

OTTOMANS – CRIMEA – JOCHIDS

Studies in Honour of Mária Ivanics

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Edited by István Zimonyi

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Cover illustration:
Calligraphy of Raniya Muhammad Abd al-Halim

Text:
And say, “O my Lord! advance me in knowledge” (Q 20, 114)

Letters and Words. Exhibition of Arabic Calligraphy. Cairo 2011, 72.

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Preface

Mária Ivanics was born on 31 August 1950 in Budapest. After completing her primary and secondary education, she studied Russian Language and Literature, History and Turkology (Ottoman Studies). She received her MA degree in 1973. In the following year she was invited by the chair of the Department of Altaic Studies, Professor András Róna-Tas, to help to build up the then new institution at the József Attila University (Szeged). She taught at that university and its legal successors until her retirement. First, she worked as an assistant lecturer, then as a senior lecturer after defending her doctoral dissertation. Between 1980–86, she and his family stayed in Vienna (Austria), where she performed postdoctoral studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Vienna. She obtained the “candidate of the sciences” degree at the Hungarian Academy of Science in 1992, and her dissertation – The Crimean Khanate in the Fifteen Years’ War 1593–1606 – was published in Hungarian. From 1993 to 2009 she worked as an associate professor. Her interest gradually turned to the study of the historical heritage of the successor states of the Golden Horde, especially to publishing the sources of the nomadic oral historiography of the Volga region. As a part of international collaboration, she prepared the critical edition of one of the basic internal sources of the Khanate of Kasimov, the Genghis Legend, which she published with professor Mirkasym Usmanov in 2002: (Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende. (Däftär-i Dschingis-nāmā) 1. Vorwort, Einführung, Transkription, Wörterbuch, Faksimiles. Szeged: University of Szeged, 2002. 324 p. (Studia Uralo-Altaica 44).¹ In 2008, Mária Ivanics was appointed to the head of the department and at the same time she became the leader of the Turkological Research Group of the Hungarian Academy operating at the department. In 2009, she defended her dissertation entitled “The Nomadic Prince of the Genghis Legend”, and received the title, “doctor of sciences” from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It is an extremely careful historical-philological study of the afore-mentioned Book of Genghis Khan, published in Budapest in 2017 as a publication of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences entitled Exercise of power on the steppe: The nomadic world of Genghis-nāmā. She was the head of the Department of Altaic Studies until 2015. Between 2012 and 2017, she headed the project “The Cultural Heritage of the Turkic Peoples” as the leader of the MTA–SZTE Turkology Research Group operating within the Department of Altaic Studies. She has been studying the diplomatic relations between the Transylvanian princes and the Crimean Tatars and working on the edition of the diplomas issued by them.

¹ <https://ojs.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php/stualtaica/article/view/13615/13471>

Her scholarly work is internationally outstanding, well known and appreciated everywhere. Her studies have been published in Russian, German, Turkish, Hungarian and English.²

She actively involved in scientific public life. She has been a member of the board of the Kőrösi Csoma Society, a member of the Oriental Studies Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Public Body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. From 2005 she was the editor and co-editor of different monograph series (Kőrösi Csoma Library, and *Studia uralo-altaica*. From 2008 to 2017, she was the vice-president of the Hungarian–Turkish Friendship Society. Her outstanding work has been rewarded with a number of prizes and scholarships: in 1994 she received the Géza Kuun Prize, in 1995 the Mellon Scholarship (Turkey). She received a Széchenyi Professorial Scholarship between 1998 and 2001 and István Széchenyi Scholarship between 2003 and 2005, the Ferenc Szakály Award in 2007 and the Award for Hungarian Higher Education in 2008.

In addition to her scientific carrier, she has given lectures and led seminars on the history and culture of the Altaic speaking peoples, she has taught modern and historical Turkic languages to her students. She has supervised several thesis and dissertations of Hungarian and foreign BA, MA and PhD students. Through establishing a new school of thought, she has built a bridge between Ottoman studies and research on Inner Eurasian nomads.

Szeged, 2020.

István Zimonyi

² Complete list of her publication:
<https://m2.mtmt.hu/gui2/?type=authors&mode=browse&sel=10007783&paging=1;1000>

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<i>Apatóczy Ákos Bertalan</i>	<i>Hunyadi Zsolt</i>
<i>Baski Imre</i>	<i>Károly László</i>
<i>Bíró Bernadett</i>	<i>Keller László</i>
<i>Csernus Sándor</i>	<i>Kocsis Mihály</i>
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<i>Deák Ágnes</i>	<i>Kövér Lajos</i>
<i>Emel Dev</i>	<i>Molnár Ádám</i>
<i>Felföldi Szabolcs</i>	<i>Polgár Szabolcs</i>
<i>Fodor István</i>	<i>Sándor Klára</i>
<i>Font Márta</i>	<i>Sipőcz Katalin</i>
<i>Gyenge Zoltán</i>	<i>Szántó Richárd</i>
<i>Hamar Imre</i>	<i>Szeverényi Sándor</i>
<i>Hazai Cecília</i>	<i>Vásáry István</i>
<i>Hazai Kinga</i>	<i>Vér Márton</i>

On Some Taboo Words in Yeniseian

Bayarma Khabtagaeva
Department of Altaic Studies, University of Szeged

The paper discusses different fifteen native Yeniseian¹ and eleven Altaic loanwords connected to the category of taboo words. Through this semantic category, some linguistic criteria peculiar to the Yeniseian languages and their Altaic elements are presented. The basis of the paper is the comparative (Werner 2002) and etymological dictionaries of the Yeniseian languages (Vajda & Werner: in preparation), and a recently published monograph of the author on the Altaic elements of Yeniseian languages (Khabtagaeva 2019).

