

GERD CARLING

Tocharian

Morpho-syntactic structures – Part 3



Clause



Structural properties: Canonical word order

- CANONICAL ORDER is left-branching: SOV (in main and subordinate clauses), N–Adp, Adj–N, Adv–V.
- Verb-initial position (VSO) is normal in questions (in TA preceded by *te*), and in formulas in dramatic literature, e.g. A *lcär poñś* ‘all went out [from the stage]’, or in Buddhastotras, e.g. B *wināsam-ci ... puṇḍarikām* ‘I honour you ... Lotus flower.’

Structural properties: Non-canonical word order

- NON-CANONICAL ORDER: in metrical passages, word order is often reversed, e.g. SVO, OVS, and VOS.
- Adj–N is frequently reversed in metrical passages, where we also find separation of adjective – noun and circumposition, adjective – noun – adjective.
- Verb-initial position marks focus. Jussive and Imperative are in initial position.
- In metrical passages, subordinating particles can be clause-final:

<i>wlaluyis</i>	<i>akälyme</i>	<i>kalkaṣ</i>	<i>wrasom</i>	<i>kuprene</i>
Death-GEN	towards	go/3SG.A.SUBJ	being/NOM.SG	if

”If a being goes into the power of death.”

(TA, A3 b3, Puṇyavantajātaka)

Negation

- The negation is *A mar(r), m̄a B m̄a*.
- In simple Prohibitive clauses, the negation is combined with a present form.
- The negation particle is combined with:
 1. Optative (Deontic)
 2. Subjunctive (Neutral, Epistemic)
 3. Indicative (Neutral, Exclamative)
 4. Without verb (Exclamative)

Modality

- THE MODAL SYSTEM consists of the indicative, the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative.
- Subjunctive and optative are more frequently used in subordinate than in main clauses.
- In main clauses, subjunctive denotes Deontic (Obligative) modality, whereas optative denotes Epistemic (Volitive, Speculative) modality.

tärkor *kälpimār* *ṣñi tsar* *ptāñkät yrāṣimār*
Permission obtain/1SG.M.OPT own hand Buddha bathe/1SG.M.OPT

”I would like to get permission, I would like to wash Buddha with my own hand.”
(TA, A 23 a5, Puṇyavantajātaka, Bṛhaddyutijātaka)

Speech acts

- INTERROGATIVE: B *k_vse*, A *kus* = Relative pronoun
- Imperative is marked by an imperative, the 'strongest' form for commands.
- Jussives are marked by subjunctive (Obligative) and optative (Volitive) for weaker requests.
- The weakest request is marked by a verbal noun (I) and an infinitive. This is frequent in medical texts.

te *päkšälle* *šälype* *lipātsi*
and cook/VN.NOM.SG oil leave/INF

"This should be cooked and the oil should be left over."

(TB, PK AS 9A a4, Medicine)

Clause combining: Clausal coordination

- Conjunctive: B *špä* A *škam*, B *wai* A *yo* 'and'
- Disjunctive: B *ra* A *pe* 'even, also', B *wat*, *wat no* A *pat*, *pat no* 'or' (Wackernagel position)
- Adversative: B *no* A *nu* 'but, then' (Wackernagel position)

Clause combining: Non-finite predication

- Non-finite constructions can serve as predicates.
- Infinitives are not bound by tense, modality and aspect. Infinitives can be inflected as nouns with secondary case affixes. Infinitives can also serve as predicates.
- Middle-passive participles are uninflected and represent an event parallel or simultaneous with the predicate.
- Preterite participle can be used with or without copula in the value of a predicate.
- Gerundives (coding Necessity or Possibility) are used in periphrastic constructions to mark predicate.

Clause combining: Relative clauses

- **Relative pronoun:**

- Nom. B *k_use* A *kus-ne*

- Obl. B *k_uce* A *kuc-ne*

- Gen. B *kete* A *ke-ne*

- **Correlative:** normally a personal pronoun

<i>umparñ-aṃ</i>	<i>wkäṃ</i>	<i>yaṣ</i>	<i>säm</i>
evil-OBL.SG	deed/OBL.SG	do/3SG.A.PRS	DEM.M.NOM.SG
<i>yäṣ</i>	<i>ñareyntw-aṃ</i>	<i>kuprene</i>	<i>cmatär</i>
go/3SG.A.PRS	hell/OBL.PL-LOC	if	be reborn/3SG.M.SUBJ

”Whoever commits an evil deed, goes to hells if he is reborn.”

