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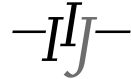
A Fall into the Pit

Remarks on Tocharian B koṣko, koṣkīye

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Abstract

This paper argues that Tocharian B *koṣko, koṣkīye* does not mean 'hut', as was taken for granted, but 'pit, hole'; and that it is not an inherited Indo-European word, but an Iranian loanword in Tocharian B. Although the possibility of a borrowing from an unknown Middle Iranian language cannot be excluded, an unattested (Pre-)Bactrian form *kōškā is demonstrated to be the most likely source of this loanword.

Keywords

Tocharian – (Pre-)Bactrian – Middle Iranian languages – language contact – Tarim Basin – Central Asian Buddhism – fire-pit

The Tocharian B (henceforth TochB) feminine noun with the two forms[1] *koṣko* and *koṣkīye* (nom.sg.) has been taken to mean 'hut' following Sieg (1943: 134). To the best of our knowledge, this meaning has been almost unanimously accepted in the field of Tocharology.[2] Regarding its etymology, it was first pro-

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1 On this type of TochB feminine nouns (with a variation in the nom.sg. between *-o* and *-iye*), see below Section 2.2.2.

2 See Adams (2006: 397): "Tocharian B has a feminine noun *koṣkīye* (acc. sg. *koṣkai*) 'hut'. The meaning is not assured by any translation equivalence but is surely correct."

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posed by Van Windekens (1972: 46), followed by Adams (1999: 206) and Tremblay (2005: 434), that this word is derived from a Western Middle Iranian word (Tremblay suggests Parthian) *kōšk; cf. Pahlavi and New Persian *kōšk* 'pavilion, mansion, manor', which was borrowed into Turkish and then into various European languages, such as German *Kiosk*, French *kiosque*.

We argue in the present article that the meaning 'hut' cannot be maintained for the Tocharian lexeme, contrary to previous suggestions. In Sections 3 and 4, we endeavour to establish the etymology of the Tocharian word.

1   Tocharian Occurrences

Before delving into the meaning of this word more deeply, we list all the passages in which it occurs, with received English translations as available:[3]

a.   THT 100 (classical) a3 /// – rä – – arwāts avīśäṣṣe au(rtsesa pitka o)rotsai **koṣkai** yāmtsi kr$_u$i tā$_u$ ṣe sleme tatākausai

"(Order) to make a big **hut** of wood the size of the Avīci. If … this (hut), which has become one blaze …"[4]

THT 100 (classical) a4 /// – mrauskäṣṣeñcai empelyai pwārṣṣai **koṣkain**(e yaptsi campalle) tākat ta ñiś tañ pañaktäññe ślauk[5] aksau ka

Peyrot (2013: 312): "If you are (able to enter) this horrible fire **hut** that makes [you] feel aversion, then I will recite your Buddha strophe."

THT 100 (classical) a5–6 […] käṣṣi snai nerke yänmaskau pwārṣai **koṣkaine** – – – – (puwa)rne nauṣ yopu mā ṣpä akālkä knelle star-ñ pañaktä(ññe śloksa) lareṃ pelaikne klyautsi pelaikne klyauṣtsi nauṣ pete-ñ tak(arṣkeṃ palskosa) ///

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3   The emphases in boldface are ours unless otherwise indicated.

4   See Couvreur (1954: 105 f.): "(Gelast) een (g)rote **hut** uit hout (*arwāts*) (in) de omvang van de *avīci* te bouwen. Gesteld dat ge (in staat) zijt (in) deze (hut), die een vlam(menzee) is geworden, … […] (in te gaan) […]".

5   This is a hypercorrection by the scribe, as it stands for *ślok*.

Peyrot (2013: 316): "(a5) Teacher, without hesitation I enter into the fire **hut** ... (but) if I enter into the fire first, my wish (a6) to hear[6] the dear law with a Buddha-strophe cannot be fulfilled. First give me the law to hear (with faithful mind)!"

b.   IOL Toch 88 a6 /// – (sä)lpamñai **koṣkaine** yo(p)· ///

'[...] (If) I enter (*yopu*) in the brazen **hut(?)**'[7]

c.   PK AS 8C (classical) a5–7 [...] || kete ā(ñm)e (t)ākaṃ lāntämpa larauwñe y(ā)mtsī · rājavṛkṣä stamatse arwāmeṃ **koṣkīye** yamaṣlya · śāñcapo ṣukt lykwarwa nässait yamaṣlya · pūwarne hom yamaṣlya · lānte rinale parkälle mäsketrä 1 || kṣatriyempa larauñe yāmtsi āñme (tā)kaṃ-ne (śā)lṣana arwāts **koṣkīye** yamaṣlya · ṣalype wai kuñcit pūwarne hom yamaṣle · kṣatriyets lāre mäsketrä 2 ||

Pinault (2014: CEToM): "[If] one has the desire to make friendship with the king, one [has] to make **a hut** from branches of a Cassia fistula tree [= Skt. *rājavṛkṣa*, lit. 'king's tree'], one [has] to cast [lit. make] a spell seven times on Dalbergia sisu, one [has] to put [lit. make] it as an oblation into the fire, [and] one becomes worth to be searched for and asked by the king. [If] one has the desire to make friendship with a noble warrior, one [has] to make **a hut** of branches of the Śāla tree. Oil [and] sesame [have] to be put [lit. made] as an oblation into the fire, [and] one becomes dear to the noble warriors."[8]

d.   THT 255 (archaic) a3–5 collated with THT 254 (archaic) a2–3 in minuscule

[...] ket ṣäñ skwänma ma takaṃ / su alyekmeṃ yaskästrä /
      ///nmā mā tākaṃ   su alyekmeṃ ya///

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6   For *klyauṣtsi*.

7   Our translation. Since it is unclear what follows *yo* it could also be restored as *yop*[*t*] or *yop*[*äṃ*] (2sg and 3sg respectively). It is also unclear whether it is a future or a conditional ('If I would enter' or 'I will enter').

8   For an earlier French translation of the this passage, see Filliozat (1948: 102): "[Si] il y a pour quelqu'un le désir de faire amitié avec le roi, [des] **fagot[s]** de bûches de tronc de cassie sont à faire, [des] Dalbergia Sisoo sont à incanter sept fois, [les] oblation[s de tout cela] sont à faire dans le feu; le roi à quitter devient sollicitable. [Si] il y a pour quelqu'un le désir de faire amitié avec un guerrier, [des] **fagot[s]** de bûches de ... sont à faire, de l'huile de sésame est à donner en oblation dans le feu; il devient ami par rapport au guerrier."

yaṣu skwänma ket pälsko / kärwa=skwänma ma skwänma :
/// .u skwänmā ket – lsko   – rw.ts skw.   –   –   skw.nmā :
koṣko rāśäṃ tarśītse / tsätko tsätkwaṃ eṅkästrä /

rukṣä-pälsko ṣe=klyeṅkträ / skwätse laute mā nesäṃ 8 […]
     […] /// lsko ṣe=klyeṅträ   skwäntse laute mā nesäṃ 8
                                        metre: 4×7/7 (Sieg & Siegling 1953: 155)

Adams (2006: 398 f.): "Whoever does not have his own fortune (plural in
Tocharian), he begs from another. Begging [is] fortune; to whom [is] the
thought, 'the fortune of reeds (reeds metonymic for beggars' canes) [is]
not a fortune.' He (= the one who had the thought) spreads/covers the
reproach; he grasps the error of deception [lege: *tarśī*[*n*]*tse*] erroneously.[9]
The rough-in-mind is always in doubt [lege: *klyeṅkträ*]; there is no oppor-
tunity for good fortune [lege: *skwä*[*n*]*tse*]."

2   TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye* Revisited

2.1   *Parallels*

Occurrence b. is too fragmentary to give any verifiable clues about the origi-
nal context. Therefore we temporarily leave it out of the present discussion.
All the other occurrences have been subject to multiple previous studies, to
which we are greatly indebted. Sieg & Siegling (1953: 34) identified parallels
to Occurrences a. in the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*,
which they knew well and utilized for the decipherment of the Tocharian frag-
ments. Filliozat (1948: 102, n. 4) should be credited with the identification of
the parallel to Occurrence c. in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, which informed his
French translation to a certain extent. Following in the wake of the aforemen-
tioned scholars, we base our translation of the two occurrences upon the par-
allels identified by them, which we contextualize, cite, and translate below; but
our interpretation of the word in question differs from theirs for different rea-
sons. In the case of Occurrence d., previous scholars such as Lindeman (1969:
170 ff.), Schmidt (1974: 241), Hackstein (1995: 118 ff.), and Adams (2006: 398 f.)
have proposed various interpretations. But no direct parallel has been identi-

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9   For an alternative translation of this line, see Schmidt (1974: 241): "Wenn **eine Hütte** die
    Verkehrtheit eines Betruges (?) bedeckt, [so] wird [das] als verkehrt aufgefasst." Similar to
    Hackstein (1995: 120): "Verdeckt **eine Hütte** die Verkehrtheit eines Betruges (?), so wird es
    [der Betrug] verkehrt aufgefaßt [d.h. nicht erkannt]."

fied so far. Based on the new meaning established for Occurrences a. and c., we venture below a new hypothetical interpretation by way of an excursus. It must be stressed that, in doing so, we are not building the whole argument on Occurrence d., whose context remains obscure for want of parallel.

