violence as one of the semantic components of kāsk-: B 22b5 laursa enoninhe tarne rāster teoppyn-me, kāsakāntār-re waiptār āscce po lýkaske ‘They pierced his skull violently with an iron... His head was scattered (apart) all to pieces’14; B 246b3 pkašar-n waiptār kektōne (scil. kektōn) ‘Scatter my body (apart)’; B 5a2 [ēm] kautiśke kolektese waiptār puventa kāskente ‘The axle of the wagon was split, and the spokes were hurled apart’.

It is also instructive to look at the Skt. equivalent listed by Sieg for kāsk-: vi-kāṣā ‘flying apart, scatter (with violence)’ then ‘confuse, distract’. Sieg does not cite the specific passage on which he bases the equivalence, so one cannot be certain whether the Tocharian translators were aware of the literal meaning of vi-kāṣā, or

14) lýkaske ‘small’ is here used predicatively: ‘(into) little (pieces).’
merely of its figurative use. However, the presence of Pali vikkhipati 'scatters' and khipati 'throws' and Prakrit vikkhinai 'throws' (Turner, Comp. Dict. Indo-Aryan Lgs. sub vikhipati) does argue that the physical sense of the verb survived into late Sanskrit. Thus the use of käśk- for vi-kaśp- is not without significance in determining the precise meaning of the Tocharian verb.

In view of its overall usage, I propose to derive käśk- from IE *gʰes- 'strike' via *gʰes-ṣk- and *kʰes-ṣk-. For the treatment of aśk- compare māśk- 'be' discussed above; for initial k from a labiovelar in B compare kām- 'come' < *gʰem-. The sense 'scatter' is derived from the fixed collocation vaipṭār kāśk- 'smash, hurl apart' > 'scatter'. For the semantic development compare the usage of Skt. vi-han-, as often in the Rigveda: RV 1.41.3 vi durgaḥ vi dhīṣaḥ purā ghanti rájāna āṣām 'The kings scatter the dangers and enmities before them'; RV 1.36.16 ghanēva viṣṇav vi jahy dhīṃaḥ 'As with a cudgel scatter the misery in all directions'; RV 10.83.3 vi jahi aitraṁ 'Scatter the enemies'.

It is also relevant to the present discussion that Vedio han- with various preverbs can mean 'hurl', as in the following example: RV 7.18.18 tiṃām tiśmēni ni jahi vairam indra 'Hurl your sharp bolt down upon him, oh Indra'. I therefore find plausible a development of vaipṭār kāśk- from 'smash/hurl apart' to 'scatter'. For the transfer of the meaning from vaipṭār kāśk- to kāśk- alone, compare Lith. bėri/a/b褐色 'strew' (< IE *bher- 'bear'), where the sense 'strew' originated in compounds like iš-bėti (see Hermann, Studi Baltici 3.65f.).

B wākṣ- 'smell' is segmentable within Tocharian: compare A vākṣ- 'smell' and the noun A vāk, B vāra. The IE root is *gʰe-r- 'perceive'; OHG wār-n- 'perceive', ÓSax. wārōn 'perceive; guard'. Latv. vērūžēr 'look, notice'. For the semantics compare Fr. sentir 'perceive' in general and also specifically 'smell'.

AB muṣk- 'be lost, disappear' may be derived from IE *meu- 'move, push away'; Lat. movē, Skt. mvcāti. The original sense of muṣk- would have been 'be removed'. Derivation from the extended stem muṣ- of Skt. mvaṣati 'steals, robs' cannot be excluded.

Van Windelen, Lex. 166-66, derives B yāsk- 'beg for' from IE *jēb- 'speak', comparing for the sense Skt. yēcati 'ask for, implore'. This would be another case of kāśk- > -sk: yāsk- < yāk-sk- < *jēb-sk-.

AB wāsk- is glossed as 'move' (intr.), but the meaning needs to be further specified by a look at the actual usage: A 419a2 mā wāsāṅkāntār 'They do not move/shake' (= na kampyante); A 86b2 wāskat tkaṃkāti 'The earth(-god) moved'; A 59b1 mā penu wāskhumē yppā kapāśānas 'Nor did he move his head' (lit. 'make a move of his head'); A 12b3 māpīne śyānāṃ klāsa sme wāskhumē kēsdār śidāk tām 'The maned lion shall be motionless as if asleep'. The abstract wāskhumē is also accompanied by a negative in its two other occurrences: A 56a2, 218b3. The frequent negative collocation reflects the inchoative sense of the verb: 'be set in motion, stir'.

The same meaning is visible in the occurrences of the B verb: B 224b2-3 keśkāṣa läkhe prāthinmēn wāskatāma ma at-ato 'You bore the suffering; you did not budge from your decision/resolve'; B 143b1 [maj]ta yōkumēn wāskāṅtra 'He does not move from the spot'.

The frequent negative usage is also seen in the derivative avāskatā: B 229a3-4 sāhū lakṣ̣āś-aśaskācē wārā śē karāṃsa araṅce 'a sympathetic heart full of water immovable by joy and sorrow'.

The meaning 'stick', especially 'be moved, shaken', argues against Van Windelen's derivation, Lex. 155, from IE *yegh- 'convey, drive'. One should rather relate Toch. wāsk- to the Germanic family of Goth. gā-wagian 'shake', OE wegan, OHG weggen 'idem'. Compare further Lat. vexāre 'shake' and Homic. γελαφεῖν 'earth-shaking'. Meillet, Mé. Andler 249f., argues convincingly that these forms should be attributed to a separate root *yegh- 'shake, set in motion'.

The remaining -sk- verbs are without convincing etymology. For our present purpose, the important fact is that our survey has turned up no compelling examples of -sk- verbs from *t-sk-.

