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The IE ‘*ā*-Preterit’ – The Tocharian Evidence*

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1. Introduction

In a gem from 1983 Jay H. Jasanoff showed that different IE languages show traces of a preterit that was characterized by **-ā-* (< **-eh₂-*)¹. Branches showing reflexes of the IE ‘*ā*-Preterit’ are:

Baltic. In Baltic the spread of the ‘*ā*-preterit’ eliminated the root and thematic aorist (cf. Lith. 3sg. *bėgo* ‘ran’, *būdo* ‘woke up’, *gulėjo* ‘lay’, *sākė* ‘said’, etc.)

Slavic. In Slavic the ‘second-stem’ aorist and the infinitive show *-ā-* (cf. e.g. OCS 1sg. *ližō*, Inf. **lbzati* ‘to lick’ Aor. *lizaxb*)

Italic. In Latin *ā*-forms are to be found in the imperfect of the verb ‘to be’ (*eram*, *-ās*, *-at*, etc.), in the pluperfect (cf. e.g. *dīxeram* ‘I have said’, *-ās*, *-at*, etc.), in the imperfect (cf. e.g. *tacēbam* ‘I was silent’, *-ās*, *-at*, etc.) and in the present subjunctive of thematic verbs (cf. e.g. from *dūcō* ‘I lead’: *dūcam*, *-ās*, *-at*, etc.) as well as the cognate formations in Osco-Umbrian (Osc. *kahad* ‘capiat’, Umbr. *dirsa* ‘det’, etc.)

Celtic. Celtic has *-ā-* in the present subjunctive of thematic verbs (cf. e.g. *beraid*, *bera* ‘may carry’)

Greek. Greek exhibits *-ā-* in formations like the Epidaurian aorist *ἐξέρρουα* ‘flew out’

* I would like to thank Melanie Malzahn for discussion and providing me with drafts of her forthcoming book. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for all errors.

Clear remnants of the IĒ $*-\bar{a}- < *-eh_2-$ preterit formative in Tocharian can be found within the Tocharian preterit,² particularly in one class of the active participle of the preterit as was assumed by the ‘Jubilar’.

2. The Tocharian Preterit Participles

In general there are four types or classes of the preterit active participle in Toch. B and two in Toch. A. The Toch. participles go back to the PIE perfect active participle in $*-\underline{u}es-/*-\underline{u}os-/*-us-$ (see Pedersen 1941: 111, Krause/Thomas 1960: 261, Van Windekens 1979: 76-79, Adams 1981) and were inflected amphikinetically. Þórhallsdóttir (1988: 184-191) gives an accurate account of the pre-history of the Toch. B participles. In summarizing Þórhallsdóttir’s results we can set up the following picture.³

I. Unreduplicated participle⁴ to monosyllabic roots:

e.g. *ltu/ltuweṣ*

Nom. sg.	$*-C-\underline{u}us$	>	$*-C\uw\u00e4s$	>	$*-C\uw$	>	<i>-u</i>
Obl.	$*-C-\underline{u}os$	>	$*-C\uw\u00e6s$	>		>	<i>-uweṣ</i>

II. Reduplicated participle to roots with long root-vowel, which do not form subjunctive V:⁵

e.g. *yamu/yamoṣ*

Nom. sg.	$*-C-uus$	>	$*-C\uw\u00e4s$	>	$*-C\uw$	>	<i>-u</i>
Obl.	$*-C-uos$	>	$*-C\uw\u00e6s$	>		>	<i>-oṣ</i> ⁶

III. Unreduplicated participle to preterit class I⁷:

e.g. *kālpau, -ow/kālpoṣ*

Nom. sg.	$*-\bar{a}-\underline{u}us$	>	$*-\bar{a}w\u00e4s$	>	$*-\bar{a}w$	>	<i>-au, -ow</i> ⁸
Obl.	$*-\bar{a}-\underline{u}os$	>	$*-\bar{a}w\u00e6s$	>		>	<i>-oṣ</i> ⁹

IV. Reduplicated participle to preterit class I. This participle belongs to roots with long root-vocalism, which form subjunctive V:

e.g. *papalkau/papalkaṣ*

Nom. sg.	$*-\bar{a}-\underline{u}us$	>	$*-\bar{a}w\u00e4s$	>	$*-\bar{a}w$	>	<i>-au</i>
Obl.	$*-\bar{a}-\underline{u}os$	>	$*-\bar{a}w\u00e6s$	>		>	<i>-aṣ</i>

