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Middle-passive and causative: valency-change in the Tocharian B -e-presents without initial palatalization¹

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1. Introduction

The systematic generalization of a morphological category *causative* in Tocharian A and B is by most Tocharologists considered to be an inner-Tocharian innovation.² Though having its roots in Common Tocharian, its details probably developed later than the split of Tocharian A and B. The suffix used in all causative presents, CT *-sk- (B -s(-š-)/-šš-, [A -s(-š-)]) occurs also in the non-causative present classes IX–XI. As demonstrated by Hackstein (1995), through careful analysis of the non-causative *-sk-presents, no inherent *causative* function can be postulated for this suffix in Common Tocharian. Furthermore, the causativity should be looked for in the initial accent.³

Concerning the functions of the causative, Krause and Thomas (1960: 174, § 297) list the following features: 1. The causative can apply to both transitive and intransitive verbs, 2. Primarily, the difference between “Grundverb” and “Kausativ” corresponds to intransitive/passive vs. transitive/active, 3. “Grundverb” and “Kausativ” are generally not different in their lexical nucleus (“Bedeutungskern”), 4. Some roots ending in -k have double causative formations; in one of them a lexical difference between “Grundverb” and “Kausativ” sometimes occurs, 5. With some verbs, there is no difference at all.

The first question is, if all causatives are true *causatives* in the sense that they introduce a new argument into the core, the *causer*, which takes the A (Agent) position, whereas original S (Subject) or A (Agent) becomes O (Object) and an original O (in case of a transitive verb) becomes E (Extension of core) or IO (Indirect Object), which is the normal definition of a causative.⁴ The second question is if the *middle*, which has basically a valency-decreasing function,⁵ can change the syntactic effects caused by the causative.

In this article, I will look closer upon a distinct group of verbs in Tocharian B that are, with one exception, inherently intransitive: verbs that have a present stem in B -e- [A -a-] (with initial accentuation), no initial

palatalization and subjunctives with non-initial accentuation (Winter 1980, "list I"). These verbs belong to the group that by K.T. Schmidt (1974: 29–55) is referred to as "Medio-aktiva": they have a middle-passive present beside an active preterite. The subjunctive is either active or middle. The middle-passive present is without exceptions, some deviation can occur in the preterite, where we can have lack of attestation or, in exceptional cases, middle-passive forms. In general there is no semantic or syntactic difference between the present middle-passive and the preterite active forms.

2. Valency of the "Grundverb" (present III)

Some verbs are fully intransitive and have no second argument (Table 1). Other verbs could be characterized as "extended intransitives": they are inherently intransitive, but are normally constructed with a more or less obligatory second argument, which, however, is not an oblique (O). These extensions are either secondary cases, as ablative, perlativ, allative, locative or comitative, or (only in inverse constructions, see below) the genitive/uninflected enclitic pronoun. Examples of verbs of this type are given in Table 2.

B *mārs-* 'forget' is mentioned by Winter (1980: 434) as an exception from the intransitive tendency of this class.⁷ A causative of B *mārs-* is found in the passage Br.Mus. 1 a3(b3) (example 1). Though the exact meaning of this passage is obscure, it is relatively clear that we have a causative of a transitive 'forget', i. e. 'make forget'; a third argument is however lacking.

Table 1. Examples of intransitive verbs with -e-present ("Grundverb")

	Meaning:	Extension:
B <i>krämp-</i>	'be disturbed'	No extension
B <i>kwäl-</i>	'fail'	No extension
B <i>lip-</i>	'remain'	No extension
B <i>musk-</i>	'disappear, perish'	No extension
B <i>plänk-</i>	'be sold'	No extension
B <i>pruk-</i>	'be stopped, shut, filled'	No extension
B <i>spärk-</i>	'disappear'	No extension
B <i>strük-</i>	'die'	No extension

Table 2. Examples of extended intransitive verbs with -e-present ("Grundverb")

