

THE INTENSITY OF MONGOLIAN INFLUENCE IN THE TUVA LANGUAGE*

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Among the Turkic languages the Tuva language possesses the largest number of Mongolian loanwords. This paper tries to prove that unilateral bilingualism played the decisive role in bringing about this phenomenon. The author illustrates the intensity of the Mongolian influence by using linguistic criteria. Then two types of loanwords are presented. The loanwords of the first group were borrowed twice from Mongolian, while in the second group Mongolian loanwords were borrowed despite the fact that an original Turkic word with the same meaning had already existed.

Key words: Tuva, Mongolian loanwords, bilingualism.

Possessing the largest number of Mongolian loanwords, the Tuva language occupies a very special place among the Turkic languages. The vast number of Mongolian loanwords can be explained by various factors (geographical, historical and cultural ones), the most important of which seems to be the bilingual state of the Tuvan people. This bilingualism was unilateral, namely the Tuva-speaking people spoke Mongolian, while the Mongols did not speak the Tuva language (Vladimircov 1929, pp. 14–15; Tatarincev 1976, p. 7). This phenomenon can still be observed in the territory close to the Mongolian border, where the Tuva people are in fact mostly trilingual, since today the Republic of Tuva is part of the Russian Federation.

The influence of the written literature is not negligible either. Until 1930, the Tuva people did not have their own writing. Mongolian writing and language were used in the administration and everyday life.¹ The first pieces of Tuva folk-poetry were recorded in Mongolian writing. For example, two versions of the Geser epic exist in Mongolian writing, one of which is a Mongolian version, while the other re-

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¹ For a description of manuscripts and xylographs of this type, see the works of Sazykin (1992) and Samdan (2000, p. 129).

veals the features of Tuva folk-poetry (Kuular 1961, p. 195). In sum, the Tuva–Mongol contacts were very intensive, covering all aspects of the life of the Tuva people.

The presentation of this intensive Mongol influence as reflected by the Mongolian loanwords of the Tuva language has been the main goal of my PhD dissertation. Out of the approximately 1500 Mongolian loanwords in the Tuva language, about 1400 are discussed. As a result of this work, relying on linguistic criteria I have succeeded in separating an earlier and a later layer. Within the later layer, there is a possibility to make distinction between Khalkha, Buryat and Oirat loanwords.

There is a special group of loanwords of Mongolian origin in Tuva, for which I cannot ascertain when and which Mongolian language they were taken from.

Words that reflect an archaic Mongol form are considered to be “older” ones. Having entered the Tuva language generally they fully adapted the phonetic rules of the Tuva language. In contrast, loanwords from the modern layers entered the Tuva language only after certain linguistic changes had already been accomplished there.

In my paper I will present two groups of examples to illustrate the intensity of the Mongol influence. In the first group there are five words, which although with different meanings, were borrowed twice by the Tuva language from Mongolian. In the second group I will present loanwords borrowed from Mongolian despite the fact that the Tuva language had an original Turkic word with the same meaning. This group may be divided into three sub-groups. In the first group, it is noteworthy that the same Mongolian phoneme behaves differently, depending on the time of borrowing.

I. Words borrowed twice by the Tuva language

1. The Mongolian word *čagan* ‘white; light (*of colour*); the white of an egg or of the eye’ entered the Tuva language in two different forms: *šagā* and *sagān*.
 - a. In the case of *šagā* ‘*ust. novogodnij prazdnik (prazdnovalsja v fevrale)*’,² the change of *č- > š- is a regular phenomenon of the Tuva language, showing that the word belongs to the earlier layer. For example:
 - Old-Turkic *čaq-* ‘to strike fire (*with a flint and steel*); (*of a snake or scorpion*) to bite, sting’ (ED 405b) > Tuva *šak-* ‘čirkat’ (*spičkoj*), vysekat’ kresalom ogon’;
 - Old-Turkic *čap-* ‘an onomatopoetic verb with several meanings both Trans. and Intrans., the only connecting link between which seems to be that they all describe noisy action’ (ED 394a) > Tuva *šap-* ‘skakat’ na kone; napa-dat’ (*obyčno o žerebce i verbljude*); bit’, udarjat’;
 - Old-Turkic *čolpan* ‘the planet Venus’ > Tuva *šolban* ‘jarkaja zvezda (*napr. Venera*); *peren. majak, peredovik proizvodstva*’;
 - b. In contrast, the change of *č- to s- in the word *sagān* ‘belyj, sedoj, sivyj; belok’ is peculiar to the Buriat language, placing this word in the later layer. For example:

² ← Mongolian *čayan sara* ‘[literally white month] the first month of the year, new year’.

