

Marzanna Pomorska

Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Poland)

## Notes on Persian loan words in the Chulym Turkic dialects

Some Persian loan words in the Chulym Turkic dialects have already been discussed by Marek Stachowski (1992–93). Since the Chulym lexical material used as a basis for the discussion there has been extracted only from one monograph by Birjukovič (see LJČ in *Sources*), we would like to complete his treatment of loan words using sources available to us at present, including the most recent publication by Li Yong-Sōng (see SMČ in *Sources*).

The present article can be seen only as a preliminary study of the problem. We shall present here those Chulym words whose etymology is not problematic in order to estimate their number and to make further analyses possible. Since direct borrowing from Iranian languages into Chulym is not possible, we must assume Turkic, Turkic–Russian or possibly Mongolic mediation for such words. We therefore point here to the most probable, i.e. Persian source for them.

### Persian loan words in the Chulym Turkic dialects

1.1. Per. agar ‘if; although’ (St. 90) >> MČ \*jägär > \*jār ~ \*čār > MČ čär ‘коли’ (ZS 20, a hapax legomenon). –

= Kas., Čag., Kar.LT ägär ‘wenn’ (Radl. I 696), Ott. ajär ‘wenn’ (ib. 722) ~ ägär ‘id.’ (StachS I/132), Tr. eger ‘if; whether’ (Redh. 328), cf. also VEWT 37.

The rise of prosthetic *j*, which is known in other Turkic languages (cf. Tekin 1994; Tekin 1995: 138ff.) is in some cases observed in Middle Chulym as well, e.g. äp ‘дом’ ~ iäp (= jāp, M.P.) ‘id.’ (ZS 130), ägäčäm ‘старшая сестра моей жены/мужа; жена старшего брата моей жены’ (LJČ 9) ~ jägäžä (!, incorrectly for jägäžäm, M.P.) ‘старшая сестра моей жены’ (ib. 35) < \*ägäčim ~ \*jägäžim < ägäč ‘elder sister’ (cf. ÈSTJa I 221).

1.2. Per. arš, araš ‘cubit, fathom’ (St. 37) >> MČ \*aryš ‘distance’, in *ulugaryš* ‘расстояние между большим и указательным пальцем, lit. large distance’ (LJČ 16, 67). –

= Ott., Čag. arš ‘Unterarm vom Ellbogen bis zu den Fingerspitzen als Maß’ (Radl. I 331), ET aryš ‘id.’ (ib.), cf. also ÈSTJa I 183, VEWT 27, StachS I/15.

1.3. Per. *āsān* ‘easy, convenient, commodious’ (St. 47) >> MČ *äzän* ‘здравствуй’ (ZS 83), LČ *äzän* ‘здравствуй’ (ČulJa 166), Küä. *äzän* ‘1. gesund, in gutem Zustand, wie es sich gehört’ (Radl. I 889) ~ ‘2. glücklich’ (TM 702). –

= Alt. *äzän* ‘1. gesund; 2. Gesundheit’, Khak. *izän* ‘1. id.; 2. id.’, Bar. *ēsän* ~ *izän* ‘1. id.’, Kirg. *äsän* ‘1. glücklich; 2. gesund’, Ott. *äsän* ‘2. id.’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 249, cf. also VEWT 28), Kar.K *äsan* ‘здоровый’ (KarRPS 669), Kar.T *äsań* ‘id.’ (ib. 671), Kar.HK *äsan* ‘благополучный, благоприятный’ (ib. 670), Tr. *asan* ‘1. easy; 2. light, easily borne’ (Redh. 79) ~ *esen* ‘archaic healthy, well, sound, robust’ (id. 347), cf. also Claus. 248a, Doerf. II/478, ÈSTJa I 308f., VEWT 50, Stachowski 1992: 106ff.

