Khurshid, the vizier of Qiliş-Arslan IV, at a feast given in honour of Baisa in Ab-i Garm, the present day Irvan, S.E. of Akschir.  

15. Xul

A more correct form of the name — Tuli — occurs in Kiraks. It is of course the Turkish Quli (*His slaves).

Quli, the second son of Jochi’s eldest son Orda, the founder of what was later known as the White Horde, was sent by his father to assist Hulegu in his operations against the Imağ‘ilis and the Caliph. He arrived in Persia by way of Dihisstan, i.e. the district north of the Atrek in the present-day Turkmenistan, and Məsəndaran. Grigor implies that he met a violent end, but Rashid al-Din says simply that his death occurred after those of Bakayai and Tutar.

16. Xurumči Nuin

Xurumči is probably a scribal error for an original Xurumči, ă and ę being readily confused; and in fact the correction has been made in the index to Blake and Frye’s text.

As Pelliot remarks in the passage quoted by Cleaves, there were many bearers of this name, which means *Khwārazmian.* Perhaps this is the third son of Orda, whom Pelliot identifies with the Mongol chieftain Corenza, encountered by John de Plano Carpini on the Dnieper.

A hundred years ago scholars believed that there were two kinds of Turkish: Western Turkish, primarily Osmanli, and Eastern Turkish, primarily Chagatai, and that when the obvious Arabic and Persian, and in the case of Osmanli a sprinkling of Greek and lingua franca, loan words had been eliminated from the vocabulary of these languages, all that was left was pure Turkish.

The situation has now entirely altered. Extensive texts in much earlier Turkish languages have been discovered on monuments in Mongolia and the Soviet Union, by excavations in Sinkiang and Kansu, and in some ancient libraries, mainly in Turkey and the Soviet Union. In addition Sogdian and Tokharian manuscripts have been discovered, languages that no one had even heard of a hundred years ago. It is now obvious that even the earliest Turkish languages were no more free from loan words than the language of any people which has been for centuries in close contact with peoples speaking other languages. The problem is not one of proving that loan words exist in the early Turkish languages but one of identifying and classifying those loan words and seeing what historical deductions can be drawn from them.

So far as identifying them is concerned, there are a few simple phonetic laws which enable us to identify some, but perhaps not very many, words as loan words.

There are two sounds which occur in pure early Turkish only in strictly defined contexts, but otherwise only in loan words.

The unvoiced velar fricative x occurs only in two consonantal clusters -xt- in words like oxter- and its -to roll on one’s back; and -xt- in words like oxga-to resembles. If it occurs in any other contexts, for example in xayun, xutun and xarun, it proves that they are loan words. I shall return later to the question of what kind of loan words these particular words are. But not all words containing -xt- or -xt- are necessarily pure Turkish; oxtem sevenings, for example, is a Sogdian loan word.

The voiced palatal sibilant ę occasionally occurs as a secondary form of z in the immediate vicinity of ę, as for example in the Xakani verbs ęs- and ęs-, which are secondary forms of ęs- and ęs-, otherwise it occurs
only in loan words. As ə is a very common sound in Sogdian, it is generally safe to assume that words which contain it are Sogdian loan words. But we are in this difficulty, that the vocabularies of the surviving Sogdian, and also Tokharian, texts, which are mainly translations of Buddhist scriptures, are rather restricted. We can be certain that a: is a state of existence is a loan word because it frequently occurs in Sogdian texts, but we are not in the same position regarding a:ma: as mulberries, because the Sogdian word for mulberries has not survived.

There are two other sounds, m and the unvoiced palatal sibilant ʃ, which are common in the medial and final positions but occur as initials in pure Turkish words only as the secondary forms of other sounds.

In almost all Turkish languages initial -b-, if followed by a nasal, has become m- by nasal attraction. When the nasal in question is the dental nasal n or the guttural nasal ŋ, what has happened is quite clear. For example bâns «I» and bângi: «eternal» have become mân and mângi: in almost all languages except 8th and 9th century Türkü and the Ogyz languages. But when the nasal is the palatal nasal ʃ the position is more complicated because this sound was beginning to disappear in the 8th century and has become y in nearly all languages and yn or ny only in a few. Thus there are a few words with an initial m- followed by a y. Fortunately there is sufficient evidence to show that this m- must originally have been b-. For example one of the rather numerous words for dungs is mayak in Uyyur, Yakani, Kipčak and one or two modern languages, but Kâyari says that the Ogyz form was beynak, which proves that the word was originally bañak. Again the word for brains occurs in a bewildering variety of forms ranging from mi in Khakas to mını/mını in Sinkiang, but the Osmanli form bâynin and Türkmen bâynin prove that it must originally have been bâni:

All other words with initial m- are loan words. The most interesting is perhaps shoneys, mir, in Uyyur. Immediately this is a loan word from the Chinese word mi in (Middle Chinese something like myû, pronounced mir in North-West China in the middle of the first millennium A.D.). This Chinese word is itself a loan word from Tokharian mî, a good Indo-European word cognate to Russian mir, Greek μέρος, Sanskrit mādyu.

