

## Werk

**Titel:** On the Turkic background of two early loanwords of Turkic origin in Hungarian

**Autor:** Berta, Árpád

**Ort:** Wiesbaden

**Jahr:** 2005

**PURL:** [https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797\\_0009](https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0009) | LOG\_0034

## Kontakt/Contact

[Digizeitschriften e.V.](#)  
SUB Göttingen  
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1  
37073 Göttingen

✉ [info@digizeitschriften.de](mailto:info@digizeitschriften.de)

# On the Turkic background of two early loanwords of Turkic origin in Hungarian

Árpád Berta

Berta, Árpád 2005. On the Turkic background of two early loanwords of Turkic origin in Hungarian. *Turkic Languages* 9, 188-198.

The article discusses the Turkic background of two Hungarian words of Turkic origin: *iker* 'twin' and *ökör* 'ox'. In the first part of the article, the author discusses the differences between the Turkic etymon for the word *iker* and the forms of its base word meaning 'two' in the Turkic languages—differences which have not received sufficient attention thus far—and makes an attempt to explain these. In the second part of the article, the author offers an inner Turkic etymology for the Turkic word meaning 'ox', which is: Ancient Turkic \**pökkVr-(X)z* > \**pökkXz* > \**pökXz* > Old Turkic *öküz*.

Árpád Berta, Department of Altaic Studies, University of Szeged, Egyetem u. 2, H-6720 Szeged, Hungary. E-mail: [berta@hung.u-szeged.hu](mailto:berta@hung.u-szeged.hu)

## *Iker* 'twin'

The editors of TESz (2: 196b-197a) reconstructed the Old Chuvash form \**ikir* as the original word for the Hungarian word *iker*, forms of which have been recorded in Hungarian as of the 11th century. In their reference to earlier works (including studies by Budenz, Gombocz, Németh and Ligeti, among others), the editors of TESz indicate that the word \**ikir*, an example of the common Turkic -z ~ Chuvash -r sound correspondence, derives etymologically from the Turkic numeral *iki* ~ *äki*, meaning 'two'.

Not even the slightest reference can be found in the Turkological literature that would give one grounds to question the connection between the Turkic numeral meaning 'two' and the Hungarian common noun meaning 'twin'. However, there is no explanation either for the obvious lack of sound correspondence between the base form of the Turkic word meaning 'two' and its so-called derivative, the common noun meaning 'twin'—which can also be found in a majority of the Turkic languages. Clauson's dictionary on Turkic word history and Sevortjan's etymological dictionary regard the lexemes \**ekkiz* 'twin' (Clauson 119b) and *ekiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Sevortjan 1: 252-254) as derivatives of the Old Turkic *ekki* 'two' (Clauson 100b-101a) and *iki* 'dva' (Sevortjan 1: 337-339).

This article does not question the etymological connection between the Turkic numeral meaning 'two' and the Turkic common noun meaning 'twin', but it does hope to provide an explanation for the significant differences between the two word

forms (initial vowel, medial consonant), which, although present in a number of Turkic languages, have not been examined with sufficient care.<sup>1</sup>

In a few of the Modern Turkic languages, the phonetic differences mentioned above do not appear among the lexemes under examination. The lexemes in these languages are the following:

Oghuz languages (O): *iki* 'dva'—*ikiz* 'dvojnja, bliznecy' (Tt);  
*iki* 'dva'—*ikiz* 'bliznecy; dvojnja' (Gag);  
 Siberian Turkic languages (S): *iyi* 'dva'—*iyis* 'dvojnja' (Tuv);  
*iki* 'dva'—*ikis* 'bliznecy, dvojnja; dvojnik' (Khak).

The data within this group indicate that the word meaning 'twin' was formed through the addition of the old final \*+z (more precisely \*+(X)z) formant to the base numeral. The data in the Siberian Turkic languages (Tuvan, Khakas) ending in the suffix +s—in line with the devoicing -z > -s regular sound change in these languages—present the sound one may expect as the sound resulting from the historical formant \*+(X)z.

The group of languages showing phonetic difference(s) between these two words is rather larger than the one above, which included languages with proper correspondences. For a better overview of these languages and their forms, they are presented in various subgroups.

