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Some notes on kinship terminology in Yeniseian

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In Yeniseian languages certain criteria distinguish male and female classes. The present paper has a two-fold goal. First, it discusses the characteristics of derivation involved in the kinship terms in Kott, Arin and Pumpokol – the Yenisean languages where some kinship terms of Turkic origin are presented, – and, second, it analyzes these Turkic loanwords. The base of the paper is the monograph of Khabtagaeva (2019) on the Altaic elements of Yeniseian languages which was published recently.

The Yeniseian languages

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[1].

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 centuries by European travelers such as Witsen (1692), Messerschmidt (1720–1727), and Strahlenberg (1730). The paucity of early written sources on Yeniseian is the reason why such an important role is played by the various loanwords in the reconstruction of the earlier stages of the history of the Yeniseian languages.

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.

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[1] This term is conventionally used in linguistics to classify a group of languages spoken in different parts of northeastern Siberia and some parts of the Russian Far East. The languages of this group are not known to have any genetic linguistic relationship to each other. There have been attempts to include the Yeniseian languages in the Sino-Tibetan, Karasuk and Caucasian language families. In 2010 Vajda presented a hypothesis that the Yeniseian languages are genetically related to the Na-Dené languages of North America, but his results are still debated by several linguists; the question remains open.

The main source of data for my monograph (Khabtagaeva 2019) was the *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Jenissej-Sprachen* by Werner (2002/1–3), which contains all of the lexical material published on the Yeniseian languages to date. Some data were collected from the monograph of the Yeniseian lexical material of the 18th century, published by Werner three years later (Werner 2005). Another very important source of my work was the *Etymological dictionary of the Yeniseian languages* by Vajda and Werner, which is still at a preparatory stage (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

According to the data, only Arin, Kott and Pumpokol borrowed from the Altaic languages words related to kinship. The material indicates that the terminology of kinship by blood is of Yeniseian origin; no loanwords are found there. There are some Turkic words among the Yeniseian terms concerning kinship by marriage, however, which is indicative of the practice of intermarriage between Yeniseian and Turkic people. There are no Mongolic loanwords and only one questionable term of Tungusic origin in Ket, which belongs in the category of uncertain etymology.

Despite the fact that the Yeniseian languages have clear rules with which to distinguish male and female noun classes as far as genitive or possessive suffixes, I faced certain problems during the research, since there are no grammatical descriptions of Arin or Pumpokol. Only brief word-lists are available from Werner's publications (2002; 2005). There is more information on Kott: a detailed grammar and a small Kott dictionary (Castrén 1858; Werner 1990; 2005).

Kinship terminology in Yeniseian

The analysis of the Kott (Werner 2002; 1990: 55), Arin (Werner 2002; 2005: 154–168) and Pumpokol (Werner 2005: 179–187) nouns demonstrates their strict distinction between masculine, feminine, and neuter noun classes of words. Grammatical gender in Yeniseian is covert in the nominative and manifests itself in the genitive case. Some characteristics of the Yeniseian class system were briefly described by Werner and Živova (1981).

Table below demonstrates the distinction between classes in Kott:

Class	Nominative	Genitive	Meaning
masculine	haj	haj**a**	'uncle'
	boru	boru**a**	'wolf'
	fēnčera	fenčer**ā**	'male wood grouse'
feminine	āma	ām**i**	'mother'
	fenčera	fenčera**i**	'female wood grouse'
neuter	huš	huč**i**	'house'
	tʰox	tʰog**i**	'finger'

A good example of this distinction is also demonstrated by the kinship terminology.

1. There are some phonetic criteria that characterize the differences between the male and female classes:

a) The existence of the feminine suffix -*A* in the words of the female class:

Arin *akel* 'son' ↔ *akel'a* 'daughter' (Werner 2005: 154);

Arin *čen* 'grandson' ↔ *čene* 'granddaughter' (Werner 2002/1: 165);

Kott *pebeš* 'brother' ↔ *pobeča* 'sister' (Werner 2002/2: 55);

Kott *pʰu* 'nephew' ↔ *pʰua* 'niece' (Werner 2005: 116);

Kott *pateg* 'wife's brother' ↔ *patega* 'sister-in-law' (Werner 2002/2: 52);

Kott *učit* 'son-in-law' ↔ *učita* 'sister-in-law' (Werner 2002/2: 320);

Kott *hai* 'uncle' ↔ *hâja* 'aunt' (Werner 2002/1: 293);

Kott *hatkît* 'husband' ↔ *hatkīta* 'wife' (Werner 2002/1: 308)

