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ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

**Dedicated to Marek Stachowski
on the occasion of his 60th birthday**

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Kraków 2017

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Michał NÉMETH (Kraków & Mainz).....	11
Professor Marek Stachowski's evolving academic profile over the years 1984–2016	29
Michał NÉMETH (Kraków & Mainz).....	31
An indexed bibliography of the works of Marek Stachowski (cov- ering the years 1984–2016)	56
José Andrés ALONSO DE LA FUENTE (Barcelona)	57
From converb to classifier? On the etymology of Literary Manchu <i>nofi</i>	80
Zbigniew BABIK (Kraków)	81
Is the prosody of Slavic <i>*pergyŋi</i> really not reconstructible?	105
Uwe BLÄSING (Leiden & Yerevan)	107
Ortsnamen aus Artvin. ՏՐՈՂՈՆՈՆ ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ. Sprachlich-kul- turelle Berührungen an der türkisch-georgischen Grenze	134
Vít BOČEK (Brno).....	135
Church Slavonic <i>vъskopysnŋti</i> and <i>zaskopivъ/zaskopije</i>	140
John CONSIDINE (Edmonton)	141
Wedgwood's <i>Contested Etymologies</i>	159
Andrii DANYLENKO (New York)	161
On the names of Ruthenia in early modern Poland-Lithuania	173
Przemysław DĘBOWIAK (Kraków).....	175
Contribution à l'étymologie des adjectifs romans signifiant 'petit'	190
Bernhard DIENSBERG (Bonn).....	191
Etymological and lexical problems in trilingual middle England	201
Setsu FUJISHIRO (Kobe).....	203
A song of marriage and setting up a house. A proto-Dolgan song recorded by K.M. Rychkov	217

David L. GOLD (New York)	219
A Sample from a discursive etymological dictionary, in preparation, of Polish lexical and semantic usages of definite, probable, or possi- ble Yidish origin. On the etymology of German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yidish nouns meaning 'bench-bed' (with thirteen guidelines for the study of Yidish influence on Polish)	278
Elżbieta GÓRSKA (Kraków)	279
Polish dictionaries of the Arabic language	295
Juha JANHUNEN (Helsinki)	297
Issues of comparative Uralic and Altaic Studies (2). Medial * <i>p</i> in Pre-Proto-Mongolic	305
Henryk JANKOWSKI (Poznań)	307
Crimean Tatar kinship terms formed with + <i>pçe</i>	314
Bayarma KHABTAGAEVA (Szeged)	315
Some etymological remarks on words <i>squirrel</i> and <i>sable</i> in Khakas	324
Abdulahakim KILIŇ & Galina MIŠKINIENĖ (Vilnius)	325
Ottoman Empire – Grand Duchy of Lithuania relations. Several documents from the Manuscript Department of the Vilnius Uni- versity Library	339
Kiss Jenő (Budapest)	341
Zu einigen strittigen Fragen der historischen Sprachwissenschaft	349
Michael KNÜPPEL (Göttingen)	351
Jenissejisch-sino-tibetische Anmerkungen bei Robert P. Austerlitz	355
Corinna LESCHBER (Berlin)	357
Romanes <i>dilinó</i> 'verrückt' im Kontrast zu türk. <i>deli</i> 'irrsinnig, ver- rückt, ungestüm'	368
Anatoly LIBERMAN (Minneapolis)	369
On boasting, fear, shouting, and poetry. Engl. <i>brag</i> , Engl. <i>brawl</i> , OE <i>brōga</i> , and OI <i>bragr/Bragi</i>	381
Aleksandar LOMA (Belgrade)	383
Mineralogie und Mythologie. Aus den iranischen-griechischen Lehnwortbeziehungen	407

Tomasz MAJTCZAK (Kraków)	409
An Ottoman-Polish dictionary in the age of Wikimedia projects	421
Elżbieta MAŃCZAK-WOHLFELD (Kraków)	423
On the etymology of Anglicisms in Polish dictionaries	432
Michał NÉMETH (Kraków & Mainz)	433
Is Hung. <i>ócsárol</i> ‘to slander, to defame’ not a Turkic loanword?	456
A Slavonic counterproposition	
Mehmet ÖLMEZ (Istanbul)	457
One more Mongolian word from the Turkish dictionary. <i>Urgan</i>	461
‘a stout rope’	
Norbert OSTROWSKI (Kraków)	463
Non-verbal predication in Baltic. Lithuanian <i>yrà</i>	471
Kinga PARASKIEWICZ (Kraków)	473
In search of <i>giaour</i> . Notes on the New Persian <i>gabr</i> ‘a Zoroastrian;	481
infidel’	
Iwona PIECHNIK (Kraków)	483
Ujfalvy’s place in the development of Finno-Ugrian language studies	506
in the second half of the 19 th century in France	
Andrzej PISOWICZ (Kraków)	507
Compound tenses in Ossetic. A preliminary report	510
Dariusz R. PIWOWARCZYK (Kraków)	511
The Magnificent Five – the Latin fifth declension revisited	523
Marzanna POMORSKA (Kraków)	525
„How do they make bread?” – A philological commentary to a Lower	543
Chulym text recorded by A.P. Dułzon	
Luciano ROCCHI (Trieste)	545
Le petit dictionnaire de Jean Palerne (1584) et sa partie turque	567
Klaus RÖHRBORN (Göttingen)	569
Kollektaneen zum Uigurischen Wörterbuch. Die Vier Edlen Wahr-	580
heiten im uigurischen Buddhismus	
Volker RYBATZKI (Helsinki)	581
How to say ‘to fuck’ and other things in Middle Mongol	602

Kenneth SHIELDS (Millersville)	603
Linguistic typology and the Indo-European sigmatic future	607
Mirosław SKARŻYŃSKI (Kraków)	609
Polish (?) <i>bigos</i> . About the thing and about the word	617
Magnús SNÆDAL (Reykjavík)	619
Three persistent problems	624
Wojciech SOWA (Kraków)	625
Im Schatten des Zwittergottes. Interkulturelle Onomastik aus Klein- asien (Phrygien/Galatien)	642
Kamil STACHOWSKI & Olaf STACHOWSKI (Kraków)	643
Possibly Oriental elements in Slavonic folklore. <i>Upiór ~ wampir</i>	693
Stanisław STACHOWSKI (Kraków)	695
A contribution to the history of Turkish vocabulary	701
Giovanni STARY (Venice)	703
Neue Beiträge zum Sibe-Wortschatz	707
Kamilla TERMIŃSKA (Katowice)	709
Perfection in Biblical Hebrew	723
Jerzy TULISOW (Warsaw)	725
Terms for ‘pig’ and ‘wild boar’ in the Manchu language	744
Piotr TYLUS (Kraków)	745
<i>L’Isle de Cube</i> ou <i>l’Île de Cuba</i> – note sur l’édition critique du texte et la langue d’Alexandre de Humboldt	752
Mateusz URBAN (Kraków)	753
European ‘cassock’, Tk. <i>ķazaķ</i> and Per. <i>kazağand</i> . Relative chro- nologies and possible links	791
Alexander VOVIN (Paris)	793
Some Tofalar etymologies	801
Jadwiga WANIĄKOWA (Kraków)	803
Polish <i>tataraka</i> ‘ <i>Fagopyrum tataricum</i> (L.) Gaertn.’ and ‘ <i>Fagopyrum</i> <i>esculentum</i> Moench’ in a Slavic and European context	817

Hubert WOLANIN (Kraków)	819
Ancient Greeks on compounds. Aristotle, Dionysius Thrax, Apol- lonius Dyscolus	844
Robert WOODHOUSE (Brisbane)	845
Delabialization after * <i>u</i> and the distribution of labiovelars in dia- lectal Proto-Indo-European	919
Emine YILMAZ (Ankara)	921
Interrogative in Chuvash	933
Peter ZIEME (Tokyo)	935
Eine Handvoll altuigurischer Handwörter	944
András ZOLTÁN (Budapest)	945
Zur Etymologie von ungarisch <i>denevér</i> ‘Fledermaus’	951



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PROFESSOR MAREK STACHOWSKI'S EVOLVING ACADEMIC PROFILE OVER THE YEARS 1984–2016

MANY OF THOSE WHO WILL READ THESE PAGES ARE FULLY AWARE OF PROFESSOR Marek Stachowski's scholarly achievements up to the present. How versatile and appreciated an author he has been is illustrated quite perfectly by the table of contents of the present tome. Indeed, Professor Stachowski is commonly regarded as a Turkologist whose varied academic career has been marked by a consistent approach to linguistic analysis: utilising historical-linguistic and philological methods while at the same time paying special attention to the historical background, cultural context, chronology, and the geography of linguistic contacts. Certainly, Marek Stachowski has helped broaden our knowledge of the history of Turkic languages and improve the methodology bequeathed to us by earlier generations. Additionally, however, thanks to his broad interdisciplinary approach – combining the experience and knowledge of a Turkologist with, primarily, the expertise of Uralists, Slavicists, Arabists, Iranists, Mongolists, and specialists in Yeniseic, Carpathian and Balkan studies – Marek Stachowski has been able to address issues lying beyond his main field of expertise. In fact, during his career he has highlighted just how relevant Turkology is to these research areas and, just as importantly, how much Turkology has been enriched by them. Thus, it would perhaps not be amiss to say that the central theme of his work has been its wide-ranging, multifaceted outlook.

Undoubtedly, it was Marek Stachowski's own father, Professor Stanisław Stachowski (born 1930), who guided him towards a career in interdisciplinary

linguistics.¹ At the time of his son's birth, on May 19, 1957, Stanisław Stachowski not only held a *Magister Artium* in Slavonic philology, but was also expanding his horizons by taking courses in Oriental studies. Marek Stachowski the linguist must have therefore treated the ethos of interdisciplinarity not so much as a crucial and necessary appendage to his work, but rather as something quite natural and obvious.

Marek Stachowski embarked upon his career shortly after obtaining his degree in Turkology (1976–1981) at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. On May 28, 1981² he defended his MA thesis entitled *Neologizmy w Günce* [*'Dzienniki'*] *Nurullaha Ataça* [= Neologisms in Nurullah Ataç's *Günce* [*'Diary'*]]³ and began working as a full-time academic, initially in the position of a research assistant (1981–1988).⁴ By 1988, when he defended his doctoral thesis entitled *Westeuropäische Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen*,⁵ he had already published 5 articles on Turkic etymology (Nos 10, 11) and the history of the Turkish lexicon (Nos 14, 15, 17). In addition, he had written 4 reviews (Nos 12, 13, 16, 18) and given a talk in Gießen (*Die osmanisch-türkische Kultur im Spiegel der westeuropäischen Lehnwörter*) at the invitation of Professor Klaus Röhrborn (*Institut für Orientalistik der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*) and the *Deutsch-Türkische Gesellschaft*.

The content of his first two etymological articles already gives the impression of an author with decades of experience as a scholar and researcher in Turkology. It is little wonder, then, that they were accepted for publication by the editor of

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- 1 For more on Stanisław Stachowski, see the two biographies written by Siemienieć-Golaś (2005) and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2010).
 - 2 Unless indicated otherwise, dates and other details from Marek Stachowski's (academic) life are taken from ArchUJ Hab., ArchUJ Prof. and ArchUJ Prof. zw. (i.e. from the personal files of Marek Stachowski stored in the Archive of the Jagiellonian University and available to the public), from the personal correspondence with his colleagues as well as from the memory and notes of the present writer.
 - 3 It was prepared for publication several years later and appeared in German in 1986 (cf. № 15 – references of this kind are intended to redirect the reader to Marek Stachowski's bibliography published in this volume; see Németh 2017).
 - 4 Pol. *asystent*. More precisely, he was a student assistant in 1980–1981, a research apprentice assistant (*asystent-stażysta*) in 1981–1982, a research assistant in 1982–1985 and a senior research assistant (*starszy asystent*) in 1985–1988.
 - 5 He was awarded the degree and title of *doktor* on January 21. This paved the way for his appointment as assistant professor (*adiunkt* in 1988–1995; *adiunkt z habilitacją* in 1995–1999) at the Jagiellonian University.

the Ural-Altaic Yearbook (Bloomington, USA), Gyula Décsy (1925–2008). However, it was his review of Benzing's *Kalmückische Grammatik zum Nachschlagen* (№ 16) that proved, in the opinion of the present writer, to be the real harbinger of his academic potential, in that he had significantly broadened his research interests.

Let us imagine for a moment that we are the young Marek Stachowski and we would like to write a review of a book published, say, in 1985. There were a number of purely Turkological titles for him to choose from at the time, for instance, monographs by Adamović (1985), Doerfer (1985) and Majda (1985). There would thus have been no need for him at this stage of his career to make any excursions into other areas and review a book on the subject of Mongolian studies written by a person of such stature as Johannes Benzing (1913–2001) – *nota bene* a book published as the first volume in the *Turcologica* series. On paper (*vide* bibliography), Marek Stachowski was a Turkologist with an already proven track record of working with Turkic (including dialectal Turkish) material. However, given that the review in question is not a simple recapitulation of the content of Benzing's book, but rather a skilfully written article containing many critical thoughts and suggestions on how the reviewed work could be improved, it is beyond any doubt that young Stachowski's competence was far beyond the skills of a Turkologist that one might have expected based solely on his bibliography.

His PhD thesis did not appear as a separate monograph as had originally been planned. Instead, the results of his research on Western European elements in Ottoman Turkish (with special emphasis on the chronology of borrowings and the routes they took to reach their final destination, i.e. issues which had previously often been neglected and would continue to be so afterwards) were published in several articles (Nos 19, 21, 24, 41) in the years 1988–1993. However, even though this topic would reappear later in his bibliography (Nos 9, 66, 123, 131, 146) and the history of Ottoman Turkish remains even now an important field of interest for him,⁶ 1988 must certainly be considered the first and, perhaps, most important turning point in his academic career.

Beginning in 1988, North Siberian Turkic Yakut and Dolgan became permanent features of his research, and they would remain so for the next two decades. In that year, he gave a lecture on declension in Yakut (*Deklinacja jakucka*, cf. № 22) at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The year 1989 saw his first

6 In all his articles and monographs on the history of Ottoman Turkish published to date, he has primarily dealt with the questions of etymology, derivation, historical phonology, phraseology, and lexicography.

publications on Yakut (Nos 20, 22), while in 1990 he began work on a dictionary of Dolgan (№ 1).

At the time of writing of this biography, the present volume is still believed to be a surprise for the dedicatee. For this reason, we can only speculate, rather than ask him directly, why Marek Stachowski chose Yakut and Dolgan to be his primary languages of interest. The presence of Professor Stanisław Kałużyński (1926–2007), one of the most important figures in Yakut studies, in Marek Stachowski's academic milieu must have had a great impact on his work (see e.g. the importance of Kałużyński's 1962 study).⁷ Indeed, in his first article on Yakut (№ 20: 121), it is Kałużyński and his own father, Stanisław Stachowski, to whom M. Stachowski expresses his heartfelt thanks for their thoughts and opinions, which helped improve the article. Moreover, Yakut and Dolgan, with their special status among the Turkic languages and, hence, importance for historical-comparative research and reconstruction of Proto-Turkic, must have appeared a tempting and promising area to both himself and his advisers.

What cannot be disputed, however, is that his chosen research area, combined with his enthusiasm for exploring new horizons, brought him further international recognition. In 1990, he attended the *Zweite Deutsche Turkologen-Konferenz (Westeuropäische Eigennamen als Appellativa im Osmanisch-Türkischen*, cf. Nos 24, 41). In the same year he became a member of the prestigious *Societas Uralo-Altaica* (Hamburg).⁸ In 1989, he attended the 32nd *Permanent International Altaistic Conference (Über jakutische Glossen im Werk von W. Sieroszewski)* in Oslo, and two years later he organised the 34th *Conference* in Berlin (July 21–26, 1991). In 1992, he organised another international Turkological conference in Berlin (July 7–10, 1992; he co-edited the conference proceedings, cf. Kellner-Heinkele, Stachowski 1995). Importantly, however, prior to the latter event, in 1991, he was

7 In the preface to *Iacutica* (№ 63: 11–12), a volume dedicated to this eminent Mongolist and Turkologist (Kałużyński 1995), Marek Stachowski recalls an invitation he received to attend Tadeusz Lewicki's (1906–1992) name day party, where he had the opportunity to discuss with Kałużyński certain matters connected with the chronological layers of the Yakut lexicon. Even though he does not give any exact dates, this must have taken place in 1988 (probably in the autumn) since his son (Kamil, born 1981) is mentioned as a 7-year-old. In that preface written seven years after the event, Marek Stachowski admits that he was very deeply impressed by Kałużyński's knowledge and warm personality.

8 In 1994, he was elected auditor (*Rechnungsprüfer*) of the Society for the period 1994–1997, see *Bericht* (1994: 303).

invited to establish, in cooperation with Prof. Dr. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, the *Institut für Turkologie* at the *Freie Universität Berlin* – an institute he worked and taught at up until 1996.⁹

Marek Stachowski's stay in Berlin opened a prolific chapter in his academic career. Up to April 1996, he gave 9 lectures in Germany (1994, 1995), Hungary (1993), and Poland (1993, 1995) – primarily on Yakut and Dolgan morphology, on the people of Yakutia (cf. his expedition described below), and on several aspects of the history of linguistics. In those six years, he published three books (Nos 1–3), among them the dictionary of Dolgan mentioned above (№ 1) and his *Geschichte des jakutischen Vokalismus*, which he later submitted as his habilitation thesis (№ 2), as well as more than 60 articles (including reviews and review-articles), which have mostly appeared in internationally renowned journals. Many of his later publications were also the fruit of that intensive period in Berlin.¹⁰

This is true above all in the case of his *Dolganische Wortbildung* (№ 4; published in May 1997) and *Dolganischer Wortschatz. Supplementband* (№ 5; published in July 1998). In the autumn of 1994, Eugen Helimski (1950–2007; Евгений Арнольдович Хелимский) invited Marek Stachowski to join him in an expedition to the Taymyr Peninsula. Helimski was an outstanding scholar who by that time (covering the period 1971–1993) had already published over 120 articles and 8 monographs,

9 In the winter semester of the academic year 1996–1997 and already after his return to Kraków, Marek Stachowski continued to give lectures in Berlin (*Übersicht über die modernen Türkssprachen*) as a visiting lecturer. During his years spent in Berlin, he remained affiliated to the Jagiellonian University.

10 The present author often uses the year of publication as the date of reference, for these are the dates when the articles and books discussed here entered academic circulation. Obviously, however, it is difficult to determine, based solely on a bibliography, when Marek Stachowski actually worked on his articles, for they typically lack prefaces. For instance, from the editorial note introducing the very first volume of *Turkic Languages* (= TL) we know that his first article published in the journal in 1998 (№ 106) was sent to the editors of TL much earlier, see: “Since our call for papers has elicited an unexpectedly positive response, it is already clear that the next issues will contain a comparable variety of contributions. [...] Coming issues will also include contributions by [...], Marek Stachowski, [...]” ([Johanson] 1997: 1). Hence, Marek Stachowski most probably prepared this article, i.e. *An example of Nganasan-Dolgan linguistic contact*, while still in Berlin, all the more so as we know that the Dolgan linguistic material the article is based on was collected in the summer of 1995 during Marek Stachowski's stay in Dudinka on the Taymyr Peninsula, see Stachowski (1998a: 126).

and had extensive field work experience¹¹ and with whom Marek Stachowski had already been in correspondence.¹² Naturally, then, this was an offer that Marek Stachowski could not refuse. In 1993 he finished work on two books, namely *Dolganischer Wortschatz* (№ 1) and *Geschichte des jakutischen Vokalismus* (№ 2), which, on the one hand, meant that he was more than well prepared for the task of collecting linguistic material (from both a lexicographic and a linguistic point of view; the experience of a field linguist was to be gained on site...) and, on the other, he had the comfort of knowing that he had fulfilled (with something to spare) the requirements for applying for a habilitation degree in Poland. Thus it was during this four-week-long expedition in the summer (July–August) of 1995, that he managed to collect a vast amount of linguistic material which constituted the basis of *Dolganische Wortbildung* and *Supplementband* (Nos 4, 5). A good illustration of how extensive his research at the Taymyr Peninsula was is the size of the latter compared to his *Dolganischer Wortschatz*: 264 pages vs. the 282 page-long supplement.¹³ *Nota bene*, he was the first Turkologist ever to visit the inhabitants of this region.

The number of entries devoted to Yakut and Dolgan in Professor Marek Stachowski's bibliography is impressive: the total of two dictionaries, four monographs, and nearly 50 articles published in years 1989–2013 would suffice for a lifetime. But it is not the quantity, but rather the quality of these publications that makes them remarkable. The two dictionaries, i.e. the *Dolganischer Wortschatz* and its

11 In the years 1968–1999 Helimski organised more the 20 expeditions aimed at collecting linguistic data on Komi, Enets, Nenets, Nganasan, Selkup and Ket (see Anikin 2009: 9).

12 For more information on the life and work of Helimski, whom, it ought to be mentioned here, Marek Stachowski held in very high esteem, see e.g. Anikin (2009), Knüppel (2009), Stachowski (2009), and Widmer (2009).

13 He started work on *Dolganischer Wortschatz* in Kraków in the autumn of 1990 and finalized its text in the autumn of 1992; it was published in 1993 (see Stachowski 1993: 7). Thus, the *Supplementband* contains not only his own materials collected from the Far North of Russia, but also linguistic data from studies published after the autumn of 1992 (primarily Aksenova, Bel'tjukova, Koševerova 1992) as well as from printed materials available only in Dudinka (see Stachowski 1998b: 17–18). I would like to thank Anna Alekseevna Barbolina, Candidate of Pedagogic Sciences (Dudinka), one of Marek Stachowski's Dolgan linguistic informants (see Stachowski 1998a: 126–127; 1998b: 22), for sending the editors of the present volume her recollections regarding Marek Stachowski's work among the Dolgans.

Supplementband, were practically the first Dolgan dictionaries ever written¹⁴ and, moreover, they can by no means be considered simple Dolgan–German dictionaries. This is because every single lemma contains the exact location where a respective word is recorded and, importantly, a concise etymological sketch.¹⁵ Thus, what the reader actually receives is a tool equally ideal both for reading the latest news reported in *Таймыр*, i.e. the only newspaper to publish in Dolgan (besides Russian), and for collecting linguistic material for historical-comparative research in the field of Turkology or Siberian studies. In turn, his habilitation thesis, i.e. the *Geschichte...* (№ 2), was the first monograph devoted to the historical phonology of Yakut (in which the author investigated the vocalism of the native lexicon and its importance for the reconstruction of Proto-Turkic) and the second work of this type in Turkology in general. Finally, in his articles on Yakut and Dolgan, he touched upon a wide variety of issues, including etymology, the importance of Northern Siberian Turkic in Proto-Turkic reconstructions, the areal linguistic contacts between the languages of Northern and Southern Siberia, historical phonology, historical phonetics, historical morphology, word formation, lexicon, the history of Yakut and Dolgan, and the previously unexplored or unappreciated issue of Arabic, Persian and Russian loanwords in these two languages.

During his “Berlin period” Marek Stachowski did not confine himself solely to Ottoman Turkish, Yakut or Dolgan. In fact, during these years he published approximately 30 articles not primarily related to these three languages. Their content shows that their author was a highly versatile Turkologist and a very active reviewer. To take several examples from this period only, he dealt with Turkic etymologies (in various Turkic languages, see №s 27, 49, 52, 53, 60, 68, and 77), Arabic and Persian loanwords in South Siberian Turkic (№ 38) or Azeri (in Iran) and the Ottoman Turkic lexicon from a historical-linguistic perspective (№s 35, 41, 66).

14 The dictionary of Aksenova, Bel'tjukova, and Koševerova (1992) mentioned above was intended for primary school pupils. Dolgan lexicon was, to a certain extent, also taken into consideration in the Yakut dialectological dictionary of Afanašev, Voronkin, Alekseev (1986).

15 A distinctive feature of many of his studies was the etymological dimension he added to his lexicological comments. For instance, similar etymological remarks are appended to the entries of his *Studien zum Wortschatz der jakutischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments* (№ 3; based on a source from 1898) – the first study ever to be written on a translation of the New Testament into any Turkic language.

In January 1995, the degree of *doktor habilitowany* was conferred upon Marek Stachowski by the Jagiellonian University.¹⁶ In April 1996 he left Berlin and continued to work with even greater zeal at his *Alma Mater's* Institute of Oriental Philology.

The very same month he returned to Poland, Marek Stachowski founded *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (= SEC), which was the only exclusively etymological journal (yearbook) in the world. He remained its editor-in-chief until it ceased publication in October 2015.¹⁷ In 1998 he edited the fifth volume of *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* (= STC) entitled *Languages and culture of Turkic peoples* (Kraków 1998), a commemorative volume dedicated to Professor Tadeusz Kowalski (1889–1948), the founder of modern Oriental studies in Poland.

Perhaps the defining moment in Marek Stachowski's academic career came in October 1997, when he set up the Siberian Studies Research Group (*Zespół Studiów Syberyjskich*; in November 2001 it was renamed *Zespół Językoznawstwa Syberyjskiego*, i.e. Siberian Linguistics Research Group) at his institute. Later, the Group formed the core of the Department of Central Asiatic and Siberian Languages (*Katedra Języków Azji Środkowej i Syberii*),¹⁸ which he headed from February 2004 until October 2013.

His main goal in establishing a new research centre for Siberian studies was, in his own words, “to give the feeling of belonging together to those few young people who were interested in the linguistic history of Siberia” (Stachowski 1999: 7). Indeed, the journal and the research group became an excellent platform both for developing scholarly contacts between his own academic milieu and the rest

16 His academic output received excellent reviews (in 1994) from Stanisław Kałużyński (Warsaw), Alfred F. Majewicz (Poznań) and Edward Tryjarski (Warsaw).

17 A total of 20 volumes of the journal were published containing 304 articles submitted by authors representing 29 countries in four continents. They were predominantly papers discussing the origin of, generally speaking, Indo-European lexemes (Armenian, Friulian, Hittite, Iranian, Latin, Latvian, Lithuanian, Old Prussian, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Germanic, Phrygian, Slavonic, Tocharian, Welsh, etc.). Many articles were also devoted to the Turkic lexicon (Bashkir, Dolgan, Karaim, Proto-Turkic, Turkish, Yakut, Yugur, etc.). Last, but not least, studies from other fields were also very much welcome and frequently published. We can thus find articles focusing on Afro-Asiatic, Ainu, Finnish, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolic, Semitic, Proto-Uralic, Yeniseic, etc. Nine volumes of the journal were reviewed by seven authors, see Gökçe (2004), Ölmez (1997), Petit (2000, 2004), Polomé (1997), Pomorska (1998), and Zoltán (2011).

18 For some more information on the early years of the department and on SEC, see Pomorska (2011) and Stachowski (1999).

of the world, and for entering into new inter- and intradisciplinary academic relationships.¹⁹ He considered the latter extremely important not only for himself and his colleagues, but also, if not primarily, for the new generation of linguists under his tutelage.²⁰

Marek Stachowski's involvement in Siberian studies was, in a broader sense, a natural course to take, which was determined by several factors. First of all, his interest in Turkic comparative linguistics, etymology and linguistic reconstruction meant that South Siberian Turkic was for him the ideal material with which to work (cf. Nos 28, 38, 60, 77, 96, 111, 112, 205). Moreover, the linguistic history of Dolgan and Yakut (cf. e.g. Nos 39, 165, 210, 213) required broadening his range of interests to include the Tungusic and Mongolic languages. His fluency in Russian made cooperation with Russian-speaking linguists or linguistic informants easier or, in some cases, simply possible, which was invaluable in the light of the limited access to the languages of distant Russia. His close collaboration

19 It should be pointed out here that in 1997–2013 Marek Stachowski invited to Kraków and took care of many scholars from all over the world, among them (in brackets we have indicated the country in which they were based at the time of their stay in Poland) Hakan Aydemir (Hungary, 2003), Sebastian Cwiklinski (Germany, 2007), Bahriye Çeri (Turkey, 1999), Faruk Gökçe (Turkey, 2013), Eugen Helinski (Germany, 1997–1998), Koichi Inoue (Japan, 1998), László Károly (Hungary, 2003, 2005), Michael Knüppel (Germany, 2008), Roy Andrew Miller (USA, 1998), Galina Miškinienė (Lithuania, 2003), Vladimir Napol'skich (Russia, 2000), Mehmet Ölmez (Turkey, Turkey/Japan; 1997 (twice), 1999, 2008), János Pusztay (Hungary, 1999), Ralf-Peter Ritter (Germany, 2000, 2001–2011), Volker Rybatzki (Finland, 2010), Tapani Salminen (Finland, 2005), Łukasz Smyrski (Poland, 2005), Eberhard Winkler (Germany, 2001) or Robert Woodhouse (Australia, 2008). Of course, he also invited guests prior to 1997, hosting in Kraków Jens Peter Laut (Germany), Claus Schönig (Germany), Wolfgang Veenker (Germany), and Sergej Kłāstornyj (Russia). He also continued inviting scholars after he joined the Institute of Linguistics in 2013 (see below), a good example being Andrii Danylenko's (USA, 2016) visit to Kraków.

20 The doctoral defence of Marzanna Pomorska, his first PhD mentee (see Pomorska 2004), took place in May 2004. In October 2003, he founded a debating club called *Klub pod Sufiksem* ("The Suffix Club") in which young linguists could meet regularly under his supervision (initially on a monthly basis) and discuss the topics they were working on at that time and exchange experiences. It should be pointed out that the club's members represented a variety of disciplines, namely: Hungarian, Indo-European, Iranian, Japanese, Romance, Slavonic, Tungusic, and Turkic studies. Over 40 meetings were held, the last taking place in July 2014.

with E. Helimski provided him with an excellent opportunity to contribute to the debate on Turkic–Samoyedic comparisons (cf. e.g. 67, 68, 128, 133, 159)²¹ and probably drew his attention to Turkic–Yeniseic contact, given Helimski’s interest in the latter (cf. his expedition to study the Ket language).²² The influence that Russian and its dialects had exerted on all the languages spoken in the area became another strand in M.S.’s scholarly life (cf. Nos 6, 83, 129). Finally, his interest in the Yeniseic languages must have also been a response to the needs of Siberian studies, given that these languages were, at that time, underresearched (cf. e.g. Nos 82, 92, 122, 162, 169, 170). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the 1990s saw the publication of a series of major and very inspiring studies by Heinrich Werner (1990, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997a–c). As a result, in 1997–2013, i.e. until the closure of the Department of Central Asiatic and Siberian Languages, Stachowski published nearly 50 articles on Siberian languages (including Dolgan and Yakut), which represents approximately one third of all his work published in this period. However, if we add up all his articles and studies on Siberian languages, it gives us an impressive total of over 150 items.

Following his return from Berlin, Marek Stachowski focused his efforts on developing his own research centre. However, he also remained an active participant at many scholarly events organized in other cities in Poland and abroad. As was mentioned above, between October 1996 and January 1997 he commuted between Kraków and Berlin, where he also gave lectures to his former students.²³ In October 1998, and thus in the very same month he was awarded the highest Polish academic title of Professor (at the unusually young age of 41), he was invited by Dr. Uwe Bläsing to spend three months in Leiden as part of a research project entitled *Lehnwörter des Dolganischen*. He lectured (*Introduction to Yakut*)

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- 21 In an interview, Marek Stachowski admitted that his interest in Turkic–Uralic linguistic connections goes back to the time when he was still a student. In those days, learners of Turkology had to enrol in Hungarian language courses (Wojnar 2009: 18). This must have been a good opportunity for him to make his first observations on this topic.
 - 22 A good example of how both linguists profited from such cooperation was Helimski’s observations (1994) regarding unexpected Nganasan archaisms preserved in Yakut.
 - 23 In fact, two of his former students, Elif Dilmaç and M. Gürkan Önal, followed him from Berlin to Kraków. In April 1997 M. Stachowski dealt with all the administrative formalities of their move. They joined his research group in 1997 (see Stachowski 1999: 7) and defended their MA theses in June 1998.

at the *Rijkuniversiteit Leiden*, and also had an opportunity to take part in scholarly discussions with Siberiologists (among other people, he met Sergej Anatolevič Starostin (1953–2005) there). His research stay also resulted in his *Konsonanten-adaptation russischer Lehnwörter im Dolganischen* (№ 6) which was published in April 1999. In the 1999/2000 winter semester he commuted from Kraków to Warsaw, where he gave lectures on the comparative grammar of Turkic languages.

In the winter of 2001 he was invited by Professor Setsu Fujishiro to Kyoto as a professional advisor on Dolgan, while one year later he was in Szeged to join the research team council working on a project entitled *Old Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian*.²⁴ In 2004 and 2007 he visited the University of Szczecin where he delivered two series of lectures for students of Slavonic studies entitled *Introduction to Turkology and Siberian studies* and *Slavonic and Indo-European Etymology*. In 2010 he delivered a number of lectures on the methodology and problems of etymological research – at three universities in Turkey (*İstanbul Üniversitesi*, *Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi*, and *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi*) and in Ukraine (*Чернівецький національний університет*). Between April 1996 and the closure of the Department of Central Asiatic and Siberian Languages in October 2013, he also gave 23 talks in 9 countries²⁵ either at the invitation of universities, academies of sciences and other institutions or at conferences, congresses and seminars.

Between September 1999 and August 2005, he acted as the vice-dean of the Faculty of Philology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków (re-elected in 2002). In October 1999, he was appointed to the position of associate professor (*profesor nadzwyczajny*). Since April 2002, he has been a full professor (*profesor zwyczajny*) at the University.

In April 1999 and before being elected vice-dean Marek Stachowski agreed to take over the duties of the head of the Department of Hungarian Philology at the Jagiellonian University and continued to perform this function until September 2002. The decision had to be made in extraordinary circumstances, since after the unexpected passing of the former head, Prof. Józef Bubak (1934–1999),

24 The end result of this project was a new historical-etymological dictionary of the oldest Turkic loanwords in Hungarian (Berta, Róna-Tas 2011), approximately 1500 pages in length and published in two volumes.

25 A total of 16 research centres in Finland (Helsinki), Germany (Berlin, Hamburg, Göttingen), Hungary (Debrecen, Szeged, Szombathely), Japan (Tokyo), Latvia (Riga), the Netherlands (Leiden), Poland (Kraków, Poznań, Szczecin, Wrocław), Serbia (Beograd), and Turkey (İstanbul).

the future of the department was in jeopardy. He was chosen for this position because of his academic experience in Uralic studies (cf. N^{os} 62, 67, 68, 128) and his former contacts with the department, where he had given lectures on Uralic languages and general phonetics. It was thanks to him that in the winter semester of the 1997/1998 academic year Eugen Helimski agreed to visit Kraków and give lectures on the history of Hungarian and on Uralic comparative linguistics.²⁶ In a relatively short period of time he managed to introduce a versatile linguistic curriculum in what had hitherto been a clearly literature-oriented department. The new lectures included topics on Uralic comparative linguistics (it was he who gave classes on this topic), historical Hungarian grammar, or even seminars on the history of Latin and Ancient Greek or general linguistics taught by Indo-Europeanists.²⁷ In addition, he increased the number of his articles on the Hungarian lexicon as well as the role of Hungarian in distributing lexemes of Oriental origin among Slavonic and Carpathian languages (cf., primarily, N^{os} 62, 124, 138, 147, 149, 150, 157, 166, 173, 182, 184, 218, 229, 241, 244, 245).

As a result, even though he never considered himself a Uralist, he gained proficiency in working with Uralic linguistic material (cf. e.g. N^{os} 124, 128, 138, 152). At the same time, his engagement with the Finno-Ugrian languages not only fitted in well with the profile of his former research, but also considerably extended his interests.

Firstly, his work with Uralic material helped shed new light on the relationship between the Uralic and Altaic languages (cf. N^{os} 128, 140, 181, 256), and by

26 Helimski primarily gave lectures on Siberian studies at the Institute of Oriental Philology.

27 He also organized additional lectures from visiting professors, namely János Pusztay (Szombathely) in 1999, Vladimir Napólskich (Izhevsk) and Ralf-Peter Ritter (Frankfurt am Main) in 2000, Eberhard Winkler (München) in 2001, and, a few years later, Tapani Salminen (Helsinki) in 2005. Moreover, in October 1999, he travelled to Hamburg to join the *Internationales Uralistisches Symposium* (cf. N^{os} 124, 138), from where he brought back two suitcases of books for the department's library, which he received as a gift from Prof. Cornelius Hasselbatt (Groningen) (see Wojnar 2009: 18). In the following year he travelled to the University of Szeged to organize further book donations. Last, but not least, in 2001 he persuaded Prof. Ralf-Peter Ritter (1938–2011) to stay in Kraków and dealt with all the administrative formalities of his employment (Prof. Ritter worked in the department until his retirement in 2009). In other words, by the time he stepped down, he had turned the department into a fully functioning and self-sustaining system.

drawing attention to some intriguing parallels he made important contributions to this topic. He never believed a genetic relationship existed between Proto-Uralic and Proto-Altaic (see e.g. Stachowski 2015: 79 and also his views on Proto-Altaic presented below). He treats Ural-Altaic as a Sprachbund that *might* have existed owing to a number of (still not clarified) structural and lexical similarities between these two language families which cannot be explained as simple borrowings. Thus, what he did was take advantage of his background in Siberian studies and his expertise in Proto-Turkic reconstruction (see below) in the decades-long debate on Ural-Altaic parallels.

Secondly, his interest in the Hungarian lexicon (which has many Turkic, or more specifically Old and Middle Turkic as well as Ottoman Turkish connections and plays an important role in Bulgarian Turkic reconstructions) became a starting point for more complex research on the influx of Oriental lexical terms into the languages of Europe²⁸ – primarily, but not exclusively, into Slavonic languages and Hungarian (see Nos 147, 149, 150, 157, 164, 168, 177, 186, 192, 193, 201, 225, 226, 237, 241, 249, 253, 262, 263). As was mentioned above, the specific role played by Hungarian in the last millennium in the linguistic environment of Central and South-Eastern Europe inspired Stachowski to take a closer look at its relationship with the languages of the Carpathians and, as a next step, to clarify a number of methodological matters regarding Carpathian linguistics and its distinctness from Balkan studies (see Nos 150, 166, 171, 173, 179, 184, 212, 262). In addition, we ought to mention here Marek Stachowski's articles on the origins of a number of Polish words and their meanings (in which the author did not limit himself only to those with Oriental roots; see Nos 147, 149, 150, 157, 193, 201, 203, 216, 218, 230, 234, 241, 263) as well as his papers with predominantly Germanist colouring (see Nos 171, 200, 202, 203, 219, 225, 230, 240). These “small” steps led him to focus on the methodological foundations of Eurolinguistics (see Nos 239, 250, 260), or, more precisely, to the question of “what Eurolinguistics is and what it should not be” (see Stachowski 2014).

28 In a way, he has returned to his original field of interest, i.e. the linguistic links between Ottoman Turkish and European languages, although now from a different perspective. Most importantly, he has investigated cases of Turkic loanwords used in Europe. However, among his etymologies we can also find, for instance, articles discussing lexemes of ultimately Altaic (in Proto-Slavonic), Arabic (via Ottoman Turkish), Chinese (*Wanderwörter*), Hebrew (via Yiddish), Latin (via many routes), Mongolic, and Persian (via Ottoman Turkish) origin.

In the years 1996–2013, M. Stachowski also published, besides his Siberia-oriented publications and the above-mentioned papers in which he combined Turkology with other fields of linguistic study, a large number of other “purely” Turkological works. Above all else, we ought to mention here his highly regarded studies on Proto-Turkic reconstructions (see, for instance, Nos 2, 10, 11, 51, 65, 69, 103, 105, 114, 119, 125, 126, 145, 167, 168, 174, 175, 180, 185, 183, 188, 190, 207), in which he focused on such issues as historical phonology, chronology and the relative chronology of sound changes. He devoted much less time and space to Proto-Altaic (Nos 105, 114, 125, 126, 167), since, in fact, he was not (and still is not) a strong believer in the existence of an Altaic protolanguage – even though he never considered himself to be an anti-Altaist, either. In his view, without having first reconstructed Proto-Turkic, Proto-Mongolic, and Proto-Tungusic and answering all the questions concerning the relationship between Proto-Bulgarian and Turkic it is impossible to determine whether the common features shared by Altaic languages stem from one protolanguage or are a result of mutual and intensive areal contacts (see e.g. Stachowski 2012; esp. pp. 258–260).²⁹ Such a common-sense approach is especially needed now, following the passing of Roy Andrew Miller (1924–2014) and Talât Tekin (1927–2015), the last scholars from the group of those “Altaists” who were not contaminated with the not necessarily well-balanced approach of the Nostraticists.

Secondly, Marek Stachowski wrote a number of articles on (Ottoman) Turkish etymology, historical grammar and historical phonology (based on philological evidence) – primarily in the years 1999–2002 and 2011–2013 (cf. Nos 123, 131, 134, 146, 183, 185, 188, 196, 207, 208, 214, 217, 220, 231, 232). He also authored a Turkish grammar (Nos 7; 2nd ed.: 2009). Besides this, he published a number of articles devoted to standard Turkic etymologies (Nos 144, 176, 183, 185, 186) – including running bibliographies which were particularly time-consuming to prepare (Nos 91, 104, 132). Finally, most of his reviews also concerned non-Siberia-oriented Turkology (see Nos 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 100, 102, 115, 116, 117, 121, 130, 141, 142, 199, 209, 211, 223, 224, 235) and this did not change until 2016 (see Nos 246, 247, 248, 259).

One of his recent initiatives was the launch, in July 2013, of the Institute of Linguistics (*Instytut Językoznawstwa*) at the Jagiellonian University. The motivation behind this project was to establish a research incubator for prospective yet

29 He put forward the same view at a conference in Kraków in June 2014 (organised by the Polish Academy of Sciences), in a talk entitled *O altaistyce z uralistyką w tle* (= *Altaistics in the context of Uralistics*).

underrepresented studies as well as an effective platform for fostering cooperation between linguists representing different specializations and competences. The latter has consistently been a major theme in Marek Stachowski's career, as is reflected not only in the content and quality of his publications, but also in his work as an academic. Besides the courses in Turkology (e.g. Yakut, Old Turkic, Turkic comparative grammar, the grammar of Turkish, etc.) and the aforementioned Uralist classes offered to students of Hungarian, since the 2005/2006 academic year, he has also delivered lectures on etymology (with some emphasis on methodological aspects) and Eurolinguistics for participants in English, Hungarian and Slavic programs of study. It is likewise important to note that his *Etimoloji* (№ 9), published in Ankara in 2011, is, in fact, a manual of general etymology addressed to Turkish students and linguists.

Marek Stachowski's concern for the future of linguistics has gone hand in hand with his passion for its past. The history of linguistics has always occupied a very privileged position in his career. Since 1994 he has published over 20 articles devoted to or related in some way to the history of Altaic, Oriental, Siberian, Uralic, and Yeniseic studies or with the rise and fall of linguistic theories (cf., above all, №s 59, 109, 143, 154, 155, 158, 160, 181, 195, 204, 221, 227, 228, 229, 238, 242, 258). This aspect of his research gained an institutional framework in October 2013, when he joined the newly established Department of the History of Languages and Linguistics as part of the Institute of Linguistics.

The academic profile of the Department and Institute established on his initiative reflects the variety of interests stimulated by his research on Turkic and Siberian languages. On no account does this mean that Marek Stachowski has abandoned Turkology. In the same year the new institute was formed, he (officially) took over the responsibility of editing the series *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* (est. 1995). In 2014–2016 he published 20 Turkological or Turkology-related articles and reviews (№s 237, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263). However, the new institute gave him the opportunity to conduct linguistic research on a diverse range of topics, primarily Eurolinguistics, genetic tree models, etymological lexicography and general linguistics (see №s 239, 242, 243, 250, 254, 260, 261).³⁰

Bearing in mind his talents, interests and the direction his academic career has taken in recent years, we can justly expect further studies on Turkish and

30 Most of his recent conference appearances have likewise been devoted to the latter subjects.

Yakut etymology (etymological dictionaries would be most welcome), the history of linguistics, Eurolinguistics, etymology, and new publications on Carpathian and Balkan topics.

Last, but not least, we ought to mention Professor Marek Stachowski's involvement in other areas of scholarly life. Since 1996 he has taken part in the proceedings of the Polish Academy of Sciences: he is an active member of the Commission of Oriental Studies (Kraków; 1996–1999, 2003–2006, 2011–2014), the Committee on Oriental Studies (Warsaw; 1996–1999), the Linguistic Committee (Kraków; 2002–2006), and the Committee on Philology (Wrocław; 2011–2014). In June 2015 he was elected a corresponding member of the Polish Academy of Learning. He is also a member of the editorial or academic boards of a number of journals (the dates in brackets indicate the year when he joined the respective board): *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* (Kraków, 2006; Editorial Advisory Board Chair from 2015 on), *Styles of Communication* (Wrocław, Galați, 2009), *Ural-Altaic Studies* (Moscow, 2009), *Foreign Language Teaching* (Sofia, 2012), *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* (İstanbul, 2012), *Magyar Nyelv* (Budapest, 2014) and *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* (İzmir, 2017) as well as the *Languages of Asia* series (London, 2009). He was also a member of the editorial board of *International Journal of Turcologia* (Paris) and acts as an academic consultant for *Sibirische Studien* (Göttingen, 2006), *Karaite Archives* (Poznań, 2013), and *Voprosy onomastiki* (Yekaterinburg, 2015). It ought to be repeated here that he was also the editor-in-chief of SEC (Kraków, 1996) as well as the editor of STC (Kraków, 2013).

Marek Stachowski's commitment to fostering good relationships with his colleagues is clearly evident in the way he engages in discussions with fellow academics, in the number of review articles and reviews he has written (altogether ca. 70), in the numerous invitations to give talks he has sent or received, as well as in the number of his contributions to Festschrifts: his name is present in 33 volumes (1993–2016).

Thanks to his authority, personality and extraordinary skills as an advisor and mentor, he managed to nurture a generation of linguists at a relatively early stage of his career and he continues to take newcomers under his wing even today. However, it cannot be stressed enough that his mentoring is not limited solely to meeting his students in seminars once a week. He has always devoted an enormous amount of time and effort to answering every question whenever needed and to helping develop the skills required from an academic. His office has hosted countless discussions and *ad hoc* lectures that have often lasted late into the night. He has been asked to comment on thousands of pages of first drafts

of papers or monographs and handed them back to their authors with remarks covering literally every single square inch of their margins and written overleaf: his remarks are for all intents and purposes reviews in their own right, replete with argumentation and exhaustive exemplification. And yet even when making particularly stringent objections he always expresses them in such a way (flavoured with a pinch of intelligent humour) that the recipient of his criticism never has the impression of being lectured, but rather of being advised. This is, perhaps, where the true genius of his experience lies: in the ability to enthuse others, both great and small, by posing linguistic challenges, in imparting his knowledge to his pupils and convincing them that what they are doing is always of the utmost importance.

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AN INDEXED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF MAREK STACHOWSKI (COVERING THE YEARS 1984–2016)

A LIST OF PROFESSOR MAREK STACHOWSKI'S WORKS PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1984 and 2015 is available on the Internet. The present bibliography is a slightly augmented and reworked version, supplemented with a list of articles published in 2016, a revised list of reviews of Marek Stachowski's monographs, and a concise subject index. The unauthorized and erroneous translation of some fragments of *Dolganischer Wortschatz* (cf. Nos 1 and 78) published under the name of Marek Stachowski in 1994 in *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi* (Turkey) has been excluded from this bibliography. The titles of those journals and series that appear often in the bibliography are abbreviated (a list of abbreviations is added at the end of the text after the subject index).

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2014

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2016

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IV Subject index

As with any other subject index, this one is intended as a summary of the content of the above works. However, it only gives the reader a general overview, as the books, articles, review articles and reviews are labelled only according to their main topic and where their scholarly contribution lies. Articles in which extensive comparative linguistic data from entire linguistic families or larger areas have been adduced are classified under such umbrella terms as e.g. *Oriental loanwords* (i.e. Arabic, Persian, Turkic, &c. loanwords), *Slavonic, Turkic*, or *Western European loanwords* (i.e. French, Italian, &c.).

Altaic

- ▷ Altaic loanwords in ▷ Areal features
- ▷ Etymology: *Proto-Altaic* ▷ Etymology: *Ural-Altaic comparisons* ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics: *Proto-Altaic* ▷ History of linguistics: *Altaic studies* ▷ History of linguistics: *Ural-Altaic studies* ▷ Reviews: *Altaic studies* ▷ Uralic vs. Altaic

Altaic loanwords in

- ▷ Oriental loanwords in *Proto-Slavonic*: 168
- Yeniseic*: 82

Areal features

- ▷ Carpathian linguistics ▷ Eurolinguistics ▷ Sprachbund ▷ Uralic vs. Altaic

Arabic

- ▷ Arabic loanwords in ▷ Oriental loanwords in

Arabic loanwords in

- Ottoman Turkish*: 214
- South Siberian Turkic*: 38
- Yakut*: 56
- Yeniseic*: 169

Azeri (in Iran)

- ▷ Lexicon

Baraba Tatar

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics

Bibliographies

- Eugen Helimski*: 182
- Oriental studies*: 76
- Turkology*: 26, 91, 104, 132

Carpathian linguistics

- Borrowing routes*: 173, 179, 184, 212, 262
- Etymology*: 150, 166, 171, 173, 179, 184, 212, 262
- Methodology*: 166, 173, 184, 212, 262

Chulym

- ▷ Etymology

Czech

- ▷ Etymology

Derivation

- Dolgan*: 4, 39, 51, 65, 93, 108
- Ottoman Turkish*: 146, 199
 - ▷ *Turkish*
- Turkish*: 7, 8, 15
 - ▷ *Ottoman Turkish*
- Yakut*: 51, 65, 69, 93, 113

Dictionaries

▷ Lexicon

Dolgan: 1

Yakut: 3

Dolgan

Derivation ▷ Dictionaries ▷ Etymology ▷ Grammar ▷ Historical morphology ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics ▷ History of

▷ Lexicon ▷ Russian loanwords in

English

▷ Etymology ▷ Western European loanwords in: *Ottoman Turkish*

Etymology

▷ Carpathian linguistics ▷ Handbooks ▷ Historical morphology ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics ▷ Methodology

Baraba Tatar: 112

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Chulym: 96, 111

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Czech: 225

Dolgan: 1, 4, 5, 6, 39, 46, 47, 51, 56, 61, 65, 93, 98, 106, 110, 136, 137, 139, 151, 163, 189, 194, 197, 205

English: 225, 240

Finnish: 152

French: 225

German: 200, 219, 240

Hungarian: 62, 124, 138, 147, 149, 153, 157, 173, 179, 182, 184, 192, 244, 245

Khakas: 60, 77

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Korean: 125

Mari: 124, 138

Old Turkic: 145, 244

Ottoman Turkish: 14, 17, 19, 21, 25, 41, 66, 123, 131, 134, 135, 174, 183, 176, 208, 214, 220, 249, 255

▷ *Turkish*

Polish: 62, 147, 149, 150, 157, 179, 193, 200, 201, 203, 216, 218, 225, 230, 234, 241, 263

Proto-Altaic: 125, 140, 167, 168

Proto-Slavonic: 168, 253

Proto-Turkic: 69, 125, 126, 140, 145, 168, 175, 180, 190, 196, 207, 233, 256

Romanian: 173, 179, 184

▷ Carpathian linguistics

Russian: 206

Samoyedic: 67, 68, 128, 133

Shor: 111

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Slavonic: 62, 147, 149, 157, 173, 182, 184

South Siberian Turkic: 28, 38, 60, 77, 96, 111, 112, 205

▷ *Turkic*

Spanish: 225

Tofalar: 28, 205

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Turkic: 2, 9, 10, 11, 28, 49, 53, 62, 68, 69, 131, 147, 149, 157, 167, 174, 180, 183, 190, 192, 196, 206, 207, 215, 226, 237, 252, 257

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Turkish: 15, 52, 134, 135, 174, 175, 183, 185, 188, 196, 207, 233, 245, 255, 257

▷ *Ottoman Turkish*

Turkmen: 144

Tuvan: 205

▷ *South Siberian Turkic*

Ukrainian: 177, 179, 187, 212, 262

▷ Carpathian linguistics

Ural-Altaic comparisons: 128, 140, 181, 256

Uralic: 206

Wanderwörter: 133, 164, 186, 253

Written Mongolian: 222

Yakut: 2, 3, 20, 22, 23, 24, 36, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 56, 61, 65, 69, 70, 93, 126, 136, 137, 139, 165, 170, 175, 189, 191, 205, 213, 233

Yeniseic: 82, 92, 162, 169, 170

Eurolinguistics

Methodology: 239, 250, 260

European loanwords in

Ottoman Turkish: 14, 17, 19, 21, 25, 41, 66, 123, 131, 146

Finnish

▷ Etymology

French

▷ Etymology ▷ Oriental loanwords in
▷ Western European loanwords in: *Ottoman Turkish*

Gagauz

▷ Historical morphology

German

▷ Etymology ▷ German loanwords in
▷ Western European loanwords in: *Ottoman Turkish*

German loanwords in

Carpathian languages: 171

Grammar

▷ Historical morphology ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics

Dolgan: 47, 51, 58, 65, 93, 106, 110

Turkish: 7, 8

Yakut: 22, 47, 51, 54, 58, 65, 93, 113

Handbooks

Etymology: 9

Historical morphology

▷ Etymology ▷ Grammar

Dolgan: 39, 51, 58, 65, 93

Gagauz: 260

Turkic: 45, 69, 205, 215

Yakut: 22, 23, 29, 45, 47, 51, 58, 65, 69, 93, 113, 170

Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics

▷ Etymology ▷ Grammar

Baraba Tatar: 112

Dolgan: 6, 46, 110

Old Turkic: 114

Ottoman Turkish: 66, 214, 216, 217, 220, 231

Proto-Altaic: 105, 114, 125

Proto-Turkic: 103, 105, 114, 125, 180

Yakut: 2, 20, 23, 24, 46, 113, 165, 213

History of

▷ History of linguistics

Dolgan: 81, 107, 108, 148, 151, 163

Khakas: 243

Mongolic: 156

Yakut: 81, 107, 148, 165

Yeniseic: 169, 170

History of linguistics

▷ Bibliographies

Altaic studies: 158, 221, 261

Historical linguistics: 229, 261

in the Nordic countries: 154

Japhetic theory: 228

Linguistic frequency and analogy: 242

Mongolian studies: 258

Nostratic theory: 204

Oriental studies: 143, 155, 160, 195, 238

Siberian studies: 181

Turkology: 48, 59, 63, 64, 70, 97, 99, 109, 158, 181, 227, 249

Ural-Altaic studies: 181

Uralic studies: 140, 181

Yeniseic studies: 161

Hungarian

▷ Etymology ▷ Hungarian loanwords
in ▷ Reviews: *Hungarian studies* ▷ Tur-
kic loanwords in

Hungarian loanwords in

Carpathian languages: 173, 184

Polish: 150, 157

Slavonic: 173, 184

Italian

▷ Western European loanwords in:
Ottoman Turkish

Khakas

▷ Etymology ▷ History of

Korean

▷ Etymology

Lexicography

Etymological lexicography: 254

Ottoman Turkish: 232

Lexicon

▷ Dictionaries

Azeri (in Iran): 35

Dolgan: 1

Ottoman Turkish: 17, 21, 232, 251

Yakut: 3, 24, 47, 79, 198

Mari

▷ Etymology

Methodology

Carpathian linguistics: 166, 173, 184,
212, 262

Etymology: 9, 167, 202, 225, 242, 243, 262

Eurolinguistics: 239, 250, 260

Lexicography: 232, 254

Mongolian

▷ Etymology: *Written Mongolian*

Mongolic

▷ History of ▷ Reviews: *Mongolic studies*

Old Turkic

▷ Etymology ▷ Historical phonology,
phonetics and phonotactics

Onomasiology

Turkic: 49, 53, 68, 191, 197, 216

Oriental etymologies in

the languages of Europe: 62, 147, 149, 150,
157, 164, 168, 177, 186, 192, 193, 201, 212,
225, 226, 237, 241, 249, 253, 262, 263

Oriental loanwords in

▷ Arabic loanwords in ▷ Persian loan-
words in ▷ Turkic loanwords in

French: 249

Ukrainian: 177

Orthography

Polish: 95, 178

Ottoman Turkish

▷ Arabic loanwords in ▷ Derivation

▷ Etymology ▷ Historical phonology,
phonetics and phonotactics ▷ Lexicog-
raphy ▷ Lexicon ▷ Oriental loanwords
in ▷ Turkic loanwords in ▷ Western
European loanwords in

Persian loanwords in

▷ Oriental loanwords in

South Siberian Turkic: 38

Yakut: 36

Yeniseic: 170

Polish

▷ Etymology ▷ Hungarian loanwords
in ▷ Orthography

Proto-Altaic

▷ Etymology ▷ Historical phonolo-
gy, phonetics and phonotactics ► See
also ▷ Altaic.

Proto-Slavonic

- ▷ Altaic loanwords in ▷ Etymology
- ▷ Etymology: *Slavonic* ▷ Hungarian loanwords in ▷ Turkic loanwords in

Proto-Turkic

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics ► See also ▷ Turkic.

Reports on

- conferences*: 57
- expeditions*: 94
- published works*: 40, 50, 78, 80
- research centres*: 127

Reviews

- Altaic studies*: 119, 210
- Areal linguistics*: 18
- General linguistics*: 43
- History of linguistics*: 143, 154, 160, 161
- Hungarian studies*: 153
- Journals*: 12, 55, 88, 89, 101
- Manchu-Tungusic studies*: 153
- Mongolic studies*: 16, 33
- Oriental studies*: 43, 72, 143
- Pseudoscientific language comparison*: 118
- Samoyedic*: 159
- Slavistics*: 83, 129
- Turkology*: 13, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 42, 44, 54, 55, 71, 73, 74, 75, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 100, 102, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 130, 141, 142, 198, 199, 209, 211, 223, 224, 235, 236, 246, 247, 248, 259
- Yeniseic studies*: 122, 161

Romanian

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Turkic loanwords in: *Carpathian languages*

Russian

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Russian loanwords in **Russian loanwords in**
- Dolgan*: 6

Samoyedic

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Reviews ▷ Sprachbund: *Siberia* ► See also ▷ Uralic.

Shor

- ▷ Etymology

Siberian Turkic

- ▷ Sprachbund ► See also ▷ South Siberian Turkic ▷ Turkic.

Slavonic

- ▷ Altaic loanwords in: *Proto-Slavonic* ▷ Etymology ▷ Etymology: *Proto-Slavonic* ▷ European loanwords in: *Ottoman Turkish* ▷ Hungarian loanwords in

South Siberian Turkic

- ▷ Arabic loanwords in ▷ Etymology ▷ Persian loanwords in ► See also ▷ Siberian Turkic ▷ Turkic.

Spanish

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Western European loanwords in: *Ottoman Turkish*

Sprachbund

- Carpathian linguistics*: 166
- Siberia*: 169, 170, 194, 206
- Siberian Turkic*: 169, 205

Tofalar

- ▷ Etymology

Turkic

- ▷ Arabic loanwords in: *South Siberian Turkic* ▷ Etymology ▷ Historical morphology ▷ Persian loanwords in: *South Siberian Turkic* ▷ Sprachbund: *Siberian Turkic* ▷ Turkic loanwords in

- ▶ See also ▷ Siberian Turkic ▷ South Siberian Turkic.

Turkic loanwords in

- ▷ Oriental loanwords in
Balkan languages: 212
Carpathian languages: 212, 262
Hungarian: 244
Proto-Slavonic: 168
Ukrainian: 177, 212, 262

Turkish

- ▷ Derivation ▷ Etymology ▷ Grammar

Turkmen

- ▷ Etymology

Ukrainian

- ▷ Etymology ▷ Oriental loanwords in
- ▷ Turkic loanwords in ▷ Turkic loanwords in: *Carpathian languages*

Uralic

- ▷ Etymology ▷ History of linguistics: *Uralic studies* ▷ Uralic vs. Altaic ▶ See also ▷ Samoyedic.

Uralic vs. Altaic

- Etymologies*: 128, 256
- Parallels*: 140, 181, 256

Wanderwörter

- ▷ Etymology

Western European loanwords in

- ▷ European loanwords in
Ottoman Turkish: 21, 25, 41, 66, 123, 131, 146

Yakut

- ▷ Arabic loanwords in ▷ Derivation
- ▷ Dictionaries ▷ Etymology ▷ Grammar ▷ Historical morphology ▷ Historical phonology, phonetics and phonotactics ▷ History of ▷ Lexicon
- ▷ Persian loanwords in

Yeniseic

- ▷ Altaic loanwords in ▷ Arabic loanwords in ▷ Etymology ▷ History of
- ▷ History of linguistics: *Yeniseic studies* ▷ Persian loanwords in ▷ Reviews: *Yeniseic studies* ▷ Sprachbund: *Siberia*

V Abbreviations

- AOH = Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
- AUI = Acta Universitatis Jagellonicae (Kraków)
- BPTJ = Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego (Kraków)
- CAJ = Central Asiatic Journal (Wiesbaden)
- DA = Dil Araştırmaları (Ankara)
- FO = Folia Orientalia (Kraków)
- FS = Festschrift
- FUM = Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen (Hamburg)
- IC = Iran and the Caucasus (Leiden)
- IIAS = Newsletter of the International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden)
- IL = Incontri Linguistici (Trieste, Udine)
- JP = Język Polski (Kraków)
- JSFOu = Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsinki)

- JT = Journal of Turkology (Szeged)
KULR = Kyoto University Linguistic Research (Kyoto)
LB = Linguistique Balkanique / Balkansko Ezikoznanie (Sofija)
LP = Lingua Posnaniensis (Poznań)
LV = LingVaria (Kraków)
OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin)
PIAC = Permanent International Altaistic Conference
PrJ = Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Językoznawcze (Kraków)
Riječ = Riječ. Časopis za slavensku filologiju (Rijeka)
RO = Rocznik Orientalistyczny (Warszawa)
RS = Rocznik Slawistyczny (Wrocław)
SEC = Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia (Kraków)
SFPS = Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej (Warszawa)
Slav. = Slavica (Debrecen)
SLing. = Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis (Kraków)
SPL = Studies in Polish Linguistics (Kraków)
SSH = Studia Slavica Hungarica (Budapest)
STC = Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia (Kraków)
StOr = Studia Orientalia (Helsinki)
TDA = Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları (Ankara, İstanbul)
TDAYB = Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten (Ankara, İstanbul)
TÊS = Tajmyrskij ètnolingvističeskij sbornik (Moskva)
TL = Turkic Languages (Wiesbaden)
TULIP = Turkish Linguistic Post (Mainz)
Türkbilig = Türkbilig. Türkoloji Araştırmaları (Ankara)
UAJb.NF = Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. Neue Folge (Wiesbaden)
UAYb = Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher / Ural-Altaic Yearbook (Bloomington)
WS = Die Welt der Slaven (München)
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden)



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FROM CONVERB TO CLASSIFIER? ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF LITERARY MANCHU *NOFI**

This contribution focuses on the synchronic description and etymology of the Written Manchu word *nofi* ‘person (used after numbers higher than one)’. We conclude that *nofi* continues an analytic construction expressing collective numbers plus a converb and therefore historically should be better seen as a derivational suffix rather than as an autonomous lexical word, in spite of its synchronic status as measure word (numeral classifier) which is a result of Chinese influence.

Manchu and Tungusic languages, historical and comparative linguistics,
etymology, linguistic description, grammar tradition

1. Introduction

This paper aims at presenting a comprehensive panchronic picture of an elusive item in Literary (or Classical) Manchu: the word *nofi*, which according to most grammars is used as a measure word (numeral classifier) for human referents.

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Looking into the Tungusic background of this word and considering the extensive and intense history of Chinese-Manchu language contact, a new etymological solution, which accounts for the specific status of *nofi* within the Manchu grammatical tradition as well as its origins from the Tungusic perspective, is suggested. We argue that *nofi* is not a numeral classifier as understood, for example, in the South Asian languages tradition, but rather a collective numeral marker, very similar to the Irish human conjunctive numbers.

As far as the etymology is concerned, the solution here put forward (*grosso modo*, the contraction of a sequence involving a collective numeral marker plus a converb *-nan#ofi* > *-nofi* and reanalysis of the resulting form as numeral classifier under the influence of the Chinese language and its grammatical tradition) may be of some interest to typologists, as is seemingly undocumented in the specialist literature.

2. Literary Manchu *nofi*

From any perspective, be that either descriptive (synchronic) or etymological (diachronic), *nofi* is one of the most elusive items in the particular history of (Written) Manchu. Although most students of the language become very soon acquainted with it, first impressions turn out always to be confusing. According to Norman's definition (2013: 291b), *nofi* means 'person (used after numbers higher than one)'. Norman's definition should not be taken lightly, for it is based on Manchu sources.¹

In accordance to the foregoing definition, the following textual examples show that *nofi* always refers to human referents and always stands after numerals from two to ten (it may appear with higher numbers, but this is clearly disliked, and it never follows the hundreds, thousands, etc.):²

1 We are told in the *Daicing gurun-i yooni bithe* (published in 1683 = Hayata, Tera-mura 2004) that *nofi* means 一個人兩個人之個字 *yī gè rén liǎng gè rén zhī gè zì* (*Daicing* 1.[0349a4]), that is, 'the generic measure word for two or more people, or one person alone'. By 'one person alone', this definition may be referring to the use of *nofi* in such noun phrases as *wesihun nofi*, on which we will comment below. On the other hand, the only meaning of *nofi* provided in Hauer's dictionary (2007 [1952–1955]: 377b) is 'person', with no further specifications (although the examples supplied to illustrate the use of *nofi* are unambiguous as to the requirement of 'two or more people').

- (1) *suwe juwe nofi te uthai morin adun de gene-fi [...]*
 you two CLA now at.once horse herd LOC go-CV.PF
 You two right now will go to the herd of horses.
 (Nišan samani bithe, Minzu variant, Jī, Zhào 1988: 122 [5])
- (2) *tere-ci ilan nofi morin be hacihiya-me hanci isi-na-fi [...]*
 that-ABL three CLA horse ACC urge-CV.IMPF near arrive-DIR-CV.PF
 Then the three men urged the horses to come closer.
 (Nišan samani bithe, San Petersburg variant, Jaxontov 1993: 89 [51])
- (3) [...] *bukûri alin i dade bisi-re bulhûri omo de abkai sargan jui enggulen, jenggulen, fekulen ilan nofi ebiše-me ji-he bi-he [...]*
 Bukûri mountain GEN at.first be-IMPF Bulhûri lake LOC heavenly girl child Enggulen Jenggulen Fekulen three CLA bathe-CV.IMPF come-PST be-PST
 It happened once that three heavenly young ladies, [named] Enggulen, Jenggulen, and Fekulen, came to take a bath to the lake Bulhûri which is at [the side of] the mountain Bukûri.
 (Manju i yargiyan kooli, Imanishi 1992: 8, lines 24–25)
- (4) *:jafa-ha hûlha-i jiyanggiyûn wang io gung. jan yang de fonji-ci. hûlha-i holo jiyanggiyûn ho gi dzu. wang hûng siyûn. joo ioi. wang hûng gioi. bakišeng jangguwang siyan. lio ši jen meni uyûn [+uyun] nofi. uheri juwe tumen isi-re hûlha be gai-fi. kioi jing fu. loo ping jeo-i oyonggo jugûn-i hûwang dzoo ba be tuwakiya-me bi-he se-me ala-mbi :*
 seize-PST rebel-GEN general Wang Yougong Zhan Yang DAT ask-CV.COND rebel-GEN false general He Jizu Wang Hongxun Zhao Yu Wang Gongju Ba Qisheng Zhang Guangxin Liu Shizhen we.EXCL-GEN nine CLA altogether two ten.thousand reach-IMPF rebel ACC catch-CV.PF Qujing prefecture Loping department-GEN important road-GEN Huangcaoba ACC watch-CV.IMPF be-PST say-CV.IMPF tell-IMPF.FINT
 When they were interrogated, the captured rebel generals Wang Yougong and Zhan Yang reported that the rebel false generals He Jizu, Wang Hongxun, Zhao Yu, Wang Hongju, Ba Qisheng, Zhang Guangxin, Liu Shizhen, and themselves, nine people in all, at the head of approximately 20,000 soldiers all together, were protecting Huangcaoba, on the strategic road to Loping, in the Qujing prefecture.
 (Dzengšeo, *Beye-i cooha bade yabuha babe ejehe bithe*, Di Cosmo 2006: 63–64 [English trans.], 95 [Manchu text])

2 Abbreviations: ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, CLA = classifier, COND = conditional, CV = converb, DAT = dative, DIR = directive, EXCL = exclusive, FINT = finite, GEN = genitive, IMPF = imperfect (participle), INCL = inclusive, LOC = locative, PASS = passive, PL = plural, PF = perfect, PST = past (participle), PT = Proto-Tungusic. Other conventions include the use of the symbol # as word boundary. Likewise, note that unless otherwise stated, <ä> stands for /ə/.

- (5) *cangju beile-i ama jui be, deo hûribu beile ilan nofi be gemu weihun jafa-ha, ilan minggan niyalma wa-ha.*
 Cangju Beile-GEN father son ACC younger.brother Hûribu Beile three CLA ACC all capture.alive-PST three thousand person kill-PST
 Cangju Beile's father and son, and (his) younger brother Hûribu Beile, the three of them were captured alive, and three thousand people were killed.
 (Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse, Kanda et al. 1955: 2 [6])
- (6) *duin nofi hendu-me. meni akdahangge fulun-i menggun [†menggun-i] teile.*
 four CLA say-CV.IMPF our depending salary-GEN money-GEN only
 The four man said: "We depend on our salary, it is our only income."
 (Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan, Stary 1983: 432 [468])

Because of the distribution of this item clearly resembling that of some suppletive pairs like for example Russian *человек* 'man, person' (singular) vs. *люди* 'people' (plural), it is my own experience in the classroom that students tend to make hasty assumptions and take *nofi* as the second member of such a suppletive pair, where the other complementary component is naturally *niyalma* /*ñalma*/ 'man, person'.³ This reasoning is wrong (and, incidentally, the result of a careless and inattentive reading of Norman's definition) because the opposition expressed by *niyalma* and *nofi* is not that between singular versus plural, as in the Russian example.⁴

3 In case the phonetic nature of Manchu orthography is not self-evident, I provide the phonetic transcription immediately after the orthographic form, but only once, that is, only the first time the word is quoted. Morphemes subjected to harmonic vowel rules are followed by a superscript number indicating the number of variants, e.g. *-cuka*² = *-cuka* ~ *-cuke*, etc.

4 The expression of plurality in Tungusic does not follow the same guidelines as in more traditional Indo-European languages, for which the concept of suppletion was first devised (see Vietze 1969: [esp.] 493–500, much of what is there discussed on Mongolic holds true concerning Tungusic and Turkic). Typical contexts with measure words like *gemu* 'every, each, all' or *geren* 'all' where Manchu typically requires plural, show *ñalma* in singular instead, e.g. *hafa-sa be gemu* 'each one of the sub-officials', *ju-se be gemu* 'each one of the children, sons', *hehe-si be gemu* 'each one of the women', etc. but *niyalama-i be gemu* 'each one of the men' (all these examples contain the accusative marker *be*), or *geren juse* 'all children, sons', *geren ahûta* 'all (elder) brothers' (with Mongolian plural marker *+ta*), *geren urse* 'all people' (Doerfer 1963: 55–56), but we find (Sibe) *geren ñalma* 'all people' (Kałużyński 1977: 57), etc.

According to the traditional definition of suppletion (based on inflectional morphology), i.e. inflectional paradigms that have forms built on two or more stems that are etymologically from different sources (Bybee 1985: 91) with the forms involved showing maximum formal irregularity (Corbett 2007: 15–16), the only two valid cases in the domain of noun morphology are Written Manchu *niyalma* vs. *gurun* ~ *urse* (pure or full suppletion; Norman 2013: 395a s.v. *urse* ‘people, men, persons (plural of *niyalma*)’, but in Sibe *nan* vs. *gurun*, see Zikmundová 2013: 46) and Sibe *ji* ‘child’ vs. *jus* ‘children’ (partial suppletion introduced by sound change where an originally unified paradigm is split by internal changes, cf. Literary Manchu *jui* vs. *juse*). We believe that there is an alternative explanation for *nofi* which does not involve suppletion. We are also of the opinion that *nofi* is not a classifier, even if holistic typology may favor this interpretation.⁵

Though students of Manchu usually have a good grasp of Chinese, the solution to this puzzle does not suggest itself immediately. On semantic accounts, and bringing into the picture the syntactic constraints observed in the examples above, the most accurate interpretation of the facts still belongs to Zaxarov (2010 [1879]: 92, “особа; числительное слово людей имѣющихъ почетное званіе, равно изъ учтивости и всѣхъ людей”, cf. pp. 123–124 on the expression of plurality, where *nofi* is not mentioned, see also Zaxarov 1875: 239b) who described *nofi* as one of many “numerical words” (числительныя слова), that is, a measure word or numeral classifier of the sortal type (量词 *liàngcí* in Chinese terminology⁶). The origin of this category, which is alien to Manchu and Tungusic in general, is to

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- 5 It has not once been pointed out in typological literature (see i.a. Aikhenvald 2000: 100–101, 249) that the development of numeral classifiers is more likely to happen in languages where number marking is optional or it is restricted to a set of nouns denoting human and/or animate referents. General tendencies dictate that isolating language possess large number of numeral classifiers. Thai and Burmese have around 200 classifiers, in sharp contrast to agglutinating languages such as Uzbek (14 classifiers) or Hungarian (about six), and fusional languages, as those belonging to the Indic and Dravidian groups. There are of course exceptions. Tzeltal, an agglutinating language Mayan language, has several hundred classifiers (Aikhenvald 2000: 103).
- 6 Zhiqun Xing (2012) offers a good English summary of numeral classifier linguistics, paying special attention to the history and evolution of this category via the grammaticalization of nouns. On the typology of numeral classifiers, see Aikhenvald (2000: 98–124).

be sought for, of course, in the Chinese language (“По подражанію Китайскому языку [...]”, in Zaxarov 2010 [1879]: 90).⁷

Zaxarov (2010 [1879]: 91–97) describes as many as 75 of such classifiers.⁸ All classifiers originate from nouns with autonomous lexical status. All but one: *nofi*. This word never appears in isolation (there are only two exceptions: *wesihun nofi* and *hasan nofi*, see below), but always after a numeral, and it is never followed by another noun. These two facts stand in sharp contrast to the properties of more conventional instances of numeral classifiers, e.g. *ilan fesin loho* ‘three swords’. As a numeral classifier, *fesin* describes objects with handles or grips and it is always followed by the noun it qualifies (*loho* ‘sword’). As an autonomous lexeme, *fesin* means ‘handle, stock, grip, pole for a flag or banner’ and there are no restrictions as for its use.

7 It is to be expected that the use of numeral classifiers under the influence of Chinese will become an integrated feature of Spoken Manchu at some point. Up to now, it is a rather marginal feature and it rarely appears in language descriptions (see Zhào 1989: 146–147 *sub* 量词 on the Ibuchi dialect). Zikmundová (2013: 112) argues that Chinese numerals have replaced Sibe numerals (younger, and not so younger speakers know only the first two numerals, that is, *əm* ‘1’ and *ju* ‘2’). She does not mention explicitly numeral classifiers or measure words, but if Chinese numerals are embraced altogether, it is natural that the classifier system must follow. It must be noted that the influence of Chinese, although pervasive in some Tungusic languages, never has extended to the point of exporting the entire system of classifiers. Lexical and grammatical elements related to counting, plural, etc. found their way in some languages, but, again, not the classifiers. In Udihe we find the plural suffix *-jiga* < Chinese 几个 *jǐ ge* ‘a few, several’, universal quantifier *teu* < Chinese 都 *dōu* ‘all’, or the restrictive focus particle *m’ei* < Chinese 每 *měi* ‘each, every’ (Nikolaeva, Tolskaya 2001: 20). Solon, another language under heavy influence from Chinese, seems immune to this area of Chinese grammar.

8 This can be inferred from the translation of some nouns in Manchu-Chinese dictionaries. For example, Zaxarov mentions *justan* ‘any elongated object’, from *justan* ‘strip, stipe’. In the Daicing, one of the translations of *justan* is 一條之條 ‘an/any elongated object’ (Daicing 1.[1158b2]), which may echo the use of this word as a measure word. Therefore, it is an open question whether words like *sen* ‘eye of a needle, small hole (as in ears for earrings); any small opening’ (cf. 凡物之小孔 ‘any small opening’, see Daicing 1.[0648b1]) could have also been used as a classifier. The same would hold true for many other words, e.g. *efen* ‘bread, pastry, cake; any kind of bread-like product made from flour’ (Daicing 1.[0210b2]), etc., which are not described as classifiers by Zaxarov.

3. Synchronic status and description

The oddity of Manchu *nofi* can be better appreciated when the researcher tries to look for potential equivalents in the surrounding languages. Such an experiment has already been performed. In the Pentaglot dictionary or 五體清文鑑 *Wǔtǐ qīngwénjiàn*, Manchu words are translated into Chinese, Mongolian, Turki (Uyghur) and Tibetan. As far as Manchu *nofi* is concerned, these are the solutions proposed by the team of translators who authored the Pentaglot dictionary about three centuries ago (Corff et al. 2013: 1.558b [2604.4]):

- (a) Chinese 算计人数的口气 *suàn jì rén shù de kǒu qì*, lit. ‘the tone of calculating the number of people’, i.e. ‘particle/element for counting people’. This is a mere definition of the Manchu term, not a translation;
- (b) Mongolian <güle>, i.e. the collective numeral suffix, that is, Written Mongolian +*GULA*, e.g. *qoyayula(n)* ‘both, two together’, *dörbegüle(n)* ‘all four, four together’ (Poppe 2006²: 55) or Khalkha Mongolian -*üül*, e.g. *maγyyл(aa)* ‘the five of [us], all five’ (Tserenpil, Kullmann 2008⁴ [1996]: 244–246);
- (c) Turki <načälā>, i.e. *nacala*, a form obviously related to the pan-Turkic interrogative base *nā* ‘what?’, more specifically to the equative *nācā* ‘how many? how much?’ to which the adverbial suffix +*LA* has been attached (see Clauson 1972: 774–775 s.v. *ne*; Schwartz 1992: 933b s.v. *nāççä*; or Erdal 2004: 213–214);
- (d) Tibetan <tsam>, i.e. Written Tibetan *tsam* (Jäschke 1881: 430–431), Modern Tibetan *dzām* (Goldstein 2001: 845c), both meaning ‘as much as, so much, so many’ and the like.

As is immediately obvious, only Written Mongolian +*GULA* makes a good, satisfactory translation for Manchu *nofi*. But although the history of Mongolian-Manchu contacts is well known, it cannot be argued that Written Manchu *nofi* and Written Mongolian +*GULA* are related, nor relatable. We will come back later to the question of how Mongolic may shed some light on the etymology of Manchu *nofi*.

There are three main descriptive approaches regarding *nofi* in the specialist literature:

- (a) To ignore it altogether.
- (b) To describe it as the marker of collective numerals.
- (c) To describe it a numeral classifier.

The most common solution is (a) which is adopted even in Manchu large grammars produced in China (see i.a. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 1983). Among the studies

lacking any mention to *nofi*, one must single out Doerfer's treatises (1957, 1963) on the expression of number in Manchu. *nofi* is not dealt with even in the section devoted to the "numeral + number" construction where all examples containing human referents followed by a numeral receive the plural marker *+sa*³ or appear with no cover marking at all, e.g. *uyun juse* 'nine children', but *nadanju niyalma* 'seventy men', etc. (Doerfer 1963: 38–41). The natural plural form of *niyalma* is *niyalmasa* /*ñalmasa*/ which contains the well known⁹ plural marker *+sa*³ (see i.a. Zikmundová 2013: 46). At least this is so in theory, because the form *niyalmasa* is very rare, *gurun* or *urše* 'people' being far more common. Already Doerfer (1963: 11) made a remark to this effect, perhaps because he was unable himself to find even one textual example of *niyalmasa* in the corpus of Classical Manchu. Only in the *Nišan samani bithe* he managed to locate a few instances:

- (7) *dalba-i niyalma-sa gemu yasa-i muke eye-bu-mbi*
 side-GEN person-PL all eye-GEN water flow-PASS-IMPF.FINT
 The people on the side were all brought to tears [...]
 (*Nišan samani bithe*, standard variant, Nowak, Durrant 1977: 49 [English trans.], 129 [Manchu text])
- (8) *wargi ashan boo-de lakiyahangge hūlha tabcin jergi erun niyalma sa be hori-habi*
 west side house-LOC hanging thief plunder rank torture person PL ACC imprison-
 PST.FINT
 The ones hung up in the western wing were imprisoned criminals such as robbers
 and thieves.
 (*Nišan samani bithe*, standard variant, Nowak, Durrant 1977: 79 [English trans.], 156 [Manchu text], lit. 'imprisoned people')
- (9) *mini beye juwan moringga niyalma be gama-me nene-me julesi gene-fi muse-i yuwan*
wai mafa de mejige ala-na-fi
 me.GEN body 10 horsing man ACC take-CV.IMPF be.first-CV.IMPF forward go-CV.PF
 we.INCL-GEN *yuwan wai*¹⁰ old.man DAT news tell-DIR-CV.PF
 I will go ahead with ten horsemen and report the news to the official.
 (*Nišan samani bithe*, standard variant, Nowak, Durrant 1977: 43 [English trans.], 123 [Manchu text])

9 See Doerfer (1963: 80, fn. 11) for a general comment on the folk etymologies suggested by Zaxarov (2010 [1879]: 120), and apparently accepted by Sunik (1982: 120), whereby *+se* would be a contraction of *urše* 'people' and *+sa*, of *sasa* 'together'.

10 That is, Chinese 員外 (员外) *yuàn wái*, adopted in Manchu as *yuwan wai* (Nowak, Durrant 1977: 39 fn. 1).

We must bear in mind that this text belongs to oral tradition and its language differs from the literary register. In Doerfer's interpretation, ex. (8) *niyalma sa* translates 'men and the likes' and it is not a proper plural of *niyalma* (see details in Doerfer 1963: 22–24). Doerfer built his interpretation on the remarks already made by earlier European specialists in Manchu, for example by Gabelentz (1832: 23), e.g. *niyalma sei* 'tous les hommes' (where *sei* = plural +*sa*³ plus genitive +*i*) which finds good historical support in the fact that Manchu +*sa*³ appears in the common Tungusic collective marker **ksa* (see i.a. Benzing 1956: 68–72). The collective nuance of Manchu +*sa*³ can be better observed in the following passage of the same text where *Ahalji* is a proper name and therefore *se* (followed by the accusative marker *be*) cannot be interpreted as a plural marker:

- (10) *sergudai fiyanggo je se-me jabu-fi. uthai ahalji se-be hûla-fi*
 Sergudai Fiynaggo yes say-CV.IMPF answer-CV.PF at.once Ahalji PL-ACC call-CV.PF
 Sergudai Fiyanggo agreed to his father's instructions and immediately called Ahalji
 and the other servants, [...]
 (Nišan samani bithe, standard variant, Nowak, Durrant 1977: 41 [English trans.], 120
 [Manchu text])

The simultaneous presence of *niyalmasa* and *nofi* seems incompatible. Only the so-called standard variant of *Nišan samani bithe* contains *niyalmasa* (and consequently lacks *nofi*). In all the examples quoted above there are no numerals preceding the noun (in ex. 9 a possessive adjective [*moringga*] stands between the numeral and the noun), therefore there is no need for the use of *nofi*. This fact alone would confirm that *nofi* appears only after numerals. It would also support the scenario where *niyalmasa* is a secondary, analogical formation, more proper of the oral register (Doerfer 1963: 11).

Solution (b) is the one adopted in some Manchu (Gorelova 2002: 205) and Sibe (Lǐ, Zhòngqiān 1986: 63) grammars. According to Gorelova's description of collective numerals in Manchu, these are formed by attaching *-nofi* to the ordinals, hence forms like *juwenofi* ~ *junofi* 'two (together)', *ilanofi* 'three (together)', *duinofi* 'four (together)', etc. This would seem to be based on the Mongolian prescriptive tradition.

Solution (c) is the preferred one in China and Japan. Kawachi, Kiyose (2002: 145, 196a) define *nofi* as a term for counting people: 人を数える語(二人三人などの人。)。, but in the examples they provide, along with *udu nofi* 'several people', we find *emu nofi* 'one person', which I have been unable to locate in any text and which, according to their own definition, is impossible. It may be so that

this example is construed under the assumption that *nofi* is an autonomous lexeme meaning ‘person’ (on this issue, see below). Curiously enough, *emu niyalma*, the most common noun phrase to express ‘one person/man’, can be found on p. 171 (trans. 一人), without further commentaries. The most satisfying treatment is due to Tsumagari (2001: 48–49 sub 助数詞 *josūshi* ‘counter suffixes’) who explains that, generally speaking, *nofi* does not appear with *emu* ‘one’, and also that *juwe niyalma* (instead of *juwe nofi*) and *juwe nofi niyalma* are common due to the opacity of *nofi* already in Classical Manchu, a fact contributing to its progressive loss. The latter instance illustrates the collective numeral, on which we will come back later. Haneda’s definition (1972 [1937]: 339b) is identical to Norman’s.

In Western literature, though the numeral classifier interpretation already appeared in various translations of Manchu-Chinese dictionaries at the turn of the 19th century (see i.a. Amyot 1784: 330 s.v. *nofi* ‘Numérique pour les hommes’ or Gabelentz 1864: 162a s.v. *nofi* ‘Numeralpartikel für Personen’), the first systematic treatment is due to the Russian Manchui I. Zaxarov, as already noted above, whose grammar has been repeatedly hailed as the best among the first Manchu grammars (Hauer 1930: 160). Zaxarov’s description is echoed in Hauer’s brief grammatical sketch (1991 [1936]: 131 sub Numerative Hilfsörter) or Haenisch’s handbook (1961: 47 sub Numerative Zahlwörter).

4. The historical and comparative perspective

There are no obvious cognates in other Tungusic languages, and though *nofi* is listed in the Tungusic comparative dictionary (TMS 1.606b), it is so because the only intention of the authors is precisely to highlight that there are no cognates, as is the case with numerous Manchu items in that dictionary.

The distribution of *nofi* within Jurchenic is a bit suspicious. *Nofi* does not surface in Jurchen monuments,¹¹ and although not unknown in Sibe, the majority of grammars makes no mention to *nofi*, what may be taken as evidence of its status as a literary cultism, rather than real cognacy. Be that as it may, the use of *nofi* in Sibe

11 Pevnov comments upon the anomaly of certain passage in the Tyr stele (14th c.) where, unlike the Mongolian version, the Jurchen text does not show the plural marker (or the accusative): †*emu[n] minggan cauha(i) ŋarma* ‘a thousand soldiers’, lit. ‘one thousand military men’, which in Mongolian is translated *nigen mingyan čerig-üd-i* (Golovačev et al. 2011: 168–169, 182–183, 218: fn. 62). According to what we have seen so far, this context clearly demands *nofi*.

is not consistent, hence its replacement by *ñalma* (Ji, Liù, Qū 1986: 230–231). On the other hand, Lǐ and Zhòngqiān (1986: 63) speak of collective numerals (集合数词 *jíhé shùcí*) when they describe *nofi*, as we have already mentioned above.

Yamamoto's Spoken Manchu dictionary includes *nofi* (1969: 139–140 [2815]). Interestingly enough, one of the examples has *nanə* (= Written Manchu *niyalma*, see Yamamoto 1969: 37 [827]) instead of *nofi* in a context where we would expect the presence of only the latter: *soni juunanə'i tiuki'ee* = Written Manchu *suweni ju(we)nofi tukiye* 'you two hold (this) up'.¹² This instance hints that *nofi* and *nanə* could in theory be exchanged and therefore somehow related. Examples to the same effect can be found also in Muromski's Sibe materials (Kałużyński 1977). Text 33, the most extensive of the collection, contains numerous instances of both *ñalm(a)* (23×) and *nan(a) ~ ñan(a)* (21×). If we assume that *ñalm(a)* = Written Manchu *niyalma*, and *nan(a) ~ ñan(a)* = Written Manchu *nofi*, then some of the textual examples follow the general rule of Classical Manchu, namely *niyalma* 'one person' vs. *nofi* 'two (or more) persons', but many others go against it. Thus, we find *muse gemu sarganji ñana ofi* [...] 'all of you are girls' (60) in contrast to *bi inu em sanganji ñalma* [...] 'but I [am] just a girl' (61), or *so haha ñalma* 'your man (husband)' (61) contrasting with *ju haha nana* 'two men' (62). Conversely, we find *julergi de em nan bithe alibuhabi* 'before that, one person have been presenting the document' (62), and *ene juse juli ñalm* '(they were) just two: mother and son' (57) or *orin ñalma* 'twenty people' (62). Finally, there are cases where both words seem just exchangeable, e.g. *umai ñalma aku* 'there is no man' (59), and, a little later, in the very same line: *umai nan aku id*.

Notwithstanding this inconsistency, it is worth exploring the relationship of *nofi* and *nan(a) ~ ñan(a)*. We will come back to this in a moment.

4.1. Previous research on etymology

The only etymological proposal I am aware of dealing with Manchu *nofi* is due to the late G. Ramstedt (1949: 171, 1952: 104). In his view, Manchu *nofi* 'honoured

12 The Chinese "pluralizer" 们 *men* is known to have replaced **sa* in Spoken Manchu, e.g. *sajwamən sawumən* 'students and teachers' (Kim et al. 2008: 35). Interestingly enough, Chinese 们 *men* is used only with human referents and for personification, it only conveys the expression of collectives, not of plurality, and never follows numerals, hence we say 两个孩子 *liǎng ge háizi* 'two children', and not ***liǎng ge háizimen* (see i.a. Chao 1968: 244–245).

person, lordship, Sir = geehrte Persone, Herrschaft' resembles Korean "*nopta* (: *nopha* : *nophin*)" (Ramstedt's spelling) 'to be high, elevated', *nophida* 'to make high, to elevate; to esteem, honour', *nophi* 'highly, the height', which he derives from *noph-* 'to be high' (cf. Martin, Lee, Chang 1967: 353a s.vv. *noph.i*¹, ², *noph.ita*, etc.), and Japanese *noppo* 'a tall person, a daddy long-legs'.

The formal aspect of the proposal seems impeccable: on the surface, the similarity of both forms is undeniable. However, Ramstedt's suggestion poses some problems on semantics ground. For one thing, Manchu *nofi* does not mean 'honoured person, lordship, Sir'. If something, *nofi* may only refer to person, as we have seen above, without specifics regarding social status. This erroneous interpretation might be due to Ramstedt himself. We are entitled to speculate that Ramstedt came across the term *wesihun nofi* 'honoured person' while consulting Zaxarov's Manchu grammar (2010 [1879]: 110–112), more specifically the section on polite forms of address, or perhaps the Manchu dictionary by the same author (Zaxarov 1875: 239b s.v. *nofi*). Odd as it may sound, Ramstedt could have interpreted that *nofi* (without *wesihun*!) may also mean 'honoured person'. But this is wrong: *wesihun* means, among other things, 'honorable, respected', whereas *nofi* never means in isolation 'respected person'. Since this expression is used when addressing people of equal rank (as is clearly stated by Zaxarov, see 2010 [1879]: 111), a rough translate of *wesihun nofi* could be '(we) people (who are of equally) honorable (rank)'.¹³

Therefore, there is no need to dwell on the particular etymologies of the Korean and Japanese words, because the very point of departure for Ramstedt's suggestion cancels the entire equation.¹⁴

13 Curiously enough, Ramstedt was aware of the existence of numeral classifiers in Korean (see his grammar: Ramstedt 1997 [1939]: 59–60), but apparently he never established a link between them and Zaxarov's description (unless he had an alternative interpretation, about which we unfortunately know nothing).

14 I find very appropriate Miller's remarks (1984: 158) concerning "lexical ghosts" in some Korean etymologies by Ramstedt: "In order to use SKE [= *Studies in Korean Etymology*, namely Ramstedt (1949)] today, it is routinely necessary to verify every form in every language cited. When this is done, more than a few will turn out to be unverifiable; and comparisons with Korean that depend to any significant degree upon such unverifiable forms in other languages must be set aside". Also, Miller (1984: 148ff.) observed that Ramstedt perhaps profited from the work by Kurakichi Shiratori on Korean and Altaic historical linguistics, especially from Kurakichi's comparative

4.2. Internal etymology?

The external etymology suggested by Ramstedt is not valid, could we explain *nofi* via internal etymology? In my view there are three possible scenarios that in case of Manchu etymology always come to mind in first place:

- (a) the segmentation †*no-fi* would imply that *-fi* is the perfect converb, whereas the lexical base ***no-* could perhaps be the same as in *nora-* ‘to pile up wood or plants’ (and its nominal derivate *noran* ‘a pile of wood or plants’) or *noro-* ‘to remain still in one place; to be reluctant to leave’ (and *noron* ‘longing, attachment’), once they are stripped of the intensive, iterative suffix *-ra*³. The first form is a Mongolism (cf. Mongolian *norum* ‘stack, pile’, see Rozycki 1994: 164), while the second is an isolated item lacking an obvious etymology (TMS 1.606a). I think we can safely reject them as possible cognates of *nofi* on semantic grounds.
- (b) ***no-* actually is a nominal base, then perhaps related to *non* ‘younger sister’ (irregular plural forms *nonte* and *nota*). This leaves ***fi* without explanation, and we cannot assume that *nofi* comes from a nominal base **nop(V)*,¹⁵ as there is no such a base documented in Tungusic.
- (c) an hybrid compound, one of the many neologisms of *à la fanqie* Chinese-tradition type: *noXX + XXfi* (for details, see Näher 1998: 24–27). If that is the case, then we will never be able to recover the original components. Some candidates might be suggested for the first part, e.g. *nokai* ‘very’ or *nonggibun* ‘increase’, from *nonggin-* ‘to add, increase’. As for the second part, Rozycki (1981: 109–110) offers 24 words ending in *fi*. Apart from *fi* ‘writing instrument’, *nofi*, *ilafi* and

lexicon (1970 [1914–1916]). As far as *nofi* is concerned, Ramstedt’s etymological suggestion is genuine as Kurakichi apparently had nothing to say about the Manchu or Korean words mentioned above.

- 15 Manchu *-f-* is the regular continuation of Proto-Tungusic **-p-*, the only exception to this rule being Norman’s Law, according to which regressive strengthening occurs if followed by a strength (voiceless) segment, e.g. *fonto-ho* ‘small hole’ vs. *fondo-lo-* ‘to piece, make a hole’, *ufu-hi* ‘part, share’ vs. *ubu* ‘portion, share’, where **ha*³ and the fossilized formant *hi* come from derivational suffixes in the parent language (Norman 1996: 1), that is, diminutive **kaa(n)* and proprietive **kii*, respectively. In order to apply here, we would need the presence of a strength (voiceless) segment, but this is not the case. Note that in both cases the result is always *-f-*, Norman Law only explains whether the parent language had **-p-* or **-β-*, so this is a purely Proto-Manchu (Proto-Jurchenic) process.

junafi ~ *junofi*, the rest are transparent perfect converb formations (*bafi*, *bifi*, *bufi*, *ifi* < **ififi*, *jifi*, *kufi*, *safi*, *sefi*, *sofi*, *šofi*, *sufi*, *sungkefi*, *tafi*, *tefi*, *yofi*) which never occur in hybrids of this kind. Additionally, four of them have been grammaticalized and carry out other functions: *jeofi* ‘a hut with a round birch bark roof’ (related to *jeo* ‘department’, of Chinese origin), *mufi* which is recorded only in the collocation *mufi ilha* ‘lily magnolia (*Magnolia kobus*)’, *ofi* ‘because’ (from *o-* ‘to be(come)’); *ofi* also means ‘a snare for catching pheasants’, but it is unclear whether both *ofis* are related or they are homophones), and *saiifi* ‘spoon’ (from *sai-* ‘to bite, chew’). None of them seems suitable.

These three scenarios are very unlikely and do not even begin to account for *nofi*.

4.3. *niyalma* vs. *nofi*

Unlike *nofi*, Manchu *niyalma* /*ñalma*/ has cognates in Spoken Manchu (= SManchu), Sibe, and Jurchen. Sibe *nan* and related forms are slightly less transparent than the corresponding forms in Spoken Manchu dialects, e.g. Sanjiazhi *njamə* ‘man’, *njam bi* ‘someone’ and *njamsa* /*ñamsa*/ ‘people’ (Kim et al. 2008: 88; cf. Table 1 in Hölzl 2014: 210, where only Sibe *naⁿ* deviates from the norm). Given the existence of reduced forms like SManchu *ñam*, Jurchen reconstruction becomes even trickier. Kane (1989: 265 [655]) suggested 捏麻 †*nie[l]ma*, while warning that “it is difficult to determine whether an *-[r]-* or an *-[l]-* (or neither) should be inserted here”. His remarks are very pertinent, because we now know that all three options, i.e. †*-rm-*, †*-lm-* and †*-m-* are theoretically possible, cf. Kiyose’s 捏兒麻 †*niyarma* (1977: 112 [273]) vs. Jīn’s †*nialma* (1984: 207–208) (as for the alternation [r] ~ [l] before /m/, see Alonso de la Fuente 2012). We can reconstruct †*niema* /*ñama*/ and claim proximity (if not just identity) to the direct antecessor of Spoken Manchu dialects. The sound change sequence most likely run along the following lines: (Manchu) *ñalma* > (Jurchen) †*ñalma* ~ †*ñama* > (SManchu) *ñam* > (Sibe) *ñan* ~ *nan*. Sibe shows depalatalization as the result of regressive assimilation (*ñam* > **nam*), and then replacement of /-m/ by /-n/ due to analogy to *n*-final nouns (**nam* → *nan*).¹⁶

16 The resemblance of Sibe *nan* with *naanai* and *naañii*, ethnonyms referring to the Nanay and the Ulcha, respectively, is not baseless. This ethnonym is also a noun compound, this time made of *naa* ‘earth’ (< PT **naa*, cf. Written Manchu *na* id.) and Nanay *nay* & Ulcha *ñii* ‘person, man’, from the same **nyarya* ‘man’ discussed above.

Far more complicated is the question asking where all these Jurchenic forms come from. Provided /*ñalma*/ is the older form, two different etymologies have been suggested in the literature whose main point of content is the interpretation of the last segment /*ma*/.

In the first proposal, /*ñalma*/ is analyzed in Manchu terms: /*ñal*/, is a noun base meaning ‘man’, from PT **nyarya* ‘man’ (our reconstruction, based on materials in TMS 1.598–599, cf. Doerfer 2004: [7920] **niara*), and *+ma* is a (deverbal) adjective derivative suffix, therefore /*ñalma*/ originally meant ‘(belonging to) man’ or the like (Zaxarov 2010 [1879]: 70 §5; = Gorelova 2002: 115; Avrorin 2000: 129 supported, i.a., by Pevnov 2016: 287, fn. 7). In theory, /*ñalma*/ shares the same non-productive suffix *+ma* with words like *ujima* ‘domestic animal; livestock’, *hasima* ‘Manchurian wood frog (*Rana amurensis*)’ or *dehema* ‘uncle (husband of mother’s sister)’. This ending is traditionally linked to the converb *-me* (no harmonic variants), e.g. *ujima* (archaic variant †*ujime*) < *uji-* ‘to raise, nurture, nourish; to give birth to’. There is no such a transparent etymology nor variants with †*-me* in most cases. Therefore, internally, the status of the /*ma*/ in many words remains an open question.

Unfortunately, the second proposal is not more satisfactory. It implies the existence in Northern Tungusic of a noun compound **nayrya+βäyā* > Ewenki *nirawii* ~ *ñirawii* ~ *ñeerawii*, Negidal *ñeeyawii* ‘man’, etc. (TMS 1.598–599; etymology already by Cincius in 1948: 525).¹⁷ Oroqen (Manegir dialect) †*ñarawi* *bäyā* ‘man’ (Ivanovskiy 1982 [1894]: 29b) or Kili *ner’a* *bäyā* ‘man’ (Sunik 1958: 184b) supports the existence of such a noun compound in the parent language. The second component is **bäyā* ‘body > human being’ (TMS 1.122–123), a lexical item which has been grammaticalized into various grammatical morphemes, among others as the reflexive-possessive ending *+wii*, which can be observed in the Ewenki, Solon and Negidal forms above. However, in those words it seems to be part of the root, put another way, here *+wii* does not carry the function of the reflexive-possessive. According to this etymology, Jurchenic /*ñal-ma*/ would be the continuation of PT **nyarya-bäyā*, though **-rβ-* > *-lm-* is not an entirely regular sound change.

What seems clear enough is that Manchu *ñalma* has nothing to do with Manchu *nofi*.

17 In Nivkh, a numeral classifier language, the classifier use to count humans, i.e. (East Sakhalin dialect) *-nŋ* ~ (Amur dialect) *-n*, e.g. *ñe-nŋ* ‘one person’, *me-nŋ* ‘two persons’, etc., may have originated from the noun (East Sakhalin) *ñiγvŋ* ~ (Amur) *ñivx* ‘man’ (Gruzdeva 2004: 316, this very noun also grammaticalized into a nominal derivational

4.4. An alternative solution

Our proposal hinges on the assumption that *nofi* could be actually a contraction of the sequence *nan ofi* ~ *ñalma ofi*, e.g. †*juwe nan ofi* > **juwe(na)nofi* > *ju(we)nofi* ‘two persons, two people’, etc. In the etymological domain, solutions requiring the contraction of two or more elements are in general looked at with suspicion because by invoking it, the researcher may present very speculative scenarios that more than not require some stretch of the imagination. In the particular case of *nofi*, the situation is, I believe, not that dramatic. The sequence itself is theoretically possible, see for example in Sibe *muse gemu sarganji ñana ofi* [...] ‘all of you are girls’ (Kałużyński 1977: 60). Furthermore, the element *ofi* (in origin the perfect converb of *o-* ‘to become, change; to be, exist’) is present in at least two expressions resulting from grammaticalization, that is, Sibe *tutof* ~ *tutofi* ‘for that reason, because of that’ and *utofi* ‘therefore, so’, cf. Written Manchu *tuttu ofi* id. (Kałużyński 1977: 270, 279; Yamamoto 1969: 146 [2886, 2887] *uttu* = *utu’ofi*, *tuttu* = *tutu’ofi*, etc.). The adverbial usage of a perfect converb can be also observed in *toktofi* ‘certainly, surely, without fail’, from *tokto-* ‘to fix, settle, decide, determine’.

If the original sequence actually contained the following elements: cardinal numeral + *ñalma* ~ *nan* ‘person’ + *ofi*, then it is possible to account rather straightforwardly for the changes leading from the analytic construction †*juwe nan ofi* to the synthetic sequence *ju(we)nofi*. The main factor contributing to such a contraction may have been the four resulting formations which would have showed the sequence *...*anan*..., a very suggestive context to be solved by haplology. Re-analysis of morpheme boundary and analogy would have occurred soon afterward.¹⁸ The table below shows the process in more detail: Phase I shows the input sequence. In phase II, *n*-final numerals lost the nasal element before *nan*. Phase III shows numerals after haplology in clear opposition to those which did not undertake it. In phase IV, new numerals are created after the model of numerals having undertaken haplology.

suffix, e.g. East Sakhalin *vo* ‘village’ → *vo-nŋ* ‘villager’). I believe that this and the Tungusic formants so far discussed are not related, nor are the nouns from which they may have derived, as Krejnovič famously claimed (1955: 161; but already in Moellendorf 1894: 145).

- 18 A somewhat similar reanalysis accounts for the type of alternation we observe in the pair *emu* ~ *nemu* ‘1’. The *n*-variant only appears in compound, superior numerals, e.g. *juwan emu* ‘11’ > *juwan nemu*, *orin emu* ‘21’ > *orin nemu*, etc. (Hayata 2012: 102–108), its origin being rather self-evident. The *n*-variant appears variously written <namo,

I	II	III	IV
† <i>juwe#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>juwenanofi</i>	* <i>juwenanofi</i>	<i>juwe#nofi</i>
† <i>ilan#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>ilananofi</i>	<i>ilanofi</i>	<i>ila#nofi</i>
† <i>duin#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>duinanofi</i>	* <i>duinanofi</i>	<i>dui#nofi</i>
† <i>sunja#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>sunjananofi</i>	<i>sunjanofi</i>	<i>sunja#nofi</i>
† <i>ninggun#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>ninggunanofi</i>	* <i>ninggunanofi</i>	<i>ninggu#nofi</i>
† <i>nadan#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>nadananofi</i>	<i>nadanofi</i>	<i>nada#nofi</i>
† <i>jakun#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>jakunanofi</i>	* <i>jakunanofi</i>	<i>jaku#nofi</i>
† <i>uyun#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>uyunanofi</i>	* <i>uyunanofi</i>	<i>uyu#nofi</i>
† <i>juwan#nan#ofi</i>	* <i>juwananofi</i>	<i>juwanofi</i>	<i>juwa#nofi</i>

Table 1. Stages in the history of *nofi*

4.5. Chinese influence or Tungusic pedigree?

Curiously enough, in most Tungusic languages, there is a special group of so-called so-called collective numerals (see i.a. Vasilevič 1940: 89–90). Those denoting groups of people are characterized by the presence of a formant **+nii(+)*.

In Literary Ewenki and Solon, these collective numerals are created by attaching the suffix *+nii* and *+nee*, respectively, to the corresponding cardinal numeral (Konstantinova 1964: 120; Hú, Cháokè 1986: 42–43; the same holds true for Orok *+nne* ~ *+nni* ~ *+ññee*, with regular gemination, see Ozolinja 2013: 39, 225–226; Pevnov 2016: 287 fn. 7). In Ewen, suffix *+ni* is required to be followed by the instrumental and the plural reflexive possessive markers (Cincius 1947: 127; cf. Benzing 1955: 74 §170), whereas in Udihe, the original *+ni* and the element *-ŋa* have been fused, yielding the synchronically opaque suffix *+niŋa* which is used only for independent forms, attributive ones requiring the suffix *+tuŋa* instead (Nikolaeva, Tolskaya 2001: 424–425).

By reconstructing **+nii(+)*, Benzing (1956: 106) seems to assume that collective numerals belong to the parent language.¹⁹ It is within the realm of the reasonable

namu, *nemo*, *nemu* before the Manchu script reform (1632), after which the *n*-variants fell out of use altogether. As is well known, analogy plays an important role in number sequences (see i.a. Campbell 1998: 98; Hock, Joseph 2009² [1995]: 163–164; Trask 2015³ [1996]: 104).

19 If Sibe *nan* and collective numerals in other Tungusic languages are mentioned in the same line, it naturally follows to compare them with the Ewenki so-called

English	Ewenki	Solon	Ewen	Udihe
two people	<i>juurii</i> < *juur+nii	<i>juuree</i> < *juur+nee	<i>juurijur</i> < *juur+ni+ji+wur	<i>juuniŋa</i> (obsolete)
three people	<i>ilanii</i>	<i>ilanee</i>	<i>eelnijur</i>	<i>ilaniŋa</i>
four people	<i>diŋnii</i>	<i>diyinee</i>	<i>dignijur</i>	<i>diiniŋa</i>
...				

Table 2. Collective numerals in Northern Tungusic

that the collective numeral suffix **nii(+)* goes back to **nyarya* ‘person’, too. Diphthongoids **ya* and **ay* yield /ii/ or /ää/, sometimes in a rather unpredictable way, cf. Ewenki *ee* (< **yā*) ~ *i(i)* as in *nirawii* ~ *ñirawii* ~ *ñeerawii* ‘man’ above. Harder to explain is the loss of **-r-*, which is preserved in Northern Tungusic (> Negidal *-y-*). But if **nii(+)* is nothing else but the reduction of **nayrya*, then we have to come to terms with the fact that attrition usually leads to the realization of irregular sound changes (a fact which unfortunately sometimes is used in historical linguistics as an excuse to propose the most extravagant etymologies). In this particular case, irregularity manifests itself in the dropping of intervocalic **r*.²⁰

Furthermore, we can propose that the identification Literary Ewenki *juurii* = Written Manchu *junofi* is true, for both forms could have continued the same structure (noun phrase), i.e. **juur nyara* ‘two people’, etc. If we postulate that collective numerals is a category in the parent language and continued in Jurchenic, then the impact of Chinese influence needs to be reevaluated. If something,

collective-comitative suffix *+nan* which is used for groups of people, in particular relative (the bulk of materials come from older documentation, cf. Menges 1978: 378–379; Grenoble, Whaley 2003: 113). Even though formal and functional similarities are undeniable, there is no enough substantial evidence to build a case for a common origin, therefore I shall refrain from pursuing this issue further.

- 20 Curiously enough, in languages with numeral classifiers, phonological reduction is a paramount feature of their etymology (Aikhenvald 2000: 370–371, 374–377). In Manchu, phonological reduction would indicate that *nofi* alone is special, because, if we accept the etymology proposed above, *nofi* should be seen as certainly very old. Curiously enough, none of the other components of the numeral classifier subsystem underwent phonological erosion. This fact alone points to the need of assuming different origins for *nofi*, on one side, and, on the other, for the rest of numeral classifiers.

Chinese influence may have contributed to (a) re-analyse *nofi* as a numeral classifier, and (b) introduce the segmentation of *nofi* so that it may be taken to be an autonomous lexeme (cf. *wesihun nofi*), in analogy perhaps to the practice of writing case endings as if they would be particles, something they are clearly not (Tsumagari 2006).

Manchu, and by extension the other Tungusic languages where such a marker can be found, would belong to the same typological group along with non-classifier languages such as Irish, where numerals have a special category, called “personal numerals”, used only to count nouns that refer to human beings, e.g. *ceithre chapall* ‘four horses’ vs. *ceathrar pháistí* ‘four children’. Like Manchu *nofi*, there is a restriction in that its use is systematic with 1–10 numbers, but for numbers above ten, people are counted with the corresponding nonpersonal, ordinal numbers (though there is a special form for ‘twelve’, namely *dáréag*, cf. the ordinal counterpart *dhá dhuine dhéag*). Moreover, the etymology of the ending with which personal numerals in Irish are marked relates it to *fear* ‘man’ (Russell 1995: 91–92).

5. Degrammaticalization: from numeral classifier to autonomous lexeme

It is only now that we can suggest an alternative scenario for the origin of the apparently autonomous lexeme *nofi* present in at least two expressions: *wesihun nofi*, which we already discussed above, and the swearword *hasan nofi*. The latter translates Chinese 罵人膿胞的 *màrén nóngbāo de* ‘good-for-nothing, worthless fellow’ (*Daicing* 1.[0418a1]), though German *Aussätzige*, *Räudige* (Hauer 2007 [1952–1955]: 222b) and Russian *napuu*, *napuak* (Zaxarov 1875: 384a) are closer to the original Manchu *hasan* ‘mange, itch, scabies’. Zaxarov mentions that *hasan nofi* is synonymous with *hasanahangge*, a regular derivate of *hasa-na-* ‘to get the mange or scabies’.

If the etymological solution which we have proposed in the previous section is correct, then it follows that at some point in late Jurchenic *nofi* was a morpheme carrying out the function of marking collective numerals. Afterwards *nofi* was reinterpreted as a numeral classifier under Chinese influence. Its original function as a collective numeral marker found easy accommodation in the niche of numeral classifiers, taking naturally the place of the human referent classifier. But since in Manchu all numeral classifiers are also autonomous lexemes, it is

possible that at some point *nofi* underwent a change in its grammatical status from collective numeral suffix to autonomous lexeme, thus becoming a handbook instance of degrammaticalization. According to recent literature, the particular case of *nofi* belongs to the degrammation type, since the two most salient features of the transition from collective numeral suffix (or numeral classifier, depending on the interpretation we choose) to noun are resemanticization, or shift from grammatical content to lexical content, and recategorialization, or the acquisition of morphosyntactic features of members of major word classes (see i.a. Norde 2009: 127, 135–151, 2012: 85, 87–89).

As for the real autonomy of *nofi*, it may perhaps be more advisable to speak of pseudo-autonomy, for *nofi* is, after all, recorded only in the two collocations discussed above.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we argued that Manchu *nofi* can be synchronically described as a numeral classifier of the sortal type used for human referents. It seems that historically *nofi* contains the germen of the Northern Tungusic collective numeral suffix **nii(+)* which resulted from the grammaticalization of the lexeme **nyarya* ‘person, man’. It is just conceivable that the Proto-Tungusic structure “cardinal numeral + **nyarya*” that originated the category of collective numerals continued in (early) Jurchenic “cardinal numeral + *nan*”. In Northern Tungusic, the sequence yielded the suffix **nii(+)*, while in Jurchenic, cardinal numeral, noun *nan* and the perfect converb *ofi* fused, unleashing the chain of changes as presented above.

In this scenario, *nofi* was originally a morpheme rather than an autonomous lexeme. Those who analyze Manchu *nofi* as a collective numeral marker, inspired perhaps by the Mongolic parallel, are right. Chinese influence triggered the reinterpretation of *nofi* as a sortal classifier in Manchu. Since most sortal classifiers are also autonomous lexemes, the ending †**nofi* was partially degrammaticalized, appearing in at least two collocations: *wesihun nofi* ‘honoured person’ and *hasan nofi* ‘worthless fellow’.

The etymology suggested in the foregoing also supports the general thesis according to which the original analytical structure of the Proto-Tungusic language can still be observed in Southern Tungusic and Jurchenic, whereas Northern Tungusic has gradually become more agglutinative (see i.a. Alonso de la Fuente 2011). If there are external motivations for this pattern, it remains to be seen in the future after additional research has been accomplished.

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IS THE PROSODY OF SLAVIC **PERGYŃI* REALLY NOT RECONSTRUCTIBLE?¹

The paper offers an updated overview of lexical and toponymic reflexes of the Proto-Slavic topolexeme **pergyŋi* (an alternative segmental reconstruction **pergyňa* is dismissed on the basis of the oldest attestations of some related place names), drawing on the latter to obtain clues enabling us to reconstruct the original prosodic features of the word. In spite of the skepticism recently expressed by S. Pronk-Tiethoff, it turns out that combining the short quantity of the first syllable of some related Polish and Czech place names with the stress placement on the second syllable of the pleophonic sequence observed in two related Ukrainian and Russian place names permits us to reconstruct unequivocally its prosodic shape as **pěrgyŋi* (a.p. *a*). This recognition is a serious piece of counterevidence against the native Slavic etymology, which assumes here a derivative from a prefixed root attested as *per-gŷb-*. None of the etymologies proposed so far for **pergyŋi* is free of factual or formal problems, although a borrowing from Old Germanic **fergunjā* still appears to be the best solution. If this was the case, **pergyŋi* becomes a clear counterexample to the prosodic adaptation rules established by Dutch accentologists for Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic.

Slavic accentology, Germanic loan-words
in Proto-Slavic, **pergyŋi*,
Przeginia, Priegnitz

1 The text was written in Spring 2016.

1. Introduction

The most recent systematic treatment of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic, a book authored by Saskia Pronk-Tiethoff (2013),² differs from earlier syntheses in that it focuses mainly on aspects of accentological adaptation of words of a non-tonal language into a language with fairly complicated system of tones/intonations. It has been long known that prosodic properties of Slavic loanwords from Germanic are by no means uniform, following at least two competing patterns. It seems that the main objective of the book was to justify the undeniable adaptation of certain Germanic diphthongs and long vowels as acute syllabic centers, which had been considered difficult to reconcile with the concept of the nature of old acute developed within the framework of Dutch accentological school. Contrary to earlier accounts, Pronk-Tiethoff maintains that the observed picture results from an interplay of different phonetic and morphological factors. Namely, a distinction between Gothic and West Germanic borrowings is made; the former are believed to be generally adapted with barytone stress and the so-called “pre-Dybo tone”, the latter can, under certain conditions, be adapted as *a*-stressed words, characterized by an acute stressed initial syllable. To this category principally two groups of words should belong: those containing a Germanic root-final unvoiced stop (believed to have conserved the preaspiration continuing directly a presumed glottal articulation of Indo-European mediae), e.g. **buka*/**buky* ‘beech’, **stopa* ‘pestle’, and some masculine nouns, e. g. **šelmъ* ‘helmet’, **xlěbъ* ‘bread’ (as, according to this accentological school, there were no masculines with radical immobile “pre-Dybo tone” at a certain prehistoric stage of (Pre)Slavic).³

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- 2 Generally speaking, the book, thought-provoking as it is, is characterized by a strong bias towards certain aspects of Slavo-Germanic Lehnwortkunde, which contrasts with the author’s blatant inability (or unwillingness) to deeper explore relevant lexical data of both Slavic and Germanic (she is relying chiefly on Kiparsky’s 1934 materials). When categorically denying a possibility of early Slavo-Germanic contacts, she is sometimes referring to certain not properly understood achievements of historical research. For example, the view that carriers of the Jastorf archaeological culture spoke Proto- (or Old) Germanic dialects when dwelling in northeastern Germany, whereas those carriers of essentially the same archaeological culture who subsequently migrated southeast and settled down in southern Poland (cf. Woźniak et al. 2013) or in the Dniester drainage (giving rise to the so-called Poienеști-Lukašivka culture) did not, remains her individual idiosyncrasy.

Being heavily busy with other matters, I had to give up writing a thorough review of Pronk-Tiethoff's book which it certainly deserves. Nevertheless, as its fragments coincide with my current work on archaic Slavic lexical stock conserved in Polish toponymy, I decided to single out just one item to discuss it in a broader perspective. Among the author's examples of reliable Germanic borrowings we find a topographical term reconstructed as **pergyŋja* (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158f.) and classified among examples whose original accentual paradigm was judged impossible to determine. In the following I intend to demonstrate that, contrary to this claim, a univocal and reliable reconstruction of main aspects of the original prosody of this term can be successfully attempted on the basis of prosodic and vocalic properties of related North Slavic⁴ place names alone.

2. Lexical reflexes of **pergyŋi*

The oldest attestation of the word comes from the *Codex Suprasliensis*, a Cyrillic monument originated probably somewhere in northeastern Bulgaria in the middle 11th cent. It was used in the text once, in the form of the locative plural, in the passage “*ѣстъ же въ прѣгыньхѣ мѣсто то и въ непроходѣньныхѣ горахѣ*”. The major Old Church Slavic dictionary to date translates it with Greek ἄγριον⁵ (sc. ὄρος: ἐν ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνπερβάτοις ὄρεσιν) and explains as ‘divoká horská krajina; wildes Berggelände; дикий горный край; loca aspera’ (SJS 3: 416, s.v. *прѣгыни* vel *прѣгынья*). Other attestations of Old or Middle Bulgarian forms come from Church Slavic texts of Russian redaction (SRJaXI–XVII 18: 168, s.v. *прегиня* [*прѣгиня*]; the dictionary gives the gloss ‘труднопроходимое место’), cf. “*ты тогда проведѣ чресѣ тя, горы и прѣгыня, холми и (...) равнины и поля, дубравы и потоци, ломи и дрязгы, море и рѣкы*” (a 1522 copy of a 12th cent. text). Miklosich (LP: 721f., s.v. *прегинѣ*) was able to find one more reflex of this word: the nom. pl. *прегинѣ* in a 13th cent.

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- 3 This view, implying that generic names of animals as well as some words for males, sometimes even for those exhibiting pronounced masculine features (e.g. **bykъ*, **koŋъ*) which happened to follow this stress pattern, were once neuters, can hardly be taken seriously (cf. Babik 2012: 366).
 - 4 To the best of our knowledge, except for Medieval texts, no trace of this word has been identified in South Slavic, neither in the toponymy (Udolph 1991: 71 and map 1 on p. 72) nor in dialectal lexicons (cf. Grigorjan 1975; Vidoeski 1999), although it certainly existed, at least in eastern part of that area, as late as in the Late Medieval period. BER does not even offer an entry presenting the Middle Bulgarian material.
 - 5 The Greek original of this literary work was identified by Durnovo (1926: 106f.).

Old Serbian translation of a homily (“запустѣшиєхъ прегинѣ и горы и врѣшѣ аньгельскаго гласа испльнеца”). As the word is generally used in them next to *gora* in similar contexts, we are probably dealing with a fixed literary formula, so these attestations can hardly be treated as independent from the *Codex Suprasliensis* usage and translated in a diverging way.

An adjective in *-ьнѣ* is known only in the Church Slavic form (with the metathesis of liquids). It occurs in a 15th cent. Menaion of Russian redaction (cf. SRJaXI–XVII 18: 168, s.v. *прегинный* [*прегынньный*]): “горахъ бо прилежахъ высокихъ и мѣстахъ прегынньныхъ” and “Тоя пустыня прегынное и непроходное въскорѣ проиде” (the same text, two pages later; substantivated use).

Even more intriguing are two known written attestations of the East Slavic variant, as they occur in essentially different contexts (LP: 721f.; SRJaXI–XVII 14: 226, s.v. *перегиня* ~ *перегыня*, with the gloss ‘труднопроходимое, малодоступное место’). The older of them is found in a 13th–14th cent. copy of a 11th cent. text (“самъ же [Юлианъ] шествоваше по перегынѣхъ лютѣи водимъ персяниномъ”). Here, in spite of the context suggesting rather ‘no man’s land, uninhabited wild area’ (the determiner *ljutѣ* appears to mean ‘wild’ here), the Greek original has the word *δυσβάτος* ‘hard to reach’ (‘διὰ γῆς (...) δυσβάτου’). Leskien (1907: 198) has pointed out that in an Old Serbian version of this text in place of *po peregyně ljutěi* the phrase *skrozě zemlju* (...) *zlochodnu nogama* occurs.

The other is particularly interesting, as the locative *peregyini* constitutes an extension of the original Greek phrase ([*рекѣ сущиимъ*] въ перегыни Острыя горы нищиимъ ‘τοις ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ὀξίας πτωχοῖς’). In this case the meaning must have been ‘foothill’ or ‘slope’ (cf. also Leskien 1907: 199).

It has been suggested that our word was used also in the Church Slavic translation of the *Story of Akir the Wise*, the original of which has been lost (cf. Durnovo 1926: 106f.). In some extant copies a bulk of distorted forms occurs, which Durnovo summarized as follows: <берегынего> (Sol.)⁶, <прегнее> (O.), <прегни емъ> (Ch.), <прѣведи> (F.) and <приведи> (S.), in other it was simply omitted. On the basis of these attestations Durnovo tried to reconstruct the original form as **prěgyini*. Having consulted Russian translations of parallel Aramaic and Armenian texts of the story, he established the meaning of this hypothetical word as ‘wooded hill/mountain’ (Durnovo 1926: 108).

6 These abbreviations were introduced by the author himself. For details I refer to the original text of Durnovo (1926).

Pronk-Tiethoff (2013: 158) translates the Old and Middle Bulgarian (“OCS”) words as ‘impenetrable covert (?)’ and the Old Russian ones as ‘thicket, covert’, which in the light of the above survey can hardly be regarded as the optimal choice.

An alleged Polish *przeginia* mentioned sometimes in the onomastic literature (Lubaś 1968: 122: ‘rozpadlina; nierówna niedostępna powierzchnia, wąwóz, parów’; Rymut 1996: 138, s.v. *Pluskawka* ‘Kluft, Klamm, unebenes, unzugängliches Gebiet, Tal’) must be qualified as a kind of “ghost word”, i.e. reconstruction without an asterisk repeated after Kryński (1909: 229f.), who first adopted this practice. Probably the same is to be said about ‘river bend, ohbí řeky’ in Witkowski (1973: 643) and Hosák, Šrámek (1980: 317).

3. Original inflection

As noted above, the scanty lexical reflexes of the word known to us are attested only in the forms of oblique cases or other ambiguous case forms, which do not allow for a motivated reconstruction of the original inflectional class (**pergyňa* or **pergyŋi?*). To elucidate this question, it appears necessary to look for possibly archaic attestations of nominative forms of those related place names which are believed to be originally identical with the appellative.

The chronologically oldest attestation of the nominative is probably an Old Polish river name <(super) Pregini>⁷, found in a Latin document issued or copied between 1136 and 1146.⁸ This is the so-called Bull of Gniezno, generally considered

7 Today probably Rudno, left tributary of the upper Vistula, on which the villages Rudno and Przeginia are located (see Rymut 2001: 126, s.v. *Rudno*). The identification, apart from the fact that the name *Przeginia* is unambiguously attested for precisely the same brook in the late 18th cent. (Rymut 2001: 126), is based on textual context (<et super Pregini Rudnici>); it has been assumed that <Rudnici> and *Rudno* refer to the same settlement. Contrary to recent works on the subject (cf. Wójcik 2013: 143), I believe that <Rudnici> was merely the 12th cent. name of the inhabitants of Rudno (the latter being a topographical name), so that it should not be treated as a service-related place name (Polish *nazwa służebna*, < **Rudbnici*), but rather as a *nomen originis* (< **Rudbniti*). Cf. the relationship between *Poddębie* (until 1393) and *Poddębice* (since 1398), attested as names of the same locality (NMPol 9: 22, s.v. *Poddębice* (1)).

8 Historians disagree about the question of authenticity of the Bull. Specialists have opined that the extant parchment could not be issued by the papal chancery; nevertheless, it must have been written in the middle 12th cent. Maleczyński (1947: 170f.) argued that this is in fact a spurious document forged in Poland between 1139 and 1146,

as the linguistic monument marking the beginning of the written history of Polish (cf. the most recent critical edition provided with a Polish translation in Wydra, Rzepka 1984: 17f.).⁹ The Bull contains about 410 Old Polish anthroponyms and geographical names, spelled without major distortions according to a specific orthographical system derived from that of contemporary Latin. Now, it can be formally shown that regardless of syntactic context none of these names is given in an Old Polish case form other than the nominative. Some exceptions to the general rule that names are adduced in their nominative form are Latinized names of the most important localities, regions and rivers, which are sometimes inflected according to the Latin grammar.¹⁰ It is obvious that <Pregini> cannot represent a Latin accusative or ablative singular form. The other nine river names occurring in the Bull are all given in the nominative: <usque ad fluuium **plituiza**>¹¹ (*Bull*: 18, lines 28–29), <super fluvium **Vna**>¹² (*Bull*: 19, line 119), <super aquam **Oloboc**>¹³ (*Bull*: 19, lines 125–126), <super fluuium **tēna**> (*Bull*: 20, line 138)¹⁴, <Item de miliche castello [...], plenarie decinationes per totum ex hac parte **Bariche**>¹⁵

but based on an authentic papal bull. Others (cf. Łowmiański 1985: 337f.) defend the authenticity of the Bull, considering it a local true copy of a lost bull originated in Vatican in 1136.

- 9 Nowadays the Bull should not be approached without consulting monographic articles by Bańkowski (1985, 1986) devoted to the onomastic material it contains.
- 10 <usque in **uislam**> (*Bull*: 20, line 150), <in castello **lancicie**> (*Bull*: 20, line 160), <aput ciuitatem **Cracovie**> (*Bull*: 20, line 176), <circa **Cracoviam**> (*Bull*: 20, lines 178–179), <ville archiepiscopales per **Cuiauiam**> (*Bull*: 20, line 185). The forms of some names seem corrupted (<Lestniz> (*Bull*: 19, line 88) for *<Lestniza> ‘Lestnica’, <Lunciz> (*Bull*: 20, line 143) for *<Lunciza> ‘Łęczycza’) and may represent a different scribal tradition. The Latinized <Dambnicia> (*Bull*: 19, line 114) ‘Dębnica’ is nevertheless given in the nominative.
- 11 *Płytwica*, today *Plitwica*, right tributary of the Brda (cf. Babik 2004: 31f.).
- 12 Today *Unia*, a village on a right tributary of the Warta (cf. Babik 2001: 595).
- 13 Today *Ołobok*, left tributary of the Prosna (cf. Babik 2001: 202f.).
- 14 Today *Cienia*, right tributary of the Prosna (cf. Babik 2001: 361f.).
- 15 Today *Barycz*, right tributary of the Oder. It has been observed (cf. Bańkowski 1986: 443) that in the Bull the reconstructed *č* is consistently spelled as <che> both anteconsonantically and word-finally (cf. also <Louiche>, later on *Łowicz*, <Conecheno> ‘Konieczno’, <Coberichesco> ‘Kobierzyczsko’, <Uilchecov> ‘Wilczków’, <Clobuchec> ‘Kłobucz(e)k’, <solche> ‘Sołcz’ (?), <Silche> ‘Żyłcz(e)’ (?; the eponym is mentioned as ‘Silca’ ‘Żyłka’ (?), name of an inhabitant of the same village)). This observation permits us to read <miliche> and <Bariche> as *Milicz* and *Barycz*. <Pretche> (today *Przedecz*), represents probably a neuter short (indetermined) adjective **Prědče*.

(*Bull.* 20, lines 139–141), <iuxta flu(u)ium Pelza>¹⁶ (*Bull.* 20, lines 150–151), <Item Nir in totum inter tvr et cholm cum castoribus [...]>¹⁷ (*Bull.* 20, lines 156–157), <circa fluuium Ganzaua>¹⁸ (*Bull.* 21, lines 232–233). Also <quam super Zuandri aquam appellauerunt> (today *Swędrnia*, right tributary of the Prosna), in view of later unambiguous traces of the *-y *-e inflection,¹⁹ must be considered as an *-ū-stem nominative in -y. It follows that <Pregini> must be read *Pręgyŋi* and be regarded as an *-ī-stem nominative. This observation has already been made by Polish linguists (cf. especially Bańkowski 1982: 77), but without carrying out a detailed analysis of the relevant material. According to Bańkowski (1982: 77), the ending -i, which is still alive in the suffix of Polish feminatives (e.g. *bogini* ‘goddess’), in place names in *-yni (mostly derivatives of adjectives like **Lutyŋi* > *Lutynia*) was completely eliminated by the beginning of the 13th cent. Kryński’s (1909) contention that 13th and 14th cent. attestations of place names ending in <-a> exclude their original *-ī- inflection is simply wrong, being based on insufficient knowledge of both onomastic facts²⁰ and general tendencies governing the morphological development of place names.²¹ For example, the most reliable toponymic derivatives in *-yŋi generally show up with the nominative ending <-a> in all attestations known to us.²²

16 *Pi(e)lca*, today *Pilica*, left tributary of the Vistula (cf. Babik 2001: 221f.). The Old Polish form *Pilca* allows basically two competing reconstructions of the protoform, namely **Pbl̥ta* (= **Pł̥ta*) and **Pilbca*. In 2001, drawing on the diminutive *Pilczyca* and the adjective (> person name) *Pilecki* (which, however, can both easily be analogical), I opted for the latter possibility. Nevertheless, today I would not exclude that the *Bull* documents an otherwise unknown Early Northeastern Polish variant *ĀElca* (where *E* = an *e*-like vowel), going back to **Pł̥ta*, subsequently ousted by the southern variant as used in (southern part of) the *Pilica* drainage itself. By now, the dialectal area with evidenced traces of a vocalization **l̥* > **El* has largely regressed to the north (cf. Dejna 1981, map 4).

17 *Nyr*, today *Ner*, right tributary of the Warta (cf. Babik 2001: 474f.).

18 *Gqsawa*, today *Gqsawka*, left tributary of the Noteć. In view of numerous parallels in Polish toponymy (*Gqsawy*, *Gęsawy* etc.) the name must be regarded as a Slavic relic of not quite clear origin, contrary to my earlier interpretation (cf. Babik 2001: 122f.).

19 I am talking here about medieval attestations pointing to *Świędreŋ* (Babik 2001: 265f.).

20 In the first decade of the 20th cent. relatively little was known about historical attestations of Polish place names, as most of the sources known to date remained unedited.

21 As indicated by Bańkowski (1982), the frequent use of local case forms of place names (in Polish mainly those of the genitive and the locative) prompts and accelerates the morphological evolution of their nominative forms with respect to those of the underlying appellatives.

Another possible instance of the old nominative in *-i* could be the attestation <de Przeginy> (cf. below) dating from 1392. After Latin *de* Old Polish forms of the genitive are often used, but in this case a genitive in *-i* is not expected any more.²³ The value of this argument is diminished also by the fact that for the name in question an older (recorded between 1346 and 1358) attestation in <-a> is known.

Possible traces of this nominative can be indicated in East Slavic, too. Vasil'ev (2012: 461) pointed to the attestation <Перегини (...?) на рѣкѣ на Ловоти> [1539], which can be tentatively identified with present-day Peregino on the Lovat' river (cf. below). Here again, the attestation is predated by a form in <-o> by about 40 years.

Finally, one more argument for the original **-ī*-inflection was envisaged by Durnovo (1926: 107f.). He interpreted the distorted forms *нрѣведу* and *нриведу* as faithfully preserving the ending of the nominative, in other copies replaced by that of the instrumental under the influence of a following instrumental form. It goes without saying that such an argument must remain highly conjectural.

4. Place of stress

It has long been known that derivatives of **pergyŋi* occur in the toponymy of areas where East Slavic dialects with free stress have been spoken. However, this common knowledge has not resulted in an attempt to analyze the prosody of these place names to reconstruct the Proto-Slavic point of departure. One of the reasons was undoubtedly the fact that their accentual properties have remained hidden to the researchers, as principal onomastic sources they stemmed from unfortunately did not indicate their place of stress.

22 Cf. the NMPol lemmas *Lutynia* (6: 247, s.v. *Lutynia* (1)): <Luthina> [1398], *Przyprostynia* (9: 357, s.v.): <Przeprostynia> [1338], also *Kopernia* (< *Koporynia*) (5: 127, s.v.; cf. also Nalepa 1973: 97f.: <Coporina> [1257]), *Droginia* (2: 425, s.v.: <Drogin> [1234], but <Droginia> pro **Drogina* [1239, a later copy]), *Tłokinia* (since 1282). Other names listed by Bańkowski (1982) as supposedly containing a suffix *-yni* probably or surely lacked it; this is the case of an alleged **Drwynia* > *Drwinia*, which in fact comes from *Drwienia*. Other unreliable examples are *Przybinia*, *Lubochnia* (cf. the documentation presented in NMPol 6: 210, s.v. *Lubochnia* (1)), *Lgiń* (cf. NMPol 6: 95, s.v.), and above all *Bochnia*, repeating in this form several times in the microtoponymy of southern Poland.

23 The old stems in **-īā-* and **-ī-* both had the genitive sg. ending *-e* < **-ě* in the 14th cent., cf. Klemensiewicz et al. (1964: 288): *-i* was only sporadic before the 16th cent. It should also be noted that precisely in southern part of Lesser Poland the genitive ending *-e* has been retained dialectally up to our times (cf. Dejna 1981, map 83).

The “knot”²⁴ of present-day *Переґінське*²⁵ is documented since 1469 (⟨*Perehinka*⟩; the form in *-sko/-ske* is attested since the 16th century (⟨*Perhinsko*⟩ [1504], ⟨*Perchinsko*⟩²⁶ [1578], ⟨*Perehińsk*⟩ [16th cent.], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [1661–1665], ⟨*Perehynsko*⟩ [1691], ⟨*z Perechińska*⟩ [1734], ⟨*Переґиньско*⟩ [1882], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [1886], cf. the respective entries in Czapla (2011: 146) and Lučyk (2014: 372). Jacij (2015: 235) quotes also the attestations ⟨*Переґиньск*⟩ [1301, most probably standardized], ⟨*do Perehinska*⟩ [1609], ⟨*do monastera Pereinska*⟩ [1642–1692], ⟨*do monastera Pereinskiego*⟩ [1647–1687], ⟨*in decanatu Perehinscensi*⟩ [1758–1765], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [1785–1788, 1819–1820]. There is no doubt that the name had an etymological **y* in the medial syllable. The view that the name is related to **pergonъ*, Ukrainian *непегін*²⁷, expressed first by Kryński (1909: 228, ftn. 1), recently endorsed surprisingly by both Czapla (2011: 146) and Lučyk (2014: 372; recently also Jacij 2015: 235), cannot be reconciled with the written history of the name; reflexes of the etymological vowel **o* in closed syllables are never spelled as ⟨*i*⟩, ⟨*y*⟩ before the 17th cent.; even the *Šematyzm* of 1882, which otherwise marks *i* < **ě* as ⟨*ѣ*⟩ and *i* < **o* as ⟨*ô*⟩, in this case uses the letter ⟨*и*⟩. Probably *Переґинське* was artificially and consciously transformed into *Переґінське* to render it “more Ukrainian” (i.e., quasi-motivated by *непегін -ôna*).

Переґино in the Staraya Russa district, apart from the above-mentioned (and a little bit hypothetical) attestation from 1539, is documented since the 15th cent. (cf. Vasil’ev 2012: 461: ⟨*Переґино*⟩ [1498], [1624]; RGN 6: 641). The passage into another inflectional paradigm was probably triggered by a substitution of the new ending *-e* of the locative for older **-i*. Starting from the locative, the inflection has been assimilated to that of the productive “possessive” structures in *-ino*.

A third toponymic reflex of **pergyŋi* in the East Slavic area is *Переґинський*, quoted by Petrov (1929: 22; cf. Udolph 1991: 71) without an accent mark (thus probably

24 I am using the word “knot” (Polish *węzeł*) as a counterpart of *gniazdo* (‘nest’) I have been using to denote a set of names related linguistically to each other which developed from a single underlying toponym. These names are as a rule referred to geographically adjacent topographical or cultural objects (e.g. a river and its tributary, a river and a settlement on its bank etc.).

25 In Pronk-Tiethoff (2013: 158) adduced erroneously as *Perehynsko*.

26 Possibly, for **Perehinsko*.

27 This word seems to be the real etymon of *Переґінець* (Russian *Перехинец*, Polish *Perehińczyk*, name of a brook in the Dniester drainage, cf. WRG 3: 611; SHU: 415), as suggested above all by the variant *Переґонець* pointing to an original alternation *Переґонець* (gen. *Переґінця*), cf. Udolph (1991: 77, ftn. 47), contra e.g. Vasil’ev (2012: 461). The same applies to *Переґінка* in the Seret drainage (SHU: 415).

taken from a cartographic source). The name referred to a stream in the Zakarpattia region of the Ukraine (vicinity of Rička).

While the place of stress of *Перегинський* and that of another *Перегину* (Cholm district, cf. RGN 6: 641) remains unknown to me, the stress placement within the two former names has recently been made known: in both cases, the stress falls on the second syllable of the pleophonic sequence (Vasil'ev 2012: 461: *Перéгину*; Lučyk 2014: 372; Jacij 2015: 235: *Перéгінське*²⁸). Thus, there is full agreement between them, pointing to an acute-like tone, i.e. old or new acute, on the first syllable of **pergyńi* (see below).

This recognition is not seriously contradicted by the place of stress of dialectal Ukrainian *перезéня* ~ *перозéня*, a debated word denoting 'a girl who uses to scare her friends for joke', 'обмотана червоними поясами дівчина, що йде попереду полільників у панський двір, скінчивши полоти буряки' (cf. ESUM 4: 340, s.v.), usually connected with the Old Russian mythological term *берегыня*. Great semantic difference makes a direct connection between them and our topographical term improbable. According to Anikin RES (3: 111f., with further references I do not repeat here), this **Pergyńi* was borrowed from Old Germanic theonym **Fergun-* reconstructed on the basis of Old Norse *Fjörgyn* 'Thor's mother' or 'Mother Earth'.²⁹ It cannot be excluded that we are facing here a case of different prosodic adaptation of the same segmental structure, due to chronological and/or dialectal differences accompanying the act of borrowing. Moreover, I personally would not exclude that the original form of this word did begin with *b-* and was distorted only secondarily under the influence of the topographical term (the supposed change **y > e* remains mysterious; taboo?).

5. The problem of *Prignitz* ~ *Pr(i)egnitz*

In German onomastics, it has become the standard view that the place names *Prignitz* ~ *Pregnitz* ~ *Priegnitz*, occurring in northeastern part of present-day Germany

28 But in Janko (1998: 268; quoted by Lučyk 2014: 372) *Перезінське*. Cases of accentual discrepancy between this source and headwords of the dictionary by Lučyk are more numerous, however. From the accentological viewpoint, *Перезінське* is undoubtedly a *forma difficilior*, as it differs from *перезін* by its place of stress.

29 Contrary to Anikin and his sources ("назв. 'дубового или лесного божества'"), this Germanic word must be connected above all with the meaning 'thunder' as seen e.g. in Lith. *perkúnas* or derived directly from the plural *fjörg* 'gods'.

populated by Slavs in Early Medieval times, go back to a prototype **Pergynica*³⁰ (cf. Schlimpert 1972: 450; Witkowski 1973: 643; Udolph 1991: 71, with further references). The most known example is the contemporary name of a district bordering the lower Elbe, documented since 1349 (‘in der Prygnitz’, cf. Wauer 1989: 45). The lake name *Priegnitzsee* (Biesenthal) is relatively lately documented (‘an der Pregnitz’ [1755], cf. Schlimpert 1984: 342). In the village Kloddram (Mecklenburg) a microtoponym *Prignitz* is/was known (Wauer 1989: 46). Near Zerbst a brook flows called *Prignitz* (Graf 1957: 46f.). The name of a street in Stralsund *Priegnitz* (Udolph 1991: 71) was recorded in the beginning of the 15th cent. as ‘de prigghenitze’. A particularly interesting, but dubious case is *Perguhn*, a hydronym near Schweskau in the Hannover Wendland (Kühnel 1982: 60), cf. below. Similar names were known more to the south, in the Ore Mountains in Bohemia, in an early Germanicized area (*Priegnitz*, ‘Prignitz’ [1378], an extinct name of a valley, a brook and a settlement near Cheb, cf. Schwarz 1961: 291, with a diverging interpretation, i.e. < **Prigonica*). Another possible example is ‘Pregnitzberg’ [1202], to be sought somewhere on the middle Danube (Stur 1914: 74).

Quite recently it turned out that three similar names were known also in the microtoponymy of Western Pomerania east to the Oder (Rzetelska-Feleszko, Duma 2013: 41, s.v. *Pragnica* [sic!], 42, s.v. **Pregnic*, **Pregnic* (*Wiesen*)). The name *Priegnitz* (and *Priebnitz*) was attested in 1823 for an unidentified object near Wierzchowo and Świerczyna, whereas *Priegnitz Wiesen* was found on a 1834 map as name of meadows on the Ina river near Lubowo. *Pregnitz* was the name of an unspecified object near Batyń (Białogard district), found in a toponomastic collection compiled between 1930 and 1938. The authors of the quoted monograph, apparently unaware of the state of art, suggested a connection with the verb **per-gniti*, which must be qualified as fairly odd – both not credible and unnecessary (nominal derivatives of this word family have normally -*gnoj-*, cf. reflexes of **pergnojb* in various Slavic dialects).

An implication of the etymology linking *Prignitz* etc. to **pergyŋi* is the necessity to assume a complete loss of the second syllable vowel, which might be due to its unaccentedness. It has been suggested that the varying stress placement in the substratum toponymy of eastern Germany partly reflects the free character of Early Polabian stress, the name of Berlin being the most prominent example of this kind (cf. Mańczak 1973). No systematic evaluation of the relevant material has taken place, however; for example, it is striking that most toponyms in -*itz* bear

30 Old Polabian **Pręgynica* (with **ě!*), e.g. in Udolph (1991: 69), is likely a slip of the pen.

the stress on the preceding (radical) syllable, although it is known that the major part of these derivatives stressed the suffixal *-i-* in Proto-Slavic. I am of the opinion that these place names cannot currently be used for accentological reconstruction, although their properties are by no means inconsistent with the assumption that the prototypes stressed their first syllable.

Moreover, the very protoform **Pergŋnica* is open to doubt. The structure *PrEg-nitz* can be fully justified starting from an alternative prototype **Pergŋnica*, which can be explained in at least two different ways. Firstly, it cannot be excluded that an older, original form of the borrowed word **pergVn-*, namely **pergŋn-*, is reflected in these names (cf. below). Note that they are all located in the northwestern periphery of the Slavic world.

Secondly, it must not be rejected off-hand that this hypothetical **pergŋn-* contains a (neo)root **gŋn-* (probably < **gŋb-n-*) recoverable from some Slavic place names lacking immediate background in the attested lexical stock. In Polish toponymy, there are traces of certain derivatives in **-gŋn-* with various prefixes: **zagŋn-* (*Zagnia*, name of a valley in the village Pałowice in Greater Poland, cf. Kozierowski 1916: 438; further *Zagno* > *Żagno*, oikonym in the Dobrzyń province (Lipno district),³¹ *Żagno -a*, name of a meadow in the village Kowalki in the Rypin district (UN 183: 12) and *Zagno*, name given to a place on the river Kamienna near the village Zemborzyn in northern Lesser Poland, cf. LuSandXVIII 2: 18), **vy-gŋn-* (*Wygno -a*, a forest in the village Rychłowiec in the Pajęczno district according to UNMasz 45: 31, and probably also *Wiginiec* < **Wygieniec*, name of a forest in the village Wymysłów in the Włoszczowa district, cf. UN 35: 35). The most interesting case is *Ogne*, an 18th-cent. name of a field in the village Łany Małe in Lesser Poland ([1789] LuKrakXVIII 1: 312), which must be interpreted as vestige of an otherwise unknown compound adjective **o(b)gŋ(b)noje*. Nevertheless, I have to admit that, to the best of my knowledge, no trace of a genuine **Przegŋn-*, **Przegŋnica* can currently be identified in Polish toponymy.

The aforementioned hydronym *Perguhn* has most probably been stressed on the second syllable. However, it is not a serious argument for such a stress placement in **Pergŋn-*, since its etymology is far from obvious. As historical documentation is lacking, and German adaptations of Slavic vowels are very imperfect, it cannot

31 Between 1895 and 1972 noted as *Zagno* in some sources using Standard Polish, but dialectal *żagno*. The initial *Ż-*, attested first by Kozierowski (1928: 293) is probably hypercorrect and more recent: about 15 km further to the east begins a great area of regular change *ž > z*.

be excluded that the real protoform of this name was in fact **Pergonō* > Old Polabian **Prēgon*. The word **pergōnō* was stressed on the medial syllable; if this place of stress was reproduced in the German transposition, the pretonic syllable may have been reduced (**Preg-* > **Prġ-*), and the ephemeral sonant may have been re-vocalized as *er*. Such a development would be reminiscent of that supposed for *Perdöhl* (Hagenow district), *Perdöl* (Plön district, cf. Mańczak 1973: 17) < **Prēdol-* < **Perdol-* (or **Pridol-*?), where a Germanicization event predating the metathesis of liquids appears not credible.

6. Quantity and tone

The often mentioned Polish “*Przeginia* (place-name, Małopolska province)” (so Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158) is in fact three different place names, attested since the Late Medieval period. Chronologically the oldest, apart from <Pregini> discussed above, is the “knot” located near Olkusz; as early as 1228 a <castrum edificatur in Pregina> edified by the duke Henry the Bearded is mentioned in a chronicle. The nearby settlement is documented since 1225 (<Preghinam> [1225, copy 1291], <Preginam> [1228, later copy], <Pregina> [1325–7], <Pregina> [1337], <Przegina> [1356], <Przegina> [1422], <Przeginya> [1470–80], <Przegina> [sic!] [1490], <Przegynya> [1529], later on only *Przeginia*, cf. NMPol 9: 297, s.v. *Przeginia* (1)). As some historians identify the mentioned castle (or rather hillfort) with the remnants found on the present-day Kocica hill³², situated to the east of present-day Sułoszowa, next to the famous castle of Pieskowa Skała, it can be tentatively supposed that the name originally referred to the (upper part of?) Prądnik valley, one of the main landscape attractions in the vicinity of Cracow, from which it was later transferred to the Medieval settlement situated about 5 km to the west.

The supposed old name of the brook Rudno was transferred to two adjacent villages, contemporary *Przeginia Duchowna* and *Przeginia Narodowa* (cf. Rymut 1967: 136; NMPol 9: 298, s.v.v.). The older of these villages was located probably in 1276 (<damus (...) locandi villam (...) in Pregina (...) in monte Kamona Gora>). Later attestations are <Preginia> [1319], <Przegina> [1345], <Pregina> [1346/58], <Przegyna> [1363] and [1450], <Przegynya> [1470–80], <Przegyna> [1490], <Przegynya> [1529], <Przeginia> and <Przeginya> [1564], later on only *Przeginia* (*D.* or *N.*).

32 Cf. the webpage przeglad.olkuski.pl/index.php/artykuly/kultura/historia-i-tradycja-regio-nu/szkice-o-ziemi-olkuskiej/12369-dzieje-suloszowy-do-rozbiorow-szkic-na-700-lecie.

The third Przeginia is currently a part of the village Zbydniów in the Bochnia district (Lubaś 1968: 122 s.v.; NMPol 9: 297, s.v. *Przeginia* (2)), but formerly was a separate village (⟨Pregina⟩ [1346/58], ⟨de Przeginy⟩ [sic!] [1392], ⟨Przeginia⟩ [1564], [1581], ⟨w Przegini⟩ [1629], later on only *Przeginia*). The name was evidently transferred from a brook mentioned in the 1531 record ⟨agri circa fluviolum Przegynya⟩³³, today called Pluskawka (cf. Rymut 1996: 138, s.v. *Pluskawka*).

At the same time, all the three *Przeginia* just mentioned are living place names, which means that apart from speakers of Standard Polish they have been used by speakers of local folk dialects that happen to make a clear distinction between the former long and short *e*. While the latter is retained as “plain” *e*, the former has changed to *é*, *y* or has coalesced with *y* (cf. Dejna 1981, map 54). The dialectal form of these place names is known: it is *pšęgińa* in all the three cases (Rymut 1967: 136; NMPol 9: 298, s.v. *Przeginia Narodowa*; UNMasz 2: 108), thus pointing to an Old Polish short *e* in the first syllable.

It is important to note that not a single attestation of these names known to us³⁴ shows a spelling of the first syllable involving the letters ⟨y⟩ or ⟨i⟩. In case of etymological prefix **Per-* > *Prze-* the spelling of this vowel changes as a rule after the 15th cent.: ⟨*Prze-*⟩ is replaced by ⟨*Przy-*⟩ or ⟨*Przi-*⟩, especially in those dialectal areas where *y* is nowadays the normal reflex of **ē*. The phenomenon is documented by dozens of examples attested with ⟨*e*⟩ before the 16th cent. (cf. NMPol 9: 329f.³⁵).

33 The mysterious “agri circa fluviolum *Przegynya* (1531) Matr IV/1, nr 160” (NMPol 9: 297, s.v. *Przeginia* (2)) rests evidently on a mistake repeated after Lubaś (1968: 122; perpetrated also by Babik 2001: 510), to which the author of the NMPol entry added the erroneous ⟨y⟩ in the first syllable of the name. The correct quotation would be “agri circa fluviolum *Przegynya* (1531) Matr IV/2, nr 16087”.

34 It is to be hoped that a forthcoming volume of SHGKr will bring us further attestations of these toponyms. To the examples listed above a set of attestations of the heraldic name *Przeginia* collected by Kryński (1909: 221f.) should be added (cf. also SSNO 4: 366, s.v. *Przeginia*).

35 S.v.v. *Przybojewo* (2), *Przyborowice* (2) and (3), *Przyborowo* (1) and (4), *Przyborów* (1) and (6), *Przybroda* (1) and (2), *Przybrodzin*, *Przychody* (2) and (3), *Przychód* (1), *Przyczyna Górna*, *Przydonica*, *Przydworzyce*, *Przyglów*, *Przygodzice*, *Przyjma* (2), *Przyjmy* (1) and (2), *Przykop* (2), *Przykopka*, *Przykory* (1), (2) and (4), *Przykwa*, *Przyłot*, *Przyłęczek*, *Przyłęk* (1), (2), (3), (6), (7), (8) and (8a), *Przyłęki* (1), *Przyłom*, *Przyłubie* (1), *Przyłubsko*, *Przyłuski* (1), *Przymiłowice*, *Przymiłów*, *Przyprostynia*, *Przyranie*, *Przyrowa* (1) and (2), *Przyrownica*, *Przyrowno*, *Przyrów*, *Przysieczki*, *Przysiek* (1), *Przysieka* (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7), *Przysieki* (1), *Przysiersk*, *Przysietnica* (1) and (2), *Przysowy*, *Przyspa*, *Przystajń*,

Of course, contrary to Bańkowski (1982: 77) and Udolph (1991: 73) who followed him, short quantity of *e* is not a decisive argument against a prefix **per-*, provided that in an unmotivated name the etymological length of prefixal vocalism, if liquidated phonetically in a given prosodic environment, was not obligatory to be restored.

There was a fourth, today extinct village called *Przeginia* in Medieval Lesser Poland (near Jedlicze, today Krosno district, in the southeastern periphery of the province), known unfortunately only from three attestations dating from the 1st half of the 15th cent. (1412, 1419 and 1441, see SHGKr 2: 712f., s.v. *Kolanówka*; 3: 560, s.v. *Leśniówka*, sect. 3). As they all stem from unpublished *acta terrestria*, they escaped somehow the attention of onomasticians, regrettably not included in NMPol 9. The village was situated in the vicinity of Kolanówka, Kopytowa, Żeglce and Bobrka (all of them extant), from the 1441 mention seems to result that *Przeginia* bordered Kopytowa directly from the east.³⁶ The exact forms of the name as occurring in the manuscripts are for the moment unknown (they will be given in the respective entry of a forthcoming volume of SHGKr), but they appear irrelevant for our purpose of quantitative reconstruction (in the records dating from the 15th cent. both **e* and **ē* are expected to be spelled as <e>).

In 2004, the team of the *Etymological dictionary of Silesian place names* (SNGŚ 11: 31, s.v. *Przeginki*) published the name of an unspecified geographical object, located in/near the village Stara Kuźnia (not far away from the city of Kędzierzyn-Koźle). The attestation *Przeginki* (pl.) comes from the period 1925–1942, gathered probably by a teacher³⁷ at the local school (the source is indicated as Fl 49/38).³⁸ The attestation can be viewed as a simplified dialectal record, thus attesting to an older short *e* (attestations from Fl coming from that area reflect as a rule the change *é* > *y*).³⁹ However, today we find in that area *Przyginkowa Aleja* (a forest road between Stara Kuźnia and Łącza; PRNG), which does not accord with *Przeginki* as the reconstructed vowel quantity is concerned. In my opinion, it should be assumed that the change *e* > *y* in the name is quite recent (perhaps motivated by

Przystanki, Przysucha, Przyszów, Przytoczna, Przytocznica, Przytoczno, Przytoka (2), *Przywieczerzyn* (1), *Przywilecz, Przywory* (3), *Przywóz, Przywózki*.

36 “1441 Piotr z K[olanówki]. pożywa Piotra opata i kl[asztor]. koprz[ywnicki]. na termin wiecowy o granice pomiędzy wsiami C[olanowka]. a Zręcinem oraz Żegłcami i Przeginią (dziś nie istn[e]je). a Kopytowa i Stanowiskami”.

37 The village was part of Germany before 1945. The local population spoke mostly the Silesian dialect of Polish.

38 On this collection see remarks by Rospond (SNGŚ 1: XIV and XLIV).

39 On the development of *é* and *e* in Silesia cf. e.g. Bąk (1974: 43f.), Dejna (1981, map 54).

a folk etymology according to *przyginać*) and has nothing to do with old quantity. *Przeginki* are the regular plural form of a diminutive in *-ka* (**przeginka* ← **przeginia*), in spite of the SNGŚ suggestion linking it directly to Polish *przeginać*.⁴⁰

In 2014, when perusing unpublished typescripts left by the Komisja Ustalania Nazw Miejscowych, I came across a further reflex of our word, namely *Przeginieć-ńca* (dialectal⁴¹ *Przeginieć-ńca*, i.e. *Pšėgīńec*), name of an unidentified forest within the limits of the village Łobodno near Kłobuck (Kłobuck district), written down probably in late sixties of the 20th cent. (UNMasz 202: 2). This is the northernmost assured toponymic vestige of **pergyńi* in Poland, which fully accords with the other mentioned above as far as the original quantity of *e* is concerned.⁴²

Moreover, a related name is known on the territory of Lach dialects in Bohemian Silesia as well. In 1436, the form <(s) Przehunye> [sic!] was recorded for a mill (a place?) near Dolný Benešov (Hosák, Šrámek 1980: 317, s.v. *Přehyně*). The official standardized name of that locality is now *Přehyně* (at least since 1924), dialectal forms are the nom. (*ta*) *Přehyňa*, the acc. (*na*) *Přehyňu*, the instr. (*za*) *Přehyňum*; instead of an adjective the turn *z Přehyňe* is used. Other sources indicate that the name is referred to a pond (HO: 12, sect. 14) and a brook of about 2 km of length, a tributary of the Opava (cf. also Domański 1989: 171). Since the long *(*r*)*ě* is reflected as (*ř*)*y* in that area (cf. Lamprecht 1953: 22f.; Lamprecht 1963: 108f.⁴³; Bělič 1972: 294f.), this is a further piece of evidence in favor of a shortening of the first syllable of **pergyńi* in West Slavic.

A combination of the accentuation of the pleophonic sequence in the related East Slavic names with the short quantity of the metathetic group in West Slavic leads unavoidably to the conclusion that the only point of departure common for these two groups of phenomena may have been **old acute** tone on the first syllable of the word (**pěrgyńi*).

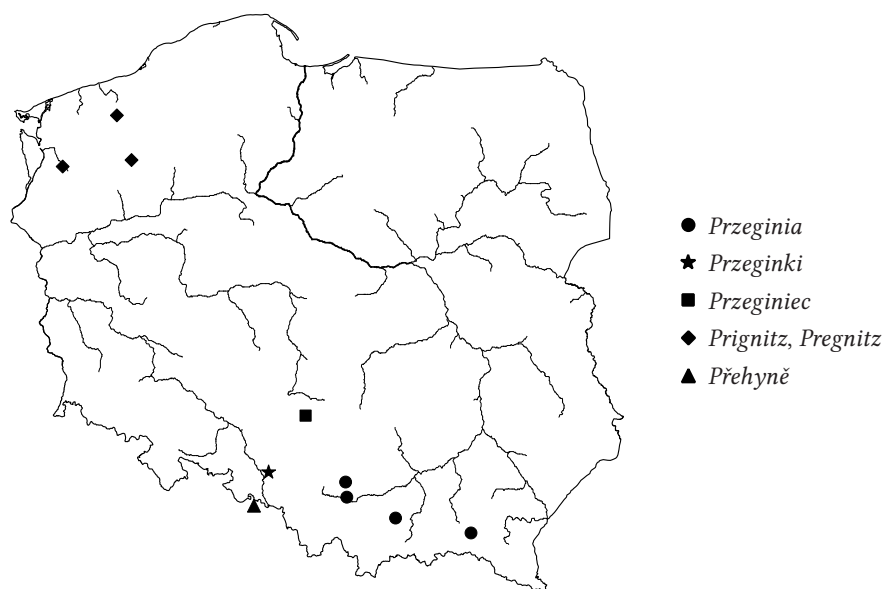
Such a conclusion is at variance with the expectations made within the framework of Leiden accentology. In its reconstruction, a word of similar structure (a diphthong in the stressed initial syllable, a non-acute short or long vowel in the

40 Along a similar line of thought, one could question the very possibility of identifying any toponymic reflexes of **pergyńi* in any Slavic language having a verb in **per-gyn-*. Such an approach cannot be accepted.

41 Introduced as “nazwa potoczna (obiegowa)”.

42 Cf. from the same source some reflexes of *é* > *i* after palatals in other names from Łobodno: *Jelinio Porąbka* ‘Jelenia Porąbka’, *Studzinka* ‘Studzienka’.

43 I refer to the entries in *pře-* and *přy-* given there, the latter including *přyč’ny*, *přyč’nica*, *přyrubla*, *přysada*, *přyza* (‘*příze*’).



following syllable), should be adopted as barytone with the radical “pre-Dybo tone”. Such a form was bound to undergo Dybo’s law and to stabilize the word stress on the second syllable. If the latter were originally long or morphonologically lengthened before the operation of Stang’s law, it should have lost its stress to the preceding syllable. If the medial syllable were transformed into an acute syllable or lengthening were posterior to Stang’s law, the stress should have remained on the medial syllable. In both cases, however, the initial syllable should have been reflected as long in West Slavic.

All in all, it would be unfair to blame the author of a book issued in 2013 for not having consulted books published in 2012 and 2014 or 2015. However, that Polish and Czech toponymic reflexes of the appellative exhibit short vocalic outcomes in the initial syllable has been known, to competent specialists, for decades.

The quantity of the medial syllable cannot be directly reconstructed, as neither Southern Polish nor Lach dialects make a distinction between the former short and long **y* in this environment. Parallelism with other structures (e.g. **-ica* or even **-yŋi* derivatives) makes us predict a regular phonetic shortening here. The endings, as usual, were particularly sensitive to analogical levelling, but it can be stated that in all cases known to us a shortened (new) ending *-a (-e)* of the nominative shows up in toponymic reflexes of **pergyŋi* in Polish and Czech.

7. *Przeginia > Przegędza?!>*

According to the unanimous view of contemporary onomasticians, the Silesian place name *Przegędza* (Rybnik district) continues an older form *Przeginia* as attested in 1480 (<z Przegynie>), cf. Borek (1988: 54), Udolph (1991: 71), Bańkowski (ESJP 2: 841, s.v. *Przeginia*), SNGŚ (11: 31, s.v. *Przegędza*); NMPol (9: 297, s.v. *Przegędza*). This view is based on a certain formal similarity of both names as well as on the fact that the 1480 attestation comes from a Silesian source dealing with Silesian matters. To account for the affricate, Bańkowski (ESJP 2: 841) assumed a diminutive *-bca extension, although he was clearly mistaken in assuming that this suffix was present as early as 1480 ("z Przegynce 1480"; such a form is unknown, cf. below). *Przegędza* is further attested in 1531 (<Przegenda>), 1581 (<Przegenza>), 1614 (<ves Přigencze>, <ze vsi Przigenze>), 1679 (<ex villa Przegenza>), 1687/8 (<Przegancza>), 1743 (<Brzegandza> [sic!], 1784 (<Przegenza>), 1845 (*Przegendza*), 1900 (<Pszegenza>), later on only *Przegędza* and *Przegendza*; identification of these attestations with present-day *Przegędza* is uncontroversial.

On closer scrutiny, however, this view proves completely false. The attestation <z Przegynie> comes from a Czech language document (16th cent. copy), whose German summary was published in 1865 (CdSil 6: 108). It was issued on May 27th, 1480 at Żędowice (today Rzędowice) in Lesser Poland; the local landlords, brothers Synowiec, confirmed thereby the sale of a property of them located in Upper Silesia to a certain Arnošt Mrakot. At the end of the published summary a list of witnesses is given: "Zur Mitsiegelung haben sie [i.e. brothers Synowiec] erbeten [here follow Bohemized person names in the form of the gen. or acc. sg.:] Stanisława Plazy z Msticzowa, Tomasse z Sandczich mewa krzena z Manoczicz, Mikulasse z Przegynie, Jana z Syczichowycz und Stanisława z Wrbicze". Nowadays, having at our disposal four volumes of the *Historical and geographical dictionary of the Cracow province in Medieval times* [= SHGKr] edited so far, we can easily demonstrate that all these witnesses were Polish noblemen from western part of Lesser Poland (mostly Cracow province), neighbours of the Synowiec, known from other, independent Polish sources as well:

Stanisław (de) Płaza of Mstyczów (<Stanisław[a] Plazy z Msticzowa>) was the owner of Przelaja, Mstyczów, Czepiec and Kėpie (the latter until 1481), mentioned between 1471 and 1496, died before 1502⁴⁴ (SHGKr 1: 460, s.v. *Czepiec*, sect. 3;

44 In 1502 his widow is mentioned (SHGKr 3: 429, s.v. *Lanckorona*). His son, mentioned in 16th cent. sources, bore the same name *Stanisław*.

SHGKr 2: 114, s.v. *Grzegorzowice*, sect. 2; SHGKr 2: 309, s.v. *Jeżów*, sect. 3.; SHGKr 2: 382, s.v. *Kalina Wielka*; SHGKr 3: 195, s.v. *Krzelów*; SHGKr 4: 85, s.v. *Małyszycze*; SHGKr 4: 119, s.v. *Marcinowice*; SHGKr 4: 312, s.v. *Miechowice*, sect. 6; SSNO 4: 291, s.v. *Plaza*).

Tomasz of Sancygniów vel Sancygniowski (<Tomasze z Sandcich mewa>⁴⁵ was the owner of Buszków and Błozowice (which he bought in 1463), mentioned between 1453 and 1476 (SHGKr 1: 135, s.v. *Błozowice*; SHGKr 1: 299f., s.v. *Buszków*, sect. 3; SHGKr 4: 285, s.v. *Mianocice*, sect. 3; SSNO 5: 30, s.v. *Sęczygniewski* etc.).

Krystyn vel Krzczon of Mianocice (<krzen[a] z Manoczicz>) was the owner of Mianocice (until 1471, today Miechów district), Wola Cisja and Wola Podleśna, mentioned in the sources between 1462 and 1497 (SHGKr 4: 284f., s.v. *Mianocice*, sect. 3; SSNO 3: 447, s.v. *Mianoc(s)ki*). In 1476, a deal between him and the aforementioned Tomasz Sancygniowski is documentarily attested (ib.).

Jan of Sieciechowice (<Jan[a] z Syczichowycz>) was probably a priest, the owner of a part of Sieciechowice (today Cracow district) until 1463 and of a part of Brzeście (today extinct, once Sandomierz province) since 1463 (SHGKr 2: 184, s.v. *Iwanowice*, sect. 3).

Stanisław vel Stańczyk Czarnocki of Wierzbica (<Stanisław[a] z Wrbicze>) was the owner of Wierzbica and Czarnocin (Sandomierz province, today Kazimierza Wielka district), mentioned e.g. in 1483, died before 1489 (SHGKr 1: 437, sect. 3; SHGKr 3: 407, s.v. *Kwaśniów*, sect. 3).

And finally, Mikołaj of Przeginia vel Przegiński de armis Przeginia (<Mikulass[e] z Przegynie>) turns out to be the sheriff (Schultheiss, sołtys) of Przeginia (but of which one?) and the owner of Kępie (since 1481), mentioned in other sources between at least 1480 and 1508 (SHGKr 2: 489, s.v. *Kępie*, sect. 3). It thus becomes evident that the locality Przeginia is nothing else than one of the aforementioned villages Przeginia, and must not be sought in Upper Silesia. Accordingly, the name of the Silesian village comes evidently from a person name *Przegędza*,⁴⁶ retained precisely in Upper Silesia as contemporary surname (cf. *MoiKrewni* s.v.: the towns of Rybnik and Ruda Śląska, as well as the Tychy district).

45 <Sandcich mewa> should be read *<Sandcichniewa>. This fragment was evidently misunderstood by the German editors of *CdSil* (6) and, consequently, it was not edited properly.

46 Being an instance of the so-called Ozimek/Jędrysek type – the oikonym, created without any affixal derivation, is just identical with the name of its owner/inhabitant.

8. Consequences for a reconstruction of the origin

In view of numerous parallels, adaptation of the diphthong of the Germanic prototype as Slavic (old) acute diphthong can hardly come as surprise, but is inconsistent with the limitations introduced by the new hypothesis put forward in the book under scrutiny. On the whole, this recognition can hardly be used to question the Germanic origin of **pergyńi*, but rather should be regarded as a further exception / piece of counterevidence to the adaptation rule suggested by Dutch authors.

In the light of the foregoing discussion we are now entitled to definitively reject the etymology proposed by Matzenauer and endorsed by Leskien (1907: 200) and subsequently by many others,⁴⁷ which analyzes the word as **per-gyb-n-*. In Slavic, the prefix **per-*, unlike **vy-*, is not known for attracting the stress. It is true that the related *per-* is often acute in Baltic, and one could not question that some forms suggesting acute prefixal **per-* are known in Slavic as well (e.g. outcomes of **pergord-* in Russian dialects matched by certain lexical facts of other languages). Nevertheless, none of the outcomes of a segmental structure **per-gyb-* known to us (especially of those exhibiting fully developed topographic meanings) shows unambiguous reflexes of old acute in its initial syllable.⁴⁸ In these circumstances, dialectal Russian *неперѹб* (SRNG 26: 64f., s.v.) or Slovak *priehyba* (cf. Fedorowicz 1975: 7f.) could serve merely as a semantic parallel testifying to the possibility that a structure combined of these elements could easily develop a topographic meaning, but not as the real base for derivation of **pergyńi*.

The Germanic loan etymology (Stender-Petersen 1927: 268f. < Proto-Germ. **fergūnjam*; Kiparsky 1934: 185f.; Anikin RES 3: 111f.; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158) continues to be burdened with formal problems concerning inflection and vocalism of the medial syllable. Trying to overcome them, we should consider the following scenarios. Gothic **ferguni*⁴⁹ should have been adapted as **pergōnъ* (neuter or masculine **-i-stem*). Such a form is expected to have been inflected like a masculine

47 Cf. Kryński (1909: 227f.), Vasmer (1950–1958 2: 338), Hosák, Šrámek (1980: 317), ESJS (704, s.v. *prěgynja*).

48 For example, Croatian *prěgīb* attested in anatomical meanings along with *prégīb* can be traced back to **pērgybъ*. Bulgarian *нрѣзуба* (BER 5: 630, s.v.) can represent the **pōkora*-type (cf. Slovene *pregiba*). The verb **pergybati -ajō* does not stress the prefix any more.

**-i*-stem, so that a locative form **pergǫni* (< **pergunī₂* < **pergunēi*), in view of numerous indigenous forms in **-ūnī* (> **-yŋī*) could be perceived as anomalous and “corrected” to *-ūnī* > **-yŋī*. As the loc. **pergyŋi* used without any determiners was ambiguous (it had no gender whatsoever in such situations), a new paradigm **pergyŋi*, the gen. sg. **pergyŋě* ~ **pergyŋę* etc. could easily be created.

As some West Germanic toponyms⁵⁰ would suggest a parallel strong feminine **fergunjā* (> **fergunjō*), a somewhat simplified account could be proposed. **Fergunjā* would be adapted as **pergunjā* > **pergǫŋā*, so that not only the locative form, but virtually all case forms outside the nominative could constitute a point of departure for the hypercorrection suggested above (e.g., **pergǫŋō* → **pergyŋō*).

Udolph (1991: 74f.; similarly Slawski in SP 1: 140) regarded the word as native and highly archaic, comparing it directly with Old Indic theonym *Parjānya* < **Perǵ^hēnjo-*. A parallel semantic evolution of both **Perk^hŋ-* and **Perǵ^hŋ-* into similar topographic meanings is not a very probable solution. The best etymology of **pergyŋi* would then be a derivation, with the native suffix *-yŋi*, from a nominal base **pěrg-*, preferably adjectival, although a noun would also be acceptable.⁵¹ Unfortunately, evidence for an *a*-stressed **pergǫ* seems impossible to produce for the moment. Attempts were made to juxtapose **pergyŋi* with **porgǫ* and further with various words of other Indo-European groups (e.g. Lithuanian *pergas*, Latin *pergula*, *pergere*, *porgere*, even Greek *πύργος*, cf. Bańkowski ESJP 2: 800, s.v. *próg*), but the semantic development of their derivatives into the attested meanings of the Slavic lexeme is far from obvious.

49 The word is generally considered as an early Celtic borrowing (predating the loss of initial *p-* in Celtic and both Grimm’s and Verner’s laws of Proto-Germanic), although it could also be native. In the Gothic bible, it is attested inter alia in the nom. sg. form <fairguni> (cf. Lehmann 1986: 104f.).

50 A survey of them is given by Udolph (1991: 75f.). Old English *firgen* n. (mentioned e.g. by Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158, perhaps after Kroonen 2013: 136, s.v. **fergunja-*) seems to be a ghost word. Both Ekwall (1936: 140) and Smith (1956: 171, as quoted by Udolph 1991: 73) insist that Old English **firgen* (**fyrgen*, **fiergen*) is attested exclusively as the first member of some compounds (*fergenberig* ‘mountain’, *fyrgen-bēam* ‘mountain tree’, *fyrgen-holt* ‘mountain wood’, *firgen-bucca*, *firgen-gāt* ‘ibex’), so that the determination of its inflection and grammatical gender must have been based entirely on an external comparison with the Gothic noun.

51 Cf. **ěskynī* ‘cave’ ← **ěskǫ* (SP 6: 142). Traces of an adjective **ěskǫ -a -o* suggested there are unknown.

9. Closing remarks

As far as **pergyŋi* is concerned, Pronk-Tiethoff did not succeed to enrich our knowledge in any respect. The brief entry in her book, apart from some minor inaccuracies, presents exclusively facts and opinions that have long been known in earlier literature on the subject. To the contrary, her presentation can be characterized as misleading to the extent that it creates the false impression that nothing has changed in our knowledge of the problem since at least 1934. As the results to be arrived at would be at variance with her general opinions advocated in the book, this flaw becomes all the more significant.

The above considerations testify to a growing gap between some Slavists, mainly those stemming from non-Slavic countries, who have been trying to present, as an example to follow, a kind of antiquarianism imported from the field of Indo-European studies and consisting in continuous tackling some lasting, unsolved and often largely insoluble issues with sometimes new (and questionable) methods, but still using the same limited corpus of relevant linguistic data as contained in earlier syntheses, and those of us who have come to realize that real (although not always spectacular) progress and lasting results can nowadays be achieved chiefly thanks to application of our time-honored methodological principles to new materials and problems. In Slavic linguistics, these have never been more abundant than today.

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ORTSNAMEN AUS ARTVIN სტოქონის ტოპონიმის Sprachlich-kulturelle Berührungen an der türkisch-georgischen Grenze

Artvin and its environs, located in the north-eastern corner of Anatolia, once was part of Tao-Klarjeti. This kingdom can be regarded, under political as well as cultural aspects, as one of medieval Georgia's most significant regions. In noted centres of ecclesiastical life and scholarship such as Khandzta, Oshki and others, learned men laid the very fundamentals for Georgia's spiritual and religious development. Furthermore, under the rule of the Bagrationi family Tao-Klarjeti played a crucial role in the unification process of the various Georgian principalities into one single monarchy, the *Kingdom of Georgia* (*sakartvelos samepo*), in 1008. This paved the way for what is generally referred to as *Georgia's Golden Age* (*sakartvelos okros xana*), a period characterised by prosperity, political independence, and learning which reached its pinnacle with the reign of Queen Tamar from 1184 to 1213. This outstanding era was followed first by a gradual but steady political decline and later by the disintegration of the Georgian State, in particular caused by the rapidly expanding powers of the East, i.e. mainly by Mongols, Turks and their incessant invasions. In 1551, Tao-Klarjeti was finally conquered by the Ottomans. Almost all of its territory – with exception of a Russian intermezzo of about 43 years after the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878 – has been a part of the Turkish state up to the present day. It goes without saying that such a rich and multifaceted history has left numerous and quite variegated traces in all domains of the region's culture. On the following pages, I will shed some light on a small number of toponyms, which reflect the Georgian past of the Artvin area, and have a closer look at their use, their meanings and their etymologies.

Tao-Klarjeti, Georgian toponyms, Artvin history, etymology,
place names, cultural interaction

Der türkische Nordosten, dem ich bereits in zahlreichen Arbeiten besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet habe,¹ hält noch eine ganze Reihe interessanter Themen bereit, die ihrer wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und Erörterung harren. Heuer möchte ich das Augenmerk auf das Gebiet der Ortsnamenkunde lenken. Wie ich in der Vergangenheit an vielen Beispielen gezeigt habe, bieten gerade die Randregionen der Türkei reiches Material, in dem sich das bewegte kulturelle wie auch sprachliche Wechselspiel ihrer Geschichte in den buntesten Facetten widerspiegelt, wobei die Toponyme in keiner Weise eine Ausnahme bilden.² Auch wenn durch die tiefgreifende Türkifizierung, die besonders in der republikanischen Zeit vorangetrieben wurde, zahlreiche alte, einem nicht-türkischen Kulturkreis zugehörige Ortsnamen gezielt von der Landkarte getilgt wurden, ist noch so einiges erhalten geblieben, und zwar ganz besonders in der für staatlich-administrative Belange ohnehin nur relativ wenig relevanten lokalen Mikrotoponymie (Namen von Wiesenflächen, Feldern, Waldstücken, Almen, Quellen etc.).

Nicht selten ist es so, dass Dörfer heute zwei unterschiedliche Namen führen, d. h. neben ihrem neueren, amtlichen und in aller Regel türkischen Namen haben sie noch einen aus vortürkischen Tagen stammenden, traditionellen Namen, der oft unter der einheimischen Bevölkerung gebräuchlicher ist und auf diese Weise von Generation zu Generation überlebt.

In einer kleinen Reihe von Abhandlungen, von denen diese – zu Ehren unseres Jubilars Marek³ – die erste ist, möchte ich mich mit solchen Ortsbezeichnungen

1 Wie der Großteil meiner Werke sind auch die diesbezüglichen Arbeiten via www.academia.edu leicht zugänglich.

2 Zur Toponymie von Artvin hat Taner Artvinli (2013) ein kleines Büchlein mit dem Titel *Artvin Yer Adları Sözlüğü* vorgelegt. Hierbei handelt es sich um kein wissenschaftliches Werk sondern eher um die Arbeit eines interessierten Laien – ein Umstand, der dem Werk aber in keiner Weise abträglich ist. Das Büchlein bietet im Großen und Ganzen nützliche Informationen und hält vor allem eine äußerst umfangreiche Liste von Ortsnamen der Gegend bereit. Auch die sprachliche Analyse der Toponyme, soweit durchgeführt, ist in aller Regel zufriedenstellend. Leider kenne ich Taner Bey nicht persönlich. Wie jedoch aus einem kleinen Lebenslauf hervorgeht, ist er ein recht vielseitig interessierter, betriebsamer junger Mann, dem Geschichte und Kultur seiner Heimat – Artvin und insbesondere Yusufeli – am Herzen liegen (siehe www.artvindernegi.com/sanatcilersayfalari/tanerartvinli.htm; 01.02.2016).

3 Mein lieber Marek, nun also ist die Reihe auch an Dir. Mit dieser Festschrift sollst Du als werter Freund, Kollege und Autor vieler vorzüglicher Werke gebührend geehrt werden. Schön ist solch ein Akt, doch bedeutet er auch, dass die Zeit nicht stehen

beschäftigen, die historisch einen kartwelischen, das will sagen, einen georgischen, manchmal vielleicht einen zanischen Hintergrund haben und aus Zeiten stammen, in denen das Gebiet von Artvin Şavşat Teil von Tao-Klardschetien (ტაო-კლარჯეთი, *Tao-Klaržeti*)⁴ war und noch keinen kulturell und sprachlich in den osmanisch-türkischen Staat integrierten Bestandteil ausmachte. Relikten dieser Art begegnet man natürlich, sobald man das betreffende Gebiet bereist. Aber auch in lokalen Arbeiten zu seiner Geschichte, Folklore etc., ja sogar in Publikationen administrativer Organe wird man nicht selten fündig, was einmal mehr zeigt, dass die alten Traditionen noch stets im Volke verwurzelt sind und teilweise auch weiterhin gepflegt werden.

Nur ein ganz kurzes Wort zur Geschichte des Gebietes. Tao-Klardschetien wurde 1551 im Zuge militärischer Auseinandersetzungen (1532–1555) zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich (Sultan Süleyman I.) und dem persischen Safawidenreich (Schah Tahmasp I.) von den Osmanen eingenommen und fiel aufgrund

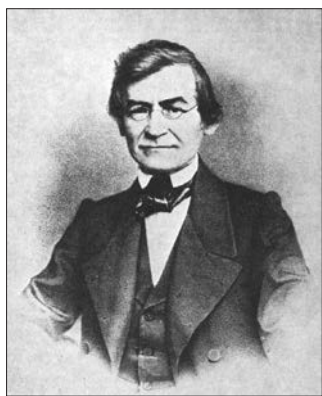
geblieben ist. Nennen wir's ruhig beim Namen, ... man wird eben älter. Ich seh' Dich noch hier in Leiden, stets ausgerüstet mit dem kleinen „Aschenbecher für unterwegs“, ein süßes, lustiges Utensil... Ich hoffe, es gibt ihn noch. Und waren da nicht die hierzulande allgegenwärtigen Rabattmarken beim Einkauf im Supermarkt? *De spaarzegels*, die bei Dir sowohl Verwunderung als auch Bewunderung hervorriefen... mehr noch als die freundlichen Damen an der Kasse, die stereotyp fragen: *menheer, spaart u zegels*? Wenn ich mich recht entsinne, hast Du die Dinger tatsächlich in so ein Büchlein eingeklebt. Für mich jedenfalls war Dein Aufenthalt hier eine Bereicherung, ein echtes *high-light*. Wenn ich so auf Deine Schriften schaue, komm' ich nicht umhin zu fragen: „Mein Gott, gibt's denn im Leben nichts anderes als Etymologie?“ Da Du mich ja kennst, weißt Du, dass diese Frage natürlich nur rhetorisch gemeint sein kann. Denn ein Leben ohne all die kleinen, verzwickten, aber stets vergnüglichen etymologischen Puzzles wäre einfach leer und öde. Gehört das blaue Stückchen da nun zum Himmel? Oder gibt es irgendwo in der Tiefe des zu „erpuzzlenden“ Bildes versteckt einen blauen See von unergründlicher, eben etymologischer Tiefe? Eine Festschrift ist selbstverständlich kein Freibrief, sich nun bequem zurückzulehnen, viel eher soll sie Ansporn sein, zu neuen Horizonten aufzubrechen. Kurzum, lieber Marek, wir alle erwarten noch viel von Dir. Doch zunächst ist es an mir, Dir eine beschauliche Reise durch das alte Tao-Klardschetien zu bieten.

- 4 „Die Provinz Tao-Klardžeti, welche heute in der Türkei liegt, gehörte früher zu Georgien oder abwechselnd auch zu Armenien (Tayk‘). Sie umfasste die Gebiete im Tal des Čoroch und einiger Zubringer. Hier fanden georgische Intellektuelle Zuflucht vor der Fremdherrschaft der Araber, und hier entwickelten sich die Nationalkultur sowie der Gedanke eines vereinten Georgien“ (Labas 2014: 73).

der im Friedensvertrag von Amasya (25. Mai 1555) getroffenen Vereinbarungen schließlich dauerhaft an den Osmanischen Staat.⁵ Doch seine Türkisierung und Islamisierung sollten noch lange auf sich warten lassen und sich auch nur recht langsam vollziehen. Deutlich wird diese Tatsache etwa aus dem Reisejournal (*Wanderungen im Oriente, während der Jahre 1843 und 1844*) des deutschen Botanikers Karl Heinrich Emil Koch, der aus *Artwin und Artanudsch* (2. Band, Fünftes Kapitel) u. a. folgendes berichtet:

Die Bewohner Artwins sind Grusier und die grusische Sprache ist die Sprache des Volkes, sowohl der Christen als auch der Mohammedaner. (Koch 1846: 166).

Man erzählte mir, daß vor noch nicht gar langer Zeit die christliche Religion allein verbreitet gewesen sei, und wahrscheinlich hat auch hier ein türkischer Gewaltstreich den Islam plötzlich eingeführt. Selbst mohammedanische Familien führen noch den Namen Papas-Oghlu, d. h. (christlichen) Priesters-Sohn, und der Herrscher von Liwaneh, Murad-Ali-Bei, erzählte mir, daß sein Großvater Christ gewesen sei (Koch 1846: 167).



Liest man Kochs⁶ Aufzeichnungen, gewinnt man überhaupt den Eindruck, er sei in Georgien auf Reisen gewesen und nicht im Osmanischen Reich, obgleich das Gebiet zu jener Zeit bereits annähernd drei Jahrhunderte Teil des letzteren ausmachte. Die von Koch erwähnten Dorfnamen bestätigen dies ebenfalls – wie beispielsweise die der auf dem Weg von Artvin nach *Pertakrek* im mittleren Teil des Çoruhtales gelegenen Ortschaften *Itschhalbur*, *Soria*, *Ordschagh*, *Mölo-Kaleh*, *Dschildschim*, *Chomkal*, *Chorda*, *Utschkum*, *Bitt*, *Sor*, *Ocher*, *Achoff*, *Okdem*, *Beschanget*, oder die

der zwischen *Dschildschim* und *Beschanget* auf einer kürzeren Route durch die Berge zu passierenden Dörfer *Niksoan*, *Lusundschor*, *Danolet*, *Zogipar* und *Schadut*

5 Siehe dazu [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osmanisch-Safawidischer_Krieg_\(1532–1555\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osmanisch-Safawidischer_Krieg_(1532–1555)) und de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friede_von_Amasya; 16.02.2016.

6 Karl Heinrich Emil Koch (1809–1879). Für nähere Informationen und sein Porträt siehe de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Heinrich_Koch; 23.03.2016.

(Koch 1846: 182).⁷ Sie alle sind in ihrem Kern nämlich nicht-türkischen – meist armenischen bzw. georgischen – Ursprungs.⁸ Auch die Weiterreise Kochs von Artvin nach Ardanuç gleicht eher einer Wanderung in Georgien als in der Türkei. Dieses Bild ändert sich erst in Ardahan, zu welchem er schreibt:

Die Sprache der Bewohner ist das Türkische und vom Grusischen versteht hier Niemand ein Wort. Auch das Armenische ist in der letzten Zeit ganz verschwunden und soll selbst auch früher nur wenig gesprochen worden sein (Koch 1846: 216).

Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts kam es an der Ostgrenze des Osmanenreiches wiederholt zu ernststen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit dem nach Süden vordringenden Zarenreich, aus denen die Türken am Ende als Verlierer hervorgingen und stets größere Gebietsverluste in Kauf nehmen mussten (*Ahıska* – georgisch *Axalcixe*, Zentrum osmanischer Macht im südlichen Kaukasus, fiel am 28. August 1829⁹). Infolge des Russisch-Türkischen Krieges von 1877 bis 1879 gingen schließlich auch weite Teile der Coruhregion und Kars verloren.

7 Wenn ich diese Namen hier schon heranziehe, sollte ich sie selbstverständlich auch versuchen zu identifizieren, lokalisieren und gegebenenfalls zu etymologisieren. Gerne komme ich dieser Pflicht nach – allerdings nur bis zu einem gewissen Grade. Denn die Etymologisierung erweist sich vielfach als recht komplex, weshalb ich diese historische Komponente, die ohnehin den Umfang eines Festschriftbeitrages überschreiten würde, einer gesonderten Studie überlassen möchte, in der möglichst alle von Koch erwähnten Ortsnamen des Gebietes zu behandeln sein werden. Doch Identifizierung und Lokalisierung können gleich angegangen werden. Hierbei erweisen sich das eingangs in Fußnote 2 erwähnte kleine Toponymenwörterbuch von Taner Artvinli sowie das Provinzjahrbuch, *Artvin İl Yıllığı* (AİY) von 1973 als äußerst hilfreich und zuverlässig. Hier nun die Namen in ihrer dort verzeichneten Form: *İşhalbur*; *Sırya*; *Orcuk*; *Melo (kalesi)*; *Cilcim*; *Homhal*; *Körta*; *Uşhum*; *Pit*; *Zor*; *Oker*; *Ahot*; *Öğdem*; –?– sowie *Nigzivan*; *Lusuncur*; *Danalet*; *Zoybar*; *Şadut* und *Pert-Ekrek*. Weitere Informationen bietet der spezielle Anhang am Ende dieses Beitrags.

8 Für manche Ortsnamen dieses Gebietes ist es selbst nicht auszuschließen, dass sie noch viel weiter zurückgehen, etwa auf Urartäer oder Kolcher, was im Einzelfalle natürlich untersucht und nachgewiesen werden müsste.

9 Malerisch festgehalten ist der Sturm auf die Stadt von January Suchodolski, einem polnischen Maler und Offizier. Sein Gemälde befindet sich heute in Sankt Petersburg im *Military Historical Museum of Artillery, Engineer and Signal Corps*. Siehe de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Achalziche; 19.02.2016.



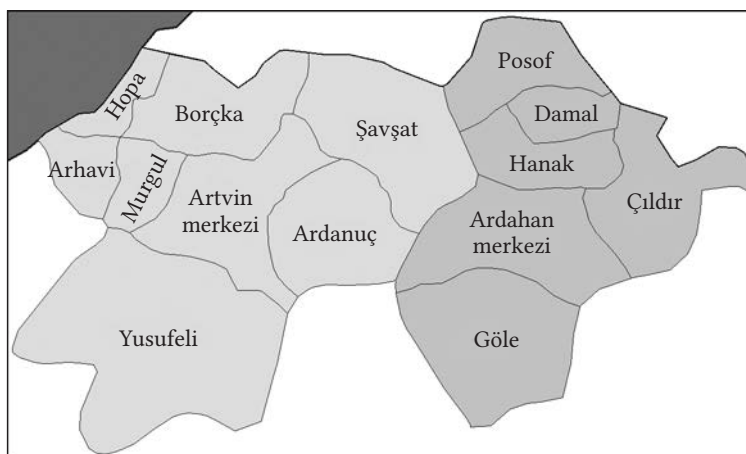
Zeitgenössische Darstellung des russischen Angriffs auf die Festung von Ardahan am 5. Mai 1877 des russischen Malers Aleksej Danilovič Kivšenko¹⁰

Auf diese Weise entstand das russische Gouvernement Kars. Der Raum Artvin hingegen (einschl. Borçka, Şavşat, Ardanuç etc.) wurde dem Gouvernement Batumi einverleibt. Erst 43 Jahre später, am 13. Oktober 1921 kam der Großteil Tao-Klardschetiens aufgrund der Vereinbarungen zwischen Sowjetrussland und der Türkei – festgehalten im Vertrag von Kars – offiziell wieder unter türkische Herrschaft.¹¹

Heute sind wir bei Ortsbezeichnungen eher daran gewöhnt, dass nur größere und wichtigere Lokalitäten namentlich bestimmt sind, während im freien Land, d. h. in der Flur, oft nicht wirklich unterschieden wird. Die lokale Mikrotoponymie lehrt uns aber, dass dies keineswegs immer so war. Jede erdenkliche Stelle konnte und kann einen ganz spezifischen Namen haben, hinter dem sich wieder ganz unterschiedliche Motive oder Motivationen der Benennung verbergen können. Um diesen auf die Spur zu kommen, ist es vielfach unabdinglich, die entsprechenden

10 ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Взятие_Арданага#/media/File:Ardagan_Kivshenko.jpg und en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksey_Kivshenko; 19.02.2016.

11 Siehe de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vertrag_von_Kars; 17.02.2016. Eine Gesamtdarstellung der militärischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Russen und Türken (1828–1921) im Kaukasus bietet – als „Klassiker“ zu diesem Themenkomplex – die sehr ausführliche Monographie *Caucasian Battlefields* von David Allen und Paul Muratoff (1953).



Das Zielgebiet und seine administrative Einteilung

Orte aufzusuchen und im Hinblick auf den Sinn ihres Namens hin zu inspizieren. Dieses hier in nur einem schlichten Satz geäußerte Desideratum in die Wirklichkeit umzusetzen, ist allerdings recht schwierig und mehr noch zeitaufwendig angesichts der Größe und räumlichen Tiefe des Zielgebietes sowie natürlich der mir als Einzelperson dabei zu Verfügung stehenden Möglichkeiten. Also beginnen wir mit dem, was an sich deutlich ist und somit ohne großen technischen und zeitlichen Aufwand in adäquater Form abgehandelt werden kann.

Immer wieder wirft man der Türkei vor, sie habe die fremden Namen im Zuge nationalistischer Interessen ganz bewusst und gezielt ausgemerzt. Auch wenn dem erwiesenermaßen so ist, haben wir es mit einem Phänomen zu tun, das sich seit ältester Zeit durch die Geschichte hin beobachten lässt. Denn mit neuen oder veränderten Rahmenbedingungen, die etwa staatliche Ordnungen oder Ideologien mit sich bringen, können auch Ortsnamen Ziel von bewusster Veränderung werden – man denke hier auch an den nach-osmanischen Balkan oder an die „Georgifizierung“ Abchasiens vor dessen Abspaltung. Zweck derartiger Maßnahmen ist es, das Andersartige und Unerwünschte – also jedwede fremde Identität auf eigenem Boden – ein für alle Mal auszuradieren und allem den eigenen Stempel aufzudrücken. Vielleicht mehr noch als in anderen Staaten unterliegt dieser Prozess in der Türkei einer ganz bewusst und zielstrebig vorangetrieben, ideologisch-staatlich lancierten Politik. Hartwig Scheinhardt beispielsweise schreibt hierzu:

Wenn in den Balkanstaaten viele türkische Ortsnamen ausgelöscht und durch andere ersetzt worden sind, so wurden umgekehrt auch in der Türkei viele Tausende von griechischen, arabischen, persischen, kurdischen, armenischen, slawischen und sogar türkischen Toponymen ‚türkifiziert‘. Es gab mehrere Perioden der Umbenennungskampagne seit der Gründung der Türkischen Republik, jedoch leistete die gründlichste Arbeit in dieser Hinsicht eine von mehreren staatlichen Stellen gebildete Kommission in der Zeit von 1957 bis 1970. Angeblich wurden sämtliche 78.430 Toponyme in der Türkei überprüft und davon mehr als ein Drittel, nämlich 28.211, in türkeitürkische Ortsnamen bzw. Toponyme umbenannt. (Scheinhardt 1979: 63).

Auch Taner Artvinli (2013: 18) geht auf diese Politik der Türkifizierung ein und präsentiert eine kleine Karte der Türkei, welche die von dieser Maßnahme betroffenen Orte zeigt. Betroffen sind fast ausschließlich Orte kleiner als Kreisstädte (*İlçe Merkezleri*). Somit haben Artvin und seine Landkreise (Arhavi, Hopa, Murgul,¹² Borçka, Ardanuç, Şavşat und Yusufeli¹³) ihre angestammten Namen behalten. Da die Ortsnamen-Türkifizierung nicht Gegenstand meiner Untersuchung ist, möchte ich sie nur insoweit verfolgen, wie es für meine Belange relevant ist.

Neue Ortsnamen entstehen auf ganz vielfältige Weise, z. B. weil der alte in Vergessenheit geraten ist oder sich einfach irgendwie überlebt hatte. So kann ein Ort, der in alter Zeit einmal einen prächtigen Palast mit einem stolzen Namen beherbergte, später einen Namen tragen, der lediglich an die Tatsache erinnert, dass es hier einmal ein derartiges Bauwerk gab. Dies könnte unter Umständen der Fall sein bei **Nadarbazev**, dem Namen einer Weidefläche beim Dorf Hanlı im Landkreis Şavşat (Artvinli 2013: 197a).¹⁴ Zumindest suggeriert dies das dem Toponym

12 Murgul wurde 1964 zunächst in Göktaş umbenannt und gehörte damals als *bucak* zum Landkreis von Borçka. 1987 wurde es jedoch eigenständiger Landkreis (*İlçe*) und erhielt seinen vormaligen Namen zurück (siehe Artvinli 2013: 195).

13 Yusufelis administrative Vergangenheit ist eine recht bewegte. Zunächst war sein Gebiet unter dem Namen *Kiskim* (siehe Artvinli 2013: 161–162) an Erzurum angeschlossen. 1914 wurde es angeblich zu Ehren von Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi, dem Sohn von Sultan Abdülaziz, in Yusufeli umbenannt. 1926 kam es zu Artvin, 1933 zurück zu Erzurum und 1936 wiederum zu Artvin (Artvinli 2013: 272–273). Obgleich *Kiskim* der ältere Name ist, kann man die noch in osmanischer Zeit erfolgte Umbenennung nicht direkt in eine Reihe stellen mit den republikanischen Umbenennungskampagnen.

14 Auch Osman İlker (1989: 113) erwähnt dieses Toponym in seiner Beschreibung von Yukarı Maden (Landkreis Artvin). Ganz klar falsch ist jedoch dessen Interpretation als *düşük, çukur yer* ‘Niederung, Vertiefung, Mulde’ (İlker 1992: 326a).

zugrunde liegende GEORGISCHE *na-darbaz-ev-i* ‘Stelle, wo einst ein Palast war’ (Tschenkéli 903b). Aus formaler Sicht haben wir es hier mit einer *na—ev*-Ableitung¹⁵ von GEORGISCH *darbaz-i* ‘königlicher Hof, Palast’ (Tschenkéli 255a)¹⁶ zu tun, die als solche recht häufig als Ortsname attestiert ist.¹⁷ Unklar bleibt allerdings, ob es an diesen Stellen tatsächlich jeweils einen ‘Palast’ gab, oder was sonst Motivation für diese Benennung gewesen sein könnte. So verhält es sich auch mit unserer Weidefläche bei Hanlı, zu der mir leider keine weiteren Angaben zur Verfügung stehen. Gleiches gilt auch für Osman İlkers *Nadarbazev* und für *Nadarbaznevi* ‘Örtlichkeit bei Uğur Köyü (Borçka)’ (Artvinli 2013: 197a).¹⁸ Klar dagegen ist, dass wir in GEORGISCH *darbaz-i* kein genuin kartwelisches Lexem, sondern ein Lehnwort aus mittelpersischer Zeit vor uns haben, vgl. PAHLAVI (dlp’s) *darbās* ‘Palast’ (MacKenzie 1986: 24; Delshad 2009: 140–141). Literarisch vertreten ist *darbazi* im Georgischen ab dem 11. Jahrhundert in Werken wie zum Beispiel *Mamata cxovreba* (siehe Abulaze 1973: 120b), *Kartlis cxovreba*, *Rusudaniani*, *Visramiani*, *Švidi Mtiebi*: *Baramguriani* und natürlich im georgischen Nationalepos *Vepxis tqaosani* (Der Recke im Pantherfell). Orbeliani (1: 198a) beschreibt *darbaz-i* als (*samepo didi saxli*) ‘königliches, großes Haus’.

Ferner ist in diesem Kontext *Darabız* ‘Dorfviertel von Altıparmak Köyü (Yusufeli)’ zu behandeln, das 1987 umbenannt wurde und fortan Yazılı heißt (Artvinli 2013: 104b). Taner Artvinli verbindet den alten Namen unmittelbar mit ARMENISCH (*tarbs* ‘saray’ sic! =) *darapas* ~ *darepas*, *darpas* ‘Palast, königliches Haus, Hof’, welches im Dialekt von Axalc‘xa (= Axalcixe in Georgien) die Form *d‘ərbāzā* hat (Ačaryan 1: 634–635). Aufgrund des Belegortes (Yusufeli) sowie der Wortstruktur nach ist diese Verbindung sicher nicht auszuschließen. Das umfangreiche armenische Ortsnamenwörterbuch (HHŠTB 2: 48–49) nennt ein Dorf

15 Das Zirkumfix GEORGISCH *na—ev-* weist zumeist auf etwas ehemaliges, früheres, vorangegangenes hin, so beispielsweise auch in *na-abano-ev-i* ‘Stelle, wo einst eine Badeanstalt oder ein Badeort war’, *na-amxanag-ev-i* ‘ehemaliger Kamerad’, *na-aydom-ev-i* ‘die Zeit nach Ostern’, *na-kalak-ev-i* ‘ehemalige Stadtsiedlung, Überreste einer Stadt’ etc. (siehe Tschenkéli 900f; Fähnrich 1986: 43; Žorbenaze et al. 1988: 315–316).

16 Neben dieser historischen Bedeutung bezeichnet *darbazi* vor allem ‘Saal, Empfangszimmer, Aula’ (Tschenkéli 900f).

17 KSE beispielsweise verzeichnet vier Dörfer mit dem Namen *Nadarbazevi* sowie *Nadarbazevis sasaxle*, *Nadarbazevis tba* und das Dorf *Nadarbazi* (KSE 7: 284–285).

18 Letztere Namensform enthält zusätzlich noch ein Element *-n*, das möglicherweise den alten *-n-i*-Plural widerspiegelt: *darbaz-n-i* ‘Paläste’ → *na-darbaz-n-ev-i*.

Darbaz/s bei Elisabethpol (heute Gəncə in Azerbaidshan) sowie Darabasli in Karabagh und einen Wasserlauf Darabasç‘ay.

Ein weiteres Toponym dieser Art ist *Eküter ~ Eküter*, welches bei Osman İlker (1992: 325b) als „Asılan bir şey“, d. h. ‘etwas Aufgehängtes/Herabhängendes’ interpretiert wird. In Wirklichkeit verbirgt sich hinter diesem Namen jedoch GEORGISCH *eküter-i* (~ *ekuder-i*, *egvter-i*) ‘Kapelle, Familiengruft’ (Tschenkeli 333b), welches seinen gut christlichen Hintergrund und vor allem seine Herkunft von GRIECHISCH *ἐκκλήριον* ‘house of prayer, oratory, chapel’ (Lampe 1961: 566b) in keiner Weise verleugnen kann (← *ἐῤχομαι* ‘verkünden’ etc.; s. Beekes 2010: 485).¹⁹ Aus Orbelianis Wörterbuch ergibt sich folgendes Variantenset: *ekvdari*, *ekvderi*, *ekudari*, *eküter-i*, *ekvter-i* (*mcire samçirvalo*) ‘kleine Kapelle’ (Orbeliani 1: 233–234). Und aus dem älteren Georgischen sind *eküter-i*, *egüter-i* und *egwip̄ter-i* ‘Bethaus, kleine Kirche, Kapelle’ bezeugt (Sardshweladse, Fährnrich 2005: 423).

Eküter Tepesi ist der alte Name von *Evliya (Tepesi)*, der ‘Heiligenspitze’.²⁰ Osman İlker erwähnt diese an verschiedenen Stellen in seinem Buch (İlker 1992: 81a, 83b, 288–289, 528, 698). Danach zählt sie zu *Dört Kardeş Evliyaları*, den ‘Vier-Brüder-Heiligen’, wie die vier höchsten Berge der Region genannt werden. Hier alle vier auf einen Blick: 1. *Soğukponğar‘ın Türbeli Evliya Tepesi* ‘Heiligenspitze von *Soğukpınar*,²¹ mit Mausoleum’, 2. *Ziyaret Tepesi* ‘Wallfahrtsspitze’, 3. *Eküter (Dağı) Tepesi* – von der Bevölkerung auch einfach nur *Evliya* ‘Heiliger’ genannt und 4. *Evliya* oder *Ziyaret Tepesi* ‘Heiligen-’ oder ‘Wallfahrtsspitze’. Man glaubt, dass auf jedem dieser Berge ein Heiliger begraben sei. Darum besucht man sie, betet, bringt Opfer etc., um den Beistand und die Hilfe des Heiligen zu erbitten. Nur auf dem *Soğukponğar* befindet sich ein Bauwerk, welches vom Volk als *türbe*, d. h. Mausoleum, betrachtet wird. Osman İlker hingegen nimmt an, dass es ursprünglich ein Wachturm (*gözletme kulesi*) war, worauf die an allen vier Seiten vorhandenen Ausgucklöcher (*baş sığacak kadar gözletme pencereleri*) hinweisen (İlker 1992: 288–289). Interessant wäre es sicher, in Erfahrung bringen zu können, ob nicht schon in georgischer Zeit hier eine Heiligenverehrung stattgefunden hat, und überhaupt welche Bedeutung den vier Bergen in christlichen Tagen zukam. Was immer der Name *Eküter* suggerieren mag, über Spuren einer Kapelle

19 Zur Entwicklung *ἐκκλήριον* > **eküter-i* > *eküter-i* siehe Deeters (1937: 271).

20 Vgl. dazu *ἐκκλήριον* in der speziellen Bedeutung ‘chapels or churches dedicated to saints’ (Lampe 1961: 566b).

21 *Soğukponğar* = *Soğukpınar* ‘Die kalte Quelle’; zur dialektalen Form *ponğar* ‘Quelle’ siehe İlker (1992: 325a).

oder sonstiger baulicher Reste auf *Eküter Tepesi* ist nichts bekannt. Aus der mir vorliegenden historischen Literatur kann ich ebenfalls keine Hinweise darauf entnehmen. Somit bleibt auch in diesem Falle der geschichtliche Hintergrund des Ortes sowie das Zustandekommen seines Namens vorläufig verborgen.

Taner Artvinli (2013: 113b) verzeichnet noch einen zum Dorf Günyayla (Yusufeli) gehörenden Weiler namens *Eküter*, der seit 2003 in Yılmaz umbenannt ist (siehe a. KAS 349a). Hierbei handelt es sich im Prinzip um dieselbe Lokalität, denn *Eküter Tepesi* liegt unmittelbar an der Grenze zwischen den Landkreisen Artvin und Yusufeli, wobei der Weiler ebenso wie Günyayla letzterem zugehören.



Petnos Yaylası Göleti, Vaşnikora Gediği, Ekuter Dağı (İlker 1992: 136f, Abb. 4)²²

♦ *Sasven*, bei Osman İlker (1992: 326a) umschrieben als „Su içilen yer“, d. h. ‘Stelle, an der man Wasser trinkt’. Diese Erklärung mag faktisch zwar stimmen, ausgehend vom hier zugrunde liegenden Lexem GEORGISCH *sa-sven-i* ‘zum Ausruhen

22 Osman İlker hat in seinen Beschreibungen von Aşağı und Yukarı Maden (1992 bzw. 1989) ohne jeden Zweifel wertvolle Informationen festgehalten. Leider sind die Werke aber bisweilen in einem Stil gehalten, der nur Einheimischen in vollem Umfange verständlich ist, die mit den geographischen Gegebenheiten ihrer Heimat vertraut sind. Da ich nicht zu diesem Kreis gehöre und die Gegend von Maden auch nie besucht habe, kann ich die Bildunterschrift nur aufgrund einer Karte von Yukarı Maden (in İlker 1989: 40f) entschlüsseln. Demnach wäre der Berg rechts Eküter (2594 m) und der links Büyük Dağ (2835 m). Zwischen beiden ist der Vaşnikora-Pass und im Vordergrund die Petnos-Alm.

dienend, erholsam' ist sie aber nicht zutreffend; vgl. ferner noch *sa-sven-eb-el-i* 'Ruheplatz'. Beide sind Nominalableitungen vom Verbum *sven-* 'sich ausruhen' (Tschenkéli 1164, 1217). Zur Rettung der von İlker angeführten Interpretation könnte man bestenfalls eine Verwechslung bzw. Überschneidung von *sven-* mit dem lautlich recht ähnlichen *sv-am-* 'trinken' (Tschenkéli 1213b) geltend machen. Beide Verben haben jedenfalls einen kartwelischen Hintergrund und sind bereits im Altgeorgischen attestiert (siehe Klimov 1998: 179; Fähnrich 2007: 380–381). Wo sich **Sasven** genau befindet und was es ist, bleibt offen. Osman İlker nennt es nur in der Liste regionaler Ortsnamen mit Erklärungen, die ihm Sprecher des Georgischen aus Binat (Dokuzoğul Köyü) gegeben haben.

Auch Nikolaj Marr erwähnt diesen Namen in seiner Reisebeschreibung von Schwachsetien zweimal, wobei es sich allem Anschein nach um zwei verschiedene Orte handelt. Der eine liegt irgendwo in der Nähe von *Kappariya* (*Kan(n)ap̄ia*),²³ der andere, ist 'ein ärmliches Quellchen vor einem Abhang' bei **Opičala** (*Gökçe* im Landkreis Ardanuç)²⁴ (Marr 1911: 158, 167; Artvinli 2013: 208a).

Weiterhin ist **Sasveni** der Name einer Stelle auf der *Lekoban*-Alm (Kayalar Köyü, Borçka; siehe Artvinli 2013: 232a), bei dem noch die georgische Nomina-tivendung (-i) erhalten ist.

23 = Kaparya, Name eines Viertels von Sakalar Köyü im Landkreis Artvin (Artvinli 2013: 152a).

24 In Marrs kyrillischer Umschrift präsentiert sich dieses Toponym in der Form *опиc-ч'ала* = *ოპისჭალა* (*opisčala*), in der das Dorf auch in zwei Statistiken von 1886 bzw. 1908 erwähnt ist, aus denen u. a. hervorgeht, dass seine Einwohner in jenen Tagen vorwiegend christliche Georgier waren (siehe iberianaz.wordpress.com/georgia/inga-ghutidze-2/; 11.03.2016).

Formal ist der Name ein Kompositum mit GEORGISCH *čala* 'Aue, Wäldchen' (Tschenkéli 2228b), 'fruchtbarer bzw. bewaldeter Rand eines Gewässers' (Orbeliani 2: 397) als zweiter Komponente. Hieran anzuschließen sind Ortsnamen wie *Čala*, *Čalat* und wohl auch *Calat* (siehe Artvinli 2013: 89–90, 82b). Die erste Komponente, die im Genitiv (-is) steht, gibt aber Rätsel auf, da sich ein entsprechendes Lexem **op-i* bzw. **opa*, **ope* im Georgischen nicht nachweisen lässt. Lediglich das lautlich sehr ähnliche *op-i* 'Populus nigra L., Schwarzpappel' (Mačašvili 1961: 56b) böte sich an. So ließe sich der Name als 'Schwarzpappel-Auenwäldchen' deuten, was faktisch auch hinkäme, denn Pappeln sind häufige Begleiter der Wasserläufe unseres Zielgebiets. Osman Ünsal (1999: 47) bestätigt darüberhinaus, dass es sich um die Art *Populus nigra* (TÜRKISCH *Karakavak*) handelt. So überzeugend all dies auch klingt, ein zwingender Beweis für die Richtigkeit meiner Interpretation ist es noch nicht. In *Von Baumnamen gebildete georgische Siedlungsnamen* führt Heinz Fähnrich (2010) keine von Pappelnamen gebildete Toponyme auf.

♦ **Avazan** (*Su içilen yer, Su kürünü yeri* ‘Stelle, an der man Wasser trinkt; Wassertränke’) ist der Name eines kleinen Weilers (*mezra*) oberhalb der Baumgrenze im Einzugsgebiet von Aşağı Maden (Landkreis Artvin), die über reichlich Trinkwasser von guter Qualität verfügt (İlker 1992: 123). Dieses Toponym ist im Gebiet von Artvin überaus verbreitet. Taner Artvinli (2013: 67) führt noch sieben weitere Orte dieses Namens sowie **Avazant**²⁵ ‘Stelle im Dorf Tütüncüler (Landkreis Artvin)’ und **Avazanati** ‘Weide in Meydancık (Şavşat)’ auf. Letzteres ist eine -at-i/-et-i-Ableitung, wie sie uns z. B. auch in der Toponymie Atschariens begegnet (*Avazanati*; Nisharadse 1986: 29a).²⁶ Nikolaj Marr (1911: 157, 167) schließlich verzeichnet einen Berg im Raum Berta/Opiza namens *Avazanet*.

Aus etymologischer Sicht verkörpert dieser Toponymkomplex GEORGISCH (imerxevisch, atscharisch, mesxisch) *avazan-i* ‘großer, länglicher Trog unter einer Quelle, in dem sich das Wasser für das Vieh sammelt’ (Ylonți 1984: 24a; Nižaraze 1971: 8of), das ursprünglich aber aus dem Iranischen stammt und bereits an mehreren Stellen im Altgeorgischen mit Bedeutungen wie ‘Kupferkessel, Kochkessel; Bassin; Taufbecken; See’ etc. (Abulaže 1973: 2b; Sardshweladse, Fähnrich 2005: 10b) bestens bezeugt ist; ferner vgl. Orbeliani (I: 40a): *çqlis sadguri* ‘Wasserstelle’. Im modernen Georgisch bezeichnet *avazan-i* auch ein ‘Destilliergefäß’ und das vermutlich jüngere *abazana* eine ‘Wanne’ bzw. das ‘Bad’ (Tschenkéli 5b; 1a); Orbeliani (I: 37a): *saabanoe tašti mazmaroti* ‘Bade-
wanne, Badebecken’.

Außer im Georgischen ist dieses Wort auch im Armenischen gebräuchlich, wo es gleichfalls höheren Alters ist – (klassisch) *awazan* ‘Wasserbehälter, Teich, Badewanne, Taufbecken’ (Ačaryan 1: 352) – und auch als Toponym verwendet wird (siehe HHŠTB 1: 355). Wie beider präziser Lehnweg verlief – ob direkt vom Iranischen bzw. über Vermittlung von SYRISCH *āwzān-ā* –, ist ebenso wie die Beurteilung des iranischen Etymons letztlich nicht ganz klar. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrages ist es leider nicht möglich, hierauf einzugehen, weshalb ich auf die Angaben bei Ciancaglini (2008: 102) und Martirosyan (2010: 149–150) sowie Andronikašvili (1966: 218) verweise. Das Persische kennt:

25 In der georgischen Toponymie kommen eine Reihe von Suffixen vor, als deren Grundlage das Suffix -t(a) (Casus obliquus zum alten -n-i-Plural) gilt; neben -t sind dies -ta und -ti (siehe dazu Nisharadse 1986: 29a).

26 Das Element -at in geographischen Namen, welches regelmäßig grg. -et entspricht, ist nach Nisharadse (1986: 29a) ein Zanismus, der gerade in Westgeorgien zu beobachten ist.

- a) *ābzan* ‘a particular kind of bathing-vessel of copper or iron, the full length of the human body, filled with warm water medicinally prepared, in which the patient sits or lies down; the basin of a fountain’ (Steingass 1957: 8a),²⁷ welches in einer Reihe steht mit PAHLAVI (‘pzn’) *ābzan* ‘Bad’ (MacKenzie 1986: 4);
- b) *ābdān* ‘A vessel for holding water; a cistern, or any reservoir of water, as a lake, ditch, or bath; the urine-bladder; a melon, a cucumber, as being full of juice’ und *ābdan* ‘A pond, lake, conflux of water; a drinking-vessel; a cucumber, a water-melon’ (Steingass 1957: 6a), die sich an PAHLAVI (‘pd’n’) *ābdān* ‘water-holder’ (MacKenzie 1986: 3) anschließen; vgl. dazu noch KURDISCH *āvdān* ‘Bewässerung, Begießen’, *āvdānk* ‘Kübel, Tonkrug, Eimer’ (KR 1960: 52–53; Omar 1992: 16b). Letztere Serie ist mittels der Endung *-dān* (‘Behälter für...’) unmittelbar von *āb/āv* ‘Wasser’ gebildet.

Im Kontext mit Nordost-Anatolien und *avazan* ist weiterhin das für die türkische Mundart einiger Dörfer von Çayeli (Rize) bezeugte *avzon* ‘Tränke, Wassertrog’ (DS 397a) von Interesse. Ausgehend von der Rundung des *a* (> *o*) vor Nasal kommen eigentlich nur zwei Sprachen als dessen Spender in Betracht, das Lazische und das Armenische von Hemşin, aus denen mir allerdings kein direkter Beleg vorliegt. Die Form *ağzan* ‘aus einem Baumstamm ausgehöhlte Wassertränke’, ebenfalls belegt aus Çayeli (vormals Mapavri) sowie noch aus Dörfern im Landkreis Hemşin (DS 81b, sub *ağar* I), deutet jedoch auf die (einstige) Existenz dieses Terminus – zumindest in einer dieser Sprachen – hin.²⁸ Ansonsten lassen sich im türkischen Dialektmaterial keine Spuren für Formen wie *avazan/abazan* bzw. *avzan/abdan* finden. Lediglich für die Mundart von Darende (Malatya) teilt Açaryan (1: 352) die Phrase *avazana gidelim* ‘lass uns zur Tränke gehen’ mit, in der *avazan* ganz klar dem regionalen Armenischen zuzuschreiben ist.

♦ **Pikallık**, Name eines Wäldchens des Weilers (*mezra*) Conat beim Dorf Yolağzı (früher Kontron), das verwaltungstechnisch zu Aşağı Irmaklar (früher Sam(i)skar) im Landkreis Ardanuç gehört (Ünsal 1999: 57, 63; AİY 1973: 65b). Formal haben wir hier eine türkische *-lik*-Ableitung von GEORGISCH *pikal-i* (*pikl-isa*) ‘Gesteins-schicht; Steinplatte’ (KEGL 7: 121; Tschenkéli 1477b) vor uns. Der bislang erste

27 > ARABISCH *ābzan* ‘Waschbecken’ (Asbaghi 1988: 3).

28 Zur Rundung bzw. Nicht-Rundung von *a* (> *o*) vor Nasal innerhalb des Sprachareals des Hemşinarmerischen siehe Bläsing (2003: 9–12). Bei *ağzan* dagegen ist ein Übergang von *v* > *ğ* zu sehen, für den es im weder Armenischen noch Lazischen Anhaltspunkte gibt.

Beleg dieses Terminus stammt aus einer Handschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts,²⁹ wo es heißt: *ševkribe pikl-eb-i da kvebi da davbure igi* ‘Ich sammelte Steinplatten und Steine und deckte es ab’ (Abulašv 1973: 445b; Sardshweladze, Fähnrich 2005: 1258a). Sulxan Saba Orbeliani (2: 223a) bemerkt: *pikali ars kvis picari* ‘Pikal ist eine Platte von Stein’. Als Toponym kommt *Pikali* u. a. als Name einer Ortschaft im Rayon Abaši vor. Im Raum Artvin ist das Wort insbesondere in Ableitungen vertreten wie (siehe Artvinli 2013: 218–219): **Pikalat** (zu *-at-i* siehe Fußnote 26), **Pikallar** (türkischer Plural), **Pikalp** (.p < Plural *-eb*), **Pikalt**, **Pikalti** (zu *-t*, *-ti* siehe Fußnote 25) und **Pikaltav** (ebenfalls *-t + -av* ?; Nisharadse 1986: 29a).

Außer als Toponym dient *pikal* auch als Bezeichnung ‘flacher, breiter Steine bzw. Steinplatten’ (Polat 2000: 161), auf denen man über einem Feuer vor allem Teigwaren wie *lavaş* und *yufka* backt, aber auch sonstiges Essen zubereitet.



Pikal für die Essenzubereitung

Besonders bekannt für *pikal taş* ist die Ortschaft Oğdar, das heutige Günyayla im Landkreis Yusufeli (siehe weiter oben bei *Eküter*).³⁰ Selbst kenne ich von meinen Reisen in Tao-Klardschetien diese platten Steine in etwas kleinerer Form, in der sie beim Picknick – ähnlich wie *sal taş* in Hemşin (siehe Bläsing 1992: 20–21) – zum Braten von Fleisch gebraucht werden können. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Art von Schiefer.³¹ Ob ihrer Flachheit werden die steinernen Platten auch sonst z. B. als Abdeckung von Behältnissen oder als Dachbedeckung verwendet.

♦ **Satapli(y)a** ist der alte Name des Dorfes Otluca im Landkreis Şavşat (KAS 2005: 1016a; Artvinli 2013: 232b). Formal handelt es sich um GEORGISCH *sa-tapl-ia*, eine Ableitung von *tapl-i* ‘Honig’; vgl. ferner *sa-tapl-e* ‘Honig-’ (Tschenkéli 1123a, 467a). Letzteres tritt im Osten Georgiens, in Kachetien ebenfalls als Dorf-name auf.³²

29 Handschriftensammlung H-341 38 des Handschrifteninstituts K. Keçelize.

30 Siehe „Köyümüzü Tanıyalım“ Pikal www.gunyayla.gen.tr/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=120 und burakayaro8.blogspot.nl/2012/05/tastaki-saglk.html; 25.03.2016. Von diesen websites stammen auch die beiden Fotos.

31 Siehe ka.wikipedia.org/wiki/ფიქალი; 25.03.2016.

32 Siehe ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Сатапли; 29.02.2016. Auch hier hat eine Umbenennung (Georgifizierung) stattgefunden, denn bis 2012 trug das Dorf den russischen Namen Krasnogórsk.

„Honighaltig“ ist ein beliebtes Motiv in der georgischen Toponymie. Neben Siedlungen, Waldstücken, landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen, Bergen etc. trägt auch einer der bekanntesten Naturparks von Georgien diesen Namen.

Das Naturschutzgebiet Sataplia ist eine der Attraktionen der imeretischen Hauptstadt. Der Naturpark erstreckt sich auf einer Fläche von 354 Hektar über die Hänge eines erloschenen Vulkans, des knapp über 500 Meter hohen Sataplia-Berges. Sataplia bedeutet so viel wie der Honigsüße, was sich wahrscheinlich auf die wilden Bienenvölker bezieht. Eine Wanderung durch den natürlich gewachsenen Wald bietet eine einzigartige Gelegenheit, in die Fauna und Flora einer Welt zu wechseln. Nirgends sonst finden sich wie in Sataplia auf engstem Raume seltene Vertreter einer subalpinen Flora neben wärmeliebenden subtropischen Pflanzen.

Seinen Ausbau zum Naturschutzgebiet verdankt Sataplia zwei Funden des Hobbyforschers P. Tschabukiani. Er war auf der Suche nach den Spuren von Urmenschen 1925 im Waldmassiv von Sataplia und fand ein System von Karsthöhlen und seltsame Fußabdrücke. 1934 wurde Sataplia unter staatlichen Schutz gestellt. Die Karsthöhlen sind für Touristen seit 1978 bequem zugänglich. Sie begeistern mit ihren Raumeindrücken durch die Stalagmiten und Stalagtiten. Man durchquert die Höhlen entlang eines unterirdischen Flusses, der am Südhang des Sataplia aus dem Berg austritt. Entlang dieses Hanges schlängelt sich ein Weg, von dem sich ein herrlicher Blick über die Kolchische Tiefebene bis hin zu den westlichen Ausläufern des Kleinen Kaukasus bietet.

Nach einigen hundert Metern gelangt man zur zweiten Entdeckung P. Tschabukianis. Vor Millionen Jahren war die Rioni-Niederung eine Meeresbucht, an deren Ufer sich allerlei Getier tummelte, zu dem auch Dinosaurier gehörten. Ihre Fußspuren fand der Hobbyforscher in einer lehmhaltigen Mergelschicht. Augenscheinlich waren hier Familien entlangflaniert, die einen – fleischfressende Räuber – vor 120 Mio. Jahren, die anderen – Vegetarier – 60 Mio. Jahre später. (www.georgienseite.de/startseite/staedte-regionen/kutaissi/der-naturpark-sataplia/; 05.03.2016)³³

Also gleich auf nach Sataplia...! Zuvor machen wir allerdings noch eine Stippvisite in Şavşat bei der ‘Honig-Quelle’ *Taplıçkaro* (Artvinli 2013: 251b), aus der zwar kein Honig sondern Wasser fließt, das aufgrund seiner Feinheit und Güte mit Honig gleichgesetzt wird: < *taplı* ‘Honig’ + *çkaro* ‘Quelle’ (Tschenkéli 467a, 2211b). Und wenn wir schon in der Welt des Honigs sind, ist es nur ein kleiner Schritt von *taplı* zu *taplı-a* ‘honigfarben, honiggelb’ (Tschenkéli 467a), das sehr wahrscheinlich

33 Siehe auch KSE (8: 656–657).

Tapla, dem alten Namen des Viertels Düzköy in Borçka (Artvinli 2013: 251b), zugrunde liegt.³⁴

Guten Honig und honighaltige Toponyme gibt es aber nicht nur in Georgien sondern im Kaukasus schlechthin sowie natürlich auch in Anatolien. Im Türkischen etwa ist es in der Hauptsache *ballı* ‘honighaltig, mit Honig versehen’, das als Ortsname fungiert. *Ballıköy/Ballı (Köyü)* gibt es z. B. in İkizdere (Rize),³⁵ Niğde,³⁶ Hizan (Bitlis),³⁷ Kâhta (Adıyaman).³⁸ Die Liste ließe sich noch erweitern.³⁹ In vielen, wenn nicht sogar in den meisten Fällen ist Ballı jedoch Umbenennungsname (wie bei Giran und Hut/Hüt; siehe Fußnote 37 und 38). Auch in unserem Zielgebiet gibt es ein solches Ballı in Ardanuç, das früher Gülice hieß (AİY 1973: 65b).

♦ **Satibe** ist eine Alm im Landkreis Yusufeli, die dem Dorf Taşkiran (früher Zığapor) gehört (KAS 1016a). Hinter diesem Terminus verbirgt sich eine Ableitung (*sa—e*) von der Wurzel GEORGISCH *tib-* (~ *tiv-*) ‘mähen’, wie sie ganz ähnlich vorliegt in *sa-tib-i* ‘Mäh-, Heuwiese’ oder *sa-tiv-e* ‘Heuschober, Heuwiese’; vgl. *tib-a* (gurisch) ~ *tiv-a* ‘Heu’ (Tschenkéli 489a, 1124; KEGL 4: 451f, 6: 612f). Weitere Hinweise auf diesen Namen im Raum Artvin findet man bei Nikolaj Marr (1911: 137, 141–142), der den Bergnamen **Satib(o)** (*Cam’uḡo ~ Cam’uḡḡ*) belegt, und bei Taner Artvinli (2013: 232–233), der neben drei Orten namens **Satibe** noch folgende Toponyme nennt: **Satibel** (= *sa-tib-el-i* ‘Sichel’; Tschenkéli 1124a), **Satibet’in Sırtı** (der Bergrücken Satibet; zu *-et* siehe Fußnote 26) und **Satip** (= *sa-tib-i* ‘Mäh-, Heuwiese’; Tschenkéli 1124). Auch in Georgien selbst begegnet man entsprechenden Ortsnamen wie z. B. der Gebirgskette Satibis kedi und dem Dorf Sative in der Munizipalität Chaschuri (ხაშურის; Xaşuri) in Innerkartlien (KSE 8: 659).

Reiche Zeugnisse für *tib-/tiv-* bietet bereits das Altgeorgische (siehe Sardshweladse & Fähnrich 2005: 521b, 990b; Abulaṣe 1973: 180f, 357b), aufgrund von LAZISCH und MEGRELISCH *tip-* lässt sich darüber hinaus GEORGISCH-ZANISCH **tib-* als Urform rekonstruieren (siehe Fähnrich 2007: 195–196; Klimov 1998: 71).

34 Zur Funktion des Suffixes *-a* siehe Fähnrich (1986: 32–33).

35 Siehe tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ballıköy,_İkizdere; 05.03.2016.

36 Siehe tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ballı,_Niğde; 05.03.2016.

37 tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ballı,_Hizan; 05.03.2016. Im Kurdischen heißt dieses Ballı jedoch Giran, ku.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giran; 05.03.2016.

38 tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ballı,_Kahta; 05.03.2016. Der alte Name von Kâhtas Ballı Köyü ist Hüt; siehe www.kahta.gov.tr/default_Bo.aspx?content=1085; 05.03.2016.

39 tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ballıköy,_İkizdere; 05.03.2016.

Ein weiterer Kandidat für diesen Reigen ist **Tibishalo**, der Name einer Stelle bei Bademkaya Köyü (Yusufeli), den Taner Artvinli (2013: 254) – wohl unter dem Eindruck des unmittelbar voranstehenden **Tibet** – als Kompositum bestehend aus GEORGISCH *tba* ‘See’ und *kalo* ‘Tenne, Dreschboden’ (Tschenkéli 1332a, 545b) zu deuten versucht, was von der Semantik her nicht unbedingt sinnvoll erscheint.⁴⁰ Die erste Komponente ist hier viel eher *tiba* ‘Heu’, das als determinierendes Element (*tib-is* = Genitiv) zu *kalo* – dem Kompositum die Bedeutung ‘Heubühne’ verleiht.

♦ **Karçhal** ist in erster Linie der Name einer zerklüfteten Gebirgskette (**Karçhal Dağ(lar)ı**) östlich von Borçka, deren steile, von Gletschern umgebene Gipfel bis zu 3.496 Metern aufragen (KAS 629a; Artvinli 2013: 153b). Damit handelt es sich nach der Kaçkargruppe (3.937 m) südöstlich von Rize um das zweithöchste Gebirge in den Ostpontischen Alpen.

Des Weiteren verzeichnet Taner Artvinli (2013: 153b) noch drei Lokalitäten mit dem Namen **Karçhal**: 1. Dorf von Artvin, welches heute Alabalık Köyü, also



Karçhal Dağları⁴¹

‘Forellendorf’ heißt; 2. Alm des Dorfes Ortaköy, das besser bekannt ist unter seinem früheren Namen Berta; 3. Viertel des zu Şavşat gehörenden Dorfes Madenköy (früher Bazgiret). Schließlich ist da noch **Karçhal Deresi** (AİY 1973: 144b), das forellenreiche Tal, in dem das ‘Forellendorf’ liegt.

Zu verbinden ist dieser Name mit dem allem Anschein nach allein im gurischen und atscharischen Dialekt bezeugten GEORGISCHEN *karçxal-i* ‘Felsen’, *karçxal-i mta* ‘felsiges, kahles

40 Zutreffend ist die Bestimmung von **Tibet** als *t̥b-et-i*, das sich in der Tat von *t̥ba* ‘See, Teich’ herleitet. Das Kloster T̥beti (ᠲᠪᠡᠲᠢ) ist eines der bekanntesten geistigen Zentren georgisch-orthodoxen Schaffens in Tao-Klardschetien. Seine Anfänge gehen auf das frühe 10. Jahrhundert zurück. Heute ist das einstmals imposante Bauwerk eine Ruine. Für weitere Informationen siehe de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tbeti und natürlich Djobadze (1992: 218–231).

41 Quelle: www.karadenizrotam.com/page/show/31-karcchal-dagi.html; 09.02.2016.

Gebirge' (Bleichsteiner 1919: 294a; Ylontı 1984: 274a). Aus den Angaben bei Nižaraže (1971: 222) geht zusätzlich hervor, dass das 'nordwestlich von Şavşat gelegene *Karçhal*-Gebirge in Georgiens Geschichte auch unter der Bezeichnung *Berge von Şavşeti* bekannt ist'. Über die Herkunft des Terminus liegen mir keine Angaben vor. Die Frage, die vor allem zu klären wäre, ist, ob wir es in erster Instanz mit einem ganz spezifischen, unter Umständen sogar alt ererbten, Namen für diese eine Gebirgskette zu tun haben, der übertragen schließlich auch für 'Felsengebirge, Felsen' schlechthin gebraucht werden kann, oder ob es sich nicht genau umgekehrt verhält. Als mögliche Anknüpfungspunkte in Frage kommende Lexeme wie *karçx-i* 'kleine Eiszapfen an Bäumen' oder *karçxa* 'gefällter Baum mit zugeschnittenen Ästen' (Tschenkéli 556a) passen semantisch jedenfalls nicht zu einem Felsengebirge.

Macht man sich in türkischen Quellen auf die Suche nach dem *Karçhal*-Gebirge, welches ja keineswegs unbedeutend ist, findet man überraschenderweise so gut wie keine einschlägigen Informationen. Ein Blick in den Atlas bzw. auf eine Karte der Türkei verrät, warum das so ist. Dort trägt die Gebirgskette nämlich durchweg den Namen *Kaçhal* und gelegentlich *Kaçkal*, *Karçal* etc. Dass es sich um das gleiche Wort handelt, ist evident, wie es jedoch zu seiner Vereinfachung bzw. Entstellung gekommen ist, lässt sich nicht sicher nachvollziehen.⁴² Aufgrund ihrer Konsonantencluster stellen georgische Wörter für Sprecher des Türkischen oft eine ganz besondere Schwierigkeit dar. Soweit solche Termini überhaupt als Lehnwörter vorkommen, sind sie in aller Regel durch Vereinfachungen der Cluster bzw. den Einschub von Vokalen 'mundgerecht' gemacht. Dies könnte auch bei *Kaçhal* der Fall sein. Allerdings stellt die Form *Karçhal* an sich keine Herausforderung dar, die einer Vereinfachung bedarf. Das Cluster *..rçh..* verteilt sich nämlich auf zwei Silben *..rç-h..* und die Sequenz *..rç* am Silbenende ist im Türkischen zwar fremder Natur, doch nicht ungewöhnlich, man denke nur an so alltägliche Termini wie *borç* 'Schuld, Verpflichtung', *harç* 'Gebühr, Abgabe' etc.⁴³

42 Ähnliche Erfahrungen hat Süleyman Havadar gemacht. Im Vorwort seines kleinen, doch sehr erbaulichen Buches *Efsane Karçhal* (2012) schreibt er: „Dağın adı, halk arasında 'Karçhal'dı. 'Karçhal' adına ansiklopedilerde de yer veriliyordu. Adının haritalarda 'Karçhal' yerine 'Karçal' olması, sanki bir harfin eksik yazılmasından ibaretmişçesine duruyor“ [= 'Beim Volk war der Name des Berges 'Karçhal'. Den Namen 'Karçhal' hat man auch in Enzyklopädien verwendet. Dass der Name auf Landkarten 'Karçal' anstatt 'Karçhal' ist, stellt sich so dar, als ob man einen Buchstaben zu wenig geschrieben hätte'].

43 Dazu Tietze (1: 371; 2: 257–258).



Auch zum „Forellendorf“ lassen sich einige Informationen finden – vor allem im Internet sowohl unter Karçhal als auch Kaçhal. Auf diese Weise erfährt man, dass sich auf dem Grundgebiet des Dorfes, bei *Dere Mahalesi* ein altes Kloster (*Karçhal Manastırı*) befindet, das am Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts von dem Mönch Gregor von Chandzta (გრიგოლ ხანძთელი, *Grigol Xanzteli*; 759 – 5 Oktober 861)⁴⁴ gegründet wurde.⁴⁵ Bei diesem Monument handelt es sich ohne jeden Zweifel um *Nuķas Saqđari* (ნუკას საყდარი), ein in steiler Felswand über einem jähem Abgrund imposant thronendes Kirchenbauwerk (siehe hierzu Djobadze 1992: 45–46). Als Nachweis hierfür mögen Fotografien der Kirche dienen, die ich leider nie Gelegenheit hatte, als solche zu sehen. Vergleicht man die 1904 entstandene, im Bildteil von Djobadzės Buch reproduzierte Aufnahme (*Plate 45*)⁴⁶ mit einem neuen

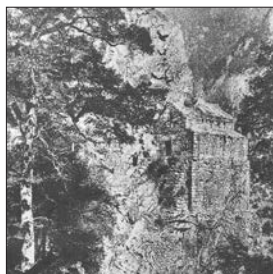
44 Siehe upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/St._Grigol_Khandzteli_%2818th-century_miniature%29.JPG; 22.02.2016.

45 Siehe www.artvinmuhtarlarlarnegı.com/koylerimiz/alabalik/; 14.02.2016: „Alabalık köyünde tarihi bir yapı olan Karçhal Manastırı bulunmaktadır. Bu manastırın Rahip Grigor Kanzda tarafından 8. yy’ın sonunda Bagratlılar Döneminde kurulduğu o döneme ait yazılı kaynaklardan anlaşılmıştır. Tahribatları göz önüne alındığında zamanın iz-

lerini taşıyor olsa da yapı halen ayaktadır. Herhangibir amaç için kullanılmamaktadır. Alabalık Köyü’nin Dere Mahallesi sınırları içerisinde, meskun mahalden uzak, oldukça meyilli bir arazi üzerinde yükselen kaya kütlesi eteğine, mimari beceri ve çabalarla inşa edilen yapı sadece kiliseden ibarettir.“

46 Ursprünglich handelt es sich bei dieser Aufnahme um Abb. 40 in Marr 1911, die da jedoch fälschlicherweise *Basilika des Klosters Chandzta* betitelt ist, denn „this enigmatic

und zudem von fast dem gleichen Standpunkt aus aufgenommenen Foto,⁴⁷ sieht man, dass der Zahn der Zeit nur ganz geringfügig an der Substanz dieses steinernen Zeugnisses genagt hat. Hier die beiden Fotos nebeneinander und darunter ein weiteres, das die atemberaubende Lage des Komplexes voll erkennen lässt:



Nuķas Saędari: 1904



heute



Einfach atemberaubend... *Nuķas Saędari*

church ... was first visited and described in modern times by Marr but mistakenly identified by him as the renowned monastery of Һanzta“ (Djobadze 1992: 45).

47 Quelle: www.karadenizgezi.net/Artvin_Tarihi_Eserleri.htm; 22.02.2016.

Anhang

İtschhalbur = *İşhalbur* (Artvinli 2013: 146a).

Soria = *Sirya* (Artvinli 2013: 237).

Ordschagh = *Orcuk/Orcux* (Artvinli 2013: 209a).

Diese drei Ortschaften befinden sich im Landkreis Artvin (*Artvin Merkez İlçesi*), wobei Sirya Zentrum des gleichnamigen Bucaks (Nahiye) ist, und die Dörfer İşhalbur und Orcuk diesem verwaltungstechnisch zugehören. Ihre neuen, offiziellen Namen sind Kalburlu Köyü und Oruçlu Köyü. Das Hauptdorf Sirya wurde 1925 zu Zeytinlik und mit der Begründung, dass es sich um einen Namen handelt, der 'von fremder Herkunft ist' (*Yabancı kökten gelen*) und 'Anlass für Verwechslung bietet' (*İltibasa yer veren*), wurde der Bucak Sirya auf Beschluss des türkischen Innenministeriums am 1. Juli 1964 ebenfalls in Zeytinlik umbenannt. (*Resmî Gazete* 10.7.1964, Sahife 7).⁴⁸

İçişleri Bakanlığından :

1 — Yabancı kökten gelen ve iltibasa yer veren Bucak adlarının Türkçeleştirilmesi ile ilgili olarak İçişleri Bakanlığınca, 5442 sayılı İl İdaresi Kanununun 2 nci maddesine göre hazırlanan ilişik tasdikli çizelgede gösterilen yeni bucak adlarının kabulü aynı kanunun 2 nci maddesinin 1(B) fıkrası gereğince kararlaştırılmıştır.

2 — Bu kararı İçişleri Bakanlığı yürütür.

1/7/1964

CUMHURBAŞKANI
C. GÜRSEL

Başbakan V.
K. SATIR

İçişleri Bakanı
O. ÖZTRAK

48 Hier noch einige statistische Angaben zum Bucak Zeytinlik (*Zeytinlik Bucağı*) basierend auf den Angaben in *Artvin İl Yıllığı* von 1973. Danach gehören folgende 14 Dörfer zu dieser Verwaltungseinheit: 1 Zeytinlik (Sirya) ♂ 223 ♀ 253 = 476; 2 Ağıllar (Agara) ♂ 108 ♀ 117 = 225; 3 Aşağımaden (Hodusufila) ♂ 630 ♀ 839 = 1469; 4 Ballüzüm (Dirink) ♂ 43 ♀ 68 = 111; 5 Derinköy (Gürcan) ♂ 88 ♀ 73 = 161; 6 Dikmenli (Bakt) ♂ 109 ♀ 108 = 217; 7 Dokuzoğul (Binat) ♂ 136 ♀ 175 = 311; 8 Hızarlı (Hezor) ♂ 224 ♀ 261 = 485; 9 Kalburlu (İşhalbur) ♂ 170 ♀ 139 = 309; 10 Köseler (Geyishana) ♂ 66 ♀ 73 = 139; 11 Okumuşlar (Boselt) ♂ 46 ♀ 65 = 111; 12 Oruçlu (Orcuk) ♂ 169 ♀ 181 = 350; 13 Sarıbudak (Melo) ♂ 249 ♀ 242 = 491; 14 Yukarımaden (Hodu-ülya) ♂ 455 ♀ 628 = 1083 (AİY 1973: 65a).

Der Beschluss zur Umbenennung traf damals eine ganze Reihe von Orten in der Türkei. In der Provinz Artvin waren dies neben Sirya noch:

Artvin	Merkez	Berta	Ortaköy
»	»	Sirya	Zeytinlik
»	Borçka	Maçahel	Camili
»	»	Maradit	Muratlı
»	»	Murgul	Göktaş
»	Şavsat	Mirya	Veliköy
»	Yusufeli	Erkinis	Demirkent
»	»	Ersis	Kılıçkaya

Der erste greifbare Hinweis auf Sirya (sowie seine Dörfer İshalbur und Orcuk) findet sich bislang im *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Trabzon* von 1876 (siehe Artvinli 2013: 209a).

Bedingt durch den Bau der *Deriner-Talsperre* (*Deriner Barajı*)⁴⁹ wurden alle drei Orte geräumt und liegen nach deren voller Inbetriebnahme im Februar 2013 auf dem Grund des riesigen Stausees.

Mölo-Kaleh = *Melo* (Artvinli 2013: 190).

Melo, das heutige Sarıbudak Köyü, das ebenfalls zum Bucak Zeytinlik gehört, entging im Russisch-Türkischen Krieg (1877–1878) nur knapp der Besetzung und blieb osmanisch. Erste schriftliche Erwähnung findet auch *Melo* in *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Trabzon* von 1876. Bekannt ist der Ort für Bullenkämpfe (*boğa güreşleri*) und natürlich für seine Burg (*Melo Kalesi*), über die mir leider keine weiteren Angaben vorliegen.⁵⁰



Die Ruine von *Melo Kalesi*⁵¹

49 Siehe en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deriner_Dam (27.02.2016).

50 Selbst in der einschlägigen Arbeit *The Fortifications of Artvin: A Second Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey*, findet man nichts zur Burg von Melo, und ganz zu Recht bemerkt ihr Autor, Robert W. Edwards, gleich in der Einleitung:

Die nachfolgenden Orte gehören zum Landkreis Yusufeli. Viele von ihnen sind wiederum im *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Trabzon* von 1876 erwähnt.

1. Route

Dschildschim = *Cilcim*, Cevizlik (Artvinli 2013: 85b).

Chomkal = *Homhal/Humhal*, Narlık (Artvinli 2013: 139).

Chorda = *Körta/Korta*, Yarbaşı (Artvinli 2013: 170b)

Utschkum = *Uşhum*, Yağcılar (Artvinli 2013: 260–261).

Bitt = *Pit/Bit*, Tarakçılar (Artvinli 2013: 219b).

Sor = *Zor*, Esenyaka (Artvinli 2013: 278–279).

Ocher = *Oker/Ok(k)ar*, Havuzlu (Artvinli 2013: 207a).

Achoff = *Ahot* ?, Kömürlü (Artvinli 2013: 54b).

Okdem = *Öğdem* (Artvinli 2013: 212a).

Beschanget = ?

Pertakrek = *Pert-Ekrek kalesi*, Çevreli (Artvinli 2013: 215–217).

„Because of the relative inaccessibility of this province, only a few surveys of the ecclesiastical architecture have ever been undertaken. Generally, the military sites have been ignored. This disinterest can be blamed in part on the paucity of published histories for the region“ (Edwards 1986: 165a). Was die Sakralbauten der Region angeht, hat sich die Lage mit der Öffnung der türkisch-georgischen Grenze sehr verbessert, denn gerade von georgischer Seite besteht ein reges Interesse an diesen einst die kulturelle Entwicklung Georgiens mitbestimmenden Zentren der Gelehrtheit. Als Niederschlag dieses Interesses möchte ich – stellvertretend für die unzähligen Arbeiten der georgischen Kollegen – den sehr ausführlichen Band *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i, and Šavšet'i* von Wachtang Djobadze (1992) nochmals ausdrücklich hervorheben. Die militärischen Anlagen hingegen – deren Anzahl im Zielgebiet keineswegs gering ist – harren noch stets ihrer Entdeckung durch die Wissenschaft. Eine lange Liste mit Burgen gibt www.karadenizgezi.net/Artvin_Tarihi_Eserleri.htm; 22.02.2016.

- 51 Links: Foto von Ekrem Ünal www.panoramio.com/photo_explorer#view=photo&position=15&with_photo_id=80174718&order=date_desc&user=3100769 (27.02.2016). Rechts: www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/artvin/kulturenvanteri/saribudak-koyu-melo-kalesi (27.02.2016).

2. Route

[*Dschildschim*]

Niksoan = Nigzivan/Nizgevan, Demirköy (Artvinli 2013: 201–202).

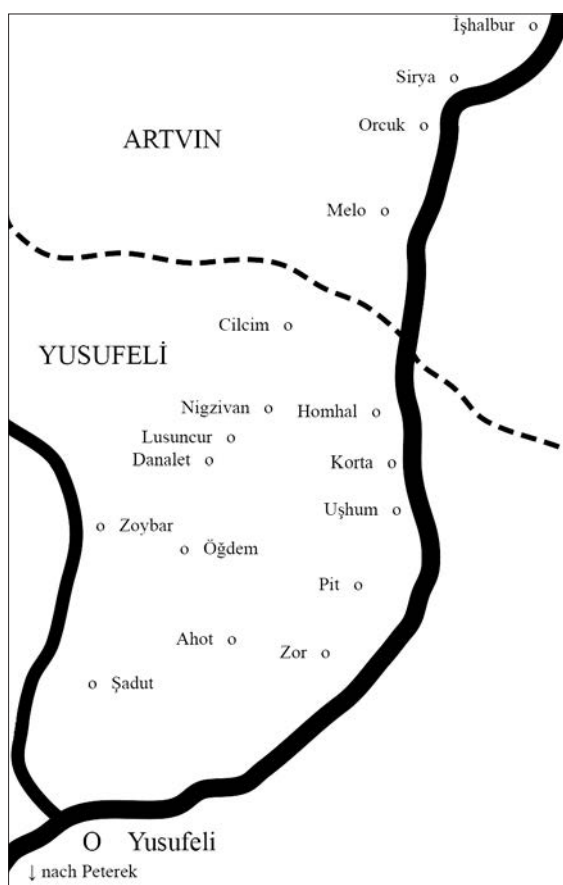
Lusundschor = Lusuncur, Çamlıca (Artvinli 2013: 182b).

Danolet = Danalet, heute Mahale von Çamlıca (Artvinli 2013: 104a).

Zogipar = Zoybar/Coybar, heute Akarsu Mahalesi von Esendal (Artvinli 2013: 87a).

Schadut = Şadut, Çıralı (Artvinli 2013: 244a).

[*Pertakrek*]



Die Dörfer der Koch'schen Liste

So, mein lieber Marek, da sind wir auch schon am Ende unserer kleinen Fahrt durch Geschichte, Kultur und Etymologie in Tao-Klardschetien. An einigen Orten war es möglich, Station zu machen, andere – wie oft auf Reisen – zogen gerade einmal schemenhaft am Fenster vorbei. Kritische bzw. kritisierende Stimmen mögen sich erheben und belehrend vortragen: „Aber hier hätte man auch hinweisen müssen auf...“, „Hier ist doch die Etymologie sonnenklar. Warum wird sie nicht erwähnt?“, „Der Autor hat vergessen...“ etc. etc. Prima! Alle, die so denken, sollen dann selbst zum Stift greifen und die Lücken schließen. Damit hätte ich eines meiner Ziele erreicht..., neue Arbeiten zu stimulieren. Mein Hauptanliegen jedoch war und ist es, Dir mit dieser bescheidenen Reise eine Freude zu machen. In diesem Sinne... alles Liebe und Gute aus Leiden.⁵²

Żegnaj, Przyjacielu, do widzenia!



52 Meine besten Wünsche gelten auch meinem teuren Freund Stefan Georg, der so freundlich war, den gesamten Text nochmals kritisch durchzusehen.

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CHURCH SLAVONIC *VĚSKOPYSNŮTI* AND *ZASKOPIVĚ / ZASKOPIJE*¹

In the present paper, the etymologies of two Church Slavonic words, namely of *věskopysnŭti* and *zaskopivě/zaskopije* are presented. Both their forms and their semantics are taken under scrutiny in order to revise the etymological explanations hitherto proposed. It is shown that both words most probably originate from the Indo-European root **(s)kep-/*(s)kop-* ‘to chop, hew, dig, beat’.

Church Slavonic, etymology, *věskopysnŭti*, *zaskopivě / zaskopije*

The Church Slavonic verb *věskopysnŭti* has not yet been a subject of etymological analysis in the scholarly literature. I know of only two laconic statements. First, in Miklosich’s comparative grammar of Slavonic languages it is stated that “*kopysati* fodere, *věskopysnŭti* vergleiche man mit *kopyto*” (Miklosich 1879: 227). Second, a particular piece of interest is found in the auxiliary card index of the Etymological Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language.² Here, a card with the heading *věskopysnŭti* contains the following handwritten remark in Czech: “asi ~ s *kopati*”, which means “probably connected with Slavonic *kopati* ‘to dig’”. Thus, in both cases *věskopysnŭti* is assigned to the Indo-European root **(s)kep-/*

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- 1 This paper was written with the support of the grant provided by the Czech Science Foundation “Etymological Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language: Summing up a Generational Project” (No. 13–17435S).
 - 2 Being prepared and published by the etymological department of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno, Czech Republic.

*(s)kop- ‘to chop, hew, dig, beat’, to which e.g. Lithuanian *kapóti* ‘to chop, hew’, Latvian *kapāt* ‘to chop, hew’ and Greek *κόπτω* ‘to beat’ also belong.³ The suggested connection is plausible enough and requires only a few remarks concerning both the form and semantics of the word.

The semantic side is relatively clear. The verb is attested in the Russian Church Slavonic translation (from the 15th–16th cent.) of the biblical Books of Twelve Prophets, to be specific, in a passage of the Book of Joel (Jl 1,17 and 20). The records read as follows:

1. *vškopysnqšę junicę u jaslbi ix(ъ). isplěsnivěšę žitbnicę* (cf. Tunickij 1918: 34; Kurz 1966: 324);
2. *vškopysnqťb. nъ ne igrajušte. jako i egda napitěny. nъ umirajušte přědъ jaslъmi* (Tunickij 1918: 35).

By Kurz (1966), only the first record is registered and the meaning of the word is given as ‘to jump up, aufspringen, subsaltare’, based on the Greek model *ἐσκήρτησαν*, 3rd pl. aor. of *σκιρτῶ, σκιρτᾶν* ‘to spring, leap, bound (of young horses, goats, or wind)’ (Liddell, Scott 1953: 1611).

As far as the formal side is concerned, it seems that we have here an intensivum formed by -ys-, which is an extended variant of typical Slavonic intensifying suffix -s-. Further derivatives with these suffixes from the same root are attested: Old Russian *kopysati* ‘to dig with a hoof, toss the soil up with legs’ (Sreznevski 1955: 1282), *koposati* ‘to rummage in, poke’ (Filin 1980: 298), metaphorically also ‘to provoke, promote, encourage’ (Avanesov 1991: 263), Russian dialectal *kópsat* ‘to bang, roar’, *kópsit’šja* ‘to get dirty’, *kópostit’* ‘disturb’, Belarussian dialectal *kópsatys* ‘to wade (in deep snow, through mud)’ (Tolstoj 1968: 42), Polish dialectal *kopsać* ‘to thrust, beat, kick’ (Doroszewski 1961: 997).⁴ As is obvious from the examples and as verbs derived from other roots can corroborate, primary was the formation of Slavonic intensiva with -s-ati (for an overview of the Slavonic material in a broader Indo-European context, see Machek 1952). These were, as a rule, iteratives/imperfectives. Only secondarily, the -n- suffix began to be used to derive non-iteratives/perfectives from them (see Machek 1958). Hence, *vškopysnqti* is a perfective verb. Undoubtedly, the perfective meaning is, in addition, co-expressed also by the prefix.

3 Cf. Pokorny (1959: 931–933), Havlová, Erhart, Janyšková (1989–2016, vol. 6: 335–336), Rix (2001: 555), Derksen (2008: 233).

4 Cf. Vasmer (1953: 621 s.v. *kopýto*), Šanskij (1982: 307), Slawski (1974: 51), Trubačev (1984: 23), Vaillant (1974: 256).