A. Difference in the correspondence of the vowels in the first syllable:

Oghuz languages: *iki* 'dva'—*äkiz* 'bliznecy, dvojnja' (Az);  
*iki* 'dva'—*ekiz* 'dvojnja, bliznecy, dvojnjaški', *ekizäk*<sup>2</sup> 'odin iz bliznecov' (Tkm).

Only two Oghuz languages belong to this subgroup. The phonetic difference lies in the fact that the initial vowel in the numeral meaning 'two' is more closed than that in the common noun meaning 'twin'. This phenomenon—at the present state of our knowledge—cannot be explained properly. Nevertheless, it may be possible that in Azeri and Turkmen the vowel in the second open syllable had an impact on the first vowel syllable through regressive assimilation, an impact which vowels in closed syllables could not have. This is clearly on the level of a working hypothesis, and as such, calls for further investigation.

<sup>1</sup> The difference in sound correspondence between the two lexemes cannot serve as an argument against the etymological connection. This is so not only because the connection is borne out by semantics, but also because similar sound differences can be located in a number of languages between the base numeral and the derivative common noun, cf. e.g. English *two* and *twin*, German *zwei* and *Zwilling*, Russian *dva* and *dvojnja*.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkmen item is a derivative with the suffix +*Ak*. Cf. also below the endings of the words Tatar *igëzäk*, Bashkir *igëdäk*, Karaim of Troki *ekiz'ak*, *egiz'ak*.

## B. Difference appears in the feature of the medial consonants:

Kipchak languages (K): *ikě* ‘dva, dve, dvoe’—*igěz* ‘bliznecy, dvojnja, dvojnjaški; (*peren.*) ljudi, blizkie i poxožie drug na druga’, cf. *igězäk*: *oč igězäk* ‘trojnja’ (Tat);

*ikě* ‘dva, dve, dvojka; para *prost.*’—*igěð* ‘dvojnja; dvojnjaški *razg.*; bliznecy’, cf. *igěðäk* id. (Bashk);

*eki* ‘dva’—*egiz* ‘bliznecy, dvojnja; para odinakovyx’ (Kirg);

*eki* ‘dva; dvu-, dvux-’—*egiz* ‘bliznecy; dvojnja, dvojnjaški’ (Nog);

*eki* ‘dva, dvoe’, cf. *ekiz’ak* ‘dvojnjoj’—*egiz’ak* ‘bliznec’ (Kar T);

*eki* ‘dva, dvoe’—*egiz* ‘bliznec’ (Kar C);

*yekī* ‘dva’—*yegiz* ‘bliznecy; dvojnja’ (Kzk);

*eki* ‘dva’—*egiz* ‘bliznecy, dvojnja’ (Kmk);

*eki* ‘dva’—*egiz, egizle*<sup>3</sup> ‘dvojnja, bliznecy’ (Krch-Blk);

Siberian Turkic languages (S): *eki* / *ekki* ‘dva’—*egis* ‘dvojnja, bliznecy’ (Oyr Kmd).

The Kipchak languages and the Oyrot dialect are connected because the medial strong explosive in the numeral meaning ‘two’ is replaced by a weak explosive in the word meaning ‘twin’. At this point, we can only offer an assumption as a possible explanation.<sup>4</sup> It seems that as a result of the effect of the consonant in the final suffix +(X)z, the medial long consonant shortened (\*-kk- > \*-k-) so early that it preceded the change of intervocalic \*-k- > -g-, which is a phonetic feature of the languages listed in this subgroup.

## C. Alternating representations—only partly, due to internal language differences both in the case of the initial vowels and the medial consonants:

Kipchak languages (K): *eki* / *iki* ‘dva, dvoe’—*egizék* ‘bliznec’ (Kar H);

*eki* / *yeki* / *yekki* / *ikki* ‘dva’—*yegiz* ‘bliznecy, dvojnja’ (Kkalp);<sup>5</sup>

Siberian Turkic languages: *eki* ‘dva’—*egis* / *igis* ‘bliznecy, dvojnja; para’ (Oyr);

Turki languages (T): *ikki* ‘dva’—*egiz* ‘dvojnja, bliznecy’ (NUyg);

*ikki* ‘dva’—*egiz* ‘bliznecy’ (Uzb);

Chuvash (Ch): *ikkě, ikě, ik* ‘dva’<sup>6</sup>—*yěkěr* ‘dvojnjoj; sdvoennyj; para’, cf. *yěkěreš* ‘bliznecy, dvojnja; nerazlučnyj’.

