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Arabic loanwords in Chulym

Abstract

Some Arabic and Persian loanwords into Chulym have been first discussed by M. Stachowski in his article *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der arabischen und persischen Lehnwörter in den südsibirischen Türksprachen*. At that time, Chulym lexical material could be extracted from one monograph only (cf. LJČ in *References*). We would like to complete these two groups of words (for the time being only those of Arabic origin) using the sources available to us at present. In this preliminary note on Arabic loanwords in Chulym, we would like to present the lexical material in question (including also derivatives).

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Some Arabic and Persian loanwords into Chulym have been first discussed by M. Stachowski in his article *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der arabischen und persischen Lehnwörter in den südsibirischen Türksprachen* (further on „StachM”). At that time, Chulym lexical material could be extracted from one monograph only (cf. LJČ in *References*). We would like to complete these two groups of words (for the time being only those of Arabic origin) using the sources available to us at present.

In this preliminary note on Arabic loanwords in Chulym, we would like to present the lexical material in question (including also derivatives). Further research and inquiry into the subject of the channels through which this material was borrowed will only be possible when it is collected and systematised.

For the sources and the transcription used see Pom. NF 11–33.

1. Arabic loanwords in Chulym

1.1 Ar. *‘aql* ‘sense, sentience, reason, understanding, comprehension, discernment, insight, rationality, mind, intellect, intelligence’ (Wehr 630) >> MČ *āgyl* ‘mind, intellect’

(LJČ 26), Küä. *agyl* id. (R I 163) = Tat. *akyl* id. (TatRS 30), Bar. *agyl* ~ *akyl* id., Ott., Kirg. *akyl* id., Alt. *agyl* 'id., custom, behaviour, manners' (StachM 253). – Cf. also MČ *āyyl* *čädär čögul*¹ 'stupid' (LJČ 73). – MČ long *ā* (only such forms are recorded by Birjukovič) is most likely secondary, before the high *y* in the following syllable (cf. Pom. NF 130).

1.2 Ar. *arad* 'accident; contingent, nonessential characteristic; something nonessential, accidental, a contingent' (Wehr 604) >> MČ *yrys* 'luck, fortune; happiness' (StachM 253), LČ *rys* id. (ČulJa 150), Küä. *rys* 'id.; prosperity, affluence' (R III 719) = Alt., Tel., Šr., Leb., Sag., Koib., Kač., Kzk., Kom. *rys* id. (ib.), Alt., Tel., Šr., Kum., Bar., Kom., Kzk. *yrys* '1. id.; 2. success' (R I 1368), Khak. *yrys* '1.; 2. id.' (StachM 253). – Cf. also MČ *yrystyg* 'lucky; happy' (MorfČ 12), Küä. *rystyg* id. (R III 719).

1.3 Ar. *arag* '1. sweat, perspiration; 2. arrack, a strong colorless liquor made of raisins, milky white when diluted with water' (Wehr 607) >> Čul. *araga* 'vodka' (StachM 253) ~ *arägy* id. (LJČ 18), LČ *arga* id. (ČJa 455) ~ *argv* 'vine' (ČulJa 151), Küä. *araga* 'vodka' (TM 705) ~ *aragy* id. (ib. 704) = Tat. *araky* 'vodka; vine' (TatRS 38), Kirg. *arak* 'vodka', Khak. *araya* id., Tuv. *araga* id., Šr. *araga* ~ *aragy* id. (StachM 253). – Cf. also Küä. *aragazy*² 'vodka drinker' (R I 250).

1.4 Ar. *gaib* 'pocket; purse' (Wehr 150) >> Čul. *säp* 'pocket' (LJČ 58), MČ *säp* id. (ZS 97), Küä. *säp* id. (R IV 493) = Khak. *izäp* id., Šr. *izäp* id. (StachM 253), Yak. *siäp* id. (StachM AEJ 133).

