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TURCO — SAMOIEDICA

**O.** Introduction; 1. 'to strive, to aspire'; 2. 'to lie (down)'; 3. 'fat'; 4. 'as, like'; 5. 'sagging ice'; 6. 'thigh'; 7. 'snow-storm'; 8. 'joint'; 9. 'power, craft'; 10. 'mountain (wooded)'; 11. 'single, unmarried'.

**O. Introduction**

The Turkic-Samoyedic comparisons presented below result from independent etymological research by each of the two authors, followed by mutual cross-checking of the material (the opportunity of the team work has been provided by the Free University Berlin and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). Our purpose was to enlarge the collection of etymologies which can be found in the monumental work by A. J. Joki (Joki LSS) and in later contributions to the topic (e.g. Márk NÉNy 19-20: 243-252; Janhunen MSFOu 158: 123-129; Tenišev MSFOu 158: 235-239; Róna-Tas CIFU-5 III: 377-385; Terent'ev PÈÈISN; Helimski JSFOu 81: 54-103; Róna-Tas UL 742-748; Filippova Diss.; Filippova JSFOu 85: 41-70).

In the treatment of the historical and cultural circumstances of the language contacts between Proto-Turkic (and its descendants) and Proto-Samoyedic (and its descendants) the authors follow the conception outlined e.g. in Joki LSS 33ff. and Helimski JSFOu

83: 257-267. The approach advocated e.g. in the works by A. Róna-Tas (see above) or in Janhunen JSFOu 82: 287-297 differs primarily in the postulation of a strong Bulgar-Turkic impact upon the peoples of Southern Siberia.

A significant part of the etymologies below is restricted, on the Samoyedic side, to the data of a single language – Selkup. The special position of this language in regard to Turkic influences (various from the viewpoint of chronology and sources) is well-known; see the detailed discussion in Filippova Diss. (a shortened version is Filippova JSFOu 85: 41-70).

### 1. 'to strive, to aspire'

Selk. Taz (OSYa 2: 100) *antalpi-*, *antalimpi-* 'to strive, to aspire to; стремиться', *antalti-* 'to compete; соревноваться, соперничать', *antiitti-* 'to argue; спорить'.

Etym.: < Turk., cf. esp. Kzk. *antala-* 'иметь сильное желание', Kirg. *antala-* 'стремиться'.

The forms in other Turk. languages (see ÈSTYa I: 653 ff.) reflect (I) *imtil-*, *umtul-*, *umtil-*, *imtir-*; (II) *inta-*, *intil-*, *intik-*, *intir-*; (III) *amat-*, *antala-*; the meanings are 'to strive, to aspire, to rush forward, to attack' etc.

The Selk. forms can be best accounted for from a non-attested reflex in one of the Siberian Tatar dialects (e.g. in Baraba), which could be phonetically especially similar to the Kzk. and Kirg. reflexes – *antala-* or *antal-*. The direct borrowing from Kzk. into Selk. hardly seems likely. The geographic considerations prevent us from looking for the source of Selk. forms in Chuv. *ántäl-* 'to strive', and the phonetic ones make the borrowing from Alt. *amat-* id. equally improbable. The phonetic relationship between the Turk. forms cited above is not completely clear; one may think of the primary verbal root *\*umt-*, with the following developments: (I): *\*umt-* > *\*imt-*; (II): *\*umt-* > *\*imt-* > *\*int-*; (III): *\*umt-* > *\*imt-* > *\*imt-* ~ *\*int-* > *\*amt-* ~ *\*ant-* > *\*amat-* ~ *\*ant-*.

The suffixes *-pi-*, *-mpi-* (durative) and *-ti-* (transitive) are typical of Selkup and often occur with borrowed verbal stems. The verb *antiitti-* (with suffixal *-tti-*) may be derived from Turk. *\*anta*

(non-attested, but cf. Kzk. Kirg. *inta* 'стремление, инициатива, усердие') or result from analogical derivational processes in Selk. (*antalpi-*, *antalimpi-* vs. *antiitti-*, like *kekcalpi-*, *kekcalimpi-* 'to be tortured, to undergo sufferings' vs. *kekkiti-* 'to suffer').

