Ötüken'den İstanbul'a

Türkçenin 1290 Yılı (720 - 2010)

3 - 5 Aralık 2010, İstanbul

BİLDİRİLER

From Ötüken to Istanbul

1290 Years of Turkish (720 - 2010)

3rd - 5th December 2010, Istanbul

PAPERS

Yayıma Hazırlayanlar / *Edited by*

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İSTANBUL
BÜYÜKŞEHİR
BELEDİYESİ

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Classification of Old Turkic loanwords in Mongolic

Volker RYBATZKI
(Stockholm)

. History of research

he investigation of (Old) Turkic loanwords in (Middle) Mongolic nguage(s), has a long tradition, summarized in Poppe (1955), but only ·ith the publication of the article just mentioned, this research achieved a roper scientific level. Research was altered and enlarged in a series of ·ticles and books, connected with names such as Doerfer (1963: 51-105, 985, 1992, 1993), Clauson (especially 1957, 1959, 1959-60, 1960-61, 962: 211-255), Kara (1981, 2001) and Shōgaito (1991, 2003), partly in onnection with discussions concerning the Altaic hypothesis; further ·ferences might be found in the bibliography that contains also the bbreviations used in this article. The present state of art in this field of search has been nicely summarized by Schönig in two articles (2003, 005).

In most of the researches mentioned before, notable exceptions are lauson (1959-60, 1962) dealing with the vocabulary of the *Huayi yiyu* ocabulary and Shōgaito (1991, 2003), examining the Buddhist vocabulary the *Juyongguan* inscription, Middle Mongolic is treated like a monolithic iit, however, as I have shown in another paper (Rybatzki 2010) and as I ill shortly do in connection with the historical background and the assification of Turkic loanwords in Mongolic, this attitude is not correct. ifferent Middle Mongolic sources reveal different linguistic, cultural and xical traditions. The vocabulary, including loanwords, of the *Secret istory of the Mongols*, composed in 1228, has a very different content and ucture than Buddhist texts composed or translated in Turfan, or during the ginning of the Ming dynasty in China, or the *Juyongguan* inscription; all e three last mentioned have again a different cultural and lexical ckground when compared with each other. Other cultural and linguistic

traditions, different again from those mentioned before, are visible f.ex. in hPags-pa edicts written during the Yuan dynasty in China, in civil documents found in the Turfan area, the *Alexander Romance* found in the same area, or the Arabic/Persian-Mongolic vocabularies stemming from the western parts of the Mongol empire. All these different sources should be carefully distinguished from each other, and the origin of the Turkic loanwords found within them should be investigated according to proper historical and cultural settings.

2. Historical background

A linguistic history of Ancient Mongolia was presented in Rybatzki (2010) and might be shortly summarized as follows: In the first centuries of the common area, Mongolia comprised two linguistic groups, Turkic (Common Turkic and Bolghar Turkic) and Mongolic (Common Mongolic and Khitan Mongolic; the last group is called by Janhunen (2003) para-Mongolic); linguistically only Bolghar Turkic and Khitan Mongolic groups can be identified at this stage. After the migration of the Bolghar Turkic component of Mongolia to the steppes north of the Black Sea in the 3rd and 4th c. A.D., linguistically locatable groups of Mongolia and Northern China comprise Common Turkic (Old Turkic) and Khitan Mongolic (Ruanruan, Toba-Wei, Khitan, Tuyuhun); the Common Mongolic of this time might be connected with two ethnic groups called *Otuz Tatar* or *Toquz Tatar* in the Old Turkic inscriptions. Linguistically, Mongolia seems to have been, as also earlier and later, divided into two parts: Common Turkic in the western half, Common and Khitan Mongolic in the eastern half of Mongolia (as well as northeastern parts of China). Until the rise of Cinggis qan and his unification of the various ethnic groups of Mongolia in the 12th-13th centuries this linguistic distribution did not change very much. An interesting and important linguistic development that resulted in the almost complete Mongolization of Mongolia (small Turkic and Tungusic renments have been preserved in the northwestern and northeastern parts of Mongolia) seem to have started in the 9th-10th centuries. In the middle of the 9th c., after the Uighurs had been defeated by the Kirgiz, the former left Mongolia, settling in the areas of Dunhuang and Turfan, the later, after plundering the country, returned to their native Southern Siberia. Thus, at this point a demographic space seem to have come into existence in Mongolia. This space was first filled by the conquest of Eastern Mongolia

up to the central parts of the country by the Khitan at the beginning of the 10th c. However, being more interested in the conquest of Manchuria and Northern China, the Khitan made an offer to the Uighurs to return to their former homeland. The later rejected the proposal and it is at this point that Mongolia was populated (anew?) by Common Turkic (Middle Turkic) ethnic groups in the west, and Common Mongolic (Old-Middle Mongolic) in the east. It is due to the great cultural change in the culture of the Mongols of that time, moving from a taiga environment to a steppe environment that Middle Mongolic (a later stage of this language was called the "dialect of the clan of Cinggis qan" by Doerfer) came into existence (Rybatzki 2010). In the 10th to 12/13th centuries we find thus various Turkic and Mongolic languages or dialects spoken in Mongolia, and only the ethnic and linguistic policies of Cinggis qan, aiming at unifying the Mongolian steppe in both respects, brought an end to this diversity. In fact, the policy of Cinggis qan was so successful that already in texts written in the 14th c., dialectical traces are extremely difficult to find (Rybatzki 2004), remarkable is also the great linguistic uniformity of most of the modern Mongolic languages, going probably back to this policy as well (Rybatzki 2003).

