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Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2013

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Integration of Turkic loan words with final plosives (-k/-g) into the Russian grammatical paradigm

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Vásáry, István 2013. Integration of Turkic loan words with final plosives (-k/-g) into the Russian grammatical paradigm. *Turkic Languages* 17, 197–215.

The present paper deals with a special aspect of the Turkic borrowings by the Russian language, namely how these foreign lexical elements became adopted and integrated into the Russian grammatical system. As a case study the Turkic words ending in the plosives -k and/or -g will be subjected to scrutiny.

51 Russian words are treated, which had once been copied from a Turkic form in -k and/or -g and are now represented with different endings. This phenomenon needs to be examined and satisfactorily elucidated. First, the question emerges whether the -g endings in Russian are reflections of a donor Turkic -g, or Russian alterations of an original -k. Secondly, the presence of a Russian -ga ending in 29 examples must also be interpreted: whether they are the outcome of a Russian or Turkic development, or both. Special attention is paid to a few Russian words like *žemčug*, *terpug*, *čelig*, *kamčug*, in which the -g is missing in the donor Turkic language. The explanation is given based on Russian.

One of the basic ideas the paper wants to convey is that the borrowing of a large number of Turkic loanwords ending in -ga corroborated the native development -g > -ga and essentially contributed to the spread of this formative which originally was less loaded in Old Russian.

At the end of the paper, in Table I a short list of the 51 Russian words is given that had once been copied from a Turkic form in -k and/or -g and are now represented with different endings, namely: 29 morphemes in -ga, and 22 morphemes in -g. In Table II a vocabulary of the Russian words of Turkic origin ending in -g, -ga is presented which contains the basic data concerning each word and facilitates further orientation.

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The study of language contacts has always played an outstanding role in the history of linguistic research ever since the historical-comparative method of the neo-grammatical school laid the solid foundations of historical linguistics. Beginning with the classical German schools of loanword research (“Lehnwortforschungen”) and ending with Lars Johanson’s ground-breaking studies of interpreting the loan processes as acts of copying, a great deal of work has been accomplished also in the field of Turkology. One of the favourite brain children of Hungarian Turcological research were the “Old Turkic (i.e pre-thirteenth-century) loanwords of the Hungarian lan-

guage”, all the more so since Hungarian has preserved an extremely valuable layer of *r*-Turkic borrowings (long called “Bulgarian-Turkic” in the terminology of the age) that often represent the sole evidence of the existence of *r*-Turkic forms (e.g. Hungarian *tenger* ‘sea’ solitarily testifies to the existence of the *r*-Turkic form as opposed to Common Turkic *tengiz* ‘id.’).

Lajos Ligeti (1902–1987), master of all Hungarian Altaists, put down his basic monograph on the Old Turkic elements of Hungarian in 1986, but owing to his age he could not compile an exhaustive dictionary of these elements which could have replaced Gombocz’s *BTLw* (1912). We had to wait another twenty-five years to have access to the most recent compilation of a comprehensive dictionary and research on the question. András Róna-Tas, himself a pupil of Lajos Ligeti, in collaboration with our untimely deceased colleague, Árpád Berta, succeeded in bringing this monumental work to conclusion. His work is a feast of Turkic linguistic research and will surely serve Turcological investigations for a long time to come. He not only provided a detailed entry-to-entry dictionary of the Old Turkic elements of the Hungarian language but also succeeded in introducing a new term, that of “Western Old Turkic” (WOT), which would facilitate a better understanding of the Western languages and dialects of Turkic in contrast with Eastern Old Turkic (EOT).

In what follows I will attempt to deal with one aspect of the Turkic elements in the Russian language. The Russian language community, similar to that of the Hungarians, has also for long centuries lived in close contact with various Turkic-speaking groups. Moreover, these contacts, once the Eastern Slavic tribes came into contact with Turkic groups in the 9th–10th centuries, have never ceased but rather continued to our day. It goes without saying that linguistic contacts extending to a timespan of 1200 years cannot be interpreted as a unified process; both the donor languages and the recipient language have their own historical developmental traits. Consequently at least four or five distinctive periods must be separated in the long history of Turkic–Russian linguistic contacts, even if the few, possibly early Turkic borrowings of the Eastern Slavic dialects are put aside.

The first layer of early Turkic elements can be attested in the Old Church Slavonic borrowings of Russian (10th–11th centuries). As is commonly known, Old Church Slavonic, the first literary Slavic language, created by the 9th-century Byzantine missionaries, Saint Cyril and Methodius, was developed from the Slavic dialect of Thessalonike. This literary idiom, based on Southern Slavic dialects and rightly also called ‘Old Macedonian’ or ‘Old Bulgarian’ by many Slavists, utilised all the lexical elements to be found in these Southern Slavic dialects, among others the Turkic borrowings as well. The latter had been taken over into Old Bulgarian from the Proto-Bulgarian language of the Turkic conquerors of Asparukh who, in AD 679–680, invaded the territory south of the Danube that later became known as Bulgaria. The Turkic language of the Proto-Bulgars survived approximately for two hundred years after Asparukh’s conquest, before it began to fall out of use, and finally gave way to the Slavic language of the subjugated populace. Before its disappearance a few dozen words were copied from Proto-Bulgarian into Old Bulgarian.

As far as I can judge, Bulgarian scholarship was not too generous with this Proto-Bulgarian layer of the Bulgarian vocabulary, and until now no monograph devoted to this issue has come to light, despite the existence of numerous studies in the details.¹ Through the channel of Old Church Slavonic texts several words of Proto-Bulgarian origin found their way into the languages of the Orthodox Slavic peoples, and some of them can be found also in the present-day vocabularies of the Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian and Ukrainian languages.

Chronologically, the second group of Turkic borrowings in the Russian language can be ascribed to the effect of Volga Bulgarian and Russian contacts. This period covers the period extending from the late 10th century to the 14th century, and from the 16th century onward it gives its way to the Chuvash impact. Linguistically, the borrowings of the Volga Bulgarian period can be regarded as Middle Chuvash elements.

Simultaneously with the Volga Bulgarian contacts, the Common Turkic languages of the Kipchak and Oghuz types have also left their traces in the Russian language through the mediation of the southern steppes. The Cuman–Kipchak period can be ascribed to the 10th–13th centuries, seamlessly going over to the Kipchak–Tatar period of the 13th–16th centuries. This was the period of the Tatar domination in Russia and Eastern Europe. It is rather laborious, sometimes even impossible, to separate the loan element of these two periods since the Kipchak linguistic traits are preponderant in both groups.

Finally, following the liquidation of the khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan (1552, 1556) and the rapid colonisation of Siberia, and then the Eurasian southern steppes and the Caucasus, Russian settlers have often come into direct contact with speakers of different Turkic languages. The result of these language contacts in the 16th–19th centuries was the incorporation of a great deal of Turkic loanwords into the local Russian dialects. The southern and eastern Russian dialects comprise abundant material for the study of Turkic elements.