<sup>3</sup> The Karachay-Balkar word *egizle* is a further derivative.

<sup>4</sup> This is an assumption—and not a working hypothesis—as the very same phenomenon will appear in the case of *ökör*, the second Turkic loanword discussed in this article. Other examples will be listed there to strengthen this assumption.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the Karakalpak data show a secondary initial *y-*. See also the similar—also secondary—*y-* in the Chuvash data.

<sup>6</sup> The variety of the Chuvash data may be explained by their functional distribution, similar to the Hungarian forms meaning ‘two’, *két* and *kettő*.

The explanations offered as a working hypothesis and an assumption under points A and B above may also serve as an explanation for the inconsistencies in these data as well.

However, it must be emphasised that at this point, based on the present state of our knowledge, these phenomena cannot be explained with absolute certainty. Naturally, another general linguistic explanation may also be offered, yet again, as a working hypothesis: the languages in groups B and C attempted to mark a phonetic difference in order to indicate some semantic distinction.

From among the more significant modern Turkic languages, the Yakut words *ikki* ‘dva’—*igirè*, *igirèlèr* ‘bliznecy’ (RusskJakSl) were not listed in group B, since the Yakut word meaning ‘twin’ is a loanword from Mongolian.<sup>7</sup> The Mongolian word, however, is of Turkic origin, and has also found its way into some of the Tungusic languages.<sup>8</sup>

### Ökör ‘ox’

The editors of TESz (3:23a) maintain that the Hungarian word *ökör* “is a Chuvash-type Old Turkic loanword”, which possibly derived from “a Turkic form of \**ökür* which entered the Hungarian language”.

As for the origin of the Turkic word, various theories have gained currency in the Turkological literature; however, within historical linguistics, two major theories can be found.<sup>9</sup> Both of these regard this word as being of Indo-European origin.

One of these maintains that the Turkic word meaning ‘ox’ derived from a Tokharian A dialectal form of *okäs* (see more recently Clauson 120a),<sup>10</sup> while the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mongolian *ikire*, *ikere* ‘twins’ (L). For further Mongolian data, see Ligeti (1986:311). Besides Yakut, Mongolian loanwords may also be found in some of the Siberian Turkic languages: Khakas dialect *ikere* ‘dvojnja (*o životnyx*)’, Koybal *ikkärä* ‘dvojniki; die Zwillinge’ (R 1:1420).

<sup>8</sup> Doerfer (1965:189-191) argues convincingly against the views held by Ramstedt (1957:113) and Poppe (1960:105), which maintain that the Turkic, Mongolian and Tungusic data derive from the Altaic base word. He also points out that the stem of the word *ekiz* ‘twin’ is the Turkic word *eki* ‘two’, which is unknown in Mongolian. Moreover, the suffix +z is also Turkic, being unknown with the same function in Mongolian. Doerfer’s entry also offers a thorough survey of the way this word has spread in other languages as well as illustrating well through a number of examples how in a number of languages throughout the world the numeral meaning ‘two’, which is part of the basic vocabulary, is a loanword like the common noun meaning ‘twin’. Doerfer lists the Hungarian word *iker* among these examples.

<sup>9</sup> A good summary of the history of scholarship on the etymological change of the Turkic word meaning ‘ox’ is provided by András Róna-Tas in his unpublished dissertation, see Róna-Tas Diss. 460-467 and Sevortjan 1: 522-523.

other one (cf. Ramstedt 1957: 103-104, among others) connects the Turkic word to the well-known Indo-European word family *\*peku* (cf. OldInd *paśu*, Lat *pecu*, *pecus*, Goth *faihu*, Germ *Vieh* etc.).<sup>11</sup> Neither of these theories that propose an Indo-European origin would seem to be plausible.

