

[illegible]

The older Mongolian layer in Ancient Turkic

Gerhard Doerfer
(Göttingen)

1. In his work "A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic" (Bloomington, 1968) our esteemed colleague Talât Tekin explains the Ancient Turkic (T)word *balbal* 'statue', assuming a syncope, < *balibal* < *barimal* (p. 73). On p. 99 he explains the word as deriving from **barmal*, comparing with it 13/14th century Yüan Mongolian (Y) *barimal* (progressive distance assimilation -*m*- > -*b*-) and, some lines further, by a regressive distance assimilation: *balbal* < **balimal* < **barmal*. The common feature of these alternative explanations is the derivation from Y *barimal*, which in some fashion developed into *balbal*.

2. I entirely agree with Tekin that the T word is of Mongolian (Mo.) origin. Cf. Y *barimal* 'sculpture', consisting of the root *bari*- 'to construct, to shape' + a well-known suffix -*mal*. This form, however, must not be the direct predecessor of *balbal*. I am inclined to prefer a development from proto-Mo. **barimal* > **barmal* (in an ancient Mo. dialect) → T *balbal* (with double assimilation: -*r*- to -*l*- and -*m*- to -*b*-). This means (1) there are ancient Mo. loanwords in T, and (2) they do not coincide with Y. For particulars cf. A = my article "Mongolica im Alttürkischen" (submitted to Lewin-Festschrift in March 1988, forthcoming) and B = Mongolo-Tungusica, Wiesbaden 1985, 148-198.

3. But from which Mo. dialect are the T words derived? With certainty it is not Y (not documented before the 13th century). One may assume that Y was the particular dialect of Činggis Khan's tribe, which by its political dominance has suppressed all other dialects - with the exception only of Daghur (D), which has gone its own way, divergent from Y.

In this article we shall take the following languages into account (cf. the

bibliography in B and the words explained in A): Sien-pi/Tabḡač (S), Qitai (or Qitañ, Q), Y (cf. Lessing's and Kowalewski's dictionaries), Manchu (M, cf. Hauer's dictionary), D (after Poppe, Martin, Godziński, Kałużyński and Ivanovskij, cf. B, and furthermore: Ka Ying: Dagurxa-Kazakxa-Hanzuxa salestermale sözdik, Ürimji, 1982; Enggebatu: Dayur kelen-ü üges, Huhe-hot, 1984; Namzarai Keserten: Comparison between the Daurian language and the Mongolian language, Huhe-hot, 1983), and lastly: T (after Clauson).

4. We shall investigate the material according to 15 criteria. (For lack of space I shall normally quote only one or two examples.)

4.1. S and M, in contrast to Q, Y and D, quite often show an additional -n; e.g., S *agan* 'older brother' = Y *aqa*, D *aga* (v. 4.4), M *aḡırḡan*, etc. Q and D, on the other hand, frequently show forms without -n, e.g., Q *ṣauā* 'bird', *ḡau* '100' (D *ṣowō*, *ḡau*) = Y *ṣibayun*, *ḡayun*. T shows some traces of the "additional -n": *qalqan* 'shield' (Y *qalqa*), *taiḡan* 'greyhound' (Y *taiḡa*). We have also to consider the many T titles in -n, such as *qayan*, *qatun*, *tarḡan*, *tegin*, *erkin*, *tudun*, *ṣayun*, etc., all of them presumably borrowed from S, cf. *qayan*, *qatun*, *degin*, and furthermore such words as *toḡan*, *lačın* 'kinds of falcons', *čolpan* 'Venus', *atan* 'gelded camel', etc. (v. 4. 15).

The formula is: T = S (and M), = Y/Q/D.

