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PhD Thesis Summary

Specifying semantics of synonymous verbs in Tocharian A

as a part of working on a Tocharian A basic word list

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1. The current state of the studied field

Tocharian languages still suffer a lot of unsolved problems. In this work, I would like to focus on the problem of the Tocharian lexicology, at least in the case of Tocharian A. In my opinion, it is in a worse situation than Tocharian B. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that Tocharian A just does not have a modern and full dictionary. There is [Poucha 1955] which is by now both incomplete and outdated, as it, quite obviously, could not take into account the large manuscript from Yanqi, representing parts of the Buddhist drama Maitrevasamitinātaka, because it was published in nineties ([Ji et al. 1998]). Moreover, it contained a considerable number of mistakes even at the time of publishing. On the other hand, there is a relatively modern [Carling et al. 2009], but technically, it is not full either, because only a part, from-A-to-J, has been published. Moreover, it is not free from mistakes and doubtful solutions as well (the most prominent, maybe, is the treatment of the verb knā-'to know' and the related stems, which will be described in the respective subchapter of this work). Unfortunately, it also quite rarely uses the material of Maitrisimit nom bitig, a rather loose, but still valuable translation of MSN from Tocharian A to Old Uyghur. Apart from this, both dictionaries provide an overview of the attested word forms and the places where they are attested. This function, although extremely useful, "steals" to some degree the authors' attention from reflection on the semantics, reducing it to the minimum. It is not an uncommon situation when a lexeme is defined by a very wide notion or vice versa by a range of notions that do not tell what exactly this lexeme means. For example, whether a lexeme is really polysemic or its fractured definition is just a consequence of unsystematic or loose translations in various contexts. It is rarely specified whether specific meanings coincide with specific forms or grammatical paradigms or with collocation with specific words.

As for the other pieces of the lexicographic information, I would like to mention such glossaries and indexes as [Thomas, Krause 1964: 77-161], [Ji et al. 1998: 269-301], [Burlak 2000: 183-204], [Malzahn 2010: 519-1000], [Itkin 2019]. To a greater or lesser degree, the aforementioned critique can be applied to them too, although it is obvious that these kinds of dictionaries are not designed for deep lexicological analysis. (Nevertheless, M. Malzahn's notes on semantics in her verbal index should not be underestimated.) Besides that, there are, of course, many lexicological studies on individual lexemes, scattered throughout the Tocharological literature. Still, not all the aforementioned works could make use of the *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts* text corpus [CEToM] which was created in 2000s and became an invaluable tool for research. And only a lesser part of these works

is dedicated to Tocharian A exclusively. It is not a rare situation, when both Tocharian languages are considered together, and the lexicological studies are no exception. In my opinion, this inevitably leads to an approach where the semantics of TA and TB cognates is more or less equated and meanings of a lexeme from the one language are assumed on the basis of evidence in the other language. Of course, one cannot disagree with the usefulness of such comparisons, especially in the case of Tocharian languages, which left very scarce evidence. However, it is hard to believe in such simple equations in case of the languages that are generally considered to be not-mutually-intelligible at the time of their fixation.

Last but not least, sometimes it is the polysemy of a language used by a scholar, which creates the vagueness of definitions. It is especially important in the case of such highly polysemic language like English, which is nolens volens becoming the scientific lingua franca.

2. The aims of the research

The factors mentioned in the previous paragraph lead to the situation when we can find dozens of pairs and even groups of synonyms and quasi-synonyms in Tocharian A, and difference in their meanings or/and usage can be understood neither from their definitions nor from passages used as examples. Is it an important problem? I think it is. From the multidisciplinary point of view, Tocharian studies are a rather closed field with a high level of entrance. The information from the Tocharian sources can be useful for scholars of Buddhism and, potentially, for historians. I suggest it would be better to provide for non-Tocharologist researchers such lexicographical literature and text translations that would be consistent and understandable as much as it possible and would not force them to investigate Tocharian passages by themselves in order to make all details clear. In any case, making things more consistent and clear would be useful for Tocharian studies too. So, the primary aim of my work is to study those synonym and quasi-synonym pairs and groups (which I am going to refer to hereinafter simply as "synonym groups") and to find any difference in their meaning or/and usage.