2.1.1   Skt. *agnikhadā*

Occurrences a. are part of the story of Subhāṣitagaveṣin or Dharmagaveṣin, who, as his name indicates, was longing for Buddhist teachings. In order to acquire a single strophe from a demi-god (*guhyaka*) or ghost (*yakṣa*), he spared no expense, not even his own life. The story has come down to us in a Sanskrit version incorporated into the *Avadānaśataka*, which is preserved in its entirety in later Nepalese manuscripts. In the *editio princeps* of this text by Speyer (1902: 220), the counterpart of the Tocharian passage in question reads as follows:

> […] tato guhyako rājānam uvāca yadi yad bravīmi tan me kariṣyasi evam aham api yad ājñāpayiṣyasi tat kariṣyāmīti | rājovāca: kim ājñāpayiṣyasīti | guhyaka uvāca saptāhorātrāṇi khadirakāṣṭhair **agnikhadāṃ** tāpayitvā tatra yady ātmānam utsrakṣyasi tatas te 'haṃ punar gāthāṃ vakṣyāmīti | tacchravaṇāc ca rājā prītamanās taṃ guhyakam uvāca evam astv iti | […]

> "Then the demi-god spoke to the king (= Dharmagaveṣin): 'If you do something for me as I say, so I will also do as you command.' The king said: 'What will you command?' The demi-god said: 'If, having set **a fire-pit** ablaze with pieces of the *Acacia catechu* wood (*khadira*) for seven days and nights, you throw yourself in there, then for you I will recite the verse (*gāthā*) again.' After hearing that the king, with a delighted mind, spoke to the demi-god: 'So be it!'"[10]

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10   See also the French translation by Feer (1891: 147): "Alors, le Guhyaka dit au roi: 'Si tu fais pour moi ce que je te dirai, moi à mon tour, j'exécuterai tout ce que tu me commanderas.' Le roi répondit: 'Que m'ordonnes-tu?' Le Guhyaka dit: 'Entretiens un **brasier** pendant sept jours et sept nuits avec du bois de Khadira (*mimosa catechu*), puis ensuite jette-toi toi même (dans ce brasier); alors je te dirai encore des stances.' En entendant ces paroles, le roi rempli de joie dit au Guhyaka: 'Qu'il en soit ainsi!'" For an alternate English translation see Appleton (2014: 25), which shows no significant difference from ours apart from her translation of *agnikhadā* as "fire in the stove". While Feer's "brasier" must be understood as a loose translation of *agnikhadā*, Appleton's "stove" might be based on a folk-etymological association of *-khadā* with the verb *khād-* 'to eat'. The etymology of Skt. *khadā* 'hole, pit' is unclear (EWAia s.v.).

Although no Sanskrit fragment of this story has yet been identified in the Turfan collection, fragments of the *Avadānaśataka*, albeit in an epitomized form, seem to have circulated in Central Asia from the 5th to the 8th century.[11] Another recension of the same story is testified to by two earlier Chinese translations, which seem to differ from the *Avadānaśataka* and its kin to a significant extent.[12] Ogihara (2015: 306) has discerned idiosyncratic traits of the present Tocharian version, which suggest a genetically intermediate status between these two recensions. Despite their differences, both of the recensions agree that the protagonist jumped into a fire-pit rather than a fire-hut.[13] A separate, probably later tradition, according to which the protagonist jumped off a dreadful precipice, emerged around the 10th century and enjoyed popularity in Khotan and Tibet.[14] However, there is no trace of any influence of this tradition in the Tocharian sphere.

It is surely to the credit of Sieg & Siegling that TochB *pwārṣṣai koṣkai-* was for the first time identified with Skt. *agnikhadā*, hence the equation of TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye* with Skt. *khadā*. While this identification is beyond doubt, we beg to differ from Sieg's decision (1943: 134) to render Skt. *khadā* as "Hütte" for the reason specified below under Section 2.2.1. To our knowledge, no scholar prior to Sieg had interpreted this compound in the context of this narrative as 'fire-hut'.

2.1.2   Skt. *agnikuṇḍa*

Occurrence c. apparently belongs to a magical text containing what is known in the Indian traditions as '*homa* rites' (TochB *hom*), i.e., burnt offerings made either to deities or for specific purposes. The passage makes it explicit that the *homa* rites in question are aimed at forging associations with the king or noble warriors (*kṣatriya*).[15] These should be subsumed under the category of

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11   On the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments, see Demoto (2006: 207–244).

12   For a detailed comparative survey, see Demoto (1998: 127 f.).

13   Cf. Chin. *huokeng* 火坑 'fire-pit' (**Avadānaśataka* by Zhi Qian [3rd cent.]; ed. T.200, 4.220a9) and *da huokeng* 大火坑 'big fire-pit' (*Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* [5th cent.]; ed. T.202, 4.350c24). See also Tib. *me dong* 'fire-pit' (*Kṣudravastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* [Peking Kanjur, 'Dul ba, *de* 166b4]; ed. Suzuki 1958: vol. 44, 68).

14   Cf. Khot. *śau śilo dā udiśāyä yakṣä eha uysānā dīṣṭai gara-trraikhāña ṣṭāna* "For the sake of one *śloka*, into the mouth of the *yakṣa*, you threw yourself from the peak of a mountain" (verse 36 of the *Jātakastava* [10th cent.]; ed. Dresden 1955: 426)); Skt. *śṛṅgād girer asya yadi svadehaṃ* […] *kṣipasi prasahya* '[…] if you immediately throw your own body off the peak of the mountain' (verse 53.40 of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* by Kṣemendra [11th cent.]; ed. Straube 2009: 157). For the reception of this tradition in Tibet, see Tucci 1949: 493, plate 116.

15   Pinault (2014: CEToM) renders TochB *larau(w)ñe yām-* as 'to make friendship'; see also

subjugating others by means of charms (*vaśīkaraṇa*) so as to win their love or reverence. Although this magical action (*vaśī-kar-*) is otherwise rendered into Tocharian more literally (TochB *ekalymi/ekalmī yām-*), there can be little doubt that the rituals in question deal with a specific situation of the same category. A comparable parallel is found in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, a scriptural compendium of Esoteric Buddhist rites no later than the 7th century CE:[16]

> rājavṛkṣa-samidhānāṃ kuryāc chatapuṣpa-śatāvarī-pattaṅga-candana-sarṣapa-yava-ghṛtāktānām ekaviṃśati āhutīs trisandhyaṃ divasāni sapta mahārājā vaśī-bhavati sāntaḥpuraparivāraḥ / […]

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kuryāc ch-] *kuryā ś-* Ms.   **-pattaṅga-candana-sarṣapa-**] *-pataṅga-candanaṃ sarṣapaṃ* Ms.   **āhutīs trisandhyaṃ**] *ahuti tṛsandhya* Ms.   **mahārājā vaśī-bhavati**] *mahārājāṃ vaśīkaraṇaṃ bhavati* Ms.; em. after Tib. *dbang du 'gyur ro.*   **sāntaḥpuraparivāraḥ**] *śāntaḥpuraparivārā bhavanti* Ms.; em. after Tib. *rgyal po btsun mo'i 'khor dang bcas pa.*

> "One should make twenty-one oblations [with fire] of fuel-sticks of the *Cassia fistula* wood, besmeared with clarified butter [with the addition of] seeds of *Anethum Sowa*, *Asparagus Racemosus*, red sandalwood, sandalwood, mustard seeds, and grains of barley—three times daily (i.e., at dawn, noon, and eventide) for seven days; [then] a great king, together with women of his harem and his retinue, becomes subject [to one's charm]."

A somewhat similar ritual action is prescribed in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*,[17] a veritable "encyclopaedia" (Przyluski 1923: 301) of Indian Esoteric Buddhism whose contents are quite heterogeneous in character:[18]

Meunier (2015: 29, n. 46): "lier amitié". This is not off the mark, but it is also possible to construe the semantics of this collocation more broadly as 'to associate with, have dealings', especially in light of TochB *lāre yām-* which translates Skt. (*upa-*)*sev-*; see SWTF s.v. *upa-sev-* "Umgang haben mit (acc.)", *sev-* "Umgang pflegen mit (acc.)".

16   The Skt. text is adapted from the transcription by Kimura et al. (2000: 60[= 313]) with substantial emendations based on the Tibetan translation (*Amoghapāśakalparāja* [Peking Kanjur, rGyud, *ma* 82a2–3]; ed. Suzuki 1956: vol. 8, 35). See also T.1092, 20.268b23–25 for the Chinese translation.

