An Initial Study for Mongolian Factors Inside the *Rasûlid Hexaglot*

By

HO KAI-LUNG 何啟龍

(Nanjing University)

Around the twilight years of the Il-khanid, in the Yemen (South of Arabic Peninsula), a scholar-like ruler of the Rasûlid dynasty, Al-Malik al-ʿAfdal al-Abbâs b. ʿAlî (764-778/1363-1377) wrote a book now called the *Rasûlid Hexaglot*. The *Rasûlid Hexaglot* is an extraordinary series of vocabulary-glossaries consisting of entries in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Mongolian, Greek, and Armenian, made use of Arabic script to record their pronunciation. In 2000, the Rasûlid Hexaglot was translated and published in English with two introductions.[1] Peter B. Golden compared the *Rasûlid Hexaglot* with other multi-language dictionaries in the same era from the Islamic World.[2] Thomas T. Allsen discussed it with the background of the multi-cultures from the Asia to the Europe.[3]

I feel interested about the Mongolian glossaries of the *Rasûlid Hexaglot*. Which group of Mongolian people did use those Mongolian glossaries? What did the cultural pattern represent behind them? Did they relate to the Il-khanate in Persia?

1. The purpose of the *Hexaglot*

Thomas T. Allsen compared the classification of the *Rasûlid Hexaglot* with the two Sino-Mongolian Vocabulary books in 13th-14th century

1 Tibor Halasi-Kun, Peter B. Golden, Louis Ligeti and Edmund Schütz trans., *The King's Dictionary – The Rasûlid Hexaglot: Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol*. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2000.

2 Peter B. Golden, "The World of the *Rasûlid Hexaglot*", *The King's Dictionary*, pp. 1-24.

3 Thomas T. Allsen, "The *Rasûlid Hexaglot* in its Eurasian Cultural Content", *The King's Dictionary*, pp. 25-49.

China.[4] Indeed these two glossary books are quite different. The one written in 1389 was by the Ming government. But the one from the reign of Qubilai (1260-1294), called *Zhi Yuan Yi Yu* 至元譯語, was edited and sold in public.[5] We believe that the *Rasûlid Hexaglot* was drawn from several sources.[6] Were the *Rasûlid Hexaglot* and its sources written by political powers or not?

In the 14th century the famous Arabic traveler Ibn Battûta visited Yemen and its port Aden. He recorded that there were many Indian merchants and ships.[7] Trade was most important for Yemen. With control over Aden, their principal port, the Rasûlids oversaw a state that was actively involved in the Indian Ocean and East-West trade; various goods from the Chinese, South and Southeast Asian commercial spheres came through Aden to the Mediterranean lands; in return, products from Egypt and North Africa were shipped to the East.[8] It was not surprised that Al-Malik al-ʿAfdal recorded about routes and distances between Yemeni cities and ports and places in India.[9] But the *Hexaglot* did not collect any Indian vocabularies. It seems that the *Hexaglot* was not for commercial use, not for businessmen or even public.

Most probably the *Hexaglot* was made for political use. Both Kurdish and Syriac, also belonged to West Asia, were not recorded inside the *Hexaglot*. It was because both of them were weak in the society under the strong rule of the Islamic Empire. The *Hexaglot* is mainly consisted of 2 parts: one is the entries coincided in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek and Armenian (so called Pentaglot; Hexaglot 186A-197B, pp. 61-195); an-

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

5 This Sino-Mongolian glossary was collected into a popular encyclopedia called *Shi Lin Guang Ji* 事林廣記 in Yuan China. There was a short preface saying: "*Zhi Yuan Yi Yu* 至元譯語 just like the beautiful speech in Southern China; it is the most valuable nowadays ... can help the popular daily speaking" (至元譯語，猶江南事物綺談也。當今所尚莫貴乎此。分門析類附于綺談之後，以助時語). See: Shi Lin Guang 至元譯語 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju 中華書局, 1988), pp. 454-457.

6 Golden, *cit.*, p. 14.

7 Ibn Battûta, *Rihla*, ed. K. al-Bustânî (Beirut, 1384/1964). Also, Mahdi Husain ed., *Rehla of Ibn Battûta (India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon)*. Barode: Oriental Institute, 1953; Ma Jinpeng 馬金鵬 trans., *Yi Ben Bai Tu Tai Youji* 伊本・白圖泰游記 (Yinchuan 銀川: Ningxia renmin chubanshe 寧夏人民出版社, 2000), pp. 198-200.

8 Golden, *cit.*, p. 23.

9 *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. ʿAbbâsid Belles-Lettres*, ed. J. Ashtiany et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 461-462.

other set is in Arabic, Persian, Turkic and Mongolian (so called Tetraglot; *Hexaglot* 198A-206D, pp. 198-319). These 2 sets were not merged together probably because they were from different sources. Those six languages were popular (or regional popular) backup with strong political power.[10] Even the language of Ethiopia 埃塞俄比亞, in a brief Arabic-Ethiopian glossary, was recorded elsewhere in the codex.[11] Ethiopia and Yemen are very near, separated by the Red Sea only, while India is far away over the Indian Ocean. These suggest that the *Hexaglot* and even its sources were made according to geopolitics, i.e. the degree of political influences around the Arab. So, which Mongolian political power did the Mongolian words of the *Hexaglot* represent?

2. Phonology of *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian

I have tried to study the phonology of the Mongolian words inside the *Hexaglot*. By comparing them with the Arabic transcriptions from other contemporary sources, could it tell us the answer? Let's first see whether there was any phonological or dialectal difference.

h- initial

Medieval Mongolian had *h-* initial in words but it have totally lost in Modern Mongolian (*h- > ø-). The Uighur script could not write down the *h-* initial but its pronunciation was recorded in both documents of Phags-pa script and the Chinese translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM) of the 14th century.[12] The *Hexaglot* also recorded the *h-* initial in Arabic script ه (h). The Mongolian word "ten", now *arban*, was recorded with *h-* as هربان (*harban*) in the *Hexaglot* (codex number

10 Golden, *cit.*,, pp. 1-13.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

12 Yekemingγadai Irincin 亦憐真, *Mongγol-un niγuca tobiciyan* [The Secret History of the Mongols] (Köke Qota/Hohhot 呼和浩特: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 1987), pp. 92-93. Eldengtai 額爾登泰, *Menggu mishi cihui xuanshi* 蒙古密史詞匯選釋 [Explanation of selected vocabularies from *The Secret History of the Mongols*] (Köke Qota/Hohhot: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1991, 2nd edition), pp. 188-189. Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, "Small letter of Phags-pa script [パクパ小字]", Murata Jiro 村田治郎 ed., *Kyoyokan* 居庸關 [Ju Yong Guan], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Zanyuho Kankokai 座右寶刊行會, 1955), pp. 248-249. Paul Pelliot, "Le mots à *H* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIIIe et XIVe siècles", *Journal Asiatique* III (1925), pp. 194-263.

