



Words and Diction- aries

A Festschrift for
Professor Stanisław Stachowski
on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday

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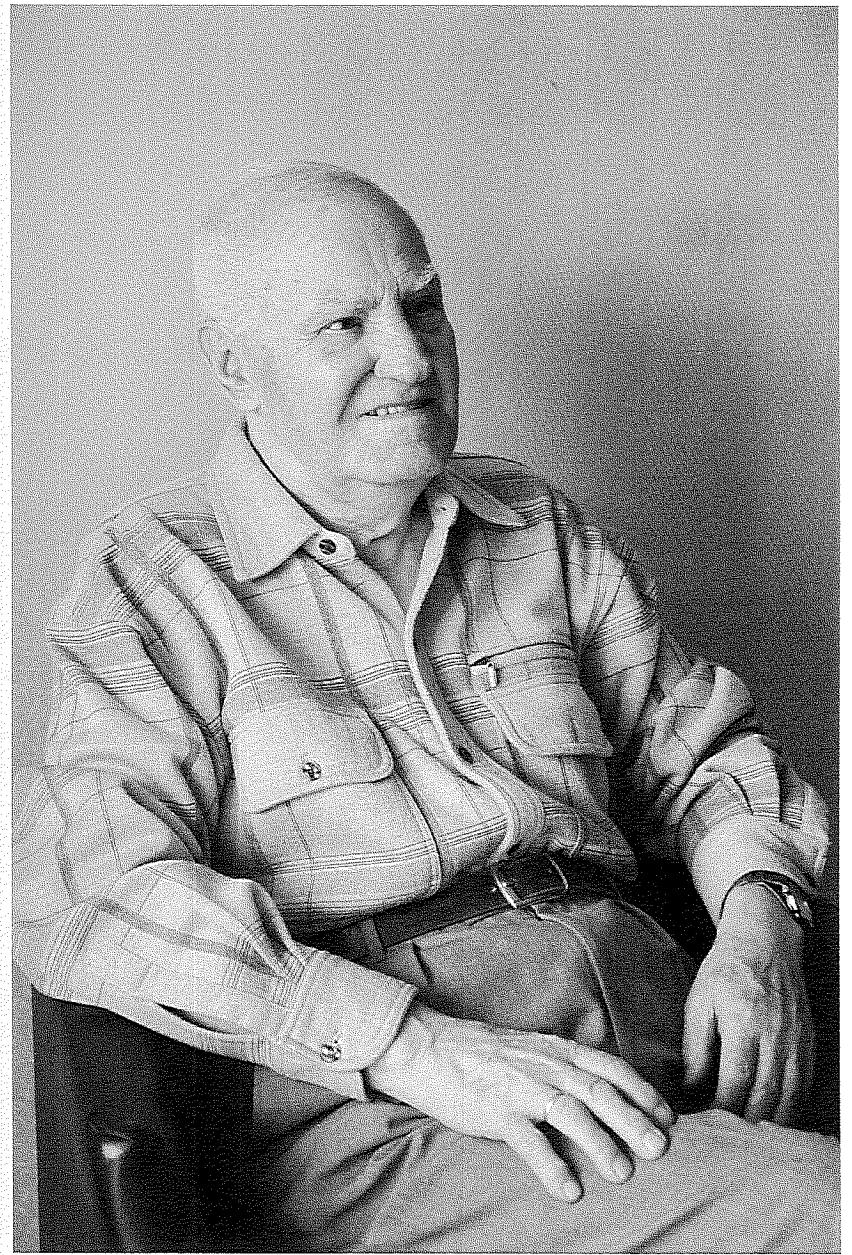
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Professor Stanisław Stachowski

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On the Yeniseian Arin word *teminkur* 'ore'*

In the preparing *Etymological dictionary of Yeniseian* by Edward Vajda and Heinrich Werner the Arin name of metal *teminkur* 'ore' is marked as the word with "unclear structure" (Vajda, Werner [forthcoming]). The paper offers a new etymology of the Arin word.

