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bildet einen Sonderfall der vergleich-
enden Sprachwissenschaft. Zum
Vergleich stehen der „Cours“ de Saus-
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Teilen identisch. Die für das 20. Jahr-
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alte buddhistische Sprachlehre ist
überraschend modern und das Werk
Saussures zeigt stärker als bisher sei-
nen philosophischen Charakter.

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New look at the Tocharian B medical manuscript IOL
Toch 306 (Stein Ch.00316.a.2) of the British Library –
Oriental and India Office Collections

1. The manuscript

The Tocharian B manuscript IOL Toch 306 (Stein Ch.00316.a.2) is
preserved at the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, London. It was originally published in transliteration with translation and
commentaries by Couvreur (1955) and thereupon by Broomhead
(1964:46–8). The text is obviously of medical nature, and is related to
the manuscript IOL Toch 305 (Stein Ch.00316.a.1) in form, content and script. Recently, these texts have been integrated with the
material of the International Dunhuang Project Interactive Web Database (http://idp.bl.uk), together with the Hoernle Collections of Tocharian
manuscripts of the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections. A scanned copy of the manuscript, of which the number is
now IOL Toch 306, is available online.

The size of the fragment is 26.5 cm long by 8.6 cm wide. The right part
of the manuscript lacks 7–12 characters, but otherwise the writing
is in a good state of preservation. It is written in medium dactylus, probably
by the same hand as the preceding manuscript IOL Toch 305.

The contents of the manuscript are obscure. This is mainly due to
the loss of approximately 1/4 of the fragment towards the right part of
the recto and verso. The recto of the fragment obviously deals with

1) I thank Prof. Kenneth Zysk (Copenhagen) for finding equivalents in the Sanskrit medical literature. I also thank Prof. Georges-Jean Pinault (Paris) and Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Werner Winter (Kiel) for valuable suggestions for restorations and interpretation of new words in the text, Dr. Susan Whitfield (British Library), for identification of the original manuscript, and Dr. Judith Josephson (Gothenburg) for correcting my English.

2) Moreover, commentaries and translations of parts of this manuscript have
been published by Winter (1962:113, n. 10), K.T. Schmidt (1974:114, n. 1 and 254,

3) Published by Filliozat (1948), commented by Sieg (1955) and also published
and translated by Broomhead (1964).
two variants of cancer, B kwarm, Skt. gulma: cancer due to gall, B pittaṣe kwarm, Skt. pittajagulma, and cancer due to phlegm, B leipāše kwarm, Skt. kaphajagulma\(^4\). The contents of the last part of the verso are very hard to understand and seem at first glance to be completely different from the recto\(^5\). This is, however, not the case, as we will see below.

2.1. The text

Since I will propose a revised translation of the text below, based upon the identification of the Sanskrit equivalents, I will give the full text here. Revised readings and estimation of the lengths of the lacunae are based upon the scanned copy of the manuscript, available on internet (see above).

recto

a1. (ara)yāsīsa • ṛṣkare koyne • pittaṣepi kwarmmatse\(^1\) naus, jotri pkar-sato • laṃnte koyne ṛk- mukṣeta\(^2\) (anāṃsāṭottie māıkṣēr wałke)
a2. perpette premene re\(^3\) aṅkain yamalle\(^4\) sp, melyi taṅki maṅkēṃatni\(^5\) • iwaṭe kēktseme ṁgāṣkēr-na tī[t[k]au\(^6\) (inkaum ṛk spāneṣe)
a3. preke ṁgāṣkēr-na • śvāsī mā āṁne somoṭkāṃṇe isoṣyusa kēktse mukṣeta\(^7\) (r-ne • te-rant nau jotri)
a4. (pka)so kwarmmatse leipāṣe jāke sāṃtte weņas • corak, tram-ta 10 mālkerwe [pt]\(^8\) (ksałe • te yokałe kwarmmatse)
a5. (sār)tkie • sāye kuṅkṣasi • mālkwev, mā, paniṭ, aīnere pāküṣalve yōswāṭa lāpttā \[s\] \(^9\)-------
a6. pippāl enem kānālne te yokałe kwarmmatse sāṃtte • jī kuṅcį, māykøtαu • [r]ra[n[\[d\]^10 am] (alawetāsmapa triwāsāle)

verso

b1. (kwi)rmattse lauspe \[paniṭaṭe spek, je prayok, • wettene se wate • lak-sai[n[\[a[i] (klau)sitàs[e\(^11\) (spek, trite) ------

\(^4\) Cf. Pinault (1988:151-153), who comments on the two terms ṛṣkare koyne and kīṭape koyne of line a1. He identifies the three variants of internal tumour (gulma), mentioned in the first part of our text with the descriptions of gulma given in Śrīmadbhāṣya, Śrīmadbhāṣya XXII and Śrībhāṣya 1.2A.

\(^5\) Cf. K.T. Schmidt (1997:247-248), who understands this part of the text (b3-b6) as an example of a treatment for impotence ("Behandlung von Potenzschwäche"). The passage is thought to describe sexual excitement, which is the effect of an aphrodisiac ("Wunderdroge").