Concerning the prefix, in *vъskopysnŏti* we have a variant of the basic *vъz-*, which, together with Church Slavonic preposition *vъz* ‘instead of, in return for; at, near; up’, continues Common Slavonic **vъz(-)*. The prefix is richly attested also in other Slavonic languages (cf. Bulgarian *vъz-*, Makedonian *voz-*, Serbo-Croatian *uz-*, *us-*, *uza-*, Slovenian *vz-*, *z-*, *s-*, Slovak *vz-*, *vzo-*, Czech *vz-*, *vze-*, Lower and Upper Sorbian *z-*, *s-*, Polabian *vâz-*, Polish *wz-*, *ws-*, Belarussian *uz-*, *uza-*, *us-*, Ukrainian *z-*, *s-*, *uz-*, Russian *vz-*, *voz-*, *vos-*), while the preposition is recorded rather limitedly (cf. Bulgarian dialectal *vъz*, *voz*, Makedonian dialectal *voz*, Serbo-Croatian *ûz*, *ûza*, Slovenian *vz*, Old Czech *vz(e)*, Ukrainian dialectal *uz*). Common Slavonic **vъz* < **uz* finds its cognates in Lithuanian *ûž(-)* ‘at, within, instead of, in return for’, Latvian *uz(-)* ‘on, to’ and goes back to Indo-European **ud* ‘up’.⁵ As already suggested above, in Church Slavonic, the prefix has phonetic variants: the primary *vъz-* is found before vowels (e.g. *vъz-igrati*) and voiced consonants (e.g. *vъz-dělati*), while *vъs-* before unvoiced consonants (e.g. *vъs-kričati*). Beside this, a special group of Church Slavonic verbs has to be separated, in which original *vъz-* is added to a root beginning with *s*.⁶ If this happens, the final *-z* of the prefix is lost, so that yet another variant of this prefix emerges, namely *vъ-* (**vъz-s-* > *vъ-s-*). About twenty verbs with this *vъ-* are attested, e.g. *vъ-slěpati* (< **vъ(z)-slěpati*) ‘to spring, flow out’, *vъ-stati* (< **vъ(z)-stati*) ‘to rise, stand up’, *vъ-staviti* (< **vъ(z)-staviti*) ‘to put up, raise’, *vъ-sъlati* (< **vъ(z)-sъlati*) ‘to send (out)’, *vъ-sladiti* (< **vъ(z)-sладiti*) ‘to sweeten’, *vъ-smijati se* (< **vъ(z)-smijati se*) ‘to laugh’, etc. (cf. Kurz 1966: 320–355).⁷ In some cases, a homonymy with the prefix *vъ-* with the meaning ‘in, into’ (< Common Slavonic **vъ(n)-* < Indo-European **un/*n*, see Pokorny 1959: 311–312) occurs, cf. *vъ-skočiti* (< **vъ(z)-skočiti*) ‘to jump up’ : *vъ-skočiti* ‘to jump into’ (Kurz 1966: 324–325). Now, the question arises, into which of these three classes the verb *vъskopysnŏti* belongs. At first sight, *vъskopysnŏti* can easily be classified within the second group: thus, it would have the variant *vъs-*, added directly to the root **kop-*: **vъs-kop-*. However, the case of *vъskopysnŏti* is unclear, since the reconstructed Indo-European root is **(s)kop-*, i.e. with or without

5 Cf. Pokorny (1959: 1103–1104), Derksen (2008: 533), Matasović (2014: 179), Dunkel (2014: 823–828).

6 In one case also with *-š*, cf. *vъ(z)-šuměti* ‘to rustle’ (Kurz 1966: 355).

7 For an overview with a detailed description of different meanings of the prefix in individual verbs, see Słowski (1937: 319–322). Besides that, a number of nouns derived from such verbs are found, e.g. *vъstavljenje*, *vъstanie* ‘resurrection’, etc. (cf. Birnbaum, Schaeken 1997: 52).

s-mobile in specific forms which continue it (cf. Greek κόπτω 'to beat': σκάπτω 'to dig'). Consequently, we could theoretically think about the third variant **vθ(z)*- > **vθ*- and its connection with the variant of the Indo-European root containing s-mobile: **vθz*-*skop*-. However, the first explanation is still more plausible, since *vθskopysnqti* is more probably a late derivative (cf. Old Russian *kopysati*) than a relic form from distant past.

The etymology of the Old Church Slavonic *zaskopivъ*, *zaskopije* is not quite clear (cf. Meillet 1905: 387). Two explanations have been given, but both without detailed analyses.

The first to deal with these words was again Miklosich (1879: 70; 1886: 302), who connected them with Greek σκοπός 'spy, guard, scout', σκέπτομαι 'to look around, look back, spy, contemplate, consider, survey', which belong, together with Latin *speciō*, Avestan *spasiieiti* and Sanskrit *páśyati* 'to see', to the Indo-European root **spek*-/ **spok*- 'to see sharply, spy'.⁸ This view was later adopted by Sadnik and Aitzetmüller (1955: 301).

Another explanation was provided by Vaillant (1974: 400), who considered the connection of *zaskopivъ*, *zaskopije* with Slavonic *(s)*čep*- 'to cut, chop' (> Old Church Slavonic *pricēpiti* 'to ingraft; to join, become part of', Bulgarian (s)*čepja*, Makedonian *cepi*, Serbo-Croatian *cēpiti*, Slovene *cepiti*, *cēpiti* 'to cut, split'). There is nothing certain about a deeper connection of this Slavonic root with material from other Indo-European languages, but there are basically two propositions: some scholars derive it from Indo-European *(s)*keip*-/ *(s)*koip*- 'to chop, cut' (> Lithuanian *skiēpyti* 'to ingraft', Greek σκοῖπος 'beam, log', etc., see Pokorny 1959: 922), others from Indo-European *(s)*kep*-/ *(s)*kop*- 'to chop, hew, dig, beat' (on which see above); a crossing of both roots is also possible and even probable.⁹

Let us first consider the semantic side of the problem. Unfortunately, the records are not semantically unambiguous. In Old Church Slavonic, *zaskopivъ* has only one record, found in the Life of Constantin (9): *poslaša že kozari protivu ego muža lukava i zaskopiva*. Kurz (1966: 657) reads it as 'crafty, sly, tricky, hinterlistig, insidiosus' (cf. also Bartoňková et al. 1967: 79). The noun *zaskopije* is attested in Codex Suprasliensis (337: 17–18): *děti xvalq prinosetъ. da vъse zaskopije. tъšte slovo pokažetъ*. Kurz (1966: 657) reads it as 'ruse, trick, Hinterlist, fraus, ύπόληψις'. In contrast, Miklosich (1862–1865: 217) gives the following meanings of these words:

8 Cf. Pokorny (1959: 984), Rix (2001: 575–576), Beekes (2010: 1347–1348).

9 For a thorough discussion and references, see Havlová, Erhart, Janyšková (1989–2008, vol. 12: 712 s.v. *pricēpiti*).

zaskopivъ ‘εὐμήχανος, industrius, callidus’, i.e. ‘ingenious, diligent, hardworking’, *zaskopije* ‘παρατήρησις, observatio’, ‘ὑποψία, suspicio’, ‘μέμψις, reprehensio’, i.e. ‘observation; suspicion; reprehension’. Besides the Old Church Slavonic records from life of Constantine and Codex Suprasliensis, Miklosich also mentions later records from the Church Slavonic monument Zlatostrij. Somewhere in between the positions of Kurz and Miklosich is Vaillant (1974: 400), who cites *zaskopivъ* with the meaning ‘astucieux’, i.e. ‘crafty, sly, tricky’, but *zaskopije* with the meaning ‘soupçon’, i.e. ‘suspicion’. Be that as it may, it seems as if Miklosich, when searching for the origin of these words, followed mainly the meanings from Zlatostrij¹⁰, since these meanings correspond much better with his final connection with the Indo-European **spek-/ *spok-* ‘to see sharply, spy’. In my view, however, the explanation provided by Vaillant, i.e. the connection with Slavonic **(s)cěp-*, is also plausible. If we suppose the meanings ‘crafty, sly, tricky’ and ‘ruse, trick’ to be primary, we may think of their development from **‘corrupting, spoiling, dividing’* ← **‘cleaving, splitting something into parts’*.

As far as the formal side is concerned, Vaillant’s explanation seems more likely than that by Miklosich for several reasons. First, no additional Slavonic material is attested for Indo-European **spek-/ *spok-* ‘to see sharply, spy’. Second, we would have to assume a metathesis from **spVĵ-* to **skVp-* as in Greek σκοπός and σκέπτομαι. Third, if **spek-/ *spok-* is to be seen as the source of the Slavonic word, the satemization of the original Indo-European *k* should take place in Slavonic, but there is no trace of it. In contrast, Vaillant’s connection with Indo-European **(s)kep-/ *(s)kop-* ‘to chop, hew, dig, beat’ is without formal problems and, in addition, other Slavonic words belong to it, beside the aforementioned nest of **scěp-* cf. also **skopъcb* ‘castrate, eunuch’, **skopiti* ‘to castrate’ (see Havlová, Erhart, Janyšková, 1989–2016, vol. 14: 822–823).

To sum up, both *вѣскопыснѣти* and *zaskopije/ zaskopivъ* can eventually be traced back to the same Indo-European root **(s)kep-/ *(s)kop-* ‘to chop, hew, dig, beat’.

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10 However, also Meillet (1905: 387) gives the meaning ‘παρατήρησις’ while considering only the record from the Codex Suprasliensis.

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WEDGWOOD'S CONTESTED ETYMOLOGIES

Within months of the publication of the final part of the first edition of Skeat's *Etymological dictionary of the English language*, the compiler of the leading English etymological dictionary of the 1860s and 1870s, Hensleigh Wedgwood, published a volume of animadversions: *Contested etymologies in the dictionary of the Rev. W.W. Skeat* (1882). In this paper, I examine Wedgwood's *Contested etymologies*, with particular attention to its treatment of non-linguistic historical information; its common-sense arguments about semantic development; its attitude to reconstructed forms; its use of lexical material from non-standard language varieties; its comparativistic breadth; and its relationship to the great tradition of nineteenth-century comparative philology. Skeat's dictionary superseded Wedgwood's, and to that extent, the *Contested etymologies* were the last protest of an old school of etymological scholarship against the work of a new age. But I argue that the gulf between Wedgwood and Skeat should not be exaggerated. Skeat emended fifty of the two hundred entries on which Wedgwood commented to take some account of the older scholar's criticisms, and even today, Wedgwood's *Contested etymologies*, like his dictionary, still has stimulating material to offer its readers.

etymological method, sound symbolism, reconstructed forms,
dialect, comparativism

There is a curious omission in the preface to the first edition of Skeat's *An etymological dictionary of the English language* (1879–1882; 2nd ed. 1884, 4th ed. 1910; cited henceforth as Skeat¹, Skeat², and Skeat⁴). Skeat began by pointing out the deficiencies in the etymologies of Charles Richardson and of the latest edition

of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English language* (p. v). He went on to say a good word for Eduard Müller's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache*, and for C.A.F. Mahn's etymological contributions to the 1864 edition of Webster's *American dictionary* (pp. vi–vii). Later, he mentioned the reasonable level of accuracy in the citation of foreign words in works “such as E. Müller, or Mahn's Webster, or Wedgwood” (p. vii) – and with that hint that the *Etymological dictionary* had a predecessor compiled by one Wedgwood, Skeat was content. Wedgwood's work turns up again in Skeat's bibliography (p. xxviii), and it is cited many times in the text of the dictionary, sometimes in positive terms, but sometimes scathingly: “It is surprising that the extremely simple etymology of *average* is wrongly given by Wedgwood” (s.v. *average*); “No derivation can be clearer, though Wedgwood questions it” (s.v. *bailiwick*); “Mr. Wedgwood's guess ... is disproved at once” (s.v. *bigot*); “The suggested connection, in Wedgwood, ... is neither necessary nor probable” (s.v. *boisterous*).

Hensleigh Wedgwood's *A dictionary of English etymology* (1859–1867, 2nd ed. 1872, 3rd ed. 1878, cited henceforth as Wedgwood¹, Wedgwood²), to which Skeat referred in these passages, was the standard English etymologicon of its time.¹ Its author was, by one count, one of the most productive writers on the etymology of individual English words who has ever lived.² By 1882, Wedgwood's dictionary had “for a long time held the first place as one based upon true philological principles” (Anonymous, 1882b: 78); as Skeat himself remarked a few years later (1896: xxxviii), it “represents an enormous advance” beyond earlier work. To be sure, it had always been criticized: for instance, an early review had concluded that “the book is one which may be of great help to the advanced scholar, but we should say that it should be used with very great caution by the beginner” (Anonymous 1860: 118).³ Eduard Müller (1872: [col.] 452) came to very

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- 1 I am grateful to Marek Stachowski for encouraging the first piece in which I wrote about Wedgwood's dictionary (see Considine 2013: 12), and appreciate the attention which is paid to Wedgwood in a much more substantial work undertaken with Professor Stachowski's support, Mateusz Urban's *Treatment of Turkic etymologies in English lexicography* (2015).
 - 2 Liberman (2010: xvi) ranks him ninth in number of publications; to be sure, this was the age of the brief etymological note (see Malkiel 1993: 48–9), and some of Wedgwood's publications are indeed brief.
 - 3 Cf. Whitney (1872: 427), “every special student of English etymology, perhaps, will wish to have it to hand for consultation ... but as a manual of word-histories for the use of the general public it cannot be at all recommended.” This review was

much the same conclusion on the appearance of the second edition: “es ... zwar in manchen Fällen dem Forscher einen schätzenswerthen Stoff bietet, in seinen Resultaten aber meistens, weil in der ganzen Methode, desto mehr zu wünschen übrig läßt”. When the last part of Skeat's dictionary appeared, a reviewer said that “It is no reproach to Mr. Wedgwood, ... to say that his work does not now fully meet the requirements of scholars of the English tongue” (Anonymous 1882b: 78). We shall return below to the basis for these criticisms. But criticism, however robust, was one thing; Skeat's refusal even to notice the existence of *A dictionary of English etymology* in his preface suggested that he saw himself as operating on a different level from Wedgwood.⁴

In 1882, the year in which the last part of Skeat's dictionary appeared, Wedgwood published a riposte of about two hundred pages under the title *Contested etymologies in the dictionary of the Rev. W.W. Skeat*. He had presumably been making notes on the new dictionary as its parts appeared, which is why his comments on the words covered in the fourth part of Skeat's dictionary (*re-echo* to *z*, Skeat¹: 497–726) take up only his last twenty pages (Wedgwood 1882: 174–193). Some of what he had to say repeated material which he had already published in his dictionary or elsewhere.⁵ Even so, the fourth part of Skeat's dictionary only appeared in May 1882, and *Contested etymologies* was already in print by December, so Wedgwood moved quickly.⁶ His work had no preface: after a table of contents, it simply offered a series of alphabetically ordered etymological notes, engaging with 210 of Skeat's etymologies, singly or in small groups. It is quite an early example of the genre of the book-length collection of etymological notes

published anonymously, but its authorship was soon known to Wedgwood: see Alter (2005: 288, n. 68).

- 4 It may in fact have been tactful rather than contemptuous: Skeat (1896: xxxviii–xxxix) states that he originally intended to revise Wedgwood's dictionary, and implies that he then realized that he would have to start *de novo*, so he may have felt that any reference to Wedgwood as a predecessor would, if it were honest, have to identify him as a rejected predecessor.
- 5 For instance, the long discussion of *bigot* and *beguine* at Wedgwood (1882: 25–31) repeats material from Wedgwood (1879b: 104–105), and indeed from Wedgwood¹, s.v. *bigot*. Zupitza (1883: [col.] 13) is a little severe when he says that “Die meisten Bemerkungen W[edgwood]s sind nur Wiederholungen aus seinem Dictionary.”
- 6 The fourth part of Skeat¹ was published in early May (Anonymous 1882a); *Contested etymologies* was reviewed in *Notes and queries* on December 16 (Anonymous 1882c), and in *The antiquary* in the same month (Anonymous 1882d).

(for which see Malkiel 1993: 50–52; another example is Skeat 1896). *Contested etymologies* sums up the differences between Wedgwood and Skeat as Wedgwood himself perceived them.

Having said that, we may note that in half a dozen cases, a note of his merely supplemented an etymology of Skeat's. In the case of *badger*, for instance, Skeat followed Wedgwood¹ in deriving the word from Fr. *bladier* 'corn-dealer', and Wedgwood's note (Wedgwood 1882: 18–19) defended them both against objections to the derivation which had been raised at a meeting of the Philological Society.⁷ In that of *burnish*, Wedgwood suggested (1882: 46–47, based on Wedgwood 1846: 178–179) that Skeat should have explained more clearly why the etymon, Fr. *brunir*, could mean both 'to brown' and 'to polish', and Skeat duly did so, quoting Wedgwood, in his second edition (Skeat²: 789).⁸ In that of *wanion*, Wedgwood thought that Skeat's etymology, from northern ME *waniand*, was right, but pointed out (Wedgwood 1882: 191–192) that he himself had published it some years previously (as Wedgwood 1873–1874: 328–329).⁹ But in the rest of *Contested etymologies*, he was arguing against a total of 204 of Skeat's etymologies which he judged to be unsatisfactory.

Skeat's own response to it was civil but consciously superior:

I am obliged to Mr. Wedgwood for his publication ... I have carefully read this book, and have taken from it several useful hints. In reconsidering the etymologies of the words which he treats, I have, in some cases, adopted his views either wholly or in part. [...] Hence the number of points on which we differ is now considerably reduced; and I think a further reduction might have been made if he could have seen his way, in like manner, to adopting views from me. I think that some of the etymologies of which he treats cannot fairly be said to be "contested"; for there are cases in which he is opposed, not only to myself, but to everyone else. (Skeat²: XIII)

7 The entry in Wedgwood¹ is itself from Wedgwood (1846: 180); the note in *Contested etymologies* also draws on Wedgwood (1879a: 436); the objections were published as Anonymous (1880–1881: 17). The revised *OED* etymology (of 2008) sees the first element of *badger* as simply Eng. *badge*.

8 The high page number is because Skeat² comprised a reprint of Skeat¹ with an additional preface and a section of errata and addenda (Skeat²: 775–834); this was also issued separately, at Skeat's request (Knowles 2013: 615), so that it could be bought by those who owned copies of the first edition.

9 Similar small points are made s.vv. *boon*, *darnel*, and *flue*.

Skeat's most dismissive remark was given force by being placed in final position. But the review of *Contested etymologies* in *Notes and queries* was differently balanced:

although we are very far from agreeing with all, or nearly all, of his suggested etymologies, yet we are inclined to think that in several instances he has hit upon blots in Prof. Skeat's valuable work, while in not a few others it seems to us that Mr. Wedgwood's remarks and suggestions are well deserving of careful consideration and attention. (Anonymous 1882c)

The notice of Wedgwood by Charles Herford in the first edition of the *Dictionary of national biography* likewise gives a somewhat different impression from that left by Skeat's own words, stating that *Contested etymologies* "deservedly exercised a considerable and mainly beneficial effect upon the second edition" of Skeat's dictionary (Herford 1899). In fact, Skeat substantially accepted 30 of Wedgwood's 204 corrections in his second edition and reconsidered 20 other etymologies in ways which brought them closer to Wedgwood's notes.¹⁰ That is not to say that Wedgwood's other corrections were all mistaken (see the discussion of *Huguenot* below), or that Skeat was always right to take material over from him, but it gives a sense of the extent to which Skeat perceived that he had something to learn from Wedgwood: about a quarter of Wedgwood's corrections made him reconsider his own work in their light.

At first sight, Wedgwood's *Contested etymologies* may seem like the last protest of an old tradition of scholarship against the new which would completely supersede it. His dictionary would not be republished after the 1880s (indeed, the rare fourth edition of 1888, reported by Liberman 1998: 37, is surely a reissue of the third), while Skeat's would go through four editions by 1910, the last of which, in the judgement of Anatoly Liberman (1998: 43), "remains the best etymological dictionary of English". Yakov Malkiel (1993: 31) remarks on "the magnitude

10 Correction accepted: *appal*, *avoidupois*, *avow*, *ballast*, *bay*, *blind man's buff*, *boisterous*, *bunting*, *butress*, *caprice*, *capstan*, *cave in*, *cinchona*, *cricket*, *crone*, *filibuster*, *funnel*, *hawser*, *higgle*, *hint*, *hod*, *hull*, *litter*, *loiter*, *mien*, *piddle*, *pilot*, *porridge*, *spell*, *ullage*. Etymology reconsidered: *amercement*, *bachelor*, *boast*, *briar*, *chapel*, *coddle*, *gad*, *grig*, *hornet*, *jaunt*, *mastiff*, *pillory*, *plight*, *rack*, *scorch*, *sentinel*, *sentry*, *shed*, *slab*, *tipple*. Skeat does not always acknowledge Wedgwood as the source of a correction: s.v. *avow*, for instance (Skeat²: 781), he cites James Murray as reported in Anonymous (1880–1881: 19), but Murray was explicitly summarizing Wedgwood (1879c) and (1879d). But s.v. *cockney* (Skeat²: 794), he thanks Wedgwood for a helpful personal communication.

of Skeat's breakthrough". But the contrast should not, as we have just seen, be overstated. Skeat's etymologies did not always supersede Wedgwood's, and both men knew it. A reading of *Contested etymologies* shows us the old in dialogue with the new.

Let us see how Wedgwood handled that dialogue. One of his simplest kinds of argument pointed out deficiencies in Skeat's historical knowledge. Where Skeat had argued that the "true sense" of *cinder* is "that which flows" and adduced Skt. *sindhu* 'river' as a cognate, Wedgwood (1882: 60–62) riposted that the pre-industrial smelting of iron did not produce a flow of molten material but a "malleable lump" from which impurities were hammered out. Skeat grumbled (Skeat²: 793) about Wedgwood's treatment of the Icelandic forms *sindr* 'slag' and *sindra* 'to glow' in his discussion of *cinder*, but when he came to revise the entry for his fourth edition, he quietly deleted the reference to Sanskrit. Likewise, when Skeat derived *pamphlet* from the name of the first-century author Pamphila, Wedgwood replied (1882: 149) crushingly that "there is no evidence that the epitomes of Pamphila ... were at all known in the Middle Ages". In this case, Wedgwood's own preferred etymology, from Sp. *papeleta* (< *papel* 'paper'), was also mistaken, but he was right to be thinking in terms of the circulation of texts in the Middle Ages: neither he nor Skeat knew that *Pamphilet* was the MFr. name given to an extremely popular "amatory poem", as the excellent etymology of 2005 in the revised *OED* puts it, of which the Lat. title was *Pamphilus, seu de amore*. A few other notes, for instance one in which Wedgwood set out the evidence for the etymology of *argosy* (earlier *ragusye* < It. and Lat. *Ragusa*, the name of the Adriatic port now called Dubrovnik, rejected by Skeat in favour of post-class. Lat. *argis* or the name of the ship *Argos*) and one in which he explained the etymological difference between *cinchona* (< post-classical Lat. *cinchona* < the title of Ana, countess of Chinchón, Vicereine of Peru in 1638) and *quinine* (ultimately < Quechua *kina* 'bark'), likewise depended on Wedgwood's knowing something about human history which Skeat had overlooked.¹¹

Historical and linguistic knowledge might come together in Wedgwood's animadversions. Skeat had followed Mahn in supposing that *Huguenot* 'French Protestant' was from a personal name, *Huguenot* being a possible derivative of the name *Hugues*, and that a derivation from Ger. *Eidgenoss* 'confederate' was to

11 In the case of *cinchona*, Wedgwood evidently knew of the coinage of the Lat. word in Linnaeus (1742: 527), on the basis of La Condamine (1740: 233–234).

be rejected, as “it involves incredible phonetic changes”.¹² Wedgwood (1882: 118) pointed out “the entire absence of any notice of any distinguished Reformer of the name in question” as an argument against the derivation from *Hugues*, but also had some cogent linguistic evidence in favour of that from *Eidgenoss*: the existence in Swiss French of the forms *einguenot* and *higueno*, which are evidently intermediate between *Eidgenoss* and *Huguenot*, with the sense ‘Protestant’. (He had in fact already given these forms in Wedgwood².) Wedgwood had spent some time in Switzerland in the course of his education (Wedgwood, Wedgwood 1980: 184), and this may have attracted him to the glossary of Swiss French in which he found the forms (Bridel 1866), but we note that he found them by reading right through the glossary: neither is given at the letter H, and although *einguenot* is at E, *higueno* only occurs at T, s.v. *tsassi* ‘chase, copulate’, in a story to which Wedgwood urbanely referred his readers: “Une Fribourgeoise très galante, mais très scrupuleuse, refusait les offres d’un Vaudois en lui disant, «*Diu me vouarde de tsassi avoué n’higueno!*» Dieu me préserve d’accorder mes faveurs à un huguenot!” Skeat was at first reluctant to yield the point, remarking in his second edition (Skeat²: 811) that the name *Huguenet* is attested at an early date, but he accepted in the fourth edition that the form “was due to popular etymology, and was perverted from G. *eidgenoss*” (Skeat⁴ s.v.), and even cited the Swiss French forms from Wedgwood.

Perhaps common sense rather than historical knowledge was applied to a question of semantic development in Wedgwood’s objection to Skeat’s derivation of *foin* ‘thrust with a sword’ from OFr. *fouine* ‘eel-spear’ – “whoever heard of fencing with such an implement as an eelspear”, he asked (Wedgwood 1882: 94), preferring a derivation from OFr. *feindre* ‘feign’, of which he showed attestations in the forms *foindre* and *foigner* (from Roquefort 1808 s.v.; Cotgrave 1611 s.v., respectively); this would call for a change of sense from ‘pretend’ to ‘make a pretended thrust’ to ‘make a real thrust’. This derivation seemed more convincing than Skeat’s to an early reviewer (Anonymous 1882c), and is in fact echoed by a quotation of 1632 in *OED* s.v. *feign*: “The Prince ... fained at him divers foynes”, though Skeat’s etymology still appears in the standard dictionaries. Common sense was likewise behind Wedgwood’s rejection of Skeat’s derivation of the verb *muse* via OFr. *muser*

12 Skeat¹ (s.v.), citing Scheler (1873, s.v. *Huguenot*; here and elsewhere, I cite the edition which Skeat used, but without implying that earlier editions lacked the passage in question); the latter was based on Mahn (1855: 92–94), which comments that “Aus *Eidgenoss* konnte frz. unmöglich *Huguenots* werden” (Mahn 1855: 93).

from an OFr. **muse*, glossed as ‘the mouth, snout of an animal’, with the explanation that “The image is that of a dog, snuffing idly about, and musing which direction to take” (Skeat¹, s.v. *muse*, citing Diez 1878: 220); “the mental attitude of *mus*ing is utterly incongruous to the nature of a dog”, replied Wedgwood sternly (1882: 142).¹³ A repeated objection of Wedgwood’s to Skeat’s etymologies is that they call for semantic leaps, for instance in the case of *scorch* ‘burn slightly’, which Skeat derived < OFr. *escorcher* ‘flay’: “we have no instance of *escorcher* in the sense of scorching, nor does the English word specially signify to strip off the skin” (Wedgwood 1882: 177). Sometimes Wedgwood argued that an etymology contravened a rule of sense-development: when Skeat sought the origin of *dandle* in a WGmc **dand* ‘trifle, play’, Wedgwood thought it “most improbable ... that a term originally signifying to trifle or play should have been extended to the much more simple conception of rocking in the arms” (Wedgwood 1882: 78–79), on the grounds that forms with simple meanings develop more complex ones, but not vice versa (cf. Wedgwood 1882: 85, 122). His own suggestion that the origin was imitative, rocking a child being like swinging a bell, so that *dandle* is related to *ding-dong*, is unconvincing, but his interest in establishing principles of semantic change echoed that of such scholars as Pott and Curtius (see Davies 1998: 316–317).

In the case of *foin*, Wedgwood had a second objection to Skeat’s derivation: it required a leap from a noun in the supposed donor language to a verb in English, since there appeared neither to be a French verb **fouiner* ‘thrust (with an eel-spear?)’ nor an English noun **foin* ‘implement for thrusting’. This is in keeping with a more general mistrust of reconstructed forms, to which, indeed, nineteenth-century etymologists too often resorted (see Malkiel 1950: 46–47). So, for instance, in the case of *plunge*, Wedgwood agreed with Skeat that the immediate etymon is Fr. *plonger*, but rejected the derivation of the French word from a post-classical Lat. **plumbicare*, proposed by Diez (1878: 249) and accepted by Skeat, saying disapprovingly that “This is a mode of etymologizing to which

13 Wedgwood derived *muse* from Lat. *musso*, which he glossed ‘buzz, murmur, brood over, consider in silence, doubt’; Skeat had already called this theory – which goes back to Ferrari (1676, s.v. *muso*) – “(phonetically) incorrect” (Skeat¹, s.v. *muse*; cf. Diez 1878: 220, “allein die Buchstaben stimmen nicht”), to which Wedgwood replied airily (1882: 142) that “the difference ... is not so great but what they may be varieties from a common origin”. The revised *OED* etymology, published in 2003, derives *muse* from an OFr. **mus* ‘face’, the face being that of a human rather than an animal, with interesting implications for the sense-development of OFr. *muser*.

Diez has frequent resort" (Wedgwood 1882: 163–164).¹⁴ When Skeat derived Eng. *cushion* < OFr. *coissin* < post-classical Lat. **culcitinum* < Lat. *culcita* 'cushion, pillow, feather-bed', Wedgwood likewise said that "It is dangerous arguing from these supposititious forms" (Wedgwood 1882: 75), preferring to see *coissin* as a diminutive of OFr. *cois* 'pod, husk', and we now know that in this case a reconstructed **culcitinum* is not necessary, since an attested post-classical Latin *coxinus* 'cushion' is identified as the etymon.¹⁵ Wedgwood (1882: 154–155) was not, however, beyond citing a reconstructed Latin form himself: writing on *pillory*, which is obviously < OFr. *pilori*, a form which Skeat regarded as of unknown origin, he agreed with Skeat that a satisfactory etymology must account for the form of Old Occitan *espitlori* 'pillory' (from Raynouard 1836–1844, 3: 182), and proposed a post-classical Lat. **expectaculorium* < post-classical Lat. *expectaculum* 'stage, scaffold' (from Meyer 1879: 498). The etymon is now identified as the well-attested post-classical Lat. *pilorium*, evidence against Wedgwood's **expectaculorium* but in favour of his usual principle.

The extensive reading evident in Wedgwood's handling of Bridel's Swiss French glossary and in his discovery of post-classical Lat. *expectaculum* buried in an article on medieval hagiography in the journal *Romania* (but admittedly in a volume of that journal to which he had contributed a piece of his own, Wedgwood 1879a) is evident throughout the *Contested etymologies*. We note a particular taste for dictionaries of non-standard language varieties: for instance, *blindman's buff*, *bout*, *cave in*, *duffel*, and *gimlet* are all explained with reference to west Flemish forms in Leonard Lodewijk De Bo's *Westvlaamsch idioticon* (1873), and *broker*, *douche*, *flute*, *pout*, *rack*, *slab*, and *spell* with reference to Occitan forms in Pierre Augustin Boissier de Sauvages de la Croix's *Dictionnaire languedocien-françois* (1785).¹⁶

This interest in non-standard language naturally extended to the English and Scottish dialect material which had been so industriously collected in the

14 Diez's etymology is accepted in the revised *OED* etymology of *plunge*, published in 2006; Wedgwood's disagreement with Skeat on this point is discussed in Skeat (1896: xxxvii), and in Liberman (2005: 34–35).

15 Skeat cites Brachet (1873, s.v. *coussin*); the reconstruction originates with Diez (1878: 104); the etymology which is now accepted was demonstrated by Meyer (1892).

16 An Occitan origin for *rack* 'transfer wine between containers' is still regarded as possible in the revised *OED* etymology of *rack* v², published 2008. Wedgwood¹ identifies the edition of Sauvages' dictionary which he used (Wedgwood¹: xxii); his copy is now in the Wedgwood collection at Birmingham University Library.

nineteenth century. Wedgwood's interest in this material can perhaps be seen developing in the case of *bonfire*: he initially supposed the first element to be Dan. *baun* 'beacon' (Wedgwood 1846: 179); in Wedgwood¹, he traced this Danish word back to Welsh *bàn* 'high, lofty'; in Wedgwood², he added that "Perhaps ... the word may signify merely a fire of *buns*, or dry stalks", citing a glossary of Northamptonshire dialect (Baker 1854 s.v.); and in *Contested etymologies* (1882: 37–39), he gave this as his preferred derivation, explaining at length that straw or stubble was often used as a fuel for outdoor fires.¹⁷ Here and elsewhere, the closeness of an English dialect form to the form under investigation was enticing. Wedgwood (1882: 50, citing Peacock 1877 s.v.) referred *cad* 'ill-bred fellow' to a Lincolnshire form *cad* 'carrion' in preference to Skeat's derivation from *cadet*.¹⁸ He argued plausibly, with reference to the same Lincolnshire source, that *cave* in *cave in*, which Skeat did not notice separately, is a variant of *calve* (Wedgwood 1882: 55–56, citing Peacock 1877: 51–52; Peacock 1875; De Bo 1873, s.v. *inkalven*). Where Skeat said – "startlingly", as Wedgwood remarked – that the original sense of *coddle* 'pamper' was 'castrate', Wedgwood (1882: 64, citing Evans 1881 s.v.) turned to evidence from Leicestershire that a form *caddie* was used in a range of senses 'caress, fondle, coax'. Where Skeat saw *porridge*, which he defined as 'a kind of broth', as from ME *porree* 'leek soup' × ME *pottage* 'thick soup or stew', Wedgwood (1882: 166, from Carr 1828 s.v.) rightly adduced the West Yorkshire form *poddish* 'oatmeal porridge' to support his argument that *porridge* < *pottage*.¹⁹

Wedgwood challenged a number of Skeat's derivations from Celtic languages, usually Welsh, as in the cases of *boast*, *boisterous*, *cotton* (vb.), *cudgel*, *funnel*, *gag*, *gun*, *pout*, and so on, and occasionally from Gaelic, as in the cases of *crone*, *pet*, and *quaff*. He more than once made such points as "The acquaintance with Welsh

17 Skeat had, rightly, rejected all three of Wedgwood's suggestions, and identified the first element with Eng. *bone*, but had incautiously added that "the reference is to the burning of saints' relics in the time of Henry VIII. The word appears to be no older than his reign", which Wedgwood was able to disprove by pointing out an attestation of 1530, earlier than the Henrician destruction of relics; in Skeat² (786–787) Skeat cleared up the chronology and provided more evidence for his etymology.

18 Skeat⁴ (s.v.) derives < *caddie* < *cadet*; but it is odd that *caddie* is a Scots word, while *cad* is a word of the midlands and south of England.

19 Wedgwood did not identify his source, but localized *poddish* to Craven; this must indicate direct or indirect use of work by Carr, and Wedgwood owned a copy of Carr (1828), now in the Wedgwood collection at Birmingham University Library.

among English-speaking people has always been so confined that it is hardly possible under any circumstances for a Welsh verb to have been adopted in English speech" (Wedgwood 1882: 99, cf.: 36, 68), and although one might take issue with this as a general statement about Welsh-English bilingualism in every time and place, many of Wedgwood's individual challenges were right.²⁰ He admitted that he himself had erred in the same direction in the past. We have seen him proposing a Welsh etymon for the first element of *bonfire* and then thinking better of it. Likewise, where Skeat called *pall* 'grow weak or faint' "a word of Celtic origin", citing a supposed Welsh cognate, and then saw *appall* 'dismay' as from Lat. *ad-* + Eng. *pall*, rather than deriving *appall* from OFr. *apalir* and seeing *pall* as an aphetic form, he was following Wedgwood¹, and Wedgwood now recanted (1882: 6): "Skeat follows my bad example ... It is certain that we were both in error."²¹ William Dwight Whitney (1872: 426) remarked, in his trenchant review of Wedgwood², that "With Celtic comparisons he is more sparing than might have been expected, and we are grateful to him accordingly".

But Wedgwood did not rule out the Celtic languages from etymological consideration. For instance, he suggested that *bachelor* was ultimately < a (Gaulish?) cognate of Welsh *bach* 'little' rather than, as Skeat proposed, < a post-classical Lat. derivative of Lat. *vacca* 'cow'.²² Rejecting Skeat's explanation of *bastard* as < OFr. *bast* 'pack-saddle' – "as if it signified one begotten on a pack-saddle, from the loose habits of muleteers", as Wedgwood (1882: 22) neatly explained it – he turned to Irish *baos* 'fornication', the bastard being, as it were, the son of fornication;

20 Cf. Anonymous (1882b: 79), "We cannot help thinking that, at times, Prof. Skeat inclines too much to Celtic origins for many of his words". But the revised *OED* etymology of *pet*, published in 2005, confirms his derivation – as does the citation evidence, of which the earliest is from Scots.

21 Skeat acknowledged this graciously (Skeat²: 779): "Wedgwood truly says that I followed his bad example in rejecting the obvious derivation ... I now follow his good example in admitting it."

22 This had been his argument in Wedgwood¹ (s.v.); Skeat¹ (s.v.), had called this the "usual derivation", without naming Wedgwood (Scheler 1862 s.v., attributes it similarly to "D'autres étymologistes"), and had dismissed it as "but a bad guess"; the derivation < *vacca*, which apparently originates in Scheler (1862 s.v.) (though Skeat had it from Brachet 1873 s.v.), did not convince Wartburg, who concluded that "Die Herkunft von *BACCALARIS ist ganz unbekannt" (Wartburg 1922–1928, s.v. **BACCALARIS*), and though it is supported in a review of the post-classical Lat. evidence (Stowell 1926), it has not been universally accepted.

analogous expressions, he added, are to be found in Turkish and Malay.²³ He also defended his etymology of *gorse* from Welsh *gores*, *gorest* ‘waste, open’ (Wedgwood 1882: 103, referring to Wedgwood¹ s.v.) against Skeat’s suggestion that the word is cognate with *grow* – neither is now accepted – and rejected Skeat’s derivation of *briar* < Sc. Gael. *preas* ‘bush, shrub’ only to propose Bret. *brûg* ‘heath’ in its stead (Wedgwood 1882: 42).²⁴ This was not the only etymology in which Wedgwood reached for a Breton form: he saw the French etyma of *haunt*, *mien*, *risk*, and *scarce* as from Breton (only the second is now thought to be so), and adduced Breton *skraba* ‘scratch, scrape, steal’ together with Dutch and Norwegian forms in his etymology of the admittedly puzzling *shark* (Wedgwood 1882: 110, 140–141, 175–177, 182).

As this last example suggests, Wedgwood was ready to adduce similar forms from languages which are not closely related, without giving a careful account of why the similarities should be seen as significant. He had already done this in his dictionary: hence, for instance, early criticism of the freedom with which he cited Finnish forms, which is by no means disarmed by separate articles in which he adduced similarities in inflectional endings and function words as evidence for a relationship between the Indo-European languages on the one hand and Finnish, Estonian, and Sámi on the other.²⁵ He could, to be sure, always appeal to

23 Skeat’s explanation goes back to Mahn (1855: 17); Wedgwood’s (1882: 22–23) is based on Wedgwood¹ (s.v.) (the reference to Malay first appears in Wedgwood²); it is singled out for criticism in Schuyler (1862: 744).

24 Neither has found acceptance, and the word does not seem to have been discussed recently; Krogmann (1939: 70) adduces OHG *hesebrier*, attested as a gloss on Lat. *colurnus* ‘hazel’.

25 Wedgwood first published on the subject in Wedgwood (1856) (inspired by Key 1846), where he not only compared lexical items in isolation but also proposed that Finn. [s] corresponds with Lat. [k], as in the case of Finn. *sokia*, Lat. *caecus* ‘blind’ (Wedgwood 185: 17) – but not always, for Finn. *sama* ‘same’ is taken to correspond with Lat. *simul* ‘at once’ (and Malay *samo-samo* ‘together’). Further articles followed. They were not known to the author of Anonymous (1860: 118), writing in the *Saturday Review*, who therefore took exception to Wedgwood’s use of Finnish forms; there is a sceptical notice of Wedgwood (1860–1861) in the *Saturday Review*, probably by the same reviewer (Anonymous 1863b: 472), and the review of the second volume of Wedgwood¹ in the same journal and very probably by the same reviewer admits grudgingly that he “has, on his own showing, a perfect right to appeal to Finnish” (Anonymous 1863a: 441). Whitney (1872: 425) criticizes the use of Finnish in robust terms.

the argument that one form of an imitative origin explains another. So it was that, arguing rightly against Skeat's claim that the interjection *pooh* is derived from the Icelandic interjection *pú* rather than being an independent parallel formation, he could survey a global sample of words which convey disgust by imitating a spitting noise, and could remark that "In the Galla language the sound of spitting is represented by the syllable *twu*, whence may be explained Fris. *twoy!* interjection of disgust when one spits out" (Wedgwood 1882: 166).

The words "whence may be explained" in this statement are characteristic. Whitney (1872: 424) had written of Wedgwood² that its "dominant idea" was "the collection of a body of examples to prove onomatopoeia in English words": that is not quite true of *Contested etymologies*, where the dominant idea was to prove Skeat wrong in as many places as possible, but in many cases the etymology which Wedgwood preferred to Skeat's was imitative. This might be made explicit: Fr. *marmoter* means 'mutter', and it "can only be the strongest repugnance to the admission of the imitative principle of nomenclature" which could object to the derivation of Fr. *marmot* 'monkey' (cf. Eng. *marmoset*) from this word, this being "characteristically a muttering or a chattering animal" (Wedgwood 1882: 135). Likewise, Skeat's argument that *plump* 'with an abrupt fall' and *plump* 'rounded' were etymologically distinct "is quite unnecessary, to an inquirer who will not shut his eyes to the clearest evidence of an imitative origin" (Wedgwood 1882: 162). Wedgwood was right to emphasize these reasonable arguments.²⁶ Elsewhere, he was sometimes on weaker ground: we have, for instance, seen his explanation of *dandle* with reference to *ding-dong*. Likewise, his argument against Skeat's Gaelic etymon for *pet* was that the sense 'fit of displeasure' is primary, giving rise to *pet* 'soothe' and then to *pet* 'indulged child or tame animal', and that *pet* 'fit of displeasure' is imitative, finding its origin in "a representation of the blurt with the lips which is the natural expression of impatience, contempt, or displeasure" (Wedgwood 1882: 151, citing numerous forms such as Manx *phyt*, an expression of contempt). But he offered some good suggestions, for instance at *fuss* 'important bustle about matters of no consequence', where Skeat had cited OE *fús* 'prompt, quick' and Wedgwood turned instead to imitative *fizz*, giving examples

26 Both are respectively recognized as plausible in *OED*'s revised etymologies of *marmoset* (published 2000), "etymology disputed, probably < *marmouser*, *marmuser* to murmur, to mumble" and *plump* adj¹ (published 2006) "perhaps ultimately an expressive formation".

of English dialect forms which refer both to the activity of water or wind and to the bustling activity of people (Wedgwood 1882: 98).²⁷

All the characteristic arguments which Wedgwood made in *Contested etymologies*, and perhaps most markedly those which emerged from his sense of the importance of imitative forms, share one negative feature: they do not depend on any coherent understanding of comparative philology. When we see that this was not simply a matter of ignorance, we come to the heart of what separates Wedgwood from Skeat. One of Wedgwood's first publications was an admiring review of Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, in which he explained Grimm's Law to an English readership.²⁸ This appeared in 1833: Wedgwood was reading and writing about Indo-European sound changes before Skeat was born. But he was nevertheless ready to describe Eng. *care* as "probably the same word" as Lat. *carus*, and to connect Eng. *coal* with Lat. *caleo*.²⁹ Here, as Whitney rightly put it (1872: 425–426; cf. Skeat 1896: xxxvii), "Grimm's law ... is quietly ignored" – it is quietly ignored, rather than being beyond Wedgwood's ken. Wedgwood had, with a sort of autodidactic quirkiness, lost interest in what he had once learned from Grimm. Likewise, at a time when the importance of Sanskrit for the purposes of comparative philology was becoming well known in England, he cited very few Sanskrit forms in the etymologies of his dictionary, a deficiency noted at the time (Anonymous 1863a: 441). The same is true of *Contested etymologies*, where, apart from the rejection of Skt. *sindha* s.v. *cinder*, Wedgwood only mentions a Sanskrit form once, s.v. *dairy*, where he cites Skt. *duh* 'to milk' (Wedgwood 1882: 77). Perhaps he got this form from Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* (Fick 1874–1876 1: 120, 347), which he knew well enough to quote it against Skeat, who had explained Eng. *nightmare* as 'a dream at night accompanied by pressure on the breast' with reference to a root **mar*, which he glossed as 'pound, bruise, crush', to which Wedgwood replied that Fick glossed **mar* as 'zermalmen, zerschlagen, aufreiben', in other words 'crush to

27 Wedgwood did not know that Skeat's etymology was impossible on chronological grounds: ME *fous*, the reflex of OE *fús*, became obsolete in the 15th century, and *fuss* is not attested until the 18th.

28 The review is Wedgwood (1833), with treatment of Grimm's Law at pp. 170–172; its authorship is identified in Houghton (2006–2016).

29 The connection of *care* with *carus* is made in Wedgwood¹ (s.v.), and appears in Wedgwood (1862 s.v.), so it did not strike G.P. Marsh as problematic, but it is not retained in Wedgwood² (s.v.) (Skeat would use the connection of *care* with Latin *cura* as an example of etymological ignorance: Skeat¹: viii); the connection of *coal* with *caleo* is made in Wedgwood² (s.v.), and deplored by E. Müller (1872: [col.] 453).

pieces' not 'press heavily'.³⁰ Wedgwood could have got many more Sanskrit forms from Fick. The virtual absence of Sanskrit from *Contested etymologies*, and its poor representation in the dictionary, are not the results of ignorance but of detachment from the intellectual mainstream: Sanskrit forms are relevant to Indo-Europeanists, but Wedgwood was not trying to be an Indo-Europeanist.

It is Wedgwood's detachment which characterizes his etymological scholarship. By 1879, when the first part of Skeat's dictionary appeared, Wedgwood was seventy-six, and living, as he had for many years, on a private fortune derived from his grandfather's pottery works. He had briefly been a fellow of a Cambridge college, but his learned career had been as an independent scholar. In the same year, Skeat was forty-four, and had just been elected to the newly founded Elrington and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge. The two men were a generation apart, but they were, more importantly, separated by their different kinds of relationship to the world of learning. Wedgwood did not work altogether in isolation, for he corresponded with intellectually lively friends, notably his brother-in-law Charles Darwin, and he was a founding member of the Philological Society of London, to the *Transactions* of which he made many contributions (Considine, forthcoming). But he was still working independently just at the time when, as Anna Morpurgo Davies (1998: 3) has put it, "linguistic scholarship came to find in the Universities its natural habitat". Idiosyncratic etymological thought was compatible with a university position, as Yakov Malkiel's attractive sketch (1993: 24–26) of the work of Skeat's contemporary Hugo Schuchardt demonstrates – but Schuchardt's creativity was exercised within the disciplinary bounds to which the normal course of academic life habituates one, and he "knew at all times how to resort to such conventional weapons as regular sound correspondences" (Malkiel 1993: 25). We see something of the intellectual intercourse available to Professor Skeat but not to the independent Mr. Wedgwood in the former's reflection (Skeat 1896: LXX) that among the foreign scholars whose acquaintance he had made on their visits to Cambridge were the medievalists

30 Fick (1874–1876 1: 172) (quoting a Sanskrit form as a reflex of this root); Skeat had referred s.v. *nightmare* to his discussion of **mar* s.v. *mar*, where he glossed it as 'grind, bruise, pound, crush', not citing Fick (1874–1876) (to which Wedgwood must therefore have turned on his own initiative) but rather F.M. Müller (1864: 314–333), a discussion of the sense-development of reflexes of **mar* which does not in fact mention *nightmare*. The revised *OED* etymology of *nightmare*, published in 2003, treats the second element simply as Eng. *mare*.

Bernhard ten Brink, Julius Zupitza, Eugen Kölbing and Johannes Koch, the Anglists Arnold Schröer and Alois Brandl, the folklorist and Chaucerian Francis James Child, and the Anglo-Saxonists James Wilson Bright and Albert Stanburrough Cook: this is a roll-call from a scholarly world in which the historical study of the English language was becoming institutionalized. None of these men were primarily etymologists, but they would all have shared disciplinary assumptions about how to do etymology. They would all, I think, have seen the point of Zupitza's comment on *Contested etymologies*: "Manchmal ... muss man sich wundern, dass W[edgwood], der mit dem Wortschatz der verschiedensten Sprachen seit so vielen Jahren operiert, es nicht für nötig gefunden hat, sich mit den Lautgesetzen der germanischen Dialekte vertraut zu machen" (1883: [col.] 13).

"With the new comparative approach of the nineteenth century the previously discredited art of etymologizing had acquired a new lease of life", to quote Davies again (1998: 316); "there was almost general agreement ... that it was the formal side of etymology, its ability to manipulate phonetic data, which gave it its validity". The consistent treatment of phonetic data was never Wedgwood's strength. But, as we have seen, he had other strengths, some of them very considerable. He had a good eye for historical detail. He brought a proper scepticism to bear on etymologies which depended on reconstructions (here, it helped that he was not liable to be seduced by the claim that a reconstruction was founded on *Lautgesetze*: cf. Malkiel 1950: 47). He thought hard about the semantic side of every etymology. And he ranged very widely: "he had a rare gift for ferreting out words from various languages that cannot be related by formal sound laws but that are so similar that one is reluctant to dismiss the convergences as due to chance" (Lieberman 1998: 37). A reviewer of Wedgwood¹ said of him that

he often passes by probable or absolutely certain derivations in favour of others which are far-fetched and unlikely. But, in the process of so doing, he is almost sure to turn up some unexpected analogy, some valuable antiquated or provincial form, which adds to our knowledge even when we think his positions wrong. (Anonymous 1863a: 440–441)

This is as true of the Wedgwood of *Contested etymologies* as of the Wedgwood of the dictionary, as is the same reviewer's remark (Anonymous 1863a: 440), which may stand as a conclusion to this paper, that "There is hardly an article in the book which, whether we look on it as right or wrong, does not at least set one thinking. The very eccentricities are the eccentricities of a clever man who has always something to say on their behalf."

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ON THE NAMES OF RUTHENIA IN EARLY MODERN POLAND-LITHUANIA

The article deals with the philological and historiographical vicissitudes of the names of *Ruthenia* in early modern Poland-Lithuania. Critically assessing his predecessors' work, the author distinguishes between the Greek- and Latin-based derivatives as determined by different reflexes of the root vowel in the underlying East Slavic **Rous*'; Arabic and Latin German evidence is provided to substantiate this hypothesis. In the Latin nomenclature, the corresponding terms, *Russiya* (*Russia*) and *Rossiia* (*Rossia*), both reflecting derivations from the underlying East Slavic form, are viewed as complimentary in historically representing the cultural matrices of *Slavia Latina* (Roman Matrix) and *Slavia Orthodoxa* (Byzantine Matrix). A special emphasis is placed on the Byzantine coloring of the term *Rossia/Rossiia* which was a result of the philological tradition long cultured in Poland-Lithuania, encompassing Ruthenia. Its confessional (Orthodox) affinity of all the Slavs spread northeast toward Muscovy much later, after the establishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1589. Promoted initially by Orthodox clerical circles in Poland-Lithuania, who built the first intellectual bridges between Ruthenia and Muscovy, the Byzantine matrix included Muscovy by the early 17th century. Deviating compound designations like *Λιτβορωσία* (1397), *Ῥωσολαχία* (Wallachia), and *Moskvorossija* (1593) are discussed in the context of a historical shift in the referential meaning of the term *Rosia/Rossia* in the cultural delineation of Ruthenian lands in the early 17th century when "Kyivan *Rossia*" became conceived as part of the Polish Crown rather than of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The study is provided with a table containing forms, which represent two naming paradigm based on a short- and long-vowel reflexes, as found in East and South Slavic, Byzantine, (East) Arabic, Old High German, Latin German, and (Latin) Polish.

Ruthenia, Poland-Lithuania, Rūs'/Rūs', Roxolania, Rossia

1. Introduction

In her recent study dealing with the names of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) territories from the late 16th to the late 17th century, Yakovenko (2008: 140; Jakovenko [= Yakovenko] 2012: 15–17) refuted the notion, well established in Ukrainian historiography, that the stimulus to the formation of early modern Ruthenian identity was provided by the church union of Brest in 1596 and the interconfessional struggle associated with it, which, by refining the arguments of the polemicists, called into being an unprecedented stream of reflections on “history” and “nation”. According to Yakovenko (2008: 119, 140), the “name contest” began long before the church union and took its origin from the initiative of the Ruthenian Catholics, who made a place for their own land, *Roxolania*, in their political fatherland, the Polish Crown. But *Roxolania* was the product of a nobiliary identity that was too loyal to the Polish world. Consequently, the alternative to *Roxolania* became the “true”, “authentically Orthodox” name of their land, *Rosija*, which was “invented” there (also prior to the church union) (Yakovenko 2008: 140; Jakovenko [= Yakovenko] 2012: 42). Also, the Cossack war of 1648, and the ensuing confrontation between Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which lasted almost half a century, put an end to a competing partnership of the aforementioned terms. On the territory of the Cossack Hetmanate, Orthodox religious intolerance not only brought about the complete victory of the name *Rosija* but also reinforced it with an ecclesiastical accent, producing the form “Little *Rosija*”, which was loyal to Muscovite authority. By contrast, the Ruthenians who remained in the Commonwealth renounced this term as tainted by association with an enemy state and returned to the old name of the territory, *Rus'* (Yakovenko 2008: 141; Jakovenko [= Yakovenko] 2012: 42–43).

The above scenario looks persuasive at first sight. However, brushed in broad strokes, it clearly lacks linguistic grounding indispensable for a historiographical study of this caliber. Accordingly, in this paper, I provide a philological background for the historical vicissitudes as outlined by Yakovenko. First, I venture to prove that the Ruthenians resorted to terms which had long been in use in the local – Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian – tradition as reflected in official documents, geographical descriptions, chronicles, scholastic and theological treatises, and so forth. Second, the supposed “re-invention” of the term *Rosija/Rosia* (from Middle Greek *Ῥωσία/Ῥωσία*) by the Ruthenians was not connected with the postulated “neo-Byzantine syndrome” solely. The use of the term *Rosija* and its derivatives in the Ruthenian texts extant from the 1580s should be placed in a wider context of two possible roads open before the Ruthenian elite. These roads lay through

the linguistic and cultural realms of Latin and Polish, and through those of Greek and Slavonic, an opposition well established in the historiography of Ruthenian self-identification (Frick 1994: 219; Niedźwiedź 2012: 305). With this in mind, I offer a general survey of names denoting Ruthenian space within the confines of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown. While elaborating on the comparative-historical and philological vagaries of the respective designations (see Danylenko 2004a, 2006a, 2006b: 3–57, 120–141), I propose to distinguish between the Greek- (Sections 2–2.2) and Latin-based (Section 3) derivatives which are ultimately determined by different reflexes of the root vowel in the underlying East Slavic derivative **Rous'* borrowed from Baltic Finnic **rōtsi* (see Table 1); Arabic and Latin German evidence is also taken into consideration with an eye to substantiating this hypothesis. In Section 4, I tease out particular philological nuances of the Byzantine matrix as well as shifts in the referential scope of the term *Rosia* due to its spreading beyond Ruthenian cultural space. Conclusions and further research foci are briefly highlighted in Section 5.

2. The Byzantine nomenclature

Apart from the name *Rhōs* found in an entry under the year 839 in the official Carolingian royal annals (*Annales Bertiniani*) (Pertz 1826: 434), one should bear in mind the following Byzantine forms which subsequently were employed to refer to the Ruthenian lands in early modern Poland-Lithuania: (1) *Ῥῶς* [rōs] along with *ῥούσιοι* [rūs], leaving aside the Biblical *Ῥῶς* [ros], *rōš* and the Syriac **Hrōs* as non-relevant, and (2) *Ῥωσία* (Danylenko 2004a: 2–13). The first type tends to be historically exemplified by indeclinable derivatives (Section 2.1), while the second type is represented by declinable derivatives (Section 2.2).

2.1. Indeclinable derivatives

The Greek name *Ῥῶς* is first attested in the Life of St. George of Amastris written by Ignatius the Deacon (d. after 845) (Vasilevskij 1915: 64; see Danylenko 2004a: 3). It was also used by the Patriarch of Constantinople Photius (d. 891) in the titles of two homilies which mentioned the attack of “a people from the north” on Constantinople in June 860 (Müller, Müller 1883: 162–173, especially 168). The second form *ῥουσιοι* [*ῥούσιοι*] is found in Bishop Liudprand’s (d. 972) evidence of 942 (Pertz 1839: 331). It is tempting to concur with Thomsen (1919: 266, 350) who argued that the latter form rather than *Ῥῶς* was more closely connected with Slavic

Rus', but assumed that the Greeks, although erroneously, might have identified this name with the homophonous *ῥούσιος* 'red-haired'. I believe that the form *ῥούσιος* could have emerged at the time of, or soon after the monophthongization of *u*-diphthongs in East Slavic. Thus, phonetically, *ῥούσιος* may actually represent the underlying East Slavic name with *ŭ*, which in turn evolved from an *u*-diphthong in **Rous'*. Based on the parallel East Arabic designations *روس* (*rūs* with the long *ū*) and *رس* (*rūs* with the short *ǔ*) first attested in the Geographical Dictionary of Yāqūt al-Hamawī (1179–1229) (see Birkeland 1954: 82), I hypothesized elsewhere (Danylenko 2004a: 28) that Greek *Ῥως* [*rūs*] and *ῥούσιος* [*rūs*-] correspond with the consecutive stages in the phonetic development of Slavic *u*-diphthongs, in particular with the *ou*-grade, which monophthongized into an *ū*-type sound.

The names of *Rus'* as attested in Latin (Old High) German records can be reduced to the same derivative pair dependent on the length of the root vowel: (1) *Ruzi/Ruci/Rusci* with the graph *u* rendering tentatively a plain vowel and (2) *Ruizi/Riuze* with the umlaut resulting from the long *ū* (Braune, 1959: 42, 47, 56–57; Shevelov 1964: 272; Danylenko 2004a: 13–17). The second pattern precedes the first one, especially if one takes into consideration the relative chronology of the emergence of new *ū*₂ in Common Slavic, tentatively in the 6th–7th century (Shevelov 1964: 271–284).

The aforementioned evidence from Arabic, Middle Greek, and Latin (Old High) German corroborates the theory of the borrowing of East Slavic *Rus'* (with different reflexes of the *u*-diphthong) from the Baltic Finnic form **rōtsi* 'outsiders' (Danylenko 2004a: 27–29).

2.2. Declinable derivatives

The name *Ῥωσία* was first attested in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae* (Reiske 1829: 594) and, in parallel use with the indeclinable *Ῥως*, in *De administrando imperio*, e.g., *χώρα τῶν Ῥως* next to *χώρα τῆς Ῥωσίας* (Moravcsik 1967: 52, 168; Danylenko 2004b: 200–201). Derived with the help of the suffix *-ια*, the declinable form *Ῥωσία* tended to be used along with names derived from *ῥούσ-*, e.g., *τῶν Ρουσικῶν* next to *τῶν Ρουσίων* (Solov'ëv 1957: 137). One should mention in this respect the adjective form *ῥούσικος* attested in the 1142 inventory of possessions of the Russian St. Pantelejmon monastery on Mount Athos; in 1177 and 1182, the Russian monks were called *οἱ Ῥως* or rather frequently *οἱ Ρούσοι*, *Ρούσσοι*; the parallel derivatives were still commonplace in 1188 and 1194: *τῶν Ρουσσῶν*, *τῶν Ρουσῶν*, *τῶν Ῥως* (Soloviev [= Solov'ëv] 1933: 219, 221).

A similar parallelism was observed in Middle Russian, which knew orthographic pairs like *Rusija/Russija* (15th century) and *Rosija/Rossija* (16th century) (Martel 1925: 272–275). To explain this parallelism, Martel was quick to advance a twofold influence, i.e., Polish Latin *Russia* on the one hand and Byzantine *Rosia* on the other. Leaving aside Middle Russian forms like *rossiistyj* and *rustyj* (16th century) which are surely patterned on the Byzantine model, one can posit both indigenous and imported tradition operating in the case of *Rusija/Russija* (Danylenko 2004a: 6–8). To take Arabic الروسية (*al-Rūsīyah*) ‘Rus’ as found, for instance, in al-Idrisī’s *Kitāb Rujār* (Liber Rogerii, ca. 1153) (Cerulli et al. 1978: 914) as a parallel example, it is likely to represent an old East Slavic term (stem) borrowed into Arabic either directly or via Byzantine chronicles.

Slavic *Rusija* whose stem is seemingly reminiscent of the Arabic *rūs* (with the long *ū*) in the derivative *al-Rūsīyah*, was first attested as early as 1270 in a letter of the Bulgarian Despot Jakov Svjatoslav (1246–1272) to the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Kirill; interestingly, the form *Rusija* tended to occur concurrently with a more “commonplace” East Slavic name, *rouskaja zemlja* (Sreznevskij 1879: 12), both derivatives containing a short root vowel. Preserved in Serbian and Bulgarian, the name *Rusija* was, nevertheless, dropped in Russian in the mid-17th century (Solov’ev 1957: 149).

3. The Latin nomenclature

For the early modern period Yakovenko (2008: 119) posited the existence of a specific conceptual dualism in the Latin nomenclature as found in European chronicles and documents – the Ruthenian lands were called *Russia* and their inhabitants were known as *Rutheni* (plural). At first glance, the aforementioned dualism was well attested in Latin Lithuanian and Latin Polish records. Suffice it to mention here Venceslaus (Vaclavas) Agrippa (1525–1597), one of the Vilnius humanists and propagators of the theory of the Roman origin of Lithuanian (Dini 2010: 527–543, 2014: 67–73), who in his *Oratio fvnnebris* (Funeral Oration) (Wittenberg, 1553) made use of the term *Russia* in reference to the Ruthenian lands (Agrippa 1553: A6, and so forth). The same pair, *Russia* and *Rutheni*, is employed throughout the text of *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de Contentis in eis* (Treatise on the Two Sarmatias, Asian and European, and on What is Found in Them, Cracow, 1517) of the Polish historian Maciej Miechowita (1453/57–1523) (see *Tractatus*).

However, one can hardly agree with Yakovenko (2008: 119) that the aforementioned pair of learned terms became fully standardized by the 13th century

under the influence of the papal chancery. Neither can one accept Yakovenko's (2008: 120) claim that from the 14th century onward the "amicable pair" *Russia/Rutheni* became a fixture in Polish documents and chronicles as well as Latin documents issued by the ducal chancery in Lithuania. One can mention here the term *Rossia* as quoted by Otto I, Bishop of Freising, from a letter, written in 1142 by the Byzantine Emperor John II Komnenos to Konrad III, King of the Romans (Germany) (Schmale 1965: 174). This term denoted Galicia, although there are no solid linguistic grounds for positing its immediate calquing of the Byzantine *Ῥωσία* as suggested by Solov'ev (1957: 139). It should be also borne in mind that, in Latin-language letters of Béla IV of Hungary, Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, and Wenceslaus I, King of Bohemia, one comes across terms containing reflexes of both a long and a short root vowel, cf. *Provincia Russiae* 'the palatinate of Rus' (1241), *Rossiae dux* 'the ruler of Rus' (1230), *Daniel rex Rusciae* 'Danylo, King of Rus' (1248) against the name *Rut(h)eni* 'Ruthenians' for the people living primarily in Galicia (Erben 1855: 360, 378, 485).¹ Remarkably, the abovementioned terms are attested in the Latin Bohemian documents in complimentary distribution, although with a slight predominance of the name *Russia* (see Erben 1855: 779); apart from for inconclusive philological and historiographical argumentation, this fact does not necessarily presuppose the loan nature of *Rossia*.

"Regular" Latin forms are found in the official document prepared in the 13th–14th century in the territories of the Galician-Volhynian Principality. Here comes a typical example from a letter prepared in 1316 in the chancery of Princes Andriy and Lev in the city of Volodymyr (Volodymyr): *Andreas et Leo, Dei grat(ia) duces totius Terr[a]e Rus[s]i[a]e, Galici[a]e et Lademiri(a)e* 'Andriy and Lev, rulers of all Rus', Galicia, and Lodomeria [Volodymyr]' (Kupčyn'skyj 2004: 150), also *dux Ladamiriensis et dominus terre Russie* in a charter of 1320 and *dux Ladimirie et dominus Russie* in another charter of 1320 (Rowell 2003: 286, 288); cf. *Ruscia, Rusia,*

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- 1 The first writer who started to consistently use the form *Ruthen-* for the *Rus'* was, in fact Gallus Anonymus, who was active in the early 12th century. He might have based his choice on the learned forms *Ruten-* (*Rutenorum rex* 'the king of Ruthenians') as attested in the *Annales Augustani* under the year 1089 and *Ruthen-* (*Ruthenorum*) which appears as early as in the *Annalista Saxo* (ca. 1139); both originated from the Gallic tribal name found in Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, i.e., *Ruten* (Pritsak 1986: 61; Danylenko 2004a: 16). The form *Ruthen-*, which in the late Middle Ages denoted East Slavs, only by the 16th century began to refer to Ruthenians in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown in contradistinction to *Moscovitae* (Unbegaun 1969: 134).

Russa, *Russia* next to *Ruthenus* ‘Ruthenian’ (Kupčyns’kyj 2004: 190, 1253–1254). Similar forms are commonly attested in Latin-language documents issued at the chancery of Gediminas, Grand Duke of Lithuania (Rowell 2003: 228, 230, and so forth), and also in the chronicles of Jan Długosz (2001: 24–25, 254, and so forth); cf. also *Rusye* in a letter of Louis IV, Holy Roman Emperor, of 1377 to Grand Duke of Lithuania (Rowell 2003: 256).

Solov’ëv (1957: 140) paid heed to two letters sent in 1385 from Königsberg to Grand Duke Władysław II Jagiełło. In one letter, dated 21 April 1385, Władysław II Jagiełło is called by Konrad Zolner, Grand Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights, *dominus Rusye* ‘the ruler of Rus’ and his subjects *Litwanos et Rotenos* ‘Lithuanians and Ruthenians’. In another letter, dated 24 April 1385, the Grand Duke is called *dominus Rosye* and his subjects *Litwanos et Rotenos* (Prochaska 1882: 6, 7). Solov’ëv (1957: 140) found it difficult to explain the concurrent use of the two “peculiar” forms, *Russya* (*Russia*) and *Rossya* (*Rossia*). Although he traded off Latin Bohemian *Rossia* for a loan form, Solov’ëv stopped short positing the Byzantine origin of this term in the correspondence of the Grand Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights with the Grand Duke of Lithuania. In accordance with our theory about one and the same etymological stem in the aforementioned terms whose different vowel reflexes represent consecutive stages in the phonetic development of the underlying Slavic *u*-diphthong, I propose to view *Russya* (*Russia*) and *Rossya* (*Rossia*) as complementary terms, tending to be ultimately encompassed within the cultural matrices of *Slavia Latina* (Roman matrix) and *Slavia Orthodoxa* (Byzantine matrix) (see Section 4).

Overall, by the end of the 16th century, in Poland-Lithuania, there were two paradigms available for naming the Ruthenian lands. The respective naming paradigms can be circumscribed by root vowel reflexes representing 2 stages in the development of the underlying *u*-diphthong in **Rous’* > **Rūs’* > **Rūs’* (see Table 1); the paradigm with a long reflex contains the oldest derivatives while the paradigm with a short reflex the newest ones. Both paradigms are employed, for instance, in *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiej Rusi* (Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia, and all of Rus’, 1582) of the Polish historian Maciej Strykowski who resorted to parallel terms to denote the *Rus’* as part of Japhet’s ‘lot’ which are *Ruś* (Ruthenian *Rus’*), *Rusia*, *Russia* and *Rossieja* (‘starodawna Rosieja’), all meaning “being spread, scattered”, in particular in Ruthenian space (Strykowski 1846: 110–111).

Before summarizing all the derivatives denoting Ruthenian names in early modern Lithuania and Poland, one should also mention another term, *Roxolania*,

which, according to Yakovenko (2008: 120), was not so much a linguistic product as a sociocultural one – a side effect of the triumphant entrenchment of nobiliary liberties in the Polish Crown during the 16th century. This statement is erroneous, especially in its first part. Though not related to the aforementioned two naming paradigms, the term *Roxolania* has a clear (Iranian) etymology ('the radiant Alans') and a long linguistic history, cf. *Ῥωξολανοί* in Strabo, *Rhoxolani* in Plinius, and *Roxulani Sarmatae* (Tabula Peutingeriana) (Danylenko 2004a: 11, fn. 75). Quite in tune with the development of a supraethnic and supraconfessional ideology in Poland-Lithuania in the 16th century (see Tazbir 1996; Naumow 2002: 9–28), this term was used by the Ruthenian noblemen who identified themselves with the "Sarmatian tribe of Roxolanians", brethren of the "Polish Sarmatians".² Thus, famous for the introduction of the motto *gente ruthenus, natione polonus* 'Ruthenian by origin, Polish by nationality', Stanisław Orzechowski (1513–1566), of mixed Ruthenian-Polish parentage, signed more often than not his writings *Stanislaus Orichovius Roxolanus* (Danylenko 2011: 161). Polish historians and publicists such as Maciej Miechowita (*Tractatus* 2.1.1) in 1517, Jan Andrzej Karasiński (Crassinius) (1550–1612) in 1574, and Michalonus Lituanus (ca. 1490 – ca. 1560) in his *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituanorum et Moschorum* (On the Customs of Tatars, Lithuanians, and Moscovites, 1615; see *De moribus*: 24), used this term and its derivatives to denote Ruthenia and its attributes like the Ruthenian language (Dini 2010: 110–116, 571–574).

4. The Byzantine matrix

Unlike the elitist Latin Polish/Ruthenian *Roxolania*, names belonging to the two naming paradigms were employed by the Ruthenian "plebs" almost concurrently, although forms with a long root vowel reflex tended to be associated with the Byzantine "aura" of Ruthenian culture. To claim that the use of the "newborn" *Rosija* by Ruthenians had a Lviv pedigree, and a burgher rather a nobiliary one at that (Yakovenko 2008: 125) does not appear well grounded in view of the

2 The paths leading to Polonization were various and sometimes convoluted. Lithuanian nobles rarely spoke their own language, so they substituted Polish for Ruthenian rather than for Lithuanian. The Orthodox Ruthenian nobles, who during the Reformation period had adopted Calvinism, Lutheranism or even joined the Polish Brethren, gradually renounced these faiths and converted to Catholicism as they became assimilated; for the vicissitudes of Polonization in Poland-Lithuania, see Tazbir (1986, 1996).

Forms with a short-vowel reflex	Forms with a long-vowel reflex
East Slavic *Rous' (< Baltic Finnic *rōtsi)	
East Slavic *Rūs'	East Slavic *Rū ₂ s'
East Slavic Rus' (12 th century)	
Byzantine ρουσιολι [ρούσιολι] (10 th century)	Byzantine Ῥῶς (9 th century)
Byzantine ρούσικος (1142)	Byzantine Ῥωσία (9 th century)
East Arabic rūṣ (روس) (13 th century)	East Arabic rūṣ (روس) (13 th century)
	Arabic al-Rūsīyah (1153) (الروسية)
Old High German Ruzi/Ruci/Rusci (10 th century)	Old High German Ruizi/Riuze (10 th century)
South Slavic Rusija (1270)	
Latin German Rusya (1385)	Latin German Rossia (1158)
Latin Polish Russia (13 th century)	Latin German Rosya (1385)
Polish Ruś (1582)	Polish Rossieja (1582)
Polish Rusia/Russia (1582)	

Table 1. Forms representing two naming paradigms for the Ruthenian lands

philological evidence. In fact, the visits of Eastern patriarchs to Lviv in the 1580s and the so-called “Greek accent” in the burst of educational activity on the part of the Orthodox confraternity, newly established by the Lviv burghers, could play an indirect role in the revival of the “old” term with a long vowel reflex.

I have demonstrated, however, that, rather than rekindled by “anti-Latin” sentiments (see Yakovenko 2008: 125), the Byzantine coloring of the term *Rossia/Rosija* was a result of the philological tradition long cultured in early modern Lithuania, Poland, and Ruthenia. The Ruthenians of Poland-Lithuania chose this matrix to ultimately distinguish the configuration of their geographical, cultural, and confessional space from the major (Polish and Lithuanian) neighbors and confessions (Catholicism, Protestantism, and later Uniatism) within the confines of a common polity (see Niedźwiedź 2012: 257–309). Only later this term became associated with the confessional (Orthodox) affinity of all the Slavs, spreading primarily northeast toward Muscovy where this term became tainted with the

spirit of *ecclesia militans*, especially after the establishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1589 (Tazbir 1996: 151–152).

In sum, the geographical and cultural delineation of Ruthenian space was rooted in the local tradition as cultured at the ducal and royal chanceries of Poland-Lithuania and Galicia, especially in their interaction with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church. For instance, in a letter addressed to Philotheus I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Polish king Casimir III resorted to the Byzantine term *Ῥωσία* to denote the Ruthenian territories of the Crown (Bielowski 1872: 626). This term had much in common with the Latin form *Rossia*, used twice in *Bellum Pannonicum* by an Italian historian and spy, Pietro Bizzarri (1525–1586), to denote Galicia: *palatinus Rossiae* ‘the country of Galicia’ and *Rossia et Podolia* ‘Galicia and Podolja’ (Schwandtner 1768: 410). A shift in the referential meaning of the term *Rosia/Rossia* seemed to have occurred in the early 17th century. In the preface to the Book of Hours published in Kyiv in 1616, the archimandrite of the Kyiv Cave Monastery Zaxarija Kopystens’kyj wrote about “Kyivan *Ῥωσσία*” (Titov 1924: 6). At that time “Kyivan *Rossia*” was already conceived as part of the Polish Crown rather than of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Yakovenko 2008: 127).

At some point, however, Lithuanian *Rossia* required referential specification as provided by the derivative *Λιθωροωσία* (Miklosich, Müller 1862: 280) which was used by Antony IV of Constantinople in his letter of 1397 to Władysław II Jagiełło. Clearly, the Greek designation *Ῥωσία* as used by the Orthodox Church hierarchy could refer to any Orthodox land, whence a peculiar derivative, *Ῥωσοβλαχία*, to denote the Wallachian lands (Modern Rumania) (Miklosich, Müller 1862: 241; see Danylenko 2006a: 33–34). A unique extension of this term was introduced by members of the Lviv (Dormition) Confraternity who thanked Russian tsar Fëdor I Ivanovič, “Illustrious Tsar and Grand Prince of Moskvorossija” (Lucyk 1937: 51), for making a donation in 1593 for a restoration of the Dormition Church in Lviv.

5. Conclusions

In the late 16th century, faced with the Protestant and Catholic challenges and related insecurities, the Ruthenians remained en masse loyal to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Frick 1994: 218). This can explain, in the philological and historiographical sense, their intermittent use of various ethnic designations (either with a short- or long-vowel reflex in the root) that had long been cultured in the local supraethnic and supraconfessional space of Poland-Lithuania. Demonstrating

their Ruthenian otherness in comparison with backward Orthodox Muscovy, which was even more backward than Ruthenia (*Rus'*) (Skarga 1882: 496–497) the “Ruthenian plebs” decided at some point to elevate their social positioning in comparison with the Poles and Lithuanians by singling out the Byzantine term long available in the local tradition. Hence a shift to the glorification of the Greek and Church Slavonic patrimony in linguistic matters. The Slavonic-Rhossic language (*rossijskij/rossijskij jazyk*) was subsequently placed on an equal footing with Greek (*hreckij, ellinskij, ellinohrečeskij*). In the dedication to Prince Stefan Svjatopolk-Četvertyn's'kyj, as found in some copies of John Chrysostom's Homilies (Kyiv, 1623), Zaxarija Kopystyn's'kyj compared the system of Slavonic with Greek, ranking both languages higher than Latin “because the Slavonic language has such a power and dignity that it agrees with the nature of Greek, and is in tune with its property” (Titov 1924: 74).

The center of the irradiation of the Byzantine term and its derivatives like the Slavonic-Rhossic language and other related concepts can be traced to the Ruthenian palatinate which became part of the Polish Crown after the Union of Lublin in 1569. By the early 17th century the Byzantine matrix encompassed Muscovy as well. Promoted initially by Orthodox clerical circles in Poland-Lithuania, who built the first intellectual bridges between Ruthenia and Muscovy, the idea of one Orthodox people (*slaveno-rossijskij narod*) found its full expression in the *Synopsis*, a history of the origins of this people, published in Kyiv in 1674 under the patronage of Inokentij Gisel [Innozenz Giesel], the archimandrite of the Kyiv Cave Monastery (Sysyn 2003: 118). How this change affected the use of the respective ethnic designations from those belonging to the two naming paradigms, is a topic for further philological and historiographical discussions.

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CONTRIBUTION A L'ETYMOLOGIE DES ADJECTIFS ROMANS SIGNIFIANT 'PETIT'

L'objectif de la contribution est de réunir et de comparer les données disponibles, ainsi que les informations principales concernant le sujet de l'origine des adjectifs portant le sens de 'petit' dans les langues romanes. Leur étymologie n'a pas été définitivement éclairée jusqu'à présent. Alors, on expose et commente les principales hypothèses étymologiques proposées dans la littérature linguistique et on regarde de plus près les données historiques accessibles, en commençant par le latin. On arrive à la conclusion selon laquelle la richesse des adjectifs romans signifiant 'petit' (sauf en corse et en roumain qui sont commentés séparément) s'est créée à travers des combinaisons spontanées d'éléments appartenant à deux groupes de morphèmes fort expressifs: 1) radicaux véhiculant l'idée de petitesse, 2) suffixes à fonction affective, émotionnelle et/ou diminutive. Les formes contemporaines des adjectifs analysés trahissent normalement leur ancien caractère composé. On remarque aussi que dans beaucoup de cas, un radical ou un suffixe particulier se répète sur des territoires compacts ou voisins, sans que les dérivés finaux qui y fonctionnent soient forcément construits des mêmes éléments. On conclut qu'afin d'expliquer correctement l'origine de tous les mots en question, il faut surtout regarder le problème d'une perspective comparative.

étymologie, langues romanes, morphologie historique, lexique expressif

L'origine des adjectifs portant le sens de 'petit' dans les langues romanes n'a pas encore été définitivement éclairée. L'objectif de la présente contribution est de réunir et de comparer les données disponibles, ainsi que les informations principales

concernant ce sujet, puis d'essayer de récapituler tout ce que l'on en sait à présent et offrir une conclusion.

Passons donc en revue les vocables de base portant le sens de 'petit', existant dans les langues romanes, qui entrent dans le cadre de notre analyse comparative.

langue	forme standard, 1 ^{re} attestation	réalisation phonétique	choix de dérivés intensifs, affectifs, hypocoristiques, etc.	sources
portugais	<i>pequeno</i> , début du XII ^e s.	[p(i)'kenu] au Portugal [pe'kenu] au Brésil	<i>pequenino</i> , <i>pequerrucho</i> 'très petit'	DELP s.v. <i>pequeno</i> ; REW 6550
galicien	<i>pequeno</i> , début du XII ^e s. var. <i>pequecho</i> [s.d.]	[pe'keno] [pe'kefo]	<i>pequerrecho</i> 'très petit' <i>pequeniño</i> 'doigt auriculaire'	DRAG s.v. <i>pequeno</i>
asturien	<i>pequeñu</i> [s.d.]	[pe'kepu] ¹	<i>pequeñin</i> 'tout petit'	DGLA s.v. <i>pequeñu</i>
espagnol	<i>pequeño</i> , 1 ^{re} moitié du XII ^e s.	[pe'kepo]	<i>pequeñito</i> , <i>pequeñuelo</i> 'très petit' <i>pequeñarra</i> 'petite per- sonne qui n'a pas at- teint un développe- ment normal'	DCECH s.v. <i>pequeño</i> ; REW 6550
catalan	<i>petit</i> ² , début du XII ^e s.	[pə'tit] – dial. orientaux [pe'tit] – dial. occidentaux	<i>petitet</i> , <i>petitiu</i> , <i>petiteu</i> , <i>petitó</i> (> <i>petitonet</i> , <i>petitonoï</i>), <i>petitoi</i> 'tout petit'	DE s.v. <i>petit</i> ; DCVB s.v. <i>petit</i> ; REW 6451
occitan	<i>pichon</i> , XVI ^e s. <i>pichôt</i> (var.), fin du XVI ^e s. ³	[pi'tjun] [pi'tjot]	<i>pichonèl</i> , <i>pichonet</i> 'très petit'	HLP 3 s.v. <i>petit</i> , <i>pichot</i> ; TLF s.v. <i>pichoun</i>

langue	forme standard, 1 ^{re} attestation	réalisation phonétique	choix de dérivés intensifs, affectifs, hypocoristiques, etc.	sources
français	petit , fin du X ^e s. (anciennement aussi <i>peti</i> , <i>pitet</i>)	[p(ə)ʔi] ⁴	<i>petiot</i> 'tout petit' (anciennement aussi <i>petitot</i> , <i>petitet</i> , <i>petitel</i> , <i>petitelet</i>)	TLF s.v. <i>petit</i> ; DALF s.v. <i>petit</i> ; FEW s.v. * <i>petittus</i> ; REW 6451
franco- provençal	petiout [s.d.]	[p(ə)ʔju] ⁵	<i>pitiolet</i> , <i>ptiolet</i> , <i>petiolin</i> , <i>ptiolin</i> 'très petit'	DFS s.v. <i>petit</i> ; FEW s.v. * <i>petittus</i>
corse	chjucu ⁶ [s.d.]	['cugu]	pas de données	INFCOR s.v. <i>petit</i> (In Francese)

- 1 Il existe aussi plusieurs variantes phonétiques au niveau régional, p.ex. : [pe'kenul], [pi'kenul], [pi'kenu], [pi'kinu], [pi'kinu].
- 2 Un synonyme courant de *petit* est *xic* [ʃik] (et son dérivé *xicotet*), relevé depuis le milieu du XIV^e siècle, qu'il faut rattacher entre autres au mot espagnol *chico* [ˈtʃiko] 'garçon, gamin' (DE s.v. *xic*; DCECH s.v. *chico*).
- 3 L'occitan connaît également un autre adjectif, plus ancien, car attesté dès le XIII^e siècle : *petit* [petit] (> *petiton*), qui aujourd'hui est moins usité que les deux autres adjectifs (FEW s.v. **petittus*; REW 6451).
- 4 Au niveau dialectal, on relève d'innombrables variantes autant de l'adjectif simple que de ses dérivés. À titre d'exemple : *tit* (picard et normand), *poiti* (normand), *pequit* (poitevin), *peti* (lorrain), *tchot* (wallon), *p'tiot*, *p'quiot*, *p'chot*, *tiot*, *tchiot*, *quiot*, *piotet* (picard), *péquio*, *p'quio*, *pétiotin*, *petiotin*, *péquiotin*, *p'quiotin*, *petiotinet* (normand), *petiton* (gallo), *pequiot* (angevin et poitevin), *pequion*, *petion* (angevin), *péquiou* (bourbonnais), *p'tiolot*, *p'tiololot* (champenois), *puiot*, *piot*, *pitiot*, *pétiot* (lorrain), *p'tchet*, *p'tion*, *petignô*, *petigneu*, *petignot* (bourguignon), *pequignot*, *péquignot*, *petegnô* (franc-comtois).
- 5 Choix d'autres formes relevées : *piti*, *pti*, *peti*, *petik*, *pitik*, *pityi*, *petyi*, *pitiou*, *ptio*, *ptiô*, *ptichou*, *psou*.
- 6 Le corse connaît également des formes synonymes, mais qui ne sont pas les adjectifs de base signifiant 'petit' : *picculu*, *picculetta* (provenant probablement de l'italien), *minghinu*, *minottu* (cf. la note 16 ci-dessous).

langue	forme standard, 1 ^{re} attestation	réalisation phonétique	choix de dérivés intensifs, affectifs, hypocoristiques, etc.	sources
sarde	<i>pitirinku</i> (campidanien), XI ^e –XIII ^e s.		<i>pitirinkinu</i> (camp.) 'tout petit'	
	<i>pičkókkku</i> (logudorien) [s.d.]	[pi'tik:u]	<i>pičkókkku, piččinnu</i> (camp.) 'jeune ; garçon, gamin'	DES s.v. <i>pitikkku</i> ,
	<i>pikkikku</i> (sassarais) [s.d.]	[pi'kokku]	<i>piččirinu, piččirinéddu, piččiriddinu</i> (log.)	s.v. <i>pitsinnu</i> , s.v.
	(formes anciennes : <i>pikinnu</i> , <i>pithinnu</i>)	[pi'kik:u]	'tout petit' <i>pikkirikéddu</i> (log.) 'doigt auriculaire' <i>pikkulu</i> (log.) 'morceau, lambeau' <i>pittsinnu</i> (log., nuorien) 'jeune ; garçon, gamin'	<i>piččókkku</i> , s.v. <i>pikku-lu</i> ; REW 6451, 6494, 6550
italien			<i>piccolino, piccoletto, piccolettino</i> 'tout petit'	
	<i>piccolo</i> , fin du XII ^e s.		<i>piccolotto</i> 'bas et corpulent'	DEI s.v. <i>piccolo</i> , s.v.
	var. <i>picciolo</i> [s.d.]		<i>picciottu</i> (sicilien), <i>piccinninu</i> (calabrien), <i>piccinno</i> (manfredonien),	<i>piccino</i> , s.v. <i>picciotto</i> ;
	var. <i>piccino</i> , 2 ^e moitié du XIII ^e s.	[pik:olo]	<i>picceninne, piccenille</i> (abruzzais),	DES s.v. <i>piččókkku</i> ,
	(anciennement aussi <i>petitto, pitetto</i>)	[piʃ:olo]	<i>pecciuotto</i> (napolitain) 'jeune ; garçon, gosse'	s.v. <i>pitsinnu</i> ; REW 6451, 6494
			<i>picciuolo</i> (lucquois), <i>piččiriddu</i> (sicilien), <i>piččerille</i> (abruzzais) 'enfant' (p)čit, čet (piémontais) 'fils'	
romanche	<i>petschen</i> (sursilvain) / <i>pitschen</i> (engadinois, surmiran), fém. <i>pitschna</i> , 2 ^e moitié du XVII ^e s.	[peʃən] / [piʃən], [piʃne]	pas de données	HWBR s.v. <i>petschen</i> , s.v. <i>pign</i> ; LRC s.v. <i>petschen</i> , s.v. <i>pign</i>

langue	forme standard, 1 ^{re} attestation	réalisation phonétique	choix de dérivés intensifs, affectifs, hypocoristiques, etc.	sources
romanche	<i>pign</i> (sursilvain) / <i>pinig</i> (sutsilvain), fém. <i>piniga</i> , 1 ^{re} moitié du XVIII ^e s.	[ˈpiɲ] / [ˈpiɲtɕ], [ˈpiɲtɕɐ]	pas de données	HWBR s.v. <i>petschen</i> , s.v. <i>pign</i> ; LRC s.v. <i>petschen</i> , s.v. <i>pign</i>
ladin	<i>pice</i> , fém. <i>picera</i> , 2 ^e moitié du XVIII ^e s.	[ˈpiʃɛ] ⁷ , [ˈpiʃɛra]	<i>picenin</i> 'très petit'	EWD 5 s.v. <i>pic(e)</i>
frioulan	<i>picul</i> [s.d.]	[ˈpiʃʊl]	<i>piçulût</i> , <i>piçulit</i> , <i>picinin</i> , <i>pitinin</i> 'tout petit' <i>piçulôt</i> 'quelque peu petit, plutôt petit'	Pirona s.v. <i>pizzul</i> ; GDBTF s.v. <i>piccolo</i>
istriote	<i>péico</i> [s.d.]	[ˈpejʃo]	<i>pikinén</i> 'tout petit'	Deanović (1954 : 115)
dalmate (végliote)	<i>pedlo</i> [s.d.]	[ˈpɛdlo] ⁸	<i>pekoluot</i> 'tout petit'	Bartoli (2000 : 255, 323, 405, 413); EDV s.v. <i>pedlo</i> ; REW 6494
roumain	<i>mic</i> (dacoroumain / istroroumain / méglénoroumain), 1 ^{re} moitié du XIII ^e s. <i>ník^u</i> (aroumain) [s.d.]	[ˈmik] [ˈnik ^u]	<i>micuț</i> (> <i>micuțel</i>), <i>micușor</i> , <i>micșor</i> (> <i>micșorel</i>), <i>mititel</i> , <i>mitutel</i> (dacoroumain.) 'tout petit' <i>mikić</i> (istroroumain.) 'tout petit' <i>micșel</i> , <i>mîțșcut</i> (méglénoroumain.) 'très petit' <i>níciuț</i> , <i>níciut</i> , <i>nícișor</i> , <i>níciuz</i> (> <i>níciuzoț</i>) (aroumain.) 'très petit'	RDW 2 s.v. <i>mic</i> ; DELRom 1092; DITG : 228; DISE : 219; Capidan (1935 : 189); DEM 1 : 133; Bara (2004 : 103)

7 On relève également des formes comme : *pič*, *pičo*, *pihl*, *pico*, *picol*.
8 Il a aussi existé des variantes : *pelo*, *pel*, *pélo*.

Comme on le remarque tout de suite, toutes les langues romanes, à l'exception du corse et du roumain, se servent d'adjectifs basés sur des radicaux qui se ressemblent. Néanmoins notons, en dacoroumain, la présence d'autres mots relationnés avec les racines qui nous intéressent: *pic* 'peu', *pici* 'gamin, garçon', *pitic* 'petit' (ce dernier admet aussi une acception spécialisée de 'nain', et sa variante *chitic* est une désignation générique des petits poissons), *piṭigoi*, *piṭiguș* 'mésange charbonnière'; cf. encore méglénoroumain *pică* 'goutte' (EWRS 1304; Capidan 1935: 220).

Il est visible qu'une fois substantivés, plusieurs des vocables réunis s'emploient pour désigner une personne jeune ('enfant, garçon, gamin, gosse') ou quelque chose de petit ('doigt auriculaire', 'morceau').

Les dictionnaires et les ouvrages consultés proposent des étymologies des mots relevés et nous observons qu'elles se recouvrent partiellement, ce qui nous mène à constater qu'elles doivent être correctes dans quelque mesure. Pourtant, aucun auteur n'offre la solution définitive du problème, une solution qui envisage toutes les données d'une manière globale. Certains se sont proposé de reconstituer des étymons entiers (assez forcés, à notre avis) pour quelques adjectifs particuliers, comme p.ex.:

- **peccūnnus* pour portugais *pequeno* et espagnol *pequeño* (Bourciez 1946: 184);
- une poignée d'étymons latins peu précis: *pittinus*, *pittitus*, **piccinu* (DOLR 1: 74, 163) ou bien *pitinnus*, *pitulus*, *piccinus*, *pikkinus*, *pitikkus* d'origine expressive, tout comme *pittittus* qui aurait donné *petit* en catalan (toutes sans astérisque, DE s.v. *petit*);
- un mot gallo-roman **pittitu(s)* (DCVB s.v. *petit*; Bourciez 1946: 184) / **pettittus* (FEW s.v.; TLF s.v. *petit*) / **pettittus* (REW 6451) qui aurait donné *petit* en catalan, en ancien occitan et en français;
- **pīccūlus* pour italien *piccolo* (Bourciez 1946: 184);
- une série de formes hypothétiques prétendument continuées en ladin des Dolomites: **pīccīlis* au val Badia, **pīccūlus* dans Livinallongo del Col di Lana et au val di Fassa, **piclus* et **pīccēūlus* au val Gardena (EWD 5 s.v. *pic(e)*);

On devrait ajouter ici les formes **putīnus* (EWRS 1418; Capidan 1935: 243), **putinus* (DELR 6993; Byhan 1899: 325; DITG: 264), **putinnus* (Mihăescu 1993: 168; Bara 2004: 128) et **paucinus* (DELR 6993; Byhan 1899: 325), proposées pour expliquer l'origine des adjectifs roumains signifiant 'un peu, en petite quantité', indubitablement apparentés aux vocables qui nous intéressent: daco- et istroroumain *puṭin*, aroumain *p(u)ṭân^u*, *psân^u* et méglénoroumain *puṭon*.

À part ces hypothèses qui suggèrent des étymons entiers, il y en a beaucoup plus, dans les travaux consultés, qui s'efforcent d'indiquer une racine qui soit plausible ; toutefois, elles n'arrivent pas non plus à une solution commune. Bref, l'état du savoir présent peut en effet se résumer par une citation du DELL (s.v. *paruus*) : « [pour dire 'petit'] les langues romanes ont [...] des formes d'origine obscure qui remontent partiellement à **pīkk*, **pis-*, **pit-*, **pūt-* ».

Après avoir parcouru les opinions de différents auteurs sur le sujet en question, il est possible de les classer en quelques groupes, suivant le critère de la nature et de l'origine supposée du radical reconstruit.

Premièrement, il y a ceux qui soulignent l'origine expressive du radical en cause, ce qui semble naturel, étant donné l'idée de petitesse qu'il véhicule. On trouve cette opinion dans DELP (s.v. *pequeno*) et DCECH (s.v. *pequeño*), qui reconstruisent une racine à trois éléments (/p/ initial, voyelle antérieure et consonne occlusive sourde), ainsi que dans FEW (s.v. **pettittus*) et TLF (s.v. *pitchoun*), qui postulent un radical expressif **pitch-*/**pitš-*. Une base expressive *piṭ-* pour le dacoroumain *puṭin* et ses correspondants des autres dialectes roumains est proposée par DELR (6993).

Deuxièmement, certains travaux suggèrent que les radicaux qui ont servi de base aux adjectifs romans signifiant 'petit' proviennent de la langue des enfants, ce qui – vu le côté formel et sémantique – paraît assez probable. Telle est l'opinion concernant la racine **pitt-* (DCVB s.v. *petit*), **pikk-* et des formations latines comme *pisinnus*, *pitinnus*, *pusillus* ou *pusinnus* (EWD 5 s.v. *pic(e)*; Bourciez 1946 : 57).

Troisièmement, il y a certains dictionnaires qui discernent dans la reconstruction une base onomatopéique qui se réfère à quelque chose de petit : **pikk-* (DES s.v. *pikkulu*; EWD 5 s.v. *pic(e)*; AEI s.v. *piccino*) et **pič-*, **pinč-*/**pink-* (HWBR s.v. *petschen*, s.v. *pign*; LRC s.v. *petschen*, s.v. *pign*). Cette explication nous semble moins pertinente parce que nous ne voyons pas la source de ces onomatopées prétendues (qu'est-ce qu'elles imiteraient ?⁹).

9 Nous trouvons une explication dans DCECH (s.v. *pequeño*) qui cite et appuie la thèse proposée par Walter Goldberger. À l'origine, le radical *pikk-*, présent aussi dans le mot latin *pīcus* 'pivert', aurait exprimé le bruit émis par le bec d'un oiseau qui est en train de creuser un arbre ou d'érafler le sol ; le développement sémantique postérieur aurait été le suivant : 'appel affectueux pour faire venir les oiseaux domestiques' → 'appel affectueux ou hypocoristique pour faire venir les enfants' → 'idée de petitesse'. Cette évolution nous paraît peu plausible.

Nous serions plus enclin à accepter la proposition qui consiste à appeler ces radicaux « phonosymboliques », comme le fait DES (s.v. *piččókku*) pour **pitts-* et pour ce qu'il considère comme sa variante *pikk-* (sans astérisque). Sans être partisan du symbolisme phonétique, dans les racines des adjectifs étudiés, nous admettons malgré tout la domination des consonnes occlusives sourdes /p/, /t/ et /k/ (éventuellement aussi l'affriquée /tʃ/), ainsi que des voyelles fermées /u/ et /i/ (d'où aussi → /e/) ¹⁰.

Quelques dictionnaires cherchent à trouver la solution dans un croisement du radical reconstruit avec un autre radical ou un autre mot. REW (6494) se demande si la racine **pikk-* 'petit' a quelque chose de commun avec *pikk-* 'dard', 'pointu' (→ 'fin' → 'petit'), mais il arrive à la conclusion que c'est peu vraisemblable. Pourtant, il voit une contamination de deux radicaux dans quelques vocables romans (6550), issus de la base *pitzinnus* 'petit', notamment : (+ **pikk-* 'petit') tarentin *piččinnu* 'petit', (+ *pūtus* 'enfant') roumain *puțin* 'peu', (+ **pek-*) espagnol *pequeño* et portugais *pequeno*. DCECH (s.v. *pequeño*) explique les mêmes formes ibéro-romanes et l'ancien sarde *pikinnu* par une combinaison du latin vulgaire *pitinnus* avec la racine *pikk-*. À son tour, en s'interrogeant sur l'origine des adjectifs végliotes, EDV (s.v. *pedlo*) constate qu'elles doivent être liées au mot **pettia* 'pièce, morceau' – ce qui nous semble hautement improbable, vu qu'il s'agit d'un vocable de provenance gauloise.

Après avoir exposé et commenté les principales hypothèses étymologiques proposées par les ouvrages consultés, changeons maintenant d'optique et regardons de plus près les données historiques qui nous sont accessibles, en commençant par le latin.

Le mot latin *parvus* 'petit' n'appartenait pas au vocabulaire courant employé tous les jours, étant donné qu'il ne s'est pas conservé dans les langues romanes comme l'adjectif de base véhiculant le sens de 'petit' ¹¹. Toutefois, il existe des

10 Quant aux consonnes, cf. également quelques mots du polonais familier à racines et sémantique rapprochées : *pikuś* [pikuɕ] 'chose sans importance', *tyci* [titɕi], *pyci* [pitɕi] 'tout petit'. En ce qui concerne les voyelles, on constate la même tendance dans le cas des suffixes qui sont devenus des marqueurs diminutifs dans les langues romanes (Dębowskiak 2014 : 173).

11 En fait, son dérivé diminutif *parvulus* continue d'exister dans quelques langues romanes, en gardant plus ou moins visiblement son sens primitif : italien *pargolo* et occitan *parvol* 'enfant', portugais et galicien *parvo* 'stupide', *parva* (comme adjectif) 'id.' et (comme substantif) 'petit repas que l'on prend à jeun' (REW 6262).

traces isolées des adjectifs latins qui peuvent plausiblement constituer la base d'au moins quelques-uns des vocables considérés dans la présente étude, ou bien y être associés.

Ainsi avons-nous quelques formations expressives attestées en latin vulgaire et tardif. Dans des inscriptions latines, on trouve *pitinnus* (en 406), *pitzinnus*, *pisinus*, *pisinnus*, *pusinnus* 'petit' et même la forme dérivée *pitzinnina* (en 392) (REW 6550; DCECH s.v. *pequeño*; FEW s.v. **pettittus*; TLF s.v. *petit*; DES s.v. *pitsínnu*; EWD 5 s.v. *pic(e)*; Mihăescu 1993 : 168). Dans la 2^e moitié du VI^e siècle, chez Antoninus Placentinus ou Anonyme de Plaisance, on relève *pitulus* (DCECH s.v. *pequeño*) ou *pitullus* (FEW s.v. **pettittus*; TLF s.v. *petit*). Ensuite, dans un document chrétien rédigé en latin vulgaire, datant de 775, on lit « *Pitito Villare* » (DCECH s.v. *pequeño*; DCVB s.v. *petit*; TLF s.v. *petit*). Finalement, dans les Gloses de Reichenau, au VIII^e siècle, on trouve la glose *perpititta* traduisant la forme *subtilissima*, un dérivé intensificateur de *pitittu* formé à l'aide du préfixe *per*-¹² (DCVB s.v. *petit*).

Nous remarquons une certaine ressemblance entre les formes énumérées et les mots suivants, documentés en latin classique : *pisinnus* 'petit', *pūsus/putus* 'petit garçon', *pusillus/putillus* 'tout petit'. Dans ces vocables affectifs, on observe une oscillation dans le radical (sauf pour la consonne initiale) : /i/ ~ /u/, /t/ ~ /s/. En admettant les influences des uns sur les autres, provoquées par la proximité sémantique et pragmatique, il est possible de justifier facilement, dans les formes tardives relevées, la présence des radicaux **pit/-* (cf. catalan, occitan, français, francoprovençal ; aussi milanais *pitin* 'peu'), **pis/-* (cf. logudorien et nuorien *pišédđu* 'jeune ; garçon, gamin') et **pus/-*. Les formes romanes nous mènent également à reconstruire des bases **put/-* (pour le roumain) et **pik/-* (pour le domaine ibéro-roman, le sarde et l'italien)¹³. Devant voyelle palatale, **pit/-* et **pik/-* auraient donné **pits/-* et **piʃ/-* (cf. occitan, italien, domaine rhéto-roman) qui, plus tard, se seraient autonomisés. De plus, toutes sortes de reduplications consonantiques et d'allongements vocaliques expressifs se seraient produits, ce qui expliquerait, d'une part, la conservation des consonnes sourdes /k/ et /t/ dans les mots des langues romanes occidentales, et d'autre part, le maintien de

12 En latin, la dérivation avec les préfixes *per-* et *sub-* servait parfois à créer des adjectifs et des adverbes diminutifs, cf. Dębowiak (2014 : 68).

13 À titre de comparaison, l'alternance synchronique /t/ ~ /k/ au sein d'une seule langue est visible dans les dialectes français (*petit* vs. *pequit*) ou bien en roumain (*mic* > *mititel/mitutel* – à moins qu'il s'agisse ici d'une assimilation à distance admise par DELR 5252).

la voyelle /i/, primitivement brève, dans plusieurs formes romanes (en occitan, italien et dans le domaine rhéto-roman)¹⁴.

Ensuite, il faut éclaircir les différents suffixes qui se sont adjoints à ces bases. Les adjectifs romans signifiant 'petit', qui sont – répétons-le – des dérivés suffixaux, ont souvent une valeur affective et, par là même, on peut les comparer aux mots diminutifs – eux aussi, dans la plupart des cas, des dérivés suffixaux véhiculant différentes nuances sémantiques émotives. Il est alors à supposer que les suffixes représentés dans les deux groupes de mots appartiennent au même ensemble des suffixes affectifs qui, bien évidemment, diffèrent d'un domaine linguistique à l'autre. Comme plusieurs chercheurs l'ont déjà démontré dans leurs études, ces suffixes ont fréquemment une origine difficile à préciser, car ils ne sont attestés que très rarement ou pas du tout ; de plus, en raison de leur fonction spécifique, ils sont susceptibles d'avoir évolué sans obéir aux lois linguistiques (et de présenter des irrégularités sous forme de reduplications consonantiques et de changements de quantité vocalique).

Ainsi le suffixe latin *-īnu-* a-t-il donné, d'un côté, régulièrement *-ino* en italien (*piccino*) et *-in* en roumain (*puțin*), et de l'autre côté, par redoublement de consonne et l'abrègement consécutif de voyelle, **-innu-* qui aurait été la base pour *-eno* en portugais et galicien (*pequeno*)¹⁵, *-eñu* en asturien (*pequeñu*), *-eño* en espagnol (*pequeño*) et *-innu* en ancien sarde (*pikinnu*, *pithinnu*), toujours accentués. Le suffixe **-ittu-* aurait souffert un prolongement de la voyelle et produit *-it* accentué en catalan, occitan et français (*petit*). Le suffixe affectif *-(i)ōne-*, originaire de la troisième déclinaison latine, a donné *-(i)on* en occitan (*pichon*) et dans les dialectes d'oïl (*pequion*, *petion*). Un autre suffixe portant l'accent est **-ottu-* que l'on voit en occitan (*pichòt*), en franco-provençal (*petiout*) et dans les dialectes français (*pequiot*, *petiot*)¹⁶. Le suffixe tonique **-iccu-*, ayant souffert un prolongement de la voyelle, est resté en roumain (*pitic*). Ensuite, **-iccu-* et **-occu-* sont représentés en sarde (*pitikku*, *pikkikku*, *pikkókku*). Le suffixe diminutif latin

14 Par contre, dans les domaines ibéro- et gallo-roman, l'évolution a été régulière vers /e/ fermé, en y engendrant **/pek/-*, **/pet/-*.

15 La forme galicienne *pequecho* résulte d'une substitution de suffixes, phénomène observé parfois dans les dérivés diminutifs et affectifs. Le suffixe *-echo* s'emploie parfois pour former des adjectifs diminutifs en galicien, p.ex. *grande* 'grand' > *grandecho*, *longo* 'long' > *longuecho*.

16 Tout comme en corse, *minottu* 'petit', qui est un adjectif dérivé d'une autre base (celle de l'adjectif latin *minūtus* 'petit, menu' ?), présente également dans d'autres mots romans : portugais *menino*, catalan *minyó* 'garçon, gamin, enfant', français *mignon*.

atone *-ulu-* est visible dans les adjectifs : italien (*piccolo, picciolo*), frioulan (*piçul*), dalmate (**pitulu-* → **petlo* → *pedlo*) et peut-être en istriote (**piculu-* → **peclo* → *péičo*). Finalement, *-inu-* atone latin apparaît en romanche (*petschen, pitschen*)¹⁷ et en ladin (*pice*). Et tout ceci pour ne parler que des adjectifs de base, car ces mêmes suffixes (et beaucoup d'autres) reviennent aussi dans les mots dérivés relevés dans le tableau¹⁸.

C'est donc à travers des combinaisons spontanées d'éléments appartenant à ces deux groupes de morphèmes fort expressifs : 1) radicaux véhiculant l'idée de petitesse, 2) suffixes à fonction affective, émotionnelle et/ou diminutive, que s'est créée la richesse des adjectifs romans signifiant 'petit'. Leurs formes contemporaines trahissent normalement leur ancien caractère composé. Il est intéressant de remarquer que dans beaucoup de cas, un radical ou un suffixe particulier se répète sur des territoires compacts ou voisins, sans que les dérivés finaux qui y fonctionnent soient forcément construits des mêmes éléments (nous reprenons les quelques exemples les plus saillants) :

- **/pit/-* : en sarde (+ roumain), et sa variante **/pet/-* dans les domaines occitano-catalan et gallo-roman ;
- **/pik/-* : en sarde et en italien (+ roumain), et sa variante **/pek/-* dans les langues ibéro-romanes¹⁹ ;
- **/pitʃ/-* : en occitan, en italien et dans le domaine rhéto-roman, et sa variante **/petʃ/-* en romanche ;

17 Les formes romanches *pign*, fém. *pintga* proviennent, semble-t-il, non pas d'un radical particulier **pinč-/*pink-*, mais d'une métathèse facilitant la prononciation : *pitschna* [piʃnə] > *pintga* [pintʃə], forme à partir de laquelle aurait été refait le masculin *pintg* [pintʃ] / *pign* [piɲ]. Tous les adjectifs romans en question proviennent de formations suffixées, ce qui nous paraît un argument en faveur de notre proposition.

18 Les mêmes suffixes, sauf *-inu-* atone, restent parsemés dans différentes langues romanes comme marqueurs diminutifs, ayant souffert un développement régulier ou non : *-inu-* → port. *-inho*, gal. *-iño*, ast. *-in*, esp. *-ino*, cat. *-í*, fr., frprov., rom., lad., frioul. *-in*, it. *-ino* ; **-ittu-* → (régulièrement : /i/ primitivement bref → /e/) cat., oc., fr., rom., lad. *-et*, frprov. *-èt*, it. *-etto*, (irrégulièrement : /i/ primitivement bref → /i/) port., gal., ast., esp. *-ito*, frioul. *-it* ; *-ōne-* → cat. *-ó*, oc., fr., frprov. *-on* ; **-ottu-* → port., gal. *-oto*, oc. *-òt*, fr., frprov., lad. *-ot*, it. *-otto* ; **-iccu-* → port., gal., esp. *-ico*, cat., oc., roum. *-ic*, fr. *-iche* ; **-occu-* → port., esp. *-oco*, fr. *-oche*, dial. it. *-occo* ; *-ulu-* → it. *-olo*, lad. *-ol*, frioul. *-ul*.

19 L'adjectif portugais *peco* 'qui n'a pas réussi à croître ; maigre ; affaibli' est à rattacher au même radical.

- *-īnu-*: en italien et en roumain, et sa variante **-innu-* dans les langues ibéro-romanes et en ancien sarde ;
- **-ittu-*: dans le domaine occitano-catalan et en français ;
- **-ottu-*: en occitan, en franco-provençal et dans les dialectes français ;
- *-ulu-*: en italien, en frioulan et en dalmate ;
- *-inu-*: en romanche et en ladin.

N'oublions pas que ces combinaisons s'avèrent encore plus diversifiées si on tient compte des formes dérivées.

Pour conclure, nous sommes persuadé qu'afin d'expliquer correctement l'origine de tous ces mots, il faut surtout regarder le problème d'une perspective comparative. La reconstruction d'étymons isolés est oiseuse voire impossible face à la complexité du problème (ce qu'avouent d'ailleurs certains dictionnaires, p.ex. DCECH s.v. *pequeño*; DELI s.v. *piccino*; EWD 5 s.v. *pic(e)*); c'est d'autant plus vrai qu'il y a plusieurs évolutions phonétiques irrégulières qui entrent en jeu çà et là, en raison du caractère affectif des formations en question.

Jusqu'à présent, nos considérations ne se sont pas référées aux adjectifs de base signifiant 'petit' du corse et des dialectes roumains. Ces vocables méritent une mention à part.

Le corse *chjucu* fait penser à une forme latine **clucu-* qu'il serait peut-être juste d'associer au mot grec γλυκύς 'doux; agréable, charmant' (DGF s.v.); le développement sémantique de celui-ci aurait été d'un sens affectif à un sens concret, se référant aux dimensions de l'objet ou de l'être évoqué. Il faut ajouter que le verbe latin *cluciāre* 'rendre adouci', provenant du même adjectif grec, est noté dans DLF (s.v. *clŭcĭo*), tout en manquant dans DELL. Notons que le corse *chjucu* a des correspondances dans les dialectes médians italiens: *ćŭko*, *ćŭko*, *ćŭgo*, *ćŭgo* 'petit' (AIS I, carte 39).

Le roumain *mic* (daco-, mégléno- et istroroumain; *ńik*^u en aroumain) n'a pas d'étymologie sûre non plus. Plusieurs auteurs se sont proposé de reconstruire une forme latine **mīcus*/**mīccus* (EWRS 1067; DELRom 1092; DISE: 219; DEM 1: 133; Bourciez 1946: 184) / **miccus* (DELR 5252) qui soit correspondrait au grec dorique μικ(κ)ός, c'est-à-dire μικρός 'petit' (EWRS 1067; DELRom 1092; DELR 5252), soit viendrait du mot latin *mīca* 'parcelle, miette' (EWRS 1067; DELR 5252; Byhan 1899: 276; Bourciez 1946: 184). Les mêmes sources fournissent également des correspondances sémantiques et formelles d'autres idiomes romans, comme: italien *miccino* (> *miccinino*, *micolino*) 'peu', abruzzais *nikę*, *nikkę* (> *nikulę*) 'id.', sicilien *niku* (> *nikaru*, *nikaređđu*) 'petit', calabrien *mikku* (> *mikkarillu*) 'un corps petit

et mince'. Selon DELR (5252), tous ces mots romans, le mot latin et le mot grec conduisent probablement à la même source expressive.

Nous sommes d'avis qu'il est plus justifié de chercher l'origine de l'adjectif roumain *mic*, ainsi que des formes apparentées, dans le mot latin *mīca* 'parcelle, miette' qu'en grec. Après avoir subi un développement phonétique régulier, ce vocable s'est conservé dans plusieurs langues romanes: p.ex. portugais *miga* (> *migalha*), espagnol *miga* (> *migaja*) 'miette', occitan *miga* (> *migon* 'crottin'), français *mie* (> *miette*, *mioche*), italien *mica*, frioulan *mighe* 'miette', roumain *mică* 'instant' (cf. REW 5559). Les autres formes, avec un redoublement expressif de la consonne, ont dû exister elles aussi, mais sur des territoires limités:

- **mīcca*- est postulée par le catalan et l'occitan *mica* 'miette', ainsi que par des dialectes italiens (cf. ci-dessus);
- **mīccu*- est représenté dans le sud de l'Italie (cf. ci-dessus) et, justement, dans les quatre dialectes roumains.

Comme on le sait, les mots désignant des choses ou des quantités petites ont parfois joué le rôle d'un renforcement de la négation dans les langues romanes. Bien évidemment, cet emploi est particulièrement visible en ancien et en moyen français où on observe *ne ... mie*, *ne ... goutte*, *ne ... maille*, *ne ... grain* et, finalement, *ne ... point* et *ne ... pas* qui ont fini par se généraliser et se sont grammaticalisés. En italien, on disait *ne ... mica*, *ne ... punta*, *ne ... punto*; c'est aussi à un dialecte nord-italien, peut-être vénitien, que le romanche engadinois a emprunté la négation *ne ... miga* et l'a adaptée comme *nu ... nimia* 'rien' (HWBR s.v. *nimja*). En roumain contemporain, on a des pronoms indéfinis soudés *nimic*, *nimică* (autrefois aussi *nemic*, *nemică*) 'rien' qui ressemblent aux anciens pronoms indéfinis dans les langues ibéro-romanes: portugais *nemigalha*, espagnol *nemigaja* 'rien'. Suivant REW (5885), tous ces mots proviendraient d'un latin *nēmīca* (sans astérisque) 'rien'; on ne peut cependant dire avec certitude si la reconstruction d'un étymon commun est, ou non, justifiée. En effet, à notre avis, il est aussi possible que la fusion du syntagme *nē mīca* 'ni une miette' se soit produite indépendamment dans différents domaines linguistiques.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le mot *mică* s'est maintenu en roumain avec un sens élargi (face au latin *mīca*) de 'quelque chose de petit'; de plus, il était employé en tant qu'élément renforçant la négation, sous la forme entière *mică* ou réduite *mic*. En s'appliquant à la description des objets petits, primitivement peut-être dans la fonction d'apposition ou de complément du nom, ces formes auraient fini par devenir des adjectifs épithètes signifiant 'petit'.

Pour terminer nos considérations, disons juste quelques mots sur l'étymologie du latin *mīca*. Comme celui-ci et ses variantes n'ont pas d'origine sûre (cf. DELL s.v.; LEW s.v.; EDLIL s.v.), nous pourrions supposer qu'ils s'appuient sur un radical expressif **mik-*, à rattacher à **pik-* et aux autres mentionnés avant; l'alternance des bilabiales /p/ ~ /m/ au début du mot nous semble tout à fait imaginable.

En espérant avoir éclairé quelques problèmes relatifs à l'origine des adjectifs romans signifiant 'petit', nous sommes persuadé que c'est l'un des cas les plus manifestes qui mettent en évidence les profits inestimables qu'apporte la méthode comparée aux études étymologiques.

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ETYMOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL PROBLEMS IN TRILINGUAL MIDDLE ENGLAND

Im ersten Teil meines Beitrags (*Etymological Excursus*) geht es um die beiden Lexeme me. *rode* ‘Kreuz’ (< ae. *rōd*) und me. *cro(s)*, von denen das letztere als *rood* inzwischen veraltet ist (Käsmann 1961). Die gängigen Nachschlagewerke verzeichnen für letzteres ae. *cro(s)* als Etymon, das im 10. Jh. allerdings lediglich in der englischen Onomastik belegt ist. Es steht für Wegekreuze, Marktkreuze und Personen, z. B.: *Robertus Cros*, *Normannes Cros*, etc.; vgl. *Rood* ‘ein Kruzifix, d. h. ein Kreuz mit der Figur des gekreuzigten Christus’, obwohl auch gelegentlich angewandt auf ein großes Kreuz ohne eine solche Figur (Robertson, Shepherd 2006: 632).

Im *Epilogue*. *The Trilingual Linguistic Situation during the Middle English Period* wird auf die Rolle der drei Sprachen – Latein, Anglo-Französisch und Englisch – Bezug genommen.

ae. *Cros*, from old Irish *Cros*, ae. *Rōd*, afrz. *Crois*, christianization of Britain

I Etymological excursus: Modern English *cross* – Middle English *kross/cross*, a loanword from Old Norse? Received wisdom?

The fact that ME *cross*, along with the variant *cors/kors* (metathesis of *ro > or*), is one of the central terms of the Christian religion of the early Middle Ages does not require any particular proof. Historians of the English language have repeatedly argued that the lexeme in question was borrowed from the Scandinavian language area into EME. This is countered by the fact that the Christianization of

Kent under Abbot Augustine of Canterbury, whom Pope Gregory had sent to the island, had already begun in the year 597 (LMA 3: 1963b), alongside the activity of the Hiberno-Scottish Church. It is known that the Christianization of Norway began about 400 years later: ca. 995–1000 and 1015–1030 (LMA 6: 1263b), so that the hypothesis of a ON (Scandinavian) loanword *cross*/*kross* is implausible.

In der Realität verlief die Christianisierung aber wohl als allmählicher Prozess, war das Christentum den Norwegern doch bereits auf Wiking- und Handelswegen und durch das Wirken ausländischer Missionare in Teilen des Landes begegnet (Einflüsse sowohl der englischen Kirche als auch des Erzbistums – Hamburg-Bremen). (LMA 6: 1264b–1265a)

Durkin assumes the above hypothesis and claims:

The history of Old English *cros* and of Middle English *cros* (> Modern English *cross*) has been much discussed. For recent views, see on the one hand Diensberg (1997), who assumes that Old English *cros* is from Old Irish, and suggests that Middle English *cros* could, like the form *crois*, show a new borrowing from French; on the other hand, Dance (2003: 417–418), who argues (in my view convincingly) that both Old English *cros* and Middle English very likely came into English via Scandinavian. (Durkin 2014: 79, footnote 7).

Pace Dance (2003: 417), his line of argument, namely that “[t]his word has apparently entered English by something of a circuitous route, starting off in Latin (*crux*, *cruc*-) and passing through an Old Irish stage (OIr. *cros*)”, is mere speculation, at most hypothetical, and lacks definite proof.

As is well known, the 13th and 14th centuries witnessed a great influx of Romance (Anglo-French and later Continental French) loanwords, so that the proponents of the Norwegian hypothesis wanted to score points in this case. Pace Dance: “weil, so schließt er messerscharf, nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf” (quoted from Christian Morgenstern (1871–1914), “Die unmögliche Tatsache” of 1910). Contrary to Dance, an OE lexeme *cros* is out of the question; it only occurs in designations of places and roadside crosses. It is in this sense and not any other that the attestation cited by Dance (2003: 417), i.e. “*Normannes cros*, a hundred near Peterborough, found as early as the tenth century”, is to be understood.

Not surprisingly, Dance does not refer to my article on ME *crois* versus *cross* (Diensberg 1997: 459–461). Dance wrongly assumes OE *cros* in place names and names of roadside crosses to be the ancestor of ME *cros* (> ModE *cross*). His alleged

etymon, EME **cros*, cannot account for EME *crois*, etc. which comes from French (Diensberg 1997: 459–460), nor does it solve the chronological problems discussed above. Christianity was taken to Norway about 400 years later than to England (Diensberg 1997: 459): missionaries came from England and from Northern Germany (Hamburg, Bremen). Inroads from Scandinavia to England began from the second half of the 7th century onwards and continued until the 10th century. It is hard to believe that pagan Vikings brought a central term of the Christian religion with them to England. Unless, disregarding all uncertainties, you make ON *kross* as your etymon as ‘a kind of received wisdom’ (Diensberg 1997: 459). Even earlier scholars have cast doubt on the widespread assumption that OE *cros(s)* was borrowed from ON, since there are no other loanwords of Scandinavian origin in the area of religion (Diensberg 1997: 460).

Aside from the fact that OIr *cros* (< Lat. *crūcem* < *crūx*) offers itself as a plausible candidate, the proponents of the Norwegian hypothesis have to explain the origin of EME *creoiz/creois* and ME *crois*, where one cannot avoid a Romance etymology (see Diensberg 1975: 2.1/5ff.).

II Phonological appendix

cross n. ‘cross, sign of the cross’ ca. 1200? (OED: 963–984; BDE: 237a; KDEE: 302a; ODEE: 230b, s.v. *cross*¹)

OE *cros*, allegedly adapted from OIr *cros*, certainly not from ON *kross*. All the etymological dictionaries referred to are wrong on that count. How the heathen Danes, who began to invade England from the second half of the 7th century onwards, should have brought a central religious term to the British Isles remains the secret of those who advocate this explanation. As in many other cases the term in question was readapted and in consequence we have both *crois* and *cros* in EME (*Ancrene Riwe* – see editions in the references below). Both forms are found throughout that period, although *cros/kros* (this form appears as *kors* : *hors* in rhyme through metathesis) is more frequently found in the North there is absolutely no need to postulate a borrowing of ON *kross*. The North of England shows a general reduction of diphthongs on *-i*, i.e. *ai*, *oi* > *a*, *o*. Anglo-French can easily account for variants with a monophthong, namely *crotz*, *croz*, *croscce*, *croce*, co-occurring with more frequent *croiz*, *croi*, *croice*, *croicz*, *crois*, *croise*, *croiss*, *croisse*, *croit*, *croitz*, *croix*; there are also forms such as *cruce*, *cruche*, *cruiz*, *cruz* ‘cross, cross (her.), sign of the cross, cross stamped on coins’ (AND: *croiz*¹). Both OE *crūc*

which survives as *crouch* n., *crouched* adj. (see below), and Anglo-French *crois/croz* ‘(sign of the) cross’ (AND: *croiz*¹), go back to Latin *crūcem*, obl. sing. of *crūx*, as do OIr/OE *cross*, and Dutch *kruis*, and Germ. *Kreuz*. Apart from denoting ‘a road cross’ and the like, OE *cross* is attested only in place names, while the current OE terms *crūc* and *rōd* had to give way to the Anglo-French term and its variants. Ultimately, the rarer monophthongal variant *cross* survives into ModE. This may indeed be due to Scandinavian *kross* which, at least in late ME, assured the victory of just the same variant, while unlike in the case of the majority of *oi*-words of Romance origin, the form *crois* became obsolete. See Diensberg (1997: 459–461) for a thorough discussion of the origin of ModE *cross*, Diensberg (2006: 51), Durkin (2014: 79 and fn. 7), Käsmann (1958: 295–299).

cross v. ‘make the sign of the cross’ ca. 1200? (BDE: 237a/f; KDEE: 302a/b; ODEE: 230b, s.v. *cross*¹)

EME *croisen*, *crossen*, adapted from Anglo-French *croizer*, *croiser*, *croisier*, *croisser* ‘to cross, arrange in a cross; to make the sign of the Cross over; to make the sign of the Cross over as a binding oath; etc.’ (AND: *croizer*), from Lat. *crūciāre*, derived from *crūcem* obl. sing. of *crūx* ‘cross’. For the later development and the etymology see *cross* n.

Documentation (see *Ancrene Riwe* in the References)

cross n. ‘cross, sign of the cross’

“A Corpus”: *creoiz* (n.) 5b/9, 36a/9, 7 x; “Nero”: 14 x; “Cleopatra”: *creoiz* 54/4; *croiz* 18v/21; *cross* 10v/2, 3, 20v/3, 159/9; *crossen* (pl.) 18v/18, 19/1, 20v/4; “Titus”: *croiz* 1/31, 37/9; *cross* 1/29; *croices* (pl.) 2/2; “Nero”: *creoiz* 20/5, 58/2; “Vernon”: *crois* 9/5; *croiz* 11/15.

cross v. ‘make the sign of the cross’

“Nero”: *creoised* (pl. imper.) 28/9; *icreoiced* (pp.) 8/1; “Cleopatra”: *crossit* (pl. imper.) 26v/15; “Vernon”: *croiseþ* (pl. imper.) 25/10; *croyset* (pp.) 8/29.

NB: These are the earliest recorded forms of *crois* and *croisen*. “F Ancrene” has *croisee* 13/26 for “A Corpus”: *icruchet* 5a/28, which is notable, as the examples of *croisier* in Godefroy (1883: 378–379) are not so early. On the various words for ‘to make the sign of the cross’, see Käsmann (1958: 295–298).

III Etymological typology

How can the gap between diphthongal French-type *crois/cruis* and monophthongal *cross/cors* of Scandinavian origin be bridged? In my Phil. Dissertation (Diensberg 1985) I have tackled this question and solved the problem successfully.

I have postulated four independent but etymologically related types which are found in French loanwords containing *oi/ui* (Diensberg 1985: 32):

Type I:	<i>oi/ui</i> + K(K)-	<i>foisun, fuisun; boiste, buiste; coilen, cuilen;</i>
Type II:	<i>oi/ui</i> + K(K) + <i>j-</i>	EME <i>despoilzen</i> , ENE <i>assoilze, -ye</i>
Type III:	<i>o/u</i> + K(K) + <i>j-</i>	LME <i>fusyoun, bostious/bustious;</i>
Type IV:	<i>o/u</i> + K(K) + IV	ME <i>pus(o)un, p(o)usun.</i>

The monophthongal type IV prevails in the Danelaw counties of the North and Northeast, while the diphthongal type I (of French origin) is more frequently encountered in Southern and Southwestern counties. Thus *cross(s)* alternates with *crois* until the latter's demise during the 14th/15th centuries.

This saves us from the assumption of a Norwegian etymon of the type *kross* which is fraught with chronological difficulties as we have shown below.

ModE *cross, crois*, German *Kreuz* (Kluge 2011: 541), Dutch *kruis* (NEW 367a), and the related verb *crossen/croicen* are undoubtedly of French origin. Both monophthongal forms such as *cross* and diphthongal forms often occur in the same text.

Apart from innumerable occurrences of Type I, there are forms such as *crouched*, found in the expression *Crouched/Crutched Friars* (Type IV).

Contrary to MED (s.v. *cross* n.), this lexeme is not only attested in the 12th century under the meaning 7.b (place names) and 11. (person names), e.g.: *Crosseby* (1123; EPNSoc 21), *Robertus Cros* (1199; CRR (1) 2). It is already attested in sources from the 10th century. The assumption of the MED editors that OIr *cros* has been borrowed into OE (see onomastic material) as well into Old Icelandic still lacks definite proof (Diensberg 1985: 129).

The assumption on the part of the editor of the MED that OIr. *cros* entered both OE (see place names) and ON (cf. Old Icelandic *kross*) is by no means proved. It is countered by the fact that the influence of the Germanic idioms in England via the individual Insular Celtic languages was very slight, which is confirmed by the few loan words of Celtic origin (insofar as they are inherited from the earliest times) in Modern Standard English and its dialects. Even if the borrowing

of OIr. *cros* 'cross' through the mediation of the Hiberno-Scottish missionaries of the 7th and 8th centuries is accepted, the fact remains that outside onomastics ME *cross* occurs as late as the early 13th century, only to lose ground to the French type I *crois*, *croiz* for about 200 years.

As discussed above, ME *cros(se)* 'cross' is not found until the beginning of the 13th century in the early versions of the *Ancrene Riwe* and the *Lazamon* (the Caligula MS) (cf. Käsmann 1961: 113). But these texts also point to the French-derived form *crois/croiz* (AND: 124; T/L 2/2: 1086), as well as the verb *croisen*, *-in* 'to the make sign of the cross', which goes back to OFr. *croisier* (T/L 2/2: 1077). After 1250 the evidence for *crois/croiz* (T/L 2/2: 1086) [-ois, -oiz, Type I] clearly dominated in the ME tradition, and it is only in the course of the 14th century that the noun *cros(s)* 'cross' and the verb *crosse(n)* derived from it, i.e. Type IV [-os (s)], come to the fore. In this way the phonetic shape of the ModE word becomes established. The MED, s.v. *cros* n., cites rhymes such as *cros* : *hors* in texts from the first half of the 15th century. These rhymes are obviously based on a metathesized variant of Anglo-French *cros* (see AEW: 331b), which points to the spreading of Anglo-French *kross* at least in the northern dialects. It is no coincidence that the displacement of ME *croise(n)* takes place almost simultaneously with the decline of French as a language of education and communication in England (see Berndt 1972: 337 ff.).

IV Conclusion

I hope to have proved that the two lexemes ME *cros* and French *crois/croiz* have merged under the former variant *cros*. Moreover there is no need to have recourse to a ON etymon *kross* for chronological reasons.

V Epilogue. The trilingual linguistic situation during the Middle English Period

It is commonly held that insular French (= Anglo-French), which had been the first language of a small but influential part of the population, i.e. the highest ranks of the aristocracy and the clergy among others, fell into disuse around the middle of the 13th century. Precisely about 1250 French grammar books and readers begin to be written, which is regarded as evidence that Anglo-French was no longer anyone's native language in the British Isles. Yet some doubt may be cast on this conclusion drawn *e silentio*: I quote from William Rothwell:

[...] later Anglo-French, for all its supposed decadence, was the medium of expression favoured by all the literate, influential classes in a large and powerful sovereign state that played an increasingly important role on the European stage, both politically and economically. In the second half of the thirteenth century a peripheral dialect when viewed in the overall perspective of the Romania became, in the context of the cultural climate of later medieval England, a second language of record, enjoying the great advantage of being able to be used over the whole country without the dialectal variations which at that time hampered the use of English. (Rothwell 1993: 19).

Moreover, there is plentiful evidence of Anglo-French being used during the 13th and 14th centuries, and even right into the 15th century, for both public, i.e. administrative purposes, e.g. deeds and commercial transactions (accounts, bills) at the law courts, and for private purposes such as letters, wills and inventories and the correspondence of merchants and traders.

Furthermore Rothwell states:

Similarly, trade relations between England and the continent had been conducted to a large extent in French, as the surviving French texts of the Port Books, the Oak Book and the Black Book bear witness for Southampton, along with the register of Daniel Rough for Romney, and many hundreds of business letters couched in Anglo-French found up and down numerous extant collections dating back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (Rothwell 1992a: 24; cf. Rothwell 1993: 23).

To illustrate the widespread use of Anglo-French, Rothwell takes Daniel Rough of Romney (Kent) as his example. He was the Common Clerk of Romney and his Register deals with the social and political issues in his town during his period of office. Here we have a fairly ordinary middle-rank official using both Latin and French quite unselfconsciously in the regular course of his work. For a clear analysis of his linguistic usage the editor's Introduction cannot be bettered:

Latin is used for the legal and more formal documents, Anglo-French is the vehicle for everyday communication; it follows that most of the Register is in Anglo-French, and most of the Formulary in Latin. Royal writs are in Latin, but the mandates of the Warden and the replies of the Ports are in Anglo-French. There is evidence of the growing use of the more generally understood language: the summonses to the court of Bordhull and certificates of good character are in Anglo-French, whereas the conservatism of the clerk retains Latin for the traditional form of summons to Shepway and certificates of franchise. Rough

seemed at home in either, sometimes using both languages in a single document and slipping easily – although with disconcerting effect on his spelling – into French when there was no Latin equivalent. He always used Latin when he wanted to stress the importance of an entry – for instance for the headings of his Register and for the paragraph recording the death of Edward III (died 1377). (Rothwell 2000: 263).

Thus, Rothwell (2000: 263) is able to make the following observations: “Firstly, it is made clear that French is still the normal vehicle of everyday communication between officials in the Kent area even late into the fourteenth century”.

Anglo-French was also used by the King’s customs officials when dealing with goods to be exported from the country and goods to be imported from the continent. The most prominent of them was Geoffrey Chaucer who served as a controller of the customs in the capital from 1374 to 1378 (*The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by L. M. Benson 1987: 19–20). In fact, most of the famous poets’ life-records are in French and Latin, not in English (Rothwell 1992b: 5, 7, fn. 19).

However, Rothwell leaves no doubts that in the 14th century Anglo-French was no longer anyone’s spoken or first language:

This is not to say that Anglo-French was a genuine minority who needed to keep records. Chaucer was a member of that minority class and more closely involved than most in a range of activities that called for a knowledge of Anglo-French and its use on a daily basis. This is borne out by the nature of the documents that passed through his hands and also by his own French as revealed in the Life-records. (Rothwell 1992b: 7 and fn. 19).

Nevertheless, Rothwell emphasises that the geographical distribution of French as a spoken language after the Conquest until about 1250 and its subsequent use as a written language for both public and private purposes was anything but even in medieval England. Regarding the early period he (Rothwell 1983: 259) states: “even at the height of Anglo-Norman influence as a call today roughly the south-east of England and the Home Counties. As time went on, French would have held sway over a decreasing area around the capital”.

Referring to the later period Rothwell concludes:

A comparison of the languages in which the trade regulations of the guilds are couched in different parts of the country reveals that French is found only in the following towns: Andover, Coventry, Leicester, King’s Lynn, Reading Southampton and Winchester. Unless this source material is seriously deficient, the inference

to be drawn from the absence from this list of many important towns in the northern half of England is that the use of French for this purpose did not extend much beyond the South Midlands. (Rothwell 1983: 259).

At the law courts French was longest in use and in written formulae it survives right into the 17th century.

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A SONG OF MARRIAGE AND SETTING UP A HOUSE. A PROTO-DOLGAN SONG RECORDED BY K.M. RYCHKOV¹

The Dolgan language, a small Turkic language in far north Russia, has experienced a complicated process of language formation caused by close language contact, mixture, language shift, and so on. The number of speakers is about 5000–6000, according to the 2002 Russian census. The language is not so different from Yakut. However, the Dolgan language plays a role in supporting the identity of the Dolgan people.

A linguist, social activist, and ethnographer Konstantin Mikhajlovich Rychkov (1882–1923) recorded abundant linguistic and ethnographic materials about Samoyed, Tungusic, and Turkic peoples in Siberia at the beginning of the 20th century. His fieldwork records are now preserved at the Museum of Ethnography and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (both institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in St. Petersburg.

In this paper, I report a song of marriage in proto-Dolgan found among the unpublished linguistic material compiled by Rychkov. Here, the text of the song is in three ways: 1) transcribed text by Rychkov with its Romanised transliteration; 2) edited text with identified words; 3) meaning of the text (my translation), though almost of all these three are so far tentative. The photos of the text by Rychkov are also attached. In this song, we can see some characteristics of the linguistic environment at the time.

Dolgan, Siberia, Rychkov K.M., language contact

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The Dolgan language, a small Turkic language in far north Russia, might be regarded as the Tajmyr dialect of the Yakut language, but it has experienced a complicated process of language formation caused by close language contact, mixture, language shift, and so on. The number of speakers is about 5000–6000, according to the 2002 Russian census (Perepis' 2002). A monograph on this language, “Jazyk Noril'skikh Dolgan”,² (Ubryatova 1985), provides a survey of phonetics, grammar, and so on. Although the number of speakers is very small, this language attracts linguistic interest because the ethnic community can be regarded as having formed at the same time as the language itself (Dolghikh 1963). We can say the Dolgan language is the language of the Dolgan people. As a matter of fact, the language is not so different from Yakut. However, the Dolgan language plays a role in supporting the identity of the Dolgan people.

At the time of the USSR and also the period after its dissolution, it was almost impossible for foreign researchers to directly collect precise data about small languages of Siberia such as Dolgan. Shortly after this period, Prof. Dr. Marek Stachowski published the two solid volumes *Dolganischer Wortschatz* (1993) and *Dolganischer Wortschatz – Supplementband* (1998). Stachowski defines Dolgan words and phrases with precise citations and provides relevant information from literature. Taking the opportunity of this festive volume, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Marek Stachowski for his study and for being one of the most active successors of the tradition of linguistics in Poland or in northern Europe, not only on Turkic but also Asian languages in general. This article is also supported by Stachowski's works.

1. Linguistic materials compiled by Russian researcher Konstantin Mikhajlovich Rychkov

Konstantin Mikhajlovich Rychkov (1882–1923) was a linguist, social activist, and ethnographer. He spent about 13 years in Siberia as a prisoner or as a fieldworker. While in Siberia at the beginning of the 20th century, for about 10 years he compiled

2 The title of the monograph is not ‘Dolgan Language’ but ‘Language of Dolgan in Noril'sk’, though Ubryatova describes the language in question as the language of Dolgan, rather than a dialect of Yakut.

data following instructions from a member of the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg with whom he corresponded, Vladislav Ljudvigovich Kotvich (Władysław Kotwicz) (1872–1944).

K.M. Rychkov left abundant linguistic and ethnographic materials about Samoyed, Tungusic, and Turkic peoples (Rychkov 1915). His fieldwork records are now preserved at the Museum of Ethnography and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (both institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in St. Petersburg. At the Archive of Orientalists in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), we find unpublished linguistic material on languages in the northern part of the Turukhansk Region (now the northern part of the Krasnojarsk Region), mainly on the Evenki language. Besides writings on the Evenki language, we find information about a Turkic language, namely the (proto-)Dolgan language, very similar to the Yakut language. One item is a Dolgan–Russian dictionary consisting of 1534 paper cards (see Fujishiro 2011, 2014a, 2014b). The dictionary well reflects the last stage of Dolgan language formation.

Among the letters addressed to his instructor Dr. V.L. Kotvich, Rychkov wrote that he collected folklore material among the Dolgans in the Turukhanskij region. However, so far we cannot find those Dolgan texts at IOM.

2. A Turkic song among Tungusic ones

In this paper, I report a song (words or phrases of a song) in a Turkic language recorded by Rychkov. This song is found among the unpublished materials in a Tungusic language, namely the Evenki language. This part of the material (the inventory of the archive of IOM, F49–1-5–6~8) in a voluminous folder (IOM, F49-1-5)³ is titled “Songs” in Evenki as “Ikol”, and in Russian, “Пѣсни”. Only a few songs are recorded, mostly in Evenki, and some lines of them have a parallel Russian translation by Rychkov (IOM, F49–1-5–6~10). The song we cite here is in Yakut or proto-Dolgan,⁴ and its lines have no Russian translation. The parallel side of every line is left blank. This song is followed by a short commentary in Evenki with its Russian translation. The text was recorded using the Cyrillic alphabet.

3 See the photos below. I would like to express my gratitude to the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences for permission to publish these pages. F49-1-5-6 begins with 7 lines in Evenki with their Russian translation under the title in Russian “Ругательства” (Eng. “abuse”).

4 About the formation and ecology of Dolgan language, see Fujishiro (2011, 2014ab).

In this song, we can see some characteristics of the linguistic environment at the time. In fact, it is hard to capture the meaning of the text recorded by Rychkov. However, it is worth reading and analysing what language the song was sung in, since at that time the language communities in northern Siberia, Turkic, Tungusic, Russian and possibly other languages, are closely in contact with each other.

The content of the song is something connected with marriage or making up ties or bonds, or, it might be said metaphorically, the song is about mating. The song is followed by a commentary paragraph of some sentences in the Evenki language with Rychkov's translation:⁵ "If he marries this girl and they sleep close together, the husband might be good. If they sleep close together again, then they will sleep well. If once again, it will be much better."

In consulting this part of the folder, we cannot find any comment by Rychkov on what kind of situation or time this song was sung in. The language of the song is obviously Turkic and it is based on the Yakut language, since Dolgan was formed mainly on the basis of Yakut, and Evenki, Nganasan, and Russian are also involved. We can speculate that this song might be sung by a member of a multilingual community at that time in the northern Turukhansk area.

The words and phrases of the song are mostly in Turkic, but some words or phrases are from Russian, such as *сувакэ* (< *суваха*), *поклон*, *прости*, and in transcription we can find characteristics of *в* (*w*), which Rychkov in principle used only for limited words in his transcription of Dolgan-Russian Card Dictionary, which letter stands for bilabialized *w* or bilabial fricative *β*. In addition, it is often seen in the Card Dictionary that rounded vowels such as *ü* or *ö* lose their roundness, as is also seen in this song text. This might reflect the vowel system of Evenki.

3. A song text about marriage or setting up house

Below, I report the text of the song in three ways: 1) transcribed text by Rychkov with its Romanised transliteration;⁶ 2) edited text with identified words; 3) meaning of the text (my translation), though almost of all these three are so far tentative.⁷

5 "На этой женился бы — спали бы близко: хороша близость этой мужъ был бы добрый. Опять спали бы, хорошо спали. На другой разъ было бы еще лучше ..." (IOM: F-49-1-5-8).

6 In this paper, mark " following a vowel stands for Rychkov's mark estimated accent. Rychkov used the letter *x* as *h* in today's Dolgan, while the letter *h* stands also for *h*, and sometimes for Cyrillic *z* in today's Dolgan. Rychkov used both letters *e* and *ä*.

- (1) Bej, baj, baj! Bej, baj, baj! Bej, baj, baj! Bej, baj, baj!
Бэй, бай, бай! Бэй, бай, бай! Bäj, baj, baj! Bäj, baj, baj!
(interjectional phrases)
- (2) Xerhe bi tebetuher Xerhe bi tebetuher
Härgä bu⁸ töbötügär Härgä bu⁸ töbötügär
At the top of this house post
- (3) Olordo! Olordo!
Olordo! Olordo!
(She) sat!
- (4) T'ültü"гиты"м: xerhe bi Tjültügitiṁ: xerge bi
Tүүл түһэтым: хэргэ би Tüül tühätim: härgä bi
I dreamed a dream: of this house post
- (5) Tebetuher! Tebetuher!
Töbötügär! Töbötügär!
At the top of it!
- (6) Čäwdin čičak udahana Čäwdin čičak udahana
Чэбдик чыычаак удагана Čäbdik čüčäak udagana
Active and singing gaily bird's shaman lady!
- (7) Elerugina ostakpina Elerugina ostakpina
Өлөрүгүнэ уостаакпына Ölörügünä uostaakpina
If you die, if I have lips

The mark ' in in line (4), (21), (32), (33), and (34) stands for a mark used by Rychkov, which can be regarded as a mark indicating consonant palatalization.

7 As for түүл түһэтым in (4), чэбдик in (6), түмүүрүн ылан көр in (22), угун in (26) and so on, I had useful advice from my friend in Yakutsk T.M. Andreeva (North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk).

8 *Härgä* can be *hir* 'land, ground, earth' + locative affix; then the translation is 'At the top of the world'. *Härgä* also can be 'a tethering post'. In Stachowski *särgä* (1993) ~ *härgä* (1998) '1. Pfahl, an den Pferde angebunden werden; 2. Baum vor der Jurte, in dem Seelen der Jurtenbewohner leben'. Here, we take its meaning as 'a house post', since a tethering post is not so popular in this far northern area.

- (8) Ханта"н хелечи Xantan xeleči
 Кантан кэлээчи Kantan kälääči
 From where you came
- (9) Чäwdы"н чича"к удаha"на Čäwdin čičak udahana
 Чäбдик чыычаак удагана Čäbdik čiičaak udagana
 Active and singing gaily bird's shaman lady!
- (10) Канта"н kalej Kantan kalej
 Кантан кэлиэй Kantan käliäj
 From where (she) will come
- (11) Ајунда балу"меја Ajunda balumeja
 Айыы да буолумуна Ajii da buolumuna
 Misfortune never occurs
- (12) Херphen тawи"н. Xerhen tawin
 Hэргэн тэбин härgän täbin
 Take rest on the house post
- (13) Бeј, бaj, бaj! Бeј, бaj, бaj! Bej, baj, baj! Bej, baj, baj!
 Бэй, бай, бай! Бэй, бай, бай! Bäj, baj, baj! Bäj, baj, baj!
 (interjectional phrases)
- (14) Херhэ би тебе"туher Xerhä bi tebetuher
 Hэргэ бу төбөтүгэр härgä bu töbötügär
 At the top of this house post
- (15) Чäwdы"н чича"к уда"hana Čäwdin čičak udahana
 Чäбдик чыычаак удагана Čäbdik čiičaak udagana
 Active and singing gaily bird's shaman lady!
- (16) Oло"рдо бу elö"рыһына Olordo bu elörihina
 Олордо бу өлөрүгүнэ Olordo bu ölörugünä
 If you sat here and if you die,
- (17) Һыта"ктына түүлтү"һеты Hütaktina tültüheti
 Һыттакпына түүл түһээтэ Hüttakpina tüül tühäätä
 Lying to dream a dream

- (18) Xerhe bi tebetuher Xerhe bi tebetuher
 Hərgə bu töbötügär Hərgä bu töbötügär
 At the top of this house post
- (19) Čäwdin čičäk olördo Čäwdin čičäk olördo
 Čäbdik čyŋčaak olordo Čäbdik čyŋčaak olordo
 Active and singing gaily bird's sat
- (20) Čäj ku"hy ele"мна Čäj kuhu elemna
 Čэй кыиһы өлөмүна Čäj kiihi ölömäna
 (?) if a maiden does not die
- (21) Оў"нанаранкур н'әмһа" Oünanarankur njämga
 Ойууннаран көр иньэмгэ (?) Ojuunnaran kör injämga
 Try a ceremony of shamanism and see to my mother (?)
- (22) Тымы"рин ila"н кур. Timirin ilan kur
 Түмүрүн ылан көр Tümürün ilan kör
 Try call for a go-between
- [Blank for about 2 lines.]
- (23) Чипčäка"jwan oj колоде"j" Čipčäkajwan oj kolodej
 Чыкчэкээммин ой колодэй Čikčäkäämmin oj kolodäj
 I become a small hill, *oj kolodäj*

9 In this song, the phrase *oj kolodäj* is found repeatedly. It may be an interjectional phrases originated from Russian, since the first part of the phrase *oj* is just like the Russian interrogative word (or an utterance added to complete the rhythm) and every occurrence of the phrase combines *oj* with *kolodäj* which violates the vowel harmony.

Cf. in Golikova et al. (2006: 225): "холода́й «женское платье свободного покроя, простое платье, широкое, на кокетке, в талии не собранное, длинное», «женский халат», «свободная одежда для беременных женщин», «(устар.) верхняя женская одежда, пальто свободного покроя, сшитые из ткани фабричного производства», «не меру большая одежда, одежда не по росту»" 'A light lounge-wear for ladies, a maternity dress, a slip, a loose jacket, a garment that is too large'; in Pekarskij (1907–1930: 1796): "oi хол «[дальняя] страна»" '(distant) country'.

- (24) Цäйрa oj kolodej Žäyra oj kolodej
Жэйрэ ой колодэй Žäyrä (?) oj kolodäj
(?) ..., *oj kolodäj*
- (25) Му"нукта oj kolodej Munukta oj kolodej
Муннуктаа ой колодэй Munnuktaa oj kolodäj
Find a house, *oj kolodäj*
- (26) Сэрһеү"һын oj kolodej Särhäühin oj kolodej
Сэргэ¹⁰ угун ой колодэй Särgä ugun oj kolodäj
Stand a house post, *oj kolodäj*
- (27) Еö, еö oj kolodej Eö, eö oj kolodej
Оө (одуу), оө, ой колодэй Oö (oduu),¹¹ оö, oj kolodäj
What a wonder, *oj kolodäj*
- (28) Суwa"ке хок oj kolodej Suwake hok oj kolodej
Субаака huок ой колодэй Subaaka huok oj kolodäj
A go-between never comes, *oj kolodäj*
- (29) Чипча"пкын oj kolodej Čipčapkin oj kolodej
Чып-чап гын ой колодэй Čip-čap gïn oj kolodäj
Sing songs, *oj kolodäj*
- (30) Оj тан oj kolodej"й Oj tan oj kolodej
Ойтан ой колодэй Ojtan oj kolodäj
From a forest, *oj kolodäj*
- (31) Чäwdы"н чічак oj kolodej Čäwdin čičak oj kolodej
Чэбдик чыычаак ой колодэй Čäbdik čiičaaк oj kolodäj
Active and singing gaily bird, *oj kolodäj*

10 *Särgä* might be 'together'. As one of the outstanding differences between Yakut and Dolgan, Yakut initial *s* corresponds to Dolgan *h*. It might be reinterpreted as *särgä* is 'together', while *härgä* is 'a house post', since at Rychkov's time, initial *s* and *h* are both occurred.

11 The form *oö* is found in Rychkov's Dolgan-Russian Card Dictionary (unpublished, preserved at the archive of IOM, see section 1 of this paper.). In standard Dolgan today, its correspondent form is *oduu*.

- (32) Чіпчакы"н ін'ака"н Čipčakīn in'akan
 Чып-чап гын иньэкээн Čip-čap g'īn injäkään
 Sing songs, dear Mama
- (33) О"hotу н'акене чіпча"к Ohotu njäkene čipčak
 Огот иньэкээнэ чэпчэки Ogot injäkäänä čäpčäki
 Children's dear mama is merry.
- (34) Оlба к'äl¹² уwe" нi"вырдак Olba kjäl uwe niwirdak
 Ол бу кэл үһүү нимүрдэк¹³ Ol bu käl ühüü nimurdäk
 Singing, twittering "Come here"
- (35) Уwo" cywo"p oj kolodeй Uwo suwor oj kolodej
 Үһүү cy бар, ой колодэй Ühüü su bar, oj kolodäj
 Saying "Go there", *oj kolodäj*
- (36) Алта"j ко"мус oj kolode"j Altaj komus oj kolodej
 Алтан көмүс ой колодэй Altan kömüs oj kolodäj
 Golden gold, *oj kolodäj*
- (37) Аја буран oj kolode"j Aja buran oj kolodej
 Анья бураан ой колодэй Anja buraan oj kolodäj
 Jog into hill, *oj kolodäj*
- (38) Итчä ба"ра oj kolode"j Itčä bara oj kolodej
 Иһä бара, ой колодэй Ihä bara, oj kolodäj
 Go to go, *oj kolodäj*
- (39) Ата"к сурдак oj kolode"j Atak surdak oj kolodej
 Атак сүүрдээк ой колодэй Atak süürdääk oj kolodäj
 Swift-footed, *oj kolodäj*
- (40) Ко"мус то"ктордок Komus toktordok
 Көмүс токтордоок Kömüs toktordook
 If gold stops

12 The word *käl* in line (34) might be күөл 'lake' in today's Dolgan.

13 Cf. Evenki *нимурии-мй* 'щекотать (tickle)'. See Vasilevich (1958: 294); for the -дак affix of conditional mood see p. 753.

- (41) Ej poklon, ej prosti! Ej poklon, ej prosti!
Эй поклон, эй прости!¹⁴ Äj poklon, äj prosti!
(Эй үнэбин, эй бырастыы)
Oh, I make a bow, oh, I beg your pardon.
- (42) Ĭale, ĭale, ĭa"le ā Žale, žale, žale ā
Жалаак,¹⁵ жалаак, жалаак aa Žalaak, žalaak, žalaak aa
A married man, married man, married man, ah!
- (43) Ĭehoku", ĭehoku", ĭehoku" ā Žehoku, žehoku, žehoku ā
Жэһуок, жэһуок, жэһуок aa Žähuok, žähuok, žähuok aa
An unmarried man, unmarried man, unmarried man, ah!
- (44) Ĭalak le"ңырі¹⁶ Žalak leŋiri
Жалаак лаңкыры Žalaak laŋkiri
A married, prominent man
- (45) Kohnomo" ңтырі" Kohnomo ŋtiri
Коһомо лаңкыры Koŋomo laŋkiri
Don't eject a prominent man.
- (46) Ĭala"к лентырі Žalak leŋtiri
Жалак лаңкыры Žalak laŋkiri
A married and prominent man
- [1 blank line.]
- (47) Ürej, üre"j, üre"j Ürej, ürej, ürej
Үөрүү, үөрүү, үөрүү Üörüü, üörüü, üörüü
Hurray, hurray, hurray!

14 In Yakut: Эй үнэбин, эй бырастыы. 'Oh, I make a bow, oh, I beg your pardon'.

15 In Rychkov's Dolgan-Russian Card Dictionary (unpublished, preserved at the archive of IOM, see 1 of this paper), *žalaak* is 'a married man'. In standard Dolgan – *djaktardaak*. Here on the line (42), the word is a distorted form, different from line (44). If compared with the words on line (43), it seems appropriate to take *žalä* as *žalaak*.

16 *läŋiri*, *ŋtiri*, *läŋtiri* in (44), (45), (46) respectively are 'distorted forms' from *laŋkiri* ~ *loŋkur* 'selected, strong, prominent' in Pekarski st. 1465. See also Kałużyński, St. (1995), (IACUTICA, p. 305)

- (48) E – e – e, ja! E-e-e, ja!
 Э-э-э, аја! Ä-ä-ä, aja!
 Eh, eh, eh, tired!
- (49) ламо́ моде! Lamomode!
 Ламама, дэ!¹⁷ Lamama, dä!
 Exhausted, wife (husband)!
- (50) Ёреј, ёреј, ёреј! Ürej, ürej, ürej
 Ёерүү, ёерүү, ёерүү Üörүү, üörүү, üörүү
 Hurray, hurray, hurray!
- (51) E – e – e, беја́! E-e-e, beja!
 Э – э – э, бээ!¹⁸ Ä-ä-ä, bää!
 Eh, eh, eh, you!
- (52) Чәрвемоде! Čärwemode!
 Чәрвэ мо, дэ!¹⁹ Čärwä mo, dä!
 (Set?) a stand of tree, wife (husband)!

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17 We try to take the line (49) in Evenki, consulting Vasilevich (1958): лама-мй ‘устать’, ‘раскиснуть’, -ма ‘(при глагольной основе, суффикс имени прилагательного по признаку действия и т.д.)’, дē ‘муж, жена (обращение)’.

18 Cf. Vasilevich (1958), бэе ‘человек’, обращение (к мужчине и женщине)’.

19 Cf. Vasilevich (1958), чэрвэ (чэрбэ) “подставка”, мō “дерево, бревно, столб и др.” дэ is same as in line (49).

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7
 Ымалыма кытмыкени
 Херке би мөбөтүкөр
 Таянган чичак оворго
 Таж кыгы елемна
 Ойманаранкыр кымык
 кымыкын иланкур.

Чимаккайран ај Колодэј
 Чүйра ај Колодэј
 Мунукка ај Колодэј
 Серкезүккы ај Колодэј
 сө , сө ај Колодэј
 сууакс пак ај Колодэј
 Чимаккын ај Колодэј
 ај там ај Колодэј
 Чимакын чичак ај Колодэј
 Чимакын иланак
 Олоку кыкене чимак
 Оло кыл үрө кытмык
 үрө кытмык ај Колодэј
 Атам ај Колодэј
 Ала буран ај Колодэј
 инди бая ај Колодэј
 Атам кытмык ај Колодэј
 Кытмык кытмык
 еј кытмык , еј кытмык !

NO 1111 СССР
 КОПИЯ ВСТАНОВИ
 1988
 Оа. 18

8

Чае, чае, чае а
 Чаюу, чаюу, чаюу а
 Чалак веңери
 Калмакы кыры
 Чалак кентери

Үрө, үрө, үрө
 э - е - е, ја!
 Салымар!
 Үрө, үрө, үрө
 э - э - е, беја!
 Тартылар!

Мара едилерим - картуманно
 меккентим : аялгы меккент
 Марі ер! тарапым аялгы.
 Нан едилерим аялдан мек
 Калмак кыры. Тартылар э
 аялгы бичим ..

На этий меккентим - стани
 бы близко : харина близкост
 Этий меккент был бы добран?
 Оттис стани бы, харина сян
 ли. На урун риз бичим
 еще мурее..

Экеле, Экеле!
 Экей околор!
 Эуулулор кырккери.
 Мекке макин
 Коргоп биче
 Би ебел

Экеле, Экеле!
 Экей карени!
 М Эуулулор павыкы!
 Но итеу меккент
 бичим биче
 мек - меккент

ВИБ АНТИ
 СЕЛСКО
 УЧЕБНИК
 1950
 80
 5

David L. GOLD
New York

**A SAMPLE FROM A DISCURSIVE
ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY,
IN PREPARATION, OF POLISH
LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC
USAGES OF DEFINITE, PROBABLE,
OR POSSIBLE YIDISH ORIGIN**

**On the etymology of German, Polish,
Ukrainian, and Yidish nouns meaning
‘bench-bed’ (with thirteen guidelines for
the study of Yidish influence on Polish)**

Since the 1970s the author of this article has been gathering material for a comprehensive study of the lexical, semantic, and phonological influence of Yidish on the Polish of non-Jews (a subject first mentioned in the research literature in 1883 by Jan Karłowicz). Because most instances of that influence are lexical (a few are semantic and probably no more than one – the use of Central Yidish intonation for humorous purposes – is phonological), the finished study will be in the form of a dictionary, thus with alphabetically arranged entries.

Linguistics being a science (it is the most scientific of the social sciences and the most social of the exact sciences) and scientists striving to leave as full a record as possible of their investigations, the general aims of the study are not only to record and etymologize but also:

1. to show how the author has proceeded and thus to obviate questions about what evidence he has gathered, how he has interpreted it, why he has drawn certain conclusions rather than others, why he has not infrequently

been unsure or doubtful of how to proceed or how to conclude, and why he has doubted or rejected certain etymologies proposed by others (to prove an etymology, one must not only defend it successfully but also disprove all competing ones);

2. to provide a foundation on which future students of Yidish influence on Polish can build;
3. to raise the standards of etymological research.

Achieving the aims of the study often requires treatments of considerable length and detail, an example being the present article, which deals with a piece of furniture known in Polish at least as *bambetel* ~ *szlaban* ~ *ślaban* ~ *ślabanek* ~ *ślubanek* (the first word may be of immediate Yidish origin and the stem of the fifth one, *śluban*-, definitely is).

If the opportunity presents itself, the author will publish as many such articles as possible in order to benefit from constructive criticism before publication of the entire dictionary. As a Białystok Yidish saying goes, פֿיר אויגן זײַנען, בעסער ווי צוויי פֿאַר בריילן (*fir eygn zaynen beser vi tsvey por briln*) ‘four eyes are better than two pairs of eyeglasses’.

etymology, German, Polish, Ukrainian, Yidish

Table of Contents

A. Introduction	222
B. The words to be etymologized	
B.1. Polish <i>bambetel</i> , <i>bambetle</i> , <i>bety</i> , <i>ślabanek</i> ~ <i>ślubanek</i> , and <i>ślaban</i> ² ~ <i>szlaban</i> ²	224
B.2. German <i>Bankbettel</i> , <i>Bettbank</i> , and <i>Schlafbank</i>	226
B.3. Yidish באַמבעטל* (<i>*bambetl</i>), באַנקבעטל (<i>bankbetl</i>), and שלאָפּבאַנק (<i>shlofbank</i>)	228
C. Etymologies	
C.1. Etymologies for the Yidish and German words	231
C.2. Etymologies for the Polish words	232
C.3. The relevance of Polish <i>bebechy</i> and <i>trzewia</i> to the semantic history of Polish <i>bambetel</i> , <i>bambetle</i> , and <i>bety</i>	248
D. (Regional?) Ukrainian <i>бамбетель</i> (<i>bambetel</i>) ‘bench-bed’	249
E. What the German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yidish words meaning ‘bench-bed’ presumably tell us about the making and selling of bench-beds on German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yidish speech territory	253

F. Wörter und Sachen: more research is needed and it should be a cooperative effort by students of language and of furniture	254
G. Thirteen guidelines for the study of Yidish influence on Polish and Ukrainian	
G.1. Only immediate transfer is evidence of influence	256
G.2. In studying the influence of lect A on lect B, one must often consider other lects too	258
G.3. One should etymologize the earliest known or reconstructible form of the lexeme under scrutiny in its earliest known or reconstructible meaning and, if in the course of the investigation one finds or reconstructs an even earlier form or meaning, one must consider whether one's etymology should in any way be changed	259
G.4. For each item to be etymologized, a hierarchy of probabilities according to its meaning, pronunciation, and other characteristics should be established	260
G.5. If the etymology includes any loanforms, one should try to determine whether the written form, the spoken form, or both have been borrowed and be on the lookout for etymologically misleading spellings, namely, schizographic ones	260
G.6. A full etymology accounts for the entire form of the lexeme	262
G.7. A full etymology accounts for all meanings of the lexeme	266
G.8. Etymologies that mention Yidish should specify the relevant Yidish topol-lects	267
G.9. Before concluding that word x comes from word y , one should make sure that word y does not come from word x and be on the lookout for reborrowing ($x < y < x$)	272
G.10. Attention should be paid to dates of earliest known use	274
G.11. Brief etymologies of etymologically problematic lexemes that are not supported by detailed research may be unreliable	274
G.12. Whether Molière said it or not, this advice is good: "Je prends mon bien où je le trouve"	274
G.13. Etymologists, like all other scientists, are required to play devil's advocate not only with one another but also with themselves	275
H. References	275



A. Introduction¹

The piece of furniture in focus here can be defined as ‘free-standing, movable, space-saving, and money-saving piece of furniture traditionally made of wood that can be closed to become a bench or opened to become a bedstead’. In this article, it will be called a *bench-bed*. Figure 1 shows a closed bench-bed and more can be seen on the Web.

Other older bench-beds can be seen in several museums and on the Internet, for example:

1. One made in Juszki (Kościerzyna County, Pomeranian Voivodeship) is in the museum of the Kashubian Ethnographic Park (Kaszubski Park Etnograficzny) and can be seen at Bałtycka Biblioteka Cyfrowa, where it is called a *szlaban* in Polish (see Orlikowska).
2. Another is in the Silesian Museum of Opole (Muzeum Śląska Opolskiego) and is pictured on one of the museum’s websites (see *Wystawa 2014*: 18), where it is described as follows: ‘A *bambetel*, a piece of folding furniture used during the day as a bench and at night as a bed. It was popular in the homes of poor people both in the countryside and in the cities. Its [Polish] name was borrowed from Yidish, where it was coined with the German words *Bank* and *Bett*, literally, “bench-bed”. To make it into a bedstead, one lifts the seat to the upright position and pushes out the movable front side, which stands on legs. People would sleep on straw, hay, or a mattress filled with straw kept in the box [formed when this piece of furniture is in bench position – D.L.G.]. As a bed, it had enough space for two adults or more than two children. This piece of furniture was sometimes called a *szlaban* (*Schlaf* + *Bank*) that stood for a sleeping bench. The successor to the bench-bed is the today’s sofa-bed. The specimen shown here comes from the village of Plebanówka (before World War Two, in Trembovła County, Tarnopol Voivodeship, Poland [now in Terebovlya District, Ternopli Oblast, Ukraine – D.L.G.]’.²

1 My warm thanks go to Olha Aleksic, of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Regina Frackowiak, David B. Morris, both of the Library of Congress, and Roy Rosenstein, of the American University of Paris, for their bibliographical help; Sacha Casseus, of the Windsor Park Library, and Michael J. Flory, of the New York State Institute for Basic Research in Developmental Disabilities, for their technical help; Chandani Gunasekera, of the Windsor Park Library, for making my visits there as pleasant as they were numerous; and, last but not least, the editors of this volume, who made the article better than I had written it.

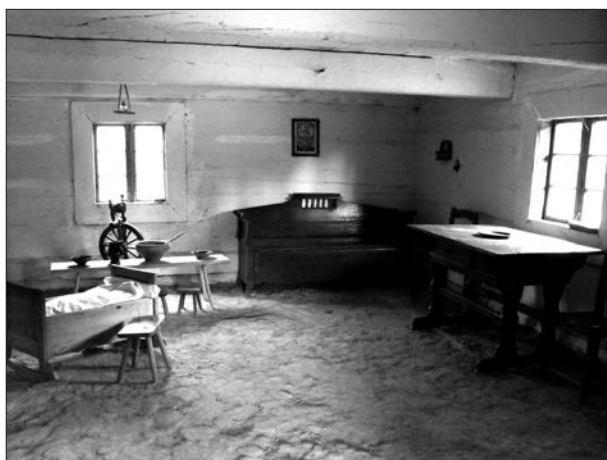


Figure 1: A bench-bed in bench position (reproduced here by permission of the Ethnographic Park in Klóbk, Poland; available at openairmuseum.pl/zdjecie/4136?lang=en; accessed on 29 August 2016).

The present article will suggest a better etymology.

3. A photograph of a third bench-bed (described as ‘prewar’) appears in *Milno na Podolu*, a periodical on line written by Poles formerly resident in what is now Mylne, Ukraine (about twenty-seven kilometers north of Ternopil). A message posted on the message board below it says, “Bambetel w jednym ze starych domów na Kamionce. Widziałam też podobny na Podliskach stojący

-
- 2 “Bambetel to rozkładany mebel służący w ciągu dnia za ławę do siedzenia, a w nocy za miejsce do spania. Był popularny w mieszkaniach ubogiej ludności, zarówno na wsiach, jak i w miastach. Nazwa przejęta została z języka jidysz, w którym utworzona została z niemieckich słów *Bank* i *Bett*, oznaczając dosłownie „ławę-łóżko”. Rozkładanie bambetla polegało na uniesieniu siedziska do pozycji pionowej i wysunięcia ruchomej części przedniej wraz z nogami – spało się na słomie, sianie czy sienniku znajdujących się we wnętrzu skrzyni. W ten sposób tworzyło się miejsce do spania dla dwóch dorosłych osób lub większej ilości dzieci. Bambetel określano czasem także nazwą szlaban, oznaczającą ławę do spania (*Schlaf* + *Bank*). Spadkobierczynią bambetla/szlabanu pod względem funkcji jest współczesna wersalka. Ekspонат pochodzi z miejscowości Plebanówka (przed wojną: powiat trembowelski, województwo tarnopolskie).” [All translations are by the author].

na podwórku” (Maria, 3 August 2013), that is, ‘A bench-bed in one of the old houses in Kamianka-Buzka (Lviv Oblast, Ukraine). I saw a similar one in a backyard in Pidlisky’. It is unclear which of the at least five villages called *Підлицьку* in Ukrainian the poster had in mind.

B. The words to be etymologized

B.1. Polish *bambetel*, *bambetle*, *bety*, *ślabanek* ~ *ślubanek*, and *ślaban*² ~ *szlaban*²

Łaziński (2008) does not treat the Polish singular form *bambetel* but he does give this etymology for the informal Polish plural noun *bambetle* ‘1. osobiste drobi-azgi, pakunki; 2. rupiecie, starzyzna (that is, ‘1. stuff, traps [belongings, personal belongings, personal effects]; 2. junk, rubbish’): jid בַּעַט + בֶּאֱגָק z niem. *Bank* + *Bett* („ławka do spania”)’.

Section C will offer a replacement for that etymology.

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The following comments have been posted on the message board for the entry *bambetle* in *Słownik Języka Polskiego SJP* on line (spelling errors have been corrected here):

1. “Przepiękne słowo! Szkoda, że nie ma liczby pojedynczej...” (theasinesis # 2006-06-28), that is, ‘A wonderful word! Too bad there’s no singular form’;
2. “Tego nie znałem; jako synonim można chyba uznać słowo *klamoty*” (cckon-rad1993 # 2010-04-23), that is, ‘I did not know this [word]; *klamoty* is probably a synonym’;
3. “Jest forma pojedyncza – *bambetel*. Oprócz tego oznacza ono drewnianą ławę do siedzenia i spania” (~gosc # 2011-09-29), that is, ‘There is a singular form: *bambetel*. Additionally, it also means ‘wooden bench for sitting and sleeping’;
4. “*Bambetle* = *manele* = *szpeja/szpejostwo* = *klamoty* = *szpargały* = *manatki* = *wichajstry*. Takie to u nas w Krakowie normalne kiedyś było, teraz zanika...” (~gosc # 2014-08-06), that is, ‘*Bambetle* = *manele* = *szpeja/szpejostwo* = *klamoty* = *szpargały* = *manatki* = *wichajstry*. These used to be so natural here, by us, in Cracow, now they’re disappearing’;
5. “Urządzenie o nazwie „*bambetel*” spotykało się często w dawnych latach w Małopolsce. Była to pięknie politurowana skrzynia, stojąca na 4 nogach, z oparciem. Wewnątrz tej skrzyni przechowywano siennik i bieliznę nocną.

Urządzenie było praktyczne, bo w nocy pełniło funkcja tapczanu, a w dzień – ławki do siedzenia. Chroniło też pościel przed osobami siadającymi na nim w ciągu dnia” (~gosc # 2015-01-06~gosc # 2015-05-20), that is, ‘The equipment called *bambetel* was once often seen in Lesser Poland.³ It was a beautifully French polished box on four legs with a backrest. Inside, one could store a straw mattress and nightwear. It was a practical piece of furniture because it served as a *tapczan*⁴ at night and as a bench during the day. It protected the bedding during the day from those sitting on it’;

6. “Inna nazwa takiej skrzyni do spania, to ślubanek” (gosc # 2015-05-20), that is, ‘Another name for this chest for sleeping is *ślubanek*’.

Unfortunately, the posters of messages 3, 5, and 6 do not say where they heard the words they mention.

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Polish has two homonyms spelled *szlaban*:

1. *szlaban*¹ (formerly also spelled *ślaban*) 1. ‘ruchoma bariera do zamykania i otwierania drogi na przejazdach kolejowych, rogatek, na granicy itp.; 2. *pot. zakaz robienia czegoś, np. wychodzenia z domu*’ (*Słownik języka polskiego PWN*), that is, ‘1. movable barrier for closing and opening roads at railroad crossings, tollgates, at a border, etc.; 2. (*colloq.*) prohibition on doing something, such as leaving home’. That word and sense 1 come from German *Schlagbaum* ‘movable barrier...’. Sense 2 is a Polish innovation. *Szlaban*¹ ~ *ślaban*¹ being etymologically unrelated to any word meaning ‘bench-bed’, is irrelevant to the present discussion.
2. *ślaban*² ~ *szlaban*² ‘bench-bed’ comes from German *Schlafbank* id. and is therefore relevant.

Consequently, two German words etymologically unrelated to each other, *Schlagbaum* and *Schlafbank*, yielded homonyms in Polish. Whether the Polish words have always

3 It is not clear whether the poster is using *Małopolska* in its normative sense (‘Lesser Poland’) or its non-normative one (‘Galicia’).

4 Polish *tapczan* ‘mebel do spania składający się z prostokątnego, drewnianego pudła oraz materaca’ (*Słownik języka polskiego PWN*), that is, ‘bed consisting of a rectangular wooden box [for storage – D.L.G.] and a mattress’ (< [Ukrainian (?)] < one or more Turkic languages (?)).

been homonyms or were at first pronounced differently but came to be homonyms as a result of resemblance to each other is a question that remains to be answered (the answer, however, will not affect the outcome of the present discussion).

The Polish words of interest to us are *bambetel* (and its plural form, *bambetle*, which has spawned a clipped form, *bety*), *ślaban*² ~ *szlaban*², *ślabanek*, and *ślubanek*.

B.2. German *Bankbettel*, *Bettbank*, and *Schlafbank*

In Austrian German, the piece of furniture in question was at one time (and still?) called a *Bankbettel*, which is attested for 1908: “Die Pfändung wurde trotz der Einsprache des Interessenten wirklich durchgeführt; es wurden ihm ein Koffer und Bankbettel gepfändet, sodann unter den Hammer gestellt” (Interpellation 2565/1, meeting of 5 May 1908, p. 8423), that is, ‘The objection of the party concerned notwithstanding, the distraint was in fact carried out. A chest and a bench-bed belonging to him were seized and then put under the hammer’.⁵

The fact that the word (whose plural I have been unable to determine) appears in the text without quotation marks, without a definition, without any other qualification that might suggest that it was at the time a new word, a slang word, an informal word, a very local word, or a word that the author of the text believed others might not understand tells us that by 1908 *Bankbettel* was well-established and widely understood to speakers of Austrian German.

In German, the diminutive suffix *-el* is Alemannic. The only Alemannic varieties of German spoken in Austria are those of the Vorarlberg and the Reutte District (in Tyrol), both of which are in the far western part of the country (in its current borders), thus, distant from the parts of Poland that the Austrian Empire annexed as a result of the First and Third Partitions (1772 and 1795 respectively). In the other parts of Austria, the German is Bavarian, in which the diminutive suffixes are *-l* ~ *-dl* (as in Eastern Yidish) and *-erl*.

5 The glottonyms *Austrian German* and *German German*, like *Swiss German* and many other glottonyms, are definable politically but not linguistically. For example, Austrian German is easily and correctly defined politically as ‘the German spoken in Austria’, but since Austrian German consists of varieties of Alemannic and of Bavarian, both of which are also spoken outside Austria, it is not definable linguistically, so that one could not, for instance, write a single phonological description, whether synchronic or diachronic, of Austrian German (though one could of Alemannic or of Bavarian).

Does *Bankbettel* end in *-el* because it was coined in an Alemannic variety of Austrian German? Or because it comes from Yidish *bankbetl*? In subsections c.1 and c.2 we will proceed on the assumption that Yidish *bankbetl* comes from German *Bankbettel* only in order not to complicate further an already complex presentation of certain etymologies, but the question does need to be discussed (on another occasion) and, if possible, answered.

The glottonym *Austrian German* is used in this article only to contrast *Bankbettel* and *Schlafbank*, the latter word being labeled *German German* here (= German *deutschländisches Deutsch*).

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Schlafbank, beim Tischler, ein Behältniß, welches nachdem es zusammen-
geschlagen worden, zur Bank oder auch zum Tisch, und wenn es auseinander
geschlagen oder gelegt wird, zur Bettstelle dient. Dergleichen Bänke werden
besonders da angewendet, wo es an Raum gebricht, um noch ein Bett stellen zu
können. Sie gewähren nun ein doppelten Nutzen: in der Küche aufgeschlagen,
dient der Tisch am Tage, als Küchentisch, und in der Nacht ist es die Schlafstätte
der Magd oder des Mädchens; in einem Zimmer dient sie gleichfalls als Tisch
oder auch als Bank. Es wird also bei Tage durch eine solche Vorrichtung an Raum
gewonnen. (*Encyklopädie* 1827: 94–95).

Schlafbank, made by a joiner [~ carpenter ~ cabinet-maker (?); *Tischler* has all three meanings], which when folded becomes a bench or a table and when unfolded becomes a bedstead. Such a bench is used especially where space would otherwise be lacking for an additional bed. It has a double advantage: when open during the day in the kitchen, it can be used as a kitchen table; at night, a maid can use it as a sleeping space. In [any] room it can serve either as a table or as a bench. During the day, it saves space.

Schlafbank (plural *Schlafbänke*) seems to be limited to German German. Whether bench-beds have ever been used as kitchen tables among speakers of any Slavic language or of Yidish remains to be determined.⁶

6 Today's Austrian German has *Bettbank* (plural *Bettbänke*) 'bed settee', which refers to the modern successor to the bench-bed. In German German, a bed settee is called a *Bettcouch*. According to Breitsprecher et al. (1983 *German-English*), Austrian German *Bettbank* and German German *Bettcouch* both mean 'bed-settee'. The corresponding English-German volume (Breitsprecher et al. 1983 *English-German*) does not treat *bed-settee* (= an inconsistency). According to Jones (1967), the words are not synonyms: he translates *Bettbank* as 'bed-settee' and *Bettcouch* as 'bed-couch, studio couch; divan bed'. USP

B.3. Yidish באַמבעטל* (*bambetl), באַנקבעטל (bankbetl), and שלאָפּבאַנק (shlofbank)

Harkavy (1925, 1928) synonymizes Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* (plural *bankbetlekh*) and *shlofbank* (plural *shlofbenk*): both words are translated there as ‘turn-up bedstead, bed of boards’ in English and ‘safsal hamishtamesh lemita’ in Hebrew, that is, ‘bench serving as a bed’. None of those translations is equivalent in meaning to the Yidish words (possibly because English and Hebrew had no equivalents in Harkavy’s day), though ‘bench serving as a bed’ could be part of a good definition.⁷

The Yidish-English section of Weinreich (1968) translates *bankbetl* as ‘bunk, cot’ and *shlofbank* as ‘bunk, bed’ (= partial inconsistency) whereas the English-Yidish section does not translate *bed* by ‘shlofbank’ (= inconsistency with the Yidish-English section); it translates *bunk* as ‘bankbetl, shlofbank’ (= consistency); and it translates *cot* by ‘bankbetl’ (= consistency) but not by ‘shlofbank’ (= inconsistency). Furthermore, neither ‘bed’, nor ‘bunk’, nor ‘cot’ is right because none of those three

Breitsprecher et al. (1983 *English-German*) translate *divan bed* as ‘Liege’ and *studio couch* as ‘Schlafcouch’. Breitsprecher et al. (1983 *German-English*) translate *Liege* as ‘couch; camp bed; lounger’, but not as *‘divan bed’.

We could continue to note discrepancies between the two parts of bidirectional bilingual dictionaries (see subsection B.3 for another example), but the point is already clear: to avoid self-contradiction and other inconsistencies, makers of bidirectional dictionaries should reverse entries as soon as they are made. Thus, if *divan bed* is translated by ‘Liege’ in the English-German section, immediately make sure that *Liege* in the German-English section is translated at least by ‘divan bed’.

- Bettbank*, *Bettcouch*, *Liege*, and *Schlafcouch* are not relevant to the present discussion.
- 7 English has *turn-up* ~ *turn-up bed* ~ *turn-up bedstead*, which designates a bed pulled up from the foot and set against the wall, to provide more floor space, when not in use (Levit 1996 defines *turn-up* as ‘a bed that folds up to take less room’). Since that piece of furniture, which in Eastern Yidish is called an *ufshtel-betl*, cannot be turned into a bench, none of those three terms or any synonyms they may have mean ‘bench-bed’.

To fill the presumed lexical gap in English, I have coined *bench-bed* (not to be confused with *bed-bench* ‘bench, often with a storage drawer or drawers, placed at the foot of a bed’, which may be part of the bed or a separate piece of furniture). An almost morpheme-for-morpheme translation of Austrian German *Bankbettel* and regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* (only the diminutive endings *-el* and *-l* have not been translated), it is a compound noun analogous in structure to the English compound nouns *chair-bed* and *sofa-bed*; and it fulfills both the requirement of clearly saying what it should say and of saying it idiomatically.

English words is equivalent to *bankbetl* or *shlofbank*. The treatment of both Yidish words in Weinreich (1968) is thus not only inconsistent but also fully misleading (see footnote 6).⁸

Bankbetl appears in at least one Eastern Yidish proverb alluding to the hardships of being an unmarried man in traditional Eastern Ashkenazic society. Speaking of Jewish life in Lviv at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Majer Bałaban, who was born in that city in 1877, writes that

Młodzieniec przed weselem nie miał żadnego znaczenia w gminie, nie mógł piasować żadnych urzędów, nie mógł prowadzić na własną rękę interesów, ani zaciągać zobowiązań, ubiegać się o tytuły Chabher lub Morejnu, nie stanowił samodzielnej jednostki, a miarą tego był zwyczaj (do dziś na prowincyi utrzymany), że do nieżonatego mówił każdy „ty”, oraz przysłowie: „A buchar szluftin [a typographical mistake for *szluft in* – D.L.G.] ein bankbettel und macht kiddusz über a grup” (Bachur śpi w ślabanie (!), a odmawia błogosławieństwo sobotnie nad jedną krupą – zamiast nad pucharem wina). (Bałaban 1906: 531–532).

‘Before marrying, a young man carried no weight in the [Jewish] community [of Lviv], could hold no office, could engage in no business on his own, could incur no liabilities, could not apply for the titles of *khover* or *moreynu*, and was not considered independent. A measure of his status was the custom, followed in the countryside to this day, that everyone addressed him by the [Yidish] familiar pronoun *du* [= French *tu*, German *du*, Polish *ty*, Russian *ты*, etc.]. This [Yidish] proverb is also revealing: *a bokher shloft in a bankbetl un makht kiddesh iber a groyp*

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- 8 Weinreich (1968) is to be used cautiously for other reasons too. Consider, for example, the entries *laborer* ‘(shvarts-)arbetorer’, *worker* ‘arbeter’, *workman* ‘arbeter’, *arbetorer* ‘laborer’, *arbeter* ‘worker, workman’, *shvarts-arbetorer* ‘laborer’, and *shvarts-arbeter* = *shvartsarbetorer*. Since with one exception all the entries have been reversed (‘shvarts-arbeter’ should appear as a translation of *laborer*), my point is not failure to do so. Rather, *arbeter* and *arbetorer* are synonyms, for both words mean both ‘laborer’ and ‘worker’ and they differ only in their spatial distribution (roughly speaking, one may say that *arbetorer* is Central Yidish and *arbeter* is used in all other topolects), but Weinreich, as Mordkhe Schaechter, one of his helpers in the making of the dictionary, told me, wanted Yidish to have the same lexical distinction that English has between ‘laborer’ and ‘worker’ and therefore turned the topolectal distinction into a semantic one. In a partly prescriptive dictionary, such as Weinreich (1968), that is permissible, but researchers wanting pure description should know that the lexical distinction made there between *arbeter* ‘worker’ and *arbetorer* ‘laborer’ was his (Weinreich’s) innovation.

‘a bachelor sleeps in a bench-bed [instead of a regular bed] and [for lack of money] recites the blessing sanctifying the Sabbath and Jewish holidays not [as Jewish law prescribes] over a cup of wine but over a grain of pearl barley.’

Balaban’s exclamation mark was presumably meant either (1) to express surprise or puzzlement that a word meaning 1. ‘barrier...; 2. prohibition...’ also means ‘bench-bed’ or (2) to suggest that the bench-bed is well-named in Polish because sleeping in one is uncomfortable and thus suggestive of a punishment (= being *prohibited* from sleeping in a regular bed). In any case, he presumably did not know that *szlaban* is two homonyms.⁹

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Searching for **bambetl* in available primary and secondary Yidish sources (one can get a good idea of the lack of secondary sources from the fact that the only monolingual Yidish dictionary does not go beyond the first letter of the alphabet), I have found it in no primary source and just one secondary one, Stutchkoff (1950: 86, section 115). These are the possibilities:

1. It is Yidish, in which case, it is an immediate reflex of German *Bankbettel*, Polish *bambetel*, Ukrainian *bambetel*’ (discussed in section D), and/or Yidish *bankbetl*.
2. Stutchkoff found the word in one or more works of Yidish fiction where the author or authors had put Polish *bambetel* and/or Ukrainian *bambetel*’ in the mouth of one or more characters to suggest that they were speaking

9 Balaban’s romanization of the proverb is partly germanized (“ein”, “und”, “über”) and it has other infelicities (<u> in “buchar” and “szluft”, however, reflect authentic Southern Yidish pronunciations), but fortunately the pure Yidish version is easily recovered (the English translation of the passage gives it). A variant of the proverb is *a bokher makht kidesh iber shpener un havdole iber a kaltn fayertop* ‘a bachelor recites the blessing sanctifying the Sabbath and Jewish holidays over chips of wood and recites the prayer marking the end of the Sabbath and Jewish holidays over a cold chafing dish’.

Another custom in pre-Holocaust Eastern Ashkenaz shedding light on the lower status of unmarried men in comparison to married ones concerns the wearing of a prayer shawl: married, widowed, and divorced men, but not unmarried men, wore it during the Morning Prayer (however, the man leading the morning, afternoon, or evening prayer and the men called to the Reading of the Law always wore one even if they had never been married). A prayer shawl was thus a suitable wedding gift for the groom (typically, it would come from his father or father-in-law) and an appropriate part of his bride’s dowry.

not Yidish but Polish or Ukrainian. Writers and translators use that device to suggest that a character is speaking a language other than the one the reader is reading, for example, “Yes, monsieur, I do believe that you are right” (instead of “Yes, sir, I do believe that you are right”) in a story written in English and set in a French-speaking country. Or, to take an actual example, in a certain English translation of *Mademoisele Fifa*, a story by Guy de Maupassant, *Mademoiselle Fifa* is consistently retained from the French original rather than translated as *Miss Fifa*.¹⁰

In any case, **bambetl*, because of its unclear status, is not considered in the rest of this article, but if it turns out to be Yidish, it can easily be introduced into the following discussion. At least for the time being, therefore, we do not know whether anticipatory assimilation (/nk/ > /m/ when /b/ follows immediately) occurred in regional Yidish *bankbetl*, in Austrian German, in Polish, or in Ukrainian (it could have occurred in two, three, or all four of those languages).

C. Etymologies

C.1. Etymologies for the Yidish and German words

Of the possible relationships between the Yidish and German words, these seem entertainable:

1. German *Bank* ‘bench’ + Austrian German *Bettel* ‘small bed’ [= German *Bett* ‘bed’ + Alemannic diminutive suffix *-el*] = Austrian German *Bankbettel* > regional Yidish *bankbetl*.
2. Regional Yidish *bankbetl* > Austrian German *Bankbettel*.
3. German *schlaf*- [= stem of the verb *schlafen* ‘sleep’] + German *Bank* ‘bench’ = German German *Schlafbank* > regional Yidish *shlofbank*.

That is, the possibility that German German *Schlafbank* comes from Yidish *shlofbank* and the possibility that the German and the Yidish words arose independently

10 This part of Stutchkoff’s list of words referring to kinds of beds can be improved: “[...] betl, bankbetl, bagnetl [shpasik], bambetl, aynleygbetl, tsunoyfleyg-betl, ufshtelbetl, feldbetl, sekbetl, shlofbetl, tsuleygbetl, shlofbank [...]” To mention just one improvement, *shlofbank* belongs with *bankbetl* and *bagnetl* (literally ‘little bayonet’, the word is a humorous pun on *bankbetl*).

of each other appear unlikely and the possibility that Polish, Ukrainian, or some other language not mentioned here is the source of any of the aforementioned words is impossible.

C.2. Etymologies for the Polish words

Polish *szlaban* ‘bench-bed’ comes from German *Schlafbank* id. The last consonant of the German word was dropped to make the Polish word more phonotactic (similarly, Polish *tryngiel* ‘tip’ < German *Trinkgeld* id. and/or Yidish *trinkgelt* id.). See the end of the next paragraph. Simplification of a consonant cluster is thus one way in which loans are made phonotactic or more phonotactic in Polish.

Polish *ślabanek* is attested at least in an advertisement of a bench-bed for sale by someone in Przemyśl (posted on www.olx.pl, a buy-and-sell website, on 22 September 2015): “Piękny stary ludowy ślabanek – bambetel – stara ława”, that is, ‘Beautiful old bench-bed – bench-bed – old bench’.¹¹

One or both of the following etymologies is right:

1. *ślabanek* is a Polish coinage consisting of Polish **ślaban* and the Polish diminutive suffix *-ek*.
2. *ślabanek* comes from German *Schlafbank* with epenthetic /e/ to make the Polish word more phonotactic. For attested Polish examples of the simplification of a consonant cluster by means of epenthesis, see the etymologies of *cyngiel* and *bajgiel* in the discussion of version 4 later in this subsection.

The latter etymology could be right because none of the bench-beds pictured on the World-Wide Web and there called a *ślabanek* are smaller than any described by any Polish word not ending in *-ek*. If so, in German *Schlafbank* > Polish *ślabanek* shows creation of a pseudo-diminutive form in Polish, which contrasts with Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or Yidish *bankbetl* > Polish *bambetel* (if that etymology is right) or Austrian German *Bankbettel* > Ukrainian *bambetel*’ (if that etymology is right; see section D for the Ukrainian word), which shows de-diminutivization. Then again, since a diminutive suffix in a certain word may become semantically depleted, the former etymology could be right.

11 It is hard, maybe impossible, to translate *ludowy* in a way that is both semantically accurate and grammatically acceptable. “A folk bench-bed” would be semantically accurate (*folk* as in *folksong*) but the phrase does not sound grammatically acceptable. See note 4.B in “Additional notes to all seven versions of the etymology” in this subsection below.

Yidish *shlofbank* cannot be the etymon of Polish *szlaban* or *ślaban-* because none of the vowels in the first syllable of the Yidish word (see two paragraphs below for two of them) would become /a/ in Polish.

The possible etymologies of *ślabanek* offered earlier in this subsection apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to Polish *ślubanek* '[small (?)] bench-bed' (attested in message 6 in subsection B.1), the change to be made being the etymon, which is not German *Schlafbank* but Yidish *shlofbank* in its Central Yidish and/or its Southeastern Yidish pronunciation (the first vowel of the word is [û] in Central Yidish and isochronic [u] in Southeastern Yidish). German *Schlafbank* cannot be the immediate etymon of Polish *śluban(-?)* because German /a/ would not become /u/ in Polish.¹² Does *śluban-* also occur as a free morpheme?

Polish *szlaban* 'bench-bed' and *śluban-* are thus cognates but differ in that Yidish figures in the etymology only of *śluban-* (German figures in the etymology of both *szlaban* and *śluban-* but in different ways: as the immediate source of the first word and as the non-immediate source of the second one). Whether **szlobanek*, **śluban*, and **szloban* exist remains to be determined.

In any case, the presence of <sz> in *szlaban* 'bench-bed' and of <ś> in *ślubanek* has nothing to do with German phonology, Yidish phonology, or Polonophones' perception thereof. Rather, **šlu/* (<szlu>) does not occur in Polish but */šlu/* (<ślu>) does, hence Yidish /š/ (represented by <sh> in romanization) and German /š/ (represented by <s>) in that position become /ś/ in Polish (as in German *Schleuse* 'lock; sluice, floodgate' > Polish *śluza* id.).

In *ślabanek*, however, Polish phonotactics does not require /ś/ and exclude /š/ (both occur in word-initial position before /la/, as in *ślad*, *ślągwa*, and *ślaz*; *szlagon*, *szlam*, and *szlara*). Since the realizations of German /š/ and Yidish /š/ are closer to the realization(s?) of Polish /ś/ than to the realization(s?) of Polish /š/, one wonders why Polish has *ślabanek* and *ślamazar* (< Yidish *shlimazl*) rather than **szlabanek* and **szlamazar*.

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12 Linguistic convention has established the use of slashes (/ /) to enclose phonemes and brackets ([]) to enclose phones or allophones. There is a belief that since phonemes cannot be pronounced (only phones or allophones can), slashes should never be used when speaking of pronunciation.

That belief is not shared by those who use slashes for additional purposes. In subsection G.6, a parenthetical addition hints that slashes may be used as shorthand: "Polish [u] should reflect some realization of Yidish /u/ (whether coming from historical

Since the etymology of the Polish form *bambetle* is complicated (and in part unclear), it will be presented here in seven progressively expanded versions, which, with one exception (mentioned below in the paragraph just before version 1, replicate my gradual coming to understand how the word originated and how it developed semantically.

Each of the meanings found in any of the seven versions is numbered (every time it occurs):

1. 'bench-bed' [= Polish 'bambetel ~ ślaban ~ ślabanek ~ ślubanek ~ szlaban']
2. 'bedding' [= Polish 'pościel']¹³
3. 'stuff, traps' [= Polish 'osobiste drobiazgi, pakunki']
4. 'junk, rubbish' [= Polish 'rupiecie, starzyzna']

Those numbers allow you to track each sense within a version or from one version to the next.

* /u/ or historical */o/, whether short, long, or isochronic).” In the text to which the present footnote is attached, “none of the vowels in the first syllable of the Yidish word [...] would become /a/ in Polish” is shorthand for “none of the vowels in the first syllable of the Yidish word [...] would become any kind of /a/ in Polish” (since Polish once had phonemic vowel length, “/a/” stands for a short vowel, a long vowel, or an isochronic one); “German /a/ would not become /u/ in Polish” means “any phone that would be considered an allophone of German /a/, whether long, short, or isochronic /a/, would not become any phone that would be considered a phoneme of Polish /u/, whether long, short, or isochronic /u/”. In subsection G.2, “a fricative that Polonophones would take to be closest not to Polish /g/ but to Polish /x/”, slashes are shorthand for a list of all the allophones of Polish /g/ and /x/.

Jones et al. (2015), written by Britons and published in England, regularly uses slashes to enclose pronunciations, for example, “*abnegate* /æb.nɪ.gert/” and “*abduct* /əbdʌkt/”, by which is meant “however you realize the phonemes shown, that pronunciation is acceptable”. Slashes as shorthand for various purposes are also used outside Anglophonia.

- 13 As used in this article, the word *bedding* is a collective term, synonymous with *bed clothes*, for everything that may be placed above a mattress: a feather bed, sheets, blankets, quilts, duvets, pillows, and covers for any of those things, including a cover for the mattress (the same is true of Eastern Yidish *betgevant* ‘bed clothes, bedding; literally, bed cloth’). In British English, the word refers not only to all of the preceding things but also to the mattress and whatever is under it: the bed base (such as a box spring) and the bed frame. That broader definition of *bedding* is not the one intended in this article.

If a number does not appear in a version (that is true only of number 2), the corresponding meaning has not yet made its appearance in any version (meaning 2 first appears in version 2).

The numbers were not assigned haphazardly. They indicate what I believe to be the relative age of the meanings (from oldest to youngest) and their family connection (parent > child > grandchild > great-grandchild).

Each of the meanings 2, 3, and 4 developed presumably from the immediately preceding one because no evidence even mildly suggests that two meanings could have developed from the same meaning (say, 3 and 4 from 2 or from 1) or that any meaning is a blend of two more earlier ones.

The exception to which allusion is made above is the numbers of the meanings. They were added a posteriori, after version 4 or 5 was written, because only then did the semantic development of the word become clear.

Version 1. Informal Polish nonpersonal plural *bambetle* 4. ‘junk, rubbish’ < 3. ‘stuff, traps [belongings, personal belongings, personal effects]’ < Austrian German *Bankbettel* 1. ‘bench-bed’ and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* id.

The etymologies of the German and Yidish words will not be given in any of the versions because they are found in subsection c.1.

Notice the use of angle brackets, facing to the left or the right, which are used in linguistics largely to show the derivation of one form from another but which, as here, can also be used to show the derivation of one meaning from another (though here the brackets are redundant because the numbers of the meanings show the assumed relative age of the meanings). Thus, it is assumed in this article that the meaning ‘junk, rubbish’ developed from the meaning ‘[personal] stuff, traps’, the reason for the assumption being that it is easier to explain *‘[personal] stuff, traps’ < ‘bench-bed’ than *‘junk, rubbish’ < ‘bench-bed’. In fact, the latter possibility seems implausible. In any case, both possibilities require some semantic reconstruction.

Here are the possible reconstructions if we assume that *‘[personal] stuff, traps’ < ‘bench-bed’ is the right etymology:

Possibility 1

Polish *bambetle* ‘[personal] stuff, traps’ < Polish *bambetle* *‘bedding’ < Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* ‘bench-bed’. Thus, possibility 1 assumes that metonymy occurred across the Polish-Yidish language boundary: Polish *‘bedding’ < Eastern Yidish ‘bench-bed’.

Possibility 2

Polish *bambetle* '[personal] stuff, traps' < Polish *bambetle* *'bedding' < Polish *bambetle* *'bench-bed'. Thus, possibility 2 assumes that metonymy occurred in Polish: Polish *'bedding' < Polish *'bench-bed'.

A Polish noun etymologically related to Polish *bambetle* lends support both to possibility 1 and to possibility 2: that word is the plural noun *bety*, which Bulas et al. (1961) treat as follows: "(jocular) 1. 'bedding'. 2. (loosely) '[belongings] traps'" (I have added a few typographical refinements to their treatment), to which the following may be added: in the Polish of Bukowsko (Sanok County), *bety* means 'pajamas' (< sense 1 of *bety*?). Since that meaning may be a localism (has the usage been recorded for elsewhere), it may not be relevant to the present discussion. At least for the time being, therefore, it will not be mentioned further.

Version 1, therefore, is deficient because it does not express a preference for possibility 1 or for possibility 2 (or, if nothing inclines us to prefer one or the other, it should at least mention both possibilities) and because it does not account for *bety*.

Version 2 is improved because it includes *bety* but is deficient because it says nothing about those two possibilities, which, for a reason that will become clear later, can be fruitfully discussed only after all seven versions of the etymology are presented (note 9 in "Additional notes to all seven versions of the etymology", after version 7, contains the discussion).

Version 2. Polish *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding' = *bet-* (clipping of Polish *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < German German *Bankbettel* 1. 'bench-bed' and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* id.) + Polish plural ending -y.

Regarding *bety* < *bambetle*:

1. That part of the expanded etymology exemplifies a probable universal of language: more often than not, if clippings are reductions of the full form to just one syllable, that syllable is the one that has the loudest stress in the full form: *bet-* < *bamBETle*.
2. The plurality of *bambetle* has been maintained in *bety* by the addition of the appropriate plural declensional endings (nominative -y, etc.) to *bet-* in replacement of the ones (nominative -e, etc.) that were lost as a result of clipping.
3. A few days before this article had to be sent to the editors, I found the suggestion that *bet-* (in *bety*) comes from German *Bett* 'bed', which a future publication will discuss.

Version 3. Polish *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding' = *bet-* (clipping of Polish *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < German German *Bankbettel* 1. 'bench-bed' and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* id.) + Polish plural ending -y in replacement of the ending -e of *bambetle* caused by a change in declension.

Now, some semantic reconstruction is necessary because part of the etymology is to some extent semantically unlikely. That is, 'bedding' (one of the attested meanings of Polish *bety*) and 'bench-bed' (the attested meaning of Polish *bambetel*) are obviously related, yet in version 3 they are separated by a word (Polish *bambetle*) which refers neither to bedding nor to bench-beds.

Since *bety* is a clipping of *bambetle* and since *bety* is attested in the two senses shown above, it is not unreasonable to reconstruct *'bedding' for the full form (inasmuch as a clipping need not retain all senses of the full form and inasmuch as a clipping may develop meanings on its own, independently of the full form, all we can say here is "it is not unreasonable to reconstruct" – we cannot say *"we are required to reconstruct").

Therefore:

Version 4. Polish *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding' = *bet-* (= clipping of Polish *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. *'bedding' < Austrian German *Bankbettel* 1. 'bench-bed' and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* id.) + Polish plural ending -y in replacement of the ending -e of *bambetle* caused by a change in declension.

By reconstructing *'bedding' for Polish *bambetle*, we have brought that word semantically closer to the German and Yidish words mentioned in the etymology.

Now we recall messages 3 and 5 quoted in subsection B.1, which report the Polish singular noun *bambetel* 'bench-bed', which has three characteristics strongly suggesting that it is a missing link in the etymology:

- A. The grammatical status of *bambetel*: since *bambetel*, unlike *bambetle*, is a singular noun, it allows us to link the Polish part of the etymology more plausibly to the singular German noun and the singular Yidish noun mentioned in the non-Polish part (which is not to say that nouns in one grammatical number cannot be the etymons of nouns in another grammatical number; it is to say that if a numerical gap can plausibly be closed, all the better for the etymology).
- B. The phonology of *bambetel*: Polish *bambetel* < Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* is phonologically likelier than Polish *bambetle* < Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or regional Eastern Yidish

bankbetl because, except when a German or a Yidish female personal name figures in the etymology (clearly not the case here), German word-final [əl] (spelled <el>) and Yidish word-final [l] (syllabic /l/, as in *bankbetl*) regularly become [ɛl] (/el/), not *[lɛ] (*le/) in Polish, as we see, for instance, in:

- B.1. German *Zünger* ‘trigger’ > Polish *cyngiel* id. and, at least in Lviv Polish, also ‘failing grade [in school]’.
- B.2. Central Yidish *beygl* ‘beygl’ > Polish *bajgiel* id. (the first vowel of *beygl* is /ai/ in Central Yidish).¹⁴

The phonological gap (more serious than the grammatical gap) is thus now closed too.

- C. The meaning of *bambetel*: introduction of that form allows us to introduce the meaning ‘bench-bed’ on the Polish side of the etymology; as a result, the semantic gap separating the two sides is narrowed.

The etymology is now improved in four ways:

- A’. It is improved morphologically: since, on one hand, a Polish singular noun and, on the other hand, a singular German noun and/or an Eastern Yidish singular noun are now linked directly, we no longer have to try to explain the inexplicable, namely, why a German singular noun and/or a Yidish singular noun yielded a plural one in Polish.
- B’. It is improved phonologically: since the etymology now reads *Polish *bambetel* < Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl*, which is phonologically not problematic, we no longer have to try to explain

14 For the following reason, Yidish female personal names ending in syllabic /l/ are not integrated into Polish in the same way that Yidish common nouns so ending are: when such names are recorded in Polish, <a> is added (because all Polish female personal names – both given names and pet forms – end in /a/); that addition causes the preceding syllabic /l/ to become consonantal. For example, the Yidish female personal names *gitl*, *raytsl*, *rodl*, and *sheyndl* (any token of any of which is either (1) a pet form of the Yidish female given names *gute*, *raytse*, *rode*, and *sheyne* respectively or (2) a Yidish female given name derived one of those pet forms by zero alteration) are conventionally recorded in Polish as <Gitla> ~ <Gytla>, <Racla> ~ <Rajcla>, <Rodla> ~ <Rudla>, and <Szajndla> ~ <Szejndla> (the different Polish spellings reflect different pronunciations of the names in Yidish; for instance, the second letter of <Racla> represents either Central Yidish [a:] – conventional Polish spelling has no way of indicating that a vowel is long – or Southeastern Yidish isochronic [a]).

the inexplicable, namely, why German word-final /el/ and/or Yidish word-final syllabic /l/ became /le/ in Polish rather than, as expected, /el/.

- C'. It is improved semantically: Polish plural *bambetle* *'bedding' < Polish singular *bambetel* 'bench-bed' (a not surprising instance of metonymy) makes the semantic development from the beginning to the end of the etymology completely unproblematic.
- D'. Not only does the introduction of the Polish word *bambetel* improve the etymology in the afore-mentioned three ways but also its presence creates no new problems.

Therefore:

Version 5. Polish *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding' = *bet-* (= clipping of Polish *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. *'bedding' < Austrian German *Bankbettel* 1. 'bench-bed' and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* id.) + Polish nominative plural ending -y in replacement of the plural ending -e of *bambetle* caused by a change in declension.

Despite the semantic improvement mentioned in paragraph C' in the comments on version 4, we now perceive a bit of semantic implausibility in the Polish part of the etymology: the meaning 'bench-beds' is missing from the list of meanings of the word *bambetle* – a meaning that we may easily infer from the attested meaning of the corresponding singular form, *bambetel* 'bench-bed'.

Before proceeding to the next version (which will remedy that semantic implausibility), let us review the meanings of two Polish plural forms because almost all the changes made so far from one version to the next have concerned not form but meaning, so that it will be interesting to see all the meanings in isolation:

plural *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. *'bedding' < 1. 'bench-beds' = plural of *bambetel* 1. 'bench-bed' < an Austrian German and/or a Yidish word meaning 1. 'bench-bed'.

In contrast, Polish male personal names have almost no canonic shape: most end in a consonant (including consonant clusters), on which there seem to be no restrictions other than those applying to Polish common vocabulary, and a number of them end in a vowel (monophthongs and diphthongs). Not surprisingly, therefore, Yidish male personal names, both given names, short forms, and pet forms, undergo much less change than female ones when represented in Polish: *Hirs*z ~ *Hers*z ~ *Hars*z, *Jankiel*, *Lajzer* ~ *Lejzer*, *Majer* ~ *Mejer*, *Perec*, and so forth.

The semantic flow is smooth: the Polish part of the etymology starts with a literal meaning 1, which by metonymy yields meaning 2, which by semantic broadening yields meaning 3, which by dysphemization or pejorization yields meaning 4. The only reconstructed meaning is 2, which is not a radical reconstruction because it is supported by an attested meaning of the clipping of *bambetle* (see below) and it easily takes its place between meanings 1 and 3 of the full form of the word as a natural bridge between them.¹⁵

plural *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding'.

For the clipping, only two meanings have been recorded. We need reconstruct nothing (though the word could have more meanings) because meanings 2 and 3 are close enough not to require the reconstruction of a connecting meaning. When we recall that travelers who did not have enough money for the best accommodations often had to take along their own bedding, it is easy to see how sense 2 can broaden into sense 3.¹⁶

Therefore:

Version 6. Polish *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding' = *bet-* (clipping of Polish *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. *'bedding' < 1. 'bench-beds' = plural form of Polish *bambetel* 1. 'bench-bed' < Austrian German *Bankbettel* id. and/or regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* id.) + Polish plural ending -y in replacement of the plural ending -e of *bambetle* caused by a change in declension.

15 Though reconstruction of forms and meanings is permitted in etymological research, one tries to keep them at a minimum. Often, one has to strike a balance between (1) a large number of reconstructions, which may give the impression that the proposed etymology is based more on imagination than on reality, and (2) too few reconstructions, which may leave much unexplained. See the last paragraph of note 9.B in "Additional notes to all seven versions of the etymology" in subsection c.2.

16 "Polish immigrants who traveled with little else almost invariably brought bedding from home" (Mikoś 2013: 40). "Dear Wife, please get some bedding ready. You should make two quilts, 3½ yards [probably 'meters' in the original – D.L.G.] long and 3 yards wide. The rest of the bedding may be the same as it is at home. The more of it you have, the better" (a person who had emigrated to the United States from Congress Poland, writing to his wife, who was about to emigrate; English translation of a probably Yidish original; Morawska 1999: 28). The examples could easily be multiplied.

The etymologies for German *Bankbettel* and Yidish *bankbetl* given in subsection C.1 may now be added to this, the last version, to make it fuller:

Version 7. Polish *bety* 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. 'bedding' = *bet-* (clipping of Polish *bambetle* 4. 'junk, rubbish' < 3. '[personal] stuff, traps' < 2. **'bedding' < 1. 'bench-beds' = plural form of Polish *bambetel* 1. 'bench-bed' < Austrian German *Bankbettel* id. [= German *Bank* 'bench' + Alemannic *Bettel* 'small bed' (= German *Bett* 'bed' + Alemanic diminutive suffix *-el*)] and/or regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* id. [< Austrian German *Bankbettel*, as above] + Polish plural ending *-y* in replacement of the plural ending *-e* of *bambetle* caused by a change in declension.

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Additional notes to all seven versions of the etymology:

1. With regard to Western Yidish, since Austrian German *Bankbettel* > regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* is possible (in Galicia, for example), no Western Yidish missing link is indispensable for that etymology to be right (though it could turn out that there was such a link, even if it not indispensable). In contrast, for German German *Schlafbank* > regional Eastern Yidish *shlofbank*, such a link seems indispensable.
2. If *bankbetl* exists in any Central or Northeastern Yidish topolects in which /l/ has been vocalized (* /bankbetu/), that variant does not figure in the etymology.
3. Because Austrian German *Bankbettel* and regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* are compound nouns, they have not only a primary stress but also a secondary one: '*Bank*,*bettel*', '*bank*,*betl*'. Although Polish has secondary stress ("Long or compound words also carry, besides the primary stress on the prefinal syllable, a secondary weaker stress on the prefinal syllable of the first member of the compound: *południówo-zachnódni*, *dalékobiézny*, or on the first syllable of a long word: *géograficzny*" [Brooks 1975: 17]), Polish *bambetel* does not meet either of the requirements for secondary stress: it is not a long word and, because it is monomorphemic, it is not a compound word. Consequently, it has a primary stress (on the penult) and no secondary stress: *bam*'*betel*.
4. Shift of the primary stress of the German and/or Eastern Yidish etymons to the penult of the Polish reflex is not unexpected for one and maybe two reasons:
 - 4.A. "This tendency to stress the third syllable from the end is dying out and more frequently the prefinal syllable is stressed even in the words mentioned above" (Brooks 1975: 17, where reference is to such Polish words as *fizyka* and *muzyka*).

- 4.B. The tendency toward penultimate stress has presumably been strongest among those least influenced by prescriptivist norms, that is, the working class. If so, the bench-bed being a piece of furniture more likely to be found among the working than among the leisurely class (cf. “Był popularny w mieszkaniach ubogiej ludności, zarówno na wsiach, jak i w miastach,” that is, ‘It was popular in the homes of poor people both in the countryside and in the cities’ [see *Wystawa* (2014: 18) and footnote 11 on the Polish word *ludowy*]), the word *bambetel* is likelier to be known and used by members of the first-mentioned of those classes, who would feel the strong pull of analogy to conform *bambetel* to the overwhelming majority of Polish words, namely, those with penultimate stress.¹⁷
5. Most Yidish topolects have three classes of nouns (masculine, feminine, and neuter). In those topolects, diminutive nouns ending in *-dl* ~ *-l* (such as *bank-betl*), including those designating persons, are neuter, no matter the class to which the base form belongs: masculine *blayer* ‘pencil’ → neuter *blayerl* ‘small pencil’, feminine *zhabe* ‘frog’ → neuter *zhabele* ‘small frog’, neuter *shney* ‘snow’ | *shneyele* ‘snowflake’; masculine *zun* ‘son’ → neuter *zundl* ~ *zindl* ‘little son’ [implying young age and connoting affection], feminine *tokhter* ‘daughter’ → neuter *tekhterl* ‘little daughter’ [with the same implication and connotation], and neuter *vayb* ‘wife’ > neuter *vaybl* ‘young married woman’. Both those features (three classes of nouns and neuter diminutives if ending in *-dl* ~ *-l*) are of German origin.¹⁸

Northeastern Yidish has lost (?) or has never had (?) the neuter class, but two new classes have arisen in that topolect, so that it has four classes: masculine, true feminine, mixed feminine, and intermediate. In Northeastern Yidish, diminutive nouns belong to the same class as the corresponding base forms. In that topolect, *bet*, hence *betl* too, belongs to the intermediate class.

17 Research for the present article turned up no evidence for *bambetel* ‘bench-bed’ (or of any of its synonyms: *szlaban*, *ślaban*, *ślabanek*, and *ślubanek*) in any Polish dictionary.

18 The Eastern Yidish pair *shney* ‘snow’ | *shneyele* ‘snowflake’ may seem to be no different from the others illustrating how diminutives ending *-dl* ~ *-l* are always neuter in the Yidish topolects having three classes of nouns, but that pair, unlike the others, is also an example of how deeply and how subtly Polish has influenced Eastern Yidish. One of the ways of turning a mass noun into a count noun in Polish is to diminutivize it, for instance, *śnieg* ‘snow’ | *śnieżynka* ‘snowflake’. That Polish device has been adopted in Eastern Yidish, as we see by comparing the Polish pairs A, B, C, and D, on one hand, and the Eastern Yidish pairs A’, B’, C’, and D’, on the other:

6. Polish *bambetel* is a masculine inanimate noun in the singular (nominative -Ø, genitive -a, dative -owi, accusative -Ø, instrumental -em, locative -u, and vocative -u); it is a nonpersonal noun in the plural (nominative -e, genitive -i, dative -om, accusative -e, instrumental -ami, locative -ach, and vocative -e); and the last vowel of the base form of the word, *bambetel*, is fugitive: present in the nominative and accusative singular forms (*bambetel*), it is absent in all the other forms (genitive singular *bambetlu*, nominative plural *bambetle*, and so on).

No significance should be attached to the fact that the German and/or Yidish etymon, on one hand, and the Polish reflex, on the other, belong to different classes because each language has its own set of rules for classifying nouns.

7. Under the influence of Polish, possibly with reinforcement from Belarusian and/or Ukrainian, Eastern Yidish has acquired a morphologically expressed semantic distinction between (1) the base form of a noun, (2) its first-degree diminutive form, and (3) its second-degree diminutive form (not all nouns have all three forms), for example (possibly non-occurring forms are asterisked; in all the forms chosen here, primary stress falls on the first syllable):

-
- A. *cukier* 'sugar' | *cukierek* 'piece of candy';
 B. *klops* 'meatloaf' | *klopsik* 'meatball';
 C. *kreda* 'chalk' | *kredka* '1. piece of chalk; 2. crayon';
 D. *śnieg* 'snow' | *śnieżynka* 'snowflake';
 A'. *tsuker* 'sugar' | *tsukerke* ~ *tsukerl* 'piece of candy';
 B'. *klops* 'meatloaf' | *klepsl* 'meatball';
 C'. *krayd* 'chalk' | *kraydl* '1. piece of chalk; 2. crayon';
 D'. *shney* 'snow' | *shneyele* 'flake [of snow], snowflake'.


The device has become productive in Eastern Yidish. So far as I know, the following Eastern Yidish pairs have no analogs in Polish: *groz* 'grass' | *grezl* 'blade of grass' (in German, at least in this case, a count noun is formed from the mass noun by zero alteration – *Gras* 'grass; a blade of grass' and the diminutives, all derived from the count noun, mean 'small blade of grass' [*Gräschen* ~ *Gräserchen* ~ *Gräslein*; for 'small blade of grade', Eastern Yidish uses the second-degree diminutive: *grezele* 'very small blade of grass'], *hogl* 'hail' | [possibly my coinages] *hegl* '[larger] hailstone' ~ *hegele* '[smaller] hailstone', *teyg* 'dough' | *teygl* 'pellet of dough', *zamd* 'sand' | *zendl* 'grain of sand', *zeyf* 'soap' | *zeyfele* 'soapflake'.

- 7.A. *bet* 'bed' (plural *betn*), *betl* '1. small bed; 2. cot; small bed' (plural *betlekh*), *betele* 'small cot, very small bed' (plural *betelekh*);
- 7.B. *kats* 'cat' (plural *kets*), *ketsl* 'kitten' (plural *ketslekh*), *ketsele* 'kitty' (plural *ketselekh*);
- 7.C. *shtot* 'city' (plural *shtet*), *shtetl* 'town' (plural *shtetlekh*), *shtetele* 'small town' (plural *shtetelekh*);
- 7.D. *tish* 'table' (plural *tishn*), *tishl* 'small table' (plural *tishlekh*), *tishele* 'very small table' (plural *tishelekh*);
- 7.E. *pen* 'pen' (plural *penen* ~ *penes*), *pendl* 'small pen' (plural *pendlekh*), *pen-dele* 'very small pen' (plural *pendelekh*);
- 7.F. *ponem* 'face' (plural *penemer*), *peneml* 'small face' (plural *penemlekh*), (?) **penemele* 'very small face' (plural (?) **penemelekh*);
- 7.G. *sod* 'orchard' (plural *seder*), *sedl* 'small orchard' (plural *sedlekh*), *sedele* 'very small orchard' (plural *sedelekh*).

The nouns may be of any origin (*bet*, *kats*, *shtot*, and *tish* come from German; *pen*, from Jewish French and/or Jewish Italian; *ponem*, from Hebrew-Aramaic; and *sod*, from Polish).

The form and "half" the meaning of those Eastern Yidish first- and second-degree singular and plural diminutive suffixes (first-degree singular *-dl* ~ *-l*, second-degree singular *-dele* ~ *-ele*, first-degree plural *-dlekh* ~ *-lekh*, and second-degree plural *-delekh* ~ *-elekh*) are of regional German origin. By "half" is meant this: the German etymons of those Eastern Yidish diminutives suffixes are diminutive suffixes, but they are not first- and second-degree diminutive suffixes (German makes a distinction between a base form and its diminutive or diminutives and if there is more than one diminutive, they are different not in meaning but in their spatial distribution, so that there is no distinction, as there is in Eastern Yidish and the Slavic languages, between first- and second-degree diminutives). The "half" that is of non-German origin is the distinction between first- and second-degree diminutives, which is of Polish origin, with possible reinforcement from Belarusian and Ukrainian.

- 8. One of the ways of integrating borrowings is to adopt them without analysis and another is to adopt them with partial or full analysis. Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* > Polish *bambetel* exemplifies the first way. An example of full analysis is German *Wolkenkratzer* 'skyscraper' (literally, 'cloud-scraper') > Polish *drapacz chmur* id. (with the same literal meaning).¹⁹

- 19 A group of Polish > Eastern Yidish etymologies illustrates partial analysis, namely, the integration of Polish plural nouns, including at least two place names, where we see a Polish plural marker replaced by an Eastern Yidish one (all the Eastern Yidish words mentioned here, including the place names, are initially stressed and the protovowel in the stressed syllable is shown for each of the Yidish words):
1. *bebechy* [see subsection c.3] > *bebekhes* ‘stuff, traps [personal belongings]’ (protovowel 21). The Yidish word is used at least in the Yidish of Brest (Belarus).
 2. *Dwikozy* (the name of an inhabited place in Sandomierz County) > *vikes* (protovowel 31). Speakers of Yidish folk-etymologized /d/ as a form of the Yidish plural definite article, namely, *di*, which they did not consider part of the place name and therefore at some point dropped (might there have once been an intermediate form, **di vikes*?). In at least one set collocation, at least one Yidish topolect, spoken not far from Sandomierz, has [d] as the realization of the feminine singular form and the plural form of the definite article *di*: in Łagów Yidish, the prepositional phrases *unter di orem* ‘one’s armpit’, literally ‘under the arm’ (as in *s’tut mir vey unter di orem* ‘my armpit hurts’), and *unter di orems* ‘one’s armpits’, literally ‘under the arms’ (as in *trukn s’kind on unter di orems* ‘dry the child’s armpits’) are respectively pronounced [‘Intɛˈdu:rəm] and [‘Intɛˈdu:rəms]. All references in this article to Łagów are to the inhabited place of that name in Kielce County (formerly in Opatów County).
 3. *gacie* ~ *gatki* ‘(wulg.) drawers, shorts, [British English] pants’ (Bulas et al. 1961) > *gatyas* ~ *gatkes* ‘underpants’ | ‘tachtonim’ (Harkavy 1925, 1928; the Hebrew translation means ‘underpants’), ‘underpants, drawers’ (Weinreich 1968) (protovowel 11). Bulas et al. (1961) use, among others, the labels *bl.* ‘błędnie | erroneously’, *dial.* ‘dialektyczne [= dialektalny] | dialectal’, *lud.* ‘ludowe | rural’, *niewł.* ‘niewłaściwie | improperly’, *obelż.* ‘obelżywe | abusive’, *obsc.* ‘obscene | nieprzyzwoite’, *pog.* ‘pogardliwie | contemptuous’, *pot.* ‘potocznie | colloquially’, *prow.* ‘prowincjonalne | provincial’, *sl.* ‘slang’, *szn.* ‘w szerszym znaczeniu | loosely’, and *wulg.* ‘wulgarne | vulgar’ (pp. xi and xii, whence also those Polish and English resolutions of the abbreviations). Looking at all twelve labels, we see that the only meaning that *wulg.* might have is ‘coarse’.
 4. *Marki* (the name of an inhabited place near Warsaw) > *markes* (protovowel 11).
 5. *mydliny* ‘soapsuds, suds’ > *midlenes* id. (protovowel 31).
 6. *ochłapy* ‘offal’ > *okhlapes* id. (protovowel 41).
 7. *portki* ‘(wulg.) pants’ (Bulas et al. 1961) > *portkes* ‘pants, trousers’ (protovowel 41). For one of my maternal great-aunts, who was born in Łagów in 1896 and lived there until 1913, *portkes* was stylistically unmarked; for my mother, who was born in the town in 1912 and lived there until 1927, the word was disparaging (but not vulgar); she applied it to pants (American English) or trousers (British English) which for one reason or another she did not like, such as poorly made, dirty, or torn ones. 

Therefore, expressed morphologically (and phonologically), the etymology of Polish *bambetel* is: Austrian German trimorphemic diminutive noun and/or Eastern Yidish trimorphemic first-degree diminutive noun (both with primary stress on the antepenult and secondary stress on the penult) > Polish monomorphemic non-diminutive noun (with primary stress on the penult and no secondary stress). For another example of non-monomorphemic word > monomorphemic word, see the mention of Polish *meczet* ‘mosque’ following the etymology of Polish *melina* in guideline G.1 in section G.

9. We now return to the question of whether possibility 1 or possibility 2 is right, that is, whether metonymy occurred across the Yidish-Polish language boundary (Eastern Yidish *‘bench-bed’ > Polish ‘bedding’?) or in Polish (Polish *‘bench-bed’ > Polish ‘bedding’?).

With the addition of more information in versions 2–7, the wording of those possibilities has become obsolete and the question is now broader: aside from the meaning ‘bench-bed’, in which language – Yidish or Polish – did each of the non-literal meanings – 2. ‘bedding’, 3. ‘[personal] stuff, traps’, and 4. ‘junk, rubbish’ – arise?

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8. *rodzynki* ‘raisins’ > *rozhinkes* id. (protovowel 41). Since one is likelier to talk about raisins than about a raisin, *rodzynki* ‘raisins’ is textually more frequent than *rodzynek* ‘raisin’, hence the form that Yidishophones heard more (or exclusively?) and thus the one they borrowed. The singular of *rozhinkes* is *rozhinke*, which is not a borrowing of *rodzynek* but a back-formation of *rozhinkes*. *Rozhinkes* is the only Yidish word in the present list that has a singular form.
 9. *trociny* ‘sawdust’ > *trotshines* id. (protovowel 41).
 10. *Zoręby* (the formerly official and now the non-standard name of Zaręby, a village in Kielce County [formerly in Opatów County]) > *zorembs* (protovowel 41).

Because all the foregoing Polish words save *rodzynki* occur only in the plural, the plurals were the only borrowable forms. The exception does have a singular form (*rodzynek* ‘raisin’), but the plural was borrowed for the reason given above.

The fact that the Yidish words are overtly marked as plural nouns (the place names are plurals only in form; grammatically, they are singulars, as shown by their taking singular verbs when in subject position, as in *vikes iz a shtetl lem tsoyzmer* ‘Dwikozy is a town near Sandomierz’, *markes iz a shtot unter varshe* ‘Marki is a city just outside Warsaw’, and *zorembs iz a dorf lebn lagev* ‘Zaręby is a village near Łagów’) tells us that the persons who introduced them into Yidish met both these requirements: (1) they knew that Polish *-i ~ -y* were markers of the plural and (2) they decided, even if just semiconsciously or unconsciously, to replace it by a semantically equivalent Yidish one.

For these reasons, they presumably arose in Polish:

- 8.A. All the non-literal meanings are attested only in Polish (whether for *bety*, *bambetle*, or both words). Although it is true that a reflex may retain meanings that the etymon once had but no longer does (so that it is possible, at least in theory, that Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* once had those meanings, they passed into Polish when the German and/or Yidish word entered that language, and later they went out of use in German and/or Yidish), that does not seem to be the case for the next reason.
- 8.B. If a sequence of phonemes is monomorphemic in one lect (such as *bambetel* is in Polish) and the same or nearly the same sequence is non-monomorphemic in another lect (as *Bankbettel* and *bankbetl* are), the former is an unmotivated, completely arbitrary sign and the latter is a motivated, at least partly motivated one.²⁰ Unmotivated signs are likelier than motivated ones to acquire meanings because the at least two morphemes composing a motivated sign synergistically anchor it, even if just loosely, in a certain part of semantic space (they give the sign an approximate longitude and latitude) whereas unmotivated signs are freer to wander.

That is not to say that unmotivated signs inevitably acquire an additional meaning or meanings or that motivated signs never do. Rather, it is to say that an unmotivated sign is likelier than a motivated one to be non-monosemous.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the only attested meaning of Austrian German *Bankbettel* and regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* is 'bench-bed' whereas (1) the plural form of Polish *bambetel* means not just 'bench-beds' but also '[personal] stuff, traps', 'junk, rubbish' and in earlier times presumably *'bedding' too (if we may so infer from the fact that that is a meaning of *bety* to this day) and (2) Ukrainian *bambetel*, a word discussed in section D, means not only 'bench-bed' but also 'last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus]' and 'boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow,

20 A finer gradation is possible if unmotivated signs are divided into those that occur nowhere else in the lexicon (such as Polish *bambetel*, which is not part of any other Polish lexeme) and those that do occur elsewhere. The former would presumably be freer than the latter to acquire more than one meaning because they enter into no relations with any other lexeme and are thus in no way constrained by them.

throw pillow, toss pillow'. We therefore conclude that the meanings 'bedding', '[personal] stuff, traps', and 'junk, rubbish' are Polish, not Eastern Yidish or German innovations (see the last four paragraphs of section D).

9. As proposed in subsection C.2, the order in which meanings 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Polish *bambetel* developed is linear: 1. 'bench-bed' > 2. *'bedding' > 3. 'stuff, traps [personal belongings]' > 4. 'junk, rubbish'.

In contrast, it seems that the semantic development of Ukrainian *bambetel* is 1. 'bench-bed' > 2.A 'last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus]' and 2.B 'boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow, throw pillow, toss pillow', that is, we assume that meanings 2.A and 2.B derive, each independently of the other, from meaning 1 (the assignment of the letters A and B is arbitrary; they do not mean that meaning 2.A is necessarily older than meaning 2.B). Whether between meaning 1 and meaning 2.A stands 2. *'bedding' remains to be discussed because 2.A could have developed directly from meaning 1 (as a transferred meaning) and meaning 2.B could likewise have developed directly from meaning 1 by metonymy). The least we may say is that since bedding includes pillows, *'bedding' is close to being an attested meaning of the Ukrainian word.

10. To summarize: in all seven versions of the etymology, just one meaning has been reconstructed (*'bedding' for Polish *bambetle*), though it is just "half" a reconstruction because supporting it are these attested meanings of etymologically related words: 'bedding' (for Polish *bety*) and 'boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow, throw pillow, toss pillow' (for Ukrainian *bambetel*), which is also to say that *'bedding' is not far from being attested for the Ukrainian word either. See footnote 13 and the text to which it is attached.
11. It remains to be seen whether the available evidence will confirm the existence of *'bedding' as a meaning of Polish *bambetle* and whether the order of meanings suggest above for *bety* and *bambetle* is the right one.
12. Still unanswered is the question of whether **bambetl* is (1) Polish *bambetel* and/or Ukrainian *bambetel* quoted in Yidish or (2) Yidish.

C.3. The relevance of Polish *bebechy* and *trzewia* to the semantic history of Polish *bambetel*, *bambetle*, and *bety*

Synonyms and near synonyms may undergo the same semantic changes. Gustaf Stern, who was probably not the first semanticist to speak of "words which show a more or less parallel [semantic – D.L.G.] development" (Stern 1921: 2), devotes Chapter III of his book (pp. 202–222) to "Parallel sense-developments in different words".

In the present case, the Polish words *bambetel*, *bambetle*, and *bety* (= group A) are, as we have seen, in one way or another semantically similar to one another, as may be expected from their being etymologically related, and the Polish words *bebechy* and *trzewia* (= group B) are semantically similar to each other:

bebechy ‘1. guts; 2. (*dysphemistic*) bedding; 3. (*informal*) traps [personal belongings]’
(see entry 1 in footnote 19).

trzewia ‘1. viscera; 2. (*informal*) traps [personal belongings]’.

The significance of the shared meanings in group B is not immediately clear: did, for example, *bebechy* ‘guts’ acquire the meaning ‘traps’ by analogy with *trzewia* ‘1. viscera; 2. traps’, vice versa, or did each word acquire its additional meaning or meanings independently of the other word? And has *bety* or *bambetle* interacted with either of the two?

All we can say at the moment is that the presumed co-occurrence of the meanings ‘bedding’ and ‘traps [personal belongings]’ in *bambetle* would not be surprising in light of their attested co-occurrence in *bebechy*. In any case, the words in group A and those in group B are in one way or another semantically similar.

D. (Regional?) Ukrainian *бамбетель* (*bambetel*) ‘bench-bed’

At least certain Western Ukrainian topolects have *bambetel* ‘bench-bed’, which in recent years has acquired a second meaning in slang:

Бамбетель (від нім. Bankbettel) — лавка-ліжко, яка розсувається для спання та складається для сидіння. У 19 ст. та на початку 20 ст. на Галичині в розкладену лаву клали сінник, і на ній спали, водночас часто виконувала функцію скрині. Кришкою на день закривали висувну шухляду-лежак, вимощену соломою. З’явилася така лавка-ліжко в українських селах в останні роки австрійського панування. На жаргоні бамбетель — місця в кінці автобуса. (unsigned 2015)

Bambetel’ (from German *Bankbettel*) – bench-bed, which can be unfolded for sleeping and folded for sitting. In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Galicia, people would put it in bed position, lay a straw mattress on it, and sleep on it, and, at the same time, it was often used as a box. During the day, the drawer-bed filled with straw was covered with a lid. In [presumably current Ukrainian] slang, the word sometimes means ‘back of a bus’.

The foregoing passage prompts these comments:

1. Ukrainian *bambetel'* 'bench-bed' could be from Austrian German *Bankbettel*, Polish *bambetel*, and/or regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl*.
2. Are the temporal and spatial limits that the writer puts on the Ukrainian word right? It is interesting that Galicia is mentioned in that passage and Lesser Poland or Galicia is mentioned in message 4 in subsection B.1 of section B (see also footnote 23). Unless *systematic* fieldwork is carried out (see section F), we may never know whether that is a coincidence or bench-beds were indeed most common in those areas.
3. Is 'back of a bus' the precise definition? At first, I wondered whether the writer meant the outside, the inside, or both the outside and inside of the back of a bus. If buses (specifically, intercity buses) had a storage compartment at the back, with access from the outside, one could assume that the back of the bus, when seen from the outside, was likened to the storage area of a closed bench-bed. However, intercity buses have a storage area on the underside, not at the back.

Then I thought that maybe the entire back of the interior was meant because it resembled the storage area of a closed bench-bed. Finally, I realized that the best interpretation is that in Ukrainian slang the word means *'last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus]' because that row looks like a bench-bed in bench position, especially since the bench-beds in eastern Europe had backs, to which the interior back wall of a bus could be likened.

A remark posted on the World-Wide Web seems to confirm that line of reasoning: bus drivers in Ukraine store their tools under the last row of seats (in the following passage, *bambetel'* is used both in its literal sense of 'bench-bed' and in its slang sense of 'last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus]' (spelling errors have been corrected here):

Бамбетлі з фігурними спинками й ажурними бильцями зазвичай пам'ятають ще цісаря Франца Йосифа. Геть прості — як лавка з шухлядою — робота вже повоєнних сільських тесель. Бо чи то часи змізерніли, чи то майстри вибули, що розмаїті «ізілшества» тепер не в моді. Але бамбетель жив довго. Навіть сидіння в автобусі — оте в самому кінці, над скринєю, де шофер тримає реманент, — називали бамбетлем. Це новопечені міщухи нарекли, утікачі з колгоспного села — як-от мої батьки. (Zavitiij 2009).

The *bambetels* with nicely carved backrests and openwork arms in most cases recall the times of Emperor Francis Joseph. Those very simple pieces — which resemble a bench with a drawer — are the work of post-war village carpenters. It is hard to say, whether because times have changed or the craftsmen

are gone, that “luxury” has gone out of style, but bambetels are long-lived. Even the [row of] seats at the back of a bus, above the box in which the drivers store all their things – was dubbed a bambetel by the city-slickers who in recent times had fled, as my parents had, from the village kolkhozes.

Thus, it is not just the last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus] but also the storage area underneath that row that have been likened to the bench-bed in closed position and its chest. Since few passengers might know that tools are kept there (presumably only passengers who had seen a driver remove tools to make a repair), we wonder whether the slangism was not originally (and is still largely?) busdrivers’ slang.

Having learned of the Ukrainian word only during the second week of March 2016, when this article was almost finished, and knowing next to nothing about it, I have decided to leave the etymologies proposed in section C as they are, at least for the time being, because how to etymologize the Ukrainian word is at the moment unclear (and could always remain so): is it from Eastern Yidish, German, Polish, or two or all three of those languages?

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We now turn to the Na Bambetli Coffehouse in Lviv. All six pages of its website in Ukrainian have the same background: thirteen small cushions or pillows arranged in a circle. On the page devoted to the history of the establishment, opened in 2007, we learn that although the owners define the singular form of the Ukrainian word, *бамбетель* (*bambetel*), as ‘bench-bed’, they define the plural form, *бамбетели* (*bambetli*), which appears in the name of their coffehouse, as “зручні в’язані подушки, виткані серветки, хутро свійських тварин”, literally, ‘comfortable pillows knitted of woven cloth, furry pets’, which is to say, ‘boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow, throw pillow, toss pillow (all those English terms are synonyms)’, so that the name of the coffehouse means ‘On Scatter Cushions’, ‘On Scatter Pillows’, etc. (such cushions or pillows are so called in English because they can be tossed or scattered wherever they are needed or wherever one wants to use them for decoration).²¹

21 Is ‘knitted of woven cloth’ essential to the definition? If it is of any relevance, the definitions of Turkish *kırlent* ‘boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow, throw pillow, toss pillow’ on several websites specify that such pillows or cushions are made of lace.

The fact that the owners of the coffeehouse put the word *bambetel'* in its name means that the word in that sense is at least fairly widespread, at least in today's Lviv, because were that not the case, they would have avoided a name that might have unwanted connotations and thus invited ribaldry (*'On the Last Rows of Seats on Buses' and *'On Bench-Beds'). Their choice of name implies that neither 'bench-bed' nor 'last row of seats [...]' was the most frequent meaning of Ukrainian *bambetel'* in Lviv in 2007, for had one or both of the meanings been more frequent in that year than 'boudoir pillow [...]', the word would not have been chosen for the sign.

Ukrainian *bambetel'* thus means '1. bench-bed; 2. (*slang*) last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus]; 3. boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow, throw pillow, toss pillow'. Sense 3 brings to mind the meaning *'bedding' reconstructed for Polish *bambetle* in subsection c.2 and the meaning 'bedding' attested for *bety*, the shortening of that Polish word.

The three effects of those similarities of meaning in the present discussion are to (1) bind the Polish and Ukrainian words closer than we have thus far supposed, (2) move them semantically farther from Austrian German *Bankbettel* and regional Eastern Yidish *bankbetl* (for both of which words 'bench-bed' is still the only known meaning), and (3) give evidence of a not insubstantial amount of semantic innovation, which is not surprising in light of the fact that both Polish *bambetel* and Ukrainian *bambetel'* are, in contrast to the trimorphemic Austrian German word *Bankbettel* and the regional Eastern Yidish word *bankbetl*, monomorphemic (see subsection 8 in the discussion of version 6 in subsection c.2 for the suggestion that words consisting of one morpheme are likelier than those consisting of more than one to acquire more than one meaning).

The evidence seems to be growing that the precise etymology of Polish *bambetel* and Ukrainian *bambetel'* is elusive except for the obvious fact that in one way or another (and maybe in more ways than one) they go back to the Austrian German (if so, the Polish and Ukrainian words arose presumably on Polish and Ukrainian speech territories within the Austrian Empire) – but "go back" can mean many things: (1) are the Polish and Ukrainian words of immediate German origin? (2) is just one of them? (3) neither of them? (4) is regional Eastern Yidish a link between Austrian German and Polish? (5) is it a link between Austrian German and Ukrainian? (6) is Polish a link between German and Ukrainian? (7) is Ukrainian a link between Austrian German and Polish? (8) is a combination of those possibilities right?²²

In any case, a Ukrainian word has now entered the picture and it provides some support for the reconstruction of the meaning *'bedding' for Polish *bambetle*.

E. What the German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yidish words meaning ‘bench-bed’ presumably tell us about the making and selling of bench-beds on German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yidish speech territories

Immediate etymons and only immediate etymons are evidence of linguistic influence (see guideline G.1 in section G). They can also be, as presumably in the present case, evidence of cultural influence. If we may go just by the words meaning ‘bench-bed’ mentioned in this article (the addition of such words in other languages could change perceptions), it seems that:

1. bench-beds were first made on German speech territory (German *Bankbettel* and *Schlafbank* are presumably spontaneous German coinages);
2. Ashkenazic Jews learned of them from speakers of German (Yidish *bankbetl* and *shlofbank* are of immediate German origin);
3. speakers of Polish learned of them both from speakers of German and Yidish (Polish *ślabanek* and *ślaban*² ~ *szlaban*² are of immediate German origin and Polish *śluban*- is of immediate Central and/or Southeastern Yidish origin). Only *bambetel*, among the Polish words, is of unclear immediate origin, the choices being “of immediate German, Yidish, and/or Ukrainian origin”;
4. since Ukrainian *bambetel*’ is of immediate German, Polish, and/or Eastern Yidish origin, it is as unspecific as Polish *bambetel* with regard to cultural influence.

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- 22 The extent of Yidish influence on Ukrainian seems to have been overestimated, as here: “Examples of words of German or Yiddish origin spoken in Ukraine include *dakh* (roof), *rura* (pipe), *rynok* (market), *kushnir* (furrier), and *majster* (master or craftsman).” (unsigned 2016, relying on Smal-Stocky 1963).

In none of its several pronunciations would Yidish *rer* ‘pipe, tube’ (< *Röhr*’ = the informal variant of German *Röhre*) yield Ukrainian *rura* (or Polish *rura*).

For Ukrainian *rynok* (and Polish *rynek*), Yidish does not offer even a remotely possible etymon.

Since the first vowel of Yidish *kirzhner* 1. ‘furrier’. 2. ‘hatter’ (< German *Kürschner*) would not yield the first vowel of Ukrainian *kushnir* (or of Polish *kuśnierz*), Yidish is irrelevant here too.

Whether Yidish *dakh* ‘roof’ and *mayster* ‘master craftsman’ figure in the etymology of Ukrainian *dakh* and *majster* (and of Polish *dach* and *majster*) remains to be seen.

Possibly relying on Wiener (1895), Karski (1904: 159, 170–174) notes thirty-nine Belarusian words of Yidish origin and suggests that other Belarusian words, the etymology of which was generally held in his day to be “< Polish < German”, may actually be of immediate Yidish origin (thus, possibly “*< Eastern Yidish < German” or “*< Eastern Yidish < Polish < German”), especially certain words relating to trade, carpentry, and blacksmithing, which, he writes, were in Belarus at one time largely in Jewish hands. It would be good to see whether those thirty-nine words are in fact of immediate Eastern Yidish origin and whether any Belarusian trade, carpentry, and blacksmithing terms are.

F. Wörter und Sachen: more research is needed and it should be a cooperative effort by students of language and of furniture

Students of the history of furniture in central and eastern Europe and students of German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yidish (are any other languages relevant, such as Belarusian, Czech, Hungarian, Kashubian, Slovak, or Slovenian?) should cooperate in continuing the research presented in this introductory article. For German, Polish, Ukrainian, and certain other languages, determining the spatial distribution of the relevant words, say, in the 1930s, when bench-beds were still common, should be easy.

Not so for Yidish – and not just for the obvious reason that the language has suffered catastrophic losses because of murder and shift of language but also for the lesser-known reason that little salvage linguistics has been carried out, through *systematic* fieldwork, with the last living competent speakers of the language. Time, money, and energy are wasted on trying to “revive” the language instead of being utilized to train fieldworkers to continue the systematic fieldwork begun, but stopped, for the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry (for more hints of the current situation, see the comments at Stutchkoff 1950 and Weinreich 1968).

Before the Nazis murdered him (on 8 December 1941), Simon Dubnow, the pre-eminent historian of Eastern Ashkenazic Jewry, constantly urged the other Jews imprisoned with him in the Nazi-imposed Riga Ghetto, ייִדן! שרײַבט און, פאַרשרײַבט (*yidn! shraybt un farshraybt!*) ‘Jews! write and record!’²³

23 Henek Ringel reported *bankbetl* to me for Lviv of the 1920s and 1930s and Teltse-Rifke Gold (née Lejderman), *shlofbank* for Łagów of the 1910s and 1920s (see entry 2 in footnote 19). Neither recalled ever hearing **bambetl*.

Lviv, of course, is in historical Galicia.

From 1795 to 1815 Łagów, in Lesser Poland, was part of the Austrian Empire (during those twenty years Teltse-Rifke Gold's ancestors were living not in Łagów but probably in places nearby: her paternal ancestors, presumably in Zareby [see entry 10 in footnote 19] and her maternal ones, presumably in Rembów [in Raków County]). In the twentieth century, one echo, probably two, could still be heard in Łagów from the Austrian period in the history of the area:

1. *The definite echo.* Born in Łagów in 1912, she recognized the Yidish numismonym *graytser* (pronounced ['gra:ce] in local Yidish) 'kreuzer' but was able to define it no more precisely than "an alte midbeye", that is, 'an old coin', an unsurprising definition in light of the fact that a hundred and more years had passed since the Austrian kreuzer ceased being legal tender in the area.
2. *The probable echo.* Presumably, the Yidish feminine noun [kan'cla:], which all Yidishophones in Łagów used to designate the building in which the government of the commune and town (later village) of Łagów was located, as in "bist haynt geven in [kan'cla:]?" 'were you in the communal ~ town ~ village hall today?'. If the word comes from the German feminine noun *Kanzlei*, it is a second echo of Austrian rule, but not if it is a shortening of the Polish feminine noun *kancelaria*. Probably speaking against a Polish origin for the word, and thus in favor of an Austrian German one, is the fact that at least in the 1910s and 1920s that building was called not **kancelaria* in Polish but *urząd gminy*.

If local Yidish [kan'cla:] comes from Austrian German *Kreuzer*, the word is to be spelled קאַנצלַרִי (in romanization: *kantslar*), and if a shortening of Polish *kancelaria*, קאַנצלאַר (in romanization: *kantslar*). The pronunciation [kan'cla:] would support both those interpretations:

1. Support for *Kanzlei* as the etymon: in the Yidish of Łagów and the surrounding area (a variety of Central Yidish), Yidish protovowel 34 is pronounced [a:], so that the last vowel of German *Kanzlei*, [ai], would be reflected as [a:] in the area in question, hence the end result would be [kan'cla:].
2. Support for a shortening of *kancelaria* as the etymon. The etymology would be Polish *kancelaria* shortened to Yidish **kantselar*. Since syncope of *[ə] in pretonic position would be expected, **kantselar* (finally stressed) would become *kantslar* (finally stressed). Since the Yidish of Łagów and the surrounding area does not have syllable-final /r/ (except where maintained by continuous reinforcement from Polish, for example, *varshe* 'Warsaw' [compare Polish *Warszawa*]), /r/ would not be present at the surface level but it would have a continuing effect on the length of the preceding vowel, namely, to lengthen it, as in local Yidish [na:] 'fool [person]' (= Yidish *nar* id. < German *Narr* id.). The end result would be [kan'cla:], identical to the end result if the word comes from *Kanzlei*. □

G. Thirteen guidelines for the study of Yidish influence on Polish and Ukrainian

The following guidelines, which apply in all etymological research (G.8, *mutatis mutandis*), are deducible from the foregoing discussion. Many, maybe all, may be elementary or obvious but since they are often ignored, they are worth repeating. At the very least, bringing them together here, in one place, will be useful for persons wishing to become etymologists and for those teaching introductory courses in etymology.

G.1. Only immediate transfer is evidence of influence

The etymological chain German > Yidish > Polish, for instance, exemplifies only (1) German influence on Yidish and (2) Yidish influence on Polish. It does not exemplify German influence on Polish.

The contrast between the relevance of immediate etymons to the pre-history of a lexeme and the irrelevance of non-immediate ones becomes sharper if we compare these two hypothetical situations:

Situation 1

The consensus is that the derivation of a certain Polish word is Latin > French > Polish (as in situation 2) and later the derivation is proven to be Occitan > French > Polish.

In situation 1, the newly proven derivation does not change the history of Polish in general or that of the Polish word in particular because the immediate source of the Polish word is still French.

Situation 2

The consensus is that the derivation of a certain Polish word is Latin > French > Polish (as in situation 1) and later the derivation is proven to be Latin > Italian > Polish.

In situation 2, the newly proven derivation does change our understanding of the history of Polish in general and of the Polish word in particular.

Therefore, since the pronunciation [kan'cla:] does not tell us unambiguously how to phonemicize that sequence of phones, we can rely only on non-linguistic information, namely, the absence of evidence that the local communal ~ town ~ village hall was ever called **kancelaria* in Polish, so that, by process of elimination, Austrian German *Kanzlei* is presumably the etymon and קאַנצלײַ (*kantslay*) is presumably the correct spelling of the Yidish word.

See section D on Galicia and Lesser Poland.

Certain less than fully rigorous etymologists try to make non-immediate etymons look like immediate ones by using the unscientific wordings “via”, “through”, and “by way of”. Contrast the right approach and the wrong one (the languages mentioned could be any but Yidish is mentioned here because of the ongoing attempts to push Yidish as far from the foreground as possible, unscientific etymologies being one of the ways of doing so):

1. The right approach: Hebrew > Yidish > English.
2. The wrong approaches: (1) Hebrew (via Yidish) > English; (2) Hebrew (through Yidish) > English; and (3) Hebrew (by way of Yidish) > English.

In sum, if Ms. Abacka gives a gift to Mr. Babacki and Mr. Babacki gives it to Ms. Cabacka, Ms. Cabacka has gotten a gift from Mr. Babacki, not from Ms. Abacka.

*

In einem Betrag aus dem Jahre 1989 äußern sich zwei polnische Autorinnen, die Germanistin Aleksandra Czechowska-Blachiewicz und die Polonistin Grazyna Habrajska, über Entlehnungen in der Sprache des Gebietes von Lodz, besonders im Wortschatz der Textilindustrie. Diese zur Zeit zweitgrößte polnische Stadt wurde im 18. und 19. Jh. sowohl von Polen als auch von Deutschen und Juden bewohnt. Eine große Menge von Entlehnungen verdankt die Sprache der Einwohner von Lodz schlesischen und schwäbischen Zuwanderern. Über die Hälfte der heute in Lodz im gesprochenen Polnisch verwendeten Germanismen seien dieselben wie im Wortschatz der Allgemeinsprache, z.B. *bejca*, *renta*, *tapeta* (1989: 89ff.). Daneben gebe es Wörter, die auch in anderen Mundarten aufträten. Bei manchen deutschen Lehnwörtern sei jiddische Vermittlung wahrscheinlich, z.B. bei *brew* (Augenbraue), *brud* (Schmutz), *klosz* (glockenförmiger Frauenrock, ibd.: 91). (Lipczuk 2001)

If the possibility that “Bei manchen deutschen Lehnwörtern sei jiddische Vermittlung wahrscheinlich” turns out to be true, the Germanisms that entered Polish “by way of Yidish” (“jiddische Vermittlung”) are Yidishisms.*

Es ist leicht zu bemerken, dass manche der Sportgermanismen auf andere Quellsprachen zurückgehen. Deutsch war eine Vermittlersprache bei solchen Entlehnungen aus dem Französischen wie *blokada*, *flanka*, *grupa*, *kabina*, *maszyna*, *oferta* [...] und aus dem Jidischen: *plajta*. (Lipczuk 2001)

If Polish *blokada*, etc. are of immediate German origin, they are Polish borrowings not from French but from German.

The precise etymology of the informal Polish noun *plajta* ‘bankruptcy; failure’ (so translated in Bulas et al. 1961) is not clear, these being the possibilities:

1. < informal German *Pleite* ‘bankruptcy’ < Western Yidish *pleyte* id. with /ai/ in the first syllable;
2. < Central Yidish **pleyte* ‘bankruptcy’, which would have /ai/ in the first syllable;
3. both of those possibilities. This is the rationale for the asterisk: although the word occurs as part of at least six Eastern Yidish lexemes – *bal-pleyte* ~ *pleyte-makher* ~ *pleytenik* ‘bankrupt person’, *makhn a pleyte* ~ *makhn pleyte* ‘go bankrupt, go broke’, and *sof odem lemise*, *sof beheyne leshkhite*, *sof soykher lepleyte*, *sof ganef letlie* ‘the end of a human being is death, the end of a cow is slaughter, the end of a merchant is bankruptcy, and the end of a thief is the gallows’ – I cannot attest the word specifically for Central Yidish.

The slang Polish verb *plajtnąć* ‘go bankrupt, go broke’ (Bulas et al. 1961) seems to be a spontaneous Polish coinage. Evidence for a Yidish verb **pleytenen*, which could have served as a model, appears to be absent and the German slang verb *pleiten* ‘go bankrupt, go broke’ (with phonological variants), which could likewise serve as a model, appears to be recorded only for parts of German speech territory far from Polish speech territory (Stern 2000, s.v. *Pleite*).

G.2. In studying the influence of lect A on lect B, one must often consider other lects too

For two reasons, studying the influence of language A on language B often requires looking at other languages as well: (1) another language or languages may lend support to an etymology and (2) another language (or other languages) may offer an equally good etymon or a better one.

With respect to (1), as noted in section D, Ukrainian *bambetel* ‘boudoir pillow, breakfast pillow, scatter cushion, scatter pillow, throw pillow, toss pillow’ gives at least some support for the reconstruction of the meaning *‘bedding’ for Polish *bambetel*, proposed in subsection c.2.

With respect to (2), *borg-*, the stem of Polish *borgować*, was earlier thought to be from *borg-*, the stem of German *borgen*, and now the consensus seems to be that it comes either from the latter stem or from *borg-*, the stem of Yidish *borgn*. An even better etymology, at least now, is “from the German stem, the Yidish stem, or both”. Because they are used far from Polish speech territory, we should

exclude these verb stems from consideration as possible etymons: Dutch *borg-*, Icelandic *borg-*, and Norwegian *borg-*. Since the last phoneme of Dutch *borg-* is a fricative that Polonophones would take to be closest not to Polish /g/ but to Polish /x/, the Dutch stem is to be excluded for a phonological reason too.

Naborgować (defined as ‘biorąc po trochu [...]’ in *Słownik języka polskiego* PWN) and one of the meanings of *borgować*, namely, ‘indulge [a person]’ (hence also reflexively: *borgować się* ‘indulge onself’) may be Polish innovations.

G.3. One should etymologize the earliest known or reconstructible form of the lexeme under scrutiny in its earliest known or reconstructible meaning and, if in the course of the investigation one finds or reconstructs an even earlier form or meaning, one should consider whether one’s etymology should in any way be changed

Brückner (1927) does not treat Polish *bambetel*. Doroszewski (1958–1959) takes a step in the right direction when he writes “*bambetle* – zapewne z nm. *Bett* (por. *bety*)”, that is, ‘supposedly from German *Bett* (compare Polish *bety*)’. Whoever so supposed was on the right track, but “Polish *bambetle* < German *Bett*” does not explain *bam-* or *-le* or the meanings of the Polish word.

Łaziński (2008), quoted in the first paragraph of subsection B.1, takes another step by mentioning Yidish (though we do not know whether Yidish figures in the etymology of Polish *bambetel* – or Ukrainian *bambetel*).

The etymological discussion does not begin to get a firm grip on the word until its earliest form, *bambetel*, and its earliest meaning, ‘bench-bed’, are recognized and made the center of attention, whereupon it becomes clear that Austrian German *Bankbettel* and/or regional Yidish *bankbetl* figure, in some way, in its etymology (as etymons?, as cognates?, as reflexes?).

Later, Polish *bety* (first mentioned by Doroszewski?) is brought into the picture; then, Polish *bebechy* and *trzewia*, and still later, Ukrainian *bambetel*’ (with a look at Ukrainian [originally busdrivers’?] slang and at the name of a coffeehouse in Lviv).

Researchers thus stand on the shoulders of predecessors and it is to be hoped that others will correct the mistakes in the present article and continue the research.



G.4. For each item to be etymologized, a hierarchy of probabilities according to its meaning, pronunciation, and other characteristics should be established

Could a usage in a Polish cryptolect be of Yidish origin? Definitely. Could a usage in Polish slang be of Yidish origin? Yes (though its etymology could be (1) Yidish > Polish thieves' cant > Polish slang or (2) Yidish > German thieves' cant > Polish thieves' cant > Polish slang).

Could the Polish name of an anatomical part, such as a word meaning 'eyebrow', that is standard, universal, and has cognates in many other Slavic languages and other Indo-European languages be of Yidish origin? No.

Could a universal Polish word meaning 'dirt, filth, grime' that has cognates universal in Belarusian, Kashubian, Slovak, Sorbian, and Ukrainian come from Yidish? No.

As etymologists working with a pair of languages, say Polish and Yidish, become more and more familiar with definite, probable, and possible examples of Yidish influence on Polish, they come to have a good sense of what is possible and what is impossible, probable and improbable.

G.5. If the etymology includes any loanforms, one should try to determine whether the written form, the spoken form, or both have been borrowed and be on the lookout for etymologically misleading spellings, namely, schizographic ones

Two Polish nouns and one Russian noun meaning 'safe, strongbox' (as in "Put the money, jewels, and other valuables in the safe.") illustrate the difference between the borrowing of written forms and the borrowing of spoken forms:

Polish now has *sejf*; Russian now has *сейф*; and Polish once had *safes* (pronounced /'safes/). The first two words come from the spoken form of English *safe* and the third one from the written form of *safes*, the plural of English *safe*. Thus, the first two are aural borrowings of the English singular form and the third one is a visual borrowing of the English plural form, which Polish readers presumably found in advertisements for *SAFES* in British newspapers (the modern *safe* was developed in Great Britain in the nineteenth century).

Since */s/ is not a plural marker of Polish nouns, Polonophones knowing little or no English interpreted English *safes* as a monomorphemic singular form and gave the Polish word a Polish spelling pronunciation.²⁴

To take another example, both written and spoken forms may be borrowed, as is the case, for example, of Polish *atelier* ‘atelier, studio’ and *foyer* ‘foyer; lobby’, which retain the spelling of their French immediate etymons and, only at the phonemic level, the pronunciation of those etymons, including ultimate stress (by “only at the phonemic level” is meant that the French phonemes have been retained in Polish but not their French phonetic realizations; rather, Polonophones realize those phonemes as they realize the corresponding Polish phonemes), the result being, in each case, a Polish spelling and a Polish pronunciation that are not in harmony with each other.

Schizographia is the phenomenon of spelling a form not according to its pronunciation but according to the pronunciation of another word, usually the etymon or a cognate of that form in another language. Not recognizing schizographia may result in wrong etymologies. Consider, for instance, this passage (boldface added):

24 The absence in Polish of */s/ and *⟨s⟩ as markers of plurality in nouns also explains changes in grammatical number from plural to singular in etymologies such as:

1. English plural *coolis* ‘coolis’ > Polish singular *kulis* ‘cooli’;
2. English plural *photos* ‘photos’ > informal Polish singular *fotos* ‘publicity photo, publicity shot’;
3. English and/or French plural *spahis* ‘spahis’ > Polish singular *spahis* ‘spahi’;
4. English plural *Eskimos* ‘Eskimos’ (? > Russian singular *эскимос* ‘Eskimo’) > Polish singular *Eskimos* ‘Eskimo’;
5. English plural *Zulus* ‘Zulus’ (? > Russian singular *зулус* ‘Zulu’) > Polish singular *Zulus* ‘Zulu’.

