

“Nevermore” in Tocharian A
Towards determining the functions of the word *śkaṃ*

The Tocharian A word *śkaṃ* is treated as a conjunction ‘and’ or a particle ‘also’. In P. Poucha's “Thesaurus...” it is translated as «particula enclitica postpositiva “-que, et”; coniungit et vocabula et sententias» [Poucha 1955: 328]. W. Krause & W. Thomas and G.-J. Pinault mention that, unlike -yo, it unites mostly sentences [Krause, Thomas, 1960: 171; Pinault 2008: 389-390], and it is in accordance with the fact that Tocharian A language prefers conjunctionless coordination of noun phrases, e.g.:

A 314 a4: *lwā pretāñ na(peñi) puk anapär lmoşş oki ptāñkät käşşim pälkānt* ‘the animals, ghosts, [and] humans all saw the Buddha, the Master, as if they were sitting in front’ [Richter 2007: 52].

Probably, the main function of *śkaṃ* is the following: it introduces a new piece of information parallel to the one (or more than one) introduced before, cf.:

YQ-15 (I.7) a5 (+ A 215 b6) *//// (nākta)ñ bram ñkät śasārsār kar ♦ bram ñkät śkaṃ wlāñkät śasārs wlāñkät śkaṃ <vai>(śravaṃ śasārs)* ‘(the Śuddhāvāsa gods) told only God Brahmā, and God Brahmā told Indra, and Indra (told King) Vai(śravaṇa)’ [Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998: 50-51];

A 315 a4 + 316 a 4: *tām kolmaṃ ywārśkā sumer lekac vaiḍuri-şi āsām pā[kä](r tāk) [ca]m āsānis mrācaṃ śkaṃ wsā şinās [kä] – – –* ‘In the middle of this ship a seat of lapis lazuli, [like] Mount Sumeru from afar, was visible. And on the top of that seat ... golden...’ [Richter 2007: 32-33].

For this reason, *śkaṃ* often occurs together with numerals (mostly, with the last part of an enumeration [cf. Pinault 2008: 389]):

A 2 b5 – 3a1: *sās pārko nām wāwlesu wram pyutkāşşām wāt amok<ā>ş tatmu käche mäskatrām trit wrassāş ortune kälpnātrā ♦ štärt āklä(şlye)s pänt śkaṃ akām̄tsune pät kälpālune şi pārko mäskatrām* ‘One benefit for him is an accomplished thing <that> comes into being for him, the second one is the joy generated from the art, the third one is friendship he receives from people, the fourth <is> the disciples <he obtains>, and the fifth is for him the advantage of obtaining property beyond <that>’ [cf. Carling 2009: 2].

Especially significant is the fragment A 394 b1, containing an enumeration, in which the word *śkaṃ* is added later:

A 394 b1: *şom koṃ wac koṃ pe şwāsi mā tāp tricām koṃ štārcām k(oṃ) m̄ – · pāñc(ām) k(oṃ) ♦ <śkaṃ added> şwātsi mā tāp n_unak şñāñcām risāt nätswassı ♦ 1||* ‘on the first day, on the second day also ate no food, on the third day, on the fourth day ... and on the fifth day ate no food again <and> left himself to die of hunger’.

There is another particle, *nu*, which also occurs in enumerations with numerals, but its position differs: *śkaṃ* is used in the last constituent of an enumeration, while *nu* appears in other constituents. E.g., in the story about four craftsmen:

A 11 b5 – 12 a2: *wāt trānkāş nüş nu ce(smäk) āyāntu p_ukāk puskāsyo kaşal malkamām || trit trānkāş nüş nu ... štärt trānkāş nüş śkaṃ...* ‘The second one says: “And I will tie its bones together with the sinews”. The third one says: “And I...”. The fourth one says: “And I...”’

So, *nu* indicates that the enumeration is to be continued, while *śkaṃ* shows that the enumeration comes to an end.

This function makes it clear why *śkaṃ* often occurs near the particle -āk: this particle emphasizes the repeated word [Burlak, Itkin 2005], cf.:

A 264 a1-2: *pākär mäskam̄trām̄... y_ukañ onkalmāñ w(u) klānklye pāk_räk śkaṃ p_ukis mäska(ntrā) ////* ‘are visible for them... horses <and> elephants, the two kinds of riding <animals> are also visible for everybody’ [cf. Carling 2009: 176].

A 14 a1-6: *tāmyo pñi śpalu ... sas pñik śkaṃ tām praṣtaṃ cami wramaṃ yāṣ* ‘that’s why is the merit the best ... and only the merit, this time, is of use to him’

Here *pñik* means ‘that very merit that was mentioned above’ and *śkaṃ* marks the last part of argumentation.

The group “-āk + *śkaṃ*” also includes a idiomaticized construction (identified already by P. Poucha and translated ‘itaque, atque’) *ślak śkaṃ* ‘in addition’; in most cases it introduces verses after a prose fragment, cf.

A 1 b6: *wawik ślak śkaṃ* || *śāmnernaṃ* || ‘... removed. In addition (in *śāmn*-tune)’ or (less often) a prose fragment after verses, cf.

YQ-8 (II.4) a8 (+ A 212 b2): 1 || *ślak śkaṃ sewāñ nāṣ caṣ dakṣiṇāpath kālymeyam wrasa<śśi tmāk māk āsāni(k)>* ‘And in addition, my sons, I, by the people in this land of Darṣiṇāpatha...’ [Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998: 83].