1.5 Ar. *halq* '1. creation; making; origination; 2. people, man, mankind' (Wehr 258) >> Küä. *kalyk* 'people, nation' (TM 697), MČ *kalyk* id. (LJČ 78), LČ *kalyk* id. (ČulJa 159), Čul. *kälyk* id. (StachM 253) = Šr. *kalyk* id., Alt. *qalyq* id. (ib.), Tat. *xalyk* id. (TatRS 610). – Cf. also Küä. *kalyk ulus* 'people, nation' (TM 703), *kalyk jon* id. (ib. 695) = Khak. *xalyx čon* id., Šr. *kalyk-čon* id. (StachM 253); Küä. *kalyktyg*³ 'with the people' (TM 689); MČ *kalyktar* 'people' (Pom. NF 167).

1.6 Ar. *hatt* 'line; stroke; stripe; streak; furrow, ridge, handwriting; writing, script, calligraphy, penmanship' (Wehr 244) >> MČ *kat* '1. document, letter' (ZS 88, StachM 254); '2. school', in: *māñ öglum katka čügüräptər*⁴ 'my son goes to school' (ZS 92) = Šr. *kat* 'writing; paper', Alt. *qat* '1. writing; 2. book; 3. paper' (StachM 253f.), Tat. *xat* 'letter; writing' (TatRS 611). – Cf. also MČ *kačy* 'writer; literate' (StachM 254, cf. also Pom. NF 53) ~ *katčy* 'clerk in Čul. tribal-family community' (ČulJa 95, cf. also Pom. NF 15), LČ

¹ MČ *čädär čögul* is the negation of the Part. Aoristi and the present tense in *-(a)r* of the verb *čät*- 'to be enough'.

² For substantives in *-čy* see Pom. NF 52f.

³ For adjectives in *-lyg* see Pom. NF 66ff.

⁴ MČ *čügür*- 'to run' (LJČ 74) = Küä. *jügür*- id. (R III 594). Long *ä* in *čügüräptər* [ä], incorrectly instead of the front *ü* is secondarily lengthened before the high vowel in the following syllable.

kacy 'writer, literate' (LJČ 39). – Birjukovič records also the sentence LČ *kat cygarga pilarrogum*⁵ 'I cannot write' (LJČ 39). Since LČ *cyk-* 'to go out' is an intransitive verb, the unit *kat cyk-* looks strange. Birjukovič's incorrect notation may not be excluded (cf. Pom. CA 1.2, Pom. NF 27), and *kat cygarga* (a hapax legomenon) possibly was spelled and written *katcygarga* < **katcyk-* 'to write' < **katcy* 'writer' (> *kacy*, see above).

1.7 Ar. *ḥisāb* 'arithmetic, reckoning, calculus; computation; calculation' (Wehr 176) >> Küä. *äzäp* 'number', in: *äzäbī-jok* 'countless, innumerable' (TM 693) = Kyz. *äzäp* 'calculation, number' (R I 894), Kas., Kzk. *išäp* 'count, calculation, balance' (ib. 1525), Tüm. *izäp* 'number, count' (ib. 1539), Tat. *xisap* '1. id.; 2. arithmetic' (TatRS 613), Ott. *hesab* 'calculation, number' (Stach ALO I 113, cf. also VEWT 160).

1.8 Ar. *maḥmūr* 'drunk, intoxicated, inebriated' (Wehr 261) >> MČ *pakpər* 'intoxication, drunkenness; hangover' (ZS 86), Čul. *pakvər* id. (StachM 254) = Sag. *paxpyr* id. (ChRS 147), Kas. *makmyr* id. (R IV 2000), Tat. *makmyr* id. (TatRS 359), Alt. *papqyr* ~ *paqpyr* id. (StachM 254, cf. also VEWT 322).