A complete monograph on the whole corpus of Turkic elements in the Russian language is still lacking, unless we take into account E. N. Šipova's concise monograph (E. N. Шипова, *Словарь тюркизмов в русском языке*. Алма-Ата, 1976), which is a useful handbook but far from an exhaustive, critical study of the question.

1 For a good overview of the research into the Proto-Bulgarian elements of Bulgarian, see Simeonov 1979. On the whole, the number of borrowings and the scope of the Proto-Bulgarian impact on Bulgarian has generally been underestimated in Bulgarian scholarship; e.g. St. Mladenov (Mladenov 1921) speaks of 15 borrowings, and K. Mirčev (Mirčev 1978: 83–84) of 17 words of Proto-Bulgarian origin. Vl. Georgiev (Georgiev 1958) was the first to put the whole problem into its proper context, and during the past decades a lot of invaluable studies have been published in the *Bŭlgarski ezik* and other periodicals. Nevertheless, the topic of the "Proto-Bulgarian elements in the Bulgarian language" still awaits its monographic elaboration.

Although F. E. Korš, N. Dmitriev, K. H. Menges, Max Fasmer, O. N. Trubačev, I. G. Dobrodomov, Nicholas Poppe, Jr. and others have contributed to the elucidation of several questions concerning this vast topic, the lack of and need for a comprehensive monograph, such as those by Z. Gombocz (*BTLw*), L. Ligeti (*TörK*), and A. Róna-Tas and Á. Berta (*WOT*), in the case of Turkic loan elements of Hungarian, is still to be felt.²

In the following I would like to deal with a special aspect of the Turkic borrowings in the Russian language, namely how these foreign lexical elements became adopted and incorporated into the Russian grammatical system. As a case study I take the Turkic words ending in the voiceless and/or voiced plosives *-k* and *-g*.

In Old Turkic, in both of its variants (EOT and WOT) voiceless *-k* and voiced *-g* can equally be attested in the final position. These plosives are present at the end of word stems and suffixes as well. If we have a look at present-day Russian, both *-k* and *-g* may occur at the end of words in abundant number, but because of the devoicing of final plosives, they are equally pronounced as *-k*; consequently in modern Russian the phonemic contrast between *-k* and *-g* is blurred in word-final position.

In Old Russian, as long as the law of open syllables was in effect, each morpheme had to end in either a full or a reduced vowel (ъ = ŭ or ь = ĭ). Consequently, if a foreign element ending in a consonant was copied into Old Russian, it had to be supplied with a full or reduced vowel in order to fit into one of the Russian paradigmatic types. Unpalatalised plosives were provided with *yer* (ъ = ŭ) which later, by the mid-thirteenth century, disappeared in weak positions (consequently as a word final) (cf. Bernštejn 249), although the usage of terminal *yers* (later called *твердый знак* 'hard sign') was maintained in Russian orthography up until 1918. Thus, the devoicing of the final voiced plosive *-g* may have begun in the second half of the thirteenth century (it is attested as early as in 1282, see Borkovskij & Kuznecov 116–117, § 78).

If one attempts to cull the Russian words of Turkic origin ending in *-k* from Šipova's above-mentioned work, the number of words will be exceedingly large. Just for indication's sake I present a few numbers: there are 11 words under the letter B, 8 words under the letter K, 15 words under the letter S, and 21 words under the letter T. All sorts of Turkic stems and a few formants are equally well represented among the examples (*-ак, -ек, -ик, -ок, -ук, -ык, -юк, -як; and -чак / -чук, -лык / -лик / -лук, etc.*). Obviously enough, all these forms were taken over and fitted into the Russian paradigm of the 1st declination (male nouns with the stem *-ō*). Since these copies present no puzzle, we may go on with our investigation and have a glance at Table I below containing a shortlist of the fifty-one Russian words that had once been copied from a Turkic form in *-k* and/or *-g*, and are now represented with

2 For an excellent bibliography of the Russian literature on the oriental elements of the East Slavic languages, compiled by I. G. Dobrodomov and G. Ja. Romanova, see Menges 1979: 211–238.

different endings, namely: 22 morphemes in *-g* (4 out of them in *-g* / *-k*); 29 morphemes in *-ga* (4 out of them in *-ga* / *-g*). This phenomenon needs to be scrutinised and satisfactorily elucidated. First, the question emerges whether the *-g* endings in Russian are reflections of a donor Turkic *-g*, or Russian alterations of an original *-k*. Secondly, the presence of a Russian *-ga* ending in 29 (!) examples must also be interpreted to ascertain whether they are the outcome of a Russian development, and if so, to discover the particular reasons evoking this process.

Before proceeding to our investigation proper, let us have a glance at the section of the system of Old Russian word formation that may be of interest to our scrutiny. We will refer to a few examples of Ž. Ž. Varbot's standard work on Old Russian nominal word formation.

*-кѣ : *възорокѣ* 'видение' (< *зърѣти*), *порокѣ* 'стенбитное орудие' (< *перети* 'жать, напирать') (Varbot 77)

*-ѣкъ : *поминѣкъ*, *проступѣкъ* 'преступление', *списѣкъ* (Varbot 80)

*-ѣкъ : *переложѣки* – *перелогѣ* 'пашня под паром' (Varbot 81)

*-ка (?) : *рѣка* (< *ринутѣ*, *-рѣвати* 'стремиться') (Varbot 78)

*-ѣка : *наливѣка* 'ковш', *отѣѣздѣка* 'выезд, поездка', *опалѣка* 'гнев' (Varbot 80)

*-ѣка : *почѣка* 'орган тела' (< *печи*), *умычѣка* 'увоз девицы для брака' (< *умыкати*) (Varbot 81)

*-икѣ : *ужикѣ* 'родственник' (< *узѣти*) (Varbot 86)

*-ика : *ужика* 'родственник' (Varbot 86)

*-гѣ (?) : *стогѣ* 'куча, кладь сена или хлеба в стогах' (< *стояти*) (Varbot 78)

*-ига : *верѣга* 'цепь' (< *-верѣти*, *-въру*) (Varbot 86)

At this juncture it will suffice to note that the final morphemes *-гѣ and *-ига are extremely rare in OR.

Now, let us try to put the Russian words of Turkic origin ending in *-g* in chronological order. First, we must separate the oldest distinct layer of OCS borrowings in the Russian texts. Altogether there are *six* words of this type, all ending in *-g*: *bělĕgъ*, *belĕgъ*, *bilĕgъ* 'sign, mark, token' (Srezn. 1: 220), *belĕčjugъ*, *bělĕčugъ* 'ring, hoop, bracelet' (Srezn. 1: 68), *bubrĕgъ*, *bubrekъ* 'kidney' (Srezn. 1: 188), *čъrtogъ*, *čertogъ* 1. 'richly decorated hall, palace', 2. 'castle, country-house' (Srezn. 3: 1569–1570), *kovĕčegъ*, *kovĕčegъ*, *kovĕgъ* 1. 'chest, box, trunk, coffer, case', 2. 'coffin', 3. 'Noah's ark', 4. 'reliquary', 5. 'arc of the covenant', 6. 'shrine' (Srezn. 1: 1243–1244), *vragъ* (*ovrazъ*) 'abyss, ravine, gorge' (Srezn. 1: 310).