2.2. Textual notes

1) Sic! For kwarmmatse. 2) Lacuna of 9 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 3) Sic! For ra. 4) Sic! For ankain yamalle. 5) Sic! For māskēntā. 6) Lacuna of 8 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 7) Lacuna of 9 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 8) Lacuna of 11 syllables. 9) Lacuna of 11 syllables. 10) Lacuna of 10 syllables. After [nda] there is the trace of an [m-]. For reconstruction see commentary. 11) Lacuna of 12 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 12) Lacuna of 10 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 13) Lacuna of 11 syllables. 14) Only the lower part of the y- is visible. Lacuna 7 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 15) Lacuna of 7 syllables. The script of the second half of the line is relatively faint. Nevertheless the characters can be easily read. 16) The third component of the ligature that begins with sp- has faded, but is relatively clearly –s. For reconstruction see the line is, as with the previous line, relatively faint. The lower right half of the last akṣara, āṅkai has been torn away.

3. Sanskrit equivalents

It has not been possible to identify any specific Sanskrit source for this text. The contents do not follow directly upon the preceding manuscript IOL Toch 305, the Sanskrit equivalent of which was identified by Filliozat (1948: 57–61). However, it is entirely possible that no such exact source exists. If we consider the bilingual Sanskrit – Tocharian B medical text Yogaśataka, PK.AS.2A, PK.AS.2B and
PK AS 2C6), we notice that the Tocharian text is not an exact translation of the Sanskrit original. The Tocharian text often contains inserted commentaries, which often indicate that the text was used practically, as some sort of "manual" for the physician. This is probably even more the case for our text, which contains a relatively concentrated report on the symptoms of diseases, followed by a prescription for a cure.

Our text deals with different variants of cancer, Skt. *gulma*. The two first variants are mentioned in the recto of the text, cancer due to gall, B *pittasag kwaṃ* (a1), Skt. *pittajagulma*, and cancer due to phlegm, B *keśapeṣa kwaṃ* (a4), Skt. *kaphajasalma*. An enumeration of symptoms of *pittajagulma* ends at the beginning of the text, in a1, and is followed by an enumeration of the symptoms of *kaphajasalma*, which ends in a4.

Enumerations of symptoms of these cancer diseases mentioned above can easily be found in the Sanskrit medical literature). They differ slightly from one source to the other. In Siddhasāra 9.5–9.7 we have a description that is relatively close to our text, but it is shorter and contains fewer symptoms. The description of remedies has relatively few parallels in our text. In Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayaṃ, Nidānasthāna 11.44b–47 (given below) and Aṣṭāṅgasāngraha, Nidānasthāna 11.38–41 the descriptions are more detailed than in our text, and several symptoms of our text that are absent in the Siddhasāra are given here. Occasional parallels are also found in the descriptions in Bhela-Samhiṭā, Nidānasthāna 3.9b–27, which, however, is relatively unlike in general description. Henceforth I will use the abbreviations given at the end of the article for these texts.

The enumeration of symptoms that ends in a4 is then followed by a prescription for a cure, which lasts until the end of b2. In both AhNī and ArNī prescriptions for a cure of *gulma* are not given together with the enumeration of symptoms (Nidāna), but in a separate chapter (Ci-kitsam). In Si prescriptions for cures are given in the same chapter (Chapter 9, "Internal tumours"), but after the description of all the variants of cancer, not in-between, as in our text. This indicates relatively clearly that the Tocharian text represents an innovation in relation to the Sanskrit sources.

---

Sūtraa 9.4–9.7

*sālādhiṃāna-malaśaṅka-todha-śphuraśa-lakṣaṇam | vātā-gulmaṃ vaddha maṇḍyaśa-vīryaśa-khaśaṅka-rūk-karanam* "In that (connection), as for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to wind, they are explained to be aches and pains, distended stomach, blocked faeces and urine, throbbing of the tumour itself, changing its position and becoming large and small, aches in the back of the neck, the head, and the jawbone, and pains in the spinal column"  
*dīha-tṛṣṇā-bhīhma-tvāda-sūtikṛgārāya-tikṣitānāṃ sparāsakaṃ daśāyatiṃ pīta-gulaṃ maṇḍya laksanam* "As for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to bile, they are explained to be heat of the body, great thirst, reeling head, sweat emerging, sour excretions, bitter taste in the mouth, and being unable to bear touching the tumour itself."

*pāśaskhaṃ-śīlā-saśā-śīlātiṃ tākṣaṇa-gulaṃ rūpṇam kha-

phāṣaṃka "As for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to phlegm, they are much spittle, disturbed appetite, the chest being hot and water emerging from the mouth, uncomfortable breathing, cough, inability to digest food, the tumour itself being hard and raised on the outside, and vomiting."  

*tvāra-nūpa-dīha-vāna-gulmānaḥ sīlā-vac ca ghananānaḥ stikṣāya vādha 

 śānya saṃprāyākā "As for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to (the three tumours) combined, they are the tumour itself being unbearable painful and being gently warm, being hard and raised on the outside like a stone, and impairing the mind, the body, and the heat of the (digestive) fire. It is not suitable for treatment."  

svatva garbhe prajābhājyam raśa va dīha-sīla-vānaṣ ca ghananānaḥ sīlā-vac garbha 

śānya saṃprāyākākā "As for the blood tumour of a woman, it arises due to abortion of the foetus, to the production of a child, and to menorrhagia. The tumour itself is painful, is gently warm, and comes to resemble pregnancy".