The verbs in question occur in Taz Selkup relatively rarely, therefore the absence of data from other Selk. dialects (the lexical stock of which has not been sufficiently studied) does not prove that the Turk. word has been actually borrowed only into one dialect. Anyhow, the borrowing could have occurred only before the 17<sup>th</sup> century (when the ancestors of Taz Selkups lost contacts with their Turkic neighbours and with speakers of Southern Selkup).

### 2. 'to lie (down)'

Selk. Taz (Mat.) *č'ati-mpi-*, *č'āti-mpi-* 'to lie'. Unlike Selk. Taz *ippi-* id., this word is used only when speaking of persons, and is not applied to inanimate objects. Parallels from other Selk. dialects or other Sam. languages remain unknown, but in principle the word may go back to Selk. *\*t'at-* (or even to Sam. *\*jat-*).

Etym.: < Turk. *\*jat-* 'to lie (down)' (VEWT 192; Clauson 884; ÈSTYa IV: 156ff.); cf. Khak. Shor *čat-*, Chul. *čat-* (~ *jat-*), Alt. Brb. *jat-* id.

Nothing definite can be said about the chronology of borrowing. As long as the Turk. word is genuine, it is possible to think of *\*jat-* > Sam. *\*jat-* (cf. Turk. *\*tar+* [e.g. Ott. *tara-*, Tuv. *dīra-* 'to comb', Yak. *tarān-* = Dolg. *tarban-* (< *\*targan-*) 'to comb one's hair', Old Turk. *targak* = Yak. *tarāx* 'comb'] > Sam. *\*tār* 'hair', see Róna-Tas UL 744, Stachowski GJV 55, § 5.10e) or > Selk. *\*t'at-* (where *t'* < *\*j*). The restricted dialectal occurrence of the Selk. word may be, however, treated as an indication of a later borrowing from one of the adjacent Turk. dialects (e.g. from Chul. *čat-* ~ *jat-*). The addition of *-i-* before the durative suffix *-mpi-* (typical formative of stative verbs), as well as the positional lengthening of *a*, are probably Selk. developments.

## 3. 'fat'

Sam. (Janhunen SW 50) \**jür* 'fat (n.)': Nen. (L) T *jur*<sup>2</sup>, F *jur* / En. (KP No. 364) F *d'ur*<sup>2</sup> (*d'ur-*) / Ngan. (C) *jir*, (Mat.) *d'ir* / Selk. (CL 24) OO *yyr*, Tschl. K NP Jel. B Tas Kar. *yr*, MO *ör*, N *yr*, *ür*, *ör* 'Fett, besonders von Fischen', Taz (OSYa 2: 192) *ür* / Kam. (D) *t'ur*, *d'ur* / Mator K (Pallas, see Helimski JSFOu 81: No. 658) *dzschur* 'жир топленный', M (Sp.) *джюрь* 'сало'.

Etym.: < Turk. \**ür* (\**ür*ˆ) > \**üz* (\**üz*ˆ) 'fat': Old Turk. *öz* ~ *üz* (DTS 395, 629) ~ *üz* (Clauson 278f.), Alt. Tel. Tuv. Sag. Koyb. (Radl.) *üs* 'geschmolzenes Fett, Talg, Butter'. We are faced with certain problems in distinguishing the Old Turk. attestations of this word from those of \**öz* (Clauson 278) 'center, middle; valley; the interior, pith, pulp, marrow; spirit; self; life' (< \**ör*ˆ > Chuv. *var* '1.center; 2.pith, heartwood') = Mkašg. *ōz* 'heartwood', Yak. *üös* '1.center; 2.pith, heartwood', Dolg. *üös* 'Mitte' (Stachowski DW 252), Trkm. *ōd* 'selbst', Khal. *r̥ez* id.; cf. also Old Yak. \**ōzäg* > Modern Yak. *öhüö* 'ein Balken im Holzgerüst der Jurte' (Stachowski GJV 65, § 8.5); \**jözäk* (< \**özäk*ˆ) > Brb. *jüzök* 'heartwood' (Tekin 183). Cf. also Gombocz (KSz 13: 4) Khak. Tat. *üzäk* 'das innere, [...] der bauchteil des felles [...] ~ Mong. *ürü* 'l'intérieur; das innere oder inwendige einer sache'. — From the semantic viewpoint the connection between \**üz* (\**üz*ˆ) and \**öz* is very likely. Cf. the semantic duality 'pulp, insides' ~ 'fat' in Lat. *pinguis* '1.fat; 2.flesh (soft parts of body, as distinct from bones and gristles)' and the wide-spread derivational pattern 'to live; life' → 'fat', as in Slav. \**ži-tb* 'to live' vs. \**ži-r̥b* 'fat'.\*)

