

Еще раз к языковым контактам в  
раннесредневековом Синьцзяне

# 1. Типы заимствования в связи с типами языковых контактов.

Очень много терминологии.

Heine and Kuteva 2005; Matras & Sakel 2004; Haspelmat 2006 etc.

Субстрат, суперстрат, ареальный контакт (= адстрат!)

MAT & PAT, исчисление типов совмещения:

Native speakers вносят в свой язык чужое слово [exo-borrowing (= adoption)]

Not-Native speakers вносят свою структуру в новый язык [субстрат]

Native speakers вносят структуру из доминирующего языка [метатипия]

Not-Native speakers вносят свое слово в новый язык ["endo-borrowing" (= retention)] ("связанное с культурной идентичностью" - но ср. Дыбо 1984 о retentions в случае субстратной номинационной решетки с бóльшим количеством клеток, чем в новом языке)

## Иерархии заимствуемости

Matras (1998): the scale for coordinators:

‘but’ > ‘or’ > ‘and’

(Пример!!! В македонском турецком два славянских заимствования *ама* "но" и *и* "и" )

Field (2002: 38):

content item > function word > agglutinating affix > fusional affix

Thomason and Kaufman (1988): five-point scale of intensity of contact:

(1): casual contact,

(2): slightly more intense contact,

(3): more intense contact,

(4): strong cultural pressure,

(5): very strong cultural pressure).

A. "Shallow contacts": no grammar interference occurs, and basic vocabulary is not affected; loanwords are restricted to certain technology, local environmental or ethnic peculiarities. [exo-borrowings]

B. Contacts involving bilingualism, divided in two sub-types.

a) When there are no mixed settlements, basic vocabulary is not affected, but phonetic, semantic and grammatical borrowings may occur. [exo-borrowings & metatypy] [язык-донор должен доминировать]

b) In the situation of mixed settlements, a non-dominant language can hardly survive. If the two languages survive while being markers of communities, they both influence each other and become languages with inherited basic vocabularies, lots of borrowings in the cultural sphere (showing regular phonetic correspondences) and grammars that cannot be traced back to the protolanguages. [exo-borrowings & metatypy]

