

## A TURKIC LOAN-WORD IN MODERN RUSSIAN POLITICAL PUBLICISM AND TURKIC AND MONGOLIC PREVERBS

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1. The word *xaltura* 'something made somehow, negligently, rough-and-ready, clumsy', 'bad, negligent, careless work', 'additional work beside the regular one', which first occurred in Russian literature in 1868-74, came to be much used in Soviet political publicism after 1917. Černyh (1994, II: 330b-331a) explained it as a semantic variant of Russian *xaltura* 'food given on the occasion of a funeral or burial feast', Ukrainian *xavtura* 'memorial feast, payment in kind to clergy for officiating a ceremony', Bulgarian *xatúry* 'funeral', Polish *chautury* 'gift', etc. However, the semantic difference, the structure of the word and the fact that it occurred as early as 1677 in the surname of *Avdejko Xalturin*, scribe in Ufa (!), indicate that these are two different words, the first one, 'memorial gift' of a Slavic, the second one, 'careless work' of a non-Slavic origin.

2.a. The following words connected with the Russian word meaning 'negligent work' are to be found in Turkic and Mongolian languages (adverbs meaning different movements, as e.g. Bashkir *kaltan* 'provornyj, rastoropnyj' (Uraksin 1996: 341b, 611b), Kirgiz *kalt*, *kalt-kult*, *melt-kalt*, *kylt* (Judaxin 1965: 333a, 523a, 487a), Chuvash *käl-kal* 'rovnyj, bystryj' (Skvorcov 1985: 137c), etc. are not listed here because they are connected with the onomatopoeic root *kal-/kyl/küll/kil-*: Chuvash *kältär-kaltär* 'koe-kak, nebrežno, kak popalo, nerovno' (Skvorcov 1985: 158a-b); Xakas *xyldyr* 'negodnyj, gadkij, drjannoj' (Baskakov & Inkižekova-Grekul 1953: 298b). The same adjective exists in some expressions in Turkish dialects: *gıldır gol* 'çolak' (DS VI, p. 2040b), *gıldırgüçük*, *kıldır güçük* 'önemsiz, ufak tefek, çelimsiz' (DS VI, p. 2040b; DS VIII, p. 2796a).

2.b. A verb is developed from this adjective: Turkish dialectal *gıldırdamak* 'kendi kendine, yavaş yavaş çalışmak' (DS VI, p. 2040a). This verb is even to be found in Mongolic languages as a Turkic loan-word: Xalx *xaltarlax* 'delat' nebrežno, koe-kak' (Luvsandendev 1957: 504a-b) and Kalmuck *xaltrlx* 'delat' nebrežno (koe-kak)' (Muniev 1977: 570a).

3.a. However, this adjective is not the final root. There is a shorter form traceable again: Old Turkic, Uygur *qalty* 'als, dass' (Räsänen 1969: 226a), Middle Turkic *kaltu*: 'how, (just) as, when, if', which is not noted later than the Uygur period according to Clauson (1972: 618b-619a); Chuvash *kält* 'očen' nemnogo' (Ašmarin 1935: 124), *kal't käl't* 'čut'-čut', nemnogo, edva', *kal'tä käl'tä* 'malovažnyj, melkij', *kal't käl't* 'nemnogo, koe-kak' (Ašmarin 1935: 125); the Uygur dialect of Lopnor *kalta* 'korotkyj' (Malov 1956: 125b); Tatar *kyl'dyj-pyl'dyj* 'nebrežno, neostorožno, kak popalo' (DSTJa, p. 147); Kazakh *qalt-kult* 'defective, imperfect' (Bazyłhan 1984: 560b), 'just hardly, hardly' (Shnitnikov 1966: 255b); Yakut *xalty* 'vskol'z' > Evenki *kalti* 'čut' (SSTMJa I p. 368b). As a Turkic loan-word in Mongolic and Manchu languages: Classic Mongolian *qaltu möltü* 'hardly, almost, barely; carelessly', *qaltu kigsen* 'carelessly made or done' (Lessing 1982: 921a) > Manchu *qaltu multu* 'edva ne, čut'-čut' (SSTMJa I, p. 368b); Xalx *xalt*, *xalt mølt*, *xalti*, *xal't* 'defective, imperfect', e.g. *xalt mølt güjceex* 'to accomplish imperfectly', *xalt mølt* 'vskol'z', poverhnostno, koe-kak, ele, čut'-čut', *xalti mølt* 'koe-kak, nebrežno, netočno, pospesno, toroplivo' (Ceval 1966: 650b, 651a, 653b); Oirat *xältä möltä* 'koe-kak, vtoropjah poverhnostno, vskol'z', netočno', *adžal kerëktö xältä möltä orältsäxxa* 'to do his work carelessly' (Luvsanbaldan 1988: 634); Ordos *qaltu maltu* 'à moitié, incomplètement' (Mostaert 1941-44); Buryat *xalta* 'čut'-čut', edva, slegka, mel'kom, mimohodom, *xalta xulta*, *xalta mülte* 'poverhnostno, beglo' (Čeremisov 1973: 539a).

