

More on Early Middle Turkic Lexical Elements

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Our colleague Éva Kincses-Nagy, who is honoured with the present Festschrift on occasion of her jubilee, has made a great contribution to the lexicography of Middle Turkic with her monograph on Mongolian elements in Chaghatay. On this occasion I will discuss some more lexemes and suffixes in early Middle Turkic, some of them Mongolian loans, on the analysis of which she can certainly improve.

#*bos* ‘stupid’ (MAv 205/2). A ghost word in Yüce (1988: 106), repeated by Erdal (1991, I: 165). I propose the word should be read *bus* ‘fog’, used metaphorically in the expression *Busqa qoşdı kändü özin* ‘He associated himself with fog’, i.e. ‘He pretended to be inattentive/negligent’ as a translation for ar. تغافل; an alternative translation given is *tagāfulsindī*. In KA we find the phrase تغافل عنه ‘He paid no attention to him’ translated with *gāfil boldi andin*.

boyuq- ‘to suffer from a spasm, convulsion or cramp’ (TZ 10v6 for ar. تشنج), from **boğ-* ‘to choke’ – and not #*boyuq-* ‘to be painted’, supposedly from **bođu-* ‘to dye, paint’, as proposed by Salan (2010: 179).

bügü 1. ‘prophet’ (CCb, *bügülär* ‘the prophets’)¹; 2. ‘witchcraft, magic’ (as *bügi*, QT5, IM, TZ), and hence *bügüçi* ‘magician’ (QT5) / **jādū* 1. ‘magician’ (e.g., QT5 *jādū*); 2. ‘magic’ (e.g., *jādū* in QA) and hence *jādüçi* ‘magician’ (QT2, QA). This parallel change of meaning from actor to action of the Turkic word and the Persian loan is quite remarkable. Conceivably the process started with the addition of /-çI/.

imrān= ‘to relish, like, be at ease’ (TZ 90v13 for طيب , طمان , التمد).² Cf. tkm. *imrin*= ‘to like’; tt. *imren*= ‘to covet’; kzk. *emren*= ‘to fondle’. CL (163b) links all this to *amran*= ‘to be loving, to desire’. In the meaning *imrān*= has in TZ, we find a verb *imrā*= in the recently discovered Dede Korkut ms., a copy from the 18th century (cf. Shahgoli & al. 2019), e.g. in the passage *Ağayillar mäläsürsä gönül imrär, dölün tökär, körpä qızı yetürür, kāmil eylär* ‘When the sheep are bleating, the heart rejoices, the sheep lamb and raise the little lambs to perfection’ (f. 3r11). In the margin this

1 Variant of the general meaning ‘sage, wizard’ (cf. CL 324b sub *bögü*).

2 Atalay (1945: 131) reads *iprān*=, Fazylov & Zijajev (294) *ibrān*=.

explanation is offered: “*Imrār* is a condition that arises in the heart through friendliness (*rīqqat*).” A verb *imrān*=, on the other hand, occurs in the meaning ‘to strive’, or the like, e.g. where Kāsan is boasting: *Igirmi min yaġī ġāldi deyāndā yerümdāy imrānmādüm* ‘When the arrival of twenty thousand enemies was announced, I didn’t stir from my seat’ (f. 24v14).

küp ‘carpet’ (ar. *كِب* *بساط* in IMA 137v3, IMb 67/16 – vocalized); *kepçi* كيبجي ‘carpet-producer’ (ar. *صانع البساط*, IMA 128v9). This secondary meaning of the well-known Iranian loanword **kēp* that appeared in Turkic with the meaning ‘model, mould, last’ (cf. Tezcan 1997 and WOT I, 527 sub *kēp* ‘shape, picture’) has so far escaped attention and I cannot trace it in any other source or modern language. The semantic background is provided by the fact that an ornamental pattern is the essence of a rug. Another secondary meaning ‘decoy bird’ of *küp* is given in the Yozgat ms. of the *Muqaddimat al-adab* (MAN 32v2, ar. *ملواح* / pers. *خروهه*). For this at least we find the parallel *kep* ‘stuffed bird’ in Karakalpak.