Taboo topics in ethnographic works

The valuable information on ethnography and taboo words of the Ket and Yeniseian people we can be gained mostly from the various ethnographic works of Russian and Soviet researchers. A prominent name among them is that of the Ketologist professor Alekseenko, from St. Petersburg, whose works covered practically every cultural aspect of the Ket people. Beginning with 1959 she published about 40 papers and a monograph on Ket culture based on her fieldwork materials (e.g. 1960; 1971; 1976; 1985). The monograph *The Ket people* investigates the various ethnographic aspects of Ket everyday lifestyle such as house, food, means of transport, spiritual words, shamanism, tribes etc. of the Ket people (Alekseenko 1999). In 1966 Dul'zon published the Ket texts — folktales describing everyday

¹ The Yeniseian languages belong in the Palaeo-Asiatic (or Palaeo-Siberian) language group, which also includes the Yukaghiric, the Kamchukotic, the Amuric and the Ainuic languages. The earliest documented sources of Yeniseian languages are relatively recent. The first short lists of Yeniseian words and phrases were compiled at the end of the 17th and in the 18th century by European travelers such as Witsen (1692), Messerschmidt (1720-1727), and Strahlenberg (1730). The most recent works on historical linguistics by Starostin (1982), Georg (2007: 16–20; 2018: 141), and Vajda (2014, personal communication) divide the Yeniseian languages into at least three sub-branches: Ket-Yugh, Pumpokol and Assan-Kott. Arin is either connected with Pumpokol or Ket-Yugh or represents a fourth sub-branch. Today the Yeniseian language family is represented by only the three surviving dialects of Ket. The Yugh language lost its last fluent speaker in the 1970s, Kott disappeared before 1850, while Assan, Arin and Pumpokol vanished in the 1700s (for more details on the Yeniseian languages, see Khabtagaeva 2019: 7–11).

activities such as hunting, which were recorded by the author in the villages representing various Ket dialects (Dul'zon 1966). There were also very important publications by Dolgih in the field of Ket ethnography, especial Ket tribal structure (Dolgih 1934, 1982). Some folklore and historical ethnical questions are discussed by Nikolaev (1985).

An excellent paper on Ket shamanism was published in English by Vajda in 2010. He provides a comprehensive introduction of earlier studies on shamanism including the information about the expeditions conducted among the Ket people during the 20th century. The paper provides an overview of practices, beliefs, accessories, and linguistic aspects of Ket shamanism. In addition, comprehensive information on and an annotated bibliography of ethnographic works of Yeniseian people published before 2000 are found in the *Source guide* by Vajda (2001).

Taboo words in Yeniseian

From a semantic point of view, the taboo words can be examined as part of various lexical groups. The present paper discusses twenty-six Yeniseian words connected to names of evil spirits, terminology related to shamanism, and words associated with the bear and its hunting.

The names of evil spirits

Like many other Siberian people, Kets have traditionally held a mythopoetic explanation of the world. In the Ket tradition, the structure of the world is reconstructed from three worlds: the Earth, which is surrounding by water area, the Heaven with its seven parallel circles, the seventh being the Sky, and seven cave dungeons supposedly found under the Earth. The Earth is inhabited by Kets, i.e. 'bright and pure' people, animals and birds, as well as numerous owners of places with a good or neutral nature. Under the Earth, the evil spirits have their own special world, which is also the world of the dead people and animals (for more details, see Alekseenko 1999: 55–62).

Nine Yeniseian names of evil spirits are discussed below. Six of them have a Yeniseian origin (1–6) and three words are Altaic loanwords (7–9).

Evil spirits's names of Yeniseian origin

Morphologically, the majority of native Yeniseian words presented below are built through compounding (2–6), and one term contains a nominalizer +s (1):

- (1) Ket *l'it̪s*; Yugh *luʔsi*, Pumpokol *lici* 'devil' (Werner 2002/2: 16)
 < Yeniseian **luʔʃ* 'forested upland' +*si* {NMLZ} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

