Mongolian has numerous loan-words taken from Turkic some of which

\[ AQ - \text{Arban quyur fokiyangwui üüles} \quad \text{Kha. - Khakas (Sagai etc.)} \]
\[ Ar. - \text{Arabic} \quad \text{Lat. - Latin} \]
\[ AT - \text{Ancient Turkic} \quad \text{Leb. - Lebed} \]
\[ Balt. - \text{Baltic} \quad \text{Mngr. - Monguor} \]
\[ Bur. - \text{Buriat} \quad \text{Mo. - Written Mongolian} \]
\[ Bur. Al. - \text{Buriat of Alar} \quad \text{MT - Middle Turkic} \]
\[ Chag. - \text{Chagatay} \quad \text{OFr. - Old French} \]
\[ Chuv. - \text{Chuvash} \quad \text{Ord. - Ordos} \]
\[ Crim. - \text{Crimean} \quad \text{P - 'Phaga-pa Script} \]
\[ Curn. - \text{Cuman} \quad \text{Q - Qutubu biliq} \]
\[ D - \text{Diamond Sutra} \quad \text{Russ. - Russian} \]
\[ Dag. - \text{Dagur} \quad \text{S - Subbhaśitaratmanidhi} \]
\[ Engl. - \text{English} \quad \text{SH - Secret History} \]
\[ ET - \text{East Turki} \quad \text{Tel. - Teleqit} \]
\[ Fin. - \text{Finnish} \quad \text{Trkm. - Turkmenian} \]
\[ Fr. - \text{French} \quad \text{Tu - Turkish} \]
\[ Germ. - \text{German} \quad \text{Turk. - Turkish} \]
\[ J - \text{Jurehen} \quad \text{Tuv. - Tuvinian} \]
\[ H - \text{Hua-yi-yi-yi} \quad \text{Uig. - Uighur} \]
\[ Kalm. - \text{Kalmuck} \quad \text{Yak. - Yakut} \]

are adverbs. This is not surprising because borrowed adverbs occur in many languages. Thus, Engl. verbătim < Lat., Engl. very < OFr. < Lat., Bur. уоо [uоо] 'still, yet' 2 < Russ., Turk. elbete 'undoubtedly' < Ar., Fin. vielä 'still, yet' < Balt., etc.

The adverbs are of mixed origin. Some of them are fossilized forms of nouns, others are of verbal origin, and some adverbs go back to groups of

1 Abbreviations:
3 Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja, VI, Helsinki, 1978, p. 723.
words, e.g., Russ. segodnja 'today', Turk. bügün < bu gün 'this day', MT bildir 'last year'1 < bir yıl dur 'it is one year',5 Bur. Al. yǒsono < *poyiči ondu 'next year',6 etc.

Some Mongolian adverbs are fossilized converses (gerunds), e.g., Mo. toyorin 'around', a Converbal mode of the verb toyor-i 'to encircle, surround, move around', eyin 'thus, in this manner' from eyi- 'to act in this manner', etc.

After these introductory remarks, we proceed to the main subject

1. Mo. asuru 'very, exceedingly' already occurred in the preclassical written language, e.g., AQ asuru sooseqy-a sayin tusanu əge-yi sooseqy?: 'Hearing [these] words of promised benefit (lit. useful or beneficial words) which were pleasant to hear';9 AQ üjesküleng-tʃi yau-a asuru ariyen jɵyelen ebesi-in ay-a-tur-iyan baryiu: 'Taking the beautiful and very clean and soft grass in his hands';10 S asuru bilig-iyen ulegülfi:11 'Overtaxing their intellect excessively';12 S ed-i masi asuru ülenfi quiyabasu:13 'If one gathers wealth excessively',14 etc.