17   On the date of the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, see Matsunaga (1985: 882–894). With regard to the title of this work, we follow Delhey (2012: 70 f). Although there is no unambiguous date of the Skt. text in its entirety, a *termini ante quem* can be set up for three chapters thereof. For a succinct summary of Matsunaga's findings see Sanderson (2009: 129, n. 300).

18   This passage is contained in the last chapter of the Sanskrit text, which finds no parallel

rājavṛkṣa-samidbhir agniṃ prajvālya lavaṇamayīṃ pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā śirād
ārabhya ekaikām āhutiṃ saptābhimantritāṃ yāvac caraṇāv iti nāmaṃ
grahāya aṣṭasahasraṃ juhuyāt / rājā vaśī-bhavati / […]

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vaśī-bhavati] *vaśo bhavati* Ms.

"One should kindle a fire with fuel-sticks of the *Cassia fistula* wood, make
an effigy of salt, and offer eight thousand times each [part of the effigy
as] an oblation, which is made sacred by a mantra seven times, with[19]
[its] name—from head to feet; [then] a king becomes subject [to one's
charm]."[20]

Despite minor discrepancies, both parallels agree that *Cassia fistula* (*rājavṛkṣa*)
or the like is used as fuel-sticks (*samidh*) to make a fire for oblations, while
nothing similar to a hut is mentioned. Based on the parallel in the *Mañjuśriya-
mūlakalpa*, Filliozat (1948: 102, 117) suggested to render *koṣkīye* as "fagot", i.e.,
'bundle of fuel-sticks'. This might sound a bit odd, since "fagot" in French usu-
ally designates an assembled bundle which is not necessarily set aflame, rather
than a burning bundle. Filliozat's idea has not found wide acceptance, and was
rightly rejected by Sieg (1954: 81) who substituted it with "Hütte" on the basis of
the aforesaid equation with Skt. *khadā*. This equation, as acknowledged above,
is well grounded, but we take leave to doubt the meaning 'hut', which, as dis-
cussed below under Section 2.2.1., is perhaps not the best way to render Skt.
khadā, particularly in the compound *agnikhadā*.

   Filliozat's "fagot" does not fit in with Occurrences a.; but he was, to our mind,
not wide of the mark, insofar as the parallels adduced above apparently speak
of the making of a fire, into which oblations are to be offered. In such a con-
text, the thing to be made cannot be segregated from the locus where the fire
is placed. The practice of placing the fire kindled for the performance of *homa*
rites in a hole or pit (*agnikuṇḍa*) is attested for the first time in some Vedic
texts belonging to the *Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa* level, which were composed no later than
the 5th century CE (Gonda 1980: 175, 233). It was probably through this tradi-

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         in Tibetan or Chinese; see (Gaṇapati Śāstrī 1925: vol. III, 680). Therefore, there is no textual
         evidence for the present ritual practice prior to the 11th century.

19   For the use of the Hybrid Sanskrit gerund *grahāya* as a postposition meaning 'with', see
         BHSG: 172, §35.19.

20   See also the French translation by Filliozat (1948: 102, n. 4): "Après qu'on a allumé le feu
         avec des brindilles de cassie, fait une figurine de sel, on doit verser [huit] mille fois chaque
         oblation sept fois incantée, de la tête aux pieds, en ayant capté le nom; le roi devient
         soumis."

tion that the same practice was further developed in the *Purāṇa*s and adopted by Esoteric Buddhism and Śaivism.[21] In this context, Skt. *kuṇḍa* is used in the sense of 'pit, hole in the ground' [PW s.v.].[22] The construction of the fire-pit, a ritual act almost always designated by the Skt. collocation *agnikuṇḍaṃ kar-* 'to make a fire-pit', is prescribed in great detail in Chapter 14 of the *Mañjuśriya-mūlakalpa*, which also elaborates on the types of wood and other materials to be used, number of oblations, etc. (Lewis & Bajracharya 2016: 307). Therefore, it may not be far-fetched to argue that the Tocharian passage under discussion also prescribes the making of a fire-pit using *Cassia fistula* or the like, whose wood serves as fuel-sticks rather than as timber for building a hut. Considering this ritual background, we propose the following translation of Occurrence c.:

> PK AS 8C (classical) a5–7 [...] || kete ā(ñm)e (t)ākaṃ lāntämpa larauwñe y(ā)mtsī · rājavr̥kṣä stamatse arwāmeṃ **koṣkīye** yamaṣlya · śāñcapo ṣukt lykwarwa nässait yamaṣlya · pūwarne hom yamaṣlya · lānte rinale parkälle mäsketrä 1 || kṣatriyempa larauñe yāmtsi āñme (tā)kaṃ-ne (śrīpha)lṣana arwāts **koṣkīye** yamaṣlya · ṣalype wai kuñcit pūwarne hom yamaṣle · kṣatriyets lāre mäsketrä 2 ||

> "1. One who has the desire to associate with a king should make **a [fire-]pit** out of pieces of wood of a *Cassia Fistula* tree, cast a mantra on a mustard seed (*sarṣapa*)[23] seven times (*saptābhimantrita*), and put it as an oblation into the fire; [then] one is to be searched out and asked for by the king. 2. If one has the desire to associate with a noble warrior, one should make **a [fire-]pit** [out] of pieces of the *Aegle marmelos* wood,[24] and put oil and sesame [seeds] (*taila-tila*) as an oblation into the fire; [then] one becomes dear to noble warriors."

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21   See Einoo (2005: 20–23). It is of interest to note that, according to the *Atharvavedapari-śiṣṭa*, a special type of fire-pit in the shape of a half-moon should be constructed for the performance of the *homa* rites of subjugation (*vaśīkaraṇa*); see Einoo (2005: 23).

22   Semantically speaking, there is no big difference between Skt. *kuṇḍa* and *khadā*, insofar as both designate 'pit' if compounded with *agni-* 'fire'. Skt. *kuṇḍa* is more often used as a ritual technical term in reference to the fire-altar in the ground.

23   On TochA/B *śāñcapo* 'mustard (seed)' rather than 'Dalbergia sissoo' (*śiṃśapā*), see Bernard & Chen (forthcoming).

24   Pinault (2014: CEToM) restores (*śā*)*lṣana* 'of the Śāla tree', after Sieg (1954: 81). This is philologically possible, but a bit problematic from the liturgical perspective, insofar as the Śāla tree (i.e., *Vatica robusta*) is rarely used as firewood in Buddhist Tantric texts. For this reason, we opt for an alternate restoration (*śrīpha*)*lṣana* 'of the Bulva tree (i.e., *Aegle marmelos*)', another species of wood whose use in *homa* rites is relatively well borne out by textual evidence.

2.1.3   Skt. *aṅgārakarṣū*

Occurrence d. is the 8th stanza of a poem in TochB, which is in all likelihood
an indigenous composition. This poem is written in a learned style, replete
with allusions to (para-)canonical literature. It is thus almost impossible to
fully make sense of the poem without pinpointing the pool of literary sources it
draws upon. In the case of the present stanza, we tentatively argue that its pur-
port is one of the four delusions (*viparyāsa*) in the confused mind of sentient
beings,[25] i.e., taking what is painful (*duḥkha*) as pleasurable (*sukha*). This delu-
sion is, albeit implicitly, illustrated with two metaphors of canonical origin, i.e.,
reeds and a 'charcoal-pit', if our interpretation of *koṣko* is approximately correct.

The image of reeds occurs, for instance, in a short scripture on craving (*tṛṣṇā*)
belonging to the Pāli *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (ed. Morris 1888: vol. II, 211 f.):

> Taṇhaṃ vo bhikkhave desessāmi jāliniṃ saritaṃ visaṭaṃ visattikaṃ yāya
> ayaṃ loko uddhasto pariyonaddho tantākula-jāto guḷāguṇḍika-jāto **muñ-
> ja-babbaja**-bhūto apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ saṃsāraṃ nâtivattati […]

> Bodhi (2012: 586): "Bhikkhus, I will teach you about craving—the en-
> snarer, streaming, widespread, and sticky—by which this world has been
> smothered and enveloped, and by which it has become a tangled skein, a
> knotted ball of thread, **a mass of reeds and rushes**, so that it does not pass
> beyond the plane of misery, the bad destination, the lower world, saṃsāra
> …"

Two Sanskrit fragments of the same scripture, which is included in the *Saṃ-
yukta-Āgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins,[26] were discovered on the northern
Silk Route,[27] and strongly suggest that the passage quoted above was well-
known among Buddhists in this region. 'Reeds and rushes' as a metaphor for the
world (*loka*) stuck in saṃsāric existence, which is "smothered and enveloped"
by craving, should thus have not been unfamiliar to the Tocharian-speaking
sphere. In this connection, the 'pleasures of reeds' (TochB *kärwats skwänmā*)
might be figurative for this-worldly pleasures that are ephemeral and unreal.