\*) It seems that an almost exact analogy – with the same phonetic problem – is provided by the word pair: Turk. \**ör* vs. \**üz* 'oberer Teil' (cf. \**örü*ˆ > Yak. *ürüt* 'Oberfläche', \**üzük* > Brb. *üzük* 'Dach', see Stachowski FO 30: 198f.). In view of Mo. *ürgä* 'tente; zelt' which Z. Gombocz (KSz 13: 5, No. 7) connected with Brb. Kirg. *üzük*, it seems to be possible to trace the stem back to \**ür* or even \**ür*ˆ, and this could then be for its part a phonetic variant of \**ör* < \**ör*ˆ. If one day a proof for the original identity of \**ör* and \**üz* is found, a reinterpretation of Yak. *ürüt* 'Oberfläche', *ürdük* 'hoch', *ürdä* 'sich erheben; hoch werden' (Stachowski FO 30: 198) according to E. Helimski's (ST 1986/2: 40-50) rules will probably be practicable (in this case, the likely proto-form for *ürüt* should be \**ört* [< \**ör*ˆt] rather than \**örü*ˆ).

The suggested etymology raises doubts mainly from the "Wörter und Sachen" viewpoint: the borrowing of the word for 'fat' seems pointless, inasmuch as this substance was obviously well known and widely used long before the contacts between Samoyeds and Turks started. Phonetically, however, the comparison creates little or no problems:

(a) For Sam. \**r* ~ Turk. \**r*ˆ (> z) see e.g. Helimski JSFOu 83: 262-263 (where the etymology under consideration is cursorily mentioned).

(b) There are two possibilities to account for the presence of \**j*- in Sam.:

— In a recently published paper, T. Tekin demonstrated the sporadic appearance of a pre-vocalic prothetic \**j*- in Turk. (Tekin TDA 4: 51-66). One of his examples is of direct relevance, because the *j*-prothesis appears in a possibly distantly related word: Brb. *jüzök* 'heartwood (ağaç özü)' < \**özäk* (ibid. 63, No. 23); the latter is attested with the meanings 'pulp; insides', see ÈSTYa I: 509, and is derived from \**öz*. Thus, the borrowing from a Turk. source with a prothetic \**j*- (\**jör*ˆ) may be assumed, too.

— There are only very few stems with an initial \**ü*- or \**ö*- reconstructable for Proto-Sam., and these vowels occur in an open syllable only (\**ü*- 'to drag', \**ükâl*- id., \**ücä* 'small', \**ö* or \**öâ* 'door'; see Janhunen SW 29-31; for the prothetic *j*- in Sam. see also Joki LSS 387). We may therefore assume a phonetic rule:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ö} \\ \text{ü} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{jü} / \# \_ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C\#} \\ \text{CC} \end{array} \right\}$$

which accounts for Turk. \**ür*ˆ (\**ür*ˆ, ? \**ör*ˆ) > Early Sam. \**ür* > Sam. \**jür*.

## 4. 'as, like'

Selk. Taz (Mat.) *kēpi*, *kēpi* 'as big as, like (Postp.)', *ukkir* *kēpil* 'equal (in size)' (*ukkir* 'one').

Etym.: < \**kēpi* \*‘its form’ (> Ott. *gibi* ‘as, like’) < \**kāpi* < \**kāp* > Yak. *kiāp* ‘Form, Gestalt’ = Trkm. *gāp* ‘Puppe in Form eines Kalbes oder Kamelfohlens, die – falls das Kalb oder das Kamelfohlen verendet ist – beim Melken an die Kuh bzw. die Kamelein gestellt wird’ (Stachowski GJV 70, § 10.3).