Before suggesting an etymology which would consider an inner Turkic onomatopoeic base word for the origin,<sup>12</sup> let us see the data related to the Hungarian word *ökör* in the modern Turkic languages.<sup>13</sup>

- Oghuz languages (O): *öküz* ‘byk, vol’ (Tt); *öküz* ‘byk, vol’ (Az); *öküz* ‘vol’ (Gag); *öküz* ‘byk, vol’ (Tkm);
- Kipchak languages (K): *ügěz* ‘byk, bugaj; (*peren.*) očen' bol'šoj i sil'nyj (*o čeloveke*)’ (Tat); *ügěđ* ‘byk, vol’ (Bashk); *ögüz* ‘vol, kastrirovannyj byk’ (Kirg); *ögiz* ‘vol, byk; (*peren.*) ploho soobražajuščij čelovek’ (Nog); *égiz* ‘byk, vol’ (Kar H); *ögüz* ‘byk’ (Kar C), *ög'uz* ‘id. (Kar T); *ögiz* ‘vol’ (Kzk); *ögiz* ‘byk’ (Kkalp); *ögüz* ‘vol’ (Cr Tat); *ögüz* ‘vol’ (Kmk); *ögüz* ‘vol’ (Krč-Blk);
- Siberian Turkic languages (S): —;
- Turki languages (T): *ökuz* / *xökuz*<sup>14</sup> ‘byk, vol’ (NUig); *öküz* ‘steer’ (NUygJarring); *oqus* ‘korova; byk, vol’ / *okus* ‘krupnyj, rogatyj skot’ / *kus* ‘byk, vol’ / *qus* ‘korova; byk, vol’ (YUygMalov 1957),<sup>15</sup> *xükiz* ‘vol’ (Uzb);
- Yakut (Y): *oğus*, *oğos*<sup>16</sup> ‘byk voobšče; byk, vol’ (Pekarskij 2: 1786-1787); cf. also *at oğus*<sup>17</sup> ‘vol’ (RusskJakSI);

- <sup>10</sup> This is Clauson’s modified view, since he earlier (Clauson 1959) regarded this Turkic word as a derivative of a Tokharian B dialectal form *okso*. Both of Clauson’s views are criticised by Doerfer (1963:539), who points out that the Tokharian origin is highly unlikely. He argues that Clauson disregards the fact that the Mongolian word of Turkic origin is found in the form *hüker* > *üker* ‘bovine animal, ox, cow; large, big; the second of the twelve animals of the zodiac’ (L) and that the Middle Mongolian initial *h-* historically may also have derived from an Ancient Turkic *\*p-*.
- <sup>11</sup> Problems with phonetics (vocalism in the first syllable!) and semantics (the Indo-European word means ‘animal; cattle, livestock’, but not ‘ox’) in this latter etymology have already been pointed out by Doerfer as well in the work mentioned above (1963:539).
- <sup>12</sup> This explanation has surfaced before. A summary of the possibilities regarding an onomatopoeic base is offered in András Róna-Tas’s unpublished dissertation (Róna-Tas, Diss. 464). Róna-Tas, however, does not accept this explanation.
- <sup>13</sup> For a list of the language historical data, see Clauson 120a; Severtjan 1:521-523.
- <sup>14</sup> The initial *x-* in the NUyg word *xökuz* may be secondary, but may also be archaic. The same applies to the initial sound *x-* in the Uzbek word.
- <sup>15</sup> In the Yellow Uyghur words *kus* and *qus* the disappearance of the initial vowel is, of course, a secondary phenomenon.
- <sup>16</sup> The back vowel in the Yakut word may be secondary, just like in the Yellow Uyghur word.

Khalaj (Kh): —;  
 Chuvash (Ch): *vākār, mākār*<sup>18</sup> ‘byk’.

When determining the inner Turkic origin of the Turkic word meaning ‘ox’, a Turkic verb must also be included in the discussion. On the basis of its form and meaning, it seems that this verb, although not present in all the language branches, should be included in the investigation.