This etymology is tentative because it is not clear whether the change in grammatical number occurred in Polish or in Russian (Russian, like Polish, has no plural marker */s/ or *⟨s⟩):

6. English plural *pence* ‘pence’ (> Russian singular *пенс* ‘penny’?) > Polish singular *pens* ‘penny’.

The words in 1, 3, 4, and 5 designate people who for most speakers of Polish are exotic, hence they probably first learned of them not at first hand, not as individuals, but from reading English-language ethnographic and/or newspaper reports (where the plurals would be likelier than the singulars to occur). The same being true of units of currency used in countries not bordering on Polish speech territory, the form of the Polish word in 6 is not surprising either (read “Russian” instead of “Polish” twice if the Polish word is of Russian origin). Since publicity photos must at one time have been exotic on Polish speech territory, the Polish word in 2 presumably derives from the word *photos* seen in an American magazine about film stars or some similar publication.

As the authors see it, practical wisdom roughly amounts to being a **mensch** – that is, having honor and integrity, but also rising above workaday ephemera to recognize and enact wise decisions for the greater good.

They are primarily interested in calling for an infusion of this kind of wisdom into the professions, especially medicine, law and business, all of which, let's face it, could use some. They have valid, thoughtful points to make but, by and large, this is not 'Ten Ways to Be a **Mensch** by Tuesday.' Rather, the book appears to be aimed at managers and especially at educators in position to introduce the spirit of the **mensch** into their organizations. (Burrough 2011; double quotation marks in original)

Judging according to spelling, we would have to say that the word in boldface derives from German *Mensch* 'human being, man, person' (where <sch> stands for /š/), but the English word in question ends in /č/, the earliest evidence of the English word is found in the English of Yidishophones and their immediate descendants, and the word means not 'human being, man, person' but, as in the passage quoted, 'decent person, person of integrity and honor'. All of which is to say that the evidence is clear that the immediate etymon of the English word is not German *Mensch* but Eastern Yidish *mentsh* in its figurative sense of 'decent person; person of integrity and honor' (literally, the Yidish word means 'human being, man, person').²⁵

The spelling <mensch>, therefore, is etymologically (and orthoepically) misleading and should be replaced by <mentsh>.

G.6. A full etymology accounts for the entire form of the lexeme

Etymologists strive to give as full and as internally consistent etymologies as possible not only because science aims for completeness and consistency (if any questions remain unanswered, they should be mentioned for the guidance of future researchers) but also because failure to achieve that goal may be a sign that an etymology is wrong.

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25 Since Polish *człowiek* has the same literal and figurative meanings as Eastern Yidish *mentsh* (*Słownik języka polskiego PWN* expresses the figurative meaning of the Polish word as 'reprezentant najlepszych cech ludzkich'), either Polish has influenced Eastern Yidish here or vice versa. If the influenced language is Polish, this would be the only example, to my knowledge, of Yidish semantic influence on Polish. The direction of influence might no longer be determinable. The subject needs study.

It seems to be the consensus in Poland that the Polish slangism *ciuchy* ‘1. duds; 2. market where duds are sold’ (Bulas et al. 1961 with some typographical refinements) comes from Yidish. Actually, the stem of the word, *ciuch-*, is of immediate German origin and Yidish, which offers no even remotely possible etymon, does not figure in its etymology at all.

The longest treatment of the origin of *ciuchy* is Geller (2012), which is a response to these questions: “Skąd się wzięły ciuchy? Jaka jest etymologia słowa *ciuch*? Czy to prawda (jak chce Wikipedia), że to jidyszyzm?”, that is ‘Whence the Polish word *ciuchy*? What is the etymology of the word *ciuch*? Is it true, as the entry “Germanizm” in *Wikipedia* says, that it comes from Yidish?’ The response reads as follows:

Etymologia słowa *ciuch*, lm -y, jest dość „przewrotna”: wyraz ten zapożyczyliśmy z języka jidysz, lecz przedtem polszczyzna zaznaczyła swój udział w powstaniu jednej z jego form. W jidysz słowo ציך *cich* (czyt. [c-ich]) oznacza ‘powłokę (na kołdrę lub pierzynę)’ i podobnie jak w dawnym niemieckim (śwniem. *zich ziehen*), z którego się wywodzi, jest rzeczownikiem utworzonym od czasownika ציען *cien* (czyt. [c-ijen]) ‘ciągnąć, wlec’ pochodzącego z niem. *ziehen* ‘ciągnąć’. W jidysz, jak widać, czasownik ten rozszerzył swe znaczenie o ‘wlec’, zaś forma ציכל *cichl* (czyt. [c-ichl], z sylabicznym [l]) powstała pod wpływem polskiego modelu słowotwórczego i odpowiada formie zdrobniałej zawartej w wyrazie polskim ‘powłoczka (na poduszkę)’. Obie te rzeczy razem, czyli – jak byśmy współcześnie powiedzieli – ‘komplet pościelowy’, to w jidysz ציכן *cichn*, od czego pochodzą polskie ciuchy.

Jak słowo to przedostało się do polszczyzny i dlaczego zmieniło znaczenie, można sobie spróbować wyobrazić. Bielizna pościelowa to jedna z tych rzeczy, które dawniej ludzie zabierali – żeby nie powiedzieć: *ciągnęli* – ze sobą jako przesiedleńcy, wygnańcy, uciekinierzy lub – jak Żydzi – „wieczni tułacze”. Pościel, kiedy jest brudna, nieświeża, budzi niesmak i odrazę, podobnie jak brudne ubranie. Poza tym pościel oraz łóżko w polszczyźnie ‘ubiera’ i ‘rozbiera’ się, podobnie jak odzież. Ponadto, dawniej bielizna pościelowa była pożądanym i niekoniecznie tanim artykułem, który musiał znaleźć się w posagu każdej panny. Łatwo można ją chyba było kupić z drugiej ręki, bo wielu emigrantów w końcu decydowało się na jej sprzedaż, by nie wlec zbędnego bagażu w nieznane. Wszystkie te elementy mieszczą się w znaczeniu współczesnego słowa polskiego *ciuchy*. (Geller 2012; 20.04.2012)

The etymology of *ciuch* is rather surprising: the word comes from Yiddish, but before *ciuch* arose, Polish played a role in the emergence of one of the forms of its Yidish etymon. The Yidish word ציך (*tsikh*), means ‘cover [for a blanket or a featherbed]’

and, like its etymon (Middle High German *zich* ‘pull’), it is a noun derived from a verb (Yidish ציען [tsien] ‘pull’, which comes from the German verb *ziehen* id.). The Yidish noun *tsikhl* (with the diminutive ending *-l*) was formed by analogy: if the diminutive form of Polish *powłoka* ‘cover [for a blanket or a featherbed]’ is *powłoczka* ‘pillowcase’ and if one of the Yidish translation equivalents of Polish *powłoka* is *tsikh*, *tsikhl* could be coined to mean ‘pillowcase’ – and it indeed was. The collective name in Yidish for covers for blankets and featherbeds (*tsikhn*) and pillowcases (*tsikhlekh*) is ציכן (*tsikhn*) (= Polish komplet pościelowy), whence Polish *ciuchy*.

We can try to imagine how did the word enter Polish and why did it change its meaning. Linen is one of those things that people such as exiles, refugees, or, like Jews, “eternal wanderers,” once took with them, not to say “pulled after themselves”. Bedding, when dirty or not fresh, arouses disgust and revulsion, like dirty clothes. Additionally, (1) a person and clothing and (2) a bed and bedding stand in the same relationship to each other: just as a person put on clothing and takes it off, bedding is put on a bed and taken off. Also, since bed linen was formerly a desirable article (for example, girls needed it for their trousseaus) but it was not cheap, it was often bought at second hand from migrants who sold it because they found it cumbersome to carry. All those elements played a role in the history of the Polish word *ciuchy*.

In my experience, *tsikhn* ‘covers [for blankets and feather beds]’ is only the plural of *tsikh* (thus, not, in addition, a collective noun), but if Geller has evidence for collective use, it would be good to see it. In any case, Polish *ciuch* – or *ciuchy* cannot come from the Yidish singular form ציך (*tsikh*) or its plural form, ציען (*tsikhn*), because the vowel of both forms ([i:] in Western and Central Yidish, isochronic [i] in Northeastern Yidish, and isochronic [I] in Southeastern Yidish) would not regularly yield [u] in Polish and positing an irregular sound change would be inexplicable.

Rather, Yidish is irrelevant to the etymology of Polish *ciuchy*, the stem of which, *ciuch-*, comes from German. The following passage gives us all the German forms needed to etymologize Polish *ciuch-* (and Yidish *tsikh*):

Im Sinne von ‘Hülle, Decke’ ergab lat. *theca* (eigtl. *thēca*) durch Affrizierung des Anlauts und Diphthongierung des langen Wurzelvokals ahd. *ziehha*, mhd. *zieche/ziech* ‘Bettdecken-, Kissenüberzug; Sack’, das – gelegentlich unter volksetymologischer Anknüpfung an ziehen, Zug – in südd., österr., ostmitteld. *Zieche/Ziche* ‘Überzug, Bettbezug’ (vgl. österr. *Polsterzieche* ‘Kissenüberzug’) und gleichbed. landsch. *Züchen* fortlebt. (Paraschkewow 2004: 350, s.v. *Theke*)

The immediate etymon of *ciuch-* is the regional German masculine noun Züchen ‘Bettbezug’ (= Paraschkewow’s “landsch. Züchen”). Here are phonological, morphological, and semantic details of that etymology:

1. Phonology

- 1.A. Why German [c] became Polish [č] is unclear (contrast German word-initial prevocalic /c/ > Polish word-initial prevocalic /c/ in, for instance, *Zucker* > *cukier*). Possibly, speakers of Polish heard German [c] before [y] and [ɤ] as palatalized and the palatalized consonant underwent affrication.
- 1.B. Polish *ciuchy* belongs to the category of Polish lexemes that includes, for instance, *bud-* (as in *budować*) < *büd-* (as in *büden*), *burmistrz* < *Bürgermeister*, *cugle* < *Zügel*, *huta* < *Hütte*, *kajuta* < *Kajüte*, *kuśnierz* < *Kürschner*, *luka* < *Lücke*, and *sztuka* < *Stück*.

That is, Polonophones integrated German [y] (represented by <ü>, <üh>, and <y> in New High German) and [ɤ] (represented by <u> and <y> in New High German) as /u/ because they subconsciously took the roundness of those two German vowels, not their frontness, to be their distinctive feature and therefore preserved their roundness but, in order that the result be phonologically Polish, backed them.²⁶

In possibly a smaller number of instances, Polonophones have fronted and unrounded the German vowels, as in *majstersztyk* < *Meisterstück*. In such instances, they subconsciously took the frontness of those German vowels, not their roundness, as the distinctive feature and therefore preserved their frontness but, in order that the result be phonologically Polish, unrounded them.

Polish has at least one set of doublets: *Kubel* > *kubel* and *kibel*. Bulas et al. (1961) label Polish *kibel* “wulg.” See footnote 19 on the label *wulg*.

2. Morphology

- 2.A. Polonophones misinterpreted the last two phonemes (-en) of Züchen as the German plural ending -en (occurring, for example, in *Frauen* ‘women’) and replaced by the Polish plural ending -y.
- 2.B. The Polish singular noun *ciuch* was back-formed from *ciuchy*.

26 Is it possible that German had un-umlauted or de-umlauted variants, say, **bud-* and **Burgermeister* (the vowel of which would regularly become /u/ in Polish)?

3. Semantics

The word *ciuchy* exhibits the same or similar pejorization of a word as we have seen with *bambetle*, *bebechy*, and *trzewia*. Part of Geller's (2012) remarks are applicable here: "Pościel, kiedy jest brudna [...]" 'Bedding, when dirty [...]'.¹

To summarize: (1) if the phonological correspondences are not the regular ones and they cannot be explained as irregular ones, the proposed etymology may be wrong (proposed etymologies of slangisms may not be subject to that requirement because they may be deliberate deformations of other words) and (2) in the study of German influence on Polish, it is important to look at older varieties and non-standard varieties of German too, not just at current standard New High German.

With regard to the etymology of the Yidish nouns ציך (tsikh) 'tidy; blanket cover' and ציכל (tsikhl) 'pillowcase', the first word comes from the Middle High German noun *ziech* (the Yidish verb ציען [sic recte] is distantly related to that Yidish word but does not figure in its etymology).

With regard to the second word, Geller's (2012) suggestion that it is a calque of Polish *powłoczka* id. (compare footnote 16 in the present article) is worthy of consideration. Another possibility is regional German *Ziechel* > Western Yidish **tsikhl* > Eastern Yidish *tsikhl*. Those possible etymologies cannot be weighed until we know whether Western Yidish (most of which has not been open to possible Polish influence) has **tsikhl*. Unfortunately, since Western Yidish has been allowed to disappear without much of, we may never know, so that the etymology of *tsikhl* may always remain unclear.

G.7. A full etymology accounts for all meanings of the lexeme

As we have seen, what may at first appear to be one word (*szlaban*) has turned out to be two homonyms, *szlaban*¹ and *szlaban*², a fact that probably would not have been discovered had meaning been neglected.

Even if "a word" is not actually two or more homonyms, it should be etymologized meaning by meaning to see how many of its senses arose from one another (sense 1 spawned sense 2, which spawned sense 3) and how many resulted from borrowing (sense 4 comes from language X; sense 5, from language Y; and sense 6, from language Z). Indeed, we have already seen how the etymology of the Polish plural noun *bambetle* in two of its later senses (3. 'stuff, traps [belongings, personal belongings, personal effects]'; 4. 'junk, rubbish') could not be properly etymologized until we began working with its singular form, with its earliest known meaning (1. 'bench-bed') and with its second, presumed meaning (2. *'bedding').

Another Polish word the full etymology of which requires an examination of all its meanings is *passe-partout*, which, though it has no Yidish or any other Jewish connection, is mentioned here because all the etymologies that I have seen of it claim that it comes from French (a claim presumably based just on its spelling, which, no one can deny, could not look more French and less Polish, less German, and less Russian). Spelling, however, can be misleading and until an etymology proves that Polish *passe-partout* is solely of immediate French origin in every one of its meanings, that claim cannot be considered proven. Indeed, in no etymology that I have seen is meaning even mentioned, even though the word shares this or that meaning with German *Passepartout* or with Russian *nacnpty* but not with French *passe-partout*, so that the Polish word could have more than one immediate origin and, in fact, it might not be of immediate French origin at all.

May students of French, German, Polish, and Russian continue the discussion.

G.8. Etymologies that mention Yidish should specify the relevant Yidish topolects

Looking at English dictionaries that give etymologies (not all do because market surveys have shown that the dictionary-using public, at least in Canada and the United States, has little or no interest in etymology), one will notice that they mention this word as coming from Attic Greek, Hokkien Chinese, or Scots English, that word as coming from Brazilian Portuguese, Canadian French, or Puerto Rican Spanish, and that other word as coming from Egyptian Arabic, Israeli Hebrew, or Swiss German, yet when they mention Yidish, it is almost always called just “Yiddish”, as if every Yidish lexeme were pan-Yidish, as if the language were spatially uniform lexically – when in fact every English word of Yidish origin is easily identifiable as coming from fewer than all Yidish topolects.²⁷

27 Yidish is normally written in the Yidish alphabet, which is a variety of the Jewish alphabet (Gold 1982). In the 1940s, a romanization was developed for transcribing Yidish-letter texts into the Roman alphabet, for writing Yidish when for whatever reason the Yidish alphabet could not be used (say, if the writer did not know that alphabet or a Yidish typewriter was unavailable), and for spelling English morphemes and words of immediate Yidish origin.

For about forty years, no guide to the romanization was available, so that one had to learn it by studying romanized texts and inferring the rules, a situation which inevitably resulted in a certain lack of uniformity. To remedy the situation, I later codified the romanization (Gold 1985) on the basis of the consensus reached some two decades

Likewise with respect to Polish: whereas the first vowel of *bajgiel*, *chajder*, *chajrem* (possibly occurring only in *pod chajrem!*), and *szejgec* tells us that the three words come from a certain Yidish topolect, the first vowel of *bocher*, *hucpa*, and *szejgec* tells us that those three do not come from that topolect.

The present article is not the place for even a brief introduction to spatial variation in Yidish (suffice it to say that English *shul* ‘synagog’ has two pronunciations and its immediate etymon, Yidish *shul* id. has at least eleven – six in Northeastern Yidish, three in Central Yidish, two in Western Yidish, and one in Southeastern Yidish (two of those topolects have one pronunciation in common) – so that English dictionaries could not possibly be right that the word comes from nothing more specific than “Yiddish”). However, a map of the approximate boundaries of the four major Yidish topolects coterritorial with Polish and a few words of explanation are appropriate.

If one listens to the Yidish of, say, Strasbourg, Warsaw, Bucharest, and Tallinn, one gets the distinct impression that none of the four could ever be mistaken for any of the others (though they have more than enough in common to be unmistakably topolects of the same language). However, as one moves from any of those cities to any of the others, the language sooner or later begins to sound less and less like the language of the city you have left and more and more like that of the one to which you are heading.

Despite those continuums, many isoglosses bundle sufficiently to permit us to say that a major topolectal dichotomy may be discerned (Western Yidish | Eastern Yidish) and, within Eastern Yidish, a major trichotomy (Central Yidish | Northeastern Yidish | Southeastern Yidish).

Figure 2 shows Vanraykh’s conception of the dichotomy and the trichotomy in the early twentieth century.

Looking at the map from left to right, we see, first, the dark broken line running more or less north and south, which separates Western Yidish (labeled מערב־יידיש [*mayrev-yidish*]) and Eastern Yidish (labeled מזרח־יידיש [*mizrekh-yidish*]). It runs more or less along the border of Germany and Poland in 1939 and that border’s imaginary southward extension.

earlier and by deciding certain minor questions which had till then not be addressed (such as hyphens or no hyphens for compound personal names, capitalization or no capitalization, and, if capitalization, when?). Since the English noun and adjective *Yidish* is of immediate Yidish origin (< Yidish noun and adjective יידיש ‘Yidish’, literally [as an adjective] ‘Jewish’ < Middle High German adjective *judisch* ‘Jewish’), it should be spelled *Yidish*.

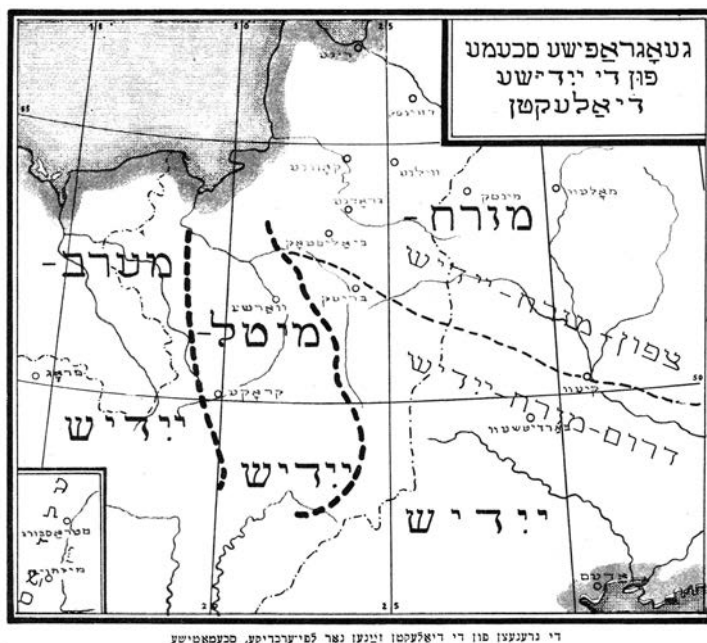


Figure 2: The Eastern-Western dichotomy in Yidish of the early twentieth century and the Central-Northeastern-Southeastern trichotomy in Eastern Yidish at that time (Vaynraykh 1940: 65). See the text for an explanation.

The map does not show all of Western Yidish speech territory, which extends as far west as The Netherlands, Alsace (the inset map in the lower-left-hand corner shows part of Alsace), Lorraine, and the Surb Valley (Switzerland), but it does show most of Eastern Yidish speech territory, which extends from Estonia southward into Ukraine and Rumania beyond the lower border of the map.

Between that dark broken line and the dark broken one more or less parallel to it on the right, also running more or less north and south (though in the south curving toward the west), lies Central Yidish speech territory. Central Yidish (labeled *מזרח* [mizrah-yidish]) is one of the three major topolects of Eastern Yidish.

A lighter broken line running northwest and southeast separates the other two major topolects of Eastern Yidish. North of that line lies Northeastern Yidish (labeled *צפון-מזרח* [tsofn-mizrekh-yidish]) and south of it lies Southeastern

Yidish (labeled דרום-מזרח-יידיש [*dorem-mizrekh-yidish*]).²⁸ The thickness of the lines imply that Southeastern Yidish is more different from Central Yidish than it is from Northeastern Yidish but my impression is that Southeastern Yidish is more or less equally different from Central Yidish and from Northeastern Yidish.

The extent of the three major varieties of Eastern Yidish may roughly be described as follows (reference is to current political boundaries):

1. Central Yidish: more or less the Yidish of Poland except northeastern Poland (see the next paragraph) and area west of a line running more or less southward from Gdańsk into Slovakia and Hungary (more or less west of that line lies Western Yidish territory).
2. Northeastern Yidish: the Yidish of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus (except a small part of the southwest, which is Southeastern Yidish territory; see paragraph 3), northern Ukraine, and northeastern Poland (Białystok and Suwałki, for example, and nearby areas).
3. Southeastern Yidish: the Yidish of Rumania, southern Ukraine, and a small part of southwestern Belarus (Brest, for example, and the nearby area).

As with the Western-Eastern dichotomy, the Central-Northeastern-Southeastern trichotomy is actually a set of continuums, so that, for example, the Yidish of Rózan is Central Yidish but with a significant number of features of Southeastern and/or Northeastern Yidish origin (such as the absence of phonemic vowel length); the Yidish of Kolno and Szczuczyn is Northeastern Yidish but with at least one significant feature of Central Yidish origin (vocalization of /l/); and the Yidish of Brest is Southeastern Yidish but with a number of features of Northeastern Yidish origin, which are absent in, say, the Yidish of Iași, a variety of Southeastern Yidish that presumably has no features of that origin.

Since Polish has been coteritorial with both Western and Eastern Yidish and with the three major varieties of Eastern Yidish, the study of Yidish influence on Polish is all the more interesting, though since Polish has been coteritorial mostly

28 The map appeared in an unfinished Yidish encyclopedia that was intended to honor Simon Dubnow (1860–1941), a historian of the Jews of Russia, on his seventieth birthday. The encyclopedia consists of a general part (of which five volumes appeared) and a Jewish part (of which four appeared), two more volumes of the Jewish part were announced in the volume dated 1950. Four of the five volumes of the general part appeared in Paris (1934, 1935, 1936 [copyright 1937], and 1937) and one in New York City (1944). The five covered the entire first letter of the Yidish alphabet (alef) and most of the second letter (beyz), that is, through the entry *bale-khayem* ['animals']. Two of the four

volumes of the Jewish part came out in Paris (1939 and 1940) and two in New York City (1942 and 1950). The chief editor at first worked in Berlin. After the Nazis came to power in Germany, he fled to Paris, and after seeing the second volume of the Jewish part through the press, he fled again, this time to New York City. Since the first Nazi soldiers entered Paris on 14 June 1940, that volume, dated 1940 and containing the map, must have appeared during the early months of that year. In 1944, after the fifth volume of the general part was published, it was decided to suspend that part to allow the staff, both writers and editors, as much time as possible to devote themselves to the more pressing task of documenting the history – now also the almost total destruction – of Jewry in central and eastern Europe.

In the summer of 1939, Max Weinreich (1894–1969; Yidish name: *meyer vaynraykh*) and his elder son, Uriel Weinreich (1926–1967; Yidish name: *uril-leyzer vaynraykh*), were on their way from Vilnius to Brussels to attend the Fifth International Congress of Linguists, scheduled to be held in that city from 28 August to 2 September. The son, who was a native speaker of Yidish, had shortly before turned thirteen (he was born on 23 May 1926) and, like his father decades earlier, had taken an early interest in language in general and in Yidish in particular, but with this difference: whereas the son learned Yidish as his first language, his father, born in Kuldiga into a well-to-do family of Jewish merchants, learned it as his second language. Since members of the Jewish upper-middle-class in Kurland, such as his parents, did not consider Yidish salon-fähig, it was Ashkenazic Kurland German, that is, Kurland German with a Yidish substratum (which had left vestiges), that he heard at home and from others Jews of their socio-economic class. As a young boy, however, he deliberately made friends with age-mates of the Jewish working class in Kuldiga, among whom Kurland Yidish was the vernacular, and it was from those youngsters that he began learning it.

On 20 August 1939, father and son arrived in Copenhagen, where the elder Weinreich, Louis Trolle Hjelmslev (1899–1965), generally known as *Louis Hjelmslev*, and Rasmus Viggo Brøndal (1887–1942), generally known as *Viggo Brøndal*, had arranged to confer and later set out for Brussels together (most of the material in this and the following paragraph is taken from Blüdnikow 2014).

Father and son soon realized that not only would the conference not take place but also that they were now stranded in Denmark, unable not only to proceed to Belgium but also to return to Poland (published before the conference was cancelled, the *Résumé des Communications* contains the abstract of the talk that the elder Weinreich had intended to give, “A tentative scheme for the history of Yiddish,” pp. 49–51). By February 1940, father and son succeeded, however, in gaining visas to the United States and shortly after 4 March 1940 they left Copenhagen for New York City. On 9 April 1940 the Nazis occupied Denmark and immediately closed its borders.

The elder Weinreich’s article, commissioned for volume 2 of the Jewish part of *Algemeine ensiklopedye* and written in Vilnius, pays rereading every so often.

with Central Yidish, possibly a majority of Polish words of immediate Yidish origin could be from that topolect, especially since the largest concentration of Yidishophones in the world once lived on Central Yidish territory, namely, in Warsaw. Once as many as possible Polish words of immediate Yidish origin have been identified and the specific Yidish topolect or topolects from which they come or could come have been determined, we will be able to see whether the influence of Central Yidish on Polish has in fact been greater than of the other Polish topolects.²⁹

G.9. Before concluding that word *x* comes from word *y*, one should make sure that word *y* does not come from word *x* and be on the lookout for reborrowing ($x < y < x$)

In one South African research publication the details of which I have forgotten, a certain Afrikaans word is said to come from a certain South African English word, while in another South African research publication, written by someone else, the South African English word is said to come from the Afrikaans one.

Etymologists may find it hard not to shout “Eureka!” when they believe they have found an etymon, but before yielding to the temptation, they should make sure that the presumed etymon is not a reflex or a cognate of the linguistic item under scrutiny. Subsection G.1 notes that regional Eastern Yidish *brud* ‘dirt, filth, grime’ comes from Polish, with possible reinforcement from Belarusian and/or Ukrainian, and that Polish *brud* and/or its cognates in other Slavic languages could not possibly come from Yidish.

The foregoing notwithstanding, a reflex (let us call it word *x*) may be the etymon of its own etymon (word *x* > word *y* > word *x*), that is, if reborrowing (also called *Rückentlehnung*) has occurred. Here are two examples from Gold (1989):

1. The Hebrew noun *reshima* was originally a verbal noun meaning ‘[act of] recording’ (analogous to the verbal nouns *ketiva* ‘[act of] writing’, *kemiha* ‘[act of] longing, pining, yearning’, *shemia* ‘[act of] hearing’, and many others that follow the pattern called *peila* in Hebrew). Speakers of Yidish borrowed the word and the Yidish reflex, *reshime*, became a concrete noun meaning ‘list’ (as in a *reshime naye khaveyrim* ‘a list of new members’). Under the influence

29 Western Yidish too has its topolects and its continuums, but since any Polish words of Western Yidish origin would come specifically from eastern varieties of Western Yidish (such as those of Poznań and Wrocław), which is fairly uniform, we need not go into detail about those topolects until any such words are identified.

of the meaning of the Yidish word, speakers of Yidish began using the Israeli Hebrew word *reshima* in the sense of 'list' and today the Israeli Hebrew word is both a verbal and a concrete noun, so that *reshimat shemot hanos'im*, for instance, means both '[the act of] recording the passengers' names' and 'list of passengers' names'.

2. The Eastern Yidish reflex of Hebrew *yavan* 'Greece' (< (?) Greek Ἰωνία ~ Ἰωνίη 'Ionia') is *yovn* '1. Greece; 2. Russian soldier; 3. soldier' (Harkavy 1925, 1928 with no stylistic markers; Stutchkoff 1950: 459, section 453, does not label the word either; Weinreich 1968 has '1. (*ironical*) Russian soldier; 2. Greece (as a Jewish subculture area)').

The meaning of the Hebrew word results from a broadening of meaning (Greek 'Ionia' > Hebrew 'Greece').³⁰

With regard to the Yidish word, the meaning 'Russian soldier' may have arisen as a cryptolectism. The reason for choosing a Yidish word meaning 'Greece' (according to Harkavy's translation) or 'Greece [as a Jewish cultural area]' (a better translation than Weinreich's) to convey the meaning 'Russian soldier' was presumably its phonological resemblance to the Russian male given name *Иван* id. and possibly also to the Belarusian male given name *Іван* 'Ivan' and the Ukrainian male given name *Іван* (cognates of those names exist in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian but speakers of Yidish did not know of them), so that it is a wink at one or more of those male personal names at the same time that it is sufficiently different from them to permit speakers of Yidish to refer to a Russian soldier or soldiers (when meaning 'Russian soldier' or 'soldier', it has a plural, *yevonim*, and now that women are soldiers too in a growing number of armies, it has feminine forms, singular *yovnte*, plural *yovntes*). The meaning 'soldier' results from a broadening of the meaning 'Russian soldier'.

Under the influence of Eastern Yidish *yovn* 'Russian soldier', Eastern Ashkenazic Hebrew acquired *yovon* id. (= the Hebrew word mentioned above but in a romanization reflecting an Ashkenazic Hebrew pronunciation). It was a sporadic, ephemeral usage of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries limited to Eastern Ashkenazic Hebrew, found, possibly, in just a few works of Hebrew fiction set in Yidish-speaking communities in the Russian Empire.

30 Toponyms meaning 'Greece' and going back in one way or another to the Greek for 'Ionia' exist at least in Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Azeri, Hebrew, Hindi, Indonesian, Javanese, Kurdish, Laz, Malay, Pashto, Persian, Sundanese, Tajik, Turkish, Urdu, and Uzbek.

G.10. Attention should be paid to dates of earliest known use

“Etymologiseren zonder dateren van het materiaal is varen zonder kompas.”
 (‘Etymologizing without dating the material is like navigating without a compass’;
 de Tollenaere 1983: 28)

As we have seen in subsection G.1 of section G, one of the reasons that Polish *brud* ‘dirt, filth, grime’ or any of its cognates in other Slavic languages could not come from regional Eastern Yidish *brud* id. is that the fifteenth century (the date of the earliest known use of the Polish word) is probably too early for Yidish influence on any non-Jewish Slavic language.

Gold (2005) gives more examples of etymological proposals that have to be rejected because they are anachronistic.

G.11. Brief etymologies of etymologically problematic lexemes that are not supported by detailed research may be unreliable

Scientists leave records of their research: laboratory notes, field notes, and so on. People who write brief etymologies in dictionaries do not.

When writing Gold (1983), I wanted to know the evidence for the phonologically untenable etymology of the Jewish British English³¹ verb *porge* in *Webster’s New International Dictionary* (1934), which was retained in the next edition of that dictionary, *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (1961).

Sol Steinmetz, who from 1958 to 1961 had been one of the fifty-eight assistant editors of the latter dictionary and who knew a member of the staff of the former dictionary who was alive in the early 1980s, made inquiries at my request both with the publisher and with his friend, but no evidence was discovered.

G.12. Whether Molière said it or not, this advice is good: “Je prends mon bien où je le trouve”

Roucher (1797: 7) writes that Molière’s response to the reproach that he had appropriated someone else’s ideas was “Je prends mon bien où je le trouve”, that is, ‘I take my material where I find it’.

That the playwright so said and that those were his precise words have been disputed (according to another version, he said, “Je reprends mon bien où je le trouve”, that is, freely translated, ‘I steal back my material where I find that others have stolen it from me’), but for our purposes the version as now usually (mis?)quoted

and (mis?)interpreted will be enough to drive home the point that etymologists, like other linguists, make use of whatever reliable material they think may bring or help bring the investigation to a successful end: an interpellation made in an Austrian legislative body in 1908 (subsection B.2), an advertizement for a bench-bed for sale on the World-Wide Web (subsection C.2), the name of a coffeehouse in Lviv (section D), a Ukrainian slangism designating the last row of seats [facing frontward in a bus] (section D), and so on.

G.13. Etymologists, like all other scientists, are required to play devil's advocate not only with one another but also with themselves

Evaluation of other researchers' work is a well-established custom in all sciences. Scientists are required to point out weaknesses in their own work too: Which parts of the etymological puzzle have I been unable to solve? Which parts of my etymology are weak? Is my entire etymology weak? What kind of research can improve my etymology? How can my etymology be tested for accuracy?

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31 I now use the glottonyms *Jewish Latin* and *Jewish British English*; the latter glottonym is the accurate one because the lect in question is the Jewish variety of British English, not the British variety of a – non-existent – proto-Jewish-English, from which all spatial varieties of Jewish English derive.

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POLISH DICTIONARIES OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

The history of language and linguistics is based above all on material remnants and evidence contained in the literature of a given language. In this context the basic and crucial role is played by the true hoard of knowledge about this subject: dictionaries, lexica, thesauri and encyclopaedias. The development of the Arabic language and the stages of the interest in its particular layers may be traced to a great extent on the basis of the history of its lexicography. In the European context the achievements of Polish Arabists in this field remain almost unknown although they also contribute to the globally-conceived evolution of the Arabic language and are a part of its history. Therefore the author of this paper would like to present a collection of Polish dictionaries of the Arabic language, in an as comprehensive and up-to-date manner as possible, against the background of a brief outline of Arabic lexicographical thought, furnished with a concise commentary about both their content and the system of the arrangement of words. Presenting the philosophy of language that is favoured by the creators of dictionaries, the paper can be instructive for the potential users of the particular lexica. The author assumes that regardless of the ordering of information about the present state of the lexicographical achievements of Polish Arabists, it will perform the function of a *sui generis* guide to the resources associated with Arabic lexicography and phraseology which are available – both literary and dialectal ones – published in the Polish language. The systematic development of this kind of works indicates that there is a growing need of contact with the Arabic language, both at the basic level which enables simple communication and at the much more advanced, specialised level. The state of research in the field of Polish scholarship devoted to Arab studies in the 21st century clearly indicates a tendency to process dialectal vocabulary and phraseology that facilitates in a considerable way everyday communication in a given area whereas as far as the literary language is concerned, specialised

lexica are developed that strive to take into account the issues associated with modernity – the dynamic growth of technology and globalisation. The general-purpose dictionaries of the literary language are become on-line resources, in the guise of an open formula that facilitates the running enhancement of the content with new lexemes and with new meanings of the existing ones that are attested by the context. It is also in this case that the root arrangement is no longer used – the enhancement of the resources of accessible knowledge at the expense of an in-depth analysis of structures and problems seems to be a sign of both modern times and modern Arabic lexicography.

Arabic language, Arabic lexicography, Arabic dictionaries,
Arabic-Polish / Polish-Arabic dictionaries

The history of language and linguistics is based above all on material remnants and evidence contained in the literature of a given language. In this context the basic and crucial role is played by the true hoard of knowledge about this subject: dictionaries, lexica, thesauri and encyclopaedias. Therefore the development of a language and the development of interest in its particular layers may be traced to a great extent on the basis of the history of lexicography; this thesis has almost one hundred percent reliability in the context of the Arabic language. Moreover, it is a fascinating subject and it deserves a greater deal of attention on the part of European researchers than it was heretofore the case. In the European context the achievements of Polish Arabists in this field remain almost unknown but these achievements also contribute to the globally-conceived evolution of the Arabic language and are a part of its history. The only attempt at collecting and commenting upon these achievements which is familiar to me was undertaken by Likus (2006) in a short article published in electronic form – since that time ten years elapsed during which new works appeared – works based on dialects, works which refer to the peculiar nature of the specialist idiom in various fields – also in the form of unpublished MA theses. Therefore, I would like to present a collection of Polish dictionaries of the Arabic language, in a manner as comprehensive and up-to-date as possible, against the background of a brief outline of Arabic lexicographical thought, furnished with a concise commentary about both their content and the system of the arrangement of words. The latter point is very important, which has to do with the philosophy of language that is favoured by the Authors. It is also instructive for the potential users of the particular lexica, for I assume

that regardless of the ordering of information about the present state of the lexicographical achievements of Polish Arabists, the present text will perform the function of a *sui generis* guide to the resources devoted to Arabic lexicography and phraseology, whether literary or dialectal ones, available in Polish.

By way of introduction it is worthwhile to remind the reader that the construction of each of the Arabic dictionaries is essentially based on one of two methods of arranging words which employ the properties of the root and the consonantal morphological structure of the Arabic language. The alphabet consists of twenty eight symbols, mostly consonants, and it marks only three long vowels (*ā, ī, ū*), whereas the three corresponding short vowels (*a, i, u*) are marked only by diacritical signs in certain texts. The latter signs are completely omitted in the majority of texts. Therefore, the authors have the following choice: (1) the application of an ordinary alphabetical order which follows the sequence of letters in a given word, including the long consonants and the prefixes which give rise to various morphological categories derived from the particular roots (for example, the word *maktūb* 'written; a letter, epistle' is placed under the letter *m*); or (2) the application of the alphabetical-root method which follows the alphabetical sequence of the root consonants – radicals (for example, the word *maktūb*, which is formed from the consonantal root *ktb*, whose meaning is 'to write', with the prefix *ma-* and with the set of short vowels determined by a particular paradigm-set of short vowels, is placed under the letter *k*). As we can see, the latter method requires a certain familiarity with the principles of the morphological construction of Arabic words. At least the affixes must be distinguished from the root of the word. However, this method corresponds to a greater extent with the structure of the Arabic language. It was used more widely and in a great number of variants by the mediaeval Arabic philologists who initiated the history of Arabic lexicography in the 8th century and contributed to its dynamic development until the 15th century.

The phonetic-anagrammatic system was the first system to be applied. It was devised by Ḥalil Ibn 'Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (718/719 – 786/791; cf. Haywood 1965: 20), the author of a pioneering work in the field of Arabic lexicography – the *Kitāb al-ʿayn* dictionary [*The Book of the Letter ʿAyn*]. The basis of the system is a special phonetic alphabet which was developed by the author probably under the influence of the Sanskrit language (Belkin 1975: 170). The sequence of the consonants corresponds with the place of their articulation, beginning with the lowest one, therefore from laryngeals to labials (Górska 1985–1986: 163). However, one must note that the author identified the laryngeal phonemes

with the pharyngeal phonemes and combined them into one group of gutturals (Ar. *al-ḥalqīya*; cf. Górska 1985–1986: 164). Therefore the alphabet begins with the pharyngeal *ʿayn* (hence the title of the book), and the final place, in a sense outside the system, is occupied by the laryngeal hamza (incidentally speaking, this is in keeping with the spirit of the modern alphabet in which the hamza is also treated as an additional sign). However, inconsistencies of this kind are not numerous and we may claim with certitude that the author manifested a great deal of orientation in the field of phonology – a surprising feat, considering our ideas about the state of knowledge thirteen centuries back. The phonetic alphabet of Ḥalīl Ibn ʿAḥmad functions within a very original mathematical-anagrammatic system based on the division of words according to the number of radicals. Each book, marked with a separate letter, was divided into chapters (*bāb*) which contained a sequence of 2-, 3-, 4- and 5-radical words. The particular chapters are based on the principle of the transposition of consonants, which has to do with the provision of the sequence of all possible combinations of a given set of radicals (Belkin 1975: 170). Thus the following permutations arose – two for two-radical sets each, six for three-radical sets each, 24 for four-radical sets each and 120 for 5-radical-sets each (Górska 1985–1986: 165–166, quoted after: Haywood 1965: 37–38). The author adopted the principle that the subsequent books will not include words which were mentioned earlier. Therefore, the chapter of the letter *ʿayn* is the most comprehensive one for it contains all possible combinations of words with this letter; the book which follows – the book of the pharyngeal *h* – contains all words with the letter *h* except for those which were mentioned in the preceding book and so forth. As the first attempt at arranging and processing vast lexical material of great value, Ḥalīl Ibn ʿAḥmad's work exerted a considerable influence upon the development of Arabic lexicography. Although the content of the work has always been appreciated, its formal aspects have caused many objections since the very beginning due to the level of complication of the system that was adopted. The *Kitāb al-ʿayn* became a source of inspiration for many Arabic philologists who embraced and also modified the system of their predecessor. It is worthwhile to mention three of such authors:

- Ibn Durayd (837–934) – *Kitāb al-ḡamhara fī l-luġa* [*The Book of Collected Vocabulary*] – adopts the anagrammatic system of permutations but the main chapters are arranged according to the number of radicals. The alphabetical order of entries is used; thus the phonetic alphabet of Ḥalīl Ibn ʿAḥmad is rejected. A separate chapter is devoted to borrowings, rarely used words, poetic metaphors etc. (Haywood 1965: 48–50).

- Al-Qāli (901–967) – *Kitāb al-bārī‘ fī l-luġa* [*The Great Book of Language*] – adopts the anagrammatic arrangement in a simplified form, therefore the dictionary features only four main chapters based on the number of radicals; the fifth chapter features the so-called various words, interjections, onomatopoeias etc. A phonetic alphabet is used within the chapters, although it occurs in a modified form which corrects Ḥalīl Ibn ‘Aḥmad’s errors as regards the laryngeal and pharyngeal phonemes (Haywood 1965: 60).
- Ibn Sida (d.1066) – *Al-muḥkam wa-l-muḥīt al-‘a‘zam* [*The Greatest Systematic and Exhaustive Dictionary*] – adopts both the anagrammatic system of Ḥalīl Ibn ‘Aḥmad and his system of arranging the main chapters according to the phonetic alphabet. However, it features a modified alphabet which treats the hamza as a separate consonant and the alif only as a long vowel or a prop for the hamza (Haywood 1965: 66). This aspect is associated with many errors or inconsistencies on the part of the previous authors. It is worth noting that Ibn Sida is also the author of another important lexicon: *Kitāb al-muḥaṣṣaṣ fī l-luġa* [*The Book of Special Words*], which is arranged according to thematic principles – an aspect that will be discussed further on in this text.

Al-Ġawharī, who lived slightly earlier (d. 1007), created another type of a system of arranging the dictionary known as “the rhyme arrangement”. His famous lexicon, which is still republished nowadays, *Tāġ al-luġa wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabiya* [*The Crown of the Language and the Correctness of the Arabic language*], is divided into twenty eight chapters in keeping with the number of consonants of the Arabic alphabet, according to the common alphabetical order. However, the particular chapters contain those words for which a given consonant is the last radical, not the first one. Therefore, the order that is adopted has to do with the third radical – in the alphabetical order – and further on, the first radical, the second one and possibly the subsequent ones (for example, the word *kataba* ‘to write’ should be sought under the letter *b*, then *k* and *t*). The system begins to make sense when we realize that the lexicon was supposed to aid poets in their pursuit of the appropriate rhymes, for the main rhyme-forming element in Arabic poetry is the final consonant of a word, although it is not exclusively so: the vowel which vocalizes the rhyming consonant is also important as well as the meter of the last foot of a line and the syllabic structure of the rhyming word. In the centuries that followed the rhyme arrangement was applied many times. It was featured in the great lexica of the 13th century (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* [*The Language of the Arabs*]), of the 14th century (Al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīt* [*The Ocean of Vocabulary*]), and even of the

18th century (Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ al-‘arus* [*The Crown of the Bride*]). All of these lexica were republished in modern times not only to serve practical purposes but also in recognition of their status as a valuable source of Arabic vocabulary.

The “circular” system, applied by Ibn Fāris (d. 1000 r.) in two lexica, *Al-muğmal fī l-luġa* [*The Compendium of Language*] and *Maqāyīs fī l-luġa* [*The Standards of Language*], seems equally interesting. In this case 28 chapters correspond with the first radicals of words in the common order of the alphabet but the radical which follows is the one which immediately follows the first one in the alphabet. Therefore the sequence of words which was adopted is e.g: *alif-b-t*(...) but then: *b-t-t*(...)-*alif*; *t-t-ğ*(...)-*alif-b*; *t-ğ-ğ*(...)-*alif-b-t*; *ğ-ğ-ğ*(...)-*alif-b-t-t* and so on until we reach the end of the alphabet. The letters form a kind of closed circles. Such an arrangement prevails in the subchapters which are arranged according to the number of root consonants. Thus the author partially adapted Ḥalīl Ibn ‘Aḥmad’s system. However, he hardly manages to control this complex system because the words whose number of radicals is greater than three are randomly placed without any specific order.

The medieval period of Arab history also saw the emergence of specialized dictionaries in which words are grouped thematically in the appropriate entries. In the earliest works of this kind the only principle of word classification was their meaning. The later ones featured the alphabetical-root order in the thematic chapters which was applied with a varying degree of consistency (consult the following examples: ‘Abū ‘Ubayd’s 8th/9th-c. *Kitāb al-ḥayl* [*The Book of the Horse*]; Al-‘Asma’ī’s 8th/9th-c. *Kitāb al-‘ibl* [*The Book of the Camel*], *Kitāb al-‘arāğīz* [*The Book of Recitation*]; ‘Abū Zayd’s 8th/9th-c. *Kitāb al-maṭar* [*The Book of Rain*] and many other works). Separate mention should be made of the following 9th-c. works: the ones by Ibn Sikkīt (*‘Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* [*The Reform of Pronunciation*]) and ‘Abd ‘Allāh Ibn Qutaybah (*‘Adab al-kātib* [*The Education of the Writer*]), which differ from other specialized dictionaries. For regardless of the main thematic principle of word arrangement, the structural principle prevails within the chapters. Words grouped in the particular chapters have the same morphological form and the same (or alternative) vocalisation (Haywood 1965: 112–113).

We are not completely sure who introduced the root-alphabetical arrangement in the form that we are familiar with thanks to the modern dictionaries of the Arabic language. However, there is reason to believe that this happened in as early as the 11th century. The names mentioned in this context are Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Harawī or Ibn ‘Asad al-Bazzāz, the author of an anatomical lexicon, but the existence of these works is attested exclusively in later references

(Haywood 1965: 103). Therefore, Maḥmūd Ibn ‘Umar az-Zamaḥṣārī is commonly considered as the precursor of this system. Although his first work entitled *Al-fā’iq fī ḡarīb al-ḥādīṭ* [*The Exceptional Work about Extraordinary Phenomena*] does not measure up to modern standards, it strives to do so, for the author honours the common alphabetical order of the first two radicals. This consistency breaks down in the case of the third radical, which is selected according to the author’s own, heretofore unidentified, principle. However, the work entitled *‘Asās al-balāḡa* [*The Fundamentals of Style*], which discusses the differences between the literal and the metaphorical use of words is the first lexicon with a completely modern arrangement. The words in this dictionary are arranged according to the alphabetical order of all radicals (Haywood 1965: 106). As attested by the history of subsequent centuries, it is this arrangement that became the well-established one in Arabic lexicography as the clearest and most useful system, adapted to the consonantal-root morphological structure of the language. It also dominates in the great European lexica of the classical language (e.g. Lane 1863; Biberstein-Kazimirski 1875; Wahrmund 1898) and in the most popular dictionaries of the modern language (e.g. Wehr 1961; Baranov 1970).

Viewed in the context of the entire history of Arabic lexicography, the alphabetical-anagrammatic system which takes into account long consonants and the affixes of morphological paradigms is a relatively recent phenomenon, which probably arose under the influence of the European languages (Górska 1985–1986: 173). However, this system has its great adherents too. One of its advantages is that even a person who has a superficial knowledge of the Arabic alphabet and the basic grammatical rules may consult the dictionary. The system is useful above all to foreigners who learn the Arabic language for practical purposes, therefore it is usually adopted in bilingual Arabic dictionaries and considerably less frequently in monolingual, lexicon-type Arabic dictionaries.

The authors of Polish dictionaries of the Arabic language usually choose one of two basic means of arranging words: the alphabetical-root arrangement or the alphabetical-anagrammatic arrangement, depending on the purpose of the lexicon and the target group of its potential users. This obviously does not apply to dictionaries which are popularly referred to as “unidirectional” dictionaries i.e. the Polish-Arabic dictionaries, although some of them also contain an Arabic index arranged according to the method that was selected. A thematic arrangement is also used (similarly as in the case of medieval specialized dictionaries), where words are grouped within particular entries, either randomly (this is more rarely the case) or according to the selected alphabetical order (the majority of cases).

Having the practical purpose of the present article in mind, I discuss the existing Polish lexicographical works that I am familiar with in the following groups: (I) general dictionaries [(A) dictionaries of the literary language, (B) dialectal dictionaries, available both in book form as well as in electronic form]; (II) specialized dictionaries; (III) unpublished MA theses. The latter group is under-researched and less accessible, and therefore underappreciated. Such an approach is unfair because in the majority of cases these dictionaries contain a great deal of valuable lexical material that was processed with utmost care and acquired as a result of analysis of contemporary texts published in the press or based on one's own research in the field. Each of the items that are listed are accompanied by a brief commentary that contains a description of the form of the publication, a discussion of its content and purpose, as well as the system of arranging vocabulary that was adopted by a given author.

I. General dictionaries

(A) The literary language

1. Danecki J., Kozłowska J. 1996. [next editions: 2001/2007/2009/2010/2014]. *Słownik arabsko-polski* [= *An Arabic-Polish Dictionary*]. Warszawa, pp. 884.

The first general dictionary of the Arabic language that was published in Poland. It contains ca. 20,000 entries (ca. 45,000 including cross-references drawn from the literary Arabic language). The words are arranged according to the alphabetical-letter system and feature complete vocalisation of Arabic forms and a transcription. The vocabulary is enhanced by relatively comprehensive information about the phonology, morphology and the principles of Arabic grammar (pp. 9–80).

2. Łacina J. 1997. [2nd edition 2007]. *Słownik arabsko-polski* [= *An Arabic-Polish Dictionary*]. Poznań, pp. 946.

The dictionary contains ca. 12,000 main entries, i.e. 20,000 including cross-references (cf. the "Introduction", p. 5). Modern vocabulary constitutes the bulk of the dictionary. However, sometimes classical and dialectal terms do appear (p. 5). The arrangement of words is untypical – a mixed-root arrangement for verbs and a common alphabetical one for the remaining forms. Complete vocalisation was applied as well as the transcription of words. The lexical portion of the dictionary is enhanced by information concerning the origins and the history, the alphabet and the phonological features of the Arabic language (pp. 11–21).

3. Łacina J. 2007. [2nd edition 2008]. *Słownik polsko-arabski* [= *A Polish-Arabic Dictionary*]. Poznań, Kozięgłowy, pp. 921.

The most comprehensive dictionary of this kind that has been published in Poland; the second part of the aforementioned Arabic-Polish dictionary. It contains more than 26,000 numbered Polish entries. The Arabic words are fully vocalized and transcribed.

4. Wagialla A.H. 2000. [2nd edition 2008]. *Jak to powiedzieć po arabsku. Rozmówki i słownik* [= *How to say it in Arabic. A Phrase Book and a Dictionary*]. Warszawa, pp. XIV + 479.

A work in two parts that includes a phrase book (pp. 1–272) and a Polish-Arabic dictionary (pp. 275–477). The latter contains vocabulary which is useful for people who make a brief sojourn in Arab countries and which is relevant to the topics covered in the phrase book. It therefore has to do with typical situations associated with travelling, accommodation, sightseeing, shopping, services, social life etc. The range of vocabulary items is about 5,000 words placed in tables in the order of the Polish alphabet. The Arabic equivalent (written in unvocalized script) of each entry is provided in a parallel line. Arabic words are transcribed in a simplified manner (according to the author, it is the “transcription of the Arabic translation of entries, with Polish letters”, p. 275) and the Polish words are transcribed as well (“a phonetic transcription of Polish entries, with Arabic letters”, p. 275).

5. Michalski M. (transl.), Abdalla M. (consult.) n.d. *Słownik polsko-arabski/arabsko-polski* [= *A Polish-Arabic / Arabic-Polish Dictionary*]. n.p., pp. 732.

A bidirectional dictionary, with a Polish-Arabic section (pp. 27–385) and an Arabic-Polish one (pp. 386–732) arranged alphabetically; it does not take into account the definite article *al-* (the transcription conventions that are used are discussed on pp. 25–26 and 386–387). The vocalisation of Arabic vocabulary items is limited, with a parallel transcription which features the marking of stress – in both parts of the dictionary. The Polish-Arabic part is preceded by the “Basic information about the Arabic language” section (pp. 5–25), which discusses the script, pronunciation and the morphology of the Arabic language.

6. Król I., Hasan A. 2002. *Słownik tematyczny języka arabskiego* [= *A Thematic Dictionary of the Arabic Language*]. Warszawa, pp. 229.

A book which constitutes a manual. It is intended for people with a basic competence and reading skills in Arabic (the vocabulary items are provided exclusively in the

Arabic script; they are vocalized but not transcribed). The purpose of the publication is the following: to enhance the reader's vocabulary and phraseology in the field of everyday life and common situations, based on the cultural environment of Syria. The material is arranged thematically into 16 sections: education, man, medicine, home, restaurant, entertainment, sports, tourism, means of transport, geographical data, the weather and the climate, time, post office, bank, commerce, customs and ceremonies. Each topic features smaller thematic units which are arranged randomly, just as the words which are provided within those units. The Arabic vocabulary is supplemented by unvocalized descriptive texts and dialogues, which correspond to the topics covered (the details are discussed in the "Introduction", pp. 5–8).

7. Turek W.P. 2001. *Słownik zapożyczeń pochodzenia arabskiego w polszczyźnie* [= *A Dictionary of Borrowings of Arabic Origin in the Polish Language*]. Kraków, pp. 560.

This publication should be treated as supplementary because it falls within the category of dictionaries of Polish rather than Arabic. However, it contains a wealth of knowledge about Arabic vocabulary; it presents a comprehensive collection of Polish words of Arabic origin ("About Arabic etymology", pp. 96–421). 845 entries in alphabetical order are accompanied by detailed, meticulously elaborated discussions of their origin: the establishment or verification of the etymology, the presentation of the particular stages in the process of borrowing words and the adaptations of these lexemes in the intermediary languages. Furthermore, the vocabulary, which is attested in source texts from the period between the 14th c. and the 1990s, is indexed (pp. 422–465). The index of lexical items and foreign lexical forms (pp. 466–519) in the Arabic part is arranged according to the alphabetical order in unvocalized Arabic script and is furnished with a transcription. The dictionary part is preceded by a comprehensive theoretical introduction which includes an account of the linguistic contacts of the Polish language with other languages, the principles of the etymological analysis of the borrowings, the history and the principles of the adaptation of Arabic words to the system of the Polish language (pp. 15–93). The work is concluded by a bibliography of works relevant to the whole range of problems that were taken into consideration (pp. 521–559).

8. Raad Mağid al-Shahhadh 1988. *Qāmūs būlūnī-‘arabī – Słownik polsko-arabski* [= *A Polish-Arabic Dictionary*]. Baghdad, pp. 450.

An unverified publication. The following data is drawn exclusively from Likus (2006): it contains 5,000 words, an outline of basic grammatical points (Polish personal pronouns, the conjugational paradigm of the verb *być* 'to be' in the present

tense, cardinal and ordinal numerals, partitives and arithmetical operations). The purpose of this dictionary is “to provide the reader with tools that will enable him or her to read and translate Polish texts” (cf. Likus 2006: 1, 23–24). The work is marred by numerous flaws, probably caused by the lack of consultation with a native speaker of Polish.

9. Zakrzewski A. 2002. *Słownik polsko-arabski* [= *A Polish-Arabic Dictionary*]. [available exclusively on-line: www.adamzakrzewski.pl/slownik/index.html; accessed April 15, 2016].

An up-to-date dictionary which is easily accessible and easy to use on-line. It contains 2,452 entries that may be further enhanced and developed. The author uses unvocalized Arabic script and a simplified Polish translation. The plural forms of nouns and adjectives as well as the comparative form of certain adjectives are provided in parentheses. If the plural form is not provided, this means that the form is either regular or it does not exist. The two-case declension (*diptotum*) is marked by ² (according to the information provided by the Author on the main page of the dictionary).

10. Łacina J. 2002. *Polsko-arabski słowniczek tysiąca i jednego słowa* [= *A Polish-Arabic Glossary of One Thousand and One Words*]. [available exclusively on-line: rower.orbit.pl/files/doc/malyslownikpolskoarabski.pdf; accessed April 15, 2016].

It contains 1057 Polish entries arranged in the alphabetical order and furnished with an Arabic transliteration. The parallel tabular arrangement features Arabic equivalents printed in completely vocalized Arabic script with a transcription. The vocabulary is supplemented by a table of personal pronouns and their declension in both languages.

The users of the Arabic and Polish languages also have at their disposal three great lexical and phraseological collections which are available on-line. These do not feature a specific author; they are developed by users of both of these languages around the world. They are of considerable practical value, especially for translators. However, it is difficult to evaluate and verify them in the scholarly perspective. The entries are arranged in common alphabetical order; they use unvocalized Arabic script and they do not provide romanization. The dictionaries in question are the following:

- Arabsko-polski słownik online [= An on-line Arabic-Polish dictionary]. [pl.glosbe.com/ar/pl/; accessed April 15, 2016; 33,129 expressions; 323,460 translated pairs of words (which may be further developed/edited)].

- Polsko-arabski słownik online [= An on-line Polish-Arabic dictionary]. [pl.glosbe.com/pl/ar/; accessed April 15, 2016; 32,975 expressions; translated pairs of words – *ut supra* (which may be further developed/edited)].
- Słownik języka arabskiego – Wikisłownik [= A dictionary of the Arabic language – A Wiktionary].
- [pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/; accessed April 15, 2016; 8,909 entries; 14,541 meanings; 50 proverbs (which may be further developed/edited)].

(B) Dialects

1. Kafel P. 2004. *Słownik dialektu marokańskiego* [= *A Dictionary of the Moroccan Dialect*]. Kraków, pp. 134.

The first dictionary of a dialect of Arabic that was published on the Polish market. It features vocabulary used in the basic situations of everyday life; it contains ca. 2,000 words with illustrations of how they are used in context (cf. the “Preface”, p. vii). It features a Moroccan-Polish alphabetical arrangement. The equivalents are transcribed and furnished with references to a bibliography (pp. 133–134). A comprehensive introduction contains general information about the Moroccan dialects (p. ix–xiv), grammatical (pp. xv–xxxv) and lexicographical information (pp. xxxvi–xli).

2. Murkociński J. and M. 2015. *Polsko-arabski słownik frazeologiczny dialektu syryjskiego* [= *A Polish-Arabic Phraseological Dictionary of the Syrian Dialect*]. Kraków, pp. 424.

The first dictionary of this kind that was published in Poland. It is a phraseological dictionary of the Damascene dialect, considered the basis of the spoken language throughout Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine (see the “Introductory remarks” for more information, p. ix) The dictionary features an original plan and arrangement. It contains ca. 2,500 entries – verbs arranged in the Polish alphabetical order which are accompanied by Syrian equivalents – transcribed and provided with the basic form in Arabic script (see also the details discussed in the following paragraphs: II. “General information”, III. “General remarks” and IV. “The arrangement of the headword”, pp. x–xx). Each entry is furnished with illustrative sentences in transcription which exemplify the use of a given verb in various senses and contexts. This point constitutes a great advantage of this work. The dictionary also contains an index of Arabic verbs (pp. 365–424) arranged according to the order of Arabic alphabet, with a transcription supplemented by the basic form of a given word in the Arabic script.

II. Specialized dictionaries

1. Danecki J., Kozłowska J., Machut-Mendecka E., Nazmi A. (the authors of the Arabic material), Linka H. (ed.). 1984. *Wojskowy słownik morski: polsko-arabski i arabsko-polski* [= *A Military Maritime Dictionary: Polish-Arabic and Arabic-Polish*]. Gdynia, pp. 803.

The first specialized dictionary of Arabic that was published in Poland. It contains ca. 7,000 Polish and Arabic maritime terms which are used mainly by the lecturers of the Wyższa Szkoła Marynarki Wojennej [The Polish Naval Academy]. The Polish-Arabic section (pp. 7–402) in an alphabetical, nest arrangement. A similar arrangement is used in the second part (pp. 5–376), where Arabic words are listed in the common alphabetical order and supplemented by the vocabulary of the same semantic field. Supplements which contain specialized terms and expressions as well as technical drawings with comprehensive descriptions in both languages are printed between the dictionary parts (pp. 403–427).

2. Mazerant M. 1983. [2nd edition 1990]. *Słownik fizyczny polsko-arabski* [= *A Polish-Arabic Dictionary of Physics*]. Łódź, pp. 111.

The publication was released as a supplement to the textbook entitled “Fizyka” [= “Physics”] – part I and II, intended for the participants of the Studium Języka Polskiego dla Cudzoziemców [= Polish Language College for Foreigners]. The work has a Polish alphabetical arrangement, without any additional remarks or explanations. The equivalents are provided in unvocalized Arabic alphabet; no romanization is provided.

3. Akoel K.Mo., Kalinowski K. 2000. *Słownik chemiczny polsko-arabski* [= *A Polish-Arabic Dictionary of Chemistry*]. Łódź, pp. 89.

The dictionary is intended primarily for foreign students who learn the Polish language with the intention to undertake chemical, biological and medical studies (cf. the “Introduction”, pp. 3–4). The entries are arranged according to the order of the Polish alphabet, with additional grammatical information (the declension of nouns, the aspect of verbs) and the basic specialized expressions associated with a given word.

4. Siwiec P. 2009. *Mały słownik terminologii komputerowej* [= *A Glossary of Computer Terminology*]. Kraków, pp. 221.

A bidirectional dictionary: a Polish-Arabic dictionary (pp. 7–113) and an Arabic-Polish dictionary in an alphabetical-letter arrangement (pp. 7–108). It contains a total

of more than 5,000 specialized terms which are useful for computer users who learn the Arabic language. The Arabic vocabulary is vocalized in a limited manner; there is no transcription (see the “Preface” for details, p. 5).

5. Jaworska K., Kyc R. 2010. *Podręczny leksykon techniczny polsko-arabski* [= *A Concise Polish-Arabic Dictionary of Technological Terminology*]. Kraków, pp. 75.

A small Polish-Arabic dictionary with an Arabic-Polish index. The material was divided into eighteen thematic chapters which contain words in Polish alphabetical arrangement with Polish definitions occasionally accompanied by drawings presenting selected machines and devices. According to the intention of the authors, the aim of the dictionary is to serve primarily students and Arabists interested in the translation of technical texts (cf. the “Introduction”, p. 5). An index of Arabic words with their Polish equivalents (pp. 62–73) is presented in common alphabetical order.

6. Sławek J. 2016. *Arabskie i polskie słownictwo dyplomatyczne i polityczne* [= *Arabic and Polish Diplomatic and Political Vocabulary*]. Katowice, pp. 122.

A specialized lexicon with an original plan. Its thematic arrangement greatly departs from the traditional form of a dictionary. It contains twelve sections: diplomatic notes, personal notes, titles, invitations, declarations, démentis, condolences, speeches, agreements and decrees, marital status documents, acts of law, terrorism and security. The vocabulary is presented in the contextual form – there are example documents furnished with a Polish translation and explanations of the more important words and expressions. The texts are printed in unvocalized Arabic script. Additional chapters include the following themes: expressions used in the media and in the press (36 in total), arranged in a random way, translated and illustrated by usage in the context (pp. 91–98), a Polish-Arabic glossary (pp. 99–112) and certain proper names – geographical names, names of Arabic states, names of state and social organisations (pp. 112–116). Also these chapters feature vocabulary in the originalize script lacking vocalization or transcription.

III. Unpublished MA theses

1. Nagło S. 2004. *Słownik podstawowy terminologii sportowej polsko-arabski* [= *A Basic Polish-Arabic Dictionary of Sports Terminology*]. Jagiellonian University in Kraków, pp. 52 + an Appendix [source texts with a translation into Polish].

A general introduction (pp. 3–11) and considerations about the language of the sports-related press in the Arab world (pp. 12–23) precede the dictionary proper.

The latter is arranged according to the Polish alphabet. The equivalents are printed in unvocalized Arabic script, with the inclusion of transcription and pausal forms.

2. Osuch K. 2005. *Tematyczny słownik polsko-tunezyjski ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dialektu Tunisu* [= *A Polish-Tunisian Thematic Dictionary with special reference to the dialect of Tunis*]. Jagiellonian University in Kraków, pp. 211.

The work comprises ca. 7,000 entries, categorized into 62 thematic sections which refer to various areas of social and everyday life. The majority of these sections are further divided into specific subsections (without a particular organising principle), where vocabulary is arranged according to morphological categories: verbs (these precede any other word categories), adjectives and nouns (in some cases the order is reversed), arranged according to the alphabetical order. Each section is supplemented by sentences and expressions which illustrate the practical application of the vocabulary items that are presented – this in turn is done in a random order. The Arabic material is presented exclusively in a transcribed form.

3. Król A. 2008. *Polsko-arabski słownik podstawowej terminologii motoryzacyjnej, z uwzględnieniem różnic dialektałnych (na przykładzie dialektu damasceńskiego)* [= *A Polish-Arabic Dictionary of the Basic Automotive Terminology, with reference to dialectal differences (on the basis of the Damascene Dialect)*]. Jagiellonian University in Kraków, pp. 87.

A comprehensive general introduction (pp. 3–14) and remarks about the linguistic situation in the Arab world, and – in this context – of specialized automotive dictionary in the Damascene dialect (pp. 15–38) precede the dictionary proper. The latter follows the Polish alphabetical order. The equivalents are terms in the Arabic literary language and – in a parallel manner – terms in the Damascene dialect. The book uses unvocalized Arabic script and provides transcription as well as pausal forms.

4. Paszczyńska A. 2011. *Podręczny leksykon kultury arabskiej na podstawie „Trylogii kairskiej” Nağība Maħfūza* [= *A Concise Lexicon of Arabic Culture on the basis of “The Cairo Trilogy” by Nağīb Maħfūz*]. Jagiellonian University in Kraków, pp. 72 + 33 [an Appendix].

A small glossary (138 entries) which is useful in a limited way to people who are interested in Arab culture. The work is in the common Arabic-Polish arrangement which is neither vocalized nor transcribed. Cross-references point to the main,

analytical part of the work (pp. 11–54), where one may find a scholarly transcription of words, their functioning in a given context and details concerning the meaning, origin and the cultural context of a given lexeme.

In conclusion, the lexicographical publications which came into existence as a result of contact between the Arabic and Polish languages, presented in an up-to-date manner above, bear testimony to relatively considerable interest in this branch of knowledge, both among Polish Arabists, i.e. the authors of these works, and the recipients – their potential users. The systematic development Arabic-Polish lexicography indicates that there is a growing need for contact with the Arabic language, both at the basic level which enables simple communication and at the much more advanced, specialized level. The state of research in the field of Polish scholarship devoted to Arab studies in the 21st century clearly indicates a tendency to process dialectal vocabulary and phraseology that facilitates considerably everyday communication in a given area, whereas as far as the literary language is concerned, specialized lexica are developed that strive to take into account the issues associated with modernity – the dynamic growth of technology and globalisation. Consequently, the authors usually embrace the common alphabetical or a thematic arrangement, which is more accessible than the arrangement according to roots. General-purpose dictionaries of the literary language are available as on-line resources, using an open formula that facilitates the continuous development of the content by supplying new lexemes and adding new meanings to the existing entries. It is also in this case that the root arrangement is no longer used: the enhancement of the resources of accessible knowledge at the expense of an in-depth analysis of structures and problems seems to be a sign of modern times. As we can see, this statement may also refer to such a specialized area of expertise as Arabic lexicography.

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ISSUES OF COMPARATIVE URALIC AND ALTAIC STUDIES (2). MEDIAL **P* IN PRE-PROTO-MONGOLIC

This contribution forms a part in a series of papers devoted to specific issues of comparative Uralic and Altaic Studies. In this particular paper the author takes up the question concerning the representations of the Pre-Proto-Mongolic medial strong labial stop **p* in Proto-Mongolic, Written Mongol, and the modern Mongolic languages. It is shown that this segment underwent variously weakening to **b*, nasalization to **m* or spirantization to **x* depending on contextual factors. These conclusions have relevance to external lexical comparisons with neighbouring language families, especially Turkic and Tungusic.

Mongolic historical phonology, Turko-Mongolic relations, comparative Altaic studies, anti-Altaic line of argumentation

This paper, devoted to the eminent Turkologist Marek Stachowski, is the second in a series of papers dealing with selected issues of comparative Uralic and Altaic Studies. My general premises correspond to the anti-Altaicist line of argumentation, according to which the so-called Altaic languages are not mutually related, that is, they do not form a divergent language family with a common protolanguage. They do, however, share both material and structural properties, which are best explained as convergent developments due to a complex network of prolonged and recurrent areal contacts between the individual entities, which include not only those traditionally termed Altaic, but also the Uralic languages.

In order to approach the issue of comparative Altaic Studies we should, first and foremost, work on the internal evidence provided by the individual languages and language families. Only after we have gained an understanding of the properties of each entity involved by the Altaic complex can we start comparing the individual language families with each other. In fact, this has always been the approach favoured by Marek Stachowski, who in his work has focused on Turkic without, however, neglecting the data provided by all the neighbouring language families.

The difference between *g and *x

A detail that has caused a lot of misunderstanding in Mongolic studies is the Proto-Mongolic distinction between two velar phonemes, the stop *g and the continuant *x. In Written Mongol, in intervocalic position, both are written by the letter g (*kaph*) in words with a palatal vocalism and by the letters q (*qoph*) or qh (double-dot q) in words with a velar vocalism. The same letters are also used to write the strong velar stop *k. Due to the image provided by the script it was long thought that Proto-Mongolic had only a single weak velar obstruent, reconstructed as *g. However, it was also known that this segment has a dual representation in the modern Mongolic languages, in that it is represented as g in some words, while in other words it is lost with a subsequent vowel contraction as a result.

To explain the dual behaviour of the “weak velar stop”, Gustav J. Ramstedt (1952–1966 I: 88) and Nicholas Poppe (1960: 146–147) developed a hypothesis according to which Proto-Mongolic had a distinctive musical accent which conditioned either the loss or the preservation of an intervocalic *g. Needless to say, this hypothesis was totally *ad hoc* and was not supported by any independent evidence in the comparative material. Not only is there any other sign of musical accent in Proto-Mongolic, but it is also clear that the behaviour of the “weak velar stop” is a segment-specific feature that is not connected with suprasegmental phenomena.

The problem was first solved by Gerhard Doerfer, who (e.g. 1985: 181–185) correctly viewed the dual behaviour of the “weak velar stop” as a signal of two different segments in Proto-Mongolic. One of these segments was the true stop *g, while the other was the continuant *x, in Doerfer’s notation <y>, which may phonetically also have been realized as a velar to laryngeal spirant of the type [h]. In fact, the continuant *x [h] was also present in initial position, in which it is well attested in Middle Mongol as well as in a few marginal modern Mongolic languages.

Ramstedt (1916) showed already a century ago that Mongolic initial **x* [h] derives, at least in most cases, from an original strong labial stop **p*. We now know that **p* is also one of the two sources of intervocalic **x*, while the other source is **g*. Both sources may be illustrated by well-known Turko-Mongolic lexical parallels, which reflect early contacts between the two language families, as in Mongolic **taxa-* ‘to guess’ < **tapa-* ← Pre-Proto-Turkic **tapa-* > *tap-* ‘to find’ vs. Mongolic **saxa-* ‘to milk’ < **saga-* ← Pre-Proto-Turkic **saga-* > *sag-* (*say-*) id. The Proto-Mongolic intervocalic **g*, by contrast, represents either the strong velar stop **k* at the boundary of the second and third syllables, as in Mongolic (**)daaga/n* ‘foal’ < **daxaga/n* < **dapaka/n* ← Pre-Proto-Turkic **dapaka* > Turkic **yapak* (*yapaq*) id., or a relatively late secondary innovation not traceable in the areally shared Turko-Mongolic lexicon, as in (**)baga* ‘small’.

It may be concluded that **g* [g] and **x* [x ~ h] were two distinct phonemes in Proto-Mongolic. Only **x*, which in medial position is lost in all modern Mongolic languages, could represent an earlier labial stop **p*. So far, this point has been made most clearly by Hans Nugteren (2011: 76–79). Even so, there are still Mongolists today who, misled by the Written Mongol script image, assume that Proto-Mongolic only had a single **g*, which underwent a split under *ad hoc* conditions. Such a point of view is technically untenable and simply demonstrates an insufficient familiarity with the principles of phonological reconstruction.

The alternation of **x* with **m*

In the first paper of this series (Janhunen, forthcoming) I discussed the general rules governing the development of intervocalic **x* from **p* and **g*. A detail that deserves some more attention in this connection concerns the cases in which **x* alternates either dialectally or morphophonemically with the labial nasal **m*. Even a quick glance at the data reveals that we are here dealing with a contextually conditioned process of nasalization, which has turned the reflex of **p* to **m* when a nasal consonant follows in the word. This can be illustrated by two well-known examples:

1. **kepe-* ‘to say’ (quotative verb) > **kexe-* > **kee-* > (irregularly) **ge-* > *ge-* : *g-* (as in Mongolian proper) : modal converb **kepe-n* > **keme-n*, Written Mongol **gamav** † *kemen* (used as a quotative particle). In this item, the originally uniform stem underwent a dual development, in that the suffix **-n* of the modal converb conditioned the nasalization of the intervocalic **p* to **m*, while in the rest of the forms **p* yielded **x*. The stem variants were later confused,

which resulted in the generalization of the frequently used variant **keme-* of **keme-n* into the entire paradigm in the dialect underlying Written Mongol, yielding the invariable stem **gama-** †*keme-*. The latter has then been secondarily re-introduced into the spoken dialects as a reading pronunciation in the form **kemee-* > *xemee-*, which is today used as a literary alternative to the regular vernacular variant **ge-* > *ge-* : *g-*.

2. **küpün* ‘man, person, human being’ > **kүxүн* ~ **kүmүн*. In this item, the dual representation of the intervocalic **p* is possibly due to an early dialectal division. The variant with **m* is unambiguously attested in Written Mongol **guimuv** †*kүmүн*, but it is possibly present also in Ölöt *kүmn*, while all other modern Mongolic varieties have **kүxүн* > **kүün*, or also > **kүü* (in Dagur), **kүн* > *xung* (in Mongolian proper), *kong* (in Shirongolic). Judging by the presumable Khitan cognate of the word, which has the monosyllabic shape †*ku* (Kane 2009: 105), the second syllable in **kүpүн* is either a suffix (**kү-pүн*) or a separate word (**kү·pүн*). The dual representation of the word in Proto-Mongolic might, then, be due to the composite origin of the word, or also to a confusion with the etymon **keü* > **kүü* ‘child, son’, attested in Khitan as *k.iü* ~ *x.iü* ‘younger sister’, perhaps to be read †*kiu* ~ †*xiu* (Wu, Janhunen 2010: 167). However this may be, the variant with the intervocalic nasal was also generalized to the Written Mongol plural form **guimus** †*kүmү-s*, which is today attested as a reading pronunciation in modern Mongolian in the form **kүmүüs* > *xumuus*.

What is important to note in this connection is that the zero representation of the internal consonant, which underlies the modern vowel sequences and/or long vowels, can only go back to an earlier **x*. While **x* can derive either from **p* or **x*, the cases in which it alternates with **m* always presuppose an original **p*. The forms with **x* and **m* are parallel developments, and there never was a process in which an intervocalic **m* would have been lost. In fact, there are examples of an original intervocalic **m* also in the Turko-Mongolic lexicon, as in Mongolic (**)neme-* ‘to add’ ← Pre-Proto-Turkic **neme-* > **yem-* : (**)yem-e* ‘also’ (Poppe 1960: 68).

An apparently unrelated case of alternation between **x* and **m* is present in **uxu-* ‘to drink’ vs. **umda(-xa)-/n* ‘drink’. The element **um-* has been assumed to be a borrowing from Tungusic **umī-* ~ **imī-* ‘to drink’, in which case **umda(-xa)-/n* would be a deverbal noun from the passive stem **um-da-* (Doerfer 1985: 40 no. 94). However, the Mongolic words could equally well be connected with **u-s.u/n* ‘water’,

which probably contains the root **u-* and the “collective” suffix *-s.U/n* (Nugteren 2011: 535–536), present also in many other items denoting liquids. In any case, **uxu-* remains ambiguous, in that we do not know whether the **x* in it comes from an original **p* or **g*, while the **m* of **um-* cannot be due to a regular nasalization process of the type discussed above.

The alternation of **x* with **b*

Poppe (1955: 63) already proposed that some of the cases of alternation between **x* and **m* would actually derive from an original weak labial consonant, which he symbolized by the letter $\langle\beta\rangle$, as in **kümün* from $\langle\text{kü}\beta\text{ün}\rangle$. It is, indeed, reasonable to think that the development from **p* to **m* had the intermediate stage of a weak or voiced labial consonant, which most naturally could be identified with the weak labial stop **b*.

There are also a number of well-known cases in which **x* alternates with **b*, or with both **b* and **m*. In these cases, we have to postulate an original **p*, which was spirantized to **x*, weakened to **b* or nasalized to **m* depending on the environment:

3. The complete three-way alternation of **x* vs. **b* vs. **m* is attested in the basic numerals, of which those for the digits 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10 contain the element **-pA/n*. This element is represented as **-xA/n* in **ji.r+gu-xa/n* ‘six’ and **dal.u-xa/n* ‘seven’, as **-bA/n* in **gu.r-ba/n* ‘three’, **dö.r-be/n* ‘four’ and **xa.r-ba/n* ‘ten’, and as **-mA/n* in **nai-ma/n* < **ñai-ma/n* ‘eight’. If we start from an original **p*, we may see that it was weakened to **b* in postconsonantal position, while intervocalically it was spirantized to **x*. Nasalization to **m* in **nai-ma/n* (perhaps phonologically **nayma/n*) could be due either to the position of the segment at the boundary between the first two syllables, as also in **küpün* > **kümün*, or to the presence of an initial nasal consonant in the word. It may be noted that no nasalization is observed in **jir+gu-xa/n* and **dal.u-xa/n*, apparently because the segment here stands at the boundary of the second and third syllables. The element **-pA/n* itself is possibly connected with the root for ‘ten’, as attested in **xa.r-ba/n*, Middle Mongol $\dagger\text{xarban}$ (*harban*) < **Pre-Proto-Mongolic* **pa.r-ba/n*.
4. Formally identical with the element **-pA/n* of numerals is the reflexive marker **-pAn*. In the modern languages this marker always occurs in intervocalic position, in which it is represented as **-xA/n* > *-(A)A/n*, a form also attested in

several Written Mongol compound suffixes, such as the complex reflexive dative suffix **daqhav taqhav dagav tagav** for **-DA-xAn*. The form **-bAn* is not attested in any living language but it is present in the Written Mongol postvocalic variant **bav**, which, then, must represent an early dialectal development that was generalized in the language underlying the written norm. The postconsonantal variant, which was combined with the connective vowel **I*, developed regularly from **I-pAn* to **IxAn* > **-iyan*, Written Mongol **ijav**, and further to *-AA/n*, ultimately merging with the postvocalic variant. The reflexive suffix is etymologically connected with the reflexive pronoun **öxer*, Written Mongol **vuibar** †*öber*, suggesting the original shape **öpen*, though the final alternation between **r* and **n* remains unexplained. The form **öpen* would have yielded **ömen**, which, however, is not attested synchronically in any Mongolic language. A comparison with Tungusic **meen* ‘oneself’ (cf. Poppe 1955: 231–238) is not easy to support, unless we assume that Pre-Proto-Tungusic underwent the same sequence of developments as Pre-Proto-Mongolic.

5. A close parallel to the reflexive marker is offered by the instrumental case suffix, attested in Written Mongol as postvocalic **bar** †*-bAr* vs. postconsonantal **ijar** †*-iyar*, and in modern Mongolic uniformly as **-AAr* (Poppe 1955: 201–202). The original Pre-Proto-Mongolic shape of the suffix may be reconstructed as **-pAr*. Because of the contextual conditions, no nasalization could take place in this element.
6. Another suffix with the initial alternation of **x* with **b* is **-pUrI*, added to verbal stems to express the place of action (*nomen loci*). For this suffix, both a variant with **b** and one with **x** is attested, the former in postconsonantal and the latter in intervocalic position, as in **üiled-* ‘to make’ : **üiled-büri* ‘the place of making’ > ‘factory’ vs. **surga-* ‘to teach’ : **surga-xuri* > (by liquid dissimilation) **surga-xuli* ‘the place of teaching’ > ‘school’ (cf. Ramstedt 1952–1966 II: 144). A possibly related suffix is **-xUr* for the instrument of action (*nomen instrumenti*), as in **tülki-* ‘to push’ : **tülki-xür* ‘key’, though in this case the derivation **x* < **p* cannot be verified.
7. An exceptional example is present in **dexel* > *deel* ‘dress’, which in Written Mongol appears as **tabal** †*debel*, but which in Buryat has the shape *degel* (Nugteren 2011: 314). On the basis of the Written Mongol shape, which must represent an ancient dialectal variant, we may reconstruct the item as Pre-Proto-Mongolic

**depel*, from which also **dexel* derives. Buryat *degel* cannot represent a regular reflex of **depel*; rather, it is a sporadic dialectal development of either **debel* (with **b* > *g*) or **dexel* (with **x* > *g*). A similar correspondence is present in, for instance, Buryat (and Oirat) *xurga/n* < **kurugu/n* vs. Mongolian proper (*)*xuruu/n* < **kuruxu/n* (Nugteren 2011: 434), but this could also be explained as an early variation between **k* (> **g*) and **g* (> **x*) at the boundary of the second and third syllables.

The alternation of **b* with **m*

All of the above cases of morphophonological alternation involve **x* as one of the alternants. Depending on the phonological context, a medial **x* can alternate with either **m* (in a nasal environment at the boundary of the first and second syllables) or **b* (in postconsonantal position, as well as in a number of orthographical relicts). In all of these cases, the presence of a labial consonant in the morphophonological set of alternants confirms that the original sound was **p*, which in intervocalic position underwent the regular development to **x*. There is, however, at least one well-known case in which only **b* and **m* would seem to alternate with each other, while no variant with **x* can be reliably identified.

8. **ebür* > **öbür* ‘breast’ > ‘front, south’ : **emüne* ‘in front, before’ > ‘south’ (Nugteren 2011: 324, 329–330). In this case, we may tentatively postulate a root **epü-* ‘breast, front’, which was enlarged with the elements **-r* and **-n*, respectively. The element **-n* is one of the spatial formatives, to which the locative case suffix **-A* was added (Janhunen 2012: 122), yielding **epü-n-e* > **ebü-n-e* > **emü-n-e*. The root may also have been **ep-*, if there is a connection with **eb.ti.xü/n* ‘breastbone’ (Poppe 1960: 43), an item present as an early borrowing also in Tungusic (Doerfer 1985: 20 no. 21). The main question here is, however, whether we are really dealing with an original **p* and not with **b*. Normally a Proto-Mongolic intervocalic **b* would have to go back to a Pre-Proto-Mongolic **b*, as in **eber* ‘horn’, and it is likely that the nasalization process **p* > **m* affected also **b*, leading to the positional merger of **p* and **b*. Therefore, at least potentially, there may be cases in which **m* derives from an original **b*. However, a look at the lexical data suggests that the pair **eb.ü-r* : **em.ü-n-e* may have a cognate with **x* as well in the set **exü-s- ~ *exü-d-* ‘to originate’ : **exüri* ‘long ago’. Unfortunately, for semantic reasons this comparison remains uncertain.

Conclusions for external comparisons

The general conclusion from the above discussion is that Pre-Proto-Mongolic medial **p* had three representations in Proto-Mongolic: **x* (intervocally), **b* (postconsonantly), and **m* (in a nasal environment). The nasalization process was apparently active only at the boundary of the first two syllables when the vowel of the second syllable was followed by a nasal. Very likely, medial **b* also had two representations: **b* (intervocally) and **m* (in a nasal environment). This should be kept in mind when we look for counterparts for Mongolic words in other languages.

The combinatory nasalization of **p* or **b* to **m* means that Mongolic words with an internal **m* followed by a nasal are potentially ambiguous. In such cases we can reconstruct the intervocalic consonant unambiguously only if we have access to independent evidence, which can be either internal (synchronic alternation with **x* in Mongolic) or external (such as a Turkic loan original). Unfortunately, there are additional factors that may have complicated the situation. For instance, we do not know what the impact of an unstable (or “fleeting”) nasal (**/n*) has been in stems of the type **ama/n* ‘mouth’, **ami/n* ‘life’, **amu/n* ‘grain’. Relationships like (plain form) **ami* : (oblique stem) **amin-* : (derivative) **ami-tan* ‘animal(s)’ would suggest an original **m*, but it is also possible that morphological analogy has levelled the situation in favour of the nasal representation.

Even more obviously, a Mongolic item that shows the alternation of **m* with **b* or **x* cannot automatically be compared with non-Mongolic items with a nasal. For instance, a comparison of Mongolic **keme-* ‘to say’ with Turkic *⟨kāñāš⟩* ‘advice’ (Poppe 1955: 62) is out of question, as is also a comparison with Mongolic **emüne* ‘in front, before’ with Tungusic *⟨āmün⟩* (correctly: **emön*) ‘one’ or Old Japanese *†ōmō(-)* ‘face, surface’ (Blažek, Schwarz 2016: 132). On the other hand, when a Mongolic secondary **m* is reflected as a nasal in another language we can be sure that we are dealing with a borrowing, as is the case in Manchu *niome.re* ‘octopus’ ← Pre-Proto-Mongolic **ñaima-* ‘eight’ (> **nai-ma/n*).

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CRIMEAN TATAR KINSHIP TERMS FORMED WITH *+PÇE*

This article discusses a few Crimean Tatar kinship terms and a noun formed by compounding with an independent word which was contracted to *+pçe* and merged with the preceding word. It is argued that this independent word was *apçe* ‘elder’ sister, still used in a Crimean dialect in the meaning ‘grandmother’. Attempt was made to show similar strategies in the use of personal names and some other nouns denoting persons with forms of address, as well as to explain the word *apçe*.

+pçe, formation, kinship terms, Crimean Tatar

1. Contraction of Crimean Tatar terms of address

Crimean Tatar possesses a suffix-like word forming one noun and a few kinship terms which can also be used as forms of address, all in relation to women. This word resembles a suffix, for it does not occur as a free morpheme and forms one prosodic unit with the stem to which it is attached.

It is known that some forms of address used after a personal name become contracted and form something like a compound with this personal name. These forms are typical of spoken or sub-standard languages, e.g. Tur. *Fatmanım* ‘Lady Fatma’ < *Fatma hanım* (mostly written with the capital letter as *Fatma Hanım*), CTat. *Ayşeta* ‘Lady Ayşe; Miss Ayşe’ < *Ayşe tata* (Memetov 1988: 45). In Crimean Tatar, there are two words which were formed in this way and became part of the standard lexicon, *ebanay* ‘midwife’ < *ebe* ‘grandmother’ (and many other meanings; not used

in present-day CTat.) + *anay* ‘mother POLITE; form of address to an elder woman’ and *mollaqay* ‘form of address to a Mullah’ < *molla* ‘Mullah’ + *aqay* ‘man, husband; form of address to an elder man’ (Jankowski 2010: 223). There are more Crimean Tatar compound kinship terms which due to various phonological processes such as syncope and elision have become contracted, e.g. *bukana* (in Alušta) ‘grandmother’ < *büyük ana*, and *xarba* (Central Dialect) ‘grandfather’ < *qart baba* (Memetov 1988: 45). These two words are used in dialects, but two other words of this type, *bita* ‘grandmother’ and *apte* ‘1. elder sister. 2. form of address to a woman who is older than the speaker’ (Useinov 2005: 23), are commonly used in standard Crimean Tatar (Useinov 2005: 46).¹ The origin of *apte* is not clear. It is certain that this word is formed from *apa* ‘elder sister’, but the explanation of *+te* is not easy. Memetov (1988: 47), with reference to dial. Kaz. *äpişe ~ äpke* (Shymkent, Tashkent and Jizaq), tries to explain *apte* from *apa +ta*, where *+ta* would be a variant of *+ča*. This is naturally untenable, for the change *č > t* is unknown in Turkic languages.

2. Crimean Tatar words formed with *+pçe*

The words formed with *+pçe* are the following:

1. *alapçe* ‘paternal aunt’, i.e. ‘one’s father’s sister’ (Useinov 2005: 18);
2. *ocapçe* ‘woman teacher’ (Useinov 1994: 222), DTat. *ocapşe* (Karahan 2011 II: 541), sometimes also used as *ocapşı*;
3. *qudapçe* ‘aunt (elder sister of one’s wife for their children)’ (Useinov 2005: 129), DTat. *kudapşe ~ qudapşe* (Karahan 2011 II: 372);
4. *yengepçe* ‘1. wife of elder brother. 2. aunt (form of address to an elder woman)’ (Useinov 2005: 69), provided with *yenge* as one headword.

This element was discussed in Jankowski’s grammar (2010: 223), other grammars (e.g. Samojlovič 1916; Çobanzade 1925; Qurtmollayev 1940; Mahmut 1975; Kavitskaya 2010) do not mention it. However, the available dictionaries (Karahan 2011; Useinov 1994, 2005) naturally do list all or some of the words formed with *+pçe*. All these words are also discussed in Memetov’s lexicological study (1988).

Memetov (1988) offers an attempt to explain these formations.² He proposes two etymologies. One is *eb+či > epči* ‘woman’ (Memetov 1988: 48), the other from *apača*,

1 Memetov (1988: 45) seeks three etymologies, one < *bibi tata*, another < *büyük tata*, still another *abi tata*, the most likely being the second, for *bibi* is not evidenced in Crimean Tatar and *abi* is a doubtful word.

i.e. *apa+ča* > *apča* > + *pče* (Memetov 1988: 49). The first etymology must be rejected for phonetic reasons, since the change *epči* > +*pče* is unlikely. However, Memetov's reference to alleged Kaz. *apışe* ~ *äpke* is correct, though not at the point expected.

3. The origin of +*pče*

In my opinion it is certain that +*pče* has developed from the independent word *apče* < *apača*. Although *apče* is not found in the most popular dictionaries by Useinov (1994, 2005), it is attested by Memetov who shows the dialect word *apčem* 'grandmother', along with some other dialectal equivalents, i.e. *qartiy*, *nanam*, *ikennem*, *kata*, *bukana* (see above), *bikana* and *tapta* (Memetov 1988: 44). It is evident that the final +*m* is the 1st person possessive suffix, i.e. 'my grandmother' as in *nanam* and *ikennem*, thus the basic word must be *apče*. The occurrence with the possessive suffix is natural, since kinship terms are often used so. At this point we have to stress that in Crimean Tatar dialects there are many terms for both 'grandmother', e.g. *bita*, *bitä*, *büyükana*, *qartana* (Useinov 2005: 46), and 'elder sister', e.g. *apte*, *tata* (Useinov 2005: 46). Much more lexical variants are shown in Devletov's synonym dictionary, *apçe*, *bita*, *qartana*, *büyükana*, *kata*, *ibe*, *tapta*, *atä*, *bitay* and *qartanay* for 'grandmother', of which *qartana* and *qartanay* are qualified as standard, the other as dialect words, and *apte*, *abay*, *apa*, *abla*, *tata*, *tota*, *daday* 'elder sister', the standard forms being *apte* and *tata*, the others dialectal (Devletov 2002: 13). We have to add that the forms with the suffix +*y* are evaluative and express esteem, though occasionally they may acquire additional or different meanings (Jankowski 2010: 218).

There is one problem with the etymology of +*pče* < *apče* < *apača* which must be clarified. The meaning of CTat. *apče* 'grandmother' does not fit in perfectly with the meanings of the existing formations and it is the meaning of Kaz. *äpşe* 'elder sister' that is more suitable. However, even the basic Turkic word *apa* denotes both 'elder sister' and 'grandmother'.

Turning now to Kazakh, the normal dialect form is *äpşe*, and it is glossed by a dialect dictionary as '1. elder sister (Shymkent, Uzbekistan, Tashkent). 2. mother (Uzbekistan, Tashkent)'³ (Änes, Üderbayev 2007: 121). The standard Kaz. equivalent

2 In principle, the same claims were repeated in Memetov (2000: 91–93).

3 Listing Tashkent separately from Uzbekistan is due to the fact that the Kazakhs regard their habitats in the Tashkent province as their ancient homeland, while in other districts the Kazakhs are later immigrants.

of *äpše* is *äpke*, but *äpše* is also listed in the most recent dictionary (QÄTS II 2006: 470) where it is quoted from Änes, Üderbayev (2007). It is worth adding that although non-standard, the form *äpše* is known by all Kazakhs, since Shymkent is the most populous region in Kazakhstan where the national language has a very strong position in relation to other parts of the country. In addition, the inhabitants of this region are very industrious and can be found in all other regions of the country. The form *äpke* comes from *äpeke*, which is attested in a number of dialects (Änes, Üderbayev 2007: 120), also in the standard dictionary (QÄTS II 2006: 467), with reference to *apeke*. Therefore, we have the following development, *apa* + *eke* > *apeke* > *äpeke* > *äpke*.⁴ *+eke* is a productive suffix that forms diminutive nouns denoting persons and personal names.

It is certain that Kaz. *äpše* goes back to the same basic word *apa* ‘elder sister’ and is also derived with a diminutive suffix, in this case *+ča*, as Memetov wrongly postulated for *apte*. It is probably perceived as formed under Uzbek influence or at least in an Uzbek context and therefore not used by other dialects.⁵ Naturally it is difficult to assess if we have to reckon with an Uzbek context. Anyway, the suffix *+ča* is really very frequent in Uzbek, more frequent than in Kazakh. For example, we may form such Uzbek diminutives as *bolacha* ‘little boy’ < *bola* ‘boy’ and *qizcha* ‘little girl’ < *qiz* ‘girl’ (Ma’rufov 1981 I: 129, II: 572), which is not the case in Kazakh.

4. Turkic *apa*

This word is attested as early as Old Turkic, see Clauson (1972: 43), who, unfortunately, lumps two different words together – in addition, with a few variants each: *aba*, *apa*, *ebe*, *epe* ‘1. ancestor. 2. grandfather. 3. grandmother. 4. father. 5. mother. 6. paternal uncle. 7. paternal aunt. 8. elder brother. 9. elder sister’. *ebe* and *epe* are certainly different words, though *apa* itself has many denotations, e.g. ‘1. mother. 2. elder sister. 3. aunt’, and some more distant, individual meanings (ĖSTJa I: 158–159), but the relationship of *aba* to *apa* is more complicated. In my opinion, *apa* should be distinguished from *aba* ‘father’ (and related meanings, such as ‘paternal uncle’, ‘paternal grandfather’), see ĖSTJa I (54), although in the

4 There is only a small etymological dictionary of Kazakh (İsraqov, Sızdıqova, Sari-bayev 1966), in which these words are not included.

5 The Uzbek impact on the dialect in Shymkent province is obvious, and conversely, Kazakh influence is observable in northern Uzbek dialects.

Kerch dialect of Crimean Tatar *aba* denotes ‘elder sister’, cf. DTat. *aba* ‘1. mother 2. elder sister. 3. form of address to an elder woman’ (Karahan 2011 I: 1).⁶ It is likely that originally *apa* denoted an elder person, both man and woman. The change *apa* > *aba* is the result of lenition, typical of many Turkic languages except for the South-Eastern group, i.e. basically Uzbek and Uighur. Lastly, the Russian comparative lexicological study distinguishes between Trk. *apa* ‘elder sister’ and *apa(y)* ‘mother’ (Tenišev 1997: 311, 301). According to these authors, *apa(y)* ‘mother’, attested in Old Turkic, was characteristic of North-Western Turkic, from which it spread to the adjacent regions, at present being used in Turkmen, Tatar, Bashkir, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uighur, Uzbek, and Chuvash.

In Kazakh, *apa* is used in many meanings. It denotes ‘1. elder sister. 2. aunt. 3. form of address to an elder female relative or an elder woman. 4. form of address to one’s mother or grandmother’ (Syzykova, Xusain 2001: 60).

Naturally, all these words belong to the basic lexicon and any etymological attempt is fruitless, though the underlying formative pattern VCV is clear.

5. The suffix +č̣a

This form covers a few homophonous suffixes, the relation between them is not entirely clear. We will only discuss the denominative suffix that forms nouns.

In Zajączkowski’s view (1932: 35–36), there is a suffix *-ka* (*-ya*) deriving nouns which denote female persons, used with back stems, and which has the variant *-č̣a* after front stems, with a few exceptions. However, he admits that sometimes this suffix (in both variants) also occurs in other Turkic languages, e.g. Karachai *bijč̣ä*, Kaz. *bijsä* ‘queen, lady’. It is obvious that *-ka* (*-ya*) and *-č̣a* are two different suffixes, the former borrowed from Slavic languages, the latter Turkic, but either originally used to designate female nouns or adapted to this meaning from the homophonous diminutive suffix. The West Karaim diminutive suffix is *-č̣a* ~ *-č̣ä* (Zajączkowski 1932: 23–24), and it has parallels in many other Turkic languages.

According to Räsänen (1957: 51), this suffix forms female nouns. Räsänen gives examples from West Karaim, Kaz. *kudaša*, Tat. *qəḍäč̣a*; Chuv. *tâχla(r)ẓ̌ä* ‘female matchmaker’; Chag. *ayač̣a* ‘landlady’. He also presents the diminutive suffix *č̣a*, *č̣ä* (Räsänen 1957: 91), but with the same example *ayač̣a* in addition to a few adjectives

6 Evidenced in my fieldwork materials; the only published evidence for Crimean Tatar comes from Devletov (2002: 6), but in the derived form *abay*.

and one adverb. Therefore, Räsänen does not make clear if we are dealing with one suffix in various functions or at least two different, homophonous suffixes.

Neither the diminutive suffix nor the female suffix +čA is evidenced in Old Turkic, but there is a similar form -(X)č, e.g. *ögüčüm* ‘my mum’, *atačım* ‘my dad’ (Gabain 1950: 59). This suffix is always followed by a possessive suffix, as it is seen from Gabain’s examples and is confirmed by Erdal (1991: 45). Although Gabain also shows a diminutive suffix +ča, +čä, there is no derivative with such a meaning among her examples. Erdal (1991: 44–45) devotes more space to this suffix. He says that all examples from DLT, i.e. *äkäç*, *ataç*, *anaç* denote children behaving like grown ups and all derivatives denote kinship terms.

In modern Crimean Tatar, the suffix +čA derives adjectives and adverbs (Jankowski 2010: 236), but it used to be more productive, e.g. *çipçe* ‘chicken’ (Useinov 2005: 305), also evidenced in place names where both +č and +čA are attested (Jankowski 2006: 1135).

There is no need to discuss the suffix +čA in all Turkic languages, for multiple examples do not shed any new light. However, it is worth showing Tat. +čA, used to form female and feminine nouns, e.g. *biyčä* (буца) ‘wife’ (Zakiev et al. 1993: 287), in addition to the examples already quoted by Räsänen. Another language which must be taken into account is Kazakh and this is because of a clear relationship between CTat. *apçe* and Kaz. *äpše*. In the most comprehensive Kazakh grammar, the suffix +ša, +še; +sa, +se is regarded as forming both diminutive names and new names without any diminutiveness, as *mañdayša* ‘heading’ < *mañday* ‘front’ (Janpeyisov 2002: 300–301). In this way many new terms have been derived. However, it must be noted that this suffix has recently been revived to derive a term signifying women, it is *azamatša* ‘female citizen’ < *azamat* ‘citizen’.⁷

Lastly, we should explain why the suffix +çe appears with a front vowel after a back stem in both CTat. *apçe* and dial. Kaz. *äpše*. It seems that the front variant is preferred in diminutive forms, especially in relation to women. This is also the case in West Karaim and Turkish where we have such forms as *çariçe* ‘Russ. *hist. czarina*’ and *kıralıçe* ‘Sl. queen’ (NRTED: 241, 653), though both words are adapted from Slavic languages. Moreover, the most frequent Kazakh diminutive suffix +eke in most cases does not conform to vowel harmony, e.g. *bayeke* ‘form of address to a rich or noble man’ < *bay* + *eke* (Syzdykova, Xusain 2001: 113), *Aseke* ‘a polite form of address to anybody whose name is Asan or Asqar’, while diminutive back

7 Although in the dictionaries this word is qualified as colloquial or even ironic (Syzdykova, Xusain 2001: 22), it is now used as a term in official documents.

forms on +*qa* are less frequent, e.g. *Muqa* (from any male name in *Mu-*, e.g. *Murat*, *Muratbek*, *Murtaza*, *Musa*, *Musabay*) or *Ĵaqa* (from any male name in *Ĵa-*, e.g. *Ĵaqan*, *Ĵaqşılıq*, *Ĵaqip*), cf. Aqtay, Jankowski (2011: 601).

In conclusion we can say that we do not have evidence of +*pça* in other Turkic languages, though similar formations do exist. This component resembles a suffix, but it is neither a real suffix nor an independent word.

Abbreviations

Chag. – Chaghatai	DTat. – Dobruja Tatar
Chuv. – Chuvash	Kaz. – Kazakh
CTat. – Crimean Tatar	Tat. – Tatar
dial. – dialect, dialectal	Trk. – Turkic
DLT – Dīvān Luġāt at-Turk	Tur. – Turkish

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SOME ETYMOLOGICAL REMARKS ON WORDS *SQUIRREL* AND *SABLE* IN KHAKAS

The paper presents some new etymological notes on the Khakas names of the squirrel and the sable. Because of a taboo character, Khakas has four different designations for ‘squirrel’. One of them *tīn* has a stable Turkic etymology, while the other three forms are of unknown origin. The second Khakas word, *saxīl* ‘squirrel’ is probably a metathetical form of Turkic *salīq* ‘tax’. The third form *tabīrġan* ‘flying squirrel’ was possibly borrowed from Mongolic *tarbayan* ‘marmot’. The last word *sarbox* may be connected with the Mongolic verb *sirba-* ‘to wag the tail’. There is only one form, *albīġa*, with the meaning ‘sable’ in Khakas, which is also possibly borrowed from the Mongolic *alban* ‘tax, impost, tribute’. The etymological analysis confirms the peculiarity and diversity of the Khakas language.

Khakas, Turkic-Mongolic contacts, borrowing, etymology, taboo

I am pleased to offer Professor Marek Stachowski, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, some etymological notes on Khakas words meaning ‘squirrel’ *tīn*, *saxīl*, *tabīrġan*, *sarbox* and ‘sable’ *albīġa*. The choice of this topic was suggested to me by Professor Stachowski’s interest in Khakas and taboo names (Stachowski 1995; 1996).



1. Khakas *tīn* ‘squirrel’ (KhR 224b; Butanaev 1999: 141b)

The first word clearly has a Common Turkic pedigree. The word is present in almost all Modern Turkic languages, with the lexical meaning ‘squirrel, sable, lizard’. It also has an additional meaning of ‘a small coin’, which is explained by the fact that squirrel skins were used as currency in early Russia during the period when coins were scarce (Clauson 1972: 569a). It is interesting that there are two different forms in Old Turkic source Mahmud Kashgari: *teyiñ* is ‘squirrel’, while *tegiñ* is ‘sable’ (Clauson 1972: 569a).

Below, the Siberian Turkic forms are given:

Old Turkic *täyīñ* ‘squirrel’; Yenisey Turkic: Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *tīn* ‘squirrel’ (Radloff 1893–1911 3: 1360); Kyzyl *tīn* ‘squirrel’; Shor *tīñ* ‘squirrel’; Altay Turkic: Altay *tiyiñ* ‘squirrel’; Quu *tiyiñ* ‘squirrel’; Teleut *tīñ* ‘squirrel’ (Radloff 1893–1911 3: 1355); Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *dīñ*; Tofan –; Chulym Turkic *tīñ* ‘squirrel’ (Radloff 1893–1911 3: 1355); Yakut *tīñ* ‘squirrel’ (Pekarskij 1907–1930 10: 2675); Dolgan *tīñ* ‘squirrel’; Siberian Tatar *tīñ* ‘coin’; Fu-yü –; Yellow Uyghur –.

For details on this, all the data on Turkic, etymological background and the semantic change ‘squirrel’ → ‘small coin’ of the Turkic word, see Ščerbak (1961: 142), Doerfer (1963–1975 2: 1013), Clauson (1972: 569a), Rassadin (1971: 173), Severtjan (1980: 180–181) and Stachowski (1993: 61).

2. Khakas *saxil* ‘squirrel’ (Butanaev 1999: 111b)

The second form is lacking in the *Khakas-Russian Dictionary*. The origin of this word is unknown. Among the Turkic languages, it appears only in some Yenisey Turkic and Altay Turkic dialects (Tenišev 2001: 165):

Yenisey Turkic: Sagai, Koibal, Kachin, Kyzyl –; Shor *sagil* ‘chipmunk, ground squirrel’; Altay Turkic: Altay *saqil* ‘squirrel’ (Jaimova 1990: 112); Tuba-kiži *sakil* ‘squirrel’ (Radloff 1893–1911 4: 249); Quu *saqilla-* (< *saqil* + *LA-* [Turkic denominal verb suffix]) ‘to hunt for squirrel’ (Baskakov 1985: 193); Teleut –.

The absence of the word in other Turkic languages suggests its foreign origin. In the *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Jenissej-Sprachen* (see Werner 2002 2: 162) a possible connection with Turkic forms is mentioned: Common Yeniseian **saʔq* ~ **saga*: cf. Assan *šagá* ~ *šaha*, Arin *sava*, Pumpokol *tak*, Ket *saʔq*, Yugh *saʔχ*. In such a case the final *-l* in the Turkic forms is not clear.

The Yeniseian forms look tempting, but more likely the solution to the etymology is to be found in the Quu dialect of Altay Turkic, which has *saliq* ‘a kind of squirrel’ (Baskakov 1985: 194). I assume a metathetical change in the Khakas *saxil* and Altay Turkic *sakil* forms. This change is peculiar to Khakas, e.g. *asxıldım* ‘sour spice for soups’ < **aškiltim* < **akšiltim*, cf. Old Turkic *äkši-* ‘to be sour, acid, tart’ (Stachowski 1995: 147).

Perhaps the Quu word is related to Old Turkic *salığ* ‘form of tax, tax in the Golden Horde’ (Clauson 1972: 826a), which is derived from the verb *sal-* ‘to lay, to put into’¹ and the productive deverbal noun suffix *-(X)G* (for details of this function in the Old Turkic form, see Erdal 1991: 200). Clauson claims that the original form should be *salığ* rather than *saliq* (Clauson 1972: 826a). With the meaning ‘tax’ the word is preserved in the Turki Taranchin dialect as *selik* ‘tax, duty’ (Radloff 1893–1911 4: 359). The word also existed in Middle Turkic: Chagatay *salığ* ~ *saliq* ‘a government assessment imposed on a country for the pay of a mercenary army; a sign of a mark; weapon of a war’; Osman *salıq* ‘news, information; some kind of weapon’ (Clauson 1972: 826a; Radloff 1893–1911 4: 359).² The original Old Turkic meaning ‘tax’ has a connection to the Khakas word ‘squirrel’ as the pelt of the animal was a tax paid to Siberian Russians.

3. Khakas *tabirgan* ‘flying squirrel’ (KhR 212a):

The origin of this Khakas word is unknown. Perhaps it is related to another Khakas animal name, *tabirga*. This is the Sagai dialectal form (KhR 212a), while the Khakas form is *tarbağan* ‘*Marmota sibirica*’ (KhR 218b). The Sagai form probably underwent a metathetical change *tabirga* < *tarbağa*. The possible connection between the animal name ‘marmot, Lat. *Marmota*’ and ‘flying squirrel’ may be explained by the similarity of the animals. Zoologically, both of them belong to the same Sciuridae family. Perhaps because the word’s meaning is surrounded by taboo the semantic change occurred.

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- 1 The verb *sal-* ‘to lay, to put; to hang down’ appears in almost all Turkic languages. Cf. Yenisey Turkic: Khakas, Shor *sal-*; Altay Turkic: Altay, Quu, Tuba-kızı, Teleut *sal-*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan; Tofan *sal-*; Chulym Turkic *sal-*; Yakut, Dolgan –; Siberian Tatar *sal-*; Fu-yü *sal-*; Yellow Uyghur *sal-*. For more Turkic data and etymological background, see Rassadin (1971: 225), Dybo (2003: 173–177).
 - 2 There is the Kirgiz form *salım*, with the lexical meaning ‘tax’ (Judaxin 1965: 629), which is derived from the same verb *sal-* ‘to put’ and the productive deverbal noun suffix *-(X)m* (Dybo 2003: 176).

Besides Khakas, among Turkic languages the word appears in Altay Turkic, Tuvan and Yakut (Ščerbak 1961: 148):

Yenisey Turkic: Sagai, Shor *tabirğa* ‘musk deer’ (Radloff 1893–1911 3: 971); Altay Turkic: Altay *tarbagan* ‘marmot’; Quu *tarbagan* ‘marmot’; Teleut *tarbagan* ‘marmot’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *tarbagan* ‘marmot’; Toju *tarbiğan*; Tofan –; Chulym Turkic –; Yakut *tarbağan* ~ *tārmayan*, cf. *tārmān* ~ *tarbān* ‘marmot; northern raccoon’; Dolgan –; Siberian Tatar –; Fu-yü –; Yellow Uyghur –.

The Turkic forms were borrowed from Mongolic (Kałużyński 1962: 26; Räsänen 1969: 463b; Rassadin 1980: 36, 67; Khabtagaeva 2009: 159). The Common Mongolic word ‘marmot’ appears in almost all Mongolic languages from the Middle Mongolic period (Nugteren 2011: 512):

Middle Mongolic: Pre-classical Mongolian *tarbayan*; “Secret History” *tarbaqan*; Literary Mongolian *tarbayan*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *tarwaga(n)*; Buryat *tarbaga(n)*; Kalmuck *tarwlyn*; Dagur *tarbəy*; Eastern Yugur *tarğwan* ~ *tarḡuan* ~ *taḡarḡan*; Monguor *tōrğa* ~ *tarbuğa* ~ *tarbagà*.

For the Eastern Yugur and Monguor forms the metathetical change *tarwagan* ~ *tarwargan* is also peculiar (Nugteren 2011: 512). Possibly the base of the Mongolic word is **tarba* and the productive Mongolic denominal nomen suffix *+GAn* (Khabtagaeva 2001: 99; 2009: 280), cf. also Literary Mongolian *tarbalji* (< **tarba+ljin* [Mongolic denominal noun, see Poppe 1964 §128]) ‘sparrow hawk; tawny eagle’ (Khabtagaeva 2009: 159). According to Anikin (2000: 535), the root of the Mongolic word may be **tar*, cf. Buryat *tarlai* ‘variegated, colourful; speckled’.

The Mongolic word was also borrowed by the Tungusic languages (Cincius 1979 2: 167b; Rozycki 1994: 203). What is more, the source of borrowing was Mongolic directly for Solon or Yakut for Ewenki and Lamut:

Northern Tungusic: Eastern Ewenki dial. Zeya, Khingan *tarbayā*; Tommot, Uchur *tarbayan* ‘Marmota sibirica’; Solon *tabxa* ~ *tarbaxa* ‘Marmota sibirica; the “tail” of shaman’s belt’; Lamut *tarbaxan* ‘marmot’; Southern Tungusic: Manchu *tarbaki* ~ *tarbahi* ~ *tarbixi* ‘marmot; otter’; Sibe *tarbaga* ~ *tarbagan* ‘marmot’.

In the Siberian Russian dialects, the word *tarbagan* ‘marmot’ possibly has other sources, such as Buryat, Siberian Turkic or Northern Tungusic (for details, see Anikin 2000: 535–536).

4. Khakas *sarba* ‘squirrel’ (KhR 182a; Butanaev 1999: 109a):

Besides the lexical meaning ‘squirrel’, the word also denotes ‘the fabric material, which equals to one squirrel fur’. The etymology of the Khakas word is unknown. The word appears in some Siberian Turkic languages (Ščerbak 1961: 143):

Yenisey Turkic: Sagai, Koibal, Kachin –; Shor –; Altay Turkic: Altay *čirbak* ‘squirrel’; Quu *čirbiq* ‘squirrel’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *sirbik* ‘squirrel’; Tofan –; Chulym Turkic –; Yakut *sārba* ‘sable; marten; bunch of sable pelts’; Dolgan –; Siberian Tatar –; Fu-yü –; Yellow Uyghur –.

Ölmez (2007: 249a) connects the Tuvan word with Yakut *sārba* ‘sable’; subsequently, Räsänen relates it to Samoyedic (for details, see Räsänen 1969: 403a).

I assume that the Turkic forms have a connection with the Common Mongolic verb *sirba-* ‘to wag the tail’ and are derived with the Turkic productive deverbal noun suffix *-(X)K*. This suffix is productive in almost all Siberian Turkic. Usually it derives nouns with resultative meaning or names of tools.³ Due to a taboo associated with the name, the semantic change ‘animal, which wags the tail’ > ‘squirrel’ is possible.

The Mongolic verb *sirba-* ~ *širba-* ‘to wag the tail’ is found in non-archaic Mongolic languages:

Mongolic: Middle Mongolic –; Literary Mongolian *sirba-* ~ *sirbe-* ‘to wag the tail’; Khalkha *šarwa-*; Buryat *šarba-*; Kalmuck *šarwə-* ~ *širwə-*; Khamnigan Mongol –; Dagur –; Eastern Yugur –; Santa, Baoan –.

On the phonetic side, the Mongolic syllable *si-* was adapted as *či-* in Altay and as *sī-* in Tuvan. In the Khakas form either the “breaking *i*” or regressive assimilation⁴

3 E.g. Khakas *čarix* ‘shine’ < *čarī-* ‘to shine’; *kirtik* ‘notch, incision’ < *kirt-* ‘to notch, make an incision’; *pōlik* ‘partition’ < *pōl-* ‘to partition off’; etc. (Baskakov, Inkižekova-Grekul 1953: 404); Altay *bičak* ‘knife’ < *bič-* ‘to cut’; *tarak* ‘comb’ < *tara-* ‘to comb’; etc. (Baskakov 1947: 243); Tuvan *adirik* ‘confluent (of river)’ < *adīr-* ‘to separate’; *čoruk* ‘travel’ < *čoru-* ‘to travel’; *ižik* ‘swelling, tumour’ < *iš-* ‘to swell’, etc. (Isxakov, Pal’m-bax 1961: 153), etc.

4 The “breaking of vowel **i*” in Mongolic languages means the regressive assimilation of the vowel *i* in the initial syllable into the vowel of the following syllable. E.g. Literary Mongolian *miqa* ‘flesh, meat’ > Khalkha *max* id.; Literary Mongolian *jida* ‘spear’ > Khalkha *jad*; Literary Mongolian *čida-* ‘to be able’ > Khalkha *čada-* id., Buryat *šada-* id., etc. (For details, see Poppe 1955: 36–41).

occurred: Mongolic *si-* changed to *sa-*. In most cases the Mongolic *si-* was preserved in Khakas (Rassadin 1980: 40): e.g. Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *sirege* ‘table’ → Khakas *sirē* ‘bench, chair, sofa’; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *sirte-* ‘to follow with one’s eyes, look into, gaze at, stare, watch attentively, observe’ → Khakas *sirtei-* ‘to sit straight, to flirt’; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *sibegčün* ‘maid servant’ → Khakas *sibekči* ~ *simekčün*; etc.

The change *si* > *sī* in Tuvan is not typical in Mongolic loanwords (Khabtagaeva 2009: 74–75). It happened only in one case in Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *siltayan* ‘cause, reason’ → Tuvan *sıldag* id. In Altay Turkic I found more examples, where the Mongolic *si-* changed to *čī-*, e.g. Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čida-* ‘to be able, capable; to be able to overcome or vanquish’ → Altay *čida-* ‘to bear, to be able’; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čirai* ‘face; physiognomy; appearance’ → Altay *čiray* ‘face, appearance’; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čilbuyur* ‘long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle; tether’ → Altay *čilbīr* ‘bridle’; etc. The long vowel in the Yakut form *sārba* is unclear. The change of Mongolic *si-* > *sa-* in Yakut is not regular. The Mongolic syllable is usually preserved in Yakut (Kałużyński 1962: 48–49): e.g. Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *siber* ~ *sibir* ‘dense shrubbery on a marsh; overgrowth on a river bank; hazel grove; dense forest, thicket’ (cf. Khalkha *šawar*) → Yakut *sibar* ~ *šimar* ‘thicket’; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *siqa-* ~ *siya-* ‘to press, squeeze, squash’ (cf. Khalkha *šaxa-*) → Yakut *siğay-* ~ *šiğay-* ‘to knock together; to strengthen’; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *sinala-* ‘to lament, wail, sob, whimper; to regret, repent’ (cf. Khalkha *šanala-*) → Yakut *sinaliy-* ~ *šiñaliy-* ‘to moan, scream’; etc. In the aforementioned Yakut form *sārba* regressive assimilation of the Mongolic vowel **i* happened as in Modern Mongolic.

5. Khakas *albīga* ‘sable’ (KhR 22b):

There is only one designation for the sable in Khakas. This word appears only in South Siberian languages, including Khakas, Shor and Altay Turkic varieties; in other Siberian Turkic languages it is lacking:

Yenisey Turkic: Koibal *albaga* ‘sable’ (Radloff 1893–1911 1: 432), Shor *albīga* ‘sable’; Altay Turkic: Altay *albuga* ‘sable’; Quu *albaga* ‘sable’; Teleut *albağa* ‘hunter’s booty’ (Radloff 1893–1911 1: 432); Sayan Turkic: Tuvan –; Tofan –; Chulym Turkic –; Yakut –; Dolgan –; Siberian Tatar –; Fu-yü –; Yellow Uyghur –.

The etymology of the Turkic word is unknown. According to Räsänen (1969: 16b), the Turkic word consists of two words, *ala* ‘colorful’ and *buga* ‘bull’. Radloff

(1893–1911 1: 432), in his comprehensive dictionary, argues that the Teleut, Shor, Koibal forms were derived from the Turkic verb *al-* ‘to take’. Jaimova (1990: 109), in her monograph on taboo lexicon in Altay Turkic, considers it a compound word, consisting of the Altay Turkic word *al* ‘wild’ and the Mongolic word *bulaya(n)* ‘sable’. In my opinion the Siberian Turkic word may originate from the Mongolic word *alban* ‘official obligation; tax, impost, tribute’ and the Turkic denominal noun suffix *+GAn*, which forms nouns that designate the names of animals (for the details of this function, see Erdal 1991: 85–89). The Mongolic word possibly goes back to the Common Turkic verb *al-* ‘to take; to seize, collect (*a debt*), receive, accept’:

Turkic *albaga* ‘sable’ < *alba(n)+GAn* (Turkic denominal noun suffix forms nouns that designate names of animals and plants) ← Mongolic *alban* ‘compulsion, coercion; official obligation or service; tax, impost, tribute; corvée; public use’:

Mongolic *alban* ‘compulsion, coercion; official obligation or service; tax, impost, tribute; corvée; public use’: Middle Mongolic: Pre-classical Mongolian *alban*; Hua-Yi Yiyu *alban*; ‘Phags-pa *alba*; Literary Mongolian *alban*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *alba(n)*; Khalkha *alban*; Kalmuck *alwa- alwn*; Dagur *alba*; Khamnigan *alba(n)*;

Mongolic *alban* ← Turkic *al-* ‘to take; to seize, collect (*a debt*), receive, accept; to take off (*a cap, saddle, etc.*); to marry’:

Old Turkic *al-*; NES Yenisey Turkic: Khakas; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin; Kyzyl; Shor *al-*; Altay Turkic: Altay; Tuba; Qumanda; Quu; Teleut *al-*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan; To-fan *al-*; Chulym Turkic *al-*; NEN Yakut; Dolgan *il-*; NWN Siberian Tatar *al-*; NWS Kirgiz; Fu-yü; Kazak *al-*; SE Yellow Uyghur *al-*.

From Siberian Turkic, the word also was borrowed into Samoyedic Kamas: *albuya ~ alboya* ‘sable’ (For details, see Joki 1952: 61–62) and Yeniseian Kott *alpaka ~ alpuga ~ alpuka* ‘flying squirrel’ (Werner 2002 1: 27). In Kott⁵ the original meaning ‘sable’ changed to ‘flying squirrel’. The pelt of both animals was used as currency in tax payment to Russians by indigenous people.

5 Timonina (1982: 163), the researcher on Turkic elements in Yeniseian, links the Yeniseian word component **al-* to the religious beliefs of Yeniseian peoples, which can be connected with cults of Sun or Moon. In her opinion, some Kott names of animals as *alčip* ‘dog’, *altūma* ‘bird’, *alt^hax* ‘wild duck’, *alt^hitega* ‘ant’, Arin *ilti* ‘fish’ with the mentioned Kott word *alpaka ~ alpuga ~ alpuka* ‘flying squirrel’ are derived from the same component *al-*, which may connect with religion or taboo world. For details, see Timonina (1982: 165).

6. Conclusion

This paper deals with the names of the squirrel and the sable in Khakas. It seems that, due to its taboo designation, the word for 'squirrel' in Khakas has four different forms. While the first form *tīn* 'squirrel' is obviously of Turkic origin, the other three words under consideration are of unknown origin. According to my etymological analysis, the latter form a mixed picture: *saxīl* 'squirrel' is a metathetical form of the Turkic *salīq* 'tax', *tabirġan* 'flying squirrel' was probably borrowed from the Mongolic *tarbayan* 'marmot', and *sarbax* 'squirrel' is a hybrid word, which derived from the Mongolic verb *sirba-* 'to wag the tail' and the Turkic deverbal noun suffix *-(X)K*. There is only one form, *albīġa*, for the designation 'sable' in Khakas, which is also possibly borrowed from the Mongolic base *alban* 'tax, impost, tribute' and derived with the Turkic denominal noun suffix *+GAn*.

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OTTOMAN EMPIRE – GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA RELATIONS. SEVERAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT OF THE VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Political relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (further – GDL) and the Golden Horde, later with Crimean Khanate, are being investigated well enough. Priorities of the GDL's foreign policy were addressed, on the one side, to the Central Europe, on the other side – to the East Europe. The relationship between Ottoman Empire and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth are being presented much more detail and broadly in the historiography, but too isolated from the political history of the GDL.

Three important manuscript collections were preserved in Vilnius in the inter-war period. One of these collections, which contained documents of the uttermost importance, which witnessed political and diplomatic relations between the Crimea, the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Library of Vilnius University. Another collection of Oriental manuscripts, which belonged to the muf-tiate, was for the most part lost in 1944. The third collection, which consisted of the Karaim museum fund and library, was presented to the state in 1941 by Seraya Shapshal.

Oriental sources – yarlyks of the khans and letters of Turkish border pa-shas, which are stored at the Manuscripts Department of the Library of Vilnius University, were presented in the article of Kiliñç, Miškinienė (2014 = Oriental Materials in the Manuscripts Department of the Library of Vilnius University: Yarlyks of the Khans and Letters of Turkish Border Pashas). Article analyses and

discusses the condition of the documents, as well as their palaeographic qualities, content and possibility of preservation. The *jarlyk* of Kaplan Giray written on the 4th of March 1734 to Jan Klemens Branicki, the Voivode of Krakow, is presented in the above mentioned article.

This paper presents five documents from the Manuscripts Department of the Library of Vilnius University, funds F 3 and F 5. All five documents according to their structure and content could be assigned to the letters. Letters were written from Khotyn or to Khotyn and addressed to Branicki. There were not only sultans, viziers of the Ottoman Empire, commandants and treasurers of Khotyn and Bender between correspondents of Branicki. Crimean khans were correspondents of Branicki as well.

The main purpose of this article is to continue the list of published documents, presenting the transliteration of the texts, the translation to English language and the comments. In this way, coauthors G. Miškinienė and A. KiliŇ, continuing the publication of documents, wants to draw attention to the rather interesting sources, which sheds light on the relations of Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Ottoman Empire, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, documents,
the Library of Vilnius University, Branicki

Introduction

As well as many other historians of the 19th century, Leopold von Ranke thought that history is born together with the state, its main content being the relations between countries (Norkus 2009: 4). In this article we would like to talk about the diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter – GDL) in accordance with Ranke's idea, focusing on a small aspect: several documents related to the bilateral relations of these states. The documents are kept in the Manuscript Department of the Vilnius University Library. Oriental sources – *khan yarlıq*s and letters of border pashas were introduced in a previous article (KiliŇ, Miškinienė 2014). The state of the documents, their palaeographic aspects, content and preservability were discussed in the aforementioned article. The article also featured the *yarlıq* (decree) of Kaplan Giray, issued on the 4th of March, 1734. The goal of this article is to continue the publication of documents, transliterated, translated to English and accompanied by a commentary.

The beginning of GDL – Ottoman Empire relations

The relations between the GDL and the Golden Horde and later on the Crimean Khanate have been thoroughly studied (Sobczak 1984; Banionis 1998; Kołodziejczyk 2011). The priorities of the GDL's foreign policy were directed towards both Central and Eastern Europe. According to Zenonas Norkus:

In the 14th–15th centuries the GDL belonged to two different regional inter-political systems. The first of those systems being the Central European inter-political system, which was a part of the broader European Christian inter-political society. The second one being that of Eastern Europe, dominated by the Golden Horde, merging at the end of the 13th century with the Islamic inter-political society. Up until its Christianisation at the end of the 14th century, the GDL was not a part of any inter-political society. (Norkus 2009: 48)

The bilateral relations of the Ottoman Republic and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are presented in a broader and much more thorough manner, albeit “way too detached from the political history of the GDL” (Čelkis 2011: 3). “In the last year of the GDL's independence (1569) the multi-faceted inter-political system of Eastern Europe was reduced to three players: Moscow, the GDL and the Crimean Khanate, which for a long time (since 1475) had been a vassal of the Turkish Ottoman Empire” (Norkus 2009: 35). In 1475 the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II became the overlord of the Crimean Khanate. That way there arose the problem of the GDL-Ottoman Empire border delimitation. Čelkis in his 2011 article analyses the processes of the delimitation of the borders of the GDL with the Tatars, Moldova and the Ottoman Empire, relying upon different historiographical sources. Grounding his conclusions on the collected materials, the author proves that while it is true that Poland had greater political interests in this region than the GDL, it is baseless and premature to ignore the sources written prior to 1569 which testify to the political interests of the GDL rulers and the Council of Lords in relation to their neighbours. It is known that “in 1503 GDL emissaries discussed the need of agreeing upon the necessity to settle borders with the Tatars”, and in 1532 the Khan of Perekop sent a “yarlıq to the ruler of Poland and the GDL with an explicit order of land partition” (Čelkis 2011: 6). The first territorial contacts of the Ottomans and the GDL became clear in the end of the 15th century, and in 1540–1542 the process of border delimitation between the Ottomans and Poland along with the GDL was implemented (Čelkis 2011: 7). According to the researcher, there were continuous debates about the breaching of borders, and the borders themselves were being corrected and

revised. This way the work of Čelkis raised new problems in the history of the GDL, providing ideas for further research that could reveal the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the GDL.

In the long run the research into the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the GDL is purposeful and justifiable, because the time period between the 15th and the 16th century, as well as the period before the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are not properly presented in either Lithuanian or Turkish historiography. Many documents have survived in the Ottoman Archive, the library of the Topkapi Palace, as well as in Lithuanian archives and libraries. For example, the library of the National Museum of Lithuania stores Ottoman Turkish manuscripts, a total of 35 items (SŠKR 2003). Around 20 sultan *yarlıqs* and letters written by border pashas are stored at the Vilnius University Library.

The documents of the Manuscript Department of the Vilnius University Library

In this section we are going to present five documents from collections F3 (catalogue numbers 4525 and 4526) and F5 (catalogue numbers A25-4517, A25-4522, A25-4524) of the Manuscript Department of the Vilnius University Library. All five documents can be categorised as letters according to structure and content. The letters were sent from or to Khotyn and addressed to Branicki, Hetman and Palatine of Krakow Voivodeship. During the Great Northern War Khotyn became part of the Ottoman Empire that ruled over it for a century. The Polish Hetman and the Ottoman sultans corresponded via Khotyn. This way a valuable archive was accumulated in the Khotyn Fortress. During the Russo-Turkish war the borderland fortress town of Khotyn was four times taken by the Russian army. After each period of occupation the Russian army took the archive with them, because it contained important intelligence information. The documents important to the research of Russo-Turkish and international relations in the 18th century that are stored in Russian archives have not been properly researched or published. The 24 documents of Hetman Branicki are not very well known either and remain unpublished (Vasiljev 2014: 314). Part of the valuable correspondence between Branicki and the commandant of the Khotyn Fortress is kept in the Ethnographic Museum of Rostov (Vasiljev 2014: 315). One of these documents was published in Aleksandr Vasiljev's article (2014). As the author notes, "the correspondence is basically letters discussing economic issues and some aspects of Polish-Ottoman bilateral relations" (Vasiljev 2014: 315). It is not known how these letters ended up

in the possession of the Ethnographic Museum of Rostov. Formerly, it was thought that all Branicki's correspondence was kept in the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg.

The letters in the Manuscript Department of the Vilnius University Library (catalogue numbers A25-4517, A25-4522 or A25-4524) perfectly complement the aforementioned correspondence.

Branicki was in correspondence not only with Ottoman sultans, viziers, Khotyn and Bender commandants and treasurers, but also with Crimean Khans. One of the best examples of Branicki's correspondence with the Crimean Khans is the Hetman's letter of gratitude for the received gift (F3 4525). The content of the letter with the catalogue number F3 4526 is similar to that of letters with the catalogue numbers A25-4522 and A25-4524, where an unknown merchant asks the sultan to return the goods left in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the following, we present to the reader all five of the previously unpublished letters, transliterated and translated.

Catalogue no. A25-4517

The document (1762) is a petition of the Khotyn's treasurer to the Hetman. The measurements of the document are 68.5 × 48 cm; the number of lines is 7. The document A25-4517 contains the following handwritten description: "List Hamza Paszy Chocimskiego do Jo JMci Pana Krakowskiego Hetmana W^oK^o przez umyślnego posłannika odebrany w Warszawie 10 Nowebr 1762."

Content: The treasurer from Khotyn complains to the Hetman about a Jew named Ishak, who had acquired 650 Hungarian forints without paying a tax. Now, instead of the tax the treasurer would wish to reacquire the money.

Transcribed text:

1. rağbetlü ri'âyetlü kōnşu dōstumuz hūtimet 'avākıbuhu bi'l-ḥayr kıbeline
2. dōsluğa lāyık selām-ı selāmet-encām ve peyām-ı meveddet-irtisām ithāf ü ihdā ve ḥāl-i ḥatırı su'āl olunduğdan şöıra dōstāne inhā olunur Ḥotin
3. sākinlerinden tüccār ṭā'ifesinden İshāk nām Yahudinüñ Komosari'de bā-temessük altı yüz elli 'aded Macar altını alacağı olup bundan aқdem taleb eyledikde
4. eda itmeyüp ḥālā zimmetinde olduğunu 'arz-ḥāl ile ṭarafımıza inhā vü ihbār itmekle mesfūruñ bā-temessük miқdārü'l-ma'lūm alacağı taḥşıl ve yerine teslīme dikkat eylemeñüz içün

5. mektûb taḥrîr selâm aġamuz İsmâ'îl aġaya irsâl olundı inşâü'l-mevlâ vuşûlünde gereġince mesfûruñ alacaġı mersûmdan tamâmen taḥşîl ve yerine
6. teslîme dikkat eylemeñiz maṭlûbdur
7. El-muḥâfız-1 Ḥamza
Maḳâm-1 Muḥâfız-1
Ḥotin Ḥotin

Turkish translation:

Raġbetli, saygın komşu dostumuz – Allah sonunu hayır etsin.

Dostluġa uygun selam ve sevgi haberlerinin ulaştırılmasından ve hal hatır sorulmasından sonra dostça bildirilir ki; Hotin’de ikamet eden ve tüccar taifesinden olan İshak isimli Yahudi’nin Komosari’de senetli altı yüz elli adet Macar altını alacaġı olduġu, bundan önce istediġinde verilmediġi ve hala borçluda olduġu dilekçe ile tarafımıza bildirilmiştir. Bahsedilen kişinin senet karşılığı malum miktardaki alacaġının alınıp yerine teslimine dikkat etmeniz için mektup yazılmış ve İsmail Aġaya ulaştırılmıştır. İnşallah mektup elinize ulaştıġında, gereġince alacaklının alacaġını borçludan tahsil edip yerine teslim etmeniz talep edilmektedir.

English translation:

My esteemed neighbour – may God bless you.

After sending you my respect and regards, and asking about your health, I would like to friendly inform you that we have received a petition about a resident of Khotyn named Ishak, a Jewish merchant, who took a loan of 650 Hungarian forints in Komosari, did not return it upon request and is still in debt. A letter asking to observe that the money that had been taken as a loan by the aforementioned person was returned was written to you and passed to Ismail Aga. God willing, when you receive this letter, I ask you to make the debtor return his debt to the lender.

Catalogue no. A25-4522

The document (1762) is a ferman (decree), sent from the Sublime Port and addressed to the Pasha of Khotyn. The document’s measurements are 52.5 × 36.5 cm, it is written on thick white paper, turned yellow with time, and contains watermarks. The number of lines is 10. The following handwritten description is found on the reverse side of the document: “Ferman od Porty do paszy Chocimskiego

Przez umyślnego Posłannika od Paszy Chocimskiego przybyłego do Warszawy 29 Octobris 1762. W sprawie żydów Chocimskich w Grodnie Przemyskim dekree towanych o rozboje”.

Content: A merchant named Ismail turns to the Sublime Port with a complaint that during his visit to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth his money and belongings were taken from him by force, and he was left without a Polish-speaking assistant. Thus he asks for help with finding and recovering his belongings and money, as well as punishing the perpetrators.

Transcribed text:

HÜVE

1. düstür-ı mükerrem müşîr-i mufahham nizâmü'l-‘âlem müdebbir-i umûrû'l-cumhûr bi'l-fikri's-sâkıb mütemmim-i mehâmmi'l-enâm bi'r-re'yi's-şâ'ib müme-hhid-i bünyânü'd-devle ve'l-ikrâm müşeyyid-i erkânü's-sa'âdeti ve'l-iclâl el-mahfûf bi-şunûfi
2. 'avâtîfû'l-meliki'l-a'lâ Hotin muhâfızı vezîrüm paşa edâmallâhu te'âla iclâlehu tevķî'-i refî'-i hümayuna vâşıl olıcaķ ma'lûm ola ki tüccâr tâ'ifesinden İsmâ'il nâm kimesne südde-i
3. sa'âdetüme 'arz-ı hâl idüp mezbûr tüccarın ticâret ile Leh cânibinden gelür iken Lehde Kuraķova (?) demekle ma'rûf maḥallüñ cânibinde bi-ğayri ḥaķķın on altı kise aķçalık emti'a ve eşyasını
4. aḥz ve ķabz eylediğinden mâ'adâ Lehlü lisânını bilür ḥızmetķarını ğâyib idüp bunu daḥı ḥabs ve bir takrîb ile ḥalâş ve mağdûr olduğın bildirüp ol bâbda istid'â-yı 'atâsın
5. dîvân-ı hümayûnumda maḥfûz 'ahdnâme-i humâyûna mürâca'at olunaraķdan ğaşb olunan eşyâ buldırulup şâḥibine red oluna ve bu ḥuşuş ihmâl ve musâmaḥa idenlerüñ 'azille mi yoḥsa
6. ķatille mi şer'an sezâları olan cezâları virile ve bu şürûṭa muşâlaḥa bi'l-cümle Lehlü tarafından daḥı kezâlık kemâl-i taķayyüd ve ihtimâm ile ri'âyet olunup bir ferd ḥilâfına cesâret eylemeye diyu
7. meştûr ve muķayyed olunmaķdan ba'de'l-muğâyire 'ahdnâme-i humâyûn-ı meşrû'ı mevâcibince görilüp zâhir olan ḥaķķı her ne ise alivirilmek emrüm olmuşdur buyuruldıķı
8. vuşûl bulduķda bu bâbda şâdir olan emrüm üste 'amel daḥı sen ki vezîr-i müşârûn ileyhsin 'ahd-nâme-i hümayun-ı meşru'ı mûcibince ḥuşuş-ı mezbûrla ḥudûdunda vâķı' ceneral ile bi'l-muḥâbere

9. görölüp təcir merķūmuñ ğaşb olunan emti‘a ve eşyāsı ve ğā’ib olan hıżmetķarı buldırılup şāhibine red ü teslim ve alıverilmesine ihtimām ü diķķat eyleyüp mazmūn-ı emr-i şerīfümle
10. ‘āmil olasız şöyle böyle şer‘-i rāsin-i şerīfe i‘timād kılasız muħarremü’l-ħarām sene sitte ve seb‘in ve mietü ve elf (1176) (Temmuz 1762)

İstanbul

El-maħrūs

Şüretün menķūnetün ‘an ašlihā bilā taġyīr velā tebdil nemeķahu el-fakīr ileyhi celle šānuhu te‘ālā Kilisi Mehemed el-ķađı ħilāfeh bi-maħrūseti Hotin
‘ufiye ‘anhu
Mehemed

Turkish translation:

Yüce yol gösterici, dünyanın düzeni, halkın işlerini idare eden, etkili fikirlerle halkın önemli işlerini tamamlayan, isabetli görüşlerle devlet ve cömertlik binasını düzelter, mutluluk ve büyüklük temellerini sağlamlaştıran, yüce hükümdarın lütufları ile kuşatılmış sadrazam Hotin muhafızı vezirim paşa – Allah büyüklüğünü devam ettirsin.

Padişah tuğrasını taşıyan ferman tarafınıza ulaştığında bilinsin ki tüccar takımından İsmail isimli kimse mutluluk kapıma halini bildirip, Leh tarafından gelirken Leh’de Kurakova olarak bilinen yerde haksız olarak on altı kese akça değerinde mal ve eşyasının alındığını ve alıkonulduğunu bunun dışında Lehli dilini bilen hizmetkârının da yok edildiğini, kendisinin de hapsedildiğini ve bir vesile ile kurtulduğunu ve mağdur olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Bu meselede divan-ı hümayunumda muhafaza edilen hükümdar fermanına müracaat edilerek gasp edilen eşyasının buldurulup sahibine iade edilmesi talep edilmektedir. Bu hususta ihmal gösterenlere ve göz yumanlara görevden alınma veya öldürülme cezalarından şeriat bakımından uygun olanı verilsin. Bu şartlara Lehli tarafından dahi tam bir bağlılık ve özen ile uyulup bir kişi bile buna aykırı davranmaya cesaret etmesin diye yazılmış meşru hükümdar fermanı gereğince görölüp belli olan hakkı ne ise alınması emrim olmuştur buyrulduğu elinize ulaştığında bu konuda ortaya çıkan emrim doğrultusunda davranılsın. Sen ki adı geçen vezirsin meşru padişah fermanı gereğince bahsedilen konuda sınırdaki bulunan general ile haberleşerek adı geçen tüccarın gasp edilen mal ve eşyasını ve kayıp olan hizmetkârını buldurup sahibine iade ve teslim etmeye özen ve dikkat gösterip şerefli emrimin anlamı doğrultusunda hareket edesiniz.

English translation:

Oh mighty and rightful sadrazam vizier pasha of Khotyn, graced by the Lord, who tends to the needs of his folk and helps them with his influential thoughts, who with his wise views upholds the institutions of state and largesse and strengthens the foundation of happiness and greatness, may God bless you.

Upon receiving the ferman bearing the Padishah's stamp you should know that a certain merchant named Ismail came to my door and told me that on his journey from Poland in a place called Krakow he was lawlessly robbed of his goods and belongings worth 800,000 akçe; he also lost his Polish speaking servant, after which he was imprisoned and ran away when opportunity came. Relying on the ruler's ferman kept in our Sublime Port, we are asking to find the extorted goods and return them to the owner. Those, who are careless in this matter and turn a blind eye to the crime should be stripped of their authority or sentenced to death according to Sharia law.

Upon receiving the lawful ferman of our Padishah, issued for no person to disobey, including the Poles, in order to return the belongings to their lawful owner, I request you to get in touch with the border general about the terms of the lawful ferman of our Padishah, find and retrieve the expropriated belongings and the lost servant, and return them to the aforementioned merchant. I expect this honourable request to be fulfilled with care and precision.

Catalogue no. A25-4524

This is a letter (1762) of Pasha of Khotyn Hamza to the Hetman of Krakow. The measurements are 75 × 47.5 cm and the document is written on thick white paper with water marks, as in the case of document A25-4522. The number of lines is 10. The text is written in black ink and decorated with gold leaf. On the reverse side of the document the following description is written in brown ink: "List Hamza Paszy Chocinskiego do Jo Jkm. Pana Krakowskiego Hetmana WK przez umyślnego Posłannika odebrany w Warszawie 09 Octobria 1762. W sprawie Kupca Ismaila o zabor w Krakowie".

Content: Identical to the document with the catalogue no. A25-4522: the Khotyn Pasha writes to the Hetman of Krakow Branicki about the incident that happened to Ismail the merchant during his time in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Pasha forwards the request of the merchant to the Sublime Port in Istanbul.

Transcribed text:

1. Haşmetlü ri'âyetlü rağbetlü koñşu dostumuz Baş haţmân Braniski Voyvoda Krokovski hutimet 'avākıbuhi bi'l-hayr kıblına her
2. döstlğa lâıyık ve meveddete muvâfık selâm-ı selâmet-encâm ve peyâm-ı meveddet irtisâm ithâf ü ihdâ ve hâl-i hâtırları su'allardan şoñra döstâne inhâ olunur ki
3. tüccâr tâ'ifesinden İsmâ'îl nâm kimsne divân-ı hümayûna 'arz-ı hâl idüp merķûm tüccar Leh cânibinden gelür iken Lehde vâķi' Kuraķova (?) demekle ma'rûf
4. maħallüñ cânibinde bi-ğayr-ı haķķın on altı kiselik emti'a ve eşyâsını aħz ve kabz eylediginden ma'adâ Lehlü lisânını bilür bir nefer-i hıdmetkârını gâ'ib
5. idüp merķûm tüccârı daķı ħabs ve bir taķrīb ile ħalâş olduğundan inhâ ve iştikâsına binâen dīvân-ı hümayûnda maħfûz 'ahd-nâme-i hümayûna müracâ'at olunduğdan ħaşb
6. olunan eşyâ buldırılıp şâhibine red olına ve bu ħuşuşda ihmâl ve müsâmaħa idenleriñ 'azlle mi yoħsa katlle mi şer'an sezâları olan cezâları virile diyu bu şürûta muşâlaħa
7. bi'l-cümle Lehlü tarafından daķı kezâlik kemâl-i taķayyüd ve ihtimâm ve şürûţ-ı 'ahd-nâme-i hümayûn 'amel ve ħareket ve icrâ olunmaķ babında 'avâtıf-ı 'aliye-i ħüsrev-âne ve 'avârif-i seniyye-i ħazret-i pâdişâhiden
8. tarafımıza ħiţâben şâdir olan ferman-ı 'âlî-şânüñ mezâmin-i 'aliyesi manzûr ve ma'lûmuñuz olduğda tüccar-ı merķûmuñ emvâl ve eşyâsı ber-mücib-i defter ħârice iħrâca ve aşķâbına red ü teslîm
9. ve geregi gibi icrâ itmeñiz içün mektûb-ı döstî taħrîr olındı inşâü'l-mevlâ vuşûlünde tüccar-ı merķûmuñ ber-mücib-i defter eşyâları red ü teslîm geregi gibi icrâ olunması melħûzdur
10. El-maķâm-ı Ĥamza
Ĥotinü'l- Muħâfız-ı
Maħrûse Ĥotin

Turkish translation:

Haşmetli, saygın, itibarlı komşu dostumuz Baş Hatman Braniski Voyvoda Krakovski – Allah sonunu hayır etsin,

Her dostluğa layık ve sevgiye uygun selam ve sevgi haberlerinin ifadesinden ve hal hatır sorulmasından sonra dostça bildirilir ki;

Tüccar takımından İsmail isimli kimse divan-ı hümayuna halini bildirip, Leh tarafından gelirken Leh’de Kurakova olarak bilinen yerde haksız olarak on altı kese akça değerinde mal ve eşyasının alındığını ve alıkonulduğunu bunun dışında Lehli dilini bilen hizmetkarının da yok edildiğini, kendisinin de haps edildiğini ve bir vesile ile kurtulduğunu bildirip şikayet etmesine dayanılarak divan-ı hümayunda muhafaza edilen hükümdar fermanına müracaat olunarak gasp edilen eşyanın buldurulup sahibine iade edilmesi talep edilmektedir.

Bu hususta ihmal gösterenlere ve göz yumanlara görevden alınma veya öldürülme cezalarından şeriat bakımından uygun olanı verilsin. Bu şartlara Lehli tarafından dahi tam bir bağlılık ve özen ile uyulup hükümdar fermanının şartları doğrultusunda amel ve hareket edilmesi ve uygulanması konusunda hazreti padişahтан tarafımıza hitaben yazılmış olan yüce fermanın üstün manasından haberdar olduğunuzda ismi geçen tüccarın mallarının ve eşyasının deftere göre dışarıya çıkarılması ve sahiplerine iade ve teslim edilmesi ve gereği gibi icrada bulunulması için bu dostane mektup yazıldı. Allah’ın izni ile elinize ulaştığında adı geçen tüccarın eşyalarının deftere göre iade ve tesliminin gereği gibi icra edilmesi beklenmektedir.

English translation:

Our majestic, respected and influential neighbour and friend Grand Hetman Branicki, Voivode of Krakow, may God grant you a long life,

After sending my regards and respect, and asking about your health, I wish to inform you cordially that a merchant named Ismail addressed the Sublime Port about how, on his way back from Poland near the city of Krakow he was robbed of goods and belongings worth 800,000 akçe, and was left without his Polish-speaking servant, was then imprisoned and escaped when the opportunity came, and the Sublime Port, relying upon the ruler’s ferman, requested to return the expropriated belongings to their owner.

Anyone ignoring this matter or closing their eyes upon the crime must be stripped of their authority or sentenced to death according to Sharia law. This cordial letter has been written to you in request to retrieve and return to the aforementioned merchant his expropriated goods and belongings according to the ferman of our mighty ruler, which should not be disobeyed by anyone, including the Poles, that has been received by us. It is awaited that you will retrieve and return the belongings of the aforementioned merchant, once you, God willing, receive this letter.

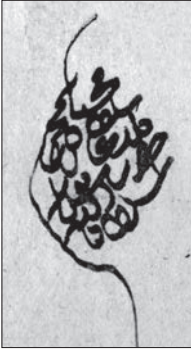
Catalogue no. A25-4525

This is an undated letter of gratitude for a received gift. It is written on white paper of medium thickness that has turned yellow with time, with the “Three Crescents” watermark. The document’s measurements are 31.5 × 22 cm, and the number of lines is 6. The text is written in black ink.

Content: The letter was written by the Hetman during his time in the Crimean Khanate as a gesture of gratitude for the Khan’s gifts that gave him much pleasure.

Transcribed text:

HÜVE



1. sa‘âdetlü meveddetlü şevketlü hân ‘ālî-şân efendümüzün şadâkatlü dōstları Hattmân hâzretlerünün
2. huzûrlarına selâmlar olup hâtırları su‘âl olunduğı siyâhına münhâ-yı muhibbânumuz oldur ki
3. şevketlü veliyyü’n-ni‘âm hân efendümüze gönderdüğü armağanunuz ve bu muhlişlerine gönderdüğü armağanınız da
4. adamınız yediyle Biyalistok’da gelüp vüsûl buldı ziyâdesiyle maḥzûz ve mesrûr olduk
5. Allah ‘aẓîmü’ş-şân hayırlar müyesser eyleye bâkî rif‘at yâr

Turkish translation:

Mutlu, sevgili, yüce, çok değerli han efendimizin sadık dostları Hatman hazretlerine selamlar olup hatırları sorulduktan sonra dostlarımızı göndermemizin sebebi şudur ki; yüce nimet sahibi han efendimize ve ben sadık dostunuza gönderdiğiniz armağanınız adamınız eliyle Biyalistok’ta gelip bize ulaştı. Fazlasıyla memnun kaldık ve mutlu olduk. Şanı yüce Allah size iyilikler nasip etsin.

English translation:

After sending my best regards, to the blessed, beloved, mighty and respected Khan and asking about your health, I, your loyal friend the Hetman, wish to announce to the blessed Khan efendi that your men bearing gifts to your loyal friend have reached us in Bialystok. I am more than pleased and happy. May the almighty God bless you.

Catalogue no. A25-4526

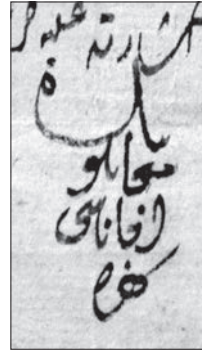
This is an undated petition letter written on white paper, turned yellow with time, with fragments of watermarks. The measurements are 33 × 22.3 cm, and the number of lines is 11.

Content: A merchant is sending a petition to the sultan, in which he complains about being a guest at the house of haseki (sultan's courtier) Husein Aga, and about his deteriorating material wealth. Due to this he asks about the possibility of getting back his goods left in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Transcribed text:

HÜVE

1. devletlü 'ināyetlü merḥametlü efendüm sulṭānum ḥazretleri sağ olun
2. arzuhāl kulları üç aydan berü Hāşeki Hüseyn Ağa kullarınıñ ḥānesinde misāfir olup
3. ğarībü'd-diyār olduğum ḥasebiyle başuma güne güne kaẓa gelüp el-yevm ḥarclığa kemāl-i müzāyakam
4. olduğundan başka bundan böyle keyfiyyetüm ne güne olacağı ma'lüm olmayup yine keyfiyyetüm efendüme ma'lümdür
5. Leh cānibinde kalan eşyām için nāzır kuluñuzu irsāl buyurduñız bir mefhūmı zühür eyledi
6. bu kulları tahayyürde kalup efendümün ḳapusundan ğayrı ilticā idecek yirüm olmayup ḥālüm
7. perişān olduğundan nāşī tekrāren efendüme 'arzuḥāle cesāret olundu devletlü 'ināyetlü efendüm sulṭānum
8. ḥazretlerinün elṭāf-ı keremlerinden mercūd ki bu ğarībü'd-diyār mağdür kullarınıñ ḥāline merḥamet buyurup
9. Leh cānibinden eşyāmuñ aḥz olunacağı mümkün midür degüldür bu kullarına işāret-i 'aliyyeleri
10. kerem buyurulmak bābında emr ü fermān devletlü efendüm sulṭān ḥazretlerinündür



Turkish translation:

Nimet ve mutluluğa ermiş, lütuf sahibi, merhametli efendim sultanım hazretleri siz sağ olun. Ben kulunuz üç aydan beri Haseki Hüseyn Ağa kulunuzun

evinde misafirim. Memleketin yabancısı olmam sebebiyle başıma türlü türlü kazalar geldi. Bugün para bakımından son derece sıkışmış durumdayım. Bundan böyle durumumun ne şekilde olacağı da bilinmemektedir. Durumum yine efendim tarafından bilinmektedir. Leh tarafında kalan eşyam için bakan kulunuzu gönderdiniz, bir manayı açık etti ki bu kulunuz şaşkın kalıp efendimin kapısından başka sığınacak yerim kalmadığından ve halim perişan olduğundan efendime tekrar dilekçe yazmaya cesaret ettim.

Nimet ve mutluluğa ermiş, lütuf sahibi, merhametli efendim sultanım hazretlerinin cömert lütufları umulmaktadır ki memleketin yabancısı olan bu mağdur kullarının haline merhamet edip Leh tarafında kalan eşyaman alınmasının mümkün olup olmadığına yüce işaretleri ile iyilikte bulunmak konusunda emir ve ferman nimet ve mutluluğa ermiş efendim sultan hazretlerindir.

English translation:

May your merciful highness the Sultan, blessed by God, be healthy. I, your loyal servant, am a guest in the house of your other servant, Haseki Huseyin Aga. I was a stranger in that land, and this is the reason for many of my mishaps. Today my financial state is very much deplorable. It is hard to tell whether it will change. My lord knows about my situation. You have sent your servant to retrieve my belongings from the Polish land but with no result, thus, having no one to ask for help except my lord and being in this miserable state I plucked up my courage to address you one more time.

All my hopes are that his merciful and kind highness the Sultan, blessed by God, shows mercy to his loyal servant that fell victim in a strange land, and his blessed highness the Sultan issues an order and a ferman that would make possible the retrieval of my belongings left in the land of Poland.

In this article we reviewed only five of the twelve documents kept in the Manuscript Department of the Vilnius University Library, which could be classified as letters. The *yarlıq* of Khan Selamet Giray (1767) has been published by Władysław Zimnicki (1934). Two letters from the Ottoman emissary Ali Aga to Hetman Branicki (1756) and the *yarlıq* of Kaplan Giray (1734) were published in an earlier article by Kılınç and Miškinienė (2014). There is no doubt that this correspondence, published for the first time, is a rather interesting source that sheds light on the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The authors plan on continuing the publication of documents.

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Kiss Jenő

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ZU EINIGEN STRITTIGEN FRAGEN DER HISTORISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT

The paper discusses some problems concerning the theory of linguistic change. It focuses on three interdependent issues: a) language and its user, b) language and its use, c) linguistic change und human conduct. Through a series of linked transmission, the law of homeostasis prevails in the human activity of language use as well. And given that linguistic change comes into being in the course of humans' linguistic activity, that is, in language use, the author argues that homeostasis can be seen as a general mechanism indirectly governing language change.

language user, language use, language change, homeostasis

Die historische Sprachwissenschaft kann auf beachtenswerte und beeindruckende Ergebnisse im Laufe einer großen Vergangenheit zurückblicken. Das beweisen die lange Reihe historischer Grammatiken, etymologischer Wörterbücher und sprachgeschichtlicher Monographien, Dutzende von Periodika und Zehntausende von Studien. Mit der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft tauchen aber immer neue Fragen auf und melden sich auch neue Aufgaben. Es wäre also ein Irrtum zu glauben, dass es in der historischen Sprachwissenschaft nichts zu tun gibt. Es ist bekannt, dass die zentrale Erscheinung der sprachgeschichtlichen Forschungen der Sprachwandel ist. Und gerade von der Untersuchung des Sprachwandels kann gesagt werden, dass wir bei gewissen wichtigen Fragen nicht klar sehen. Deshalb hat ein deutscher Sprachwissenschaftler mit vollem Recht einem seiner Vorträge folgende Frage als Titel gegeben: „Verstehen wir den Sprachwandel richtig?“ (Cherubim 2012: 29–49). Aber das Geheimnis liegt in erster Linie doch

in der Sprache selbst, worauf ein Buchtitel hinweist: *Das Wunder der Sprache* (Porzig 1950).

Im Weiteren ist kurz von einigen Fragen im Zusammenhang mit dem Sprachwandel die Rede.

1. Es ist ein Axiom, dass sich die Sprache an und für sich nicht verändert. Ein Axiom ist auch, dass sich die Sprachen nur dann ändern, wenn die Menschen sie benutzen. Daraus ergibt sich jedoch eine methodologische Folgerung: Eine wirkliche Untersuchung der Gründe für den Sprachwandel setzt auch die Untersuchung des Sprachgebrauchs voraus. Anders gesagt, der Sprachwissenschaftler muss die Sprache auch in ihrem Lebensmedium untersuchen. Denn die Sprache ist kein selbstständig lebender Organismus: wirken kann sie nur in einer menschlichen Umgebung, in der Wechselwirkung mit der menschlichen Gemeinschaft. In Kenntnis dessen kann aber natürlich bei der Untersuchung der Gründe des Sprachwandels das außerhalb der Sprache befindliche Medium, das Einfluss auf den Sprachgebrauch hat, die Umgebung, nicht fehlen. Das ist keine heutige Erkenntnis. Cherubim (2012: 31) schreibt: „der Wandel von Sprachen ist weder eine bloße Akzidenz ihrer Systematik, noch eine pathologische Abweichung ihres Funktionierens, sondern ein konstitutives Moment, das ihren sinnvollen Gebrauch fortlaufend gewährleistet“.

Im Sinne dessen stellt sich die Frage: Ist hinter dem Sprachwandel ein allgemeiner Faktor anzunehmen, der Einfluss auf ihn nimmt? Gehen wir davon aus, dass die Grundursache des Sprachwandels als Prozess, ihr „Zündfunken“, in der sprachlichen Tätigkeit der Menschen zu suchen ist, d. h. im Sprachgebrauch. Die menschliche Tätigkeit ist soziozentrisch und zweck- bzw. themenorientiert. Auch vom Sprachgebrauch wissen wir, dass er nicht teleologisch, zielprinzipiell, ein auf irgendein gegebenes Ziel zulaufender Prozess ist, sondern eine den jeweiligen Umständen entsprechend zweckorientierte Tätigkeit. Und wenn wir das soziolinguistische Axiom akzeptieren, dass der Sprachgebrauch ein Teil der gesellschaftlichen Tätigkeit der Menschen ist, folgt daraus auch, dass wir die Grundursachen des Sprachwandels als Prozess zweckmäßigerweise in außersprachlichen Faktoren suchen müssen, welche die sprachliche Tätigkeit der die Sprache benutzenden Menschen indirekt beeinflussen, selbst wenn diese Faktoren nicht unmittelbar, sondern meist mittels mehrfacher Übertragung Einfluss auf den Menschen und über den Menschen auf den Sprachgebrauch nehmen. Die besagten außersprachlichen Faktoren bereiten die Modifizierung des Sprachsystems meist nur langfristig vor oder erzwingen sie. Aber gibt es einen allgemeinen Mechanismus,

der als Erklärung dienen kann? Anscheinend gibt es ihn. Es ist ein für die gesamte lebende Welt charakteristisches biologisches Gesetz, das allgemeine Gesetz der Anpassung. Der den genannten allgemeinen Prozess lenkende Faktor ist der (vor allem aus der Biologie wohlbekannte) Mechanismus, der die innere Selbstregulierung lenkt, die Homöostase. Es ist das Gesetz der erneuerten Bewahrung, der bewahrenden Erneuerung, genauer das Gesetz, das den ständigen Prozess der Garantierung elastischer Stabilität im Gleichgewicht hält. Ein lenkender Faktor des Sprachgebrauchs ist zweifellos die Anpassung an den Partner, die Adaption. Bekannt ist auch, dass ein wichtiges Charakteristikum unseres gesellschaftlichen Handelns die adaptive Dynamik ist. Und da – es sei wiederholt – unsere sprachliche Tätigkeit ein Teil unseres gesellschaftlichen Handelns ist, charakterisiert natürlich die adaptive Dynamik auch den Sprachgebrauch.

Der Selbsterhaltungstrieb ist biologisch kodiert. Bekanntlich ist die Kommunikationswirksamkeit eine Voraussetzung gesellschaftlichen Seins. Deshalb ist das allgemeinste Gesetz des sprachlichen Verhaltens des Menschen das triebhafte Streben nach Verkehrswirksamkeit, nach Garantie des Erfolges der Kommunikation. Dies ist der gegenseitige Zwang des gegenseitigen Verstehens und Verstandenwerdens (vgl. die Theorie der Kommunikationsanpassung). Die Kommunikationswirksamkeit ist aber nicht nur die Voraussetzung des gesellschaftlichen, sondern *mutatis mutandis* auch des biologischen Seins höherer Ordnung. Ähnliche Beobachtungen sind auch in den Bereichen der Ethologie, Biologie und Kybernetik bekannt. Nach Ansicht mehrerer Forscher haben die in den Lebewesen und der Technik ablaufenden Regelprozesse gemeinsame Züge. Nun ist der Mensch ein gleichzeitig natürliches und gesellschaftliches, zugleich auch an die Sprache gebundenes Wesen. Daraus folgt, dass auch der Mensch unter dem Gesetz des die Erhaltung des Zustandes inneren Gleichgewichts bezweckenden, in Rede stehenden Mechanismus lebt (Kiss 2013: 9).

2. W. Labov hat also begründet eine Feststellung methodologischen Ranges in einer frühen Studie über den Mechanismus des Sprachwandels getätigt, als er klar machte, dass die inneren Zusammenhänge des Sprachsystems und die soziolinguistische Determiniertheit des Sprachgebrauchs sich systematisch miteinander verbinden. Wenn das so ist und die Gegliedertheit des Sprachgebrauchs und die Gliederung der Gesellschaft miteinander zusammenhängen, wäre es ein schwerer Fehler, bei der Erforschung des Sprachwandels die besagte Verknüpfung beider zu vergessen. Dementsprechend untersuchen die nach den Gründen des Sprachwandels Forschenden nicht nur die Sprachstruktur, sondern auch den Sprachgebrauch.

Und sie achten natürlich auch auf das den Sprachgebrauch am Leben haltende gesellschaftliche Medium, einerseits also auf die gesellschaftlichen Kommunikationsbeziehungen (auf die soziokulturelle Umgebung), andererseits auch auf die gesellschaftlichen Prozesse (auf die wirtschaftliche, politische und wissenschaftlich-technische Umgebung).

3. Bei der Untersuchung der Sprachveränderung ist eine grundsätzlich wichtige Frage, wie man zum Verständnis der Beziehungsweise des inneren – sprachinternen – Bedingungssystems des Sprachwandels zum äußeren Faktorensystem gelangt (Herman 2001: 402). Ich verweise darauf, was Martinet formuliert hat (gegenüber seiner frühen strukturalistischen Übertreibungen und seiner Einseitigkeit), dass in der Erforschung des Sprachwandels die „anatomische“ (lies: systematische) Analyse durch die „physiologische“ (also auch die Untersuchung der mit der Sprachtätigkeit zusammenhängenden Faktoren) Analyse ergänzt werden muss (Martinet 1984: 160). Gadamer moniert in seiner auf Heidegger gestützten Kritik die Interpretation der Sprache als bloßes Mittel. Die funktionelle kognitive sprachwissenschaftliche Interpretation und auch die philosophische Hermeneutik bestätigen jene soziolinguistische Lehre, dass die linguistische Interpretation der Sprachlichkeit das – auch aus der Sicht des Sprachwandels – grundsätzlich wichtige Faktum der Doppelbeziehung der Sprach(nutzung), der strukturellen und biopsychosozialen Eingebettetheit enthalten muss. Seit der pragmatischen Wende der Sprachwissenschaft sind in den sprachgeschichtlichen Forschungen darauf beruhende neue Initiativen und Teildisziplinen entstanden (Historische Pragmatik, Historische Soziolinguistik, Soziopragmatische Sprachgeschichte, Europäische Sprachgeschichte, Diskursgeschichte). Dies bestärkt auch der kognitive bzw. der hermeneutische Gesichtspunkt, da beide Gesichtspunkte gegenüber der Chomskyanischen Auffassung die Sprache im Zusammenhangssystem der allgemeinen menschlichen Kenntnisaufnahme sehen und sehen lassen und keine scharfe Grenzlinie zwischen dem menschlichen Wissen und dem Wissen von der Welt ziehen.

4. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Sprachwandel nennt die Fachliteratur wiederholt zwei Haupterscheinungskreise. Einerseits das Streben nach Verständnis, d. h. die Anpassung im Interesse des Kommunikationserfolges. Andererseits die Optimierung des Ausdruckes, also das Streben nach Wirtschaftlichkeit. Das erste, die Anpassung, ist die von der Arterhaltung diktierte natürliche Strategie, die (wie ich auch sagen könnte) kodierte Evolutions-, biologische Wurzeln hat und

als solche nicht aus dem Sprachsystem folgt. Aber eigentlich auch das andere nicht, das Streben nach Optimalisierung. Die Optimalisierung ist ein allgemeines Leitprinzip menschlichen Handelns, das sowohl die gesellschaftliche Tätigkeit des Menschen als auch den Sprachgebrauch beeinflusst! Die den Sprachgebrauch allgemein beeinflussenden besagten beiden Faktoren sind als Teile des genetisch und gesellschaftlich kodierten (meist nicht bewussten) sozialen Verhaltens des Homo sapiens zu verstehen, die der Arterhaltung mit dem Streben zur Beibehaltung der Kommunikationsverfahrensweise, zu ihrer erfolgreichen Betätigung helfen (Lüdtke 1979: 249). Nach Lüdtke kommen die Sprachveränderungen deshalb zustande, weil die Sprecher bzw. Sprechergruppen bei ihren verbalen Interaktionen mit anderen Sprechern bzw. Sprechergruppen wegen ihrer teilweise unterschiedlichen Sprachkompetenzen (ihres Sprachwissens) zur Sicherung des Verstehens meist spontan Optimierungsstrategien verfolgen. Den ständigen Zwang zur Anpassung in der Kommunikation verlangt der Wunsch nach, der praktische Befehl auf Zusammenwirken. Aufgrund des Prinzips des Zusammenwirkens aktivieren die Sprecher ihr Sprachwissen, wobei sie gleichzeitig das stabilisieren, was in ihrem Sprachgebrauch gemeinsam ist, andererseits aber mit Rücksicht auf die vorhandenen Unterschiede ihr eigenes Sprachwissen und ihre Praxis modifizieren. Der Sprachwandel ist demnach also das ungewollte, nicht bewusste Produkt aus dem gemeinsamen Streben nach Wahlfreiheit und Optimalisierung der Sprachtätigkeit. Die Hauptrolle spielt der Sprecher, der die Sprache verwendende Mensch: Er wählt den Kode und die Stilregister, er wählt unter den zu seiner Verfügung stehenden Kodevarianten aus. Doch ist seine Hand auch gebunden, denn nur das und nur so kann er es zum Ausdruck bringen, was und wie es sein eigener Kode (also sein eigenes Sprachwissen) ermöglicht (Lüdtke 1979: 27; s. noch: Chambers 2002; Herrgen 2006).

5. Ändert sich die Komplexität der Sprachen? Es ist eine weitverbreitete Ansicht, dass

1. jede Sprache im strukturellen Sinne gleich komplex, vielseitig, vielschichtig und kompliziert ist: Dies ist die These der gleichen Zusammengesetztheit, der Äquikomplexität.

Dazu gehört, dass

2. die Zusammengesetztheit der Sprachen sich nicht ändert (sie also nicht einfacher und auch nicht komplizierter wird).

Der davon abweichenden Ansicht nach ist dagegen einerseits nicht jede Sprache gleich komplex und andererseits die Sprachkomplexität historisch variabel. Denn beispielsweise haben die Pidgin- und kreolischen Sprachen ein sehr fragmentarisches Flexionssystem, und im Sinne des Axioms der Äquikomplexität müssten sie eine überdurchschnittlich höhere systaktische Komplexität besitzen, was aber nicht der Fall ist. Die Sprachen mit der kleinsten Komplexität sind nach den besagten Untersuchungen die kreolischen Sprachen, und die kleinere Komplexität ist nach McWhorter (2011) die Folge einer Sekundärsprachenaneignung in der Vergangenheit. Im Zusammenhang mit der Sprachkomplexität ist es sinnvoll, auf die soziolinguistischen (kontaktologischen, kreolistischen) Forschungserfahrungen zu verweisen, die sich so zusammenfassen lassen:

1. Im Hintergrund der Vereinfachung stehen die wachsende Mobilität und aus ihr resultierende Mehrsprachigkeit und weiter die Verbreiterung der früher engen und geschlossenen Kommunikationsräume sowie die losen und seltenen Gemeinschaftsbeziehungsgeflechte.
2. Im Hintergrund der Komplizierterwerdung stehen die Sprach- bzw. Sprecher-gemeinschaftsisoliertheit und aus ihr resultierende Einsprachigkeit, weiterhin der enge Kommunikationsraum sowie die dichten und engen Gemeinschaftsbeziehungsgeflechte (zusammenfassend: Maitz 2014).

Die These der Äquikomplexität wurde empirisch nicht kontrolliert und mit quantitativen Methoden noch nicht bewiesen. Trudgill ist der Ansicht, dass das Axiom der Äquikomplexität in der modernen Sprachwissenschaft aus ideologischen Gründen vertreten wurde, unter anderem deshalb, um der Öffentlichkeit die Konzeption sprachnationalistischer Art der „primitiven“ Sprache abzugewöhnen. Es konnte gezeigt werden,

- b. dass die Aequikomplexitätsannahme vom Anfang ihrer linguistischen Karriere an weder durch rationale (logische) Argumente noch durch empirische Befunde hinreichend – wenn überhaupt – untermauert war, sowie
- c. dass in der Tat bereits erste einschlägige quantitative Forschungsergebnisse für die interlinguale Variabilität von sprachlicher Komplexität sprechen. [...]

Die wichtigste – und zugleich spannendste – Frage, die sich in diesem Zusammenhang für die Sprachgeschichtsforschung stellt, ist die nach den Prozessen und Bedingungsfaktoren von sprachlicher Simplifizierung und Komplexifizierung. Durch ihre systematische empirische Erforschung kann die Sprachgeschichtsforschung maßgeblich dazu beitragen, dass ein zwar lange thematisiertes, bislang jedoch nie erforschtes, gewichtiges linguistisches Problem von seiner bisherigen

ideologischen Ladung befreit, von seinen bisherigen Diskurskontext gelöst wird und durch seine Rationalisierung tatsächlich endlich seiner Lösung näher kommt“ (Maitz 2014: 105–106).

Derzeit ist also die Hypothese der Gleichheit und Nichtveränderung der strukturellen Zusammengesetztheit der Sprachen in Frage zu stellen.

Angemerkt sei: Nach M. Hutterer ist aus funktioneller Sicht die Frage, ob sich die Sprachen „vom Komplizierten zum Einfachen“ oder „vom Einfachen zum Komplizierten“ hin entwickeln, in dieser Form irrelevant: Aus der Sicht der erkenntnistheoretisch begründeten Sprachentwicklung ist allein entscheidend, ob eine gegebene Sprache kommunikativ „adäquat“ ist, also maximal die Bedürfnisse der Sprecher erfüllt.

6. Beeinflusst die Veränderung des Wortbestandes die funktionelle Leistungsfähigkeit der Sprachen? Der generativen Annäherung gemäß „waren die vor mehreren tausend Jahren lebenden Sprachen um nichts [...] funktionell ärmer [d. h. in ihrer grammatischen Ausdrucksfähigkeit] als die heutigen Sprachen“ (Kiss 2014: 12). Bei der Beurteilung der funktionellen Leistungsfähigkeit der Sprachen kann aber auch der für den Sprachgebrauch unerlässliche Wortbestand nicht unbeachtet bleiben. Bekanntermaßen ist das Entstehen der gesellschaftlichen Sprachvarianten, so vor allem der Fach- und wissenschaftlichen Sprachen als Begleiterscheinung der mit gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Veränderungen verbundenen Prozesse, mit dem exponentiellen Wachstum der Kenntnisse von der Welt und ihrer ständigen Erweiterung zu erklären. Ob heute eine Sprache in globaler Hinsicht wettbewerbsfähig ist oder nicht, hängt nicht zuletzt vom Vorhandensein oder Fehlen des betreffenden speziellen Wortbestandes ab. Das Zustandekommen der durch die gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen induzierten Wortbestandsveränderungen – oder deren Ausbleiben wegen der peripherischen Lage der gegebenen Sprachgemeinschaften – hat so oder anders immer schon die funktionelle Leistungsfähigkeit der Sprachen beeinflusst. Die Mehrheit der finnougri-schen Sprachen ist deshalb weniger wettbewerbsfähig als das Finnische, Estnische oder Ungarische, weil nur letztere infolge historischer Gründe einen ausgebildeten und in den betreffenden Sprachgemeinschaften verbreiteten, kodifizierten Standard sowie auch muttersprachliche Fach- und Wissenschaftssprachen besitzen.

7. In welchem Maße verändern sich die Sprachen? Allgemein in unterschiedlichem Maße. De Saussure hat, auch daran denkend, folgendermaßen formuliert:

„der Fluss der Sprache fließt pausenlos; ob sein Fließen ruhig ist oder von mitreißender Kraft, ist von sekundärer Wichtigkeit“ (de Saussure 1967: 177). Dessen vorrangiger Grund ist in den Umständen der die Sprache sprechenden Muttersprachengemeinschaft bzw. in der Wirkung dieser Faktoren auf den Sprachgebrauch zu suchen. Als wichtigere Gründe kann man die Sprachkontakte, gegenseitigen Wirkungen, das Vorhandensein oder Fehlen der Schriftlichkeit, die Kodifizierung der Umgangssprache oder ihr Fehlen, die über- oder untergeordnete Lage der betreffenden Sprache und natürlich die zeitliche Entfernung nennen. Beispiele: Das Armenische hat den Sprachtyp gewechselt, wurde aus einer flektierenden Sprache zu einer agglutinierenden (suffigierenden) – durch fremde, türkische Wirkung. Von den finnougri-schen Sprachen hatte und hat das Ungarische mit den meisten Sprachen direkte Beziehung. Das Ungarische ist die einzige finnougri-sche Sprache mit sieben anderssprachigen Staaten als Nachbarn, und das Ungarische ist jene finnougri-sche Sprache, in deren weiterer Umgebung es keine einzige verwandte Sprache gibt. Demgegenüber befinden sich sämtliche übrigen finnougri-schen Sprachen in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft zumindest einer verwandten Sprache oder wenigstens in ihrer Nähe. Finnland z. B. ist nur drei Ländern benachbart (Russland, Schweden und Norwegen) und hat Kontakte zu zwei verwandten Sprachen, dem Karelofinnischen und Lappischen (letzteres ist als Minderheitensprache auch in Finnland vorhanden), und selbst wenn es keine gemeinsame Grenze gibt, kann doch Estland und auch die estnische Sprache genannt werden. Danach ist es kein Wunder, dass vom heutigen Finnischen und Ungarischen das Finnische der finnougri-schen Grundsprache viel näher steht als das Ungarische. Die finnische Sprache ist in dieser Hinsicht archaisch gegenüber dem eher erneuernden Ungarischen (deshalb wird das Finnische als „Kühlschranksprache“ bezeichnet). Im Ungarischen haben sich in ur- und altungarischer Zeit alle bedeutenden Sprachveränderungen abgespielt – den überwiegenden Teil der ungarischen Sprachgeschichte füllen diese beiden Perioden aus, auf die ungarische Sprache haben in dieser Periode zahlreiche Sprachen gewirkt, und nach der mittelungarischen Zeit (also seit 1526) wirkten und wirken der sich herausbildende schriftliche Standard und der diesen begleitende Sprachausgleich schlechthin gegen die grammatischen Veränderungen. Infolge der Lautverschiebung des Althochdeutschen in den ersten fünfhundert Jahren der deutschen Sprachgeschichte – in der Zeit der Ausschließlichkeit der gesprochenen Sprache – hat sich das Lautsystem erheblich verändert, dagegen wurden in den folgenden tausend Jahren – mit der Verbreitung der Schriftlichkeit und dann der Standardisierung – die Veränderungsmöglichkeiten stark eingengt.

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JENISSEJISCH-SINO-TIBETISCHE ANMERKUNGEN BEI ROBERT P. AUSTERLITZ

While the works of the famous Finnougrist/Uralist and specialist of Siberian languages and cultures Robert P. Austerlitz (1923–1994) on so-called “Palaeo-siberian” languages as well as on distant relationships of languages and language families are well known, his notes on the Yeniseian-Sino-Tibetan macro-family are nearly forgotten. In this miscellanea the author turns the attention to these notes and points to the position of Austerlitz regarding such endeavours.

Yeniseian-Sino-Tibetan macro-family, omnicomparatism, Robert P. Austerlitz

Der Finnougrist/Uralist und Sibirist Robert P. Austerlitz (1923–1994)¹ äußerte sich gelegentlich – heute fast in Vergessenheit geraten – auch zu den seinerzeit jeweiligen Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der sogenannten „paläoasiatischen“ Sprachen sowie zu omnicomparatistischen Fragestellungen. Zu den letzteren fiel sein Urteil bekanntlich etwas kritischer aus (cf. hierzu etwa seinen eher bekannteren Beitrag zur ural.-drävidischen Verwandtschaft²). Weithin vergessen sind heute seine Bemerkungen zu den jeniss.-sino-tibetischen Zusammenhängen, die immerhin

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- 1 Zu R.P. Austerlitz cf. – stellvertretend für die zahlreichen existierenden biograph. Skizzen – Schellbach-Kopra (1983), Ariste (1984), Flint (1995), Simoncsics (1995), Virtaranta (1996), zum Werk auch Knüppel (2010).
 - 2 Austerlitz (1972).

schon 1957 resp. 1959 erschienen – also lange bevor die Spekulationen auf diesem Gebiet eine breitere Anhängerschaft gewannen und beispielsweise durch solche öffentlichkeitswirksamen Unternehmungen wie die Postulierung diverser Makro-Familien (etwa durch M. Swadesh) eine gewisse Popularität fanden.

So schrieb Austerlitz in einer Besprechung der Edition von K. Donners „Ketica [I]“ bezogen auf die zum im besprochenen Werk überhaupt nicht behandelten Probleme bestehender Literatur:

G.J. Ramstedt, Donner, Lewy, the Sinologist W. Simon, Findeisen, Joki and others have expressed the questionable opinion (or conviction) that Ket and Kot are related to ‘Indo-Chinese’³ (No such avowal, however, is made in the book under review.). (Austerlitz 1957: 197)⁴

Was Austerlitz mit seinem Einschub eigentlich ausdrücken wollte, bleibt unklar, aber ganz offenbar bot ihm die Rezension eine erste Gelegenheit seine Skepsis gegenüber den Unternehmungen der Genannten (– genaue Literaturangaben zu den Arbeiten in denen sich die Vff. zur Frage äußerten, werden bei Austerlitz nicht gegeben –) zu formulieren. Wenig später äußerte sich Austerlitz anlässlich der Besprechung der paläosibirischen Bibliographie von R. Jakobson et al. erneut zum Thema (freilich auch zu den bis dahin angestellten Überlegungen hinsichtlich eines vasko-buruschio-(sino-)kaukas. Phylums unter Einschluß der Jenissej-Sprachen [u. des Čukčischen]) – dieses Mal weit ausführlicher:

One of the more recent far-flung comparisons (1953), based mostly on the presence or absence of certain syntactical features, proposes that a ‘Paleo-Eurasian’ stock stretched from Iberia eastward, pointing toward the American continent, a stock ‘of which now only insignificant remnants are found along an imaginary line, connecting the Pyrenees with the Behring Strait[s]’ (Bibliography No. 1: 174;⁵ in the original p. 178). The members of this union are Basque, ‘Caucasian’, Burushaski, Yeniseian (= Ket and congeners), and Chukchi (original, p. 161). The absence of an ergative-type construction in Ket, as against the presence of one

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- 3 Dies ist im Grunde zu jener Zeit bereits eine veraltete Bezeichnung für die sino-tibet. Sprachen; der Terminus “sino-tibétain” war schon 1924 von Jean Przyluski (1885–1944) geprägt und wenig später vor allen von Robert Shafer verbreitet worden (Knüppel 2012a: 232).
 - 4 In E. Vajdas kommentierter Bibliographie resp. der Übersicht über die Literatur zu Forschungen hinsichtlich der möglichen weiteren Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Jenissej-Sprachen ist die Rezension nicht berücksichtigt (Vajda 2001: 357).
 - 5 Dies = Holmer (1953).

in most of the others, is explained by considering the construction as being of 'secondary origin' (p. 174), after the 'system of subject-case construction' had been set up as one of the three criteria for the relationship (p. 161). It is, of course, possible that all these groups are related. What is somewhat disheartening is the nonchalance with which such ideas are seriously advanced, then discarded and replaced, without ever being thoroughly developed into coherent theories. Disheartening, too, is the methodology of some of the comparatists. In a paper published in 1957 (Bibliography No. 5: 15a⁶) in which Yeniseian is compared with 'Indochinese', the following correspondences are adduced among others, and examples provided (original, pp. 83–86):

Yeniseian:	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	corresponds to
Indochinese:	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i> ,	

in other words, all dental stops correspond to all other dental stops, without regard to system and without reference to the intra-Yeniseian and intra-'Indo-chinese' situations. But, again, the possibility that a haphazard comparison will eventually lead to profitable results is never completely precluded. (Austerlitz 1959: 400–401)

Mögen die Bemerkungen des Rezensenten in den späten 1950er Jahren auch bloß eine längst vergessene Randbemerkung sein, und zudem genauerer bibliographischer Angaben (sieht man einmal von Verweisen in die paläo-sibirische Bibliographie hinein ab [– bei Austerlitz ohne Nennung der Autoren resp. der Beitragstitel⁷]) ebenso entbehren, wie detaillierteren Ausführungen zur Kritik, so sind es doch Zeugnisse früher Zurückweisung diverser Spekulationen – zumindest aber einer gewissen Skepsis gegenüber den Methoden – auf diesen omnicomparatistischen Forschungsfeldern. Problematisch ist hier allerdings, daß alle Ansätze unter Einbeziehungen sogenannter „paläoasiatischer“ Sprachen ungeachtet des Grades der „Wahrscheinlichkeit“ der von den verschiedenen Vff.n postulierten Zusammenhänge, gleichermaßen behandelt resp. zurückgewiesen werden. Auch wenn

6 Dies = Bouda (1957).

7 Dies dürfte Vajda wohl veranlaßt haben, hier eine Kritik der Unternehmungen J.D. Bengtsons anzumerken (Vajda 2001: 357), obwohl tatsächlich eher eine solche an den Bemühungen seiner und seiner Gleichgesinnten Vor-Vorläufer gemeint ist – die Zusammenhänge, die bis zu Austerlitz' Anmerkungen behauptet wurden, bezogen sich zumeist nur auf solche zwischen Einzelsprachen und/oder einzelnen Sprachfamilien, und es wurden gerade erst einige Schritte auf dem Weg zu den Super-Phylen der kommenden Tage (z. B. Vasco-Déné, Déné-Kaukasisch, Déné-Sino-Kaukasisch etc.) unternommen.

der Forschungsstand der damaligen Zeit noch recht dürftig war, so erschien doch auch schon in den 1950ern ein Zusammenhang der Jenissej-Sprachen mit den sino-tibetischen Sprachen (– und gerade aus diesem Kontext stammte das einzige konkrete Beispiel das Austerlitz gab –) wesentlich wahrscheinlicher als ein solcher mit dem Baskischen oder dem Buruṣāskī. Wie dem auch sei, sind die vergleichsweise knappen Bemerkungen des Rezensenten zum Gegenstand aus wissenschaftshistorischer Perspektive nicht uninteressant.

Bedeutsam ist hier auch der Umstand, daß Austerlitz im Zuge von Feldforschungen resp. der Arbeit mit *native speakern* Aufzeichnungen aus dem Tlingit und Eyak (Feldforschungen in Situk und Cordova im Jahre 1961) anfertigte.⁸ Wie die oben wiedergegebenen Bemerkungen ausweisen, galt sein Interesse schon zuvor dem Problem der entfernteren Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Jenissej-Sprachen, und es wäre von großem Interesse festzustellen, ob sich in von ihm hinterlassenen Materialien weitere Ausführungen auch zum Problemfeld des bereits bei E. Sapir (nach Trombetti 1922–1923: 481) am Rande der von diesem erwogenen sino-tibetisch-na-dénéischen Verwandtschaft hergestellten Zusammenhanges der Jenissej-Sprachen mit den Na-Déné-Sprachen⁹ finden. Dies wäre für die Einschätzung der Forschungen R.P. Austerlitz' auf mehreren Forschungsfeldern ebenso bedeutsam, wie für die noch zu schreibende Geschichte der jeniss.-sino-tibet., jeniss.-na-dénéischen oder vasco(-buruscho)-déné-kaukas. Forschungen.

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- 8 Austerlitz hat hierbei u.a. mit Marie Smith Jones, Anna Nelson Harry und Lena Saska Nacktan als Informantinnen gearbeitet. Die im Zuge der Befragungen angefertigten Tonbandaufnahmen sowie Feldforschungsaufzeichnungen von rund 600 Seiten Gesamtumfang finden sich heute in den Beständen des Alaska Native Language Archiv (ANLA) der University of Alaska, Fairbanks (Krauss 2006).
 9 So bezog Sapir „Yen. Ostjak“ [dies = Jugisch] *dong*, Kott *tonga* [= jug. ²*dɔʔ*, kott. *toŋa* ~ *tōŋa* ~ *tonča* ~ *t'ŋa*] in einen seiner Vergleiche ein und stellte diese zu chin. *sām* „drei“, Thai *sām*, Tibet. *g-sum*, *sum* „id.“, Athabaskisch **tʰax-*, **tʰak-*, *tʰ(w)anɣw-* etc. (cf. sein handschriftl. hinterlassenes „Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Chinese and Na Dene“ [Knüppel (2012b)]). Hierzu wird sich der Vf. dieser Zeilen bei anderer Gelegenheit noch einmal ausführlicher äußern.

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ROMANES *DILINÓ* ‘VERRÜCKT’ IM KONTRAST ZU TÜRK. *DELI* ‘IRRSINNIG, VERRÜCKT, UNGESTÜM’

The etymology of the Romani (Gypsy language) word *dilino*, meaning ‘crazy’, can be traced back to its Indian roots; meanwhile, after showing its linguistic productivity, the word has resulted in a high number of derivatives in Romani dialects. Within surrounding languages, we can find numerous loans from the word family for the Romani *dilino*.

In contrast to the Romani word with its Indian etymology, the Turkish word *deli*, also meaning ‘crazy’, has played an important role as a source for many words in the Balkan languages, particularly in Bulgarian and, to a smaller extent, in Romanian. It is possible that the semantic content of the Turkish *deli* has influenced the meaning of the Romani word to a certain extent.

In Romanian, we can find homonyms, some of which can be explained with a Romani etymology, while others seem to be the result of a loan from Turkish or at least influenced by its semantic content. Overall, this requires a thorough analysis of these Romanian homonyms, each of which show a slightly different semantic content.

etymology, Romani loanwords, Turkish loanwords, Balkan languages

1. Der Formenreichtum des Romanes

Im Folgenden wird der hohe Grad an Komplexität und onomasiologischer Verwobenheit verdeutlicht, der bei ähnlich lautenden Wörtern aufscheint, die unterschiedlichen Etyma zuzuordnen sind. In den Balkansprachen finden sich einige

Wörter, die Romanes *dilinó* 'verrückt' in phonetischer und semantischer Hinsicht ähneln, jedoch auf eine andere Quelle zurückzuführen sind. Im Romanes selbst ist an dieser Stelle ein umfangreiches Repertoire an Formen wahrzunehmen, das durch verschiedene wortbildnerische Mittel wie Metathesen und eine hohe Anzahl an Suffixen zustande kommt. Die dialektale Vielgestaltigkeit trug hier im Laufe der Jahrhunderte zur Entwicklung und zum Erhalt dieses Formenreichtums bei, der anhand von Adjektiven und ferner Adverbien, Substantiven und Verben illustriert wird.

Für den Kalderaš-Dialekt des Romanes, der vorwiegend in Rumänien, der Vojvodina und dem nördlichen Serbien gesprochen wird, nennen Boretzky, Igla (1994: 404) *dilo lo* 'er ist verrückt', *dili li* 'sie ist verrückt'. Boretzky, Igla (1994: 72–73), Boretzky (1994: 265) verzeichnen Romanes (teils dialektal) *diló*, *dilino*, auch *delino*, *dinilo*, *dino*, *deno*, *dilikanó*, *dilinengero*, *dil(i)vanó* (Adj.) 'verrückt, irre, dumm, einfältig', auch 'töricht, stumpfsinnig, unvernünftig, wild, giftig', Romanes *dilegodžako* (Adj.) 'verrückt, irre', *dilephabardinó* (Adj.) 'hysterisch', *dileratésko* (Adj.) 'jähzornig, reizbar', *dilešorésko* (Adj.) 'verrückt, irre', (Adj. und Partizip) *dil(j)oró* 'dumm, einfältig, närrisch, verrückt', (Adj. und Diminutiv) *dilivanořó* 'verschoben, übergeschnappt', (Adv.) *dilimáske* 'vergebens, umsonst'. Das Partizip *diljardó* – auch *diljardino*, *diljarno* – steht für 'toll, wahnsinnig, wütend, betört, irreführt, jähzornig, fanatisch, hysterisch'. Zu diversen weiteren Ableitungen siehe in Boretzky, Igla (1994: 72–73), sowie in Wolf (1960: 73) neben Romanes *dinelo* (Adj.) 'dumm, blöde, verrückt, wahnsinnig, tobend', auch *dínəlo*, *dinello*, *dinalo*, *dinallo*, *dingalo*, *denalo*, *dindelo*, *diinù*, *dino*, *dillo* (Adj.) 'arm, verlassen', durch Transposition gebildet und möglicherweise beeinflusst durch türk. *deli* 'verrückt'. Der Variantenreichtum wird durch Heranziehung verschiedenster Adjektivsuffixe des Romanes erzielt, Boretzky (1994: 90).

In seiner substantivierten Form bedeutet Romanes *diló* 'Verrückter, Narr, Einfaltspinsel, Dummkopf, Dämon, böser Geist, Penis, Blei', vergleiche ferner die Bedeutungen 'Polizist' und 'Mitglied der kroatischen Ustaša'. Die Pluralform *dile* steht für 'Geld'. Das feminine Substantiv *diljardí* bedeutet 'Schnaps, Raki, Gewehr', das maskuline Substantiv *diljardipé* 'Verrücktheit, Unvernunft, Wahnsinn', ferner 'Fanatismus, Aufstand'. Laut Boretzky (1994: 90) handelt es sich bei Letzterem um eine Bildung mit dem Romani-Abstraktasuffix *-ipe*.

Unter den zahlreichen Derivaten nennt Wolf (1960: 73) *dinelepen* 'Dummheit, Torheit, Unverstand, Unsinn, Wahnsinn', *dinelipen* etc. 'Unsinn'. Romanes *dilí* (Subst. fem.) bedeutet '1. Schnaps, Raki; 2. Gemisch aus Zinn und Blei; 3. Vagina', *dilikanó* (auch *dilkan*) als mask. Substantiv 'Tölpel, Narr'. Das mask. Substantiv

Romanes *dilikanipé* 'Verrücktheit, Dummheit, Blödsheit' (Boretzky, Igla 1994: 72) weist die Pluralform *dilikanimata* auf – laut Boretzky (1994: 90) treten Pluralformen mit dem Suffix *-imata* nur selten auf, vergleichbar sind *dilivanipe* mit dem Plural *dilvanimata* 'Verrücktheit, Dummheit, Blödsheit'. In Boretzky, Igla (1994: 69) ist zudem Romanes *delinipe*, auch *dilipé* (Subst. masc.) 'Verrücktheit, Dummheit, Unvernunft, Wahnsinn', Pl. *dilimata* angeführt. Im Kalderaš liegt die Singularform *dilimos* id. vor. Weitere Varianten sind (Subst. masc.) *dil(j)ořipé* mit der Pluralform *dil(j)ořimata* 'Verrücktheit, Dummheit, Torheit'.

Als Beispiele für Verben nennen Boretzky, Igla (1994: 69) das transitive Verb Romanes *delinkerél* (Arli-Dialekt, vorwiegend in Südserbien, Montenegro, Makedonien und Nord-Griechenland gesprochen), das auch in der Variante *dilincérel* (Arli-Dialekt) 'verrückt machen' vorliegt. In der einschlägigen Lexikografie werden die Verben des Romanes meist in der Form der 3. Person Singular im Präsens angeführt. Wolf ibd. führt das Verb (1. Ps. Sing.) *dinelew* 'rasen, toben, verrückt sein' an, sowie weitere Substantive und Verben. Romanes *delinovel* wird zu *diljávól*, bzw. *dilinol* (passiv-intransitives Verb) gestellt, mit zahlreichen Varianten, und bedeutet 'verrückt werden, den Verstand verlieren', in Boretzky, Igla (1994: 72–73) als passiv-intransitives Verb im Arli-Dialekt *dilindžol* 'verrückt werden', ebenfalls als passiv-intransitives Verb *diljárdol* und *diljardinajvol* 'verrückt werden, wütend werden, toben', im Bugurdži-Dialekt (der vorwiegend in Makedonien und im Kosovo gesprochen wird) *dinjola (pala)* '(nach etwas) verrückt sein', und schließlich als transitives Verb *diljarél* 'ärgern, erzürnen, betören, jemandem den Kopf verdrehen, aufwiegeln'.

2. Die Etymologie des Romanes-Wortes

Altindisch *dīnā* 'schwach, spärlich, arm, traurig' gilt als zugrunde liegendes Etymon. Boretzky, Igla (1994: 72–73) stellen die Romanes-Wörter zu päli *dīna* 'elend, arm' < altindisch *dīna* (Partizip Perfekt Passiv) 'knapp, beschränkt', wobei es sich eventuell um eine Kontamination mit Romanes *dino* (Partizip) handle, und dies sei zu Romanes *del* (transitives Verb) 'geben' < altindisch, prakrit *dadāti (dāti)* zu stellen, vgl. hindi *denā*, Romanes Partizip *dinó*, dialektal *deno* zu *del*, und dies wiederum zu altindisch **dinna*- statt *datta*- (Boretzky, Igla 1994: 73, 315).

Mayrhofer (1992 I: 727–728) führt altindoarisch *dīnā*- (Adj.) 'spärlich, seicht, nicht tief (Wasser), schwach, gering (Verstand)' als 'nicht sicher gedeutet' auf, verweist außerdem auf Vedisch *dīnātā*- (Subst. fem.) 'Schwäche, Spärlichkeit', *dīnā-dakṣa* 'schwachen Verstandes', päli *dīna*- 'arm, elend', mit Verweis auf Turner

(1962–1966: 363, Nr. 6347) Vedisch *dīnā* ‘spärlich, dürrtig’, pāli *dīna* ‘arm, ärmlich’, und nennt dazu Romanes (Dialekt von Wales) *dinilo*, *dilino* ‘töricht’, dies wird wiederum altindisch *dīyatē* (2) ‘verfallen, zugrunde gehen’ zugeordnet.

Die Angaben in Cone (2010: 405–407) stützen diese Annahme, cf. pāli *dīyate* (Vb. Präs. 3. Sg.) ‘verfällt, geht zu Grunde’, vgl. dazu das Partizip Perfekt (auch als Adj. masc., fem., neutr.) *dīna* ‘arm, elend, gemein, ängstlich’, ferner *dīnamana* ‘beunruhigt’, *dīniya* ‘Erbärmlichkeit, Gemeinheit’.

3. Bulgarisch *deli* ‘verrückt’ und sein türkisches Etymon

Im BER (I 336–337) wird bulg. (volkstümlich und umgangssprachlich) *deli* (1) mit ‘ausgelassen, übermütig, wild, ungestüm’ und *delija* als ‘ungestümer Jüngling’, wiedergegeben. DTB (2002: 63) nennt bulg. *deli* (1) – ein indeklinables Adjektiv 1. (kollektiv) ‘verrückt’, 2. (folkloristisch vor Vornamen) in der Bedeutung ‘heroisch, wild, widerspenstig’, und bulg. (S. m.) 1. (folkloristisch) ‘verwegener, unerschütterlicher junger Mann, Tollkopf’, und 2. (osmanisch/historisch) als Synonym zu bulg. *delibāš(ija)*, siehe unten, zum Etymon türk. *deli* ‘verrückt, wild, kopflos mutig, tapfer’.

Das Bulgarische übernahm zugleich Derivate, die bereits im Türkischen bestanden, wie bulg. *delibāš(in)* (obsolet und dialektal) ‘widerspenstige Person, Tollkopf’, historisch auch als Synonym für *delibāš(ija)*, bulg. *delibašā* und *delibašija* (Subst. masc.; osmanisch, historisch) ‘Soldat einer irregulären Kavallerie, bzw. einer Truppe, die plündert und Gewalt ausübt’, und 2. (kollektiv) *delibāš(in)*. Varianten sind bulg. *dilibašija*, *delibašā* (obsolet und dialektal). Im BER (I 336–337) ist veraltetes bulg. *delibašija* ‘ungestümer Mensch’ aufgeführt, sowie ferner die abgeleiteten Adjektive *delibašijski* und *delibāški*. In Steuerwald (1988: 266) wird türk. (hist.) *Delibaş* als ‘Anführer der *Deli* genannten Reitertruppe’, später: ‘Wachoffizier in Ministerien’, übersetzt. Türk. *Deli*, später offiziell *Delil* ist der ‘Name einer osmanischen Reitertruppe (16.–19. Jh.)’.

Dem zu Grunde liegt türk. (dial.) *deli baş* ‘Held; mutig, widerspenstiges Kind’, auch ‘eigensinnig, eigenwillig’, bzw. türk. *deli başı* – wörtlich laut BER (I 336–337) ‘verrückter Kopf’. Türk. *delil başı* ist ein ‘Kommandeur osmanischer irregulärer Truppen, *delil* genannt’. Die Bedeutungen von türk. *delil* sind (jurist.) ‘Beweis(mittel)’, ‘Anzeichen’, ‘Führer’, später wurde lediglich per Volksetymologie ein Zusammenhang zu türk. *deli* ‘wild’ hergestellt. Steuerwald (1988: 266) verzeichnet *delibaş* (vet.) als ‘Drehkrankheit bei Schafen’.

Weitere bulg. Derivate sind:

- bulg. *deliburan* (dial., Subst. masc.) 'Windböen vor einem Regenguss' < türk. *deli buran* – wörtlich 'verrückter Wirbelwind', cf. türk. *buran* 'heftiges Ungewitter, schweres Gewitter' (Steuerwald 1988: 179),
- bulg. *deli-dolù* (dial., indeklinables Adjektiv) '1. fröhlich, gesellig; 2. verrückt, ungezogen' < türk. *deli dolu* 'wer nach dem Zufallsprinzip und ohne nachzudenken spricht', in Steuerwald (1988: 266): 'unüberlegt, unbesonnen',
- bulg. *delikanlija* (dial.) 'junger widerspenstiger Mann, Heißblut, Tollkopf' < türk. *delikanlı* '(feuriger) Jüngling, junger Mann' (DTB 2002: 63),
- bulg. *deli porjáz* (dial.) 'trockene Windböen aus Südwesten' < türk. *deli poyraz* 'scharfer, verrückter Nordostwind', türk. *poyraz* 'Nordostwind, Nordosten, Norden, Nordwind' in Steuerwald (1988: 266, 937), vgl. dazu bulg. dial. *porjáz* (1) 'kalter Nordostwind, Nordwind' in BER (V 536) aus griech. *βορέας* 'Nordwind' über türk. *poryaz*, *poyraz*, mit einer Angleichung an das Bulgarische über volksetymologische Verbindung zu bulg. *rěža*, *porjázvam* 'schneiden',
- bulg. *deli-ravàn* (dial.) 'zügiges Schlendern' < türk. *deli rahvan*, cf. türk. *rahvan* 'Paßgang eines Pferdes, Zelter' in Steuerwald (1988: 947),
- bulg. *delisât* (dial., indeklinables Adjektiv) 'spleenig, verrückt' < türk. **deli saat* – wörtlich 'verrückte Stunde', türk. *saat* 'Stunde, Uhr, (Tages)zeit' (Steuerwald 1988: 966; BER I 337),
- bulg. *delišmè* (obsoletes, indeklinables Adjektiv) 'etwas verrückt', sowie bulg. (dial.) *delišmèn* (S. m.) 'Tollkopf, Hitzkopf', beide zu türk. *delişmen* 'nährisch, reichlich verrückt, exzentrisch' (Steuerwald 1988: 267; BER I 337).

Einige bulgarische Pflanzennamen gehören in diesen Zusammenhang, wie:

- bulg. (dial., botan.) *delidžàn* 'Lolium temulentum, Rauschgras, Taumellolch' < türk. *deli can*, wörtlich 'verrückte Seele' (BER I 337), vgl. türk. *can* 'Seele, Leben, (Lebens)kraft, Herz, eigene Person, eigenes Leben, Person, Mensch, Menschenleben' in Steuerwald (1988: 188), türk. *deli canlı* 'unruhig, unberechenbar' (Steuerwald 1988: 266),
- bulg. (dial., botan.) *delidže* 'Lolium temulentum' < türk. *delice* 'leicht verrückt, etwas nährisch, wie ein Wahnsinniger, sinnlos, unsinnig, giftig, schädlich, reißend, wild, unbändig', also in etwa 'Pflanze, die Wahnsinn, Rausch hervorruft' (Steuerwald 1988: 266),
- bulg. *delidâr*, *delidâr* (dial., botan.) 'Setaria italica, wilde Hirse, Kolbenhirse' < türk. *deli dari* bzw. *delidari* 'Panicum miliaceum, wilde Hirse, echte Hirse, Bezeichnung für hirseartige Pflanzen, Rispenhirse', regional auch 'Mais' (BER I 337),

- bulg. *deli-otù* (dial., botan.) ‘Atropa belladonna, Schwarze Tollkirsche’ < türk. *deli otu* (botan.) ‘Alyssum, Gebirgssteinkraut’ (Steuerwald 1988: 267, 704).

BER (I 337) nennt zusätzlich bulg. (dial.) *delimàrkovče* unspezifisch ‘Pflanzenart’, nach dem bulg. Personennamen *Deli Marko* gebildet.

4. Spuren von Romanes *dilinó* ‘verrückt’ im Bulgarischen

In Ivanov (1986: 296) vergleiche bulg. (Maurergeheimsprache, Gebiet Bracigovo, Peštera) *diliništa* ‘Kinder’, nach Kostov (1956: 416) und BER (I 390) von Romanes *dilinó* ‘dumm, verrückt’, unter Anfügung des bulg. Kollektivsuffixes *-išta*, bzw. im Singular *-ište*. Aus der gleichen Quelle stammt auch ngr. *vtilivós* ‘verrückt, schusslig, dumm’. Ivanov ibd. favorisiert jedoch eine Herkunft des bulgarischen geheimsprachlichen Wortes von alban. *djalë* ‘Kind’ und eine westbulgarische dialektale Bildung mit einer Reduktion von *e > i* im Dialekt.

5. Das türkische Etymon *deli* ‘verrückt’

In Tietze (2002–2009 I: 584) ist türk. *delü, deli* ‘verrückt’ vermerkt, Steuerwald (1988: 266) führt als Bedeutungen ‘verrückt, irre, irrsinnig, wahnsinnig, ganz versessen, närrisch, ungestüm, heftig, feurig, aufbrausend’ an, bzw. türkisch *deli* ‘verrückt, wild’ – siehe hierzu in Radloff (1911/1960 III: 1678–1679) im Abschnitt *ðäli* die Bedeutungen ‘1. Narr, Dummkopf, Verrückter, verrückt, töricht; 2. kühn, tapfer; 3. leidenschaftlich, verliebt; 4. verdorben, schlecht; 5. rechtschaffen, aufrichtig’.

Sevortjan (1980: 214–217) führt türk. *IIĐ:III* ‘verrückt’ an, zu der alten Verbalform **tel-* ‘verrückt werden’, mit Belegen (Sevortjan 1980: 216) 1. ‘verrückt (Türk., Uzbek.); 2. dumm; Dummkopf’ (Tatar. dial., Uzbek. dial., Uigur. dial.) – *del-i* wird demnach auf die turksprachliche Verbalwurzel **tel-* ‘verrückt werden’ zurückgeführt, siehe auch in Clauson (1972: 493) *telve/delve*, Nadeljaev (1969: 551) *telvä* ‘schwachsinnig, dumm, verrückt, wahnsinnig, unsinnig’.

6. Etyma aus dem Türkischen und dem Romanes im Rumänischen

Volceanov (2006: 87) verzeichnet für den rumänischen Argot das Adjektiv *diliu, dilie, dilii, dilimac*, Pl. *dilimaci* ‘verrückt, übergeschnappt’, auch als invariables Adjektiv *diliche* id., oder *dilimandros, dilimandroși* (S. m.) ‘Verrückter, Übergeschnappter’, *a dilí* (Verb) ‘jemanden durch Schläge verwirren’, (im zwielichtigen Milieu) geben;

übermitteln' (über Schmuggelware), *a se dilí* (Vb. refl.) „verrückt werden, überschnappen“, das fem. Substantiv *dileală*, Pl. *dileli* '1. (im zwielichtigen Milieu) Prügel, Schlägerei; 2. (im Singular) Verrücktheit'.

Das gleiche türkische Grundwort, das den zuvor genannten bulgarischen Formen zugrunde liegt, ist zusammen mit mehreren vergleichbaren Derivaten wiederum im Rumänischen belegt, siehe in Suciu (2010: 291–293) rumän. (veraltet, selten, belegt im 18. Jh.) *delí-agá* (Subst. masc.) – ein Synonym aus dem militärischen Bereich für rumän. *delibaşă*, aus türk. *deli ağa* id., siehe türk. *ağa* 'Herr, Meister, Kommandant, Chef, Vorstand' und in Anreden gebraucht.

Rumän. *delibăş(ă)* (Adjektiv, regional) ist ein volkstümlicher veterinärmedizinischer Terminus aus dem Dobrudžagebiet: 1. 'Drehkrankheit der Schafe, ausgelöst durch die Zerstörung des Nervensystems' und als Adjektiv 'drehkrank' (über Schafe), 2. familiär über Menschen 'nährisch, verrückt', mit den Varianten *delibăş*, *dilibăş* und *deribăş*, von türk. dial. *delibaş(lı)* id.

Im Rumänischen, ebenfalls regional im Dobrudžagebiet, ist auch das intransitive Verb *a delibăşi* (über Schafe) 'die Drehkrankheit bekommen', als entsprechendes Adjektiv *delibăşit*, *delibăşită*, und als fem. Substantiv *delibăşeală* 'Drehkrankheit' belegt.

Rumän. *delibăşă* ist ein veraltetes maskulines Substantiv – sein Gebrauch stammt aus der Zeit zwischen Anfang des 18. Jhs. bis ins 20. Jh., und seine Bedeutung umfasst als militärischer Terminus 'Kommandant einer türkischen Reitergruppe', 'Anführer der Leibgarde des Großwesirs' und Ähnliches, auch *dalibăşă*, *delibaşă*, *delibăş* < türk. (historisch) *deli başı* id., mit Verweis auf die Entlehnungen bulg. *delibăş*, serb. *dëlibaša*, maked. *delibaša*, ungar. *deli basa*. Ein weiterer historisch belegter Begriff militärischer Prägung ist rumän. *delí-ceaúş* (veraltet, selten, belegt im 19. Jh.) 'Sergeant der herrschaftlichen Garde (in der Phanariotenzeit)' < türk. (historisch) *deli çavuşu* 'Sergeant der osmanischen leichten Kavallerietruppen', cf. türk. *çavuş* – ursprünglich 'öffentlicher Ausrufer von Erlassen, Befehlen', später 'eine Art von Adjutant im Dienste des Sultans; (milit.) Unteroffizier; Ehrentitel für bewährte Amtsdienner', Steuerwald (1988: 219). Vergleiche dazu neugriech. *ντελάλης* 'öffentlicher Ausrufer'.

Als zentraler Begriff liegt diesen Ableitungen rumän. *delíu* (Subst. masc.) mit dem Plural *delii*, bzw. *delie* (Subst. fem.) zugrunde, auch als Adjektiv historisch und volkstümlich seit 1600 gebraucht. In Suciu (2010: 292) ist es als maskulines Substantiv in militärischer Bedeutung unter I. 1., 2. wie bereits erwähnt aufgezeichnet, unter II. als veraltetes und seltenes feminines Substantiv *delie* 'Frau, die den Luxus liebt', belegt für das 17. Jh., sowie:

III.1. veraltet als Adjektiv, und maskulines Substantiv ‘mutiger, dreister (Mann)’, wobei Suciú (2010: 293) die unter I.1, III.1., 3. (ferner auch II.) genannten Wörter bzw. Bedeutungsnuancen zu türk. *deli* stellt,

III.2. Rumän. *delíu* und *deríu* (Adj.) ‘großgewachsen, robust, schlank, ansehnlich, schön’ wird zu ungar. *dali*, *dalia* ‘Recke’ (wie in den rum. Varianten III.1. und 2.) gestellt; möglicherweise zu dieser Gruppe gehört auch 5. (Adj.) in regionalem rumän. Gebrauch im westlichen Muntenien ‘vom Trinken berauscht, betrunken’ in der Form *dilúi*, und fem. *dilúie* (durch Suffixwechsel entstanden) belegt.

Dem Etymon Romanes *diló*, *dilí* ‘verrückt’ werden jedoch die folgenden Wörter zugeordnet:

III.3. Rumän. *delíu*, *dilíu* als Adjektiv, mask. und fem. Substantiv in der populären und familiären Umgangssprache und im Argot ‘verrückter, verstörter, verwirrter, ausgelassener, unordentlicher, wütender, wilder, grausamer (Mensch)’, regional auch *deléu* und in der Moldau *daléu*, rumän. regional *dilíu*, 4. als masc. und fem. Substantiv im regionalen Gebrauch ‘Einfaltspinsel, beschränkter Mensch; Aufschneider, Schwätzer’, in den Varianten *dilíu* (regional, nördliches Transsilvanien) und *delíu* – regional im südöstlichen Transsilvanien belegt, zum Beispiel auf der Karte 1240 auf dem Erhebungspunkt 182 des ALR der neuen Serie, Band V.

Derivate sind rumän. (volkstümlich und im Argot) *dilimán* (Subst. masc.) und *dilimăncă* (Subst. fem.) ‘verrückter Mensch’, das hypothetische reflexive Verb **a se dilimăni* ‘verrückt werden’ muss dem femininen Substantiv *dilimaneală* ‘Wahnsinn’ zugrunde liegen; volkstümlich und argotisch durch Suffixwechsel ist *dilimáche* (Subst. masc., invariables Adjektiv) ‘Verrückter’ bzw. ‘verrückt’ entstanden, dies ist regional für das Gebiet von Constanța und Bukarest belegt.

Ebenfalls nach den Angaben in Suciú (2010: 293) tritt regional im Banat das Adjektiv *diliván(ă)* ‘dumm’ auf, rumän. (reg. Muntenien) *diláche* (Subst. masc.) ‘verrückt, schusslig’, *deliése* (Adj.) ‘mutig’ und das veraltete Adverb *deliése* ‘auf mutige Weise’, sowie das reflexive Verb *a se dilí* ‘verrückt werden’.

Drimba (2001: 211, 254) differenziert das rumän. Verb *a dilí* (1) (Argot) ‘sehr stark schlagen; geben, schlagen, machen, stehlen’ < Romanes *diló*, uneindeutig als Partizip von entweder 1. *da-* ‘geben’ oder 2. *di(y)-*, *de-* ‘schlagen, hauen’, cf. Romanes *dipé*, *dibé* ‘Schlag’, wobei sich aus der Bedeutung ‘geben’ die anderen Bedeutungen entwickelt hätten. Mit dieser Bedeutung sei das Verb aus dem Romanes auch ins Neugriechische übernommen worden: *ντέλα* ‘geben’.

Drimba (2001: 211, 254) stellt rumän. *a se dili* (2) (Bukarest) ‘verrückt werden’, zu rumän. *dilíu* (Adj. masc.) ‘verrückt’, (fem.) *dilie* ‘Schandbezeichnung für eine geschwätzige Frau’ (vgl. hier auch das mask. Substantiv rumän. *dilimáche* mit unklarer Bildungsweise), und aufgrund des Vokalismus sei es eher zu Romanes *diló*, *dilí* ‘verrückt, dumm, naiv’ zu stellen, als zu türk. *deli* ‘verrückt’. Drimba (2001: 211, 254) führt aus, dass Romanes *diló* und seine Variante *dilínó* auch in den Argot weiterer Sprachen übernommen wurden, vgl. ungar. *dili*, *dilis*, *dilinos* – siehe weiter unten.

7. Verwandte Wörter in den Balkansprachen und im Ungarischen

Suciu (2010: 293) nennt als Vergleichsformen bulg. *deli*, *delija*, serb. *dèli*, *dèlija* (Subst. masc.) ‘Held, Recke, Kämpfer, staatlicher Mann, gutaussehender Typ’, serb. *dileja* ‘Blödmann, Verrückter, Exzentriker, Dummkopf’, *dilkan* ‘Dummkopf’ in Chlebec (2004: 145), in Šipka (2000: 83) maked. *deli* (unveränderlich), *delija*, Pl. *delii* ‘1. (hist.) türkischer Reiter in der Wache des Sultans oder Wesirs; 2. (umgangssprachlich) kühner Bursche, Held’ in Koneski, Velkovska (2003: 421), ngr. *ντελής* ‘verrückt, verwegen, heftig’, alban. (umgangssprachl.) (Adj.) *déli* ‘tapfer, heldenmutig, sehr kräftig, sehr schön, erstklassig, prima, brav’ und (Subst. masc.) ‘großer Held, Recke’, aus dem Serbischen. Laut EWUng. (1993: 251) ist ungar. *deli* (Adj.) ‘mutig, stattlich, schön’, (Subst.) in der Bedeutung 2. ‘Soldat, Leibwächter’, ein Lehnwort aus dem Osmanischen, das evt. ebenso über das Serbokroatische übernommen wurde. Osman. *deli* stehe für ‘irrsinnig, ungestüm, wild’, ‘bosnischer oder albanischer Leibwächter des Großwesirs’, vgl. serbokr. *dèli* ‘tapfer, kühn’. Im Osmanischen selbst ist das Wort lt. EWUng. (1993: 251) türkischer Herkunft, vgl. tatarisch (kas.) *tib* ‘dumm, Dummkopf’, kumük. *tēli* ‘toll’.

EWUng. (1993: 242) sieht auch ungar. *dalia*, das durch vokalharmonischen Ausgleich entstanden und unter anderem mit der Bedeutung ‘Krieger, stattlicher Mann’ dokumentiert sei, als ein Lehnwort aus dem Serbokroatischen *delija* ‘tapferer Kerl, Teufelskerl, Krieger, Held, türkischer Leibwächter’ < osman. *deli* ‘verrückt, wild’, zu vergleichen sind bulg. *delija* und maked. *delija* ‘wilder Kerl, Held’.

Davon zu trennen sei nach den Angaben in EWUng. (1993: 263) ungar. *dili(n)yós*, *dilingós* ‘halbwitzig, närrisch, schrullig’, siehe dazu auch Halász, Földes, Uzonyi (1998: 245) ungar. *dili*, *dilije* (Subst.) ‘Rappel, Verrücktwerden’. Die Bedeutung ‘Verrücktwerden’ sei um 1939 bezeugt und im Argot entstanden, weiterhin kann das Wort ‘Triller, Schrulle, Knall, Tick, Vogel, Fimmel, Macke’ bedeuten,

als Adj. ‘halbwitzig, verrückt’, *diliház* ‘Narrenhaus, Klapsmühle, Klapse’, *dilis* (Adj.) ‘halbwitzig, närrisch, schrullig, übergeschnappt, meschugge, marottenhaft’, Halász, Földes, Uzonyi (1998: 245). Laut Dahn (1999: 69) findet sich in der ungarischen Umgangssprache ungar. *dili* ‘verrückt, durchgedreht’, substantivisch ‘Verrücktheit, Schrulle, Spinnerei, Nervenanstalt, Hysterie, Neurose’ < zig. [Romanes] *dilo*, *dili* ‘verrückt’. Im Falle von ungar. *dilibogyó* ‘1. Beruhigungsspiel; 2. Aspirin; 3. (jugendsprachlich) Kopf’ liege laut Dahn (1999: 69) eine Bildung aus *dili* ‘verrückt’ und *bogyó* ‘Beere’ vor und es stehe die runde Form im Vordergrund, weiterhin ist die Bedeutung 4. ‘Irrer, Verrückter’ dokumentiert, und dies zu *dili* ‘verrückt’. Eine ganze Anzahl weiterer Bildungen veranschaulicht die Kreativität der Umgangssprache: ungar. *diliflepni* ‘Bestätigung geistiger Unzurechnungsfähigkeit’, *diliház* ‘Irrenanstalt’ und in der Schülersprache ‘Schule’, *dilihopp* und *dilikokárda* ‘verrückt, närrisch, dumm’, *dilima* ‘Ärger, Schwierigkeiten’ (Dahn 1999: 69 sieht hier möglicherweise den verballhornenden Einfluss von *dilemma* auf *dili*), *dilinós* ‘verrückt, dumm’, und ähnlich *dilinyó* und *dilinyós* ‘verrückt, närrisch, dumm’, sowie *dilis* und *diris* ‘verrückt, närrisch, dumm’, *dilis alak/fazon* ‘Sonderling, komischer Kauz’, *diliz* (-ik) ‘Verrücktheit vortäuschen, simulieren’, ‘einen Nervenanstalt bekommen, durchdrehen’, ‘ungehalten, wütend, zornig sein’, ‘sich aufführen, einen Skandal veranstalten’, und als unveränderte Übernahme des Etymons aus dem Romanes ungar. *dilo* ‘Verrückter, Irrer’, Dahn (1999: 69).

Nach der Ansicht von EWUng. (1993: 263) ist das Ausgangswort der Wortfamilie ungar. *dilinós*, ein Lehnwort aus dem „Zigeunerischen“ [Romanes], mit Bildung im Ungarischen, vgl. „zig.“ (Siebenbürgen) *dilyino*, auf dem Sprachgebiet des Serb., Kroat., Čech. *dilino*, *denilo* ‘dumm, verrückt, Narr’. Das Wort sei indoeuropäischer Herkunft. EWUng. (1993: 263) vergleicht es mit altindisch *diná* ‘schwach, arm’. EWUng. sieht in *dili* eine Rückbildung aus *dilinós* bzw. *dilis*, einer Ableitung aus *dili* mit dem Adjektivbildungssuffix -s. Dem steht jedoch entgegen, dass im Romanes die Ausgangsformen so bereits bestehen. Schließlich nennt EWUng. in diesem etymologischen Zusammenhang ungarische mundartliche Formen: *dellán* ‘Narr’, *dilló* ‘verrufenes Frauenzimmer’, *dulló* ‘schwieriges Kind, Trottel’.

8. Zu Persisch *dil* ‘Herz’

Aus der Perspektive der Indoiranistik ist ähnlich lautendes pers. *dil* ‘Herz’ in mehrere Nachbarsprachen der Region eingegangen, wie unter Anderem in das Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, Punjabi unter Bildung zahlreicher Derivate bzw. deren paralleler Entlehnung.

Die zu Grunde liegende Form ist Sanskrit *hṛdaya* 'Herz' (*hṛd-*), vergleiche in Turner (1962–1966: 818, Nr. 14152), Turner (1931: 260), Platts (1884: 522–523), Singh (1895: 320), Steingass (1892: 530–531).

Eine Entlehnung erfolgte auch in das Kurdische, vgl. laut Cabolov (2001: 307–308) kurd. *dil*, *dil*, *dir*, *zir*, die südwestlichen Formen auf *d-* gingen auf Altpersisch **dṛd-*, Altiranisch **zṛd-*, vgl. Altindisch *hṛd-* 'Herz' – zurück. Die genannten, ursprünglich aus dem Persischen stammenden Formen stehen aber nicht in etymologischem Zusammenhang mit Romanes *dilinó*.

9. Fazit

Es ist demnach im Romanes von einer alten indischen Wortwurzel auszugehen, für die Wolf (1960) eine Beeinflussung durch das Türkische einräumt. Im Bulgarischen liegt eine türkische Etymologie vor, während das Rumänische sowohl Wörter türkischer, als auch altindischer Etymologie in einem von Konvergenz geprägten Mischsystem erkennen lässt. Im Rumänischen hat der semantische Einfluss ähnlich klingender Turzismen zu einer Annäherung der Bedeutungen geführt. Während in den im indischen Raum historisch bezeugten Ausgangssprachen die Bedeutung 'verrückt, wahnsinnig' für das Etymon nicht feststellbar ist, kann auf dem rumänischen Sprachgebiet von einem semantischen Einfluss von türk. *deli* 'verrückt' ausgegangen werden, so dass Romanes *dilino* nun hauptsächlich 'verrückt, wahnsinnig' bedeutet. Die türkischen und altindischen Etyma sind völlig verschiedener Herkunft, im Laufe ihrer wechselvollen Geschichte kam es mutmaßlich erst in Europa schließlich zu einer Beeinflussung und einer partiellen Konvergenz, die durch eine ähnliche phonetische Gestalt und einen ähnlichen semantischen Inhalt der Wörter forciert wurde.

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ON BOASTING, FEAR, SHOUTING, AND POETRY. ENGL. *BRAG*, ENGL. *BRAWL*, OE *BRŌGA*, AND OI *BRAGR/BRAGI*

The English verb *brag* turned up in texts in the 14th century. The obsolete adjective *brag* ‘boastful’ antedates it in texts by about fifty years. The origin of both entails several difficulties: (1) words for boasting are usually “low” (slangy), and slang tends to defy etymologizing; (2) words beginning with *br-* often refer to noise, and, since they are onomatopoeic, they can violate sound correspondences; (3) *brag* resembles several words in other languages, and it remains unclear whether it and its look-alikes elsewhere are native in their languages or borrowed. Outside English, the words with which *brag* has especially often been compared are Dutch *bragg(h)eren*, Middle Danish *brage*, Welsh *bragal*, and Middle French *braguer*, all of them meaning ‘to make a lot of noise’ or ‘boast, vaunt, brag’. Some of them are native; others are borrowed. Side by side with *brag*, verbs with the infix *n* have been attested: Middle Dutch *bronken* and *brunken*. Finally, there were Old Icelandic *Bragi* ‘the name of the god of poetry’, *bragr* ‘poetry’, and *bagnar* ‘men; warriors’.

The Dutch verb *braggeren* was attested late and therefore could not be the source of Middle Engl. *brag*. Welsh *bragal* and its Celtic congeners appear to have been borrowed from English. The meaning of the Old Icelandic words is too remote from the recorded senses of *brag*, so that they are at best related to the English adjective and verb. However, *brag* may not be as isolated as is usually believed. Old English had the noun *brōga* ‘terror; danger; prodigy’. Its origin is unknown, and one obscure word cannot elucidate another word, equally obscure, but *brōga* was not a chance coinage, for it had an exact counterpart in Old High German (*bruoga*). Nothing prevents us from looking upon *brōga* and *brag* as related by ablaut.

Most likely, Old Engl. **bragan* existed but meant ‘to strike terror in an enemy’, rather than ‘to make a noise’. This reconstruction accords with what we

know about heroic behavior from Germanic poetry. Even though the adjective *brag* was recorded several decades before the verb *brag*, the verb could have come first, with the adjective being a back formation on it. It is not entirely improbable that **bragan* coexisted with its expressive variant **braggan*. If so, **braggan* yielded *brag* (this hypothesis accounts for the otherwise puzzling retention of final -g in Modern English), while **bragan*, if it existed, became **braw* (like *draw* from *drawan*), which added the pseudo-suffix -l under the influence of verbs like *haul*, *maul*, *crawl* and became *brawl*, another word of undiscovered origin. Regardless of how realistic the reconstruction presented here is, one should reckon with the existence of what might be a group of migratory verbs represented by Engl. *brawl*, Dutch *brullen*, German *brüllen*, and Norwegian *brøyle*. All of them refer to roaring and the like.

Conclusions about such words are bound to remain putative.

brag, brawl, brōga, Bragi, etymology

Engl.* *brag*, the now lost adjective ‘fearless, boastful’ and the verb ‘to boast’, appeared in English texts in the fourteenth century, and most etymologists believe that, whichever came first, onomatopoeia influenced its formation. At first sight, there is nothing wrong with this belief. The group *br-* often appears in words designating noise (Engl. *break* and its Old English synonym *brēotan*, along with OI *brjóta*, also belong here), and bragging does probably presuppose a vociferous agent. But reference to sound imitation, even if we accept it as valid, is not tantamount to an etymology, for *brag* only begins with *br-*, while we have to account for the entire word. Besides, words of this structure sound alike in many languages, and that raises the question whether *brag* is native in English. Since final -g often points to Scandinavian origin (as in *drag*, *tug*, *leg*, and so forth), this question becomes particularly poignant; in dealing with *brag*, we have on the Scandinavian side OI *bragr* ‘the art of poetry’ and *Bragi*, a theonym and a proper name. Yet safe conclusions are lacking here. One can cite non-Scandinavian expressive words having the structure *b-g* (*big*, *bug*), words of obscure heritage (*bog*, *hog*, *pig*, *grog*),

* The following abbreviations have been used in the text: Engl. = English, Du. = Dutch, F. and Fr. = French, G. = German, Icel. = Icelandic, L. = Latin, MDa. = Middle Danish, MDu. = Middle Dutch, ME = Middle English, MHG = Middle High German, Norw. = Norwegian, OE = Old English, OHG = Old High German, OI = Old Icelandic, OS = Old Saxon.

and the stubs of apocopated English dissyllables like *dog*, *stag*, and *frog*. Finally, almost identical forms have been recorded in French (*braguer* 'to vaunt, brag' and *brague* 'ostentation'; *braggadocio* is late and was modeled on Italian) and in the Celtic languages.

All the authors of old dictionaries, beginning with Minshew (1617), took note of Du. *bragg(h)eren* (the same meaning as in English) in their discussion of *brag*. However, this word appeared in Dutch late. VV do not feature it. The condensed version (Verdam 1911) does, though in keeping with the format of that work it gives neither citations nor etymology. By contrast, *WNT* has numerous examples of *brageeren* (with two spelling variants), none of them old. It calls the verb a borrowing from French, and this derivation looks convincing. In any case, the Dutch verb is too late to be the source or even a cognate of Engl. *brag*. Later, comparison with Engl. *bray*, also a thirteenth-century word, became commonplace (one can find it even in Huld 1997: 180), the verb now believed to be a borrowing of French *braie* 'to cry', perhaps of Celtic origin. At the time when Skeat was busy preparing the first edition of his etymological dictionary (it was published in installments and appeared in book form in 1882), he insisted on Celtic as the source of *brag* and supported his idea by the fact that *all* the Celtic languages (his emphasis) had what he took for the cognates of the English verb (Skeat 1881a and b). *CD*¹ copied its etymology from Skeat. However, neither *OED* nor *CD*² (the latter revised its entry following Murray) considered the Celtic origin of *brag* even as a remote possibility. Skeat always took Murray's views on etymology with the attention they deserved. I will quote a long passage from his later article. This will spare me the necessity of quoting his sources (all of which I have checked).

The origin of Fr. *braguer* is also in doubt, as many do not accept the origin suggested by Diez, who refers it to the Icel. *braka*, to creak, to crack, on the strength of a note by Halldorsson, that *braka* also means 'insolenter se gerere'. But if our word is not French, we should expect it to be Norse, because it is extremely difficult to get a final *g* in any other way. The Anglo-Saxon final *g* became *y*, and themes ending in *cg* are extremely scarce. I see no difficulty at all in supposing that both the Fr. *braguer* and the ME *braggen* are from the same source; and, practically, from the source indicated by Diez. For the Icel. *braka* becomes both *braka* and *braga* in Norwegian, and *brage* in Danish; and the senses of these words are worth marking. Thus the Norw. *braka* means both 'to crack' and 'to chatter,' according to Ross; and he assigns to *braga* the senses to flash, to gleam; and secondly, *prunke*, i.e. to make a parade or display, which is much the same thing as *brag*. And further, Kalkar explains the Middle Danish *braga* not only by break, or to heckle flax, but

also by *tale store ord*, to speak big words, which is precisely to brag. [...] The chief difficulty is that the Norw. *ag* usually becomes *aw* in English [...] But we may suppose that in this instance this change was prevented by the influence of the Fr. form *braguer*, which must (if of Norwegian origin) have been in early use; or the English may have been directly from French, to which I can see no great objection. (Skeat 1902: 652–653)

I may add that Diez supported his idea of the Scandinavian origin of *brague* by the fact that it had no correspondence in Provençal.

The result is rather confusing, and special pleading in the last paragraph does not make the situation clearer. Danish lenition responsible for *k* becoming *g* (not a velar stop, but a weak fricative homorganic with it) in words like *braga* presumably occurred in the thirteenth century, that is, perhaps early enough for being borrowed as Engl. *g*. It only remains unclear under what circumstances the verb was borrowed. If we turn to Skeat's post-1902 publications, we will note with surprise that in 1910 the old formulation ("*brag* goes back to Celtic") remained intact, though at that time Clarendon Press finally allowed him to make many substantive changes in the original text. Yet in the latest edition of the *Concise Dictionary* (Skeat 1911) the Danish derivation is considered defensible (however, the mixed bag of forms appearing in the entry makes his opinion hard to understand). In any case, thanks to the 1902 article, we know that he abandoned the Celtic hypothesis and looked for the source of *brag* in Danish or French.

OI *braka* had an English cognate, namely OE *bræc* 'catarrh, cough; breaking, destruction' and L. *frāgor* 'noise'. The link *bræc*–*frāgor* already occurred to Skinner (1671), while Richardson (1837) was probably the first to point to the semantic closeness of *brag* to *crack*; at one time, the latter meant 'to boast'. Related to the Old English noun were OE *bræclian* 'to make a noise, crackle', OE *abrācian* 'to engrave, emboss' and OHG *brāhha* 'fallow land', both belonging to the family of *break*. Diefenbach (1851 I: 266) compared them with OE *brēgan* and Icel. *bragga* 'to adorn'. However, *bragga* is an 18-century word, though it occurs (without citations!) in CV, supplied by the bizarre gloss 'to throw away sloth'. In modern dictionaries, *bragga* ~ *braggast* is glossed as 'to clean, polish; take heart; thrive; gain weight'. Ritter (1910: 474/4) also connected, though tentatively, *brag* with the words denoting noise and cited English dialectal *brastle* and *brattle*, neither of which seems to belong here. I believe that with *braka* we are on a false track. Even by way of MDa. *braga*, as Skeat suggested, *brag* should probably not be traced to it.

No other revealing ideas on the origin of *brag* seem to have come to light, though a few minor suggestions can be mentioned. Ludwig (1861: 447/3) traced

brag to **braggvian*, from the root **bhreg-* and compared it with G. *Pracht* ‘splendor,’ G. *brauen* ‘to brew,’ and OS *brahtm-* ‘noise’. OS *brahtm-* and OE *bearhtm ~ bærhtm ~ breahhtm* are indeed related to *Pracht*, but *brew* is not. Ludwig, as he indicated, followed Adalbert Kuhn and combined in his etymology references to sound and light; this approach had a long life in the search for the origin of *brag*. Knight (1880) derived *brag* from French *brague*, translated by Cotgrave as “short (and close) linnen (sic) breeches, worn next unto the thighs” (in this context, one can also cite Rabelais’s coinage *braguette* ‘zipper’; already in the first edition of BW). *Bragues ~ braies* ‘trousers’, from L. *braca ~ braces*, usually explained as a borrowing from Celtic, denoted the apparel worn by the rich. The lower classes that took part in the French Revolution were called *sans-culottes* ‘without trousers’ for exactly that reason: they wore no breeches. Therefore, Knight suggested that bragging takes us back to ostentatious clothes. Terry (1881) and Skeat (1881a) immediately refuted this hypothesis on chronological grounds: Engl. *brag* surfaced about three centuries earlier than the French noun. Skeat: “The derivation from F. *bragues* is a mere fancy. One great use of my *Etymological Dictionary* is that it so easily disposes of these fancies”. The chronological gap between the attestation of the French and the English words in question still remains the main argument against the “fancies” mentioned above, but we remember the end of Skeat’s (1902) note: “... or the English may have been directly from French, to which I can see no great objection”.

For a while, Holthausen (1923: 280/181) thought of explaining *brag* as originally meaning ‘to raise, elevate’ and cited OE *brogne* ‘branch, bush’, along with MHG *brogen* ‘to raise oneself, put on airs, show off; enrage’. But he never insisted on this derivation, for, indeed, how can “raising oneself” and “branch, bush” be connected? Three editions of his etymological dictionary of Modern English (*EWoS*) exist. In the first of them (1917), *brag* is not featured at all; in the second and the third (1927 and 1949), French is given as the source. Finally, in *AeEW*, at *brogne* only the cognates from WP appear; *brag* had been left behind. Holthausen was an extremely well-read man and could have known that long before him Van Helten (1873: 23) had already compared *brag* and MHG *brogen*, but he gave no reference to his predecessor; perhaps this idea occurred to him independently. The post-World War II dictionaries either say nothing about the etymology of *brag* (and cite only ME *braggen*) or hedge and recycle the familiar medley from old sources: perhaps from Scandinavian, perhaps from French (including even the possibility of deriving the English word from *bragues*), but everything, they conclude, is unclear. Klein (1966) offered the odd hypothesis that ME *braggen* might go back to *baggen*, which he neither glossed nor discussed.

Close to *brag*, at least in our dictionaries, is OE *brēgan* ‘to frighten’, which Junius (1743, a posthumous edition) cited as a congener of *brag*. OE *ē* and short *a* do not belong together, but *ē* in *brēgan* goes back to *ǣ*. Consequently, the root vowel was originally *ō*, as also follows from the noun *brōga* ‘terror; danger; prodigy’. If *brōga* and *brag* have a chance of emerging from this discussion as related, *brag* will leave its isolation in English. Even though we lack the Old English protoform of ME *braggen*, it could have existed. *Brag* is a “low word,” to use Samuel Johnson’s favorite phrase, and its absence from Old English texts might be due to chance. Regardless of that unrecorded form and of whether *braggen* is related to Scandinavian *brag-* or was even borrowed of it, the series *a – ō* arouses no objection.

This is no place to discuss the origin of the verb *bring*, but Brugmann’s etymology (Brugmann 1901: 255–256; incidentally, it did not originate with him), whether correct or not, still has influential supporters. According to it, *bring* is a blend of two roots: *br-*, as in the verb *bear* < *beran*, and *-enk*, as in *(ge)nuk* ~ *(e)nough*. Along the same lines, I might suggest that speakers of Old English took the noun *ōga* ‘dread’, reinforced it with *br-* (which of course has nothing to do with *br-* in *bring*), and produced the noun *brōga*. Students of folklore, Old English poetry, and Germanic mythology have not neglected this word because it means both ‘terror’ and ‘monster’, but its origin, unlike its semantics, has aroused little interest. Wood (1903: 16–17/12) mentioned *brōga* among many other *br-* words denoting rapid movement (Engl. *braid* is one of them), but his reconstruction carries little conviction. Be that as it may, all will probably agree that *brōga* inspires greater fear than the trivial, quotidian *ōga*. Later, **bragan* could have been formed on the analogy of *fōr* ‘journey’ ~ *faran* ‘to go’. MHG *brogen* ‘showing off, self-aggrandizement’ did not continue into Modern German. Its root vowel was short, but, since the alternation *a ~ o* after *r* was common (cf. OE *rodor* ~ *rador* ‘heaven’ and OHG *werold* ~ *weralt* ‘world’, among many others), OHG *brogen* and ME *braggen* could have been related.

A curious parallel to *braggen* ~ *brogen* is Du. *bogen* in *bogen op* ‘to boast’, from *hem bōghen*, a doublet of the earlier form *baghern* ‘to boast’, which resembles OE *bōian* ~ *bōgian* (the same meaning), quite probably related to OHG *bāga* ‘strife’. Again we witness the alternation *a ~ ō*, reference to struggle (strife, perhaps battle), and even the direction of scholarship concerning the Dutch verb is familiar: whether *bogen* or *baghern*, it is related to a similar form in Old Irish, but, according to the common opinion, not borrowed from it (*NEW*). I will leave out of discussion the striking phonetic closeness of *braggen*, *brogen*, *bōian*, *bogen*, and *baghern*.

The early influence on *brag* from French should be discounted. Most likely, *brag* was a Germanic verb, one of those that belonged to the vast group of words that formed the nucleus of Common European slang (*brag* is still “lower” than *boast*). They traveled, especially during the interminable wars of the late medieval period, with merchants, mercenaries, and prostitutes and stayed in their new homes, where with time they lost their vulgar tinge and became part of everyday usage. This is probably what happened to *brag*, originally an English word: it spread to Celtic and French; in French, the base *brag-* even became productive. **If my reconstruction is correct, *brag* referred not to noise but to fear, a natural semantic foundation of the verbs of boasting.** *EDD* records for *brag*, in some northern English dialects, the sense ‘challenge, defy’. Before attacking the opponent, the Germanic hero tried to intimidate him by powerful rhetoric. He vaunted and used “big words” before going to battle (a curious contrast is known from the Old Russian maxim: “Don’t vaunt before going to battle, vaunt after coming from it”, but for every wise piece of advice popular tradition can invariably offer the opposite).

We can now return to the question whether *brag* is indeed native in English rather than borrowed from Scandinavian. As already noted, in early English lexicography, *brag* was usually compared with or derived from Dutch. In 1858 an ingenious amateur (J.P.) suggested that Engl. *brag* goes back to the theonym *Bragi*, and *balderdash* to *Baldr*. In the dictionaries of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Scandinavian forms took center stage. Still later, the etymology of *brag* was left in limbo, but then there has not been a single original etymological dictionary of English since the days of Skeat. The only exception is Weekley (1921); however, he did not go beyond suggesting that *brag-* was a root denoting explosive noise (because *brag* sometimes meant ‘bray’). Recently De Vaan (2002) made a case for the verb *brag* as a borrowing from Scandinavian. In summarizing the data, he said nothing new (which is not a reproach: all the facts have been known for a long time). Nor did his refusal to accept both the French and the Celtic source of *brag* come as a surprise, for in this respect the *OED* and other authorities said all there is to say. Barnhart (1988), whom he quotes on p. 47, is a strawman: his dictionary, like that by Klein, is of no interest to a professional philologist. In our records, ME *brag* ‘ostentatious, proud, spirited, brave’ was recorded more than a half-century before the verb *braggen*, but the chronological gap is not wide enough, for us to decide which word came first. That the sense of the adjective *brag* ‘boastful’ developed from ‘brave’ is also non-controversial; “boast” is always a secondary sense.

In Old Icelandic, the following words have been recorded: *Bragi* ‘the god of poetry’, *bragnar* ‘men’ (and by the usual extension, ‘warriors, heroes’), and *bragr* ‘poem; poetry’. Some occasional uses of *bragr* require the gloss that De Vaan, following Jan de Vries’s translation of the Poetic Edda into Dutch, gave as ‘paragon’. This may be an acceptable choice for a translation into a modern language, but the fact that the word is once applied to a woman does not go too far. In Old Icelandic, the element *maðr*, though masculine, acquired the general sense ‘human being’ (a common development in Germanic), and the masculine compound *kvennmaðr* ‘woman’ did not inconvenience the speakers (compare the history of Engl. *woman*). *Félagi* (m.) was a term applicable to each partner in marriage. In both Old and Modern Icelandic, witches, monsters, and obnoxious women are regularly designated by neuter nouns (cf. *skass*), while the masculine nouns *svanni*, *sprakki*, and *svarri* meant simply ‘(noble) woman’, and *Skaði* (f.) was the name of a goddess. Today one of such nouns is *vargur* ‘wolf’ (m.), though a word for a she-wolf, naturally, exists. In *Beowulf*, Grendel’s mother is several times called *he* and *se* (masculine pronouns), and once the noun *secg* ‘man; warrior’ is applied to her. Apparently, in the usage of North Sea Germanic the referent’s function (semantics) easily “overrides” the grammatical gender.

The alleged root of *brag* had a variant with the infix *n*, as in MDu. *brunken* ~ *brunken* ‘to boast’, and the ancient meaning ‘shine’ can be at its base (see De Vaan 2002: 53–55, with reference to Lühr 1988). “Loud” and “bright” often go together, as evidenced, among others, by the history of G. *hell* ‘bright’ (cf. G. *hallen* ‘to resound’). None of it proves that the English verb *brag* is very old, that it indeed had an Indo-European ancestor, or that it was borrowed from Scandinavian. An important factor is the absence of its cognate from Old Icelandic. The Middle English and Middle Danish cognates are late, and the age of the Norwegian verb is beyond reconstruction. To be sure, as noted, we have OI *bragr* ‘poem; poetry’, *Bragi*, the theonym and a proper name, and *bragr* ‘chief’. The last of them resembles OE *breġo* ‘chief, prince’, but not a single one of the three words has a solid etymology. It is not even clear whether *Bragi*, the name of the god of poetry, and *Bragi*, a proper name, are the same word. Most likely, they are. *Bragi*, it appears, surfaced first as a proper name, and later the skald called Bragi was deified (because his name resembled *bragr* ‘poetry’?); see a detailed discussion of Bragi in Lindow (2006). The only purpose of this speculation is to point to the well-known rule that one word of unascertained origin should not be used to shed light on another opaque word.

Nothing in the history of poetry indicates that its creators were called either bright or loud. The poets were “finders” (as in the Old English formula *word ōþer*

fand, which had close analogs in Old Icelandic poetry, and as evidenced by such technical terms as *troubadour* and *trouvère*), they “stitched words together” (such were Greek rhapsodes), and produced merriment and inspiration. Poets may even be called the greatest mullahs (so in Kazakhstan, where *akyn* – stress on the second syllable – means ‘the winner of a contest of singers’), but the reference is not to boastful shouting. Even in a state of ecstasy poets are never represented as braggarts. The function of some poets seems to have been to mock and deride; presumably, this is the idea underlying OE *scop*. A similar interpretation of *skáld* has also been offered (see a summary of the views in Steblin-Kamenskij 1969), but the long vowel and the fact that this noun is neuter causes problems. Short *a* was not lengthened before *-ld* in Old Icelandic, and, if *á* is old, it cannot be aligned with *e* in a word like G. *schelten* ‘to scold’ (Engl. *scold* is believed to go back to *skáld*!). Besides, skalds were not “monsters,” so that the neuter comes a surprise, and there is no evidence that we are dealing with a remnant of an ancient neuter plural, “an association of poets.” Skalds often competed in the presence of kings and earls, but, as with akyns, their performance never degenerated into a shouting match.

The Old English *pyle* ~ OE *pulr* should better be left alone. The most recent work on this subject (Clunies Ross 2006: 34–36) drew its inspiration from a talk by Russell Poole. I am not convinced by their arguments. (I have not seen the text of that talk, unless it is Poole 2010, but I think I have a good idea of its content from Poole 2006: 786). Anyway, since neither of them was aware of my discussion of the problem in Liberman (1996: 71–77; now revised and reprinted in Liberman 2016: 384–392), our dialog on this subject cannot be productive (I hasten to emphasize *on this subject*, because I find myself in full agreement with the main thesis of Poole’s (2003) presentation; I only think that the *pyle* was originally the court security officer rather than a poet). Nor did princes and kings get their names because they were shining. Such flattering phrases as *Vladimir krasnoe solnyshko* (“bright sun” or “beautiful sun”; so in bylinas) and *Louis le Soleil* are obviously irrelevant to etymology.

So what would Middle English have borrowed from Scandinavian? Nothing, as far as I can see. The most vexing riddle in the history of the verb *brag* is that it appeared in texts later than the cognate adjective. Such an adjective does not exist in Scandinavian, and it has not continued into Modern English. I am able to suggest only one solution (alluded to above), though I realize its inherent weakness. Probably the verb arose some time earlier than the date of its first attestation suggests, while the adjective is a back formation on it. The Old English verb *bragan* might exist. Whenever it turned up (assuming that it did), Engl. *brag* never meant ‘shine’ (even northern dialectal *brag* means only ‘defy, challenge’), while its

Scandinavian look-alikes meant both ‘crack’, ‘chatter’ and ‘show off’. All of them are, quite possibly, related, though in a rather vague way. Their antiquity should not be taken for granted. In ME *bragga* the consonant was, most probably, long; the form must have arisen as an expressive variant of **bragan*.

With regard to methodology, the following should perhaps be said about the putative source of *brag*. Most historical linguists adhere to the rule that, when the choice is between native origin (be it a phoneme, a grammatical form, or a word) and borrowing, it is advisable “to stay at home,” and, only when this way proves to be a blind alley, resort to borrowing. This approach need not reveal God’s truth. Quite possibly, a scholar can find a convincingly looking native source, but the entity is still a loan! Yet, although this approach does not make us infallible, we should probably agree that, since *brag* looks like having an English etymon, there is no compelling reason for tracing it to Scandinavian, especially because the Scandinavian hypothesis is shaky, to say the least.

As a postscript, I would like to suggest that Engl. *brawl*, a late 14th-century verb, has the same root as *brag*. Only once have I seen an attempt to juxtapose *brag* and *brawl* (Jessen 1902–1903: 22; a passing remark). *Brawl* is part of a rather sizable group of verbs attested in West and North Germanic. Most of them surfaced late. Lexicographers do not go beyond comparing *brawl* with its look-alikes in German (*brüllen*), Dutch (*brullen*; both mean ‘to roar’), Du. *brallen* ‘brag’, and others. The Oldest Dutch dictionaries feature neither *brallen* nor *brullen*. By contrast, the later ones usually mention *brawl* at *brullen*; the first of them seems to have been Terwen (1844). Wedgwood derived *brawl* by contraction from the rare verb *brabble* and, to boost his hypothesis, cited *scrawl* from *scrabble*; he was certainly wrong (*scrawl* and *scrabble* are not related). The most detailed discussion of this group of words (however, without English) has been offered by Nes (1987: 31–37), in connection with Norw. *brøle* ‘to roar’. Engl. *brawl* can perhaps be called a word of unknown origin, for being part of a long list of similar-sounding verbs in Germanic and Romance does not amount to an etymology. I would like to suggest that ME **bragen* ~ *braggen* developed in two ways and that the form with a short consonant alternated with a form having a geminate in the middle. *Braggen* yielded *brag*, while **bragen* developed according to the rule, like *dragen*. Their modern reflexes should have been *draw* and *braw*. *Draw* is indeed what we have, while *braw* acquired the pseudo-suffix *-l* and joined *haul*, *maul*, *crawl*, and others; hence *drawl*. Other than that, *brullen*, *brüllen*, *brallen*, *brøle*, and *brawl* look like migratory words. *Brawl* might have acquired its final *-l* under the influence of the other members of this group. Mere guessing, as Skeat liked to say.

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MINERALOGIE UND MYTHOLOGIE. AUS DEN IRANISCHEN-GRIECHISCHEN LEHNWORTBEZIEHUNGEN

The present paper is an attempt to reconsider three Greek mineralogical terms: *νάφθα* ‘petroleum’, *σανδαράκη* ‘realgar, sandarac’ and *σάνδυξ* ‘a bright red mineral colour’ by tracing them back to Old Iranian etymons inspired by mythological representations.

In view of the Middle Persian *naft* ‘petroleum’ homonymous with the word for ‘moisture, steam’, Greek *νάφθα* is traditionally believed to go back to an Old Persian source meaning ‘wet’. However, this is semantically unattractive; more probably OPers. **napta-* derives from the inflectional stem *napt-* of *napāt-* ‘grandson, nephew’, whose strong stem may be recognised in *Νάπας*, the name of an oil well in the mountains of Persia according to Hesychius, whereas the heteroclitic stem of the same word *naptar-* occurs, as *νεφθαρ*, in 2 Maccabees 1, 36, designating the petroleum in a context strongly impregnated by Old Persian rites and beliefs. Underlying such a denomination of the mineral oil is presumably the mythological “Fire in water” theme, personified in the ‘Descendant of the Waters’, Vedic *Apām Napāt*, a hypostasis of the fire-god *Agni*, Avestan *Apam Napā*, a deity protecting the royal glory (Khvarenah) in the depths of the sea Vourukasha. Traceable back to the common Indo-Iranian prehistory, the origin of this figure might be due to the natural gas phenomena in Caspian basin.

The realgar was also symbolically associated with the sacred fire among the ancient Iranians, which makes plausible the derivation of Greek *σανδαράκη*/*σανδαράχη* from **sandahraka-* < Common Iranian **tsvantādraka-* ‘belonging to (-aka-) to the sacred (*tsvanta-*) fire (*ādr-*)’, cf. Sarmatian **Psāndārtaka-*, recorded by Stephen of Byzantium as *Ψευδαρτάκη*, the name of a sacred site in Scythia, which goes back to the same protoform. The immediate source of borrowing into Greek may have been a variety of Old Iranian spoken in Paphlagonia or in Scythia, both regions being known in the Antiquity for their realgar mining.

Apparently belongs here also *σάνδυξ*, the name of a fiery coloured mineral, also called *ἀρμένιον* because it was found in Armenia, as we are told by Strabo XI 14, 9, where the traded form reads *ὀπάνδυκος* (gen.), which is emended to *σάνδυκος* in the modern editions, but **σπάνδυκος* would be a more plausible reading, with the alternation *sp-/s-* reflecting the important Old Iranian isogloss in the word for ‘holy, saint’, Avestan *spənta-*, Median **spanta-* as opposed to Old Persian *santa-*, cf. the Armenian name of a goddess *Sandaramet* beside *Spandaramet* related to Zoroastrian *Spəntā Arəməiti-*.

Ancient Greek, loanwords, Old Iranian, fire-cult

1. *νάφθα, Νάπας, νεφθαρ*

Die griechische Bezeichnung für Erdöl *νάφθα*¹ ist von akkad. *nap̄tu*, mpers., npers. *naft* dass. nicht zu trennen und wird allgemein als orientalisches Lehnwort angesehen, entweder aus dem Semitischen oder aus dem Iranischen.² Neulich wurde sie durchgehend von Manfred Brust (2005: 471 ff. = 2008: 473 ff.) behandelt,³ der wegen *φθ < ft* ein altpersisches Lehnwort im Griechischen annimmt,⁴ das letzten Endes mit jav. *napta-* ‘feuchtig’,⁵ mpers. *naft* ‘Feuchtigkeit, Dampf’⁶ ursprungsgleich

- 1 Gewöhnlich *ἡ ν.*, selten als Neutrum *τὸ ν.* oder Maskulinum *ὁ νάφθας*; zur Form ohne *v-* s.u., Anm. 10.
- 2 Vereinzelt steht die Annahme einer parallelen Entlehnung in alle drei Sprachen (Griechisch, Persisch, Akkadisch) aus unbekannter vorderasiatischer Quelle (Furnée 1972: 161).
- 3 Außer einem flüchtigen Hinweis auf Brusts Betrachtung des Wortes, ist in Beekes (2010: 1000 s.v.) kaum etwas Neues im Vergleich mit Frisk (1960–1973 2: 294) und Chantraine (1968–1980 3: 736) zu finden.
- 4 Die unbelegte altiranische Vorlage **nafta-* wird von Brust dem Altpersischen aufgrund des Erastheneszitats bei Strabon XVI 1, 15 zugewiesen, woraus es hervorgeht, dass das Wort in Susiana zu Hause war. Prokop galt es als „medisch“.
- 5 AIW 1039, vom Brennholz (*aēsma-*) und Getreide (*yava-*), stets im Gegensatz zu *huška-* ‘trocken’, gebraucht; dazu auch das Absolutivum *aiwi.naptīm* mit *asti* ‘befeuchtet → besudelt (mit Blut)’. Alle Belege stammen aus dem Videvdāt.
- 6 Das Nebeneinander dieser nominalisierten Form des Adjektivs und des gleichlautenden Wortes für ‘Erdöl, Pech’ *naft* im Mittelpersischen wird von Brust (2008: 478) als Argument gegen die Herleitung des letzteren aus akkad. *nap̄tu* vorgebracht.

wäre, auf eine idg. Wurzel *nab^h*- ‘feucht werden, bewölkt werden’ zurückgehend.⁷ Es erhebt sich ja die Frage nach der zugrundeliegenden Bedeutung.⁸ Als Beispiel dafür, dass das Öl als ‘feucht’ bezeichnet werden kann, führt Brust die homerische Wendung *ὕγρον ἔλαιον* an (2008: 478). Man könnte eher von einer Gegenüberstellung des festen und „flüssigen“ Asphalts ausgehen, wie sie an der angeführten Strabostelle zum Ausdruck kommt.⁹ Jedoch scheinen die altiranischen Vorstellungen vom Erdöl weiter von diesem prosaischen Bedeutungsansatz hinausgereicht zu haben. Darauf weisen zwei Belegstücke hin, die Brust unberücksichtigt ließ.

