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"Compounds in Tocharian B: An updated collection"

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1 Introduction

Tocharian is an extinct language branch of the Indo-European family spoken in the first millennium CE in the Tarim Basin, situated in the autonomous republic of Xinjiang in China. It entails two languages, namely Tocharian A and B, which are both still understudied from a linguistic point of view. Moreover, some literature on Tocharian is published based on an Indic perspective on language, due to extensive language contact. This caused severe problems when dealing with the Tocharian material right up to incorrect assumptions of compounds and an inconsistent classification of material which is also present in the heretofore most comprehensive publication on Tocharian compounds, namely Bernhard (1958).

To resolve these inconsistencies, this thesis aims at identifying the hitherto unrecognized calques from Sanskrit and applying a classification model of compounds, first proposed by Bisetto & Scalise (2005), on Tocharian B, which concentrates on hierarchically discriminating different linguistic levels when determining compound types.

In the following chapters, there will be presented firstly the role the accent plays for Tocharian B compounds, secondly, it will be shown why Bernhard (1958) needs to be revised, and thirdly, will the new model be applied to the compounds of Tocharian B to finally conclude what this can tell us about compounds in Tocharian B in general.

2 The phonology of compounds in Tocharian B

Tocharian composition correlates with phonology in that the accent of compounds deviates from simplicia, as already known from other Indo-European languages such as Vedic and Greek. This parallel was first observed by Bernhard (1958: 21). Hence, a profound theory of accent in Tocharian B is necessary to understand the mechanics which lie behind Tocharian composition.

Accent in Tocharian B can only be detected via the alternation within central vowels. Dependent on stress, those vowels will show up differently according to the following table:

underlying segment	stressed allophone	unstressed allophone
/ə/	<a> [ʌ]	<ä> [ə]
/a/	<ā> [a]	<a> [ʌ]

(Koller 2015: 4)

Bernhard (1958) also showed that mostly Tocharian compounds bear the accent on the last syllable of the first compound member. However, Bernhard (1958: 23) himself stated that rules for compounds with three or more members cannot be established.

Marggraf (1970: 16) reframed this rule in terms of accent retraction. According to him, the accent of the second member in compounds is firstly shifted onto the first syllable and later deleted so that finally, only the accent of the first member shows up. Nevertheless, as Koller (2015) showed this analysis must be wrong due to hiatus which indeed shows up between two compound members but not in simplicia as is the case for *ostá-ṣmeñca* "householder", literally "house-sitter" besides *óst* "house" and *ṣmeñca* "sitting". To account for this fact, Koller (2015) again reanalysed Marggraf's (1970) rule into what has now become communis opinio concerning the accent of compounds in Tocharian B. According to his theory, there are two main features that separate compounds from simplicia in Tocharian B: While hiatus is not allowed in simplicia, compounds allow for hiatus. The other condition which holds true for compounds but not for

simplicia concerns vowel adjacency. That is, if the respective accented syllables of first and second member are not contiguous to each other the compound indeed exhibits two accents (cf. Koller 2015). This can be illustrated with the following example: *āscā-sanāpalle* "head-salve" based on *āśce* "head" and *sanāpalle* "rubbing".

The outdated accent theory with which Bernhard (1958) had been working with is the first motivation for reworking his dissertation. What is more, as newer publications show various other phenomena can also intervene with the accent, like Sandhi, whether the text was found at Qizil Miñ-Öy or not, metrical reasons or archaicity. That is, the same expression can show up in multiple variants according to the background of the text. For instance, according to Thomas (1979), the alternation between *ä* and *a*, a crucial phenomenon for determining compounds, might also be explained solely on metrical grounds as the following example shows:

Variant	Translation	Text type	Attestation
<i>nāno nāno</i>	"again and again"	classical, metrical	THT 573 b4
<i>nano nano</i>	"again and again"	classical, prose	THT 331 a3

As becomes obvious through this example, the apparent accent shift from *nāno* to *nānó* does not exist but can be better explained due to metrical reasons. What complicates the picture even more, is that an *ä*, *a*, *ā*-alternation can be explained as an archaic spelling (Peyrot 2008) as the following examples show:

Variant	Translation	Text type	Attestation
<i>ṣarm</i> (Nom Sg), <i>ṣārmanmaṃts</i> (Gen Pl)	"cause"	classical, prose	IOL Toch 4 a1, a2
<i>ṣārm</i> (Nom Sg)	"cause"	archaic, prose	THT 588 a6
<i>ṣārmānmā</i> (Nom Pl)	"cause"	archaic, metrical	THT 136 a7

According to Peyrot (2008: 33-34), the vowel alternation in the table above can be explained due to two different accent rules operating in the archaic periods: While in the archaic-I period accent cannot be recovered from the spelling, in the archaic-II period accent is distinguished based on $\bar{a}/a$ -alternation but not on $a/\ddot{a}$ -alternation, and in the classical period both accent patterns are fully distinguished according to the accent rule of Koller (2015).

As Bernhard (1958: 119), in postulating a compound *nāno-nāno*, does not take into account these features, (probably since they all have been discovered after the publication of his dissertation) one is tempted to assume that everything published in Bernhard (1958) cannot be taken as a compound but has first to be reevaluated according to phenomena similar to the aforementioned examples. However, as will be shown in the following chapter, outdated material is not the only problem in Bernhard (1958).

3 The compound classification in Bernhard (1958)

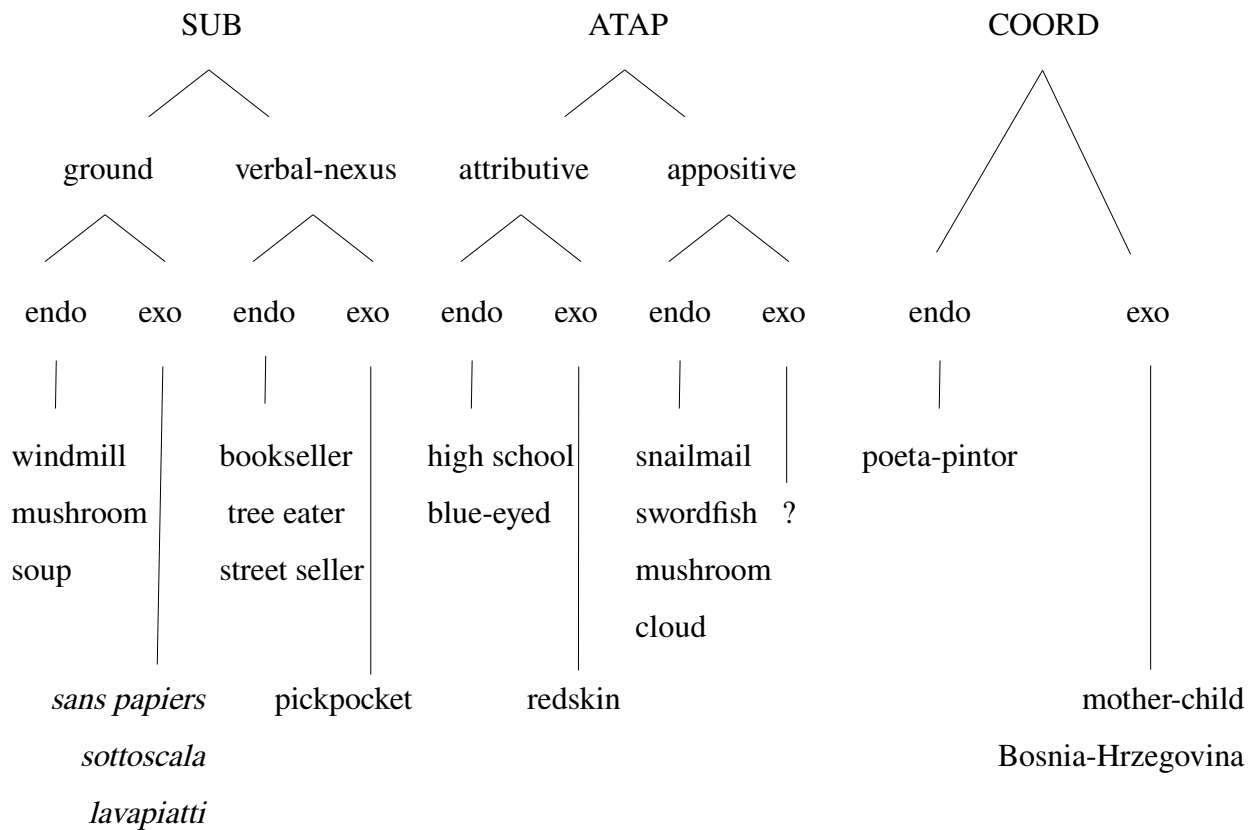
As mentioned earlier, this thesis focuses only on Tocharian B for two reasons: First of all, to minimize the extent of the investigation to a manageable size. Moreover, because Tocharian A does not exhibit clear accent patterns which help to detect compounds as in Tocharian B. Upon detecting the TB patterns, future work could then try to detect the TA ones, which is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis. When reviewing the literature for composition in Tocharian B, one mostly finds publications about single compound types. That is to say, while Malzahn (2012a) and Fellner (2018) both investigate verbal governing compounds, Meunier (2015b) only focuses on Tatpuruṣas and Karmadhārayas. In this sense, Bernhard (1958) is comprehensive in two ways: On the one hand, he is the only publication so far that entails an overview of all compound types. On the other hand, he works with the feature exocentricity which he defines as the lack of an overt suffix. However, he remains inconsistent in applying the criteria underlying his notion of composition. In fact, the dissertation uses two concepts: One (governing, attributive, and appositive compounds) is distinguished based on syntactic relations between the compound members, the other (Bahuvrīhis) is based on the presence of a suffix determining the category of the compound. The result is an unusable system based partly on the composition system of the Indic grammarians and partly on the status of the first compound member. Besides that, Bernhard (1958) was also inconsistent in applying the accent rule on compounds. That is to say, while he stated that accent rules for compounds with three or more members cannot be established (Bernhard 1958: 23), he indeed postulated compounds with more than two members as *wiyār-kānte-piśākar* (Bernhard 1958: 133; THT 108 a5).

To cope with these inconsistencies, this thesis adopts a different classification system of compounds based on the system of Bisetto & Scalise (2009), which strives to hierarchically distinguish the layers along which compounds are classified and which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

4 The compound system of Bisetto and Scalise

The model of Bisetto and Scalise was first proposed in 2005 and later adapted (Bisetto & Scalise 2005, 2009). In this thesis, the newer model of 2009 will be applied, which additionally takes into consideration appositive constructions. It starts from the feature which distinguishes compounds from other word forms, namely a grammatical relation not overtly expressed which holds between the compound members. The compounds are then organized in three hierarchical layers. The first one is syntactical, the second one categorial and the third one is concerned with the presence or absence of a head. That is to say, on the first layer three types of compounds are distinguished: Firstly, the subordinative type, that covers compounds which show syntactically a head-complement relation. Secondly, it entails the so-called ATAP-class. A class, in which the head of the compound is modified either attributively (AT) or appositively (AP). Here, in contrast to the first class, the members are not related via a made-of-relation but metaphorical in a way that the compound shares a property with the appositive member. The last type are coordinative compounds, which consist of two syntactic heads, even though only one of them can fully exert its function as a head. The second layer can be termed a categorial layer in that the compounds are further discriminated according to the categorial features of the compound members, i.e. whether the structure is A-A, A-N, N-N, and the like. The subordinative compounds exhibit two main types on this layer: Firstly, the verbal-nexus compounds, which are defined via a deverbal head, and secondly, compounds with a ground relation in which the dependent constituent can be interpreted as bearing a case. On the second layer the ATAP-class is, as its name already suggests, divided according to the attributive or appositive nature of the modifier. That is to say, while in attributive compounds a property of the head is modified via an adjective or a verb, in appositive compounds a property of the head is modified via a noun. On the third layer of the system, endo- and exocentricity are differentiated for all classes, that is whether or not the compound has a semantic head which bears the semantics of the whole compound. As Bauer (2008) pointed out, exocentricity as perceived in this model is not a feature of its own but rather

an umbrella term for various figures of speech. However, the precise investigation of the exact figure of speech underlying exocentric compounds in Tocharian is a task which would go way beyond the scope of this thesis, that is why it will be left for future research and is for now simply summarised under "exocentric". The relation between the three layers is shown in the following graphic.



(Bisetto & Scalise 2009: 50)

My thesis aims at applying the updated model of Bisetto & Scalise (2009) to the compounds of Tocharian B.

With this in mind, I strive to answer the following research questions:

1) Which compounds of Tocharian B are genuine? I.e. which compounds cannot be explained as syntagmas due to philological reasons (for an overview of those reasons cf. chapter 12)?

2) How can the genuine compounds of Tocharian B be consistently organised in accordance with the model of Bisetto & Scalise (2009) following criteria suitable for diachronic linguistics?

As the accent patterns of Tocharian B are not laid out fully in Bernhard (1958) and new material has since then been discovered, the compounds were drawn from Adams (2013), the most comprehensive collection so far, instead. However, as explained in chapter two, certain philological phenomena obscure the accent patterns of compounds. To cope with these circumstances, the compounds were looked up in CEToM separately, and where possible, classical prose variants were cited. If a construction could not qualify as a compound, it was listed separately in chapter twelve, accompanied by an explanation. At this point, it is important to note that this thesis cannot present a comprehensive collection of compounds in Tocharian as this would surely go beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, my work only investigates Tocharian B. Tocharian A was left aside completely as well as all compounds which can easily be detected as direct loans from Sanskrit like Tocharian B *akāśa-dhātu* "space-element".

In a second step, the forms were glossed to make their semantics transparent and finally presented in the corresponding chapter together with those Sanskrit equivalents which qualify for a basis for calques and on which a specific Tocharian compound type cannot be established with certainty. Finally, conclusions were drawn in question of which compound types can be established sincerely as having a Tocharian origin.

5 Subordinative compounds

Subordinative compounds are divided into two types, according to Bisetto & Scalise (2009), depending on the denominal or deverbal character of the head constituent. In the ground class, as compared to the appositive class, we find compounds in which the constituents bear a complement relation, which does not hold for appositive compounds.

5.1 Ground

To this class belong all privatives like *a-nāk-a-tte* (THT 20 a7, where the suffix *-a-* can be replaced by various other suffixes), where the circumfix *a- -tte* acts as the head. Apart from that, it entails only three compounds that do not show a structure N-N. They are probably all calques from B(H)S and listed below:

X-X ¹				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>ślē_p-śwatsicce_A</i>] _A "occupied with food"	<i>śāle</i> "together with" <i>śwātsi</i> "food"	endocentric	IOL Toch 129 a5 B(H)S <i>sabhojane</i>	classical, prose
[<i>śaulū_N-wārñai_p</i>] _A "life-long"	<i>śāul</i> "life" <i>wārñai</i> "beginning with, etc."	exocentric	THT 331 a3 B(H)S <i>janmaparyanta</i>	late, prose
[<i>snai_p-péwam_N</i>] _A "unfooted one"	<i>snái</i> "without" <i>páiyye</i> "foot"	exocentric	IOL Toch 127 b3 B(H)S <i>niṣpad</i>	classical, prose

In the group which lacks a correspondence in B(H)S one finds only three compounds, which are all endocentric as can be seen below:

1 Where X might, but need not, mean a feature different from N.

N-N				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>kau_urśá_N-pkai_{NACC}</i>] _{AACC} "bull-tailed"	* <i>káu_urśe</i> "bull" <i>páko</i> "tail, chowrie"	endocentric	THT 74 b5	classical, metrical
[<i>spelkká_N-śaul_N</i>] _N "life of effort"	<i>spélkke</i> "zeal, effort" <i>śául</i> "life"	endocentric	PK NS 55 b2	late, metrical
[<i>kwipe_N-ike_N</i>] _N "shame-place" i.e. "penis"	<i>kwīpe</i> "shame, modesty" <i>īke</i> "place"	exocentric	THT 334 a4	archaic-II/ classical, MQ, prose

N-N				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>agradharma_N-yoñyai(ne)_{NLOC}</i>] _{NLOC} "in the way of the foremost law"	<i>agradharma</i> "foremost law" <i>yoñiya</i> "way"	endocentric	THT 554 b6 B(H)S <i>agradharma-</i>	archaic-II
[<i>upādhyāye_N-yákne_N</i>] _N "in a teacher's manner"	<i>upādhyāye</i> "master, teacher" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner"	endocentric	THT 630 a3 B(H)S <i>upādhyāya-</i>	classical, prose
[<i>or_N-śacākare_N</i>] _N "ratification on a piece of wood"	* <i>ór</i> "wood" <i>satyakār</i> "attestation, verification"	endocentric	LP 2 a3/4 Pali <i>saccakāra-</i>	colloquial, prose
[<i>kṣaná_N-yārmne_{NLOC}</i>] _{NLOC} "in the measure of an instant"	<i>kṣám</i> "instant" <i>yārm</i> "measure, extent, size"	endocentric	PK AS 4B b4 B(H)S <i>kṣaṇa-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>Bārāṇas_N-riṣṣi_{NNOMPL}</i>] _{NNOMPL} "inhabitants of Benares"	<i>Bārāṇasi</i> "name of a city" <i>riṣṣe</i> "inhabiting a city"	endocentric	THT 25 b7 B(H)S <i>Bārāṇasī</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>ypóy_N-mokonta_{NNOMPL}</i>] _{NNOMPL} "land-elders"	<i>yápo</i> "land, country" <i>móko</i> "elder"	endocentric	PK DA M 507.37 and .36 a2	colloquial, prose
[<i>war_N-walsaitse_A</i>] _A "water-milled"	<i>wár</i> "water" * <i>waltsiye</i> "mill"	endocentric	Ot 12 a4 (MQ) B(H)S <i>udakayantram,</i> <i>jalyantram</i>	late, prose

5.2 Verbal-nexus

In the verbal-nexus class, one finds nine compounds with an underived governing verb, as opposed to ten compounds with a governing verbal noun and 21 compounds in which a verbal adjective acts as the head. The compounds are organised in agreement to a-character which is marked as ^ā or, if uncertain, (^ā) according to Malzahn (2010).