Of the remainder some like makkâ: «sink» and mi-nûy «paste» are Chinese, and some like mi-bek «elegant» and mi-biki: «wild cat» are Sogdian loan words. Of one or two like mâfi: «cat» the origin is still uncertain.

There are not many early Turkish words with initial ʃ-, perhaps about forty in all, if the obvious Sanskrit words in translations of the Buddhist scriptures are left out of account. These include one or two onomatopoeics like sa:ba: sa:ba:, the sound of a slap. In nearly all the rest the initial ʃ- is a secondary sound due to phonetic attraction. In words like ʃi-ti: «swells» it represents dental s, in words like ʃayia:— «shouts» (Bayla:-) the denti-palatal affricate ğ, and in one word, ʃi-tâk «two-year-old sheep» (Tištâk) dental l-

When these are eliminated, we are left with one or two Chinese loan words like lîk «a measure for grains», conventionally a little less than a hectolitre, one or two Sogdian loan words like ʃîmnu: «devils», which, like Persian ahrîmîn goes back ultimately to Avestan anîromanyu, a word ʃâ:bî:k «quickly» which is no doubt connected with Persian bûbâk and one or two more.

Of these the most interesting is ʃan «prince». Ultimately this goes back to Avestan ūkhabīya; it can hardly be Sogdian ʃen; perhaps Old Bactrian (Kushan) ʃan is the nearest.

Another word is ʃatu: «a ladder (or staircase)». It is first found in Uyyur, occurs in the Kutaşyu: Bilig in association with ba:na: «a rung (or step)», and survives in one or two modern languages. As the early Turks lived in tents they are not very likely to have had their own words for such things, and both words are almost certainly loan words, but so far as I know their origin has not yet been discovered.

There are three more sounds, l, r and z which are common in the medial and final positions, but never occur as initials of pure Turkish words.

Although initial l- was strange to the Turks, they do not seem to have had any difficulty in pronouncing it. There are very few early words with this initial and all are certainly or almost certainly loan words. One or two are Sanskrit loan words like lakṣa:am which are found only in Buddhist texts. Of the rest, about a dozen in all, most are Chinese loan words like lu: «dragons» and la: «sealing wax», one lef: «mucus» is Tokharian, and one la:ya: «a drinking mug» is a widely distributed international word probably derived ultimately from Assyrian laqinu: which was probably brought east by the Manichean missionaries. Finally there are two animal names, la:zin «a falcon» and la:yin «a pig», the origin of which is uncertain. They cannot be Sogdian as l is not a Sogdian sound.

There are no pure Turkish words with initial z, and very few in all. Kâyari records two onomatopoeias ze:z and za:k za:k, two plant names, sa:yu:mnu: «sweet vasa», which is certainly, and zar:zanna: «cassia flowers» which is probably, a Sogdian loan word, ñu:mna: «kind of Chinese brocades», which is certainly, and za:nbî: or za:ni: «field crickets» which is probably a Chinese loan word.

Initial r- is a different matter. The early Turks had such difficulty in pronouncing it that they habitually put a prosthetic vowel before loan
words which contained it. Thus in the Kutadyu: Biliq Sogdian рыч, pronounced ри́ч, cognate to Persian рыч paradise is spelt ри́ч, and Arabic ри́ч easy-going, slacks ри́ч. The Sanskrit word ратна in jewels was spelt ратна in Sogdian and appears in that form in one Manichaean Uyyur text but is otherwise spelt ратна: or ратна. It became a Mongolian loan word as erdem и still survives in that language.

The only word with initial r- listed by Kāşyari is the Ganjak word rabbat unpaid forced labour, which is obviously Indo-European and cognate to Russian палатах "works'.

Finally there is the odd case of initial n-. The only pure Turkish words in which it occurs are nad what's, various words like nəka, nəlik derived from it, and nər which has two meanings: at all in negative sentences and as things. It too is probably connected etymologically with nəm. There are in Kāşyari and other early texts about half a dozen loan words beginning with n-. These нева́ки, "good spirits", низдяй, а whetstones, and нами́а, one's wife's sister's husband, are Iranian, probably Sogdian. One нәйц, "crocodiles", is ultimately derived from Sanskrit н̄дг and one ном, "doctrines" and the like, which formed several derived words номл̄а, номли, etc. is ultimately derived from Greek номос and was brought into Turkish by the Manichaean missionaries. It still survives as a loan word in Mongolian. In the 13th century, which is beyond the scope of this paper, several Mongolian words with initial n- like nəkər the servants were introduced into Turkish.

So much for the phonetic laws. The other rules for identifying loan words are less categorical. The most helpful one can be formulated as follows: if an early Turkish word corresponds more or less precisely in form and meaning to a known word in Chinesec, Tokharian, Sogdian or occasionally some other Iranian language or Sanskrit, it can be taken to be a loan word from the language concerned, unless it has a good Turkish etymology, since a reverse borrowing by the foreign language is unthinkable at this period.