3. Classification of Old (, Middle) Turkic (and Uighur) loanwords in (Old and) Middle Mongolic

Old Turkic loanwords in Mongolic are generally divided into three groups. The first one to set up this schema was Clauson (1958-59: 184-187), refined in a later work (1962: 217-222). According to Clauson (1962: 217) "the first or lower layer, ..., contains words borrowed before the eighth century A.D., and probably in the fifth or sixth century by the Kitan from the Tavğaç ..."; (1962: 2220) "the second layer of Turkish loan words in Mongolian contains words which were borrowed, ..., between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, ..."; (1962: 221) "the third layer ... contains words which were borrowed late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century after the Mongolian expansion had started". Basically this classification is correct, and is retained more or less intact in later publications, cf. f.ex. Schönig (2005), who, however, makes a stricter distinction between Bolghar and Common Turkic loanwords than Clauson, and deals also with Mongolic loanwords in Turkic.

In the light of what has been sketched out in chapter two and addressing the problem of classification from the basis of Mongolic, the threefold classification can be refined, I believe. But, in this framework also new questions that must for the most parts remain unanswered due to our limited knowledge of the Mongolic linguistic part arise. The first group of Turkic loanwords in Mongolic comprises Common and Bolghar Turkic loanwords. It seems that Bolghar Turkic loanwords were borrowed before the 3rd-4th centuries, as the speakers of Bolghar Turkic seem to have moved entirely away from Mongolia in the wave of westward migration that occurred in these centuries — at the beginning of the 5th c. various tribes belonging to this group are attested north of the Black Sea. How many Common Turkic speakers moved to the west is not known, most (all?) seem to have remained in the east. While Bolghar Turkic loanwords are relatively easily recognized in the Mongolic corpus (Schönig 2005: 132-139), this is not the case with Common Turkic loanwords of this stage. The only case of a Common Turkic loanword of this stage I could detect, might be presented by Old Turkic/Tuñuquq *tüš-*; in the following, Old Turkic, Middle Turkic and Uighur words are given according to Clauson (1972), Middle Mongolic words according to the manuscript of my *Etymological dictionary of pre-fifteenth century Mongolic* (for the abbreviations used cf. Rybatzki 2006), and Literary Mongol words are given according to Lessing (1995). Old Turkic *tüš-* was borrowed in a Common Turkic phonetic shape into Mongolic, but the semantics of the word in Mongolic seem to reflect Bolghar Turkic, as can be seen from the meaning of the word in Hungarian, in the later the phonetic shape of the word is Bolghar Turkic: tu. (VIII) *tüš-* (*d-*) has a general connotation of movement downwards both voluntary, 'to settle (somewhere), to dismount; to retire, withdraw (to somewhere)', and involuntarily 'to fall (off something)'; …; an early loanword in Hungarian as *dől-* ['to lean, topple over, stream down' (Róna-Tas & †Berta 2010.302-306] ≈ mmo. *tüsi-* 'betrauen; den Hals ausstrecken' [M]; *tüši-* 'établir dans une charge, donner une charge' [S/HyB]; *tüsi-* ~ *tüši-* 'beauftragen' [U/DocTfn6, Hin, Jig, Zha]; *tüši-* 'to dispatch, commission' [P/Buy8, TogT5]; MoL *tüsi-*, KhalL *tüšix* 'to lean against; to prop, assist; to help an infant or old person to stand up or walk; to rely on, count on, depend on'. Due to our limited (non-existing) knowledge of the exact location of the speakers of Common Mongolic of this time, we do not know how Common or Bolghar Turkic loanwords entered Common Mongolic. There might have

existed direct loan contacts, but also the possibility that Bolghar (and Common) Turkic loanwords entered Comon Mongolic via Khitan Mongolic can not be excluded as it is possibly testified by the following word: tu. (VIII/Tuñuquq) *tavišγan* 'hare'; an old animal name in *-GAn*; ... the word was a pre-VIII loanword in Khitan as *tao.li.a*, ... from which it passed into Mongolic as *taulai*; these words represent, of course, the L/R Turkic form **tavïlγan*; mmo. *taulai* ~ *ta·ulai* [M]; *taulai* [S/HyS]; *taulai* [U/Aba2, Cal3, 6, DocTfn8, 14]; *tawlayi* [P/Seg, TogT4]; *taulai* ~ *tūlai* ~ *tawlayi* (year of the) hare [A/AL, VdI]. At this point, however, a remark has to be made. Although great progress has been made in the decipherment of the Khitan script in recent years, is the phonological shape of some of the deciphered Khitan words still unclear. Thus we do not understand why, f.ex. Common Mongolic *mori/n* 'horse', is written in Khitan as *m.ri*. The Common Turkic of this stage is represented since the 8th c. by the Runic inscriptions of the Second Türk and Uighur empires. But again, as before, Turkic loanwords that belong exclusively to this stage can not be detected in Mongolic. Turkic loanwords of the first stage end in the 4th c. for Bolghar Turkic and in the 9th c. for Common Turkic as outlined in chapter two.