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25   On the four *viparyāsa*s with additional references, see Lévi (1911: 237), de la Vallée Poussin
      (1925: vol. IV, 21), Lamotte (1949: 1076), and Lindtner (1982: 257).
26   For a parallel to this passage in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-Āgama* (possibly affiliated with the
      same school), see T.99, 2.256a18–24.
27   Cf. SHT 1031 from Murtuq (identified by Enomoto 1985: 81–83), and SHT 1375 of unknown
      findspot (identified by Ernst Waldschmidt; see Sander and Waldschmidt 1985: 245 f.).

At the core of the Tocharian stanza in question, which is admittedly difficult to interpret, it is perhaps not impossible to see this image interwoven with that of a charcoal-pit, on which a scripture of the Pāli *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* elaborates (ed. Feer 1894: vol. IV, 188 f.):[28]

> Seyyathā pi bhikkhave **aṅgārakāsu** sādhikaporisā pūṇṇā aṅgārānaṃ vī-tacchikānaṃ vītadhūmānaṃ / atha puriso āgaccheyya jīvitukāmo amar-itukāmo sukhakāmo dukkhapaṭīkūlo / tam enaṃ dve balavanto purisā nānābāhāsu gahetvā tam **aṅgārakāsuṃ** upakaḍḍheyyuṃ / so iti c'iti c'eva kāyaṃ sannāmeyya / Taṃ kissa hetu / Ñātañ hi bhikkhave tassa purisassa hoti / Imaṃ khv ahaṃ **aṅgārakāsuṃ** papatissāmi / tato-nidānaṃ mara-ṇaṃ vā nigacchāmi maraṇa-mattaṃ vā dukkhanti // Evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhuno **aṅgārakāsū**pamā kāmā diṭṭhā honti yathāssa kāme passato yo kāmesu kāmacchando kāmasneho kāmamucchā kāma-pariḷāho so nânuseti […]

> Bodhi (2000: 1248): "Suppose there is **a charcoal-pit** deeper than a man's height, filled with glowing coals without flame or smoke. A man would come along wanting to live, not wanting to die, desiring happiness and averse to suffering. Then two strong men would grab him by both arms and drag him towards the **charcoal-pit**. The man would wriggle his body this way and that. For what reason? Because he knows: 'I will fall into this **charcoal-pit** and I will thereby meet death or deadly suffering.' So too, bhikkhus, when a bhikkhu has seen sensual gratifications as similar to **a charcoal-pit**, sensual desire, sensual affection, sensual infatuation, and sensual passion do not lie latent within him in regard to sensual gratifica-tions."

A Sanskrit parallel of this passage is partially preserved in a fragment from the Tocharian-speaking sphere,[29] which bears witness to the circulation of

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28   The same simile also occurs in three other scriptures of the Pāli canon; see *Majjhima-Nikāya* (ed. Trenckner 1888: vol. I, 74 and 365), and *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (ed. Feer 1888: vol. II, 99).

29   Cf. SHT 1099 from Sängim, *recto*, line 4–5: (*nīva*)*raṇaṃ ca yathābhūtaṃ samyakprajñayā dṛṣṭaṃ bhavati* [*a*]*ṅkāraka*(*rṣūpamaṃ*) (em. *aṅgārakarṣūpamaṃ*) /// /// .. *paśyataḥ yaḥ kāmeṣu kāmacchandaḥ kāmasnehaḥ* [*kā*]*mapre*[*ma*] + /// 'And the hindrance is seen as it truly is by means of right insight, [like **a charcoal pit** ... When ... sees ..., sensual desire, sensual affection, sensual love ... in regard to sensual gratifications.'; see Sander & Wald-schmidt (1985: 94), and Enomoto (1985: 83 f.).

this scripture in local monastic community. It is therefore conceivable that a
gnomic allusion to the image of a charcoal-pit (*aṅgārakarṣū*),[30] broadly con-
strued as a fire-pit,[31] may well have brought home to Tocharian-speaking Bud-
dhists the doctrinal point lying behind it, namely the deceptive nature of sen-
sual gratifications (*kāma*), which are likened to a pit filled with embers that do
not emit any flame or smoke warning people away from the edge of the abyss.
One who does not see the hidden perils will commit the aforementioned error
of taking what is painful as pleasurable, under the misguidance of sensual grat-
ifications or sensual craving (*tṛṣṇā*). The latter is epithetically referred to as 'an
ensnaring leader',[32] for instance, in verse 29.53 of the *Udānavarga* (ed. Bern-
hard 1965: 389):[33]

> yasya jālinī viṣaktikā tṛṣṇā nāsti hi lokanāyinī /
> taṃ buddham anantagocaraṃ hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi //

> "Because, for whom there is no ensnaring craving, attachment, leader of
> the world, he is awakened, endowed with endless realm, and leaving no
> track, by what track will you lead him?"

In light of this verse, well received on the northern Silk Route,[34] a new inter-
pretation of the very hemistich in which *koṣko* occurs might be hypothesized:
1. The discarded hypothesis of Lindeman (1969: 171) who analyzed *rāśäṃ* into *ra*
'also, like' and *āśäṃ* 'leads' may be vindicated, given the difficulties in positing
a putative 3.sg. subj. II of *rək-* 'to extend'.[35] 2. The equivocal form *tarśītse* is not
to be read as gen.sg. *tarśīntse* 'of deception', but to be emended to adj. *tarśītsa*,

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30   For the Pāli counterpart, see CPD s.v. *aṅgārakāsǔ*. Skt. *karṣū* is etymologically derived
      from the verb *karṣ-* 'to plough, make furrows' and originally means 'furrow, trench' (EWAia
      s.v.).

31   This is how the word was construed by the translator of the Chinese *Saṃyukta-Āgama*,
      probably belonging to the same school as the Skt. fragment; cf. T.99, 2.314a13: *wuyu ru huo-
      keng* 五欲如火坑 'The fivefold sensual gratifications (*kāma*) are like a fire-pit.'

32   For occurrences of this epithet of *tṛṣṇā*, see BHSD s.v. *jālinī*.

33   For other versions of the same verse, see no. 180 of the Pāli *Dhammapada* (ed. von Hinü-
      ber & Norman 1995: 51), no. 277 of the Patna *Dharmapada* (ed. Cone 1989: 175f.), and the
      Mahāvastu (ed. Senart 1897: vol. III, 92).

34   In addition to the Skt. manuscripts of the *Udānavarga* discovered in this region, there is
      a bilingual fragment in Skt. and TochA which seems to contain this verse; cf. THT 1053
      (A 419) from Sängim, b3–4: /// *apadaṅ kena pade(na)* /// /// (*lokanāyi*)*nī · yoke mā n(aṣ)*
      /// '(Skt.:) … leaving no track, by what track … leader [of the world]. (TochA:) There is no
      craving …'.

35   See Malzahn (2010: 814), and Peyrot (2013: 801, n. 675).

i.e., an attribute of TochB *yoko/yokiye* 'thirst, craving', which functions in the same way as Skt. *jālinī* 'ensnaring, deceptive'. Taken altogether, we propose the following translation of Occurrence d.:

> THT 255 (archaic) a3–5 collated with THT 254 (archaic) a2–3 in minuscule
> […] ket ṣäñ skwänma ma takaṃ / su alyekmeṃ yaskästrä /
>   ///nmā mā tākaṃ su alyekmeṃ ya///
> yaṣu skwänma ket pälsko / kärwa=skwänma ma skwänma :
> /// .u skwänmā ket – lsko – rw.ts skw. – – skw.nmā :
> **koṣko** r=āśäṃ tarśītsa⁺ / tsätkwo⁺ tsätkwaṃ eṅkästrä /
>
> rukṣä-pälsko ṣe=klyeṅkträ / skwätse laute mā nesäṃ 8 […]
>   […] /// lsko ṣe=klyeṅträ   skwäntse laute mā nesäṃ 8

"Who does not have his own pleasures, [and] to whom the thought [occurs]: 'alms are pleasures', he begs from another. [Yet] the pleasures of reeds (i.e., this-worldly pleasures) are not pleasures. Like **a [charcoal-] pit**, the deceptive (i.e., craving) leads [him]. [It is] erroneous (*viparīta* or *viparyasta*):[36] [he] takes it erroneously (i.e., he takes what is painful as pleasurable). A harsh-spirited one constantly doubts; there is not an instant (*kṣaṇa*) of pleasure."[37]

2.2 *Semantics and Formal Analysis*
2.2.1 Semantics
The textual parallels adduced above should suffice to demonstrate that the received *Bedeutungsansatz* 'hut' is not tenable, and that an alternative meaning 'pit' makes better sense in all the intelligible occurrences of *koṣko/koṣkīye*. Both

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36 The hapax *tsätko* is not easy to interpret. Lindeman's interpretation as the oblique of direction ("[führt] … in die Irre") is morphologically problematic, as is rightly critiqued by Hackstein (1995: 119). We tentatively emend it to *tsätkwo*, which would be a variant with mobile-*o* of *tsätku* (> **tsätkwä > tsätkwo*). The adj. *tsätku* is the lexical base of *tsätkwantsñe* 'error, delusion' = Skt. *viparyāsa* 'id.' vel sim. (cf. Pinault 2006b: 144 f.). Therefore *tsätku* should correspond to the adj. counterpart of the Skt. noun, namely *viparīta* or *viparyasta* 'erroneous, reversed'.