This type of word was already described by Ramstedt (1952: 256) as onomatopoeic or otherwise descriptive preverbs. In Turkish, they are mostly treated as onomatopoeic words (cf. the collection of Zülfikar 1995). L. Bese, who wrote long articles about Buryat and Xalx preverbs, mentioned *xalt* (Bese 1966: 220; 1968: 230) as meaning 'away', and in the expression *xalta mülte* as meaning 'into pieces' (both very simplified translations). According to him, this type of preverbs are non-closing morphemes and non-mobile elements, not adverbs but a phenomenon of word formation which may only attend certain verbs or the prefixed verbs may only denote definite objects, e.g. the preverb *xalta* may attend *xaza-* 'to bite' (Bese 1966: 220, 231, 236, 238). However, as the expressions listed above prove that *xalta* and its variants attend verbs denoting 'to work, to make', and the results of poor work both in Turkish (a verb and adjective in the expression meaning a helpless arm), and in the Classical and modern Mongolian languages (verb and part of expressions), and it does the same in a Chuvash expression cited later.

The dictionaries, e.g. Luvsandendev (1957), Čeremisov (1973), and Ceval (1966) often called this category 'particle of intensity' (e.g. *xolbi*, *xolt* by Ceval 1966: 686a, 686b). In other cases Ceval (1966: 343b) translated them as an adjective/adverb, e.g. *mølt* 'besides, hasty, inaccurate, incomplete'. Its phonetic variant, *mult* is called a particle of intensity and defined only by examples (Ceval (1966: 349a).

Bese called these preverbs root-preverbs. After them the suffix *-r* of intensity may appear in Buryat, which is not tolerated in literary Xalx (Bese 1966: 221, 227; 1968: 231). However, this suffix can hardly be called a Mongolic one, as it is often used in Turkic onomatopoeic words as well, e.g.: Bashkir: *kelt* 'podražanie zvuku selkan'ja, tikan'ja' > *kelter-kelter* 'podražanie zvuku odnoobraznogo, ritmičnogo drebezžanija', *kəlt-kəlt* 'podražanie nerovnoi, zatkoj pohodke', *kəltər-kəltər* 'podražanie zvuku kolebljusceisja esti, i.t.d.' (Uraksin 1996: 265a, 324a); Chuvash *pəlt-pəlt* 'podr. dviženiem predmeta, kotoryi valitsja vo vse storony' (Ašmarin 1936: 107), > *pəltər-pəltər* 'podr. dviženij ili padenij (o bol'som po telu čeloveke ili dlinnom)' (Ašmarin 1936: 108), etc.

It is noteworthy that occasionally other suffixes may appear as well, e.g. Buryat *xaltad* 'počti, čut' čto, možet byt'' (Čeremisov 1973: 539a); Chuvash *kaltak* 'bednjaga, goremyka' (Skvorcov 1985: 138b) *käl'ttex* 'očen' nemnogo', *kalččex* 'nemnogo', *kal'tän kal'tän* 'ponemnogo' (Ašmarin 1935: 125).

Bese treated the preverbs as a Mongolian, especially Buryat category. However, as the material presented here shows, not only is this category common in Turkic as well as Mongolic languages, but so are the words themselves and the suffix of intensity, which develops them. The longer, intensive form, from which the Turkish, Xalx and Kalmuck verbs are developed, occurs in Turkish, Xakas and Chuvash (cf. above). Already the facts that there are more preverbs known in Buryat than in Xalx, which does not use the suffix of intensity either, suggests that many of the preverbs are loan-words.

**3.b.** It is, of course, very difficult to give an etymology for onomatopoeic words. However, these preverbs may be root-preverbs in the Mongolic languages, as Bese suggested, but they are not roots when looking at their Turkic origin. The following examples exist without the final *-t*: Chuvash *kal-käl* 'nesložnyj, netrudnyj, prostoj, nesložno, netrudno, prosto', *kal-käl es* 'družnaja, sporaja rabota' (Skvorcov 1985: 137c); Dagur *gəl* 'qaltu' (Namčarai Qasartani 1983: 538a).

This is obviously a root which may be developed further, not only with the suffix *-t*, but also with *-tVk* and other suffixes as well, e.g.: Chuvash *kaltak* 'nedostatok, nedočet, iz"jan, defekt' *kaltak-kältak* 'nedostatki, nedočety, iz"jany, defekty' (Ašmarin 1935: 120); Eastern Turki *qaltaq* 'good-for-nothing, wretch' (Jarring 1964: 237); Bashkir dial. *qaltak* 'zalkij, nesčastnyj, ubogij; bednjaga' (Uraksin 1996: 341b, 428b); Classic Mongolian *qalab qulub* 'superficially, incompletely, carelessly, slowly' (Uraksin 1996: 916a). The suffix *-Vb* is probably identical with the Turkic suffix *-yb* and its variants (Gadžieva & Serebrennikov 1986: 153-154) or it is connected with the suffix Xakas *külf* or *külv* 'a loud noise (of the collapsing wall)', onomatopoeic (Clouston 1972: 716a).