An interesting fact is that the word with the meaning 'ore' is present only in the Kott language in the form *šur*, and also meaning 'blood' (Werner 2002.2: 258). In return, the Kott word has to be connected with Common Yeniseian **sū-l* 'blood': cf. Ket *sū-l*, Yugh *sūr*, Arin *sur* (Werner 2002.2: 219; Vajda, Werner [forthcoming]).

The second meaning of Kott 'blood' inspired me to connect it with the Turkic compound word **temirqan* < *temir* 'iron' + *qān* 'blood'. It is important to mention that of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct

* I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Professor Edward Vajda (Linguistics Program, Western Washington University, USA) for his valuable advice, teaching me historical Yeniseian linguistics and for allowing me to profit from his linguistic expertise.

linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. It seems that two layers may be distinguished: Yenisey Turkic including the Khakas language with its dialects (Sagai, Koibal, Kachin, Kyzyl) and Shor, and Altay Turkic including Qumanda, Quu and Tuba kizhi dialects and Literary Altay language. Rare similarities may be observed with Sayan Turkic, Chulym, Yakut languages and Siberian Tatar dialect. Also Fu-yü data are important because of some similarities with Yenisey Turkic.

In my etymology there are different problems. The first one is the absence of this compound in the mentioned Turkic languages, the others are the phonetic and semantic changes. Below I will try explain my assumption.

The word "ore" in the Turkic languages

The absence of the compound word **temir qan* 'iron blood → ore' in Turkic can be explained by the lack of an original Turkic word. There are two different forms for "ore" in Turkic.¹ If the first form *pyda* is a Russian loanword, the second *ken* is Persian.

Russian *ruda* in Turkic:

cf. Old Turkic –; NE^S YeniseyT: Khakas *ruda*, *timir ruda* 'iron ore'; Shor –; AltayT: Altay *ruda* 'ore', *temir ruda* 'iron ore'; Tuba –; Qumanda –; Quu –; Teleut –; SayanT: Tuvan *ruda* 'ore', *demir das* 'iron ore'; Tofan –; ChulymT –; NE^N Yakut *ruda*; Dolgan –; NW^N Siberian Tatar –; NW^S Kirgiz *ruda*; Fu-yü –; Kazak; SE Yellow Uyghur –.

Persian *kān* in Turkic:

cf. Old Turkic *kan* 'mine; fig. source' (DTS); Old Uighur *kān* 'mine' (R); NE^S YeniseyT: –; AltayT: –; SayanT: –; ChulymT –; NE^N Yakut –; NW^N Siberian Tatar –; NW^S Kirgiz *ken* 'ore'; Fu-yü –; Kazak *ken* 'geol. deposit; depths of the earth, minerals; ore, mine, pit'; SE Yellow Uyghur –.

It is interesting to note the Tuvan data. For "ore" is used Russian *pyda*, but for 'iron ore' the Turkic compound *demir das* 'literally iron stone'.²

1 For Turkic data I use the classification of Johanson (1998: 82–83); only these Turkic languages are mentioned, which had linguistic contacts with Yeniseian.

2 A similar compounding is found in Uralic languages, cf. Selkup *kezil' pü* 'ore: literally ironstone' (Erdélyi 1969: 197).

A new etymology

As a hypothesis I assume that the source of Arin probably was the compound word of Turkic origin **temir kan* 'iron blood':

Arin *teminkur* 'ore' (Werner 2002.2: 258):

**temir* < **tämür* 'iron, metal':

cf. Old Turkic *tämür*; NE^S YeniseyT: Khakas *timir*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *temir*, Sagai *tebir*; Kyzyl *tēmi-r*; Shor *tebir*; AltayT: Altay *temir*; Tuba *temir*; Qumanda *temir* ~ *tebir* ~ *debir*; Quu *tebir* ~ *tevir* ~ *temir*; Teleut *temir*; SayanT: Tuvan *demir*; Tofan *demir*; ChulymT *tēmür*; NE^N Yakut *timir*; Dolgan *timir*; NW^N Siberian Tatar –; NW^S Kirgiz *temir*; Fu-yü *dimir* ~ *dümür*; Kazak *temir*; SE Yellow Uyghur *temir* ~ *temür*.