X-V				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>lāklé_N-lyakāñ_V</i>] _A "pain-seeing"	<i>lākle</i> "pain, suffering" <i>lāk-^ā</i> "to see, to look at"	endocentric	PK AS 7E a6 B(H)S <i>duḥkhasamjñā</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>lwaksā_{NPL}-tsaik=_V</i>] _N "pot-builder"	<i>lwāke</i> "pot, vessel" <i>tsik-^ā</i> "fashion, shape, build"	endocentric	THT 3 a2 B(H)S <i>kumbhakāra</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>yikné_N-ritañ_V</i>] _A "way-seeking"	<i>yākne</i> "way, manner" <i>rit-^ā</i> "seek, search for"	endocentric	THT 31 a2-a3	classical, metrical
[<i>lāklé_N-nākṣi_V</i>] _A "suffering-destroying"	<i>lākle</i> "pain, suffering" <i>nāk-</i> "to destroy"	endocentric	THT 229 b4 B(H)S <i>duḥkhāpanaya</i>	archaic-I, MQR, metrical
[<i>kaum_N-yāptsi_{INF}</i>] _N "sunrise"	<i>kāum</i> "sun" <i>yāp-</i> "to enter"	endocentric	PK AS 18B a3	classical/late, prose
[<i>klautsā_{NDU}-pālṣi_{INF}</i>] _A "ears-pricked"	<i>klāutsa</i> "both ears" <i>pāl-</i> "stretch, strain"	endocentric	THT 16 b2 B(H)S <i>upaśrutika-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>seník_A-śawa_V</i>] _A "untrustworthy" (cf. Hackstein 2015)	<i>sénik</i> "entrusted" <i>śuw-^ā</i> "to eat"	exocentric	THT 534 a3 Middle Iranian * <i>zēnik</i>	classical, prose
[<i>po_A-āiyśi_V</i>] _N "all-know" i.e. "Buddha"	<i>pó</i> "all, everything" <i>aik-</i> "to know"	exocentric	THT 407 a4 B(H)S <i>sarvavedī</i>	archaic-II, metrical, MQ
[<i>ṣotri_N-yāmcī_V</i>] _N "teachers of the law"	<i>ṣótri</i> "sign, mark" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	exocentric	THT 45 a4	classical, metrical

X-Verbal noun				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>pit</i> _N - <i>maiwalñe</i> _N] _N "gall-trembling"	<i>pit</i> "gall, bile" <i>miw</i> - ^ā "tremble, quake"	endocentric	PK AS 2C a2	classical, prose
[<i>wašik</i> _N - <i>kālpaṣṣukim</i> _{NACC}] _{NACC} "wašik-stealer"	<i>wāšik</i> "tribute, toll" <i>kālp</i> - ^ā "obtain"	endocentric	THT 330 a5 Middle Iranian * <i>βāžika</i> -	late, prose
[<i>sārwaṇa</i> _N - <i>laiko</i> _N] _N "face-wash"	<i>sārwaṇa</i> "face" <i>lik</i> - ^(ā) "to wash"	endocentric	W 10 b1 B(H)S <i>mukhamārjanaṃ</i> , <i>mukhaprakṣāḷana</i> <i>ṃ</i>	classical
[<i>palskó</i> _N - <i>šārpalñe</i> _N] _N "mind-reading"	<i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit, thought" <i>šārp</i> - "explain to, inform"	endocentric	THT 108 b7 B(H)S <i>ādeśanā</i>	late, metrical
[<i>yolo</i> _A - <i>yāmintse</i> _{NGEN}] _{NGEN} "of the evil-doer"	<i>yólo</i> "bad, evil" <i>yām</i> - "to make"	endocentric	THT 304 b3 B(H)S <i>pāpakārī</i>	archaic, MQ, metrical
[<i>yoñiya</i> _{NACC} - <i>ṣpārkāṣṣukim</i> _{NACC}] _{NACC} "highway-man, brigand"	<i>yóñiya</i> "path, way" <i>spārk</i> - ^(ā) "disappear, perish"	exocentric	THT 330 a5 Pali <i>panthadūsaka</i> -	late, prose
[<i>kóm</i> _N - <i>klāskomem</i> _{NABL}] _{NABL} "from the west"	<i>kóm</i> "sun, day" <i>kālsk</i> - ^ā "disappear, set"	exocentric	Ot 19.1 a4	colloquial, prose
[<i>kaum</i> _N - <i>pírko</i> _N] _N "east"	<i>kaum</i> "sun, day" <i>pārk</i> - ^ā "to rise"	exocentric	PK AS 13D a4 B(H)S <i>sūryodaya</i> -	classical, metrical
[<i>ompostām</i> _{ADV} - <i>wṣīlñentasa</i> _{NPERLPL}] _{NPER} LPL "from the consequences"	<i>ompóstām</i> "afterwards" <i>wās</i> - "remain"	exocentric	THT 11 a7 B(H)S <i>anusāra</i> -	classical, metrical
[<i>ompostām</i> _{ADV} - <i>palkalyñe</i> _N] _N "viewing, consideration"	<i>ompóstām</i> "afterwards" <i>pālk</i> - "to see"	exocentric	IOL Toch 4 a3 B(H)S <i>anupśya</i> -	classical, prose

X-Verbal adjective				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>kārtsé_A-akso_{PTCP}</i>] _A "well-instructed"	<i>kārtse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>āks-</i> "instruct"	endocentric	IOL Toch 52 b6 B(H)S <i>sudeśitam</i>	archaic-II/ classical, metrical
[<i>kārtsé_A-weṣṣeñcantse_{PTCPGEN}</i>] _A GEN "eloquent"	<i>kārtse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>we-</i> "speak"	endocentric	THT 251 a4 B(H)S <i>hitavaktu-</i>	archaic-II, metrical
[<i>pārñā_{ADV}-palkāskemane_{PTCP}</i>] _V "when seen from the outside"	<i>pārna</i> "outside" <i>pālk-</i> "to see"	endocentric	IOL Toch 766 a1	prose
[<i>pālskó_N-ṣārpālñeṣse_A</i>] _A "prtng to mind-reading"	<i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit, thought" <i>ṣārp-</i> "explain to, inform"	endocentric	THT 108 b4 B(H)S <i>ādeśanā</i>	late, metrical
[<i>lāklé_N-preñca_{PTCP}</i>] _A "pain-taking"	<i>lākle</i> "pain, suffering" <i>pār-</i> "bear, wear, carry"	endocentric	PK AS 9C b2 B(H)S <i>duḥkhāpanaya</i>	archaic, prose
[<i>śaulā_N-preñcai_{PTCPACC}</i>] _{AACC} "life-bearing"	<i>śāul</i> "life" <i>pār-</i> "to bear, wear, carry"	endocentric	THT 83 a4	classical, prose, hypercorrect
[<i>ōlañkā_{ADV}-nesālñetstse_A</i>] _A "being at ease"	<i>ōlañk</i> "enough, easy, cheap" <i>nes-</i> "to exist"	endocentric	THT 561 a3 B(H)S <i>sukhabhū</i>	classical, prose
[<i>aścā_N-sanāpalle_A</i>] _N "head-salve"	<i>āśce</i> "head" <i>sanāp-</i> ^ā "rub in, rub on"	endocentric	W 18 a4 B(H)S <i>mūrdhābhiṣikta</i>	classical
[<i>kārtsé_A-yamiñ_{ANOMPL}</i>] _{NNOMPL} "benefactors"	<i>kārtse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	endocentric	B(H)S <i>hitakartu-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>pkānté_N-yamiñana_{ANOMPL}</i>] _{ANOMPL} L "hinderings"	<i>pkānte</i> "obstacle, hindrance" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	exocentric	THT 1111 B(H)S <i>antarāyikā dharmāḥ</i>	classical, prose
[<i>wāstā_{ADV}-pkuwe_{PTCP}</i>] _A "two-years old"	<i>wāsto</i> "again, doubly" <i>pāk-</i> "ripen"	exocentric	SI B Toch 11 a5, a6, a10 B(H)S <i>dvivarṣa</i>	colloquial, prose
[<i>ompóštām_{ADV}-ynūca_A</i>] _N	<i>ompóštām</i> "afterwards"	exocentric	IOL Toch 75 a5 B(H)S <i>anugāminī</i>	archaic-II?, metrical

"companion"	<i>i-</i> "to go"			
[<i>yoló_A-yamorcci_A</i>] _N "evil-doer"	<i>yólo</i> "bad, evil" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	exocentric	IOL Toch 114 b2- b3 B(H)S <i>pāpakarmānaḥ</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>tsain_N-</i> <i>yāmāṣeñca_{PTCP}</i>] _N "arrow-maker"	<i>tsáin</i> "arrow" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	exocentric	THT 1318 a2 BHS <i>iṣukāra-</i>	metrical
[<i>ostá_N-</i> <i>ṣmeñcai_{PTCPACCSG}</i>] _{NACCS} _G "of the house-holder"	<i>óst</i> "house" <i>ṣām-</i> "to sit"	exocentric	IOL Toch 129 a6 B(H)S <i>gr̥hapati</i>	classical, prose
[<i>ost_N-ṣmemane_{PTCP}</i>] _N "house-holder"	<i>óst</i> "house" <i>ṣām-</i> "to sit"	exocentric	IOL Toch 778 b2	classical, fragmentary
[<i>aiṣṣeñca_{PTCP}-</i> <i>ekamññiññentatse_A</i>] _N "one giving of his own possessions"	<i>ai-</i> "to give" <i>ekáññetstse</i> "having possessions"	exocentric	THT 561 a1 B(H)S <i>vāntalokāmiṣa</i>	classical, prose
[<i>karmapāyā_N-</i> <i>weṣeñcatse_{PTCPGENSG}</i>] _{NG} _{ENSG} "of one who speaks the karmavācanā"	<i>karmapāy</i> "karmavācanā" <i>we-</i> "speak"	exocentric	THT 1110 a4 B(H)S <i>karma-</i> Pali <i>vācā</i>	classical, prose
[<i>po_A-</i> <i>yṣeñcai_{PTCPACC}</i>] _{NACC} "all-knowing (one)" i.e. "Buddha"	<i>pó</i> "all, everything" <i>aik-</i> "to know"	exocentric	THT 21 b8 B(H)S <i>sarvajña</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>yekté_A-</i> <i>keklyauṣu_{PTCP}</i>] _N "one having heard less"	<i>yákte</i> "little, small" <i>klyaus-</i> "to hear"	exocentric	IOL Toch 70 b6 B(H)S <i>alpaśruta-</i>	classical, prose
[<i>ynes_A-</i> <i>yāmoṣepi_{PTCPGENSG}</i>] _N _{NSG} "of one who has achieved something"	<i>ynés</i> "real, manifest" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	exocentric	THT 4092 a2	classical, prose

6 ATAP compounds

This class entails compounds that bear a syntactic head that is modified either attributively via a verb or an adjective or appositively via a noun expressing a property of the head. Hence, the class is further divided into an attributive and an appositive class, similarly to the subordinative class.

To this class belong all forms with *yok* as second member. Except for attributive *lare-yok* and probably *vairudyi-yokām*, they are all appositive.

Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>laré_A-yok_N</i>] _A "lovely-colored" i.e. "lovely-looking"	<i>lāre</i> "dear, beloved" <i>yók</i> "color"	endocentric	THT 93 b5	classical, metrical
[<i>spharir_N-yokāl_N</i>] _A "crystal-colored"	<i>sphárir</i> "crystal" <i>yók</i> "color"	endocentric	THT 565 b4 B(H)S <i>sphaṭikavarṇa</i>	classical, prose and metrical
[<i>rājavat_N-yok_N</i>] _A "indigo-colored"	B(H)S <i>rājapaṭṭa</i> - "a kind of blue dye" <i>yók</i> "color"	endocentric	PK AS 16.1 a4-a5 B(H)S <i>rājapaṭṭa</i> -	metrical, prose
[<i>ñākté_N-yok_N</i>] _A "god-like"	<i>ñákte</i> "god" <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	PK NS 36 and 20 a3 B(H)S <i>devavarṇa</i> -	classical, prose
[<i>pwār_N-yokāññana_{NNOM/ACCPL}</i>] _A "fire-like"	<i>pūwar</i> "fire" <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	THT 566 b8 B(H)S <i>agni</i>	classical, prose and metrical
[<i>meñ_{NACC}-yokāññana_{NNOM/ACCPL}</i>] _A "moon-like"	<i>mēne</i> "moon" <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	THT 73 a4 B(H)S <i>candropama</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>uppāl_N-yokām_{NACCSG}</i>] _A "lotus-colored" or "lotus-like"	<i>uppāl</i> "blue lotus" <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	THT 560 a5 B(H)S <i>utpalavarṇa</i>	classical, prose and metrical
[<i>vairudyi_{NA}-yokām_{NACCSG}</i>] _A "world_guardian-like"	B(H)S <i>virūḍha</i> - "world-guardian" B(H)S <i>vairūḍhya</i> - (adj) <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	THT 571 a2 B(H)S <i>virūḍha</i> -	archaic-I, metrical
[<i>naumíye_N-yok_N</i>] _A	<i>náumiye</i> "jewel,	exocentric	THT 565 b5	classical, metrical

"jewel-like"	pearl" <i>yók</i> "color"		B(H)S <i>maṇi-</i>	
[<i>patrák_N-yók_N</i>] _A "alms_bowl-like"	<i>pátrak</i> "metal plate" <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	THT 114 b3 B(H)S <i>pattraka-</i>	late, metrical

6.1 Attributive

This class entails ten compounds of the structure A-A, of which only the following two lack a correspondence in B(H)S.

