

самого кагана. Еще более уничижительно рисуется Капаган в надписи Тоньюкука. Иначе говоря, в более завуалированной форме (речь идет о недавней междоусобице!) повторено противопоставление между «мудрыми» и «неразумными» правителями.

Очевидно, что образ того или иного кагана характеризовался надписью по результатам его деятельности на пользу аристократического и иерархического тюркского эля, в соответствии с социальной сверхзадачей эпитафийного текста и политической тенденциозностью его автора. Вступая в противоречия друг с другом, споря в оценках и выводах, авторы орхонских надписей соперничают друг с другом в точности и убедительности описания событий, представляющимися им главными в недавней истории тюркского эля. Именно поэтому надписи подлинно историчны. Их лапидарность огорчительна, а селективность неизбежна. Их политическая тенденциозность не только не умаляет, а, напротив, повышает значение надписей как исторического источника, так как сопоставление программных деклараций и дискуссионных суждений позволяет ясно обозначить социальные конфликты и политические противоречия в государстве древних тюрков.

AGNIESZKA KUCZKIEWICZ-FRAŚ

ABOUT THE SUFFIX *-cī* IN HINDI (II)¹

1. *bañdūkcī* 'strelak' (Beskrovnyj II, 194); '1. a soldier carrying gun; 2. a man firing at the target' (Varma IV, 40); *bañdūqčī* 'musketeer, rifleman' (Platts, 170).

In H. probably from P. *bundūqchī* 'musketeer, rifleman' (Steingass, 202), *bondoqčī* 'soldat s ružjom' (Rubinčik I, 222) < Tu. *bundukji* 'orig. a pellet shooting cross-bow man; later a matchlock man' (Redhouse, 388), *bundukçu* (= *bundukdar*) 't. s.' (Red.Dict., 200). A source word is A. *bunduk* 'streljať; ubivať iz ognestrel'nogo oružja' (Baranov, 86).

2. *bigulcī* '1. muz. rožok, gorn; 2. trevoga (signal opasnosti); 3. sirena' (Beskrovnyj II, 249); '1. a type of western horn, whose special signals are used for getting soldiers together and guiding them to different actions' (Varma IV, 128).

From E. *bugle*, that is a brass musical instrument, played by blowing, like a trumpet but shorter, used equally for army calls. A hybrid-word *bigulcī* seems to be dated on 18th-19th c., when the British Army in India used to employ soldiers of Indian origin also, but Platts dictionary does not cite this word.

Cf. also H. *bigular* 'a man playing *bigul* [bugle] in army' < E. *bugler* 't. s.' (Varma IV, 128).

¹ This article is a continuation of the first part, published in *Folia Orientalia* Vol. XXXV (1999), p. 75-83.

3. bhaṅgercī = bhaṅgar, bhaṅgī 'a habitual drinker of *bhaṅg*; one who is addicted to drinking *bhaṅg*' (Platts, 193); *bhaṅgerī*, *bhaṅgar* 't. s.'; (Varma IV, 184); *bhaṅgar* 'čelovek privykšy pit' *bhaṅg*; narko-man' (Beskrovnyj II, 286); 'a drinker of *bhaṅg*' (McGregor, 745); From H. *bhāṅg* or *bhaṅga* 'hemp; a narcotic drink made from hemp leaves' (McGregor, 762); *baṅg* '[S. *vaṅg*] hemp; *Cannabis sativa*; an intoxicating potion made from the leaves of hemp (= *bhaṅg*)' (Platts, 171).

This H. word has become as popular in the neighbouring languages, as the described drink and the plant itself. Cf.: P. *baṅg* '1. indijskaja konoplja; «beng», rod narkotika (iz konopljanjx listev i beleny)' (Miller, 73); 'indijskaja konoplja *Cannabis indica*; bot. belena *Hyos cyamus*; baṅg, gašiš' (Rubinčik I, 223); '[S. *bhaṅga*] hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), an intoxicating drink made of its leaves; an allure-ment, bait, enticement' (Steingass, 203); *baṅgī* 'narkoman' (Ovčinnikov, 436), 'kurilščik «benga»' (Miller, 73), 'kurilščik gašiša, narko-man' (Rubinčik I, 223).

4. ḍaḥālcī 'barabanščik' (Beskrovnyj I, 665); '1. a man playing *ḍaḥ*; 2. a Muslim social class which members' job is playing *ḍaḥ*' (Varma II, 464); also *ḍaḥālī* 'a man of the class whose business is playing the tambourine' (Platts, 519) – this form is cited by Beskrovnyj and Varma too. McGregor's dictionary registers both forms *ḍaḥālcī* and *ḍaḥālī* (McGregor, 417), describing them at the same time as "not current in the contemporary standardised language or regional words".

