

Notes on Two Old Uyghur Words

Peter ZIEME*
(Berlin)

Özet: Makale iki Türkçe kelime üzerine notlar içermektedir. İlk olarak, *sagdıç* 'arkadaş' kelimesi önceki ve yeni kanıtlar temelinde morfolojik ve semantik olarak analiz edilmiştir. İkinci bölümde ise daha önce kanıtlanmamış olan sözlä- 'konuşmak' sözcüğünün daha yeni bir telaffuz olan *söylä-* fiiline işaret eden kanıtları ele alınmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Old Uyghur, lexicon, *sagdıç*, *sözlä-* ~ *söylä-*.

Abstract: The article presents observations on two Turkish words. First, the word *sagdıç* 'friend' is examined morphologically and semantically on the basis of previous and new evidence. The second part deals with Uyghur testimonies in which the verb *sözlä-* 'to speak' is written as *swyl'* - suggesting a pronunciation *söylä-* 'id'.

Keywords: Eski Uyğurca, söt varlığı, *sagdıç*, *sözlä-* ~ *söylä-*.

The two words for which I submit some notes (*sagdıç* and *sözlä-*) are clearly defined in the *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen* (HWAU). However, the detailed presentation in the partial dictionaries of the Uyghur Dictionary Project in Göttingen is still pending, as both words begin with s-. Until the treatment of these lexemes is completed, further

* Prof. Dr., Senior Researcher at Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. ziemepet@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0002-8090-7707.

evidence or corrected readings of already known texts may be added. The jubilarian has always been engaged in the compilation of textual and lexical collections, and so my modest contribution is dedicated to him, also recalling the rare occasions of collaboration.

sagdič

Even if the word to be discussed here is not one of the kinship terms on which the author has written extensively¹, it is nevertheless close to them in some ways. The word *sagdič* ‘father, confidant’ etc. or more specifically ‘a bride groom’s best man, a bride’s attendant’², is as well documented more than 1000 years ago as it is today, for example in Turkey: *sağdıç*³. The entry in Meninski’s dictionary with the meanings ‘compater’ and ‘compadre’ is very interesting. However, it is unlikely that the letter *yā* inserted in the second case makes the difference⁴. In *Menavino Trattato* one reads: *Sagdich* (p. 38) “che è il parente più profsimo del marito”, borrowed from the Turkish *sağdıç* ‘intimate friend of the bride or bridegroom’⁵”.

The closest evidence to the 11th century master lexicographer Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī is found in the Uyghur texts. The evidence to date will be briefly mentioned here. In addition to *sagdič*, *s. +lig* and *s. +lk* are also listed as lemmata in the HWAU⁶. The form *sagdigči* was declared as an old error for *sagdič*⁷.

1. *sagdič*

The letter fragment U 3890 has *s’qtyč* in line 13 without any interpretable context, which can be interpreted as a variant of *sagdič*.

¹ Li 1999.

² ED 806b.

³ Tietze VII, 135 with the variants *sagdıç*, *sağdık*, *sağdıç* und Azeri *sağdış*. For *sağdık* he quotes Blau 1868, p. 287: “Sagdyč G. 2a . Sagdyk’ U. 6 . ‘kum, Gevatter , Pathe’”.

⁴ Meninski III, 494b.

⁵ Redhouse 972.

⁶ HWAU 573b.

⁷ HWAU 573b.

Without a clear semantic definition, one can only assume that the meaning is simply ‘friend’, as T. Moriyasu⁸ also suggested.

2. *sagdıçlıg*

The *Maitrisimit Nom Bitig*⁹ speaks of the Buddha sending 60 disciples on a mission. This passage, which is based on the *Catuspariṣatsūtra*, reads: *tünki kün kápáz [arıg]da ešlärin istäyü kälmiš al[tmiš] sagdıçlıg oğlanıg upase kılıp [nomug] tägürü y(a)rlıkadı*. The sentence was translated as follows: “He converted into lay followers the youths of the ‘group of the si[xty]’, who came to the cotton [forest] day after day, longing for their playmates, and deigned to offer [the teaching].” The translators have evidently understood the word in question as ‘group’¹⁰, although it is more likely to be interpreted attributively as ‘familiar’. Thus *al[tmiš] sagdıçlıg oğlanıg* is understood as ‘the sixty familiar youths’.