3. Preterit Participle III

According to Jasanoff *apud* Þórhallsdóttir (1988: 206⁷) the class I preterit represents a conflation of earlier preterits in stem-final PIE $*H > PToch.$ $*-ā-$ and preterits with the notorious stem-final suffix PIE $*-eh_2- > PToch.$ $*-ā-$. This particular formative PToch. $*-ā-$ $< *-eh_2-$ of the IE ‘ā-preterit’ survives only as the stem vowel in the preterit participle III of the type *kālpau/-ow*, *kālpoṣ*, whereas it was replaced by the productive preterit marker $*-ā-$ in the associated finite paradigm of class I preterits as Jasanoff (1992: 151²⁵, 2003: 162) points out. Unfortunately, until now no data collection for preterit participle III corresponding to class I preterits has been made.

What follows is a presentation of the evidence of the class I preterit verbs that have a preterit participle III next to them.¹⁰

4. Preterit Participle III besides Class I Preterits

^Bkāt^ā- [^Akāt^ā-] ‘to strew’

pret. I 3pl. act. štare (MQ) pret. ptcp. III ktau/ktow

^Bkātk^ā- [^Akātk^ā-] ‘to cross, pass’

pret. I 3sg. act. śatka pret. ptcp. III kātkau, kātkoṣ

^Bkārk^ā- [^Akārk^ā-] ‘to rob, to steal, to remove’

pret. I 3sg. med. kārkaṭe pret. ptcp. III kārkaṭau, kārkoṣ

^Bkāry^ā- ‘to buy, to trade’

pret. I 3sg. med. kāryāte pret. ptcp. III kāryau, kāryoṣ

^Bkārs^ā- [^Akārs^ā-] ‘to know, to understand, to recognize’

pret. I 3sg. act. śarsa pret. ptcp. III kārsau, kārsōṣ

^Bkārst^ā- [^Akārst^ā-] ‘to cut off, destroy’

pret. I 3sg. act. karsta pret. ptcp. III kārstau, kārstōṣ

^Bkäl^ā- [^Akärst^ā-] ‘to lead, to bring’

pret. I 3sg. act. śala

pret. ptcp. III kälau

^Bkäl^{pā}- [^Akäl^{pā}-] ‘to optain’

pret. I 3sg. act. kalpa

pret. ptcp. III käl^{pau}, käl^{poṣ}

^Bkäl(t)s^ā- [^Akäl(t)s^ā-] ‘to pout, to (op)press’

pret. I 3pl. med. kältsānte

pret. ptcp. III kältsau, kälts^{oṣ} (MQ)

^Bkäsk^ā- ‘to destroy, to scatter’

pret. I 3pl. med. käskānte

pret. ptcp. III käskau, käsk^{oṣ}

^Bkutk^ā- [^Akutk^ā-] ‘to embody, to incarnate’

pret. I 1pl. act. śutkām

pret. ptcp. III kutk^{oṣ}

^bkrämp^ā- [^Akrämp^ā-] ‘to be hindered, to be disturbed’

pret. I 2sg. act. krämpāsta

pret. ptcp. III krämp^{oṣ}

^Blām^ā- [^Blām^ā-] ‘to sit’

pret. I 3sg. act. lyama

pret. ptcp. III l^{mau}, l^{moṣ}

^Blit^ā- [^Alit^ā-] ‘to fall (down, off)’

pret. I 3sg. act. lita

pret. ptcp. III litau

^Blip^ā- [^Alit^ā-] ‘to remain, to be left over’

pret. I 3sg. act. lipa

pret. ptcp. III lip^{oṣ}

^Blu^ā- [^Alu^ā-] ‘to send’

pret. I 3sg. act. lyuwa

pret. ptcp. III lw^{oṣ}

^Bwäks^ā- ‘to turn away’

