

Ethnic And Ethnonymic Systems In Pantoporonymia And The Patterns Of Ethnonym Nomination

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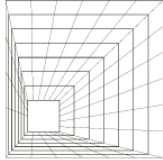
Abstract. The article analyzes ethnic and ethnonymic systems simultaneously in space and time, that is, from the perspective of pantopochrony, using Turkic ethnonyms as examples. Skeptical views that developed in Soviet-period onomastics regarding the etymology of ethnonyms and their ideological roots are examined. On the basis of historical-linguistic, comparative-typological, and phonomorphological analysis, the ethnomorphemes -en, -az, -ay, and -ab, expressing the meaning “person” or “people”, are identified. Two forms of typological universality in ethnonymy, namely autonyms with positive semantics and exonyms with negative semantics, are substantiated. The phenomena of seriality, binomination, and transonymization are described, and twelve patterns of ethnonym nomination are formulated. The results may serve as a methodological basis for the etymological interpretation of ancient ethnonyms whose meanings have become obscure. The research material also includes an analysis of the ethnonym Kurama in the territory of Uzbekistan and ethnotoponyms containing a Kazakh component.

Keywords. ethnonym, ethnonymic system, pantopochrony, patterns of nomination, typological universality, ethnomorpheme, autonym, exonym, seriality, binomination, transonymization.

Introduction. In Soviet-period Turkic onomastics, the study of ethnic names lagged behind other areas. As a result, a number of theoretical and practical problems remained unresolved. The most important among them was the failure to identify the patterns of nomination in ethnonymy. Since these patterns had not been identified, a methodology for the etymological analysis of ethnonyms was not developed either. This became a major obstacle to the development of a scientific etymology of ethnic names.

It is well known that ethnonyms emerged during the tribal period of human history. Information about the bearers of these names occurs in various ancient sources in a fragmentary and ambiguous form, and in some cases has not been preserved at all. For this reason, many scholars of the time were skeptical about the possibility of obtaining scientific results from research in this field. As early as the nineteenth century, D. I. Ilovaisky noted that ethnic names had constantly changed throughout the Middle Ages and had been used inconsistently in historical sources. In his view, historiography often overlooked this circumstance and regarded every new name as referring to a new people [1].

Almost a century later, R. G. Kuzeev also expressed a skeptical view. According to the scholar, “there are more than twenty attempts to explain the ethnonym Bashkir; therefore, it is impossible to arrive at an absolute and final etymology of any word, especially an ethnonym with a complex history of origin” [2, p. 86]. N. A. Baskakov likewise regarded the etymology of Turkic ethnonyms as one of the most difficult tasks in Turkology [3]. S. D. Asfendiyarov emphasized that the issue of the origin of the word “Kazakh” and the Kazakh people should be addressed “not through abstract linguistic interpretations, but through concrete historical analysis” [4, p. 71]. M. Tynyshpayev expressed an even more categorical view, considering the search for the meaning of the word “Kazakh” as futile as searching for the meanings of Russian, Arabic, or French words.



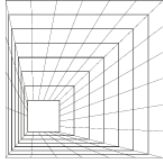
In our view, the pessimism of these scholars is not justified. There is no problem in science that is inherently unsolvable; what is necessary is a logically sound approach to the issue and reliance on the achievements of the humanities. In order to pave the way for a scientific etymology of ethnonyms, it was first necessary to identify the patterns of nomination of ethnic names. During the Soviet period, addressing this task was complicated not only by the insufficient development of certain fields of science, but also by ideological pressure. The Bolshevik doctrine regarded the ethnic structure of Turkic peoples as a remnant of feudalism and imposed a de facto ban on the study of this issue.

Our aim is to examine ethnic and ethnonymic systems simultaneously in pantopochrony, that is, across the dimensions of space and time, and to identify and formulate the principal patterns of ethnonym nomination. To this end, the study sets out to identify linguistic units that materially express the typologically universal semantics of ethnonyms, reveal the specific features of the formation of autonyms and exonyms, and describe the phenomena of seriality, binomination, and transonymization.