- (2) Ket *qɔnij* ‘*myth.* evil spirit; name of one of the seven Ket souls’ (Werner 2002/2: 104)
 < Yeniseian *qɔʔn* ‘dark’ and *ij* ‘spirit’ → ‘*literally* dark spirit’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).
- (3) Ket *dɔt* ~ *dɔ:t* ‘evil forest spirit’ (Werner 2002/1: 202)
 cf. Ket *dɔttet* ~ *dotet* ‘an evil male forest spirit’ < *dɔt* ‘evil forest spirit’ and *tē:t* ‘husband’;
 Ket *dɔtam* ‘a malevolent female forest spirit, wife of *dɔttet* ~ *dotet*’ < *dɔt* ‘evil forest spirit’ and *ā:m* ‘mother’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

An important element of the Ket people’s life is the Earth, it is represented in the image of the Mother, as the ancestress (for more details on cultural aspects, see Alekseenko 1999: 60–61). The next three Yeniseian words include the word *baʔŋ* ‘earth’:

- (4) Ket *báŋl’itís* ‘underground devil’; Yugh *báŋlít’si* (Werner 2002/1: 105)
 < *baʔŋ* ‘earth’ + *di* {Ket POSS} and *litís* ‘devil’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).
- (5) Ket *báŋul’s* ‘underground devil (*spirit*)’ (Werner 2002/1: 106)
 < *baʔŋ* ‘earth’ and *ū:l* ‘water’ + *s* {Ket NMLZ} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).
- (6) Ket *baŋos* ~ *baŋgos* ~ *baŋgu:s*; Yugh *báŋgu:s* ‘earth spirit’ (Werner 2002/2: 105)
 < *baʔŋ* ‘earth’ + *ku:s* ‘spirit’.

The word was discussed among false etymologies or coincidences (Khabtagaeva 2019: 360). From a semantic point of view, the Ket and Yugh words indicate a borrowing from Siberian Turkic forms *maŋus* ~ *moŋus* ~ *muŋus* ‘devil’, which are of Mongolic origin with the original meaning being ‘fabulous, usually many-headed monster, a kind of ogre’,² but the Yeniseian words have their own etymology. In turn, the Mongolic word *maŋus* ‘monster, a kind of ogre’ has possibly a Yeniseian etymology.

2 Cf. Southern Siberian Turkic: Yenisei Turkic: Shor *mōŋūs* ‘bad’; Altai Turkic: Altai *moŋgus* ‘huge’; Tuba *muŋus* ‘devil’; Quu *moŋus* ‘strong, brave, skilful; hero, warrior; evil, wicked’; Teleut *maŋgīs* ‘locust’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *maŋgīs* ‘monster’; Northern Siberian Turkic: Yakut *maŋīs* ‘insatiable, greedy’; Dolgan *moŋus* ‘monster’; Kipchak Turkic: Siberian Tatar, Kirgiz *n.a.*; Turki: Yellow Uyghur *maŋgīs* ‘devil (*lives on the moon*)’.
 ← Mongolic *maŋyus* ‘fabulous, usually many-headed monster, a kind of ogre’: Middle Mongol: Secret History *manggus* ~ *mangqus*; Literary Mongolian *mangyus*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *mangad*; Khalkha *mangas*; Kalmuck *maŋys*.

The evil spirits names of Turkic origin

One of the results of my research was to establish that the Kott, Arin and Assan languages have the greatest number of the Turkic loans³ in comparison to loans attested in Ket, Yugh and Pumpokol (Khabtagaeva 2019: 370). A good example to prove this claim is the word ‘devil’ in Yeniseian. If Ket, Yugh and Pumpokol have a Common Yeniseian form (1), whereas Kott (8, 9), Arin (7) and Assan (8) have Turkic loanwords:

- (7) Arin *ajna* ‘devil’ (Werner 2002/1: 21) ← Turkic **ayna* ‘devil, demon’ ← ? Persian:
cf. Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *ayna* ‘devil’; Sagai, Koibal *ayna* ‘devil, evil spirit’; Kyzyl *aynā*; Shor *ayna* ‘devil, demon’; Altai Turkic: Altai *n.a.*;⁴ Quu *ayna* ‘demon, evil spirit’; Teleut *ayna* ‘devil; evil spirit’; Sayan Turkic *n.a.*; Chulym Turkic *ayna* ‘devil; evil spirit’; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

The Arin word is obviously a Turkic loanword, the source of borrowing for the Arin form includes Yenisei Turkic, Altai Turkic or Chulym Turkic. From an etymological point of view, Erdal (1991: 591) at the basis of the Mongolic *ayi-* ~ *ayu-* verb ‘to fear, become frightened or afraid’⁵ reconstructs the Turkic verb **ayX-* (also see the reconstruction of West Old Turkic, Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 449⁶). Clauson (ED 274b) suggests that the Turkic and Mongolic resemblance is accidental. More likely, the Turkic forms are connected to Persian *hajnā+* (Stachowski 1996: 102; 2006: 109; Pomorska 2012: 301). Recently, Nevskaya (2017) published an insightful paper dedicated to this Siberian Turkic word, where she also suggested the Indo-Iranian origin.