qigir ‘askew’ (RH 86v1), in the phrase *A^czal dedükläri oldur kim quyruġi qigir bolġay vä dahī äġri bolġay* ‘*A^czal* is the term for (a horse) the tail of which is askew and also crooked’. This looks like a hypercorrect form for *qiyir*; cf. tel. *küyir* and khak. *çiyir*. Other derivation of the verb *qiy-* that imply crookedness are *qiyiq* ‘crooked’ (MQ) and *qiyuq* ‘big, crooked needle’ (IM). See Boeschoten (2020a: 122).

satu ‘triviality’. The word occurs thrice in QT3 in the hendiadys *oyun satu*, e.g. *Ärmäs yaqinraq tiriglik mäġär oyun satu* ‘The present life is but play and amusement’ (*لعب* و *لهو*, Q. 6/32). This is the base of the verb *satula-* ‘to say things of no value’, that Clauson did not uncover (CL, 801b; cf. Kök 2004:111, fn. 161)

süngüş سنكش ‘small span’ (i.e., the measure obtained between the stretched thumb and index finger) (ar. *قتر*, in MAN 16r1) / *süyüm idem* (TZ). In IN (66r5) we find the excentric form *?sügrünš* (fully vocalized),³ but, as noted in the edition, the Paris ms. reads *sügüş* (IN-ms. Paris). The forms are derivations of the fronted variants *sü-* and *sün-* of the verbs **su-* and its middle voice **su:n-*; the latter verb functions mostly as a (transitive) synonym of the root meaning ‘to extend, stretch (out)’ (cf. also SEV VII: 344–5). Both forms occur prototypically (but not exclusively) in the collocations *boyun su-/sun-* (*sü(n)-*) ‘to stretch out the neck’, i.e. ‘to submit’ and *älig sun-* ‘to stretch out one’s hand’. The fronted variants occur frequently in early Middle Turkic. The forms *sügüş* and *süngüş* must have originated as parallel derivations of *sü(n)-* ‘to stretch’ with the suffix */-GUč/* that normally yields instruments, i.e. **sü-güč* ~ **sün-güč*. Reflexes of both can be found in Turkish dialects (DS 3705 and 3715): *sügüş*, *süngüç*, *sümgüç*, *sümüç*, *sümüş*, *süġlüç*, *süngülüç*, all meaning ‘small span’. In

3 Other (suspect) forms that occur are *شنس* (AH 55. in the chapter on *š-*) / *?šanuš* (so vocalized in AH, ms.D) and *?sünüs* (BM).

this context the form *süyüm* in TZ (for ar. *فتر* ‘small span’) almost looks like a derivation from *süy-* (< **sü-*:< **su-*:; cf. *süy-* ‘to extend’ in tt.dial. and tkm.). It is more widespread in modern Turkic languages, e.g. tt.dial. *süyem/süyüm*, kzk. *süyem*, tat. *söyäm*, krg. *sööm* and tkm. *süyem barmak* ‘index finger’, but the low vowel everywhere in the derivation would look strange. Indeed, the word appears to be a copy of Mongolian *sögäm* (cf. Schönig 2000: 170). Nevertheless, some contamination cannot be excluded (for instance causing a high vowel in the first syllable)⁴

The common word for ‘full span’ is *qariš* (occurring, e.g., in QT4, IM, MAn, AH, KT), but there is no unity in its exact meaning in the modern languages: krg. and tat. *kariš* ‘measure between thumb and middle finger’; uzb. *qariš* ~ *qarič* ‘measure between thumb and little finger’.