Oghuz languages (O): —;  
 Kipchak languages (K): *ükēr-* ‘revet’; vopit’’, cf. *üksē-* ‘všlipyvat’, plakat’ všlipyvaja’ (Tat); *ükēr-* ‘revet’, ryčat’; (peren.) vyt’; šumet’’, cf. *ükhē-* ‘gromko plakat’, rydat’; prizyvno revet’ (*o životnyx*) (Bashk); *ökür-* ‘(*o byke, bugae*) revet’; (*o mužčine*) gromko plakat’ i pričitat’ (*pokačivajas’ korpusom s boku na bok, približajas’ k domu, k jurte, gde est’ ili nedavno byl pokojnik*)’, cf. *öksö-* ‘gromko plakat’, rydat’; (peren.) plakat’ sja, žalovat’ sja na sud’bu’, *öküm*<sup>19</sup> ‘nesderžannyj, vspyl’čivij; neterpelivij, toroplivij’ (Kirg); *ökir-* ‘revet’, myčat’; vopit’, rydat’’, cf. *öksi-* ‘rydat’; všlipyvat’ (Nog); *ékir-* ‘sto-nat’; ryčat’; revet’; myčat’ (Kar H), *ökür-* ‘plakat’, revet’; myčat’ (Kar C), *ökür-* ‘vyt’, ryčat’; zevat’ (Kar T);<sup>20</sup> *ökir-* ‘revet’ (*o korove*); (peren.) rydat’ (*o čeloveke*)’ (Kzk); *ökir-* ‘kričat’; revet’, plakat’ (Kkalp); *ökür-* ‘revet’ (Cr Tat); *ökür-* ‘gudet’; gremet’; buševat’; ryčat’; (peren.) gremet’; slavit’ sja’ (Kmk); *ökür-* ‘revet’ (Krch-Blk);  
 Siberian Turkic languages (S): cf. *öksö-* ‘gor’ko plakat’, gromko plakat’, rydat’ (Oyr); *öksö-* ‘kričat’ (OyrTuba);  
 Turki languages (T): *xöküri-* ‘revet’, rykat’ (*o zverjax*); rydat’, gromko plakat’; cf. *öksü-* ‘všlipyvat’, rydat’, plakat’ navzryd’ (NUyg); *ükir-* ‘revet’ (Uzb);  
 Yakut (Y): —;  
 Khalaj (Kh): —;  
 Chuvash (Ch): *ükxēr-* ‘šumet’, gudet’; ryčat’; vyt’, kričat’.

If the Turkic noun meaning ‘ox’ is connected to the Turkic word meaning ‘to below, low’, which is justifiable,<sup>21</sup> it must be decided whether the noun meaning ‘ox’ should be regarded as a derivative of the verbal base word, or the other way round.

<sup>17</sup> The first element of the Yakut compound is the word *at* meaning ‘horse’ which is well-known in the Turkic languages (see Pekarskij 1:182).

<sup>18</sup> The latter dialectal form with the initial *m-* (see Egorov) is secondary. At the same time, the appearance of the prothesis *v-* in the word *vākār* reflects a regularity.

<sup>19</sup> The etymological status of the lexeme *öküm* is problematic. If it is an old derivative, it may be connected to a form with the morphological segmentation of *\*pök+U-(X)m*.

<sup>20</sup> KRPSI makes a mistake in suggesting that the word *aqir-* ‘revet’, stonat’ (Kar K) belongs here.

<sup>21</sup> See the etymology suggested by Brockelmann (1954: 49), according to which the Turkic word *buğa* may be a derivative of the onomatopoeic base word *\*bu-* followed by the suf-

It seems that the common noun meaning ‘ox’ is of verbal origin, as the data fail to bear out derivation from the other direction.

The verb meaning ‘to bellow, low’ may derive from an onomatopoeic nominal base. This base may have been the form *\*pök* in Ancient Turkic. The base word *\*pök* may have been followed by the suffix *+kVr-*,<sup>22</sup> thus, the reconstructed Ancient Turkic form must have been *\*pökkVr-*.

The Ancient Turkic common noun meaning ‘ox’ may be a derivative of the verb form reconstructed as *\*pök+kVr-* followed by the suffix *-(X)z*: *\*pökkVr-(X)z > \*pökkXz > \*pökXz*.

The possibility of the *\*pökkVr-(X)z > \*pökkXz* development is borne out by a series of convincing morphological analogies from Erdal’s monograph on Old Turkic word formation (1991:323):

*kütuz* ‘a mad dog’ < *\*kütur-(u)z*;  
*ärgüz* [‘snow and ice melting at the beginning of spring’] < *\*ärgür-(ü)z*;  
*munduz* [‘senile, simple-minded’] < *\*mun-dur-(u)z*;  
*ađız* [‘a smaller (uncultivated) piece of land’] < *\*ađır-(i)z*;  
*yavız* ‘bad’ < *\*yavrı-z*;  
*sämiz* ‘fat (adj., of an animal)’ < *\*sämri-z*.

