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ON THE TURKIC SHAMANIC WORD BÖGÜ

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A Turkic word bögü meaning 'sage, wizard' is attested in not a few Turkic historical texts, as having slightly different meanings. The word seems to connote both wisdom and mysterious spiritual power (Clauson 1972:324). In the Orkhon inscriptions which are the oldest Turkic texts about 8th century, this word occurs two times as a ruler's title bögü qagan (TI N10, TII S6). In Uighur manuscripts, bögü occurs as not only a title but also a term meaning 'sorcery, witchcraft, sage' : bögü qayan (T 50), bögü qan (TT II 6,33); bögüler quvrayında (TT V 10, 107) "in the assembly of sages", bögü Kung Futsı "the sage Confucius" (TT V 26, 104), bögün keligin toymaq (U II 44:33), ilki bögü eliglär (M III 35:17), toruq İruq bögü (M III 35:1), bögü elig (M III 28:6) etc. In Uighur manuscripts, bögü was used with biliglig and bilig together in the Hend. i.e., bögü biliglig (Suv. 89:9, BT XIII 14:2) and bögü bilig (Kuan 207). The form of bögülüg (< *bögü-lüg) meaning "wise" occurs in Uighur texts (Suv. 436:11, USp 90:6, Kuan. 188). In MK, the word bögü is attested in the Hend. bögü bilge "learned, wise, intelligent". In Osman Turkic the word preserves its original meaning "sorcery, spell; charm" in the form of bū γū or būyū. An Anatolian dialect has bögü (Derl. 758) with the meaning "söz seçen adam" which is supposed to be developed semantically from "sage, wise".

Besides the word bögü, there are two forms bögün- and bögüš which seem to have a connection with bögü in their origin. As far as I know, bögüs meaning "wisdom" is found only in Uigurica II 9:12. The other form bögün- which is never attested in Middle and Modern Turkic languages, occurs several times in Uighur manuscripts. Firstly, the verb bögün- occurs in Suv. 615:13. As for the meaning of the word bögün-, for the first time, Gabain (1941:306) suggested "erkennen" or "to be aware of". Çağatay (1945:87), however, rejected the meaning Gabain suggested in Alt. and proposed "düşünmek" or "to think" as the meaning of the verb in the phrase of Suv. Her view seems to be plausible, even though Drev. gives the meaning "urazumevat" or "to undertsand, perceive" for the word bögün- in the same phrase of Suv. i.e., küsämiš küsüšmin qanturma yay tep bögünüp. Secondly, the verb bögünoccurs in TT III 143. Bang and Gabain (1929: 18, 31) read this verb pükün- with the meaning "verwerfen" or "to reject, dismiss". In Drev. (1969:116) the reading and the meaning were corrected and proposed bögün- meaning "postigat" or "to understand, grasp". However, Clauson (1973:328) accepted Drev.'s reading of the verb but for the meaning maintained the old view, i.e. ürlüksüz nomlariy bögünüp "discarding (or ?opposing) transitory doctrines". In my opinion, this phrase would be translated as follows "thinking over transitory doctrines" being the meaning of the verb bögün- "to think over, think". Thirdly, bögün- is attested in the phrase of Suv. 228:16: munčulayu köni on yaru bögünüp "thinking straightforwardly in this way".

In Buddhist texts recently published by S. Tezcan and P. Zieme, the verb bögün- (to be read bügün- by them) occurs two times. S. Tezcan (1974:33), in the sentence burxan inča tep bögünüp yarliqadi, translates the phrase bögünüp yarliqadi as "zu erkennen (und sagte)" and Zieme (1985:149) translates the phrase yinčürü köngültä bögünsär as "Wenn man, sich verneigend, im Sinn erkennt". However, these

phrases should be translated as "Buddha deigned to think over the following" and "if (a man) bows (the head) and thinks over (deep) in (his) heart", respectively.

In my opinion, the meaning of the verb bögün- would be "to think, to think over" more than "to understand, to know or to be aware of". Actually, the phrase of Suv. 706:16 strongly supports my theory that bögün- was used with saqïn- "to think" in the Hend., i.e. öngräkin munčulayu bögünü saqïnu yarlïqamaz "He does not deign to think over the previous in this way".