37 We must confess that the purport of the last line of this stanza is not entirely clear to us. But see *Bhagavadgītā* 4.40: *ajñaś cāśraddadhānaś ca saṃśayātmā vinaśyati | nāyaṃ loko 'sti na paro na sukhaṃ saṃśayātmanaḥ ||* tr. van Buitenen (1981: 89): "The ignorant and unbelieving man who is riven with doubts perishes: for the doubter there is neither this world nor the next; nor is there happiness."

a fire-pit for self-immolation (*agnikhadā*) and for burnt offerings (*agnikuṇḍa*), and perhaps also a charcoal-pit for ensnaring humans (*aṅgārakarṣū*), fall neatly into one and the same semantic field under the rubric of 'pit, hole', which, as we argue below, is presumably the primary meaning of the TochB word in question.

The reason that all previous scholars, beginning with Sieg (1943: 134), opted for 'hut' may well have been a misapprehension of the Skt. compound *agni-khadā* in the aforementioned parallel in the *Avadānaśataka*, which Sieg first identified. Following the *Petersburger Wörterbuch* (s.v. *khadā*: "Hütte, Stall"), Sieg did not mention the other meaning 'pit, hole' that Schmidt had already noted in his *Nachträge*,[38] and adopted the meaning 'hut' for TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye*. This is, to be sure, nothing more than a Homeric nod.

2.2.2   Formal Analysis

In terms of its declension, TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye* belongs to the *okso*-type, also called *prosko*-type (Hilmarsson 1987; Peyrot 2008: 102 f.; Del Tomba 2020: 141), which corresponds to Class VI, 2 of Krause & Thomas (1960). It is feminine, like most nouns belonging to this category (e.g. Peyrot 2008: 102). The words of this type have their nominative in *-o* or *-iye* or both (Hilmarsson 1987: 36). Their accusative is in *-ai*, their plural in *-aiñ* and their derivatives are built on the *-ai* stem, as in *oksaiñ̃ñe* 'pertaining to an ox' (Hilmarsson 1987: 36 and Del Tomba 2020: 140).

The nominative ending *-iye* is more recent than that in *-o* (Hilmarsson 1987: 44). The more recent origin of the nominative ending *-iye* among Class VI, 2 nouns can be observed in the fact that it does not palatalize in nouns of this class, whereas it does trigger palatalization of preceding consonants in nouns of Class VI, 1, where it is old (and the only nominative ending); cf. Hilmarsson 1987: 45. The major part of the nouns of the *okso*-type (Class VI, 2) derive from Indo-European *-eh2*-stems and *-ōn*-stems (Hilmarsson 1987: 44 f.) but there are also loanwords in this class, such as TochB *pātro* 'alms bowl' ← Sanskrit *pātra-* 'vessel, begging bowl'.

In the course of history, Class VI, 1, comprised of nouns having their nominative ending in *-iye* and their oblique singular ending in *-i* (nom. pl. *-iñ*, obl. pl. *-iṃ*), influenced Class VI, 2, i.e., the *okso*-type (for details see Hilmarsson 1987: 50 f. in particular; differently Pinault 2008: 484 f.). As Hilmarsson writes (1987: 51), "[a] further consequence of this influence was the introduction of the nom. sg. ending *-iye* beside the original *-o* of Class VI, 2." This

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38   See Schmidt (1928: 162): "soll 'eine natürliche Höhle' sein".

has received some acceptance among scholars (e.g. Peyrot 2008: 102 f.; Del Tomba 2020: 140).

On this basis we will thus consider *koṣko* as the original form and *koṣkīye* as a later form, made in the classical period. The same can be said about a number of TochB words of this class, for which see Peyrot (2008: 102 f.).

3 Previous Etymologies

In order to solve the question of the etymology of TochB *koṣko* 'pit, hole', we must examine the previous etymological attempts that were made for this word. We will first present the attempts made before Adams (2006), and then Adams (2006). We will discuss some proposed Indo-European etymologies, which we do not find convincing, and provide an Iranian etymology which we believe to be more probative.

3.1 *Before Adams (2006)*

The most extensive and latest work on the etymology of TochB *koṣko* and *koṣkīye* is Adams (2006), which we will discuss in Section 3.2. Previously, Adams (1999: 206) accepted Van Windekens' proposal of 1972 ("[…] le terme tokharien est un emprunt à l'iranien […] on est en mesure maintenant de prouver d'une façon indiscutable que tokh. B *koṣkiye* [sic], *koṣko* 'cabane' n'est pas autre qu'un substantif iranien **kauška-*. […]"). Further connecting this **kauška-* with Khot. *kūṣḍa-* "palais" and Av. *ašta.kaoždṣa-* "à huit division", Van Windekens proposed that the borrowing was from a Western Iranian language (cf. Pahl. and NP *kōšk* 'pavilion, castle, mansion'). Tremblay (2005: 434) also accepts Van Windekens' etymology, specifying that for him Parthian is the source language of the Tocharian word (although such a word is not attested in Parthian).

3.2 *Adams (2006)*

Adams (2006: 397 f., and subsequently 2013: 220) is of a different opinion. His etymological discussion (2006: 397 f.) deserves to be quoted in full:

> The putative change of meaning from 'castle' vel sim. to 'hut' is not an expected one. Nor is there any good reason to expect a borrowed noun referring to an inanimate object to show up in Tocharian B with feminine gender and the ending *-iye* (*-ai-*). Rather we would expect a neuter **koṣk or **koṣke. Finally, it is at least a little odd that the borrowing should come from western Iranian rather than eastern. A borrowing from an eastern

Iranian reflex of *$kaušdaka$- would probably have eventuated in a Tocharian B **$koṣtek$.[39]

These three considerations together cast a distinct shadow on Van Windekens' suggestion. The possibility that we have an inherited word, a cognate of $k_uṣīye$, must be entertained. Phonologically impeccable would be a late Proto-Indo-European diminutive *$kūsek/gā$-, most closely related to Germanic *$hūsa$. However, since the long *$-ū$- of this etymon, whatever its source, is apparently limited to Germanic, it is probably better to see the Tocharian -o- as somehow a development of PIE short *-u-. In this context one might compare Tocharian B $poṣiya$*, Tocharian A $poṣi$ 'wall' from PIE *$pusiyeh_a$, though the conditions under which this development occurs are obscure.

In the following sections, we will discuss the points raised by Adams, and then provide our own proposal as to the etymology of $koṣko/koṣkīye$.

3.2.1   The Semantic Shift

Even if $koṣko/koṣkīye$ meant 'hut', which we hope to have satisfactorily proven is not the case, the point raised by Adams as to the semantic aspect of the problem is valid: castle, mansion, and even pavilion, can hardly be used to refer to a hut, especially if they are borrowed from a different language, and no specific architectural evolution can explain such a semantic change. Moreover, if $koṣko/koṣkīye$ means 'pit, hole', as is demonstrated above, the etymon of this word could never be a word that initially meant *'castle, mansion' or *'pavilion, kiosk'. So, in general, Adams's argument that $koṣko/koṣkīye$ cannot derive from *$kauždaka$- 'castle, mansion, pavilion' is entirely valid.

3.2.2   The Phonological Derivation
3.2.2.1   *From Iranian*

A number of Tocharian words derive from Western Iranian languages, mainly Parthian. Nevertheless, they rarely designate *realia* (usually political or religious realities), so indeed we would expect an Eastern Iranian language to be the source of such a word, if the hypothesis of a borrowing is to be maintained.[40] We cannot entirely accept Adams's take on the impossibility of a

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39   In a footnote he adds: "Compare TchB *$ekṣinek$ 'dove' (only in the derived adjective $ekṣinekäññe$) from *$axšinaka$- (seen in Iranian only in Khotanese and Ossetic)."

40   The designation of Western and Eastern Iranian in the present article is purely geographical, and does not refer to the so-called Western and Eastern Iranian nodes as genetic entities.

loanword from an Eastern Iranian language. If, indeed, *kauždaka- underwent syncope to *kauška- in a number of Iranian languages, it possibly also happened in languages spoken to the east; otherwise another solution is perhaps preferable (see Section 4.2.).