Turkic loanwords of the second layer started to enter Mongolic languages after the (partial) repopulation of Mongolia in the 9th-10th centuries. In the western parts of Mongolia these (new) groups were of Turkic origin, speaking most probably Qipcaq language(s), to some extent different from the language(s) spoken by the former Turkic population of Mongolia (and the language of the Uighurs of Turfan and Dunhuang). I have tried to show elsewhere (Rybatzki 2010) that the orthography of the Mongol Uighur script might have been influenced by this Turkic population of the steppe. Additionally, also the Turkic loanwords in the *Secret History*, predating the beginning of the 13th c., the Secret History was composed in 1228, should be considered to have been borrowed from these Turkic peoples and not from those living in the oasis in the south. Contacts between Mongols and Uighurs (Oasis-Turks) were in the 13th c. of very recent origin. Interestingly, there is a rather large set of words found in the *Secret History*, and not known anymore in Literary Mongol and most of the modern languages. These words have been preserved in the *Altan tobci*, a Mongolic chronicle of the 17th c., often in a highly corrupted transcription. Here a remark on the relation between the *Secret History* and the *Altan tobci*, the later is sometimes said to have preserved 2/3 of the text of the

Secret History, is needed. The known text of the *Secret History* is written with Chinese characters, transcribing and translating a text originally written in Uighur script; this work was done at the end of the 14th c. during the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Copies of the originals in Uighur script have never been found. As can be observed from the differences between the interlinear and summarizing translations accompaning the Mongolic text, there must have existed at least two different copies of the original text in Uighur script. In the 1920ies a manuscript, our *Altan tobci*, written in Uighur script, was found in Mongolia. First examinations of the text showed that the *Altan tobci* contains large parts of the events told in the *Secret History*, but a more careful examination of the two texts has shown that the two texts can not be considered identical. There are long omissions of the original text in *the Altan tobci*, there are additions, mainly of Buddhist origin, in the *Altan tobci*, the syntax and lexicon of the two text is different in identical passages, and lastly, as mentioned, the *Altan tobci* contains a number words of the *Secret History* in a highly corrupted way; often this words are obsolete in later languages, and not translated, i.e. not anymore understood, by the translaters of the originals in Uighur script. An example might be given here: Secret History:522 *qara·utai* | Altan tobci:5r8 *qarqutai* [gloss: *segür*] 'black-covered, covered with black felt' ← *qara·u* 'black, cart, black felt' [M]; (??) *qarayun* [U/Sar]; MoL, KhalL Ø; kalm. *χarū* '(selten) dunkel, verlöschend' ?<? tu. (XI) *qarayu* 'blind, black' (Clauson 1972: 656) + *-tAi* den. n. s.; the gloss is wrong: *segür* ~ *sekür* ← MoL *sekügür*, KhalL *sexüür* 'a hat with a brim or flap which can be turned around'; kalm. *sekū/r* 'Schirm der Mütze, etwas aufgehobenes überh.': *s. ūdn* 'Tür, die durch Aufheben geöffnet wird, d.h. Filztür der Jurte'. It might be suspected that the word analysed, as well as others of the same kind, are Common Turkic loanwords in Mongolic that stem from the second period of loanwords. The end of the second stage of Turkic loanwords is characterized by the strong cultural and linguistic unification of various ethnic groups in Mongolia during the time of Cinggis qan. The end of this stage is the beginning/middle of the 13th c.

Turkic loanwords in Middle Mongolic of the third stage entered Mongolic through contacts with the culturally more advanced Uighurs of Turfan. These loans consist mainly of various technical Buddhist terms, partly still well-known in modern language, as well as cultural terms of everyday life. However, the statement that for f.ex. the Mongolic parts of

the *Alexander Romance*, consisiting of two texts in Turkic and two text in Mongolic, all written in Uighur script by the same hand, contain an extraordinary large amount of Turkic loanwords (of the third layer), pointing to a certain degree of Turkification of the writer (which surely occurred in some other parts of the Mongol empire) does not hold good at all (Rybatzki 2004).

4. Examples

To illustrate what has been said before, I have examined anew the Turkic loanword in Middle Mongolic presented in Poppe (1955). From this list titles, ethnic, geographical and personal names, names of professions etc. have been excluded, because these have been dealt with in Rybatzki (2006). Additionally, new material that I collected in my forthcoming "Etymological dictionary of pre-fifteenth century Mongolic" monography has not be taken into consideration as it would have largely extended the space of the article.

al 'rot, tiefrot' [M]; *al* 'vermeil' [S/HyS]; *al* 'rot' [U/Abu1, DocTfn7, 11, FrTeh, Jib]; *al* 'red, scarlet' [P/JyW, Seg]; MoL, KhalL *al* 'red, scarlet, vermillion' < tu. (VIIIff) *al* 'scarlet'; ... for the colour of the (Chinese) scarlet ink with which the rulers sealed documents. This loanword might belong to the second layer as it is attested already in [M].

alacuq tent [M] < tu. (VIIIff) *alaču* ~ (XIV) *alacuq* 'tent, hut'. Later forms usually have a final *q*; this inconsistency suggests that it was a loanword; MoL Ø. The form of the word in the *Altan tobci* (30v), *yal coɣ-a*, clearly indicates that this is a second layer Turkic loanword.

