

# *Tavet Tat Satyam*

Studies in Honor of

**Jared S. Klein**

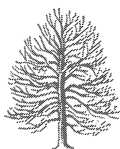
on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday

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# Toch. AB *ākl-* ‘learn’

JAY H. JASANOFF



Many Tocharian roots have a very un-Indo-European-looking shape, a reflection of the profound changes, phonological and morphological, that have set Tocharian off from the rest of the IE family. A case in point is AB *ākl-*, which in Toch. B means ‘learn’ as a base verb and ‘teach’ as a causative. In Toch. A, where there is no separate causative, the verb means ‘learn’ in the middle and ‘teach’ in the active. Malzahn (2010:520–1) gives the forms:

## Toch. B

### BASE VERB

pres. IXa: ptcp. *aklaṣṣeñca*, ger. I *aklaṣṣälle/aklaṣle* ‘pupil’  
subj. IV: mid. 3 sg. *aklyitār*, opt. 3 pl. *aklyiyentār*, abstr. II *aklyilñe*, inf. *aklyitsi*  
pret. VII: mid. 1 sg. *aklyīyamai/aklyamai*, 2 sg. *aklyiyatai*, 3 sg. *aklyiyate*  
ppt.: *āklū*, vb. n. *āklor(sa)*

### CAUSATIVE

pres. IXb: 3 sg. *āklāṣṣām*, mid. *āklāstār-ne*, ger. I *āklāṣṣälle*

## Toch. A

pres. VIII: 3 sg. *āklāṣ*, 3 pl. *āklāṣeñc*, mid. *āklāṣantār*, ger. I *āklāṣāl*, inf. *āklāṣsi*  
subj. IV: abstr. II *āklīyune(yā)*  
ppt. *āklū*

Inseparable from the verb is the substantive B *akalye* (obl. *āklyi*) ‘learning, study, doctrine’, A *āklye* ‘id.’. The root-final consonant is palatalized, agreeing in this respect with the palatalization in the subjunctive and preterite, but not the present or past participle of the verb.

Since PIE roots could not end in an obstruent + liquid cluster, the sequence *ākl-* must be historically analyzed into an actual etymological root and some other constituent or constituents. There are two obvious possibilities: 1) *āk-* was the root and *-l-* a nominal suffix; and 2) *kl-* (i.e., *\*kVL-*) was the root and *ā-* a preverb. In the first case the verb would have been a denominative present. A proposal along these lines was made by Winter (1990:376f.), who thought the root was PIE *\*b<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* (“*\*aǵ-*”) ‘say’ (: Gk. *ē* ‘said’, Lat. *adagium* ‘saying’, etc.) and that the class IV subjunctive B *aklyi-*, A *āklyi-* (PToch. *\*akl’ay-*) reflected a present *\*agl-je/o-* (vel *sim.*). But this was merely a root etymology, and not, semantically speaking, a particularly compelling one. As pointed out by Malzahn (521),<sup>1</sup> both Winter’s specific proposal and the denominative approach as a whole are compromised by the absence of palatalization in the present *āklās(k)-* and the past participle *āklū*; these cannot rest on a denominative

<sup>1</sup>References to “Malzahn” in what follows are to Malzahn 2010.

present *\*agl-je/o-* if, as Winter assumes, *\*agl-je/o-* was also the source of PToch. *\*akl<sup>y</sup>-*, with palatalized *\*-l<sup>y</sup>-*. For this and other reasons the preverb analysis is more promising. Malzahn (*ibid.*) favors Schmidt's (1992:112) and Hilmarsson's (1996:8ff.) proposal of a compound *\*ō-kleu-* 'listen to', where *\*ō* was the Tocharian cognate of Ved. *ā* 'to, toward', and *\*kleu-* was the familiar PIE root meaning 'hear' (cf. Ved. *śṛṇōti*, etc.). Under the *\*ō-kleu-* etymology, *āklās(k)-* and *āklu* would go back to zero-grade *\*ō-klu-(ske/o-)*, and Toch. B *aklyi-*, as Malzahn says, could go back to *e*-grade *\*ō-kleu-e-*, with *\*-u-* palatalized to *\*-w<sup>y</sup>-* (> Toch. B *-y-*) before the *e*-variant of the thematic vowel. But this would imply a PToch. preform *\*akl<sup>y</sup>aw<sup>y</sup>-* rather than *\*akl<sup>y</sup>ay-*, and while *\*akl<sup>y</sup>aw<sup>y</sup>-* could conceivably underlie Toch. A abstr. II *āklyune* (< *\*-kl<sup>y</sup>aw<sup>y</sup>-awān-?*), it could never have given A *āklye*.