201B4)[13] and as 哈兒班 (*ha-er-pan* < **harban*) in SHM and *Hua-yi yi-yu* 華夷譯語 (*Interpreter of Chinese-Barbarian*, A.D.1389).[14] More examples: "year" هون (*hon*, *Hexaglot* 199C9, p. 220; now is *on*),[15] "liver" هيلكى (*helige*, *Hexaglot* 198C28, p. 210; now is *elige*),[16] "crown of the head" هورى (*horai*, *Hexaglot* 198B14, p. 204; now is *oroi* "top/head"), "hair هوسون (*hüsün*, *Hexaglot* 198B15, p. 204; now is *üsün*),[17] etc. At the same time, according to the study of *SHM*, the *h-* initial had already started to disappear. For example, "head" 赫乞 (*he-ki* < **heki*)[18] and "brain" 額乞 (*e-ki* < **eki*)[19] were both written inside the *SHM*, while it was recorded as هكى (*heki* "marrow of the head", Hexaglot 199B25, p. 214). Also "daughter" was recorded as both هوكين (*hökin* "virgin", *Hexaglot* 202C13, p. 259) and اوكين (*ökin* "girl/daughter", *Hexaglot* 200B24, p. 231) while it lost the *h-* in the *Hua-yi yi-yu*.[20]

Long vowel

In 14th century the Mongolian dual syllables *vowel + consonant + vowel* (VCV) started to merge up into long vowel when the consonant (C) was *-γ-* or *-g-*.[21] Such as "brave" *baγatur* was recorded as *ba-a-tu-er*

13 *The King's Dictionary – The Rasûlid Hexaglot*, p. 242.

14 Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 190. Antoine Mostaert, *Le Matériel Mongol du Houa I I lu de Houng-ou* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1977), vol. I, p. 60.

15 It was recorded as 桓 (*huan* < **hon*) in *SHM*, see Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 194; Mostaert, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 61. And it was written in Phags-pa script as *hon* in the Turfan fragment of the *Subhasitaratnanidhi* 善說寶藏 / 薩迦格言 (maxim of Sa-skya) (D 1a – T III D 322, line 14), see James E. Bosson, "A Rediscovered Xylograph Fragment from the Mongolian 'Phags-pa version of the *Subhasitaratnanidhi*", *Central Asiatic Journal*, VI (1961), pp. 85-102.

16 It was recorded as 赫里格 (*he-li-ge* < **helige*) in *SHM*, see Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 191. Mostaert, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 60.

17 It was recorded as 許孫 (*xu-sun* < Ch. **hu-sun* < M. **hüsün*) in *Hua-yi yi-yu* 華夷譯語 (A.D. 1389); see Mostaert, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 62.

18 Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 191, §81. For phonologic construction, the Middle Chinese (around 6th century) form of the character 乞 "qi" is [*kʰiət] (溪迄開三入臻). After the 10th century, the entering tone 入聲 disappeared. The word 乞 was pronounced as [*kʰiə].

19 Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 189, §46.

20 It was recorded as 斡勤 (*wo-qin* < *ökin*); see Mostaert, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 84.

21 Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955), pp. 59-76. Nishida, *cit.*, pp. 249-253. Nishida used the Phags-pa Mongolian words as samples.

把阿禿兒[22] and *ba-du-er* 拔都兒[23] both in Chinese sources. We could find similar things happened in the *Hexaglot*. First, some of them became *long vowel*: "pot" توقان (*toqân*, *Hexaglot* 204B9, p. 278), was the same in Chinese (*tuo-huo-an* 脫豁安[24] = Mong. *toγoγan* > *toγon* = *tuo-huan* 妥懽[25]) i.e., became long vowel [*oγa* > *o*].[26] More examples can be found: "table" شیره (*šire*, *Hexaglot* 204B15, p. 279),[27] "sickle" قادور (*qadûr*, *Hexaglot* 204C4, p. 282),[28] etc.

Second, those not yet changed to long vowel became diphthong. For example, "goose" قلون (*qalaun*, *Hexaglot* 200A26, p. 227; Mong. *γalaγun*), "lake" ناور (*naur*, *Hexaglot* 201C2, p. 245; Mong. *naγur*), etc.

Last but not least, some of the terms were correctly recorded just like the Uighur script. For example, "egg" امدکان (*ömdegen*, *Hexaglot* 205B41, p. 293)[29] and "belly/abdomen" کهلی (*keheli*,[30] *Hexaglot* 198C24, p. 209)[31].

The Mongolian words of the *Hexaglot* should be come from the Mongols who were near the Arabic World. However, those Mongolian words did not behave differently with the Mongolian in the Yuan Empire. Or we could say that the time between the Mongol risen (1206) and the *Hexaglot* recorded was not sufficient for the Mongols in West Asian to develop their own dialect.

3. "Incomplete" transcription of the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian

Although the phonology doesn't tell us so much, the transcription of Arabic script gives us meaningful hint. Since the Mongols' ruling in Central and West Asia, there were many records about written in Arabic or Persian. No matter Arabic or Persian records, they also made use of

22 Mostaert, *cit.*, p. 38.
23 *Yuanshi* 元史, 138, "biography of Bayan" 伯顏傳, p. 3335.
24 Mostaert, *cit.*, p. 101.
25 Louis Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan Che* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1945), pp. 140-144. Toγon Temür is the name of the last Yuan emperor.
26 Poppe, *cit.*, p. 70.
27 *širege* > *šire*. Poppe, *cit.*, pp. 61-62.
28 *qaduγur* > *qadûr*. Poppe, *cit.*, pp. 62-63.
29 Mostaert, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 84.
30 It is translated as *kehli* in the book. I believe it should be translated as *keheli*.
31 According to the Uighur script Mongolian writing in the *Hua-yi yi-yu* 華夷譯語, its transliteration is "kegeli". See *Hua-yi yi-yu*, in *Beijing tushu guan guji zhen ben – jing bu* 北京圖書館古籍珍本・經部 (Beijing: Shumu Wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社, 1987-), vol. 6, p. 49; Mostaert, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 70.

Arabic script to "model" the pronunciation of Mongolian words. The best example is the *Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh* 史集 by Rashid al-Din. Indeed there is a long tradition of scholarship in the Islamic world dealing with Turkic, which was followed for dealing with Mongol.[32] However, the transcription rule of the *Hexaglot* is a little bit different with others. The most important is the usage of Arabic alphabet ج / ﺟ [j].

Usually alphabet ج / ﺟ [j] was used to indicate the Mongolian sound /ǰ/, while the alphabet چ / ﭽ [ch] was used to indicate the Mongolian /č/. However, inside the *Hexaglot* both /ǰ/ and /č/ are represented by alphabet ج / ﺟ [j] only and alphabet چ / ﭽ [ch] is not used.[33] For example, the Mongol word "wolf" was usually recorded as چینه (*čina* CYNA; now *činwa*),[34] but in the *Hexaglot* it was recorded as جینا (JYNA, *Hexaglot* 199C8, p. 220); "translator" کلمچی (KLMCY – *kelemeči* 怯里馬赤)[35] was recorded as کلماجی (KLMAJY, *Hexaglot* 198B4, p. 203). At the same time, in the *Hexaglot*, "emperor's order" جساق (*ǰasaq* 札撒, *Hexaglot* 198A30/31, p. 202)[36] or "left hand" جیون‌قار (*ǰeün qar*, *Hexaglot* 198C11, p. 207)[37] also used alphabet ج / ﺟ [j] to represent the Mongolian /ǰ/.