- (8) Kott *âsa* ~ *asa* ~ *âša*; Assan *asa* ‘devil, evil spirit’ (Werner 2002/1: 61) ← Turkic **aza* < **ađa* ‘devil, demon, evil spirit’:
cf. Old Turkic *ada* ‘danger’; Yenisei Turkic: *n.a.*; Altai Turkic: Altai *aza* ‘demon, evil spirit (*name of bad spirit in Altai mythology*)’; Qumanda *aze* ‘spirit, ghost, bad smell’; Quu *aza* ~ *aze* ‘devil, demon’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *aza* ‘evil spirit, Satan’; Tofan *aza*

3 Of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. It seems that two layers may be distinguished: Yenisei Turkic, including the Khakas language with its dialects (Sagai, Koibal, Kachin, Kyzyl) and Shor, and Altai Turkic, including Qumanda, Quu and Tuba kiži dialects and Literary Altai language. Rare similarities may be observed with Sayan Turkic, Chulym, Yakut, Dolgan languages and Siberian Tatar dialect. Fuyü data are also important because of some similarities with Yenisei Turkic. Only these mentioned Turkic languages and varieties are considered in this paper.

4 *n.a.* indicates that the form is not available, it may be present but not found in the consulted dictionaries.

5 Cf. Mongolic: Middle Mongol: Secret History *ayu-*; Hua-yi yi-yu *ayu-*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *ayi-* ~ *ai-*; Literary Mongolian *ayi-* ~ *ayu-*; Modern Mongol: Buryat, Khalkha *ai-*; Kalmuck *ā-*; Dagur *ai-* ~ *ay-*; Khamnigan *ai-* (also, see Nugteren 2011: 275–276).

6 Cf. Turkic: West Old Turkic **ayī-* ~ **āyi-* ‘to fear, to be afraid’ → Hungarian *ijeszt* [iyest] {< **ije-Ast-*} ‘to frighten’, *ijed* [iyed] {< **ije-Ad-*} ‘to be frightened, to take fright’.

‘devil’; Chulym Turkic *n.a.*; Yakut *n.a.*; Siberian Tatar *aza* ‘bad spirit, demon’; Kirgiz *ada* ‘devil, evil spirit’; Fu-yü *azi* ‘ghost’.

The Yeniseian words clearly belong to the loanwords of Altai Turkic. The devoicing of original intervocalic *z > s* is regular for Kott loanwords⁷ (Khabtagaeva 2019: 218) due to the absence of the original consonant **z* in Yeniseian (Starostin 1982: 148). This change points to early borrowing.

In spite of its non-typical form, the Altai Turkic word *aza* ‘devil, demon’ is probably related to the Old Turkic form *ada* ‘danger’ (Clauson ED: 40a). According to the phonetic rules of Altai Turkic, the Old Turkic *ada* had to develop into **aya*, in turn, the Altai Turkic form with intervocalic *z* is typical of Yenisei Turkic⁸ (Johanson 1998: 102). It is important to mention that the word for ‘devil, demon’ in Yenisei Turkic is *ayna* (see below Arin *ajna* ‘devil’), which is also an unusual feature. The Altai Turkic form was probably borrowed from Yenisei Turkic. For details on irregular reflexes of **d* in South Siberian Turkic, see Nugteren (2012: 75–86).

A new etymology has been recently proposed by Nevskaya, who connects this term with an Indo-Iranian stem with the original meaning ‘serpent or dragon’ and adds it to the group of *Wanderwörter* (Nevskaya 2017: 218–219).

- (9) Kott *aka* ‘devil’ (Werner 2002/1: 22) ← Turkic **aqa* ‘elder brother; senior relative, elderly man; courteous address to elders; totem; fetish’:
 cf. Old Turkic *aqa* ‘elder brother’ (DTS); Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *aga* ‘a head of a tribe; grandfather; father’s elder brother; courteous address to elders; *taboo* bear; ancestor; totem; fetish’ (Butanaev); Shor *aqqa* ‘grandfather from father’s side’; Altai Turkic: Altai *aqa* ‘elder brother; grandfather’s brother; *hon.* for older people’; Tuba *aga* ‘elder brother’; Qumanda *aga* ‘father’; Quu, Teleut *n.a.*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *aki* ‘elder brother’; Tofan *a^hha* ‘elder brother’; Chulym Turkic *aga* ‘father’; Yakut *aga* ‘senior; father; ancestor’; Dolgan *aga* ‘father’; Siberian Tatar *aga* ‘elder brother, uncle’; Kirgiz *aga* ‘elder brother, uncle; senior relative’; Fu-yü *n.a.*; Kazak *aga* ‘elder brother; senior’; Yellow Uyghur *aqa* ‘elder brother; Buddhist monk’ (For etymological background and data, see ESTJa 1974: 70, 121; Räsänen VEWT 13a; SIGTJa 2001: 291–292).

7 E.g. Kott *bosarak* ‘ruddy colored (*said of red fox fur*)’ ← Turkic *bozraq* < *bōz* ‘grey, brown’ + *rAK* {Turkic denominal noun suffix, which forms elatives and comparatives}; Kott *esirolog* ‘drunk (*adj.*)’ ← Turkic *āsāriklig* < *āsār-* ‘to be or become drunk, intoxicated’ -(X)K {Turkic deverbil noun suffix}, +*LXK* {Turkic denominal noun/adjective suffix}; Kott *kasak* ~ *kasax* ‘healthy, health’ ← Turkic *qazıq* ‘health’ < **qadig* < *qad-* ‘to be hard, firm, tough’ -(X)G {Turkic deverbil noun suffix}, etc.