***alaša**, (pl.) *alašas* [M]; MoL *alaša/n*, KhalL *alšaa/n* 'Alashan (a banner in Ninghsia); the Alashan Mongols'. De Rachewiltz (2004: 1002) considers this a tu. loanword in Mo. [probably tu. *ala* + *-ča* den. n. s. (= CC *alača* scheckig [Grønbech 1942: 34, not mentioned in Laude-Cirtautas 1961] > mo. *alaša*]. However, the sound change *č* ⇒ *š* seems to be a rather recent phenomenon, additionally should the mo. form be *c* (*č*) or *s*, for all this cf. Clark (1980: 42-47). A view similar to that of de Rachewiltz is taken by Poppe (1955.38) and Clark (1980.42), who see in the mo. word a loanword from tu. *alaša* 'gelding', without any reference to the semantics 'motley, speckled'. Clauson (1972) does not mention the word in his etymological dictionary (thus indicating that tu. *alaša* is in his opinion either a loanword, or a post-fifteenth century word), as does neither the DTS.

These facts seem to confirm that the tu. word is a comparatively late word, as is also indicated by Räsänen (VEWT 16a), who cites only modern occurrences, without mentioning mo. forms at all. All this seems to point to the fact that the word is a mo. loanword in Tu., as first stated by Doerfer (TMEN §1965), and later confirmed by Schönig (2000.62).

aral 'island; peninsula; area at, or near, the confluence of two river' [M]; *aral* 'timons, brancards' [S/HyS]; MoL, KhalL '*aral* island, peninsula (rare); oasis'. According to Kara (2001: 80) and Poppe (1955: 38) an (o)tu. loanword in Mo., however, the word is only mentioned in Gabain (1974), neither Tekin (1968), nor Clauson (1972) or Röhrborn (Rö) record this word. Thus the tu. words mentioned in Poppe (id.) and Räsänen (VEWT) should be considered mo. loanword in Tu.

ariγ, as in *ariγ usun* "clear water", name of a place [M]; *ari·un* 'pure; proper' [S/HyS]; *ariγui* ~ *ariγun* 'pure, clean, clear' [U/Arg4, Dhy2, FrB7, Hin, Jig]; *ari·ui* 'clean, pure, immaculate' [P/JyE, JyW]; *arūn* 'pure (water)' ~ *ari·un* 'rein, sauber' [A/IM, VdI]; MoL *ariγ*, KhalL *arig* 'pure, clear' + *-U-* + *-n* den. n. s. (= MoL *ariγun*, KhalL *ariun* 'cleanliness; purity, chastity; clean, pure, clear; chaste; sinless; holy, sacred') < tu. (VIIIff) *arï-* 'to be, or become clean, pure' + *-G* dev. n. s. (= tu. (VIII) *arïγ* 'clean, pure', lit. and metaph.). The morphology of the word shows that it is a Turkic loanword of the second or third layer.

baq [S/HyS]; *baγ* ~ *ba'γ* [U/DocTfn6, 8, Qub1, 2]; *baq* 'garden' [P/Buy1-10, Dag2, Geg, Kun, Kül1-2, Qub3-5, Seg, Tem1-3, TogT1-2, 4, 7-8, YisT2]; (??) MoL *baγ*, KhalL *bag* smallest administrative unit in the MPR; a number of *baγ*s form a *sumun* < tu. *baγ* (VIIIff) the Pers. word *bāğ* 'garden' was a very early loanword in Tu. primarly for 'vineyard', for which there is no native Tu. word. Turkic loanword of the third layer.

bars [M]; *bars* [S/HyS, Zhi]; *bars* [U/Arg3-4, Cal12, DocTfn1, 10, 12, DuIss3, Gaz, Hin, Jig, Zha]; *bars* 'tiger' [P/Buy5-8, TogT5]; *pars* ~ *bars* '(year of the) tiger; (AL) panther' [A/AL, IM, VdI]; MoL *bars*, KhalL *bar/s* tiger; also the queen in chess (for which the reading is *bers*) < tu. (VIIIff) *bars* a very early Ir. loanword, but from which Ir. language it was taken is uncertain. Properly 'leopard' but in Tu. apparently also used for other large felines; one of the animals of the 12-year cycle; an early l.-w- in Mo. As attested already in [M], this may be a loanword of the second layer.

bor 'Traubenwein' [M]; *bor* 'Weintraube, Wein', (?? pl.) *bor-ud* [U/DocTfn2, 3, 10, 14]; EMoL/Altan tobci, MoL Ø < tu. (VIIIff) *bor* 'wine';

loanword fr. Middle Pers. *bōr*. The etymology of the word is unclear as there is no word like *bōr* in Middle Pers., cf. Rybatzki (2006: 262). Semantically this should be a loanword of the third layer, the occurence in [M] does not speak against this argument as the word occurs in the part dealing with Ögedei, a later addition to the original text of [M].