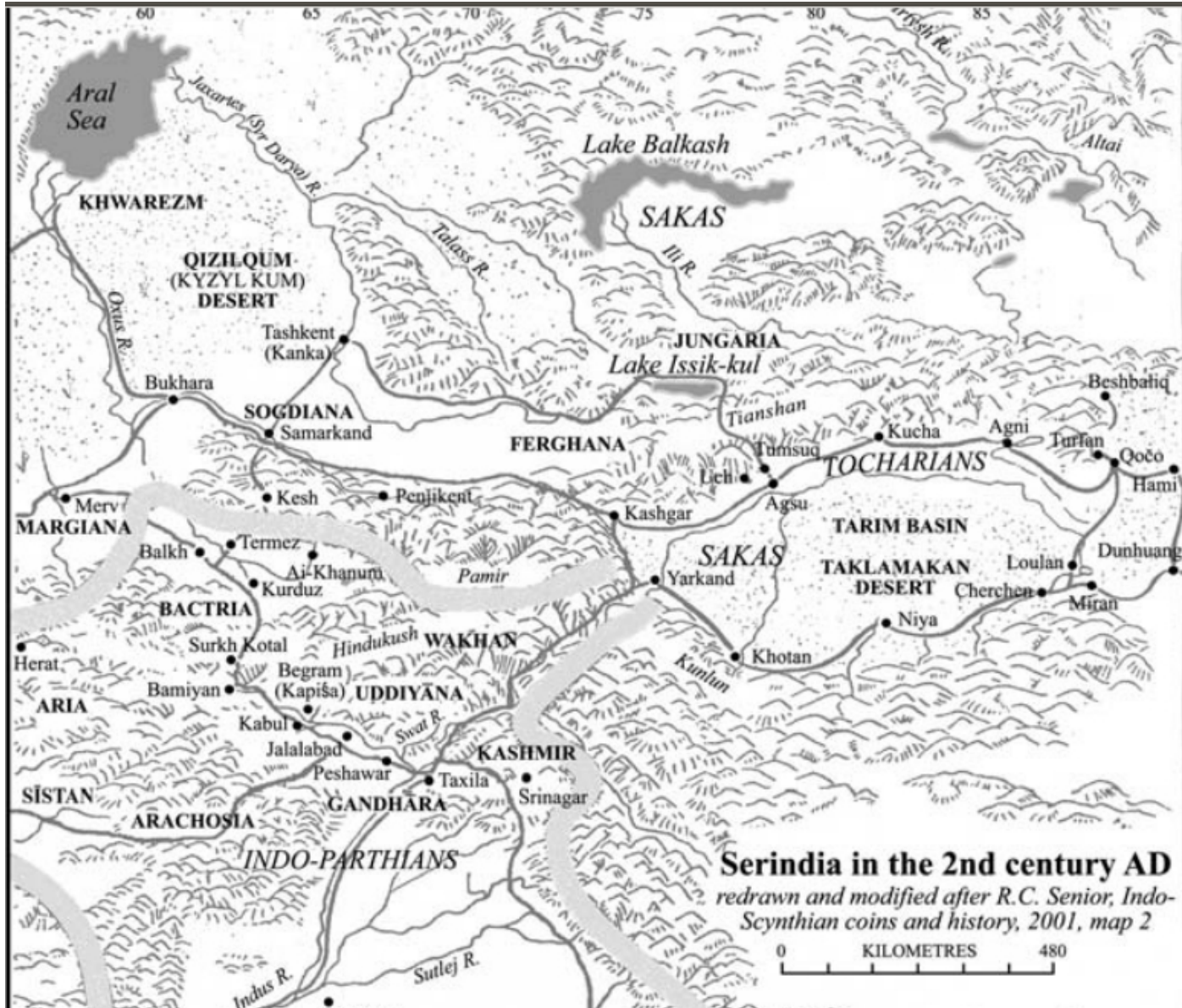
C. Situations of language shifts,

a) language shift to a majority language. Several borrowings in cultural vocabulary (possibly, with regular phonetic correspondences); traces of grammatical interference are minimal, basic vocabulary is not affected. [endo-borrowings & superstrate]

b) Language shift to a minority language: "different degrees of suboptimality", creolization. A lot of loanwords, even in basic vocabulary; some basic words may be replaced by derivatives, phonetic correspondences are odd, some phonemes or phonological oppositions may be lost, grammar interference is abundant [endo-borrowings & substrate]. As a possible example, S. Burlak cites Tocharian: "...a non-Indo-European people learned an Indo-European dialect (which would later become a Proto-Tocharian).

Tremblay

2007, 76



**Serindia in the 2nd century AD**  
*redrawn and modified after R.C. Senior, Indo-Scythian coins and history, 2001, map 2*

0 KILOMETRES 480

Оценка населения Восточного Туркестана на середину VIII в.  
(по *De la Vaissière* 2016, Skaff 2003, Hansen 2005)

Header (Default Style) +

	Всего населения в оазисах	Китайцы	Согдийцы	Тохары	Саки	Тюрки
Турфан (Сичжоу, Кочо)	50340	[49000]	[1400]	[парочка (из Кучи, т.е. В) и парочка индийцев]		
Хами	10000		[278]			
Бейтин	12000		[333]			
Дунхуан	32234		900			
Куча	98168	35000	[2727]	63168		
Карашар	[20000]	8335	[556]			
Хоган	180000	30000	[5000]		150000	
Кашгар	20000	12800	[556]			
Яркенд	[20000]	[12800]	[556]			
Аксу	[20000]	[12800]	[556]			
Всего	[450000]		[12862]			[1400000]

## A. No mixed settlements

I. Only trade contacts. New Indian (Indo-Aryan) loanwords in Turkic (see also [Zieme 2003]).

1. Krh. *tarmaz*, *turmuz* 'cucumber' originally from Skt. *trapusa*, *trapuṣa* 'cucumber' < \**tṛpra-* 'salty, spicy'. A "bazaar" loanword from a NInd language of NW group, such as Lahnda (along the *tr*-reflexation)..

