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PRELIMINARY NOTES ON TABOO AND EUPHEMISM
IN KAZAKH, KHIRGIZ, AND UZBEK¹⁾

Taboo and euphemism are caused by an awareness of propriety. Certain words, names, and expressions have to be replaced because they are thought to be too direct or disrespectful and might offend the listener, whether he is human, animal, or a supernatural being.

The term euphemism is usually applied to the substitution of objectionable words with less displeasing terms in our communication with other human beings; whereas linguistic taboos concern powerful nonhuman beings, imagined or real, who might harm the speaker if he does not talk about them in the proper way. The practice of taboo, often equated with superstition, is thought to have died away under the influence of an enlightened education;²⁾ hence we find the term taboo or linguistic taboo often limited to primitive or past societies.

It is, however, difficult to maintain a clear distinction between taboo and euphemism - often a differentiation is not even attempted.³⁾ The old fear of naming the dead or calling the wolf by his own name might have lost its strength in modern society, but there are other fears, old and new ones, which are spoken of in an indirect way.⁴⁾ What is euphemized today often originated in a taboo belief of long ago.⁵⁾ There seems to be hardly a human thought so primitive or ancient as to have completely broken its connection with our own life. In this preliminary study, then, the terms taboo and euphemism are used side by side to mean 'substitution of one expression for another for various reasons of interdiction.'⁶⁾

In Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek, as in all other Turkic languages, euphemism and taboo relate to all spheres of life. From birth to death society prescribes what is good to say and what is not, or rather what can be stated directly or what has to be rephrased. Often a once acceptable term loses its euphemistic character, it assumes the very meaning of the word it was meant to dis-

place, and a new replacement has to be coined. It is further characteristic that replacements come not only from the stock of Turkic languages, but frequently from foreign languages. As in most languages, a foreign word with its more distant quality fulfills here a special role.⁷⁾

A. Taboo and euphemism in regard to wild and domesticated animals

Not so long ago, the names of certain animals could not be mentioned. For example, it was forbidden to pronounce the name of the snake, jılan, žılan, at night.⁸⁾ Kazakhs taught their children to use the word tüjme⁹⁾ "the one who rolls up," (< tüj- "to tie in a bundle"). The Turkmen would say gajıs or gara gajıs¹⁰⁾ "the (black) strap" (< qajış "belt, strap")¹¹⁾; the Tuvin, uzun yurt "long worm."¹²⁾ Among all Turkic peoples the name of the wolf was tabooed.¹³⁾ The Kazakhs believed that if they pronounced his real name, qasqır, he would come and hurt their cattle.¹⁴⁾ Therefore, they would mention him¹⁵⁾ as böri,¹⁶⁾ ıtqūs (< ıt "dog", qūs "bird"?),¹⁷⁾ gara qūlaq "the one with black ears," serek qūlaq "the one with sharp ears,"¹⁸⁾ or ulıma (< ulı- ~ ula-~ulu-)¹⁹⁾ "the howling one". It is interesting that in contrast to the Kazakhs, the neighboring Uzbeks would say qaşqır and avoid the wolf's real name būri.²⁰⁾ Turkmen shepherds,²¹⁾ when with their flocks and herds, would refer to the wolf as möžek "insect," and his usual name, gurt~qurt, originally a taboo name meaning "worm," was not used by others (hunters?) as well, who would say instead mejdan it "steppe dog,"²²⁾ adī jiten "the nameless one" (lit.: his name is lost), xırıdar "the hunter" (< Pers.), or žanavar "the animal" (< Pers.). The last term is also common in Azerbaijani, where, however, it necessitated a new replacement ayzığara lit.: the one with a black mouth.²³⁾

In the Uzbek countryside the scorpion čajon has many taboo names. In the district of Tashkent one says eşak, which means "donkey,"²⁴⁾ or oti jūq "it has no name,"²⁵⁾ rendered in the district of Samarkand as benom (< Pers.). In Andižon the substitute name is gazanda (< Tadzh. gazidan "to sting").²⁶⁾ The last two names are also given to the tarantula, bij, also called qora qurt "black worm," which is a former taboo name.²⁷⁾

In referring to their livestock, Kazakhs and Kirghiz are careful to describe their animals indirectly as tört tülük, tört tülük²⁸⁾ lit.: the four haired ones, i.e., horses, cattle, sheep, and camels. If one of the animals is lost (žoyaldı) or

stolen (ürlandı), the old advise the young not to use these words, but to say instead goldı boldı,²⁹⁾ otherwise the animal will never be found.³⁰⁾ Also it is not good to say saullıp boldı "(the mares, cows) have stopped giving milk," but to use instead an antiphrase (süt) bajıdı "the milk will increase."³¹⁾ Cf. Kirghiz: uj žanıbar suuqqa čidamsız mal . . . Sütü bajıftı³²⁾ "Cows are animals who do not tolerate cold . . . (then) their milk recedes (lit.: becomes more)." Shepherds in the mountains of eastern Kazakhstan refrain from using the verb qama- "to surround, to round up," when driving the cattle into an enclosure for the night: keški sayat 6-7 kezinde qojdı qoraya bajıtamız³³⁾ "in the evening between six and seven o'clock we drive (lit.: let increase) the sheep into the corral." Quite common in Kazakh is the expression sorpa bajıdı "the soup will increase," used instead of sorpa bitti "the soup is finished."³⁴⁾ When leaving, friends and guests will avoid saying biz ketejik "we will leave now"; to ensure a safe return, they will announce their departure with bajıjıq or köbejejik lit.: we will increase now.³⁵⁾

For similar considerations, Kazakh hunters, when skinning their game, avoid using the direct expression soj- "to skin," and replace it with majla- "to fatten."³⁶⁾

B. Taboo and euphemism in regard to natural phenomena, evil spirits, and diseases

In the past Kazakh youngsters learned from their elders not to mention the word žaj for "lightning," but to substitute for it žasıl (green, blue?)³⁷⁾. They were also cautioned not to say kün battı "the sun went down," but use instead kün bajıdı³⁸⁾ "the sun will grow (rise)."³⁹⁾ Yet, it seems that these and similar replacements are still being employed. They appear in Kazakh literature, but more frequently in the dialects,⁴⁰⁾ where instead of kün battı also the following expression is said: kün gauısa bastadı,⁴¹⁾ explained as "the sun finds peace."⁴²⁾ When the sun is hidden behind the clouds, the saying is: kün tınşıdı⁴³⁾ "the sun is at ease." If, however, the sun is burning hot, it is appeasingly stated: bügün kün gapa bolıptur⁴⁴⁾ "today the sun seems upset."