It seems that this rule for transcribing Mongolian words in the *Hexaglot*, totally followed the Turkic one. This was because the Turkic did not contain the sound /ǰ/ but only /č/. The /ǰ/ was not an independent sound value but only a dialect variation.[38] They got no worry for using alphabet ج / ﺟ [j] to represent the Turkic /č/ as they did not contain /ǰ/. At the same time, we could think that Turkic people could not clearly divide the Mongolian sound /ǰ/ and /č/. These two Mongolian sounds were both recorded by alphabet ج / ﺟ [j] in the *Hexaglot*. It seems that it was not a by chance. Most probably the Mongolian words of the *Hexaglot* were

32 This tradition begins with the monumental compendium of the Turkic dictionary *Dîwân lugât al-turk* by Mahmud al-Kashghari. There are much more examples of Turkic or Mongol dictionaries. See: Golden, *cit.*, pp. 14-18; Thomas T. Allsen, "The *Rasûlid Hexaglot* in its Eurasian Cultural Content", *cit.*, pp. 42-47.
33 Peter B. Golden, "The Organization and Transciption of the Text", *The King's Dictionary*, p. 53.
34 Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Band I (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), pp. 317-318, "Abschnitt 191".
35 Doerfer, *cit.*, Band I, pp. 471-472, "Abschnitt" 335.
36 Compared with other record, see Doerfer, *cit.*, Band I, p. 279, "Abschnitt 148"; Band IV, pp. 71-82, "Abschnitt 1789".
37 Compared with other record, see Doerfer, *cit.*, Band I, pp. 297-299, "Abschnitt 165".
38 Mahmud al-Kashgari (b. 1077), *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects – Diwan Luγat at-Turk*, trans. Robert Dankoff (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1982-1985), I, p. 55

listened and then recorded by Turkic people. This assumption coincides with the article of Peter B. Golden, who believed the *Hexaglot* was made by the Turkic Mamluk dynasty of Egypt.[39] But it still doesn't tell us about which group of Mongols the *Hexaglot* represented.

4. Load words of Oghuz Turkic or pre-13th century Turkic?

Neither phonology nor transcription could prove the source of the Mongolian part of the *Hexaglot*. Now I try to study and search for hints from those vocabularies. Peter B. Golden tried to prove that the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian came from the Il-khanids in Persia because he found that many words were "largely" Oghuz Turkic origin.[40] But his evidences (6 samples quoted) are questionable. The word دلتوجينا *deltü čina* "hyena" 鬣狗 / 土狼 (*Hexaglot* 199C19, p. 222) is surely a Mongol word but not Turkic load word.[41] He used the *Hexaglot*-Mongol word جغان "elephant" (*Hexaglot* 199C5, p. 220) to prove the influence of Oghuz Turkic;[42] but its Romanization is wrong.[43] The word "leopard" *qablan* (*Hexaglot* 199C7, p. 220) was surely borrowed from Turkic *qaplan*. However, this had happened long before the Mongols contacted with the Oghuz Turks of West Asia, because the word *qablan* was already used

39 Golden, "The World of the *Rasûlid Hexaglot*, *cit.*, pp. 1-24.

40 Golden, *cit.*, p. 19. Oghuz Turkic, the ascendant of Turkmen and Ottoman Turkic, was the representative of the South Turkic dialect. The Il-khanids and the Oghuz Turks were politically and culturally co-related.

41 The Mongol word *del* means "hair on animals' neck"; *deltü* means "with hair"; *deltü čina* literately means "wolf with long hair on the neck" – this is the best description of Hyena.

42 Golden, *cit.*, p. 19: "Mong. *yagan* (elephant) < Turk. *yagan*; it appears elsewhere in Mongol in the expected form *jagan*." The Mongols led by Hülegü arrived in West Asia around 1250, where the Oghuz Turks had been already very active. In 1260 Qubilai claimed himself the Qaγan of the whole Mongol, the Mongol Empire broke up. After that the Mongols of the East and West started to separate. It is believed that the Oghuz Turks' influence within the Il-khanids should be specific, not be found among other Mongols.

43 Compared with the facsimile (Ms. P. 199), the Arabic script is sure جغان (JGAN), and this could only be romanized as *čaγan* or *jaγan*. The Mongolian word *čaγan* means "white". The word *jaγan* is consistent with the Turkic *yagan*. The consistent of Turkic /y-/ and Mongolian /j-/ was already explained by Gerard Clauson, "The Earliest Turkish Loan Words in Mongolian", *Central Asiatic Journal*, IV (1958-59), pp. 174-187.

in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (*合 卜闌 **he-bu-lan* < *qablan*).[44] Indeed the Mongols had already got many Turkic loan words before the 13th century.[45] The word ساغليق *sagliq* "milk ewe" (*Hexaglot* 199B22, p. 218) should be a pre-13th century loan word.[46] Then the words *calbuq* "eye's secretion" (*Hexaglot* 199A29, p. 215) and *baldir* "leg's calf" (*Hexaglot* 186C14, p. 69) could also be a pre-13th century loan.[47] The six samples above could not clearly identify whether the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian largely contained Oghuz elements. Then this could not prove if the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian came from the Il-khanids.

5. The Dragon garment and the Il-khanids

Peter B. Golden's prove is not so successful, but his method is very good. Searching for cultural background behind the Mongol vocabularies is the best way to investigate the source of *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian. Instead of Turkic loan words, I put focus on the Chinese loan word "dragon" *lu* (< *long* 龍). There is "dragon's year" and "dragon garment" in the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian.

44 *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM), section §78. Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 165. W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (St. Petersburg, 1893-1911), II, 423.

45 Clauson, *cit.*, pp. 174-187.

46 The Mongolian words *saγali* "milk-made food" and *saγa-* "to milk a cow" are still in use now. The *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian word *saγaliq* (sagliq) is clearly a word derived from the verb *saγa-*, just like *saγali*. If this word *saγaliq* was borrowed from the Oghuz Turk (West Asia), how could it be transmitted to the Mongols' homeland (East Asia)? This word set should be borrowed from Turks before the 13th century and these words were brought to West Asia along with the Mongols when they conquered the West.

47 These two words did not contain any specific characteristic of Oghuz Turkic. They could be from other Turkic dialect or those before 13th century. The Turkic language can be roughly divided into three branches: the East (Uighur and Kara-khanid), the North (Kipchak) and the South (Oghuz, Turkmen and Ottoman Turkish). The best example: The East Turkic word "mountain" *tag* (< *taγ*) = North Turkic *taw* = South Turkic *dag*. The sound /-γ-/ changed to round vowel in North Turkic. The initial consonant /t-/ changed to voiced initial /d-/ in South Turkic. A very interesting example is "cock" and its three dialects which could all be found in the *Hexaglot*, i.e. the East Turkic تغاق *taγaq* (*Hexaglot*, 199C16, p. 221), the North Turkic طاووق *tavuq* (*Hexaglot*, 197A13, p. 188), South Turkic داقوق *daquq* (*Hexaglot*, 197A12, p. 188 & 200B9, p. 229).