1.4. Per. *bahā* ‘price, value’ (St. 209) >> LČ *pā* ‘стоимость’ (ČulJa 162, for Birjukovič’s erroneous *pas* ‘price, cost’ see Stachowski 1992–93: 249 and Pomorska 2004: 69. It is quite striking that Birjukovič was not familiar with Dułzon’s *pā*). –

= Khak., Šr., Alt. *pā* ‘(Kauf-)Preis’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 249), Kirg. *bā* ‘id.’ (ib.), Ott. *paha* ~ *baha* ‘id.’ (ib., cf. StachS I/379), Tr. *paha* ‘price, value’ (Redh. 914), cf. also VEWT 55.

1.5. Per. *boza* ‘beverage made from rice, millet or barley; beer’ (St. 206) >> LČ *poza* ‘барда’ (ČulJa 136). –

= Khak. *poza* ~ *poža* ‘Treber’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 249), Tuv. *boža* ‘божа’ (ÈSTuvJa 238), Bar. *poza* ‘Getränk aus Gerste’ (Radl. IV 1293), Tr. *boza* ‘boza (beverage made of fermented millet)’ (Redh. 194), see also ÈSTJa II 173ff., Doerf. II/788, ÈSTJa II 173ff., VEWT 82.

1.6. Per. *darīča* ‘small door; window; small hole for the admission of light; wicket’ (St. 517) >> Čul. *täräčä* ‘окно’ (Vladimircov 1925: 338, Stachowski 1992–93: 250), MČ *tärzä* ‘id.’ (ZS 79). –

= Bar. *täräzä*, *täräzi*, *tärä(s)ä* ‘Fenster’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 250), Kirg. *täräzä* ‘id.’ (ib.), Ott. (1482) *deriçe* ‘küçük kapı, kapıçık’ (Tulum 1971: 364), Ott. (1514/15) *terece* ‘window’ (Verbung 1987: 73).

1.7. Per. *dārū* ‘medicine, drug; remedy; oxymel, preparation of vinegar and honey; spirituous liquors; gunpowder’ (St. 497) >> MČ *tāra* ‘порох’ (LJČ 61), Küä. *tary* ‘Pulver, Schießpulver’ (Radl. III 846). –

= Alt., Tel., Leb., Tob., Kas. *tary* ‘Pulver, Schießpulver’ (Radl. III 846), Tuv., Tof. *dary* ‘barut’ (Ölmez 2007: 133), Khak. *tar* ‘Schießpulver’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 250), Bar. *tary* ‘Arznei’ (ib.), Kirg. *dary* ‘1. Schießpulver; 2. Arznei’ (ib.), Tr. *daru* ‘drug, medicine; remedy’ (Redh. 274), Ott. (1430) *dārū* ‘ilaç’ (Özkan 1992: 285), cf. also VEWT 132f., Vladimircov 1925: 333.

1.8. Per. *gūgird* ‘sulphur, brimstone’ (St. 1105) >> Küä. *kügür* ‘Schwefel’ (Radl. II 1427). –

= Tuv. *kügür* ‘Schwefel’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 250), Tof. *küker* ‘id.’ (ib.), Alt. *kükiür* ‘id.’ (Radl. II 1424), Ott., Krm. *kükürt* ‘id.’ (ib.), cf. also Yak. *küö(r)t* ‘gelb, mit einem schwarzen Schein, gelblich, grau, von der Farbe des Wolfes (von Hunden)’ (Stachowski 1992: 113f., Stachowski 1992–93: 250), Ott. (1430) *kükürd* ‘kükürt’ (Özkan 1992: 377), Tr. *kükürt* ‘id.’ (Redh. 694), cf. also VEWT 307.

1.9. OldPer. *hajna+* ‘devil’ >> Küä. *ajna* ‘Teufel; böser Geist’ (Radl. I 17). –

= Tel., Leb., Šr., Koib., Sag. *ajna* ‘id.’ (ib.), Khak. *ajna* ‘Teufel’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 252), Alt. *ajna* ‘id.; Gespenst’ (ib.) (>> Arin. *ajna* ‘id.’, cf. Stachowski 1996: 102, Stachowski 2006: 179).