Demons and evil spirits, believed to appear in all shapes and forms, are referred to indirectly, usually through foreign names,⁴⁵⁾ e.g. Uzb. iblis, Kaz. ıblis (< Arab.-Greek)⁴⁶⁾ "devil." Uzb.Kaz.Kir. žin, žin (< Arab.) "evil spirit," šajtan⁴⁷⁾ (< Arab.) "devil," albastı, Kir. albarstı (< Iran.)⁴⁸⁾ "a frightening demon,"

visualized by some Uzbeks as female,⁴⁹⁾ by others as male⁵⁰⁾; Kazakhs and Kirghiz perceive him as a woman.⁵¹⁾ In some parts of Uzbekistan evil spirits considered female are referred to as moma "old woman," opalar "(older) sisters," opa-qizlar "women," or zijon (< Pers.) "danger," narsalar "the things around."⁵²⁾

Formerly the true nature of a sickness, i.e., the name of its spirit, was not to be revealed. It was believed that the pronouncement of its name would cause the spirit to inflict himself upon the speaker.⁵³⁾ Particularly, the names of contagious diseases were and probably still are avoided. For example, small-pox, in Kazakh šešek (a former taboo word meaning "flower") had to be referred to as mejman (< Pers.) "guest," šulie (< Arab.) "saint," or gorasan (< ?),⁵⁴⁾ or dert (< Pers.) "sickness, pain."⁵⁵⁾ In Uzbek the disease, here too called čečak "flower", was mentionable in the Persian rendering of the word, gul or gul moma⁵⁶⁾ (lit.: flower woman), a name that hints at the identity of the spirit of the disease. In East Turkestan the sickness is called bübü;⁵⁷⁾ among Uzbeks of Afghanistan, bibi⁵⁸⁾ "old woman."

As all over the world, it is important to euphemize the real character of a sickness in front of a patient and his (her) relatives. In such situations Kazakhs will even replace the term for "sickness", auru (a native word), with less harsh sounding foreign terms: sirqat (< Mong.), aqau, nauqas, the latter (< Pers.) being preferred.⁵⁹⁾

It is interesting to note that some Turkic languages no longer possess native words for "sick" and "sickness". Turkish utilizes hasta+lik (< Arab.), Uzbek kasal+lik (< Arab.) and bemor+lik (< Pers.), which replaced Old Turkic ayrī (< Kaz. auru, Kir. ooru) still used in late Chagatay in the meaning of "sick; sickness",⁶⁰⁾ but now kept only in the meaning of "pain".⁶¹⁾ Kirghiz ooru still maintains its position, despite the introduction of foreign words: nooqas, dart, kesel (< Pers.), sirqoo (< Mong.).⁶²⁾

Regarding the current practice of euphemizing the names of individual sicknesses, it can be observed that increasingly Russian (< Greek-Latin) terms are chosen as replacements. For example, Kaz. šizīn is being set aside in favor of diabet "diabetis"; glaukoma is used instead of Kaz. su qaranyī.⁶³⁾ Uzbeks now prefer to say kantser rather than rak, a term adopted earlier from Russian. Instead of sil "tuberculosis," some favor the term kox (after Robert KOCH, who discovered the tubercle bacillus).⁶⁴⁾ Interestingly, Kaz. tuberkulez, introduced in

place of the expression qurt auru lit.: worm sickness, is being replaced again by a more general native term ökpe auru "lung disease," said particularly in front of a sick person and his family in order to avoid any unpleasant connotations. Kazakhs also refrain from using the terms rak, or qiltamaq "cancer," and employ the general term žaman auru "the bad sickness"⁶⁵⁾ in those instances.

There are also many words in the Turkic languages for describing mental disorders. Some of them are considered to be too direct as, e.g., Kaz. žindī auru "the sickness caused by the evil spirit žin,"⁶⁶⁾ qojanšiq auru lit.: the little hare sickness, ustamali auru (< usta- "to hold, to arrest"), and have to be replaced in polite speech with talma auru (< tal- "to be exhausted").⁶⁷⁾

C. Taboo and euphemism in regard to death

In many Turkic languages the word öl- "to die" has to be avoided when mentioning the death of one's own relatives or other respected persons.⁶⁸⁾ This consideration existed already in Old Turkic times. In the Orkhon inscriptions (Kül Tegin, Bilgä Kaghan, 732 and 734 A.D.) the speaker euphemizes the death of members of his own family and of persons held in esteem with uča bardī "he flew away," or kärgäk boltī "he became lacking."⁶⁹⁾ Only in regard to the speaker's opponents, ordinary people, and to horses is the word öl- employed.⁷⁰⁾

In Turkmen the following phrases are used:⁷¹⁾ aradan čiq-⁷²⁾ "to go from among us," ajrıl-⁷³⁾ "to be separated," joval- "to become lost," xasaplaš- "to meet one's end" (lit.: to settle one's account). Of the many expressions occurring in Kazakh, only a few can be cited here: qajtpas žolya (saparya) attan-⁷⁴⁾ "to ride off for the road of no-return", aramızdan attan-⁷⁵⁾ "to ride away from among us," kelmeske ket- "to go to a place where there is no coming back," žan tapsır-, žan ber-, žan tasılıp qıl- "to deliver one's soul," dünieden öt-> öt- "to pass from this world," dünieden qajt- or dünieden qajtıs bol-> qajtıs bol- "to turn away from this world." This last phrase, also known in Kirghiz (dünjödön qajt-),⁷⁶⁾ is commonly used in obituaries and everyday speech and considered among other Turks a typical Kazakh expression,⁷⁷⁾ comparable in its wide usage to Uzbek yafot (< Arab. "death") qıl-, et- "to die." Other expressions in Uzbek are: haloq (< Arab. "ruin, destruction") bül- lit.: to become destroyed; dunjodan ket-, üt- "to go (pass) from this world," hajotdan kūz jum-> Kaz.Kir. köz žum-~žum- "to close one's eyes from this life." Kir-

ghiz also has üzül- "to be cut off, to be broken away," an expression that is found in Kazakh and Uzbek, too.⁷⁸⁾ In addition, Kazakh and Kirghiz use qaza (< Arab. "misfortune, fate") tap-, bol- lit.: to meet one's fate. In both languages, where the word ölüm, ölüm "death" itself is avoided in polite speech, qaza has become its replacement.⁷⁹⁾

Special expressions for the death of elderly people or children, as they have been recorded for Mongolian and Tuvin,⁸⁰⁾ could not be identified at this time, with one exception: in the Uzbek dialect of Namangan, uç- "to fly away" is used in regard to children: bola uđi "the child died."⁸¹⁾

One further note: it is the custom that the bearer of the news of someone's death start and end his announcement to the listener with good wishes for a long life.⁸²⁾ In Turkey these wishes, expressed in the stereotyped expression (Allah) sizlere ömür versin "May God bestow a (long) life upon you and your family," often substitutes for the announcement itself. For example, in asking about someone who, unknown to the questioner, had died some time ago, the answer will be: maalesef geçen yıl sizlere ömür "I am sorry, last year he passed away (lit.: (long) life to you and yours)."