When *śkaṃ* connects not sentences, but homogeneous parts of a sentence, it is used to underline their homogeneity and ensure unambiguity of the syntactic structure, cf.:

A 3 a1-2: *waṣt lmāluneyis nūkcy ārkīsoṣis śkaṃ tsmār nā<ṃ>tsu amok* ‘the art has become the root of householdership and of the divine world’

Here there are two Genitive groups, and *śkaṃ* ensures that they are homogeneous and not subordinating to one another.

Note, that *śkaṃ* (at least, in this function) is not a Wackernagel enclitic [cf. Pinault 2008: 228]

Probably, the original meaning of *śkaṃ* was ‘also’: there are several contexts, where *śkaṃ* does not indicate the final part of an enumeration, cf.:

YQ-15 (I.7) a8: ♦ *klyom metrak krasaṣ sām śkaṃ ptāñkāt kāṣṣinac waṣtāṣ lāntassi kalkaṣ* ‘<Once> the noble Metrak knows that, he too will leave his home to go to the Buddha-god the teacher’ [Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998: 50-51]

A 231 b5: *//// kāṣṣi puk kārso ♦ praṣtū* (sic!) *śkaṃ krasaṣ* ‘The teacher, who knows everything, will know the time, too’

The grammaticalization of the word, having originally meant ‘also’, to a conjunction meaning ‘and’ is well-known [see, e.g. Mithun 2003: 569].

In addition, *śkaṃ* has two more specific functions.

This word turns a question into rhetorical, cf.

YQ-4 (II.2) a5: [*klyo*]m *upādhyā kuc śkaṃ māk weñam* ‘Oh noble teacher, why should I say much?’ [Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998: 75].

A 94 a3: (*ke*)*nmār sne nākām nṣāṣṣ akri taṃ kus śkaṃ tāṣ* ♦ 2 ‘I am called blameless, and who here is more shameless than me?’ [Carling 2009: 3].

Combination of *śkaṃ* and a negation (*mā* or *mar*) mean ‘no more, nevermore’

A 14 a4: *tām praṣtaṃ mā cami śkaṃ tsraṣṣune wramaṃ yāṣ* ‘(When a man is going to die), in this moment, energy will no longer be of use to him’

A 7 a6: (*śomiṃ*) [*m*]ā *śkaṃ tāk* ‘and there was no maiden more’

In the context of this construction, the word *tāpārk* ‘now’ appears more often than on the average:

YQ-5 (II.8) b4: || *saṃtuṣite trāñkās mā śkaṃ tāpārk ptāñkāt kāṣṣi lo(k naṣ)* ‘Saṃtuṣita says: No longer (is) the Buddha-god the teacher now far away’ [Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998: 106-107].

When the construction *mā śkaṃ* ascribes the event to the future, it is never used with Conjunctive, but only with Presens.

It is a construction, not a single word, but only pronomina in Genitive can stand between *mā* and *śkaṃ*.

This meaning is derived from the additive one, cf. an intermediate context A 120 a3:

A 120 a3: *//// wātsy ārkīsoṣṣam ♦ enkāl māṃtlune āktsune štārt mā śkaṃ naṣ* ♦ ‘... in the world. Passion, anger, ignorance – and there is no fourth one.’

Using of the word *škaṃ* is more typical for colloquial speech, rather than for formal one, it appears in the affective utterances, cf.

YQ-16 (I.6) b5 (+ A 215 a6): *//// k[wy]al škaṃ smale tränkäm säṃ okāk tinār mā škaṃ naṣ=ñi ku<[c] škaṃ päñ kánt tāke=ñi>* ‘Why should I tell you a lie? I do not have a single gold piece – how am I going to have five hundred?’ [Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998: 44-45].

References

Burlak, Itkin 2005 – Бурлак, С.А., Иткин, И.Б. Дискурсивная частица =*äk* в тохарском А языке" // Четвертая типологическая школа. Международная школа по лингвистической типологии и антропологии. М., РГГУ, 2005. С. 101-104. (Discursive particle =*äk* in Tocharian A.)

Carling 2009 – Carling, G. Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A. Volume 1: a-j. (in collaboration with Georges-Jean Pinault and Werner Winter), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009.

Ji, Winter, Pinault 1998 – Ji Xianlin (in collaboration with W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault) Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nā{t.}aka of the Xingjiang Museum, China [Transliterated, translated and annotated by ...] (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, v. 113), Berlin – New York, 1998.

Krause, Thomas 1960 – Krause, W., Thomas, W. Tocharisches Elementarbuch, Bd. 1. Heidelberg, 1960.

Mithun 2003 – Mithun, M. Functional perspectives on syntactic change // Joseph B.D., Janda R.D. (eds.) The Handbook of Historical Linguistics. Blackwell Publishing, 2003. P. 552-572.

Poucha 1955 – Poucha, P. Thesaurus linguae Tocharicae dialecti A. Praha, 1955.

Richter 2007 – Richter, G.C. Das A-Tocharische Suryodgam Prātihāri – Das Sonnenaufgangswunder des Buddha – The Sunrise Miracle of the Buddha The Sieg/Siegling Transcription with Translation and Gloss // [http: titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/toch/buddha2.pdf](http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/toch/buddha2.pdf).