	Meaning:	Extension:
B <i>lit-</i>	'pass away, fall down'	ablative
B <i>mit-</i>	'go, set out'	allative, locative, perlativ
B <i>pränk-</i>	'stay away, restrain oneself'	ablative
B <i>spânt-</i>	'trust'	comitative
B <i>triv-</i>	'be mixed, get mixed, mingle'	comitative
B <i>tsälp-</i>	'be free, pass away'	ablative
B <i>tsār-</i>	'be separated, be apart'	ablative
B <i>tsu-</i>	'adhere, cling, attach to'	allative

- (1) Br.Mus. 1 a3(b3)f. (*de*)*vadatte procer šai ŋi ce_u preke k_use su my-ārsā-ne e[]te lyoww[a] štorwonā⁸ rākšātsānā⁹ šen*

'Devadatta was my brother at that time, and he was the one who made him forget. He sent down the ... [that] were rākšasa women'

A complicated verb is B *ritt-* 'be attached, linked to'. The verb shows several competing constructions. Thus the construction in (2a) is fully intransitive, with no extension of the verb. Otherwise we have a present middle-passive with a locative (2b), or a comitative,¹⁰ (2c) as well as an active preterite with the comitative (2d).

- (2a) B 108 a7f. [*•*] (*ya*) [*k*] *was rittenitār •*

'still, we are bound (pres.mid.)'

- (2b) D.A.M 507 (32), 4 *sañkantiṣe ayāto nesāññe ste k_uśalapākṣne rittenitār*

'... the situation of the community is pleasant and we are united (pres.mid.) in good conduct (loc.)'

- (2c) P.K.AS.71 (K 9 Lévi) b1 *cāmpamñecceṃ orocceṃ wnohmempa rittenitār eṣe*

'it is attached (pres.mid.) together to great, able beings (com.)'

- (2d) B 203 b1 (*ko*)*rānmasa onohm[e](m) penn(e)[r]ñ(e)mpa r(i)t(ta)-sta*

'... you were bound (pret.act.) to glory (com.)'

With the past participle we have several occurrences with the comitative (3a), and exceptionally also the locative (3b). In an example with causative past participle which exhibits no semantic difference when compared to its corresponding past participle of the "Grundverb" we have the allative (3c).

- (3a) H.149.40 a3 *cwī no soy_a sey_a tnyknesa śarwarñempa rittowo*
'he, however, had a son and therefore he was bound (PP) to pride
(com.)'
(3b) H.149.235 a1 *llspaktāñne šeym rittau ñ[iś]lll*
'I am bound (PP) to his service (loc.)'
(3c) B 362 b6 (*keklyau*)*šormem yältse yäkwešc rerittoš cwi (kokale)lll*
'having heard [that], (he took?) his wagon, bound (PPcaus) to thou-
sand horses (all.) ...'

In two present forms of this verb, we find inverse constructions.¹¹ In the first example we have an impersonal predicate with a genitive (4a) and in the second example an inanimate S with an uninflected enclitic pronoun as second argument (4b).

- (4a) B 331 b3 *taišem weweñu tākam ot ka šamānentse mant yatsi rittetār*
'(if) he has spoken thus, then it is suitable (pres.mid.) for a monk
(gen.) to go (inf.)'
(4b) B 108 a2 *amplākātte mā rittetār-me o(stamem lalñe)*
'without permission, a (leaving-the-house) is not suitable (pres.-
mid.) for you (encl.)'

Three more verbs of this group occur regularly in inverse constructions, B *māsk*- 'be, become, find oneself', B *mānk*- 'lack' (Ša) and B *wik*- 'disappear' (Šb).

- (5a) PK.AS.17D a5 *traike wrotse amarše wikātār-m(e) snai lyipār*
'The great confusion of anger will disappear (subj.mid.) for you
(encl.) without rest'
(5b) Monastery letter¹² *šatre lauke māñketār-me*
'and further grain is not sufficient (pres.mid.) for you (encl.)'

