

SOME MIDDLE BULGARIAN LOAN WORDS IN THE VOLGA KIPCHAK LANGUAGES

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The author has shortly surveyed the history of the widening of the term “Bulgar-Turkic phonological criteria”. The last summary of the results of research on the Bulgar-Turkic criteria and their chronological validity was made by Lajos Ligeti in his monograph on Turkic–Hungarian linguistic interrelations (1986). In the paper the author has presented several recent Middle Bulgar-Turkic loans of the Volga Kipchak dialects, following Ligeti’s criteria: (1) the prothetic *y*-; (2) the initial *š* < *si/si*; (3) Ancient Turkic *-n* ~ Chuvash *-m*.

Key words: Bulgar-Turkic criteria; prothetic *y*-; *š*-dialect of the Volga-Bulgarian; Chinese loan words of Old Bulgarian.

There is no monograph on the Bulgar-Turkic loan words of the presently available Volga Kipchak languages, but in the last decades several publications appeared dealing with certain Turkic words of Bulgar-Turkic origin.

The common methodological basis of these examinations was that the authors proved the presence of so-called Bulgar-Turkic phonological criteria in the Kipchak phonetic structures, cf. Róna-Tas (1971, p. 392); Rédei – Róna-Tas (1972); Róna-Tas (1976); Berta (1982); Agyagási (1996, 1997) and others.

The first attempt to identify the specificities of the Bulgar-Turkic character was made by J. E. Fischer, who first called attention to the phenomenon of rhotacism in the Leningrad manuscript of his *Vocabularium Sibiricum*. Later W. Schott (1841) – in whose work the term “rhotacismus” first occurred –, J. Budenz (1873) and Z. Gombocz (1960) enlarged the number of the Bulgarian criteria. Róna-Tas (1978) differentiated the groups of direct, indirect and probable Chuvash criteria (p. 16–31) and besides phonological criteria, he set morphological, semantical and cultural–historical ones as well. Finally Lajos Ligeti in his famous monograph on Turkic–Hungarian linguistic interrelations (1986) summarised the results of the research on the Bulgar-Turkic criteria and their chronological validity, and demonstrated the presence of these criteria in the Old Turkic loan words of the Hungarian language. Next

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I am going to establish several recent Bulgar-Turkic loans of the Volga Kipchak dialects following Ligeti's criteria.

1. The prothetic *y-*

The prothetic *y-* means the change of the secondary *i* into consonant *y-* after the diphthongisation of the original long initial illabial vowels. This process analogically spread to the words containing short initial illabial vowels, cf. Common Turkic *ikiz* 'twins' ~ Chuvash *yěķēr* 'id.' (Ligeti op. cit. p. 41).

A form *yěrtä* 'рано' (TTDS 1993, p. 113) occurs in the Misher dialect (Mmäl) of the Kazan Tatar language, which is the present-day representation of a Middle Bulgarian form *yirtä* (< Old Bulgarian *irtä*), cf. OT *ertä* 'рано, утром' (DTS p. 182).

2. The initial *š* (< *si-*)

It is the Chuvash-type correspondence of the original initial *s-* in the cases, when *s-* is followed by a primary or secondary *-i/-ĩ*, cf. OT *sipir-* 'to sweep' (Clauson 1972, p. 791) ~ Chuvash *šăpăr-* 'id.' (Ligeti op. cit., p. 18).

The example quoted by Ligeti can be found in the Eastern dialect of the Bashkir language as *šipir-* 'гладить, считать, смахивать' (Maksjutova – Išbulatov 1967, p. 280), which can be the borrowing of the Middle Bulgarian *šipir-*. The same phenomenon is demonstrated by the form *šitqĩ* 'прыщ' (Maksjutova – Išbulatov 1967, p. 280) in the Eastern Bashkirian dialect, cf. Bashk. literary *hĩtqĩ* 'прыщ, угорь' (Uraksin 1996, p. 754), Tatar literary *sĩtqĩ* 'id.' (TRS 1966). The Bashkirian dialectal noun is the nominal derivative of the Middle Bulgarian verb *šit-* (cf. OT *sit-* 'выжимать, выдавливать' – DTS p. 506), in which the suffix *-gI* joined the verb stem on the Bashkirian side. (Erdal pointed out that the main function of the suffix *-gI* in Old Turkic was the derivation of nouns with object meaning, cf. Erdal 1991, p. 320. This function can be identified in the etimological meaning of *šitqĩ*, *sĩtqĩ* and *hĩtqĩ*: 'pimple' = 'a thing to be burst'.)

3. Ancient Turkic *-n* ~ Chuvash *-m*

To Ligeti's example (op. cit. p. 35) OT *sān* (Clauson 1972. 831) or *san* 'число, количество' (DTS 483) can be added another case, in which the final *-m* as the Bulgarian correspondence of Ancient Turkic *-n* appeared in a Chinese loan word of the Old Bulgarian language. In the Kazan artı local variant of the Central dialect of the Kazan Tatar language, the word *čēm* 'настоящий, натуральный, истинный' (TTDS 1993, p. 349) was preserved. Its Kazan Tatar literary equivalent is *čĩn* 1. 'действительный, истинный, доподлинный, достоверный, реальный'; 2. 'правда, истина, реальность' (TRS 1966, p. 646) – (this form was borrowed by the literary

Chuvash as *čān* ‘истина, правда’, cf. Fedotov 1996, II, p. 402) – and its Bashkir equivalent is *sīn* ‘настоящий, натуральный’ (Uraksin 1996, p. 563). The Kazan Tatar and Bashkir literary forms are regular correspondences of the Old Turkic *čīn* 1. ‘правда, истина’; 2. ‘правдивый’; 3. ‘честный’; 4. ‘настоящий, подлинный’; 5. ‘истинно, правдиво, действительно’. The OT *čīn* – as pointed out in DTS and by Clauson (1972, p. 424) – is a Chinese loan (< Chin. *chén*). The Kazan artı local variant of the word is the result of multiple borrowings. The phonetic structure of the Chinese word in Early Old Bulgarian was possibly realised as *čīn*. This word having participated in Bulgar-Turkic phonological changes went through the development of *čīn* > *čim* even in Early Bulgarian. The word *čim* remained in the *ĵ*-dialect of the Volga Bulgarian, in which the affricates were not spirantised (see the etymology of Chuvash *čakan*, cf. Róna-Tas 1976, p. 136, and the evidences of the Šapkino inscription from 1291, cf. Róna-Tas op. cit. p. 174). From the *ĵ*-dialect of Volga Bulgarian the form *čim* got to the Kazan Tatar language in the Early Middle Kipchak period and it was preserved in the Kazan artı subdialect. The phonetic change *čim* > *čēm* reflects the closing and reducing process of the vowel-system of the Volga Kipchak languages in the Middle Kipchak period.

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