While *kēpi*, *kēpi* is presently used only as a postposition, the construction *ukkiṛ kēpiḷ* (where the word is supplied with an adjectival suffix and preceded by a numeral) permits to view it historically as a noun (‘size, form’), cf. similar constructions *ukkiṛ mṁntiḷ* ‘equal (in quantity), simultaneous’ (← *mṁnti* ‘measure’), *ukkiṛ č’ariḷ* ‘equally thick’ (← *č’ari* ‘thickness’).

Selk. *ē* may reflect the long vowel in the Turk. source or be the result of internal development (lengthening of short vowels in open syllables before a voiceless consonant, cf. No. 11, *ūpiḷ* < Turk. *uvil*). The borrowing most certainly occurred during the separate existence of the Selk. language (as long as Sam. \**k-* > Selk. \**š-* before a front vowel), but a more exact dating of it hardly seems possible.

It is worth mentioning that Turk. \**kēp* > Hung. *kép* ‘picture, portrait, appearance’, with its derivative *képpen* (~ *képp*) being used as a postposition (‘like, as, in the way of’) and then as a case formative of the “formalis” case: *csodaképpen* ‘in a wonderful way’, *példaképp* ‘for example’, etc. (EWUng. 730-733).

The similarity between PUr. \**ki(t)* ‘shadow; form’ (Helimski DVSYaP 95-97) and Turk. \**kāp* ‘form’ (Stachowski GJV 70, § 10.3) deserves being mentioned; the possibility of the two forms being connected requires, however, further research.

## 5. ‘sagging ice’

Selk. Taz (Mat.) *qoqqa* ‘sagging ice on river or lake (separated with a hollow from the water surface)’, *qoqqira* ‘sagging ice-crust (with snow melted under it)’. The earlier forms of these words may be reconstructed as Selk. \**qoṇqa*, \**qoṇqara* (cf. Sam. \**poṇqa* ‘fishing net’ > Selk. \**poṇqə* > Taz *poqqi* etc.).

Etym.: ~ Yak. (Slepcev) *xōṅku*, *xōṅkura* ‘ice with no water under it; лед, из-под которого ушла вода’.

Both Selk. and Yak. words may be qualified as descriptive. For Yakut cf. Kažuzyński RO 42/1: 33 (“от звукоподражательного корня *хоṅ* – звук от удара (стука) по предмету, имеющему пустоту; *хоṅkur* – глухой звук от падения пустого внутри металлического предмета”).

Related onomatopoeic forms are found in many neighbouring languages. Cf. e.g. Nen. T (L) O *xijkā* ‘graben (eine Grube in die Erde), hohl aushauen, aushöhlen’, *xijgana* ‘geschlossene Schele, Glöckchen’, (Ter.) *хунгыба* – ‘долбить, выдалбливать’, *хыңг* ‘емкость, полость, дупло’, *хыңгир* ‘углубление, внутренняя часть’, En. T (Mat.) *kugaxa* ‘hollow’; Ngan. (Mat.) *kūṅgür-mə* ‘cavernous, full of pits’; Mong. (Lessing) *xonggil* ‘hollow; cave; narrow ravine, gorge; narrow dell’, *xongxu* ‘bell’, *xongxur* ‘a hollow, cavity, pit, dent, cavern; depression, gully; dented’; Evk. (TMS I: 411) *koṅki* P-T N U, *kōṅgurōk* U, *kōṅri* Uchr. ‘полость; дупло; отверстие; польй, пустой’ (see also TMS I: 410f., 433, 450f. for numerous other forms from Tung.).

Filippova Diss. 92-94 tentatively treats Selk. Taz *kunqira* ‘погремущка’, obviously belonging to the same set of descriptive forms, as a borrowing from Turk. (cf. also Selk. Taz *qoṅkir* ‘hollow of a tree’ in comparison with Mong. *xongxur*). See also Joki LSS 194f.

Anyhow, the most exact terminological parallelism between Selk. *qoqqa*, *qoqqira* and Yak. *xōṅku*, *xōṅkura* permits to single these forms out of the whole descriptive lexical set. Perhaps an influence of Yak. upon Selk. (or vice versa) cannot be excluded; it is more probable, however, that the exactness of the parallel is due to the presence of the same meaning (‘sagging ice’) in Evk. *koṅki*, *kōṅgurōk* or in a related Evk. form – even if this terminological meaning remained unattested in TMS.