These OCS words all go back to PB forms such as *belek*, *belčük*, *bübrek*, *čartak*, *kovčak*, and *varak*. Since the OCS forms display a reduced vowel at the word's end (ъ = ŭ), the preceding consonant must refer to the original quality of the sound in the Turkic word. From the Slavic point of view it is quite the same whether a *-k*- or *-g*- is augmented with the reduced vowel; consequently the terminal *-gъ* of the OCS forms must reflect the existence of an original *-g* in the PB forms. This is in complete harmony with the results of Róna-Tas's and Agyagási's recent research. They

claim that the secondary development of the /-k/ phonemes into a voiced /-g/, then further into a fricative variant /-ɣ/ (*WOT* 1076–1077; Agyagási 2009, 89, n. 26) is an areal phenomenon in WOT which can be dated back to a rather early date both in the *r*-Turkic and the Kipchak languages of the South Russian steppe region. Thus, Proto-Bulgarian forms like **beleg*, **belčüg*, **bübreg*, **čartag*, **kovčag* and **varag* must be posited as the donor forms while the change from palatal to velar vowel in the syllables *čar-* and *-čag* (**čartag* → **čertag* and **kovčag* → **kovčeg*) can be ascribed to the palatalising effect of *č*. And this change took place on Slavic soil. Three of these *six* Bulgarian words found their way also into Hungarian, not from Proto-Bulgarian but evidently from other WOT dialects (in this case *r*-Turkic) of the South Russian steppe. Hungarian *bilincs* ‘shackles’ and *koporsó* ‘coffin’ go back to different WOT forms than the OCS words, but *bélyeg* ‘sign, mark, stamp’ can be a copy of the same WOT **beleg* which was copied into OCS as *bělěgъ*. (For these words see *WOT* 128–130, 562–566, 112–115.)

Only a few Turkic loanwords can be determined with certainty as belonging to the Volga Bulgarian and the Cuman-Kipchak period. But what seems to be conspicuous is that instead of the final *-g* typical in the OCS words borrowed into Old Russian, the typical ending of Old Russian words in this period is *-ga*: *braga* ‘home-made beer’, *lačuga* ‘cottage, hovel’, *tojaga* ‘stick, bar, rod’, and *vataga* ‘band, group of people’, although alternative forms like *tojag* and *vatag* reveal that the new form in *-ga* had not yet totally triumphed. One must raise the question: why did these new endings in *-ga* appear and gradually suppress the forms in *-g* that were prevalent in the OCS layer of Bulgarian borrowings? I think that the explanation may rest in the fact that the donor languages were at different stages of their phonetic developments. Namely, in PB most final *-k* phonemes became voiced but did not lose their plosive character. These *-g* finals were then supplied with *yer* to fit them into the Slavic declinational paradigm. Once having been incorporated into the OR vocabulary, these OCS words followed the Russian development and later the final *yers*, being in weak position, were dropped. On the other hand, in VB this process went further, and in most words the final *-k* sounds not only became voiced (*-k* > *-g*) but over time also became fricatives (*-ɣ*). In connection with the word *braga* ‘home-made beer’, K. Agyagási followed the data step by step, and succeeded in proving convincingly how *būra*, the Volga Bulgarian equivalent of Common Turkic *boza* ‘fermented drink’ was augmented with + *q* (> + *ɣ*), and then borrowed into Russian as *braga*: VB *būra* + *q* > *būraq* >> **būraɣ* → OR **b̥rag-a* > MR *braga*. The appearance of *-a*, the nominative ending of feminine nouns, can be attributed to morphological reasons, namely a word of the donor language with a *-ɣ* ending could not be fitted into any of the Russian declinational paradigms. The Volga Bulgarian word could not be placed in the productive group of masculine nouns having an *-ō* stem (1st declination) where the inflection was a velar reduced vowel. The pronunciation of a velar reduced vowel added to a guttural fricative is hardly audible; consequently the morphological information it has to bear practically disappears. So the augmentation of

words in $-\gamma$ with a full vowel was a must, and this vowel in the second declension was $-a$ (Agyagási 2009, 89, n. 27).

What has been said of *braga*, can fully be applied for the words *lačuga* ‘cottage, hovel’, *tojaga* ‘stick, bar, rod’ and *vataga* ‘company’. Thus:

VB *(a)lačuk* >> **(a)lačur* → OR *alačjuga, olačuga, lačuga, lačjuga* (Srezn. 1: 15; 2: 12) > MR *lačuga*;

VB *tayak* >> **tayay* → OR *tojag, tojaga* (Srezn. 3: 984) > MR Ø;

VB *vatak* >> **vatay* → OR *vatag, vataga* (Srezn. 1: 231) > MR *vataga*.

The explanation of the final form of the word *žemčug* ‘pearl’, which is one of the oldest attested Volga Bulgarian borrowings in Old Russian and has been in wide use in Russian up to the present, poses particular difficulties. As is well known, the Turkic word *jinčü*, which ultimately goes back to Chinese *yanju*, has spread throughout Eurasia, and Hungarian *gyöngy* ‘id.’ is also the copy of the WOT form **jinjü*. The possible VB etymon of the OR word must have been **jinčü* / **jenčü*. Unlike with *braga*, the final $-g$ in *žemčug* cannot be explained based on Turkic: although the history and spread of the Turkic word is extremely richly documented, no form in $-g$ is attested. Consequently, one must find an explanation in the context of Russian. In Old Russian no word stems existed ending in a full vowel $-u$. Final $-u$ existed only as an independent suffix (e.g. as a marker of the accusative of feminine nouns, or of the dative, sometimes also the locative, of masculine nouns) and as a final element in the dative of the masculine adjectival suffix ($-omu$). Hence, no foreign word stem in $-u$ or $-ju$ could be incorporated into the Russian declinational paradigm in this form, and the simplest solution seemed to be augmenting the word with an unorganic consonant + ъ (ü), thereby making the borrowed morpheme a member of the productive group of masculine nouns having an $-o$ stem (1st declination). Why did the choice fall just on g and not any other consonant as an unorganic augmentation of the word? I think analogy played the dominant role in the choice of the consonant. OR morphemes ending in $-ug$ are not infrequent, and words like OR *belčug* may have served as an analogy for the creation of a form like *ženčug* / *žemčug*. Also later, several Turkic borrowings are known in Russian that end in $-čug$: *balčug* ‘clay, mud, bog’, *burčug* ‘peas’, *katčug* ‘gout’, *učug* ‘a part of the river separated by paling for fishing’, *syčug* ‘part of an animal’s stomach’. In these cases $-čug$ behaves as a quasi-suffix.

Finally, let us survey the development of Turkic $-k/-g$ in Russian.