---

6) Originally published by Filliozat (1948), commented by Sieg (1955) and revised completely by Carling (2002)  
8) For references to text and translation of the Sanskrit texts see end of article "Sources for Sanskrit texts/translations".
This line represents the end of an enumeration of symptoms of *pitajagulma* "cancer due to gall", of which only *rākare kojne* "sharp in the mouth" is preserved completely. This is described as one of the important features of *pitajagulma*: Si 9.4 *āśa-tiktā-tā* "bitter taste in the mouth", AhNi 11.44b, AsNi 11.38 amlakas "sour taste in the mouth, acidity of stomach".

Thereupon begins a section enumerating the signs of *kaphajagulma* "cancer due to phlegm". Though most of the symptoms of the Tocharian text can be found in AhNi and AsNi, the order is different. The description in AsNi (11.39) is somewhat more detailed than in AhNi:

**B lampse kojne sek mūsketra //” he always becomes light in the mouth" refers to a taste in the mouth. Compared to *rākare kojne* "acid in the mouth", *lampse kojne* probably means “bitter in the mouth”**.

*a2. B ... perpetue premance r(a)*) as "if carrying a burden" should probably not be connected with *añkaicir yamalle* "vomiting"). As if carrying a burden" could be thought of as attribute to either *alaya* "lissitude" in AsNi 11.39, or *śūdha* "uncomfortable breathing" in Si 9.5. Both these symptoms are attested in the *Yogacārika* bidental). In PK.AS.2A a2 B aṅgādītā (can be reconstructed as the equivalent of Skt. *śūdha* "uncomfortable breathing" (Yog 17) and in PK.AS.2C B aṅgādītā occurs as the equivalent of Skt. *alaya* (Yog 115) "idleness, lissitude". The lissitude is probably mentioned later, thus I recon-

---

10) The manuscript has *tr*, a misspelling for *ne*.
struct tentatively (amāṣāliktamā māṣekātva vaikte) perpette premane v(a) “(he becomes constantly fatigued) as if carrying a burden”.

The vomiting, Skt. charide, is mentioned in Si (9.5). Another parallel is found in BheNi 3.17 a–18 b

ta cāya vudvate bhavāya bhaktaḥ nā ca vipracyate // 27 1 śṛṇmanā saha bhaktam ca mukhśurādhvam prāpyate “(From then on) the food does not have any taste for him (whatever) food (he still manages to eat) does not get digested well. And, food with the provoked śṛṇma moves upwards”.

B melay tanki māsketra “his nostrils are blocked up” corresponds to pīnas-a “nasal catarrh” in AsNi and AhNi. Thereupon, we have iṣvate kekṣenta ne tatri[k]au “/ “anxiety comes up in his body, (he becomes) confused ...”. The correspondence is most probably Skt. hṛṣṭā “nausea”.

a3. This line starts with preke māsketra- “... time is for him”. The only parallel I can think of is BheNi 3.16a (about a phlegm cancer patient): divāṣa’svatara tattā-ha “(he is) having in addition a habit of constantly sleeping by day”. Thus, for the lacuna reconstructed (iṣvate kekṣenta) preke māsketra- “by day” (for sleeping constantly) comes up for him.

The correspondences of B śruti mā ārme somoktāte sosoyusa kektṣeṇa māsketra(ṛ)-ne “/ “He has no desire for food [and] his body is constantly satiated” are Skt. arocaka “loss of appetite” (AsNi), vipāka “indigestion” (Si, AsNi), and aruci “loss of appetite” (AhNi).

a4–b2. In this section, prescriptions for the curing of cancer are given. It should be noticed that a section on tridosajāgulma “cancer due to all three [dosa] together” is missing in our text. A reason might be that the enumeration of symptoms is followed by prescriptions for cures. A cancer that is due to all three dosa together is not curable (Si, AsNi, AhCi). However, it indicates again that our text is an innovation in relation to the Sanskrit originals.

The prescription section ends with (b2) eva prayokāṇa yokalya mal-kvareśa kvārtvamate saṃtikte “These devices should be drunk with milk as a remedy against cancer”. This is also an innovation in regard to the Sanskrit: the prescriptions are not specified for treatment of cancer due to wind, gall, phlegm, as they are in Si, AsCi and AhCi. Here the description has been greatly simplified, compared to the extensive prescriptions of Si, AsCi and AsNi. Yet, a few parallels can be traced.

a5–a6. A parallel to the prescribed remedy in this passage is found in AsCi 16.29 for kaphadagulma:

B aise does not mean “power; surplus, excess”13), but “cooking vessel, cauldron”. The word translates Skt. śāśāṣṭ in the text SI P/65 b2, and the meaning is also ensured through the text B 107 a3.44).

Towards the end of the line (a6) there are traces of an [m-] after [nda]. The passage refers to an oil therapy, mentioned in b1, kvārtvamate laupe “liniment against cancer”. This is known from the Sanskrit equivalents (AsCi 16.7):

abhyāsa-gāpasa caivaṃ sada svayayat mehavedhakhi samyak pratyaktastra sāṃjātwa upajñavasukhānistvā bhūva ca vibhandhaṃ dāśa guṇam apakartate // 7 // “He (the patient) should always be administered svedana (sudation therapy) preceded by abhyāsa (oil massage); oleation and sudation therapies properly done produce softness of the channels, subdue śūta, remove the obstruction and by all these, cure abdominal tumours quickly.”