Malzahn does not comment on the other preverb + verb analysis to be found in the literature, viz., *\*ā + kāly-* 'stand', with the semantics of Eng. *understand* and Ger. *verstehen*. This suggestion is favored by Adams (1999 s.v.; repeated in Adams 2013), who credits it to "Jasanoff (p.c.)" and cites the further semantic parallel of Gk. *epístamai* 'know, understand'. Adams takes *kāly-* 'stand' (3sg. B *kaltär*, A *kälytär*) from a PIE present *\*k<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*, with the root (*\*kelh<sub>1</sub>-* 'raise, rise') of Lith. *kelù*, *kélti* 'raise', Lat. *collis* 'hill' (< *\*-l-n-*), etc., a view that once seemed unproblematic. But deradical *je/o-*-presents are not otherwise encountered in Tocharian, and it is now known, as will be seen below, that the palatalized *-ly-* in forms like 3 pl. B *klyentär*, A *klyantär* would not have been phonologically regular if the starting point had been *\*k<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-jo-*. It is better, therefore, to return to the old idea, going back to van Windekens (1941:33), that the underlying root was PIE *\*klei-* 'lean, incline' (: Gk. *klínō* 'cause to lean', Ved. *śráyate* 'leans, positions oneself', etc.). The simplest derivation of the attested forms, as suggested by Normier (1980:257) and Hilmarsson (1996:69f.), is from a thematic stem *\*klei-e/o-*.<sup>2</sup> The phonetic steps would have been as follows:

3 sg.	<i>*kleietor</i>	3 pl.	<i>*kleiontor</i>	
	<i>*kl<sup>y</sup>eyetor</i>		<i>*kl<sup>y</sup>eyontor</i>	(palatalization before front vowels)
	<i>*kl<sup>y</sup>ayatär</i>		<i>*kl<sup>y</sup>ayentär</i>	(vowel changes)
	<i>*kal<sup>y</sup>atär</i>		<i>*kal<sup>y</sup>entär</i>	( <i>*Cl<sup>(y)</sup>əC</i> > <i>*Cəl<sup>(y)</sup>C</i> metathesis)
	<i>*kal<sup>y</sup>ätär</i>		<i>*kal<sup>y</sup>entär</i>	(loss of postconsonantal <i>*-y-</i> )
	<i>*kal<sup>y</sup>tär</i>		<i>*kl<sup>y</sup>entär</i>	(schwa syncope)

In the last line, 3 sg. *\*kal<sup>y</sup>tär* (> B *kaltär*, A *kälytär*) and 3 pl. *\*kl<sup>y</sup>entär* (> B *klyentär*, A *klyantär*) were the Proto-Tocharian forms. For the metathesis *\*Cl<sup>(y)</sup>əC* > *\*Cəl<sup>(y)</sup>C*, compare B *-kälywe*, A *-klyu* 'fame' < PToch. *\*kal<sup>y</sup>wə* < *\*kl<sup>y</sup>wə* < *\*kleuos*; B *kälyp-* 'steal' < PToch. *\*kal<sup>y</sup>p-* < *\*kl<sup>y</sup>əp-* < *\*k<sub>l</sub>ep-*; and B *kälymiye*, A *kälyme* 'direction' < PToch. *\*kal<sup>y</sup>m-* < *\*kl<sup>y</sup>əm-* < *\*kli-m-*. The rule is discussed by Ringe (1996:158f.), who, however, conflates it with the "tarya-rule"—the separate and earlier change of *\*CRiV-* to *\*CR<sub>2</sub>iV-* and *\*CRuuV-* to *\*CR<sub>2</sub>uV-* in words like B *tarya* 'three (fem.)' < *\*triia* (< *\*trib<sub>2</sub>*), *pärwāne* 'eyebrows' < *\*b<sup>h</sup>ruua-* (< *\*b<sup>h</sup>ruh<sub>2/3-</sub>*), and *palwam* 'laments' < *\*pluuā-* (< *\*mluh<sub>2/3-</sub>?*).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Followed by LIV 332–3.