-

pret. ptcp. III wäks^{oṣ}ne

^Bputk^ā- [^Aputk^ā-] ‘to divide, to separate, to distinguish’

pret. I 3sg. med. putkāte pret. ptcp. III putkowä (Š), putkoṣ

^Bprutk^ā- [^Aprutk^ā-] ‘to be shut, to be filled’

pret. I 3sg. act. prutkāre pret. ptcp. III prutkauwa

^Bmāk^ā- ‘to run’

pret. I 3pl. med. mkānte pret. ptcp. III mkauwa

^Bmānk^ā- ‘to be inferior, to lack’ [^Amānk^ā- ‘to be inferior’]

pret. I 1sg. med. mānkāwa pret. ptcp. III mānkau

^Bmārs^ā- [^Amārs^ā-] ‘to forget’

pret. I 3sg. act. marsa pret. ptcp. III mārsau/mārsau^u (MQ),
mārsōṣ

^Bmāl^ā- ‘to melt’

- pret. ptcp. III mloṣ

^Bmāl^k^ā- ‘to put on (weapons, jewelry) [^Amāl^k^ā- ‘to put together’]

pret. I 3sg. med. māl^k^āte pret. ptcp. III māl^k^ākau (MQ)/māl^k^āko (MQ)

^Bmātsts^ā- ‘to starve’

- pret. ptcp. III mātstsorsa

^Bmik^ā- ‘to shut (the eyes)’

- pret. ptcp. III miko^u, mikoṣ

^Bmus^ā- ‘to raise, to be pulled up’ [^Bmus^ā- ‘to rise’]

- pret. ptcp. III musau

^Bmusk^ā- [^Amusk^ā-] ‘to disappear, perish’

- pret. ptcp. III muskau

The IE ‘*ā*-Preterit’ – The Tocharian Evidence

^Bsätkā- [^Asätkā-] ‘to spread out’

pret. I 3pl. act. sätkāre

pret. ptcp. III sätkau

^Bsälkā- ‘to pull, to show’

pret. I 3sg. med. sälkāte

pret. ptcp. III sälkoṣām̄ts

^Bsälpā- [^Asälpā-] ‘to glow’

pret. I 3sg. act. salpa

pret. ptcp. III sälpowsai (Š)

^Bsiyā- ‘to sweat’

-

pret. ptcp. III siyau

^Bstāmā- [^Astāmā-] ‘to stand’

pret. I 3sg. act. śama

pret. ptcp. III stmau, stmoṣ

^Bspāntā- [^Aspāntā-] ‘to trust’

-

pret. ptcp. III spāntauwa, spāntoṣ

^Bspärkā- [^Aspärkā-] ‘to disappear, to perish’

pret. I 3sg. act. sparkā-ne (Š)

pret. ptcp. III spärkau, spärkoṣ

^Bsrukā- ‘to die’ [^Asrukā- ‘to kill’]

pret. I 3sg. act. sruka

pret. ptcp. III srukau, srukoṣ

^Bsläppā- ‘to fall into, to sink in’

-

pret. ptcp. III släppos

^Btsänkā- ‘to (a)rise’

pret. I 3sg. act. tsänka

pret. ptcp. III tsänkau/tsänkowwa (MQ),
tsänkoṣ

^Btsämā- [^Atsämā-] ‘to grow, to increase, to come into being’

pret. I 3sg. act. tsama

pret. ptcp. III tsmawwa, tsämoṣ

^Btsälp^ā- [^Atsälp^ā-] ‘to pass away, to be released, to be redeemed’

pret. I 3sg. act. tsalpa pret. ptcp. III tsälpau/tsälpowo,
tsälpoş/tsälpoşo

^Btsuw^ā- ‘to attach oneself, to stick to, being stuck together’ [^Atsuw^ā- ‘to stick together, to obey’]

pret. I 3sg. act. tsuwa pret. ptcp. III tsauwa, tswoş

^Btärk^ā- [^Atärk-] ‘to dismiss, to emit’

pret. I 3sg. act. carka pret. ptcp. III tärkau, tärkoş

^Btuk^ā- ‘to hide oneself, to seek refuge in’ [^Atpuk^ā- ‘to hide’]

- pret. ptcp. III tukau

^Btrik^ā- ‘to go astray, to be confused’ [^Atrik^ā- ‘to be confused, to faint’]

pret. I 3sg. act. trīkā (MQ) pret. ptcp. III trikau, trikoş

^Btriw^ā- ‘to be mixed, to shake’ [^Atriw^ā- ‘to be mixed’]

pret. I 3pl. act. triwāre pret. ptcp. III triwoş

^Btwās^ā- ‘to shine’ [^Btwās^ā- ‘to burn’]

