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# THE TURKIC LOAN WORDS IN MIDDLE MONGOLIAN

*by*

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The Mongols received their script from the Uighurs at the beginning of the XIIIth century or a little earlier. The earliest Turkic influence upon the Mongolian languages probably dates from the time of the Orkhon Turks, i. e. from the VIIIth century A.D., but we have no facts corroborating this hypothesis.

The oldest Mongolian translations of Buddhist books were made from Uighur. These translations contained numerous Turkic (Uighur) words, e. g. *sümbür tay* "the Mountain Sumeru" (*tay* "mountain"), *čaw* (*čau* or *čab*) "fame", *ayay-qa tegimlig* "śramaṇa" (*ayay-qa* is a dative of the Uighur word *ayaq* "honour"), *quvaray* "monk, clergy", etc. Many proper names and titles of historical persons were of Turkic origin as far back as the XIIth century, e. g. *buyuruy*, *külüg*, etc.

So far very little has been done to investigate the Turkic loan words in Mongolian. There is an old article by Vladimirtsov,[1] but at the time of its publication so little was known about the relation of Mongolian to the Turkic languages that Vladimirtsov had almost no criterion for deciding whether all the words he discussed were borrowings or were words of common Turco-Mongolian origin.[2] The inevitable result was that his article contains many words which are not borrowings at all. Therefore, the whole problem must be examined anew.

This article is devoted to the Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian as known on the basis of the *Secret History* (1240),[3] the documents

[1] B. Ya. Vladimircov, 'Tureckie èlementy v mongol'skom yazykě,' *Zapiski Vostočnago Otděleniya*, XX (1911), pp. 153–184.

[2] At that time the affinity of the Turkic and Mongolian languages was still hypothetical; cf. Julius Németh, 'Die türkisch-mongolische Hypothese,' *ZDMG*, LXVI, pp. 549–577.

[3] Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*), *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1939 (SH). The numbers refer to the pages. The transcription used in this article is that of Pelliot and the Reverend Antoine Mostaert.



written in the *ḥP'ags-pa* script (1269–1368),[4] and the *Hua-i-i-yü* (1389).[5] Some Turkic words common to these texts occur also in the Moslem sources on Middle Mongolian, i.e. in the Leyden manuscript (1245),[6] the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (XIVth century),[7] and the glossary of Ibn Muhannā.[8] The latter sources contain many more Turkic as well as Arabic and Persian words, but it is questionable whether all of them really occurred in the colloquial language. The authors of these dictionaries and glossaries included many words of this kind, because their informants were polyglot and when asked to translate a word into Mongolian they often took an Arabic or Persian word which occurred to them more or less at random. Therefore, the only words from the Moslem sources that are discussed in this article are those which corroborate the data of the *Secret History* and the other documents mentioned above.

The Turkic borrowings in Middle Mongolian are among the most ancient Turkic loan words in Mongolian. Most of these words can be traced in Ancient Turkic (AT),[9] Middle Turkic (MT),[10] Kuman (K),[11] and other old languages. Some words taken from Turkic are Persian or Arabic in origin. Nevertheless they are treated here as Turkic borrowings, because they penetrated into Mongolian through a Turkic medium. In this connection may I remark that Vladimirtsov devoted one article to the Indo-European and another to the Arabic loan words in Mongolian.[12] However, most of these words were borrowed by the Mongols from Turkic and not directly from Tokharian, Sogdian, or Arabic. Therefore, the Arabic and Persian words are not separated from original Turkic

[4] N. N. Poppe, *Kvadratnaya pis'mennost'*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941 (P). The numbers refer to the pages of the glossary.

[5] Erich Haenisch, 'Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts,' *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4, Berlin, 1952 (H). The numbers refer to the pages of the glossary. The transcription used in this article is that of the Reverend A. Mostaert.

[6] N. Poppe, 'Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift,' *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*, 1927, pp. 1009–1040, 1251–1274, 1928, pp. 55–80 (L).

[7] N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skii Slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab*, Čast' I-II, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938 (Mu.).

[8] *Spisok mongol'skix slov iz glossariya Ibn-Muxanny po izdaniyu Muallima Rif'ata* (Istambul, 1921), Appendix IV to the work quoted in the preceding footnote (I).

[9] S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoi pis'mennosti, Teksty i issledovaniya*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1951.

[10] C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān luγāt at-turk*, Budapest-Leipzig, 1928.