The infrequent verb **täpi-* ‘to dry a little’ (cf. az. *täpi-* ‘to dry a little’; tt.dial. *depi-* ‘for laundry to start drying’) occurs as *däp-* (with an appropriate circumscription of its meaning) in the *Kitāb al-idrāk* (AH 47 *däpdi* دَپْدِي). At the same time, in the grammar section of the work a verb *däpi-* is quoted, without a meaning being given (p.103/15; Ermers 1999: 309). An apocopated form also occurs in Chuvash: *tip-* ‘to dry’. Another verb (not occurring in my corpus) that apparently has exactly the same meaning is *käpi-* ‘to dry partially’ (clothing) (MQ, cf. CL 687b); cf. tkm. *kepe-* ‘to dry a little’ and the apocopated form in kzk. *kep-* ‘to dry (up)’. Räsänen (1969: 253) implies that **täpi-* etymologically belongs to **käpi-*. Without knowing a specific reason for such a change to happen, this opinion looks somewhat extravagant from a phonetic point of view, but considering the non-simple identical semantics of both forms it has to be correct. Well, there are some isolated examples for a change *k-* > *t-* in Turkic languages, e.g. bšk. *tirpi* and čuv. *čerëp* ‘hedgehog’, where all the other languages have *kirpi*, and pers. *کَر* > *kärä*, represented by *kärä yav* ‘fresh butter’ (TZ; tt.dial. *kere yağ*) as against *tärä yağ* (IMb; tt. *tere yağ*).

Another difficult question I would like to raise is whether the noun *täpiz* ‘salty ground’ (occurring in QA and BM) ~ *täpüz* (QT4) ~ *tepiž* (AH) (besides *täpüzluž* ‘spot of salty ground’ (NF) might be a derivation of **täpi-*.

torpi ‘a young calf that still follows its mother’ (QA, Baku ms.), whereas other mss. have the diminutive *torpaq*. These data confirms the analysis by CL (533a). In the Berlin *Oghuzname* we find the phrase *šana tolpi* ‘old and young calves’ (f. 2v12, with *tolpi* < *torpi*, misread by Sertkaya 2020: 91); my reading is confirmed by a parallel

4 One item in TZ that seems problematic: For *süyüm* (or *söyüm*, in the margin: *sügüm*) Atalay (1945: 69) gives as a meaning ‘thread for one stich’, (as he does – and this is clearly a mistake – for *süyäm*), presumably because this meaning occurs in modern languages (tkm. *süyüm* ‘thread’, tt.dial. *süyüm/sügüm* and osm. *süyüm* ‘thread for one stich’, čuv. *sëvem* ‘stretched thread’ (SEV VII, 344–5). In fact, it seems feasible that this is the same word as **sögäm* ‘small span’. However, in the case of TZ the Arabic model can hardly be anything but *نية*, and therefore Fazylov & Zijajev (1978: 367) translate with ‘intention’.

passage in the Dede Korkut ms. from Gonbad, where we find the phrase *dana buzav* (cf. Sertkaya 220: 97).

tosġu ‘food served to a guest’ (MAv) ~ *tozġu* (QT3-6 for ar. نُزْلُ, MAv, XŠ) ~ *dozġu* (MAv) (also: *tozġuluq* ‘hospitality’ in QT4). As remarked by Tezcan (1997: 159) this noun must be a derivation from the mong. verb *tos-* ‘to receive, to encounter, go to meet someone who is coming’. The expression *tozġu tegiř* ‘presents for a guest’ in XŠ is more or less a quasi hendiadys with *tegiř* ‘gift at the reception of a guest’ (also in XŠ). This noun is homophonous with the verb *tegiř-* ‘to come to meet with presents’, e.g. *Tälim mäl vä aġ birlä tegiřti* ‘He came to meet with much cattle and horses for a present’ (XŠ f.34r20); *Keldik ol ħaŋga tef[y]iřmägä* ‘We came to present gifts to that king’ (CCb). Tezcan (*op.cit.*) discusses still other types of presents in Old Turkic; of these the Sogdian loan (so Tezcan) *artut* ‘gift’ does not occur in my corpus; on *siġüt* ‘gift which is not matched by a return gift’ (occurring in MQ, cf. CL, 836b and see Boeschoten 2020b: 185). Other terms are the rather non-specific words *armaġan* ‘gift’ (KA, XŠ, MN, AH, TZ, KD) and *bäläg* ‘gift, present’ (QT3, QT5, KA, QAt) ~ *beläg* (QT5, IM) ~ *böläg* (QA, GUL, YL); the Mongolian loan *savġat*, represented by *savġat* ‘present’ (MAv) – a more specific meaning ‘gift which one brings back from a trip or a military expedition’ is suggested by *savġat* ‘the lord’s share in the booty’ (CCb *des heres tevl*); cf. TMEN no. 222; finally, we find *bernä* ‘gift’ (MAv, GUL+) – kar. has *berne*; tat. and bšk. with *birnä* ‘present given to bride or bridegroom by their future in-laws’ exhibit a special meaning; see also Jankowski (2015) who argues that the word is a loanword of unknown provenance. For more on terms for gifts and presents, see Kincses-Nagy (2020).

