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Notes on the Syntactic Functions of the Tocharian Clitic Pronouns

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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 pronominal 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 1. *The Tocharian clitic pronouns.*

	B	A
Sg. 1	-ñi	-ñi
2	-c	-ci
3	-ne	-ni
Pl. 1-3	-me	-m

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): 1sg. **-nā*, 2sg. **-cā*, 3sg. **-næ*, 1-3pl. **-nā*, **-cā* come from PT **ne*, **te*, and the origin of **næ*, **mæ* could be **no*, **mo* or **nē*, **mē*.

Pinault (1989) presupposes for 1sg. **-nā* an evolution from the Indo-European genitive **mene* > **m'nā* > **nā*. Another possibility is that the clitic pronoun A *-ñi* B *-ñi* has developed by analogy from the genitive of the independent personal pronoun, AB *ñi*, which indicates a proto-form 1sg. **-me*, parallel to **-te*.

Behind the A-forms *-ñi*, *-ci* a PT **-mei*, **-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 **ne*, **te* (accusative) are used both independently and in cliticized form in different languages, Gr. *eme*, clit. *-me*, OLith. clit. *-n*, Hitt. *-mu* (Schmidt 1978:49f.). IE **moi*, **toi* > Gr. *moi*, *soi*, Skt. *me*, *te*, Late Av. *mē*, *tē* 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. *amena*, *amayā* etc., Lith *añs*, *anās*. 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.

amme < **ns-me*, Ved. *yusma*, Dor. *ume*, Lesb. *umme* < **us-me* (Pinault 1989:112-113).

Another possibility is to compare **no* with OIr. *no*, *nu*, preverb to simple verbs without conjunct 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 *na-* before *-as*, *-an*.

For the Hittite clitic pronoun in 1st and 2nd person, *-mu* and *-ta*, there are different etymological explanations: either **moi*, **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* < **-mo*, 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 pronouns¹

2.1. General notions

The clitic pronouns are always attached to a finite verb, which is the predicate of the sentence. If the clitic is syntactically the dependent of an infinite 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)

	///(<i>we</i>) <i>ššäm</i>	<i>äppa</i>	<i>ate</i>
	say/PR.3SG.A	father-VOC	away
			<i>yämisi</i>
			do/INF
			<i>pä[<i>ʃ</i>ʃ]</i> (<i>ä</i>) <i>s[<i>ʃ</i>ʃ]</i> <i>r-ñ</i>
			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)

¹ Appears before the reflexive particle *-za* as *-za*.

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.

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):³

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, allative, 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 *wināsk*-A *winās*- 'honour, worship'.

As typical examples of this function, with a more or less affected Patient, we may use the constructions with the verbs B *läk*- 'see' (2a) or B *šü-šwā*- 'eat' (2b).

- (2a)

	<i>käryorttau</i>	<i>ksa</i>	<i>lyäka-ne</i>
	merchant-NOM	some	see/PRT.3SG.A-CL.3SG

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

³ Cf. Krause & Thomas (1960 § 264), Pinault (1989:112-113).

- (2b) *pāsti* *nīce* *śwā-ñ*
 away yet eat/PR.3PL.A-CL.1SG

'they will eat me up' (B 83 a6)

2.3. Indirect Object of ditransitive verbs (10)

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 *li-* 'send' (3b).

- (3a) *p-aṣām* *śwāsi* *p-aṣām* *nātik*
 IPV-give/2SG eat/INF IPV-give/2SG master
p-wikā-m *klop* *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/*arso *lywāwā-s*
 letter send/PRT.1SG.A-CL.2SG

'I have sent you a letter' (B 492 a3)

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

- (4) *śwāsi* *p-ūika-ñi*
 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 [S_{NOM} V_{TR} E_{GEN/CL}]. 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 'have'. The construction used is the third singular of the verb A *nas-* B *nes-* 'be' or AB *māsk-* '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 sañkrām* *sta-r-s* *pikhwala*
 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 'my Karman may disappear and be torn off' or 'may Karman disappear from me and be torn off from me'.

- (6) *nautoy-ñ* *yāmor* *kāntoytār-ñ*
 disappear/OPT.3SG-CL.1SG Karman tear/OPT.3SG-CL.1SG
ks(ā)nt(i) *iākoy-ñ*
 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 (10a-11c).

- (7a) *ñakta tve tu makte päst aiśtrā*
 Lord/VOC you even self away know/PR.2SG.M
sañ patarye sanītrām star-s pikval(a)///
 own paternal monastery be/PR.3SG years/OBL.PL

'O, Lord, you know it yourself: there is for you an own paternal monastery since years' (Monastery letter [KT:XXXIV])

- (7b) *///(pāmār kujsn(e) kri tās-sī*
 take/IPV.2SG what request be/SU.3SG-CL.2SG

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

- (8) *snai-yparwece samsār-ne tāryā-yālane kārtsesse*
 without beginning Samsara-LOC three-fold of good
yāmor tākoy-ñ
 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) *ṣomāp lānt em kṛprene*
 one/GEN king/GEN give/SU.1SG.A if

cu ālyek yāstuṣ tākeñci-ñi
 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=ōko aśām tāke(ñ-ci) śl=ō)ko*
 with fruit eye/NOM.PL be/SU.3PL-CL.2SG with fruit
tās-sī oñi 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 postam ci-sa lāre māskētār-ñ*
 not even later you-PERL.dear be/PR.3SG.M-CL.2SG

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

- (10b) *(mā)no nta māskētār-ne ekaññe*
 not at all be/PPF.3SG.M-CL.3SG possession