Literature Review and Methodology. The theoretical basis of skeptical views on the etymology of ethnonyms can be traced back to F. Engels's view that tribal names often arose accidentally rather than as a result of conscious choice [6]. This idea was subsequently accepted as an absolute truth. Drawing on this position, A. I. Popov wrote that an ethnic name is a "by-product and, in many respects, accidental product" of a historical process and that, consequently, any attempt to establish strict laws of ethnonymy was doomed to failure [7, p. 76]. Such an approach denied the objective regularities of language development. Yet an ethnonym is a linguistic fact and constitutes an element of an integrated ethnonymic system, while ethnonym formation is governed by the word-formation patterns of a particular language. V. A. Nikonov, relying on these fundamental linguistic principles, concluded that "it is meaningless to discuss ethnonyms while disregarding word-forming and grammatical formants" [8, p. 68]. The scholar studied the word-forming formants of toponyms and identified the pattern of seriality in toponymy [9, pp. 33–36]. In the 1930s, N. Ya. Marr concluded that tribal names initially denoted the concept of "person" and, at first, only "a person belonging to this tribe" [10, p. 188]. Thus, a typological universal in ethnonymy was identified for the first time. M. V. Kryukov formulated this observation as a pattern of nomination. According to him, although the lexical forms of autonyms of many peoples of different origins differ, semantically they are based on words belonging to the same class, namely the class of "people" or "real people" [11, p. 7].

D. E. Ereemeev, G. G. Stratanovich, and Ya. V. Chesnov likewise noted the universality of the semantics of ethnic names in languages belonging to different systems [12, 13, 14]. Yu. V. Bromley defined ethnic self-awareness as the awareness by members of an ethnic group of their unity and their distinction from other such communities, and demonstrated that its structure contains both objective and subjective layers [15]. Regarding terminology, A. V. Superanskaya proposed the terms autoethnonym and alloethnonym [16]. J. J. Varbot and A. F. Zhuravlev considered the term exoethnonym preferable to alloethnonym [17]. M. V. Kryukov, in turn, used the term "self-name" (samonazvaniye) [11]. In our view, the terms "own name" and "other name" are more precise, comprehensible, and complementary; therefore, these terms are used in the present article.

The methodological basis of the study consists of several theoretical approaches. N. A. Baskakov's hypothesis concerning the pre-agglutinative isolating structure of the Turkic languages makes it possible to segment the roots of ancient ethnonyms into their constituent parts [18]. S. V. Voronin's conclusions on phonosemantics provide a basis for interpreting the additional semantic load carried by certain sounds [19]. The research material consists of



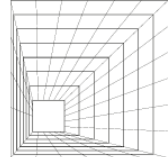
several groups. The first group includes 220 ethnonyms, 107 theonyms, and 29 titles from languages belonging to different language systems in which the ethnomorpheme -en can be identified [20]. The second group comprises 67 ethnonyms, 54 ethnotoponyms, 30 toponyms, and 7 theonyms in which the ethnomorpheme -az//-as can be identified [21]. Ethnonyms from the publication *Narody mira* and ethnotoponyms of Uzbekistan were also included in the analysis.

The analysis employed historical-linguistic, comparative-typological, etymological, and phonomorphological methods. The linguistic content of ethnonyms was studied in conjunction with extralinguistic, that is, ethnographic and historical, data. Ethnic and ethnonymic systems were examined in parallel, across the dimensions of space and time.

Results. The first result demonstrates that the pattern of seriality operates in ethnonymy. V. A. Nikonov referred to the repetition of typical linguistic formants within toponyms as seriality. He cited as examples such village names as Volchikha, Lisikha, Bobrikha, and Kozlikha in the Volga region, as well as Berezoviy Gay, Vyazoviy Gay, and Lipoviy Gay in the vicinity of Khvalynsk [9, pp. 33–36]. Although the scholar formulated this pattern within the framework of toponymy, it applies to the entire process of name formation. The study of the morphemic structure of Turkic ethnonyms confirms this. The common Turkic ethnonyms Dulat, Qo'ng'iro't, Alpovut, and Mang'it contain the plural formant -t. In the ethnic names Ikiras, Suldus, Tiles, Bekis, Aris, and No'kuz, the plural formant -s//-z is observed. Failure to recognize seriality has often led researchers to erroneous conclusions because they examined the etymology of an individual ethnonym separately from the series, that is, from the system. The second result concerns how the typologically universal semantics of ethnonyms find material expression in language. To substantiate Marr's conclusion, it was necessary to identify linguistic facts carrying the meaning of "person" or "people". As a result of the research, the root morpheme -en and its phonetic variants -en//-in//-an//-yan were identified in ethnonyms, theonyms, and titles belonging to languages of different systems [20, pp. 129–136]. We refer to such a morpheme as an ethnomorpheme, that is, a morpheme involved in the formation of ethnonyms. M. M. Makovskiy identified the meanings "ancestor" and "divine being" in the word form *an* in Indo-European languages and cited the German *Ahn* "ancestor" and Gothic *anses* "deity" as examples [22, p. 55]. Ya. V. Chesnov identified the meanings "one's own" and "people" in the layer of ancient ethnonyms such as *mon* and *man* in Southeast Asia [14]. Thus, the semantics of "person" expanded over time to include the meaning "deity", since ancient humans imagined a deity in their own image.