4.2. The consonantal -j (normally transcribed -i), presumably an old class suffix *-gi, is characteristic of Y, but is often lacking in Q/M/D. (S may show just one example of this lack: *ṣilu* 'high', whereas Y *ṣili* < *ṣilui*, just as *toli* 'mirror' < *tolui*.) Cf. Q *nöḡ* 'dog' M *xūlga* 'thief' = D *xualxa*, M *arfa* 'barley' = Y *noqaj*, *qulaḡaj*, *arḡaj*. However, we find in the Mo. languages two situations: (1) words containing -j also in S/D, e.g., S *qirḡaičın* 'executioner' (= *qirḡaj* 'dagger, sword' with a suffix -čın, in Y **qituyajci* would correspond), D *dalaḡ* 'ocean' = Y id.; (2) words in which -j is lacking in S/D. v. supra. Seemingly, in Q/M -j is always lacking, in S/D only in some cases, in Y -j it is almost always "preserved". T shows both situations: words with -j, such as *talaj* 'ocean' (in inherited T *tāḡaz*), *Umaj* 'goddess of love and parturition', but also *tābāḡ* ~ *tābā* 'camel', *buḡdaj* ~ *buḡda* 'wheat' (Y *dalaḡ*, *umaj* 'matrix, womb', *teme-gen* - where **gi* has been replaced by **-gen* -, *buḡu-daj*).

The formula is: T = in part Y (and S/D), ≠ Q/M, and in part = Q/M. ≠ S/

D.

4.3. The suffix -sUn, characteristic of Y, is frequently lacking in M/D. Since these languages are close to pre-Yüan Mo. it is likely that -sUn often lacked in S/Q, too. (The example Q *u* 'river' = Y *u-sun* is not satisfactorily secured.) Here are some examples of M: *anḡasun*, (*h*)*utasun*, (*h*)*oyimasun*; D *anḡu* 'plow', *gata* 'stake' = Y *ḡadasun* (Buriat *gatahan*, Barguzin Evenki *gatahun*). In T -sUn never appears, cf. *yēz* 'esparto grass' = Y *dere-sün*, *oḡma* 'felt for boots' = Y *hoyimasun*, *balıq* 'town' = Y *balaḡasun*. M shows, along with the forms mentioned above, such examples as *deresu*, which are loanwords from Y, and so does D (*derese*, *anḡas*).

The formula is: T = M/D, presumably also = S/Q, ≠ Y.

4.4. 'Older brother' is *agan* in S, *aga* in D, but *aqa* in Y (apparently a baby word). We find -G- instead of -K- also in Q, e.g., *tōḡo* 'buckle' (Y *tuu-qaj* < **toḡuqoj*, M *tooxan*). The same holds true for M: *xūlga* 'thief' (v. 4.2), *ferge* 'thumb' (Y *herekeḡ*). The original consonant -K-, preserved in Y, is also found in T: *toḡo* 'buckle', *torḡo* 'silk', *saqal* (D *sagaḡ*), *balıq* (v. 4.3). Y, however, which preserved -K- only at the outset of a second syllable after a vowel (e.g. *saqal*), mostly changes it to -G- after a consonant or in a third syllable (*torḡo*, *balaḡa-sun*).

The formula is: T ≈ Y (but representing a still earlier stage), ≠ S/Q/M/D.

4.5. The proto-Mo. combination **ti/di* had been preserved in S: *bitigčın* 'secretary' (Y *bičigečı*), *modi* '(chief of a) province' (Y *moḡi*). (N.B., alleged S *gučın* '30' = M *ḡūsin*, but Evenki *gutın* ← proto-Mo. **gutın* is no counterproof, since this is no S word, but Tu-yü-hun of the 8th century, cf. Ligeti in Mongolian Studies, Amsterdam, 1970, 290-1.) No example of this combination could be found in Q; but **ti/di* is likely there, since Q has loaned many words to M. To be sure, Manchu of the 17th century shows **ti* > **či* > *ṣi* and **di* > *ḡi*, but the older Manchu dialect Jurchen, 16th century, still shows such forms as *tifa* 'mud' = M *čifaxan*, *dirga* 'to rejoice' = M *ḡirga*-. In Y *ḡi*, *či* are usual: *čiḡna* 'to listen', *ḡirga*-. In T *ti/di* have been preserved, e.g. in *adḡır* 'stallion', *tuḡla* 'to listen' = Y *aḡırḡa*-, *čiḡna*-. However, in Y the change *di* > *ḡi* (and presumably also *ti* > *či*) is a recent and secondary phenomenon, v. B 181: in the Mo. history of the 12th century a tribal chief was called *Qadir* (= T

qadır 'powerful'), whose name was later on pronounced *Y qajır*.