The secondary aim is creating of a basic vocabulary list for Tocharian A, which will put my research into a wider context. As a base for the list, I have chosen the concept set of the NorthEuraLex 0.9 database [NorthEuraLex].

3. The methods of the research

While studying every synonym group, I used, first of all, the semantic analysis, paying specific attention to searching collocations (especially, the grammatical subjects/objects and agents/patients of the respective verb) and specifying their semantical fields. Generally, I tried to reduce the number of meanings as much as it possible. My idea, that concerned all the parts of my otherwise mosaic research (and thus, can be considered as a working hypothesis to some degree), was that the synonymy and polysemy of many lexemes was caused rather by the inconsistency of translations and/or by influence of patterns of the translator's language (especially in the case of English, if talking about the polysemy). Of course, no researcher can be free of influence of his or her mother's language. I tried to remember this and to watch myself. All the analogies with the semantics of Russian lexemes, that can be found in this thesis, are merely evidences of possibility of the respective semantic development, not the proof of anything.

Another important thing was tracking the genre (prose or verse) and provenance of the respective manuscript in order to find any correlation. The significant part of my work includes comparing of the Tocharian A material with the parallel texts in Old Uyghur. Similarly, I compared the Tocharian A lexemes with their Sanskrit translations, although to a lesser degree and basing mainly on the TA-Skt. bilingual texts.

In my work, I used mainly the searching tools of [CEToM], although the passage indexes of [Poucha 1955], [Carling et al. 2009], and [Itkin 2019] were also very useful. Still, both very complicated morphological and inflectional system of Tocharian A and unedited state of many texts had its influence. That is why, all the numbers of word occurrences, that I provide in this thesis, are the lowest estimation. As for dictionaries of the other languages, I used [DTS] for Old Uyghur because of its volume, ease of use, and the fact that it is in Russian (in my opinion, it would reduce the translation distortion at least to some degree). As for Sanskrit and BHS, I used classical dictionaries such as [Monier-Williams 1986] and [Edgerton 1985] respectively. Besides, the online Sanskrit text corpus [DCS] was of great use.

4. Topics and structure of the thesis

The main topic of the research is semantic differences between synonyms in Tocharian A in connection with choosing lexemes for the 1016-word basic vocabulary list.

Due to the specific subject of research, the structure of my work is rather unconventional. It is rather a complex of lesser independent researches that are not linked by one common hypothesis.

The first chapter includes the analysis of such synonym groups that I have called simple. These are groups that are consisted of words, all of which are allegedly synonymic to each other. Or schematically, $A \approx B$, $B \approx C$, $A \approx C$.

This chapter contains the analysis of the following lexemes:

- 1. *cämp* and *yāt*
- 2. tsäk-, pälk-, sälp-, tu-/tw-ās-, and tsärk-
- 3. kärşt- and lātk-
- 4. *knā* and *kärs* (Gv.)
- 5. *yom-*, *wärp-*, and *kälp-* (Gv.)
- 6. nu-, käln-, and trisk-

The second chapter includes the analysis of such synonym groups that I have called mixed. These groups are consisted of two synonym subgroups that partly intersect by means, for example, of one word with the very fractured semantics. Schematically, it looks like $A \approx B$, $B \approx C$, but $A \ncong C$.

This chapter contains the analysis of the following lexemes:

- 7. wik-, näk-, spärk-, mänt-, nut-, and musk-
- 8. tuṅk-iññ-, ārt-, and päl-
- 9. lip-, sāk-, ṣäm/läm- (Gv.), and ri-n-
- 10. pärk-, kātk-, mus-, plutk-, täl-, and rätk-
- 11. āk/wā-, eṃts-, käl- (1) (Kaus.), käl- (2), krop-, pär/kām-, sām-, and suk-

The third chapter includes minor and trivial cases. It means that their analysis is too short (either because of simplicity of solution or because of too scarce material) to single out them into an independent subchapter.