D. Taboo and euphemism in regard to birth, women, and children

The Turkic languages go to great length to circumlocute the state of a mother-to-be. In Kirghiz the word booz (< boyaz Kaz. buaz)⁸³⁾ "pregnant", now only to be used in regard to animals, has been replaced by qoş qabat lit.: two layers, qoş boyluu lit.: with two bodies, or bojunda bar lit.: it is in her body. All three expressions are suitable in the literary, colloquial, as well as in the language of the medical profession.⁸⁴⁾ Uzbek finds ikki qat lit.: two parts, objectionable, although it might still be used at a certain level of speech and in the dialects.⁸⁵⁾ Polite considerations, however, require the usage of homilador (< Arab.-Pers.) or oyir ajoqli lit.: with heavy feet.⁸⁶⁾ Cf. also Kazakh ajayı auır-< dial. auır-⁸⁷⁾ lit.: her feet become heavy, i.e., "to be pregnant" and ajayı auır "pregnant" (lit.: her feet are heavy). The preferred expression in Kazakh is now iki qabat (= Kir. qoş qabat), iki qabat bol-⁸⁸⁾ lit.: to be with two layers; whereas žükti lit.: with a burden, has come into disfavor. Occasionally, buaz (cf. Kir. booz) is used,⁸⁹⁾ as it was quite proper to do so in the past, where the word was applied to human beings as well as animals.⁹⁰⁾

Regarding birth itself, there are some well-established substitutes for Uzb. tuy-, Kaz. tu-, Kir. tuu- (< Old Turkic toy- "to rise, to give birth; to be born"). Kirghiz uses instead törö- (~ Mong. törä-)⁹¹⁾ or bojunan boşon-⁹²⁾ > Kaz. bosan-⁹³⁾ lit.: to give forth from her body. Kirghiz makes also use of eteginen žalya-⁹⁴⁾ lit.: to be graced from her skirt (body). In Uzbek the most proper expression is küzi jori-,⁹⁵⁾ Kir. köz žar-,⁹⁶⁾ lit.: her eyes gleam with joy.⁹⁷⁾ In Kazakh, where this phrase does not seem to be used in this context, the discreet term is bala (ül) tap- lit.: to find a child (son), in preference over bosan- (see above).⁹⁸⁾

After the child is born, the question whether it is a boy or a girl needs careful phrasing. In order not to sadden the parents of a new daughter, Uzbeks will say üyilmi xolvami⁹⁹⁾ "Is it a boy or halva?"¹⁰⁰⁾ In many rural parts of Uzbekistan one also asks bürimi, tülkimi tuyildimi¹⁰¹⁾ "Has a wolf or a fox been born?"¹⁰²⁾ Usually a newborn child will not be directly spoken of as such. In Uzbek one refers to the infant as mehmon "guest":¹⁰³⁾ yangi mehmon mubarak бўлсин¹⁰⁴⁾ "may the new guest (= newborn) be blessed." In Kirghiz one finds such expressions as aqmaq "stupid one," tentek "crazy one," said, however, always lovingly and kindly.¹⁰⁵⁾ Even later, after the first weeks and months, small children in general, but particularly sons, are spoken of in substitute terms. In some parts of Uzbekistan a little boy might be passed on as ajäl "woman, girl."¹⁰⁶⁾ Among the terms Kazakhs and Kirghiz use are žaman "the bad one,"¹⁰⁷⁾ böksek¹⁰⁸⁾ "backside(?)." The fear of causing the envy of evil spirits upon the child, if one openly expresses one's attachment to it, resulted in the custom of giving boys names with derogatory meanings. Some examples from Kazakh: Žamanbaj, Bilšiq- ("dirt") baj, Bajpaq- ("rag") baj;¹⁰⁹⁾ from Kirghiz: Boqmurun "dirt nose," Itibaj (< it "dog"), Küçük "young dog."¹¹⁰⁾

To refer to a child as the young of an animal is a common protective device, as though the evil spirits do not care for the animals.¹¹¹⁾ But it must also be remembered that in a nomadic society where children grow up playing with lambs and foals, it is very natural to transfer terms for the young of animals to children.¹¹²⁾ For example, Kaz. Kir. bala, Uzb. bola, the common expression for "child, son" originally meant "young animal";¹¹³⁾ Uzb. čaga, Kaz. Kir. šaga, used in combination with bala~bola, has the same origin.¹¹⁴⁾ Kaz. köbegen¹¹⁵⁾ "young child, son" < köbe "young lamb, born early in spring"; Uzb. dial. flaq, ulaq, ulay¹¹⁶⁾ "child" < "young goat"; Kaz. ködek¹¹⁷⁾ "small child",

Uzb. gudak "baby child," originally "young donkey," still used in this meaning in Kazakh.¹¹⁸) Many more terms with a similar semantic change could be listed.¹¹⁹) One of the more frequently used is Kaz. tūjaq, Kir. tujaq "young sheep or goat";¹²⁰) Kaz. ol üjdñ tört-bes tūjayı bar¹²¹) "in that family there are four or five children"; Kir. arqamda qalyan tujaq žoq¹²²) "I have no son to succeed me." Usually tujaq implies in Kirghiz a special child, an orphan: ramatılıq qarındasımdan qalyan žalyız tujaq¹²³) "She is the only child of my deceased younger sister." Kazakh has its own distinct way of referring to a child left behind: apamnan qalyan köz jedi¹²⁴) "She is the eye (= child) of my (late) older sister."

Finally, a phrase such as "to be born," Uzb. tuyl-, will often be replaced with dunjoga kel- "to come to this world," an expression found particularly in biographies of important people. In Azerbaijani doğul- is generally substituted, in speech as well as in writing, with anadan ol- lit.: to be from (one's) mother, a phrase not to be found in other Turkic languages, e.g., anadan olandan . . . başga bir jer körmemişdi¹²⁵) "Since he was born . . . he had not seen another place." Kaz. tu-, Kir. tuul- "to be born" are, on the other hand, accepted in all levels of language and do not require replacements.

To conclude the present discussion: taboo and euphemism have played and still play an important role in the development of the Turkic vocabulary. Studies on Turkic lexicology and stylistics cannot overlook the influence of these two forces, as it is also impossible to disregard them in discussing the relationship of the Altaic languages.¹²⁶) However, more work needs to be done on the subject, both in regard to the taboo-objects as well as to the linguistic nature of the replacements. As in other languages (HAVERS, pp. 117-165), in the Turkic languages, too, certain choices are made. The replacements discussed here have been mostly achieved by means of a) foreign words, b) paraphrases ("verhüllende Ausdrücke": ülma "the howling one" = wolf, transference of animal terms to human beings, particularly children), c) antiphrases (bajı- "to increase" instead of "decrease"), d) generalized terms (HAVERS: "Flucht in die Allgemeinheit"): dert "sickness" = small-pox; e) ellipsis, i.e., from already established replacement expressions words will be omitted (bojunan boşon- > bosan- "to give birth"). There are indications for f) sound changes or exceptions to otherwise regular sound changes (şajtan instead of sajtan), but this, too, needs to be investigated.