The formula is: T = S/Q/M, formerly also = Y/D.

4.6. In S a feminine suffix *-tun* is documented: *qa(γa)tun* 'queen', (*a*)*matun* 'mother'. This suffix is lacking in all other Mo. (and Tungus) languages. In T, too, it is found only in the S loan-word *qātun*. (The same word is found in Y and M.)

4.7. It may be supposed that Y *ǰ*- has developed a) from older **dja-*, etc., b) from older **gia-*, etc. Some traces of **gia-* are still found: S *giamčün* 'chief of a post-office' (Y *ǰamči*), borrowed ← Chinese *giam*. Cf. as non-Chinese term: Q *gialə* 'to invite' (= Y *ǰala-*, D *ǰalə*). For M cf. *giyamun* 'post-office' (→ D *giamən*). For T cf. *yalavač* 'ambassador' (v. 4.11). The question of whether T *y-* derives from a Mo. form with *ǰa-* or *gia-* cannot definitely be resolved; however, a derivation from S is likely, as will be shown in 4.11.

4.8. S/Q and older M (Gin-Jürčün) have preserved Mo. (and Tungus) **p-*, e.g., S *pörtögčün* 'post-office clerk' (Y *örtögeči*), Q *po* 'time' (Y *on* 'year'), M *ferge* 'thumb' (Y *erekei*); as to older M *p-* cf. P. Pelliot: Les mots à h initiale ..., Journal Asiatique 1925, pp. 193-4 (e.g., *puangwen* 'young lad' = M *fiyanggū*). In older Y we find *h-* (*hon*, *herekei*, etc.). Some dialects show zero, others *h-*, *x-*: *ōŋ* ~ *hon*, etc. The change **p->h/-x->zero* in D is recent, as the loanwords prove: *akur* ~ *xakur* 'trousers' ← M *fakāri* ~ *ejji* 'brick' ← Chinese *pēiz* (v. B 155), and even *xulug/hulug* 'plough' ← Russian *plug*. (The Dagur-Russian contacts belong to the middle of the 17th century!) For T cf. B 148-150: Proto-T had **p-*, which has become *h-* in about the 7th century (terminus ad quem). Cf. Y *hoyimasun* 'felt boot' = M *fomon* = T *ojma* (Samoyed *päymä*); T *arq*, Khalaj *harq* = Y *harǰal* = M *faǰan* < **pargan*.

Conclusion: all "Altaic" languages had **p-*, which nevertheless became *h-* in T at a very early date.

4.9. In Y the former **p-* has (via **β-*) become *-ʾ-* (transcribed *-γ-*, *-g-*). Therefore cf. T *qap(a)-* 'to cover, to close', *qapǰā* 'door' = Y *qaǰa-*, *qaǰalǰa-*. In S and Q we still find *-b-* (perhaps to be pronounced *-β-*, bilabial fricative): S *qabagčün* 'doorkeeper' = Q *qabagči* = Y *qagagči* (pronounced *xa'agči*, later

on *xāgč*) = T *qapǰāči*. In D *-g/-g-* has vanished, just as in the other modern dialects: *xā-* 'to close', *xālgǰā* 'door'. In M *-f-* (> older *-p-*) has been preserved, e.g., *xefeli* 'womb' = Y *kegeli*, read *ke'eli*, *kēli*, D *kēli*. In T *-p-* has been preserved, v. supra.

The formula is: T ≈ S/Q/M, ≠ Y/D.