The same adverb occurs, in pre-classical texts, with the diminutive suffix -gun.15 e.g., AQ nigen tugri asuruqaq masi enel-un yasal-un nigul odqu meti ukilafu:16 'A god... lamented and wept desperately.'17

The adverb asuru does not occur in the Secret History, in documents written in Phags-pa Script, and in Hua-yi yi-yu. However, it has been borrowed by Khalkha from Written Mongolian, cf. asar [assar] explained as 'mad, lun', i.e. 'very, completely'.18 It occurs also in Buriat as asari id. < Mo.,19 but it is not mentioned in Kalmuck dictionaries.

Mo. asuru goes back to MT ašru 'exceedingly, to the highest degree' (Q)20 which is a converse with the suffix -ari² of the verb ašur-, cf. ET ašur-, Cum., Turk., ašir- 'to transport across (a mountain etc.)'22 which is formed with the suffix -ur-23 from the verb aš- 'to go over, go across, to cross'.24 The original form was *ašr-, cf. Trkm. əš-, Yaku. əš-.25 The Mongolian regular correspondence is Mo. ašr 'on the other side, beyond, distant' = Tungus alan 'mountain pass'.26

It is noteworthy that ašru was borrowed as asuru, i.e., with -s- instead of -r-. This can be explained by the fact that diacritics were set only rarely in pre-classical manuscripts, and (s) rendered by the respective letter lacking diacritics was misread as (r).27

2. Mo. basa 'also, again', SH basa id.,28 Kh. bas [bas ~ basa], Ord.

12 Ligeti, Les douze actes du Bouddha, p. 84.
14 Ja. Cével, Mongol zoljin tovč tajlibor tol', Ulaanbaatar, 1966. All Kh. examples are quoted from this dictionary. The official orthography is rendered with transliteration.
15 Ramstedt's phonetic transcription is given in square brackets.
16 That it is borrowing from Mo. is evident from -s-.
17 Drevnetjurkiskij slovar', p. 64.
20 from Gabain, op. cit., p. 82.
21 Drevnetjurkiskij slovar', p. 62.
23 The latter gives a number of stems derived from *ašr-
25 It is improbable that ašru was borrowed before the appearance of s which is of secondary origin in Mongolian and goes back to *s before *r.
26 SH material is quoted from Igor de Rachewiltz, Index to the Secret History of the Mongols (= Indian University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 121), Bloomington, Indiana, 1972.
nasa,29 Bur. baha, Kalm. bas,30 Dag. bas,31 Mngr. nasa ‘also, again’32 go back
to MT basa ‘afterwards’.33 The latter is a convverb in -a34 of the verb bas-
to ‘press’.35 Its ancient form is *bās.36

The semantics ‘to press’ - ‘afterwards’ and ‘also’ are exactly the same
as Mo. daru - ‘to press’ and daru ‘soon, immediately, afterwards’. The
latter Mo. form is a verbal noun in -i from daru - ‘to press’,37 and semanti-
cally corresponds to MT basa from bas-. Similar semantic developments are
found in European languages, cf. Eng. pressing (= urgent), Fr. l'assur-
presse, Germ. drässiert.

The adverb basa must have been borrowed into Mongolian at an early
time, because it was borrowed from Mongolian by Jurchen, cf. J basa ‘again’.38
It is known that Mongolian loan-words penetrated Jurchen in the Ancient
Mongolian and Middle Mongolian periods.39 As for Tungus basa ‘next year’,40
cf. Nanai (Goldi) basa ‘next, following’ (as attribute to ajngani ‘year’),41
it is probably a later borrowing from Mongolian.

Oroq material is quoted from A. Mestaert, C. I. C. M., Dictionnaire Oroqos,
Kalmuck examples are quoted from G. J. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch,
Helsinki, 1935.