1. TU $-k / -g$ > RU $-ga$ ($9 + 4 = 13$): *брага, качага, коврига, курага, лачуга, севрюга, чилига, юрага, ярыга; баклага, ватага, тояга, яруга*.

2. TU $-ga$ > RU $-ga$ (15): *безьга, даруга, деньга, ирга, кабарга, капторга, каптурга, карга, кирега, сарга, серьга, таволга, тамга, чомга, ябага*.

3. TU $-k / -g$ > RU $-g$ ($18 + 4 = 22$): *ашуг, балчуг, белег, бельчуг, битюг (битюк), бубрег, бурчуг, ичиг, ковчег, оврег, очаг, печенег, сычуг, сулог (сулок), утюг, учуг, харалуг, чертог; баклаг, ватаг, тояг, яруг*.

4. TU $-V > RU, -Vk, -Vg, -Vga$, (5): *жемчуг, 1 камчуг (камчук), 2 камчуга (камчуг), терпуг, челиг (челик)*.

In sum, we may say that the borrowing of a large number of Turkic loanwords ending in $-ga$ corroborated the native development $-g > -ga$, and essentially contributed to the spread of this formative which originally was less loaded in Old Russian.

TABLE I. A list of Russian words of Turkic origin ending in $-g, -ga$

51 words, $-g = 22$ ($-g / -k = 4$), $-ga = 29$ ($-ga / -g = 5$)

ашуг	камчуг / камчук	сулуг / сулук
баклага / боклаг	камчуга / камчуг	сычуг
балчуг	капторга	таволга
безга	каптурга	тамга
белег	карга	терпуг
бельчуг	качага	тояга / тояг
битюг / битюк	кирега	утюг
брага	коврига	учуг
бубрег	ковчег	харалуг
бурчуг	курага	челиг / челик
ватага / ватаг	лачуга	чертуг
даруга	овраг	чилига
деньга	очаг	чомга
жемчуг	печенег	юрага
ирга	сарга	ябага
ичиг	севрюга	яруга / яруг
кабарга	серьга	ярыга

TABLE II. Vocabulary of Russian words of Turkic origin ending in $-g, -ga$

ашуг ‘народный певец у кавказских и соседних с ними народов; поёт под аккомпанемент саза, тара или кеманчи; в его репертуар входят и эпические сказания, народные песни / folk bard among the Caucasian and neighbouring peoples’.

< TU *aşug* (< *aşiq*) ‘bard’; common in most TU languages as a borrowing of Arabic ‘*aşiq* ‘lover’, cf. e.g. NOG *aşug* ‘id.’ (NRS 55).

Srezn. Ø; SRJa Ø; Dal’ 1: 31; SRNG Ø; Fasmer 1: 98; Šipova 42; Anikin 1: 355 (in his opinion the Russian word directly goes back to Armenian); Orel Ø.

баклага / баклаг, боклаг ‘небольшой деревянный или керамический плоский сосуд с узким коротким горлом / flask, a small wooden or ceramic dish’.

According to Vasmer (1: 110) from TAT *baklak* ‘сосуд для воды’.

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 1: 40; *SRNG* 2: 59–60; Fasmer 1: 110; Šipova 51; Anikin 2: 101–102; Orel 1: 71.

балчуг DIAL (Southern) 'влажная земля, глина, жидкая грязь, болото / clay, mud, swamp'.

< Tu *balčug* (< *balčik*) 'mud' (*ED* 333).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' Ø; *SRNG* 2: 88; Fasmer Ø; Šipova 58 (*балчуг* II); Anikin 2: 155 (s. v. *Балчуг* 'name of a street in Moscow'); Orel Ø.

безга DIAL (Astrakhan) 'лихорадка / fever'.

< Tu *bäzgak* 'ague, malaria, fever (accompanied by shivering)' (*ED* 391). The Tu suffix *-gak* was substituted by *-ga* in Russian.

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' Ø; *SRNG* 2: 184; Fasmer Ø; Šipova 74; Anikin 3: 42; Orel Ø.

белег 1. 'знак, пятно, белый струп / sign, mark, token'. — FO: 14th c.

< CS (from the 14th c.) *bělěgъ*, *belěgъ*, *bilěgъ* < WOT (PB?) **bäläg* 'sign' (< Tu **bäläk*). HUNG *bélyeg* 'stamp, bond, mark' is also a borrowing of the WOT word (see *WOT* 113–115).

Srezn. 1: 220; *SRJa* 1: 131; Dal' 1: 96; *SRNG* 2: 208; Fasmer 1: 147; Šipova 76; Anikin 3: 464–465; Orel Ø.

бел(ь)чуг ARCH 'запястье, кольцо / ring, hoop, bracelet'. — FO: 12th c.

< CS (from the 12th c.) *bel'čjugъ*, *běl'čjugъ* < WOT (PB?) **belčüg* 'bracelet' (< Tu **bil(ä)čük*). HUNG *bilincs* 'shackles' is a separate borrowing of WOT **bilicäk* (see *WOT* 128–130). The Turkic words are evidently different derivatives of *bilek* 'wrist' (see *ED* 338–339 & 345 s.v. *bile:zük*).

Srezn. 1: 68; *SRJa* 1: 140; Dal' 1: 81; Fasmer 1: 150; *SRNG* 2: 59, 3: 68; Šipova 77; Anikin Ø; Orel Ø.

битюг / битюк 1. 'ломовая лошадь / workhorse, draft horse', 2. 'силач, здоровяк / strong and healthy person'.

There are three etymological suggestions, none of them convincing: It is derived from 1. the name of *Bitjug*, a river in the Voronež Province (Dal'); 2. ЧУВ *bitü* 'camel' (Korš); 3. Tu *bitük* 'healthy, strong' (Menges). All three explanations present semantic difficulties; they are no more than conjectures.

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 1: 90; Fasmer 1: 169; Šipova 82; Anikin 3: 215–216; Orel 1: 105.

брага 'слабоалкогольный напиток из цолода; домашнее пиво / home-made beer'. — FO: 15th century.

< VB **büray* (< Tu **boza + q*). ЧУВ Ø.

Srezn. 1: 163; *SRJa* 1: 311–312; Dal' 1: 122; *SRNG* 3: 146; Fasmer 1: 205; Šipova 88; Agyagási 2002; Agyagási 2009; Anikin 4: 140–141; Orel 1: 128 (gives preference to the Celtic etymology).

бубрег 'почка у животного / kidney of animals'. — FO: 1296.

< CS (from the 15th c.) *bubrěgъ*, *bubreкъ* < WOT (PB?) **bübräg* 'id.' (< Tu **bögräk*, see *ED* 328). Cf. ЧУВ *püre*.

Srezn. 1: 188; *SRJa* 1: 343; Dal' 1: 135; Fasmer 1: 226; Šipova 88–89; Anikin 4: 140–141; Orel Ø.

бурчуг DIAL (Kherones) 'горох плоской формы / pea'.