Tuva *sam* ‘*ust. sam (religioznyj tanec-pantomima monahov)*’ ← Buryat *sam* ‘*ust. cam (svoeobraznaja misterija u lamaistov)*’, cf. Literary Mongolian *čam* ‘Lamaist masked dance cham (*incorrectly called “devils” dance*)’, Khalkha *cam* ‘religioznyj tanec-pantomima monahov’, Oirat *čam* ‘the tsam-dances, a rite of mediation, the ‘devil dance’, Kalmuk *tsam* ‘eine religiöse Feier mit Tanz und Maskerade’ ← Tibetan ‘*cham* ‘to dance; also a dancer’: cp. *khro-’cham-pa* ‘who dances in frantic leaps wearing a frightful mask’ (Das 442a);

Tuva *sek* ‘znak prepinanija’ ← Buryat *seg* ‘zapjataja’, cf. Literary Mongolian *čeg* ‘a dot, point, period; a Mongolian punctuation mark corresponding to a comma’, Khalkha *ceg* ‘točka’, Kalmuk *tseG* ‘Punkt, Interpunktion’ ← Tibetan *tsheg* ‘the point separating syllables’ (Das 1031a);

Tuva *seserlik* ‘park, skver; palisadnik’ ← Buryat *seserlig* ‘cvetnik; redko klumba; sad; cvetuščij’, cf. Literary Mongolian *čečeglig* ~ *čečerlig*³ ‘flower garden; flowering, blossoming’, Khalkha *cecerleg* ‘sad, park’, Oirat *čečegliq* ‘garden, park, flower garden’ ← Turkic: Old-Turkic *čečäklik* ‘flower garden’ < *čečäk* ‘flower’ (ED 401a, 400b).

2. The second Mongolian word examined is *joliġ* ‘ransom, rescue; figurines usually made of dough which are used in Lamaistic ritual for ridding one of evil spirits causing illness; devil (*curse*)’. It deserves our special attention in many respects. It entered the Tuva language in two different forms: *čoluk* ‘sacrifice’ and *soyluk* ‘rogue’. I regard both of them as belonging in the earlier layer.
 - a. The Tuva word *čoluk* ‘negodjaj, podlec; *ust. rel. žertva, žertvoprinošenje*’ behaves in accordance with the phonetic rules of the Tuva language. The sound *č-* is a result of phonemic replacement, because there is no sound *ġ-* in the Tuva language. For example:

Tuva *čayān* ‘sud’ba, dolja, učast’, udel; sposobnost’, odarennost’, talant’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *jayayan* ‘fate, destiny, predestination (*often understood as the result of a person’s good and evil deeds in previous incarnations*); luck, fortune, merits accumulated in a former life’ < *jayaya-* ‘to grant, bless, ordain (*by God or heaven*); to predestine’, Khalkha *jayā(n)* ‘sud’ba, rok’, Buryat *zayā(n)* ‘sud’ba; *ust. duhi šamanističeskogo panteona*’, Oirat *zaya(n)* ~ *zayān* ‘fate, lot, destiny’, Kalmuk *zayān* ‘Los, Teil, Schicksal; Prädestination’;

Tuva *čeme* ‘uprek, ukor, poricanie; preparatel’s tvo’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *jeme* ~ *jime* ‘conduct, manner of behaviour, procedure; blame, reprimand; fault’, Khalkha *jem* ‘prostupok, vina’, Buryat *zeme* ‘vina, prostupok, prerstuplenie; zamečanie, vygovor’, Oirat *zeme* ‘guilt, reproach, scolding; discipline; sacred instructions’, Kalmuk *zemä* ‘Verweis, Tadel, auch: Schuld, Vergehen’;

³ The change of **g* > *r* before **l* is mentioned by Poppe in his “Comparative Studies” (1955, p. 154).