The animal names ending in *-lAn* occurring in the sources consist of three groups. Firstly, generally occurring names for predatory animals: *arslan* ‘lion’, *qaplan* ‘leopard, tiger’ and *řirtlan*⁵ ‘hyaena’. A second group contains some hoofed animals: *baqlan* ‘lamb that has stopped suckling’ (QA, XŠ), *bulan* ‘deer, roe’ (TZ)⁶/*bul(a)naq* ‘deer, roe’ (AH) – the diminutive suffix *-aq* is a bit surprising here – and *qulan* ‘wild ass’ (general). A third group is made up of small animals and one (non-flying) insect: **yاملan* (CL 936b) > *yalman* 1. ‘jerboa’ (AH, KT, TZ, BM, DM); 2. ‘field-mouse’ (IM); *yılan* ‘snake’ (general); *käslän* كسلان ‘lizard’ (in the addition made by Bärkä Faġih in his copy of XŠ, f.116v11) – cf. Rad II, 1168:bar. *käslänčük*); *doġuzlan qurġi* ‘dung beetle’ (FZ pers. خنفس) ~ *doġuzlan qurġi* (QK) ~ *toġuzdan qurġi* (TZ) ~ *toġuzan qurġi* (MAN ar. جعل) – cf. *domuzlan* ‘bombardier beetle’ (tt.).

It is not clear to me why Erdal (1999 I, §2.45) treats a suffix *-lAK* for bird names, but not a suffix *-lAn*. The morphology of these bird names is hardly less opaque than the forms ending in *-lAn*. In early Middle Turkic we find: *baġirġaq* ‘sand grouse’ (KD) ~ *baġirġtaq* (MAN, MG; also SAN 123r14; cf Erdal *loc.cit.*); *čarġaq* ‘vulture’ (TZ for

5 Written *řirtlan* or *řirġlan* in some sources.

6 Cf. WOT (I, 172) sub *bölény*.

ar. نسر; but in modern languages: tkm. *čarlaq*; tat. *akčarlak* and krg. *čardak*, all mean ‘gull’); *čomjalaq* ‘grebe’ (AH; CL 423a *čomjuq*; uyg. *čumjjaq* ‘little grebe’; XŠ has *čomğaq*) and *yapaqulaq* ‘female owl’ (FZ) > *yabalaq* ‘owl’ (CCa, KT, DM), ‘screech owl’ (TZ ar. مصاصة). The item *läkläk* ‘stork’ (AH) might not belong here, depending on whether it is a copy of ar. لقلق after all. But for the following discussion the variant *käläk* (TZ for ar. بلارج) is of interest.