As a final alternative to *t-sk- > *t-sk-, we should deal with the possibility that a sequence *t-sk- would have been broken up by vowel insertion, becoming *tāsk-. This is in fact what happens in the productive causative formation of Cl. IX: B yādāyām 'adornas' to yād-, lyaṃtakau 'I drive away' to lat- (see already Jasanoff, op. cit. 114, note 8). But this does not preclude a different treatment *t-sk- > *t-sk- in an older formations. Vowel insertion is also regular for Cl. IX presents from roots in final n and k, as opposed to the older loss of n and k before *-sk- seen above. Compare B Cl. III māṅkātār < *mān-sk- versus Cl. IX endkēntār < en- 'instruct, order' and Cl. V prāskau < *prak-sk- versus Cl. IX pravākṣēm < *prāṅk- 'restrain oneself'. Since we have found no examples of *t-sk- > *t-sk- or -sk- and no old cases of *t-sk- > *t-sk-, nothing stands in the way of our accepting Jasanoff's suggested rule *t-sk- > *t-sk-.
When *lit-* is properly defined, its connection with AB *litk-* is evident. Since the former is already a Cl. III inchoative middle, the addition of *-sk-* in this case can hardly mark a change of aspect. The specific nuance of *litk-* seems to be one of active participation of the subject: *lit-* means ‘pass away’, *litk-* ‘withdraw’ (intentionally) from the world: A 385 b 3-4 *svariγysvake - litk-*lānueis ādītosam ‘suited for renunciation’. Skt. *svariγya* is ‘for’, which for a more literal Tocharian equivalent would be A *msroksk*- /B *mrausuk-* ‘feel disgust’. — A 247 b 2 *vindumai-ści sokoy-ādīram*18) *sokoy* likout *mnv pātell[k] ‘I praise your very pure, very aloof/withdrawn sense and mind’; B 587 a 5 [ *piiko liktu rano kāsīkānke ‘The teacher’s gaze (was) also averted’.

The causative equals the corresponding transitive ‘remove, drive away’: B 212 b 3-4 *ket ait yotki sāntk-onwohke pēloksyāνσσσ lsaytke teki ‘To whomsoever you give the dharma-nectar medicine to drink, they will drive away the sickness’; A 359,9 nirūhānamalo nirvāγγanco *lyalituku warse snākām ‘(with) fault removed, without reproach’; A 260 b 3 [ *lyaijikurāq wars pāllēkāq ‘having removed fault from the mind’.

Since the proper meaning of *litk-* is ‘withdraw, separate oneself’, we can add to the -tk- derivatives the adverb A *letk-, letkār ‘apart, separately’ (the functional equivalent of B *wosip-, wosiptar seen earlier): A 461 a 4 prthā pakā *sapheta-letkār kōly[n]e ‘May you scatter in separate directions’; A 174 b 9 [ *nādūkāh aqi letkār sānāklikā yārkl ‘Beginning with Nandena, separately the reverence of the monk(s). . .’. ] A 226 a 1 letkā pakānoitny ‘in separate ways’.

Van Windckens, Lex. 55–56, derives *letk-, letkār from *litk-* ‘cut off’ and both from an IE *gle[led]-, comparing MHG letzen ‘wound’. The *a of letā*- cannot be explained from IE *ae. Convincing examples of Toch. AB *e from IE *ae are also lacking. In any case, without the word both the semantics and the source of the -tk- in the adverb become problematic. On the other hand, *letkā* would be a perfectly normal o-grade nominal derivative from *litk*- (like protak < *prutk-, etc.) and the semantics are fine. B the form *letaka, F II M 1 b 5, cited by Van Windckens, does not exist. See Filiozat, Fragn. de textes kouchn. 90, and Sieg, KZ 72 (1955) 79.

Van Windckens, Lex. 57, and Lane, loc. cit., relate *letk-* to Goth. afernman ‘retreat (from)’, Grk. λίθωμα ‘duck, recoil’ and Hesych. λυπάω ‘τρενάω. Direct derivation from the existing *lit-* in Tocharian, which fits the sense, involves fewer assumptions. This does not preclude an ultimate connection, since *leit(th)- is probably an extension of *lei-.

18) Text has *ādīran. [ ]

19) Text has *ādīran. [ ]
Another probable case of a -tk- verb from an IE root in a final dental is AB *widh- ‘part (intr.); decide’, caus. *separate’ (tr.) also ‘command’. Van Windekens, Lex. 155 and 159, and Schneider, l.c., derive wātk- ‘command’ from IE *(h₂)yeđ- ‘speak’ (Skt. vāḍati ‘idem’, Lith. vaidinti ‘call’) and all the rest of the forms from IE *yeđh- ‘strike’ (Skt. vadhāti ‘strike, destroy’, Av. veda- ‘wedge for splitting wood’, Lith. vedėgį ‘kind of axe’).

Separate derivation of the forms meaning ‘command’ from a verb of speaking is unnecessary. The semantic development does have parallels (cf. Eng. ‘tell’), and the function of -sk- could have been iterative/durative (the Cl. VIII/IX inflection tells us nothing). On the other hand, there are several cases in Tocharian of the same verb having two semantically differentiated causatives: e.g. B Cl. III trišētir ‘errs’; Cl. VIII trišētir ‘misses (the mark)’. Cl. IX (Prett. II) trišēka ‘led into error’

23 A shows a similar pattern, but the two causatives are formally identical in the present, both Cl. VIII. Admittedly, the Cl. IX (Prett. II) in such cases is usually the literal causative of the base verb, while Cl. VIII (Prett. III) shows an idiomatic sense. This distribution does not hold true for the causatives of wātk-, but note that the situation of the base verb is also different: it is already differentiated. The base verb wātk- means not only ‘part, be separated’, but also ‘decide’ (cf. Grm. scheiden; entscheiden). The two causative meanings correspond to those: ‘separate’ (tr.) and ‘command’ (< ‘decree’). The development of ‘decide’ from ‘cut’ is typical of normal usage: thus both Grm. entscheiden and Lat. dècidere (cf. Lat. licióne decäre, Fr. trancher un différente settle a difference). In a legal context the passage from ‘hand down a decision’ to ‘decree’ is simple (cf. again Grm. entscheiden), whence ‘order, command’ (Grm. beschieden). Since all the uses of the verb may be derived from one source, economy leads me to operate with a single root: wātk- ‘part, be separated’.

23 The proposed derivation from IE *yeđh- ‘strike’ raises both semantic and formal problems. As Lane notes, the sense of the verbal forms of *yeđh- is ‘strike’ or ‘destroy’, not ‘split’. The equation of Vedic vādhṛhi and Grk. ἐὔγος ‘castrated animal’ points to an ancient IE husbandry term, but the operation could have been accomplished by a blow with a club as well as by severing with a blade. Av. veda- ‘wedge for splitting wood’ could be interpreted not as that which splits the wood, but as that which is struck by the heel of the axe or other instrument. While one cannot

not exclude the possibility that *yeđh- was used to mean ‘split’, this sense is nowhere directly attested.

On the formal side, both IE and Tocharian would lead us to expect a zero-grade formation with -sk- (cf. litk-, yutk-). While no zero-grade of Skt. vadhati is attested, there is nothing about the shape of the root to prevent an *udh-śko- (cf. ucdāti ‘draws’ < vas- ‘shines’). The next question is whether *ut-śko- (via *utto-) would yield wātk- in Tocharian. I know of no examples supporting such a development, and there is one solid counterexample: B oksā ‘ox’ < *ukwsō. In both *utśko- and *ukwsō we have an initial w followed by a consonant cluster and d in the next syllable. A different treatment in the two cases is unlikely. The derivation of wātk- < *yeđh- thus faces both semantic and phonological difficulties and depends on an unattested zero-grade of the root.