The examples listed by Erdal reveal the expansionist behaviour of the Old Turkic suffix *-(X)z*, which has resulted in the shortening of the endings on verbal bases ending in *°r(V)-*, or, to be more precise, their elision.<sup>23</sup>

The change of *\*pökkXz > \*pökXz* as suggested above—that is, the shortening of the internal long consonant *\*-kk-*—would be the same presumed change presented in

fix -gA. Severtjan (2:231-232) rejects Brockelmann’s etymology, but his discussion lacks clear argumentation.

<sup>22</sup> The nature of the vowel in the suffix is questionable. The applicable section of Erdal’s excellent work on Old Turkic word formation (1991: 465-467) cannot be regarded as the final solution for three reasons. First, because among his examples for various onomatopoeic bases—eleven examples, to be precise, in which bases are followed by the formant which Erdal determines as *+kIr-*—there are only two bases with a labial vowel (*bü(r) + kür-*, *üş + kür-*), which may offer a possibility for determining whether the vowel in the denominal verbal formant was indeed *-X-* (that is, with four vowel variants) or *-I-* (that is, palatal and unrounded); thus, the other nine examples are not significant in this respect. Second, two of the Old Turkic examples listed by Erdal, (*bü(r) + kür-*, *üş + kür-*)—as the data reveal—vary in the nature of the second vowel (*-X-* / *-I-*). Third, the fact that Erdal examined only the Old Turkic corpus, with which—although we tend to forget this—the Ancient Turkic data may not be identified, also makes it problematic to determine the vowel in the given suffix.

<sup>23</sup> The regularity indicated here is borne out by a number of examples, which I plan to discuss in a separate study in the near future.



connection with the suffix  $+(X)z$  in the case of the change in  $*\ddot{a}kki+(X)z > *\ddot{a}kiz$  ‘twin’ discussed in the first part of this article.

The presumed change in the long consonant  $-kk-$  before  $-z$  and its subsequent weakening as witnessed in the Turkic language branches in which it occurred in the case of the Turkic common nouns meaning ‘twin’ and ‘ox’ is further borne out by two Turkic numerals.

Old Turkic *tokküz* (*d-*) ‘nine’ (Clouston 474b)

Oghuz languages (O): *dokuz* (Tt), *dogğuz* (Az), *dokuz* (Gag), *dokuz* (Tkm);

Kipchak languages (K): *tugız* (Tat), *tugıđ* (Bashk), *togız* (Nog), *toğuz* (Kar T, H), *dokuz* (Kar C), *toğız* (Kzk); *toğuz* / *toğız* / *toğus* / *toğıs* / *toqquz* (Kkalp), *toğuz* (Kırg), *doquz* (Cr Tat); *toğuz* (Kmk); *toğuz* (Krch-Blk);<sup>24</sup>

Siberian Turkic languages (S): *toğus* (Oyr), *toğus* (OyrTuba), *toğus* (OyrKmd), *tos* (Tuv), *toğıs* (Khak);

Turki languages (T): *toqquz* (NUyg), *toqoz* / *toquz* / *toqquz* (NUygJarring), *toqış* / *to'qıs* (YUyg), *toqos* (Sal);

Yakut (Y): *toğus* (RusskJakSl);

Khalaj (Kh): *toqquz*;

Chuvash (Ch): *täxxär*, *täxär*.

Old Turkic *säkkiz* ‘eight’ (Clouston 823b)

Oghuz languages (O): *sekiz* (Tt), *säkkiz* (Az), *sekiz* (Gag), *sekiz* (Tkm);

Kipchak languages (K): *sigöz* (Tat), *higđđ* (Bashk), *segiz* (Nog), *segiz*' (Kar T), *ségiz* (Kar H), *sėkiz* (Kar C), *segiz* (Kzk), *säkkiz* / *segiz* (Kkalp), *segiz* (Kırg), *sekiz* (Cr Tat), *segiz* (Kmk), *segiz* (Krch-Blk);

Siberian Turkic languages (S): *segis* (Oyr), *segis* (OyrTuba), cf. *segizen* ‘vosem’-desjat’ (OyrKmd), *ses* (Tuv), *sigıs* (Khak);

Turki languages (T): *säkkiz* (NUyg), *sekiz* / *şekiz* (NUygJarring), *sekes* / *sak'ıs* (YUyg), *sėkis* / *sėkes* / *sekis* (Sal);

Yakut (Y): *ağıs* (RusskJakSl);

Khalaj (Kh): *säkkiz*;

Chuvash (Ch): *sakkär*.