Das erste ist *Νάπας*, von Hesych als Name einer Naphthaquelle in den Bergen Persiens belegt.¹⁰ Man wollte daraus eine Wurzelvariante *airan. *nap-* neben **nab-* < idg. **neb^h*- erschließen, die vermutlich durch Kreuzung mit *ap-* ‘Wasser’ entstanden sein soll (Brandenstein 1940; vgl. IEW 320; NIL 504; Anm. 50). Zwar trüge das vermutliche **nap-* der Lautgestalten avest. *napta-*, mpers., npers. *naft* besser Rechnung als **nab-* (s.o. Anm. 7), jedoch ist vom semantischen Standpunkt aus die Annahme kaum plausibel, eine merkwürdige Quelle, die als solche in griechischer Schrifttum Erwähnung fand, sei mit einem Namen bezeichnet worden, der kaum mehr als ‘befeuchtend’ geheißten haben soll. Ihr kennzeichnendes Merkmal und damit der entscheidende Umstand bei ihrer Benennung war wohl, dass sie statt Wasser eine brennbare Flüssigkeit ergoss. Angesichts dessen ist der Deutungsvorschlag Dumézils (1978a: 37) vorzuziehen, der in *Νάπας* altiranisch *Napāt-* ‘Enkel’ erkannte, unter Hinweis auf die mythologische Gestalt *Apām Napāt* ‘Enkel der Wasser’, die indoiranische Verkörperung eines mythischen Themas, das vermutlich

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- 7 LIV 448 s.v. 1. **neb^h*-, als Primärstämme Präsens **nebh-e-* und Perfekt **ne-nób^h/nb^h*- nur aufgrund von gr. *συννέφει* ‘es wird bewölkt’, *ξυννένοφεν* (Aristophanes), *ἐπινέφει* (Aristoteles) rekonstruiert, sonst in den Namenbildungen bezeugt (**neb^h-os* n. ‘Feuchtigkeit, Nebel, Wolke’ → ‘Himmel’ usw.). Nun steht das gr. Verb unter dem Verdacht, eine innergriechische Rückbildung zu sein (so Frisk 1960–1973 2: 309; EWAJ 2: 13). Jav. Verbaladjektiv *napta-* ‘feucht’ wird als hierhergehörig betrachtet (LIV 448; NIL 500 s.v. **neb^h*-), obwohl sich aus **neb^h-to-* lautgesetzlich *airan. *nabda-* ergeben hätte (vgl. Brust 2008: 478). Weder in LIV noch in NIL wird mpers., npers. *naft* ‘Erdöl, Pech’ erwähnt.
- 8 Vgl. Dumézil (1978a: 37), Anm. 2: „pourquoi le pétrole serait-il appelé « l’humide » ?“.
- 9 ἄσφαλτος ... ὃ γρ ἂν ἦν καλοῦσι νάφθαν (Strabo XVI 1, 15, wo er Eratosthenes zitiert). Vgl. Plin NH II 235: (*naphtha*) *profluens bituminis liquidi modo*.
- 10 *Νάπας· ἡ κρήνη ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῆς Περσίδος ἱστορεῖται, ἡ φέρουσα τὴν ἄφθα*. Die Nebenform *ἄφθα*, die auch anderswo vorkommt, erklärt sich am besten durch Dekomponierung aus *τὴν νάφθα(v)*; anders Brust (2008: 479).

in die indogermanische Urzeit zurückreicht.¹¹ Der vedische *Apām Nápāt* ist eine im Weltmeer wohnende Hypostase des Feuergottes Agni und der avestische *Apqm Napā* eine Gottheit, die in der Tiefe des Sees Vourukaša das feurige Glückglanz *x^varənah* in seinem Besitz hat (Yt. 19, 51). An einer Stelle des Avesta (Yt. 5, 72) scheine der Name nicht den Gott selbst, sondern eine ihm geweihte Örtlichkeit zu bezeichnen, wobei es sich um einen Fluss, eine Quelle oder einen Berg handeln könne.¹² Es liegt nahe, daß bei Hesych unter dem Stichwort *Νάπας* am ehesten von einer solchen, dem Apām Nápāt heiligen Erdölquelle die Rede ist, in deren Namen die Bezeichnung des Gottes durch Weglassen des Genitivattributs *Apām* ‘der Wasser’ auf das Determinatum ‘Enkel’ reduziert wurde.¹³ Also scheint jene Avesta-Stelle die von Dumézil vorgeschlagene Interpretation zu unterstützen.¹⁴ Diese Deutung lässt sich auf das Naphtha-Wort selbst erstrecken, in dem Sinne, dass die brennbare Flüssigkeit nach der mythologischen Personifikation des im Wasser sich versteckenden Feuers bezeichnet wurde.¹⁵ Dabei wäre vom schwachen Stamm *napt-* auszugehen, wie er im avestischen Genitiv Singular *naptō* ‘Enkels’

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- 11 Von Dumézil ‘Feuer im Wasser (feu dans l’eau)’ genannt, wird es auch außerhalb des indoiranischen Bereichs, hinter den Gestalten des römischen Neptunus und des altirischen Nechtan, erkannt. Vgl. EIEC 203 f., mit Lit.
 - 12 AIW 1039a, vgl. in Lommels Übersetzung: „Ihr opferte Urtavazda, der Sohn des Purudāchšti und Urtavazda und Thritha, die Söhne des Sayždri bei dem erhabenen Herrn, dem gebietenden König Wasserkind, der schnelle Rosse hat, – hundert männliche Rosse ...“ (Lommel 1927: 38). Da das Opfer der Ardvī Sūrā Anāhita und nicht dem Apām Mapāt dargebracht wurde, lässt sich *upa. bərəzaṇtəm. ahurəm. xšaθrīm. xšaētəm. apqm. napātəm. auruuat. aspəm* als eine Ortsbezeichnung auffassen.
 - 13 Eher als erst in griechischer Wiedergabe kann die Univerbierung schon im einheimischen Gebrauch eingetreten sein, s.u. zu *νεφθαρ*. Angesichts von NSg *apers. napā*, avest. *napā* dürfte das auslautende Sigma in *Νάπας* auf Kosten der Gräzisierung gehen, jedoch hätte sich ein sigmatischer Nominativ **Napāt-s* lautgesetzmäßig zu **Napās* entwickelt haben.
 - 14 Es ist sogar nicht ausgeschlossen, dass eben von jener Kultstätte des Apam Napat die Rede ist, die im Ardisur-Yašt erwähnt wird. Freilich kann an mehreren Orten Ardisura den in einer Naphthaquelle verkörpertem Apam Napat als ihren Paredros gehabt haben. So wird von Strabo XVI 1, 4 unweit von Arbela, heute Erbil im irakischen Kurdistan, ein Heiligtum der Anahita erwähnt, bei dem sich eine brennende Naphthaquelle befand.
 - 15 Schon Herzfeld (1937: 23) kam zum Schluss, dass der iranische Myth von Apām Nápāt „alludes not only to *naphtha*, but seems to consider the name of the god as equivalent to *naphtha*. It is a kind of play on words“. Vgl. Forbes (1955: 12 f.).

vorkommt. Es ist sogar denkbar, dass eben der Genitiv **naptah* aus dem Syntagma *(Flüssigkeit) des Enkels (der Wasser)' abstrahiert und zum NSg m. **naptah* > mpers. *naft* 'Naphtha' umgedeutet wurde.

Man könnte einwenden, dass die hesychische Glosse eine zu schwache Grundlage für so weitreichende Schlussfolgerungen bietet. Dazu tritt aber ein weiteres Beweisstück hinzu, das von größerer Aussagekraft ist, von Herzfeld und Dumézil aber nicht herangezogen wurde. Es handelt sich um eine legendenhafte Geschichte, die man am Anfang des zweiten Makkabäerbuches liest (2. Makk 1, 18–36).¹⁶ Als die Juden ins Exil geführt wurden, sollen die Tempelpriester etwas von dem Altarfeuer in einem leeren Brunnen verborgen haben. Eineinhalb Jahrhunderte später habe Nehemia, vom Perserkönig nach Jerusalem gesandt,¹⁷ die Nachkommen jener Priester beauftragt, das versteckte Feuer zu holen. Stattdessen hätten sie aber im Brunnen ein „dickes Wasser“ (ὕδωρ παχύ) gefunden. Auf diese Nachricht hin habe Nehemia ihnen befohlen, etwas davon zu schöpfen und zu ihm zu bringen. Dann habe er die Priester mit dieser Flüssigkeit das Brennholz und die Opfergaben auf dem Altar begießen lassen. Als nach einiger Zeit die Sonne durch die Wolken gebrochen sei, habe sich dort ein großes Feuer entzündet und das Opfer verbrannt. Nach einer Lobpreisung Gottes wegen dieser Wundertat habe Nehemia das übrig gebliebene Wasser auf große Steine schütten lassen, die sobald aufgeflammt seien. Nach der Sache erkundigt, soll der Perserkönig den Ort umfrieden und für heilig erklären lassen. Die Leute um Nehemia hätten das Wasser *nephthar* genannt, was 'Reinigung' heiße, während die meisten es *nephthai* nannten.¹⁸

Seit langem wurde diese Geschichte als ein Stück altiranischer Mythologie im jüdischen Gewande erkannt (Benfey, Stern 1836: 204–216; Gottheil 1894: 30 f., Anm. 2; Bidez, Cummont 1938 1: 50). Nehemias als Vertrauensmann des Perserkönigs in der Hauptrolle sowie der aktive Anteil, den der König selbst an der Sache nimmt, bilden einen unverkennbar persischen Hintergrund der Erzählung, und sonst sind zum darin beschriebenen Feuerwunder Parallelen im Zoroastrismus viel eher als im Judentum zu finden. In diesem Zusammenhang wurde insbesondere auf eine Stelle bei Pausanias hingewiesen, wo von der Selbstentzündung des Brennholzes

16 Sie wird in dem angehängten Sendschreiben an Aristobul, den Lehrer des Königs Ptolämaus und die ägyptischen Judäer erzählt.

17 Nehemia wurde 445 von Artaxerxes I, an dessen Hof er bis dahin Mundschenk war, zum Statthalter von Juda ernannt.

18 2 Makk. 1, 36: προσηγόρευσαν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Νεεμῖαν τοῦτο νεφθαρ, ὃ διερμηνεύται καθαρισμός· καλεῖται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς νεφθαί.

(ἄνευ πυρὸς ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα) auf dem Altar in den zoroastrischen Feuertempeln die Rede ist, anscheinend nur durch Rezitation der Priester verursacht.¹⁹ Mit dem religionsgeschichtlichen Befund stimmt der sprachliche überein, denn das Wort *νεφθαρ* lässt sich kaum anders als heteroklitischer Stamm *naptar-* von airan. *napat-*, *napt-* ‘Abkömmling, Enkel’ deuten;²⁰ vgl. jav. AkkSg *naptārəm* Y. 71, 23, GSg *na-fədrō* Y. 1, 5, in beiden Fällen mit der Ergänzung *apqm* und auf den Apām Napāt bezogen.²¹ Die Deutung als ‘καθαρισμός’ erklärt sich durch die rituelle Verbindung von Feuer und Wasser in den kathartischen Riten der alten Iranier.²² Dem Synonym *νεφθα* in 2. Makk. 1, 36 liegt wohl entweder griechisch *νάφθα* oder mittelpersisch *naft* zugrunde. Dass die drei Formen, die in der griechischen Überlieferung im Zusammenhang mit Erdöl vorkommen, neben *νάφθα(ς)* auch die Hapax legomena *Νάπας* und *νεφθαρ*, den dreien Stämmen des altiranischen Wortes für ‘Enkel’: *napat-* : *Νάπας*, *napt-* : *νάφθα* und *naptar-* : *νεφθαρ* entsprechen, kann kein Zufall sein. Es geht klar hervor, dass von den alten Iraniern das Erdöl als natürliches Phänomen in Beziehung zu ihrer uralten Vorstellung vom „Feuer im Wasser“ gesetzt wurde, die sich in der mythologischen Gestalt von Apām Napāt verkörperte. Der begrifflichen Annäherung kann der Anklang dieses mythischen Namens, in seinem schwachen Stamm *Napt-*, ans Wort für ‘Petroleum’ beigetragen haben, mag es sich dabei um eine Entlehnung aus dem Akkadischen oder um eine einheimische

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- 19 Paus. V 27, 6, wo er als Augenzeuge (θεασάμενος οἶδα, ib. 5) die Kultbräuche der Magier beschreibt, wie sie zu seiner Zeit (2. Jh. n. Chr.) in den lydischen Städten Hierokaisa-reia und Hypaipa ausgeübt wurden. (Bidez, Cummont 1938 1: 50; vgl. dort 147 f. und Wikander 1946: 83).
- 20 Zu dieser naheliegenden Erkenntnis habe ich selbst vor vielen Jahren gekommen, ohne zu wissen, dass im gleichen Sinne das Wort schon in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jh. interpretiert worden war (Benfey, Stern 1836: 208 ff.). Zu diesem Werk, das in der Diskussion über das Wort *νάφθα*, pers. *naft* weitgehend unbeachtet blieb, hat mich erst vor kurzem die Literaturangabe in Hastings (1898: 513) geführt, wo auch auf gescheiterte Versuche hingewiesen wird, eine semitische Etymologie für *νεφθαρ* zu finden.
- 21 Obwohl sekundär, durch Anlehnung an die Verwandtschaftswörter auf **ter-* entstanden, ist diese Form uralte, schon indoiranisch, vgl. aind. *nāptāram*, *nāptre*, *nāptrā*, *nāptur*, *nāptṛñ*, *nāptṛbhis* und indogermanisch, vgl. russ.-, serb.-ksl., skr. dial. *nesterā* ‘Nichte’, apoln. *nieściora*, tschech. *neť*, *neterě*, slovak. *neter* (NIL 521; EWAJa 2: 11 f., zu den slav. Formen M. Bjeletić in ERSJ OS 60 f.).
- 22 Benfey, Stern (1836: 205 ff.), mit Nachdruck auf die enge Beziehung zwischen Apām Napāt und Ardvīsūra Anāhita. Zu indoiranischen Wurzeln dieser Verankerung vgl. Widengren (1965: 34 f.).

Ableitung von der Wurzel 'fließen' handeln. Es ist sogar nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die indoiranische mythologische Benennung des Feuers 'Abkömmling der Wasser, Wasserkind' der Geburtsort des Appellativums war, d.h. dass apers. **napta*- 'Naphthe' auf die oben angedeutete Weise aus **Napās*, *Naptah* entstand, um zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt²³ ins Akkadische entlehnt zu werden. Dies stünde zwar im Widerspruch zur Überzeugung, die alten Iranier hätten sich erst in historischer Zeit auf dem Boden Mesopotamiens mit dem Erdöl vertraut gemacht. Jedoch lässt sich die kulturgeschichtliche Perspektive umkehren. Wenn die bronzezeitliche Urheimat der Indoiranier im pontisch-kaspischen Steppengürtel lag, wie man allgemein annimmt, muss ihnen schon damals das Kaspische Meer mit seinen Ressourcen von Erdöl und Erdgas in den Gesichtskreis geraten sein.²⁴ Dort, und besonders in Aserbaidschan, finden sich mehr als irgend anderswo in der Welt die Schlammvulkane, untermeerisch wie auch an Land, deren Ausbrüche manchmal mit hoch lodernden Flammen begleitet sind. Eine unmittelbare oder mittelbare Bekanntschaft mit dieser Naturerscheinung konnte schon in der indoiranischen Vorzeit die Vorstellung vom wassergeborenen Feuer hervorrufen oder mindestens verstärken bzw. verbildlichen.²⁵ Da das ursprüngliche Denotat des mythischen Namens *Vourukaša*- eben das Kaspische Meer gewesen zu sein scheint,²⁶ ist es bezeichnend, dass man sich Apām Napāt im Besitz von *xvarnah* eben auf dem Grund des Vourukaša-Sees vorstellte.

2. *σανδαράκη, σάνδυξ*

Die kultische Verbindung zwischen dem Apam Napat und der Wassergöttin Anahita ist wohl vorzoroastrisch und scheint auch den nordpontischen Iraniern bekannt gewesen zu sein. Im Kult der taurischen Jungfrau wird „das heilige Feuer drin

23 Das Wort ist jedoch im Akkadischen seit alter Zeit belegt (CAD XI 1: 326), was eher auf eine Entlehnung in umgekehrten Richtung hinwies, vgl. Brust (2008: 477), dort auch zu den Möglichkeiten, *naptu* aus semitischen Sprachmitteln zu deuten.

24 Vgl. Herzfeld (1937: 22), wo er zulässt, dass die alten Iranier mit Naphthaquellen schon im zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr. sich vertraut gemacht können, als sie in zentralasiatischen Ebenen lebten.

25 Im Falle dass sie ihre urindogermanischen Wurzeln hat (s.o. Anm. 11).

26 Herzfeld (1937), Planhol (1990), unter Hinweis auf Brunnhofer (1910: 39 ff.), der *Vourukaša*- mit *Uruḥkaša*- RV VI 45, 31 gleichsetzt und daraus auf eine gemeinsame indoiranische Bezeichnung des Kaspischen Meeres schließt; das ist aber höchst fraglich, da sich es um eine schwierige vedische Stelle handelt, die verschiedentlich interpretiert wird, vgl. Macdonell, Keith (1912: 99).

und der weite Felsenschlund“ erwähnt (*πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας*, Eur. IT 626), wo vermutlich von einer brennenden Erdgasquelle die Rede ist (Loma 2008: 220 f.). Ein formulaischer Ausdruck für das 'heilige Feuer' war dem Sarmatischen bekannt; man erkennt ihn als dem Bergnamen *Ψευδαρτάκη* zugrundeliegend, wo eine Ableitung auf *-aka* vorliegt, deren Stamm sich in die Vorläufer von *oset. *ævzænd* 'heilig'²⁷ und *art* 'Feuer' zerlegen lässt.²⁸ Von Stephan als *λόφος ἐν Σκυθίᾳ μετὰ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἅγιον ὄρος* glossiert, dürfte dieser Name eine Kultstätte bezeichnet haben, was ja durch die Erwähnung eines benachbarten 'Heiligen Bergs' nahegelegt wird. Daneben führt unter dem griechischen Namen Ἅγιον Stephan aus Skythien auch ein Heiligtum des Asklepios an, wofür er als seine Quelle Alexander Polyhistor angibt.²⁹ Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um dieselbe Ortschaft wie das obengenannte Ἅγιον ὄρος, was Anlass gibt, auch die Angabe über Pseudartake dem Polyhistor zuzuschreiben, der zur Zeit Sullas, kurz nach der Mitte des letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts schrieb.³⁰ Anscheinend waren in Polyhistor's verlorengegangenen Werk die Küstenstriche Skythiens in Form eines Periplus beschrieben worden.³¹ Derselben Quelle dürfte man auch das Lemma *Ψευδαρτάκη* zuschreiben, wo *μετὰ* 'hinter' darauf hinweist, dass die Angabe einer Beschreibung entnommen wurde, die der Küstenlinie folgte. Das war wohl in der Westostrichtung, wie bei Herodot IV 47–58 und Pseudo-Skylax 68, wo *μετὰ* wiederholt im Sinne 'östlich davon' gebraucht wird. Wenn der 'Heilige Berg' mit dem heutigen Kara-Dag am südöstlichen Ufer der Krim gleichzusetzen ist,³² drängt sich die Annahme auf, dass sich der Name *Pseudartake* auf einen

27 Nur im Namen einer Lokalgottheit (Dzuar) *Ævzændæg* < **Spantaka*- erhalten geblieben (Abaev 1958–1995 I: 210). Die sarmatische Namenform weist noch kein prothetisches *æ*- vor der anlautenden Konsonantengruppe auf.

28 *Ψευδαρτάκη* bei Stephan von Byzanz s.v.; die Verbesserung der überlieferten Form und die oben dargelegte Deutung gehen auf Marquart (1905: 88) zurück; sie fanden eine allgemeine Zustimmung (Vasmer 1923: 155; Harmatta 1970: 86; Abaev 1979: 282, 304). Zur Verwechslung von *ν* und *υ* wird unter dem Einfluss der zahlreichen griech. Komposita auf *ψευδ(ο)*- gekommen sein, vgl. etwa den Namen des falschen persischen Gesandten *Ψευδαρτάβας* bei Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 100.

29 Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἅγιον, *τόπος Σκυθίας, ἐν ᾧ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐτιμᾶτο, ὡς Πολύιστωρ.*

30 Das wurde schon von Stephans Herausgeber August Meinecke angenommen.

31 Darauf weist die Tatsache hin, dass alle anderen nordpontischen Ortsnamen, die Stephan aus dem Polyhistor hat: *Τύρας, Τάναϊς, Ὑπανίς*, Küstenstädte an den Mündungen der gleichnamigen Strömen bezeichnen.

32 Wie es Šapošnikov (1997) vorschlägt.

der Schlammvulkane auf der Halbinsel Kertsch bezog, die sich, von Westen aus gesehen, h i n t e r dem Kara-Dag erstreckt.³³ Die Bezeichnung als ‘Hügel des heiligen Feuers’ würde sich gut solch einer Naturscheinung eignen.

Das sarmatische **psänd art* ‘heiliges Feuer’ geht auf gemeiniranisch **tsvan-ta- āθr-* (neben *ātar-*) zurück, eine sakrale Formel, die im Avesta als *atar- spānta-* (Yt. 13, 85; Ny. 5, 6; Y. 62, 8), auch im Superlativ *ātar spāništa* (*ātrām spāništām yazamaide* Y. 17.11 = 59.11) wiederkehrt.³⁴ Ursprünglich scheint sie eben das selbst brennendes, unauslöschliches Feuer in der Erde und den Bergen bezeichnet zu haben, das sich nach zoroastrischer Auffassung vor Ahura Mazda und den Königen befindet.³⁵ Die Beziehung dieses ‘heiligsten Feuers’ zur (göttlichen und menschlichen) Herrschaft führt uns zum avestischen Apām Napāt zurück, der unter dem See wohnt und dort das fliehende Chvarnah ergreift, das seinen Besitzern Überlegenheit über ihre Gegner verleiht. Den beiden mythischen Begriffen, dem ‘Enkel der Wasser’ und dem ‘Herrschaftsglanz’, scheint dasselbe Motiv eines latenten, im Wasser verborgenen Feuer zugrundezuliegen.³⁶

33 Der größte davon ist heute Dschau-Tepe, rund 120 m hoch.

34 Auf der indischen Seite hätte avest. *Ātar- Spāništa-* ein Gegenstück in **Agni- Paniṣṭha-* (RV III 1, 13; VI 59, 2, VIII 74, 3), unter der Voraussetzung, dass ved. *pan-* als Entlehnung aus einer ostiranischen Mundart das genuine aind. *śvan-* verdrängt hat (Herzenberg 1972: 107 f., vgl. auch Mayrhofer EWAia 2: 80 f.). Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verhältnis von aind. *Agni-* : airan. *Ātar-/Apr-* vgl. Wikander (1946: 102 ff.).

35 Das geht aus der Pahlavi-Übersetzung hervor; im Bundahišn XVII ist es mit dem Feuer *bərəzīsavah-* vertauscht, s. AIW 961, 1618 f., vgl. Justi (1868: 22 f.).

36 Das letztere sei ja „ein in der iranischen Geistesgeschichte sehr wichtiger, aber zugleich semantisch schwer zu fassender Begriff“ (Hintze 1994: 15), und die hier angenommene Übersetzung als ‘Herrschaftsglanz’ ist nur eine von vielen möglichen. Wie es Hintze (1994: 17) betont, die sehr unterschiedlichen Begriffsbestimmungen von avest. *xʷarənah-* gründeten sich mehr auf verschiedene etymologische Zuordnungen des Wortes als auf eine Analyse der avestischen Textstellen, wo es vorkommt. Die Annahme, dass sich es um ein feuriges, der Sonne entstammendes Fluidum handelt, das durch einen Strahlennimbus verbildlicht wurde, geht von der Etymologie aus, die *xʷarənah-* zu avest. *huuvar-*, aind. *svar-* < idg. **séh₂uel-* ‘Sonne’ stellt (zuletzt Janda 2005: 275 ff., mit früherer Lit., vgl. NIL 611, Anm. 16; von Hintze 1994: 28 f. aus formalen Gründen abgelehnt), während Bailey (1971: xvi–xix) und zuletzt Lubotsky (1998 s.u. Anm. 39), von unterschiedlichen etymologischen Anknüpfungen ausgehend, zu anderen Grundbedeutungen, ‘a thing obtained’ bzw. ‘sovereignty, abundance’ kommen. Hintze (1994: 31 f.) bevorzugt, einer mündlichen Mitteilung Karl Hoffmans folgend, die Ableitung von der idg. Wurzel **suel-* ‘schwelen’ (vgl. jetzt NIL 609) und erwägt eine poetisch klingende

Die Heiligkeit des Feuers konnte in altiranischer Weltanschauung auf alles Feuerfarbige übertragen werden, vor allem auf das Gold. Laut Strabon schmücken die Perser ihre Kinder mit Gold, denn sie ehren das, was (eigtl. wessen Farbe) dem Feuer ähnelt.³⁷ Brennendes Gold scheint bei den Skythen das Sinnbild des Chvarnah gewesen zu sein,³⁸ das von ihnen im Zusammenhang mit einer nordiranischen Hypostase des Apām Napāt verehrt wurde.³⁹ Am Achämenidenhof soll der Brauch

Interpretation von *x^varānah*- als ‘das Bild des Sonnenlichts, das sich im Wasser glitzernd spiegelt’. Nun stimmt ein Bedeutungsansatz ‘das Schwelende’ ziemlich gut mit der Vorstellung von einem latenten, in den Gewässern, mit denen das avestische Chvarnah eng verbunden ist, ruhenden Feuer. Letzten Endes lasse sich Apām Napāt mit dem Chvarnah gleichsetzen, im Sinne, dass er nicht nur der Behüter des Feuers im Wasser sei, sondern es verkörpere (Puhvel 1973).

37 Strabo XV 3, 18: (τῶν Περσῶν) τὸ πυρῶπὸν τιθέμενων ἐν τιμῇ.

38 So sollen die vom Himmel gefallen goldenen Geräte in der skythischen Abstammungssage Hdt. IV 5–6 interpretiert werden, die sich ähnlich wie das fliehende Chvarnah verhalten: Sie brennen, wenn ihm ein unqualifizierter Kandidat für die Königswürde Zutritt, und löschen seine Flamme vor jenem, dem das Königtum zuteil werden soll.

39 Sie ist hinter dem skythischen Poseidon zu erkennen, der, laut Herodot IV 59, im Unterschied zu den anderen Gottheiten des skythischen Pantheons, nicht bei dem gesamten Volk sondern nur bei den ‘Königsskythen’ (βασιλῆιοι Σκυῖται) Verehrung genoss, was sich dadurch erklärt, dass er als Besitzer und Verleiher des Königsglanzes galt. Die Gleichsetzung mit Poseidon hatte wohl nichts mit dem See zu tun (als Steppennomade, hatten die Skythen gegen Seefahrt eine Abneigung, die in einem Spruch des Anacharsis ihren Ausdruck findet), sondern wurde durch die enge Beziehung zum Pferd veranlasst, die der griechische Gott, auch Hippios genannt, mit dem indoiranischen Apām Napāt gemeinsam hat, in der sich ihre gemeinsamen indogermanischen Wurzeln widerspiegeln (so schon Gray 1900: 35). Der skythische Name des Gottes *Θαγμασάδας* Nom. Hdt, l.c.; *Θαγμασάδα* Acc. Origenes *contra Celsum* VI 39 lässt sich in Bezug auf die Epiklesen des Apām Napāt avest. *aurvaṭ-aspa*- ‘der schnelle Rosse hat’, ved. *āśu-héman*- ‘die raschen Renner antreibend’ und unter Berücksichtigung der dem Skythischen eigenen Lautentwicklungen ungezwungen als ‘kräftige Rosse treibend’ deuten (Loma 2000: 342). Die Annahme, avest. *x^varānah*-, apers. *farnah*- sei ein frühes Lehnwort aus dem Skythischen, wo das Wort auf **parnah*- als altiran. Entsprechung von aind. *pārīṇas*- ‘Fülle, Reichtum’ zurückgehe (so Lubotsky 1998), klingt anachronistisch, denn sie schreibt dem Skythischen des 8. vorchristlichen Jh. eine Lautentwicklung zu, die viele Jahrhunderte später im Sarmatischen stattfand, wobei es sich um zwei vom Anfang an verschiedenen altiranischen Mundarten, und nicht um zwei Entwicklungsphasen einer Mundart handelt, wie der Verfasser glaubt.

bestanden haben, von einem sogenannten ‘goldenen’, d.h. wohl mit Goldstaub versetzten, Wasser (*χρυσοῦν καλούμενον ὕδωρ*) zu trinken, was jedoch nur dem König und seinem ältesten Sohn erlaubt gewesen sei und allen anderen unter der Androhung der Todesstrafe verboten.⁴⁰ Es wird sich wohl um ein mit Goldstaub versetztes Wasser gehandelt haben, wobei die Beschränkung des Privilegs auf den jeweiligen Herrscher und den Thronerben eine symbolische Kommunion mit dem Herrschaft verleihenden ‘Feuer im Wasser’ klar andeutet.

Das goldhaltige Wasser kann auch eine kathartische Funktion gehabt haben, wie es aus einer Stelle der Avesta hervorgeht, wo vom „Schwefel und Gold enthaltenden, die Ermittlung der Schuld bewirkenden Wasser“ (*āpəm saokantavitīm zaranyāvaitīm viθušavaitīm* Vd. 4, 54) die Rede ist, das man bei dem Ordal trank – man erinnere sich an *καθαρισμός* als Übersetzung für *νεφθαρ* im zweiten Makkabäerbuch.

Neben dem Gold ist hier auch Schwefel dem reinigenden Wasser beigemischt. Dieselbe Rolle scheint der Realgar gespielt zu haben, ein rotes bis orangefarbenes Arsen-Schwefel Mineral, auch rotes Arsensulfid, Sandarach, rotes Auripigment genannt. In seiner Schilderung der angeblichen Indienreise des Apollonios von Tyana erwähnt Philostratos (*Vita Apollonii* III 14) den sogenannten Brunnen der Prüfung (*φρέαρ ἐλέγχου*), aus dem sich ein sonst dunkelblaues, am Mittag aber regenbogenfarbiges Strahlen emporhebe; die Erde unter ihm sei reich an Realgar (*σανδαρακίνη*), und das Brunnenwasser werde heilig (*ἀπόρρητον*) gehalten; doch niemand trinke es oder schöpfe, sondern diene es dem ganzen Indien zum Schwur (*ὄρκιον ... νομίζοιτο*). Daneben stehe ein Feuerkessel (*κρατήρ πυρός*) mit bleifarbigem, rauch- und geruchloser Flamme, die immer gleich brenne ohne überzulaufen: man glaube, der Sonnengott selbst habe einst dieses Feuer mit seinen Strahlen entzündet, so dass es durch mystische Riten verehrt werde (*ὀργιάζειν*) und zur Reinigung von den unwilligen Verbrechen diene; man nenne es „Feuer des Sündenerlasses“ (*πῦρ ξυγγνώμης*). Alles wird in einen indischen Kontext gesetzt, eine von Apollonios angeblich besuchte Brahmanenstadt, auf dem Gipfel eines Hügels (*λόφος*) gebaut, den man für den Mittelpunkt, „den Nabel“ des indischen Landes halte. Da aber die von Philostratos ausführlich erzählte Indienreise des Apollonios allem Anschein nach einer reellen Grundlage entbehrt, dürfte auch die Beschreibung der beiden sagenhaften Kultobjekte, des Brunnens und des ewigen Feuers, eher einer iranischen (zoroastrischen?) Mitte entstammen, zumal

40 Agathokles von Kyzikos, von Athenaios, *Deipnosopistae* XII 9 zitiert, vgl. Clemen (1920: 89 f.).

zu jener Zeit große Teile Indiens von Iraniern – Parthern und Skythen (Saken) beherrscht wurden.⁴¹

In Vorstellungen der nordpontischen Iranier kam dem Realgar eine Rolle zu. Es war ein Bestattungsbrauch bei den Sarmaten, die Toten mit Realgar zu bestreuen oder Klumpen davon in die Grabschäfte niederzulegen (Sulimirski 1970: 41; 86), worin man ein Symbol des Feuerkultes sieht (Rybakov 1989: 133). Im Wasser enthalten, scheint dieses Mineral ein Verehrungsgegenstand bei den Skythen gewesen zu sein. Herodot IV 52 spricht von einer bitteren Quelle, die das Wasser des großen Flusses Hypanis, in den sich sie ergieße, bitter mache; ihr Name, wie auch der Gegend, aus der sie fließe, sei auf Skythisch Exampäos (Ἐξαμπαῖος), nach der griechischen Sprache ‘Heilige Wege’.⁴² Herodots Bericht wird durch Vitruvius in seiner Schrift über die Architektur VIII 3, 11 nacherzählt, mit einer für uns wichtigen Ergänzung: Das Wasser der Quelle,⁴³ werde bitter, weil es durch derartige Erde und Adern rinne, woraus man Realgar (*sandaraca*) grabe.⁴⁴ Dazu stimmt seine vorige Bemerkung (VII 7, 5), Realgar finde man an vielen Orten, das beste aber im Pontus bei dem Hypanisfluss.⁴⁵ Die Heiligkeit der Ortschaft wird schon durch Herodots Übersetzung ihres Namens als ‘Heilige Wege’ (oder ‘Pilgerwege’?)⁴⁶ angedeutet

41 Der Bericht vom Indienaufenthalt Apollonios konzentriert sich auf einen indo-part-hischen König in Taxila, dessen Name, Φραότης, iranisch klingt (**Frahāta*- nach Justi 1895: 102).

42 IV 52: οὐνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ Σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἐξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραι Ὀδοί. Es ist möglich, nicht aber gesichert, dass der skythische Name hier von Herodot glossiert wird, s.u. Anm. 46.

43 Er nennt ihren Namen nicht, s. dazu u. Anm. 69.

44 Vitruvii de architectura libri decem ed. F. Krohn, Lipsiae MCMXII, VIII 3, 11: *item sunt ex amaro suco terrae fontes exeuntes vehementer amari, ut in Ponto est flumen Hypanis. <is> a capite profluit circiter milia XL sapore dulcissimo; deinde, cum pervenit ad locum, qui est ab ostio milia CLX, admiscetur ei fonticulus oppido quam parvulus. is cum in eum influit, tunc tantam magnitudinem fluminis facit amaram, ideo quod per id genus terrae et venas, unde sandaracam fodiunt, ea aqua manando perficitur amara.*

45 Vit. de arch. VII 7, 5: *auripigmentum, quod αρσενικον graece dicitur, foditur Ponto. sandaraca item pluribus locis, sed optima Ponto proxime flumen Hypanim habet metallum.* Offensichtlich schöpfte Vitruvius an beiden Stellen aus einer derselben, uns unbekannten Quelle.

46 Der Name Ἐξαμπαῖος bleibt bislang ohne überzeugende Erklärung (Mayrhofer 2006: 12). Eine wörtliche Übersetzung durch Ἰραι Ὀδοί nahm Marquart an, indem er -παῖος) zu avest. *paḍayō* ‘Wege’ und ἔξαμ- zu osset. **æfsand*- ‘heilig’ stellte (Marquart 1905: 88 ff.); während die erstere Ableitung immer noch möglich zu sein scheint, ist die

und noch klarer durch seine weitere Angabe (IV 81), der skythische König Ariantas habe dort einen riesigen Bronzekessel geweiht.⁴⁷ Raevskij (1977: 113 ff.) schlägt vor, in Exampäus die zentrale Kultstätte des ganzen Skythien zu sehen, die man sich als Mittelpunkt des von Herodot IV 101 beschriebenen „skythischen Vierecks“ vorstellte, wodurch die Weltachse verläuft und der kürzeste Weg zwischen Himmel und Erde führt, wo sich einst der mythologische Schöpfungsakt abgespielt hat. Die genaue Lage des Exampäus ist noch nicht festgestellt. Davon ausgehend, dass Hypanis der heutige Südliche Bug ist, wurden zur Identifizierung mehrere seiner linken Zuflüsse in Betracht gezogen: Sinjucha, Mertvovod (‘Totes Wasser’), Gniloj (‘der Faule’) Elanec, Černyj Tašlyk: die genannten Flüsse seien wirklich phosphat- und kupferhaltig, was den Geschmack ihres Wassers beträchtlich verschlechtern soll, und im Quellgebiet der Sinjucha habe es bis vor kurzer Zeit einige Salzteiche gegeben.⁴⁸ Nun erhebt sich nahe der Mündung des Černyj Tašlyk der Berg

letztere – auch von Dumézil (1978b: 305 f.), ohne Hinweis auf Marquart, erwogen – als ganz gezwungen und anachronistisch zu beurteilen, denn dem Skythischen des fünften vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts wird ein prothetisches æ- zugemutet, das im späteren Sarmatischen noch nicht vorkommt (s.o. Anm. 27 zum Bergnamen **Psändārtaka*-), sondern eine junge Entwicklung des Ossetischen darstellt (richtig schon Vasmer 1923: 116). Marquarts Deutung wurde von Witczak (1992: 58) wieder aufgegriffen und modifiziert, indem er als Hinterglied ebenfalls **pathayas* ‘Wege’, als Vorderglied aber ein Gen. pl. von **yakša*- = aind. *yākṣa*- ‘(Wunder)erscheinung, Gespenst, Yakṣa’ annahm. Jedoch hat das aind. Wort keine Entsprechung im Iranischen und der Bedeutungsansatz ‘Wege der Gespenster (?)’ ist fraglich. Wenn eine Glosse *Ἐξαμπαῖος ἱππὶ ὁδοί* wirklich vorliegt, eher als wortgetreue Wiedergabe der skythischen Vorlage wäre das griechische Syntagma als ihre freie Umschreibung aufzufassen. Im Griechischen ist *ἱερὰ ὁδός* eigentlich ‘der Pilgerweg’, wie bei Herodot selbst VI 34, wo vom nach Delphi führenden Weg die Rede ist, oder bei Pausanias I 36, 3 (der Weg von Athen nach Eleusis), V 25, 7 (von Elis nach Olympia). Es erübrigt sich hier in andere Deutungsversuche einzugehen, darunter solche, die dem skythischen Namen eine vom griechischen ganz verschiedene Bedeutung zugrundelegen; der Literatur, die Mayrhofer (2006) anführt, sind etwa die indoarische Etymologie Trubačevs (*akṣama-pāya*- ‘mit ungeeignetem Wasser’, zuletzt 1999: 223) und Schramms (1981: 196) Vergleich mit dem dakischen (?) Flussnamen in der Dobrudscha [S]*ampaueus* hinzuzufügen.

47 So ist das Verb *ἀναθεῖναι* aufzufassen, obwohl die Gottheit, der die Weihung galt, nicht erwähnt wird (s. dazu unten).

48 Agbunov (1989: 38 f.), dort auch zu der Erklärung durch das Heraufdringen des salzigen Meerwassers tief in den Sumpf, in dem nach Herodot IV 53 die Mündung des mit Borysthenes = Dniepr vereinigten Hypanis endete (vgl. auch Anmerkung zu Hdt. IV 52

Lysaja Gora, eine archäologisch erforschte Kultstätte skythischer Zeit, wo Rybakov (1979: 36 f. mit Anm. 15) geneigt ist, Exampäos mit dem Heiligtum und dem Kessel des Ariantas zu lokalisieren. Aus der Zusammenstellung schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen ergibt sich etwas, was an die von Philostratus beschriebene Szenerie stark erinnert: Ein Realgar enthaltendes Wasser und ein ritueller Kessel nebeneinander auf einem Hügel, der als Zentrum des Landes gegolten haben soll bzw. dürfte. Nur fehlt ein Hinweis darauf, dass der Kessel des Ariantas, wie der indische, dem Feuerkult diene. Wenn man aber zulässt, dass, eher als eine andere Gottheit, der Empfänger der Votivgabe des Königs, die die Einheit des skythischen Volkes verkörperte,⁴⁹ Poseidon-Thagimasadas, der göttliche Schirmherr des skythischen Königshauses war, von uns als Hypostase des Apām Napāt (und zugleich des von ihm besitzten oder mit ihm grundsätzlich identischen Chvarnah) erkannt,⁵⁰ so wiese das beide, die natürliche Beschaffenheit des Ortes, durch eine Mineralquelle gekennzeichnet, und der dort ausgeübte Kult, eine Beziehung zum mythologischen Motiv des „Feuers im Wasser“ auf.

Damit kommen wir, nach mehr als fünfzehn Jahren, auf die Etymologie von gr. *σανδαράκη* 'Realgar' zurück, woraus über lat. *sandaraca* dt. *Sandarach* stammt. Seit der Mitte des 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts belegt,⁵¹ lässt sich das Wort aus den griechischen Sprachmitteln nicht deuten.

in VDI 1947 2: 267), die weniger wahrscheinlich ist, denn sie widerspricht den Entfernungsangaben von Herodot und Vitruvius: Das Gegend, wo das Wasser des Hypanis bitter werde, sei von seiner Mündung aufwärts nach dem ersteren vier Tagfahrten, und nach dem letzteren hundertsechzig Meilen entfernt.

- 49 Ariantas soll den ehernen Kessel aus Pfeilspitzen gemacht haben, nachdem auf seinen Befehl hin jeder Skythe Spitze von seinem Pfeile ihm geliefert hätte, damit er die Zahl seiner Untertanen feststelle. Kein numerisches Ergebnis der so durchgeführten Volkszählung, die ja nur kriegsfähige Männer umfasste, wird von Herodot genannt; die Pointe der Erzählung liegt nicht in der Summe der einzelnen Beisteuern, sondern in der einheitlichen Bronzemasse, die sich daraus ergab.
- 50 Dem Namen des Königs *Ἀριάντας* liegt am wahrscheinlichsten altiran. Adjektiv **aryavant-* zugrunde (Müllenhoff 1892: 122; Vasmer 1923: 115; ablehnend, aus lautlichen Gründen, Schmitt 2003: 4, vgl. auch Mayrhofer 2006: 10), das als 'reich an Ariern/ Ariertum' interpretiert und mit dem Begriff des 'arischen Chvarnah', avest. *airiianam xʷarəno*, in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann.
- 51 In den älteren Schriften des Corpus Hippocraticum, wo auch die Nebenform *σανδαράχη* vorkommt, und bei Herodot I 98 durch das Adjektiv *σανδαράκιος*, von Farbe gebraucht, mit der Schutzwehren der fünften Ringmauer des Palastes übertüncht waren, den der

Ein Zusammenhang mit aind. *sindūra*- ‘Mennig-’ wurde von Jacob (1889: 386 f.) angenommen; fünf Jahre später warf Uhlenbeck (1894: 331 f.) aus lautlichen Gründen diesen Vergleich ab, hielt aber an indischem Ursprung des Wortes fest und erwog eine Bahuvrihi-Zusammensetzung, **candra-rāga*- ‘Mondglanz habend’ oder **candana-rāga*- ‘Sandelglanz habend’, zu *candana*- m., n. ‘Sandel(-baum, -holz)’.⁵² In sein etymologisches Wörterbuch entschied er sich von seinen beiden Deutungsvorschlägen nur den ersten einzutragen,⁵³ den dann als einzigen Boisacq (1916: 851) s.v. *σανδαράκη* anführt, obwohl er dort auch Uhlenbecks Aufsatz aus 1894 zitiert.⁵⁴ Wenn Cuendet (1944: 15) der Deutung als *candrarāga*- ‘ayant l’éclat de la lune’ den Ansatz *candana-rāga*- ‘teinture de santal’ bevorzugt, dürfte auch ihm dieser Aufsatz vorgelegen haben, obgleich er dort nur auf Uhlenbecks etymologisches Wörterbuch für die erstere, seiner Meinung nach weniger plausible Etymologie verweist. Folglich wurde Cuendet in Frisk (1960–1973 2: 675) zu jenem, der Uhlenbecks „ganz unsichere Vermutung“ *candrarāga*- in *candana-rāga*- zu verbessern versucht habe, wobei für die letztere Form fehlerhaft der Bedeutungsansatz als ‘sandfarbig’ angegeben wird.⁵⁵ Das wurde ohne jegliche Nachprüfung von Beekes (2010) übernommen, wo man „*candana-rāga*- ‘sand-coloured’“ ließt, mit dem irreführenden Verweis auf KEWA 1: 373 s.v. *candanaḥ*.⁵⁶ Sonst ist in den einschlägigen etymologischen Wörterbüchern des Griechischen wenig neues zu lesen. „Orientalisches Lehnwort aus unbekannter Quelle“ – „Emprunt oriental d’origine inconnue“, wird es unisono von Frisk (1960–1973 2: 675) und Chantraine (1968–1980: 987) beurteilt. Was Beekes (2010: 1305 f.) hinzuzufügen vermochte, ist, wie in vielen anderen Fällen, nur eine vage Vermutung über „vorgriechischen“ Ursprung: „Long taken to be an Oriental loanword from an unknown source ... The variation κ/χ could also point to Pre-Greek origin“.

medische König Deiokes in Ekbatana bauen ließ. Das Wort wird auch metaphorisch gebraucht, um das Bienenbrot zu bezeichnen (Arist. Hist. an. 626a).

52 Wohl dravidischen Ursprungs (KEWA I 373).

53 Uhlenbeck (1898–1899: 355 s.v. *candrás*), vgl. 88 s.v. *sindūram*, wo er für *σανδαράκη* einen Ansatz *sindūraka*- als nicht wahrscheinlich ablehnt.

54 So auch Hofmann (1950 s.v.), der aind. *candra-rāga*- nicht als rekonstruiertes, sondern als tatsächlich belegtes Wort anführt.

55 In den „Corrigenda“, Frisk (1960–1973 3: 308), blieb dieser Fehler unbeachtet.

56 Auch die Referenz auf das Stichwort *candanaḥ* in KEWA wird Beekes (2010) wohl aus Frisk (1960–1973) abgeschrieben haben; an der betreffenden Stelle übersetzt Mayrhofer **candana-raga*- richtig als ‘sandelfarbig’.

In der Zwischenzeit sind wir mit einem neuen Deutungsvorschlag hervorgetreten. Nach unserer Interpretation, geht das griechische Wort auf ein altiranisches Kompositum **sandāhraka-* zurück dem die Formel **tsvanta- āθr-* 'heiliges Feuer' zugrundeliegt, wobei die Ableitung auf *-aka-* eine genaue Entsprechung im oben besprochenen sarmatischen Bergnamen **Psändārtaka-* hat.⁵⁷ Knapp formuliert und innerhalb eines breiteren, nicht-gräzistischen Kontextes dargelegt, blieb diese Etymologie unbeachtet, im neuen etymologischen Wörterbuch des Griechischen wie auch sonst.⁵⁸ Hier haben wir uns zur Aufgabe gesetzt, deren sowohl semantische als auch formale Seite ausführlicher zu betrachten. Weiter oben dürfte es schon gezeigt worden sein, dass in der altiranischen Vorstellung der Realgar in enger Beziehung zum heiligen Feuer stand, wodurch eine Hälfte unserer Aufgabe als erledigt gelten kann. Jetzt wenden wir uns dem Lautlichen zu.

Zuerst zu dem, was am wenigsten problematisch erscheint: gr. *vδ* für *airan. nt*. Obwohl von einer lautgesetzlichen Entwicklung *nt > nd* erst seit der mitteliranischen Epoche die Rede sein kann, als sie sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten eintrat, liegen sporadisch schon für das 5. Jh. griechische Schreibungen wie *Ἀρπάνδης* bei Herodot = *Arvanta-*, *Σφενδαδάτης* bei Ktesias = *Spanta-dāta-* vor (vgl. Schmitt 2002: 68; 2006: 197), wobei der letztere Name als Vorderglied das uns hier interessierende Adjektiv *uriran. *tsvanta-* 'heilig' in seiner medischen Lautgestalt (mit *sp-*, s.u.) enthält. Gleich ob sich um eine Sondererscheinung der griechischen Lautsubstitution oder um die Wiedergabe des im iranischen Mund schon auftretenden Lautwandels handelt, sollte *-δ-* im seit dem 5. Jh. belegten Wort *σανδαράκη, -άχη* keine ernsten Bedenken gegenüber der von uns vorgeschlagenen Etymologie erregen.

Mehr Aufmerksamkeit verdienen die beiden weiteren Lautmerkmale. Im zusammengesetzten Stamm **sandāhr-* überschneiden sich nämlich zwei der wichtigsten Isoglossen, die die Ausgliederung des altiranischen Sprachraums bestimmen. Es sind die Entwicklungen von *uriran. *tsv*⁵⁹ < *iir. *čv* < *idg. *k_u* und **θr* < *iir. tr* < *idg. *tr, *tl*. Die Entwicklung **tsv > s* ist dem Altpersischen eigen, vgl. *apers.*

57 Loma (2000: 342). Die Nebenform mit *-χ-*, in der Beekes (2010) einen Hinweis auf vorgriechischen Ursprung sieht, lässt sich am einfachsten durch Übertragung der Aspiration erklären.

58 U.a. in Brusts Monographie, wo *σανδαράκη/σανδαράχη* nicht einmal in Betracht genommen wird, trotz den obengenannten Versuchen, es aus dem Altindischen zu etymologisieren.

59 So R. Schmitt, obwohl *khot. śś, wahi š* davon zeugen, dass auch auf altiranischem Boden diese Gruppe stellenweise ihre Palatalität bewahrte (CLI 27 f.).

asa- gegenüber avest. *aspa-* ‘Pferd’ < uriran. **atsva-*; folglich würde die altpersische Entsprechung zu avest. *spānta-* **santa-* lauten. Im altpersischen Schrifttum unbelegt, liegt diese Form dem armenischen Lehnwort *sandaramet-k* ‘Unterwelt’ zugrunde.⁶⁰ Aus airan. **θr*, das im Avestischen unverändert blieb, hat sich im Altpersischen der Sibilant *ç* ergeben, vermutlich ein /ts/, das sich im Mittelpersischen weiter zu *s* entwickelt hat, vgl. apers. *puça* > mpers. *pus* gegenüber avest. *puθra-* ‘Sohn’.⁶¹ Eine Entwicklung *θr* > *hr*, wie sie von uns in **sandāhraka-* > *σανδαράκη/σανδαράχη* angenommen wird, ist aus einzelnen mitteliranischen Sprachen, vor allem dem Parthischen, aber auch aus dem schwach bezeugten Mittelmedischen bekannt,⁶² vgl. parth. *puhr* gegenüber mpers. *pus*. Bei unserem Versuch, das seit der Achämeniderzeit (Mitte des 5. Jh.) belegte gr. *σανδαράκη* auf altiran. **sandāhraka-* zurückzuführen, begegnen wir einem Problem, das zugleich sprachgeographisch und chronologisch ist. Erstens bräuchten wir eine Mundart, wo die Reflexe *s* < uriran. **tsv* und *hr* < uriran. **θr* nebeneinanderständen; zweitens müsste sie der altiranischen Epoche zugehören. In mitteliranischer Zeit gab es mindestens eine solche, das Mittelpersische, vom Parthischen stark beeinflusst, so dass, während z.B. mpers. Wörter *pus* und *sag* ‘Hund’ „echtpersisch“ sind, indem sie apers. *puça-* bzw. *saka-* < **tsvaka-* fortsetzen, mpers. *asp* ‘Pferd’ und *mihr* ‘Mithra, Sonne’ keine Fortsetzungen von apers. *asa-*, *miça-* darstellen, sondern entstammen dem parthischem Sprachgut. Diese Sprachmischung spiegelt sich auch im iranischen Lehngut der anderen Sprachen wider, wie das Armenische,⁶³ wo Doppelformen mit *sp* und *s* < uriran. **tsv-* vorkommen, wie arm. *aspar* ‘Schild’ < mpers. < parth. *spar* neben arm. *sar-k* Pl. ‘Waffen’, auch *Spandaramet* neben *Sandaramet*, während für uriran. *θr* dem Regel nach der parthische oder medische Reflex *hr* zugrundeliegt (arm. *Mihr* > *Mher*, *parh/pah* < parth. *pāhr* gegenüber mpers. *pās* ‘Wache’ < **pāθra-*). Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt erscheint auch die Verbindung von den sogenannten süd- und nordwestiranischen Sprachmerkmalen innerhalb eines zusammengesetzten Wortes gut denkbar. Die oben geschilderte Situation entspricht jedoch den Verhältnissen

60 Mpers., npers. *spand* weist eine parthische oder avestische Lautgestalt auf, s. u.

61 Folgendermaßen lautete im Altpersischen der schwache Stamm des Wortes für ‘Feuer’ *āç-*, durch den Monatsnamen *Āçiyādiya-* ‘Monat der Feuer-Verehrung’ belegt, vgl. auch den Personennamen in griechischer Überlieferung *Ασιδάτης* = **Āçi-dāta-* ‘vom Feuer-(gott) gegeben’ ~ avest. *Ātərə.dāta-* (Brandenstein, Mayrhofer 1964: 100). Im Mittelpersischen, wo *āç-* lautgesetzlich zu **ās-* geworden wäre, wurde bei diesem Wort der starke Stamm verallgemeinert, *ātur* ‘Feuer’ < *ātar-*.

62 Altmedisch war *θr*, wie im Avestischen.

63 Dazu Schmitt 1986.

des Partherreiches, d.h. der nachachämenidischen Zeit, mit der vom sprachgeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus die mitteliranische Epoche einsetzt, während das Wort *σανδαράκη* schon vor der Mitte des 5. Jh. entlehnt worden sein muss, als es in der ionischen Prosa zuerst erscheint, und überdies ist der Wandel *θr* > *hr* zu einem so frühen Zeitpunkt nicht mit Sicherheit zu belegen. Mögliche Belegstücke sind vor allem in der Nebenüberlieferung zu finden, unter denen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient, *Ἀρτοξάρης* bei Ktesias, *Artahšar* in den neubabylonischen Urkunden, Name eines Würdenträgers am Hof des Artaxerxes I (465–424) und Darius II (423–405). Die naheliegende Interpretation als **Arta-xšahra-*, eine Dialektvariante zu apers. *Ṛta-xšaça-* < **Ṛta-xšaθra-*, wird aus dem oben genannten lautgeschichtlichen Grund a limine verworfen, und eine hypokoristische Bildung **Ṛta-xš-ara-* ad hoc konstruiert (Grantovskij 1970: 247; Schmitt 2006: 141 ff. mit Lit.).⁶⁴ Nun war Artoxares laut Ktesias ein Paphlagon (ὁ Παφλαγὼν εὐνοῦχος).⁶⁵ Diese Angabe kann für unser Thema von Interesse sein, denn sie führt uns in einen Teil Kleinasien, wo man nach dem Ursprungsort des Wortes *σανδαράκη* suchte. In Paphlagonien selbst gab es ein *Σανδαρακούργιον ὄρος* (Strabo XII 3, 40) und im benachbarten Bithynien einen Küstenort *Σανδαράκη*,⁶⁶ dessen Name Nehring (1925: 182) veranlasst hat, eine kleinasiatische Herkunft des griechischen Wortes zu vermuten. Es kann sich ja bei dem bithynischen Toponym um eine griechische Ortsnamengebung handeln, wie es bei *Σανδαρακούργιον* der Fall ist (vgl. Zgusta 1984, § 1159–2). Jedoch ist nicht auszuschließen, das sowohl der Personennamen *Ἀρτοξάρης* als auch das Wort *σανδαράκη* (und der Ortsname *Σανδαράκη*) einer Varietät des Altiranischen entstammen, die zur Achämenidenzeit in Kleinasien gesprochen wurde und durch solche Lautmerkmale wie *hr* < *θr* und *s* < *uriran*. **tsv* gekennzeichnet war. Zum letzteren vgl. die griechische Form *Σάρδεις* gegenüber

64 Vgl. die Aussage des letzteren bezüglich des Versuches, im Namen *Ζώπυρος* **puhra-* < *pura-* zu erkennen: „Der Lautwandel iran. **θr* > *hr* ist erst Jahrhunderte nach den beiden genannten Namensträgern und nach Herodot eingetreten, und zwar im frühen (Mittel-)Parthischen“ (Schmitt 2006: 100, Anm. 120). Weniger apodiktisch zu diesem Thema hat sich derselbe Autor in CLI 91 geäußert, wo er die Existenz wenn nicht einer Mundart, mindestens eines „lauthistorisch fortschrittlicheren Soziolekts“ mit *hr* < **θr* schon zu altiranischer Zeit zulässt.

65 Paphlagonische Herkunft des Trägers eines eindeutig iranischen Namens hält Schmitt (2006: 143) für nicht wahrscheinlich und schlägt vor, *Παφλαγὼν* in *παφλάζων* ‘aufbrausend’ zu korrigieren.

66 Von Arrian in seiner Rundfahrt im Bereich des Schwarzen Meeres erwähnt (Periplus Ponti Euxini 13, 4)

apers. *Sparda-*,⁶⁷ lydisch *Šfard-* ‘Sardis’. Wir sind uns bewusst, dass diese Annahme auf Empörung bei jenen stoßen kann, die *s* < **tsv* für ein exklusives Merkmal des „Südwestiranischen“ von Persis halten, das der „altpersisch“ genannten Schriftsprache zugrunde gelegt wurde. Von einem genetischen Zusammenhang zwischen diesem südwestlichen *s* und dem nordöstlichen /ʃ(j)/ (z. B. khot. *aśśa-*, Wakhī *yaš* ‘Pferd’, vgl. R.E. Emmerick CLI 216) abgesehen, war dieselbe Entwicklung der Gruppe **tsv* wie im Altpersischen allem Anschein nach auch der nordwestlichen Abzweigung des Altiranischen eigen. Kärglich wie sie sind, liefern die Sprachreste des Kimmerischen und des Skythischen genug Belege für *s* < **tsv*, unter denen der überzeugendste und zugleich für uns hier der interessanteste **santa-* ‘heilig’ im kimmerischen Königsnamen assyr. *Šanda-kšatru*, dessen Bestandteile seit langem als Gegenstücke zu avest. *spānta-* ‘heilig’ und *xšaθra-* ‘Herrschaft’ erkannt worden sind (Vasmer 1923: 110, mit Lit.). Auch für das Skythische ist derselbe Reflex anzunehmen (u. a. skyth. **asa-* ‘Pferd’ in Eigennamen, s. Loma 2000: 341 f.). Nach dem Zeugnis von *Šanda-kšatru* blieb die uriran. Gruppe *θr* im Kimmerischen erhalten. Über ihr Schicksal im Skythischen liegt bislang kein eindeutiger Befund vor. In diesem Zusammenhang ist etwa das ossetische Wort iron **xsar*, digoron **æxsaræ* ‘Heldenmut, Macht, Herrschaft’ zu erwähnen, das eine „auffällige Lautentwicklung“ (so Schmitt 2006: 142) aufweist. Sie gleicht jener von khot. *kṣāra*, die aber im Khotsakischen regelmäßig ist, während man im Ossetischen iron **æxsart*, digoron **æxsartæ* erwarten würde,⁶⁸ so dass möglicherweise ein skythisches Substratwort im Sarmatischen zugrundeliegt. Andererseits scheint im Skythischen, wie auch im Altpersischen, aus dem stimmlosen Palatal ein neues Frikativ *θ* entstanden zu sein, wodurch vermutlich der Wandel des alten, uriranischen **θ* zu *h* ausgelöst wurde, wie man ihn in der herodotischen Glosse *Ἐξαμπαῖος·Ἰραὶ Ὀδοί* annimmt (s.o. Anm. 46). Gleich ob man mit einem spontanen oder einem kombinatorischen Lautwandel operiert, stellt sich es als sehr wahrscheinlich heraus, dass sich aus einem uriranischen Ansatz **tsvanta-āθr-* ‘heiliges Feuer’ skythisch **sandā(h)r-* ergeben hätte.

In der Suche nach dem Ausgangspunkt des Wanderwortes *σανδαράκη* lenkt diese Einsicht unseren Blick von der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres auf die nordpontische Steppe. In kulturhistorischer Hinsicht kann dabei die oben angeführte

67 Mit medischer und nicht altpersischer Lautung.

68 Als Beispiel dafür kann osset. *art* ‘Feuer’, schon sarmatisch **art-* in **Ψενδαρτάκη*, aus uriran. *āθr-* dienen (s.o.).

Angabe des Vitruvius wegweisend sein, wonach das beste Realgar (*sandaraca*) im Flussgebiet des Südlichen Bug gegraben wurde.⁶⁹

Anschließend möchten wir noch eine griechische Mineralbezeichnung in Betracht ziehen, *σάνδυξ*, -υκος (*ή*), denn man nimmt gewöhnlich an, dass sie mit *σανδαράκη* irgendwie zusammengehört.⁷⁰ Verhältnismäßig spät, erst seit der Zeitenwende, belegt,⁷¹ bezeichnet das Wort eine hellrote Mineralfarbe. Wie *σανδαράκη*, wurde auch es mit dem ebenfalls dunklen aind. *sindūra*- ‘Mennig, Zinnober’ wiederholt verglichen,⁷² zugleich aber mit dem akkadischen *sāndu/sāmtu* ‘roter Stein, Karneol’,⁷³ was schon ernster zu nehmen ist. Das akkadische Wort ist Femininum zu *sāmu* ‘rot’ und kommt auch in der Bedeutung ‘Röte’ vor (vgl. CAD XV 121 ff.); die ursprüngliche Form ist *sāmtu*, jene mit *-nd-* weist die neubabylonische Lautentwicklung auf. Es würde sich also um ein semitisches Lehnwort im Griechischen handeln. Man muss jedoch die Tatsache berücksichtigen, dass der Erstbeleg des griechischen Wortes bei Strabon XI 14, 9 auf Emendation beruht; die Handschriften geben *τῆς ὀπάνδυκος*, was schon von Salmasius in *σάνδυκος* verbessert und von allen späteren Herausgebern der *Geographica* angenommen wurde. Die überlieferte Form ist offensichtlich verdorben, sie kann aber schwerlich aus **σάνδυκος* entstanden sein; es erscheint paläographisch wahrscheinlicher,

69 Möglicherweise wurde in der uns unbekannten Quelle, aus der Vitruvius seine Auskünfte über den nordpontischen Realgar (VII 7, 5 und VIII 3, 11) geschöpft hat, jene Ortschaft, anders als bei Herodot, der sie, wie oben gesagt, *Ἐξαμπαῖος* nennt, durch einen Namen bezeichnet, der dem Schlagwort seiner Beschreibung *sandaraca* ähnlich klang oder so gut wie gleich war. Jedenfalls ist es weniger wahrscheinlich, dass eine Grube für das Mineral eponymisch wurde; viel eher war es umgekehrt, denn der Realgar stand in fester Verbindung mit der iranischen Vorstellung vom heiligen Feuer.

70 Frisk (1960–1973 2: 676), ähnlich Chantraine (1968–1980: 987 s.v. 1. *σάνδυξ* [„mot voyageur, p.-ê. plus ou moins apparenté à *σανδαράκη*“]), Beekes (2010: 1306 s.v. *σάνδυξ* 1. [„*σανδαράκη* seems to be related in some fashion“]).

71 Zuerst bei Strabon (s.u.), dann bei Dioskurides (1. Jh.), Galenus (2. Jh.) usw.

72 Jacob (1889: 386 f. [wo er *σανδαράκη* einbezieht, s. o.]), Boisacq (1916: 851), Cuendet (1944: 15 [nur *σάνδυξ* gehe auf *sindūra*- zurück, *σανδαράκη* bleibe fern, s. o.]), Hofmann (1950 s.v.), Frisk (1960–1973 3: 675–676), Chantraine (1968–1980: 987), Beekes (2010: 987). Jüngst wurde das aind. Wort von Mayrhofer als „Unklar; Fremdwort?“ knapp beurteilt, ohne jegliche Parallelen in den anderen Sprachen zu nennen (EWAia 3: 512).

73 Frisk (1960–1973), Chantraine (1968–1980), Beekes (2010), wobei es jeweils unklar bleibt, ob das altindische und das akkadische Wort als alternative Parallelen zum griechischen angeführt werden oder ein Zusammenhang zwischen allen drei angenommen wird.

dass *ὀπάνδυκος* aus **σπάνδυκος* verschrieben ist, d.h., dass in Strabons Urtext das Wort in einer Nebenform mit *σπ-* stand. Eine Abwechslung von *σπ-* und *σ-* im Anlaut wiese auf die oben besprochene altiranische Isoglosse **tsv > *s/*sp* hin. In dieser Hinsicht ist es wichtig, dass an der betreffenden Stelle Strabons von Mineralressourcen Armeniens die Rede ist: Es gebe dort auch andere Erzgruben und darunter eine von *s(p)andyx*, auch „Armenische Farbe“ genannt, dem Purpur ähnlich.⁷⁴ In Armenien, das an Medien angrenzt und Jahrhunderte lang ein Teil des Perserreiches war, kreuzten sich verschiedene iranische Einflüsse, darunter sprachliche, was durch das obenerwähnte Nebeneinander von arm. *Sandaramet* und *Spandaramet* illustriert werden kann, dem derselbe Dialektunterschied zugrunde liegt, der sich in **σπάνδυξ* neben *σάνδυξ* widerspiegeln dürfte. Wenn ein Zusammenhang zwischen *σάνδυξ* und *σανδαράκη* besteht, erklärt er sich am besten auf iranischem Sprachboden.

Das homonyme *σάνδυξ* ‘Kiste’, als Hapax im Lexikon des Hesychs belegt, wird von Chantraine (1968–1980: 987) und Beekes (2010: 1306) gesondert betrachtet. Der erstere bemerkt lediglich: „doit être un autre mot, également emprunté“, während Beekes wieder ein Substratwort vermutet: „The formation of the word is Pre-Greek“. Es wurde aber seit langem erkannt, dass die Hesychglosse mit npers. *sandūk* in derselben Bedeutung zusammengehört (Sophocles 1887: 978; Vasmer 1909: 194 f.). Es kehrt im Arabischen als *ṣandūk/ṣundūk* wieder; aus dem Persischen oder Arabischen stammt osmanisch-türkisch *sandık* ‘Kisten, Koffer’, das sich in die Balkansprachen, einschließlich des Neugriechischen, und auch ins Russische verbreitet hat, vgl. ngr. *σεντούκι*,⁷⁵ bolg. *sandāk*, skr. *sānduk*, rum. *sanduc*, alb. *sēnduk*, russ. *sundūk*. Vasmer (1909) beurteilt das hesychische *σάνδυξ* als Lehnwort aus dem Persischen, später aber in seinem etymologischen Wörterbuch (Vasmer 1986–1987 3: 803) zieht für das türkische *sandık* Ableitung aus dem Arabischen vor, wie man es auch sonst in der neueren Literatur allgemein annimmt (Räsänen 1969: 401, vgl. Skok 1971–1974 3: 200; BER 2002 6: 480 f.). Was aber *σάνδυξ-κιβωτός* betrifft, kann diese Annahme seines Belegs bei Hesych nur schwer Rechnung tragen, wenn man nicht etwa darin eine späte Interpolation sehen will oder das ganze Werk, das man allgemein in 4–6. Jh. datiert, zeitlich anders einordnen. Es ist

74 *καὶ ἄλλα δ' ἐστὶ μέταλλα, καὶ δὴ τῆς σάνδυκος, ἣν δὴ καὶ Ἀρμένιον καλοῦσι χρώμα, ὅμοιον κάλχη.* Strabo XI 14, 9 (ed. Meineke).

75 Als *σενδοῦκη*, *σενδοῦκιον* in den Scholien zum *Plutos* des Aristophanes 711 u. 809 früh belegt, die offensichtlich der spätbyzantinischen Zeit entstammen, trotz Beekes (2010), der darin alte Nebenformen zum „vorgriechischen“ *σάνδυξ* sieht.

jedoch zu bemerken, dass in *σάνδυξ* gr. *v* für ein fremdes *u*, wie in *Kŭρος* < apers. *Kurus* 'Kyros', auf ein beträchtlich höheres Alter der Entlehnung hinwies, etwa vor dem Ende des 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, als im Ionischen Kleinasien der Wandel *u* > *ü* stattfand. Das spräche ja für eine iranische und gegen die arabische Herkunft des Wortes, deren Etymologie offen bleibt.⁷⁶

Und zum Schluss: Wir sind uns bewusst, dass manches in unserer Betrachtung fraglich und weiterer Erforschung bedürftig erscheinen mag. Der methodologische Ansatz, von dem sie ausgegangen ist, scheint uns immerhin richtig zu sein: In der Untersuchung von Wanderwörtern, wie sie uns in den Bezeichnungen für Metalle und Mineralien oft begegnen, sollte man neben den Erkenntnissen der materiellen Kulturgeschichte – vor allem über Bergbau und Handelsstraßen im Altertum und in der Vorzeit – manchmal auch das Geistesgeschichtliche in seinen Gesichtskreis ziehen.

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76 Gr. *συνδοχείον/συνδοκεῖον*, das ihm man zugrundelegen wollte (Psichari 1892: LXXIX, einer mündlich mitgeteilten Vermutung Ernest Renans folgend), ist unbelegt. Ablehnend Maidhof (1920: 17 f.).

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AN OTTOMAN-POLISH DICTIONARY IN THE AGE OF WIKIMEDIA PROJECTS

The article is an attempt to formulate some basic rules of compiling a modern electronic Ottoman dictionary that would both conform to the present-day standards of lexicography and would be easy to use for a relatively untrained reader at the same time. As an interface example, the Polish-language version of Wiktionary (i.e. *Wikisłownik*) is taken, which constitutes enormous technical facilitation for potential compilers. The description of the rules for the particular sections of an Ottoman entry in this lexicon, from pronunciation and inflexion through definitions and sentence examples up to etymology, is followed by two extended sample entries illustrating the discussed issues. This Ottoman-Polish *Wikisłownik* may become the first modern dictionary of these two languages, freely available online and quite easy to prepare.

lexicography, Ottoman dictionary, Wiktionary

Turkish-Polish lexicography in Poland boasts neither particularly long tradition nor great achievements so far, but at least four modern dictionaries are now at our disposal, of which three are small or middle-sized but bidirectional, Turkish-Polish and Polish-Turkish (Antonowicz-Bauer, Dubiński 1983; Chmielowska, Kılıç-Eryılmaz 2003; Podolak, Nykiel 2008), and the fourth, a unidirectional one (Turkish-Polish), has an impressive size indeed, amounting to some forty thousand quite comprehensive entries (Kozłowska 2006). However, an Ottoman-Polish dictionary is not available at present, and the only source which may partially fulfil its functions is the seventeenth-century lexicon by Franciszek Meniński

(Meninski 1680), where a great many – but not all – entries contain, beside the standard Latin and frequent German, Italian and French translations, also Polish equivalents of the Ottoman words, phrases and sample sentences. What is more, this *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* was compiled and published at the time of very intensive contacts between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, so now that Poland's relations with Turkey are much more tenuous, and Ottoman studies in Poland are rather exceptional among Turkologists, the hope for any new Ottoman-Polish dictionary seems unrealistic, if not simply ridiculous (let alone a Polish-Ottoman one).

But things sometimes unfold in most surprising directions, and what would be unthinkable ten or twenty years ago may now be feasible and really simple, with the Internet at our service. On the one hand, Ottoman dictionaries published decades or centuries ago, and earlier completely unavailable to the ordinary man in the street, can be accessed any second, all over the world, once we know the right place to look for them. And so, Meninski (1680), an early version of Redhouse (1856–1857), Zenker (1866–1876) or Barbier de Meynard (1881–1886), even *Tarama sözlüğü* (TTS) are all only a click away. On the other hand, new lexicographical sources, mainly Ottoman-to-Turkish, are being developed and made available online, some signed with the author's full name (Kantar), some prepared collectively by university staff (Pamukkale) and some anonymous (Gaspıralı; Katpatuka). Their size may exceed 15,000 entries (Pamukkale, in April 2016), which is quite a lot for a dictionary merely distinctive relative to the Modern Turkish language. Without doubt, there are many more digitised versions of printed lexicons as well as online dictionaries of which the present author does not know yet. – All these translate from Ottoman, to be sure, but not into Polish. If we want an Ottoman-Polish dictionary, we must compile it ourselves.

This task is not so difficult as it might appear. Nowadays, for those willing to create an open-access dictionary of any given language, no matter how small or how dead it is, an excellent tool freely available to anyone is within arm's reach. What is meant is of course one of the Wikimedia projects, of which Wikipedia is the best-known example, namely Wiktionary, and more specifically its Polish version called *Wikisłownik*. The first step towards an Ottoman-Polish dictionary has already been made: the rules for editing Ottoman entries have been established (it goes without saying that they must conform to the general layout of an entry fixed for all languages), and nearly fifty entries exist, as of April 2016, which is, however, less than one tenth of what can be found in the English-language version of Wiktionary.

At present the standard layout of an Ottoman entry in *Wikisłownik* consists of the following sections:

- *nagłówek hasła* – headword (entry name)
- *ilustracje* – illustrations
- *wymowa* – pronunciation
- *znaczenia* – definitions
- *odmiana* – inflexion
- *przykłady* – examples (mainly sample sentences)
- *składnia* – syntax (syntactical properties, like case government &c)
- *kolokacje* – collocations
- *synonimy* – synonyms
- *antonimy* – antonyms
- *hiperonimy* – hypernyms (superordinates, more general terms)
- *hiponimy* – hyponyms (subordinates, more specific terms)
- *holonimy* – holonyms (terms denoting a whole)
- *meronimy* – meronyms (terms denoting a part of something else)
- *wyrazy pokrewne* – related terms (i.e. ones belonging to the same word family)
- *związki frazeologiczne* – idioms
- *etymologia* – etymology
- *uwagi* – notes
- *źródła* – sources (references).

Of the above sections only two are always indispensable, namely the headword and the definitions, all the remaining ones may be left blank. In the entries from other languages, some (but very few) additional sections may also appear, e.g. transliteration/transcription or notation in alternative scripts and the like.

It seems well worthwhile to discuss several of these sections in more detail.

Headword

The first and foremost issue related to any lexicographical treatment of the Ottoman language is the problem of spelling. It has been decided to cover in *Wikisłownik* the whole written history of Ottoman, that is the period from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century inclusive. Over this time the spelling was never fully standardised, and while Arabic and Persian loanwords followed as a general rule the original, uniform orthography, native words and other borrowings showed a great deal of variation, which must – one way or another – be reflected in any

dictionary, resulting in frequent defining the same word in several different entries. Some degree of standardisation is, however, unavoidable, so the following set of Arabic letters has been adopted for Ottoman in *Wikisłownik*:

ا/أ/آ/ء ب پ ت ث ج چ ح خ د ذ ر ز ژ س ش ص ض
ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك گ گڭ ل م ن وؤ ه/ه/ة/ى/ئ/ی

Furthermore, the headwords are not to be vocalised, and in conformity with the common practice (cf. Kanar, Pamukkale, Gaspirali or Alkim 1998) word-initial **أ** and **إ** are always replaced with a simple **ا**. This set of letters ought to be understood as obligatory, which means for instance that the consonant **g** must invariably be represented by **گ**, although in original texts (and in some older dictionaries and grammar books) it is sometimes spelt by **ك** or even **گڭ** (cf. Adamović 1994: 23); and so on.

Any remaining variants of one word, whether phonetic (as e.g. اوتى *üti* and اوتو *ütü* ‘flat iron’) or merely orthographic (as e.g. اوتوز and اوتر *otuz* ‘thirty’), are cross-referenced in *Wikisłownik* to facilitate their finding.

An alphabetical order taking into account all the above-given letters seems never to have been established: Zenker (1866–1876: VIII) and Jehlitschka (1895: 2–3), Németh (1917: 11–12) and Deny (1921: 17–20), Kissling (1960: 4–5), Timurtaş (1979: 4–5, 37) and Bugday (1999: 2–3) – all have some, smaller or larger, gaps in their lists, but fortunately in the age of online dictionaries the alphabetical order does not play such an important role any more. Therefore, somewhat arbitrarily, the sequence as shown above (to be read from right to left) has been adopted for those several automatically created indexes in *Wikisłownik*.

But one gets nothing for nothing. Due to the constant development of electronic texts, differences between variant letters of the Arabic alphabet which were earlier unnoticeable and unnoticed are now strictly differentiated, and any input mistake will result in an incorrect reaction of the dictionary or in no output at all. Thus, for example, **ك** (Arabic Letter Kaf, U+0643) is different from **ك** (Arabic Letter Keheh, U+06A9), even though some of their allographs are identical or nearly identical, cf. ككك versus ككك; in *Wikisłownik* only **ك** is used for the Ottoman language. Further, **ه** (Arabic Letter Heh, U+0647) is something different from **ه** (Arabic Letter Ae, U+06D5), cf. ههه versus ههه; both of them, as well as **ت** (Arabic Letter Teh Marbuta, U+0629), are needed for Ottoman. And **ي** (Arabic Letter Farsi Yeh, U+06CC) is not to be confused either with **ي** (Arabic Letter Yeh, U+064A – not used in *Wikisłownik* for Ottoman) or with **ا** (Arabic Letter Alef Maksura, U+0649), cf. ييى versus ييى versus سى. Indeed, the utmost caution must be exercised when handling the Ottoman script.

Pronunciation

Since Ottoman is a dead language, the exact pronunciation (e.g. according to the International Phonetic Alphabet, as is customary in *Wikisłownik*) cannot be provided, so instead the transcription into the Roman alphabet is given. The pronunciation of Ottoman changed over the six–seven centuries covered in this dictionary, therefore the said transcription – for simplicity’s sake – makes use of the letters and symbols of the Modern Turkish orthography only, without any additional characters, and it thus probably reflects a moderately modernised reading of the present-day Turk, although it is somewhat more conservative in the case of vowels (no labial harmony, but no close [e] either) than in the case of consonants (no [ŋ] or [x]).

This moderate modernisation corresponds roughly to the “learned” (“bugünkü halk dilinde kullanılmayan”) spelling variants found in the new Redhouse dictionary (Alkım 1998), and it conforms with the following rules: Arabic and Persian long vowels (*â*, *î*, *û*) are consistently marked as such; the glottal stop, reflecting the Arabic consonants written by means of ء and ع, is notated by an apostrophe ’ (which is, however, omitted if it were to stand before a vowel at the beginning of a word or word-internally between vowels, where the glottal stop is present by default); the devoicing of consonants, the simplification of geminates, and the anaptyctic vowels serving to resolve word-final consonantal clusters are not taken into account; in Arabic and Persian phrases each word is transcribed separately (including the Persian conjunction و); the Arabic prepositions (*bi-*, *ke-*, *li-*), the Arabic definite article (*el-* and its variants), the Persian izafet marker *-(y)i / -(y)ı* and like elements are spelt with a hyphen; no capital letters are used. For example:

کتاب	=	<i>kitâb</i>	(not: <i>kitab</i>)	‘book’
جامع	=	<i>câmi</i> ^۶	(not: <i>cami</i>)	‘mosque’
ابتدا	=	<i>ibtidâ</i> or ابتداء	= <i>ibtidâ</i> ^۷	(not: <i>iptida</i>) ‘beginning’
سر	=	<i>sırr</i>	(not: <i>sır</i>)	‘secret’
نهر	=	<i>nehr</i>	(not: <i>nehir</i>)	‘river’
نشو و نما	=	<i>neşv ü nemâ</i>	(not: <i>neşvünema</i>)	‘growth’
آب روان	=	<i>âb-ı revân</i>	(not: <i>abirevan</i>)	‘running water’
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	=	<i>bi-smi l-lâhi r-rahmâni r-rahîm</i>	(not: <i>bismillahirrahmanir-rahim</i>)	‘in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful’.

(To be sure, a section called “transcription” would be more appropriate here, but it is just an optional section in *Wikisłownik*, while “pronunciation” is an obligatory one, which in turn would for reasons stated above remain blank in Ottoman entries anyway.)

Inflexion

At present no full paradigms are planned for the Ottoman inflected parts of speech, but irregular forms or ones difficult to predict are listed in this section, provided that they are attested in dictionaries, grammar books or texts. This concerns in particular the broken plural (pluralis fractus) of Arabic nouns (e.g. نهر *nehr* ‘river’ – انهار *enhâr* ‘rivers’) or the aorist of verbs (e.g. گیرمک *girmek* ‘to enter’ – گیرر *girer* or *girür* ‘he enters’). Both the original spelling and the transcription are provided.

Examples

Naturally enough, all sample sentences must be drawn from original Ottoman texts, or alternatively from grammar books or dictionaries (self-invented examples are not allowed). In *Wikisłownik* they are accompanied by transcription and Polish translation, as well as detailed bibliographical references.

As for sources, original texts, of course, have an advantage over grammar books and dictionaries, and good, reliable editions are not difficult to find at all (cf. e.g. Adamović 1994 for *Kelîle vü Dimne*), but they require the sample sentences to be translated into Polish. There are, however, at least two bilingual, Ottoman-Polish, editions of texts which can be utilised for the purposes of *Wikisłownik*. One of them is early Ottoman, namely Yûnus Emre’s *Risâletü n-nushiyye*, edited and translated by Jan Ciopiński, which contains the transcription and Polish translation of the whole text (Ciopiński 2005). The other one is late Ottoman: İbrâhîm Şinâsî’s *Şâir evlenmesi* with the original Ottoman notation in the Arabic alphabet, the Roman transcription (prepared by Piotr Kawulok) and Grażyna Zajac’s translation into Polish (Zajac 2014).

Be that as it may, no matter what kind of source we choose to quote from, the orthography of the examples needs to be slightly adjusted to the spelling rules explained above in order to ensure the correct linking of all words to other Ottoman entries.

Etymology

This section is the right place for all related extra-Ottoman information, of all diachronic levels, i.e. for etymons, cognates and descendants. Loanwords in Ottoman can be provided here with their foreign sources, and native items – with their Proto-Turkic reconstructions and their cognates in other Turkic languages.

Moreover, lexemes borrowed from Ottoman (say, into Polish) as well as those inherited by Modern Turkish can be listed in this section too. Thanks to the practice of intensive linking in *Wikisłownik*, each of these non-Ottoman entries is within one-click reach.

Some advantages of *Wikisłownik*

The Ottoman-Polish part of *Wikisłownik* is still in its infancy. But some of its advantages can already be named, as they are common to many, if not all, Wikimedia projects. It is free of charge; it can constantly develop; it is done collectively by an unlimited number of people, which hinders its discontinuance in case of burnout of one or some of its compilers; corrections are always possible (true, often necessary, as with everything done by human beings). Thanks to its electronic form, it is not only an Ottoman-Polish dictionary, but a Polish-Ottoman one at the same time.

One of the greatest benefits of using a Wikimedia project lies in linking. Apart from the above-mentioned links leading to related Ottoman entries and to other languages within *Wikisłownik* itself, there are also so-called “interwiki links”, i.e. links leading to other Wiktionaries, which gives one the possibility of looking up the same entry in an Ottoman-English dictionary, or an Ottoman-French one, or Ottoman-German, Ottoman-Russian, Ottoman-Japanese, or Ottoman-to-whatever-there-is. If need be, a link to Wikipedia or, say, Wikispecies can be placed in an Ottoman entry too.

*
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The above description is based on the rules for all Ottoman entries in *Wikisłownik* suggested by the present writer and accepted (after virtually no discussion) in February 2016. As everything in Wikimedia projects, they can be modified or specified in a more detailed way in the future by a consensus of the community of *Wikisłownik*. But it is earnestly hoped that the undertaking of compiling an Ottoman-Polish dictionary will be continued.

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گیرمک

Z Wikisłownika – wolnego, wielojęzycznego słownika

گیرمک (język osmański)

wymowa:

(1.1–2) girmek

(2.1) geyürmek^[1] lub giyürmek^[2]

znaczenia:

czasownik nieprzechodni

(1.1) wchodzić, wjeżdżać, wpływać, wlatywać, wstępować, wnikać, wkraczać, wpadać, wdzierać się, wlażyć^{[3][4]}

(1.2) *przen.* wdawać się / zagłębiać się / wpadać / popadać (w coś), przystępować (do czegoś), włączać się (w coś), uczestniczyć (w czymś), zaczynać, rozpoczynać, podejmować (coś), podejmować się (czegoś)^{[3][4]}

czasownik przechodni

(2.1) ubierać / odziewać / przyodziewać (kogoś), wkładać / zakładać (komuś) ubranie, kazać (komuś) włożyć / wdziać ubranie^{[1][2]}

odmiana:

(1.1–2) *aoryst:* گیر (gírer^[4] lub girür^{[5][6]})

(2.1) *aoryst:* گیر (geyürür lub giyürür)^[2]

przykłady:

(1.1) بر گيجه اولر نه اوغرى گیر / او ایچنده نه واریسه درشیر. (bir gece evlerine oğrı girür / ev içinde ne varise derşürür) → Pewnej nocy do ich domu **wchodzi** złodziej i cokolwiek w domu jest, to zbiera^[7].

(1.1) شمدی بنم قمریجغم قفسنه گیرمک. (şimdi benim kumrıcığım kafesine girecek) → Teraz moja gołąbeczka **wejdzie** do swojej klatki^[8].

(2.1) اگنه خلع کیردی. (eğnine hil'at geyürdi) → Na plecy **założył** mu szczytną szatę^[2].

składnia:

(1.1) C. + گیرمک → wchodzić w + B. (coś) / do + D. (czegoś)

(1.2) C. + گیرمک → wdawać się w + B. (coś)

(2.1) B. + C. + گیرمک → kazać + C. (komuś) włożyć + B. (coś), odziewać + B. (kogoś) w + B. (coś)

kolokacje:

- (1.1) **ایچرو گیرمک** (içerü girmek) = **ایچروییه گیرمک** (içerüye girmek) → wchodzić do środka / w głąb^{[3][4]}
- (1.1) **آرایه گیرمک** (araya girmek) = **اورتهیه گیرمک** (ortaya girmek) → wchodzić (po)między; *przen.* pośredniczyć^{[3][4]}
- (1.1) **گمیه گیرمک** (gemiye girmek) → wchodzić na pokład statku, wsiadać na statek^[3]
- (1.1) **صولره گیرمک** (sulara girmek) → wchodzić do wody; *t.* brać kąpiel^[4]
- (1.1) **پوصویه گیرمک** (pusuya girmek) → wpadać w zasadzkę^{[3][4]}
- (1.2) **گناهه گیرمک** (günâha girmek) → popadać w grzech, wpadać w sidła grzechu, popełniać grzech, dopuszczać się grzechu^{[3][4]}
- (1.2) **رقصه گیرمک** (raksa girmek) → ruszać w tan, puszczać się w taniec, zaczynać tańczyć^[4]
- (1.2) **یوله گیرمک** (yola girmek) → (wy)ruszać w drogę, rozpoczynać podróż^{[3][4]}

synonimy:

- (1.1) داخل اولق • دخول ایتمک
- (1.2) داخل اولق
- (2.1) گیدرمک

antonimy:

- (1.1) چقمق / چیقماق

wyrazy pokrewne:

- (1.1–2) *rzecz.* گیریش • گیریشی
- (1.1–2) *czas.* گیرشدرمک • گیریشمک / گیرگورمک • گیردرمک
- (2.1) *rzecz.* گیش • گیشی • گیم
- (2.1) *czas.* گیندرمک • گینمک • گیدرمک • گیلیمک • گیمک
- (2.1) *przym.* کیملو

związki frazeologiczne:

- (1.1) **اله گیرمک** (ele girmek) = **دستته گیرمک** (destine girmek) → wpadać w ręce (czyjeś)^[4]
- (1.1) **صورتته گیرمک** (... sùretine girmek) → przyjmować postać / przybierać wygląd (czegoś), zmieniać się / przeobrażać się / przechodzić (w coś)^{[3][4]}






etymologia:

- (1.1–2) *praturk.* *kîr- → wchodzić^[9]; *por. azer.* girmək, *turkm.* girmek (gîrmek), *tatar.* керепрә (кепы), *kaz.* kipy, *uzb.* kirmoq, *tuw.* кирер, *jak.* киир, *czuw.* кёр; *źródłosłów dla tur.* girmek
- (2.1) *forma sprawcza od osm.* گیمک (geymek) → wkładać, wdziewać

uwagi:


- (2.1) inna pisownia: گیورمک

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Kategoria: osmański (indeks) (ukryte kategorie)

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ياغمورلق

Z Wikisłownika – wolnego, wielojęzycznego słownika

ياغمورلق (język osmański)

wymowa:

yağmurlık

znaczenia:

rzeczownik

(1.1) płaszcz przeciwdeszczowy /
od deszczu / nieprzemakalny,
deszczowiec, opończa^{[1][2]}

kolokacje:

(1.1) ياغمورلى گيمك (yağmurlık
geymek / giymek) → założyć
płaszcz, przywdziać opończę

synonimy:

(1.1) ياپونجه / يپونجه • عبا • قپوت / قپوت
قپود / قپوط / قاپوت

hiperonimy:

(1.1) اثواب • البسه • روباه / روبه

meronimy:

(1.1) باشلق

wyrazy pokrewne:

rzecz. ياغمور / يغمور

czas. ياغمق / يغمق


etymologia:

od *osm.* ياغمور / *osm.* يغمور (yağmur) → deszcz; *źródłosłów dla tur.* yağmurluk →
płaszcz przeciwdeszczowy, daszek chroniący przed deszczem
źródłosłów dla pol. jarmulka^[3], *skąd jid.* יאַרמלקע (jarmлке), *ang.* yarmulke, *niem.*
Jarmulke, *ukr.* ярмулка, *białor.* ярмолка, *ros.* ермолка

uwagi:


inna pisownia: يغمورلىق

źródła:

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(1.1) ياغمورلىق

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Źródło: „<https://pl.wiktionary.org/w/index.php?title=ياغمورلى&oldid=5047897>”

Kategoria: osmański (indeks) (ukryte kategorie)

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ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF ANGLICISMS IN POLISH DICTIONARIES

In 2013 an article entitled *English loanwords in Polish lexicons* was published by the present author. It discussed the research involved in the compilation of the lexicon entitled *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie* (*A Dictionary of English Borrowings in the Polish Language*) and at the same time highlighted a number of problematic areas in Polish dictionaries describing Anglicisms. The lexicon mentioned above was written at the request of Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. Therefore the corpus was provided by the publishing house. In the event, the corpus (one Polish and two foreign dictionaries from 2003 and from 1995, 2003, respectively) contained many mistakes (etymological, semantic, graphic, etc.) which were corrected by the present author. The purpose of this paper, however, is to compare more recent dictionaries with the findings presented in the 2013 article. On the basis of a similar analysis of the 2014 lexicon we can observe a certain improvement in the description of the etymology of Anglicisms although we have to be aware of the fact that the corpus analyzed was smaller. The conclusion, therefore, is that while writing new Polish dictionaries, Polish lexicographers should consult philologists specializing in different languages.

English borrowings, etymology, Polish dictionaries, lexicography

In 2013 I published an article entitled *English loanwords in Polish lexicons*. The paper discusses the research involved in the compilation of a lexicon entitled *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich w polszczyźnie* (*A Dictionary of English Borrowings in the Polish Language*; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010) and at the same time highlights a number of problematic areas in Polish dictionaries when describing Anglicisms.

The lexicon in question was written at the request of Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN (Polish Scientific Publishers PWN), and therefore, the corpus was provided by the publishing house. In the event, the corpora included the lexical items or phrases with the qualifiers: *ang.* (*English*) or *amer.* (*American English*), which were themselves extracted from the three dictionaries published by PWN. These were: *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego PWN* (*A Universal Dictionary of the Polish Language*; Dubisz 2003), *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (*A Great Dictionary of Foreign Words by PWN*; Bańko 2003), *Słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (*A Dictionary of Foreign Words by PWN*; Sobol 1995). The corpus, consisting altogether of 4174 lexical items, contained many mistakes including those that were etymological, and it is these, as the title of the present article suggests, which constitute its subject matter. On the basis of an analysis of the letter *K*, chosen at random, I would like to discuss different types of etymological inaccuracies in the selected corpora.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (Allen R.A. 1995) was the source for the etymologies of the English models. Although the lexicon was published a considerable number of years ago, it in fact served as a reference dictionary when checking the etymologies of the loanwords (and these, as is known, do not change and are thus often simply copied). This dictionary was also useful as it includes more specialized terminology. It was not possible to rely on Polish etymological dictionaries since firstly, they are few in number and not all are complete (Brückner 1927; Sławski 1952–1982; Bańkowski 2000; Długosz-Kurczabowa 2004; Boryś 2005), and secondly, but far more importantly, they do not cover more recent lexical items, a category in which, undoubtedly, Anglicisms fall. As Boryś (2005: 7) claims in the Introduction to his etymological lexicon:

Do słownika weszły przede wszystkim wyrazy rodzime oraz wybrane zapożyczenia z innych języków, głównie zapożyczenia wczesne, średniowieczne, które nieraz dla użytkownika języka polskiego nie mają znamion wyrazu obcego pochodzenia. Zamieszczone są także wybrane zapożyczenia późniejsze, zwłaszcza z innych języków słowiańskich, które mogłyby uchodzić za wyrazy rodzime. Powodem umieszczenia w słowniku nowszych zapożyczeń bywa też homonimia z wyrazem innego pochodzenia, zwłaszcza z wyrazem rodzimym. Inne, liczne w dzisiejszej polszczyźnie zapożyczenia może czytelnik znaleźć w każdym z dostępnych słowników wyrazów obcych.¹

1 The dictionary included, first of all, native words and certain selected loans from different languages, mainly early and medieval borrowings, which do not seem to

However, as the analysis of the three PWN dictionaries proved, the etymologies suggested were questionable and this was the reason why it was necessary to refer to the English lexicon.

It was determined that 108 out of the 351 lexical entries analyzed were erroneously attributed English origin. In fact they belong to the category of internationalisms and, therefore, it is difficult to conclude from which language they entered Polish. Although in some cases it was noted that they had equivalents in tongues other than English they were still included in the given corpus, e.g.:

kalomel -lu, *mrz*, *blm* • *chem.* chlorek rtęciawy, biały lub żółtawy proszek, nierozpuszczalny w wodzie, używany m.in. do barwienia porcelany lub jako środek ochrony roślin, stosowany też w lecznictwie i w weterynarii – **kalomelowy** <ang., fr. *calomel*, od gr. *kalós* ‘piękny’ + *mélas* ‘czarny’>

kanister -tra, -trze, *lm* -try, *mrz* • mały, przenośny zbiornik na paliwo, rzadziej na inne płyny <niem. *Kanister*, ang. *canister* ‘puszka blaszana’, w końcu z łac. *canistrum* ‘rodzaj koszyka’, gr. *kánastron*>

kapitał w zn. 1, 2, 4: -tału, -tale, *lm* -tały, *mrz*; w zn. 3: -tału, -tale, *mrz*, *blm* 1. środki trwałe, np. budynki, maszyny i urządzenia, oraz aktywa finansowe, które zostały zainwestowane w produkcję i mają służyć wytwarzaniu dochodu # **kapitał ludzki** – ludzie ze swoim zasobem wiedzy, umiejętności, zdrowia, energii itp. traktowani jako potencjalni wytwórcy dochodu 2. znaczny majątek w gotówce lub papierach wartościowych 3. grupa osób dysponująca takim majątkiem 4. *przen.* dorobek intelektualny, duchowy, artystyczny itp. jakiejś osoby lub grupy osób, z którego będzie ona mogła korzystać w przyszłości – **kapitałowy** (w zn. 1) -wi <fr., ang. *capital*, z wł. *capitale* ‘suma główna, główna część majątku’>

karakal -la, *lm* -le, -li, *mzw* • *zool.* *Felis caracal*, zwierzę drapieżne z rodziny kotowatych (*Felidae*), o płowopiaskowej sierści w nieliczne czarne plamki i uszach zakończonych pędzelkami włosów, zamieszkujące pustynne obszary Afryki i Azji; ryś stepowy <ang., fr. *caracal*>

be words of foreign origin to a native speaker of Polish. Also some later loanwords, in particular those originating from Slavonic languages, which could have been treated as native lexical items, were mentioned. The homonymy between the Polish words and the items of foreign origin is the reason behind the inclusion of more recent borrowings. Other loans, frequently used in contemporary Polish, the reader may find in any of the available foreign word lexicons. [Translated by EM-W].

karat -rata, -racie, *lm* -raty, *mrz* 1. jednostka masy stosowana w obrocie kamieniami szlachetnymi i perłami, równa 200 miligramom (symbol: kr) 2. dawna miara zawartości złota w stopach (czyste złoto odpowiadało 24 karatom) – **karatowy** <niem. *Karat*, ang., fr. *carat*, z wł. *carato*, termin jubilerski niejasnego pochodzenia>

karbid -du, -dzie, *mrz*, *blm* • nieorganiczny związek chemiczny w postaci białej masy krystalicznej, w reakcji z wodą silnie pieniającej się i wydzielającej ostry zapach, otrzymywany z wapna palonego i koksu, stosowany w przemyśle chemicznym, m.in. do produkcji acetylenu i azotniaku; węgiel wapnia – **karbidowy** <niem. *Karbid*, ang. *carbide*; *karbo*->

kartacz -cza, *lm* -cze, -czy (lub -czów), *mrz* • pocisk artyleryjski napęnliony kawałkami metalu (siekańcami), później metalowymi kulkami, które rozpryskiwały się po wystrzeleniu, używany od XVI do połowy XX w. – **kartaczowy** <niem. *Kartätsche*, z daw. ang. *cartage*, fr. *cartouche*, wł. *cartuccia* ‘nabój armatni w postaci papierowego rulonu, napęnlonego żelaznymi odłamkami’, od *carta*, ‘karta’>

katoptryka -ryki, -ryce, *ż*, *blm* • fiz. dział optyki zajmujący się zjawiskiem odbicia światła od zwierciadeł i możliwościami zastosowania efektów tego zjawiska w przyrządach optycznych – **katoptryczny** <fr. *catoptrique*, ang. *catoptric*, od gr. *kátōptron* ‘zwierciadło’>

kauczuk -ku, *lm* -ki, *mrz* • substancja otrzymywana przez koagulację soku mlecznego (lateksu), zbieranego z naciętych drzew kauczukowca, odznaczająca się dużą elastycznością, służąca do produkcji gumy; także tworzywo sztuczne o podobnych właściwościach – **kauczukowy** <niem. *Kautschuk*, fr. *caoutchouc*, z daw. hiszp.-amer. *cáuchuc*, z indiańskiego dial. w Peru>

klasyfikacja -cji, *lm* -cje, *ż* 1. podział osób, przedmiotów lub zjawisk na grupy według określonej zasady 2. zaklasyfikowanie osoby, przedmiotu lub zjawiska do określonej grupy 3. ocena wyników osiągniętych przez ucznia lub sportowca i zestawienie ich z wynikami innych osób; także lista powstała w wyniku takiego zestawienia – **klasyfikacyjny** -ni <ang., fr. *classification*>

In a number of cases it was suggested that the words originated from English, whereas, as mentioned above, they in fact constituted a group of internationalisms, for instance:

kalcynacja -cji, *ż*, *blm* • *techn.* prażenie substancji w celu usunięcia z niej w wysokiej temperaturze dwutlenku węgla, wody lub innych składników lotnych – **kalcynacyjny** <ang. *calcination*, *kalcy*->

kalcynować -nuje, ndk • *techn.* przeprowadzać kalcynację # *techn.* **soda kalcynowana** – bezwodny węgiel sodu

⟨ang. *calcine, calcinate*⟩

kalcyt -cytu, -cycie, *lm* -cyty, *mrz* • *miner.* minerał, węgiel wapnia, przezroczysty, bezbarwny, biały albo zabarwiony żółtawo lub brunatnie, będący głównym składnikiem wapiennych skał osadowych i marmurów, stosowany zwłaszcza w przemyśle szklarskim i ceramicznym – **kalcytowy**

⟨ang. *calcite, kalcyl*⟩

karboksyl -lu, *lm* -le, -li, *mrz* • *chem.* inaczej grupa karboksylowa (karboksylowy)

⟨ang. *carboxyl*⟩

karbonizacja -cji, ż, *blm* 1. *chem.* proces technologiczny polegający na ogrzewaniu substancji organicznych, np. drewna, torfu lub węgla, bez dostępu powietrza lub przy jego ograniczeniu, powodujący wzbogacanie się tych substancji w węgiel; zwęglanie 2. *geol.* proces powolnego wzbogacania w węgiel osadów organicznych, prowadzący do powstawania złóż węgla; uwęglanie 3. *poligr.* pokrywanie odwrotnej strony formularza specjalną farbą, zastępującą kalkę 4. *włók.* chemiczne usuwanie z tkanin lub z surowej wełny przeznaczonej do przędzenia zanieczyszczeń pochodzenia roślinnego – **karbonizacyjny**

⟨ang. *carbonization*⟩

karbonyl -lu, *lm* -le, *mrz* • *chem.* inaczej grupa karbonylowa (karbonyłowy)

⟨ang. *carbonyl*⟩

katalizować -uje, ndk 1. *chem.* wywoływać katalizę 2. *przen.* wywoływać jakieś zmiany lub je przyspieszać

⟨ang. *catalyze*⟩

kawitacja -cji, ż, *blm* • powstawanie w przepływającej cieczy pęcherzyków wypełnionych gazem lub parą, wskutek miejscowego obniżenia się ciśnienia w miejscach znacznego wzrostu prędkości przepływu, powodujące niszczenie stykających się z cieczą elementów maszyn i urządzeń wodnych – **kawitacyjny**

⟨ang. *cavitation*⟩

It is interesting to note that in older Polish dictionaries of foreign words some of these borrowings were given a Latin or Greek origin. Thus, we may wonder whether the attribution of an English origin to a number of internationalisms resulted from the fact that nowadays English borrowings dominate.

Additionally, in the case of five entries an English origin was erroneously suggested. This concerned the following items: **kasyno**, in fact derived from It. *casino*, **kambryk** 'batiste' that actually originated from the name of the French town *Cambrai*, **kinkażu** (from Fr. *quincajou*) 'an animal similar to the ape', **komando** (from Ge. *kommando*), and **komandor** (a word of Russian origin but ultimately derived from French).

The inclusion of three proper names was equally questionable. These were: *Kelvin*, *Koh-i-noor*, *Ku-Klux-Klan*. It seems to me that these are not borrowings proper although some linguists consider them to be loanwords.

It was assumed that words occurring in Old English and Middle English were of English origin and, therefore, there was no further comment on their etymologies. However, with regard to eighteen words that more recently enriched the English lexis certain additional etymological remarks were made, e.g.

- kanioning** <ang. *canyoning* + < hiszp. *canón* < łac. *canna* + ang. *-ing*>
keczup/ketchup <ang. *ketchup* + przyp. < kant. *k'ěchap*>
kem <ang. *kame* + < szk. forma *comb*>
kemping <ang. *camping* 'obozowanie' + < fr. < wł. *campo* < łac. *campus* + ang. *-ing*>
kidnaper <ang. *kidnapper* + ang. *kid* + ang. *nap*, nieznanne XVII-wieczne pochodz. + ang. *-er*>
kidnaping – <t.s. + ang. *-ing*>
klinch <ang. *clinch* 'zaczep, zaczepienie' + XVI-wieczna odmiana *clench*>
klown <ang. *clown* + < przyp. d.-niem., XVI-wieczne pochodz.>
komodor <ang. *commodore* + przyp. < hol. *komandeur* < fr. *commandeur*>
komandos <ang. *commando*, lm. *commandos* + <port. *commandar*>
komiks <ang. *comics* lm. + ang. *comic* < łac. *comicus* < gr. *kōmikos*>
komputer <ang. *computer* + < fr. *computer* lub łac. *computare*>
kongresman <ang. *congressman* + ang. *congress* < łac. *congressus* + ang. *man*>
konsulting <ang. *consult* + < ang. *consult* < fr. *consulter* < łac. *consultare* + ang. *-ing*>
kordyt <ang. *cordite* + ang. *cord* + ang. *-ite*>

In turn, in eleven entries the information concerning the origin of the English models was corrected:

- khaki** it is: z hind. *xaki* 'kolor pyłu, kurzu, ziemi'
 it should be: z urdu *kāki*
klajdesdal it is: ang. *clydesdale*, od n.m. *Clydesdale* w Szkocji
 it should be: ang. *Clydesdale*, od *Clyde*, nazwa rzeki w Szkocji +
 ang. *dale* 'dolina'
klaps it is: ang. *clappers*, od *clap* 'trzaskać, klaskać'
 it should be: ang. *clap*, lm. *claps*
klomb it is: daw. niem.-austr. *Klomb*, z ang. *clump* 'kępa, gruba bryła'
 it should be: *clump* od średnio-d.-niem. *Klumpe*, od średnio-hol.
klompe
klozet it is: niem. *Klosett*, fr. *closet*, z ang. *water-closet* 'ustęp z wodą'
 it should be: od ang. *water-closet*

klub	it is: niem. <i>Klub</i> , fr. <i>club</i> , z ang. <i>club</i> ‘związek sportowy, kij do gry, pałka’, z duń. <i>klub</i> ‘pałka, maczuga’ it should be: ang. <i>club</i> , ze staroskand. <i>Klubbe</i>
koks	it is: niem. <i>koks</i> , hol. <i>kooks</i> , z ang. <i>cokes</i> lm., daw. <i>cowks</i> , <i>coaks</i> ‘żużel’ it should be: ang. <i>koke</i> , od przyp. północno-ang. dial. <i>colk</i> , pochodzi. nieznanne + ang. lm. -s
kris	it is: ang. <i>creese</i> , <i>crease</i> , z mal. <i>kēris</i> it should be: ang. <i>cowks</i> , <i>creese</i> , <i>crease</i> , <i>kris</i> < mal. <i>k(i)rīs</i>
kromlech	it is: fr., ang. <i>cromlech</i> , z celt. it should be: ang. <i>cromlech</i> z wal. <i>cron</i>
kulis	it is: ang. <i>coolies</i> lm., <i>coolie</i> lp., z hind. <i>qulī</i> , z tur. it should be: z tamilsk. <i>Kūli</i>
kuter	it is: niem. <i>Kutter</i> , z ang. <i>cutter</i> ‘przecinacz fal’ it should be: ang. <i>cutter</i>

The purpose of this paper, however, is to compare more recent dictionaries with the findings discussed above. Therefore, the letter *K* is the subject of this analysis. It is assumed that in a lexicon/lexicons published more recently there should be fewer etymological mistakes due to more advanced knowledge in the field.

Apparently, of the three dictionaries discussed above none has been re-edited and only the 2003 edition of *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (*A Great Dictionary of Foreign Words by PWN*; Bańko 2003) is currently available. However, there are three lexicons of foreign words available, at least in Kraków bookshops, namely *Słownik wyrazów obcych PWN z przykładami i poradami* (*A PWN Dictionary of Foreign Words with Examples and Some Pieces of Advice*; Drabik 2014), which contains 23,000 lexical entries, and two concise dictionaries. The first, *Praktyczny słownik wyrazów obcych z przykładami* (*A Practical Dictionary of Foreign Words with Examples*; Piotrkiewicz-Karmowska, Karmowski 2012), which has no publication date, contains 10, 000 entries and the second, *Słownik wyrazów obcych* (*A Dictionary of Foreign Words*; von Basse 2016) has no information save the name of the publishing house. Therefore, it was decided to contrast the three older lexicons with that recently edited by Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN as these seem comparable due to their size and their common publishing house.

The PWN lexicon contains 170 entries derived from English and 39 internationalisms occurring in English under the letter *K*. The latter are documented by providing equivalents in different languages including English, e.g. **karat** <niem. *Karat*, ang., fr. *carat*, z wł. *carato*, termin jubilerski niejasnego pochodzenia> **kumulacja** <niem. *Kumulation*, ang. *cumulation*, z wł. *cumulazione*>.

In general, despite the assumption expressed above there are still certain errors worth mentioning.

It was found with regard to the letter *K* that of the 170 entries, four English models (*konstytucjonalizm*, *koreks*, *kortyzol* and *kwantyl*) were not attested in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (Allen 1995) as well as in two other selected large dictionaries of English, i.e. those encompassing over 100,000 entries: *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (2002), *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2008), a fact which demonstrates the words' very specialist character.

It was also found that of 170 entries twelve items, including derivatives which constitute separate entries, were erroneously attributed with English origins, whereas in fact they belong to the category of internationalisms, namely: *kolonializm*, *komercjalizm*, *konflikt*, *konglomerat*, *konserwatysta*, *konserwatywny*, *konstytucjonalizm*, *konstytucjonalny*, *kontrastywny*, *kreacjonizm*, *krystalizacja*, *kultywacja*.

Again the three proper names mentioned above are included. One archaic lexical item, that is **kowerkot**, is excluded from the lexicon but the other two are found in the analyzed dictionary as well. It is also worth noting that the English source of the archaic word **kremplina** should be spelt with a capital letter (*Crimplene*) rather than a lower case letter as indicated in the lexicon.

Since the corpus is smaller certain items whose etymology has been discussed are missing. However, with regard to the following items: **kanioning**, **keczup/ketchup**, **kemping/camping**, **kidnaper**, **kidnaping**, **klincz**, **klown**, **komandos**, **komodor**, **komiks**, **komputer**, **kongresman**, **konsulting** some additional etymological remarks should have been made (see above), especially as in some cases more detailed etymological information is in fact provided, e.g. **konwekcja** <ang. *convection*, z późno.-łac. *convectio* 'zwożenie'> **korfbal** <ang., z hol. od *korf* 'kosz' + *bal* 'piłka'>. The addition of specific etymological information is demonstrated in the following seven entries found as well, all in the 2014 lexicon:

kodek <ang. *codec* + przyp. od *co(der)* i *dec(oder)* lub *co(mpression)* i *dec(ompression)*>

kompartiment <ang. *compartment* 'przedział, segment' + <fr. *compartiment* z późno.-łac. *compartiri*>

kongresman <ang. *congressman* + od *congress* z łac. *congressus* 'zejście się' i ang. *man* 'mężczyzna'>

konsulting <ang. *consulting* + od *consult* 'radzić się' z fr. *consulter*, z łac. *consulto* 'radzę się'>

kraker <ang. *cracker* + od *crack* 'złamać (np. szyfr)'>

krykiet <ang. *cricket* + niepewne XVI-wieczne pochodzenie>

kwiz/quiz <ang. *quiz* + nieznanie XIX-wieczne pochodzenie>

As mentioned above in the eleven entries the information concerning the origin of the English models was corrected. However, this only concerns six cases in the dictionary under discussion as strangely enough both such lexemes as **klozet**, **kuter**, which are high frequency words, and **klajdesdal**, **kris**, **kromlech**, which are used less often, are missing.

Similarly, five Anglicisms known to the average native speaker of Polish are not included in the 2014 dictionary. These are: *kamper*, *karawan/caravan*, although the lexeme *karavaning* is included in the lexicon, *kartridge/cartridge*, *kompaktor* and *kongregacjonalista* (cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2010).

In the case of eight entries the English models were given but were characterized by two different shortcomings: 1. certain graphic variants were missing, e.g. E *kickboxer* but also *kick-boxer*, E *kickboxing* and *kick-boxing*, E *kids band* and *kid band*, E *conveyer* as well as *conveyor* or E *converter* and *convertor*, 2. the use of a lower case letter instead of a capital letter (*Quaker*) as well as the reverse in two abbreviations: *KWIC* – *keyword in context*, *KWOC* – *keyword out of context*.

In conclusion it is worth noting that the entries in the corpus provided by the publishing house Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN contained a number of mistakes. To be more precise, out of the 351 entries beginning with the letter *K*, 141 did not require any improvement whereas 210 contained errors to a greater or lesser extent. This means almost 60% of the lexical entries are incorrect. In contrast in the 2014 lexicon of the 170 entries analyzed 59 needed some correction, which means over 30% of the lexical entries contained errors. Therefore, we can observe a certain improvement in the description of the etymology of Anglicisms although we have to be aware of the fact that the corpus analyzed was smaller (351 items vs. 170 entries).

On the basis of this analysis, admittedly limited to only one letter, it can be postulated that other lexical entries might have a similar profile, and we should conclude that the editors of lexicons of foreign words, as well as of the Polish language, would do well to consult experts, namely philologists specializing in different languages. In particular, this will be of interest to the editors of a new great dictionary of the Polish language. If so many errors were observed in the entries derived from English, we can only suspect that, for instance, words taken from Oriental languages might contain even more. However, also it is worth noting that mistakes are even to be found in English etymological dictionaries, i.e. those published in countries with an older and richer tradition. Such a tradition, notably in Great Britain and the USA, results from, among other reasons, the position of English in the world and the number of speakers of English, namely

those who use it as their first, second or as a foreign language. Despite this, such lexicons contain a certain level of inaccuracy. As an illustration reference can be made to the inexactness of the etymology of words of Turkish origin found in, among others, the Oxford Dictionary, which although not an etymological lexicon *par excellence*, contains etymological data. This claim is based on Urban's (2015) monograph in which he highlighted a number of errors concerning Turkish loans that were present in the Oxford Dictionary. Despite this, the lexicon is used under the assumption that the native lexis and the more recent words borrowed from the so-called exotic tongues, which are characterized by a much higher frequency than Turkish borrowings, are described in a meticulous manner. Thus in conclusion, the aim of the present article, as well as of the 2013 paper, was not only to highlight the deficiencies in Polish lexicons published at different times but also to suggest how such mistakes may be avoided in order to achieve more reliable dictionaries.

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IS HUNG. ÓCSÁROL 'TO SLANDER, TO DEFAME' NOT A TURKIC LOANWORD? A SLAVONIC COUNTERPROPOSITION

The article revisits the existing etymologies of Hung. *ócsárol* 'to slander, to defame' and offers a new solution, namely that the verb derives from Slav. *očariti* 'to enchant; to cast a spell on somebody'.

etymology, Hungarian etymology, Slavonic loanwords in Hungarian,
Turkic loanwords in Hungarian

1. The research project launched in spring 2011 by Károly Gerstner with the aim of creating a new etymological dictionary of Hungarian (ÚESz, see e.g. Gerstner 2014) won an ally in its efforts to investigate the oldest layer of Turkic lexicon in that language: The work of the late Árpád Berta and of András Róna-Tas (2011), abbreviated usually as TLH (as used in this paper) or WOT, recapitulates and reviews almost everything that has hitherto been said about Old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian and places a more than helpful tool in the hands of Gerstner and his colleagues. And even if we find any data, views or even methodological guidelines that might be debatable in TLH,¹ such an opus remains a desideratum with regard to Slavonic loanwords in Hungarian. The most recent comprehensive

1 Above all, see the opinions expressed by Csúcs (2012), Jankowski (2013), Stachowski (2014), and Honti (forthcoming). In their reviews, Uçar (2011), Agyagási (2012),

study in this field remains Kniezsa's work from 1955, and it is worth being aware of the fact that more than 60 years have passed since then. More importantly, his views were often adopted uncritically by the editors and authors of TESz, which was published in three volumes in the years 1967–1976 (see e.g. Zoltán 2011), and was echoed in EWUng (1993–1995).

These two fields of investigation have been juxtaposed here for a reason. Firstly, in both fields the approach to the question of what the exact donor languages are has been elaborated on extensively in the last two decades. In the case of Turcology, the reconstruction of the sound system and derivational morphology of those Turkic languages that Hungarian had contact with – and are referred to under the umbrella term West(ern) Old Turkic (WOT) – has improved considerably since Ligeti's last works (e.g. Ligeti 1976, 1986). The results of these endeavours are evident, above all, in Róna-Tas (1998) and TLH (1071–1176, written by András Róna-Tas after Árpád Berta's passing). Additionally, based on these studies, new conclusions have been drawn with regard to Ancient and Old Hungarian phonology. Slavacists, in turn, have addressed the issue of Pannonian Slavonic and the date of the break-up of Slavonic linguistic unity. It seems possible that the Magyar tribes arrived in the territories of Central-Eastern Europe at a time when the Slavs of Pannonia spoke a more or less uniform Slavonic divided into slightly different dialects. This stands in contrast to the traditional view, shared of course also by Kniezsa, that the separate Slavonic languages had already developed at that time (see Zoltán 2005a, 2013, 2014).² Finally, attempts have also been made to reconstruct the Pannonian Slavonic dialects used at the time the Magyars inhabited this area – based on Slavonic loanwords in Hungarian. These attempts (see e.g. Chelimskij 1988 or Richards 2003), were, however, far less elaborate than the conclusions made in TLH.

Ölmez (2012), Robbeets (2012), Bichlmeier (2013), and Hitch (2015) have merely presented the content of TLH and supplemented it with further data instead of critically evaluating it.

- 2 According to Zoltán, Pannonian Slavonic may have split into two main dialects at the time when the Hungarians invaded Pannonia: one reflecting Western and South-Western Slavonic features, while in the other South-Eastern Slavonic features predominated (see Zoltán 2013). Chelimskij's (1988) view was somewhat more radical: he considered Pannonian Slavonic to be rather uniform. Bearing these three different viewpoints in mind, in the present paper the abbreviation *Slav.* will be used in front of etymons to show that even though the Slavonic origin of a certain Hungarian word is beyond any doubt, the exact donor language or dialect remains unknown.

Secondly, we are often confronted in the etymological literature with the question of whether a certain Hungarian word is of Slavonic or Turkic origin³ – this issue is often also addressed against a background of previous attempts to explain the respective word as an example of Hungarian internal development. We can instance the discussion on the origin of Hung. *bér* ‘wage, rent’ (Kniezsa 1955: 796; TLH: 115–118), *darázs* ‘wasp’ (Berta 2001; Zoltán 2010, 2015; Németh 2011), *sebes* ‘fast, quick’ (TLH: 706–707; Zoltán 2012a, 2012b), *ocsúdik* ‘to come to, to awake’ (TLH: 1214–1217; Németh 2015), *tábor* ‘(military) camp’ (TLH: 837–841; Németh 2014) or *tör* ‘to break’ (Zoltán 2005b, 2006; TLH: 935–937). The present article is a continuation of this discussion: a Slavonic origin is proposed for the Hung. *ócsárol* ‘to slander, to defame’ – a word considered to be ultimately of Turkic origin.

2. Hung. *ócsárol* is explained as a derivative or possible derivative of *olcsó* ‘cheap’ (Simonyi 1880: 265; Balassa 1894: 279; Horger 1924: 131–132, s.v. *olcsó*; Fokos 1932: 112–114; SzófSz: 221; TESz 2: 1065; Nyirkos 1959: 489, 1987: 129; EWUng: 1053; ESz: 583; TLH: 635–636, s.v. *olcsó*; ÚESz). Hung. *olcsó*, in turn, was hitherto considered by most researchers to be a Turkic loanword (Vámbéry 1870: 166; Munkácsi 1928: 87; Fokos 1932: 112–114; TESz 2: 1074; EWUng: 1058; ESz: 586; Dybo 2010: 89–90; TLH: 635–636; ÚESz). Previously, it was also believed that *olcsó* evolved from *alsó* ‘the one under’ (Budenz 1871: 107; Horger 1924: 131–132; Gombocz 1907: 308–309, 1908: 71), but this idea was later refuted by Uralists for phonetic reasons (*olcsó* is missing in MSzFE).⁴ A third opinion was expressed by Nyirkos (1959: 488–489), namely that *olcsó* is a *-csó* diminutive derived from Hung. *ó* meaning ‘(very) old, ancient’. This idea has never been accepted by etymologists, yet neither has it been refuted: Nyirkos’s article is quoted only in TESz, but its content has been ignored in the entry. Perhaps this is so because this etymology has two very serious drawbacks: *-csó* is only used to form nouns and emerged not earlier than the Middle Hungarian period (but, in fact, it was productive mainly in the 19th–20th centuries; see MNyt: 613).

As we have already said, a number of authors agreed that *ócsárol* goes back to the Turkic-derived *olcsó*, but the degree of certainty with reference to this

3 This question concerns, first of all, the oldest layer of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian; we leave aside the question of the Ottoman Turkic loanwords transmitted by South-Slavonic languages.

4 In his work from 1941, Bárczi rejected neither of these two hypotheses (SzófSz: 223).

etymology varies in the above mentioned etymological dictionaries: the authors of TESz and EWUng as well as ESz say that *olcsó* is probably (or possibly) a Turkic loanword and the verb *ócsárol* is most likely a derivative of the latter. In TESz it is additionally asserted that *ócsárol* might originate from an unknown stem and it could have been mistakenly associated with *olcsó*. As far as the etymons are concerned, in TESz it is Tkc. **ušaγ* or Tkc. **alčay*, in Fokos (1932: 113) and EWUng it is Tkc. **ušaγ*, in Munkácsi (1928: 87) it is **alčag*, in Dybo (2010: 89) it is PT **al(č)ak* (an ultimate etymon), and in TLH it is WOT **učaγ* (for further information see the TLH-entry quoted below).⁵

3. To begin with, let me repeat the head of the relevant entry in TLH (626, 635–636)⁶ given that the etymology of *ócsárol* presented there is the most recent⁷ and most elaborated. I will attempt to propose an alternative to it.

ÓCSÁROL ‘to disparage’ see **OLCSÓ**

OLCSÓ [olčō] ‘cheap’ | 1528 *olčōnak* [olčō-nâk], 1557 *ocoban* [ōčō-ban] | *olčō* < *ōčō* [with unorg *l*] < **učaγ* < **učay* ← WOT **učay* < **učag* || **ÓCSÁROL** ‘to disparage’ | p1416/1466 meg *ollarlatot* [meg olčārl-âtott], c1456 *ocharuan* [ōčār-vān], 1566 *olczárllya* [olčārl-yā], *olcsárol* [olčārol], 1588 *ocharollyak* [ōčārol-yāk] | *ōčārol*- ~ *olčārol*- < *olčō* ~ *ōčō* {with suff +*ArOl*-} | EOT **učak* ‘what is light, cheap’ < *uč*- ‘to fly’ > *učuz* ‘cheap’.⁸

5 There was also an earlier attempt to derive Hung. *olcsó* and *ócsárol* eventually from Tkc. *učuz* ‘cheap’ or Tkc. *alčaq* ‘low; vile’ (see Vámbéry 1870: 166; Munkácsi 1928: 87), but these explanations do not hold water (see TLH: 637–638; see also Budenz 1871: 106–107; Gombocz 1907: 308–309, 1908: 71).

6 Árpád Berta was responsible for entries C–G and L–Z, while András Róna-Tas handled the remaining entries and chapters of the work.

7 We have not taken into consideration the preliminary draft of ÚESz made accessible to the public at nszt.nyttud.hu/etimologia.html.

8 At this point it must be stressed that the etymology of *olcsó* will not be discussed in the present article. This is mainly so because of the limitations of space which were also in force for the editors of this volume. Secondly, the question of whether it is valid to say that *ócsárol* is a derivative of *olcsó* can be analysed also without being sure whether *olcsó* is of Turkic or native or any other origin. The etymology of *olcsó* proposed in TLH seems the most convincing so far, even though, in my opinion, it has one important shortcoming, namely, the comparative data gathered to support the

From the phonetic transcription of the Hungarian forms above it transpires that spelling reflects the OHung. *ō* ~ *ol*- alternation in word-initial position, i.e. *olcsárol* ~ *ócsárol*. This, however, needs a word of explanation.

The word in question existed in several phonetic variants. Based on NySz (2: 1094, s.vv. *ócsál*, *męg-ócsál*, *ócsálás*, *ócsáltat*, *ócsárol*, *męg-ócsárol*, *ócsárlás*), TESz, RMG (536), and EWUng, we can prepare the following list of its earliest attestations in the Old and Middle Hungarian period. The linguistic data are listed in the original orthography (in chevrons) followed by their possible phonetic value as well as by the date and source of attestation.

A. Forms

1. <megoli:azlatot⁹>, i.e. [megolčarlátott] or [megölčarlátott] – a. 1416/1466 (MünchK)
2. <ocharuan>, i.e. [očārvān] or [ōčārvān] – ca. 1456 (SermDom)
3. <olcharl̥ya>, i.e. [olčārlja] or [ōlčārlja] – ca. 1456 (SermDom)
4. <ólczárll̥ya>, i.e. [ōlčārljā] – 1566 (Heltai)
5. <ochyarollyak>, i.e. [očāroljāk] or [ōčāroljāk] – 1588 (Frankovith)
6. <oczállom>, i.e. [očállom] – 1611 (Szenczi)
7. <oltfallya>, i.e. [olčāl̥jā] – 1650 (Medgyesi)
8. <ochálsz>, i.e. [očāls] or [ōčāls] – 1650/1651 (Zrínyi)
9. <ótsállom>, <ótsárlom>, <ótsárolom>, i.e. [ōčállom], [ōčārlom], [ōčārolom] – 1708 (Pápai Páriz)

existence of the asterisked WOT **učay* < **učag* < **uč-* ‘to fly’ + *-ag* (deverbal nominal derivative suffix) has, in fact, nothing in common with WOT **učay*: the referential material consists of more than 80 *učuz* ~ *užuz*-type forms. The authors of the entry admit that “*učuz* presents an exact semantic parallel of H[ung.] *olcsó*, but with another morphology” (TLH 2: 637), but it has been left unsaid that these forms, in fact, contradict such an etymology: all over the Turkic linguistic world the *učuz* ~ *užuz*-type derivatives of the verb *uč-* were and still are used to express ‘cheap’ (see also ĚSTJa 1: 567–568; the word is richly documented), whereas there is no trace of an *-ag*-derivative in this meaning. For this reason, the reconstructed WOT **učay* must remain merely a hypothetical reconstruction without any kind of relevant philological supportive evidence.

- 9 The letter *l* undoubtedly stands for *č* (even if its origin has not yet been satisfactorily explained), *z* stands for *r* (cf. its variant in the so called *lettre bâtarde*).

B. Commentary to A

1. OHung. *megolcsárlatott*¹⁰ or *mególcsárlatott* is a passive 3rd pers. sg. form preceded by the *meg-* verbal prefix built from *olcsárol* or *ólcsárol*. TLH mentions [megolčārlātott] as the only possible reading (with a short *o-*), even though in the Codex of Munich no distinction was made between vowel length quantity (see Nyíri 1971: 33) and the word might as well be deciphered as [mególčārlātott]; for a reliable example of *ōlč-* cf. 4.
2. OHung. *ócsárván* or *ocsárván* is a *-ván* verbal adverb recorded in the Codex of Budapest (*Budapesti Glosszák* or *Budapesti kódex*) of the so called *Sermones Dominicales*. There is no consistent distinction between *o* and *ō* in *SermDom* (see Knieszsa 1952: 97), either, therefore the word-initial letter might stand for either sound. What is puzzling and conspicuous here is that its verbal base is *ócsár* or *ocsár*, which is the only known example of such a form. See Szilády's edition (1910 1: 20; quoted after RMG), which, however, received harsh criticism from linguists, above all Zolnai (1910: 460–474, 1911: 181–182) and Mészöly (1910). See also 3. For a reliable example of *oč-* cf. 6.
3. OHung. *olcsárlja* or *ólcsárlja* is a 3rd pers. sg. present tense form (definite conjugation), the verbal base of which is *olcsárl* or *ólcsárl*. It is recorded in *SermDom*, too (see 2), i.e. the initial <o> might stand for both *o* and *ō*. We find it in RMG, but not in TESz, EWUng or TLH.

Less importantly, the actual phonetic value of <lj> might have been [Í].

4. MHung. *ólcsárlja* is transcribed as [olčārljā] in TLH, again, with a short *o-* even though it is written with <ó-> [ō-] in the original source (Heltai 1566). In EWUng, as an explanation of the original <ólczárlyja>, the editors decided to repeat what we see in NySz (2: 1094, s.v. *ócsárol*) and TESz (after NySz), namely: “ólcsárol”. The latter form is, however, a transcription in modern Hungarian orthography made by the authors of NySz in 1891, a fact which is indicated in both TESz and EWUng (see “ólcsárol [Umschrift]” in EWUng). This form has been taken over by the compilers of TLH in a way that suggests that it was written thus in 1588. Additionally, it has been altered in TLH into *olcsárol*, probably in order to tally with the *ō-* ~ *ol-* pattern.

The actual phonetic value of <lly> might also have been [Í] or [ÍÍ]. However, this, again, is of lesser importance.

10 Henceforth, for greater clarity and conformity with Modern Hungarian data, all Hungarian forms will be quoted in modern Hungarian orthography – unless the exact reading of a form would be ambiguous to the reader.

5. MHung. *ocsárolják* or *ócsárolják* is a 3rd pers. pl. present tense form of the definite conjugation. In TLH it is transcribed as [ōčāroljāk]. The initial sound, however, might as well be an *o* or *ō*; Frankovith (1588) did not distinguish between a long and short *o* in any position (see examples in Borsa 1956), either. For a reliable example of *oč-* cf. 6.

Again, the actual phonetic value of <lly> might also have been [ÍÍ] (lengthened in intervocalic position).

6. MHung. *ocsállom*, a present tense 1st pers. sg. form of the definite conjugation. The verbal base is *ocsáll-*. We find it in Albert Szenczi Molnár's dictionary (1611), in which a long *ō* and a short *o* were clearly distinguished, cf. the facsimile of the dictionary's first edition from 1604 (available on-line), where <O> and <O> are used for *ō-* and *o-*, respectively.
7. MHung. *olcsálja* is a 3rd pers. sg. present tense form (definite conjugation), see Medgyesi (1650: 47). In this work there is a clear distinction between short *o* and long *ō*.
8. MHung. *ocsálsz* or *ócsálsz* is a 2nd pers. sg. form of the indefinite conjugation. It appears in Zrínyi's *Adriai Tengernek Syrenaiá*. I have only been able to check this form in a manuscript stored in Zagreb (and not in the Viennese print from 1651), in which *o* and *ō* are not distinguished (see folio 161 v^o; the facsimile is available on-line).
9. MHung. *ócsállom*, *ócsárlom* and *ócsárolom* are present tense 1st pers. sg. forms of the definite conjugation. They are attested in Ferenc Pápai Páriz's (1708) dictionary in which the distinction between *o* and *ō* is clear. The *ócsárolom* ~ *ócsárlom* alternation is regular and raises no doubts (cf. the so called Horger's law, see Horger 1911).

It is paramount that we are aware of the fact that the syncopation of the syllable closing *-l* along with the simultaneous lengthening of the vowel preceding it is a well-known and widespread process in Hungarian.¹¹ Moreover, the appearance of an inorganic *l* after a long vowel with simultaneous shortening of that originally

11 The origin of this process lies in the tendency towards vocalization of *l* in front of dental plosives and affricates that begin as a dental stop and release as a fricative (i.e. among others in front of *č*). This took place roughly in the 12th–14th centuries. The diphthongs that emerged in this process evolved into long vowels (*volt* > (~) *vout* > (~) *vót*). Later on, by way of analogy, this phenomenon developed into a widely used {long vowel} : {short vowel + *l*} alternation operating regardless of the phonetic environment (see Benkő 1957: 78–79) and also involved words with inorganic *-l-* (see below).

long vowel is also common (in Hungarian this process is called *téves visszaütés eredményeként keletkezett l* and consists, generally speaking, in hypercorrection, see e.g. Nyirkos 1987: 126–131). Still, the reader of the entry in TLH might have the impression that the Old and Middle Hungarian linguistic data were intentionally presented in a way that tallies with the \bar{o} - ~ *ol*- pattern and, eventually, to bring *ócsárol* closer to Hung. *olcsó* ~ Hung. dial. *ócsó* ~ *ócsú*. (ÚMTSz). Such a description strongly suggests that there is little possibility that these two words are not related etymologically to each other.

At the same time, the *olč-* ~ *ōlč-* ~ *oč-* ~ *ōč-* alternation present in the Old and Middle Hungarian data cannot, by any means, serve as an argument against the theory that *ócsárol* derives from Hung *olcsó*. In fact, we can find some reliable examples from which it transpires that the same alternation may have appeared in both *olcsó* and *ócsárol*, see e.g. *olcsó* with word-initial *ōl-* in NySz or Nyirkos (1959: 489).¹² The alternation mentioned here is merely an argument against the explanation presented in TLH, i.e. the \bar{o} - in *ócsárol* may be treated exclusively as a result of compensatory lengthening following the loss of the internal inorganic *l* of its alleged nominal base *olcsó*. Apparently, in the Old and Middle Hungarian forms inorganic *-l* may have appeared independently, in words beginning both with *o-* or \bar{o} -, or, also, as a result of *ócsárol* being contaminated with *olcsó* (below, we will attempt to prove that the latter could have easily taken place). All in all, the alternation in question should be used as an argument in favour of treating *-l* as an inorganic sound, only.

C. Meanings and the context of use

Firstly, it is certainly worth mentioning that the word's earliest known attestation, i.e. <megollazlatot>, is to be found in a translation of Luke (16:1),¹³ given that its use in the Bible makes establishing its exact meaning quite straightforward.

12 The transcription of the earliest forms listed in TLH (after TESz and EWUng) is not precise enough in this respect, either: <olLonak> comes from the so-called Codex of Székelyudvarhely (1526–1528; SzékK) (see N. Abaffy 1993: 316 [facsimile], 317 [transcription]; in TLH quoted as: <olčonak>, i.e. the transcription used by Szabó 1908: 35 and repeated later in TESz and EWUng has been taken over), whereas <ocoban> appears in a private letter written in October 1557 (see Szalay 1861: 262) – in both sources *o* and \bar{o} were not distinguished, hence both readings are valid.

13 In a copy from 1466 of the Codex of Munich written originally after 1416.

The verse goes as follows (see Döbrentei, Jászay 1842: 166–167; Nyíri 1971: 300; Szabó 1985: 232):

Monduala ke-¹⁴ ɔ taneituaninac. Vala eg neminèmɔ kaʒdag èmber kin^c vala fol-naga s èʒ megolazlatot ɔ nala monnal èltekoʒlottaolna ɔ iauit.

Its Latin equivalent is (after Nyíri 1971: 300):

Dicebat autem et ad discipulos suos: Homo quidam erat dives, qui habebat vilicum, et hic diffamatus est apud illum quasi dissipasset bona ipsius.¹⁵

Ergo, in this sentence the analysed verb was used in the meaning of ‘to defame, to defame by accusation’.

In Modern Hungarian, the verb means ‘to slander, to defame’ and, in fact, it is with these two meanings that the word was used throughout the Old, Middle and Modern Hungarian period, i.e. with the meaning of ‘to accuse, defame by accusation’ and ‘to slander, to defame’ (see also TESz and EWUng as well as SzT 9: 903 for an overview of the word’s semantics). I was unable to access the full text of SermDom and Frankovith (1588) to check the context the word was used in there. However, in the works of Heltai, Medgyesi and in the poem of Zrinyi, the context clearly shows that the word meant ‘to defame, to slander, to shame’, see (cited in a modernized orthography):

- a. Heltai (1566; see the 50th fable¹⁶):

[...] *akit a fejedelem kedvel, azt igen dicsíri, magasztalja; akit kedig nem kedvel a fejedelem, azt ócsárlja, szidja* [...].

[...] the one who is cherished by the monarch, he is praised by him and eulogized; but the one who is not cherished by the monarch, he is slandered, scolded by him [...].

14 An abbreviation of OHung. *kedig* ‘but; also; on the other hand’ (see EWUng: 718).

15 Let me quote Luke (16:1) as translated in the King James Bible: *And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.*

16 The fable is entitled (in a modernized orthography): *A majmokról és két emberről, egyik igazmondóról, másik hízeltöködéről* ‘About monkeys and two people, one a truth-teller, the other a flatterer’.

b. Medgyesi (1650: 47):

Az embertelen motskolódásával-is igen messze nem mehet. Inkább az ő Feje tők, hogy az Presbytereknek műhelyekből-való felmenéseket oltálja, holot Pál Apostol sőt Chistus Urunk-is műhelyből mentenek az Eggyházi προσασίαια [...].

One cannot go far with inhumane abuse. It is rather he whose head is a pumpkin [i.e. who is a nitwit], when he defames the processions of the Presbyters starting from their places of work, although also Paul the Apostle, nay, our Lord Christ went from their places of work for ecclesiastic processions [...].

c. Zrínyi (1650–1651: 161 v^o)

Viola / Ugy van igen szeretem mit akarsz tehát / Szeretem Licaont s az ő musikäiát. Titirus: Kegyetlen mit mondasz / Engem versz beszéddel / Szépet ruttá csinálsz / Rutat irsz föstékkel / Engem azért ocsálsz / Hogy esmérjem evel / Menivel oroszláni haragosa báránynál, / Annira kegyetleneb te oroszlánynál.

Viola: / That is thus, yes, I love him, so what do you want? / I love Licaon and his music. / Titirus: / You, cruel, what do you say? / You strike me with words, / turn beautiful into ugly, / paint ugliness with paint. / You slander me to / make me recognize: / As much as more furious is a lion than a lamb / so much crueller are you than a lion.

The other sources mentioned above are dictionaries, in which the word is presented without a context – see, however, the following commentary:

Curious as it may seem, *ócsárol* also acquired the meaning ‘to consider cheap’, but this took place much later, namely in the 18th century (from around 1750 on¹⁷). The reliability of this semantic data is, however, questionable. Its late appearance was already conspicuous in the eyes of the authors of TESz and they admitted that the late and rare use of this meaning should perhaps be explained by its mistaken association with *olcsó*. In this context, the authors of TESz do not reject the idea that *ócsárol* might originate from another stem of unknown origin (i.e. not from *olcsó*).

As a matter of fact, if we take a look at Late Old Hungarian dictionaries, we can find some circumstantial evidence indicating that *ocsárol* was influenced by *olcsó*. For example, if we compare the respective entries of Ferenc Pápai Páriz’s

17 As asserted by TESz and EWUng, the data in question appears in the so-called Heptalogus (see TESz.), i.e. in *Heptalogus, az az: Görög Orfági hét Böltsék jó erköltsre oktató mondási. és Cato közönséges erköltsre tanító bölts parantsolati [...]* published in Buda in 1750. I had, however, no access to this source.

(1649–1716) dictionary (1708) with the dictionary of Péter Bod (1712–1769) published in 1767 and constituting an extended edition of the former (cf. for instance, the title of the latter work; both dictionaries play an extremely important role in the history of Hungarian), we see the following (the pairs of entries quoted, in both dictionaries, are next to each other):

- d. Pápai Páriz Ferenc (1708: 179):

Ótsállom : *Vilito, Vilipendo, Derogo, Contemno, is. Vitupero, as.*
Ótsárlom, ótsárolom : *Idem*

It is important to note that there is no *olcsó* in this dictionary.

- e. Bod Péter (1767: 271, 274):

Oltsárlom : *Depretio. ich mindere den Werth.*
Oltsó : *Vitis pretii. wohlfeil.*
Ótsállom : *Vilito, Vilipendo, Derogo, Contemno, is. Vitupero, as. ich mach ge-
ringschätzig, schände.*
Ótsárlom, Ótsárolom : *Idem*

When seen in this light, it seems quite telling that <oltsárlom> was added to Bod's dictionary with the following definition: ‘to lower the value’ together with the entry <oltsó> ‘cheap’ (and with the additional meanings provided in German).¹⁸ Moreover, this dictionary makes a clear semantic distinction between *olcsárol* and *ócsárol*.

In fact, it would be rather striking if the verb meaning ‘to accuse’ had first developed from a word meaning ‘cheap’ and then, more than three centuries later, the sense ‘to accuse’ had broadened to include the additional meaning ‘to lower the value’ – without using the adjective *olcsó* ‘cheap’ for this purpose, as is the case in Hung. (rare) *olcsóll* ~ *olcsól* ‘to consider cheap’ (CzF 4: 1028).¹⁹ The late appearance of the latter meaning and the high probability that *olcsó* phonetically influenced *ócsárol* forces us to put aside this semantic data (first appearing ca. 1750) when discussing whether *ócsárol* is a derivative of *olcsó*. For the same reason, probably, the authors of TLH did not even mention this 18th-c. semantic change.

18 For a critique of Péter Bod's command of German, see Simonyi (1890: 279–280).

19 See our reasoning below concerning the question why *olcsól*, *olcsóll* cannot be treated as variants of arch. *olcsál* and *olcsáll*.

D. Morphology

As a next step, let us present the existing Old and Middle Hungarian variants once again – in an order reflecting their structure and degree of complexity:

Without *-l-*:

- *ócsár* or *ocsár* (1456, only)
- *ocsál* or *ócsál* (1650)
- *ocsáll* (1611)
- *ocsárol* or *ócsárol* (1588)

With *-l-*:

- *olcsál* (1650)
- *olcsárl* or *ólcsárl* (1456)
- *olcsárol* or *ólcsárol* (a. 1416/1466)

Some of the forms contain an *l* in the first syllable, which, as we argued above, is most probably unetymological (and also not morphological) in character. No better explanation has been proposed for it so far and, in fact, we cannot find any other explanation for it, either.²⁰ Its unetymological nature seems all the more probable as there is a vast number of examples of such a phenomenon in Hungarian (see e.g. Nyirkos 1987: 125–132, 135 and Tóth 2004: 454–461 for dozens of examples). A good parallel is Hung. *Olnod* (a place name, see e.g. Hoffmann 2005: 207) first attested in 1296 < Slav. *Vnud* (see Fehértói 1983: 362).²¹ Besides, the unetymological *-l-* may also have appeared as a result of contamination with *olcsó*.

Now, we ought to explicate the relationship between the forms ending in *-ál*, *-áll*, *-ár*, and *-ár(o)l*.

20 There was only one etymology that treated this *-l-* as belonging to the root – the one that linked *olcsó* with the Hungarian reflex of Ural. **ala* ‘the place under’, cf. e.g. the Hungarian postposition *alatt* ‘under’ or *alsó* ‘the one under’ (see e.g. EWUng 19–20, s.v. *al*). However, as we mentioned above, this idea was challenged by Uralists and Turkologists.

21 Contrary to what may seem apparent, Hung. *Ócsár* (a place name; Hoffmann 2005: 205) attested since 1247/1412 as <Olchar> (see Tóth 2004: 455; Hoffmann 2005: 205) is not a perfect parallel here: it derives from the Slav. *Ovčary* (a place name), which means that originally, due to Slav. *ov-* > Hung. *oβ-* > *ó-* change (the vocalisation of *β* could have taken place in syllable-closing positions), there was a long word-initial vowel in this toponym in Hungarian and the medial *-l-* appeared as a result of hypercorrection.

TESz treats *ócsárol* and *ócsál* as *-r + l* and *-l* derivatives of *olcsó*, respectively. The same opinion, although in somewhat abridged form and in an obscure manner, has been reproduced in EWUng, cf.: „End: VBSf *-árol*. End *ál* der Var *ócsál* entsand durch Assim.” (we will comment on this “EWUng-Deutsch” passage in a footnote below). The authors of ESz and TLH also assert that *ócsárol* is an *-árol* derivative, but they do not explain all the other variants. The question of the relationship between the *ócsárol*- and *ócsál*-type forms is explained in both TESz and EWUng by redirecting the reader to the following words (these examples will play an important role in our discussion):

- *becsmérel* (1746) ~ *becsméll* (1650) ~ *becsmél* (1788) ‘to disparage, to defame’ (TESz 1: 265–266; EWUng 89–90), explained as *-érel* ~ *-él* iterative forms built from *becs* ‘value; worth’ supplemented with the *-m* inchoative verb suffix (cf. *eszmél* ‘1. to reckon; 2. to regain consciousness’ and *kegymél* ‘to pamper, to take care carefully’; see our remark at the end of the present paper), with the annotation that it is not possible to establish the relative chronology of appearance of these two forms; in this matter, the reader is redirected, again, to *pazal* [sic; should be: *pazall*] ~ *pazarol* ‘to waste’, *ócsál* ~ *ócsárol* and *sikál* ~ *sikárol* ‘to scrub, to rub, to clean’;

and

- *sikál* (1664) ~ *sikárol* (1493) ‘to scrub; to clean’ (TESz 2: 533; EWUng 1325–1326), explained as *-l* and *-r* derivatives built from *sík* (the etymology in TESz, EWUng, and TLH 2: 725–726 has some uncertain points) or *sikár* (in EWUng). The relationship regarding *sikál* and *sikárol* is explained by redirecting the reader, yet again, to *abárol* ~ *abál* ‘to blanch, to boil’ and *pazarol* ~ *pazall*.

Thus, to understand what the authors and editors of TESz and EWUng meant we must take a look at two other entries:

- *pazarol* (1598) ~ *pazall* (17th c.) ‘to waste’ (TESz 3: 138–139; EWUng 1134), explained as a probable loanword from SSLav. („Serbo-Croatian”) *pazariti* ‘to trade, to merchandise; to buy’, without an opinion on the relationship between *pazall* and *pazarol* expressed;

and

- *abál* (around 1580) ~ *abárol* (1561) ‘to blanch, to boil’ (TESz 1: 89; EWUng 2), originated from Slav. *obariti* < *obvariti* id.; with the relation of *abál* and *abárol* explained by the following chain of changes: *abárol* > *abárl* > *abáll* > *abál*.

If we want to find an exact parallel to the *ócsárol* ~ *ócsáll* ~ *ócsál* &c. alternation, we have extremely modest material at our disposal and it is difficult to find an example that would be completely reliable. Examples with a similar morphological alternation mentioned above are either loanwords in which *-r* belongs to the base (*abárol*, *pazarol*) rather than being a suffix, or words of unclear morphological structure and origin (*becsmérel*²², *sikárol*²³), or words attested in relatively recent sources (*becsmérel*). Also belonging to the latter group is Hung. *fecsérel* (1640) ~ *fecsél* (1763) ‘to waste, to squander’ (TESz 1: 856; Simonyi 1880: 265), which is considered to be a derivative of a passive stem of onomatopoeic origin.

Nevertheless, the example of *abárol* > *abárl* > *abáll* > *abál* is especially valuable, since we can be sure that the *-r* in it is not a suffix, but rather part of the root, i.e. that it is *-ll* (> *-l*) that evolved from *-rl* and not the other way round.²⁴

22 According to TLH (107–109, s.v. *becsül*), the word *becs* is a result of back-formation from *becsül* ‘to estimate; to esteem, to appreciate’ which is of debatable Turkic origin (< WOT **bičil* ‘to be cut; to be in agreement, to be ordered in agreement’).

23 As far as the latter word is concerned, TLH (725–726) suggests “separating Hung. *sík* ‘flat’ from **sik* in *síkos* ‘slippery’ and *siklik* ‘to glide, to slide’”; i.e. TLH suggests separating *sikál* ~ *sikárol* from their etymon alleged in TESz.

24 The *-rl* > *-ll* assimilation is probably what the authors of EWUng had meant in the obscure quotation above. This direction of change seems to be supported by the adduced referential material, too. Namely, if we take a look at the linguistic data, we see that forms with *ll* tend to appear relatively late – not earlier than the beginning of the 17th c.: <betseméllik> (1650) vs. <bötsmélélé> (1764), <fetsélleniek> (1763) vs. <fetsérlést> (1640), <oczállom> (1611) vs. <megollazlatot> (after 1416/1466), <pazolljatok> (17th c.) vs. <pázárlot> (1598), <sikáló> (1664) and <sikállott> (1679) vs. <Sykarlo> (1493) and <fykarlany> (1519) (yearly dates taken from TESz).

Moreover, it is difficult to defend the opposite opinion (i.e. *ll* > *rl*), namely that held by Simonyi (1880: 265), Kúnos (1882: 492), Horger (1924: 131–132) and Szily (1902: 179). Simonyi and Kúnos reconstructed an **ócsárol* to prove that there was a dissimilation taking place in *ócsárol*, Horger assumed an evolution along the lines of *olcsó* → *olcsáll* > *ócsáll* > (due to dissimilation) *ócsárl* > *ócsárol*, whereas Szily (1902: 179) claimed that there is no other way than to accept the *ócsállani* > *ócsárlani*, *ócsóllani* > *ócsórlani* change if one is to explain the existing phonetic variants. However, neither the chronology presented above nor the linguistic data support these assertions. Firstly, there is no form like **ócsárol*, even though the list of the existing phonetic variants of *ócsárol* is indeed impressive (see some additional forms presented below). Secondly, we would expect *olcsóll* rather than *olcsáll*, if the verbal base were *olcsó* and the derivative suffix used in this case were – as Horger and

Now, let us also take a look at the *-árol ~ -érel* suffix mentioned in the entries of TESz, EWUng, ESz, and TLH. It is interpreted as a compound suffix consisting of *r + l* that builds iterative forms. However, this suffix is not listed in the Hungarian historical and descriptive grammars or even articles devoted to the iterative verbs: whether in Old, Middle or Modern Hungarian (see e.g. Benkő 1984: 197; TNyt 1: 60–77, 2/1: 55–69 [written by Katalin Bartha]; Fabó 1989; Keszler 2000: 314–315; MNyt 357–362; ESz; &c.). Obviously, neither the small number of words ending in *-árol ~ -érel* (i.e. those mentioned above) nor the unproductivity of the suffix (*-r* became unproductive early in the Proto-Hungarian period, see TNyt. 1: 61–62) is not an argument in favour of omitting it from comprehensive grammatical descriptions of this kind.²⁵

In fact, if we take a closer look at the material, there are only two words that end in *-árol ~ -érel* and until now it has never been doubted that *r* does not belong to their stems: it is *becsmérel* 'to disparage, to defame' (attested since 1764!) and the already discussed *ócsárol* – interestingly, both meaning pretty much the same (!). *Abárol* and *pazarol* are Slavonic loanwords. Hung. *sikárol* 'to scrub; to clean' is rather considered a derivative of Hung. arch. *sikár* 'bot. horsetail' (horsetail was used for polishing metal vessels or weapons) (see EWUng 1326, s.v. *sikár*) whereas *fecsérel* 'to waste' is not clear morphologically (see TESz 1: 856 and EWUng 363, where it is not even analysed in detail; cf. also Balázs's 1977: 274 critical remark regarding the etymology of *fecsérel* presented in TESz). This kind of morphological isolation would seem to be a conspicuous shortcoming if we were to explain the etymology of the word within Hungarian itself.²⁶

Szily claimed – the well-known *-ll* (cf. *kevés* 'a few, a little' → *kevesell* 'to consider something too little; to find insufficient', *sok* 'many' → *sokall* 'to consider something too many'), cf. Hung. *olcsóll ~ olcsól* 'to consider cheap' mentioned above (Czf 4: 1028). In addition, if we assume that the double *-ll* in *ócsáll* is not the *-ll* suffix known from words like *kevesell* or *sokall*, but is rather the iterative *-l* suffix reinforced by repetition (i.e. it is a compound suffix that contains the same element used twice: *-l + -l*), then the question remains why the expected *-lal ~ -lel* (< *-l + -l*, see e.g. TNyt 1: 67) is not used in these forms.

25 In TNyt, i.e. in the most comprehensive study on Hungarian historical grammar, we can easily find *hapax legomena* discussed, like e.g. the OHung. *-tuz* compound suffix (TNyt 1: 65–66).

26 But there is another difficulty we must also face. We need to explain the *ó ~ á* variation if we are to link *ócsárol* with *olcsó*. The explanation should be sought in morphology since a purely phonetic *ó > á* change is highly improbable. We should rather expect

3. The example of Hung. *abárol* < Slav. *obariti* < *obvariti* (see ÈSSJa 30: 265–266) shows that the morphological difficulties we have with *ócsárol* might result from the fact that, instead of being a suffix, the *-r-* in this form belongs to a borrowed verbal stem. A good candidate for such an etymon is PSlav. **očariti*, **očarovati* ~ **občariti*, **občarovati* ← PSlav. **ob-* preposition + **čariti* ~ **čarovati* ‘to cast a spell on somebody; to enchant’ (see SlPsł. 2: 113; ÈSSJa 4: 23–25, 26: 133)²⁷ or some of its Slavonic reflexes (the word is present and well-documented in almost every Slavonic language, see the two dictionaries of Proto-Slavonic quoted above), cf. e.g. OPol. *oczarować* (15th/16th cc.) ‘to cast a spell on somebody’ (SStp 5: 407), ORuss. *občarovati* (17th c.) ~ *očarovati* (11th c.) ‘to cast a spell on somebody; to bewitch, to enchant’ (SRJaXI–XVII 12: 189, 14: 94), cf. also OCS очаровати ‘to witch’ (ÈSSJa 26: 133).

Phonetically, it is only the word-initial *ó* that requires explanation. The continuation of Slav. *o-* in Hungarian is usually *a* [á], cf. e.g. Hung. *acél* ‘steel’ < Slav. *ocělb* id. (ÈSSJa 32: 10; TESz 1: 93; EWUng 4). However, we can also find examples of *o-* in this position, e.g. Hung. *olaj* ‘oil’ < Slav. *olějb* id. (TESz 2: 1073; EWUng 1058), cf. OCS оѡѡ id. (SslS 411) or *ocsúdik* ‘to awake, to come to’ < ESLav. **očuditi sja*

ócsárol or *ócsál* to be derivatives of a nominal **ócsa* or even **ócsár*, but there is no evidence that would allow us to reconstruct such forms. It was Horger (1924: 132) who first realized that this needs some kind of commentary, and adduced word pairs like *bíró* ‘judge’ vs. *bírák* ‘judges’, *apró* ‘tiny, little’ vs. *apránként* ‘little by little’, *méltó* ‘worthy of’ vs. *méltán* ‘worthily, rightly’ (see also Horger 1924: 85–86, s.v. *idétlen*) to show that this variation is regular. His argumentation was repeated by Nyirkos (1959: 489), but otherwise, as far as I know, this issue has not been even touched upon by other authors and has been left undiscussed (see e.g. the entries in SzófSz, TESz, EWUng and ESz). Parallel examples would be convincing in this case if there were any other *-árol* ~ *-érel* derivative verbs that would exhibit an *á* or *é* in place of *ó* or *ő*. We can cite here *bíró* ‘judge’ → *bírál* (1621) ‘to criticize, to judge’ or *forró* (1181) ‘hot, scalding’ → *forráz* (1590) ‘to scald’ (TESz 1: 305, s.v. *bíró*; 955), but there is only a small number of such verbal forms. Finally, we ought to mention in passing that the *á* in *bírák* ‘judges’ (first attested in 1404) is irregular and unexpected (see e.g. TLH: 132). Hence it is quite risky to quote it as a parallel. As far as the other examples are concerned, in the word *apránként* *-á-* has been present since 1784 (ergo, it is quite recent data; this word has been used in the form *aprónként* since 1557, see TESz 1: 167), *méltán* is a fossilized adverbial form (TESz 2: 884), whereas *méltányol* ‘to respect, to appreciate’ is a recent derivative (first attested in 1820).

27 Hung. *ócsárol* cannot have originated from PSlav. **ob-* preposition + **čariti*, for Slav. *ob-* would most probably yield *ab-* [áb-] in Hungarian, cf. the example of *abál* ~ *abárol*.

‘1. to come to, to regain consciousness; 2. to wake up’ (Németh 2015: 37–38). The latter parallel is even more relevant as the *o-* in the Slavonic etymon is also a preposition (ESlav. **očuditi* originates from PSlav. prep. **ot* + **jutiti* ‘to feel, to sense, to perceive’).

As we have already mentioned, the lengthening of the *o-* can be easily explained by the appearance and loss of the inorganic *l* (cf. e.g. Benkő 1957: 78–79, 95; Nyirkos 1987: 126–131). The appearance of *-l-*, in turn, could have taken place independently in both *olcsó* and *olcsárol*, or is, perhaps, a result of contamination between these two words, as was the case most probably in Péter Bod’s dictionary form 1767 (see above). The latter phenomenon was also taken into consideration by the authors of TESz. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the preservation of the *ó-* could have been facilitated by the stressed position.

Morphologically, such an etymology raises no doubts. We know that in the vast majority of cases Slavonic borrowings that entered Hungarian received the *-l* and *-z* derivative suffixes (termed as *honosító képzők*, i.e. “nativizing suffixes”), see e.g. TNYt (2/1: 49), TLH (2: 1139–1140). Slavonic endings such as *-iti*, *-iti sja* or *-ovati* were disjoined and replaced with the Hung. *-l* (i.e. the absolute word stems were correctly identified). The case was different with early loan verbs taken from Turkic and, contrary to the prevailing opinion also expressed in TLH (2: 1139), in all probability also from Slavonic dialects, which had entered Hungarian without any additional morphemes (see Róna-Tas 2010: 40–41; Zoltán 2014: 212; Németh 2015: 37–38), like e.g. WOT **dül-* > Hung. *dől* ‘to lean, to topple over’ (TLH 2: 1140) or ESlav. **styditi* ‘to defame, to shame’ > Hung. *szid* (around 1315) ‘to reprimand’, see Zoltán (2014: 212). The latter example is also quoted to show a semantic parallel with the alleged Slavonic origin of Hung. *ócsárol*.

Other examples of Slavonic loanwords adopted by Hungarian without any derivative suffixes include Slav. **měriti* ‘to measure’ > Hung. (after 1372 / around 1448) *mér* id. (Zoltán 1999), the above mentioned *ocsúdik* ‘to awake, to come to, to regain consciousness’ (*-ik* is a marker of the mediopassive voice) < ESlav. **očuditi sja* ‘1. to come to, to regain consciousness; 2. to wake up’ (cf. Russ. *очудитися ~ очутиться* ‘1. to come to, to regain consciousness; 2. to wake up; 3. to get somewhere’) (Németh 2015) and (most probably also) Hung. *öblít* ‘to rinse’ < Slav. **obliti* ‘to pour something over’ (Zoltán 2005c). In the light of these three forms, i.e. *mér*, *ocsúdik*, and *szid*, it is perhaps legitimate to speculate whether *ócsárván*, attested ca. 1456, a *-ván* verbal adverb of the stem *ócsár* (or *ocsár*), indicates that *ócsárol* might have originally been borrowed from a Slavonic dialect without the usual *-l* suffix, too.²⁸ But we must bear in mind that Hung. *ócsár* is a *hapax legomenon*.

The semantic shift from ‘to cast a spell’ to ‘to defame’ requires more attention, but there are a number of parallels that make such a change plausible, cf. such reflexes of PSlav. **klęti* ‘put a spell on somebody or something’ as e.g. OPol. *kląć* ‘1. to put a curse on somebody; to excommunicate; 2. to curse, to wish bad things on somebody’ (SStp. 3: 282–283), OPol. *przekląć* ‘to wish ill; to condemn, to insult; to make somebody an outlaw’ (SStp. 7: 135), ORuss. *проклинати* ‘to put a curse on somebody; to excommunicate’ (SRJaXI–XVII 20: 151–152), *прокляти* id. (SRJaXI–XVII 20: 152); for further Slavonic examples see ÈSSJa (10: 37–39) (the word is very richly documented). On the Hungarian side, good examples of parallels include Hung. *átkoz* (around 1350) ‘1. to imprecate a curse on somebody; 2. to fulminate; 3. to excommunicate; to damn’ (TESz 1: 194) and Hung. *káromol* (after 1372 / around 1448) ‘1. to blaspheme; 2. (?) to ridicule; 2. to accuse; to slander’. But, cf. also Eng. *curse* ‘1. to swear; 2. to say rude things to somebody; 3. to use a magic word or phrase against somebody in order to harm them’.

Finally, for semantic reasons, it is very possible that Hung. *becsmérel* (1746) ‘to disparage, to defame’ and also *becsméll* (1650) ~ *becsmél* (1788) id. evolved due to contamination with *ócsárol* ~ *ócsáll* ~ *ócsál* and Hung. dial. *ocsmál* ~ *ócsmál* ~ *ocsmárol* ‘to disparage, to defame’ (Simonyi 1909: 471; MTsz 2:2; Nyirkos 1959: 489). The *-m-* in the latter three verbs, as well as *ocsmár* ‘hideous’ (MTsz 2:2), cannot be explained in any other way except as a form of contamination with *ocsmány* (1560) ‘hideous’. In light of the very late appearance of both *becsmérel*, *becsmél* and *becsméll* in Hungarian written sources, it may reasonably be doubted that *-m-* in *becsméll* &c. is the same inchoative *-m-* as in *eszmél* (after 1372 / around 1448) ‘1. to reckon; 2. to regain consciousness’ (see TESz 1: 802; EWUng 337).²⁹

28 As far as Hung. *ócsár* is concerned, it is attested (only) in Sermdom, we should, however, take into consideration the fact that a simple phonetic process might also have taken place in it, i.e. e.g. **ocsárlván* > *ócsárván*, cf. the form <olcharly> recorded in the same source.

29 To be quite frank, the other example of the *-mél* suffix mentioned in TESz and EWUng., namely Hung. dial. *kegyémél* ‘to pamper, to take care very carefully’ is far from convincing: *kegyémél* is extremely rare and is known from the dialect of the Moldavian Csangos (Hung. *Csángó*; see MTsz 1: 1085). We do not know of any historical data that would allow us to say that the word is not a novel form: the word is absent from NySz, OklSz, RMG, SzT, and is only mentioned as a parallel example for *eszmél* and *becsmél* in TESz and EWUng. Additionally, the origin of Hung. *kegy* ‘grace; favour’ is still unknown.

4. If the above is true, i.e. if *ócsárol* is of Slavonic origin and *becsmérel* evolved under its influence, then, historically speaking, the number of Hungarian words containing the alleged *-árol* ~ *-érel* derivative suffix would dwindle to one, i.e. to *fecsérel* (of unclear origin), or perhaps, but less probably, two (what the base and origin of Hung. *sikárol* is remains a matter of debate).

Symbols

- ~ = alternation
- >, < = phonetic or semantic development
- , ← = derivation

Abbreviations

a. = after; arch. = archaic; c = circa [used in TLH]; Eng. = English; EOT = East Old Turkic; ESlav. = East Slavonic; Hung. = Hungarian; MHung. = Middle Hungarian; OCS = Old Church Slavonic; OHung. = Old Hungarian; OPol. = Old Polish; ORuss. = Old Russian; p = post [used in TLH]; prep. = preposition; PSlav. = Proto-Slavonic; PT = Proto-Turkic; pers. = person; Russ. = Russian; sg. = singular; Slav. = Slavonic; SSlav. = South Slavonic; suff = suffix [used in TLH]; Tk. = (General) Turkic; unorg = unorganic [used in TLH]; Ural. = Uralic; WOT = West Old Turkic

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ONE MORE MONGOLIAN WORD FROM THE TURKISH DICTIONARY. *URGAN* ‘A STOUT ROPE’

Turkic-Mongolian relations and the borrowings between these two language families have always been an interesting field of study for lexicographers. Even more interesting is the case of re-borrowings in these languages, e.g. the case of those Mongolian borrowings in Turkish that eventually originate from Turkic. As an example we can mention Turkish *ulus* ‘nation, people’, Chaghatai *kuduk*, etc. (cf. Old Turkic *ulus* ‘country, land’ and *kudug*). Another example, being the subject of this paper, is Turkish *urgan* ‘rope’ which goes back to classical Mongolian *urġa(n)*, cf. also Old Uighur *uruk*.

Turkic-Mongolian relations, re-borrowings, Old Uighur, Turkic, Turkish

*To my friend Marek,
who is a theorist in Turkish Etymology*

The Mongolian words in Turkish were discussed in two articles written by O.N. Tuna (1972, 1973–1975). C. Schönig (2000) added some new words into this list that Tuna made. G. Doerfer (1963–1975) discussed Turkish-Mongolian relations in his monumental study on Mongolian and Turkish in New Persian. There are sufficient data on the re-borrowed words in Turkish from Mongolian in the studies of these three researchers. I will discuss a Turkish word re-borrowed from Mongolian below.

There are two different words written as *'wrwq* in Old Uyghur texts. The first of these two words, the more common one, is *urug*, with the meaning of 'lineage, generation, seed, grain' (cf. Clauson 1972). In the texts written in runic script, there is a verb *urugsirat-* which means 'to exterminate, to deprive someone of his descendants'. The stem of this verb is known well to researchers (for the text, cf. Tekin 1968 and Ölmez 2015; for the meaning Tekin 1968: 391b; for the structure Clauson 1972: 220b and OTWF: 508).

The second word is *uruk* with the meanings 'rope' and 'lasso' (cf. BT XIII: 132; PW: 696; MW: 623c; SWTF 3: 123a).

Clauson gave two examples for this word: One is from AYS and the other one is from Kashgari. He considered *urug* to be a secondary form of *ukruk* rather than the word *uruk* ('lasso') as used in the Tuvan and Khakas language from Old Turkic (Clauson 1972: 215a-b).¹ He did not give any examples from the historical Turkic texts except those from the Old Uyghur and Kashgaris dictionary.

The texts where the word *uruk* can be seen are listed chronologically below:

amogapaş urukunuz ol üzülmâz ürâk 'Amoghapāśa! Eure Schlinge ist unvergänglich, immerdar' (BT XIII: 24.1). As can be seen in this example, the Uyghur text here is a translation from Sanskrit *amogha* and *pāśa*. Here, *pāśa* is an equivalent of 'Schlinge, Fessel, Strick / a snare, trap, noose, tie, bond, cord, chain' (cf. BT XIII: 133, footnote 24.1; PW: 383a).

uruk tutmuş 'hielt ein Lasso' (AYS I: 6.1: 093).

üç yäklär maña yakın kälip bir uruk üzä boyunumın batı 'da kamen die drei Dämonen mir nahe, einer band meinen Nacken mit dem Lasso' (AYS I: 7.19: 134).

beşinç elgintä uruk tutar 'In ihrer fünften Hand hält sie ein Lasso' (BT XXIII Do96: 73, 76).

ämğäklig tınlıglar üçün uruq tuta[r elig bälğürttünüz] '[...] の苦痛もてる衆生の為に罫索手を示した。 / [...] for the suffering creatures you showed the hand which holds lasso'. (ShoRossia 3.2.2 4: 194, 195).²

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- 1 For *ukruk* s. Clauson (1972: 90b); because of limited time, I don't discuss the relation between *uruk* in Mongolian and Russian forms here; Clauson mentioned *ukruchina* according to Radloff (1899 1: 1613, s.v. *ykpyk*), s. Fasmer (1964–1971 4: 137, s.v. *укрюк*). I didn't discuss details about the topic in my *Tuwinischer Wortschatz* either (Ölmez 2007: 284–285).
 - 2 Comment: *uruq* 「縄」ここでは「罫索(わな)」に当てている。(ShoRossia: 195).

v(a)žir uruk athıg bodis(a)t(a)v ‘bodhisattva called vajra-rope (vajrapāśa)’ (BT XXVIII B139: 166).³

eliğiniztā tutyuk ol (...) *v(a)çir çakir ulatı uruk* ‘[...] long mace and lasso rope’ (AYS VII 892: 173, 188). For the Chinese text cf. Taishō 長杵鐵輪并胃索 (T 16 665: 437c02).

The word *uruk* can also be seen in Sukh. once, however the meaning is not clear here (cf. Sukh. line 32: 138–139).

On the other hand, we encounter a word *urğan* or *urқан* with a similar meaning to Old Uighur in the Ottoman language:

† *urkan* ‘urğan’ *Boynuna bir urkan dakıp gemi ardınca, gemi önünce gezdirdiler.* (Anter. XIV. 446); § *Boğazına urkan takıp asker-i ehl-i İslâm arasında gezdürüp* [...] (Rahat. XVI. 41); § *Atlar birbirlerinin kuyruklarına urkanlar ile bağlı olup.* (Ev. XVII. 532). (Tarama: 3966).

According to R. Dankoff (2004: 76), this form written with ق *qaf* should be read as *arkan*⁴ rather than *urkan*. In Ottoman, the expected form of *urkan* is written with ğ ğayn.

As for Evliya Çelebi, the word in question is *orğan* ‘urğan’ (Dankoff 2004: 214).

In Meninski’s lexicon, which is coeval with Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*, one can see the forms *orğan* or *orğancı*:

orghan /orğan/ ‘Reftis, funis crasus, camelus; ein Sail / dicker Strick’ (Meninski 1780 col. 502).

orghanġi /orğancı/ ‘restio; ein Sailer’ (Meninski 1780 col. 502).

We encounter similar words in *Lexicon* and *Kamus-ı Türki* from the late 19th century to early 20th century:

urğan ‘a stout rope; especially, a small hawser’; *öksüz urğanı* ‘(the orphan’s rope) bindweed, bearbind, wild convolvulus.’ (Redhouse: 245a).

urğancı ‘a maker or seller of stout ropes’ (Redhouse: 245b).

urğan ‘Kalın ip, ince halat.’; *urğancı* ‘urğan denilen ince halatları yani kalın ipleri yapıp satan işçi’ (Kamus: 197b).

3 For *uruk* s. commentary AYS (VII: 215b), for *uruk* instead of 輪 *lun* should be 索.

4 For *arkan* see at below mentioned sources same as Fasmer (1964–1971), Radloff (1899).

In that case, are those words related to Mongolian? We can find the answer if we look at Lessing's dictionary:

urğa(n) (Halha *urğa*) 'a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses'; *urğan-u mori* 'especially trained horse of an *urğaçı*' (Lessing 1960: 881a).

Conclusion

In my opinion, the word *uruk* recorded in Old Uyghur texts and *Dīwān Luġāt al-Turk*, which is one of the early Islamic texts in Turkic, was borrowed by Mongolian after the Mongol expansion. The Mongolian form *uruga(n)* was re-borrowed by Turkish as *urğan* and this word has been used as *urğan* or *urğa* in Mongolian hereafter.

The *+a(n)* seen in the Mongolian form of this word is unique to Mongolian language itself. Although the period of borrowing is different, the Mongolian word *qalbaġa(n)* borrowed from Early-Turkic **qalbaq* (spoon) can be given as an example for this phenomenon.

It is a well-known linguistic trait that the word-final *-k* in Old Turkic changes into *-g* in Mongolian (cf. Old Turkic *belek* 'gift' → Mongolian *beleg*, etc.).

Therefore, the word *urğan* used in Modern Turkish should be presented as a borrowed word from Mongolian. Interestingly, almost all of the word forms meaning 'rope; lasso' has the pattern *VrQVn ~ VrKVn* (*urğan*, *arkan*,⁵ *örken*,⁶ *argamjı*⁷).

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- OTWF = Erdal M. 1991. *Old Turkic Word Formation: A Functional Approach to the Lexicon*. [vols. 1–2]. Wiesbaden.
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NON-VERBAL PREDICATION IN BALTIC. LITHUANIAN *YRÀ*

This paper aims to describe the origin of Baltic **īrā* ‘there is/are; is/are’ that appears to be due to the conflation of the demonstrative pronoun **ī* (< instr. sg. **h₁i-h₁*) and two postpositions: *-r-* (cf. OIcel. *þa-r* ‘there’) and *-ā*. The latter comes from the abl. sg. of the IE demonstrative pronoun **h₁e/o-*. The presented analysis sheds some light on the etymology of the Lithuanian conjunction *ir* ‘and’ and Slavonic *i* ‘and’ (< **ī* < instr. sg. **h₁i-h₁*).

Baltic languages, etymology, historical syntax and morphology

Introduction

In modern Lithuanian, the verb *būti* ‘to be’ is inflected in the present tense in the following way:

1sg. <i>esù</i> ‘I am’	1pl. <i>esame</i> ‘we are’
2sg. <i>esi</i> ‘you are’	2pl. <i>esate</i> ‘you are’
3. <i>yrà</i> ‘(s)he/it is, they are’	

As can be seen, *yrà* is a suppletive form. The uniqueness of *yrà* lies in the fact that this is the only Lithuanian verb stressed in the third person on the final syllable (as a paragon cf. Lith. *vėda* ‘(s)he leads; they lead’, not **vedà*). The previous form of the third person, i.e. Lith. *ėsti* ‘is/are usually’ (IE **h₁es-ti*), has been driven out of the paradigm and has been preserved only in the secondary, habitual meaning as

a synonym of *būna* ‘is/are usually’ (see Stang 1947/1970). A similar occurrence has taken place in Latvian as the older form **esti* has been supplanted by *ir* (OLatv. *jirā-g* / dial. *ira*), cf.:

1sg. <i>esmu</i> ‘I am’	1pl. <i>esam</i> ‘we are’
2sg. <i>esi</i> ‘you are’	2pl. <i>esat</i> ‘you are’
3. <i>ir</i> ‘(s)he/it is, they are’	

This paper aims to describe the origin of Baltic **irā* and show how this relates to the diachrony of Baltic postpositions and conjunctions. The etymology by Christian Stang (1963/1970) is also discussed as, although in principle correct, it requires some supplementation, including an explanation of the function and origin of the final morpheme *-ā* (see section 1.1.). Section 1.2. is dedicated to the origin of Baltic *ir* ‘and; also’ and Slavonic *i* ‘and’ (**ī* < instr. sg. **h₁i-h₁*).

1. Lith. *yrà* ‘there is/are; is/are’ – state of affairs

Gordon B. Ford (1967), when analyzing the Old Lithuanian *Enchiridion* by Baltramiejus Vilentas (1579), established that *yrà* appears in three functions:

- 73× as a copula, e.g. *kas tikra ir kas netikra jra* (5, 4) ‘was recht und unrecht **ist**’¹
- 18× as an auxiliary verb, e.g. *kaip apie texta jra sakit* (5, 17) ‘gleichwie vom Text jetzt gesagt **ist**’
- 13× as an existential verb in affirmative sentences, e.g. *Ir labai daug jra Plebonu* (1, 17) ‘Und es gibt (sind) sehr viele Pastoren’

On the other hand, *ēsti* in Vilentas’ *Enchiridion* occurs exclusively as a copula (29×) and auxiliary verb (12×), but never as an existential verb. The difference between *yrà* and *ēsti* is even more apparent in non-affirmative sentences. According to Ford (1967), in such sentences in Vilentas’ *Enchiridion*, only *nèrà*, the non-affirmative variant of *yrà*, appears as an existential verb (2×). By contrast, *ne esti* is recorded only as a copula and auxiliary verb (3×). *nèrà* and *ne esti* behave in the same way in *Punktai Sakimu* by Szyrwid (part 1: 1629, part 2: 1644) (see Stang 1947/1970). Stang hypothesized that the primary function of *yrà* was that of an existential verb like French *il y a*, and its earlier shape must be reconstructed as **irā*. The long *-ā* can be reconstructed based on OLatv. *girrahg* (Mancelius

1 German examples come from Martin Luther’s *Enchiridion* (*Concordienbuch*; Ford 1967).

1593–1654) = *jirā*-g (dial. *ira*)² and Lith. dial. *ỹrotės/ỹrot* ‘is’ (LKŽ 4: 140). The acute intonation explains the shortening in word final position **īrā* > *yrà* (known as Leskien’s Law). The postposition *-tės*, (cf. *ỹrotės*) can be found in South-Aukštaitian *dartės* ‘still, more’ (: *dar* ‘still, more’) and OLith. *artės(i)* ‘perhaps’ (: question particle *ar*). Stang compared the internal *-r-* to the IE postposition *-r*, appearing after pronouns, e.g.:

- a. Gothic / Old Icelandic *hvar* ‘where?’ < **k^wo-r*, OHG *war* ‘where?’ (cf. Germ. *war-um* ‘why?’ < *war-umbi*, Lith./Latv. *ku-r* ‘where?’ < **k^wu-r*)
- b. Av. *ava-rə* ‘here’ (cf. OCS *ovъ*, Pol. *ów* ‘that, yonder’)
- c. Germanic place adverbs with the pronoun **to-*: Goth. *þar* ‘there’, OIcel. *þar* ‘there’, OHG *dā(r)* (cf. Germ. *dar-aus*), OE *þær* (Engl. *there*)

In his deliberations, Stang also included Lith. *aurė* ‘behold’ (OLith. *auré*, see DP 318, line 10) and *anrė-kui* ‘over there, behold’, which he linked to the aforementioned Av. *ava-rə* ‘here’, Lith. *anas* ‘that one’, and OCS *onъ* ‘he’. Both *aurė* and *anrė-kui* require, however, a comment. According to some scholars (e.g. Rosinas 1988), the postposition *-rė* might come from imperative **reg(i)* ‘look’ (cf. *regėti* ‘to see’). Latv. *re!* ‘behold’ < *redz(i)* ‘sieh!, schau!’ (ME 3: 501) can be seen as a parallel. Such a development may be compared to French *voilà* from *vois là* ‘look over there’. However, this elucidation has some weak points. Firstly, according to LKŽ (11: 344) the particle *rė* ‘behold’ is only attested in writings by Juozas Tomas-Vaižgantas (1869–1933), who hailed from the Lithuanian-Latvian borderline. *rė* therefore seems to be an obvious Latvian loanword. Secondly, in Lithuanian the postposition *và* ‘behold, lo’ rather than *rė* ‘behold’ (see LKŽ 17: 762; cf. *ana-và* = *ana-vė* ‘over there’) is typically used in this function. Thus, the question of how to explain *aurė* ‘behold’ remains open. I suggest division into *au-r-ė*, where *-ė* is the ending of the loc. sg., (cf. *nam-ė* ‘at home’ [4]), affixed to the protoform **ava-r*. The syncope in **ava-r-ė* > *au-r-ė* finds a brilliant parallel in *antaĩ* ‘there, over there’ < **ana-tai̯* (see Stang 1963/1970: 209), as well as in *anrė-kui*, for which Stang assumes the older shape **ana-re*. As I shall show further, the suggested structure **ava-r-ė* (demonstrative pronoun + two postpositions) finds its exact counterpart in Baltic **ī-r-á*.

As regards the initial *y-* = */i:/*, in compliance with Stang’s hypothesis, it goes back to the stem of the IE demonstrative pronoun *i-* (cf. Latin *i-d*) and is directly attested in Lith. *ýnas* ‘real, genuine’ and *ypatūs/ýpatus* ‘distinctive, particular;

2 Endzelin (1922: 556 and 556 n.3).

distinct, separate' (: *pàts* 'self'). I shall return to the origin of *y-* = /i:/ in 1.2. As the presented hypothesis by Stang requires some supplementation, I begin by determining the function and origin of the final **-ā*.

1.1. Origin of Baltic postposition **-ā*

The starting point of the analysis is the etymology of Lith. adverb *čia* 'here' < **tj-ā*, which has been recently proposed by Ostrowski (2014). Place adverbs sometimes include local particles, e.g. Old Greek *ἐνθαδε* 'thither, hither; here, there; now', which consists of the adverb *ἐνθα* 'there' and the postposition *-δε*, denoting motion towards. The same postposition emerges in OCS *sb-de* 'here', which comes from the conflation of the demonstrative pronoun *sb* 'this' and the enclitic particle *-de* (cf. also Common Slavonic **kǔ-de* 'where'; see Vasmer, Trubačev 1986 vol. 2). Lithuanian *ti* is directly attested as a focus particle in the following sentences: *Ti pasiutęs vaikas – neklauso*. 'What a savage kid – it does not obey'; *Ti dėl ko [negali siųsti]?* (Daukantas) 'So why [can you not send it]?' (LKŽ 16: 160). As *ti* stems from the monophthongisation of the demonstrative pronoun *taĩ* 'this',³ one can assume the structure of Lith. *čia* 'here' < **tj-ā* (demonstrative pronoun + postposition) to be similar to OCS *sb-de* 'here'. Based on Old Greek *ἐνθαδε* and OCS *sb-de* 'here' it is also reasonable to expect that the Baltic postposition **-ā* could have an allative meaning. This assumption is supported by the new etymology of the Baltic illative.

1.1.1. Lithuanian-Latvian illative: *-nā* or **-ā*?

According to the standard etymology, the so-called illative (e.g. Lith. *miškan* 'to the forest' / OLith. *miškana*) goes back to conflation of the acc. sg. (ending *-n*) and the postposition *-nā*. However, this explanation ignores the obvious fact that neither Lithuanian nor Latvian have **-nā* (e.g. Polish *na* 'on, to'), but rather *nuo* 'from' (ablative meaning [sic!]). As a consequence, a form like **miškanu* could be expected rather than the actually recorded OLith. *miškana* 'to the forest'. I do not discuss Old Prussian *na/ no* 'on' here because one cannot consider such a scarcely testified language as Old Prussian, given that Lithuanian and Latvian data unambiguously exclude *nuo* in illative. I assume that the primary structure of the Lithuanian-Latvian illative is as follows: acc. sg. *-n* + allative postposition **-ā*, i.e. **miškan* + **-ā*. Another interesting fact for the history of the illative is the accentuation of OLith.

3 On the diachronic relationship between *ti* and *taĩ* see Ostrowski (2014, 2015).

kanàg ‘whither’ (e.g. DP 10, line 50), which points to the operation of de Saussure’s law, i.e. acc. sg. **|kañ + -ā > *kan-|ā > OLith. kanà(-g)* (cf. acc. sg. *kq < *kan*).

As for the origin of the Baltic allative postposition **-ā*, it is etymologically identical to the Lithuanian adversative connective *õ* ‘and, but, while, whereas’ and Slavonic adversative connective, e.g. Polish, *a* ‘and, but’. An interesting parallel is delivered by Old Greek *δε* that also appears in two functions: 1) as the enclitic particle denoting motion towards, e.g. *οἴκα-δε* ‘homewards’, 2) as the adversative connective *δέ* ‘but’ (Klingenschmitt 2008: 411). The Slavonic connective *a* (and Lithuanian *õ*) is traditionally explained (Vasmer, Trubačev 1986 vol. 1) as a successor of the ablative of the demonstrative **h₁e/ *h₁o*, (cf. Avestan *āaṭ* ‘so, then, and, but’, see Reichelt 1967: 427). Baltic **ā* ‘from’ is preserved in Lith. *óda* (1) / *odà* (4) ‘skin’ and Latv. *āda* ‘skin’ (see Ostrowski 2014). I think that Baltic words are compounds that consist of *ā-* ‘from’ and **-dā < *deh₂-* ‘separate, divide’ (cf. Vedic *áva adāt* ‘hat abgetrennt’ [LIV 86] and Lith. *do-* in *do-snus* ‘generous’ [Smoczyński 2007: 118]). The primary meaning would be ‘this that has been separated from animals’ flesh (animals’ flayed skin)’ (cf. Finnish *vuota* ‘skin flayed from an animal’, a borrowing from Baltic **ādā* [Karulis 1992: 56], which nicely agrees with the etymology presented here). Parallels for the development ‘to cut off’ > ‘skin’ are numerous, e.g. Old Greek *δέρμα* ‘skin, leather’ from *δέρω* ‘to skin, flay’ (Beekes 2010: 318), *ἄσκον δεδάσθαι* ‘to have one’s skin flayed off’ (Liddell, Scott 1889: 179), Old Indic *carman-* / Av. *čarəman-* ‘skin’ < **(s)kér-men-* ‘Abschnitt → abgezogene Haut’ from **(s)ker-* ‘cut’ (EWA 1: 537), Engl. *skin* < Middle Engl. *skynn*, ON *skinn* < **skind-* alongside OHG *scinten*, and Germ. *schinden* ‘to flay, skin’ (Klein 1966: 1451–1452; Buck, 1949: 200–201).

The difference in meaning between the presumed allative postposition *-ā* in **tj-ā > čia* ‘here’ and the ablative *ā-* in **ādā* is an obstacle, but such a variation is well documented in Lithuanian and other languages (cf. Lith. “ablative” prefix *at-* in *at-skirti* ‘to separate’ alongside “allative” *at-* in *at-važiuoti* ‘to come’, Latvian *iz* ‘from’, Latgalian *iz* ‘on’, Lithuanian *nuo* ‘from’, and Polish [common Slavic] *na* ‘at, on’). The aforementioned Vedic *ā* could also be, depending on the context, interpreted both as an “ablative” (1) and as an “allative” (2) adverb, as in two instances from Bubenik (2006: 108):

- (1) *imām sú asmai hrđā ā sūtaṣṭām*
 this well be+DAT heart+GEN/ABL near well-fashioned+ACC
māntram vocema [RV ii.35.2]
 hymn+ACC utter+AOR+1PL
 ‘We would verily utter from our heart this well-fashioned hymn’

- (2) *áta á te r̥taspr̥šo ní šeduḥ* [RV iv.50.3]
 thence near you+GEN/DAT rite-cherishers down sit+PERF+3PL
 ‘from thence [coming] they have seated themselves for you’

In (2), “*á* hosts the pronominal clitic *te* (GEN/DAT) ‘you’ and has rather meaning towards (= Allative)” (Bubenik 2006: 108).

1.2. Lithuanian *yrà* ‘there is; is’ vs. *ir* ‘and; also’

The conducted analysis of the allative postposition **-á* makes it possible to clarify the primary character of Baltic **ī-r-á*. In the beginning, Baltic **ī-r-á* functioned as a local verb; the functional equivalent of Latin *adesse*. In the next step, a stage well visible in the 16th and 17th cent., **ī-r-á* became an existential verb. This development is compatible with what we know about the relationships between locative and existential sentences, which we may observe in the languages of the world (see Lyons 1967; Clark 1978; Yong Wang, Jie Xu 2013). This can be seen in Jacob Wackernagel’s remarks (1924: 166) on the Old Greek *ēvi*:

Anfänglich bedeutete es ‘ist (sind) darin’; von hellenistischer Zeit an ‘ist vorhanden’ mit ähnlicher Ausmerzung des lokalen Bedeutungsmoments wie in frz. *il y a*. Im Neugriechischen ist mit Umstellung der Vokale dafür *ine* eingetreten, und dies dient schlechtweg als Kopula ‘ist’ [...].

To begin with, it meant ‘is/are in’, from Hellenistic times on ‘is there, is at hand, there is’, with loss of the local meaning similar to that seen in Fr. *il y a*. In modern Greek, it has been replaced with /line/, with metathesis of the vowels, which serves simply as the copula ‘is, are’⁴

A separate comment is required for the long /i:/ of *yrà*. Christian Stang saw in this a stem of the IE demonstrative pronoun. Literature on the predicative usage of demonstratives is well known, e.g. Diessel’s (1997: 10–11, 1999: 33–36) work on “demonstrative identifiers” and Petit’s (2010) work on “presentative particles”. Extensive data on this subject has also been gathered by Ballester (2004). The results of the analysis of the etymology of coordinative conjunctions in Baltic and Slavonic are eye-catching. The long /i:/ in **ī-r-á* points to the older instr. sg. **h₁i-h₁* > *ī*. From instrumental case-forms (in function of *instrumentalis sociativus*) may stem comitative markers (Stolz 1996). Furthermore, it is a very well-known fact that

4 Transl. by David Langslow 2009 (see Wackernagel 1924).

comitative markers are one of the main sources of connectives of noun phrases (see Mithun 1988; Stassen 2001; Haspelmath 2007). Since in Slavonic (and Baltic) the same conjunctions act as both connectives of noun phrases and sentence connectives, we might assume that the common Slavonic conjunction *i* ‘and’ comes from the former instr. sg. **ī* < instr. sg. **h₁i-h₁*. In Baltic the tautosyllabic **īr* has shortened regularly into *ir* ‘also; and’ (testified in Lithuanian, Latvian and Old Prussian). It is only the conditions in which the comitative meaning started to co-occur with the additive one that remain unclear, but such a coincidence is well documented in Latvian *ar* ‘with; also’ alongside *ar-ī* ‘also’, where *ar-ī* ‘also’ seems to be a case of reinforcing.

Conclusions

The conducted analysis sheds light not only on the origin of Lith. *yrà*, but also provides additional proof of the existence of the local postposition **-ā* in Baltic languages (Lithuanian and Latvian). The presented etymology also makes it possible to clarify the etymology of the Slavonic conjunction *i* ‘and’. If we agree with the existence of the IE postposition *-r* in Baltic, then we obtain the possibility to elucidate the etymologically difficult Lithuanian particle *ar* ‘interrog. ptcl.; perhaps; also (!); whether’ (Latv. *ar* ‘also; with; interrog. ptcl.’). Unlike the widespread equation with Old Greek *ἄρα* ‘then, straightway, at once’ / *ἄρα* ‘interrog. ptcl.’, I propose that Lith./Latv. *ar* is a result of the conflation of demonstrative pronoun *a-* < **h₁o-* (cf. OLith. *a-dunt* ‘in order to’; on *adunt* see Petit 2013) and the abovementioned postposition *-r*. In the same way one can explain Old Prussian *er* ‘till, up to’ as *e-r* < **h₁e* + *-r*. The formal development of OPr. *er* ‘till, up to’ finds a good counterpart in Russ. *e-tot* ‘this’.

Source texts

- DP = *Postilla Catholicka. Tái est: Ižguldimas Ewangeliu kiekvienos Nedelos ir szwėtes per wissús metús. Per Kúnigą Mikaloiv Davkszą Kanoniką Médnikų... 1599.* – Palionis J. (ed.). 2000. *Mikalojaus Daukšos 1599 metų Postilė ir jos šaltiniai*. Vilnius.
- LKŽ = *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*. 1968–2002. [vols. 1–20]. Vilnius.
- ME = Mühlenbachs K. 1923–1932. *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca / Lettisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. [Edited and complemented by J. Endzelīns; vols. 1–4]. Riga.



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IN SEARCH OF *GIAOUR*. NOTES ON THE NEW PERSIAN *GABR* ‘A ZOROASTRIAN; INFIDEL’

The article offers remarks on the history and transmission of the Persian word *gabr* and a number of words in other languages that derive from it. First, the semantic development of the word is traced from a neutral meaning ‘a Zoroastrian’ to a term of abuse. This is followed by a critical comparison of two etymological proposals that attempt to link the New Persian word alternatively to Arabic and to Aramaic. The conclusion is that Persian *gabr* ‘a Zoroastrian’ most likely derives from an Aramaic word for ‘a foreign hero, brave man’.

etymology, semantic changes, Persian, religious terms

*Look at the great Turk,
he governs Guebres, Banians, Greek Christians, Nestorians, Romans.*
(Voltaire’s Philosophical Dictionary)

1. Infidel *giaour* versus Zoroastrian *gaur* or *guèbre*

The Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1910 described the term *giaour* as follows: “a Turkish adaptation of the Persian *gâwr* or *gôr*, an infidel; a word used by the Turks to describe all who are not Mohomedans, with especial reference to Christians. The word, first employed as a term of contempt and reproach, has become so

general that in most cases no insult is intended in its use; similarly, in parts of China, the term “foreign devil” has become void of offence. A strict analogy to *giaour* is found in the Arabic *kaffir*, or unbeliever, which is so commonly in use as to have become the proper name of peoples and countries” (EB 1910 XI: 927).

The Persian word *gabr* ‘infidel, unbeliever’ was used by the Turks (also Kurds, but not Arabs!) to designate various religious communities and the adherents of all religions except the Muslims; first Zoroastrians, then Christians, including Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Assyrians: “In the Ottoman *defters*, Orthodox Christians are as a rule recorded as *kâfir* or *gâvur* (infidels) or (*u*)*rum*” (Daskalov, Marinov 2013: 44). Ottoman Turkish *gâur* (1544–1548: *giaur*) ‘Christianus’ (Heffening 1942: 25); *gâur*, *gâvur* (1680) ‘infideles; quales Turcae non passim Christianos vocant, uti à nobis reciprocè vocantur & habendi sunt’ (Meninski 1680 II: 3856); *gâvur* (1790: *giavour*) ‘infidele’ (Viguier 1790: 394; cf. Stachowski 2014: 198). Modern Turkish *gâvur*, a general word to describe a ‘non-Muslim’, is a highly offensive slur and is used to denigrate a foreigner. From Turkish this word entered into European languages:

1. *giaour*, French, from dialectal Italian (Venetian) *giaur*, from Turkish *gâvur*, from Persian *gawr*, *gabr*; first known use: 1564 (Merriam-Webster)
2. *giaour*, n. (1564), rel., (Byron’s *The Giaour*, 1813) Lit., var. *gaur*, *gour* + 11 (de-rogatory) [Fr. (< Tur. *gavur* ‘non-Muslim’ < Per. *gaur* ‘infidel’, var. of *gabr* ‘fire-worshipper’ < Ar. *kâfir* ‘infidel’)] ‘a non-Muslim, esp. a Christian (= infidel, unbeliever); the chief character of Byron’s oriental verse-tale (Cannon, Kaye 2001: 86)
3. *giaour*, from Turkish *gâvur*, from Persian *gaur*, probably from Arabic *kâfir* (Oxford Dic.)
4. *giaour*, 1555–65; earlier *gower*, *gour* < Turkish *gâvur* < Persian *gaur*, variant of *gabr* Zoroastrian, non-Muslim; spelling *giaour* < French, with *gi*-representing Turk palatalized *g*, later taken as spelling for *j* (Dic.com)

Apart from Turkish, Pers. *gabr* found its way into French *gaur* or *guèbre* ‘fidèle à la religion iranienne traditionnelle, le mazdéisme’ (Dic.cordial) and then English. These words were commonly used by European travelers when referring to the Zoroastrians:¹

1 E.g. The French merchant Jean Tavernier mentions *gaurs*, or ‘ancient Persians who adored fire’ in Isfahan in 1647 (Rose 2011: 176).

1. *guebre/gheber* ‘a follower of the ancient Persian religion as reformed by Zoroaster’ (Chambers’s Twentieth Century Dictionary)
2. *guebre/gueber* (1662) rel. [Fr. *guèbre* < Pers. *gabr*] ‘a Parsi’ (Cannon, Kaye 2001: 86); “The Parsees are called ‘Gabers’ or ‘Gaures’ i.e. fire-worshippers in Persia” (Ovington 1994: 139).
3. “(Littérature) nous écrivons *guèbre*: *ghebr* est un mot persien qui signifie un sectateur de Zoroastre, un adorateur du feu, celui qui fait profession del’ancienne religion des Perses ; mais chez les Turcs, ce mot est injurieux, et se prend pour un idolatre, pour un infidèle qui vit sans loi et sans discipline ; les *Guèbres* sont les mêmes que les *Gaures*” (Boulanger 1757 <2>).

2. Persian *gabr*

The New Persian word *gabr* گبر, at present obsolete in the sense ‘infidel’,² was used in all periods of classical Persian literature from its beginnings³ as a technical and rather neutral term synonymous with *mōq* ‘magus; one of the Magi, worshipper of fire; infidel, pagan; (also later) a Christian monk’ (Steingass 1892: 1278, 1340), or the obsolete *ātaš-parast* ‘fire-worshipper’, along with many other religious terms (cf. Shaki 2000: 239–240):

F. Steingass: *gabr* ‘a guebre, ancient Persian, one of the Magi of the sect of Zoroaster, a priest of the worshippers of fire; a pagan, infidel; a plant resembling ginger’; *gabr-ābād* ‘habitation of fire-worshippers; the suburbs of Ispahān’, *gabrī* ‘the Magian religion; paganism’; *gaur* ‘a pagan, infidel, guebre, or worshipper of fire; name of a city in Bengal, now in ruins’; *gāvr*, *gāvur* (for *gabr*?) ‘an infidel’ (Steingass 1892: 1073–1074, 1101).

I.A. Vullers: *gabr* coll. *gāvur*, ‘magus, cultor ignis (*mōqkeates-parastast*) [*Borhāniqā-tiu*, lex. persicum⁴; coll. Sādi *Gulistan* ed. Semelet, Paris 1828: 1 bis, 10. 30, 23; et *Chrestomathia Schahnamiana* ed. Vullers: 66. 524]; ubi *mardigabr*; infidelis quivis, paganus M., qua significat. vox et ar. *kāfir* orta videtur, ut *gavr* ex ar. *qabr*’ (Vullers 1855 2: 950).

I.A. Vullers: *gavr*, *gabr*, *gāvur* ‘1. magus; cultor ignis; paganus, infidelis; 2. coll. *gavrah* gens quaedam infidelium in Hindustan (*kaferi Hindustan*); 3. nom. urbis in Bengalía nunc vastatae’ (Vullers 1855 II: 1043)

2 In Modern Persian only: *kāfer* and its synonyms: *nā-mosolmān*, *bi-din*, *bi-imān*.

3 E.g.: Ferdousi (Berlels 1957 I: 149).

4 Mo’in (1954 III: 1773–1774).

Persian dictionaries, like the famous *Loqat-nāme-ye Dehxodā* (Dehxodā 1956), and the Mo'in's *Farhang-e fārsi* (Mo'in 1963–1973) provide us with several synonyms of this word: *gabr* = *moq* 'one of the Magi, worshipper of fire, infidel, pagan; a Christian monk; a tavern-keeper', *mūbid*, *maubad*, *mūbad* 'chief of the Magi; a Pārsī, guebre, especially one of their priests; a doctor, philosopher, any man of great wisdom whose sayings are quoted; one who administers justice; a judge, especially of the Jews; a *wazīr* a councillor of state; name of the husband of Wisa' (Steingass 1892: 1278, 1340),⁵ *ātaš-parast* 'a fire-worshipper', *yazdān-parast* 'a worshipper of God; a name assumed by some fire-worshippers' (Steingass 1892: 1530), *her-bud* 'a priest of a fire-temple; a judge of the Magi; a fire-worshipper; an ascetic' (cf. Steingass 1892: 1520), *mardixudā* (*haqq*) 'a man of God; a priest of the Magi' (cf. Steingass 1892: 1211), *zandīg*, *zindīg* '(chanter/reader of) the Zand',⁶ (Arabicized forms:) *zindīq*, *zanādīq*, *zanādiqat* (pl. of *zindīq*) 'of the Zand', *zand-bāf* 'Zand-weaver'; *zand-xān* 'a chanter or reader of the Zand', pejoratively: *zand-soz* 'who consumes or destroys the Zand', *mutazandīq* 'turned Guebre (*zindīq*) 'become a worshipper of fire; impious' (cf. Steingass 1892: 623, 625, 1158), *rāst-poš* 'who hides the truth, an infidel' (cf. Steingass 1892: 562), *bī-dīn* 'irreligious, heretical; an infidel' (Steingass 1892: 218), *nāpāk-dīn* 'of an impure faith, heretic, infidel' (Steingass 1892: 1366).

It is worth mentioning that most of the Persian words are neutral technical (or poetical) terms, while the Arabic loanwords for 'infidels' used in Persian are of depreciatory character: Arab. *kāfir* 'one denying God; an infidel; (more particularly) a Cabulese; dark (cloud); black (hair); a mistress; one who wears a garment over his coat of mail; a farmer; sower; the sea; a mighty river'; *kāfiri ḥarbi* 'an infidel against whom war is incumbent'; *kāfiri ḡimmī* 'an infidel who pays tribute, and therefore is under protection'; *kāfiri kitābī* 'an infidel in possession of sacred books, i.e. a Jew, Christian, or Majūsī' (Steingass 1892: 1007); *kāfirī* 'of or relating to an infidel; infidelity, unbelief; impiety; the language of the Kāfirs'; *kufri* 'infidel, pagan; an unbeliever, an idolater'; *kafūr* 'unthankful; impious, an infidel' (Steingass 1892: 1039); Arab. *ṣabī'at*, *ṣabī'a* 'an idolater, who changes his religion, pagan, Sabeen' (Steingass 1892: 778); Arab. *qair-kitābī* 'one without a book; a heathen, a pagan, an idolater' (Steingass 1892: 1014); Arab. *mušrikī*

5 Arabicized forms: *majūs* (pl. of *majūsī*) 'Magi, fire-worshippers', *majūse* 'one worshipper of fire', *majūsīyat* 'the religion of the Magi', *mawābīzat* (pl. of *maubaz*) 'priests of the Magi' (Steingass 1892: 1179, 1337, 1340).

6 A Pahlavi version of the Avesta, the sacred book of Zoroastrians.

‘a polytheist, idolater, pagan’ (Steingass 1892: 1246); Arab. *mulhid* ‘a heretic, pagan, unbeliever; one who denies the resurrection of the dead; an atheist; impious, iniquitous; one who renounces the faith’ (Steingass 1892: 1307); Arab. *waṣanī* ‘an idolater, pagan, heathen’ (Steingass 1892: 1456); Arab. *ṣanawī* ‘one who holds the doctrine of the two principles, one of the sect of the Magi’ (Steingass 1892: 347); *ahli ṣalāl* ‘an infidel, heretic’ (Steingass 1892: 125).

3. In search of *gabr*

The New Persian *gabr* (also *gabrak*) ‘Zoroastrian’ (*gabri*, *gabraki* ‘zoroastrianism’) has no clear etymology. Several proposals have been made for the term, unfortunately none of which is convincing (Javānmard 1963, Pažuh 1963, Pur-e Dāwud 1964, Šahzādī 1963, Sorušiān 1963, Mohit Tabātabā’i 1970). The question is when this term appeared, what its original meaning was, and towards whom it was used for the first time in the sense of infidel. It seems that it must have originated after the Muslim conquest, since it is not attested in any Middle Persian text in this meaning (cf. Middle Persian *ag-dēn* ‘of evil religion; heretic’⁷).

The most widely quoted and more favorably received is that by Iranian scholar Ebrāhim Pur-e Dāwūd, who suggested that the Persian *gabr* derives from the Arabic word *kāfir* ‘infidel’ mispronounced by the Persians in early Islamic Period.⁸ This etymology is still favoured in various dictionaries and encyclopaedias. For example, A. Bausani writes the following in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*:

GABR, term generally used in Persian literature — with rather depreciative implications — to indicate Zoroastrians. Philologists have not yet reached agreement on its etymology. Several suggestions have been made, e.g.: (a) from Hebrew *ḥabher* (‘companion’) in the sense of *Ḳiddūshin* 72a; (b) from Aramaeo-Pahlavi *gabrā* (read *mart*), especially in the compounds *mōg-martān* (‘the Magi’) (writte *mōg-gabrā-ān*); (c) from a Persian corruption of Arabic *kāfir* (‘unbeliever’). The first two etymologies are rather improbable, so that the derivation from A. *kāfir* seems the most acceptable. In Persian literature the word takes often the depreciative suffix *-ak* (*gabrak*, pi. *gabrakān*). Persian knows also the form *gawr/gaur*, Kurdish the forms

7 The term *agdēn*, often problematically translated as ‘infidel’, referred to Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Tracing this term in Middle Persian texts such as legal cases in *The Book of a Thousand Judgments* and polemics in the *Dēnkard* Book III, one can see that the concept of the infidel frequently appears in discussions about slavery, intermarriage, and conversion to and from Zoroastrianism. Cf. Mokhtarian (2015: 99–115).

8 Pūr-e Dāwud (1964: 302–318), quoted in the *Logat-nāme-ye Dehxodā* (1959).

gebīr (applied to Armenians), *gawr* (Zoroastrians), *gāvir* (applied to Europeans, especially Russians), Turkish the well-known word *gāvur* (unbeliever). In Persian literature the word is applied only secondarily to “unbelievers” in general, the oldest texts using it especially and technically for Zoroastrians. This, together with the iranization of the Arabic word which probably lies behind it, points to a very old origin—purely “oral”— of the loan, certainly at a period preceding that when Arabic words were introduced in abundance into new-Persian, at the birth of new-Persian written literature. (Bausani 1991 II: 970–971)

Mansour Shaki does not agree with this hypothesis, since the Arabic word *kāfir* (Pers. *kāfer*) contains no sound that does not exist in Persian:

But, although Persians still fail to articulate some Arabic speech sounds properly, there is no unusual sound in *kāfer* that would require phonetic modification. Moreover, although *gabr* has been sometimes used to denote infidel (*kāfer*) by semantic extension (e.g., Rūmī, *Maṭnawī* II, p. 287, v. 177; Ḥasan Rūmlū, ed. Navā'ī, I, p. 384; Eskandar Beg, I, pp. 85, 87), *kāfer* as a generic word could hardly refer to a specific revealed religion such as Zoroastrianism. (Shaki 2000: 240)

Shaki claims that the New Persian term *gabr* derives, in all likelihood, from Aramaic *GBR'/gabrā* (lit. ‘man’), which in the Sasanian period was used to refer to free peasants in the region of Mesopotamia.⁹ Then the word was used as a technical term synonymous with *mōq'magus'*:

With the dwindling of the Zoroastrian community because of frequent proselytisations and the curtailment of their social rights, the term came to have a pejorative implication, which is the reason for its commutation to the respectable *zardoštī* (Zoroastrian) in recent times. (...) It, therefore, seems likely that *gabr*, used already in Sasanian times in reference to a section of Zoroastrian community in Mesopotamia, had been employed by the converted Persians in the Islamic period to indicate their Zoroastrian compatriots, a practice that later spread throughout the country. The term has also been used by the Muslim Kurds, Turks, and some other ethnic groups in modified forms to denote various religious communities other than Zoroastrians, sometimes even in the sense of unbeliever. (Shaki 2000: 240)

However, it is hard to believe that a word denoting free peasants in Mesopotamia, mentioned only in the obscure book by Shteyermanova, had become so widespread.

9 Quoting the unknown work of M. Shteyermanova, *Vesmirnaya* (sic, instead of *Vsemirnaya* – K.P.) *Istoriya* (World history), Moscow 1955, vol. 2, 25.2.1.

Of course it is obvious that the term could not derive from *mog-mard* / *mgw-GBR* (magus), as it has been suggested by some scholars, “for the element *GBR* / *gabrā*, being an ideogram and a bound constituent of the compound, cannot appear in absolute form, nor may it be pronounced other than *mard* (man) in common parlance” (Shaki 2000: 240). Nevertheless, one must remember that the knowledge of Aramaic before the Arabic conquest among the Persians was quite common. The Aramaic (Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrean, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic) term *gabrā* [GBR] ‘a man’ (Jean, Hoftijzer 1965: 47; Drower, Macuch 1963: 73) was used by Persians to indicate not free peasants but strong, brave men in the Sasanian times. This Semitic word also has its equivalent in Hebrew: גִּבּוֹר *gibbor* ‘man’ (from גָּבַר *gabar*: to be strong, mighty), adj. noun masc. ‘strong, mighty; champion; great, helper, hero, Mighty One, mighty warrior, valiant warrior’, cf. Arab. *ḡabbār* ‘who magnifies himself, behaves proudly, a tyrant, who is bold, audacious’.¹⁰ Hebrew *gibbor*, which occurs over a hundred times in the Bible, parallels the use of Greek *hērōs*. It stands for the demi-gods of the distant past (Gen. 6: 4), who correspond to such heroes as Heracles or Perseus. Nimrod was called *gibbor* (Gen. 10: 8) – a mighty warrior-king and founder of great cities (Speiser 1967). Hebr. *melek gibbor* (Dan. 11:3) refers to Alexander the Great, described as the “accursed” (*gizistag*) wrecker of the Zoroastrian tradition.

Most probably this Aramaic word denoting foreign heroes, brave men, must have been used by the Zoroastrians themselves in contrast to Arab. *kāfir* which had for them a derogative meaning.

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UJFALVY'S PLACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF FINNO-UGRIAN LANGUAGE STUDIES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN FRANCE

The article presents the work of Charles Eugène de Ujfalvy de Mező-Kövesd [Hung. Mezőkövesdi Ujfalvy Károly Jenő] (1842–1904), still less known French-Hungarian researcher, who played an important role as an initiator of the Finno-Ugrian language studies in France. His interests were very wide and he worked hard with a real scientific passion. He left behind numerous publications on linguistics, anthropology and ethnography, which contributed to the increase of the general knowledge about Asia's many peoples in the second half of the 19th century.

Ujfalvy, Finno-Ugrian languages, Finno-Ugrian studies, historical linguistics

The kinship of Finnic and Ugrian languages was truly established in the 18th century.¹ Yet, there were still debates about their origins and relationships to other languages throughout the 19th century. Among others, intense debates took place

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- 1 A Hungarian Jesuit János Sajnovics (1733–1785), after an expedition to Lapland (for astronomic observations), was the first to demonstrate the relationship between Hungarian and Saami in his study *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* in 1770, and, soon afterwards, another Hungarian linguist Sámuel Gyarmathy (1751–1830) proved the affinity of Hungarian with Finnish in his *Affinitas Linguae*

in Hungary, Estonia and Finland² (see Häkkinen 2014), even though many Finnish fruitful expeditions, especially those of a Finn Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), already brought reliable sources of information. That is why this comes as no surprise that those issues were discussed in other countries too, especially in the context of the young historical linguistics and in relation with the “newborn” Indo-European linguistics which was flourishing primarily in Germany;³ French linguists were in turn inclined more towards Oriental studies,⁴ initially focusing on Turkic,⁵ later chiefly on Persian and Arabic,⁶ and finally on the languages of

Hungaricae cum Linguis Fennicae Originis grammaticae demonstrata in 1799. See e.g. Korhonen (1986, 1987a). Nevertheless, nowadays it is Martin Fogel or Martinus Fogelius Hamburgensis (1634–1675) who is regarded the first discoverer of the kinship of Finnish and Hungarian, but E.N. Setälä found his letters in Uppsala only in 1888 and his manuscript even later in Hannover (Setälä 1892: 181–182; Korhonen 1986: 28–29, 127). However, a Danish professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen, Marcus Wøldike (1699–1750), can be considered the first to show similarities between those languages: he drew (Wøldike 1746) a comparison between Greenlandic and about two dozen other languages (including Hungarian, Finnish and Saami/Lappish) and, as it turned out, Greenlandic was the most similar to Hungarian and this one to Finnish and Saami/Lappish. See Plank (1990).

- 2 It is interesting to note that at that time Finland, Estonia and Hungary were occupied by the empires of Russia and Austria (until 1867, when the Austro-Hungarian kingdom was born). Undoubtedly the quest for their Finno-Ugric cognates contributed to the maintaining of their identities and to the consolidation of folklore research.
- 3 In the first generation of outstanding German Indo-European linguists, we can mention: Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), Franz Bopp (1791–1867), August Friedrich Pott (1802–1887), August Schleicher (1821–1868) who also made an attempt to describe all the European languages (*Die Sprachen Europas in systematischer Uebersicht*, 1850), and finally Johannes Schmidt (1843–1901) and Karl Verner (1846–1896). Of course, we cannot forget the eminent linguists of a slightly earlier period, who were not involved in purely Indo-European research, but whose impact on linguistic studies is important: Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and his brother Alexander (1869–1859) as well as Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829) who proposed the term *vergleichende Grammatik* (comparative grammar). And later there were also *Junggrammatiker* (Young Grammarsians) who gathered in Leipzig in 1870s.
- 4 French Oriental studies have their roots in the activities of the Collège de France established in 1530 and of the École des jeunes de langues established in 1669. The latter is today's Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) which is probably the oldest institute of Oriental studies in Europe. And the first international congress of Orientalists took place in Paris in September 1873.

Africa and Southeast Asia due to the French colonisation; Anglo-Saxon countries conducted even more extensive research. However, in the 19th century there was still a significant number of links between languages to discover, and there was a rush to the East in order to explore Asia and to find more cognates there.

This article is devoted to the “spark” that set off the Finno-Ugrian language studies in France, i.e. to one of the scholars whose interest and passion for Finno-Ugrian languages helped to pave the way for the historical linguistics in France and in the world: Charles Eugène de Ujfalvy de Mező-Kövesd [Hung. Mezőkövesdi Ujfalvy Károly Jenő] (1842–1904), who is called a “pioneer of the Finno-Ugrian studies in France” (Le Calloc’h 1986–1987 and 1987).⁷ He was a linguist, ethnographer and anthropologist. He was born in Hungary, but emigrated to France at the age of 25 and soon became an important part of the rich French tradition of scholarship in the 19th century, although he is not well remembered today. His contributions and achievements concern not only studies of Finno-Ugrian languages (this field was important to him because of his Hungarian descent),⁸ but also a considerable part of his life was devoted to anthropology and ethnography as well as to his travels to Central Asia and exploration of its peoples and languages. Interestingly, his university education mainly covered philosophy (Bonn) and German philology (Paris), and yet he gained knowledge of Finno-Ugrian philology, anthropology and ethnography – the passion of his life – on his own.⁹

5 The so-called Franco-Turkish alliance was established already in the 16th c. Among others, it was a stimulus to create a school of dragomans for diplomatic circles.

6 Undoubtedly, Napoleon’s campaigns in Egypt and Syria 1798–1801, Champollion’s successes in Egyptology and the recent French conquest of Algeria (from 1830) or even the construction of the Suez Canal (1859–1869) and French military interventions in Indochina contributed to a more intense development of Oriental studies in France in the 19th century.

7 Actually, the first Finno-Ugrist in France was Aurélien Sauvageot (1897–1988), who took the first chair of Finno-Ugrian languages in the École des Langues Orientales (now INALCO) in Paris in 1931. See Gergely, Sakari (1958), Toulouze (1995), Perrot (2009).

8 See bibliography, where we cite only his publications pertaining to Finno-Ugrian studies.

9 We do not know whether before his departure to France he had any interest in those fields and was acquainted with the achievements of other Finno-Ugrists in Hungary, such as his contemporaries, Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891) and József Budenz (1836–1892), or earlier Hungarian explorers of the Central Asia who tried to find the homeland of the Hungarians in that part of the world, Sándor Csoma de Kőrös (1784–1842),

Before Ujfalvy, linguistic and literary research on Hungarian or Finnish did not really exist in France, and even notes about them were sparse. According to Henri Toulouze (1995: 129), the first mentions about Hungarian language are to be found in short reviews published in the *Journal des Sçavans*: in 1720 (Mathias Bel's¹⁰ *De vetere litteratura hunno-scythica exercitatio*), 1725 (Bel's *Hungariæ antiquæ & novæ Prodromus*) and 1736 (Bel's *Notitia Hungariæ Novæ historico-geographica*). In 1772, the same journal noted the publication of János Sajnovics's *Demonstratio...* (1770) and devoted an extensive anonymous review to it, which highlighted the importance of such a study. A similar, quite enthusiastic reception of Sámuel Gyarmathi's *Affinitas...* (1799) can be found later in the famous Arabist Silvestre de Sacy's review in *Magasin encyclopédique, ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*. However, the first real articles about Hungarian language and literature in France were not written until 1813, when a Hungarian anti-Habsburg emigrant and poet János Batsány (1763–1845), hiding under the pseudonym of Charles de Bérony (Hanus 1993: 116–120; 2001), started to describe them in the journal *Mercure Etranger ou Annales de la littérature étrangère*, including some linguistic considerations about the origins and cognates of the Hungarian language, with comparison to e.g. Lappish/Saami. The same journal also included articles dedicated to Lapland and Finland. While they were rather geographical and historical in scope, one can also find statements about the affinity of Finnish, Lappish and Hungarian. Their author was Jean-Pierre Catteau-Calleville (1759–1819), German-French historian and geographer who had lived in Sweden. Nevertheless, only four issues of the *Mercure Etranger* were published between 1813 and 1816, and Batsány, after the fall of Napoleon, was handed over to the Austrians and forced to reside in Linz. Finally, in the second half of the 19th century, some interest in those languages arose with the development of the historical linguistics.

Naturally, Ujfalvy was not the only researcher in France to be interested in the Finno-Ugrian languages and their relationships to other languages at that time, however such linguists were rare and their curiosity was rather superficial, their knowledge based only on reading grammars and they did not even speak any of Finno-Ugrian language. Among them worth noting are:

a great explorer of Tibet, author of the first dictionary and the first grammar of the classical Tibetan language; or János Jerney (1800–1855). While this is not very likely, it is possible that he had heard of Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), who came to be known for his travels in Turkey and in the Middle East (see e.g. Ross 1928).

10 In Latin: Matthias Belius.

- Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (1813–1891), specialist in the Basque language and the author of two short works dedicated to Finno-Ugrian issues: *Langue basque et langues finnoises* (1862)¹¹ and *Remarques sur la classification des langues uraliques* (1876).¹² In the first study, he analyses four analogies between Basque and Finnic languages (plural in the nominative, definite conjugation, objective pronominal conjugation and vowel harmony) on the basis of Matthias Alexander Castrén's, Hans Conon von der Gabelentz's, Jens Andreas Friis', Pál Hunfalvy's, Elias Lönnrot's, Antal Reguly's and August Ahlqvist's works. In the second study, he discusses what he believes to be the whole family of the Uralic languages, yet unbeknown to him, he only refers to the Finno-Ugrian languages not including the Samoyedic branch. Nonetheless, he promotes the importance of vocabulary and grammatical forms rather than phonetic observations in comparative research. Much later, Bonaparte wrote another study in this field: *Italian and Uralic possessive suffixes compared* (1884) in which he showed surprising parallels between possessive enclitics in some Italian dialects and in Uralic languages. Bonaparte also rendered considerable services to the popularization of the Finno-Ugrian languages: at his own expense he published numerous Finno-Ugrian versions of the Gospel of Matthew, edited by Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (1805–1887): Udmurt, Eastern and Western Livonian (1863); Komi-Zyrian and Southern Karelian (1864); Erzya Mordva (1865); Northern Komi-Permyak and Hill Mari (1866), and finally Meadow Mari (1870). Bonaparte was also an honorary member of the Finno-Ugrian Society nearly from its establishment (in 1883).¹³
- Hyacinthe de Charencey (1832–1916), philologist and advocate of folklore research, who was interested in Basque and ancient languages of Asia and America; in 1862 he published a small book *La langue basque et les idiomes de l'Oural*, in which he tried to show grammatical and lexical similarities of those languages (chiefly Finnish, Saami/Lappish and Hungarian);

11 Interestingly, this publication disposed a Hungarian historian Ferenc Ribáry (1827–1880) to write a study on Basque (!): *A Baszk nyelv ismertetése* (1866). It was later translated into French and annotated by Julien Vinson: *Essai sur la langue basque* (1877).

12 This study was published in the journal *Revue de Philologie et d'Ethnographie* edited by Ujfalvy, so it is certain that Bonaparte knew Ujfalvy personally. In the same issue, Bonaparte published another article *Remarques sur plusieurs assertions de M. Abel Hovelacque concernant la langue basque* (1876), where he refers to Ujfalvy's work *Étude comparée...* (1875a).

13 Soon afterwards Julien Vinson, Eugène Beauvois and Paul Sébillot joined him there.

- Lucien Adam (1833–1918), specialist in Amerindian languages and author of a few short studies on Uralic and Altaic languages, e.g.: *La déclinaison oural-altaïque* (1870) or *De l'harmonie des voyelles dans les langues ouralo-altaïques* (1874);
- Eugène Beauvois (1835–1912?), historian and translator, who spoke Nordic languages, and was interested in the history and popular traditions of their peoples. As a young man he published two articles in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine* in 1864, where he described Finno-Ugrian peoples: *Etudes sur la race Nordaltaïque* and *Les populations riveraines de l'Océan Glaciale*. Later he also published a few articles about Finnish literature and traditions.

Naturally, there were also other linguists who partially raised the Finno-Ugrian or generally Uralic (often called “Turanian” at that time) issues in their publications devoted to other languages, e.g. François Lenormant (1837–1883), author of *La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes touraniens...* (1875a) and *Les principes de comparaison de l'accadien et des langues touraniennes...* (1875b).

Around the same time, two significant French scholars specialized in Hungarian history.¹⁴ The first of these, Auguste de Gérando (1819–1849), who moved to Hungary with his Hungarian spouse Emma Teleki (from the famous Transylvanian aristocratic family), wrote the *Essai historique sur l'origine des Hongrois* (1844), in which he rejected any link between the Hungarians and the Uralic (including Finnic) peoples, and he supported the Hunnic theory. His works also included *La Transylvanie et ses habitants* (1845) and *De l'esprit public en Hongrie...* (1848). The other one was Édouard Sayous (1842–1898), who produced a number of books, namely *Histoire des Hongrois...* (1872), *Les origines et l'époque païenne de l'histoire des Hongrois* (1874a), *Histoire générale des Hongrois* (1876), and reports e.g. *Les Provinces russes de la Baltique...* (1873) or *Musées ethnographiques...* (1874b), etc.¹⁵

14 Of course, there had been even earlier French historians who wrote about Hungarian history, e.g. Martin Fumée, author of *Histoire des troubles de Hongrie...* (1595); Martin Fumée & Nicolas de Montreux, authors of *Histoire générale des troubles de Hongrie et Transylvanie...* (1608); or Claude-Louis-Michel de Sacy, author of *Histoire générale de Hongrie* (1778–1780). And many other political publications, see e.g. Horel (2013) and Toulouze (1995).

15 Outside France, there were also two Catholic priests who published their studies on Hungary and Hungarian language in French: János (Jean) Eiben (a Hungarian chaplain of an infantry regiment), who wrote the *Nouvelle grammaire hongroise...* (Lviv, Chernivtsi 1843), as well as Edme-Léon Fauvin (a French priest who settled

Moreover, Ujfalvy was not the only Hungarian in France to show interest in the Hungarian history and language and, what is more, to publish books in French. Just before him, there was Ógyallai Besse János Károly (1765–1841), who used a Gallicised name, Jean-Charles de Besse. He travelled in the Middle East in search of the origin of Hungarians and he even published a book *Voyage en Crimée, au Caucase, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure...* (1838). Later, when Ujfalvy was almost at the height of his fame, another Hungarian Ákos Földvály (1823–1883) published a book *Les Ancêtres d'Attila...* (1875) in which he tried to prove that Hungarians derived from Scythians and that their language had a connection to the Breton language. He also proposed some strange etymologies of Hungarian words. The publication of this book did not go unnoticed by Ujfalvy, because in the first issue of his journal *Revue de philologie et d'ethnographie* (October–December 1874), we can find a short anonymous article criticising Földvály's book.¹⁶ Another scholar that may be mentioned is Ignác Kont (1856–1912), who moved to France in 1881 and published in French, e.g.: *La Hongrie littéraire et scientifique* (1896) and *Étude sur l'influence de la littérature française en Hongrie...* (1902), and developed Hungarian literary studies at Sorbonne (surprisingly in 1913 he published the “first” French study of the Hungarian language and literature).

Finally, we have to mention János Ludvigh (1812–1870), Hungarian politician and journalist, who, after the Hungarian war of independence, fled to Brussels, where he lived from 1850 to 1869 (see MEK). Although he worked in Belgium rather than France, he deserves a place in our survey, not only because he wrote in French (under the name Jean Ludvigh) on politics and history, but also because he is the author of an interesting article (Ludvigh 1858) devoted to Finno-Ugrian language history. He is an excellent example of a non-linguist who spoke out about linguistic issues in the 19th century. At the beginning of his article, Ludvigh rightly states that advances in philological and ethnological research can refute traditional history, which abounds in unfounded legends, but this is probably the only correct statement in this paper. He vehemently criticises the linking of the Hungarian people to the Ural-Altaic “race” and says that the Hungarian language has nothing in common with Finnish, giving many examples of pseudo-etymologies.

in Hungary), author of *Études sur la langue magyare, essai de grammaire hongroise* (Pest 1870). See also Toulouze (1995).

16 It seems Ujfalvy had access to Földvály's book even before its publication: the book bears the date 1875 and the journal bears the date of October–December 1874.

The above demonstrates that there was some interest in the Finno-Ugrian languages and cultures in France in the second half of the 19th century, but it was rather confusing and controversial due to the lack of comprehensive knowledge.¹⁷ And there were no other linguists as involved in the development of the linguistic study of Hungarian and its relatives as Ujfalvy. He was the most diligent, even zealous, prolific and ambitious scholar,¹⁸ and for that reason he should be well remembered in the history of the Finno-Ugrian linguistics.

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- 17 As far as popular knowledge of the Finno-Ugrian languages in French society is concerned, we can also quote *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture* (Dictionary 1832–1852; the first edition in 1832–1852 followed by a second corrected and enlarged edition in 1853–1876), a kind of multi-volume compendium which served educated people to broaden their interests and knowledge so that they were capable of holding a discussion on various topics. Each entry is prepared by a different specialist. In vol. 27 (1836), there is an entry “Finnois” (Finns) written by a Napoleonic general and writer Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, who, describing the Finns in rather mythological terms, situates them within the “Finnish-Tatar” family along with the Hungarians. However, in the second edition (vol. 9, 1855) this entry (anonymous this time) is rewritten and contains more modern facts: in reference to Castrén (!), the family of Finns is considered one of the four branches of the Altaic “race” (others are Tungusic, Turkic and Samoyed).

Let us now take a look at the entries concerning Hungary. In the first edition of the Dictionary, in vol. 32 (1836), the entry “Hongrie” (signed C.L.) explains Hungarians’ origins rather vaguely and the Hungarian language is called “the centre of Semitic and Finnic languages”, emphasizing that scholars yet do not agree about the affinity of Hungarian with Lappish/Saami. However, in the second edition (vol. 11, 1868), the entry, anonymous this time, is rewritten too, and a wider discussion of the origins of Hungarian is presented: “Le magyare appartient à la même famille que la langue des Uzes ou Koumans, des Polowzes, des Chazares, des Petschenègues, peuples qui avaient tous une origine commune. Jusqu’à ces derniers temps on a discuté la question de savoir s’il avait aussi de l’affinité avec le lapon et le finnois, ainsi que le prétendent Budbók, Eccard, Ihre, Hell, Sajnovits, Gatterer, Schlözer, Büsching, Hagen et surtout Gyarmathi; ou bien avec les langues orientales, comme Otrókotsi Oertel, Kalmár, Versegghi et surtout Beregszasyi ont essayé de le démontrer. Différent complètement de toutes les langues européennes (excepté le finnois et, à certains égards, le turc)” (Dictionary 1868, vol 11: 161–162).

- 18 Interestingly, each of his numerous publications is dedicated to an important person. Except for the vogue dedications at that time, this fact can signify not only his humbleness, but also his ambitions and aspirations to a high career.

Ujfalvy's character and life have been presented by Bernard Le Calloc'h (1986, 1986–1987, 1987), Gubina (2013), Gorshenina (2003: 271–277), as well as briefly by Setälä (1904), Szinnyi (1914), Wichmann (1919) and Goršenina (1998, 1999). Here, we are able to outline only a fraction of his numerous books about the Finno-Ugrian languages. We want to highlight the life of a scholar who was very active and hard-working, who read, wrote and travelled extensively with the aim of exploring and describing new facts and findings. As a young man, he spent many years at military school,¹⁹ which he left when promoted to the rank of second lieutenant. In 1864, he went to Bonn in Germany, where he defended his doctoral thesis in philosophy less than two years later. In 1866 he was already in Paris with the intention of preparing his “agrégation”²⁰ in German, which he obtained as the best student. Then he settled permanently in France, married Marie Bourdon and started to teach German at the secondary school in Versailles. However, he never ceased to broaden his knowledge and with time he became a member of a number of academic societies (Société de géographie, Société asiatique, Société de numismatique et d'archéologie, Société d'anthropologie and Société philologique of which he even became vice-president).

Ujfalvy initially devoted himself to studying languages: first of all in order to outline his native Hungarian to the French readers, and secondly, just because of his Hungarian roots he was very interested in cognates of his mother tongue that were still under debate. At that time, of course, linguists already knew that Finnic languages (including Saami/Lappish) were related to Hungarian, but their classification and relations to other languages remained questionable: the first attempt to classify languages now considered Altaic and Uralic together was made by a Swedish officer Philipp Johann Strahlenberg (1676–1747) in 1730 as the “Tatar family”, which included Finno-Ugrian, Turkic, Samoyed, Mongol-Manchu, Tungus and Caucasian. This classification was revised by Rasmus Rask (1782–1832) who renamed (Rask 1834) the grouping the Scythian family (including Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, Turkic, Uralic, Eskimo, Chukchi-Kamchatkan, Caucasian, Basque) and later by Wilhelm Schott (1849), who spoke of the Altaic or “Finnish-Tatar” family which split into two groups: Chudic (Finno-Ugrian, Samoyed) and Tatar (Turkic, Mongolian, Tungus).²¹ This latter vision was quite similar to

19 In keeping with the family tradition: his father was a cavalry officer of Sicule descent.

20 In France, „agrégation” is a kind of a high-level competitive examination for recruitment of teachers.

21 These classifications are plainly presented e.g. in Ruhlen (1991: 128–129).

that of Matthias Alexander Castrén (see e.g. Castrén 1850).²² Meanwhile, Max Müller (1854a, 1854b, 1855) (along with Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen) proposed the name “Turanian”²³ for a large group of languages which did not only include the languages which Rask had classified as Scythian, but also Thai, Tibetan, Dravidian and Malay. Subsequently this classification and its name began to be abused by linguists who lumped together hardly known or still unclassified languages, especially those featuring agglutination. Many other linguists proposed alternative names (e.g. North-Altaic, even Ugro-Japanese or Finno-Japanese²⁴), but as far as the Finno-Ugrian languages were concerned, they were still linked at least to the Turkic languages, and the name “Turanian” became very popular among linguists and even anthropologists.²⁵ On the other hand, many scholars were opposed to this name, e.g. August Friedrich Pott in Germany or many linguists in France (see Desmet 1996: 129), including Ujfalvy. Nevertheless, Ujfalvy used it in his earliest publications, e.g. in his first book he wrote: “Müller enfin appelle ces langues des langues touraniennes, en opposition des langues ariennes, sémitiques, etc., et nous sommes parfaitement de son avis; la Touranie ayant été de tout temps le centre de leur habitation première” (Ujfalvy 1871: 10). He even included the name in the title of his book published in 1873: *Les Migrations des peuples et particulièrement celle des Touraniens*. However, it was as early as 1874 that he changed his mind: „Dans les derniers temps, on a généralement adopté le nom de *Touranien* pour indiquer ces brachycéphales du centre et du nord-ouest. Nous avons proposé, à l’instar de Castrén et d’autres savants, de lui substituer celui d’*altaïque*” (Ujfalvy 1874c: 14).

22 And see his other works on the relationship between Uralic and Altaic languages, which were published after his death in 1852.

23 The name is controversial and changed meanings. It can derive from the Avestan sense ‘enemy’ as a name given to Turkic peoples threatening Iranians from the North. Or it can come from an Iranian legendary character Tur. Later the term *Turan* as ‘land of Tur’ started to mean ‘region in Central Asia’, and subsequently to be identified with nomadic Turks, and eventually to mean generally Asiatic peoples except for the Indo-Europeans (so-called Aryans in the 19th c.) and Semitic peoples. See e.g. Gorshenina (2014: 397–413) and Rodet (1877–1878).

24 Such was the proposal of a French Japanist Léon de Rosny (1837–1914), who tried to show many grammatical similarities between those languages, see Congrès (1874: 422–430).

25 This issue was discussed by linguists even at the First International Congress of Orientalists in September 1873, see its many reports.

Although the term “Turanian” is no longer used nowadays and even forgotten, the hypothesis of the Ural-Altaic possible familial affinity remains controversial. Marek Stachowski put it very accurately saying that both Uralic and Altaic families are at best “bosom friends who shared their Siberian past” (Stachowski 2008: 176).

At the end of the 19th century, Ujfalvy tried to find the right way through the tangle of theories, not only as a curious scholar, but mostly as a Hungarian. Subsequently, his ambitions became greater and eventually he tried to implement Finno-Ugrian language studies in France. Here, we will briefly look through his publications about the Finno-Ugrian issues.

His first book (*La Langue magyare, son origine, ses rapports avec les langues finnoises...*) appeared in 1871, four years after his settling in France. This book laid the foundations of his scholarly activity, and was written with the aim to present his native language to the French public. Moreover, his natural curiosity pushed him to explore the ancestors of the Hungarian nation. At that time, the descent of Hungarians was still a subject of much controversy: most Hungarians and even some scholars preferred to recognise their ancestors in the Huns, who invaded those lands in the past. The myth of the origin of Hungarians from Attila's valiant but barbarian tribe had strong roots in the Hungarian romantic imagery and folk legends, which also put together the name of the Huns and the occidental name of the Magyars (e.g. *Hungarians* in English). The notion of linguistic relations between Hungarians and Finns and inhabitants of the Ob River or generally of the Ural mountains was still weak and was almost unknown in France, despite publications by the above mentioned linguists. Ujfalvy adopted a hypothesis about the relationship between Hungarian and Finnish, but he did not rule out links with Basque. He admitted that these languages could belong to the oldest stratum of languages in Europe (Ujfalvy 1871: 5–6). Mainly, he tried to prove that grammatical and lexical similarities between Hungarian and “Tchudic” (i.e. Finnic) cannot be accidental despite the distance. However, he did not distinguish the Finno-Ugrian languages and peoples from the other Uralic cognates or the Turanian and Altaic “race” at that time.

The following year he published a new book on a similar topic (Ujfalvy 1872), in which he maintained and developed the same ideas. This work also contained excerpts of Hungarian poetry in his French translation. His activity and knowledge were noticed by the French governmental authorities and in the same year the French Ministry of the Public Education dispatched Ujfalvy to Austria-Hungary to collect data on effective methods of teaching in order to bring fresh ideas and solutions which could be implemented in the French educational system.

In 1873 a volume of Hungarian verse *Poésies magyares* came out, which included poetry, chosen and translated by Ujfalvy and Hippolyte Desbordes-Valmore (1820–1892). The same year Ujfalvy published two new studies (1873ab) in which his growing interest in ethnography and anthropology was clearly visible. These publications earned him the status of a well-known scholar who was invited to give lectures. For example, on 26th December 1873, during a session of the Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie, he gave a lecture on the mythical land Thule, which was mentioned by a Greek explorer Pytheas (4th c. BC) travelling in the North. Ujfalvy opted for the hypothesis whereby Pytheas met the ancestors of the Finns. This lecture was later published (Ujfalvy 1874d).

From 1873 on, Ujfalvy clearly broadened the range of his interests: his publications started to raise questions pertaining not only to Hungarian, but also to the Finno-Ugrian languages. Perhaps he noticed this gap in the development of modern sciences. Interestingly, in September 1873 the First International Congress of Orientalists took place in Paris, at which Lucien Adam expressed his regret at the lack of extensive and thorough research on those languages:

Bien que cette partie du domaine oriental ait été l'objet de défrichements auxquels s'attachent les noms des Klaproth, des Abel-Rémusat, des Conon de la Gabelentz, des Castrén, des Schott, des Wiedemann, des Anton Schieffner et des Boehtlingk, on peut dire, sans manquer de respect à aucun de ces vrais savants, que la grammaire comparée des langues ouralo-altaïques attend encore son Bopp et son Schleicher. (Congrès 1874: 418–419)

And further, on the comprehensibility of their results:

Encore si tous les travaux partiels pouvaient être utilisés par ceux qui se sentent le courage d'entreprendre le grand œuvre ! Mais, hélas ! tandis que les uns écrivent en danois, ou en suédois, les autres se servent, qui de la langue magyare, qui de la langue suomi, qui de la langue russe. A cette difficulté, déjà considérable, ajoutez, Messieurs, qu'il n'existe pas de recueil périodique spécialement consacré aux études tartares, et vous ne serez pas étonnés d'apprendre qu'on en est encore à se demander si les langues du groupe ouralo-altaïque forment une famille naturelle. (Congrès 1874: 419)

It is not implausible that Ujfalvy heard these words and took them to heart.

The year 1874 was very active in Ujfalvy's career. First of all, he published two new books. The first was *Mélanges altaïques* in which he blends diverse subjects, mostly borrowed from publications of several authors. Although his

erudition is clearly evident, at times he had a tendency to intertwine the reality with fantasy and repeat someone else's errors, e.g. on the etymology of the name of Chudes (Ujfalvy 1874a: 120). Moreover, he frequently included the exact excerpts from his earlier publications, e.g. about the land Thule (Ujfalvy 1874d). The other book he published that year was *Aperçu général sur les migrations des peuples ...* (1874b). In both he discusses ethnographical and historical subjects rather than linguistic ones.

Thanks to those publications, l'École des langues orientales invited him to give lectures on history and geography of Central Asia. His inaugural lecture was delivered on 17th November 1784 and later published (1874c). This occupation encouraged him to study Asiatic languages and peoples more thoroughly.

Interestingly, starting from 1784, Ujfalvy quoted a Finn Yrjö Koskinen in many of his publications, as the highest authority in the history of migration of peoples. Koskinen (1830–1903)²⁶ was not only a professor of general history, writer and journalist, but also an influential statesman and one of the leaders of the Fennoman movement. He was also Francophile (Klinge 2012: 159). Moreover, he participated in the First International Congress of Orientalists in September 1873 in Paris as a Finnish delegate (his name is in the register of participants). Among his publications in Swedish and Finnish, Koskinen published studies of the Finnic history in French (1866) and in German (1874a).

We know that Ujfalvy initiated correspondence with the famous Finn around 1873–1784, but Koskinen had not known him before. For example, on 1st February 1874 Koskinen wrote to Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891), a great Hungarian Finno-Ugrist:

Minulle on viime aikoina pari kertaa kirjoittanut eräs Unkarilainen tiedemies Ch. Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd. Mistä hän on? ja kuinka hän on siirtynyt Pariisiin? – Hänen suuri teoksensa osoittaa kenties paikoittain vähän ranskalaista pintapuolisuutta sekä liian hätäisiä resultateja, mutta paljon tieteellistä intoa. Hän on luvannut tulla tänne Suomeen. (Tervonen 1987: 268)

I have recently received a couple of letters from a Hungarian scholar Ch. Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd. Where is he from? and how did he move to Paris? – His great works show, perhaps in some places, a little French levity and too hasty results, but a lot of scholarly enthusiasm. He has promised to come here, to Finland.

26 Yrjö Koskinen was his pen name. Until 1882 his real name was Georg Zakarias Forsman, which he Fennicized into Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen.

Later that year, Koskinen published a study *De l'origine des Huns* in Ujfalvy's *Revue de philologie et d'ethnographie*, a journal which would only run for three issues: the first one in 1874, the second in 1876, and the third in 1877–1878, and then disappear, probably because of its too extensive thematic range (mostly non-Indo-European) and due to competition from other journals, which were dedicated primarily to Indo-European matters, as well as a progressive split between linguistics and anthropology or ethnography (Auroux 1984: 313; Desmet 1996: 19). The 1874 issue also featured articles by Paul [Pál] Hunfalvy (*Essai d'une grammaire ostiake*), by Maurice [Moritz] Grünwald (*Quelques observations sur les affinités du turc avec le magyar* and *Grammaire samoïède*), by Lucien Adam (*Une genèse vogoule* as well as some Vogul texts with his French translation), and *Bibliographie altaïque* by an anonymous writer: X.Y. (maybe Ujfalvy?). Of course, there were also 3 studies by Ujfalvy himself (1875a, 1875b, 1875c).²⁷ The latter (1875c) offered a survey of A. Ahlqvist's and E. Lönnrot's works on Veps, including some original texts with French translation. The following two issues of the journal included articles by such scholars as Zsigmond Simonyi (on the Ugrian languages), or Vladimir de Mainof (on Mordvins), as well as the aforementioned study on the classification of the Uralic languages by Bonaparte.

As far as our topic is concerned, the most interesting among the three above-mentioned articles by Ujfalvy is *Étude comparée des langues ougro-finnoises* (1875a), which covers both linguistics and ethnography (including migrations of those peoples, their religions and cultures). From Ujfalvy's perspective "Ugro-Finnic" peoples are:

1. Western Finns or Chudes: proper Finns (including Karelians, Tavastians and Kvens), Vepsians (anciens Chudes), Votes, Lapps; Estonians, Lives; as well as almost extinct at that time Krevinians and Livonians;
2. Eastern Finns or Permians: Permians (Bjarmians), Zyrians, Votyaks;
3. Volga Finns or Bulgars: Mordvins and Cheremis people;
4. Ugrians: Ostyaks, Voguls, Magyars.

The Samoyed peoples were allegedly situated between "Ugro-Finns" and Altaic peoples.

27 The 1874 issue of the journal was actually published early in 1875, and the offprints of Ujfalvy's articles under discussion bear the date 1875, which is why they are marked as 1875abc in the bibliography.

The same year, Ujfalvy gave another special lecture on Asia, which would later be published, *Cours complémentaire de géographie...* (1875d). At that time his next article came out under the title *Sur l'importance de la voyelle "i" dans les suffixes des langues ougro-finnoises* (1875e).

In January 1876 he put into print a short study of the Finnish phonetics (Ujfalvy 1876c), where he also translated only the first song (*runo*) of the Finnish national epic, despite the fact that a French translation of that Finnish masterpiece already existed: Louis-Antoine Léouzou Le Duc (1815–1889) translated the first version of the *Kalevala* in 1845 and he retranslated the final version of this epic in 1867. Léouzou Le Duc's translation in French is up to standard, although written in prose. By contrast, Ujfalvy's version of the first song is regrettably not very accurate, owing to the literal translation because of his inadequate command of the Finnish language.

The same year, his "twin" grammars came out (1876a, 1876b). The first was conceived as a philological, not practical, study of Hungarian, inspired by a Hungarian scholar Anselm Mansvet [Szende] Riedl's (1831–1873) *Magyarische Grammatik* (1858). The latter was written with Rafael Hertzberg (1845–1896), a Finnish writer and journalist. This Finnish grammar was prepared on the basis of the grammars by a Finnish scholar Gustaf Erik Eurén (1818–1872), written in Swedish (1846; 1849, reprinted 3 more times; 1851, reprinted 1865), and finally in Finnish (1852, reprinted 4 times later). Eurén wrote also a Swedish-Finnish dictionary (1860).

The year of 1876 was crucial in Ujfalvy's career. In July, the Ministry of Public Instruction sent him on a mission to Asia. At that time there was an international rivalry for supremacy in Central Asia, and therefore many Occidental countries sent their expeditions there, mostly to Turkestan, whose Western part had just been conquered by Russians. Ujfalvy's knowledge and interests were ideal for such a mission on behalf of France. In total, he led three French scientific expeditions, which made him famous at that time:

- I (1876–1877): Saint-Petersburg, Helsinki, Moscow, Orenburg, Turkestan, Syr Darya, Tashkent, Samarkand, Zarafshan, Kohistan, Fergana, Kokand, Alma-Ata (Verny), Semey (Semipalatinsk), Omsk, Dzungaria, Bashkiria.
- II (1879): Kazakhstan, Bukhara.
- III (1881): Bombay, Western Himalayas, Kashmir.

While on all these expeditions, his aim was to discover ethnographic and anthropological types of peoples as well as their languages, although we have to

say that during that time Ujfalvy's studies on languages became only a marginal part of his activity, as he acted as an anthropologist and ethnographer²⁸ rather than a linguist and during his explorations in Central Asia, he described clothes, ornaments and races of peoples including cephalic measurements among others.²⁹ It seems that with the passing of time, his initial passion to broaden studies on Finno-Ugrian languages waned; moreover, during those explorations he had more contact with non-Uralic peoples.

In terms of the Finno-Ugrian languages, only his first expedition resulted in some superficial contacts. We know about this trip also thanks to his wife's memoirs (Ujfalvy-Bourdon 1880).³⁰ And we know that at the beginning, they spent four months in Saint-Petersburg in order to arrange necessary permits from Russian authorities. During this stay, they briefly visited Finland and their arrival was keenly noticed by Finnish scholars: we found mentions in letters of two Finns to their Hungarian friends:

1. August Ahlqvist to Pál Hunfalvy (December 2 1876):

Pari viikkoa takaperin kävi täällä meidän kaupungissamme Ujfalvy puolisonsa kanssa. Hän näyttää olevan sievä mies, vaan on ehkä ottanut liian suuren työn toimitettavaksensa, kuin läksi nykyiselle matkallensa (Tervonen 1987: 169)

A couple of weeks ago Ujfalvy and his spouse were here in our town. He seems to be a nice man, but maybe he has taken on too much work to do, when he set out on the current journey.

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- 28 He regarded ethnography not only as the scholarly investigation of folk customs and beliefs, but also as a discipline oriented towards studying languages, which especially applied to one of its branches, linguistic ethnography (Ujfalvy 1874c: 10, 17). Such a distinction becomes clear, as we remember that the linguistics before Ferdinand de Saussure was rather associated only to philology, grammar and lexicography.
 - 29 However, this work was not always easy and successful, e.g. in 1878 he complains about disapproval of his investigations in Russia: „l'Anthropologie rencontre encore de nombreux adversaires en Russie, et un savant et quelques pseudo-savants de Pétersbourg ont essayé de contester l'utilité de mes recherches" (Ujfalvy 1878: 8).
 - 30 In 1885, it was also published in Budapest in Hungarian translation: *Ujfalvy Károly utazása Páristól – Samarkandig: a Ferganah, Kuldzsa és nyugati Szibéria: egy párizsi nő úti élményei*.

2. Antti Jalava³¹ to József Budenz (December 16 1876):

Noin kuukausi sitte kävi täällä Ujfalvy rouvineen. Hän oli muun muassa kutsuttu eräasen ylioppilasjuhlaan, jossa Carinus'en³² suomentaja Koloman = Päivärinta (ennen Svan), tervehti häntä unkarinkielisellä puheella. (Tervonen 1995: 29)

About a month ago, Ujfalvy came here with his wife. He was, among other things, invited to a university celebration, during which Carinus' translator Koloman = Päivärinta (formerly, Svan), greeted him in the Hungarian speech.

Thanks to Mrs. Ujfalvy-Bourdon's memoirs (1880: 18), we know that in Helsinki he also met Johannes Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915), the first Finnish archaeologist. Nevertheless, it seems that he did not spend much time studying Finnic languages. At the end of his expedition, in Omsk, he only inquired about Ostyaks, and in Troitsk he saw two young travelling Samoyeds.

But when he came back after his first two expeditions to Central Asia, he published his reports as *Expédition scientifique française en Russie, en Sibérie et dans le Turkestan* in 6 volumes between 1878 and 1880. Only two volumes are related to the Finno-Ugrian issues (1880a, 1880b). In the first he described some findings during his visit in Finland in 1876, namely the archaeology of Finland, Vepsians on the shore of the lake Onega (including samples of their language) and Votes near Saint-Petersburg. The latter featured reproductions of objects found by a certain doctor Ivanovski in Votia, southwest of Saint-Petersburg as well as those found by Europaeus³³ in the region of Vepsians and by Aspelin in Finland.

In the first volume of his reports, Ujfalvy acknowledged, that during his expeditions he concentrated only on ethnographical and anthropological issues, and he made use of his philological skills only in Finnic countries (Ujfalvy 1878). Thus ethnography and anthropology attracted his attention for good. Yet, the many interesting studies of the Finno-Ugrian languages which he had produced earlier bear testimony to the convoluted and circuitous developments in linguistics in the 19th century.

31 Until 1906 his name was Anton Fredrik Almberg.

32 The novel *Carinus: históriai novella* was written by a Hungarian Mór Jókai, a very popular and often translated writer of his time. The novel has been translated into Finnish as *Carinus: historiallinen novella* in 1875 by Jaakko Haniel Päivärinta (Jakob Haniel Swan [or Svan] until 1877), publishing under the pen-name Koloman.

33 Probably Daniel Europaeus (1820–1884), Finnish poet and specialist in folklore studies.

Just in 1878, the Société de Linguistique de Paris, in its series *Mémoires*, published an article (Donner 1878) featuring an overview of recent issues in Finno-Ugrian language studies: *Revue de la philologie ougro-finnoise dans les années 1873–1875*³⁴ by Otto Donner (1835–1909), Finnish professor of comparative linguistics at the University of Helsinki,³⁵ member of the Société since 1869.³⁶ This article was meant as the first of a series of studies showing achievements in different linguistic fields. Originally written in German, it was translated for publication in French by Édouard Sayous. Donner quotes a few of Ujfalvy's publications in it: *Essai de grammaire vèpse...* (1875c), *Étude comparée des langues ougro-finnoises* (1875a) and *Éléments de grammaire magyare* (1876a). Admittedly Donner points out some of Ujfalvy's shortcomings, but appreciates the value of his works for the general public in France. Soon afterwards, in Berlin in 1884, a German Finno-Ugrist Heinrich Winkler (1848–1930) published a famous study *Uralaltaische Völker und Sprachen*, in which he, too, quoted Ujfalvy on numerous occasions.

As we can see, Ujfalvy's studies were appreciated and well received by readers at the end of the 19th century, but shortly after, they sank into oblivion. From the 1880s on, Ujfalvy's eyesight was failing fast. He could not work anymore. Undoubtedly his retirement was a significant loss to the world of science.

During this time, Finno-Ugrian language studies made significant progress, and the number of linguists devoted to those studies grew, especially in Finland and Hungary. Some of them published their works on the Finno-Ugrian languages, cultures and peoples even in France, e.g. the Finnish historian and statistician Karl Emil Ferdinand Ignatius (1886), the Hungarian literary historian Vilmos (writing in French as Guillaume) Huszár (1896) or the above mentioned Ignác Kont. However, France still had to wait for her first genuine Finno-Ugrist, Aurélien Sauvageot (1897–1988), who had just been born in... Constantinople.

34 Such a time frame is due to the fact that the article under discussion is a continuation of another study by the same author written in Swedish and published in Helsinki six years earlier (Donner 1872): *Öfversikt af den finsk ugriska språkforskningens historia* [Survey of the history of Finno-Ugrian language studies].

35 In 1883 he would establish the Finno-Ugrian Society (Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura).

36 Apart from Donner, another Finnish member of the Société at that time was Carl-Gustaf Estlander (since 1867), professor of literature and aesthetics at the University of Helsinki. The next to be accepted (in 1885) was Fridolf Gustafsson, professor of Latin language and Roman literature.

Conclusions

The aim of this article was to celebrate Ujfalvy's life, work and contribution to the humble beginnings of the Finno-Ugrian language studies, anthropology and ethnography in France.

Ujfalvy wanted to be one of those researchers who earned a place in history. He lived in an era when linguistics and anthropology were still undeveloped, with unreliable and questionable sources of knowledge and information. It was only the beginning of the studies on the Finno-Ugrian languages and generally Uralic linguistics. Ujfalvy wanted to contribute to its development, partly because he was Hungarian and wanted to spread the knowledge about his native language and its relatives in France, his new homeland, and partly because he was a very ambitious and curious scholar. Although his works are not perfect and sometimes contain, unbeknown to him, mistakes, inaccuracies, or plain myths (which was not uncommon at that time), he deserves his place in the history of Uralic linguistics and should be remembered as a "pioneer" of such studies in France and a hard-working polymath.

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COMPOUND TENSES IN OSSETIC. A PRELIMINARY REPORT

The aim of the article is to draw linguists' attention to the Ossetic periphrastical verbal expressions consisting of the gerund in *-zæ* and the verb *кæнын* 'to do'. The author expresses the view that such constructions are new compound tenses *in statu nascendi*.

Iranian linguistics, Ossetic grammar

Ossetic grammars (Akhvlediani 1963; Abaev 1964) mention only three tenses: past, present and future. Verbal compound constructions based on the gerund ending in *-zæ* (added to the present stem of a verb; cf. Thordarson 1989: 474, point 4.2.5.3.3.2) are qualified by A.P. Vydrin (2014: 66, point e) as merely "periphrastical verbal expressions" (перифрастические глагольные выражения).

According to Fr. Thordarson (1989: 474) the gerund in *-zæ*, qualified by him as a 'co-verb', has developed from an old verbal noun in the instrumental: **-akā*. According to J. Cheung (2008: 186, after Vydrin 2014: 65) the starting point was the locative ending in **-kai*.

The Ossetic gerund in *-zæ* may have many functions (Vydrin 2014: 65–69). These include:

1. a co-verb, an impersonal form expressing an action (or a state) parallel to the main verb of a sentence, as in:

Лæнну кæу-зæ ба-цъд йæ хæдзар-мæ
'The boy went home crying' (Thordarson 1989: 474)

In other words: ‘The boy (*Лæнны*) went (*ба-цыд*) to his home (*йæ хæдзар-мæ*) and he was crying (at the same time)’. The gerund *кæу-гæ* is formed from the verb *кæу-ын* ‘to cry’ (present stem *кæу-*).

2. an adjective (modifier), e.g. *дуг-гæ хæуг* ‘milch cow’, from *дуг-ын* ‘to milk’ (Thordarson 1989: 474), *худ-гæ хур* ‘smiling sun’ (Abaev 1959: 555, paragraph 112).
3. a concrete noun, e.g., *зон-гæ* ‘friend, acquaintance’ (from *зон-ын* ‘to know’), *дым-гæ* ‘wind’ (from *дым-ын* ‘to blow’) (Vydrin 2014: 65, point б).
4. nominal part of a compound verb, e.g.:

Æлбег-т-æ Садон-ы ком-æй ра-лидз-гæ сты

‘The family of Albyeg migrated down from Sadon ravine’ (Vydrin 2014: 65, point в).

Comment: The past tense of compound verbs containing *уæв-ын* ‘to be’ is formed by connecting a noun (or adjective) with the personal forms of *уæв-ын* in the present (!) tense. Here in place of a noun (or adjective) we have the gerund *ра-лидз-гæ* (from *лидз-ын* preceded by the praeverb *ра-*) and the 3rd person plural present of copula *сты* ‘(they) are’.