Up to the present, not many etymological explanations of the word bögü have been suggested. N. Poppe (1924:309; 1960:60) and Ramstedt (1935:56) equated Turkic bögü (to be read bügü by them) with Mongolian böge meaning Shaman. S. Tezcan (1974:87) translates bögü as bügü and also bögün- as bügün- and proposes *büg- as the stem of these words. E. V. Sevortjan (1978:294) maintained that this word etymologically consisted of *bük- or *bök- and a deverbal noun suffix {-I}, and that the words like bögüš (Caf, EUS 49), bügüš (Gabain 1941:306) "wisdom" and bögün- "to know" (< *bög-ün-) were derived from the same stem. Sevortjan also considered the forms of Anatolian dialects buy, büg "sorcery, witchcraft" as the stem.

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As a matter of fact, the verb bögün- "to think, to think over" as Sevortjan and Tezcan propose, if their transcriptions are not considered, is derived from the stem *bög- whose form, as far as I have looked into it, is never attested in historical and modern Turkic languages. In my opinion, the stem *bög- is a loan-word from Ancient Chinese puk > Mandarin 'pu, Canton puk "to divine by tortoise-shell, to divine; to think", Sino-Japanese boku id. (Shuowen, Kangxi, Giles, Karl.757), Sino-Korean pok "divination by burning tortoise shells; to divine; witchcraft, sorcery; to think".

Generally, it is correctly supposed that the borrowing of verbs is quite difficult. No one, however, can argue that there are no exceptions to it. As it is known, there are not a few verb borrowings between Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, as well as between Mongolian and Yakut. Actually, the verb borrowings among Altaic languages were not usual but might have occurred especially in the early stages. Chinese is not a member of the Altaic languages. However, there are not only noun borrowings, but, even though they are just a few, there are also verb borrowings between Turkic and Chinese, as well as between Korean and Chinese, owing to the geographical positions and the close cultural relations.

Verb borrowings between Turkic and Chinese languages that I confirm are as follows: Uig. (IrkB 57) tong- "to be frozen hard", MK, Chag., Kom., Kip. tong- id., cf. MK tong "frozen hard", Xwar., Kip. tong "solid ice" // Chin. ACh. tung > > Mandarin tung, Canton tung "to freeze", Sino-Japanese to (tou) id. (Karl. 1146), Sino-Korean tong "to freeze; solid ice"; Uig. (Suv. 418:23) mang- "to walk", KB (3659, 3702, etc.) mang- "to step, to walk", Chag. mang- id., cf. Uig. (U II 24:2; U VI 72:17; TT VII 24:13, 24:16; BT VIII B 221; BT XIII 5:28; Ht X 44, etc.) mang "gait, step, fast gait", Uig. (BT VIII: B 221) mangla- "to step" < *mang-la-, Uig. (BT II 59:1035) mangliy "gait, pace" < *mang-liy, KB (1211) mangit- "to step" < *mang-i-t- // Chin. ACh. beng \$\frac{1}{2}\$ "the walking figure of a horse" (Kangxi), Sino-Korean phaing "the walking figure of a horse; to walk".

There is an example of the verb borrowings between Korean and Chinese languages in the early stages: Ko. ssi- "to write" //Chin ACh. siwo >

Mandarin su, Canton $s\ddot{u}$ "to write, writing", Sino-Japanese so (sio) id. (Karl. 1187), Sino-Korean so id. (W.J. Kim 1982:229).

In conclusion, the verb *bög- meaning "to think" from wihch the two Ancient Turkic forms bögün- and bögüs were derived, was borrowed from Chinese in the early period, estimately before the 5th century.

As for $b\ddot{o}g\ddot{u}$, there are two possibilities for the etymology. One is that the word $b\ddot{o}g\ddot{u}$ was derived from the Chinese loan-word * $b\ddot{o}g$ - meaning "to divine by the means of tortoise; to think". This assumption seems to be quite likely from the point of the structure of the Turkic language. However, this theory has a weak point from the point of view that the Ancient Turkic suffix $\{-U\}$ was usually used as a deverbal suffix to make adverbs more than to make nouns. As is well known, there are $\{-mA\}$, $\{-GA\}$ and $\{-\ddot{c}I\}$ in Ancient Turkic used fairly commonly as a deverbal noun suffix designating results of actions or names of vocations.