Tuva *čon* ‘narod; naselenie’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *jon* ‘people’, Buryat *zo(n)* ‘narod, ljudi, naselenie’;

- b. The phonetic form of the word *soyluk* ‘rogue’ is rather strange. I think that this form is a result of a metathesis, in the same manner as in the following examples:

Tuva *boydus* ‘priroda’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *bodis* ‘body; material substance’, Khalkha *bodis* ‘predmet, telo, materija’, Buryat *bodos* ‘veščestvo’;

Tuva *koynut* ‘ukrop’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *γonid* ‘caraway, Carum buriaticum, Saposhnikovia divaricata’, Khalkha *gon’d ~ gonid* ‘tmin burjatskij, anis’, Kalmuk *gon’id* ‘ein wohlriechendes Kraut (*Petrosilium?*), das in die Suppe gelegt wird, Kümmel?’ ← Tibetan *go-snyod* ‘cummin seed’ (Das 226b);

- In some cases an initial Tuva *s-* appears in the place of a Mongolian *ǰ*. For example:

Tuva *súgu* ‘peč’, *pečka* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *juuqa* ‘hearth, furnace, stove’, Khalkha *jūx(an)* ‘peč’, *pečka*, Buryat ‘jama dlja razvedeniija ognja; glinobitnyj očag’, Oirat *juuqa ~ zóxo ~ zúxa(i)* ‘firepit’, Kalmuk *zúxa* ‘eine kleine Grube in der Erde: ein kleiner Keller; ein (*auf der Reise*) in der Erde gemachter Ofen’ ← Chinese *zào huò*;

Tuva *sagbar* ‘obrazec, šablon dlja čekanki (*vyrezaetsja iz bumagi*)’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *ǰaybur* ‘minta, modell; szabásminta; alak, forma’ [model; pattern; form] (Kara 1998, p. 189a), Khalkha *jagwar* ‘vykrojka, obrazec, model’; forma, vid’;

Tuva *sodak* ‘odežda borca v nacional’noj bor’be; trusiki’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *ǰodoy ~ ǰoday* ‘a tight jacket worn by Mongolian wrestlers’ < *ǰodo-* ‘to beat, hit’, Khalkha *ǰodog* ‘special’naja odežda borcov, sostojaščaja iz rukavov i uzkoj spinki’, Oirat *dzodag*;

The presence of initial *s-* in the Tuva equivalents of the Old-Turkic words *yultuz* ‘star’ and *yastuq* ‘pillow’ belong to the unsolved problems of Turcology⁴. The Mongolian loanwords bring us closer to a solution because they show that the Tuva words may be loanwords from a certain Turkic language which preserved the initial *ǰ*-. Old-Turkic *y- > *ǰ- > Tuva *s*-⁵:

Old-Turkic *yultuz* ‘star’ (ED 922b) > Tuva *sildis* ‘zvezda’;

Old-Turkic *yastuq* ‘something propped up; pillow’ (ED 974a) > Tuva *sistik* ‘poduška; podstavka, upor’;

3. The next example comprises a base-verb and one of its Mongolian derivatives.
a. Tuva *čada-* ‘ne moč’, ne byt’ v sostojanii, ne udavat’sja’ ← Mongolian *yada-* ‘to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be in need; to suffer; to be unable’. The Tuva initial *č-*, reflecting the Mongolian *y-* is a regular phenomenon in the earlier layer. For example:

Old-Turkic *yil* ‘year’ (ED 917a) > Tuva *čil* ‘god, leta’;

Old-Turkic *yüz* ‘100’ (ED 983a) > Tuva *čüs* ‘sto, sotnja’;

⁴ The regular phenomenon in Tuva is the change of Old-Turkic *y- > *ǰ- > Tuva *č-*.

⁵ I cannot exclude the possibility of an assimilation in the case of Tuva words *sildis* and *sistik*.

Old-Turkic *yāz* ‘summer’ (ED 982b) > Tuva *čas* ‘vesna’.

- b. Tuva *yadara-* ‘bednet’, *niščit*, *stanovit’sja bednym, niščim, razorjat’sja* ← Mongolian *yadara-* ‘to be unable to try in vain; to be tired, exhausted; to succumb (*with fatigue*), break down (*with fatigue*); to be reduced to poverty; to need urgently’ (**yada-rA-* Intransitive Dev.V.).

In contrast, the Tuva verb *yadara-* preserves the Mongolian initial *y-*, showing that the word entered the Tuva language after the change of the initial *y-* to *č-* had ended.