3. *sagdıçlıg* or *sagdıçlık*

The form *sagdıçlıg* or *sagdıçlık* is found in a manuscript of the confessional text TT IV A in line 44 after manuscript A (Mainz 734): *inčä kaltı v(i)rharka sanl(i)g sagdıçl(i)g t(a)varın altım(i)z yunladım(i)z ärsär* “Just as if we should have taken and used up the properties belonging to the monastery (*vihāra*)”. For *sagdıçlıg*, M. Erdal suggested *sagdıçlık* which should “probably be translated as ‘community property’”¹¹. A comparison of the available manuscripts shows that *sagdıçlıg* occurs only in manuscript A. This spelling s’qdyçlq in Mainz 734 can be regarded as an error for *sanjik*, not the other way round. Uyghur *sanjik* goes back to skt. *sāṅghika* via Toch. A *sāṅkik* / Toch B. *saṅkik* and is attested in numerous places¹².

Manuscript A (Mainz 734): l. 44 *v(i)rhār sanl(i)g sagdıçl(i)g* [Fig. 1]

⁸ COUL no. 4.

⁹ Geng & Klimkeit ll. 719-722.

¹⁰ HWAU 573b.

¹¹ OTWF 140.

¹² HWAU 584a.

There are the following parallels in other manuscripts:

Manuscript C (T II Y 9, 59^c, 60^a [lost]) not verifiable because the fragment is considered lost.¹³

Manuscript D (U 3903) l. 25 *[v(i)rhar]ka* (or: *[v(i)rh]ar sanl(i)g saṅik* [Fig. 2]

Manuscript G (U 470) l. 07 *inčip v[(i)rhar] san(08)[lig]* [Fig. 3]

According to these examples, *v(i)rhar sanlig* seems to have become a fixed expression, although one should expect *v(i)rharka*.

In addition, there is new evidence with the variants showing *saṅ* (Skt. *saṅgha*) or *sāṅrām* (Skt. *saṅghārama*) instead of *v(i)rhar* (Skt. *vihāra*).

U 3098: *saṅkā*¹⁴ *sanlig saṅik* ‘that which belongs to the community’ (= *sāṅghika*)’ [Fig. 4].

IOM SI 5725: *sāṅrām sanlig saṅik* ‘that which belongs to the monastery’ (= *sāṅghika*)’.

This leaves only two of the three previous examples. In the third one, the spelling *sagdič* is documented, but this is rather a mistake.

Now there is a further example for *sagdičlig*, even with a similar scenario as in no. 2. It is a fragment about the first Buddha Vipasyin. The corresponding sentence is: *ol bantumi balikda bantumavadi 15 atl(i)g ulug küčlüg ärklig türklüg čoglug 16 yalınlig elig han bar ärti 17 anta ötrü beš yüz sagdičlig oylan taštın 18 buzdan yemišlik borlukda ilinčükä ünä 19 ärtilär 17 anta ötrü beš yüz sagdičlig oylan taštın 18 buzdan yemišlik borlukda ilinčü-kä ünä 19 ärtilär*¹⁵ “In this city of Bandhumatī there was a king called Bandhumavadi who was mighty, strong and brilliant. Thereupon 500 friendly youths had set out outside (the city) in the garden₂ for pleasure.”

¹³ According to TT IV, p. 447 n. A 44: C 46 and D 25 “sanly sāṅig”.

¹⁴ Or *sāṅ* like in *sāṅrām*.

¹⁵ Ch/U 6857 verso [Fig. 5].

With this third example, we have the word as a noun and as an adjective. Of course, there may also have been a +*LXk* derivation, as assumed by M. Erdal. But not yet demonstrably.