Footnotes

- 1) The transliteration used is the same as in Slavic linguistics, with the following additions: Kazakh: $\text{ə} = \text{ä}; \text{ɣ} = \text{ǰ}; \text{ɣ} = \text{ü}; \text{e} = \text{ö}; \text{e-} = \text{je}; \text{w} = \text{ı}; \text{u} = \text{ı}; \text{ɣ} = \text{ı}$ (in non-Russian words), $\text{h} = \text{η}$. Kazakh and Uzbek: $\text{k} = \text{q}; \text{f} = \text{ɣ}$. Uzbek: $\text{y} = \text{ü}; \text{u} = \text{i}$. If not otherwise stated, the terms Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek refer to the literary languages. A distinction between literary and dialectal usages could not always be made. It must also be added that not all the material written on this subject was available to the author, as, e.g., S. ALTAEV, Türkmen Dilindäki Evfemizmler (Aşgabat, 1958); S. USMONOV, "Hozirgi zamon ʻzbek adabiy tilida omonim va sinonimlar," Toškent DPT'ning "Ilmij Asarlari", XII, Toškent, 1959; N. ISMATULLAEV, "ʻzbek tilida evfemizmlar," UTA, 1964: 1. Also unavailable was D. Z. ZELNIN, "Tabu slov u narodov vostočnoj Evropy i severnoj Azii," in: Sbornik Muzeja Antropologii i Etnografii, Part I: Vol. VIII (Leningrad, 1929), pp. 1-151; Part II: Vol. IX (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 1-166. ZELENIN's work has, however, been amply quoted in W. HAVERS, Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu (Wien, 1946).

Abbreviations:

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| Az. | = Azerbaijani |
| AZIMOV | = S. P. AZIMOV, <u>Türkmen Diliniñ Meseleleri</u> (Aşgabat, 1969). |
| BOLTANBAEV | = A. BOLTANBAEV, <u>Qazaq Tilindegi Sinonimler</u> (Almatı, 1970). |
| HAVERS | = W. HAVERS, <u>Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu</u> . SWAW, Phil. Hist. Kl. Bd. 223, Abh. 5 (Wien, 1946). |
| HEGEDÜS | = L. HEGEDÜS, "Sprachtabu und Namenmagie," <u>Orbis</u> , VII:1 (1958), pp. 79-96. |
| ISMATULLAEV I | = N. ISMATULLAEV, <u>Evfemizmy v Sovremennom Uzbekskom Jazyke</u> . Avtoreferat (Toškent, 1964). |
| ISMATULLAEV II | = N. ISMATULLAEV, "Evfemizmlarning luyat sostavini va süz ma'nolarini bojitişdagi ahamijati," <u>Ilmij Asarlar</u> , 42. tom, 2. kitob: <u>Tilşunoslik Masalalari</u> (Toškent, 1964). |
| Kaz. | = Kazakh |
| Kir. | = Kirghiz |
| MENGES, <u>Glossar</u> | = K. H. MENGES, <u>Glossar zu den volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Türkistan II</u> . Akad. Wiss. Lit. Mainz, Abh. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., Jahrgang 1954, Nr. 14. |
| QÄ | = <u>Qazaq Ädebieti</u> (Almatı) |
| Qır. Ajal. | = <u>Qırızstan Ajaldarı</u> (Frunze) |
| QırTTS | = E. ABDULDAEV, D. ISAEV, eds., <u>Qırız Tilinin Tüşündürmө Sөzdügü</u> (Frunze, 1969) |
| QTDS | = Г. MUSABAEV, ed., <u>Qazaq Tiliniñ Dialektologijalıq Sөzdigi</u> (Almatı, 1969) |

- QTTDM = I.KEŋESBAEV, ed., Qazaq Tili Tarixi men Dialektologijasınǵa Mäseleleri (Almatı)
- QTTs = I.KEŋESBAEV, ed., Qazaq Tiliniń Túsindirme Sözdigi I-II (Almatı 1959; 1961)
- OT = Old Turkic
- RÄHIMZADÄ = N.RÄHIMZADÄ, "Azärbajzan dilinin evfemistik ifadälari haggında," Ädäbijjat Dil İnžäsänät, 1966:3 (Bakı), pp.62-29.
- RÄSÄNEN = M.RÄSÄNEN, Versuch eines Etymologischen Wörterbuches der Türksprachen (Helsinki, 1969)
- TAUBE I = E.TAUBE, "Zum Problem der Ersatzwörter im Turwinischen des Cöngöl-sum," Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 1974:5, pp.589-607.
- TAUBE II = E.TAUBE, "Mutter und Kind im Brauchtum der Turwiner," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 1970:27, pp.75-89.
- Turk. = Turkish
- ÜDM = V.V.REŞETOV, ed., Üzbek Dialektologijasidan Materiallar I-II (Toškent, 1957; 1961)
- ÜŞL = F.ABDULLAEV, A.ISAEV, eds., Üzbek Şevalari Leksikasi (Toškent, 1966)
- ÜTA = Üzbek Tili va Adabijoti (Toškent)
- ÜXŞL = Ş.Ş.ŞOABDURAHMONOV, ed., Üzbek Xalq Şevalari Luyati (Toškent, 1971)
- Uzb. = Uzbek
- 2) In this regard, cf. the observations made by HEGEDÜS, pp.83, 84; TAUBE I, p.591.
 - 3) So in M.PEI, The Story of Language (A Mentor Book, Second Printing, 1963), pp.214, 215, where the two terms are used interchangeably. Even HAVERS (pp.19,20), who maintains that linguistic taboo is only present where religious or superstitious beliefs forbid the usage of ordinary words and phrases and that the distinction between linguistic taboo and euphemism (gesellschaftlicher Euphemismus) rests solely on the motives that force a circumlocution, admits that it is sometimes difficult to recognize the nature of these motives.
 - 4) A good example of modern taboo in American speech is the effort by economists and politicians alike to periphrase the word "depression."
 - 5) Cf.an instructive example given in HAVERS, pp.167, 168.
 - 6) In as much as this study deals primarily with taboo and euphemism in their linguistic manifestations, little attempt will be made to analyze the customs and beliefs behind them.
 - 7) This has been observed particularly in regard to names of wild animals and evil spirits, who - as it is believed - understand only the language