Contrary to Adams's claim quoted above, it is not odd at all that an older disyllabic noun of the class of okso (mostly with feminine gender) takes a variant nom.sg. in -iye (see Section 2.2.2.). In fact, we do expect a feminine koṣko and not "a neuter *koṣk or *koṣke" from, for example, an old borrowing from Pre-Bactrian *kōškā (→ Pre-Tocharian B *-a, remade into an o-stem within Tocharian B); as for the preservation of Pre-Bactrian vocalism in Tocharian loanwords, see for instance Pre-Bactrian *malo 'wine' (cf. Bactrian μολο) → TochB mālo 'type of wine'.[41] Regarding **koṣtek, this is not expected from an Old Iranian form (which should be **kauṣteke) or from a Middle Iranian form, whether Eastern or not (which could yield, for example, **koṣtak).[42] It is also possible that one has to posit two Proto-Iranian reconstructions: *kauš- 'mansion, big building' and *kaužda- 'id.'.

It might seem tempting to follow Adams in connecting these words to Proto-Germanic *hūsa 'house', Old English hūs, Dutch huis, etc. The Proto-Germanic word is, nonetheless, etymologically obscure. As Kroonen (2013: 260) points out, "[i]n view of the neuter gender of *hūsa-, it is plausible that the word represents a thematicized s-stem to the root *kuH- 'to cover' […], which would point to an original meaning 'shelter'." Those two families of words can thus not be connected.

3.2.2.2   *From Indo-European*

Adams, as quoted above, proposes that the aforementioned Germanic forms are connected to the Tocharian forms, and that they are all inherited. The connection with the Germanic forms has to be rejected for the following reasons: First, the Germanic forms go back to a form with a long vowel, as Adams himself notes (2006: 398), while the Tocharian form does not. Secondly, PIE

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41   The Pre-Bactrian -o or -u < OIr. *-u (OIr. *maδu- 'wine' is the etymon of this word), being still pronounced at the time of the borrowing, is the reason why Tocharian incorporated this word to this noun class. For another example of a Tocharian reflex of the Pre-Bactrian final vowel, see Pre-Bactrian *sabulə 'cup, jug' (cf. Bactrian σαβολο /sabu(:)l/) → TochB sapule 'pot'. As to the adaptation of *-ā- to an o-stem, see e.g. TochB maiyya 'power, might' adapted to maiyyo.

42   We would also like to specify that OIr. *axšaina- 'blue, turquoise' is reflected in a great number of languages, so that a derivative *axšainaka- could have been made or remade in many Iranian languages. What is specific to Ossetic in this case is OIr. *ain → Proto-Ossetic *īn; see Cheung (2002: 17).

-u- does not become Proto-Tocharian *-o-*, but Proto-Tocharian (or Pre-Proto-Tocharian) *-ə-*, as is well known, and in all positions.[43] Thirdly, we do not see what the origin of the second *-k(o)* would be, especially since a Proto-Indo-European diminutive in *-keh$_2$/geh$_2$*, as Adams proposes, would have no other reflex in Tocharian (or, as far as we know, in any Indo-European language). Theoretically, one could presuppose an ending in *-ōn*, as for a number of other nouns of Class VI, 2 (*okso*-type). This would also yield no result, since a mechanical reconstruction **keu̯skōn* would not explain why we have a *ṣ* and not an *s*, and since a root **keu̯sk-* would be aberrant from an Indo-European point of view.

If we were to project Proto-Tocharian **koṣko* back into Proto-Indo-European, we should reconstruct **Keh$_2$-* for the first part (where *K* stands for any palatal or palato-velar stop), and it is unclear what form the suffix should take.

To the best of our knowledge, we could not see a single fitting Indo-European root for this word. For instance we do not see how ** k̂eu̯-* 'to throw' or **ĝeu̯-* 'to move quickly' (only Indo-Iranian; LIV² s.v.) would fit. Possibly one could think of the root ***k̂eu̯-* 'hollow', but there would be no way to explain in a straightforward fashion the consonant *ṣ* in this word as a root extension of that root, nor as a suffix.

Finally, and most definitively, since the meaning of *koṣko/koṣkīye* is 'pit, hole', this etymology cannot work. On the contrary, it is possible that a word with such specific cultural and religious relevance as *koṣko/koṣkīye* is ultimately a borrowing from another language. The source languages of this kind of borrowings in Tocharian are Indo-Aryan and Iranian.

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43   Adams (2006: 398) mentions TochB *poṣiya**, TochA *poṣi* to support his proposal of a Proto-Tocharian *-o-* reflex of PIE *-u-*. Nevertheless, the etymology of TochA *poṣi* 'wall' (and, possibly, secondarily 'side'), TochB *poṣiyañ* (nom. pl.) 'wall' is not clear. While it has been claimed by various scholars to be "the exact equivalent" of Lithuanian *pùsė* 'side, half' (Latvian *puse* 'id.'), Hilmarsson (1986: 42) preferred to see them as more distant cognates, with secondary palatalization due to the addition of the suffix *-iyā*. Adams (2013: 435) writes: "The *-o-* vowel may be regular for PIE *-u-* in a labial environment or it may be by contamination with PIE **pouso/eh$_a$-* seen in TochA *posa* 'beside, down' *posac* 'beside,' [...]". Isebaert (1980: 138) connects the latter forms with OIr. **pāzu-* 'face', which Tremblay (2005: 427) does for all these words (this does not work phonetically, since OIr. **pādzu-* would yield Proto-Tocharian †*pats*). In our opinion, in not a single one of these cases is the semantics convincing. The best etymology to this day, in our opinion, is that of Del Tomba (2020: 171) who proposes to derive it from **peh$_2$-* 'to protect' (as in 'what protects' → 'a wall'), often enlarged with *-s-*, but it is also not without problems. TochA *poṣi*, TochB *poṣiyañ* 'wall' remain thus without a secure etymology, and certainly cannot be used to propose a change PIE *-u-* > Proto-Tocharian *-o-*.

To sum up, we accept Adams's refutation of the etymology *kaužḍaka- 'castle, mansion, pavilion' on semantic grounds, but we reject his Indo-European etymology for the word koṣko/koṣkīye for both formal and semantic reasons, while maintaining that a borrowing from an Iranian language is possible, if not assured.

4 New Etymological Proposition

The word koṣko/koṣkīye was thought to mean 'hut', but we hope to have demonstrated that it rather designates a type of pit. On the basis of the findings, relating both to the meaning of koṣko/koṣkīye (Section 2.2.1.) and to the received etymologies (Section 3), we must reconsider the etymology of this word.

As we could find no Indo-European root that could yield Proto-Tocharian *koṣko, in particular in order to explain the -ṣk- element, and because we could find no fitting internal etymology, we believe that it is probable that the noun koṣko (later koṣkīye, oblique koṣkai) is of foreign origin.

Furthermore, the word koṣko has a precise, almost technical, meaning, and is without a cognate of any sort within Tocharian. As mentioned in the Section 2.2 there are other borrowed nouns belonging to the okso-type (Class VI, 2). Semantically, the most likely candidates for its source word are, we believe, found in Iranian. As is known, Iranian is the source of a great deal of Tocharian A and B words, including in many technical sub-domains of the lexicon (e.g. Isebaert 1980; Pinault 2002). In the following, we will discuss the possible Iranian cognates of the TochB word in question, such as Khot. kuṣḍa- 'hole' (DKS: 63f.), Iron k'oskæ, k'osgæ, Digor k'ūsk 'niche, arrowslit'[44] (Abaev 1958: 642f.), Sogdian kwc', kwc'kh 'mouth' (Gharib 1995: 199), and Wanetsi kōžak 'small hole' (Morgenstierne 1930: 168).

4.1 Old Iranian *kau̯žda- ~ *kau̯ška- 'opening, hole'?
If all the aforementioned Iranian forms are indeed cognates of TochB koṣko/ koṣkīye, the meaning 'opening, hole' can be postulated for their common ancestor. In the present section we will examine whether or not such a lexeme can be reconstructed for Proto-Iranian.

4.1.1 Sogdian, Khotanese, and Related Forms
According to Sims-Williams (1983: 47), Sogdian kwc', kwc'kh f. 'mouth', derives from *kau̯ždačī-ā-kā- (cited in Gharib 1995: 199). The element *-čī- is the regu-

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44   'Niche' in the sense of 'alcove'.

lar feminine correspondent of *-ka- (Morgenstierne 1973: 103 f., and 106 f.; *pace* Gershevitch 1961: 39 f.). The secondary addition of *-ā-kā-* to an older f. stem in *-čī-* is *de rigueur* in Sogdian (Sims-Williams 1981: 14–15). Sims-Williams (1983: 47) also cites forms from the Shughni group: Shughni and Bajui *kůẙj*, Khufi and Roshani *kūẙj* 'opening, mouth, hole', "which may probably be derived from *kauždačī-".