Among Turkic ethnonyms, the root morpheme -en can be distinguished in various phonetic variants in such names as Durben, Khonkhotan, Uysin, Qang'li, Qo'ng'iro't, Nayman, Alban, Suan, Arg'in, Tabin, Olchin, Barin, Kiyan, Hun, Syanbi, Dunhu, Uhuan, Dungan, Alan, Jujan, Uryankhay, and Nirun. The ethnonym *Hun* is particularly important. In the modern Mongolian language, the word *xün* has retained the meaning "person" as a common noun. Describing the Mongolian tradition, B. Ya. Vladimirtsov wrote that the paternal inheritance passed to the youngest son, who was called "owner of the fire", or *ejen*, that is, "ruler, master" [23, p. 49]. The expression *enshi iesi – kenje* ("the paternal inheritance belongs to the youngest son") has also been preserved in the Kazakh language. In the patriarchal tribal system, the predominance of the male principle connected the semantics of "person" with the meanings "son", "man", "master", "owner of the fire", and "deity".

The third result concerns the ethnomorpheme -az//-as. The ethnonym *Az* is recorded in the *Ancient Turkic Dictionary* [24, p. 72]. This ethnic term is also mentioned several times in the inscriptions of Kül Tigin and Tonyukuk. In the inscriptions, a representative of the Az tribe is depicted as a warrior man, which indicates the semantics of "person" and "man" in the



ethnonym. In the course of linguistic development, the ethnic term *Az//As* became an ethnomorpheme within ethnic names such as *Qaz* (q+az) and *Taz* (t+az).

The fourth result concerns an algorithm for segmenting the roots of ancient ethnonyms into phonomorphological components. It is well known that Turkic word formation is agglutinative. However, facts that contradict agglutination are also observed in the structure of ancient ethnonyms. N. A. Baskakov wrote that, based on the structure of Turkic words, it is possible to hypothesize a pre-agglutinative period of the languages characterized by an isolating structure. According to him, in this structure, abstract grammatical meanings originated from independent roots, which followed the modified root and initially developed into elements of an analytical form and subsequently into synthetic-form affixes [18, p. 93]. Voronin's phonosemantic conclusions and Baskakov's hypothesis make it possible to segment the names *Qaz* (q+az), *Taz* (t+az), *Hun* (q+en), *Qay* (q+ay), and *Tay* (t+ay) into their constituent parts. In these names, the universal root ethnomorphemes -az and -en and the pre-root phonomorphemes q- and t- can be distinguished. These phonomorphemes added additional meanings such as "hardness", "strength", "protection", and "power" to the names [20, pp. 105–114].

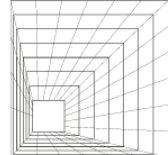
The fifth result is associated with the identification of the ethnomorphemes -ay and -ab. In the publication *Narody mira*, the autonym of the Armenians is recorded in the form *ay//hay* [25, p. 16]. Since Armenians pronounce this word with an almost inaudible pharyngeal sound, it is appropriate to regard the form *ay* as primary. This ethnomorpheme occurs in such ethnonyms as the Ainu, Aymara, Iowa, Assyrians, Maidu, and Tay, as well as in other ethnonyms. Among Turkic ethnonyms, the name *Qay*, formed with this ethnomorpheme, occupies a special place. The Qay tribal union played a leading role in the history of the Turkic peoples, and this ethnonym has survived to the present day as part of the ethnic names of the Turkmen people. In the publication *Narody mira*, 21 ethnic names containing the ethnomorpheme -ay were identified. In names such as Avar, Abaza, and Bask, the ethnomorpheme -ab can be distinguished. The identified ethnomorphemes are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1.

