# Kinship in the Altaic World

## Proceedings of the 48th PIAC

Edited by Elena V. Boikova
and Rostislav B. Rybakov



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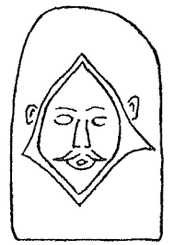
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48th Permanent International Altaistic Conference,
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The signet shows a stone sculpture from Ubsunur aimag, Mongolia.

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# Preface

The 48th annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, the was held at the Center for International Cooperation "Olimpiets" in the outskirts of Moscow, Russia, from the 10 to the 15 of July, 2005. The first-ever PIAC Meeting in Russia was held by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Director of which Rostislav R. Rybakov was the President of the 48th Meeting.

73 specialists, who represented Canada, Czechia, China, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Romania, Russia, Turkey and the U.S.A., took part in the conference. 54 papers were read in 20 sessions. The general theme of the 48th Meeting of the PIAC was "Kinship in the Altaic World." Most papers presented at the conference, were dedicated to this theme.

The participants of the conference had an excursion by bus to Moscow where they visited the State Historical Museum of Russia and were present at the opening ceremony of the exhibition of Oriental Books in the State Library of Foreign Literature. They also had a boat trip on the Moskva River.

The Secretary General of the PIAC, Professor Denis Sinor, was awarded the rank of "Honorary Professor" presented to him by the Academic Council of the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS.

The Indiana University Award for Altaic Studies went to Professor Sergei Klyashtorny, the head of the Department of Turkic and Mongolian Studies of the St.-Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

The organizers of the 48th Meeting of the PIAC were financially supported by the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Foundation for Humanities. The conference itself was carried out thanks to the active participation of the members of the Institute of Oriental Studies – Dr. Ilya Zaitsev, Dr. Tatiana Pang, Dr. Edward Efimov, Dr. Zoya Anaiban, Galina Kuznetsova and others. We express special thanks to Dr. Zoya Shalyapina, Professor Anna Dybo, Professor Dr. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Dr. Tamara Pogibenko, Dr. Charles Carlson and Dr. Alexander Kostyrkin who helped to prepare this volume for publication.

We are thankful to Michael Langfeld and Dr. Barbara Krauss who supported our efforts to publish the Proceedings of the 48th PIAC Meeting in quite a short period of time.

Moscow, April 2006

Elena V. Boikova Rostislav R. Rybakov

Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

# Contents

*Anisya Kh. Aliyeva (Kazan)*

Evolution of the Travel Notes Genre ("Seyahatname") in Tatar Literature ..... 1

*Vladimir M. Alpatov (Moscow)*

Words of Kinship in Japanese ..... 7

*Zoya Anayban (Moscow)*

Epic Legends and Archival Materials as Sources for Historical Study of the Role of Woman in Traditional Nomadic Societies of Southern Siberia ..... 13

*Tatiana A. Anikeeva (Moscow)*

Kinship in the Epic Genres of Turkish Folklore (on the example of "Kitab-i dedem Qorkut") ..... 19

*Alsu A. Arslanova (Kazan)*

Notes on the History of Political Relations between the Ulus of Djochi and the Uluses of the Khulaguyids ..... 25

*Imre Baski (Budapest)*

On the Ethnic Names of the Cumans of Hungary ..... 43

*Galina F. Blagova (Moscow)*

Relationship Terms in the Structure of Proto-Turkic Anthroponymic System ..... 55

*Elena V. Boikova (Moscow)*

Mongolian Family in Perception of Foreigners (pre-revolutionary period) ..... 63

*Charles F. Carlson (Seattle)*
Finno-Ugric and Turkic Parallel Kinship Systems ..... 71

*Polina P. Dambueva (Moscow)*
On the Category of Voice in the Present Day Buryat Language ..... 81

*Anna V. Dybo (Moscow)*
Indoeuropeans and Altaians through the Linguistic Reconstruction ..... 87