- of the people living in their territory and can, therefore, be deceived by a foreign word. See HAVERS, pp.128-132, also HEGEDÜS, pp.80,94,95.
- 8) AZİMOV, p.130. Such a prohibition existed also among other peoples, see HAVERS, p.16. In Mongolia and a large area of Central Asia snakes were considered agents of sicknesses, particularly harmful to children. See C. R.BAWDEN, "The Supernatural Element in Sickness and Death According to Mongol Tradition, Part I," Asia Major, Vol.VIII:2, pp.238, 239, 246.
 - 9) BOLĖANBAEV, p.227.
 - 10) AZİMOV, p.131.
 - 11) The word, attested in many Turkic languages (RÄSÄNEN, p.219), should be in Turkmen gajış and not gajis. Probably gajis is a loanword from Kazakh, where ş > s is a regular sound change, or do we have to deal here with a deliberate sound change caused by taboo?
 - 12) TAUBE I, p.593. In Azerbaijani the snake is called ip "thread," also kafir "unbeliever," xalası köçäk, xalasına la'nat "cursed be its aunt." See M.Ş.ŞİRÄLİJEV and Z.I.BUDAGOVA, eds., Azärbajzan Bädii Dilinin Uslubijati (Bakı, 1970), p.109; RÄHIMZADÄ, p.62.
 - 13) This was (is?) also the case among Mongols, see N.POPPE, "On Some Mongolian Names of Wild Beasts," CAJ, IX, pp.164-170; A.SÄRKÖZI, "A Mongolian Hunting Ritual," AOH, XXV: 1-3 (1972), p.198.
 - 14) BOLĖANBAEV, p.227. Cf. here also the Turkmen saying gurt ayzasan, gurt geler "If you speak of the wolf, he comes" (AZİMOV, p.132.).
 - 15) The following names are listed in BOLĖANBAEV, p.227.
 - 16) Probably a taboo word of Iranian origin, see RÄSÄNEN, p.84. Another borrowed name for the wolf is gurk (< Pers.), attested in New Uighur (MENGES, Glossar, p.723), but also in the oral literature of the Kipchak Uzbeks, see Üzbek Xalq Dostonlari II (Toškent, 1958), p. 496.
 - 17) The same name itquş is also used among Uzbeks of the district of Samar-kand and Surxandarja, where the wolf is also called žondor (< Pers.) "creature." (ISMATULLAEV I, p.8).
 - 18) In Mongolian, too, substitutes for the name of the wolf emphasize among other physical characteristics the ears of the beast, see SÄRKÖZI, op. cit., p.198.
 - 19) RÄSÄNEN, p.512.
 - 20) Z.B.BÜRONOV, Ingliz va Üzbek Tillari Qijosij Grammatikasi (Toškent, 1973), p.67. Also ISMATULLAEV I, p.8, where it is explained that qaşqir is used in many areas of Uzbekistan. In the southern parts of the Ferghana district the wolf is called qarşıqul (ÜŞL, p.424). If the word is not an intentional alteration of the Kirghiz version of the wolf's name, qarışqır, one could read it as qarşı qol "opposite hand," i.e., the hand that does wrong, a euphemism for "thief". Cf. qol "hand" as a designation of the wolf in the tales of the Uzbeks in Afghanistan (K.H.MENGEŠ, "Zum Özbekischen von Nord-Afghanistan," Anthropos, XLI-XLIV (1946-1949), p.707). Cf. here Kir. qol sal- (QırTTs, p.323) lit.: to put (the) hands out, i.e., "to steal." See also footnote 29.
 - 21) The following terms are given in AZİMOV, p.132.

- 22) In Tuvin ordinary substitutes for bör "wolf," i.e., when one mentions him in a normal conversation, are dzer i'di "steppe dog," aldajniñ i'di "Altai dog," dzer džívezi "the thing of the steppe" (similar terms exist in Mongolian, see N. POPPE, *op.cit.*, p.167), or oqalıq "old man" (Alterchen), ezej "grandfather". One can, however, not even pronounce the last term, considered the mildest, late at night, should one then be engaged in eating meat. Special caution is also advised if one addresses the wolf directly, or while shooting at a hunt. Then one must please him more and say xarqan "the respected one." See TAUBE I, pp.592, 593. For similar considerations to be observed by Mongol hunters, see A. SÁRKÓZI, *op.cit.*, p.194.
- 23) N. RÁHIMZÁDA, p.62. Taboo names for the wolf in various other Turkic languages are given in A. M. ŠČERBAK, "Nazvaniya domašnix i dikix životnux v tjurkskix jazykax", *Istoričeskoe Razvitie Leksiki Tjurkskix Jazykov* (Moskva, 1961), p.132.
- 24) Ğ. ABDURAHMONOV, ed., *Hozirgi Ūzbek Adabij Tili I: Fonetika, Leksikologija, Morfologija* (Toskent, 1966), p.125. The same name is given to the scorpion in New Uighur, see MENGES, *Glossar*, p.733.
- 25) ISMATULLAEV I, p.8
- 26) Ibid.
- 27) Z. B. BŪRONOV, *op.cit.*, p.67.
- 28) BOLTANBAEV, p.227; QIRTTTS, p.629. Also Ala-Too, 1971:1, p.58. The Kirghiz in the Pamir mountains of Afghanistan refer to their animals as tört butluq "the four-legged". (The author owes this information to Mr. Nazif SHAHRANI, Kabul).
- 29) This phrase (lit. it became with hands, cf. German "abhanden kommen") is also used in literary texts. Interestingly, it is listed in QTTS II, p.58 as žoyaldı, ūrlandı. These are precisely the meanings of the original words the phrase was meant to replace! It seems, then, that the expression goldı boldı has already lost its euphemistic character in literary Kazakh.
- 30) BOLTANBAEV, p.227.
- 31) Ibid. Among Uzbeks in Afghanistan, the same expression is known. (Oral communication of Mr. SHAHRANI).
- 32) Qir. *Ajal.*, 1969:7, p.18. Here the word is even used in the negative form, saancılar ujum bajıbasa dep tilejt lit.: the milkers wish (say): if only my cow does not increase (its milk). Here it is evident that bajı- in the given context has already acquired the meaning of "to become less, to recede." Consequently, QIRTTTS, p.79 considers it a different word and lists it separately from bajı- "to increase, to become rich." It is, however, the same word and just another example of how a euphemistic expression in the course of time can obtain the meaning(s) of the word(s) it originally displaced.
- 33) QTDM, 1963:5, p.273.
- 34) I am grateful for this example to Academician Ismet KEŋESBAEV, Alma-Ata. HAVERS, p.134 mentions that Georgians would avoid the word "nothing" if their supply of bread or wine is exhausted, and say instead "it