8 E.g. Old Turkic *adaq* ‘leg, foot’ ~ Khakas *azax* (cf. Yellow Uyghur *azaq*, Fu-yü *azix*); Old Turkic *qudruq* ‘tail’ ~ Khakas *xuzurux* (cf. Yellow Uyghur *quziriq*); Old Turkic *bedük* ‘large, high’ ~ Khakas *pözik* (cf. Yellow Uyghur *pezik*), etc. (For more examples, see Nugteren 2012: 76).

The Kott word for ‘devil’ is absent in other Yeniseian languages. Due to the taboo character I assume that it might be borrowed from Turkic ‘elder man, elder relative’. From an etymological point of view, the Turkic word belongs to the category of nursery words, it is present in almost all Modern Turkic languages, and it is also present in almost all Middle and Modern Mongolic languages with the same meaning of ‘elder brother’ (for data, see Nugteren 2011: 266).

Words connected to shamanism

Every Ket person was animated by seven different spirits *a-p, i-j, iʔl, hɔnɔlʔ, qɔktij, qɔnij, ulʔbej* and *átpej ~ átpet* (Werner 2002/3: 419). The number seven figures prominently throughout Ket folklore and beliefs. Among these seven spirits, *ulʔbej* is the most important for a person’s well-being. The rest were acquired from eating various plants and animals, and little is known about their individual characteristics. Unlike the other spirits, which could inhabit plants and animals as well as humans, *ulʔbej* could only animate a human being or a bear, the latter being regarded as a lost human relative (Vajda 2010: 130). The Ket people believed that every person possessed an *ulʔbej*, and a person without it was considered as hopelessly ill or dead (Aleksenko 1999: 60–61).

- (10) Literally, the word means ‘water-wind’ and is often translated as ‘soul’ in descriptions of Ket spiritual culture:

Ket *ulʔbej*; Southern Ket *ulvej*; Yugh *úlʔbej* ‘the main human (out of the seven spirits said to be associated with each person)’ (Werner 2002/2: 330, 336)

< **ulʔ(əŋ)* ‘wet’ + **bej* ‘wind’ (Vajda & Wener: in preparation).

- (11) For an indication of a ‘shaman’s soul’, the Ket people use the Turkic word *qut* ‘soul, spirit’. The notion of *qut* is conceptualized as an anthropomorphic spirit passed down from one generation to the next as a shaman’s gift (for details on the ethnographic background, see Aleksenko 1984: 56; Vajda 2010: 133). From a linguistic point of view, the borrowed form was probably **qudu*, with the voiced consonant *d* in intervocalic position (Khabtagaeva 2019: 274–275). The intervocalic consonant *d* changed regularly to *r* in the Ket dialects (Werner 1990: 35). The final vowel in Northern and Central Ket dialects could be the vocative form (Georg 2007: 117). The source of borrowing is still unclear. The Ket forms may have been borrowed from Tungusic or directly from Turkic:

Southern Ket *qùt ~ qùr* ‘the great “first” person; shaman’s main spirit helper’; Northern Ket *qùr̄e*, Central Ket *qùde* ‘make magic (*said of a shaman*)’ (Werner 2002/2: 139) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *kutu* ‘soul; happiness, good luck, success’ ← Turkic *qut* ‘soul; spirit’:

Podkamennyi Ewenki *kuta* ~ *kutu*; Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon, Ilimpeya; Southern Ewenki: Nepa, Sym, Upper Lena, Nercha; Eastern Ewenki: Aldan, Uchur, Sakhalin, Barguzin *kutu* ‘happiness, good luck; well-being’; cf. Northern Tungusic: *n.a.*; Southern Tungusic: Jurchen *hūh-t’ūh-rh* ‘happiness’; Manchu *huturi* ‘happiness, good luck; well-being; benefaction’;

Tungusic ← Turkic *qut* ‘soul; spirit’:

cf. Old Turkic *qut* ‘the favour of heaven; good fortune; happiness; spirit, soul, strength’ (DTS); Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *xut* ‘soul, spirit, strength’; Shor *qut* ‘soul’; Altai Turkic: Altai *kut* ‘soul, strength; embryo’; Tuba, Qumanda *n.a.*; Quu *kut* ‘soul’; Teleut *qut* ‘soul; means, remedy’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *kut* ‘soul; life-giving power’; Tofan *n.a.*; Chulym Turkic *qutu* ‘soul’; Yakut; Dolgan *kut* ‘soul’; Siberian Tatar *qot* ‘a kind of rite’; Kirgiz *kut*; Fu-yü *got* ‘soul’; Kazak *qut* ‘happiness’; Yellow Uyghur *n.a.* (For details on the etymological background of the Turkic word, see Räsänen VEWT 305a, Clauson ED: 594 and ESTJa 2000: 175–177).