Khot. *kuṣḍa-* 'hole' belongs, according to Bailey (DKS: 63–64), to the paradigm of an unattested earlier *kūṣḍa-; cf. *kauṣḍa-*, *kūḍai-*, which presuppose such a form. Since the Khotanese form does not seem to be suffixed, it may well represent the original stem, to which a feminine suffix was later attached in Sogdian and the other languages cited above (the meaning 'opening, hole' in Shughni, etc. must be secondary: 'mouth' > 'opening, hole').

Note also Wanetsi *kōžak* 'small hole' (Morgenstierne 1930: 168) < *kōšak-* < *kauš(a)ka-*, which, if it is inherited, can certainly not derive from *kōška-* (Morgenstierne 1930: 161). Although it seems to be related to the words cited above, its etymology remains unclear. There are chances that it is a borrowing from another Iranian language.[45]

4.1.2   Ossetic

Since arrowslits and niches are also holes and openings, it would be tempting to relate Iron *k'oskæ*, *k'osgæ*, Digor *k'usk* 'niche, arrowslit' (Abaev 1958: 642 f.) to the forms discussed in Section 4.1.1. Internal reconstruction yields Proto-Ossetic *kaṷškā-* as the only possible predecessor of both Iron and Digor forms.[46] We will keep this reconstruction as a working hypothesis, and see how we can reconstruct this root for Proto-Iranian.

4.2   *Proto-Iranian Reconstruction*

Bailey (DKS: 64) notes for this word, as well as for Khot. *kūṣḍa-* 'palace', Pahlavi and New Persian *kōšk* 'pavilion, mansion, manor', Khot. *jūṣḍa-* 'ibex, mountain

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45   Perhaps it was borrowed as *kōšk* at a time when the cluster *-šk-* was impossible to pronounce for the speakers of Wanetsi, during or after the sound law *-šk-* > *-č-*, which would be why the speakers of Wanetsi added a vowel *a* (*kōšak*) to be able to pronounce it. Mauro Maggi (p.c.) suggests that the *-ak* here is a diminutive suffix, which corresponds very well to the meaning 'small hole', but this raises another series of phonetic and derivational problems.

46   The initial consonant of this word is an ejective. Cheung (2002: 37) shows that ejectives in the inherited vocabulary of Ossetic mostly occur in the clusters containing a /k/, such as /sk/, /rk/, /rsk/, etc. We therefore propose that the Ossetic word was initially *kōsk'æ*. The ejectivity was then regularly retracted to the first syllable because it carried the accent (cf. Cheung 2002: 37).

goat', Armenian loanword *youška-* 'ass', "possibly Yaz[gholami] *yok* 'large mountain goat', and Wakhi *yukš* 'wild goat'" (DKS: 112), an alternation between *-ṣda* (< *-žda-*) and *-ška* within Iranian.[47] Since this is not tenable from a historical point of view (morphologically certainly, since *-da* is not a suffix, neither inherited nor substratal, and neither is *-ška*), another explanation must be sought.

While the gender of the Khotanese lexeme is unclear, the modern languages mentioned in Section 4.1.1. (i.e., Shughni, etc.), as well as Ossetic and Sogdian, reflect an ancient feminine. This agrees well with the feminine gender of TochB *koṣko*. It is possible that Ossetic also underwent the simplification (**kau̯ždakā-* > **kau̯škā-*) proposed for Sogdian, or perhaps borrowed it from another language subjected to the same sound change. It appears as if different languages reflect different stages of the evolution of this lexeme: Khotanese reflects **kau̯žda-* (perhaps **kau̯ždā-* if the word is Late Khotanese), Ossetic **kau̯škā-*, the Shughni group **kau̯ždačī-* and Sogdian **kau̯(š)či-ā-kā-* < **kau̯ždačī-ā-kā-*. Since Ossetic and Sogdian seem to have both undergone the same simplification, it is possible that a borrowing of some kind occurred in one or the other language, or in both. Perhaps one has to evoke borrowing to explain Pahlavi and New Persian *kōšk* 'pavilion, mansion, manor', also from **kau̯ždakǎ-* > **kau̯škǎ-* 'important building' (a different etymon, cf. Khot. *kūṣḍa-* 'mansion, palace'). These two etymons ('building' vs. 'hole') must be distantly linked to each other in the same way as the word for 'house' in Iranian (Av. *kata-*, Pahlavi *kadag*, etc.) is linked to the root *kan-* 'to dig'. This is feasible either because some Iranian peoples (e.g. the Scythians) lived in underground dwellings;[48] or, perhaps less likely, because one must dig a hole to build any building.[49]

The word **kau̯škǎ-* 'important building, mansion' was borrowed into Ubykh from an Iranian language; see Ubykh *k'u̯ašḳ* "Herrenhaus mit Bretterdach" (von Mészáros 1934: 356, who himself suggested the connection).

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47   For the last example, see Maggi (2019: 301–305), who shows that the word has a different meaning and etymology (as the Wakhi word probably also does) and invalidates Bailey's argument on this point.

48   The main reason for this is that the underground temperature is relatively constant and usually not lower than 0 °C, which is higher than the ground surface temperature in cold climates. For the Scythians' cozy subterranean dugouts, see Virgil's *Georgics* 3.376 ff.: *Ipsi in defossis specubus secura sub alta otia agunt terra; congestaque robora, totasque advolvere focis ulmos, ignique dedere*; tr. Fallon (2006: 63): "As for those men (i.e., the Scythians), they carry on at ease in caves they've gouged out underground, with stacks of hardwood by the hearth, whole elms, in fact, to roll on to the roaring flame." See also Hirt (1906/07: 690 f.).

49   Alexander Lubotsky (p.c.) has kindly pointed us to this possibility.

In any case, *kau̯škă̆- is clearly not the result of a suffixation in -ka- of a base noun *kau̯š- for such a noun does not exist, and even more clearly it is not the suffixation of a noun *kau̯ša-, which would produce Ossetic (Iron) †k'osæg, (Digor) †k'ūsæg, Pahlavi †kōšag and New Persian †kōša.

4.3 *Further Etymology*

Neither *kau̯žda- *'important building' nor *kau̯žda- 'hole, opening' has a convincing Indo-European etymology. For instance, Bailey's (DKS: 64) connection with PIE *keu- 'hollow' (Gothic huzd, Old English hord 'hoard') does not work, since the Indo-European root must be reconstructed with a palatal in view of e.g. Av. sūra- 'hole'. Moreover, the setting back of *kau̯žda- in Proto-Indo-European would not yield a plausible reconstruction. The meanings of those two words do not match any possible Indo-European root, and the structure does not appear to be typically Indo-European.

The more probable solution, in our opinion, is that those two etymons are substratal in origin, and borrowed by Proto-Iranian (perhaps Proto-Indo-Iranian, but Indian cognates still remain to be found). If the Western Iranian related forms are ultimately later borrowings, it is possible that those words (such as Pahlavi) were borrowed by Eastern Iranian languages. The borrowing must be old, in any case, since it shows traces of RUKI. A number of substratal loanwords designate things that are linked to the house and habitation (Lubotsky 2001: 307, 311). Perhaps, in the case of *kau̯žda- 'hole, opening', the word originally had a wider meaning, similar to that of Ossetic, and was linked to, say, architecture or irrigation, or it had that meaning along with the more general meaning of 'hole, opening'. This would also correspond to the type of vocabulary that we find in BMAC substrate loanwords in Indo-Iranian.

4.4 *TochB* koṣko *and Its Origin*

4.4.1 Substratum or Iranian?

TochB koṣko should also derive from an Iranian language with a proto-form such as *kōškă̆- < *kau̯škă̆-, posited in Section 4.2. or something similar. It cannot be a direct borrowing from the supposed original substratal form. Although some Tocharian words are ultimately from the same substratum as a number of Indo-Iranian words, known as the BMAC substratum (e.g. Pinault 2006a), these words show specific sound changes which are different from those peculiar to Old Iranian loanwords in Tocharian, and also different from sound changes from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Tocharian; e.g. TochB kercapo 'donkey' borrowed from the same source (possibly a BMAC language) as Old Indic gardabhá- 'donkey' (EWAia s.v.); TochB eñcuwo 'iron', TochA *añcu 'id.' ← *ańću 'rusty red, brown' (compare Skt. aṃśu- 'Soma plant', YAv. ąsu 'Haoma plant'; Pinault

2006a: 185–189); TochB *wästarye* 'pertaining to a camel' ~ **wästare* 'camel' ←
*uštra- 'camel' (Chen 2019: 230f.; Adams 2017: 457, with a different etymol-
ogy),[50] the same source as Proto-Indo-Iranian **Huštra-* 'camel', also substratal
(Lubotsky 2001: 307). In the present case, we would not expect a ṣ to reflect
a supposed substratum form **kaṷs-*. This also holds if we were to derive the
Tocharian form from Indo-European.

Furthermore, if our reconstruction **kaṷžda(ka)-* is correct, it would be sur-
prising that Tocharian underwent the same simplification as some Iranian lan-
guages, all the more so, as nominal -ka- is not a suffix native to Tocharian.