3 J. Jasanoff has suggested to me an alternative source: IE *yidh- ‘divide’. Pokorny, IEW 1127, sets up a corresponding full grade *yeidh-, but offers no good evidence for it. One does not in fact expect any such full grade, if the oft proposed derivation of *yeidh- from * yi-dhē- is correct. In support of this derivation, Hoffmann, Die Sprache 10 (1920) I, has shown that Vedic vidh- ‘satisfy with an offering’ < ‘distribute, lay out an offering’ is best taken from vi- dhē-. If the root cited as vyadh- ‘pierce, bore through’ belongs here at all, one may note that the Rigvedic forms are all built on vidh-. The full-grade vyadh- first appears in the Brahmanaas, vettosatii only in the Epic language. The latter can hardly be used as evidence for an IE *yeidh-. Lat. dividē (< *dis-yij-dō) may also be explained from *dhē-, with the same present inflection as abdē, condō, etc.

For the Tocharian verb we start from *yi-dh-śko(o)-, with loss of the root-final laryngeal as in Hitt. sikkizzi (litk-), iterative to dāi- ‘place, put’. For the passage of *wātk- to wātk- compare A lātkorās < litk-, rārikus beside rārikus and B rādtakem < rītk-, and especially B wase, A wōs ‘poison’ < *yisō- (cf. Skt. vīdā- ‘idem’).

VI

Besides yutk-, likt- and wātk-, there are a few more -tk- verbs with good etymologies from IE roots ending in a dental. These are all Cl. VI/VII and will be discussed below. As noted earlier, many -tk- verbs cannot be plausibly derived from roots in a final dental and demand another explanation. I see basically three alternatives for explaining the productivity of the -tk- formation:

(1) -tk(o)- was somehow abstracted as a unitary suffix on the model of -sk(o)- and replaced it in the function of an inchoative marker.

(2) On the model of *lit-: *līt-, *yut-: *yutk-, -k(o)- was taken as an inchoative marker and spread at the expense of -sk(o)-. This explanation entails two further considerations:
   (a) It predicts that -k(o)- could be added to stems other than those in final dental stops. That is, we should find other inchoative middle verbs with a final suffixal k.
   (b) Even if we find these, we still need to explain the preponderance of -tk- verbs. This leads to:

(3) There existed a secondary source of dental stems to which either -k(o)- or -sk(o)- itself was added.

I had earlier favored the first alternative, but now find it unattractive for two reasons. First, if -tk- became the productive inchoative suffix, and it is to account for most of the -tk- verbs, it is strange that we find no trace of the process. Why do we have no pairs base verb: -tk- verb (e.g. *kuw: klutk-, *păl: plătk-)? This is, of course, an argumentum ex silentio. The lack of such forms may be due to pure chance. But it would be odd to still have one trace of the older moribund process (*lit-: lītk-) and none at all of the supposed later productive one.

A more serious problem is the motivation for the new morpheme cut which produced -tk-. Consider what would have been the original situation, when -sk- was still the productive inchoative marker:

**Base Verb**

**Stage I**

- tk-

**Inchoative**

*swk-,* mu-,* yut- etc.

- wsk-, musk-, yukt- etc.

As long as the base verbs existed and the formation with -sk-remained productive, I see no motivation for abstracting -tk-. This only becomes possible if we assume that the functional difference between inchoative and base verb is weakened, and the base verbs are eliminated, with the inchoatives taking their place:

**Stage II**

- wsk-, musk-, yukt- etc.

At this point we have a set of verbs in -sk- and another in -tk-, both forming a coherent semantic and functional group of intransitive middles, mostly but not exclusively inchoative (NB måsk- 'be'). The existence of -sk- in another function, that of a causative marker, might have had two effects: first, it could keep alive the sense of -sk- as a unitary suffix, despite the lack of base verbs, leading to the same analysis for the parallel -tk-; second, the use of -sk- in another function could favor the spread of -tk- as the inchoative marker.

Whatever one thinks about the plausibility of this sort of influence, the above scenario forces us to assume that the formation of inchoatives was first productive, then unproductive (Stage II, where the base verbs were lost), then became productive again. I would not wish to claim that such an event is impossible, but the assumption of a sequence productivity: unproductivity productivity just in order to explain the abstraction of -tk- is patently ad hoc.

Turning to the second alternative, which assumes the spread of -k(o)- as the inchoative marker, we first need to look for cases of this -k(o)- added to other than dental stems. While there are a couple of plausible examples, it must be said that none are really compelling. Meillet, JA 17 (1917) 461, suggests that B Cl. III erukould- 'die', a caus. only 'kill' is derived from IE *sren- 'flow' (cf. Skt. sravati, Grk. δέον). For the sense compare the use of sravati to mean 'pass away', disappear and Plato, Phed. el δέον το σώμα του ἀναλάβοντο 'if the body should waste away and perish'. Compare also Skt. kṣarati 'flows; disappears' versus Grk. φθόγγος < φθόγγος 'destroy'. Note that the inchoative function of -k(o)- would fit nicely with the change of sense: 'flow' is durative, but 'die' is inchoative (change of state).

AB trik- 'ezer' has a suitable meaning and the right inflection (Cl. III trikáitār/trikātār), and Polonky, IEW 1071, indeed assigns it to the stem *trak-*trik- 'of ter. -rub', implying a suffixed -k-. But this derivation remains no more than a guess in view of the unexplained semantics. Similarly AB sperk- 'pass away' (B Cl. III spērkātra) is a likely candidate for suffixed -k-, but no convincing IE etymology is available.

B pruk- 'jump' (Cl. VI prukštātra) is surely to be derived ultimately from IE *pronu- 'jump', cf. Skt. pravati 'idem'. However, an extended stem with velar also exists in Germanic and Slavic: OE froga 'frog', Russ. pīgat 'jump, hop'. Similar is AB måshš 'be lacking, inferior' (B Cl. III måštātra), which looks like MHG nanc 'lack', Lith. melkūs 'small'. Tocharian also has a noun: A mask, B meiki 'lack'. The presence of velar stems elsewhere prevents the use of pruk- or måshš­ as evidence for a suffixed -k(o)- in Tocharian.