4.10. Y preserved the vowel of the middle syllable of trisyllabic (or polysyllabic) words, but some of its dialects drop it in a very recent development. Therefore we find, e.g., *qulaǰai* 'thief' (modern Khalkha *xulǰai*). The situation in D is sophisticated; we find, e.g., *xualg* ~ *xualag* ~ *xualəŋ* ~ *xualaǰa* ~ *xualxa*, etc. We may explain these variants a) as partly influenced by Western Mo. dialects (*xualxa* > *xualaǰa*) or b) as secondary vowel dropping (*xualaǰa* > *xualxa*). At any rate, there are some cases where D secondarily even inserts vowels, e.g., Y *maŋlai* 'forehead' = D *maŋgila*. This may also have happened in such cases as **qulaǰa(i)*, and that means: proto-Mo. **qulaǰa(i)* > D **qulǰa* > *xualxa* ~ *xualaga*. M shows dropping: *xūlxā* 'thief', *ferge* 'thumb', *argān* 'canine tooth', *dabsun* 'salt', *gurgu* '(wild) animal', *čurxū* 'pike', etc. = Y *qulaǰai*, (*h*)*erekei*, *araǰan*, *dabusun*, *göröge*, *čuraqal/čuruqai*. Vowel dropping (or reduction) is found in both older Mo. languages: S *kelmörčün* 'interpreter', *pörtögčün* 'post-office clerk', *qitǰaičün* 'executioner', *sagdagčün* 'quiver-bearer', etc. (8 examples) = Y *kelemerči*, *örtögeči*, **qitǰaiči*, *saǰdagči*. For Q cf. *taǰwəsə* 'dust' (Sien-pi *taǰučin*, Y *toǰosun*, T *toǰ*), also 4.12 (*daǰsu* < *dabusun*); by the way, the loanwords in M are in all probability from Q. T *balbal* shows dropping, and so do *buǰdai* 'wheat', *yägrän* 'brownish', *bärgä* 'whip' = Y *buǰdai*, *ǰegeren*, *beriye*.

4.11. Dropping of final vowels is characteristic of Q. M is not concerned, since at the end of the word only vowels and *-n* are admissible. The situation in S is not very clear, since most of its words end in *-n* (25 of 33), v. 4.1. However, preservation of auslaut vowels is likely, cf. *čino* 'wolf', *modi* 'province', *toki* 'old', *törö* 'law' = Y *čino*, *moǰi*, *toki*, *törö*. Y preserves the final vowels, and so does D (where, however, secondary dropping occurs). Q shows reduction or dropping: *mörə* 'river', *närə* ~ *när* 'day', *sär* 'month', *taǰlə* 'hare', *taǰwəsə* 'dust' = Y *mören*, *naran*, *sara*, *taǰlai* (D *taǰla*), *toǰosun*. T shows dropping, e.g., in *yalavač* 'ambassador' (cf. 4.7.), *ilär-* 'to be dimly visible' = Y *ilere-* (the root is *ile* 'visible'). However, this may represent an

internal T development: T and Q may have dropped auslaut vowels independently from each other (cf. author in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten* 1975-1976, 19-22, 37-39).

The formula is: T = Q, ≠ S/M/Y/D.

4.12. Proto-Mo. -b- has been preserved in Y and M: Y *dabusun* 'salt' = M *dabsun*. It is also found in S: *tabagčın* 'infantryman', cf. Y *tabay* 'foot sole'. Q shows dropping of -b- (at least before u/ü): *dawsu* 'salt', *tau* 'five', *öül* 'winter' = Y *dabusun*, *tabun*, *öbül*. (The exception *ebüge* 'old man' may be explained as < **ebge*.) D has *tāu* ~ *tāwu* 'five', but *uhul* ~ *uγule* ~ *ugul* ~ *eule* 'winter'; before -a- -b- became -w-, e.g. *dawa-* 'to cross over' ~ *daw-* (Y *daba-*); cf. Khalkha *tawan*, *daw-*. This may (but must not) have been an early development: *tabun* > *tawun* > *tā(w)u*. In T -b- (or -β-) has been preserved, later on becoming -v- > -w-: *yalavač* (4.7), *tābā(i)* (4.2), *yabčan* ~ *yavčan* 'wormwood', also in such words as may be of T origin: Y *aba* 'hunt'. This is a conservative form.

The formula is: T = S/M/Y, ≠ Q, (?) D.

4.13. Q shows palatalisation in such cases as *nār*, *sār* (v. 4.11), *šā* 'good' (Y/M/D *saj̄n*, T *saγ̄*). *nōγ̄* 'dog' (Y *noqai*). It is unclear if M *nioxe* 'wolf' may be compared to *nōγ̄*; at any rate, M does not normally palatalize. S/Y/D show conservative, unpalatalized forms, and so does T.

The formula is: T = S/Y/D, ≠ Q, (?) M.