In short, since we lack non-Iranian evidence for cognates, and since we can-
not explain the Tocharian form as inherited or borrowed directly from a third
language, the hypothesis of an Iranian origin must be upheld. In the following,
the exact source language will be sought.

4.4.2   The Iranian Source of the Borrowing

Before delving further into the Iranian predecessor of *koṣko*, we consider it use-
ful to make a brief morphological remark. Since *koṣko* has a variant *koṣkīye*,
obl. *koṣkai*, it must belong to the class of *okso* rather than the class of *arṣāklo*
(Hilmarsson 1987: 37–50, Del Tomba 2020: 140). Nevertheless, words of Iranian
origin usually belong to the class of *arṣāklo* (class VI, 3 of Krause & Thomas
1960). TB *koṣko* would be the only Iranian loanword belonging to the *okso*-type
(class VI, 2 of Krause & Thomas 1960). In fact, given the greater number of loan-
words, Iranian ones in particular (e.g. *twāṅkaro* 'ginger') in the *arṣāklo* class, it is
possible that *koṣko* had initially belonged to the *arṣāklo* class, but was "moved"
to the *okso* class for two reasons combined: 1. Like all other members of the
okso class, and unlike the members of the *arṣāklo* class, *koṣko* is disyllabic.[51] 2.
Like most other members of the *okso* class, it is feminine in gender (Hilmarsson
1987: 37). There is another possible explanation: The word was borrowed into
Proto-Tocharian, at a time when, according to Del Tomba (2020: 148f.), the *okso*
class and the *arṣāklo* class were one. In that case, it would naturally enter the
okso class (because it is disyllabic) when the two classes split.

Although TochB *koṣko*/*koṣkīye* is likely to be of Iranian origin, the Iranian lan-
guage it comes from is not immediately evident. Therefore, we must proceed by
elimination. As mentioned above (Section 4.2.), Khotanese reflects **kaṷžda-*,
the Shughni group **kaṷždačī-*, and Sogdian **kaṷždačī-ā-kā-* (> **kaṷ(š)či-ā-*

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50   Adams derives it from PIr. **ustrá-*, which is impossible, because Proto-Iranian had under-
       gone RUKI. Chen considers it a borrowing through the dialectal type **uštur*, while regard-
       ing **-št-* > **-ṣt-* → *-st-* as an inner-Tocharian analogical development.

51   See Del Tomba 2020: 140 for an overview of the two types.

kā-). None of those forms can be the source of the Tocharian word. Wanetsi or related *kōžak* must also be rejected, since there is no reason for the loss of *-a-* in Tocharian. TochB *koṣko* cannot be borrowed from an Old Iranian language, since the source word from which it was borrowed needs to be **kōškắ-*, that is to say, the monophthongization of **-aṷ-* implies a Middle Iranian language, whereas Old Iranian loanwords in Proto-Tocharian usually preserved Proto-Iranian diphthongs (e.g. TochB *waipecce* 'possessions' ← OIr. **hwai-paθi̯a-*; Cowgill *apud* Winter 1971: 218 and Isebaert 1980: 86).

Parthian, as proposed by Tremblay (2005: 434), is very unlikely to be the source language for this word: For one thing, it belongs, with Middle and New Persian as well as a number of other languages, to a series of languages spoken to the west, which only testify to the meaning 'mansion, big building' vel sim. for this etymon. Secondly, Tocharian borrowings from Parthian are very limited in both quantity and semantics. Thus it seems to us unlikely that a Tocharian word meaning 'pit, hole' would be borrowed from Parthian. More importantly, TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye* is feminine in gender, and was borrowed from a feminine Iranian word ending in **-ā*, while Parthian does not show any traces of gender, which it had lost (along with final vowels) at a very early stage. Last and least, the Parthian word is not attested.

Three Iranian languages remain as possible sources for the Tocharian borrowing: a. Ossetic (or Scythian), b. Bactrian, and c. an unknown Middle-Iranian language. We will examine these options one by one.

a. The Ossetic forms discussed in Section 4.1.2. go back to **kaṷškā-*, which was probably monophthongized in Proto-Ossetic to **k^(')ōškā-*, which is the closest form to the Tocharian word in question. Nevertheless, we cannot know for sure if Digor *ū* goes back to Proto-Ossetic **ō* (which is more probable), or if the Ossetic reflexes of **aṷ* are **ō* in Proto-Iron and **ū* in Pre-Digor (which is less probable). This, however, is a minor point; the major problem in accepting an Ossetic origin for TochB *koṣko* rests in the semantics. The Ossetic word means 'niche, arrowslit', which probably implies a semantic change **'opening, hole' > **'architectural opening' > 'niche' and **'opening, hole' > **'architectural hole' > 'arrowslit'. In both cases, the meaning of **kaṷškā-* was strongly oriented towards architecture in Proto-Ossetic. This does not pair well with the meaning of TochB *koṣko*.

b. Bactrian is another possible source. There are multiple Bactrian loanwords in Tocharian (Pinault 2002: 261 f.). No Bactrian descendent of OIr. **kaṷždakā-* is attested, but we can confidently reconstruct Pre-Bactrian **kōškā-*, Bactrian **χωþκο*, parallel to the Bactrian development of **-štaka > -ška* (cf. OIr. **hāṷišta-ka-* > υαþκο "pupil"; Sims-Williams 2007: 272). In Bactrian, there is by and large no gender distinction (except some rem-

nants), and the gender system of Old Iranian has been progressively lost (Sims-Williams 2007: 40–41). In other words, if the Tocharian loanword is from Bactrian, its source language must be either Pre-Bactrian or a very early stage of Bactrian. This is supported by the presence of the final vowel -*o* in a number of Bactrian loanwords in Tocharian, which indicates that the borrowings occurred at an early stage (see Section 3.2.2.1.).[52] Most borrowings from Bactrian are of a political or administrative nature (Tremblay 2005: 436), but one also finds some words for products, probably because of commercial relations between the two peoples, such as TochB *mālo* 'a type of wine' and TochB *sapule* 'pot'. There are, to this day, no known Tocharian loanwords from Bactrian that clearly concern rituals, magic, or religion. If Bactrian was indeed the source language of TochB *koṣko*, which cannot be excluded, and even seems likely on formal grounds, then the meaning could have likely been simply 'pit, hole' in Bactrian, without any religious or ritual connotation, the Tocharian sense being a specialization of the Pre-Bactrian word.

c. If, nevertheless, the religious and ritual connotation of TochB *koṣko* 'pit, hole' is not a Tocharian innovation, but was already present in the Iranian source language, then the possibility of a borrowing from an unknown Middle Iranian language must be entertained. That language underwent the same sound change as Proto-Ossetic (Section 4.1.2.), but underwent a different semantic shift from the Ossetic case, since the latter assumes an architectural meaning. Because no known Iranian language testifies to any ritual or religious connotation for this word, it is possible that the word was borrowed with the simple meaning 'pit, hole'; in that case, a Pre-Bactrian origin seems indeed more likely. The connection of this meaning with the various usages described in Section 2 must then be sought in Tocharian culture itself.

Be that as it may, we would like to point out that borrowing a word meaning 'pit, hole' is in no way trivial. *That* 'pit' and *that* 'hole (in the ground)' must have had a certain cultural relevance and a certain practical way of making. A possibility, albeit belonging to the domain of speculation, is that it was a pit used for culinary purposes. Perhaps archeological findings will support the attribution of TochB *koṣko* to one particular Iranian culture, and we can only hope that the future discovery of the Bactrian cognate of Khot. *kuṣḍa-*, Sogdian *kwc'*, etc. will verify or falsify our hypothesis of a Bactrian origin of this Tocharian word.

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52 A long -*ā* stem in Pre-Bactrian was borrowed as *-*a* in Proto-Tocharian, or in Pre-Tocharian B, and this *a*-stem was morphologically made into an *o*-stem, here, into a word of the *okso*-type.

5   Conclusion

To conclude, received translations of all assured occurrences of TochB *koṣko/
koṣkīye* take for granted a putative meaning 'hut'. Textual parallels from San-
skrit, Tibetan, and Chinese traditions show that TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye* designates
a hole in the ground, a pit, either a fire-pit or a charcoal-pit. The meaning 'hut'
is thus falsified. Previous etymologies of TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye*, both Iranian and
Indo-European, are rejected on formal and semantic grounds. A new Iranian
etymology is proposed for TochB *koṣko/koṣkīye* after an in-depth scrutiny of
possible Iranian cognates and their internal and external etymology. As for
the source language from which the word is borrowed, a number of Middle
Iranian languages are ruled out for formal and semantic reasons, and there
are only two possibilities left: either (Pre-)Bactrian, or an unknown Middle
Iranian language. We consider the Bactrian origin of this word to be most
likely.

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