There remain constructions referred to by Vydrin (2014: 66, point е) as ‘periphrastic’. According to him (after Abaev 1959: 592, point 3) almost every verb, with the exception of *уæв-ын* ‘to be’ and *кæн-ын* ‘to do’, can form a construction involving a gerund form in *-гæ* combined with a personal form of *кæн-ын* (see the examples below), which differs from simple verbal forms in nothing but emphasis (!).

I think we can speak here about new compound tenses as the grammaticalization of the aforementioned constructions. Here are some examples (Vydrin 2014: 66, point е):

‘to die’: *мæлын* or *мæл-гæ кæнын* (literally: ‘to do dying’)

‘to kill’: *марын* or *мар-гæ кæнын* (literally: ‘to do killing’)

‘to eat’: *хæрын* or *хæр-гæ кæнын* (literally: ‘to do eating’)

‘to go’: *цæуын* or *цæу-гæ кæнын* (literally: ‘to do going’)

To show a possible emphasis let us quote the example found by Vydrin in the literary review “Мах дуг” (= Our age):

Мæ лæг йæ цард-цæр-æн-бон-т-ы нуаз-гæ код-та (Vydrin 2014: 52, example 27)

‘My husband drank throughout all his life’

Vydrin translates the sentence giving the Russian verb *пил* (“drank”) the emphasis by putting it at the very beginning: *Пил мой муж всю свою жизнь*.

The last example shows the difference between the Ossetic construction and the English continuous tenses although sometimes the equivalent reveals similarity, e.g., in the English translation of a poem by Kosta Khetagurov:

О, рывас, ма мæм уас! Хуыс-гæ ма кæнын (Akhvlediani 1963: 274, point 2)
 ‘Oh, fox, don’t howl! I am sleeping yet’

Here the Ossetic form *хуыс-гæ* (from *хуысс-ын* ‘to sleep’) corresponds exactly to the English form *sleeping* and expresses the direct relationship (connection) of the action/state with the time of speaking.

The question requires more study as the auxiliary verb *кæнын* ‘to do’ may be absent (!) sometimes (Vydrin 2014: 67, example 61). Perhaps the gerund in *-гæ* itself has growing tendency to replace the personal forms of a verb (or at least the 3rd person singular) in some instances.

The full meaning of the Ossetic co-verb ending in *-гæ* seems difficult to understand as we see some variation within the interpretation proposed by Ossetic scholars themselves. Let us compare, for example, the description of the forms *зар-гæ* (from *зар-ын* ‘to sing’) and *каф-гæ* (from *каф-ын* ‘to dance’) in a verse by Khetagurov:

Кæм зар-гæ, кæм каф-гæ æмбырд-т-ыл зылд-тæн...

Akhvlediani (1963: 274, point 4) qualifies both forms as verbal nouns (имя действия) and translates the whole sentence:

‘Где с пеньем, где с пляской бродил [я] по пирам...’

The Russian translation means literally: ‘Where I strayed from one feast to another with songs and dance ...’. It seems to me that in English it could be more accurately rendered as: ‘Where I strayed singing and dancing from one feast to another...’.

On the preceding page of the same grammar (Akhvlediani 1963: 273) parallel forms in *-гæ* are interpreted as adverbial phrases (обстоятельства образа действия).

To conclude, I suppose that the Ossetic constructions combining gerund forms in *-гæ* and *кæнын* ‘to do’ are **new compound tenses** (past, present and future respectively) *in statu nascendi*.

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THE MAGNIFICENT FIVE – THE LATIN FIFTH DECLENSION REVISITED

The present article presents the current status of research on the origin of the Latin fifth declension with the discussion of the core forms of this type of inflection and their origin (*diēs* ‘day’, *rēs* ‘thing’, *spēs* ‘hope’, *fidēs* ‘faith’, *plēbēs* ‘people’). It is claimed that in all of these forms the *-ēs* inflection is acquired secondarily and thus should not be transposed back to the Indo-European proto-language, contrary to some of the theories which trace the origin of the Latin fifth declension back to the **-ē* (**-eh₁*) stems of Proto-Indo-European. The Latin words of *diēs* ‘day’ and *rēs* ‘thing’ belong to the most frequently occurring vocabulary in the language and therefore could have been used as models of analogical reshaping.

Latin, fifth declension, historical linguistics

Professor Marek Stachowski has great achievements in the field of etymology both as the author of numerous works on the topic, a gifted lecturer and as the creator and editor of a linguistic journal dedicated completely to the research in this domain. In this article I wish to present the current problems concerning the origin of the core nouns of the Latin fifth declension which I hope He as the Honoree of the volume will find interesting.

1. Latin is noted for having a peculiar type of inflection which does not seem to have any comparative evidence elsewhere in Indo-European and appears to be an inner-Latin creation (the situation in Sabellic is not clear, cf. Weiss 2009: 254) – the so-called fifth declension (cf. Pedersen 1926; Leumann 1977: 285,

444–447; Klingenschmitt 1992: 127–135; Meiser 1998: 147–149). The origin of this \bar{e} -stem inflection has been under discussion ever since the earliest times of comparative linguistics. Already the earliest scholars in the field, Rask, Bopp and Schleicher, pointed out the existence of this type of inflection and claimed that it was secondary (their views are summarized by Pedersen 1926: 3–7). Brugmann (1886: 338ff) compared the Latin fifth declension with the Baltic \bar{e} -stems and on this basis assumed the existence of $*\bar{e}$ -stems in the proto-language. Sommer (1914) demonstrated that most, if not all, Baltic \bar{e} -stems go back to the $*\bar{i}\bar{y}\bar{a}$ -proto-form thus having nothing in common with the Latin \bar{e} -stems. His view was in turn criticized by Pedersen (1926), who tried to show that the $*\bar{e}$ -stems existed in the proto-language. The view of Pedersen was taken up by Beekes (1985: 37–38), Schrijver (1991: 379–387) and Kortlandt (1997) who all assume the existence of an $*\bar{e}h_1$ -inflection in Proto-Indo-European. Other scholars explain the peculiar Latin \bar{e} -stems as going back originally to various formations in the proto-language which ended up eventually in Latin as \bar{e} -stems (cf. Meiser 1998: 147–149; Weiss 2009: 254; Klingenschmitt 1992: 127–135).

2. The prime example of a noun belonging to this type of declension is the hysterokinetic u -stem *diēs* ‘day’ (cf. WH 1: 349–351; EM: 311–313; Leumann 1977: 356–358; Weiss 2009: 254; Nussbaum 1999; Rau 2010):

	PIE	Vedic	Greek	Italic reflexes
Nom. sg.	$*d(i)y\bar{e}u-s$	<i>d(i)yáuh</i>	<i>Zeús</i>	L. <i>diūs/diēs</i> , <i>Diēspiter</i> (after $*diēm$)
Gen. sg.	$*di-y\bar{e}/ós$	<i>diváh</i>	<i>Diós</i>	L. <i>dius</i> ‘by day’
Dat. sg.	$*di-y\bar{e}i$	<i>divé</i>	<i>Diyei-</i>	L. DIVEI-
Acc. sg.	$*d(i)y\bar{e}u-m$	<i>d(i)yám</i>	<i>Zēn</i>	L. <i>diem</i> , U. <i>dei</i>
Loc. sg.	$*d(i)y\bar{e}u-\emptyset$	<i>dyávi</i>	<i>diū</i> ‘day by day’	
Voc. sg.	$*d(i)y\bar{e}u-\emptyset$	<i>dyàuh</i>	<i>Zeū</i>	<i>Iū(piter)</i> , U. <i>Iupater</i> / U. <i>di</i>

3. In the earlier scholarship this noun was mostly classified as a root noun (cf. Schindler 1973; Fortson 2010: 116) but Rau (2010) has recently shown that it was a hysterokinetic u -stem. The form could be mono- and disyllabic in the proto-language by Lindeman’s Law, according to which monosyllabic words can scan disyllabically following a word ending in a heavy syllable (cf. Fortson 2010: 72; Schindler 1977). Different scansions survive in Italic and especially in

Vedic, where both the monosyllabic (*dyáuḥ*) and disyllabic (*diyáuḥ*) versions are found in meter (cf. Mayrhofer 1963: 70). The accusative singular **d̥i-eu-m* developed to **d̥iēm* by Stang's Law (Stang 1965) already in PIE and was inherited in Proto-Italic as **d̥iēm* (in its Lindeman variant, cf. Weiss 2009: 248 [but see also de Vaan 2008: 170 for an alternative solution – introduction of the **di-* from the oblique cases]). In Latin the nominative was analogically extended to the accusative as **d̥iēs* before the shortening of vowels in front of **-m* (cf. Weiss 2009: 254). The model for such a creation was probably the pattern of the other nouns with the acc. *-Vm*: nom. *-Vs* and the word *rēs* 'thing', on which see below. The other reflexes of the **d̥(i)̥-éu-s* paradigm are less clear. As noticed by Nussbaum (1999) the stem **d̥ieu-* had a threefold reflex in Italic: the noun meaning 'day', another noun meaning 'Jupiter' and several adverb formations. It is also the basis for the *vṛddhi* derivative **dejuós* eventually giving *deus* in Latin (cf. Weiss 2009: 225). The original nominative of **d̥iēus*¹ is most probably preserved in the phrase *Dius Fidius* 'Jupiter of oaths' and the phrase *nudius tertius* 'the day before yesterday' but the expected long **ū* cannot be confirmed (cf. Weiss 2009: 248). The genitive is probably reflected in the adverb *dius* 'by day' and the locative in the adverb *diū* 'by day, for a long time' (cf. de Vaan 2008: 172–173). The dative might be preserved in an inscription as DIVEI (cf. Weiss 2009: 248). The vocative was used in the phrase **d̥ieu ph₂ter* which has comparanda elsewhere in Indo-European (Greek *Zeū páter*, Vedic *dyāus pitāḥ*, cf. Mayrhofer 1963: 70) and thus became *Iūpiter* and later *Iuppiter* 'Jupiter'. The accusative **d̥iēm* is also preserved in Umbrian *dei*. The other Umbrian form, *di* (and also written twice as *dei*) is probably a vocative and an innovation on the basis of **d̥iēm* as it comes back to the form **d̥iē* which is not the inherited vocative and does not appear in Latin (cf. Buck 1904: 131). This stem is also present in the Oscan derivative *zicolom* < **d̥iē-kelo* (Untermann 2000: 868, cf. de Vaan 2008: 170). Latin and Sabellic has then further split the paradigm and created a new one – with **d̥iou-* as the basis (cf. the gen. sg. Latin *Iovis*, Oscan *Iúveis* etc.). Where exactly this new stem originated is not completely clear. Meiser (1998: 144) and de Vaan (2008: 315–316) assume that the

1 It has been assumed that the nominative should be reconstructed with a lengthened grade for PIE on the basis of the Vedic form *dyāus* and subsequently shortened in Greek and Italic by Osthoff's law. However, already de Saussure (1879: 185) demonstrated that this form could be analogical and thus the Greek (and Latin) forms with normal *e*-grade as expected in an hysterokinetic **u*-stem could be original (cf. also Szemerényi 1956: 186f.; Watkins 1974: 103).

acc. sg. was restored as **d̥iōu-em* and that the other forms were based on that one following the additional influence of the archaic vocative: Latin *Iūpiter*, Umbrian *Iupater*. On the other hand, Nussbaum (1999) thinks that the acc. **d̥iōu-em* may also be an innovation since the inherited form is **d̥iēm* (an assumption supported by Umbrian *dei*, Latin *diem*). He also claims that neither the inherited nominative **d̥iōs* nor the vocative **d̥iōu* could be good sources of this new stem since the nominative is preserved in *dius* and *Diespiter* (*diēs* made to **diēm*) and the vocative could only become the source when the unverbated **iōupater* was turned into nominative. Instead, he assumes that the inherited locative **d̥iōu-i* (as in Latin abl. *Iove*) was the basis for the new stem **d̥iōu-*. That direction is also indicated by the existence of the Lindeman variant of the endingless locative **d(i)̥iōu* as perhaps attested in the Oscan form **Diúveí**. Walde-Hoffmann (WH 1: 350) look for the basis of the **d̥iōu-* stem in the ablative (locative) **d̥iōu-i* (Latin *Iove*) and the vocative (Latin *Iūpiter*, Umbrian *Iupater*). The Italic paradigm of the noun in the meaning ‘Jupiter’ was probably the following (after Nussbaum 1999):

Nom. sg.	<i>*d̥iēs</i>	(Latin <i>Diespiter</i>)		
Acc. sg.	<i>*d̥iēm</i>	(Umbrian <i>dei</i>)	<i>*d̥iōu-em</i>	(L. DIOVEM, <i>Iovem</i>)
Voc. sg.	<i>*d̥iē</i>	(Umbrian <i>di</i>)	<i>*d̥iōu</i>	(L. <i>Iūpiter</i> , U. <i>Iupater</i>)
Gen. sg.			<i>*d̥iōu-es</i>	(L. DIOVOS, <i>Iovis</i> , O. Iúveís)
Dat. sg.			<i>*d(i)̥iōu-ei</i>	(L. DIOVE, <i>Iovī</i> , O. Iuveí/Diúveí)
Loc. sg.			<i>*d̥iōu-i</i>	(L. <i>Iove</i>)

The relative chronology of the development of the noun **d̥iēu-* in Proto-Italic seems to have been as follows:

	PIE	‘skygod’	‘sky(god), day’	‘Jupiter’	
Nom. sg.	<i>*d(i)̥i-éu-s</i>	<i>*d̥iōus</i>	<i>*d̥iēs</i>	–	<i>*iōu-pater</i>
Gen. sg.	<i>*di-ū-é/ós</i>	<i>*d̥iūs</i>		<i>*d̥iōu-es</i>	
Dat. sg.	<i>*di-ū-éi</i>	<i>*d̥iuei</i>		<i>*d̥iōu-ei</i>	
Acc. sg.	<i>*d(i)̥i-éu-m</i>	<i>*d̥iēm</i>		<i>*d̥iōu-em</i>	
Loc. sg.	<i>*d(i)̥i-éu-Ø</i>	<i>*d̥iōu</i>		<i>*d̥iōu-i</i>	+ in U.
Voc. sg.	<i>*d(i)̥i-éu-Ø</i>	<i>*d̥iōu</i>	>	<i>*d̥iōu-pater</i>	new voc. <i>*d̥iē</i>

The preservation of *di-* in forms of the type *dius* can be due to the Lindeman variant of the form **dijous* (cf. Weiss 2009: 248) or due to the introduction of the *di-* from the oblique cases (cf. de Vaan 2008: 170). Otherwise the form **dī-* would have been turned into **ī-* as in **dīou > Iū-*.

4. Alongside the word for ‘day’ we also find other common words in this declension. One of these is *rēs* ‘thing, matter’, which might be either an *i*-stem **(h_x)reh₁-i-s*, cognate with Vedic acc. sg. *rayīm* (cf. Weiss 2009: 248; Meiser 1998: 148; WH 2: 430–431; EM: 1008–1009; Mayrhofer 1976: 45–46) or a root noun **(h_x)reh₁-*, as witnessed by the Vedic form *rām* ‘gift’ to the root *rā-* ‘give’ (cf. Schindler 1972: 41, following personal communication with Karl Hoffmann). It is impossible to tell which one was inherited in Latin as both the *i*-stem and the root noun would eventually surface the same (cf. de Vaan 2008: 520–521; Szemerényi 1956).

5. Schindler (1972: 41) observed that the Vedic forms acc.sg. *rām* and acc.pl. *rāḥ*, normally connected with the root *rayí-*, *rāy-* ‘wealth’ can be connected with a root *rā-* ‘give’. Following a personal comment from Karl Hoffmann, Schindler assumes the existence of a root noun *rā-* ‘gift’. It is attested in the following Vedic fragment (RV 10.111.7):

sácanta yád uśásaḥ sūryena
citrām asya ketávo rām avindan

‘Als die Morgenroten mit dem Sonnengott zusammentraten, fanden seine Strahlen die herrliche Gabe’ (cf. Schindler 1972: 41).

‘When the Dawns come attendant upon Sūrya their rays discover wealth of divers colours.’ (translation by Ralph Griffith, cf. Griffith 1897: 555).

‘Als sich die Uśas’ mit dem Sonnengotte zusammentaten, da fanden dessen Strahlen den wunderbaren Reichtum.’ (translation by Karl Geldner, cf. Geldner 1951: 334).

‘When the Dawns kept company with the Sun, their beacons found his glittering gift’ (translation by Joel Brereton and Stephanie Jamison, cf. Brereton, Jamison 2014: 1578).

A somewhat similar assumption has been taken up by Beekes (1985: 80–81) who also assumes the existence of a root noun **HreH-* but considers the Vedic forms acc.sg. *rām* and acc.pl. *rāḥ* as older forms of the root which shows up in Vedic as *rayí-*, *rāy-* ‘wealth’. He reconstructs the following paradigm for the proto-language (Beekes 1985: 80–81):

	PIE		Proto-Indo-Iranian		Proto-Indo-Aryan
Nom. sg.	<i>*Her-H-s</i>	>	<i>*Har-i-s</i>	>	<i>*raH-i-s</i>
Acc. sg.	<i>*Hr-eH-m</i>	>	<i>*HraH-m</i>	>	<i>*raH-m</i>
Gen. sg.	<i>*Hr-H-os</i>	>	<i>*Hr-H-os</i>	>	(<i>raH-os?</i>)

Beekes assumes a very early development of the Indo-Iranian **/i/* anaptyxis adjacent to the laryngeal in the position **CHC*. He thinks that the root of the nominative was rebuilt on the model of the accusative thus giving **raH-is* which would be the basis for *rayí-*, though not directly, as the phonetic outcome of **raH-is* > **rais* in Vedic would be **res*. The *-y-* in Vedic must have been introduced from the oblique cases. The accusative **raH-m* would give *rám* and would, in his opinion, represent an archaic and isolated form (along with Latin *rem* which Beekes assumes to be the outcome of this paradigm, too). However, the assumption of a different ablaut grade in the accusative singular and the nominative singular does not have any basis (both forms are so-called strong forms and show the same ablaut grade in the paradigm) and additionally, as was shown by Schindler (1972: 41 with further literature there) the stem *rā-* of the root *rayí-* is itself most probably a creation of the grammarians and should rather be connected to the root *rā-* ‘to give’.

If we assume the existence of the root noun **(h_x)reh₁-s* in PIE, it would probably develop in Italic as follows:

	PIE	Vedic	Proto-Italic		Latin
Nom. sg.	<i>*(h_x)reh₁-s</i>	<i>rás</i>	<i>*rēs</i>	>	<i>rēs</i>
Gen. sg.	<i>*(h_x)reh₁-e/os</i>		<i>*rēs</i>	»	<i>reī</i> (after <i>ā</i> -stems)
Dat. sg.	<i>*(h_x)reh₁-eĭ</i>		<i>*rēĭ</i>	>	<i>reī</i>
Acc. sg.	<i>*(h_x)reh₁-m</i>	<i>rám</i>	<i>*rēm</i>	>	<i>rem</i>

The genitive singular **rēs* would have been remodeled on the basis of the *ā*-stems, i.e. the *-ī* ending was introduced into the genitive as it was done in the *-ā*-stems, where the model was the genitive in *-ī* of the *-o*-stems (cf. Weiss 2009: 222–223, 234 and 254 respectively).

6. The traditional scenario which considers the Latin word *rēs* to be an *i*-stem, together with vedic *rayi-* is somewhat more complex than the root noun scenario. It assumes the following development (cf. Meiser 1998: 147–148; Weiss 2009: 254–255):

	PIE	Vedic	Proto-Italic		Latin
Nom. sg.	*(<i>h_x</i>) <i>reh₁-i-s</i>	<i>rayís</i> (for † <i>res</i>)	* <i>reis</i>	»	<i>rēs</i> (after acc. * <i>rēm</i>)
Gen. sg.	*(<i>h_x</i>) <i>reh₁-ĭ-e/os</i>	<i>rāyás</i>	* <i>rēĭs</i>	»	<i>reī</i> (after <i>ā</i> -stems)
Dat. sg.	*(<i>h_x</i>) <i>reh₁-ĭ-eĭ</i>	<i>rāyé</i>	* <i>rēĭ</i>	>	<i>reī</i>
Acc. sg.	*(<i>h_x</i>) <i>reh₁-i-m</i>	<i>rayím</i>	* <i>rēm</i>	>	<i>rem</i>

The problematic case here is the assumption that acc. sg. *(*h_x*)*reh₁-i-m* gave Proto-Italic **rēm* (as does Meiser 1998: 148). We would expect this form to give Proto-Italic **reīm* and thus Latin **rīm*, just as the original nominative **reis* would have given Latin **rīs* (cf. Szemerényi 1956). Weiss (2009: 254) assumes that the form developed as follows: *(*h_x*)*reh₁-ĭ-ṃ* > **rēĭ-ṃ* > **rēĭem* > **rēm* > *rem*. Thus, he assumes that the final *-*m* was syllabic, following the PIE syllabification rule (cf. Schindler 1977: 56–57; Weiss 2009: 39). However, a simpler solution might also be assumed, as noted by Nussbaum (1999). According to him the Italic paradigm of **reis* could have extended the oblique stem to the accusative, a change typical of Latin consonant-stem inflection where the accusative is reinterpreted as a weak case and provided with a typical consonant-stem ending *-*ṃ* > -*em*:

	Proto-Italic		as in other consonant-stems:
Nom. sg.	* <i>reĭs</i>		* <i>pater</i>
Gen. sg.	* <i>rēĭ-e/os</i>	»	* <i>rēĭ-es</i> * <i>patr-es</i>
Dat. sg.	* <i>rēĭ-eĭ</i>	»	* <i>rēĭ-eĭ</i> * <i>patr-ei</i>
Acc. sg.	* <i>reĭm</i>	»	* <i>rēĭ-em</i> * <i>patr-em</i>

At the next step the accusative singular **rēĭ-em* would have developed into **rē.em* and consequently into **rēm*. This **rēm* was then the basis for the creation of the new nominative in *rēs* before the shortening of vowels in front of /m/.

It seems then that this word was the first to create the so-called *ē*-stems in Italic. It is also present in Sabellic, most notably in the Umbrian forms dat.sg. *ri*, abl. sg. *ri* and abl.sg. *re(per)*, which have the same origin as the Latin forms, cf. Untermann (2000: 635). The analogical remodeling in *diēs*, i.e. the formation of the nominative **diēs* beside the accusative in **diēm* could have been an independent development or could have been based on the model of **rēm* :: **rēs* proportion. It is worth noting that the remodeling must have taken place before the shortening of vowels in front of /m/ since otherwise forms such as *opem*, *noctem*, *pedem* should have also developed a nominative in **opēs*, **noctēs* and **pedēs* (cf. Nussbaum 1999). The same process has probably occurred in the other core fifth declension forms: *spēs*, *fidēs*, *plēbēs* which are discussed below.

7. The three other common words belonging to the fifth declension are: *spēs* ‘hope’, *fidēs* ‘faith’ and *plēbēs* ‘people’. They are usually thought of as stemming from the proto-language **speh_x*- (**h₁* or **h₂*), **b^hid^h-e_i* and **pleh₁-d^hu-es* respectively (cf. Meiser 1998: 148–149; de Vaan 2008: 218–219, 471, 580 for all the mentioned forms respectively). However, it is far from certain that any of those words actually comes from the exact proto-forms mentioned above. Additionally, Vine (2013) has noted that *famēs* ‘hunger’ could also secondarily belong to this type of inflection.

8. *Spēs*, meaning ‘hope’, does not fit well with its presumed cognates among the other Indo-European languages, most notably because of the isolated meaning: Ved. *sphirá-* ‘fat’, Lith. *spėti* ‘to be in time, be capable’, OCS *spěti* ‘to succeed’, OE *spōwan* ‘to prosper’ (cf. de Vaan 2008: 580; WH 2: 573–574; EM: 1132). Meiser (1998: 149) explains the origin of this word as a combination of a root noun **sp^heh₁-s* and an *s*-stem **sp^heh₁-es* but the assumption of the original *s*-stem is rightly criticized by Schrijver (1991: 380) in view of the existence of other *s*-stems in Latin which were preserved as such. De Vaan (2008: 580) reconstructs the root as **speh₁-* following the assumption that **h₁* along with **h₂* caused aspiration in Indo-Iranian in the **-THV-* context but this view is not accepted universally (cf. Mayrhofer 1986: 136–137). He also assumes that the Old English form *spōwan* comes from the same root and I suspect that he wants to explain it from a different ablaut grade, though he does not mention this problem at all.

The problem of the etymology of this word is thoroughly discussed by Nussbaum (2010). He notes that the word occurs in the singular in all the cases and in the plural but only in the nominative and in the accusative and that there is

no genitive, dative or ablative plural (a fact already noted by Cicero, cf. *Topica* 30). There is a rare word *spērēs* attested four times in Archaic Latin and the verb *sperāre*. Nussbaum (2010), taking into account the comparative evidence, reconstructs **spēh₂-* instead of **spēh₁-* which he sees as problematic because of the Germanic **spō(j)a* with an unexpected *o*-grade (**spoh₁-i*) and the aspiration in Vedic *sphirā-*. He explains the origin of *spēs* starting from the semantics, with the observation that ‘hope’ can be the result of a desiderative **-s* formation ‘to wish for a successful outcome’. Such formations are replaced in Latin with *sā*-presents. Then the desiderative **spēh₂-s* would be replaced by **spēsā-* (giving *sperāre*). Due to its aberrant semantics, *spēs* may then well be originally an underlying verbal abstract of *spērāre* (so Nussbaum 2010).

9. *Fidēs* is usually reconstructed as an *i*-stem (perhaps hysterokinetic but then it might also be an internal derivative of another primary formation), cf. de Vaan (2008: 219), WH (1: 494), EM (415–416). The solution given by Meillet (1922: 215–218), that this word was modeled on PIE **kred-d^heh₁* ‘trust’, followed by Schrijver (1991: 380), is rightly criticized by de Vaan (2008: 219). De Vaan himself reconstructs the **-eh₁* suffix for the Latin form which does not have any comparative evidence. However, if the connection with Greek *peithō* ‘persuasion’ is correct, then the Latin form reflects the form **b^hid^h-eĭ-* with the full grade generalized throughout the paradigm as Proto-Italic **φιδεĭ*. The accusative would then be **φιδεĭ-em* > **φιδεem* > **φιδēm* and to this form a new nominative in **φιδēs* was made (cf. the creation of *diēs*) giving the Latin form *fidēs* (cf. Nussbaum 1999).

10. *Plēbēs* is usually reconstructed² as an hysterokinetic **-ueh₂-*stem – Steinbauer (apud Mayrhofer 1986: 113) reconstructs it as an **-ueh₂-* stem while Schrijver favours the hysterodynamic **-ueh₁-*stem (Schrijver 1991: 381). Both solutions seem flawed to me as the reconstructions are more transponats than actual proto-forms as the evidence for a suffix of the **-ueh₂-* or **-ueh₁-* shape in the proto-language is scarce, at most. Klingenschmitt (1992: 127) assumes that this word goes back to a hysterokinetic **-u*-stem but the assumption that its vocalism (**p^lh₁d^h-u-* > **plāp-u*) was influenced by *plēnus* ‘full’ (cf. Meiser 1998: 149) seems improbable. It seems far more likely to me that this word actually goes back to an **u*-stem **pleh₁d^h-u-s* which had the form **pleh₁d^h-u-e/os* in the oblique and this in turn gave Latin *plēbis* to which both *plēbs*, *-is* and *plēbēs*, *-ēi* were made as nominatives. The vocalism

2 For the earlier theories see WH (2: 320–321), EM (909–910).

of *plēbēs* could have been influenced by *pūbēs* (cf. Muller 1926: 344, 350–351; Ernout 1954: 109)³, a word of similar usage and meaning in the archaic formula *pube praesenti*, attested in Plautus.⁴ There seemed to be a competition between the three words concerning the public: *pūbēs*, *populus* and *poplicus* so this kind of influence of one form on the other is not surprising (as in *pūblicus* itself which seems to be a contamination of *pūbēs* and archaic *poplicus*, cf. Muller 1926: 350; de Vaan 2008: 495). The Greek form *plēt^hūs* might also come from the same oblique form with remade nominative on analogy to the forms which contained a laryngeal, e.g. *op^hrūs* ‘eyebrow’ < **h₃b^hruh_x*- (cf. de Lamberterie 1990: 636–640; Klingenschmitt 1992: 127; Martínez García 1996: 224–233; Nussbaum 1998: 533–534; Neri 2003: 110–112).

11. Alongside those core forms we also find numerous abstract nouns in *-iēs* of the type: *aciēs* ‘sharpness’, *rabiēs* ‘rage’ and also abstract nouns in *-iēs/-ia* (*māteriēs* ‘matter, wood’, *mūriēs* ‘brine, pickle’) and *-itiēs* (*nōtitiēs* ‘acquaintance’, *segnitiēs* ‘sloth, inertia’) which have alternating forms of the first declension (ie. respectively *māteria*, *mūria* and *nōtitia*, *segnitia*). The most startling fact about those formations is that they are already present in archaic Latin and are used synonymously. Already in Cato’s ‘De Agri Cultura’ we encounter e.g. *muriēs* (nom. sg.) and *muriam* (acc. sg. of *muria*) or *māteriem* (acc. sg. to *māteriēs*) and *māteriam* (acc. sg. to *māteria*) used side by side.⁵ Among the *māteriēs/-ia*-type nouns we can discern between those in which both variants appear in the same period (as *māteriēs* [Cato], *māteria* [Cato]), those in which the *-ies* variant is attested first and the *-ia* variant is later (like *illuiiēs* [Terence] and *illuuia* [Late Latin]) and those in which it is the *-ia* variant that is attested earlier whereas the *-iēs* form develops later (e.g. *effigia* [Plautus] and *effigiēs* [Cicero]). Most of those formations seem either to be deverbal (*seriēs*, *speciēs*, *effigiēs*) or denominal abstract nouns (*māteriēs*, *luxuriēs*, cf. Mikkola 1964: 168) but several of those have a completely opaque form in terms of their derivational history within the Latin material (*ingluviēs*, *saniēs*).⁶

3 The origin of Latin *pūbēs*, *-is* is also a matter of dispute, cf. most recently Garnier (2010), earlier Adams (1985).

4 Plautus, Pseudolus 126: “pube praesenti in contione, omni poplo” (cf. Muller 1926: 350).

5 If not stated otherwise, the attestations of the forms and citations are taken from *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* (2002).

6 On the origin of those formations see Piwowarczyk 2016.

12. It has been claimed that two words *diēs* and *rēs* could not form the basis for the creation of a completely new type of inflection (Schrijver 1991: 366ff. following Pedersen 1926). However, if one checks the frequency dictionary for Latin it becomes clear that those two words belong to the most frequently used in the language – with 1,458 and 2,735 occurrences for *diēs* and *rēs* respectively (Delatte et al. 1981: 28, 92). Therefore, this should not be taken as an argument against the secondary nature of the Latin fifth declension.

13. Whereas the precise mechanism and the relative chronology of the formation of all the reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European stems in Italic are not totally uncovered, what seems quite clear is the fact that the nominative in **di̯ēs* was extended to the accusative as **di̯ēm* on the model of **rēs* :: **rēm* and thus gave rise to the existence of the so-called fifth declension.

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„HOW DO THEY MAKE BREAD?” – A PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY TO A LOWER CHULYM TEXT RECORDED BY A.P. DUŁZON

Chulym Turkic is still one of less known and researched Turkic languages. The situation is a little better in the case of its Middle Chulym dialect, several studies of which have been published in the last couple of years. Since the Küärik lexical material is included in Radloff's dictionary, the poorest attested is the Lower Chulym lexical material: it still lays scattered in various works by Dułzon, which are sometimes very difficult to obtain. We reproduce here the short text which was originally published in Dułzon article from 1952 and offer its linguistic analysis and determine how correct Dułzon's translation is. The text is interesting from both the linguistic and ethnographic point of view.

Turkic languages, Chulym Turkic, Chulym Turkic morphology,
Chulym Turkic lexis, ethnography

Chulym Turkic is still one of less known and researched Turkic languages. The situation is a little better in the case of its Middle Chulym dialect, several studies of which have been published in the last couple of years. Particularly noteworthy is the monograph by Yong-Söng Li et al. (MChD¹), a description and a dictionary

1 See also Lemskaja's (2010b) review of this book and Yong-Söng Li's reply (Li Yong-Söng 2011).

2 For the publications of V.M. Lemskaia see portal.tpu.ru/SHARED/1/LEMSKAYA/publications [accessed April 04, 2016].

kōdūrl-üp (3.3) *par-adī* *üskärä* (3.4)
rise-CV goAUX-PRE up

‘When the dough becomes sour, it swells, goes up.’

Dulzon’s translation: ‘В то время, когда квашня киснет, она вздувается и поднимается вверх, скиснув же она спадает.’³

- (4) *andyn* *āny* *pulgy-dī* (4.1) *talgan-vōla* *kojug-ala*
ol ‘that’-ABL ol ‘he’-ACC mix-PRE flour-INSTR thick-PART

‘Then, [they] mix it with flour [so that it becomes] thick.’

Dulzon’s translation: ‘Тогда ее густо замешивают мукой.’

- (5) *andyn* *ol* *tāstā-ny* *kvašnā-dyn* (5.1) *āp* (5.2)
ol ‘that’-ABL that dough-ACC dough-trough-ABL al-‘take’-CV
naklad-adī (5.3) *itvāk*
put-PRE bread

‘Then [they] take that dough from the dough-trough [and] put the bread.’

Dulzon’s translation: ‘Взяв тогда это тесто из квашни, накладывают хлеб.’

- (6) *ulug* *kvašnā-dyn* *cyg-adī* (6.1) *pir* *sāgis* *itvāk*
big dough-trough-ABL go out-PRE one eight bread

‘From the big dough-trough, one gets [lit. comes out] eight [loaves of] bread.’

Dulzon’s translation: ‘Из большой квашни выходит восемь буханок.’

- (7) *ulug* *pāc* *kōj-üp* *ārti-p* (7.1) *pār-za* (7.2) *kōz-u-nu* (7.3) *pir* *jār-gā*
big oven burn-CV burn-CV par-‘go’ coal-POS3SG- one place-DAT
AUX-COND ACC

kučala-p (7.4) *andyn* *pl-ājdi* (7.5) *pāc-tiŋ* *izig-i-ni*,
heap up-CV ol ‘that’-ABL know-PRE oven-GEN heat-POS3SG-ACC

‘When the big oven burs, [they] heap up the coal in one place, then [they] check the heat of the oven.’

Dulzon’s translation: ‘Когда печка протопится, сгребают уголь кучей в одно место и узнают температуру печки: [...]’

3 The last portion of Dulzon’s translation (“скиснув же она спадает” = if it is sour, it falls down) is not present in the original text.

- (8) *talgan kol-gā* (8.1) *āp* (8.2) *pāc-kā* (8.3) *ād-yv-za* (8.4) *tor* (8.5)
 flour hand-DAT al-‘take’-CV oven-DAT throw-yj-‘send’ quickly
 AUX-COND
- u3-ur-ta köj pār-za, itvāk-ti otsūzorok* (8.6) *türcä* (8.7) *saklyd’i* (8.8)
 fly- burn par-‘go’ bread-ACC seat-PRE-NEG a little sakla-‘wait’-PRE
 AOR-PAR AUX-COND

‘If [one] takes the flour in the hand [and] throws [it] into the oven [and] if [it] quickly flies and burns, [they] do not put [lit. seat] the bread [and] wait a little.’

Dul’zon’s translation: ‘[...] если взяв муки в руку, и бросив ее в печь, она, улетая, быстро сгорит, хлеб в печь не сажают, а немного обождут.’

- (9) *kāzan talgan pāc tōžōg-ü-ngā* (9.1) *āž-yp* (9.2) *akurin* (9.3) *kōj*
 when flour oven lower part- fall-cv slowly burn
 POS3SG-DAT
- pār-za, anda itvāk-ti lopat-ka⁴ sāp* (9.4) *otsūzad’i* (9.5)
 par-‘go’ ol ‘that’-LOC bread-ACC shovel-DAT sal-‘put’-CV seat-PRE
 AUX-COND

‘If the flour falls to the lower part of the oven [and] slowly burns, at that time [they] put the bread on the shovel and put [lit. seat] [it].’

Dul’zon’s translation: ‘Если же мука, упав на подпечки, медленно сгорит, тогда хлеб лопатой сажают в печь⁵.’

- (10) *itvāk pāc-tā pyž-ad’i* (10.1) *pir čas* (10.2)
 bread oven-LOC be baked-PRE one hour

‘The bread is being baked [for] one hour.’

Dul’zon’s translation: ‘Хлеб в печке печется один час.’

- (11) *andyn itvāk-ti apcyg-ad’i pāc-tin turguz-uv-ādy* (11.1)
 ol ‘that’-ABL bread-ACC take out-PRE oven-ABL put-yj-‘send’ AUX-PRE
- vīp* (11.2) *purtlad-ad’i* (11.2) *sūg-vala* (11.3)
 ?-CV ?-PRE water-INST

4 Dul’zon translates this fragment as “[they] put the bread into the oven using the shovel, Rus. хлеб лопатой сажают в печь”. In fact, there is no word for ‘oven’ here and the suffix *-ka* in *lopatka* is the dative, not the instrumental-comitative case, so the translation should be: ‘[they] put the bread on a shovel’.

5 There is no word for “into the oven”, Dul’zon’s “в печь”, in the original text.

‘Then [they] take the bread out of the oven, [they] put it [and] sprinkle [it] with water.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘Потом хлеб вынимают из печки, ставят и обрызгивают водой, [...]’

- (12) *andyn jāp-sal-ad’i* (12.1) *jojguc-vōla* (12.2)
 ol ‘that’-ABL *jap-‘cover’-(CV)-* towel-INSTR
sal-‘put’AUX-PRE

‘[then] [they] cover [it] with the towel.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘[...] а затем накрывают полотенцем.’

- (13) *kazan itvāk suga-p pār-za,* *itvāk pol-ad’i jumžagac* (13.1)
 when bread get cold-CV *par-‘go’AUX-COND* bread be-PRE very soft

‘When the bread gets cold, the bread is very soft.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘Когда хлеб остынет, он мягкий.’

- (14) *kazan kvaš’na (-al, M.P.) āzy-p* (14.1) *jāt-vā-zā* (14.2) *itvāk*
 when dough sour-CV be enough-NEG-COND bread
pol-ad’i prāsnyj (14.3)
 be-PRE unleavened/tasteless

‘When the dough doesn’t sour enough, the bread is tasteless.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘Если квашня недостаточно закиснет, то хлеб бывает пресный; [...]’

- (15) *kṛtyž-y* (15.1) *pāc-tā pop* (15.2) *par-ad’i poš kav* (15.3)
 crust-POS3SG oven-LOC be-CV goAUX-PRE empty container
okšok (15.4) *kṛtyž-y požan* (15.5) *par-ad’i*
 like crust-POS3SG fall down goAUX-PRE

‘It’s crust in the oven becomes empty like a box, the crust falls down.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘[...] его корка становится в печке пустой, как коробка, она слетает, [...]’

- (16) *ōzān-i* (16.1) *pol-ad’i jymžagac sūg okšok*
 flesh/pulp-POS3SG be-PRE very soft water like

‘Its pulp is very soft like the water.’
 Duřzon’s translation: ‘[...] а мякоть бывает мягкой, как вода.’

Comments

1.1 The word is attested in all Chulym dialects, in all of them with the denotation ‘flour’: LČ *talgan*, cf. Küä. *talgan* ‘Mehl’ (R III 891), MČ *talgan* ‘flour’ (MChD 167) = OT *talqan* ‘поджаренная мука, толокно’ (DTS 529). It is also present in some other contemporary Turkic languages in which the denotations are ‘roasted grains of barley, Rus. талкан’ → ‘food made of them’ ~ ‘(barley or oat) flour’ → ‘roasted flour, Rus. толокно’: Tuba *talgan* ‘толокно’ (Baskakov 1966: 152) ~ *talkan* ‘id., талкан, жареная мука’ (ibid.), Kum. *talgan* ‘1. талкан; 2. ячневая мука’ (Baskakov 1972: 251) ~ *talkan* ~ *talkyn* ‘1. id.’ (ibid.), Alt. *talkan* ‘yulaf unu’ (ATS 167), Šr. *talkan* ‘id.’ (ŠorS 109), Khak. *talgan* ‘толокно; талкан’ (KhRS 215). – Tk. *talkan* = Mo. *talx-a(n)* ‘powder; flour, meal; bread’ (Lessing 773) > Rus. dial. (Gorno-Altay) *talkán* ‘кушанье из толченого прожаренного ячменя’ (Anikin 2000: 529). Since the denotation ‘(roasted) flour or roasted grains’ is original, Chulym *talgan* may not be a loanword from Russian in which it is the name of the food only.

1.2 The verb is LČ *āzut-*, the causative of *āzu-* ~ *āzy-*, see comment 2.1 below.

1.3 LČ *kvašñä* ~ *kvašña* (cf. sentence 14) < Rus. *kvašnja* ‘1. посуда, в которой делают квас; 2. тесто, опара’ (Filin 13: 164). The word is used in Duřzon’s text with both meanings: ‘dough’ and ‘dough-trough’, cf. the comment 5.1 below.

2.1 The verb is barely attested in the sources at our disposal: we have no attestation of it for Middle Chulym, for Küärik it is only attested in Radloff’s dictionary: *azy-* ‘säuern, sauer werden, zu gären beginnen’ (R I 529), for Lower Chulym it is attested in the text discussed here in periphrastic constructions: *ācvārza* ‘if/when [the dough] becomes sour’ (the present sentence), *ācjatsa* ‘id.’ (sent. 3) and *āzyyp jātvävä* ‘if [the dough] doesn’t sour enough’ (sent. 14). While looking at *ācvārza* and *ācjatsa*, the stem seems to be *āc-*, which would be a good match for Severtjan’s **āč-* (ĖSTJa I 92). However, the presence of voiced, probably bilabial fricative -v- < -p- in *ācvārza* is explicable only on the assumption that it was originally intervocalic, so *ācvārza* < **ācy(p)-pār-za*⁶ ~ **āzy(p)-pār-za* < *ācy*-⁷ ~ *āzy*-⁸ ‘to sour’ =

6 The omission of the converb suffix *-(l)p* in such constructions is quite frequent in the Chulym dialects, cf. *ācjatsa* here, see also the commentary in MChD 87. For *-ā-* in *par-* see comment 7.2 below.

7 For *-c-* see Tob., Tüm. *acy-* ‘sauer werden’ (R I 528).

Tkc. *ačy-* ~ *ažy-* (ĖSTJa I 92).⁹ The same explanation is also possible for *ācjatsa* < **ācy-(p)-jat-sa*. It is of course not impossible to explain *ācy-p* ~ *āžyp* as **āc-yp* ~ **āž-yp*, but given the presence of final high vowel in all other Tkc. languages,¹⁰ especially in Küärik, the expected Lower Chulym stem is *ācy-* or *āžy-*¹¹.

2.2 The verb is LČ *ät-*, with secondary lengthening before a high vowel in the following syllable, cf. another attestation of it in the same source: LČ *ät* ‘делай’ (ČulT 152) = MČ *ät-* ‘to do, to make’ (MChD 123) = Küä. *ät* ‘mach!’ (RPro 694).

2.3 For Lower Chulym, Duřzon attests this as *itvāk*, like in this text, *itv’ak*¹² (ČulT 164) and *itp’ak* (DGČ 22). For Middle Chulym, the word is attested many times as *itvāk* (e.g. LČJa 78; ZS 134; MČJa 90) and one time as *itpāk* (LČJa 78). It is not attested in Küärik.

3.1 See comment 2.1 above.

3.2 The verb is LČ *köp-*, cf. *köp* ‘опухай’ (ČulT 136) = Küä. *köp-* ‘anschwellen’ (R II 1310), MČ *köp-* ‘пухнуть’ (MČJa 38) = Tkc. *köp-* (ĖSTJa V 109). The long *ō* in LČ *kōpxätti* is secondary:¹³ < **köp-(lp)-jat-Adi* ‘to swell-(cv)-‘to lie down’ AUX-PRE’. Since the same phenomenon occurs in MČ, the long *ō* in Birjukovič’s stem *kōp-* ‘нарывать’ (LČJa 43) is an error. According to Duřzon (ČulT 157), LČ *j-* > *x-*¹⁴ after voiceless consonants and after *-l*, *-m*, *-r*. The auxiliary is without a doubt *jat-*,¹⁵

8 Cf. *āžut-* in sentence 1 and comment 1.2 above.

9 For the etymology, see also Tekin (1994: 59), Tekin (1996: 247).

10 Except Chuvash.

11 Since some examples of the preservation of PT long vowels are found in the Chulym dialects (Pomorska 2001: 85), we cannot exclude it here either. However, the secondary lengthening before a high vowel of the following syllable is common in Chulym (ibid. 86), and is also possible in this case, and would once again support an original high vowel in *ācvārza* and *ācjatsa*.

12 In original spelling it is “итвяк”.

13 Cf. comment 7.2 below and 2.1 above.

14 The voiceless palatal fricative, like the German *ich-Laut* (ČulT 157).

15 Duřzon even speaks about the present tense in *-jat*: “Настоящее время данного момента на *-jam* образуется путем присоединения формы настоящего времени вспомогательного глагола *jam-* ‘лежать’ к сокращенной форме соединительного деепричастия [...]” (ČJa 453).

with a secondary *a* > *ä* change in this tense, cf. also other examples of this change: *ädilxād'i* 'строятся' < **ät-il-(Ip)-jat-Ad'i* (ČulT 157), *turxād'ilār* 'стоят' < **tur-(Ip)-jat-Ad'i-lār* (ibid.), *undulxād'b* 'забывается' < **unlt-il-(Ip)-jat-Ad'i* (ibid. 149).

3.3 The verb is LČ *kōdürIl-*, the passive of *kōdür-* ~ *ködür-* 'to lift, to erect', cf. *kōdür* 'поднимай' (ČulT 152) ~ *ködür* 'id.' (ibid. 136), cf. also MČ *ködürlüpyškän* '(тесто) поднимается' (ZS 140).

3.4 LČ *üskärä* is a hapax, attested in this text only. It is attested neither in Middle Chulym nor in Küärik. For a possible interpretation of it as < **üst-kärä* or **uz-kärä*, see Pomorska (2004: 166 s.v. *üstün*).

4.1 LČ *pulgyd'i* < **pulgīd'i* < **pulga-Ad'i* < *pulga*⁻¹⁶ 'to mix (up)' = MČ *pulga-* 'id.' in: *pulgaptər* 'крутит' (ZS 121), *pulgābylmän* 'мешаю' (MČJa 52) = Ткс. *bulga-* ~ *pulga-* (ĖSTJa II 235). Cf also the same changes in LČ *sanyd'i* '[he] is reading' (ČJa 462) < *sana-*, cf. *sana* 'считай' (ČulT 137). Cf. also comment 8.8 below.

5.1 The Rus. word *kvašnja* means both 'dough-trough' and 'dough' (cf. also comment 1.3 above). Since another word for 'dough' was used in this sentence, namely *tästä* < Rus. *tésto* [-ä], *kvašnja* itself was used for the container (cf. also sent. 6).

5.2 LČ *āp* < **ālyp* ~ **alyp* < *al-* 'to take' (ČulT 146).

5.3 LČ *nakladad'i* < **naklad-* < Rus. *naklad-at* 'класть, накладывать etc.' (Filin 19: 321).

6.1 The verb is LČ *cyk-*, cf. Küä. *cyk-* 'herauskommen etc.' (R IV 204), MČ *šyk-* 'to go out' (MChD 165) ~ *čyk-* ~ *syk-* 'id.' (ZS 5); for a *č-* ~ *š-* ~ *s-* alternation in Middle Chulym see Pomorska (2000: 255).

7.1 LČ *ärtä-* or *örtä-*⁻¹⁷ is expected here, cf. MČ *ärtä-* 'поджигать' (MČJa 42) ~ *örtä-* 'burn' (Lemskaja 2013: 343; MČJa 85), cf. also ĖSTJa (I 551).

16 Within LČ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

17 Cf. LČ *ört* 'пожар' (ČulT 140) = Küä. *ört* 'Brand, Wiesenbrand, Waldbrand' (R I 1233); the verb is not attested in Küärik.

7.2 The stem is LČ *par-*, cf. MČ *par-* (MChD 142), Küä. *par-* ‘(fort)gehen’ (R IV 1145) and a secondary long *ā* would be possible before a high vowel in the following syllable of the suffix¹⁸ – as in *pāryp* ‘gegangen, cv’ (Pr 626) – or of an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions as in *pāryvgannar* < **par-(Ip)-yj-gan-nar* ‘go-(cv)-yj-’send’AUX-PST-PL’ (ČJa 455). In the text under consideration, the verb *par-* has been attested as an auxiliary in *parādī*, the present tense in *-Adī* (sentences 3, 15), and as *pārza*, the conditional (sent. 7, 8, 9, 13). The long *ā* in *pārza* is explicable only on the assumption that originally another auxiliary was present, probably *yj-*, preceded by a converb in *-(Ip)*: *pārza* < **par-(Ip)-yj-za*, cf. also the same phenomenon in *pārjatsam* < **par-(Ip)-jat-sa-m*.

7.3 The noun is LČ *kos*¹⁹ = Alt., Tel., Leb., Šr. *kos* ‘glühende Kohle’ (R II 621), cf. also ÈSTJa (VI 7.4). It is attested neither in Middle Chulym nor in Küärik. Lower Chulym has *-ny* for the accusative case after the possessive suffix of the 3rd pers., cf. *pāctiṇ izigini* ‘the heat of the oven’ in the same sentence (see also Pomorska 2001: 104).

7.4 The verb is LČ *kučala-* < **kuča* < Rus. *kúča* (Daĭ) ‘heap, pile’ – the verb is one of a few examples of a Russian loanword serving as the derivational base for a Chulym word, cf. also MČ *porlan-* ‘be a thief’ (Lemskaja 2015: 226) < *por* ‘thief’ (ibid. 225) < Rus. *vor* (Daĭ) ‘id.’, MČ *platālyg* ‘having/with a dress’ < **platā* < Rus. *plate* ‘dress’ (Pomorska 2004: 70). The word is a relatively new loan in Lower Chulym, with the preserved *-č-*, instead of the expected *-c-*, cf. also comment 10.2 below.

7.5 The verb is LČ *pil-*, cf. *pil* ‘знай’ (ČulT 149) = MČ *pil-* ‘to know’ (MChD 146), Küä. *pil-* ‘wissen, erkennen, verstehen etc.’ (R IV 1335) = Tkč. *bil-* (ÈSTJa II 137). In LČ, the dropping of *-i-* in this verb is often recorded when a suffix is added to the stem, e.g. *plādī*²⁰ ‘знает’ (ČJa 462), *plārrōm* (< **pil-ār-jok-Im*, know-AOR-jok NEG-1SG) ‘не знаю’ (ČulT 142).

8.1 Duřzon and Birjukovič sometimes record a long vowel in the LČ and MČ dative suffix *-GA*, e.g. LČ *kərgā* ‘не бeпeр’ (MDT 190), MČ *āpkā* ‘в дом’ (ibid.); in most cases however, it is a regular short *-GA*.²¹

18 Cf. footnote number 11.

19 The lengthening of *o* in *kōzunu* is probably secondary, caused by the high vowel in the following syllable.

20 Note the long *ā* instead of a diphthong.

8.2 Compare comment 5.2 above.

8.3 The word is without a doubt the loan from Russian. Since it is recorded in the dative case here, there are two possible explanations of its origin: [1] LČ *päckā* < **päckā-gä* < **päckā* < Rus. *pěčka* [-ǎ] ‘oven, stove’; [2] LČ *päckā* < *päc-kā*²² < *päc* < Rus. *peč* ‘oven, stove’. The latter word, contrary to **päckā*, which would be attested only here, is well attested in the text under discussion: *päctiŋ izigi* ‘the heat of the oven’ (sentence 7), *päc töžögü* ‘the lower part of the oven’ (sent. 9), *päctä* ‘in the oven’ (sent. 10 and 15), *päctin* ‘from the oven’ (sent. 11), and in some other places: LČ *uluväc*²³ ‘русская (большая) печь’ (ČulT 152) ~ *ulug päc* (sent. 7), MČ *päc* ‘печь’ (LČJa 54), *päckā* ‘в печку’ (MČJa 90).

8.4 The verb is LČ *at-* ‘to throw; to shoot’, cf. *atarga* ‘1. стрелять’ (ČulT 137) = MČ *at-* ‘id.’ (MChD 111), *atkan* ‘брошенный’ (ZS 116), Küä. *at-* ‘1. werfen; schleudern; 2. schießen’ (R I 445) = Tkc. *at-* (ĖSTJa I 199). For LČ *ādyvza* we have to assume a composition with an auxiliary: LČ *ādyvza* < **at-(lp)-yj-za* ‘throw-(cv)-yj-’send’ AUX-COND’, compare also such forms like e.g. LČ *pāryvgam* ‘I went’ (ČJa 455) < **par-(lp)-yj-gan-ym* ‘go-(cv)-yj-’send’ AUX-PST-1SG’.²⁴

8.5 There are a few attestations of this word in the sources at our disposal: the LČ attestations are *tor*, as in the text under consideration, *tor* ‘легко, хорошо’ (MDT 193) and *tōr* ‘скоро’ (ČJa 460). The MČ attestations are *togur* ‘fast; soon’ (MChD 170) ~ *tōgur* ‘быстро’ (LČJa 64) ~ ‘скоро’ (ZS 119),²⁵ so LČ *tor* < *tōr* < **togur*.

8.6 In this text, Duřzon records two forms of one and the same LČ verb, which is not attested in other sources available to us at the moment: *otsūzorok* ‘they do not put/seat’ and *otsūzadi* in *sāp otsūzadi* ‘[they] put/seat down’ (sent. 9). Assuming

21 Birjukovič says: “Иногда алломорфы -га/-гä, -ка/-kä произносятся с долгими гласными [...]” (MČJa 32).

22 With the presumption, that the dative suffix has the long *-ä*, cf. comment 8.1 above.

23 < *ulug päc*.

24 While discussing Duřzon’s examples like *pāryvgam* quoted here, Birjukovič cites the stem of the verb ‘send’ as *yv-*, which of course is not correct: “В сфере прошедшего времени на -ган А.П. Дульзоном выделена форма прошедшего совершенного, структурно представленная деепричастием на -п + вспомогательный глагол ыс (ср.чул.), ыв (н.чул.) ‘посылать’ + -ган.” (MČJa 62, the original spelling retained).

25 The word is not attested in Küärik.

a present tense suffix *-Adi* in the latter, and negation in *-Vrok* < **-Vrrok* < **-Vrjok* (cf. ČJa 453; ČTG 109) in the former, we get the “stem” **otsüz-* or **otsūs-* ‘to put, to seat’. The Turkic verb *o(l)tur-* ‘to seat (down)’ has the following attestations in the Chulym Turkic dialects: MČ *olur-* (MChD 138) ~ *ōlur-* (ZS 119), Küä. *odur-* (RPro 698) and LČ *ot-* ~ *oti-* in *ot* ~ *oti* ‘садись’ (ČulT 164, cf. also Pr 626), *ofigam* ‘сидел’ (ibid.). There is also the form *oltyj-* attested in the Chibinskiy sub-dialect of Lower Chulym²⁶ (DGČ 22), *oltuj-* attested in the Tatal sub-dialect of Middle Chulym by S.E. Malov²⁷ (ČulT 164) and *oltuj-* ‘sitzen, sich setzen’ in Küärik (R I 1090) – all of them probably go back to **oltyr-* ~ **oltur-*. The attested causatives are: MČ *ōlurt-* (LČJa 50; ZS 140) and Küä. *oltus-* ‘hinsetzen’ (R I 1092). There is no other causative in Lower Chulym; it would only be attested in the form discussed here. Comparing it with Küä. *oltus-*, it could be **ot(I)s-* but there arises the question about the syllable *-ūz*. It is of course possible to interpret LČ **otsüz-* as a composition of **ot(I)z-* and an auxiliary but we have no LČ auxiliary which would be identical with *-uz* or *-us*.²⁸ At the moment, the problem will remain unsolved.

8.7 LČ *türčä* = MČ *türčä* ‘немного’²⁹ (ZS 111) < **tür* = Tuv. *tür* ‘vorübergehend; flüchtig, zeitweilig, vorläufig’ (Ölmez 2007: 280) < Mo. *tür* ‘temporary, provisional; temporarily, provisionally, for a short time’ (Lessing 854; Rassadin 1980: 49), cf. also Yak. *türk, türgän* ‘schnell, hurtig’ (Kałuzyński 1995: 46).

8.8 LČ *saklyđi* < **saklidi* < **sakla-Adi* < *sakla*-³⁰ ‘to wait’ = Küä. *sakta-* ‘warten’ (RPro 700), cf. Khak. *saxta-* ‘ждать’ (KhRS 184), Alt. *sakta-* ‘1. beklemek; 2. korumak, saklamak’ (ATS 148), Tuba *sakta-* ‘ждать, ожидать, дожидаться; спрятаться’

26 Duřzon carried out his fieldwork there in 1950 and his informant was born in 1895 (DGČ 22); for the sub-dialects of LČ see DGČ (17).

27 Malov’s article was not available to us. According to Duřzon (DGČ 23), Malov carried out his fieldwork on Middle Chulym in 1908 and he published the lexical materials only of the Tatal sub-dialect.

28 We would have to assume a LČ **ys-* < PT **yδ-* form which is regular for MČ. Although Radloff records Küä. *ys-* in *Proben...*, e.g. *sōlōb-ysty* ‘[er] sprach’ (RPro 691), *jüktāb-yza pārdilār* ‘[sie] luden [sie] auf’ (ibid. 693) and *i-* [= *ij-*, M.P.] in *Wörterbuch...* (R I 1409) but in the light of other differences between “Küärik” in *Proben...* and “Küärik” in *Wörterbuch...*, we have to think about two different Küärik sub-dialects.

29 Cf. also Tel., Sag. *türčä* ‘sogleich, bald’ (VEWT 506).

30 Within LČ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

(Baskakov 1966: 146). The cluster *-kt-* is expected in LČ and MČ instead of *-kl-*. Cf. also comment 4.1 above.

9.1 LČ *töžögüŋgä*³¹ < *töžök* < **töže-*.³² For LČ *töžök*, the sources record the meaning ‘1. bed, bedding, Rus. постель’ (ČulT 140)³³ and, in this example, also ‘bottom, the lower part of sth (not necessarily ‘the foot of the mountain’), cf. ÊSTJa (III 335).

9.2 The verb is LČ *aš-*, cf. LČ *aššuk* ‘он падает’ (ČulT 131), *ol āš pargan agactyn* ‘он упал с дерева’ (MČJa 46) = Küä. *aš-* ‘über etwas hinübersteigen, einen Berg-rücken passieren’ (R I 586)³⁴ = Tkс. *aš-* (ÊSTJa I 212).

9.3 LČ *akurin*³⁵ = Küä. *agrīn* ‘langsam’ (RPro 702) ~ *agryn* ‘leise’ (ibid. 699), Khak. *ayrin* ‘медленно, тихо; постепенно’ (KhRS 16), Alt., Tel. *akkyryn* ‘langsamer’ (R I 109), Šr. *ayuryŋ* ‘id.’ (ibid. 159), Sag. *ayyrīn* ‘id.’ (ibid.), see also ÊSTJa (I 123f).

9.4 LČ *sāp* < **sal-yp* < *sal-*, cf. *salarga* ‘положить’ (ČulT 137).

9.5 Compare comment 8.6 above.

10.1 The verb is LČ *pyš-*, cf. LČ *pyššyk* ‘поспеет, сварится’ (ČJa 458) = MČ *pyš-* ‘1. созреть’;³⁶ ‘2. вариться’ (ZS 101) ~ ‘варить’ (ibid. 56, MČJa 31).

10.2 Since we would expect *c-* instead of *č-* in Lower Chulym, this is either quite a recent Russian loanword or simply a Russian word used in the Lower Chulym sentence, cf. also comment 7.4 above.

11.1 The verb is LČ *turgus-*³⁷ = MČ *turgus-* ‘поставить’ (ZS 124), Küä. *turgus-* ‘stellen’ (RPro 703). For *-uv-* see comment 8.4 above.

31 For the long *-ā* see the commentary 8.1 above.

32 See Pomorska (2004: 109); the verb *töže-* is not attested in LČ.

33 Cf. also MČ *töžāk* ‘bedding; feather-bed’ (Pomorska 2004: 109), Küä. *töžök* ‘Lager; Matratze’ (ibid.).

34 The verb is not attested in MČ in the sources available to us at the moment.

35 Within LČ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

36 Cf. MČ *pyš pagan* ‘поспела (ягода)’ (MČJa 38).

37 Within LČ it is a hapax, attested in this text only.

11.2 It follows from Duřzon’s translation that this passage is used for “[they] sprinkle”. The verbs, however, require further study. Can *purtlat-*, or rather **purlat-* (we cannot exclude Duřzon’s error here), the causative of **purla-* be compared with K  . *purla-* ‘quellen’ [in: *karaktarj t  d  n purlap jadyr* ‘aus seinen Augen quoll Rauch’ (RPro 703)] = Sag., Koib. *purla-* ‘sich winden, auseinanderfliegen, umherfliegen, aufwirbeln’ (R IV 1369)?

11.3 In one and the same article, Duřzon records both *s  g* (as in the text under study), and *sug* (  ulT 160), cf. M   *sug* ‘вода’ (M  Ja 56) ~ *s  g* ‘дождь’ (ZS 143) ~ *s  * ‘water; river, rain’ (MChD 163), K  . *s  * ‘Wasser’ (RPro 700), *su* ‘id., Fluss, Bach’ (R IV 743).

12.1 L   *j  psal-* < **japypsal-* < *jap-*, cf. L   *japkan* ‘[он] запер’ (  Ja 455) = M   *  ap ~   ’ap-* ‘закрой’ (ZS 142) = K  . *j  p turd  * ‘er bedeckte’ (RPro 699)³⁸ = Tkc. *jap-* (  STJa IV 127). Since the long *  * in this verb is recorded only in periphrastic constructions both in Lower Chulym, and in Middle Chulym, cf. *s  ppagan* ‘покрывает’ (M  Ja 54), *   psagan* ‘он укрылся’ (ZS 30), it is without a doubt secondary. Therefore, we regard Birjukovi  ’s notation of M   *   p- ~    p-* ‘закрыть’ (L  Ja 24) as an error.

12.2 L   *jojguc* < **joj-*³⁹ = OT *ju-* ‘wash’ (Clauson 870a; cf. also   STJa IV 238), M   **  oj-* > M   *  ojgu  * ‘рукомойник’ (ZS 118f.); for the nouns in *-gy  * see Pomorska (2004: 100f). In the case of M   *  ojgu  *, the semantics of the derivative is clear: ‘wash’ → the nomen instrumenti ‘washbasin’. For L   however, we should accept the semantic development: ‘wash’ → ‘tool or something else used while washing’ → ‘towel’. For ‘washbasin’ L   has *junduk* (  ulT 156, a hapax).

13.1 L   *jum  agac* < *jum  ak* ‘мягкий’ (  ulT 133) ~ *jym  ak* ‘id.’ (ibid. 148) = M   *  ym  ak* ‘soft’ (MChD 117) = K  . *jym  ak* ‘weich’ (R III 501). For diminutive adjectives in *-(A)  * see Pomorska (2004: 42).

14.1 See comment 2.1 above.

38 Within K  . it is a hapax, attested in RPro only; it is lacking in the dictionary.

39 The verb is not attested in L   or K  . Birjukovi   records M   *  u-* ‘мыть’ (L  Ja 14) but it seems to be an error. Otherwise, the M   verb is attested as *  un-* ‘id.; стирать’ (ibid. 9, 74) ~ *  un-* ‘to wash oneself’ (MChD 119) = L   *jun-* ‘id.’ (Pr 625) ~ ‘мыть, стирать’ (  ulT 171) = K  . *jun-* ‘waschen’ (R III 544).

14.2 Since the expected negative suffix after a voiceless *-p* is *-pa-*, we would rather see in LČ *jätvāzä* a compound form with an auxiliary: *jätvāzä* < *jät-(lp)-yj-bä-zä* < *jät-*, cf. LČ *jät* ‘догоняй’ (ČulT 156), *jādip* ‘дойдя’ (ČJa 466) = MČ *čät-* ‘1. хватать (быть достаточным); 2. достигать’ (LČJa 73) = Küä. *jät-* ‘1. bis wohin kommen, hinkommen, erreichen etc.’ (R III 358) = Tkc. *jät-* (ĖSTJa III 193). Taking the sentence under discussion into account, we can determine the denotation of LČ *jät-* as ‘to be enough’.

14.3 *präsnyj* = Rus. *présnyj* (Daľ) ‘fresh, sweet (of water); unleavened (of bread); tasteless (of food)’.

15.1 LČ *k̆ertyžy* < *k̆ertyš* = Tkc. *kyrtyš* (ĖSTJa VI 241). The word is attested in Lower Chulym only in the above quoted meaning = Bšk. *kyrtyš* ‘корка хлеба’ (RBškS 318), cf. MČ *k̆ertyš* ‘обложка’ (ZS 101). It is not attested in Küä.

15.2 LČ *pop* < *pōp*⁴⁰ < **pollp* < *pol-* ‘to be’.

15.3 The word is LČ *kap*, with secondary voicing and labialization of *p* between the vowels, cf. *kaptyn* ‘из мешка’ (ČulT 169), *kap* ‘коробка’ (ibid. 133, 150) = MČ *kap* ‘мешок’ (ZS 86) = Küä. *kap* ‘Sack, Beutel, Tasche’ (R II 400) = Tkc. *kap* (ĖSTJa V 266).

15.4 LČ *okšok* < **okšo-* ~ **okša*⁴¹ = Uig. *okšak* ‘das Ähnliche’ (R I 1003), cf. also Clauson (96b). The word is non attested in Middle Chulym. In Kūärık it is *ökšöš* in e.g. *aj ökšöš* ‘wie der Mond’ (RPro 702) < **ökšö-*. This derivative is more common in Tkc. languages than the derivative in *-k*, cf. e.g. Kirg. *okšoš* ‘похожий; одинаковый’ (Sevortjan 1966: 142), Alt. *oškoš* ‘benzer, benzeyen, аynи, gibi’ (ATS 141), Khak. *ošhas* ‘1. похожий, подобный; 2. подобно, как, как будто’ (KhRS 131) ~ Khak.dial. *ošsas* ‘id.’ (ibid. 133).

15.5 The verb is LČ *požan-*,⁴² the reflexive of **poža*⁴³ > *požat-*, cf. *požadyvgan* ‘он пустил’ < **požat-(lp)-yj-gan* ‘to drop-(CV)-yj- ‘to send’ AUX-PST’ (ČulT 176).

16.1 Cf. LČ *ōzän* ‘мякоть (хлеба)’ (ČulT 140)⁴⁴ = Khak. *ōzän* ‘1. сердцевина; 2. стержень’ (KhRS 134), Šr., Sag. *ōzän* ‘Mark (eines Baumes)’ (R I 1301), Koib., Kač. *ōzön* ‘das Innere eines Dinges etc.’ (ibid. 1302).

40 Cf. LČ *pōptur* in *aš jīgä pōptur* ‘[he] wants to eat’ (ČJa 453).

41 The verb is not attested in LČ, cf. Uig., Tar., Kom. *okša-* ‘ähnlich sein, gleich sein’ (R I 1002).

42 The verb is not attested in MČ and in Küä.

43 = Küä. *poža-* ‘frei sein, sich befreien, sich frei machen’ (R IV 1296), cf. also ĖSTJa (II 205).

Abbreviations

Alt. = Altay (= Oyrot); Bšk = Bashkir; Kač. = Kacha; Khak. = Khakas; Kirg. = Kirghiz; Koib. = Koybal; Kom. = Koman; Kum. = Kumandin; Küä. = Küärik; Leb. = Lebed; LČ = Lower Chulym; MČ = Middle Chulym; Mo. = Mongolic; OT = Old Turkic; PT = Proto-Turkic; Rus. = Russian; Sag. = Sagay; Šr. = Shor; Tar. = Taranchi; Tel. = Teleut; Tk. = Turkic; Tob. = Tobol; Tuv. = Tuvinian; Tüm. = Tümen; Uig. = Uyghur; Yak. = Yakut

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44 The word is attested in the quoted source only. There is no attestation of it in either Middle Chulym or Küärik.

45 Misprinted for “Monguš”.

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Vocabulary⁴⁶

- bag LČ, MČ, Küä. *kap* (15.3)
 bake: be baked *pyš-* (10), MČ *pyš-* (10.1)
 be *pol-* (13, 14, 15, 15.2, fn. 40, 16)
 bed, bedding *tözök* (9.1), MČ *tözäk*, Küä. *tözök* (9.1, fn. 33)
 big *ulug* (6, 7, 8.3)
 bottom *tözök* (9.1)
 bread *itväk* (2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14), *itv'ak*, *itp'ak* (2.3), MČ *itväk*, *itpäk* (2.3)
 burn *köj-* (7, 8, 9), *ärtä-* (7), MČ *ärtä-* ~ *örtä-* (7.1)
 catch up with *jät-* (14.2)
 coal *kos* (7)
 cold: get cold *suga-* (13)
 container *kap* (15)
 cook, be cooked *pyš-* (10), MČ *pyš-* (10.1)
 cover (n) MČ *körtys* (15.1)
 cover (v) *jap-* (12), MČ *čap-*, *š'ap-*, Küä. *jap-* (12.1)
 crust *körtys* (15)
 dough (leavened) *kvašná* (1, 2, 3), *kvašña* (14)
 dough *tästä* (5)
 dough-trough *kvašná* (5, 6)
 dress: having a dress MČ *platälyg* (7.4)
 drop *požat-* (15.5)
 easily *tor* (8.5)
 eat *ji-* (15.2, fn. 40)
 eight *sāgis* (6)
 empty *poš* (15)
 enough: be enough *jät-* (14), MČ *čät-*, Küä. *jät-* (14.2)
 evening *ingär* (1)
 eye Küä. *karak* (11.2)
 fall *aš-* (9), Küä. *aš-* (9.2); fall down *požan* (15)
 fast MČ *togur*, *tögur* (8.5)
 flesh, pulp *özän* (16)
 flour *talgan* (1, 4, 8, 9), MČ, Küä. *talgan* (1.1)
 fly *uc-* (8)
 food *aš* (15.2, fn. 40)
 forget: be forgotten *undul-* (3.2)
 free: become free *požan-* (15), free oneself Küä. *poža-* (15.5, fn. 43)
 get *jät-* (14.2), MČ *čät-*, Küä. *jät-* (14.2)
 give Küä. *pär-* (8.6, fn. 28)
 go *par-* (2, 3, 7, 8, 8.4, 9, 9.2, 13, 15), MČ, Küä. *par-* (7.2)
 go out *cyk-* (6), Küä. *cyk-*, MČ *čyk-*, *šyk-*, *syk* (6.1)
 good *tor* (8.5)
 hand *kol* (8)
 he *ol* (4, 9.2)
 heap up *kučala-* (7)
 heat *izig* (7)
 hour *čas* (10)

46 If it is not noted otherwise, the quoted words are Lower Chulym.

- house MČ *äp* (8.1)
 know *pil-* (7), MČ, Küä. *pil-* (7.5)
 lie down *jat-* (3), Küä. *jat-* (11.2)
 lift *ködür-*, *kōdür-* (3.3)
 like *okšok* (15, 16), Küä. *ökšöš* (15.4)
 little: a little *türčä* (8), MČ *türčä* (8.7)
 load Küä. *jüktä-* (8.6, fn. 28)
 lock *jap-* (12.1)
 lower part of sth *töžök* (9, 9.1)
 make *ät-* (2), MČ, Küä. *ät-* (2.2); being made
 ädil- (3.2)
 mattress Küä. *töžök* (9.1, fn. 33)
 mix (up) LČ, MČ *pulga-* (4)
 moon Küä. *aj* (15.4)
 morning: in the morning *ärtän* (2)
 one *pir* (6, 7, 10)
 oven *päc* (7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15), MČ *päč* (8.3); Rus-
 sian (= big) oven *uluväc*, *ulug päc* (8.3)
 place *jär* (7)
 pour out see 11.2
 pulp, flesh *özän* (16)
 put *naklad-* (Rus.) (5), *sal-* (9, 11), *turgus-* (11),
 MČ, Küä. *turgus-* (11.1)
 quickly *tor* (8), LČ, MČ *tör* (8.5)
 quiet Küä. *agryn* (9.3)
 rain MČ *süg*, *sü*, Küä. *su* (11.3)
 reach *jät-* (14.2), MČ *čät-*, Küä. *jät-* (14.2)
 read *sana-* (4.1)
 rippen LČ, MČ *pyš-* (10.1)
 rise *kōdürll-* (3), MČ *ködürll-* (3.3)
 river MČ *sü*, Küä. *su* (11.3)
 sack LČ, MČ, Küä. *kap* (15.3)
 say Küä. *sölö-* (8.6, fn. 28)
 seat *otsüz-* or *otsüs-* (8, 9), MČ *ölurt-*, Küä.
 oltus- (8.6); seat down *ot-*, *ofi-*, *oltuj-*
 (8.6), Küä. *odur-*, *oltuj-*, MČ *olur-*, *ölur-*,
 oltuj- (8.6)
 send *yj-* (7.2, 8, 8.4, 11, 15.5), Küä. *ys-*, *ij-* (8.6,
 fn. 28)
 shoot LČ, Küä., MČ *at-* (8.4)
 shore *kər* (8.1)
 shovel *lopat* (9)
 slowly *akurin* (9), Küä. *agrīn*, *agryn* (9.3)
 smoke Küä. *tüdün* (11.2)
 soft *jumžak*, LČ, Küä. *jymžak*, MČ *čymžak*
 (13.1); very soft *jumžagač* (13), *jymžagač*
 (16)
 soon *tör* (8.5), MČ *togur*, *tōgur* (8.5)
 sour *ācl-* (2, 3, 14, 2.1), Küä. *a3y-* (2.1); make
 sour *āzut-* (1)
 squirt, spring see 11.2
 stand *tur-* (3.2), Küä. *tur-* (12.1)
 stream Küä. *su* (11.3)
 swell *köp-* (3), MČ, Küä. *köp-* (3.2)
 take *al-* (5, 8)
 take out *apcyk-* (11)
 tasteless *präsnyj* (Rus.) (14)
 that *ol* (4, 5); at that time *anda* (9)
 then *andyn* (4, 5, 7, 11, 12)
 thick *kojug* (4)
 thief MČ *por* (7.4); be a thief MČ *porlan-* (7.4)
 think *sana-* (4.1)
 throw *at-* (8), MČ, Küä. *at-* (8.4)
 towel *jojuguc* (12)
 tree *agac* (9.2)
 unleavened *präsnyj* (Rus.) (14)
 up *üskärä* (3)
 wait *sakla-* (8), MČ *sakla-*, Küä. *sakta-* (8.8)
 wash, wash oneself *jun-*, MČ *čun-*, Küä. *jun-*
 (12.2, fn. 39)
 washbasin *junduk*, MČ *čojguč* (12.2)
 water *süg* (11, 16), *sug* (11.3), MČ *sug*, *süg*, *sü*,
 Küä. *sü*, *su* (11.3)
 when *kazan* (3, 9, 13, 14)



ТЕКСТЫ

1. Как пекут хлеб

тал'ан'дын а:дзу'дэд'и кваш'н'а, а:дзу'дэд'и инггарт'а.
 ар'тән кваш'н'а а:ц ва:р'зэ, э:дэд'и ит'вāk ка'дзэн кваш'н'а
 а:цят'са, кō:пхәтт'и, кō:дүр'лүп па'рад'и үскә' рә ан'дын а:ны
 нул'үд'и тал'анв'ла ко'жу'ла. ан'дын ол, тәстә'ны кваш'н'
 адын а:п, накла'дэд'и ит'вāk. у'луу кваш'н'а'дын цы'үд'и
 пир'се:гис ит'вāk. улуу пәц кō'лүп ар'тип па:р'зэ ко:зу'ну
 пир'яр'гә кучә'лап ан'дын п'лейди пәц'тинг изиги'ни, тал'ан
 кол'үа: а:п'пәц'кә: а:дыв'зэ тор'удзур'та кōй па:р'зэ итвāk'ти
 отсу'зорок; түр'цә сак'лыд'и. ка'дзэн тал'ан пәц'төжō:гүн-
 гә: а:жып аку'рин кōй па:р'зэ, ан'да итвāk'ти лапаткә са:п
 отсу'зәд'и. итвāk пәцтә'пы'жәд'и пир'час. андын итвāk'ти ап-
 цы'үд'и пәцтин тур'у'зува:ды'ви:п пуртла'дэд'и су'твала.
 андын ја:пса'лад'и јой'үуцв'ла. ка'дзэн итвāk су'үп па:р'зэ,
 итвāk по'лад'и јумжа'ац. ка'дзэн кваш'н'а а:дзып, јетве'зә
 итвāk по'лад'и пресный; къртыжы пәцтә'поп па'рад'и пош'ка-
 вокшок, кърты'жы по'жан па'рад'и, ө:зе'ни по'лад'и јым-
 жа'ац—су'ү окшок.

1. Из муки заводят квашню, заводят ее вечером. Когда кваш-
 ня к утру закиснет, стряпают хлеб. В то время, когда квашня
 киснет, она вздувается и поднимается вверх, скиснув же она
 спадает. Тогда ее густо замешивают мукой. Взяв тогда это те-
 сто из квашни, накладывают хлеб. Из большой квашни выходит
 восемь буханок. Когда печка протопится, сгребают уголь кучей
 в одно место и узнают температуру печки: если взяв муки в руку,
 и бросив ее в печь, она, улетаая, быстро сгорит,—хлеб в печь
 не сажают, а немного обожгут. Если же мука, упав на подпечки,
 медленно сгорит, тогда хлеб лопатой сажают в печь. Хлеб в
 печке печется один час. Потом хлеб вынимают из печки, ставят
 и обрызгивают водой, а затем накрывают полотенцем. Когда
 хлеб остынет,—он мягкий. Если квашня недостаточно закиснет,
 то хлеб бывает пресный; его корка становится в печке пустой,
 как коробка, она слетает, а мякоть бывает мягкой, как вода.

Figure 1. Facsimile of the text (ČulT p. 175)

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LE PETIT DICTIONNAIRE DE JEAN PALERNE (1584) ET SA PARTIE TURQUE

Jean Palerne, a high official at the service of the brother of Henry III of France, made a long journey through the Ottoman Empire between 1581 and 1583. After returning to France, he wrote a travel account (1584), with a short dictionary in six languages (French, Italian, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Serbian or Croatian) as a companion, composed of wordlists and phrases. The work was published for the first time in 1606 in Lyon. Recently, it was edited by Y. Bernard in 1991 in Paris, with the aforementioned companion included, but without any linguistic comment to it. The purpose of this paper was to carry out an in-depth analysis of all the Turkish nominal elements present in Palerne's dictionary. This material was first examined according to its graphematic, phonetic and lexical features – Palerne uses the Latin script and therefore his work belongs to the so-called transcription texts. Secondly, a glossary of the Turkish words in alphabetical order was provided, taking into account the variant readings of the two editions (1606 and 1991), which are often quite different.

Ottoman-Turkish, historical lexicography, transcription texts

1. Introduction ¹

1.1 Jean Palerne (1557? – 1592; dorénavant P.), rejeton d'une illustre famille forézienne, entra en 1576 au service de François, Duc d'Anjou et d'Alençon, frère du

1 La notice sur Palerne est en grande partie tirée de Bernard (1991: 11 ss.).

Roi Henri III. C'est à la suite de ce grand personnage qu'il se rendit dans plusieurs régions de France, aux Pays-Bas, en Espagne et en Angleterre, ayant été nommé Maître d'Hôtel en 1578. Mais le voyage le plus important de sa vie est celui qu'il effectua à travers quelques provinces de l'Empire Ottoman, de 1581 à 1583. A son retour d'Orient, P. rédigea un récit de voyage ; le manuscrit porte la date de 1584 et se trouve actuellement aux Archives Départementales de Saint-Etienne. Il fut publié pour la première fois en 1606, à Lyon, par l'éditeur Jean Pillehotte, sous le titre de *Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne Foresien, Secrétaire de François de Valois Duc d'Anjou, & d'Alençon, &c.*, suivi d'un très long sous-titre ; une seconde édition date de 1626. A l'époque moderne, le livre de P. a été réédité en 1991 par Yvelise Bernard (Paris, L'Harmattan).

1.2 L'ouvrage de P. comprend le récit de voyage proprement dit, divisé en quatre parties (la première concernant l'Egypte, la deuxième la Syrie-Palestine et le pèlerinage à Jérusalem, la troisième le voyage de la Palestine à Istanbul, la quatrième Istanbul et le voyage de retour) et, en guise d'annexe, un petit lexique plurilingue intitulé *Petit dictionnaire en langage François, Italien, Grec vulgaire, Turc, Moresque, ou Arabesque, & Esclauon, nécessaire à ceux qui desiront faire le voyage*. Ce dictionnaire est ainsi structuré : le véritable lexique, regroupé par champs sémantiques ('nom de lieux et de peuples', 'noms particuliers de diverses choses', 'nourriture, viande et boysson', 'fruits', 'nombres', 'parties du temps'), pour un total de 220 entrées, dont 38 numéraux ; ensuite, une partie phraséologique ('divers propos familiers') constituée de 144 expressions dialogiques que deux interlocuteurs peuvent s'échanger. Il faut cependant souligner que le texte français n'est traduit intégralement qu'en italien ; les versions dans les autres langues présentent plusieurs lacunes, surtout en ce qui concerne la phraséologie. Il y a enfin une dernière page (manquant toutefois dans l'édition de Bernard) qui contient onze « Iniures des Turcs aux Chrestiens », avec la seule traduction du français au turc, et quatre « Iniures des Mores », avec la seule traduction du français à l'arabe.

Si l'on compare le texte turc des deux éditions que nous avons à disposition du dictionnaire de P., on note des nombreuses différences entre l'une et l'autre. Yvelise Bernard, dans l'introduction à son édition, dit que « chaque fois que nous doutions de l'édition de 1606, nous nous sommes reporté au manuscrit » (p. 18) ; nous ne savons pas si cette affirmation concerne seulement le récit de voyage ou le dictionnaire aussi. Ce que nous pouvons dire, c'est que le texte turc du dictionnaire de 1606 est sans doute plus complet et qu'il semble, en général, plus correct que celui de 1991.

1.3 Le modèle dont s'est inspiré P. pour écrire son dictionnaire est clairement celui qui est fourni par le *Vocabulario nuovo*, un lexique quadrilingue (italien, grec, turc, allemand) probablement publié à Venise en 1567 (cette première édition a été perdue) et réimprimé plusieurs fois au cours des années suivantes. P. a même repris tel quel le texte italien du *Vocabulario*, avec peu de variations ; par contre, il en a souvent remanié la partie turque, en procédant à divers changements et en ajoutant des mots nouveaux. C'est un signe évident que notre auteur a bien utilisé les connaissances du turc acquises pendant son voyage.

1.4 Dans le présent article, nous allons examiner tous les éléments nominaux turcs du dictionnaire de P., constitués des entrées du lexique pour la plupart, mais d'autres mots tirés de la partie phraséologique et des « Injures des Turcs » aussi. Au paragraphe 2, nous faisons quelques observations linguistiques de caractère graphématique, phonétique et lexical concernant ces éléments ; nous n'avons pas pris en considération les formes verbales présentes dans quelques syntagmes cités dans notre glossaire, sauf la copule *-Dir/DUr* (§ 2.2.6). Ensuite, au paragraphe 3, il y a un glossaire comprenant les mots du corpus en ordre alphabétique selon les critères suivants :

- a) Chaque entrée est écrite d'abord en graphie turque normalisée (en italique) suivie de l'originale, entre parenthèses, avec les éventuelles leçons différentes fournies par les deux éditions, et de sa signification française donnée par P. Si la graphie originale présente des traits d'ambiguïté, dans le texte normalisé on donne ses possibles lectures alternatives, séparées par une double barre oblique (/).
- b) Puis nous ajoutons la forme et la signification du mot attestées dans le *Vocabulario nuovo*, pour les comparer avec celles de P. ; l'éventuelle absence du mot dans cet ouvrage est signalée par le symbole (-).
- c) Enfin, le cas échéant, il y a un renvoi à des sous-paragraphe des 'Observations linguistiques' et/ou un bref commentaire ajouté.

2. Observations linguistiques

2.1. Graphématique

Pour écrire les mots turcs, P. emploie l'alphabet latin, mais d'une manière qui est loin d'être rigoureuse et cohérente. Parfois il les transcrit selon les règles orthographiques françaises, parfois il semble copier tout simplement les données du *Vocabulario*

nuovo, sans (ou avec peu de) changements graphiques. Naturellement, cela implique de fâcheuses ambiguïtés; p. ex. le digraphe <ch> peut correspondre à /k/, /tʃ/ ou /ʃ/. Facteur aggravant: le nombre élevé d'erreurs typographiques, qui dépendent peut-être, du moins en partie, de fautes déjà présentes dans le manuscrit.

- a) Voici la liste des phonèmes turc-ottomans auxquels correspondent les notations graphiques les plus remarquables:

/ɛ/ = en général <e>; parfois <a>, que nous avons rendu comme *ä* dans la transcription.

/u/ = <i>, <e>, <a>; peut-être <u> dans <cruc> (= t. litt. *kırk*).

/u/ = <ou>; parfois <u>, en recopiant le VN ou d'autres éventuelles sources italiennes.

/ø/ = <o> (jamais <eu>!).

/y/ = <u>.

/dʒ/ = <g>, <gi>.

/tʃ/ = <c>, <ci>, <ch>.

/g/ = <g>, <gu>.

/k/ = <c>, <ch>, <cq>, <cqu>, <q>, <qu>.

/ʃ/ = <ch>; <s>, <ss>, surtout en recopiant le VN.

/z/ = <s>, <z>.

- b) L'usage de <h> initial ou intervocalique ne semble avoir qu'une valeur purement graphique, ce qui est observé dans d'autres textes en transcription aussi (Rocchi 2012: 30): *il* <hil>, *ot* <hot>, *yedi* <hiedi>, *sauk* <sahouc>, etc. De la même façon, on trouve <th> pour *t*: *at* <ath>, *otuz* <othus>, *tere* <there>, etc. Il y encore un cas de <ph> pour *f*: *safa* <sapha>.

2.2. Phonétique

2.2.1. Changements vocaliques

- a) Ouverture

(*u* > *o*) *bo*, *bonda*, *konsur* (= *kusur*), *korşon*, *Ormiya*[*n*] (voir l'entrée), *Or(u)m*, *solona*, *turons*, *yoma* (= *cuma*), *yomurtı*.

(*ü* > *ö*) *pöliç* // *pöliş*, *yön* (= *gün*), *yözük*.

(*i* > *e*) *poteşa* (= *padişah*), *zetem* (= *zeytin*).

- b) Fermeture

(*o* > *u*) *çuk*, *dukusan*, *yurg*[*an*].

(*ö* > *ü*) *gümelek* // *cümelek*, *düşek*.

(*e* > *i*) *beriket*, *ikim*, *ili* (= *ile*), *tifter*.

- c) Labialisation
(i > ü) *lünon* (= *limon*), *müsket*.
- d) Délabialisation
(ü > i) *gineş**.
- e) Vélarisation
(ü > u) *uzüm* (mais voir l'entrée).
- f) Ouverture et délabialisation
(o > a) *atluk*, *raspenim*.
(ü > e) *kerek*.
- g) Fermeture et labialisation
(a > o) *poteşa* (§ 2.2.1.a).
- h) Fermeture et vélarisation
(ö > u) *urdek* (mais voir l'entrée).
- i) Diphtongaison
(e > ey) *beyg*, *geyçik**.
- j) Monophtongaison
(ey > e) *pegamber*, *zetem* (§ 2.2.1.a)

2.2.2. Autres phénomènes vocaliques

- a) Aphérèse
lancı (= (y)ılancı), *şap*, *ste* (= *işte*), *zengi* (= *üzengi*).
- b) Anaptyxe
altumış // *altümiş**, *gümelek* // *cümelek*, *dukusan*, *ibirişim*, *yetümiş**.
- c) Syncope
eskinze, *Ormiya[n]* (§ 2.2.1.a), *mülgeb* // *mülgep** (= *mürekkeb* / *mürekkep*).
- d) Prothèse
Ormiya[n] (§ 2.2.1.a), *Or(u)m*.

2.2.3. Changements consonantiques

- a) Sonorisation
(k > g) *gebap*, *gerez*, *gestene*, *mülgeb* // *mülgep** (§ 2.2.2.c).
- b) Désonorisation
(d > t) *poteşa**, *tag*, *tefter** / *tifter*, *tere*, *Veneti[k]*.
(g > k) *kiday*, *sa(ğ)* *yak*
- c) Alternance *m ~ n*

Comme on le sait, dans la langue turque parlée, la nasale finale tend à être labialisée ; chez P., nous en trouvons les exemples suivants : *altum* (= *altın*

dans l'édition de Bernard), *bim*, *bogüm*, (*h*)*alim* (\rightarrow *hal*), *odum*, *oğlam*, *yüm* (= *gün*); le changement contraire, avec toute probabilité par le biais d'une hypercorrection, peut être relevé dans *bayan*. Le passage *m* > *n* paraît se produire à l'intérieur d'un mot dans le cas de *lünön* (= *limon*; assimilation?), mais il pourrait aussi s'agir simplement d'une erreur typographique.

d) Autres changements

(*r* > *l*) *mülgeb* // *mülgep** (§ 2.2.2.c).

(*η* > *n*) *eskinze*, *yänişer* // *yäniser*, *Yeni İsar*; avec labialisation (§ 2.2.3.c):
bim, (*h*)*alim* (\rightarrow (*h*)*al*).

(*h* [*x*] > *k*) *koryat*, *kumra**, *sarkos* // *sarkoş*, *yakni*.

(*h* [*x*] > *g*) *agir**.

(*ç* > *ş* [*s*] > *s*?) *şifut* (?), *turons* (?), *yänişer* // *yäniser*.

(*c* > *y*) *sıyak*, *yäma*, *yan*, *yoma*.

(*g* > *y*) *yüm* / *yön* (§§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.3.c).

(*y* > *g*) *geşek** (voir l'entrée).

2.2.4. Chute

a) (*h* > \emptyset) A part les cas douteux de (*h*)*al*, (*h*)*alıyak*, *kâ(h)[o/a]t** (voir plus bas), dans le texte de P., la disparition de *h* est généralisée : en position initiale (*aber*, *afta*, *anda*), intérieure (*çoa*, *kape*, *tata*) et finale (*Alla*, *poteşa*). Quant à (*h*)*al*, (*h*)*alıyak*, *kâ(h)[o/a]t**, il est possible que la conservation du son *h* n'y soit qu'apparente et qu'il s'agisse en réalité du phénomène graphique illustré au § 2.1.b. Pour le passage de *h* [*x*] à des consonnes occlusives voir § 2.2.3.d.

b) (*g* / *ğ* > *ğ* > \emptyset) *sa(ğ) yak* <*sahiac*>, *zetem* (§ 2.2.1.a) *ya(ğ)* <*setemia*>.

c) (*y* > \emptyset) *ay*² (= *yay*), *il*, *igrimi* / *igmiri*. Cf. la forme *lancı* (§ 2.2.2.a) aussi.

d) Dans les emprunts à l'arabe, le *t* final correspondant au *tā'* *marbūṭa* disparaît dans *avra*, *yäma*, mais se maintient dans *beriket*.

2.2.5. Épenthèse

Les consonnes épenthétiques attestées sont <*b*> (*dembür*, mais cette donnée est suspecte, voir l'entrée), <*l*> (*armult*, mais voir l'entrée), <*n*> (*konsur*), <*r*> (*tarkya*), <*t*> (*astlan*).

2.2.6. Métathèse

armult (?), *güdüm*, (*h*)*alıyak*, *igmiri*, *krük* // *kruk* // *krik*, *kumra**, *Ormular* (\rightarrow *Or(u)m*), *safrac**, *tropaya*, *yoma** *ätersi* (voir les entrées). Il est intéressant de noter que ce phénomène atteint souvent la copule -*Dİr* / *DÜr* aussi : \rightarrow *çok*, (*h*)*al*, *yok*, *zaman*.

2.3. Lexique

Presque tous les vocables du glossaire appartiennent au lexique turc-ottoman commun, quoique certains d'entre eux présentent des formes problématiques (*balus*, *dörük*, *güdüm*, *karnas**, *Ormiya[n]*, *raspenim*). Il y a un seul mot que nous n'avons pas pu identifier : «amandria» 'poltron' (PD. 550–551; B. 328).

En ce qui concerne les emprunts à des langues européennes, en voici la liste (les noms de lieux ne sont pas pris en considération) :

- a) Du grec : *gerez*, *gestene*, *katerga*, *koryat*, *milye* (hapax), *papas**, *pöliç* // *pöliş* (? voir l'entrée), *sandal**.
- b) De l'italien : *barber*, *barça*, *müsket*, *salata*.

3. Glossaire

*aber** dans le syntagme *ne aberler** (*ne a borler [PD.]; *nea borlet [B.]) 'quelles nouvelles' (PD. 544–545; B. 327). – VN (–). – § 2.2.4.a.

aççe dans le syntagme *aççe say* (*achy essai) 'comptez argent' (PD. 544–545; B. 327) – *akça* (achza) 'dinari', *akaça* (achaza) 'aspri', *açça* (zoch achiatur) 'egliè troppo' (VN 47, 48) – Pour le syntagme enregistré par P. cf. *say aççayı* (sai aciai) 'côta dinari' (Rocchi 2016 : 1053). Sur le mot *akçe* voir Rocchi (2007 : 26 ; 2011 : 53–54).

adam (adam) 'homme' (PD. 524–525; B. 320). – *adam* (adam) 'uomo' (VN 51).

afta (afta) 'semaine' (PD. 536–537; B. 324). – *afta* (afftha) 'settimana' (VN 54). – § 2.2.4.a.

agaç (agac; B. (–)) 'l'aune' (PD. 548–549). – VN (–). – Osm. *agaç* '68 santim uzunluğunda ağaçtan yapılmış arşın' (TS 26–27). Précieux témoignage d'une signification rarement signalée par des dictionnaires ottomans bilingues.

*agir** (*sager [PD.]; *saguet [B.]) 'equirie' (PD. 524–525); 'palais'² (B. 320). – *ahır* (acher) 'stalla' (VN 54). – § 2.2.3.d. Le *s-* initial de la forme de P. découle presque certainement de la contamination avec le mot «sarrail» (→ *saray*) qui se trouve à la ligne précédente.

Agia Mavra (agia maura [PD.]; *aga maura [B.]) 'Sainte Maure' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Agia Mavra* (agiamaura) 'Santa Maura' (VN 45).

ak (hach [PD.]; *haca [B.]) 'blanc' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *ak* (hach) 'biancho' (VN 52).

Alaman (alaman) 'Allemagne'; (allaman [PD.]; *allamn [B.]) 'Allemands' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Alaman* (alaman) 'Alemagna' (VN 45).

Alla (alla) 'Dieu' (PD. 524–525; B. 319). → *beriket*. – *Alla mana* (?) 'Iddio' (VN 51). – § 2.2.4.a.

2 A cause d'un décalage dans l'ordre des lignes, la signification se rapporte au mot turc de la ligne précédente (ou suivante, dans d'autres cas); voir → *atluk*, *ay¹*, *bo*, *bogüm*, *çar[şamba] yön*, *güdüm*, *il*, *kapı*, *peşembe* // *peşembe*, *saray*, *tropaya*, *yoma*, *yoma** *ätersi*, *yüm*.

alma (alma) ‘pommes’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *alma* (alma) ‘pomi’ (VN 54).

altı (alti) ‘six’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *altı* (althi) ‘sei’ (VN 50).

altın → *altum*.

altum / *altın* (altum [PD.]; altin [B.]) ‘or’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321); *bir altum* (bir altum; B. (–)) ‘un ducat’ (PD. 546–54). – *alton* (althon) ‘oro’; *bo alton* (bohalton) ‘questo scudo’ (VN 50, 52). – § 2.2.3.c.

altımış // *altümüş** (*althunis; B. (–)) ‘soixante’ (PD. 534–535). – *oltımış* (olthimis) ‘sessanta’ (VN 51). – § 2.2.2.b.

ana (*aua [PD.], ana [B.]) ‘mère’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *ana* (ana) ‘matre’ (VN 51).

anda (anda) ‘ou’ (PD. 546–547; B. (–)). – VN (–). – Osm. *handa* ‘ubi’ (Meninski 1680: 1812). – § 2.2.4.a.

armult (armoult) ‘poires’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *armut* (armut) ‘piro’ (VN 54). – La forme dont témoigne P. ressemble à un hapax; elle peut représenter un simple cas d’épenthèse (§ 2.2.5) ou bien dériver par métathèse (§ 2.2.6) du type *almurt*, qui, quoique non attesté en ottoman, est présent dans d’autres langues turques (kazakh, karakalpak): Eren (1999: 18).

arpa (arpa) ‘orge’ (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *arpa* (arpa) ‘ordio’ (VN 53).

ärte → *pazar ärtesi*, *yoma ätersi**.

artık dans le syntagme *süyleme artık* (*suillemen artiq; B. (–)) ‘ne parle plus’ (PD. 546–547). – VN (–).

asar (assar) ‘ville’ (PD. 522–523; B. 319). → *Yeni Isar* – *isara* (isara [+ datif]) ‘al castello’ (VN 45). – Osm.-t. *hisar* / *hisar* ‘forteresse, citadelle’ (Barbier de Meynard 1881–1886: 1, 655). – § 2.2.4.a. Pour d’autres attestations de la forme *asar*, voir Rocchi (2007: 36).

astlan / *aslan* (astlan [PD.]; aslan [B.]) ‘lion’ (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *astlan* (astlan) ‘leone’ (VN 53). – La variante épenthétique (§ 2.2.5) *astlan* se trouve aussi dans le Codex Cumanicus (Grønbech 1942: 40). Les formes que prend ce zoonyme en kazakh – *aristan* – et en kirghiz – *arstan* – (Róna-Tas, Berta 2011: 647) remontent également, à notre avis, à une base **ar(i)stlan* avec la simplification du groupe consonantique *-stl-*.

at (ath) ‘cheval’ (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *at* (ath) ‘cauallo’ (VN 53).

atluk (atluch) ‘foing’ (PD. 524–525); ‘*une porte’ (B. 320, voir n. 2). – *otluk* (ottluch) ‘fieno’ (VN 54). – § 2.2.1.f.

avra (aura [PD.]; *auta [B.]) ‘femme’ (PD. 524–525; B. 320). – *avrat* (aurat) ‘donna’ (VN 51). – § 2.2.4.d.

*ay*¹ (ay) ‘la lune’ (PD. 524–525; B. 319); ‘moys’ (PD. 536–537), ‘*un an’ (B. 324, voir n. 2). – *ay* (ay) ‘mese’ (VN 51).

*ay*² (ay) ‘arc’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–). – § 2.2.4.c.

azır dans le syntagme (*ište azırdır* (*stea zerder [PD.]; *stea zerdet [B.]) ‘il est prest’ (PD. 544–545; B. 327). – (*ište azırdır* (ste azerder) ‘egliè apparecchiato’ (VN 47). – §§ 2.2.2.a, 2.2.4.a.

- baba* (baba) ‘père’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *baba* (baba) ‘patre’ (VN 51).
- baluk* (baluch [PD.]; **bainch* (!) [B.]) ‘poissons’ (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *baluk* (baluch) ‘pesce’ (VN 46).
- balus* (?) (balous) ‘pescueur’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *balu[k]çi* (ou *balu[ç]çi*?) (baluchi) ‘pescatore’ (VN 52). – Le mot de P. est problématique; il s’agit probablement d’une erreur.
- barber* (barber) ‘barbier’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *berber* (berber) ‘barbiero’ (VN 52). – On notera que cet emprunt à l’it. *barbiere* (ou plutôt, au vén. *barbier*) ne montre pas d’harmonisation vocalique chez Palerne. C’est une rareté: selon nos recherches, il n’y a que chez l’auteur polonais M. Paszkowski [1615] que l’on en trouve un autre exemple: *barbel* (‘bárbellery’ [pluriel]) (Rocchi 2013: 892).
- barça** (**barquia* [PD.]; **larquia* [B.]) ‘nauire’ (PD. 526–527; B. 321). – *barça* (barcia) ‘naue’ (VN 52). – Il est probable que la graphie <qu> chez P. provient d’une fausse interprétation du <c> du VN. Sur ce mot voir Rocchi (2013: 893).
- başa* (bacha) ‘duc’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (–).
- bayan* (baian) ‘amandes’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (–). – Osm. *bayam* ‘badem’ (TS 465), ‘mandorla’ (‘baiam’ chez Argenti – Rocchi 2007: 47–48). – § 2.2.3.c. La forme *bayan* est attestée dans les dialectes anatoliens d’aujourd’hui aussi (Baytop 1994: 40).
- bela* (belladā [+ ablatif]; B. (–)) ‘en ceste fortune’ (PD. 546–547). – *bu beladan* (bubeladam) ‘di questa fortuna’ (VN 49).
- benim/benüm* dans le syntagme *benüm ili* (= *ile*) (benum [B.; benom (PD.)] illi) ‘avec moy’ (PD. 544–545; B. 327); → *spap, yan*. – *benüm ile* (benhum hile) ‘con me’ (VN 48). – § 2.2.1.b.
- beri* dans le syntagme *gel beri* (guel beri) ‘venez dedās’ (PD. 538–539; B. 325), (quel beri; B. (–)) ‘viens ça’ (PD. 546–547). – *gel beri* (ghelberi) ‘vien quā’ (VN 49). – Osm. *berü/beri* ‘huc, ex hac parte; abhinc’ (Meninski 1680: 789).
- beriket* dans le syntagme *Alla(h) beriket* (alla berichet) ‘ie vous remercie’ (PD. 544–545; B. 327). – *Alla(h) berekât* (ala berechiat) ‘vi ringratio’ (VN 49). – Abréviation de la formule *Allah bereket versin*. – §§ 2.2.1.b., 2.2.4.d. Cf. *beriket versin* (berichet uersin) ‘grā mercè’ (Rocchi 2016: 1053).
- beş* (bech) ‘cinq’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *beş* (bes) ‘cinq’ (VN 50).
- beyg* (beig; B. (–)) ‘seigneur’ (PD. 524–525). – *beg* (begh, beg) ‘signore; re’; *bey* (bey) ‘duca’ (VN 51). – § 2.2.1.i. La forme *beyg* est attestée par Carradori (Rocchi 2011: 81) et Meninski (1680: 1000) aussi.
- bıçak** (**bithiac* [PD.]; **pactiac* [B.; → *yarak*]) ‘couteau’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *bıçak* (bizach) ‘cortello’ (VN 53).
- bim* (bim; B. (–)) ‘mil’ (PD. 534–535). – *bin* (bhin) ‘mille’ (VN 51). – §§ 2.2.3.c., 2.2.3.d.

bir (bir) 'vn' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). → *altum/altın, bir para*. – *bir* (bir) 'vno' (VN 50).

bir para (bir para) 'vn peu' (PD. 550–551; B. 329). – VN (–).

bo dans les syntagmes *neder* (–*dir/dir?*) *bo** (ne **derbon* [PD.]; ne **derben* [B.]) 'qu'est cela?' (PD. 550–551; B. 328); *bo gece** (**bognegie* [*recte boguegie*]) 'ceste nuit' (PD. 536–537) 'a cest heure' (B. 325, voir n. 2). → *bogüm, bonda*. – *bu gice* (bugicze) 'questa notte' (VN 46). – § 2.2.1.a. Cette forme *bo* se retrouve également dans le VN (→ *altum/altın*) et un glossaire italien-turc du XVI^e siècle (Rocchi 2016: 1054). Pour l'éventuelle forme *neder* voir Rocchi (2014: 28).

bogday (bogdai) 'froment' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *bogday* (bogday) 'formento' (VN 53).

bogüm (bogum) 'aujourd'hui' (PD. 536–537); 'hier' (B. 325, voir n. 2). – VN (–). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.3.c.

bonda dans le syntagme *kel* (= *gel*) *bonda* (quel *bonda*; B. (–)) 'vien ça' (PD. 546–547). – *kaça var bonda* (chazia vuarbonda) 'quanto vi son debitore' (VN 47). – Osm. *bunda* 'buraya; burada' (TS 699–703). – § 2.2.1.a.

bre → *bre çifut* // *şifut*, *bre kape oğlam*, *bre kiday*. – VN (–). – Sur cette interjection de mépris voir Rocchi (2007: 57–58).

bre çifut // *şifut* (*bre chifout*; B. (–)) 'iui' (PD. 554). – VN (–). – La donnée de P. peut être lue *şifut* car ce mot est attesté comme <schifut> chez Lubenau (Adamović 1977: 39) et Megiser (Stachowski 1975–1986: 1, 44). → *bre*.

bre kape oğlam (*bre cape oğlam*; B. (–)) 'fils de putain' (PD. 554). – VN (–). → *bre, kape, oğlam*.

bre kiday (*brequiday*; B. (–)) 'cornu' (PD. 554). – VN (–). – Osm. *gidi* 'cornutus' (Meninski 1680: 3893). – § 2.2.3.b. La terminaison *-ay* chez P. peut dériver de la contamination avec l'autre persianisme *geda/geday* 'pauper, inops, mendicus' (Meninski 1680: 3888), chez Molino <ghiedai> 'sconoscente, ingrato; minimo' (Siemienieć-Gołaś 2005: 178). → *bre. cinkardaş/kızkardaş** (**gincardac* [PD.], **cizcardac* [B.]) 'soeur' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *kızgardaş* (cus *gardas*) 'sorella' (VN 52). – Voir l'entrée suivante.

*cins/kız** (*gins* [PD.]; **cios* [B.]) 'fille' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *kız* (*chis*) 'figliuola' (VN 52). – La forme enregistrée par l'édition de 1606 semble dénoter une contamination (ou confusion?) avec l'osm. *cins*, dont Molino donne ces traductions: <gins> 'ceppo, casata, legnaggio, linea di parentato, schiatta, progenie, nazione, gente, stirpe, razza' (Siemienieć-Gołaś 2005: 122).

cümelek → *gümelek*.

çar[şamba] yön (**carion* [PD.]; **cation* [B.]) 'mercredy' (PD. 536–537); **ieudy* (B. 324, voir n. 2). – *çarşamba* (*zarsamba*) 'mercure' (VN 54). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.3.d.

çele[b]i (**cele*) 'comte' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *çelebi* (*celebi*) 'conte' (VN 51).

çifut // *şifut* → *bre çifut* // *şifut*.

çoa (chiao) 'drap' (PD. 526–527; B. 321). – *çoha* (zocha, *ciobfa) 'panno' (VN 48, 52). – § 2.2.4.a.

Cf. la forme *çua* (ciuá) 'panno di lana' chez Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012 : 72).

çok / çuk : *çoktru* (= -*tur*) (choc trou [PD.] ; choc *mou [B.]) 'c'est trop' (PD. 540–541; B. 326); pour la variante *çuk* (§ 2.2.1.b) → *sıyak*. – *çok* (zoch) 'egli è troppo' (VN 47). – § 2.2.6.

çuk → *çok / çuk*.

dembür (?) (dembur [PD.]; *dranbur [B.]) 'fer' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *demir* (demhir) 'ferro' (VN 53). – Nous avons des doutes sérieux sur l'apparente épenthèse présentée par la forme de P.; celle-ci pourrait provenir tout aussi bien d'une mauvaise lecture de la graphie «demhir» du VN. Dans ce cas, il faut cependant souligner le changement de -*ir* en -*ür* opéré par Palerne.

divit (diuit [PD.]; *diftir [B., évidemment par contamination avec le *tifter* (→ *tefter / tifter*) de la ligne suivante]) 'escriptoire' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (-).

dogrı dans les syntagmes *dogrı* elinden* (*dogrin [*dogtin (B.)] ellinden) 'à main droite' (PD. 540–541; B. 326); *dogrı söyle* (dogrisoille; B. (-)) 'dis la vérité' (PD. 546–547). – *dogrı* (dogri) 'il vero; la verità' (VN 49). – Dans le premier syntagme, à cause de l'ambivalence sémantique de l'adjectif français, P. l'a traduit erronément avec l'osm. *dogrı* 'droit, direct' au lieu de *sağ* 'droit, le contraire de gauche'; l'usage de l'ablatif est inapproprié aussi.

dokuz (docus) 'neuf' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *dokuz* (dochus) 'noue' (VN 50).

domuz (domuz) 'porceau' (PD. 532–533; B. 322). – *domuz* (domus) 'porco' (VN 53).

dörük (?) (doruq) 'prunes' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (-). – Cf. t. dial. *örük* 'erik' (DS 3352).

Nous ne saurions pas expliquer l'origine du *d-* dans la forme de P.; une éventuelle contamination avec l'osm.-t. *doruk* 'cime, comble, sommet' paraît sémantiquement difficile.

dört (dort) 'quatre' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *dört* (dorth) 'quattro' (VN 50).

döşek → *düşek / döşek*.

dukusan (ducusan; B. (-)) 'nonante' (PD. 534–535). – *dokusan* (dochusan) 'nouanta' (VN 51). – §§ 2.2.1.b, 2.2.2.b.

düşek / döşek (duhecq [PD.]; dohecq [B.]) 'lict' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *düşek* (dusiegi [+ accusatif], dusech) 'letto' (VN 47, 53). – § 2.2.1.b.

Egripos (egrippos) 'Negropont' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Egripos* (egripos) 'Negroponte' (VN 45).

eki[m]/ikim (*ecqui [PD.]; icquim [B.]) 'medecin' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (-). – § 2.2.1.b.

*ekmek** (*hermech, *ecmoc) 'pain' (PD. 530–531, 538–539; B. 322, 325). – *ekmek* (hechmech) 'pane' (VN 46).

el → *dogrı*.

elli (helli; B. (-)) 'cinquante' (PD. 534–535). – *el(l)i* (hely) 'cinquanta' (VN 51).

eskinze (esquinse) 'ie vay boire à vous' (PD. 542–543; B. 326). – VN (-). – Cette variante syncopée (§ 2.2.2.c) de *eşkinize* (= osm. litt. *aşkıñıza*) se trouve chez Montalbano aussi : «eskinse» 'propino' (Rocchi 2014 : 87). – § 2.2.3.d.

- et** (*ette [PD.]; *ecre (!) [B.]) 'chair' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *et* (eth) 'carne' (VN 46).
- eyi* dans le syntagme *nala eyi* (nalla ey) 'ouy monsieur' (PD. 538–539; B. 325). – VN (–).
– Présumablement formé d'une variante de osm. *nola* 'sit ita, fiat; libenter faciam' (Meninski 1680: 5279) et *eyi* 'bon; bien'.
- Frängi* (frangi [PD.]; *frangil [B.]) 'Francs ou Latins' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – VN (–).
- Frenkisten* (frenquistendan [+ ablatif]) 'Italie' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Frenkistan* (frencistan) 'Italia', *Frenkistandan* (frencistandam) 'd'Italia' (VN 45, 49).
- gâur* (giaur; B. (–)) 'infidelle' (PD. 554). – VN (–). – Voir Rocchi (2011: 157–158).
- gebap* (guiebp [PD.]; *guiechap [B.]) 'du rosty' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *kebap* (chiebp) 'rosto' (VN 46). – § 2.2.3.a.
- gece* → *bo*.
- gerez* (gueres) 'cerises' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (–). – Cf. t. dial. *kerez* 'kiraz' (TTAS) et pour la sonorisation de la vélaire (§ 2.2.3.a), la forme *giraz* (ghiras) chez Molino (Siemienieć-Gołaś 2005: 112).
- gestene* (guestene) 'chastaignes' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (–). – § 2.2.3.a.
- geşek** (*guechet) 'asne' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *yeşek* (iesec) 'asino' (VN 53). – Comme on le sait, le mot turc commun pour 'âne' est *eşek*. La forme *yeşek*, apparemment prothétique (d'où celle de P., § 2.2.3.d), pourrait éventuellement dériver par métathèse de [æʃjæk], une variante attestée dans des dialectes anatoliens (*äşyäk*: Korkmaz 1956: 109) et déjà enregistrée par Kâşgari dans son *Divan*, où on note « the repeated appearance of *äşgäk* 'donkey' as *äşyäk* » (Erdal 2004: 123). – § 2.2.6.
- geyçik** (?) (*gueietiq [recte gueichiq ?]) 'cheure' (PD. 532–533; B. 322). – *çeki* (ciechi) 'capra' (VN 53). – Pour la correction que nous avons douteusement apportée cf. les formes *geyçi* (ghieici) 'capra' chez Molino (Siemienieć-Gołaś 2005: 117) et *geyzi* (gueyzi) 'chevre', *geykcik* (gueykdschik) 'chevreau' chez Preindl (Rocchi 2015: 269). – §§ 2.2.1.i, 2.2.3.a, avec la possible contamination de → *geyik*.
- geyik* (*gheioh [PD.]; gheich [B.]) 'cerf' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *geyik* (gheich) 'ceruo' (VN 53).
- gineş** (?) (*giuier [PD.]; *ginier [B.]) 'le soleil' (PD. 524–525; B. 319). – VN (–). – § 2.2.1.d (si la forme que nous avons reconstruite est correcte).
- gök** (*girsch [recte gioch]) 'le ciel' (PD. 524–525; B. 319). – *gök* (gioch) 'il cielo' (VN 51).
- güdüm* (gudum) 'hier' (PD. 536–537); *ceste nuit' (B. 325, voir n. 2). – VN (–). – Probablement variante parlée métathétique (§ 2.2.6) de osm. *düne gün* 'dünkü gün' (TS 1317). – § 2.2.3.c.
- gümelek* // *cümelek* (giumellec) 'chemise' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *gümelek* // *cümelek* (giumellech) 'camisia' (VN 53). – Le mot turc commun est *gömlek*. – §§ 2.2.1.b, 2.2.2.b. Pour l'éventuelle palatalisation (§ 2.2.3.d), cf. la forme *yümlek* (jummlech) 'chamiscia' chez Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 107).

*güvercin** (*giauuerzin [PD.]; *giauverzin [B.]) ‘pigeons’ (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *güvercin* (giuverzin) ‘colombo’ (VN 46).

güzel (guzel [PD.]; *gazel [B.]) ‘bien’ (PD. 540–541; B. 326). – VN (–).

(*h*)*al* dans le syntagme *nedre* (= *-der*) (*h*)*alim* (= *halin*) (ne drehalem) ‘cômēt vous portez vous?’ (PD. 540–541; B. 326). – VN (–). – Osm. litt. *ne dūr halün* ‘qualis est status tuus, comment vous portez vous?’ (Meninski 1680: 1712–1713). – §§ 2.2.3.c, 2.2.3.d., 2.2.4.a, 2.2.6.

(*h*)*alıyak* (haliac) ‘vne esclauē’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *alayık* (allaiech) ‘fantesca’ (VN 47). – Osm.-t. *halayık* ‘fille esclave, servante’ (Barbier de Meynard 1881–1886: 1, 708). – §§ 2.2.4.a, 2.2.6.

ıl (hil) ‘un an’ (PD. 536–537); *‘bon soir’ (B. 324, voir n. 2). – *ıl* (hil) ‘anno’ (VN 54). – § 2.2.4.c. *ibirişim* (hibirissim [PD.]; *hisbirissim [B.]) ‘soye’ (PD. 526–527; B. 321). – *ibirişin* (hibirissin) ‘seta’ (VN 53). – § 2.2.2.b.

igrimi / *igmiri* (igrimi / igmiri [PD.]; igmiri [B.]) ‘vingt’ (PD. 534–535; B. 323). – *igrimi* (higrimi) ‘venti’ (VN 50). – §§ 2.2.4.c, 2.2.6.

iki (icqui) ‘deux’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *iki* (ichi) ‘due’ (VN 50).

ikim → *eki*[m] / *ikim*.

ili → *benim* / *benüm*.

*incir** (*iugir [recte ingir]) ‘figues’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (–).

kadır dans le syntagme *kadır deyil(im)* (cader *de ille) ‘ie ne puis’ (PD. 550–551; B. 328). – VN (–).

ka[d]ife (*caife [PD.], *carfe [B.]) ‘veloux’ (PD. 526–527; B. 321). – *kadife* / *kadıfe* (cadefe, chadife) ‘veluto’ (sic) (VN 48, 52).

*kâ(h)[o/a]t** (*quiahol [PD.]; *quiahal [B.]) ‘papier’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–). – § 2.2.4.a. Parmi les textes en transcription, cf. les graphies du mot trouvées chez Argenti: <chiachât, chiechât>, Ferraguto: <chijât, chiaât>, Montalbano: <chiahat> (Rocchi 2007: 133, 144; 2012: 104; 2014: 121).

kalem (calem) ‘plume’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–).

*kalemtraş** (*calemtrah) ‘caniuet’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–). – Il convient de noter que Nişanyan (2009: 292) date de 1900 (!) la première attestation de ce mot turc.

kape (cape) ‘putain’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320); → *bre kape oğlam*. – *kape* (chaape) ‘putana’ (VN 54). – § 2.2.4.a.

kapı (capi [PD.], kapi [B.]) ‘une porte’ (PD. 524–525); *‘equivie’ (B. 320, voir n. 2). – *kapı* (chapi) ‘la porta’ (VN 50).

kara (cara) ‘noir’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *kara* (chara) ‘negro’ (VN 52).

karakuş (caracus) ‘aigle’ (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *karakuş* (characus) ‘aquila’ (VN 53).

kardaş (cardache) ‘frère’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *kardaş* (chardas) ‘fratello’ (VN 52).

- karnas** (?) (*caruas; B. (-)) 'creué' (PD. 554). – VN (-). – La correction que nous avons apportée se base sur la comparaison avec l'osm. *kurnas* 'vafer, pessimae indolis & consuetudinis homo' (Meninski 1680: 3677).
- katerga* (caterga [PD.]; *carerga [B.]) 'galère' (PD. 526–527; B. 321). – *katerga* (caterga) 'galea' (VN 52).
- katır* (chater) 'mulet' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *katır* (chater) 'mulo' (VN 53).
- kayısı** (*caiқи) 'abricots' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (-).
- kaz* (cas) 'oye' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *kaz* (chas) 'ocha' (VN 46).
- kerek** (*thierec) 'la rame' (PD. 550–551; B. 328). – *kürek* (chiurech) 'il remo' (VN 49). – § 2.2.1.f.
- kırmızı* (carmesi) 'rouge' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *kırmızı* (charmesi) 'rosso' (VN 52).
- kız* → *cins* / *kız**.
- kızkardaş* → *cinkardaş** / *kızkardaş**.
- kiday* → *bre kiday*.
- kodoş* // *kodos* (codos; B. (-)) 'maquereau' (PD. 554). – VN (-). – Osm. *kodoş* 'leno, pec. propriae uxoris; maquereau, cocu' (Meninski 1680: 3786).
- konsur* (consour) 'le reste' (PD. 546–547; B. 327). – *kosor* (chosor) 'il resto' (VN 48). – Osm. *ku-sur* 'defectus, deficientia; quod deest, residuum' (Meninski 1680: 3710). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.5.
- korşon* (corson) 'plomb' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *korşon* (chorson) 'piombo' (VN 53). – § 2.2.1.a.
- koryat* (o coriat) 'villageois' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (-). – Puisque P. place parfois l'article devant des noms grecs (p. ex. *o pappas* 'pape', *o iatros* 'medecin') et que sa traduction grecque de 'villageois' est *coriatis* (= *χωριάτης*, d'où provient le turc, qui littérairement a les formes *horyat* / *hoyrat*; § 2.2.3.d), nous supposons qu'il a placé l'article par erreur devant le mot turc au lieu de le placer devant le mot grec, à cause de leur ressemblance.
- koz** (*coi) 'noix' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (-).
- köpek* (quiopec; B. (-)) 'chien' (PD. 554). – VN (-).
- köy** (*chitioi) 'village' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *köy* (chioi) 'villa' (VN 45).
- krük* // *kruk* // *krık* (cruc; B. (-)) 'quarante' (PD. 534–535). – *krük* // *kruk* // *krık* (chruch) 'quaranta' (VN 51). – Pour la métathèse (§ 2.2.6), cf. les graphies <cric>, <crich>, <chrich> attestées dans des glossaires italien-turcs du XVI^e siècle (Adamović 1975: 221; Rocchi 2016: 1056).
- kumra** (?) (*couonra [recte coumra?]) 'dattes' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (-). – Osm.-t. *hurma* 'datte' (Barbier de Meynard 1881–1886: 1, 696–697). – §§ 2.2.3.d, 2.2.6. Pour le /k/ initial cf. <curmá> chez Ferraguto (Rocchi 2012: 96) et même la graphie ottomane قورمه signalée par Barbier de Meynard cit.
- kuşak* (couchac) 'ceinture' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *kuşak* (cusiach) 'centura' (VN 54).
- lancı* (langi; B. (-)) 'menteur' (PD. 554). – VN (-). – § 2.2.2.a.
- lünön* (?) (lunon) 'citrons' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (-). – §§ 2.2.1.c, 2.2.3.c.

Merya (meria) ‘Nostre Dame’ (PD. 524–525; B. 319). – *Meryen*³ (merien) ‘nostra donna’ (VN 51). – La terminaison *-a* dans la donnée de P. semble indiquer un rapprochement avec la forme latine-italienne *Maria*.

Mısır (missere [+ datif]) ‘Le Caire’ (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Mısır* (misir) ‘il Cayro’ (VN 45). *milye* dans le syntagme *yedi milye* (hiedi milie) [‘sept milles’, voir plus bas] (PD. 538–539; B. (–)). – *yedi mil* (giedi mil) ‘sette miglia’ (VN 46). – P. a mêlé par inadvertance les traductions des phrases ‘*quanti miglia vi sono* – *sette miglia*’, qui se trouvent dans le VN. Comme équivalent de ‘combien y a il de distâce’ il a donc donné correctement l’it. *quanti millia sono* et erronément le grec *efta millie* et le syntagme turc cité (les versions arabe et “esclavone” manquent). Quant au mot *milye*, il semble s’agir d’un hapax, repris aparemment de la forme grecque enregistrée par P. lui-même (la forme littéraire est *μιλια*). Le turc-ottoman commun emploie *mil*, dont la source immédiate est l’arabe.

mufti (moufti [PD.]; *monfti [B.]) ‘pape’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (–).

mülgeb // *mülgep** (*mulguet [PD.]; *melguet [B.]) ‘ancre’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *mürecep** (*maureciep) ‘inchiestro’ (VN 54). – Osm. litt. *mürekke*b (osm. parlé, t. mod. *mürekkep*) ‘encre, noir de fumée’ (Barbier de Meynard 1881–1886: 2, 752). – §§ 2.2.2.c, 2.2.3.a, 2.2. 3.d. *müsket şarap* (musquet charap [PD.]; pour la leçon de B. voir → *şarap*) ‘maluoisie’ (PD. 532–533; B. 322). – VN (–). – Cf. chez Ferraguto *misket şarap* (mischét sciaráp; = t. mod. *misket şarabı*) ‘moscatello, vino’ (Rocchi 2012: 119). Pour la labialisation vocalique (§ 2.2.1.c) cf. *müsket* (muschiétt) ‘moscatello, uino’ chez Argenti (Rocchi 2007: 177).

nar (nar) ‘pesches’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – VN (–).

ne → *aber*, *bo*, (*h*)*al*.

nereden (nereden [PD.]; *neteden [B.]) ‘doù’ (PD. 538–539; B. 325). – *nereden* (nereden) ‘di qual loco, donde’ (VN 65).

nereli dans le syntagme *nerelisen* (nerelissen; B. (–)) ‘d’où es tu’ (PD. 546–547). – *nerelisen* (nerelissen) ‘donde sei tu’ (VN 49).

neste → *yok*.

niçe (nicie; B. (–)) ‘combië’ (PD. 548–549). – *niçe* (nicie) ‘quanto’ (VN 48).

odum (odum) ‘bois’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *odum* (hodume) ‘legne’ (VN 52). – § 2.2.3.c.

oğlam (oğlam) ‘fils’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320); → *bre kape oğlam*. – *oğlam* (oğlam⁴) ‘figliuolo’ (VN 51). – § 2.2.3.c.

ok (oc) ‘flesche’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–).

on (on) ‘dix’ (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *on* (on) ‘diece’ (VN 50).

3 Corrigé en *Meryem* par Adamović (VN 51).

4 Corrigé en *oglan* par Adamović (VN 51).

- Ormiya[n] (?)* (ormia⁵ [PD.]; *oimia [B.]) 'Grecs' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – VN (–). – Possiblement, de *Urumiyan**, variante parlée de osm. litt. *Rumiyan* 'Graeci, Romani' (Meninski 1680: 2389). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.2.c., 2.2.2.d.
- Or(u)m** (ormular [PD.]; *oimular [B.]) 'Grece' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Urular* (vrular) 'Gretia' (VN 45). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.2.d, 2.2.6.
- ot* (hot) 'le feu' (PD. 524–525; B. 319). – *ot* (hot) 'fuoco' (VN 51).
- otuz* (othus; B. (–)) 'trente' (PD. 534–535). – *otuz* (othus) 'trenta' (VN 51).
- papas** (*papasso) 'prestre' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *papas** (papasso) 'prete' (VN 52). – Dans ce cas le recopiage du mot du VN est on ne peut plus clair.
- papuç // papuş* (papuche) 'souliers' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *papuç* (papuzsta [+ locatif]) 'scarpe' (VN 48). – La graphie de P. est probablement à corriger en <papouche>.
- papuç[ç]ı* (papouchi [B.], *paponchi [PD.]) 'courdonnier' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *babuç[ç]ı* (babuzi) 'calzolaro' (VN 52).
- para* → *bir para*.
- pazar ârtesi* (pazar arthesi). Tant dans PD. que dans B., les deux mots du syntagme sont erronément séparés et disposés sur des lignes différentes; par conséquent, il semble qu'il soit attribué à *pazar* la signification de 'lundy' et à *ârtesi* celle de 'mardy' (PD. 536–537; B. 324). – *pazar ertes* (pazarhertes) 'luni' (VN 54).
- pazar yön* (pazarion) 'dimanche' (PD. 536–537; B. 324). – *pazar* (pazar) 'domenica' (VN 54). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.3.d.
- pegamber* (pegamber) 'les saints' (PD. 524–525; B. 319). – *pegamber* (pegamber) 'li santi' (VN 51). – § 2.2.1.j. Variante de *peygamber* bien attestée (Stachowski 1998: 160).
- penir* (penir) 'fromage' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *peynir* (peinir) 'formaggio' (VN 46). – La variante donnée par P. reproduit plus fidèlement la source persane *panîr* et a plusieurs attestations dans les textes en transcription (Adamović 1975: 220; Stachowski 1998: 161; Rocchi 2007: 197).
- pesembe // peşembe* (pesembe) 'ieudy' (PD. 536–537); *'vendredy' (B. 324, voir n. 2). – *pesempe // peşempe* (pesempe) 'giouedi' (VN 54).
- pöliç // pöliş* (polich) 'poulets' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *piliç* (pilix) 'polastro' (sic) (VN 46). – Cf. la forme osm. *püliç* (TS 3207) et les formes turques dialectales *bülüş, bölüş* 'Hühnchen' (Tietze 1957: 25). – § 2.2.1.a. Le mot dérive probablement du grec moyen *πουλίτσι* 'avicula' (Theodoridis 1975: 86); pour d'autres propositions étymologiques voir Eren (1999: 333–334).
- poteşa** (*potheca [PD.]; *foheca (!) [B.]) 'roy' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (–). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.1.g, 2.2.3.b, 2.2.4.a.

5 La lettre finale est mal imprimée; on pourrait aussi lire *ormin*.

- raspenim* (?) (*raspenim*; B. (-)) 'moindre qu'une putain' (PD. 554). – VN (-). – Mot problématique. Il pourrait représenter une variante (§§ 2.2.1.f, 2.2.3.c) de *roşpının*, génitif de l'osm. *roşpı* = t. mod. *orospu* 'prostituée'. Dans ce cas, la donnée de P. serait incomplète parce qu'il manquerait le déterminé d'un *belirtili tamlama*.
- rencil* (*rengil*; B. (-)) 'bardache' (PD. 554). – VN (-). – Avec cette signification, le mot est attesté par Argenti aussi: *rencil* (*rengil*) 'bardassa; la femina che è dedita allo homo' (Rocchi 2007: 202).
- rengi* (*rengi* [PD.]; **brachi* (!) [B.]) 'couleur' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *rengi* (*rengi*) 'colore' (VN 52). – Forme possessive de *renk*.
- safa* dans le syntagme *safa geldi* (*sapha guieldy* [PD.]; *sapha* **guiel* [B.]) 'bien venue' (PD. 520–521; B. 326). – VN (-).
- safraç** (?) (**saffiac* [*recte saffrac* ?]) 'linceuls' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – [*ç*]*arçaf* (**harchaff*) 'linciolo' (VN 53). – On peut arriver à la donnée de P. par une double métathèse: *çarçaf* > *şarçaf** > *şafraç**. – § 2.2.6.
- sa(ğ) yak* (*sahiac*) 'beurre' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *sag yag* (*saghiag*) 'butiro' (VN 53). – §§ 2.2.3.b, 2.2.4.b.
- Sakız* (*sacques*) 'Chio' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Sakız* (*sachis*) 'Sio' (VN 45).
- salata* (*salata*) 'salade' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – VN (-).
- sandal** (**sandallo* [PD.]; **sardallo* [B.]) 'barque' (PD. 526–527; B. 321). – VN (-). – P. enregistre une curieuse forme «italianisée», avec toute probabilité à corriger en *sandal*, le mot turc commun. Un doublet emprunté à l'it. *sandalo*, difficile morphologiquement aussi, ne nous semble pas crédible. Cf. la graphie «*papasso*» (cette-ci copié sur le VN) sous → *papas*.
- saray* (*sarail*) 'palais' (PD. 524–525); **maison* (B. 320, voir n.2). – *saray** (**saiai*) 'pallazzo' (sic) (VN 54). – La graphie de P. est celle de l'emprunt français au mot turc.
- sari** (**sphari*; B. (-)) 'iaulne' (PD. 528–529). – *sarı* (*shari*) 'giallo' (VN 52).
- sarkos* // *sarkoş* (*sarcos*) 'yurongne' (PD. 546–547) – *sorkos* // *sorkoş* (*sorchos*) 'imbriaco' (VN 48). – § 2.2.3.d.
- sauk* (*sahouc*; B. (-)) 'froid' (PD. 550–551). – VN (-). – La forme *sauk* (= osm. litt. *so(v)uk*, t. mod. *soğuk*) est bien attestée (Rocchi 2007: 211; 2012: 140; 2014: 172).
- sekiz* (*sequis*) 'huit' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *sekiz* (*sechis*) 'otto' (VN 50).
- seksen* (*secxen*⁶; B. (-)) 'huic tante' (PD. 534–535). – *seksen* (*sechsen*) 'ottanta' (VN 51).
- sıyak* dans le syntagme *sıyak çuk* (*sıiac choucq*; B. (-)) 'il fait trop chaud' (PD. 550–551). – VN (-). – § 2.2.3.d.
- Skander(i)ya* (*scanderia*) 'Alexandrie' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Skinder(i)ya* (*scindéria*) 'Alessandria' (VN 45).

6 La lecture de la partie centrale du mot est incertaine à cause de la mauvaise impression.

- sofra* (sofra) ‘table’ (PD. 540–541; B. 325). – *sofra* (sofra) ‘tauola’ (VN 46).
- solona* (solona) ‘a main gauche’ (PD. 540–541; B. 326). – *solona* (solona) ‘a man stanca’ (VN 47)
– Osm.-t. *soluna* précisément ‘à la gauche de...’, datif-possessif de *sol* ‘gauche’. – § 2.2.1.a.
- spap* dans le syntagme *benim spap* (benim spap [PD.]; *inem spap [B.]) ‘mes hardes’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–). – Variante aphérétique (§ 2.2.2.a), dont témoigne Ferraguto aussi (Rocchi 2012: 87), de osm. *espap* = *esvab/espab* ‘vestes, vestimenta, res; habits, robes; hardes’ (Meninski 1680: 55).
- Stambul/Stanbul* (stamboulda [PD.]; stanboulda [B.]; [+ locatif]) ‘Constantinople’ (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *İstanbul* (istanbol) ‘Costantinopuli’ (VN 45). – Sur l’étymon voir maintenant la scrupuleuse recherche de Stachowski & Woodhouse (2015); en résumé: < grec médiéval (tsakonien) *stambóli* ~ (autres dialectes) *stembóli(n)* ~ *stimbóli(n)* précisément ‘à Constantinople’ < *stan Póli(n)* ~ *sten Póli(n)* ~ *stin Póli(n)*. Nous ajoutons ici que la traduction grecque du toponyme donnée par P. est *Stimboli* et celle, toujours grecque, de ‘Italie’ est *Stimitalia* (< *stin Italia*).
- ste* → *azır*.
- su** (*shou [PD.]; *sbou [B.]) ‘eau’ (PD. 524–525; B. 319). – *su* (shu) ‘acqua’ (VN 53).
- sultana* (sultanna) ‘gentil femme’ (PD. 524–525; B. 320). – *sultan* (sultan) ‘gentildonna’ (VN 51). – Cf. osm. *sultana* ‘an empress’ chez Vaughan (Hitzigraht Gilson 1987: 208), mais nous avons l’impression que P. a repris la donnée du VN en la modifiant de façon plus “féminine”.
- şarap* (charap; chez B. les mots ‘vin’ et ‘malvoisie’ forment un seul syntagme avec la traduction “*gheioth (?!) charap”) ‘vin’ (PD. 532–533; B. 322); → *müsket şarap* – *şarap* (sarap) ‘vino’ (VN 46).
- şindi* (chindi) ‘a cest heure’ (PD. 536–537); ‘maintenant’⁷ (B. 325). – *şindi* (sindi) ‘adesso’ (VN 46). – Variante très répandue de l’osm.-t. litt. *şimdi* (Rocchi 2007: 231; 2011: 309; 2014: 182).
- tag* (tague) ‘un bois’ (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (–). – Osm. *dağ* ‘mons (...)’; *item in his confiniis sylva* (Meninski 1680: 3070). – § 2.2.3.b. Cette signification de ‘bois’ se trouve dans d’autres langues turques aussi: « in manchen Dialekten hat das Wort [*tag*] die Bedeutung ‘Wald’ (wohl ursprünglich ‘Bergwald’, da in Südsibirien, selbst bei Steppenebene, i. a. die Berge, jedenfalls in nicht allzu hohen Zonen, bewaldet sind) » (TMEN 2: 439).
- tarkya* (tarquia⁸ [PD.]; *tarqui [B.]) ‘bonnet’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–). – Osm. *takya* ‘bonnet de toile blanche qui se met sous le fez’ (Barbier de Meynard 1881–1886: 2, 264).

7 Dans l’édition de 1606 le mot ‘maintenant’ est placé au-dessous de ‘a cest heure’, sur une ligne différente, et n’a aucune traduction dans aucune langue.

8 Le <a> final est demi-effacé dans l’impression.

- Il est probable que l'épenthèse (§ 2.2.5) dans la forme de P. se soit produite par contamination avec l'osm. *تریوش tarpoş* 'beretta delle donne' (Bernardo da Parigi 1665 : 254) ; dans l'édition de Kartallioğlu (2015 : 861), le mot est transcrit *ter-pūş*, mais sa prononciation était sûrement *tarpoş*, comme le confirme l'emprunt *tarpoş* des langues slavo-balkaniques, voir Miklosich (1884 : 2, 68), Grannes, Hauge, Süleymanoğlu (2002 : 244).
- tata* (tatta) 'table' (PD. 528-529 ; B. 321). – VN (-). – Osm.-t. *tahta* 'planche, ais' (Barbier de Meynard 1881-1886 : 1, 447). – § 2.2.4.a.
- tauk** (*taoueq [recte taoucq]) 'poule' (PD. 530-531 ; B. 322). – *tauk* (tauch) 'galina' (sic) (VN 46).
- tavşan** (*tancan [recte tauchan]) 'lieure' (PD. 530-531 ; B. 322). – *tavşan* (tausian) 'lepore' (VN 53).
- tefter*/tifter* (*tester [PD.] ; tifter [B.]) 'liure' (PD. 528-529 ; B. 321). – VN (-). – La variante *tifter* (en supposant qu'elle soit correcte) est un hapax. – §§ 2.2.1.b, 2.2.3.b.
- tere* (there) 'la mer'⁹ (PD. 524-525 ; B. 319). – VN (-). – Osm. *derya* 'mer', contaminé avec *dere* 'vallée ; torrent qui coule au fond d'une vallée' (Barbier de Meynard 1881-1886 : 1, 736). Voir toutefois la note en bas de page. – § 2.2.3.b.
- terzi* (tersi) 'tailleur' (PD. 526-527 ; B. 320). – *terzi** (*berzi) 'sartore' (VN 52).
- tropaya* (tropaia) 'terre' (PD. 524-525) ; *un pont' (B. 320, voir n. 2). – VN (-). – Évidemment, métathèse (§ 2.2.6) de *topraya** = *toprağa* (~ *toprağa*), datif de l'osm.-t. commun *toprak* 'terre'.
- turons* (?) (thourons) 'orenges' (PD. 532-533 ; B. 323). – VN (-). – Osm. litt. *turunc* (osm. parlé, t. mod. *turunc*) 'orange amère, fruit de bigaradier, *citrus vulgaris*' (Barbier de Meynard 1881-1886 : 1, 462). La graphie de P. est douteuse ; il se peut qu'elle soit à corriger en <thouronc> et à lire *turonç**. – § 2.2.1.a.
- tuz** (*thuc [PD.], *thoe [B.]) 'sel' (PD. 530-531 ; B. 322). – *tuz* (thus) 'sale' (VN 46).
- tüfe[k]* (*tuffe) 'arquebuze' (PD. 528-529 ; B. 321). – VN (-).
- türki* (turchi) 'châson' (PD. 550-551 ; B. 328). – *türki* (turchi) 'câzone' (VN 49).
- un* (hun) 'farine' (PD. 530-531 ; B. 322). – *un* (hun) 'farina' (VN 53).
- urdek* (ourdech) 'canard' (PD. 530-531 ; B. 322). – *ürdek* (vrdech) 'anetra' (VN 46). – § 2.2.1.h, à condition qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'une fausse graphie basée sur l'interprétation erronée du graphème italien <v>.
- üzüm* (ousum) 'raisins' (PD. 532-533 ; B. 323). – *üzüm* (vsume) 'vua' (VN 54). – § 2.2.1.e, mais voir l'observation faite à l'entrée précédente.

9 Il n'est pas exclu qu'il y ait un décalage de lignes et qu'au mot turc corresponde la signification de 'fleuve riuiera' qui se trouve à la ligne suivante, sans version turque. Dans ce cas, la traduction *tere* (= *dere*) (voir le texte) serait exacte.

- üç* (vch) 'trois' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). – *üç* (vch) 'tre' (VN 50).
Veneti[k] (*venetien [*recte* veneticten (+ ablatif) ?]) 'Venise' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Venetik* (venetich) 'Venetia', *Venedikten* (venedichten) 'da Venetia' (VN 45, 46). – § 2.2.3.b.
*yakni** (*iaqui [*recte* iaqni]) 'du bouilly' (PD. 530–531; B. 322). – *yagni* (ou *yanyi*?) (ihagni) 'alesso' (VN 46). – Osm.-t. *yahni* 'caro elixa; du bouilli' (Meninski 1680: 5563). – § 2.2.3.d.
yâma (iama; B. (–)) 'les eglises' (PD. 524–525). – *cemat* (gemat) 'chiesa' (VN 51). – Osm. *cemaât* (t. mod. *cemaat*) 'turba, agmen, consessus, communitas, ecclesia, concilium, synagoga' (Meninski 1680: 1648). – §§ 2.2.3.d., 2.2.4.d.
yan dans le syntagme *benüm yanum* (benö ianö; B. (–)) 'mon ame' (PD. 540–541). – VN (–). – Pour la forme de P. (= t. commun *can*, § 2.2.3.d) cf. *benüm yanuma** *var* (benun *ianu-am var) 'soit pour mon ame' (Postel 1560: 59).
yânişer // *yâniser* (iannisser [PD.]; ianisser [B.]) 'soldat' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – *yeniçâri* (hienizari) 'soldato' (VN 52). – Cf. *yeñişer* (ienghiscer) 'fante, soldato' chez Carradori (Rocchi 2011: 152). – § 2.2.3.d.
*yarak** (*iarath [PD.]; *pitcah (!) [B.; contamination avec le <pactiac> (→ *bıçak*) de la ligne précédente]) 'espée' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – VN (–).
yasır (hiaser¹⁰ [PD.]; *haser [B.]) 'vn esclaué' (PD. 526–527; B. 320). – VN (–). – Osm. parlé *yesir*, *yasır* (yèsir, yaser) 'captif' (Viguiet – Stachowski 2002: 308) pour le littéraire *esir* (< arabe). Dans les sources ottomanes, la forme *yesir* date du XVII^e siècle (TS 4550). Il semble donc que P. fournisse la première attestation connue jusqu'ici de cette variante prothétique.
yedi (hiedi) 'sept' (PD. 532–533; B. 323). → *milye*. – *yedi* (hiedi) 'sette' (VN 50).
yemek (hiemec) 'la viande' (PD. 538–539; B. 325). – *yemek* (iamech) 'il mangiare' (VN 46).
Yeni İsar (*greni issar [PD.]; gieni issar [B.]) 'Chasteauneuf' (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Yeñi İsar* (*gregni isar) 'Castel nuovo' (VN 45). – § 2.2.3.d.
yeşil (hiesil [PD.]; *hirsil [B.]) 'verd' (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *yeşil* (hiesil) 'verde' (VN 52).
yetümiş (*hiethunis; B. (–)) 'septante' (PD. 534–535). – *yetimiş* (hiethimis) 'settanta' (VN 51). – § 2.2.2.b.
yok (hioc) 'non'; *yoktru* (= -*tur*) (hiocrou) 'ie n'en ay point' (PD. 538–539; B. 325); *neste yok* (neste hiocq; B. (–)) 'ce n'est rien' (PD. 550–551) – *yoktur* (iochtur) 'non ge n'ho' (VN 46). – § 2.2.6.
yokarı dans le syntagme *kalka yokarı* (*cal cayocari; B. (–)) 'sus leués vous' (PD. 540–541). – *yokarı* (iochari) 'in alto', *kalka yokarı* (chalcha iocchari) 'orsu leuate' (VN 69).
*yoldaş** (*hioldac) 'compagnon' (PD. 536–537; B. 325). – *yoldaş* (gioldas, yholdas) 'compagno' (VN 45, 49).

10 Le <i> est mal imprimé.

- yoma* (ioma) ‘vendredy’ (PD. 536–537); *‘sammedy’ (B. 324, voir n. 2). – *cuma yüm* (zumahium¹¹) ‘venere’ (VN 54). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.3.d.
- yoma** *ätersi* (= *ärtesi*) (*‘iomnater si [PD.]; *‘iomvater si [B.]; [*recte* ioma atersi ?]) ‘sammedy’ (PD. 536–537); *‘moys’ (B. 324, voir n. 2). – *cumayertes* (zumaiherthes) ‘sabbato’ (VN 54). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.3.d., 2.2.6. La correction que nous avons apportée se base sur la comparaison avec → *pazar ärtesi*.
- yomurtı* (iomurthi; B. (–)) ‘oeufs’ (PD. 530–531). – *yumurta* (iumurtha) ‘oua’ (VN 46). – § 2.2.1.a. La terminaison *-i* n’est pas claire.
- yözük* (iosuch [PD.]; *iasach [B.]) ‘anneau’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *yözük* (iosuch) ‘anello’ (VN 53). – § 2.2.1.a.
- yurg[an]* (*‘hiourg [PD.]; *‘hioug [B.]) ‘couverture’ (PD. 528–529; B. 321). – *yurgan* (hiurgan) ‘coperta’ (VN 53). – § 2.2.1.b. La variante *yurgan* se trouve chez Carradori et Montalbano aussi (Rocchi 2011: 359; 2014: 210).
- yüm* (hium [PD.]; *hiurm [B.]) ‘iour’ (PD. 536–537); *‘nuict’ (B. 324, voir n. 2); → *bogüm, güdüm, çar[şamba] yön, pazar yön. – yün* (hiun) ‘giorno’ (VN 54). – §§ 2.2.3.c, 2.2.3.d.
- yümiş* (iumis; B. (–)) ‘argent’ (PD. 528–529). – *yümiş* (iumis) ‘argento’ (VN 53). – § 2.2.3.d.
- yüz* (ius; B. (–)) ‘cent’ (PD. 534–535). – *yüz* (ius) ‘cento’ (VN 51).
- Zaklis* (zaclis [PD.]; *zachis [B.]) ‘Zacynthe’ (PD. 522–523; B. 319). – *Zaklis* (zachlis) ‘Alzante’ (VN 45).
- zaman* dans le syntagme **zamamundrı* = *zaman(ı)dır** (*sama mēdre [PD.]; *sama mendre [B.]) ‘il est temps’ (PD. 550–551; B. 328). – *zaman oldu* (zamamoldi) ‘egliè hora’ (VN 50). – § 2.2.6.
- zengi* (sengui) ‘estrier’ (PD. 544–545; B. 327) – *üzengi* (vsenghi) ‘staffa’ (VN 47). – § 2.2.2.a.
- zetem ya(ğ)* (setemia; B. (–)) ‘huyle’ (PD. 530–531). – *zeytin yag* (seytiniag) ‘oglio’ (VN 53). – §§ 2.2.1.a, 2.2.1.j, 2.2.3.c., 2.2.4.b.

Abréviations concernant des langues et dialectes

- dial. = dialectal
 it. = italien
 litt. = littéraire
 mod. = moderne
 osm. = osmanlı
 t. = turc
 vén. = vénitien

11 Corrigé en <zumahium> par Adamović (VN 54).

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KOLLEKTANEEN ZUM UIGURISCHEN WÖRTERBUCH. DIE VIER EDLEN WAHRHEITEN IM UIGURISCHEN BUDDHISMUS

The Four Truths are the basic dogmas of ancient Buddhism and since the pre-classical time they play an important part in Uyghur Buddhism also. The first dogma is the law of suffering in which all living beings are embroiled through impermanence. The fourth dogma is the way of release from suffering as it is taught by the Buddha. This study presents the Uyghur terms for the Four Truths and for the different kinds of suffering.

Uyghur Buddhism, Buddhist terminology in Uyghur, Buddhist law of suffering, originality of Uyghur Buddhism

1. Einführung

Schon vor mehr als drei Jahrzehnten hat Carsten Colpe (1985: 331 f.) die Frage gestellt, zu welcher buddhistischen Konfession der zentralasiatische Buddhismus und speziell der alttürkische (uigurische) Buddhismus gehören: „Es stellt sich die Aufgabe, ... buddhologisch-konfessionskundliche Namen zu finden, welche über die Bezeichnungen nach Regionen und Sprachen hinausgehen“. Das ist bis heute ein Ziel der Forschung geblieben, ein Ziel, das nur in mehreren Etappen erreicht werden kann.

Der alttürkische Buddhismus hat aus mehreren Quellen geschöpft. Da ist einmal der Maitreya-Buddhismus, der im 8./9. Jahrhundert vom Westen zu den

Uiguren des Tarim-Beckens kam und der noch Züge des Hīnayāna trägt (Röhrborn 2012/2013: 141). Seit dem 10. Jahrhundert breiten sich verschiedene Konfessionen des chinesischen Mahāyāna-Buddhismus unter den Uiguren aus. Wir wissen, dass verschiedene dogmatische Richtungen noch bis zur Ankunft des Islams im 15. Jahrhundert bei den Uiguren nebeneinander existierten.¹

Es ist durchaus keine leichte Aufgabe zu bestimmen, aus welcher Schule ein bestimmter alttürkischer Text stammt. Schon die Textüberlieferung im Ursprungsland des Buddhismus (Indien) ist sehr vielschichtig, und die Buddhisten sind seit längerem davon abgekommen, nach dem „Original“ eines Textes zu suchen: (1) Einmal gab es Text-Versionen, die heute nicht mehr existieren, (2) Ferner verändern die Abschreiber einen Text, je nach der Schule, aus der sie kommen, und (3) benutzen Abschreiber oft mehrere Versionen und schaffen so ständig neue Varianten eines Textes (Maas 2009/2010: 67). Das gilt in gleicher Weise auch für die chinesische Überlieferung (vgl. Lehnert 1999: 15–19), und man hat dieselbe Erfahrung mit den alttürkischen Texten gemacht. Häufig wissen wir nur, dass ein bestimmter alttürkischer Text, wie etwa die Xuanzang-Biographie, nicht auf die heute bekannte chinesische Standard-Edition (*Textus receptus*) eines Textes zurückgeht (vgl. Aydemir 2013: 26–31). Die alttürkische Version des Goldglanz-Sūtras enthält zwar fast alles, was im chinesischen Yijing-Text vorhanden ist, darüber hinaus aber in zwei Abschnitten (Nirvana-Lehre; Pāramitā-Lehre, d. h. die Lehre von der Entwicklung eines zukünftigen Buddha) umfangreiche Glossen (S. 37:2 – 89:12; S. 248:20 – 309:15), die den dogmatischen Standpunkt der sog. Dharmalakṣaṇa-Schule wiedergeben.

2. Die Terminologie des uigurischen Buddhismus

In der klassischen Zeit des uigurischen Buddhismus werden vor allem chinesische Texte in das Uigurische übersetzt. Auch die buddhistischen Termini werden in diesen Texten in der Regel übersetzt, und deshalb sind auch in der uigurischen Version die Termini in uigurischer Sprache. Nur ausnahmsweise versuchen die

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- 1 Im 13. / 14. Jahrhundert hatte der Gläubige also mehrere „Heilswege“ zur Auswahl. In einem alttürkischen Text aus jener Zeit werden drei Heilswege beschrieben, die für die uigurischen Laien und Mönche damals in Frage kamen: (1) der Heilsweg des traditionellen Maitreya-Buddhismus, daneben (2) eine Kombination des Maitreya-Buddhismus mit einer Bodhisattva-Laufbahn in mahāyānistischer Ausprägung. (3) In einem dritten Heilsweg wird der Gläubige im Westlichen Paradies mit dem Buddha Amitābha zusammentreffen und anschließend eine Bodhisattva-Karriere durchlaufen, die sich in einigen Punkten von der zuvor erwähnten Laufbahn unterscheidet (vgl. Röhrborn 2004: 264–266).

uigurischen Mönche chinesische Übersetzungen von sanskritischen Elementen zu re-sanskritisieren. Die wenigen Beispiele, die wir kennen, betreffen vor allem sanskritische Personennamen.

Die buddhistischen Termini des Uigurischen sind also meist Calques (Lehnbedeutungen und Lehnübersetzungen) nach der chinesischen Modellsprache. Dieser formale Aspekt wurde zuletzt von J.P. Laut (2003) in einer wegweisenden Studie behandelt.² Hier soll ein kleiner Teil der uigurischen Terminologie nach ihrer Stellung im System betrachtet werden: die Vier Edlen Wahrheiten, die Gemeingut des uigurischen Buddhismus geworden sind.

3. Die Vier Edlen Wahrheiten

Die „Vier Wahren Dharmas (atü. *tört kertü nom*)“³, d. h. die Vier Edlen Wahrheiten, sind der Kern des alten Buddhismus und stehen am Anfang der Predigt des Buddha. Sie sind auch im uigurischen Buddhismus bekannt und werden z. B. in der Erzählung von Mahākapi aufgezählt: „Erstens: das Leid, zweitens: die Leid-Ansammlung, drittens: das Verlöschen des Leids, viertens: die Acht Edlen Wege [zum Verlöschen des Leids]“.⁴ Etwas abweichend wird das im Maitrisimit-Text formuliert: „das Leid (*ämgäk*), die Ursache des Leids (*ämgäkniñ tıltagı*), das Verlöschen und das Sich-Beruhigen des Leids (*ämgäkniñ öčmäki amrılmakı*), der Edle Pfad, den man zum Verlöschen des Leids gehen muss (*ämgäk öčmäkiñä barguluk tözün yol*)“.⁵ Im Mahāyāna-Buddhismus haben die Vier Edlen Wahrheiten teilweise einen anderen Stellenwert, wie wir anhand der Dritten Wahrheit (Punkt 3.3) erläutern werden.

Im Maitrisimit-Text predigt der Buddha [Śākyamuni] über „die Vier Arten von wahren₂ Dharmas, die man als Kennzeichen (?) von edlen Wesen verstehen muss“⁶. Für den Bodhisattva Maitreya beginnt mit dieser Predigt die geistliche Entwicklung als Śrōtāpanna. Wir werden im folgenden Abschnitt sehen, dass in dieser Aufzählung der Vier Edlen Wahrheiten nicht das „Leid“ allein als erste Wahrheit fungiert.

2 Für die aus dem Tibetischen übersetzten Texte gibt es eine kleine derartige Studie von Scharlipp (1996).

3 So in Maitr 156 r. 27; TT VII 60 u. 19.

4 BT XXXVII 10383–10385: *añilki ämgäk ikinti ämgäk tergini ücünč ämgäk öčmäki törtünč säkiz tözün yol*.

5 Maitr 156 r. 27–30.

6 MaitrH II 13 a 19–20: *tört törlüg bo irilärin* (lies: *irülärin*) *tözün tınlaglarını ukguluk köni kertü nomlar*.

3.1. Die „Wahrheit vom Leid (*ämgäk kertü*)“⁷

Seit der präklassischen Zeit wird in den uigurischen Texten in sehr allgemeiner Form auf „das (durch die Existenz bedingte) Leid“ Bezug genommen. So wird im uigurischen Maitrisimit-Text berichtet, dass der Buddha Maitreya bei einem Besuch im Trayastriṃśāḥ-Himmel für seine Mutter und für die Schar der Götter predigt: „... er erklärt [ihnen das Leid] des Geboren-Werdens und des Sterbens, des Absinkens₂ [in schlechte Existenz-Formen], des Brennens und des Gebrochen-Werdens [in der Hölle] und die übrigen Leiden“⁸ Andere Formulierungen sind knapper. Man spricht nur vom „Leid des Samsara (*sansarnıñ ämgäki*)“⁹ oder der Mensch wird als „großer Leid-Haufen (*ulug ämgäklig ükmäk*)“¹⁰ bezeichnet. So auch in den Texten der klassischen Zeit.¹¹ „Die Leiden des Samsara (*sansardakı ämgäklär*)“ werden mit den „Freuden des Nirvana (*nirvantakı mänjilär*)“ kontrastiert.¹² Man soll also das „Leid [des Samsara]“ verabscheuen und die „ewige Freude [des Nirvana]“ erstreben.¹³

Interessant ist, dass im Maitrisimit-Text zu der ersten „Wahrheit“ neben dem Leid auch noch andere Dogmen kommen: „Wenn man zuallererst den Fünf-Skandha-Körper, der als Frucht [von früheren Taten] entstanden ist, als (1) unbeständig und nicht-ewig, als (2) mit Leidhaftigkeit [behaftet], als (3) leer₂ und (4) ohne Ich und Mein versteht₂, ...“.¹⁴ Das könnte teilweise zurückgehen auf eine sehr alte Form der Überlieferung. Auch im Dīghanikāya werden die fünf Upādāna-Skandhas für das Leid verantwortlich gemacht (Franke 1915: 464 ff.). Drei von

7 So in Abhi A 107 a 3.

8 Maitr 91 r. 6–12: ... *tugmak ölmäk tüšmäk taymak örtänmäk sınmakta ulatı ämgäklärig ukıtu y(a)rlikar: ämgäk tıltagın ämgäk öcmäkin ämgäk öcmäkinä barguluk säkiz törlüg tözün yolug ukıtp*

9 MaitrH II 4 b 1.

10 Maitr 153 r. 7–8 (korrigiere die Übersetzung). Vgl. dazu Nakamura (1976: 265, 4).

11 So wird in BT XXV 0557–0558 davon gesprochen, dass „das Verweilen in dieser Drei-Welt Leid ist ... (*bo üc uguş yertinçütä ärmäk ämgäk ärip ...*)“.

12 BT XXV 3114.

13 HT VII 1496.

14 MaitrH II 13 a 21–24: *äj ilki tıltag tergin bolmış beş yapag ätözüg ülgüsüz* (lies: *ürlüksüz*) *mänüşüz ämgäk tözlüğün kurug kovuk m(ä)n mänjiligsiz uksar bilsär* Auch an einer anderen Stelle dieses Textes (Maitr 164 v. 30–32) wird der Leser ermahnt, „genau zu erkennen, dass der Fünf-Skandha-Körper ein leidvolles Wesen hat (*beş yapag ätöznün ämgäk tözlüğün tetrü uk-*)“.

den vier Charakteristika des Fünf-Skandha-Körpers findet man ebenfalls schon im Dīghanikāya: die Unbeständigkeit (1), das Leid (2) und die Ich-losigkeit (4) (Franke 1915: 461–468). Die „Leere (*kurug*)“ ist vielleicht später dazu gekommen. Im chinesischen Buddhismus kennt man die 4 Dogmen als die „Vier Dharma-Almosen [des Buddha] (chin. *si fa shi* [G. 10291 3366 9934])“ (Nakamura 1976: 531 c). In den uigurischen Abhidharma-Texten haben die 4 Dharma-Almosen die folgenden Bezeichnungen: „die Unbeständigkeit, das Leid, die Leere, die Ich-losigkeit (*ürlüksüz ämgäk kurug mänsiz*)“.¹⁵ Die Reihenfolge ist so, wie man sie in der Definition der ersten „Wahrheit“ des Maitrisimit-Textes findet. Das erste von diesen „Almosen“ gibt quasi eine Begründung für die Leidhaftigkeit des Daseins und erinnert etwas an den dritten „Typ“ des Leids, den wir unter Punkt 5.1 näher besprechen werden.

3.2. Die Wahrheit von der „Ansammlung des Leids (*ämgäk tergini*)“

Der uigurische Terminus „Ansammlung“ ist eine Lehnbedeutung, vielleicht auch eine Lehnübersetzung nach chin. *ji* (G. 906) „(sich) sammeln“, das z. B. in der uigurischen Abhidharmakośabhāṣya das Äquivalent von atü. *tergin* ist.¹⁶ Die wirkliche Bedeutung wird klarer, wenn man liest, dass Buddha seiner Mutter und der Götterschar „das Geboren-Werden, das Sterben, das Herabsinken₂ [in niedrige Existenzformen], das Brennen und das Gebrochen-Werden (?) [in der Hölle] und die übrigen Leiden erklärt. Er erklärt die Ursache des Leids, das Erlöschen des Leids und den zum Erlöschen des Leids führenden Achtfachen Edlen Pfad ...“.¹⁷ Anstelle von „Ansammlung des Leids“ heißt es hier also: „die Ursache des Leids (*ämgäk tiltagı*)“. In anderen Texten findet man alternativ auch: „die Entstehungsursache des Leids (*ämgäkniñ tugguluk tiltagı*)“.¹⁸ In einer expliziten Formulierung heißt es: „die Ansammlung ist die Ursache für das Leid (*tergin bolur ämgäkkä tiltagı*)“.¹⁹ „Ansammlung“ bedeutet also: „die Tatsache, dass ... das Leid aus [Taten]-ursachen₂ angesammelt wird (... *ämgäkniñ avınlartın tiltagıların terilürı*)“.²⁰

Die Tatenursachen entstehen wiederum aus der Gier nach Existenz, die den Menschen beherrscht. Im Maitrisimit-Text heißt es deshalb, dass „das Ergreifen von Existenz, das die Wurzel₂ von allen Leiden ist (*alku ämgäklär tözi yıltızı bolmıš*

15 Abhi A 63 a 9; ähnlich auch Abhi A 50 a 6.

16 AbhiShō 39 r. 52.

17 Maitr 91 r. 6–12.

18 ÄgFrag III 41:7.

19 Abhi A 147 a 13.

20 ShōAgon 260.

ažun tutmak)²¹ im Nirvana zuallererst verschwindet. Diese Gier nach Existenz ist auch gemeint, wenn das Leid in Verbindung mit den „Befleckungen/Leiden-schaften (skr. *kleśa*)“ erwähnt wird. So wird das Leid auch genannt: „die mit Kleśa verbundenen Leiden (*nizvanilg ämgäklär*)“, ²² „das Kleśa-Leid (*nizvani ämgäk*)“, ²³ „das Leid der Gier-Kleśas (*az nizvanilg ämgäk*)“²⁴ oder „die Leiden der Gier-Taten (*az kılınč ämgäklär*)“.²⁵ In dem Kommentar zum Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra wird die zweite „Wahrheit vom Leid“ einfach als „Befleckung (*nizvani*)“²⁶ bezeichnet.

Im Maitrisimit-Text wird gesagt, dass das Erkennen der Ursache des Leids auch das Erkennen des Mechanismus der Wiedergeburt bedeutet: „(24) die zweite [Edle Wahrheit ist] (26–27) das Erkennen, warum der [jetzige] Fünf-Skandha-Körper entstanden ist, (26) dass er [nämlich] erschienen ist, (24–25) weil der [frühere] Fünf-Skandha-Körper, der die Ursachen-Ansammlung [des jetzigen Körpers] gewesen ist, (25–26) die Ursache [des jetzigen Körpers] hervorgebracht hat.“²⁷

Otto Franke hat in seiner Analyse des Dīghanikāya gegen die Annahme polemisiert, Buddha „habe das Leiden als Folge der Taten früherer Existenzen aufgefasst“ (Franke 1915: 469). Wie der zuletzt aus Maitrisimit zitierte Beleg zeigt, wird die Karma-Lehre auch in späterer Zeit mit der Ursache des Leids in Verbindung gebracht. Uns scheint daher die von Franke verurteilte Annahme nicht so abwegig. Auch in der Nidāna-Reihe steht ja die „Gier (skr. *trṣṇā*)“ in direkter Nachbarschaft zu den Fünf Skandhas. Der Grund dafür, dass der frühere Fünf-Skandha-Körper den jetzigen Fünf-Skandha-Körper hervorgebracht hat, ist ja eben die „Gier (skr. *trṣṇā*)“.

3.3. Die Wahrheit vom „Verlöschen des Leids (*ämgäk öčmäki*)“

Aus dem Maitrisimit-Text und aus den Avadāna-Texten ist die uig. Bezeichnung für die Dritte Wahrheit bekannt: *ämgäknīñ öčmäki amrılmakı* „das Verlöschen und

21 MaitrH Yūk 8 b 5–6.

22 Suv 75:4.

23 Genzan 70.

24 BT XXV 0387. Im Index (S. 334 a) ist die Zuordnung der Attribute unzutreffend und abweichend vom Text.

25 BuddhUig I 39.

26 BT XXIX 431.

27 MaitrH II 13 a 24–27: (24) *ikinti tıltag* (25) *tergin bolmıš beş yapag ätöznüñ tıltagın* (26) *b(ä)lgürmišin b(ä)lgülüg bolmıšin nā* (27) *üçün bolmıšin ukmak bilmäk*. Weil diese Formulierung kompliziert ist, haben wir auch in der Übersetzung die Zeilen angegeben.

das Sich-Beruhigen des Leids²⁸ oder einfach: *ämgäk öčmäki* „das Verlöschen des Leids“.²⁹ Der Terminus *ämgäk öčmäki* geht letztlich zurück auf das mittelindische *dukkha-nirodha* oder das sanskritische *duḥkha-nirodha*. In der deutschen Übersetzung von Helmut Eimer wird das mit „Aufhebung des Leidens“ übersetzt (Eimer 2006: 21). Der uigurische Terminus ist eindeutig als Verbalabstraktum eines intransitiven Verbs zu verstehen. Um „das Verlöschen (*öčmäk*)“ des Leids muss man sich natürlich selbst bemühen. Und so ist wahrscheinlich die Aufforderung des Maitrisimit-Textes zu verstehen: „Tilgt die Ursache des Leids!“³⁰

Da die uigurischen Texte aber meist zum Mahāyāna gehören, wird in der Regel von den Buddhas oder Bodhisattvas gesagt, dass sie das Leid der Lebewesen „auslöschen (*öčürmäk*)“.³¹ Sie sind es also, die „die Kleśa-Leiden beseitigen“³² oder „die Lebewesen in den Fünf Existenzen aus ihren bitteren Leiden herausziehen“³³ usw.

3.4. Die Wahrheit der „Acht Edlen Wege (*säkiz tözün yol*)“

Das ist der von Buddha erkannte „Edle Achtfache Pfad“, der mit dem „Wissen um die vier edlen Wahrheiten“ beginnt (vgl. Eimer 2006: 20 ff.). Im uigurischen Abhidharmakośa wird er genannt: „der [achtfache edle] Pfad, der aus dem Leid herausführt (*ämgäktin üntürdäci yol*)“.³⁴ Im Maitrisimit-Text vergleicht man die Reihe mit einem Rad. Die ersten 3 Glieder sind die Speichen: (1) „rechte Ansicht (*oṇalı körümlüg*, = skr. *samyag-drṣṭi*), (2) Einsetzen der rechten Gesinnung (?) (*oṇalı bügüš urmak(i)g*, = skr. *samyak-saṃkalpa*),³⁵ (3) rechte Anstrengung (*oṇalı kataglanmak(i)g*, = skr. *samyag-vyāyāma*)“. Die nächsten 3 Glieder vergleicht man mit der Nabe des Rades: „(4) rechtes Reden (*oṇalı sav sözlüg*, = skr. *samyag-vāc*), (5) rechtes Handeln (Hend.) (*oṇalı iṣ küdüglüg*, = skr. *samyak-karmānta*), (6) rechtes Unterhalten des Lebens (*oṇalı öz eltinmäklig*, = skr. *samyag-ājīva*)“. Die beiden letzten Glieder sind der Radkranz: „(7) rechte Bewusstheit (Hend.) (*oṇalı*

28 S. o. unter 3.

29 S. o. unter 3.

30 Maitr 164 v. 32: *ämgäkniñ tıltağın üzmäläñlär*.

31 So in Suv 651:7.

32 Suv 75:4.

33 Suv 265:9.

34 Abhi A 52 a 7.

35 Das ist offenbar geprägt nach der Grundbedeutung von skr. *saṃkalpa* „Entschluss“ (vgl. Eimer 2006: 37).

ög köñüllüg, = skr. *samyak-smṛti*),³⁶ (8) rechtes Meditieren (Hend.) (*oṇalı dyan sakıñl(i)g*, = skr. *samyak-samādhi*).³⁷ Die Reihenfolge der Glieder des Edlen Pfades weicht ab von der gewöhnlichen Reihenfolge. Das werden wir unten (in Abschnitt 6) genauer untersuchen.

4. Die acht Formen des Leids

Das Leid wird in den terminologischen Handbüchern (vgl. z. B. Iwano 1979: 97 b) in 8 Formen eingeteilt. Die Bezeichnungen des Uigurischen sind: (1) „Leid der Geburt (*tugmak ... ämgäk*)“,³⁸ (2) „Leid des Krank-Werdens (*iglämäk ... ämgäk*)“,³⁹ (3) „Leid des Alterns (*karımak ämgäk*)“⁴⁰ oder alternativ: „Leid des Greises₂ (*ulug karı ämgäki*)“,⁴¹ (4) „Leid des Sterbens (*ölmäk ämgäk*)“,⁴² (5) „das bittere Leid der Trennung von dem, was lieb ist (*amrakta adr(i)lmak açığ ämgäk*)“,⁴³ alternativ auch: „Leid des Sich-Trennen-Müssens von den Lieben (*amraklartın adırılğuluk ämgäk*)“. ⁴⁴ Die Formen (1) bis (5) sind schon in der ältesten Formulierung der buddhistischen Lehre, im Dhīghanikāya belegt. Daneben findet man dort noch: „Kummer, Klage, Leid, Trauer und Verzweiflung sind Leiden, gebunden sein an Unliebes ist Leiden, ... wenn man nach etwas sich sehnt und es nicht erlangt, das ist Leiden ...“ (Franke 1915: 461). Im Uigurischen sind uns bisher nur die erwähnten 5 Formen bekannt geworden.⁴⁵

5. Das Leid als Grunddogma des Buddhismus

5.1. Die drei Typen des Leids

Das Grunddogma der Lehre, die Leidhaftigkeit der Existenz, muss natürlich einleuchtend begründet sein. Der „normale“ Mensch unterscheidet ja zwischen

36 Die Übersetzung „Bewusstheit“ nach Schumann (vgl. Eimer 2006: 21).

37 Die Reihenfolge, Übersetzung usw. orientiert sich an Eimer (2006: 20 ff.). Das +*IXg* metaphoricum, das nach jedem Glied folgt, kann in der Übersetzung entfallen.

38 UigFalt 14.

39 Maitr 198 v. 4.

40 MaitrH IV 1 b 19; auch Maitr 198 v. 4.

41 MaitrH II 4 b 14.

42 Maitr 198 v. 4; Suv 626:4.

43 Maitr 198 v. 5; U III 58 m. 5.

44 Suv 609:3.

45 Die Erwähnung der ersten vier Formen auch in Suv 112:13.

leidhaften oder leidvollen und angenehmen Empfindungen. Das hat man offenbar schon in alter Zeit als Widerspruch empfunden. Jedenfalls werden zu diesem Thema in der uigurischen Abhidharma-Literatur drei Aussprüche des Buddha kolportiert: „Wie viele Empfindungen (skr. *vedanā*) es gibt, es gibt keine [Empfindung], die nicht leidvoll ist“. ⁴⁶ Dann folgt: „Ihr sollt die Empfindung von Freude als Leid betrachten“. ⁴⁷ Und der dritte Ausspruch lautet: „Wenn man das Leid als Freude bezeichnet, [dann] ist das Perversion“. ⁴⁸ Das ist natürlich sehr knapp. Die Dogmatiker versuchen deshalb, die angenehmen Empfindungen als „im Wesen leidvoll“ darzustellen. Dazu gibt es eine Einteilung des Leides in 3 Typen.

In einem scholastischen Text, im uigurischen Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, wird die Leidhaftigkeit der konditionierten Erscheinungen unter 3 Aspekten ⁴⁹ vorgestellt:

Es gibt drei [Typen] der Leidhaftigkeit (*ämgäk tözlär*). ⁵⁰ Zuerst [kommt] die Leidhaftigkeit durch leid[volle Dinge] (*ämgäktä ämgäk töz*, skr. *duḥkha-duḥkhatā*), ⁵¹ [dann] zweitens [kommt] die Leidhaftigkeit durch Aktion (*kilinc ämgäk töz*, skr. *saṃskāra-duḥkhatā*) ⁵² und der dritte [Typ] ist die Leidhaftigkeit durch das Vergehen (*artamaksa* [lies: *artamakta*] *ämgäk töz*), ⁵³ auch genannt: Leid der Veränderung (*täḡšilmäk ämgäk*, skr. *vipariṇāma-duḥkhatā*). ⁵⁴

Der erste Typ braucht offenbar keinen Kommentar: Leidvolle Dinge sind eben leidvoll.

46 Abhi Ms. Stockh H 36 v. 53–54: *kayu näcä bar ärsär täginmäk yok ämgäk ärmäz boldač*. Vgl. dazu La Vallée Poussin (1971 4: 129).

47 Abhi Ms. Stockh H 36 v. 55–56: *sizlär tägimlig ol ämgäk üzä körgäli mänji täginmäkig*. Vgl. dazu La Vallée Poussin (1971 4: 129).

48 Abhi Ms. Stockh H 36 v. 57–58: *ämgäkig sözläsär mänji tep adı bolur tätrülmäk*. Vgl. dazu La Vallée Poussin (1971 4: 129).

49 „Das drei[fache] Leid“, chin. *san ku* (G. 9552 6258), vgl. Nakamura (1976: 460 b).

50 Uig. *ämgäk tözlär* ist die Übersetzung von chin. *ku xing* (G. 6258 4600), und chin. *xing* und uig. *töz* ist hier die Wiedergabe von skr. *-tā* zur Wiedergabe von Abstrakta. Man vergleiche dazu Röhrborn (2008: 303). Unglücklich ist die Übersetzung bei Shōgaito (2014: 139): „there are three types of suffering by their nature“.

51 Vgl. Nakamura (1976: 266, 3).

52 Vgl. Nakamura (1976: 242, 3).

53 Der Schreiber hat zuerst geschrieben: *artamaksa ämgäk töz ärür*. Kōgi Kudara hat hier sicher mit Recht einen Schreibfehler für *artamakta* vermutet. Nach *ärür* steht unter der Zeile ein Kreuz. Die Ergänzung, die über der Zeile steht, ist also hier einzufügen.

54 Abhi Ms. Stockh H 36 r. 8–9. Wir zitieren nach einer provisorischen Bearbeitung von Kōgi Kudara. Eine ähnliche Formulierung auch in Abhi Ms. Stockh H 36 r. 14.

5.2. Begründung für die Leidhaftigkeit der Freude

Der zweite und der dritte Typ aber werden im genannten Text ausführlich begründet. In der buddhistischen Dogmatik werden die Lehrsätze auf zwei Zeugnisse (atü. *tanuk*) gestützt. In erster Linie stützt man sich auf Aussprüche des Buddha. Solche Zeugnisse werden noch im uigurischen Buddhismus als *Āgama* (atü. *agam*) bezeichnet.⁵⁵ Im Paragraph 5.1 hatten wir 3 Aussprüche des Buddha zu diesem Thema zitiert. Das sind freilich nur „Behauptungen“, die vielleicht den einen oder anderen nicht überzeugen können. Deshalb folgt nun im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-Text als zweites Zeugnis (atü. *tanuk*) eine „Argumentation (atü. *yukdi*, skr. *yuktiḥ*)“:⁵⁶

Alle Lebewesen-Stämme finden Gefallen an irgendwelchen Kleidern₂, an Speisen und Getränken, an kühlen, warmen usw. Dingen, weil sie die Ursache von Freude sind. Wenn man [aber] diese [Dinge] zur Unzeit und im Übermaß zu sich nimmt und genießt, dann können [diese Dinge] Leid erzeugen. ‚Ursache von Freude‘ ist nicht angemessen [als Bezeichnung für diese Dinge]. Im Falle, dass [z. B. Kleidung] im Übermaß₂ [angezogen wurde] oder – selbst wenn [die Menge der Kleidung usw.] ausgewogen₂ ist –, allein unzeitgemäße [Kleidung] kann Ursache für Leid sein und Leid erzeugen. Deshalb muss man Kleidung usw. [richtig] erkennen: das Wesen [dieser Dinge] ist Ursache von Leid. [Aber] erst dann wird ihr Wesen klar, wenn das Leid (übermäßig) zunimmt₂.⁵⁷

Solche Argumentationen finden wir auch in einem liturgischen Text. Im Kṣanti kılğuluk nom heißt es, dass Speisen und Getränke sowie Kleidung von Bedingungen abhängig sind und im Übermaß durchaus leidvoll sein können. Das gilt auch für den dritten Typ („Leidhaftigkeit durch Vergänglichkeit“): Die Mitglieder der eigenen Familie, die man als Quelle von Freude betrachtet, müssen sterben und werden dann zur Quelle von Leid.⁵⁸

55 Vgl. HT V 0732–0733: *yukti agam iki tanuklar* „die beiden Zeugnisse, *yuktiḥ* und *āgama*“.

56 Dazu vergleiche man TFPSI (94 r., s. v. *yuktiḥ*).

57 Abhi Ms. Stockh H 36 v. 60–73: *alku kayu barınça ton kädim aš iğgü sogık isigtä ulatı savlarig alku tınlıglar uguşı taplayurlar bolur mänjiniñ tıltağı tep munı birök üdsüz ülgüsintä artok täğinsär ašasar ötrü uyur tugurgalı ämgäkig täğimlig ärmäz mänjiniñ tıltağı üklimiş asılmiş tušta azuča näčä yänä t(ä)ñ tüz bolsar ymä tāk üdsüziniñ ugrınta ötrü ämgäkkä tıltag bolup ämgäkig tugurdaçı bolgalı anın bilmiş k(ä)rgäk tonta ulatılar töz ärür ämgäknıñ tıltağı ämgäk üklimiş üdtä anıñ tözi temin ök ukulur.*

58 BT XXV 0558–0588.

6. Schlussbemerkung

Was im uigurischen Buddhismus eigentlich „uigurisch“ ist, wird man erst beurteilen können, wenn man den tocharischen und chinesischen Buddhismus besser kennt. Selbst von den uigurischen Stabreim-Dichtungen wissen wir, dass sie gelegentlich nach fremden Vorbildern gemacht sind. Auch in dogmatischer Hinsicht kommt uns Vieles zunächst fremd und ungewohnt vor. Auch da muss man damit rechnen, dass die Übersetzungs-Vorlage dafür verantwortlich ist, nicht aber der uigurische Übersetzer. So ist z. B. im Maitrisimit-Text die Reihenfolge der Glieder des Achtfachen Edlen Pfades abweichend von der üblichen Reihenfolge. Die beiden ersten Glieder des Pfades sind nach Eimer (2006: 34) „Vorstufen, die man erreicht haben muss, ehe man sich an die Gebote der Sittlichkeit halten kann“. Die Glieder 3 bis 5 sind dann diese „Gebote der Sittlichkeit“. Das folgende sechste Glied gehört in der frühen Überlieferung zusammen mit Glied 7 und 8 zur „Versenkung“. Es gibt offenbar dort keinen Hinweis, dass es in eine Gruppe mit den Gliedern 1 und 2 gehört (Eimer 2006: 22–42). Im Maitrisimit-Text aber stehen die Glieder 1 („rechte Ansicht“) und 2 („Einsetzen der rechten Gesinnung (?)“) in einer Gruppe zusammen mit dem Glied, das in der üblichen Reihung die Position 6 („rechte Anstrengung“, skr. *samyag-vyāyāma*) hat. Diese 3 Glieder bilden im Maitrisimit-Text die „Speichen“ des Dharma-Rades. Man kann vermuten, dass das eine willkürliche Schöpfung des Autors des tocharischen (?) Maitrisimit-Textes ist. Ein Rad mit zwei Speichen ist ja nicht denkbar. Also hat der Autor ein weiteres Glied der Reihe, das ihm geeignet schien, dazu genommen. Voraussetzung ist freilich, dass dieser Autor den Edlen Pfad „als eine bloße Sammlung von Begriffen“ verstanden hat, „die nicht in einer bestimmten Reihenfolge stehen müssen“. Nach Helmut Eimer lässt sich ein solches Verständnis schon in der frühen Überlieferung konstatieren (Eimer 2006: 37).⁵⁹

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HOW TO SAY ‘TO FUCK’ AND OTHER THINGS IN MIDDLE MONGOL

Obscene (and not so obscene) words are, due to prudery, seldom dealt with in Turkic and Mongolic lexicography. Rare exceptions are the works of Jens Peter Laut and Claus Schönig. In the following a short collection of MMo. words related to sexuality, sexual organs and action, abusive words and actions, as well as similar lexemes are presented. The collection is based on a manuscript of mine entitled “Etymological Dictionary of Middle Mongyol”.

lexicography, Old Turkic, Middle Turkic, Mongolic, sexuality, expletives

In the tradition of Jens Peter Laut (2005) and Claus Schönig (2014) I would like to present to the honouree a short vocabulary of coarse words as attested in the MMo. material. The list is based on my forthcoming *Etymological dictionary of Middle Mongyol* (Rybatzki, forthcoming), all MMo. quotations are from that work. In the translation more refined words have been used, but it would have been probably more accurate to translate ‘penis’ as ‘cock’, ‘vagina’ as ‘cunt’ and ‘to have sexual intercourse’ as ‘to fuck’, in most cases. As the vocabulary shows, the Mongols seem to have been rather down to earth, not really fitting into the cultural and religious world of medieval Central Asia, cf. for this aspect also Rybatzki (2016). For modern languages mostly only Oir., Kalm., Ord., Mogh., MoL, Khall, Dag/Ili have been taken into consideration. Due to puritanism, Mo./Tu.-Ru. dictionaries do not quote most of words dealt with in this paper. In this aspect it is interesting that Poppe (1938), in his edition of the *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, presented all rude words in Latin translation with Roman letters (mostly I have quoted them in

the original). The quotations of MMo. examples are restricted to those occurrences that are relevant for the subject of the paper. Last, it is my great pleasure to wish Marek a Happy Birthday!

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- ◇ *ala* ‘Leistengegend, Schenkelgabel’ [M] || Dag/Ili *al* ‘Stelle zwischen den Beinen; Damm’; BurT, BurS *ala* ‘Zwischenraum zwischen den Beinen’; Ord. *ala* ‘l’entre-deux des cuisses; vulve’; Kalm. *alv* ‘männliche Geschlechtsteile, männliches Glied’; MoL/Wuti *ala* [Ma. *sargiya*, Trki *čāt* (*cat*)] ‘Leiste, Leistengegend’ (Corff et al. 2013: 1299③); MoL *ala/n*, KhalL *al* ‘joint of the thighs, groin, crotch; pubic region; genitals’ – MYYC (102), Nugteren (2011: 266–267).

MNT: 7813 *bi ala-tur si-ekte-ece* ‘from that time I had a piss-pot at my crotch’ (de Rachewiltz 2015: 127)

- ◇ *amaraq* (≠ dev. n. ← *amara-* because of semantics, but < Tu.) ‘Liebe, Neigung, Freundschaft’ [M] | *amraq* ‘s’aimant l’un l’autre’ [S] | *amrax* ‘geliebte, Geliebte’ ~ *amraq* ‘Freund’ (Tu. or/and modern Mo. forms), *amuray* ~ *amiray* ‘Liebling’ [A] || Dag/Ili *amura/n* ‘Liebhaber’; Ord. *amaraq* ‘ami, aime, chéri’; OirD *amaray* ~ *amray* ‘amant, bien-aimé’, OirGl *amaraq* ‘friend’; Kalm. *am̃rey* ‘Freund, Geliebter, Liebling’; OirTxt *amaraq* ‘love, favorite, beloved’; Mogh/W72 *am̃ra* ‘Freund’ (< Mo. *amray* ‘Geliebter, Liebling’ [or: < Tu. (VR)]); MoghL/W75 *yamrah* ~ *yumrah* ‘Geliebte(r); Gefährte, Vertrauter; Freund, Herr’; EMoL *amaray* ‘friend, companion; intimate, cordial, friendly’ (Kara 2009: 10); MoL/Wuti *amaray* [Ma. *haji*, Trki *āmrāq* (*amirak*)] ‘lieb, geliebt, Liebling’, *amaray nōker* [Ma. *haji gucu*, Trki *āmrāq dōšt* (*amrak dos*)] ‘geliebter Freund, Intimus’ (Corff et al. 2013: 1429①, 1230③); MoL *amaray* ~ *amuray*, KhalL *amrag* ‘love, affection; beloved, dear, darling’ • Mo. < Tu. (→). Tu. (VIIIff) *amraq* dev. n. fr. *amra-*; properly ‘benign, friendly’, it came also to mean ‘to whom one is friendly; beloved, dear’; it is often difficult to determine which sense is uppermost. It became an early l.-w. in Mong. as *amaraq* ‘love, friendship’; survives in some NE, SE, and perhaps NW languages, the dissyllabic forms being true survivals and the trisyllabic ones borrowings fr. Mo. – Cag. (XVff) *imray* (*sic*) ‘desired, loved’; Xwar. (XIII) *amīraq* ‘friendly’; Qom. (XIV) *amraq* ‘having a liking for (sth.)’; Qipč. (XIII) *amraq bol-* ‘to love (passionately)’, (XV) *amraq* ‘inclination towards (someone)’ (C72: 162–63) – Rö (118–123, esp. 120–121), TMEN (§ 554). According to Poppe (1962: 334), MMo. > MTu., but the MTu. forms, are most clearly Tu. (←). Due to structure, Xwar. (←), and UigS *amīraq* ‘amical, aimable’,

(dans) *amīraq boldi* 'être en bons terms, lier une amitié' (Li66: 129) could be Mo. l.-w.s – MYYC (108).

MNT: 5037(2) *amaraq* (AT/58b[2] *amaray*) ~ HyS/19r: 5 | AL/65a, 70a; IMR/6: 8; MA/101a *amraq* [Cag. *amraq*] ~ IM/230 *amraq* ~ IM/208, 210 *amuray* ~ Ras: 186C13 *amiraq* [ArRas *al-zauj* 'husband, wife, couple']

→ *amara-ali-* (den. v. ← *amaraq*) 'Liebe, Neigung fühlen' [M] || Ord. *amrayla-* 'montrer de l'affection (parents envers leurs enfants, animaux envers leurs jeunes)'; Kalm. *amṛreyleχə* ~ *amreyleχə* 'sich befreundet'; MoL/Wuti *amaraylamui* [Ma. *hajilambi*, Trki *āmraq qīlādū* (*amirak keiladu*) ~ *āmīrq-lāydū* (*amirak-laidu*)] 'lieben' (Corff et al. 2013: 1429③, 1618②); EMoL (Li74), MoL *amarayla-*, KhalL *amraglax* 'to love, be intimate, show affection for, fall into love'.

MNT: 5036 *amara-alin alduba* 'they lived together in mutual affection' (AT/58b *amaraylan yabubai*)

- ◇ *arqal* (in placenames) 'trockener Mist' [M] | *haryal* ~ **haryawul* (→ *haryawultu*) 'Mist, Dung' [A] || Ord. **aryal* 'bouse sèche servant de combustible'; OirD *aryasan*, OirDz *aryasun* ~ *àraysun*, OirU *aryas* 'bouse sèche servant de combustible', OirGl *aryasun* 'manure, dung, droppings'; Kalm. *aryeṣṇ* 'trockener Rindermist (als Brennmaterial)'; OirTxt *aryal* 'dung, droppings' ~ *aryasun* 'dried dung, excrements'; MoghL/W75 *warg* 'schmutzig; Schmutz; Makel' [< Tu.]; MoL/Wuti *aryal* [Ma. *fajan*, Trki *tazak* (*tadzak*)] 'Mist von Tieren, Pferden, Vieh und Vögeln. Nur der Falkenmist heißt *šoṣon*' (Corff et al. 2013: 4220④); MoL *aryal* ~ *aryasun*, KhalL *argal* 'dry dung of animals used as fuel' – MYYC (118), Nugteren (2011: 350) • Tu. **harq* → Tu. (XI) *arq* 'excrement', esp. 'human excrement'; survives in NE Khak. *arix* 'dung' [and WYug. *a^hrq^h* [vs. *halyar* etc. < EYug.], Khlj. *harq* 'Exkrement (von Mensch, Hund, Katze usw.)' (Doerfer, Tezcan 1980: 128; Nugteren, Roos 1996: 60–61)] (C72: 213) • Mo. > Tu. (Nugteren, Roos id.; Ölmez 1998: 168; VEW: 25). Mo. > Tung. (Doerfer 2004: 89; MT §516; Rozycki 1994: 72–73 [early Mo. > Ma.]).

IM/220; MA/182a(2), 336a, 378a *haryal* 'Pferdemist' [Cag. *tezäk*]; MNT: 6230, 6234, 6304 *arqal-geügi* placename; MA/238b *morin haryal* [Cag. *at tezäki*] 'horse dung', /378a *ükerün haryal* [Cag. *uy tezäki*] 'cow dung' • Tu. (VIIIff) *täzäk* 'dung'; more specifically 'animal dung'. S.i.a.m.l.g. – Cag. (XVff) *tezäk* 'animal dung'; Qipç. (XIII) *täzäk* 'horse dung', (XIV) *täzäk* ~ *däzäk* 'dry dung', (XV) *täzäk* 'dung' (C72: 574; TMEN §902; VEW 477)

- ◇ *bā-* 's. Notdurft verrichten' [A] || Dag/Ili *bā-* 'sich ausleeren, seine Notdurft verrichten; besudeln'; BurNU, BurT *bānam* 'seine Notdurft verrichten'; Ord.

bā- ‘se décharger le ventre de gros excréments’; OirD *bāsaldna* [MoL *bayasu alda-*] ‘chier’, OirGl *bā-* ‘to relieve oneself, defecate’; Kalm. *bāχə* ‘scheißen, seine Notdurft verrichten’; MoL/Wuti *bayamui* (i) [Ma. *hamtambi*, Trki *čičādū* (*cicadu*)] ‘scheißen’ ~ *ödken mori üjemüi* [Ma. *muwa edun tuwambi*, Trki *hāgātgā bārādū*] ‘<dicken Wind schauen> [MoL <kurz nach den Pferden schauden> (VR)], Euphemismus für <zur Verrichtung großer Notdurft hinausgehen>’, (ii) [Ma. *fajambi*, Trki *tazak-lāydū* (*tadūzak-laidu*)] ‘misten’ (Corff et al. 2013: 1328①②, 4221①); MoL *baya-*, KhalL *baax* ‘to excrete, have a bowel movement’ – MYYC (129), Nugteren (2011: 276).

AL/72b; MA/115b(3) *bāba* [Cag. *čišti* (2) ~ *čičmaq*] • for Tu. (XI) *čiš* cf. *cisi-* → *baqaur* (dev. n. ← **baqa-*) ‘hind, buttock’ [S] | *bayawur* ~ *baqawur* ~ *bayayur* ~ *baqa-ur* ~ *bayūr* ‘After, Hintern(teil), Arsch’ [A] – Li62: 17–18 || Dag/Ili *bohoř* ‘After’; Ord. *buχūr* ‘derrière, cul, anus’; Kalm. Ø?; MoghRa *buyār* ‘After, der hintere Teil’; MoghL/W75 *bāgar* ‘Arsch’; MoL *baqur* ~ *buqur* ~ *buqayur*, KhalL *buxuur* ‘buttock, ramp’ – MYYC (128–29, 161).

Zhi: 259 *baqaur* ~ AL/64b *bayawur* ~ Ras: 199A13; VdI/151a *bayayur* [MTuRas *köt*] ~ MA/111a *baqawur* [Cag. *köt*] ~ IM/213 *bayūr*; MA/384b *χatundun baqa-urin qijār* [Cag. *χatu[n]niñ köt tegräsi*] ‘округлость; nates feminae’; MA/111a *baqa-wurin qacar* [Cag. *köt tegräsi*] ‘Arschbacken (задние щеки)’; MA/111a *baqawu-rin tüngelik* [Cag. *tešükiniñ tegräsi*] ‘surrounding of the anus’; MA/192b *hütügünü baqawurin jūra* [Cag. *amniñ kötniñ arasi*] ‘промежуток между vulva и anus (perinaeum)’; MA/111a *baqawurun dotar* [Cag. *köt içi*] ‘внутренность nates’; MA/163a *ereyin bayawurin qijār* [Cag. *erniñ köt tegräsi*] ‘округлость; ani мужчины’ • Tu. (XI) *köt* (g-) ‘backside, buttocks’; s.i.a.m.l.g., but like other similar words rarely listed in mod. dicts; SW Osm. *göt* – Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XIII–XV) *köt* ‘backside, buttocks’ (C72: 700; TMEN §1657; VEW 294) ≈ Tu. *tešük*, cf. *nüke/n*

→ *baqaus* (written: *yaqaus*; dev. n. ← **baqa-*) ‘buttocks’ [A] • Unclear word, cf. previous word and correct to *baqaur*?

→ *bayasun* ~ *bāsu/n* (dev./den. n. ← **baya-* ~ *bā-/baqa* ~ **bā*) ‘Kot, Exkrement, Scheiße; human excrement’ [A] || Dag/Ili *bās* ‘Kot, Scheiße, Dreck’; BurCas *bāhaŋ* ‘Koth’; Ord. *bāsu* ‘gros excréments’; OirD *bāda* ‘cottin’, OirGl *bayasun* ‘dung, excrement’; Kalm. *bāsq* ‘Scheiss, Kot, Dreck’; OirTxt *bāsun* ‘dung, droppings, excrement’; MoL/Wuti *bayasu* [Ma. *hamu*, Trki *fūq* (*puk*)] ‘Scheiße, Kot’ (Corff et al. 2013: 1328①); MoL *bayasu/n*, KhalL *baas/an* ‘excrement, manure, dung’ – Nugteren (2011: 276) • The origin of this whole wordgroup might be Tu. (VIIIff) ¹*boq* (i) ‘green mould’; (ii) ‘excrement, dung’; s.i.a.m.l.g.

in the second meaning, in the first only(?) in NE Koib., Sag. *poy*; the secondary meaning 'metallic slag' also occurs – Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XIII–XV) *boq* '(Qom.) dung; (Qipc.) (human) excrement' (C72: 311; VEW 294).

AL/69a; IM/214; MA/115b, 346b *bāsun* [Cag. *boq*] ~ Ras: 199B2; Vdl/151a *bayasun* [ArRas *al-ʿadira* 'human excrement', PeRas *gūh*, MTuRas *boq*, *ariq aidaŋ* 'excrement', also 'human excrement'] • For *ariq*, cf. *h/arqal*

MA/177a *yaryaba bāsutu yama* 'shed dung (извлек навозную вещь)' [≠ Cag. *üč borčluq nemä* 'sth. triangular (треугольная вещь)']

- ◇ *bōlji- ~ bōlje- ~ bō-ölje-* 'erbrechen; kotzen' [A] || Ord. *bōlji-* 'vomir; pousser de épis (céréales)'; OirD *bōljisen* (part. pass.), Oir/Kho *bōljīlē* 'vomir', OirGl *bōlji-* 'to vomit, throw up'; Kalm. *bōljʰχə* 'sich erbrechen, vomieren'; OirTxt *bōlji-* 'to vomit, throw up'; EMoL *bōgelji-* 'to vomit' (Kara 2009: 48); MoL *bōgelji-*, KhalL *bōölžix* 'to vomit; to bloom (as grain)' – MYYC (160), Nugteren (2011: 286).

MA/123b *bō-öljebe* [Cag. *qustī*] • Tu. (VIIIff) *qus-* 'to vomit'; s.i.a.m.l.g. – Qom. (XVff), Xwar. (XIV), Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XIII–XV) *qus-* 'to vomit' (C72: 666; VEW 304)

Ras: 199B1 *bōljekü* 'vomit' [ArRas *al-qay* 'vomit', PeRas?, MTuRas *qusmaq*]

→ *bō-öljewül-* (caus. ← *bō-ölje-*) [A] || MoL *bōgeljigül-*, KhalL *bōölžüülöx* 'to cause to vomit'

MA/123b *bō-öljewülbe* [Cag. *qusdurdī*] • Tu. (XI) *qustur-* caus. of (†) *qus-*; 'to make sick' (of wine); s.i.m.m.l.g. (C72: 666)]

→ *bōljem* (dev. n. ← *bōlji-*) 'Erbrechen' [A] || Ord. *bōljidösü ~ bōljidös* 'materiès vomies'; OirGl *bōljisün* 'vomit, puke, nausea'; Kalm. *bōljʰsn* 'Auswurf'; OirTxt *bōljisü* 'vomit'; EMoL *bōgeljisün* 'vomit(ed substance)' (Kara 2009 id.); MoL *bōgeljisü/n*, KhalL *bōölžis/ön* 'vomiting, nausea; vomit, eructation' • The MMo. form is not known in Modern Mo. languages and instead of the dev. n. s. -*m*, -*sUn* is used (↓).

- ◇ *bökse* 'der Hintere, Steiß' [M] | *bökse* 'id.' [A] || Ord. *bögsö* 'derrière, la vulve'; OirD/Dz/U *bögs ~ bögsn* 'bout, la derrière'; OirGl *bōq* 'rump, posterior, buttocks' ~ *bōqsö* 'backside, rump', *bōqsö xudaldāci* 'prostitute'; Kalm. *ʰböksö* 'After, Hintertheil, Gesäss'; OirTxt *bōq* 'rear, torso' ~ *bōqsö* 'backside, ramp'; MoL/Wuti *bögse* [Ma. *ura*, Trki *şāğarī* (*sayari*)] 'Hinterer, Steiß, Arsch', *bögseyin ögejeg, basa qong kememüi* [Ma. *ura fulcin*, Trki *şāğarī göş* (*sayari g'oşı*)] 'Hinterbacke' (Corff et al. 2013: 1298③④); MoL *bögse/n*, KhalL *bögs* 'backside, posterior part, rear, rump, buttock' – Nugteren (2011: 287) • Originally Tu., with modern reborrowings? Clauson's remarks (→) concerning the semantics of the word in the MNT are not correct. The meanings are 'back' in §§96, 104

and ‘buttocks’ in §§209, 277, cf. de Rachewiltz (2015: 28, 32, 134, 196) • Mo. > Tu. [Cag. Kzx. Bar.] (VEWT 83).

MNT: 8202, 11515 | MA/123b, 304b, 388a *bökse* [Cag. *böksesi* [2] ~ *bîqîn*] • Tu. (VIIIff) *böksäg* ‘the upper part of the chest; a woman’s breasts’. As such n.o.a.b., but prob. the origin of Mong. *bökse*. This word is said to mean ‘the buttocks’, but it retains its original meaning as a reborrowing in Cag. and also in NC Kir., Kzx. *böksö*, and at least in one passage in the Secret History [MNT] this meaning suits the context better than ‘buttocks’ – Cag. (XVff) *böksä* ‘the part of the human or animal body above the waist’ (C72: 329; VEWT id.) ≈ Tu. (VIIIff) *bîqîn* ‘the hip, or flank’ of a human being or animal. Survives in NE Tel. *pîqqîn*, Khak. *pîxti* (i.e. *pîxim* with 3 p. poss. s.), Tuv. *bîyîn*; NC Kir., Kzx. *mîqîn* – Cag. (XVff), Xwar. (XIV), Qipc. (XIV) *bîqîn* ~ Qipc. (XV) *bîyîn* ‘hip, flank’ (C72: 316; TMEN §754; VEWT 73)

◇ *bölje-*, see: *bölje-*

◇ *böldöge/n* ‘testicle’ [A] – Li62: 21 || Ord. *böldögö* ‘pénis, surtout des petits garçons; testicule’; OirGl *böldögön* ‘testicles’; Kalm. *böldögñ* ‘die Weichen, Geschlechtsorgane der Frauen’; MoL *böldege/n*, KhalL *böldgö* ‘testicle[s]’ – Nugteren (2011: 288).

AL/68a; MA/123b *böldegen* [Cag. *yumurtqa*] ~ Ras: 199A12; VdI/151a *böldöge* [MTuRas *qočuqaq* or: **qočutaq* ≈ *tašaq*] • Uig. (VIIIff) *yumurtya* ‘egg (of a hen)’ – Tu. (XI) *yumurtya* ‘the egg’ of a hen or another bird, and ‘the testicle’ of a man or other animals, (XIV) *yumurta* ‘egg’; Cag. (XVff) *yumurtya* ‘id.’; Qom. (XIV) *yumurtqa* ‘id.’; Qipc. (XIII) *yumurtqa*, (Trkm.) *yumurda* ‘id.’, (XIV) *yumurtya* ~ *yumurda* ‘id.’, (XV) *yumurta* ~ *yumrutqa* ‘id.’; Osm. (XIV–XVI) normally *yumurda* (C72: 938; VEWT 211) ≈ Tu. *qočuqaq* unclear ≈ Tu. (XI) *tašaq* dim. form from ²*taš*, lit. ‘little stone’, in practice ‘testicle’; s.i.s.m.l.g., but the kind of word not widely listed in dicts – Tu. (XI) *tašaq* ‘testicles; the penis’, (XIV) *tašaq* ‘testicles’; Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XIII–XV) *tašaq* ‘id.’ (C72: 562; VEWT 466)

MA/123b *böldengeni arasun* [Cag. *yumurtqa terisi*] ‘Schale des Eis (oder: Haut des Sackes?)’

◇ *cici-* ‘to defecate’ [A] || Mogh/W72 *čiči* ‘Scheiße’; MoghL/W75 *čiči* ‘id.’ • Onomatopoeic? Translation according to Cag., perhaps influenced by Tu. *čišä-* (→). According to Weiers (Mogh/W72: 162), Mogh. < Pe. *čiči* ‘id.’.

MA/132b *cicibe* [Cag. *čišti* (*čišäti* ~ *čišädi*)] ‘defecated’ • Tu. (XI) *čiš* originally a quasi-onomatopoeic; survives in SW Osm. as a common n. for ‘urination, defecation’ – Tu. (XI) *čiš čiš* ‘an expression used by a woman when making a boy (etc.) urinate’; also used by a horseman when making his horse urinate

after a journey' → *čišä*-hap. leg.; den. v. fr. *čiš* – Tu. (XI) *oylan čišädi* 'the boy urinated and defecated'; this word is used only of children (C72: 430–31)

- ◇ *cocaq* 'penis' [A] • Not clear, but cf. Tu. (VIIIff/İB) *čäkik* 'penis of a small boy' (Erdal 1997: 82) and Tu. (XI) *čübäk* 'a boy's penis' – (↓) *ojoqa/i*.

MA/231b *kūkenü cocaq* [Cag. *oylan čočayı*] 'penis мальчика' •

- ◇ *cürek* 'Schamhaare' [A] • "Wahrscheinlich ein türkisches Wort, vgl. *čükrä* «Schamhügel»" (Poppe 1927/1928: 1273). According to Clauson, Tu. (XIV) *čögrä* (vocalisation uncertain) hap. leg. 'the pubes' vs. *yämdi* 'pubic hair' (C72: 935 [sub *yämdü*]).

- ◇ *ebür* 'Busen; Brust; Front, Vorderseite (eines Gebirges)' [M] | *ebür* 'versant méridional du Hing-ngan ling' [S] || Dag/Ili *xeut* (← *egüü-tü*) 'Warze' (Todaeva 1986: *xeur* 'Busen'); BurNU *eber*, BurX/S *öber*, BurT *úbür* 'Busen'; Ord. *öwör* 'poitrine, sein, giron, l'espace qui existe entre la poitrine et les vêtements; côté antérieur, penchant est d'une montagne ou colline'; OirD/Dz/T/U *öwür* 'les pans de la robe, sein; versant méridional (d'une montagne)', OirGl *öbör* 'front, breast, bossom'; Kalm. ²*öwr* 'Busen, Brust; Vorderseite (des Menschenkörpers, des Berges); Schoss, Süden, südlich'; OirTxt *öbör* 'front, breast, bossom'; MoghL/W75 *ubür* 'Brusttasche (auf Hemden oder Jacken)'; EMoL *ebür* 'boson, lap' (Kara 2009: 89); MoL *ebür* ~ *öbör*, KhalL *öwör* 'breast, bosom, front, lap; part of the dress or coat covering the breast; south; southern side of a mountain' – MYYC (537), Nugteren (2011: 324) • Mo. > Tu. (VEWT 368, 518).

→ *ebürit*- (den. v. ← *ebür*) 'an den Busen nehmen, zur Frau machen; im Busen hegen' [M] – Rao4.560 || Ord. *öwörlö*- 'mettre quelque chose la poitrine et les vêtements, garder dans son cœur'; Kalm. *öwrləxə* 'in den Busen stopfen, auf der Brust unter dem Rocke tragen, lieblosen'; OirTxt *öbörlö*- 'to cherish, love, hold in boson, to pocket' ~ *öbörle*- 'to put in one's boson'; EMoL *ebürid*- ~ *öbörle*- (Li74), MoL *öbörle*- ~ *ebürle*-, KhalL *öwörlöx* 'to put in one's bosom; to foster, cherish; to caress, fondle; to possess'.

- ◇ *etügen*, see: *hütügün*

- ◇ *yircang* 'penis (of animals)' [A] • Ord. *kirjaŋ* 'pénis [MoL *kircang* 'parties génitales, vessie']; Kalm. *kirčŋ* 'Harnblase; irgendwelche Sehnen (zwischen Anus und Genitalien)'; MoL *kirjaŋ*, KhalL *xyarzan* 'perineum' – Nugteren (2011: 414).

MA/152b *eljigenü yircang* [Cag. *ešäk čüki*] 'ослиный penis'; /238b *morin yircang* [Cag. *atniŋ čüki*] 'penis конь' • For *čük*, cf. *ojoqa/i*

- ◇ *güjir* 'pervers' ~ **güji* (→ *güjile*-) [S] || Ord. *güjir* 'violence, contrainte, brutalité, travail très dur, besogne très fatigante; excessif (travail, punition, impôt, etc.); etc.'; MoL/Wuti *kilis güjir*, *basa kilis ügei kememüi* [Ma. *sui mangga*,

Trki *ūbāl būldī* (*ubal buldī*) ‘schuldbeladen, sündenschwer’ (Corff et al. 2013: 0516①); MoL *gūjir*, Khall *gūžir* ‘slander, calumny; aspersion; libel; slanderous, stubborn, persistent, tenacious’ – MYYC (307).

→ *gūjile-* (den. v. ← *gūji/r*) ‘violenter’ [S] || MoL/Wuti *gūjirlemūi* [Ma. *bung-nambi*, Trki *bāšīlādū* (*basiladu*)] ‘Recht zu Unrecht machen, vergewaltigen, peinigen, bedrücken’ (Corff et al. 2013: 0524②); MoL *gūjirle-*, Khall *gūžirlex* ‘to slander, calumniate, accuse falsely’.

→ *gūjire-* (den. v. ← *gūji/r*) ‘to harm, do violence to’ [U] – Ra82: 85 || Ord. *gūjirde-* ‘subir des violences, des injustices’, = *gūjirle-*; OirTxt *gūjir-* ‘to slander, caluminate’; EMoL *gūjire-* ‘to commit suicide’ (Bosson 1969: 315; Kara 2009: 120); MoL/Wuti *amin gūjiremūi* [Ma. *ergen šelembi*, Trki *gān ūrāb yūrūdū* (*jan urab yuruidu*)] ‘das Leben riskieren’ (Corff et al. 2013: 2462③); MoL *gūjirde-*, Khall *gūžirdex* ‘to slander, caluminate’ – MYYC (307).

→ *gūjiregde-* (dev. v. ← *gūjire-*) ‘to be harming’ [U] || MoL **gūjirdegde-*
 ◇ [i]cigūr (dev. n. ← *ici-*) ‘Schande’ [U] | *hicu-uri* ‘id.’ [P] || Ord. *ičūri* ‘honte’; OirTxt *iciūri* ~ *icūūri* ~ *icūūri* ‘shame’; EMoL *icegūri* ‘shame, the feeling of shame, decency’ (Kara 2009: 121); MoL/Wuti *icigūri* [Ma. *girucun*, Trki *šarmi* (*šarmi*)] ‘Scham, Schimpf, Schande, Schmach’ (Corff et al. 2013: 2392①); MoL *icegūri* ~ *icigūr* ~ *icigūri*, Khall *ičgūūr* ‘shame, disgrace, ignominy; embarrassment’.

≈ *iceri* ~ *hicūri* (dev. n. ← *ice-* ~ **hicū-*) ‘shame; bashful’ ~ *üceri* ‘disgrace, baseness’ [A] || Ord. *ečir* ‘honte, confusion, gêne’; Kalm. *ičr* ‘Scham, Schamgefühl, Rücksicht auf etwas, Schande, Ehrlosigkeit’; OirTxt *icir* ‘shame, disgrace’, *icir ügei* ‘unequalled, peerless’; MoL *iceri* ~ *icir*, Khall *ičir* ‘shame, disgrace, dishonor’.

≈ MA/194a *iceri* [Cag. *uyat*] ~ Ras/o3C13 *hicūri* [ArRas *mustahī* ‘bashful’, PeRas *šarmgīn*, MTuRas *utlu*]; MA/194a *iceri ügei* ~ /361a *üceri* (read: *üceri ügei*) [(both) Cag. *uyatsiz*] ‘shameless’ • Uig. (VIIIff) *uyat* ‘shame, modesty, shyness’; practically syn. with *uvut*, with which it is used in Hend. in Uig.; connected with *uyad-* and *uyal-*, but morphologically obscure, possibly abbreviated dev. n. in *-t* from *uyad-*. S.i.a.m.l.g. as *uyat*, in SW only Trkm. *uyat*, XX Anat. *oyat* – Cag. (XVff) *uyat* ‘shame, modesty; disgrace, baseness’; Xwar. (XIV), Qom. (XIV) *uyat* ‘shame, modesty’ (C72: 268; VEWT 511) → Uig. (VIIIff) *uvutluy* den. n. fr. *uvut*; ‘modest, ashamed’; survives only(?) in SW XX Anat. *utlu* – Xwar. (XIV) *uvutluy* ‘modest’; Osm. (XIV) *utlu* ‘humble, modest’ (C72: 8; VEWT 517)

← *hice-* ‘sich schämen’ [M] | *hice-* ‘id.’ [S] | *hici-* ~ *hice-* ~ *ici-* ~ *ice-* ‘id.’ [A] || Dag/Ili *xiče-* ‘sich schämen’; BurNU *išenām*, BurT/X *išināp*, BurS *ičinep* ‘id.’;

Ord. *eči-* 'avoir honte, éprouver de la confusion, éprouver de la gêne'; OirGl *ici- ~ icu-* 'to be ashamed'; Kalm. ¹*ič'χə* 'id.'; OirTxt *ice- ~ ici-* 'to be ashamed, embarrassed'; EMoL *ice-* 'to be ashamed, to feel shame' (Kara 2009: 120); MoL/Wuti *icimüi* [Ma. *girumbi*, Trki *ūvātādū* (*uwatadu*)] 'sich schämen' (Corff et al. 2013: 2393①); MoL *ice- ~ ici-*, KhalL *ičix* 'id.' – MYYC (415), Nugteren (2011: 356).

MNT: 9620 *hiceba* ~ IM/195 *hicibe* ~ MA/184b *hicibe* ~ MA/194a *icebe* ~ MA/194a(4) *icibe* [Cag. *uyaldī ~ uyaltī*; AL/72a *qoyāla hicibe* 'sie schämten sich' • Tu. (XI) *uyal-* 'to be ashamed (by sth.); to be put to shame'; presumably a crasis of **uyadīl-*. S.i.a.m.l.g. except SW, where it was replaced by *utan-* (*uvtan-*) – Cag. (XVff), Xwar. (XIV), Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XIV–XV) *uyal-* 'to be, feel ashamed' (C72: 272–73; VEWT 511)

- ◇ *kele/n* 'Zunge; Rede, Worte, Nachricht, Sprache' [M] | *kelen* 'langue' [S] | *kele/n* 'Sprache' [U] | *kele* 'parole' ~ *kelen* 'language; Erzählung, Geschichte; tongue; speech' [A] – Li62: 49–50 || BurNU *kelen*, BurT *kelen/g*, BurX *kelen*, BurS *xele* 'Zunge'; Ord. *kele* 'langue, langage, nouvelle'; OirD/Dz/U *kelen* 'langue, language', OirGl *kelen* 'tongue, sting, news; spring of a lock'; Kalm. ¹*keln* 'Zunge, Sprache, Unterricht'; OirTxt *kele* 'language, tongue, speech', *kelen ora-* 'to start speaking'; Mogh/Ra *kelān* 'Zunge', Mogh/W72 *kel'ān* 'Sprache, Rede, Worte'; MoghL/W75 *kilan* 'Zunge, Sprache, Wort, Rede', (pl.) *kilat* 'Zungen, Sprachen'; EMoL *kele* 'tongue, language' (Kara 2009: 143); MoL/Wuti *kele* (i) [Ma. *helen*, Trki *tīlčī* (*tīlčī*)] 'der Sprache des feindlichen Landes Kundiger, Agent, Spion', (ii) [Ma. *ilenggu*, Trki *tīl* (*tīl*)] 'Zunge' (Corff et al. 2013: 1180③, 1279④); MoL *kele/n*, KhalL *xel/en* '(i) tongue; (ii) anything resembling a tongue; bell clapper, tongue of a buckle, etc.; (iii) language, dialect, speech' – MYYC (340), Nugteren (2011: 409) • Recent Mo. > Ma. (Rozycki 1994: 104).

→ *kelewün* (den. n. ← *kele/n*) 'clitoris' || Ord. *kelū* 'id.'; MoL *kelū* 'id.', KhalL/B *xelūū* 'id.'.

MA/215a *kelewün* [Cag. *tīlaq*], /389a *yeke kelewün* [Cag. *uluy tīlaq*] 'big clitoris' • Tu. (XI) *tīlaq* (*d-*) dim. f. of *tīl*; 'the clitoris'. Survives in SW Osm. *dīlaq* and prob. all modern language groups, but the kind of word often omitted fr. dicts.; l.-w. in Pe. – Qipc. (XIII–XV) *tīlaq* 'id.'; Osm. (XVff) *dīlaq ~ tīlaq* (also *dīlčik*) 'id.' in several Ar. and Pe. dicts. (C72: 495; TMEN §925)

- ◇ *köken ~ kökö* '(Frauen-)Brust', (pl.) *kököt* 'Brüste' [M] | *kökö* 'breast/s' [S] | *köke/n* 'sein, poitrine; weibl. u. männl. Brust' ~ **kökel* (→ *kökeldaš*) [A] – Li62: 51 || Dag/Ili *kök* 'weibliche Brust, in: *kök turu-* 'stillen, säugen'; BurNU/T *kökün*, BurS *xöxö*, BurX *xöxön/g* 'Brustwarze'; Ord. *gö^kχö* 'mamelle, pis, tétine, trayon;

pénis des petits garçons; éminence arrondie à la surface d'un object'; OirD *kókun*, OirDz *kökkö*, OirU *kökön* ~ *kök* 'sein, mammelle; pis', OirGl *kökön* 'breasts, teats'; Kalm. *kökñ* 'Zitzen, Brüste'; OirTxt *kögkin* 'breasts'; Mogh/Ra *kökä* 'Zitze', Mogh/W72 *kək* 'a ~ qəq' 'Brust'; MoghL/W75 *kukah* 'Brust, Euter'; MoL *köke/n* ~ *kökö/n*, Khall *xöx* 'female breast, nipples; udder' – Nugteren (2011: 425).

MNT: 9610 | AL/68a; MA/22ob *köken* [Cag. *emčäk*] ~ MNT: 9612, 9613 | Zhi: 258 *kökö* ~ IM/213; Ras: 198C23; Vdl/149a *köke* [ArRas *al-ṭady* 'female breast', PeRas *pistān* 'breast, nipple', MTuRas *emček*]; MA/346a *temēnū morinu köken* [Cag. *tewä ya atnñ emčäk*]; MA/154a *eme-in köke* [Cag. Ø] (→), /163a *ere-in köken* [Cag. *er emčäki*] 'male breast/chest'; MA/172 *göresünü köken* [Cag. *keyik emčäk*]; MA/275a *ökin kökin narca qatū bolba* [Cag. *qiz emčäki naruluqşadi*] 'the breast of the girl was hard like a pomegranate' (→); MA/378a *hüker qoninu köken* [Cag. *uynñ ya qoyññ emčäki*] • Tu. (VIIIff) *ämig* dev. n. fr. *äm*-, 'nipple, teat' or more generally 'breast, udder'; unlike *yälin*, which is used only for animals, used both of human beings and animals. Survives only in NE Tuv. *ämig*; SW Osm. *emik* 'sucked (dry)', etc. is a dev. n. *-ük* (pass.) and a different word. Elsewhere displaced everywhere by *ämčäk*, dev. n. in *-čäk* which is first noted in XIII, and s.i.a.m.l.g. (C72: 158–59; VEWT 41–42)

MA/158a *nardu adali köketü ökin* [Cag. *när ök emčäklik qiz*] 'a girl with breasts like a pomegranate' (←) ≈ MA/245b *nar kökentü bolba* [Cag. *nar emčäklik boldi*] 'was (a girl) with breasts like a pomegranate' (←)

◇ *kücü/n*, see: *gücü/n*

◇ *nayad*- 'spielen' [U] | *nāt*- ~ *nād/u*- 'scherzen, spaßen; spielen' [A] || Dag/Ili *nad*- 'spielen'; Bur/NU *nādenam*, BurT *nādenap*, BurX *nādanap*, BurS *nāsnap* 'id.'; Ord. *nād*- (*nādu*- ~ *nāda*-) 'jouer, se livrer à un jeu'; OirD/T *nādna* 'plaisanter, jouer', OirGl *nāda*- 'to disport, enjoy oneself', *ebē nād*- 'to play blindman's buff'; Kalm *nādχv* ~ *nādχv* 'spielen'; OirTxt *nād*- ~ *nāda*- 'id.'; Mogh/Ra *nōtunā* 'spielt', Mogh/W72 *nōtu*- 'tanzen, spielen'; MoghL/W75 *nātkū* ~ *nātükū* 'id.'; EMoL *nayad*- 'to play' (Kara 2009: 189); MoL/Wuti *nayadumui* [Ma. *efimbi*, Trki *ōnāyūdū* (*oinaidū*)] 'id.' (Corff et al. 2013: 1728②); MoL *nayad/u*-, Khall *naadax* 'to play, play games, play an instrument; to amuse or enjoy oneself' – MYYC (496), Nugteren (2011: 450) • In some circumstances the Tu. wordgroup (→) has an erotic connotation (Laut 2005; Schönig 2014; ↓ *oynaş*), thus included here.

AL/73a, 74a; MA/132a, 148a, 247(4), 309b(2) *nātba* [Cag. *oynadī*] ~ IM/200 *nāduba* ~ IMR/6:8 *nādaba*; MA/133b *cilek nātba* [Cag. *čiläk oynadī*] 'played (shooting at) the target (играл в мишень)'

→ *na-adum* 'amusement, jeu' [S] | *nādum* ~ *nādun* 'Belustigung, Kurzweil' [A] || BurCas *nādan* 'Spiel'; Ord. *nādam* 'jeu, badinage, plaisanterie; foire; pièce de théâtre (chez les Chinois)'; OirD/T *nādam* 'jeu', OirGl *nadan* 'play, game', *nādan* ~ *nādun* 'games, party', (pl.) *nāduud* 'games' ~ *nādān* 'play, a game'; Kalm/Dörbet, Kalm/Ölet *nādḡ* ~ Kalm/Ölet *nādḡḡ* 'Spiel, Neckerei'; OirTxt *nādu* 'games, play, diversions' ~ *nādun* 'game, sport, diversion'; Mogh/W72 *nʷunkʰɑdʰɑm* 'Tanz, Tanzen'; MoghL/W75 *nāt* 'Tanz, Spiel'; EMoL *naɣadun* 'play, entertainment' (Kara 2009 id.); MoL/Wuti *naɣadum* [Ma. *efin*, Trki *ōyūn* (*oiyun*)] 'Spiel' (Corff et al. 2013: 1727②); MoL *naɣadu/m* ~ /Ka *naɣadun*, KhalL *naadam* 'game, play; stage play; amusement, entertainment; festival, celebration, especially the national sport festival in Mongolia'.

HyS/17v: 4; HyA/4v: 3 *na-adum* ~ IM/199 *nādum* ~ MA/247l *nādun* [Cag. *oyun*]

→ *nādunci* 'player, jester' [A] || Ord. *nādamči* 'qui aime à raconter des farces des histoires pur rire, qui aime les farces; comédian (chez les Chinois)'; OirGl *naɣadumji* ~ *nādumji* 'player, joker'; MoL/Wuti *naɣadumci iniyedümci* [Ma. *efisi injesi*, Trki *ōyūnčī mōyūnčī* (*oyunci muyunci*)] 'Possenreißer und Spaßmacher' (Corff et al. 2013: 1734④); MoL *naɣadumci*, KhalL *naadamč* 'one who likes to play or to have fun; participant in a game or play; gay person; player; jester, performer'.

Ras/203C3 *nādunci* [ArRas *la* 'āb 'buffoon, mime', PeRas *bāzīgar* 'a rope dancer'; MTuRas *oyīnčī* 'player, dancer']

→ *nādu[q]ci* (dev. n. ← *nād-*; or read: *nāduci*?) 'musician, minstrel; entertainer' [S] || MoghL/W75 *nātūḡčī* 'Tänzer, Spieler'; MoL **naɣadu(y)ci*

- ◇ *naz* 'flirtatious, flirty, coquettish' [A] • Mo. (< Tu.) < Pe. *nāz* 'glory, glorification; pride, consequential airs, boasting; blandishments, soothing or endearing expressions used by lovers, or by parents to children, fondling, coquetry, amorous playfulness, feigned disdain; etc.' (St 1371). Osm. Krm. KazTat. *naz* 'Zierlichkeit, Koketterie', Kir. *naz* 'Vorwurf', Kmk. *naz* 'Verzierung' (VEWT 351).

MA/247r *naz kikci* [Cag. *naz qılquči*] 'flirty (person)'; /247r *naz kikci eme* [Cag. *naz qılur xatun*] '(MMo.) a flirty woman, (Cag.) the woman flirted' ~ (→) *nazlaba eme*

→ *nazla-* (den. v. ← *naz*) 'to flirt' [A] • Trki *nazla-* 'to coquette' (Ja64: 205), Osm. Krm. KazTat. *nazlan-* 'sich zieren' (VEWT 351).

MA/247r *nazlaba eme* [Cag. *naz qıldi xatun*] 'the woman flirted' ~ (←) *naz kikci eme*

- ◇ *nicügün* 'nackend' [M] | *nickün* ~ *nücügü/n* ~ **nücüge/n* (→ *nücügele-*) ~ *nicügü/n* ~ *nicüge/n* 'id., nackt, kahl, bloß' [A] – Li62: 57 || Dag/Ili *nišku* 'nackt'; Ord.

nüçügün ‘nu; qui n’a peur ni de perdre la <face> ni d’être battu, ni de s’attirer de vilaines affaires, etc., qui est méchant, violent et emporté, un brave-tout’; OirU *nücgün* ‘nu, déshabille’; OirGl *nücgün* ~ *nüçükün* ‘naked, bare’; Kalm. *nüçüñ* ‘id.’; MoL/Wuti *nicügün* (i) [Ma. *fulahûn*, Trki *qizil yer* (*keidzil yer*)] ‘entblöst, (splitter)nackt’, (ii) [Ma. *hûwantahûn*, Trki *yāb yālāng-gāč* (*yab yalangyači*)] ‘ohne Pflanzenwuchs, kahl’ (Corff et al. 2013: 0161④, 0183④); MoL *nicügün*, KhalL *nüçgen* ‘nude, naked; bare, barren’ – Nugteren (2011: 459).

MNT: 3518, 3519, 4107, 4122, 4124 *nicügün* ~ MA/262l(5) *nücgün* [Cag. *yalanqač*] ~ IM/212 *nicügen* ~ Ras/203B10 *nickün* [ArRas ‘*uryān* ‘naked’, PeRas *barahna*, MTuRas *yalin*]; MNT: 6126–27 *nicügün döreksen kö-ün* ‘nackend geborenes Kind’; Ras/202C26; VdI/151a *nickün köl* [ArRas *al-hāfi* ‘barefoot(ed)’, PeRas *pāy-barahnā*, MTuRas *yalin ayaq*] ‘pieds nus’ ~ MA/221r *köl nicügün* [*yalan ayaq*] • Tu. (VIII) *yalin* dev. n. fr. ²**yal-*; ‘naked’. Survives in SW Az. *yalin*; Osm. *yalin*, and in some other languages, e.g. Trkm., as *yalan* or more often *yalanqač* (**yalangač*) w. the usual phonetic changes – Cag. (XVff) *yalan* ‘naked’, also ‘cloth for a garment which has not been sewn together’, *yalanyač* ~ *yalanqač* ‘naked’; Xwar. (XIV) *yilan* ‘naked’; Qom. (XIV) *yalan* ‘bare’, *yalanqač* ‘naked’; Qipc. (XIV) *yalin qil-* ‘to make naked’, *yalanqaš* ‘naked’ (C72: 629–30; VEWT 182)

- ◇ *nüke/n* ‘trou (à propos du nez: narine), trombeau’, (pl.) *nüked* [A] – Li62: 59 || Dag/Ili *nug* ~ *nuh* ‘Öffnung, Loch’; BurNU/T *nükün*, BurX *nüxün*, BurS *nüxe* ‘Grube, Loch’; Ord. *nü^kçe* ~ *nü^kχü* ‘trou, enfoncement, terrier, fosse’; OirD *nük* ~ *nükün*, Oir/Dz *nük^e* ~ *nükkün*, Oir/U *nük* ‘trou’, OirGl *nüken* ~ *nükün* ‘id.’; Kalm. *nükñ* ‘Loch, Öffnung, Mündung’; OirTxt *nüken* ‘hole, aperture, chink’; MoL/Wuti *nüke* [Ma. *sangga*, Trki *töšük* (*tušuk*)] ‘Loch, Öffnung’ (Corff et al. 2013: 0191③); MoL *nüke/n*, KhalL *nüx* ‘hole, pit, chink, crevice, opening, orifice’ – MYYC (521), Nugteren (2011: 465).

IM/217; MA/158a, 206b, 262a; Ras: 198C2; VdI/149a *nüken* [Cag. *tešük*; ArRas *al-šimāh* ‘auditory meatus’; PeRas *sūrāh-i gūs* ‘orifice of the ear’; MTuRas *qula* (Red *kula* ‘aphtha’)]; MA/135a *ciqinu nüken* [Cag. *qulaq tešügi*]; /167b *e-üdenü kölin nekün* [Cag. *ešik ayaqinñ tešügi*]; /182a *hawurñ nüken* ~ /188a *hu-urñ nüken* [Cag. *gür tešüki*] ‘hole, pit of the grave’; /263b *ojayañ nekün* [Cag. *čoçaq tešüki*] ‘orificium urethrae externum’; /284b *qabarun nekün* [Cag. *burun tešüki*]; /329a *sükeyin nekün* [Cag. *baltu tešüki*]; /345a *tegirmenü gürin nekün* [Cag. *tägirmän tašinñ tešüki*] • Uig (VIIIff/Civ) *täšük* dev. n. fr. *täš-*; lit. ‘pierced’. S.i.m.m.l.g. usually as *täšik* for ‘hole, cavity, opening’, and the like. NE Tuv. *däjik*; SW Az., Osm., Trkm. *däšik* – Cag. (XVff) *tešik*, Xwar. (XIV),

Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XV) *täšik* 'hole' (C72: 565; TMEN §1002; VEWt 476) > MMoA *tešik* 'hernia, rupture' [Cag. *debbä* (< Pe. *daba* 'rupture' St 503)].

- ◇ *oja-* ~ *oju-* 'to kiss' [A] || Dag/Ili *oji* 'id.'; Kalm. *oz^oχ^e* (selt.) ~ *oχ^oχ^e* 'id.'; OirTxt *ozo-* 'id.'; MoL/Wuti *ojumui* [Ma. *ojombi*, Trki *šöyādū* (*suyadu*)] 'id.' (Corff et al. 2013: 1694④); MoL *oju-* ~ *oji-*, KhalL *ozox* 'id.' • Recent Mo. > Ma. (Rozycki 1994: 166).

AL/72a; MA/263b[3] *ojaba* [Cag. *öpti*] ~ IM/195 *ojuba* • Tu. (XI) *öp-* 'to kiss'; c.i.a.p.a.l.; the absence of citations prior to XI is fortuitous, the der. f.s occur at an earlier date – Cag. (XVff), Xwar. (XIII), Qom. (XIV) *öp-* 'id.' (C72: 5; VEWt 373)

- ◇ *ojoqa/i* ~ *ojaqai* ~ *ojoyai* ~ *ojayai* 'penis' [A] – Li62: 59 || Ord. *ojoyo* ~ *ojoyō* 'penis'; Kalm. *oz^oγā* ~ *ozā* (selt.) 'das männliche Glied'; MoL *ojoyo/i*, KhalL *ozgoi* 'id.' – Nugteren (2011: 466).

AL/64b *ojoqa* ~ AL/68a *ojaqai* ~ Ras: 199A9; VdI/15ob *ojoqai* ~ MA/263b *ojayai* [Cag. *čočaḡ*; MTuRas *sik*]; MA/346a *temēnū ojayai* [Cag. *tewe čüki*] 'penis верблюда' • Cag. *čočaḡ* 'penis' (↑; C72 Ø; VEWt Ø) ≈ Tu. (XI) *sik* 'penis'; homophonous with *sik-*. Survives in SW Osm. and perhaps elsewhere, but the kind of word deliberately omitted from many dicts – Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XIII–XV) *sik* 'penis, (Qipc. XIII) the male organ' (C72: 818) ≈ Tu. (XI) *čübāk* 'a boy's penis'. Hap. leg., but such words are often omitted in the dicts.; perhaps an earlier form of the syn. word *čük* which is s.i.s.m.l. including SW Osm. [and Tr. *çük* (vulg.) 'little boy's penis' (Red 162)] – Qipc. (XIV) *čük* 'penis' in opposition to 'vagina' (C72: 396; TMEN §1140)

MA/263b *ojayain hekin* [Cag. *čočaḡ baši*] 'glans penis'; /263b *ojayain nüken* [Cag. *čočaḡ tešüki*] 'orificium urethrae externum'; /263b *ojayain ḡassa* [Cag. *čük ḡassasi*] 'membrum virile'

- ◇ *hoqa-* ~ *oqa-* 'den Coitus ausüben' [A] || Ord. *oχo-* 'coïter (dit de l'homme)'; Kalm. *oχ^eχ^e* 'Beischlaf ausüben (vom Manne gesagt)'; MoghW72 *жкλ-* ~ *жкυ-* 'Geschlechtsverkehr haben'; MoghL/W75 *'uqqakū* 'id., beiwohnen'; MoL *oqo-*, KhalL *oxox* 'to have sexual intercourse (of humans, vulg.)' – Nugteren (2011: 466).

AL/74b *hoqaba* ~ IM/196; MA/266b-267a(9) *oqaba* [Cag. *sikdi* [3] ~ *sikti* [6]] • Tu. (XI) *sik-* (of the male only) 'to copulate' (with a female); s.i.a.m.l.g., but deliberately omitted from most modern dicts – Tu. (XI) *är urayutni sikti* 'the man copulated with the woman'; Tu. (XIV), Qipc. (XIII–XV) *sik-* 'to copulate' (C72: 818; VEWt 421)

- ◇ *oynaš* 'Geliebte' [A] • Mo. < Tu. (XI) *oynaš* dev. n. fr. *oyna-*; etymologically and semantically very close to *oynaq* but with a slight connotation of reciprocity,

usually ‘one who engages in an illicit love affair’. S.i.a.m.l.g. – Cag. (XVff), Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XVff), Osm. (XIVff) *oynaš* ‘(Cag., Qipc.) a loved one, (Qom.) concubine, harlot, (Osm.) illicit lover, concubine’ ← Tu. (VIIIff) *oyna-* den. v. fr. *oyun*; ‘to play’ and the like, sometimes ‘to play (a game, musical instrument, etc.)’ and sometimes ‘to play with (someone)’; there is sometimes a connotation of amorous dalliance – Tu. (XI), (XIII); Cag. (XVff), Qom. (XIV), Qipc. (XVff), Osm. (XIVff) *oyna-* ‘(Tu. (XI)) to dally, (Tu. (XIII)) to play, amuse oneself; (Cag., Qom., Qipc.) to play, (Osm.) ‘to lose (sth.) in gambling’ (C72: 274, 275; TMEN §671; VEW 359).

- ◇ *qančiq* ‘female of any animal, dog’ [A] • Mo. < Tu., but the meaning ‘bitch’ is not attested in Mo. sources. Tu. (XI) *qančiq* ‘bitch’; s.i.a.m.l.g. except NE(?) w. some phonetic changes – Cag. (XVff) *qančiq* ‘a bitch’, in *Rūmī* used more generally for the female of any animal; Qom. (XIV) *qančiq* ‘bitch’; Qipc. (XIII) *qančiq* ‘bitch’, (XIV) *qančuq* ‘id.’, (XV) *qančiq* one of the several words translating ‘dog’ (C72: 634–35; TMEN §1532; VEW 230).

MA/161a-b *ere ērebe qančiq noqai eme* [missing one word (cat)] [Cag. *erkäk tilādi tiši it dayi tiši möšük*] ‘a man looked for a female dog and a female cat (самец хотел суку и кошку)’

- ◇ *qarāl* (dev. n. ← **qarā-*) ‘curse’ [A] || Dag/Ili *χara-* ‘schimpfen, fluchen’; Ord. *χarāl* ‘malédiction, maléfice, sortilège malfaisant’; Kalm. *χarāl* ‘Verbannung, Schwur, Fluch, Verfluchung’; OirTxt *xarāl* ‘curse’; MoL *qariyal*, KhalL *xaraal* ‘curse, execration; evil spirit, bewitchment’ – MYYC (330), Nugteren (2011: 405).

AL/72b *mayui qarālī qarba* ‘he called down evil upon him’

- ◇ *qonjiasun* ‘Ausscheidungsorgane’ [M] • Only attested in the Secret History? Unclear.
 ◇ *qorqosun* ‘Stück Schafmiste’ [M] || OirD *xoryosun* ‘fiente de mouton’; Kalm. *γoryesun* ~ *γoryesun* ‘runde Kotkugel (der Schafe, Kamele und Pferde)’; MoL *qoryusun*, KhalL (only *xorgol*) ‘dropping of sheep and camels’ – MYYC (365), Nugteren (2011: 420) • Note the syn. forms *h/arqasun* ~ *h/arqal* and *qorqosun* ~ *qoryal*. This is a typical feature of MMo., a word with the same meaning might have been formed with the help of two different suffixes. But, at the beginning of the 18th c., when a standard literary language was being formed, only one suffix was chosen, as e.g. (†) MMo. *bōljim* ~ **bōljisün*, modern only *bogeljisü/n* etc.

≈ *qoryal* ‘Stück Schafmiste’ [A] || Ord. *χoryol* ‘fiente en forme de boule (moutons, chèvres, chameaux, etc)’; MoL *qoryal* ~ *qoryul*, KhalL *xorgol* ‘dropping of sheep and camels’ – MYYC (365) (here also words with *-sun*).

MA/346q *temēnū qoryal* [Cag. *tewä qumalaqī*] • Cag. *qumal* ‘rund’; Kzx. *qumalaq* ‘kugelförmig’, Cag. *qumalay* ‘Schafmiste kugeln’ < (Räsänen ~) Kalm/

Dörbet *χomyɣl* 'runde Kotkugel (des Schafes od. Kamels)'; MoL *qomuyul* ~ *qomul*, KhalL *xomool* 'horse dung'

- ◇ *quma* 'Konkubine' [A] || Unclear, P28 Tu. > Mo., but TMEN (§287), VEWt (299) Mo. > Tu.; according to Doerfer the word is Mo. because it was used originally only for concubine of Mo. rulers, and it is further possibly of Ch. origin. But if Mo., why not attested in Mo. languages? Note also that there was no use for concubines in the traditional Mo. culture – Rybatzki (2009: 164).

AL/65b; MA/309b *quma* [Cag. *quma*]

- ◇ *quyali* 'whore' [A] || Ord. *χuyal* ~ *χuyali* 'fornication, adultère'; OirGl *xuuli* 'lechery', *xuuli eme* 'indecent woman'; Kalm. ²χül' 'Hure, Kebsweib (der Fürsten)' [< Tu.?]; MoL/Wuti *quyali* [Ma. *garinga*, Trki *makarī-lik* (*mak'ari-lik*)] 'Buhlerin, Hure' = Ma. *baikû*, MoL *yangqan*, Trki *makarī gar* (*mak'ari g'ar*) 'Hure' (Corff et al. 2013: 2182③④); MoL *quyali*, KhalL *xiyalt* 'lust, lasciviousness; lusty, lewd'.

MA/306a(2); Ras/203B18 *quyali* [Cag. *zina*; ArRas *qaḥba* 'whore', PeRas *zan-i ḡar*, MTuRas *irsek epčī*]; MA/306a *quyali kibe eme* [Cag. *zina qıldi ḡatun*] 'die Frau hurte', /306a *quyali kibe emelē* [Cag. *zina qıldi ḡatun birlä*] 'er hurte mit der Frau' • Osm. KazTat. *zina* 'Buhlerei, Ehebruch', Kzx. *zina* [< Ar.] (VEWT 532a); Trki *zina*: [Ar.] 'adultery, fornication', z. *qıl-* 'to commit adultery' (Ja64: 337); Ar.-Pe. *zinā* 'fornicating, committing fornication; adultery' (St 623)

- ◇ *sibar* 'Schlamm' [M] | *šibar* 'boue' [S] | *šibar* 'boue, argile; Schmutz, Kot' [A] || Dag/Ili *šawr* 'Schmutz, Kot'; BurNU/T *šabur* '(NU) schwarze Erde; Schmutz, (T) Schmutz', BurS/X *šabar* 'Lehm'; Ord. ¹šawar 'boue, enduit de boue, terre servant à construire des murs, bousillagee, torchis, terre pétrie, terre cuite'; OirD *šawur* 'boue', OirGl *šabar* 'mud, clay, dirt'; Kalm. ²šawr 'Ton, Lehmerde, Dreck, Schmutz'; OirTxt *šabar* 'mud, clay, dirt'; EMoL *sibar* 'mud, mire' (Kara 2009: 258–59); MoL/Wuti *sibar* [Ma. *lifahan*, Trki *lāy* (*lai*)] 'Morast, Schlamm, Matsch, Modder, Dreck' (Corff et al. 2013: 0167②); MoL *sibar*, KhalL *šawar* 'mud, slush, morass, marsh, mire; clay, plaster, stucco' – MYYC (701), Nugteren (2011: 488).

HyS/2r: 6 | IM/217; MA/187a, 292b, 299a, 316b, 331a, 332a(2); VdI/147a *šibar* [Cag. *balčiq*]; MA/323a *singen šibar* [Cag. *suyuq balčiq*] 'liquid mud, mire'; MNT: 2322 *umubu sibar* 'tiefer Schlamm, in den man einsinkt' • Tu. (XI/Oghuz) *balčiq* 'mud'. al-Kāšyārī's description of the word as Oghuz is odd; s.i.a.m.l.g. w. various phonetic changes, and metatheses of -č- and -q – Cag. (XV) *palčiq* ~ Qom. (XIV) *balčuq* ~ Qipç. (XIII–XV) *balčiq* (in XV also *balšiq*) 'mud' (C72: 333; VEWt 60).

- ◇ *si-e-* ‘urinieren’ [M] | *sē-* (P: *sei-*) ~ *šei-* ‘id.’ [A] || Dag/Ili *še-* ~ *šē-* ‘harnen’; BurNU *šānām* ‘pissen’; Ord. *šē-* ‘uriner’; Kalm. *šēχə* ‘pissen, Wasser lassen’, *šēχə bāχə yazr* ‘Abtritt, Klosett’; OirTxt *šē-* ‘to urinate’; Mogh/Ra *seyinā* ‘pissst’; MoL/Wuti *sigemüi* [Ma. *sitembi*, Trki *šiyādū* (*syjadu*)] ‘pissen’ (Corff et al. 2013: 1327③); MoL *sige-*, KhalL *šeex* ‘to urinate’ – MYYC (711), Nugteren (2011: 495) • Prob. of. onom. origin, in OTu. *sid-* means to ‘urinate’, and *sik-* ‘(of male only) to copulate (with a woman)’ (C72: 799, 818; VEWT 421).

AL/72a *šeibe* ~ MA/337a *šeyebe* [Cag. *siydil*]; MA/259b *noqai kölēn örgübe šēbe* [Cag. *ayaqin[i] kötärđi it siymäk üçün*] ‘(MMo.) the dog raised his leg and pissed, (Cag.) the dog raised his leg because of the pissing’ • Uig. (VIIIff) *sid-* ‘to urinate’; s.i.a.m.l.g., usually as *siy-*, SW Trkm. *sī-*, cf. *qašan-* – Qom. (XIV), Qipic. (XIII–XIV) *siy-* ‘id.’

MNT: 6906 *si-eküi* ~ AL/69a *sēküi* ‘Urin’

→ *si-ekte* ‘Uriniertopf’ [M] • Structurally unclear, otherwise not attested?

MNT: 7813 *bi ala-tur si-ekte-ece* ‘from that time I had a piss-pot at my crotch’ (de Rachewiltz 2015: 127)

→ *sēsün* ~ *šēsün* ~ *ši-esün* (dev. n. ← *sē-* ~ *šē-* ~ *ši-e-*) ‘Harn, Urin’ [A] – Li62: 63 || Dag/Ili *šes* ~ *šēs* ‘Harn’; BurCas *šēhān* ‘Urin’; Ord. *šēsü* ~ *šēs* ‘id.’; OirGl *šē* ~ *šēsün* ‘id.’; Kalm. *šēsñ* ‘Harn’; OirTxt *šēsü* ‘urine’; Mogh/Ra *seisün* ‘id.’ [, Mogh/W72 *sei* ‘das Pissen’, *s’ei ki-* ‘pissen’ < Pe. *sai* ‘Pissen’, vgl. Mo. *sige-* ‘pissen’]; MoL/Wuti *sigesü* [Ma. *sike*, Trki *šüy-dük* (*sui-tuk*)] ‘Harn, Urin, Pisse’ (Corff et al. 2013: 1327②); MoL *sigesün*, KhalL *šees/en* ‘urine’ – MYYC (71), Nugteren (2011: 495).

Ras: 199B3; VdI/151a *sēsün* [MTuRas *sidük*] ~ MA/331b *šēsün* [Cag. *siydük*] ~ IM/214 *ši-esün* • Uig. (VIIIff) *sidük* dev. n. from *sid-*; ‘urine’. S.i.a.m.l.g., usually as *sidik*, but in NC Kir.; SC Özb.; SW Trkm. *siydik*. These forms are irregular, since *sidük* should become **siyük* ~ **siyik* and suggest that besides *sidük* there was another form **siddük* – Tu. (XIV) *sidük* ~ *sitük* ‘urine’; Qom. (XIV) *sidik* ~ *siy* ‘id.’; Qipic. (XIII) *sidik* (or *siydik?*), (XIV) *sitük* ~ *sidük*, (XV) *sidik* ‘id.’ (C72: 801; VEWT 421)

- ◇ *sökö-* ‘to curse’ [S] | *söge-* ~ *sögē-* (read: *söge-?*) ~ *sökü-* ‘schelten, schmähen’ [A] || MoL *söge-*, KhalL *söox* ‘to become hoarse or husky → Kalm. *sögēχə* ‘tadeln, schimpfen, zanken’; MoghL/W75 *sukkakū* ‘beschimpfen, schmähen, schelten, beleidigen’; MoL *sögege-*, KhalL Ø ‘to blame, call names, curse; to offend, injure; to trouble’ – Nugteren (2011: 502) • Mo. < Tu., due to the structure of the word • Uig. (VIIIff) *sög-* ‘to curse, revile’. S.i.a.m.l.g. w. some variations in the last consonant; SW Trkm. *söğ-* – Cag. (XV), Xwar. (XIV), Qipic. (XIII–XV)

sög- 'to curse (Cag. also 'to abuse')'; Qom. (XIV) sök- 'to curse, blaspheme' (C72: 818–819)

- ◇ *sūrel* ~ *se-ūrel* (dev. n. ← **següre*?) ~ *sūrel* (read: *sūrel*) 'pubes' [A] || Ord. *sūril* 'poils sur les parties génitales'; Kalm. *sūr̄l*, selt. *sūr̄l* 'die Haare an den Schamteilen'; MoL *segürel*, KhalL *sūürel* 'pubic hair'.

MA/330b *sūrel* [Cag. *yemdük*]; MA/322a *se-ūrel yaryaba kūken* [Cag. *oylan-niñ yümdüki čiqdi*] 'у мальчика появились pubes'; MA/154b *emeyin sūrel* [Cag. *χatun yemdüki*] 'жевские pubes' • Tu. (XI) *yämdü* 'the pubes; pubic hair'; n.o.a.b. – Tu. (XIV) *yämdi* 'pubic hair'; Cag. (XVff) *yämdü*, in Rūmī also *yämdik* 'pubic hair'; Qipç. (XIV) *yämdü* ~ *yämdi* 'the pubes', one says *yämdin qoparyil* 'pluck out your pubic hair', (XV) *yämdi* 'the pubes' (C72: 935)

MA/322a *se-ūrelēn qiryaba* [Cag. *yümdükini qirqti*] 'остриг свои pubes'

MA/322a *se-ūrelün oran* [Cag. *yümdük ornī*] 'mons pubis'

~ *sūresün* (dev. n. ← **següre*?) 'pubes' [A] • Not attested in Modern Mo., as far as I know. For the variation in the s. (-l ~ -sUn) cf. the remarks sub *qorqasun*.

Ras: 199A11 *sūresün* [MTuRas *yemdü*] • Tu. (XI) *yämdü* (←)

- ◇ *taciyangyui* (dev. n. ← *taciya*-) 'Lust, Leidenschaft' [U] || Ord. *dačiyānyū* ~ *dačiyāl* 'avoir des désirs lascifs'; OirGl *taciŋgyui* 'lust' ~ *taciŋgyui* 'carnality' ~ *taciŋgyüü* 'lust'; Kalm. *tačānyū* 'Begierde, Leidenschaft'; OirTxt *taciŋgyui* 'lust'; EMoL *taciyangyui* 'passionate attachment to, ardent desire, lust' (Kara 2009: 271); MoL *taciyangyui*, KhalL *tačaanguī* 'sensuality, passion; lust, lustful, lewd; sensual pleasure; craving'.

- ◇ *ujid* 'lust' [U] || Kalm. *ūj̄g* 'Lust'; MoL/Wuti *ujid* [Ma. *dufe*, Trki *maḥabat* (*mahabat*)] 'ausschweifend, zügellos, licherlich, wollüstig' (Corff et al. 2013: 2305①②); MoL *ujid* ~ *öjid*, KhalL *užid* 'sensual[ity], lust; depravity'.

- ◇ *hunyu* ~ *hunqu* ~ *ungu*- 'furzen' [A] – Li62: 34 || BurNU *uḡonam* 'id.'; Ord. *uḡy*- 'lâcher un vent, vesser'; Kalm. *uḡyex̄* 'furzen'; Mogh/W72 *uḡy*- 'id.'; MoghL/W75 *unyukū* 'id.' (→ *huny*); MoL *ungya*-, KhalL *ungax* 'id.' – MYYC (675).

AL/74a; VdI/151a *hunyuba* 'flatabat; ließ einen flatus' ~ MA/98b *unguba* ~ MA/187b *hunquba* [Cag. *osurdī*] • Tu. (XI) *osur*- 'to fart, break wind'. Like other indecorous words omitted in some authorities but prob. s.i.a.m.l.g. – Tu. (XIV) *osur*- 'to let out wind'; Qipç. (XIII) *osir*-, (XIV–XV) *osur*- 'id.', (XIV) *osurmaq* 'a loud and a silent fart' (C72: 251; VEWT 366)

→ *hunqusun* (dev. n. ← *hunqu*- ~ *hunqa*-) 'flatus; fart' ~ *hunyasun* 'fart' [A] || Ord. *uḡyudusu* ~ *uḡyusu* 'pent, vent, vesse'; Kalm. *uḡyex̄* 'Furz, Wind im Bauche'; OirTxt *ongyosun* 'flatulence, gas (fart)'; MoghL/W75 *hunγ* 'Gestank'

(← *unyukū*); MoL *ungyasun*², KhalL *ungas* ‘gas generated in the stomach and bowels, flatus’ – MYYC (675), Nugteren (2011: 364).

AL/69a *hunqusun* ~ IM/214 *hunqasun* ~ Ras: 199B4 *hunyasun* [MTuRas *osurmaq*]

- ◇ *husun* ‘semen, sperm’ [A] || Kalm. **husun* ‘Eiter’, in *šarə usn* ‘Rheumatismus’ • Perhaps identical with *usun* ‘water’ as in the *Heida shilüe* the ethnic designation *usu irgen* ‘water people’ is transcribed as *husu yilüyu* [read: *yilugan*] (Olbricht, Pinks 1980: 216–17).

IM/214; Ras: 186C12 *husun* [ArRas *al-mina*]

?≈? *usu/n* ‘Wasser’; (pl.) *usut* ‘Gewässer’ [M] | *usu/n* ‘eau’ [S] | *usu/n* ‘Wasser, Gewässer’ [U] | *usu/n* ‘id.’ [P] | *usu/n* ‘water’ vs. (←) *husun* [A] – Li62: 72 || Dag/Ili *oso* ‘Wasser’; BurNU *uhun*, BurT *uhun/g*, BurX *uhan* ‘id.’; Ord. *usu* ‘eau; puits creusé pour en tirer de l’eau; sérosité’; OirD *us* ~ *usn*, OirKho/U *usun*, OirDz *ussun* ‘eau’, OirGl *usun* ‘id.’; Kalm. *usn* ‘id.’; OirTxt *usun* ‘id.’; Mogh/Ra *usun* ~ Mogh/W72 *vs* ‘v ~ vs’ *un* ‘id.’; MoghL/W75 *usün* ‘id.’; EMoL *usu/n* ‘id.’ (Kara 2009: 301); MoL/Wuti *usu/n* [Ma. *muke*, Trki *šū* (*su*)] ‘(i) Wasser, (ii) Gewässer, Fluß’ (Corff et al. 2013: 0075④, 0197①); MoL *usu/n*, KhalL *us* ‘water; body of water’ – MYYC (682), Nugteren (2011: 535–36), TMEN (§47) • Mo. > Tu. (Nugteren, Roos 1996: 80–81; Ölmez 1998: 168; VEWT 516 [> Cag. *usun*]).

MA/162a *erelik usun* [Cag. *erlik suyü*] ‘sperm’; MA/162a *erelik asqaba* [Cag. *erelik suyü tökti*] ‘poured out/scattered the sperm’, /162a(2) *erelik ügei* [Cag. *erliksiz*] ‘impotent (lit. without sperm)’; MA/382a *üngübe ereligi usun dēlese* [Cag. *uwaldi erlik suyüni tondin*] ‘rubbed the sperm from the clothes’ • Uig. (VIIIff) *ärlik* den. n. fr. *är*; ‘manliness, virility’. S.i.m.m.l.g. – Cag. (XVff) *erlik* ‘manliness’; Xwar. (XIV) *ärlik* ‘id., bravery’; Qom. (XIV) *ärlik* ‘(human) nature’; Osm. (XIVff) *ärlik* ‘bravery’, occasionally ‘virility’ in several texts (C72: 229) + Tu. (VIII) *suv* ~ (XIII) *su* ‘water’; c.i.a.p.a.l.; in SW Trkm. still *suv*, in NE Koib., Sag., Šor *suy*; Cuv. *šiv* ~ *šu* (sic); elsewhere *su*, occasionally *sū* – Cag. (XVff) *suw*; Xwar. (XIII) *su*, (XIV) *suv* ~ *su*; Qom. (XIV), Qipç. (XIII–XV) *su* ‘water’, Qipç. (XV) *su öy* ‘lavatory’ (C72: 783–784; VEWT 431).

MA/162a *ereligēn asqaba oqaqci* [Cag. *erlik suyü tüşürdi sikküçi*] ‘совершающий coitus пролил свою сперму’

- ◇ *hütügün* ~ *ütügün* ‘weibliche Scham’ [A] – Li62: 35 || BurNU *ütügün* ‘weibliches Geschlechtsglied’, /Fischer *utugün* ‘vagina’; Ord. *ütügü* ‘parties génitales de la femme, vulve’; OirGl *ödögün* ‘vulva’; Kalm/Ölet *ütü* ‘weibliche Scham’, *ütgn* ‘das weibliche Geburtsglied’; MoghW72 *utkun* ‘Scheide, Vagina’; MoghL/W75 *idkūn* ‘Vagina’; MoL *ütügü/n*, KhalL *üteg* ‘vulva (vulg.)’ – Birtalan (2001: 979, 985) (but prob. ≠ *etügen* as proposed there), Nugteren (2011: 371).

AL/68a; MA/192b, 197a; Ras: 199A10; VdI/150b *hütügün* [Cag., MTuRas *am*] ~ AL/64b; IM/213 *ütügün* • Tu. (XI) *am* ‘vulva, *pudenda muliebria*’. S.i.a.m.l.g., but like *tilaq*, for reasons of modesty sparsely recorded in the dicts – Oghuz, Qipç. (XI) *am* ‘*pudenda muliebria*’; Qom. (XIV) *amu* (sic) ‘vulva’; Qipç. (XIII–XV) *am* ‘the female organ’ (C72: 155; VEWT 18)

MA/192b *hütügünü baqa-urin jūra* [Cag. *amning kötning arası*] ‘промежуток между vulva и anus (perinaeum)’; MA/192b *hütügünü qijār* [Cag. *am qiriqi*] ‘края vulvae’.