As cited above, a monosyllabic origin was suggested before as an etymology for Old Turkic, Uygur *qalty* 'als, dass', cf. *kaly* (Qutadyu bilig) 'jetzt, nun', (Middle

Turkic) 'wie?, wenn, dass doch', (Ibnü Mühennâ) 'eger', (Abû Hayyân) 'muvaḥḥik' noted by Räsänen (1969: 226a), cf. also *kaltu*: 'how, (just) as, when, if', apparently an earlier form of *kali*: according to Clauson (1972: 617a, 618b-619a).

The suffix *-t* which is added to this root is already well-known in Old Turkic, forming adverbs, e.g. *qatygty* 'krepko', according to Rassadin (1978: 247-248), who treated Tuvian *-dy* and *-dyr* and Xakas *-da* and *-dyry* as two different suffixes – about *-dyr* cf. Ishakov & Pal'mbah 1961: 426-429 as well. I think that the suffixes *-dyr/-dyry* are compounds based on *-dy* (variant *-da*), which is identical with Old Turkic *-ti/-ty*. This is the same suffix that was called suffix of intensity by Bese in Mongolic preverbs. As the Mongolic words in our list show, this suffix does not only exist in the form of *-t*, but in variants *-ti*, *-ta* as well. These are closer to the Turkic origin, while *-t* lost the final vowel, a development typical of modern Mongolian. The words listed above show the following variants of the suffix: *-t*: in Chuvash, Kazakh, Mongolian words, *-ti*: in Uygur, Tatar, Yakut, Mongolian words, *-ta*: in Chuvash, Uygur dial., Oirat, Buryat words, *-tu*: in Mongolian words.

This list proves that these forms are widespread in Turkic languages, and Mongolic languages must have borrowed them several times, both from a language close to Old Turkic (*-ti* forms) and from a language where Old Turkic *y* corresponds to *a*. It is especially interesting that Dagur has the same monosyllabic form as Chuvash.

3.c. It must be mentioned here that some Mongolists regard these preverbs as verbal roots without any usual ending, e.g. *tas* (a usual preverb for verbs meaning 'to cut, to crack') and *tasrax* 'to be torn away from, to cut off' (Seržee & Luvsanbaldan 1983: 236), while others consider them roots and the suffix *-r-* a verbal formant (cf. Luvsanvandan 1968: 147). The material is, of course, very complex (as usual in the case of onomatopoeic words). Still, the preverbal root is often traceable in Turkic languages, even if it is not always documented, e.g.: Chuvash *sulla-* 'kačat', kolebat' (Skvorcov 1985: 381b-c); Turkish *saldır* *suldur* (DS, p. 3523b) 'iki yana sallanarak yürümek için', *seldirdemek* 'id.' (DS, p. 3574a).

In this case, the root *sal-/sel-* is traceable before *sal+la-*, *sel+dir-*, *sal+dir*, and Chuvash *sul+la-*. In my opinion, in this case the verbs are secondary developed from the (so far unattested) preverbal root. Likewise, the Mongolian examples originate from the preverbal root, developed with the verbal suffix *-rV*. The development is undoubted when citing examples where the root is a well-known substantive, e.g.: Classic Mongolian *bulu* '1. hub of a wheel, wheel, cylinder, etc., 2. bump on the body; the thick end of a marrow bone' (Lessing 1982: 136a-b), *bulduru* 'bump, lump, swelling, hillock' (Lessing 1982: 134a); Xalx *bultas bultas xijx* 'to move some round thing' (Ceval 1966: 105b); Buryat *bul* 'val, valik', eastern dialect *bula* '1. stupica (u koleza), 2. okryglyj konec kosti, golovka' (Čeremisov 1973: 110a), Boxan dialect *bultargana* 'puhlyi, pol'nyj, tolstyj', *bulxaixa* 'byt' vypuklym',

*bulxalzana* 'kolyhat'sja, trjastis' (napr. o ekah)' (Čeremisov 1973: 112a). These Mongolic words can hardly be divided from Chuv. *palt-pält* 'podr. dviženijam predmeta, kotoryj valitsja vo vse storony, *paltar-pältar* 'podr. dviženij ili padenij (o bol'šom po telu čeloveke ili dlinnom)' (Ašmarin 1936: 107).

4. From the material presented here the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) The Russian word *xaltura* 'negligent work' is a Turkic loan-word, most probably from a Kipchak (e.g. Tatar) language. Its suffix has a final vowel as the Xakas suffix in similar cases. (2) This word belongs to the great number of Turkic onomatopoeic words, often used as preverbs. (3) The same category, strongly influenced by Turkic loan-words and suffixes, is to be found in the Mongolic languages. (4) The shortest and most probably oldest form is to be found in Chuvash and Dagur, which is an interesting fact, indicating very old connections between the archaic Dagur, the situation of which among the Mongolic languages is so special (cf. Janhunen 1996) and the Chuvash, the situation of which among the Turkic languages is equally special.

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