The source word is probably H. diminutive form *ḍaḥlī* 'a tambourine' (McGregor, 417) or P. *ḍaḥla* 'a small tambourine' (Steingass, 529) < P. *ḍaḥ* 'name of a single drum (i. e. with only one skin), a cymbal, tambour de basque' (Steingass, 528); 't. s.' (Rubinčik I, 643) < A. *deff* 'tamburin, buben' (Baranov, 256) or Tu. *tef* 'buben, bubny, tamburin' (Baskakov, 839), *deḥ*, *teḥ* 'tambourine with cymbals' (Red.Dict., 227, 1120).

5. kashakcī-bāshī 'a watchman, guard, porter' (Platts, 837).

Doerfer registers the P. form *kešīkcī* 'der eine solche Wache ausübt' < Mo. (?) *kešīk* 'Abteilung, Wachdienst, Ablösung, Schicht' (Doerfer I, 468). In Hindi probably the whole phrase has been borrowed from Persian, although both Doerfer and Spies tried to point its connections

with Chagatay *kāšīk* 'Wache, Wachposten' (Doerfer, 469; Spies, 337). The word is not cited by any contemporary Hindi source.

6. mulamcī 'zlotych del master, pozolotnik; čelovek prikraščiva-juščij dejstvitelnost', lakirovščik' (Beskrovnyj II, 396); *mulamcī*, *mulammāsāz* 'a person gilding different things with gold, silver, etc.' (Varma IV, 393); *mulammāsāz* 'a gilder, a plater, a plausible rascal' (McGregor, 825).

A probably source of this word is P. *mulamma* ' (a horse) of different colours; hence, the Turkish language, as being a mixture of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; a poem, the hemistichs or distichs of which are written in Persian and Arabic alternately, and which is allowable as far as ten distichs in each language; bright, gilded, plated, electro-plated; a coating of gold or silver; speciousness; imposition' (Steingass, 1311); *molamma* '1. *redko* 1.blestjaščij, sverkajuščij; 2. pjostryj, raznocvetnyj; 3. pegij, pjatnistyj (o masti lošadi). II. *lit.* stixotvorenje, v ktorom čeredujutsja stixi ili polustišija (na persidskom, arabskom ili kakom-li drugom jazyke)' (Rubinčik II, 557). Also Redhouse's dictionary points a P. word *mulemma* 'piebald (horse); (a poem) composed half in one language, and half in another; party-gilt, party-coloured' (Redhouse, 1972) < A. *mulamma* '1. bigarré, baridé de deux couleurs, surtout parsemé de taches rondes se détachant sur un fond d'une autre couleur; 2. rempli, et, pour ainsi dire, bariolé de phrases et de mots arabes et persans (morceau de prose turque)' (Kazimirski, 229).

However, it is interesting that in Hindi the word has completely lost its first meaning ('a kind of poem') and functions now as the name of occupation only: *mulammā* '1. gilded, plated; 2. gilding, plating; 3. specious glitter' (McGregor, 825). Cf.: P. *mulammā* *sāz*, *mulammā* *kār*, *mulammā* *gar* 'a gilder, plater; a hypocrite, dissembler, traitor' (Steingass, 1311).

7. nakalcī 'podražatelj; 2. učenik ili student, spisuvajuščij [rabotu] u svojego tovarišča' (Beskrovnyj I, 841); *nakalcī* 'one who thoughtlessly imitates sb's work; imitator; a student that copies lessons from his own booklet for other class-fellows' (Varma III, 198); also: *naqlcī* 'one who copies or imitates' (McGregor, 539).

Arabic noun *naql* 'peredača, perevod s odnogo jazyka na drugoj; zaimstvovanie' (Baranov, 827) is common in Persian, Turkish, and also in Hindi, cf.: P. *naql* 'rasskaz, perekaz, peredača, citata, povest', pere-

danie' (Rubinčik II, 658); (*among other meaning*) 'translating, transcribing, copying, imitating' (Steingas, 1420); H. *naql* '1. copying; 2. a copy, an imitation; 3. mimicking, mimicry; 4. a duplicate; 5. an anecdote, story' (McGregor, 539). However, the nomen agentis with *-cī* must have appeared already in Hindi, for neither Persian, nor Turkish sources give such a form.

Cf.: Tu. *nākil* 'narrator, translator, adapter' (Red.Dict., 863); 'perevodčik, rasskazčik, avtor' (Baskakov, 669); P. *naklnavīs* 'a copyist, clerk, recorder', *naqlbāz* 'an imitator' (Steingass, 1420).

8. nišāncī 'a man carrying king's sign/flag before the ruler' (Varma III, 299); 'znamenosec, snajper' (Beskrovnyj I, 891); **nishāncī** (= *nishān-bardar*) 'a standard-bearer' (Platts, 1140).