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Abbreviations and symbols

[A] Middle Mongyol in Arabic script | **AL** Anonymus manuscript of Leiden | **Anat.** Anatolian dialects of Turkish | **Ar.** Arabic | **Ar.-Pe.** Arabo-Persian | **ArRas** Arabic in the *Rasūlid hexaglot* | **AT** Altan tobci | **Az.** Azeri | **Bar.** Baraba-Turkic | **BurCas** all dialects of Buryat (Castrén 1857) | **BurNU** Nizhneudinsk dialect of Buryat (id.) | **BurS** (/S) Selenge dialect of Buryat (id.) | **BurT** (/T) Tünxe dialect of Buryat (id.) | **BurX** (/X) Xori dialect of Buryat (id.) | **Cag.** *Cağatai* | **c.i.a.p.a.l.** common in all periods and languages | **Civ** Civil (document) | **Cuv.** Chuvash | **C72** Clauson (1972) | **Dag/Ili** Dagur spoken in Ili (Xinjiang) (Kałużyński 1969, 1970) | **EMoL** Early Literary (Written) Mongolian (Kara 2009) | **EYug.** Eastern Yogur (Nugteren, Roos 1996) | **/Fischer** Buryat according to Johann Eberhard Fischer (Clark 1976) | **HyA** correspondence section of the Sino-Mongyol *Huayi yiyu* (Rybatzki 2016) | **HyS** vocabulary section of the Sino-Mongyol *Huayi yiyu* (Rybatzki 2016) | **İB** İrç Bitig | **IM** vocabulary of Ibn Muhamma | **IMR** manuscript of Ibn Muhamma kept in Rome | **Ja64** Jarring 1964 | **Kalm.** Kalmyk (Ramstedt 1935) | **Kalm/Dörbet** Kalmyk-Dörbet (Ramstedt 1935) | **Kalm/Ölet** Kalmyk-Ölet (Ramstedt 1935) | **KazTat.** Kazan-Tatar | **Khak.** Khakass | **KhalL** Literary Khalkha (Lessing 1995) | **KhalL/B** Literary Khalkha (Bawden 1997) | **KhLj.** Khalaj | **Kir.** Kirghiz | **Kmk.** Kumyk | **Koib.** Koibal | **Krm.** Tr. of the Crimean peninsular | **Kzx.** Kazax | **Li62** Ligeti (1962) | **Li66** Ligeti (1966) | **Li74** Ligeti (1974) | **[M]** Middle Mongyol of the Secret History of the Mongols | **Ma.** Manchu | **MA** *Mukaddimat al-Adab* | **MMo.** Middle Mongyol | **MMoA** Middle Mongyol in Arabic script | **MNT** Secret History of the Mongols | **Mo.** Mongolic, Mongolian | **Mogh.** Moghol | **Mogh/Ra** Moghol (Ramstedt 1905) | **Mogh/W72** Moghol (Weiers 1972) | **MoghL/W75** Literary Moghol (Weiers 1975) | **MoL** Literary (Written) Mongolian (Lessing 1995) | **MT** Doerfer (1985) | **MTu.** Middle Turkic | **MTuRas** Middle Turkic in the *Rasūlid hexaglot* | **MYYC** Sun Zhu et al. (1990) | **n.o.a.b.** noted only as below | **OirD** Oirat/Dörböt (Ulāngom) (Kara 1958) | **OirDz** Oirat/Dzakhačin (Üyenç sumun) (id.) | **OirGl** Oirat (Glossary sources) (Krueger 1978–1984) | **OirKho** Oirat/Khoton (Ulāngom) (Kara 1958) | **OirT** Oirat/Torghut (Kobdo) (Kara 1958) | **OirTxt** Oirat (Text sources) (Krueger 1978–1984) | **OirU** Oirat/Uriankhai (Bayan-Ölgii) (Kara 1958) | **Ord.** Ordos (Mostaert 1941–1942) | **Osm.** Osman | **OTu.** Old Türkic | **Özb.** Özbek | **[P]** Middle

Mongyol in hPags-pa script | **Pe.** Persian | **PeRas** Persian in the **Rasūlid hexaglot** | **Pz8** Poppe 1928 | **Qipc.** Qipčaq | **Qom.** Qoman | **Ras.** *Rasūlid hexaglot* | **Ra8z** de Rachewiltz (1982) | **Red** Redhouse (2008) | **Rö** Röhrborn (1977-) | **Ru.** Russian | **[S]** Middle Mongyol with Chinese characters, not MNT | **Sag.** Sagai | **s.i.a.m.l.g.** survives in all modern language groups | **s.i.m.l.g.** survives in most modern language groups | **s.i.s.m.l.g.** survives in some modern language groups | **St** Steingass (1930) | **Tel.** Telengit | **TMEN** (Doerfer 1963–75) | **Tr.** Turkish | **Trki** Turki | **Trkm.** Turkmen | **Tu.** Turkic | **Tung.** Tungusic | **Tuv.** Tuvinian | **[U]** Middle Mongyol in Uigur script | **Uig.** (Old) Uigur | **UigS** (Old) Uigur with Chinese characters | **VdI** vocabulary of Istanbul | **VEWT** Räsänen (1969) | **WYug.** Western Yugur | **Xwar.** Xwarezmian | **Zhi Zhiyuan yiyu** || < borrowed from | > borrowed into | ← (i) development from; (ii) look before in same entry | → (i) development into; (ii) look further in same entry | ↑ look before in different entry | ↓ look further in different entry |

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LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY AND THE INDO-EUROPEAN SIGMATIC FUTURE

Based on the idea that linguistic typology may be used to devise etymological formulations not before recognized, this brief paper develops the proposal that the sigmatic future attested in some Indo-European dialects may ultimately derive from a grammaticalization and subsequent morphologization of *sed- ‘go’.

Indo-European morphology, linguistic typology, linguistic typology and historical linguistics, Proto-Indo-European, sigmatic future

The focus of some recent research of mine has been the use of linguistic typology to initiate new reconstructions of proto-languages “by bringing to light heretofore unrecognized explanatory formulations” instead of merely utilizing it to evaluate the linguistic plausibility of reconstructions established strictly by internal and comparative methodology (Shields 2015a: 207; cf. Shields 2013, 2015b). In other words, because “forces in language are pushing toward the selection of particular source material and movement along particular paths propelled by certain common mechanisms of change” (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1995: 17), the existence of particular linguistic constructions can often be ascribed to particular underlying linguistic structures and categories. In this brief paper I wish to employ this methodology to reconstruct a possible historical antecedent for the so-called sigmatic future attested in a variety of Indo-European dialects.

The distribution of the sigmatic future is well known among Indo-Europeanists. Meillet (1964: 214–215) thus says:

Le future indo-iranien en **-sya-*, attesté par skr. *vak-syá-mi*, gâth. *vax-šyā* ‘je parlerai’ est à rapprocher du futur lituanien: *lik-siu* ‘je laisserai,’ et du suffixe **-se/o-* de gr. *leípsō* ‘je laisserai,’ lat. *capsō*, etc.; l’alternance de **-sye/o-* et **-se/o-* est comparable à celle des désinences de génitif **-syo* et **-so* dans gâth. *ča-hyā* ‘de qui’ et v.sl. *če-so* ‘de quoi,’ v.h.a. *hwe-s* ‘de qui.’

He reconstructs the original form of the suffix as **-se/o-* (**-sye/o-*).¹ Indo-Europeanists have frequently attempted to relate etymologically such future forms to a variety of *s*-aorist, *s*-present, *s*-subjunctive, and *s*-desiderative constructions (cf. Meillet 1964: 214–215; Watkins 1969: 53–58; Shields 1992: 35–40; Beekes 1995: 231); however, the disparity in function of these suffixes has made this task especially difficult. I would suggest that Indo-European, like any other language, presented cases of homophony – different functional and etymological structures with identical form. Indeed, Indo-Europeanists would generally acknowledge that the thematicized suffix **-ter-* marking the comparative degree of adjectives (e.g., Skt. *-tar-a-*, Gk. *-ter-o-*) and the nominal agentive suffix **-ter* (cf. Watmough 1997) found in word forms like **pə-ter* ‘father’ (e.g. Lat. *pa-ter*) and **mā-ter* ‘mother’ (e.g., Lat. *mā-ter*) are nothing more than homophones. Baldi (2002: 379), too, questions the validity of theories relating the various sigmatic constrictions found in Indo-European dialects: “The remoter origins of [the sigmatic aorist] **-s-* are uncertain, though it has been suggested ... that it shares its beginnings with future formations in **-s-*. The exact point of contact is difficult to ascertain.” Likewise, Fortson (2004: 91) says of the etymological connection frequently established between *s*-futures and *s*-desideratives: “How, and whether, these future/desiderative formations are related to each other is still an open question.” Even Szemerényi (1996: 287) is forced to acknowledge that questions remain about “the mutual relationship of these [sigmatic] formations.”

The typological process which, I argue, underlies the sigmatic future is “GO TO > ... FUTURE” (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 161). Heine and Kuteva (2002: 163) note that “this grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby process verbs are grammaticalized to markers for tense or aspect functions ...” They cite supporting examples from over twenty different languages of various linguistic stocks. Obvious examples involve Modern English *be going to* and French *aller* ‘to go (to)’. Likewise, Sotho attests “*ěa* ‘go (to),’ verb > *-ea-*, immediate future tense prefix”, while Tamil “*poo* ‘go,’ verb of motion > auxiliary marking future tense” (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 161–163).

1 An athematic variant of **-se/o-* “is found in Italic (Umbr. *fu-s-t* ‘he will be’) and Baltic (Lith. *būs* ‘he will be’)” (Fortson 2004: 91).

Before proceeding to my central proposal, it is necessary for me to comment on my views regarding Proto-Indo-European since these views provide a context for that proposal. For many years now, I have been committed to what Adrados (1992: 1) calls “the new image of Indo-European”, which is

the belief that the inflectional complexities ascribed to the proto-language in Brugmannian reconstruction and its more recent manifestations are artifacts of the historical dialects and the immediately preceding stages of development, and that Common Indo-European itself possessed a much more simplified morpho-syntax. Thus, proponents of the new image – myself included – maintain that such categories as case, gender, and number in nouns and pronouns, and aspect, voice, and mood in verbs show far less structural richness than traditionally assumed. (Shields 2004: 21)

In regard to the category of verbal person, for example, I have argued that it was originally manifested through a personal (first person) in **-m* and a non-personal (second/third person) in **-Ø*, while the tense category involved a present and a non-present realization (see Shields 1992: 14–21 for details). Thus, the emergence of a future tense would have been a very late development indeed (it is totally absent in both Hittite and Germanic), comparable to the emergence of a specifically feminine gender (still lacking in Hittite) and specifically adverbial (locative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive) cases (whose diversity in form in the historical dialects belies their late appearance). The existence within Indo-European of serial verb formations involving a verb of motion – a prerequisite for the application of the typological principle mentioned above – has been amply demonstrated, for example, by Costello (1993), Luraghi (1993), Hock (2002), Fortson (2008), and Yates (2014).²

Now it is clear that a verb **sed-*, meaning ‘to go’, can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European.³ Mallory and Adams (1997) thus assert (cf. Pokorny 1959: 887; Watkins 1976: 1537):

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- 2 Although I use the term “serial verb”, I recognize that Proto-Indo-European and the early dialects did not have fully productive serial verbs in the classic sense (cf. Yates 2014). However, my point is that within Indo-European a verb of motion and another verb could occur in the same clause with the same person-marking.
 - 3 The most widely distributed Indo-European root meaning ‘to go’ was **ei-* (e.g., “Lat. *eō* ‘go,’ Goth *iddja* ‘went,’ OPrus *ēit* ‘goes,’ ... OCS *iti* ‘go,’ Grk *eimi* ‘will go,’ Hit *yanzi* ‘they go,’ ... OInd *éti* ‘goes’ ...” [Mallory, Adams 1997: 227–228]).

*sed- ‘go’ ... The underlying verb is attested only in Indo-Iranian, and then only with prefixes: Av *pazdayeiti* ‘frightens off,’ *āsnaoiti* (< **ō-sd-neu-*) ‘approaches,’ OInd *ā-sad-* ‘enter,’ *ut-sad-* ‘disappear.’ Cf. OCS *chodŭ* ‘walk,’ *choditi* ‘go’ (the Slavic initial *ch-* suggests these words generalized the form once found in compounds such as *pri-* or *u-*), Gk *hodós* ‘way,’ *hodeúō* ‘wander.’ This verb is widespread and looks to be old in IE. No doubts because at least its root shape was homophonous with that of *sed- ‘sit,’ it tended to be restricted to combinations with preverbs where semantic distinction remained clear. (Mallory, Adams 1997: 228)

Buck (1949: 695) also reconstructs an Indo-European verb *sed- ‘go’, although he derives it, without specific explanation, from the same etymon as *sed- ‘sit’ – another misguided rejection of etymologically distinct homophones, in my opinion.

What I am proposing as a typologically motivated reconstruction of the Indo-European sigmatic future is that the following serial sequence of a verb (with a * \emptyset non-personal inflectional person marker) and *sed- \emptyset (with the same non-personal marker) underwent the grammaticalization of the latter as a marker of the future tense with subsequent morphologization (“the fusion of a lexical item and a clitic as stem and affix” [Hopper, Traugott 1993: 145]):

*V- \emptyset *sed- \emptyset (‘Verb + go (to)’) > *V-sed- \emptyset .

Of course, as Heine (2003: 578–579) points out, one of the “mechanisms” of “the grammaticalization of linguistic expressions” as affixes is “erosion (or ‘phonetic reduction’), that is, loss in phonetic substance.” Indeed, one of the most common types of erosion is manifested when “word-final, to a lesser extent also word-initial, phonemes tend to be lost” (Heine, Reh 1984: 23). For example, Swahili attests the grammaticalization of the volitional verb *taka* ‘want’ as a future tense suffix, ultimately undergoing phonological reduction to *-ta-* (Heine 2003: 580). In the Indo-European form under consideration, *sed- would have become *se-

Of course, this proposal cannot be proven absolutely correct. However, in light of the current “panchronic laws” (cf. Kuryłowicz 1973) of linguistic typology, it represents a fully viable and heretofore unrecognized etymological explanation.

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POLISH (?) *BIGOS*. ABOUT THE THING AND ABOUT THE WORD

As is well known, the dish under the name of *bigos* belongs to the canon of Polish cuisine, and is generally viewed as a national dish. The thing itself, however, and its name, are both German borrowings. Based on scarce mentions in old texts, the author attempts to reconstruct the history of *bigos* – the thing and *bigos* – the name. With regards to the former, the original German recipe has been heavily modified in the Polish culinary tradition, resulting in a contemporary dish which bears very little resemblance to the German prototype. As for the name itself, an overview of the data cited in etymological dictionaries and in works analyzing the history of German borrowings in Polish (Brückner [= SEBr]; Bańkowski [= SEBań]; Linde [= SL-1]; de Vincenz, Hentschel [= WDLp]; Czarnecki 2014), has persuaded this author to support the hypothesis which derives Pol. *bigos* from MHG perfect participle *bîgossen*.

history of words and things, German borrowings in Polish,
Polish culinary terms, etymology

In the stereotypical image of Polish cuisine, pierogi, żurek, and *bigos* take top places. Polish, Old Polish *bigos*? To a degree, yes, but both the word and the thing are actually among the many strangers in Polish that have been nativized and whose historical foreignness is no longer perceived today. One must consult the literature to realize that they are borrowings.



1. The thing

Based on the datation of forms (which is very modest in SPXVI, not to say symbolic), we may assume that the thing (the dish) arrived in Poland in the early 16th century. Or perhaps a little earlier? That the word *bigos* is missing from SStp-1 does not necessarily mean anything more than that it did not appear in texts on which this dictionary was based. We will not know for certain, but it seems unlikely because the scarcity of attestations in SPXVI, merely three between 1534 and 1588, suggests an as yet limited popularity of both the dish and its name at the time.

The above-mentioned dictionary cites the word *bigos* in two meanings: 1. ‘a hash, mince; a dish of chopped meat’, and 2. ‘a fish dish (soup, broth, sauce)’. The first is supported with the appropriate entry from Cnapius’s dictionary (Cnapius 1621):¹ “bigos, Minutal [...] ferculum ex concisis carnibus, aliis Siekanka”. The second is based on a quotation from Calepino’s dictionary (Calep 1586): “Muria, genus liquaminis, quod ex thynno pisce conficiebatur. Bigos z ribi”, which appears to be a nonce (secondary?) use of a name referring primarily to a different dish. In the source of the quotation, i.e. in Calepino’s dictionary, a clarification can be found in the German definition of the word *Muria*: “Germ. Ein Soss oder bruy von einem meerfisch gemacht”.

It is possible that Calepino simply took a word he happened to have at hand when explaining the word *Muria* in the Polish portion of the entry, instead of the more accurate synonym *polewka* (**polewka z ribi*) denoting both what later became known as *zupa* ‘soup’, and what came to be ultimately called *sos* ‘sauce’. (The difference was in thickness and function: a stand-alone dish vs *podlewka*, addition to the dish proper – “Ein Soss oder bruy...”.)

Finally, the earliest quotation from Stefan Falimirz’s work *O ziołach i o mocy ich* (1534):

Może też opłokawfzy płucza wilcze winem czystem, potym ie vwarzić z **fiekawfzy na bigos** y okorzenieć pieprzem [...] á to iefć przez kielko dni. Ieft rzecz dofwiadczona na iedney bialey głowie (SPXVI-2),²

1 Grzegorz Knapiusz (born 1564) began work on his dictionary in the early 17th century.

2 One can also rinse wolf lungs in clear wine, then **chop them to bigos**, spice them with pepper and boil them [...] and eat this for several days. The thing has been tested on one woman.

does not so much indicate the dish itself as instructs how finely the wolf lungs are to be chopped for the preparation of the physic.

Thus, 16th century data are scarce and give us only an approximate picture of the dish under discussion.³ We may assume it was made of finely chopped meat, boiled or stewed into a thick sauce, perhaps similar (but only in consistency) to the modern bolognaise sauce.

Originally, cabbage was out of the question as an ingredient in bigos; its addition is a 17th century Polish modification whose purpose it was, at least at first, to cheaply increase the volume of the dish. This is why the expression *bigos z kapustą* (“Mieszają oraz i strony wiecznego pokoju – prawie **bigos z kapustą**”;⁴ 1665–1669, ESJPIXVII–XVIII) was perfectly justified, the “canonical” bigos being made of only meat.

In Wacław Potocki’s collection *Ogród fraztek* (1691) we find a brilliant story in which the protagonist, a Polish nobleman, is invited by an Italian to a dinner composed of dishes of Italian cuisine, which he leaves hungry, saying:

Zbieram nogi co prędzej do swojej gospody;
Już czeladź po obiedzie: „Złodzieje, czemuście Zjedli??
„Jeszcze została słonina w kapuście, Jest i **bigos cielęcy**.”
A ja krzyknę głosem: „Dawaj po włoskiej uczcie **kapustę z bigosem!**”⁵

(Pot.).

As can be seen, two separate dishes are mentioned here: **cabbage** boiled or stewed with **lard**, and **bigos of veal**. Both dishes, even when served together on one plate (in one bowl?), do not make bigos in its later and current form.

Attestations from the second halves of the 17th and 18th century inform us that bigos was not always prepared from fresh meat; sometimes also leftovers of roasted meats not eaten in time were used:

Bigos. Wczorajsza potrawa. Przygrzewanego/ przypiekanego co⁶
(1632, ESJPIXVII–XVIII);

-
- 3 Cf. “Die deutsche und polnische Vorgeschichte von *bigos* ist unbekannt; es wird sich wohl um ein Speise- oder Soßenrezept handeln” (WDLP).
 - 4 They confuse the sides of the eternal peace – almost **bigos with cabbage**.
 - 5 I take to my heels and head for my own inn / The household has dined already, “Thieves, why have you eaten?” / “There is still some lard in cabbage left, and some veal bigos, too.” / And I cry out loudly, “After my Italian feast, give me **bigos with cabbage!**”
 - 6 Bigos. Yesterday’s dish. Something warmed up / roasted.

Tu ksiądz na swój obiad prosi,
co naprędce, to przynosi:
Bigos z pieczeni wczorajszej
– i kapłon znać onegdajszy⁷

(1682, ESJ PXVII–XVIII);

BIGOS potrawa zroznych ostatkow pozostałych⁸

(1743–1745, ESJ PXVII–XVIII).

Thus, bigos could be prepared “from anything”, so long as the “anything” was meat (“Bigos záprawny z podrobkow kurzych kapłonich”⁹ [1745, ESJ PXVII–XVIII]). Whether the earliest form of the dish that reached Poland could be made from leftovers, or whether this was another local modification of the recipe is unknown.

It seems that bigos from the pre-cabbage era described above can be counted among such dishes as Sp. *olla podrida* or Fr. *ragoût* (in the wide sense of the word). Danet (*Nowy wielki dykcyonarz*) explains: “Diversorum ciborum miscellanea [...] BIGOS potrawa zroznych ostatkow pozostałych” (1743–1745, ESJ PXVII–XVIII);¹⁰

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- 7 Here the priest invites to dinner / brings whatever is at hand: / Bigos from yesterday’s roast / – and a capon, old, it shows.
 - 8 BIGOS dish from various leftovers.
 - 9 Spiced bigos of chicken (capon) giblets.
 - 10 One might suspect that it is this mixture of ingredients that became the basis for the figurative meaning of the word *bigos* ‘confusion, mess’:

Poydziecieli wy zá nimi / iużeście zginęli ná wieki: bo Heretycy iuż są skazáni ná potępienie wieczne / to y wy znimi: poydali oni zá wami do Schizmy / będzie **bigos** iákiś nowy z odszczepieństwá kácerskiego” (1633; ESJ PXVII–XVIII),

If you follow them / you are dead for ages: for Heretics are condemned to eternal damnation / and you along with them: if they follow you to the Schism / there will be a new kerfuffle of this heretic dissidence

and the phrase *narobić bigosu* ‘to mess things up’.

Simultaneously, the shape of meat prepared for bigos was the base for the meaning ‘bits, pieces’:

Nawet strychy zgrzybiałe, baby niewidome
I szpitalne kaliki niedołężne, chrome,
Ludzie chore, do śmierci, nie życia podobne,
W ichże łóżach **rąbali** [Tatarzy] **na bigosy drobne**”.

(J.B. Zimorowic, *Sielanki*, 1857, ESJ PXVII–XVIII).

Linde proposes *bigos* as the counterpart of *der Ragout* and adds after Cnapius (1621): “nieświeża rzecz; ponieważ i resztki zdaia się na bigos”¹¹ (SL-1, see also WDLP, s.v. *bigos*). This was neither an elegant dish, nor one particularly valued. In the late 18th century, Jędrzej Kitowicz writes in his *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*:

W pierwszym zwyczaju staroświeckim, na początku panowania Augusta III jeszcze trwającym, nie było zbyt wykwintnych potraw. Rosół, barszcz, sztuka mięsa, **bigos z kapustą**, z różnego mięsiwa kawalcami, kielbasą i słoniną, drobno pokrajanymi i z kapustą kwaśną pomieszanymi, i nazywano to bigosem hultajskim.¹² (Kitowicz 1621).

It is the custom of adding cabbage (and other ingredients), along with proper cooking, and then reheating the dish time and time again that eventually transformed German bigos into a Polish dish. In his EStp-1, Zygmunt Gloger adduces s.v. *Bigos* the following description by Cezary Biernacki:

Bigos hultajski, podobnie jak barszcz lub zrazy, jest najulubieńszą potrawą kuchni polskiej. Przyrządza się z kapusty kwaszonej z drobno pokrajanem mięsiwem wołowym, cielęcym, wieprzowem, kielbasą, zwierzyną, słoninką w kostki pokrajaną lub grzybami. Zwykle bigos praży się tłusto i długo na węglach, a odgrzewany,

Even senile fossils and women blind
Hospital cripples, infirm and lame,
Ill people, to death alike and not to life,
In their beds were **chopped** [by Tatars] **to bigos fine**.

In this meaning, *bigos* was the base for the verb *bigosować* ‘to chop up a person with sabres’:

Stał się tedy srogi *fremitus* i trzaskanie szablami, pytając się: «Kto taki? Podajcie go nam sam, wnet go tu będziemy bigossowali» (J.Ch. Pasek, *Pamiętniki*; wolne lektury.pl/katalog/lektura/pamietniki.html; accessed March 28, 2016).

Then a huge uproar arose and slashing with sabres, [and they were] asking: “Who then? Give him alone to us, and we will chop him to bigos this instant”.

- 11 Something not fresh, since even leftovers are fit for bigos.
- 12 In the first old-fashioned custom, still alive at the beginning of king August III’s reign, dishes were not very refined. Chicken broth, borscht, a piece of boiled beef, **bigos with cabbage** and chunks of various meats, sausage, and lard, all finely chopped and mixed with sauerkraut, it was called rascal bigos.

nabiera w smaku większej wartości. Dlatego też Polacy wybierając się w dalsze strony, zabierali z sobą w drogę faskę kilkogarncową dobrze opieprzonego bigosu, który odgrzewano na popasach.¹³ (EStp-1).

One should note, however, that the EStp published at the turn of the 20th century (1900–1903), whereas Biernacki lived in the 19th century, so that the passage cited above does not only describe the Polish bigos as opposed to its German prototype, but also, one might say, the ‘noble’ bigos, as opposed to merely a way of salvaging leftover bits of meat.

2. The word

Samuel B. Linde, in his dictionary (1807–1815) s.v. BIGOS, offers the following as the etymon of the Polish word: “Cf. Ger. Beguß (< *begießen* ‘polać, polewać’)”¹⁴ (SL-1).

Aleksander Brückner provides an explanation that is both concise and surprising: “**bigos** (hultajski) ‘siekanina’ (...); z niem. *Beiguss* ‘kawałeczki ołowiu’”¹⁵ (SEBr). It is for two reasons that this makes a strange impression: firstly, what semantic path leads from ‘small pieces of lead’ to ‘a dish’; secondly, how to explain the phonetic difference between *Bleiguss* and *bigos*? So far as I can tell, there is no precedent for a German loanword in Polish with the sequence *-lei-* rendered as *-i-*. There is also no reason for such a substitution, unique as it may be, since the diphthong *-ei-* itself has been preserved in other borrowings (e.g. *majster*), and the group *-lei-* poses no difficulties in pronunciation. The change in word-final position, from G *-us* to Pol. *-os* is equally difficult to explain. I believe that this idea should be considered a figment of Brückner’s imagination.

A different formulation is to be found in Andrzej Bańkowski’s etymological dictionary:

13 Rascal bigos, similarly to borscht or meat roulade, is the favourite dish of the Polish cuisine. It is made of sauerkraut with finely chopped beef, veal, pork, sausage, game, lard in cubes or mushrooms. Typically, bigos is roasted on coals with a lot of fat and for a long time, and its taste only improves when it is later heated up. This is why when Poles went to farther places, they took with them a barrel several garnetz in volume, full of well-peppered bigos to be heated up during stopovers.

14 This directs one’s attention towards a similar derivation in Polish: *polewka* ‘soup; sauce’ (< *polewać, polać* ‘to pour’).

15 **bigos** (rascal bigos) ‘hash; mince’ (...); from G *Beiguss* ‘small pieces of lead’.

bigos (...) niejasne, wygląda na stare zapożyczenie z jakiegoś źródła niemieckiego (śr.-g.-nm.). Z powodu konsekwentnego w pol. **-os** nie można go wywodzić z nm. **beiguß** 'sos'¹⁶ (od **beigießen** 'dolać'), ani z nm. **beguß** (: **begießen** 'oblać, polać'), w grę mogą wchodzić tylko part. **begossen** albo **beigossen** (SEBań-1).^{17,18}

The origin of *bigos* is repeated after Bańkowski in USJP-1 (with a question mark) and WSJP (with the comment "maybe"); ESJPIXVII–XVIII allows two possibilities: "może niem. *Beiguss* 'sos', może niem. *begossen* 'oblany'".¹⁹ The much earlier SJPD-1 follows SW-1 and says: "nm. *Beiguss* = sos", but adds "(według Brücknera Bleiguss)".²⁰

The authors of the dictionary of German borrowings in Polish (WDLP) offer two possibilities: "1) nhd. *Beguß* subst. m., 'Übergießen mit Wasser', 2) nhd. **Beiguß*."

Nonetheless, I believe that Bańkowski's proposition about the base being a participle is noteworthy. Let us inspect it.

- a. If one takes into account what the borrowed dish was, i.e. if one takes into account the reality of the thing, it is natural to embrace what Bańkowski rejects, the noun *beiguß* 'sauce' (see also WDLP). Naturally, not in the shape given by SEBań, but as MHD **bîguz* ("dt. *Beiguß* / mhd. **bîguz*"; Czarnecki 2014: 121, 137), admittedly, a reconstructed form. This is semantically justified, but it does not solve the problem of G *-us* : Pol. *-os*.
- b. It seems rational to accept Bańkowski's suggestion that a perf. participle acted as the base for the borrowing (probably *beigossen* (< *beigießen*) rather than *begossen*), of course in its historical, and not in its modern shape, before the diphthongization of long *i*. The possible form is *bîgossen*. The relation G *i* : Pol. *i* does not require a commentary, but the question of the morpheme *-en* in the German base remains. However, if one takes into account that the vowel [e] was reduced in this position to [ə] (Szulc 1991: 129), hence [bîgossən], then

16 So SW-1: <Nm. *Beiguss* = sos, podlewa ['sauce']>.

17 I omit here Bańkowski's further suspicion about a connection with It. *bigutta* 'a pot for cooking chicken soup' and about *bigos* being a Wanderwort, as neither refers directly to Pol. *bigos*.

18 **bigos** (...) unclear, appears to be an old borrowing from some German (MHG) source. Due to the consistent **-os** in Polish, cannot be derived from G **beiguß** 'sauce' (from *beigießen* 'to pour, to supply or add water'), or from G **beguß** (: *begießen* 'to pour over'); only the part. **begossen** and **beigossen** are possible.

19 Perhaps G *Beiguss* 'sauce', or perhaps G *begossen* 'poured over, dowsed'.

20 G *Beiguss* = sauce | (according to Brückner Bleiguss).

a phonetic adaptation in Polish that involves deletion of the entire group [ən] becomes clear: [bigossən] > [bigos]. Likewise, the substitution G *u* : Pol. *o*, which was inexplicable in the case of **biguz* > *bigos*, here disappears naturally, together with the variant *Beguß* > *bigos* which caused an even greater complication as it included apart from Pol. *o* the relation G *e* > Pol. *i*.

Abbreviations

Fr. = French; G = German; It. = Italian; MHG = Middle High German; Pol. = Polish; Sp. = Spanish

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THREE PERSISTENT PROBLEMS

In this paper three very loosely related Gothic problems are discussed: How should the combination *sunja guþ* John 17:3 be understood? Which is the correct reading of the marginal gloss at 2CorA 12:7, *gairu*, *qairu*, *pairu* or *gairs*? What is concealed in the inscription on the spearhead from Kovel?

Gothic *sunjaguþ*, conjecture, Gothic *gairs*, Kovel spearhead, Τηγύριος

Introduction

The paper discusses three loosely related problems: What is hidden in *sunja guþ* John 17:3? What is hidden in the marginal gloss at 2CorA 12:7, *gairu*, *qairu*, *pairu* or *gairs*? What is hidden in the inscription on the spearhead of Kovel?

1. John 17:3, *sunj<einan>a guþ*

For a while it has been accepted that in Gothic there was an adjective *sunjis** ‘true; ἀληθινός’, besides the adjective *sunjeins* ‘true; ἀληθής, ἀληθινός’. This is said to be supported by three examples. The first one is from John 17:3:

- (1) ei kunneina þuk ainana *sunja* guþ
ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν
‘that they may know you, the only *true* God’

Here, Schulze (1848: 329 [*sunis*]) suggested the following conjecture: the proper form of the adjective here is the strong acc. sg. m. Therefore, *sunja guþ* should be emended to *sunjana guþ* ‘true God’. Bernhardt (1875) took up this idea and pointed

out two other instances where the same or very similar scribal errors appear to occur, i.e. the *-na* of acc. sg. m. is dropped in Codex B but the original correct form is preserved in Codex A:

- (2) *usdauda* (2CorB 8:22, *usdaudana* A ‘earnest; σπουδαῖον’)
ubila (ColB 3:5, *ubilana* A ‘evil; κακήν’).

The adjective *sunjis** was claimed to have two other occurrences, in John 8:14 and 8:17:

- (3a) *ik weitwodja bi mik silban, sunja ist so weitwodiþa meina*
 ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ, ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία μου
 ‘I testify of myself, my testimony is *true*’
 (3b) *þatei twaddje manne weitwodiþa sunja ist*
 ὅτι δύο ἀνθρώπων ἡ μαρτυρία ἀληθής ἐστιν
 ‘that two men’s testimony is *true*’

Now, as the adjective meaning ‘true’ in Gothic is *sunjeins*, it would be more consistent to correct the form *sunja guþ* by changing it into *sunjeinana guþ*. That would be somewhat similar to *silubram* (Mt 27:5 ‘silverlings; ἀργύρια’), which has been considered a scribal error for *silubreinam*. The fact that *silubreinam* has lost three letters but *sunjeinana* has lost five is of no importance.

Later, Frisk (1935: 5) rejected Schulze’s and Bernhardt’s conjecture *sunjana guþ*. Instead he revived an idea formerly put forth by Maßmann (1848: 566) claiming that the components of *sunja guþ* should not be separated but read as one (compound) word, *sunjaguþ* ‘Truth-God, God of truth’, being the opposite of *galiugaguþ* ‘false god; εἰδωλον’. But in this context *galiugaguþ* is neither mentioned nor implied, the opposition between false gods and ‘true gods’ is not the issue, cf. Seebold (1969: 24). Also, the opposition is, really, between false gods and God. To accept the opposition *sunjaguþ* : *galiugaguþ* is to accept false gods as gods. Actually, *galiugaguþ* is never mentioned in the Gospels. Further, the question arises why Wulfila should choose to form a compound in this case when translating the original Greek text word for word appears to be straight forward, (i.e., τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν – *ainana sunjeinana guþ* ‘one true God’). The replacement of this translation by *ainana sunjaguþ* would obscure a text that was quite clear.

It should be mentioned that ἀληθινο- and ἀληθο- occur as the first components in Greek compounds (although not in the New Testament), (e.g., ἀληθινολογία ‘speaking truth’ and ἀληθόμαντις ‘prophet of truth’, but ἀληθ(ιν)οθεός ‘True-God’ is not among them). Nevertheless, it could possibly emerge from a manuscript

form like $\Lambda\Lambda\Theta\text{IN}\bar{\text{O}}|\Theta\text{EON}$ if the translator missed a nasal stroke at a line break. Then the compound was created by accident, not voluntarily. In fact, *galiugagub** ‘false god; εἰδωλον’ is the sole compound word with *gub* as the second component. Otherwise, *galiuga-* is the translation of *ψευδ(o)-* that is also rendered by *liugna-*. Regrettably, we do not know what word denoted ‘idol’ among the Goths prior to adopting Christianity, if they had had idols.

All this would mean that the forms classified as belonging to the adjective *sunjis** in reality belong to the noun *sunja*.

The combination *ἀληθεία ἐστίν* occurs only once and it is translated *sunja ist* (John 17:17). In another instance (John 10:41), *ἀληθὴ ἦν* is translated *sunja was*, so it was possible to translate the Greek adjective *ἀληθής* with the Gothic noun *sunja*. Here, *sunja* must be a noun because an adjective should stand in the neuter (with *allata*) as *sunjata*. Therefore, it is likely that the examples from John 8:14 and 8:17 do also belong to the noun *sunja*. Why the adjective *sunjeins* is not used in these instances is far from clear. One possibility is that the fact that *sunjeins* is a derivation from *sunja* somehow made it more natural for the Goths to say ‘this is (the) truth’ rather than ‘this is true’.

The apparatus in the Greek NT editions shows no variants in these instances – that a noun replaces an adjective. This is also Frisk’s (1935: 4–6) as well as Seebold’s (1969: 24–25) conclusion, namely that the adjective *sunjis** is nonexistent. Concerning the adverb *sunjaba* ‘truly’, Seebold points out that it could be derived from the noun *sunja* similarly to *andaugiba* ‘openly; παρρησίᾳ’ and *andaugjo* ‘openly; φανερώς’, which appear to be derived from the noun *andaugi* ‘face; πρόσωπον’, but an adjective **andaugeis* does not appear to have existed.

2. 2CorA 12:7, *gairs*

One of the many marginal glosses in Codex Ambrosianus A is in the left margin of fol. 104v [115] in front of line four. Obviously, the gloss is connected to the word *hnuþo* (Codex B has *hnuto*) ‘thorn; σκόλοψ’.

- (4) atgibana ist mis *hnuþo* leika meinamma
 ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί μου
 ‘was given to me a *thorn* in the flesh’

In his *editio princeps* Castiglione (1829) read the gloss as *gairu* and Uppström’s (1864–1868) reading was the same. This form was connected to ON *geirr* ‘spear’, OE *gār*, OHG, OS *gēr*. Also, in accordance with this etymology Gothic should not

exhibit the change $z > r$; its presence indicates that *gairs* is a borrowing. Then, many years later, Streitberg (1908) reported a new reading by Braun, *qairu*: ‘die swachen Spuren entsprechen mehr einem *q* als einem *g*’. This implies that Braun was not fully convinced and Streitberg thought that *qairu* had to be a scribal error but he does not suggest a conjecture. Nevertheless, many articles have been written in search for the etymology of this form with some success! In 1979 Ebbinghaus reported a new reading, *pairu* < PIE **beru-*; it is related to PIE **breu-* found in PGmc. **priu-n-az* > OIc. *prjónn* ‘knitting needle’. Ebbinghaus (1979) does not explain why he postulates that *ai* in Go. *pairu* is a short monophthong and not a diphthong originally. Casaretto (2004: 200) rejects this along with other attempts to make this fit.

I checked this reading first in 1994 and reported (Snædal 1998: XXI, same in later eds.) that I could not work this out, but the readings *gairu* and even *gairs* were at least equally likely as *pairu*. Since then I have inspected this gloss very often and at last I am convinced that *gairs* is the right reading. The letter combination *air* is undisputed and I find the initial *g* almost certain. What appear to be a vertical stroke in front of the *g* and a horizontal stroke at the top of an initial *p* are not parts of the gloss, even if they are made with a pen, which is questionable. So, *gair* is not followed by a *u* but by an *s* followed by a diple (cf. Falluomini 2015: 63).

The error in Castiglione’s and Uppström’s reading was not the initial *g* but the final *u*. What was suspicious about *gairu* was its inclusion among neuter *u*-stems that are extremely rare (cf. Braune, Heidermanns 2004: 102). Presumably, *gairs* is a loan from the Lombardic language (cf. *gairethinx* ‘spear assembly’) or some other Germanic language/dialect preserving the diphthong and having the change $z > r$.

3. The Inscription of Kovel, Τῆγύριος

When I was finishing my paper about the inscriptions on the Kovel spearhead and the Pietroassa gold ring (Snædal 2011) a notion hit me that would drastically change the content of the Kovel inscription: Is it possible that the third letter is not a <λ> but a <γ>? Yes, according to the chart following Larfeld (1914). Is it possible that the fourth letter is a <ϕ> with a vocalic sound value /u/, but neither an <α> nor an <ε>? At the time, I could not find support for this part of the notion, not in Larfeld nor elsewhere, so I did not mention it in the paper. But later, when I was looking for something else, my notion found support in Sophocles (1900: 552, ref. to Dionysius 1774: 51–53, cf. Sophocles 1900: 1101 and Dionysius 1929: 48–57):

Dionysios (I, 52, 53), who describes F accurately, says that it has the sound of the syllable OY; which can only mean that OY (*U*) is its corresponding vowel sound, the consonantal sound of F being essentially the same as that of the English *W*. Melampus (already referred to, [Bekker 1816: 777]) tells us that it has the power of OY or OI (OI being pronounced like Y in the time of Melampus).

In my first discussion of the Kovel spearhead (Snædal 2011: 234–237) I concluded that the letters are not runes and, therefore, they should not be read as **tilarids**; in addition, the language is not East Germanic/Gothic. Instead I accepted Must's (1955) suggestion that the letters are from the Greek epigraphic alphabet. He insisted that the language is Illyrian, I think that it is most likely Greek. When the inscription is turned left to right it looks like the first form in (5):

- (5) ΤΙΓΓΠΙΟΣ — ΤΙΑΕΠΙΟΣ i.e. Greek *Τηλεροῖος*, *Τηλερεῖος* (Snædal 2011: 237)
 1 34 8 ΤΙΓΓΠΙΟΣ i.e. Greek *Τιγύριος* (Snædal 2015)
tilarids — i.e. Gothic or East Germanic (Snædal 2011: 234)

My notion has as its premise that the letters from the inscription from Kovel are Greek. As I searched the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) database for words beginning with *τιγυ*- I got *Τιγυρίνους*, *Τιγύριοι*, *Τιγυρίους*, *Τιγουρίνων* etc., in the works of Appian, Plutarch, Posidonius, Strabo, and Zonara, whereas in Latin (Caesar) I got *Tigurini*, all referring to a Celtic group living in *Tigurinus pagus*, 'a district in Helvetia, perh. the mod. Zurich' (Lewis, Short 1879; online at the Perseus-project). The quotation from Sophocles given above implies that digamma could have a vocalic sound value. So the spearhead is, possibly, inscribed with ΤΙΓΓΠΙΟΣ (i.e., the nom. sg. *Τιγύριος*). The inscription presumably had the content 'Tigurine Warrior' so the spearhead is now connected to people we know from other sources. In order for my earlier interpretation to fit the first <ι> of the inscription has to be read as <η>, the second as <οι> or <ει>. No such things are needed for my latter interpretation. To the question of what is written on the spearhead, my answer is now: I do not know for sure, but ΤΙΓΓΠΙΟΣ is more than a possibility, ΤΙΑΕΠΙΟΣ is perhaps not excluded, and now I am pretty sure that the letters are from the Greek epigraphic alphabet.

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IM SCHATTEN DES ZWITTERGOTTES. INTERKULTURELLE ONOMASTIK AUS KLEINASIEN (PHRYGIEN/GALATIEN)

The regions of Central Anatolia have always been the meeting place of different languages and cultures. The coexistence of the Hatti and the Hittites in the second millennium BC is the best example. After the fall of the Hittite empire and the migration wave from the Balkans, different nations came into close contact, competing with each other, but also sharing elements of culture. The Phrygians who occupied the former Hittite territories are a notable example. Complicated history of invasions and fallen empires (Lydians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Galatians) can also be traced in the language material that we inherited. The following observations concern the problem of linguistic-cultural interchanges in the area of onomastics. The study focuses on the ancient provinces of Phrygia and Galatia in the period after the Celtic migration into Anatolia and the famous “Battle of the Elephants” in the middle of 3 cent. BC. The paper scrutinizes three examples taken from different onomastic systems. Investigated lexemes can play an important role in the discussion of possible language contacts and cultural transfer in the mentioned regions. At the same time, these examples, next to historical and archaeological data, may be considered as an additional source of our knowledge about the sociolinguistic and cultural situation in Anatolia in the (late) Hellenistic period.

historical linguistics, onomastics, language contacts, Phrygia, Galatia



Super alta uectus Attis celeri rate maria
Catullus

Seit dem Anfang ihrer Geschichte üben die Regionen Zentralanatoliens eine Funktion des Treffpunkts verschiedener Sprachen und Kulturen aus; sie werden zum wichtigen Ort in der Entwicklung der Zivilisation (so werden z. B. die ersten Städte hier gebaut oder die sog. neolithische Revolution und die Anfänge des Ackerbaus finden dort ihren Ursprung usw.). Das beste Beispiel ist das kulturelle Zusammenleben von völlig verschiedenen Nationen im Rahmen des hethitischen Reiches. Die Hattier (*Hatti*), die Hurriter (*Hurri*) und die indogermanischen Anatolier (Hethiter und Luwier) existieren nebeneinander durch das zweite Jahrtausend v. Chr. und beeinflussen sich gegenseitig sowohl sprachlich als in viel weiterem Sinne auch kulturell. So machen z. B. hurritische oder hattische Götter die Mehrheit des hethitischen Pantheons der „Tausend Götter“ aus, und in der hethitischen Literatur ist eine deutliche Präsenz des hurritischen mythischen Gutes zu verzeichnen, wie z. B. im berühmten „Lied von Ullikummi“. Dies hat dazu geführt, dass viel von dem Erbe der älteren Traditionen Mesopotamiens (der akkadischen, sumerischen und assyrischen) erhalten blieb. Dieses Bild hat sich schnell nach dem Fall des hethitischen Reiches und nach verschiedenen Migrationswellen aus dem Balkan verändert. Anstelle eines anatolischen Königreichs treten mehrere Staaten von Luwiern, Lydern, Karern, Lykiern in die Geschichte. Verschiedene Nationen kommen in engen Kontakt, aber zugleich konkurrieren sie miteinander. Es findet – egal, ob auf friedliche oder militärische Weise – ständig auch ein Austausch verschiedener Elemente der Kultur statt. Ein Paradebeispiel dafür ist natürlich der Fall der Phryger, die die ehemaligen hethitischen Territorien besetzen und, primär vom Balkan kommend, das anatolische Kulturgut nach Westen weiter vermitteln. Die komplizierte Geschichte der ständigen Kriege, Invasionen und fallenden Imperien (Lyder, Meder, Perser, Griechen, usw.) spiegelt sich auch im bezeugten Sprachmaterial wider. Die griechische *κοινή* Kleinasiens zeigt Formen, die zweifellos tiefe alte anatolische Wurzeln hat. Einige von ihnen, wie die so genannten „Kulturwörter“, können sogar bis hin zu den sumerischen Zeiten zurückverfolgt werden (vgl. γάλλος; Sowa 2008: 76–79).¹

1 Es handelt sich um einen sehr alten Terminus, nämlich sum. *gala* (Akk. *kalû*) ‘Priester’, der sich als ein Kulturlehnwort überall in ganz Mesopotamien und Anatolien durchgesetzt hat (vgl. auch het. ^uGALA ‘Kultsänger’, Tischler 2001: 224, auch wenn die Form nur als Ideogramm belegt ist, s. Sowa 2008: 79).

Nach der makedonischen Eroberung des achämenidischen Reiches werden die traditionellen lokalen Zentren mehr und mehr marginalisiert. Der Einfluss der hellenistischen Kultur sowie die Entstehung und in der Folge die massive Verbreitung der *κοινή* haben dazu geführt, dass die epichorischen Sprachen und Dialekte begannen, allmählich bis in die römischen Zeiten auszusterben, sodass das Griechische nach und nach überall in Kleinasien zum *συνήθεια*, zur „Volkssprache“ wurde. Das Anatolische mit den Sprachen Lykisch, Lydisch und Karisch (auch Sidetisch und viel später, im 2. Jh. n. Chr., auch das Pisidische) stirbt endgültig aus und wird durch das Griechische verdrängt: die epigraphische Überlieferung des Lykischen umfasst eine Periode von 170 Jahren, zwischen 500–330 v. Chr. Man nimmt an, dass es bereits um 200 v. Chr. tot war und somit das Schicksal des nah verwandten Lydischen teilte, das in Form von Graffiti und Münzlegenden vom Ende des 8. bis zum 3. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt ist, wobei die gut erhaltenen, vom Umfang her größeren Inschriften auf die Zeit 5.–4. Jh. v. Chr. begrenzt sind, die Epoche der Perserdominanz. Die lydischen Texte sind also zeitgleich mit den Lykischen (vgl. Neumann 1994; Melchert 2004a: 591f; Melchert 2004b: 601f.).

Es ist eigentlich nur das Phrygische, das ursprünglich aus dem Balkan kommend (Migrationswelle nach Asien um das 12 Jh. v. Chr.) bis in die christlichen Zeiten (etwa 4 Jh. – das so genannte „Neuphyrgische“) epigraphisch bezeugt ist, doch ist unsere Kenntnis dieser Sprache leider bis heute trümmerhaft (s. Darstellung bei Sowa 2008: 22–38). Sicherlich zählt das gebrochene Kontinuum zwischen den zwei Perioden in der phrygischen Sprachgeschichte zum schwierigsten Problem bei der Interpretation von sprachlichen Fakten. Zwischen dem Altphyrgischen (ca. 740 – 5. Jh. v. Chr.) und neuphyrgischen epigraphischen Fluchformeln (1.–3./4. Jh.) stoßen wir auf eine fast 500 Jahre dauernde Überlieferungslücke, auf „phrygische dunkle Jahrhunderte“ fast ohne Dokumente, darum ist das genaue Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Sprachstufen eher rätselhaft.² Die neuphyrgischen Formeln mit ihren stilistischen Konventionen weisen Formen auf, die nicht in altphyrgischen Dokumenten auftauchen und umgekehrt: die in einem einheimischen Alphabet verfassten altphyrgischen Inschriften bezeugen Formen, die keine Fortsetzung bis in die hellenistische bzw. die Kaiserzeit aufweisen. Hier muss man die Frage nach dem wahren Status der neuphyrgischen Formeln stellen, ob man sie wirklich als sprachwirkliche Beispiele eines lebendigen Ethnolekts interpretieren kann, der noch im 3.–4. Jh. in Gebrauch war (vgl. Sowa 2008: 87–91 mit weitere Literatur).

2 Für die Beschreibung beider Korpora s. Brixhe (2004: 778f.) und Sowa (2008: 22–25); für die Probleme der neuphyrgischen Schreibkonventionen s. Lubotsky (1998: 414).

In einem so komplizierten sprachlichen Umfeld ist eine völlig neue Sprache aufgetreten: das Galatische, ein keltischer Dialekt der Gallier, die sich im Norden Zentralanatoliens um 260 v. Chr. niederließen. Späte klassische Quellen – wenn ihnen zu trauen ist – legen nahe, dass es um das 6. Jh. n. Chr. noch in Gebrauch war. Es ist jedoch extrem schwierig, solche Aussagen zu beweisen, da das bezeugte Material begrenzt ist.³ Alle Sprachen dieser Regionen (mit Ausnahme des Griechischen) gehören nämlich zu den so genannten Rest- und Trümmersprachen, wobei sich die formelle Unterscheidung zwischen den beiden auf das Verhältnis zwischen dem Gebrauch des Idioms und seiner materiellen Evidenz bezieht (vgl. die Definition bei Matzinger 2006: 190⁴). Die fragmentarische Art der Überlieferung – unsere Kenntnisse stützen sich nur auf antike Nachrichten, Glossen oder onomastisches Material – erschwert von Anfang an erheblich die systematische Interpretation.

Die folgenden Ausführungen beziehen sich auf das Problem der sprachlich-kulturellen Kontakte im Bereich der Onomastik in den antiken Provinzen Phrygien und Galatien in der Zeit nach der keltischen Migration nach Kleinasien und nach der keltischen Niederlassung in diesen Gegenden im Gefolge der berühmten „Schlacht der Elefanten“ Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr.

Drei Beispiele aus verschiedenen onomastischen Systemen werden untersucht, die eine wichtige Rolle in der Diskussion über mögliche Sprachkontakte und einen möglichen Kulturtransfer in den genannten Regionen spielen können und zugleich, nebst historisch-archäologischen Aufschlüssen, als eine zusätzliche Quelle unseres Wissens über die soziolinguistische Situation in Anatolien in der (spät)hellenistischen Periode angesehen werden dürfen.

In der Heimat von Attis und Kybele

Im Schatten der Berge *Dindymos* und *Agdos* liegt die Heiligenstadt *Pessinous* (nt-Stamm), eine sehr wichtige Ortschaft in der nachhethitischen Kultur Kleinasiens.

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- 3 Keine einzige galatische Inschrift wurde bis jetzt gefunden, auch wenn man über eine gewisse Anzahl der gallischen Inschriften in griechischer, lateinischer, nordetruskischer oder venetischer Schrift verfügt. Das ganze Korpus des Galatischen umfasst um 120 Formen, die meisten sind Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften der Gegend und in griechischen Texten; dazu kann man noch ein paar Formen zählen, die bei den griechischen Autoren als Galatisch zitiert wurden (s. Eska 2006: 788; Weisgerber 1931; Sowa, im Druck).

Die Stadt ist in der phrygischen Geschichte wichtig, von dort aus soll der mythische König Midas sein Imperium regiert haben.

Nach der altertümlichen Tradition war *Pessinous* das Hauptkultzentrum der Kybele (phryg. *matar*, bzw. *matar kubileya*). Die Gestalt der griechisch-phrygischen Kybele findet ihren Ursprung in der alten anatolischen Göttin *Kubaba* (vgl. die *Kubaba* von Karkamišs, vgl. hluw. ^{DEUS}*ku+AVIS*, *Ku-ba-ba*, *ku(i)papa*, sum. *Kug-Bau*), deren Kult im zweiten Jahrtausend über ganz Anatolien (und eigentlich das ganze Mesopotamien) verbreitet war. Die Tradition verortet den Kybele-Kult in den altphrygischen Zeiten (8. Jh. v. Chr.) und schreibt die Errichtung ihres ersten Prunktempels und zugleich die Gründung der Stadt dem König Midas (738–696 v. Chr.) zu.⁴ Allerdings ist die phrygische Vergangenheit von *Pessinous* sowohl historisch als auch archäologisch sehr dunkel. So schreibt z. B. Strabo (12.5.3) „dass die Kybele-Priester in den ‚alten Zeiten‘ Potentaten waren“, doch man zweifelt, ob *Pessinous* in der phrygischen Periode wirklich eine Tempelstadt unter der Regierung von „dynastai“ war. Nach Cicero (Har. Resp. 8.28) fühlten die Seleukidenkönige tiefe Hingabe für den Schrein, was natürlich bestätigen könnte, dass das Heiligtum in dieser Zeit noch sehr verehrt wurde.

Vom 3. Jh. v. Chr. an wurde *Pessinous* zu einer Tempelstadt, regiert von einer klerikalen Oligarchie aus Galloi, den Eunuchen-Priestern der Mutter-Göttin. Nach der Ankunft der Kelten in Kleinasien eroberte der keltische Stamm der *Tolistobogioi* die phrygischen Gebiete zwischen Gordion und *Pessinous*. Es ist aber zweifelhaft, dass die Stadt in diesem frühen Stadium tatsächlich unter galatischer Kontrolle stand.

Römisches Interesse an *Pessinous* wurde sehr früh geweckt. Im Jahre 205/204 v. Chr. haben die Römer, durch eine Anzahl von Meteoritenschauern während des zweiten punischen Krieges beunruhigt, nach den Anweisungen der sibyllinischen Bücher beschlossen, den Kult der Großen Mutter von Ida in Rom einzuführen (*Magna Mater Idaea, Cybele*). Sie suchten die Hilfe ihres Verbündeten Attalos I. (241–197 v. Chr.) und seiner Anweisung zufolge gingen sie nach *Pessinous* und nahmen das „wichtigste Bild der Göttin, einen großen schwarzen Stein, von dem gesagt wurde, dass er vom Himmel gefallen sei, mit nach Rom“ (Liv. 10.4–11.18).

Der Name dieser Stadt bereitet große Probleme. Er war wohl schon in der Antike für Leute unanalysierbar, deswegen weisen die griechischen Autoren immer auf eine Volksetymologie hin, wonach die Stadt nach einem schwarzen Stein benannt sei (wahrscheinlich einem Meteoriten), der vom Himmel gefallen sei, vgl. z.B. Herodian *Hist. Ab excessu divi Marci*, I, 11.1–2:

4 Zur Gestalt der Kybele und ihrer möglichen Herkunft s. neulich Orshko (2016: 90–94).

τοῦτο δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθῆναι λόγος ἔς τινα τῆς Φρυγίας χῶρον (Πεσσινουὺς δὲ ὄνομα τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν λαβεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐκ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀγάλματος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) καὶ πρῶτον ἐκείσε ὀφθῆναι

‘die Geschichte sagt, dass die Statue vor vielen Jahren vom Himmel gefallen ist und zunächst an einem Ort in Phrygien gefunden wurde (der Name der Ortschaft lautet Pessinous und dieselbe hat den Namen vom Herabfallen der Statue aus dem Himmel bekommen)’.

Wir wissen zwar, dass im antiken Phrygien der Idolen-Kult (auch in Form des *bai-tylen*-Steinkults) sehr verbreitet war, vgl. z. B. drei schwarze, aus der altphrygischen Periode stammende, mit epichorischen Inschriften versehene Granitsteine (vgl. CIPP: 258–268), was die mit dem Stein der Kybele in *Pessinous* verbundene „Nationaltradition“ im Prinzip stützen könnte, doch im Lichte der kritischen Lektüre der antiken Quellen und v. a. im Lichte der Analyse der *translatio* des „Kybelekults“ nach Rom können wir feststellen, dass die Existenz einer Tempelstadt vor 205 v. Chr. radikal in Frage gestellt werden muss. Es mag schon sein, dass Pessinous ein phrygisches Dorf war (oder es gab womöglich auch mehrere Dörfer mit lokalen Heiligtümern im Gallos-Tal), und dass erst die Verbindung zwischen dem römischen Interesse (und der schlaunen Kulturpolitik und -ideologie) und der geschickten attalidischen Politik etwas Großes daraus gemacht haben (Çoskun, im Druck).

Wenn dem so ist, so muss man sich fragen, welcher der Namensschichten man den Namen *Pessinous* zurechnen sollte. Wir haben theoretisch 5 Möglichkeiten:

- a. Der Name ist aus der anatolischen Zeit entlehnt und wurde nach der Ankunft der Phryger wieder benutzt bzw. umgedeutet.
- b. Der Name ist ursprünglich phrygisch, die Stadt selbst spielt in der Geschichte eine Rolle als phrygisches Nationalheiligtum und ist zugleich einer der wichtigsten Orte der politischen und wahrscheinlich auch kulturellen Macht.
- c. Der Name ist keltisch und kam erst ab dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. in Gebrauch.
- d. Der Name ist griechisch und muss mit der Verbreitung der griechischen Sprache und Kultur im 4. Jh. v. Chr. in Zusammenhang gebracht werden.
- e. Es liegen andere Umdeutungen oder Übersetzungen aus uns jetzt unbekannten Sprachen/Dialekten/linguistisch-kulturellen Kontexten und dergleichen vor, oder die Übernahme beruht auf ständigen Kontakten der angenommenen Ethnien, usw.

Wir wissen natürlich nicht, ob man in diesem Fall mit einem Namenskontinuum rechnen kann. Ein kultureller Wechsel an sich ist von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit in den Regionen gut erkennbar, aber ob man *Pessinous* in diesem Teil Zentralphrygiens

als einen „wiederbelebten hethitischen Ort“ ansieht oder ob man es eher mit einem (kurzen) Hiatus und erst nach einer Weile mit einer Wiederbesiedlung zu tun hat, lässt sich im Lichte der archäologischen Funde leider nicht entscheiden. Die seit den 40er Jahren relativ verbreitete Ansicht, dass *Pessinous* mit der in den hethitischen Quellen genannten Stadt ^{URU}*šallapa* zu identifizieren wäre, wird heutzutage generell abgelehnt. Es ist natürlich möglich, im anatolischen Wortschatz Formen zu finden, die lautlich eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit dem klassischen Namen *Pessinous* aufweisen, vgl. z. B. das Verb *peššiyanun*, ein kolloquialer Ausdruck in einem bürokratischen Text, „habe erlegt, zur Strecke gebracht“ (über das feindliche Heer, ein Ausdruck aus der Jägersprache). Hier besteht natürlich kein Zusammenhang.

Auf der anderen Seite lässt sich im phrygischen Material kein einziges Etymon finden, das sich mit dem Stadtnamen verbinden könnte, und wegen des anlautenden /p/ ist die keltische Provenienz eher fraglich.

Es mag ferner sein, dass der Name *Pessinous* (wohl als **Pessinont-*) seine Ursprünge vielleicht im Griechischen hat oder dass das Griechische als Vermittler anzusehen ist. Man denkt hier an Hsch. Π 2028 πέσ(σ)ον · ὄρος · χωρίον Κύπριοι · πεδίον Αἰολεῖς · τινές ὀμαλές ‘Ort (auf kyprisch), Ebene auf Äolisch’ und Π 2029 πεσσός · οὕτως ἐκάλουν τὰς ψήφους, αἷς ἔπαιζον ‘p. so nennen sie die Steine, mit denen sie spielen’. Im ersten Fall wird die Form πέσσον mit der dialektalen Etikette den Äolern zugeschrieben, als einer Art dialektale Variante des klass. [pedion], die Orthographie ist aber ungewöhnlich (vgl. die Schreibung mit <ζ> nach dem „lesbischen“ Wandel δία > ζά (Hoffmann 1893: 244f.; zum Phänomen Blümel 1982: 114f., 117; Sowa 2009: 272–277), vgl. aber auch das -ιο- Derivat, Adj. πεζός < **pedjo-*. Die Orthographie mit geminiertem *sigma* wäre dann ohne Parallele. Was die Alternative mit πεσσός betrifft, so sieht es vielversprechender aus. πεσσός bedeutet primär ‘Stein, Kieselstein, Brettspiel-Stein, eigentlich jedes runde Objekt’, im speziellen technischen Kontext auch “Terrasse”.⁵ Diese Situation sieht aber hethitischen Belegen ziemlich ähnlich, wo man ein Nebeneinander von *paššu-* ‘raised base, platform, terrace’ – ein strukturierter Platz, wo eine Statue aufgestellt werden kann, ohne materielle Implikationen, und ^{NA4}*paššila-* (^{NA4}*paššilu-*) c. ‘Stein, Stück Geröll, Brettspiel-Stein’ beobachten kann (vgl. die Belege in CHP s.v. ^{NA4}*paššila*, *paššu-*). Wir wissen zwar, dass aus etymologischer Sicht kein Zusammenhang zwischen den anatolischen und den griechischen Formen bestehen kann und ^{NA4}*paššila* eher in dem gr. ψήφος ‘Brettspiel-Stein’, ψάμμος ‘Sand’ (idg. **pes-*) einen Verwandten

5 Als Fremdwort unbekannter Herkunft bei Frisk (GEW: 519).

findet, doch die Situation ist ungewöhnlich. Es ist natürlich durchaus möglich, dass der in klass. Quellen auftretende Name *Pessinous* als eine *-ino-* Ableitung zum idg. **pes-* (Stoffadjektiv), z. B. ‘steiniger, sandiger Ort’ interpretiert werden kann (z. B. auf Phrygisch), die dann wahrscheinlich mit dem individualisierenden Suffix als ‘der steinige, sandige Ort’ noch zusätzlich markiert wurde. Man kann es aber nicht ausschließen, dass die älteren Bezeichnungen für ‘Plattform, Terrasse’ (auf der man eine Statue, bzw. einen Stein, ein Idol, eine Gottheit aufstellt) hier irgendeine Wirkung ausgeübt haben.⁶

- 6 Die hypothetische Verbindung zu anatolischen Formen im Sinne von „Plattform, Terrasse“ scheint weniger überzeugend. Hethitische Beispiele sind zwar interessant, dann ist man aber mit dem Problem konfrontiert, wie die Abweichungen in der Morphologie erklärt werden sollen (*Pessin-ount-* wäre schwer auf *passu-* bzw. *passi-la-* zurückzuführen). Im Fall des griechischen Etymons würde man natürlich sofort mit dem morphologischen Problemen konfrontiert. Der gr. Ausgang *-ovs* < **-ue/ont-s* hat gute Parallelen, vgl. bei Ortsnamen *Σελινοῦς* zu *σέλινον* ‘Petersilie’ (für die Beispiele und die Funktion s. Schwyzer 1939: 526f.; Risch 1974: 151ff.; Balles 2008: 287f.). Der Suffix *-φεντ-* (idg. **-ue/ont-*), zur Bildung der denominativen Adjektiva benutzt, hat allem Anschein nach einen ähnlichen Sinn wie das anatolische *-want-* Suffix, das die possessiven Adjektiva von Substantiven im Sinne „versehen mit, reich an“ bildet, vgl. *lalukkiwant-* „mit Licht versehen“, *šamankurwant-* „mit dem Bart versehen“, *kurutawant-* „ein hornige Krone tragend“ (vgl. auch ai., aw. *-vant-*), das gerade häufig in den kleinasiatischen Ortsnamen vorkommt, vgl. z.B. heth. ^{URU} *Wiyawanda* „die Stadt reich an Weinrebe“, vgl. auch ^{URU} *Millawanda* (Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 61; zum Suffix im Anatolischen s. Oettinger 1988: 273–286). Es kann gut sein, dass der Name eine *Interpretatio Graeca* eines ähnlich klingenden phrygischen Toponyms oder – warum nicht – eine echte phrygische Form ist (obwohl das Wortbildungsmuster in dem belegten epigraphischen Material eigentlich nicht vorkommt). Im Griechischen ist nur der Typ *-(o)eis* < **o-uent-s*, lebendig, vgl. die in der *Anthologia Graeca* 6, 220, 1 belgete Form *Πεσσινόνεντος*:

*Σάρδις Πεσσινόνεντος ἀπὸ Φρυγὸς ἤθελ' ἰκέσθαι,
ἐκφρων μαινομένην δοῦς ἀνέμοισι τρίχα,
ἀγνὸς Ἀτys, Κυβέλης θαλαμηπόλος.*

zu beliebigen Stämmen, doch auch diese ist fast nur als Stillmittel der hohen Dichtung zu interpretieren. Man könnte dann das vorliegende Szenario überlegen: 1) eine adjektivische Derivation von der grundlegenden Form **pessos* mit *-ino-* Suffix der Stoffadjektiva – etwa „steinig“ und dann 2) noch eine mit dem *-uont-* ***pessinuont-* anscheinend in der „possessiven“ Bedeutung ‘der an Steine reiche Ort’. Es wäre im Prinzip auch möglich, dass die *-ino-* Bildung dann mit dem bloßen individualisierenden

So etwas wäre interessant: ähnlich wie bei Ankyra hat man noch keine zusammenhängenden Siwedlungsspuren gefunden, aber die markante Ortschaft konnte durchaus schon in hethitischer Zeit einen Namen gehabt haben, der von den Phrygern übernommen wurde bzw. diese beeinflussen konnte. Mit einer genauen Antwort müssen wir aber noch zuwarten – der Zwittergott begegnet uns eben im Zwielficht.

Γριμιταλος

Der epigraphisch belegte Namenschatz aus Phrygien und Galatien reflektiert und bestätigt verschiedene Etappen der Geschichte dieser asiatischen Provinzen: die Ansiedlung der Phryger im anatolischsprachigen Gebiet, der frühe Einfluss der griechischen Kultur, die Integration ins persische Reich, der erneute griechische Einfluss (diesmal seitens der hellenistischen Welt) und am Ende die Einwanderung der Kelten. Sicher gibt es verschiedene Namensschichten in Phrygien, die Unterschiede zwischen ihnen sind jedoch nicht so deutlich. Aber auch wenn einerseits die Sprache der Phryger so spärlich überliefert ist und andererseits keine direkten Quellen des Galatischen vorhanden sind, bleiben immer noch Namen sowohl von Personen als auch von Ortschaften – eine große Sammlung von Daten

-ōn-Suffix zunächst gebildet (***pessinōn*-, gen. -ōnos), dann aber durch den Einfluss anderer Namen vom Typ *Σελινοῦς* zu -ont-Form geändert wurde. So ein sekundärer Stammwechsel (Entgleisung) ist im Griechischen sehr gut bezeugt, die älteren *n*-Stämme zeigen gewisse Tendenz in die *nt*-Formationen zu wandeln (Schwyzer 1939: 526), wahrscheinlich wegen der „Doppeldeutigkeit von Nom. Sg. -ων und Vok. Sg. -ον“ (Risch 1974: 27), vgl. z. B. den Namen des trojanischen Helden Sarpedon *Σαρπηδών*, der sowohl als Gen. *Σαρπήδοντος* und als *Σαρπηδόνος* (sehr häufig bei Homer und in der archaischen Lyrik (Bacch. Fr. 20E, 10: [*Σαρ*]πιδόνα πυροφόρ[Pi. Pyth. 3, 112: *Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν', ἀνθρώπων φάτις*; cf. also Lyc. Alex. 1284: *ξυνὸν πέφυκε καὶ τροφῶ Σαρπηδόνος*) bezeugt wird. Man könnte auch auf die antiken Grammatiker verweisen, vgl. z. B. Eintrag aus dem Lexikon von Hesych (anscheinend nach Herodian) *Σ 228 Σαρπήδοντος · Σαρπηδόνος. ἄλις δὲ ταύτη χρῆται τῇ γενικῇ Σαρπήδοντος. ἔστι δὲ Αἰολικὴ ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς Σαρπηδων* (nach Hdn. *Περὶ ὀπθ.* 3, 2, 579, 3f.). Die *Σαρπηδόνος* Formen scheinen viel mehr archaisch zu sein, die -*nt*-Formationen dagegen werden als eine homerische Innovation angesehen und entstehen wahrscheinlich durch einen metrischen Einfluss (Hiersche 1970: 92f.), vgl. e.g. *M* 379: *Σαρπήδοντος ἑταῖρον Ἐπικλῆα μεγάλθυμον*; das gleiche metrische Schema in *M* 392: *Σαρπήδοντι δ' ἄχος γένετο Γλαύκου ἀπίοντος* – – – – –, wobei in *O* 67: *τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' υἱὸν ἑμὸν Σαρπηδόνα διῶν* – – – – – zeigt (vgl. auch Hdn. *Περὶ κλισ. ὀνομάτ.* 3, 2, 730, 4–18).

unterschiedlichster Art. Die externe Sprachgeschichte ist nur einer von vielen zu untersuchenden Bereiche.

In zwei Inschriften aus der antiken Stadt Tavium (Zentralanatolien, etwa 200 km östlich von Ankara und etwa 20 km südlich von Hattusa, der Hauptstadt des Hethiterreiches) kommen interessante Belege für einen bis heute noch unbekannten Namen *Γριμιταλος* vor, der sehr wahrscheinlich als ein neues Element des keltisch-galatischen Namenschatzes interpretiert werden darf.

Aufgrund der archäologischen Funde können wir sicher sein, dass im Gegenteil zu Pessinus hier eine Siedlungskontinuität von chalkolithischer Zeit bis in die Spätantike erwiesen ist. Die Stadt, die seit dem 4. Jahrtausend besiedelt war, erlebte in hethitischer Zeit ihre erste Blüte (vgl. den mehrmals in hethitischen Texten belegten Namen der bedeutenden Stadt ^{URU}*Tawiniya*, ein Verkehrsknotenpunkt, bereits in assyrischer Zeit bezeugt, vgl. *kārum tamnia* bzw. *tawnia* in den Kültepe-Texten; zu hethitischen Belegen vgl. Zinko-Zinko 2010 und Zinko 2012). Tavium war in der hellenistischen Zeit eine der drei befestigten Siedlungen der keltischen *Trokmer* (Strabo 12.5.1)⁷ und ein Teil des Reiches des Amyntas, das im Jahr 25/24 v. Chr. von Rom annektiert und gemeinsam mit dem Gebiet von Pessinus und Ankyra zur Provinz Galatien geschlagen wurde.

In einer Ortschaft Çambidi (nordwestlich von Tavium) gibt es zwei Marmorsteine aus der römischen Zeit, die eigentlich zwei sehr konventionelle Typen von Dokumenten (Grabinschriften) darstellen:

*Βελλων Γουτουμαρου
 ηρωως χρηστε χαιρε
 Γριμιταλος και Ανδρομα
 χος τον εαυτον τον πατερα
 αρετης ενεκεν [vac.]*

*Bellon Sohn des Gutumaros,
 oh trefflicher selig Verstorbener sei begrüßt.
 Grimitalos und Andromachos für ihren Vater
 um seiner Tugend willen*

7 Vgl. ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Τροκμοὶ τὰ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὧν νέμονται Γαλάται· φρούρια δ' αὐτοῖς τετείχισται τρία, Τάουιον, ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη, ὅπου ὁ τοῦ Διὸς κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς καὶ τέμενος αὐτοῦ ἄσυλον [...] 'Die Trokmer besitzen die Gebiete nahe Pontos und Kappadokien. Diese sind die besten der Gebiete, die sich die Galater teilen: Sie haben drei befestigte Plätze, Tavium, das Emporion in diesem Gebiet, wo es eine bronzene Kolossalstatue des Zeus und sein Temenos mit Asyl gibt [...]'.

und das zweite Dokument:

Γριμιταλε
Βελλωνος
ηρος χρης
τε χαιρε

Grimaltos, Sohn des Bellon
oh trefflicher selig Verstorbener sei begrüßt.

Nach Strobel wären die beiden Inschriften der erste direkte Beleg für eine Familie der galatischen Oberschicht der Trokmer, vgl. „mit *Gutumaros*, seinem Sohn *Bellon* und dessen Söhnen *Grimaltos* und *Andromachos* fassen wir drei Generationen des trokmischen Adels“, für die die Benutzung verschiedener Namenstraditionen (keltisch, bzw. griechisch-makedonisch) etwas Typisches sein sollte, „wobei das Abwechseln im Gebrauch der Traditionen zwischen den Generationen bzw. zwischen Nachkommen verschiedenen Alters festzustellen ist“ (Strobel 2005: 362f.).

Im Fall der beiden Dokumente können wir leicht feststellen, dass es sich um Nachweise für Mitglieder einer Familie handelt, obwohl sie griechische, galatische und vielleicht auch lateinische Namen tragen. Ob dies aber als etwas Systematisches anzusehen wäre, lässt sich leider nicht entscheiden, vgl. die Distribution:

Großvater	keltisch	(<i>Gutumaros</i>)
Vater	lateinisch?	(<i>Bellōn</i>)
Sohn ₁	keltisch?	(<i>Grimaltos</i>)
Sohn ₂	griechisch	(<i>Andromachos</i>)

Der Name *Grimaltos* bereitet Probleme. Die Form ist sonst nirgendwo bezeugt, doch es scheint, dass man es mit einem zusammengesetzten PN keltischen Ursprungs zu tun hat, vor allem wegen des zweiten Elements des Kompositums, nämlich **talos*, was sehr gut in anderen keltischen Namenkomposita vertreten ist, vgl. z. B. *Dannotalos*, *Samotalos*, *Cassitalos*, *Assutalos*, usw., eine ererbte idg. Wz. **telh₂-* ‘flache Fläche’ auf Keltisch wohl auch (vor allem im Hinterglied von Komposita) ‘Stirn’, vgl. skr. *talam* ‘Fläche’, *talimam* ‘Boden’, gr. *τηλία* ‘Spiel-(Karten)tisch’, air. *talam* ‘Erde’ < **talamon-*, lat. *tellūs* ‘Erde’, lit. *pā-talas* ‘Bett’, apress. *talus* ‘Erde’, usw., wobei keltisch **talo-* aus **t_lHo-*. (IEW: 1061; Delamarre 2003: 288f.).

Bei der Interpretation des Vordergliedes müssten wir die Existenz eines Elements **grimi-* annehmen, was natürlich dazu führt, dass wir uns in der Konsequenz

auch nach dem Wortbildungstyp fragen müssen. In der Komposition zeigt das Kontinentalkeltische (Gallische) eine Tendenz, andere Bildungstypen zu o-Stämmen umzuformen, doch es scheint auch, dass die Anzahl der *i*-stämmigen Formationen in der keltischen Anthroponymie noch relativ hoch ist (eigentlich viel höher als z.B. im Griechischen), sowohl im Vorder- als auch im Hinterglied, vgl. *bōdi* (**boudi*-) ‘Sieg’, z. B. *Bodivesus*, aber *Bōdorīx*; *brogi*- (**mrogi*-) ‘Land’, z. B. *Brogi-tarus*, *Brogimarus*, aber *Brogorix* (*Βρογορις*); *solī* (**suli*-) ‘Auge’ (vgl. air. *suíl*), z. B. *Solirix*, *Solimarus*, *Soliboduus*, aber *Solovettius*, usw. (Milewski 1969: 58). Wenn wir dann sicher sind, dass der *i*-Stamm als das erste Element nichts Unerwartetes darstellt, so bleibt die Frage offen, was eigentlich ***grimi* sein könnte. Bei dieser Interpretation bietet sich m. E. eine Verbindung zu einem kelt. Verbalnomen wie in altirisch *greimm* ‘grasp, authority’ < **grebsmen* < **grebh₂*- an. Man kann hierbei auf eine irische Form GRIMI in einer Oghaminschrift GRIMIGGN[I] verweisen (als Gen. eines o-Stammes, -*gno* Diminutiv) zu *grim* ‘Kampf’ oder air. *greimm* ‘Macht’ (zur Oghamform vgl. Ziegler 1994: 186).

Altirisch *grim* ‘Kampf’ ist eigentlich ein sehr spätes *hapax legomenon* (vgl. GRIM.i. *cogadh* in „O’Clery’s Irish glossary“, Miller 1883: 6; eDIL s.v. *grim*). Dadurch ist es sehr schwierig, irgendein Urteil abzugeben, bis hin zu der Frage, ob die Form überhaupt sprachwirklich ist oder nicht bloß eine Schreibtischerfindung. Das Galatische zeigt jedoch manchmal einen /i/-Vokal, wo eher /e/ zu erwarten wäre, deswegen scheint es möglich, *grimi*^o als Parallelf orm zu altir. *greimm* ‘grasp, authority, sway, power, a vigorous attack; seizure, hold, grasp (in literal sense); a place of authority; royal seat’ (vgl. *greim rigdae rí Muman* ‘the dwelling and royal seat of the king of Munster’)“ (eDIL s.v. *greimm*) zu interpretieren. Die Existenz des keltischen *i*-Stamms kann auch durch kymr. *grym*, das auf einen *i*-Stamm **gremmi*- weist und gut zu gal. *grimi*- passen würde, gestützt werden (vgl. zu *greimm* Stüber 2010: 72). Semantisch würde eine Interpretation ‘eine Stirn von Autorität habend’ nicht schlecht passen: im Gallischen gibt es ähnliche Bildungen, z. B. *Dannotalos*, was als ‘die Stirn eines Richters habend’ aufgefasst wird.

Grimitalos ergibt sich somit als ein gewöhnlicher keltischer PN. Die nächste Frage wäre dann, ob die belegten Namensformen des Bruders (*Andromachos*), bzw. Grimitalos’ Vaters *Bellōn* eine kulturelle Tendenz widerspiegeln oder anders zu erklären sind. Im Fall des *Andromachos* ginge es um einen hellenistischen Einfluss, was natürlich zweifellos angenommen werden kann. *Bellōn* scheint mir aber trotz der sofortigen Assoziation mit dem lat. *bellum* und dem Namen der Göttin *Bellona* doch keltisch zu sein, vgl. gall. *belo-*, *bello-* ‘stark’ (sehr oft belegt als eine

Komponente von PN: *Belinos, Belenus, Belinicos, Belisama, Bellus, Bellona, Bello-gnati, Bello-rix, Bello-uacus, Bello-uaedius, Bello-uesus*; Delamarre 2003: 72), doch im Zuge der Hellenisierung vielleicht mit dem griechischen Typ der individualisierenden Bildungen (Μακεδών-Typ) vermischt. In diesem Fall hätten wir von der ganzen Familie nur einen griechisch lautenden Namen, sonst würden alle anderen Formen als keltisch gedeutet. Was die Gründe dafür sein mögen, können wir natürlich nicht wissen, wahrscheinlich spielen viele Faktoren auf einmal mit.⁸

Uindia

Wie schon oben gesagt wurde, sind die bezeugten Namen wie immer im Fall von Rest- und Trümmersprachen eine der wichtigsten Quellen des Materials. Im Fall des Galatischen lauten die belegten Personennamen wohl genau so wie ihre kontinentalen gallischen Parallelen. Sie werden alle vier genannten morphologischen Typen der bekannten keltischen Namen fortsetzen (vgl. z. B. typische Formationen mit dem *-rix*-Element < **rigo-*, wie z. B. *Olorix, Adiatorix* oder mit **epo-* ‘Pferd’ Επωνη).⁹ die Namen der drei galatischen Stämme *Tectosages, Tolistobogii* und *Trocmi* sind zweifellos keltischen Ursprungs. Die Ortsnamen weisen die bekannten Typen auf, die man auch in anderen von Kelten bewohnten Regionen findet, z. B. possessiv *Acitorigiâco* ‘Ort/Siedlung des *Acitorix*’ oder *Articniâcon* ‘(Siedlung des) Artiknos’ (‘zum Bär gehörig’), oder das Kompositum Δρυνέμετον (*Drunemeton*) als Name eines heiligen Orts, ein Treffpunkt der galatischen Richter und Tetrarchen.

Auch wenn wir normalerweise eine Art sprachliche Kontinuität bei den Ortsnamen in Anatolien vermuten können (vor allem bei den altertümlichen Siedlungen, s. z. B. heth. *Apasa* – gr. *Ephesos*, heth. *Millawanda* – *Miletos*, heth. *Tuwanuwa* – *Tyana*, usw.), ist in der Zeit der keltischen Präsenz in Anatolien ein Prozess der Wiederbenennung der älteren Namen in Galatien zu beobachten. Die antiken phrygischen Siedlungen werden neu auf keltische Weise unbenannt, das bekannteste

8 Man könnte auch rein theoretisch fragen, ob die Form *Ανδρομαχος* doch nicht als eine hellenisierte Lehnübersetzung des gallischen Namens mit dem Element °*uico* in HG angesehen werden kann, vgl. *Anderouico* < **-pro-uico*, eigentlich ein Äquivalent zu gr. *πρόμαχος*; zu idg. **ueik-* ‘kämpfen’, **uink-* ‘siegen’, vgl. air. *fichid* ‘kämpft’ (**uikéti*), ar-finch ‘siege’, lat. *uinco*, -ere, got. *weihan* ‘kämpfen’.

9 Z. B. Vollkomposita aus zwei (‘zweistämmige Vollnamen’), bzw. aus mehreren Komponenten (‘mehrstämmige Vollnamen’): Gal. *Epomarus* ‘große Pferde habend’ oder ‘groß durch Pferde’; ‘einstämmige Vollnamen’: gal. *Maros* ‘groß’ < **māro-*, gal. *Boccos* ‘Bock’

Beispiel ist dann das Schicksal der phrygischen Hauptstadt Gordion, die, einst in den phrygischen Zeiten vernichtet (eher nicht durch Kimmerier), einen Teil ihres älteren Prestiges wiedergewonnen hat (vgl. die Legende über den Gordischen Knoten), aber bei den Kelten zu *Οὐινδία* wurde (Ptol. 5.4.7), zum gall. Adj. *uindos* ‘weiß, glänzend’, eines der am häufigsten bezeugten Elemente der keltischen Onomastik, vor allem in Komposita, sowohl bei Personen- als auch bei Ortsnamen: vgl. z. B. PN *Uinda*, *Uindama*, *Uindus*, *Uindius*, *Οὐινδία* (Münze RIG 4, n° 305), *Οὐινδιακος* (G-118), *Uindaticius*, *Uindelicus*, *Uindedo*, *Uindemialis*, *Uindilla*, *Uindillus*, *Uindona*, *Uindonissa*, *Uindulos*, *Uinduro*, *Aico-uindo*, *Alco-uindus*, *At-uindi*, *Contu-uinda*, *Macio-uindi*, *Penno-uindos* ‘mit weißem Kopf’, *Uindo-bius*, usw.; auch die Ortsnamen *Uindo-ialum*, *Uindo-briga*, *Uindo-bona*, *Uindonissa*, *Uindo-cino*, *Uindo-bala*, *Uindo-cladia*, *Uindo-landa*, *Uindo-magus*, *Uindilis*, *Uindiacus*, und auch bei Flussnamen: **Uinda*, **Uindeda*, **Uindena*, etc. (Holder 1913: 339; Delamarre 2003: 320f.).

Wir wissen nicht, warum die Galater die ererbten phrygischen Namen substituiert haben. Man kann in diesem Fall nicht von semantischer Äquivalenz sprechen, weil *Gordion* (an sich in so einer Gestalt in phrygischen Inschriften nicht bezeugt, das gleiche auch in dem Fall des Namens des mythischen Königs Gordias)¹⁰ zu °*gordo* (‘Ort, Stadt’, vgl. z. B. *Manegordum*, auch slav. *gradú*, heth. ^(B)*gurta* (c.) ‘Stadt, Zitadelle, Akropolis’, lat. *hortus* < idg. **g^hor-to*/**g^hr-d^ho*). Was aber ziemlich seltsam scheint, ist die Tatsache, dass die Form *Οὐινδία* viel eher wie ein Personen- und nicht wie ein Ortsname aussieht (vgl. die Belege, die vorwiegend *uindo-* aufweisen). Die Lösung wäre, anzunehmen, dass die Form eine Rückbildung zum Vollkompositum ‘Weiße Siedlung’ darstellt, vielleicht eine kelto-phrygische hybride Bildung ***uindo-gordo-* (vgl., mit der gleichen Semantik, *Uindo-briga* oder °*bona*), was dann zum ersten Element gekürzt und mit einem **-ijo-* Suffix markiert wurde.¹¹

< **bokko-*, gal. *Cocca* ‘rote’ < **kokko-*; nicht komponierte derivierte Namen, suffigierte Formationen, z. B. gal. *Suadulla* ‘süße’ < **syādu-* ‘süß’, keltib. *katunos* < **katu-* ‘Schlacht, Krieg’ (Spitzname); ‘Kurznamen’ sind typischerweise von den voll komponierten und nicht komponierten Namen gebildet, indem die Form mechanisch gekürzt wird, z. B. gal. *Adnema* < **Adnamata* ‘sehr feindlich’ < **ad-* ‘sehr’ + *nāmant-* ‘Feind’ oder gal. *Bouda* < **bou-di-* ‘Sieg, Belohnung’ (für Gallische Anthroponymie s. ferner Evans 1967).

10 Vgl. aber ← *gard* [...] Graffiti aus Gordion (CIPP: 165).

11 Es gibt schon eine Debatte, ob *Uindia* wirklich am Ort der antiken phrygischen Stadt lag – bei Ptolemaios als *polis* der galatischen Tolistobogier genannt, und als *statio* in dem *Itinerarium Antonini* 201.5, wo die angegebene Distanz zwischen *Uindia* und *Colonia Germa* der zwischen *Gordion* und der genannten Siedlung entspricht (Belke,

Ein gutes Beispiel einer Parallelentwicklung infolge der Sprachkontakte in diesem Areal ist die Neuerung der ererbten Benennung im Fall des epichorischen Flussnamens *Tembris*, *Tembrios* (Tur. *Porşuk*) in Phrygien. Der Name ist sicherlich noch aus den Zeiten vor der griechischen Migrationswelle nach Asien ererbt, es lässt sich aber schwer entscheiden, ob man ihn als ein anatolisches bzw. phrygisches Element interpretieren sollte. Die Etymologie ist immer noch ungeklärt (Tischler 1977: 144). Anscheinend ist der Flussname in einer griechisch-phrygischen quasi-Bilingue belegt, vgl. № 48:

ε[(-)]γ' τεντουμενος
 νιοισιος ναδροτος
 ειτου Μιτραφατα
 κε **Μας Τεμρογε-**
ιος κε Πουντας
 βας κε ενσταρνα
 [vac.] δουμ(ε) κε οι ου(ε)-
 βαν αδδακετ ορου-
 αν [Gr.] παρεθεμην το
 μνημειον τοις προ
 γεγραμμενοις θε-
 οις κε τη κομη
 ταυθ ο πατηρ
 Ασκληπιος

wo ein Theonym *Μας Τεμρογειος* des Flussgottes zum Vorschein kommt. Man sollte zunächst mit einer phonetischen Entwicklung **temro-* > **tembro-* (-i-Stamm **tembri-*) rechnen, dann aber auch mit einer Umbildung unter Voraussetzung einer Assoziation mit dem keltischen Element *brogi-* < **mrogi* (idg. **morg-* 'Grenze', vgl. lat. *margo*, goth. *marka*, av. *marəza*), mit einer Metathese urkelt. **morg-* →

Restle 1984: 171; French 1978: 294; Mitchell 1993: 50). Es scheint aber, dass die Teile der antiken Zitadelle vom römischen Militär wieder benutzt wurden (Zeiten von Nero oder Flavische Kaiser), da aber die seit 1989 in Gordion unternommenen Ausgrabungen gezeigt haben, dass die Ortschaft in der hellenistischen Periode bewohnt wurde, kann man eigentlich nicht genau sagen, wann die Namenreformulierung stattgefunden hat (zum archäologischen Kontext s. Voigt 2003; Bennet, Goldmann 2009: 35–45). Der von Zgusta (1984: 459) angeführte kelischr. ON *Winda*, bzw. *Wenda* bleibt sehr unsicher (vgl. „Lage unbekannt“); ob die Epiklese *Οὐινδιεινῶ* aus Iconium (Lykaonien, vgl. SEG 6: 401), wirklich mit *Οὐινδία* zusammenhängt, lässt sich aufgrund der Beleglage nicht entscheiden.

**mrog-* und dann > **brog-*. Dieses Element ist mehrmals in der Onomastik bezeugt: vgl. *Allobroges*, *Nitiobroges*, *Brogi-marus*, *Brogi-tarus*, galat. *Βρογορις*, vgl. Iuvenalis 8, 234 *brogae Galli agrum dicunt* (Delamarre 2003, 91). Der belegte Name *Μας Τεμπορειος* kann dann eine Form mit dem stimmhaften Konsonanten darstellen, die danach zum Standard wurde, vgl. Plinius *Tembrogius*, *Τεμβρογιος* (Inschriften). Das Gebrauch der "keltisierten" Form in dem oben zitierten griechischen und phrygischen Dokument kann die Annahme bestätigen, dass der galatische Einfluss gut in die epichorischen Systeme integriert wurde. Leider ist die Inschrift nicht datiert, deswegen ist es auch extrem schwierig, weitergehende Vermutungen anzustellen, bzw. dank ihres Inhalts eine Aussage z. B. zum Status des Phrygischen (noch umgangssprachlich benutzt oder nur als formelhafte Sprache auf den Grabinschriften konventionell geschrieben) oder zum Galatischen zu treffen.

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POSSIBLY ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN SLAVONIC FOLKLORE. *UPIÓR* ~ *WAMPIR**

The two creatures in the title have attracted the attention of ethnographers and etymologists alike for more than a century now, resulting in several theories, more than twenty etymologies, and no consensus. The present paper evaluates these proposals and adds to them yet another one. It also presents linguistic and extra-linguistic data that strengthens some of them and weakens others. The proposal favoured by the authors is presented in more detail, and with new supporting evidence.

etymology, Slavonic, Turkic, *vampire*, vampirism

0. Introduction

The vampire, as we see him today, has two defining properties: he is undead, and he drinks blood. Both ideas are millennia old and can be found in entirely disconnected cultures all over the world; their combination is less common but

* This paper was originally intended as a translation of K. Stachowski (2005). As the work progressed, however, it possessed a co-author, was updated, expanded, restructured, and often rephrased, so that the whole grew to nearly three times the size of the original. The final conclusion, while different in two details, remains essentially the same.

Several scholars contributed to the creation of this paper in smaller or greater ways. We want to express our particular gratitude to Michał Németh, PhD (Cracow, Mainz) and Mateusz Urban, PhD (Cracow) for their dedication and help. All the remaining errors and shortcomings, needless to say, are ours alone.

certainly not rare. As for Europe, Graeco-Roman Empusae, Lamia, striges, and Gello are cited as the oldest known implementations; accounts more similar to the modern image can be found in 12th century Anglo-Latin literature under the name *sanguisuga* (Olivares Merino 2006). The term *vampire* did not appear in Western Europe until the 18th century (reports of it featuring in the name of a mediaeval English poem are not true; see Olivares Merino 2005) when cases of alleged vampirism were reported in East Prussia and the Habsburg Empire, and kindled the general interest. Bram Stoker's *Dracula* of 1897 sealed the 19th century image of the creature and secured for him a permanent place in the European folklore and popular culture. More recently, Stephanie Meyer's teenage series *Twilight* (2005–2008) fueled another spike in his popularity.

The name *vampire* came from the Slavonic languages, in which it appears in a host of phonetic variants most of which are similar either to *wampir* or to *upiór*. The Slavonic beliefs can be traced back to around the 10th century but those early vampires were not the aristocratic, elegant, lofty creatures that we know today. In their early days in the Slavonic folk tales of the Middle Ages, vampires were probably body-possessing evil spirits rather than actual persons, and their image was certainly more down to earth, gruesome, and more terrifying (see e.g. Novičkova 1995). It is only in the 19th century that the word *vampire*, together with the romanticized image it represents, returned to the Slavonic languages and created an etymologically interesting pair with its largely forgotten forefather *upiór*.

Certainly, etymologists were not immune to the other-worldly allure of this doublet, and set off more than a century ago to investigate the words and their cognates. Many suggestions have been put forward during this long time, which obscured both the path by which the words reached Europe, and their ultimate source. The present paper aims to evaluate these proposals, to reinforce the foundations of what we believe to be the most probable one, and also to slightly complicate the matter by simultaneously proposing yet another etymology.

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In all probability, the two Polish words in the title, *upiór* 'phantom, spectre' and *wampir* 'vampire', are eventually one. Similar pairs exist in most if not all Slavonic languages, having entered them through very similar routes. The latter (*wampir*) are relatively late borrowings from the languages of Western Europe (see fn. 2), and of lesser interest to us here. The former (*upiór*), which was itself the source for the Western European shapes, is the one whose origin has for more than a century resisted the efforts of etymologists. The creatures themselves were

often confused in Slavonic folklore, and accordingly, the word *vampire* will be used below to denote both simultaneously. But see also section 1.

The literature on vampires and vampirism is positively vast; a bibliography collected by Hövelmann (2007) contains more than four hundred positions, and it is definitely not exhaustive. This paper is concerned with just two of their names, and it makes use of non-linguistic works only inasmuch as it is required for the etymology; but even in this limited field, we were not able to find or obtain all the relevant publications. A list of works that we are aware of but could not access, is given in 2.3.

In its entirety, the linguistic aspect of the problem can be reduced to three questions: 1. How did the word spread across Europe?; 2.1. Is the word native to the Slavonic languages?; 2.2. Or is it a borrowing, and if so, whence?; and 3. What is the ultimate source of the belief? All of these questions have been tackled more than once, and in more than one way. The focus of this paper is on question two, because it is central to the problem.

As for question one, a partial answer to it will be incorporated in the final conclusion, but only in the form of what appears to us to be the most probable solution, patchworked from already existing analyses and without a detailed commentary. The reader is referred to works such as Anikin (2007–), Bielfeldt (1982), Kiss (1970), or Wilson (1985) where further bibliography can be found. This answer is: Serbo-Croat > Hungarian, German (> Swedish, Finnish) > French > English, Italian, Spanish.¹ We will not follow the further wanderings of our word since many, if not all of them, can be relatively easily explained as recent, 19th or 20th century borrowings from English, French, or German.

An answer to question number three, it will be shown below, is not necessary to resolve question number two, and it will be perhaps better left to a council of ethnographers, historians, archaeologists, and researchers of myths. The belief in vampirism is surprisingly widespread all over the world (see e.g. MacCulloch 1921),

1 **English:** Onions (1966) proposes two sources for the English word, French and German. Given that the time frame is the 18th century, and that the English spelling with *-e* is consistent with French and inconsistent with German, we lean towards the former. So also DHLF and OED (1916? The entry *vampire* is marked as “not yet [...] fully updated (first published 1916)”); **Finnish:** SSAES; **French:** DHLF; **German:** Kluge (2011); **Hungarian:** TESz, EWU; cf. also Kiss (1970) who derives Hung. *vámpir* from German; **Italian:** DEI, Migliorini (1960: 582); **Spanish:** DRAE; **Swedish:** Hellquist (1970).

and it is not unlikely that it appeared independently more than once in more than one place. Since, however, the etymology we champion here assumes a Turkic origin of the European word, we will briefly return in section 1 to an apparently forgotten or overlooked proposal of K. Moszyński (1934: 666, 1967: 660) to seek the origin of the myth in China, for Chinese culture had indeed exerted a strong influence on the neighbouring peoples in the first millennium, including the Turks, and the possibility of borrowing cannot be rebutted too lightly.

Let us first acquaint ourselves with the ethnographic background (section 1), and then examine questions 2.1 and 2.2 in more detail (section 2).

1. Ethnography

The discussion of the spread of the vampire myth as it is understood today in popular culture is better left to linguists with access to data which are more conclusive and definite in dating than scholars engaged in purely anthropological research. However, the reasons behind this spread as well as the possible ultimate source can be to some extent explored on the basis of pre-existing religious beliefs of the peoples discussed in the linguistic analysis as well as the psychological significance of those beliefs. This section of the paper will then be devoted to the comparative religious and anthropological discussion of the main points of the text as put forward in the Introduction: the question of the concept being native to the Slavonic peoples; if not native, the problem of the source of borrowing; and the ultimate source of the belief.

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First, the general background of the vampire belief will be examined, discussing the physiological, psychological and religious bases for such a concept to arise and spread so broadly. Proposed theories of the source of the belief, attempts to rationalize medical conditions, will be discussed in relation to the anthropological approach proposed as the general mode of explanation in this section.

There is a certain trend, especially among scholars from fields unrelated to the study of cultures or religion, to propose naturalistic explanations for religious phenomena and things that go bump in the night as rationalizations of naturally-occurring conditions. Such theories are quite often presented in the popular media due to their convincing appearance of empiricism, but under closer scrutiny are in most cases deeply flawed methodologically. Their main weak point is the assumption that phenomena described in religious or folkloristic literature are to be

understood literally and uniformly in the way they are described in the available accounts, as a sort of primitive pseudo-science; possibility for the inclusion of psychological realities, alternative states of consciousness, metaphor or just entertaining fiction used to illustrate metaphysical concepts in the way of a parable are usually neglected. The fact that mythologies have other functions apart from the explanatory one, such as initiation, social cohesion or the formation of the so-called Sacred Cosmos as it was defined by Luckmann (1967), are usually not addressed at all. This creates a major misunderstanding of the source material, which is usually extracted from pre-scientific or non-Western cultures and world-views based on perceptions of reality different than those seen as obvious and axiomatic by contemporary Western scientists. While it is true that some beliefs in the supernatural may indeed stem from attempts at understanding the natural world, it has to be stressed that the connection of a belief to its proposed natural source is not a satisfactory model, for it does not provide any explanation of the particular form of the belief, its social function, philosophical and theological significance or its interaction with other cultures, such as syncretization or spread. To provide a succinct example, while it is to some extent true that deities such as Demeter, Osiris and Xipe Totec are, among other functions, corn deities and their mythological cycles parallel the vegetative cycles, such a statement does not provide any clue to the reasons behind their widely diverging appearances, other functions, associated rituals etc. For these reasons, medical explanations will be cited to provide the reader with both an overview of the diversity of opinions on the vampire complex and a listing of phenomena that may have contributed to the vampire lore; we do not deny that some of the physiological conditions described below may have been adapted to the mythological complex, but we are very reluctant to see them as either definite sources or satisfactory explanations of the belief in question.

Barber (1996) suggested that the vampire folklore was an attempt to explain the process of decomposition otherwise inexplicable to pre-scientific societies. Some of the bodily characteristics associated with vampirism may be explained physiologically. The swelling of the corpse is due to the accumulation of gases in the torso, and the ruddy appearance (along with blood oozing from the mouth and nose) is an effect of increased vascular pressure. The gases escaping through the bodily orifices may produce a sound similar to groaning; and the desiccation of the gums and skin results in contraction of the tissue, revealing more of the teeth and nails than was visible when the person was still alive. It is notable however that if the body was left in the grave, these conditions could

not have been noticed; also, while the process of decomposition was certainly ill-understood for most of the human history, we must note that the exposition to death and corpses was much greater before modernity. It seems disputable to us if the people who lived through famine, plague and war would be shocked to see common signs of decomposition of a body and feel the need to interpret them in a supernatural manner. However, these conditions seem to us to form a believable explanation of the proliferation of the vampire hysteria in 18th and 19th century Europe, where exhumations of individuals considered potential vampires were conducted and the aforementioned signs were indeed interpreted as proofs of the condition. For this reason, the “argument from decomposition” should, in our opinion, be mentioned in the discussions of the modern spread of the vampire belief, but not of its early formation and possible borrowing between mediaeval cultures.

It has also been hypothesized that individuals who were buried alive due to an erroneous diagnosis of death and later regained consciousness could be the source of the vampire belief; the sounds heard in the vicinity of the grave could be explained as their screams, and upon the exhumation fingernail marks would be found on the coffin. The victim could also hit their head on the wood and therefore have blood stains on their face (Marigny 1993). In general, this theory seems to be, similarly to the previous one, applicable rather to the later spread of the belief when exhumations were more common. It is nevertheless plausible that such cases of the dead “coming back to life” occasionally could be interpreted as supernatural, if only for the much lesser frequency of such occurrences than the conditions put forth by Barber. This theory is however still inconclusive due to the impossibility of exclusion of other factors contributing to the formation of the belief.

Vampirism has also been explained as a form of folklore linked to the outbreaks of certain epidemic diseases, causing clusters of deaths in families or communities (Sledzik, Bellantoni 1994). The reported cases come from New England and are associated with tuberculosis in particular, which may cause blood to appear on the lips due to the damage done to lung tissue (Barber 1996: 115). The cases of Petar Blagojević and Arnold Paole are also cited. The earliest of those accounts come from the first half of the 18th century, when the belief in vampirism had already widespread and was causing mass hysteria. While the examples cited may indeed be connected to the mentioned epidemic diseases, the belief in the vampire complex had already been well-defined at the time, and therefore the hypothesis tells us nothing about its early sources.

Dolphin (1985) suggested a connection between the belief in vampirism and porphyria, a blood disorder which causes the loss of haem in blood and an increased sensitivity to sunlight. The theory is quite flawed, as on the one hand, it confuses the modern image of the vampire with its original form – the folkloric accounts in general do not see vampires as being harmed by sunlight, this being a concept originating in 19th century Gothic novels, and on the other hand, it suggests that haem in blood could either be somehow replaced by consuming blood, which is not true, or that sufferers from porphyria in pre-modern times would recognize the disorder as connected to blood and try to treat it that way, which is both highly implausible and completely speculative.

Another disorder that has been linked to vampirism is rabies. Juan Gómez-Alonso suggested in 1998 that the disease may be the factual basis for the vampire legend, since its symptoms include hypersensitivity (e.g. to light or the strong scent of garlic), a disturbance in normal sleep patterns (possibly leading to nocturnality) and hypersexuality. He also suggests that wolves and bats associated with vampirism can be carriers of rabies and that the disease can create a drive to bite people or to bloody frothing from the mouth (Gómez-Alonso 1998). The issues with this hypothesis are similar as with the previous proposals based in medicine. First, some of the mentioned symptoms (hypersensitivity to light, which has already been discussed in the porphyria-based argument above and nocturnality) are properties of the post-18th century “modern vampire”, and not of the original image as found in Slavonic folklore and other pre-modern beliefs. Besides, this explanation fails to address other elements of the legend: hypersensitivity to garlic may be a rabies-related condition, but it in no way explains other apotropaic measures, especially the widespread use of certain kinds of wood, such as ash (Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė 1946), hawthorn (Vukanović 1959), or aspen (Cheung 2013: 35) and religious symbols used for protection. Regarding the association with bats, it has been present only since the discovery of vampire bats in Southern America in the 16th century, and was popularized by Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*, where the eponymous character transforms into one. The bat does not play any significant role in earlier vampire folklore.

The great popularity of the vampire archetype from the ancient times to modernity hints at a common psychological basis that lends it meaning and makes it relevant to human experience. The psychological processes behind the formation of such a belief may be explored and to some extent explained with the use of various psychological models; and one of the first such attempts was made by Ernest Jones in his 1931 treatise *On the Nightmare*. Using the language

of classical psychoanalysis, he argues that the formation of the belief is based on a convergence of several defense mechanisms engaged by the strongly emotionally charged experience of the death of a loved one (Jones 1931: 100–102). The primary mechanisms involved would be projection and rationalization. Projection could then be rooted in either the love for the deceased and the subsequent feeling of loss and desire of reunion, which projected upon the deceased individual would form the basis of belief that they, too, want to return; or in the feeling of guilt or fear towards the deceased and a fear of revenge for some real or imagined iniquity committed against them before their death. Such a belief would be regarded as far more plausible in traditional pre-industrial societies, which engaged routinely in magico-religious hermeneutics of their environments. It is notable that such an explanation addresses quite adequately both the belief that a person buried without the proper ritual or having their body desecrated would want to return and take revenge and the idea – more common in folkloristic than in modern accounts – that vampires first return to their families or have sex with their living spouses. In a perhaps less convincing argument, Jones continues that while such a mechanism would be subconscious, the sexuality of it would be repressed, giving way to its more regressive forms, among them, sadism and pre-mature oral fixation, giving rise to the concept of biting and sucking (Jones 1931: 116–120). While the argument is rooted firmly in Freudian psychoanalysis, the concept of psychosexual stages on which it is based is far more controversial in modern psychology than the concept and general classification of the defense mechanisms. The second mechanism proposed would be that of rationalization, according to which the belief that the dead are capable of returning to life to reunite with their loved ones or to take revenge, would be a useful rationalization of the fear of death. While possible, the same argument could be as well proposed with regard to all concepts of afterlife and as such, does not provide us with a deeper understanding of the vampire complex in particular.

Another psychodynamic approach to the vampire complex would be through Jungian archetype psychology. A compendium of archetypal symbols in Jungian interpretation, the *Book of Symbols* (BoS) published in 2010 by the Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism compares the vampire archetype to the hungry ghost (Skt. *preta*) of Hindu and Buddhist belief systems, interpreting them as primarily a personification of an unmetabolized psychological trauma that forms a libido-draining obsession (BoS 700). The authors link the image of the female vampire of modern media to the succubus prevalent in Christian mythology of the Middle Ages, which too is said to drain its victims of life-force,

being however connected explicitly to sexuality and repression thereof, and less to violence per se.

While the aforementioned psychodynamic approaches constitute only a small minority in contemporary psychology in general, they tend to be the ones most commonly used in psychological interpretations of cultural and religious beliefs and phenomena, and for this reason we find few works on the subject of vampires which stem from other psychological perspectives. While similar to the medical approach, these models do not provide an explanation of the source culture of the vampire; they do however serve a useful purpose in explaining the wide popularity of the phenomenon both in modern times and the Middle Ages, allowing us to see the linguistic data presented in this paper in a wider anthropological perspective.

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Next, the specific forms the vampire belief has taken in the Slavonic, Turkic and Chinese folklore will be examined against the background of the belief complexes most closely linked to the vampire mythologem. The views on death, the afterlife and the concept of life-force contained in blood are of greatest interest in this respect; however, since those themes are crucial to most religious cultures of the world this analysis must rely on a very general outline in an attempt to facilitate the understanding of the cultural context in which the discussed linguistic processes took place.

As with all matters pertaining to the pre-Christian Slavonic religion, the data is scarce and rather inconclusive, lacking any original written sources and therefore being reconstructed from folklore, religious relicts, dispersed notes by foreign chroniclers and comparative religious analysis. We will then proceed to describe the vampire as it appears in Slavonic sources as well as the background of Slavonic beliefs on funerary rituals and beliefs about revenants. Little is known for certain about Slavonic pneumatology, the sources however seem to point to a belief in at least two souls (Szyjewski 2003: 204) – and such a case would be quite plausible in the context of other Indo-European religions, as well as most traditional religions in general. This belief is an important part of the background of the vampire belief – the power that animates the corpse to move and interfere with the living is usually understood to be the animal soul (Szyjewski 2003: 205), which explains why it is the people who died a violent death as well as deceased sorcerers and transgressors that seem to be most affected by vampirism. Indeed, among the Slavs a belief was widespread that the soul of a sorcerer or medicine

man is more prone to wander the earth after his death, sometimes becoming a ghost or animating the corpse (Szyjewski 2003: 207). The funerary practices of the Slavs seem to be composed of two earlier religious streams: cremation was widespread, but even in pre-Christian times burial was also practiced (Szyjewski 2003: 204). This tradition of earth burial, however marginal, is important for our case, because if the only known method of funeral were cremation, then the belief in corpses rising to haunt the living due to an incorrect funerary ritual or a confusing state of bodily decay would be rather difficult to spread, and if so, the most probable conditions would be during wartime or plague; and such conditions are not linked to the vampire in any consistent manner.

The vampire belief is quite well documented in the Slavonic folklore, however it is sometimes conflated with other spirits of the dead. The Slavonic vampire is always primarily said to be an undead being who sucks the blood of the living to keep himself alive, leaving its victims apathetic and usually haunted by nightmares. It also tends to be mentioned to possess two hearts and sometimes two rows of teeth, both features being linked to the belief of the vampire having two souls (Pelka 1987: 164, 166). A commonly reported trait is also a red or ruddy face and neck, a hirsute appearance or an abnormally large head (Pelka 1987: 165). In these folkloric accounts it is also mentioned that a vampire is not always malevolent and may come to his house to help or visit his family (Pelka 1987: 169f) or that a dead mother may try to come and nurse her children (Pelka 1987: 166). Those concepts would remind us of the psychological interpretation of the phenomenon as stemming from projection, not necessarily negative in character. Among non-human shapes the vampire can take a multitude of zoomorphic forms (a ram, a dog, a cat, a horse or a bird among others; Pelka 1987: 167), or the shape of a skeleton. The accounts mentioned by Pelka are rather varied and seem to have little order to them other than that of local traditions; vampire stories also overlap significantly with stories about ghosts or various other harmful spirits (especially werewolves; the two mythical complexes have been confused at various times in history (Petoia 2003: 18, 23–24), the only core trait strongly and consistently linked to the vampire being his blood-drinking. This particular choice of the most salient feature, it will be shown below, contrasts with the Turkic belief complex.

The Turkic *obur* is described as a malevolent being, very large in posture and with a very big head, tailed; able to fly and breathe fire, and shapeshift into different creatures, especially wolves, dogs, cats and other animals, or a ball of fire. It is

said to devour everything that it encounters, as well as to boil people in a cauldron, eat them and then bring them back to life with a breath, and carry them back to any location from where they were kidnapped; while this last account is interesting as a relict of shamanistic initiatory complex, it does not seem to be overtly connected to Slavonic vampire beliefs. Dead sinners are said to become an *obur* after death; a connection to sorcerers is also present, as it is said that the word *obur* may as well refer to living humans who can shapeshift, and to seers (Beydili 2005 s.v. *obur*). In Western Siberian Tatar folklore, *ubyr* is a spirit of a dead sorcerer who returns to haunt the living, bring diseases and drink the blood of humans and cattle (Valeev 1976: 326). In Tatar folk tales (Zaripova Çetin 2007: 23f), *ubyr* is a spirit that possesses people, especially pregnant women and newborns, being for some reason afraid of men. The possessed person tends to eat huge quantities without gaining weight, as the food is taken not by him or her, but by the *ubyr*. At night, the spirit changes into a ball of flame, possibly disguised as a cat, a dog, or a beautiful girl, and ravages the area swallowing everything in its path. When the possessed person dies, the *ubyr* continues to live in them. After the burial, it first devours the shroud, and then pierces a hole in the grave, escapes through it, and harasses the living. When a hole is found in a grave, it should be filled with horse manure or, rather interestingly, a poplar stake needs to be driven into it. Such beliefs seem to be only partially connected to the vampire complex as it appeared in Slavonic folklore, since an important part of this description fits the changeling beliefs and similar concepts better, stressing the creature's insatiable hunger and general destructivity rather than blood-drinking. It is also noteworthy that in this case it is not the dead the come back to life, but a spirit that possessed them. Such a difference distances the belief from others discussed in this paper, not being overtly related to beliefs about afterlife and the revenant dead as such; it probably hints at either a relatively divergent development of the belief among the Turkic peoples or a (possibly local) conflation of different creatures under the name *obur*. The differences between these belief complexes and the Slavonic one are quite striking; the most salient similarity is that the word signifies a spirit of a dead person, usually a transgressor of sorts, who is capable of harming the living and shapeshifting. Such beliefs are quite common in traditional animistic religions, and for this reason it appears to be quite plausible that the word would have been borrowed and appropriated to designate a creature already rooted in earlier Slavonic folklore. Such a borrowing would explain the large variation of regional traits between Slavonic-speaking regions which are nonetheless strongly linked

by the blood-drinking aspect, which, while seemingly not central, is indeed noted in Turkic mythology, in contrast to the Chinese source from which it is decidedly missing.

Lastly, we will present an overview of the Chinese belief in vampires in order to provide a background for further research on the possible ultimate Chinese origin of the belief. Before we can analyze the creature as such, it is necessary to describe shortly the religious worldview form which it arose. In classical Chinese culture, later codified by so-called religious Daoist schools, there existed a widespread belief in an invisible, life-giving force that permeates the universe and is concentrated in living beings as well as certain natural phenomena, for example lightning or some minerals such as jade or cinnabar. The force, called *qi*, while essentially lacking any specific traits save its vitalizing power, could take on various properties and lend them to material phenomena to which it was connected. The most basic division of universal forces in the ancient Chinese religion and later Daoism was that between the *yang*; that is, the active, creative, radiating principle; and the *yin*; that is, the passive, receptive, condensing principle. The dualism being applied to all cosmology, it also had its place in pneumatology. The human soul could be divided into two or more parts which were traditionally classified into two categories: the *hun* soul, composed of *yang qi*, and the *po* soul, composed of *yin qi*. The *hun* soul ascended to Heaven after a person's death and either became an ancestral spirit or reincarnated, depending on the tradition; the *po* soul, responsible for the vital functions of the organism and the animal part of human nature, usually dispersed into the earth, but in certain cases could remain bound to the body. In such conditions, if the amount of *qi* was sufficient, it could animate the body. Such a revenant would be called a *jiangshi*, and it would seek the living to drain their *qi*, rendering them weaker, and allowing itself a sustained existence. Its behavior would be wholly animal-like, since the human part of the soul had departed; and it would be depicted as a stiff corpse moving around by hopping with its arms outstretched. The *jiangshi* has been sometimes called a *vampire* in European translations due to its core trait being the draining of the life-force of its victims. However, it must be noted, the *jiangshi* was never said to drink blood; it absorbed the *qi* which, while is indeed was noted to reside in large concentration in the blood of an individual, is not a material substance. Any depictions of the *jiangshi* as drinking blood stem from the influence of the image of the vampire presented by Western popular media, especially from the 1980's on, and are still a very

marginal concept of the creature, the belief in *qi* being still widespread and commonly recognized in the East Asian cultural sphere. While the draining of *qi* could easily be culturally translated to the drinking of blood during a borrowing, we should note that the blood-drinking mythologem is quite marginal to the Turkic *obur*, and so its transmission to the Slavonic religion from the possible Chinese source seems to be a far-fetched hypothesis. Its appearance also differs dramatically; since the *jiangshi* is an animated corpse, it is strikingly dissimilar to both the Turkic fire-breathing, flying giants, and the Slavonic two-hearted revenants. Shapeshifting, the common trait of the Slavonic and Turkic vampire, is also completely absent from Chinese accounts. For these reasons we consider the hypothesis seeking the ultimate source of the vampire belief in China to be very implausible and, unless new data explaining such a drastic change of crucial characteristics on the Chinese-Turkic borrowing route, are found, scientifically worthless.

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In conclusion, on the basis of anthropological data presented in the above overview, we would propose that the word, being borrowed from Turkic languages as described in section 2, has been appropriated to earlier Slavonic beliefs concerning the revenant dead. The essential trait of blood-drinking seems to have gained much more weight in Slavonic regions compared to the aforementioned Turkic sources where it is present but not central. Such a syncretization is plausible also from the historical point of view. Contacts between various Turkic and Slavonic tribes have continued for centuries and resulted in a number of cultural and linguistic borrowings. Tryjarski (1991: 45–48) uses three pages just to list the similarities in burial customs, including such items as fear of the dead, together with the will to mollify or satisfy them, the practice of binding the corpse, and of piercing the corpses of people who died an unnatural death. While those customs are not shared between all the Turkic and all the Slavonic peoples, and similar practices are in general relatively widespread in worlds' religions, they are certainly not universal and should be taken into account as suggesting a common cultural background of the discussed peoples which allows for a deeper religious exchange. The hypothesis of possible Chinese source is highly implausible, however, due to the extreme differences between the *jiangshi* and *obur* that appear to be impossible to reconcile on the basis of information available to us. Further research into the *obur*, especially its early forms and its possible roots in Turkic shamanism could also show more light on the topic in the future.

2. Etymology

The multitude of ideas that have been offered as explanations of the origin of our word, results from its wide spread across the Slavonic languages (and from them across the entire Europe, and then, the globe), and of the many forms in which they appear, some of which are impossible to justify through regular phonetic changes (see e.g. Kiss 1970: 84). The most common ones are:² Blrs. *úpir*, *úpir* | Bulg. *vəpír*, *vapír*, *vepír*, *vampír* | Cash. *tuپی* | Cz. *upír* | Pol. *upiór* | Russ. *upýr* | SCr. *vampír* | Slvk. *upír* | Ukr. *upýr* | and many dialectal shapes, sometimes as far removed as Bulg.dial. *ljapír*, Pol.dial. *wąpierz*, or SCr.dial. *lampijer* which, with one exception, will be ignored here as they seem to be inconsequential for the ultimate source of our word.³ All mean ‘spectre’, ‘vampire’, ‘ghoul’, or some other fantastical creature, at times even ‘sorcerer’ or ‘werewolf’ (see e.g. Hobzej 2002: 144f; Leschber 2013); it seems that the ideas became somewhat confused by various Slavonic peoples (Moszyński K. 1967: 658; also Leschber 2013: 191). The common theme tends to be that of a dead person rising from the grave and harming the living in one way or another. The Russian shape is often linked with ORuss. *Upír*, dated 1047, and cited as the oldest attestation of our word; this might likely not be the case; see 2.4.1.

Below, presented and discussed are all the previous etymological proposals that we were able to find, those that consider the word native in 2.1, those that

2 We ignore here those shapes that are apparently missing from native dictionaries and can only be found in etymological papers or in dictionaries of other languages. Some may be phonetic variants, dialectal or archaic forms, but many are, we are afraid, simply erroneous citations or misprints. We also omit here forms belonging to the second, romantic stage of the history of vampires, as they are but late, 18th and 19th century Rückwanderers from Western European languages (probably French or German), such as Blrs. *vampír* | Cz. *vampýr* | Pol. *wampír* | Russ. *vampír* | Slk. *vampír* | Ukr. *vampír*, i.e. Northern Slavonic forms beginning with *vam-*. In the same category, only considerably more delayed, are modern Turkic shapes of the type *vampír*; see e.g. Sariyannis (2013: 199).

3 See e.g. Cooper (2005: 252), Dukova (1997: 97f), Dźwigół (2004: 67), Hobzej (2002: 142), or Podgórska, Podgórski (2000). In particular, Cashubian has an unusually large number of forms associated with our word, e.g. *hąpi*, *ńeląp*, *polap*, *upón*; see Popowska-Tabor-ska ([1999]), Rytter (1986: 123f), and SEK s.v. *tuپی*. In some cases, the similarity is so faint that one might even consider questioning that those words are indeed direct cognates of our pair; see fn. 4.

assume a borrowing in 2.2, and several of which we only know second-hand in 2.3. In 2.4, we attend briefly to several loose ends such as dating, and semantic and phonetic peculiarities.

2.1. Native

This subsection discusses seventeen attempts at explaining *upiór* &c. as a native Slavonic formation. They are presented in the chronological order and followed by a short summary with a list of proposed reconstructions in 2.1.18.

One, rather important, general remark that pertains to all of the native proposals and will not be repeated seventeen times below, is the question of Slavonic burial customs. More about this in 2.4.1.

2.1.1. *van-* ‘out’ + *pir-* ‘to blow, to cause a swelling’

This oldest native proposal of which we are aware in fact predates the birth of modern standards in etymology and we will cite it here more for completeness than for serious consideration. According to Böhm (1870), our word originated in the Slavonic languages, as a composition of *van-* ‘out’ and *pir*, the root of *piriti* ‘to blow, to cause a swelling’ (cf. 2.1.6 and 2.4.4), which meant ‘out with that which cause the blowing up or swelling’, and “was perhaps the first watch-word of those who introduced the piercing of the undecayed and blown-up cadaver with sharp staves”.

2.1.2. **q-* + **per-* ‘non-bird’

PSlav. **pyrb* (Лы́нскі́й 1911), **qpir* (Brückner 1927, 1934), **qpirb*, **qpyrb*, **upirb* (Rejzek 2001) < PSlav. **q-* (privative) + **per-* ‘to fly’; lit. *‘non-bird’ = *‘quasi-bird’, as vampires could take on the form of a bird; linked with (*nieto-*)*perz* ‘bat’, lit. ‘(night)-flier’; see Лы́нскі́й (1911); Brückner (1927, 1934); Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–87); Skok (1971–1974); Boryś (1975); Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 350); Rejzek (2001); Zoltán (2013a).

On the one hand, birds have been believed since time immemorial to suck blood and milk at nights. On the other, many people have for as long as we know imagined vampires as winged creatures. Confusion was inevitable, and occur it did, e.g. in Lat. *strix* ‘1. a genus of owls; 2. European nightjar; 3. vampire’ (Moszyński K. 1967: 628; SEJP s.v. *kozodój*; related in an unclear way to Slav. *striga* ‘witch, hag’, Pol. *strzyga* ‘ghoul; female spectre; vampire’, and others – see Paraskiewicz 2006: 69f). But what the above shows is the blurring of the distinction between birds and vampires, whereas this etymology rests on the assumption that vampires

would be called ‘non-birds’. This is one of its two main weak points. The other is that the meaning one would expect from a combination of the privative **q*- with **per*- ‘to fly’ is actually *‘flightless’ rather than *‘non-bird’.

2.1.3. **q* + **per*-, linked with ‘feather’

PSlav. **qpirv* (Holub, Kopečný 1952), **qpirv*, **qpyrv*, **upirv* (Rejzek 2001); then like 2.1.2, but linked with *pióro* ‘feather’; see Holub, Kopečný (1952), Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987), Rejzek (2001), perhaps also Semjonov (2003).

This proposition is almost the same as 2.1.2, only instead of suggesting the meaning of *‘non-bird’, it links the reconstructed word with Slav. *pióro* &c. ‘feather’. This is more plausible, but raises – to the best of our knowledge, unanswered – questions about the semantic function of the privative **q*-.

2.1.4. **per*-, ‘qui s’échappe’

PSlav. **upirv* < **per*- ‘aller autrement qu’à pied’; structured like *ušidv*; lit. *‘qui s’échappe (p. ex. en volant)’ or *‘qui s’échappe de sa tombe, le revenant’; see Vaillant (1931).

This proposal appears to be somewhat improbable for phonetic reasons, as it requires that PSlav. **u*- yield Bulg. *vǝ*-, Pol. *wq*-, SCr. *và(m)*-, &c. But it is its author’s line of argumentation that is most noteworthy here because unlike many others it invites one to stop and wonder about linguistics and etymology: “J’aime mieux l’étymologie populaire, qui ignore les dissections savantes et a le sens de la vie des mots.” (Vaillant 1931: 677).

2.1.5. *vpiti se*, *впиваться*

Linked with Cz. *vpiti se*, Russ. *впиваться* ‘enfoncer son aiguillon, ses dents, etc. dans une proie’; see OSN (after Vaillant 1931: 677).

While semantically quite plausible, this proposal fails when it comes to explaining the phonetic shapes of even the most common modern forms, and for this reason it must be discarded.

2.1.6. **piriti*, ‘bulging, bloated, swollen’

PSlav. **qpir*- < **piriti* (> SCr. *píriti* ‘to blow’, Russ. *нырнуть*, Cz. *puřeti*, *pouřiti*); structured like **q-tǝk-ǝ* (> Pol. *wątek* ‘thread’, Russ. *уток* id.); lit. *‘bulging, bloated’, as vampires were imagined as bloated, swollen with the blood they had drunk; see K. Moszyński (1934: 622, 1967: 616); and also Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987); Boryś (1975); Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 350).

It is certainly true that swelling, caused by drinking large amounts of blood, was one of the characteristics attributed to vampires, at least until the spread of their romanticized image in the 19th century (see 0 and 1 above). It is less certain that this particular feature was seen as so important and prototypical as to give the creature its name – less certain but not impossible because our word might have actually developed a very similar meaning in the southern dialects of Russian, see 2.4.3.

At any rate, the author himself admits that there is a weak point in this proposal: the assumption that the belief in vampires had spread through the Slavonic world so early or so rapidly that the word found its way into written documents as early as in 1047, in the form of the name of the priest and scribe Оупиръ Лихыи. We, in contrast, do not consider this to be a major weakness; firstly, the same argument applies to virtually every proposal; secondly, it is actually more likely that *Оупиръ* and *upiór* are not connected etymologically, see 2.4.1. Another point is that this proposal does not explain the origin of the initial nasal vowel either, but this, too, does not seem to us to be a serious flaw, see 2.4.4.

Overall, this is one of the more probable of native Slavonic proposals, together with 2.1.9 and 2.1.15. See 2.1.18 for what its acceptance would entail.

2.1.7. Aryo-Altaic root > Tkc.N

Aryo-Altaic root [sic!] > Tkc.N *ubyr*, *ubyrly*...; see Mladenov (1941).

Unfortunately, the author does not explain what exactly is to be understood by the term “Aryo-Altaic root”. The meaning that suggests itself leaves this proposal with little to defend itself with.

2.1.8. **rēp*-, ‘that which clings’

PSlav. **vъ-pěrvъ* (Machek 1957, 1968) < PSlav. **rēp*- (> OCz. *vřepiti*, *vpeřiti* ‘to stick in’, Pol. *wrzepić się* ‘to cling like a burr’; also PSlav. **rěpъjъ* > OCz. *řěpí*, Pol. *rzep*, *rzepik* ‘burr’), with a metathesis of *p* and *r*; lit.* ‘démon, který se vkousne, vssa-je, vchytí, vrazí (Slk. *vrepí*) do své oběti’; see Machek (1957, 1968); Holub, Lyer (1967); ESUM.

In order to derive from this reconstruction all of the shapes found in modern languages, one needs to assume a large number of phonetic changes with virtually no proof whatsoever – including a metathesis of *p* and *r*, which is not attested outside of Czech (OCz. *vřepiti*, *vpeřiti*). This would effectively lead to the highly improbable assumption that vampires had been dreamed up on the Czech ground. Moreover, it is not known how old the Cz. *vpeřiti* is. The form is cited

as “Old Czech” which, given that the beginning of Old Czech is the 14th century (see e.g. Horálek 1958: 7), seems rather too late. Overall, this proposal does not seem to be particularly plausible.

2.1.9. **vъ-pirati*, ‘that which pierces in’

PSlav. **qpirъ* < PSlav. **vъ-pirati*, **vъ-pъrati* ‘to drive in, to push in’; nomen agentis with the **-jo-* suffix; lit. **‘that which pierces in (into the body, to suck blood)’*; see Boryś (1975: 158f); Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 351); Boryś (2005).

Semantically, this proposal cannot be faulted. Its perhaps only weak point is the unusual suffixation. The author himself admits this, but then proceeds to adduce another word with a parallel structure, PSlav. *sъprъb* ‘opponent, rival’ < **sъperti*, **sъpъrati* (*sę*) ‘adversari’ (Boryś 1975: 99, 159).

This, together with 2.1.6 and 2.1.15, appears to be the most plausible of native Slavonic etymologies. See 2.1.18 for what follows from its acceptance.

2.1.10. **q- + *pyrъ*, ‘that which did not crumble into dust’

PSlav. **qpyrъ* < PSlav. **q-* (privativum) + **pyrъ* ‘powder, dust’ (> OPol. *perz* ‘(hot) dust, ashes’; older Cz. *pýr* ‘hot ash’); lit. **‘that which did not crumble into dust’*, as bodies of vampires did not decay for some time after death; a taboo name for **vblkodlakъ*; see Budziszewska (1983–1985: 13–14).

The semantic side of this proposal raises some doubts. Indeed, it was a sign of a vampire that his body remained in good condition after death, but the noun **pyrъ* is very clearly linked to ‘heat’ and ‘burning’, and not so much to ‘dust’ as to ‘ash’. Perhaps one should consider connecting it in some way with proposal 2.1.13. For semantics, see also 2.1.15 which may be more plausible because it does not involve the element of ‘burning’.

2.1.11. **up- + *-r/n-*, ‘that which rises from water’

PSlav. **up-r/n-*, **op-r/n-*, **op-bjb* < **up-*, **op-* ‘water’ + *-r/n-* ‘rising’ + adjective suffix *-bjb*; lit. **‘that which rises from water’*, ‘water(y)’, ‘belonging to water’ because in the Slavonic mythology, the afterworld (and hence also vampires) was closely related to water; see Rytter (1986).

To the best of our knowledge, this proposal did not appear later in the literature even though it is the most elaborate attempt at an etymology of our word that we are aware of; as such, it deserves a slightly more extensive commentary.

It is not free of weak points. Rytter conducts a phonetic analysis of *upiór* and related shapes, and arrives at eight forms in four groups: 1. **upyrъ*, **upirъ*, **uporъ*;

2. **ōpurō*, **ōpirō*, **ōporō*; 3. **ūpenō*; and 4. **op-*, the latter two based solely on Cashubian variants. Eventually, this number is reduced to five, of which three, Rytter says, have not been preserved anywhere outside of Cashubian. In fact, there probably exists a different explanation for those words; we are not certain that they even belong to the same etymological family.⁴ At any rate, Rytter's conclusion not only raises doubts about what may seem like her disproportionate reliance on Cashubian, but also does not in any way explain the occasional nasal element.

Rytter reaches equally original conclusions regarding the semantics of the shapes she reconstructs. Their Indo-European phonetic equivalents would be ***up-*, ***uep-*, ***uop-*/***uōp-*, and ***ap-*/***āp-*, all with the meaning 'water' (after Pokorny 1949–1959: 51–52, 1149); added to them would be the archaic formant *-r/n-* with the general meaning 'to rise, to emanate'. Next, Rytter argues that the so reconstructed nominal type is not too unusual for the Slavonic languages, if one accepts that it is continued in various geographical names, appellatives connected with water, names

4 See e.g. Dźwigoł (2004: 69), Popowska-Taborska ([1999]), Rytter (1986: 123f), SEK (s.v. *lupi*), Podgórska, Podgórski (2000). The lack of final *-r* in Cashubian forms is puzzling. There are at least three ways to explain this absence.

Firstly, according to AJK I (27, s.v. *opi*; 95), Cashubian words should be derived directly from some Germanic shapes, such as LG *api* 'ape, monkey', whence also OCz. *opice*, ORuss. *opica* id., and related forms – among which AJK also counts Ukr. *ópyr* 'vampire'. This last word, should it indeed prove to be of Germanic origin, could very much complicate the study of the etymology of *upiór* &c. But for semantic, phonetic, and historical reasons, we are more inclined to see in it a variant, perhaps dialectal, of the 'proper' *upýr* id., and to derive it from Turkic.

The second, new possibility lies in MLG *open* 'to kiss' (> Plb. *öpāk* 'a kiss', see SEJDP). The semantic connection between 'to kiss' and 'vampire' seems to be entirely natural, if the latter were a blood-sucking creature, i.e. one that looked as if it kissed its prey; see also fn. 13.

There is also a third possibility, suggested in Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 348), which derives the Cashubian word from the root *-pir-* and assumes that the *-r* was quite simply dropped, giving the root an adjectival character. Phonetic changes in inlaut are explained through a secondary association with an interjection, *tup*, *tup*, *tup!* which was supposed to imitate the steps and the voice of the vampire (the shape *tupi*), or with the verb *lapac* (the shapes *ńelāp* and *połap*). The changes proposed for the inlaut appear to us to be considerably more plausible than that for the auslaut.

Overall, it seems that a detailed analysis of the Cashubian forms is unnecessary for the discovery of the eventual origin of the pan-Slavonic word for 'vampire', and as such, lies beyond the scope of this paper.

of mountains, hills and hillocks, and some hydronyms. She proceeds to list a large number of examples; a detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this paper but we should like to note that, while they all do indeed contain the element (-)Vp(-), it is only in some of them that it is followed by an *r* or an *n*, and their meanings are sometimes connected with 'water', sometimes with 'rising', sometimes with both, and sometimes with neither – e.g. Wapno (lit. 'lime'), a village in Greater Poland known for its lime and gypsum quarries. We must also object to Rytter's practice of defining village names as 'a village situated on a hill by a stream'. It has always been much more a rule than a special case that settlements were located close to a source of fresh water and, if only possible, on an elevation, and this fact can hardly be expected to have become the motivation for the village's name.

Next, Rytter tries to find a connection between her reconstruction and ethnographic data.

She argues that water played a very significant role in the Slavonic mythology, that it was often considered to be the home of spirits and souls, and almost the essence of the world of the dead. She mentions the opinion of Tomicka, Tomicki (1975: 104f, 121f), that it is not only the souls of those who drowned that would become *topielce* (water spirits that lure people into swamps, lakes, &c.), but that it could be the soul of anyone who died a premature, unnatural death. K. Moszyński (1964: 679) also remarks on the importance of water, though he does seem to be more reserved in the matter. As for *topielce*, he simply writes about daemons that are "quite meaningfully called simply *topielce* or *topce*".⁵

Further, Rytter asserts that dialectal meanings show that *upiory* are not necessarily bloodthirsty creatures, or even material beings. They can be daemons inhabiting secluded places, most frequently ones connected with water. This last piece of information is difficult to confirm because the meanings she adduces do not in fact mention water at all. It also needs to be pointed out that the rituals she describes, save one Cashubian one and one whose location she does not specify, are not actually related to *upiory*.

Overall, Rytter's proposal is more an exercise in teleology than etymology and must be discarded as rather implausible.

Possibly a similar idea, at least so far as the meaning of 'rising' is concerned, was put forward by Trubačev, though only in a less than rudimentary form; see 2.1.14.

5 "bardzo wielomównie zwanych po prostu topielcami albo topcami". In Polish, the etymological connection between *topielec/topiec* and *topić* 'to drown', is quite obvious.

2.1.12. **q-pyr-jb*, ‘eine gefiederte gefangene Totenseele’

PSlav. **q-pyr-jb* ~ **q-pir-jb*⁶ < PSlav. onomatopoeic **-pyr-* ~ *-pir-* ~ *-per-* ‘of the sound of birds’ wings’ (> **per-per-ŕka* > Pol. *przepiórka* ‘quail’, or **neto-pyr-jb* > Pol. *nietoperz* ‘bat’); structured like **q-dolŕ*⁷ (> Pol. *wądół* ‘ravine, gorge’), **q-vozŕ* (> Pol. *wąwóz* ‘ravine, gully’); lit. *‘eine gefiederte gefangene Totenseele’; see L. Moszyński (1992: 23f), Trubačev ([1994]: 424).

It is not at all clear to us how the combination of those elements could possibly yield the meaning postulated by L. Moszyński. The morphological aspect would, too, require a more elaborate explanation. In its current shape, this proposal seems to be quite untenable.

2.1.13. **q-* + **pyrŕ*, ‘unburnt’

PSlav. **qpyrŕ* (Gluhak 1993), **qpirŕ*, **qpyrŕ* (Snoj 1997, 2003: -ŕ) < PSlav. **q-* (privativum) + **pyrŕ* ‘fire’ (cf. Gk. *ἄπυρος* ‘not given to fire’); lit. *‘unburnt; not given to fire’, as bodies were sometimes burnt before burial to prevent the dead from becoming vampires; see Lukinova (1984: 123), Gluhak (1993); Kurkina ([1994–1996]: 199), Snoj (1997, 2003); Tjapkina (2006: 104f).

Burning of the corpse was one of the very many methods employed for what appears to have been protection against vampires (see e.g. Moszyński K. 1967: 656f or Gardęła, Kajkowski 2013), though not necessarily the most common one. Often, multiple techniques would be used simultaneously for a more certain effect, including: decapitation, piercing of the skull, placing stones, clay or coins in the mouth, binding of the limbs; sometimes also more imaginative ones such as prone burials (so that the vampire would bite into the soil rather than the living) or burying on the crossroads (so that it cannot find its way back to the village), and others. The interpretation of the archaeological finds, however, is not always obvious; see Gardęła, Duma (2013), Gardęła, Kajkowski (2013), and 2.4.1.

In this light, it would seem quite unlikely that a village community, while knowing that e.g. burning the body would prevent a vampire from rising from the grave, should choose not to do so, and bring to life the much feared monster which they would then proceed to call ‘unburnt’. We can only imagine this logic applied to those who exhibited no telltale signs while still alive (hairy palms, the fifth or seventh son in a row, conceived during fast, &c.). We do not know

6 The author of this proposal also mentions the shape **qpyrŕ*. The wording is not entirely clear, but the forms with *-jb* appear to be the preferred ones.

7 Where **q-* is a regular phonetic variant of the verbal prefix **vŕn-*.

whether it is possible to estimate how high a proportion of all of the instances of suspected vampirism were such cases, but it seems to us that an etymology which relies entirely on just one of the many methods of prevention, applicable on only some of the occasions, is shaky.

There is perhaps one way to cast a considerably more favourable light on this proposal, but it is uncertain for chronological reasons, see 2.4.1.

2.1.14. **q-pyrb/*q-pirb*, ‘that which flies up’

[PSlav.] **q-pyrb/*q-pirb*, where **q-* < PIE **ana* ‘upwards, atop’, in a heterosyllabic position *on-* (as in PSlav. **on-utja* > Russ. *onúča* ‘puttee’), and SCr. *vàmpīr* is a PSlav. word-formative variant **vnb-pirb/pyrb*; see Trubačev ([1994]: 424).

This proposal has only presented in the briefest of forms, occupying hardly more than half a sentence. The phonetic side certainly requires a more exhaustive explanation, and the second element, **pyrb/*pirb* has not been addressed at all. In this shape, it can only be dismissed.

2.1.15. **q- + *per-*, ‘unrotten’

PSlav. form of the type of **qpirb* < **q-* (privativum) + **per-* ‘to rot’ (see Babik 2001: 231); lit. ‘unrotten’, as it was one of the distinctive features of vampires that, being filled with the blood of the living, their bodies did not succumb to decay (see e.g. Moszyński K. 1967: 656; Budziszewska 1983–1985: 13f); see K. Stachowski (2005: 78).

This derivation was suggested by one of the present authors as an overlooked variant of the native scenario. Semantically, it is similar to 2.1.10 and a little to 2.1.6 in that it is based on a property of the vampire’s body; structurally, it is more akin to 2.1.2, and a little to 2.1.3, 2.1.10, and 2.1.13, only assuming a verb instead of a noun for the second element.

While it is our belief that the Turkic path (2.2.3) is the most probable one, the suggestion above still seems very plausible to us, along with 2.1.6 and 2.1.9. See 2.1.18 for what would remain to be solved if it were accepted.

2.1.16. *b-mp* and similar

We will cite this proposal in the author’s own words (Kreuter 2006: 60f), with only a few inconsequential omissions for brevity; see also 2.3 on Kreuter.

Maybe another theory or idea is closer to the truth. In 1998, the Musée cantonal d’histoire naturelle in Sion (Switzerland) published a huge two-volume study

on bird and bat names in Europe. [...] the second volume puts the names into paradigms with a similar phonetic structure and compares them with other words of the same structure. Under the current number 6.2.24 names with the consonantic structure “b-mp”, “p-mp” are listed. [...] Here we will find our “vampire” and some of its regional variants as for example “vampir”. [...] And it is really astonishing to recognize how many words describing elements of the folkloric vampire figure have a similar phonetic attitude. For example the word flame: “vampa” in Sardinia, “vapë” in Albanian [...] Or the word steam: “pampore” in Romanian and “vapore” in Italian. [...] The butterfly is called in Galician “pamupriña” and in Basque “pinpirin”. [...] Do we have here maybe something like a genetic relationship of phonetic structures? We must be aware of jumping to conclusions. Nearly all of the languages mentioned above are [sic] of Indoeuropean origin so we have to expect a certain similarity of many terms. But is that all? Isn’t it possible that “vampire” has something to do with the words for steam and flame and butterfly? We have to hope that the editorial board will publish a volume with explicative articles. And again we have to wait...

2.1.17. **piti* ‘to drink’

PSlav. form of the type of **qpir̥o* < **piti* ‘to drink’ + *-r̥o* (as in **ži-ti* > **žir*-, **mei-/mī* > **mir*-, **ma-niti*, **ma-miti* > **mar*-); lit. *‘drinker’ [our guess – K.S., O.S.; not stated explicitly], as vampires were creatures that drank the blood of the living; see Valencova (2013).

The idea to connect our word with the verb ‘to drink’ is not new; in fact, it is the second oldest proposal that we are aware of (2.3). Valencova (2013) furnishes it with some details and a choice of ethnographical data stressing the importance of the aspect of blood-drinking in the image of the vampire. We do not suppose that this point requires any further evidence.

The reconstruction of the word itself, however, is not complete in our opinion. Valencova mentions the difficulties posed by the diversity of anlauts across the Slavonic languages (*o-*, *u-*, *ue-*, *uo-*, *va-*, *v̥o-*, even *le-* and *ro-*) and blames them on the phonetic evolution of specific languages, but she does not explain why such (irregular) evolution would occur or, more importantly, where the initial **q-* would have come from in the first place. She mentions verbal prefixes, such as in Cz. *napiti* ‘das Abtrinken’, *opilst* [pro: -t] ‘die Trunkenheit’, &c., but more as a loose idea than an actual etymology.

Semantically, this proposal is sound; structurally and phonetically, however, it is lacking and, in its present form, it must be considered unlikely.

2.1.18. Summary

Of the above, the most plausible appear to be proposals 2.1.6 (**piriti*, ‘bulging, bloated, swollen’), 2.1.9 (**vǫ-pirati*, ‘that which pierces in’), and 2.1.15 (**ǫ- + *per-*, ‘unrotten’), the last two more so than the first one as they appear to rely on fewer uncertain assumptions.

Should either of them be accepted, two major issues would remain to be explained. One, easier to dismiss, is the remarkable similarity of **ǫpirǫ* to the Turkic word *opyr* &c.; see 2.2.3 The other, which we believe to be more resilient, is the question of Slavonic burial customs; see 2.4.1.

Perhaps the most probable explanation is one that combines a foreign origin with native reinterpretation, and thus avoids the chronological trap. See the final conclusion in 3.

Overall, we know of seventeen Slavonic reconstructions proposed so far (alphabetically, and only taking the phonetic shape into account):

1. **ompyr* (2.1.7; Mladenov 1941);
2. **opir ~ *opyr* (Levkievskaja 1995: 283);⁸
3. **opirǫ* (Semjonov 2003);⁹
4. **opirǫ* (Ionescu 1978: 29);¹⁰
5. **op-r/n-*, **up-r/n-*, **op-bjb* (2.1.11; Rytter 1986);
6. **ǫpir* (2.1.2; Brückner 1927, 1934; Skok 1971–1974);
7. **ǫpir-* (2.1.6; Moszyński K. 1934, 1967);
8. **ǫpirǫ* (2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.13–2.1.15; Sobolevskij 1911; Vasmer 1953–1958, 1986–1987; BER; Boryś 1975; Trubačev [1994]: 424; Snoj 1997, 2003: -ǫ; Popowska-Taborska [1999]; Rejzek 2001; Mańczak [forthcoming]);
9. **ǫpirǫ* (2.1.3, 2.1.17; Holub, Kopečný 1952; ESUM; Valencova 2013);
10. **ǫpirǫ* (2.1.9; Boryś 1975; Popowska-Taborska [1999]; Mańczak [forthcoming]);
11. **ǫpyrjb* (2.1.12; Moszyński L. 1992);

8 These two reconstructions are said to have no “однозначной этимологии”, and are not explained any more. Further, other etymologies are mentioned but neither accepted nor rejected.

9 According to the online version at www.slovorod.ru/etym-semenov/sem-u.htm.

10 Unfortunately, the author does not explain the structure or the meaning of her reconstruction which is dictated solely by phonetic reasons, especially the Eastern Slavonic shape *ynupǫ*. The nasality of the initial vowel is entirely omitted. This proposal is too brief to be discussed, but the reconstruction itself could maybe be accepted as an intermediate stage between Kipch. **opyr*/**ōpyr* and PSlav. **ǫpirǫ* or similar.

from Ugri, *i. e.* the Hungarians”. Notwithstanding, we must note to Charnock’s credit, that he was absolutely correct in recognizing that Pol. *upiór* and *wampir* are the same word, even if his wording is not entirely clear about what kind of relationship exactly he saw between them.

2.2.3. TkC.N *ubyr* ‘witch; evil spirit’

< TkC.N *ubyr*... ‘witch; evil spirit’; **pro**: Budagov (1869–1871); Miklosich (1884–1885, 1886); Hanusz (1885); Polívka (1901); OSN (1907); Preobraženskij (1910–1914); Holub, Kopečný (1952); Skok (1971–1974); Sevortjan (1974–), Šipova (1976), and others; **contra**: Korsch (1886); Vaillant (1931); Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987); Machek (1957, 1968); Boryś (1975); Rytter (1986); Cooper (2005), and others.

Judging from how frequently it was cited, this proposal appears to have much more excited the etymological milieu than any other. It deserves a significantly more detailed discussion.

2.2.3.1. In its **original form**, the Turkic path leads to Tat. *ubyr* ‘witch; evil spirit’ (we ignore here the various forms that can be found in the literature, for they are all clearly this word, only in a strange, or simply erroneous, version). The word has a fairly straightforward etymology on the Turkic ground: < PTkc. **öp*- ‘to suck, to swallow, to greedily catch with mouth’ + aorist participle *-(V)r*, lit. *‘that which sucks, sucker’ (see e.g. Sevortjan 1974–; Şirin User 2010; and also Berta, Róna-Tas 2002: 58; and Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, s.v. *apol*;¹² see also 2.4.4 for an alternative reconstruction). A combination, in one word, of the meanings ‘guzzler, glutton’ and ‘evil spirit’ is not unusual in the Turkic languages, see e.g. *ič*- ‘to drink’ → Uigh. *ič.käk* ‘sot, drunkard’, then ‘daemon; vampire’ (Zajaczkowski 1932: 100, Şirin

12 In both works authored by Berta and Róna-Tas, the root **op*- [sic] is linked with **öp*- ‘to kiss’, and suggested to be the eventual source of Hung. *apol* ‘to look after someone or something, to nurse’. Were this suggestion true, it would entail a slightly amusing semantic correspondence, ‘vampire’ < ‘to suck, to swallow’ > ‘to look after’. But in reality *apol*, while attested for Hungarian with the meaning ‘to kiss’ (> ‘to caress’ > 1822 ‘to look after’; see EWU), cannot be derived from any Turkic language due to the length of the initial vowel. Its older, 17th or 18th century shape is *apol*, with a short vowel, and the Turkic reflexes point clearly to an original long one, see fn. 16. Indeed, one might wonder to what degree Berta/Róna-Tas’s reconstruction of PTkc. **op*- was inspired by the short *apol*. TESz, EWU, and Gombocz (1912: 209) all speak against a Turkic origin of the Hungarian word.

User 2010). Among the reflexes of **ōpyr* are Tat. *ubyr*,¹³ Chuv. *văBăr* and similar ‘witch, hag (very fat)’ (Ceylan 1997: 176),¹⁴ Tksh. *obur* ‘glutton’,¹⁵ and many others, see e.g. Radlov (1893–1911), Şirin User (2010), Ragagnin (2013: 64f), or Zaripova Çetin (2007: 23f).

The idea is also sound from the point of view of semantics and ethnography. Daemons are certainly not unknown to the pre-Islamic culture of the Turkic peoples, and some of them display considerable similarities to *upióry*. More on this can be found in section 1; see also Şirin User (2010) and Yaltırık (2013).

But in this form our proposal entails, as also do all the other ones, a necessity to explain a large number of phonetic variants that our word has across the Slavonic languages, not through regular developments because this is not possible, but apparently through some conspiracy to contort it beyond recognition. We are not aware of this reservation having been raised as yet – except by G. Rytter (1986: 126; see also 2.1.11), who argued that any theory about borrowing is difficult to accept in the light of the wide spread and old age of the notion of vampirism throughout Slavdom. We fail to understand this reasoning.

Effectively, it is only Vaillant (1931: 676f) who presented an actual criticism of the Turkic idea. His argumentation, however, is somewhat unclear and quite impossible to accept. Using a key known only to himself, he divides the Turkic forms into three groups: 1. Bshk., Tat. *ubyr* ‘(homme, femme à pouvoir de) sorcier, sorcière’; 2. Chuv. *wubur* [sic] ‘démon qui dévore la lune ou le soleil’, Caucasus-Karachai¹⁶ *obur* ‘être malfaisant, démon qui dévore les nouveau-nés’, Ott. *obur* ‘glouton’; and 3. Uigh. *opur* ~ *obur* ‘nourrice’. Next, Vaillant speaks of “l’unité des faits slaves”, a grossly over-optimistic assessment, and rejects Deny’s proposal

13 The intervocalic voicing in Tatar requires further explanation because usually, Tatar does tolerate voicelessness in this position. Nonetheless, the existence of this derivative in Tatar, with and without the voicing, is beyond doubt. See also 2.4.4 on Tatar phonetics.

14 With a regular phonetic development and a protetic *v-* + non-labial vowel in the place of the original labial one.

15 With a regular Oghuz voicing of a stop following the shortening of an originally long vowel, and with labial harmony. Regarding the length of the Proto-Turkic vowel, see Dolg. *uobū* ~ *ōbū* ‘Bissen, Happen’ (defectively attested with *-u* instead of *ū*, see Stachowski M. 1993: 243) = Yak. *uobū* ‘Biß’ < *uop-* ‘einen Bissen in den Mund nehmen’ (Stachowski M. 1993: 243) < PTkc. **ōp-*; see also Tekin (1995: 177).

16 A slightly surprising name, for we do not know of any Karachai spoken outside of the Caucasus.

to derive the Turkic forms from a common root *op-*, *up-* ‘aspirer, sucer’ (making, however, an exception for the Uighur forms) as he believes that this would be an overestimation of the importance of the notion of vampirism which among the Slavs, he continues, appears to be secondary or late, and derivative. We do not see the logical connection here. Vaillant concludes (1931: 677): “Le mot *obur*, *wubur* ressemble fort au persan *awbār*, *obār* ‘ravisser’, verbe *awburden* ‘raver’, qui sert à désigner divers dragons ou monstres qui dévorent les hommes, les astres, etc., par ex. *māhī-i-merdūm-obār* ‘poisson qui dévore les hommes’”, and does not return to the remaining Turkic shapes.

We fail to see either the logic or the purpose behind Vaillant’s grouping of the Turkic words. The phonetic similarity to the Persian word, while it indeed exists, is coincidental and irrelevant, since Pers. *oubār*, *oubāštan* is as native to Persian¹⁷ as Tat. *ubyr* &c. is to Turkic. There is neither basis nor need to take borrowing into consideration.

Thus, the Turkic etymology rests for now in limbo, with multiple counter-proposals but no serious counterargument.

2.2.3.2. There is also a **newer variant** of the Turkic proposal. In its original shape, the idea was limited to the Tatar word *ubyr*. But this word is not a Tatar innovation; it is a part of a sizeable family across several Turkic languages. Naturally, some of the cognates have different phonetic shapes, and particularly interesting here is the Bolghar branch, with forms such as Chuv. *vābār*, *voBār*, *vubār* ‘evil spirit’ (Ašmarin 1994–2000), or *vubār*, *vybār* ‘witch, hag (very fat)’ (Ceylan 1997: 176).

In K. Stachowski (2005), which is the basis for this paper, it was proposed that only Eastern Slavonic forms be derived from Tatar *ubyr*, while the Bulgarian ones from *ubyr*’s Bolghar counterpart. This would shift part of the burden of explaining the phonetic variation across Slavdom onto Turkic historical phonology, and so at least in some cases free our etymology from the necessity to invoke arbitrary, one-time phonetic changes ascribed, for lack of a better explanation, to taboo and other irregular and unpredictable phenomena.

17 NPers. *oubāštan* (*oubāridan*, *oubārdan*) ‘1. to fill; 2. to throw away; 3. to devour; to swallow’, and *oubār* ‘1. anything swallowed; 2. strong poison; 3. devouring fire’, in compounds ‘devouring’ (e.g. *aždahā-ye mardom-oubār* ‘a dragon devouring man’) < MPers. *ōbār-* (*ōpār-*) ‘to swallow; to devour’ < OIr. **ava-pāryati*, caus. of *ava* ‘1. away; 2. down’ + Avest. *par-* ‘1. hindurch-, hinübergehen; 2. füllen’ (see e.g. Bartholomae 1961: 851; Nyberg 1964–1974). All the phonetic changes are regular.

The idea to derive northern Slavonic shapes from a different source than the southern ones is not new. It was already mentioned e.g. in Polívka (1901), but in an untenable form which binds our word with OBactr. *vyāmbura* (see 2.2.5). During the preparation of this paper, we learned that also a different, considerably more defensible variant of this idea had been in fact proposed before K. Stachowski (2005). Dukova (1997: 100) reports it was already Boev (1970: 905–906, unavailable to us) who suggested Chuvash as the source of the Bulgarian word; she proceeds to support his two-path solution, and let us too look at this proposal in more detail.

In practice, the history of contact between the Slavonic and Turkic peoples, and also the phonetics of the Turkic shapes, leave us with but two possible sources: the Kipchak languages (among them, Tatar), and Bolghar. This variant of the Turkic proposal assumes that our word was borrowed independently from both, and spread across the Slavonic languages along two separate paths. Possibly, a small amount of intertwining in the form of intra-Slavonic borrowings would need to be allowed for in order to fully account for all of the phonetic shapes (regarding the most likely routes, cf. Boček 2010: 24f).

The **northern** path, in its core, is basically the original proposal (2.2.3.1). The source is Kipch. **opyr* (or perhaps **opyr* ~ **upyr*, see 2.4.4) ‘1. witch; evil spirit; 2. glutton’ (> Tat. *ubyr* ‘1. misfit, weirdo; changeling; werewolf; shape-shifter; 2. glutton’) > Eastern Slavonic > Western Slavonic. Later, ephemerally, to French from one of the latter two: 18th c. *oupire*, *upire* (NDEH).

The Kipchak word is not attested for this period, but it is maybe only because the oldest written record of any Kipchak language is from the 13th century. It is the *Codex Comanicus*, and it does in fact contain the word *opmac* ‘osculum’ (Kuun 1880, though missing from K. Grønbech’s 1942 edition). It is also known that the root is common throughout the Turkic languages, and one can assume with a relatively high probability that a formation of the type **opyr* should have existed.

The **southern** path assumes a borrowing from Bolghar, cf. Chuv. *văbăr*, *vobăr*, *vubăr* ‘evil spirit’ (Ašmarin 1994–2000), or *vubăr*, *vybăr* ‘witch, hag (very fat)’ (Ceylan 1997: 176) > PBulg. **vəpər* (Boev 1970: 905–906) > Bulg. *vəpír*, *vapír*, *vepír* ‘vampire’ (shapes after BER) whence the word would spread across the Balkans. As for the nasalization, Boev proposes OBulg. **ѣхнѣрѣ* but Dukova (1997: 100) sees the issue as unsolved; see 2.4.4 for some possibilities, and also Zoltán (2013b) on the preservation of nasal vowels in Bulgarian dialects.

It should be noted that the assumption of a Bolghar etymon, with a reduced vowel in the initial syllable, renders the Bulgarian alternation *a* ~ *e* ~ *ɨ* immediately more understandable.

2.2.3.3. Of the two variants of the Turkic etymology, the newer one appears to be more likely, in that it better accounts for Slavonic phonetics and thus partially removes the necessity to assume a high number of later internal borrowings between various Slavonic languages. But the details are unclear. Most vital appears to be the question of the time of borrowing, but this requires a slightly longer commentary; see 2.4.1. Also potentially dangerous for this proposal is the only dialectal form that this paper will look into more closely, which is Pol. *wąpierz* with what appears to be a suspiciously ancient phonetic shape; see 2.4.3.

2.2.4. Gk. *νυκτόπτερος* ‘night-flyer’

« Gk. *νυκτόπτερος* lit. ‘night-flyer’ > Slav. *netopir* &c., among others Sln. *netopir* > *topir*, *dupir* (with a dropped anlaut) and Cz. *upír*, Pol. *upiór* (with a further dropping of anlaut) > *vampir* (with an addition of *v-* and *-m-*); see Edelspacher (1876).

To the best of our knowledge, this proposal did not appear in later literature. It is quite imaginative but probably not particularly realistic. The dropping of the initial *ne-* is certainly possible in Slavonic where it could easily be mistaken for negation, but the dropping of the initial *t-* in Western Slavonic, and the addition of *v-* and *-m-* are all much less likely, especially if they need to be assumed to have all conspired together to turn the harmless bat into a vampire.

2.2.5. OBactr./Avest. *vyāmbura* ‘hostile to water’

< (? Tkč. <) OBactr. (Miklosich 1884–1885; Korsch 1886) or Avest. (Vasmer 1953–1958, 1986–1987) *vyāmbura* ‘hostile to water’; **pro**: Miklosich (1884–1885); ? Korsch (1886); Polívka (1901); **contra**: Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987).

The formulation of this proposal is not entirely clear and we are not sure whether the Old Bactrian / Avestan word would have been borrowed directly to the Slavonic languages or via some other language (Turkic?). At any rate, it is even less plausible than 2.2.4. Firstly, the influence of Avestan, and even more so of Old Bactrian, on Slavonic languages is unlikely, or at least considerably less likely than that of Greek or Turkic. Secondly, this proposal assumes a large number of phonetic changes, including the rather peculiar devoicing between a sonorant and a vowel. Thirdly, the semantics are somewhat muddy.

2.2.6. Dacian Lat. *impūrus* ‘unclean’

< a Dacian Lat. form of *impūrus* ‘unclean’ (perhaps **empurū*); see Cooper (2005: 263).

According to this idea, vampires and similar “unclean dead who do not decompose in the grave” (Cooper 2005: 263) are a Slavonic invention, originally

referred to as **nečistŭ* ‘unclean’, borrowed by speakers of Dacian Latin who came in contact with Slavs in the old Roman province of Dacia around the sixth century, and renamed by them in their own language as a form of Lat. *impūrus*, possibly **ęmpurŭ*. The borrowing was then repaid, and the new Latin name was taken by the Slavs to replace their old Slavonic one.

From the point of view of semantics, the proposal appears to be sound. One might not feel entirely convinced by the historical scenario, but it is primarily phonetics that raises our doubts. Cooper devotes more than two pages to clarify this aspect, starting with the statement that

If the first syllable of **ęmpuru* [sic, -u pro -ŭ] was pronounced with a distinct front vowel, as might be supposed, given that Romanian now has *impur*, then a Slavonic borrowing [...] would be expected to have initial *ę-*, with prothesis leading to *ję-* (> *ja-* in Russian [...]). (Cooper 2005: 263)

which is followed by the information that classical Lat. *in-* has actually two outcomes in Romanian, *in-* and *în-*. Cooper had just said that it was the former in the case of *impūrus*, but now he proceeds to fill two pages with an analysis of what could happen if it were the latter: “it might then have resulted in the reflex *ǫ-*”, leading eventually to **ǫpyrŭ*/[*]*ǫpirŭ* | **vǫpyrŭ*/**vǫpirŭ*, and yielding *u-/o-* in Eastern Slavonic, OBulg. **vǫ-* (possibly later borrowed to Ukrainian dialects as *vǫ-* and similar), &c. Essentially, all modern forms are to be explained by the alternation **ǫ-* : **vǫ-*, either in Proto-Slavonic or later, and by internal borrowings.

On the whole, this proposal is not unlikely as such, but it does rely on a fairly high number of assumptions, and entails a rather intricate web of borrowings which, we believe, is quite unnecessary.

2.2.7. Summary

Of these five proposals, only two are in any way probable, the Turkic one (2.2.3) and the Dacian one (2.2.6); the former substantially more so. It exists in two variants of which the newer is more complex and also more plausible. This variant assumes two independent borrowings along two separate paths. Some of the details remain to be established; see in particular 2.4.1 and 2.4.4, and a summary in 3.

2.3. Others

Apart from the above, there exist several proposals about which we only have second-hand knowledge. Some were mentioned without specifying the source,

sometimes without even crediting the originator, and some are in works which are unavailable to us, and which we can merely report after other authors.

Publications that we found reported as relevant, or the ones we ourselves suspect of being relevant, but which we could not access include: Bălteanu (2000), Boev (1970; see 2.2.3.2), Burkhart (1989: 65f), Dmitriev (1962), Haefs (2001), Hock (1900), Istrate (1987), Knobloch (1989), Kunstmann (1992), Memova-Sjulejmanova (1981), Menges (1969/1970), Naylor (1983), Perkowski (1989), Schürmann (1990), and Vakarelski (1969: 232f, 240).

Perhaps the oldest of those proposals about which we do have any knowledge, is the one mentioned by Ralston (1872: 410), apparently as somebody else's idea. Şirin User (2010) and Cooper (2005: 260) attribute it to Afanasjev (Aleksandr Nikolaevič?) but an exact location is never specified. It connects *upiór* with Lith. *wempti* 'to drink' and *wempti*, *wampiti* 'to growl, to mutter' < $\sqrt{p\bar{i}}$ 'to drink' with the prefix *u = av, va*, assuming that "the characteristic of the vampire is a kind of blood-drunkenness" (Ralston 1872: 410). See 2.1.17 for what appears to be a more recent version of the idea.

Piger (1901) says in his review of Hock (1900) that our word is native to the Slavonic languages, that it means 'to suck, to suck out', and has sound correspondences with Greek and Hebrew, as was found by 18th century scholars. Unfortunately, Piger neglects to specify the source of his knowledge.

Next, Kreuter mentions Haefs (2001), ridicules him and immediately dismisses his proposal (Kreuter 2006: 57; by all means see 2.1.16 for his own idea). As for the details, he only says that "the main part [...] consists of a nearly word-by-word rendering of [...] Kunstmann [...] 1992" (Kreuter 2006: 58). Kunstmann's idea, also after Kreuter, is that "the absolute origin of the vampire myth is the mantic Greek god Amphiaraos (Ἀμφιάραος)" (Kreuter 2006: 58). The name would be borrowed by the Slavs twice; for the first time, in the seventh century, yielding **ǫpyr̥* (> Cz. *upír*, Pol. *upiór*, Russ. *upir̥/upyr̥*); and for the second time, after the seventh century, yielding the shapes with *vam-*. Apparently, Kunstmann is also not very clear about the difference between *upiór* and *wampir*: "Bei Serben und Kroaten ist *vampir* zum Beispiel die schriftsprachliche, *upir* hingegen die mündliche Version." (Kunstmann 1992: 183, after Kreuter 2006: 60). All in all, it seems that, if Kreuter's account is accurate, Kunstmann's idea has to be rejected on phonetic, semantic, and historical grounds.

Lastly, Žuravlev mentions (2005: 863) a proposal by A. Sobolevskij and A. Vajan which connects our word with PSlav. **pariti*; unfortunately he does not provide any details, or a bibliographical address.

2.4. Loose ends

We came across several pieces of information during the preparation of this paper that share a common theme but are not quite sufficient to form a complete picture of their own. What appear to be the important ones among them revolve around the dating of our word (2.4.1), its use as a given name (2.4.2), the meaning of ‘bulging’ (2.4.3), and the nasal element in its first syllable (2.4.4). A summary is given in 2.4.5.

2.4.1. Dating

2.4.1.1 The native proposals (see 2.1) generally derive our word from Proto-Slavonic, and reconstructions are justified using Proto-Slavonic elements and Proto-Slavonic word-formative methods. Thus, they imply that the word was coined between about the 5th and about the 10th century.

The Turkic proposal, in its original form (2.2.3.1), points to a Tatar word which might suggest the 13th century and the Mongol invasions, but it might also be that *Tatar* was meant in it as more of an umbrella term for north-western Turkic peoples in general, as was not rarely the case in 19th c. Turkological literature; then, the time of borrowing could be anything between about the 6th (SSS VI: 210f) and, in theory, the 18th century when the word appears in western European press to describe cases of alleged vampirism in East Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. In the two-path variant of the Turkic proposal (2.2.3.2) the northern path is essentially the same as the original proposition, while on the southern path the borrowing would have to occur some time between the 6th and the 13th century when Bolghars gradually lost their identity (SSS VI: 210f; Waldman, Mason 2006: 106f).

2.4.1.2 It was mentioned above that the earliest known attestation of what appears to be our word is in Russian and dated 1047. It features in the colophon to the Book of the Prophets as the name of the copyist, one Оупиръ Лихый, usually translated as ‘foul/wicked vampire’. This is an unusual name, and it has not gone unnoticed. To explain it, A. Sjöberg proposed that it was in fact the same person as the Upplandic rune-carver Upir Ofeigr. This allows to derive the name Оупиръ eventually from the Swedish verb *öpa* ‘to cry, to shout’ with the meaning ‘a screamer, a noisy person’ or, as Sjöberg explains (1982: 112), ‘someone with a strong voice’. In his 1982 paper, Sjöberg presents linguistic and historical arguments to support his idea; in the 1985 one, he focuses on the historical aspect.

This, we will not attempt to judge; the linguistic part can be retold in brief as below (cf. also Skrzypek 2011: 49f).

The runic signature $\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{r}$ (e.g. Fv1976 107; other variants also exist) can be read *ubir*, *upir*, *übir* and *üpir*; the initial vowel would have to be rendered in Cyrillic as <oy>, and the palatality of *-rv* is the same as in *Игорь* or *Гунаръ*. The rune-carver's full name was Ofeigr Upir, lit. 'bold/daring screamer/shouter'; ORuss. *lihyj* meant 'surplus, extra', but also 'bold, daring'. This points to a more conceivable name than 'foul/wicked vampire'. Texts carved by Ofeigr Upir's contain several places which can be neatly explained assuming the author's background as a Novgorod priest, but are unclear otherwise. A detailed discussion can be found in Sjöberg (1982: 113f), here we will merely list them: the inscription *iRma:k* (Sö 11), possibly *ieromonach*; the inscription *kriki* or *kiriki* 'church' (U 687), possibly under the influence of OCS/ORuss. *црькы ~ църкы ~ църькы* id.; Upir's difficulties with the rune * *h*, consistent with the Orthodox tradition; the spelling of *Halfdan* as <alfntan>, consistent with Gk. *Αλφνταν*.

Sjöberg makes a strong case for Ofeigr Upir to have had an Eastern Slavonic clerical background. The supposition that he had been the same man as our Оупиръ Лихьи before he moved to Uppland, seems rather plausible. But the first part of the argument, that Оупиръ had had a Nordic background, is less well argued, at least from the linguistic side, and this is what interests us here most. We are, however, willing to take Sjöberg at his word – especially that this theory, also supported by Lind (2004, 2012: 348, and p.c.), can explain the shift from *u* in *Оупиръ* to *ы* in modern Russ. *упиръ*, which is difficult to account for otherwise. Sadly, it does not quite explain late mediaeval attestations with an *u* (see Sreznevskij 1893), Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 347), and also Odesskij (2011), who strongly criticizes Sjöberg but without addressing his actual arguments at all).

Although there might exist another argument in favour of the use of 'vampire' as a given name (see 2.4.2) it appears that 1047 is not the date of the earliest attestation of our word and in consequence, the time window for its borrowing would seem to remain as wide open as it was at the beginning of this subsection.

2.4.1.3 However, archaeological and ethnographic data might come to rescue. The usual way in which pre-Christian Slavs buried their dead was cremated (see e.g. Gardela, Duma 2013: 320; Gardela, Kajkowski 2013: 782). One might suppose that the custom was inspired by the fear of vampires, and is therefore a proof that the belief predates Christianity, but this does not seem to be the case. Inhumation

might have been rare and generally limited to singular cases, but it was certainly not unknown. We imagine it is quite unlikely that any community would choose to administer inhumation, against the usual custom, if they had feared that the corpse could then come back to haunt and possibly even kill them. In some territories skeletal cemeteries actually appear even before Christianity (see e.g. Gąssowski 1992: 138f), but the method only became prevalent together with the spread of the new religion which demanded that bodies be buried whole. Certainly, the introduction of a new religion did not always go unopposed as is shown by several pagan rebellions that occurred in the 10th and 11th century, but to the best of our knowledge, those reactions were inspired by religious and political causes, and they did not place any particular stress on burial customs – which would be expected had the belief in vampires really existed before the spread of inhumation. It appears, then, that the earliest the Slavs could have begun to fear vampires, is after their Christianization.

The official dates are: Croatia and Serbia – 7th century, Slovakia – around 830, Moravia – 831, Bulgaria – 864, Kievan Rus – 867, Bohemia – 884, Poland – 966 and, in view of its considerable Slavonic population, Hungary – early 11th century. Naturally, the baptism of the ruler meant at best that the nobility would also convert, and that missionaries would be let in. It would be sometimes more than a century before the religion spread among the people and its customs were accepted.

It is surprising, then, that anti-vampire burials appear in Poland already in the 10th century. Perhaps, Gardela, Duma (2013) and Gardela, Kajkowski (2013) are right in supposing that not all of the measures that were traditionally interpreted as protection against vampires (decapitations, prone burials, bodies covered with stones, &c.) are indeed just that. Perhaps they really are the result of judicial practices or some other beliefs.

Be that as it may, the above has significant consequences for the native etymologies of *upiór* as, effectively, it sets the terminus post quem to at least the 9th century. Almost all of these proposals rely on an initial *q- (see 2.1.18), and the 9th century is just when nasal vowels are transforming and denasalizing (Schuster-Šewc 2014: 1162, also Zoltán 2013b, who suggests a period of even up to the 12th century, but only for Bulgarian-type dialects which is not sufficient for our cause). With native etymologies uncertain, the only acceptable proposal left is the two-path variant of the Turkic origin (2.2.3.2); notably, it is also fitting from the ethnographic perspective (section 1).

The terminus ante quem is more difficult to establish. If the traditional interpretation of atypical burials from Poland is correct, it would be the 10th century

for Poland and, perhaps, appropriately earlier for other Slavonic peoples. In such case, the appearance of *upiór* on the Slavonic ground would have to be dated to the 9th–10th century. Later only if the archaeological interpretation were to change.

2.4.2. Given name

In the light of what was said in 2.4.1, it seems that it is of little importance whether the *Oynupb* of 1047 is or is not our word. Most likely it is not, but we have to act as the devil's advocate and mention two pieces of information that may potentially authenticate the use of *upiór* &c. as a given name.

One is the case of *Képes Krónika*, a Hungarian chronicle written in Latin in 1358, featuring (Geréb 1964: 36) a captain by the name of *opour*. Geréb (1964: 96) reads the word as *Apor*, a surname found in Hungary to this day, but Tarnai (1992: 130) proposes the reading of *Opur*. To the best of our knowledge, the only attempt to claim the name for Hungarian was made by Ladó, Bíró (1998) but, being limited to the statement 'an old Hungarian proper name', it must be considered empty. If one chooses to accept Tarnai's reading, the name could be a borrowing from Slav. *upyr* or *upyř* (see Bárczi [1967: 155f] for Slav. *y* > Hung. *u*, and Helimskij [2000: 422] for OHung. *u*- > Hung. *o*-). On the other hand, the Hungarian shape could also be derived from the Slavonic name *Opor* (attested for Polish since 1265, see SSNO) < *opora* 'benefit' (see Rymut 1999–2001; Cieřlikowa 2000) or *opora* 'obstacle' (?) (see Rymut 1999–2001).

The other piece of information is related to the meaning of 'bulging' and discussed separately in 2.4.3.

2.4.3. 'bulging'

The connection between our word and the meaning of 'bulging' has been somewhat elusive. It was not completely convincing when stated explicitly in 2.1.6 (< **piriti*, structured like **ǫ-tǫk-v*, with the meaning 'bulging, bloated, swollen'), but it does reappear in several pieces of ethnographic data (see 1).

In particular, K. Moszyński (1967: 608) mentions that southern Russians use the word *upyř* to talk about children with large heads (with hydrocephalus?). It is not entirely clear to us how this might have come to be. Possibly, there is some link here to the fact that Tatars say of children with hydrocephalus, who tend to have trouble falling asleep, that they have been changed by *ubyr* (Zaripova Çetin 2007: 24), and that Turkic *ubyr* itself is often described as having a large head; see section 1. However, one might also suspect a later evolution based on the shared physical feature of 'bulging', in which case this information should probably be

seen as a piece of evidence in support of proposal 2.1.6 – thwarted as it may be by the problem of chronology discussed in 2.4.1. Another, even more speculative, possibility would be that such children are simply seen as ghastly and eerie, and hence the macabre name.

But the meaning of ‘bulging’ appears also on the southern path of the Turkic etymology. According to Ašmarin (1994–2000) and Skvorcov (1985), *vābār* &c. means simply ‘evil spirit’, but Ceylan (1997: 176) translates the word as ‘witch, hag (very fat)’. A link is definitely there but we can no more than guess about its nature.

Lastly, a word is due about the Polish dialectal shapes *wąpierz*, *wąpiór*, *wąpor*, and probably also the name of the village of Wąpiersk. Their phonetic shapes appear to be quite ancient and they correspond well to Slav.E *u-* in *upýr* &c. The problem is that this regular correspondence suggests a PSlav. **q-* which can be no longer relied on for the 9th/10th century which, as it was suggested in 2.4.1, is the most likely period for our word to have appeared on the Slavonic ground. One, admittedly somewhat precarious and unfinished way to solve this, is to explain *wąpierz* as a borrowing from German that was later identified with *wampir* and hence also with *upiór* due to a similarity in phonetics and, through the meaning of ‘bulging’, in semantics. WDLP contains the word *wąp* ~ *wąpie* ~ ... (1564) ‘intestines; liver; stomach’ < NHG *Wampe* ‘intestines; stomach’. But *Wampe* is not so much just a ‘stomach’, as NHG ‘dewlap; paunch; beer belly’ < MHG *wambe* ~ *wampe* ~ *wamme* ‘belly; paunch’ < OHG *wamba* ~ *wambo* ‘abdomen; stomach; belly; paunch; womb; uterus’.¹⁸ Perhaps a **Wamper* ‘a person with a bloated belly’ existed in colloquial German that could have given Pol. *wąpierz*? (For the auslaut cf. *słojerz* (1389) < MHG *slogier* ~ *sloier*, *szlifierz* (1528) < NHG *Schleifer*, *strykierz* (1861) < NHG *Stricker*, and others; all after WDLP). Perhaps it is not unimportant in this context that the name *Wąpiersk* was first recorded in 1411 when the village lay in the territory controlled by the State of the Teutonic Order. The usefulness of this conjecture is primarily in that it frees the Turkic etymology from the necessity to assume that a nasal element was inserted twice, independently, both on the southern and on the northern path (see 2.4.4), and that this insertion happened as late as the 9th/10th century, still managing to yield regular reflexes both in Eastern Slavonic and in Polish. See a comparison in fig. 1.

18 NHG: woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=Adelung&lemid=DWoo566; MHG: woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer/?sigle=Lexer&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=LWoo497; OHG: www.koeblergerhard.de/ahd/ahd_w.html.

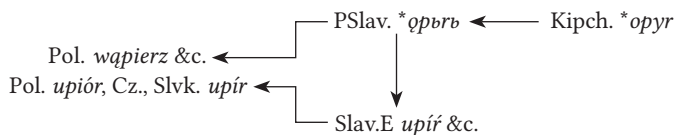


Figure 1a. The origin of Pol. *wqpierz* assuming a Proto-Slavonic rendering with *ǫ-.

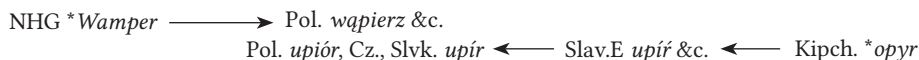


Figure 1b. The origin of Pol. *wqpierz* assuming a borrowing from German.

2.4.4. Nasality

A weak point of the Turkic proposal, whether it assumes one or two paths of borrowing, is that it does not at any step explain the nasality attested in *wampir* &c. – or in Pol.dial. *wqpierz*, but for this see also 2.4.3. We can think of four ways to address this issue.

One way in which the Slavs could have changed *u-* into *ǫ-* is an insertion of a nasal infix, such as was fairly often added to Indo-European zero grade roots, namely in 34 out of 56 cases of the Slavonic *u ~ ǫ* alternation (e.g. *zǫbr ~ zubr* ‘urus’, *čǫb ~ čub* ‘satureia’; Slawski 1939–1947: 286).

This possibility requires that the Kipchak shape begins with **u-*. Actually, PTkc. **o-/ō-* > MKipch. **o-* > Tat. *u-*, which is to say that the change occurred about the 13th/14th century (see Berta 1993, 1998 for more details), but it seems that in some dialects the raising might have happened earlier. If that were the case, this scenario would simultaneously explain the Slavonic (mostly, Ukrainian) and Slavo-Hungarian (?; see 2.4.3) alternation *u- ~ o-*. Unfortunately, lack of pre-13th c. written sources for Kipchak makes it very difficult to definitively accept or reject this possibility.

Another possibility is that the *-m-* was inserted secondarily to ease the pronunciation. Prenasalization is certainly not an unknown phenomenon (see e.g. Flemming 2005: 165f; Ohala 1983: 200f), though it is true that it tends to occur before voiced stops rather than unvoiced ones; cf. nonetheless the phonetically quite similar Arom. *pampore* ‘vapour’, Bulg. *вaмнóръ* id. < It. *vapore* id. (Mladenov 1941). Similarly Serb.dial. *tâmbor* ‘camp’ (Karadžić 1935 s.v. *tâbor*; see also

Németh 2014 for the history of the word), and perhaps also Mac.dial. *fambrika*, *junguslavija* | Rom. *sâmbătă* ‘Saturday’, G *Samstag* id., Pers. *šanbe* id., &c. < Hebr. *šabbat* id. (see Şirin User 2010) | E *harbinger* < ME *harbergere*, -geour (Onions 1966)¹⁹ | Pol. *cmentarz* ‘cemetery’ (ca. 1500 *cmyntarz*) with the -n- inserted in Polish or borrowed together with the word itself from OF *cimentire* < Lat. *cimetarium* ~ *cimeterium* | Gk. *Τσιγγάρος* (-ng-) ‘Gypsy’ < Slav. *Cygan* id.²⁰ (< Tk.; Stachowski M. 2002: 160f).²¹

The phenomenon is of course irregular, but this might explain why Bulgarian has both shapes, with and without the nasal consonant. The apparent appeal of the -mb- sequence would be the reason why it is the shape with this addition that spread across the Southern Slavonic languages, not the other one.

Next, the excess -m- could be explained by resorting to folk etymology. We saw in 2.1 that our word raises more than one association with the Slavonic material. Perhaps Tk. **ōpyr* was reinterpreted by the Slavs in such a way as was suggested in 2.1.6, 2.1.9, or 2.1.15, and then its phonetic evolution simply proceeded as if it were a native word?

19 This is Onions’s flagship example where he collects references to all the other similar words. But actually, this particular word might be not so much a case of insertion of -m-, as of dissimilation of -ergere > -ingere.

20 This last example may prove to be irrelevant here. Gk. g > γ in most positions by the 2nd century BC, remaining unchanged only after a nasal consonant (Horrocks 2010: 170). When it came much later to rendering the Slavonic word *Cygan*, Greeks were effectively reduced to the choice between γ and ng (cf. also Arvaniti, Joseph 2004: 77), and may have settled for the latter simply because they found it sounded more like the etymon than the former.

21 Though attributed to a different phonetic mechanism, the insertion of -p- or -b- after a nasal consonant is also a not uncommon occurrence and, since it results in the same sequence, contributes to its frequency and hence, perceived attractiveness. Cf Serb.dial. *amberika* (Sawicka 2005) | Mac.dial. *mbleko* ‘milk’ | MG *zimber* ‘1. Wohnung; 2. Bauholz’ = OEng. *timber* ‘1. building, edifice; 2. building material, wood for building’ < PGerm. **temra-* ‘Bauholz’ (Kluge 2011; Onions 1966) | F *nombre* < Lat. *numerus* (Dauzat 1938) | G colloquial [kɔmpɪt] for *kommt* and [kɔmpst] for *kommst* (Ramers, Vater 1995: 51) or old *sampt* for *samt* (e.g. in a 1633 chalcography by Merian d.Ä.: “Wahre Bildnuß der Statt Maintz, sampt den newen Schantzen, Schiffbrucken und Leger [...]”; www.regionalgeschichte.net/rheinhausen/mainz/bilder.html). While there are also examples of dropping of a b in phonetically similar words, see e.g. Knüppel (2009) for the rather complex case of Ott. *tambur(a)* ~ *damur(a)* &c., they appear to be on the whole rarer, and do not anyway negate the existence of examples which support our case.

Lastly, Ragagnin (2013: 66) suggests that the Turkic etymon was not **ōp-* ‘to suck, to swallow, to greedily catch with mouth’ + aorist participle *-(V)r*, but the same verb with the deverbal nominal suffix *-gur*, i.e. **ōpkur*. This would ultimately yield on the southern path **vupkor* > **vapkir* > **vappir* > *vampir*. Ragagnin does not say so explicitly, but we understand from the context that she offers this reconstruction as a way to easier account for the *-m-*. It is theoretically possible but we are afraid that in fact explaining the loss of *-k-*, in all of the Slavonic reflexes, might prove even more difficult.

It is not possible to tell which of these possibilities is the most plausible. The first one appears to be better suited to the northern, Kipchak path; the second one to the southern, Chuvash path; the third one could have happened on both; the fourth would have to have partially happened on both. In theory, one might even imagine the first and the third, the second and the third, or perhaps even some other combination, happening simultaneously in approximately the same area. But for now this is fantasy. More Slavistic work is necessary.

2.4.5. Summary

The traditional, pagan burial of the Slavonic peoples typically involved cremation, but inhumation was also sometimes practiced. It is unlikely that the belief in vampires could take hold among the Slavs before the wide spread of the latter method (enforced together with Christianity). The terminus post quem should probably be set at the 9th century, which significantly weakens all of the native etymologies. A plausible terminus ante quem would be the 10th century. The 1047 attestation of *Оупиръ Лухъиу*, while chronologically possible, is more likely a misattribution. There are more serious reasons behind this view than merely the fact that it would be odd for a person to bear a name that means ‘vampire’.

(2.4.1) It does, nonetheless, seem that there are no traces of the word ever being used as a given name. (2.4.2) It was, however, used to describe people, possibly as a consequence of the belief that bodies of vampires were bulging, swollen with the blood they had drunk. This property of theirs might help explain the Polish dialectal shapes *wąpierz* &c. Otherwise, we would need to assume that a nasal element was inserted into our word twice, once by southern Slavs, and once probably by Poles. (2.4.3) We can think of four ways how and why such an insertion could occur but we lack a way to precisely evaluate these ideas. We can but suspect folk etymology to be a more plausible explanation than others (2.4.4)

3. Conclusions

The wide spread of the word *vampire* is a fairly late, 18th and 19th century development, due to alleged cases of vampirism which received considerable attention in German-speaking countries. The word itself is of Southern Slavonic origin, and eventually cognate to northern Slavonic shapes *upiór* and similar (although Pol. dial. *wąpierz* and others also exist). Originally, in the Slavonic folklore, the word referred to a much more gruesome creature than we picture today as a vampire, but which too was most probably a dead person who rose from the grave to harm the living in one way or another. (See 1.)

The word exists in the Slavonic languages in a great multitude of phonetic shapes which cannot be easily explained. More than seventeen etymologies have been proposed to interpret it as a native word (see 2.1), and more than five that assume a borrowing (2.2). Of the first group, we deem three to be more plausible than others (2.1.18), and of the second just one, in its newer and more complex version (2.2.7). As for the dating, the often cited attestation of 1047 appears to be a misattribution; a more plausible terminus post quem is the 9th century when Christianity is introduced to the Slavonic peoples together with a new burial custom (2.4.1). This dating is an important argument against all of the native solutions simultaneously, effectively leaving us with just the Turkic etymology. To account for the Slavonic phonetics, it needs to be supplemented with a nasal element added once or perhaps twice (2.4.3 and 2.4.4).

Overall, what appears to be the most probable history of the words *upiór* and *wampir* can be summarized in the following way: a reconstructed Proto-Turkic form **ōpyr* ‘that which sucks, that which swallows’ has reflexes in several Turkic languages; in particular, northern (Kipchak) shapes are similar to *opyr*, while southern (Bolghar) shapes are similar to *vābār*, all with meanings ‘evil spirit’ and alike. The northern shapes were borrowed by Eastern Slavs and transmitted to Western Slavs; the southern shapes by Bulgarians and transmitted to Southern Slavs.²² Both borrowings occurred most likely in the 9th or the 10th century. This was followed by the rise of forms with an unetymological *-m-* (*vampir* &c.) in the south, and possibly some internal borrowings between various Slavonic dialects. It seems rather probable, if unprovable, that folk etymology has more

22 Incidentally, Tk. **ōpyr* may likely also be the ultimate source of Russ. *vurdalak* ‘vampire, werewolf’ (Kajtoch [forthcoming]), but this word merits a separate study (in preparation).

than once altered the phonetic shapes. In this sense, both *upiór* and *wampir* – or perhaps only some of their cognates – can be viewed as simultaneously native and borrowings. This may sound like a cheap attempt at reconciling the opposing camps, but having two origins is not in fact a self-exclusive idea; see Laakso (2001) for examples and commentary. The entire scheme is illustrated in fig. 2.

The above does not mean that all Slavonic shapes have now been explained. Still unclear are such forms as Bulg.dial. *ljapír*, Cash. *nielâp*, *upôn*, *uopi*, &c. (see also fn. 4), Pol.dial. *lupirz*, *lupior*, *upierz* (Lublin area; Karłowicz 1900–1911: vol. 4: 32), *wąpierz* &c. (see also 2.4.3), SCr.dial. *lampijer*, and others. Many are probably no more than dialectal innovations, but for now we know of no way to verify this.

Gloria filioꝝ pater eoꝝ.
Gratias agimus Tibi!

Abbreviations and references

Arom. = Aromanian; **Avest.** = Avestan; **Bactr.** = Bactrian; **Blrs.** = Belorussian; **Bshk.** = Bashkir; **Bulg.** = Bulgarian; **CS** = Church Slavonic; **Cash.** = Cashubian; **Chuv.** = Chuvash; **Cz.** = Czech; **Dolg.** = Dolgan; **-E** = eastern; **E** = English; **F** = French; **G** = German; **Germ.** = Germanic; **Gk.** = Greek; **H-** = High; **Hebr.** = Hebrew; **Hung.** = Hungarian; **IE** = Indo-European; **Ir.** = Iranian; **It.** = Italian; **Kipch.** = Kipchak; **L-** = Low; **Lat.** = Latin; **Lith.** = Lithuanian; **M-** = Middle; **Mac.** = Macedonian; **-N** = northern; **N-** = New; **O-** = Old; **Ott.** = Ottoman Turkish; **P-** = Proto-; **Pers.** = Persian; **Plb.** = Polabian; **Pol.** = Polish; **Rom.** = Romanian; **Russ.** = Russian; **SCr.** = Serbo-Croat; **Serb.** = Serbian; **Skt.** = Sanskrit; **Slav.** = Slavonic; **Slk.** = Slovak; **Sln.** = Slovene; **Tat.** = Tatar; **Tkc.** = Turkic; **Tksh.** = Turkish; **Uigh.** = Uighur; **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **-W** = western; **Yak.** = Yakut

- AJK = *Atlas językowy Kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich, opracowany przez Zespół Zakładu Słowianoznawstwa PAN*. 1964. [vols. 1–2]. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk.
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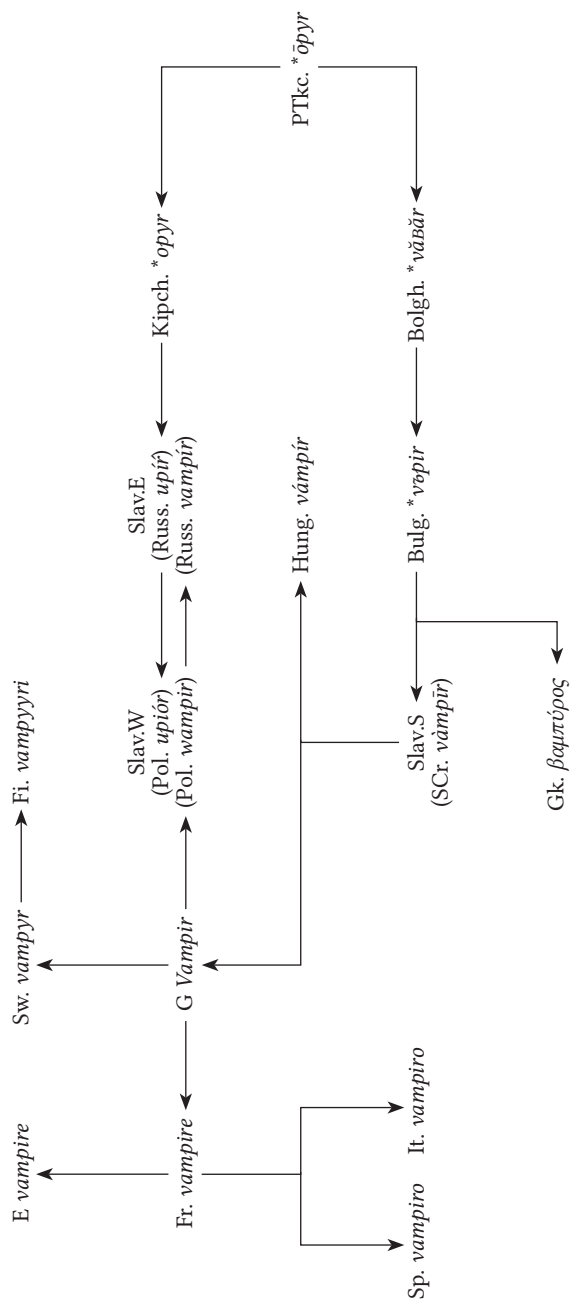


Figure 2. The most likely origin of *upiór* and *wampir*.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF TURKISH VOCABULARY

The paper is a selection of Turkish historical vocabulary, compiled in an effort to advocate the idea of a historical dictionary of Turkish borrowings in the languages of the Balkans and in Hungarian.

Ottoman Turkish, languages of the Balkans, Hungarian, loanwords

Turkish has a superb historical dictionary entitled *XIII. yüzyıldan beri Türkiye türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklariyle*, published by Türk Dil Kurumu in Ankara in the years 1963–1972 in six thick volumes comprising xci + 4814 pages. It was prepared based on 27 works written in the Arabic script. The cited material has been transliterated to the modern Latin alphabet, as used by contemporary Turks.

During the six centuries of their rule on the Balkan Peninsula and in Hungary (14th–19th cc.), Turks promoted their language among the Balkan peoples and Hungarians, resulting in a large number of Turkish borrowings in their respective languages. These words are fairly well known thanks to the efforts of researchers from those countries. One can only regret that a historical dictionary of Turkish borrowings in the Balkans and in Hungarian has not as yet been written. Such a work would surely be admirable as the Turkish material in those languages is rich, written clearly, and dated – a fact that I want to demonstrate with the following short, alphabetical list of selected words.



- abla**, abula (1680) 'soror, Constantinopoli sic vocatur, praesertim natu major' (ThLO 29); 'Soror autem maxima vocatur abula' (ThLO 308).
- adúm** (1533) 'uno passo'; *adùm* 'pedata' (Arg. 132); *adom* (1668) 'passus' (Ill. 149); *adim* (1790: adem) 'pas' (Vig. 412).
- agırsak** (1680: aghyrsak), *agırşak* (1680: aghyrs'ak) 'verticillum; Wirtel' (ThLO 301).
- agú** (1533: aghú) 'tossico; veneno' (Arg. 133); *agı* (1790: aghe) 'venin' (Vig. 453).
- altún**, altuncík (1533: alttún & alttungích) 'oro' (Arg. 136); *alton* (1544) 'aurum' (GrW 21); *altún* (1709) 'gold' (Vau. 78); *altın*, *altun* (1790: alten, altoun) 'or' (Vig. 410), 'pièce d'or' (Vig. 415), 'sequin' (Vig. 435).
- arakçın** (1533: arachcín) 'berettino di altra sorte' (Arg. 128); *arakçın* (1680: 'æ-raek'cín) 'pileus muliebris' (ThLO 3250); *arakçın* (1838: araktjin), *p. u.* (zénne takyési) 'coiffe des femmes' (Hd. 326).
- aydınlúk** (1533: aidenlúch) 'lune'; *aydanlúk* (1533: aidanlúch) 'la luce' (Arg. 141); *aydanlık* (1544: aidanlık) 'lunae lux' (GrW 20); *aydınlık* (1680: ajdinlyk) 'lumen, lux, fulgor, splendor; Liecht/Schein/Glantz/Blitz' (ThLO 587).
- azgún** (1533: axghún) 'saluatico homo cioe iroso & no alla mano' (Arg. 143); *azgun* (1680: azghun) 'exorbitans, devius, perditus, rebellis; der ueber die Schnur hauet / ab dem Weg ist / verlohrrer / auffstaenderisch' (ThLO 163); *azgun* (1879) 'Rebell' (R-Ost. 24).
- balúk** (1533: balúch) 'pesce' (Arg. 144); *balok* (1544) 'piscis' (GrW 20-3); *balık* (1680: balyk), *ferè baluk* 'piscis; Fisch' (ThLO 687); *balúk* (1709) 'a fish' (Vau. 81).
- başmak**: *Paşmak* (1533: pascimách) 'pianella' (Arg. 247); *paçmag* (1544: patsmagh, PAmag) 'sotularia' (GrW 23-8); *başmak* (1611: basmak) 'niskie buty, baczmagi' (RW. 174).
- *belesan**: *belasán* (1533: belassán) 'balsamo' (Arg. 148); *belesan* (1680: belesan) 'balsami arbor, seu frutex'; *belesan yağı* (belesan jaghy) 'Opobalsamum; balsamowy olejek' (ThLO 875).
- beygir**: *bergir* (1533: berghír) 'chuallo' (Arg. 149); *beygir* (1680: bejgir), vulg. 'equus' (ThLO 1004).
- bıçak** (1533: bicciách) 'coltello' (Arg. 152); *bıçağ* (1544: bitsag) 'culter' (GrW 23-9); *pçák* (1615: pciák) 'nož [Messer]' (Pas. 391).
- bogđáy** (1533: boghdái) 'frumento; grano' (Arg. 152); *bukday* (1611: bucdai) 'pszenica [Weizen]' (RW. 179); *buğday*, *bogđay* (1790: boughday, boghday) 'blé; froment' (Vig. 363, 387).
- çarşáf** (1533: ciarsciáff) 'lenzuolo' (Arg. 158); *çarçaf* (1641: ciarciaf) 'lenzuolo' (Mol. 231).
- çorba** (1603: tsorba) 'jus, jusculum; ein Bruee, Suppen' (ThP 1 760); *şorba*, *çorba* (1680: s'orba, ciorba) 'jusculum, offa, pulmentum non spissum; Suppe' (ThLO 2875).

- çömlék** (1533: cionmléch) 'pentola' (Arg. 162); **çülmek** (1544: tsulmek) 'olla' (GrW 23-9).
- degenék** (1533: deghienéch) 'bastone' (Arg. 167); **degeneg** (1544: deghenegh) 'baculus' (GrW 22-6).
- deniz**: **denís** (1533: degnís) 'mare' (Arg. 168); **denüz** (1544: denyuz) 'mare' (GrW 20:3); **degis** (1641: deghis) 'mare' (Mol. 245); **denyiz** (1672: denyiz) 'Meer' (NdH 214); **deniz** (1790: dènz) 'mer' (Vig. 77).
- ejder** = **azdağa** (1533: asdaghá, axdaghá) 'drago; Drache' (Arg. 143).
- eşder** (1641: esc=der) 'basilsco; dragone' (Mol. 68, 129); **ejder**, **ejderha** (1680: ejder, ejderha) 'draco; Drach' (ThLO 161); **ajder**, **acder** (1790: ajdèr, adjdèr) 'dragon' (Vig. 376).
- eşék** (1533: escék) 'asino' (Arg. 180); **eşek** (1680: ešek) 'asinus; Esel' (ThLO 241); **eşek** (1791: eschek) 'ane; nigaud; sot; stupide' (Pr. 192, 436, 539, 544).
- fayda**: **faydá** (1533: faidá) 'utile & guadagno', **faydá**, **faydacık** (faidá, & faidaggich) 'guadagno' (Arg. 182); **feyde** (1544: feide) 'lucrum' (GrW 22-4); **fayda** (1680: fajda) 'utilitas, commodum, fructus quem quis reportat, lucrum, emolumentum capere ex aliqua re' (ThLO 3460).
- fortúna** (1533) 'tempesta di mare' (Arg. 184); **denís furtunası** (1641: denghis furtunası) 'tempesta di mare' (Mol. 449).
- ***gömlek**: **yümlék** (1533: jumléch) 'chamiscia' (Arg. 191); **gümlek** (1544: gumlek) 'indusium' (GrW 23); **gömlek** (1680: g'ömlek) 'indusium, interula; Hembd' (ThLO 4088).
- gövde** (1533: ghiowdé) 'persona di homo, la persona dal ~ insu' (Arg. 190); **yögdé** (joghde) 'busto della persona' (Arg. 188); **gevde**, **gövde** (g'ewde, g'öwde) 'corpus; der Leib' (ThLO 4059).
- ***gümrük** = **gümbrük** (1533: ghiumbrúch) 'chomercio; doghana' (Arg. 191); **gümrük** (1641: ghiumruk) 'dogana' (Mol. 127); **gömrük** (1790: guieumruk) 'douane' (Vig. 376).
- ***güvercin**: **gügercín** (1533: ghiughergín) 'colombo'; **yügercín** (1533: jughergín) 'piccione' (Arg. 191).
- ***heybe**: **hegbe** (1533: cheeghbe) 'bisace' (Arg. 197); **hekbe** (1611: hekbhe) 'alforia' (RWr. 196).
- ***hoyrat** = **horyát** (1533: choriátt) 'contadino; rozo & uillano; villáno & cotadino; vile di conditione' (Arg. 200); **horyat**, **hoyrat** (1680: choriat, & chojrat) 'homo agrestis, malè moratus, rusticus; ein grober Kerl / Baur / Bauersmann' (ThLO 1970).
- hurma** = **hrumà** (1611: churmhá, chrumhá) 'datili; datilos' (RWr. 198).
- ıblık** (1533: jblích) 'chappone' (Arg. 205); **ıblık**, vulg. **ımlık** (1680: iblyk, vulg. imlyk) 'capo; Cappaun' (ThLO 30).

- **irgat*** = *ergát* (1533: *erghátt*) ‘manouale; operaro’ (Arg. 206); *argat* (1544: *argath*) ‘mercenarius’ (GrW 21); *argát* (1615: *argáth*) ‘naiemnik [Tag-löhner]’ (Pasz. 390b); *irgad* (1680: *irghad*) ‘mercenarius, operarius pretio conductus; ein Tag-loehner / Tagwercker’ (ThLO 144).
- iskara***, *üskara* (1680: *iskarae*, *üskara*) ‘cracula; Rost’ (ThLO 215–216).
- **iskemle*** = *skemlí* (1533: *schiemlj*) ‘seggiola’ (Arg. 260); *eskemle* (1611: *èskemlhe*) ‘ławka, krzesło’ (RWr. 200); *skemblé* (1611: *scemblhe*, *schemblhè*, *schemblè*) ‘banca’ (RWr. 223).
- **kadın*** = *hatún* (1533: *chattún*) ‘una donna maritata; mogle’ (Arg. 196); *kadun* (1611: *cadun*) ‘senora’ (RWr. 201); *hatun* (1680: *chatun*), *aliàs barbarum*, vul. *kadün* ‘domina, matrona; Fraw/Haußfraw’ (ThLO 1830); *kadın*, *kadun* vulg. pro *chatun* ‘matrona, domina, materfamilias’ (ThLO 3577).
- **kağıt*** = *kehát* (1533: *chiehát*) ‘charta’; *kehát*, *kaget* (*chiehát* & *chiaghét*) ‘uno foglo’; *kehát* (*chiehát*) ‘lectera’ (Arg. 215); *kağıt* (1641: *kiaghit*) ‘lettera, che si manda’ (Mol. 232); *kağíd*, etiam *kağız* (1680: *k’aghyd*, etiam *k’aghyz*) ‘charta, & litera seu epistola’ (ThLO 3848).
- kanca*** (1680: *kangia*) ‘vncus, harpago’ (ThLO 3767); *kance* (*kange*) ‘vncus, harpago, manus; Hack/Klammer’ (ThLO 3600).
- kısrák*** (1533: *chesrák*) ‘chaualla’; *kıstrák* (1533: *chestrách*) ‘sterile bestia; ein unfruchtbares Tier’ (Arg. 219); *gisrak* (1611: *gisrac*) ‘yegua’ (RWr. 191); *kisrak* (1680: *kysrak*) ‘equa; ein Stutt / oder Gurr’ (ThLO 3694).
- liman*** (1680) ‘portus; Meerhaffen’ (ThLO 4219); *iliman* ‘portus, & littus; ein Schiff = Laende / Port und Gestatt’ (ThLO 405); *portus*; *Schiff* = *Laende Port / See-hafen*’ (ThLO 608).
- **loğusa*** = *lohosa* (1680: *lochosa*) ‘puerpera’ (ThLO 4205); *luhuse*, *lohosa* (1680: *luchuse*, *lochosa*) ‘puerpera; Kindbetterin’ (ThLO 4161).
- merdiven*** (1533: *merdiuén*) ‘scala’ (Arg. 232); *merdeban* (1641) ‘scala’ (Mol. 377); *merdüven* (1680: *merdüwen*) ‘scala; Leiter’ (ThLO 5160); *merdüban*, *merdüvan* (*merdüban*, *merdüwan*) ‘scala’ (ThLO 4567).
- **meşin*** = *meçim* (1533: *mecím*) ‘montanina quoio’ (Arg. 232); *meşin* (1680: *mesin*), etiam *mişin* (*misin*) ‘vervecinum corium; montonina, cuoio’ (ThLO 4690).
- mirza***, vul. *imirza* (1680: *mirza*, *imyrza*) ‘Princeps seu magni Domini filius, Eques, Baro, Comes; Figlio di Signor grande, Nobile, Caualliere, barone, Conte, Signore’ (ThLO 5071).
- nacák*** (1533: *naggiách*) ‘accetta’ (Arg. 237); 1641: *nacak* (*nagiak*) ‘accetta, cioè manara’ (Mol. 7); *nacak* (1680: *nagiak*) ‘malleus militaris’ (ThLO 5086); ‘malleus bellicus, securis manualis’ (ThLO 5142).

oltá (1533) ‘amo da pescare’ (Arg. 243); *olta*, vul. *volta* (1680: *wolta*) ‘hamus; Angel’ (ThLO 541).

***örs** = *ürs* (1533: *vrs*) ‘anchudine’ (Arg. 282); *örs* (1641: *orsz*) ‘ancudine, ouero incugine’ (Mol. 12); *ürs*, *örs* (1680) ‘incus; Amboß’ (ThLO 501); *örs* (1790: *eurs*) ‘enchume’ (Vig. 379); *örs* (1838: *éurs*) ‘enclume’ (Hd. 78).

***pabuç** = *babuç* (1533: *babúccj*) ‘scarpa’ (Arg. 143); *babuç* (1544) ‘calciamenta’ (GrW 23–8); *papuç* (1603: *paputsch*) ‘calceamentum, calceus; geschmierte Schuh’ (Meg. 1 198).

pazar = *bazar* (1533: *basár*) ‘mercato’ (Arg. 124); *bazar* (1603: *basar*) ‘forum, ein Marct’ (Meg. 1 562); *pasar*, *bazar* (1603: *passar*, *basar*) ‘nundinae; Maeß oder Jarmaerck’ (Meg. 2 134); *bazar*, *bazarluk* (1641: *basar*, *basarluk*) ‘mercato, cioè il mercantare’ (Mol. 252).

pegambér (1533: *peghambér*) ‘profeta’ (Arg. 247); *begamber* (1611) ‘propheta; propheto’ (RWr. 175); *pegember* (1641: *peghember*) ‘profeta’ (Mol. 321); *peyamber*, *pejgamber*, *pejgember* (1680: *pejamber*, *pejgamber*, *pejghaember*) ‘nuncius, apostolus, propheta’ (ThLO 968); *peygamber*, *peygember* (*pejghamber*, *pejghaember*) ‘propheta, apostolus; ein Prophet, ein Außleger und Verkuender des Willen Gottes’ (ThLO 998).

***pınar** = *buñar*, *bunar* (1533: *bugnar*) ‘fonte’; (*bunár*) ‘pozo’ (Arg. 155); *bınar*, *buñar*, *puñar* (1680: *bin-ar*, *bun-ar*, *pun-ar*) ‘fons, puteus, Brunn’ (ThLO 860, 1001); *puar* (1641: *puar*) ‘fontana, fonte’ (Mol. 151); *çeşme suyu* (*cesc=me sui*) ouero *puar sui* (*puar sui*) ‘acqua di fontana’ (Mol. 14); *pınar* (1790: *penar*) ‘source’ (Vig. 439).

pişkile, *bişkile* (1680: *pişk’ile* & *bişk’ile*) = *kapu kulabı* (*kapu kulabi*) ‘ansa, vel annulus portae, quo attrahunt; Handhabe der Thuer’ (ThLO 832).

***rençper** = *irençper* (1544: *irentsper*) ‘operarius’ (GrW 21–4); **irençper* (1641: *ireciper!*) ‘laborio’ (Mol. 225); *rençber* (*rengber*), *seu renç-per* (1680) ‘operarius, qui operi aut lucro faciendo laborem impendit, pec. mercator, & labore ac industria panem lucrans; Tagloehner/Kaufmann/Handwercksmann/Miedling’ (ThLO 2365); *rençber* (1790: *rèndjbèr*) ‘artisan’ (Vig. 360); *rençper*, *rençber* (*rèndjper*, *rèndjbèr*) ‘manouvrier, journalier; ouvrier’ (Vig. 401, 411).

resul (1533: *ressül*) ‘proféta’ (Arg. 251); *iresul* (1544: *irretsul*) ‘sanctus’ (GrW 21–4); *resul* (1680) ‘missus, nuntium, & epistolam perferens, Legatus, Apostolus, Propheta’ (ThLO 2315); *resul* (1790: *resoul*) ‘apotre’ (Vig. 359).

***sarmusak** = *saramsák* (1533: *saramsách*) ‘aglo’ (Arg. 255); *sarmusak* (1611: *sarmusac*, *sarmusak*) ‘allium’ (RWr. 221); *sarimsak* (1680: *sarymsak*) ‘allium’ (ThLO 2601, 2731, 2953), ‘allium; Knoblauch’ (ThLO 2916).

sümbül (1641: *sumbul*) ‘ghiacinto fiore’ (Mol. 162); *zümbül* (1641: *szumbul*) ‘moro’ (Mol. 263); *zümbül* (1790: *zumbul*) ‘hyacinthe’ (Vig. 391).

- *sünger** = sfüngér (1533: sfunghiér) ‘spugna’ (Arg. 259); *sünger* (1680: süng’er) ‘spongia; Schwamm’ (ThLO 2716).
- *şerbet** = şarbét (1533: sciarbét) ‘medicina [= Arzneimittel]’ (Arg. 267); *şerbet* (1680: şerbet) ‘potio, potiuncula, seu medicamentum, seu potio medicinalis, & syrupus, condimentum ex jure malorum citreorum & saccharo diluendum aqua ad potum, & ipse ille potus; Tranck/das Trincken/Medicament/Syrup/Sorbet’ (ThLO 2794).
- *takke** = takka (1533: tacchiá) ‘berretta’ (Arg. 270); *taka* (1544: takia) ‘biretum’ (GrW 23); *takya* (1680: taekjae) ‘pileus, mitra’; *demir takyası* (demyr takjasi) ‘cassis, galea ferrea; eisener Hut / Bickelhaub/Helm’ (ThLO 1329).
- *toz** = tos (1533: tos) ‘poluere’ (Arg. 277); *tuz* (1544: thuz) ‘pulvis’ (GrW 22); *toz* (1680) ‘pulvis; Staub’ (ThLO 1461).
- *ustura** = ustrá (1533: vstrá) ‘rasoio’ (Arg. 280); *ustra* (1611: vstra) ‘Scharfmesser’ (RWr. 230); *üstüre*, vul. *ustura* (1680) ‘novacula; Scheer = Messer’ (ThLO 187).
- üzengi** (1533: vsenghí) ‘staffa’ (Arg. 283); *üzengi*, *üzingi* (1611: usenghi, uzengi, usingi) ‘strzemię; espuela’ (RWr. 232); *üzengi*, *üzengü* (1680) ‘stapes; Steigbuegel/Stegreiff’ (ThLO 514).
- *yengeç** = engeç (1533: enghiéccj) ‘granchio’ (Arg. 179); *engeç* (1544: engets) ‘cancer’ (GrW 20–3); *yengeç*, *yenğec* (1680: jengⁱec, jen-gⁱec) ‘cancer, pec. fluvialis; etiam coelestis cancer’ (ThLO 5612); *lengeç* (1680: lengieg) ‘cammarus, cancer’ (ThLO 4200); *yengeç* (1790: yènguièch) ‘cancre’ (Vig. 365); *yengiç* (1791: yenguitsch) ‘écrévisse’ (Pr. 297).
- *yıldız** = yildús (1533: jldús) ‘stella’ (Arg. 294); *yulduz* (1544: iulduz) ‘stella’ (GrW 20–1); *yıldıs*, *yildus*, *yulduz* (1603: jildis, jildus, julduz) ‘stella; ein Stern’ (ThP 2 556); *ildıs* (1641: ildis) ‘stella’ (Mol. 431); *sayer yıldızler* (1641: saier ildisler) ‘stelle erranti’ (Mol. 431).
- yogúrt** (1533: joghúrt) ‘lact agro’ (Arg. 294); *yugurt* (1544: iugurt) ‘coagulatum’ (GrV 24); *yogurt* (1641: ioghurt) ‘gioncata’ (Mol. 163), ‘giungata’ (Mol. 165); *yogurd* (iogurd) ‘latte agro’ (Mol. 228).
- yumurta** (1544: iumurta) ‘ovum’ (GrW 24–9); *yumurta* (1641: iumurta) ‘ouo; vouo, ouo’ (Mol. 287, 488); *yumurté* (1709) ‘an egg’ (Vau. 103).
- zağár** (1533: xaghár) ‘braccho’ (Arg. 297); *zağar* (1680: zaghar) ‘canis ferarum odorator, vestigator; Jagthund/Spuerhund/Windspiel’ (ThLO 2449–2450).
- *zimpara** = sumpere, sumpara (1680) ‘smiris; Schmergel’ (ThLO 3012); *sonpara* (1879) ‘Schmergel’ (R.-Ost. 416); *zimpara*, *sompara* (1879: zympara, sompara) ‘Schmirgel’ (R.-Ost. 552).
- zincír** (1533: singír) ‘chatena’ (Arg. 299); *zencir* (1641; szengir) ‘catena’ (Mol. 84); *sencir* (1791: sendschir) ‘chaine’ (Pr. 234).

zurnapa (1641: surnapa) ‘giraffa animale’ (Mol. 164); **sürnapa** (1680), vulg. **zurnapa** (1680) ‘camelopardalis; Rennthier; wielbłądoryś’ (ThLO 2602, 2484); **zürnapa**, **zürnēpa**, vulg. ‘camelopardalis’ (ThLO 2443); **zūrafe**, **surnapa**, **zürnapa** (1879) ‘Giraffe’ (R.-Ost. 551).
zümürüt (1533: xumrút) ‘smaragd’ (Arg. 300); **izmürüt** (1533: jsmurútt) ‘smaragd’ (Arg. 205); **zimürüt** (1611: simurúth, simuruth) ‘esmeraldo’ (RWr. 238).

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NEUE BEITRÄGE ZUM SIBE-WORTSCHATZ*

The present author's Sibe–German dictionary published in 1990 is still the most exhaustive list of Sibe contemporary lexicography. Nevertheless, the growing number of Sibe publications requests a continuous “binging up-to-date”, based on bilingual Sibe–Chinese parallel editions. The richest sources are journals and newspapers like *Sibe šuwen* and *Cabcal serkin*, which have been analysed for the present list.

Sibe language, Sibe lexicography

acalasun ‘Kompositum’
afahari ‘Los’
afan bogogonggo ‘strategisch’
afan weilengge ‘Kriegsverbrecher’
aituhūn ‘Wildschwein’
akdulan ‘Garantie’
aktifu ‘aktiv’
ala ‘freies Land, freies Feld’
alhūdasun ‘lautnachahmendes Wort’
alibumbi ‘widmen’

alibun ‘Beitrag’
alin-i gaiha ‘auf halber Bergeshöhe’
alkūn dosimbi ‘gehen lernen’
alkūn tašarambi ‘ausgleiten, stolpern,
einen Fehltritt machen’
amalasun ‘Schlusswort’
amarambi ‘Pause machen, Rast machen’
ambarabungga buleku ‘Vergrößerungs-
glas, Lupe’
amga ‘zukünftig (< *amaga*)’

* Als Ergänzung zum *Taschenwörterbuch Sibemandschurisch-Deutsch* des Autors, Wiesbaden 1990, Harrassowitz Verlag.

- amgara etuku* 'Schlafanzug, Pyjama'
amila 'männlich, öffentlich, gemeinschaftlich'
anahūnjangga holbosun 'konzessives Bindewort ~ Konjunktion'
angga cira 'rechthaberisch, eigensinnig'
angga dambi 'jn. unterbrechen, jm. ins Wort fallen'
angga sonjombi 'Speisen auswählen; Übelkeit empfinden (während der Schwangerschaft)'
angga targambi 'fasten'
angga-i dasikū 'Mundschutz, Atemmaske'
angga-i ejebun 'Aussage, Geständnis'
angga-i ici gisurembi 'ins Blaue hinein reden'
angtarambi 'iahen'
aniya haran 'Fieberkrankheiten'
arambi 'jn. Gesellschaft leisten; Selbstmord verüben; übergeben'
aramtucibum 'Produktion, Herstellung'
aramtucibusu 'Produkt, Erzeugnis'
aran 'Schaffen, Herstellung, Realisierung'
arasu 'literarisches Werk'
arbun 'Lage, Situation'
arbun muru 'Lage, Situation'
aššasun 'Verb'
ata 'Wille, Willenskraft, Ehrgeiz'
bailembi 'gern tun, sich freuen'
bakcilasun 'Objekt, Satzergänzung'
bakcin ucun 'Wechselgesang'
bakcingga icihin 'Objektfall'
baksangga ficakū 'Musikinstrument Sheng (Flöte aus 13 Röhren)'
baktambun 'Inhalt, Gehalt; Selbstbeherrschung; Selbstkontrolle'
banin feten 'Beschaffenheit, Wesen'
banjirman 'Hygiene'
banjirsu 'Lebewesen'
banjitan 'Natur'
bargiyahan 'Ernte'
barun 'Jahrestag'
barunggi 'Zeitperiode, Zyklus, Tag der Woche'
bazar 'Markt'
beilembi 'tanzen'
beilen 'Tanz'
bejilehe gisun 'Sprichwort, Metapher, Anekdote'
bengse 'plötzlich, heftig'
bethei mumuhu 'Fußball'
beye dasangga siyan 'autonomer Distrikt'
bilheri 'Geisterwelt, Unterwelt'
biter '(Haut) Flecken'
bithetu 'einfache ~ zweifache doppel-eckige chinesische Klammer'
bodon 'Überlegung'
boo gašan 'Geburtsort, Heimatdorf'
buha 'großer Kanal'
bujan weji 'Dschungel'
buyecuke hūmangga 'romantisch'
cangse 'Fabrik'
cawal 'Teetasse'
ceng seme 'steinhart'
cihū 'Kanne, Kessel'
cohotoshūn 'Charakteristik, Merkmal'
cokišambi 'aufspießen'
congšombi 'zusammenstoßen'
cu niru 'Rakete (klass. 'Brandpfeil')'
cukcarhan 'Eidechse, Gecko'
dabkūri 'schwanger'
dambagu gocimbi '(Tabak) rauchen'
dang wei 'Parteikomitee'
daruhai 'gewöhnlich, alltäglich'

dasan be kadalara dang 'Regierungspartei'
datengge mudan 'Vokal'
De ij'i lian bang gungheg'o 'Bundesrepublik Deutschland'
dendetu 'Strichpunkt'
dianzi 'Elektron'
doksin 'Sturm'
dursulen 'Form'
edun boljon 'Affäre, Zwischenfall'
ergi 'Hinsicht, Aspekt'
faksalambi 'analysieren; platzen, brechen, bersten'
faksimbi 'zerkleinern, zermalmen'
fangšan 'Dach'
fangšan jafambi 'Dach decken'
far far 'aufgeregt, nervös'
fonjitu 'Fragezeichen'
forohon 'Orientierung'
fukjilen 'Realisation, Erschaffung'
funcetu 'Fortführungspunkte (...)'
gabtasi '(Bogen)schütze'
gakda yarutu 'einfaches chinesisches Anführungszeichen'
ganayongga 'seltsam, außergewöhnlich'
gercilen 'Straftat, Vergehen'
gesbun 'Hauptwort'
gingsicun 'rezitatives Gedicht, Singgedicht'
gisutun 'Name, Bezeichnung'
gocimbi 'einatmen'
gocire wehe 'Magnetstein, Magnet'
göldun boo 'Brautgemach'
gupiyoo 'Aktie'
gus 'Pfeil'
guwanggan 'Glücksspieler'
guwazal 'Samen, Kern'
hacin duwali 'Typ'

haksan 'gefährliche Stelle ~ Lage, Hindernis'
halhün girin 'Tropen'
hali 'süßlich, schmackhaft'
hangkarambi 'lauthals lachen'
hasha 'Schere'
hashalambi 'schneiden, abschneiden'
haši (~ has) boo 'Vorratskammer'
hasita 'doch noch, nichtsdestoweniger, trotzdem'
helmešembi 'verfilmen'
hiyei hū (< xiehu) 'Gecko (= *cukcarhan ~ micurgan*)'
hohonoho 'Puppe (der Schmetterlinge usw.)'
hūlhame gaimbi 'ein Plagiat schreiben'
hūlhame sarkiyambi 'ein Plagiat begehen'
hūmabumbi 'faszinieren, fesseln, entzücken, bezaubern'
hūmangga 'Charme, Liebreiz'
hūwašabun 'Erziehung'
huwekiyembun 'Aufmunterung, Ansporn'
ice niyalma 'Braut/Bräutigam'
icihin 'Norm, Muster; Kasus'
iletun 'Vorbild, Beispiel'
iletusaka 'offenkundig, sichtbar, unverkennbar, ganz klar'
iliburan 'Aufbau'
inli 'Mondkalender'
irkeldek 'Name eines Tanzes'
ishunde hebešembi 'diskutieren'
jebkelembi 'vorbeugen, verhüten, kurieren, behandeln'
jengz'e 'Politik'
jisuwanji 'Computer'
joolambi 'fotografieren, filmen'
joritu 'Gedankenstrich'

junggin 'prächtig, glänzend'
juru tongki 'Doppelpunkt'
juru yarutu 'doppeltes chinesisches Anführungszeichen'
jusi 'Vorsitzende'
juwanjiyan 'Software'
k'otacimsi 'Wissenschaftler'
kedurembi 'reisen'
kelembi 'eingravieren'
kemneku 'Norm, Standard, Kriterium'
kemuhengge obumbi 'zur Norm machen, standardisieren'
kemun 'Massstan, Grenze Norm, Regel, Standard'
komsoton uksura 'Nationale ~ ethnische Minderheit'
kordu 'Stachel, stechen'
kungge nimeku 'Wassersuch'
lak lak 'klebrig, schleimig'
lalambi 'Hunger leiden/haben / hung-rig sein'
large 'Maulwurfsgrille'
latumbi 'sich nähern'
lehembi 'nacheilen, verfolgen'
lekterembi 'zerzausen'
lioi 'Aluminium'
madambi 'anschwellen'
maktacambi 'propagieren, verbreiten'
mašari 'Experte, Spezialist'
merkin 'Rückblick, Rückschau'
micihiyarambi 'flüchtig ~ oberflächlich sein, tun'
micurgan 'Gecko'
mincihiyarambi 'etwas in kleinem ~ bescheidenem Umfang verrichten, tun'
moksojombi 'brechen'
mudaniye 'konsonantischer Anlaut'

muke hukšere nimeku 'Wassersucht'
naz'ui 'Nazi'
nei fongge 'Modernisierung'
nemusu 'Mineralien, Bodenschätze'
nijumbi 'einreiben, (eine Salbe) auftragen'
nirugan-i mašari 'Kunstmaler'
niyere 'schwach, kraftlos; abgezehrt, dünn'
oforo niyama nimeku 'Sinusitis'
olji 'auf unehrliche Weise erhaltener Reichtum'
omog'onggo 'humoristisch'
omog'onggo gisun 'Witz'
oorin sukdun 'Geist, Sinn, Kern'
pijio 'Bier'
pile 'schurkisch, schuftig, gemein'
saišacuka ucun 'Loblied, Ode'
sak'anambi 'hängen, haften'
saltarambi 'auseinanderhalten, trennen'
šan ijishūn "dem Ohr gefällig" = "60 Jahre" (< chin. *ershun* [s. Konfuzius: "mit 60 Jahren ein für die Wahrheit offenes Ohr haben"])
selejen (< *selei ejen*) 'Magnet'
sencehelembi 'Rinder am Nasenpflock führen'
seremšeku jungken 'Alarmglocke'
serenembi 'glühen'
serhembi 'erwachen, ausnüchtern'
sertembi 'mit Metall überziehen, plattieren'
serulen 'Verwunderung, Erstaunen'
sibere (< *siberi*) 'Schweiß'
sibkin 'Forschung, Untersuchung'
somingga gisun 'zweigliedriges Sprichwort, xiehouyu'
songgokū 'Schreihals'

šošoho gisun 'Resümee, Zusammenfassung'

šu genggiyen 'Zivilisation, Kultur'

šuji '(Partei)sekretär'

sukdušembi 'wütend werden; vor Zorn toben; Ärger Luft machen'

sure mergen badaran 'Intelligenz, Verstand, Auffassungsvermögen, geistige Fähigkeit'

sure(n)tu 'Ausrufezeichen'

tacibun 'Lehre, Unterricht'

tacihasi 'Gelehrter, Forscher'

tak seme 'hart, fest, solid'

taka 'runde ~ eckige Klammer'

targan 'Warnung'

temšendun 'Kampf, Ringen'

tilembi 'heben, hochheben, tragen'

tiwenlembi 'fragen'

torgitu 'Beistrich'

tosi 'chinesischer Beistrich'

tuksicuke arbun 'Krise'

tulfambi 'herausgeben, erscheinen; gebären'

tusali 'Einfluss, Wirkung'

tuteng 'Totem'

tuwakūn 'Verständnis'

tuyembun 'Miene, Gefühlsausdruck; Benehmen, Auftreten, Gebaren'

ujulasi 'Hauptfigur, Held'

uraniye 'einfacher/zusammengesetzter Vokal (einer chinesischen Silbe)'

urgulembi 'feiern'

urumbi 'ernten'

ušabun 'Keimen'

yanggel 'Yangge-Volkstanz'

yargiyashūn 'Praxis, Realität'

yarsi dambaku 'Opium'

yarutu 'Anführungszeichen'

yokto 'Bedeutung, Sinn'

yoo nimeku 'Malaria'



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PERFECTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

The paper is an attempt to capture the particular properties of the notion of “perfection”, with regard to the classical language of the Tanach where as many as six highly polysemous roots refer to it. They constitute a typical, Wittgensteinian family of meanings connected in a refined way through familial similarity. There is no single, superior semantic criterion that would allow all of these six roots to occur in the same contexts, a shared sense characteristic for them and them only (a sufficient condition). There is also no conceptual indicator that would set the boundary between the senses of utterances constituted by these roots, and the senses of utterances in which they do not feature. Combined with a positive criterion, the semantic negative criterion (a necessary condition) is the reason why this entire family of meanings has an obviously open character, a fact which is confirmed by a detailed analysis of utterances constituted by formations generated by these six roots.

family of meanings, six Hebrew roots, four operative terms

Perfection, like holiness, truthfulness, goodness, beauty, and justice, is one of those grand ideas whose footprints are visible throughout the entire history of European culture. They draw attention to themselves, and they become the centres of various theories. However, perfection is different from the others. Though numerous and of great intellectual import (Tatarkiewicz 1976), deliberations on perfection have not produced a separate branch of culture that would be closely linked to any doctrine, science, or practice, as was the case with those other ideas. Truth, knowledge, and wisdom have become the foundation of not only ontology and epistemology, but of science as a whole. Goodness is the core of morality and

ethics, beauty the heart of art and aesthetics, and holiness with sacrum are the essence of religion and theology. Law centres around the notion of justice, as do custom and politics. Perfection lends its presence to each of those domains and colours them with the specific hue of its own theories and involvement that is individual, but consistent with the adopted framing. Perfection has even seeped into the commonness, in the form of an extreme superlative.

This paper attempts to capture the particular qualities of the notion of perfection, in relation to the classical language of the Tanakh where it is linked to as many as six different roots: שלם ŠLM, מלע ML^c, כלה KL(H); תמם T(aw)MM; כלל KLL; שופ S(amek)W(aw)P.¹ I support the sentence theory of sense but I also assign a high explicative potential to context, though I admit it does not have categorical explanatory power. Context does not explain the sense; it makes it possible. Paul Ricœur writes:

Most of our words are polysemic; they have more than one meaning. But it is the contextual function of discourse to screen, so to speak, the polysemy of our words and to reduce the plurality of possible interpretations, the ambiguity of discourse resulting from the unscreened polysemy of the words. (Ricœur 1976: 17)

Fragments excerpted from the Tanakh confirm that the roots listed above have the ability to constitute a single, subtly complex meaning. They are a typical Wittgensteinian family of meanings (Wittgenstein 1972: 66, 69–71) linked through familial similarity (a reflexive and symmetric, but intransitive relation). There is not one, superior semantic criterion that would allow those six separate roots to occur in common contexts, that would be at the same time a shared sense possessed by all of them and them alone (a sufficient condition). There also does

1 I am far from judging the existing translations. I admire all the hermeneutical efforts at apprehending the inapprehensible, expressing the inexpressible, and disambiguating the ambiguous. I use the Internet edition of the Tanakh (www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/ptoo.htm) and of the King James Bible (www.kingjamesbibleonline.org), the text of the Vulgate from the same website, and the Latin abbreviations of the books of the Bible. I have adopted a simplified phonetic transcription of the Hebrew script; <ʾ> denotes an *aleph* (so-called *spiritus lenis*), <ʿ> is for *ayin* (*spiritus asper*). Silent *he* at the end of the word or root is written in parentheses. I signal the difference between *s* spelt with a *samekh* and that spelt with a *sin*, *t* with *tet* and with *tav*, *v* with *vav* and with *bet* (in some positions), and between *h* spelt with *hei*, with *chet*, and with *chaf* (in some positions). I transcribe *tzadi* as <c>. The discussed roots and their translations are marked in grey.

not exist a conceptual indicator that would determine the boundary between, on the one hand, the senses of utterances featuring those roots, and on the other, the senses of utterances in which they are not present. Combined with the positive criterion, the semantic negative criterion (a necessary condition) is the reason for the entire family of meanings to have the conspicuous character of an open structure. These six roots are featured in a series of separate constellations of utterances. Each of them possesses certain semantic properties that it shares with other, though not necessarily all of the other groups (Pawłowski 1978). As a result of all this, utterances marked by expressions derived from one of our six roots do not form a loose group, but a family of meanings refinedly tied together by similarity.

In linguistic research, Said's orientalism (Said 2005) takes the shape of European instruments and semantic categories characteristic of Europe. I want to avoid this danger, at least partially, and so I will try to take a quasi-neutral stance and adopt as a *tertium comparationis* the traditional, albeit also European, language of science which is Latin. When it comes to the Hebrew language itself as research material, and not a translation which, good as it may be, always does pauperize the original, one should expect the findings to be different from the previous ones (Czajkowski 2002; Matuszczyk 2002), and to enrich our reception of the timeless Text.

All of the polysemous roots from the family of perfection represent, among others, at least one of the synonymous semantic indicators. However, there does not exist one root that would encompass them all, and whose meaning they would exhaust. ABSOLUTIO, FINIS, PERFECTIO, and INTEGRITAS will act as operative terms. They are not imposed by my own views on perfection, perhaps enriched by what I have read; they have been excerpted from dictionary definitions of the appropriate Hebrew roots, as the ones that occur most frequently (Leopold 1878). I disregard their semantic richness, their ambiguity, and the overlapping of fields. With the help of dictionaries, let me elucidate their semantic properties to turn them into useful tools of analysis.

ABSOLUTIO – entirety, independence, complete lack of conditions or burdens, and processes and actions leading to this. Metaphorical pictures: paying off debt, absolution of sins.

FINIS – end, borderline, a specified, final goal, an idea brought to completion, a finished work being the effect of planned processes or actions. Metaphorical pictures: cutting a tree (the end of its growth and life), topping out a building.

- PERFECTIO – bringing a process or action to fruition in the ideal way, and the achieved exemplary, “best of the best” state of affairs, accomplishment, realization, adaptation to a specific function, without defects or flaws. Metaphorical pictures: hitting the bull’s eye with an arrow, filling a vessel with water.
- INTEGRITAS – good, unblemished, unimpaired, intact, tight, exhaustive and impeccable, complete, satiated state of affairs, and processes and actions leading to it. Metaphorical pictures: filling a tooth, plastering a hole in a wall.

	שׁוּפ	כָּלֵל	שְׁלֹמֶה	כֹּלֵה	תָּמַם	מְלֵעַ
ABSOLUTIO	–	+	+	+	+	–
FINIS	+	–	–	+	+	+
PERFECTIO	–	+	–	–	+	+
INTEGRITAS	–	–	+	–	–	+

In light of the research, the semantically “richest” terms are מְלֵעַ ML¹ and תָּמַם T(aw)MM, while the “poorest” is שׁוּפ S(amek)W(aw)P. Its link to the rest of the family is the weakest; so much so that one would be even justified to doubt that it is indeed its member. The most closely linked by their properties are ABSOLUTIO and FINIS. There are no sibling roots in this six-element family, and hence also no quasi-synonymous formations with identical semantic properties – although expressions based on these roots do occur more than once in highly similar contexts. This kind of situation does not allow any of the analysed roots to be designated the “best specimen”, a representative of the entire group, even though there is the “worst specimen”. It also explains the ambiguity of all the utterances that feature the roots in question; the existing choice of an appropriate translation is most commonly only sanctioned by tradition. One example of this is the blessing that G-d spoke over people he had created:

פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ (מְלֵא) אֶת-הָאָרֶץ ... *crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram* ...; ... *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth*...; (Gn 1,28), which can just as well be translated in less sexual ways, e.g. ecologically or in an eschatologico-integrative way: ... *Be fruitful, and multiply, and bring the Earth to perfection*. ... *Bear fruits, be a multitude, and bring the Earth to abundance*, or an eschatological-integrative one: ... *Be prolific, create plenitude, and bring the Earth to unity*.

Four roots include the property of ABSOLUTIO. It emerges in the following contexts:

תמם

גם מזדים, חשך עבדך-- אל-ימשלו-בי אז **איתם** ונקיתי, מפשע רב

*a superbis quoque libera servum tuum si non fuerint dominati mei tunc **inmaculatus** ero et mundabor a delicto maximo; Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous [sins]; let them not have dominion over me: then shall I be upright, and I shall be **innocent** from the great transgression.* (Ps 19,18; 14,13)

כלה

ובשנת אחת, לכוּרש מלך פרס, **לכלות** דבר-יהוה, מפּי ירמיה: העיר יהוה, את-רוח כרש מלך-פרס, ויצבר-קול בכל-מלכותו, וגם-במכתב לאמר

*in anno primo Cyri regis Persarum **ut conpleretur** verbum Domini ex ore Hieremiae suscitavit Dominus spiritum Cyri regis Persarum et transduxit vocem in universo regno suo etiam per scripturam dicens; Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah **might be fulfilled** the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and [put it] also in writing, saying; (Est 1,1; 2 C 36,22)*

מלע

האמר לכוּרש רעי, וכל-הפציי **ישראל**; ולאמר לירושלם תבנה, והיכל תוסד.

*qui dico Cyro pastor meus es et omnem voluntatem meam **conplebis** qui dico Hierusalem aedificaberis et templo fundaberis.; That saith of Cyrus, [He is] my shepherd, and **shall perform** all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.* (Jes 44,28)

כלל

ויצא לך שם בגוים, בפיפך: כי **כליל** הוא, בהדריו אשר-שמתיו עליך--נאם, אדני יהוה.

*et egressum est nomen tuum in gentes propter speciem tuam quia **perfecta eras** in decore meo quem posueram super te dicit Dominus Deus; And thy renown went forth among the heathen for thy beauty: for it [was] **perfect** through my comeliness, which I had put upon thee, saith the Lord GOD.* (Ez 16,14).

Those utterances, in which the semantically ambiguous property of FINIS emerges, both in the meaning of a positive and of a negative result (coming into existence versus annihilation, destruction), are founded on three roots. One of them, מלע ML^c, is unequivocally positive.

מלע

נוכל אלהים ביום השביעי, מלאכתו אשר עשה; וישבת ביום השביעי, מכל-מלאכתו אשר עשה

***conplevitque** Deus die septimo opus suum quod fecerat et requievit die septimo ab universo opere quod patrarat.; And on the seventh day God **ended** his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.* (Gn 2,2)

תמם הפקנים נשאי הארון, עמדים בתוך הירדן, עד **תם** כל-הדבר אשר-צנה יהנה את-יהושע; לדבר אל-העם, ככל אשר-צנה משה את-יהושע; נימקרו העם, ויעברו

*sacerdotes autem qui portabant arcam stabant in Iordanis medio donec omnia **conplerentur** quae Iosue ut loqueretur ad populum praeceperat Dominus et dixerat ei Moses festinavitque populus et transiit; For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until every thing **was finished** that the LORD commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua: and the people hastened and passed over. (Jos 4,10)*

תמם ויחר-אף יהנה, בישראל, וינעם במדבר, ארבעים שנה--עד-**תם** כל-הדור, העשה הרע, בעיני יהנה

*iratusque Dominus adversum Israhel circumduxit eum per desertum quadraginta annis donec **consumeretur** universa generatio quae fecerat malum in conspectu eius; And the LORD'S anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander in the wilderness forty years, until all the generation, that had done evil in the sight of the LORD, **was consumed**. (Nu 32,13)*

כלה ובשנה האחת עשרה בנרח בול, הוא החדש השמיני, **כלה** הבית, לכל-דבריו ולכל-משפטיו; ויבנהו, שבע שנים

*et in anno undecimo mense bul ipse est mensis octavus **perfecta est** domus in omni opere suo et in universis utensilibus aedificavitque eam annis septem; And in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which [is] the eighth month, **was** the house **finished** throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it. (1 K 6,38)*

מנשמת אלוה אבדו; ומרוח אפו יכלו **אסר** אדם ובהמה, **אסר** עור-השמים ודגי הים, והמכשלות, את-הרשעים; והכרתי את-האדם, מעל פני האדמה--נאם-יהנה.

אסר אסר **אסר** כל, מעל פני האדמה--נאם-יהנה. **אסר** אדם ובהמה, **אסר** עור-השמים ודגי הים, והמכשלות, את-הרשעים; והכרתי את-האדם, מעל פני האדמה--נאם-יהנה.

שופ

***congregans congregabo** omnia a facie terrae dicit Dominus **congregans** hominem et pecus **congregans** volatile caeli et pisces maris et ruinae impiorum erunt et disperdam homines a facie terrae dicit Dominus; I **will** utterly **consume** all [things] from off the land, saith the LORD. (3) I **will consume** man and beast; I **will consume** the fowls of the heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the stumblingblocks with the wicked; and I will cut off man from off the land, saith the LORD. (Ze 1,2-3)*

Also three roots realize the property of PERFECTIO, which dominates the European understanding of perfection and creatively continues the line initiated by Aristotle.

מלע

כִּי תִמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ, לְדַעַת אֶת-כְּבוֹד יְהוָה, כַּמַּיִם, יִכְסּוּ עַל-יָם

quia **replebitur** terra ut cognoscat gloriam Domini quasi aquae operientes mare; For the earth **shall be filled** with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea. (Ha 2,14)

תמם

הַצֹּר (תַּמִּים) פָּעֵלוֹ, כִּי כָל-דְּרָכָיו מִשְׁפָּט: אֵל אֱמוּנָה וְאֵין עָוֹל, צַדִּיק וְיֵשֶׁר הוּא

Dei **perfecta sunt** opera et omnes viae eius iudicia Deus fidelis et absque ulla iniquitate iustus et rectus; [He is] the Rock, his work [is] **perfect** for all his ways [are] judgment: a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right [is] he. (Dt 32,4)

כלל

וַיִּכְלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ, וְכָל-צָבָאָם

igitur **perfecti sunt** caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum; Thus the heavens and the earth **were finished** and all the host of them. (Gn 2,1)

INTEGRITAS is a semantic property that ensures a uniform entirety, fullness. Utterances which include the two roots that realize it, speak primarily of a lack of “empty spaces” and of their removal or non-existence.

מלע

וּבְרִיךְ, שֵׁם כְּבוֹדוֹ-- לְעוֹלָם: (וַיִּמְלֵא) כְּבוֹדוֹ, אֶת-כָּל הָאָרֶץ-- אָמֵן וְאָמֵן

et benedictum nomen gloriae eius in sempiternum et **implebitur** gloria eius universa terra amen amen.; And blessed [be] his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be **filled** [with] his glory. Amen, and Amen. (Ps 72,19)

שלם

וְתִשְׁלֵם, כָּל-הַמְּלָאכָה, אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, בֵּית יְהוָה; וַיָּבֵא שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת-קִדְשֵׁי דָוִד אֵבָיו, אֶת-הַכֶּסֶף וְאֶת-הַזָּהָב וְאֶת-הַכֵּלִים--נָתַן, בְּאֲצֻרוֹת בֵּית יְהוָה.

et **perfectit** omne opus quod faciebat Salomon in domo Domini et intulit quae sanctificaverat David pater suus argentum et aurum et vasa reposuitque in thesauris domus Domini; So **was ended** all the work that king Solomon made for the house of the LORD. And Solomon brought in the things which David his father had dedicated; [even] the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, did he put among the treasures of the house of the LORD. (1 K 7,51)

וְלֹד־אֲדֹנֵי חֶסֶד: כִּי-אַתָּה (תִּשְׁלַם) לְאִישׁ כְּמַעֲשָׂהוּ

et tibi Domine misericordia quia tu reddes unicuique secundum opus suum; Also unto thee, O Lord, [belongeth] mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work. (Ps 62,13)

Summing up the previous research, we may repeat that there does not exist in Biblical Hebrew one, compact notion of perfection. The idea is often expressed by several roots, highly dependent on the context, but without being the semantic determinant of either of them. To portray their meanings in greater detail, it will be also beneficial to focus on representations, collocations, and idiomatic expressions based on these roots, as they are rather contradictory to the images put forward by mother tongues. Some derivatives, both nomina and verba, along with idioms, are a living proof of the profound differences in the ways in which associative fields are built by Hebrew and by European languages, infiltrated as they are by the Aristotelian idea of perfectio. Others surprise us with similarities; however, further research is necessary to establish that they do not result from a common, if perhaps unconscious, and deeply cultural reception of the Bible in Europe.

The root מִלֵּעַ ML^c ‘to be full, complete, to fill (up), to fulfil’ is found in utterances that describe the filling of bottles with wine (Jer 13,12), the rising of the waters of Jordan (Jos 3,5), the filling of the earth with violence (Gn 6,13), the filling of the Lord’s sanctuary with the glory of YHWH, the fulfilling/ending of a specified time, e.g. the period of ritual purification after childbirth (Lv 12,4-6), the fulfilling of petitions (Ps 20,6), threats (2 C 36,21), predictions (1 K 8,15), and dreams (Da 2,5). Houses can be filled with good things (Hi 22,18) or with silver (Hi 3,15). Man can be full of wisdom, understanding, knowledge, and the ability to perform various works (1 K 7,14; Ex 31,5; 35,31; 35,35). He can also be fully, utterly obedient to G-d, as is expressed by an idiom that combines the intensive form of the verb of the analysed root with the plural substantive ‘end; twilight’ in the status constructus:

וְעַבְדִּי כָלֵב, עֶקֶב הָיְתָה רִיחַ אַחֲרָת עִמּוֹ, --(וַיִּמְלֵא, אַחֲרָי) --וַהֲבִיאֲתִיו, אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-בָּא שְׁמָהּ, וְזָרְעוּ, יִרְשֻׁנָּהּ.

servum meum Chaleb qui plenus alio spiritu secutus est me inducam in terram hanc quam circuevit et semen eius possidebit eam; But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it. (Nu 14,24)

Apart from this suitable fulfilment, the “finishing” of a (powerful) hand is a drawn bow:

וַיְהִי מִלֵּא יָדוֹ בַּקֶּשֶׁת. וַיִּךְ אֶת-יְהוֹרָם בֵּין זְרָעָיו, וַיֵּצֵא הַחֶצִי, מִלְּבוֹ; וַיִּכְרַע, בְּרֶכְבּוֹ.

porro Hieu *tetendit arcum manu* et percussit Ioram inter scapulas et egressa est sagitta per cor eius statimque corruit in curru suo; And Jehu *drew a bow with his full strength*, and smote Jehoram between his arms, and the arrow went out at his heart, and he sunk down in his chariot. (2 K 9,24)

The idea of a full hand, a hand filled for YHWH, and hence sanctified, is further related to the notions of sacrifice and consecration. A literal translation of the expression marked below, *thou shalt fill the hand of* (Aaron and the hand of his sons), is unquestionably an idiom; this is attested by the ungrammatical use of the word for 'hand' in the singular and in the status absolutus.

וַתִּגְדַּלְתָּ אֹתָם אֲבִנֵט אֶהָרֹן וּבָנָיו, וַחֲבִשֶׁת לָהֶם מִגְבָּעֹת, וְהִיתָה לָהֶם כֹּהֵנָה, לְחֻקַּת עוֹלָם; וּמִלֵּאֲתָם יָד-אֶהָרֹן, וַיִּד-בָּנָיו.

Aaron scilicet et liberos eius et inpones eis mitras eruntque sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua postquam *initiaueris manus eorum*; And thou shalt gird them with girdles; Aaron and his sons, and put the bonnets on them: and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute: and thou *shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons* (Ex 29,9)

The derivatives of the analysed root also include the nomen MiLLu'a(H) 'a gold setting of precious stones', which we find in the description of Aaron's luxurious priestly robes (Ex 28) that are trimmed, ultimately adorned with these stones.

וְהַטֹּר, הַרְבִּיעִי--תְּרִישׁ וְשֹׁהַם, וְיִשְׁפָּה; מִשְׁבָּצִים זָהָב יְהִיוּ, בְּמִלְּוֹאֲתָם

in quarto chrysolitus onychinus et berillus *inclusi* auro erunt per ordines suos; And the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they *shall be set* in gold in their inclosings. (Ex 28,20) [a description of Aaron's luxurious priestly robes]

Only partially similar to the above are the meanings with which the root תָּמַם TMM is endowed: on the one hand 'to be full, perfect, finished, ready, complete', and on the other 'to finish or be finished, to pass, to exhaust, to become extinct, to disappear'... The abstract noun ToM founded on this root co-exists in the utterance with the heart symbolizing the psyche in a much larger meaning than just the emotions, and most probably also the purity of intentions:

הֲלֹא הוּא אֶמְרִי-לִי אֲחֹתִי הוּא, וְהִיא-גַם-הוּא אֶמְרָה אֲחִי הוּא; בְּתָם-לִבִּי וּבְגִדְתִּי כִפִּי, עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת

nonne ipse dixit mihi soror mea est et ipsa ait frater meus est *in simplicitate cordis mei* et munditia manuum mearum feci hoc; Said he not unto me, She [is] my sister? and she, even she herself said, He [is] my brother: *in the integrity of my heart* and innocency of my hands have I done this. (Gn 20,5).

The next collocation is a connection with bones (lit. ... ‘dies with “full” bones’...) which, in my view, is not a general statement about happiness, but one about robust health.

זֶה--יָמוּת, בְּעֶצְמֹתָי תָּמּוּת, כִּלּוֹ, שְׁלֵאֲנָן וְשִׁלְיוֹ

iste moritur **robustus** *et sanus dives et felix; One dieth* **in his full strength**, *being wholly at ease and quiet.* (Hi 21,23)

But primarily, this root is the foundation of the idiomatic name of the oracle the High Priest had at his disposal. This is *Urim* and *Thummim* אֲוִרִים וְתוּמִים ‘light and perfection’. “Today, it is difficult to establish the exact character of those objects and how they were used. It has been speculated that *Urim* and *Thummim* meant ‘yes’ and ‘no’, respectively.” (Ryken et al. 1998: 1133). The Tanakh describes the process of casting lots in several places, e.g.:

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂאוּל, אֵל-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל--הִבָּה תָּמִים; וַיִּלְכֹּד יוֹנָתָן וְשְׂאוּל, וְהָעָם יָצְאוּ

et dixit Saul ad Dominum Deum Israhel **da indicium** *et deprehensus est Jonathan et Saul populus autem exivit; Therefore Saul said unto the LORD God of Israel, Give a perfect* [lot]. *And Saul and Jonathan were taken: but the people escaped.* (1 S 14,41)

The root כִּלָּה KLH(e) ‘to stop, to finish and be finished’ and, among others, ‘to weaken, to cease, to be lost, to die’ is the constitutive element of utterances describing how people lose heart, which can just as well be interpreted in a more naturalistic way, as ‘losing one’s breath’. E.g.:

מִהָרָע עֲנֵנִי, יְהוָה--כִּלְתָּהּ רֵיחִי.

אֵל-תַּסְתִּיר פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי; וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי, עִם-יָרְדֵי בּוֹר

cito exaudi me Domine **defecit** *spiritus meus ne abscondas faciem tuam a me et comparabor descendentibus in lacum; Hear me speedily, O LORD: my spirit* **faileth**; *hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit.* (Ps 143/142,7)

Beside the conspicuous abstractum KaLa(H) ‘destruction, annihilation, end’, another word based on the same root by way of a mysterious nominal formation is KaLLa(H) ‘young woman, bride, betrothed, daughter-in-law, etc.’. In the Book of Ruth, Noemi’s both daughters-in-law are called KaLLa(H). I am unable to show the path of the association: is it the period of childhood that has ended or femininity that has been fulfilled?

The root שָׁלַם ŠLM has a very different nature. Apart from general meanings such as ‘to be finished, to be fulfilled’, it carries in it the idea of a perfect, happy life among friends, in peace and safety, health and prosperity, harmony and accord; life with no unfinished or suspended business, with the debts paid off, promises fulfilled, the wrongs righted, and merits rewarded. The greeting “shalom” contains this entire complex of meanings. One of the most expressive Biblical blessings is this:

שְׁלוֹם שְׁלוֹם לְרֵחוֹק וּלְקָרוֹב

pacem pacem ei qui longe est et qui prope; Peace, peace to [him that is] far off, and to [him that is] near, (Jes 57,19)

The idea of a happy life is reinforced by the context in many utterances that contain other lexemes from this semantic field, e.g.:

חֲטָאִים, תִּרְדֹּף רָעָה; וְאֵת-צַדִּיקִים, יִשְׁלֹם-טוֹב

peccatores persequetur malum et iustis retribuentur bona; Evil pursueth sinners: but to the righteous good shall be repayed, (Pr 13,21)

It is also present in the rhetorical question in this utterance:

חָכֵם לֵבָב, וְאִמְיָן כֹּחַ-- מִי-הִקְשָׁה אֵלָיו, (וַיִּשְׁלֹם)

sapiens corde est et fortis robore quis restitit ei et pacem habuit? [He is] wise in heart, and mighty in strength: who hath hardened [himself] against him, and hath prospered? (Hi 9,4)

Further, the root ŠLM is realized by the nomina ŠeLeM ‘peace offering’, ŠiLLuM ‘retribution, retaliation, gift, bribe’, and the adjectival expression ŠaLeM ‘full, complete, finished, friendly and peacefully disposed’... A fossilized phrase appears here that is usually translated as ‘perfect heart’. Its meaning can be partially abstracted from a larger context:

וְאַתָּה שְׁלֹמֶה-בְּנִי דַע אֶת-אֱלֹהֵי אָבִיךָ וְעֲבַדְהוּ, (בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם) וּבְנַפֶּשׁ תִּפְצָה--כִּי כָל-לִבָּבוֹת דּוֹרֵשׁ יְהוָה, וְכָל-יֵצֶר מַחְשְׁבוֹת מִבֵּין: אִם-תִּזְרָשׁנוּ יִמְצָא לָךְ, וְאִם-תִּעְזֹבֵנוּ יִגְיִיחַךְ לְעַד.

tu autem Salomon fili mi scito Deum patris tui et servi ei corde perfecto et animo voluntario omnia enim corda scrutatur Dominus et universas mentium cogitationes intellegit si quaesieris eum invenies si autem dereliqueris illum proiciet te in aeternum; And thou, Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind: for the LORD searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever. (1 C 28,9)

ולשלמה בני, תן (לִבְּךָ שְׁלֵם) לשמור מצותיך, עדותיך וחקיך; ולעשות הכל, ולבנות הבירה
אשר-הכינותי

Salomoni quoque filio meo da **cor perfectum** ut custodiat mandata tua testimonia tua caerimonias tuas et faciat universa et aedificet aedem cuius in pensas paravi; And give unto Solomon my son a **perfect heart**, to keep thy commandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all [these things], and to build the palace, [for] the which I have made provision. (1 C 29,19)

The root כלל KLL is structurally related to כלה KL(H) and repeats, in a way, a part of its meanings: 'to make perfect, to fill'. It is the base of the nomen KaLiYL 'wholeness, fullness, perfection', and also the name of a sacrifice:

אז תחפץ זבחי-צדק, עולה וכליל
אז יעלו על-מזבחך פרים

tunc suscipies sacrificium iustitiae oblationes et **holocausta** tunc inponent super altare tuum vitulos; Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and **whole burnt offering**; then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar. (Ps 51,21(19))

Another typical usage of this nomen is adjectival. It emphasizes beauty, and especially that of conquered Jerusalem, pretty as a woman.

ספקו עליך כפים, כל-עברי דרך--שקרו ויגעו ראשם, על-בת ירושלים: הזאת העיר, שיאמרו
כלילת יפי--משוש, לכל-הארץ

plauserunt super te manibus omnes transeuntes per viam sibilaverunt et moverunt caput suum super filiam Hierusalem haecine est urbs dicentes **perfecti decoris** gaudium universae terrae All that pass by clap [their] hands at thee; they hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, [saying, Is] this the city that [men] call **The perfection of beauty**, The joy of the whole earth? (Lm 2,15)

The root שופ S(amek)W(aw)P is primarily related to 'elimination, finishing, destruction, perishing, looting, plundering', in general, 'the end'.