1.10. Per. *χalīta* ‘purse, linen bag’ (St. 473) >> Küä. *kalta* ‘Tabacksbeutel’ (TM 698). –

= Alt., Tel. *kalta* ‘1. Tasche; 2. lederner Tabacksbeutel’ (Radl. II 258), Kzk. *kalta* ‘1. lederner Beutel; 2. lederne Tasche, die man am Leibe trägt und in die man Talismane und Gebete gegen die bösen Geister aufbewahrt’ (ib.), Kas. *kalta* ‘lederner Beutel’ (ib.), cf. also VEWT 227, Šipova 1979: 155, Anikin 2000: 240.

1.11. Per. *χudā(j)* ‘God’ (St. 449) >> LČ *kudaj* ‘бог’ (ČulJa 138), MČ *kudaj* ‘бог’ (LJČ 79) ~ *kutaj* ‘id.’ (ib. 44), Küä. *kudaj* ‘Gott’ (Radl. II 998). –

= Alt., Tel., Šr., Leb., Sag., Koib., Kzk., Kirg. *kudaj* ‘Gott’ (Radl. II 998), Khak. *χudaj* ‘id.’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251), Khak.dial. *kudaj* ~ *kutaj* ‘id.’ (ib.), Tuv. *kudaj* ‘1. Himmel; 2. Jenseits’ (ib., Ölmez 2007: 209), Ott. *huda* ~ *hoda* ~ *hudaj* ‘Gott’ (StachS II/205), cf. also VEWT 162.

1.12. Per. (earlier) *χʷaš*, *χʷuš* = Per. *χoš* ‘good, sweet, excellent, beautiful (...); healthy (...); happy (...’ (St. 485, Rub. I 581) >> MČ *kōs* ‘красивый’ (ZS 26), MČ *kugas* ‘beautiful’ (SMČ 157) ~ *kuvas* ‘id.’ (LJČ 43), LČ *kuvas* ~ *kuas* ‘красивый’ (ČulJa 142), Küä. *kuas* ‘schön, ansehnlich’ (Radl. II 887). –

= Tuv. *kās* ‘нарядный, пышный’ (TuvRS 213; cf. also Stachowski 1992–93: 251, Stachowski 1996: 98, Ölmez 2007: 186 does not see in Tuv. *kās* a Per. loan word), Tof. *kās* ‘Zeichnung, Muster’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251), Khak. *kās* ‘Zeichnung’ (ib.).

Tu. (among them also Čul.) reflexes of Per. *χʷaš* ‘schön, hübsch’ have been described in detail by Marek Stachowski (1996: 98, cf. also Stachowski 2006: 181). For Chulym forms, Stachowski says as follows:

- (1) Per. *χʷaš* ‘schön, hübsch’ >> Čul. (= Küä., LČ, M.P.) *kuas* ‘id.’ and – as we can now complete this – also MČ *kugas* ~ *kuvas* ‘id.’;
- (2) Per. *χoš* ‘schön, hübsch’ ~ \**χōš* (< \**χʷuš*) >> Čul. (= MČ, M.P.) *kōs* ‘id.’ (ib.).

Since, according to our study of Čul. materials, Küä. and LČ have diphthongs alongside long vowels resulting from the loss of some consonants, mainly *-VgV-*, and such diphthongs are not recorded for MČ (cf. SMČ 13 and Pomorska 2004: 22), it is not necessary to explain Čul. *kuas* and *kōs* by two different Persian etyma, and MČ *kōs* may have resulted from a regular sound change.

In light of another Persian loan word in the Chulym Turkic dialects, namely Per. *kāgaz*, *kāgiz* ‘paper, letter’ >> Čul. *kagaz* ‘id.’, see 1.13 below, and the possible sound change *-aCa-* > *-ua-* (cf. e.g. Küä. *juas* ‘friedfertig, sanft, fromm’ (Radl. III 536) = Tu. *javaš* ‘calm, quiet’, cf. ÈSTJa IV 53ff), we cannot exclude a kind of crossing of these two Persian loan words, cf. also Stachowski’s commentary on Khak. *χos* ‘Zeichnung, Bild’ (Stachowski 1996: 98).