Considering the verbal semantics of these "Grundverbs", we can observe several correspondences between the individual verbs. At first, very few express *activities*: the only really certain exception is the motion verb B *mit*- 'go, set out'. On the other hand, very few verbs denote *states*. The large majority should be classified as *achievements*, e.g. 'die', 'be confused', 'starve', 'forget', and interestingly enough a general trait is also *lack of control by S* that has few exceptions within the list. Among them the following should be mentioned: 'trust', 'be attached', or 'stay away'. In general, the list is coherent not only syntactically, as has been demonstrated by Winter (1980), but also semantically.

3. Valency-increasing present formations: VIII and IXb

It has been clearly demonstrated by Hackstein (1995: 147–158) that a formal and functional difference between the presents VIIa and VIIIb cannot be established.¹³ The characteristic for the whole class of presents VIII, demonstrated in the exposition of the individual verbs, can be summarised as follows (Hackstein 1995: 154):

1. A Tocharian *-se/o*-present to an Indo-European transitive root remains transitive.
2. A Tocharian *-se/o*-present to an Indo-European intransitive root becomes transitivised.

Following the conclusion by Hackstein (1995), the verbs of this group that have other present formations than class III should be divided in three groups:

1. Verbs with present III (+subj. V) and present IXb (+subj. IX) stems (table 4)
2. Verbs with present III (+subj. V) and present VIII (+subj. I, II) stems (table 5)
3. Verbs with present III (+subj. V), present VIII (+subj. I, II) and present IXb (+subj. IX) stems (table 6).

Table 3. Intransitive vs. transitive constructions of *-e*-presents

Present III
[S _{nom.} V _{intr.} (E _{abl./all./loc./com./perl.})]
Present VIII, IXb
[A _{nom.} V _{tr.} O _{obl.} (E _{abl./all./loc./com./perl.})]

The general syntactic pattern of the present VIII and present IXb constructions are very similar, compared to their present III counterparts. As demonstrated by Hackstein (1995), present VIII generally has a transitivising effect on an inherently intransitive stem. On these verbs, the transitivising effects come very close to the causative effects, if now "causative" is a proper term for the present IXb formations of this class.

Considering the verb B *plānik*- 'be sold, come up for sale', the present VIII form appears as a transitive 'sell' (6).

- (6) PK.NS.95 a4—5 *cau wāntare piyañcān ... (wate piyam)ssi kārnāstrā mā no piyañcām*
 'If he sells (pres.subj.) this thing ... He buys in order to sell, but he does not sell (pres.subj.)'

Table 4. Verbs with present III and IXb stems

	Present III (+Subj. V)	Present IXb (+Subj. IX)
B māñk-	'be deprived of, lack'	act. 'overcome'
B mārs-	'forget'	act. 'make forget' (?) mid. (?)
B mit-	'go, set out'	act. 'let go, release'
B musk-	'disappear, perish'	act. 'make subside, make disappear'
B prāñk-	'stay away'	act. 'keep away, reject'
B prutk-	'be stopped, confined, filled'	act. 'shut up, confine, fill up' mid. (imperative only)
B ritt-	'be attached'; 'be suitable'	act. 'join'
B spānt-	'trust'	mid. 'prepare, set about'
B triv-	'be mixed, mingle'	act. 'trust in'
B tsālp-	'be free, pass away'	act. 'mix' (infinite forms only)
B tsār-	'be separated'	mid. 'mix, shake'
B tsu-	'adhere, stick, cling'	mid. 'free from'
B wāik-	'separate, distinguish'	act./mid. 'separate'
		act. 'make cohere, add to'
		act. 'command, order'

Table 5. Verbs with present III and VIII stems

	Present III (+Subj. V)	Present VIII (+Subj. I, II)
B krāñp-	'be disturbed'	act. 'disturb'; 'put a stop to'
B plāñk-	'come up for sale'	act. / mid. 'sell'
B sāk-	'spread' (intransitive)	mid. 'spread' (transitive)
B tsām-	'grow'	act./mid. 'cause to grow, promote'

Table 6. Verbs with present III, VIII and IXb stems

	present III	present VIII	present IXb
B spārk-	'disappear, perish'	'avoid'	'drive away'
B trik-	'be confused'	'be confused, mistake'	'be confused'
B wīk-	'disappear'	'disappear, pass away'	'put to flight'; 'dissolve'

In cases in which we find active as well as middle passive forms in present VIII or IXb, they do not, as a rule, differ in meaning and construction. As an example we might use B *isām-* 'grow' (intransitive), present VIII 'cause to grow, promote' (transitive) (7a–b).