This chapter contains the analysis of the following lexemes:

- 12. kärn-, kost-
- 13. *ās*-, *kleps*-
- 14. oks-, tsäm-, pyāṣt-

15. *kāṣ-iññ-, nāk-*

16. ko-, sruk-

Besides, the thesis includes the introduction, the conclusion, and the appendix which represents an outline of the 1016-word basic vocabulary list for Tocharian A, including the results achieved in every subchapter.

5. The main results of the research

Below, the summary of individual results reached in every subchapter in connection with the concept from the [NorthEuraLex] list and the preliminary statistic data from the outline of the Tocharian A basic vocabulary list are provided below.¹

SG No.	Lexeme	Semantics	Concept
1	сäтр-	to be able, to manage [dynamic modality] (act., intr.)	BE ABLE
	yāt-	may, to be possible for someone [deontic modality] (act., intr.)	
2	tsäk-	1. to burn [something]; 2. to torture [probably only in metaphors including fire] (act., tr.) 1. to burn; 2. (?) RM (mid., intr.)	BURN (SOMETHING) BURNING
	pälk-	1. 'to heat (up) (act., tr.); 2. to torture, to torment (act., tr.) / to be tortured, tormented (mid., intr.)	
	sälp- (Gv.)	1. to glow [to emit light because of high temperature], to be red-hot, incandescent; 2. to blaze, be aflame [to emit light because of burning] (act., intr.)	
	sälp- (Kaus.)	(?) to set aflame, to cause to glow (?) (?, tr.).	
	tu-/tw-ās-	to torture (slowly???); to kindle (???) (act., tr.)	
	tsärk-	$(???) \approx$ to torture, to torment	
3	kärṣt-	1. cut (off), chop (off) [e.g. with axe]; 2. stop~cease~interrupt~end [processes and abstract notions]' (act., tr.) // RM	СНОР
	lātk-	cut off [e.g. with knife] (act., tr.) // RM	CUT OFF
4	knā-	to know (act., tr.) // RM	KNOW (SOMETHING)
	kärs-	1. to understand, to realize; 2. to get to know, to	RECOGNIZE
	(Gv.)	learn'; 3. to recognize, to consider A as B // RM	UNDERSTAND
5	yom-	to reach [lative and figurative]' (act., tr.)	

¹ The special marks in the table are:

SG 1 etc. a synonym group and its index number.

F the Tocharian A lexeme is appointed to the concept on the basis of its frequency as compared with the other lexemes.

W the Tocharian A lexeme has wider semantics as compared with the concept description and the trilingual counterparts. This can mean either hypernymy or polysemy; given the state of the Tocharian A material, I have decided to not distinguish between them.

N the Tocharian A lexeme has narrower semantics as compared with the concept description and the trilingual counterparts (hyponymy).

C the correspondence has be investigated and no other candidate lexemes have been found, but the chosen variant should be taken with caution (thus, new data can change the situation).

RM the verb has the middle forms and they are semantically regular.

	wärp-	1. to accept; 2. to undergo, to experience [sufferings, happiness, pleasures etc.]; 3. (?) to receive'; 4. (with the infinitive) to consent; 5. to consume' (mid., tr.)	RECEIVE (C)
	kälp-	1. to obtain, to gain; 2. to meet~find; 3. (?) (with the infinitive) to manage, to succeed' (mid., tr.)	GET FIND ENCOUNTER SUCCEED (C)
	nu-	to roar, to bellow (act., intr.)	
6	käln- (Gv.)	to clink, to resonate (act., intr.)	
	käln- (Kaus.)	to cause to clink, to cause to resonate (act., tr.)	
	trisk- (Gv.)	(?) to sound (act., intr.)	SOUND (OF INSTRUMENT) (C)
	trisk- (Kaus.)	(?) to cause to sound (act., tr.)	
	wik- (Gv.)	to disappear [of something bad] (act., intr.)	
	wik-	to drive away, to remove [something bad] (act.,	
	(Kaus.)	tr.)	
	wik-	existence is not proven	
	(Agv.)	1 to doctroy [physically and shotroatly]: 2 to	
	1	1. to destroy [physically and abstractly]; 2. to lose something precious [particularly life] (act., tr.)	DESTROY
	näk-	1. to be destroyed [physically and abstractly]; 2. to perish; 3. to disappear [mainly by dissipating or supernaturally] (mid., intr.)	DISAPPEAR (N) PERISH (OF HUMAN)
	spärk- (Gv.)	to vanish, to disappear [probably not physically, existentially, or supernaturally] (act., intr.)	DISAPPEAR (N)
7	spärk-	to cause to disappear (act., tr.)	
	(Kaus.)	to be destroyed [not physically?] (mid., intr.)	
	spärk- (Agv.)	existence is not proven	
	mänt-	(???) to violate, to defile (act., tr.) 1. to be angry, to scold; 2. (???) to be violated, defiled (mid., intr.)	
	nut- (Gv.)	$(?) \approx$ 'to end, to be stopped' (mid., intr.)	
	nut- (Kaus.)	≈ 'to cease, to stop' (act., tr.)	
	musk- (Gv.)	(???) to disappear (mid., intr.)	
	musk- (Kaus.)	(???) to destroy (act., tr.)	
8	ārt-	1. to approve, to esteem; 2. (?) to embrace, choose (mid., tr.)	LIKE (W)
	päl-	to praise (mid., tr.)	PRAISE
		10	