- is full." Replacements for "no", "nothing", or "empty" occur in connection with food in many languages (HAVERS, p.133).
- 35) For this example, I am also indebted to Academician I. KEŋESBAEV.
- 36) BOLTANBAEV, p.228. An interesting usage of maj "fat", which seems to have some application in this context, exists in Kirghiz. The word stands for a compensation paid in return for something borrowed or used: attın majın tölöö lit.: to repay the horse's fat; ot majın tölöö lit.: to repay the fat of the hay. (QIRTTTS, p.414).
- 37) BOLTANBAEV, p.228. The word is still used in Kazakh dialects (see Ž. DOSQARAEV, "Arıs govorinıñ leksikalıq ierekšelikter," QTDM: 3 (1960), p.46), it also appears in literary texts. Not being acquainted with the weather-lore of the Kazakhs, I am not sure whether zasıl is indeed to be connected with "blue or green." G. JARRING (*Ethnos* 36:1, pp.26-27) relates that in East Turkestan the color of lightning is considered blue (kök), but the name given to it is al "the red one," also sometimes called ot, ocaq "fire". Most likely zasıl belongs to Uzbek jašin "lightning" (in Chagatay also jašım, išin, išim, RASÄNEN, p.192).
- 38) BOLTANBAEV, pp.227, 228.
- 39) For the translation of the third person past tense of bajıdı here and in the earlier examples with "will increase, will grow" instead of "increased", see LAUDE-CIRTAUTAS, "The Past Tense in Kazakh and Uzbek as a Means of Emphasizing Present and Future Actions," CAJ, XVIII:3, pp.149-158.
- 40) The expression kün bajı- is used in many Kazakh dialects, see QTDS, p.59. Also E. ŽANPEJISOV, in: *Qazaq Pen Ujyur Til Bilimi Mäseleleri* (Almatı, 1963), p.60. It is also known in Bashkir: kön bajıs "the West," cited without explanation in M. RASÄNEN, "Die Himmelsrichtungen in den Altaischen Sprachen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türk-Sprachen," UAJb 36:3-4 (1965), p.394. Ibid, is also given an interesting Turkmen term: gün jašar "(direction where) the sun hides herself."
- 41) QTDM: 4 (1962), p.40.
- 42) In Mongolian the setting of the sun is expressed with jırɣa- "to be happy" The same word, in reference to important persons (princes, high clergy), means "to go to bed, to go to sleep." See N. POPPE, "On Some Honorific Expressions in Mongolian," *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics*. Presented to Shiro HATTORI on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday (Tokyo, 1970), p.490, 491. It should be noted that in many other languages too, it is considered unfitting to talk of the sunset in an ordinary and direct way, see HAVERS, pp.87-90.
- 43) QTDM: 3 (1960), p.106.
- 44) QTDM: 4 (1962), p.40.
- 45) See footnote 7. Often the foreign name, as well as any other name, will be avoided altogether, as, e.g., in Turkish: eyi sihatte olsunlar geldi "the 'may they be in good health' (= evil spirits) came" (as told by Miss Güliz KURUOĞLU). From an Azerbaijan source we learn that when mentioning something evil (demons, etc.) one would quickly say: jeddi dayılar ašsın! dayılara, dašlara! evdän-ešikdän uzaq (RÁHIMZÁDA, p.63) "May

they (he) climb the seven mountains! To the mountains and stones! Away from (our) house and door!" For similar expressions in Hungarian, see HEGEDÜS, p.89.

- 46) K.H.MENGES, *Glossar*, p.73o. It is possible that some of the Persian-Arabic names listed in our text might have been adopted together with the system of religious and pseudo-religious beliefs of Islam. In this case the factor of name taboo would have to be discarded.
- 47) Interestingly, literary Kazakh maintains šajtan, disregarding the otherwise regular sound change š > s.
- 48) K.H.MENGES and N.T.KATANOFF, *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan I*, SBAW, 1933, p.99.
- 49) I.(LAUDE)-CIRTAUTAS, "Pre-Islamic Rites Among Uzbeks," in: *Traditions Religieuses et Para-Religieuses des Peuples Altaïques*. Travaux du Centre d'études Supérieures spécialisé d'Histoire des Religions de Strasbourg, 1972, p.42. On the subject of albasti, see U.JOHANSEN, "Die Alpfrau. Eine Dämonengestalt der türkischen Völker," *ZDMG*, Vol.109:2 (1959), pp.303-316.
- 50) G.JARRING, *Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan*. With Glossary. Lund Univ.Årsskrift, XXXIV, 2 (Lund and Leipzig, 1938), p.89, footnote 3.
- 51) The demon, also called in Kaz.martu, Kir. martuu (< ?), is particularly dangerous to women in childbirth, see X.A.ARTINBAEV, *Qazaq Xalqındayı Semja men Neke* (Almatı, 1973), p.89.
- 52) ISMATULLAEV I, p.7.
- 53) Similar beliefs exist or existed among many peoples, see HAVERS, p.9o; HEGEDÜS, pp.92, 93.
- 54) BOLTANBAEV, p.227.
- 55) I.KETESBAEV and T.MUSAVAEV, *Qazirgi Qazaq Tili. Leksika, Fonetika* (Almatı.1962), p.8.
- 56) ISMATULLAEV I, p.9.
- 57) MENGES-KATANOFF, *op.cit.*, p.54.
- 58) This information I owe to Mr.Nazif SHAHRANI.
- 59) BOLTANBAEV, pp.37, 228.
- 60) Another Old Turkic word for sickness, ig, yig, seems to have survived only in some Anatolian dialects (S.ÇAGATAY, "Zur Wortgeschichte des Anatolisch-Türkischen," *UAbJb*, XXXII:1-2 (1960), p.8o and in Uzbek dialects of the Khorezm area, see ÜSL, p.31.
- 61) E.g., one says Uzb. boš oyriyi, Turk. baş ağrısı "headache," but Uzb. jurak kasalligi, Turk. kalb hastalığı "heart disease."
- 62) The literature read so far, including articles on medical questions published in *Qır. Aja.*, uses mostly ooru, see e.g., *ibid.* 1967:5, 23; 1969:7, p.9.
- 63) BOLTANBAEV, p.178.
- 64) ISMATULLAEV II, p.4. At another place (ISMATULLAEV I, pp.15,16)

the usage of kox is defined as being restricted to members of the medical profession. In some Uzbek localities (*ibid.* p.9) the sickness is named uzun oyriq "the long sickness" or uzoq ūpkā kasali "the long lung disease." Someone suffering from it is called dardlik kiši "a person with a sickness." In Turkey one refers to this illness by means of a conciliatory adjective: ince hastalık "the fine sickness." Cf. also inčkā ayriy id. (J.ECKMANN, *The Divan of Gada'i*. Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol.113, p.32o).