2. Krh. *bibli* 'long pepper', originally from Skt. *pīppalī* ' long pepper '. Borrowed from a NInd. language similar to WPah *pippli*, Hindi *piplī* 'a kind of long pepper'

## II. Trade and religious contacts: Hotan Saka and Tocharian

Tocharian > Saka:

1. HS. *puka* 'cubit' < Toch. A *poke*, B *pokai* 'forearm, cubit'.

2. HS. *kr̥ṅga* 'cock' < Toch. B *kranko* 'chicken'.

Saka > Tocharian

About 100 words in the Adams's dictionary

## B. Contacts involving mixed settlements

### I. Chinese - Tocharian

Tocharian in Chinese: Chin. EC *mjit* - Toch. B *mit* 'honey'; Chin. WC *ʃəj cə* 'lion'—Toch. B *secake*; Chin. OC *Längs* 'chariot (with four horses)' Toch. B *klenhe*, A *klank* 'vehicle'

Chinese in Tocharian:

a) Proto-Toch.: Toch. AB *klu* 'rice' :: Chin. 稻 'rice plant' OC *\*Lhū?*; Toch. B *rapaññe\** (adj.) 'of the last month of the year' :: Chin. 臘 *là* 'winter sacrifice' < OC *\*rāp*; Toch. A *truñk*, B *tronk\** 'hollow, cave' < PToch. *\*tronk* :: Chin. 盅 'empty, hollow' OC *\*thruŋ*; Toch. A *ri*, Toch. B *rīye* 'town' < PToch. *\*riye* :: Chin. 里 *lǐ* 'village' < MC *lí* < OC *\*rə?*.

b) Toch. B, (sometimes from B to A): Toch. B *cāk* 'hundred quarts [dry measure]' :: Chin. 石 *shí* 'measure of capacity' MC *ʒek* < OC *\*diak*; Toch. B *ʃipāñkiñc* 'abacus' Chin. 數盤 *shǔ-pán*, MC *ʃü-bān* (OC *\*sroʔ-bān*); Toch. A *lyäk*, Toch. B *lyak* 'thief' < PToch. *\*lyäk* :: Chin. 掠 *lüè* 'to plunder, rob' < Late MC *liak* < MC *lak* < OC *\*rhak.*; Toch. B *śak(ᵛ)se\** 'brandy' :: Chin. 粟 *sù* 'grain (rice or millet) in husk' < MC *sjöuk* < OC *\*sok* + Chin. 酒 *jiǔ* 'wine' < MC *cjəw* < OC *\*cu?*; Toch. B *kapci* 'thumbprint, authentication' Chin. 押字 *yā-zì* 'to authenticate with a signature'

Cf. two presumable Toch. words in Xiongnu ('milk', 'lord') and presumable Proto-Toch. in Proto-Turkic: 'elm', 'apple', 'asp', 'acorn'. It was probably an earlier shallow contact somewhere eastward.



## II. Chinese-Turkic

Names of clothes. An example.

1. *čixansı* MK 'embroidered Chinese silk'. (P. Zieme) *čin xası*, *čin* 'Chinese' + *xası* < MChn 縹絲 *khaj sji* < Skt. *Kāśi*

The scheme of P.Zieme :

*Chn. kesi*  
|  
*Skt. Kāśī* ? *Prs. kaz, gaz* = *Krh. Kez*  
|  
*Arb. qazz*

Our scheme:

*Skt. Kāśi* → *MChn khaj sji* → *OT xasy* → *Prs. xazz/ xaz*  
|  
*Arb. qazz* → *Prs. kaz, gaz*  
|  
*Krh. Kez*

Measure name:

4. \*čig ‘Chinese foot, ~ 33 cm’ Chn. 尺 *chǐ*, MChn *čhek* ‘foot (a measure)’.

Food etc.:

5. *lav* MK ‘wax’ . Chn. 蠟 *là*, MChn. *lâp* ‘wax’.

6. *liv* ‘a k. of food’ . Chn. 粒 *lì*, MChn. *lip* ‘rice as food’.

7. *minyuj* MK ‘flour paste’; cf. LateOUig. *men* ‘flour’, SUig. *men* id.. Chn. 麵 *miàn*, MChn. *mien* ‘flour, paste’ + Chn. 糊 *hu*, MChn. *γo* ‘flour paste’.