*Roger Finch (Tokyo)*
The Suffix /-ko/ in Japanese ..... 103

*Fuat A. Ganiev (Kazan)*
Types of Affixes in Turkic Languages ..... 139

*Mark I. Gol'man (Moscow)*
B.Ya. Vladimirtsov about the Mongolian *obok* (kin) of the 11th-12th Centuries ..... 145

*Liliya M. Gorelova (Moscow)*
Typology of Information Structures in the Altaic Languages ..... 149

*İsmail Güleç (Istanbul)*
The Influence of the Classics on Cultural Relations ..... 173

*Sumiko Ikeda (Tashkent)*
Women in Uzbekistan – in the Modern Uzbek Society ..... 181

*Barbara Kellner-Heinkele (Berlin)*
Family Politics of Ottoman Ulema. The Case of Sheykhülislam Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi and his Descendants ..... 187

*Sergei G. Klyashtorny (Saint Petersburg)*
The Image of the Qaghan in Orkhon Monuments ..... 199



*Igor V. Kormushin (Moscow)*
Some Relationship Terms in the Yenisei Inscriptions ..... 203

*Chechesh Kudachinova (Moscow)*
Kinship as Survival Strategy in the Altai Society ..... 207

*Liu Ge, Kou Juxia (Xi'an, Shaanxi)*
An Elucidation of *yägän* in the Contract in Uygur ..... 211

*Takashi Osawa (Osaka)*
Aspects of Old Turkic Social System Based on Fictitious Kinship (the analysis of a term <kul (slave)> in Orkhon-Yenisei epitaphs) ..... 219

*Tatiana A. Pang (Saint Petersburg)*
The Worship of Fodo-mama – Progenitor of the Manchus ..... 231

*Maria P. Petrova (Saint Petersburg)*
Modern Mongolian Poems about Parents ..... 237

*Rodica Pop (Bucharest)*
Kinship and Exogamy in the Mongolian Clannish Society ..... 243

*Grigory Ts. Pyurbeev (Moscow)*
Syntactic Features of the Mongolian Dictionary "Mukhaddimat Al-Adab" ..... 255

*Alice Sárközi (Budapest)*
Levirate among the Mongols ..... 259

*Zoya M. Shalyapina (Moscow)*
Some Aspects of Valency Inheritance in Japanese ..... 269

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*Alexander M. Shcherbak (Saint Petersburg)*

On the Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus Verbal Stems Formed by Extraordinary Way from the Turkic Words ..... 283

*Tatyana Skrynnikova (Ulan-Ude)*

Semantics of the Names of the Mongols' Forefathers ..... 287

*Giovanni Stary (Venice)*

Binominal Manchu Names ..... 293

*Рита Сумба (Кызыл)*

Тибетские рукописи и ксилографы в фондах Национального музея им. Алдан Маадыр Республики Тува ..... 305

*Rosa Tadinova (Moscow)*

The Early Turkic Vocabulary of Funeral Rites ..... 311

*Edward Tryjarski (Warsaw)*

Terminology of Family and Kinship in Kipchak Texts of the Polish Armenians and in the "Codex Cumanicus" ..... 321

*Fatma Ahsen Turan (Ankara)*

Tree Kinship ..... 329

*David Curtis Wright (Calgary)*

Fictitious Kinship Relations between the Song Chinese and Kitan Liao Ruling Houses During the Eleventh Century ..... 333

*Ilya V. Zaytsev (Moscow)*

The Structure of the Giray Dynasty (15th-16th centuries): Matrimonial and Kinship Relations of the Crimean Khans ..... 341

# Terminology of Family and Kinship in Kipchak Texts of the Polish Armenians and in the "Codex Cumanicus"

Edward Tryjarski

There exists a rather rich literature on ethnological and sociological aspects of the life of the Armenian immigrants living in old Poland. A vivid study by Walerian Łoziński *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII w.* (Lwów 1902) [= Patriciate and towns-people of Lvov in the 16th-17th centuries] can be mentioned as taking the lead. The author, however, did not have at his disposal the Armeno-Kipchak texts in which customs and manners of that ethnos are richly mirrored. Also Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, a contemporary historian, had no access to all important texts in question, and I mean here her monongraphy *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin 1982) [= Armenians in old Poland].