It must also be noted that, with the exception of a few relatively new loanwords from Russian (see, e.g., *nakaz*, *ukaz*), the only word structure which can be found in

<sup>24</sup> Among the data from the Kipchak languages, the modern forms of the Old Turkic lexeme *tokkuz* with the internal  $-K-$  (or, even  $-KK-$ ) in Crimean Karaim, Crimean Tatar, Karakalpak, are exactly the same as the corresponding modern Turkic representatives of the Old Turkic numeral *säkkiz* listed below. These so-called ‘A-Kipchak’ forms may not necessarily be explained in the same way. The Crimean Tatar data—just like the whole Crimean Tatar language—may show Oghuz influence. The same may also hold true for the Crimean Karaim form. However, further data and investigation would be required to explain the variations within the Karakalpak form.

the Turkic languages mentioned above is  $(C)VGVz^{25}$ ; no lexeme exists with the structure  $(C)VKVz$ . However, forms with the structures  $(C)VKV(C)$  are also known to exist,<sup>26</sup> if the syllable following  $-k-$  does not end in  $-oz$ . All of this means—it seems—that we have found (at least one of) several reasons why the old intervocalic long  $-kk-$  not only shortens in some of the Turkic languages, but then also weakens the formally long strong consonant, while in other examples—in the very same languages—it merely shortens.

### Abbreviations and bibliography

- ARSL = *Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar*. Edited by Azizbekov, H. A. Baku: Azerbajdžanskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo. 1965.
- Az = Azeri, see ARSL.
- Bashk = Bashkir, see BRH.
- Baskakov 1966 = Baskakov, N. A. *Dialekt černevyx tatar (tuba-kiži). Grammatičeskij očerk i slovar*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Baskakov 1972 = Baskakov, N. A. *Dialekt kumandincev (kumandī-kiži)*. Moskva: Nauka.
- BRH = *Bašqor'tsa-russa hüðlëk*. Edited by Uraqsin Z. & Mäskäü, G. Näšriätä Digora. 1996.
- Ch = Chuvash, see ČVSI.
- Clauson = Clauson, G. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1972.
- Clauson 1959 = Clauson, G. 1959. The earliest Turkish loan words in Mongolian. *Central Asiatic Journal* 4: 174-187.
- Cr Tat = Crimean Tatar, see KrTatRSI.
- ČVSI = *Čävašla-viräsla slovar*. Edited by Skvorcov, M. & Muskv, I. Russkij Jazyk. 1982.
- Doerfer 1963 = Doerfer, G. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. 1. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Doerfer 1965 = Doerfer, G. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. 2. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Doerfer-Tezcan = Doerfer, G. & Tezcan, S. 1980. *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch. (Dialekt von Charrab)*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Egorov = Egorov, V. G. 1964. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka*. Čeboksary: Čuvaškoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.
- Erdal 1991 = Erdal, M. 1991. *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon* 1-2. (Turcologica 7.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gag = Gagauz, see GRMSI.
- GRMSI = *Gagauzsko-russko-moldavskij slovar*. Edited by Baskakov, N. A. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1973.
- Judaxin = Judaxin, K. K. 1965. *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar*. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- K = Kipchak languages.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Tatar of Kazan (Tat) *agış-, bugaz, igëz, kigëz-, mögëz, nigëz, sagış, sigëz, tigëz, tugış, ügış, ugış, ügëz*, etc.

<sup>26</sup> See, e.g., from Tatar of Kazan (Tat) again: *akay-* and *akay, akır-, baka, bakır, bikä, bukän, yokı, kikër-*, etc.

