MEIJERBERGS ARKIV

FÖR

SVENSK ORDFORSKNING

UTGIVET
AV
STYRELSEN FÖR MEIJERBERGS INSTITUT
VID GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
GENOM
BO RALPH

32

GÖTEBORG 2006
GIŠ.HÛRGul-za-at-ta-ra

FESTSCHRIFT FOR
FOLKE JOSEPHSON

EDITED BY
GERD CARLING
Notes on the Syntactic Functions of the Tocharian Clitic Pronouns

Gerd Carling

Abstract

Tocharian has two types of personal and demonstrative pronouns, independent forms and clitics. The clitics are distinguished in 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular and 1st-3rd plural. The clitics appear in several syntactic positions, both as complements to or substitutes for an oblique or a genitive. The reason for using an independent form of the pronoun or a clitic is not clear. However, the following paper will not deal with the selection properties connected with the choice between a clitic and an independent form. Instead, this article will try to give a survey of the syntactic functions of the Tocharian clitics.

1. Forms of the Tocharian pronouns

1.1. The independent forms

The Tocharian personal pronouns are distinguished in first and second person singular and plural. The demonstrative pronouns occur in three main (plus one variant extended by -p) types that code different deixis. They are formed by an initial element s- (direct) ~ t-[pal]/c-[+pal] (oblique), and inflected in nominative, oblique and genitive singular, dual and plural in three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. Compared to the nominal inflection, the pronoun inflection is more conservative, especially since it has retained the Indo-European three-gender system. I will not go into too much detail concerning the origin of the demonstrative pronouns here (cf. Pinault 1989:113-117).

1.2. The cliticized forms

The Tocharian clitic pronouns occur in one single primary form to which secondary suffixes can be added (see table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-c</td>
<td>-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of the forms in Tocharian A and Tocharian B, we can reconstruct the following Common Tocharian forms (see Pinault 1989:112-113). Sg. *-n, 2sg. *-c, 3sg. *-ne. 1-3pl. *-n, *-c, *-ne come from PT *ne, *te, and the origin of *ne, *me could be *no, *mo or *n, *me.

Pinault (1989) presupposes for Sg. *-n an evolution from the Indo-European genitive *mene > *m‘n‘a > *n. Another possibility is that the clitic pronoun A -ni B -ni has developed by analogy from the genitive of the independent personal pronoun, AB n, which indicates a proto-form Sg. *me, parallel to *te.

Behind the A-forms -ni, -ci a PT *me, *tei or *moi, *toi could be hidden. If we prefer the latter, we must presuppose a secondary palatalization, influenced by the forms of the independent personal pronoun (Schmidt 1978:78).

For *me, *te and *moi, toi Indo-European parallels can easily be found. IE *me, *te (accusative) are used both independently and in cliticized form in different languages, Gr. ene, clit. -me, Ol.ith. clit. -m, Hitt. -mau (Schmidt 1978:49f). IE *moi, toi > Gr. moi, soi, Skt. me, te, Late Av. mé, té are used as clitics in genitive/dative function (Schmidt 1978:74).

For the rest of the Tocharian paradigm, we find the following problems:

1. The element *n in third person.
2. The absence of different forms in the plural.

Pinault (op.cit.) compares *no with the Indo-European pronominal stem *ono- in Indoir. *ana-, Ved. anena, anasy etc., Lith. ažs, anás. PT *mo contains the element *m that occurs in the Indo-European pronominal inflection in the 1st and 2nd person plural: Av. ahma, Ved. asma, Lesb.
In general, the clitics (the uninflected forms) are used as complements of the oblique and the genitive in grammatical functions, which means that:

1. They are basically used in syntactic core functions.
2. The subject (A or S) cannot be marked by an enclitic pronoun.

The clitics often repeat an argument (oblique or genitive) already given in the sentence and there does not seem to be any specific rules for this usage. The different semantic and syntactic usages of the clitic pronouns dealt with in the next chapter can be summarized as follows (substituted or complemented case quoted in parenthesis):

1. Object (O/DO) of mono- or ditransitive verbs (oblique, exceptionally allative).
2. Indirect Object (IO) of ditransitive verbs (genitive, exceptionally oblique).
3. Dative Subject in inverse constructions (genitive).
4. Possessive (genitive).
5. Agent in passive constructions (genitive).