G. Doerfer has treated the word in detail in a wider context. He assumes that the new forms *sagduš* and *solduš*, i.e. companions on the right and left, arose from the original *sagdič* via the replacement of the suffix +*dlč* by *tuš*.¹⁶ For example in the following text passage: “[202] Oğlan ö ündä oğlana häna ğecäsi tutallar. [203] Čävannar yığışar şam düzäldällär, häna isladallar. [204] Salduş solduş yığılır. [205] Qız övi salduş solduşa xälöt verär. [206] Dövlättisi pİRän verär, köynählıx verär, kAsıbı čorabdan, filāndan verär salduş solduşuna. [207] Beyi oturdullar arada, älini qōzallar yuxarı salduş solduşı.”¹⁷

M. Stachowski (KEWT 290a) derives the word from New Persian *sağdıç* ‘1. bester Freund; 2. Trauzeuge’ = MK. *sagdyč* ‘Freund’ < pers. *sāgdūš* ~ *sākdūš* ‘Trauzeuge’ < pers. *sāğ* ~ *sāk* (< tü. *sag* ‘rechter’) + *dūš* ‘Schulter’ (TMEN III 227; Eker 2009: 268). In New Persian also *saqduš* ساقدوش ‘A companion, an equal’ (Steingass 642a).

Of particular importance is the New Persian forms *saqduš*, which has a possible derivation from *sag* ‘right’ + *tuš* ‘friend’¹⁸. The evidence from Is (cf. TMEN № 1216) shows that there was also a left-hand counterpart: *solduš*. Nevertheless, the forms *sağdıç* and *solduç* are used even today, as in the following example:

Fırını temizler pardıç,
İçindeki yanan ardıç,
Biri solduç, biri sağdıç,
Bey toyun mübarek olsun.¹⁹

¹⁶ TMEN № 1216 (Vol. III). Cf. also Mert 2019, pp. 70-71, 443-444.

¹⁷ Sönmáz 1998, Text 8.

¹⁸ Whether New Uyghur *duč* (Schwarz 273) belongs to this lexeme, is an open question.

¹⁹ Cemiloğlu & İmamverdi 2021, p. 74 (Örnek № 9).

söylä- ‘to speak’

Thousands of examples of *sözlä-* ‘to speak’ are contrasted with only three examples, very few in fact, which can be clearly read as *söylä-*. In order to rule out that these few examples represent a completely different verb, possibly also with the reading **soyla-* or **suyla-*²⁰, they are presented here:

1) The first example is found in SI 5363: *törtünč bačak bertäcitätä basa söylämiš k(ä)rgäk* “Fourthly, one should speak after the fast-giver.” [Fig. 6]

2) In a second text (Ch/U 8029 verso)²¹ [Fig. 7], a fragment from an almanac with predictions on certain days, we read:

[Fig. 7] *adnagu söylämiš savıg ötgüngüci*²² “one who imitates the word spoken (by) another”.

[Fig. 8] *amtı py bars savın sölärim*²³ “Now I speak the word of the py tiger-(day)”.

The form *söylärim* stands in contrast to the usual *sözläyürmän*. It could rather be found in an Oghuz text, as e.g. in modern Turkish: *söylerim sana* “I tell you”.

In the above example you can see two Oghuzic features, *söy* instead of *söz* and the aorist *-Xr* + possessive suffix *+Xm*:

²⁰ When J. Hamilton examined the etymology of the word, he concluded that Old Anatolian had two similar words: *soy* “parole, nouvelle, propos, récitation” (from Old Turkic *sav*) and *söz* ‘word’ (from Old Turkic *söz*) and accordingly the verbs *soyla-* and *sözlä-*. Further he argued that Ottoman *söylä-* developed by analogy to *soyla-* (Hamilton 1974, p. 114). On the other hand, H. Eren defended the derivation of *söyle-* from *sözle-* (Eren 1999, p. 375b). The Ottoman database TEBDIZ lists 36 entries for *sözle-* versus 134 for *söyle-*. Unfortunately, all the Uyghur examples presented here have no clear mark for a back vowel realization. At the moment, an argument against **soy* in Old Uyghur is the clear evidence for *sav* and *savla-* (HWAU a, b).

²¹ This fragment can be joined with IOM SI 6661.

²² Ch/U 8029 verso l. 05.

²³ Ch/U 8029 verso l. 13.

Uyghur	söz	lä	yür	män
Oghuz	söy	lä	r	im

The Oghuz personal suffix of the aorist is also known from another Old Uyghur text: *kadguraram* ‘I am anxious’²⁴. The usual Old Uyghur form is found, for example, in a Manichaean hymn: *kadgurarm(ä)n*²⁵.