**1.13. Per. *kāgaz*, *kāgiz*** ‘paper, letter’ (St. 1006) >> MČ *kagas* ‘бумага’ (ZS 21), LČ *kagas* ‘id.’ (ČulJa 137), MČ *kagys* in *algyl māŋ kagyzym* ‘возьми мое письмо (бумагу)’ (MČS 28, a hapax legomenon). –

= Kyz. *χayas* ‘Papier’, Alt. *χagas* ‘id.’, Šr. *kagat* ‘Tagebuch’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 250), Tr. *kağıt* ‘1. paper; of paper; 2. letter, note, document; 3. playing card’ (Redh. 580), cf. also VEWT 219, StachS II/220.

Cf. 1.12 above.

**1.14. Per. *pūlād*** ‘finest Damascus steel (...); steel generally’ (St. 260) >> Küä. *polat* ‘Stahl’ (Radl. IV 1278). –

= Alt. *bolot* ~ *polot* ‘Stahl’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251; according to Rassadin 1980: 31 and 68, Alt. *bolot* ‘сталь’ < Mo. *bolud* ‘id.’ and Yak. *bolot* ‘древний короткий меч etc.’ < Mo. Rassadin does not quote Khak. *molot*, Tof. *bolat*, Tuv. *bolat*, Čul. (= Küä.) *polat* ‘id.’ in his study), Tuv. *bolat* ‘Stahl’ (Ölmez 2007: 97), Yak. *bolot* ‘Schwert’ (Kałużyński 1995: 157: << Pers., admitting Mo. intercession, cf. also Stachowski 1992: 111f), Šr., Khak. *molat* ‘id.’, Tof. *bolat* ‘id.’ = Mo. *bolot* ~ *bolod* ~ *bolad* ~ *bolud* ‘id.’ < Per. (Stachowski 2006: 180), Ott. *pulad* ~ *polad* ‘id.’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251, StachS IV/446), Kirg. *bolot* ‘1. Stahl; 2. Schwert’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251), cf. also VEWT 387: Tu. = Mo. < Per.

**1.15. Per. *šak(k)ar*** ‘sugar’ (St. 752) >> MČ *sakar* ‘sugar’ (SMČ 159), Čul. *sakъr* ‘caxap’ (Duł. 462), Küä. *sakar* ‘Zucker’ (TM 700). –

= Alt. *čikir* ‘Zucker’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251), Khak. *saxar* ‘id.’ (ib.), Tof. *säkar* ‘id.’ (ib.), Bar. *šikär* ‘id.’ (ib.), Ott. *šäkär* ‘id.’ (ib., StachS IV/572), Kirg. *šäkär* ‘id.’ (ib.), Tuv. *cigir* ‘şeker’ (Ölmez 2007: 120), cf. also VEWT 444, Zieme 2005: 286.

**1.16. Per. *šalǵam*** ‘turnip, rape’ (St. 757) >> MČ *šalgan* ‘репа’ (ZS 104), LČ *šalgan* in *āzygšalgan* ‘дикая (букв. ‘горькая’) репа’ (Duł. 464). –

= Šr., Kač., Kom. *šalyan* ‘Rübe’ (Radl. IV 964), Kas., Šr. *šalkan* ‘id.’ (ib. 963), Ott., Krm., Bar. *šalyam* ‘id., Kohlrübe’ (ib. 964), cf. also VEWT 441.

1.17. Per. *taxta* ‘board, plank; table; table upon which dead bodies are stretched and washed before interment; tablets; memorandum-book; little bed, couch’ (St. 287) >> MČ *takta* ‘скамейка’ (ZS 92) ~ ‘id., доска, лавка’ (LJČ 61), LČ *takta* ‘мост’ (ČulJa 133), Küä. *takta* ‘Brett’ (Radl. III 791). –

= Sag., Alt. *taxta* ‘Bank’, Khak. *taxta* ‘Brücke’, Kirg. *takta* ‘Brett’, Tuv. *taxta* ‘Ottomane’ (Stachowski 1992–93: 251: < Rus. < Per.), Ott. *tahta* ‘id.’ (StachS VI/587), Tr. *tahta* ‘1. board, plank; 2. wood; wooden etc.’ (Redh. 1084), cf. also VEWT 454.