The clitics can also be enlarged by a secondary affix, ablative, allative or locative. In this position the enclitic pronoun can have non-core functions. However, these usages will not be dealt with here.

2.2. Direct Object of mono- and ditransitive verbs (O)

In O position the enclitic pronoun is used instead of the oblique, i.e. to mark basically the Theme or the Patient, but sometimes also the Recipient. In Recipient function we also exceptionally find the allative, as with B windōk- A windás- ‘honour, worship’.

As typical examples of this function, with a more or less affected Patient, we may use the constructions with the verbs B lūk- ‘see’ (2a) or B sta-šwa- ‘eat’ (2b).

(2a) käryortanu ksa lyāka-ne
merchant-NOM some see/PRT.3SG.A-CL.3SG

’some merchant saw her...’ (H.149.X.5 a5)

---

1. Appears before the reflexive particle -sa as -tu.
2. The basis for this study of the functions of the enclitic pronouns is limited to the selection of texts in Krause & Thomas (1964), translated by Sieg (1944, 1952), Lane (1947) and Pinault (1997), enlarged by individual examples.

---


Another possibility is to compare *no with OIr. no, nu, preverb to simple verbs without conjunctive particle, which does not change the meaning of the verb (Thurneysen 1994:348, Vendryes 1960:N-18) and the Hitt. conjunctive and copulative conjunction nu-, which appears as nu- before -as, -an.

For the Hittite clitic pronoun in 1st and 2nd person, -nu and -ta, there are different etymological explanations: either *noi, *toi or *me, *te. These forms are syntactically used as accusative and dative. Schmidt (1978:153) interprets the Hittite forms in 2-3 plural, smas, as *-s-mas, with *-s- as the zero-form of the anaphoric particle *se- and *-mas as the ending. He compares this with the Tocharian plural 1-3 -me < *-no, where *-s- has been lost in the consonant cluster.

All things considered it is possible that the Hittite forms of enclitic pronouns can give a better explanation for the Tocharian paradigm. The Tocharian plural form presupposes an analogical levelling from 1st-2nd to 3rd person. The Hittite forms have undergone a similar evolution.

2. Functions of the Tocharian clitic pronouns

2.1. General notions

The enclitic pronouns are always attached to a finite verb, which is the predicate of the sentence. If the clitic is syntactically the dependent of an infinitive verbal form, such as an infinitive or a participle, the clitic is nevertheless attached to the finite verb of the sentence. This means that the clitic is not always attached to its verbal head, as in example (1).

(1) //\(\)yūm\(\) appa ate yāntsi
say/PR.3SG.A father-VOC away do/INF
pa\(\)l\(\)k\(\)n\(\)a\(\) f\(\)t\(\)æ\(\)f\(\)t\(\)n\(\)
intend/PR.2SG.M-CL.2SG

’He (i.e., Prince Uttara) says: O, dear father, do you intend to send me away?’ (B 83,5)

---

2.3. Indirect Object of ditransitive verbs (IO)

In Indirect Object function the clitic replaces the genitive. Ditransitive constructions, including usages of both the genitive and the clitic pronoun, were studied in more detail in Carling (in print).

In ditransitive constructions the clitic pronoun can occur either with a lexical ditransitive or a morphological transitive verb, i.e. a verb which has acquired ditransitivity by derivation (causative, see Carling 2005). The verb A e- B ai- ‘give’ is a lexical ditransitive, which can be construed either with a genitive or a clitic pronoun (3a) or B lu- ‘send’ (3b).

(3a) p-aw̃ m̥ swātsi p-aw̃ m̥ nātāk
IPV-give/2SG eat/INF IPV-give/2SG master
p-wākā-m̥ klap caṣ
IPV-drive/2SG-CL.PL suffering this/OBL

‘Give us food, give us, o master, drive away from us this suffering’ (A 340 a4)

(3b) [p]farso lyawās̥ letter send/PRT.1SG.A-CL.2SG

‘I have sent you a letter’ (B 492 a3)

A wāk- ‘decide’ is inflected in present III, which is inherently intransitive. In present VIII, which is inherently transitive and transitivizes a present II intransitive, we have a ditransitive verb ‘divide, distribute’ (4).