<sup>3</sup>The separateness of the two rules is seen in the fact that the palatalization rule intervened between them. The *-l-* is thus palatalized in *kälymiye* < *\*kl<sup>y</sup>əm-* < *\*kli-m-*, but not in pret. ptcp. *āklu* < *\*k<sub>l</sub>i-V-* < *\*klii-V-* (cf. below). Adams' failure to assume *\*Cl<sup>(y)</sup>əC* > *\*Cəl<sup>(y)</sup>C* metathesis accounts for his statement that *\*kleietor* "would surely have given *\*klyitär*" (*ibid.*). *-klyitär* was the output in composition, where there was no metathesis.

No other reconstruction of the stem—e.g., as \**kli-* or \**klije/o-*—works so well. Malzahn (*ibid.*) starts from a present (3 sg.) \**kli̇tor*, back-formed from a putative middle root aorist \**kli̇to* (cf. Ved. aor. *ásret*, “passive” *ásrāyi*). This accounts directly for 3 sg. *kaltär/kälytär* (\**kli-* > \**klʷa-* > \**kalʷ-*), but not for 3 pl. *klyentär/klyantär*, which she takes as analogical, with the thematic ending, for PToch. \**klʷantär* (> B \**klyantär*, A \**klyäntär*) < \**kli̇tor*. The analogy itself is trivial; on the other hand, PIE aorists do not otherwise yield presents in Tocharian, and it seems particularly unlikely that the specific root *käly-*, which is praesens tantum, would be of aoristic origin.<sup>4</sup> Ringe (*ibid.*), likewise apparently starting from a root aorist, considers the possibility of a thematized \**kli̇(i)e-*, which he says would have developed via \**klʷiye-*, \**klʷya-*, and \**kalʷya-* to AB *käly-*. But this phonological history is incorrect; thematic \**kli̇e/o-* would first have given \**kli̇e/o-*, whence \**käl-*, with unpalatalized \*-l- (cf. n. 3). Quite apart from any other considerations, a major reason to prefer \**kli̇ietor* to Malzahn’s \**kli̇tor* or Ringe’s \**kli̇ietor* is that it makes a perfect word equation with Ved. *śráyate*.

How do the forms of *äkl-* fit into this picture? If *äkl-* is a compound of *käly-*, as maintained here, the class IV subjunctive *aklyitär* must contain a reflex of the present that appears unprefixated in *kaltär/kälytär*. Thus, if this goes back to \**kli̇ietor*, so must 3 sg. subj. *-klyitär*.<sup>5</sup> The difference in treatment lies in the fact that the metathesis of \**ClʷaC* > \**CaʷC* was confined to initial syllables:

3 sg.	*- <i>kli̇ietor</i>	3 pl.	*- <i>kli̇iontor</i>	
	*- <i>klʷeyetor</i>		*- <i>klʷeyontor</i>	(palatalization before front vowels)
	*- <i>klʷayətər</i>		*- <i>klʷayentər</i>	(vowel changes)
	[*- <i>klʷayətər</i>		*- <i>klʷayentər</i>	(no * <i>ClʷaC</i> > * <i>CaʷC</i> metathesis)]
	*- <i>klʷaytər</i>		*- <i>klʷayentər</i>	(schwa syncope)

PToch. 3 sg. \**a-klʷaytər* was the regular source of B 3 sg. subj. *aklyitär*; cf. also, with the same phonology, abstr. II *aklyiñe* and inf. *aklyitsi*. In Toch. A, abstr. II *äklyune* < \**a-klʷay-mñ-* points to an unattested 3 sg. subj. \**aklyitär*, essentially identical to the Toch. B form. Neither language preserves a direct reflex of 3 pl. \**a-klʷayentər*, but the expected Toch. B outcome \**aklyiyentär*/\**akly(y)entär* is effectively on display in the class VII preterite forms 1 sg. *aklyiyamai/aklyamai*, 2 sg. *aklyiyatai*, and 3 sg. *aklyiyate*. The class VII (B “-iyā-”) preterite is identical in formation with the preterites of classes IV (“-ṣṣā-”) and V (“-ññā-”) and the class I subtype *klyauṣa* (Malzahn 163ff.). All are historically imperfects, made to derived thematic presents by substituting PToch. (palatalizing) \**-a-* for the thematic vowel.<sup>6</sup> Pret. VII *akly(i)yamai*, etc.<sup>7</sup> thus stands in the same relation to the subjunctive (formerly present) stem

