

Michaël Peyrot and Meng Xiaoqiang
Tocharian B *santse* ‘daughter-in-law’

Abstract: In Ogihara’s edition of the Tocharian B so-called “Avadāna-Manuscript”, a fragment from the Dhanika-Avadāna contains a word *santse*. On the basis of parallel texts, it is shown that *santse* means ‘daughter-in-law’. This newly identified word is cognate with a.o. Greek *vuός* ‘daughter-in-law’ and derives from Proto-Indo-European **snusó-*.

Keywords: Tocharian B, Dhanika-Avadāna, daughter-in-law, Indo-European, Buddhism

In a book-length article, Ogihara has attributed 44 Tocharian B fragments to one manuscript (Ogihara 2012). Since all fragments belong to the *avadāna* and *jātaka* genre of Buddhist narrative literature, while so far no corresponding collection of such birth stories could be identified in any major language of Buddhism, he provisionally terms the manuscript the “Avadāna-Manuscript”. The only fragments that had been published previously are THT 409 (Sieg & Siegling 1953: 274) and THT 1168 (Malzahn 2007: 242); all other fragments were unpublished. Ogihara has succeeded in making several joins, and has identified textual parallels to several fragments.

We have a note on two fragments joined by Ogihara, THT 1253 and THT 3056 (see his figure 3 on p. 237 for the join), and identified as containing a version of the Dhanika-Avadāna. In Zhu Chen’s 18th-century condensed Tibetan version of Kṣemendra’s *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (KA_{Vk}), the story of the virtuous householder Dhanika is summarized as follows:

- (1) ‘The divinely-appointed one, his wife, son and daughter-in-law with utterly pure minds invited the Arhat Śākyamuni and the Saṅgha, offering four midday meals.
Taught the Dharma, he saw the truth: Dhanika.’

Translation by Lin 2011: 173

Our note concerns line a3 of THT 1253 + THT 3056, which is transliterated by Ogihara (2012: 147), cf. (2).

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- (2) *ka s[o]y ʃp̄^ä cwī śana santse ślek śta ///*
 ‘... son and his wife ...’¹

On *santse*, he notes that the word division is uncertain and that this sequence may be in sandhi (Ogihara 2012: 148). Indeed, almost all the words in this line are known, and *santse* is found in between the unmistakably readable words *śana* ‘wife’ and *ślek* ‘with’, but *santse* itself looks unusual. The final *-ntse* would seem to be a genitive singular ending, but in that case the stem would be the impossibly short *s-*. It is without doubt for this reason that Ogihara was cautious about the word division.

In our view, the line is to be compared with *dhaniko dhanikapatnī dhanikaputro dhanikasnuṣā ca* ‘Dhanika, Dhanika’s wife, Dhanika’s son and Dhanika’s daughter-in-law’ of the parallel from the Bhaiṣajyavastu adduced by Ogihara (2012: 149). Although on the first akṣara ⟨ka⟩ of the Tocharian B line no clear trace of a vowel diacritic can be discerned, the paper is damaged in the relevant part, and we read ⟨k(e)⟩, so that the line can now be read as follows:

- (3) *(dhani)k(e) soy ʃp cwī śana santse ślek śta ///*
 ‘Dhanika and [his] son, his wife, together with his daughter-in-law ...’²

Thus, in this line, *santse* ‘daughter-in-law’ is not a genitive singular, but a feminine noun in *-e* in the nominative singular. It is the very unusual structure of the word that made it difficult to recognise: the element *-nts-* looks more like a suffix than part of a root, and feminine stems in *-e* are extremely rare in Tocharian B.

In our view, the above interpretation of the relevant line is secure because in the Dhanika-Avaḍāna the listing of Dhanika, his son, his wife and his daughter-in-law as the four people of great virtue in Vaiśālī is a topos, and this listing occurs repeatedly in the Bhaiṣajyavastu. Similar phrasings are also found in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, for instance KAvk 90.27 *patnīputrasnuṣānvitaḥ* ‘(Dhanika) followed by [his] wife, son and daughter-in-law’ (Vaidya 1959: 517).³ Nevertheless, a more precise identification would be desirable, and indeed, although the par-

1 In the original Japanese: “... 息子と彼の妻は ...”.

2 As pointed out by Ogihara (2012: 148), the last akṣara before the torn edge, *śta ///*, is possibly to be restored to *śta(rte)* ‘fourth’ or obl.sg.m. *śta(rce)*. In view of *tatputreṇa tṛṭīye ’hni caturthe snuṣayā* ‘by his son on the third and by his daughter-in-law on the fourth day’ in KAvk 90.15 (Vaidya 1959: 516), it is tempting to restore *śta(rce kaunne)* ‘on the fourth day’, but it is questionable whether this may have been mentioned so early in the beginning of the story. Another option may be nom.sg.f. *śta(rca)* ‘as the fourth’ as an apposition to *santse*.