[11] K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch, Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*, Kopenhagen, 1942.

words in this article. Such Arabic or Persian words occur also in modern Mongolian languages, e.g. Mo. (Written Mongolian) *gindan*, Kh. (Khalkha) *gindaŋ* "jail" < Turk. (e. g. Özbek) *zindan* < Pers. *zindān* "jail"; Kalm. (Kalmuck) *zembļ* "basket" < Tatar < Pers. *zanbīl;* Kalm. *asχɒn* "evening" < Tatar *aχšam* < Arabic *aqšam* id., etc. There is no reason to separate such words from Turkic, because their immediate source was a Turkic language.

The Turkic loan words in Middle Mongolian are as follows:

*al* "red, dark-red" SH 4, cf. P 145, cf. Mo. *al* id., Bur. (Buriat) only in *al šara* "reddish yellow", Kalm. *al* "light-red", *al ulān* id. < Turk.: MT *al* "red", K *al* "light-red".

*alačuγ* "tent" SH 4 < Turk.: MT *alaču* id., K *alačuq* "hut" > Russian *lačuga* "hut".

*alan* "the bottom of a cart" SH 4 < Turk.: Alt., Tel., Leb., Shor.[13] *alïn* "bottom, the lower part of an object, the place under an object", Yak. *alïn* "the lower part," MT *alïn* "the front side", K *alïn* "front, forehead".

*alašas* "a particular breed of horses" SH 4 < Turk.: Kas., Krm. *alaša* "gelding", Osm. *alaša* "horse".

*aral* "island" SH 8, as a place name H 59, cf. Mu. 104 "island", Mo., Kh., Ord. (Ordos), Bur. *aral*, Kalm. *arļ*, Mong. (Monguor) *arā* id. < Turk.: AT *aral* "forest, grove" ("an island in the steppe"), Kirg. *aral* "island".

*ariγ* "pure" in *ariγ usun* "clean water" (a place name) SH 9, cf. Mong. *arag* < Turk.: AT, MT *arïγ* "clean". The Mongolian forms are Mo. *ariγun*, MMo. *ari'un*, Bur. *aŕūŋ*, Kh. *ar$^{i}$ūŋ*, Ord. *arūn*, Kalm. *ärūn* "pure, clean, immaculate, holy", Mong. *arāŋ* id.

*baq* "garden" P 146, cf. Mu. 109 *baγ* < Turk.: MT *baγ* "vineyard", K *baγ* id. < Pers. *bāγ* "garden, vineyard".

*bars* "tiger" SH 13, P 146 *bars* id., L 1265 *bars* id., Mo. *bars*, Kh. *baras* ~ *bars* ~ *bar*, Ord. *bar*, Kalm. *bars* id. < Turk.: AT, MT *bars* "tiger".

*bezirget* "merchants" (a plural from *bezirgen*) H 50 < Turk.: K *bazargan* "merchant" < Pers. *bāzārgān* id.

[13] B. Ya. Vladimircov, 'Mongolica I, Ob otnošenii mongol'skogo yazyka k indoevropeiskim yazykam Srednei Azii,' *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, I, pp. 305–341; 'Arabskie slova v mongol'skom yazyke,' *ibid.*, V, pp. 73–82.

[13] The abbreviations of the names of the Turkic languages here are: Alt. - Altai, Chag. - Chaghatai, Kas. - Kasan Tatar, Kirg. - Kirgiz, Krm. - Crimean, Leb. - Lebed, Osm. - Osmanli, Shor. - Schor dialect, Tel. - Telengit, Yak. - Yakut.



*bor* "wine" SH 19, Mu. 121 < Turk.: MT, K *bor* id.

*buqa'u* "k'ang, a torture instrument consisting of a board fastened to the neck of a criminal", SH 21, cf. Mu. 222 *buqa'u* "ring", Ord., Kalm. *buγū* "bracelet" < Turk.: MT *buqaγu* "pillory", Tob. *buγau* "fetters", Osm. *boqaγï* id.

*bulγa* "feud, fight" SH 21, cf. H 50 "uprising", I 434 *bulγa* "battle", L 1266 *bulγaq* "feud" < Turk.: MT, K *bulγaq* "disturbance, upheaval", Chag. *bulγaγ* id.

*čačir* "tent" SH 25, cf. Mu. 130 *čadur* id. < Turk.: MT *čačïr* ~ *čatïr*, K *čatïr* id. < Pers. *čādar* "tent, pavilion".

*čöl* "a place name" SH 174, H 59, cf. Mu. 136 *čöl* "desert" < Turk.: AT, Chag., Osm., Krm., Tel., Alt., Leb. *čöl* "steppe".

*dašmad* "Muhammadan clergy" P 148, cf. Mu. 383 *danišmand* "savant" < Turk.: East Turki *danišmän* "savant, wise" < Pers. *danišmand.*

*ėrdini* ~ *ėrtini* "jewel" P 150, cf. Mo. *erdeni*, Kh. *ėrdeni*, Ord. *erdeni*, Bur. *erdeńi*, Kalm. *erdəń* id. < Turk.: Uig. *erdeni* ~ *erdini* ~ *ertini* < Sanskr. *ratna* id.