## 6. ‘thigh’

Northern Sam. \**monsokki* ~ \**monsokki* ‘thigh’: Nen. T (L) O *mōncāṅk* ‘oberer Teil des Oberschenkels (wenigstens an der Außenseite), Hüfte’, (Ter.) *монзаңг* ‘ягодица; холка’ F (L) Nj. *mōnsōk* ‘Hüfte’, (Ророва) *монšo•k* ‘ягодица’ / En. T (Mat.)

*mod'uki* ~ *mod'ugi* 'thigh, croup', (KP 122) *mod'uggi* 'Lende des Wildrentiers' / Ngan. (Mat.) *munsuəðə* 'thigh'. It is very probable that Ngan. (Mikola NyK 72: 83) *mund'ukə*, (Mat.) *mund'ukəə* 'lame' also belongs here and goes back directly to *\*monsokki(-)* (the innate dislocation of thigh-bone being the typical cause of lameness among the Arctic peoples).

Etym.: < (or ~) Turk. *\*mončak* (possibly from original *\*mončok*), preserved only (?) as Tat. *munčak* 'thigh'.

The reconstruction of *\*mončak* 'thigh' finds an exact phonetic analogy in Tat. dial. *munčak* 'necklace' < Volga-Kipch. *\*mončak* (Berta LTD 181). Pay attention also to Ott. (Radl.) *mīngik* 'Pfote', which may go back to *\*mončik* ~ *\*mončuk*, a formation parallel to *\*mončak* or an alternative outcome of *\*mončok* (> *\*mončak* ~ *\*mončuk* ~ *\*mončik*). The origin and morphological structure of *\*mončolak* remain unclear; while either *\*-olak* or *\*-čolak* may be suffixal, the initial segment cannot be identified with any Common Turk. stem. In particular, the derivation from *\*maŋ* 'step', *\*maŋ-* 'to walk' (ATG 346b; Clauson 767a) is not likely, because:

(a) The original *\*a* is expected to result in Tat. *o* rather than in *u*;

(b) It would then be necessary to reconstruct the proto-form with *\*-ŋč-*, and this cluster could hardly develop into Tat. *-nč-*. Cf. *\*aŋ-čī* > Tat. (Lit.) *aučī* 'hunter' ~ (Sib.) *aŋci* (Tumaševa 25); cf. also Tat. (Lit.) *iŋsā* 'shoulder' < *\*aŋsā* (see *\*aŋil* id., Stachowski GJV 108, § 30.3).

The comparison of Tat. *munčak* with Ott. *pača* (< Pers. *pājča*) 'der untere Teil des Beines oder der Pfote' (VEWT 377a, with a question mark) is phonetically unacceptable.

The vocalism of the Northern Sam. forms supports the reconstruction of Turk. *\*o* in the first, eventually also in the second syllable. The phonetic shape of the medial clusters favours the idea of borrowing from Turk. into Sam.: while the substitution of Sam. *\*-ns-* for Turk. *\*-nč-* looks quite normal (cf. Ural. *\*-ńč-* > Sam. *\*-ns-*), Sam. *\*-ns-* could be expected to be preserved in Turk. (if the direction of borrowing were the opposite). Still, it cannot be excluded that the historical relationships between Sam. and Turk. forms were more complicated.

In Ngan. *munsuəðə* the original *\*-k(ki)* has been replaced by the suffix *-(ə)ðə* – exactly as in *šūsüəðə* 'finger joint' < Old Yak. *\*süsüök*, see No. 8.

## 7. 'snow-storm'

Selk. Taz (Irikov) *pusqa* 'snow-storm; буран, вьюга, метель, пурга', (Mat.) *pusqattimpa* 'the wind is driving the snow', *pusqatɔlpa* 'a snow-storm arose'.

