



Derivatives -či/čī in the medieval Kipchak manuscript Temür Qutluğ Khan's yarliğ

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ABSTRACT

In 1397, Temür Qutluğ, Khan of the Golden Horde, issued the edict (*yarliğ*) to a local royal family in Crimea. In this medieval manuscript, the addresser mentions dozens of profession names, many of which are formed with the help of the word-formative suffix (affix) -či/čī. The derivative -či/čī is a common word-formation affix in Old and modern Turkic languages, its origins are in the Proto-Altaic language. -či/čī is actively functioning in both the early and late Middle Ages, which is also confirmed by the analysis of derived words in this specific manuscript. Historically, -či/-čī denoted a person's connection with a subject, an action, or a professional activity to which it attaches, and this word-formation meaning has also existed in this manuscript (*bitigčī, tartnaqčī, köprükčī, etc.*). The authors have made a semantic and etymological analysis of the generating bases of lexemes, identified the corpus of derived words denoting professions in the Golden Horde, considered their syntagmatic and contextual compatibility, and concluded that derived words with derivatives -či/-čī in the vocabulary of Temür Qutluğ yarliğī, and their word-formation meanings have continuity with similar derivatives of modern Turkic languages.

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Introduction

Middle Kipchak was the language used by the Kipchak people between the 13th and 16th centuries in the Eurasian steppe (Berta, 1998: 159). Kipchaks were a group of Turkic-speaking nomadic who lived in the Eurasian Steppe from the 10th to the 13th centuries and established their political power, the Kipchak Khaganate. The Khaganate stretched from the vast Central Asian steppes (in modern-day Kazakhstan) to the bank of the Caspian Sea and eventually expanded to southern Russia. However, in the early 13th century, the Kipchaks were defeated by the Mongol army in the battle of the Kalka River and were subsequently annexed into the Mongol Empire. Along with the dissolution of the Great Mongol Empire, the descendants of Jochi, the first son of Chinggis Khan, established the Golden Horde, ruling extensive territory from Central Asia to Eastern Europe (Mierkamali, 2001: 137-138).

Material and research methods

The *yarliġ* is dated April 24, 1398. Although the original manuscript itself is missing, the copy preserved nowadays has been recognized as authentic. This *yarliġ* is a preferential certificate in which Khan Temür Qutluġ provided a rich Muslim landowner with a property contract with a list of personal tax benefits in order to win local support of Crimea in the political struggle between him and Khan Toktamish (Favereau, 2018: 168-172). The transliterated text is quoted from A. Melek Oyzetgin's work, *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Kazan sahasına ait yarlık ve bitiklerin dil ve üslûp incelemesi* [Linguistic and stylistic analysis of *yarliġ* and manuscripts belonging to Altın Ordu, Crimea and Kazan].

There are hundreds of *-ĉi/ĉi* derivatives that occur in Middle Turkic manuscripts, such as *Codex Cumanicus*, *Divanu lugat at-turk* [Compendium of the Turkic dialects]. However, only thirteen *-ĉi/ĉi* derived profession names have been found in Khan Temür Qutluġ's *yarliġ*. Despite the small samples of *-ĉi/ĉi* derivatives in the manuscript, it can still be seen that words derived from *-ĉi/ĉi* play an important role in the creation of profession names after considering that there are only twenty-one profession names in Khan Temür Qutluġ's *yarliġ*. Therefore, the analysis and study of *-ĉi/ĉi* derived words play a very important role in understanding the characteristics and rules of this form of word formation.

The study of derivatives *-ĉi/ĉi* can be based on the following methods. Firstly, the statistical and inductive method is necessary for this research. Based on the existing research material, we aim to collect and categorize the *-ĉi/ĉi* derivatives so as to gain a clear insight into the *-ĉi/ĉi* structure. Secondly, we aim to conduct a detailed description of the collected *-ĉi/ĉi* derived words, to reveal their distribution rules and functions in forming words. Thirdly, the comparative method also plays an important role in the study. By comparing the forms and semantic features of the selected words in Middle Kipchak, the article aims to discover the corresponding forms of the features both in Old and Modern Turkic.