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	tuñk-iññ-	to have compassion for, to love (act., tr.)	LOVE
	lip- (Gv.)	to remain [as leftover] (act., intr.)	* •• · • •
9	lip-	1. to leave something to someone [to transfer	LEAVE
	(Agv.)	possession]; 2. to leave [as leftover] (act., tr.)	(SOMETHING)
	sāk- (Gv.)	to stay, to remain [locatively] (act., intr.)	REMAIN
	$s\bar{a}k$ - (Agv.)	to restrain (act., tr.)	
	säm/läm-	1. to sit; 2. to sit down; 3. to mount; 4. to stay, to remain [in state or condition] (act., intr.)	
		1. to leave, to abandon someone [e.g. in peril, forever]; 2. to abandon, to reject, to give up	LEAVE
	ri-n-	[something precious for the owner; something morally good or bad]; 3. to leave, to abandon [a place]; 4. (?) (with infinitive) to let, to leave someone as patient for an action (mid., tr.)	LEAVE (SOMEONE)
	pärk-	1. to rise [of celestial bodies or metaphorically comparing to celestial bodies]; 2. to arise, to appear (act. and mid., intr.)	RISE (MOVE UPWARDS)
	kātk-	1. to rise [from the ground etc.], to stand up; 2. to rise, to appear [of emotions etc.]; 3. to appear~become elevated [of (the) Buddha]; 4. ≈ to stand up and go out, to step out (act., intr.)	RISE (MOVEMENT) ARISE (FROM SLEEP) (C)
	mus-	to raise oneself, to lift oneself a little (mid., intr.)	
	plutk-		
10	(Gv.)	(?) to arise [lit. grow in size?] (act., intr.)	
	plutk- (Kaus.)	(?) to cause to rise (act., tr.)	
	(==,	1. to raise, to lift up [of items and body parts]; 2.	RAISE
	täl-	to bear, to endure; 3. to bear, to carry (a child)	LIFT
		(act., tr.) // Mid. semantics is unknown	PICK UP
		(act) (1.77) That belianides is unknown	CAUSE
	rätk- (Kaus.)	\approx to trigger, to cause (act., tr.)	SOMEONE TO
	, ,		(C)
	āk/wā-	1. to lead, to cause to move [using force or control]; 2. to conduct [talk, ceremony etc.] (act. and mid., tr.)	LEAD (GUIDE) DRIVE
11			(CATTLE)
	eṃts-	1. to take, to seize [literaly and figuratively]; 2. to choose; 3. to be born [with <i>cmol</i>]' (mid., tr.).	TAKE
			GRAB
			(SOMETHING)
			$\begin{array}{c} \text{CHOOSE}\left(F\right) \end{array}$
	käl- (1) (Kaus.)	to bear, to endure [unpleasant states and situations] (act., tr.)	(-)
	(Ixaus.)		BRING
	käl- (2)	1. to bring; 2. to lead [show direction]; 3. (only l-(2) with <i>opyāc</i>) to remember' (mid., tr.)	GUIDE (TO DESTINATION)
		(?) to remind [only with opyāc] (act., tr.)	