4. Maybe the two different forms of the Mongolian word *qajǰu* ‘side, flank, near’ are not the results of two different borrowings. Nevertheless, for semantic reasons I discuss them as two different words.
- a. Tuva word *xayī* ‘raspoložennyj v storone ot čego-libo, nahodjaščijsja vdaleke; zaholustnyj’ belongs to the earlier layer, because in some cases in the Tuva language the sound *ž* in an intervocalic position alternates with *y*. For example:

Tuva *dažirgan* ~ *dayirgan* ‘taežnaja piščuha (Certhia)’;

Tuva *kažañ* ~ *kayañ* ‘droblennaja krupa (iz žarennoj pšenicy ili jačmenja)’;

Tuva *čažig* ‘bryzgi’: cf. *čayik* ‘liven’;

- b. I list the Tuva word *xažī* ‘storona, bok, bokovaja storona; nahodjaščijsja v storone’ in the earlier layer too in accordance with the long vowel. In the Tuva language, the quality of the long vowel in the place of the juncture *VCV* depends on the first vowel, whereas in Mongolian it depends on the second.⁶ The long *ī* of Tuva words shows that the word entered the Tuva language before the development of the long vowel in Mongolian. For example:

The development of long vowels in the Tuva language $V^1CV^2 > \bar{V}^1$:

Old-Turkic *ağır* ‘heavy’ (ED 88b) > Tuva *ār* ‘tjaželyj, dorogoj (*o cene*)’;

Old-Turkic *bağır* ‘the liver’ (ED 317a) > Tuva *bār* ‘pečen’; *pečenka (kušan’e)*’;

Old-Turkic *oğul* ‘offspring, child; son’ (ED 83b) > Tuva *ol* ‘syn, mal’čik, paren’; *detenyš*; *šahm. peška*’;

Old-Turkic *yoğun* ‘thick’ > Tuva *čōn* ‘tolstyj; nizkij, gustoj (*o golose*)’;

The development of long vowels in the Mongolian languages $V^1CV^2 > \bar{V}^2$:

Literary Mongolian *ağula* ‘mountain’ > Khalkha *ūl*, Buryat *ūla*, Oirat *ūl^a*;

Literary Mongolian *egür* ‘nest; lair’ > Khalkha, Buryat, Oirat *ūr*;

Literary Mongolian *ebčigü(n)* ‘sternum, chest; brisket’ > Khalkha *öwčü*, Buryat *übsü*, Oirat *öptsü*.

The change of Mongolian **VjV* → Tuva *VžV* is a regular phenomenon of the Tuva language in the borrowings of Mongolian words. For example:

Tuva *ažil* ‘rabota, trud’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *ažil* ‘work, job, occupation, employment’, Khalkha *ažil*, Buryat *ažal*;

Tuva *bužar* ‘skvernyj, pozornyj, gnusnyj; razg. očen’ horošo, otlčno, zamečatel’no’ ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *bužar* ‘dirt; abomination,

⁶ For a detailed discussion on the long vowels in the Tuva language, see Khabtagaeva (2004).

infamy; defiled; dirty, impure, dishonourable, disgraceful; obscene; extremely, very', Khalkha *buzar*, Buryat *buzar*, Oirat *buzr*;
 Tuva *kežege* 'kosa (*zapletennye volosy*)' ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *gejige* 'nape of the neck; plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general', Khalkha *gejeg*, Buryat *gezege*, Oirat *gidžig*;

5. The Mongolian word *tariyačïn* 'peasant, boor' is reflected as *tarāžī* and *tarāčī* in the Tuva language.
- a. The Tuva word *tarāžī* 'hleborob' shows the change of intervocalic *VčV > VžV which is a regular Tuva phenomenon and places the word in the earlier layer. For example:
 - Old-Turkic *ačig* 'bitter; sour' (ED 21b) > Tuva *ažig* 'kislyj, gor'kij; gore, skorb'';
 - Old-Turkic *ičïn* 'inside, mutually' (ED 28a) > Tuva *ižïn* 'život, želudok; vnutrennosti, nutro, soderžimoe čego-libo';
 - Tuva *bižik* 'pis'mennost'; cirkuljar, pis'mennoe ukazanie; pis'mo, poslanie, zapiska' ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *bičig* 'anything written (*as letters of the alphabet or characters*); system of writing, script; inscription; written communication, letter, missive, memorandum, document, certificate' < *biči-* 'to write, inscribe', Khalkha, Oirat *bičig*, Buryat *bešeg* ← Turkic: Old-Turkic *bitig* 'inscription, book, letter, document' < *biti-* 'to write' (ED 303a);
- b. The Tuva form *tarāčïn* 'krest'janin, zeledelec, hleborob, zemlepašec', cf. *tarāčī* 'tot, kotoryj jedet za hlebom; tot, kotoryj jedet chtoby dostat' hleba' preserves the Mongolian *VčV, that is why it belongs to the later layer. For example:
 - Tuva *oňgača* 'koloda (*dlja korma skota*)' ← Oirat *onggočo* ~ *onggoča* 'ship, boat; trough, trencher', Literary Mongolian *ongyoča* 'vessel, boat, ship; airplane; receptacle for water or fodder for livestock, trough', Khalkha *ongoc(on)*, Buryat *ongoso*;
 - Tuva *bačim* 'spešnyj, toroplivnyj, ekstremnyj; sumatošnyj, suetlivnyj; peren. gorjačij, naprjažennyj, zatrudnitel'nyj; peren. dušnyj' ← Khalkha, Oirat *bačim*, cf. Literary Mongolian *bačim* 'hasty, urgent, quick, instant; short (*of time*), urgently, quickly', Buryat *bašam*.