A-A				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>tārya_A-cmelaṣṣe_A</i>] _A "three-birther"	<i>tārya</i> "three" f. <i>cmélaṣṣe</i> "prtng to birth"	endocentric	THT 407 b4	archaic-II, MQ, metrical
[<i>śtvārka_A-yṣiṣṣe_A</i>] _A "forty-nighted"	<i>śtvārka</i> "forty" <i>yṣīye</i> "night"	endocentric	IOL Toch 139 b5	classical/late, prose, hypercorrect

A-A				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>ikām_A-pikwalaṃṇepi</i>] _{AGENSG} AGENSG "twenty-years old"	<i>ikām</i> "twenty" <i>pikwalaṃṇe</i> "having so many years"	endocentric	IOL Toch 246 a1 B(H)S <i>viṃśadvarṣa</i>	classical/late, metrical
[<i>yä(k)t=</i>] _A <i>aiśam(ñ)et(s)e_A</i>] _A "dull-witted"	<i>yākte</i> "small, little" <i>aiśamñetstse</i> "having wisdom"	endocentric	IOL Toch 152 a8 B(H)S <i>durmedhas-</i>	classical, prose Sandhi
[<i>tsen_A-uppālṣi_A</i>] _A "blue-lotused"	<i>tsém</i> "blue" <i>uppālāṣṣe</i> "prtng to the blue lotus"	endocentric	THT 575 a2 B(H)S <i>utpala-</i>	classical, MQ
[<i>alyek_A-ypoyṣi_A</i>] _A "from another country"	<i>ályek</i> "other, another" <i>ypoye</i> "prtng. to one's own country"	endocentric	THT 81 b4 B(H)S <i>ekadeśa</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>orótstse_A-</i>]	<i>orótstse</i> "great, big,	endocentric	THT 506 a3	classical/late,

<i>cimpamñecci</i> _{ANOMPL} _A NOMPL "having great capabilities"	large" <i>cāmpāmñe</i> "ability, power"		B(H)S <i>mahāśakya</i>	prose
[<i>orótsse</i> _A - <i>yātalñecci</i> _{ANOMPL}] _{ANO} MPL "having great capabilities"	<i>orótsse</i> "great, big, large" <i>yātalñe</i> "ability, capacity, power"	endocentric	THT 506 a2 B(H)S <i>mahāśakya</i>	classical/late, prose
[<i>po</i> _A - <i>preścyasše</i> _A] _A "prtg to every age"	<i>pó</i> "all, everything" <i>preścíya</i> "time"	endocentric	SI P 1b B(H)S <i>sarvakālam</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>pó</i> _A - <i>aiśiññeṣem</i> _{AACCSG}] _{NAC} C SG "all-knowing (one)" i.e. "Buddha"	<i>pó</i> "all, everything" <i>aiśiññeṣe</i> "knowing"	exocentric	THT 73 b3 B(H)S <i>sarvvajñah</i>	classical, metrical

The second subclass is those with a structure A-N, which is way larger than the first one (A-A). It entails 34 endocentric compounds and 22 exocentric ones. However, only two of them cannot be explained as a calque, listed in the following table.

A-N				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>k_ucé</i> _{AACC} - <i>yāknesa</i> _{NPERL}] _{ADV} "in which way, how"	<i>k_usé</i> "who" <i>yākne</i> "way, manner"	endocentric	THT 102 a4	classical, prose
[<i>še</i> _A - <i>śuke</i> _N] _A "same-tasting"	<i>śé</i> "one" <i>śūke</i> "taste, sap"	endocentric	IOL Toch 305 a2	classical, prose

In the rest at least one member can be identified as having a B(H)S origin:

A-N				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>orótsse</i> _A - <i>pacerene</i> _{NLOCPL}] _{NLOCPL}	<i>orótsse</i> "great, big, large"	endocentric	THT 1540.b a4 B(H)S <i>pitāmaha</i>	archaic-I, metrical

"from the grandparents"	<i>pācer</i> "father"			
[<i>taryo</i> _A - <i>pavicārānta</i> _{NNOMPL}] _{NNO} MPL "three ranges of the senses"	<i>tārya</i> "three" f. <i>upāvicār</i> "range"	endocentric	THT 173 a1 B(H)S <i>upavicāra</i> - * <i>trayopavicāra</i> -	classical, metrical (Sandhi)
[<i>tāryā</i> _A - <i>aiśāmñe</i> _N] _N "threefold wisdom"	<i>tārya</i> "three" f. <i>aiśāmñe</i> "wisdom"	endocentric	THT 31 a6 B(H)S <i>traividya</i> -	classical, metrical
[<i>ywārt</i> _A - <i>taś</i> _N] _N "commander of the center"	<i>ywārc</i> "half, in the midst, amidst" <i>tāś</i> "commander"	endocentric	PK Bois B1 Early Chinese BĀNG-JŪN ₅ "ruler of a country"	colloquial, prose (Sandhi: c > t/_#[+dental])
[<i>ywarcā</i> _A - <i>meñ</i> _{NACCSG}] _{NACCSG} "half a month, fortnight"	<i>ywārtsa</i> "half" <i>mēñe</i> "moon, month"	endocentric	IOL Toch 248 a2 B(H)S <i>ardhamāsakam</i>	classical, prose
[<i>ywarc</i> _A - <i>īṣi</i> _{NACCSG}] _{NACCSG} "[at] midnight"	<i>ywārc</i> "half" <i>yṣīye</i> "night"	endocentric	THT 65 b8 B(H)S <i>arddharātraḥ</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>yāktē</i> _A - <i>pernentse</i> _{NGENSG}] _{AGENS} G "little-worthy"	<i>yākte</i> "small, little" <i>pérne</i> "rank, position, glory"	endocentric	THT 531 a1 B(H)S <i>alpalakṣme</i>	classical, prose
[<i>krośśé</i> _A - <i>maññe</i> _N] _N "cold-house"	<i>króśce</i> "cold" <i>-māññe</i> "hall, pavilion"	endocentric	Ot 13.1. a4 B(H)S - <i>śālā</i> "hall, pavilion"	colloquial, prose
[<i>yārke</i> (é) _N - <i>maññ(ene)</i> _{NLOC}] _{NLOC} "in the honor-hall"	<i>yārke</i> "honor, reverence" <i>māññe</i> "hall, pavilion"	endocentric	THT 527 b1 B(H)S <i>gayāśīrṣa</i>	classical, prose
[<i>kaucū</i> _A - <i>wār</i> _N] _A "upstream"	<i>kāuc</i> "up" <i>wār</i> "water"	endocentric	PK AS 18B b5 B(H)S <i>ūrdhvagāmin</i> -	classical, metrical
[<i>rūkṣā</i> _A - <i>pālsko</i> _N] _A "harsh-spirited"	<i>rūkṣ</i> "harsh, rough" <i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit, thought"	endocentric	THT 230 b3 B(H)S <i>rūkṣa</i> -	archaic-I, MQR, metrical
[(<i>aṅkaiṃ</i> _A -) <i>pilkontse</i> _{NGEN}] _{AGEN} "false-viewed"	<i>āṅkaiṃ</i> "false, reverse" <i>pīlko</i> "insight, view, look, glance"	endocentric	IOL Toch 260 a3 B(H)S <i>mithyādrṣṭi</i>	classical, prose

[<i>astré_A-pālsko_N</i>] _A "pure-spirited"	<i>āstre</i> "pure" <i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit"	endocentric	THT 12 b8 B(H)S <i>śubhacittaḥ</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>astré_A-wére_N</i>] _A "pure-armed"	<i>āstre</i> "pure" <i>wére</i> "smell"	endocentric	THT 300 b2 B(H)S <i>śucigandhi-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>ok_A-pokai_{NACCSG}</i>] _A "eight-armed"	<i>ók</i> "eight" <i>póko</i> "arm, limb"	endocentric	THT 74 b5 B(H)S <i>aṣṭāṅga</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>pārñā_{ADV}-śim_N</i>] _A "extra-mural"	<i>pārna</i> "outside" <i>śim</i> "boundary, limit"	endocentric	MIK III 4048 a2 B(H)S <i>bahiḥśīmam</i>	prose
[<i>kwāntsā_A-pālsko_N</i>] _A "firm-spirited"	<i>kwānts</i> "firm, solid" <i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit"	endocentric	THT 1168 b3 B(H)S <i>sthitacitta</i>	classical, prose
[<i>kārtsé_A-wére_N</i>] _A "good-smelling"	<i>kārtse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>wére</i> "smell"	endocentric	THT 308 b6 B(H)S <i>sugandhīni</i>	classical, prose
[<i>kārtsé_A- weśēññai_{NACCSG}</i>] _{AACCS} G "good-voiced"	<i>kārtse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>weśēñña</i> "voice, sound"	endocentric	PK AS 7I a2 B(H)S <i>hitavaktu-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>treýā_A- meskeṃ_{NNOMPL}</i>] _{ANOMS} G "three-jointed"	<i>tréy</i> "three" <i>méske</i> "joint"	endocentric	THT 148 a1 B(H)S <i>trisaṃndhi</i>	archaic-II, prose, MQ
[<i>treýā_A-saim_N</i>] _A "three-refuged"	<i>tréy</i> "three" <i>sáim</i> "refuge"	endocentric	THT 148 a2 B(H)S <i>trayāśraya</i>	archaic-II, prose, MQ
[<i>trai_A-ésaim_{NACCSG}</i>] _A "three-eyed"	<i>trái</i> "three" <i>ék</i> "eye"	endocentric	IOL Toch 85 b2 B(H)S <i>tricakṣus</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>mamánto_{PTCP}- pālsko_N</i>] _A "evil-minded"	<i>mamāntoṣ</i> "disturbed" <i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit"	endocentric	THT 4075 b6 B(H)S <i>pāpamatiḥ, duṣṭamatiḥ</i>	late, hypercorrect, MQR, prose
[<i>yuṣé_A- yndrinta_{NNOMPL}</i>] _A "dull-sensed"	* <i>yúṣe</i> "squinting, dull, idle" <i>índri</i> "sense"	endocentric	PK AS 7H a1 B(H)S <i>indriya-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>yoló_A-wére_N</i>] _A "evil-smelling"	<i>yólo</i> "bad, evil" <i>wére</i> "smell"	endocentric	B(H)S <i>durgandha-</i>	
[<i>yólo_A-sārwāna_N</i>] _A "ugly-faced"	<i>yólo</i> "bad, evil" <i>sārwāna</i> "face"	endocentric	THT 550.a b1 B(H)S <i>durmukha-</i>	late, prose
[<i>śāk_A-māiyya_N</i>] _A "ten-powered"	<i>śāk</i> "ten" <i>māiyya</i> "power,	endocentric	THT 1450.d a5 B(H)S <i>daśabala</i>	classical

	might, strength"			
[<i>šémé</i> _{AACCSG} - <i>yärm</i> _N] _A "same-measured"	<i>šé</i> "same" <i>yärm</i> "measure, extent"	endocentric	IOL Toch 305 b2 B(H)S <i>samamātra</i>	classical, prose
[<i>šémé</i> _{AACCSG} - <i>pālsko</i> _N] _A "one-minded"	<i>šé</i> "one" <i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit thought"	endocentric	PK AS 7D b1 B(H)S <i>ekamanas</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>somó</i> _{AACCF} - <i>kālymi</i> _{NACC}] _A "one-directed"	<i>šé</i> "one" <i>kālymiye</i> (acc. <i>kālymi</i>) "direction"	endocentric	SIB 117 a3 B(H)S <i>ekāntaṃ</i>	classical, prose
[<i>kārtsé</i> _A - <i>šālype</i> _N] _A "good-oiled"	<i>kārtse</i> "good" <i>šālype</i> "oil"	endocentric	THT 550.a b3 B(H)S <i>suhaviṣ-</i>	late, prose
[<i>kreṃt</i> _{AACC} - <i>pelaikne</i> _N] _A "virtuous"	<i>kārtse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>peláikne</i> "law"	endocentric	IOL Toch 206 a5 B(H)S <i>saddharman</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>yoló</i> _A - <i>weretsāṃññe</i> _N] _N "the state of having an evil smell"	<i>yólo</i> "bad, evil" <i>wére</i> "smell"	endocentric	PK AS 2C a2 B(H)S <i>daurgandhya-</i>	classical, late, metrical
[<i>ywārs</i> _A - <i>šmañe</i> _N] _N "mid-summer"	<i>ywārc</i> "half, in the midst, amidst" <i>šmāye</i> "prtḡ to summer"	endocentric	Ot 12 a11 B(H)S <i>ardha-</i> <i>(ārdhavarṣikaḥ)</i>	colloquial, MQ, prose
[<i>lāntsé</i> _A - <i>kektseñ</i> _{NACCSG}] _A "light-bodied"	<i>lānk_utse</i> "easy, light" <i>kektseñe</i> "body"	endocentric	THT 561 a1 B(H)S <i>laghukāya</i>	classical, prose
[<i>štwarā</i> _A - <i>yākne</i> _N] _A "four-fold"	<i>štwarā</i> "four" f. <i>yākne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	PK AS 5A a4 B(H)S <i>aṣṭaparakāra</i> "eightfold"	classical, metrical
[<i>aináke</i> _A - <i>ykne</i> _N] _N "lower-class"	<i>aináke</i> "common, base (-born)" <i>yākne</i> "way, manner"	exocentric	THT 16 a5 B(H)S <i>viḥīnadharma</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>ysāṣṣa</i> _A - <i>pyāpyo</i> _N] _N "gold-flower" (name of a person)	<i>ysāṣṣe</i> "golden" <i>pyāpyo</i> "flower"	exocentric	THT 416 a2 B(H)S <i>suvarṇapuṣpa</i>	late, metrical
[<i>šuk</i> _A - <i>kaum</i> _N] _N "seven-day" i.e. "week"	<i>šúkt</i> "seven" <i>káum</i> "sun, day"	exocentric	THT 22 a6 B(H)S <i>saptāhaṃ</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>wāstó</i> _{ADV} - <i>yākne</i> _N] _A "two-fold"	<i>wāsto</i> "again, doubly"	exocentric	THT 172 a2 B(H)S	classical, prose

	<i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"		<i>aṣṭaparakāra</i> "eightfold"	
[<i>piś_A-yikne_N</i>] _A "five-fold"	<i>pís</i> "five" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	PK AS 2A a6 B(H)S <i>aṣṭaparakāra</i> "eightfold"	classical, late, prose
[<i>kārtsé_A-ykne_N</i>] _A "good-fashioned"	<i>kártse</i> "good, beautiful" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner"	exocentric	THT 417 b1 B(H)S <i>suṣṛṭta</i>	late, metrical
[<i>ṣemé_{AACC}-yākne_N</i>] _A "same-fashioned"	<i>ṣé</i> "one" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	IOL Toch 27 b4 B(H)S <i>samadhā</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>ṣkás_A-yākne_N</i>] _A "six-fold"	<i>ṣkás</i> "six" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	THT 338 b4 B(H)S <i>aṣṭaparakāra</i> "eightfold"	archaic-I, MQ, metrical
[<i>allek_A-pālsko_N</i>] _A "distracted"	<i>állek</i> "other, another" <i>pālsko</i> "mind, spirit"	exocentric	PK AS 17J a2 B(H)S <i>ekacitta</i>	prose
[<i>klyómó_A-yok_N</i>] _A "noble-like"	<i>klyómo</i> "noble" <i>yók</i> "color"	exocentric	THT 237 a2 B(H)S <i>kuḷīna</i>	classical, MQ, metrical
[<i>tāryā_A-yākne_N</i>] _A "three-fold"	<i>tārya</i> "three" f. <i>yákne</i> "way, manner"	exocentric	THT 175 a4 B(H)S <i>tridhānye</i>	classical, prose
[<i>makā_A-yākne_N</i>] _A "mani-fold"	<i>māka</i> "many, much" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	PK Bois B38 a2 B(H)S <i>bahuparakāra</i>	colloquial, prose
[<i>yoló_A-wāntre_N</i>] _A "evil-dharma-having"	<i>yólo</i> "bad, evil" <i>wāntāre</i> "thing, affair, matter"	exocentric	THT 31 a7 B(H)S <i>pāpadharma-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>śtwér_A-péwam_N</i>] _A "four-footed (one)"	<i>śtwér</i> "four" m. <i>páiyye</i> "foot"	exocentric	IOL Toch 127 b3 B(H)S <i>catuṣkrama</i>	classical, prose
[<i>makā_A-ppewam_N</i>] _A "many-footed (one)"	<i>māka</i> "many, much" <i>páiyye</i> "foot"	exocentric	IOL Toch 172 b3 B(H)S <i>bahupada</i>	classical, prose
[<i>wi_A-péwam_N</i>] _A "two-footed (one)"	<i>wí</i> "two" <i>páiyye</i> "foot"	exocentric	IOL Toch 127 b3 B(H)S <i>dvipada</i>	prose
[<i>álām_A-śrotañai_{NACCSGF}</i>] _{AACCSGF} F "prt. to a male goat kid"	<i>ālām</i> "otherwise, differently" <i>śári</i> "kid"	exocentric	Kizil Wood 2 a1 B(H)S <i>chāgalaka</i>	late, prose
[<i>piś_A-yāknesa_{NPERL}</i>] _A	<i>pís</i> "five"	exocentric	THT 11 b7	classical, metrical

"five-fold"	<i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"		B(H)S <i>aṣṭaparakāra</i> "eightfold"	
[<i>ṣuk</i> _A - <i>yāknesa</i> _{NPERLSG}] _A "seven-fold"	<i>ṣúkt</i> "seven" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	PK NS 28 a3 B(H)S <i>aṣṭaparakāra</i> "eightfold"	classical, metrical
[<i>po</i> _A - <i>yāknesa</i> _{NPERLSG}] _A "in every way"	<i>pó</i> "all, everything" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner"	exocentric	PK AS 17J a4 B(H)S <i>sarvaśaḥ</i>	classical, prose
[<i>mākté</i> _{CON} - <i>yāknesa</i> _{NPERLSG}] _A "of whatever form"	<i>mākte</i> "how" <i>yákne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	IOL Toch 127 a4 B(H)S <i>yathārūpe</i>	classical, prose

6.2 Appositive

In appositive constructions, only five out of 30 compounds exhibit an N-A structure, the rest is of the structure N-N.