	krop-	1. to accumulate, to amass [abstract and collective objects]; 2. to gather [people] (mid., tr.) // RM	MEET
	pär/kām-	1. to carry (away, to) [items, people: in hands, on oneself]; 2. to bear, to carry [to have as a part or feature inside or on the surface]; 3. to take away, to take for oneself; 4. to keep, to maintain [rules, occupation]; 4. to carry [child]' (mid., tr.)	CARRY
	sām-	to gather [countable items] (mid., tr.).	GATHER
	suk-	(???) to hand over, to handle (?, tr.)	
	kärn-	1. to strike [figuratively about a bad condition or	$\mathrm{HIT}\left(F\right)$
12		state]; 2. to beat, strike, hit [do a violence]; 3. to beat the musical instrument	BEAT(F)
	koșt-	1.to beat, strike, hit [do a violence]; 2. to beat the musical instrument (e.g. drum)	
13	ās-	dry up, become dry [Carling et al. 2009: 57]	DRY UP
13	kleps-	wither, shrink [Carling et al. 2009: 179]	
	oks- (Gv.)	to grow [of plants, people] (intr.)	GROW
	oks- (Kaus.)	\approx to make grow (tr.)	
1.4	tsäm- (Gv.)	to grow, to increase [not of living beings] (intr.)	INCREASE
14	tsäm- (Kaus.)	≈ to make grow, to make increase (tr.)	
	pyāṣt- (Gv.)	be strong, be nourished (mid., intr.) [Malzahn 2010: 730-731]	
	<i>pyāṣt-</i> (Kaus.)	make grow (act., tr.) [ibid.]	RAISE (A CHILD) (F)
15	kāṣ-iññ-	shout at, reprimand, chastise (mid., tr.) [ibid.: 563]	
	nāk-	blame, reprimand, reproach (mid., tr.) [ibid.: 678]	GRUMBLE (F)
16	ko-	to kill (act., tr.)	KILL
10	sruk-	(?) to bring to death OR (?) to strangle (mid., tr.)	

The outline of the Tocharian A basic vocabulary list: preliminary statistics

The list contains 1016 concepts and 601 lexemes (if distinguishing between the verbal paradigms).

412 concepts are "empty", in other words, there are no counterparts found.

403 concepts have single relatively reliable counterparts. This includes 112 correspondences to a "wider" Tocharian A lexeme, three correspondences to a "narrower" Tocharian A lexeme, five correspondences marked as "with caution" (in other words, the preserved material does not allow us to specify their semantics more precisely or to prove reliably the existence of the proposed meaning, but there are no other candidates for this

concepts), two correspondences which have both labels "wider" and "with caution", and four correspondences to a lexeme belonging to a different part of speech.

74 concepts have single counterparts which need further verification of semantics; thus, these correspondences are considered unreliable. This includes one correspondence to a lexeme belonging to a different part of speech.

129 concepts correspond to 224 lexemes. This is divided into 83 synonym groups.

Finally, the borrowings should be mentioned. The number of reliable concept-lexeme correspondences where the latter is identified as a loanword is $19.^2$ Two of them are from Tocharian B, two have an Old Iranian source, six are from Middle Iranian (including one Primitive Khotanese, one Parthian, and one Sogdian loanwords). The other 9 cases are direct borrowings from Sanskrit. The number of unreliable and synonym correspondences is 36. Three loanwords are from Tocharian B, one is probably from Khotanese via Tocharian B, two are from Old Iranian, one is from Bactrian, one is from Sogdian, one is from Khotanese, three lexemes are borrowed from Sanskrit via Middle Iranian. 24 words are direct borrowings from Sanskrit. Thus, the maximum possible number of the loanwords is 55 (\approx 9% of the "non-empty" concepts). Of course, the overall numbers are rather small, and the very list is incomplete, but it is interesting to note that, unlike Iranian and Sanskrit, the impact of Tocharian B on the Tocharian A basic vocabulary is insignificant and there is no impact of Turkic languages and Chinese at all.