This suffix probably originates from parallel borrowing of the Russian feminine-gender inflection -*a* (Vajda 2014: 510).

b) The existence of the final vowel -*i*, which may characterize the female class:

Arin *mamagil* 'brother's son' ↔ *mamagili* 'sister's son' (Werner 2002/2: 17);

Kott *anʲe* 'son-in-law' ↔ *anʲei* 'daughter-in-law' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

It is questionable, but this suffix is probably related to the Yeniseian genitive for the female class (Vajda 2013, personal communication).

c) The change -*p* /-*b* > -*m* and the addition of the feminine suffix in the words of the female class:

Arin *ajap* 'father' ↔ *ajame* 'mother' (Werner 2005: 154);

Arin *bekib* 'grandfather' ↔ *bekime* 'grandmother' (Werner 2005: 155);

Kott *op* 'father' ↔ *áma* 'mother' (Werner 2002/2: 50, 95; Werner 2005: 107);

Kott *ob* 'father-in-law' ↔ *ama* 'mother-in-law; mother' (Werner 2002/2: 50, 95);

Kott *xip* 'grandfather' ↔ *xima* 'grandmother' (Werner 2005: 120);

Pumpokol *ab* 'father' ↔ *am* 'mother' (Werner 2005: 179)

2. Compounding is a productive technique of word-formation in Yeniseian languages (for details, see Vajda 2014: 510–511).

   a) Accordingly, there are some compound words in Yeniseian which are examples of kinship terminology:

   Kott *hatkît* 'husband' (Werner 2002/1: 305) < **kaʔt* 'old' + *kît* 'man' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   Arin *amagel* 'brother' (Werner 2002/1: 32) < **amə* 'mother' + **qal* 'junior relative' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   Arin *bamagalʲa* 'sister' (Werner 2002/1: 101) < *b-* 'my' + **amə* 'mother' + **qal* 'junior relative' +*a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   Kott *pategapun* 'husband's sister' (Werner 2002/2: 52) < *pateg* 'wife's brother' +*a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} + *pun* 'daughter' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   b) In the compound words, one element of the compound refers to the male or female class. Among the compound words reflecting kinship, one of the words indicates the female or male class:

   Kott *alitpuga* 'granddaughter' (Werner 2002/1: 25) < *alit* 'female, woman' + *puga* 'grandson' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   Kott *pategapun* 'husband's sister' (Werner 2002/2: 52) < *pateg* 'wife's brother' +*a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} + *pun* 'daughter' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   Kott *pašupalitjali* 'stepdaughter' (Werner 2002/2: 52) < *pašup* 'like, similar to' + *alit* 'female' + *jali* 'child', cf. *pašupjali* 'stepson' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

   Arin *biqʲarʲat* 'husband' (Werner 2002/1: 131) < *bi* 'my' {1SG.POSS.PREFIX} + *qʲarʲat* 'adult man' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

The words above which have the $p \sim m$ alternation are likely to have originated from compounds too, since the second elements of these compounds are suffixes probably derived from *ob* 'father' ~ *am* 'mother'.

3. There are some terms without any division of class, the words indicating either female or male persons:

   Arin *apati* 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law' < *a-* {3SG.POSS.PREFIX} + **pateg* 'wife's brother' (Werner 2002/1: 48);

Kott *pašûpše* 'widow, widower' (Werner 2002/1: 52) < *pašûp* 'like, similar to' +*še* {NOMINALIZER} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Pumpokol *akil* 'brother, sister' (Werner 2005: 179);

Pumpokol *bič* 'brother, sister' (Werner 2005: 179);

Pumpokol *xej-kit* 'brother, sister' (Werner 2005: 187)

Turkic loanwords in Yeniseian kinship terminology

It seems that kinship terms of Turkic origin designate relatives through marriage. There are two groups of loanwords. One contains those loanwords which have a clear etymology, while the second group consists of words of unclear etymology.

1. The Turkic[2] loanwords of clear etymology are as follows:

Arin **kis** 'sister-in-law' (Werner 2002/1: 479) ← Turkic **qïs* 'girl; unmarried woman; daughter': cf. Old Turkic *qī̄z*; YeniseiT: Khakas *xïs*; Koibal *qïs* (R); Kyzyl *xïs*; Shor *qïs*; AltaiT: Altai, Teleut *qïs*; Tuba, Qumanda, Quu *kïs*; SayanT: Tuvan *kïs*; Tofan *qïs*; ChulymT *qïs*; Yakut, Dolgan *qï̄s*; Siberian Tatar *qïs*.[3]