N-A				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>ampar</i> _N - <i>stanācce</i> _A] _A "mango-treed"	* <i>āmpār</i> "mango" <i>stām</i> "tree"	endocentric	THT 194 a9 B(H)S <i>āmra-</i>	classical/late, metrical
• [<i>takārṣkāññe</i> _N - <i>ṣaññāññecce</i> _{AACCSG}] _A • "faith-having"	<i>takārṣkāññe</i> "belief, faith, piety" <i>ṣaññāññetstse</i> "having a certain characteristic"	endocentric	THT 541 b8 B(H)S <i>prasādanīya</i>	classical, prose
[<i>kaum</i> _N - <i>ñāktāññe</i> _A] _A "sun-godly"	<i>kāum</i> "sun, day" <i>ñākteññe</i> "divine"	endocentric	B(H)S <i>surya</i>	
[<i>ylái</i> _N - <i>ñāktāññe</i> _A] _A "ruler-godly"	* <i>ylái</i> "ruler" <i>ñākteññe</i> "divine"	endocentric	THT 1121 b2 B(H)S <i>devendra</i>	classical, prose
[<i>brám</i> _N - <i>ñāktāññana</i> _{ANOM/} _{ACCPL}] _A "brahma-godly"	B(H)S <i>brahman</i> <i>ñākteññe</i> "divine"	endocentric	SI P 2 a1 B(H)S <i>devabrahman</i>	metrical

N-N				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>kém_N-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "earth-god"	<i>kém</i> "earth" <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	PK AS 13B b2 B(H)S <i>pr̥thivī</i>	classical, prose and metrical
[<i>kaum_N-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "sun-god"	<i>káum</i> "sun, day" <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	THT 550.a a3 B(H)S <i>vibhrāṭ</i>	late, prose
[<i>kauná_N-peñyai_{NACC}</i>] _{NACC} "sun-glory"	<i>kaum</i> "sun, day" <i>peñyo</i> "glory"	endocentric	THT 3597 a3	archaic/late, metrical
[<i>krātáyuk_N-preścīyaṃne_{NLOC}</i>] _{NLOC} "in the kṛtayuga-time"	B(H)S <i>kṛtayuga</i> "first of the four ages of the world" <i>preścíyo</i> "time"	endocentric	PK AS 16.2 b2 B(H)S <i>*kṛtayuga-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>nette_N-(sū)trā_N</i>] _N "conduct-sūtra"	B(H)S <i>nīti-</i> "conduct" <i>sūtār-</i> "sutra"	endocentric	THT 203 a2 B(H)S <i>nītisūtra-</i>	archaic II / classical, metrical, MQ
[<i>pa_N=ñäkte_N</i>] _N "Buddha-god"	<i>*pañ</i> "Buddha" <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	IOL Toch 131 b2 B(H)S <i>buddhadeva</i>	classical, prose
[<i>pidār_N-manī_N</i>] _N "father Mani" (name of a person)	B(H)S <i>pitṛ</i>	endocentric	B(H)S <i>pitṛ</i>	
[<i>podhi_N-stām_N</i>] _N "bodhi-tree"	B(H)S <i>bodhi</i> <i>stām</i> "tree"	endocentric	THT 1537.f a3 B(H)S <i>bodhi</i>	classical, MQ, metrical?
[<i>braṃ_N-ñikte_N</i>] _N "Brahma-god"	B(H)S <i>brahmā-</i> <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	PK LC 2 a1 ii B(H)S <i>brahmā-</i>	prose
[<i>mār_N-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "Māra-god"	B(H)S <i>māra-</i> <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	THT 1275 a3 B(H)S <i>māra</i>	classical
[<i>meṃ_{NACC}-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "moon-god"	<i>mēñe</i> "moon" <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	THT 1512 a4 B(H)S <i>candra</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>yāmor_N-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "Karma-god"	<i>yāmor</i> "deed, action" <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	PK AS 15C a6 B(H)S <i>karman</i>	metrical
[<i>ylái_N-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "ruler-god" i.e. Indra	<i>*ylái</i> "ruler" <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	THT 1207 a2 B(H)S <i>devendra</i>	classical
[<i>śrīm_{NACC}-ñäkte_N</i>] _N "Fortuna-goddess"	B(H)S <i>śrī-</i> <i>ñäkte</i> "god"	endocentric	THT 516 a3 B(H)S <i>śrī-</i>	classical, prose and metrical
[<i>wasāṃnpāt_N-maññene_{NLOC}</i>] _{NLOC}	<i>wasampāt</i> "ordination"	endocentric	THT 330 b2 B(H)S	late, prose

"in the ordination-hall"	<i>māññe</i> "hall, pavilion"		<i>upasampadā-</i>	
[<i>wīna_N-māññem_{NACC}</i>] _{NACC} "from the pleasure-hall"	<i>wīna</i> "pleasure" <i>māññe</i> "hall, pavilion"	endocentric	THT 571 b5 B(H)S <i>-śālā</i> "hall, pavilion"	archaic, metrical
[<i>rīye_N-menāk_N</i>] _N "city-comparison"	<i>rīye</i> "city, town" <i>menāk</i> "example, parable, metaphor"	endocentric	SI B 120(1) b3 B(H)S <i>nagaropamam</i>	archaic-II, metrical
[<i>rkā_N-pyapyantse_{NGEN}</i>] _{NGEN} "cow-flower" i.e. dandelion? ²	<i>ké_u</i> "cow" <i>pyāpyo</i> "flower"	endocentric	W 32 b2	classical
[<i>wāri_N-sim_N</i>] _N "Bharuka-border"?	* <i>wariye</i> <i>sīm</i> "boundary, limit"	endocentric	Ys 001 ZS Z 01	
[<i>ślé_N-taśśāntse_{NGEN}</i>] _{NGEN} "of the mountain-commander"	<i>śāle</i> "mountain, hill" <i>tāś</i> "commander"	endocentric	PK Bois B1 a1	colloquial, prose
[<i>saṅghā_N-trāñkā_{NACC}</i>] _{NACC} "from the assembly-sin" ?	B(H)S <i>saṅgha-</i> , <i>saṅgh-</i> "assembly" ? <i>trāñko</i> "sin"	endocentric	THT 334 a1, a5, a2	archaic-II/ classical, MQ, prose
[<i>smer_N-ślentse_{NGENSG}</i>] _{NGENSG} "of the Sumeru-mountain"	B(H)S <i>Sumeru-śāle</i> "mountain, hill"	endocentric	THT 74 b5 B(H)S <i>Sumeru-</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>āmpāl_N-śuke_N</i>] _A "acid-tasting"	<i>āmpāl</i> "acid" <i>śūke</i> "taste, liquid, juice"	endocentric	IOL Toch 305 a6 B(H)S <i>amla-</i>	classical
[<i>uppāl_N-sārwaṇa_N</i>] _A "lotus-faced"	<i>uppāl</i> "blue lotus" <i>sārwaṇa</i> "face"	endocentric	IOL Toch 175 b5 B(H)S <i>kamalānanam</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>kṣur_N-yakne_N</i>] _A "knife-like"	<i>kṣūr</i> "knife, razor" <i>yākne</i> "way, manner, custom"	exocentric	THT 4071.b a1 B(H)S <i>kṣuradhārā</i>	MQ, metrical

2 Cf. New High German *Kuhblume* meaning "dandelion" lit. "cowflower"

7 Coordinative compounds

Coordinative compounds are compounds that have two syntactic heads of which only one can exhibit its function as a head. Hence, this class entails also the iterative compounds from Bernhard (1958). They occur in three variants in Tocharian B: N-A, A-A/ADV-ADV, and N-N.

N-A				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>kāmadhātu</i> _N - <i>rūpadhātuṣṣana</i> _{APL}] _{APL} <i>kleśa-nma</i> prtḡ-to-desire-and-form kleśa-PL "the kleśas prtḡ to desire and form"	<i>kāmadhātu</i> "seat of desire" <i>rūpadhātuṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to the world of form"	exocentric	PK AS 16.3 a1 B(H)S <i>kāmadhātu-rūpadhā(tv-ā)rūpyadhātu-bhayabhīta</i>	classical, prose
[<i>ñēm</i> _N - <i>kālyweṣṣe</i> _A] _A <i>mahur-sa</i> name-famous diadem-PERL "of the famous diadem"	<i>ñēm</i> "name" <i>kālyweṣṣe</i> "famous" <i>mahūr</i> "diadem"	endocentric	THT 214 b1	classical, archaic, metrical

A-A				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>pālyca-pālycä</i>] "fleeting(ly)"		endocentric	IOL Toch 4 b4	classical, prose
[<i>waipṭār</i> _{ADV} - <i>waipṭār</i> _{ADV}] _{ADV} "separately"	<i>waipṭār</i> "separately"	endocentric	PK NS 32 a6	classical, prose and metrical
[<i>ṣe</i> _A - <i>ṣe</i> _A] _A "one by one, each single"	<i>ṣé</i> "one"	endocentric	PK AS 4B a3 B(H)S <i>ekaika</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>ālyauce</i>] "each other"	<i>alyek</i> "other" <i>wate</i> "second"	exocentric	PK AS 17G a2	classical, prose

N-N				
Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Subtype	Attestation and basis for calques	Text type
[<i>akwam_N-pere_N</i>] _N "sprout and stalk"	<i>ákwa</i> "sprout" <i>pére</i> "stalk"	endocentric	PK NS 53 a6	classical
[<i>ostá_N-ost_N</i>] _N "every house"	<i>óst</i> "house"	endocentric	PK AS 16.7 a5	classical, metrical
[<i>kāré_N-perne_N</i>] _N "dignity"	<i>kāre</i> "dignity" <i>pérne</i> "glory"	endocentric	THT 128 b4	archaic-II, MQR, metrical
[<i>kālymí_N-kālymi_N</i>] _A "everywhere"	<i>kālymiye</i> (acc. <i>kālymī</i>) "direction"	endocentric	THT 221 a3	archaic-II/ classical, MQR, metrical
[<i>klai_N-yritaññai_{AACCSGF}</i>] _{AACCSGF} <i>ṣārwai klāte [...]</i> <i>klaiña ṣawāre</i> "brought the carcass of a female lamb [...] women ate [it]"	<i>klái</i> "woman" <i>yṛīye</i> "lamb" <i>ṣārwai</i> "carcass" <i>kāl-</i> "to bring" <i>śuw-</i> "to eat"	endocentric	Kizil Wood 2 a1	late, prose
[<i>klai_N-śrotaññe_{AACCSGF}</i>] _{AACCSGF} 10 <i>klāte</i> "brought 10 female goat kids"	<i>klái</i> "woman" <i>śári</i> "kid" <i>kāl-</i> "to bring"	endocentric	Kizil Wood 0 a1	late, prose
[<i>ñém_N-kālywe_N</i>] _N "fame, renown"	<i>ñém</i> "name" <i>klāwi</i> "fame"	endocentric	PK NS 32 a4	classical, metrical
<i>krentauna mā pāst arseṃ</i> [<i>maim_N-palsko_N</i>] _N "the virtues definitely don't leave the mind"	<i>krentauna</i> "virtues" <i>mā</i> "no, not" <i>pāst</i> "away, back" <i>ār-</i> "to leave" <i>máim</i> "thought" <i>pálsko</i> "mind, spirit, thought"	endocentric	PK AS 6C b3	classical, metrical
[<i>yākné_N-yākne_N</i>] _{ADV} "entirely"	<i>yākne</i> "way, manner, custom"	endocentric	THT 290 a7	classical, metrical
[<i>rāmer_{ADV}-mer_{ADV}</i>] _{ADV} "very quickly"	<i>rāmer</i> "quickly"	endocentric	PK NS 12 b5 B(H)S <i>laghulagheva</i>	classical, prose
[<i>waipécc_N-ekñenta_N</i>] _N "property"	<i>waipécce</i> "possession" <i>ekñenta</i> "property"	endocentric	THT 33 a5 B(H)S <i>labdhalābha</i>	classical, metrical

[<i>ñem_N-wrātalñe_N</i>] _N "name and form"	<i>ñém</i> "name" <i>wrātalñe</i> "form"	exocentric	IOL Toch 133 b2	classical
[<i>ñem_N-érsna_N</i>] _N "name and matter"	<i>ñém</i> "name" <i>érsna</i> "form"	exocentric	THT 158 b5 B(H)S <i>nāmarūpa</i>	classical, metrical
[<i>sáim_N-wāsta_N</i>] _N "support and refuge, Buddha"	<i>sáim</i> "support, refuge" <i>wāste</i> "refuge"	exocentric	IOL Toch 74 B(H)S <i>nātha-</i>	classical?, prose

8 Syntagmas

Note that we find a number of compounds, which are commonly said to be compounds, but can alternatively be explained as phrases being subject to group inflection. Hence their status as true compounds is not as clear as often claimed also due to philological reasons. For example, numerals appear in the prose series PK DA M 507, with attestations like *ikām śkasne* (PK DA M 507.28 a13/a15) where no accent retraction is visible, which indeed indicates that they have to be considered as syntagmas. A similar case are the names given in Bernhard as compounds like *nande-ñem* (PK AS 6B a5), where no accent shift can be detected due to the idiosyncrasies of the first constituent and where *ñem* is more likely to be interpreted as determiner (Bernhard 1958: 194-199). However, those are not the only formations whose status as a compound can be questioned. The literature, in general, gives the following nine reasons, why something that looks like a compound might be rather interpreted as an instance of group inflection:

- 1) No accent shift: There is no visible accent shift.
- 2) Sandhi: The phonological transformation can be explained as sandhi according to Stumpf (1971).
- 3) MQ(R): The form is found only in MQ or MQR texts. According to Krause and Thomas (1960: 14) in MQ and MQR texts *ä* can also appear in accented and *ā* can appear in unaccented syllables and hence the original accent of a form can hardly be detected if based solely on these records.
- 4) Metrical *ä/a*-alternation: This reason is an extension of the previous one in that it states according to Thomas (1979) that the alternation of medial *-a-* vs. *-ä-* is metrically conditioned.
- 5) Metrical schwa-deletion³: What looks like an accent shift, at first sight, is in fact the deletion of an accented | *ǎ* | in open syllables due to metrical requirements (Winter 1990).

3 For the (in)appropriateness of the term *schwa-deletion* for this phenomenon cf. Winter 1990.

6) Archaic: The text belongs to an archaic stage. This means different accent rules are inactive in different periods. While in archaic-I neither a/ā-alternation nor ä/á-alternation is distinguished, a/ā-alternation is distinguished in the archaic-II-period and both accent rules are distinguished in the classical period (Peyrot 2008: 34).

7) Mobile o: The accent does not shift to the next syllable but instead a final ä appears looking more like a case of mobile o (Malzahn 2012b) instead of a compound.

8) False accent: The compound seems to exhibit two accents on two adjacent syllables. A case, that is not predicted by the accent rule of Koller (2015).

9) Nested modifier: The following forms can be conjoined as modifiers of the same noun:

genitives and denominal adjectives (where the adjective can function as both, the modifier and the modificand), genitives and genitives, denominal adjectives and denominal adjectives (Adams 2009; Meunier 2015a).

The respective forms are given in the table below. Note, that, where properties belong to different attestations of the same form, they were separated by semicolons in correspondence with the texts in the attestation column.