1.9 Ar. *māl* 'property, possessions, chattels, goods; wealth, affluence; fortune, estate' (Wehr 932) >> MČ *mal* 'cattle' (StachM 254), Küä. *mal* id. (TM 692), LČ *mal* id. (ČulJa 149) = Tuv. *mal* '1. id.; 2. horse(s)', Tof. *mal* '1. id.', Khak. *mal* id. (StachM 254), Tat. *mal* id. (TatRS 360), Yak. *mal* ~ *māl* 'possessions, belongings, goods and chattels' (StachM AEJ 132). – Cf. also Küä. *mallyg* 'having cattle' (R IV 2040).

1.10 Ar. *qālib* ~ *qālab* 'form; mold; cake pan; model; matrix; last, boot tree, shoe tree' (Wehr 785) >> Küä. *kalyp* 'form, shape; model; last; hat mould' (R II 245), LČ *kalyp* 'mould for making bullets' (ČulJa 159) = Alt. *kalyp* 'mould', Khak. *xalyp* id. (StachM 255, cf. also VEWT 226).

1.11 Ar. *ṣābūn* 'soap' (Wehr 502) >> MČ *sābən* 'soap' (ZS 97), LČ *sābun* ~ *sāvun* id. (ČulJa 151), Küä. *sabyn* id. (R IV 417), Čul. *savun* id. (DGČ 17) ~ *sābyn* id. (StachM 255, StachM APD 42) = Tat. *sabyn* id. (TatRS 459), Šr., Leb., Sag., Koib., Kač., Kas., Kzk. *sabyn* id. (R IV 417), Khak. *sabyn* id. (StachM 255, cf. also VEWT 402).

1.12 Ar. *salām* '1. soundness, unimpairedness, intactness, well-being; peace, peacefulness; safety, security; 2. greeting, salutation; salute' (Wehr 425) >> Küä. *salam* 'greeting(s)', in: *äzän*⁶ *salam täp* 'having greeted [him]' (TM 701) = Kom., Kas., Kzk., Kirg., Uig. *salam* id. (R IV 353), Kas. *salām* id. (ib. 354), Ott. *selām* id. (Stach ALO III 67, cf. also VEWT 397).

⁵ LČ *pilarrogum* < **pil-är-jok-um* < *pil-* 'to know' (for the same construction in MČ see footnote 1 above, cf. also ČJa 453). The back *a* instead of the expected *ä* may be a misprint, cf. LČ *män plārroum* 'I do not know' < **pil-är-jok-um* (ČulJa 170).

⁶ Küä. *äzän* '1. healthy (R I 889); 2. happy; lucky' (TM 702) = Alt. *äzän* '1. healthy; 2. health' < < P *āsān* 'light' (StachM 249).

1.13 Ar. *ṣandūq* ~ *ṣundūq* 'crate, box; chest; trunk, suitcase' (Wehr 526) >> Küä. *sunduk* 'box' (TM 703) = KarŁ *sunduk* id. (R IV 763), Krm., Kas., Kzk. *sandyk* id. (ib. 306), Čag., Tar. *sanduk* id. (ib. 307), Tat. *sandyk* id. (TatRS 468), Ott. *sandyk* id. (Stach ALO III 61, cf. also VEWT 401), Dolg. *hundūk* 'chest' (StachM LD 9).

1.14 Ar. *šamc* 'wax' (Wehr 486) >> LČ *cam* 'candle' (ČJa 464) = Bar. *šām* id. (Dm. 198), Čag., Kas., Tar., Kzk., Ott. *šam* id. (R IV 991, cf. also VEWT 441).

1.15 Ar. *ṭabaq* 'lid, cover, plate; dish, shallow bowl; (round) tray, salver' (Wehr 553) >> Čul. *tabak* 'dish' (LJČ 17) = Khak. *tabax* 'dish; bowl', Tat. *tabak* id. (TatRS 505), Tuv. *tavak* id., Alt. *tabaq* '1. bowl; 2. food' (StachM 255, StachM APD 42, cf. also VEWT 451).