(TA, A 155 b4, Garbhasūtra)

Clause combining: Subordinating particles

- Time A *äntāne* B *ente* 'when'
- Location A *äntā* B *ente* 'where'
- Cause A *kucne* B *kuce* 'because'
- Purpose A *mām̄tne* B *māk̄te* 'in order to'
- Condition A *kuprene* B *kwri, krui* 'if'

<i>ṣomāp</i>	<i>lānt</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>kuprene</i>
one/GEN.SG	king/GEN.SG	give-1SG.A.SUBJ	if
<i>cu</i>	<i>ālyek</i>	<i>yāsluṣ</i>	<i>tāke-ñi</i>
you/OBL.SG	other/GEN.SG	enemy/NOM.PL	be/3SG.A.SUBJ

"If I give you to one king, the others will become my enemies."

(TA, A 66 a3, Ṣaḍḍanta-Jātaka)

Phraseology and translation syntax

- Tocharian texts are translated from Sanskrit.
- The syntax/typology of Tocharian is different from Sanskrit.
- Formalized translations do occur.
- Phraseology and formalized syntax is frequent in texts.

TEXT SAMPLE: SENTENCE/CLAUSE STRUCTURE, METRICAL (A5 B2-B6, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA)

<i>proṣmiṃn</i> ashamed	<i>oki</i> as if	<i>sām</i> DEM.F.NOM.SG	<i>tsru</i> a little	<i>ṣät</i> down	<i>lkā(mām)</i> look/PTC.MP		
<i>śāri</i> ?	<i>lyāk :</i> look/3SG.A.IPF	<i>mätsratsi</i> be ashamed/INF	<i>oki</i> as if	<i>mā</i> not	<i>plāc</i> speech		
<i>craṅkäs</i> speak/3SG.A.IPF	<i>mā</i> not	<i>karyā :</i> laugh/3SG.A.IPF	<i>śla</i> with	<i>tuṅk</i> love	<i>oki</i> like	<i>nu</i> now	
<i>räsñā</i> stretch out/3SG.A.IPF	<i>poke</i> arm/OBL.SG	<i>(paṃ)</i> EMPH (?)	<i>ypamām :</i> do/PTC.MP				

‘Like one ashamed casting her glance to the ground a little, she looked lovely; as if ashamed she did not say a word and she did not laugh, but as with love she stretched her arm as she attended [to him].’

TEXT SAMPLE: SENTENCE/CLAUSE STRUCTURE, METRICAL (A5 B2-B6, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA)

<i>pontsām</i>	<i>kapśiññ-äṣ</i>	<i>omlyi</i>	<i>wikṣā</i>
all/OBL.SG.F	body/OBL.SG-ABL	heat/OBL.SG	make disappear/3SG.A.IPF
<i>pekāntāp :</i>	<i>tmäṣ</i>	<i>sām</i>	<i>pekant</i>
painter/GEN.SG	thereupon	DEM.NOM.SG.M	painter
<i>tām</i>	<i>orṣinām</i>	<i>śominān-aṃ</i>	<i>ākntsu(ne)-yo</i>
DEM.OBL.SG.F	wooden/OBL.SG.F	girl/OBL-LOC	ignorance-INSTR
<i>śomiṃṣiṃ i</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kälpo</i>	<i>ynes</i>
of girl/OBL.SG	image	manage/PRT.PTCP	real
<i>ats</i>	<i>pältsänkāṣ</i>		<i>āñma-śl-äkk</i>
EMPH	think/3SG.A.PRS		self-COM-EMPH

‘She drove away the burning from the entire body of the painter. And the painter, who because of his ignorance took the wooden girl for a real one, thinks only to himself: ...’

TEXT SAMPLE: SENTENCE AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE (A5 B2-B6, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA)

o(te) tä)preṃ kāwältune

oh how beauty

ote täpreṃ kuleñciṃ mäsratsune-yo proṣmune

oh how of woman/OBL.SG.M shyness-INSTR coyness

“Ah, such beauty, ah, such bashfulness caused by female shyness!”

TEXT SAMPLE (A5 B2-B6, PUṆYAVANTAJĀTAKA) – TRANSLATION