1.18. Per. *tur(u)b* ‘radish’ (St. 292) >> LČ *turup* ‘редька’ (ČulJa 133), MČ *tъrъp* ‘id.’ (LJČ 7). –

= Bar., Tob. *turup* ‘Rettig’ (Radl. III 1456), Ott. *turup* ‘Rübe’ (ib.) ~ *turp* ‘id.’ (ib. 1463) ~ Ott. (I/XV) *turb* ‘id.’ (Yelten 1993: 208), Tr. *turb* ~ *türb* ‘id.’ (Redh. 1188), cf. also VEWT 501.

## Special cases

2.1. Küä. \**alas* ‘burning/fumigation with juniper’ in *alasta-* ‘mit Wachholder räuchern’ (Radl. I 365) = Tel., Alt., Leb. *alas* ‘1. ein Ausruf des Schamans beim Beschwören; 2. Räucherung mit Wachholder’ (ib.), Khak. *alas* ‘окуривание дымом бородкой травы во время болезни (знахарский способ лечения)’ (KhakRS 22), Alt. *alas*, *kutsama nidası* (AltTürS 23), Tuv. *alas-alas* ‘заклинание, сопровождаемое окуриванием дымом можжевельника’ (ÈSTuvJa 94), Kirg. *alas* ‘окуривание дымом арчи (знахарский способ лечения)’ (KirgRS 46), Uzb. *alas* ‘приемы, применяемые знахарями при лечении больных (в частности, вращение над ними зажженной тряпки)’ (ÈSTuvJa 95), Uzb. *alas-alas* ‘старый обычай очищения путем перепрыгивания через костер (...)’ (ib.), Sib.-Tat. *alas* ‘id.’ (ib.), Kas. *eläšä* ‘id.’ (ib.).

For Kirg., Alt., Khak. *alas* Sevortjan (ÈSTJa I 136) suggests (though with a question mark) an Iranian etymology and compares this with Per. *ālās* ‘live coal’ (St. 91). Tatarincev (ÈSTuvJa 95) completes Sevortjan’s list of Turkic languages which record *alas* or *alas-alas* without, however, Küä. *alasta-* and quotes Achmet’janov’s (1981: 67) suggestion to compare both Tu. *alas* and Kipč. *alač* ~ *alaš* with Iran. *al* ‘fire’. Although Tatarincev (op. cit.) admits an Iranian etymology, he also proposes a Turkic one: taking the meaning ‘fire’ as the original, Tu. *alas(-alas)* = Tr. *alaz* ~ *yalaz* ‘flame’ (< \*‘fire’) < \**yal-* ~ \**al-* = OT *jal-* ‘вспыхивать, воспламеняться, гореть’ ~ ‘обжигать, прижигать’ (DTS 227, cf. also ÈSTJa IV 106f.).

2.2. MČ *čaŋ* ‘колокол’ (LJČ 18) ~ *šaŋ* ‘id.’ (ZS 84) ~ *šan* ‘id.’ (ib. 100), LČ *cay* ‘id.’ (LJČ 69, ČulJa 130). –

A Persian etymology for this word is taken into account by some scholars: VEWT 99: Tu. = Mo. < Pers. *čang*; Claus. 424: “so obviously onomatopoeic that

it is impossible to say whether it is a native word or a l.-w. fr. [= loan word from] e.g. Chinese (...) or Pe.[rsian] (...)"; Stachowski 1992–93: 252: "unsicher ist auch die pers. Etymologie von jak. *çay* 'Bronze' = chak. *saj* 'Glocke' (...)" for Yak. *çay* and *čay* Stachowski 1992: 112 suggests a Mo. intermediation of a Per. word; Ölmez (2007: 259): Tuv. *šay* 'Glocke, Gong' = OT *čay* > Mo., cf. also Doerf. III/104. Rassadin 1980: 50 sees in Čul. (= LČ) *cay* a Mo. loan word.