The years of the animal cycle were widely used by Turks and Mongols and this method was surely influenced by Chinese.[48] The names of 11 animals were translated into Turkic or Mongolian using their own words. But only the team "dragon", as a Chinese mythic animal, was a Chinese sound transcription (*lu* < *long* 龍). While Uighurs and Mongols kept using *lu* as "dragon", those Turks in Central and West Asia, being far away from Chinese influence, failed to remember both the meaning and sound of the *lu* "dragon". According to the *Diwan Luγat at-Turk*, Turkic people were still using 12 animals cycle at that time.[49] But the name of "dragon's year" totally changed. The Chinese loan word *lu* disappeared and a new team *nag yil-i* "year of crocodile" was used. Inside the *Diwan Luγat at-Turk*, the word *nag* was explained as both "crocodile" (in Arabic *timsah*) and *lu* (gloss by a later hand in Arabic script Turkic).[50] In the Tetra-part of the *Hexaglot* (Arabic – Persian – Turkic – Mongol), there is a part of 12 animals cycle of year (*Hexaglot* 199C9-18, pp. 220-222). The Mongolian one and the Turkic one are identical. Here, the word "dragon" is لو *lu* in Mongolian; but in Turkic it is *ïlan balïq* which means "snake-fish" (*Hexaglot* 199C12, p. 221).[51] In *Diwan Luγat at-Turk*, "dragon" is *nag yilan* which means "crocodile-snake".[52] From these two Turkic "dragon", we could believe that Turkic people in Central and West Asia got only a dim memory about dragon. They only knew that "dragon" is a snake-like aquatic animal. According to the *Hexaglot* we knew that the

48 Louis Bazin, *Tujue li fa yanjiu* 突厥曆法研究 [*Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde Turk Ancién*] , trans. Geng Sheng 耿昇 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shuju 中華書局, 1998), pp. 156-173.

49 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, pp. 271-272 [173-175, *bars*].

50 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, pp. 271-272 [173-175, *bars*]; II, pp. 228 [513, *nag*].

51 In the *Hexaglot*, the corresponding Arabic is التمساح *al-timsâh* (crocodile). The Persian word is نهنگ *nahang* (crocodile or shark). Persian also has the word "dragon 龍" اژدر **azhidar* (阿日得兒) but it was not used in writing the *Hexaglot*. This means that all the Turks, Persian and Arabs of West Asia did not understand what the Chinese dragon was. See: *Hui-hui guan za* 回回館雜字 [The words of the Muslims' office] and *Hui-hui guan yi-yu* 回回館譯語 [The Interpreter of the Muslims' office], in *Beijing tushu guan guji zhen ben – jing bu* 北京圖書館古籍珍本・經部, vol. 6, p. 489, p. 543. For the word اژدر *azhidar*, see: Francis J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 45 (اژدرها *azhidarha* – a dragon; brave, intrepid; a tyrant; Zahhak; a standard).

52 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, II, p. 228 [*nag*], *nag yilan* means "dragon" (Arabic *tu'ban*).

Turks of 14th century West Asia already forgot the pronunciation of Chinese dragon *lu*.

But the Mongols did not forget this Chinese loan word *lu*, and they brought this word to West Asia. Besides the "year of dragon", the *Hexaglot* has another word related to Chinese dragon. The *Hexaglot* has a part of "clothing & textile" (205B18-205C7, pp. 296-302). I quote one of them below (205B21, p. 297):

Arabic	Persian	Turkic	Mongolian
نوع منه	جامه لو	لو طون	لو قرا
nau' minhu	*jama-yi lu*	*lu ton*	*lu qara*
a kind of it	garment of dragon	dragon garment	a kind of dragon garment[53]

As I said before, the Turks of West Asia already forgot the Chinese loan word *lu*. Most probably it was a loan word from Mongol. This word was also brought into Persian. The so-called "dragon garment" should be a traditional Chinese cultural concept – the garment of Chinese Emperor – *lu* dragon is the icon of Emperor. The Mongol-Yuan Dynasty got strong Chinese influence. Qubilai Khan followed the traditional Chinese habits in both political structure and rite, included the Gun Long Fu 袞龍服 (rolled-dragon garment of the Emperor).[54]

Although the Yuan Dynasty never ruled West Asia, its influence reached there through the Il-khanids in Persia. The strongest evidences are the seals used by the Il-qans. Those seals are written in Chinese characters and their marks could still be seen in the preserved documents.[55] Il-qan Arγun 阿兒渾 used the Seal named 輔國安民之寶 (Seal of Assisting the country and quieting people).[56] Il-qan Ghazan 合贊 used the Seal named 王府定國理民之寶 (Seal of the Headquarters of

53 *qara* usually means "black colour". But it sometimes means "the great".

54 *Yuanshi*, *cit.*, chapter 78, pp. 1929-1933

55 Antoine Mostaert & Francis W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secretes vaticanes", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 15:3/4 (1952), pp. 419-506, Appendice I, "Les sceaux des Ilkhan" (pp. 482-485). Antoine Mostaert & Francis W. Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962.

56 The Mongolian letter (AD1289) to the Frank king Philippe le Bel, given by Il-qan Arγun, has this seal mark. See: Mostaert & Cleaved, *Les Lettres..., cit.*, p. 85, Planche I; Mostaert & Cleaved, "Trois documents...", *cit.*, p. 483.

Highness to establish a country and to govern people).[57] This seal, with the name *wang-fu* 王府 (Headquarters of His Royal High-ness), clearly proved that this seal was made and given by the Yuan dyn-asty. The system of *wang-fu* 王府 is a branch of the Yuan bureaucratic government.[58] Il-khanids did not contain this Chinese style system. As the Yuan dynasty did not carry out practical ruling in Persia, "granting" or receiving the *wang-fu* seal was only a rite (Chinese style) and symbol of the Mongol Qaγan's highest power. The later Il-qans tried to prove their power without the Yuan's.[59] Following Yuan's practice, Il-qan made his own imperial seal with Chinese-character named 真命皇帝天順萬事之寶 (Seal of Truly Mandated Emperor for Whom Heaven Indulges the Ten Thousand Things), and this seal was at least used by two Il-qans: Öljeitü 完者都 and Busayid 不賽因.[60] Besides Chinese seals, Chinese bureaucratic titles were also used in Il-khanate.[61] All the evidences above show that how strong the Chinese political culture influenced the Mongols in Persia. The Il-khanids made their Imperial Seal and called themselves "the Emperor" (*Huang-di* 皇帝) in Chinese. Then most probably, following the Chinese Imperial tradition, they dressed the dragon garment too. In this case, the *lu* dragon garment was introduced to the Il-khanids. This term was then borrowed to Mongol, Turkic and even Persian. Therefore it was written down into the *Hexaglot*.