*ertiŋčü* "world" H 51, cf. P 159 *yėrt$^{c}$inǰü* id., Mo. *yirtiŋčü*, Kh. *yörtömcö* id. < Turk.: AT *yirtinčü* id. > Tibet. *ḥǰig-rten* id.

*ed* "goods, products" SH 47, cf. Mu. 115 *et* "goods", Mo. *ed*, Kh., Bur. *ed* id. < Turk.: MT *eδ* "fabric".

*inaγ* "favourite" SH 82, *ina'ud* plur., cf. Mu. 196 *inaq* "locum tenens", Mo. *inaγ* "intimate friend", Kh. *yanag*, Kalm. *inəg* "friend" < Turk.: AT *ïnaq* "friend", K *ïnaq* ~ *ïnaγ* "faithful", cf. AT *ïnan-* "to trust".

*iŋgirčaγ* "pack-saddle" SH 82, cf. Kalm. *yaŋgɣcvg* id. < Turk.: Alt., Tel. *ïŋïrčaq* id., Sag. "the wooden parts of a saddle", Kir. *ïŋïršaq* "pack-saddle", cf. Yak. *ïŋïr* "saddle".

*ǰada* "magic, the ability of the sorcerers to make rain" SH 84, cf. Mu. 200 *ǰadu* "magic" < Turk.: Chag., Osm. *yada* < Pers. *ǰādū* "magic".

*ǰarliγ* "edict" SH 86, H 53, cf. P 151 *ǰarliq*, Mu. 202 *ǰarliq* "order", Mo. *ǰarliγ*, Kh. *ʒarlig*, Ord. *ǯarlig*, Bur. *zarl'ig*, Kalm. *zärləg* id. < Turk.: AT, MT *yarlïq* ~ *yarlïγ* "order, edict".

*ǰad* "stranger, foreigner" SH 87 (the translation "people" given in the Wörterbuch is not correct), cf. Mu. 203 *ǰat* id. < Turk.: AT, MT, K *yat* "strange, foreign".

*k$^{c}$ebid* "shop" P 152 < Turk.: MT, K *kebit* "shop, store" > Russ. *kibitka* "yurt".

*kibča'ut* "the Kipchak Turks" SH 179, a plural from *kibčaγ* < Turk.: MT *qïfčaq*, K *qïpčaq* id.

*kirgisüd* "the Kirgiz" SH 179, a plur. from *kirgis* < Turk.: AT, MT

*qïrγïz* id. Cf. also Kh. *χerχis* id. and *χergsūr* < *kirgis egür* "an ancient tomb", lit. "a Kirgis nest".

*kisilbaši* name of a lake SH 179 < Turk. *qïzïl* "red" and *baš* "head".

*kišilig* a personal name SH 179 < Turk. *qïšlïq* "pertaining or referring to the winter".

*kör̆šis* "the neighbours" H 54, cf. I 440 *kör̆ši* "neighbour", Mo. *körsi*, Bur. *χürši* < Turk.: MT *kör̆ši* "friend", Yak. *körsü* "lover" from *körüš-* "to see each other".

*külüg* "hero", plur. *külü'üd* SH 105, P 153 *k'ülüg* name of an emperor, cf. Mo. *külüg* "a good horse, steed", Bur. *χüleg*, Kh. *χülig*, Kalm. *kül$^{ü}$g* "steed" < Turk.: AT *kü* "fame", *külig* "famous", MT *külüg* "famous", Uig. *külüg* "a race-horse", KKir. *külük* id., Chag. *külük* "a big dog".

*naγud* or *naqud* "money, coins" SH 113 (the translation "gold ore" given there is not correct), cf. Mu. 245 *naqd* "*cash*" < Turk.: Osm. *naqït* "cash", K *naqt* id. < Arab. *naqd* "cash".

*nal* "ruby" P 154, cf. Mo. *nal* id., Kh. *nal erdeni* "corundum", Kalm. *nal* name of a precious stone < Turk.: K, Osm., Krm. *lāl* < Pers. *lāl* "ruby" > Russ. *lal'* id.

*orto'ud* "merchands", a plur. from *ortaγ* H 56, cf. Mu. 271 *ortaq* ~ *ortaγ* "merchand" < Turk.: MT *ortaq* "companion", K *ortaq* id., Chag. *ortaq* "merchand".