Pumpokol **pʰala ~ falla ~ fala** 'son' (Werner 2002/2: 56) ← Turkic **pala* 'a human child, son': cf. Old Turkic *bala* 'child'; YeniseiT: Khakas, Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *pala* (R); Kyzyl *pāla*; AltaiT: Altai *bala*; Tuba *pala*; Qumanda *pala ~ bala*; Quu, Teleut *pala*; SayanT - ; Yakut - ; ChulymT *pala*.[4]

Kott **bača** 'brother-in-law (*sister's husband*)' (Werner 2002/1: 97) ← Turkic **baǰa* 'brother-in-law': YeniseiT: Khakas, Kyzyl *paǰa*; AltaiT: Altai *bad'a*; SayanT: Tuvan *baža*; Tofan *baǰa*; ChulymT *pača*; Yakut *bad'a* 'sister-in-law'; Siberian Tatar *pača ~ paca* ← Mongolic: cf. Middle Mongol: HY *baǰa*; LM *baǰa* 'husbands of sisters; term used by husbands of sisters in referring to

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2   Of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. It seems that two layers may be distinguished: Yenisey Turkic and Altay Turkic. Rare similarities may be observed with Sayan Turkic, Chulym and Yakut languages.

3   The Common Turkic word is widespread in almost all Siberian Turkic languages, thus the source may be any one of them. The Turkic initial uvular consonant *q-* is preserved in the Arin word, as in native Yeniseian words. From a semantic point of view, narrowing occurred 'girl, daughter' → 'sister-in-law'.

4   The Pumpokol forms relate to Turkic **bala* 'child' (Stachowski 1997: 232). The source of borrowing was the Turkic form with the unvoiced initial consonant *p-*, which is peculiar of some Siberian Turkic languages. Another reason for the source of the word to be the Turkic form *pala* is that Pumpokol has the initial consonants *pʰ-* and *f -*, and these go back to the Proto-Yenisieian initial **p-* (Starostin 1982: 149).

each other'; Modern Mongol: Buryat *baza* 'brother-in-law'; Khalkha *badz* 'brothers-in-law, husbands of sisters'; Kalmuck *baza* 'brother-in-law'; Dagur *badz*; Khamnigan *badza*.[5]

Arin **bi-b'ača** 'brother-in-law' (Werner 2002/1: 97), with the Yeniseian possessive prefix *bi-* 'my'.

The point remains open regarding another Arin word, *bib'a* 'sister-in-law'. This is probably connected with the examined Arin word *bi-b'ača* 'brother-in-law', where the final syllable *-ča* was dropped. Unfortunately, there is no similar example to strengthen this hypothesis.

2. There are some compound loanwords of Turkic origin:

The Arin form *oj* 'step-' was clearly borrowed from Turkic, with secondary long vowel *ōy*, which indicates a later period of borrowing. This form is characteristic of almost all Siberian Turkic varieties. Some researchers (for details, see ESTJa 1974: 495–496) connect the Turkic word with the Mongolic negation word *ügei* (for its function, see Poppe GWM §632). I consider it as a half-affix of Turkic origin (Khabtagaeva 2019: 345–346).

It is important to remark that the half-affixes of Turkic origin follow the Turkic word order, the half-affix in the first syllable, while in Yeniseian the half-affix is in the second syllable: compare some Ket words such as *ammas* 'stepmother', *hunnas* 'stepdaughter' and *oppas* 'stepfather' with Yeniseian half-affix **pas*, which denotes a non-consanguineous relationship.

Arin **ojče** 'stepmother' (Werner 2002/2: 32) ← Yenisei Turkic *ōy* 'step-' + *iǰe* 'mother': Khakas *ōy iǰe*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *ūy iǰä*:
< Turkic: Old Turkic *ögey* 'related through one parent only' + *eče* 'one's mother's younger sister'; cf. Altai *öy ene* 'stepmother';
+ *iǰe* < *eče* 'mother': cf. Old Turkic *eče* 'one's mother's younger sister; one's own elder sister'; YeniseiT: Khakas *iǰe* 'mother'; Sagai *iǰä*; Koibal, Kachin *iǰä*; Shor *üǰä* 'grandmother from father's side'; AltaiT: Altai *ed'e* 'aunt; elder sister', cf. *ačï* 'father's younger brother'; Tuba *ed'e* 'aunt; elder sister; mother'; Qumanda *ed'e* 'aunt, elder sister'; Quu *edže ~ eže* 'elder sister, sister'; Teleut *eye* 'aunt, elder sister'; SayanT: Tuvan *ača* 'father'; Tofan *aǰa*

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5 The etymology of the Turkic word is unknown: it is present in almost all Turkic languages, but it is absent in Old Turkic. We find the word also in Mongolic languages, but it is not clear whether it is borrowed from Turkic, or if it is a native Mongolic word which was borrowed by the Turkic languages. Doerfer poses a question concerning the Mongolic data, and classifies the Turkic word as a "child word" (TMEN 2: 232–233). From Mongolic, the word was borrowed into the Barguzin Ewenki dialect of Tungusic *baǰa* 'brother-in-law' (SSTMJa 1: 63).