המתקדשים והמטהרים אל-הגנות, אחר אחד (אחת) בתנך, אכלי בשר הזזיר, והשקץ והעכבר--
יחדו יספו, נאם-יהוה

qui sanctificabantur et mundos se putabant in hortis post unam intrinsecus qui comedebant carnem suillam et abominationem et murem simul **consumuntur** dicit Dominus; They that sanctify themselves, and purify themselves in the gardens behind one [tree] in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, **shall be consumed** together, saith the LORD. (Jes 66,17)

It is realized in several nominal derivatives, such as:

- rearguard

וְאֵת-הַצִּפּוֹנִי אֲרַחֵק מֵעֵינֵיכֶם, וְהִדַּחְתִּיו אֶל-אֶרֶץ צִיָּה וּשְׁמָמָה--אֶת-פָּנָיו אֶל-הַיָּם הַקְּדָמִי, וְסִפּוֹ
אֶל-הַיָּם הָאֲחֵרִין; וְעָלָה בָאֵשׁ, וְתַעַל צִחָנָתוֹ--כִּי הִגְדִּיל, לַעֲשׂוֹת

*et eum qui ab aquilone est procul faciam a vobis et expellam eum in terram
inviām et desertam faciem eius contra mare orientale et extremum eius ad mare
novissimum et ascendet fetor eius et ascendet putredo eius quia superbe egit;
But I will remove far off from you the northern [army], and will drive him into
a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the east sea, and his hinder part
toward the utmost sea, and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come
up, because he hath done great things. (Jl 2,20)*

- reed, hence the Reed Sea, i.e. the Red Sea:

לְגִזֹּר (יָם-סוּף) לְגִזְרִים: כִּי לְעוֹלָם חֲסִדּוֹ

*qui divisit mare Rubrum in divisiones quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius; To him
which divided the Red sea into parts: for his mercy [endureth] for ever: (Ps 136,13)*

and

- extreme, desctructive phenomena such as storm, tempest, hurricane, gale:

לְאֻמִּים, כְּשֹׁאוֹן מִיָּם רַבִּים יִשְׁאוּן, וְגָעַר בּוֹ, וְנָס מִמֶּרְחֶק; וְרָדַף, כְּמַץ הָרִים לְפָנֵי-רוּחַ, וּכְגִלְגֹּל,
לְפָנֵי סוּפָה

*sonabunt populi sicut sonitus aquarum inundantium et increpabit eum et fugiet
procul et rapietur sicut pulvis montium a facie venti et sicut turbo coram tem-
pestate; The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters: but [God] shall
rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the
mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind. (Jes 17,13)*

Most of all, however, the nominal derivative is SOF ‘the definitive end: of a person – death (Koh 7,2), of a speech or book (Koh 12,13), or of a specific, geographically situated place, a valley (2 Ch 20,16)’. The idiom *from the head to the end* describes an absolute, perfect whole:

אֶת-הַכֹּל עָשָׂה, יָפָה בְּעֵתוֹ; גַּם אֶת-הָעֹלָם, נָתַן בְּלִבָּם--מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִמָּצָא הָאָדָם אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֶׂה
אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה הָאֱלֹהִים, (מֵרֵאשִׁית וְעַד-סוּף)

*cuncta fecit bona in tempore suo et mundum tradidit disputationi eorum ut non
inveniat homo opus quod operatus est Deus ab initio usque ad finem; He hath made
every [thing] beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no
man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end. (Ko 3,11)*

Objects marked with perfection, in one way or another, are mostly works of YHWH; dangerous natural phenomena, time (a period of time), the man together with his life and psyche (“heart”), certain objects (sacred utensils, the Temple, cities ...), words (vows, oaths), and sacrifices. Before reaching the end, they undergo a transformation.

I have not found an utterance in which YHWH himself would be endowed with any shade of perfection. An exception is the following passage containing a particle which is quite difficult to translate:

תָּמִים תְּהִיָּה, עִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

perfectus eris et absque macula cum Domino Deo tuo; Thou shalt be perfect with the LORD thy God.; (Dt 18,13)

Processes and states are expressed by nominal and, let us say, verbal formations which, according to some Hebraists, do not have temporalization immanently present in them. However, they can be intensified. According to the so-called paradox of perfection, an ideal, absolute finiteness, independence, or wholeness has, or should have, among its attributes the ability to improve; the morphology of Biblical Hebrew nullifies this. In general, a topic related to the notion of perfection is an excellent example of how morphology and syntax of an ethnic language creates entire structures of varying interpretations, causing paradoxes and even misunderstandings. If perfection is the state in which a specific phenomenon has full saturation, then the gradation of the adjective *perfect*, as e.g. in Polish *doskonalszy* ‘more perfect’, is “illogical”.² If it is the ideal state, unachievable from the human perspective, one to which nothing can be added or subtracted from, existing in some Platonic, atemporal and aspatial sphere, in G-d’s mind, in social awareness blurred by natural language, or even in the individual psyches of the members of a community linked by a single language, then it is “illogical” to aspectually improve anything, including oneself, and the only thing that is

- 2 Puzyrnyina (2002) considers dividing the notion of perfection into two separate meanings. She writes (Puzyrnyina 2002: 11): “Obecność superlativu wskazuje na to, że już wtedy [w staropolszczyźnie – K.T.] istnieje rozróżnienie doskonałości jako synonimu Boskiego Absolutu i doskonałości jako cechy stopniowalnej. Poza Bogiem, to, co doskonałe, może być tylko ‘bliskie absolutu’.” (The existence of a superlative indicates that already then [in Old Polish – K.T.] there was a distinction between *perfection* as a synonym of the Divine Absolute, and *perfection* as a gradable property. Apart from God, the perfect can only be ‘close to the absolute’.).

possible is to perfect (oneself), to strive for this state. If perfection is a natural property of some phenomena that they reach in their final stage through certain specific actions, then the transitive use of the active verb 'to perfect', together with its entire derivational family, becomes self-evident. A phenomenon that is being perfected, perfects itself, or even is perfect, once it reaches its final stage or goal; the ending is either the fulfillment of the assumed function, or its cessation, vanishing, disappearance.

I gave the name of perfection to the family of six polysemous Hebrew roots discussed here because it is this term that lies at the root of the similarity which emerges in different ways in the specific utterances based on these roots. The method I applied brings to mind the picture of a person gazing at the starlit sky who, without knowing of the constellations inherited from Egypt and Babylon, draws in his imagination lines between points of light, intentionally, in the fashion of Kant, and paints new patterns that only exist in his mind. But planets and stars exist in their space and time for real.

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TERMS FOR ‘PIG’ AND ‘WILD BOAR’ IN THE MANCHU LANGUAGE

In the culture of the Manchu people and peoples related to them an important role is played by the pig and the wild boar. Therefore, it is worth examining the Manchu vocabulary connected with these animals, especially that, so far, it has not drawn anybody’s attention. In the present paper the author deals with only a part of this vocabulary, albeit the most important: the names of the species (‘pig’, ‘wild boar’) and the names of individual animals determined by their shape and age. In search of their primary meaning and etymology the author brings material from many other languages, mainly Tungusic.

Manchu-Tungus, etymology, animal nomenclature, Suinae

First of all let me explain the reason why I have chosen this specific topic, as it might seem surprising to the readers. A few words are due about the role of the pig and the wild boar in the culture of peoples of ancient Manchuria.

For the oldest of them, the half-legendary Sushen and the historically attested Yilou,¹ pig farming was the basis of everyday economics. It provided them with skins, bristles, fat (which was used also as an ointment protecting their skin against

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- 1 As the Sushen, Chinese specifies the people who at the end of 3rd millennium BC lived somewhere in the region of the Bohai Gulf: in Manchuria, or the peninsula of Shandong. As for the Yilou, they lived in the first centuries of our era in central and northern Manchuria. Whether or not they were related to the Sushen is a contentious issue. Some sources state that they only occupied the Sushen lands.

the cold) and, of course, meat (Eberhard 1942: 29). As for cattle and horse breeding the peoples in question learned it only over time, from the steppe dwellers. However, agriculture, fishing and hunting were also of great significance for their lives. Unfortunately, we know little about hunters of ancient Manchuria but it is beyond any doubt that they often hunted for wild boar. In fact, this animal is (or was) common in the whole Korean-Manchu area.² Moreover, it is appreciated for its tasty meat.

The steppe dwellers briefly mentioned above were primarily the Xianbei, the alleged forefathers of Mongols. Between the 3rd and 4th centuries, they showed great mobility, some of their tribes expanding over Manchuria. The Yilou, the contemporary inhabitants of this country, turned out to have a weaker standing. First, they took over some elements of nomadic culture (such as cattle and horse breeding), and consequently, were almost assimilated by the newcomers. The results of this union were the peoples known to the Chinese as the Wuji and the Mohe.³ They exhibited many of the characteristics of nomads, but also showed those of the ancient Yilou. From the Mohe to the Manchus, all these peoples were famous for their cavalry. Nevertheless, just like the Yilou, they retained their sedentary way of life, with their economy based on agriculture and household farming.

And of course, among their breeding animals the pig was the one that came to the fore. Pigs provided food⁴ and clothing.⁵ Some of their bones served as amulets,⁶ and others were used as toys,⁷ while the pig itself was typically a sacrificial

2 Probably it was a sub-species called *Sus scrofa ussuricus*, a big animal with usually dark hair and a white band extending from the corners of the mouth to the ears (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wild_boar#Physical_description, accessed April 12, 2016.). But it is not unlikely that it was not a unique sub-species (cf. note 18).

3 The Wuji were a group of people that inhabited Manchuria in the 6th century. The Mohe people, who originated from the Wuji, are better known today and, although divided into tribes, they constituted an important community in the region (6th–8th century).

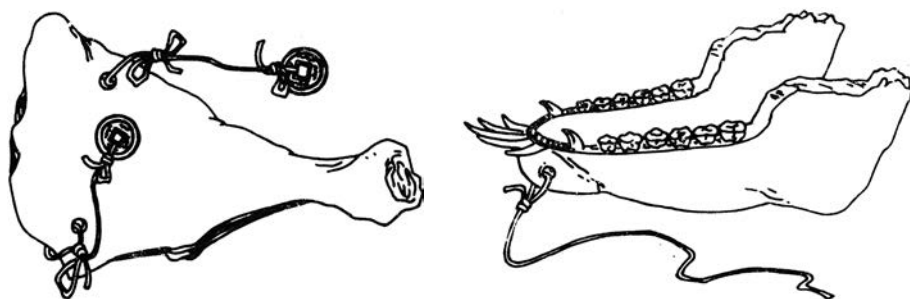
4 Pork was an important kind of meat par excellence for these people, which is confirmed even by the fact that out of 17 traditional dishes served during a Manchu wedding, pork constituted the main ingredient in as many as nine of them (Shirokogoroff 1924: 85).

5 The Mohe people are said to have worn headgear made from wild boar's tusks and, what is even more surprising, clothes made from pigskin. Sources provide similar information on the Yilou people (Eberhard 1942: 29; Šavkunov 1968: 33).

6 The Manchus and the related Golds (Nanai) hung a bone from the pig's skull over a child's cradle to make sure that the child would have a good memory. Moreover,



Picture 1. Hunting for wild boar (Sinzai 1982: 65)



Picture 2. Manchu child's toys made from a pig's jaw (Wenliang 1990: 152)

animal.⁸ Its wild cousin was also of great importance, which can be proved by the existence of Manchu names coined from the terms for 'wild boar'.⁹

Therefore, one may conclude that in Manchuria – just as in many countries of the Pacific region – pig keeping has a long history as well as numerous and strong ties with the sphere of religion. This certainly gives us inspiration to analyze the related terminology, which should be both rich and archaic. It may even seem strange that nobody has paid any attention to it until now. It seems that this paper, devoted to both the pig and the wild boar, is of a pioneering character, which might serve as an excuse for some of its shortcomings.

The paper has the following structure: the first part contains the description of names referring to the whole species ('wild boar' and 'pig') as well as their subspecies or varieties distinguished by the Manchus.¹⁰ As for the names of body parts and terms related to physiology, I omit them, instead devoting some attention to the various terms for the categories of age (part 2–4). While describing a given term I discuss its form,¹¹ meaning, foreign analogies and, where possible, attempt to propose its etymology. The last task is often difficult. The terminology under discussion is scantily represented in dictionaries and languages that could have been the source of borrowings are often poorly researched. In my case, difficulties caused by these factors were reinforced by an additional one. When carrying out research on the terminology regarding some animals – let's say pigs – one needs

Nanais sometimes hung an image of a wild boar over the cradle. Such an amulet, similarly to the images of a tiger and a bear, was a powerful apotropaic tool.

7 See Pic. 1.

8 It was different only among families of Mongolian descent, who sacrificed sheep.

9 See below.

10 More precisely: Manchu speaking peoples, since in my paper I include Sibe from Xinjiang, whose language, especially written, differs little from Manchu. It is also worth noting that it is hard to draw a clear boundary between the Manchus and the Jurchens. The Manchus are in fact the same people who had been referred to as the Jurchen in the Middle Ages and their language is one of the Jurchen dialects.

11 Manchu words, taken from the dictionary by Zakharov (1875), are cited following the conventions adopted in G. Sary's publications, Jurchen words – according to W. Grube's (1896) system and Written Mongolian vocabulary in A. Mostaert's transcription. While dealing with words from languages written in Cyrillic (eg. Russian, Buryat) I follow N. Poppe's example (Poppe 1965). Words from languages (mainly Tungusic) without a written form present a different problem. I quote them after SSTMYa, even though some symbols in use in this dictionary are hard to reproduce.

to know something about their biology, while I, as a philologist, do not have such a knowledge. Even though I was given the opportunity to receive professional advice on this matter – for which I would like to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Martyna Batorska from the Warsaw University of Life Sciences – I often had the uneasy feeling of my incompetence in this field.

1.

The general term for the species pig in the Manchu language is *ulgiyan*. If we place the word *bigan* 'wilderness, solitude' in the genitive form ahead of it, we receive the expression for 'wild boar': *bigan-i ulgiyan*. Thus, Manchu people perceive the wild boar as a "pig from the wilderness". Dictionaries suggest that it comes in five breeds: *hamgiyari*, *kitari*, *sikari*, *dokita* and *dorgori*. The question remains whether these are names of breeds understood in the zoological sense or names of animals of this species that can be distinguished e.g. by their coloring. I assume that the latter option is more probable. While explaining the word *kitari* (the other ones are dealt with only briefly), Zakharov (1875) writes that it describes "a wild boar, the neck and rump of which are covered with white bristle that is stiff and thick like needles." It is worth mentioning that even among pigs there are some breeds that are given special names. According to the already quoted dictionary, *judura* is "a race of domesticated pigs similar to wild pigs, i.e. grey or white ones" (Zakharov 1875).

Terms such as *sikari*, *dorgori*, *hamgiyari*, *kitari* and *dokita* should be better set aside. Firstly, they are too obscure, as they are known only from very enigmatic entries in the Zakharov's dictionary. Secondly, it is doubtful whether they have ever been in use. The suffix *-ri* present in most of them was often used to derive sophisticated neologisms in the 18th century. It was then that such words as *yamtari* 'animal that gives tasty meat' (< *yali* 'meat' + *amtan* 'taste') and *niyancari* 'animal that can be characterized by the fact that the more it runs the more vigorous it becomes' (< *niyancan* 'brawn') emerged. It seems that all the words for 'wild boar' listed here belong to the same category, including *dokita* that is a combination of *dorgon* 'badger' and *kitari*.

However, things look different in the case of the word *judura*. This term is obviously linked to Ma. *juduran* and both originated from Mo. *zuraadas* (WMo. *žuradasu*).¹² The metathesis of consonants – in this case *r* and *d* – is not something

12 The Manchu-Mongolian dictionary edited by Mišig (1968) translates Ma. *juduran* exactly into *žuradasu*.

uncommon and the disappearance of *s* at the end of a word in words borrowed into Manchu is a standard feature. That Ma. *juduran* and Mo. *zuraadas* are related to each other can be proven also by their meaning: both of them mean ‘line’ or ‘stripe’. Yet, the relation between Ma. *juduran* and *judura* is not clear. Either we are dealing here with variants of the same word, or with two different words that have been formed on the basis of the same root.¹³ Nevertheless, their meaning must be very similar. It can be assumed that *judura* means in fact ‘the one with a stripe’ (and the pig is implied here). The translation “a race of domesticated pigs similar to wild pigs, i.e. grey or white ones” (Zakharov 1875) might be the result of a mistake.

What arouses the strongest interest is obviously the etymology of the word *ulgiyan*, which has the broadest meaning and, consequently, is the most widespread one. As far as I know, no etymology has ever been proposed for it so far. In the case of *ulgiyan*, the authors of SSTMYa, usually very inquisitive, limited themselves to delivering its equivalents in other Tungusic languages:

Sol. <i>ulgē ~ ulgen</i>	Ul. <i>orgi(n)</i>
Neg. <i>olgin</i>	Ork. <i>orgi(n)</i>
Or. <i>oggæ</i>	Nan. <i>olgiā(n)</i>
Udh. <i>wage ~ wagæ</i>	Ju. <i>wúh-lì-yên</i>

As can be traced from the above set of correspondences, the Manchu word *ulgiyan* has equivalents in all South Tungusic languages. Among the North Tungusic tongues, cognates are only found in Solon and Negidal but both languages lean towards the southern dialects. There is no word in the languages of the neighboring peoples, the Koreans and the Chinese, that resembles Ma. *ulgiyan*, nor is there any correspondence in Mongolian. The only exception is Gilyak, but the word *olhōŋ* found in this language is clearly a derivative of the Manchu term.¹⁴ Consequently, it can be assumed that Ma. *ulgiyan* originated in Tungusic languages, and to be more precise, those constituting the southern group.

13 Judging by what Zakharov (1875) suggests, the word *juduran* functions as an attributive: *juduran ihan* ‘cow with a stripe on the back’. *Judura*, however, does not fulfil this function. This could justify their different morphology, but since only a few examples are available to us, it is better not to draw preliminary conclusions regarding this issue.

14 In the transcription of the Gilyak word, the letter *h* stands for a voiced alveolar fricative consonant.

Another observation inspired by what can be read in SSTMYa is that the majority of words derived from *ulgiyan* 'pig' are attested in Manchu. According to SSTMYa, while most languages lack such words altogether and there is only one in the Ulcha language, there are five of them in Manchu: *ulgiyaci* 'skin of a pig', *ulgiyada nisiha* 'species of small fish', *ulgiyangga* 'having a pig, born in the year of the Pig' and *ulgiyan cecike* or *ulgiyari cecike* 'kingfisher'. In fact, there are even more of them,¹⁵ although this is not that significant. What is, however, important is that the derivatives of *ulgiyan* form a whole word family in Manchu. This allows us to assume that the word under consideration originated exactly in Manchu or, to be more precise, in its Jurchen dialect that transformed into Manchu. This conclusion can be reached also through the following line of reasoning: a) pig farming is related to agriculture; b) agriculture spread from the South to the North in Manchuria, ergo c) the word *ulgiyan* must have its origins in the South Tungusic dialects.

If browsing through dictionaries could solve the etymology of the word under investigation, the authors of SSTMYa would have surely come up with an answer. Since it did not happen, it is worth following another track and pose the question which Manchu words end with the syllable *giyan* ~ *giyen*. Not many, it turns out. Mainly those denoting the names of colors:

<i>fulgiyan</i>	'red', cf. WMo. <i>ulayan</i> id.
<i>genggiyen</i>	'bright', cf. WMo. <i>gegegen</i> id.
<i>niowanggiyan</i>	'green', cf. WMo. <i>noyuyan</i> id.
<i>šanggiyan</i>	'white', cf. WMo. <i>čayan</i> id. ¹⁶

It seems to be a logical conclusion that the mysterious *ulgiyan* is another color name or a term for something that is distinguished by color. If we accept such an assumption, the area to be searched when looking for the origins of the word turns out to be much more limited. However, this will not make the case less complicated: color names that belong to the archaic layers of the vocabulary have fossilized roots that seldom appear independently. Out of the four above-mentioned color names that were probably Mongolian in origin, only two have a plausible etymology: *šanggiyan* from *čay ~ *čang 'white color' (?) (cf. for example WMo.

15 E.g. *welgiyan* 'rhinoceros' (< *weihe* ~ *uihe* 'horn' + *ulgiyan*). There is also a compound synonym: *uihengge ulgiyan* (lit. 'pig with horns').

16 Besides, there is probably only one word that ends with *giyan*: *manggiyan*, which means 'shaman's spirit' (or 'glanders').

času ‘snow’) and *fulgiyan* from **fula* ~ **hula* ‘red color’(?) (cf. Evk. *hula* ‘alder’, i.e. a tree that gives red timber). When it comes to the syllable *giyan* ~ *giyen* (and WMo. *yan* ~ *gen*), it is certainly a suffix, but its function is not quite clear. What is only known about it is that it produces denominal nouns. But if we come back to the word *ulgiyan*, it is worth asking the question whether it is related to Solon *uleg* ‘mottled, dappled’ (of a horse) (Kałużyński 1971: 53). Contemporary Manchu pigs very often look like that,¹⁷ but wild boars only rarely do.¹⁸

2.

As mentioned before, names of animals distinguished on the basis of age are quite numerous. Therefore, it will be more convenient to describe them in two groups: firstly, those referring to the domesticated pig and then those that denote the wild boar.

A farrow born to a domesticated pig is called *mihan* (~ *miyahan*). A boar used for reproductive purposes goes by the name of *yelu*, while a barrow is *taman*. The two latter words still remain a secret to me, just as they did to the authors of SSTMYa, who do not even mention the term *yelu*. When it comes to the word *mihan*, SSTMYa links it to Tungusic terms for young animals including Nan. *moixa* ‘young wild boar’ and Evk. *mōika* ‘1-year old reindeer (as well as a ‘young hare’)’. I do not reject this etymology *a priori*, but I prefer another one, that somehow failed to attract the authors’ attention. Well, doesn’t the Ma. word *mihan* have its origin in WMo. *miqan*? Both sound similar and have similar meanings: while *miqan* means ‘meat’ *mihan* denotes the farrow, praised for its meat. Moreover, the so called *i*-breaking took place in both cases: in contemporary Mongolian (Khalkha) it resulted in *max(an)*, in Bur. *maxa(n)*, whereas in Manchu it produced the form *miyahan*, alongside *mihan*. Yet it is possible that there has

17 This would follow from, among others, the information provided by M. Batorska. However, I assume, and M. Batorska seems to agree with me, that the type of pigs widespread in Manchuria today appeared there in the 19th century together with Chinese colonists. Drawings from earlier times present different pigs: small, with a long snout and pointed, protruding ears – quite similar to the pig native to Korea. It is not possible to draw conclusions regarding their coloring on the basis of the prints.

18 Of course, there might be exceptions. One of the legends of the Golds (Nanais) living at the confines of Manchuria, tells us about a huge, piebald wild boar with white legs (Krapotkin 1896: 17).

been no breaking in Manchu and the word *miyahan* could have appeared in such a form as a borrowing from Buryat.

The majority of terms under study refer to the female pig. A pig that has not farrowed yet is called *mehe* or *meheji*, whereas a sow bears the name *mehejen*. Moreover, there is also the term *alda* '1-year-old pig' (maybe after the first litter?) and *mehen* or *mehun* with a general meaning 'female pig'. The latter word can function as a term of insult, which, incidentally, may be surprising, as in Manchuria pigs are treated rather with benevolence.

Unfortunately, we can't say much about Ma. *alda*. The authors of SSTMYa traced back its origins to the general Tungusic root *ali-* 'to take', yet they were probably wrong. Given that among several dozen of derivatives of this verb – present in all Tungusic languages – there are no terms for animals at all, the word *alda* would be an astonishing exception. Moreover, if this etymology was accepted, the structure of this derivative would need to be explained and its meaning would have to be provided. Both tasks pose a significant challenge: in Manchu there are no verbal nouns ending in *-da* and a name for the pig moulded from the verb 'to take' is even hard to imagine.

Establishing the etymology of other words for 'pig' (*mehe*, *mehen*, *mehun*, *mehejen*, *meheji*) should be easier, because they are not isolated like *alda*, but constitute a specific group. SSTMYa includes here words such as *mehele jui* 'piglet' (disapprovingly of a child), *mehete* 'with the upper lip upturned' and Mo. *megž* (WMo. *megeži*) 'sow'. The expression *mehele jui* is featured in this list probably by mistake: Ma. *mehele* (along with its alternative form *lehele*) does not mean 'piglet' but 'bastard' and originates from Mo. *nexlii* (WMo. *nekelei*) id. Therefore, there is no need to discuss it here. Instead, it is worth considering the verbs *mehu-* 'to bend' and *meše-* 'to copulate', as their relation to Ma. *mehe* has not attracted anyone's attention before.

In my opinion, the root of all these terms lies in the idea of something huddled and hunchbacked, which seems to be confirmed by Mongolian analogies:

měxiĩ- 'to bow',

měxré- 'to be flat-sided and hunchbacked' (about an animal),

měxcii- 'to bend a bit, to bow' < *měxiĩ-* 'to bow',

měxlžé- 'to bow, to bend over again and again' < *měxiĩ-* 'to bow'.¹⁹

19 The root **mex* present in these words seems to be a variant of the root **böx* ~ **box*: cf. Mo. *böx* 'hump', *böxiĩ-* 'to bend over, to bow, to hunch', *böxölžö-* 'to bow, to bend over again and again', *boxiro-* 'to bend', *boxisxiĩ-* 'to bow slightly, to bend over', and

Consequently, if my way of reasoning is correct, initially there must have existed a word **mekü* (but in which language?) somehow referring to all stocky and hunchbacked creatures. This word became known in this sense to the ancestors of the Mongols, who then created several new terms, mostly verbs, on its basis. In the case of the forefathers of Manchu speakers, the evolution of **mekü* went, however, in other directions. On the one hand, it resulted in the verb *mehu-* ‘to bend over’, and on the other, it gave rise to the term *mehe*, used with reference to the pig, a stocky and thickset animal that usually keeps its head close to the ground. That the shape of the pig’s body inspired its name is supported by an unexpected analogy found in SSTMYa. It turns out that the Khingan Evenks use *mekëžin* with reference to the bear, another thickset animal.

When it comes to the etymology of the remaining terms with the root **mehe* ~ **mehu*, I would like to propose the following:

mehejen ‘sow’: an augmentative form of the noun *mehe*, produced with the help of the suffix *.jen*, which is potentially related to an Evenki suffix *.rgan* ~ *.rgen* ~ *.rgon*, used to derive nouns which denote a reinforced feature. It is worth remembering that the consonant cluster *rg* in Manchu often turns into *j*, cf. WMo. *terge(n)* ‘cart’ > Ma. *sejen* (read: *sežen*).

meheji ‘gilt, a young sow that has not farrowed yet’: a diminutive form of *mehe* created with the help of the suffix *.ji*. Among the few words produced thanks to this suffix we can mention *nehuji* – a positively marked expression used to refer to elderly maids (< *nehu* ‘maid’).

mehen ‘female pig’: probably a derivative of the noun *mehe*. The suffix *.n* used to create it, though unknown, could have been the same as the one in the word *amban* ‘minister’ (< *amba* ‘great’).

mehete ‘with the upper lip upturned’: a word that belongs to a specific group of Manchu nouns that contain a non-productive suffix *.ta* (with variants) and denote a particular feature (color, shape, behaviour, etc.) or one who exhibits this feature.²⁰ I assume that the original meaning of *mehete* was ‘similar to

probably *boxio* ‘clumsy’. In the Manchu language, the same root developed into the word *bohoto* ‘camel’s hump’.

- 20 Roots, that appear together with this suffix rarely stand on their own, and if they do, they can be rather found in other languages. They represent names that show someone’s behaviour or appearance in an illustrative way. We can also find them as roots in the so called *verba status*:

a pig', and the meaning 'with the upper lip upturned' was developed later on. Who knows, perhaps the original expression referred to a nose rather than an upturned lip? Such a person could evoke associations with a piglet too.

mehun 'you swine!' (an insult): it is either a noun with the ending *-n* derived from the verb *mehu-* 'to bend' or maybe an augmentative form of *mehe* 'pig'. Although I do not know a suffix *.un* that could create augmentative forms, I could propose another word that – it cannot be ruled out – might contain it. It is *mafuta*: 'old reindeer' or 'reindeer used as a bait in hunting for wild reindeer'. It is possible to distinguish here the above mentioned suffix *.ta* and the root – **mafu ~ *mafun*, which I assume is the augmentative form of *mafa* 'grandpa'. Therefore, *mafuta* could probably mean something like 'old geezer'.

meše- 'to copulate, to move as if while copulating': I think that it is an abbreviation of a word which is unattested in dictionaries: **mehuše-*, a frequentative form of *mehu-* 'to bend over'.

With all certainty, there are weak points and blank spaces in the presented history. For example, it has not been clarified yet whether Mo. *megž* (WMo. *megži*) 'sow' originated from similar Tungusic forms, or, conversely, it served as their root. The authors of SSTMYa take an ambivalent stance towards this issue. They assume Manchu *meheji* (and *mehejen*) to be native, whereas they consider an undoubtedly related Evenki word *mekejin* (see above) to be a Mongolian borrowing. In my opinion Mo. *megž* should be regarded as a Tungusic borrowing, the Tungusic peoples being better acquainted with pigs than the Mongols. However, it is advisable to leave this question open, as the early history of Tungusic-Mongolian contacts is full of surprises. There is also another problem that needs to be solved, namely the question of why Ma. *mehe* does not mean simply 'pig' but 'gilt (young

alhata 'dappled, speckled, a motley of colors, uneven' < *alha* 'dappled', cf. Mo. *alag* id.;
balta ~ balda 'white spot, mark on the fur, an animal with a white muzzle' < **bal ~ *mal*
 'spot, bald head?', cf. Bur. *malaĩ-* 'to be bald', *malzan* 'bald';
bokita ~ pokita 'kind of arrowhead' < **bog ~ *mog* 'short, stocky?', cf. Mo. *mogcoĩ-* ~
mogzoĩ- 'to be short and fat';
fulata 'red eyelids resulting from eye inflammation, red-eyed' < **fula* 'red color'?
 (cf. Evk. *hula* 'alder'), cf. Mo. *ulaĩ-* 'to become red', *ulcan* 'tearful, one with watery
 eyes' cf. *fulgiyan*.

This group also includes further discussed words *haita*, *hente*, and *hayakta*, as well as *kaikata* 'squint-eyed'.

female pig)', and sometimes even 'barrow'. None of the analyzed related words can be associated with infertility.²¹ Therefore, it can be assumed that two different roots merged into Ma. *mehe*: the root under discussion, **mehe*, and another, quite similar one, yet representing the meaning 'barren, infertile'. It is possible that the latter has been preserved in Ma. *mekele* 'in vain, with no result', but, for the time being, it needs to remain solely an assumption.

3.

Let me move on now to terms denoting age classes of the wild cousins of the pig. It seems that the age of these animals was estimated on the basis of two criteria: a) their strength, behaviour as well as the kind of bristle and b) the curvature of their tusks. In consequence, there were two scales or, alternatively, two categories of names ascribed to them. If the shape of tusks was not taken into consideration, the age classes presented themselves in the following way:

mihacan 'piglet' (up to the first year of life)

nuhen '1-year-old wild boar'

šurha '2-years-old wild boar'

cinggin '3-years-old wild boar'

aidagan ~ *aidahan* '4-years-old male wild boar'

funggin 'old wild boar'²²

It is worth emphasizing that the majority of these terms do not indicate the sex of an animal, except for *aidagan* ~ *aidahan* '4-years-old male wild boar'. A 4-years-old sow is called *sakda*, which simply means 'the old one'.

21 Apart from *meheji* 'gilt, a young sow that has not farrowed yet', but this is a derivative of *mehe*.

22 The translation of *funggin* as 'an old wild boar' is controversial. Judging by a not quite clear comment in the dictionary by Amyot, *funggin* could mean 'an old wild boar' or 'an old (domesticated) pig', or simply 'the old one' (in reference to a wild boar or a pig): „...on dit plus communement *foukin* (sic! – JT), avec le nom de cochon ou de sanglier qu'on joint ensemble" (Amyot 1789 1: 49). Zakharov (1875) comments in an ambivalent way on it: *funggin* – *staraya svińya* – *kaban*. It is surprising that Mišig's (1968) dictionary glosses Ma. *funggin* with WMo. *quyiq-a*, 'burnt skin on the animal's head'. When choosing this translation, the Mongolian author must have been inspired by the Ma. expression *funggin yali* 'smoked meat from old pigs and wild boars that is eaten together with skin in the eleventh month' (Zakharov 1875).

The morphological structure of the first word in the list, *mihacan*, is exceptionally clear. It is a derivative of the noun *mihan* 'piglet', created with the help of the suffix *.can*. However, it is ambiguous which of the many homonymous suffixes it is: it might be either a non-productive suffix *.ca(n) ~ .ce(n) ~ .co(n)*, present in the type of words meaning 'similar to something', 'the one that has some feature', or it may be a diminutive suffix that has analogies in many other Altaic languages. In the first case, *mihacan* could mean 'similar to a piglet', in the second case, it could simply bear the meaning of 'a small piglet'. It seems reasonable to perceive this word as a diminutive: piglets are, indeed, quite small! According to Marta Batorska (p.c.), "the body weight of a newborn wild boar is between 0.4 and 0.8 kg, whereby a newborn piglet weighs around 1.5 kg."

Compared with *mihacan*, the etymology of *nuhen* seems to be incredibly complex. Let us start with an overview of words that could be linked to it. The authors of SSTMYa limit themselves to comparing Ma. *nuhen* with Sol. *nuksē* 'piglet', Udh. *nugēsē* '1-year-old wild boar' and Ma. *nuheci* 'wild boar's skin', although the list of cognates can be easily expanded. First of all, one could include Ma. *nuhere ~ nuheri* '1-year-old puppy', and *nunggari ~ nunggeri* 'fluff, soft fur', as well as Mo. *noos* 'fur, wool', *nooluur* 'fluff', *noors* 'nestling's down', *nooro-* 'to become worn out, to fray' (together with the adjective *noorxoï ~ nooronxoï* 'worn out'). Finally, it is worth remembering the ancestor of the Qing dynasty, the famous Nurhaci. In accordance with a widely accepted hypothesis his name may mean 'wild boar's skin'.²³

In my opinion, all of the above words originated from the root **nongu ~ *nogu*, which denotes something soft, fluffy and frayed. In Manchu (and to be more precise, in its basic Jurchen dialect), this root was the source of the nouns *nunggari*, *nunggeri*, and in Mongolian, of the forms **noyur > *noor > *nuur*. The latter ones, thanks to the suffixes *.qai* and *.sun*, evolved into the nouns *noorxoï* (WMo. *noyurqai*) and *noors* (WMo. *noyursun*), as well as *noos* (WMo. *noyusun*), after the disappearance of the consonant *r*. In Manchu (and Jurchen) the role of these suffixes was taken over by the suffix *.ha* (cf. MMo. *čaurqai* 'military campaign' > Ma. *cooha* 'army', WMo. *žiyasun* 'fish' > Ma. *nimaha* id.). Combining this suffix with *nunggari*, *nunggeri*, or rather with **noor > *nuur* taken over from the Mongols, resulted in **nurha ~ *nurhan* and **nurhe ~ *nurhen* '1-year-old wild boar' (the alternation *nunggari ~ nunggeri* proves that Manchu words may have back and front variants). Maybe because of its correspondence with *šurha* '2-years-old

23 Wenliang (1990: 374).

wild boar', *šurhan* '3-years-old tiger' and *yarha* 'panther', the word might have been very widespread in the past, which can be proven by the name *Nurhaci*²⁴ based on it. It sank into oblivion with time²⁵ and was replaced by its variant *nuhen* (< **nurhen*). Among the mentioned Manchu words (leaving the Mongolian ones aside), the structure of *nuhere* ~ *nuheri* seems to be least clear. Did they originate from an earlier **nurhe(n)* as a result of metathesis of consonants *r* and *h*, or are they derivatives of *nuhen*, created with the help of the suffix *.re* ~ *.ri*? It is difficult to answer this question today.

It is worth to dwell upon the meaning of the words under consideration. In my opinion, most of them allude to fluffiness and softness. Not only wool (Mo. *noos*) is soft, but also animal and plant fluff (Ma. *nunggari* ~ *nunggeri*) and the hair of a very young puppy. It is not true, as suggested by SSTMYa, that Ma. *nuhere* ~ *nuheri* is linked to Evk. *nökuken*- 'to slumber'. Young dogs are not characterized by sleepiness. Quite the opposite, they are usually active, and at the same time their hair is both fluffy and pleasant to the touch. These features are common to all young mammals. Also young wild boars have more delicate bristles than older ones.²⁶

24 As it has been mentioned before, it is supposed to mean 'wild boar's skin'. Those who translate it in this way are probably inspired by the fact, that there is a suffix *.ci* in Manchu, common in terms describing various kinds of skin, e.g. *nimaci* 'goat's skin' < *niman* 'goat', *honci* (~ *hoci*) 'sheepskin' < *honin* 'sheep', *tashaci* 'tiger's skin' < *tasha* 'tiger', as well as *ulgiyaci* 'pig's skin' < *ulgiyan* 'pig' and *nuheci* 'wild boar's skin' < *nuhen* '1-year-old wild boar'. From the linguistic point of view, it seems rather obvious, but what would be the sense of giving a child the name of some animal's skin? And to repeat it several times? Nurhaci's younger brothers' names were: Shurhaci, Yarhaci, Murhaci: were they supposed to mean 'the skin of a 2-years-old wild boar' (*šurha*) or 'the skin of a 3-years-old tiger' (*šurhan*), 'the skin of a panther' (*yarha*) and finally, 'the skin of a cat' (*muhan* < **murhan* 'male of big cats')? It does not seem very likely. It is easier to believe that these names meant 'like a 1-year-old wild boar', 'like a young tiger', etc. or simply 'little tiger' or 'little wild boar'. Indeed, it seems more probable. Who knows whether the suffix *.ci* used to create these names and the one applied to produce the terms for various kinds of skin are not, in principle, different. If so, the former could be a variant of the suffix *.ca(n)* ~ *.ci(n)*, used to create, among others, the name of the fish *kurcin*, lit. 'small tench', or 'similar to a tench' (Ma. *kure* 'tench'). By analogy, I am inclined to translate Nurhaci as '(like a) 1-year-old wild boar'.

25 Maybe not completely. It is not excluded that it survived in the form of the adverb *nuhan* 'in a calm, gentle way', cf. Mo. *zöölön* 'soft, calm, smoothly, slowly'.

26 M. Batorska (p.c.) confirms this fact.

The word *šurha*, which we now turn to, is quite peculiar: while analyzing it we are likely to embark on Noah's Ark. In SSTMYa, this word is presented together with Ma. *šurgan* ~ *šurhan* '3-years-old tiger' and Ju. *šī-rh-hāh* 'fawn' (or rather 'water deer', cf. Grube 1896), to which one could add Ma. *šurhû*, *šorho*, *šoron* 'nestling' and *šurhûn* 'chicken'. And yet the list is incomplete. The Juchen *šī-rh-hāh* is certainly related to Ma. *sirga* 'musk deer' and maybe even to Mo. *šoo buga* 'water deer' and Ma. *suwa buhû* 'saiga antelope'. Indeed, at first glance this list seems rather puzzling but very quickly we may guess what these animals might have in common.

In fact, all of them are flaxen, yellowish,²⁷ and this feature is reflected in their names. Ju. *šī-rh-hāh* as well as Ma. *šurha*, *šurgan* ~ *šurhan*, *šurhû*, *šorho*, *šurhûn* and *sirga* may be connected with WMo. *siry-a* 'flaxen, dun', while Ma. *suwa buhû* and maybe Mo. *šoo buga* may contain the root *so ~ *šo, which can also be found in Ma. *suwa* 'yellow'. When it comes to the Ma. word *šoron*, it could be derived from Mo. *sir-a* 'yellow' (although other etymologies are possible too).

Thus, literally, *šurha* could mean 'flaxen'. Judging by the available pictures, the color of a young boar is, in fact, clearly yellowish.

The next word on the list, *cinggin*, can be discussed together with the last one, *funggin*. Firstly, these words differ in one syllable only, which might suggest that they have similar morphology. Secondly, the root of both words remains unknown. SSTMYa mentions these words, but it does not give any hints as to their etymology. It is possible that *cinggin* has a common root with Ma. *cingkai* 'completely, totally', as well as with *ciksin* 'an adult man', and with Mo. *čing* 'strong'. According to M. Batorska (p.c.), a wild boar reaches its sexual maturity at the age of three, but physically it is not fully mature at this age yet.²⁸ The word *cinggin* could relate to exactly this stage of the animal's life. However, when it comes to the word *funggin*, it seems that it has something in common with Manchu *fu-* 'to feel numb'. It is worth mentioning again that this name refers to an old animal that is definitely not as frisky as a young one.

27 I knew what color is a chicken and deer, but it was indeed a mystery to me, what a 3-years-old tiger looks like. In order to solve this problem, I contacted the management of the Warsaw ZOO. Unfortunately, the only answer to my question was confused silence. Therefore, I can only guess that a 3-years-old tiger is yellow or flaxen.

28 Although this remark refers to a European wild boar, I assume that it can be applied to its Asian cousins too.

And finally, Ma. *aidagan* ~ *aidahan*, probably the most interesting word of all the terms discussed here, may be related to the Ma. name of the plough, *anja*, as well as to its counterparts in Mongolian, cf. WMo. *andisun* ~ *anžasun* ~ *anži-sun*.²⁹ In my opinion, at the heart of all these terms lies the root **ad* ~ **and* or **had* ~ **hand*, perhaps an onomatopoeic word expressing the idea of digging, ripping. In Written Mongolian it has given rise to the verb *qadra-* ‘to dig’ (with reference to a pig) and on the other hand to the name of the plough. Ma. *aidagan* ~ *aidahan* may derive from its older form **andahan* meaning generally ‘something that digs’. The transition of *n* into *i* is not rare in South Tungusic languages (cf. Ju. **an-č’ün* ‘gold’, which produced Ma. *aisin* id.). When it comes to the suffix *.gan* ~ *.han*, it can be identified with Mo. *γai* ~ *qai* ~ *γan*, sometimes alternating with the nominal suffix *.sun* (cf. **γutulqai* ~ *γutulsun* ‘shoe’).

Thus, Ma. *aidagan* ~ *aidahan* and WMo. *anžisun* stem from the same root, represent the same morphological structure and have virtually the same meaning, i.e. ‘digger, ripper’. The difference between them is actually so small that sometimes it may be considered negligible. For instance, the Manchu name of the star 9 in the constellation of Cancer is *aidahan-i sencehen*, while in Written Mongolian the same star is called *anžisun-u qusi-yu*. The question remains whether this star was originally associated with a ploughshare (*anžisun-u qusi-yu*, literally ‘plough’s mouth’) or a wild boar’s jaw (*aidahan-i sencehen*), or perhaps even with both.

4.

A careful reader will probably remember that the described system of classification partly overlaps with another one, which is based on the criterion of the shape of the wild boar’s tusks. The latter system includes only three classes:

haita ‘wild boar whose tusks have already started to curl up’. Following largely the authors of SSTMYa, this word should be linked to Ma. *haya-* ‘to wriggle, to trim sth with sth’ and *hayalja-*, *hayiyarila-* ‘to sway’, as well as to *hayahan* ‘robe trimmed with sable fur’ and *hayakta* (see below). These words are clearly related to the idea of a curve, just like *haiha-*, *haihara-* ‘to bend over, to bend’, *haiha* ‘slope, distaff, trimming’, *haihashûn* ‘sideways, unevenly’, *haidu* ‘with a curved neck’ etc., words which are not mentioned in SSTMYa. It seems that they emerged from the root **hai*, which corresponds to an illustrative

29 Cf. also Ma. *anji-* ‘to hew’ and *anjikû* ‘hatchet’.

word that does not exist independently any more. It is well known that the suffix *.ta* used to be combined with this kind of words (cf. *mehete*).

hente 'grown-up wild boar' (as well as 'fork', 'small pitchfork'). This word is present in SSTMYa, but it is not commented on. One should probably link it to Mo. *kelteyi-* 'to tilt' and *keltegei* 'tilted' and therefore consider it semantically similar to *haita*, *hayakta*. In fact, the Mongolian language delivers the explanation for the ambivalent character of Ma. *hente*. Apart from the already mentioned words *kelteyi-* and *keltegei*, it also includes *keltele-* 'to break off, to split', i.e. similar terms that apparently originated from another root. These various roots borrowed into the language of the ancestors of the Manchu people merged into one. Therefore, *hente* means both 'wild boar' and 'small pitchfork'.

hayakta 'a wild old boar with tusks curled up'. It seems that the authors of SSTMYa correctly place Ma. *hayakta* among words present in many Tungusic languages that mean 'curved, to become curved',³⁰ but they do not link it to the above-mentioned term *haita*. In fact, these words are clearly related to each other. Is *hayakta* not a 'reinforced' form of *haita*, created through the reduplication (with a minor modification) of the first syllable? The evolution of this word might have proceeded along the following route: *haita* > **hab haita* > *hayakta* (cf. Mo. *qara* 'black' > *qab qara* 'completely black'). The problem is that such constructions have not been found before in the Manchu language.

5.

Summing up, Manchu terminology for 'pig' and 'wild boar' can be divided into two groups: a) terms referring to the whole species and its breeds, and b) terms denoting animals of different ages and sexes.

Dictionaries mention as many as five breeds of the wild boar, but it is not clear whether Manchu speakers distinguished exactly as many of them, and even if so, what names they used with reference to them: all terms available to us today are known only from written sources. Judging by the term *kitari*, the only one that has been discussed in a more detailed way in dictionaries, these terms were used to describe wild boars of various coat colors. Also the term *judura*, which denotes a breed of domesticated pig hints at its coloring (it means probably 'the one with a stripe').

30 E.g. Ma. *kaikata* 'squint-eyed, cross-eyed'.

The name of the species 'pig' is *ulgiyan*. The Manchu name of the wild boar, *bigan-i ulgiyan* 'pig from wastelands', has an analogy in German *Wildschwein*, English *wild boar*, Polish *dzik* and just like these names, it was an euphemism in the past that made it possible to avoid pronouncing the name of a dangerous animal. This assumption is confirmed by its reconstructed meaning. As I have tried to show, *ulgiyan* used to mean 'patchy, spotted', which seems to be more suitable for a domestic pig rather than for a wild boar.

When it comes to names given to single representatives of the species depending on their age and sex, they form two separate categories. The first one consists of terms for wild boars, the other one includes names for domesticated pigs. These categories are disjunct in principle, with a possible exception of *funggin* referring both to the wild boar and an elderly male hog. There are many significant differences between these two categories. First of all, the terminology related to the wild boar is much richer, which may have to do with the fact that hunting for wild boars is much older than pig farming. Secondly, criteria taken into account when assessing the age of a wild boar (e.g. the shape of tusks) do not play any role in the case of a pig. And finally, the table of the wild boar's age classes virtually does not include female representatives, while they are of great importance to pig farmers.

It also turns out that the terms for the pig and those referring to the wild boar are based on different associations. It seems that words describing the pig (*mehe*, *mehen*, *meheji* etc.), allude to the characteristic stocky shape of its body and the fact that it is usually hunchbacked. A wild boar looks similar, but people hunting for this animal cannot be satisfied with this description. In order to know how to deal with it, they need to analyse such details as its frame, color, size and behaviour. Their terminology reflects these observations (tab. 1).

It can be seen that the assumption presented at the beginning of this paper has been confirmed: the terminology referring to the wild boar and the pig in Manchu is rich. In fact, it is also old, which is corroborated both by the morphology of the analyzed words (unproductive suffixes, reconstructed roots, etc.), their links to anthroponomy (*Nurhaci*) and even cosmology (*aidagan-i sencehen*). The abundance of Mongolian elements might be a surprise, but yet again it is another proof that the described terms are archaic. Pigs do not play an important role in contemporary Mongolia, but in the distant past, in the prehistoric times, the situation could have been different. Neolithic cultures of eastern Mongolia share some elements with Neolithic cultures of North Eastern China for which pig farming was already characteristic.

Age classes of a wild boar specified on the basis of its strength, sort and bristle	Age classes of a wild boar specified on the basis of the shape of its tusks
<i>mihacan</i> 'piglet' (lit. 'small piglet')	–
<i>nuhen</i> '1-year-old wild boar' (lit. 'very delicate fluff', 'soft?')	–
<i>šurha</i> '2-years-old wild boar' (lit. 'flaxen?')	<i>haita</i> 'wild boar, the tusks of which have already started to curl up'. According to M. Batorska (p.c.), "it might be said that wild boar's tusks curl up around its second year of life".
<i>cinggin</i> '3-years-old wild boar' (lit. 'grown-up?')	<i>hente</i> 'grown-up wild boar'
<i>aidagan</i> ~ <i>aidahan</i> '4-years-old wild boar' (lit. 'the one that digs?')	<i>hayakta</i> 'an old wild boar with tusks curled up'

Table 1. Age classes of a wild boar.

Abbreviations

Bur. = Buriat; Evk. = Evenki; Ju. = Jurchen; Ma. = Manchu; MMo. = Middle Mongolian; Mo. = Mongolian (Khalkha); Nan. = Nanai; Neg. = Negidal; Or. = Orochi; Ork. = Oroki; Sol. = Solon; Udh. = Udehe; Ul. = Ulcha; WMo. = Written Mongolian

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L'ISLE DE CUBE OU L'ÎLE DE CUBA – NOTE SUR L'ÉDITION CRITIQUE DU TEXTE ET LA LANGUE D'ALEXANDRE DE HUMBOLDT

L'article contient certaines idées concernant les façons de procéder dans le cas de l'édition critique des écrits français d'Alexandre de Humboldt (1769–1859) – auteur allemand et auteur français par excellence, qui parfois rentre difficilement dans la norme linguistique de son temps, mais tout ce qui paraît être erreur à première vue, ne l'est pas. Comment l'éditer ? Corriger trop vite, à outrance, en posant un regard sévère, ainsi que l'on faisait dans les éditions allemandes d'autrefois, ou bien essayer de faire une distinction entre les solutions inhabituelles dues à la hâte et celles qui permettent de supposer un choix conscient de l'Auteur ? Humboldt archaïse souvent, de plus, il joue avec la langue et n'hésite pas à inventer, à créer, il pense la langue. Dans l'article il est question d'un cas particulier, celui du manuscrit d'*Isle de Cube. Antilles en général*, disponible dans une partie du patrimoine d'Alexandre de Humboldt, conservé dans le fonds « Berlinois » à la Bibliothèque Jagellonne de Cracovie. L'édition diplomatique et critique du texte, à l'établissement de laquelle P. Tylus a pris récemment une part active, vient de voir le jour (sur le site de l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin-Brandebourg).

Alexandre de Humboldt, manuscrits, problèmes éditoriaux,
fonds « Berlinois », Bibliothèque Jagellonne

Une partie du patrimoine d'Alexandre de Humboldt, disponible actuellement à la Bibliothèque Jagellonne de Cracovie, contient un écrit (essai ou ébauche

d'un essai qui prend parfois la forme d'un journal), relatif à l'Île de Cuba : *Isle de Cube. Antilles en général* (caisse 3, fol. 127r–149v). J'eus le plaisir de participer à l'élaboration de l'édition du texte en question, en co-édition avec Ulrike Leitner et Michael Zeuske, dans le cadre du projet dirigé par Ottmar Ette. Ce fut mon premier contact éditorial avec Alexandre de Humboldt. Non seulement le ductus de sa main, qui est déjà difficile, mais surtout sa langue, ses archaïsmes, ses jeux avec le français lancent un défi et invitent à une épreuve. Il est un auteur exigeant, hors du commun, la réflexion philologique qu'il demande doit être profonde.

Alexandre de Humboldt s'inscrit dans une longue tradition des époques précédentes, celle de la liberté linguistique. L'éditeur reste parfois perplexe ... On pourrait trop facilement les considérer, ces libertés ..., comme erreurs, et surtout au cours de cette première moitié du XIX^e siècle, époque à laquelle la norme fut déjà bien enracinée dans la langue française. Comment procéder en l'éditant ? Corriger excessivement, avec démesure, à outrance ?

Nous avons effectivement affaire aux libertés et non pas aux lacunes dans sa connaissance du français, nous nous trouvons en face d'un texte composé par un francophone, et plus qu'un francophone : il fut un Auteur français par excellence. Les libertés en question furent souvent introduites d'une façon délibérée. D'abord, ces jeux avec certaines formes qui font le charme du texte et lui donnent son prix. En outre, bien des graphies qu'il faudrait juger comme archaïques, mais qui reviennent avec une fréquence qui témoigne que telles étaient les habitudes linguistiques de Humboldt. Certes, nous avons recours, dans certains cas, aux corrections, mais là où l'Auteur lui-même aurait écrit correctement, car il écrit les formes données correctement à d'autres endroits. Nombre d'erreurs est dû à la hâte et surtout pas à la mauvaise connaissance du français (nous tenons à le réitérer) qui fut sa langue maternelle (au sens exact de ce terme), la langue de ses conversations et de ses lectures, qu'il choisit pour la transmission de ses idées. Il faut en outre prendre en compte le fait que l'on a parfois affaire à une sorte de journal – et certaines parties du texte prennent la valeur de notes – un écrit à titre personnel que l'Auteur mettra à profit dans les publications qui suivront, p. ex. dans *l'Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, et surtout dans *l'Essai politique sur l'Île de Cuba* (les liens stricts avec les textes en question sont démontrés dans l'édition d'une façon évidente). Ainsi, p. ex. la ponctuation suit des règles différentes, certaines lacunes sont permises, le texte obéit à d'autres lois. Corriger d'une manière péremptoire, ce serait 'blesser' l'Auteur et son texte qui demandent, tous les deux, les plus hautes précautions. Le but de notre édition est d'offrir au lecteur le texte que l'Auteur aurait souhaité, ou bien éviter le texte

qu'il n'aurait pas souhaité. L'édition critique qui vient d'être achevée, malgré son épithète de *critique*, n'est hostile ni à Alexandre de Humboldt ni à son texte.

Or, à quelles libertés et habitudes linguistiques particulières est-on confronté, en ce qui concerne le texte en question ? En premier lieu, les jeux avec le français. Évoquons trois cas à titre d'exemples. D'abord, celui de *faubourgs*; Humboldt introduit deux autres graphies, hormis celle-ci : *fauxbourgs* et *faux bourgs* (en deux mots) – il montre simplement et avec ingéniosité la valeur première de ce terme : celle d'une ville qui est *fausse*, située hors de l'enceinte. Ensuite, le cas d'*auqu'un* = *aucun* et celui de *chaqu'un* = *chacun*. Ces graphies témoignent également du sens étymologique de l'Auteur, vu l'emploi de l'apostrophe : il pressentait certainement l'origine de ces mots – ceux-ci provenant de formes composées (**al(i)cunu* < *aliquem unum* et *cascunum* < *quisque unus*).¹

On voit, dans le texte, nombre de graphies diverses, intéressantes de ce point de vue étymologique, qui, tout en n'étant pas régulières, constituent des formes dues à la latinisation et prouvent le sens étymologique chez cet Auteur, ainsi *nud* = *nu*, *verd* = *vert*,² et il fallait les garder dans l'édition.

En même temps, nous maintenons le *t* final là où l'on écrit le *d*, p. ex. *font* = *fond*. Le *t* final est ici le résultat d'une évolution phonétique régulière : le substantif évoqué provient de l'accusatif *fundum*, il porte un *t* auquel aboutit le *d* devenu final et se trouvant après une consonne ; la forme *fond* est due à la latinisation. On trouve aussi ailleurs, sous la plume de l'Auteur, et assez fréquemment, le *t* pour le *d* en position finale (p. ex. *friant* = *friand*) – les graphies que nous suivons pour la raison qui vient d'être présentée. Mais tout n'est pas latinisation. On remarque, dans ce texte, un exemple de fausse latinisation : *j'ai sçu* = *je sus* (*savoir* provenant de **sapēre* et non pas de *scīre*) et nous gardons cette graphie comme phénomène curieux ici : elle se maintint en français au cours de quelques siècles et Humboldt l'aurait vue chez des auteurs des époques précédentes.

Selon une même logique, celle de garder les formes archaïques, nous conservons les emplois tels que : *on les embarquent*. Or, dans le cas du pronom personnel *on* suivi de la 3^e personne du pluriel (à quelques reprises sous la plume de Humboldt), on a affaire à un usage très ancien et très répandu. Mais là où

1 D'autre part, le cas de *soit disant*, employé au lieu de *soi-disant*, prouve le contraire, étant donné que le premier élément n'a rien à avoir avec le subjonctif du verbe *être* – il s'agit du pronom *soi* provenant du latin *sē* (en ancien français, le verbe *soi dire* = *se dire*).

2 Il se peut aussi que l'on ait affaire aux graphies espagnolisantes.

l'Auteur écrit *il* pour *ils*, bien qu'il s'agisse également d'un emploi ancien et largement diffusé, à l'époque de Humboldt cette habitude aurait pu provoquer des confusions, au moins un étonnement. D'ailleurs, s'il emploie la désinence de la 3^e pers. du plur. dans le cas d'un verbe qui accompagne le pronom *on*, il le fait certainement consciemment, tandis que l'absence de *s* dans *ils* peut être une simple omission, due à la hâte, et nous rectifions. Le maintien, dans l'édition, des désinences très anciennes, mais encore en usage au XIX^e siècle, de l'imparfait de l'indicatif et du conditionnel: *-ois*, *-oit*, *-oient*, ne doit pas étonner, même si l'on peut les considérer déjà comme archaïsantes, et nous les suivons fidèlement. Même remarque pour la désinence *-ois* dans le cas de certains noms, p. ex. *les Anglois*. Donc, tout ce qui pourrait paraître comme inhabituel à première vue, à vrai dire ne l'est pas.

Les formes présentes dans le titre du texte exigent également quelques mots de commentaire. Nous y trouvons *isle* et *Cube*. Quant à *isle*, provenant du lat. *insula* qui devient vite *isla* (encore en latin populaire), le *s* se maintient tout au long du Moyen Âge. Le *s* en position médiane et devant une consonne commence à être effacé dans la graphie dès le XVI^e s. (il disparaît dans la prononciation bien plus tôt), mais on le rencontre encore après cette période; la trace qui en reste aujourd'hui c'est un accent: aigu, grave ou circonflexe – n'importe (*sponsa* > *espouse* > *épouse*, *baptisma* > *batesme* > *baptême*, etc.). De telles graphies sont fréquentes sous la plume de Humboldt, citons encore p. ex. *dismes* = *dîmes*. Quant à *Cube*, le français aurait certainement admis cette forme-ci, au cas où *Cuba* aurait eu la chance de subir une évolution phonétique, étant donné que le *a* posttonique final aboutit régulièrement à un *e* muet dans la langue française, mais ce nom fut adopté dans celle-ci trop tard. Humboldt semble suggérer cette évolution – c'est un jeu avec la langue. Évoquons aussi à cette occasion la forme *Antigue* (= *Antigua*). On a donc affaire à des formes francisées. Ceci ne signifie pas que l'Auteur exclut les formes *île*, *Cuba* ou *Antigua*, mais remarquons que l'*île* n'est employée qu'à trois reprises, tandis que pour l'*isle* on compte 68 occurrences; on note quatre emplois de la forme *Cuba*, mais *Cube* prédomine de loin (40 occurrences). D'ailleurs, dans le titre apparaît l'*Isle de Cube* et c'est un titre que l'Auteur voulut. La forme *Antigue*, évoquée ici, apparaît quatre fois contre un emploi unique de la forme *Antigua*.

Une habitude graphique (celle d'effacer les consonnes qui ne se prononcent pas et qui auraient dû disparaître d'une façon régulière en français, aussi dans la graphie) est particulièrement fréquente sous la plume de cet Auteur. En voici quelques exemples: *tems* = *temps*, *enfants* = *enfants*, *parens* = *parents*, *existens* =

existants, *savans* = *savants*, *habitans* = *habitants*. En ce qui concerne le premier exemple, le *p* latin entre deux consonnes (*tempus* > *temps* après la chute de *u* posttonique final) disparaît régulièrement en français et on rencontre souvent, dans l'ancienne langue, la forme *tems* mais surtout *tens*. La graphie de Humboldt est donc la bonne et on la conserve. S'il s'agit des autres exemples évoqués ici, le *t* entre deux consonnes s'amuit régulièrement en français et ces formes sont fréquentes encore dans les anciens imprimés (le *t* au pluriel est dû à l'analogie aux formes au singulier, soit à la latinisation). Nous laissons intactes ces graphies originales de Humboldt. Pour ce qui est du dernier exemple cité, face à l'abréviation *hab.* à laquelle l'Auteur a quelquefois recours, nous la résolûmes comme *habitans*, en prenant en compte le fait que la forme *habitants* n'apparaît jamais sous la plume de l'Auteur, tandis qu'il écrit six fois *habitans*.³ Dans tous ces cas (qu'il s'agisse des formes sans ou avec un *t*), la prononciation est, d'ailleurs, identique. Les habitudes de Humboldt ressemblent à celles que l'on voit assez souvent encore dans les anciens imprimés (principalement incunables et post-incunables, mais aussi dans les imprimés qui suivirent) : la préoccupation essentielle fut celle de rendre compte de la prononciation. On voit cette tendance également pour ce qui est d'autres phénomènes qui se laissent distinguer dans la langue d'Alexandre de Humboldt.

Selon la même logique, on garde donc le *y* employé pour le *i*, p. ex. *baye* (petit golfe) pour *baie*, *soyent*, *la Loma del Yndio* (= *Indio*), *mays* = *maïs*, etc. – cette façon orthographique très ancienne dont la langue contemporaine conserve des traces, avant tout dans le cas de noms propres (c'est surtout en position finale que le *y* fut employé pour le *i*) ; mais on remarque également le *i* au lieu de *y* : *oxides* = *oxydes*. On le maintient, d'autant plus que la prononciation reste identique. De la même façon s'explique aussi l'apparition des formes telles que : *Pancouq* = *Panckouke*, *dancer* = *danser*, *répendus* pour *répandus*⁴ – c'est la manière de Humboldt de marquer la nasalisation : *en* ou *an* indifféremment (cela revient au même, quant à la prononciation). Dans la même ligne s'inscrivent aussi d'autres exemples :

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- 3 Les abréviations ne furent pas développées d'une façon arbitraire. Nous prîmes toujours en compte les formes notées in extenso. Au cas où deux formes quelque peu divergentes sont notées par l'Auteur, nous suivîmes la loi du nombre. Ainsi, étant donné que la forme *arobe* apparaît six fois dans le texte, tandis qu'*arrobe* – douze fois, face à l'abréviation *ar.* nous choisîmes la forme avec le double *r* : *arrobe*.
 - 4 La graphie correcte est signalée quand-même en appareil critique afin de faire éviter la confusion avec *repandre* qui possède un tout autre sens.

caractéristique = *caractéristique*, *Portuguais* = *Portugais*, *fraix* = *frais*,⁵ *pié* = *pied*,⁶ *feuilles* pour *feuilles*.⁷ Mais dans le cas de *c'est fait* = *s'est fait* nous préférons corriger afin de faire éviter une confusion inutile.

Nous gardons également, selon la même optique et vu les usages anciens, les consonnes simples employées au lieu de consonnes doubles, d'abord pour ce qui est des nasales, p. ex. *come*, *enflamée*, *comencé*, *commerce*, *imensément*; mais aussi dans d'autres cas, p. ex. *pourait*, *on les fouete*, *jaret*, *arangement*, *soufle*, *Pareño* = *Parreño*, etc.; et les consonnes doubles employées au lieu de simples, p. ex. *caffé*, *jetté*, *casemattes*, *aurait*, *mourrir*, *on s'intérresse*, *barraques*, *Barcellona*, *Caraccas*, *escallier*, etc.

On remarque, de plus, une habitude très curieuse de Humboldt, que l'on voit bien souvent dans les manuscrits médiévaux et dans les anciens imprimés, à savoir la barre qui, posée sur une voyelle, remplace la consonne nasale, p. ex. *imédiatement* = *immédiatement*, mais le plus souvent cette barre se pose, sous sa plume, sur la consonne nasale (*coïne*, *s'enflaïne*, *coïnun*, etc. – nombreuses occurrences) – le devons-nous à son amour voué aux livres anciens? Nous traitons ces formes comme abrégées.

Alexandre de Humboldt note ensemble certains mots, là où il aurait dû écrire séparément selon les règles de son époque, et inversement : les graphies séparées pour les graphies en un mot. Il ne s'agit pas de cas isolés, mais d'une habitude graphique de l'Auteur, qui revient avec une certaine fréquence. Ce phénomène ne doit pas étonner, si l'on le considère dans la perspective historique. Certaines de ces formes composées témoignent d'un sens étymologique de l'Auteur, d'autres paraissent fantaisistes, dans le sens positif d'un jeu avec la langue. Voici une liste de ces cas : *apeine* = *à peine*, *apeu près* = *à peu près*, *apresent* = *à présent*,⁸ *desorte que* = *de sorte que*, *dumoins* = *du moins*, *envain* = *en vain*, *tandisque* = *tandis que*, *peutêtre* = *peut-être*, *choufleurs* = *choux-fleurs*, *Nordouest*, *Sudest*, *parceque* / *par ce*

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- 5 Le *x* pour le *s* en position finale fut largement répandu et la langue contemporaine en conserve nombreuses traces.
 - 6 Cette graphie de Humboldt est régulière du point de vue étymologique (fréquemment employée dans l'ancienne langue), tandis que la forme *pied* doit être considérée comme irrégulière, due à la latinisation.
 - 7 La graphie humboldtienne, qui reflète une étape de l'évolution de ce mot, apparaît encore dans le dictionnaire de Jean Nicot (*Le Thresor de la langue françoise*, 1606).
 - 8 Selon les habitudes graphiques proprement anciennes, la préposition *à* accolée au mot suivant qui commence avec un *p*, provoquait généralement la reduplication du *p*, donc *appeine*, *appeu*, *appresent*.

que = *parce que*, *pour vu que* = *pourvu que*, *sur tout* = *surtout*, *la quelle* = *laquelle*, *les quels* = *lesquels*.

La façon de noter les noms propres peut susciter des doutes. Assez souvent sont employées les minuscules (conformément à l'usage très ancien) : *Buenos ayres*, *États unis / états unis*, *Rio blanco*, *Jesús del monte*, *la Montagne bleue de la Jamaïque* ; ailleurs, on voit la graphie en un mot au lieu de deux mots : *Bahia-honda* = *Bahia Honda*, *le Nordamérique*, mais aussi à l'inverse, donc deux mots pour un seul : *S. Yago* = *Santiago* ; ou bien une graphie modifiée : *Dannemarcq* (sans que la prononciation change), etc. Ces graphies humboldtiennes exigent parfois des rectifications, surtout au cas où elle pourraient provoquer une déformation fâcheuse de la prononciation, p. ex. *Missisipi*.

Il faut noter principalement qu'Alexandre de Humboldt est un auteur de la langue : il n'hésite pas à créer des néologismes, p. ex. *Caffétier* pour *caféier*, *Caffétals* qui est un mot francisé par lui, provenant de l'espagnol *cafetales* (plantations de café, caféières), *arrégler* = *régler* (également sous l'influence de l'espagnol : *arreglar*), et cela fait le prix de ce texte et de ses textes.

Pour terminer, je tiens à formuler les remarques suivantes, quant aux particularités de la langue d'Alexandre de Humboldt :

- il s'abstient parfois de respecter l'élision, p. ex. *se établira, que il, que en, quoique il, le unir*, et nous nous conformons à ces graphies, car elles reviennent avec une certaine fréquence et anciennement elles furent acceptables ;
- l'emploi des majuscules pour les noms communs est très fréquent (ce qui advient sous l'influence de l'allemand) ;
- l'Auteur a l'habitude d'omettre la préposition *en* devant les dates et nous le respectons, sans le considérer comme une lacune qui exige d'être comblée : « Croirait-on que les Français 1803 arachaient les yeux ... ? » ; « On comptait 1788 la Valeur de tous les Esclaves existens ... » – c'est parfois le style d'un journal, d'une composition un peu à la hâte, on ne peut pas effacer cet effet.

Et voici deux exemples qui montrent les risques que l'on court, si l'on corrige d'une façon excessive. Or, l'Auteur écrit, en général, *près de*, mais à six reprises il emploie *près qqch*. Nous gardons cette particularité. Voyons ce que l'on lit à propos de cette construction dans la quatrième édition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762) : « Quoique cette préposition soit régulièrement suivie de la préposition *de*, cependant il est d'usage de la supprimer dans plusieurs phrases du discours familier. » Les signes diacritiques ne sont pas d'un usage régulier sous la plume de l'Auteur et nous les introduisons selon la coutume générale de l'époque,

mais l'exemple de *fève* montre comme il faut être prudent. Or, Humboldt écrit *fèves* avec accent circonflexe et on serait tout de suite tenté de corriger en *fêves* avec accent grave. Cependant, le *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (4^e édition, 1762), note ce terme avec accent circonflexe, et on peut, voire il faut protéger la graphie originale. On ne peut donc pas corriger Alexandre de Humboldt trop vite. Il exige les plus hautes précautions. Pourtant là où les rectifications s'imposent, on intervient, mais l'édition diplomatique qui accompagne l'édition critique présente toujours au lecteur l'état original du texte.

Vu tout ce qui précède, on constate que Humboldt traite avec prédilection les formes anciennes que l'on pourrait considérer comme archaïques ou archaïsantes à son temps. La question serait de savoir de quelles lectures il se nourrissait, de quelles époques elles venaient, et quelles éditions il avait à sa disposition (manuscrites et imprimées). Quel français se fit-il sien ? En outre, il joue avec la langue et n'hésite pas à inventer, à créer, il pense la langue.

Il convient certainement de faire une distinction entre les solutions inhabituelles dues à la hâte et celles qui permettent de supposer un choix conscient de l'Auteur, et cette perspective vaut surtout pour les graphies qui reviennent avec fréquence. On admet en même temps que le français fut la langue maternelle de cet Auteur (au sens exact du terme), comme il vient d'être dit. Ce sont deux catégories bien différentes de ce que l'on peut appeler 'erreur'. Dans le premier cas, il faut corriger, car l'Auteur l'aurait souhaité – il n'y a pas de doute possible. Dans l'autre cas, tout n'est pas erroné et il convient de procéder avec la plus haute prudence, car on se trouve à un niveau où la langue de Humboldt apparaît comme un objet précieux qui exige la précaution. Sinon, ce serait un regard sévère posé par un artisan sur l'œuvre d'un Artiste.

Cet écrit d'Alexandre de Humboldt vient d'être publié sous la bannière de l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin-Brandebourg en tant que l'*Isle de Cube*.⁹



9 Cf. avhr.bbaw.de/reisetagebuecher/detail.xql?id=avhr_vwc_lsf_1w

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EUROPEAN ‘CASSOCK’, TKC. *ḲAZAḲ* AND PER. *KAZAĠAND*. RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIES AND POSSIBLE LINKS¹

The present article discusses three hypotheses that have been suggested to explain the etymological background of the English word *cassock* and its Romance sources, It. *casacca* and Fr. *casaque*, interpreting them alternatively (a) as a diminutive of Lat. *casa*; (b) as ultimately related to the word for ‘Cossack’ (< Tkc. *ḳazaḳ* ‘vagabond’), with the alleged semantic change ‘Cossack’ > ‘a kind of garment worn by Cossacks’; or (c) as a distortion of (or a back-formation from) MFr. *gasygan*, itself borrowed from Persian. The collected material allows to conclude that the three hypotheses do not provide an adequate explanation of the origin of the word. A modified variant of the third proposal is suggested in section 6.

etymology, names of clothes, language contact, cultural borrowing

1. Introduction

Although the problem is not new, the origin of Eng. *cassock*, its Romance sources, It. *casacca* and Fr. *casaque* and other related European forms is far from settled.

1 I would like to thank Adam Kubik (Siedlce) for his help obtaining Melikian-Chirvani’s (1983) article. Furthermore, my gratitude goes to Professor John R. Perry (Chicago)

A comparison of the conflicting etymological solutions provided by modern dictionaries seems to confirm this despite the generally laconic and dogmatic nature of the authors' wording. The following article, whose topic should not be a surprise to the Dedicatee, aims to collect evidence scattered in various publications with a view to updating the data on the earliest documentation of the relevant lexical items. On this basis I will attempt to assess the merits of the three hypotheses and identify their flaws.²

In order to achieve maximum comparability between the forms cited, the following romanization systems are used throughout (unless otherwise stated): (a) Persian – *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*;³ (b) Arabic – Wehr (1994); (c) Ottoman – RTOİS. The following modifications are introduced:

- in all cases the letter چ is romanized as ğ;
- in all cases the letter ک is romanized as k;
- the Ott. letter غ is romanized as ġ (in accordance with the romanization used for Persian and Arabic).

2. The received wisdom

The word under discussion is nowadays used in English especially with reference to a long close-fitting garment worn by priests under a surplice (a 17th-century development according to the OED), but the two oldest meanings, which are also attested in the earliest records of other European languages are (a) 'a cloak or long coat worn by soldiers' and (b) 'a kind of long loose coat or gown (worn by both sexes)'.

It is generally assumed that the source of the word in Europe was one or both of the following Romance forms:

- (1) (a) Fr. *casaque* 1. 'a kind of garment'; 2. 'a coat worn by soldiers';
 (b) It. *casacca* 1. 'a kind of coat worn by soldiers'; 2. 'an honorific garment'.

for generously sharing his expertise in Iranian linguistics with me and offering in-depth answers to my queries via e-mail. It goes without saying that any errors and misinterpretations are my own responsibility.

- 2 The present article is a thorough revision of a paper I delivered at my first international conference, which I attended in the wonderful company of my then thesis supervisor, Professor Marek Stachowski. It is Him that I owe my introduction to the methodology of rigorous etymological research.
- 3 URL: www.iranicaonline.org/pages/guidelines; accessed February 8, 2017.

As far as I can see, three hypotheses have been suggested in connection to the earlier history of the Romance forms. The OED₁ offers a (rather inconclusive) summary of these, which we will take as our point of departure:⁴

- (2) (a) It. *casacca* 'cassock, dwelling' (the latter meaning in Florio 1598, cf. below) < Lat. *casa* 'house' (cf. the development 'piece of clothing' < 'house' in Fr. *chasuble* < MLat. *casubla* < *casula* ← dim. of *casa*);
- (b) Fr. *casaque* < *Cosaque* 'Cossack', whence the military sense of *cassock*;
- (c) Fr. *casaque*, back fromation from *casquin* (reanalyzed as a diminutive); Fr. *casquin*, It. *casachino*, corruption of Ar. كَزَاغَنْد *kazāğand* < Per. کَزَاغَنْد *kažāğand*⁵ 'a padded jerkin or acton' ← کَز *kaž* = کَز *kağ* 'raw silk, silk floss' + آغَنْد *āğand* 'stuffed'; the word *kasagān* actually occurs in Middle High German as 'riding-cloak', and *gasygan* in Old French as 'padded jerkin or vest', but the relation of these to *casquin* and *casaque* has yet to be settled.

In the following sections, we will take a more detailed look at each of these proposals and try to identify their merits and problems they pose.

3. The Italian diminutive hypothesis

This idea goes back at least to Diez (1853); other supporters include Webster (1865), Müller (1865), Wedgwood (1872), Skeat (1910) and Webster (1934). Later authors typically ignore Diez's proposal without a comment. Cortelazzo (1957: 36, n. 4) is a commendable exception in that he offers arguments in favour of rejection. He asserts first that in Italian *-acca* is quite unusual as a suffix (also see DCECH s.v. *casaca*), and argues further that the semantic analogy of something that encloses a person that allegedly relates 'garment' to 'house' is less convincing in the case of *casacca* than with *casubla*, where the metaphor relies on the presence of a hood. According to Cortelazzo, glosses of the kind found in Florio (1598 s.v. *casacca*) and alluded to in the OED₁, i.e. 'an habitation or dwelling', may in fact invoke a legal term of Hebrew origin, i.e. Ven. *casaca* 'diritto di abitazione'.⁶

4 The romanization has been adapted. Otherwise I follow the OED₁'s formulations as closely as possible.

5 Here I correct the obviously erroneous spellings Ar. كَزَاغَنْد and Per. کَزَاغَنْد.

6 Urbani, Zazzu (1999: CLXXXIII; emphasis original) give a more precise definition of this concept according to which "a house owned by a gentile and rented to a Jew who had a *hazakah* on it might be sold to another Jew by permission of the head of the

Cortelazzo does not specify his objections regarding the alleged suffixhood of *-acca*. Rohlfs (1969: §1048) in his discussion of the Italian suffixes *-acco*, *-ecco*, *-icco*, *-occo*, *-ucco*, provides a few regional examples of the feminine variant of the first of these, such as Piedmontese *lusignaca* ‘little nightingale’ (cf. the standard *usignoletto* ‘id.’ ← *usignolo* ‘nightingale’), Sicilian *muracca* ‘low wall’ (← *mur* ‘wall’; also cf. Lombard *müraca*), Sicilian *puracca* ‘asphodel’ (← *porro* ‘leek’), Lombard *verdaca* ‘treefrog’ (← *verda* f.sg. ‘green’), *bolaca* (along with *bola*) ‘pond’, Milanese *tiraca* ‘tough meat’, alongside proper names such as *Petracca* and *Jermacca* to be found in medieval documents from the region of Puglia.⁷ As for the nature of such formations, Rohlfs is rather circumspect in his discussion, but he rejects Latin as the source and tentatively points to a possible Celtic origin. What is more relevant for the present discussion, he comments that Italian examples are rare and often problematic and their function is difficult to determine, although diminutive seems to be a good candidate in the majority of cases (*lusignaca* and *muracca* ~ *müraca* being the most obvious examples above).

Assuming that this last point is correct, a formation such as *casacca* *‘little house’ < *casa* ‘house’ + *-acca*, dim. is not entirely implausible. The alleged shift ‘little house’ > ‘piece of garment’ would have an almost perfect parallel in Lat. *casa* ‘house’ + *-ula*, dim. > *casula* ‘cottage’ > ‘piece of garment (with a hood)’ and whether one accepts or rejects Cortelazzo’s semantic objections is ultimately a matter of personal taste.⁸ In any case, given the dubious etymological/morphological status of *-acca*, it is worth considering the other two proposals.⁹

Bet Din”. The substitution Heb. [h] > It. [k] is perfectly regular (for other examples, see Rocchi 2011: 126).

- 7 The variant *-aca* in Piedmontese and Lombard (including Milanese) is a regular result of degemination north of the La Spezia–Rimini line (Gianelli, Cravens 1997: 32).
- 8 One might also mention Pol. *podomka* ‘housecoat; dressing gown’, although this word is derived from the phrase *po domu* ‘inside the house’, so that *podomka* is lit. ‘gown worn inside the house’. While the glosses to some of the earliest European (i.e. French, Occitan, Italian, English) examples suggest that the garment was ‘loose’ – a feature shared with *podomka* – there is no indication that *casaque*, *casacca* or *cassock* have ever specifically denoted clothes worn in the house, which would be necessary to provide a link with *casa*.
- 9 While It. *-acca* is problematic, the Fr. sequence *-aque* (= Lat. *-acus* < Gr. *-ακός*) found in words such as *cardiaque*, *insomniaque* or *maniaque* is entirely irrelevant to our topic, as its function is primarily adjectival and it begins to appear later.

4. The Turkic hypothesis

4.1. Tkc. *qazaq*

The suggestion whereby *casaque* ‘cassock’ is somehow related to *Cosaque* ‘Cossack’ has actually the longest pedigree. An early version appears in *Ménage* (1650; attributed to François Guyet), more modern supporters include Weekley (1921), Onions (1966), Cannon (2001), TLFi, DELI, DCECH; Kluge (2002) calls it controversial.

A more detailed and updated version could be the following: It. *casacca*, Fr. *casaque* ‘a kind of garment (allegedly) worn by Cossacks’ ≪ Tkc. *qazaq* ‘vagabond, freebooter’ (≧ It. *Cosacco*, Fr. *Cosaque*). The form of the etymon “*quzzāq*”, as first suggested by Yule (1886) and then copied by other authors (“*quzāq*” in Webster 1934, and “*quzzāq*” in Onions 1966, the OED^{1–3}, TLFi, etc.) is rightly rejected as incorrect by K. Stachowski (2004: 127, n. 3) and attributed to a misreading of Arabic script. The actual form is Tkc. *qazaq* ‘ein freier, unabhängiger Mensch, Abenteurer, Vagabund’ (Radloff 1899: col. 364; repeated in VEWT: 243; not in ËSTJa). While its etymology is not without problems, the word is widely attested in Turkic, the earliest records dating back at least to the mid 14th century (Lee 2015: 21–22, n. 1, on the reliability of the earliest occurrences see the next section; for data see Appendix B), and with the growing significance of the institution of Cossackdom in European battlefields it found its way into all major languages of Western Europe. On its way there it must have passed through Polish and/or Ukrainian (< Russian < Turkic), which is not only justified historically, but also indicated by the inverse spelling -o- corresponding to the reduced pretonic vowel of the Russian form (Stachowski K. 2004). For an overview of earlier, folk-etymological explanations of the origin of Ukr. *козак* (i.e. those that do not derive it from Turkic), see Hrushevsky (1999: 52ff). For critical summaries of various etymologies of Tkc. *qazaq*, see Doerfer (TMEN 3: 462ff) and more recently, Lee (2015: 21ff).

4.2. Tkc. *qazaq* and its European reflexes vs. Fr. *casaque* / It. *casacca*: comparison of early evidence

Brüch’s (1944: 146) assertion that It. *casacca* (whence Fr. *casaque*) goes back to Ru. *казакин* ‘Kosakenrock’ from *казак* ‘Cossack’ (or any claim to that effect) is irreconcilable with the chronology of attestation. Ru. *казакин* is first recorded in the 18th century (*казакен* 1755, *казакин* 1767, *козакин* 1792, SRJa XVIII s.v. *казакин*), and is clearly a borrowing from Fr. *casquin*. In fact, any reference to a ‘cassock’

as a ‘Cossack robe’ which postdates the 15th century might as well reflect folk etymology and is insufficient as evidence of an actual link.

This example shows that in order to establish the relationship (or lack thereof) between the two words, it is necessary to consider the earliest records, which, as it turns out, are highly unreliable, especially as far as Tk. *ķazak* and its European reflexes are concerned (for a more detailed chronology and references see Appendix B).

The Codex Comanicus is frequently quoted as featuring one of the earliest occurrences of Tk. *ķazak* (e.g. Pritsak 2006: 238). Its first part contains a phrase spelled <ghasal Cofac>, said to correspond to MLat. <guayta> (cf. MLat. *guaita* ‘guard’) = Per. <naobat> (= *nauba(t)* ‘guard’). However, the identification of the second word with Tk. *ķazak* is not uncontroversial. While Pritsak (2006: 241, n. 4) rejects Doerfer’s (TMEN 3: 467) reservations as to the roundedness of the first vowel of <Cofac>, citing a sporadic phonetic change, he openly admits that the identity of <ghasal> is a mystery (Pritsak 2006: 239).

An alternative solution (advanced by Drimba 1966: 486–487; also in Drimba 2000: 221 with an updated overview of earlier interpretations), which directly addresses this issue, relies on the identification of <Cofac> with the Tk. root *ķoš-* ‘Verse machen, Worte in gebundener Rede künstlich zusammenfügen’ (Radloff 1899: col. 637; also ĖSTJa: 95) and translates *ķasal ķošak* as ‘a singer of ghazals (in front of the palace of the king or a prince)’, whence ‘a kind of guard of the palace’.

From the formal point of view Drimba’s proposal seems to be sound. The question to be solved here is whether Kipč. *ķošak* could have been transcribed as <Cofac> by the compilers of the first part of the Codex, i.e. the Genoese, and the main issue is the use of the letter <ř> in the Codex, which is subject to some variation. Limiting our discussion to intervocalic context, there are clear instances of the letter being used to represent [s] (also written as <s>), e.g. Kipč. <Cařap> *ķasap* ‘butcher’ (= MLat. <Maçelarius> *macellarius*; Drimba 2000: 93), or [z] (more typically <ř>), e.g. Kipč. <Yuřac> *yuzaq* ‘lock’ (= MLat. <Clauatura>; Drimba 2000: 102). However, in many (most?) cases it is to be pronounced as [ř], e.g. Kipč. <Bořatmac> *bořatmak* ‘set free, pardon’ (= MLat. <Absolutio>; Drimba 2000: 39), Kipč. <Niřan> *niřan* ‘sign’ (= MLat. <signum>; Drimba 2000: 67), or Kipč. <Ay bařı> *ay baři* ‘the first day of the month’ (= MLat. <Kalendas>; Drimba 2000: 82). Given those circumstances, it is indeed plausible from the formal point of view that <Cofac> might represent *ķošak*.

It is the semantic aspect of this scenario that is more challenging. Drimba supports the connection between ‘the singer of ghazals (in front of the palace of

the king or a prince)' and 'a kind of guard of the palace' by reference to Per. نوبة *nauba(t)*, which combines meanings such as a sentinel, watchman' with 'a musical band playing at stated times before the palace of a king or prince'. Let us have a closer look at this proposal.

The meanings of the Arabic etymon, نوبة *nauba(t)*, as defined by Wehr (1994: 1181) may be arranged in the following types: 1. 'change, alternation, shift, rotation; (one's) turn'; 2. 'time, instance; case, instance, occasion'; 3. 'fit, attack, paroxysm; crisis'; 'change (or relief) of the guard, guard duty, guard'; 4. 'bugle call; (SyrAr) troupe of musicians, small orchestra of native instruments'. All four types are reflected in one way or another in the semantics of the two Persian reflexes recorded by Steingass (1892: 1431):

نوبة *naubat, nauba* 'supplying the place (of another); a period, time, turn, revolution; anything done periodically; a guard which is relieved; keeping watch, relieving guard; drums beating at the gate of a great man at certain intervals; a sentinel, watchman'

نوبت *naubat, nobat* 'a very large kettle-drum, struck at stated hours; a musical band playing at stated times before the palace of a king or prince;... a large state-tent for giving audience; security, safety; opportunity; guard, protection'

The use of the word with reference to music, musicians or musical instruments is related to a tradition which developed either in the Arab world (at least as early as the 8th century; Wright 1993: 1042) or in Iran (Seljuq 1976: 141), and was subsequently adopted by Muslim rulers of Syria, Turkey, Egypt, North Africa and Spain and India. According to Seljuq (1976: 142), the ceremonial variant of the *naubat* was performed "at the royal courts and palaces of dignitaries five times a day, corresponding with the five times of prayers" as well "at 'Qanqah' (monasteries) and Mausoleums". A special gallery was constructed on top of the main entrance for the musicians to perform in. Furthermore, the *naubat* could be performed by a military band, referred to i.a. as *naubat-xāne* or – in Ottoman Turkey – *mehter* (Feldman 1991; Farmer 2000), cf. RTOİS (748), *mehter* i.e. *hist*. 'band of musicians which played at palaces; musician'.¹⁰ Therefore, it seems undeniable that *naubat* combines the meaning 'a guard' with several senses related to music (1. 'a musician

10 *Naubat* itself found its way to Ottoman Turkish, too, cf. *nöbet* = *nevbet* i.a. 1. 'turn (of duty etc.); watch (of a sentry etc.)'; 2. 'onset (of fever); fit' 3. 'set performance of a military band', and *nöbethane* 1. 'guardhouse. station of a guard'; 2. 'military band that performed at stated times daily at court'; 3. 'place where the band assembles' (RTOİS: 891).

or a (military) band playing court music at fixed intervals'; 2. 'a sat played at court at fixed intervals'; 3. 'a kettle-drum struck at stated hours').

Nevertheless, while a connection between 'a guard' and 'music played regularly' may be established, as it was one of the functions of guards and military bands to sound regular calls using wind instruments and/or drums (cf. Ar. *nauba(t)* 'bugle call', as recorded in Wehr),¹¹ one has to remain cautious about Drimba's scenario. First of all, the literal meaning of *ḡasal koşaḡ* is, in Drimba's words, 'a singer of ghazals (in front of the palace of the king or a prince)',¹² but unlike blowing a trumpet, singing was hardly the function of a guard.¹³ Furthermore, the author does not explain what he means by 'ghazals', and if the most common application is intended, i.e. 'love poetry', this does not make the solution any more plausible ('a composer/singer of love poetry in front of a palace' > 'a guard?'). As a last resort, one could refer to the fact that a *ḡasal* was also sung as one of the movements in a traditional naubat (Wright 1993: 1042), but the question then arises as to why it was this part that was singled out.

To sum up this already lengthy discussion, while the traditional reading of <ghasal Cofac> does not account for the meaning of the first element, the solution advanced by Drimba encounters certain semantic problems too, even if it is very plausible phonetically.

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- 11 This is also reflected in the historically attested meanings of the Eng. noun *wait* 'act of waiting' – incidentally, a borrowing of the Northern French counterpart of MLat. *guaita*, both ultimately Germanic (OED2 s.v. *wait* n.): 'a military watchman, sentinel, or look-out; also a scout, spy; esp. a watchman in a camp, castle, or fortified place who was furnished with a horn or trumpet to sound an alarm or to make a signal' (14th–16th centuries), 'a watchman attached to the royal household who sounded the watch, etc., by the blowing of a pipe, trumpet, or other wind-instrument' (14th–15th centuries, 19th century), alongside 'a municipal watchman' (15th century) and 'a body of guards' (18th century), as well as *waits* 'a small body of wind instrumentalists maintained by a city or town at the public charge' (13th–18th centuries). Later extensions include *waits* 'a band of musicians and singers who perambulate the streets by night at the approach of Christmas and the New Year playing and singing carols and other seasonable music for gratuities' (18th–19th centuries) and *wait* 'a player on the flute, hautboy, trumpet' (16th–17th centuries).
- 12 Although 'a composer of ghazals' might be more appropriate (cf. the meanings of *koşa*- above).
- 13 Unless 'singing out of boredom' or 'singing to pass the time' is meant, but in that case *naubat* is an unlikely parallel.

Sreznevskij (Srezn.: 1173) cites an Old Russian occurrence in a text which he dates to 1395 (still so in Vasmer 1953: 502; TMEN 3: 467). However, based on evidence pertaining to the author and the content of the relevant letter, the modern editors conclude that the date July 17, 6903 AM is erroneous and emend it to July 17, 6993 AM, i.e. 1485 AD (ASVR: 180, no. 268; so in SRJa XI–XVII: 15).

Another early attestation which is frequently quoted is the following passage in a 1308 document from Sudak in Crimea (Greek text after Antonin 1863: 613, no. 117; English translation and additions from Hrushevsky 1999: 60):

τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτελίωθ ὁ δουλ τοῦ θῦ ἀλμαλτζοῦ υἱὸς τοῦ σαμακᾶ, φεῦ ὁ νέος
ξίφη σφαγῆς ὑπὸ καζάκων. ἰνδ ς τοῦ ςωις ἐτ

On that day (17 May – M.H.), the servant of God, Almalchu, son of Samaq, died – oh, the youth was killed by the sword of the Cossacks [in the sixth indiction], in the year 6816 (1308 – M.H.).¹⁴

This record has been recently called into question by Basilevsky (2016: 381, n. 8), for whom the Greek text “most certainly” refers to Kasogs (Ru. *касогу*), i.e. Circasians, rather than Cossacks (cf. *Κασακος*, *Κασαγος* ‘Kasogs’ attested in the Greek inscriptions of Olbia and dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. AD and cited by Menges 1956: 90).¹⁵ While he even supplies his own revised translation with ‘Kazoks’ for Hrushevsky’s ‘Cossacks’, he does not provide any justification, and – more crucially – he relies solely on Hrushevsky’s text, which does not give any grounds for the reading ‘Kazoks’. This makes the validity of Basilevsky’s objections rather dubious, or at least difficult to verify, especially without access to the original document, the status and location of which are unknown to me. So far as I was able to determine every other scholar discussing the relevant entry cites it either on the basis of Hrushevsky or from his source, i.e. Antonin’s edition, which clearly prints *καζάκων*. It seems, therefore, more reasonable to adhere to the traditional interpretation of the passage under consideration. Nevertheless, two facts remain suprising: its early date and the meaning implied by the passage. The 1308 attestation predates any

14 Hrushevsky interprets *καζάκοι* here as either bandits of Crimea or Tatars or some other group.

15 Incidentally, while the formal resemblance between *касог* and *қазак/қозак* has led some to suggest a connection, Golden (2001: 45) states explicitly that the two words are unrelated. Furthermore, Menges (1956: 89–90) rejects any link with the Turkic word. Indeed, given that the derivation of *қазак/қозак* from Turkic is flawless semantically and phonetically, no other scenario is necessary, much less one that requires additional phonetic readjustments.

reliable mention of Tkcz. *qazaq* in the sense ‘brigand, vagabond’, which seems to be the intended meaning here. Perhaps less strikingly, the word then disappears from the annals in Europe for almost a hundred and fifty years only to return in Crimean documents and Slavic chronicle entries of the mid 15th century.

The earliest uncontroversial occurrence of Tkcz. *qazaq* comes from a mid 14th-century Kipčak-Arabic dictionary, *Kitāb tarğumān turkī wa-‘arabī wa-muğālī* (1343; see Appendix B), in the meaning ‘free, freed’. This, along with the phrase *qazaq başlı* ‘single, bachelor’ in a later (?) work, *Kitāb at-tuḥfa az-zakiyya fī l-luḡa at-turkiyya* (before 1426, perhaps mid 14th century; see Appendix B for details), records a more general use of the word, which has nothing to do with political vagabondage (and hence freebooting), a sense that *qazaq* and *qazaqlıq* were to acquire in the course of the fifteenth century. As Lee writes (2015: 45–46; footnotes omitted):

[T]he quasi-*qazaq* bands, such as the Neguderı that became active in Khorasan from the second half of the thirteenth century, were not referred to as *qazaqs* by their contemporaries, implying that the term *qazaq* was most likely not used in Central Eurasia to designate fugitives or frontier freebooters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; second, the term *qazaq* in the sense of a fugitive, freebooter, or vagabond began to appear in the sources written in the fifteenth century. Importantly, whereas the Timurid histories written in Persian in the early fifteenth century did not refer to Temür as *qazaq*, the contemporary histories of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara (r. 1469–70 and 1470–1506) and Babur (r. 1526–30), i.e., the sources written in the second half of the fifteenth century and after, use the term *qazaq* to denote the *qazaqliq* days of these two Timurid princes.

In fact, based on his thorough analysis of post-Mongol documents from Central Eurasia, Lee (2015: 48) concludes that it was precisely the development of the meaning ‘a freebooter, a brigand’ that was the prerequisite for the spread of the word. While the earliest occurrences in Slavic sources in this sense come from the 15th century, *kozak* ~ *kazak* does not gain greater currency until the 16th century, when it also serves as a derivational base for a number of words (e.g. Pol. *Kozactwo*, *kozakować* or Ru. *казаковать*, *казачество*). Parallel to that, albeit at a slower pace, speakers of West European languages gradually become familiar with Cossacks. This initially applies to the Genoese in Crimea (1449, 1474), who control important cities on the shores of the Black Sea at the time. Yet it is not until the second half of the 16th century that we find the earliest references in Italy itself (1550, 1575, 1583, 1594, 1595) and then in France (1578, 1583, 1584), and England (1587).

By that time the word for ‘cassock’ is fairly well established at least in Italy, as evident from Appendix B. Owing to the tremendous work by Schweickard (2006), the early usage of *casacca* and the like in texts from the territory of Italy is abundantly documented. There are at least nine occurrences of the word in 15th-century texts, whether written in Italian or Latin, with the earliest from 1472 in the sense of ‘military clothing to be worn under armour’ (cf. the meaning of Per. *kažāğand* discussed in section 5.1 below).

As for France, the available pre-1500 evidence for *casaque* is scanty. In fact, it amounts to two occurrences, both mentioned in FEW II (562). While I was not able to access the work which Wartburg cites in support of the Occitan form *cassaqua* (1450),¹⁶ the earliest source given for French, i.e. the 1413 *casaque*, looks suspicious. The form is usually accompanied by a reference to Gay (1887), who in turn quotes the *Histoire de Charles VI Roy de France* attributed to Jean Juvénal des Ursins. The relevant passage, as quoted by Gay (1887 2: 43 s.v. *huque*), runs as follows: “A Paris fut faite une livrée de huques *ou casaques* de deux violets de diverses couleurs” (emphasis mine). There are two important points to be made. Firstly, the date 1413 is the one found in the text, but not the date of composition. The latter is unknown, but the typical estimate points to a period after 1430 (Veenstra 1998: 21; Curry 2000: 128). Secondly and more importantly, the text of the *Histoire...* is known from two printed editions published by Theodore Godefroy (1614) and by his son, Denis Godefroy (1653). Crucially, the phrase “ou casaques” is missing from the first edition (1614: 333) and appears only in the second (1653: 254). It is not impossible then that “ou casaques” was added by Denis Godefroy as a gloss to “huques”.

One of the early authors who support the relationship between *casaque* and *Cosaque* is Beneton de Morange de Peyrins (1739). On pages 102–103 of his work (see also Planché 1876: 86–87) he suggests that the *casaque* received its name in French (alongside an alternative, *hongreline*) after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, as a type of military dress worn by the Cossacks and Hungarians who served under King Sigismund of Hungary and fought alongside Charles VI’s army. While the Hungarian army most likely did include some Turkic elements at the time (Nicolle 1999: 21–22), Beneton’s story must be a figment of his imagination. If Lee (2015) is right, the word in question could not have been used to refer to those

16 The work in question is Pierre Pansier’s *Histoire de la langue provençale à Avignon du XII^e au XIX^e siècle*, published in 4 volumes in 1924–1927, and followed by a fifth volume, *Supplément lexicologique* in 1932.

Turkic soldiers: even if the institution of political vagabondage did exist in the late 14th century it did not bear the name *ķazaklık* yet, and *ķazak* itself did not evoke any coherent image of a particular social group.¹⁷

All in all, the early evidence suggests that the scenario in 2b is implausible. The knowledge about Cossacks and their exploits is initially a purely Eastern phenomenon and does not reach the West sufficiently early to provide a sound basis for any association between the Cossacks (whether ‘political vagabonds’ or simply ‘freebooters’) and the garments they wore. Conversely, *casaque* ‘garment’, in its early history (i.e. 15th–16th centuries), is unique to Western Europe. This suggests that any connection between the two words is folk-etymological and it is a later development.

5. The Perso-Arabic hypothesis

5.1. Per. *ķazāgand*

The derivation from Per. *ķazāgand* was originally suggested by de Lagarde (1887: 298–302); its variants are to be found among others in FEW II s.v. *kazagand*, Webster (1961) s.v. *cassock*, Klein (1966) s.v. *cassock*, AHD3 s.v. *cassock*; TLFi s.v. *casaque* considers it less plausible.

Based on his impressive analysis of early Persian lexicographical and literary sources, Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 14–15) reaches the following conclusion regarding the original meaning of the word (romanization retained):

Summing up the literary evidence, the picture of the *ķazhāgand* that emerges is entirely consistent with the glosses provided by the early dictionaries. The defence belongs to the general category called *ķhaftān* with which it is actually equated by Zamakhshārī and Nakhjavānī as well as by Asadī in the *Garshāsp-Nāme*. It is implicitly understood as a “silk-waste padded cloak” (*qabā-ye ķazhāgand*) and explicitly referred to as such by the lexicographer Nakhjavānī and the poet Neẓāmī. The defence incorporated a coat of mail, sewn inside the garment (Zamakhshārī) and therefore unseen, leaving only the very finely woven silk visible (Neẓāmī in the *Sharaf-Nāme*), in fact brocades embroidered (according to the *Garshāsp-Nāme*,

17 It is thus not surprising that Hung. *kozák* ‘free Slavic peasant living in a military organization (esp. one that served in cavalry)’ is first attested in 1530 (TESz: 599). The editors derive it from Ukrainian, although some instances are tentatively attributed to Polish influence.

confirmed in 1652 by the *Borhān-e Qāte*,¹⁸ echoing some earlier source) with insignia (in the *Garshāsp-Nāme*). Throughout, the use of the *kazhāgand* is repeatedly associated by early Persian poets with Chīn, that is Turkistan (Ferdowsī, Asadī in the *Garshāsp-Nāme*, and Nezāmī in the *Sharaf-Nāme*).

As far as the form is concerned, there is considerable variation in terms of how the Persian etymon is represented in modern dictionaries, which makes it difficult to recover the actual pronunciation. The following spellings are only a sample (romanization adapted): *kazagand* (in FEW II s.v. *kazagand*; Klein 1966 s.v. *cassock*), *kuzāgānd* (in DEI s.v. *casacca*), *kazāgand* (in TLFi s.v. *casaque*), *kažāgānd* (in Webster 1961 s.v. *cassock*) and *kažāgand* (in AHD₃), of which only the last two are indeed Persian. Based on a chronological survey of forms from early Persian literary and lexicographical sources collected by Melikian-Chirvani (see Appendix A), it turns out that the 10th–15th-century documentary record is dominated by *kažāgand* ~ *kažāgānd*, with *kažāgand* ~ *kažāgānd* clearly less widespread, to which a mid-17th-century dictionary adds *kağāgānd* and *kažāgang* among others. Steingass (1892) quotes as many as seven alternatives: *کاژآگاند* *kaž-āgānd*, *کازآگاند* *kaž-āgand* (p. 1027), *کاگآگاند* *kağ-āgānd*, *کازگآگاند* *kağ-āgand* (both on p. 1016), *کاژاگاند* *kažāgānd*, *کازاگاند* *kažāgand*, and *کاژاگاند* *kaž-āgang* (all three on p. 698), whereas PRS has *کاگآگاند* *kağ-āgānd* (p. 312) 'a garment padded with silk (worn under armour or mail)', with what he treats as its variants, i.e. *کاژآگاند* *kaž-āgānd*, *کازآگاند* *kaž-āgand* (p. 324), alongside *کاژاگاند* *kaž-āgānd* 'quilted jacket worn under a coat of mail; mattress' (p. 266).

The canonical form of a compound depends on what we take to be the basic variants of its constituent parts. The second element is uncontroversially as *āgand* 'stuffed, filled' ← *āgandan* 'to stuff, to fill'. The spelling fluctuation *گ* *g* (also written as *ک*) ~ *گ* *g* reflects an Early New Persian dialectal alternation between stop and fricative pronunciations of the phoneme /g/, the former mostly found in the northeastern and the latter in the central and southwestern dialects (Pisowicz 1985: 138).¹⁸

As for the first element, there is variation in Persian in both the initial and the final consonant, but significantly the distribution is not completely random:

18 As for the 17th-century variant ending in *-ng* (also in Steingass 1892), Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 11–12) refers to Henning's (1945: 154–155) discussion of a change in the history of Persian whereby an earlier (i.e. Middle or Classical Persian) *-ng* turned to *-nd* word-finally (also acknowledged in Lazard 1963: 162, §78). Significantly, neither author cites *āgand* ~ *āgang* among his examples, and, indeed, such inclusion would

one only encounters *kaž-* ~ *kaḡ-* and *kaz-*. Dehxodâ (1957 s.v. کاز) considers *kaž* to be the canonical form of the word for 'raw silk' and most authors seem to agree. Furthermore, if we leave aside the *k-* forms (to be discussed below), it is indeed *kaž-* that is almost universally found in the compound in question in the earliest sources, *kaḡ* being rare.

As for the earlier history of the word for 'raw silk' in Persian, it has to be borne in mind that in fact it has three forms in *k-*, namely *kaḡ* ~ *kaž* ~ *kaz* (the latter apparently not found in the compound). This variation is not uncommon in the early Persian sources (for this and other examples of *ḡ* ~ *ž* ~ *z*, see Lazard 1963, §§42–44: 148–149) and it may point to repeated interdialectal borrowing. Asbaghi (1988: 218) cites MPer. (Pahlavi) *kač* 'raw silk' (also cited in Tietze 1967: no. 72) and suggests its regular development into Per. *kaž*, whereas according to Zieme (1997: 154) it is *kaḡ* that is the direct New Persian descendant of the Middle Persian form. Furthermore, the latter author draws attention to the existence of other potentially related words, like Per. *kaḡi* 'raw silk from the cones' ~ *gazi* 'coarse kind of (cotton) cloth' (> Ott. *gezi* 'silk and cotton material', RTOİS: 399), and indicates that it is not implausible that all of these ultimately go back to an external source, with a potential source in Sanskrit (Zieme 1997: 155). All in all, the matter is complex and calls for a thorough analysis by a specialist in Middle Iranian/Early New Iranian dialectology.

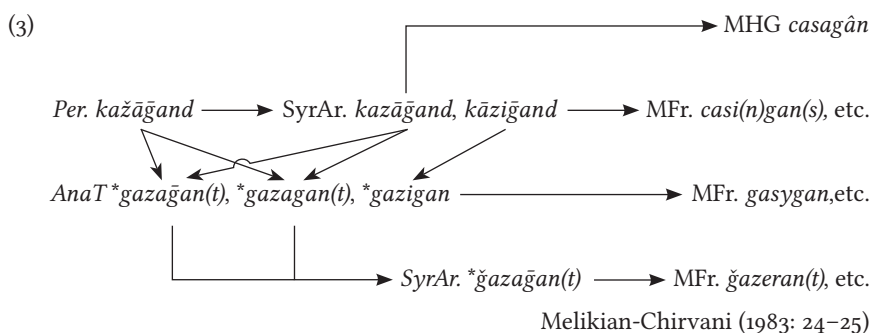
Coming back to *kazāḡand* ~ *kažāḡand*, these are due to Arabicization that quite commonly affected native Iranian vocabulary under the influence of the prestigious Arab culture. Per. *kaž* 'raw silk' itself was first borrowed into Arabic as *kaž(z)*, and then found its way back into Persian as *kaz* 'id.' (Maciuszak 1996: 30).¹⁹ However, while Per. *kaz* is indeed a returning loan, *kazāḡand* ~ *kažāḡand* must be a Persian-internal creation imitating Arabic rather than a Rückwanderer, as all the attested Arabic reflexes begin in *k*. In other words, *kazāḡand* ~ *kažāḡand* may be considered a Perso-Arabic hybrid in which the first element of a native Persian compound was substituted with its Arabic reflex.

raise serious doubts, as it turns out that *d* is here primary (the variant *āgang* is not even included in the appropriate entries in DKS s.v. *kan-* 'to throw, put'; EWAia s.v. *āhanās-*; Chueung 2007 s.v. **kan²*; ĒSIJa s.v. **kan-*).

19 Other examples of such Arabicization include Per. *fārsī* 'Persian' (beside the earlier native *pārsī*) < Ar. *fārisī* < Per. *pārsī* among others.

5.2. MFr. *gasygan*

Appendix A features a chronological list of the relevant forms. The fact that the French ones are somehow related to the Persian ones seems to be universally accepted, but the exact details of this relationship are rarely discussed. The only exception that I am aware of is Melikian-Chirvani (1983), who suggests a possible transmission route and supports his claims with rich philological material. The gist of his proposal may be represented in the following graph:



We will leave aside the forms in ḡ- and the question of whether they should be included in the diagram above, as they are not directly relevant to the history of the words under discussion.²⁰ The part of the scenario that is relevant to *gasygan*, etc. rests on three unattested dialectal Turkish pronunciations, which are responsible for the voicing of the initial consonant. While the process of voicing initial plosives in some forms of spoken Anatolian Turkish (as a reflection of a more general tendency in Oghuz Turkic) is indeed well documented,²¹ the expected result in this particular case (irrespective of whether the source was Persian or

20 For the same reason, these forms are omitted in Appendix A. The bibliographical and chronological details pertaining to these can be easily obtained from AND s.v. *jacerant*, DÉAF s.v. *jazerenc* and DMF s.v. *jaseran*, all available online free of charge. In the context of our word it is interesting to note that while the occurrences of *gasygan* & co. are few and far between (see Appendix A), forms with *r* in the onset of the final syllable gained considerable currency in Medieval French (with DÉAF quoting as many as over seventy instances).

21 See e.g. Caferoğlu (1959: §23221), Doerfer (1975–1976, on *k > g*, see pp. 118–119) and Rentzsch (2011, on *k > g*, see pp. 349–351). According to Doerfer's dating, the shift was an ongoing sound change in the relevant period.

Arabic) would be a form beginning in *ge-* rather than *ga-*. There are two reasons behind this claim: (a) the typical adaptation of Perso-Arabic short *a* as *e* in Turkish, e.g. Per. *ġandara* ‘a press’ > Ott. *ġendere* ‘id.’, (b) the tendency of ك *k* (pronounced as [kʲ]) to palatalize the neighbouring vowel (as opposed to ق *qaf*), cf. Per. *kargas* ‘a vulture’ > Turk. *kerkes* ‘id.’, Ar. *kamāl* ‘perfection’ > Ott. *kemāl* ‘id.’ against Per. *ḵaltabān* ‘pimp, cuckold’ > Turk. *ḵaltaban* ‘id.’, Ar. *ḵalam* ‘a pen’ > Ott. *ḵalam* ‘id.’ (see Stein 2006). The presence of both features in the Persian word in question strongly suggests that a Turk. **gazaġan(t)*, **gazagan(t)*, **gazigan* going back to Per. *kažāġand* is highly unlikely. Furthermore, there is no reason for substituting Per. *ž* with Ott. *z*: the former was typically preserved, e.g. Per. *kažāba* ‘a camel-litter in which Persian ladies travel’ (Steingass 1892: 1027) > Ott. *kežabe* ‘id.’ (RTOİS: 632). The above remarks are confirmed by the Ottoman reflex of the Persian word recorded by Meniński (1680 2: coll. 3939–3940) as کژاغند *kežāġend* ~ کژاغند *kežāġend* (RTOİS has کژاغند ~ کژاغند *kežāġend* ‘thickly padded battle coat’, p. 632, and the variant کج آغند *keġāġend*, p. 629).

Melikian-Chirvani’s scenario may be amended by assuming that the relevant Persian form here is the Arabicized *ḵazāġand* ~ *ḵazāġand*, which was regularly rendered in Ottoman as کزاکند *ḵazāġend* ‘a doublet quilted with refuse silk, sometimes worn under armor, or as armor’ (Redhouse 1890: 1451). One should note the diverging adaptation of Persian short *a* in this form: once as *a*, due to the neighbouring ق *qaf*. This might have become **gazaġen(t)* or **gazagen(t)* in popular pronunciation.²²

As for the AnaT. variant **gazigan*, which Melikian-Chirvani (1983) derives from Ar. *kāziġand* in order to account for MFr. *gasygan* & co., the regular reflex of the Per./Ar. sequence *kā* in Ottoman is *kâ* [kʲa], i.e. the backness of the vowel is preserved, but the initial velar plosive is interpreted as palatalized, e.g. Ar. *kāfir* ‘infidel’ > Ott. *kâfir* (for other examples, based on Filippo Argenti’s Ottoman material, see Stachowski K. 2015: 283). Consequently, one would expect a result more along the lines of **gâzigan(t)*, with [gʲa] ~ [ja], the nearest equivalent of which in Old French would most likely be [dʒ] (itself a development of an earlier

22 Persian word-final *d* would indeed be pronounced voiceless in Ottoman and in a cluster such as *nd* could be optionally lost. This is occasionally reflected in transcription texts, e.g. Per. *dulband* ‘turban’ > *tülbent* ~ *tülban* & co. (PLOT: no. 619), and in dialectal materials, e.g. Per. *ābkand*, *āukand* ‘any hollow channel excavated by the rushing of a torrent; a place where water collects and stagnates; a pond’ > dial. Turk. *avkan(t)* ~ *avgan(t)* (Tietze 1967: no. 1).

[gʲ] or [ʃ], Pope 1952: §300). This suggests that another explanation should be sought for MFr. *gasygan* & co (confusion of the two alleged Turkish pronunciations **gazagan(t)* and **gâzigan(t)* in the French ears?).

All in all, Melikian-Chirvani's derivation of MFr. *gasygan* & co. via Turkish from Persian is not void of problems: some of its phonetic details remain unclear and certain crucial stages it involves are only hypothetical (even if plausible). Nevertheless the historical and philological evidence seems convincing enough to assume that Per. *kazāğand* along with its referent were subject to cultural borrowing in the period of the crusades.

5.3. MFr. *casaque*

The idea that Fr. *casaque* (and hence Eng. *cassock*) ultimately goes back to the Persian word rests on the premise that at some point either the final *-and* of the Oriental etymon itself or the final *-an(t)* of its French reflexes was reinterpreted as a suffix and deleted. This etymology has a few weaknesses.

First of all, it is unclear what suffix the sequence under consideration could have been identified with. From a formal standpoint, the closest match is the Old French present participle ending *-ant* (see Einhorn 1974: 27 on this suffix), but given the nature of backformation, one should expect a verbal rather than a nominal stem as the end product of subtracting a sequence identified with a participial ending.²³ Functionally, a more plausible candidate is the diminutive *-in*, but the comparison seems far-fetched from a phonetic standpoint.

Furthermore, even if this scenario were correct, backformation from *gasigant* or *casingan* would hardly yield *casaque*. More specifically, the change *gasigant* > *casaque* involves two inexplicable changes: (a) devoicing of initial *g-*, and (b) lowering of *i* > *a*. Taking *casingan* as the input we circumvent the first problem, but run into others instead. It is likely that this form was pronounced as [kazipjān],²⁴ which would most likely produce [kazip] by backformation.

23 Backformation, in Fertig's words (2013: 51), "amounts to innovators guessing at the input to a rule based on its output". The alleged output of the rule in our case is any of the Old French forms in *-ant*, say, *gasigant*, whereas the relevant rule is "add *-ant* to a verbal stem to form a present participle".

24 The sequence *ng* poses a certain problem. It was a regular spelling of [ŋ] word-finally, but intervocally it was typically substituted by *gn*. Nevertheless, Pope (1952: §695) admits that *ng* for [ŋ] could occasionally appear elsewhere.

Last but not least, the problematic status of the 1413 attestation of *casaque* increases the temporal distance between the last occurrences of *gasigant* (late 14th century) and *casagua* (Old Occitan, 1450). While the difference is not dramatic, it reduces the odds that the two are connected, especially given the apparent marginal status of the former, as discussed in note 20.

The above observations make it difficult to accept a direct relationship between Per. *kažāḡand* and MFr. *casaque* without hesitation.

6. Tkc. *ḡazak* × Per. *ḡazāḡand*

A variant combining the two hypotheses in 2b and 2c has been recently suggested by Garland Cannon (2001). In his dictionary of words in English of Persian origin he puts forward a theory of a folk-etymological association between Tkc. *ḡazak* and Per. *ḡazāḡand*, whereby the latter was modified into *casacca*. All the remarks pertaining to chronology apply here as well: Tkc. *ḡazak* reaches the West too late to have had any such effect.

7. Solution(?): MGr. *καζάκας* and the origin of It. *casacca* (> Fr. *casaque*)

Although Medieval Greek material has been largely ignored in the context of the etymology of the Romance forms, it may provide us with a missing link between Per. *kažāḡand* or Arabicized Per. *ḡazāḡand* and It. *casacca* (in which case It. > Fr. *casaque*). The word occurs in Greek at least three times in the Middle Ages in the following forms (LBG: 726): *καζακάδων* (ca. 1235), *καζακάν* (with the description *μεταξωτόν* ‘of silk’, before 1236), *καζακάν* (ca. 1326). According to Parani (2003: 120f.), the context in which the last of these appears clearly indicates that the word denotes some sort of protective garment, which allows her to derive the word from Per. *kažāḡand* or *ḡazāḡand*. It should be noted that from a formal standpoint the adaptation is straightforward irrespective of which Persian form was the source, and may have involved: (a) deletion of final *-d* (a final *-nd* would violate Greek phonotactics), (b) metanalysis of *kazakan* as an accusative *kazak+an*. Both Arabicized Per. *ḡ* > MGr. *k* and Per. *ž* > MGr. *z* are equally likely.

It has to be pointed out that while LBG itself derives MGr. *καζάκας* < It. *casacca*, I would like to propose the opposite direction, given that the earliest Italian record goes back to the 15th century. This assumption seems to be indirectly corroborated by the fact that at least some of the earliest occurrences in Italian documents,

whether written in Medieval Latin (1484) or Italian (1495, 1500, 1504, see Schweickard 2006: 592 with references) denote an item of clothing worn by the *stradioti*, i.e. mercenaries recruited in the Balkans, esp. among the Greek population, to serve the Venetians from the 15th onwards. Thus, the early evolution of *casacca*, *casaque* and *cassock* (disregarding their modern usage) would have been as follows:

- (4) Per. *kažāġand* ~ *ķazaġand* '1' > MGr. *καζάκάν*, metanalysed as an accusative of *καζάκας* '1; *2' > It. *casacca* '1, 2, 3' > Fr. *casaque* '2, 3' > Eng. *cassock* '2, 3',
 where:
 1. 'a cloak padded with silk and a coat of mail sewn inside'
 2. 'military clothing (as worn by the *stradioti*)'
 3. 'a wide comfortable coat'

It is clear that the first meaning became gradually distorted in time,²⁵ whereas the second one has to be reconstructed for Greek.

A derivation such as the one in (5) is satisfactory from the phonetic, morphological and semantic point of view. Firstly, it does not show a vowel change which would then be unexpectedly reversed and secondly, the morphological metanalysis it involves is based on a formal similarity to a regularly encountered inflectional ending rather than a far-fetched comparison to a derivational suffix. What seems to contradict this solution is the fact that the Italian forms postdate the earliest attestations cited for French (1413) and Occitan (1450). While the status of the former has been questioned above, the latter has to be verified against the original source.

8. Conclusion

The aim of the present article was to collect evidence from a variety of sources, with the aim to evaluate the available etymologies of Eng. *cassock* and its Romance source(s) and to identify their shortcomings. It transpires that the Italian diminutive hypothesis is not quite satisfactory for formal and semantic reasons. Between the two etymologies suggesting borrowing from the East, the Turkic theory has to be rejected from a chronological standpoint, whereas the Perso-Arabic option runs into formal difficulties. As an attempt to revise the latter, an alternative proposal involving Greek mediation has been suggested.

25 Cf. the numerous instances of 'military clothing worn *under* armour' cited above. For the discussion of a similar point with reference to 16th-century Persian dictionaries, see Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 11).

Language name abbreviations

AnaT = Spoken Anatolian Turkish; AFr. = Anglo-French; Ar. = Arabic; Cat. = Catalan; Čag. = Čagatay; Eng. = English; Fr. = French; Ger. = German; Gr. = Greek; Heb. = Hebrew; Hung. = Hungarian; It. = Italian; Lat. = Latin; MFr. = Medieval French (Old/Middle French); MGr. = Medieval Greek; MHG = Middle High German; MKipč. = Middle Kipčak; MLat. = Medieval; Ott. = Ottoman Turkish; Per. = Persian; Pol. = Polish; Ru. = Russian; SyrAr. = Syrian Arabic; Tkč. = Turkic Latin; Occ. = Occitan; Turk. = Turkish; Ukr. = Ukrainian; Ven. = Venetian

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Appendix A: Per. *kažāḡand*, Ar. *kazāḡand* and their European descendants

Unless otherwise stated, the forms are cited on the basis of the following secondary sources: (a) Per. & Ar. – Melikian-Chirvani (1983: passim); (b) AFr. & MFr. –

Date	Fr. <i>gasygan</i> & co.	Greek	ⲛⲓⲛⲓ
^L ₁₀	—	—	
^E ₁₁	—	—	
^L ₁₁	—	—	
^E ₁₂	—	—	
^L ₁₂	MFri. <i>casingan</i> (Ambroise, <i>L'estoire de la guerre sainte</i>)	—	

- 26 Ferdowsi began work on *Šāh-nāma* around 977 and finished on March 8, 1010 (Khaleghi-Motlagh 1999). As the exact date of composition of the relevant passage cannot be determined I adopt the date of completion as the date of composition.
- 27 Cited after Nicolle (1982: 197), who dates it to the 10th century, but this must be a printing error.
- 28 In his translation, Hitti romanizes this as *kuzāḡand* (Hitti 1929: 74, n. 31), i.e. with an erroneous vowel in the first syllable.
- 29 Nicolle (1982: 197).
- 30 This form is puzzling. The original text has the pl. کازغندات (Cahen 1947–1948: 116). Cahen's edition, which is the one Melikian-Chirvani uses, romanizes this as *kāžḡand* (p. 138). Because *ž* is inconsistent with *j*, I follow the latter author.

DÉAF s.v. *casingan*, *jazerenc*; (c) MGr. – LBG s.v. *καζάκας*. The primary sources are indicated in parentheses. It is only the secondary sources that are listed in the bibliography. The dating is taken from these so long as the authors provide the necessary information. Any modifications and additions are explained in the footnotes. Different occurrences in the same text are separated by the tilde.

Arabic	Persian	Date
—	<i>qazagand</i> (<i>Hodūd al-‘Ālam</i>)	^L ₁₀
—	<i>qazāğand</i> (Ferdowsī, <i>Šāh-nāma</i>), ²⁶ <i>kažāğand</i> (Asadī Ṭūsī, <i>Garšāsp-nāma</i>), <i>qazāğand</i> (Asadī Ṭūsī, <i>Loğat-e fors</i> ; used adjectivally in the definition of <i>kaftān</i>)	^E ₁₁
—	<i>kaftān-e kažāğand</i> (Zamahšarī, <i>Mu- qaddimat al-‘adab</i>)	^L ₁₁
SyrAr. <i>kaḏāğand</i> (Ibn al-Ḳalānisi, <i>Dayl tārīḵ Dimāšḵ</i>) ²⁷	—	^E ₁₂
SyrAr. <i>kažāğand</i> (Usāma ibn Munqid, <i>Kitāb al-i‘tibār</i>), ²⁸ <i>kažāğand</i> (Bahā’ ad- Dīn, <i>an-Nawādir as-Sulṭāniyya wa‘l- Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya</i>), ²⁹ <i>kāziğand</i> (Murḏā or Marḏī ibn ‘Alī al-Ṭarsūsī, <i>Tabṣirat arbāb al-albāb</i>) ³⁰	<i>qazāğand</i> ~ <i>qabā-ye kažāğān</i> (Neẓāmī Ganjavi, <i>Šaraf-nāma</i>), ³¹ <i>qazāğand</i> (Sū- zanī Samarḳandī)	^L ₁₂

31 This is the first of the two parts of Neẓāmī’s *Eskandar-nāma*. Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 12) dates it to “shortly after A.D. 1200”. Here I follow de Blois (1998), who says: “Both poems were clearly composed after Neẓāmī’s *Leylī o Majnūn*, which contains verses giving the date of completion as Rajab 584/September–October 1188, and they were probably written before *Haft peykar*, which contains verses indicating that it was completed in Ramaẓān 593 /July–August 1197”.

32 De Wailly (1872: 310). The word is occurs once in the text, but the interpretation is problematic. DÉAF s.v. *casingan* gives two variants, *casingan* and *casingant*, based on two different editions. While I did not have access to the first edition (by J. Longnon 1948), the latter form is supported by a reference to de Wailly (1872), who nevertheless clearly prints *gasygan*. Furthermore, Gay’s (1887 1: 768) spelling is *gasingan*. It would be most

Date	Fr. <i>gasygan</i> & co.	Greek	□38
^E ₁₃	AFr. gazygan (<i>L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal</i>); MFr. <i>gasygan</i> (Henri de Valenciennes <i>Henri de Constantinople</i>), ³² gasisgant (William the Clerk, <i>Roman de Fregus</i>), ³³ gasigan (×3, <i>Maugis</i>); ³⁴ MHG kasagân (×2, Wolfram von Eschenbach, <i>Willehalm</i>), ³⁵ MLat. casigans (<i>Itinerarium Regis Ricardi</i>) ³⁶	καζακάδων (ca. 1235), καζακάν (with the description <i>μεταξωτόν</i> 'of silk', before 1236)	
^L ₁₃	—	—	
^E ₁₄	MFr. (Bourg.) guazigan	καζακάν (ca. 1326)	
^L ₁₄	MFr. gasingan ~ gasigan (<i>Comptes de l'écurie du roi</i> , 1385), ³⁷ gasisgant (<i>Archive du baron de Joursanvault</i> , 1390) ³⁸	—	
^L ₁₆	—	—	
^E ₁₇	—	—	

beneficial to be able to access the four manuscripts of the text stored at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in order to settle the matter once and for all.

- 33 Thomas (1906: 599). The dating of this form to the early 13th c. is an estimate based on Hunt (2004).
- 34 Thomas (1906: 599). The dating is supported by Vernay (1980: 56).
- 35 Heinzle (1994: 368, 369).
- 36 Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 25). The dating of this form is supported by Tyerman (2004), who gives the time frame 1216–1222.
- 37 Gay (1887 1: 768–769).
- 38 Gay (1887 1: 769).

Arabic	Persian	Date
SyrAr. <i>kazāgand</i> (Ibn al-Aṭīr, <i>al-Kāmil fit-tārīk</i>)	<i>qazāgand</i> (Varāvini, <i>Marzbān-nāma</i>)	^E ₁₃
—	<i>qazāgand</i> (Sa‘adi, <i>Golestān</i>)	^L ₁₃
—	<i>qazāgand</i> (Moḥammad Naḵjavānī, <i>Şe-hāḥ al-fors</i>), <i>qazākand</i> (Şams-e Faḵri, <i>Me‘yār-e Jamālī</i>)	^E ₁₄
—	<i>kağāgand</i> (Salmān Sāveji, <i>Divan</i>) ³⁹	^L ₁₄
—	<i>qazāgand</i> ‘a garment filled with silk waste and cotton, worn at war; also called <i>xaftān</i> ’	^L ₁₆
—	<i>kağāgand</i> (Enjū Širāzī, <i>Farhang-e jahān-gīrī</i>) ⁴⁰ , <i>qazāgand</i> (Moḥammad-Kāsem Sorūrī, <i>Majma‘ al-fors</i>) ⁴¹ , <i>kağāgand</i> ~ <i>kağāgand</i> ~ <i>qazāgand</i> ~ <i>qazāgang</i> (Borhān, <i>Borhān-e qāṭe‘</i>) ⁴²	^E ₁₇

39 Melikian-Chirvani only writes “the fourteenth-century poet”. Salmān died in 1376 (Morrison 1981: 67).

40 The lexicon was compiled between 1595 and 1608, according to Bayevsky (1999a).

41 The first edition was compiled around 1600 whereas the second, influenced by *Farhang-e jahāngīrī* around 1618 (Bayevsky 1999b). Thus, it must be the latter that Melikian-Chirvani is referring to when he writes that it was compiled a generation after Širāzī’s work.

42 Two comments are in order. Borhān apparently provides as many as nine variants, of which Melikian-Chirvani (1983: 11) sadly cites only the four included in our chart. Furthermore, the variant ending in *ng* is quoted twice as *qazāgang* (pp. 11 and 25)

Appendix B: Pre-1600 occurrences of Tkc. *ķazak*, its European reflexes and ‘cassock’

With the exception of the three 14th c. occurrences, the forms are listed according to the decade in which they are attested. Within a given decade, the forms are listed chronologically, with a more precise date provided in parentheses. If an interval rather than a precise date is available, the relevant form is listed according to the terminus ad quem. Unless otherwise stated, the dates, the forms and – when available – the glosses and/or quotations are cited on the basis of

Date	‘cassock’ (military)	‘cassock’ (non-military)	U3P
14 th c.		—	
1410S	—	?Fr. <i>casaque</i> ‘piece of clothing with wide sleeves’ (1413)	
1420S	—	—	

and once as *gazāgang* (p. 11). I take the latter to be a misspelling and disregard it for three reasons: (1) no other source I was able to consult even alludes to the existence of a Persian variant beginning in *g*; (2) when Melikian-Chirvani discusses the voicing of Per. word-initial *k* in Anatolian Turkish dialects (see above), he presents it as a purely Turkish phenomenon, although it would be natural to invoke a Persian form beginning in *g* at this point, if only such a form (had) existed; (3) the problematic form appears in the following context “[t]he variant *gazāgang* recorded by Borhān (above p. 11 [sic! – M.U.]”, with the reference in parentheses clearly alluding to *qazāgang* on the same page.

43 Hrushevsky (1999: 60).

44 Cited in the Codex Comanicus as a term corresponding to MLat. <guayta> and Per. <naobat> (Drimba 2000: 101). The date 1294/95 is supported by Pritsak (2006: 238,

the following sources: Čag – Lee (2015: *passim*); Eng. – OED3; Fr. (and Occ.) *casaque* – FEW II: 562; Fr. *cosaque* – Buchi (1996: 212); It. – Schweickard (2006: 592ff); Ott. – Lee (2015: *passim*); Per. – Lee (2015: *passim*); Pol. – Stachowski S. (2015: 354ff); Ru. – SRJa XI–XVII: 15; Ukr. – Kołodziejczyk (2011: *passim*). The glosses have been translated into English. If the gloss indicates any military connection, the form is included under ‘cassock’ (military). Otherwise the form is classified as an example of non-military usage. A superscript question mark before a language name indicates an attestation whose status is questionable (see section 4.2 of the main text).

‘Cossack’	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
?Gr. (Sudak, Crimea) <i>καζάκων</i> (pl.) (1308) ⁴³	?MKipč. <ghasal Cofac> (1294/95 or 1303 or 1330), ⁴⁴ MKipč. <i>қазақ</i> ‘freed, free’ (1343) ⁴⁵	14 th c.
—	Per. <i>қадāқ</i> ~ <i>қāzāқ</i> (bef. 1412) ⁴⁶	1410s
—	Per. <i>hazāra-ye қадāқ</i> prob. ‘a renegade unit of 1,000 soldiers’ (1425), MKipč. <i>қазақ бағлі</i> ‘single, bachelor’ (bef. 1426) ⁴⁷	1420s

based on György Györfly’s claims), 1303 is the traditional reading of the date found in the manuscript (MacKenzie 1992), whereas 1330 is the new interpretation thereof (Drimba 1981: 396). See the article by Drimba for an informative overview of the different attempts at dating the Codex.

- 45 Golden (2009: 117, n. 68). I adopt the dating of *Kitāb tarğumān turkī wa-‘arabī wa-muğālī* established in Flemming (1968). Houtsma (1894: 2; followed by Pritsak 2006: 238) gives 1245 as the date of compilation. His translation of the word as ‘Landstreicher’ (p. 86) does not correspond to the actual Arabic gloss *al-mujarrad* ‘freed, free; sole’.
- 46 I follow Doerfer’s (TMEN 3: 463) dating rather than Lee’s (2015: 26–27).
- 47 Golden (2009: 117, n. 68), who writes “mid-fourteenth century”. I adopt Ermers’s (1999: 29) more conservative dating of the *Kitāb at-tuḥfa az-zakiyya fī l-luğa at-turkiyya* based on the date suggested by the manuscript itself.

Date	‘cassock’ (military)	‘cassock’ (non-military)	□
1430s	—	—	
1440s	—	—	
1450s	—	Occ. <i>cassaqua</i> ‘a knee-length overcoat without a belt, with short and broad sleeves, leaving the forearm uncovered’ (1450)	
1460s	—	—	
1470s	Lat. (Liguria) <i>casaca</i> ‘old military clothing to be worn under armour’ (1472) ⁵¹	—	
1480s	Lat. (Italy) <i>casacha</i> ‘old military clothing to be worn under armour’ (as worn by the <i>stradioti</i>) (1484), ⁵³ It. <i>casache</i> ‘military clothing’ (1484) ⁵⁴	It. <i>casacca</i> ‘honorific dress’ (1480), ⁵⁵ It. <i>casacha</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (1480), It. <i>casacha</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (1482)	
1490s	<i>casàcche</i> ‘military clothing’ (as worn by the <i>stradioti</i>) (1495) ⁵⁷	It. <i>casacca</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’	

48 Hrushevsky (1999: 60).

49 In J. Długosz’s *Annales*; cited after Wyrozumski’s edition (2005: 443).

50 Lee (2015: 27) does not date the quotation. The relevant passage occurs in the second part of ‘Abd-al-Razzāq’s chronicle *Maṭla’-e sa’dāyn va majma’-e baḥrayn* and I follow Haase’s (1982) dating.

51 Schweickard (2006: 592).

52 Hrushevsky (1999: 61).

53 Cf. “Concedatur insuper capitibus et Stratiotis predictis extrahendi ex haec civitate sine solutione datis pannos pro eorum casachis et vestimentis” (Schweickard 2006: 592, n. 1).

54 Cortelazzo (1957: 37). He gives the following quotation “gente è bellicosa, più atta a dar assalti all’improvvisa che a combater ordenadamente; porta l’elmo in testa, la spada

‘Cossack’	Tk. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
—	—	1430s
Ru. <i>казаки</i> ‘a representative of an independent warlike community with their own self-government’ (1445), Lat. (Kaffa, Crimea) <i>casachos</i> (1449) ⁴⁸	—	1440s
—	—	1450s
Lat. (Poland) <i>Kozakos</i> (1469) ⁴⁹	Per. <i>kazāq</i> ‘political vagabond, freebooter’ (1469–1470) ⁵⁰	1460s
Lat. (Kaffa, Crimea) <i>cosachos</i> (1474) ⁵²	—	1470s
Ru. <i>казаки</i> ‘free person, not paying taxes and self-employed, farmhand’ (1485) ⁵⁶	—	1480s
Ru. <i>казаки</i> ‘a light-armed warrior of a lower rank in the Tatar army’ (1492), ⁵⁸ Ru. <i>козаки</i> ‘steppe traders’ (1499) ⁵⁹	—	1490s

a lato, e la lanza in man; pochi usa la coraza; veste habiti de bombaso, assetai a la vita, che se chiama casache.”

55 Cortelazzo (1957: 37).

56 The date 1485 is a correction of Sreznevskij’s 1395 (Srezn.: 1173).

57 The exact passage is “Stratioti sono grechi, vestiti con casacche et cappelli in capo” (Schweickard 2006: 592).

58 Another reference in the same year appears in a letter from Grand Duke Alexander to Mengli Giray, the Crimean khan, dated to December 19. The text is available in a late-18th-century copy in Latin script of the Ruthenian original published by Pułaski (1881: 223).

59 AZR: 194; also in Hrushevsky (1999: 63).

Date	‘cassock’ (military)	‘cassock’ (non-military)	□38
1500s	It. <i>casache</i> ‘old military clothing to be worn under armour’ (as worn by the <i>stradioti</i>) (ca. 1500), ⁶⁰ It. <i>cassacha</i> ‘old military clothing to be worn under armour’ (1504)	Fr. <i>casaquin</i> ‘outer garment worn by men’ (ca. 1500) ⁶¹	
1510s	—	—	
1517	—	—	
1520s	—	—	

1530s	Fr. <i>casaque</i> ‘military clothing’ (1534)	It. <i>casaza</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (1532), It. <i>casacca</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (ca. 1535), Fr. <i>cazacque</i> ~ <i>casacque</i> ‘a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered’ (1536) ⁶⁶
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60 The exact quotation is “Questa gente [scil. gli stradioti] veste habiti de bombaso, assetai a la vita, che se chiama casache” (Schweickard 2006: 592).

61 DMF s.v. *casaquin*.

62 Lee (2015: 33–34) does not provide a precise date. I follow Achmedov (1965: 20).

63 Lee (2015: 44).

64 Subtelny (2007: 55, n. 60).

65 Lee (2015: 29–30) does not provide the date. Doerfer’s (TMEN 3: 462) cites the same text and I follow his dating of *Bābur-nāma* (TMEN 1: xii).

‘Cossack’	Tkc. <i>ķazaķ</i> & co.	Date
—	Čag. <i>ķazaklık</i> ‘political vagabondage’ (bef. 1505) ⁶²	1500s
Ukr. <i>ķozaki</i> (1514), Lat. (Poland) <i>ķazaci</i> ‘freebooters’ (1517), ⁶³ Ukr. <i>ķazak</i> (1517)	—	1510s
	—	1517
Ukr. <i>ķazak</i> ~ <i>ķozak</i> (1520)	Ott. <i>ķazaķ</i> ‘outcast, runaway’ (ca. 1521), Čag. <i>ķazaķ</i> ‘political vagabond’ (1525), ⁶⁴ Čag. <i>ķazaķ</i> ‘political vagabond’, <i>ķa-zaķlık</i> ‘political vagabondage; raids or guerrilla warfare’ (bef. 1529) ⁶⁵	1520s
Hung. <i>ķozák</i> ‘free Slavic peasant living in a military organization (esp. one who served in cavalry)’ (1530), ⁶⁷ Ukr. <i>ķozak</i> (1532), Pol. <i>ķozak</i> ‘a light-armed guerilla, also a mercenary recruited among the inhabitants of the historical Ukraine’ (1533), Pol. <i>ķozak</i> ‘a robber, a plunderer, a brigand; a mercenary’ (1535), <i>ķozaci</i> ‘inhabitants of the historical Ukraine, member of a warlike community who lives off plundering raids into the Turkish territory’ (1535); Ukr. <i>ķozak</i> (×8) (1535), Ru. <i>ķazaki</i> ‘vagabonds’ (1538), ⁶⁸ Pol. <i>ķozacy</i> (1539) ⁶⁹	Čag. <i>ķazaķ</i> ‘political vagabondage’ (bef. 1534 or 1535) ⁷⁰	1530s

66 Gay (1882 1: 287).

67 TESz (599).

68 Lee (2015: 77).

69 Kołodziejczyk (2011: 716).

70 TMEN (vol. 3: 462). Doerfer does not date the text, i.e. *ķaybāni-nāma*. He only writes that it reports on the years 1499–1506 (TMEN 1: xxxvii). The author, Moħammad-ķāleħ, died in 1534 or 1535 (Szuppe 2003).

71 Gay (1887 1: 287).

Date	‘cassock’ (military)	‘cassock’ (non-military)	138
1540s	Fr. <i>casacquin</i> ‘civil or military costume, shorter than the casaque’ (1549) ⁷¹	It. <i>casaccha</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (1545), <i>casacchetta</i> ‘a small casacca’ (1545), Fr. <i>casacquin</i> ‘a small casaque, esp. as worn by men’ (1546)	
1550s	It. <i>casaca</i> ‘old military clothing to be worn under armour’ (1559)	It. <i>casacca</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (1550), Eng. <i>cassoc</i> ‘a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women’ (ca. 1550), Eng. <i>cassocks</i> ‘a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women’ (aft. 1556), Fr. <i>cazaque</i> ‘a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered’ (1557), ⁷³ Fr. <i>caisacquin</i> ‘a small casaque, esp. as worn by men’ (1557)	
1560s	Fr. <i>casequin</i> ~ <i>quasaquin</i> ‘civil or military costume, shorter than the casaque’ (1564) ⁷⁵	It. <i>casacca</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (1565)	
1570s	Eng. <i>cassocke</i> (×2) ‘a cloak or long coat worn by some soldiers in 16–17 th c.; also that of a horseman or rider in the 17 th c.’ (1574)	It. <i>casaca</i> ‘a wide, comfortable coat’ (ca. 1570), Fr. <i>casaque</i> ‘a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered’ (1571), ⁷⁶ Cat. <i>casaca</i> (1577), ⁷⁷ Ger. <i>Kasacke</i> (1579) ⁷⁸	

72 Lee (2015: 78).

73 Gay (1887 1: 287).

74 Lee (2015: 39) does not provide the year. The date 1553 appears in the manuscript of the relevant work, i.e. Remmāl Ḥoca’s *Tārīḥ-i Şāhib Girāy Ḥān* (İnalcık 1979–80: 1, n. 1).

75 Gay (1887 1: 287).

ᠮᠤᠴᠠᠭ	‘Cossack’	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
	Pol. <i>kozacki</i> ‘belonging or pertaining to a Cossack’ (1545), Ru. <i>казаки</i> ‘a light-armed warrior of a lower rank in the Tatar army’ (1546), Pol. <i>kazak</i> ‘Tatars settled in the area of Bilhorod, Ochakiv and Zaporizhia’ (1500–1547), Ru. <i>каза-кѣ</i> ‘a free person, not paying taxes and self-employed, farmhand’ (1548), Ru. <i>казаки</i> ‘vagabonds’ (1549) ⁷²	Per. <i>қазāқ</i> ‘political vagabond’ (1546)	1540s
	It. <i>cosazkij</i> ‘an ancient population of the Tartar race that settled in the steppes of southern Russia’ (1550), Ru. <i>казаки</i> ‘a serviceman in the border guard’ (1551), Ukr. <i>козак</i> (×10) (1552), Ru. <i>козаки</i> ‘a free person, not paying taxes and self-employed, farmhand’ (1555), Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1558)	Čag. <i>қазақ</i> ‘a freebooter’ (1550s), Ott. <i>қазақ</i> ‘wandering nomad’ (1553) ⁷⁴	1550s
	Pol. <i>kozakować</i> ‘to live a Cossack life or serve as a mercenary in the borderland, to wage war on the Tatars’ (1562), Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1564)	—	1560s
	Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1572), It. <i>cosacchi</i> (1575), ⁷⁹ Fr. <i>cosaque</i> , <i>cozacque</i> ‘a war-like nomad of the steppe of southern Russia’ (1578), Pol. <i>Kozak</i> , <i>Kazak</i> (1578)	—	1570s

76 Gay (1887 1: 287).

77 DCECH (p. 903).

78 Jones (1976: 186).

79 Folea (1956: 46).

80 Fennis (1995: 506).

Date	'cassock' (military)	'cassock' (non-military)	□ 38
1580s	—	Fr. <i>cazaque</i> 'a kind of overcoat without a belt, extending to the knee, with short and wide sleeves, split and leaving the forearm uncovered' (1586), ⁸⁰ Eng. <i>cas-socket coats</i> (1587), Eng. <i>cassock</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women' (1589)	
1590s		Eng. <i>cassocke</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by women or men' (1590), Eng. <i>cassock</i> 'a kind of long loose coat or gown as worn by men: mentioned as worn by rustics, shepherds, sailors; also by usurers, poor scholars' (1598), Ger. <i>Casacken</i> (dat. sg.) (1598), ⁸² It. <i>casacchino</i> 'a female overcoat; a knitted jacket' (1598)	

⁸¹ Ramusio (1583: 70r–79v); glosses from Schweickard (2006: 593). The latter two forms are most likely due to the similarity between handwritten capital *k* and *r*.

⁸² Jones (1976: 186).

ᠮᠤᠰᠠᠨ	'Cossack'	Tkc. <i>қазақ</i> & co.	Date
	Fr. <i>cazaque</i> 'a warlike nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1583), It. <i>Cosczkinese</i> , <i>Cozaski</i> , <i>Cossanesi</i> , <i>Kazaka</i> , <i>Razak</i> , <i>Razaci</i> 'an ancient population of the Tartar race that settled in the steppes of southern Russia; Turco-Mongol population settled in Kazakhstan' (1583), ⁸¹ It. <i>kazako</i> adj. 'del Kazakistan, relativo ai kazaki' (1583), Fr. <i>casaque</i> 'a warlike nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1584), Ru. <i>казачок</i> (dimin.) 'farmhand' (1584), Eng. <i>cassocke</i> 'a warlike Turkish people now subject to Russia, occupying the parts north of the Black Sea' (1587), Fr. <i>caussaque</i> 'a warlike nomad of the steppe of southern Russia' (1588)	—	1580s
	It. <i>cassachi</i> 'foot soldiers or cavalry; robbers' (1594), Ru. <i>казаковать</i> 'to live a free Cossack's life, to wander, to lead a nomadic life; to make fearless raids' (1594), It. <i>casachi</i> 'Turco-Mongol population settled in Kazakhstan' (1595), Pol. <i>Kozactwo</i> (coll.) (1596), Ru. <i>казачество</i> (coll.) (1596), Ru. <i>козачий</i> (adj.) (1596)	—	1590s



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SOME TOFALAR ETYMOLOGIES¹

While Marek Stachowski has cogently demonstrated the presence of loanwords from Turkic and other “Altaic” languages in Yeniseian (1996, 1997), I try to look at language contact in Central Siberia from a different angle. Namely, the present article proposes several Yeniseian etymologies for some words in Tofalar and other Siberian Turkic languages that have been previously considered to be of unknown origin (Rassadin 1971). This is just a preliminary study, but since in addition to the cultural vocabulary, we also find some very “basic” words like ‘nose’, it is possible to surmise that Yeniseian linguistic influence on Siberian Turkic, and especially Sayan Turkic languages has been quite extensive in the past.

Siberian Turkic, Tofalar, Yeniseian, language contacts in Central Siberia

Among many fields of his excellent research, my friend and colleague Marek Stachowski has especially been prominent in two: Siberian Turkic languages and etymology. This modest contribution to his Festschrift on the occasion of his 60th birthday has a goal in mind to celebrate both of them, as well as his contribution to the study of Turkic and other “Altaic” loanwords in Yeniseian languages (Stachowski 1996, 1997).

In his detailed monograph on the phonetics and lexicon of Tofalar, Rassadin (1971: 89–91) offers a long list of words in Tofalar that have no internal Turkic or external etymologies, which he classifies as words of unknown origin. He further

1 This paper benefited considerably from comments by Edward Vajda, Stefan Georg, and José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente. Needless to say, I am responsible for all possible mistakes or shortcomings.

subdivides this list into: (a) words that also occur in other Siberian Turkic languages (but without specification or references to the particular languages in each case, although these are given in the lexicon), and (b) words that occur in Tofalar only. Stachowski (1991) has demonstrated before that at least eight of these words are in fact Turkic, as they occur in other Turkic languages, and not only Siberian. However, of course, Turkic etymologies cannot be found for all of them.

I intend to demonstrate that at least a few of the words given by Rassadin have Yeniseian origin. From the point of view of what we know today about the early ethnolinguistic history of Southern Siberia, this would make sense. Quite a few of the salient phonological characteristics of Sayan Turkic languages, most notably vowel pharyngealization strongly indicate that these languages have a Yeniseian substratum. The widespread occurrence of potamonyms in *-ses*, *-s'es'*, *-tet*, etc. also strongly implies that the territory where Sayan Turkic languages are spoken today was once Yeniseian-speaking.

I provide below the list of these etymologies supplemented by parallels from other Siberian Turkic languages. All the etymologies I suggest below come from the first part of Rassadin's list, as I was not able to find any etymologies for words occurring only in Tofalar, but not in other Siberian languages.

1. Tofalar *hã:j* 'nose, beak, snout' (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *xaaũ* [haay] 'nose, beak, trunk, snout' (Tenishev 1968: 458; Rassadin 1971: 187; Ölmez 2007: 161). To the best of my knowledge, there are no other parallels in Siberian Turkic languages, so the word seems to be confined to Sayan Turkic. Before discussing the etymology, let me make an observation that the nasalization in Tofalar, which is not present in Tuvan, seems to be an archaic feature, because there is no phonetic environment that could possibly trigger it. Cf. Kott *aŋ*, *âŋán* (plur.), Assan *aŋ*, Pumpokol *haŋ* 'nose', Ket *aŋgən* 'nose', 'nostrils' (Werner 2002 1: 39) < proto-Yeniseian **haŋ* 'nose'. Since only Pumpokol preserves initial **h-*, the word probably was borrowed into Sayan Turkic from a Pumpokol-type Yeniseian language, quite possibly some variety spoken in the Xiong-nu Confederation. Since the Turkic word is limited in distribution only to Sayan Turkic, but the Yeniseian word is attested in all three primary Yeniseian branches, the direction of borrowing must be Yeniseian > Sayan Turkic. The vowel length in Sayan Turkic, which is not present in Yeniseian, could be explained as compensatory due to the loss of **-ŋ*. Since in Tofalar /ŋ/ is neutral to the palatal vowel harmony (Rassadin 1971: 61), the origin of *-j* in it can probably be credited to the purely phonetic process: **-ŋ* > **-ń* > *-j*. Cf. the next entry as well.

2. Tofalar *ã:j* ‘reason, common sense’ (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan, Altai *aaü* [a:j] ‘order, reason, common sense’ Yakut *ааһа* [a:ña] ‘compatibility, order, common sense’ (Rassadin 1971: 157; Tenishev 1968: 26–27; Ölmez 2007: 26–27; Gürsoy 1999: 19). The archetype here as demonstrated by Yakut is **a:ñ(a)*, with the reflex of **-ñ-* preserved in Tofalar as a nasalization of the vowel and lost in Tuvan and Altai. Cf. Ket *ánun*, Yugh *ániñ* ‘reason’, ‘thought’ (Werner 2002 1: 36), apparent derivatives of Ket *an*² ‘to think’, ‘thought’ (Werner 2002 1: 37) and Yugh *an*¹ ‘thought’ (Werner 2012: 24). The Yeniseian words are attested only in the Northern Yeniseian subgroup, but given the paucity of materials on the Southern Yeniseian and especially the Pumpokol subgroups, I trust that we can provisionally view this word as proto-Yeniseian.

3. Tofalar- *simira-* ‘to whisper (of a witch doctor)’ (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *сымыран-* [simiran-] ‘to whisper’, ‘to practice witchcraft’ (Tenishev 1968: 397), Altai *čimira-* ~ *šimira-* ‘to whisper’ (Gürsoy 1999: 73, 162), Shor *sibir-* ‘to whisper’, ‘to practice witchcraft’ (Kurpeshko-Tannagasheva, Apon’kin 1993: 50).³ Altai *čimira-* apparently represents some late analogical development, because if all these forms indeed went back to proto-Turkic **jimir(a)-*, we would expect a Tuvan **čimiran-* and a Shor **čibir-*, with initial *č-*, reflecting proto-Turkic **j-*. As a matter of fact, the irregularity in correspondences between the initial consonants strongly indicates that the word in question is a loanword from a non-Turkic source in all these languages. Cf. Ket *s’iver’ej-*, Yugh *sifil’ej-* ‘to whisper’ (Werner 2002 2: 202). Werner reconstructed a proto-Yeniseian **sip^həl-* ‘to whisper’, while Starostin (1995: 274) reconstructed a proto-Yeniseian **sib-* with an unexplained *ad hoc* castration of the last two segments, as is typical in Nostratic ‘methodology’. However, sometimes one can find a pearl in the pile of dung, and on this occasion I have to agree with Starostin that one has to reconstruct proto-Yeniseian **-b-* instead of **-p^h-* here, in spite of the fact that overall Werner’s (1990, 2002) proto-Yeniseian reconstructions are more trustworthy and reliable than those of Starostin (1995). Also, Shor form *sibir-* ‘to whisper’ seems to point to the original **-b-*, although see more on this below. The final suffix *-ej* is regularly found on onomatopoeic

2 I preserve Werner’s spellings when citing the examples from his comparative dictionary (2002), although both Vajda (2000: 5ff) and Georg (2007: 71–72) have cogently argued against the phonemic status of palatalized consonants in Ket.

3 Although this word is included into Rassadin’s list of words with parallels in other Turkic languages, it is not in his vocabulary.

Yeniseian words, so the rest of the word, Ket *s'iver* ~ Yugh *sifil'*, is the part that means 'the sound of whispering' (Kreinovich 1968: 114–120). The sound correspondence Ket *-v* to Yugh *-f* is irregular. The Ket form is from **sibed-ej* and the Yugh form is from **sipil-ej*. Werner (2002 2: 165, from Dul'zon materials) also lists North Ket *s'ibs'ir'ej*. Vajda (p.c.) pointed out to me that this might explain the whole thing: proto-Northern Yeniseian **sibsidej* became Southern Ket *s'iver'ej* and Yugh *sifil'ej*, with an irregular development *-d-* > *-l-*, while the Ket *-v-* ~ Yugh *-f-* is explained from **-bs-*.

4. Tofalar *šulun* 'reindeer moss' (Rassadin 1971: 89). Cf. Tuvan *шулун* [*šulun*] 'id.' (Tenishev 1968: 582; Rassadin 1971: 232; Ölmez 2007: 267). Cf. Ket *tolin* ~ *tol'l'in* ~ *t'olin* ~ *tuolin* (Donner 1955: 92, 94; Werner 2002 2: 272). Unfortunately, the word is attested only in Ket, but since Ket *t-* can reflect both proto-Yeniseian **t-* and **č-* (see the entry (8) below), I believe that this etymology can be provisionally accepted.

5. Tofalar *si*: 'scraper for processing hides' (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *сЫЫ* [*si:*] 'scraper for processing a film on the flesh side of hides',⁴ Khakass *сЫЫ* [*si:*] 'lattice for pressing cheese' (Rassadin 1971: 230; Baskakov, Ikizhekova-Grekul 1953: 210). Cf. Ket *³s'a:γ* 'a type of a scraper' (Werner 2002 2: 182). Initially it might seem that this is an 'etymology by one phoneme', but it is necessary to take into consideration the following facts: (a) Tofalar /i/ can go back to **a* (Rassadin 1971: 25), (b) there is no phoneme /ə/ in Tofalar, therefore, it can be replaced by /i/ in loanwords, (c) long vowels in Tofalar may originate due to the elision of /γ/ (Rassadin 1971: 32), (d) the vowel length in Ket appears only in the singular form, it is not present in the plural form *s'áγəŋ* (Werner 2002 2: 182). Thus, the development *s'a:γ* > *si:* can be quite regular. The Yeniseian word is attested only in the Northern Yeniseian subgroup, but given the paucity of materials on the Southern Yeniseian and especially the Pumpokol subgroups, I trust that we can provisionally view this word as proto-Yeniseian, or at least proto-Northern Yeniseian.

6. Tofalar *hel* 'riverbank' (Rassadin 1971: 89). Cf. Tuvan *эл* [*el*] 'steep bank' (Tenishev 1968: 610; Rassadin 1971: 187; Ölmez 2007: 154). No other parallels in Siberian Turkic languages are attested. Cf. Ket *kil't* ~ *kil'ta* (plur. *kil'taŋ*) 'steep bank' (Werner 2002 1: 476), Arin *kujliti* 'bank' (Werner 2005: 160), this being an

4 Tenishev (1968: 399) defines the Tuvan word as 'square iron tool for cleaning a film on the flesh side of hides'.

imperfect transcription, reflecting something like **kujlt(i)*. Also, Vajda (p.c.) has suggested *kuj* might be itself a transcriptional attempt at [kwɪ]. Because Ket and Arin belong to two different subgroups of Yeniseian, the proto-Yeniseian nature of the word in question is well justified, and, consequently the direction of borrowing must be Yeniseian > Sayan Turkic. Vajda and Werner's etymology is: *kilta* ~ *kilt*, Ket (pl. *kiltan*) 'steep riverbank', 'steep slope' < **kəl* 'curved', 'bent' + **ti* 'edge'. Tofalar clearly borrowed this compound as a unit, and since in Tofalar the cluster *-lt* in the Auslaut is possible only in onomatopoeia (Rassadin 1971: 61), we would expect that Yeniseian *-l't* underwent the process of simplification to *-l*. Needless to say, the problem of vocalism remains, with [e] in Sayan Turkic and [ɪ] or [ə] in Yeniseian.

7. Tofalar *ūngūrhen* 'roe' (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *үүргене* [üürgene], Altai *йүркене* ~ *йүркен* [üürkene] ~ [üürken], Khakass *өрген* [örgen], Chulym *йрген* [ürgen] 'id.' (Rassadin 1971: 239; Tenishev 1968: 454; Gürsoy 1999: 198; Baskakov, Inkizheikova-Grekul 1953: 136). The vowel length in Tuvan and Altai is likely to be due to the loss of medial *-ŋ-*, but Tofalar *-g-* might have a more complex history, see more on this below. Thus, the Siberian Turkic archetype is likely to be **ūngūrken*. Cf. Ket, Yugh *ōŋn'īŋ*, Old Ket⁵ *ōŋneŋ* ~ *ogna*, Old Yugh *ógna*, Kott *d'anan*, Arin *ujnúŋ*, Assan *ánaŋ* ~ *ānu* (Werner 2002 2: 43). Werner reconstructs a proto-Yeniseian **oj* ~ **uj* 'Kaviarkorn', with the plural **oʔŋ*. However, Arin *ujnúŋ* alone is a weak justification for reconstructing proto-Yeniseian **-j* in the singular. Moreover, Ket *ōŋdis* ~ *ōŋndis* and Yugh *ōŋdes* ~ *ōŋndes* 'Rogenkorn', 'Kaviarkorn' < *oŋ* 'roe' + *'de.s'* 'eye' (Werner 2002 2: 42) seem to contradict Werner's generalization that proto-Yeniseian **-ŋ* in this word is a marker of the plural. Furthermore, taking into consideration Old Ket *ogna* and Old Yugh *ógna*, one can speculate that the proto-Yeniseian root was something like **ōnŋ(V)* or **ūnŋ(V)*, with a subsequent adaptation as **-ŋg-* in Tofalar, since only *-ŋn-* is found in Tofalar (Rassadin 1971: 64). The **(ü)rlen* part appears to be another unaccounted segment, difficult to explain on either South Siberian Turkic or Yeniseian grounds. An objection may be raised due to the fact that Tofalar *ūngūrhen* 'roe' has front rounded [ü], but we have to keep in mind that Yeniseian does not have front rounded vowels [ü] or [ö].

8. Tofalar *səjaq* 'small volcano, mountain top' (Rassadin 1971: 89). Cf. Altai *сойоқ* [sojoq] 'mountain top, small volcano' (Rassadin 1971: 227). Cf. Ket *ʔəʔʔj*, Yugh

5 Old Ket and Old Yugh refer to eighteenth century materials on these languages.

²čəʔj ‘top’, ‘top part’ (Werner 2002 2: 282; Werner 2012: 71) < proto-Yeniseian *čəʔj. The Tofalar and Altai forms apparently consist of *səj-*, borrowed from proto-Yeniseian *čəʔj + Turkic derivational suffix +(A)k. The Yeniseian word is attested only in the Northern Yeniseian subgroup, but given the paucity of materials on the Southern Yeniseian and especially the Pumpokol subgroups, I trust that we can provisionally view this word as proto-Yeniseian.

9. Tofalar *alhi* ‘tipi’s hide cover’ (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *аьлгы* [algɨ] ‘skin’, ‘hide’ (as a material or merchandise) (Rassadin 1971: 153; Tenishev 1968: 53; Ölmez 2007: 73). Note pharyngealization in Tuvan, absent in Tofalar. Cf. Ket ²əʔl ‘cover’, Yugh ²əʔl ‘cover’, Kott *ol* ‘grave’ (Werner 2002 2: 48), Ket ³ə:l ‘cover’, ‘container’, ‘vessel’ and its Ket derivative ³ə:l’gat ‘to cover’ (Werner 2002 2: 49). Because Ket and Kott belong to two different subgroups of Yeniseian, the proto-Yeniseian nature of the word in question is well justified, and consequently, the direction of borrowing must be Yeniseian > Sayan Turkic.

10. Tofalar *səjgü* ‘boat pole’ (Rassadin 1971: 90). This word is from the list of words with parallels in other Siberian languages, but it is not included in Rassadin’s vocabulary. There is Tuvan *cozγ* [sögü] ‘pole’ (Tenishev 1968: 385). It is tempting to see this word coming from a hypothetical Yeniseian compound *tej* ‘boat’ + *qu* ‘boat pole’, cf. Ket ³ti: ‘big boat’, Yugh ³ti: ‘boat’, Arin *taj* ‘boat’ (?), *kultéj* ‘vessel from birch bark or hides’ < *kul* ‘water’ + *téj* ‘boat’, Assan *ultéj* ‘boat’ < *ul* ‘water’ + *téj* ‘boat’, Pumpokol *tíg* ‘boat’ < proto-Yeniseian **t^higə* ‘boat’ (Werner 2002 2: 268), and Ket ³qu: ~ ⁴quγ, Yugh ⁴χu^h:p ‘boat pole’, Kott *hupuš* ‘stick’, ‘cane’, *hupaná* ‘ramrod’ < proto-Yeniseian **quʔəp^h(ə)* (Werner 2002 2: 140). The obvious obstacle for this etymology is the initial Yeniseian **t^h*- vs. *s*- in Tofalar and Tuvan, although one cannot exclude the possibility of a spontaneous assibilation. Otherwise, because the Yeniseian word is attested in two different subgroups of Yeniseian, the proto-Yeniseian nature of the word in question is well justified, and, consequently the direction of borrowing must be Yeniseian > Sayan Turkic.

11. Tofalar *əbeš* ‘few’, ‘little’ (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *эбэши* [eve:š], Altai *эмеш* [emeš] ‘few’, ‘little’ (Rassadin 1971: 179; Tenishev 1968: 604; Ölmez 2007: 159; Gürsoy 1999: 82). The vowel length in Tuvan is unlikely to be resulting from an intervocalic loss of a consonant. Cf. Ket *ál’bet* ‘few’, ‘little’, ‘slight’ (Werner 2002 1: 29). Unfortunately, crucial data from Yugh and Pumpokol that differentiate between reflexes of proto-Yeniseian *-č and *-t (Verner 1990: 136) that merged in

Ket as *-t* are lacking, so the reconstructions **ál'bet* and **ál'beč* (which would be a better match for Tofalar *εbeš*) are equally possible. The difference in vocalism in the first syllable between Tofalar and Ket is due to vowel harmony. The only puzzle that remains is the absence of *-lb-* in Tofalar, since this cluster exists in this language, although it is possible to argue that Altai *-m-* might reflect **-lm-* < **-lb-*, because there is no phonetic environment for nasalization. In this case, Tofalar and Tuvan forms might represent secondary denasalization **-m-* > **-b-*, and not a direct transmission of the Ket loanword.

12. Tofalar *döge-* 'to dry near the fire'⁶ (Rassadin 1971: 90). Cf. Tuvan *doze-* [döge-] 'to heat up in the sun' (Rassadin 1971: 175; Tenishev 1968: 176).⁷ Cf. Ket *təRójiŋdij-*, *təRójiŋgat-*, *təRójiŋs-* 'to dry', Yugh *təχójiŋet-* 'to dry', *təχójiŋ* ²*baʔŋ* 'dry place' (Werner 2002 2: 277) < proto-Northern Ket **təqəjiŋ-* 'to dry'. The Yeniseian word is attested only in the Northern Yeniseian subgroup, but given the paucity of materials on the Southern Yeniseian and especially the Pumpokol subgroups, I trust that we can provisionally view this word as proto-Yeniseian, or at least proto-Northern Yeniseian.

In conclusion I intend to improve an etymology proposed initially by Rassadin, because in his book it is scattered in three different places with three different interpretations without a final confirmation as to which interpretation is to be preferred.

13. Tofalar *aza* 'devil' is listed as a word without any external etymologies (Rassadin 1971: 90), but then Rassadin correctly indicates Yeniseian origin of the word citing Assan *asa* and Kott *asa* ~ *aša* (Rassadin 1971: 93). However, in the vocabulary he gives the following parallels: Tuvan *a3a* [aza] 'devil', Altai *a3a* [aza] 'demon, evil spirit', Kalmyk *a3* [az^ə] 'evil spirit', Kott *asa* 'devil' (Rassadin 1971: 157; Ölmez 2007: 82–83; Gürsoy 1999: 32). This might give a false impression that the origin of the word is Mongolian, but while the Kalmyk word is listed in Ramstedt (1976: 20) as 'böser geist', 'dämon', it does not appear in Muniev's dictionary (Muniev 1977), or in Oirat (Todaeva 2001). There is *azad* 'bully', 'villain' in Old Oirat (Krueger 1978: 39). Furthermore, a young French scholar Saiyinjiya Caidengduerji, who is himself a native speaker of Oirat has kindly informed me that there is only

6 In the vocabulary Rassadin provides a different meaning 'to place a baked pancake near the fire in order it would stay warm' (1971: 175).

7 The word is not attested in Ölmez (2007).

Oirat *ad* ‘devil’, but *az* always means ‘happiness’. There are no other attestations of this word in Mongolic languages, so even if Ramstedt’s entry does not involve a ghost or a false analysis of *azad* ‘villain’ as a plural form (surprisingly all other sources indicate Kalmyk-Oirat *az* [az⁹] ‘happiness’ conspicuously lacking in Ramstedt 1976), at best it can be viewed as a loanword into Oirat from Yeniseian, if not a ghost or a chance resemblance. In any case, the Oirat side of this etymology has some serious problems, and it is not the task of this article to solve them. The attestations in Yeniseian can be expanded further with additional Arin and Karagass data: Kott *âsa* ~ *aša* ~ *asa*, Assan *asa*, Arin *kulejaši*,⁸ Karagass *asa* (Werner 2002 1: 61).

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POLISH *TATARKA* ‘*FAGOPYRUM* *TATARICUM* (L.) GAERTN.’ AND ‘*FAGOPYRUM ESCULENTUM* MOENCH’¹ IN A SLAVIC AND EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The article deals with the names of two species of plant which have “Tartar” associations in the Polish language. The author is talking about *gryka tatarska*, also known as *gryka tatarka*, i.e. *Fagopyrum tataricum* (L.). Gaertn., known for short as *tatarka* (KLRN), and common buckwheat, i.e. *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench, syn. *Fagopyrum sagittatum* Gilib. The names for common buckwheat and Tartary buckwheat in Slavic and European languages indicate that both species have eastern origins. These names suggest that Greeks, Tartars and “pagans” in general can take most credit for the spread of these plants. The name *tatarka*, attesting to the fact that the Tartars acted as intermediaries in the spread of buckwheat, first emerged on Polish soil and from there spread to Slovakia, Eastern Moravia in the modern day Czech Republic, to Ukrainian dialects bordering Slovakia, to Hungarian dialects and even to Romanian dialects. It is fairly likely that it was also the source of German names of the type *Taterkorn* and *Tater*.

plant names, semantic motivation, loanwords, calques, languages in contact

It is a well-known fact that plants are assigned names based on their appearance (structure, shape, colour of their flowers, their fragrance, taste, etc.), properties

1 Syn. *Fagopyrum sagittatum* Gilib.

(e.g. medicinal, magical), the place where they grow and their purpose (Wierzbicka 2002: 552). Such a method for classifying plants was first used in Poland by Pawłowski (1974), and later adopted by, e.g., Tokarski (1993: 340–341).² According to the latter, the properties of plants that are most important for humans can be divided into three general groups: environmental characteristics (e.g., the time they are in flower, deemed to be the most important for the plant's development, as well as their picking time) physical characteristics and functional properties. According to some researchers of plant names, such as Pelcowa (2001: 100), another major factor that has played a role in the naming of plants is a belief in their extraordinary (bad or good) powers. Also important are the legends associated with plants. Factors that come into play here include religious references and superstitions, as well as various important symbolic connotations.

Taking into account the above-mentioned criteria for a semantic classification of names, as discussed by researchers, the following factors often provide the semantic motivation behind plant names: the appearance of the plant, the place(s) where the plant grows, its properties and purpose, as well as other features of a particular genus or species. Another possible motivating factor, for example, is the origin of a plant, whether factual or alleged (cf. Waniakowa 2012: 68).

The present text focuses on two species of plant which have “Tartar” associations in the Polish language, i.e. which are in some way “Tartar”.³ The plants in question are *gryka tatarska*, also known as *gryka tatarka*, i.e. *Fagopyrum tataricum* (L.) Gaertn., known for short as *tatarka* (KLRN), and common buckwheat, i.e. *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench, syn. *Fagopyrum sagittatum* Gilib. The first of these species is an annual plant from the Polygonaceae family, which grows up to 75 cm in height. The leaves are broader than they are in the case of common buckwheat (compare below). Its flowers are inconspicuous and greenish. The fruit is a coarse, triangular nut with gnarled edges and a rounded bottom. *Tatarka* is native to Sichuan, Tibet, Kashmir and Northern Pakistan. In certain parts of Asia and Europe it is a domesticated plant. In Poland it mainly appears as a weed, and is rarely cultivated. Its fruit is used for groats (buckwheat groats) and

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- 2 Such a system for classifying names has long been in use in Europe, see, e.g. the monumental work of Marzell (2000) *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen*, the first volume of which was published in 1943 and contains exceptionally rich historical and dialectal material, which is meticulously arranged according to the properties of plants.
 - 3 I have chosen this plant because of its name and the motivation for that name, which is directly connected with Professor Marek Stachowski's research interests.

flour. The latter, however, is not suitable for baking (see Podbielkowski, Sudnik-Wójcikowska 2003: 141).

The second species, *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench (syn. *Fagopyrum sagittatum* Gilib.), i.e. common buckwheat and also known as Japanese buckwheat or silverheel buckwheat, was in the past sometimes known in the Polish language as well as spoke up until the present day as *tatarka*. It is an annual plant from the same Polygonaceae family. It grows up to 60 cm in height; it has heart-shaped leaves and white or pinkish flowers. Its fruit is a triangular, brownish nut. It is native to southern China, where it has been cultivated since the 2nd century BC.⁴ It has been known in Central Europe since the 13th century. Its nuts are used to produce groats and flour, although the latter is unsuitable for baking.⁵ It is a melliferous, medicinal plant that is also suitable as fodder. It is likewise used as a fertilizer (see Podbielkowski, Sudnik-Wójcikowska 2003: 141–142).

Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 86–116)⁶ have already written extensively on *tatarka*, mainly treating it as a form of common buckwheat. This is because the focus of their interest were Polish dialectal names, which in the vast majority of cases refer to cultivated species.⁷ The authors refer to all the more important names used for buckwheat in Polish dialects, i.e. *tatarka* (also known as *taterka*), *gryka*, *grecka*, *hreczka*, *reczka*, *poganka*, *bukwita* and *litewka*. All these names are noted by Karłowicz (K), with the exception of *tatarka*, which he clearly did not regard as a dialectal name.⁸ The two names with the smallest geographical reach are *litewka* and *bukwita*. Karłowicz records the name *litewka* without giving any specific geographical location. *Bukwita* is present in the region of Kashubia and is a loanword from Low Germ. *bôkwêten*, which is a variant of (High) Germ. *Buchweizen*. The name *poganka* is used in Silesia. It is clearly semantically linked to the name *tatarka* (more on this below). The name *hreczka* appears along the

4 The latest research indicates that it was cultivated in South-East Asia several thousand years before Christ (Czikow, Łaptiew 1988: 130).

5 However, in India buckwheat is used to bake bread, while in China and Japan noodles are made from buckwheat flour (Czikow, Łaptiew 1988: 131).

6 The part of the article discussing buckwheat had already appeared at the end of 1929 or the beginning of 1930, cf. References.

7 The authors indicate that users of dialects do not distinguish between different species of buckwheat.

8 The majority of these names have been long established in the Polish language: *tatarka*, *gryka*, *poganka* (together with its variant *pohanka*) and *hreczka* appear in Knapiesz (1621 s.v. *tatarka*).

upper Wieprz and is a borrowing from Ukrainian (first attestation in Strykowski in the 16th century [Nitsch, Mrozówna 1955]). In the eastern part of Małopolska it evolved into *reczka*, having lost the voiced anlaut *h*-, while in Podlasie it evolved into *grecka* (more on this in Nitsch, Mrozówna 1955: 87). In Mazovian dialects *gryka* is used, while *tatarka* and its *taterka* variant (in Wielkopolska) mainly appear in Małopolska and Wielkopolska (see below).

The name *gryka*, as the authors (cf. Nitsch, Mrozówna 1955: 88) have observed quite accurately, originates from **grbka*, a fact which was later confirmed by Sławski: Pol. *gryka* (< Lith. *grikai* (pl.) < Old Ruth. **grbka*, *greča*, see Old Ruth. **grbkъ* ‘Greek’), the original literal meaning being ‘Greek plant’, cf. Sławski SEJP s.v.⁹ Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 88–89) also provide detailed arguments in support of the thesis that Pol. *gryka* is a loanword taken directly from Lithuanian, and did not arrive via any German medium.¹⁰ This view has important consequences: Germ. *Grick*, *Gricken*, *Grücken* and other variants, attested in Prussia from the end of the 14th century (cf. Grimm DW s.v.), are taken from Polish or Lithuanian (cf. Marzell 2000 2, col. 410).

The first attestations of *gryka* appear relatively late in Polish, i.e. only from the end of the 15th century (1487, 1490). Later on, *gryka* appears in Mączyński (1564), Knapiusz (1621) and Kluk (1786–1788) (cf. Nitsch, Mrozówna 1955: 89; Spólnik 1990: 20). The name suggests that the plant was brought to the north and west by the Greeks, who, because of their colonies around the Black Sea, came into contact with the invading Mongols, who brought it with them before the end of the 10th century AD (cf. Nitsch, Mrozówna 1955: 89). Today, Latv. *griki* denotes the northern limit of this motivation while Rum. *hrișcă* (from Ukrainian) constitutes the southern limit.

The name *tatarka* (along with *taterka*), distributed over a large area of Poland, i.e. both in Wielkopolska and Małopolska, and even in Kociewie (cf. card-index of SGP), indicates that the Tartars are the people who brought *Fagopyrum* to the country. Brückner SEJP (s.v. *Tatarzy*)¹¹ made this observation in his dictionary.

9 Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 88) date Lith. *grikai* at the latest from the 10th century, providing logical reasoning based on linguistic rules.

10 Brückner SEJP was mistaken when he believed that both forms, Polish and Lithuanian, came from German.

11 Brückner’s dictionary was first published in 1927. The name *tatarka* does not appear in Boryś’s etymological dictionary (Boryś SEJP), probably because its word structure is exceptionally transparent and thus its etymology is not problematic.

Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 90) point out that this name would have appeared chronologically later, i.e. in the 13th Century at the earliest. The first attestations are only made towards the end of the 14th century (see below), although this is earlier than the name *gryka* (see above).

Steffen (1963: 37–40, 1964: 117–120)¹² also wrote about *tatarka*. His opinion was that the modern Greek name for *gryka*, *μαυροσίταρον*, literally 'black wheat', is a calque of the Tartar name *kara bodaj*. The semantic motivation in this case is allegedly the black colour of the mature *gryka* seed.¹³ In turn, according to Steffen (1963: 38), the Polish name *tatarka* (and its variant *taterka*), just like the names of the plant in other languages, e.g. Finn. *tattri* and Est. *tatri*, is motivated by the shape of the seed, i.e. it is quadrangular (it has "four corners"). It is thus a loanword, the original source of which is the folk Gr. *τέτρι(ον) pronounced as *τάτρι(ον) allegedly from Gr. *τετραγώνι(ον) 'that which is quadrilateral'.¹⁴ In this way Steffen does not associate either of the two names for buckwheat he discusses himself with the Tartars. Unfortunately, his views do not accord with what we know in reality (see above).¹⁵

Tatarka as a word referring to buckwheat¹⁶ is attested for the first time in 1385. However, it must have been in use much earlier, since the adjective *tatarczy* 'pertaining to *tatarka* – buckwheat' is recorded in 1383. The ancient and deep roots of *tatarka* in the Polish language are also evident in a second adjective derived from it, namely *tatarczany*, which admittedly was first attested only in 1497, i.e. much later (SStp. s.vv. *tatarka*, *tatarczany*, *tatarczy*). The relatively early attestations of this word are not surprising, because the plant was popular with regard to the groats. The name *tatarka* in SP XVI, according to the citations, also refers to both

12 Steffen also writes about the other Polish name for buckwheat, namely *poganka*. However, its origins (from Gr. *παγγώνιον* 'that which is many-sided', apparently from the shape of the buckwheat seed, which looks like a pyramid on a triangular base – see above), which suggest folk etymology, are not very convincing (cf. Safarewicz 1963: 40). In support of his thesis Steffen cites *polygonum* as a name for buckwheat (Steffen 1963: 37). In actual fact, the name *Polygonum fagopyrum* L. was used.

13 This meaning is recognisable in the names used for buckwheat in several European languages, such as Alb. *grün i zi*, Sp. *trigo muro* and *trigo prêto* as well as Port. *trigo mouro*, which the author claims is a translation of the Greek name (Steffen 1963: 37).

14 Allegedly from Gr. *τετρα-* 'four' and *γωνία* 'corner, angle' (Steffen 1963: 38).

15 In his next article (see Steffen 1964: 117–120), the author unfortunately does not change his opinion and becomes more bogged down in digressions on the theme of Greek forms.

16 For understandable reasons SStp. does not distinguish between species.

of the above-mentioned species of *Fagopyrum*.¹⁷ The case is similar with Knapiesz (1621) and Linde SJP as well as in SW¹⁸ and SWil.¹⁹ However, in the latter case *tatarka* is reported to be an erroneous name for common buckwheat. In modern general Polish, the name *tatarka* only refers to *Fagopyrum tataricum* (L.) Gaertn. (cf. Szymczak SJP), whereas in dialects it covers both species of buckwheat (cf. card-index of SGP). This is undoubtedly a relic of the past. A similar situation in terms of nomenclature prevails in other European languages.

After comparing several names for buckwheat, namely Polish, East Slovak, Hungarian and Germ. *Taterkorn* and *Tatelkorn*, Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 90) draw the conclusion that Poland acted as intermediary in the seed's journey to Slovakia, Hungary and Germany. It is important to point out that *tatarka* is not an indigenous name, neither in Slovakia nor in Hungary, and thus in these cases its source may be the Polish language (reaching Hungary via Eastern Slovak dialects), see Spólnik (1990: 61). Hence, even when, as the authors suggest, Polish origin may be postulated for Germ. *Taterkorn* it does not necessarily mean that Poland acted as intermediary in the arrival of buckwheat in Germany. Similarly, the authors compare Pol. *poganka*, Czech and Hung. *pohánka* and *pohanina* and Sloven. *ajda*, *haida* with Germ. *Heidenkorn* and *Heidekorn*. Their claim that Slovenian forms originate from German names is entirely legitimate given the existence of long-term Slovenian-Austrian contacts (see below) as well as the view that German names cannot be the source of any of the other names (for a broader discussion, see Nitsch, Mrozówna 1955: 90, 92).²⁰ Also fully justifiable is the authors' thesis that Pol. *poganka* (attested for the first time in 1500) that appears in Silesia (see above) is taken from the Czechs, among whom *pohanina* (probably from Lat. *pagana*, *paganica*) is recorded as early as 1416.

17 See poliqarp.wbl.klf.uw.edu.pl/pl/slownik-polszczyzny-XVI-wieku/query (available 30.06.2016).

18 See poliqarp.wbl.klf.uw.edu.pl/pl/slownik-warszawski/query (available 30.06.2016).

19 See eswil.ijp-pan.krakow.pl/index.php (available 30.06.2016).

20 Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 93) suggest straight out that "the name *poganka* may simply be a slightly adjusted form of the Latin word *pagana*, which again looks completely like a free translation from *tatarka*. On the other hand, the southern Germans may have adopted *poganka* from the Czechs, and used this word together with the term translated as *Heidenkorn*, *Heide* etc.". However, such a suggestion, in light of broader historical-comparative research on names used for buckwheat in Europe, appears unsustainable (see below).

In spite of what Nitsch and Mrozówna established (see above) regarding Ruthenian and Lithuanian mediation in the spread of buckwheat, Kluk (1786–1788) writes: “it is believed that it is a little more than three hundred years since the plant passed from Greek and Turkish lands to Italy under the name *frumentum saracenicum*. It then spread out over many countries.” It is undoubtedly true that buckwheat made its way to Europe from Asia. It is also obvious that the plant was spread throughout Europe by the Greeks and in general Muslims, referred to as Saracens (Lat. *Saraceni*), or pagans (Lat. *pāgāni*). In some parts of Europe (including the territory of Poland) it was the Tartars who introduced the botanical genus of *Fagopyrum*. Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955: 91–93) contest the viewpoint supported by German scholars of the early 20th century that much of Europe was indebted to the Germans for buckwheat, claiming that it reached Germany from Venice, and had made its way to the latter by sea. It is important to emphasise here that the names for buckwheat only appear in German documents for the first time in the 15th century (see Marzell 2000 2, col. 405), whereas they are first attested in Polish documents in the 14th century.

It is worth here taking a look at the names used for buckwheat in Slavic and European languages. The medieval Latin names for buckwheat in Poland were as follows: *fagotriticum*,²¹ *frumentum paganicum* (1385), *pagana*, *paganca*, *paganica* (1434), *panicum*, *pannicium*, *panicum* (also in the basic meaning of ‘millet’²²) (SŁŚ s.vv. *fagotriticum*, *frumentum*, *pagana*, *paganica*, *panicum*; Symb. 155). Other pre-Linnaeus Latin names for buckwheat (outside Poland) are given by Marzell (2000 2, cols. 405–406): *frumentum sarracenicum*, *frumentum vaccinum*, *fagopyrum*, *fegopyrum*, *ocymum cereale*, *turcicum frumentum*, *tragopyron*. The majority of these served as the basis for loanwords and a source of calques in many European languages.

According to Marzell (2000 2, col. 405), the name *fagopyrum* is first attested in 1566 and is a Latin-Greek calque on the Low German name for buckwheat, namely *Bukweten* (High German equivalent is *Buchweizen*, where *Buche* ‘beech’, *Weizen* ‘wheat’), where Lat. *fāgus* ‘beech’ and Gr. *πυρός* ‘wheat’. The form *fagopyrum* is the Latin generic name for buckwheat in scientific nomenclature, first as *Fagopyrum vulgo* (instead of *Fagotriticum* and the even earlier *Frumentum saracenicum*). Later, Linnaeus took over this term and included it in his classification under the name *Polygonum fagopyrum* (more: Genaust 2005: 243–244).

21 The calque of Germ. *Buchweizen*.

22 Also recorded by André (1956: 237).

Low Germ. *Buweten* is recorded for the first time in 1436 in Meklemburg and is the earliest attested German name for buckwheat with this structural form. From here the name spread not only to German areas, but also to the north, the west and the east, see, e.g. Du. *boekweit*, *bokkel*, *boekent*, Fr. *bouquette*, *blé bucail* (1575) (as a loanword), Engl. *buckwheat* (1548),²³ *bockwheat* (1557), Dan. *boghvede* (16th century), Swed. *bohvet* (1538) and Kash. *bukwita* (cf. Marzell 2000 2, cols. 406–407).

The German name for buckwheat *Heidekorn* is attested in Lexer (1869–1878: 1208) as MHG. *heiden-korn* and later widely disseminated in areas where German was spoken (cf. Marzell 2000 2, cols. 407–408). It appears to be a calque on the medieval Latin names *frumentum saracenicum*, *frumentum sarracenorum* and others. From here we also obtain the derivatives *Heiden*, *Heide*, *Heydel*, *Hadel* and many others (cf. Marzell 2000 2, cols. 407–408). As can be seen, German names are connected with Germ. *Heide* ‘pagan’.

The following are the Slavic names for common buckwheat, i.e. *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench.:

- Sloven. *ajda*, High Sorb. *hejduška* (older and dialectal names: *hejda*, *hejduš*, *hejduša*²⁴), Low Sorb. *hejduša*, *hejda* (older and dialectal names: *hejdyš*, *hejdyša*) – loanwords from German.²⁵ The Slovenian name is first attested in the 16th century. It comes from Austrian Germ. *Heiden* (< MHG. *heiden* ‘Fagopyrum’), see Snoj SES (s.v. *ajda*), the Sorbian names also from Germ. *Heide* ‘buckwheat’, expanded by means of suitable suffixes (Schuster-Šewc HEW s.v. *hejduška*).
- Croat. *heljda*,²⁶ Serb. *хелџа* (also *елџа*), Bos. *heljda*, Mac. *хелџа*, Bulg. *елџа* (dialectal names: *хѐлџа*, *ѝѐлџа*, see also Achtarov 1939: 244) – loanwords from Turk. *helda* ‘frumentum sarracenicum, Heidekorn’, perhaps from Pers. *halda* ‘frumentum saracenicum’ (cf. e.g. BER s.v. *ѐлџа*).

23 The English name is either a borrowing from MDu. *boecweite*, or is a structural calque of the Dutch name, because in English dialects there is the word *buck* ‘beech’.

24 Radyserb-Wjela (1909: 15) identifies the forms *hejda*, *hejduš* and *hejduška* in Sorbian language.

25 Buffa (1972: 289) has also noted the forms *hejduša* and *hejduše* from Slovak, while Machek (1954: 88) and Kosík (1941: 90) have both also recorded the form *hejduše* in the Czech language.

26 Šugar HBI (s.vv.) reports the following Croatian forms: *heljda*, *jelda*, *jeljda*, *helda*, *elda*, *elja* and *elsa*. Simonović BR (195) reports these same forms in Serbian.

- Czech *pohanka* (cf. Machek 1954: 88), Slov. *pohánka* (first attested in Slovak in the 16th century, Králik SESS s.v.) – both forms are connected with *pohan* ‘pagan’, and as with other names for *Fagopyrum* they refer to the Pagan peoples who introduced buckwheat throughout Europe.
- Pol. *gryka* (a loanword from Lithuanian, see above), Bel. *грэчка*, Ukr. *гребка* and Rus. *гребуха* – these names testify to the fact that the Greeks were responsible for the spread of *Fagopyrum*; all etymological dictionaries of East Slavic languages are in agreement on this fact.
- Low Sorb. *pšusnica* – originates from Proto-Slav. **proso* ‘millet’; other forms include *prosnica*, *pšosnica*; word structure analogous to **pъšenica* ‘wheat’ (cf. Schuster-Šewc HEW s.v.).

One of the maps from volume 4 of the *Общеславянский лингвистический атлас* (= *Slavic Linguistic Atlas*) from the lexical-morphological series that is devoted to *Fagopyrum* (cf. OLA 4, map 56 [authors: A. Ferenčíková and A. Habovštiak]) sheds interesting light on Slavic dialectal names for buckwheat. The names found on the map can be divided into several groups:

1. names of the type *greč-a*,²⁷ *greč-bk-a*, *greč-in-a*, *greč-iχ-a*, *greč-uχ-a* – appearing in dialects of East Slavic languages, in dialects from South-East Poland (from Ukrainian) and among persons displaced from the southeastern borderlands; also, *greč-bk-a* in East Slovak dialects (from Ukrainian),²⁸ and *greč-iχ-a*²⁹ from Russian in Bulgarian dialects (cf. ESUM s.v. *гребка*).³⁰
2. *pogan-ъk-a* – present in Czech dialects, West and Central Slovak dialects, in Ukrainian dialects³¹ as well as in Polish Silesian dialects.
3. *tatar-ъk-a* – according to the map, this is present in Polish dialects from the south-east, extends through West Poland and reaches the northwest of the country; moreover, it appears in the Czech dialects of East Moravia (cf. Machek 1954: 88; Kosík 1941: 90), in East Slovak dialects (cf. Buffa 1972: 373) as well as in the Ukrainian dialects bordering with East Slovak dialects (see Makowiecki 1936: 149).

27 The notation is taken from OLA 4.

28 Buffa (1972: 292) notes the Slovak form *hřečka* from Reuss (1853) and Machek (1954: 88) confirms the Slovak dialectal form *hřečka*.

29 Achtarov (1939: 244) adds the form *гребуха*.

30 The forms *greczycha*, *hreczka* and *hryczka* are recorded in Polish (SWil), while Majewski SN (s.vv.) includes the following forms: *greczka*, *gryczka* and *reczka*.

31 Makowiecki (1936: 149) notes the form *pohanka* in Ukrainian dialects.

4. *lit-ɔv-ɔk-a* – appears exclusively in Kashubian dialects (see above).
5. *dik-uš-a* – appears sporadically in Russian dialects.³²

Besides this, the authors of the map identify loanwords originating from languages other than Slavic:

1. *(grik)-a*³³ – a loanword from Lithuanian (see above),³⁴ which according to the OLA 4 map is present in Polish dialects, mainly in northeastern and in northwestern extremes of the Baltic coast.
2. *(hajd)-a*, *(hajd)-in-a* – a borrowing from Germ. *Heiden* (see above),³⁵ present in Slovenian dialects (cf. Marzell 2000 2, col. 408), also extending beyond the borders of Slovenia into Austria and Hungary, as well as in Croatian dialects in the north³⁶ and in Slovak dialects, where it appears in the form of *hajdina* (cf. Buffa 1972: 289).³⁷
3. *(held)-a* – a borrowing from Turk. *helda* (see above), appearing in the dialects of Bosnia and Hercegovina, as well as in Eastern Croatia and Western Serbia.
4. *(bukvit)-a* – a loanword from Low Germ. *bōkvēten*, present in Kashubian dialects.
5. *(köleš)-v*, *(köleš)-kaš-a* – a loanword from Hung. *köleš* ‘millet’, used in the Slovak dialects in Hungary.

Moreover, the map shows that no dialectal names for buckwheat are recorded in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Northern Greece³⁸ and South-Eastern Serbia. Among the Slavic dialectal names taken into account in it, several were motivated by the supposed origin of *Fagopyrum*, namely *greč-a*, *greč-ɔk-a*, *greč-in-a*, *greč-iχ-a*, *greč-uχ-a*, *(grik)-a*, *tatar-ɔk-a*, *lit-ɔv-ɔk-a*, *pogan-ɔk-a*, *ajda*, *(hajd)-a*, *(hajd)-in-a*, *hejduška* and the Slovenian name from Italy, *(saražin)-v* under Romance influence, see, MLat. *gratum saracenum* ‘*Fagopyrum*’ (cf. OLA 4, map 56).

32 Annenkov (1878: 143) records this name both for common buckwheat and for tartary buckwheat.

33 The notation for loanword forms according to OLA 4 conventions.

34 The map’s authors deviate from the standard view and regard this name as a loanword from the East German *Gricke*.

35 The authors of the OLA 4 map assume, not entirely accurately, that these names originate from Germ. *Heidekorn* ‘*Fagopyrum*’.

36 Šugar HBI (s.vv.) reports the following Croatian forms: *hâida* i *hajdina*.

37 The forms *xajda* and *xajdina* are also noted in Serbian dialects, see Pažderski (2009: 307) and Simonović BR (195).

38 The map only covers a fragment of Northern Greece.

One fact we found to be extremely important is that analysis of the map shows that *tatarka* is an indigenous Polish name and that it was able to spread from Poland into East Slovak dialects and from there into Ukrainian dialects and further on to the south and east, which confirms one of the theses proposed by Nitsch and Mrozówna (1955, see above).

The names for common buckwheat used in European languages can be divided into those which do not include references to the origin of the species and those which indicate where the species comes from.³⁹ The following are examples of names (excluding the Slavic ones) which do not contain references to the origin of the species: Germ. *echter (gemeiner) Buchweizen*, Du. *boekweit*, Swed. *bovete*, and Sp. *alforfón*.

Besides the Slavic ones mentioned above, there are quite a few names that allude to the origin of common buckwheat. They can be divided according to the type of references these names contain. They include the following:

- Greek references: Lith. *sėjamasis grikis*, Latv. *sējas griķi*, Germ. *Gricken*, Rum. *hrișcă*, Hung. *haricska* (Marzell 2000 2, col. 410);
- Tartar references: Germ. *Tater*, *Tatelkorn*, Low Germ. *Tadder*, Dan. *tadder* (1700), *tadderkorn* (1863), Rum. *tătarcă*, Hung. *tatárka*, Finn. *tattari* (Marzell 2000 2, cols. 409–410), Est. *tattar*, *tatricat*;⁴⁰
- Turkish references: Germ. *Türchskorn* (1574), Dan. *tyrkisk korn* (1798), Fr. *blé de Turquie* (16th century), Sp. *grano turco* (cf. Marzell 2000 2, col. 409);
- Muslim references: Germ. *Heidekorn*, Fr. (*blé*) *sarrasin*, Sp. *trigo sarraceno*, Port. *trigo-sarraceno*, *trigo-mourisco*, It. *grano saraceno*, Germ. (Lower Austria) *Srasn* (1889), Engl. *sarazin corn* (1687), *sarazin* (1840) (cf. Marzell 2000 2, col. 409), Hung. *pohánka* (from Slovak), *hajdina* (from South Slavic languages);
- other: Germ. *Franzweizen*, Engl. *french wheat* (1597), Du. *fransche boekweit* (cf. Marzell 2000 2, col. 409), Mac. *јапонска елда*.

As can be seen from above, some names allude not to the country of origin of the plant, but rather to the country or people that mediated in the spread of buckwheat cultivation. Worthy of note are Rum. *tătarcă* and Hung. *tatárka*, which attest to the fact that Pol. *tatarka* extended far (via Slovak and Ukrainian mediation, see above) to the south and east. If we assume that this is also the source

39 Obviously, the issue at stake is not the actual origin of the plant species, but what the person who first bestowed that name on it believed was its origin.

40 Estonian names taken from Annenkov (1878: 143).

of such German names as *Tater* and *Taterkorn*, then its area of influence is quite considerable.

Analysis of the European reach of different names for common buckwheat and their forms also reveals the relatively widespread use of the originally Czech name *pohanka* and the considerable influence of the Ukrainian form *гребка*. It is also important to note, bearing in mind the Slavic names discussed above, the considerable territorial range of those names alluding to Greek, Tartar and general Muslim mediation in the spread of buckwheat.

The situation is quite similar with Tartary buckwheat, i.e. *Fagopyrum tataricum* (L.) Gaertn., since the majority of names are motivated by the origin of the plant. The following are examples of names referring to the origins of the plant species: Engl. *Tartary buckwheat*, *Tartarian buckwheat*, Germ. *tatarischer Buchweizen*, *Tataren-Buchweizen*, Sp. *tartaria alforfón*, Fr. *sarrasin de Tartarie*, Du. *tataarsche boekweit*, Dan. *tatarisk boghvede* (1796), Swed. *tatariskt bohvete*, It. *grano saraceno di Tartaria*, Lith. *totorinis grikas* (Marzell 2000 2, col. 412), Pol. *gryka tatarka*, *tatarka*, *tatarka sybirska*,⁴¹ Czech *pohanka tatarská*, Czech. dial. *tatarka*, *tatarčisko*, *tatarské zrní* (Rystonová 2007: 419), Slov. *pohánka tatárska*, Sloven. *tatarska ajda*, Mac. *татарска елда*, Rus. *гребуха татáрская*, Bel. *тата́рская грэчка*, Ukr. *hrečka tatarka*, *hrečka tatarska*, *tatarka*⁴² and Serb. *татарска елда*, *татарска хельда* (Simonović BR 195). Vajs (2003: 378) cites two Croatian forms from 1778, i.e. *tatarinka* and *hajdina tatarska*, although it is not known whether they refer to Tartary buckwheat or to common buckwheat.

In some languages Tartary buckwheat connotes origin different from Tartar (most commonly Siberian). These include: Swed. *siberisk bokhvete* (Linnaeus, 1744) (Marzell 2000 2, col. 411), *sibiriskt bovete*, Engl. *India buckwheat*, *India wheat*, Ukr. *hrečka sibirijska*, *hrečka sybirska*,⁴³ Serb. *сибирска елда* (Simonović BR 195), Du. *franse boekweit*, Germ. *sibirischer Buchweizen* (1781), Dan. *sibirisk boghvede*, *sibirisk hvede* (1798), Fr. *sibéri*, *sarrasin de Sibérie*, It. *formentù di Siberia* (Marzell 2000 2, col. 411).

The above comparison of sample European names for Tartar buckwheat shows that in most cases they refer to the Tartars as the people who mediated in the spread of this plant species. This is dictated most clearly by its scientific Latin

41 The last name is reported by Majewski SN (vol. 2 s.v. *Polygonum tataricum*), taken from Rostafiński (Symb).

42 Ukrainian names based on Makowiecki (1936: 150).

43 Ukrainian names based on Makowiecki (1936: 150).

name (attestations of forms are generally late). Some of the names allude to Siberia as the area where the species is most widespread.

Conclusions

The names for common buckwheat and Tartary buckwheat in Slavic and European languages indicate that both species have eastern origins. These names suggest that Greeks, Tartars and “pagans” in general can take most credit for the spread of these plants.

The name *tatarka*, attesting to the fact that the Tartars acted as intermediaries in the spread of buckwheat, first emerged on Polish soil and from there spread to Slovakia, Eastern Moravia in modern-day Czech Republic, to Ukrainian dialects bordering Slovakia, to Hungarian dialects and even to Romanian dialects. It is fairly likely that it was also the source of German names of the type *Taterkorn* and *Tater*.

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ANCIENT GREEKS ON COMPOUNDS. ARISTOTLE, DIONYSIUS THRAX, APOLLONIUS DYSCOLUS

The article presents the manner in which the phenomenon of compoundhood was analysed and interpreted in the most representative texts of Greek linguistic thought, that is in Aristotle's writings, in *Tekhne grammatike* attributed to Dionysius Thrax and in Apollonius Dyscolus' treatise *On Syntax*. Comparison of the appropriate passages from those works leads to the conclusion that each presents or discusses the phenomenon in question in the context of a different set of issues it raises. Thus, Aristotle examines compoundhood primarily from the point of view of its potential influence on the functional semantics of names, which is mainly perceived in logical terms. *Tekhne grammatike* in turn concentrates on the problem of locating compoundhood within the structure of grammatical properties of words and determining in this way its relation to other derivational and inflectional properties. Finally, Apollonius Dyscolus attempts to point out the criteria that make it possible to distinguish compoundhood from syntactic complexity, which is related to the necessity of establishing the fundamental definitional properties of the word as a linguistic unit opposed to the phrase. In this way compoundhood found its way into Greek linguistics as a phenomenon analysed from the point of view of problems it may pose in the areas of semantics, morphology and syntax.

compounds, Greek linguistics, semantics, morphology, syntax

To Professor Marek Stachowski, on the occasion of his 60th birthday
To Aristotle, on the occasion of his 2400th birthday

The phenomenon of compounds as well as the problem of the derivation of words was present in the ancient Greek reflection on language basically since its very beginnings. Speculations about the word-formation motivations of words, which were frequently fanciful and based merely on the similarity of the phonetic shape of the compared words, were conducted initially in the context of the particular beliefs about the connections between language and extralinguistic reality, and thus also in the context of the philosophical controversy about the nature of language (i.e. whether it is natural or conventional). This, in turn, was related to the debate on the epistemological value of word-formation (derivational) analyses (i.e. the ancient etymologies) as tools which enable one to establish the essence of things that are denoted by the particular words. In the subsequent period the consideration of linguistic questions attained a certain kind of autonomy, at least in certain circles, which resulted in considerable progress in the identification of the crucial properties of language as such, as well as of words which were products of the process of composition. At the same time it is interesting to explore the differences which may be observed in the way the *composita* were analysed and interpreted in the particular texts which constitute the ancient Greek linguistic tradition. In order to illustrate these differences we will first make reference to the appropriate passages in Aristotle's works, then to the *Art of Grammar* which is ascribed to Dionysius Thrax, and finally to the treatise *On Syntax* by Apollonius Dyscolus.

Although Aristotle did not belong to the group of ancient grammarians and he did not devote any separate treatise to language, he did engage in linguistic questions in many of his writings whenever his subject called for this, and his influence upon the subsequent development of Greek (and European) linguistics was great. The problems concerning compounds were referred to by the Philosopher in the *Poetics* and in the *Hermeneutics*. In the first of these treatises such a reference is made first in Chapter 20 when the author defines the *onoma* ('noun') as one of the components of language. We read there the following words:

Aristotelis *Poetica*, 1457a10–14:

Ὀνομα δέ ἐστι φωνῇ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ἄνευ χρόνου, ἥς μέρος οὐδέν ἐστι καθ' αὐτὸ σημαντικόν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς διπλοῖς οὐ χρώμεθα ὥς καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ σημαῖνον, οἷον ἐν τῷ Θεόδωρος τὸ δωρος οὐ σημαίνει.

A noun is a compound, significant, nontemporal sound, no part of which is independently significant; for in double nouns we do not employ any part as independently significant: e.g. in *Theodorus* the *-dorus* part has no meaning.¹

As we can see, one of the defining properties of the noun, apart from semanticity and the lack of the designation of time,² is its semantic indivisibility. This property is so special or unobvious that its validity is supported by additional argumentation which refers to the asemancticity of the part of the noun referred to as *onoma diploun* (ὄνομα διπλοῦν). The exemplification that is alluded to attests that this *onoma diploun* is a two-part compound, i. e. *Theodoros* (Θεόδωρος), in which the component *-doros* is claimed not to have any meaning (οὐ σημαίνει). It seems that a kind of justification of this statement results from the fact that the aforementioned noun (*Theodoros*) is an anthroponym, a conventional male name whose purpose is merely to identify the people who bear it. However, due to the emphasised asemancticity of the parts of all nouns as such we may conclude that the basis for the distinguishing of compound nouns (*onomata dipla*) must be connected with the semanticity of their parts which realises itself outside those nouns, i.e. when the parts function as separate words (*doron* – ‘a gift’).³

At the beginning of Chapter 21 Aristotle returns to the description of nouns by providing a more comprehensive typology:

Aristotelis *Poetica*, 1457a30–36:

Ὀνόματος δὲ εἶδη τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν, ἀπλοῦν δὲ λέγω ὃ μὴ ἐκ σημαίνοντων σύγκειται, οἷον γῆ, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν· τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ σημαίνοντος καὶ ἀσήμου, πλὴν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σημαίνοντος καὶ ἀσήμου, τὸ δὲ ἐκ σημαίνοντων σύγκειται. Εἴη δ’ ἂν καὶ τριπλοῦν καὶ τετραπλοῦν ὄνομα καὶ πολλαπλοῦν, οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν, Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος.

Nouns can be classed as ‘single’ (by which I mean those not comprising significant parts, e.g. *gē* [‘earth’]) and ‘double’. The latter can be subdivided into those formed from both significant and nonsignificant parts (though this is not their function

- 1 All passages from the *Poetics* are quoted according to the edition and translation by St. Halliwell in: Henderson (1995).
- 2 This lack of (co-)designation of time constitutes a property which distinguishes in a definitional manner the *onoma* (the noun) from the *rhema* (the verb); cf. 1457a14–15: ῥῆμα δὲ φωνῇ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ μετὰ χρόνου, ἧς οὐδὲν μέρος σημαίνει καθ’ αὐτό, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων – “A verb is a compound, significant sound with a temporal force, but no part of which is independently significant (as with nouns)”. Let us add, that the expression “compound sound” (φωνῇ συνθετῇ), used also in reference to *onoma*, means here that the verb (and the noun) is (as a sound) composed of phones (στοιχεῖα) and syllables (συλλαβαί).
- 3 For a thorough examination of the linguistic content of the 20th chapter of the *Poetics* see Swiggers, Wouters (2002).

within the noun), and those comprising only significant parts. One could further distinguish 'triple', 'quadruple' and 'polysyllabic' nouns, e.g. most Massaliote terms: *Hermocaïcoxanthus*.⁴

Thus, the *onoma diploun*, which was distinguished in the preceding passage, is confronted here with the *onoma haploun* (ὄνομα ἀπλοῦν). Moreover, the Stagirite also distinguishes the *onoma triploun*, *tetraploun* and *pollaploun*. The description of the *onoma diploun*, which is included in the cited passage, enables us to identify it – similarly as in the passage quoted earlier – with a compound founded upon two word-formation bases, but perhaps also with a simple suffixal derivative, if we should identify its component which was referred to as *asemos* (ἄσημος – 'nonsignificant') with a suffix. Thereby the term *onoma haploun* should be understood as a non-compound and non-derivative noun, since this understanding is in keeping with the description ("[nouns] not comprising significant parts") and the exemplification (*gē* – 'earth') given in the passage. We may also assume that the nouns which are referred to with the terms (*onoma*) *triploun*, *tetraploun*, *pollaploun* are compound nouns which are characterised by the presence of an appropriately greater number of significant components (or significant components and a non-significant component). Thus, in the typology presented by Aristotle two properties attract our attention. The first one has to do with the lack of distinction (at least of a terminological distinction) between composition and derivation, a lack which is manifested by the fact that the class *onoma diploun* includes both nouns which consist of two significant elements, i.e. two-part compounds, as well as nouns which consist of a significant and a non-significant element, and therefore most probably suffixal derivatives. The second peculiar property has to do with the reservation (formulated in both passages) that within the noun which constitutes an *onoma diploun* neither of its parts is characterised by meaning. Another striking fact is that the Philosopher makes no mention of composition as a word-formation strategy in his discussion of the *rhema* ('the verb') as another component of language (1457a14–18).

4 This word is formed from the names of three rivers: Hermos, Kaïkos and Xanthos (= Scamander), which flow near Phocaea in Asia Minor, where the colonists who established Massalia (Marseilles) originated from. This word probably functioned as an epithet of Zeus which was conferred to him in Massalia by the Phocaean colonists, so that it would remind them about their relationship with their former fatherland.

The problem of the semanticity of compounds was also discussed by Aristotle in the first chapters of the *Hermeneutics* (*Περὶ ἑρμηνείας*), i.e. in one of the six treatises comprising the rudiments of the logic and methodology of the Philosopher's research which were later brought together in a collection known as the *Organon*. In the *Hermeneutics* the subject of discussion is language as the tool for expressing thoughts (*ἑρμηνεία* 'expression, utterance'); therefore, before the Philosopher begins to discuss linguistically expressed and logically verifiable statements about reality, he describes their components, i.e. individual words of which he distinguishes two basic classes: *onomata* ('nouns') and *rhemata* ('verbs'). However, composition, being the object of a special analysis, is only brought up in the course of the description of the *onoma*:

Aristotelis *Hermeneutica* 16a19–26:⁵

Ὅνομα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φωνὴ σημαντικὴ κατὰ συνθήκην ἄνευ χρόνου, ἥς μὴδὲν μέρος ἐστὶ σημαντικὸν κεχωρισμένον· ἐν γὰρ τῷ Κάλλιππος τὸ ἵππος οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ σημαίνει, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ καλὸς ἵππος. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεπλεγμένοις· ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς τὸ μέρος σημαντικόν, ἐν δὲ τούτοις βούλεται μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς κεχωρισμένον, οἷον ἐν τῷ ἐπακτροκέλης τὸ κελῆς.

The noun is a sound which has meaning which is established by way of convention, without reference to time, a sound whose neither part has meaning in separation from the whole. For in the noun *Kallippos* the element *-(h)ippos* in itself does not mean anything, as it has meaning in the phrase *kalos hippos* ['a beautiful horse']. However, it is not so that if a thing manifests itself in simple nouns, it does so likewise in complex nouns; for in the former ones a part has no meaning at all, whereas in the latter ones a part has a meaning, but not in separation from the whole, as e.g. the element *-keles* in the name *epaktrokeles*.

In the passage quoted above, similarly as in the case of the definition of the *onoma* from the *Poetics* which was interpreted above, after the conventional nature of the semantic function of a noun and the lack of reference to time was enunciated, a specific declaration concerning the asemanticity of the parts of a noun is made again: *φωνή [...]* ἥς μὴδὲν μέρος ἐστὶ σημαντικὸν κεχωρισμένον "a sound whose neither part has meaning in separation from the whole". And in a similar manner the validity of this statement is confirmed by reference to an example of a compound anthroponym *Kallippos* (*Κάλλιππος*), in which the component *-(h)ippos* is said not

5 The passage is quoted according to Montanari (1984: 111).

to mean anything in itself, in contradistinction to an identical form (*hippos*) in the phrase *kalos hippos* (καλὸς ἵππος ‘a beautiful horse’), which, as a separate word, is characterised by meaning. What follows is, however, somewhat surprising: here the Philosopher claims that there yet exists a difference between simple nouns (*onomata hapla*, ὀνόματα ἀπλά) and complex nouns (*onomata peplegmena*, ὀνόματα πεπλεγμένα), for in the former ones a part has no meaning at all (οὐδαμῶς τὸ μέρος σημαντικόν), while in the latter ones it has a certain meaning (βούλεται), but not in separation from the whole (ἀλλ’ οὐδενὸς κεχωρισμένον). And as an example of such a complex noun (*onoma peplegmenon*) the Philosopher provides the word *epaktrokeles* (ἐπακτροκέλης) in which the element *-keles* (κελής) is supposed to have a certain meaning, but not in separation from the whole. At the same time the context of this statement implies that the aforementioned anthroponym *Kallippos* constitutes an *onoma haploun*, which is particularly curious, especially due to the fact that a noun with an identical compound structure, i.e. *Theodoros*, was classified as an *onoma diploun* in the passage 1457a10–14 of the *Poetics*, which was quoted at the beginning. Therefore, what is the difference between the *onoma diploun* in the *Poetics* (*Theodoros*) and the *onoma peplegmenon* in the *Hermeneutics* (*epaktrokeles*)? And in a similar manner, what is the difference between the *onoma haploun* (*Kallippos*) and the *onoma peplegmenon* (*epaktrokeles*) in the above cited passage of *Hermeneutics*? It seems that in order to understand the argument in the *Hermeneutics* and to establish the criterion which lies at the heart of the opposition *onoma haploun* : *onoma peplegmenon* it is crucial to comprehend the difference which Aristotle perceived in the way the signifying function of both *exempla* in the aforementioned passage is realised.

While the noun *Kallippos* does not present any special interpretative difficulties as far as the meaning of its constituent bases and its function as a proper name, the lexeme *epaktrokeles* does pose certain problems in this respect. Namely, this word is a noun composed of *epaktris* and *keles*. All three lexemes are very peculiar maritime terms whose meaning is difficult to establish today. We know that these names refer to three different types of ships, although we do not know if the latter differed in terms of their size, shape, equipment, purpose or some (other) general nautical parameters. Therefore, the relationship between the terms *epaktrokeles* and *keles*⁶ remains difficult to establish.⁷ Nevertheless, the fact that Aristotle referred to

6 And likewise *epaktrokeles* and *epaktris*.

7 Apart from the passage under discussion the term *epaktrokeles* appears in the entire corpus of preserved Greek literature only once, i.e. in the par. 191 of the speech *Against*

this peculiar technical term out of many composite formations which constitute the resources of the Greek lexicon suggests that this word must correspond in some peculiar way to the criteria that the Philosopher established for the nouns to which he ascribed the status of *onomata peplegmena*. E. Montanari (1988: 123–126) may be on the right track when he likens the semantic and morphological structure of the Greek *epaktrokeles* to that of the Italian term *brigantinogoletta*, which is a compound consisting of *brigantino* and *goletta*. *Brigantino* is the name of a two-masted ship which has square-rigged sails on both masts, i.e. sails that are carried by a horizontal beam (yard) attached to the mast halfway through its length. *Goletta* is also the name of a two-masted vessel, although the latter features gaffsails on both masts, i.e. the sails are suspended on an obliquely-placed (in reference to the mast), movable pole (gaff) attached to the mast on one end. Whereas *brigantinogoletta* is a term which denotes a two-masted vessel which has square-rigged sails on one mast and gaffsails on the other.⁸ And therefore *-goletta*, as the component of the name *brigantinogoletta*, is characterised by a certain meaning, for it provides the information that one of the masts of this two-masted vessel features gaffsails. This meaning is realised only within this name, whereas it disappears in separation from this name, for *goletta* as an independent word denotes a ship with two gaff-rigged masts. We may assume that, *mutatis mutandis*, an analogous function could have been performed by the element *-keles* in the compound name *epaktrokeles*. Therefore the meaning which is mentioned by Aristotle in his argument is not the abstract, lexical semanticity of a part of a (composite) word, but its semanticity within that word. So, when the Philosopher says that this part (*μέρος*) has no meaning in separation from the whole (*οὐδενὸς κεχωρισμένον*), the latter phrase should not be understood as equipollent to *οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, but as *κεχωρισμένον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, for apart from the word *epaktrokeles*, *keles* carries meaning as a name in itself, although a different one than *-keles* in the name *epaktrokeles*. And it is the latter meaning that disappears, if this element is separated from the name whose part it constitutes. Therefore, it seems that by referring to this example

Timarchos by Aeschines, from which we can learn nothing more than that the ship referred to with this term was used by pirates; cf.: ... αἱ προπετεῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἱκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, ταῦτα πληροὶ τὰ ληστήρια, ταῦτ' εἰς τὸν ἐπακτροκέλητα ἐμβιβάζει, ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐκάστῳ Πολυνή, ταῦτα παρακελεύεται σφάττειν τοὺς πολίτας, ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς τυράννοις, συγκαταλύειν τὸν δῆμον.

- 8 In Polish the following names correspond to these terms (respectively): *szkuner* (Eng. schooner), *bryg* (Eng. brig) and *szkunerbryg* (Eng. obs. schooner brig).

the Philosopher desired to emphasise that even if a part of a composite word has a certain meaning, then this meaning is completely determined by the meaning of the remaining components and the word as a whole. Consequently, the meaning of a part of a word constitutes only a dependent element of the meaning of that word as a whole and its existence is justified exclusively within the context of this word. Thereby Aristotle could demonstrate that nouns of this kind, i.e. *onomata peplegmena*, also do not go beyond the general definition of the noun, which states that no part of it has meaning in separation from the whole (*φωνή [...] ἥς μηδὲν μέρος ἐστὶ σημαντικὸν κεχωρισμένον*).⁹

As we summarise all statements of the Stagirite about compound nouns, expressed both in the *Poetics* and in *Hermeneutics*, and as we attempt to answer the questions which were asked before, we should state that each of these two works postulates a different classification, based on different criteria, which is also manifested in a slightly different terminology. In the *Poetics* the opposition *onoma haploun* : *onoma diploun* (*triploun*, *tetraploun*, *pollaploun*) is based exclusively on the number of elements in a given word such that are characterised by meaning outside the context of the given word, i.e. as separate words. We are told that within a given word none of these elements is “significant in itself” (*αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ σημαίνον*); that is to say, it does not have autonomous meaning. As we can see, this typology is purely morphological in nature and its criterion is associated with the number of word-formation bases found in a given word (or the lack of such bases). On the other hand, in the *Hermeneutics* the opposition *onoma haploun* : *onoma peplegmenon* is based not on the number of independently meaningful elements in a word, but on the way in which they function within this word. And thus we are told that within the *onoma haploun* the elements do not mean anything in themselves (*οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ σημαίνει*), they do not have any meaning at all (*οὐδαμῶς τὸ μέρος σημαντικόν*), whereas within the *onoma peplegmenon* they have a certain meaning (*βούλεται*) but not in separation from the whole word (*ἀλλ’ οὐδενὸς κεχωρισμένον*). Thus, this division does not refer to morphological simplicity or compoundhood but to the semantic simplicity/complexity, which is functional in nature. Within the framework of this typology the class *onomata hapla* involves both non-compound (i.e. simple) nouns (which also constitute *onomata hapla* according to the classification introduced in the *Poetics*), and those compound nouns (i.e. *onomata dipla*, according to the classification in the *Poetics*)

9 The analysed passage is also discussed in Wolanin (1995: 257–260), together with yet another one (16b29–33) in which Aristotle refers to a speciously compound noun (*μῦς*).

whose components do not determine the semantic function of a given noun as a whole, i.e. such as *Kallippos*,¹⁰ which is a conventional anthroponym identifying specific people regardless of whether there is any relationship between those people and (beautiful) horses or not. Whereas *onomata peplegmena* are those compound nouns (i.e. *onomata dipla*, according to the morphological classification of the *Poetics*) whose components determine (to a certain extent) the meaning of a given noun as a whole by contributing a certain amount of information about the specific properties of its referent, that is nouns such as *epaktrokeles*, with the reservation that this information is realised only within this noun and not in separation from this noun, because in the latter context, i.e. if the components function as separate words, their semantics (informative value) changes. Thus the *onoma haploun* which is confronted in the *Poetics* with the *onoma diploun* (*triploun*, *tetraploun*), and the *onoma haploun* which is confronted in the *Hermeneutics* with the *onoma peplegmenon*, are terms which, although formally identical, express two distinct notions, i.e. the former refers to the noun which is non-composite morphologically, and the latter refers to the noun which is non-complex semantically. And in a similar manner the *onoma diploun* in the *Poetics* and the *onoma peplegmenon* in the *Hermeneutics* are not two editorial variants of the same term, but are two terms whose content is different. The first of these terms denotes a morphologically composite noun (i.e. a compound) and the second term a noun which is semantically complex.

It is also due to the above indicated difference in the non-simplicity of nouns that in both texts, i.e. in the *Poetics* and in the *Hermeneutics*, the Stagirite uses the terms which refer to the (a)semanticity of the parts of nouns in a slightly different manner. In the *Poetics* he introduces no distinction as far as the intralexical semanticity of the parts of compound nouns (*dipla*) is concerned, therefore the parts of both these nouns and the simple nouns (*hapla*) were referred to as asemaic *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά*, i.e. 'by themselves' (1457a10–14). Whereas in the *Hermeneutics* such a distinction was introduced, therefore in the general definition of the noun as such, propounded in this text, these parts were referred to as asemaic *κεχωρισμένα*, i.e. in separation from the context constituted by the meaning of the noun as a whole. Consequently, this definition includes both semantically simple nouns (*hapla*) such as *Kallippos*, whose parts do not have meaning not only *κεχωρισμένα*, but also *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά*, as well as semantically complex nouns (*peplegmena*), as for example *epaktrokeles*, whose parts are not

10 And *Theodoros* likewise.

asemantic *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά* (cf.: ἐν δὲ τούτοις [τὸ μέρος] βούλεται), but only as *κεχωρισμένα* (cf.: ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς κεχωρισμένον). It also seems understandable that it is in the *Hermeneutics* that Aristotle presented an in-depth interpretation of the semantics of compounds. As we have already mentioned, this treatise belongs among Aristotle's writings on logic and it refers to the linguistic means of expressing thoughts, and especially propositions. It was therefore necessary to establish at the beginning the logical status of the thing which is expressed by an individual word (noun). And as far as the Philosopher is concerned, his answer is that: firstly, regardless of the compoundhood of the noun it always expresses only one notion which may become an object of logical operations (predication). And therefore such expressions as e.g. *Kallippos trekhei* ('Kallippos runs') or *epaktrokeles plei* ('an *epaktrokeles* sails') constitute propositions, in which subjects of predication are constituted by single notions, i.e. a man known as *Kallippos* and a vessel known as *epaktrokeles*, respectively. Thus neither the horse nor the vessel known as *keles* constitute any components of these propositions. Secondly, the consequences of the compoundhood of the noun for its denotational value may be twofold, i.e. it may be either irrelevant in this regard, as in the case of the name *Kallippos* (in which the component *-(h)ippos* does not determine people for whom this name is appropriate in any way, due to the complete conventionalisation of this name¹¹), or it may influence the denotational value of the noun, as in the case of the name *epaktrokeles* (in which the word-formative component *-keles* co-decides about the adequacy of this noun in reference to the specific class of vessels). Thereby the Philosopher indicated the necessity to distinguish (or even to separate) the morphological plane from the plane of functional (logical) semantics, or, to be more precise, he indicated that the morphological (i.e. word-formation) structure of a noun and the way its semantics functions on the plane of logic are relatively independent, or at least not completely congruent. We should emphasise, however, that while the descriptions of nouns presented in the *Poetics* and in the *Hermeneutics* are different, they are not contradictory, and the element they share is the strongly emphasised lack of the semantic autonomy of the morphological components of a compound. This lack is reflected either in the complete asemaniticity of such a component within a name (*-doros* in *Theodoros*, *-(h)ippos* in *Kallippos*), or in the fact that its semanticity is relative, manifested as a factor identifying specific properties of the referent of the noun as a whole and not as an exponent of a separate referent (*-keles* in *epaktrokeles*).

11 The same could have been said about the name *Theodoros* and its component *-doros*.

In the grammatical tradition the problem of compounds appears in a completely different context. In the treatise entitled *The Art of Grammar* (*Tekhne grammatike*, *Τέχνη γραμματική*), which is attributed to Dionysius Thrax (170–90 BC)¹² and which contains an exposition of the Alexandrian science of the morphology of the word, the questions concerning words formed by means of composition are discussed in chapters dealing with the particular classes of words (parts of speech). In these chapters appropriate grammatical properties or accidents (*παρεπόμενα*, *parepomena*) are ascribed to specific classes of words. These properties include both inflexional and word-formative categories. The latter ones are discussed in chapters treating the *onoma* ('a noun'), *rhema* ('a verb') and *antonymia* ('a pronoun'). And thus in the chapter concerning the *onoma* we may read the following words:

Dionysii Thracis *Ars grammatica* 24, 6–7:¹³

Παρέπεται δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι πέντε· γένη, εἶδη, σχήματα, ἀριθμοί, πτώσεις.

Five (properties) accompany a noun: genera, forms, structures, numbers, cases.

So, beside the inflexional categories of gender, number and case, also two word-formation categories were classified as accidents (*parepomena*) which accompany the noun, i.e. the *eidos* (εἶδος) 'form' and *skhema* (σχῆμα) 'structure'. The former refers to morphological derivability/non-derivability and is based on the opposition *eidos prototypon* 'a basic (= non-derived) form' (*gē* – 'earth'): *eidos paragogen* 'a derived form' (*gaieios* – 'earthly'),¹⁴ whereas it is the *skhema* which refers to morphological compoundhood or lack thereof. The latter property is expressed in the following way:

Dionysii Thracis *Ars grammatica* 29, 5–7:

Σχήματα δὲ ὀνομάτων ἐστὶ τρία· ἀπλοῦν, σύνθετον, παρασύνθετον· ἀπλοῦν μὲν οἶον Μένων, σύνθετον δὲ οἶον Ἀγαμέμνων, παρασύνθετον δὲ οἶον Ἀγαμέμνονιδος, Φιλιππίδης.

12 The attribution of this treatise was and continues to be a source of controversy, although the majority of researchers accept the opinion that its content reflects the grammatical knowledge whose bulk was formed in the 2nd–1st century BC in the milieu of Alexandrian philologists and whose particular points were modified and enhanced by the subsequent generations of Greek grammarians over the course of centuries. On the *status quaestionis* see Law, Sluiter (1995).

13 All quotes are provided according to Uhlig (1883).

14 Cf. 25, 3–5.

There are three structures of a noun: simple, compound and the one which is derived from the compound; the simple structure is e.g. *Memnon*, the compound one is e.g. *Agamemnon*, and the structure which is derived from the compound one is e.g. *Agamemnonides*, *Philippides*.

According to this description, the category of *skhema* ('structure') is based on the tri-partite opposition: *skhema haploun* ('the simple structure') : *skhema suntheton* ('the compound structure') : *skhema parasuntheton* ('the structure derived from the compound one'), and at the same time it constitutes a criterion for distinguishing three types of nouns: a simple noun, a compound, and a derivative of a compound. Further on, four more kinds of compounds, called *suntheton diaforai* (συνθέτων διαφοραί), are distinguished. These are described as follows:

Dionysii Thracis *Ars grammatica* 30, 1–4:

Τῶν δὲ συνθέτων διαφοραί εἰσι τέσσαρες. ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσιν ἐκ δύο τελείων, ὡς Χειρίσοφος, ἃ δὲ ἐκ δύο ἀπολειπόντων, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς, ἃ δὲ ἐξ ἀπολείποντος καὶ τελείου, ὡς Φιλόδημος, ἃ δὲ ἐκ τελείου καὶ ἀπολείποντος, ὡς Περικλῆς.

There are four kinds of compound nouns; some of them consist of two whole [words] as e.g. *Kheirisophos*, others consist of two abbreviated words, such as e.g. *Sophokles*, others consist of one abbreviated and one whole word, such as e.g. *Philodemos*, still other consist of a whole word and an abbreviated word, such as e.g. *Perikles*.

As we can see, these *suntheton diaforai* are four classes of nominal compounds, distinguished on the basis of the form of the lexical elements which correspond to its word-formation bases.¹⁵ It is peculiar that both in this passage as in the one quoted before the whole exemplificatory material includes exclusively proper names (anthroponyms) with a clear morphological structure, and the typology is based solely on the formal factor of a morphological nature, while the semantic aspect is completely omitted.

The description of the *skhema* in reference to the verb (*rhema*) is presented in a similar manner:

Dionysii Thracis *Ars grammatica* 50, 3 – 51, 1:

Σχήματα τρία, ἀπλοῦν, σύνθετον, παρασύνθετον· ἀπλοῦν μὲν οἶον φρονῶ, σύνθετον δὲ οἶον καταφρονῶ, παρασύνθετον δὲ οἶον ἀντιγρονίζω, φιλιππίζω.

15 However, in the case of the name *Perikles* we are actually dealing with a prefixal form, in which the prefix is formally identical with the preposition *peri* 'round about, around'.

There are three structures: a simple one, a compound one and the one which is derived from the compound one; the simple one is e.g. *phrono*, the compound one is e.g. *kataphrono*, and the one derived from the compound one is e.g. *antigonidzo*, *philippidzo*.

In this case, as an example of a compound the author cites the prefixal formation *kataphrono* (καταφρονῶ) ‘I look down upon, I think slightly of’, in which an agglutinated preposition *kata* (κατά) ‘downwards, under’ acts as the prefix. The examples of derivatives of compounds the author provides, i.e. *antigonidzo* (ἀντιγινίζω) and *philippidzo* (φιλιππίζω), are denominal formations which are based on compound proper names (anthroponyms) *Antigonos* (Ἀντίγονος) and *Philippos* (Φίλιππος) and which mean the act of supporting (or being the supporter of) people who bear these names. In contradistinction to the *onoma*, no kinds of verbal compounds, i.e. *suntheton diaforai* (συνθέτων διαφοραί), are distinguished.

The description of the *skhema* as a property of pronouns (*antonumiai*) is limited to a bipartite opposition: *skhema haploun* (‘a simple structure’) : *skhema suntheton* (‘a compound structure’) and to this very opposition the difference between the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronouns is reduced:

Dionysii Thracis *Ars grammatica* 68, 1–2:

Σχήματα δύο, ἀπλοῦν, σύνθετον· ἀπλοῦν μὲν οἶον ἐμοῦ, σοῦ, οὗ, σύνθετον δὲ ἐμαντοῦ, σαυτοῦ, αὐτοῦ.

There are two structures: a simple and a compound one; the simple one is e.g. *emou*, *sou*, *hou*, and the compound one is e.g. *emautou*, *sautou*, *hautou*.

We also encounter the division of words into simple ones (*hapla*) and compound ones (*suntheta*) in the chapter devoted to the adverb (*epirrHEMA*), although no reference is made to the notion of *skhema*. In any case, no *parepomena* are mentioned there, though right after a brief definition of the adverb we read the following words:

Dionysii Thracis *Ars grammatica* 73, 1–2:

Τῶν δὲ ἐπιρρημάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἀπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ σύνθετα· ἀπλᾶ μὲν ὥς πάλαι, σύνθετα δὲ ὥς πρόπαλαι.

Among adverbs there are those which are simple, and others which are compound; the simple one is e.g. *palai* (‘long ago’), the compound one is e.g. *propalai* (‘very long ago’).

So, it is easy to see that this description of adverbs focuses just on their structure (*skhema*), testimony of which is furnished both by the terminology which is used and the examples which are provided.

As far as the description of words belonging to other classes (other parts of speech) is concerned, there is no information concerning their possible compoundhood. What is peculiar in the light of this is that in the chapter devoted to conjunctions (*sundesmoi*), the examples that are provided to illustrate their various semantic types (conjunctive, disjunctive, purpose-related, explicative etc.) are characterised by compoundhood which is indeed striking, as is the case of causal conjunctions (92, 2–3), where the author enumerates *epei*, *epeiper*, *epeide*, *epeideper* (ἐπεί, ἐπείπερ, ἐπειδή, ἐπειδήπερ) in one go but he fails to mention their *skhema*.

In conclusion we should state that in the treatise under discussion compoundhood of words is presented in the context of a general description of the grammatical features of the particular parts of speech. However, this presentation is spoilt by the lack of a conceptual and terminological distinction between word-formation and inflexion. This is because compoundhood is discussed in the context of one of the accidents (*parepomena*) of specific classes of words, i.e. *skhema*, whose status is not distinguished from the status of the *parepomena* comprising inflexional categories. The essence of the *skhema* actually has to do with the variance *simplex* (*haploun*) – *compositum* (*suntheton*) – *decompositum* (*parasuntheton*), and the manner and scope of the description of compounds themselves (*suntheta*) is limited to a division of nouns into kinds (*diaforai*) according to the schematically-conceived form in which word-formation bases are represented in them (a whole word vs. an abbreviated word). Consequently, the constituents of compounds are not appropriately interpreted as regards either their formal (grammatical) features or their semantic value. However, bearing in mind the historical context of this text, it seems that the general classification of facts related to compoundhood, which is presented in this text, as well as the attempt at finding an appropriate place for this phenomenon in the general description of the grammatical system of the language, deserve credit.

In the *Tekhne grammatike* compoundhood is presented as one of the systemic properties of words, constituting, together with inflexional properties, their general morphological characteristics, whereas in the four-volume treatise *On Syntax* (*Peri tes suntaxeos*, Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως) by Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd century AD) this phenomenon is presented mainly through the perspective of the definitional features of compounds and the criteria which enable one to distinguish compounds from syntagms, and therefore in the context of the demarcation between morphology and syntax.

In reference to compound words Apollonius generally uses the term *sunthesis* (σύνθεσις) or (onoma) *suntheton* ((ὄνομα) σύνθετον), as well as occasionally *sun-taxis* (συντάξις). In the second book (par. 161) he writes that the peculiar feature of each compound is the fact that its composite nature is confirmed both in the form, i.e. *phone* (φωνή), as well as in the meaning, i.e. *deloumenon* (δηλουμένον). The following words are to be found in the relevant passage:¹⁶

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 2, 161:

Ἐν γάρ τῳ μισογύνῃ καὶ τὸ μισεῖν ἔγκειται καὶ ἡ γυνή, καὶ ἐν τῳ φιλόπονος τὸ φιλεῖν καὶ ὁ πόνος. οὐ γάρ τὰ ἐν μιᾷ λέξει ἀπλῇ πλεονα σημαίνοντα σύνθετα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τοξότης, σκυτεὺς, κἄν ἐνέργειαν σημαίνῃ τὴν τοῦ τέμνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν προσλάβοι ἐν τῳ σκυτοτόμος. Ἐντεῦθεν τὸ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ τὰ τούτῳ ὅμοια κύρια ὄντα πρὸς ἐνίων οὐ κατηριθμεῖτο εἰς τὰ σύνθετα, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τοῖς δηλουμένοις ἐκέχρητο. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ γε τούτων ἐδείκνυτο ὡς ἡ πρώτη σύνθεσις ἐπεκράτει, καθὼς ἔχει τὸ ἀρίσταρχος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς περὶ Βακχυλίδην, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ἐξ ὑστέρου γενομένη συμβολικὴ μετάθεσις.

For instance, in *misogunes* ('woman-hater') it is clear that both *misein* ('hate') and *gunē* ('woman') are present both in form and in meaning, and in *philoponos* ('work-loving') both *philein* ('love') and *ponos* ('work'). And even if two or more semantic parts are present in one simple word, it is not [necessarily] a compound – e.g. *toxotes* ('bowman') or *skuteus* ('shoemaker', 'leather-worker'); although the notion of *temnein* ('cutting' of leather) is present [in *skuteus*], it's not a compound unless 'cut' is present in form, as well, as in *skutotomos*¹⁷ ('leather-cutter', 'shoemaker'). Hence *Aristarchos* and similar words which are proper names are not counted as compounds by some, because they don't use the meaning of the parts to make a meaningful whole.¹⁸ But on this point we tried to show [in a lost work] that the original composition prevails, as in Bacchylides 12, 58, *aristarchos Zeus* ('Zeus ruler of the best' or 'best of rulers') [in determining that it is a compound], and not the later transfer by convention to use as a proper name.

As we can see, for Apollonius the criterion which conditions the attribution of the status of compound to a word has to do with co-occurrence of specific formal and semantic properties. On the one hand, the presence of two word-formation bases, identifiable in the sound layer of the word, and on the other hand, the complex

16 All quotations from Apollonius' work are provided according to the edition by Uhlig (1910); translations according to Householder (1981).

17 A compound made from *σκύτος* 'leather' and *τόμος* 'cut'.

18 This remark for sure reflects Aristotle's view presented above.

semantics of the word, which results from an interplay of the meanings of these bases, turn out to be indispensable. This necessary symmetry of formal and semantic factors enables the author to eliminate the word *skuteus* from the class of compounds, despite the fact that he ascribes to it the presence of “more semantic parts”. This ascription is of course a result of an (erroneous) identification of the designatory (referential) meaning of this word with the word-formative (structural, etymological) meaning of the synonymous word *skutotomos*. On the other hand, this symmetry does not force the author to question the word-formative composite nature of the anthroponym *Aristarchos*, despite the fact that as a conventional proper name it does not manifest a composite designatory meaning, for in this case our grammarian may recognise its “composite original meaning” as the decisive factor, i.e. the word-formative (etymological) meaning which this word manifested as a common adjective. In this respect the grammarian could have also made additional reference to this use of the word as an attributive determiner of Zeus in the poetry of the archaic poet Bacchylides, who lived at the turn of the 5th century.

However, in his discussion of compounds Apollonius focuses on the question of how to distinguish compounds, i.e. one-word synthetic structures (*suntheseis*), from two-word analytical structures, i.e. parathetical ones (*paratheseis*), to use his terminology. The matter is not as obvious as it seems, for on the one hand, in the antiquity texts were usually written *in continuo*, i.e. without spaces between words (and without accent marks), and on the other hand, from early on the Greeks had an intuitive understanding of the concept of word, and this an idea rather than a term, since as regards terms, there were several in use, e.g. *ὄνομα*, *λέξις*, *μέρος λόγου* and the like. Therefore, grammarians faced the task of defining this concept theoretically in grammatical terms, even more so because in this case there was no recourse to orthography.

The criteria which according to Apollonius help distinguish compounds (i.e. synthetic, one-word constructions) from analytical structures (i.e. two-word, parathetical constructions) are not uniform. Generally speaking, in this regard it is possible to point out criteria of prosodic, morphological, morphosyntactic and morphosemantic nature.

As far as the prosodic criteria are concerned, one of them consists in the presence of only one accent within a given structure. The appropriate passage in Apollonius reads as follows:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 1–3:

Τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου διὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως τοῦ τόνου τὸ μοναδικὸν τῆς λέξεως ὑπαγορεύει, τουτέστι τὸ ἐν μέρος λόγου εἶναι, ἢ διὰ τῆς μονῆς τῆς καθ’

ἕκαστον μόριον τὸ δισσὸν ἐμφαίνει τῶν λέξεων. Τὸ γὰρ Διὸς κόρος παροξυνόμενον μὲν τὴν γενικὴν ἔχει ἰδίᾳ νοουμένην, ὅμοιον ὃν τῷ Διὸς υἱός, προπαροξυνόμενον δὲ ὅμοιον ἐστὶ τῷ Διόγνητος, Διόδοτος. [...] Τὸ δὲ καταγραφῶ εἴτε δύο μέρη λόγου ἐστὶν εἴτε καὶ ἓν, οὐκ ἐνδείκνυται διὰ τῆς τάσεως. Καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, τὸ ἀποίκου, καταφέροντος, ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεται ἀμφιβολίας.

With most words the unitary nature of a [compound] word, i.e. that it is just one word (*meros logou*), is shown by its single accent, whereas the fact that two separate accents remain on the individual words (*morion*) of a phrase shows that there are two words. The expression *Diōs kōros* ('Son of Zeus' or 'one of the twins Castor and Pollux') when accented with an acute-on-the-penult (*paroxunetai*) conveys the genitive relationships [i.e. that *Diōs* is a genitive modifying *kōros*], parallel to *Diōs huiōs* ('Son of Zeus'), but if accented only with an acute-on-the-antepenult (*proparoxunetai*) [i.e. *Diōskoros*], it is a compound, similar to *Diōgnētos* or *Diōdotos* [proper names, etymologically 'Zeus-born' and 'Zeus-given']. [...] But *katagráphō* ('I write down', 'I list') [for instance], does not indicate by its accent whether it is two words or one [since *katà gráphō* is phonetically identical with *katagráphō*, the grave accent having the same value as no accent]. And other words of this sort, e.g. *apoíkou* ('of a colonist' or *ap' oíkou* 'from home'), *kataphérontos* ('of a down-bringer' or *katà phérontos* 'concerning a bearer') and the rest suffer from the same ambiguity (*amphibolia*).

As we can see, the occurrence of a single accent is presented here as a necessary, but not sufficient, factor to consider a given structure a synthetic one. In other words, all compounds (synthetic structures) must have only one accent, but not all structures which have one accent must be synthetic ones. The situation in which a structure with one accent is not synthetic but parathetic in nature refers to expressions whose first element is an adverb or a preposition and the second element is a verbal or nominal form. The reduction of the number of accents to one in such structures results from the possible weakening¹⁹ of the *acute* accent in the first element (i.e. the change from the *acute* accent to the *grave* accent, when it rests on the final syllable of this element – *κατὰ γράφω*, *κατὰ φέροντος*), or from the possible disappearance (elision) of the final accented vowel in this element (*ἀπ' οἴκου*), whereas their ambiguity, and therefore their possible synthetic nature, results from the common process of grammaticalisation of their first (i.e. adverbial or prepositional) element. This process caused these elements to assume the status of a prefix and thus the entire structures to assume the nature of words (and not phrases), treated by Apollonius as compounds (*suntheseis*).

19 In practice this weakening is close to a complete disappearance.

The second prosodic criterion is the shift of the accent to the beginning of the word, which is peculiar to compounds. This phenomenon is discussed by Apollonius in paragraph 12 of the fourth book of his treatise *On Syntax*. In this paragraph the author considers structures with prepositions and prefixes similar to the ones discussed above, referred to with the cover term *protheseis* ‘prepositions’. However, in this case the object of analysis is exclusively combinations of these *protheseis* with nominal forms. Moreover, a criterion of morphological nature is also introduced in this context:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 12:

Προτιθέμεναι δὴ [αἱ προθέσεις] τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἢ κατὰ σύνθεσιν εἰσιν ἢ κατὰ παράθεσιν. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς εὐθείαις τῶν πτωτικῶν καὶ ἔτι ταῖς συνυπαρχούσαις κλητικαῖς οὐκ ἔστι τὴν παράθεσιν τῶν προθέσεων ἐπινοῆσαι. Πρόδηλον γάρ ὅτι τὸ σύνοικος, ἐπίκουρος, σύνδουλος, ὑπέρδουλος, πάροικος, μέτοικος, ἔκδηλος, ἀνάδρομος, περίοπτος, περιφόρητος, σύνθεσιν τὴν τῶν μερῶν ἀνεδέξαντο, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸν ἀναδραμόντα τόνον κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν (ἐπεὶ καὶ τινὰ γε συνεφύλαξε τὴν αὐτὴν τάσιν καὶ οὐ <τῇ> μονῇ τοῦ τόνου ἀπολύεται τῆς συνθέσεως, ὥς ἔχει τὸ περικλυτός, ἀναδρομή, συνοχή, καταμονή, ἄλλα πλεῖστα), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνυπάρχειν κατὰ πάντα σχηματισμὸν τὴν πρόθεσιν, ὅπερ οὐ παρεπόμενόν ἐστι ταῖς ἐκ παραθέσεως, ὥς ἔχει τὸ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος, ὑπὲρ Ἀριστάρχου, οὐ συμφερόμενα κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς συντάξεως· τὰ γε μὴν προεκκείμενα κατὰ τὴν εὐθεῖαν κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν σύνεστιν.

Prepositions combine with other parts of speech either in compounds or in phrases. In combination with nominatives or vocatives, phrasal construction is ruled out [so such forms must be compounds]. So, obviously, if you see the [nominative] forms *súnoikos* (‘fellow-inhabitant’), *epíkouros* (‘ally’), *súndoulos* (‘fellow-slave’), *hupér-doulos* (‘super-slave’), *pároikos* (‘neighbour’), *métoikos* (‘resident, alien, immigrant’), *ékde̐los* (‘conspicuous’), *anádroμος* (‘running uphill’), *períoptos* (‘conspicuous’), *periphórētos* (portable’), you know that they exhibit composition of the two parts, not just because of the recessive accent of composition (since some compounds preserve the underlying accent [of the second member] and so, because of the persistence of the accent, their identity as compounds cannot be determined by that test – e.g. *periklutós* (‘far-famed’), *anadromé* (‘up-shooting’), *sunoché* (‘coherence’), *katamoné* (‘permanence’), and many more) but also from the continuance of the combination through the whole declension (*schēmatismos*), which is not a property of prepositional phrases like *katà Ktēsiphōntos* (‘against Ctesiphon’) or *hupér Aristárchou* (‘on behalf of Aristarchus’), which cannot be declined in every case while preserving the basic construction. But combinations which occur in the nominative remain the same through all cases [and are compounds].

Thus, unlike the aforementioned single-accent criterion, the shift of accent to the beginning is presented as a sufficient and therefore decisive factor in classifying a structure as synthetic, but not as a necessary one. The lack of such a shift does not preclude compoundhood, because there are structures which do not feature such a shift (*periklutós*, *anadromé*, *sunoché*, *katamoné*) which are nevertheless considered compounds. Here Apollonius makes reference to a morphological criterion which has to do with the distributive properties of the components of a given structure, i.e. their connectivity described on the basis of inflexional categories. Namely, the author proves that both structures such as *σύνδουλος* (with accent shift), and structures like such as *περικλυτός* (without accent shift), are compounds, for the *protheseis* which occur in them, i.e. *συν* and *περι* in the aforementioned examples respectively, may combine with all inflexional forms of the nominal components, i.e. they may form structures with the nominal component not only in the nominative case (*σύνδουλος*, *περικλυτός*), but also in the genitive (*συνδούλου*, *περικλυτοῦ*), the dative (*συνδούλῳ*, *περικλυτῷ*) or in the accusative (*σύνδολον*, *περικλυτόν*). This makes (synthetic) combinations of this kind (i.e. compounds) different from (parathetical) structures (i.e. prepositional phrases) such as *κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος* or *ὑπὲρ Ἀριστάρχου*, in which the *prothesis* cannot combine with all inflexional forms of the nominal component.²⁰ The nominative and the vocative cases are also excluded in such a context; therefore, the connectibility of the *prothesis* with the nominative case amounts to its connectibility with all inflexional forms of the nominal component and thereby constitutes a premise to recognise the structure consisting of a *prothesis* and of a nominal component in the nominative case (i.e. a structure such as *σύνδουλος* or *περικλυτός*) as a synthetic one (i.e. as a one-word compound). In other words, the lack of distributive restrictions on the component constituted by the *prothesis* (i.e. its co-occurrence with nominal forms in the nominative case and in all oblique cases) enables us to recognise a given structure as a synthetic one (a compound), whereas if the *prothesis* may only be accompanied by one or a few oblique cases of the nominal component a given structure has to be considered a parathetical one (an analytic, two-word structure).

In consequence, the aforementioned morphological criterion allows one to distinguish synthetic structures (i.e. compounds) from parathetical ones (i.e. two-word phrases) in a less ambiguous way than in the case of the prosodic (accentual)

20 In the former example the nominal component may occur only in the genitive or in the accusative, whereas in the latter – exclusively in the genitive.

criteria which were discussed previously, and it is indeed appropriate for structures to which Apollonius applied it. However, it is not universal, for not every structure which is ambiguous with respect to the distinction between compounds and phrases contains a *prothesis*, and, on the other hand, not every structure which does contain a *prothesis* features a nominal component. Therefore, in connection to these Apollonius' discourse mentions yet another morphological criterion, namely the presence or absence of formal changes at the boundary between the components of a structure as far as inflexion is concerned. This criterion is invoked exactly in the case of combinations of a *prothesis* and a verb, such as *καταγράφω* ('I write down'), which, according to the grammarian's firm assertion, are always synthetic in nature, i.e. they always constitute compounds (4, 32). This claim is not self-evident and demands special justification, for Apollonius generally accepts the view that "no kind of compound word allows any change at the point of juncture, whereas in phrases sometimes [the first word] may be varied".²¹ The veracity of this statement is allegedly confirmed, on the one hand, by structures such as *λεοντόφωνος* 'lion-voiced', *χειρογραφῶ* 'I hand-write', *κερασφόρος* 'horn-wearing', *Ἀστυάναξ* 'City-king', which are indeed compounds and therefore "no matter how you change the inflection, there is never any change at the compound boundary",²² and on the other hand, by structures such as *Νέα πόλις* 'New City (Naples)', *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* 'good spirit', *Ἀρεῖος πάγος* 'Hill of Ares (Areopagus)', which, as "real phrases, do allow inflection at the boundary",²³ e.g. in the genitive: *Νέας πόλεως*, *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*, *Ἀρείου πάγου*. Consequently, the point is that the peculiar property of compounds is that they open only one slot for (a string of) inflexional morphemes at the end of the whole structure, whereas the aforementioned phrases combining an adjective and a noun in a relation of concord with each other, open two such slots, one of which is located at the end of the adjective, and therefore just at the boundary between the two components. Yet, the past tense forms of (prefixed) verbs such as *καταγράφω* ('I write down') assume (as is the case with all other verbs) an augment located before the verbal stem, e.g. *κατέγραψα* ('I wrote down'), and so the change occurs right at the boundary between the two components of the structure, which could suggest that it more likely has the status of a phrase

21 Cf. 4, 33: *Τὰ ὅπως δὴ ποτε συντεθέντα τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου, καθ' ὃ μέρος ἤνῳται, ἀμετάθετά ἐστιν, τὰ γε μὴν παρακείμενα διάφορον ἔσθ' ὅτε τὴν παράθεσιν ποιεῖται.*

22 Cf. 4, 33: *οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε ἐπὶ τούτων κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς κλίσεις τὰ τῆς συναφείας τῶν λέξεων ποτε μετατίθεται.*

23 Cf. 4, 34: *Τὰ γε μὴν ἐν παραθέσει ὄντα ἔχει τὸ καὶ μετατίθεσθαι.*

(*parathesis*) instead of a compound (*sunthesis*). However, Apollonius defends the synthetic nature of such words by writing the following:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 40–41:

Οὐκ οἰητέον κεκλίσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ προθέσεως ἀρχόμενα κατὰ τοὺς παρωχημένους χρόνους, συντεθεῖσθαι γέ μὴν κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου διαφοράν. ὃ γὰρ λόγῳ παρὰ τὸ γράφω ἐγένετο καταγράφω, τούτῳ καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔγραψα τὸ κατέγραψα. [...] Τοῦτου δὲ ἀπόδειξις ἰκανωτάτη γένοιτο τὸ καὶ παρωχημένους ἰδίᾳ ποτὲ συντεθεῖσθαι μὴ ὄντων ἐνεστώτων, καὶ ἔτι μέλλοντας καὶ ἐνεστώτας οὐκ ὄντων παρωχημένων· ὅπερ εἰ παρείπετο τὸ ἐξ ἐνεστώτος ἄρχεσθαι τὰς συνθέσεις καὶ μετιέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς παρωχημένους, παρείπετο ἂν τὸ μὴ ἰδίᾳ συντεθεῖσθαι παρωχημένων χωρὶς τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα συνθέσεως. κατέφαγόν φαμεν οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης ὑπομνήσεως τοῦ ἐνεστώτος, καὶ ἔτι κατοίσω οὐκ οὔσης χρήσεως τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα, οὐδὲ μὴν τῆς κατὰ τὸν παρωχημένον· καὶ ἔτι κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα ἄπειμί φαμεν οὐκ ὄντων προδήλων τῶν παρωχημένων. ἰδίᾳ ἄρα οἰητέον ἑκάστου χρόνον τὴν σύνθεσιν ἀναδεδέχθαι, καθὼς ἕκαστος ῥήτορ ὧν οὐκ ἐν ἅπαντι διαφορῶ χρόνῳ σύνθεσιν ἰδίαν ἀπηνέγκατο, οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὴν ἐξ ἐνεστώτος γενομένην σύνθεσιν.

You shouldn't imagine that past-tense compound forms are inflected from present compounds, but realize rather that each tense is separately made by compounding from the simplex tense. So just as *katagraphō* is made from *graphō*, so *kategrapsa* is made by compounding from *egrapsa* [and not by inflection from *katagraphō*]. [...] The best proof of this is probably the fact that compound aorists (and perfects) exist without corresponding presents, and also futures and presents without corresponding aorists (or perfects). But if it was proper for all compounds to start with presents and then derive aorists (and perfects) from them, there couldn't properly be any compound aorist (or perfect) without a corresponding compound present. We say *katephagon* ('I devoured', *kata* + *ephagon* 'I ate', aorist) although there is no suggestion of a corresponding present [from the same stem], and *katoisō* ('I will bring down' from *kata* + *oisō* 'I will bring') although there is no present or aorist either in use from this stem. And besides that, there is a present *apeimi* ('I am absent') without any obvious corresponding aorist (or perfect). So we must agree that each tense-system accepts composition independently, since not every verb is usable in every different tense system, and so [non-presents] must be independently compounded, without waiting for an initial compounding of the present.

As can be seen, Apollonius based his argument on the relative formal independence of temporal(-aspectual) formations of a verb in the Greek language by making reference to examples of verbs whose paradigms are suppletive. Thus he restricted verbal inflexion to the formal variance within a given, individual temporal-aspectual value,

which enabled him to demonstrate the lack of changes at the boundary between the *prothesis* and the verbal component and to defend his thesis about the synthetic nature of such structures. Moreover, this restricted understanding of inflexion does not make irrelevant the aforementioned distributive criterion, for within the limits of such a narrowly defined paradigm the connectibility of the *prothesis* with a verbal component remains unrestricted (κατέγραψα, κατέγραψας, κατέγραψε, etc.), in a similar way as the distribution of the *prothesis* in its synthetic combination with a nominal component remains unlimited within the framework of declensional inflexion (σύνοικος, συνοίκου, συνοίκω, etc.).

The third type of criterion to which Apollonius refers in order to distinguish synthetic structures (i.e. compounds) from parathetical structures (i.e. phrases), is – as we have mentioned before – morphological and syntactic in nature. To be more precise, it is based on the linear order of components of the structure in cases when the structure is accompanied by an article. Apollonius writes the following:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 13:

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἄρθρου παραθέσεως. πρωτενούση γὰρ τῇ προθέσει κατὰ παράθεσιν παραχωρεῖ τῆς προθέσεως, μετιὸν ἐφ' ὃ συνήρτηται· οὐ μὴν ἦν σύνθεσις ἧ, εἴγε μέρος ὀνόματος γενομένη ἔξει προκειμένον τὸ καλούμενον προτακτικὸν ἄρθρον τῶν ὀνομάτων. τοῦ μὲν προτέρου περὶ Ἀριστάρχου – περὶ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, κατὰ Κτησιφώντος – κατὰ τοῦ Κτησιφώντος, περὶ στεφάνου – περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου ὁ περικλυτός, ὁ σύνδουλος, ὁ μέτοικος.

We can also judge by inserting the definite article. When the article is added, it yields first position to the preposition if the construction is a phrase, and follows that on which it depends. But if the expression is a compound, this does not happen, since the preposition here is a part of the [compound] noun and so will have before it the so-called prepositive article. Examples of the phrase: *peri Aristarchou* – *peri tou Aristarchou* ('about Aristarchus'; addition of the article makes no translatable difference), *kata Ktēsiphōntos* – *kata tou Ktēsiphōntos* ('against Ctesiphon'), *peri stephanou* – *peri tou stephanou* ('on crown'). Examples of the compound case: *ho periklutos* ('the renowned man'; never **peri ho klutos*), *ho sundoulos* ('the fellow-slave'), *ho metoikos* ('the resident alien').

We may therefore state that, on the one hand, since it is based on the way a given structure combines with the article, this criterion is syntactic in nature, and on the other, given that its essence involves linear (dis)continuity of the structure, i.e. its (in)divisibility into segments which may be separated by an additional element (i.e. the article), it takes on also a morphological character. It is worthwhile to

add that in the further part of the above quoted paragraph Apollonius also draws attention to the fact that some of the structures discussed by him may be ambivalent as far as their status as a compound or a phrase is concerned, i.e. they may accept both a preposed article and one located between the two components. However, at the same time he notices that this ambivalence involves also a certain semantic ambiguity and that the latter can be resolved by the insertion of the article, what resolves at the same time the question of the synthetic or parathetical status of a given structure. The grammarian writes the following:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 13:

Ἔνεκα τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἀμφιβολίαν πίπτοντα ἐκλύεται τοῦ ἀμφιβόλου προσλαβόντα τὰ ἄρθρα· διοίσει γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου, παρὰ τοῦ φέροντος τῶν τοιούτων τοῦ παραφέροντος, τοῦ παρανόμου.

Because of this, even potentially ambiguous sequences may have their ambiguity resolved by the insertion of the article. So there will be a distinction between *para tou nomou* ('from beside the law (inscribed on a stone stele)') or *para tou pherontos* ('from the one bringing') etc. and *tou parapherontos* ('of the one serving') and *tou paranomou* ('of the illegality').

Therefore, as a matter of fact, in such cases it is the meaning, emphasised by the addition of the article, that determines the (synthetic or parathetical) status of a given structure.