- (12) The Ket word ‘sorcerer’ in shaman’s speech is probably connected with the Mongolic word *nökör* ‘friend, comrade, companion; husband’. The problematic side of the etymology is the absence of any other direct Mongolic borrowings into Ket. The Mongolic etymology is fitting from a semantic point of view:

Ket ***nikkor*** ‘sorcerer (*in shaman’s speech*)’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation)
← Mongolic **nökör* ‘friend, comrade, companion; husband’:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *nökür*; Secret History *nökör*; Hua-yi yi-yu *nökör*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *nöker* ~ *nökör*; Literary Mongolian *nökör*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *nüxer*; Khalkha *nöxör*; Oirat dial. *nökär*; Kalmuck *nökr*; Dagur *nuyur*; Khamnigan *nüker* ~ *neker*.

There is a rich terminology of shaman’s paraphernalia in the Ket language. Linguistically, some of the terms were discussed by Vajda (2010). The ethnographic description was examined in detail in various works by Alekseenko (1982, 1984, 1999: 54–55). Recently, a paper about Ket shaman drums from the collections of the museum’s Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg and the Ethnographic museum of the Kazan university was published by Duvakin (2019).

- (13) The next Ket word is connected to the Ewenki dialectal form **kulitkōn*. The proposed etymology is strengthened by the lexical coincidence, while from a phonetic perspective, the internal syllable *-lit-* is deleted due to the monosyllabic structure of Ket words, which is a typical feature of some Altaic loanwords in Yeniseian (Khabtagaeva 2019: 273–274):

Ket *кэҕэҥ* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume; copper pendant of the shaman’s costume’ (Werner 2002/1: 445) ← Tungusic: Ewenki **kulitkōn* < *kulitkān* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume’ < *kulīn* ‘snake’ + *tkĀn* {Ewenki diminutive suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 791}:

cf. Barguzin, Sakhalin Ewenki *kulitkān* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume’ < *kulin* ‘snake’:

Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon, Ilimpeya; Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi, Nepa, Tokma, Nercha, Northern Baikal; Eastern Ewenki: Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Barguzin *kulin*; Upper Lena *kolin*;

cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut *qulin* ~ *quličān* ~ *qolisān* ~ *kuličan* ~ *quličān* ‘mosquito’; Negidal *kolixān* ~ *kulikān* ‘worm, bug’; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *kulæ* ‘worm (common name for worms, snakes, and caterpillars)’; Udihe *kuliga* ‘id.’; Ulcha *qoli* ‘kind of aquatic insect’, *qula* ‘worm’; Orok *qola* ~ *qolia* ~ *qoliya* ‘insect, worm’; Nanai *qolā* ‘worm; caterpillar; insect’; Southern Manchuric: *n.a.* (for all Tungusic data, SSTMJJa 1: 428b).

Words associated with the bear and its hunting

The special category of taboo words includes the terminology connected with bear hunting. From an ethnographic point of view, there is a rich literature about the bear-feast. Ethnographer Alekseenko wrote that the Ket people believed the bear to be a special animal with a soul, while other animals do not have a soul; it has an ability to understand the language of animals and people. In one paper, which is dedicated to the bear-feast among Ket people (Alekseenko 1985), she describes how they hunt for bear, never saying the word ‘to hunt’, saying instead that “he was invited by an old man to visit him”. The Ket people believed that in the shape of a bear a deceased senior relative visits a hunter and his family, the ‘deceased relative’ could ‘visit’ no more than seven times, not earlier than seven years after death, and no more than once a year. The ceremony included two stages: the men ate the bear’s head, thereby expressing the bear’s rebirth; and communicated with the ‘guest’-bear, i.e. treated, gave the gifts for their protection in future hunting (Alekseenko 1985: 93). A bear was called as an ‘old man, grandfather, father-in-law, maternal uncle or forest man’ (Alekseenko 1960) and the bear’s body parts’ names were also taboo.

Below are some words connected to the designation of the bear, of Yeniseian (14, 15, 16) and Turkic (17) origin, and the bear’s body parts’ names of Yeniseian (18, 19, 20, 21, 22) and Tungusic (23, 24, 25) origin are listed, respectively. One Tungusic loanword is connected to bear hunting (26).