Form, gloss, and translation	Simplicia and translation	Attestation	Text type	Reason
<i>aknatsā-yāmor</i> foolish-deed "foolish deed" (Adams 2013)	<i>aknātsa</i> "foolish" <i>yāmor</i> "deed"	THT 255 a7	archaic, MQ	6) archaic ⁴ 8) false accent
<i>aṅkain-pilkoṣṣe</i> false-prtg_to_insight "prtg to false insight"	<i>aṅkaiṃ</i> "false" <i>pilkoṣṣe</i> "prtg to insight"	THT 282 a3	archaic, MQ, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>arjūṃ-stām</i> Arjuna-tree "tree Arjuna"	<i>arjūṃ</i> "Arjuna" <i>stām</i> "tree"	THT 107 b4	late, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>āñm-n(ā)kālñe-sa</i>	<i>āñme</i> "self, soul"	PK AS 7C b2	classical,	1) no accent shift

⁴ Note, that the only attestation we find is *yamorṣṣāññe aknatsā yamorṣṣāññe aiśaumye* which is probably a phrase and more likely means "a foolish deed and a wise deed".

self.ACC.SG-reproach- PERL.SG "of reproach from the self"	<i>nākālñe</i> "reproach, blame"		metrical	
<i>upāl-pyapyai-ṣṣe</i> blue_lotus-flower-ADJ "prtḡ to the flower of blue lotus"	<i>uppāl</i> "blue lotus" <i>pyapyaiṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to flowers"	THT 186 a3	late, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>uṣṇīr-mahūr</i> top_knot-diadem "a top-knot diadem"	<i>uṣṇīr</i> "top-knot" <i>mahūr</i> "diadem"	THT 71 a4	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>uṣṇīṣa-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>ekwalatte-tsirauñe</i> unreceding-energy "unreceding energy"	<i>ekwalatte</i> "unreceding" <i>tsirauñe</i> "energy"	IOL Toch 307 a1, PK NS 28 a1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>enestai-kośagat-lakṣaṃ</i> secretly- with_the_private_ parts_concealed- characteristic "cryptorchid lakṣaṇa"	<i>enestai</i> "secretly" <i>kośagat</i> "with the private parts concealed" <i>lakṣāṃ</i> "characteristic"			not attested 1) no accent shift
<i>samṭke=wkän-m=</i> medicine.ACC= give_to_drink.3.SG.SUBJV -PL= <i>onwāññe</i> immortal "he will give them the immortal medicine to drink"	<i>sāmṭke</i> "medicine, remedy" <i>auk-</i> "give to drink" <i>on(u)wāññe</i> "immortal"	THT 274 b5	archaic-I, metrical, MQ	3) MQ(R) 6) archaic
<i>eś-aiwenta-sa</i> eye.DU-PLU-PERL "glances"	<i>ek</i> "eye"	THT 368 a4	classical, metrical	suffixation of plurative instead of composition
<i>eś-lmau</i> eye.DU-Sit.PTCPL "blinded"	<i>ek</i> "eye" <i>lām-</i> "to sit"	THT 207 b2	classical/ archaic, metrical, MQ	1) no accent shift
<i>aiśai-yamalñe</i> know-deed "prudence"	<i>aiśi</i> "knowing" <i>yamalñe</i> "deed"	THT 508 a4	classical/late prose	1) no accent shift
<i>oko-ysāre</i> fruit-wheat "fresh wheat"	<i>oko</i> "fruit" <i>ysāre</i> "wheat"	THT 476 a2, THT 477 a2	MQ, prose	1) no accent shift, weakening of ā to a expected
<i>okt-meña-ntse-ne</i>	<i>okt</i> "eight"	THT 433 a 26	colloquial,	1) no accent shift

eight-month-GEN.SG-3 "on the eighth of the month"	<i>meñe</i> "month"		MQ, prose	(cf. PK DA M 507.25 a1 <i>śak-meñantse-ne</i> without accent shift in a prose text)
<i>or-poñk</i> "market"	<i>or</i> "wood" <i>poñk</i> "?"			not attested 1) no accent shift
<i>ost-yāmṣeñc-ai</i> house-making.PTCP-ACC.SG "house-maker"	<i>ost</i> "house" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	PK AS 6A a1	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>ḡhakāraka-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>kakraup-au-palsko</i> gather-PTCP-mind "concentrated attention"	<i>kraup-</i> "gather, amass" <i>palsko</i> "mind, spirit"	THT 29 a3	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>samāhitaḥ</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>kañcām-ysāṣṣe</i> gold-golden "golden" or "golden as the kañcana-tree"	<i>kañcām</i> "golden, kañcana-tree" <i>ysāṣṣe</i> "golden"	THT 73 b6; PK NS 19 b2; PK AS 17K a5	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical and prose B(H)S <i>kañcana</i>	1) no accent shift 8) false accent (loan from B(H)S)
<i>karute-ṣirye-m</i> cup-hand-ACC.SG "holding a cup in the hand"	B(H)S <i>karoṭa</i> "cup" <i>ṣar</i> "hand"	SI P 1 b6	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>karoṭapāṇi</i>	4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>kare-pernettse</i> dignity-glorious "glorious"	<i>kare</i> "dignity" <i>pernettse</i> "glorious"	THT 73 b3, THT 75 b5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>karyor-plāñkā-tsi-sa</i> buying-to_sell-INF-PERL "the buying for the sake of selling"	<i>karyor</i> "buying" <i>plāñk-</i> "to sell"	PK AS 8A b9	classical, late, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>kartse-reki</i> good-word "good word"	<i>kartse</i> "good" <i>reki</i> "word"	THT 20 b1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>kaṣār-wassi</i> kaṣār-garment "kaṣāric garment"	<i>kaṣār</i> "robes of buddhist monks and nuns named after a brown or saffron dye"	THT 1106 a1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift

	<i>wastsi</i> "clothing, clothes, garment"			
<i>kārye-yakne</i> ordinary-manner "of ordinary type"	<i>karye</i> "ordinary" <i>yakne</i> "manner"	THT 5 b8	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>kārtse-ere</i> good-appearance "of good appearance"	<i>kartse</i> "good" <i>ere</i> "appearance"	PK AS 7I a2	classical/ archaic, metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>kārtse-wawlāw-au</i> good-control-PTCP "good controlled"	<i>kartse</i> "good" <i>wlāw-</i> "control"	THT 320 b7	archaic, prose, MQR	6) archaic
<i>kidi-luwo</i> kidi-animal "insect"	B(H)S <i>kīta(ka)-</i> "worm, insect" <i>lúwo</i> "animal"			not attested
<i>kukurapādā-šāle-meṃ</i> kukūṭapāda-mountain- abl "from the mountain kukūṭapāda"	B(H)S <i>kukūṭapāda</i> <i>šale</i> "mountain"	THT 1859 b3	archaic-I	1) no accent shift 6) archaic 7) mobile o
<i>kuñi-mot</i> grape-alcohol "alcohol of <i>kuñi</i> "	<i>kuñi</i> "?" <i>mot</i> "alcohol"	IOL Toch 305 b1	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>kuñi-mot-sa</i> grape-alcohol-PERL "with alcohol of <i>kuñi</i> "	<i>kuñi</i> "?" <i>mot</i> "alcohol"	W 22 a3	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>kuñi-motā-šše</i> grape-alcohol-ADJ "alcoholic <i>kuñi</i> "	<i>kuñi</i> "?" <i>motāšše</i> "alcoholic"	W 20 a4	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>kurār-lūwo</i> osprey-animal "osprey"	B(H)S <i>kurara-</i> <i>luwo</i> "animal"	THT 88 b1	classical, prose and metrical	8) false accent
<i>kuś-āne</i> Kuca-coin "Kuchean coin"	<i>kuśi</i> "Kuca" <i>cāne</i> "Chinese coin"	THT 584 a7	classical, MQ	1) no accent shift writing exercise
<i>kutsāre-ṃ-wastsy</i> rag-ACC-clothing "clothing of rags"	* <i>kutsāre</i> "rag" <i>wastsi</i> "clothing"	PK NS 55 a4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>ket-rāññe</i> whose-also "belonging to"	<i>k_ase</i> "who" <i>ra</i> "also, alike" ?	THT 89 a4	classical, metrical	unclear compound members

whomever"				
<i>keşe-yärm</i> fathom.ACC-measure "measure of a fathom"	<i>keşe</i> "fathom, arm- span" <i>yärm</i> "measure, extent, size"	THT 517 b1	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>tetem-oş-äts po</i> born-PTCP-GEN all <i>kest-yokai-şşe läkle</i> hunger-thurst-ADJ pain <i>ste</i> be.3SG.PRES.MED "he has the pain of hunger and thirst of all borns"	<i>täm-</i> "to be born" <i>po</i> "all" <i>kest</i> "hunger <i>yokaişşe</i> "thirsty" <i>läkle</i> "pain" <i>nes-</i> "to be"	THT 284 a2	MQ, archaic-I, metrical	1) no accent shift 9) nested modifier
<i>kestä-yokai-şşe e///</i> hunger-thurst-ADJ "hunger, thirsty"	<i>kest</i> "hunger <i>yokaişşe</i> "thirsty"	THT 285 b6	MQR, archaic, metrical,	1) no accent shift 7) mobile o 9) nested modifier
<i>koṃ-lyuś-si</i> day-enlighten-INF "enlighten the day"	<i>kaum</i> "day" <i>lyuk-</i> "enlighten"			1) no accent shift not attested
<i>kaum-parki</i> sun-rising "sunrise"	<i>kaum</i> "sun, day" <i>pärk-</i> "to rise"	THT 90 b5	classical, prose and metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>kaum-pirkoşşai-ne</i> day-rising-LOC "eastern"	<i>kaum</i> "sun, day" <i>pirko</i> "rise"	THT 527 b3	classical, prose B(H)S <i>pūrvasyām</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>kaum-yap-tsi</i> sun-make-INF "sunset"	<i>kaum</i> "sun, day" <i>yap-</i> "to make"	PK AS 18B a1	classical, prose B(H)S <i>astamgaman</i> <i>a-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>kaum-yānmā-lle</i> sun-achieve-GER "sunset"	<i>kaum</i> "sun, day" <i>yānm-</i> "achieve, reach"			1) no accent shift unattested ⁵
<i>kaucū-wär</i> up-water "upstream"	<i>kauc</i> "up" <i>war</i> "water"	PK AS 18B b5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>kaun-yāşi</i> day.ACC-night.ACC	<i>kāum</i> "sun, day" <i>yşīye</i> "night"	PK AS 8A b5	classical/ late, prose	1) no accent shift

5 This is a wrong reading for *tākoy yānmälle* "(s)he would be achieving" in PK NS 49A b2. In general, this form does not follow the accent rules and makes more sense as a phrase.

"a day and a night"				
<i>k_uce-tasemane-cci</i> what.ACC-placed-ADJ "whatever"	<i>k_use</i> "what" <i>tasemane</i> "placed"	THT 335 b4	classical, archaic, MQR, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>(klāyal)ñe-āke</i> falling-end	<i>klāyalñe</i> "falling" <i>āke</i> "end"	IOL Toch 114 b1	classical, metrical	not attested
<i>kleś-yāmor-ṣṣe</i> affliction-deed-ADJ "prtḡ to affliction and deeds"	<i>kleś</i> "affliction" <i>yāmorṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to deeds"	THT 286 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 9) nested modifier
<i>kwīpe-onmi-ṣṣe-ṃ</i> shame-remorse-ADJ-ACC "prtḡ to shame and regret"	<i>kwīpe</i> "shame, modesty" <i>onmiṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to remorse"	IOL Toch 5 b3	classical/ late, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>candāṃ-were</i> sandalwood.ACC- smell.ACC "in the smell of sandalwood"	<i>candāṃ</i> "sandalwood (tree)" <i>were</i> "smell"	THT 376 a3	late, metrical B(H)S <i>candana-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>cahhravārtti-lantuñe-sa</i> world_ruler.NOM/ACC- royalty-PERL "with rulership over the world"	<i>cakravārtti</i> "world ruler" <i>lantuñe</i> "royalty"	THT 1121 b2	classical, prose B(H)S <i>cakravartin-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>ñu-meña-ntse-ne</i> nine-month-GEN.SG-LOC "on the ninth of the month"	<i>ñu</i> "nine" <i>meñe</i> "month"	THT 433 a28	colloquial, MQ, prose	1) no accent shift (cf. PK DA M 507.25 a1 <i>śak- meñantse-ne</i> without accent shift in a prose text)
<i>ñem-klawiso-nte///</i> name famous-GEN.SG "name of the famous"	<i>ñem</i> "name" <i>klāwi</i> "fame"	IOL Toch 92 b2	classical, prose	1) no accent shift 9) nested modifier
<i>ñem-klawiso-ṃnte</i> <i>śake(-ññe-pi)</i> name-famous-GEN.SG Śākyan-ADJ-GEN.SG "name of the famous śākyan"	<i>ñem</i> "name" <i>klāwi</i> "fame" <i>śakeññe</i> "Śākyan"	THT 1102 a1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift 9) nested modifier
<i>ñem-klāwi///</i> name fame-	<i>ñem</i> "name" <i>klāwi</i> "fame"	IOL Toch 175 a3	classical, metrical	probably no compound of its own but a variant

				of <i>ñem-klawiso-nte</i> (see above)
<i>ñem-klāwi</i> /// name fame-	<i>ñem</i> "name" <i>klāwi</i> "fame"	IOL Toch 705 a1	classical	probably no compound of its own but a variant of <i>ñem-klawiso-nte</i> (see above)
<i>ñem-svabhāva-tstse</i> name-svabhāvatā-ADJ "having name as intrinsic nature"	<i>ñem</i> "name" <i>svabhāvatā</i> (Skt.) "likeness, community"	THT 199 b2	late, prose	1) no accent shift loan from Skt.
<i>ñoru-wār</i> down-water "downstream"	<i>ñor</i> "down" <i>war</i> "water"	PK AS 18B b5	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>tapovaṃ-varṭto-ś</i> tapovana-forest-ALL "in the forest tapovana"	<i>tapovana</i> (Skt.) "forest" <i>varṭto</i> "forest"	THT 90 a1	classical, metrical/ prose	1) no accent shift loan from Skt.
<i>(tā)l-stama-tse</i> sugar_palm-tree-GEN.SG "of the tree sugar palm" ⁶	<i>tāl</i> "sugar palm" <i>stām</i> "tree"	THT 320 a1	archaic-II/ classical, MQR, metrical	1) no accent shift 3) MQ(R)
<i>tāṅkwaññe-palka</i> pleasant-to.look "pleasant to look at"	<i>tāṅkwaññe</i> "pleasant" <i>pālk-</i> "to look"			not attested
<i>tāmpak-yākne-sa</i> that.NOM/AKK-way-PERL "in that way"	<i>tampak</i> "that" <i>yakne</i> "manner, way"	PK AS 16.2 b3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift ⁷ 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>tu-postām</i> this.one-afterwards "thereafter"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>postām</i> "afterwards"	THT 12 a6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>tu-menāk-sa</i> this-example-PERL "likewise"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>menāk</i> "example"	IOL Toch 5 b5; THT 408 b1	classical/ late, metrical; classical, prose and metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>tu-yākne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	PK AS 16.2 b6; PK AS	classical, metrical; classical;	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation

6 Cf. the phrase *tāl stām* without accent shift in IOL Toch 106, which is either classical or archaic-II which in both cases means, that the a/ä-alternation is distinguished.