In summary, there are a handful of possible cases of an inchoative suffix -ko- added to stems ending in other than a dental stop, but none of these examples have to be explained by this means. Furthermore, even if these verbs could be shown to be derived by a -k(o)-(s-).
suffix, they would be few compared to the number of -tk- verbs. If the latter cannot all be derived from roots in a final dental, and a unitary -tk- suffix cannot be easily motivated, what is the source of the remaining -tk- verbs?

VII

I have insisted above that many -tk- verbs do not have convincing etymologies from Indo-European roots in a final dental. In the narrow sense, however, the IE forms from which I have derived *yudh-, *likh- and *wūtk- are not simple roots either. As already suggested, *yidh- is likely abstracted from *yī+dhē-. IE *delta(h)- 'depart, pass away' may be analyzed as *lei-t(h)-, with the same *lei- as in Goth. af-līnan 'retreat', plus a dental enlargement. Similarly, *jēu-dh- 'move rapidly, become excited' stands beside *jēu-g 'idem' (Av. yaosaiti 'become agitated', Goth. jiukan 'fight'), implying a base *jēu-. In addition to the system of enlargements, which includes dental stops, there is also evidence for dental suffixes used to form thematic presents: Grk. πλήβω 'be full', ἔσθω 'eat' (*dēo-), Lat. cūdio 'strike' (*deo-), Lat. plēctō and OHG flehtan 'braid' (*teō-). The pattern of attestation does not always permit us to distinguish an enlargement from a suffix (e.g. Gmc. *walt- 'roll' > OHG waltan, etc.). Both represent productive processes, and many forms are certainly post-Indo-European creations. Greek favored *dēo- (see Schwzyer, 1.702f.), while Baltic made wide use of a dental element (< *d or *dh) to form not only ordinary presents but also a new class of factitives and causatives (see Stang, Vgl. Gramm. 325f.).

We may therefore hypothesize that Tocharian built new dental stems in a similar fashion, and that these are the basis of the remaining -tk- verbs\(^{21}\). Obviously, the nature of Tocharian precludes our determining the precise phonetic nature of the dental or whether we are dealing with enlargements, suffixes or both. In any case, it would be peculiar if Tocharian formed such dental stems only to further suffix them all by *skew-. Thus our hypothesis predicts that we should find some existing Tocharian verbs with a final suffixal -tk-. Such cases do indeed exist.

The best example is AB lat- 'drive away, remove', which is analysable within Tocharian. The base is seen in AB lu- 'send' and the adverb A lo, B lau 'away'. The root is that of Grk. καυλ- 'let go', Skt. lundh- 'cut off', etc. A kot, B kaut- 'split' is certainly built on the base of A ko-, B kau- 'kill' (cf. Lith. kauju[ŋ]/kūti 'strike', OHG hauvan 'chop, strike'). Lane, Lg 14 (1938) 26, compares kaut- kot- with Lat. cūdio 'strike'. The comparison is undoubtedly correct, but the two verbs need not represent a common IE preform. A kärīt, B kāret- 'cut off' appears to contain the stem of Hitt. kark- 'cut' plus a dental element. Finally, A nut-, B naut- 'disappear' is to be related to Goth. nauts 'corpse', Latv. nāve 'death' < *nāus- 'be worn down, die'. One may note that in three of the four examples the t has been added to a root in final -u. While the reason for this preference is not clear, our hypothesis is supported by the fact that the -tk- verbs show a similar preponderance: a dozen end in either -utk or -otk, and I shall argue below that nātik represents original *naut-uk/o- as well.

I turn now to specific etymologies of the remaining -tk- verbs. I will cite dental stems from other languages where these exist, as in the case of cūdio ~ kaut-. However, many of these have the appearance of late creations, and they should be taken as representing a productive type rather than as evidence for an IE preform in each and every instance.

Sieg-Siegling-Schulze, Toch. Gramm. 479, compare A snotk- to B snātk- 'durchdringen', but Krause-Thomas, TE I and II, gloss A snotk- as 'mäude, schlaff werden' and give staukk- as the B equivalent. A comparison of the textual occurrences upholds SSS: A 313a 6 tmagg Anand sān[i]ku oksi uswane kāćkēy [oppal-yo]kās lālākās aśānyo umāmām akhalyo nāktas[i] [σάντασ] kās akhalyo nākam [σάντασ] trāhāy. 'Then, Anand, infused as it were with joy and delight, looking at the face of the Buddha-god of gods with smiling face, with tender, lotus-colored eyes, says:...'; A 108a 4 yālōmēnē sānsotku 'shot through with frayilty'; A 275b 4 ūhi akoppināwām sānsotkuk oksi kōlppoj 'imbued as it were with suffering in his own impurities'; B 204b 1 snātkuweš tān pārmosām indrīnta ēkō kēktērī 'Your senses and body are infused with dignity'; B 237a 3 po bārēnāsā naite tātākav snāt[ku] perne pēnājā[i]sa 'Being full of all virtues, imbued with splendid dignity'; B 227b 7 snātēka po puāl[ru ū] (i) kēktērēnā nraśāpana 'All the fires of hell have permeated my body'.

Not only the sense, but also the pattern of occurrence of snātk- and snotk- match perfectly: each occurs only in the pret. pple. and usually accompanied by an instrumental/perlative. Note also the use of oksi 'as (if)', indicating perhaps a figurative usage.
Formally, B snātk- may be derived from *snātk-. Compare A pappātku for pappātku and A rār, B rārte 'red' < *rūdhro-. A snātk would then be to *snātk- as lotk- to lotk-. The sense 'permeate, infuse' is easily derived from IE *sneu- 'seep, drip'. Compare for the dental perhaps Gmc. *snut- (ON sýja, OHG snizen 'blow one's nose'). For the sense compare Grm. einsfeßen 'instill, infuse' < einsfeßen 'flow in'. The original meaning of snātk-jonoth- would have been 'seep (into), permeate' as attested in B 22b7. Then, as often with the participle of an intransitive verb, the location can be construed as the object and by passivization become the subject: cf. 'a well trodden path'. Hence the construction of the rest of the examples.

AB plātk- and A plūtk- have been glossed variously as 'hervortreten' (TE II), 'come forth' (Lane), 's'èlever, se mouvoir' (Van Windelnkens) and 'ausbreiten' (Schneider). Van Windenkens, Lex. 97, compares Grk. πάλαι 'brandish', πελάμιζο 'set in motion'. Lane prefers πεδάζο, παιδάζο 'approach', παηνιζον 'near' for reasons which are obscure. Schneider compares A plātk- to Skt. prathati 'spreads out' and then translates the single occurrence spāt pappātkuṇt = septosadaț as 'sieben ausgebreitete (Sitze)'. Such diversity calls for a look at the actual usage of the verb.