buqa·u 'Schandkragen' [M]; *buqa* 'bracelet' [S/Zhi]; *bayū* 'Armband' [A/IM]; EMoL/Altan tobci *bayu ~ ginji bayu ~ ginji bayuyu*; MoL *buyui ~ bayui ~ bayu* 'forearm, wrist; bracelet' < tu. (VIIIff) *buqayu* 'fetter, leg-iron, handcuff'; etymologically dev. n. from **buqa-*. Probably a Turkic loanword of the second layer.

bolqa (read: *bulqa*) 'Kampf(-handlung), Schlacht' ~ *bulqa* 'Fehde, Abfall, Kampf, Handgemenge; feindlich' [M]; *bulqa* 'révolte' [S/HyA]; *bulγa ~ buly-a* [U/GüySeal, Hin]; *bulγa ~ bulγay* (tu. form) 'Schlacht, Kampf' [A/AL, IM, IMR]; EMoL/Altan tobci *bulq-a* [often glossed as *dayisun* 'enemy'], MoL Ø < tu. (VIII) *bulγaq* dev. n. fr. *bulγa-*; 'confusion, disorder; confused, disorderly'. Turkic loanword of the second layer.

cacir [M]; **cacar* 'tent' → *cacartan-a* 'to those having a tent', or read: *sacacirtana* ← **saca-cirta* 'Nomadenregionen', transcription of tib. *sa cha lci ra* [*rnams*?] [P/YisT1]; MoL, KhalL *cacar* 'large tent, open tent, awning tent, hut, stall' < tu. (XI) *čatïr* loanword ultimately derived fr. skt. *chattra* 'a (royal) umbrella'; this meaning, for which *čowač*, ..., is an alternative, has survived sporadically but the usual meaning is 'a (canvas) tent'. Loanword of the second or, more probably third, layer of Turkic loanwords; again, the occurance in [M] stems from the part dealing with Ögedei.

cöl, in: *cöl olja·ur* 'bastard' [M]; **cöl* 'desert', (pl.) *cöl-nuγud* (sic) [U/Hin]; *cöl* 'Festland' [A/IM]; MoL, KhalL *cöl* 'desert, desolate place; deserted, desolate, uninhabitated'. As already stated by Clauson (1972: 420), *cöl* is a Mo. loanword not traceable earlier than XVff in Turkic.

erdini 'pierre précieuse, objet précieux' [S/HyS]; *erdini* 'Edelstein, Kostbarkeit', (pl.) *erdinis* [U/BcaTfn, Dar10, DuIss26, FrB14, Zha, ZhuVor]; *erdini ~ ėrdini ~ ėrtini* 'jewel', (pl.) *ėrdinis ~ ėrtinis* [P/JyE, JyW, SrnP]; < tu. (VIIIff) *ärtini*, etc. 'jewel', more vaguely 'precious (object)'; fr. Skt. *ratna* through some intermediate language, prob. Sogd. *rtny*, with prosthetic *ä-*; EMoL *erdini ~ erdeni*; MoL *erdeni*, KhalL *erdene* 'treasure, jewel, gem; precious'. Clearly a loanword of the third layer belonging to the religious terminology.

ertincü 'le monde' [S/HyA, HyB]; *yirtincü* 'Welt', (pl.) *yirtincüs* [U/BcaTfn, Dar2, 6, 11, 18, FrB1, 12, 14F, 15B]; *yėrtinjü* 'world' [P/JyE, JyW, QqtP61]; *hirtüncü* [Cag. *dünya* (VEWT 141b)] [A]; MoL *yirtincü*, KhalL *yertönc* 'the universe, the world, cosmos' < tu. (VIIIff.) [already Manichaean] *yirtinčü* 'Erde, Welt'. The semantics (Buddhist) as well as the orthography point to the fact that this is a loanword of the third layer in Mongolic as Turkic initial *y-* is preserved; in Turkic loanword of the second layer Turkic initial *y-* ⇒ Mongolic *j-*.

et 'Güter, Produkte' [M]; *ed* 'Sache, Habe, Besitz' [U/BcaTfn, Cal1, 3-5, 7, 9, 10-11, Dar28, Du11, FrB6, 8, 10, 12, Jig, Qqm1, Xj, Zha]; *ėd* 'goods, property' [P/QqtP61, SrnP, TogT6]; MoL, KhalL *ed* 'thing[s], object[s], property, possessions, belongings; article, item; (manufactured) commodity, material, haberdashery, textile, woven fabric; merchandise; matter, element, substance' < tu. (VIIIff) *äd* 'movable property, other than livestock', most commonly it occurs in the phrase *äd tavar* 'movable property and livestock'. The layer of this word is not sure, probably the word belongs to the second layer, some cases could also indicate a borrowing from the third layer.