- (7a) PK.AS.7B (K2 Lévi) b6 *kātkem plontonitrā spēkka maiyya tsamsen-ne*

'they rejoice and make glad and promote (act.caus.) their strength'
 PK.NS.54 (previously PK.1086) a1 *kos isānitrā yāmornā bo-dhisātvē wakīvem tārya-yākne*

'as often as a Bodhisattva promotes (mid.caus.) the three-fold, distinguished deeds ...'

An exception is here B *ritt-* 'be attached, be suitable'. The present III constructions have been dealt with earlier. The present IXb active means 'join' (8a), and the action is done for someone else's benefit. The middle, however, 'prepare; bind' is done for the benefit of the Agent (8b–c).

- (8a) PK.AS.12F a2 *amāc weṣām • peñiyacce soyyṣe okompa pātrā ritt-taske_u*

'the minister says: to the splendid fruit of a son (com.) I join (prs.IXb.act.) the father (obl.) [i. e. I bring father and son together]'

- (8b) H.149.add. 37 a4 *llraitante pyāpyaim pāsakā(ñta)*

'they tied (prt.II.mid.) the flowers (obl.) [into] garlands (obl.)'

- (8c) B 339 a5 *ll/sjū wṣeññai raittate*

'he prepared (prt.II.mid.) [himself] a bed (obl.)'

Considering the semantic structure of the presents VIII and IXb above, no general difference can be established: instead of *achievements* and *lack of control by S*, as expressed by the present III forms, both present VIII and IXb denote *accomplishments* and *control of action by A*. This indicates that we should assume a basically valency-increasing function of both present VIII and present IXb, which also implies control of action, as indicated above (cf. Table 3).

4. Verbs with triple present stems

Three verbs of this list have triple present stems,¹⁴ III (+subj. V, +pret. I), VIII (+subj. II + pret. III) and IXb (+subj. IX): *trik-* 'be confused', *wīk-* 'disappear', and *spārk-* 'disappear'.

B *wīk-* 'disappear' is the verb whose structure is most obvious. In all examples of present III (+subj. V), the S is inanimate. In several cases it

is constructed with a genitive or uninflected enclitic pronoun (or both) as second argument (see example 9a–b).

(9a) B 3 a4f. *te keklyaušormen brāhman(i) šaulne (s)kwa(ñ)[ñ](e) wikā-ne*

'Having heard that, the good fortune of the brahmin in life disappeared for him'

(9b) PK.AS.17D a5 *traike wrotse amarse wikātār-m(e) snai lyjār*
'The great error of vexation will disappear for you and leave no rest'

Present VIII (+subj.II) is, as compared to pres.III (+subj.V +pret.I) clearly transitive, though not "causative": the meaning is 'avoid, stay away from' (example 10a–b).

(10a) B 117 a7 (*ai)šaumye šaumo wīši anaisai tom wā[nta](rwa)///*)

'A wise man should carefully avoid these things'

(10b) B 600 b5 (*okt bodhisatvents) somotkāmne wikšallona wāntarwa skente*

'For a Bodhisattva there are eight things that are likewise to be avoided'

Table 5. Constructions with different present stems of B *wik-* 'disappear'

Present III (+subj.V) 'disappear'	
Syntactic structure: [S _{nom.} V _{intr.} (E _{gen./encl.})]	
Present VIII (+subj.II) 'avoid'	
Syntactic structure: [A _{nom.} V _{tr.} O _{obl.}]	
Causative present IXb (+pret.II) 'drive away'	
Syntactic structure: [A _{nom.} V _{tr.} O _{obl.}]	

The causative IXb (+pret.II, no subjunctive attested) is semantically based upon the present III meaning, 'disappear' → 'drive away, make disappear' (11a–b, past participle 11c). The construction has the same syntactic structure as present VIII (+subj.II) (see table 5).