Krzysztof Stopka had, no doubt, more possibility of using them while producing his album-booklet *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej* (Kraków 2000) [= Armenians in Old and Today's Poland], in which he makes some rather superficial observations on the Armenian family.

The general topic of the present session invites us to a closer examination of the language referring to relations between men and women, and represented in the family and kinship terminology. In this connection I list hereafter a few terms of the epoch connected with love and sex which discreetly but essentially accompany the course of the family life. It is general knowledge that this group of terms constitutes the oldest and very durable part in the history of each language, that it can be exchanged for newer or foreign items only as a result of extra strong impulses like bilingualism.

The kinship terminology is strictly connected with the general culture of a given group and its examination happens to be embarrassing if ethno-cultural changes and the influence of foreign languages must be taken into consideration. Just such ethno-cultural changes we are confronted with when we examine some kindred but temporarily and culturally different Armeno-Kipchak writings and the "Codex Cumanicus."[1] The main characteristic feature which unites them in

[1] All citations have been given after K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*. København, 1942, Einar Munksgaard. From among the newest studies on the "Codex" we cite: V. Drimba, *Codex Cumanicus Édition diplomatique avec facsimiles*. Bucarest, 2000. Editura Enciclopedică.

one way or another is the Christian religious terminology. It is evidenced by multiple references to the Old and New Testaments and by using such terms as *ata, oyul, arï qïz* etc,

The "Codex Cumanicus" seems *a priori* to be not the best choice as a source for studying the family terminology. We do not know its authors and we suppose tsš∫ to be either missionaries or merchants, just two social groups not necessarily ideal cases of a model family life. At the same time the texts found in glossaries, prayers, hymns or puzzles do not present the best material for this kind of observation. In fact the total number of words referring to our present interest does not surpass a few dozen.

In some Armeno-Kipchak texts[2] we find more terms of this kind, which mainly results from their administrative-juridical character. We find them for the most part in marriage contracts, called *krorong* in Armenian, and in testaments in which the inner-family relations are also of special importance. Equally important are records of Armenian courts of justice which were generally of two types: those of the first type being composed of a voyth and elders, as in Kamenets-Podolsk, the others having a confessional character, to cite the Ecclesiastical Court of Justice of the Armenians of the city of Lvov. A special position belongs to some other juridical texts, among them the Kipchak version of the "Code of Law of Polish Armenians."[3] In the Polish version of the Laws of Polish Armenians, printed in 1601,[4] we find not only texts of penal and civil law but also court proceedings regarding the family, relations between young and old people, also between men and women, cognates-collaterals etc. Special attention has been given to marriage, protection of women and education of children. The following examples of legal cases debated in particular paragraphs are able to give a general notion:

– "... if a youngster pulls at the beard of an old man...",
– "... if anyone hits his parents...",
– "... if a son reveals some (private) matters that had been confided to him by their parents...",
– "... if anyone hits a pregnant woman...",
– "... if a son does not obey his parents...",
– "... if anyone falls on a road upon a wife or daughter, and the daughter is an unmarried girl or a virgin and he violates her...",
– "... if a woman is summoned to the law-court...", etc.[5]

One of the paragraphs confirms the supposition that the law of Polish Armenians knew and used the notion of the kinship's degree:

"If a sterile [man] has relatives in the forth degree, they will in the same degree of proximity (family ties) inherit his property."

It is natural to suppose that in texts written in Kipchak we should be able to find not only identical rules but also analogical terminology. However, it is not always the case. It should be remembered that not all texts of this kind have survived, not all of them had a Kipchak version, and not all of them have been published. As far as the legal records are concerned, they were usually made in one language and translations were added in rare cases only.[6]

Hereafter I list the main Armeno-Kipchak terms related to blood kinship or a distant relationship, along with a group of terms which concern the intimate side of human life, in particular those related to matrimonial ties, sexual intercourse and care of children. It is clear that those groups intermingle and a more precise classification of particular items is not worthwhile.