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² NB. Hereinafter, both identification of a word as a borrowing and the source/direction of borrowing can be ambiguous.

6. Practical significance of the research

The thesis is a contribution to the study of Tocharian languages which still remains largely incomplete.

The results of the research can be used by Tocharian scholars. First, for better understanding the semantic nuances of lexemes represented in the Tocharian A texts, thus, for better understanding the whole text. Second, for improving the quality of data used for their lexicographic works, e.g. dictionaries. Third, for studying the semantic features of the voice and causative paradigms of the Tocharian verb.

To some degree, the research can also be useful for Old Uyghur scholars because it contains the extensive overview of renderings of Tocharian A lexemes in the Old Uyghur texts for the analyzed verbs.

Last but not least, the research will be useful for scholars studying lexicostatistics in particular and language contact in general. The draft of the 1016-word basic list can be used not only for the NorthEuraLex database, but also for another projects. It can also serve as the base for other basic vocabulary lists, especially containing a lesser number of lexemes. As far as I concerned, there is no such list for Tocharian A that can be compared in terms of its size and in-depth analysis.

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8. The author's publications connected with the thesis

[Vyzhlakov 2016] Vyzhlakov M. Mysterious Tocharians and their languages. *Czech and Slovak Linguistic Review*, 2016, 2: 73-79.

[Vyzhlakov 2018] Выжлаков М. В. «Словесная» триада в тохарском А: rake, plāc, weñlune. *Труды Института востоковедения РАН. Вып.19: Проблемы общей и востоковедной лингвистики: Лексикология и лексикография* / отв. ред. З.М. Шаляпина; ред.-сост. А.С. Панина. М.: ИВ РАН, 2018, 256-262.

[Vyzhlakov 2020] Vyzhlakov M. V. Ability and possibility in Tocharian A: The semantics of the verbs *yāt*- and *cämp*- and their derivatives. *Вопросы языкознания*, 2020, 5: 76-90.

9. The further author's activity connected with the thesis

Conferences (active participation)

04-06.04.2018, Moscow: The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy

of Sciences - Востоковедные чтения 2018. Лексикология и лексикография. К 200-

летию ИВ РАН. [The Orientalist Readings 2018. Lexicology and lexicography. To the 200th

anniversary of the IOS RAS]

Contribution: «Словесная» триада в тохарском A: rake, plāc, weñlune. [The

"verbal" triad in the Tocharian A language: rake, plāc, weñlune]

28-30.10.2019, Moscow: The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy

of Sciences – Письменные памятники Востока: проблемы перевода и интерпретации –

2019. [Written artifacts of the East: the problems of translation and interpretation - 2019]

Contribution: Знание и понимание в тохарском А: глаголы knā- и kärs- и их

производные. [Knowing and understanding in Tocharian A: the verbs knā- u kärs- and their

derivates]

08-10.12.2020, Leiden (online): Leiden University – Tocharian in Progress.

Contribution: Specifying the semantics of synonyms in Tocharian A

Conferences (participation in a poster session)

20-21.11.2020, Olomouc (online): Palacký University, Olomouc – The 14th Annual

Conference on Asian Studies (ACAS).

Contribution: Tocharian A: Creating a basic vocabulary list.

Workshops (lecturing)

07.03.2018, Olomouc: Palacký University, Olomouc – Lingvistické odpoledne.

Contribution: *Tocharové a jejich jazyky*.

28.03.2019, Olomouc: Palacký University, Olomouc – Lingvistické odpoledne.

Contribution: The Slanting Brahmi "construction set".

26

Summer schools and workshops (attending)

22.07-02.08.2019, Leiden: Leiden University – Leiden Summer School in Languages and Linguistics.

Courses:

Tocharian A language and literature (Michaël Peyrot)

Old Uyghur language and literature (Jens Wilkens)

Introduction to Sogdian of the Ancient Letters and other documents (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst)

Gāndhāri language and literature (Stefan Baums)

25-27.10.2019, Vienna: Institute of Linguistics of Vienna University and the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities of the Austrian Academy of Sciences – International Workshop "Recent Advances in Tocharian Philology and Linguistics".