(11a) B 523 a7 *///(krama) [risana pā]lškonta [s]e[k w]jīk[š]šām*

'He always drives away heavy thoughts'

(11b) PK.AS.5C (S 6 Lévi) b3 *po yolaiñe wikāšim po cmelane*

'May I drive away evil in all births.'

(11c) B 7 b7 *klesanma yaiku(wa) ñi*

'the afflictions have been expelled by me'

How should we define the semantic difference between 'avoid' and 'drive away'? Again, the degree of control by the A should be considered.

B *spār-k-* 'disappear' has, as compared to B *wik-*, a somewhat different structure. Present III (+pret. I, no subjunctive attested) is fully intransitive and the S is, as with *wik-*, inanimate (12a–c). We also find inverse constructions (12d). The past participle means 'disappeared, gone' (12e).

With present VIII we have only one single example (subj. II) (13). The verb is fully intransitive and there seems to be no difference in meaning: 'disappear'. Interestingly, the S is animated, which means that we have a similar, though not corresponding, shift as with B *wik-* above.

(12a) PK.AS.8B (M2 Filiozat) a2f. *svātine mot (kete) ku(rpe)le tākam madanaphalše šat tverene [t]šapanal(e) mot spārketrā*

'In Svāti, a sliver of the thorn-apple is to be crushed in(to) the doorway of anyone who is concerned with alcohol (i.e. is a drunkard). The alcohol disappears'

(12b) H.149.add.8 a1 (*a)jmā(ñu)šempa : taisa lwāsampa : postaññe [kr](a)ñik[ai]mpa : [pa]ra : | tāw prēyūinne spā(r)k[tr]ā : n(e) [r]m(i) [t]enī[mpa] amamūšempa*

'(if a monk has sexual intercourse with) non-humans, even with animals, even as much as a chicken, it is *pārājika*. At this occasion it disappeared (i.e. was not *pārājika*): with an imaginary non-human being'¹⁵

(12c) B 99 a1 */// (subhāšitagave)š(i) walo olyapotse lāklessu ere pēt sparkā-ne*

'King S. was suffering greatly; his color disappeared completely'

(12d) S 7 a1 (*po) [c]m(e) [l] [(a)š(em) se [r]k[e]jñne palsko āstre man-tanta spārkojtar ñi*

'May in all chains of birth the pure thought never disappear for me!'

(12e) B 9 b7 (10 a3) *kektseññ stastaukkauwa āmpauwa spārkauw=ere*

'bodies distended, rotted, color gone'

(13) PK.AS.7G (K 7 Lévi) b3 (*k,se) c(e)y onolm(i e)ñ(kā)lisa tsāikoš dušññesa rñken spārketm ette cmehe tmaskentrā*

'These beings, (who) mistake because of bad character, caused by passion, disappear and are (re)born in a lower birth'

In causative we find only two finite forms, one active present (14a) and one middle-passive preterite (14b). Though the context of H.149: add.8 is somewhat unclear, it seems likely that the meaning in both passages is 'drive away, put to flight'. Gerund is attested in medical texts, meaning 'dissolve' (14c).

- (14a) H.149.add.8 b2f. *lyakām [k]r(au)pirā•snai pewam•wi pewam•stwer pewam•makā pewam•klepe māllastrā•wesperke spār-kāssām lyakām sompastrā*
 'He gathers thieves: the footless, the two-footed, the four-footed, the many-footed, he suppresses theft, he removes the movable (?)¹⁶, he takes thieves unto himself'¹⁷
- (14b) B 241 a3 *arāncāṣe etrentsa spyarkatai-ne yoñ[y](ai) [po:]*
 'With the hero of your heart you have put to flight the whole caravan'
- (14c) W 2 a5 *se cūrniṣ kewiye wentsa kante spārkaṣṣā[lle]*
 'This powder is to be dissolved with cow's urine (with a ratio of 100/1)'