Taboo designations for bear

- (14) Ket *áldəŋ*; Yugh *a:^hrd'əŋ* ‘forest people > *taboo* bears’ (Werner 2002/1: 25)
 < Yeniseian **al* ‘deep in the forest’ and **d'ɛʔŋ* ‘people’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (15) Ket *ba:t* ‘old man > *taboo* bear’ (Werner 2002/1: 111, 315),
 cf. Ket *qáŋgus'-ba:t* ‘*taboo* bear’ < *qáŋgus* ‘forest spirit’ and *ba:t* ‘old man’
 (Werner 2002/2: 63);
- (16) Ket *qīp*, Yugh *χēp*, Arin *qip* ‘grandfather > *taboo* he-bear’ (Werner 2002/2: 90);
- (17) The word for designation ‘bear’ in Kott is *kaltum*. I assume that it was borrowed from Turkic, a compound word *kara yoldu* ‘literally with black stripes’, which is existed in Altai Turkic Quu dialect as a ‘brown bear’ (TSSDAJa 93). The final Kott *-m* is likely the Yeniseian adjective suffix (for function, see Georg 2007: 142) and the amalgamation occurred (Khabtagaeva 2019: 339):
 Kott *kaltum* ‘bear’ (Werner 2002/1: 406) < **kaltu* +(*X*)*m* ← Turkic *kara yoldu* ‘brown (colour of animal)’ < *kara* ‘black’ + *yoldig* ‘striped’ (cf. Altai Turkic: Quu dial. *qara yoldu* ‘brown bear’:
 < *kara* ‘black’:
 cf. Old Turkic *qara*; Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *xara*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *qara*; Kyzyl *χara*; Shor *qara*; Altai Turkic: Altai; Tuba; Qumanda; Quu; Teleut *qara*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan; Tofan *qara*; Chulym Turkic *qara*; Yakut *xara*; Dolgan *kara* ~ *xara*; Siberian Tatar *qara*; Kirgiz *kara*; Fu-yü *gar*; Kazak *qara*; Yellow Uyghur *qara*;
 + *yoldu* ‘striped’ < **yol* ‘road, way; streak, stripe’ +*LXK* {Turkic denominal adjective forming suffix: for function, see Erdal 1991: 121}:
 cf. Old Turkic *yōl*; Yenisei Turkic: Khakas; Sagai *čollig* < *čol*; Koibal *yollig*; Kyzyl *šol*; Shor *čol*; Altai Turkic: Altai *d'ol*; cf. *yoldū* (R); Tuba *d'ol*; Qumanda *d'ol* ~ *t'ol* ~ *čol*; Quu *yoldig* < *yol*; Teleut *yol*; Sayan Turkic *n.a.*; Chulym Turkic *čol* ~ *yol*; Yakut *suollāx* < *suol*; Dolgan *huol*; Siberian Tatar *yulaqlı* < *yulaq* ‘stripe’ < *yul* ‘road’; Kirgiz *žoldū* < *žol*; Fu-yü *yol*; Kazak *žol*; Yellow Uyghur *yol*.

Taboo names of bear's body parts

- (18) Ket *kənil* ‘*taboo* bear’s nose’
 < Yeniseian *kə:n* ‘chipmunk’ and *iʔl* ‘song, to sing’ +*s* {Yeniseian NMLZ} →
 literally ‘whistling of a chipmunk’⁹ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

⁹ In the Ket culture bears are believed to lure chipmunks by imitating their mating calls in spring (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

- (19) Ket *báŋul* ‘taboo boiled bear liver’ (Werner 2002/1: 106)
 < Yeniseian *baʔŋ* ‘earth(-colored)’ and *ul* ‘water’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (20) Ket *boktaŋ* ‘taboo bear’s kidneys’ (Werner 2002/1: 139)
 < Yeniseian *bɔʔk* ‘fire’ and *taʔŋ* ‘stones’ → *literally* ‘fire stones’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (21) Ket *átís* ‘taboo bear tongue’ (Werner 2002/1: 77)
 < Yeniseian **aʔq* ‘trees’ and **pʰis* ‘protruding end’ → *literally* ‘splayed roots of an uprooted tree’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (22) Ket *átáp* ‘taboo bear’s mouth’ (Werner 2002/1: 80)
 < Yeniseian **ē* ‘iron’ and **tāpʰ* ‘hoop’ → *literally* ‘pliers’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (23) The etymology of the Ket word ‘bear eyes’ may be connected to the Podkamennyi Ewenki adjective *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory bear’ with the Ket plural suffix *-ŋ* (Khabtagaeva 2019: 276):
 Ket *húkteŋ* ~ *hukten* ‘taboo bear eyes’ (Werner 2002/1: 328) < *hukte* + *ŋ*
 {Ket plural: for function, see Georg 2007: 92–93};
 **hukte* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory’ < *hug* ‘bear, predator’ + *dī* {Ewenki denominal adjective suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 755};
 Podkamennyi Ewenki *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory’; cf. *Northern Ewenki*: Yerbogachon; *Southern Ewenki*: Podkamennyi, Nepa, Upper Lena; *Eastern Ewenki*: Aldan, Uchur, Chumikan *hug* ~ *hūg* ‘bear; hungry’; cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut *hukečēn* ‘bear’; Negidal *xūyēcēn* ~ *xūxēcēn*; Southern Tungusic: *n.a.* (SSTMJa 2: 337a).
- (24) Possibly, the next Ket word was borrowed from the Podkamennyi Ewenki compound word *hepete tīle* ‘bear bacon fat’ (Khabtagaeva 2019: 281). The initial Ewenki *h-* changed to *q-* in Ket, which is a typical feature of Tungusic loanwords (Khabtagaeva 2019: 308). Additionally, an amalgamation occurred, and the original final vowel is deleted. In turn, the etymologies of the Tungusic words are unknown, since they exist only in a few Ewenki dialects:
 Ket *qabdal* ‘slice of bear bacon fat’ (Werner 2002/2: 141) ← Tungusic: Podkamennyj Ewenki *hepete tīle* ‘bear bacon fat’:
 < *hepete* ‘bear’ (SSTMJa 2: 368):
Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi *hepete*; cf. Remaining lgs. *n.a.*;