The ingredients mentioned in a6 as ingredients of an oil therapy are kaunca malyokotu “sesame paste”, irand “castor oil plant”. Thereafter, the only medical ingredient, mentioned among the prescriptions of AsCi that begins with am- is Skt. amalsetata “vinegar; bladder sore” (also Si 9.13). Adopted into Tocharian B it would become something like amalsetas. The most probable verb with malyokotu “paste derived by grinding” is B trīva- “caus.” “mix”. Thus I reconstruct kunca malyokotu • irand [d am] (amalsetasmpa trīvaije kvārtvamate laupe “sesame paste and castor oil plant (should be mixed with) vīnegaar as an ointment against cancer”.

b1–b2. I do not find any direct parallel in the Sanskrit equivalents of the enumeration of methods, B pryok (Skt. prryoga), prescribed in this passage. B wetene, hapax of our text, is borrowed from Skt. vedhini “Trigonella Foenum Graecum (fenugreek)”. The reconstruction lākṣata (Skt) rṣita (spel) is based upon lākṣānti (Skt) rṣita (spel “a fish-gill pill” in PK AS SB Do (Pelliot 3510.50) b215).

---

b 2–b 4. Towards the end of b2 there is a lacuna of 10 syllables after a broken *pi-. The first passage of b3 says mā su mūksetār śrānāt cewi ranu gati vēcara. The translations by Couvrer (1954:223) and K.T.-Schmidt (1997:247) say “this is not for the old. I shall now tell its signs”. The translation of B *śrān as an adjective, “old”16) in this passage is based on two other fragmentary passages: B 22 a1 kaua-na śrānāmi vēcātāmi “he killed for me the old warriors” and B 47 a8 /// y(+)e *śrān vēcātāmi e[tr/// “old warriors and heroes”17).

If we consider the description of raktagulma in BheNi 3.21 b–22 a, except for “old”, it has a beginning similar to our text: aha lokitagulma tu strīnaṃ coa praśaṇye II 21 II nāsau bhavati sṛṇaṃ tu tasya vākāsīi lākṣyam || “Now, the rakti (i.e. haema) gula arises only in women. It will not occur among men. I shall tell about its characteristics.” In the eleventh-century commentary of Cakrapāyinidatta, it is explained that raktagulma is particular to adult women (stṛ) and does not occur in men, girls (kumāri), and old ladies (attivedhā)18). However, the most important feature of this disease is that it occurs in fertile women only, and it does not occur to men. This makes it more likely that *śrān-19) is not an adjective specifying the age of the patient, but a special term for the male sex in fertile age, as opposed to the female sex in fertile age that can be affected by raktagulma. If we consider the other occurrences of *śrān-, we notice that in both cases it is followed by the adjective B vēcā, “combating” in nominative plural (vēcātāmi) and oblique plural (vēcātātāmi) respectively. B vēcā, has been interpreted as a substantivized adjective, “warrior”. The correct translation of these two passages is rather the other way around: vēcā means “combating” and *śrān- “man [in fertile age]”, i.e. a male person who is neither a boy nor an old man. This would be expected together with an adjective meaning “combating”. Thus śrān vēcātāmi (noun-pl.) means “fighting men” instead of “old warriors”. The nominative plural śrān is attested also in the St. Petersburg texts SI B Toch./9 and SI B Toch./12 that have been recently published by Painault (1998). Especially the text SI B Toch./1220) very convincingly shows that the meaning of this word is not “old” but “grown-up, mature male”. The text contains an enumeration of men. It says (1) cai ṛīvai ṛīv śrān kalaikuru + keppālaiśiva ... “These are the grown-up men of the New City: K., K. etc.”. The enumeration of names proceeds until line 4. Then line (5) says: cai ostvaṇī śrān + yattīke ... “These are the grown-up men of the houses: Y., etc.”. The meaning “adult men” fits the context much better than “aged men”21), since the text most probably represents an inventory of people. Men eligible to be registered, especially for military purposes, are of course the adult men, and not the aged ones!

The context of the other passage where we have a nom.pl. śrān: SI B Toch./9, 1122) is not obvious:

cenak śāk swerne kaptāśī śrān klairmā oroce kemaesa samatste saṇā sarašī śavā


“On the same fourteenth day, the workers, old men [and] women, have consumed their own wool, of one goat with large teeth.”24)

In spite of the uncertainty concerning the correct interpretation of this passage, we can assume that we have “workers, men and women”, instead of “monastery servants, aged men and women”.

