

SOME REMARKS ON OLD TURKISH WORDS FOR "WIFE"*

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The collection and the explanation of the Old Turkish personal names is of great importance for the study of the juridical and economic documents of Turfan. To recall only one example, one may mention that this work helps to establish the interrelationships of the persons involved in the transactions which the documents were issued for. While preparing an Old Turkish onomastikon it is necessary to check not only the names of the persons, but also to collect names from the colophons attached to religious books. By editing so far unpublished colophons and similar texts containing personal names it is intended to make accessible new sources.

In order to give correct explanations of the personal names one has to pay attention to the terms of relationship preceding in many cases, unfortunately not always, the names. Before discussing some terms meaning "wife" used in the religious colophons I want to mention that the orderers usually name in the first position of the section of the transfer of merit their elder brothers (*içi*). This fact well corresponds to the result A. v. Gabain pointed out when she studied the specific role of the older brothers in the social life of the family.¹

The group of words for "wife" and "woman" has been studied several times. The articles of W. Bang,² S. Çağatay,³ L. Rásonyi,⁴ and L. A. Pokrovskaja,⁵ to name the most important ones only, are indeed valuable contributions on this subject. Neither I want to repeat the results of those

* Paper read at the 29th meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Tashkent 1986.

¹ A. v. Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850-1250)*, Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 58-59.

² W. Bang, *Turkologische Briefe aus dem Berliner Ungarischen Institut. Zweiter Brief: Uzuntönlü - die Krone der Schöpfung*, in: *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 5 [1925], pp. 231-251.

³ [a] S. Çağatay, *die Bezeichnungen für Frau im Türkischen*, in: *Ural - Altaische Jahrbücher* 33 [1961], pp. 17-35; [b] With some additions: *Türkçede "kadın" için kullanılan sözler*, in: *TDAYB 1962*, Ankara 1963, pp. 13-49.

⁴ L. Rásonyi, *Der Frauennamen bei den Türkvölkern*, in: *UAJb* 34 [1962], pp. 223-239.

⁵ L. A. Pokrovskaja, *Terminy rodstva v tjurkskikh jazykakh*, in: *Istoriceskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskikh jazykov*, Moskva 1961, pp. 11-81.

works nor I intend to discuss the known usual words. My main purpose is to draw the attention to some rather unknown terms found in recently edited texts and to give some new data on words already known.

1. *kisi*

Since the publication of G. Clauson's *Etymological Dictionary*⁶ and the new American edition of Kāšyārī's *Dīwān*⁷ it has become clear that we have to distinguish, at least for the older periods, between *kiši* "human being" and *kisi* "wife".⁸ While W. Bang thought that the word *kiši* "der (andere) Mensch"⁹ was used in a specified manner for "wife", G. Clauson introduced the reading *kisi* depending on Kāšyārī's statement, into the interpretation of some Old Uigur documents.¹⁰ Additionally it should be mentioned that the only family register so far known also has *kisim* "my wife".¹¹ Coming now to the religious texts, one should first of all refer to the colophon written by the lay-brother Alp Bars and the lay-sister Kōkāč as an appendix to an Old Turkish version of an Avalokiteśvarastava the text of which is not preserved.¹² In the colophon itself there is no statement on the relationship of the named lay-brother and lay-sister. One may suppose that they were in the status of husband and wife, as can be deduced by analogy, without excluding the possibility of other relationships, e. g. that of brother and sister. It is remarkable that the section of the transfer of merit contains the following statement: *kisim Alqatmīšqa* "for my wife" *Alqatmīš*".¹³ Of particular interest is the unedited colophon TM 36 of the Berlin Turfan Collection, it belongs to a block-printed edition of six sūtras of the Buddhist canon.¹⁴ There we find the enumeration of terms of relationship in the following order: elder brothers (*ičilärim*) younger brothers (*inilärim*), elder sisters (*äkälärim*), younger sisters (*singillärim*), *kisilärim*, sons (*oγlanlarım*), daughters (*qızlarım*), grandchildren (*uruγlarım*), (other) family

⁶ G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre - Thirteenth - Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

⁷ R. Dankoff, J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at - Turk)*, Harvard 1982-1985, Parts I-III.