Meaning also constitutes an important factor in the criterion which the grammarian in question applied in the interpretation of the status of the causal conjunction *διότι* (*dioti*) 'because'. Assuming that the first component of this structure is the *prothesis* *διά* (*dia*), he inquired whether *διότι* as a whole is a parathetical or a synthetic structure and whether the second component of this structure is the indeclinable conjunction *ὅτι* (*hoti*), or a declinable word. His answer is that it is a parathetical combination of *διά* with a declinable word and he substantiated his argument in the following way:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 29:

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παρεπόμενα συνομολογεῖ· πρῶτον [...] τὸ τὴν διά μηδέποτε ἐν συνθέσει αἰτιολογικῶς παραλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῷ διάδρομος ἢ διατρέχω, ἐν δὲ παραθέσει πτώσεως αἰτιατικῆς, διὰ Τρύφωνα, διὰ τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ ὅτι σύνδεσμός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πτωτικὸν μόριον τῆς αἰτιατικῆς πτώσεως, εἴγε ἐδείχθη ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν παραθέσει ἐστὶν ἡ εὐθεῖα τῶν προθέσεων καὶ ὡς ἐν εὐθείᾳ ἢ διὰ συνδεσμικὴν οὐκ ἐπέχει σύνταξιν.

But [this analysis] is confirmed by the properties [of *dia*]. In the first place, *dia* never has the causal sense in compounds, e.g. *diadromos* ('passage') or *diatrechō* ('I run across'), but only in phrases with the accusative case, *dia Tryphōna* ('because of Tryphon'), *dia tēn hēmeran* ('because of the day'). And so it is also clear that the *hoti* [in *dihoti*] cannot be the conjunction *hoti* ('because'), but must be a nominal in the accusative case, since we have already shown that the nominative is never governed by a preposition and that when there is a compound of *dia* in the nominative, the *dia* can't have the conjunctive use.²⁴

So, according to Apollonius the causal meaning of the structure as a whole determines the meaning which the component *διά* assumes within it and this, in turn, determines the prepositional (and not prefixal) status of this component and the parathetical nature of relations which link it with the second component of the structure (i.e. *ὅτι*) and finally the specific grammatical properties of this second component (i.e. the fact that it occurs in the accusative).²⁵ In the subsequent paragraph the grammarian considers the essence of this declinable (*πτωτικόν, ptōtikon*) *ὅτι* which occurs in the accusative and states that it is not a single word but a parathetical combination of the pronouns *ὅ (ho)* and *τί (ti)* in the neuter gender, to which *ὅς τις (hos tis)* 'who(ever)' corresponds in the masculine gender in the nominative. Therefore, at the end he presents the following conclusion:

Apollonii Dyscoli *De constructione* 4, 30:

Προφανὲς γενήσεται ὡς εἶη ἐν τρισὶ μέρεσι λόγου. προθέσεως τῆς διὰ κατὰ συνδεσμικὴν σύνταξιν φερομένης ἐπ' αἰτιατικὴν καὶ παραλλήλων δύο πτωτικῶν, τοῦ ὅ καὶ τοῦ τί, πτώσεως ὄντων οὐκ ἄλλης ἢ αἰτιατικῆς.

So it's clear that [*dihoti*] consists of three words, first preposition *dia* in its causal sense which governs the accusative, and then two parallel (i.e. appositional) nominals, *ho* ('which') and *ti* ('something'), in what can only be the accusative case.

One must admit that Apollonius' sophisticated line of reasoning about the conjunction *διότι* is consistent with the argumentation that he used in his discussion of other structures of a (potentially) doubtful grammatical status. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the causal sense of the preposition *διά* in a construction with nominal forms in the accusative, and therefore the basic argument which is supposed to support the parathetical nature of the conjunction *διότι*,

24 Which should be understood that it cannot have a causal meaning.

25 See also Bednarski (1994: 29).

implies the casual nature of the content expressed by these nominal forms in the accusative, and that, of course, is not included in the grammaticalised semantics of this conjunction. However, in general the rules propounded by Apollonius for the classification of linguistic structures, that is for distinguishing words from phrases, without doubt deserve to be appreciated due to their ground-breaking nature and the application of exclusively intralinguistic criteria. A greater amount of precision in this respect was not achieved certainly due to the lack of awareness of the difference between words as textual units and words as grammatical and lexical units. However, it would be unfair to blame a grammarian who lived in 2nd century AD for ignorance in this respect, especially considering the fact that we owe his scholarly curiosity, intelligence and analytical sense an excellent initial contribution to the on-going discussion about the concept and definition of the word in linguistics.

Summing up the entire overview of texts which is presented above one should say that it demonstrates above all the fact that in the Greek reflection about language the analysis of the compoundhood of words was multifaceted and was conducted from many perspectives. For Aristotle the basic problem was associated with the statement if and in what way the compoundhood of nouns influenced their functional semantics, perceived mainly according to logical criteria. The *Tekhne grammatike* attributed to Dionysius Thrax presents compoundhood from the point of view of its status as one of the grammatical properties of words and its relationship with the remaining properties which constitute the grammatical characteristics of words, especially with the inflexional ones. Finally, Apollonius Dyscolus made an attempt at indicating the criteria which would enable him to distinguish compoundhood from the syntactic complexity, and this, in turn, involved the necessity of establishing the basic definitional properties of the word. Thus compoundhood marked its presence in Greek linguistics as a phenomenon which was analysed from the perspective of semantics, morphology and syntax.

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DELABIALIZATION AFTER *U AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF LABIOVELARS IN DIALECTAL PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN¹

Evidence is presented in support of a typologically based hypothesis of a pre-final stage of PIE in which palatovelars were opposed to a single set of phonemes, each phoneme comprising plain velar allophones and labiovelar allophones. During this stage delabialization of the labiovelar allophones took place in the environment after *u, the output being reinterpreted as palatovelars. The stage was terminated when one of the backvelar allophones – which one depending on the dialect – spread beyond its original environment(s) and became dominant in a specific set of dialects. The hypothesis thus contributes (1) a solution to the gutturalfrage that is not limited to inadequately motivated rejections of one or other of the three series of tectal phonemes on offer in the current mainstream reconstruction of PIE occlusives; (2) a rationale for the rise of labiovelars in PIE, (3) a coherent explanation for a currently unacknowledged source of gutturalwechsel, viz. delabialization after *u in satem languages and (4) motivation for the replacement of the awkward concept of “palatalization after *u” in Armenian by a straightforward delabialization.

PIE phonology, tectals, velars, gutturals, dorsals

1 Gratitude is here expressed for the extensive criticism of an earlier draft of this paper submitted by an anonymous reviewer (hereinafter “my critic”) which has contributed greatly to the paper’s clarity and readability even in those few cases where I have

§1 It is common knowledge that most treatments of Indo-European (IE) comparative and historical linguistics of the present time are based on a phonemic inventory of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) containing the following tectal (or guttural or velar or dorsal) phonemes, in their common variant notations:

	palatovelars	plain velars	labiovelars
tenues	\hat{k} or k	k	k^w or k^u
mediae	\hat{g} or g	g	g^w or g^u
mediae aspiratae (or asperae)	\hat{g}^h or g^h	g^h	g^{wh} or g^{uh}

Ever since this reconstruction was first proposed essentially simultaneously by Osthoff (1890: 63f. n. 1) and Bezzenberger (1890: 234–259) (see Leumann 1977: 147; Meillet 1894: 278) there have been frequent attempts to argue that one of the three columns of phonemes shown above should be discarded. These attempts have been neatly summarized up to his date of publication by Steensland (1973: 2).

Steensland's 1973 work almost certainly represents the most detailed attempt to uncover the phonemic status of the various members of the traditional three-some. Employing Steensland's notation in which KI, KII, KIII represent the usual IE palatovelars, plain velars and labiovelars, respectively, we can recall that Steensland showed – "dass KI und KIII oft in denselben stellungen, z.b. vor den häufigen vokalen *e* und *i*, vorkommen" and "dass KII in der regel mit KIII in complementärer distribution steht [which seems to suggest they share a common origin – RW], in ein paar fällen aber zweifelsohne mit KI" (Steensland 1973: 97). Steensland (p. 96) cited these facts in justification of his general conclusions stated on his previous page, viz.: (1) "Im uridg. gab es *z w e i* reihen von guttural *p h o n e m e n*" and – remembering Steensland's further notation in which /KA/

seen fit to disagree with the linguistic standpoint of the criticism. Further gratitude is expressed to a second anonymous reviewer who suggested further ways of improving the paper. Heartfelt gratitude is due to members of the editorial team and affiliates, especially Kamil Stachowski and Michał Németh for the interest they have expressed in getting this paper published in Marek's Festschrift. But by far the greatest debt of gratitude is owed to Dariusz Piwowarczyk who had the faith and the generosity to give up many selfless hours to work through the entire paper, updating references wherever he saw the need and evaluating the cogency of the earlier reviewers' remarks. That said, it nevertheless remains the case that I take full responsibility for any shortcomings that may remain.

and /KB/ represent these two phonemic “reihen” – (2) “so ist wohl keine andere lösung möglich als die, dass KI der phonemreihe /KA/, KIII aber /KB/ entspricht”. Steensland (p. 97) stated once more, after a diagram indicating these relationships: “KII ist demnach, zumindest phonologisch, zweifachen ursprungs und ist demzufolge eine art restgruppe” and he continued to argue the truth of these statements on the basis that words with initial KII were far less productive than those with KI or KIII initials.

In other words Steensland’s carefully compiled data showed that the traditional labiovelar and palatovelar series were fundamental while the plain velar series was secondary. However, faced with the recollection of Kuryłowicz’ characterization of a tectal system consisting of just the two series labiovelar and palatovelar “als typologisch undenkbar” (thus Steensland 1973: 120), Steensland embarked on a search for a viable system of allophonic representations of at least the tenues of these two series, now written therefore /kA, kB/, that would escape this typological stricture. The resulting allophones and their most relevant prevocalic environments arrived at by Steensland on p. 117 after some 20 pages of argument are as follows:

/kA/ :	[k ⁽⁺⁾ e (ke), k ⁱ i (ki)]	(ko)	(ka)	(ku)
		[ko]	[ka]	[ku]
/kB/ :	[k ^w e (k ⁽⁺⁾ e), k ^w i (k ⁱ ?)]	(k ^w o)	(k ^w a).	

In other words, fundamental now were plain velars in all environments and labiovelars before front vowels, the items in brackets representing the morphologically conditioned spreading of allophones of these fundamentals into new environments chiefly for the purpose of explaining the rise of the palatovelars in the satem languages, since these were now far from fundamental.

This scheme essentially limits the role of the satem evidence to providing some examples of palatovelars in contact with *u, and hardly does justice to the thoroughgoing preservation of the labial element of labiovelars in Hittite (Melchert 1994: 61f.; Kloekhorst 2008: 69f.) and in Greek down to Mycenaean times and in some later Greek dialects as well (Rix 1976: 85–88; Palmer 1980: 232–235) in most environments (except in contact with (*)u), including before *o and before consonant. Moreover no rationale is offered for the sudden appearance of labiovelars before front vowels.

I am not aware that Steensland’s book has proved particularly influential. It was ignored by Miller (1976: 45) who wrote: “It is widely agreed that IE had two

series of dorsal stops, labialized velars ('labiovelars') and velars, which shifted to velars and palatals respectively in the 'satem' dialects..." as an introduction to his attack on Magnusson (1967) who, like Kortlandt (1978, 2012 etc.) and Cowgill (see Miller 1976: 61 n.2), had argued for the primacy of labiovelars and palatovelars. Steensland's conclusion was criticized by Kortlandt at the international conference in Ustronie in 1976 for its "rash rejection" (Kortlandt 1978: 237) of the position indicated by the data, although Kortlandt's own attempt at typological justification of a system containing palatovelars and labiovelars and excluding plain velars was unsatisfactory (Woodhouse 1998: 41). On the other hand, Derksen's (2008: 2) rather adroit formulation in favour of Steensland: "I subscribe to the hypothesis that Proto-Indo-European did not have an opposition between palatalized and plain velars (cf. Meillet 1894; Steensland 1973)", though it mirrors the layout of Pokorny's (1959) etymological dictionary, nevertheless manages to dodge the issue of which was primary in PIE and misrepresents both Meillet and Steensland since both scholars point out the tendency for the phonemic opposition between plain velars and labiovelars to disappear in certain environments as well (Meillet 1894: 279–281; Steensland as above). Derksen only uses his formulation to wave away the problem of gutturalwechsel and carefully distinguishes the alleged allophones – palatovelars vs. (possible) plain velars – throughout the body of his 2008 book.²

The contradiction thus arrived at – that the data show palatovelars and labiovelars to be fundamental while typological considerations deny this³ – together with the ongoing nature of the debate, suggests that the fault lies in the attempt to base a bitectal reconstruction on two of the three series on offer in the tritectal scheme. The tritectal scheme works tolerably well with its three components. Simply subtracting one of these components from the system is bound to result in a system that works less well.

2 E.g. his PIE reconstructions **k^wō-ko-*, **h₂ek-men-*, **k^wleh₂-*, **k^wleik-* (pp. 219–224), **g^(w)eHi-*, **g^(w)eHg^h-*, **g^hleh₂d^h-*, **gleg^h-n-*, etc. (pp. 161–163), **kerd-*, **ker(H)-no-m*, **kHe/oiro-*, **keh₁uer-o-* (pp. 444–449), **g^helh₃-*, **d^hg^h-em-*, **gemb^h-*, **g^hh₁i-eh₂-*, **g^hei-m-eh₂-* (pp. 541–545).

3 A comparable and not entirely irrelevant error (possibly based on the inadequate analysis by Wackernagel 1896: 154f. – see Woodhouse 2014b: 285–290) occurs in Steensland's (1973: 31) treatment of **sKi-* with his indication that everywhere the result is **ski-*. If this were so, it would lead one to expect such reflexes as the following: in Sanskrit some development of ***śsi-*, perhaps ***ś(ś)i-* or ***s(s)i-* but not

§2 Hence it was with some elation that about two decades ago I came upon Mary Woodward's (1964) description of Hupa, an Athabaskan language that seemed to offer a typologically supported way out of the impasse. Notable features of Hupa leading to this conclusion were:

1. it had three sets of stops distinguished by laryngeal settings, viz. unaspirated, aspirated and glottalized, which corresponds to a fairly widespread view of the PIE occlusive inventory in this post-glottalic, post-Winter's law era with its unaspirated *tenues*, aspirated *asperae* (or *mediae aspiratae*) and (pre)glottalized *mediae* (cf. especially Kortlandt 2008: 1), even if this is a relatively late development in PIE (see the chronology offered in §33 below); and
2. the tectal stops belonged to two classes described as prevelar (denoted $\check{g} \check{k} \check{k}'$ in the order given above) and backvelar (denoted $g k k'$), the latter group being allophonically labialized before the vowel /o/. Woodward's precise wording on this last point is as follows:

There is little allophonic variation according to vocalic environment. Stops of the prevelar series are followed by a palatal glide which is especially prominent before /a, o/. Before front and central vowels, /g/ is frequently articulated with a short velar glide, and both /g/ and /k/ are labialized before /o/ (Woodward 1964: 201).

Woodward adds in a footnote (n. 3) relating to the prevelar series: “/ǰ/, however, apparently does not occur before /o/.”

The reason Woodward does not include the Hupa aspirated backvelar /k/ in her list of backvelars labialized before /o/ is that the complete list of words

the attested *chi-*; in Lithuanian some development of ***sši-*, perhaps ***š(š)i-* or ***s(s)i-* but not the attested *ski-*; in Latvian, Slavic and Armenian some development of ***ssi-* or ***s(s)i-* but not the attested Latv. *šči-*, Sl. *šti-*, *šči-*, *šči-*, Arm. *c' i-* (for full details see Woodhouse 2014b: 282–290). It is clear that in all these languages the *s before the tectal has acted to preserve the occlusion of the latter as it undergoes palatalization by the following front vowel, a feature found also in the palatalization products of the plain velar and labiovelar *tenues* in these satem languages. While it is also clear that the palatalization product of the cluster in these cases is not simply *s + palatalized plain velar or labiovelar, the separate effects/reflexes of the *s can be accounted for somewhat more readily if one starts with *s+plain or labiovelar than *s + palatovelar. The only branch in which Steensland's conclusion actually applies is Iranian – and even here there are signs that the general development via *s + palatalized plain velar or labiovelar, in short backvelar, also applied (Woodhouse 2014b: 290).

containing /k/ in Woodward's corpus are *ka:-We*: 'coffee' and *ka:n* 'corn' (Woodward 1964: 200 n. 2, 201), i.e. the critical segment */ko/ is not represented in the corpus. Below (§3) is given an example showing that the backvelar spirant /x/ is also labialized before /o/, consequently the generalization that "the backvelars in Hupa are labialized before /o/" appears not to be contradicted by any known data and is thus probably correct.

Consequently, I formulated, on these purely typological grounds, a new HYPOTHESIS specifying what I will call a critical stage or period of PIE during which the two basic tectal series were prevelar, notated $k_1 g_1 g_1^h$, and backvelar, $k_2 g_2 g_2^h$, the latter series being allophonically labialized before *o (Woodhouse 1998).

More recently I have come to realize that this hypothesis, when coupled with the principle of the delabialization of labialized backvelars by a preceding *u (see below), provides a new general explanation for instances of apparent doublet roots in satem languages in which palatovelar and backvelar reflexes alternate in the environment of a preceding (*)/u/, and this in turn supplies some data for my proposal. The presentation of these matters forms the object of this paper.

Before doing this there are a number of points raised by my critic requiring attention.

§3 My critic has responded to my tectal hypothesis thus:

if, as the author claims, the 'backvelars' were labialized before *o (a rounded vowel, that is), what about their behaviour before *u, i.e., arguably even more labialized vowel? If any evidence for the labialization of 'backvelars' before *u could be found, the proposed labialization would become much more credible.

I reject this suggestion for the following reasons.⁴

1. The typological model, Hupa, does not have a phoneme /u/ but it does have an allophone [U] of /o/, concerning which Woodward (1964: 203) points out that the segment /xo/, in which /x/ is a backvelar spirant, may be realized either as [xU], i.e. without audible labialization, or as [x^uo] with audible labialization, the latter being phonetically distinct from [x^wo], the ordinary realization of /x^wo/ which is phonemically distinct from /xo/. Since therefore the typological model does not attest audible labialization before [U], it would in fact detract

4 I regret that in view of some uncertainty surrounding the fate of this paper I have found it necessary to present an outline of part of the argument that follows in Woodhouse (2015b: 269f).

from the value of the model if PIE could be demonstrated to have audibly labialized velars before *u in either its vocalic or its consonantal realization.

2. That labialization before *u cannot be demonstrated for PIE is suggested by the older demonstrations of delabialization in this environment – sometimes even involving secondary u – by Brugmann (1897: 595f., 603f., 607, 611) and Persson (1912: 270–274),⁵ and by the more recent work of Steensland (1973: 24f., 27f., 39, 43, 111, 114, 117) as well as by the absence of verb roots in LIV₂ containing a labiovelar actually or even potentially in contact with a following PIE *u, and also by a trawl of Pokorny (1959; hereinafter generally P) for similar material. The last named procedure yielded only three items requiring comment – *g^wou-, *g^wōu- / *g^wū-d^h- and *k^wu- – as follows.⁶

- 5 These can hardly be falsified by reference to languages discovered/deciphered since – Tocharian, the Anatolian languages and Mycenaean Greek.
- 6 The results of these trawls are as follows. If Q is a cover symbol for any tectal and $\tilde{K} K K^w$ are covers for the traditional three sets of the tritectal reconstruction, a zero grade segment *Qu can be expected in roots containing either *Qeu- or *Que-. Simplifying to K the careful designations K^(c) and K^(w) used by LIV₂ when decisive satem or centum evidence, respectively, is lacking, we find in LIV₂ the following roots containing the segments *Qeu- / *Que-: (a) secure roots: *g^heus- (P: 166), *g^heu-, *g^hueH-, *g^huen-, *g^huer- (P: 179–182), *geuh₂-, *guel-/1 (P: 192), *kueh₁-, *kueit-, *kuenk-, *kues- (P: 340f.), *keub^h-, *keud^h-, *keup- (P: 358f.), kuas- kuath₂-, kueh₁p-, kuelp- (P: 373–375), *(s)keud-, *(s)keuh₁-, *skeuh₂-, *(s)kueh₁t- (P: 560–563) – total 22 roots; (b) insecure roots: *g^heuH- (P: 166), *g^heu-d-, (P: 179), *geu-, *geub^h-, *geuH- (P: 188f.), *guel-/2 (P: 192), *g^heuĝ^h-, *g^heus- (P: 199f.), *keub^h-, *keud^h-, *keuH-, *keuk-/1, *keuk-/2 (330f.), *kueH- (P: 339), *keubh₂-, *keuk- (P: 357, 359), *kueh₂-, *kueit-, *keup- (P: 375f.), *skeub^h-, *skeut- (P: 560f.) – total 21 roots; no roots containing *HQeu- or *HQue-, though *HQ- does occur, e.g. *h₁ger- (P: 245); among all these 22+21=43 roots not one contains, in tritectal terms, a PIE labiovelar. Similarly in Pokorny (1959) we find (excluding *Qēu-, *Qāu- and the like as having laryngeal before *u; and marking with “NB” items of interest discussed in the text): *geu-t/ĝ/g^hp- (P: 394–396), *geu-, *g(e)u-, *g^heus- (P: 399), *g^heu-d/s- ‘pour’, *g^heu-d- ‘vanish’, *g^heu^(h)-, *g^heuĝ^h-, *g^heu-/ *g^heu- (P: 447–451), *gues-, *guet-, *g^wou- NB, *g^wōu- / *g^wū-d^h- NB, *guozd^(h)- (P: 480–485), *g^huel-, *g^huelg-, *g^huen-g/k/t-, *g^huer-, *g^huoig^w-, *g^huōk^w- (P: 489–495), *kau- ‘shame’, *kau-b^(h)/ĝ/p-, *kau-, *kauH-, *kaul-, *kaus- (P: 535–537), *keu- /1 = *skeu-s- /4 (P: 587, 954), *keu-H/d/g/k/b/b^h/p/mb^(h)- /2, *keu-H/l- /1, *keu-b^h/d^h/k- /2, *keub- (sic, surely OPruss. kaāubri, cited P: 595, points to tritectal *keub- not **keub-), *keuHd-, *keuHp-, *keuHk-, *keuk- (P: 588–597), *ku-s- (P: 626), *kuH- (P: 626; EWAia 2 s.v. šūla-, sūcī-), *ku(H)d^h-, *kuku-, *kup-, *kuak-, *kuat(H)-, *kuei-/1, *kuei-k-/2, *kuei-d/s/t-/3, *kue(n)k-, *kuel-, *kuelHk-, *kuelp/b-/1, *kuelp-/2, *kuen-, *kuend^h-, *kuerp/b-, *kues-, *kueHt-, *kuoi-, *kuon-, *kures-/ *kuers- (P: 627–633), *k^wu- NB (P: 647).

For derivatives of the first of these, **g^wou-* ‘bovine animal’, we may adopt: either (i) one of the various the reconstructions employed by such scholars as Derksen (2008 s.v. *govēdo*), viz. PIE **g^wh₃-eu-*, Beekes (2010 s.v. *βοῦς*), viz. PIE nom. sg. **g^weh₃-u-s*, gen. sg. **g^wh₃-eu-s*, de Vaan (2008 s.v. *bōs*, *bovis*), viz. PIE nom. sg. **g^weh₃-eu-s*, acc. sg. **g^weh₃-u-m* / **g^wh₃-eu-m*, dat. pl. **g^wh₃-u-bos* etc., and Martirosyan (2010 s.v. *kov*), who quotes similar forms citing Lubotsky, Schrijver and Nassivera as authorities – i.e. with the laryngeal required to account for the circumflex tone of the nom. sg. (thus Beekes loc. cit.) always interposed between the tectal and **u* and thus preventing the delabialization just as it does in Schrijver’s (1991: 262) ‘vapour’ root **k^wh₂up-*; or (ii) the older one preferred by Mayrhofer (EWAia 1 s.v. *gav-*), Meier-Brügger (2003: 212) and Wodtko et al. (2008: 189) with strong stem **g^wou-*, weak stem **g^wéu-*, thus with vowel always separating the tectal from **u* except in compounds with the zero grade, such as Gk. *ἐκατόμ-βη* < **-βᾱ* < **-g₂ueh₂*, which, beside *ἑ-βην* < **-βᾱν* < **-g^weh₂m*, demonstrates the coalescence of **-g₂ueh₂-* and **-g^weh₂-* at some point in Proto-Greek and no doubt in other prehistoric centum dialects as well, despite the conventional writing of the first as **^og^wu-eh₂-* by Mayrhofer (EWAia 1: 479) and **-g^wu-eh₂-* by Beekes (2010 s.v. *ἐκατόμβη*) (concerning which latter reconstruction we may ask: what has happened to the root internal laryngeal?). The Tocharian and Indo-Iranian evidence for the zero grade of the root listed by Wodtko et al. (2008: 190) obviously cannot vouch for audible labialization of the tectal distinct from the root final **u*, leaving only the OIr. PN *Buchet* to carry the burden of proof – which, being a PN, it can hardly do: even if the meaning of the first component is regarded as secure its power is considerably weakened by the possibility of influence from the mythological figure’s epithet *bó-chétach* ‘having a hundred bovines’ (Wodtko et al. 2008: 193 n. 19) and the constant anlaut *b-* of the OIr. ‘cow’ paradigm (Thurneysen 1946: 216f.).

Regarding the second item, **g^wou-* ‘filth, excrement’ plus its derivative **g^wūd^h-*: Pokorny’s Slavic descendants of the latter (Cz. *o-hyzda* etc. with *-zd-* < **-d^hd^h-* reflecting an additional suffix **-d^h-*) can provide no proof of a PIE labiovelar, while Lat. *būbinō -ināre* ‘to soil with menstrual blood’, has in the past been considered, on the basis of PS�. **govvno* ‘excrement’, to derive from **bovinō* and not ***buvinō* (Walde, Hofmann 1965 [1938] s.v.; Pokorny 1959: 484; cf. once again Persson 1912: 273); more recently this word has been adjudged noninherited on the strength of its initial *b-* and hence is ignored by de Vaan (2008), and thus continues to provide no support for the notion that PIE **g^w* was audibly labialized in the environment before **ū*.

Finally, *k^wu- ‘where?; when?; etc.’ clearly belongs with the other well known interrogative/relative adverbs, adjectives and pronouns having anlaut *k^w- followed by other vocalisms and can therefore be suspected of being highly susceptible to analogical restoration of the semantically critical initial consonant. Given the total lack of any other material demonstrating alleged PIE segments of the form **K^wu-, analogical restoration in the separate languages is clearly an attractive explanation for the apparent reflexes of initial *k^w- in Greek (Cret.) ὅπου, (Syrac.) πῶς, (Rhod.) ὅπως ‘where to?’ and Osc. *puf* ‘where’, *puz*, Umbr. *puze* ‘that, as’, as was accepted also by Brugmann (1897: 595, 603).

Latin appears to have gone a different way with *ubī* ‘where’, *ut(ī)* ‘how, as’, *unde*, *uter* beside *ali-cubi* ‘somewhere’ etc., which appear to present the odd spectacle that initial *k^w- > ∅ before *u whereas medially the labiovelar is simply delabialized. The debate over whether this is due to a special sound law confined to the anlaut or some analogical process relying on the combined presence of *ne*- and *nec/neque* is old and essentially inconclusive, with each side labelling the other’s views as “improbable”, “unglaublich” etc. Thus, e.g., Persson (1912: 533–535) challenged Schmidt’s (1893: 405f.) sound law for *ubī*, based on Lat. *vapor*, while, in order to defeat Leumann’s (1977: 149f.) analogical argument, Schrijver (1991: 262f.) first claims that *nec-ubi* should have supported the anlaut tectal rather than assisted in its removal, a claim that is denied by Brugmann’s (1897: 604) example of *nec-opīnus* beside *in-opīnus*, not ***in-c-opīnus*; Schrijver then proposes a motivated revival of “Sommer’s contention that *k^wu- yielded *u-” for *vapor* based on *ubī*. But since Schrijver derives *vapor* from PIE *k^wh₂up- it is clear that *k^w is here not in contact with *u so the two situations do not really compare, as Schrijver admits. Moreover, Schrijver’s contention that only the pure velar *k + *u yields *qu*- in the equation Lat. *quatio* = OS *scuddian*, Lith. *kutėti* cannot be verified because we may have here a labiovelar delabialized by the following *u. The sound law contention appears to hold sway today (e.g. Meiser 2006: 99; de Vaan 2008 s.vv. *ubī*; *ut*, *utī*; *uter*, *utra*, *utrum*). However, those in favour of PIE **k^wu- have to answer the question: why is there not a single shred of evidence for this sound sequence in PIE outside these interrogative forms that are bound to be so susceptible to analogical influence?

I think the answer to this is that the sound law may be valid but the *k^wu it requires is not PIE and is perhaps only accidentally in the anlaut. Instead I propose that Latin inherited PIE *ku in all forms antecedent to *ubī* and *ut(ī)*, and no doubt *unde*, both compounded and uncompounded, and subsequently restored the labiovelar only in the interrogative forms (and perhaps in the relatives as well,

though it may have spread to these later), where the semantic need was felt to be crucial, just as it did in the case of the interrogative *quot* (de Vaan 2008 s.v.) and the *quo-* forms of *quī, quae, quod* such as *quod* itself and OLat. gen. sg. *quouis* (> *cuius*), dat sg. *quoiei* (> *cui*), abl. m./n. sg. *quōd* and VOLat. nom. sg./pl. *quoi* acc. pl. *quos* (for which see de Vaan 2008 s.v. *quī, quae, quod*), all of which just happened to have the tectal in the anlaut. Whereupon our post-PIE version of the Schmidt/Sommer/Schrijver sound law took over, as perhaps it also did when Schrijver's PIE **k^wh₂up-* became pre-Lat. **k^wuap-*. Evidently the *u*-vocalism was crucial to this Latin sound change because analogically developed *quot, quom* and the like developed differently. The matter of the tectal being in anlaut, on the other hand, may not have been crucial. Thus these Latin words supply no more proof of a putative PIE sequence ***K^wu* than do their Sabellian and Greek cognates.

Oddly enough, the seeming contradiction of audible labialization of consonants before /o/ but not before /u/ is found elsewhere than Hupa and PIE.

For example, the realization of Russian /o/ in anlaut or following a so called 'hard', i.e. velarized, consonant commences with strong lip rounding which immediately begins to relax. Avanesov (1972: 31 f.) describes the vowel in these environments as not completely uniform throughout its production but beginning with a *u*-like onglide:

в начале слова (как и после твердых согласных ...) гласный [o] не совсем однороден в своем протяжении: он начинается с [y]-образного приступа: произносится как бы [ʷo].

v načale slova (kak i posle tverdyx soglasnyx ...) glasnyj [o] ne sovsem odnorod-
den v svoem protjaženii: on načinaetsja s [u]-obraznogo pristupa: proiznositsja
kak by [ʷo].

Ward (1958: 26) describes this somewhat differently, saying the vowel "is slightly diphthongal: it starts as [o] [NB not the IPA vowel – RW] and ends with a very slight suggestion of the vowel [ɤ] [i.e. a slightly backed schwa – RW], thus [oɤ]".⁷

No such onglide or offglide is mentioned in the case of Russian /u/ (Ward 1958: 23–25; Avanesov 1972: 30) even though Avanesov describes the lip rounding for the latter vowel as stronger than for /o/:

7 Ward (1958: 25) also mentions a similar offglide following /e/ symbolized by him [ɛ], [ɛɤ]. I suspect both these offglides are fronted to [ɛ] (for which see Ward 1958: 56) if a so called soft, i.e. palatalized, consonant follows the vowel.

Губы сильно вытянуты вперед и округлены (больше чем при [o]), образуя узкое отверстие (более узкое чем при [o]).

Guby sil'no vytjanuty vpered i okrugleny (bol'she čem pri [o]), obrazuja uzkoje otverstie (boleee uzkoje čem pri [o]).

This apparently contradictory state of affairs provides a clue to our problem: audible labialization is produced when there is a change in the intensity of lip rounding associated with the transition from consonant to vowel or simply with the onset of the vowel. If there is no significant change in the intensity of lip rounding during this transition or onset, there is no audible effect that can be referred to as labialization. Thus a consonant that is audibly labialized in other contexts may be said to be delabialized in the context of the following rounded vowel. The lip rounding may still be present but it is not audible and this lack of audibility may or may not be transferred analogically to other members of the paradigm. This kind of delabialization is well known in the histories of Latin, Celtic and Germanic (see, e.g., Meillet 1894: 279–281; Brugmann 1897: 598, 611; Steensland 1973: 108; Kortlandt 1978: 238; de Vaan 2008 s.vv. *collus*, *quot*).⁸ All this is no doubt what Persson (1912: 271) meant when he described Brugmann's rule of delabialization before *u as completely natural ("ganz natürlich").

The same, and also a somewhat different, development can be traced in the (pre)history of English. Thus OE *hū* 'how', undoubtedly related to Eng. *when*, *what*, *why* etc., evidently lost the labiality of its anlaut before *ū* in the prehistoric period. Similarly when the earlier /ō/ of Eng. *who* and *two* was raised to /ū/, the audible effect of w was lost (together with all labialization of the consonant in many, especially Australian, varieties of English), though its written symbol is still retained. On the other hand when the vowels of Eng. *woo*, *womb*, *whoosh* and *wood*, *would*, *wool*, *wolf* were raised to /ū/ and /u/, respectively, the initial /w/ was – and is – audibly retained because it had or acquired – and still has – stronger lip rounding than the vowels that still follow it.

Undoubtedly the Proto-Italic and pre-Latin instances of *k^wu- discussed above had the same property: the labialization of the consonant was stronger than that of the following vowel so that the transition from stronger to weaker labialization produced an audible effect resulting in the reflexes indicated.

Presumably it is also possible that lip rounding commences only after the articulation of the phonologically rounded vowel has begun. If the onset of lip

8 De Vaan, however, (2008 s.v. *collus*) disputes this in the case of Germanic.

rounding in this situation becomes progressively later – as might easily happen with long vowels – this might supply the explanation for the diphthongization of MHG and Middle English $\bar{u} > \text{NHG, Eng. } /au/$. Similarly, a tendency to avoid palatality of consonants before MHG and ME \bar{i} might be responsible for the diphthongization of that vowel to $[ai]$ in their modern descendants. One hears something like this in current Australian English where the pronunciations of *boot* and *tea* are likely to approach $[b\text{ə}wt]$ and $[t\text{ə}i]$, respectively.

§4 I use the terms prevelar and backvelar because (1) that is the terminology used in the description of the clearly all-important typological model and (2) this terminology serves to maintain a distinction between my bitectal reconstruction and the traditional tritectal one. However, as will emerge below, it is likely that the distinction between palatovelar and prevelar has no other definable basis than this.

§5 Regarding the phonetic and phonological relationships of my new tectal series with the traditional tritectal system (as opposed to the genetic relationship between the two), I venture to suggest that PIE prevelars and PIE palatovelars are essentially identical: in satem languages both yield in the main affricates and sibilants, though in some circumstances plain velars as well (e.g. Lith. *klausyti* : OCS *slušati* < : << PIE $*k_1lous-$ – Derksen 2008: 455; for more see Kortlandt 1978: 238–242); in centum languages both prevelars and palatovelars yield plain velars that are subject in many languages to some affrication and/or assibilation under defined circumstances. PIE backvelars, on the other hand, share the properties of PIE plain velars and labiovelars, the plain velars corresponding essentially to the elsewhere allophone of the backvelars, the labiovelars to the allophone before $*o$.

In view of the essential identity of prevelars and palatovelars the two terms will frequently be used interchangeably in what follows, possibly even with a tendency to favour “palatovelars”. On the other hand “labiovelar” will always refer to a labialized backvelar, whether as allophone or as independent phoneme, and not to backvelars in general, while “backvelar” will refer generally to the set of phonemes as defined above without regard to their labialization or lack of it.

§6 Phonetically and phonologically, I fail to see why my PIE tectals should be any different from those of the typological model Hupa.

If comparison with the consonants of a living language other than Hupa is required, I would suggest that the prevelars and backvelars probably had much

in common phonetically with the two “series” /k g/ and /q/, respectively, in educated Egyptian Arabic. These are described briefly by Mitchell (1962: 15, 18),⁹ who distinguishes educated /q/, which only occurs in borrowings from the written language, from the glottal stop that in Cairene Arabic is the prevailing inherited reflex of the *q* of Classical Arabic. The two series, /k g/ and /q/, condition different allophones of the two central vowel phonemes (one short, one long) of the language, usually denoted /a ā/. Mitchell (1962: 23, 36f) notates these **a** and **aa** in the vicinity of /k g/ and **ɑ** **aa** in the vicinity of /q/ (and throughout his book denotes word stress with an acute accent), e.g. *kátaba* ‘clerks’, *káatib* ‘clerk’, *ʕagnábi*¹⁰ ‘foreigner’, *rigáala* ‘men’ vs. *ʕilqahíra* and *ʕilqaahíra* ‘Cairo’. Mitchell (1962: 22f.) describes these allophones in terms of “‘Standard’ English” – i.e. British *r*-dropping Received Pronunciation – as follows: **a** and **aa** are “between the vowels of ‘Standard’ English *hat* and *hurt* or *had* and *herd*”; **ɑ** in a closed syllable is “between the vowels of ‘Standard’ English *hut* and *hot*”, in an open syllable it is like **aa** “as the vowel of [no doubt ‘Standard’ – RW] English *heart*”. Mitchell’s **a** is frequently represented as *e* (!) in non-technical European transcription, e.g. three times in the placename *Tel-el-Kebir*. Thus the prevelar series in educated Cairene Arabic conditions an *e*-like allophone of /a/, while the backvelar consonant conditions an *a*- or even *o*-like allophone of the same phoneme.¹¹ Although this is not exactly what I have in mind for PIE, there are undeniable similarities.

Outside Egypt the realization of the prevelar phoneme corresponding to Egyptian /k/ varies regionally between [k] and [č] and the one corresponding to /g/ varies between [dž], [ž] and [z], while the one corresponding to /q/ varies between glottal stop, [k], [g] or a sound between these two, and [q] (Bauer 1957: XII–XIV). In other words, outside Egypt there is a tendency towards “satemization” of the tectals which is more pronounced in the towns than in rural districts and

9 Better than in Mitchell (1956: 5), which will be ignored here.

10 In Mitchell’s system, ʕ denotes glottal stop; ‘ayn is ʕ.

11 To complete the allophonic description of /a/, Mitchell (1962: 23) tells us that (with *ḏ* representing a pharyngealized consonant) “the vowel in the first syllable of *xáḏḏar* tends to be nearer than its counterpart in *xáddar* to the vowel of English *hot*”. Thus different consonantal environments in Egyptian Arabic condition allophones of /a/ similar to [e], [a] and [o], much as do the three laryngeals of PIE, especially if we take the bold step of reclassifying traditional PIE **e* as */a/ (on which see Woodhouse 2013 [2015]: 6–9). Mitchell (1962: 23f.) also observes that *a/a* variation in other contexts may depend on other factors such as gender, taste, style and regional dialect.

more so with respect to the voiced than the voiceless prevelar. Once again this not exactly like PIE though there are similarities.

Another language that in its dialects presents a centum/satem-like split in the treatment of tectals that are apparently preserved in pristine condition in Hupa is in fact the related Athabaskan language Koyukon (Henry et al. 1973).

§7 Before proceeding to the detailed question of delabialization and the data supporting, it seems advisable – at the risk of some repetition later on – to set down some preparatory remarks regarding my vision of relevant developments during the critical period when PIE had only the two series of tectal phonemes here proposed and the subsequent period when this system no longer applied.

During the critical period there were no other kinds of tectal phonemes in PIE than the pre- or palato-velars and the backvelars. In roots containing a final backvelar preceded by **u* the expected labialization of the backvelar when followed by any desinence commencing with **o* would have been nullified by the preceding **u*, leaving the tectal open to reinterpretation as the corresponding prevelar. Elsewhere in the paradigm the original backvelar would remain a backvelar. Since, during the critical period, the discrepancy between the two different tectals would remain entirely in accordance with the prevailing phonotactics of the language, it is unlikely to have impinged on the consciousness of adult speakers and therefore there would have been no impetus for analogical levelling.

The critical period would end when the distribution of labialized and nonlabialized backvelars ceased to be automatically dependent on environmental factors. Various scenarios are possible. In some dialects the already positionally limited labialization of the backvelars simply faded away, perhaps due to a change in the way the **o* vowel was articulated; this scenario is generally characteristic of the satem dialects and seems in general to have resulted in a strengthening of the palatal feature of the prevelars, though it might conceivably have led to coalescence of the two tectal series. In other dialects the labialization became characteristic of all backvelars, which seems to have led generally to weakening and loss of the palatal feature of the prevelars. This a probable path for the centum dialects. However, as will be made plain below, dialects ancestral to Armenian seem to have followed the centum principle in their backvelars well beyond the PIE period (with delabialization setting in only much later) while retaining a strong palatal feature in their prevelars.

In both the “satem” and “centum” cases, the change in labialization may have begun with random levellings of labialized and nonlabialized articulations into

formerly unknown contexts until some factor of social preference or taste took over and ensured the predominance in any particular dialect of one or other variety in all contexts. A parallel to this is the spread of originally Parisian French uvular *r* first to Northern then to Southern France (see Ewert 1943 [repr. 1961]: 87) and from the North presumably to the Netherlands and Germany, in other words a change based on fashion with no essential change to the phonology of the language. It is thus that in centum dialects labiovelars found their way into contexts where they had no contact at all with any ablauting vowel as in the PIE roots *g^{wh}reh₁- ‘smell, reek’, *k^wieh₁- ‘rest’, *k^wieu- ‘set in motion’ and *k^wreih₂- (see LIV₂: 221, 392–395), though it must also be said such roots may have arisen in lexica generated during the later period in which labiovelars dominated in some dialects and corresponded to plain backvelars in others, just as new lexica in English or any other widely diffused language circles the world oblivious to local phonetic adaptation.

Under this kind of scenario with labiovelar saturation, a believable source of centum plain velars is the later process of Kortlandt’s (2002: 3) “delabialization of the labiovelars before rounded vowels in the western IE languages”, which Kortlandt (1978: 238) defines as “Italic, Celtic, Germanic”.¹² This delabialization may be difficult to motivate in the case of Sabellian, which must have retained labialization before *o if Brugmann (1897: 603) is correct in seeing *po*- forms in those languages as the source of *p*- in Osc. *puf*, Umbr. *pufe*, but this does not detract from the general principle.¹³

As has already been mentioned, and is explained in more detail below, the IE evidence for setting up this hypothesis comes from what can be – and in my view should be – regarded as evidence of prehistoric delabialization of labialized backvelars (or labiovelars) after *u in the principal satem languages yielding phonemes that merge with the reflexes of the corresponding prevelars in those languages. In fact this process is to be regarded as a characteristic feature of the period in question and it theoretically applies equally to both satem and centum languages. In centum languages, however, the prevelars merge with the eventual

12 In an earlier draft of this paper I rashly included the idea of phonologization of plain velars and labiovelars in PIE itself. All pains have been taken to expunge this insidious idea from the paper, but apologies are hereby tendered for any overlooked traces that may remain.

13 Actually on the basis of these words Meiser (1986: 89) appears inclined to challenge Sabellian delabialization before *u as well, which is of course just as possible as retention of /w/ before /u/ in Eng. *wood* etc. (§3 above).

plain velars anyway, so the question as to whether the delabialization in these languages is to be regarded as yielding plain velars or prevelars is vacuous. Hence centum languages are of little use for our purpose.

Since the delabialization after **u* originally occurred only in the environment before **o* (because that was the only environment in which the backvelars were labialized) it is clear that in many cases there would have been considerable paradigmatic pressure to restore the original labialized phoneme. This and the proposal that the process began in PIE itself means that the amount of useful data in any one satem language cannot be expected to be very large. That this is in fact the case explains why this period of (P)IE development has not been identified hitherto and why some scholars may have difficulty in recognizing it even now.

§8 There need be no uneasiness over the fact that the demonstration depends on identifying erstwhile labiovelars in satem languages. The satem languages descended from the same PIE as the centum languages and therefore shared the same phonology as them in PIE. Traces of labiovelars have already been seen by some in the reflexes of syllabic liquids and, to a lesser extent, syllabic nasals in some satem languages. The fact that the results are somewhat inconclusive has sometimes been connected with ablaut and affectivity, but under the hypothesis presented here it can also be due to the varying spread of labiality and its converse in these languages following the critical period.¹⁴ Leftovers from these processes will be one source of gutturalwechsel, i.e. of labiovelars alternating with plain

14 See claims for liquids in Indo-Aryan by Mayrhofer (1986: 104f.) rejected by Mayrhofer (EWAia 1: 469 s.v. *GARI/1*), discussions of liquids and nasals in Baltic by Stang (1966: 77–82), in Slavic by Shevelov (1964: 86–91). Syllabic liquids in Albanian have the same two fundamental reflexes as in Baltic (with metathesized variants as well) but these appear to depend on the closed vs. open nature of the target syllable (see Orel 2000: 43–45). The jury may not be quite in regarding the situation in Armenian. De Vaan (2008: 275) finds original PIE **u* in Pisani's (1966: 227f.) only example of alleged *uR* < **r* after labiovelar, viz. aor. *ekul* 'swallow' : Lat. *gula*, and Martirosyan finds fault with Olsen's (1999: 157, 757 n. 107, 778, 806) attempts to support the same derivation: thus *kerakur* 'food' is reduplicated and *k'ul* 'thread' beside *kul* 'id.' suggests a loan (Martirosyan 2010: 38of.), while *holonem* is regarded as of uncertain derivation and *holov*, *yolov*, *olorn* and *olor* are also explained otherwise by Martirosyan (2010: 718). Of Pisani's (1966: 227f.) two examples "after labials": (1) *mamul* 'press' conforms to a common reduplicative pattern, e.g. *karkut* 'hail' (Martirosyan 2010: 444), while (2) *p'rp'ur* < **p'urp'ur* 'foam' (not inherited according to Martirosyan 2010) looks far

velars. Indeed an expectation of this kind of gutturalwechsel is a natural feature of the hypothesis, which will tend to make out of place the rather frequent etymological separations and other difficulties arising solely on the basis of a putatively relevant contrast between plain velars and labiovelars.

This source of gutturalwechsel can thus be added to the already recognized sources of the phenomenon, viz. the loss of the palatal feature in several satem languages when a palatovelar is followed by a resonant plus back vowel (Kortlandt 1978), and *s* mobile, which can also result in palatovelars alternating with backvelars (most recently Woodhouse 2014b).

There need be no conflict in the proposal that some centum languages experienced delabialization in (one or more of) the same environment(s) as gave rise to the original labialization. This is because there is a close parallel in Ukrainian. In this language there was a stage of general palatalization of consonants before front vowels. This palatalization was subsequently reversed before such front vowels as were still present in the language at the later time. The phenomenon can be illustrated by the preservation of the palatalization in those cases where the erstwhile front vowel either disappeared or was early replaced by a nonfront vowel, as in (1) the parallel infinitive terminations (i) vowelless palatalized *-t'* and (ii) *-ty* in which the depalatalized consonant is followed by the automatically backed reflex of the erstwhile front vowel and (2) the common declensional pattern exemplified by nom. sg. *olivec* 'pencil'. instr. pl. *olivecjamy*, both with stem final palatalized consonant /c'/, beside instr. sg. *olivecm* with depalatalized *c* followed by retained front vowel (approximately [æ]).

§9 As has already been indicated briefly above (§2), the demonstration of factual support for the reconstruction proposed here depends on the delabialization of labialized backvelars by a preceding *u, a phenomenon first proposed for centum languages by Brugmann (1881: 307 n.1) and developed further by de Saussure (1889: 161f.) who showed that the process was not necessarily confined chronologically to centum PIE by citing Gk. *λύκος*, *κύκλος*, *ὄνυχες* in which either the /u/ itself or its location before the velar is clearly secondary.¹⁵

too much like a direct loan from Greek showing the regular effects of Cowgill's law with the regular output **purphur-* yielding Gk. *πορφύρω* by dissimilation.

- 15 On *κύκλος* see Beekes (2010 s.v.), on Cowgill's law in *ὄνυξ*, *ὄνυχες* see Vine (1999: 559) and, with a slightly different viewpoint, Woodhouse (2014a: 201); de Saussure (1889) also included here Gk. *κύκνος* but Beekes (2010 s.v.) has *u in the protoform.

Both these scholars cited satem cognates purely for the purpose of supporting the expectation of centum labiovelars, a stance maintained also in Brugmann's later more detailed treatment (see Brugmann 1897: 596 on Greek, 604 on Italic, 615 on Germanic).

That this is a universal property of centum languages is perhaps best argued by pointing out that even when a reconstruction contains a labiovelar immediately following **u* there is no centum evidence directly reflecting any such sequence. The cases I have come upon are as follows.

1. **b^hleug^w* 'inflate, flow' (P: 159): P reconstructs the tectal to take care of Lat. *cōnflūgēs* and pf. *flūxī*: *flūctus* beside *fluō* 'flow'. De Vaan (2008 s.v. *fluō*), on the other hand, sensibly eliminates the medial **g^w*, which is not supported by any cognates outside Latin, on the further basis that delabialization of the putative labiovelar after **-u-* would yield a plain velar that would not be subject to syncope in the context of *fluō*. He therefore replaces the tectal with a laryngeal. Further de Vaan adopts Weiss's explanation of the reintroduction of a tectal in some forms of the Latin as due to proportionate analogy, thus *contāmen*: *contāgēs* results in *cōnflūgēs* beside *flūmen* while the proportion *struō*: *strūxī*: *strūctus* yields *flūxī*: *flūctus*. The only snag with this argument is that s.v. *struō* in the same work de Vaan explains *strūxī*: *strūctus* as analogous to *flūxī*: *flūctus* beside *fluō*, where *-g^w* disappeared regularly between vowels". To cap the confusion we find that Schrijver's 1991 book on laryngeal reflexes in Latin lists in its word index *struō*, which has no laryngeal in de Vaan (2008), but not *fluō*, which does have a laryngeal. How this mess is to be sorted out I should leave to the Latinists, though it seems clear that de Vaan's correctly accounted for *cōnflūgēs* is the source of the tectal in *flūxī*, *flūctus*, whence, given the structural similarity of *fluō* and *struō*, it passes to *strūxī*, *strūctus* as well. The important point in all this is that the medial **g^w* in Pokorny's PIE reconstruction is entirely fictional.
2. **b^houk^w*os buzzing insect (P: 163): Lat. *fūcus* 'drone', OE *béaw* 'horsefly', LG *bau* 'id.' – note that Eng. *bow* (= NHG *Bogen*) has *w* < velar after **u* but is not usually reconstructed with labiovelar. For some such reason as this, no doubt, de Vaan (2008 s.v.) reconstructs "PIE **b^hoi-ko-?* **b^hou-ko-?*", i.e. with non-labialized tectal in both alternatives.
3. **h₂euk^w**h_{1/2}* 'saucepan, warming pan' (P: 88): Ved. *ukhá-* m., *ukhā* '(cooking) pot', Alb. *an*, less often *anë* < PALb. **aukn-* allegedly < PIE **auk^wnā* 'vessel', as proposed by Jokl (1911: 3) who was well aware that the Albanian development does not require a labialized tectal despite OE *ofnet* 'small vessel', *ofen*,

OHG *ovan*, ON *ofn* ‘stove’ beside Goth. *auhns*, OSwed. *oghn*. The complex is now suspected of having substrate origin (de Vaan 2008 s.v. *aulla*), hence the part of Germanic allegedly attesting a labiovelar may equally well, if not better, continue a Germanic labial, cf. OPruss. *wumpnis* ‘oven’.

4. **ug^wros*, reconstructed by Beekes (2010 s.v. *ύγρός*) to take care of ON *ʋokr*, acc. *ʋokvan*, and Lat. *ūvidus*. Beekes himself suggests the Norse word may have suffixed *-*uo-*; and both Beekes and de Vaan (2008 s.v.) suggest that the long vowel of Lat. *ūvidus* is possibly due to a laryngeal without **g^w*, which means that two different roots may be involved, neither of which requires a labiovelar. Weiss (apud de Vaan 2008 s.v.) seems to be on the right track about *ūvidus* getting its long vowel from *ūmidus*. On the other hand if Weiss is right in not regarding the order of attestation of *ūvidus* and *ūdus* as an infallible guide to priority, it is possible that both existed simultaneously and that *ūvidus* got its long vowel from *ūdus*, much as Narten (1982: 131) has suggested in the case of Ved. *uh-/ūh-* and *ūdhá-*. There seems also the possibility that Meiser’s (1986: 205f.) rule might apply, i.e. just as **mug-i-to* > Umbr. *muieto* so **ug-ido-s* > Lat. **uiidus* > **uvidus* / **ūidus* etc., once again without the need for a labiovelar, even though a labiovelar can have been present in the Norse material and been delabialized in the Greek and Latin words.¹⁶

§10 Meillet (1892) extended the process of delabialization after **u* to include satem Armenian. Bearing in mind (1) that Meillet’s paper was very likely written at a time before the tritectoral scheme proposed in 1890 by Osthoff and Bezzenger (§1 above) had become widely accepted and (2) that Meillet remained to the end of his days opposed to the tritectoral scheme, it was natural for Meillet to find that the products of the delabialization of his labiovelars *k₂ g₂ g₂^h* were his palatovelars *k₁ g₁ g₁^h*, respectively, a conclusion also valid both then and now for the centum languages. Meillet concluded that this placed the process within PIE itself.

When Brugmann came to include the Armenian phenomenon in the second edition of the famous Grundriss, the tritectoral reconstruction of PIE had become standard doctrine, which meant that Meillet’s straightforward explanation of the

16 If there are no instances of *ύγρός* or its derivatives attested with a short first syllable which cannot be explained by exigencies of metre in post-Homeric Classical and dialectal Greek, a further alternative might be to accept *(H)*uh₁g₂-* as the root, so that the tectoral can be protected from delabialization in Latin by **h₁*; but this would once again require the assumption of a different root to explain the Greek word.

matter as delabialization was no longer acceptable because the output of a delabialization should have been the new plain velars and thus have been undetectable in a satem language. Accordingly Brugmann (1897: 581, 831) wrote that the original tectals in his examples of the phenomenon may have been either plain velars or labiovelars and that their palatalization seemed to indicate that the *u*-vowel itself must have become palatalized. In this guise the Armenian phenomenon of replacement of (labio)velars (thus Martirosyan 2010: 711) by palatovelars after **u* is widely accepted in the literature where it is generally referred to as palatalization after **u* – see, e.g., Solta (1963: 97), Ĵahukyan (1975 [1976]: 34f.; 1982: 57),¹⁷ Olsen (1999: 42) and Martirosyan (2010: 13).

Armenian is of particular importance to the present study because it is generally accepted that the Armenian conversion of non-palatovelars to palatovelars after **u* is conditioned by this **u* (and not attributed to some other cause, such as the existence of parallel roots, cf., e.g., EWAia 2 s.vv. *ROC*, *MOH*). We shall return to the characterization of the process as palatalization after a summary of the evidence and its current scholarly reception, together with a look at the apparent counterevidence. Note that since evidence for the same “palatalization” to palatovelar after **u* is universal in the centum languages but rare in other satem languages, only evidence from other satem languages, as provided in outline below, is capable of demonstrating the original non-palatovelar status of the pre-Armenian tectals in question.

§11 Support is provided and/or evinced for Meillet’s (1892: 57f.) Armenian examples:

1. *luc* ‘yoke’ with *l* from *lucanem* ‘unharness’ : Ved. *yugá-* n. ‘yoke’ by Olsen (1999: 19, 630), Martirosyan (2010: 316);
2. *boic* = **boyč-*, *bucanem* ‘nourish, feed’ : Ved. *bhóga-* ‘enjoyment, joy’ by Olsen (1999: 209), Martirosyan (2010 s.v. **boyč-*);
3. *dustr* ‘daughter’ : OAv. *dugəd(a)(r)-* < **dug^wh₂t(e)r-* by Olsen (1999: 145, 148 n. 280, 768); the loss of the laryngeal can be explained for forms containing the full form of the suffix **-ter-* by a rule of Beekes in Martirosyan’s (2010: 717

17 Earlier, Ĵahukyan (1967: 58f.) treated the question as part of the discussion of the (general) delabialization of labiovelars and placed this “dopolnitel’naja” (i.e. additional or supplementary) palatalization after **u* as a post-PIE phenomenon, which is partly correct since the Armenian scholar also includes examples involving **u* < **n* before labiovelar.

§2.1.20) reformulation, viz. “internal laryngeal was vocalized before a cluster and before a resonant, and was lost before a single stop”. The same loss in the weak stem with zero grade of the suffix, as in the gen. sg. **d^hug₂h₂tr-ós* (Olsen 1999: 148) or **d^hug₂h₂tr-és*, is taken care of by Peters’ rule of laryngeal loss in pretonic CHCC as exemplified also in the dat. sg. **ph₂tréi* > OAv. dat. sg. *fəδrōi* ‘father’ (Mayrhofer 1986: 138);

4. *lois* = *loys* ‘light’: Ved. *roká-* m. ‘id.’ by Olsen (1999: 52, 138f., 465f.), Martirosyan (2010 s.v. *loys*);
5. *orcam* ‘belch’: Lith. *rúgiu* by Olsen (1999: 764);
6. *lucanem*, aor. *luci*, *e-loyc* ‘untie; loosen; dissolve’, *loyc* ‘liquid, soft, dissolute’: YAv. -*uruxti-* ‘breaking, destruction’ by Kümmel (LIV₂ s.v. **leug*-/1) who finds „Velar gesichert” by YAv. -*uruxti-* (LIV₂ s.v. **leug*-/1 n.1).

To these examples Martirosyan (2010: 128, 712; 394, 410–413) adds:

7. *araws* ‘virgin soil’ with *s* < suffixed **k* after **u*; and
8. *hiws* ‘plait’ (together with *hiwsi(n)* ‘avalanche’, *hiwsis(i)* ‘north’, *hiwsn* ‘carpenter’) < **s(e)uk*^w- < **s(e)uk₂*- > PSl. **sə/ukati* (somewhat misquoted by Martirosyan) ‘turn, twist’.

Both Olsen (1999: 43, 148, 768, 853) and Martirosyan (2010 s.v.) adduce further:

9. *boys* ‘plant’ for which they cite, somewhat tentatively, protoforms **b^heuH-Ko-* / **b^hou(H)-Ko-*, aware that the laryngeal may be problematic; but Beekes (2010 s.v. *φύομαι*) follows Kortlandt (1975a: 3) in reconstructing the root as **b^heh₂u-* on the basis of Hirt’s law in Balto-Slavic – which places the suffixed tectal once more in contact with the **u* and so takes care of the problem.

Ĵahukyan (1967: 59; 1975[1976]: 35; 1982: 57) proposes in addition:

10. *oyc* ‘cold’: Latv. *aūksts* ‘cold’: Martirosyan (2010: 569) recognizes the connection with Lith. *áušti*,¹⁸ OIr. *úacht*; Matasović (2009 s.vv. **owgro-*, *owxtu-*)¹⁹ recognizes the connection of all these with OIr. *úar* ‘cold’, MWelsh *oer*, Corn. *oir*, Gaul. *Ogron* ‘a winter month’ which shores up the medial tectal and explains its

18 For more details see §26 (9) below.

19 Matasović’s hesitation between PIE **h₃ewg-* and **h₃ewǵ-* in these two places is probably due to oversight but it does reflect the fact that hesitation between these two possibilities is found in this environment in other satem languages besides Armenian.

devoicing in Baltic (the Armenian word is ignored by Olsen 1999, presumably because it does not occur in the Bible);²⁰ and

11. *usanim*²¹ ‘learn, become accustomed’, *am-us-in* ‘wife’ which latter, adapting slightly Olsen’s (1999: 466) interpretation and with help from Derksen (2008 s.v. *učiti*) for the anlaut laryngeal of the root, we can represent thus **sm-h₁é/ók^w-en-o/eh₂-* > **sm-h₁é/ók₁-en-o/eh₂-* ‘one sharing habitation, habits or the like with another’, which suits the traditional connection with Ved. *úcyati* ‘be pleased’, *ókas-* ‘comfort, pleasure, dwelling’, Lith. *jùnkti jùnkstu* ‘get used to’ etc. (e.g. Fraenkel 1962–1965 s.v. and Lehmann 1986 s.v. *biuhts*, both of whom, among others, are referred to in EWAia 1 s.v. *OC*; see further LIV₂ s.v. **h₁euk-*; Vasmer, Trubačev 1986–1987 s.v. *učit’*; Gluhak 1993 s.v. *ùčiti*; Kümmel 2000: 128f.) – but this tradition appears now, puzzlingly, to be in the doldrums – it is not mentioned by, e.g., Smoczyński (2007 s.v.) nor is either of the Armenian words included in Martirosyan (2010).²²

With at least eleven independent examples, the phenomenon can be said to be securely founded. Nevertheless there are several exceptions to this enduring regularity, apart from those already explained (mostly as Iranian loans) by Meillet (1892: 58). These are best dealt with when the question of the nature of the process – palatalization or delabialization – has been discussed.

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- 20 A dissenting voice is represented by Mann (1963) who mostly sought etyma that could be regarded as containing palatovelars: thus, according to Mann, *luc* < **iug-* ‘yoke’ is “untenable”, preferable is PIE **luǵ-* > Gk. **λυγός* (*λυγῶς* in cod. – Liddell, Scott 1968) ‘screw clamp’, OE *loc* ‘lock, bolt’ (p. 106); *bujc* ‘food’ = *boyc* = Skt. *bhuja-*, not *bhóga-* (p. 73); *s* in *dustr* is < PIE **ǵ* before **t* (p. 108); in the case of *lujs* = *loys* < either **lūk-* or **louk-* > Skt. *rúṣat-*, not *rócate*, Mann nevertheless noted factual ambiguity in the stem finals **k* and **k* (p. 53f.); *orcām* ‘belch’ = OCS *rěžq rězati* ‘neigh’ (!), not Lith. *rúgiu*, Russ. *rygát’* ‘belch’ (pp. 50, 137); *lucanem*, *loyc* < PIE **luǵ* in Lith. *lūzgù lūgzti*, not Ved. *logá-* (p. 106); in the case of *bujc* = *boys* ‘plant’, Mann (1963: 43f.) says “the final element *s* (i.e. IE **k*) in this example is of obscure origin”.
 - 21 Mann (1963: 99) equates this with Ved. *Uśānaḥ* = *uśānā-* ‘name of a mythical sage, poet and saint’ which Mayrhofer (EWAia 1 s.v.) tentatively connects with Ved. *vaś-* ‘wish’. Semantically, the connection of *uśānā-* with words denoting ‘learning’ can hardly be disputed, which may provide another Vedic example of *k/ś* variation after **u*.
 - 22 Ĵahukyan (1967, 1975[76], 982) also proposed 1st sg. aor. caus. *eluži* ‘cause to shoot/burst forth’ < **el-ou-g^{wb}e-* but the derivation is ruled uncertain by both Olsen (1999: 89 n. 190) and Martirosyan (2010: 249).

§12 It is time now to examine whether the process at issue in Armenian is palatalization or delabialization by preceding *u. There are several problems faced by the notion that the process we have been examining is palatalization by preceding *u.

To begin with, the alleged Armenian palatalization after *u is not matched by a corresponding Armenian palatalization before *u. Meillet (1892: 60 n.1) observes that his two tectal series do not merge before *u and demonstrates the point with etymologies that are still accepted in relatively recent publications, viz. Arm. *ku* ‘muck’ = Skt. *gūtha-* (see Olsen 1999: 39; KEWA s.v. *gūthaḥ*; EWAia 3 s.v.); and Arm. *skesur* ‘husband’s mother’ with stem formally = Ved. *śvāsura-* (see Olsen 1999: 189; Martirosyan 2010 s.v.). True, it is hard to find other Armenian examples of *K₂u-²³ but there are other indications of an etymological character pointing to the absence of any belief that tectals in Armenian are subject to palatalization before *u – at least not within the last 4000 years. Thus Martirosyan (2010) records etymological suggestions for (1) *akut* ‘stove’ based on the influence of Akkadian *akukūtu* ‘half-burnt wood’ (p. 23f.); for (2) *kngum* ‘ermine pelt’, citing Assyrian *gunakku-* ‘name of an item of clothing’ (p.161); for (3) *xuc* ‘small chamber, cell’ based on Yeniseian *qus* ‘tent, house’ or pre-Germanic **k^hut-s-* ‘house’ or Semitic *ḥuṣṣu* > Assyrian *ḥuṣṣu* ‘hedge; added part of a building’, Arabic *ḥuṣṣ^{un}* ‘shack, shanty’, Heb. *ḥūṣ* ‘space outside or between houses; outdoors’ (p. 335); for (4) *oloṛn* ‘pea; bean; globule’ based on Semitic **ḥ-l-r/* **ḥ-r-l* > Akkadian *ḥu/i/allūru*, Aramaic *ḥurlā*, Arabic *ḥullar* (p.526). Zero palatalization before *u in these examples is in stark contrast to at least eleven examples of the alleged palatalization after *u.

Next, as Job (1995: 300f.) points out, the alleged Armenian palatalization of tectals by preceding *u is not matched by any Armenian palatalization of tectals by preceding *i as demonstrated by (1) *tik* ‘animal skin adapted for use as a container of liquids’ (see Martirosyan 2010: 614 for various solutions to the formal difficulties: PIE **dig^h-* or ***dig-* or PGm. *tikk-*); (2) *mēg* ‘fog’ to Skt. *megha-* ‘cloud’ < PIE **h₃meig^h-*.²⁴ Another example worth quoting from the same root is (3) *mglim* ‘to cloud’ < PIE **h₃mig^h-l-* (Martirosyan 2010: 458 s.v. *mglim₃*) (**g^h* in the protoform

23 Martirosyan (2010) mentions: (1) PIE **gug-* but Arm. **koč-* “would require **go(u)g-*i*V-*” (p. 370); (2) PIE **k₂u-d^he* ‘where’ but dialectal forms of Arm. *ur* ‘id.’ point to the anlaut **i-* of the PIE relative rather than **k₂-* of the interrogative (p. 645) (cf. §15 (A 1) below); while protoforms with anlaut **kūā-* > *k’a-* proposed by other scholars are recorded for *k’ac’ax* ‘vinegar’ (p. 659f.).

24 For Job’s third example, *alk’at* ‘poor, miserable’ supposedly to Gk. *óλίγος* ‘small, little’, Martirosyan (2010 s.v.) cites as alternatives Gk. *λοιγός* ‘ruin’, Lith. *ligóti* ‘be ill’. OPruss

possibly represents $*g_z^h$ delabialized in Gk. $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\lambda\eta$ ‘fog’ by dissimilation against the anlaut cluster $*h_3m$ with its double labiality). A further example – one that Job, being convinced that only plain velars were involved (1995: 300), was in no position to quote – is (4) *lik* ‘leave, release, abandon’ < PIE $*l(e)ik^w$ (Martirosyan 2010: 310 s.v. with lit. including Olsen 1999).

A third problem is that instances of the same “palatalization” are found in other satem languages too, though not with the same regularity as in Armenian. It seems hardly likely that PIE $*u$ become spasmodically palatalized in these other languages as well.

Fourthly, a similar process, unjustly discounted by some scholars (as we shall see below), was discovered for post-dispersional²⁵ Armenian by Meillet and published by him in the same 1892 publication. This, in present-day terms, is that an anlaut segment $*HNK^w_- > *HN^wK^w_- > \text{Arm. } awk^-$.

Meillet’s (1892: 59) examples²⁶ for this later process are:

1. *awj* ‘snake’ : Lat. *anguis* ‘id.’ < PIE $*h_2ng^{wh}-i-$ > PArm. $*an^wg^{wh}i > *au\hat{g}^hi$ (with $*g^{wh} > *g^h$ after²⁷ $*u$) > $*awj-i-$;²⁸ and
2. *awcanem* ‘anoint; gild; etc.’ : Lat. *unguere* ‘anoint’ : PIE $*h_3ng^w_- > *Hn^wg^w_- > *au\hat{g}^- > awc^-$.

These examples are supported by Olsen (1999: 78, 767, 799), who writes the Armenian words *ōj* and *ōcanem*, and by Martirosyan (2010: 152f.) whose derivations (above) have here been slightly expanded and modified and who corrects Olsen (and others) by noting that both Armenian words must reflect zero grade of the root since in the full grade the laryngeal would have yielded $**h-$.

Clackson (1994: 107) in effect added to these a third example by raising the question of whether

licuts ‘small’, but finds most convincing an etymology based on *atx* ‘ring; property; etc.’ for which he has only non-IE etymologies with no $*i$ before the tectal (Martirosyan 2010 s.v. *alaxin*).

25 By ‘post-dispersional’ I mean “following the period of identifiable shared IE developments”.

26 Clackson (1994: 108) credits these to a 1937 publication by Bonfante, whereas they were already repeated by Meillet (1936: 37).

27 Martirosyan actually writes “before $*u/w$ ” here, but since there is no $*u/w$ following the tectal, this is clearly an error for “after $*u/w$ ”.

28 Mann (1963: 32) derives this word from PIE $*o\hat{g}uhs$ (= $*o\hat{g}^huis$?) > Gk. $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$ and ignores the next example.

3. *awji-k'* pl. tant. 'collar' should be derived from Gk. *αὔχην* 'neck, throat' or Aeol. *ἄμφην* 'id.' < PIE **h₂ng^wh-* and pointing out that the Armenian word had the postconsonantal reflex of the delabialized tectal: Olsen (1999: 498) and Martirosyan (2010: 153f.) allow both derivations, with seeming (and expected) preference for the nasal variant (see Olsen 1999: 799; Martirosyan 2010: 153f. places the nasal derivation at the end of his treatment of the word).²⁹

Finally, Martirosyan (2010: 19f.) adds a fourth example by rejecting Olsen's (1999: 949) view that of the pair *acul* and *acux* 'coal, soot' the commoner form *acux* must be the original one³⁰ and hence of unknown origin. Martirosyan is thus able to provide an attractive argument reinforcing the old connection of

4. *acul* with Ved. *āṅāra-* < **h₁ng^w-ō-lo-* representing an *l*-stem nom. sg. **h₁ng^w-ōl* (/gen. sg. **h₁ng^w-lós*) > PArm. **ang^w-ō-* > **an^wg^w-ō-* > **auḡō-* > **auḡu-* > **aḡu-* > *acu-* with regular delabialization of **g^w* after³¹ **u*, "as in *awj* 'snake'" (Martirosyan 2010: 20).

The only apparent problem with this development is that Beekes (2010 s.v. *αὔχην*) labels it "controversial", referring to doubts raised by Clackson (1994: 107–109) based on three alleged counterexamples. I think these doubts are ill-founded. As I point out elsewhere (Woodhouse 2015b: 269f.),³² none of Clackson's counterexamples

29 Elsewhere (Woodhouse 2015b: 268), I propose that *awji-k'* points to a borrowing of *ἄμφην* into Armenian, while *αὔχην* points to the (re)borrowing of the protoform of *awji-k'* back into Greek.

30 This is perhaps symptomatic of a common misconception: cf. Günter Neumann's (1970: 212) unhappy treatment of Phryg. *σεμουν*, which its author eventually repudiated (Neumann 1986: 83), though it continued to reverberate until at least as late as 1995 (see Woodhouse 2005: 206 n. 4); possibly in the same category is the perception that the 9th century hapax substantive OHG *egiro* 'fear, terror' is an error for the commoner substantivized adjective OHG *egisa* f. 'id.' rather than a survival of the original substantive (see Grosse 1971 s.v. *egiso*; Woodhouse 2000b: 190); further, one critic of this paper rejected my analysis of Ved. *rúśant-* (§17 below) on the ground that this particular participle was uncommon in PIE.

31 Once again Martirosyan has here "before" instead of "after" (the correct statement is given 2010: 711f.) as well as a preliminary reconstruction unnecessarily involving a labiovelar before **u*.

32 Regrettably, with a minor lack of accuracy (**h_{2/3}* instead of *H*) through overlooking the fourth example contributed by Martirosyan.

stands up to scrutiny: *ananim* ‘I fall’ < **seng*^w- and *hing* ‘5’ < **penk*^{we} do not fit the new input formula **HNK*^w- that emerges from the four genuine examples above, while the third “counterexample”, *anjuk* ‘narrow’ if < **ang*^{wh}*u*-, requires the labiovelar to be present immediately before **u*, where both its labialization, and therefore its delabialization, would have been inaudible, as has been discussed (§3 above), and therefore incapable of forcing reanalysis as a palatovelar; indeed Martirosyan (2010 s.v.) continues a long tradition by deriving Arm. *anjuk* from a protoform having original palatovelar.³³

This additional discovery by Meillet, built upon by Clackson and especially by Martirosyan, in my opinion clinches the matter in favour of delabialization over palatalization. While it may have been possible to argue on the basis of the first three objections above that pre-Armenian **u* was really a diphthong with a [+high, +back] onset and a [+high, +front] coda (despite there being no corroborating data), it is scarcely conceivable that the second element of the Armenian diphthong *aw* < **HN*/₋*K*^w could have been **[+high, +front] until, if at all, the new palatovelars were in place. If the post-dispersional process was delabialization, it seems sane and rational to abandon complex phonetic notions of what pre-Armenian **u* might have represented and assume the pre-dispersional process in pre-Armenian was a delabialization just as it clearly was in the centum languages. After all, the process **HN* > Arm. *aw*/₋*K*^w surely proves that labiovelars survived into post-dispersional pre-Armenian, as is proposed on other grounds by Kortlandt (1975b: 96–98), and that consequently they were present in the PIE dialects ancestral to Armenian, as was supposed by both Meillet, who (1892: 59) recognized the phenomenon as **ukw* > *uk* parallel to **kwu* > *ku*, and Clackson, who (1994: 54) described it as “loss of the labial element of labio-velars after **u*”. In fact a substantial proportion of students of Armenian appear to share a belief in the relatively late persistence of labiovelars in prehistoric Armenian: e.g. Olsen (1999: 805f.) refers to

a widespread, if not universally accepted, opinion that when it comes to the more subtle details Armenian may not quite live up to the standards of an uncompromising satəm language. (...) A survey of potential evidence seems to support the view that labiovelars did indeed preserve their labial feature long enough to leave a set of distinct marks on their surroundings.

33 Meillet himself, echoed by Jahukyan (1967, 1975 [1976], 1982), threw a small fly in the ointment by citing *t’anjr* ‘tight’ as an instance of the same phenomenon with retained *n*. Olsen (1999: 165), however, saves the situation by regarding *t’anjr* as a contamination

Finally, Kortlandt (1980: 248) refers to the coalescence of PIE **tuV* > **t^w* (or **t^o*) with PIE **k^w* > **k^o* at a stage when both were still labialized “in the oldest stage” of Armenian.

§13 Among the exceptions to the rule of delabialization of labiovelars after **u* in Armenian are the suffixes *-uk* and *-ukn* if, as Olsen (1999: 584, 591 n. 783) points out, Martirosyan’s (2010: 95) claim that *-uk* in ostensibly native material continues PIE **-ug-* is taken at face value. Olsen proposes possible inhibition of the “palatalization” by expressive gemination of the tectal or by a following nasal – these proposals can be interpreted in terms of delabialization as follows. The labialization of the geminated consonant would be audible chiefly at the right hand end of the long consonantal segment so that the loss of audible labialization in its left hand half, even if due to the preceding **u*, would be sufficiently natural for speakers not to suspect they were hearing a (probably unnatural) cluster consisting of **k₁+*k₂*. The situation with a following nasal would be somewhat similar: the nasal can be envisaged as taking on the labialization of the preceding backvelar (as happened also in the reverse sequence in the anlaut segment **HNK^w*-, §12 above) and retaining it since it is likewise protected by the intervening tectal from delabialization by the preceding **u*; the labialization of the nasal would then be attributed by speakers as belonging phonemically with the phonetically delabialized tectal.

Another factor affecting these suffixes, however, is that much of the material containing them seems to be based on Middle Iranian models or comprises actual loans and, as Olsen says,

it is difficult to decide whether [certain types] should be explained on the basis of inherited or Iranian models. ... We find *a*-stem inflection in clear Iranian loanwords while part of the indigenous formations follow the *n*-stems (Olsen 1999: 584f., see also 589, 591 n. 783).

It may then be the case that later indigenous material has been conformed to early loans from Middle Iranian which were adapted to whatever seemed morphologically appropriate in the receiving language at the time; and that there may be much merit in Olsen’s phonetic explanations. In other words, these partly or wholly borrowed suffixes do not constitute genuine exceptions to the Armenian delabialization after **u*.

of PIE **temku-* (Lith. *tánkus*) with PIE **b^hng^hu-* ‘tight, much’ (Ved. *bahú-*); Martirosyan (2010) evidently regards the word as not inherited.

In Arm. *k'uk'* 'groan' the change **uk^w* > **us* was probably impeded by the onomatopoeic nature of the word (on which see also Olsen 1999: 17 n. 28). Olsen agrees this may also be true of Arm. *p'č'em* < Arm. *p'uk'* 'breath, wind, fart' and *t'uk'* 'saliva' but also invokes for this group the inhibiting influence of **h₁* either following or preceding the tectal and similarly **h₂* in the case of *glux* 'head' (Olsen 1999: 42–44). The idea that a contiguous laryngeal would have the same effect on the process irrespective of whether it follows or precedes the target tectal is not a particularly happy one – cf. the different effects of a labialized nasal as indicated above: following the tectal such a nasal helps to preserve the perceived labialization of the tectal, preceding the tectal (as in §12 above) the reflex of the labialized nasal delabializes the tectal. Fortunately, elsewhere in her book Olsen is in favour of the inhibiting laryngeal preceding the tectal, i.e. coming between **u* and the tectal, in *glux*, *p'uk'* and *t'uk'* (Olsen 1999: 43–44, 201f.). This seems to be the optimal solution particularly in the light of other possible cases where laryngeal between labiovelar and following **u* is held to prevent delabialization (PIE **g^w(e)h₃u-* and Lat. *vapor*, §3 above).

Arm. *mux* 'smoke' plus *mux* 'tempering (of metals)', *mux* 'tempered' and *mxem* 'stick in, plunge in, bathe' (cf. Ĵahukyan 1982: 57; Olsen 1999: 33, 803) are best regarded as deriving from a European substrate as Martirosyan (2010 s.v.) suggests – cf. also Beekes' (2010 s.v.) well motivated rejection of any shared PIE origin for this and Gk. *σμήω* 'cause to carbonize, be slowly consumed by fire, smoulder away'.

§14 The mechanism of the delabialization to prevelars can be described as follows. First, the agreed regularity of the phenomenon (whether as a palatalization or as a delabialization) and the fact that it is now considered (e.g. by Martirosyan (2010: 711; pace Olsen 1999: 808) to apply equally to both traditional labiovelars and to traditional plain velars suggests that in the dialects ancestral to Armenian there was no distinction between these two sets of traditionally reconstructed phonemes. Both the agreed late presence of labiovelars in these dialects and the arguments against the transformation of tectals after **u* being a palatalization, point to the conclusion that the originally allophonic labialization of backvelars in these dialects became general in all environments, with one exception: the environment after **u*. In this environment, except possibly where the tectal was geminated or immediately followed by a nasal (see on suffixes *-uk* and *-ukn* above, §13), the delabialized (or nonlabialized) tectal consonant came to be interpreted by speakers as a prevelar (there being no third set of plain velar tectal phonemes in these dialects) with which it therefore coalesced and went on to share its fate.

A parallel to such a switch in the phonemic interpretation of a consonant concomitant with the loss of an automatic feature is provided by the differing phonemic interpretations of the segments [sk], [sp] in English and in Welsh. In both these languages the voiceless stops have aspirated allophones when not preceded by /s/. In English the lack of voicing in these segments has clearly been crucial in influencing their orthographic representation as <sc/sk>, <sp>. In Welsh this principle has operated only in the case of [st]; in the case of [sk], [sp] the lack of aspiration has influenced their Welsh interpretation as the voiced counterparts of the stops and hence their orthographic representation as <sg> and <sb>, as is especially noticeable in loans, such as *ysgum* 'scum', *ysgol* 'school', *ysblander* 'splendour', *sosban* 'saucepan' etc. So we may have to be prepared to distinguish between those dialects in PIE in which loss of labiality triggered reinterpretation as a different phoneme and others in which the loss of an expected labialization was without significance for the phonemic interpretation of a given segment.

Correspondingly in pre-Armenian, backvelars were routinely labialized, prevelars were not, a situation that facilitated the interpretation of any nonlabialized tectal – aside from those affected by onomatopoeia – as a pre- or palatovelar.

The only really surprising thing about this is that potentially the only plain velars allowed to survive in Armenian, aside from those in loans, are those of onomatopoeic origin. Otherwise for a considerable period stretching from relatively late PIE to early post-dispersional IE – the latter date being based on Meillet's additional discovery **HNK*^w- > Arm. *awk*- – all tectals in the pre-Armenian dialects must have been either labiovelars or prevelars/palatovelars.

§15 The above assertion raises a couple of problems. First, it is well known that Armenian has been touted as one of the few satem languages that preserves a distinction between plain velars and labiovelars on the basis of (1) certain vocalic phenomena (e.g. Pisani 1966: 227f.; Olsen 1999: 806–808)³⁴ and (2) allegedly different behaviour in palatalizing environments (cf., e.g. Job 1995: 291, 305f.; Olsen 1999: 805–808 and n. 51). Secondly, there is alleged to be a typological embargo on systems whose tectal inventory consists entirely of palatovelars and labiovelars.³⁵ These objections can be dealt with as follows.

34 These have been partly dealt with above in fn. 4.

35 E.g. by Steensland (1973: 120) following Kuryłowicz, by Markey (1980: 286) and, in the recent past, the present writer.

A First, Olsen's (1999: 806–808) attempted demonstration of special vocalic effects of labiovelars is countered both by Martirosyan's (2010: 530) general remark "the development $*k^w o- > \text{Arm. } o-$ is uncertain" and also by the following detailed criticism of Olsen's relevant Armenian etymologies:

1. $o-$ interrogative/indefinite pronoun 'who' and (2) or 'which one' are no doubt $<$ PIE relative pronoun $*io-$, not Olsen's $*k^w o-$ (Martirosyan 2010 s.v. $o-$), cf. Pol./Ukr. interrogative/relative *jak* 'how' = Russ. *kak*, Pol. *jaki*, *-ka*, *-kie*, Ukr. *jakýj*, *-ká*, *-ké* = Russ. *kakój*, *-kája*, *-kóe* 'what (kind of)' etc., as many scholars have seen (for which see Martirosyan 2010: 645, 706).
3. *oln* 'spine, backbone, marrow' $< *Hh_3el-en-$ or $*HHol-en-$ and its ablaut variant Arm. *uln* (also spelt *uln* and *oln*) 'neck' $< *Heh_3l-en-$ or $*HoHl-en-$ belong with Gk. *ὠλένη* 'elbow', not Olsen's Lat. *collus* 'neck' (Martirosyan 2010 s.vv.); note also that de Vaan (2008 s.v.) is not certain whether Lat. *collus*, Goth. *hals* 'neck' have PIE $*k^w-$ or $*k-$.
4. the $-ord$ suffix belongs to a group of which Olsen (1999: 530f.) writes

the borderline between what may be conveniently analyzed as governing compounds (*orsord* 'doing hunting') and possessives like *arajnord* 'having the first share' \rightarrow 'leader' is fluid. (...) A whole group has the approximate meaning 'partaker, participant, companion', a semantic shade corresponding very well to the basic meaning 'part, share'.

This means that instead of Olsen's $*-k^wrt-$ 'doer' a protoform $*-prHt-$ 'made for, made to participate in' can be envisaged on the basis of Olsen's (1999: 807) rule $*pr > (h)or$, making the suffix cognate with Lat. *pars partis* 'part' and thus with Lat. *pariō* 'bring forth' and Arm. *ordi* 'generation; offspring' (Schrijver 1991: 195–197, 211; de Vaan 2008 s.vv. *pariō*, *pars*; Martirosyan 2010 s.v. *ordi*). As a somewhat vacuous component of the ordinal suffix it thus means approximately 'made/determined/specified to be (4th)' etc.

5. *krōnk* 'religion' and (6) *koriwn* 'young, whelp' seem not to be regarded as inherited by Martirosyan (2010).
7. *ordn* 'worm': Olsen herself immediately supplies the alternative "perhaps a tabuistic remodelling of $*ur(t)m̥n(t)- \sim$ Lat. *vermen*".
(And on *kerakur*, *klanem/ekul*, *holov*, *olōrn*, *olor* see above, n. 14.)

B Secondly, regarding differential palatalization, we may note that Olsen (1999: 805f.) writes "Pisani ... pointed out the greater effect of palatalization on labiovelars ($*k^w$ and $*g^{wh}$) as opposed to plain velars". The trick here lies in the

words “greater effect”, i.e. we are dealing here not with a reliable rule but a mere tendency, which ought to make it hardly necessary for Olsen (1999: 806 n. 51) to complain that Kortlandt in his (1975 [1976]) rebuttal “assumes regular palatalization of velars and labiovelars alike (even of old mediae, generally assumed to remain unpalatalized)”. Similarly there should have been no need for Kortlandt (1975 [1976]) to counter with examples – particularly those drawn from Pedersen (1906: 393) – of both a labiovelar media and an apparently plain velar media palatalized identically by front vowels, viz. (with affirmed labiovelar) *čīul* ‘bough, branch, spray’: Gk. *βέλος* ‘throwing weapon, spear, javelin’, the common ground no doubt being ‘(pointed) stick’,³⁶ and (with alleged plain velar) *čmlem* (< *čim-) ‘squeeze, press’: OCS *žьmъ žęti* ‘id.’, Gk. aor. *γέντο* ‘took, grasped’, Mlr. *gemel* ‘fetter’, a classical plain velar etymology accepted by Martirosyan (2010 s.v. *čm-).³⁷ Nor should Kortlandt have felt the need to produce explanations for exceptions, since we do not have a hard and fast distinction here between velars and labiovelars but only a tendency for one group to be better represented in a particular process than the other. Nor should Olsen (1999: 808) have bothered to counter most of Kortlandt’s sensible suggestions by citing the lack of palatalization in the following, which we should likewise not feel obliged to discredit, thus:

1. *t’ak*- ‘conceal’ pres. *t’ak’č’im*, aor. *t’ak’ēay* with *e allegedly following the root final in both tenses: apart from the facts that (i) Martirosyan does not include the word in his 2010 dictionary and (ii) *t’ak’č’im* looks like a prime candidate for dissimilative avoidance of palatalization, Jensen (1959: 100) cites pres. *t’ak’uc’anem* ‘ich verberge’, aor. *t’ak’uc’i*, both giving ample scope for analogical restoration of root final *k*;

36 Beekes (2010 svv.) says of Gk. *βελόνη* ‘needle’: “Connection with *βάλλω* not semantically evident”, and of *βάλλω* ‘strike’ “verb has no certain cognates”. Beekes’ inability to appreciate the evident connection between *βελόνη* ‘needle’, *βάλλω* ‘strike’ and Lith. *gėlti* ‘sting’ all < *g₂(e)lh₁- suggests that the Dutch scholar has never been stung by a wasp – or is it only Queensland wasps whose sting feels at the moment of impact like a hot blow inflicted with a sharp instrument?

37 As we have seen (§8 above), post-PIE delabialization of labiovelars in the centum languages in the manner suggested by Kortlandt is not a problem under my hypothesis. Further, though it is tempting to speculate, there appears to be no evidence that the process was helped in the case of a verb meaning ‘grasp’ by the phonologically similar root *g₁enh₃- ‘know’ with the possibility of ‘grasp’ > *** ‘understand’ supplying a semantic bridge between the two.

2. *mak'i* 'ewe': Martirosyan (2010 s.v.) says of this: "The absence of palatalization in the velar in Armenian is not explained; cf. Olsen 1999: 808. The solution may lie in the onomatopoeic character of the root", i.e. Olsen's expectation regarding nonpalatalization of plain velars is not accepted;
3. the suffixes *-ek'in* < **-ikino-* and *-ek'ean* < **-iki_{h3}no-* allegedly containing plain velars: first, under my hypothesis the illusion of plain velars is created in these items because without o-grades ***-ik₂o(h₃)in-* the backvelars never became labialized in centum PIE whereas in pre-Armenian there is nothing preventing the backvelars in these suffixes from becoming labiovelars like every other backvelar in the language (§14 above); secondly, the backvelars may have resisted palatalization on dissimilative grounds because the onset front vowel of the suffixes would have palatalized any final tectal of the morpheme to which they were attached – the ease with which palatalization is abandoned on dissimilative grounds in Armenian is illustrated by Martirosyan's (2010 s.v.) etymology of *ak'is* 'weasel' < **Hke₂k-i(h₂)-* (i.e. **Hk₂ek₁-i(h₂)-*) in which the palatalization of the leftmost tectal is said to be inhibited by the inevitable palatalization of the rightmost tectal;
4. *gerandi* 'scythe, sickle': Gk. *χεράς* 'gravel', which, as Martirosyan (2010 s.v.) points out, is a semantically improbable connection beside the one he cites with **uer-* 'bend, curve' due to Petersson.

Since the claim that Armenian regularly preserves distinct reflexes of plain velars and labiovelars lacks credibility, I have no hesitation in declaring the typological prohibition against a tectal inventory consisting solely of palatovelars and labiovelars to be falsified by pre-Armenian. That being said, it nevertheless remains the case that variability in the labialization of the backvelars elsewhere in PIE remains the best way of explaining the variability of the results of delabialization after **u* in Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic, as I argue below.

§16 Summarizing on the basis of the basic hypothesis of this paper (§2 above) we conclude that in PIE dialects ancestral to Armenian during the period of PIE that is the subject of this paper, the tectal inventory became limited to labiovelars and palatovelars and that this was brought about by the phonemicization of the earlier allophonic labialization of backvelars before **o*, i.e. by the spread of labialization to backvelars in all environments except immediately after **u* (possibly unless the tectal was immediately followed by a nasal but the evidence proposed for this seems to be entirely non-inherited material, see §13 above).

In the environment after *u the tectal, lacking labialization, was reinterpreted by speakers as a prevelar or palatovelar. A similar delabialization occurred later in pre-Armenian when the anlaut segment *HNK^w > *auK₁-.

We can now state with confidence that Meillet's discovery of this latter delabialization after secondary *u < *ŋ provides an Armenian/satəm parallel to de Saussure's examples of delabialization in post-dispersional Greek (§9 above).

The very patchy appearance of the same delabialization in other satəm languages points to heavy analogical restoration of the original backvelar phonemes, which – at least in the languages attesting the delabialization to palatovelar – indicates the failure of the labialization to spread much beyond its original environment.

There is indeed some evidence in these other satəm languages that actively supports the idea that PIE backvelars were originally labialized only before *o. It is to this evidence that we now turn.

§17 There appears to be no satisfactory explanation for the solitary existence of Ved. *rúśant*- 'brilliant, shining, bright, white' with root final palatovelar beside a host of apparently related forms reflecting root final backvelar: Ved. *rócate* 'shine', *rúc*- dat. *rucé* f. 'lustre', *rucāná*- 'lit up', *roká*- m. 'light', possibly RV *róka*- m. 'id.', AV *rocá*- 'shining', *loká*- 'free space, world', VS *rucá*- 'bright, radiant, brilliant', *rukma*- n. 'gold', m. 'gold jewellery', *rúkmant*- 'glittering', *rúci*- f. 'light, shine', *rocíṣ*- 'light' etc.; YAv. *raociṇt*- 'shining', caus. *raocayeiti*, *raocah*- n. 'light, luminary', OPers. *raučah*- n. 'light', OPruss. *luckis* 'torch, log', OCS *luča* 'ray of light', Russ. *luč*, gen. sg. *lučá*, pl. *lučí* 'id.', Čak. *lūč* gen. sg. *lūčā* 'pinewood core used as fuel', ChSl. *lučb* m. 'light', Slovene *lúc* 'id.' (EWAia 2 s.v. ROC; Derksen 2008 s.v. *lūčb*).

Decades ago Miller (1976: 50) recognized *rúśant*- as somehow belonging with centum examples of delabialization but because it conflicted with his notions of PIE he dismissed it as anomalous, at the same time disagreeing with other scholars who wished to claim the form was not genuine. Nearer our own time, Mayrhofer (EWAia 2 s.v. ROC) could do no better than claim parallel roots with different root finals.

Naturally, I agree with Miller that the explanation of *rúśant*- will have something to do with delabialization but disagree with his view that the matter is not worth pursuing. It most certainly is.

The first desideratum is to attempt to establish the vowel of the suffix.

A structural argument suggesting it was *o is as follows. The thematic present tense exemplified by *rócate* attests the ordinary palatalization of the backvelar

tenuis root final by the thematic vowel **e*. Any such palatalized root final came, as a rule, to be generalized to many forms of the paradigm and thus also appears in the conventional statement of the Vedic root, whether Mayrhofer's *roc* or the traditional *ruc*. Cf. other (traditional) Vedic roots with the same root final (taken from Macdonell 1916: 369–435): *ac* 'bend', *arc* 'praise', *uc* 'be pleased', *pac* 'cook', *prc* 'mix', *muc* 'release', *mrc* 'injure', *mruc* / *mluc* 'set', *yāc* 'ask', *ric* 'leave', *vac* 'speak', *vic* 'sift', *vyac* 'extend', *vraśc* 'cut up', *śuc* 'gleam', *śvañc* 'spread', *sac* 'accompany', *sic* 'pour', i.e. another 18 items.

Similarly for the palatalized backvelar asper root final (in brackets are cited forms that point to backvelar – cf., with prevelar, *ūh* : *ūdhá*) we have: *dah* (*dagdhá*) 'burn', *dih* (*digdhá*) 'smear', *duh* (*dugdhá*) 'milk', *druh* (*drugdhá*) 'be hostile', i.e. 4 items; while for the palatalized backvelar media root final (again with bracketed forms pointing to backvelar – contrast the prevelar attested in *mṛj* : *mṛṣṭá*) we have: *añj* (*anákti*) 'anoint', *tij* (*tiktá*) 'be sharp', *tyaj* (*tyaktá*) 'forsake', *nij* (*niktá*) 'wash', *bhaj* (*bhaktá*) 'divide', *bhañj* (*bhanákti*) 'break', *bhuj* (*bhuñkté*) 'enjoy', *yuj* (*yuktá*) 'join', *raj* (*raktá*) 'colour', *ruj* (*rugñ*, *rukṭvá*) 'break', *vij* (*viktá*) 'tremble', *vṛj* (*vṛktá*) 'twist', *sa(ñ)j* (*saktá*) 'hang', 13 items. Thus there is a total of 36 items with palatalized backvelar root final against a total of 4 items with nonpalatalized backvelar root final, three of which – *śak* 'be able', *dagh* 'reach to', *sagh* 'be equal to' – have class 5 present stems (*śaknómi*, opt. *daghnuyāt*, impf. *ásaghnos*) in which the nasal has protected the backvelar from palatalization, while the fourth, *valg* 'leap, bubble up', seems to have been characterized in the early period by a predominance of forms with **o*-initial desinences (see further §20 below). So there is nothing unusual about the Vedic root *roc* with its backvelar root final, palatalized originally by following thematic **e*. Since the root final of *ruś-* in *rúśant-* is different it would appear – if *ruś-* is related to *roc* – that the vowel following the reflex of the tectal in the full-grade forms of the suffix cannot have been **e*; and since **a* is not a distinct phoneme in my PIE, a process of elimination suggests the vowel of the suffix must be **o*.

An argument that *rúśant-* began life as a participle leads to the same conclusion. Thus Macdonell (1910 [repr. 1968]: 190; 1916 [repr. 1966]: 62) describes *rúśant-* along with *rhánt-* 'weak', *prśant-* 'spotted', *bṛhánt-* 'great' and *mahánt-* 'great' beside the substantive *dánt-* 'tooth' as words that have lost their participial function or meaning. Debrunner (1954: 165f.) cites essentially the same list as examples of words constructed like participles but lacking an exact correspondence among the verbal roots, though he cites *ruc-*, with query, as a possible source of *rúśant-* and acknowledges *dánt-* as being of PIE age. In fact Debrunner (1954: 163f.) precedes

this with lists of other Vedic adjectives and substantives, some of PIE age, that to him clearly originated as participles. These include: *járant-* ‘old’ : Gk. *γέροντ-* ‘id.’; *brhánt-* ‘tall, large, lofty etc.’ : Celt. *Brigantes*; *usánt-* ‘willing, desiring, loving’ : Gk. *έκόντ-* ‘willing’, Cret. Loc. *Φεκόντ-*; *píyant-* ‘reviler’ : Goth. *fijands* ‘enemy’; *árhant-* ‘Würdeperson’ etc. Nearer our own time, Mayrhofer (EWAia 1–2 s.vv.) agrees overtly with the participial origins/nature of *pṛśant-*, *dánt-*, *usánt-* (referred to VAS), *píyant-* (s.v. *PAYP*) and *árhant-* (s.v. *ARH*); and the same is suggested by his treatments of *ṛhánt-* and *rúsant-* but not those of *brhánt-*, *mahánt-* and *járant-*. Beekes (2010 s.vv) agrees with the participial status of *έκών έκόντος* but is more circumspect regarding *γέρών γέροντος*. Beekes (2010 s.v. *όδών*) and de Vaan (2008 s.v. *dens*) differ slightly in their protoforms, viz. **h₃d-(o)nt-* vs. **h₃d-nt-*, respectively, but they agree that the original meaning was *‘biting’ rather than *‘eating’ (pace EWAia 1 s.v. *dánt-*). At the very least Gk. *έκών έκόντος* and *όδών οδόντος* point to the vowel in question being, once again, *o.

This conclusion appears to agree with the *communis opinio* on the vocalism of this kind of participle. Thus Szemerényi (1989: 345f.) proposes for both the athematic and the thematic participle a strong suffix in **-ont-* and a weak one in **-nt-*, Meier-Brügger (2003: 185) is largely in agreement with this scheme (with doubts only about the weak form of the thematic participle) and, citing Morpurgo Davies, specifically rejects proposals by Rix (1976: 123, 233f.) and Beekes (1985: 71f.; 1995: 249f.) for an athematic **-ént-* form of the suffix on the cogent ground that the allegedly supportive Lat. *-ent-* reflects the zero grade (and the vowel in Gk. *-έντ-*, as in gen. sg. *τιθέντος*, presumably reflects **h₁* and has analogical accent). Beekes (1995: 249f.), however, reconstructs a PIE present/aorist thematic participle with non-ablauting suffix **-ont-* that was modified only in Vedic to an ablauting suffix **-ont-/nt-*. All in all, therefore, there can be little doubt that Ved. *rúsant-* reflects the fixed o-grade of the PIE suffix even though, as expected, in pre-Vedic this became subject to ablaut in the weak cases.

Consequently, if *rúsant-* goes back to PIE it can be reconstructed, on the basis of the usual comparison with Gk. *λευκός*, as **l(é)uk₁ont-*. But then we remember that *λευκός* is cited, e.g. by Brugmann (1881: 307 n.1), de Saussure (1889: 162), Miller (1976: 50) and undoubtedly Kortlandt (1978: 238), as an example of the delabialization of a traditional labiovelar by preceding *u, a belief that is supported by cognate Vedic forms based on the stems *roc-* and *rok-*. Therefore **l(é)uk₁ont-* derives from **l(é)uk₂ont-* by delabialization at a time when, in accordance with the hypothesis being presented in this paper (§2 above), **k₂* would have been labialized before *o – after all, only a labialized consonant can be delabialized. Evidently there was an expectation

among speakers that a backvelar should be labialized in the environment before *o, consequently the delabialized consonant in this environment was reinterpreted by them as the prevelar or palatovelar tenuis and subsequently underwent the same development as any other palatovelar tenuis in the language.

This explanation brings with it the expectation that forms of the paradigm of the verb stem *roc* that had originally had *o-desinences must likewise once have had medial *ś not the attested *c*. This is correct, but, as we have seen, in Vedic, the medial consonant before the *e-initial desinences was levelled throughout most of the paradigm. The fact that *rúśant-* escaped this levelling can be explained on the basis that it was no longer felt to be a member of the paradigm of the verb at the time of the levelling but had become synchronically an independent lexeme.

It is envisaged that at the time when the tectal in *rúśant-* was undergoing conversion from backvelar to prevelar, the consonant before related *e-desinence forms would have still been the unpalatalized backvelar, i.e. that the process we are looking at predated the palatalization of backvelars under the Proto-Indo-Iranian “law of palatals”. Since the levelled medial consonant is actually *c* we can be sure that a process of levelling took place after the palatalization traditionally described as the “law of palatals”. Whether there was an earlier period of levelling in which the backvelar was levelled throughout the paradigm we cannot say, but if there had been, then the chance of *rúśant-* being involved in the levelling process would have been greater at that period than later when there would have been more time for Ved. *rúśant-* to detach itself in the minds of speakers from the verb. Shortly we shall examine some examples where the levelling process led to a different result.

But first it will be convenient to deal with one oddity that cries out for attention, as follows.

§18 It will be observed that RV *roká-* m. ‘light’ AV *rocá-* ‘shining’, *loká-* ‘free space, world’, VS *rucá-* ‘bright, radiant, brilliant’ all reflect PIE *o*-stems yet the medial consonant in each reflects a backvelar that has not been delabialized to a prevelar. Unless this is simply due to restoration on the basis of related forms not subject to delabialization after *u, it demands an explanation. After all, some other Vedic *o*-stems show the normal delabialization, e.g., some words with the non-agentive/diminutive suffix *-k₂o- attached to *u*-stems reflect the variant *-k₁o- : *babhlu-śá-* ‘brownish’, *aṅku-śá-* ‘hook’ beside *dūra-ká-* ‘distant’, *putra-ká-* ‘little son’.

As well as pointing the question of variable delabialization in *o*-stems, these suffixes in themselves form a valuable contribution to our thesis and will be dealt with separately below (§25).

In approaching the question of explaining this variability in *o*-stems, it is convenient first to consider Olsen's (1999: 819) formulation of Rasmussen's view that in the thematic alternation between *-e-* and *-o-* "... *-o-* was originally restricted to the position before a voiced consonant". I find this unhelpful because against it is the principle that all *o*-stems must have been adapted to the system prevailing at the time of their creation, whatever the morphology of the segment to which the theme was attached. Meier-Brügger (2003: 198) and Beekes (1995: 191f.) are in substantial agreement that as far back as we can go the theme vowel was predominantly **o*, i.e. before the "pre-PIE stage" which Meier-Brügger posits as the period at which the contractions of theme and ending "presumably took place".

I think therefore that an explanation for the frequent lack of delabialization after **u* in *o*-stems emerges from statements like "there is a general trend in Indo-European languages away from the athematic declension and conjugation towards the thematic declension and conjugation" (Clackson 1994: 21) and "[i]n the course of the development of the individual IE languages, the quantity of thematic substantives and verbs has increased, while the quantity of athematic nouns and verbs has decreased" (Meier-Brügger 2003: 161). These statements seem to reflect a widespread belief that not all *o*-stem nouns attested in IE languages go back to PIE. Since we have already defined in §7 the terminus after which delabialization to palatovelar after **u* becomes impossible in any given satem language, the question of whether an apparently eligible thematic form actually undergoes delabialization to palatovelar after **u* will depend to a great extent on when it was created out of older athematic material. Those items created within PIE before the above terminus will probably undergo the change, those created after it (possibly within dialectal PIE) probably will not – "probably" in each case meaning that the expected situation can always be reversed by some analogy.

This, then, supplies an all-encompassing explanation of, first, why the delabialization after **u* under discussion sometimes applies and sometimes does not in cases where it might be expected and secondly, why there is so little data attesting delabialization after **u* in any one satem language, apart from Armenian (see Appendix).

Some other Vedic *o*-stems similarly resistant to delabialization are *ku-luñcá-* m. 'thief?' (with possible interference by the nasal) (EWAia 1 s.v. *kuluñcá-*); *mroká-* 'hiding', *nī-mróca-* 'setting'; *śóká-* 'glowing', *śóka-* m. 'glow, flame, pain, grief', *śúka-* m. 'parrot' (EWAia 2 s.vv. *MOC*, *ŚOC*, *śúka-*), and the agentive suffixes *-ūká-* (Macdonell 1910: 119f.).

§19 Another suffixal **o* that is thought to be of late introduction shows the same property. It is found in the nom. sg. of neuter *s*-stems (Schindler 1975 apud Szemerényi 1989: 184 n. 1; Beekes 1985: 158; Beekes 1995: 186). That this **o* also came too late to provide the environment required for delabialization after **u* is shown by the non-levelled preservation of the alternation between non-palatalized and palatalized reflexes of the backvelar in OAv. *s*-stem nom. sg. /*augah-*/ ‘strength’ beside instr. /*aujahā*/ (< **h₂eug₂-(o)s* : **h₂eug₂-es-*; see Beekes 1988: 72f.). Another nominative in the same category is Ved. *ókas-* n. ‘comfort, pleasure; home’ (EWAia 1 s.v.).

§20 We turn now to other Vedic material supporting our analysis of *rúśant-* above (§17). We begin with the fact that Mayrhofer (EWAia 1 s.v. *krúñc-*) encourages comparison of Ved. *krós-* ‘call (upon); shout’ and *krúñc-* ‘crane’, though he is also careful to warn that this does not necessarily imply parallel roots in PIE. But neither does it completely rule out a derivation along the lines suggested by *rúśant-*, the chief difference being that the forms with the palatovelar putatively derived by delabialization are not unique to a single adjectival paradigm but have spread to many derivatives of the root including pp. *-kruṣṭa-*, *o*-stems *krósa-* m. and *klósa-* m. ‘a cry, shout, call’. A factor in favour of this analysis is that all three of the Rigvedic attestations of the verb in which the palatovelar is preserved as such – based on EWAia (1 s.v. *KRÓŚ*), Macdonell (1910: 320–327) and the index volume to the Sontakke, Kashikar (1933–1951) edition of the *Rigveda* – are to be reconstructed with **o* following the palatovelar and all of them refer to a plurality of actors/agents.

The forms are: 3. pl. pres. ind. act. *krośanti* (4.38.5) and the participles act. nom. pl. *króśantas* ‘calling on, appealing to’ (10.94.4), mid. nom. pl. *saṃ-krośamānās* ‘shouting’ (4.18.6) (for theme vowel **o* in the latter see Meier-Brügger 2003: 186; Beekes 1995: 108). The contexts are as follows (the translations by Jamison, Brereton 2014 are preceded by my own in each case, unless there is no material difference).

RV 4.38.5a

utá smainaṃ vastramāthiṃ ná tāyúm ánu krośanti kṣitáyo bhāreṣu |

and indeed, as if he was a thief carrying off clothes from a dwelling, do they cry after him in battles.

Jamison, Brereton: “And the settled peoples shriek after him at his raidings as if after a thief who steals clothes”.

RV 10.94.3b-4

*vṛkṣāsya śákāṃ aruṇāsya bāpsatas té súbharvā vṛṣabhāḥ prēm arāviṣuḥ ||
brḥád vadanti madirēṇa mandínéndraṃ krósanto'vidann anā mādhu |
saṃrābhya dhírāḥ svāsr̥bhīr anartīsur āghośāyantaḥ pṛthivīm upadbīhiḥ ||*

Devouring the branch of the red-flowering tree, these bulls, feeding well, did indeed bellow. Greatly they praise Indra, crying out, by reason³⁸ of the exhilarating, intoxicating acacia:³⁹ indeed they have found mead. Taking hold of each other, they have danced (/they dance) skilfully with their sisters, making the earth resound.

Jamison, Brereton: "Gnawing at the branch of the reddish tree, the gluttonous bulls have bellowed out to it. They speak loftily by reason of the delighting delightful (soma). Shrieking to Indra, in this way they found the honey. (Fit) to be clasped by the sisters [=fingers], the clever ones have danced, making the earth heed with their trampling".

RV 4.18.5b-6

*áthód asthāt svayám átkam vásāna á ródasī apr̥ṇāj jáyamānaḥ ||
etā aršanty alalābhāvantīrtāvarīr iva saṃkrósamānāḥ |
etā ví pṛccha kīm idám bhananti kām āpo ádriṃ párimdhīm rujanti ||*

Then he himself (Indra) stood up wearing his armour and filled heaven and earth as he was born. And here they rush, sounding cheerfully, these waters, like holy ones, calling to each other.

Jamison, Brereton: "But he stood up on his own, clothing himself in a cloak. He filled the two world-halves as he was being born. [Indra:] These (waters) flow, babbling, like truthful women together shouting their witness".

The theme of plurality is continued in nom. pl. *krósanāsas* 'crying' (10.27.18), although the palatal here is nonprobative since the short first vowel of the suffix is unlikely to reflect *o in:

RV 10.27.17-18a

*pívānaṃ meśám apacanta vīrá nyuptā akṣá ánu dīvā āsan |
dvā dhānuṃ br̥hatīm aps/ú/ antāḥ pavitravantā carataḥ punántā ||
ví krośanāso víṣvañca āyan pácāti némo nahí pákṣad ardhāḥ |*

38 Cf. Macdonell's (1916: 306) translation of the instrumental in *sómasya pītyā ...ā gatam* (RV 1.46.13) "come hither for the sake of the soma draught".

39 Thus, in part, Monier-Williams (1899: 778c) for the RV, but in the same place there is also given the meaning, based on a lexicographical work, "a species of red-flowering

The heroes (presumably the approaching groups of seven, eight, nine and ten mentioned in stanza 15 less the one of the ten sent on a mission in stanza 16) cooked the fattened sheep, then dice were thrown down for gambling. Two go to the broad sandy shore, purifying with a cleansing instrument amid the waters. Calling out they went in all directions, one half of them may cook, the other half will surely not.

Jamison, Brereton: "The heroes cooked a fat ram; there were dice strewn down for gaming. Two roam the lofty steppe [=heaven?], provided with filters, purifying (soma?) in the waters. Shrieking, they went apart in opposite directions: one half will cook, for the other half does not cook".

The enduring plurals in the earlier texts make it a possibility that the verb at the earlier period chiefly signified a large sound such as would be typically made by many voices/individuals. Oddly enough there is also a solitary attestation of the cognate verb in Old Avestan, notably once again in the plural, viz. 3. pl. imperat. mid. *xraosəntəm upā* 'they should cry out together' (Pokorny 1959: 571; Beekes 1988: 215), a comparison of the desinence of which with Ion.-Att. 3. pl. imperat. act. *φερόντων* strongly suggests that the critical vowel after the palatovelar is once again *o.⁴⁰

If we can imagine that in PII the verb was used predominantly in 3. pl. forms having *o-initial desinences this would make it natural for the 3. pl. stem *kroś-* to be levelled at the expense of the putatively expected 3. sg. stem ***kroc-*.

These considerations are not contradicted by RV 6.46.13–14, where *klósam* signifies the presumably mighty call of the god Indra summoning his horses, nor by RV 10.28.4 where the animal's cry is referenced in nom. sg. *króṣṭā* (stem *króṣṭr̥* 'crier', i.e.) 'jackal', nor even by 3. sg. aor. *ákruṣat* (RV 10.146.4) translated by Jamison, Brereton: 'has shrieked'. The contexts are:

RV 6.46.13–14

yád indra sárge árvataś codáyāse mahādhané |
asamané ádhvani vrjiné pathí śyenām̐ iva śravasyatāḥ ||
sindhūmr̥ iva pravaṇā āsuyā yatô yádi klósam̐ ānu šváni |
ā yé váyo ná várvrtaty āmīṣi gr̥bhītā bāhvór gávi ||

Khadira", i.e. a kind of acacia: does this represent an attempt to elucidate this passage or just a curious coincidence?

- 40 Presumably the difference of diathesis is not against this comparison, cf. the somewhat ergatively based diathesis of the Hittite participle in *-ant-* < *-e/o-nt- as compared with other IE languages.

When, Indra, you impel the horses into racing into battle, On the uneven way and the tortuous path, like falcons eager for praise, Like rivers flowing swiftly down a slope, following the call whenever it may sound, they come wheeling like a flock of birds towards a lifeless body, held within the rein in both hands of the driver.

Jamison, Brereton: “When, Indra, at the charge, you will spur on your steeds at the (contest for) great stakes, on an uncrowded (race)course, on its twisting path, like falcons hunting fame. (The steeds) going swiftly like rivers in a torrent when (the chariot?) has sounded following their roar, who, like birds over raw flesh, keep circling (the racecourse), being held firm in the cow [=leather (reins)] in your two arms...”.

RV 10.28.4

*idám sú me jaritar á cikiddhi pratīpām śāpam nadyò vahanti |
lopāsāḥ siṃhām pratyāñcam atsāḥ kroṣṭā varāhām nírataкта kákṣāt ||*

Attend well to this for me, singer: the rivers carry their floating debris upstream, the fox steals up on the approaching lion, the jackal drives the wild boar from the underbrush.

Jamison, Brereton: “[Indra:] Mark well this (speech) of mine, singer: The rivers carry the flotsam against their current. The fox crept up on the lion, his opponent; the jackal sprang on the boar from out of the underbrush”.

RV 10.146.4

*gām aṅgāiśá ā hvayati dārv aṅgāiśo āpāvadhit |
vásann aranyānyām sâyām ákruṣad iti manyate ||*

One is calling his cow, another has split a log, In the evening a dweller in the wilderness imagines someone has cried out.

Jamison, Brereton: “Surely it’s someone calling his cow; surely another has been splitting wood. But staying by the Lady of the Wilderness at evening, one imagines ‘(Something) has shrieked!’”

We have to wait until the AV to find further non-plural forms of the verb in 3. sg./du. pres. imperat. act. *kroṣatu/kroṣatām* in which the critical theme vowel, judging by its brevity and the comparable Greek desinences *-έτω/-έτων*, is almost certainly *e; consequently, if our hypothesis is correct, the palatovelars reflected in these two forms must be of analogical origin.

A similar case of what we might call a typically plural stem form of a verb being levelled in favour of the singular can be glimpsed in the root *valg* with its non-palatalized root final already mentioned briefly above, though in this case the evidence is later and less plentiful. The oldest attestations are 3. pl. pres. indic.

valganti and 2. pl. impf. *ávalgata*, both in the AV and referring to waters in motion (these are confirmed as the only occurrences of the verb in the AV by Whitney 1881: 261a s.v. $\sqrt{\text{valg}}$); and they are followed in Vedic literature by three occurrences of the participle *valgant-* one in the VS and two (with preverbs *ā-* and *parā-*) in the TS all referring to the motion of a horse (Gotō 1987: 293). Since at least two scholars both differ – Monier-Williams (1899: 1114c) from other scholars and Macdonell (1910: 327) with himself (1916: 416) – in parsing *ávalgata* in the AV as 3. sg. middle, rather than 2. pl. impf., it is worth considering both AV contexts (here translations by Griffith 1895–1896 and Bloomfield 1897 are preceded by my own):

AV 12.3.29a

úd yodhanty abhí valganti taptāḥ phénam asyanti bahulāṃś ca bindūn |

The heated waters gallop, they leap up, they spurt up foam and a dense spray of droplets.

Griffith: “Heated, they rage and boil in agitation, they cast about their foam and countless bubbles”.

Bloomfield: “The boiling waters rise and sputter, cast up foam and many bubbles”.

AV 3.13.1–2a

yád adāḥ samprayatír áhāv anadatā haté |
tāsmād ā nadyò nāma stha tá vo námāni sindhavaḥ ||
yát prēsitā váruṇena āt śībhaṃ sam ávalgata |

Thus, when Ahi was slain, did you roar as you flowed forth together; from this you are roarers by name, these are your names, you rivers. Whence, being sent forth by Varuna did you then leap in quick motion together.

Griffith: “As ye, when Ahi had been slain, flowed forth together with a roar, So are ye called the Roaring Ones: this, O ye Rivers, is your name. As driven forth by Varuna ye swiftly urged your rolling waves”.

Bloomfield: “1. Because of yore, when the (cloud-) serpent was slain (by Indra), ye did rush forth and shout (anadatā), therefore is your name ‘shouters’ (nadyah ‘rivers’): that is your designation, ye streams! Because, when sent forth by Varuna, ye then quickly did bubble up”.

These confirm that the oldest attestations of Ved. *valg* are in the plural.

While it is possible that the different root finals of Ved. *krós-* ‘call (upon); shout’ and *krūñc-* ‘crane’ are simply the result of rival applications of onomatopoeia, it must be said that it seems curious that a root final palatovelar would be deliberately chosen for this purpose in the verb in this particular case.

Finally, it cannot be without interest that Pokorny (1959: 567–571), in his listing of the material to which Ved. *krok/kroś* belongs, indicates that such an alternation of his pre- and back-velar extensions is found only in this *u*-extended form of his minimalist root. In particular it does not occur among his velar extensions to either the bare root or the *i*-extended form.

§21 Acceptance of delabialization after **u* with subsequent spreading of the new palatovelar to the whole paradigm in Indo-Iranian makes formally possible a connection between Ved. *tósate* ‘push oneself along, shoot along, hurry, rush, stream, pour down’,⁴¹ *tośá-* ‘hurrying, pushing oneself along’, YAv. *tusa-* ‘N. of a charioteer warrior’ and the root **teuk₂*- found in Latv. *taucêt* ‘pound in a mortar’, OCS *tǫknǫti* ‘strike, wound’ etc., the semantic connection between ‘push’ and ‘strike’ being evident in NHG *stoßen* which covers both meanings.

Just why the delabialized tectal survived so readily in Vedic is impossible to say. Possibly the generally agreed semantic emphasis on hugeness and excess, whether kinetic or material, and the overwhelming association of derivatives of the root with the mighty god Indra, whether alone (RV 1.169.5, 8.15.11, 8.50.5, 8.54.8) or with his twin brother Agni (RV 3.12.4, 8.38.2) or in relation to Soma (RV 9.27.1, 9.45.2, 9.63.17–23), might point to a time when the verb was chiefly associated with plural subjects, as seems to have been the case with Ved. *valg-* and Ved. *kroś-* OAv, *xraos-*; but obviously there is no proof of this.

The meanings of Latv. *taucêt* ‘pound in a mortar’, OCS *tǫknǫti* ‘strike, wound’ etc. put one in mind of green shoots that are said to ‘strike’ – for a parallel semantic relationship cf. Goth. *plaqus* ‘tender’, epithet of a new branch just sprouting leaves : Gk. *πληγή* ‘a blow’ (Woodhouse 2000a: 146) – and this seemingly paves the way to a rapprochement with Ved. *tókman-* ‘green shoot of cereal plant’, *toká-* n. ‘offspring, children’, *túc-* f. ‘id.’, the root final of which is in harmony with the idea that this is a root noun (EWAia 1 s.v.), since such a noun would have few desinences commencing with **o* and thus little incentive for its root final to undergo delabialization to palatovelar after **u*. The phonetically, morphologically and semantically similar *túj-* f. = *túc-* (EWAia 1 s.v. *túc-*) seems to be linked by precisely the same semantics with the Vedic root *tuj/toj* ‘strike, push, urge, move quickly’; perhaps we have here evidence of a primordial split of a medial stop into voiced and voiceless varieties.

41 On the unviability of interpretations like ***‘satisfy; please’ in certain Vedic contexts see Mayrhofer (EWAia, 1 s.v. *TOŚ*).

§22 As indicated above (§10), using the conventions of EWAia Ved. *MOH* (traditional *muh*) ‘become confused’ is the other Vedic root exhibiting a mixture of prevelar and backvelar root finals, beside *ROC* (*ruc*), for which EWAia suggests, among other things, parallel roots in PIE. The question is somewhat bedevilled, in comparison with that of *rúsant-/ ROC*, by the fact that in Vedic no distinction is made between the voiced aspirated palatovelar of whatever origin and the corresponding palatalized voiced aspirated backvelar. Selected forms of interest are RV 3. pl. imperat. passive *múhyantu* ‘be bewildered, go astray etc.’, RV inf. *muhé* (< **mug^héi*, a root noun dative), pp. RV+ *mugdhá-* ‘confused’ and AV+ *mūdhá-* ‘id.’, AVP+ perf. *mumoha*, *o*-stems RV+ *mógha-* ‘false, fruitless’, AV+ *móha-* m. ‘bewilderment, folly’. The RV items pp. *mugdhá-* and *mógha-*, together with YAv. *o*-stem *ašəmaoya-* ‘false teacher’, are decisive for determining the original root final to have been a backvelar. The AV forms *mūdhá-* (certainly) and *móha-* (almost certainly) reflect root final palatovelar, as does, on the Iranian side, Khot. *mūys* ‘be foolish’.

The present study gives the rationale for the early establishment of forms which might have led to uncertainty in the minds of speakers of Proto-Indo-Iranian regarding the nature of the root final. Other Vedic roots in the same category must have been *DOGH* (traditional *duh*) ‘to milk’ and *DROGH* (traditional *druh*) ‘deceive’, under which we find in EWAia RV *dóha-* m. ‘milking’ and *abhi-drohá-* m. ‘betrayal, lie’, respectively. These have the same root final as AV *móha-* to which Mayrhofer (EWAia 2 s.v. *MOH*) draws special attention as an item suggesting post-RV analogical spreading of forms appearing to reflect root final palatovelar. In determining his root forms, Mayrhofer, ignoring the traditional forms, apparently – and correctly – took as decisive the pp. forms RV *dugdhá-* ‘milked dry’ and RV *drugdhá-* ‘deceptive, false’, together no doubt with Iranian forms reflecting root final backvelar, such as Shugni *ḍūy* ‘buttermilk’, Pashto *lway* ‘milking’ and OAv. *-drujiia* ‘betrayed, rendered invalid (a contract)’, respectively. The present study suggests that this would also have been the correct procedure in the case of *mugdhá-/mógha-*.

During the period of PIE with which this study is concerned any existing derivatives of these roots having **o*-initial desinences following the root final tectal will tend to have this root final changed by delabialization after **u* to the corresponding palatovelar. Paradigm coherence will then tend either to restore the original backvelar or to extend the new palatovelar to new forms in the paradigm. Later, under the “law of palatals”, the inverse process of palatalization before front vowel will reintroduce a similar (though in Iranian not an identical) palatal consonant as

the root final in a different set of derivatives in each root; and the corresponding processes of analogy will come into play again. The recorded results of all this activity are the *o*-stems *dóha-*, *abhi-drohá-* and *móha-* – all probably to be derived, in the light of AV *rocá-* ‘shining’, from the later ‘law of palatals’, and possibly as phonetic rather than analogical products. Here, too, belongs *mūdhá-*, which can only have arisen by analogy. The analogy may have arisen either through cognate forms created by the earlier process of delabialization, to which Khot. *mūys* no doubt offers direct testimony, or through the preponderance of other Vedic pp. in *-dhá-* (at least 9: *ūdhá-*, *gūdhá-*, *ṛḍhá-*, *dr̥dhá-*, *mīdhá-*, *rīdhá-*, *rūdhá-*, *vṛdhá-*, *sādhá-*) over those in *-gdhá-* (only 4: *dagdhá-*, *digdhá-*, *dugdhá-*, *drugdhá-*).

As for the *o*-stems RV *dógha-* ‘stream of milk’, *drógha-* ‘deceptive’, *mógha-* and YAv. *ašəmaoya-*, these either underwent the earlier delabialization after *u with subsequent cancellation of the effect of this by analogy with related forms or they shared the frequent plight of *o*-stems of having been generated after the end of the period under scrutiny in this paper (§§3, 18 above).

As to Mayrhofer’s chronology specifying that RV *mugdhá-* and *mógha-* were followed in time by AV *mūdhá-* and *móha-*, I suspect instead that the RV forms reflect a tradition that held the original forms reflecting the backvelar to be the more correct, a tradition that in the younger compilation showed signs of weakening in favour of the analogically derived forms. The ability to distinguish between forms derived phonetically from delabialization after *u and analogical creations is a virtue of the present study.⁴²

§23 It may be of interest that most of the attested Vedic material that is clearest about presenting no evidence for delabialization despite preceding *u nevertheless makes a positive contribution in that it generally consists of forms containing no, or not many, old labializing contexts.

A The material containing no such labializing contexts is

1. pres. *jóguve*, mid. ptpl. *jóguvāna-*, adj. gen. pl. *jóguvām* (EWAia 1 s.v. *GAVI*);
2. pres. *ucyasi*, pf. *uvócitha*, 3. sg. *uvóca* (*-k₂e), *ūcišé*, ptpl. *ūcúṣ* etc. (EWAia 1 s.v. *OC*);

42 The associated Baltic material Lith. *mùgšis* ‘a fidget, a fool’, Latv. *mudžināt* dial. *mudz-ināt* ‘mess up, entangle’ etc., whether related or not to the above Indo-Iranian material, clearly reflects nothing but backvelars, some, like *mudžināt*, with apparently affective palatalization superimposed.

3. pres. *muñcāmi* (assuming interference by the intervening nasal; otherwise see B3 below), pf. *mumucmāhe*, aor. *ámok*, *múkti-* f. etc. (EWAia 2 s.v. *MOC*);
4. *sūkará-* ‘wild boar’ < **suH-k-* ‘pig, sow’ (EWAia 2 s.v.; NIL: 684) with interference by laryngeal or late formation.

B Contexts conducive to labialization are found with the reflex of a levelled backvelar only in:

1. pres. *mlócanti*, ptpl. *ní-mrocant-* (EWAia 2 s.v. *MROC*);
2. pres. *śócanti*, ptpl. *śúcánt-* (EWAia 2 s.v. *ŚOC*);
3. possibly pres. *muñcāmi* if the nasal does not interfere (see item A3 above).

Something similar can be extracted from the fact that the Vedic phenomenon of plentiful roots with citation forms having palatalized backvelar final is matched in Old Avestan, which, unlike Vedic, has the advantage of automatically distinguishing the reflexes of all palatovelars from those of palatalized backvelars, not just the voiceless sets. The material is conveniently collected in the reverse index presented by Beekes (1988: 216f.) where we find the roots *hac*, *sac*, *vac*, *vanc*, *marc*, *mruc*, *suc*, *baj*, *vraj*, *arj*, *druj*, *yuj* opposed to *mang*, *drang*, *aug*, i.e. 12 items with palatalized backvelars vs. 3 with nonpalatalized. Of the latter group, *drang* and *mang* owe their final to the sibilant suffix of their sole attested forms (both desideratives) 2. pl. pres. ind. mid. *dīdrayǰō.duyē* /*didragžadvai*/ and nom. sg. *mimayǰō* /*mimagžah*/, respectively (Beekes 1988: 33, 43, 82, 189, 206, 230f.; 16, 75, 189, 209, 234). More interesting are the attested forms of *aug*: 1. sg. inj. mid. /*auji*/, 3. sg. *aogāda* /*augda*/, 1. pl. pres. ind. mid. /*augmadai*/, (analogical are 1. sg. pres. mid. ind. mid. /*aujai*/, subj. mid. /*aujāi*/, Beekes 1988: 16, 73, 156, 165, 227) in which the absence of delabialization to the palatovelar reflex **z* can be taken as demonstrating the absence of labialization of the root final backvelar when not in contact with following **o*.

§24 The cases of *rúsant-* and *krósant-* etc. dealt with above are sufficient, in my view, to establish the delabialization after **u* in the position before **o* certainly in Indo-Aryan and, by extension, Indo-Iranian. The extreme sparseness of the material suggests not only that much of the evidence that must have once existed has been lost through analogical restoration but also that the original evidence itself cannot have been particularly abundant. This is in keeping with the fact that *o*-stem nominals are so poorly represented among the data: both facts suggest that the process of delabialization to palatovelar was terminated relatively early. And this corresponds to early lapse of the labialization of the backvelars in the dialects ancestral to PII.

Mayrhofer's (1986: 104) examples of *KRH- > KŭR- beside KĩR-, e.g. Ved. *gurú-* 'heavy', *gūrtá-* 'welcome' beside *gĩr* gen. sg. *girás* 'song', probably indicate that there was some spreading of labialized and nonlabialized backvelars beyond their original environments as nonphonemic dialectal or idiolectal variants in dialects ancestral to PII, so the delabialization to palatovelar after *u was probably terminated by the eventual appearance of phonemic plain velars in these dialects. Mayrhofer's later rejection of the principle underlying this conclusion (n. 4 above) bears witness largely to the expected fact that the analogical spread of labialization and its converse would not be the same in all dialects; though the possibility of other factors interfering in a straightforward distribution of Vedic KŭR- and KĩR- segments need not be discounted.

The early date thus indicated for the appearance of phonemic plain velars in PII allows for a similarly early date for the general satem delabialization that evidently followed, no doubt soon after. This in turn is in keeping with the early date of the palatalization of velars before front vowels known as the "law of palatals" in these dialects, as is evidenced by Indo-Aryan material found in cuneiform texts of the 2nd millennium BCE, e.g., *pa-an-za-* '5' in the Indo-Aryan loan *pa-an-za-wa-ar-ta-na* 'for five laps of the course' in a Hittite text of c. 1200 BCE (Kammenhuber 1968: 204; EWAia 2 s.v. *pāñca*).

§25 In §18 above we briefly touched on some Vedic items illustrating delabialization of the non-agentive/diminutive suffix *-k₂o- to *-k₁o- when attached to *u*-stems, *babhlu-śá-* and *añku-śá-* beside *dūra-ká-*, *putra-ká-*. Naturally, examples of analogical spreading in both directions can be found as well, e.g. *babhru-ká-* 'brownish' (beside *bábhru-ka-* 'kind of mongoose') and *éta-śa-* 'variegated'. Two related versions of the suffix thus came into being and this may be responsible for the variation seen in **uol-k₂o-* 'bark of tree; leaf; fibre' beside **uol-k₁o-* 'shoot, branch, twig; hair' yielding the doublets Ved. *valká-* : *válśa-*, YAv. *varəka-* : *varəsa-*, SCr. *vlákno*, Russ. *voloknó* : SCr. *vlās*, Russ. *vólos* etc.

Debrunner (1954: 515–540; 919–921) treats the two variants of the suffix, both usually accented, as different suffixes, though is aware of Kuhn's description of the relationship between the two, and notes the widespread use of the diminutive and adjective-forming *-ko- (i.e. *-k₂o-) in other languages (pp. 539f., esp. 920f.) as opposed to the limited spread of *-kō- (i.e. *-k₁o-).

The difference in productivity of the two suffixes (/two forms of the suffix) can readily be seen in Lithuanian: Urbutis (1965: 265–269, §385) reports that in this language the diminutive suffix⁴³ reflecting backvelar -(i)uk-as, -ė, forms between

10% and 20% of all diminutives in the standard language, whereas *-uš-is*, *-ė*, with prevelar, is apparently found in only a handful of words – two are cited by Urbutis (1965: 277, §395), viz. *motùšė* (dial. *matùšė*) ‘mummy’, *tètùšis* (dial. *tatùšis tetùšis*) ‘daddy’, and two by Endzelin (1971: 121), viz. *brotušis* ‘brother’s son’ and the slightly different *vorùšis*, *-ė* ‘person temporarily weakened by illness’, the last said to be derived from *vōras* ‘elderly’ (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 1274; Smoczyński 2007: 767). Alongside these last, Urbutis (1965: 286) and Endzelin (1971: 121) cite *vagiùšas* with the rare suffix *-iuš-as*.

The reason for the greater spread of the backvelar variant is probably twofold. First, the prevelar variant appears naturally only after a final **u* of the base; any other final naturally leaves the backvelar intact. secondly, the natural feminine to these forms in non-Anatolian PIE has the suffix **-k₂eh₂-*, in which labialization does not occur naturally and therefore no delabialization to prevelar can be expected, hence, e.g., *dhénu-kā-* ‘cow’. In the ensuing battle of analogies, it is unsurprising that the already more numerous backvelar variant retains its numerical superiority.

Similar diminutive suffixes are found, certainly with backvelar, though somewhat rarely, in Latvian⁴⁴ – e.g. *večuks* ‘old man’, *maišuks* ‘little bag’, *dēļuks/dēļuks* ‘sonny’ – and in Old Prussian – *gaylux* ‘Hermelin’, *wosux* ‘Bock’, *mosuco* ‘Wiesel’. The corresponding prevelar variants have voiced palatalized sibilants in Latv. (dial.) (often pejorative) *Annuža* ‘Annie’ (PN), *likuža* ‘hump-backed woman’ and probably also in OPruss. *merguss* ‘maid’, *Darguse* PN (Endzelin 1944: 71, 78; 1971: 116, 120f.). The latter phenomenon is not unknown in Lithuanian as well, e.g. Lith. *mergùžė* and *tètùžis* beside *tètùšis*.

These suffixes with voiced sibilant may therefore stand in a similar relation to the Lithuanian variant suffixes *-ũgas/-ũgà*, e.g. *seniũgas/ seniũgà* ‘old man’, which can be matched in Old Indo-Aryan, e.g.: **-g^wo-* in RV *śr̥ṅga-* ‘horn’ to Gk. *κόρυμβος* ‘point’ beside Lat. *cornu* ‘horn’; RV *árbhaga-* ‘youthful’ beside RV *arbhaká-* ‘small’ (Debrunner 1954: 544f.).

43 Urbutis (1965) deals with 16 standard diminutive suffixes (§§383–398), 29 suffixes found in various dialects (§§400–429), and 31 rare suffixes for each of which only one example can be given (§430), as well as with one suffix found in ordinary foreign words (§431), and concatenated suffixes (up to six in *puodelaitukėlytėlis* [= *puod-el-ait-uk-ėl-yt-ėlis*?] ‘tiny little pot’) (§432) but the dialectal distribution of the suffixes treated here is largely ignored because it is unlikely to have been completely static through the millennia.

44 Latvian makes plentiful use of other diminutive suffixes but it is clear from Feldhūne (1959: 86–159, 224–290) that this language has nothing remotely similar to the Lithuanian abundance in this department.

If the analysis presented here of the origin of the PIE $*-k_1o-$ from $*-k_2o-$ attached to stems ending in $*u$ is correct, then it follows that these suffixes were created before the terminus recalled above, whereas o -stem nouns derived from roots ending in $*u + *K_2$ that do not reflect delabialization to prevelar after $*u$ can be suspected of being formed after the terminus. This is perhaps to be seen in the context of $*e$ and $*o$ being simply ablaut variants during the early period and thus not conducive to constituting a meaningful suffix in their own right, but only as an appendage to some other suffix such as the $*-k_1o-$ and $*-k_2o-$ under discussion.

It should perhaps be emphasized that the conclusions just presented follow from this study and are stated as such. In this capacity they do not require independent proof; but if independent confirmation of the correctness of these conclusions is forthcoming, then of course that will serve to confirm the correctness and/or usefulness of the present study.

§26 In addition to material relating to the suffixes just dealt with, Balto-Slavic presents a reasonable amount of other material attesting the delabialization to prevelar after $*u$, sometimes with differences of tone. Since some scholars regard differences of tone in Balto-Slavic as important the material below is, where appropriate, classified accordingly. Evidence for the delabialization to prevelar in each classification is put before the evidence for original backvelar. The material is further classified according to the language group(s) involved.

A Baltic and Slavic both contribute both kinds of reflexes in the following.

1. From P (394f.; 379f. for the nasalized forms); Derksen (2008 s.vv. $*gqz\bar{v}$, $*gy\bar{z}a$, where the two are explicitly linked):
 - a) with acute root: Lith. $g\acute{u}žis$ 'gizzard, breastbone, protuberance (on the nose) etc.', Latv. $g\ddot{u}ža$ 'haunch, hip', Slovene $g\acute{o}za$ 'buttock, backside', $g\acute{u}za$ 'hump, backside', perhaps Russ. dial. $g\acute{u}za$ 'wrinkle fold' vs. Lith. $g\grave{u}ngu$ $g\grave{u}ngti$ 'stoop, bend down', $g\grave{u}nga$ 'hump, ball, lump'; indeterminate tectal in Bulg. dial. $g\acute{i}za$ 'vine, stump of cut vine', Serb. $g\ddot{i}dža$ 'stump of vine';
 - b) with non-acute root: Lith. $g\ddot{u}žiù$ $g\ddot{u}žti$ 'roll up into a ball, land with wings outstretched', $gunž\ddot{y}s = g\ddot{u}ž\ddot{y}s$ 'crop, craw; Adam's apple; head of cabbage', $ga\ddot{u}ž\acute{e}$ 'head', $gužà$ 'heap', $g\ddot{u}žas$ 'knot, swelling, wen', Latv. $guzma$ 'heap, hump', SCr. $g\ddot{u}z$ m. 'buttock', $g\acute{u}za$ f.⁴⁵ 'behind', Pol. gqz 'bump, lump',

45 The correct and expected gender is given by Karadžić (1818 s.v.) and Ristić, Kangrga (1928 s.v.).

obsol. *gǫz* ‘tuber’ vs. Lith. *gaũgaras* ‘summit of a mountain’, *gugà* ‘growth, pommel, hump’;

- c) with indeterminate tone: Lith. *gũžė* / *gũžė* ‘head (of cabbage)’, Latv. *guza* / *gūza* ‘crop, craw’, OPruss. *gunsix* ‘swelling’, Pol. *guz* ‘swelling, bruise; large button’, *giza* / *giža* ‘head of shinbone’, vs. Russ. dial. *gúglja* ‘swelling, bump’, Pol. *guga* ‘id.’; indeterminate tectal in OCz. *hýžě* ‘hip, thigh’, Cz. *hýždě* ‘buttocks’, *hyže* ‘tip of shinbone’, ChSl. *gyža* (*vinŋnaja*) ‘(grape) vine’ (and, strictly speaking, in Pol. *giža*).

Suggested extra-Balto-Slavic correspondences are (i) MHG *kugel(e)*, NHG *Kugel*, NPers. *gūzak* ‘ankle’ (P: 394f.); (ii) Nlcel. *kjūka*, Norw. dial *kjuka* (P: 394; Fraenkel 1962–1965 s.v. *gugà*) (iii) OIcel. *kǫkkr* and Gk. γόγγυλος⁴⁶ < **gonǵ*- Derksen (2008 s.v. **gǫzǝ*; disputed by Beekes 2010 s.v.). The non-nasalized forms, such as Lith. *gužà*, *gūžas*, *gaũgaras*, *gugà*, Latv. *guza*, *guzma*, Pol. *guz*, *giza* / *giža*, OCz. *hýžě*, Cz. *hýždě* *hyže*, ChSl. *gyža*, show, however, that the root contains **u*; consequently not all the forms can be explained by Derksen’s OIcel. *kǫkkr* and Gk. γόγγυλος.

Derksen (2008 s.v. **gyža*) expresses puzzlement at the two axes of variation (i) in palatality of the root final and (ii) between acute (which he regards as basic) and non-acute. The first of these is of course the subject of the present study. Regarding the second: the Pokorny/Fraenkel connection with Nlcel. *kjūka*, Norw. dial *kjuka* agrees with Derksen’s view that the acute is original and results from Winter’s law. Cases of metatony in full grade forms like Lith. *gaũgaras* and *gaũžė* are explained by Derksen elsewhere (1996: 150–152; 128–143). The remainder can be explained by analogy with these or, more convincingly in my view, by the

46 Both these words can of course ultimately be products of the Thurneysen/Kortlandt nasal invasion discussed by me fairly recently (Woodhouse 2008: 18–20), which would render the PIE medial stop of indeterminate laryngeal setting, much as does the slightly different Kluge’s law in Germanic (for which cf. the similarly structured ON *lokkr*, Prokosch 1939: 70; de Vries 1977: 365 s.v. *lokkast*). With respect to this last citation it has been objected by my critic that *lokkast* is an error for *lokkask*, but s.v. *lokkast* is where the material will be found in de Vries’s book, where the word is accompanied by the note “spät bezeugt”; the same form is found in Zoëga (1910: 278) where the example “hárit lokkaðist ofan í herðar” reveals the same peculiarity; neither author – see de Vries 1977: XLVI; Zoëga 1910: VII – offers any correction for this; it is true of course that *lokkast* is also the citation form in New Icelandic, no doubt an offshoot of the process that by the 12th century had resulted in the reduction of the endings -*zk* and -*sk* to -*z* (Gordon 1957: 299).

relative chronology of formation of the nasalized stem vis-à-vis Winter's law (see Woodhouse 2015c).

Further on the etymological front: while Latv. *kuza* 'heap', *kuzma* 'hen's crop', with *k-, may seem to reinforce a view that we have here nothing more interesting than random variations on a single root, it is noteworthy that, as in the similar case of the Ved. root *kroś* (§20 above), the variation between prevelar and backvelar after *u found in this grouping of words is not found after *i or *l in Pokorný's (1959: 354 f.; 356; 357f.) otherwise similar word families based on *g₂ei-g₁^(h)/b^h/m/s- 'bend', *g₂ei-g₁/d- 'prick, bite, tickle' and *g₂el-g₁/t- 'form into a rounded object', which strongly suggests that the observed variation in the medial tectal is due to the *u, whether or not all the words belong in a single family (as I suspect they do).

We are therefore looking at a near-PIE origin for the forms, in which case, it is tempting to suppose that we have here not *g₂eu-g₂- but PIE *g^h₂eu-g₂- 'bend', either as a variant of *g^h₂eu-b^h- 'bend, move' (P: 450; LIV₂: 188 s.v. *g^(u)eu^b^h-) with different extension or a blend of the latter with PIE *b^heug^(h)- 'bend' (see P: 152f.; LIV₂: 85).

2. From P (847); Karulis (1992: 66of.); Fraenkel (1962–1965 s.v. *pūžas*); Kurschat (1968–1973: 2046); Shevelov (1964: 142); EWAia (2: 154):
 - a) with acute: Russ., Ukr. *púzo* 'belly',⁴⁷ vs. Latv. *pūga* 'wind gust', *paūgurs* 'hill', *paūga* 'bolster; bald head; bare hill; boll; pod' (with the East Latv. bitonal equivalent *pàuga*);⁴⁸ *paūgas* (pl., like the more usual word *sakas*) 'horse's collar';

47 This judgement is based on a combination of PIE root constraint theory, as explained below, with the acute identified by Kortlandt (1975a: 62) in the related Russ. dial. *pūzdro* 'belly, womb', SCr. *pūzdro* 'penis' etc. with *r*-suffix and epenthetic *d*; the adjective *puzátyj* seems not be against this since stress on the suffix of such adjectives is regular, cf. Russ., Ukr. *pátla*, pl. nom. *pátly* dat. *pátlam* (Vasmer, Trubačev 1986–1987 s.v.; Avanesov 1985 s.v. *pátly*) 'long straight locks of hair' : *patlátyj* 'having such locks', except where derivation from a form with *k*-suffix can be supposed, cf. Russ. *dymók* 'puff of smoke', *dýmka* 'haze' : *dýmčatyj* 'smoke-coloured' (a representative list of such adjectives given by Zaliznjak 1977: 432–435).

48 Vasmer, Trubačev (1986–1987 s.v. *pūga*/2 dial. 'round end of egg') give Latv. *pāuga* 'pillow, soft lining of a horse's collar' but since Derksen (1996: 141) does not list this as an example of a rare *métatonie douce* in Latvian I assume it is simply the East Latvian form. P cites the word without tonal marking probably because of the apparent discrepancy.

- b) with non-acute: Lith. *pūžas* ‘big-bellied person’, *pūžti pūžù* < *pužù* 3. sg. pres. *pūža* ‘become frail, etc.’ vs. Lith. *pūgà* (AP 4) ‘blizzard’;
- c) indeterminate tone (in the component of interest): only Ukr. *pu(ho)holó-vok* ‘tadpole’.

Suggested extra-Balto-Slavic connections include Skt. *pūga-* m. ‘multitude, mass, quantity, crowd’, *puñja-* m. ‘heap, mass, quantity, multitude’, unattested Skt. *puṅga-* ‘heap, collection, quantity’, though Mayrhofer (EWAia 2 s.v. *pūga-*) is not convinced, and connection of these with Gk. *πῶγῃ* ‘rump, backside’ is disputed by Beekes (2010 s.v.) on semantic grounds. The membership of Ved. *-pújāna-* ‘honoured etc.’, *pūjā-* f. ‘honour, worship, respect, reverence, veneration, homage’ is disputed on chronological grounds: allegedly *-pújāna-* should not be recorded earlier than *pūjā-* if the two are related (thus EWAia 2 s.v. *PŪJ*).⁴⁹

The isolation of these Balto-Slavic words thus proposed by more recent scholars relieves us of the necessity of accounting here for the laryngeal presupposed by the Old Indo-Aryan and Greek words and so simplifies our formal assessment.⁵⁰ If the group is nevertheless of PIE age then the PIE root constraints predict that the medial consonant should be the preglottalized media, meaning that the acute is due once again to Winter’s law and that the Lithuanian non-acute is therefore traceable to the assumed post-Winter date of the nasalized verb (see (1) above). Thus these words can represent a perfectly homogenous set.

49 One is here directed to the discussion in KEWA, but the nearest this comes to making a connection with this group is via the similarly isolated Russ. *pugat* ‘frighten’, for which other explanations are available (Vasmer, Trubačev 1986–1987 s.v.). And although a perhaps not very likely semantic connection can be made via ‘reverence, awe, fear, fright’, the present writer is quite happy to leave *pugat* out of the equation.

50 The lack of the laryngeal is not crucial, however. In Woodhouse (2015c) it is shown that the root final sequence *-NHC-*, where *H* is the quasi-laryngeal resulting from Winter’s law, yields acute, whereas the root final sequence *-HNC-*, with *H* of the same origin, does not. Adding an original laryngeal before the *-N-* will not change this, since in the first case the critical *-NHC-* sequence is retained, while in the second case this sequence will be absent and indeed if the combination of the two laryngeals results in a geminate about the time of Winter’s law, such geminate will almost certainly be simplified, yielding the same outcome as a root without original laryngeal.

B Only Slavic has evidence of delabialization to palatovelar after *u.

3. From LIV₂ (97); P (170):
 - a) acute: only metatonic Latv. *braūcūt* 'stroke', also *braūcīt* 'id.'; massage' (Derksen 1996: 311) both attesting late palatalization of the original backvelar before front vowels, the first analogically, the second phonetically;
 - b) non-acute (or indeterminate): Bulg. *brúsja* 'shake off, strike off', Cz. *broušiti* 'hone', SCr. *brūsim brūsiti* 'id.', SCr. *brūs* 'whetstone', OCS *ubrusъ* 'sweat rag', Russ. *brusníka* 'foxberry, red whortleberry', RuCS *brъsnuti* 'scrape, shave', Russ. *brosát' brósit'* 'throw; scutch/swingle (flax)', *brósnut'* 'ripple (flax)', *bros* 'refuse', Bulg. *brъsvam brъсна* 'wipe, sweep, brush', *brъсна* 'shave', OCS *sъ-brysati* 'scrape off' vs. Lith. *braukiù braukiaũ braũkti* 'wipe, stroke, move slowly', *brukù brukaũ brũkti* 'scutch/swingle (flax), squeeze in', Latv. *brāucu brāuču brāukt* 'go by transport', *brukt* 'collapse, crumble away, peel off', *brucināt* 'scald, rub off, sharpen/whet (scythe)', iter. Lith. *braukýti, brũkis* 'stripe, stroke', Latv. *brūce* 'scratch, graze, abrasion, scar', Lith. *brũknė, bruknis*, f., Latv. *brũklene* 'red whortleberry, red bilberry, cowberry, mountain cranberry'; Russ. dial. *brokát'* 'throw, throw off/away/back', *brukát'* 'strike, kick, butt, throw', SCr. *bŕknuti bŕknēm (bŕknuti -nēm)* 'seize; pass (one's hand/finger) lightly over (something); (regional) throw', *brũknuti* 'burst forth', Bulg. *brъkna* 'thrust one's hand(s) into'.
4. From LIV₂ (539); P (912f.); Schrijver (1991: 234); Vasmer, Trubačev (1986–1987: 725f.): all non-acute: OCS *sъsъ sъsati* 'suck' vs. Lith. *sunkiù, suñkti* 'squeeze (out), press (out)', Latv. *sūcu sūkt* 'suck', OPruss. *suge* 'rain'. OIcel. *súga*, NHG *sau-gen* 'suck' agree with Balto-Slavic and PIE medial *k₂; Lat. *sūgō*, OE *sūcan* 'id.' agree on PIE *g; OHG *sūfan*, Ved. *sūpa-* m. 'broth' agree on PIE *p: evidently the modification of a primordial root by various extensions is an attractive concept. This, in combination with the close semantic fit between Latvian and Slavic, makes the proposed alternative derivation of the Slavic congeners from *sup-s- 'sup, slurp' (e.g. Vasmer, Trubačev 1986–1987) seem highly implausible and unnecessary.
5. A chance discovery is Russ. dial. *lzastyj* 'false, mendacious' (Filin 1981: 38) < *lug₁^h- < *lug^{wh}- vs. Russ. *lgat'* 'tell lies' < *lug₂^h-. The delabialized form may suggest that the Slavic adjectival suffix -ast- reflects *-oHst-. There appears to be no Baltic evidence for delabialization to palatovelar after *u based on this root (see Fraenkel 1962–1965 and Smoczyński 2007 both s.v. *lūgōti* 'request').

C Some Baltic examples without representation in Slavic are the following.

6. From Kūmmel (LIV₂ s.v. **leug-*, n.1); P (686): all acute: Lith. *láužiu láužti* 'break (trans.)', Latv. *laūžu laūzt* 'id.', etc. Lith. *lūžtu lūžti* 'break (intrans.)', Latv. *lūstu lūst* 'id.' etc. vs. Ved. *logá-* 'clod of earth, lump of clay', *róga-* m. 'infirmity, illness' and YAv. *-uruxti-* in compounds meaning 'breaking, destruction'. The Baltic acute is once again due to Winter's law.
7. From P (828): OPruss. *peuse* f. 'pine tree', Lith. *pušis*, 'id.' vs. Thrac. (placename) *Πεύκη*, Illyr. (ethnicon) *Peucetii*: only the slender basis of one Thracian proper name (since Illyrian appears to be centum – Bednarczuk 1986: 476) points to an original backvelar; so this is not a strong example.

D Some other mixtures of reflexes are found in the following.

8. From P (100):
 - a) acute: only regularly metatonic Lith. *búožė* (AP 1, i.e. immobile) 'head of pin or nail' (Derksen 1996: 197–203, 210);
 - b) non-acute: Lith. *baūžas* 'hornless', *bužỹs* 'scarecrow', *būžỹs* 'bug, louse' vs. Latv. *bugarains* 'knobby', *buga* 'hornless cow', *budzis* 'swelling; unripe fruit'; Russ. *búxnut* 'swell' etc. are indeterminate (cf. P: 101) because Sl. *x* can derive from either **-g₂s-* or plain **-s-*.

It is curious that the Latvian data here all reflect backvelar, the Lithuanian all prevelar. Another instance of a similar distribution is

9. all acute: Lith. *áušti áušta áušo* 'become cold' **auž-* + *-sta-* < **h₂e/oug^w-* vs. Latv. *aūksts* 'cold', < **aug-* + *-sta-* **h₂e/oug₂-*, with acute due to Winter's law. For etymological support see §11 (10) above. For **K₁s* in Balto-Slavic cf. Lith. *ašis*, Latv. *ass*, OPruss. *assis*, CS *osb*, Russ. *os* beside Lat. *axis*, Gk. *ἄξων*, OHG *ahsa* (e.g. de Vaan 2008 s.v.). The causatives Lith. *áušyti* 'cool', Latv. *ausīt* 'id.' attest the delabialization in both languages.

Smoczyński (2007 s.v.) prefers to posit a root with medial **s* relying on the *rukí* rule and secondary acute, but admits this is not based on any etymology. For reasons unclear to me my critic prefers this unmotivated etymology with unexplained *k*-insertion in Latvian to the factually supported one adopted by myself and other scholars. Actually a connection between the two might be found if Av. *aota-* 'cold' (but not Ved. *o-mán-* for which this meaning is rejected in EWAia 1 s.v.) can be taken as authorizing identification of all the above with the basic root **h₂éuh₁-*/**h₂ueh₁-* 'blow; cool' with root extensions **s*, **g₂*, taking into account also the connection proposed by Fraenkel (1962–1965: 27) of the

above words with Lith. *vėsùs*, ELith. *vėsus*, Latv. *vēss* ‘cool’, Ved. *vāti* ‘blow’, Gk. *ἄημι* ‘id.’. The same root is also found in **h₂éuh₁-l- / *h₂uh₁-él- > *h₂éuh₁-el- > Gk. *ἄελ-λα* ‘storm wind’, Wel. *awel* ‘wind’ (cf. also Fraenkel 1962–1965: 1232; Matasović 2009: 47; pace Beekes 2010 s.v. *ἄελλα*),⁵¹ but since Smoczyński (2007) accepts no such connection, why should we?*

§27 We observe that among the above Balto-Slavic material evidencing delabialization of a backvelar to a prevelar are several *o*-stems viz.:

1. Baltic: Lith. *baũžas* (item 8), *gũžas* (item 1b), *láužas* (item 10), *pũžas* (item 2b);
2. Slavic: Pol. *guz* (item 1c), *gqz*, older *gqz* (both item 1b); Russ., Ukr. *púzo* (item 2a); OCS *ubrusъ*, loc. *ubrusě* (Luke 19:20 in Zog.; Mar.; Assem. fol. 68c:24f.), Russ. *broś*, SCr. *brūs* (all item 3b).

This suggests that the process of delabialization to palatovelar after *u continued to operate in the dialects ancestral to Baltic and Slavic up to a somewhat later date than it did in Indo-Iranian. This agrees with a relatively late date for the general satem delabialization in these dialects which is in harmony again with the general tardiness of a “law of palatals” style of palatalization in Balto-Slavic by comparison with Indo-Iranian (already present in cuneiform texts of the second millennium BCE): such an affricative palatalization is still absent from Lithuanian, never happened in Old Prussian, was extremely late in Latvian (13th century CE?⁵²), and relatively late in Slavic (5th–6th centuries CE, Shevelov 1964: 633).

On the other hand the similarly somewhat chaotic duality in the reflexes of syllabic resonants after tectals in Balto-Slavic (Stang 1966: 79;⁵³ Shevelov 1964: 87) points once again to the development of an opposition – no doubt a short-lived one – between plain velars and labiovelars in these dialects as well, so that once again it was the development of this opposition that put a stop to the delabialization to palatovelar after *u in Balto-Slavic.

51 It is not clear to me why Beekes (2010 s.v.), unlike Matasović (2009: 47), finds **h₁* impossible in the Celtic cognates.

52 Unfortunately, I do not remember the source of this putative date; Stang (1966: 102) has simply “im Urlett.”

53 Stang’s attempt to attribute semantic values of ‘heaviness, stupidity, laziness, etc.’ to the *u*-forms is probably a later adaptation; it is surely denied by Lith. *gulbė* ‘swan’ and no doubt other words as well.

§28 Historical grammars of Albanian, such as Mann (1977: 33–35), Demiraj (1997: 63–67), Orel (2000: 66–77) mention neither delabialization nor palatalization of velars by preceding **u*.

Orel (2000: 70), however, alleges depalatalization of palatovelar by a sonorant that is either simply present in the same word or adjacent to the palatovelar in Alb. *flugë* ‘shingle’ “... < IE **leuǵ-* > Skt. *rujāti* ‘break’”, but it is not clear whether “sonorant” here refers to PIE **l* or **u* or both, because vocalic **u* and **i* are not treated by Orel in the section on syllabic sonorants (Orel 2000: 41–45), though consonantal **u* and **i* are treated with other consonantal sonorants on pp. 45–60. More importantly, Orel’s assumption that he is necessarily dealing with an original palatovelar here is more than open to question – the present study (§§17, 26(6) and item (9) in this section below), like Kümmel (LIV₂ s.v. **leuǵ-*, n.1) and Mayrhofer (EWAia 2 s.v. *ROǵ*), has consistently regarded Ved. *rujāti* ‘break’, together with cognates *rugná*, *ruktvā*, *róga-* etc., as reflecting a non-palatovelar.

Of the sparse Albanian data I have otherwise collected for the problem, only one item exhibits a prevelar reflex and this corresponds generally to prevelar reflexes elsewhere or is of uncertain affiliation. It is:

1. *puṭh* ‘I kiss’, **I* embrace’ to Av. *pusā* f. ‘headband’ (< **puḱ-* ‘push together’) – it hardly matters that Demiraj (1997 s.v.) is against the usual connection with Gk. *πύκα* ‘fest, dicht’: the evidence cannot establish an original backvelar; and Lith. *bučiūoti*, *buč* (< **-t-*), Pol. *buzia* (< **-g₁-*) attest a variety of final consonants anyway (P: 103, 849).

It cannot be said that this item demonstrates any particular tendency towards delabialization of labiovelars after **u* in dialects ancestral to Albanian. That the opposite is most likely the case is demonstrated by the following Albanian material in which only backvelar reflexes are found:

2. *butë* < **b^huǵ^(h)-tó-* to Ved. *bhogá-* m. ‘winding of a snake; ring’, *bhugná-* ‘bent’, Skt. *bhujā* ‘winding, arm’, YAv. *aipiḍbaoya-* if ‘hinterher einbiegend’, Khot. *haṃ-buśdā* ‘bows, bends down’, Russ. *bgať* Ukr. *bháty* ‘bend’, Latv. *bauga*, *baūgurs* ‘hill’, Slavic points to **-g^h-* like Germanic (LIV₂: 85f.; P: 152f.; Demiraj 1997 s.v.).
3. *n-duk* ‘pluck, tear out hair’ to MPers. NPers. *dōxtan*, Ossetic *duc-/doc-* ‘milk’ with backvelar non- or de-labialized in Lat. *dūcō* ‘lead, conduct, draw, bring forward’ etc. < **deuk₂-* ‘pull’ (LIV₂: 124; EWAia 1: 748 s.v. *DOGH*; P: 22of.; Demiraj 1997 s.v.).
4. *agóĵ* ‘to dawn’, *agume* ‘dawn light’ to **h₂eug₂-/2* ‘glitter’ (P: 87), (so Demiraj 1997 s.v. *ag*), very likely > Sl. **(j)ŭg-* ‘south’ with acute by Winter’s law and backvelar.

5. *thek* 'toast (in the fire)' to Ved. *śucánt-*, pres. *śócanti* 'glow, burn', OAv. caus. *saocayaṭ*, etc. < **k₁euk₂*- (LIV₂: 331; P: 597; Demiraj 1997 s.v. *thék(ë)*).
6. *lēgatē* 'marsh', Illyr. *lugas* m. or *luga* f. 'marsh'. Demiraj (1997 s.v. *lēgatē*) connects *lēgatē* with Alb. *lag* 'make wet', which may or may not belong with Lith. *liūgas, lūgas* 'puddle, pool', Latv. river name *Ludze*, all attesting backvelar, as does also no doubt RuCS *luža* 'pool, puddle' (P: 686 s.v. **leug*-/2 'pool').
7. *regj* 'tan (hides), cure, pickle, preserve, marinate' to OLith. *raugmi*, Lith. *riáu-giu riáugeti, rūgiu rūgti* etc. 'belch, have acid reflux', *rūgstu rūgti* 'turn sour', *išrūgos* 'whey', *rūgys* 'peevisish person', *rūgštas* 'sour', *ráugas* 'ferment, leaven', NPers. *ā-rōy* 'belch', Latv. *atraugas* f. pl. 'belching', *atraugties* 'belch', *raudzēt* 'ferment, leaven', *rūkts* 'bitter', OPruss. *ructan dadan* 'sour milk', *raugus* 'rennet', OCS *rygajō sę* 'belch', all preserving backvelars, beside Gk. *ἐπεύγομαι*, Arm. *orcam* 'belch' with delabialization to prevelar (see Demiraj 1997 s.v.; LIV₂: 509; P: 871).

Two items with nasalized roots are prevented from reflecting palatovelar by the nasal according to different rules of depalatalization given by Demiraj (1997: 63f.) and Orel (2000: 70f.). They are:

8. *bungē* f. *bung*, *bungu* m. 'durmast oak' may belong with Ved. *bhunākti* 'give enjoyment', OAv. *būj-* f. 'atonement', Arm. *bucanem* 'nourish, feed', pret. *buci* etc. (LIV₂: 85 n. 4; Demiraj 1997 s.v. *bung*) or be related to Gk. *φηγός* 'oak having an edible acorn', Lat. *fāgus* 'beech' (not 'oak', pace Demiraj).
9. *lungē* 'abscess, boil, carbunkle; tumour': Demiraj (1997 s.v.) rejects several existing etymologies, including connections with Ved. *rōga-* m. 'infirmity, illness', Lith. *láužiu láužti* 'break (trans.)' etc. (P: 686; EWAia 2 s.v. *ROJ*) and advocates preference for an etymology based on Tosk *lēng*, Geg *lāng* 'liquid, juice', the final segment *-ungē* deriving from secondary attraction to Albanian synonyms with the same ending.

If it is in fact the case that delabialization after *u was completely foreign to dialects ancestral to Albanian, one possible reason for this is that the possibility of such a delabialization was eliminated early in those dialects, whether by early general satem elimination of labialized velars or the early rise of phonemic plain velars. Based on these two possibilities then there is thus theoretically either no possibility or every possibility, respectively, that present day Albanian reflects a phonemic difference between plain velars and labiovelars, as is still claimed in some relatively recent works, such as Demiraj (1997: 64f.) and Orel (2000: 66,

72–74, 77). A third possible conclusion is that the available Albanian data are insufficient to base any conclusions on apart from this one.

§29 Since Orel (2000: 66) invokes Luwian as a companion language to Albanian in the matter of attesting the three velar series of PIE, it seemed advisable to comb through the relevant sections of Melchert (1994 and 1993=2015)⁵⁴ in the hope of finding relevant material. The only relevant item found was CLuw. *duttariyata/i-* ‘daughter (vel sim.)’ in which the geminate probably represents a cluster of the non-affricated tectal, i.e. the backvelar media plus the dental tenuis. Of material that came to light potentially promising a different outcome, the following may be said: the meaning of *ihuzipas* appears to be unknown, *kattaluzzit* ‘threshold’ is a Hittite loan, and *zuzhit* ‘pitcher’ is probably a Hurrian loan.

It would appear that there is nothing to contradict the view that the backvelar in the Luwian ‘daughter’ word either underwent no change before being assimilated to the following dental or at the most yielded a plain velar before assimilation. Much the same applies to the HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* and Lycian *kbatra-* except that in these forms with full grade of the root the tectal was no longer in contact with **u*. Ultimately, in other words, in the present state of our knowledge, Luwian yields nothing useful for our problem.

§30 The ‘daughter’ word just adduced in probing Luwian possibilities in fact represents another revealing case differing from Ved. *rúśant-* in showcasing the expected preserved backvelar in OAv. *dugādar-*, MPers. *duxt(ar)* which accords with the expected lack of labialization of the tectal in the PIIr. protoform. In Ved. *duhit(ā)(r)-* < PIIr. **d^hug₂h₂t(é)r-* the backvelar was palatalized by *i* < **h₂*. By contrast, Ved. *mahí* ‘great’ < **meg₁h₂* (Gk. μέγας, Arm. *mec*), OAv. dat.sg. *mazōi* reflect an original prevelar, while Ved. *khidāti* ‘tear away’, in all probability < **k₂h₂id-*, reveals the inhibiting effect of intervening consonantal laryngeal on palatalization by PIE **i*, the voiceless onset having no doubt remained a cluster until after the “law of palatals” had done its work.

The medial cluster in OAv. *dugādar/dugdar-* is also the output of Bartholomae’s law in forms of the paradigm in which, as in OAv. */ptā/* beside */piθrai/* ‘father’, the vocalic reflex of the laryngeal did not materialize; it thus reflects the same

54 This is a digital file updated daily. Unfortunately, the version I have access to does not support searching for parts of words except in cases where the parts are separated by brackets.

laryngeal-induced aspiration as the Vedic cognate. It seems necessary to point this out because Beekes' (1988: 87) formulation "[i]n **dhugHtar-* the laryngeal voiced the following stop in Avestan" can hardly be correct in the light of **pHtar-* > nom. sg. /*ptā*/, not **/*bdā*/, and the usual conception that if any laryngeal causes voicing it is *h*₃, not *h*₂ (Woodhouse 2015a: 274–280).

§31 Evidence for delabialization to palatovelar after **u* in Thracian is sparse and hardly reliable. P's (84f.) equation of the first component of Thrac. *Αὐθί-παρος* (N. of a fort in mountainous Haemimontus) with Ved. *ugrá-* 'powerful', Lith. *áugu áugti* 'grow' etc., is echoed by Georgiev (1958: 119), who, however, limits his list of cognates to OLatv. *aukts*, Lith. *áukštas* 'high, tall', i.e. words containing *k*, not *g*, in order to preserve an evidently false comparison made two pages earlier (Georgiev 1958: 117) of Thrac. *Θιντ-*, allegedly PN of a priest's father, with Av. *spənta-*, Lith. *švėntas*, OCS *světъ* 'holy' < PIE **k₁(u)entos*. Georgiev's conclusion that PIE **k₁(u)-* > Thrac. *θ* is contradicted by Bednarczuk (1986: 478) who finds PIE **ek₁uos* 'horse' > -*esp-*, -*esb-*, -*ezb-* in Thracian names, together with several more instances of palatovelars yielding Thracian sibilants in other names, e.g. *Diuzenus* 'Diogenes', beside a number of cases where these expected reflexes are replaced by plain velars. The last group includes P's (828) Thrac. (placename) *Πεύκη* to Illyr. (ethnonym) *Peucetii*, OPruss. *peuse* f. 'pine tree', Lith. *pušis*, for which the hypothesis offered in this paper provides a straightforward explanation, provided the root final is reconstructed as **k₂* and not **k₁*.

On this basis, perhaps a connection of Thrac. *βριζα* 'emmer, rye' with Lith. *rugỹs*, Latv. *rudzis* 'grain of rye', ORuss. *рѣзь*, Russ. *рожь* etc. (Vasmer, Trubačev 1986–1987 s.v. *рожь*; P: 1183) can be accepted as an example of the delabialization if the resulting palatalovelar can be regarded as responsible for converting a preceding PIE **u* to *i*. *Diuzenus* is no counterexample to this because the preceding *u* is not PIE. This certainly provides a better semantic equation than does Duridanov (1969: 85) in linking *βριζα* with (surely secondary) Lith. *brýzas* 'strip of bacon or bacon fat'.

§32 Principal achievements and potential benefits of the study.

A Achievements:

1. Data demonstrating delabialization to palatovelar after **u* have been presented from Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic in support of the hypothesis of a hypothetical period of late PIE in which prevelars were opposed to

backvelars, the latter being allophonically labialized only in the position before **o*. These data are to some extent supplemented by the correlation found twice in Pokorny (1959) between the appearance of dual prevelar and backvelar root extensions after **u* and the non-appearance of this duality after other phonemes (see §§ 20, 26 above).

2. The Armenian data suggest that labialization spread to all backvelars in the ancestral dialects and remained in force in them into the post-dispersional period.
3. Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic data suggest that there was a relatively early demise of labialized backvelars in both – though earlier in Indo-Iranian than in Balto-Slavic. It was sufficient to shut down the delabialization to palatovelars in both groups, relatively early in Indo-Iranian and relatively late in Balto-Slavic, in both cases being roughly commensurate with the chronology of onset (or of lack of onset) of palatalization of velars before front vowels in the respective groups.

B Potential benefits of the study:

4. A straightforward account has been provided for the rise of labiovelars in PIE from their beginnings as mere allophones of the backvelars, an account that also allows for their disproportionately low representation in PIE.
5. Additional motivation has been provided for two species of gutturalwechsel, viz. the delabialization of labiovelars to palatovelars after **u* and the proposed common origin of PIE plain velars and labiovelars.
6. Detailed support has been provided for regarding the so called Armenian palatalization after **u* more simply and plausibly as a delabialization.
7. The above has been achieved without the positing of typologically unjustified systems, except in the case of pre-Armenian, for which, however, there seems to be no escaping the proposition that for a relatively lengthy period the principal tectal phonemes in the language were palatovelars and labiovelars, plain velars being tolerated only in onomatopoeic locutions.

§33 A note on relative chronology of key developments leading to the establishment of oppositions between the unaspirated, aspirated and (pre)glottalized stops as fundamental to the typological comparison of PIE with Athabaskan Hupa. Elsewhere (Woodhouse 2009: 109f.), I have argued that the phase of preglottalized consonants must have been preceded by the phase of assignment of PIE pitch accent as specified by Lubotsky (1988: 173f.), who shows that the aspirated and plain voiced stops have identical effects. Alternatively, pitch assignment may have

happened during an intermediate phase between the two phases of preglottalization. In Woodhouse (1995), I argue that the low to vanishing frequency of *b in PIE is not evidence that this putative PIE phoneme was a voiceless ejective (p'), as has been so often claimed or assumed, but that it was part of a plain voiced remnant of a shift of plain voiced stops to injectives. Thus given that typologically the injective 'b is the least marked (i.e. commonest) of the injective series, it may very well have left behind zero or near zero examples of nonglottalized *b.

We arrive at the following relative chronology for these developments:

1. Split of the original system of purely voiceless stops into a system of plain voiceless > fortis voiceless and lenis voiceless > plain voiced.
2. Earliest possible period of Lubotsky's pitch accent assignments.
3. First shift of plain voiced stops to preglottalized voiced possibly assisted by the presence of contiguous nasals (virtually universal for the labial slot, less so for the dental and guttural slots; hence the rarity to vanishing of PIE *b).
4. Preglottalized stops > aspirated stops (the typological authority for this development I take to be the – admittedly rare – sequences of implosive followed by breathy voice observed by Doke (1931: 91–95) in Central Shona.⁵⁵
5. Latest possible period of Lubotsky's pitch accent assignments.
6. Second shift of the remaining plain voiced stops to preglottalized voiced.

This results in the system of stops with a threeway contrasts between fortition, aspiration and preglottalization in which voicing is irrelevant.

55 Ca. 1998, an anonymous reviewer of a paper of mine containing an argument along these lines claimed that Doke's breathy voiced symbol indicated not breathy voice but simply pharyngalization of the vowel. Doke (1931: 91) actually specifies two "glottal fricatives", an unvoiced one resembling *h* in Eng. *hand* and a voiced one closely resembling *h* in Afrikaans *hand* "(hiant)", the Shona voiced sound being describable "as a strong throat-roughening of the vowel ... observable throughout the duration of the vowel. Vowels preceded by the letter *h* would be more correctly described as pharyngeal vowels with some roughening indication above them...". In other words, Doke specifies the "roughening" as something distinct from the pharyngalization of the vowel. Apart from that there is a relatively insignificant question of timing involved: since voiced aspiration involves heightened airflow through one section of the vocal folds while another section is producing voice it seems not particularly important at what precise point the breathy voice changes to plain voice: the vowel is still being carried, whereas with voiceless aspiration there is nothing much to carry the vowel until the voice cuts in.

Appendix: Incidence of delabialization after *u in Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic

1. List of roots containing *uK with one example of each outcome per root per subbranch where possible (roughly in alphabetic order)

The purpose of this list is to enable the making of general numerical assessments of the contribution of each the four principal satem subbranches of IE – Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Baltic and Slavonic – to the problem. Armenian, Albanian and Luwian data are not included because it is considered that these languages have been treated exhaustively in the relevant sections of the text (§§11, 28, 29, resp.). Only relatively secure data has been included. For each root (based on Pokorny 1959) is cited, wherever possible, one item from each principal subbranch attesting palatovelar and one attesting backvelar. Since in the nature of the case only one credible example attesting backvelar per root is required to establish that the original consonant was a backvelar, the list also includes cases where so far no such backvelar example has been discovered: the relevant tectal in these cases has been provisionally labelled prevelar. Otherwise all the relevant tectals are backvelars, as indicated.

1. *breuk₂- ‘spring’ (P: 103): Russ. *brykát* ‘kick with hindlegs’.
2. *buk₂- (onomat.) ‘roar; stammer’ (P: 97): Ved. *búk-kāra*- m. ‘roaring of a lion; cry of any animal’, Av. *bučahin*- ‘characterized by howling, hissing’, Lith. *bùkčius* ‘stammerer’, RuCS *bučati* ‘hum’.
3. *b^heug₂-/1 ‘flee, escape; remove, rescue, save oneself from’ (LIV₂: 84; P: 152): YAv. *baog*- ‘release, save (oneself)’, Lith. *búgstu búgau búgti* ‘take fright’.
4. *b^heug₂-/2 ‘be of use, enjoy’ (LIV₂: 84f.; P: 153): Ved. *bhōga*- ‘enjoyment, joy’, OAv. *būj*- f. ‘atonement’ : Khot. *ham-buśdā* ‘enjoys’ (LIV₂: 85 n. 4).
5. 5. *b^heug₂^(h)- ‘bend’ (LIV₂: 85f.; P: 152f.): Ved. *bhogá*- m. ‘winding of a snake; ring’, YAv. *aipiδbaoya*- if ‘hinterher einbiegend’, Latv. *bauga*, *baūgurs* ‘hill’, Russ. *bgat* ‘bend’ : Khot. *ham-buśdā* ‘bows, bends down’; Slavic points to *-g^h- like Germanic.
6. *b^hleuk₂- ‘go pale’ (LIV₂: 91; P: 160 ‘burn’): Lith. *blunkù blùkti* ‘fade, turn pale, lose colour’.
7. *b^hlēu-k₂o ‘shy’ (P: 159): Lith. *blúkštu -šti* ‘become slack’.
8. *b^hreuk₂- ‘streichen, streifen’ (LIV₂: 97; P: 170): Lith. *braukiù braukiaũ braũkti* ‘wipe, stroke, move slowly’, Russ. dial. *brokát* ‘throw, throw off/away/back’ : Bulg. *brúsja* ‘shake off, strike off’.

9. **b^hruH-k₂eh₂*: MPers. *brūg* 'brow' (NIL: 42).
10. **b^hǔg₁o-s* 'buck' (P: 174): Romani *buzni* 'goat', Av. *būza-* m. 'he-goat'.
11. **b^hug₂^h* 'big' (P: 100): Latv. *buga* 'hornless cow', possibly *-g₂s- in Russ. *búxnut* 'swell' etc., though P (101) has Sl. *x* < *(u)s: Lith. *baūžas* 'hornless'.
12. **d^heug₂^h* 'bring forth, produce' (LIV₂: 148f.; P: 271): Ved. RV pres., *dughāná-* 'milking', Pers. *dōy*, *dōxtān*, Lith. *daũg* 'much', Russ. *dúžij* 'strong'. (Ved. *duhé*, *duhré* 'give milk' indeterminate).
13. **d^heuk₂* 'fan flames, kindle?' (P: 265): Lith. *dūkis* 'raving, rage'.
14. **d^hreug₂^h/1* 'deceive' (LIV₂: 157; P: 276): Ved. pp. *drugdhá-*, OAv. *a-drujyañt* 'not deceiving'. (Ved. *druh-* 'damaging' indeterminate).
15. **d^hreug₂^h/2* 'be a follower' (LIV₂: 157; P: 255): Lith. *draũgas* 'companion, friend', OCS *drugъ* 'id.'.
16. **d^hreug₂^h/3* 'tremble, shake' (P: 275): Lith. *drugỹs* 'fever; butterfly', Pol. *drgać*, *drgnąć* 'tremble, quake'.
17. **d^hug₂h₂tér-* 'daughter' (NIL: 126): Ved. *duhit(á)(r)-*, OAv. *dugəd(a)(r)-*, OPruss. *duckti*, OCS *dъšti*.
18. **g₁neug₂-* (P: 372 has *gn-eu-g̃-*, ie. *g₂neug₁-*): Lith. *žniáuhti žniáugiu* 'throttle, muzzle, lace up, press together': Lith. *gniáužti gniáužiu* 'squeeze, clutch, press, suppress'. Since the relationship of the two sets has generally been explained as metathesis (see P: 372; Karulis 1992 s.v. *žņaugt*; Smoczyński 2007: 191), the suggestion implicit in their inclusion here that it can also be accounted for by ordinary phonological processes should, according to my critic, be explained in more detail, as follows. The variation in the root anlaut is of the same nature as the familiar one between Lith. *klausyti* 'listen' and OCS *slušati* 'id.', and between OCS *kloniti* 'incline, bend, bow [bau]', *klětb* 'cell' and Russ. *pri-sloniti* 'lean (sth. against sth.)', Lith. *šliėti* 'id.', *šlitė* 'stook' etc. (cf. Meillet 1894: 298; Kortlandt 1978: 240). The variation in the root auslaut is due to the familiar conditioned sound change that lies at the heart of this paper and is the raison d'être of this list. Both these changes evidently led to paradigm splitting and may have produced at some stage as many as four separate paradigms – or eight if *ni*/**n* variation is included as well. The reason why only two of the four – or eight – theoretically possible outcomes have been preserved can only be guessed at: one possibility is that both kinds of consonant present in the apparently dissimilated outcomes – a stop and a sibilant – were found to be onomatopoeically satisfying (perhaps representing the hardness of the squeezer and the softness of the thing being squeezed), cf. Eng. *squeeze*, *squash*, *crush*, *press*.

19. **g₂eu-* ‘call’ (EWAia 1 s.v. *GAVI*): Ved. redupl. pres. *jóguve*.
20. **g₂eug₂^h-* (P: 379f., 394f.): Lith. *gùngu gùngti* ‘stoop, bend down’, Russ. dial. *gúglja* ‘swelling, bump’: Lith. *gúžis* ‘gizzard, breastbone, protuberance (on the nose) etc.’, Pol. *gqz* ‘bump, lump’.
21. **g₂reuHg₁^h-* (P: 485f.): Lith. *gráužiu gráužti* ‘gnaw’, OCS *gryzō*.
22. **g_{1/2}reug₁^h-* (P: 461f.): Lith. *gružótas* ‘rough, uneven’, Pol. *gruz* ‘rubble’. (Initial can be **g^h-* with palatal feature inhibited by **r*).
23. **g₂^heug^h-* ‘hide’ (LIV₂: 199; P: 450): OAv. *gūzra-* ‘hidden, secret’, Lith. *gūžti* ‘protect, wrap up warm’. (Ved. 2. sg. aor. *guhas* indeterminate).
24. **h₁euk₂-* ‘learn, get accustomed’ (LIV₂: 244; P: 347): Ved. *ókas-* n. ‘comfort, pleasure, house, home’, GAv. *an-aocah-* ‘inimical’, Lith. *jùnkstu jùnkti* ‘learn, become accustomed’, OCS *učiti* ‘teach’.
25. **h₂eug₂-*/1 ‘become strong’ (LIV₂: 274; P: 84f.): Ved. *ugrá-* ‘powerful’ = OAv. *ugra-*, OLith. *augtis* ‘growth, increase’. (Indeterminate Ved. *vāja-* m. ‘strength/power, wealth, prize, race’ – P: 85; NIL: 328f.).
26. **h₂eug₂-*/2 ‘glitter’ (P: 87): very likely Sl. *(j)ùg- ‘south’.
27. **h₂eug₂-* ‘cold’ (P: 783): Latv. *aūksts* ‘cold’: Lith. *áušti* ‘become cold’.
28. **h₂teug₂-* ‘push; move quickly; spread terror’ (LIV₂: 286): Ved. *túgvani* loc. sg. ‘at the ford’(?), OCS *tāštati (se)* ‘press, hurry trans./ (intrans.)’. (Indeterminate Ved. *tujyáte* ‘be moved to fear/panic’).
29. **h₃reuk₂-* ‘dig out, pluck out’ (LIV₂: 307; P: 869f.): Ved. *ku-luñcá-* ‘thief’ (< *‘evil plucker’ vel sim.), Lith. *raukiù raũkti* ‘wrinkle’.
30. **ieug₁H-* ‘become restless’ (LIV₂: 315; P: 512): YAv. *yaozaiti* ‘become disturbed/confused’.
31. **ieug₂-* ‘yoke’ (LIV₂: 31; P: 508-10): Ved. *yóga-* m. ‘yoking’, OAv. *yaogaṭ, yūjānō* ‘harness’, Lith. *jūngiu jūngti* ‘yoke/harness to’, OCS *igo* ‘yoke’.
32. **kreuk₂-* ‘cry; crane’ (P: 571): Ved. *krúñc-* m. ‘crane’, Lith. *kraũkti* ‘croak, caw’, Pol. *kruk* ‘raven’: RV *króśant-* (EWAia 1 s.v. *KROŠ*), OAv. *xraosantqm upā* ‘they should cry out together’. Initial *kr-* could conceal both palatovelar and labiovelar.
33. *(s)*kreuk₂-* ‘turn, bend’ (P: 938): Skt. Lex. *kruñcati* ‘bend’, Lith. *kriáuklė* ‘sea-shell’.
34. **k₁euk₂-*/1 ‘shine, glow’ (LIV₂: 331; P: 597): Ved. aor. *asúcat* ‘burst into flame’, OAv. caus. *saocayaṭ*.
35. **k₁euk₂-*/2 ‘shout’ (LIV₂: 331; P: 536): Ved. *śúka-* m. ‘parrot’, Lith. *šaukiù šaũkti* ‘shout’, **k₁ũk₂ti-* > Russ. *syč* ‘little owl’.
36. **k₁ue(n)k₂-* ‘bend up or down’ (LIV₂: 340; P: 629): Ved. *śvánācate* ‘open’, Lith. *šùkė* ‘chipped spot; splinter, fragment’, Sl. **sěčety* > Polab. *sacēt* ‘brush, bristle’.

37. **k₂eug₂*- (P: 589): Lith. *káugė* 'haystack'.
38. **k₂euk₂*- (quasi P: 535f.): Lith. *kaukiù kaũkti* 'howl (wind, wolf, dog)'.
39. **k₂euk₂*- 'bend' (LIV₂: 359; P: 589): Ved. *ut-kucant*- 'bending', MPers. *n-gwč*- 'bowing, making an obeisance'. Lith. *kukulỹs* 'dumpling', RuCS *kukonosz* 'hook-nosed'.
40. **k₂leuk₂*- (P: 605): OCS *ključb* 'hook, key'.
41. **k₂neug₂*- (P: 608): Lith. *kniaũkti* 'miaow'.
42. **k₂uk₂u*- (P: 627): Lith. *kukúoti* 'make the call of the cuckoo', Serb. *kùkavica* 'cuckoo (bird)'.
43. *(*s*)*leuk₂*- / *(*s*)*leug₂*-/2 'swallow', **leuk/g*- 'throat, gullet' (LIV₂: 568; P: 655, 964): Lith. *pa-laũkis* 'dewlap of cattle', Belarus. *lkac* 'swallow, drink'.
44. **leug₂*-/1 'break, loosen' (LIV₂: 415; P: 686): Ved. pp. *rugná-*, *rugná-* 'break, smash'break', Av. -*uruxti-* 'breaking, destruction': LKhot. *rauštā*, Lith. *láužiù láužti* 'break (trans.)'.
45. **leug₂*-/2 'pool' (P: 686): Lith. *liũgas*, *lũgas* 'puddle, pool'. (Strictly speaking, indeterminate RuCS *luža* 'pool, puddle' but most likely with backvelar).
46. *(*s*)*leug₂*- 'slack' (P: 962): Lith. *slũgstu slũgau slũgti* 'subside, abate, sink, go down, become smaller'.
47. **leug₂*^h- 'tell a lie or lies' (LIV₂: 417; P: 686f.): Lith. *lũgnas* 'supple, flattering', OCS *lžq lžgati* 'tell lies': Russ. dial. *lzastyj* 'false, mendacious'.
48. **leuk₂*- 'be bright' (LIV₂: 418; P: 687-9): Ved. *rúc-* f. 'lustre', YAv. *raocint-* 'shining', Lith. *laũkas* 'having a white spot on forehead; the open air, the out of doors; field', OCS *luča* 'ray of light': Ved. *rúsant-* 'brilliant, shining, bright, white': Khot. 3. sg. *rruštā*, 3. pl. *rrusindā* 'shine'.⁵⁶
49. **meuk₂*- 'untie, release' (LIV₂: 443; P: 744): Ved. pres. *muñcāti* 'release', Lith. *munkù mùkti* 'run away', OCS *pro-məknōti* 'spread (intrans.)'.
50. *(*s*)*meuk₂*- 'slide, glide' (LIV₂: 571; P: 744f.): Lith. *smaukiù smaũkti* 'make slide; roll up (sleeves); put on (cap)', Cz. *smeknouti* 'slip off (e.g. a hat)'.
51. **mreuk₂*- 'set (of the sun), disappear', (EWAia 2 s.v. MROC): RV *ápa-mlukta-* 'hidden', OAv. *mraocqs-* 'slipping'.
52. **mug₂*^h- 'confusion' (EWAia 2 s.v. MOH): RV+ *mugdhá-* 'stupefied, unconscious, bewildered, perplexed, mistaken', YAv. *ašəmaoya-* 'false teacher': AV+ *mũdhá-*,

56 The temptation to add here the family of Russ. *lýsyj* 'bare, bald' and the 'lynx' word, Lith. *lũšis*, etc., and to separate PIE **lh₁euk₂*- 'look, see', is here resisted because of the controversial nature of these suggestions.

- Khot. *mūys-* ‘be false’. (Indeterminate AV+ *móha-* m. ‘loss of consciousness, bewilderment, perplexity, delusion, error, folly’).
53. **mūk₂-* ‘roar’ (P: 751): OCS *mykǫ* ‘id.’.
54. **neuk₂-*/1 (P: 767): OCS *njukati*, *nukati* ‘encourage’.
55. **neuk₂-*/2 ‘dark, obscure’ (P: 768): Lith. *apsiniáukti* ‘cloud over, become gloomy’.
56. **peug₂-* ‘inflate, swell’ (P: 847; Karulis 1992: 66of.; Shevelov 1964: 142): Latv. *pūga* ‘wind gust’, Ukr. *pu(ho)holóvok* ‘tadpole’: Lith. *pūžas* ‘big-bellied person’, Russ., Ukr. *púzo* ‘belly’. (Probably not related Ved. *-pūjāna-* ‘honoured etc.’, EWAia 2 s.v. *PŪj*).
57. **peug₂^(h)-* ‘absolute, simple, utter, plain’ (P: 843): Cz. *pouhý* ‘id.’.
58. **peuk₂-*/1 ‘pant’ (LIV₂: 481; P: 847): NPers. *pūk* ‘blowing to get a fire going’, Lith. *pūkščiu* *pūkšti* ‘pant’.⁵⁷
59. **peuk₂-*/3 ‘stab, box’ (P: 828): (cf. Thrac. placename *Πεύκη* for backvelar): OPruss. *peuse* f. ‘pine tree’, Lith. *pušis*.
60. **pleuk₂-* ‘swim, fly; feather, hair, fluff’ (LIV₂: 488; P: 837): P has two separate roots, Lith. *plūksna*, *plūksna*, older *plūksna* f. ‘feather’ belongs to both: (1) OIcel. *fljúga* ‘fly’ etc., Lith. *plaukiù* *plaūkti* ‘swim’, (2) Lith. *plaukas* pl. *-kaì* ‘single hair’, Latv. *plūcu* *plūkt* ‘pluck’.
61. **preug₂-* ‘spring’ (P: 846): Russ. *prýgat* *prýgnut* ‘leap, spring’.
62. **puk₁-* ‘push together’ (P: 849): Av. *pusā* f. ‘headband’.
63. **reug₂-* ‘belch, vomit’ (LIV₂: 509; P: 871): NPers. *ā-rōy*, Lith. *riáugiu* *riáugeti*, *rúgiu* *rúgti* etc. ‘belch, have acid reflux’, OCS *rygajō* sę ‘belch’.
64. **reug₂^h-m(e)n-* ‘cream’ (P: 874): Av. *raoyna-* ‘butter’.
65. **seuk₂-*/1 ‘turn, wind’ (LIV₂: 540; P: 914): Lith. *sunkalai* ‘whey’, ChSl. *suče sčakati* ‘twist, spin’. (Indeterminate Osset. *xurx* ‘whey’ < PIIr. **sukra-* ‘easily turned’, which can attest loss of palatal feature before *r* + back vowel).
66. **seuk₂-*/2 ‘suck’ (LIV₂: 539; P: 912f.): Lith. *sunkiù*, *suñkti* ‘squeeze (out), press (out)’ : OCS *sęsq* *sęsati* ‘suck’.
- *(s)kreuk₂-* see under K.

57 P (849) **peuk₂-*/2 ‘hairy’ could come in here alphabetically but none of the satem data quoted authorizes a root final tectal: everything can be done with **s*, cf. Ved. *púccha-* m. ‘tail, rod’ < **pu-ske/o-* (for the Vedic development see Woodhouse 2014b: §§27–37), Lith. *paustis* ‘animal hair’, Russ. *pux*, Pol. *puch* ‘fluff, down’, Russ. *pušístyj* ‘fluffy’, LSorb. *wo-puš* ‘tail’ < **pe/ou-so-*, Cz. obsol. *o-pyš* ‘spur (of a hill)’, Russ. *pyšnyj* ‘splendid, luxuriant; light, fluffy’ < **pū-si-* etc.

67. **suH-k₂*- ‘pig, sow’ (P: 1038; NIL: 684): Ved. *sūkarā*- ‘wild boar’, MPers., NPers. *xūg* ‘pig’.
 *(s)*leug₂*-, *(s)*leuk₁*-, *(s)*leug₁*-, *(s)*leuk₂*-, *(s)*leug₂*- see under L.
68. **sloug₂*- ‘help, serve’ (P: 965): Lith. Žem. *slaugaũ slaugýti* ‘support, help’, OCS *sluga* m. ‘servant’.
 *(s)*meug₂*^(h)-, *(s)*meuk₂*- see under M.
69. **spreug₂/k₂*- (P: 995): Latv. *spruga, spruŅga* ‘clamp’, *sprukt* ‘escape’.
70. **streug₂*- ‘stroke, wipe off’ (LIV₂: 605; P: 1029): Latv. *strūgains* ‘striped’, OCS *stružq strōgati* ‘flog, flay’.
71. **steug₂*- ‘cold; hate’ (LIV₂: 602; P: 1032f.): OLith. *stauginėti* ‘walk stiffly, unsteadily’, Russ. *stúgnut* ‘freeze (intrans.)’.
- **teug₂*- see 28 **h₂teug₂*-.
 72. *(s)*teuk₂*- ‘push, hit; knock’ (see §21 above): Ved. *tókman*- ‘striking green shoot’, YAv. *taoxman*- ‘shoot, seed’, Latv. *taucēt* ‘pound in a mortar’, OCS *tōknqti* ‘strike’ (LIV₂: 640; P: 1032) : Ved. *tósate* ‘push oneself along, hurry’, YAv. *tusa*- ‘N. of a charioteer warrior’ (EWAia 1 s.v. *TOŠ*).
73. **treuk₂*- ‘cut off’ (P: 1074): Lith. *trūk-stu, -au, -ti* ‘tear, break’.
74. **urug₂^hio*- ‘rye’ (P: 1183): Lith. *rugỹs* ‘grain of rye’, ORuss. *rōžb* ‘rye’.
75. [Suffix] **-k₂o*-/ **-k₂eh₂*- (§25 above), e.g. Ved. *val-kā*- ‘bark of tree’, YAv. *varə-ka*- ‘leaf’, Russ. *voló-k-nó* ‘fibre, filament’, Lith. *-(i)uk-as, -(i)uk-ė*, forming between 10% and 20% of all diminutives in Standard Lithuanian : Ved. *vál-ša*- ‘shoot, branch, twig’, YAv. *varə-sa*- ‘hair’, Russ. *vólo-s* ‘(single) hair’, Lith. *motù-šė* ‘mummy’.
76. (s)*uk₁s* ‘6’ (P: 1044; Viredaz 1997: 112–135): Ved. *śás*- (nom. *śát*, instr. *śád-bhis*, cf. *vís*- ‘settlement’: nom. sg. *vít*, instr. pl. *víd-bhis*, Macdonell 1916), YAv. *xšuuas*, OPruss. *uschts* ‘sixth’, OCS *šestb* ‘6’.

2. Index to and numerical summary of the data by language groups

The quantity of items in each category is shown first in brackets; then, after a colon, follow the actual numbers assigned to each root in the list.

Indo-Aryan

Only backvelar reflexes (20): 2, 4, 5, 12, 14, 19, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 44, 49, 51, 67.

Only prevelar reflexes (2): 10, 76.

Both kinds of reflexes (4): 32, 48, 72, 75.

Indeterminate (7):

(a) due to voiced tectal (7): 12, 14, 17, 23, 25, 28, 52.

(b) inadequate data (o)

Iranian

Only backvelar reflexes (17): 2, 3, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 24, 25, 31, 34, 39, 51, 58, 63, 64, 67.

Only prevelar reflexes (8): 4, 5, 10, 23, 30, 32, 62, 76.

Both kinds of reflexes (5): 44, 48, 52, 72, 75.

Indeterminate (1): 65.

Baltic

Only backvelar reflexes (40): 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 55, 58, 60, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74.

Only prevelar reflexes (6): 21, 22, 23, 44, 59, 76.

Both kinds of reflexes (6): 11, 18, 20, 27, 56, 75.

Slavic

Only backvelar reflexes (30): 2, 5, 12, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57, 61, 63, 65, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74.

Only prevelar reflexes (4): 21, 22, 66, 76.

Both kinds of reflexes (6): 8, 20, 47, 48, 56, 75.

Indeterminate (2): 11, 45.

3. Summary of numerical results

Reflex \ Branch of IE	Indo-Aryan	Iranian	Baltic	Slavic
Only backvelar	20	17	40	30
Only prevelar	2	8	6	4
Both kinds of tectals	4	5	6	6
(Indeterminate)	(7)	(1)	o	2
Relevant total	26	30	52	40
Only backvelar [% avg.]	77%	56.5%	77%	75%
Only prevelar [% avg.]	8%	26.5%	11.5%	10%
Both kinds [% avg.]	15%	17%	11.5%	15%



Abbreviations, Textual and Bibliographical

AP	accentual paradigm	NIL	see Wodtko et al. (2008)
AV	Atharvaveda, -ic	P	see Pokorny (1959)
AVP	AV, Paippalāda recension	RV	Rigveda, -ic
EWAia	see Mayrhofer (1992–2001)	TS	Taittiriya-Saṃhitā
KEWA	see Mayrhofer (1956–1980)	VS	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā
LIV ₂	see Kümmel, Rix (2001)		

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INTERROGATIVE IN CHUVASH

Similar to other languages of the world, Turkic languages have two types of interrogative sentences with regard to function: general interrogative sentences and interrogative sentences for obtaining specific information.

As is known, Chuvash belongs to the Oguric group of the Turkic languages. The ancestors of the Chuvash separated from the main Turkic group more than one and a half millennium ago. Therefore, Chuvash has retained some archaic features not preserved in other Turkic languages. This paper compares the formation of interrogative sentences in Chuvash and Common Turkic, and draws attention to the similarities and differences between them.

Chuvash, interrogation, particles, syntax, prosody

Introduction

Interrogative sentences are universal structures at least to the extent that they are used to obtain information. Similar to other languages of the world, the Turkic languages have two types of interrogative sentences with regard to function: (1) general interrogative sentences, which require yes/no responses and (2) interrogative sentences formed by interrogative words for obtaining special information (*wh*-questions). Interrogative words are typically related to indefinite pronouns and relative pronouns.

When a question is asked, languages around the world (including Turkic) generally use the following means: intonation (prosody), morphology (a special interrogative morpheme like an affix or a particle), and syntax. Although all of these modes of expression are available in any given language, some languages only utilize one of them for interrogatives.

The interrogative in Chuvash

As is known, Chuvash belongs to the Oguric group of the Turkic languages and is mostly spoken in the Chuvash Autonomous Republic, Russia. The ancestors of the Chuvash separated from the main Turkic group more than one and a half millennium ago. Therefore, Chuvash has retained some archaic features not preserved in other Turkic languages.

Interrogative structures in Chuvash have some characteristics not found in Common Turkic. In Chuvash, interrogative sentences are essentially expressed morphologically; in other words, specific morphemes, affixes, and interrogative words are used in interrogative sentences. Moreover, as a result of contact with the Russian language, Chuvash employs a special intonation. This paper compares the formation of interrogative sentences in Chuvash and Common Turkic, and draws attention to the similarities and differences between them.

1. Interrogative sentences formed with interrogative words

The interrogative particles used in Chuvash are of Turkic origin, except *měň*. In this section, interrogative words in Chuvash are analyzed in terms of their structure and syntax.

Regarding morphology/etymology

The pronoun *ne* and its derivatives, which are used for the formation of interrogative sentences with special purposes in Common Turkic, are not used in Chuvash. In Chuvash, instead of *ne*, the interrogative word *měň* and its derivatives are used:

měňle 'how' < *měň-le*
miše 'how many' < **minçe* < **min-çe*
měsker 'how' < *měň-sker*
měňšěň 'why' < *min üçün*, etc.

The etymology of the interrogative word *měň* is unknown. Räsänen (1957: 41) believes that this pronoun is clearly related to Finnish *mi-ke* 'ne', Benzing (1959: 736) compares *měň* with the interrogative element *mi* in Turkish, whereas Levitskaya (1976: 35) assumes that it may result from a mixture of the structures of the Common Turkic pronoun *nV* and the Finno-Ugric pronoun *mV*.

Aside from *měň* and its derivatives, other commonly used interrogative words to be explained by reference to their etymon in Turkic are as follows:

kam ‘who’ = Common Turkic *kim*. The vowel *a* shows us that the archaic phonological structure of the word in Old Turkic is *kem*, rather than *kim*.
xăş(ě) ‘which’ < *xăş(ě)* < *kayu-si*
xăśan ‘when’ = *kaçan*
ăšta ‘where’ < *kaysı-da* < *kayu-sı-da*

Regarding syntax

Similarly to Common Turkic, when no constituent is marked in Chuvash, the basic word order is as follows:

subject / adverb / object / indirect object / predicate

- (1) *Asamăś karçăk xalě yala kilet’.*
 magician woman now village-DAT come-PRES-3
 The magician woman is now coming to the village.

Interrogative sentences with interrogative words in Chuvash are also used for obtaining specific information on any topic. In interrogative sentences, the interrogative word that is suitable for the unit that is being inquired about is placed in a position of focus before the predicate. Chuvash is no different from the other Turkic languages in this respect:

- (2) *Asamăś karçăk xalě měň tăvat’?*
 magician woman now what make-PRES-3SG
 What is the magician woman doing now?
Asamăś karçăk xalě yala kilet’.
 magician woman now village-DAT come-PRES-3SG
 The magician woman is now coming to the village.
- (3) *Asamăś karçăk yala xăśan kilet’?*
 magician woman village-DAT when come-PRES-3SG
 When is the magician woman coming to the village?
Asamăś karçăk yala xalě kilet’.
 magician woman village-DAT now come-PRES-3SG
 The magician woman is coming to the village now.

- (4) *Asamăś karčăk xalě āšta kilet'?*
 magician woman now where come-PRES-3SG
 Where is the magician woman coming now?
Asamăś karčăk xalě yala kilet'.
 magician woman now village-DAT come-PRES-3SG
 The magician woman is coming to the village now.
- (5) *Xalě yala kam kilet'?*
 now village-DAT who come-PRES-3SG
 Now who is coming to the village?
Xalě yala asamăś karčăk kilet'.
 now village-DAT magician woman come-PRES-3SG
 The magician woman is now coming to the village.

Depending on the context, giving brief answers in this interrogative style is possible, as in Common Turkic:

- (6) *Asamăś karčăk yala xăšan kilet'?*
 magician woman village-DAT when come-PRES-3SG
 When is the magician woman coming to the village?
Xalě.
 now
 Now.
- (7) *Xalě yala kam kilet'?*
 now village-DAT who come-PRES-3SG
 Now who is coming to the village?
Asamăś karčăk.
 magician woman
 The magician woman.

Interrogative sentences that are formed with inflected forms of interrogative words are no different from those formed in Common Turkic:

- (8) *Man xěr pekki kamăn pur?*
 I-GEN daughter like.POSTP who.GEN existing
 Whose girl is like mine? (Yılmaz 2006: 41)
- (9) *Kama pürně un pek xěr?*
 Who-GEN give-PERF she-GEN like.POSTP daughter
 To whom is given such a girl? (Yılmaz 2006: 41)

2. Interrogative sentences formed with interrogative particles

Regarding the formation of yes/no questions, Chuvash uses other morphemes and syntactic structures than Common Turkic. In this section, the interrogative particles used in Chuvash are handled with regard to their formal, etymological, functional and syntactic features.

Regarding morphology/etymology

There are four interrogative particles in Chuvash: *-i*, *-im*, *-şı*, *-şim*.

The etymon of the affix *-i*, which can be compared with the interrogative particle *mi* in Common Turkic in terms of function, is not clear. Levitskaya (1976: 123) states that the development of *i* < *ăy* < *ıy* is possible, and she compares it with the interrogative particles in Bashkir dialects (*măñăy* < *mă-nă-y*) and in Yakut (*-niy/-niy*, *-ıy/-ıy*).

Räsänen (1957: 251) is not sure but suggests that the affix *-şı* comes from *-*şı*, *-sin*.

-im and *-şim* can be considered as mixed structures with the interrogative word *měn*: *-i* + *měn* = *-im* and *-şı* + *měn* = *-şim* (cf. Levitskaya 1976: 123).

Regarding function

There are minute differences between the functions of the aforementioned affixes. The affix *-i* marks general interrogative sentences, and it is least modally charged. In the affixes *-im*, *-şı*, *-şim*, the interrogative meaning is accompanied by heavy modal overtones such as suspicion, possibility, surprise, sadness, disbelief, and desire for confirmation.

-i

General interrogative sentences marked with this affix in Chuvash require yes/no answers and typically do not express modality:

- (10) *Văl xulana kaynă-i?*
 he city-DAT go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 Did he/she go to that city?
- (11) *Anne, manăn ta atte tavrănat'-i?*
 mom, I-GEN TA.PART daddy come.back-PRES.3SG-Q.PART
 Mom, will my daddy come back too? (Yılmaz 2002: 34)

However, it can be seen below that a structure formed with *-i* may have a modal meaning.

- (12) *Për kurnă çux tărsa kalaś-ar-i?*
 anytime see-NĂ.PTCP POSTP stop-SA.CONV talk-VOL.1PL-Q.PART
 When I see you, do we stop and talk? (Andreyeva 2009: 34)

-şi

Interrogative sentences marked with the affix *-şi* always additionally express meanings such as possibility, dilemma, surprise, suspicion, and desire for confirmation, and others. This affix carries more polite connotations when compared with the affix *-i*.

- (13) *Sërten iytma yurat'-şi?*
 you-ABL ask-MA.PTCP be suitable-PRES.3SG-Q.PART
 May I ask you a question?
- (14) *Văl xulana kaynă-şi?!*
 he city-DAT go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 Did he/she go to the city?
- (15) *Mënşën manăn kămăla Tumarăn-şi atteşëm?*
 Why I-GEN heart-DAT make.happy-NEG-PAST.2SG-Q.PART daddy-DIM-POSS.1SG
 Why didn't you become reconciled with me, daddy? (Yılmaz 2006: 91)

The interrogative particle *-şi* can have various functions when used together with interrogative words. For instance, in people's interior monologue:

- (16) *Ăsta kurnă-şi epě ăna?*
 where see-PERF.1SG-Q.PART I he-DAT
 Where did I see him/her? (Andreyeva 2009: 33)
- (17) *Yeple sana manăp-şi?*
 how you-DAT believe-PRES.1SG-Q.PART
 How can I believe you? (Yılmaz 2006: 46)

Or in utterances expressing exaggeration:

- (18) *Kam kăna şuk-şi kunta!*
 who DIM not.exist-Q.PART here
 Everybody is here! (Andreyeva 2009: 33)

-im

With this affix, generally, surprise, dilemma, and contemplation are expressed in addition to the interrogative mood:

- (19) *Văl xulana kaynă-im?!*
 he city-DAT go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 Did he/she indeed go to the city?!
- (20) *Narspi, Narspi esě-im?!*
 Narspi, Narspi you-Q.PART
 Narspi, Narspi is that you?! (Yılmaz 2006: 85)
- (21) *Kaççu itla vată-im?*
 man-POSS.2SG too old-Q.PART

Parnü itla saxal-im?
 wedding.present-POSS.2SG too little-Q.PART
 Is your fiancé too old?
 Is the value of the wedding present too low? (Yılmaz 2006: 46)

-şim

The affix -şim can express surprise, dilemma, desire for confirmation, and disbelief, in addition to interrogation:

- (22) *Văl xulana kaynă-şim?!*
 he city-DAT go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 He/she didn't go to the city, did he?!
- (23) *Çěre çăanax pělçě-şim?!*
 heart truth know-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 (Oh no, but) did the heart know the truth?! (Yılmaz 2006: 57)
- (24) *Ak tamaşa! Těřěs-şim?!*
 INTERJ unfortunately real-Q.PART
 What a pity! Is that real? (Yılmaz 2006: 58)
- (25) *Şaplax vara, Narspişem,*
 that-ABL after.POSTP Narspi-DIM-POSS.1SG

Şuk-şim manăn ărăskalăm?
 not exist-Q.PART I-GEN happiness-POSS.1SG

Şaplax sana yut šěre,
 so you-DAT remote country-DAT

İlse kayě-şim usal?
 take-SA.CONV go-FUT.3SG-Q.PART enemy

From now on dear Narspi,
 There is my happiness, isn't there?
 Does the enemy take you
 and go to a foreign land? (Yılmaz 2006: 44)

Regarding syntax

The interrogative particles are mostly located to the right of the predicate. When the focus is placed before the predicate, the location of the interrogative particle changes in Common Turkic; however, the interrogative particle is not placed before the predicate in Chuvash:

- (26) *Văl xulana xalě kaynä-i?*
 he city-DAT now go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 Has he/she gone to the city **now**?

Văl xulana xalě kaynä.
 he city-DAT now go-PERF.3SG
 He/she has gone to the city **now**.

- (27) *Văl xalě xulana kaynä-i?*
 he now city-DAT go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 Has he/she gone **to the city** now?

Văl xalě xulana kaynä.
 he now city-DAT go-PERF.3SG
 He/she has gone **to the city** now.

- (28) *Xalě xulana văl kaynä-i?*
 now city-DAT he go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART
 Has **he/she** gone to the city now?

Xalě xulana văl kaynä.
 now city-DAT he go-PERF.3SG
He/she has gone to the city now.

The following word order is not possible in Chuvash: **Văl xulana xalě-i kaynä?*

When the focus is on the predicate, the predicate occupies the position at the beginning of the sentence:

- (29) *Kaynă-i vāl xalě xulana?*
 go-PERF.3SG-Q.PART he now city-DAT
 Has he/she **gone** to the city now?

Kaynă vāl xalě xulana.
 go-PERF.3SG he now city-DAT
 He/she has gone to the city now.

However, in shortened interrogative sentences, when the predicate is dropped, another word can carry the interrogative particle:

- (30) *Itti šërte te nikamran yulmast'.*
 other country-LOC PART nobody remain-NEG-PRES.3SG
 There is nobody in other places, either. (Andreyeva 2009: 31)
- (31) *Kolya šeś-i vara?*
 Kolya only so
 Is Kolya **only such**? (Andreyeva 2009: 31)

3. Interrogative sentences marked with interrogative words combined with interrogative particles

In the formation of interrogative sentences, interrogative words and interrogative particles can be used together in Chuvash unlike in most of the Turkic languages:

- (32) *Yeple sana manăp-ši?*
 How you-DAT believe-PRES.1SG-Q.PART
 How can I believe you? (Yılmaz 2006: 46)
- (33) *Ăšta kaysa kĕrer-ši?*
 Where go-SA.CONV enter-VOL.1PL-Q.PART
 Where do we go? (Ceylan 1995: 217)
- (34) *Mĕnşĕn manăn kămăla Tumarăn-ši atteşĕm?*
 Why I-GEN heart-DAT make.happy-NEG-PAST.2SG-Q.PART daddy-DIM-POSS.1SG
 Why didn't you become reconciled with me, daddy? (Yılmaz 2006: 91)

However, these forms can also perform a modal function, and generally it would be more suitable for them to be translated to Turkish with the conjunction *ki*.

This construction can be seen in other Turkic languages such as Yakut:

İti ürexse tuox bult baar-ıy?
 it river-LOC what.kind catch exist-Q.PART
 What kind of game is there in that river?

Börö xannık kul-ıy?
 wolf what kind wild animal-Q.PART (Krueger 1962: 185).
 How is the wolf a wild animal?

4. Interrogative sentences formed with interrogative particles accompanied by modality markers

In Chuvash, such modality markers as *ara*, *vara*, *şav*, *şak* ‘OK, well, really’, *ěntě* ‘that means’, *-xa* (intensifier), and other affixes can be placed after interrogative particles. They express different shades of meaning:

(35) *Esě povestka ilmen-i vara?*
 you agenda take-NEG-PAST.2SG-Q.PART so
 You took the agenda, didn’t you? (Andreyeva 2009: 31)

(36) *Těrěsex astāvātāp-i-xa?*
 correctly remember-PRES.1SG-Q.PART-INT
 Do I remember right?

(37) *Narspi kilte-i şav?*
 Narspi house-LOC-Q.PART so
 Is Narspi at home, so?

5. Expressing the interrogative mood by means of suprasegmental features

As a result of the influence of Russian in Chuvash, the expression of a question by means of intonation is becoming widespread. Let us observe the following sentence wherein some modal expressions are found:

(38) *Ten, şak şul-yěre suylassa ilse epě yănăş tună.*
 perhaps this way-DAT choose-SA.CONV take-SA.CONV I wrong behave-PERF.1SG
 (Andreyeva 2009: 34)

This sentence can be interpreted as “Maybe I made a mistake by choosing this way” or “Did I make a mistake by choosing this way?”. The speaker’s dilemma is expressed

here with the modality marker *ten* ‘maybe, perhaps’, and the question is expressed with intonation. As can be seen in this example, in sentences where the question is expressed by means of intonation, modality markers are frequently encountered.

6. Stylistic use of interrogative sentences

Answer with a positive interrogative

As well as in Common Turkic, in Chuvash, too, despite the use of interrogative particles and interrogative words, interrogative sentences need not express interrogation. In other words, interrogative sentences may have the function of rhetorical questions:

- (39) *Měn pur-ši śin purnăśěŋçen xaklă tēŋçere?*
 what existing-Q.PART human life-POSS.3SG-PRONOM-ABL worthy world-LOC
 Is there anything more valuable than human life in the world? [Nothing.]
 (Andreyeva 2009: 33)
- (40) *Ăšta kaysa kērer-ši?*
 where go-SA.CONV enter-VOL.1PL-Q.PART
 Where could we go? [There is nowhere we can go!] (Ceylan 1995: 217)
- (41) *Měsker tuma pēler-ši?*
 what do-MA.PTCP POSTVB.ABIL-VOL.1PL-Q.PART
 What can we do? [There is nothing we can do.] (Ceylan 1995: 217)

Answer with a negative interrogative

Morphologically and semantically, an interrogative sentence can contain a negative; however, this does not mean that the implication of such a sentence is negative. The selection of a positive or negative form is only a stylistic decision on the part of the speaker. When the predicate is in the negative form, the interrogative sentence acquires more polite overtones and/or expresses dilemma, suspicion, offer, permission, and desire for confirmation.

- (42) *Epě iră sun-ma-ră-m-i āna?*
 I bless-NEG-PAST.ISG-Q.PART he-DAT
 Didn't I do him/her a favor? (Andreyeva 2009: 32)
- (43) *Puřmak śuk-i xērēměn?*
 shoe not exist-Q.PART daughter-POSS.ISG-GEN

šüret-i *väl tenkěšěr?*
 walk-PRES.3SG-Q.PART she without jewellery

Doesn't my girl have shoes?

Doesn't she walk around without jewellery? (Yılmaz 2006: 41)

- (44) *Xirti* *sară* *çeçeke*
 prairie-POSS.ADJEC yellow flower-DAT

Ăşă *kuşpa* *kam păxmě?*
 friendly eye-POST who look-NEG-FUT.3SG

Who doesn't look at the yellow flower in the country with loving eyes? (Yılmaz 2006: 40)

The interrogative in volitional sentences

When the interrogative particle *-i* is used after a verb in the volitional mood, the sentence does not express the interrogative meaning (Andrejev 2004: 30):

- (45) *At'är* *uttarar-i* *te* *çuptarar-i*
 let's go walk-VOL.1PL-Q.PART CONJ run-VOL.1PL-Q.PART

Şulsem *şinçe* *şur* *yur* *pur* *çuxne*
 road-PL POSTP white snow existing time

At'är *ěşer* *şier* *te* *vılyar-* *kular-i*
 let's go drink-VOL.1PL eat-VOL.1PL CONJ play-VOL.1PL laugh-VOL.1PL-Q.PART

Şamrăk *puşra* *sıvlăxsem* *pur* *çuxne*
 young head-LOC health-PL existing time

Come on, walk, run

When there is white snow on the road

Come on, drink, eat, play, smile

When you are healthy (folk song, Andrejev 2004: 32)

Conclusion

Interrogative sentences with interrogative words in Chuvash are also used for obtaining specific information on any topic. In interrogative sentences, the interrogative word that is appropriate for the unit that is being questioned is placed in a position of focus before the predicate. Chuvash is no different from the other Turkic languages in this respect. Similarly, interrogative sentences that are formed with inflected forms of interrogative words are no different from those formed in Common Turkic.

However, regarding the formation of yes/no questions, Chuvash uses other morphemes and syntactic structures than Common Turkic. There are four interrogative particles in Chuvash: *-i*, *-im*, *-şı*, *-şim* and there are minute differences between their functions.

Interrogative particles are mostly located to the right of the predicate. When the focus is placed before the predicate, the location of the interrogative particle changes in common Turkic; however, the interrogative particle is not placed before the predicate in Chuvash. When the focus is on the predicate, the predicate occupies the position at the beginning of the sentence.

In the formation of interrogative sentences, interrogative words and interrogative particles can be used together in Chuvash, unlike in most of the Turkic languages. However, these forms may also perform a modal function, and it would be generally more suitable for them to be translated into Turkish with the conjunction *ki*.

With the influence of Russian in Chuvash, the expression of a question by means of emphasis becomes widespread.

As well as in Common Turkic, in Chuvash, too, despite the use of interrogative particles and interrogative words, interrogative sentences need not express interrogation. In other words, an interrogative sentence may stylistically function as an answer.

There may be negative predicates in interrogative sentences with regards to morphological and semantic aspects; however, this does not show that the meaning of these sentences is negative. To select a positive or negative form is only stylistic.

When *-i* interrogative particle is used after the verbs in the volitional mood, the sentence does not express interrogative meaning.

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EINE HANDVOLL ALTUIGURISCHER HANDWÖRTER

In this paper a number of Old Uigur words pertaining to the semantic field of hand are discussed according to their use and forms: *aya*, *adut*, *avut*, *avuč*, **aduč*.
Special attention is laid on the difference between *avurt* and *avuč*.

Old Uigur, etymology

Was ich hier als eine kleine Gabe darbringe, sind keine richtigen Etymologien, die dem Jubilar, Freund und Kollegen am liebsten wären, allenfalls ein paar Bausteine zum Verständnis altuigurischer Wörter, die mit einem Teilbereich der Körperglieder zu tun haben. Es soll hier nicht um die Grundwörter für die Hand, deren Belege in sehr großer Zahl vorliegen und eine größere Untersuchung erfordern würden, gehen, sondern um Begriffe, die im semantischen Umfeld von Hand liegen.

Ein Blick in die Wörterbücher des Osmanischen/Türkeitürkischen offenbart, daß es zur Benennung der Handfläche mehrere Wörter mit türkischem Hintergrund gibt: *aya* und *avuç*, aber auch einige fremden Ursprungs: *apaz/hapaz* (Eren 1999: 14a), *koşam*.¹ Das Altuigurische kann mit dieser Vielfalt durchaus konkurrieren, wie die folgenden Notizen zeigen mögen.



1 *koşam* “İki elin yan yana gelmesiyle oluşan avuç: Beş koşam fasulye aldım” (TDK; vgl. Steuerwald 1972: 552b).

1. *aya*

Das Wort *aya* “Hand”, “Handfläche”, “Handvoll” (UW 289a-290a; ED 267a; Dybo 2013: 307–309) ist in vielen, aber nicht in allen Türksprachen belegt. Wie G. Clauson festhält, sind in einigen Sprachen auch Entlehnungen aus mong. *alakan* oder aus ar./np. *kaff* in Gebrauch (ED 267a). Im “Uigurischen Wörterbuch” hat K. Röhrborn die bisherigen Belege umfassend untersucht und teils neu bewertet. So ist die Bedeutung “Klapper” nur so zu erklären, daß man mit den Handflächen ein rhythmisches Geräusch erzeugt.

Die ausdrucksstarke Redewendung *ayadaki yenčü mončuk tög* “wie eine Perlenkette in der Hand” (UW 290a) in der Erzählung “Kalyāṇakaṃkara und Pāpaṃkara” (KP) wurde vor kurzem zum Gegenstand eines Aufsatzes gemacht. Die Schreibung des medialen -y- in *ayadaki* ist etwas auffällig, daß man geneigt sein könnte, -v- zu lesen². Dies hat M.M. Tulum (2015: 359–370) dazu bewogen, nach einer Erklärung zu suchen, die einer solchen Schreibung Rechnung trägt. Dazu muß er allerdings, wenn er die Lesung *avad[a]nqı* vorschlägt, eine weitere Änderung in die ansonsten eindeutige Schreibung einbringen: ein zusätzliches Alif. Das ist in anderen Fällen bisweilen kein Problem, hier aber nicht passend, denn es handelt sich wohl doch um das komplexe Suffix {DAKI}, nicht um das einfache Suffix {KI}, auch wenn dessen Anwendung im Altaigurischen noch nicht so restriktiv ist wie im späteren Osmanisch beispielsweise. In der Regel wird das Suffix {KI} (GOT 186 ff) direkt an den Stamm nur bei türkischen Wörtern wie *kıski*, *yazkı* etc. angefügt, nicht an Lehn- oder Fremdwörter. Der Autor knüpft in seinem Versuch an türkeitürkisch *avadanlık*³ an, dessen Basis *avadan* jedoch nur in türkeitürkischen Dialekten existiert.⁴ Deren Herleitung aus neupersisch *ābdān* “Wasserbehälter” bereitet zwar lautlich keine Schwierigkeit, aber semantisch besteht doch ein zu großer Unterschied, denn welche Beziehung kann man zwischen einem Wasserbehälter und einem Werkzeug annehmen? Der dritte Buchstabe ähnelt an dieser Stelle einem -v-, ist aber längst nicht ein so deutliches -v- wie

2  KP VI/8–9.

3 “Bir işi yapmak, bir aracı onarmak için kullanılan alet takımı” (TDK; Steuerwald 1972: 70a). İ. Sarı (2015) erörtert ähnliche Wörter wie *çaydanlık* oder *yağdanlık*, wo neupersisch *dan* und tü. *ilk* die gleiche Funktion haben, und so könnte in *avadanlık* eine ähnliche Bildung vorliegen, doch bleibt **ava* unklar.

4 DS *avadan* “kavrulmuş kahvenin soğutulduğu tahta kab; araç, aygıt; ziynet eşyası; av çantası” (TDK; DS 1: 374), vgl. Tulum (2015), Tulum, Azılı (2015: 65).

z. B. in KP XXVII/1 ʾvyʿcqʾ avičga. In der Regel ist *v* größer als *y*, und das ist auch hier zu beachten. So ist aufs Ganze gesehen die Lesung *ayadaki* vorzuziehen und man sollte unbedingt bei J. Hamiltons Deutung (Hamilton 1971: 62) bleiben. Dabei spielt natürlich auch eine entscheidende Rolle, daß es mindestens zwei weitere Belege gibt (UW 290a), wo etwas Wertvolles in der Hand gehalten wird, einmal einfach ein *ärdini* „Juwel“, das andere Mal eine ʾmʾdy = *amade*-Frucht (Röhrborn 2015: 123; Maue 2017).

Hinzugekommen sind in jüngster Zeit folgende Belege: 1) mit nicht erhaltenem Kontext in syrischer Schrift, wobei die genaue Bedeutung leider nicht ermittelt werden konnte: [...]*nlgi ayalari üzä tirä*[...] “[...] mit ihren Handflächen zie[hend (?) ...]” (Zieme 2015: 74 [F 06]); 2) ein Sprichwort: [*ay ya*]*rukın aya b(i)rlä yapits(a)r bolmaz* “Wenn man das Licht des Mondes mit der Handfläche bedecken will, (so) geht das nicht” (Israfil 2011: 59 [Z. 37]).

Zusammenfassend kann man den Schluß ziehen, daß *aya* eine ausgestreckte, flache Handfläche meint.

2. *adut*

Ein sehr treffendes Beispiel dafür, wie fein man im Altuigurischen differenzieren konnte, ist die folgende Passage aus dem *Goldglanz-sūtra*: 莊嚴之具 “eine Handvoll Futter” (Nobel 1958: 112–113) wird wie folgt übersetzt: *ayača aš adutča suv* (Kaya 1994: 134 [Suv 168/23–164/1]) “eine Handvoll Speise und eine Handvoll Wasser”. Selbst im Türkei-türkischen fehlt diese Unterscheidung, wie man aus der Übersetzung von M. Ölmez schließen muß, der beide Male durch *avuç* übersetzt (Ölmez 1991: 55). Dieser Beleg könnte bedeuten, daß *ayača* für feste Nahrung und *adutča* für Flüssiges bestimmt war, aber dennoch ist es nicht sicher, daß *aya* und *adut* immer so genaue Differenzen ausdrücken können. Die bisherigen Belege sind in K. Röhrborns “Uigurischem Wörterbuch” aufgeführt (UW; Röhrborn 2015). Die Übersetzung “eine Handvoll” kann als gesichert gelten.

Um den semantischen Bereich besser abstecken zu können, sei hier noch ein Beispiel erörtert. Es findet sich in dem unpublizierten Petersburger Fragment SI Kr I 21, einem Folio aus einem Rezeptbuch. Darin werden gegen Schmerzen an der Magenöffnung folgende Rezepte verordnet (SI Kr I 21 verso 08–13): *kogursak agızındaki agrıgka äm : qʼvlykʼn bir bakır ot yıpar iki bakır kʼzny kayındurup içürsär kogursak agızındaki agrıg sönär :: yana äm arir-e virir-e birär bakır sarıg munga buda ikirär bakır yürün kurug üzüm bir adut katıştırurup yağig kılıp tal kogursak üzä yaksar sarıg tıltagıntakı kogursak agrıg-ka yaraşur ::* “Wenn man *qʼvlykʼn*⁵

1 *bakır*,⁶ Gras-Weihrauch 2 *bakır* und Galbanum⁷ kocht und zu trinken gibt, hört der Schmerz an der Magenöffnung auf. Weiteres Heilmittel: *arire* (*Terminalia chebuba*) und *virire* (*Terminalia belerica*) (vgl. Maue 2009: 300) je 1 *bakır*, gelber *mudga*⁸ und *buda* je 2 *bakır*, weiße getrocknete Weintrauben 1 Handvoll: wenn man dies vermengt und zu einem Fett (?) macht, dann auf Milz und Magen streicht, paßt es für die Magen-Schmerzen, die im Gelben⁹ verursacht sind.”

In einem weiteren Petersburger Text werden [...] *adutıntakı tutmaç* “Nudeln in der Hand des [...]” erwähnt (SI Kr IV 384). Die Identifizierung des Fragments steht noch aus, so daß noch nicht klar ist, in wessen Hände die Nudeln waren.

Schließlich wäre zu erwähnen, daß es von *adut* ein abgeleitetes Verb *adutla-* (Röhrborn 2010)¹⁰ gibt.

Der semantische Unterschied zwischen *aya* und *adut* könnte darin bestehen, daß *aya*, wie oben angenommen, eine flache, ausgestreckte Handfläche ist, während *adut* eher eine gekrümmte Handfläche, einem Gefäß vergleichbare Handfläche ist, also eine Handvoll.

Zur Etymologie von *adut* äußert sich K.H. Menges eher vage, sie “lässt sich noch nicht mit voller Sicherheit feststellen”, und er nennt “phonologische Störungen”, wie man den unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen, wie sie von Räsänen 1969 dokumentiert werden, entnehmen kann (Menges 1971: 142–143). Während der Vergleich mit mong. *adqu* “Faust” noch nachvollziehbar ist, liegt Tamil *aṭi* “foot, footprint” etc. doch ziemlich fern (Menges 1971: 143).

Vor kurzem hat D. Matsui das Londoner Fragment Or. 12380/3948 aus Mazar Tagh bei Chotan als einen Teil eines chinesisch-alttürkischen Wörterbuchs in chinesischer Schrift identifiziert. Das von einem Chinesen im 8. Jahrhundert verfaßte Buch enthält eine Reihe von interessanten Wörtern, u. a. auch einen Beleg für *adut* in der Schreibung 阿筐 *adu* (**â-tuok*) mit der chinesischen Bedeutung 手 *shou* “Hand”.

5 Vermutlich handelt es sich um ein Kompositum, dessen zweiter Teil *yk'n yigen* (*ye-gen*) “rush” sein könnte (ED 913a). Es würde sich dann um eine Binsenart handeln, vielleicht hat der erste Teil etwas mit *kavla* “Gemüse” zu tun.

6 *bakır*, “the normal unit of weight in prescriptions” (ED 317b).

7 Diese Schreibung ist im Lichte der neuen Festlegung auf eine Aussprache *gasni* (Maue 2009: 298–299; Maue 2015: 383) zu beachten.

8 Das Wort geht nach DTS 350b auf skt. *mudga* “Phaseolus mungo” zurück.

9 Nach der *tridoṣa*-Lehre.

10 Vgl. PDF-Version auf der Website des Instituts für Turkologie und Zentralasien der Universität Göttingen; OTWF 429.

3. *avut*

Neben *adut* findet sich *avut* in der Bedeutung „Handvoll“. Diese Zweitform, von K. Röhrborn auch als Variante (Röhrborn 2015: 53) bezeichnet, ist selten. Dem Beleg in Brāhmīschrift *tolo avu[t]* liegt skt. *añjalipūro* „die zusammengelegten Hände voll“ zugrunde (Maue 1996 3: Nr. 38 [S. 38]; Maue 2010: 618). Ein weiteres Beispiel ist etwas undeutlich: *avudida (?) tāp[rāsār] ulug sü[...] bolur : ulug bādūk ā[r]güči bilgā yaratinguči küčlög bolur* : „Wenn es in seiner Handfläche zuckt, wird es großen [...] geben, ein groß und stark seiender, ein weise Schaffender (?) wird stark sein“ (Zieme 2002: 386).

K.H. Menges schreibt: „Wo im späteren Ujgurischen und bei Kāšyārī *adut* und *avut* als Synonyma gebraucht werden, liegt eine Kontamination von zwei ursprünglich verschiedenen Etyma vor, *avuč/avyč* und *adut*, wobei *avuč* auch noch im Suffix durch *adut* beeinflusst worden ist und *avut* ergeben hat.“ (Menges 1971: 140. Mit Berufung auf Räsänen 1969).

4. *avdut*

Die Form *avdut* ist nur ein einziges Mal belegt und dürfte vielleicht aus einer Unsicherheit des Schreibers heraus resultieren (Röhrborn 2015: 53).

5. *avuč*

Seit dem *Kutadgu Bilig* ist das gleich bedeutende oder ähnliche Wort *avuč*¹¹ bekannt. Doch gibt es keinen Nachweis in den ostaltuigurischen Texten. Es ist allerdings festzuhalten, daß beide Sprachen zeitgleich sind.

Der in meiner Rezension von UW vorgebrachte Vorschlag, statt *ayčuk* im *Tatt-vārtha*-Text *avčuk* zu lesen und mit *avuč* in Zusammenhang zu bringen (Zieme 1995: Sp. 199), ist aufzugeben. M. Shōgaitos Lösung *ayčuk* „Möndchen“ (Shōgaito 2008: 232–233 [Anm. zu Z. 936]) ist richtig. So bleibt festzuhalten, daß in den altuigurischen Texten *avuč* nicht belegt ist. J.P. Laut nennt zwar *avuč* mit den Bedeutungen „Hand; Handfläche; Faust“, gibt aber keine Belege an (Laut 2010: 55).

In türkischen Dialekten gibt es das Verb *avcuklamak* „avcunun içine almak“,¹² das vielleicht unter dem Einfluß von *kucaklamak* entstanden ist.

11 KB 297: *ukuška turur bu ağırlık etig / ukuşsuz kişi bir avučča tetig* „Honor and esteem are all for the intelligent. The ignorant is a mere handful of clay“ (Dankoff 1983: 50).

G. Doerfer erklärte das eine aus dem anderen, wonach *avuč* unter dem Einfluß von *kolač* "Armvoll" entstanden sei.¹³

6. **aduč*

Aus den Untersuchungen von H. Nugteren und M. Roos geht hervor, daß es auch **aduč* "Handvoll" gegeben haben könnte, wie die Reihe (WYugur) *oš* – (Chak.) *oos* – (Šor) *ooš* – (Tuv.) *adiš* – (Tofa) *adiš* – (NUig.) *oč* eindrücklich zeigt (Nugteren, Roos 2006: 103). Die Autoren schreiben: "The old form **adut* ~ **awut* is extinct, **aduč* survives in Tuva and Tofa, and in Yak *itiš*, and most modern languages have forms that stem from the early variant form **avuč* (first attested in KB). Likewise CT **adurtla*- 'sip' had an early secondary form **avurtla*-, which survives in WYu *ortta*-, Khak *oorta*-, Kyr *uurta*-." (Nugteren, Roos 2006: 103 Fußn. 11).

Diese Ausführungen bringen nun **adurtla*- und **avurtla*- ins Spiel, als ob **adurt* und **avurt* Varianten von **adut* und **avut* wären. Doch scheint mir, daß "Mundvoll" und "Handvoll" unterschiedlichen semantischen Bereichen angehören.

7. *avurt*/**adurt*

Dieses Wort, das ausgehend von "Wange, Wangeninneres" auch "Mundvoll" bedeuten kann, sei hier nur aufgeführt, weil es oft mit den genannten Wörtern für "Handfläche" in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. G. Clauson nennt als Lemma *adurt* mit der Bedeutung "cheek-pouch" (ED 65a), er schreibt: "judging by the analogy of *adut*, q.v., there is little doubt that this was the original form of *avurt*, but this form occurs only in one damaged passage." (ED 65a). K.H. Menges hatte in seinem Aufsatz die türkischen Belege ausführlich besprochen und schreibt: "das Alt-Türkische hat *adurt* "Wange" (in TT II, cf. Analyt. Index), im Древнетюркский Словарь mit Fragezeichen, was in 'Bäckentasche, Wangeninneres' zu verbessern ist." (Menges 1971: 139). Die Formen wie *avurt* etc. lassen vermuten, daß es auch im Falle von *adut* Belege mit -r- gegeben haben könnte, atü. **adurt*, allerdings wird der einzige und zwar ergänzte Beleg ʾd[wr̥t]y als Beweis für

12 Beypazarı Ağzından Sözcükler (Website Turuz).

13 Während G. Doerfer eine Verbindung zu mong. *abuča* ablehnte (Doerfer 1969: 307), hielt T. Tekin diese Gleichung aufrecht (Tekin 1996: 246). M. Erdal teilte mir dankenswerterweise mit, daß er in seiner Kindheit immer nur *kulač* gehört habe. Trotzdem liegt es nahe, bei diesem Wort an tü. *kol* "Arm" zu denken.

**adurt* bezweifelt (Röhrborn 2015: 52). K. Röhrborn hat die obige Stelle in sein „Uigurisches Wörterbuch“ aufgenommen (Röhrborn 2015: 52), nicht ohne starke Bedenken anzumelden. Da auch inzwischen kein neuer Beleg aufgetaucht ist, sind diese Zweifel auch nicht ausgeräumt.¹⁴ Im Grunde genommen, kann das Wort aus dem altuigurischen Wortschatz gestrichen werden. Die Verbalableitungen, die auch H. Nugteren und M. Roos nennen, lassen sich besser von einem **avurt* als von einem nicht-belegten **adurt* herleiten.

M. Erdal zitiert die erwähnte Passage aus TT II B 14–15 und schreibt: “There is no trace of such a lexeme [*adurt*] in Old Turkic, nor any evidence that the word for ‘cheek-pouch’ (...) ever had a dental after the first syllable. I therefore suggest that this is a form of the verb *adar-t* ‘to harm’, q. v. below’. It is likely to have had *agu* as subject and to have governed the gerund *küçädip*.” (OTWF 338, Fußn. 388). Der Vorschlag, statt eines Nomens das Verb *ad[art-]* einzusetzen, bleibt allerdings auch fraglich. Da das Fragment verloren ist und auch kein Foto existiert, bleibt jegliche Emendation spekulativ. Wegen des anzunehmenden Parallelismus scheint mir, daß die Wörter *ad[ak]ı [ta]nı*¹⁵ “seine F[üß]e und sein [Kör]per”, denn dieser Satz hätte dann dieselbe Struktur wie der folgende: *äñäkii [tamgak]ı aprap*. Die gesamte Passage könnte dann wie folgt verstanden werden: *agusı küçädip*¹⁶ *ad[ak]ı [ta]nı yirüp äñäki [tamgak]ı aprap [mun]a ölüp bardı* “Das (aus dem Zorn resultierende) Gift wurde stark, seine F[üß]e und sein [Kör]per¹⁷ faulten, sein Kinn und sein [Gaume]n verdarben, [so] starb er dahin.”

Für *avurt* führt G. Clauson Belege aus dem Tschagataischen an (ED 65a). Auch im Osmanischen und Türkei Türkischen ist es gut bekannt.¹⁸ Das Wort *avurd* wird als “yanağın ağız boşluğu hizasına gelen kısmı” (TDK) erklärt. Die gängigste Form in den türkischen Sprachen ist *avurt*, aber auch *omurt* ist belegt sowie kontrahiert *ort*.¹⁹ Die Bedeutungen reichen von “Hals, Inneres des Halses, Kehle, Grübchen, Backenknochen, Teil der Wange” bis zu “Schluck” (abgeleitet wohl

14 J.P. Laut hat dieses Wort als *adurt* “Wange” (mit einem Fragezeichen versehen) aufgenommen (Laut 2010: 57).

15 Möglich wäre auch *[ya]nı* “[Hüf]te”. Zu *yan* “Hüfte” vgl. Laut (2010: 60).

16 Geschriebenes *t* statt *d*.

17 Oder, folgt man einer anderen Möglichkeit: “[Hüf]te”.

18 Tietze (2002) *avuç* und *avurd/avurt*. Beide Wörter sind im *Risāle-e zabān* enthalten (AD 1485), vgl. Turan (2006).

19 Zu den Details vgl. Sevortjan (1974: 407).

von der Kehle). K.H. Menges und andere weisen auf die verschiedenen Formen in den Türksprachen hin (Menges 1971; Dybo 2013).

Vermutlich sind *avurt* und *avuč* zwei unterschiedliche Wörter, die lautlich nur ähnlich sind, semantisch jedoch eher als getrennt zu betrachten sind. Man kann sicher sein, daß die genannten Wörter eine komplizierte Geschichte haben. Meine Notizen mögen in Fragen der Etymologie einen Rückschritt bedeuten. Ohne eine genaue Analyse auch der älteren Belege gerät man sehr leicht in spekulative Zusammenstellungen und Herleitungen.

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ZUR ETYMOLOGIE VON UNGARISCH *DENEVÉR* ‘FLEDERMAUS’

According to the modern etymological dictionaries of the Hungarian language, Hungarian *denevér* ‘bat’ is a word of unknown origin. The author discusses the popular etymological versions of the Hungarian word, and proposes to revive in modernized form an etymology by A. Edelspacher (1876). After making some required corrections to this old etymology, the author argues for the Slavic origin of the Hungarian word. As an etymon of Hungarian *denevér* ‘bat’, he proposes the Common Slavic word **netopyrb* ~ **nedopyrb* ‘bat’ reflected in all Slavic languages in the surroundings of the Hungarian language area. This etymology meets with no semantic difficulties, and the phonetic differences can be overcome relatively easily by supposing a metathesis and a usual accommodation to the vowel harmony in Hungarian (**nedopyrb* > **denopir* > **denepir*); the ending of the word could be influenced by Hungarian *vér* ‘blood’.

Slavic loanwords in Hungarian, language contact, etymology, Hung. *denevér* ‘bat’

Über ung. *denevér* ‘Fledermaus’ wird im EWUng (1: 254) lediglich gesagt, dass das zuerst im Jahre 1395 belegte Wort unbekannten Ursprungs ist und sein Verhältnis zu seiner seit 1604 belegten Nebenform *tenevér* unklar ist. Als einzige Quellen werden EtSz und TESz angegeben. Aus der kurzen Erklärung vom EWUng kann also nur eine wichtige Information entnommen werden, nämlich dass die Form *tenevér* nicht unbedingt aus der heute standardsprachlichen *denevér* entstanden sein muss, sondern ebenso gut konnte die heute schon veraltete Variante als Ausgangsform dienen, so dass bei der Suche nach dem Ursprung des Wortes auch eine Form mit

anlautendem *t*- nicht außer Acht gelassen werden darf. Die etwas ausführlichere Erklärung des TESz (1: 614–615) erwähnt zusätzlich noch zwei abgelehnte Deutungen: 1. „Die Erklärung des Wortes als eine verblasste Zusammensetzung ist unwahrscheinlich“ und 2. „Die Zurückführung des Wortes über slavische Vermittlung auf ein griechisches Wort – und die Vermutung einer weiteren Verwandtschaft mit den Wörtern *lidérc* und *vámpír* – ist verfehlt“. Die Hauptquelle für TESz – wie auch für EWUng – ist auch EtSz, aber das ausführlichere Literaturverzeichnis im TESz ermöglicht die Identifizierung der abgelehnten Erklärungen. Die erste ist seit CzF (1: 1204) im Umlauf („Vielleicht war es ursprünglich *dana-vér* aus *dana* ‘böser Geist’ und *vér* ‘Blut’“); einer der Verfasser dieses Wörterbuches, János Fogarasi (1865: 135–136) kehrte später zu dieser Erklärung auch in einem Artikel zurück. Diese Deutung ist ebenso naiv wie die Idee von József Kassai aus dem Jahre 1831, wonach *denevér* ‘Fledermaus’ aus der Wortverbindung *mindene bőr* ‘alles an ihm ist aus Leder’ stammen sollte (Viszota 1912: 309). Darum beschäftige ich mich hier nur mit der zweiten, von TESz für verfehlt gehaltenen Erklärung, die auf der Etymologie von Antal Edelspacher (1876) beruht.

Vor allem muss man konstatieren, dass die Feststellung vom TESz hinsichtlich dieser Etymologie formal korrekt ist. Was Edelspacher aufgrund von Lucjan Malinowski (1870: 304, vgl. ders. 1885: 154) behauptet, nämlich dass das urslavische Wort **netopyrb* ‘Fledermaus’, welches nach Edelspacher die gemeinsame Quelle der ungarischen Wörter *denevér* ‘Fledermaus’, *lidérc* ‘Alb’ und *vámpír* ‘Vampir’ darstellt, aus einem griech. *νυκτόπτερος* ‘nachts fliegendes <Lebewesen>’ kommt, ist zweifelsohne falsch. Die modernen slavischen etymologischen Wörterbücher lehnen nämlich diese veraltete Etymologie des slavischen Wortes einmütig ab und betrachten das urslavische Wort **netopyrb* mit seinen einzelsprachlichen Entsprechungen als einheimisch. Nach einer der populärsten Deutungen, die auf Miklosich (1886: 214, 241) zurückgeht, ist das slavische Wort eine verblasste Zusammensetzung aus der indogermanischen Wurzel **nók²t-* ~ **nék²t-* ‘Nacht’ und der slavischen Wurzel **per-* ‘fliegen’, d. h. das slavische Wort wurde nicht aus dem Griechischen entlehnt, sondern die Motivation der Benennung (vgl. *νυκτερίς* ‘Fledermaus’) ist ähnlich, insofern sowohl das slavische, als auch das griechische Wort auf die nächtliche Aktivität dieser Lebewesen hinweist (vgl. neuerdings Snoj 1997: 381; Borys 2005: 363; Králik 2015: 386). Nach einer etwas späteren Erklärung war das slavische Wort ursprünglich eine dreifache Zusammensetzung: **ne-to-pyrb*, wo das letzte Glied – wie bei der vorigen Deutung – auch in diesem Fall mit der slavischen Wurzel **per-* zusammenhängt, das erste Glied aber mit dem Negationswort **ne* und das mittlere mit dem Demonstrativpronomen **to* identisch ist. Die Motivation der

Benennung sollte in diesem Fall auf der Unsicherheit um das Wesen der Fledermaus (als Quasivogel) beruhen (vgl. Brückner 1927: 361; Schuster-Šewc 1978–1989, 2: 1014–1015; Šapošnikov 2: 18; die kritische Übersicht der ganzen früheren etymologischen Literatur s. ÈSSJa 24: 143–145; ESJS: 540). Nach dieser Erklärung würde die slavische Benennung durch eine Vorstellung motiviert, die auch in der ungarischen Dialektbezeichnung für Fledermaus *se fereg, se madár* (eigentlich 'weder Nager noch Vogel') vorliegt (Kicsi 1991: 128). Diese Deutung, die auch von Trubačev (ÈSSJa 24: 143–135) bevorzugt, von Vasmer (1953–1958, 2: 216) aber als zu kühn qualifiziert wird, hat die offenbare Schwäche, dass das entsprechende Wort im von den übrigen Slavinen ziemlich früh abgesonderten Polabischen (*netüpar ~ netüpard*) nicht 'Fledermaus', sondern 'Schmetterling' bedeutet (Polański, Sehnert 1967: 101). Es ist anzunehmen, dass diese Bedeutung sich aus einer früheren 'Nachtschmetterling, Nachtfalter' verallgemeinert hat; in diesem Fall konnte doch 'ein nachts fliegendes <Lebewesen>' die gemeinsame Grundbedeutung gewesen sein, auf die sowohl die Bedeutung 'Nachtschmetterling, Nachtfalter', später 'Schmetterling' überhaupt (wie im Polabischen) als auch 'Fledermaus' (wie in den übrigen slavischen Sprachen) zurückgeführt werden kann. Dieser Umstand spricht eher für die von Miklosich vorgeschlagene Etymologie (vgl. Lehr-Splawiński, Polański 1962–1994: 434–435). Die von Berneker (1891: 166) stammende Idee über die Verwandtschaft von **netopyrb* mit russ. *моньпумь* 'spreizen (von den Federn)' wurde unlängst von Orel (2001, 2: 334–335) aufgewärmt. Laut dieser Deutung wäre die Fledermaus so benannt worden, weil sie die Feder nicht spreizen kann (da sie keine hat); diese Erklärung scheint eher volksetymologisch zu sein, und sie wird von Vasmer und Trubačev (ÈSSJa 24: 143–135) mit Recht abgelehnt. Es ist noch die von der Mythologie inspirierte Etymologie von Grażyna Rytter (1986: 134–138) zu erwähnen, laut derer das letzte Glied der ehemaligen Zusammensetzung **ne-to-pyrb* nicht mit slav. *per-* 'fliegen', sondern mit slav. **pyrb* 'Glut' identisch wäre und das Wort ursprünglich 'unbrennbar' bedeutet und sich auf die Seele bezogen hätte, die im Feuer bei der Totenverbrennung nicht vernichtet wird. Diese Erklärung wirkt auch nicht überzeugend, und nach dem Überblick der wichtigsten Erklärungen der Herkunft von slav. **netopyrb* kann man feststellen, dass die Etymologie des slavischen Wortes zwar umstritten ist, aber für eine Entlehnung aus dem Griechischen wird es heute nicht mehr gehalten (vgl. Stachowski 2005: 81).

Aus dem zitierten Artikel von TESz ergibt es sich zwar nicht direkt, aber aus der Tatsache, dass ung. *denevér* als Wort unbekannten Ursprungs qualifiziert wird, folgt eindeutig, dass die Verfasser und Redakteure von TESz die slavische Herkunft des ungarischen Wortes ablehnen, ungeachtet dessen, ob das von Edelspacher

vorgeschlagene slavische Etymon letzten Endes griechischer Herkunft ist oder nicht. Eindeutiger formuliert das Bárczi (1941: 50), der kurz feststellt: „Die Herkunft des Wortes ist unbekannt, die vorgeschlagene slavische Etymologie ist unwahrscheinlich“.

Edelspacher (1876) geht vom Wörterbuch von Leschka (1825: 55) aus, der behauptet, dass ung. *denevér* von einigen – möglicherweise auch von ihm selbst – für ein Wort slavischer Herkunft gehalten wird („aliqui deducere volunt ex slav. *netopjr*, quod a diversis diverse pronuntiatur, nempe: Slavi in Hungaria [= die Slowaken, A.Z.] alii dicunt *netopjr*, alii *netopier*, Poloni *nietopierż*, Bohemi *netopeyr* et *netopýř*, ex quo si *Denevér* formatum fuisset, id fieri debuisset, et per mutationem literarum et per syllabarum transpositionem“). Die Idee also, dass das ungarische Wort aus dem Slavischen entlehnt worden sein kann, stammt entweder von Leschka selbst oder – wenn die Phrase „aliqui deducere volunt ex slav. *netopjr*“ keine Mystifikation ist – von seinen näher nicht bekannten Informanten; in jedem Fall ist die slavische Etymologie für ung. *denevér* zuerst von Leschka niedergeschrieben worden.

Edelspacher unterstützt diese Etymologie mit Argumenten; er erklärt eingehend, wie aus dem slavischen **netopyrь* im Ungarischen *denevér* bzw. *tenevér* entstehen konnte. Als unmittelbare Quelle für das ungarische Wort *denevér* ~ *tenevér* nimmt er eine hypothetische slavische Form **netobir* oder **netobēr* an. Diese nirgendwo belegten Varianten mit inlautendem *-b-* braucht er zur Erklärung des ung. *-v-* an Stelle des slavischen *-p-*. Er denkt an einen regelmäßigen Wandel *b > v* im Ungarischen, der aus Entsprechungen wie dt. *Wagner* > ung. *bognár*; dt. *Wicke* > ung. *bükköny* zwar bekannt ist, aber es handelt sich dabei um Entlehnungen nicht aus dem Hochdeutschen, sondern aus bairisch-österreichischen Mundartformen mit anlautendem **β-*, so dass die Ausdehnung dieser Analogie auf das Slavische ziemlich problematisch ist. Nach Edelspacher sollte sich eine solche hypothetische slavische Form **netober* durch vokalharmonischen Ausgleich **netevér* und durch Metathese *tenevér* ergeben. Edelspacher fügt dieser Ableitung noch zwei wichtige Bemerkungen hinzu. Erstens weist er darauf hin, dass im Ungarischen nirgends **netevér* vorkommt, daher musste die Metathese sofort bei der Entlehnung des slavischen Wortes ins Ungarische stattfinden, und zweitens stellt er fest, dass, nachdem im Slavischen neben Formen mit inlautendem *-t-* auch Formen mit *-d-* belegt sind, die ungarische standardsprachliche Variante *denevér* ebenso gut aus einem slav. **nedobēr* abgeleitet werden kann.

Das Schweigen von István Kniezsa in dieser Frage ist auffallend. Er erwähnt nämlich *denevér* nicht einmal unter den ungarischen Wörtern, deren slavische

Etymologie in der früheren Literatur von jemandem vorgeschlagen, aber von ihm selbst abgelehnt wurde. Es wundert nicht, dass er die von ihm als Dilettanten bezeichneten Autoren wie Leschka nicht zitiert (vgl. Kniezsa 1955: 18–19, vgl. 1038, 1042). Edelspacher gehörte jedoch nicht zu den Dilettanten, für seine Zeit war er ein hochgebildeter Sprachwissenschaftler (er hat z. B. die Werke von August Schleicher ins Ungarische übersetzt, über ihn s. MÉL), und wie wir gesehen haben, haben EtSz und Bárczi (1941) die von ihm vorgeschlagene slavische Etymologie zwar abgelehnt, aber doch wenigstens erwähnt. Man muss annehmen, dass dieses Wort bei Kniezsa nur aus zufälliger Unaufmerksamkeit unberücksichtigt blieb.

Die modernen etymologischen Wörterbücher lehnen die Erklärung von Edelspacher aufgrund von EtSz ab. In EtSz werden die Ausführungen sowohl von Leschka als auch von Edelspacher korrekt referiert, aber für verfehlt gehalten. Es scheint mir aber, dass EtSz und die neueren etymologischen Wörterbücher in diesem Fall das Kind mit dem Bade ausgeschüttet haben. Die Verfasser dieser Wörterbücher haben nicht bemerkt, dass EtSz die Zurückführung von ung. *denevér* (~ *tenevér*) 'Fledermaus' auf das gleichbedeutende slav. **netopyr* (~ *nedopyr*) eigentlich ohne Gegenargumente als falsch erklärt hat. Edelspachers Etymologie kann verfeinert werden, aber ihre wichtigsten Punkte sind nicht widerlegt worden. Meines Erachtens ist die Annahme eines von Edelspacher vermuteten Wandels *p > b* im Slavischen nicht notwendig, man kann ruhig von einer panonienslavischen Form **netopyr* (~ *nedopyr*) vom 10.–11. Jahrhundert ausgehen oder von einer slavischen Form **netopir* (~ **nedopir*) nach dem Wandel von *y > i*. Gleichzeitig mit der Entlehnung hat im Ungarischen eine Metathese *n ~ t* (*n ~ d*) stattgefunden, der zufolge das Wort die Gestalt **tenopir* (~ *denopir*) bekam, die sich etwas später unter dem Einfluss der ungarischen Vokalharmonie zu **tenepir* (~ *denepir*) entwickelte. Das Wortende gestaltete sich nach der im Ungarischen üblichen Behandlung vom auslautenden slavischen *-ir > -ér (vgl. *Vladimir* > *La-domér*, *Tichomir* > *Tihamér*, *Velimir* > *Velemér*) zu **tenepér* (~ *denepér*). Endlich änderte sich das Wortende unter dem Einfluss einer Analogie, am wahrscheinlichsten unter dem volksetymologischen Einfluss vom ung. *vér* 'Blut' zu *tenevér* (~ *denevér*). Im Einverständnis mit Edelspacher bin ich auch der Meinung, dass die heute als standardsprachlich geltende Form *denevér* auch aus dem Slavischen gedeutet werden kann, nämlich aus den in den slavischen Sprachen meistens mundartlichen Formen, wie slowenisch *nadopér* neben *netopir*, slowakisch *nedopier* neben *netopier*, polnisch *niedoperz*, *niedopyrz* neben *nietoperz*, russ. *недопырь* neben *нетопырь* (ÉSSJa 24: 143–135), obersorbisch *nedopyr* neben *njetopyr*; im Untersorbischen gilt *njedopyr* als normativ (Schuster-Šewc 1978–1989, 2: 1014–1015).

Wie erwähnt, wird im EtSz und auch in der späteren Literatur nicht argumentiert, warum die Etymologie von Edelspacher nicht anzunehmen ist. Es treten keine chronologischen oder semantischen Schwierigkeiten auf. Die ungewöhnlichen Abweichungen in der Lautform können befriedigend erklärt werden. Wie gesehen, gehört das Wort selbst im Slavischen nicht zu den leichten Fällen, die Fledermaus ist mit viel Aberglauben umgeben, was zu mehreren volksetymologischen Umgestaltungen des Wortes führen konnte. Im Ungarischen konnte es nur um eine mündliche Entlehnung aus dem Slavischen gehen, daher kann gegen die Annahme einer Metathese kein Einwand erhoben werden. Der volksetymologische Einfluss des Wortes *vér* 'Blut' auf die Gestaltung der Lautform von *denevér* wird auch durch den Aberglauben über die blutsaugenden Fledermäuse vorstellbar (vgl. Tolstoj 3: 103–104). So etwas ist sehr schwer zu beweisen, aber die Etymologie behauptet nicht, wie ein Wort gedeutet werden muss, sondern wie es gedeutet werden kann (vgl. Gottschald 1954: 9). Ich meine nur, dass das ungarische Wort *denevér* ~ *tenevér* der von Leschka aufgeworfenen und von Edelspacher in großen Zügen ausgearbeiteten Etymologie entsprechend aus dem gleichbedeutenden slavischen Wort **netopyr* ~ *nedopyr* entlehnt worden sein kann. Abgesehen von der vollkommenen Übereinstimmung der Bedeutung ist der lautliche Zusammenklang zwischen den slavischen und ungarischen Wörtern trotz der besprochenen Schwierigkeiten noch immer zu augenfällig, als dass er in der gegebenen sprachgeografischen Situation dem bloßen Zufall zugeschrieben werden könnte.

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