As a kind of continuation of an earlier essay, one conclusion is that the verb *söylä-* seems to be another ‘Oghuz’ peculiarity²⁶, which is marginal, but nevertheless it shows the wide range of variation that can be observed in the Old Uyghur text corpus.

²⁴ Tezcan & Zieme 1994, p. 262.

²⁵ M II, p. 8 verso 06.

²⁶ Zieme 2011.

References

Reproductions from the original documents

[Fig. 1] 1]



[Fig. 2] 2]



[Fig. 3]



[Fig. 4]



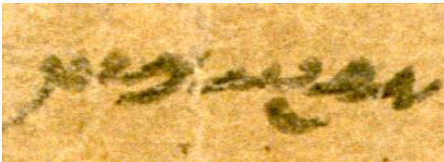
[Fig. 5]



[Fig. 6]



[Fig. 7]





[Fig. 8]

Abbreviations

COUL	Moriyasu
ED	Clauson
HWAU	Wilkins
IOM SI	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – Serindia
Is	Iskandar Bēgi Türkmāni Munši: Tārīhi ‘ālam ārāyi ‘abbāsī
KEWT	Stachowski
KI	Caferoğlu
M II	Le Coq
OTWF	Erdal
TEBDIZ	Türk Edebiyatı Tarihsel Sözlüğü
TMEN	Doerfer
TT IV	Bang & Gabain

Bibliography

- Bang, W[illi] & Gabain, A[nnemarie] v[on] 1930. Türkische Turfan-Texte IV. Ein neues uigurisches Sündenbekenntnis. In: Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der Preuß. Akademie d. Wissenschaften. Pp. 432-450.
- Blau, Otto 1868. Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler. Leipzig.
- Caferoğlu, Ahmet 1931. Abû-Hayyân. Kitâb al-İdrâk li-lisân al-Atrâk. Istanbul.
- Cemiloğlu, İlgar & İmamverdi, Firuze 2021. İran Türklerinde Âşık Düğün Törenleri. Ankara.
- Clauson, Gerard 1972. An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish, Oxford.
- Doerfer, Gerhard 1963-1975. Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen I-IV. Wiesbaden.
- Eren, Hasan 2020. Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü. Istanbul.

- Geng, Shimin & Hans-Joachim Klimkeit 1988. Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit, I-II. Wiesbaden.
- Hamilton, J[ames] 1974. *Opla-/yopla-, uf-/yuf-* et autres formes semblables en turc ancien. In: Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hungaricae 28 (1974), 111-117.
- Le Coq, Albert von 1919. Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho II. Abhandlungen der Preuß. Akademie d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 1919/3.
- Li, Yong-Söng 1999. Türk Dillerinde Akrabalık. İstanbul.
- Meninski, Franciszek 2000. Thesaurus linguarum orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae = Lexicon Turcico-Arabico-Persico / Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski; mit einer Einleitung und mit einem türkischen Wortindex von Stanislaw Stachowski ; sowie einem Vorwort von Mehmet Ölmez. İstanbul.
- Mert, Abdullah 2019. Eski Türkçeden Türkiye Türkçesi Ve Ağızlarına Uzanan Söz Varlığı. Konya (Doktora tezi).
- Moriyasu, Takao 2019. Corpus of the Old Uyghur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Berliner Turfantexte XLVI). Turnhout.
- Schwarz, Henry G. 1992. An Uyghur-English Dictionary. Western Washington.
- Sönmöz, Işıq 1998. Untersuchungen zu den aserbaidshanischen Dialekten von Qaradağ Muğan und Zänčan. Göttingen [MATERIALIA TURCICA Beiheft 11].
- Stachowski, Marek 2019. Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch der türkischen Sprache. Kraków.
- Steingass, Francis Joseph 1892. A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary. London.

Tezcan, Semih & Peter Zieme 1994. Alttürkische Reimsprüche. Ein neuer Text, in: *Journal of Turkology* 2 (1994), 259-271.

Tietze, Andreas 2016-2019. *Tarihî Ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugati: Sprachgeschichtliches und Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen. I-IX.* Ankara.

Zieme, Peter 2011. Nicht-ugurische Besonderheiten in altugurischen Texten. *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, 21.2 (2011): 279-291.