'father', cf. *iᶜhe* 'mother'; ChulymT *ēcä* 'mother'; Yakut *iye* 'mother', cf. *ehe* 'grandfather; bear'; Siberian Tatar -.[6]

This Turkic compound word was borrowed by Samoyedic Kamas, cf. *ugeiǰa* 'stepmother' (Joki LS 136–137; 250). As compared with the Yeniseian form, the Kamas form preserved the Turkic pattern *-öge-*, which points to an earlier time of borrowing.

The following two compound words in Yeniseian are hybrid words, where one element is Turkic, the other Yeniseian:

> Arin ***ojakelbala*** 'stepson' (Werner 2002/2: 32) < *oj* + Yeniseian *akel* 'son' + *bala*
> ← Turkic *ȫy* 'step-' + *bala* 'child': cf. Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *ȫy pala*; Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *ǖy pala* ~ *ȫy pala*; Altai Turkic: Altai, Teleut *ȫy pala*;

> Arin ***ojakel'a*** 'stepdaughter' (Werner 2002/2: 33) < *oj* + Yeniseian *akel'a* 'daughter' < *akel* +*a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX}
> ← Turkic *ȫy* 'step-': cf. Old Turkic *ögey* 'related through one parent only';

3. The last group consists of Yeniseian words which do not have a reliable or clear etymology:

> Arin ***čerč'učagan*** 'wife's brother' (Werner 2002/1: 165) ← ? Turkic **ǰeste* 'brother-in-law' + **ǰagan* 'older, estimable, venerable': cf. AltaiT: Altai *d'ān d'este* 'aunt's husband from father's side'; cf. Quu *d'este* 'brother-in-law'; Tuba *d'este*; YeniseiT: Khakas *čiste* 'elder sister's husband';

The Turkic etymology of the Arin word is problematic in two respects. One of them is the incorrect order of the words, following the pattern noun + adjective, while the correct sequence would be adjective + noun. Another counterargument against a Turkic etymology is the presumable assimilation of **čerč'u* < **čest'u* < **ǰestü* < **ǰeste*.

The last two Kott words are likewise problematic:

> Kott ***monmonigaiob*** 'stepfather' (Werner 2002/2: 21) < *mon* 'not, no' + **monigai* + *ob* 'father' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

> Kott ***monamanig[a]ama*** 'stepmother' (Werner 2002/2: 21) < *mon* 'not, no' +*a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} + **manig[a]* + *ama* 'mother' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

The unclear parts of the words **monigai* and **manig[a]* can be related to Yenisei Turkic (cf. Khakas *maŋat* 'very good', cf. *maġat* 'kind, honest, fair, justified'; Sagai,

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6 The Turkic word *eče* 'mother' belongs to 'child language', which is difficult to etymologize. The Turkic word *eče* 'mother' was probably borrowed by Mongolic. Cf. Turkic → Mongolic 'mama (*familiar term*)': Middle Mongol: - ; LM *eǰi*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *ežĭ*; Khalkha *ēǰ*; Oirat dial. *ēdžĭ* ~ *ēž* ~ *ēdž*; Dagur - ; Khamnigan *idžē*.

Shor *maġat* 'good, efficient, honest') according to the reconstruction **maŋat <*
*maġat < *maġad, which is of Mongolic origin, cf. Literary Mongolian *maɣad*
'sure, certain, true, probable, real'.[7]

Conclusion

The Altaic loanwords expressing kinship in Yeniseian indicate that the Yeniseian
and Turkic people intermarried. The blood kin terminology is of Yeniseian origin.

   From a phonetic and morphological respect, the loanwords belong to a later
period of borrowing; they do not behave according to the phonetic rules of
Yeniseian, and they do not take any of the suffixes that play an important role in the
distinction between the Yeniseian male and female classes.

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7   Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *maɣad*; MNT; HY *maqa(t)*; Muq. *maqat*; LM *maɣad* 'surely,
    certainly, truly; probable, probably, really, indeed, undoubtedly; most likely; certainly,
    determination, reality'; Modern Mongol: Khalkha; Buryat; Khamnigan *magad*; Kalmuck
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