A Russian variant of DIAL *бурчак* ‘pea’ formed by the analogy to *belčug*, *žemčug*, *balčug*, *kamčug*, *učug* and *syčug*. Hungarian *borsó* ‘id.’ is also an old borrowing from Turkic *burčak* (cf. *WOT* 154–157).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal’ 1: 144; Fasmer 1: 249; Šipova 101; Anikin 5: 195 (gives preference to *ĖSTja* 2: 277 where RU *burčug* is erroneously explained from an alleged TU *bürjük*, diminutive form from a non-existent TU *bur* ‘kidney’. The correct TU form for ‘kidney’ is *bögür*, *bögrek* [see *ED* 328], which has never had a contracted form like **bör* ~ *bür*); Orel Ø.

ватага ‘большая шумная компания, группа людей / a group of people, company’. — FO: 1191–1192.

< *WOT* (VB) **vatay* (CHUV Ø) < TU *otay* ‘house, tent, dwelling’ (*ED* 46). The connection of the Russian word with the Turkic ones is semantically unclear.

Srezn. 1: 231; *SRJa* 2: 24; Dal’ 1: 167; Fasmer 1: 278; Šipova 108; Anikin 6: 113–114; Orel 1: 163.

даруга (дарага, дорага, дорога) ‘тагарский чиновник / Tatar governor of the Golden Horde’. — FO: 1267.

< TAT *daruğa* (of Mongolian origin).

Srezn. 1: 630; *SRJa* 4: 323; Dal’ Ø; Fasmer 1: 484–485; Šipova 118; Orel Ø.

деньга (PL деньги) 1. ‘старинная медная монета в полкопейки / old copper coin in the value of half kopek’, 2. ‘деньги/ money’. — FO: 1361–1382.

< Tatar *tänkä* / *tängä* ‘money, silver coin’. The ending *-ga* was formed in Russian to make the word fit into the Russian system of declension.

Srezn. 1: 652–653; *SRJa* 4: 217–219; Dal’ 1: 428–429; *SRNG* 7: 354; Fasmer 1: 499; Šipova 119; Anikin, *Sib* 187; Orel 1: 291.

жемчуг ‘pearl’. — FO: 1161 (*жънчугъ*).

< *WOT* (VB) **jinjü* (< EOT *jinčü*) is a borrowing of Chinese *yanju* ‘id.’. The word spread throughout Eurasia, and the source of HUNG *gyöngy* ‘id.’ is the same Turkic form **jinjü* as that of the OR word. The possible VB etymon of the OR word must have been **jinčü* / **jenčü*. Unlike with *braga*, the final *-g* in *žemčug* cannot be explained based on Turkic: although the history and spread of the Turkic word is extremely richly documented, no form in *-g* is attested. For a plausible explanation of *-ug* in *žemčug* see above in the main text. The original EOT form *jinčü* later developed into *inčü* / *inči*, *inji* in the Oghuz languages and Chuvash (*ěncě*).

Srezn. 1: 855; *SRJa* 5: 86–87; Dal’ 1: 532; Ligeti 1946; Fasmer 2: 46; Šipova 136–137; Orel 1: 349 [absolutely erroneously: “From early Hung. **gyöngyök*, pl. of *gyöngy* ‘pearl’ borrowed from Ochuv **jinjü* id., cf. Oturk *jänčü* id. (MIKLOSICH *EW* 409)”; RU *-g* has nothing to do with the HUNG PL. suffix *-k*. Besides, the reference to Miklosich is misleading since he states only that the SLAVIC words and HUNG *gyöngy* are related to TU.]

ирга DIAL ‘*Amelanchier*, juneberry, a species of bushes and trees of the rose family with white flowers’.

< TU *irgay* ‘a kind of bush’ < MO *iryai* (cf. MO *iryai* ‘a plant (*Cotoneaster melanocarpa*)’ (*MED* 414), Khalkha *yargai* ‘кизил [dogwood]’ (*MRS* 695), KALM 1. ‘pflanzennamen: anemone (?)’, 2. ‘irgendein strauch mit sehr hartem holz’ (*KWb* 216). See also KIR *irgay* ‘ирга (кустарник с очень крепкой древесиной) [a bush having a stiff stalk]’ (*KiRS* 936).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 2: 47; Fasmer 2: 137; Šipova 136–137; Anikin 1977: 232 (according to him the RU word is a direct borrowing from Buriat); Orel Ø.

ичиг (PL **ичиги**) DIAL 'род легкой обуви без каблуков на мягкой подошве / a kind of light boots'; OR *ичетыги, чедыги* 'сафьянные мягкие сапоги / light Morocco boots'. — FO: mid-17th century.

< TU *ič* 'inner' + *etik* 'boots'. *Etik / etiik* 'boot' is common in all TU languages (see *ED* 50), cf. e.g. BASH *itek* 'сапог [boot]' (*BRS* 223).

Srezn. 1: 1168; 3: 1486 (s.v. *ичетыги, чедыги*); *SRJa* 6: 358; Dal' 2: 67; Fasmer 2: 145; Šipova 143–144; Anikin 1977: 236; Orel 1: 406.

кабарга DIAL (Vogonež) 'тощая, плохая скотина, одёр; козёл, кобылка, грудная кость в птичьём остове / thin and bad cattle, a skinny and bony horse; goat, filly, breastbone of a bird'. — FO: 1681.

< TU *kabirga* 'rib', survives in numerous Oghuz, Kipchak and Siberian TU languages (*ĖSTja* 4: 275–276).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* 7: 8 (s.v. *кабаргиний*); Dal' 2: 70; Fasmer 2: 149; Šipova 147; Anikin, *Sib* 239 (RU *кабарга* < *табарга*, which is further derived from TEL, SAG, SHOR *taburqa* 'musk-deer': 538–539); Orel Ø.

1 камчуг / камчук 'казачья плеть / a Cossack whip'.

< TU *kamčū, kamču* 'whip', survives in numerous Oghuz and Kipchak languages (*ED* 626; *ĖSTja* 5: 247). The word was augmented with -g in Russian. It is a distinct word from **2 камчуг**. OR *kamčug* 'tumor ventri' in the *Domostroj* cited by Fasmer in his entry, belongs to **2 камчуг**.

Srezn. 1: 1187; Dal' 2: 83; Fasmer 2: 176; Šipova 157; Anikin 1977: 262, s. v.; Orel Ø.

2 камчуг / камчуга ARCH 'народное название подагры (иногда так называли и другие болезни) / gout'; DIAL (Saratov, Astrakhan) 'красная сыпь, род проказы / rash, pimple, a kind of leprosy', (Nižnij Novgorod) 'карбункул, веред / carbuncle, abscess'. OR *камчугъ* 'ломота [twitch, stitch]' (Srezn. 1: 1187). — FO: 1490.

< TU *kamčūgu, kamčū*, etc. 'pimple, gangrene', survives in numerous Oghuz, Kipchak and Siberian TU languages (*ED* 626; *ĖSTja* 5: 246–247).

Srezn. 1: 1187; *SRJa* 7: 50; Dal' 2: 83; Fasmer Ø; Šipova 157; Anikin 1977: 26; Orel Ø.