The other possibility is that the word bögü is a loan-word from Ancient Chinese, which is a compound word of two basic radicals, No. 25 and No. 213: compounded of ACh puk | > Mandarin pu, Canton puk "to divine by tortoiseshell, to divine; to foretell; to think", Sino-Japanese boku id. (Shuowen, Kangxi, Giles, Karl. 757), Sino-Korean pok "witchcraft, sorcery, divination by burning tortoise shells" and ACh. kjwi | > Mandarin kuei, Canton kuai "tortoise, divination by aid the cracks in heated tortoise-shell", Sino-Japanese ki id., Sino-Korean kui id. cf. Chin. | puk-kjwi "to divine by means of tortoise-shell" (Giles 9476).

It is very difficult to determine which theory is right from the two. I prefer the second from phonological, morphological and semantic points of view.

In my opinion, this word bögü was borrowed from Chinese together with the verb *bög- "to think" nearly at the same time, before the 5th century, with the original meaning "divination by tortoise-shell". Later on, as Turkic tribes set up their social structure and organized themselves politically, its meaning was developed into "sage, wizard" and then the word bögü was adopted and used as a title of a ruler in the 7th century. Using the word bögü was of Chinese origin, made up the equivalent word bilge which was a Turkic word derived from bil- "to know" and began to use it beside the foreign original word bögü. It is interesting that while İlteriş Kagan gave his first son a Turkic name bilge as an official name, his brother Kapagan Kagan gave his first son the foreign origin name bögü which had the same meaning and had already been appropriated to the Turkic tribe at that period.

On the other hand, F.W.K. Müller (1919 44:33) read the word as bögü for the first time. W. Radloff (1928: 269) transcribed as bökü the word occurring in both Suv 89:9, etc. and MK. However, W. Bang and Gabain (1931:18) considered the form as bügü with the vowel in the first syllable being ü. Poppe (1960:60) presented the same reading. Malov (1951:373), however, read the word as bögü. In Drevnetyurkskii slovar', Malov's form of reading was adopted. Clauson also preferred the form bögü and proposed also the possibility that the word can be read bögö, making the second

¹ There is an example to make noun with {-U}: Uig. (TT III 105, TT IV 10:26-7, etc.) usu "profit" < tus- "to be beneficial, useful". Cf. Mo. tusa id. < trk.

vowel a rounded front-low vowel ö. Recently, S. Tezcan (1974:87) and P. Zieme (1985:210) maintained Gabain's view and read the word bügü.

In my opinion, this word should be read $b\ddot{o}g\ddot{u}$, as Malov suggested for the first time. For most Sino-Korean and Sino-Turkic were borrowed from Northern Chinese, rounded vowels of Sino-Turkic correspond to those of Sino-Korean; rounded-low vowels o, \ddot{o} in Ancient Chinese became high vowels u, \ddot{u} in Sino-Turkic and Sino-Korean and on the contrary, rounded-high vowels in Ancient Chinese became low vowels in Sino-Turkic and Sino-Korean.

Actually, in the Chinese source T'ang-shu, the Chinese characters for bögü which is the name or title of Inel Kagan son of Kapagan Kagan, support this theory that the reading of the word should not be bögö or bügü, but bögü: Chin. D'alabi, Sino-Ko. pok-ku, Sino-Japan. puku-ku.

As for the Mongolian word böge meaning a male shaman, although Ramstedt and Poppe considered Turkic bögü and Mongolian böge as a cognate being not a borrowing, this word should be borrowed from Turkic bögü as Clauson (1972:324) stated in his etymological dictionary. The reason why the second vowel of böge is not rounded but unrounded is but the result of the phonetic change occurring in borrowing from Turkic to Mongolian. In addition to bögü, there are not a few Turkic loan-words in Mongolian that suffered "unrounding" phonetic change: Mo. torga(n) "silk" < Trk. torgu, Mo. tusa "profit, advantage" < Trk. tusu, etc.

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