Research Background

The *-ĉi/ĉi* suffix is one of the most productive word-forming suffixes in Turkic languages, and its existence is rooted in Ancient Turkic and is still widely used in modern Turkic

languages. Scholars like Talat Tekin, Clauson, Marcel Erdal all state that the nominal forming suffix *-či/čī* is widely used in Old Turkic and forms profession names. Marcel Erdal points out that the suffix *-či/čī* always denotes humans, whom it characterizes through their fixed, habitual or professional activities (Marcel 1991: 111). N.G. Shaimerdinova states that the function of the nominal forming suffix *-či/čī* is giving a person a professional behavior or setting a connection between the person and the object (Shaimerdinova, 2022: 118-127). On the other hand, N. A. Baskakov points out that *-či/čī* and its variations are common in Altaic languages and function in the same way. For example, *-či/čī* in Turkic, *-č* in Mongolic, and *-ja* in Korean (Baskakov, 1981: 100-101).

As for the Altyn Orda Khans' edicts, several scholars have done research on this topic. A. Melek Özyetgin, in her work collects and translates plenty of yarligis of Altyn Orda, the Kirim Khanate, and Kazan Khanate (Özyetgin, 1996). Meanwhile, she also assesses the word phrases and sentences from various aspects. H. Jankowski discusses profession names of historical Crimean Tatar and compares them with Old Turkic and Middle Kipchak. He also discusses the role of *-či/čī* in the formation of those profession names (Jankowski, 2020: 165-180).

Analysis

An analysis of the names of professions provides an understanding of the means of *-či/čī* in the formation of words. In the following part, the study will only describe and analyze the profession names derived from the suffix *-či/čī*. Those profession names are *bitigčī*, *tamğaçī*, *tartnaqčī*, *yorta işlenčī*, *yolavčī*, *yamčī*, *süsünčī*, *qusčī*, *barsčī*, *kemečī*, *köpriükčī*, *sabančī*, *ortağčī*, thirteen profession names in total.

These words are all derivatives with a stem attached by *-či/čī*. This suffix is rooted in Old Altaic and Old Turkic with a long history. It commonly occurs in Old Turkic Runic inscriptions (Orkhon, Enisei, Talas scripts), e.g. *Ičreki bedizčī itti* '(They) sent painters from inner' (Aidarov, 1986: 53). The means of formation of derivatives, shaping nouns from nouns or verbs. This character affects the function of word formation. The function of *-či/čī* is to give a person professional behavior and set a connection between a person and an object, which has been studied and shown in N.G. Shaimerdinova's article (Shaimerdinova, 2022: 118-127). If the suffix *-či/čī* is attached to verbal stems, e.g. *itgu* 'to build' > *itgučī* 'builder', *siğit* 'to cry' > *siğitčī* 'mourner', then the word formation function is to designate 'person by action' (Shaimerdinova, 2022: 121).

Bitigčī. 'scribe'. Bitigčī is formed by the stem bitig attached with the suffix *-či*, which denotes the meaning of 'secretary'. Bitig is derived from the verbal root *biti-* 'to write' (Clauson, 1972: 304). During the medieval period in Central Asian states, Bitigčī was a person who held the position of secretary or scribe. This official position also existed in the Chinggisid Empires. After the collapse of these empires, Bitigčī became a widespread name of the profession among the Turkic-Mongolian peoples (Räsänen, 1969: 77).