For details for the etymology of the Turkic word see works of Räsänen (VEWT 1969: 473a), Clauson (OT 1972: 508b) and authors of ESTJa (1980: 188–190). A list of Middle-Turkic and Modern Turkic forms are given also in SIGTJa (2001: 409). The Turkic word was borrowed to Mongolic (Nugteren 2011: 518) and Persian (Doerfer TMEN 2: 1012) languages.

**kan* < *qān* 'blood':

cf. Old Turkic *qān*; NE^S YeniseyT: Khakas *xan*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *qan*; Kyzyl *qan*; Shor *qan*; AltayT: Altay; Tuba; Qumanda; Quu *kan*; Teleut *kan*; SayanT: Tuvan *xan*; Tofan *qan* 'blood; nationality'; ChulymT *qan*; NE^N Yakut *xān* 'blood, close kinship; nature, character; black pudding'; Dolgan *kān*; NW^N Siberian Tatar *qan*; NW^S Kirgiz *kan* 'blood; penalty for murder'; Fu-yü *gan*; Kazak *qan*; SE Yellow Uyghur *qan*.

The etymology of the Turkic word was examined by Räsänen (VEWT 1969: 230a), Clauson (OT 1972: 629b) and authors of ESTJa (1997: 251). The common meaning is 'blood', but in Kirgiz and Yakut the word has additional figurative meanings.

Phonetic, morphological and semantic aspects can explain my hypothesis.

1. From phonetic point of view the Arin word of Turkic origin shows metathesis, which is a distinctive and specific feature in Yeniseian (for details on metathesis in Yeniseian see Vajda 2013), e.g.

Pumpokol *kómulsi* 'green' < Yeniseian **qəl* 'bile' + **wes* 'like' + **əŋ* {Adjective suffix} + **si* {Nominalizer} (Vajda, Werner [forthcoming]);

Central Ket, Northern Ket *tóppul* 'snow piled on a branch' (cf. Southern Ket *tóppul*, Yugh *tóχpuul*) < Yeniseian **tī-k* 'fallen snow' + **pal* 'accumulation' (Vajda, Werner [forthcoming]);

Ket *qolap*, Yugh *χolap* 'half, side' < Yeniseian **qop* 'flat surface' + **al* 'half' (Vajda, Werner [forthcoming]);

Yugh *uugl* ~ *uugel* 'postp. (located) near' (cf. Ket *ulga* ~ *ulka*) < Yeniseian **ul* 'near' + **kej* {Loc. suffix} (Vajda, Werner [forthcoming]);

Ket *dabatomnet* < Yeniseian **da-ba-t-on-wet* 'she understood him' (Vajda 2013), etc.

The metathesis is also peculiar for Altaic loanwords, e.g.

Arin *qonda* ~ *xonta* 'bridle, rein' ← Turkic **nokta* 'halter': cf. YeniseyT: Khakas *noxta*; Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *noqta*, cf. Kachin *nuqta*; AltayT: Altay *noqto*; Quu *notko* 'nedouzdok'; Teleut *noqto*; SayanT: Tofan *noqta* ← Mongolic **noyto*: cf. LM *noqto* 'halter';

Kott *tarup* 'chamois leather' ← Turkic **tup tere*: cf. Altay *tup tere* 'tanned leather' < Turkic *tup* 'tanned leather' (← Russian) + Turkic *tāri* 'the skin, hide (of a human being or animal)';