****inaq*** 'Favorit, Günstling', (pl.) *ina·ut* [M]; **inay* (→ *inayla-*) [A]; MoL *inay*, KhalL *yanag* 'beloved, darling; favorite; lover; friend; benevolence, affection' < tu. *ïnay* dev. n. fr. *ïna-*; although the word is originally Turkic, the verb exists only in Turkic, are all the occurences in Turkic reborrowings from Mongolic.

inggircaq 'packsaddle, i.e. a wooden saddle serving as packsaddle for horses and oxen, without stirrups attached' [M]; MoL *yanggiy-a* ~ *yanggircay*, KhalL *yangia* 'packsaddle, saddle without cushion'. The word is not attested in Old or Middle Turkic, so the word could be Mongolic in origin. It has, however, to be considered Turkic because of the suffix suffix (*-caq*), and because the basic word is attested in Yakut and Cuvash. The word seems to belong to the second layer.

jada 'Regensturm; etwas, was Regen herbeiführen kann; Regenzauber' [M]; MoL *jada*, KhalL *zad* 'rainmaking by use of magic spell' < tu. (VIIIff) *yat* (*-d*) 'rain magic, rain stone'; the history of this word, which is extremely complicated, is discussed at length in Doerfer (TMEN §157); as such it is only noted as below, but it became a second period loanword in Mo. as *jada* and found its way back into Turkic in this form and as *yada*.

jarliq 'Erlaß des Herrschers (feierliche Erklärung)' [M]; *jarliq* 'ordre impérial' [S/HyA, HyB]; *jrlγ* 'Befehl, Anordnung, Erlass' [U/Aba1, 4, Abu1, Alx, Arg4, BcaTfn, DocTfn1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 15, Du11/3, 4, FrTeh, Gaz, GüySeal, Hin, Jib, Jig, Mön1, Ölj, PaiTog, Öz, Abd, Kel, Qub1-2, Top, Zha]; *jarliq ~ jarlik* 'kaiserliches Diplom, kaiserliche Weisung, Edikt, kaiserlicher Befehl; edict, command' [P/Ana1, Buy1-10, Dag2, FrDuP2, FrP, Geg, Grf2, Ist, JyW, Kül1-2, Kun, Mla, PaiB, K, L, Qub3-6, Seg, Tem1-3, TogT1-8, YisT1-2]; *jarliγ* 'ordre impérial' ~ *yarliγ* (tu. form) 'der Koran' [A/IMR, VdI]; MoL *jarliγ*, KhalL *zarlig* 'decree, command, order, mandate; the Word (used only in reference to gods, sovereigns or feudal lords, and high government agencies)' < tu. (VIIIff) *yarlïγ* 'a command from a superior to an inferior', sometimes with some connotation of a grant of favour from a superior to an inferior. Although morphologically a den. n. in *-lIG*, it cannot be so explained etymologically. This is a second period loanword in Mongolic.

jat (pl. ← **jan*?) 'die Menschen, Menschheit, Zeitgenossen' [M]; *jad kümün* [U/Xj]; < tu. (VIII) *yat (-d)* 'stranger, foreigner; strange, foreign'; MoL Ø. Probably a second period loanword in Mongolic.

kebit 'boutique' [S/HyS]; *kebid* 'Laden' [U/Cal7, 8, 9, Qub1-2]; *kebid* 'shop' [P/Ana1, Buy1-10, Dag2, Kun, Kül2, Qub4, Seg, Tem1, 3, TogT1-2, 4, 8, YisT2]; MoL Ø, but cf. below < tu. (XI) *kebit* 'shop'; the word seems to be of Greek origin, cf. Sims-Williams (1996: note 39). This should be considered a second or third period loanword in Mongolic. The relation of this word with mmo. *geyit* [M]; *keyid* '†monastery (pl.)', '[correct] dwellings' [U/Abu1, Jib, Qqm1, Qub1-2, Xj]; *geyid ~ géyid* 'dwellings' [P/Buy1-10, Dag2, Geg, Kun, Kül1-2, Mla, Qub3-6, Seg, Tem1-3, TogT1-2, 4, 7-8, YisT1-2]; MoL *keyid*, KhalL *xiïd* 'convent, monastery, temple' is not clear. According to Poppe (1957: note 36) "the [mmo.] word [*kebid*] probably corresponds to Mo. *keyid* «monastery», which in [P] is *geyid ~ géyid* «dwelling»".

****körši***, (pl.) *köršis* 'voisins' [S/HyA]; *körši* 'voisin' (tu. *qonšï* 'neighbour') ~ *körsi* [A/AL, IM, VdI]; MoL *körsi/n*, KhalL *xörš* 'neighbour, neighbouring, neighbourhood' < tu. The structure of the Turkic word is not completely clear, probably it has to be analysed as tu. (VIII) *kör-* 'to see' + *-l-* + *-š-* dev. v. s. [= reciprocal; tu. (VIIIff) *körüš-* 'to see one another, to meet'] + *-I* dev. n. s. (E91.343) [= **körši* not attested in Clauson 1972]. The layer of this word could be second or third, perhaps the third stage is more

probably. The restricted distribution in Middle Mongolic could indicate that the borrowings in [S] and [A] occurred independently from each other.

külük 'Held, Recke', (pl.) *külü·üt* [M]; *külüg* 'unbezwingbar (Tiere und Menschen)' [U/FrB1, Jig]; EMoL/Altan tobci *külüg*, (pl.) *külüg-üd*, MoL Ø < tu. (VIII) *külüg* den. n. fr. *kü*; 'famous'. Taking into consideration the semantics and structure of the word, as well as its distribution in Middle Mongolic (mainly [M], only two occurences in [U]) this word should be considered a second layer loanword in Mongolic.