(4) swātsi p-ātka-śi
eat/INF IPV-distribute/2SG-CL.1SG

‘Give me food!’ (A 348 a8)

2.4. Inverse constructions

2.4.1. General notions

In this group of constructions, which I refer to here as inverse constructions, the normal clause contains an (intransitive) verb inflected in third person singular or plural, an inanimate S in nominative and a genitive or clitic pronoun [Sgen, V3a. E3gen ministers]. This type of construction is known also from other languages. Often the inverse construction with a Dative Subject will occur beside a straightforward construction with a Nominative Subject (cf. Givón 2001:205-206).

The verbs in our texts that are construed with Dative Subjects normally have only this type of construction, i.e. there is no competing Nominative/Dative Subject usage for individual verbs.

However, the function of the clitic pronoun in these constructions often comes close to the adnominal possessive, which is also expressed by a genitive or a clitic (2.5). Therefore, just as with the possessive genitive, we sometimes have problems distinguishing an adnominal possessive genitive/enclitic from an adverbial genitive/enclitic in a construction where we might expect inversion.

In Tocharian, as in many other languages, there is no special verb for ‘hate’. The construction used is the third singular of the verb A nas- B ner- ‘be’ or AB nātāk- ‘be, exist’ with a genitive or a clitic pronoun (5), a type of construction that is found in many languages (cf. Givón 2001:193).

(5) patarye sānkrām stā-nā piṅkwaḷa
fatherly monastery/OBL be/3SG-CL.3SG year/OBL.PL

‘A fatherly monastery is for you since years’ (Monastery letter)

In this construction, the genitive/clitic is clearly a verbal argument. In other examples, the dependency can be more difficult to decide. In the example (6) it is open to discussion whether we should interpret the clause as ‘may Karman may disappear and be torn off’ or ‘may Karman disappear from me and be torn off from me’.

(6) nautaṭ-ā yāmōr kāntoyṭār-ā
disappear/OPT.3SG-CL.1SG Karman tear/OPT.3SG-CL.1SG
ksṭ(ə)n(t) tākoy-ā
forgiveness be/OPT.3SG-CL.1SG
‘May Karman disappear from me, and be torn off from me; forgiveness may be for me’ (H 149.26/30 b3f); or

‘May my Karman disappear, and may my [Karman] be torn away; forgiveness may be for me’

‘My forgiveness may be’ is hardly possible. However, in the other two clauses, the construction is more ambiguous.

For the purpose of this study, the following distinction has been made:

1. Inverse constructions. The clitic, either possessor, dispossessor or recipient, is semantically and syntactically a dependent of the verb.

2. Possessive: In this group there exists an (alienable or inalienable) possessive relationship between possessor (clitic) and possessed, which is syntactically independent of the verb. Examples: ‘my faith disappeared’, ‘his body burned’, ‘his power fails’ or ‘his life has come to a twilight’.

In 2.4.2. inverse constructions with the verbs A nas- B nes- and AB māsk- ‘be’ are listed. This group denotes a factual (in case of present,preterit) or desired possession (in case of a subjunctive, optative or the like). In 2.4.3 other verbs that have inverse constructions with a clitic are listed. These verbs can be divided into three semantic categories: verbs that denote dispossession, as ‘lack’, verbs that denote realization, as ‘arise’, or verbs that denote necessity as ‘be necessary’. The Subject (syntactically S) is normally inanimate.

2.4.2. With A nas- B nes- ‘be’, AB māsk- ‘be, exist’

The examples with A nas- B nes- ‘be’ can denote either factual possession (7a-b) or future/thought possession (8a-9b). AB māsk- ‘be, exist’ could denote either future/thought possession or realization. Again, the boundary between adverbial and adnominal possession (possessive) can be vague (10n-11c).

(7a) ḥakta tve tu makte pāt aiśtrā
Lord/voc you even self away know/pr.2sg.m

(7b) [[[kāmar ka]n(e) kri tās-śi
take/pv.2sg what request be/su.3sg-cl.2sg

‘Take, as request is for you’ (A 79 a5)

(8) smai-yavarvece ce samār-ne tārya-yāke kārtese
without beginning Samsara-LOC three-fold of good
yāmor tākho-śī
deed be/opt.3sg-cl.1sg

‘In the Samsara without beginning may the deed of salvation be mine threefold’ (H.149.26/30 b6)

(9a) soṁāp lānt em kāprene
one/gen king/gen give/su.1sg.a if

cu aḷyek yāśuśa takee-śi
you/obl others/nom.pl enemy/obl.pl be/su.3pl-cl.1sg

‘If I would give you to a king, the others would be enemies for me’ (A 66 a3)