+ *tīle* ‘bear bacon fat’ (SSTMJa 2: 181b):

Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon; Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi *tīle* ‘bear bacon fat, bear’; Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon, Ilimpeya; Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi, Sym; Eastern Ewenki: Zeya, Aldan, Uchur *tīle-* ‘to eat bear meat’; cf. Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(25) The following Ket word is obviously related to the Ewenki word, in which possibly, semantic change occurred: ‘head’ → ‘stomach’. The Ewenki word belongs to the group of taboo words. The base of word is **tuŋ* ‘head’,¹⁰ but the derivation of *tuŋsuku* is uncertain (Khabtagaeva 2019: 276):

Ket ***tans’uk*** ‘taboo designation of a bear stomach’ (Werner 2002/2: 298) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *tuŋsuku* ‘a bear head, a “funeral” of bear’:

Eastern Ewenki: Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan *tuŋsuku* ‘a bear head, a “funeral” of bear; a funeral of people on the tree (*ancient way of burial*)’; cf. Northern Tungusic: Negidal *texseke* ‘a forehead of bear’; Remaining lgs. *n.a.* (SSTMJa 2: 216b).

A term related to bear hunting

(26) As a hypothesis, I assume that the last Ket word is connected with the Podkamennyi Ewenki form *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ with a Yeniseian nominalizer *-s* (Khabtagaeva 2019: 275–276). From a phonetic point of view, the loss of the internal syllables occurred in the Ket form, which is typical of some Altaic loanwords (Khabtagaeva 2019: 332–333). In Yeniseian, as in Tungusic, the word belongs to the taboo category:

Ket ***ákses*** ‘bear trap’ (Werner 2002/1: 56) < *ákse* + *s* {Yeniseian NMLZ}:

**ákse* ← Tungusic: Ewenki *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ < *amā* ‘father; taboo bear’ + *kā* {Ewenki denominal noun suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 758} + *kse* {Ewenki denominal adjective suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 763}:

Podkamennyi, Upper Lena, Tokmin Ewenki *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ < Common Ewenki *amākā* ‘grandfather (*father’s or mother’s father*); uncle (*older brother of father or mother*); ancestor; bear; sky, God’ < *amā* ‘father’; cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut *amā* ‘father; grandfather (*father’s or mother’s father*)’; Negidal *amaj* ‘father’; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *ama* ‘father’; Udihe *amin-* ‘father’s’; Ulcha *ama* ‘father’; Orok *ama* ~ *amma* ‘father’, cf. *amaqa* ‘grandfather; bear’; Nanai *ama* ‘father’; Jurchen *‘á-mîn* ‘father’; Manchu *ama* ‘father’; Sibe *ama* ‘father’ (SSTMJa 1: 34b–35a).

¹⁰ Cf. Ewenki dial. *tuŋkulbu-* (< **tuŋ* + *kU-lbU-* {Ewenki denominal verbal and deverbal verbal suffixes: for functions, see Vasilevič 1958: 767}) ‘to bend, to incline a head down’, *tuŋkin-* (< **tuŋ* + *kIn-* {Ewenki denominal verbal suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 762}) ‘to bend, to incline a head down’, *tuŋulkēn* (< **tuŋ* + *lkĀn* {Ewenki denominal noun suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 768}) ‘crown, skull’.

Conclusion

The present paper discusses twenty-six examples (twenty-two Ket, four Yugh, three Kott, two Arin, and one each of Pumpokol and Assan forms) of taboo words that present some linguistic criteria, which characterize the Yeniseian languages and their Altaic elements. All examined words are nouns. Concerning native Yeniseian words, from fifteen terms twelve words are formed through compounding, which is the predominant noun word-formation technique (for details, see Georg 2007: 125–127; Vajda 2014: 510), two words are derived with the nominalizer +s, which is a most productive suffix in Yeniseian (for details, see Georg 2007: 122–125; Vajda 2014: 513–514), and one word is monosyllabic. Altogether, eleven Altaic loanwords were examined, six of them are of Tungusic, four are Turkic, and one of Mongolic origin. The Tungusic and Mongolic loanwords are found in Ket and Yugh, while the Turkic elements are detected in Kott, Pumpokol and Arin. The source of borrowing for the most loanwords is clear. Most of the loanwords are recognized easily, but there are examples where the form of the Yeniseian words changed significantly according to the rules of the language as an amalgamation or the loss of the internal syllables. Semantically, due to the taboo character, the Yeniseian people either changed the original meaning of words (e.g. terms connected to bear), or borrowed words from neighboring Tungusic and Turkic people.

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