First of all, Skt. septosadaț is a technical term meaning 'seven swellings', i.e., seven swellings on the body, one of the thirty-two lakṣaṇa's, or signs of saṁhood (see Edgerton, Budd. Hybrid Skt. Dict. 128). The Tocharian papātkuṇt is therefore a substantivized preterite participle 'swollen (things)'. For A plātk-, then, we arrive at the meaning 'swell'. The occurrences of B plātk- are the following: B 188b5-6 akṣapātpraptur eva... atrā śinau rekine arth pyletkemane ramit... ajath plātku lātār 'Syllable-filling (1) [...] in which word the sense arising as it were [...] the sense having arisen is seen'; F S 8b2 [‘lāse lekostammeb os-Iwene plektar-e yāra '...your blood overflowed from eighty thousand pores'; B 231a2 ēnerēsēsā plātkwēsne... wimāmē 'in a palace overflowing with/abounding in splendor'; B 591b6 [kjes no plētkiān 22) karet[m] aikamne asamkhyayinā kalpanmāsai lāyīs-asēkār maukān] 'In whomever sympathy and wisdom develop, by exertion through the eons they will subside again'.

22) Text has pletkān.

23) One could also assign the phrase 'by exertion through the eons' to the relative clause.

We have a constellation 'swell; develop/arise; overflow'. The obvious IE root is *bhē(h)-: 'swell; gush forth; bloom'. The stems phē, phēt- may be derived primarily from *bhē(h)-, *bhēh-2: cf. respectively B yeute 'wind' < *yōntos and A pātt, B pāltu 'leaf' < *bhēh-t-. The different position of the Fremdvokal in plātk- versus pātt is conditioned by the following cluster. However, there seems to have been a good deal of uncertainty before a consonant cluster. Compare B kālṣkālna(e) and kālṣkālnē (Krause, WG 237) and A plātnume to pālt- 'burn'. Therefore either plātk- or pātt- would have been possible. A dental enlargement of the same root appears in Grk. σφηξομ 'bubble; splutter', Φησιμ 'σφης- ηποτα: largevra. Greek shows a similar semantic development in φήσαμος, -άω 'babble, chatter'; for the n compare ἐκ-φημεια 'gush forth' (Eur. fgm.) and φημεν 'overflow'.

The use of A plūtk- suggests connection with the same root: A 356a2 māṁnte ninnittasē śrāvasti riyā pre sarm māndā plōyokšā- m tma[pek...]ān̄r̄kām cām māṇḍāla kāte vāntam 'As before the city Śrāvastī of the n. brahmans the māṇḍāla arose before them, then they led the boy up to the māṇḍāla'. Since the māṇḍāla is sanctified ground where the sacrifice of the boy is to take place, it hardly 'steps forth' to meet them in a literal sense. Rather it rises before them as they walk toward it. — A 356b4-5 cam klopyo aśānikiyō bodhīsattvāyāt pāk [mānaṁ prokārān -] kanā kā. pondsāṇa karpōṇa hānā oksi [yāsā] yārīne pappūtkār-dm, ka kal tośāṇām klopanā wasānān mosam 'By that suffering all the veins of the venerable Bodhisattva were blocked ... he fell to the ground. They caused his blood to flow out into his whole body as into a ... He bore those sufferings for our sake'. The context makes the restoration of [yāsā] 'blood' virtually certain. However, since yārī is singular, it cannot be the subject of pappūtkār. I therefore choose to take the latter as a causative (which is formally unavoidable, cf. paprūtkār), and make the subject either impersonal or māmaṁ 'veins'. The image is clear: when the veins are obstructed, the blood vessels burst, and the blood flows out unchecked into all parts of the body.

While there are cases of ā > u in Toch. A in the vicinity of k and before m (see TE I § 16.1), I know of no examples with preceding p. Therefore, rather than try to derive plūtk- from plātk-, I prefer to take plūtk- from the stem *bhēh-leu-2 to *bhēh-. For *bhēh-leu-compare Grk. φήλ(ν) 'gush, teem', φήλω 'overflow'. For what it is worth, Greek even has a dental stem: ϕήλω. Since A papātku
could be from *pluk- (cf. papyak$bhu for papyoi$cus), A may have
generated one stem and B another. In any case the root derivation
from *$bhe$li(k)h- seems assured 24).

Schneider, IF 57 (1940) 200, translates A wr$tkh- as 'cook' and relates it
to Lith. vdr$nu, vdr$ 'cook', bok$ 'boil'. The word occurs just twice, both times with
swu$t 'meat': A 3999 b [ j$d$th ski$q]h swu$t wr$tk$shh 'S(h)e is still
cooking the meat; The meat is still cooking'; Frg. (Gram.) swu$t wr$tk$shh$m$h
'cooking meat'. As noted by Pedersen and Laze, the equation is tempting
not only but also because the Lith. verb points to a $n$ root
(ird < *$p$h), which would be reflected in the Toch. ird. On the other hand,
we have seen C$R$C > C$R$C in Tocharian (see above wr$tkh- and p$rt$), also
B k$rn$msh 'stone' < *$p$h$m>$n-jo-; cf. Skt. gr$vd$m- 'pressing stone'.
Therefore we must reckon with a 'wrong vocalisation' of the laryngeal: *pro-D-$ko$.
Given a sequence s$m$-s$m- in the same manner, such an occurrence
would not be startling. Lith. vdr$nu also shows a dental present, of course.

B r$tkh- 'rise' and A r$tkh-r$tkh- (casu. only) 'cause to arise; raise' may be
derived via *r$tkh- from the stem *($o)r$ei- 'rise' seen in Goth. miz$m-s$m 'rise', Skt.
r$vd$m 'lots go', Grk. o$gr$m- 'stir, aroused'. Lane's doubts about r$tkh- as
the original shape are unfounded. The change $ > d$ occurs primarily in B
and then after labials. On the other hand, we have seen another case of $ > d
before t: t$d$tk$sh < l$d$-, where the $ is certain.

The equation of A l$tkh-$l$tkh- and B l$tkh-$k$tkh-$k$tkh- (with
dissimilatory loss of *v- (or *r-) in A) is supported by the perfect parallelism in the
semantic relationship of weak and strong stems. The zero-grade verb (b)l$tkh-
means 'turn' (intr.). = Skt. v$r$. The o-grade base verb l$tkh-$l$tkh-$k$ means 'return;
turn away; become' = Skt. n-i-v$r$. Interestingly, the formal causative of the
zero-grade (l$tkh$m-$k$tkh-$k$tkh$m) means not 'turn' (tr.), but 'cause to
become; accomplish'. That is, it functions as the causative of the o-grade
base verb in one of its meanings. The formal causative of the o-grade base
verb (k$tkh$m-$k$tkh$m) means 'turn away' (tr.). For examples of all these meanings
see the entries in the glossary of Krause-Thomas, TE II.