<sup>4</sup>The non-presential forms of *käly-* (e.g., 3 sg. subj. *stāman*, pret. *śama*) are supplied by the unrelated root *stām-* < PIE \**stembʰH-* ‘support’.

<sup>5</sup>Like many Tocharian subjunctives, *-klyitär* is a present *déclassé*, displaced from its original presential value by the newer, more highly marked stem that underlies the class IX presents *äkläšk-* and *äkläsk-*. The pattern is nicely displayed in the pair subj. VI *kärnā-* ‘buy’ (= Ved. *krīṇāti* ‘id.’) : pres. X *kärnāsk-*.

<sup>6</sup>Theories of the origin of the palatalizing \**-a-*, which is discussed inconclusively by Malzahn (*ibid.*), will not be evaluated here. The existing proposals, including one put forward by me (Jasanoff 1987:95f.), need to be re-examined in light of more recent work on the prehistory of the Tocharian verbal system.

<sup>7</sup>The *-i-* in the variant *aklyiyamai* stands phonologically for an accented Fremdvokal (/iya-), which in the shorter form *aklyamai* (for \**aklyiyamai*) has been syncopeated with retraction of the accent to the first syllable. Note that the late retraction did not cause lowering of the initial *a-* [A] to *ā-* [a]; cf. Malzahn 219.

*aklyi-* (\*-*k̑leje/o-*) as pret. IV 3 sg. *yamaṣṣa* ‘made’ to pres. IX *yāmášk-* (\*-*ske/o-*), pret. V 3 sg. mid. *kwipeñnate* ‘was ashamed’ to pres. XII *kwipeññ-* (\*-*niie/o-*), and pret. I *klyausa* ‘heard’ to pres.-subj. II *klyaus-* (\*-*se/o-*).

The preterite participle AB *āklu* (presupposed in Toch. B by the verbal noun *āklor*) and the class IXa and b presents B *āklášk-* (non-causative; ptcp. *aklassēñca*) and *áklášk-* (causative; 3 sg. *āklāṣṣām*) are more difficult.<sup>8</sup> To all appearances, the consistently unpalatalized *-l-* of these forms would seem to argue for a root like Schmidt and Hilmarsson’s \**k̑leu-* or Adams’ \**kelh<sub>1</sub>-*, both of which would have had non-palatalizing zero grades. Before embracing one or the other of these alternatives, however, we should consider what kind of preterite participle and *sk-*present would have been expected from \**k̑lei-*.