Tamğaçī. 'Custom officer'. In old Turkic, *tamğa* was originally a brand or mark of ownership applied to horses, cattle, and other livestock (Clauson, 1972: 506); over time, *tamğa* became the symbol of rulers' power, which was the seal. Therefore, *tamğaçī* in Old Turkic means 'seal holder', which can also be interpreted as 'representative of the ruler',

e.g. on oq oğlīm türgeš qağanta maqarač tamğači, oğuz bilgä tamğači kälti. (KT: N 13) ‘the two representatives of my son the Türgeš Kağan of the On Oq (Western Türk) at Kül Tegin’s funeral were Makarač’ (Geng, 2005: 135). The word was later borrowed into Mongolian. *Altun tamğa* ‘gold seal’, was widely used by Chinggsid rulers. For instance, Rashid al-Din once mentioned that there were three types of gold seals in the Ilkhan Khanate: large gold seals for important matters, special gold seals for military affairs, a small gold seal (*altün tamgā-ye kūčak*) for fiscal, and commercial letters (Doerfer, 1982: 556-557). Thus, *tamğači*’s lexical meaning depended on the *tamğa*’s role. In Temür Qutluğ’s *yarliğ*, *kirür čikarında qirimda kefedede.....tamğa tartnak almasun* ‘In roads and places, at entrance or exit, in *qirim* or Caffa.....the custom duty should not apply’ (Özyetgin, 1996: 107). From the context, we can notice that the *tamğa* of the text means ‘custom duty’. Therefore, the meaning of *tamğači* is accordingly ‘custom officer’.

Tartnaqči. ‘tax collector’. The stem verb *tart-* originally means ‘to pull, or drag’, but with many extended meanings of which ‘to weigh’ is the oldest (Clauson, 1972: 534). Although the root and the explanation of the suffix *-naq* is still uncertain, the fact that *tartnaqči* is a type of tax is in evidence from the context in which the word occurs, i.g., *kirür čikarında qirimda kefedede.....tartnaq almasun* (Özyetgin, 1996: 107). “In roads and places, at entrance or exit, in Qrim or Caffa.....the *tartnaq* [tax for weighing] shall not apply” (Favereau, 2018: 187). Nevertheless, another opinion toward the word *Tartnaq* rather explains it as “a gift or tribute” than “a tax”. A. N. Samoylovich used the existence of *tartuw* in the Kazakh language to support his speculation (Usmanov, 1978: 259-260), e.g. *tartuw tarttı* “a thing given as a gift from one to another with respect” (Iskakov, Wali, 2011, 14th vol.: 13 p.). Therefore, in his opinion, *Tartnaqči*, instead of a tax collector, was more likely a person who collected gifts or tributes from the Altyn Orda Khan’s ruling regions.

Yortar işlenči. ‘envoy’. The compound word is constructed by *yort-* ‘to trot’ + *-Ar*(aorist) and *işlen* ‘to work’ (reflexive form) + *-či*, giving the meaning of ‘runner’ or ‘envoy’. The form of *-či/či* attached to a verbal phrase making a profession name is rather less frequent to occur in Turkic languages. In modern Kazakh, the variation of *yort-* is *jort-*. There are derivative words like *jortuwši*, *jortuwilši*, which deliver the polysemantic meanings of ‘a person who takes part in a campaign or a war’ and ‘a thief’(Iskakov, et al., 2011, 6 vol.: 493, 494 p.).

Yolavči. ‘envoy’. The original meaning of the word is ‘diplomatic envoy’. Clauson believes it is a borrowed word from the Persian word, *-va:č/-wa:č*, meaning ‘voice’. On the other hand, Ramstedt compares this word with the verb *yala-* which means “to accuse, impeach” in Old Turkic, and states that it is formed by combining the suffix *-bač*, which comes from the word *yala* meaning “spokesperson, mediator” in Manchu and *pačhi* meaning “person” in Korean (Clasuson, 1972: 921). *Yalabač* has occurred several times in Orkhon-Enisei monuments, e.g. *yalabač barıpan kälmađiniz bāgimiz* ‘you have gone as an ambassador but have not returned, our Beg!’ (Uibat I: 5). The word *yolavči* (<*yalabač*) may have undergone the *w(v) < b* voice change, which widely occurs in Kipchak languages, such as *suw* (Kaz.) < *sub* (OT).