Universal Ethnomorphemes in the Structure of Ethnonyms

Ethnomorpheme	Phonetic Variants	Examples from Ethnonyms	Basic Semantics
-en	-en// -in// -an// -yan	Hun, Nayman, Uysin, Arg'in, Kiyan, Alan	"person", "people", subsequently "man", "master", "deity"
-az	-az// -as	Az, Qaz, Taz, Asen	"person", "man", "warrior"
-ay	-ay// -hay	Qay, Tay, Ainu, Aymara	"person", "people"
-ab	-ab// -av	Avar, Abaza, Bask	"person", "people"

The sixth result concerns the influence of ethnic self-awareness on nomination. Among Turkic peoples, an individual's self-awareness is closely connected with the ethnic self-awareness of the entire community. This is due to the idea of a common ancestor and the sense of kinship arising from it. This structure demonstrates that self-awareness has evolved from the level of the individual "I" to the family-clan "we" and then, through the levels of clan, tribe, tribal union, and horde, to the level of the entire nation. It is precisely this form of self-awareness that has shaped the universal semantics of ethnic names as "person" and "people" [20, pp. 29–35].



The seventh result demonstrates that the typological universal is manifested in two forms. Kryukov's examples relate only to the class of autonyms. M. V. Kryukov noted the phenomenon of opposition in the consciousness of ancient ethnic groups and showed that in Greece and China, the concept of "barbarian" was characterized by attributing negative qualities to all people who did not belong to one's own group [11, p. 10]. The scholar also wrote that autonyms of the type "people, real people" were found among the Nganasans, Chukchi, and Eskimos, who were at a considerably lower stage of socio-economic development [11, p. 21]. Thus, the opposition between "we" and "they" emerged as early as the initial stage of the development of human communities. According to our observations, awareness of the unity of an ethnic community gives rise to autonyms with positive semantics. The perception of a foreign community as an enemy, on the other hand, gives rise to heteronyms with negative semantics. The semantics of heteronyms is limited to meanings such as "stranger", "savage", "enemy", and "barbarian".

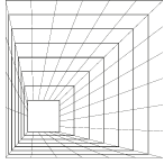
The eighth result concerns the formation characteristics of heteronyms. They are often situational or precedent names given by one ethnic community to another in connection with some extraordinary event. Typical ethnomorphemes cannot be identified within heteronyms because they arise under the influence of extralinguistic factors. The ethnic term Kurama provides a vivid example of this. In the eighteenth century, a new ethnic community was formed between the Chirchik and Ohangaron rivers as a result of the amalgamation of various elements dictated by the military-political situation. The surrounding population gave it the name Kurama, meaning "patched together", that is, "mixed and assorted". This name reflects a tendency not to recognize this group as a distinct people. Explanations found in the literature for such names as the Russian nemets, associated in colloquial usage with the word nemoy meaning "mute", qalmoq, interpreted as "the one who remained", xalaj, interpreted as "the one who remained hungry", and no'g'ay, linked to the Mongolian noxoy meaning "dog", also belong to this type. It should be specifically noted that some of these explanations are folk etymologies.

The ninth result concerns the phenomenon of transonymization. In the territory of Uzbekistan, 58 ethnotoponyms derived from the Kazakh ethnic term or formed with its participation have been recorded, including Qozoqlar, Qozoq ovul, Qozoq qal'a, and others [21, p. 107]. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in connection with the transition from a nomadic way of life to agriculture, settlements where Kazakhs had traditionally lived began to be named using this ethnic term. Thus, as a result of transonymization, an ethnonym is transformed into an ethnotoponym.

The tenth result demonstrates that the law of binomination operates in ethnonymy. Until now, binomination has been recorded only in toponymy, that is, as the naming of a geographical object twice by means of different languages. Some researchers interpret the name of the ancient city of Suyob in the Chu Valley as consisting of the Turkic word *su* and the Iranian word *ob*, while the name of Kulob in Tajikistan is interpreted as consisting of the Turkic word *ko'l* and the Iranian word *ob*. In ethnonymy, however, double naming is carried out by means of a single language and serves to reinforce the semantics of an ethnic name as much as possible. In names such as Hunqas ($q+en+q+as$), Abqas ($ab+q+as$), Enkes ($en+q+as$), Aspan ($as+en$), Sabbas ($ab+as$), Nayman ($en+m+en$), Qasen ($q+as+en$), Ayas ($ay+as$), and Ayn ($ay+en$), the "person + person" model can be observed [20, pp. 105–114].