The Tocharian preterite participle is a development of the PIE perfect participle in \*-*uōs-/us-*. The remade actual forms, however, go back not to \*-*uōs-*, \*-*uos-*, and \*-*us-* directly, but to \*-*awas-* (as if < \*-*uūōs-*), \*-*awes-* (as if < \*-*uūos-*), and \*-*awas-* (as if < \*-*uūus-*), respectively. Toch. B nom. sg. masc. *yāmu* is thus the phonological reflex of \**yam-awə(s)* (← nom.-acc. sg. nt. \*-*us*); nom. pl. masc. *yāmoṣ* continues \**yam-awəṣ(s)*<sup>9</sup> (← nom. pl. masc. \*-*uoses*); and nom. pl. fem. *yām(u)wa* goes back to \**yam-awa(s)* (← nom.-acc. pl. nt. \*-*uōs*). Applying these formulae to the zero-grade root form \**k̑li-*, we obtain \*-*klīi-uūus* and \*-*klīi-uūoses* as the theoretically expected (“*Transponat*”) masculine nominative forms, singular and plural, of the preterite participle of *ākl-*. What would these have given in historical Tocharian? We can be sure that a preform containing \*-*klīiu-* would have been subject to the “*taryarule*” (cf. above), yielding \*-*klīiu-* or, in later Tocharian phonology, \*-*kalyə-*. It is usually taken for granted that the cluster \*-*ly-* in this sequence would have given a Proto-Tocharian single or geminate \*-*lʷ-*. But this assumption, as more than once intimated above, is not well-supported. Convincing arguments have been brought forward by Fellner (2013:46–50) to show that \*-*y-* was lost after coronal consonants in Proto-Tocharian without causing palatalization. Key examples are the *devī*-type feminines of preterite participles (B *yāmusā*, A *yāmus* < \*-*us(i)a* < \*-*us-ih<sub>2</sub>*; cf. Ved. *-uṣī*, Gk. *-uīā*), *men*-stem adjectives (A *klyomim*, pl. *-mināñ* ‘noble’ < \*-*m<sup>y</sup>ən(i)a* < \*-*menih<sub>2</sub>*; B *klyomña* is by assimilation from \*-*m<sup>y</sup>ña*), and the word for ‘one’ (B *sana*, A *sām* < \**sən(i)a* < \**səmīa* < \**smih<sub>2</sub>* (= Gk. *mía*)). A non-*devī* example is A *ālak* < \**aliō-* ‘other’, B *aletstse* ‘foreign’, *ālām* ‘otherwise’, etc. (B *alyek*, *allek* ‘other’ and other forms with *-ly-* and *-ll-* show the influence of the adjectives in *-lye* < \*-*liō-*).<sup>10</sup> If it is in fact the case that \*-*l-* was not palatalized by a following consonantal \*-*y-*, the treatment of our forms would have been

sg.	*- <i>klīi-uūus</i>	pl.	*- <i>klīi-uūoses</i>	
	*- <i>klīiuūus</i>		*- <i>klīiuūoses</i>	( <i>taryarule</i> )
	*- <i>kalyawəs</i> <sup>11</sup>		*- <i>kalyawəsəs</i>	(palatalization by * <i>e</i> , * <i>i</i> ; vowel changes)
	*- <i>kalawəs</i>		*- <i>kalawəsəs</i>	(loss of postconsonantal <i>-y-</i> )
	*- <i>kalawəs</i>		*- <i>kaləwəs</i>	(contraction across *- <i>w-</i> )
	*- <i>kləw(ə)</i>		*- <i>kləw(ə)</i>	(schwa syncope; final syllable reduction)

<sup>8</sup>Toch. A has class VIII *āklās-*, with the usual substitution of *-s-* for *-sk-*.

<sup>9</sup>For the phonology, with contraction following loss of intervocalic \*-*w-*, see the classic discussion by Dórhallsdóttir (1988).

<sup>10</sup>The history of these is discussed by Fellner (*op. cit.* 73–84).

<sup>11</sup>NB: with cluster \*-*ly-*.



PToch. *\*a-klaw(a)* is continued in AB *äklw*. The nom. pl. *\*äklōš* is not attested, but the expected phonological treatment is seen in vb. n. *äklor* < *\*klijuor*.

The absence of palatalization in the *sk*-present B *aklask-* (pres. IXa)/*äkläsk-* (pres. IXb) and its *s*-present replacement A *äkläš-* (pres. VIII) is explainable in the same way. The class IX present suffix, it should be recalled, is not *-sk-* < PIE *\*-ske/o-*, but *-äsk-* < *\*-ask-*.<sup>12</sup> The source of the apparent union vowel *\*-ə-* is impossible to specify uniquely; it may have been epenthetic, or it may have been abstracted from some inherited sequence like the PIE suffix variant *\*-iskē/o-* or the inner-Tocharian combination *\*-nu-ske/o-* (> B *-näsk-*). Either way, the starting point for the present *äkläš(k)-* would have been, or would have been remade to be, a structure of the form *\*-kli-Ṽsk-*. As in the preterite participle, this gave *\*-kalyask-* by the *tarya*-rule, whence *\*-kalask-* and the quasi-attested *\*-klask-*.