капторга 'пряжка, застёжка (на поясе) / clasp, buckle (on the belt)'. OR 'металлическое украшение пояса / metal ornament of the belt' (Srezn. 1: 1194). — FO: 1327–1328.

< TU *kapturğa* '*clasp, buckle', homonymous with the following entry, but in this meaning it is attested only in TAT *kaptırma* 'металлические застёжки, крючки (на одежде) [metallic clasps (on the garment)]' (*TRS* 226), another derivative of *kaptur-/kaptır-* 'to hook up, to button up'.

Srezn. 1: 1194; *SRJa* 7: 67; Dal' 2: 88; Fasmer 2: 187 ("unclear"); Šipova 161–162; Orel Ø.

каптурга DIAL (Siberia) 'мешок для дробин и ружейных пуль / a pouch for pellet and bullet'. — FO: 17th century.

< TU *kapturğa* 'pouch', survives in numerous Siberian TU languages and TAT (*kaptırma* 'крючки и петли, застёжки [hooks and snares, buckles]' (*TRS* 226). Maybe a borrowing from MO (*ĖSTja* 271–272).

- Srezn. 1: 1194; *SRJa* 7: 67 (*кантуга*); Dal' 2: 86; Fasmer 2: 188; Šipova 162; Anikin 1977: 269 (erroneously explained as deriving from Buriat); Orel Ø.
- карга** DIAL 'ворона / crow', (Orenburg) *каржата* 'воронята / crows', 'злая старуха / bad old woman'.
 < Tu *karga* 'crow', survives in numerous old and modern Tu languages (*ED* 653; *ĖSTja* 5: 303–304).
 Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 2: 91; Fasmer 2: 196; Šipova 169; Anikin 1977: 277; Orel Ø.
- качага** DIAL (Caucasus) 1. 'шайка хищников / band of gangsters', 2. 'самый набег, наезд / incursion, ambush'.
 < Tu *kačig*, *kačag* 'escapee, runaway, deserter; flight, rout', survives in numerous old and modern Tu languages (*ED* 590–591; *ĖSTja* 5: 340–342), a nominal derivative of *kač-* 'to flee, to escape'.
 Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 2: 99; Fasmer 2: 213; Šipova 174; Orel Ø.
- кирега (киряга)** DIAL (Orenburg) 'решетки или стенки кочевой кибитки / frame wall of a nomad's yurt'.
 < Tu *kärägä*, *kärägü* 'wooden frame of a felt tent' (in EOT *käräkü*), survives as *kärägä* in numerous modern Tu languages (KIR, KZK, KКAL, ALT, TEL) (*ED* 744; *ĖSTja* 3: 24–25).
 Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 2: 109; Fasmer 2: 237; Šipova 182; Orel Ø.
- коврига** 'цельный хлеб, каравай / loaf of bread formed into a round shape'. — FO: 1230.
 < Tu *kävräk*, *kövräk* 'fragile, crumbly' (*ĖSTja* 3: 7–9) used also for 'a sort of bakery'.
 Because of the scanty data and the semantic difficulties this derivation is dubious (Fasmer 2: 272).
 Srezn. 1: 1242; *SRJa* 7: 214; Dal' 2: 128; Fasmer 2: 272; Šipova 189; Orel 2: 95.
- ковчег** 1. 'ларец, в котором хранятся десять Слов, начертанных перстом Божиим на камне / arc of the covenant (*Deut. 10: 1-5*)', 2. 'Ноев ковчег / Noah's ark' (*Gen. 6:14-22*)', 3. 'ларец, в христианских церквах для хранения Святых Даров / shrine'. — FO: 1056–1057.
 < OCS *ковъчегъ* (cf. *SJS* 2: 35) < PB **qovčag* 'box, coffin' (from **qovčak*), PB form of the Turkic word *qaburčaq* 'id.', which in turn was the source of Hung. *koporsó* 'coffin'. The latter was borrowed from another WOT form different from the PB one.
 Srezn. 1: 1243–1244; *SRJa* 7: 215; Dal' 2: 128; Fasmer 2: 272–273; Šipova 157; Vásáry 2007; Orel 2: 95.
- курага (курега)** 1. 'сушеные абрикосы без косточек / dried apricot without stone', 2. 'абрикосовое дерево / apricot tree'.
 < Tu *kurug*, *kurig* 'dry, dried, attested in practically all ancient and modern Tu languages (*ED* 652–653). Originally a dialectal word which spread in Russian from the southern, Caucasian area.
 Srezn. 1: 1243; *SRJa* Ø; Dal' 2: 221; Fasmer 2: 425; Šipova 209–210; Orel Ø.
- лачуга (OR алачуга)** 'маленькое, бедное, жалкое жилище / hut, a poor, rough, or temporary house or shelter'. FO: 1379.
 < Tu *alačuk* (~ **alačug*) 'a hut usually made out of branches of trees' (*ED* 129; *ĖSTja* 1: 130–132). Well known in most later Tu idioms, the oldest, Uighur and Khakani forms are without *-k* (*alaču*). The drop of initial *a-* in an unstressed position in Russian

can be considered regular (cf. the same development in *лошадь* ‘horse’ (< TU *alaša* + RU *-d*’).

Srezn. 1: 15; 2: 12; *SRJa* 1: 27, 8: 181; Dal’ 2: 240; Zajączkowski 23–24; Fasmer 2: 468; Poppe 37–38; Šipova 220; Orel 2: 191.

овраг ‘глубокая крутосклонная незадернованная ложбина, образованная временным водотоком / abyss, a deep chasm or fissure in the earth carved by water’. — FO: 1372 (OR *врагъ*).

< VB **varag* (*var* + *ak*) ‘id.’, a perfect equivalent of Common TU *özek* ‘a small valley’ (< *öz* ‘valley’) (see *ED* 278, 285); cf. ЧУВ *var* ‘id.’, *varak* 1. ‘промоина, овражек; рытвина [gully, ravine; pothole]’ 2. ‘русло [watercourse]’ (*ČRS* 64).

Srezn. 1: 310 (s.v. *враг*); *SRJa* 12: 227; Dal’ 2: 642; Fasmer 3: 115; Šipova 248; Orel 2: 359.

очаг ‘печь; родной дом, семья / hearth, fireplace; native home, family’. — FO: 18th century.

< TU *oçak* (~ **oçag* ?) ‘id.’ (*ED* 22).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* 14: 93–94; Dal’ 2: 775; Fasmer 3: 177; Poppe 35–36; Šipova 253–254; Anikin, *Sib* 454; Orel 2: 393.

печенег (PL **печенеги**) ‘Pecheneg (*ethnonym*), a Turkic confederation of tribes in Eastern Europe in the 9th–11th centuries’. — FO: 11th century.

< TU *bäçänäk* ~ *päçänäk* ‘id.’. HUNG *besenyő* comes from the same source (*WOT* 121–122).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal’ Ø; Fasmer 3: 255; Šipova Ø; Orel 3: 37.