It will be observed that in Armeno-Kipchak the male element is most clearly represented by the word *ėr* 'man; male', then 'husband'. On the social plan it is accompanied by such terms as: *biy* 'mister, sir', *aya* 'older man, notable', *dėr* 'father, mainly addressed to clergymen'. Mainly with regard to the age, the word *oylan* 'boy, youngster, teen-ager', sometimes also 'child' was used. 'Foetus, unborn child' was described as *ǰerišmagan oylan anasïn χarnïnda* 'immature baby in its mother's womb'. The same word was used to denote a little boy: *oylan 7 ǰil tibina bolgan* 'a boy (child) less than seven years old'. A 'young man, a youngster' was called *igit* whereas its meaning was quite extensive, since we learn about *oʿuz ǰašli igit* 'a young man thirty years old'. A 'teen-ager' or a 'young shaver' was referred to by the Slavic noun *vïrostokʿ*. 'Infancy, childhood' or 'youth' were called *oylanlïχ* , and the same word had probably an additional meaning of a 'cradle', normally called *bėšikʿ* or designated by the Polish

[2] I made use mainly of the following publications: *Dokumenty na polovetskom jazyke XVI v. (Sudebnye akty Kamenets-Podol'skoj Armjanskoj obščiny)*. Transkriptsija, perevod, predpisanie, vvedenie, grammatičeskij kommentarij i glossarij T.I. Grunina. Pod. red. Ė.V. Sevortjana, Stat'ja J.R. Daškeviča, Moskva 1967. J. Deny – E. Tryjarski, "«Histoire du sage Hikar» dans la version arméno-kiptchak", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXVII, 2, 1964. pp. 7-61. E. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak d'après trois manuscrits des collections viennoises*, 1-4, 1968-1972, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. J.R. Daškevič – E. Tryjarski, "Armjano-kypčakskie predbračnye dogovory iz L'vova", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXXIII, 2, 1970, pp. 67-107. See also studies mentioned there.

[3] M. Lewicki-Renata Kohnowa, "La version turque-kiptchak du «Code des lois des Arméniens polonais» d'après le ms N° 1916 de la Bibliothèque Ossolineum", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXI, 1957, pp.153-300. Many interesting problems have been discussed in: M. Oleś, *The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom (1356-1519). A juridical and historical study*, by... Foreword by Mons. Ch. de Clercq, Roma 1966.

[4] Prawa i artykuły Ormian lwowskich [z] łacińskiego oryginału pilnie na polski język przetłumaczone roku 1601. Przepisane przes zacnie sławnego Pana Jakoba Wartanowicza starszego praw Ormian lwowskich Roku Panskiego 1658 Die 20 Mai A.M.D.G.

[5] Op.cit., passim.

[6] Juridical reports were rather rarely supplemented with Polish or Latin translations.

word *k'olïsk'a*. As regards the name for 'son' I write about it below. A grown-up man was either *χatunsuz* 'single, celibate' or *χatunlu* or *ovlu* 'married'.

The chief female element was called *χatun* or *χatun kiši* 'woman', a creature which often deserved the epithet *k'ork'lu*: *k'ork'lu χatun* 'nice woman', but sometimes could also be the reason of misfortune and decline. In her childhood and her youth she used to be called *χïz* and often also referred to by the Armenian name *goys* 'virgin'. We mention elsewhere that *χatun* also meant 'wife' and *χïz* 'daughter'. Women used to be *ėrli* 'married' or *ėrsiz* 'unmarried', although the last term has not been corroborated up to present.

As to the sexual matters, in the texts that I had occasion to examine they are presented with due discretion, which can be explained by the fact that the authors of those texts were mainly clergymen. 'Sexual intercourse' was expressed with the verb *χavš-* 'to unite with a woman, to sink morally', 'copulation' was rendered as *χošulmaχ*. As far as anatomy and physiology are concerned only few basic words have been known. 'Individual, human body' and 'human being' were called *boy*, while 'body' in a larger, even mystical sense was rendered with a Persian word *tėn*. Also several derivatives: *tėnli* 'bodily, of flesh', *tėnsiz* 'bodiless', *tėndaš* 'having the same or similar body', *tėnlaš-* 'to have a common body with somebody else', *tėn almaχ* 'embodiment, incarnation' were used.