1 N. N. Poppe, Dagurskoe narodie, Leningrad, 1930, p. 70.
2 Monglor material is given after A. de Smedt, C. I. C. M. and A. Mestaert, C. I. C. M.
Le dialecte Mongol parlé par les mongols du Kamou Occidental, IIle partie : Dictionnaire
mongol-français, Pèi-p'ing, 1933.
3 Drevnjeturjskij slovar’, p. 85. The sources quoted are Mağhul el-Kâfiyî’s
dictionary of AD 1072—1074 (‘afterwards’) and Uighur documents from the XII—XIV
centuries (‘and, also’).

von Gabain, op. cit., p. 121.
4 Drevnjeturjski slovar’, l. c.
5 Räsänen, op. cit., p. 64. Cf. E. V. Sevortjan, Etimologiskij slovar’ türkäzik
jazykov, Obščetjurkäkie i metžjurkäkie osnovy na baku IU, Moskva, 1978, pp. 74—78,
which gives numerous details.

27 B. Ja. Vladimirov, «Ostatki pričastiya nastojaščego vremeni v mongol'skom
jazykov, Doklady Akademii Nauk, Serija b, 1924, pp. 55—56. Cf. G. J. Ramstedt,

28 Gisaburo Kyôsô, A Study of the Japanese Language and Script. Reconstruction and
Decipherment, Kyoto, 1977, p. 121.

29 N. Poppe, «Jurchen and Mongolians, Studies on Mongolia, Proceedings of the
p. 31.

46 Svernutel’nyj slovar’ tunguso-man’čurkskie jazykov, Materialy díja etimologičeskogo
slovarja, Tom 1: A—Nj, Leningrad, 1975, p. 76.
47 S. N. Oeneko, Nanajsko-russkij slovar’; 12, 000 slov, Pod redakciój ... V. A.
Avorina, Moskva, 1980, p. 63. The semantic development is probably again a years —
another years — next years.

11 Mo. ötter ‘fast, quick’, SH öter id., ötler ‘to speed up’,42 H öter ‘fast’,
Kh. ötir [u'tor], Ord. u’tur, Bur. ötir [u'ter] id., Kalm. ötir id. The SH, H, and Kalm. forms have ő in the initial syllable, whereas Kh. and Ord. have
uu < *u.43 The forms with ő are older, being attested in sources of the XIV

century.

The orthographic rendition of the word under discussion as ötter renders
(öter) which goes back to Tu. ötir, the participle in -a44 of MT öt- ‘to
go through, to go over, to pass’,45 which has many different meanings in various
Tu languages, i.a., such as ‘overtake’, ‘to pass, to leave behind’.46 Räsänen
adds Chuv. visor < *ötir ‘through’ and Cum. öte ‘penetrating, through’,47
cf. also Tuv. ötir ‘over, through’,48 Kha. ötir ‘through’ from ötir- from öt-49
Yak. ötir ‘the nearest time, soon, recently’.50

4 Mo. tesergüî ~ tesergüî ‘against, contrary’, Kh. tesergüî [tesergüî] <
Mo. The form is attested in the pre-classical language, cf. AQ bayas uya
jang-iyär esergyü tesergüî bayasuglan-tu äges-i ägeledebeli.51 In a happy mood,
they spoke cheerful words to each other,52 where each other translates
esergyü tesergüî, lit. öto and back; AQ nigen nigen-tür ägele ugeri teseringüi
ägeledebeli bolün gegelebeli.53 ‘And they illuminated them, making them
visible, without any obstacle, to each other in every direction, where sin
every directions translates esergyü tesergüî, lit. öto and backs.54

Mo. esergyü has no etymology. As for tesergüî, it might be of Turkic origin,
cf. Chag. tiskiri in the other direction, incorrectly, not in the manner in
which it should be’.55 The latter might be a form in -kör56 from türä, cf. Chag.,
Cum., Tel., Leb., türä ‘opposing, contrary’.57 Tu. ters (töre) occurs as a borrowing

The meanings are quoted from E. Haenisch, Wörterbuch zu Mongol um nieca
tobacan, Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, Yuan-ck’o pi-shí, Wiesbaden, 1962, pp. 128—
129.