### 2.3. MČ *činži* 'бисер' (LJČ 74) ~ *činžä* 'id.' (ZS 112). –

Stachowski (1992–93: 252) sees in Khak. *kinži* 'Kette', Tuv. *kinči* 'Fasseln, Kette' and Čul. (= MČ) *činži* 'Glasperlen(kette)' loan words from Per. *zanğır* 'Kette' (> Ott. *zinžir* 'id.', cf. StachS VII/668; for Tuv. *kinči* Ölmez proposes a Mo. etymon *ginži* (Ölmez 2007: 201).

For a Per. etymology for MČ one should assume a change *z-* (*s-*) > *č-* and dropping of the final *-r*. Both changes are conceivable and not impossible, cf. LČ *pältir* ~ *pält'i* 'Flußmündung' (Pr. 626), cf. also the frequent dropping of the final *-r* in *-yor* in Turkish. The first change, however, would only be possible with the assumption of the secondary MČ *s-* > *š-* ~ *č-* alteration due to the following *-č-* (-*ž-*) as in MČ *čač* ~ *šaš* 'hair' = LČ, Küä. *cac* 'id.' (Pomorska 2000: 255).

In summary, although from a phonetic (and semantic) viewpoint a Per. etymology can be considered, one should also take another possibility into account: MČ *činži* < \**jinži* 'pearl' = OT *jänčü* ~ *jinčü* 'id.' (DTS 256, 262), Tuv. *činči* 'бусина; бисер; бисерный' (TuvRS 534), with the assumption of the semantic change 'pearl' → 'pearl bead' → 'bead'.

### 2.4. Küä. *kamyy* 'kind of silk fabric, textile' (TM 690). –

The etymology of this word has been already discussed by several authors. VEWT 229 and Doerf. III/1644 see in Alt., Tel., etc. *kamka*, Sag. *kamyy* ~ *kajma*, Ott. *Kämha*, etc. an ultimately Chinese loan word which came into the Turkic languages through Persian.

ÈSTJa V 245f. divides various forms of this word into four groups and sees in e.g. Tr. *kemha* ~ *kemhab* ~ *kemhav* 'brocade; silk velvet' (Redh. 636), Krm. *kimča* 'Damst, Seidenzeug' (Radl. IV 1405) a Persian (< Chin.) loan word: < Per. *kamčā* 'Damask silk of one colour', *kimčā* 'Damask silk of different colours' (St. 1048), *kamčab* 'embroidered garment of one colour' (ib.), *kimčāb* 'embroidered cloth of divers colours' (ib.).

Forms like Yak. *hampa* 'Chinese satin, Chinese silk', Khak. *χајма* 'канфа' (KhakRS 272) are given an etymology from Rus. *kanfa* 'китайский атлас толще и плотнее нашего' (Dał) but a borrowing from Mo. is also taken into account.

Less certain is the etymology of forms like Alt., Tel., Kzk. Kirg. *kamka* 'ein dem Atlas ähnlicher Seidenstoff' (Radl. II 490) and OT *kamky* 'камка, шелковая материя' (DTS 416), Sag. *kamyy* 'ein chinesisches Seidenzeug' (Radl. II 490), Khak. *χамуу* 'канфа' (KhakRS 270) and Küä. *kamyy* which is lacking in Radloff's dictionary. For the forms *kamka* ÈSTJa admits a re-borrowing from

Russian, cf. Rus. *kamka* ‘ткань с цветами, но преимущественно шелковая’ (Daí, cf. also Šipova 1979: 156), Rus.dial. *kamká* ~ *kámka* ‘лоскуток’ (Anikin 2000: 249) but their ultimate origin nonetheless remains unclear. In view of *kamky* ~ *kamyy*, ÈSTJa refers to SSTMJa I 370 in which OT *kamky* has been compared with Manchu *kamku* ‘satin etc.’.