Summarizing the above facts and phenomena, the following regularities of the nomination of ethnic names have been formulated.

1. The existence of an ethnic system necessitates the active use of various ethnic names in everyday linguistic communication.



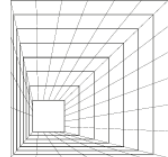
2. An ethnonym is a linguistic fact and constitutes a unit of an integrated ethnonymic system.
3. The formation of ethnonyms is governed by the word-formation models of a particular language.
4. The typological universal semantics of ethnonyms consists of the meaning's "person" and "people".
5. The ethnomorphemes *-az*, *-en*, *-ay*, and *-ab* constitute the material expression of this universal semantics in the language.
6. The typological universal in ethnonymy is manifested in two forms, namely, autonyms and heteronyms.
7. Autonyms have positive semantics.
8. Heteronyms have negative semantics.
9. Heteronyms arise under the influence of extralinguistic factors.
10. The law of seriality operates in ethnonymy.
11. The law of binomination operates in ethnonymy.
12. An ethnonym is transformed into an ethnotoponym, and this process of transonymization occurs under the influence of extralinguistic factors.

Discussion The results obtained demonstrate that ethnonyms are not random names, and that their emergence is governed by certain regularities in the development of language and society. Compared with the views of Engels and Popov, this conclusion confirms the need for a systematic approach to ethnonymy. Interpretations that do not take seriality into account detach an individual name from the system and quickly lose their validity under critical analysis.

At the same time, some of the results should be interpreted with caution. The algorithm for dividing names into phonomorphological components is based on Baskakov's hypothesis concerning the pre-agglutinative period and on the conclusions of phonosemantics. Therefore, its results should not be regarded as definitive proof but rather as the most probable interpretation. There are also other etymologies for some ethnonyms in Turkology. For example, the name *Nayman* is traditionally associated with the Mongolian numeral *naiman* meaning "eight". In such cases, an interpretation based on ethnomorphemes should be verified by comparing it with the regularity of sound correspondences and data from sources such as E. V. Sevortyan's etymological dictionary [26]. In our view, the value of the proposed algorithm lies not in making it compete with other interpretations, but in encouraging ethnonyms to be viewed within the system.

The opposition between autonyms and heteronyms is consistent with the "own – foreign" duality widely discussed in contemporary cultural studies. E. A. Kazakova analyzed theoretical approaches to the study of this duality [27]. I. Neumann noted that the theme of the "Other" and the distinctiveness of the Other had been a central theme for all philosophers of the twentieth century [28, p. 28]. From a philosophical perspective, this process can be explained by the law of the unity and struggle of opposites. According to N. I. Kondakov, internal dialectical contradictions constitute the source of any development of nature, society, and human thought [29, p. 171]. Thus, the opposition "we – people, you – barbarians" emerges.

Compared with toponymy, the phenomenon of positivity and negativity in ethnonymy has a distinctive and complex nature. In ethnonyms, it is primarily associated with the self-awareness of the individual and the community. Although Kryukov drew attention to the phenomenon of opposition, the regularities governing the emergence of autonyms and heteronyms had not been sufficiently studied. In subsequent studies, it would be appropriate to expand the corpus of heteronyms, conduct a deeper comparison of Turkic ethnonyms with material from languages



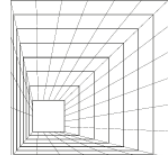
of other families, and verify phonomorphological interpretations against data from historical phonetics.

Conclusion The study of ethnic processes and the identification of the regularities of the nomination of ethnic names lead to the determination of their etymology and semantics. The study identified typological universality as the main nominative regularity in ethnonymy and distinguished two types of nomination based on positivity and negativity in the semantics of ethnic names.

In the course of the historical-linguistic analysis of ethnonyms, an algorithm for identifying ethnomorphemes expressing the universal semantics of ethnic names was developed. It was substantiated that the ethnomorphemes *-en*, *-az*, *-ay*, and *-ab* constitute the material expression in language of the semantics “person” and “people”. Significant additions were made to the description of the phenomena of seriality, positivity, negativity, binomination, and transonymization in onomastics. As a result, twelve regularities of the nomination of ethnonyms were formulated. They serve as a methodological basis for determining the etymology and initial semantics of many ethnic names whose origin is obscure and whose original meaning has become unclear.

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