43 Buria is irrelevant because it has no (ő), ancient ö being replaced with ö.
44 von Gabain, op. cit., p. 111.
45 Drevnjeturjski slovar’, p. 141.
46 Sevortjan, Etimologiskij slovar’ türkäzik jazykov, Obščetjurkäkie i metžjurkäkie
osnovy na glamy, p. 316.
47 Räsänen, op. cit., p. 376.
50 E. R. Fekurak, Slovar’ jakutskogo jazyka, vyp. 3, séd’moj, Leningrad 1925, col.
1985.
51 Litget, Les douze actes du Bouddha, p. 108.
52 Poppe, The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, p. 135.
53 Litget, op. cit., p. 135.
54 Poppe, op. cit., p. 148.
56 von Gabain, op. cit., p. 89.
57 Drevnjeturjski slovar’, p. 555.
in Mo., cf. ters ‘incorrect, heretic, heretical, adverse, adversary’. Mo. tesegi goes possibly back to *terseg < MT *terekari.

3. Mo. tetir ‘but, however, on the other hand, on the contrary, conversely, incorrectly’ occurs mostly in the preclassical language and is alien to the spoken Mongolian languages, e.g., S qor-un belge-be aman-tur yarayki: daiy-d-i daruyq-a gilbar: tetir u-w-a-tu-yi ugelegi tere dayiyun-i ker daruyq.24 "It is easy to subdue those enemies who exhibit (lit. produce) the tokens of evil in their mouths, but how will one suppress those enemies who speak deceitfully (lit. inversely) what is useful?"25 D teginčilen iregesen kemebei: ujere nomlayiyi ujere ugelegi: mön činar-i nomlayiyi byuy: teginčilen iregesen kemebei tetir aišjas nomlayiyi buat-yin tulada bolai.50 "The Tathagata is one who teaches truly, is one who speaks truly, and he is one who teaches the true essence. On the other hand, it is so because the Tathagata does not teach untruth:51 H tibri ‘renversé, bouversé, inversé’,62 tetir ‘sans dessus dessous’.63

The adverb tetir is a borrowing from MT, to be exact, from Uighur, cf. tibr ‘on the contrary, in the opposite manner’, i.e., ‘in the wrong manner’ (Russ. naobor).64 As Malov has indicated, this word still occurs in Tuv., cf. dedir ‘opposite, in the opposite manner’.65

MT tetir is an original preverb in -t, which has been mentioned several times, of the verb *tetir- from MT tet- ‘to resist, contradict’66 from which tetin- ‘to resist’ and tetim ‘resistance’ (in tetim bol- ‘to resist, endure’) are derived.67

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24 Ligeti, Trésor des sentences, p. 69, quatrain No. 183.
29 Mostaert, Le vocabulaire mongol du Houa i i i, p. 107.
30 S. E. Malov, Panjoniki drevnejurjskoj pis’mennosti, Teksty i issledovaniya, Moskva—Leningrad, 1951, p. 429. The sources are Khustuanitf and Mačmœl al-Kšyari’s dictionary. Q has ‘unpleasantness’.
31 Malov, i.e. Cf. Tvarinsko-russkij slovar’, p. 152.
32 Drevnetjurjskij slovar’, p. 556.
33 Ibid.

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68 Ibid., p. 55
70 Ligeti, Les douze actes du Bouddha, p. 121.
71 Poppe, The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, p. 143 (fol. 40r).
72 An interesting example of agreement in number of the attribute and head which is a singular in form but a collective noun. The plural is sometimes indicated by the attribute, the head being a singular, not necessarily a collective noun, in Buriat, cf. N. Poppe, Buriat Grammar (= Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 2), Bloomington, Indiana, 1960, p. 110.
73 Ligeti, Trésor des sentences, p. 33.
74 Bosson, op. cit., p. 207.
75 Drevnetjurjskij slovar’, p. 588.
76 von Gabain, op. cit., p. 89.
78 Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian, p. 59.