There are several synonyms to *yolavči* in Old Turkic(e.g. *elči*, *arqiš*, *sabči*). In modern Kazakh, *yolavči*’s alternative variant, *jolawši*, still preserves its original meaning. However, in comparison with ‘envoy’, *jolawši* more commonly means ‘a passenger with a particular aim’ in the Kazakh language (Iskakov, et al., 2011, 6th vol.: 469-470). In the Kazakh language, there is a synonym of *jolawši*, which is *jawši* ‘messenger, envoy’. For example,

a proverb goes as *Eldestirmek elšiden, jawlastırmaq jawšidan* ‘Peace is caused by elši (the envoy who comes for peace), war is caused by jawši (the envoy who comes for war)’.

Yamči. ‘post rider’. *Yam* is ‘a posting station’, with some extended meanings. The phonetics of this word are obscure. Its origin is Chinese *zhan* ‘站’ ‘station’, and became a loanword in Persian as *yam* ‘posting station; post-horse’ and survives in Southern-Western Turkic as *yam* ‘post-horse; post-rider’ (Clauson 1972: 583). It probably reached Turkic via Mongolian, but the reason for the sound change *c- > y-* is obscure. *yamči* ‘post-rider’, a derivative word for ‘the officer in charge of horses at a posting station for the post-riders’.

Süsünči. ‘tax collector’. *Süsün* is a compulsory service tax in the sense of travel provisions that the state gives to traveling officials and diplomatic officials in the territory of Turkestan Khanates (Kök, 2020: 235). Vasary brings this word from the Mongolian concept of *susun/süsün* (Vasary, 1977: 51-59). He states that the term *susun/süsün* was derived from the Turkic word *sub/su*. Thus, *Süsünči* is the official who collects this type of tax, which is a kind of food tax collected for both ambassadors and their animals.

Qusči. ‘bird trainer, hunter’. *Qus* is a word that is used as a general name to cover the whole bird species in most of the historical and contemporary dialects of Turkic languages and only refers to the concept of ‘duck’ in Yakut (Clauson, 1972: 670). In Khan’s *yarlig*, *qusči* tends to be interpreted into two meanings, either ‘a bird trainer’ or ‘a hunter’. Relatively, *qusči* still exists in most of the modern Turkic languages and preserves its original meaning. For example, *qusči* in modern Kazakh designates ‘people who use birds to hunt’ or directly ‘hunter’, but the meaning of ‘bird trainer’ is expressed with another word, which is *qusbegi* (Iskakov, et al., 10 vol., 2011: 451, 454).

Barsči. ‘tiger tamer’. The word *bars* is claimed to have passed into Turkic from Persian. (Clauson, 1972: 368). The animal name, *bars*, attached by *-či/či* turns into a profession.

Kemeči. ‘shipbuilder’. The word is derived from *keme* ‘ship’. The meaning of the word can be ‘mariner’ or ‘shipbuilder’. In modern Kazakh *kemeči* conveys three meanings, ‘helmsman’, ‘mariner’, and ‘shipbuilder’. (Iskakov, et al., 7 vol., 2011: 590)

Köprükči. ‘bridge builder’. *Köprükči* is formed by the stem, *Köprük* ‘bridge’, attached with the suffix *-či*, creating the name of a profession that people who build bridges. *Köprükči*, with undergoing phonetic changes, still exists in modern Kazakh as *köpirši* and preserves the original meaning. (Iskakov, et al., 8 vol., 2011: 328)

Sabanči. ‘peasant’. *Sabanči* is formed by the stem, *saban* ‘plough’, attached with the suffix *-či*, creating a profession name that designates people who use ploughs to work, thus peasants in other words. This word is preserved in modern Kazakh’s dialect language as *sabanči*, and the word conveys the same meaning as ‘peasant’. (Iskakov, et al., 12 vol., 2011: 513)