Returning to our text we should assume that “woman” is given in the preceding lacuna. The lacuna follows the end of the section on prescriptions for gulma, and begins with the letters *pi-. It is not very likely that we have another medical ingredient, pippāl “pepper” or pis-sau “anise” at the beginning of the raktagulma section. Then not many alternatives for words beginning with *pi- remain. There are actually two possibilities: either we have pīkste “the fifth”, referring to raktagulma as the fifth of the gulma nidāna section: 1. vāṣṣagulma, 2. pitta-gulma, 3. kaphagulma, 4. tridosagulma and 5. raktagulma. However, this does not have any parallel in the Sanskrit equivalents, and further the tridosagulma section has been left out in our text. The second possibility is that *pi- represents the beginning of pitta or pītasa, of which there is a parallel in the Sanskrit, AsNī 11.41 (about raktagulma):

17) Translations by Adams (1999:644). Adams (op.cit.) proposes a connection with IE *ghṛ, Got., Gr. gōn-, Skt. jāt-.
19) For the proposed nominative *śrān-, see 7.1.
21) Painault (op.cit.) asks “Why are those “aged men” listed in this way?”.
23) Translation by K.T. Schmidt (1997:244). K.T. Schmidt (op.cit.) thinks that this passage reflects the consuming of the excrement of a pregnant she-goat for its aphrodisiac effects.
with our context. The Sanskrit text says (AhNi 11.55a): na cāsyā vart-hate kuskī guṇa eva tu vart-hate “there is no growth of the abdomen, but there is growth only of the tumour”, (AsNi 11.41): guṇa eva vart-hate na kuskī. Earlier in AsNi 11.41 it is said (about the menstrual blood):

_tad uparīlayamānānā māśe māśe kuskīm adhīna vartaṇayati garbhādhyogānā ca haflī-s-tāndāsānādā da-hita-stanāva-darmanādā “Thus obstructed, month after month, it produces an enlargement of the abdomen, and signs of pregnancy also, such as nausea, stupor, debility, longings (cravings) and appearance of breast milk”_.

All this points in one direction: _tso_ is the equivalent of Skt. kuski “[lower] abdomen; womb”.

In PKAS.2A a6 (Yog 18), we have the following passage25:

[ō]ṭī[ne] (āntene) tī[ai] * indrīne * añaṁpene piś yikne lakhe vīkaṣāram i corresponding to Skt. (a4) _śrōṣy-amāsā-madha-hṛdaya-stanā-rūkṣapīyam_. The Tocharian text does not correspond exactly to the Sanskrit text, but the translation of the Tocharian passage (with _tso_ as “penis”) would be “this drives away a five-fold pain in the groin, the shoulder, the penis organ and the heart”. The correspondence of Skt. _medhra-“penis”_ would then be _b tsai_ (oblique of _tso_). However, two features are problematic here: 1. _tso_ cannot mean “penis” (because of our text), 2. a monosyllabic paradigm _tso_ : _tsai_ has no parallels elsewhere in Tocharian B26). At first glance, there could be an explanation for the monosyllabic forms: the only passage where _tso_ is not preceded by a lacuna is IOL Toch b5 [mā|ntak na to|ero karte|sa|//]. This could be interpreted as [mā|ntak n|=o|tse|ero karte|sa|//]. The other two passages could then be analysed as follows: IOL Toch 305 b5 [ō]tso staukhana-tār-nte and PKAS.2A a6 [ō]ṭī[ne] (āntene=ō) tī[ai]. However, since neither of the texts PKAS.2A a6 nor IOL Toch 305 is metrical, this solution is incorrect. This means that a monosyllabic _o : at_ type has to be added to the attested disyllabic ones.

Considering again tī[ai] * indrīne in PKAS.2A a6 we have two possible solutions: 1. B _indri_ is “penis”30, and then the Tocharian translator has added _tsai_ “abdomen” into the enumeration of body parts with pain, thus “in the groin, the shoulder, the abdomen, the penis and the heart”, 2. _tsai indrīne_ means “in the abdomen organ”, which is a paraphrase for “penis”.

For the reconstruction of the lacuna of our text, we have two possibilities, depending on which passage of the Sanskrit original we follow: 1. We presuppose that mā “not” is hidden in the lacuna, and, with tso as “abdomen,” we reconstruct, following AsNi and AhNi above, (kevarm staukkkanatār mā) tso staukkkanatār-me “(the cancer grows, but) their abdomen does (not) grow.” This is however mentioned in AsNi and AhNi towards the end of the räkṣaṇulma section. Thus the next variant seems more plausible: 2. Following tad uparadyāmānāṃ māśe-māśe kūsīṁ adhi nirvartayati of AsNi 11.41 we translate tso staukkkanatār-me as “(their) abdomen is enlarged.” This last explanation also fits with the following phrase in the Tocharian text, icle yasar kaltrā, which refers to the obstruction of the menstrual blood: AhNi 11.50a nirvṛttādy āravām yonyāṃ prati-māsam avasthitam “[vāta] ... obstructs the āravā (menstrual blood) coming out every month,” BheNi 3.24a sa sōnīte shite nāri garhīnī sitītī manyate “When menstruation stops (but the congested blood mass remains), the woman is regarded as if she is a pregnant woman.” B kālī- is normally an intransitive verb, “stand, stand still, fix.” Thus we should assume (as in BheNi 3.24a above) that yasar “blood” is the subject of this verb and that B ile is an adverbial meaning “also, likewise”31). Corresponding to Skt. sōnīte shite (BheNi 3.24a) we get: “likewise [the menstruation] blood stands still”.