The B verb k$tkh-, which shows Cl. IV inflection, enables us to recover the
original system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>l$tkh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>l$tkh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus. l$tkh-</td>
<td>l$tkh-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this instance, the distinction of zero-grade and o-grade was employed
to differentiate the basic sense of 'turn' from various secondary uses.
The assignment of the formal zero-grade causative to the strong-grade base verb
may be secondary, placing an older 'turn' (tr.). On the other hand, the
latter may never have existed, and the two ablaut gr$ of the

24) A pil$tkh, B pil$tskhu 'drop' (of liquid) is also surely from the same root,
but on the basis of other forms in -lw (TE I p. 110), one should segment
after the l. The word thus has nothing directly to do with the -tkh-

Tocharian verb stems in -th-

first used to supply two different causatives to the strong-grade base verb.
Recall that two causatives to one base verb are not uncommon.

Van Windekens' derivation from *$h(e)m$- (cf. Skt. pl$m$m- 'ball', Grk.
phor$w$- 'buttock') has little to recommend it semantically. Schneider's
connection with Lat. claud$re 'close' makes even less sense. The correct root
etymology is that of Pedersen, Toch. 171: IE *$b$thl- 'turn' in the form
*$b$th$m- seen in G$R$C, o$rd$m 'turn back, defeat' and also intransitive 'turn
(away)' 25). I would posit an intermediate *klut-, whence *klut-s$m-o-.

As already indicated by Lane, JAOS 85 (1965) 96, and Pedersen, Toch.
288, derivation of py$tukh- 'occur, come about' from IE *$b$h$m$- 'grow,
be(com)one' (via *b$tkh-*$ko$-) seems unavoidable. I have no better explanation
for the thoroughgoing palatalization in A than that offered by Lane, loc.cit.
(borrowing from B). In B the palatalization is regular in the causative
preterite (II), and there are other cases of its penetration into the present:
Toch. IX l$tk$h$m$m- < l$d$- 'drive away'.

In the cases treated thus far, the stem up to the dental is attested,
and in some instances we have seen dental enlargements elsewhere
as well. Other verbs are more problematic. AB s$m$- means 'spread'
(intr.). Van Windekens' translation 'st$tabl$ir' and his derivation from IE
*sed$- 'sit' cannot be upheld. To cite one crucial example:
A 312a 2-3 m$rk$m$ca $w$m$k$m$- sw$m$nr$m$-n$m$n$m
m$mp$m$m m$km$se oki
[pukh] s$m$ k$lk$r$m$an$ on sak$tar 'The beams (of light) spread from
his head and mouth in all ten directions, blinding it as it were gods
and men'. The semantically attractive IE root would be *sek-, 'sow,
scatter' (esp. seed). The typical Tocharian use is figurative,
referring to fame, gloom or the like (cf. the semantic development of
Eng. 'broadcast'). The difficulty, of course, is Toch. $ < IE *$. The
regular reflex of *v in Tocharian is $: A p$m$m/v B p$m$m 'Father'
< *p$m$. In no unforced way to explain s$m$k- instead of *s$m$-
from the expected zero-grade *s$m*$k-o-. There is some evidence for a stem
*sek$-i.sh-; Skt. s$y$a$k$a- 'missile', Lat. saeculum 'generation'
(both 'the thing cast' in different senses). If a sequence
*sek$-i.D- yielded Toch. *sit-, a *sit-k- could produce s$m$k-, just as
rit$ > r$tkh:, but such a derivation is anything but certain.

Most investigators have found irresistible the resemblance of AB pru$t-
'be stopped up, clogged' to Grm. sperren 'shut, block off', OCS za-p$r-ti
'close', etc. Similarly, B ml$tkh- and A ml$tkh- 'escape' have been compared
to Grk. f$w$no- 'go, come', < *mel$h-, 'come forth'. For the sense 'come forth'
Pokorny cites Hesych. f$w$no- opo$y and other less than sure material.
The meaning 'escape, come out' fits the only occurrences of the finite verb in
Tocharian: B 375a 5 ce t$t$ar$m$m$m m$lt$m$m$m- 'I shall escape from this

25) Pedersen also cites Grk. mel$h$- 'move about', but this is not easily
derived directly from *mel$h- and is likely a denominative (see Chantraine,
Dict. étym. sub m$lt$).
H. Craig Melchert

no signs of having ever had Cl. III inchoative middles: A lātk-, B nātk-, AB putk-, AB rūtk-, and AB kūtk-.

All five have reasonable etymologies from IE dental stems. The least imposing is that of A lātk- 'cut off', which is compared by Schneider to ON, OHG latta 'lath, board' and OIr. slat 'lath; rod' (all products of cutting).<sup>28</sup> *Putk-*. Of more interest is the comparison of AB putk- 'divide' with Lat. putāre 'prune' also 'calculate, think' (Schneider, loc. cit. and Jakobsen, OLZ (1934) 212). Toch. putā- is also used to mean 'discern; analyze': A 384a 3–4 māntīnā rūt oltā latōkā kērōnāt putāktās, ānnēkē asan oltā pādāthāntuvaṃ sōm sōṃ mārkamāl oltā latōkā prajāṣīja cōmpūne fāutēkā kērōnāt putāktās 'Just as it knows and analyzes the (outward) form in eight ways, so through the power of reason the mind knows and analyzes in eight ways each and every (inner) quality in the eight categories.' This case is complicated by the question of how many meanings putāre has and to how many IE roots one should assign them. A meaning 'purify' is claimed for putāre, and sometimes the sense 'prune' is taken as a specialization of this meaning. But the evidence for 'purify' is weak. The examples are with 'beece, wool' (vellūs lavata et putata, Varro, De rer. rustic. 2, 2, 18). One can imagine that preparing wool might include cutting or picking off various extraneous material. Thus one can operate with putāre 'cut' (esp. cut off unwanted matter like dead branches) and putāre 'calculate, think'. Pokorny, IEW 837, assigns the latter to *pēu- 'be rational; investigate' and compares Grk. ποιητός 'intelligent' and OCS putoj ţ 'interrogate'. But the specific meaning of 'interrogate' (in a legal context) is matched in Hitt. pumād- 'ask' (with person as object).<sup>29</sup> This specialization appears to be old. On the other hand, Lat. putāre 'cut' does not mean 'think' in the sense 'reflect', but rather 'affirm'. Benveniste, Vocab. 1. 153-54, explains the development from putāre 'prune' via the collocation rationem putāre 'verify a tally' by checking each item, beginning at the bottom and working upward, removing (cutting off) each item as one goes. Thus all the Latin uses can be derived from putāre 'cut, prune', which appears to be built on a stem *put- to *pēu- 'cut' (cf. Lith. puštū/j pūtū 'cut, harvest').<sup>30</sup>

Since the Latin development to 'think, affirm' is not via 'discern, analyze', this is not the immediate use of putāre in Tocharian is an independent development. We therefore need not start with a *putā- in Tocharian (from which a *putā-sk would surely have remained, see below). We may instead operate with *put-sk-. The exact form of the suffix will be discussed presently.