Kott *hanpen* 'pray, prayer' < **kanman-* < **kamna-n* {Yeniseian infinitive} ← Turkic **qamna-* 'to make magic' < *qām* 'shaman, sorcerer, soothsayer, magician' + *LA-* {Turkic NV}: cf. Old Turkic *qamla-*; NE^S YeniseyT: Khakas *xamna-* 'to make shamanic ritual'; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *qamna-*; Kyzyl *χamna-*; Shor *qamna-*; AltayT: Altay *qamda-*; Tuba *kamna-*; Qumanda *kamda-*; Quu *kamna-*; Teleut *qamda-*; SayanT: Tuvan *xamna-*; Tofan *hamna-*; ChulymT *qamna-*; NE^N Dolgan *kamnā-*; Yakut dial. *xamnā-*; NW^N Siberian Tatar *qamay-* 'to predict, foretell'; NW^S Kirgiz –; Fu-yü *gam*; SE Yellow Uyghur *qamna-*, etc.

2. Morphologically Arin *teminkur* 'ore' is a compound word, where amalgamation took place, which is typical for Yeniseian. Usually Yeniseian noun stems are formed mainly through root compounding (for details and more examples see Vajda 2015: 510–512; Georg 2007: 125), e.g.

Ket *isal* 'fish soup' < Yeniseian *is* 'fish' + *āl* 'soup';

Ket *kibonj* 'body, corpse' < Yeniseian *ki* 'new' + *bōnj* 'dead person';

Ket *mámul* 'milk' < *ma'm* 'breast' + *ūl* 'water', etc.

Compound words are typical for Altaic loanwords too, e.g.

Kott *tôteáš*, Assan *toteš* 'Siberian fir (*Abies sibirica*)' ← Turkic **tīt aǵas*: cf. Khakas *tīt aǵas* 'larch' < *tīt* 'larch' + *aǵač* ~ *iǵač* 'tree';

Kott *tátien* 'hill' ← Turkic **tā tōj* < *tag* 'mountain' + *tōj* 'hill';

Arin *belkertura* 'empire', cf. *berketura* 'city, town' ← Turkic **berke tura* < *berke* 'strong' + *tura* 'town';

Arin *karananuk* 'bilberry' ← Turkic **kara nonaǵ* < *qara* 'black' + *nonaǵ* 'bilberry' (< **yomaq* < **yumaq*);

Arin *tegentestek* 'raspberry' ← Turkic **tegen dǵestek* < *tegen* 'thorn' + *čestek* (< *yestek*) 'berry'; etc.

Furthermore, there are some hybrid compound words, e.g.

Kott *atus* 'gelding' < *at* 'horse' (← Turkic) + *uš* 'horse' (< Yeniseian **huš*);

Kott *tāmukol* 'tobacco tin' < *tāmuk* 'tobacco' (← Turkic) + Yeniseian *ol* 'container';

Kott *ānar* ~ *anar* 'hip, loin' < *an* (← Turkic **ān* < *yān* 'the hip, the side') + Yeniseian *ar* 'bone', etc.

3. From the semantic point of view, there is an interesting case when the new word comes into existence. According to Kott form *šur* with the meaning 'ore, blood' we can suppose that the Arin people created a new word "ore" from Turkic words "iron + blood". Probably Arin speakers were also fluent in the Turkic source dialect (Vajda: personal communication).

There is another similar case, when the compound word is absent in Modern Turkic, but it is present Arin. Possibly this fact strengthens our hypothesis, cf.