Sexual masculine parts were called as follows: *tamur* 'penis', also referred to by the Old Polish word *žïla*: *ėr kišining žïlasï tamuru* 'penis of a man'. 'Testicles' were also designated by a Slavic term, *i̯adra*, hence also the explication *k'i̯esk'an i̯adralï vïvalašonï* 'with testicles cut off, gelded'. For 'sperme' again a Slavic word was used: *našï̯enï̯e ėr k'išinin aχk'anï člonuk'undan* 'sperme flowing out of a man's penis'.[7]

On the female side one could find: 'pubes, womb' or 'breast' *χoyun* and *t'oš* (*t'oš usna vrod k'i bolur χatun kišining* 'ulcer that shows on a woman's breast'), *χuçaχ* 'nipple'. 'Abdomen' or 'pubes' were rendered by the Slavic word *život*. Another Slavic word was used to designate 'uterus, matrix: *k'iči χarïn χayda oylan toyar* 'small belly in which a child is born'. 'Menstruation' was called in a Turkish manner: *aylïχï χatun k'išining* 'woman's monthlies'.

The result of natural (*s prirodzenï̯a*) sexual activity is 'procreation', called *toymaχ* 'birth', the basic verb being *toy-, toyur-* 'to bear', hence also *toyuruči* 'bearing woman'. Here also belong terms loaned from Old Polish *rodzič* 'father' and *pirvorodnïy* 'first-born (son)'.

Sexual activity is normally accompanied by various feelings like desire and love. 'Falling in love', 'to become a lover' was rendered by *ašïχ bol-*, 'to desire' was called *suχlan-*, 'to love' *sov-* (*suχlaniyrmėn i̯a soviyrmėn* 'I desire or love') The noun *sovma*, also *sovuk'* 'love' had rich formal and sensual connotations, cf.: *χardaš sovuk'u* 'brotherly love', *malïy sovuk'k'a* 'small or insignificant in love'.

Connected with love are various troubles, especially when a man meets for instance a bad, perverse woman (*i̯aman χatun*). When a man had a strong predilection for women, he was called *χatun sovuči* 'lover, paramour', when however he desired them and had ties with them he was qualified as *birlandaš suχlama toyumsuz χatunlarga* 'partner desiring insatiably women'(?). 'Violation' was considered a sordid deed and consequently a young man was warned by Ahikar the Wise with the words: *χaravašlarïmnï uyatlama* 'don't violate my slaves'. Notwithstanding some 'accidental meetings' (*s trafunk'u i̯oluχuš*) the life gave occasion to immoral men, called *boŕnig, oynaš, milošnik, gamrat, orospi sovuči,* to visit a house of ill fame, maintained by 'old lady': *pani starasï orospïlarïng ayasï* 'old lady, supervisor of the prostitutes'.

An important moment in human's life is 'contracting a marriage' which was called *χatun al-* or *ėrga bar-*. In order to realize it 'matchmakers', both men and women, were asked for help. They were most probably called *χuda* just like 'bridesmaids' and 'best men'. The same term was used among the Karaims of Luck (*kuda, kudahy* 'Brautwerber, Brautwerberin', A. Mardkowicz). An additional result of matchmakers' activity was durable 'friendship', as evidenced by the derivative *χudalïχ* 'brotherhood, friendship'.

The most consistent element of the nuptial ceremony was signing a marriage contract. which proceeded by traditionally long negotiations. We remember that it was called *k'rorong* but probably later on a Latin-Polish word, *intėrçiza*, was also used. A number of such contracts in Armeno-Kipchak, in Armenian and in Polish have been published. It follows from them that in a dowry they distinguished immobile and mobile goods – a trousseaux and a special sum of money paid to the future son-in-law. A general name for 'dowry' was *dzėhez*.