## Abbreviations

Alt.	= Altay (Oirot)	Kzk.	= Kazakh
Arin.	= Arinian	LČ	= Lower Chulym
Bar.	= Baraba	MČ	= Middle Chulym
Čag.	= Chagatay	Mo.	= Mongolic
Čul.	= Chulym	M.P.	= Marzanna Pomorska
ET	= Turki in Eastern Turkistan (Radl.)	OT	= Old Turkic
Kač.	= Kacha	Ott.	= Ottoman-Turkish
Kar.	= Karaim (H – Halicz, K – Crimean, Ł – Luck, T – Troki)	Per.	= Persian
Kas.	= Kasan	Rus.	= Russian
Khak.	= Khakas	Sag.	= Sagay
Kipč.	= Kipchak	Šr.	= Shor
Kirg.	= Kirgiz	Tel.	= Teleut
Koib.	= Koybal	Tob.	= Tobol
Kom.	= Koman	Tof.	= Tofalar
Krm.	= Crimean	Tr.	= Turkish
Küä.	= Küärik	Tu.	= Tukic
Kyz.	= Kyzyl	Tuv.	= Tuvinian
		Uig.	= Uyghur
		WMong.	= Written Mongolian
		Yak.	= Yakut.

## Sources and dictionaries

AltTürS = Gürsoy-Naskali, Emine & Duranlı, Muvaffak 1999: *Altayca-Türkçe sözlük*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

ČulJa = Dužon, Andrej Pavlovič 1952: Čulymskie Tatary i ich jazyk. – *Učenye Zapiski Tomskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogičeskogo Instituta* IX: 76–210.

Claus. = Clauson, Gerard 1972: *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doerf. = Doerfer, Gerhard 1963–1975: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*. Vol. I–IV. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

DTS = Nadeljaev, Vladimir Michajlovič (ed.) 1969: *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*. Leningrad: Nauka.

- DuÍ. = DuÍzon, Andrej Pavlovič 1966: Čulymsko-tjurkskij jazyk. – Baskakov, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič (ed.): *Jazyki narodov SSSR*. Vol. II. Moskva: Nauka: 446–466.
- ÉSTJa = Sevortjan, Èrvand Vladimirovič et al. 1974–2003: *Ètimologičeskiy slovar' tjurkskich jazykov*. Vol. I–IV. Moskva: Nauka; Vol. V and VII: Moskva: Jazyki Russkoj Kultury; Vol. VI. Moskva: Indrik.
- ÈSTuvJa = Tatarincev, Boris Isakovič 2000: *Ètimologičeskiy slovar' tuvinskogo jazyka*. Vol. I. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- KarRPS = Baskakov, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič et. al. 1974: *Karaïmsko-russko-połskijskij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.
- KhakRS = Baskakov, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič (ed.) 1953: *Khakassko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Inostrannych i nacionálynych slovarej.
- KirgRS = Judachin, Konstantin Kužmič 1985: *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'*. Vol. 1–2. Frunze: Glavnaja Redakcija Sovetskoy Ènciklopedii.
- LJČ = Birjukovič, Rimma Machmutovna 1984: *Leksika čulymsko-tjurkskogo jazyka*. Saratov: Izdateľstvo Saratovskogo Universiteta.
- MČS = Birjukovič, Rimma Machmutovna 1979: *Morfologija čulymsko-tjurkskogo jazyka*. Vol. I: *Kategorija imeni suščestvitelnogo (učebno-metodičeskie materialy)*. Moskva: Akademija Nauk SSSR. Institut Jazykoznanija.
- Pr. = Pritsak, Omeljan 1959: Das Abakan- und Čulymtürkische und das Schorrische. – *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Vol. I. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner: 598–640.
- Radl. = Radloff, Wilhelm 1893–1911: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. Vol. I–IV. St.-Peterburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademij Nauk.
- Redh. = *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*. İstanbul 1992: Redhouse Yayınevi. 12<sup>th</sup> edition.
- Rub. = Rubinčik, Jurij Aronovič 1970: *Persidsko-russkij slovar' v dvuch tomach*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ènciklopedija.
- SMČ = Li Yong-Söng et al. 2008: *A study of the Middle Chulym dialect of the Chulym Language*. Seoul: Soeul National University Press.
- SSTMJa = Cinsius, Vera Ivanovna et al. 1975: *Sravnitelnyj slovar' tunguso-mańurskich jazykov*. Vol. 1. Leningrad: Nauka.
- StachS = Stachowski, Stanisław: Studien über die neupersischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen. – Part I: *Folia Orientalia* 14: 77–118; Part II: *Folia Orientalia* 15: 87–118; Part IV: *Folia Orientalia* 17: 141–173; Part VI: *Folia Orientalia* 19: 93–126; Part VII: *Folia Orientalia* 20: 31–55.
- St. = Steingass, Francis Joseph 1988: A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary. London & New York: Routledge. 8<sup>th</sup> edition.
- TM = Radloff, Wilhelm: *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*. Vol. II. S. Peterburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.