1.16 Ar. *tāmm* 'complete, perfect, entire; consummate; of full value, sterling, genuine' (Wehr 98) >> Čul. **tām* [= Khak. *tim* 'ready' (StachM 255)] > Čul. *tāmnä-* 'to begin, to start; to get ready' (StachM 255), Küä. *tāmnä-* 'to prepare' (TM 696), LČ *tāmnä-* 'to lay in, e.g. firewood' (ČJa 466), MČ *tāmnä-* '1. to prepare' (LJČ 77); '2. to intend' (ZS 24); MČ *tāmnän-* '1. to get ready (for a journey), to intend (going somewhere)' (MČS 36); '2. to try' as in: *ol aṣṣnalʔ dāmnāngän*⁸ 'he tried to understand' (ZS 137); Küä. *tāmnäš-* 'to get ready' (TM 691); Küä. *tāmnäp*⁹ 'time', in: *üc tāmnäp* 'three times' (TM 698).

2. Special cases

2.1 MČ *ābys* 'Orthodox priest' (LJČ 26) = Alt. *abys* 'monk; religious man' (ATS 19), Khak. *abys* 'priest, Orthodox priest' (ChRS 14), Tel., Leb., Šr., Sag., Koib., Kač. *abys* 'Orthodox priest' (R I 629), Kaz. *abyz* id. (ib.), Kas. *abyz* 'lerner man' (ib.). – Cf. also MČ *ābys āpčāzi*¹⁰ 'priest's wife' (LJČ 26).

The etymological interpretation of this word is rather complex and it requires some comments:

[1] MČ *ābys* < **ababys* 'our father' < **aba* [non-attested in MČ but cf. Tel., Šr., Sag. *aba* 'father' (R I 620), Kač. *aba* 'elder brother' (ib.)] > MČ *abaj* 'eldest brother' (Pom. NF 58) – the same interpretation by Bang for Alt. *abys* (Bang SG 918, the footnote) and Radloff for Tel., Leb., etc. forms (R I 629). – From the semantic viewpoint the interpretation in question is acceptable, cf. the development of Yak. *agabyt*: 'our father' → 'Orthodox priest' (see below), however with the presumption of the denotation 'father' for MČ **aba*. The phonetic interpretation requires however the necessity of dropping of

⁷ MČ *aṣṣnal-* (a hapax legomenon) < *aṣṣna-* 'to come to one's senses' (MČS 64) = Kzk., Bšk. *aṣṣla-* 'to know, to understand' = Trkm. *āṣla-* id., Tr. *anla-* id. (ĖSTJa I 153).

⁸ Voiced *d-* here is a result of the sandhi sonorisation.

⁹ For lexicalisation of gerunds in *-p* see Pom. NF 149ff.

¹⁰ MČ *āpčāzi* < *āpčā* ~ *āpči* 'wife' (cf. Pom. NF 52), for the long *ā* before the high *-i* see footnote 1 above.

intervocalic *b* which, especially in the neighbourhood of another *b* in the following syllable, is not impossible, cf. MČ *kara pālyk* ~ *karālyk* 'tench' (Pom. NF 126) and *kōmās* ~ *kōmis* 'a little, not much, not many' < **köpāmās* < *köp* 'much, many' + *āmās* 'not' (ib. 141). The long *ā* in MČ *ābys* may also be the result of a secondary lengthening before the high *y* of the following syllable (cf. *āgyl* above), note also the lack of the long *ā* in this word in other languages.

[2] MČ *ābys* < **agabys* 'our father' < *aga* 'father' (TermRS 71), cf. Yak. *agabyt* 'Orthodox priest' (Pek. 13), cf. also parallel Yak. *ijābit* 'priest's wife' (ib. 908) < *ijā* 'mother'.

Such a phonetic shape, i.e. MČ *ābys* could have also resulted from phonetic changes of an ultimate **agabys* and this interpretation, because of *aga* 'father', well-recorded in MČ, is even more plausible than **ababys*.