8. *limken* MK ‘yellow plum’ . Chn. 林 *lín*, MChn. *lim* ‘forest’ + Chn. 檣 *qín*, MChn. *gim* ‘a k. of plum’. Cf. Mod. Chn. 林檎 ‘*Malus prunifolia*’.

Kinship term:

9. *küküj* MK ‘mother’s sister’ . Chn. 姑 *gū*, MChn. *kō* ‘father’s sister’ + Chn. 舅 *jiù*, MChn. *gáw* ‘mother’s brother’. Cf. Mod. Chn.: 姑舅 ‘cousins’ .

## II. Sogdian in Turkic

### Agriculture:

1. *tarqa, talqa* 'unripen (fruit)' MK < Sogd. *try* [*tary*] 'sharp, hard, fierce, Av. *tiyra* 'sharp, bitter', KhS. *ttira-* 'bitter'.
2. *borduz* 'vegetable garden' MK. Sogd. *p'rdyz* 'garden' [*pārdez*]
3. *bađič* 'vine prop' MK . Cf. Pers. *wāyic*, Tadh. *wo'iš* id., from unattested Sogd. *\*wādic* < Av. *vaetay-* 'vine' .
4. *kenbe* 'a plant name' MK . Cf. Sogd. *kynp'* [*kenbā*] 'hemp', Hot. *kumba* 'flax'.
5. *zargunčmud* 'a k. of basil' MK. Sogd. *zrywnč* 'green' + *mwrt'* 'myrtle'.
6. *čat* 'spring' MK. From Sogd. *č't* [*čat*] 'spring'
7. *bečküm* 'threshold, porch' MK. Sogd. *ptšknp* [*patškanp*] 'porch'

### Property relations

8. *maraz* 'wage worker' MK. Sogd. *marāz*.
9. OUig. (Uig I), Krh. *ertüt* (MK, QB, Ateb.) 'gift'. Sogd. *r't* [*rat*] 'gift': Pl. *\*ratut*.

Other words:

10. OUig. *suburgan* ‘tomb’, Krh. *suburgan* ‘tomb, burrow’. From Sogd. \**zamarγān*.

11. OUig. *didim* ‘crown’, Krh. *didim* ‘bride garland’ MK. Sogd. *dyδm* < Greek. *διαδήμα*.

12. OUig., Krh (MK, QB), Xorezm Turk. (Oghuz-qagan) *šük* ‘hush!’ NUig. *šük* (*šük oltar!* ‘be silent!’). According to [Benveniste 1948 : 184], from Sogd. *šwk* ‘silent, quiet’

III. Turkic loans in Sogdian [Yoshida 2009].

In the language of late Sogdian letters (9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> cent.) many elements show that the authors were thinking in Turkic and writing in Sogdian. Cases of code-switching: *’rxyš* (Uig. *aryiš*) ‘caravane’, *p’l’k/p’r’k* (Uig. *belek*) ‘present, gift’, *’ydwx* (Uig. *ïduq*) ‘sacred’ and *pšy y’xšy* (Uig. *baši yaxši* ‘one’s head-good’, a greeting). The situation fully corresponds to the description of bilingual Sogdians from Balasagun by MK. It corresponds also to the semantical characteristics of Sogdian loans in properly East Turkestan early Turkic, which demonstrate also typical cases of code-switching.

C. Situations of language shifts, when one of the contacted languages decreased.

a) Presumable shift to a majority/minority language: Hotan Saka to Turkic?

IV Hotan Saka loans in Turkic

1. *bat* MK 'must' < HS. *bāta-* 'must'.

2. *čo/uvy* MK 'a title given to a man who is two steps below the xaqan in Xotan, = Turkic *yabgu*' < HS. *ššau*, Pl. *śśuvanä*: 'title. related to *rrund-* 'king' like Mycenaean. *basileus* to *wanax*'.

3. *čowač* MK 'royal parasol' < HS. *śāhauca* 'parasol'.

4. *čavcu* MK 'tree with red trunk and branches and bitter red berries' < HS. *śauve-* 'a k. of jujube'.