AB nātk- is usually glossed as 'support', but J. Fasanoff, L-E Studies II, 111, has argued for 'push (away)' instead, deriving nātk- from *nud-sk-; cf. Skt. nuddā 'pushes'. The occurrences of the verb in A are unusable, but those in B support the interpretation 'push (away); urge': B 33b 2–3 opomālaṅṅē pāt prākāskiṅṅām nat-

28 For the connection of the Hittite and OCS forms see Ivanov, Obuč. sit. 100.

29 The short š of putāre is also problematic if one wishes to derive it from *pēu- 'purify' (Skt. pūta-, Lat. pūrās).
The text is a natural language representation of the content. It discusses Tocharian verb stems in -atk- and their usage, particularly focusing on the verb *kotak* which is used to express a general sense of 'having four and more'. The text also notes that the use of *kotak* is distinctively non-concrete, contrasting with the concrete uses of *kutuk* which is used to express the idea of 'four and more' in a more specific context. The text references various sources and linguistic observations to support these points.
forms", but this seems a strangely vague companion for 'having four jewels'. One expects something much more concrete and specific. I wonder if we have here a trace of the original sense of *kulk- 'cast in a mould'. The noun *kolâk would mean something like 'ornament', i.e. something cast from a precious metal. Unhappily, the fragmentary material for *kulk- leaves all of this in the realm of speculation.

IX

All six transitive -sk- verbs can be traced back to dental stems, but there is not a shred of evidence for an underlying intransitive middle with Cl. III inflection. I have thus far assumed that all the Cl. VI/VII -sk- verbs were from old Cl. III presents, partly because all the -sk- middles with which they are parallel have this history. But what is the distribution of the active -sk- presents whose etymologies were discussed earlier?

Present Conjugation Classes of Active -sk- Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>XII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A triâb.</td>
<td>B pâsk-</td>
<td>B pâlak-</td>
<td>A pâlak-</td>
<td>B wâsk-</td>
<td>B kâsk-</td>
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<tr>
<td>B nâsk-</td>
<td>A mâsk-</td>
<td>A unisk-</td>
<td>B yâsk-</td>
<td>B nask-</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB trâb.</td>
<td>B wâsk-</td>
<td>B nîsk-</td>
<td>B anâsk-</td>
<td>B wînsk-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B unâsk-</td>
<td>B sâtâsk-</td>
<td>B alâsk-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The anomaly of triâb- Cl. I has been treated above. The regular Cl. IX yâsk- 'beg for', wâsk- 'smell' and nâsk- 'press' tell us nothing, but the Cl. II subjunctives of yâsk- and nesk- point to old Cl. II presents. The attested middle inflection of yâsk- may be interpreted as a genuine middle referring the action to the subject. B kâsk- 'scatter' in Cl. XII recalls B wâsk- 'stir, move'. For some reason these two verbs were transferred to the odd nasal formation in -nâ- rather than to the -nâ- type of Cl. VI. Despite its Cl. V subjunctive (one would like Cl. II), the transitive meaning of kâsk- points to an old Cl. II present. The diagnostic value of the subjunctive for the original present indicative is not absolute anyway (trâsk- 'gnaw' Cl. II has a Cl. V subjunctive).

The set of anâsk- 'inhale', alâsk- 'be sick', unâsk- 'praise' and satâsk- 'exhale' has a special status. Krause-Thomas, TE I § 379, list them as Cl. IX, with the special feature that the -sk- goes through all categories, not just the present. But this means in effect that their inflection is virtually like that of Cl. II (thematic) -sk- verbs, except for surface phonetic differences caused by the extra syllable in the stem. Compare pres. 3 pl. nâskán (nâsk- 'bathe' Cl. II) and pres. 1 pl. wânskânem (Cl. IX); Ger. II aâlêgelle (Cl. IX) and Ger. I nesgalle < *nesjelle (Cl. II)\(^{29}\); pret. 3 sg. nêsge (Cl. II) and wênsge (Cl. IX); pret. pple. rapatâg (pâsk- 'protect' Cl. II) and wênsngge < *wêninsge (Cl. IX). Krause cites a different treatment of -sk- before t in pâstår (Cl. II) versus yamastår (Cl. IX), but even this difference is not always consistently maintained: both pâstår and pëstår are attested as the infinitive of pâsk-.

In the case of anâsk- we are definitely dealing with a set root, and anâsk- may be derived directly from *ânsâsk- < *âms-šjâ-; cf. Skt. anâti 'breathe'. Late animus. There is also some evidence for a set root in wânsk-: Skt. vâtâ, 'desired', vânâti 'winner' < IE *yenâ-, 'desire; win'. For the meaning 'praise-revere' in Tocharian compare Lat. venerâri 'revere' (Toch. B wînsk-ñiñ; Cl. XII 'tako pleasure' reflects the sense 'desire'). We may take wânsk- from *wânsâsk- < *wâms-šjâ-. The outcome of the complex sequence sonant-sonant-lawngyeal was probably influenced by other members of the group like anâsk- (cf. the discussion above on wânsk-). For the passage of ð to i after a labial compare B pîlko 'look' versus A pîlak, A pîlak 'drop' versus B pîlêtvâk etc. (TE I § 15.2).

The chief reason for taking wânsk- etc. as Cl. IX is the corresponding A wînsk- Cl. VIII, but the latter may be secondary: the Cl. II forms in (O)Vânsk- were reinterpreted as Cl. IX (based on their diastratic stems), then wânsk- was backformed according to the usual pattern (B IX = A VIII). Thus the anâsk- group belongs historically to Cl. II and shows the inherited thematic inflection of IE *-šjâ- presents (B pâsk- 'protect' ~ Lat. pâscere). The intransitive sense of anâsk- (and presumably alâsk- and satâsk-) is a function of the root. Similarly, B nâsk- 'bathe' (intr.) Cl. II shows inherited thematic inflection and an intransitive meaning inherent in the root: IE *â(n)sâ- 'swim; bathe'; cf. Skt. smâti 'bathes'. Note that all these intransitive Cl. II -sk- verbs show active inflection.