сарга DIAL. (Kazan) ‘овца / sheep’.

< TAT *sarık* ‘id.’ (*TRS* 470).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* Ø; Dal’ 4: 138; Fasmer Ø; Šipova 280; Orel Ø.

севрюга (шеврига, шеврига) ‘red fish, *Acipenser stellatus*’. FO: 1625.

< ЧУВ *ševrik* ‘id.’. HUNG *sőreg* ‘id.’ comes from a WOT **šivrig* (*WOT* 740–743).

Srezn. Ø; *SRJa* 24: 15; Dal’ 4: 138; Fasmer 3: 589; Šipova 282; Orel 3: 214.

серьга ‘украшение для мочек ушей/ pendant, earring’. — FO: 1359.

< TU *sirga*, *isirga* ‘id.’, extant in numerous Kipchak and Siberian TU languages. Its derivation from 11th-century OR *усерязъ* is erroneous. Likewise, Fasmer’s connection of the word to ЧУВ *šerě* ‘ring’ (< TU *yüzük*) is incorrect, mainly owing to chronological and semantic difficulties.

Srezn. 3: 340, 1264; *SRJa* 24: 93–94; Dal’ 4: 174; Fasmer 3: 611–612; Šipova 284–285; Orel 3: 226 (explains it based on Germanic).

сулог / сулок DIAL. (Vologda) ‘небольшая ширинка, маленькое полотенце, тряпочка / towel, a piece of cloth, rag’.

Of debated origin. Fasmer connected it to ЧУВ *šuläk* ARCH ‘платок, который накидывался на спину жениху / a cloth placed at the shoulders of the bridegroom’ (*ČRS* 423) equivalent of Common TU *yaglık* ‘napkin, handkerchief’, e.g. TUR *yağlık* ‘id.’ (Hony 390). Šipova’s etymology (she connected the word to TU *silgi*, *silki* ‘тор, clout’, derivative of *sil-* ‘to rub’) is less probable. KAZ and KIR *суулук* ‘полотенце [towel]’ (*KRS* 30; *KiRS* 667) do not belong here; they must be connected to *sū* ‘water’. Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 350; Fasmer 3: 801; Šipova 284–285; Orel Ø.

сычуг ‘один из отделов желудка жвачных животных, кушанье из фаршированного желудка (коровьего, свиного и т. п.) / part of an animal’s stomach; stomach’.

< TU *sičug* / *sučug* ‘intestine, stomach; sausage (filled with intestine)’. According to Fasmer (3, 822) it is a borrowing from TU languages (for the data see Eren 1999, 376) which can be fully approved of. O.N. Trubačev (Fasmer 3: 822) tried to connect the RU word to *сытый* ‘sated, satisfied’, a supposition already rightly refuted by Šipova. Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 378; Fasmer 3: 822; Šipova 296–297; Orel Ø.

таволга ‘кустарниковое растение семьи розовых, луговое растение; a bush of the family of *Rosaceae*, a meadow plant; meadowsweet’. — FO: 1589.

< TU *tabilga*, *tabilgi*; *tabulga* ‘id.’, extant in KIRG, KAZ, TAT, TUR and the Siberian TU languages; also in MO *tabilyu* (MED 761), *tavilga* (MRS 382).

Srezn. 3: 1031; Dal’ 4: 385; Fasmer 4: 8; Šipova 300; Anikin, *Sib* 540–541; Orel 4: 38.

тамга 1. ‘АРЧ ‘клеймо, знак, штампель / brand, mark, seal || знак собственности рода / mark of ownership of a clan’, 2. АРЧ ‘торговая пошлина на Руси в эпоху татаро-монгольского ига / commercial tax in Russia of the Tatar period’’. — FO: 1257 (in the 2nd meaning), 1351 (in the 1st meaning).

< TU *tamga* ‘id.’; survived in all old and modern TU languages (ED 504–505).

Srezn. 3: 924–925; Dal’ 4: 389; Fasmer 4: 18; Šipova 305–306; Orel 4: 44.

терпуг 1. ‘напильник, рашпиль / rasp, file’, 2. DIAL (Siberia) ‘морская рыба [a kind of sea fish]’.

< TU *törpüg* ~ *törpig* ‘id.’ (ED 533); survived in the Oghuz and some of the Kipchak languages. E.g. TUR *törpü* ‘rasp, file’ (Hony 370–371); NOG *türpi* ‘рашпиль [rasp]’ (NRS 371), etc. The second meaning of the Russian word cannot be attested in TU; it came about on Russian soil.

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 401; Fasmer 4: 49; Šipova 320; Orel 4: 65.

тояга / **тояг** АРЧ ‘дубинка, посох, жезл; stick, rod, cane’. — FO: 12th century.

< TU *tayag* ‘id.’ (< *tayak*, from *taya-* ‘to lean on, to stand against’), attested in numerous old and modern (UIG, TAT, KIRG, KAZ, TUR, etc.) Turkic idioms (ED 537), in CHUV it is *tuya* (ČRS 501).

Srezn. 3: 984; Fasmer 4: 91; Šipova 328; Orel Ø.

утиг ‘iron’. — FO: 1618–1619.

< TU *ütüg* ‘id.’ (from *ütü-* ‘to iron’); it is attested in most Oghuz and Kipchak languages (ED 51).

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 523; Fasmer 4: 177; Šipova 352; Černyx 2: 296; Orel Ø.

учуг АРЧ, DIAL (Volga) ‘частокол поперек реки для задержки и ловли рыбы / a part of the river separated by a paling for fishing’. — FO: 1575.

< TU *učug* ‘end of a piece of yarn’ (< *učuk* from *uč* ‘end’), see e.g. KIR *učuk* ‘конец нитки (отрезок, продеваемый в иглу) [end of a piece of yarn (the segment that is laced through the needle)]’ (KiRS 812–813). This word has nothing to do with a homonymous *učuk* ‘rash, pimple, tetter’ extant in some of the TU languages (TUR, TRKM, KAZ, ALT, KIRG, etc.). In KIR both homonyms are present.

Srezn. 3: 1342; Dal’ 4: 529; Fasmer 4: 180; Šipova 353; Orel Ø.

ОР **харалуг** ‘сталь, булат / steel’. — FO: late 12th century (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*).

Contrary to the common opinion which derives the word from a TU *karaluk* ‘blackness, darkness (< *kara* ‘black’ augmented with the suffix +*luk*), Menges convincingly tried to prove that the OR word comes from an early form *Xaralögъ*, which in turn, takes its origin in a form **Karolung* ‘Carolingian’, consequently the original meaning of *xaralyz* was ‘Carolingian metal sword’.

Srezn. 3: 1361; Dal’ 4: 542; Zajaczkowski 1949: 52–53; Fasmer 4: 223; Šipova 362; Menges 1979, 156–157; Orel Ø.

челиг ARCH ‘молодая ловчая птица, кречет, гнездарь / a young bird of prey, falcon (*Falco gyrfalco*)’. — FO: mid-17th century.