[3] MČ *ābys* < < Ar. *ḥāfīz* '1. keeper, guarder, guardian, custodian, caretaker; 2. one who knows the Koran by heart' (Wehr 190), the same interpretation of Alt. *abys* in ATS 19, cf. also Khak. man's first name *Abys* (= Khak. common noun *abys*, see above) whose semantics has been interpreted by Sağol: „çocuğun bilgili olması dileğiyle verilir" (Sağol 146). A presumption of the Ar. origin of MČ *ābys* requires some phonetic changes, first of all an adaptation of *h*- and *f* which are rather uncommon in MČ. – For *h*- > Ø- see e.g. Küä. *āzāp* (1.7 above), for despirantisation of *-f* see e.g. Čul. *lāpkā* 'bench, seat' (ČJa 462). The unvoiced MČ *-s* < Ar. *-z* does not cause any problems either.

The presumption of a contamination of [1] and [3], as suggested in Anikin 72, seems to be unnecessary.

2.2 The incomplete denotation quoted by Birjukovič for MČ *āzārlā*- 'to prepare' (LČ 31) made M. Stachowski derive this verb from **āzār* 'ready' and that from Ar. *ḥādir* 'present; attending; prepared; ready' (StachM 254). In fact, the denotation for MČ *āzārlā*- should be 'to saddle' as for MČ *āsārlā*- id. (LČ 32) = Küä. *āzārlā*- id. (R I 892), a denominal verb derived from MČ *āzār* 'saddle' (ZS 99) = Küä. *āzār* id. (R I 892) = LČ *ijār* ~ *jār* id. (ČulJa 139).

2.3 For the possible Arabic etymology of MČ *mylytk* 'gun' (MČS 40) ~ *mlytk* id. (ZS 131), LČ *mylytk* id. (MorfČ 38) ~ *mlytk* id. (ČulJa 152), Küä. *mullytk* id. (R IV 2197) = Alt. *mylytk* id. (ATS 134), Tuv.dial. *myldyk* id. (TuvRS 305) see StachM LD 10.

2.4 Among the Turkic forms of ultimately Ar. *šarṭ* 'condition, precondition; provision, clause' (Wehr 465), Räsänen quotes also Küä. and Bar. *cārt*, with no denotation = Tel., Leb., Tub. *čārt* 'oath' (VEWT 443). Räsänen does not quote the source of Küä. and Bar. word. In Radloff's dictionary, there is no Küä., Bar. *cārt* which could have been derived from Ar. *šarṭ*. The word in question is not recorded in any Čul. source at our command, neither for Küä. nor for MČ and LČ, cf. also its lack in Dm.

Radloff quotes only Küä., Bar., Kom. *cārt*- '1. to snap one's fingers; 2. to crack the nuts, etc.' (R IV 199) = Alt., Tel., Leb. *čārt*- id. (ib. III 1973) which, *nota bene*, is missing in VEWT 105.

Abbreviations

Alt. = Altay (Oïrot), **Ar.** = Arabic, **Bar.** = Baraba, **Bšk.** = Bashkir, **Čag.** = Chagatay, **Čul.** = Chulym, **Dolg.** = Dolgan, **Kač.** = Kacha, **KarŁ.** = Karaim (Łuck), **Kas.** = Kasan, **Khak.** = Khakas, **Kirg.** = Kirghiz, **Koib.** = Koybal, **Kom.** = Koman, **Krm.** = Crimean, **Kum.** = Kumandin, **Küä.** = Küärik, **Kyz.** = Kyzyl, **Kzk.** = Kazakh, **LČ.** = Lower Chulym, **Leb.** = Lebed, **MČ.** = Middle Chulym, **P.** = Persian, **Ott.** = Ottoman-Turkish, **Sag.** = Sagay, **Šr.** = Shor, **Tar.** = Taranchi, **Tat.** = Tatar, **Tel.** = Teleut, **Tof.** = Tofalar, **Tr.** = Turkish, **Trkm.** = Turkmen, **Tub.** = Tuba, **Tuv.** = Tuvinian, **Tüm.** = Tümen, **Uig.** = Uyghur, **Yak.** = Yakut

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