7 We would expect accented á here, from *tāmpak* to *tāmpāk-* in the compound.

		19.20.X b4; THT 30 b4; THT 88 b1; THT 576 b2, b3; THT 1114 b4; IOL Toch 174 a2	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, prose; classical	
<i>tu-ykne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	PK AS 6B a7; THT 3 a3; IOL Toch 12 a3, a4; IOL Toch 246 b3; IOL Toch 805 b2; THT 1267 a3	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical; classical, metrical; classical; classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>tu-yknesāk-kekam-u</i> this.one-manner-come- PTCP "B(H)S <i>Tathāgata</i> "	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom" <i>kām-</i> "to come"	THT 113 b3	late, metrical and prose	1) no accent shift 5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>tu-yparwe</i> this.one-first "thereupon"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yparwe</i> "first, fore"	THT 16 b6 THT 18 a2 THT 30 b8	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>tū-yakne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	PK AS 13F a5	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>te-mant</i> this.one-thus "thus"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>mant</i> "thus"	THT 31 a6; PK AS 7B a5/6	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>iti</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>te-mānt</i> this.one-thus "thus"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>mant</i> "thus"	PK AS 7B a5/6; THT 148 a3	classical, metrical; archaic-II, MQ, prose B(H)S <i>iti</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>te-yakne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	THT 333 a7	MQR, archaic/ classical	3) MQ(R)

<i>te-yäkne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	THT 23 b6; THT 163 a2; THT 169 a5; THT 408 a4; THT 423 a6; THT 1112 b1; IOL Toch 190 b4; PK NS 75 b4; THT 1190 b2; THT 2386.j and .s b2, b4	classical, metrical; classical, prose; classical, prose; classical, metrical; classical; classical, prose; classical; unclear classical; classical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>te-ykne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	IOL Toch 225 b2; PK AS 6C b6; PK AS 7J a5; PK AS 13B b5; PK NS 49B b3; THT 41 b7; THT 374.b a1; THT 575 a7; IOL Toch 23 b4	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical; classical, MQ, metrical; classical, metrical	5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>tek-yäkne-sa</i> this.one-way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tek</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	PK AS 4A a4	classical, late, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>te-ramt</i> this.one-like "thus"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>ramt</i> "like, as"	THT 408 a4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>tesa-warñai</i> thus-beginning.with "etc."	<i>tesa</i> "thus" <i>warñai</i> "beginning with"	THT 549 b5	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>tott-īke-postām</i> DEM-place-finally "(going) bit by bit"	<i>tott</i> "so far" <i>īke</i> "place" <i>postām</i> "finally"	THT 88 b5	classical, prose and metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation

<i>taikne-sa</i> this.one.way-PERL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	IOL Toch 233 a4; IOL Toch 19 a2; PK AS 6H a4; PK AS 7B b3, b6; IOL Toch 45 b2; PK NS 83 a2; SI B 75 a7; THT 5 b8; THT 11 a8; THT 18 b4; THT 27 b5; THT 30 b8; THT 119 b2; THT 522 a1; THT 597 b3; THT 1354.b a2	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical; archaic/ classical, prose; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; archaic, MQR, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical	1) no accent shift
<i>taikne-sāk</i> this.one.way-PERL.CTL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	SI B 75 b5; THT 5 a8; THT 1102 a3; THT 2386.j and .s a6	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical, prose; classical	1) no accent shift
<i>taikne-sākä</i> this.one.way-PERL.CTL "in this way"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>yakne</i> "way, manner, custom"	IOL Toch 157 b4; PK AS 12C a6	fragmented, unclear; archaic, metrical	7) mobile o
<i>tranto-naitwe</i> obstructed-temple	<i>tranto</i> "obstructed" <i>naitwe</i> "temple"	IOL Toch 305 a5	classical	1) no accent shift

"obstructed temple"				
<i>tw=ompostām</i> this.one-afterwards "thereupon"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>ompostām</i> "afterwards"	THT 3 a2, THT 41 b3	classical, metrical	2) Sandhi: o > w/_#V ⁸
<i>tw=auñent-ai</i> it-beginning-AKK "thereupon"	<i>tu</i> "it, this one" <i>auñento</i> "beginning"	THT 27 b2	classical, metrical	2) Sandhi: o > w/_#V
<i>nano-nano</i> again-again "again and again"	<i>nano</i> "again"	THT 11 a5, a7 THT 331 a3	classical, metrical classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>nano-cmelñe-şş-ai</i> again-birth-ADJ-AKK.SG.F "prt. to rebirth"	<i>nano</i> "again" <i>cmelñeşşe</i> "prt. to rebirth"	THT 155 b5	classical, MQ, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>nāno-nāno</i> again-again "again and again"	<i>nano</i> "again"	PK AS 6A a1 PK AS 7C a5 PK AS 7I b2 THT 573 b4	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>nemñcek-sa</i> certainly-EMPH "certainly"	<i>nemcek</i> "certainly"	M 500.1 b3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>nervāṇ-äşşe</i> Nirvana-ADJ "Nirvana-like"	<i>nervām</i> "Nirvana"	IOL Toch 32 b6	classical	affixation of adjective instead of composition
<i>pakwāre-pelaikne-cci</i> evil-law-ADJ "having an evil law"	<i>pakwāre</i> "evil, bad" <i>pelaikneşşe</i> "pert. to the law"	IOL Toch 178 a7	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>palyiye • yok-(aiwe)nta</i> line • color-PLU	<i>pāli</i> "line" <i>yok</i> "colour"	PK AS 8C b5	classical, prose	separation through punctuation mark
<i>paş-pikul-ne</i> hare.ACC-year-LOC "in the year of the rabbit"	<i>paş</i> "hare" <i>pikul</i> "year"	SI P 117 a1	colloquial, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>pākri-nesalyñe</i> obvious-existence "obviousness"	<i>pākri</i> "obvious, clear" <i>nes-</i> "to exist"	THT 159 b5	classical, MQ, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>pākri-p-yāmtsāt</i> obvious-IMP-make "make obvious!"	<i>pākri</i> "obvious, clear" <i>yām-</i> "to make"	IOL Toch 178 b3	classical, metrical	affixation of imperative instead of composition

8 Cf. *tu ompostām* without Sandhi in IOL Toch 190 a1 in a prose context.

<i>pākri-yāmor-sa</i> obvious-deed-PERL "proclamation"	<i>pākri</i> "obvious" <i>yāmor</i> "deed"	PK AS 7C b2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>pākri : yāmo(r-ṣṣe)</i> obvious deed-ADJ "proclamation"	<i>pākri</i> "obvious" <i>yāmor</i> "deed"	THT 120 b4	archaic, MQR	unexpected punctuation 1) no accent shift 3) MQ(R) 6) archaic
<i>pātār-mātār-sasūwer-ṣṣe</i> father.ACC.SG- mother.ACC.SG-SON-ADJ <i>lareṣṣ-ana ñem-na</i> <i>cemts</i> lovely-ADJ.ACC.PL.F name-NOM.ACC.PL dem.GEN.PL.M <i>po kārstā-wa</i> all destroy-1SG.PRT "I destroyed father, mother and all the lovely names of their sons."	<i>pācer</i> "father" <i>mācer</i> "mother" <i>sasūwerṣṣe</i> "prtng. to a son" <i>lareṣṣe</i> "lovely" <i>ñem</i> "name" <i>su</i> "who" <i>po</i> "all" <i>kārst-</i> "to destroy"	THT 266 a2/a3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation 9) nested modifier
<i>/// (pātār)-(mā)tār-ṣṣe</i> father.ACC.SG-mother-ADJ <i>śraddhatāk śalla-tsi •</i> <i>śraddhatāk</i> destroy-INF "to destroy the <i>śraddhatāk</i> ritual of father and mother"	<i>pācer</i> "father" <i>mācer</i> "mother" <i>śraddhatāk</i> "ritual for the dead" <i>sāl-</i> "destroy"	THT 412 b2	classical	1) no accent shift 9) nested modifier accent only reconstructed
<i>pin/ttsau-menāk</i> pistil-example "for example the pistil"	<i>pittsau</i> "stamen, pistil" (Couvreur 1966: 163) <i>menāk</i> "example"	THT 100 b1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>piś-antse(-ṣṣe)</i> five-element-ADJ "pertaining to the five elements"	<i>piś</i> "five" <i>antseṣṣe</i> "prtng to the element"	THT 1120 a3	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>piś-cmel-ṣ-ana</i> five-birth-ADJ-PL.F "prtng to the five births"	<i>piś</i> "five" <i>cmelaṣṣe</i> "prtng to a birth"	THT 12 b4	classical, metrical	5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>piś-meña-ntse-ne</i> five-month-GEN.SG-3 "on the fifth of the month"	<i>piś</i> "five" <i>meñe</i> "month"	THT 433 a20	colloquial, MQ, prose	1) no accent shift (cf. PK DA M 507.25 a1 <i>śak-</i> <i>meñantse-ne</i>

				without accent shift in a prose text)
<i>pern=ēn-kālpa-tte</i> glory-PRIV-gain-PRIV "the glory ungained"	<i>perne</i> "glory" <i>kālp-</i> "obtain, achieve"	PK AS 7F b6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>pelaikn=ākṣ-iṃ</i> law-proclaim-1.SG.OPT.ACT "I wish to proclaim the law"	<i>pelaikne</i> "law" <i>āks-</i> "tell, announce, proclaim"	THT 19 a2	classical, metrical, hypercorrect	1) no accent shift inflected verbal phrase
<i>po-cmel-aṣṣ-i</i> all-birth-ADJ-NOM.PL.M "prtḡ to all births"	<i>po</i> "all, everything" <i>cmelaṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to a birth"	PK AS 6B a2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>aurtsi pauke-pai-ne</i> wide.NOM.DU separation.NOM.SG foot-NOM.DU "both feet in wide separation"	<i>aurtse</i> "wide, broad" <i>pautke</i> "separation" <i>paiyye</i> "foot"	THT 74 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>pkānte-pilkw</i> obstacle-view "looking askance"	<i>pkante</i> "obstacle" <i>pilko</i> "view"	THT 24 a4	classical, metrical	4) metrical cf. without accent shift in another metrical passage: <i>pkante pilko</i> THT 17 b5 2) Sandhi: o > w/_#V
<i>bram-wek-sa</i> Brahma-voice-PERL.SG "with the voice of Brahṃā"	<i>bra(h)m</i> "Brahṃā" <i>wek</i> "voice"	PK AS 7L b4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>brahmā-ce_u-wek-sa</i> Brahma-this.ACC.SG-voice-PERL.SG "with this voice of Brahṃā"	<i>bra(h)m</i> "Brahṃā" <i>wek</i> "voice"	PK NS 39 b7	classical, metrical	7) mobile o
<i>ma-wār-tārkalye</i> not-water-accessible "not accessible to water"	<i>mā</i> "no, not" <i>war</i> "water" <i>tarkalle</i> "releasing"	IOL Toch 7 a2	archaic-II, prose	6) archaic
<i>mā-ayāto</i> not-pleasant "not pleasant"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>ayāto</i> "pleasant"	PK AS 17J a2	classical, prose	1) no accent shift

<i>mā-astarāṃṇe</i> no-purity "no purity"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>astarāṃṇe</i> "purity"	PK AS 2C b3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-wk</i> no-EMPH "in no way"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>wk</i> not attested as simplex	PK AS 7G a1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift suffixation instead of composition
<i>mā-nesalṇe</i> no-existence "absence"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>nesalṇe</i> "existence"	PK AS 2C b3	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>abhāva</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-putkaṇe-mem</i> no-allotment-ABL.SG "from no allotment"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>putkalṇe</i> "allotment"	THT 4091.1 b1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-markal-ñ(e-tstse)</i> not-shave-NMLZ-ADJ "not shaven"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>markalñetstse</i> "shaven"	THT 309 a4	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-yalle</i> not-accessible "not accessible"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>yalle</i> "accessible"	THT 331 b4	late, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>(ma)-yalye</i> not-accessible "not accessible"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>yalle</i> "accessible"	IOL Toch 7 a1	early, prose	maybe wrongly reconstructed
<i>mā-yāmor-sa</i> not-deed-PERL.SG "not doing"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>yāmor</i> "deed, action"	PK AS 7F b2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-yāmor</i> not-deed "not doing"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>yāmor</i> "deed, action"	PK AS 7G b1, SI B 119(2) b4	archaic, metrical	1) no accent shift 8) false accent
<i>mā-yśelme</i> not-pleasure "no pleasure"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>yśelme</i> "pleasure"	IOL Toch 77 a1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-ṣekaṃṇe</i> not-steady "not constant"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>ṣekaṃṇe</i> "steady"	THT 88 a4	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-ṣekaṃṇeṣṣe</i> not-transient "not transient"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>ṣekaṃṇeṣṣe</i> "transient"	PK AS 1A b2 IOL Toch 175 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>mā-ṣekatsāṃṇe</i> not-eternal "not eternal"	<i>mā</i> "not, no" <i>ṣekatsāṃṇe</i> "eternal"	THT 527 a2	classical, prose B(H)S <i>caḥsuranitya</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>mākā-ñatse-cce</i> much-danger-ADJ	<i>māka</i> "many, much" <i>ñyatsetstse</i> "having"	THT 35 b1	classical/ archaic,	1) no accent shift

"having great danger"	danger"		MQ, metrical	
<i>mākce_u-yke-ṣṣa</i> which.AKK.AG-place- ADJ.SG.F "prtḡ. to which place"	<i>māksu</i> "which, who" <i>īke</i> "place"	THT 41 a3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>mīs=aiwenta-sa</i> meat-PLU-PERL "with peaces of meat"	<i>mīsa</i> "meat"	IOL Toch 188 b1	classical, prose	2) Sandhi suffixation of plurative instead of composition
<i>menk=indri-nta</i> deficit-sense-ACC.PL "deficit of senses"	<i>menki</i> "deficit" <i>indri</i> "sense"	THT 288 b1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 2) Sandhi
<i>menki pilk///</i> lack-view	<i>menki</i> "lack, deficit" <i>pilko</i> "view, insight"	THT 384 a3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift hardly attested
<i>meñe-pāllent</i> moon-fullness "fullness of the moon"	<i>meñe</i> "moon" <i>pāllent</i> "fullness"	THT 292 b1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>meṃ-ne-pāllent-ne</i> moon-LOC-fullness-LOC "fullness of the moon"	<i>meñe</i> "moon" <i>pāllent</i> "fullness"	IOL Toch 868 a3, b2	classical, prose	inflected form
<i>mettār-pālsko</i> benevolence.ACC.SG- thought "thought of benevolence"	<i>maitār</i> "benevolence" <i>pālsko</i> "thought"	THT 338 a5	archaic, MQR, metrical	1) no accent shift 3) MQ(R) 4) metrical ä/a- alternation 6) archaic
<i>mot-yok-ai-ṃ</i> alcohol-thirst-ACC-PL "thirsts for alcohol"	<i>mot</i> "alcohol" <i>yoko</i> "thirst"	PK AS 8C a4	classical, hypercorrect prose,	1) no accent shift
<i>yakte-swāralñe</i> little-pleasure "not very tasty"	<i>yakte</i> "little, small" <i>swāralyñe</i> "pleasure"	IOL Toch 152 b2	classical, prose B(H)S <i>alpāsvāda-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>yarke-ynāñmāññe-nta- ne</i> honor-appreciation-PL- LOC "in honor and appreciation"	<i>yarke</i> "honor, reverence, veneration" <i>ynāñmāññe</i> "appreciation"	THT 32 b5	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>satkāreṣu</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>yarke-ynāñmñe-sa</i> honor-appreciation-PERL "with honor and appreciation"	<i>yarke</i> "honor, reverence, veneration" <i>ynāñmāññe</i>	THT 5 a8	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>satkāreṣu</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation 5) metrical schwa-