- 65) BOLTANBAEV, p.228. Also: Žıldız, 1974:2, p.188.
- 66) BOLTANBAEV, p.228.
- 67) *Ibid.*
- 68) As one of my Uzbek informants put it, öl- can be used only when referring to animals, strangers, or people whom one did not like. See also TAUBE I, p.594 for a similar avoidance of öl- in Tuvin.
- 69) The latter phrase could also be read kärkāk buldı "he found his end," (er fand das ihm vom Himmel bestimmte Mass), see A.von GABAIN, "Inhalt und magische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften," *Anthropos*, 48 (1953), pp.546-47.
- 70) *Ibid.*, p.547.
- 71) AZİMOV, p.131. Many of the expressions listed in the following are similar to those found in Tuvin and Mongolian, see TAUBE I, p.594; K. SAGASTER and M.M.HALTOD, "Über einige Ausdrücke für 'sterben' im Mongolischen," *JSFOU* 65:1 (1965), pp.99-119. One is also reminded of the special words and phrases that are used in other languages in the case of death and mourning, e.g., English "to pass away," "the deceased"; German "der (die) Verblichene."
- 72) Commonly employed in obituaries, cf. *Ädebijät ve Sungat*, 1974, October 3o, p.4.
- 73) This phrase (< OT. adīrl-) was frequently used in the Old Turkic funeral inscriptions (Orkhon and Jenessej), see A.von GABAIN, *op.cit.*, p.547; T.TEKIN, "On a Misinterpreted Word in the Old Turkic Inscriptions," *UAbJb*, XXXV (1964), pp.139-43.
- 74) Žıldız, 1974:7, p.1oo; BOLTANBAEV, p.275, where numerous other expressions are also listed.
- 75) QÄ, November 22, 1974, p.4. Cf. a similar expression in modern Mongolian (POPPE, *op.cit.*, p.494): morila- originally meaning "to set off on a horse," now used in polite speech for "to die."
- 76) The Kirghiz expressions, which are on the whole the same or almost the same as in Kazakh, are taken here from B.SURANČIEVA, "Qırγız tilindegi sinonimderdin paja boluu bulaqtari," in: A.TURSUNOV, ed., *Qırγız Tilinin Grammatikasının Žana Leksikasının Öcerkteri* (Frunze, 1965), p.95.
- 77) See Ju. ŽUMANAZAROV, "Dialectal nutqning ūziga xos xususijatlari," *ŪTA*, 1971:3, p.47.
- 78) See e.g., A.QAHHOR, *Tanlangan Asarlar*. II. Tom (Toškent, 1957).p.37: M.ÄUEZOV, *Abaj Žolı* (Almatı, 1961), p.8o6. Cf. here also TAUBE I, p.594.

- 79) BOLTAŇBAEV, p.37.
- 80) K.SAGASTER and M.HALTOD, *op.cit.*, p.101; TAUBE-I, p.594, 595.
- 81) ISMATULLAEV I, p.13. In Azerbaijani one says of someone whose child has died: *čirayı söndi* "his light went out" (RÄHİMZADÄ, p.67). Ibid. also many other expressions for death and dying are listed.
- 82) A fine illustration of this old tradition is given in a chapter of *Qutadγu Bilig* (written in 1069/70 A.D.) entitled *Qumaru Ögdülmiške Odγur-mišniñ ölmisün ayur* "(how) Qumaru tells Ögdülmiš about the death of (his brother) Odγurmiš" (R.R.ARAT, ed., *Kutadγu Bilig* [Istanbul, 1947], p.622).
- 83) The etymology of this word is not clear. Is it indeed identical with *boyaz* "throat," as RÄSÄNEN, p.78 maintains?
- 84) Cf. various articles in *Qır. Aja.*, 1971:6, p.9; 1971:12, p.22.
- 85) E.g., it is used in the colloquial language employed in the satirical journal *Muštum*, see *ibid.* 1973:9, p.12. The term appears also in the dialect of Namangan (*ÜŞL*, p.443).
- 86) M.TURSUNOV, et.al., *Hozirgi Ūzbek Adabij Tili* (Toškent, 1965), p.142. The expression "with heavy feet" is also known in Mongolian (I am grateful for this information to Professor N.POPPE). Tuvin has a similar saying: *xol budu ar* "one whose arms and legs are heavy" (TAUBE II, p.77). Cf. also *Az. ajayı aγır ol-* "to be with heavy feet" (RÄHİMZADÄ, p.66). Here also other circumlocutions are listed without, however, indicating which one is more desirable: *bojnunda ol-* lit.: to be in her body, *gäfäsi (bojnu) dolu ol-* lit.: her body becomes full, *hämli ol-* lit.: to be burdened.
- 87) Ž.BOLATOV, in: *Voprosy Istorii i Dialektologii Kazakskogo Jazyka* (Almatı, 1958), p.167.
- 88) Literary as well as scholarly texts make extensive use of this expression, see e.g., X.A.ARGİNOV, *op.cit.*, p.87: *ıeki qabat äjel* "a pregnant woman," *ıeki qabat kezinde* "during pregnancy."
- 89) I.ŽANSÜGIROV, *Şıarmalar*. *Besinši Tom* (Almatı, 1964), p.164.
- 90) İe. ŽUBANOV, "Leksikalıq elementerdin stildik öni žajındayı kejbir topşı-laular," in: A.QURİŞŽANOV, ed., *Qazaq Tiliniñ Tarixi Turalı Zertteuler* (Almatı, 1965), p.152-154.
- 91) The original meaning of *törö-~törä-* seems to have been "to come into existence," see RÄSÄNEN, p.494.
- 92) SURANČIEVA, *op.cit.*, p.95. A marked preference for *törö-* over *bojunan bošon-* can, however, be established. The latter hardly appears in literary works, whereas *törö-* is regularly used, see, e.g., T.SİDİQBEKOV, *Too Arasında* (Frunze, 1974), pp.446, 488; *Qır. Aja.*, 1970:7, p.23. Cf. also *töröt üjü* "maternity ward." For this the Kazakh term, officially accepted by the Terminologija Komissijası of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, is now *bübek üji* lit.: baby house, replacing *äjelder bosanatın üj* and *bosanu üji* which has been coined earlier by the same commission (*QA*, December 14, 1968, p.2). Uzbek uses *tuyruq xona* (Guliston, 1975:1, p.24).
- 93) ARGİNBAEV, *op.cit.*, p.91, 92. Also *QTTS I*, p.120.

