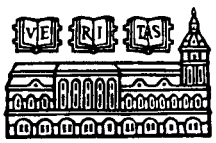
HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

EUCHARISTERION:

Essays presented to
OMELJAN PRITSAK
on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

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Samoyed and Ugric Elements in Old Turkic

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1. *ay* 'Word'

In Old and Middle Turkic there are three principal verbs for "to speak, to say": *sözle-*, *te-*, and *ay-*. On their relationship Clauson (p. 266) has this to say: "There is little difference of meaning between *ay-*, *té:-* and *sözle:-*, but at any rate in the earliest period *ay-* seems to be to some extent honorific, while the others are not. Noted only as below; apparently became obsolete when *ayït-* came to mean 'to say'. . . ." The most complete listing of the verb's occurrences is given by Sevortjan (pp. 111–12) who makes the following remark: "Формы *ейт-*, *эйт-*, чув. *ыйт-* — из *айт-* под влиянием *-й-*. Господствующей в современных тюркских языках . . . прежде всего в турецком, азербайджанском и гагаузском — она вытеснена другим глаголом — *сөйле-*, известным также в ряде языков остальных ареальных групп." The occurrences of *ay-* are given by Sevortjan (p. 111).

It is clear that, since *ay-* cannot be considered Common Turkic, there is an a priori likelihood that it is either a loanword or an archaic remnant in Old Turkic. I think it must be connected with a Finno-Ugric word, attested principally in Ostiak.

A word *ay* 'Wort, Kunde, Botschaft, Nachricht, etc.' is known in virtually all the Ostiak dialects. There are dialectal variants (*äy*), and a number of derived forms, e.g., *ay-kel, ay-kïl* 'Botschaft, Nachricht'. In Literary Ostiak (Steinitz, 1950) *ay* has the meaning 'Erzählung, Nachricht.' A detailed listing of Ostiak dialectal variants can be found in Steinitz, 1966, pp. 14–15; cf. also Paasonen, 1926, p. 7, and Toivonen, 1948, p. 5. Derivations from the same root appear in Vogul — as signaled by Paasonen — e.g., *aygel* 'voice, shout', or in Zyryen *ayəl* — 'berichten', listed in Steinitz, 1966.

Phonetically as well as semantically, the correspondence between the Finno-Ugric and Turkic words is unassailable. The former do not belong to Common Finno-Ugric, and the Turkic words have no correspondents in Mongol or in Tunguz. For this reason *ay-* cannot be considered an

Altaic or a Ural-Altaic word. It is either a Ugric loan in Old Turkic, or an Old Turkic loan in Ugric, or a borrowing by both from a third, perhaps substratum, language.

2. *sab* 'Word'

Ugric connections can be established for another word well attested in Old and Middle Turkic: *sab, sav* 'word, speech'. Clauson (p. 782) who, mistakenly, admits only a *sāv* reading, has this to say: "the difference between this word and *sö:z,* if it is not simply one of chronology or dialect (*sö:z* is rather rare in the early period), seems to be one of quantity; *sa:v* seems to mean 'a (full-length) speech, a narrative or story, a message,' while *sö:z* seems to mean basically 'a single word, or short utterance.' Very common in the earlier period, but not noted after the XIV century except in the hendiaduoin *söz sav.*" DTS (pp. 478, 491–92) contains a fairly complete listing of the occurrences of *sab* and *sav* which is certainly sufficient for our present purpose.

As noted by Clauson, the standard Common Turkic expression for "word" is *söz,* after the fourteenth-century *sab* ~ *sav* disappeared altogether from the vocabulary of the Turkic languages. Derived forms such as, e.g., Turkmen *savči,* Uzbek *sovči* 'matchmaker (< he who speaks on behalf of someone)' are still in use. The word is well attested in Old and Middle Turkic (*sabčï, savčï*) in the general meaning "messenger," hence also "prophet." Relevant data are given by Clauson (p. 785) and DTS (pp. 478, 479). Cf. also TMEN III (pp. 226–27). Curiously enough, *savči* appears in an undated but early Mongol manuscript text from Turfan and is translated as "Sprecher" by Herbert Franke, 1970 (p. 143). J. Hamilton, 1974 (p. 114), advances an ingenious and credible explanation for the "disappearance" of *sab* ~ *sav* which, according to him, developed into *soy-* in Old Anatolian. There it served as a root for the verb *soyla-* 'to declare, to recite' and brought about — *per analogiam* — the transformation of the old verb *sözle-* 'to speak, to say' into *söyle-*. Be that as it may, the fact remains that *sab* ~ *sav* (hence probably **saß*) cannot be considered the standard term for "word" in Old Turkic and even less so in Common Turkic. The origin of this word already puzzled Radloff (*Wörterbuch* IV, p. 410), who derived it from Chinese!

Old Turkic *sab* ~ *sav* must be connected with the following Ugric words: Vogul *såw, sou, sang* 'word, sound, voice'; Ostiak *sǫ̆u, sɒ̯u̯* 'voice', *saw* 'melody'; Hungarian *szó* (pronunciation: *sō,* root: *sav-*) 'word'. An up-to-date and complete listing of all the forms and of the relevant literature appears in MSzFgrE III (pp. 591–92).