	"appreciation"			deletion
<i>yasar-tsamo</i> blood-growing.ADJ "growing blood"	<i>yasar</i> "blood" <i>tsamo</i> "growing"	PK AS 3A a2-a3	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>yāmor-sonai-cci</i> deed-bad_origin- ADJ.NOM.PL "the act of bad origin"	<i>yāmor</i> "deed, action" <i>ścono</i> "bad origin"	(Adams 2019, Huard 2019: 53)	metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>yām-wa-yām-ll-ona</i> do-PTCP-do-ADJ-PL "(things) done (and) (things) to do"	<i>yām-</i> "to do"	SI P 2 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>yāywyem-ykuweś</i> convoy-coming "arrival/departure of the convoi"	<i>yāywyem</i> "convoy(?)" <i>yku-</i> "to come"	Ot 12 a11	colloquial, MQ, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>/// kte yarm</i> little-measure	<i>yakte</i> "little, small" <i>yarm</i> "measure, extent, size"	THT 51 a7	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift hardly attested
<i>yente-pitta-şş-ana</i> wind-gall-ADJ-PL "prtḡ to wind and bile"	<i>yente</i> "wind" <i>pittaşşe</i> "prtḡ to bile"	THT 497 a5	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>yente-leşpa-şş-ana</i> wind-phlegm-ADJ-PL "prtḡ to wind and phlegm"	<i>yente</i> "wind" <i>leşpaşşe</i> "prtḡ to phlegm"	Y 1 a6	classical/ late, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>şkwary-ai</i> liana-ACC.SG <i>yok-tsi-ritāl-ñe-ts-ai</i> drink-INF-Seek-NMLZ-ADJ- ACC <i>pāst yaik-or-meṃ</i> away remove-NMLZ-ABS "having removed the liana (while) longing for drinking"	<i>şkwarya</i> "liana" <i>yok-</i> "to drink" <i>rit-</i> "to seek" <i>pāst</i> "away" <i>wik-</i> "to remove, drive away"	THT 11 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>yol-ai-erepate</i> bad-ACC-form "ill formed"	<i>yolo</i> "bad, evil" <i>erepate</i> "form"	THT 5 b8	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>virūpa-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>yolo-ere</i> bad-appearance "bad appearance"	<i>yolo</i> "bad" <i>ere</i> "appearance"	THT 1579 a1	classical	1) no accent shift stem form <i>yolai-</i> expected
<i>yolo-pilko-cce-pi</i>	<i>yolo</i> "bad"	IOL Toch 206	archaic-II,	1) no accent shift

bad-view-ADJ-GEN "ill-seen"	<i>pilko</i> "view"	b1	prose and metrical B(H)S <i>durdṛṣṭi-</i>	stem form <i>yolai-</i> expected
<i>ykū-īme</i> go.PTCP-consciousness "arrived and the consciousness"	<i>yku</i> "arrived" <i>īme</i> "consciousness"	PK NS 28 b4	metrical	1) no accent shift note that <i>ykū-īme</i> in PK AS 4A a1 and IOL Toch 307 b6 is a compound
<i>yke-postām</i> place-latter "place by place"	<i>īke</i> "place" <i>postām</i> "latter"	THT 407 a5 THT 45 b4	metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>ike-postām</i> place-latter "one after the other"	<i>īke</i> "place" <i>postām</i> "latter"	THT 81 b2	metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>ykoṃ-koṃ</i>	<i>koṃ</i> "day" <i>mokoṃ</i> "old"	PK AS 13E b5	classical, metrical	not attested wrong reading as "day by day" of <i>mokoṃ</i> "old" by Bernhard (1958)
<i>yparwe-yamalñe-nta</i> first-deed-PL "preparation"	<i>yparwe</i> "first, fore" <i>yamalñe</i> "deed, action"	THT 559.2 a2/3	classical, prose B(H)S <i>pūrnakriyā-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>ywārc-trau</i> half-trau "a half trau"	<i>ywārc</i> "half" <i>trau</i> "measure of capacity"	W 13 a4	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>ywā(rc)-maiñāṣṣe</i> half-prtg_to_the_moon "bimonthly"	<i>ywārc</i> "half" <i>meñāṣṣe</i> "prtg to the moon"	THT 1579 a2	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>ywārska-pik_ṛla-ññi</i> middle-year-ADJ.NOM.PL "of middle years"	<i>ywārska</i> "in the middle of, between" <i>pik_ṛlaññe</i> "having [so-many] years"	PK AS 7K b2	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>madhyama-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>krent ysāṣṣa-pyāpyo</i> <i>walo</i> good.ACC golden.NOM.F- flower.NOM.F king.NOM.M "good king golden flower"	<i>krent</i> "good" <i>ysāṣṣe</i> "golden" <i>pyāpyo</i> "flower" <i>walo</i> "king"	THT 416 a2	late, metrical	9) nested modifier
<i>reki-svabhāva-tstse</i> word-intrinsic_nature- ADJ "having as intrinsic"	<i>reki</i> "word, speech" <i>svabhāva</i> Skt. "intrinsic nature"	THT 199 b5/b1	late, prose	1) no accent shift

nature (the Buddha's) word"				
<i>lkālñe-yārm</i> sight-measure "visible sphere"	<i>lkālāññe</i> "sight, insight, look" <i>yarm</i> "measure, extent, size"	PK AS 17A a2/3	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>dr̥ṣṭamātra</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>vicitr(a)puṣpā- werpiśke-n(e)</i> brilliant_flower-garden- LOC "in the garden of brilliant flowers"	B(H)S <i>vicitrapuṣpa</i> "brilliant flower" <i>werpiśke</i> "garden"	THT 589 a2	classical, prose	7) mobile o
<i>vṛkṣavāsike-ñakte</i> vṛkṣavāsike-god "god Vṛkṣavāsike"	<i>vṛkṣavāsike</i> person name <i>ñakte</i> "god"	THT 88 a4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>vṛkṣavāsike-ñākte</i> vṛkṣavāsike-god "god Vṛkṣavāsike"	<i>vṛkṣavāsike</i> person name <i>ñakte</i> "god"	THT 88 b4	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>war-katsa</i> water-? "waterdropsy"	<i>war</i> "water"	IOL Toch 305 b4	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>warto-wṣeṃñai-saimtsa</i> forest-dwelling-refuge- PERL "dwelling place and refuge in the forest"	<i>wartto</i> "forest" <i>wṣeṃña</i> "dwelling place" <i>saim</i> "refuge"	PK AS 16.2 a5	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>vanavāsa</i>	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>waskamo-pilko-ce-ṃ</i> moving-view-ADJ-ACC "having a wandering gaze"	<i>waskamo</i> "moving" <i>pilkotstse</i> "having [such-and-such] a view"	IOL Toch 188 a2	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>wättänt-kene-ne</i> <i>wättänt</i> -tune-LOC "in the tune <i>wättänt</i> "	<i>wättänt</i> <i>kene</i> "tune"	THT 514 a4	archaic, MQ	1) no accent shift
<i>wi-pai-ne-wṣeñ-ai</i> two-foot-ACC.DU-place- ACC.SG "on the place for the two feet"	<i>wi</i> "two" <i>paiyye</i> "foot" <i>wṣeñña</i> "place"	Km-034-ZS-R- 01 a8	colloquial, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>weta-watalyñe</i> battle-fight "battle and fight"	<i>weta</i> "battle" <i>watalyñe</i> "fight"	THT 1107 a5	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>weṣeññ-ai-yārm</i> sound-ACC.SG-size "empty sound"	<i>weṣeñña</i> "voice, sound" <i>yarm</i> "extent, size"	PK AS 5B b5 PK NS 25 and 26 a2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift

<i>śa-karm(a)pathä-ṣṣ-ai</i> ten-karmapatha-ADJ-PL "prtḡ to the ten karmapathas"	<i>śak</i> "ten" B(H)S <i>karmapatha</i>	THT 346 b1	late, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>śak-karmapathä-nta</i> ten-karmapatha-PL "the ten karmapathas"	<i>śak</i> "ten" B(H)S <i>karmapatha</i>	PK AS 19.19.X a2	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>śaṅki-yokä-m</i> chicken-color-ACC.SG "chicken of the colour"	<i>śaṅki</i> "chicken" <i>yok</i> "colour"	PK AS 16.8 a4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>śawaṃñe-kwama-ne</i> tune-name in LOC.SG	simplicia not attested	PK AS 16.2 a6	classical, metrical	attestation circumstances unclear
<i>ścire-kektse///</i> harsh.NOM.SG-body "harsh body"	<i>ścire</i> "harsh" <i>kektseñe</i> "body"	PK AS 7G b5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift hardly attested
<i>ścire-ñ-kektseñt-sa///</i> harsh-NOM.PL-body-PERL "harsh of body"	<i>ścire</i> "harsh" <i>kektseñe</i> "body"	PK AS 7G b4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>ścire-reki</i> harsh.NOM.SG- word.NOM.SG "harsh word"	<i>ścire</i> "harsh" <i>reki</i> "word"	PK AS 7H b4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>śro-kanti-ś</i> kid-bread?-ALL "a kind of bread"	<i>śari</i> ? "kid" <i>kanti</i> "bread?"	THT 433 a16	colloquial, MQ, prose	attestation circumstances unclear
<i>śle-aiśamñe-tstse</i> with-wisdom-ADJ "wise"	<i>śale</i> "with" <i>aiśamñetstse</i> "wise"	THT 308 a1	classical, prose B(H)S <i>saprajña</i>	
<i>śle-palsko</i> with-thought "with reason"	<i>śale</i> "with" <i>palsko</i> "thought, mind"	THT 278 b1	metrical, MQ	5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>śle-yärke</i> with-deference "with deference"	<i>śale</i> "with" <i>yärke</i> "deference"	PK AS 13A a5, THT 79 a2	classical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation 5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>śle-ywārcä</i> with-half "one and a half"	<i>śale</i> "with" <i>ywārtsa</i> "half"	IOL Toch 247 b1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift 7) mobile o
<i>ṣaṇ-yāmor-ṣṣ-ai</i> own-deed-ADJ-ACC.SG	<i>ṣaṇ</i> "own" <i>yāmorṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to a	IOL Toch 5 a1	classical/ late,	1) no accent shift

"prtḡ to ones own deed"	deed"		metrical	
<i>ṣāñ-yāmor-sa</i> own-deed-PERL "with self-deed"	<i>ṣañ</i> "own" <i>yāmor</i> "deed"	THT 229 a3	archaic-I, MQR, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation 6) archaic
<i>ṣāñ-yamor-nta</i> own-deed-PL "self-deeds"	<i>ṣañ</i> "own" <i>yāmor</i> "deed"	THT 388 b2	archaic-I, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation 6) archaic
<i>ṣañ-yāmor-nta-ts</i> own-deed-PL-GEN "self-deeds"	<i>ṣañ</i> "own" <i>yāmor</i> "deed"	THT 46 a6	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>ṣaḍap-ṣalywe-malkwer-ne</i> ?-oil-milk-LOC "in the tune ṣ."	<i>ṣalype</i> "oil, salve, ointment" <i>malkwer</i> "milk"	THT 107 a1- a2	late, prose and metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>ṣāñ-ṣamñe-ṣṣe</i> own-human-ADJ "prtḡ to a relative"	<i>ṣañ</i> "own" <i>ṣamñeṣṣe</i> "prtḡ to a human"	THT 515 b6	archaic-I, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation 6) archaic
<i>ṣāñ-ṣaumo</i> own-person "relative"	<i>ṣañ</i> "own" <i>ṣaumo</i> "person, human being"	THT 220 a3, THT 3 b7, THT 8 a2, THT 23 b2, THT 46 a7, THT 23 b2	metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>ṣāñ-ṣaumo-m</i> own-person-ACC.SG "relative"	<i>ṣañ</i> "own" <i>ṣaumo</i> "person, human being"	THT 136 b2	archaic-I, metrical, MQR	3) MQ(R) 4) metrical ä/a- alternation 6) archaic
<i>ṣāle-yāst</i> mountain.ACC.SG- summit "summit of the mountain"	<i>ṣale</i> "mountain, hill" <i>yast</i> "top, summit"	THT 338 a4	archaic-I, metrical, MQ	4) metrical ä/a- alternation 6) archaic
<i>ṣekkā-yār-ne</i> for_a_single_moment- measure-LOC.SG "for a single moment"	<i>ṣekkāka</i> "for a single moment" <i>yarm</i> "measure"	PK NS 54 b2	classical, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>ṣek-ṣek</i> always-always "forever"	<i>ṣek</i> "always"	THT 140 a2	archaic-I, MQR, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>ṣek-ṣekā</i> always-always "forever"	<i>ṣek</i> "always"	IOL Toch 122 b4	classical, prose	7) mobile o
<i>ṣesa-kāntalñe-mem</i>	<i>ṣesa</i> "together"	THT 532 a2	classical,	1) no accent shift

together-rubbing-ABL "rubbing together"	<i>kāntalñe</i> "rubbing"		hypercorrect prose B(H)S <i>saṃgharṣāt</i>	
<i>ṣṇa-nwalñeṣṣe-pi</i> own-roaring-GEN "self proclaiming"	<i>ṣaṇ</i> "own" <i>nuwalñeṣṣe</i> "roaring, shouting"	SI P 1 a2	classical, metrical	5) metrical schwa-deletion
<i>sak-takālyñe</i> pleasure-touch "state of dwelling with things that are pleasant"	<i>sakw</i> "pleasure" <i>takālyñe</i> "touch, feeling"	THT 278 a3	classical, MQ, metrical	1) no accent shift 3) MQ(R)
<i>sakwā-takālyñe</i> pleasure-touch "state of dwelling with things that are pleasant"	<i>sakw</i> "pleasure" <i>takālyñe</i> "touch, feeling"	THT 333 b1	classical, archaic-I, MQR, prose	1) no accent shift 7) mobile o
<i>sādhariḱ-anandārs</i>	"name of an unknown tune/meter"	THT 583 a5	late, metrical	1) no accent shift meaning unknown
<i>sārwāna-ṣawo</i> face-? "face-bath"	<i>sārwāna</i> "face"	W 13 a6	classical	1) no accent shift meaning unknown
<i>suwaññe-uwātata-ne</i> prtḡ_to_a_pig-?-LOC.SG „?“	„name of a meter of 4x15 syllables“	THT 108 b9	late, metrical	1) no accent shift meaning unknown
<i>///(ś)kamaṣy-ai</i> 10_forces-ACC.SG <i>saṁ-wāste-tse cākkā///</i> support.ACC.SG-refuge-ADJ wheel "of the 10 forces of support (and) the refugeeed wheel/the wheel of refuge"	<i>ś</i> kamaṣya "ten forces" <i>saṁ</i> "support" <i>waste</i> "refuge" <i>cākkār</i> "wheel"	THT 583 b1	late, prose and metrical	1) no accent shift expected 9) nested modifier
<i>somw-aiñy-ai</i> one.ACC.SG.F-traversable-ACC.SG „traversable only by one“	<i>ṣe</i> "one" <i>aiñye*</i> "passable, traversable"	THT 29 b3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 2) Sandhi: o > w/_#V
<i>stām-ñor</i> tree-beneath „beneath a tree“	<i>stām</i> „tree“ <i>ñor</i> „below, beneath“	PK NS 55 a4	late, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>stulāṃ-trāṅko-nta</i> grave_offence-sin-PL „grave offence“	<i>sthulāṅca</i> „grave offence“ <i>trāṅko</i> „sin“	THT 334 b1	archaic-II/ classical, MQ,	3) MQ(R)

			prose	
<i>snai-āke</i> without-end.ACC "without end"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>āke</i> "end"	THT 291.a a5; SI P2 b1	archaic-I, MQR, metrical; classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snay-āke</i> without-end.ACC "without end"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>āke</i> "end"	SI P1 a6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 2) Sandhi: i > y/_#V
<i>snai-enerke</i> without-hesitation "without hesitation"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>enerke</i> "hesitation"	PK AS 17A a5	classical, prose and metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-epiñkte</i> without-interval "immediately"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>epiñkte</i> "interval"	THT 174 b6	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snay-emprukš-ai</i> without-neglect-ACC.SG „without neglect“	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>e(n)</i> - intensive prefix <i>prukš-</i> „neglect, ignore“	PK AS 17J b1/2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 2) Sandhi: i > y/_#V
<i>snai-ersna</i> without-form.ACC.SG "without form"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>ersna</i> "form"	THT 5 b7; PK NS 53 a3	classical, metrical; B(H)S <i>virūpa-</i> classical B(H)S <i>arūpya-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-ersna-ce</i> without-form-ADJ.ACC "formless"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>ersna</i> "form"	THT 144 a4	archaic-I, MQR, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-ersnā-šše</i> without-form-ADJ.ACC.SG „without form“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ersna</i> „form“	PK NS 53 a2	classical	1) no accent shift ⁹
<i>snai-onolmeñts-ana</i> without-living_being- ADJ.PL "not organic"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>onolmeñtse</i> "prtḡ to living beings"	THT 1121 a2, a4	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-olāntse</i> without-?.ACC.SG	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>olāntse</i> "?"	PK NS 53 b5	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-olyapo</i> without-more.ADV „unequalled,	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>olyapo</i> "more"	THT 107 a2; IOL Toch 213 a3;	late, prose and metrical;	1) no accent shift

9 The accent indicates a phrase, as it already moved from *érsna* to *ersnāšše*.

unparalleled“		PK NS 56 a3	classical, metrical/ prose; classical, prose	
<i>snaiy-olyapo</i> without-more.ADV „unequalled, unparalleled“	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>olyapo</i> "more"	THT 203 a4	classical, archaic, metrical	2) Sandhi: i > y/_#V 5) metrical schwa- deletion
<i>snai-os=</i> without-house.ACC "without house"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>ost</i> "house"	SI B 120(1) b4	archaic-II, prose B(H)S <i>aniveśana-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-kārst-au</i> without-interrupt-PTCP "without interruption"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>kārst-</i> "terminate"	THT 85 a1	classical, prose and metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-kālsnālyñe</i> without-pressing.ACC "without pressing"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>kāl(t)s-</i> "pressing"			not attested
<i>snai-keś</i> without-number.ACC "without number"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>keś</i> "number"	THT 169 a4	classical, prose B(H)S <i>aneka-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-kaṣṣenta</i> without-killer.ACC "without the killer"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>kaṣṣenta</i> "killer"	THT 1350 a4	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>ahiṃsakāḥ</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-krāmpālyñetse</i> without-disturbing "without having a disturbance"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>krāmpālyñetstse</i> "having a disturbance"	THT 251 b1	archaic-II, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-klene</i> without-sound.ACC "without sound"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>klene</i> "sound"	PK AS 17H b2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-cek-wārñai-cc-i</i> without-this.ACC- beginning_with-ADJ- NOM.PL „?“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>sek</i> „this“ <i>warñai</i> „beginning with, et cetera“	THT 1350 b4	metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation fragmentary attestation
<i>snai-cmelñe-ts-ana</i> without-birth-ADJ-PL.F "not born"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>camel</i> "birth"	THT 188 b2	late, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-ñātse</i> without-danger.ACC	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ñyātse</i> „danger,	THT 543 a5; THT 289 b1	classical, prose;	1) no accent shift