'But (no) possession at all was for him' (B 375 a3)

- (11a) *amok-āṣ tatmu kācke* *māskatr-ām*
 skill-ABL born joy be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG
 'joy, born from skill, comes up to him' (A 2 b6)
- (11b) *akāmsitune-pāi-kālpātuneṣi* *pārko māskatr-ām*
 wealth-PV-winning advantage be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG
 'the advantage of the winning of wealth comes up to him'
 (A 3 a1)
- (11c) *ṣāk ānikari ṣitsrāk pākār tākar-ām*
 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 dispossession, as A *nāik*- 'be extinct, disappear' (12), B *mānk*- 'be, deprived of, suffer the loss of, lack', (13), 2. verbs of realization, as B *kān*- 'come to pass' (of a wish) (14a-b), B *isānk*- 'rise, arise' (15), B *tām*- 'be born, come to existence, come forth' (16), A *pyukt*- 'be realised' (17), A *kāik*- 'arise' (18), 3. verbs of necessity, as B *klin*- 'be necessary' (19).

- (12) *sne-wāwleṣu sne-psāl klu nakt-ām*
 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) *ṣātre lauke māniketār-me*
 crop further lack/PR.3SG.M-CL.PL
 'and further is crop lacking for you' (Monastery letter
 KT.XXXIV)
- (14a) *knatr-ām rito ākāl*
 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 paikairē-sa akāik se ne(mcek)*
 this writing-PERL wish this certainly
kātār-ñ
 come to pass/OPT.3SG.M-CL.1SG
 'Through the writing may this wish certainly be fulfilled for me'
 (S 6 a5)
- (15) *ontsoyāccai olyapōse takarṣkāññe*
 beyond measure/OBL very much faith
isānkā-ne
 arise/PRT.3SG.A-CL.3SG
 'Faith beyond all measure arose for him' (H.149.add.134 a3)
- (16) *ikañcem-oktañcem ṣuk-ḥcaun-ne y(oka)mma*
 28th week-LOC hair/NOM.PL
kekise)ñit-sa tāmmaske(ñ)tār-ne
 body-PERL arise/PR.3PL.M-CL.PL
 'In the 28th week arises for him hair over the body' (B 603 b4)
- (17) *sas pār-ko nā-m wāwleṣu wram*
 that advantage be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG performed thing
pyutkāṣṣ-ām
 be realized/PR.3SG-CL.3SG
 'An advantage is for him the labour performed, it is realized for him' (A 2 b5)
- (18) *tām sañce kākātiku ṣ(e)ṣ-ām*
 that hesitation arise/PPTC be/IPF.3SG.A-CL.3SG
 'that arose in form of hesitation for him' (A 313 a1)
- (19) *omte tañ khyin-aṣā(ṃ)-ś sak lakle*
 there you-GEN be necessary/PR.3SG.A-CL.2SG joy pain
ritaisi parktsi sarikantse
 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* *camel(ā)ṣṣena* *āisenta*
this of birth/NOM.PL necessity/NOM.PL
wiko[ʃ] *(ntā)ṛ-ne*
disappear/OPT.3PL.M-CL.3SG

'may his necessity of birth disappear' (B 605 b1f.)

(20b) *wināsamās-ṣi* *tosām* *krant pñintu*
honour/PRS.1PL.A-CL.2SG this/OBL.PL good merit/OBL.PL
wināsam-ṣi *(caṃ kra)nt* *kāpñe*
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) *yukañ* *wsāṣinām* *kukāl...* *ākeñc-ām*
horse/NOM.PL golden wagon draw/PR.3PL-CL.3SG

'Horses draw his [i.e. Maitreyas'] golden wagon' (A 253 b2)

(22a) *pāḷketār-ne* *po* *kekiseñe*
burn/PR.3SG.M-CL all body

'all his body is burning' (B 8 a5)

(22b) *cindāmaṇiṣiṃ* *wiṣi* *lap-ā* *sparcwiṣ-ām*
Cintāmani-sunshade head-PERL turn/PR.3SG-CL.3SG

'the Cintāmani-sunshade is turning above his head' (A 253 b1)

(23) *śol* *sāndhine* *pās* *kekamu* *star-ne*
life twilight-LOC away come be/PR.3SG-CL.3SG

'his life has come away to a twilight' (B 375 b4)

(24) *ṣaṅ* *yāmoraṣṣ[ai]* *ytāri-sa* *waipṭār*
own of deeds/OBL road-PERL apart

m[ai]yṭar-ñ *c[ai]* *ṣṅaṣṣi* *ñ[i]ṣ*
disappear/PRT.3PL-CL.1SG these relatives/NOM.PL IOBL

marṣāre
forget/PRT.3PL

'On the road of my own deeds, all my relatives have disappeared, [and] they have forgotten me' (H.149.26/30 a1)

(25) *koṣānīām* *śarwṇ-am* *pāḷkāc-ām* *kārum*
murdering hunter-LOC behold/TPV.2PL-CL.3SG compassion

'Behold his compassion for the murdering hunter' (A 75 a2)

(26) *mārkaṃpāntu* *krant* *ñom-klyu* *pūkam*
the Dharmas/NOM.PL good reputation everywhere

sasātkār-ci
spread (tr.)/PRT.3PLA-CL.2SG

'the Dharmas 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-s se nomiyeṣṣe bhājam*
 say/PRT.3SG.A-CL.3SG-ALL this bejewelled bowl/OBL
rerinu 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.

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