Remarkably, in the Middle Turkic period some terms for flying insects on *-LAK* appeared. We find: *bögäläk* ‘gadfly’ (MAN for ar. نعة; cf. kzk. *bögelek*; tt.dial. *bögelek/büyelek*; az. *böyäläk*; cf. WOT I, 167 sub *bögöly*) and *kübäläk* ‘moth, butterfly’ (QT2) ~ *köbäläk* (QAc, CCb) ~ *käläbäk* (QT3-5, IM, MA, QA), an extension of **kápäli* (CL 689b) – besides *äpäläk* ‘butterfly’ (KA), also in tt.dial.: *epelek*.

In connection with a discussion of taboo namings Brands (1973: 93–94) notices a remarkable high incidence of different Turkic varieties of irregular phonetic variants of terms for small animals and insects, notably for ant, lizard, locust, butterfly and spider. Clauson (1972) on the other hand generally takes phonetic instability to be a sign for loanword status, e.g. in the cases of **käsliñcü* ‘lizard’ (CL 750b) and **kápäli* ‘butterfly’ (CL 689b). Apart from the phonetic variability, for the same category an unusual number of basis lexemes is noticed by Brands (1973: 24, fn.8) for, e.g. ‘ant’. In my corpus only **qumursğa* and **qarinčğa* are represented, with a fair amount of phonetic variants.

In individual cases one might come up with plausible derivations (*qap-lan* ‘tiger’ from *qap-* ‘to seize’; *sirt-lan* ‘hyaena’ from *sirit-* ‘to grin’; *yil-lan* > *yılan* ‘snake’⁷ from *yil-* ‘to move away, to creep’ – the verb occurs in TZ; *yapaqu-laq* ‘owl’ from *yapaqu* ‘soft hair, wool’). But the overall picture, both for *-LAN* and for *LAK* is, that they cannot be considered regular suffixes, because in the majority of cases there are no obvious roots for constructing the derivation. On the other hand, analogy has made a number of forms in a phonetically unstable situation drift towards the endings signalling non-flying and flying animals respectively.

The deverbal suffix *-mAč* is used in a number of foodstuffs connected with cereals. It is a compound suffix consisting of the common suffix *-mA* augmented with the diminutive suffix *-č*. This can be illustrated by the case of the Old Turkic word *bulğama* ‘gruel’ (from *bulğa-* ‘to stir’) in MQ (cf. CL 338a), that was in Middle Turkic and later generally replaced,⁸ either by *bulğamač* (IMa, AH) > *bulamač* (IMb, TZ, BM, DM), or by *bulğamaq* (MAN, QA, NF). In this last form *-q*, again, is a diminutive suffix. Cf. also SAN (114r19) *bulamač/bulamaq*.

7 Thus proposed by Demirci (2014: 681). An alternative often discussed, **yil-ğan*, to me seems impossible anyway both from a historical-phonetic, and from a semantic perspective.

8 But notice tkm. *bulama* (~ *bulamak*).

Two items are already found in MQ: firstly *tutmač*, defined by MQ as ‘a dish well-known among the Turks’, the original meaning of which must have been ‘noodles’, e.g. *tuṭmač* ‘handfuls of dough added to meat soup’ (AH) and *tutmač* ‘vermicelli’ (MAn, ar. لاخشه ‘vermicelli’ according to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*). The definition in AH makes it conceivable that the item is derived from *tut-* ‘to grasp’. In other sources, similar to MQ, the word is just defined as ‘a dish’ (e.g. az.dial. in ADL II, 583 *tutmac*, and TMEN no. 876 *tutmač* ‘ein Nudelgericht’). Dishes called *tutmaç* are still popular in Anatolia and contain at least noodles and yogurt, besides lentils, chick-peas, etc.