Ortaqči. ‘sharecropper’. *Ortaq* originally means ‘partner’. When the word is attached by *-či*, it becomes peasants who rented and cultivated the landlord’s land under the feudal landlord system economy. In modern Kazakh, *Ortaq* means an agricultural cooperative run by several people. (Iskakov, et al., 12 vol., 2011: 11)

Results

1. The Middle Kipchak text, Temur Qutlugh’s *yarlig*, contains many profession names which are formed by the suffix *-či/či*, which have been discussed and studied. This suffix

has ancient roots in Old Alatic and Turkic languages, and we can notice this formation type is very commonly used. The derivatives have three means of formation. Firstly, profession names are formed by simple nouns attached with *-či/čī*, such as *tamğa* ‘seal’ + *-či* > *tamğacı* ‘seal holder, custom officer’, *keme* ‘ship’ + *-či* > *kemeči* ‘ship builder, mariner’, etc. Secondly, profession names are formed by deverbal nouns attached with *-ci*, such as *biti* ‘to write’ + *g* ‘deverbal suffix’-*či* > *bitigči* ‘scribe’. Thirdly, profession names are formed by verbs or verbal phrases attached with *-či/čī*, such as *yortar* ‘to trot’ *işlen-* ‘to work’ + *-či* > *yortar işlenči* ‘envoy’.

2. From the semantic perspective, *-či/čī* attaching to different words gives different meanings.

(1) *-či/čī* attached to animal names, like birds or wild beasts, designates ‘people who herd, hunt, or tame beasts, livestock or birds’, such as *qus* ‘bird’ + *-či* > *qusči* ‘bird trainer or the hunter who uses birds to hunt’, *bars* ‘tiger’ + *-či* > *barsči* ‘tiger tamer’.

(2) *-či/čī* attached to instruments designates ‘people who use the specific instrument to work’, such as *bitig* ‘book, letter’ + *-či* > *bitigči* ‘scribe’, *saban* ‘plough’ + *-či* > *sabanči* ‘peasant’.

(3) *-či/čī* attached to some specific items, say, a tax or a seal, designates ‘people who are in charge of the item’, such as *tamğa* ‘seal’ + *-či* > *tamğacı* ‘seal-holder, custom officer’, *tartnaq* ‘tax name’ + *-či* > *tartnaqči* ‘tax collector’, etc.

(4) *-či/čī* attached to place names forms profession names by specifying the working place of the occupation, such as *yam* ‘post-station’ + *-či* > *yamči* ‘post-rider’.

3. The process of meaning changes from the Old Turkic period to Middle Kipchak and to Modern Kipchak languages have been fully shown and we found out in some specific context the meaning of certain words will vary. Some profession names are formed with the pattern in which a borrowed word is attached with the Turkic suffix *-či/čī*, making it a Turkic word. We have found that modern Kazakh preserves many *-či/čī* derived profession names in Middle Kipchak, though with a few phonetic changes in some words.

Conclusion

In the article, we have analyzed all *-či/čī* derivatives that occur in the manuscript and discovered the vital role of *-či/čī* in the formation of Turkic profession names. The *-či/čī* suffix has deep roots in both Old Altaic and Old Turkic, and it keeps being prolific from the Ancient eras to the Middle Ages and to Modern times.

We have discussed the extensive use of the suffix *-či/čī* in producing profession names in this Middle Kipchak manuscript. The article has provided insights into the different means of formation, which *-či/čī* can transform simple nouns, deverbal nouns, and verbs into nouns. We have also discovered the semantic variations based on the words to which *-či/čī* is attached.

The article discovers that the profession names’ meanings differ over time and in different contexts and that some profession names in Middle Kipchak are still preserved in modern Kazakh.