The name of occupation is originally Turkic and was connected with the Ottoman court, cf. *nishānji* 'former title of an officer of the Ottoman Government, whose duty it is to inscribe the Sultan's imperial cipher over all imperial letters-patent; a marksman, a good shooter' (Redhouse, 2082); *nišançı* 'strellok, navodčik; ist. pridvornyj, stavivšij pečat' na gramoty sultana' (Baskakov, 679); 't. s.' (Red.Dict., 888). The source word is A. noun *nišān* '1. cel', pricelivanie; 2. orden, znak otličija' or A. verb *našana* 'metit' (v kogo-čto), nacelivat'sja (na čto), navodit' (na cel'); 2. metit', stavit' metku' (Baranov, 804).

In Hindi directly from Tu., or through P. *nishānjī* 'the tracer of the royal sign manual; keeper of the seals' (Steingass, 1403).

9. qorci 'keeper of the armoury, or the wardrobe; a cuirassier' (Platts, 975).

In Hindi from Tu. *qurju*, *qorju* 'form. a man in armour, especially a cuirassier of the guard of the Shah of Persia' (Redhouse, 1483); *korcu*, *korucu* '1. rural guard; forest watchman; 2. Ott. hist. Janissary, old both in service and years but still in active service' (Red.Dict., 675), or through Persian, cf.: *qōrcī* 'keeper of the armoury or ward-robe' (Spies, 336) < P. *qurchī* 'the keeper of the armoury; a horseguard, a cuirassier' (Steingass, 994), *gurcī* 't. s.' (Majidi, 214), *qor* 'ust. boepripasy; oružie; vooruženie' (Rubinčik II, 278).

Doerfer derives it from Chin. *horçi* and Mo. *qurčy* (= *qorči*) 'shooter, guard' (Doerfer I, 429).

10. rāyfalci 'voen. strellok', also *rāyfalmain* 'rifleman' (Beskrovnyj II, 464).

From E. *rifle*. A hybrid-word of mixed etymology, not confirmed in any other source.

11. tabalci 'muzykant akkompanirujuščij na table' (Beskrovnyj I, 692); 'a man whose job is beating *tablā*; *tabliyā*' (Varma II, 509); **tabalci**, **tabalcīyā** 'one who plays on the *tabla*; a drummer' (Platts, 751).

The name of this particular drum is so popular in most countries and languages between Turkey and India, that it is difficult to state from which of them it was borrowed by Hindi. The probably direct source was Tu. *davulcu* 'barabanščik' (Baskakov, 211), 'drummer' (Red.Dict. 276), 'Paukensschläger' (Heuser, 104), or P. *tablčī* (= *tablzan*) 't. s.' (Rubinčik II, 153). Both maybe from A. *tabl* 'barabanit', bit' v baraban', *tabal* 'barabanščik' (Baranov, 469).

Cf. also: Ta. *tabl* 'baraban', *tablak*, *tablzan* 'barabanščik' (Rax.Usp., 373); Kaz. *dabyl* 'baraban', *dabylšy* 'barabanščik' (Sauranbaev, 35).

12. ŭainkci 'tankist' (Beskrovnyj I, 653).

This E.-Tu. hybrid-words has been noted in Tu. *tankçı* 'Angehöriger der Panzerwaffe, spez. Tankführer' (Steuerwald, 1101), 't. s.' (Baskakov, 826) and P. *tānkčī* 't. s.' (Majidi, 213). For it has to be dated on the 2nd half of the 20th c., it proves that the suffix *-cī* is still productive in Hindi (we can exclude possibility of P. or Tu. loans in Hindi in 20th c.).

13. tambürci 'barabanščik' (Beskrovnyj I, 681); 't. s.' Varma II, 492); **tambürči** 'a drummer; one who plays the *tambor*' (Platts, 338).

Probably from Tu. *tamburacı* 'tamburist igrajuščij na strunných ščipkovyx muzkal'nyx instrumentax ili izgotovlivajuščij takovy'e' (Baskakov, 824) < *tambura* 'a smaller lute' (Redhouse, 1246), *tambur*, *tanbur* 'an ancient form of lute, still in use' (Red.Dict., 1093); cf. *tamburi* 'a tambur player' (Red.Dict., 1093).