On phonetic as well as semantic grounds the relation between the Turkic and Ugric forms is undeniable. However, it can be and has been explained in various ways. Today there is general agreement on the point that the Ugric forms have a common origin and that Hungarian *szó* is not a direct borrowing from Turkic. The correct equation for the Turkic and Ugric forms quoted above was established by Németh, 1942 (p. 47), in the German version of an article first published in Hungarian in 1928. Németh saw proof of early Turko-Uralic relations in the correspondence between the forms. In Sinor, 1969 (p. 274), I protested against counting *szó* among the basic Finno-Ugric elements of Hungarian. According to MSzFgrE, the Common Ugric word was borrowed from Turkic at some time prior to the disintegration of Ugric unity. On purely linguistic grounds this theory is defensible. It does present a historical problem, however, if we try to harmonize it with the chronology usually proposed for the separation of the Ugrians from the other Finno-Ugric peoples and for the disintegration of the Ugric community. The first event is normally thought to have taken place towards the end of the third millennium B.C., the second some 1,500 years later, in the first half of the first millennium B.C. (Cf. Hajdu, 1975, p. 67.) If we could be certain — which I am not — that at that time a Turkic, say Proto-Turkic, unity existed, it would be difficult to account for the *absence* of *sab* in the Common Turkic vocabulary. No such difficulties arise if Old Turkic *sab* is taken to be a Ugric loanword.

Of course, the question of Turko-Ugric linguistic contacts hinges on the possibility of intercourse between Ugrians and Turks. On this point, a relatively recent interpretation of a passage in the Old Turkic Tonyuquq inscription may provide an important clue. According to a reading proposed by Ramstedt and endorsed by Aalto (1958a, p. 45; 1958b, p. 23), line 45 of the inscription contains the name *Mančud* for a people listed among other peoples sending tribute (or perhaps embassies) to the Türks. Ramstedt and Aalto see in *mančud* a plural in *-ud* or *-d* of the name *manśi, mänči,* etc., still used as a self-designation by the Voguls. Since the same name is most probably also incorporated into the name *magyar* of the Hungarians, it must have been in use before the disintegration of the Ugric community. This point concerns us only insofar as it shows that in the eighth century A.D., when the Tonyuquq inscription was engraved, *Mančud* could have been the name of any Ugric people. Ligeti, 1964 (p. 390), rightly calls for caution in the acceptance of the reading, which is, of course, hypothetical. But the reading and, with it, the theory of Ugro-

Turkic contacts gain credibility through the etymologies of *ay* and *sab* presented above.

3. *tan* 'Cold Wind'

Old and Middle Turkic *yunt* 'horse' seems to occur only in Ottoman. References are to be found in Clauson (p. 946) and DTS (p. 281) where some forms are given with *-d*. There is no reason to include *yunt* in the Common Turkic vocabulary. The Samoyed parallels are well known, and I have dealt with this question in some detail (Sinor, 1965, pp. 309–319). Since that time, I. Vásáry, 1971, has convincingly shown that the river name *Käm*, applied in Old Turkic to the Yenisei, is of Samoyed origin. According to Vásáry (p. 482): "If the name of the river *Käm* is really of Samoyed origin, this fact gives us solid evidence for proving that the Samoyeds lived in South-Siberia at a fairly early date, as the name of *Käm* in the Chou-chu refers to the 5th century A.D." I am quite certain that he is right, and that in historical times — and particularly during the Türk period — we must reckon not only with Turko-Ugric, but also with Turko-Samoyed contacts. In support of this statement I propose another Turko-Samoyed equation, which has the added advantage of throwing some light on the hitherto unknown origin of a Middle Turkic word.

Middle Turkic *tan* 'cold wind' (references in Clauson, p. 516); Sagay, Koibal, Kačinsk (Radloff III, p. 822) *tan* 'der Wind, der Nordwind, Wind der für das Werfeln des Getreides passend ist'; Khakas *tan* 'ветерок': ~ Kamass Samoyed *t'aṅ, t'p̣ṅ* 'kalter, sanfter Winterwind; Norden, Nord-'. Joki, 1944 (p. 68), considers this a loan from the Altai dialects mentioned above, and Räsänen, 1969 (p. 460), adopts the same view, adding kumandin *tang* to the list of Turkic forms. Of course, it is perfectly possible that the Turkic word was borrowed by Kamass, but the process could also have taken place in the inverse direction. Once more, I do not wish to exclude the possibility that *tan* was an area word — with a very limited geographical distribution — which was preserved by Turkic as well as by Samoyed.

The region of the Altai, like most high mountain ranges, was a reservoir of archaic languages and a refuge for peoples unable to assert themselves against their more powerful Turkic, and specifically Türk, neighbors. The Ugric and Samoyed elements of Old and Middle Turkic have much to say about the early history of the Türks.

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