„without danger“	plague, distress“		classical, late, metrical	
<i>snai-ñatse</i> without-danger.ACC „without danger“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ñyātse</i> „danger, plague, distress“	THT 289 b3	classical, late, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>snai-tāñwañ</i> without-love.ACC „unpleasant“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>tañkw</i> „love“	PK AS 7G b6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>snai-teki</i> without-illness.ACC „without illness“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>teki</i> „illness, disease“	IOL Toch 80 b2	archaic, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>mäskem-trä</i> become-3SG.PRS.MED <i>snai-tekiññe</i> without-sick „he became free from suffering“	<i>mäsk-</i> „be, become“ <i>snai</i> „without“ <i>tekiññe</i> „sick, diseased“	THT 1368 b3	early	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-totteññe-tstse</i> without-border-ADJ "boundless"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>totteññe</i> "border"		B(H)S <i>apāra-</i>	not attested
<i>snai-trāñko</i> without-sin.ACC.SG „without sin“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>trañko</i> „sin“	THT 20 a7; THT 132 a3; PK AS 13E a2	classical, metrical; early, MQR; classical, metrical	3) MQ(R) 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>snai-treñkäl</i> without-clinging.ACC.SG „free from ties“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>treñkäl</i> „clinging, sticking“	THT 251 b2	early, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-nāke</i> without-blame „blameless“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>nāki</i> „fault, error, blame“	THT 1347 a1	classical, metrical, MQ	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-netke</i> without-prompting.ACC „unprompted“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>netke</i> „urging, prompting“	THT 248 b3	early, metrical, MQ	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-pernerñe</i> without-splendor.ACC.SG „without splendor“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>pernerñe</i> „splendor, glory“	THT 311 a3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-pele</i> without-law „unlawful, lawless“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>pele</i> „way, law“	THT 3 b1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-pele-śśa-ñ</i> without-law-?-NOM.PL	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>pele</i> „law“	PK AS 17J b6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift

„unlawful, lawless, the lawless ones“				
<i>snai-pkānte</i> without-hindrance.ACC.SG „without hindrance“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>pkante</i> „obstacle, hindrance“	THT 219 a4	early, classical, MQ	1) no accent shift 3) MQ(R)
<i>snai-prosk-ai</i> without-fear-ACC.SG „without fear“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>prosko</i> „fear“	IOL Toch 145 a1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snaiy-prosk-ai</i> without-fear-ACC.SG „without fear“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>prosko</i> „fear“	THT 221 b5	classical/ archaic, MQR, metrical	2) Sandhi
<i>snai-proskai-cce</i> without-fear-ADJ.ACC.SG „unfearful“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>prosko</i> „fear“	IOL Toch 175 b6	classical	translates Skt. <i>abhayaṃ</i>
<i>snai-ptsak</i> without-blinking.ACC.SG „instantaneous“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ptsak</i> „blinking“	PK AS 7M b1; THT 101 a1	metrical; classical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-ptsäk</i> without-blinking.ACC.SG „instantaneous“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ptsak</i> „blinking“	THT 2247 a7	early, metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>snai-mattsī</i> without-headhair.ACC.SG „bald“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>mattsī</i> „headhair“	IOL Toch 69 b4	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mäktauñe</i> without-final_end.ACC.SG „incomparable, without refuge“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>mäktauñe</i> „final end“	PK AS 6C b2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mäktauññe</i> without-final_end.ACC.SG „incomparable, without refuge“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>mäktauñe</i> „final end“	THT 127 b7	early, metrical, MQR	1) no accent shift 2) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>snai-märkar-cce</i> without-turbid-ADJ.ACC.SG „unturbid“	<i>snai</i> „without“	IOL Toch 26 b2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift 2) metrical ä/a-alternation translates Skt. <i>anāvilam</i>
<i>snai-märkär</i> without-turbidity.ACC.SG „without turbidity“	<i>snai</i> „without“	IOL Toch 52 b4	early, metrical	4) metrical ä/a-alternation 6) archaic

<i>snai-miyāṣṣlñe-ts-ai</i> without-harm-ADJ- ACC.SG.M „without harming“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	THT 541 a8	classical, late, prose	1) no accent shift translates Skt. <i>anavadyatām</i>
<i>snai-miyāṣlñe</i> without-harm.ACC.SG „without harm“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	IOL Toch 101 a2	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-miyāṣālñe</i> without-harm.ACC.SG „without harm“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	THT 522 b3; THT 564 a4	classical, metrical; classical, metrical and prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mīyāṣlyñe</i> without-harm.ACC.SG „without harm“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	PK AS 4A b5	classical, late, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a-alternation
<i>snai-miyāṣṣālyñe</i> without-harm.ACC.SG „without harm“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	PK AS 6E a7	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mīyāṣlñe</i> without-harm.ACC.SG „without harm“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	IOL Toch 307 a5; PK AS 5C b1; PK NS 25 and 26 b5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mīyāṣlyñe</i> without-harm.ACC.SG „without harm“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>miyāṣṣālñe</i> „harm, hurt“	PK NS 27 a6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-muskālñe-tsts-a</i> without-perishing-ADJ-F „not perishing“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>muskālñe</i> „perishing“	THT 542 b1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mūl</i> without-root.ACC.SG „without a root“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>mūla</i> B(H)S „root“			1) no accent shift not attested
<i>snai-meñki</i> without-shortage.ACC.SG "without a shortage"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>meñki</i> "lack, deficit, shortage, error"	PK AS 7J b3	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-meṃtsñe</i> without- solicitude.ACC.SG „without solicitude“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>meṃtsñe</i> „solicitude, concernedness“	THT 22 b1 THT 1105 b5	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-menāk</i> without-example.ACC.SG "without example"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>menāk</i> „example, comparison"	PK AS 13E b7	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-mentsi</i>	<i>snai</i> „without“	IOL Toch 988	classical,	1) no accent shift

without-grief.ACC.SG "without grief"	<i>mentsi</i> "sorrow, grief"	a3; PK AS 7L b2	prose; classical, metrical	
<i>snai-yamor</i> without-deed.ACC.SG "without reason"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yāmor</i> "deed, action"	THT 17 a8	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift ¹⁰
<i>snai-yarm-keś</i> without-measure.ACC.SG- number.ACC.SG "numberless, immeasurable"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yarm</i> "measure, extent, size" <i>keś</i> "number"	THT 220 a4; THT 241 b3; SI P 2 b6; THT 1122 a4	early/ classical, MQR, metrical; early, MQR, metrical; metrical; classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-yase-kwīpets</i> without-shame.ACC.SG- modesty.ACC.SG "without shame and modesty"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yase</i> "shame" <i>kwīpe</i> "shame, modesty"	THT 282 a5	archaic, MQ, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-yāktāñm</i> without-feeble.ACC.SG "unfeeble"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yāktāñm</i> "feeble"			1) no accent shift not attested
<i>snai-yārmā</i> without-measure.NOM.SG "immeasurable"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yarm</i> "measure, extent, size"	THT 3285 b2	classical	7) mobile o unclear metrical status
<i>snai-ykorñe</i> without- negligence.ACC.SG "diligence"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ykorñe</i> "negligence"	IOL Toch 307 a1, THT 12 a1	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-ykorñe-šše</i> without-negligence- ADJ.ACC.SG "prt. to diligence"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ykorñe</i> "negligence"	THT 214 b1	early/ classical, MQR, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-ykorñe-cc-i</i> without-negligence-ADJ- NOM.PL "diligent"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>ykorñe</i> "negligence"	IOL Toch 221 a4	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-yparwāññe</i> without-first "incomparable"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>yparwe</i> "first, fore"	THT 149 a2	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-yparwe-cce</i>	<i>snai</i> „without“	IOL Toch 5 b6	classical/	1) no accent shift

10 Instead we find a weakening on exact that syllable, which should be accented.

without-first-ADJ.AKK.SG "beginningless"	<i>yparwe</i> "first, fore"		late, metrical	
<i>snai-ypärwe</i> without-first.ADV "not preceded"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yparwe</i> "first, fore"	THT 205 a4; THT 228 a5	early/ classical, metrical; archaic, metrical	1) no accent shift 4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>snai-yparwe</i> without-first.ADV "not preceded"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>yparwe</i> "first, fore"	THT 1107 b1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-rmamo-ñ</i> without-reverence- ACC.SG "without reverence"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>rmamñe</i> "reverence; inclination, tendency"	THT 1368 a5	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-laiwo-şpane</i> without- lassitude.ACC.SG- sleep.ACC.SG "without lassitude or sleep"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>laiwo</i> "lassitude" <i>şpane</i> "sleep"	THT 31 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-lyipär</i> without- remainder.ACC.SG "without a remainder"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>lyipär</i> "remainder, remnant"	THT 99 b2	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-wace</i> without-second.ACC.SG "without a second"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>wate</i> "second"	PK AS 17H a2; PK AS 17D a6, b5; THT 203 a5	classical, metrical; classical, metrical; classical/ archaic, MQ, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-wce</i> without-second.ACC.SG "without a second"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>wate</i> "second"	IOL Toch 215 a3	early/ classical, metrical	5) metrical schwa-deletion
<i>snai-war</i> without-water.ACC.SG "without water"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>war</i> "water"	IOL Toch 26 a4; IOL Toch 101 b5	classical, prose; classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-wāki</i> without- difference.ACC.SG "without difference"	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>wāki</i> "difference, distinction"	THT 81 a5	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-waste</i> without-refuge.ACC.SG	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>waste</i> "refuge"	THT 288 b1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift

"without refuge"				
<i>snai-wäste</i> without-refuge.ACC.SG "without refuge"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>waste</i> "refuge"	PK AS 19.19.X a3, SI B 113 a7, THT 123 a3, IOL Toch 262 a5, IOL Toch 272 a5	metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>snai-wešeññ-ai</i> without-sound.ACC.SG.F "without sound"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>wešeñña</i> "voice, sound"	THT 193 a7; THT 597 a4	classical/ late, prose; classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-śmalñe</i> without-coming.ACC.SG "without coming"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>śmalñe</i> "coming"	THT 535 a5	classical, prose	not attested ¹¹
<i>snai-ṣaṃṣāl</i> without-number.ACC.SG "without number"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>ṣaṃṣāl</i> "number"	THT 169 a4; THT 45 a7	classical, prose; classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-saim</i> without-refuge.ACC.SG "without refuge"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>saim</i> "refuge"	THT 534 a1	classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-saima-ce-mñne</i> without-refuge-ADJ- LOC.PL "without having refuge"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>saim</i> "refuge"	THT 362 b4	early, MQ, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-saim-wäste</i> without-support.ACC.SG- refuge.ACC.SG "without support and refuge"	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>saim</i> "support" <i>waste</i> "refuge"	THT 295 a8	archaic, MQR, metrical	4) metrical ä/a- alternation
<i>snai-sklok</i> without-doubt.ACC.SG „without doubt“	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>sklok</i> „doubt“	THT 73 a2; THT 1115 b1	metrical; classical, prose	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-sklokä</i> without-doubt.ACC.SG „without doubt“	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>sklok</i> „doubt“	IOL Toch 233 b1; THT 284 a2	classical, metrical; metrical	1) no accent shift 7) mobile o
<i>snai-tsāñk-au</i> without-rise-PST.PTCP „non-rising“	<i>snai</i> "without" <i>tsāñk-</i> „to rise“			

¹¹ The compound is only fragmentary attested as *snai*/// but next to Skt. *prati-ṣṭham* "steady, firmly", which, however, means something completely different.

<i>snai-tserek-wa</i> without-deception- ACC.PL „without deceptions“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>tserekwa</i> „deceptions“	IOL Toch 214 b4; THT 496 a4	classical, metrical; late, metrical, MQ	1) no accent shift
<i>snai-tsnamñe</i> without-influence.ACC.SG „without influence“	<i>snai</i> „without“ <i>tsnamñe</i> „influence of the outer world“	THT 4 b2, THT 31 a6	classical, metrical	1) no accent shift
<i>syā-lle-were</i> sweat-ADJ-smell "sweaty smell"	<i>siyā-</i> "to sweat" <i>were</i> "smell"	W 5 b2	classical	1) no accent shift
<i>srukalñe-āke</i> death-end "ending in death"	<i>srukalñe</i> "death" <i>āke</i> "end"	IOL Toch 114 b2; THT 3 a3	classical, metrical B(H)S <i>maraṇānta-</i>	1) no accent shift
<i>tsapāñce-tsāñkana</i> "tsapāñce-shoots" (Adams 2019)	<i>tsapāñce</i> "a plant" <i>tsāñkana</i> "naked or highland barley"			not attested
• <i>tsapāñce-nmäw-wata</i> • a plant-NOM.PL-?	<i>tsapāñce</i> "a plant" <i>wata</i> "?"	W 3 b2	classical	1) no accent shift

9 Conclusions

To conclude, one wants to note that most part of hitherto taken for granted Tocharian B compounds has to be analysed as phrases often combined with group inflection and at least 20% of the remaining compounds are calques, mostly from Sanskrit. If one excludes the calques, the most productive type is indeed the verbal-nexus compound encompassing three compounds, with a governing verb (*pärnā-palkāskemane*, *śaulā-preñca* and *ṣotri-yāmcī*) and two compounds with a governing verbal derivative (*kóm-kläsko* and *yneś-yāmoš*). Ground, attributives, and appositives entail together only six compounds of purely Tocharian origin: One ground, two attributives and three appositives. Of those, only one is exocentric, namely *kau_rṣā-pkai*. This strengthens the assumption that mainly verbal governing compounds are of Proto-Indo-European origin. However, concerning the presence of a head, endo- and exocentricity are contrary distributed to what is generally said about Indo-European compounds.

The main aim of this thesis was to apply the current model of Bisetto and Scalise to Tocharian B which turned out to work properly. Due to its semantic definition of headedness and its three-leveled structure, future research could rely on this model in investigating the crossover between semantic and cultural change in compounds and whether other parts of grammar also play a role in this regard. To this aim, one probably would need a more detailed analysis of the structure of the body as presented in Bisetto & Scalise (2009) and maybe also change specific layers of the model to ones needs so that one could, for example, also analyse the interplay of derivational structures. As the Tocharians were a strongly intercultural community, Tocharian almost seems predestined for investigations in this direction. Another area which remains open for future research is a detailed analysis of the structure of the body as displayed in Bisetto & Scalise 2009.

10 Bibliography

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Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit wendet ein merkmalsbasiertes Modell der allgemeinen Linguistik auf Komposita in Tocharisch B an, das syntaktische, kategoriale und semantische Merkmale hierarchisch miteinander vereint. Dazu wurden zunächst ehemals als Komposita eingestufte Phrasen nach philologischen Kriterien aussortiert und Lehnübersetzungen identifiziert.

Anschließend wurden die verbliebenen Komposita sowie die Lehnübersetzungen glossiert und zunächst abhängig von der Relation der Glieder untereinander und anschließend nach kategorialen und semantischen Merkmalen eingeteilt, wobei besonders auf die hierarchische Verbindung zwischen den einzelnen Ebenen geachtet wurde. Im Zuge der Arbeit stellte sich heraus, dass sich dieses Modell besonders gut dazu eignet, semantischen Wandel an Komposita zu untersuchen.

Abstract

The present thesis applies a feature-based model of general linguistics on compounds in Tocharian B which unites syntactic, categorial and semantic features in a hierarchical manner. For this purpose, calques were identified, and hitherto wrongly classified compounds were sorted out through philological means. Subsequently, the remaining compounds were glossed together with the calques and then sorted in accordance with the syntactic relation between the compound members as well as categorial and semantic features. In this context, special attention was paid to the hierarchical conjunction of the feature-levels. During the work, it turned out that the model is especially suited for the research on semantic change in compounds.