(9b) śl-oko aṣām take(ṇ-ci śl-o)ko
with fruit eye/nom.pl be/su.3pl-cl.2sg with fruit

tās-śī oṭi cmol
be/su.3sg-cl.2sg human birth

‘your eyes will be successful for you, and your human birth will be successful for you’ (A 21 b2)

(10a) mā ra postaṃ ci-sa lare māsket-śī
ci-sa later you-perf.dear be/pr.3sg.m-cl.2sg

‘even later, no one will be dearer to me than you’ (B 496, 1)

(10b) (ma)no nta māsket-ner-e ekāṇe
not all be/Inf.3sg.m-cl.3sg possession

‘But (no) possession at all was for him’ (B 375 a3)
40

(11a) amok-aš tatmu këcke mëskatr-ümn
skill-ABL born joy be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG

‘joy, born from skill, comes up to him’ (A 2 b6)

(11b) akëmtše-pet-kälpatuñesi përkö mëskatr-ümn
wealth-PV-winning advantage be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG

‘the advantage of the winning of wealth comes up to him’
(A 3 a1)

(11c) yëk aŋkari ḥistriŋ pëkär täkär-ümn
six tusk/NOM.PL completely evident be/SU.3PL-CL.3SG

‘the six tusks became completely evident for him’ (A 67 b3)

2.4.3. Examples with other verbs

These verbs can be divided into three different types, as has been noticed before: 1. verbs of dispossessing, as A nök- ‘be extinct, disappear’ (12), B mëhk- ‘be, deprived of, suffer the loss of, lack’, (13), 2. verbs of realization, as B kën- ‘come to pass’ (of a wish) (14a-b), B tsëhk- ‘rise, arise’ (15), B tën- ‘be born, come to existence, come forth’ (16), A pyuŋk- ‘be realised’ (17), A këtk- ‘arise’ (18), 3. verbs of necessity, as B kën- ‘be necessary’ (19).

(12) sne-wëwlsën sne-paśl klu nakt-üm
non-cultivated husk-less rice disappear/PRT.3SG.M-CL.PL

‘The non-cultivated husk-less rice was lost for them’ (A 2 a5)

(13) šatre lauke mëkëtkët-ne
crop further lack/PR.3SG.M-CL.PL

‘and further is crop lacking for you’ (Monastery letter KT.XXXIV)

(14a) knatr-üm rito akl
come to pass/SU.3SG.M-CL.PL longed-for wish

‘the longed-for wish will be realized for you’ (A 66 b5)

(14b) ce paikalëne-sa aklk xek se ne(mcek)
this writing-PERL wish this certainly
këltër-ü
come to pass/OPT.3SG.M-CL.1SG

‘Through the writing may this wish certainly be fulfilled for me’
(S 6 a5)

(15) ontroyëccai olyapotse takyrkänñe
beyond measure/OBL very much faith
tsëhkë-ne
arise/PRT.3SG.A-CL.3SG

‘Faith beyond all measure arose for him’ (H.149.add.134 a3)

(16) ikañce-n-okañceñi suk doaun-ne yi(kaña
28th week-LOC hair/NOM.PL
kektse)it-sa tänmasë(n)it-üm
body-PERL arise/PR.3PL.M-CL.PL

‘In the 28th week arises for him hair over the body’ (B 603 b4)

(17) sas përkö nā-m wëwlsën wram
that advantage be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG performed thing
pyuštës-ümn
be realized/PR.3SG-CL.3SG

‘An advantage is for him the labour performed, it is realized for him’ (A 2 b5)

(18) täm sañçe kakåtku š(e)s-ümn
that hesitation arise/PPTC be/INF.3SG.A-CL.3SG

‘that arose in form of hesitation for him’ (A 313 a1)

(19) onme tañ klyin-asqëmt-ë sak lakle
there you-GEN be necessary/PR.3SG.A-CL.2SG joy pain
ritatsi parkui sañkantse
find/INF ask/INF monastery/GEN
‘There it is necessary for you to investigate and find out the happiness and misfortune of the monastery’
(Monastery letter KT:XXXIV)

2.5. Possessive

The clitics in possessive NP’s normally denote possession. There are two very common constructions, found in both inherent and incidental relationships:

1. An intransitive verb with a dependent Possessed = S (20a).
2. A transitive verb with a dependent Possessed = O (20b).

(20a) ce camelāsagena āṣenta
this of birth/NOM.PL necessity/NOM.PL
wikoʃʃj]**(ntār)-ne
disappear/OPT.3PL.M-CL.3SG
‘may his necessity of birth disappear’ (B 605 b1f.)