Although the Turks were in contact with the Tibetans from an early period and the ном Tüptę sent a representative to Kül Tegin's funeral there are no Tibetan loan words in Turkish earlier than those which occur in late (13th or 14th century) translations of Tibetan Buddhist texts. Most editors of the Kül Tegin inscription credit the representative with the proper name Болд́н; in fact of course this is the Tibetan word блон ministers, spelt булон, since the Turkish could not pronounce an initial bi-.

There are numerous Turkish loan words in early Mongolian and even one in Kitaи, таолай shares, a distortion of таолэдээл, in its L/R form *таолээл.
It is generally agreed that "cotton fabrics is ultimately derived from Greek theo; other words which occur in Kāhāri or earlier texts are ògî, òkî, ògî, òkî, òkî. 1, òkî, òkî, òkî. There may be others. Some are actually described by Kāhāri as Chinese fabrics, and it is certain that those which begin with x- 1, òkî, òkî, òkî, or òkî contain medial -1- or -1- are loan words, most of them, but not all, Chinese.

The question of royal titles and titles of office is the most difficult of all. The first Türkü Empire, if that is the right term to employ, took shape in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D.; there had been previous similar Empires, the earliest of which we have any substantial knowledge being that of the Hsiung-nu, which took shape in the last quarter of the third century B.C. It seems to have been the regular practice of each Empire to take over the titles of its predecessor. Some of the early Türkü titles are unquestionably loan words, the question whether there are any which are not depends on the extent to which we regard the rulers of these earlier Empires as ancestors of the Turks. The Chinese undoubtedly thought that the Hsiung-nu were ancestors of the Turks, but Professor Pulleyblank in an article called The Hsiung-nu language, an appendix to another paper in Asia Major IX (1963) pp. 230 ff. has assembled evidence which leads him to believe that that language was related not to Turkish but to the Xiongyan group. Arin, Asan, Ketish, Kottish. This view is not yet shared by many other scholars, but on balance it would be unwise to assume that the Hsiung-nu did talk Turkish. No-one has yet produced any coherent theory about the language talked by the Juan-juan (Jou-juan etc.), whose Empires immediately preceded that of the Turk.

In these circumstances it seems more sensible to assume that all these inherited titles are loan words. Two of them certainly are. Tarxan and teqin form the wholly un-Turkish plurals tarxan and teqit. This has long puzzled scholars but the explanation has recently been discovered in a most unexpected way. Some years ago a monument was discovered in Mongolia which has now been identified by Klyashtorny and Livshitz as dating from the reign of a xayan of the first Türkü Empire, probably Taspur, T'ap-po in the Chinese histories, who reigned from A.D. 572 to 587. The inscriptions on it have been very severely damaged. What survives of the Sogdian inscription on three sides has been published by these two scholars in Strany i Narody Vostoka VIII. It contains a list of titles of Türkü dignitaries in the plural including tarxan and teqin. It does not, of course, follow that because these are Sogdian plurals the titles are themselves Sogdian; indeed this is very unlikely, but they are not Turkish either. Mr. Klyashtorny has told me that the inscription on the fourth side of the monument is in Brahmi not Chinese as stated in the published article. It has not yet been read, but I have suggested to him that it is probably a tribute to Taspur by the famous Indian monk Jinagupta, who took refuge with the Türkü when he was expelled from China by the Northern Chou Emperor.

Xayan is traceable back through the Juan-juan, and T'uyu-thon probably to the late Hsiung-nu, and can safely be regarded as a loan word, so too can Xasan, but in this case there is a possible Sogdian etymology. I have already referred to the Iranian title šah. In the Sine-usu inscription there is a title šavara: with a plural šavara; this can hardly be anything except the Sanskrit word šavara śords which has precisely this plural.

Finally I come to the interesting question whether the loan words in early Turkish, and particularly those which can be put into groups, throw any light on the prehistory of Turkish peoples. There is nothing particularly exciting about the fact that so many of the words for silk fabrics are Chinese loan words; we knew already that the Turks got such things from China.

The Sanskrit title šavara is a little more interesting; it was probably obtained through Khotan, which is mentioned once, under the name Kordan, as the enemy in the west in line 14 of the inscription of Toñukuk. But by far the most interesting point is the cluster of Tokharian loan words relating to agriculture and animal husbandry, qinči, qinči, probably hokari: a wooden plough which occurs in the Irk Bütig and Kāhāri, and seems to be the Tokharian word pyakants as pointed sticks, which is basically what a wooden plough is, and possibly arpa. We know that the Proto-Tokharians were pastoralists and believe that they were also agriculturists to the extent that the physical conditions allowed, as they did in the oases of Sinkiang in the first millennium A.D. and probably over a wider area in the steppes at an earlier date. If arpa: really is a Tokharian word this is particularly significant, since palaeobotanical research has recently shown that barley was the first bread grain to be domesticated, that is deliberately grown for human consumption, and that for a long time it was a more important food-stuff than wheat. It is exactly the kind of seed that the Proto-Tokharians would have taken with them when they moved east from their original home somewhere in the Ukraine or the steppes east of the Volga. Nothing is more natural than that the early Turks should have learnt agriculture and animal husbandry from them and borrowed some of their words for things connected with those occupations in the process, and that in fact seems to be what they did.