Etym.: < Turk. *\*buskak* or *\*buskan*, cf. Alt. *buskan* 'пурга' (OyrRS 36), Tuv. *biskan* 'мелкий снег' (TuvRS 131), Tel. *piškak* 'Reif; Schneeflocke' (Radl.), Shor *puskak* 'Reif' (Radl.). These forms are probably derived from *\*bus* 'mist, fog, vapour' (ĚSTYa II: 277f.; occasionally also with the meanings 'haze', 'gloom', 'overcast weather', 'dew', 'hoar-frost') and possibly from *\*bis* (+ dimin. suffix *-kan*); for the latter stem (a variant of *\*bus*?) cf. also Tofa *bī's* (Rassadin 167) 'fresh-fallen snow; снег-пороша' (as distinct from Tofa *bus* 'mist above open water in winter; туман над польней в зимнее время'), Tat. *bəs* 'hoar-frost'. Additionally, one must take into consideration the possibilities of semantic (and partly phonetic) contamination < *\*bir* (~ *\*bur*) 'dust, smoke, vapour' (ĚSTYa II: 306f.; Stachowski GJV 123), *\*bur-* 'to whirl' (ĚSTYa II: 264-267), and possibly also < Mong. *\*boroyan* 'snow-storm' (borrowed into many Turk. languages) and from Russ. (< Finn.) *nyrpa* id. An example of such contamination may be Kirg. (Radl.) *burkak* 'ein kleines Schneewehen'.

## 8. 'joint'

En. T (Mat.) *šūsuoðo* 'finger joint, knuckle', *soborego šūsuoðo* 'fist knuckle' (*soborego* 'five') / Ngan. (KS) *šūošuody* 'Finger, Zehengelenk', *šūsūda* 'Finger', (Katzschmann No. 24384) *šūðö-za-gata-tu* 'finger (El.Sg., 3.Sg.)', (Mat.) *šūsüəðə* 'finger joint, (figuratively) finger'.

Etym.: < Old Yak. *\*süsüök* (> Modern Yak. *sühüöx*, Dolg. *hühüök* 'Gelenk') < Turk. *\*jüzgäk* or (?) *\*jüşgäk* (Stachowski

GJV 66, § 8.6c; Stachowski DW 115). Another possible source is a non-attested Old Yak. \**süsüö* (< 3.Sg. \**süsüöyā* < \**süsüök*, on -*Vyk* vs. -*VY* in Yak. see also Stachowski JSFOu 85: 186, § 14e).

The Yak. word must have been originally borrowed into Ngan., with a substitution of the nominal stem-formative suffix -*δə* in place of \*-*k* (as in several other Ngan. words; cf. Ngan. *munsuəδə* 'thigh' ~ Turk. \**mončVk*, No. 6) and with semantic specialization ('joint' → 'finger joint'). The En. word (attested only in the Tundra dialect, closely affiliated to Ngan., but not in En. F) is probably a Ngan. loan. The reconstruction of a common NSam. source for En. *súsuoδo* and Ngan. *süsüəδə* is hardly possible.

### 9. 'power, craft'

Selk. Taz (OSYa 2: 175-176) *šəŋ* 'strength, power; craft (of a shaman)', cf. also *šəŋkʲitʲil* 'powerless', *šəŋsimʲil* 'powerful, mighty'.

Etym.: < NE Turk., cf. Kacha (D) *šəŋ* 'Kraft' (> kam. (D) *šəŋ* 'Kraft, Stärke', Joki LSS 280), (Radl.) Shor, Kacha, Kaz. *šak* 'Zeit; Kraft', Sag. Koib. *sā* id., Oir. Leb. Tar. *čak* 'Kraft, Tätigkeit'. In other Turk. languages (as well as in Mong.) \**čak* usually means 'time'. For the Turk. reconstruction see VEWT 95, Stachowski UAJb.NF 10: 103, No. 6 and Stachowski GJV 47, § 4.11c.

Concerning Selk. -*ŋ* in place of Turk. -*k* (-*q*, -*γ*) see No. 10.

The borrowing must have occurred after the introduction of *š* into the phonological system of Selkup (Selk. *š* usually from Sam. \**k* before a front vowel) and the transition \**č* > *š* in a number of NE Turk. idioms (Turk. \**č* would have been reflected as Selk. \**č* or \**t*, resp. as Selk. Taz *t* or *č*), but certainly before the ancestors of Taz Selkups lost contact with their former Turkic neighbours (that is, before their northward migration in the 17<sup>th</sup> century). The borrowing of the same word into Kamassian must have occurred independently (see in this connection Joki LSS 36-37).