< TU *čavli* ‘a falcon, a young untrained falcon’, it occurs already in Orkhon Turkic and Khakani (ED 397). The RU form may have come about in the following way: TU *čavli* > RU *čavli* + *g* = **čavliḡ* > RU **čevliḡ* > RU *čelig*. There is another bird name, TU *čulik* denoting ‘different kinds of water-birds (plover, snipe, sandpiper, etc.)’ (ED 420).

Though phonetically possible, owing to semantic difficulties this option must be dropped.

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 587; Fasmer 4: 327; Šipova 384; Orel Ø.

чертог 1. ARCH ‘большое, богатое помещение, палата / richly decorated hall of a palace’, 2. РОЕТ ‘пышное, великолепное здание, дворец / castle, country-house’. — FO: 1097.

[OCS *čr̃togъ* — SJS 4: 890] < TU *čartag* (*čartak* < < PERS *čārtāk*, originally meaning ‘four columns’). An early borrowing, probably from VB. A later, 18th-century borrowing of the same word is *чepдaк* ‘upper room of a house under the roof’ (Šipova 386–387.)

Srezn. 3: 1569–1570; Dal’ 4: 597; Fasmer 4: 348; Šipova 388; Černyx 2: 385; Orel 4: 216.

чилига ‘дерева (*Cytisus biflorus*), вид полыни (*Artemisia campestris*), дикорастущая акация, etc. / a kind of mugwort, wild acacia’.

< TU *čilik* ‘bush, shrub’, and a name for different plants, e.g. KAZ *šilik* ‘wild acacia’, KIR *čilik* ‘чаща, заросли [shrub, undergrowth]’ (KiRS 862). Šipova’s comparison with TUR, AZ *çalı* ‘bush’ is out of place, Russian *čiliga* has nothing to do with these words.

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 604; Fasmer 4: 361–362; Šipova 391; Anikin 1977: 688–689; Orel Ø.

чомга ‘водоплавающая птица отряда поганкообразных птиц (*Podiceps cristatus*), нырок, гагара / a diving waterbird, grebe’.

< TU *čomga*, cf. KÄŠГ *čomyuk*, (Oguz) *čomuk* (ED 423); ТАТ *čumga* ‘гагара [grebe]’ (Radloff 3, 2189; Budagov 500), *čumgalak* ‘нырок (дикая утка) [grebe (wild duck)]’, *ala čumgalak* ‘роголь [TRS 642]’, etc. All these bird names are derivatives from Turkic *čom-* / *čöm-* ‘to dive’ extant in most Turkic languages.

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 610; Fasmer 4: 372 (“unclear”); Šipova 396–397; Anikin 1977: 694; Orel Ø.

юрага 1. DIAL (SOUTHERN, EASTERN) ‘сыворожка, пахтанье / whey, buttermilk’.

< Old or Middle Chuvash **yuray* ‘whey’ (CHUV Ø; *uryan*, *uryan*) < Turkic *ıray*. HUNG *iró* ‘id.’ also goes back to *ıray*, but it is evidently an older borrowing from WOT than the Russian form (WOT 464–470).

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 669; Fasmer 4: 532 (“unclear”); Šipova 430; Orel Ø.

ябага (джабага, чебага) DIAL (Orenburg) ‘руно грубой степной овцы / wool of a raw steppe sheep’.

< Kipchak Turkic *yabayı* / *jabayı* ‘весенняя овечья шерсть / soft wool shorn in spring’. Present in all Kipchak languages (TAT, BASHK, KIRG, etc.); otherwise the word *yaraγu* is spread throughout the Turkic languages (ED 874–875). TAT *yabaga* ‘шерсть-линька [wool]’ (TRS 698) may be a direct source of the Russian word. The initial *y-* and *j-* in the Russian words reflect two different Turkic dialects while the *ja-* > *če-* change took place in Russian. Hungarian *gyapjú* ‘wool’ is also a Turkic (Old Chuvash) borrowing of a much earlier period (see WOT 366–368).

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 670–671; Fasmer 4: 538; Šipova 432; Anikin 1977: 749; Orel Ø.

яруга DIAL (SOUTHERN), **яруг** DIAL (Tula) ‘большой глубокий овраг / split, crack, fissure’. — FO: late 12th century (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*).

< TU *yaruk* ‘split’. In most of the Turkic languages *yaruk* ‘split, crack; fissure, cleft’ (ED 962), a derivative of *yar-* ‘to split, to cleave’, is extant. Contrary to Fasmer’s opinion (4: 561) the form *ярок* ‘id.’ is not a derivative of Turkic *yaruk* but of Russian *яр* ‘fissure, steep slope of a river bank’, similarly a Turkic loan word in Russian (Fasmer 4: 559).

Srezn. 3: 1663; Dal’ 4: 680; Fasmer 4: 561–562; Šipova 439–440; Menges 1979, 188–191; Anikin 1977: 759; Orel 4: 294.

ярыга / ерыга ARCH 1. ‘низший служитель полиции / clerk of a lower rank at the police’; 2. *ерыга, ерыжка, ярыжник, ярыжница* ‘пьяница, мошенник, беспутный человек / drunkard, trickster, swindler’.

Dmitriev (1958: 43) derived the word from Turkic *yargu* ~ *yargı* ‘a legal tribunal, court of justice, lawsuit’ (ED 963), a well-known term of the Mongol period, so it would belong to the group of Russian terms of Turkic origin like *baskak*, *tamga*, *den’ga*, etc. that took root in the 13th–15th centuries. But there are three difficulties concerning this etymology, the first one being the lack of early data for the Russian word. Secondly, a slight semantic difficulty is that the Russian word is used as the name of the official and not the office itself. In Turkic *yargučı* is the ‘judge’ whereas *yargu* means only the ‘tribunal’. Thirdly, the explanation of a Russian *yaryga* from a form like *yargu* is also problematic. Hence, for the time being this etymology must be considered only tentative. At any rate, the forms in the second meaning came about already on Russian soil.

Srezn. Ø; Dal’ 4: 679; Fasmer 4: 562; Šipova 440; Orel Ø.

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Abbreviations

ALT	Altai Turkic	NOG	Nogay
ARCH	archaic	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
AZ	Azeri (Azerbaijan)	OR	Old Russian
BASH	Bashkir	PERS	Persian
CHAG	Chagatay	PL	plural
CHUV	Chuvash	POET	poetic
CS	Church Slavonic	PB	Proto-Bulgarian (= Danube-Bulgarian)
DIAL	dialect	SAG	Sagay
EOT	East Old Turkic	TAT	Tatar
FO	first occurrence	TEL	Teleut
HUNG	Hungarian	TRKM	Turkmen
KALM	Kalmuck	TU	Turkic
KAZ	Kazak	TUR	Turkish (of Turkey)
KIR	Kirgiz	UZB	Uzbek
KKAL	Karakalpak	VB	Volga Bulgarian
MR	Modern Russian	WOT	West Old Turkic
MO	Mongolian		