Thus, when the relevant sound changes are properly understood, both *käly-* 'stand' and *äkl-* 'learn' turn out to be completely explainable on the basis of PIE *\*klei-* 'lean'. This discovery has several ramifications. On a purely phonological level, it adds to the evidence for two proposed sound laws that should now be accepted as canonical: *\*Cl<sup>(v)</sup>əC* > *\*Cəl<sup>(v)</sup>C* metathesis, as in pres. *\*kl<sup>v</sup>əy-* > *\*kal<sup>v</sup>y-*; and non-palatalization of coronals by *\*-y-*, as in ptcp. *\*kalyam-* > *\*kalaw-*. It also confirms the change of *\*-eje-* to *\*-əyə-* (*\*-klejetor* > *\*-kl<sup>v</sup>əyatər*)—thus establishing *\*-eje/o-* as one of the possible sources of the class IV subjunctive marker *-i/-i)ye-* and laying to rest the persistent notion that *\*-eje-* contracted to *\*-ē-* (> *\*-ə-*) in Tocharian.<sup>13</sup> On a morphological level, B *kaltär*, *-klyitär*, anchored by the solid word equation with Ved. *śráyate*, takes its place beside B *parüm* 'brings' (= Ved. *bhárati*, etc.) and B *äsüm* 'leads' (= Ved. *ájati*, etc.) as a secure new case of an inherited primary thematic present in Tocharian. Such forms are notoriously rare; *kaltär*, *-klyitär* is only our third certain example, and the first to be formed from a root that, unlike PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* and *\*b<sub>2</sub>ej-*, possessed a full set of non-presential forms.<sup>14</sup> The potential significance of all this has yet to be explored.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup>The Fremdvokal in the suffix played a crucial role in the fixation of the accent on the first syllable in the causative; for the mechanism see Jasanoff forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup>It can be assumed that *\*-ije/o-* would have had the same treatment as *\*-eje/o-*; either of the two could have been responsible for the class IV subjunctive suffix in infin. *šerüsi* 'hunt' (denominative to *šerwe* 'hunter' < *\*kēruo-*). On the other hand, neither *\*-ije/o-* nor *\*-eje/o-* is an attractive candidate for the etymological suffix in subj. IV infin. *mšüsi* 'dwell' (< *\*b<sub>2</sub>yues-*) or *kälypüsi* 'steal' (< *\*klep-*), the morphological prehistory of which remains obscure.

Contraction of *\*-eje-* to *\*-ē-* is contemplated in Jasanoff 1978:46, where A *klawaš* 'proclaims', a form now questioned (cf. Malzahn 623), is tentatively taken from *\*klowē-* < *\*-eje-*. Likewise dubious is the proposed derivation of B *trai*, *trey* '3' < *\*treies* via *\*trey*, with *\*-y#* < *\*-s#* in monosyllables and *\*-ə-* < *\*-eje-* (Cowgill apud Ringe 1996:55). It is increasingly clear that intervocalic *\*-j-* was never lost in Tocharian.

<sup>14</sup>Pres. II (+ subj. II) 3 sg. *lyasüm* 'lies', pl. *lyakem* (< *\*léd<sup>h</sup>-e/o-*) could be another instance, but the argument for a thematic stem at the PIE level is less compelling.

<sup>15</sup>In Jasanoff 1998 (recapitulated in Jasanoff 2003:224–7) I distinguished two types of full-grade thematic presents in the IE daughter languages, one associated with Narten presents (e.g., *\*b<sup>h</sup>ér-e/o-*, *\*b<sub>2</sub>éj-e/o-*) and the other with *s*-aorists (e.g., *\*d<sup>h</sup>éj<sup>mh</sup>-e/o-* 'burn', *\*pék<sup>u</sup>-e/o-* 'cook'). Only the first type is found in Anatolian and Tocharian. In *\*kléj-e/o-* we see the representative of a third family of thematic forms, one with neither Narten nor sigmatic associations (cf. Rau 2013:258–65). The discovery of a new full-grade thematic present in Tocharian removes one of the obstacles to taking class II antigrundverb subjunctives of the type B 3 sg. *lyustär* 'will illuminate' and 3 sg. opt. *palysitär* 'would burn' from full-grade thematic preforms as well (*\*léuk-e/o-*, *\*b<sup>h</sup>léj-e/o-*), despite the arguments offered against this derivation in Jasanoff 2015:10'–16'.

## Abbreviations

LIV = Kümmel, Martin, and Helmut Rix (eds.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

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