The semantic evolution of the word was as follows: 'time' > 'the right/convenient time or moment' > 'maturity' > 'strength, power' (all the meanings are known from the Ott. lexicology).

### 10. 'mountain (wooded)'

The following important comparison, suggested by T. Márk in 1975-1976 (Márk NéNy 19-20: 252), is not mentioned in later works, including the most comprehensive list of Turk. loans in Selk. (Filippova JSFOu 85: 41-70).

Selk. \**tāŋ*: (CL 108) OO *tang*, Tsch. *taa* 'Berg', MO *tang* 'hoher Berg', N *taa* (Gen.Sg. *ta<sup>c</sup>gat*) 'Berg', B Tas Kar. *taang* 'Berg-rücken, хребет', (Pápai, after Hajdú NyK 54: 173) *tak* 'mountain', Taz (Helimski LFSB 185) *təŋ* or *təŋ* ~ *tək* ~ *tə* 'wooded ridge of hills, taiga on a high place'.

Etym.: < Turk. \**tāg* 'mountain, esp. wooded mountain'.

The word seems to be unknown to other Sam. languages. Selk. \*-*ŋ* (~ -*k* ~ -*∅*) may go back to a velar stop, as in Vx1Sg. subj. conj. -*ŋ* ~ -*k* < \*-*k* (Helimski DVSYaP 80), in *kaŋ* ~ *kak* 'as' < Russ. *как* id. (Castrén Gr. 605) or in KeM *kūññəŋ* 'kurzer Pelz aus Rentierfell', KeO *kūññəŋ* id. from Turk. *küjnäk*, *künnäk* (= Ott. *gömläk*), etc. 'shirt' (Joki LSS 215). The semantic development in Northern Selkup ('wooded mountain' > 'taiga on a high place') is related to the natural conditions of the lowlands in the Taz river basin.

### 11. 'single, unmarried'

Selk. \**ūpəl*: (CL) N *úubəl* 'frei und ledig', B Tas *uubel* 'id.; unverheiratet, einfach (wenn man allein reist, ohne Haus und Familie)', Tas Kar. *úubel-kum* 'unverheirateter Mann', N *úbəl* 'reitend (верхом)', K *uubal*, *uubəl* id., (Mat.) Taz *ūpʲil* 'free, single, living alone', *ūpʲil qum* 'bachelor'.

Etym.: < Turk., cf. esp. Brb. (Dm. 192) *uvil* 'son; fellow, unmarried young man' < \**ogil* 'son; fellow' (with Turk. \**o* > Brb. *u*, Turk. \*-*g*- > \*-*γ*- > Brb. -*v*-).

The substitutions *u* > *ū* (in an open syllable before a non-resonant), *v* > *p* are characteristic of (relatively recent) loanwords in Selkup, cf. e.g. Selk. Taz *rūšʲil* 'Russian (adj.)', *ruš* 'Russian (n.)' < Ostyak *rūš*, *ruš*; Selk. Taz *šipʲiñč'a* 'pig, swine' < Russ. *свинья* (OSYa 1: 13; DEWOS 1288-1289).

The Siberian (Baraba) Tatar word must have been borrowed into Selkup in its special meaning 'fellow, unmarried young man' (> 'bachelor'). This assumption is supported by the fact that the Turk. word has the meaning 'son' only if it has a possessive suffix, i.e. for instance *uvli* (3.Sg.), while Selk. \**ūpāl* obviously reflects the non-possessive form of the word. The further semantic development in Selkup (> 'riding') may look bewildering, but it has an absolutely exact parallel in the neighbouring Ostyak language: Ostyak J *wāləy* 'ledig, unverheiratet' ~ *wāl̄ȳn* 'reitend, rittlings, верхом', cf. also DN *welə* 'ledig, unverheiratet' ~ *welə-tāw* 'Reitpferd' (*tāw* 'Pferd'), see DEWOS 1587-1588. The likely semantic development was the following one: 'single, free' > 'travelling/running freely (i.e. without a sledge)' > [1] 'riding', [2] 'saddle horse'.

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