B *trik-* 'be confused' has also three different present formations, present III (no subjunctive attested), present VIII (+subj.II) and present IXb. However, the semantic difference between the three stems seems to be levelled-out. Also in the past participle of present III and IXb, there is no difference (15c). A smaller difference can be noticed between present III and VIII (+subj.II). As compared to present III, which is intransitive, 'be confused' (15a–b), present VIII seems to be in the balance between a normal intransitive 'mistake, do something wrong' (16a–c), and extended intransitive 'mistake, err (because of)' with the perlativ (17a–b) and a transitive 'mistake' with the oblique (18). A middle-passive 'wander away, about' is attested in S 8 Supp. 4 (19).

- (15a) H.149.add.63/59 b4 *kā twe sinastar kā tr(i)k(e)tar!!!*
 'Why are you worried? Why are you confused?'
- (15b) B 31 b3 *ce emeṣe yarke peissa triketār ramt aknātsa onwanñe saul paktār*
 'because of the honor and flattery of this birth the ignorant is confused and thinks life is immortal'
- (15c) B 17 a2 (*kā*)*lym(im)ne (ñās) tetriku po trikau ne [s]au lakle(sa•)*
 'In these directions (I) have gone astray (PPIXb), I am lost completely (PPIII) (through) the affliction'
- (16a) H.149.15 b1 *ll-ne spārtatsi tākam•su kr,i r(a) [trisām] ot mā [s/w] it(e)*
 'It will not proceed. Also if this one should stumble, then he is not full'
- (16b) PK.AS.7B (K. 2 Lévi) a5 *te kekyauṣormen (e)pastyaññe yāmmacer yāmornu yāmtsi mā spā trīscer makā-ykne*
 'When you have heard that, you will achieve skill to do deeds and not mistake so much'

- (16c) B 241 b1 *po śaultāṣe[m] klautken[n]je śaultsa lareṃ trīṣim-c mā*
 'In all behaviors of life may I not mistake you, [being] dearer than life'
- (17a) B 282 b1 *ll[sn](ai) parwā leṣtaimem tsānkam su kl(ā)y(am) n(o) k(em)tsu wiñcaññe śa(r)w[a](r)ñ(e)sa tr(i)ksā(m)*
 'if he rises without feathers from his nest, he will fall to the earth; he errs because of wiñcaññe arrogance'
- (17b) PK.AS.7H (K8 Lévi) a1 (*ś=lā*)*kn[ātsa](ññe) m(ai)ntsa triksem duśṣitāññe yamaskem*
 'Some beings err by ignorance in their thought and show bad character'
- (18) PK.AS.5C (S6 Lévi) b6 (*bhav*)*ākarñai poyś(i)ññem kauññaktentso*¹⁸
pārkaññe trīṣim manta
 'Puisse-je absolument ne pas manquer le lever du soleil de l'Omnicience en fin de lustre'¹⁹
- (19) S 8 Supp. 4 *poyśiññeṣṣai ekṣalyemem mā trīṣimar källoy=spā ostmem (lantst)*
 'May I not wander away from the parousia of the Buddha! May I achieve the leaving of [my] house!'

Examples with causative present IXb (pret.II.mid. only) (20) show no semantic difference as compared to present III.²⁰ The same is true for the class IXb past participles, 'confused, bewildered' (21a–c).

- (20) H.149.290 b3 *ll[pa]lsko traikate ot talāñte•*
 'Thereupon the spirit of the unfortunate one became confused'
- (21a) B 212 a4 *s[am]sārāṣṣe karāṣne ce tetrikoṣā•kleśa(nmasa)*
 'In the *Samsāra* forest, him lead astray by the *Kleśas*'
- (21b) B 148 a4 *yatra mādham idam jagat•ente tetriku se śaiṣṣe*
 'where this world is confused'
- (21c) B 17 a2 (*kā*)*lym(im)ne (ñās) tetriku*
 'I am lost in the directions'
- (21d) H.149.69 a3 (*tu*)*sa ime tetriku sū naṣṣi orkāntai*
 'Thereby with confused spirit he swam hither and thither'

This "exception" might be caused by the semantics of this verb, which inherently implies lack of control. A non-causative present III 'be confused' (present VIII 'mistake'), causative 'confuse, lead astray', in (reflexive middle) 'confuse oneself' will come full circle.