The nuptial ceremony was composed of several episodes which took place in the bride's house, in the bridegroom's house and in a temple. The 'bride' was called *k'ėlin*. As soon as the ceremony was over this word began to mean 'daughter-in-law'. To designate a maid accompanying the bride a Polish word *družk'a* or *dušk'a* was used: *χudalar k'ėlinni k'i̯eltirganlar i̯a χuvurganlar* 'bride's maids (or best men) who bring the bride or accompany her'. Not quite clear is the meaning of the the derivative *kėlindaš*. It may probably mean 'women married at the same time' or 'one of several daughters-in-law'(?). In the Crimea the same word must have meant a 'sister in law'. According to

[7] A curious example of the excessive severity of law and, at the same time, a spicy detail relating to the customs of the epoch is contained in chapter 74 of the Laws of the Armenians of Lvov where the following regulation is proclaimed, free and easy: "If two men are in conflict and quarrel and a woman intervenes to calm them and – willing to help the one who is overwhelmed or near to falling down and being unable to draw them apart – seizes the penis of the overwhelming man, the Law orders that the hand with which she touched upon the penis should be cut off. Anyhow, if the Law is generously inclined [to pardon], the woman may buy herself out", *Prawa i artykuły Ormian lwowskich...*, see note 4, p. 99.

W. Radloff's *Dictionary*, outside of the Crimea the same word must mean 'gemeinschaftliche Schwiegertöchter'. The final act of the ceremony was a wedding banquet called *toy*.

A marriage contract and the birth of children make a real framework for creating a blood relationship, for propinquity and even for spiritual religious ties. The husband called his wife *sïngar* lit. 'neighbour, companion', 'son' was called *oγul*, more precisely *ér oγul*, 'daughter' *χïz oγul*. A mother nourishing a baby was helped in it by *ịediruči tayịa* or *mamk'a* 'feeder, foster mother' and by *pịestunk'a* 'nurse'.

A special kind of relationship came into being as a result of baptism. The 'godmother' was called *k'ristan ana*, 'god father' *k'ristan ata*, 'god son' *k'ristan oγul* and 'god daughter' *k'ristan χïz*'.

A family was nothing but a link in a chain of succeeding generations, clans or races called *dž̆ïns*, as in the Bible: *pok'oleniasïna israel oγlanlarïnïng* 'to his generations of Israel's children'. A 'forfather' was called by a Slavic name *protėk'*, while the 'issue' by an Arabic-Turkic term, *zuriat* (*zuriat potomok'lar* 'progeny, descendants').

Blood relationship is considered to have a durable character and lasting till death. When it comes, a child becomes 'orphan' or 'orphaned' *ok'suz oširoči̇ali̇*, while the husband a 'widower' *tul*, and the wife a 'widow' *tul χatun k'iši*.

The above terminology in Armeno-Kipchak allows us to formulate the opinion that speakers of that language, living mainly in Kamenets Podolsk and in Lvov, were not willing for religious or moral reasons to accept some important terms of Muslim-Turkic origin but created instead different ones, factually forming a mixed system adapted for their needs and conformable to Slavic social and confessional milieu they were living in.

To sum up the previous remarks, let us list the following linear descendants: *dadu, dịadu* 'grandfather, ancester', *ata* 'father' *oγul* 'son', *torun* 'grandson'. On the collateral side the term for *dadu, dịadu* 'uncle' or 'paternal uncle' *dadu ana ata sartïn* 'uncle on the mother or father side' was used. They also used to say: *χardašï atanïng* 'father's brother'. Other names for collaterals are few: *χardaš* 'brother', *χïz χardaš* 'sister'. 'Brother and sister' were probably called *χardašlïχ*.

As regards the cousin terms like *χayin (χayn) ata* 'father-in-law', *χayin (χayn) ana* (*χatïn kišilarnïng anasï* 'women's mother') 'mother-in-law', *k'iyov, χiov* 'son-in-law' and *švagịer* 'brother-in-law' were used.

It is worth observing that there existed the institution of adoption, as evidenced by the following record: *dž̆an oγul oγul ịazïlgan* with a Latin gloss *filius adoptatus* 'spiritual son (child), a registered son'.