II. Words that were borrowed despite the existence of an original Turkic word in the same meaning

In these case, the original Turkic words were retained, too. For example: 'bear':

- a. *adig* < Old-Turkic *adiğ* (ED 45b);
- b. *xayirakan* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *qayiraqan* 'merciful, gracious; sacred mountain; a formula introducing or concluding a prayer; also

used as an interj. of surprise, astonishment, indignation, etc.’ (< *qayir-a* ‘love; grace, mercy, compassion’ + *KAn* diminutive);

- c. *mažálay* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *majalai* ‘sivatagi medve, góbi medve’ [Gobi bear] (Kara 243b), cf. Khalkha *majalai*, Oirat *madžálá*, Kalmuk *madžál^a*;

‘hare’:

- a. *kodan* < Old-Turkic *godan* (ED 678a);
 b. [*bora*] *tólay* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *taulai*, cf. Khalkha, Buryat *tūlai*, Oirat *taulai* ~ *tōlai* ~ *toulai*, Kalmuk *túlā* (← **tabiš*: Old-Turkic *taβišgan* (ED 447a);

‘owl’:

- a. *ügü* < Old-Turkic *ūgí* (ED 101b);
 b. *mežergen* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian **bečergen* < *begčergen*, cf. Buryat *begserge* ‘sova, syč’;

‘sand’:

- a. *kum* < Old-Turkic *qum* (ED 625b);
 b. *elezin* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *elesün* ‘sand, dust’;

‘vein’:

- a. *damir* < Old-Turkic *tamar* ~ *tamir* ‘vein, artery’ (ED 508a);
 b. *sudal* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *sudal* ~ *sudasun* (< **sudalsun*) ‘vein, artery’, cf. Khalkha *sudal* ~ *sudas*, Buryat *hudal* ~ *hudahan*, Oirat *sudul* ~ *sudal*;

‘silver’:

- a. *xüümüš* < Old-Turkic *kümüš* (ED 723b);
 b. *möñgün* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *mönggün* ‘silver, money’;

‘axe’:

- a. *baldı* < Old-Turkic *baltu* (ED 333b);
 b. *süge* ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *süke* ‘axe, hatchet’.

The question arises how to explain this phenomenon. In certain cases, tabooistic reasons might be suggested, as with animal names (bear, hare and owl) and international “culture-words” (vein, silver, axe). But the main reason for borrowing a Mongolian word, while the original Turkic word was also preserved, lies in intense bilingualism.

III. Compound words

The strength of bilingualism can also be observed in the following group of Tuva compound words, constructed from synonymous word pairs: one member of the compound is Turkic, while the other is Mongolian. For example:

- ‘heavy; difficult’ *ār-berge* ← Old-Turkic *ağır* ‘heavy’ (ED 88b) + Mongolian: Literary Mongolian *berke* ‘difficult, hard; burdensome, troublesome; complicated, serious; difficulty, hardship, trouble’;