5. *čeg* MK 'stripped cotton linen' < HS. *caiha* 'a piece of linen'.

6. *čür* MK 'fortune', *čürle-* 'make profit' < HS. *śārā*, *śirā* 'goods, prosperity', Acc.Sg. *śśuru*, *śuru*.

7. *čer* MK 'time, date' < HS. *tcīra* 'time', *draitcīra* '3 times'.

9. *čurām* MK 'a shot with a light arrow', *čurām oki* 'such arrow' < HS. *cūḍām* 'long measure, stadium'.

10. *kowuč*, *kowuz* MK 'the symptoms of demonical possession' < HS. *kauce* 'obscuration, sin'.

11. *kasy* MK 'wooden sheep pen' < HS. *kāysū* 'hut'.

- 12. *kebez* ‘cotton seed’ (LateOUig., MK, NUig., SUig., Uz.) < HS. *kapā-ysa-* ‘cotton wool’.
- 13. *kevel* LateOUig, *kevel at* MK, QB ‘purebred, swift horse’ < HS. *kabä* ‘race horse’ + *-la*, *-laka* HS. Dimin. suff.
- 14. *kestem* MK ‘night entertainment with drinks’ < HS. *khäṣṭa* ‘drunken’, *\*khäṣṭam* ‘intended for drinking’.
- 15. *suma* MK ‘sprouting wheat or barley intended for beer making’ < HS *suma* ‘malt, crushed grain’.
- 16. *tim* MK ‘a skin filled with wine’ < HS. *ttanä* ‘skin’, *ttin~a* ‘in skin’.
- 17. *toṇa* OUig. ‘hero’; ‘a p. of proper names’, Enis. (E-149) *Toṇa külig tarqan beg* proper name; MK *toṇa* “first ‘tiger’; later ‘hero’ ”; QB *toṇa* ‘hero’, IM ‘stout’. < HS *ttumna* ‘strong, stout’.
- 18. *kemišge* ‘embroidered Kashgar felt’ < HS. *kamaiškä* ‘a k. of embroidered cover’.
- 19. (?) *bečkem* MK ‘a badge, that is a piece of silk or the tail of wild ox that warriors wear as a badge on the day of battle’ < HS. *baicakama* ‘horse or yak tail’, Wakhi *bičkam*.
- 20. *zaranza* ‘saffron’ MK < HS *ysaramjsa* ‘saffron’.

- V. Turkic loans in Khotan Saka
- 1. HS *yaragaka* 'skin, four coat' < Tu \**jarkak*, MK *yargak* id.
- 2. HS. *yaḷama* 'cloak' < Tu. \**jalma*, MK *yalma* id.
- 3. HS. *tadrrvā* 'a k. of leather product' < Tu. *tatyrga* MK 'white tanned skin'
- 4. HS. *śīgä* 'a measure related to ox skins' < Tu *čig* < Chn.
- 5. HS. *śimuṣai* 'spoon', like NPers. *čamčah* 'wooden scoop' < Tu. \**čöm-če* 'scoop', MK *čömče* (Og.).
- 6. HS. *ālaška-*, *-šta-* 'settlement' < Tu. \**alaču-k* 'hut, small yurt': OUig. *alaču*; Krh. *alaču* (MK).
- 7. HS. *yola-* 'falsehood' < Tu. \**jala*, MK *yala* 'calumny'
-