Arin *kemenenčak* 'week' (Werner 2002.1: 422) ← Turkic **keminej čak* 'time measurement':

< *keminej* < *kem* 'measurement' + *(X)niñ* {Turkic Genitive} ← Mongolic *kem* 'measure; size, proportion; limits; measure of time, term':

cf. Old Turkic –; NE^S YeniseyT: Khakas *kem* 'measurement'; AltayT: Altay *kem* 'time, period; measurement'; Qumanda *kemner* {+nAr Turkic Plural} 'measurement'; Quu *kem* 'measurement, period'; Teleut *kem* 'measurement'; SayanT: Tuvan *xemče-* 'to measure' (← Mongolic *kemji-*); Tofan *hem* 'measurement, size, weight'; ChulymT –; NE^N Yakut *kem* 'unit of measure; limit; measure of time, term'; Dolgan *käm* 'time, season'; NW^N Siberian Tatar –; NW^S Kirgiz –; Fu-yü –; Kazak –; SE Yellow Uyghur – ← Mongolic *kem*: LM *kem*; ModMo: Buryat *xem*; Khalkha *xem*; Oyrat dial. *kem*;

+ *čak* 'time, a point in time, a period of time':
 cf. Old Turkic *čāg*; NE^S YeniseyT: Khakas *sax* 'particle just, exactly'³;
 Sagai, Koibal *sā*; Kachin, Shor *šak* 'time'; AltayT: Altay *čak* 'age, time';
 Tuba *čak* 'measurement, time, period'; Quu *čak* 'time, period'; Teleut *čak*
 'time'; SayanT: Tuvan *šag* 'time, period', cf. *šak* 'hour, time; clock'; Tofan
šag 'time, period'; ChulymT -: NE^N Yakut *sax* 'time'; Dolgan *haga* 'size',
 cf. *hagina* 'while'; NW^N Siberian Tatar -: NW^S Kirgiz *čak* 'time; period';
 Fu-yü *šah* 'time'; Kazak *šaq* 'time, period'; SE Yellow Uyghur *čag* 'time'.
 Turkic ← Mongolic 'time, period, season, age; time as general situation
 ot set of circumstances; tense (gram.); hour; clock, watch; weather,
 climate': Middle Mongolic: MNT; HY; Muq. *čaq*; Literary Mongolian
čay; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *sag*; Khalkha *cag*; Kalmuck *tsag*.

4. My assumption can be also confirmed by Indo-European data. Cf. Russian *пыда* 'ore'. In *Russian etymological dictionary* (Fasmer 1986–1987.3: 513) the word besides the meaning 'ore' has also meaning 'blood' in different dialects. Cf. also the derived adjective form *пыдый* 'blood-red, brown, chestnut (horse)'.

Conclusion

The paper presents a new Turkic etymology for the previously non-etymologized Arin word *teminkur* 'ore'. Despite the fact that the compound word does not actually exist in Turkic, probably the new word was created by Arin people and changed according to own Yeniseian phonetic and morphological features as metathesis, compounding and amalgamation. This case presumes bilingualism among the Yeniseian people.

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3 Cf. *saġam* 'adverb now, in this moment'.

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Weitere Ergänzungen zu W. Leslau Untersuchungen des arabischen Lehnguts im Amharischen

Seitdem der große Semitist und Äthiopist W. Leslau (1906–2006) seine Serie von Untersuchungen zum arabischen Lehngut in den äthio-semit. Sprachen¹ – darunter auch zwei Beiträge zu arabischen Lehnwörtern im Amharischen² (zudem mehrere Aufsätze, in denen auch die Arabismen im Amharischen unmittelbar berührt werden³) – vorgelegt hat, schien auch das arab. Lehngut im Amharischen hinreichend dokumentiert und untersucht. Wie viel hier noch der Erledigung harrte, wurde erst deutlich, als W. K. Brzuski 1983 seine Dissertation „Zapożyczenia Arabskie w dawnym i współczesnym języku amharskim“, in der sich zahllose Ergänzungen zu den beiden Beiträgen Leslau's sowie den in den übrigen Aufsätzen der erwähnten Reihe enthaltenen

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- 1 Leslau (1956a, 1956b, 1956c, 1956d, 1957a, 1957b, 1958, 1980, 1988 u. 1995).
2 Leslau (1957a, 1988).
3 Z. B. Leslau (1957c).