Next passage, klaınātā premtā yasnīṃ yamastrā, refers to the resemblance with pregnancy. K.T. Schmidt (1975:292–295) has examined the occurrences of B prem(m)tās. In occurrences outside this text (W 33 a6 and B 505 a5) a meaning “pregnant” seems to be possible. In our passage we have further evidence for this meaning. However, the problem is that a postulated adjective premtāsought to be feminine32). This is not the case with tso : tsar33), since tso is combined with a masculine adjective ekarte in the next passage, and it definitely is not the case with yasar which is a neuter noun. Another possibility is that premtāsa is a permissive of a noun *preṃ, which refers to pregnancy. We have *preṃ in the noun B empreṃ “true” (with a prepositional/intensive prefix en- “in”).34). Can these words be semantically combined? A possibility is to consider “pregnant” to be a metaphorical expression, as “being straight, direct, plain”, semantically related to “true”. The meaning of *preṃ might be something like “plainness”, with the derivations empreṃ “true” (“in clarity, in plainness”) and a (semi)-fossilized permissive premtā “with clarity > pregnant”35).

The genitive plural klaınāmīs should probably be understood as agentive, referring to the (imagined) pregnancy symptoms of the female patient; thus we arrive at a translation “and by the women it [i.e. the rākṣaṇulma symptoms] is evaluated as if [they are] pregnant.” This is relatively close, but not exactly corresponding to the formulation found in the Sanskrit equivalents, e.g. AhNi 11.50b ku<kśi>ṃ karoti tād-garba-hingam ūvī-arāthi ca “... produces signs and symptoms of pregnancy inside the abdomen”. However, the subject here (in AhNi) is not the abdomen but the aggravation of vāta. This causes the obstruction of the menstrual blood which causes the swelling and further the pregnancy symptoms. Though vāta (B yente) cannot be the subject of staukkkanatār36), kaltrā or yamastrā, it is not unlikely that the y- of the preceding line is the rest of B yente “wind.” Thus I reconstruct [y]ente moṣotīṇa “through an increase of vāta” for the lacuna, cf. AhNi 11.49 b-50 a

rītā va na-ad-sūtā va yadi va yoni-rōgī || 49 || sevate vātādānām stīr kṛṇadhā tasyāḥ samānāyaḥ. “Women who during their menstrual period, or period soon after delivery or who are having diseases of the yoni (uterus and vagina) indulge in foods and activities which aggravate vāta, in them samānāya (vāta) getting increased...”

Next problem is the translation of B erkarte, which obviously refers to a property of the abdomen or the womb of the woman37). In other medical texts we find an erkante (W 6 a5, W 1 b3, W 22 a2)38), erkēnte (W 5 a6) and erkasenta (W 2 a6), which occurs in enumerations of medical ingredients. The form erkante might be a misspelling for erkante, or reverse, but it is more probable that these should be kept apart: erkante is most probably genitive singular of an independent noun *erkā. The form erkasenta is a nominative plural, most probably related to erkante, but possibly also related to *erkā. The erkante of our text is an adjective defining tso, this is evident. What is the meaning of these lexemes, and how is *erkā related to erkante?

35) This solution has been proposed by G.-J. Pinault.
37) Adams (1999:94, 1987:4-5) proposes “testiculate”, based partly upon the translation of tso as *pentī (see earlier), partly upon a connection with IE *hīrgeh₂; “testicle”. This interpretation is incompatible with our context.
38) The two latter are partially reconstructed.
Considering again the *raktagulma*, we find an important property of the abdomen or the cancerous tumour not mentioned elsewhere in our text: “burning” or “heating”, corresponding to Skt. ḍāha-vāḥ in Si 9.7 (see above). Thus it is most probable that erkatte is an adjective “boiling, burning, hot”. This is also supported by the following sa... that most likely is a form of the verb sālp- “burn”, pres. 3sg. salpam “burns”\(^{40}\).

b6. The form leipṣa ought to be a perative of B leip “froth, foam”\(^{40}\). The passage does most likely refer to the appearance of breast milk, mentioned as symptom of a *raktagulma*, cf. BheNi 3.26b–27b:

*athāsāyāḥ kālaparyāyaśa kīsānu bhavati sthanu II 26 || kṛṣṇa bhavati sā pāḍur dohadāy cābhīnandati | chardī rīṣṭvlīkā caiva tāndrā caiva probhātē || 27 “And, in addition, as time progresses to a point of limit, her breasts start developing milk. She (herself) becomes emaciated and lean, develops a pallor and starts desiring intensely what a normal pregnant longs for; vomiting, spitting, and lassitude start troubling her much.”

The –र at the beginning of the line does probably reflect B malkwer “milk”. Thus, a restoration of the complete passage as (tottasa klainamte malkwer) r māsketra pāścane leip a māsketāt “(at the outmost limit) milk develops (for the woman). Her breasts become provided with froth”\(^{41}\).

B erene jolīya aśine iṣa māsketār-ne “[she becomes] pale in the face and desire arises in her”\(^{42}\) corresponds to BheNi 3.27: sā pāḍur dohadāram cābhīnandati “she develops pallor and dohada (the particular longings of a pregnant woman)”.

After number 4 in the text, we have aṅkai(m) (yamalle), “vomiting”, that corresponds to chardī “vomition” in the BheNi 3.27.