57 The Mongolian Edict (AD1302) by Il-qan Ghazan has this seal mark. See: Mostaert & Cleaved, "Trois documents...", *cit.*, pp. 483-484.

58 *Yuanshi*, *cit.*, chapter 89, pp. 2272-2273, 百官五・諸王傳官 (those officers of wang-fu). This is only for the high class nobles with royal blood who got the title of king (*wang* 王).

59 Thomas T. Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation in Mongol Iran" in G. Seaman & D. Marks (eds.), *Rulers from the Steppe – State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 223-241.

60 The Mongolian letter (AD 1305) to the Frank king Philippe le Bel, given by Il-qan Öljeitü, has this seal mark. And the same marks appears in the document AD1320) by Il-qan Busayid (ابوسعید Abu Sa'id). See: Mostaert & Cleaves, *Les Lettres...*, *cit.*, p. 85, Planche XI; Mostaert & Cleaves, "Trois documents...", *cit.*, pp. 484-485.

61 *Yuanshi*, *cit.*, chapter 29, p. 651, in the 11th month of AD 1324, "Imperial Prince Busayid (Ch. Pu Sai-yin 不賽因< M. Busayid < (ابوسعید Abu Sa'id) sent word that his minister Chuban 出班 was meritorious and requested for him an office. [The emperor] made Chuban a Commander Unequalled in Honour 開府儀同三司 and Duke who Assists the State 翊國公 —「諸王不賽因言其臣出班有功，請官之。以出班為開府儀同三司、翊國公」 See: Thomas T. Allsen, "Notes on Chinese Titles in Mongol Iran", *Mongolian Studies*, 14 (1991), pp. 27-39.

Dragon *lu* and the dragon garment are the keys of the *Hexaglot*. They tell us that the source of its Mongol words were the Mongols of Il-khanate in Persia.

6. Persian loan words in the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian

The Mongols of the Il-khanate were separated from their homeland – the Mongol steppe. While the Mongol-Yuan was influenced by the Buddhist Uighur-Turks, Han-Chinese and Tibetan, the Il-khanate was influenced by the Persian and the Islamic Turks. With the strong cultural and material background of West Asia, did the Mongols there behave differently? Could the *Hexaglot* give us the answer?

It seems that the Persian culture was so strong that many Persian terms were lent. Many of the Persian loan words are materials, animals or valuables. For example, the Persian word *khaftan* ("a vest worn under armor", *Hexaglot* 205B27, p. 298) was borrowed into Turkic and Mongol as قفتان *qaftan*.[62] The word بنیر *panir* "cheese" (*Hexaglot* 205B13, p. 295) was borrow into Turkic and Mongolian as بینر *beynir* ~ *beinir*.[63] The Persian word "jackal 豺狼" *šagâl* (*Hexaglot* 199C22, p. 222) replaced both the original Turkic word *arzu*[64] and the Mongol word *cöge böri*,[65] and was borrow into Turkic and Mongol as جغال *cagal*.[66] The Persian *šaft-alu* "peach" (*Hexaglot* 202B7, p. 255)[67] became a loan word of Turk-

62 Especially Mongolian does not contain the sound value /f/. And this should be a Persian local product which was new to Turks and Mongols, so that it became a loan word.

63 Nomads always get many milk products. However, according to Diwan Luγat at-Turk, the Turks in 11th century did not have cheese (*Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, III, p. 276, 3.III.3h – "Milk Production"). It has a Turkic word *uditma* which was explained in Arabic as *jubun ratub* "moist cheese". However, this word came from the Turkic verb *udit-* which has one meaning: "to curdle". The word *uditma* actually means the "curdled thing", included the curdled thing in milk, i.e. cheese. It seems that Mahmud al-Kashghari used the word *uditma* to explain "cheese", a new thing for Turks. While in the time of the *Hexaglot*, both Turks and Mongols got the Persian loan word *beinir* for "cheese".

64 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, III, p. 150 [76], its Arabic translation is *ibn awa* "jackal" which is the same as the *Hexaglot*'s Arabic explanation.

65 This word was written down in section §78 of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 320. Mostaert, *Le Matériel...*, *cit.*, vol. I, p. 47.

66 There was the case that the sound changed in /c/, /š/ and /z/ in Turkic, see *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, III, p. 276, 4.1 – "Phonology", rule 4.

67 *šaft* means "fruit with kernel". *alu* is "plum 梅". *šaft-alu* "peach 桃" literately means "a plum with kernel 有核仁的梅".

ic and Mongolian of West Asia.[68] The Persian word *anjir* "fig 無花果" (*Hexaglot* 202B11, p. 255) was borrowed into Turkic and Mongolian as *injir*. The Persian word *mazu* (樹癭 gall, a ball-like tumor of tree which insects live) became a loan word of Turkic and Mongol (*Hexaglot* 202A 27, p. 254).

However, not all the Persian loan words in the *Hexaglot* merely belong to the West Asia's Mongols. Indeed some of them were already used in the early period of the Mongol Empire (before 1260 the Yuan era). For example, the famous Persian tent *cadar* (*Hexaglot* 202A7, p. 250) was loaned into Mongol as *cadïr ~ cacir* at least in AD 1240.[69] Another example is the Persian word *anar* "pomegranate 石榴" (*Hexaglot* 202B10, p. 255)[70] that the Mongols are still using now, i.e., this word was borrowed into Mongolian very early.

7. Turkic and its loan words in the *Hexaglot*

In this Tetra-part of the *Hexaglot* (Arabic – Persian – Turkic – Mongol), the Turkic is very "dazzling and catching". The Turkic vocabularies here prove that the Turks and Mongols were so closed as they share so many common words at that time. On the other hand, the Turkic got much more Persian loan word that the Mongolian.

Indeed, all the Persian words of the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian were also borrowed into Turkic. But the Turkic gets much more Persian loan words that some of the Persian loan words were only used by Turks but not Mongols. For example, *div* "the Devil" (198A5, p. 198), *padišah* "the king" (198A26, p. 201), *catir* "umbrella" (198B7, p. 203), *cangal* "claw" (200B15, p. 230), *rud* "river" (201C4, p. 246), حصار *khisar* "fortress" and

68 In the Chinese records *Lulong Sailue* 盧龍塞略 [Brief of Peking's strategic importance] of the Ming era, the Mongolian word "peach" is **qu-ru-mu ~ qu-lu-mu* 忽魯無. Guo Zaoqing 郭造卿 (1532-1593), *Lulong Sailue* 盧龍塞略 (Taipei 台北: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1987), p. 736. According to *Diwan Luγat* at-Turk, "peach is *ärük*: *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, p. 110 [47]. Both of them were replaced by the Persian loan word *šaft-alu*.

69 This word *cacir* (*cha-chi-er* 察赤兒) was already recorded in section §275, "the 2nd West Campaign", in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. It was recorded as both *cacir* and *catir* (*cha-die-er* 茶迭兒) in *Yuanshi*, *cit.*, (chapter 43 in p. 911 & chapter 85 in p. 2147), and the Yuan government set up an office for making this Persian tent. Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and exchange in the Mongol Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 75.