The chief fact in the present context is that the Cl. II -sk- presents with ablaut of the thematic vowel and active inflection also show some transfer to the Cl. VI/VII nasal class. AB pâlsk- 'think', whether from *pâlsk- or *pâlksk-, has an iterative-durative sense which is better derived from Cl. II than the static-inchoative of Cl. III/IV. There is also independent evidence for transfer from Cl. II to Cl. VI: B mûnts- 'be sad' shows both Cl. II mentsår and Cl. VI manisnårât. Therefore not only AB pâlsk- but also the transitives A mâsk- 'switch', A unîsk- 'press' can be derived from older Cl. II iterative-duratives. There is no need to assume underlying Cl. III/IV intransitive middles which are supported neither by the meaning nor by any other evidence.

\(^{29}\) Krause-Thomas list aâlêgelle as Ger. II (subj.) and nesgalle as Ger. I (ind.) based on their usage, but formally pres. indic. and subj. fall together in both Cl. II and IX, so the formal equation is still valid.
By the same method we may now derive the five transitive -tk- verbs of Cl. VI/VII from old Cl. II active -sk- presents. In the case of wātk- 'push, urge' an iterative-durative makes reasonable sense. Both lätk- and putk- could be denominative: cf. perhaps Grk. μεθώνω 'make drunk' < 'ply with wine' and OHG weacen 'wash' < 'treat with water', although neither of these is sure. I can offer no motivation for rūtk- and kūtk-, but given the rampant productivity of -sk- in Tocharian, one need not look for a strongly marked function in all cases. Several of those mentioned above where an iterative-durative sense is plausible may in fact have had no such nuance.

The addition of -nā- brings no detectable change in meaning. The old Cl. III middle remains intransitive (even when they take on active inflection), and the old Cl. II transitive and intransitive roots remain unchanged as well. The lack of change with -nā- is confirmed for other verbs besides the -tk/-sk- type. We have seen mānte- already. For a shift from Cl. III to Cl. VI compare B mānsetār, but A mānsete 'forget'.

The admission that some Cl. VI -tk- verbs come from old Cl. II presents also takes care of the one exception to the -tk- pattern: Cl. II kātk- 'rejoice'. This verb no longer need be regarded as an embarrassing anomaly, but instead becomes another confirmation of the relationship between -tk- and -sk-. Schneider, loc. cit., relates kātk- 'rejoice' to MDutch gaden 'suit, please', OCS u-goditi 'please' < *ghodhi- 'suit, fit'. If one attenuates the Tocharian sense to 'take pleasure (in)', which is possible, one may compare Grm. vergnügen 'please, delight', based on genug 'enough'. Whether or not this is the correct etymology, an iterative-durative for 'rejoice' is suitable, and -sk- in A and -cc- in B may be the normal palatalization of -tk- before the final *-e- of the stem.

X

The development of the -sk- verbs in Tocharian is thus twofold. Transitive and intransitive -sk- verbs with active inflection alone or both active and middle forms retain the inherited pattern with ablaut of the thematic vowel (Tocharian Cl. II). Deponent -sk- verbs with no contrast of active and middle forms show an inflection with persistent ο-vocalism (Tocharian Cl. III). The history of this inflectional type cannot be treated here (see Jasanoff, op. cit. and forthcoming), but it may be noted that the formation is not unique to Tocharian. Hittite shows middles such as 3 sg. paškulla 'he goes' versus active 3 sg. peškizz 'he gives' (Ivanov, Obšč. síst. 139f. and Watkins, Idg. Gramm. III/1, 72f.). Some Cl. III verbs may be traced to old root aorists: e. g. B ḥyukšetār 'grows bright' ; cf. the Vedic aorist participle rucañā- (see Jasanoff, op. cit. 111 for further examples). The development of these Cl. III presents from aorists is typologically comparable to that of the Sanskrit tudāti class (for the latter see Renou, Gramm. véd. § 326 and Mél. Vendryes, 309f.). It is to these 'aorist' presents that one should probably attribute the prevailing inchoative sense of the Cl. III -sk- (and -tk-) verbs. It is unlikely that -sk- itself was ever a productive 'inchoative marker' as speculated above in section VI.

The chief point I wish to make here is that the -tk- verbs shared the development of those in -sk-. When -sk-, either ablauting *-skoj- or deponent *-sko-, was added to dental stems, the sequence -t-sk- yielded -tk-, giving rise to a superficially new stem class. The original distribution of the -tk- verbs in Cl. II and III parallel to those in -sk- was subsequently obscured by the partial transfer into the nasal classes VI/VII. This shift affected the -tk- verbs more than the -sk- verbs, but the basic parallelism is still visible, as the charts above show.

In conclusion, our investigation of the -tk- verbs has yielded the following results:

1. The distribution of the -tk- presents is not random, as previously alleged, but shows a concentration in Cl. III/IV (intransitive middles) and Cl. VI/VII (nasal presents).

2. The distribution of intransitive middles in -sk- is parallel to that of the -tk- verbs.

3. Stems in -tk- may be related to those in -sk- by assuming the addition of -sk- to dental stems and a pre-Tocharian rule -t-sk- > -tk-.

4. Some of the dental stems underlying -tk- verbs are attested elsewhere (yutk-, ḫītk-, wātk- plus the transitive verbs below).

5. Others were built within Tocharian according to a productive pattern and then extended by -sk- as per (3): smūtk-/*mtuk-, plātk-/*ptuk-, wrātk-, klātk-/*kluatk-, rītk-, pyutk-; perhaps sātk-, prūtk-, mūtk-.

6. The formation of dental stems in Tocharian is independently attested by lut- versus lu-, kot-/*kaut- versus ko-/*kau- and nut-/*naut-.
(7) Not all -sk- verbs fit the intransitive middle type, specifically kätk- 'rejoice' Cl. II and the transitives of Cl. VI/VII: lätk-, putk-, nätk-, rutk- and kutk-.

(8) The distribution of active -sk- verbs corresponds to this second group of -tk- verbs.

(9) Thus all -tk- verbs may be derived from -sk-; the intransitive middles from *-sko- deponents (Toch. Cl. III), the remainder from regular */-sko/- presents (Toch. Cl. II).

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