Still, the syntax of the complete section is somewhat complicated. We have “women” in plural in b4; but in b6 the subject must be a “(female) patient” in the singular. In addition, we have two other subjects: something moving in b3–b4, which must refer to the cancerous tumour inside the abdomen, the abdomen itself (tu) in b5 growing and burning.

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\(^{39}\) For further discussion of this word, see 7.2. and Carling (forthcoming).


\(^{41}\) I thank G.-J. Pinault for this proposed restoration.

\(^{42}\) See K.T. Schmidt (op.cit.).

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6. Translation

a1. … of the heart, he [i.e. he patient] [becomes] acid in the mouth. Know this before as symptoms of cancer due to gill. He always becomes bitter in the mouth, (likewise he becomes breathless)

a2. as if carrying a burden, vomiting, and his nostrils are blocked [i.e. he has a nasal catarrh]. Anxiety [nausea] besets his body, he (is) confused [(and) by day] time (for sleeping constantly)

a3. comes up for him. He has no desire to eat and constantly his body is sated. Know (this mentioned before as signs)

a4. of a cancer due to phlegm. Now I shall state the remedy: 10 trau of Trigonella corniculata should be cooked in milk. (This should be drunk)

a5. (as a) remedy (against cancer). Sesame oil, milk, honey, syrup should be cooked in a vessel so that half of it remains …

a6. … pepper should be scattered therein. This should be drunk as a remedy against cancer. Sesame paste, castor-oil plant (should be mixed with) vilerakt (negar)

b1. as an ointment against cancer. A pill of molasses is the first method, fenugreek the other, a pill of fishegill (the third) …

b2. … the fourth, salpete the fifth. All these remedies are to be drunk with milk as a remedy against cancer. (This gulma belongs to both) pitta (and) vāta. It occurs in [fertile] women only [and] …

b3. it does not occur in [fertile] men. I shall now state the signs of it: having not moved for a long time … (the tumour (?) imagined foetus (?) suddenly moves with pain (?))

b4. … having (moved) then suddenly having moved again, suddenly again for a time having moved, (through the accumulation of) vā(ta)

b5. their [i.e. of the women] abdomen grows, likewise the [menstrual] blood stands still [i.e. is obstructed]. It [i.e. the *raktagulma* symptoms] is evaluated by the women as if [they are] pregnant. Further the abdomen is burning hot [(and) at the outmost limit] milk develops (for the woman).

b6. Her breasts become provided with froth, she is pale in her face and the desire [of a pregnant woman] comes up in her. Vomiting (occurs to her …)
7. Etymological and paradigmatic considerations of new words

7.1. B *śrāṇ- “adult man”

Adams (1999:644) has a lemma *śrāṇ “old [of people]”, based upon Krause - Thomas (1964:248). He reconstructs a PT *śrāṇ-, which he connects etymologically with IE *gērh₂ōn- / *gērh₂ont- in Gr. gēront- “geriatric”, Skt. jāvant- “old, fragile”, o.s. zārōnd “old” from IE *gērh₂ “mature, grow old” (IEW), “make ripe, make old” (LIV). As we have seen in our text, the meaning “old” for *śrāṇ- is improbable, the meaning of this word is rather “adult man”. Adams (op.cit.) supposes also a connection between B *śrāṇ- and A ku-: B kur-/kwār- “grow old, fall into decay”, which was dealt with by Hilmarsso (1986:252-260). Hilmarsso (op.cit.) argues that this verb should be kept apart from the IE *gērh₂ “mature, grow old”, since, unless we suppose a nominal origin, *gērh₂ would not result in CT *kur-. Hilmarsso probably rightly connects this verb with IE *dʰgʷ ah₂ōr- in Skt. kṣārati “flows, melts away, perishes”, Gk. phtheĩo “corrupt, waste, destroy”.

Before trying to establish an etymology of B śrāṇ- “adult man”, we should try to reconstruct the paradigm. We have an stem śrāṇ-, attested in oblique plural śrāṇām and in genitive plural śrāṇīs. The attested nominative plural is śrey. There are two possibilities: either we have a paradigm with two stems, sār- (with nom./obl.sg. sāro: sārai ?) and śrāṇ- (in oblique cases), or else śrāṇ is a shortened form for śrāṇi. In the latter case, the forms should belong to the same paradigm as B sāṃ “enemy”, animates: with an obl.sg. -ām and a nom.pl. -ām (palatalising)/obl.pl. -ām (non-palatalising). In any case, there is no reason to postulate a nom.sg. *śrāni with root-final palatalisation when the genitive plural is śrāṇīs without palatalisation.

As for the etymology of B *śrāṇ- “adult man”, we should consider whether the connection with IE *gērh₂- proposed by Adams (op.cit.) can be kept. The basic meaning of the IE root *gērh₂- is “ripen” and the meaning “grow old, age” is secondary. This is indicated by the derivations *gērh₂-na-m “grain”, Lat. grānum, Goth. kuan, and also O’Nor. karl, “man, husband”, O’Sax. ceart “free man of the lowest class”. For B śrāṇ-, an *-nt-formation can hardly be possible. Thus we have to consider other variants, as an *-nr- or a dental stem (47).