⁸ See *ED* (fn. 6), 749a; *CTD* (fn. 7), part III, p. 107: *kis* "wife".

⁹ Bang (fn. 2), p. 245.

¹⁰ *ED* (fn. 6), 749a.

¹¹ P. Zieme, Ein uigurisches Familienregister aus Turfan, in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9 [1982], p. 264, line 3.

¹² G. Hazai, Ein uigurisches Kolophon zu einem Avalokiteśvara - Lobpreis, in: *Tractata Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 273-276.

¹³ Hazai (fn. 12), p. 274 line 20.

¹⁴ See my provisional remarks in: Religion und Gesellschaft im Uigurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien, in: *Problema von Schrifttum und Gesellschaft in altasiatischen Kulturen*, Berlin (in print).

members (*qadašlarım*).¹⁵ In the case of other texts A. v. Gabain proposed to translate the plural of *kiši/kisi* as "relatives", not as "wives",¹⁶ but the above cited text does not speak in favour of such an interpretation. I believe that *kisilärım* has to be translated in the narrow sense of "my wives" being a generalized statement of several persons. One of the two colophons edited by L. Ju. Tuguševa contains five times the expression *anam* "my mother" followed by different personal names.¹⁷ Obviously these mothers are those of several persons (orderers). In the light of such examples it has to be considered that these texts often were written by the order of not one, but rather several persons.

2. *bäg*

The usual word for "husband" is *bäg*. This is already stated by Kāšyarī¹⁸. It can be found in the documents as well as in some colophons. A good example is the confession text of the lay-sister Qutluγ who names her late husband (*ärtmiš bāgım*).¹⁹ In a text printed in 1330 the wife calls her husband Yol Tämür on behalf of his healthy return *öz bāgım* "my own *bäg*".²⁰ Likewise in a colophon text from Murtuq there appears *Öz B(ä)g* as a personal name: *inim Öz Bg-kä* "for my younger brother *Öz B(ä)g*".²¹ In the same colophon *bāgım* has the meaning "my wife". Here are the examples: *bāgım Qutadmış Bört* "my wife Qutadmış Bört",²² *bāgım Ödüş-kä* "for my wife *Ödüş*".²³ L. Rásonyi²⁴ and S. Çağatay²⁵ respectively have given references to this meaning of *bāgım* on the basis of other sources.

3. *qatd* (= *qa't*)

The following items of *qatdim* (= *qa'tim*) "my wife" are taken from a colophon attached to an unknown book:

qatdim Qıtay [Tn]gri[m]-kä "for my wife Qıtay [Tn]gri[m]",
qatdim Ütritmiš "my wife Ütritmiš",

¹⁵ TM 36 (U 4791) [in the possession of the Turfan Collection of the AdW der DDR], lines 15–17.

¹⁶ v. Gabain (fn. 1), p. 57.

¹⁷ L. Ju. Tuguševa, Dva kolofona iz Sobranija drevneujgurskikh rukopisej LO IVAN SSSR, in: *Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik 1975*, Moskva 1978, p. 255.

¹⁸ ED (fn. 6), 323a.

¹⁹ F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica II*, APAW 1910, p. 89, line 86.

²⁰ P. Zieme, *Buddhische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berliner Turfantexte XIII, Berlin 1985, text 20.59.

²¹ P. Zieme, Materialien zum uigurischen Onomasticon III, in: *TDAYB 1984*, Ankara 1987, s. 268, line 7.

²² MzuO III (fn. 21), p. 268, line 12.

²³ MzuO III (fn. 21), p. 268, line 13.

²⁴ Rásonyi (fn. 4), p. 232.

²⁵ Çağatay (fn. 3 [b]), p. 15 sqq.

qat[*dīm*] *Küsämiš-kä* “for my wife *Küsämiš*”, and,
 [*qa*]*tdīm* *Qaqač İnal-qa* “for my wife *Qaqač İnal*”²⁶.

From the context it becomes clear that the form *qatdim* is not the Past of a verb, but rather a noun to which the Possessive Suffix of the first person is added.