70 It was also borrowed into Turkic in same spelling.

بارو *baru* "city wall" (201C23-24, p. 249), *bazar* "market" (201C27, p. 249), *bagi* "rebellious" (202C10, p. 259), *ruspi* "courtesan 妓女" (203A1, p. 262), T. *cuval* < P. *juval* "sack 袋" (204C16, p. 284), *šorba* "soup" (205B44, p. 293), T. *baha* < P. *bahra* "profit" (205C39, p. 307) etc. These mean that the Turks, comparing with the Mongols, had a deeper Persian culture. Note that Turks, since the 6th cent., were already greatly influenced by Sogdian 粟特 (a Persian dialect in mediaeval Central Asia). For example, the common word "angel": Persian فرشته *firišta* and Turkic برشته *birišti* (*Hexaglot* 198A4, p. 198), where the Turkic word came from Sogdian *fryšty ~ βryšty*.[71] The Persian and Turkic common word باتمن *batman* "weight unit" (201C24, p. 244) came from the Middle Persian *patman*.[72] At the same time, there are some Turkic loan words in the *Hexaglot*'s Persian, e.g. *ayγir* "stallion 種公馬" (199B6, p. 216), *qunduz* "beaver 河狸" (199C28, p. 223),[73] *qaz* "goose" (200A26, p. 227), P. *jugrat* < T. *yoγurt* "sour milk" (205B9, p. 295)[74] etc. The facts above tell us how close the relationship between Persian and Turks was.

However, it seems that the Turks and Mongols were closer. There are many examples of Turkic-Mongolian common words, e.g. *tengri* "sky or God" (*Hexaglot* 198A1, p. 198), *kök* "blue sky" (198A6-7, p. 198-199), *är ~ ere* "man" (198B10, p. 204), *saγal* "beard 鬚" (198B23, p. 205), *kegir- ~ kekere-* "to blech 打嗝" (199B28, p. 214), *saγ-* "to get milk from herds" (199B22, p. 218), *irk ~ irge* "3 year old sheep" (199B28, p. 219), *sürük* "herd" (199C1, p. 219), *arslan* "lion" (199C4, p. 220), *arqar* "argali 盤羊" (199C6, p. 220),[75] *qablan* "leopard" (199C7, p.220), *qoyïn ~ qonin* "sheep", *bicin* "monkey", *taγaqu* "cock" (199C14-16, p. 221), *qulan* "wild ass 野驢" (199C25, p. 223), **cumran* "jerboa 跳鼠" (200A2, p. 224) *...äkäc ~ egeci* "sister" (200B27, p. 231), *lacin* "white

71 A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), p. 335. Chinese translation: Geng Shimin 耿世民, *Gudai Tujue yu yufa* 古代突厥語語法 (Qara Qota/Hohhot 呼和浩特: Nei Menggu jiaoyu chubanshe 內蒙古教育出版社, 2004, p. 317.

72 *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 327; *Gudai Tujue yu yufa*, p. 311.

73 beaver 河狸 is a kind of mammal in forests of Northern Asian. Beaver will even cut down trees by its teeth to build dams in the river. Its fur is valuable for export.

74 Noted by Steingass (p. 365), *jugrat* is from the Persian dialect of Samarkand 撒馬爾罕 which was already highly Turkified. The same entry has a Persian term *mast* which also means "sour milk".

75 Argali is a kind of wild goat with big body and a pair of big horns. They live in the mountains of Northern Asia. Therefore the Persian and Arabs did not know this kind of animal so that the Arabic and Persian explanation of the *Hexaglot* is simply "a wild beast".

falcon 鴉 鶻 " (200A22, p. 227), *eliye* "kite 鳶 " (200A25, p. 227) ...*alma* ~ *alima* "apple", *aywa* ~ *aiba* "quince 梓 揾 " (202B3-4, p. 254), *arba* "barley 大 麥 ", *tuturqan* "rice" (202B16-17, p. 256), *sarimsaq* "garlic 蒜 " (202B22, p. 257), *küc* ~ *kücü* "power" (203A8, p. 262), *berk* ~ *berke* "hard/difficult" (203B25, p. 265), *bay* ~ *bayan* "rich" (203B14, p. 267), *ayaγa* "bowl" (204B16, p. 279), *qalqan* "shield 盾 牌 " (205A8, p. 288), *qolan* "belt 腰 帶" (205A28, p. 291), *ätmäk* ~ *ötmek* "bread" (205B2, p.294), *kebek* "bran 糠 " (205B6, p. 294), bal "honey" (205B15, p. 296), *biz* ~ *bös* "cotton" (205B25, p. 297), *altun* ~ *altan* "gold" (205C8, p. 303), *dämür* ~ *temür* "iron" (205C8, p. 304), *bilegü* "whetstone 磨 刀 石" (205C23, p. 305), *turγaq* ~ *turuγaq* "guard 散 班 / 禿 魯 花 " (205C26, p. 305), *bitik* ~ *bicig* "book/writing" (205D6, p. 309), *belgü* ~ *belge* "mark/sign" (205D21, p. 312) etc. Also there is a set of pre-13th century Turkic loan words with sound variation /y-/ ~ /ǰ-/,[76] e.g. T. *yasa-* "to order" & M. *ǰasaq* 札 撒 "emperor's order" (Hexaglot 198A30-31, p. 202). More examples are: *yaγan* ~ *ǰaγan* "elephant" (199C5, p. 5), *yemiš* ~ *ǰimis* "fruit" (202B2, p. 254), *yürek* ~ *ǰürüke* "heart" (200A11 & 202C20, pp. 225, 260), *yori-* ~ *ǰori-* "to travel/to arrange" (204B24, p. 276), *yaqa* ~ *ǰaqa* "collar 衣 領 " (205B35, p. 299) etc.

Within so many Turkic-Mongolian common words, it is not easy to know which one was borrowed from Turks after the Mongols reached West Asia. In some cases of the *Hexaglot*'s entries, the Turkic word appears in both the Turkic and Mongolian entries at the same time. For example, there is both Mongolian *haran* and Turkic *kiši* for the meaning "person" (198B9, p. 203); also M. *köbci* and T. *kiriš* for "bowstring" (204C26, p. 285), M. *uran* and T. *uz* for "craftsman" (205C24, p. 305). Even the Turkic loan word replaced Mongolian, e.g. the Turkic loan word *šira erük* "apricot 杏 " replaced the Mongolian *güilesün*.[77] This means the Mongols used both Mongolian and Turkic loan words for a same meaning in that case. It probably means that the Mongols there (Il-khanate) were under strong Turkic influence.

76 Gerard Clauson, "The Earliest Turkish Loan Words in Mongolian", *Central Asiatic Journal*, IV (1958-59), pp. 174-187.

77 *Hexaglot* 202B5 (p. 255), "apricot 杏 ": P. *zard-alu* (yellow-plum), T. *sariγ ärük* (yellow-peach), M. *šira erük* (yellow-peach). This term is sure to be a Turkic loan word. The original Mongolian "apricot" is *güilesün* (*gui-lie-sun* 圭 列 孫), see: Mostaert, *Le Matériel..., cit.*, vol. I, p. 57.