- Kar H = Karaim Halich dialect, see KRPSI.  
 Kar C = Karaim Crimean dialect, see KRPSI.  
 Kar T = Karaim Troki dialect, see KRPSI.  
 KhakRSI = *Xakassko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Baskakov, N. A. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej. 1953.  
 Kh = Khalaj, see Doerfer-Tezcan.  
 Khak = Khakas, see KhakRSI.  
 Kirg = Kirghiz, see Judaxin  
 Kkalp = Karakalpak, see KkalpBask.  
 KkalpBask = 'Slovar' in Baskakov, N. A. 1951. *Karakalpakskij jazyk. I. Materialy po dialektologii*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.  
 Kmk = Kumyk, see KmkRSI.  
 KmkRSI = *Kumyjsko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Bammatov, Z. Z. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1969.  
 Koyb = Koybal, see R.  
 Krch-Blk = Karachay-Balkar, see RusskKBSI.  
 KRPSI = *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*. Edited by Baskakov, N. A. et al. Moskva: Russkij jazyk. 1974.  
 CrTatRSI = *Krymskotatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Asanov, Š. A. et al. Kiev: Radjans'kaja škola. 1988.  
 Kzk = Kazakh, see KzkRSI.  
 KzkRSI = Maxmudov, X. & Musabaev, G. *Kazaxsko-russkij slovar'*. Alma-Ata: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Kazaxskoj SSSR. 1954.  
 L = Lessing, F. D. 1973. *Mongolian-English dictionary*. Bloomington: The Mongolia Society.  
 Ligeti 1986 = Ligeti Lajos 1986. *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.  
 Nog 0 = Nogay, see NRSI.  
 NRSI = *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Baskakov, N. A. Moskva. 1963.  
 NUyg = New Uighur, see UjgRSI.  
 NUygJarring = Jarring, G. 1964. *An Eastern Turki-English dialect dictionary*. Lund: CWK Gleerup.  
 NyK = Nyelvtudományi Közlemények. Pest [later] Budapest. 1 (1862) –  
 O = Oghuz languages.  
 Oyr = Oyrot, see OyrRSI.  
 OyrKmd = Oyrot language, Kumandī dialect, see Baskakov 1972.  
 OyrRSI = *Ojrotsko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Baskakov, N. A. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej. 1947.  
 OyrTuba = Oyrot language. Tuba dialect, see Baskakov 1966.  
 Poppe 1960 = Poppe, N. 1960. *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen 1. Vergleichende Lautlehre*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.  
 R = Radloff, W. 1893-1911. *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* 1-4. Sanktpe-terburg.  
 Ramstedt 1957 = Ramstedt, G. J. 1957. *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft 1. Lautlehre*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 104:1. Helsinki.

- Róna-Tas Diss. = Róna-Tas, A. 1970. *Az altaji nyelvrokonság vizsgálatának alapjai. A nyelvrokonság elmélete és a csuvas-mongol nyelvviszony.* Akadémiai doktori értekezés. Budapest. Unpublished.
- RusskKBSl = *Russko-karačaevo-balkarskij slovar'*. Edited by Sujunčev, X. I. & Urusbiev, I. X. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1965.
- RusskJakSl = *Russko-jakutskij slovar'*. Edited by Afanas'ev, P. S. & Xaritonov, L. N. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1968.
- S = Siberian Turkic languages.
- Sevortjan 1-2 = Sevortjan, Ė. V. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov* 1-2. Moskva. 1974-1978.
- Sal = Salar, see Tenišev.
- T = Turki languages.
- Tat = Tatar of Kazan, see TRSl.
- Tenišev = Tenišev, Ė. R. 1976. *Stroj salarskogo jazyka.* Moskva: Nauka. 1976.
- TESz = *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* 1-4. Edited by Benkő, L. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1967-1984.
- Tkm = Turkmen, see TkmRSl.
- TkmRSl = *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Baskakov, N. A. et al. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1968.
- TRSl = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Golovkina, O.V. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1966.
- Tt = Turkish, see TuRSl.
- TuRSl = *Turecko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Mustafaev, Ė. M.-Ė. et al. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk. 1977.
- Tuv = Tuvan, see TuvRSl.
- TuvRSl = *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Pal'mbax, A. A. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej. 1955.
- UygRSl = *Ujgursko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Raximov, T. R. Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija. 1968.
- Uzb = Uzbek, see UzbRSl.
- UzbRSl = *Uzbeksko-russkij slovar'*. Edited by Borovkov, L. K. et al. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej. 1959.
- Y = Yakut, see Pekarskij; RusskJakSl.
- YUygMalov = Malov, S. E., *Jazyk želtyx ujugurov.* Alma-Ata: Nauka. 1957.