b) Presumable shift to a majority language: Tocharian to Turkic

## VI. Tocharian B loanwords in Turkic.

1. *oxaq* MK ‘the juice of split apricot used as a beverage’ < Toch. A, B *oko* ‘fruit’;
2. *čanač* MK ‘effeminate and cowardly person’, *čanačlik* ‘effeminacy’, *čanačla-* ‘to attribute effeminacy’ – cf. Toch. A *śna-ši* adj. possess. ‘femininus’, from *śām* ‘woman’, Toch. B *śana*;
3. ? *čömerük kiši* MK ‘a man with watery eyes’ – Toch. A, B *tsem* ‘caerulius’, A *tsem-yok* ‘coloris caerulei’, *tsem-yokān asām* ‘caerulei oculi’ < MChn, 青 *chieng* ‘blue’.
4. *bere*, a translation of Skt. *yojana*, Chn. *li*, ‘stadium’, OUig.. Cf. Toch. A *pär-ra-krase* ‘arrow flight distance’, Toch. A *pär*, B *prere* ‘arrow’.
5. *lešp* ‘sniffles’: OUig. (medical texts), MK < Toch. A, B *lešp* id. < Pkt.;
6. *karšy* ‘king palace’: LateOUig., MK, QB, Chag., Xorezm Turk. < Toch. B *kercci*.
7. (?) *ermeli* MK ‘swift horse’: cf. Toch. B *ramer* ‘swiftly’.
8. *madar*: OUig. ‘monster’ < Toch. B *mātar* ‘monster’ or HS. *mādara-*. < BHS *makara*.
9. *nāg* MK ‘crocodile; cyclical sign’ < Toch. B *nāk*, *nāke* ‘snake as cyclical sign’.
10. *banyt* ‘treacle’, LateOUig. < Toch. B *panit* (n.) id. < BHS *phāṇita-*.
11. *sabarir* ‘mountain crystal’ Suv., Hüen < Toch. B *spharir* < BHS *sphaṭi-*.
12. ? LateOUig. *künčit* ‘sesame’, MUig IM *küncid jay* ‘sesame oil’ < Toch. B *kuñcit*, Toch. A *kuncit*, < HS. *kumjsata-* ([*kundzat*]).



- VII Turkic loanwords in Tocharian B
- A) a number of Turkic (Uigur) names and titles, e.g., ārslām ‘Arslan’, ālp, er, el, tārkhāṇ.
- B) Turkic loans in Toch. B, after its division from Toch. A.
  1. Toch. B iprer (>A eprer) ‘sky, air, firmament’ < Tu. \*ebren ‘dome, firmament, sky’ > MK evren ‘dome’, QB evren ‘sky, firmament’.
  2. Toch. B kwaṣo ‘village’ < Tu. \*kol’ > \*koš ‘hut, settlement’: Krh. qoš.
  3. Toch. B teri, tiri (> A tiri) ‘way, manner’. Cf. Tu \*dür ‘kind, forme, sort’, OTu, Krh. törlüg (MK, KB),
  4. (?) (?) Toch. B kwats (or kwāts?) (adv.) ‘dearly, for much money’. PT \*Kīř ‘costly, expensive; miserly’, Krh. qīz ‘expensive; miserly, greedy’
  5. Toch. B col ‘wild’. Cf. Tu. \*čöl ‘steppe, desert’ (Orkh. čölig ‘a bsh., Sangl.).
  6. Toch. B yase ‘shame’: Tu. \*jās ‘loss, harm, shame’ (OUig. jas ‘loss, harm’, Yak. sāt ‘shame’ etc.).

- 7. Toch. B *kärk-* ‘to rob’ (denom. verb): Tu *\*Karak* ‘robber’ (OUig. *qaraq-či*).
- 8. (?) Toch. B *kakwār* ‘a k. of food’ = Tu. *\*kagur-* ‘to roast’, *\*kagur-ma*, *\*kagur-dak*;
- 9. (?) Toch. B *miye* ‘a remedy plant’. Tu. *\*byñan* ‘licorice’, Chag. *bijan*.
- 10. (?) Toch. B *pale* ‘a k. of house servant’. Tu. *\*bāla* ‘child’.
- 11. (?) Toch. B *kotstse* ‘a species of bird’. OT *\*güči-ken* ‘eagle’: MKypch. *küčigen*.
- 12. (?) Toch. B *cat* (n.) ‘something venomous and stinging. Cf. Tu. *\*čAd-an* ‘scorpion’: Krh. *čadan* (MK, QB, IM).
- 13. (?) Toch. B *tsaipau* ‘plaster’. Turk. *\*čapagu* < *\*čap-* ‘to plaster, to coat’
- + some grammatical features?

- Понимание ситуации может меняться при привлечении демографических данных
- Наличие заимствований в списке Сводеша, вероятно - частный случай retention's
- Последующие перемещения населения стирают предшествующую ситуацию; вся надежда - на письменные свидетельства
- (примечание – и с генетикой то же самое)

- Спасибо за внимание!