(20b) winasamās-ši tosām krant phinfu
honour/PRS.1PL.A-CL.2SG this/OBL.PL good merit/OBL.PL
winasam-ši (caʃʃ kraʃʃ) kāhpē
honour/PRS.1PL.A-CL.2SG this good beloved/OBL.
‘We honour these your good merits, we honour (this) your good beloved’ (A 253 b6f.)

With type 1. (Possessor = S) we find constructions that are interchangeable with the inverse constructions mentioned in 2.4.

Semantically, the possessives can be divided into two groups: possessives denoting an incidental (alienable) possession and possessives denoting an inherent (inalienable) possession (cf. Givón 2001:134). An incidental relationship is present in the example (21). The latter group is more problematic to define. The examples with bodyparts (22a-b) or other inherent properties, such as ‘life’ (23) are clear. But what of ‘relatives’ (24), who are clearly inalienable, but not incidental. Furthermore we have feelings, such as ‘compassion’ (25) or other characteristics, like ‘reputation’ (26). Again, if we consider these examples, the boundary between the Possessor and the Dative Subject is often very vague.

(21) yuʃam ʃasāsām kuhāl ... ōkeʃ-ām
horse/NOM.PL golden wagon draw/PR.3PL-CL.3SG
‘Horses draw his [i.e. Maitreyas’] golden wagon’ (A 253 b2)

(22a) pālketār-ne po keksteʃe
burn/PR.3SG.M-CL all body
‘all his body is burning’ (B 8 a5)

(22b) cindāmaʃim wtsi lap-ā sparwaʃ-ām
Cintāmanī- sunshade head-RLPERL turn/PR.3SG-CL.3SG
‘the Cintāmanī-sunshade is turning above his head’ (A 253 b1)

(23) sol sāndhine pās kekamū star-ne
life twilight-LOC away come be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG
‘his life has come away to a twilight’ (B 375 b4)

(24) saʃ yūnorʃ[ai] ytaʃ-ša waʃpār
own of deeds/OBL road-RLPERL apart
m[ai]ytaʃ-ā c[ai] sāšaʃ ʃʃiʃʃ
disappear/PR.3PL-CL.1SG these relatives/NOM.PL l/OBL
māršare
forget/PR.3PL
‘On the road of my own deeds, all my relatives have disappeared, [and] they have forgotten me’ (H.149.26/30 a1)

(25) kosinām ʃawari-ʃ pālwik-ām kāram
murdering hunter-LOC behold/IV.2PL-CL.3SG compassion
‘Behold his compassion for the murdering hunter’ (A 75 a2)

(26) mārkaplantu krant ʃom-ʃlu pūkam
the Dharma/NOM.PL good reputation everywhere
sasātār-ʃi
spread (tr.)/PR.3PL.A-CL.2SG
‘the Dharma have spread your good reputation everywhere’
(A 248 b1)
2.6. Agent in passive constructions

In passive constructions the clitic can be attached either to a finite verb in middle-passive (27a), or the finite verb of a periphrastic construction, with a past participle and a copula (27b). The clitic has the Agent function. In this position the enclitic replaces the genitive elsewhere.

(27a) laute mā kākoytār-me
moment not exceed/OPT.3SG.M-CL.PL
‘the right moment should not be run over by you’ (B 11 a4)

(27b) wenā-me-si-se nomiyeshe bhājan
say/PRT.3SG.A-CL.3SG-ALL this bejewelled bowl/OBL
rerimā star-me epe mā
give up/PPTC be/3PL-CL.PL or not
‘he said to them: Is this bejewelled bowl renounced by you or not?’ (B 108 b8f)

Conclusion

The Tocharian cliticized pronouns can be used in all syntactic core positions except as S in a normal construction, as is evident from the survey given above. All other core functions can be expressed by the clitics: Direct Object, Indirect Object, Dative Subject in inverse constructions and Agent in passive constructions. The clitics in inverse constructions very often present a special problem in that they are difficult to distinguish from the possessive clitics, since it is not clear from the context what exactly is implied by the statement.

References