Notes

1. I thank Prof. Folke Josephson for valuable remarks and Prof. Georges-Jean Pinault for valuable remarks and transliterations of unpublished Paris manuscripts. I also thank Dr. Judith Josephson for correcting my English.
2. Winter (1980: 439–441), Hackstein (1995: 3–4).
3. Winter (1980), cf. Marggraf (1970: 22–24).
4. Cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 6–7).
5. Cf. K. T. Schmidt (1974).
6. There are also some slight differences on this point between Tocharian A and Tocharian B.
7. This is most probably an innovation, since A *mārs-* has a **-na-* present stem: *mārsneñc*. See Winter (1980).
8. B *stōrwe* is a noun or adjective of unknown meaning.
9. Plural of **rākçatsa*, feminine of *rākçatse* '(male) *rākçasa*'.
10. The comitative here cannot be dependent of *eye* 'together' that is attested with comitative as a preposition only.
11. Also "impersonal constructions".
12. Text XXXIV in Krause and Thomas (1964: 74).
13. Cf. also Winter (1962: 25–26) and Lane (1962: 124).
14. They are "double causatives" according to Krause and Thomas (1960: 207, § 376).
15. Pārājika-dharma 1, *abrahmacaryam* 'unchastity'; cf. Rosen (1959: 50–52). No exact correspondence in the Sanskrit text.
16. B *wesperke*, hapax in this text, is of unknown meaning. It might be formed from the root B *spārk-*, and is thus a "figura etymologica".
17. Pārājika-dharma 2, *adattādānam* 'theft'; cf. Rosen (1959: 52); no exact correspondence in the Sanskrit text.
18. For *-entse*
19. Translation by Pinault (1990: 67).
20. The translation 'in die Irre führen, verwirren' by Krause and Thomas (1964: 200) seems to be a ghost.

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Some thoughts on 'Universals'

N. E. Collinge

It is an honour to be allowed to offer a contribution to the marking of Werner Winter's eightieth year. His insights into language behaviour – and his control of linguists' behaviour – are legendary. If the remarks below concern a sector slightly foreign to his own interests, at least they are offered in the firm belief that he would never be party to the possibly confused thinking noted therein.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (on which now see Lee 1996) really rests on two pronouncements. The second – the one which has caused most stir – declares that the categories of a given language (Lx), lexical or grammatical, constrain the patterns of thought as a whole of the speakers of Lx. The first supposition, however, is crucial: that all languages differ at arbitrary points, which are numerous, unpredictable and may be located anywhere. This ruling in effect proclaims that linguistic universals, if not totally absent, are going to be very difficult to identify, especially if it has to be over 6,000 languages. Of course, any previous search for universals received a setback in 1836 with the appearance of von Humboldt's study *Ueber die verschiedenheit des menschlichen sprachbaues und ihren einfluss auf die geistige entwicklung des menschengeschlechts*, which directed the limelight to the sheer diversity of human speech and the influence of that diversity on man's mental evolution. Yet from the early 1960s, and with increased acceleration over the last two decades of the twentieth century, the search for universals has been enthusiastically renewed. Fashionable now is the view trenchantly expressed by Hawkins (1989: 119): "the major challenge facing any general linguistic theory is to extract the universals from the enormous range of variation exhibited by the 5,000 or so currently spoken languages". Hawkins is courageous in seeing the Humboldtian attitude exactly as a challenge; is he (and those he speaks for) also sensible?

Despite the many learned essays listed in the references below, and despite the greater care in formulation which has lately developed after an over-optimistic period, doubts – deliberately of a simple sort – remain. These doubts have to do with the highly variable nature of the proposed universals themselves – as to status, importance, diagnostic reliability, expression, not to mention lasting validity – and the especially