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Орта ғасыр қыпшақ ескерткіші «Темір Құтлық жарлығы» тіліндегі -ĉi/-ĉi дериваттары

Аннотация. «Жарлық» Алтын Орда ханы Темір Құтлық тарапынан 1397 жылы Қырымдағы жер-гілікті патша әулетіне арналып шығарылған. Орта ғасыр ескерткіші тілін зерттеу барысында авторлар кәсіби атауларды саралап, олардың көпшілігі сөзжасам жұрнағы -ĉi/-ĉi дериваты арқылы жасалғанын анықтайды. Бастауын алтайлық тектілден, көне түркі тілінен алатын -ĉi/-ĉi дериваты – көне және қазіргі түркі тілдерінде кеңінен таралған сөзжасам жұрнағы. Бұл жұрнақтың руника, көне ұйғыр, араб графикаларымен хатқа түскен ерте және кейінгі орта ғасыр түркі жазба ескерткіштері тілінде белсенді түрде қолданылғанын зерттеліп отырған қыпшақ ескерткіші тіліндегі туынды сөздерге жасалған талдаулар да дәйектейді. -ĉi/-ĉi жұрнағы арқылы жасалған тарихи туынды сөздер «адамның затқа, іс-әрекетке» немесе белгілі бір кәсіпке қатысын сипаттайды, ескерткіші тіліндегі -ĉi/-ĉi жұрнағы да осы сөзжасамдық мағынаны сақтаған (*bitigĉi, tartnaqĉi, köprükĉi* т.б.). Мақала авторлары Алтын Орда дәуіріндегі адамның кәсіби қызметін сипаттайтын туынды сөздер корпусын анықтап, лексемалардың жасалу негіздеріне семантикалық және этимологиялық талдаулар жасайды, олардың синтагматикалық және контекстік үйлесімділігін саралай отырып, -ĉi/-ĉi дериваты арқылы жасалған туынды сөздер «Темір Құтлық жарлығы» ескерткішінің сөздік қорын толықтырады және олардың сөзжасамдық мағынасы қазіргі түркі тілдеріндегі сәйкес дериваттар мағынасымен сабақтасып жатыр деген қорытындыға келеді.

Кілт сөздер: Алтын Орда, орта ғасыр ескерткіші, «Темір Құтлық хан жарлығы», туынды сөздер, -ĉi/-ĉi жұрнағы, семантикалық талдау, сабақтастық, түркі тілдері.

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Дериваты -ĉi/-ĉi в средневековом кыпчакском памятнике «Указ Темир Кутлука»

Аннотация. «Указ» был выдан Темуру Кутлуком, ханом Золотой Орды, местной царской семье в Крыму в 1397 году. При изучении языка этого средневекового памятника авторы статьи

установили профессиональные номинативы, многие из которых образованы при помощи словообразовательного суффикса (аффикса) *-či/čī*. Дериват *-či/-čī* достаточно распространенный словообразовательный аффикс в древних и в современных тюркских языках, истоки его находятся в праалтайском и древнетюркском языках. Активно функционирует данный дериват в тюркских памятниках раннего и позднего средневековья, написанных рунической, уйгурской, арабской графиками, что подтверждается также анализом производных слов в указанном кыпчакском памятнике. Исторически производные слова с аффиксом *-či/-čī* обозначали «лицо (человека) по предмету, действию» или профессиональной деятельности, и это словообразовательное значение сохранилось в аффиксе *-či/-čī* памятника (*bitigči, tartnaqči, köpriükči* и т.д.). Авторы статьи сделали семантический и этимологический анализ производящих основ лексем, выявили корпус производных слов, обозначающих профессиональную деятельность человека в эпоху Золотой Орды, рассмотрели их синтагматическую и контекстуальную сочетаемость и пришли к выводу, что производные слова с дериватами *-či/-čī* пополняют словарный фонд памятника «Указ Темир Кутлука», и их словообразовательные значения имеют преемственные связи с подобными дериватами современных тюркских языков.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, памятник средневековья, «Указ Темир Кутлук хана», производные слова, аффикс *чи/чы*, семантический анализ, преемственность, тюркские языки.

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