4.14. Y -i- finds its parallel in modern -iV₂- (V₂ = vowel of the following syllable, which phenomenon is called i breaking), e.g., Y *singqor* 'a kind of falcon, Hierofalco gyrfalco' = Ordos *šonxor* or Y *šibaγun* 'bird' = Khalkha *šuwū* (*šibūn* > *šiboun*). S has i, as has Y: *čino* 'wolf', *qitγaičın* 'executioner' (> *qitγaičın*). Q has breaking: *šauā* 'falcon' (D *sowō*) = Y *šibagun*. M follows (like D) the pattern of Q: *šongkon* 'falcon', *šara-* 'to whiten' (Y *šira* 'yellow, pale', *šira-* 'to gild, to roast'), *nioxu-* 'to stamp' (Nanai *nioxo-* 'to knead'; Y *niqu-*). In T we find *songqor* (11th century, i.e., before the Yüan period), but *Singqor* in personal names of the Y period, as a loan from Y. (Han-Woo Choi, in *Central Asiatic Journal* 35, 1991, 48 explains T *songqor* from Ancient Chinese *ziwong* 'pine and kindred trees' + *ku't* 'migratory bird, larger than but resembling the crested lark, a falcon'. A through evaluation of

this assertion would cover at least four pages; here only I want to hint at the fact that *ziwong-ku't* as an *ensemble*, and that means: as a *word*, is not documented in Chinese and that *songqor* means Hierofalco gyrfalco, wingspan 51-56 cm, without crest, a northern bird of prey - which by no means resembles the crested lark, wingspan 17 cm, a song-bird.) A further sample may be *čuglan* 'title of the Qarluc tribe', perhaps comparable to Y *čiyul-* 'to gather, to collect' (rather than to *čuyla-*, same meaning). Yet we also find T *qirγui* 'sparrow-hawk' = Y *qirγui* (ordos *xurgui*). We may assume several layers of borrowing, partly from S (with i), and partly from Q (with breaking); the T forms of the Yüan period go back to Y, as I explained. That is to say, Q is a progressive dialect which has influenced both T (partly) and M.

We may presume: T forms with i ← S (and Y), such ones with breaking ← Q.

4.15. 'Iron' is *tämür* both in T and S. In the small vocabulary of S this notion is not documented, M has Tungus *sele*. In Q, on the other hand, we find not on *qašo*, to which D *kasō* (and also Bargu Mongolian *xasu*) may be compared. For the history of this word cf. Ligeti in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 1, 150-168 (in 8th century Kirghis *qaša*, perhaps a loanword from South Samoyed). Further samples of the Mo. Vocabulary in T cf. in A and B. These are mostly titles, astronomical terms, (such as *čolpan* 'Venus', (*h*)*ülkär* 'the Pleiades') and terms of camel breeding.

Of interest is the preservation of -lp- in D, e.g., *čolpon* (Y *čolbon*, *čolmon*), cf. also M *arfa* 'barley', not ← T *arpa*, but ← S/Q **arpa* (Y *arbai*), cf. 4.2.

5. Let us summarize:

(1) D must clearly be distinguished from Y (and all its modern dialects). The tradition of the Daghur people that they are descendants of the Qitai can be confirmed from the linguistic view-point. Other features link it with Y. (These may, but must not, be secondary.) D takes a middle place between Q and Y; but Q is in most cases the older layer (found in 4.2/3/4/8/12/14/15).

(2) M shows features both of S (4.1) and Q (4.13/14); several features are common to S and Q, in contrast to Y (4.2/4/7/8/10). It takes a middle position between S and Q. (Recent loanwords from Y are also to be found.)

(3) T shows some features resembling Y which, however, are rather ar-

chaic-conservative (4.4/5/12/13), particularly in 4.4. T is more archaic than Y itself. Other features resemble S (4.1/6) or Q (4.11), or are common to S and Q (4.2/?3/910), or are T loanwords in Y (4.15). 4.8 resembles Y, but is assuredly an internal development within T itself. In 4.14 T partly follows the S/Y pattern, partly that of Q. One may conclude that T, in its permanent contacts, has borrowed from several Mo. layers, as well as giving loanwords to M.