8. The cultural exchange reflected in the *Hexaglot*

It seems that the Mongols and the Turks were close as they shared so many common words in the *Hexaglot*. And surely some of the Turkic words were borrowed into Mongolian after the Empire's establishment. A Turkic word *taγar* "weight unit" was borrowed into both Mongolian and Persian (*Hexaglot* 201B25, p. 244). This word is of Turkic origin which meant "bags hung on horse" at first and it later became a standard weight unit of grain, at least, using in the Uighur contract.[78] This word, as a standard unit, was also used in the Mongolian contract in the Mongol-Yuan era.[79] According to the Armenian book *History of the Nation of the Archers*, the Mongols also used *taγar* as the one of the levy carrying in West Asia,[80] chapter 4 lines 37-45:

> (Cinggis Qan said) ... It is the will of the God that we take the earth and maintain order, and impose the *Yasaq* (order), that they abide by our command and give us *tuzγu, mal, taγar* and *γubciγur*. Those, however, who do not submit to our command or give us tribute, slay them and destroy their place, so that the others who hear and see should fear and not act thus.

78 It seems that in the Qara-Khanate 可 汗 王 朝 the word *taγar* meant "a sack or bag for keeping wheat" (*Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, p. 312). But at least we know that in Uighur it meant a standard unit for grains. For example, the word *taγar* was written in the Uighur contract named "Istanbul 9" in Istanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Turkey. Yamada Nobuo 山 田 信 夫, *Sammlung Uigurischer Kontrakte*/ウイグル文 契 約 文 書 集 成 (Ōsaka 大 阪: Ōsaka University Press, 1993), Band 2, pp. 100-101. (Lo18 Istanbul 9 IÜMK).

79 Francis W. Cleaves, "An Early Mongolian Loan Contract from Qara Qota", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 18 (1955), pp. 1-49. The word *taγar* could be identified as Chinese weight unit *duo* 馱 or *dan* 擔 . See the detailed explanation in page 34-35 (note 16).

80 Robert P. Blake & Richard N. Frye, "History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc Hitherto Ascribed to Malak'ia The Monk: The Armenian Text Edited with an English translation and Notes", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 12 (1949), pp. 269-399. Chinese translation: 札 奇 斯 欽 Sechin Jagchid: " 弓 手 國 族 (蒙 古) 史 " (上), 《 大 陸 雜 誌 》(台 北), 第 22 卷 第 1 卷 , 頁 5-12; "弓 手 國 族 (蒙 古)" (下), 《 大 陸 雜 誌 》(台 北), 第 22 卷 第 2, 頁 14-21.

Tuzγu, Mal, Taγar are Turkic word: *taγar* is grain tax; *mal* is herd tax;[81] *tuzγu* is gift of food.[82] The word *γubciγur*, as a levy, was already used before the Mongols unified the steppe.[83] These 3 Turkic words were used together with the Mongolian word *γubciγur* to represent the levies of the Mongols' ruling. The Mongols made use of Turkic in West Asia and helped to popularize Turkic there. In this case, it is not easy to say whether those few Turkic loan words within Persian were borrowed by Turkic or Mongolian.[84] It could also happen because the Mongols used too many Turkic words.

Many Persian words were borrowed into Turkic, but only a few Mongolian words were borrowed into Turkic, e.g. شیره *šire* "table" (204B15, p. 279),[85] کوکور *kökür* "leather-container for wine" (204B21, p. 280),[86]

81 *mal* is a Turkic-Mongolian common word which means "property/herds". Here it became a kind of tax. *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (898/1492), Russian version: Nikolai N. Poppe trans., *Mongol'skij slovar' Muqaddimat al-Adab* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1938; Westmead, Farnborough, Hants, England, 1971), pp. 232-233; Chinese trans. from Russian: Bao Chaolu 保朝魯 ed., *Mukadimate Menggu yu ci* 穆卡迪瑪特蒙古語詞典 [Mongolian Dictionary of Muqaddimat] (Köke Qota/ Hohhot 呼和浩特: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 2002), p. 86 [M. *mal* (T. *mal*)].

82 *tuzγu* means "a gift of food which is brought out for a relative or acquaintance who is passing through", see: *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, p. 321. When Cinggis Qan arrived at Bukhara (不花剌), which had already been conquered by the Mongols, he received *tuzγu* "food" from the city – see: Juvaini, 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik (b. 1256), *Ta'rikh-i jahan-gusha*; English version: John Andrew Boyle trans., *Genghis Khan: the History of the World-Conqueror* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 102.

83 *γubciγur* ~ *γubcirin* (*hu-bu-chi-ri* 忽卜赤里, 科斂) come from the verb *γubi-* "to get levy". This word is found in section 151, 152 and 177 of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. See: Mostaert, *Le Matériel..., cit.*, vol. I, p. 91 (*qubciγur*). Ozawa Shigeo 小澤重男: *Gencho hishi zenshaku* 元朝秘史全釋 [Full Translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols*] (Tōkyō 東京: Kazama Shobo 風間書房, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 213-221 (§151); pp. 216-218 (note 3).

84 E.g., *ayγir* "stallion 種公馬" (*Hexaglot* 199B6, p. 216), *qunduz* "beaver 河狸" (199C28, p. 223), *qaz* "goose" (200A26, p. 227), P. *jugrat* < T. *yoγurt* "sour milk" (205B9, p. 295). Also Turkic-Mongolian common words were borrowed into Persian, e.g. *qatun* ~ *hatun* "gueen" (198B29-30, p. 202), *šingqor* ~ *sungqor* "gerfalcon 海青" (200A19, p. 226).

85 M. *širege* > T. *širä*, see: Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, *cit.*, Band I, pp. 367-368 (no. 243 *širä*, 244 *širä-ci*). Mostaert, *Le Matériel..., cit.*, vol. I, p. 98 (*širege* ~ *širige* 石迭里額, "table" 桌子).

86 M. *gögür* > T. *kökür*, see: Doerfer, *cit.*, Band I, pp. 451-452 (no. 319 *kakavur*). Eldengtai, *cit.*, p. 204 (§87 *gögür* 哥兀兒, "small leather bucket" 小皮桶).