3 A similar passage is KAvk 90.18 *sapatniko ’tha dhanikaḥ saputraśca snuṣānvitaḥ* (Vaidya 1959: 517).

allels adduced by Ogihara are not exact, they do allow the identification of the approximate content.

Line a1 of the fragment reads: *(tu mä)kt(e) nesäm śāstā(r)n(e ak)ly(i)lñ(e) ///*. Literally this phrase means ‘Like this is the study in the śāstra, ...’, and Ogihara has noted that it is used several times in the “Avadāna Manuscript” to introduce a story (Ogihara 2015: 303).⁴ Most probably, therefore, the Tocharian B Dhanika-Avadāna begins in line a1, so that line a3 will also still belong to the introductory part.

Line a4, the line following a3, reads – *yāmornts= oko wārpantrā : tsemi ra(mt) ///* ‘... they receive the fruit of [their] action. Like *tsemi* ...’. Here, the punctuation, the sandhi form *yāmornts=* for *yāmornitse*, and the short 3pl.prs. form *wārpantrā* for *wārpanantrā* show that this passage is metrical; the sequence *yāmornts= oko wārpantrā* fits a metrical scheme ending in 4+3 syllables. This strophe probably describes or highlights the virtues that Dhanika and his family have gathered.

Apparently, the story really begins only in line a5, of which a selection reads *(m)ā (tn)e waiptesa śausalle ste* ‘(The Buddha) is not to be invited separately’. This alludes to the discussion about who should invite the Buddha to their home, which leads to the main topic of the story: the four visits of the Buddha to the home of the householder Dhanika.

Thus, even though the fragment is rather small and the identified parallels not exact, it seems nevertheless clear that line a3 is to be situated in the introduction of the Dhanika-Avadāna. Although the listing of Dhanika and his family may well have occurred more often also in the Tocharian B version, its occurrence in the introduction fits very well.

Now that it is certain that *santse* is a complete word in the nominative singular, meaning ‘daughter-in-law’, the etymology has become obvious: it derives from Proto-Indo-European **snusó-* ‘daughter-in-law’. Tocharian B *santse* faithfully reflects the original feminine *o*-stem that is also preserved in full in Gr. *νύος* f. (Beekes 2010: 1028) and in part in Arm. *now*, gen.sg. *nowoy* (Olsen 1999: 186), and which has been rebuilt to **snuseh₂* in Skt. *snuṣā́*, OE *snoru* and CS *snъxa*, and to a *u*-stem in Lat. *nurus* (cf. also Kroonen 2013: 463).

For the phonological development of *santse* from **snusó-*, we should assume the following steps. In a first step, the regular vowel changes of **u* to **ə* and of **o* to **e* have taken place: **snusó-* > **snəse*. In the last step, regular *t*-epenthesis in the cluster **ns* has taken place, and /ə/, which had become accented, is written

⁴ Ogihara translates *aklyilñe* as ‘teaching’ rather than ‘study’. This admittedly fits the context better, but it seems that the word really means ‘study, learning’. We should probably assume that this phrase is a calque.

(a): **sənsə* > *santse* /sánt^se/. Interestingly, we observe that in between these two steps, a change of **snəse* to **sənsə* must have occurred.

The change **nə* > **ən* may be taken as an instance of metathesis. For the liquids *r* and *l*, such metathesis is well established (Ringe 1996: 158f.): an example is Tocharian B *-kälywe* ‘fame’ (in *ñem-kälywe*, lit. ‘name-fame’) < **kəl^wwe* < **kl^wəwe* < **kleuo-*. We have found no exact parallel for this metathesis with **nə* > **ən*, but we could find no counterexamples either, which is probably due to the fact that the relevant context was rare. Since this metathesis occurs only before single consonants, we would not have expected it in Tocharian B *snətk-* ‘be pervaded’, where *nə* goes back to **nu* on the evidence of the Tocharian A cognate *snotk-*, because a cluster follows.

As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, another possible interpretation of the change **nə* > **ən* is to assume ə-epenthesis in the initial cluster **sn-* with subsequent syncope of the second ə in the resulting **sənəse*. This seems less likely to us. Although there are no parallels for the required epenthesis, this is not decisive as the assumed metathesis is lacking exact parallels too. More difficult is the syncope of the second ə of **sənəse*, which would necessitate an inexplicable accent on the first instead of the regular second syllable. In other words, from syncope, we would rather expect **sənəse* > **sənāse* > ***snāse* (snase).⁵

Thus far we have not been able to trace a Tocharian A cognate of Tocharian B *santse*. Since ⟨ä⟩ is distributed automatically in Tocharian A synchronically, it is very difficult to establish whether Tocharian A reflects **sənsə* or **snəse*. The expected reflex of **sənsə* would be ***sis*; that of **snəse* would be ***snäs* or perhaps ***säm̐ts*.

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⁵ No similar case of epenthesis or accent placement is cited by e.g. Winter (1990) or Pronk (2009).

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