- 94) T.SİDİQBEKOV, *Bizdin Zamandın Kişileri* (Frunze, 1970), p.66.
- 95) TURSUNOV, et al., *op.cit.*, p.142.
- 96) SURANČIEVA, *op.cit.*, p.95.
- 97) E.g., *Dilbor kelin ajang oγır ojoqli işga jaramaj qolgan*. Ertami-indin *küzi jorisa bir-ikki jıl kolxoz işini qilolmajdi* (Said AHMAD, in: *Şarq Julduzi*, 1964:2, p.36) "the young wife Dilbor Ajang is pregnant (*oγır ojoqli*) and is not fit for work. If she gives birth (lit.: if her eyes gleam) in the next days, she will not be able to work on the collective farm for one or two years". The phrase *küzi jori-* (~ *köz jarı-*) is a very old one. Originally expressing delight of any kind, it came to be used exclusively for rendering the joy of having children. Thus, it could also be applied in regard to a father's exhilarated feelings about the birth of a son, e.g., . . . *Aj Qayannur közü jarıb bodadi, ärkäk oγul toγurdı* (A.M.ŞCERBAK, *Oguz-Name. Muhabbat-Näme* [Moskva, 1959], p.22) "Aj Khan's eyes gleamed and shined (with joy), a son was born."
- 98) It has to be noted, however, that in some areas of Kazakhstan *bala tap-* or *bala tu-* are considered indecent terms (*jersi söz*) and instead *bosan-* has to be used (*QTDM:3* (1960), p.68). Preferences of this kind are certainly to be met in Kirghiz and Uzbek dialects, too. E.g., in some Uzbek dialects *tu-* "to give birth" needs no replacements (*ÜŞL*, p.383), while in others one says *baça top-* (= Kaz. *bala tap-*), *büsanib ol-*, *qutlib ol-* lit.: to be relieved, *farzand kür-* lit.: to see a child (ISMATULLAEV I, p.12, however, without reference to where these phrases are being used).
- 99) This is a quite common expression, as I was told in Tashkent. See also ISMATULLAEV II, p.6; Said AHMAD, *Tanlangan Asarlar*. *Birinči Tom: Hikojalar* (Toškent, 1971), p.255; *ÜŞL*, p.383.
- 100) *Halva* is a confection consisting of a paste made of ground sesame seeds and nuts mixed with honey.
- 101) A.ALİEV, "Namangan ševalarining ba'zi luyat xususijatlari," *UTA*, 1972:5, p.51. In the dialect of Ferghana the phrase *boıuri tüki tüg-* lit.: to bear wolf(s) and fox(es), refers to a woman who gives birth to boys and girls, one after the other. In Azerbaijani dialects one says in this case *arpa buyda doy-* lit.: to bear rye and wheat (ALİEV with reference to *Äzarbajžan Diliniñ Dialektoloži Luyati* [Bakı, 1964], p.40).
- 102) In Tuvin one inquires about the sex of a newborn child with the following words: *oldža dzü l ?* "What kind of a booty is it?" The answer (in case of a boy) is: *örge duzaydär* "One who will catch Zieselmaüse." If it is a girl, the response is: *öşgü sār* "One who will milk the goat." (TAUBE II, p.81).
- 103) This seems to be widely practiced, as I learned in Tashkent. See also: A.QODIRIJ, *Mehrobdan Čajon* (Toškent, 1959), p.40; Fan va Turmuš, 1974:8, p.8. One is reminded of Mongolian *zöci* "guest," a word that became the name of the oldest son of Chinghiz Khan (N.POPPE, "On Some Words for 'Guest' in the Altaic Languages," *Jean Deny Armaganı* [Ankara, 1958], p.200).
- 104) As related by Dr.Orif USMONOV, Toshkent.

- 105) These words are, e.g., used in connection with blessings that women bestow upon a newborn boy. (T.SİDİQBEOV, Too Arasında (Frunze, 1974), pp. 488-89.
- 106) ÜXSĖL, p. 325; ÜDM II, p. 383. The belief that evil spirits are more interested in harming a boy rather than a girl, also led to the custom of giving boys girl's names, as it has been observed among the Khirgiz (L.RASONYI, "Der Frauenname bei den Türkvölkern," UAJb, XXXIV (1962), p. 229).
- 107) Qır. Aja., 1967:7, p. 9: žamanım "my son."
- 108) Žıldız, 1974:7, p. 130.
- 109) T.ŽANŪZAQOV, Qazaq İesimderiniñ Tarixi (Almatı, 1971), p. 45.
- 110) Qır. Aja., 1974:6, p. 14. Names referring to dogs exist also in Kazakh as, e.g., İtbaj, İtbas, Küşik, Baraq, but they do not imply a bad connotation, see ŽANŪZAQOV, op.cit., p. 45.
- 111) TAUBE I, p. 599.
- 112) Some of the terms to be discussed here might have first been used as terms of endearment before they acquired the general meaning of "child." E. g., gozi "newborn lamb" is known in the Uzbek dialects of the Khorezmian area as "child" (ÜXSĖL, p. 377), while elsewhere, as in Kazakh and Kirghiz, it is a term of endearment.
- 113) ŠČERBAK, "Nazvaniya domašnix . . .," p. 108.
- 114) Ibid., pp. 108, 109.
- 115) A.İSQAQOV, et al., Qazaq Tiliniñ qısqaša Etimologijalıq Sözdigi (Almatı, 1966), pp. 102, 103.
- 116) ÜXSĖL, pp. 372, 374. Cf. here American English kid "child" < "young goat."
- 117) QTTDS, p. 160.
- 118) Ibid., also QTTs I, p. 304. The word, probably of Iranian origin, has a wide distribution, see K.MENGES, Das Čayatajische in der persischen Darstellung von Mirza Mahdi Xān. Akad. Wiss. Lit. Mainz, Abh. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., Jahrgang 1956, Nr. 9, p. 724.
- 119) For example, Az. körpā "baby, infant" < "newborn lamb"; Turk. čoçug "child" < "little pig" (RÄSÄNEN, pp. 114, 293).
- 120) The word is also known in the meaning of "hoof," see QırTTS, p. 626; QTTs II, p. 379.
- 121) A.HASENOV, Qazaq Tili (Almatı, 1973), p. 28.
- 122) QırTTS, p. 626.
- 123) Ala-Too, 1974:7, p. 78; Qır. Aja., 1969:2, p. 11.
- 124) I.ŽANSÜGIROV, op.cit., p. 256.
- 125) RÄHIMZADÄ, p. 66.
- 126) See N. POPPE, CAJ, IX:3, p. 161; L. BAZIN, "Les interdits de vocabulaire et la comparaison turco-mongole," Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 1974:5 (Sprache Geschichte und Kultur der Altaischen Völker. Protokollband der XII. Tagung der PIAC 1969 zu Berlin), pp. 97-103.

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MANCHU DYNASTY OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND MONGOLIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

As an historian, I feel deeply concerned with the problematics and the methodology of Mongolian historiography. What I consider to be one of my main tasks is to try to find an approach to Mongolian history that could take into account important results worked out by historian-methodologists especially about mediaeval and modern history researches (in France, from Lucien FEBVRE in the 20s and Marc BLOCH in the 30s to Georges DUBY and others, and Marxist historians like Charles PARAIN). I think that Mongolian historiography, as well as most of Far-eastern historiography, despite some scholars' efforts, like those of Etienne BALAZS, is still very often jailed in a descriptive tradition relying too heavily upon narrative sources and traditional historiographical works - as Chronicles - whose historical contents and value cannot be trusted without great caution. Under these conditions, pure philology was necessarily to take the place of history, that resulted into confusion between an auxiliary discipline and main scientific elaboration, when the part was taken for the whole. All I said does not of course imply any aggressiveness or resentment against philology (and even less against philologists), but only against what is from my own point of view a misunderstanding of the normal relationship between philology and history.

Such are the reasons why I feel necessary to re-emphasize upon documentary sources. I should point out that this seems to be nowadays the orientation of our Mongolian colleagues too, who began to publish a lot of archive materials such as the Dörben ajimay-un alban-u tegsitgegsen dangsa.¹⁾

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