ölük 'dead' [M]; MoL *ölög* ~ *ölöng*, KhalL *ölön/g* 'starvation, famine, hunger; starving, hungry' < tu. (VIIIff) *öl-* 'to die' + *-U-* + *-G* dev. n. s. (= tu. (VIII) *ölüg* 'dead; a dead person; corpse'). Lexically, the Mongolic word for 'to die' is *ükü-*, this is clearly a loanword from Turkic, the layer is most probably the second one, as the word is already, and for Middle Mongolic only, attested in [M].

örük 'Ruhe, ruhig, still; ehrlich, aufrichtig' [M]; *örüg* 'still' [U/Sar]; MoL Ø < tu. (VIIIff) *örüg* 'rest, repose (esp. in the course of a journey); quiet, restful'. A loanword of the second period in Mongolic, the occurrence in [U] might represent a different borrowing belonging to the third period.

qablan (Altan tobci: *salbar*) 'Name eines Tieres (Vierfüßlers), wildes Tier, Raubtier' [M]; *qaplan* ~ *qablan* 'panther; (AL) tiger' [A]; Mongolic only Moghol *qablå:n* < tu. (VIIIff) *qaplan* a large feline, prob. 'leopard' rather than 'tiger', but the vagueness of oriental terminology makes certainty impossible; one of a number of animal names ending in *-lAn*. In [M] a loanword of the second period, in [A] the word might have been borrowed in the third period.

qacidut (pl. ← **qacir*, **qacit*, **qacidun*?) 'eine Maultierart' [M]; *qatir* (Turkic form) ~ *qacir* 'Maultier' [A]; Mongolic only(?) ord. *yačit* 'nom de clan'; moghR *yōtīr* 'Maulesel (< Pers.)' < tu. (XI) *qatïr* 'mule'. The Turkic word might be borrowed from/into sogdB *yrtr'k* ~ S *xrtry* 'mule' (Gharib 4279, 10629; Sims-Williams & Hamilton 1990: 87; not compared with the Turkic word). A loanword of the second period in Mongolic.

qarsi 'Reisequartier (des Kaisers), Reisepalast' [M]; *qarsi* [U/Xj]; MoL *qarsi*[2], KhalL Ø 'palace hall; palace' < tu. (VIIIff) *qaršï*[2] '(royal) palace'; probably a loanword from TochB *kereciye* same meaning. Considered by Clauson (1972) an early loanword in Mongolic, but the semantics and distribution of the word, in [M] it belongs to the part dealing with Ögedei, could point to the fact that this is a third period loanword in Mongolic.

qoš 'Haus (Jurte, Zelt?)'; s. *qosiliq* [M]; MoL *qoš*, KhalL *xoš* 'tent' (obs.); kalm. *χoš*[2] 'Reisezelt, zufällig aufgeführtes Zelt od. Jurte; Sommerküche, Küche; Haus für Arbeiter; Quartier, Lager' ≈ MoL *qosiliγ*, KhalL *xošlog* 'tent'. Unclear; the word is not mentioned in Clauson (1972), indicating that this word was considered by him a non-Turkic word. Also the rather restricted distribution in Turkic (VEWT 283a: only Cagatai, Cuvash) could point to the fact that this is a (recent) Mongolic loanword in Turkic.

qulan 'Wildpferd', (pl.) *qulat* [M]; *qulan* [A/MA, Ras]; MoL *qulan* ~ *külen* ~ *cikitei*, KhalL *xulan* 'wild ass of the Asiatic steppe' < tu. (XI) *qulan* the wild ass, *equus hemionus*. A loanword of the second period in Mongolic, the words in [A] could also represent borrowings of the third period.

sarqut 'remainder of a sacrificial drink' [M]; MoL *sarqad* ~ *sarqud*, KhalL *sarxad* 'spirituous liquor, strong drink'. A Turkic loanword of the second period. A Turkic word **sarqut* is not attested for older times [the earliest occurrence is CC *saryït* 'Überrest, Überbleibsel' (Grønbech 1942.214)], but it has to be considered a dev. n. fr. tu. (XI) *sarq-* the basic connotation seems to be weak downward movement with no force behind it, hence (i) (of a liquid) 'to overflow, drip', (ii) (e.g.) (of a limb) 'to hang limply' (Clauson 1972: 847-848, de Rachewiltz 2004: 345, Ligeti 1973.160-161, TMEN §1236).