The word as well as the instrument itself is very common among societies of Central and Southern Asia, cf.: Ta. *tanbūr* 'tambur, strunnyj muzykal'nyj instrument', *tambūrī* 'igrajuščij na tambure, tamburist' (Rax.Usp., 380); Kaz. *tambūr* 'tambur, buben, tamburin (rod barabana)' (Sauranbaev, 805); Kir. *tambur*, *tambur* 'tambur, četyrjostrunnyj ščipkovyj muzykal'nyj instrument' (Judaxin, 689); Turk. *tambūr*

't. s.' (Bas.Turk., 617); Uz. *tanbūr* 'tambur', *tanbūrcī* 'muzykant igrajuščij na tambure' (Akabirov, 404); A. *tunbur* '1. gitara, ljutnja; 2. *tex*. baraban, valik, cilindr' (Baranov, 482).

14. **topcī** 'artillerist' (Beskrovnyj I, 732); 't. s.' (Varma II, 581); **topcī** 'a conductor of artillery; a commissary of ordinance; a bombardier; a cannonier' (Plats, 341); also **vimān-topcī** 'vozdušnyj strelok' (Beskrovnyj II, 559).

From Tu. *topču* 'artilerist, kanonir; artillery' (Baskakov, 866), *topju* 'an artillery man, a gunner' (Redhouse, 1249; Red.Dict., 1182; Mus.Ščer., 27) or P. *topchī* 'a cannonier, artilleryman' (Steingass, 821), *tupcī* 'artillerist' (Rubinčik I, 406).

The source Tu. word *top* 'a ball; any globular thing; a knob; a cannon, also artillery...' (Redhouse, 1248) became common in many languages and is often used as a part of compounds, also in Hindi, cf. e. g. *top-gārī* 'orudijnyj lafet' (Beskrovnyj I, 732), *mahātop* 'tjažoloe oružie' (Beskrovnyj II, 352), *top-vidyā* or *top kalā* 'artillerijskoe delo' (Beskrovnyj I, 732). Even in A. we find a loan-word *tubgi* 'artillerist' (Baranov, 482).

15. **zambūrcī** '*topcī* (= artillerist), *sipāhī* (= soldier)' (Varma II, 319); **zañbūrēī** 'a fusileer' (Platts, 618).

Probably from P. *zambūrchī* 'a fusileer' (Steingass, 624) < Tu. *zemberekçi* 'Ott. hist. Janissary serving in the 82nd regiment' (Red.Dict., 1277). Cf.: P. (?) *zamburak* = *zanburak* 'ust. falkonet, nebolšaja puška, perevozmaja na verbljudax' (Rubinčik I, 767), *zambūrāk* 'a cross-bow' (Steingass, 623); A. *zunburak*, *zanbarak*, *zunburuk* '1. pružina (napr. časov); 2. ressoira' (Baranov, 335).

Languages

Af.	Afghan	Mo.	Mongol
Ar.	Arabic	P.	Persian
Az.	Azerbaijane	Pr.	Prakrit
Chin.	Chinese	S.	Sanskrit
E.	English	Ta.	Tagiki
H.	Hindi	Tu.	Turkish
Kaz.	Kazakh	Turk.	Turkmenian
Kir.	Kirghiz	Uz.	Uzbek

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JENS PETER LAUT

ZUR ROLLE DES ALTTÜRKISCHEN IN DER TÜRKEITÜRKISCHEN LEXIK

Die Rolle des Alttürkischen in der türkeitürkischen Lexik ist komplex, jedoch noch wenig erforscht worden. Sie ist aber schon deshalb von besonderem Interesse, weil das Türkeitürkische neben 1. lange tradiertem alttürkischen Erbgut 2. eine nicht unerhebliche Anzahl von ganz speziellen Neologismen aufweist: Diese wurden in der Blütezeit der Sprachreform, d.h. in den 30er Jahren, aus dem lexikalischen Material des Alttürkischen reaktiviert oder nach quasi-alttürkischen Mustern ad hoc kreiert. Ich möchte mich *beiden* Gruppen von Lexemen im Türkeitürkischen zuwenden und hoffe zeigen zu können, daß ohne Kenntnis der jeweiligen Beziehungen dieser Lexeme zum Alttürkischen die etymologische Erforschung eines nicht unbedeutenden Bestands der türkeitürkischen Wortguts nicht möglich ist.

Wer sich darüber informiert, wie im Türkeitürkischen die Sonnen- bzw. Mondfinsternis bezeichnet werden¹, stößt auf das merkwürdige Phänomen, daß die Wörterbücher als Lexem für die Eklipse das deverbale Nomen *tutulma* angeben, wörtlich "Das Ergriffenwerden". Zwar findet man auch die Entlehnungen aus dem Arabischen: *kūsûf*

¹ Eine etymologische Betrachtung der ttü. Sonnenfinsternis und des ttü. *güveç* (s. unten) habe ich in populärwissenschaftlicher Form in der religionswissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift *Spirita* (10. Jhg., Heft 1, 1996, S. 30) vorgelegt.