- pret. ptcp. III twoş

^Bnätk^ā- [^Anätk- ‘to hold distant, to push away’]

pret. I 3pl. act. nātka (MQ) pret. ptcp. III nätkau/nätkowo

^Bnuk^ā- ‘to swallow’

- pret. pctp. III nukowä (MQ)

^Byäk^ā- [^Ayäk^ā-] ‘to be careless’

- pret. pctp. III ykauwo, ykoşämts

^Byäks^ā- [^Ayäks^ā-] ‘to entangle, to embrace’

- pret. pctp. III yäksau (MQ)

^Byärtt^ā- [^Ayärtt^ā-] ‘to drag’

pret. I 3sg. act. yärtta-ne pret. pctp. III yärttau (MQ), yärtōṣ

^Byu^ā- ‘to ripen’

-

pret. pctp. III ywauwa

^Byuk^ā- [^Ayuk^ā-] ‘to overcome, to conquer’

pret. I 3sg. act. yukā-ne pret. pctp. III yukau, yukoṣ

^Brānk^ā- ‘to ascend, to mount, to climb up’

pret. I 3sg. act. rānka pret. pctp. III rānkau (MQ), rānkormem

^Brit^ā- [^Arit^ā-] ‘to seek, to long for, to cherish (a wish)’

pret. I 3sg. med. rītāte pret. pctp. III ritau, ritoṣ

^Britt^ā- [^Aritw^ā-] ‘to be attached, to be linked to, to persist, to be suitable’

pret. I 3sg. act. ritta pret. pctp. III rittau/rittowo, rittoṣ

^Bruk^ā- [^Bruk^ā-] ‘to become slim’

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pret. pctp. III rukau

^Bruk^ā- ‘to (re)move, to take off, to doff’ [^Bruk^ā- ‘to (re)move’]

pret. I 3sg. med. rotkāte pret. pctp. III rutkoṣ

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The IE 'ā-Preterit' – The Tocharian Evidence

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The IE 'ā-Preterit' – The Tocharian Evidence

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Notes

¹ For earlier treatments see Szemerényi 1990: 279-281.

² For general synchronic account of the preterit and its participles in Tocharian A see SIEG/SIEGLING/SCHULZE 1931: 363-384, for Tocharian B cf. Krause 1952: 154-192, for an overview of the preterit in both languages cf. Krause/Thomas 1960: 237-254. Studies with special emphasis on the history of certain preterit classes and their formation are Schulze 1924, Lindeman 1972, Jasanoff 1984 and 1988, Ringe 1990, Schmidt/Winter 1992, Adams 1994, Saito 1997, Schmidt 1997, Widmer 2001 and Malzahn (forthcoming).

³ For the details as well as discussion of earlier treatments see Þórhallsdóttir 1988: 184-191.

⁴ According to Winter (1994: 299f.) this type had lost its reduplication even in Common-Toch.

⁵ In Toch. A this class conforms to the participles ending in *-u*, *-unt*.

⁶ Hilmarrson (1988: 512) assumes a sound law according to which PIE **-ō* standing in a final syllable gave closed Proto-Toch. **ō̄*. This Proto-Toch. **ō̄* resulted according to Hilmarrson to Toch. B *-u* in absolute final position, in protected position on the other hand it turned to *-o-*, so we would get nom. sg. *-u* < **-uō̄* < **-uō̄s*, whereas a development *-oš* < **-uō̄š* would show up in the obl.

⁷ In Toch. A this class conforms to the participles ending in *-o*, *-ont*.

⁸ For the alternation of *-o/-ow* > *-au* in respect to chronology of the texts see Stumpf 1990: 79ff. rejecting Winter's (1955) dialectal interpretation.

⁹ According to Hilmarrson (1988: 512) this class is thematic going back to **-o-uō̄s-*, but there seems to be no evidence in favor this claim.

¹⁰ The collection is based on Sieg/Siegling 1921, 1949, 1953, Lévi 1933, Filiozat 1948, Krause 1952, Broomhead 1963, Schmidt 1986, Ji/Winter/Pinault 1998 and Malzahn (forthcoming).

¹¹ Only in Krause/Thomas (1960: 240).