بختاق *boγtaq* "head-gear of Mongolian woman" (205C40, p. 300)[87] and جاق *caγ* "time" (205D17, p. 311).[88] Could I suggest that the Turks borrowed more words from Persian because Persian got higher cultural influence than Mongols? It is not easy to say so. Maybe the Turks and Mongols got so many common words and therefore the Turks did not need to borrow more words from Mongols. Then I suggest 2 meaningful samples. E.g. "sparrow hawk" (*Hexaglot* 200A24, p. 227):

Arabic	Persian	Turkic	Mongolian
الباشق	باشه ایضا	باشه	قرغو
al-bašık	*baša* also	*baša*	*qirgu*[89]

The 11th century Turks used the Turkic-Mongolian common word *qirγuy* for "sparrow hawk".[90] But in the 14th century the Turks were using the Persian loan word *baša*. Another example is "lamp 燈 " (*Hexaglot* 204B25, p. 281):

Arabic	Persian	Turkic	Mongolian
السراج	چراغ	چراغ	جولا
al-siraj	*cirag*	*ciraγ*	*jula*[91]

For "lamp", the 11th century Turks used the Turkic-Mongolian (*y-* ~ *ǰ-*) common word *yula*.[92] But in the 14th century the Turks were using the Persian loan word *ciraγ*. The Mongols were so close with Turks, but they could not help the Turks to keep using the Turkic-Mongolian common words. Persian loan words started to replace their common words. This showed that the Persian culture in 14th century West Asia was stronger

87 *boγtaq* is a characteristic wearing of head for Mongolian women, in Chinese called 固姑,/ 罟罟 (*gu-gu* < M. *gököl* "Mongolian hair style"). Doerfer, *cit.*, Band I, pp. 210-212 (no. 89 *bogtaq*). Eldengtai, *cit.*, pp. 151-152 (§74 & §254 *boγta-*, "to wear *Boγtaq* head-wearing 固姑冠帶著).

88 Clauson, *cit.*, p. 306: "*Caγ* (time) is sometimes said to be a pure Turkish word; it is, in fact, a Mongolian loan word which did not displace the old word *öd* for time until after the Mongolian invasion".

89 *qirgu* ~ *kirγui* [乞兒圭, "sparrow hawk" 鶻 / 燕隼]. Mostaert, *Le Matériel..., cit.*, vol. I, p. 72. The *Hexaglot*'s record is an ancient sound (*qi > ki), see Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, *cit.*, p. 132.

90 According to the *Dîwân lugât al-turk* 突厥語大辭典, "sparrow hawk" was recorded as Turkic *qarγuy* ~ *qirγuy* and translated in Arabic as *bašiq*. See: *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, p. 275.

91 jula [主剌, "lamp" 燈]. Mostaert, *Le Matériel..., cit.*, vol. I, p. 69.

92 In *Dîwân lugât al-turk*, "lamp" was recorded as Turkic *yula* and translated in Arabic as *siraj*, and no Persian loan word *ciraγ* was recorded there. See: *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, II, p. 159.

than the Mongols. Turks were influenced greatly by Persian.

Did the Mongols in West Asia also "convert to" the Persian culture?

Comparing with Turkic, Mongolian got only a few Persian loan words. All the Persian loan words of Mongolian were shared by the Turkic but not vice versa. Probably the Mongolian's Persian loan words were borrowed from the Turkic, not directly from the Persian. I guess maybe the Mongols of West Asia tried to keep their homeland's lifestyle. Even when new things came, they liked to translate it in Mongolian instead of accepting a Persian loan word. There is one example, "glass 玻璃" (*Hexaglot* 205C13, p. 303):

Arabic	Persian	Turkic	Mongolian
الزجاج	ابكينه	سرجا	قرابا
al-zujaj	*abgina*	*siricγa*[93]	*qaraba*[94]

Transparent glass was new and rare for East Asia. The Mongols neither loaned a Turkic word nor a Persian word. G. Kara suggested that he Mongolian word *qaraba* was probably "invented" in West Asia where transparent glass was prod-uced. This noun originated from the verb *qara-* "look/see" (its dictionary form: *qaraqu*). However, this word could not be found among the Mong-ols of East Asia.[95] This separating group of Mongols, represented in the *Hexaglot* (the Il-khanids), maintained their own culture and language. This assumption could explain why the *Hexaglot*'s Mongolian gets so few Persian loan words. But there was already a tendency of "Persianization" among the Turks of West Asia. Turks were the best partners of the Mongols. As the Turks were continuously being influenced by the Persian culture, the Mongols were unable to refuse the "Persianization". But this "Persianization" of West Asia's Mongols could not be proved by the *Hexaglot* – which was written before the "Persianization" happened obviously.[96]

93 The Turkic word "glass" *siricγa* was already in use at least in 11th century Central Asia and it was translated in Arabic as *zujaj* (glass) in *Dîwân lugât al-turk* (*Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, I, p. 363).

94 In the *Hui-hui guan za zi* 回回館雜字 [The words of the Muslims' office] and *Hui-hui guan yi-yu* 回回館譯語 [The translation of the Muslims' office] edited by the Ming dynasty, there is a Persian word خلبی *khalabi*, (黑勒必, "glass" 玻璨). *Khalab* is an ancient city in Syria where beautiful glass was produced, and the Persian word *khalabi* means "The things from Khalab". However, it should not be identified with the Mongolian *qaraba* as *-l- ≠ -r-* and *-bi ≠ -ba*. Thanks to Prof. Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝 for his suggestion concerning the Persian word *khalabi*.

95 Modern Mongols use *sil* for "glass" which is a Sanskrit-Indian loan word.

96 Maybe it is a kind of "Turkification" – Turkifying by the Persianized Turks.

Jakutische Elemente in tungusischen Sprachen III
Jakutisches im Negidal
(nach S. M. Širokogorovs "Tungus Dictionary")[1]

Von

MICHAEL KNÜPPEL

(Göttingen)

Mit dem vorliegenden Beitrag setzt der Verfasser nun seine Aufsatzreihe gleichen Haupttitels fort.[2] In diesem dritten Beitrag der Serie ist das jakutisch Lehngut im Negidal, welches sich im "Tungus Dictionary"[3] des russischen Ethnologen und Tungusologen S. M. Širokogorov (1887-1939)[4] findet, in alphabetischer Folge zusammengestellt. Das jakutische Lehngut in den verschiedenen von Širokogorov in seinem Wörterbuch erfaßten tungusischen Sprachen und Dialekten ist zum Teil von ihm selbst bereits entsprechend gekennzeichnet worden – zumeist unter Verweis auf Pekarskis Wörterbuch ("Jak. Pek.")[5] – so auch ein Teil des jakutischen Lehnguts im Negidal, das einen wesentlich geringeren Umfang aufweist als etwa die jakutischen Elemente im Tumunchanskischen oder im Ost-Ewenki.

Einer Auswertung des TD stand lange Zeit dessen handschriftlicher Charakter und die sich daraus ergebenden graphischen Probleme im Wege. Schon Shinobu Iwamura wies im Vowort des 1944/1953 in Japan angefertigen Drucks der Handschrift des TD auf die Schwierigkeiten hin

1 Der Beitrag ist zuerst in "Acta Mongolica" (5 [246]. 2005, pp. 91-96 [zugl. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Rinčen, anläßlich seines 100. Geburtstages]) erschienen aufgrund redaktionellen Versagens der Bearbeiter resp. Herausgeber jedoch unter Auslassung nahezu aller Sonderzeichen – und somit in einer vollkommen unbrauchbaren Form – abgedruckt worden.

2 Bei den bislang erschienenen Beiträgen handelt es sich um Aufstellungen des jakutischen Lehnguts im Ost-Ewenki (Knüppel [2005a]) und im Tumunchanskischen (Knüppel [2006]).

3 Širokogorov (1944); in der Folge abgekürzt als "TD".

4 Zu Širokogorov vgl. Mühlmann (1940) u. Doerfer (2004), pp. 5-6.

5 Pekarskij (1917-27).