‘face’	<i>alīn-šīray</i> ← Old-Turkic <i>alīn</i> ‘forehead’ (ED 147b) + Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>čirai</i> ‘face, physiognomy; appearance, mien’;
‘bedding, mattress’	<i>döžek-širtek</i> ← Old-Turkic <i>töšek</i> ‘mattress, bedding’ (ED 563b) + Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>širdeg</i> ‘saddlepad’;
‘heat, hot weather’	<i>izig-xalūn</i> ← Old-Turkic <i>isig</i> ‘hot, heat’ (ED 246a) + Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>qalayun</i> ‘hot, warm; intimate; heat, warmth; fever’, cf. Khalkha, Buryat, Oirat <i>xalūn</i> ;
‘life, existence’	<i>amī-tiin</i> ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>ami</i> ‘life; breath, power of respiration’ + Old-Turkic <i>tīn</i> ‘breath’ (ED 512a);
‘work, job’	<i>ažil-iš</i> ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>ažil</i> ‘work, job, occupation, employment’ + Old-Turkic <i>iš</i> ‘work, labour’ (ED 254a);
‘taste’	<i>amdan-čimden</i> ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>amtan</i> ‘taste’; cf. Old-Turkic <i>ye-</i> ‘to eat’ (ED 869b);
‘journey; trip’	<i>ayan-čoruk</i> ← Mongolian: Literary Mongolian <i>ayan</i> ‘travel, journey, expedition’ + Old-Turkic <i>yoriq</i> ‘movement’ (ED 963a).

IV. Re-borrowings

In the last group, I have collected Mongolian loanwords which are ultimately of Turkic origin, i.e. they are re-borrowings, but the original Turkic word was also retained. Thus, we find two words with the same meaning. For example:

‘beestings, colostrum’	Tuva <i>ās</i> < Old-Turkic <i>ağuz</i> ~ <i>uğuz</i> ‘biestings, colostrum, the first milk produced after parturition’ (ED 98a) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian <i>uγuray</i> ‘colostrum, the first milk after delivery; beestings; the white of an egg’, Khalkha, Buryat, Oirat <i>ūrag</i> → Tuva <i>ūrak</i> ;
‘just a little’	Tuva <i>ās</i> < Old-Turkic <i>āz</i> ‘few, scanty, a little’ (ED 277a) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian <i>arai</i> ‘just a little too...; not quite...; hardly, scarcely, barely; with difficulty’ → Tuva <i>aray</i> ;
‘war’	Tuva <i>čā</i> < Old-Turkic <i>yaği</i> ‘enemy; hostile’ (ED 898a) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian <i>dayin</i> ‘war, battle; hostility, enmity’ → Tuva <i>dayin</i> ;
‘young’	Tuva <i>čas</i> < Old-Turkic <i>yāš</i> ‘fresh’ (ED 975b) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian <i>jalağu</i> ‘young, youthful; youth’, Khalkha <i>jalú</i> , Buryat, Oirat <i>zalū</i> → Tuva <i>čali</i> ;
‘nail, peg’	Tuva <i>kadag</i> (< <i>kada-</i> ‘to bush, to stave’ -G Dev.N.) < Old-Turkic <i>qadu-</i> ‘to sew or stitch very firmly’ (ED 596b) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian <i>qadayasun</i> ‘nail, peg, spike’ (< <i>qada-</i> ‘to drive in, knock in; to nail’ -GAsUn Dev.N.) → Tuva <i>kadāžin</i> ;
‘ram’	Tuva <i>koškar</i> (< * <i>qočqar</i> < * <i>qoč</i>) < Old-Turkic <i>qoč</i> ~ <i>qočnár</i> ‘ram’ (ED 592a) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian <i>quča</i> ‘ram; uncastrated lamb’ → Tuva <i>kučā</i> ;

- ‘power, might’ Tuva *küš* < Old-Turkic *küč* ‘strength’ (ED 693a) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian *küčü* ‘power, force, strength; effort; energy; validity’ → Tuva *küčü*;
- ‘marten, Siberian polecat’ Tuva *küzen* < Old-Turkic *küzän* ‘polecat’ (ED 761b) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian *küren-e* ‘skunk, polecat’ → Tuva *xürene*;
- ‘malice, spite; vengeance’ Tuva *oš* < Old-Turkic *ōč* ‘malice, spite’ (ED 18a) → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian *ošīye(n)* ‘animosity, hostility, hatred; vengeance, revenge’, Oirat *ošén*, Khalkha *ošō(n)*, Buryat *ühō(n)* → Tuva *ošén*;
- ‘artistic, masterly’ Tuva *us* < Old-Turkic *úz* ‘a skilled craftsman’ → Mongolian: cf. Literary Mongolian *uran* ‘artist, craftsman; art, craft’ → Tuva *uran*.

In this paper I have tried to present the special case of the Tuva language in which the presence of a vast number of Mongolian loanwords is not only due to a cultural impact, as in the case of other Turkic languages, but rather it can be ascribed to a state of bilingualism which persisted for centuries.

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