- TuvRS = Tenišev, Èdgem Rachimovič (ed.) 1968: *Tuvinsko-russkij slovař*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ènciklopedija.
- VEWT = Räsänen, Martti 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- ZS = Birjukovič, Rimma Machmutovna 1979: *Zvukovoj stroj čulymsko-tjurkskogo jazyka (metodičeskoe posobie)*. Moskva: Akademija Nauk SSSR. Institut Jazykoznanija.

## References

- Achmet'janov, Rifkat Gazizjanovič 1981: *Obščaja leksika duchovnoj kul'tury narodov Srednego Povolž'ja*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Anikin, Aleksandr Evgeńevič 2000: *Ètimologičeskij slovař russkich dialektov Sibiri. Zaimstvovanija iz ural'skikh, altajskich i paleoaziatskikh jazykov*. Moskva – Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Kałużyński, Stanisław 1995: *Iacutica. Prace jakutoznawcze*. Warszawa: Dialog.
- Ölmez, Mehmet 2007: *Tuwinischer Wortschatz mit alttürkischen und mongolischen Parallelen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Özkan, Mustafa 1992: *Mahmûd b. Kādī-i Manyâs “Gülistan tercümesi”*. *Giriş – inceleme – metin – sözlük*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
- Pomorska, Marzanna 2000: Consonant alternation in Čulym (Part 1). – *Folia Orientalia* 36: 247–257.
- 2004: *Middle Chulym noun formation*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Rassadin, Valentin Ivanovič 1980: *Mongolo-burjatskie zaimstvovanija v sibirskikh tjurkskikh jazykach*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Stachowski, Marek 1992: Persische Etymologien in der Geschichte der jakutischen Wortforschung. – *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142/1: 105–119.
- 1992–93: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der arabischen und persischen Lehnwörter in den südsibirischen Türkischen. – *Folia Orientalia* 29: 247–259.
- 1996: Über einige altaische Lehnwörter in den Jenissej-Sprachen. – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 1: 91–115.
- 2006: Persian loan words in 18th century Yeniseic and the problem of linguistic areas in Siberia. – Krasnowolska, Anna et al. (eds): *In the Orient where the gracious light... Satura Orientalis in Honorem Andrzej Pisowicz*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka: 179–184.
- Šipova, Elizaveta Nikolaevna 1979: *Slovař tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke*. Alma-Ata: Nauka.
- Tekin, Talat 1994: Türk dillerinde önseste *y-* türemesi. – *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 4: 51–66.
- 1995: *Türk dillerinde birincil uzun ünlüler*. Ankara: Simurg Yayınları.
- Tulum, Mertol 1971: *Sinan Paşa “Tazarru'nâme”*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

- Verbung, Antoinette 1997: The “Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī”: a sixteenth century Persian-Ottoman dictionary in rhyme. Part I. – *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15: 5–87.
- Vladimircov, Boris Jakovlevič 1925: Mongolica I. Ob otnošenii mongolskogo jazyka k indo-evropejskim jazykam Srednej Azii. – *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov* 1. Leningrad: 305–341.
- Yelten, Muhammet 1993: *Şirvanlı Mahmud “Kemâliyye”* (giriş – inceleme – cümle bilgisi – metin – sözlük), İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Zieme, Peter 2005: Arabische und neopersische Wörter in den altuigurischen Texten von Turfan und Dunhuang. – Weber, Dieter (ed.): *Languages of Iran: past and present. Iranian studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag: 285–295.