Also already in MQ occurs *kömüč* (< **köm-mäč* from *köm-* ‘to bury’) ‘bread baked in the ashes’ (KA, QA, KD), to which should belong *kemüč* ‘unleavened bread’ (CCb for *azymus*); cf. TMEN no. 1643. Another kind of bread is *bazlamač* ‘round and flat bread’ (BM) (*idem*: tt. *bazlamaç*), from *bazla-* ‘to roll out dough’ (tt.dial.), from *bāzū* ‘thin rolling pin’ (occurring in AH), a secondary meaning of the Persian loan *bāzū* ‘(upper) arm’ (occurring in GUL and IN). The item *ovmač* ‘porridge’ (from *uv-/ov-* ‘to rub, to crumble’) only occurs in KD, but is also found in tkm., osm. *ovmač* and tt.dial. *ovmaç* ‘a kind of bread soup’, besides tat. *umač* ‘a kind of noodles’ (Rad. I, 1791); the variant *ūma* ‘a kind of noodles’ (Rad. I, 1788) seems to support the analysis of *-mAč* as a compound suffix.

The suffix *-mAč* is not confined to foodstuffs. We find, for instance, *örmüč* ‘plait’ (TZmrg). The simplex derivation *örmä* from the verb *ör-* ‘to plait’ can be anything plaited, e.g. *örmä* ‘tent covering’ (IMa); osm. *örmä*, tt.dial. *örme* ‘rope’; Rad. I, 1242:tel./alt. *örmö* ‘basket’, and notice *örmä sač* ‘plait of hair’ (MQ). Also, *örmüčäk* ‘a soft white cheese’ (AH, ar. قريشه) should belong here (with yet another diminutive suffix!). Another instance is *qïymäč* ~ *quymäč* ‘squinting look, flirtatious look’ (different mss. of QA; cf. Boeschoten 2020a: 122). Finally, there exists a parallel derivation to *kömüč* ‘bread baked in the ashes’ (not in my corpus): *kömüč* ‘a piece of wood for putting the tent pole in’ (TMEN no. 1687).

A similar infrequent (post-nominal) compound suffix *-Gač* (*-GA+* -č), used to denote plants and animal, is discussed by Erdal 1999: I, §2.43), but without explicitly claiming its compound nature, although he stresses the emotive nature of the diminutive element.

Sources

In order not to burden the article with an enormous apparatus, I will list the sources with short titles. I refer to Boeschoten (2020a) for fuller information on the works and the editions.

AH = Abū Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-idrāk*; BM = *Kitāb bulğa al-muštāq*; CCA/CCb = *Codex Cumanicus* (“Italian”/“German” section); DM = *ad-Durra al-muḏī’a*; FZ = *Fārhang-i Zafān-gūyā*; GUL = Sayf-ı Sarāyī, *Kitāb Gulistān bi-t-Turkī* (GUL+ = poems added by the copyist); IMa/IMb = Ibn al-Muhannā, *Kitāb Hilyat al-insān wa-Ḥalbat al-lisān* (Istanbul ms./Miliorskij’s edition); IN = *Kitāb fī ‘ilm an-nuṣṣāb*; KA = *Kitāb al-*

Af̣āl; KD = The King’s Dictionary; KT = *Kitāb tarğumān Turkī wa-ʿArabī wa-Muğālī*; MAV/MAN = *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (verb-/nominal section); MG = the “Margin Grammar”; MN = Ḥʿārazmī, *Muḥabbatnāma*; MQ = *Divān al-Luğat at-Turk*; NF = *Nahğ al-Farādīs*; Q. = Qur’an; QA = Rabghūzī, *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*; QT2-6 = different interlinear translations of the Qur’an; RH = *Kitāb fī riyāzat al-ḥayl*; SAN = *Sanglah*; TZ = *at-Tuḥfat az-zakiyya*; XŠ = Quṭb, *Husrav u Šīrīn*.

Abbreviations

ar. = Arabic; az. = Azerbaijani; bar. = Baraba Tatar; bšk. = Bashkir; čuv. = Chuvash; dial. = dialect; kar. = Karaim; kzk. = Kazakh; khak. = Khakas; krg. = Kirghiz; tkm. mrg = margin; osm. = Ottoman Turkish; pers. = Persian; tat. = Volga Tatar; tel. = Teleut; tt. = Republican Turkish; uzb. = Uzbek

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