širke 'vinaigre' [S/HyS]; *sirke* [U/Qub1-2]; *širge* 'vinegar made of vine' [P/Buy8, Kül2, Qub4, TogT1, 4]; *sirke* [A/MA]; MoL Ø, but cf. MoL *irge-yin qurim* 'ceremonies performed at *ejen soriy-a* on the 12th day of the eleventh lunar month' < tu. (XI) *sirkä* 'vinegar'; ...; the word is also current in Pe. and may well be an Iranian loanword. Due to the semantics and distribution a loanword of the third period.

tana 'große Perle', (pl.) *tanas* [M]; *tana* 'grande perle' [S/HyS]; *tana* große Perle' [U/Alx, Jig]; MoL, KhalL *tana* 'mother-of-pearl' < tu. *tana* VIIIff, XI) 'coriander seed', and the like; (XIII/Qipc) 'pearl' < pe. *dāna*. Unclear, he occurences in the [M] point to the fact that this is a second period loan ord, but the semantics would point to the fact that this is a third period anword.

tirme [*tīrme*] [S/Zhi]; *tegirmen*, (pl.) *tegirmed* [U/Cal4, 9, 10, Qub1-2]; *tegirmen*, (pl.) *tegirmed* ~ *tegermed* [P/Ana1, Buy1-10, Dag2, GegKun, ül1-2, Qub3-6, Seg, Tem1-3, TogT1-2, 4, 7-8, YisT2]; *degerme* 'Mühle'

[A/IM]; MoL *tegerm-e*, KhalL *teerem* 'mill' < tu. (VIIIff) *tägirmän* dev. n. fr. **tägir-*; 'a rotary mill' for grinding corn [for the suffix *-mAn* cf. E91.387-388 who writes "examples which are both early and unproblematic are pratically absent"; for the base of the word cf. *tägrä* den. v.(?) fr. *tägir-*; ... '(all) around', and the like; ... 'surroundings'. Semantically and morphologically clearly a third period loanword.

toyi 'battle array (military term)' (Altan tobci: *töb* in the sense of 'center', could be the same as 'camp, headquarters') [M]; MoL *toi*, KhalL *toï* 'wedding, feast, banquet' < tu. (VIIIff) *toy* originally 'a camp' in the physical sense of an aggregate of tents; thence the people living in such a camp, 'a community'; thence any 'large gathering'; and finally 'a feast'. A second period loanword.

****tura***, (pl.) *turas* 'viereckiger Schild', in: *turastan* 'die Leute mit den Quadratschilden' (Altan tobci: *turaγ-tur*) [M]; MoL *tur-a*, KhalL *tur* 'fortress, city, town' < tu. (XI) *tura* basically 'something to shelter behind', used both for permanent fortifications, and for portable 'breastworks' which could be moved around and fixed temporarily to the ground. Obviously a second period loanword in Mongolic.

uruq ~ *urug* ~ *uruk* 'Verwandte, Angehörige; Nachkommen; Klan'; (pl.) *uru·ut* 'Nachkommen' [M]; *uruq* ~ *uruγ* 'qui est de la même famille, parent' [S/HyA, HyB]; *uruγ* ~ *üruγ* 'Sippenverbindung, Clan, Familie', (pl.) *uruγud* [U/Ar, Arg4, BcaTfn, Cal3, DocTfn7, Du7/1, Glos2, Hin, Jig, Mke2, Nur, Ölj, Zha, ZhuVor]; (pl.) *uruqud* 'seeds' ~ *·uru·ut* 'descendants' [P/Ist., JyW, Seg]; EMoL, MoL *uruγ*, KhalL *urag* 'relatives by marriage; fetus' < tu. (VIIIff) *uruγ* originally a conc. n. 'seed, pip, kernel', but with metaph. extensions like 'progeny, descendants' and even 'clan', i.e. descendants of a common ancestor. A second period loanword, the Mongolic equivalent is *h/üre*.

5. Conclusions

The data presented before is not complete and presents only a short extract. The ideas presented are intended for discussion, and do not aim at finding final solutions to the various problems shortly touched upon.

6. Bibliography and abbreviations

[A]: Middle Mongolic in Arabic script; followed by abbreviated source, cf. Rybatzki 2006

CC: Codex Cumanicus (Grønbech 1942)

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den.: denominal

dev.: deverbal

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KhalL: Literary Khalkha; according to Lessing 1995
kalm.: Kalmuck
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[M]: Middle Mongolic/*Secret History of the Mongols*
mmo.: Middle Mongolic
mo., Mo.: Mongolic, Mongolian
moghR: Moghol according to Ramstedt 1905
MoL: Literary Mongol, according to Lessing 1995
n.: noun
ord.: Ordos
[P]: Middle Mongolic in hPags-pa script; followed by abbreviated source, cf. Rybatzki 2006
Pers.: Persian
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s.: suffix

[S]: Middle Mongolic in Chinese characters; followed by abbreviated source, cf. Rybatzki 2006

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sogdB, S: Buddhist, secular Sogdian

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Tib.: Tibetan

TMEN: Doerfer, G. 1963/1965/1967/1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen.* Wiesbaden.

[U]: Middle Mongolic in Uighur script; followed by abbreviated source, cf. Rybatzki 2006.

VEWT: Räsänen, M. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen.* (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVII:1.) Helsinki.