Attemps at correlating the Armeno-Kipchak kinship terms with their equivalents in the "Codex Cumanicus" seem to be useful for a better knowledge of the whole Kipchak lexical material and for tracing its historical development. The supposition that both the dialect learnt by the Armenians in the Crimea and the



dialect represented in the "Codex" have common roots is in broad outline confirmed once again just by their common fundamental terms of kinship. In fact, we find in the "Codex" identical terms which I list up below in accordance with K. Grønbech's *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, 1942: *ana* 'Mutter', *ata* 'Vater', *boj* 'Körper', *emček* 'Brustwarze – mamilla', *er* 'Mann, Ehemann', *erkak* 'Mann – homo', *ğins* 'Volk, Völkerschaft – natio', *kelin* 'Braut', *kujegu, kujov* 'Bräutigam – sponsius', *oγlan* 'Kind und junger Mensch (beider Geschlechter); Gehilfe, Diener', *oγul* 'Sohn – filius', *ojnaš* 'Konkubine – amica', *qatun, χatun* 'Frau' *qyz* 'Jungfrau Tochter – filia', *ten* 'Fleisch; Körper – caro', *uruq, uruχ* 'Nachkommenschaft; Kind – proles'.

Similar convergences can be also observed concerning verbs: (*qatun, χatun*) *al-* 'eine Frau heiraten', *ten al-* 'fleisch annehmen, Mensch werden', *toγ-, tov-, tuv-* 'geboren werden'.

Relatively small divergences concern the semantics. So, for instance, the "Codex Cumanicus" has *ulu ata* 'Grossvater – auns', *tyn ata* 'geistiger Vater, Beichvater', *atasyz* 'ohne Vater', *χallal oγul* 'ehelicher Sohn – legitimus filius'. Besides, the plural form of *oγul* is *oγlanlar*, while *oγlan* means a child of both genders 'Kind, junger Mensch', so for instance *sili oγlan* means 'die reine Jungfrau'.

On the other hand, there appear in the "Codex" terms which have not been registered in Armeno-Kipchak texts published so far: *ajly* 'schwanger', *amu* 'weibliche Scham – vulva' *asyr* (*ašyr*? 'Hochzeit – nuptie', *erden, erdenlik* 'Jungfraulichkeit', *ersek* 'mamstall Hure – meretrix', *etez, etiz* 'Körper - corpus', *küni* 'Konkubine – amica', *küniden tovγan* 'Kebskind – bastardus' *qaltaq* 'Kuppler, Kupplerin – rofianus, rofiana', *qurtqa* 'alte Frau – anus' 'en babe', *sik* 'penis – veletrun' *tašaq* 'Hode – testiculum', also some verbs as *qojnaš-* 'Beischlaft ausüben', *töre-* 'erschaffen werden, geboren werden'.

Such words and expressions as *almazlyq* 'Nichtheiraten' or *er jazuqu* 'die Sünde mit dem Mann' d.h. die 'Begattung' are built with elements known also in Armeno-Kipchak, but formed according to a different kind of logical process.

Still there exists a group of terms, mainly with relation to kinship, which appear in the "Codex" but have a minimal chance to be found in Armeno-Kipchak: *abaγa* 'Onkel – auunchulus; wahrscheinlich bezeichnet es nur wie im Mongolischen, den Vaterbruder', *aγa* 'Bruder', *ananyn atasy* 'Onkel mütterlicherseits', *atalyq* 'Stiefvater', *egeči* 'Vaterschwester - amita', *emegin* 'alte Frau – en babe', *epči* 'Frau, Ehefrau – mulier, uxor', *eši* 'Schwiegermutter – socera', *jezne* 'Schwager (eigt. der Mann der älteren Schwester) – cognatus', *öbüge* 'Grossvater – avus', *tayaj, tagaj* 'Muttersbruder, Onkel mütterlicherseits glossiert allerdings als consanguineus'. It will be observed that such words of the list as *abaγa, egeči, emegin, öbüge, tayaj, tagaj* are of Mongolian origin. This points out a stronger influence of the Mongolian language and customs on the Coman language used by the authors of the "Codex".