S. Çağatay mentions the word *qat* and its variants as they are found in some Siberian Turkish languages²⁷. Further data are given in the recent publications by N. A. Baskakov²⁸. I cannot follow S. Çağatay's assumption that *qat* etc. are abbreviated forms of *xatun* > *qadın*²⁹. The main reason is the fact that in some colophons or other texts the word *xatun* “wife”³⁰ is well known even as a part of personal names³¹.

The most striking feature of *qatd* is its rendering of the final consonant so far not known from other words. I suppose that this rendering must reflect a peculiarity of its pronunciation. In this connection I want to cite the Tuvian words *qa'ttaš* “wife”³² contrasting with *qatim* “my father-in-law”³³. The first word has the phenomenon of pharyngalisation³⁴. I think that the rendering *-td-* was used to express this peculiar pronunciation. All in all, I want to propose that the basis of the word *qa't* “wife” is more or less identical with *qa't* “layer”³⁵.

4. *alınçu*

There is only one example in a colophon to an unknown Buddhist work : *alınçu xatun-larım* “my taken wives”³⁶. Obviously, *alınçu* being an Attribute to *xatun*, is derived from *al-* “to take”, in a specific sense “to take a woman, to marry”³⁷. S. Çağatay refers to other deverbal nouns such as *alyan*³⁸. In the Mongolian language there is a similar expression : *abali* “wife” derived from *ab-* “to take”³⁹.

²⁶ MzuO III (fn. 21), text B lines verso 7-8.

²⁷ Çağatay (fn. 3 [b]), pp. 13-14.

²⁸ N. A. Baskakov, *Dialekt lebedinskikh tatar - çalkancev (kuu-kiži)*, Moskva 1985, p. 159.

²⁹ Çağatay (fn. 3 [b]), p. 13.

³⁰ *ED* (fn. 6), p. 602b.

³¹ See fn. 43.

³² (Red.) È. R. Tenišev, *Tuvinsko - russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1968, 233b.

³³ *TRS* (fn. 32), 231b.

³⁴ See V. I. Rassadin, *Fonetika i leksika tofalarshogo Jazyka*, Ulan - Ude 1971; G. Kara's review in : *AOH* 27 [1973], p. 242 sqq.

³⁵ *ED* (fn. 6), p. 593b.

³⁶ *BT XIII*, 42.23.

³⁷ K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1977 -, p. 88b.

³⁸ Çağatay (fn. 3 [b]), p. 19.

³⁹ See note on *BT XIII* 42.23.

5. *adaš*

According to the examples recorded in K. Röhrborn's *Uigurisches Wörterbuch* the word *adaš* has the general meaning "comrade, friend",⁴⁰ but one has to consider that the colophon edited by L. Ju. Tuguševa contains the following data :

adas-im Bolmīš-qa "for my *adaš* Bolmīš",⁴¹

ada[š]-im Qutluγ-qa "for my *adaš* Qutluγ"⁴², followed by two names without a preceding term of relationship : *Qarna Šāli-kä* "for Qarna Šāli" and *Ana Xatun Tngrim-kä* "for Ana Xatun Tngrim",⁴³

adašim İlig-kä "for my *adaš* İlig",⁴⁴ again followed by two names : *Yiγmīš Tngrim-kä* "for Yiγmīš Tngrim" and *Kä[s]ik Tngrim-kä* "for Kä[s]ik Tngrim"⁴⁵.

As this colophon does not contain any other term for "wife", one might suggest that the word *adaš* is used here in this sense. But the name Qarna Šāli is a pure masculine name⁴⁶, and the meaning "sevgili" given by S. Çağatay⁴⁷ seems to be a secondary one.

⁴⁰ *UW* (fn. 37), p. 48ab.

⁴¹ Tuguševa (fn. 17), p. 255 line 14.

⁴² Tuguševa (fn. 17), p. 255 line 23.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ J. Hamilton, *Les titres Šāli et Tutung en ouïgour*, in : *JAs* 272 [1984], pp. 425-437.

⁴⁷ Çağatay (fn. 3 [b]), p. 32.