7.2. B erkatse “burning, boiling, hot”

From the evidence of our text, the meaning of the adjective B erkatse can be established with relative certainty as “burning, boiling, hot”. In other medical texts (Weber ms.) we have erkatse and erkānte which are most likely genitive of an independent noun *erkā (cf. discussion in 5.), and erkasenta, which is probably the nominative plural of erkatse. The words are found in passages with enumerations of medical ingredients. In all cases (except the fragmentary W 1 b3 where erkā(nste) is followed by a lacuna and W 5 a6 where erkānte is followed by yāsoṭha (of uncertain meaning), erkatse and erkasenta precede a term for a liquid. It might be possible that this noun *erkā is a special term for “decoration”, and that genitive erkatse means “from a decoration”. However, the contents of the quoted medical passages are still very obscure, and a more careful investigation, with systematic search for Sanskrit equivalents, will be required. A possible etymological connection of CT *erk- as well as the relation between this word and other words beginning with CT *erk- have been dealt with elsewhere (48).

Abbreviations of Sanskrit texts

Ah Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya
As Aṣṭāṅgaśānḍhrāha
Bhe Bhela-Saṁhitā
Ci Cihita-Saṁhitā
Ni Niḍānāsthiṇa

(47) After the completion of this article, G-J. Vinault has proposed a probable solution for the nominative plural problem. The form śrey can be the regular direct development of *śrāṇy < śrāṇā, according to the phonetic rule discovered by Winter (1989:116): *-y (= *-yā) can be a result of *-ā in morpheme-final position, immediately after accented syllable. Thus the nominative plural can be reconstructed as *śrāṇaṃ < gērh₂-n-ṃ. The paradigm has generalized two stems, a strong stem *gērh₂-ōn- (nominative singular *gērh₂-ōn-) and a weak stem *gērh₂-n- in the plural. This means that we should postulate an IE *-a(n)-stem besides an *-a(n)-stem, known from Vedic jāvant-, Greek gēront etc.

(48) Carling (forthcoming).
Sources for Sanskrit texts/translations


Literature


- (forthcoming) "Tocharian B erkäte [arkātas] and related phenomena", in FS Jens Elmegard Rasmussen.


On a possible vestige in Germanic of a particular Indo-European type of construction with the verbal theme *H₂er-k- ‘to hold’

As shown by Catanicos (1986: 139-143), Hittite and Latin preserve some syntagmas (with a deity serving as subject) in which verbal forms derived from the IE theme *H₂er-k- ‘to hold, keep’ have as objects terms referring to the whole or to the different elements of the universe. For the Hittite material, see Catanicos, *ibid.* 139 and 140f. (with notes 116-120): KUB 31.143 II 21 nu nepis tekan- a harši 'et tu (re)tiens le ciel et la terre' (the subject being 'Telipinos'); KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 Vs. 12f., a text in which a deity boasts of almighty power in these words: [...] nam-? ... ma hūm an kuis harši natta nāk IΔMES- uis HUR.SAGMES- uis amnas- uis [(13/12')] [...] a tarnaškimi HUR.SAG-an tarnaemi t-asta idi natta nēkt (14/13')[arun] an tarnaškimi nu apna natta ṭahu 'Qui, d’ailleurs, (re)tiennent toute chose ? N’est-ce pas moi ? Je fixe en place [...] les fleuves, les montagnes et le mers. Je cloue la montagne et de ///ašia (cette position-) là elle ne se retourne pas ; je cloue la mer et elle ne se refleut pas’.

Further, as pointed out by Catanicos, *ibid.* 141, Lat. *arcère* ‘hold’

1) The IE theme *H₂(e)r-k- survives in Hitt. har(k)- ‘hold, keep’ and in Lat. *arcère* ‘hold’.

2) According to Schrijver (1991: 56) it is thinkable that the arc- of Lat. *arcère* comes from an IE zero-grade *H₂rk-, by ‘lex Rix’. Those, however, who, like the present author, consider ‘lex Rix’ nonexistent (see Lindeman 1994: 56-59), can explain the radical vocalism of Lat. *arcère* along the following lines. As is well known, Kurylowicz (1956: 174-180 and 1968: 243-248) has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the rise, in the southern languages, of a (preverbical) morphological zero-grade of the schematic shape *TaRT* in some cases led to the disappearance of the inherited zero-grade *TRT*—thus, according to Kurylowicz, the old zero-grade *myk*- of the IE full-grade theme *mark- (seen in Lith. merkti, melkti ‘to ret, soak’) came to be replaced in Latin by the morphological zero-grade *mark-er- > marceré ‘to wether, shrink’. It is possible, therefore, to set up the following analogical proportion to account for the form of Lat. *arcère*: *myk*-er- is to *mark-er- *exactly as *Oθk-er-(in which Oθ- = zero consonant representing the lost initial *H₂- of IE *H₂rk-) is to x; x = *θark-er-(Lat. *arcère*). Phonologically, the new, morphologically conditioned, preverbical zero-grade *θark- would have fallen together with the old

Neuerscheinungen
zur Sprachwissenschaft

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Juraj Ratkaj Velikotaborskis
„Kriposzi Ferdinand II.“
im Vergleich mit ihrer
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