*ölüg* "dead", *ölümlegü* "to be engaged in a life or death struggle" SH 124 < Turk: MT *ölüg* "dead", K *ölü* id., MT *ölüm* "death", K *ölüm* id.

*örüg* "rest, peace, quiet" SH 128, cf. Mo. *örüg* id.[14] < Turk.: MT *örük bol-* "to take a rest".

*qablan* "tiger" SH 54 (the translation "the name of a predatory animal" is not accurate), cf. L 62 *qablan* "tiger" < Turk.: Kir., KKir. *qablan* id.

*qačir* name of a river SH 176, cf. *qačidud* "mules" SH 55, cf. L 61 *qačir* "mule", Mu. 130 *qačir* id. < Turk.: Chag., Kir., Kaz. *qačïr* id.

*qalibai soltan* "the Calif, the Sultan" SH 176 < Turk. *χalīfa* < Arab. *χalīfa* "Calif".

*qan melig* a personal name SH 176 < Turk.: Osm. *melik* "king" < Arab. *malik* id.

*qarši* "palace" SH 62, Mo. *qarši*, Kh. *ordo χarši* id., Kalm. *χaršï* id. < Turk.: MT, Chag. *qaršï* id. < Kučan *kerciye* or Sanskrit *griha* "house".

*qoš* "tent, a travel tent" SH 68 (the translation "house" is not quite

[14] N. N. Poppe, 'Zolotoordynskaya rukopis' na bereste,' *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, II (1941), p. 108.



correct), cf. Kalm. *χoš* „a temporary tent" < Turk.: Kir. *qoš* "a temporary dwelling, a hut", Chag. *qoš* "camp".

*qošliγ* "tent" SH 68, cf. the preceding word.

*qulan* "wild horse", plur. *qulad* SH 71, cf. Mu. *qulan* id., Mo. *qulan*, Kh. *χulaŋ*, Ord. *χulan*, Kalm. *χulŋ* id. < Turk.: MT *qulan*, Kir. *qulan* id.

*sarqud* "meat for sacrifices" SH 132 < Turk.: Kir. *sarqït* "the left overs of food given to inferior persons", Chag. *sarqut* id., Chag. *saryud* "grace, favour, food"; Mo. *sarqud* and Kh. *sarχad*, Ord. *sarχud* "wine" is probably the same word, although its meaning is different.

*širge* "vinegar" S 60,[15] cf. Mu. 323 *sirke* (or *sirge*) id. < Turk.: MT, K *sirke* id.

*soltan* ~ *sultan* "king" SH 135 < Turk.: K *sultan* < Arab. *sulṭān* id.

*tana* "a great pearl" SH 145, cf. Mo. *tana*, Bur. *eržeŋ tana* "mother of pearl", Kh., Ord. *tanɒ*, Kalm. *tanɒ* id. < Turk.: MT *tana* "grain" < Pers. *dāna* "grain, pearl."

*tegirmed* "mills" P 157 < Turk.: MT, Chag. *tegirmen* "mill", K *tergirmen* (*tegirmen*) id.; cf. Mo. *tegerme*, Kh. *tērem*, Kalm. *tērmn̥* "mill".

*teŋgis* name of a big body of water SH 148 < Turk.: MT *teŋgiz* "sea", K *teŋiz* id., cf. Kalm. *teŋgəs* "sea" < Turk.

*toyin* "a buddhist monk" H 57, cf. P 149 *doyid* "monks", cf. Mo. *toyin*, Kh. *toiŋ*, Kalm. *tōn* "a buddhist monk of noble origin" < Turk.: AT *toyïn* "monk", Yak. *toyon* "master, chief" < Chinese *tao-jên*.[16]

*toyi* "front line, battle line" SH 152 < Turk.: MT *toy* "military camp".

*toyila-* "to dance" SH 152 < Turk.: Kir. *toylo-* "to celebrate, to make a festival".

*tuγ* "banner" SH 153, cf. Mo. *tuγ*, Ord., Kh., Kalm. *tug* < Turk.: AT, MT *tuγ* id.

*turas* "quadrangular shields" SH 154, a plural from *tura* < Turk.: MT *tura* "shield, parapet." Mo. *tura* "building", Bur. *tura* "house, town, city", Bur. *burχaŋ tura* "church", Kh. *tura* "city" is the same word and is also a loan.[17]

*turγaγ* "watch, guard", plur. *turγa'ud* SH 155 < Turk.: Uig., Chag. *turγaq* "night watch, night guard, sentry" from *tur-* "to stand".

[15] Erich Haenisch, 'Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft, Eine kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung mit Beigabe dreier noch unveröffentlichter Phagspa-Inschriften,' *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 92. Band, 2. Heft, Leipzig, 1940, S. 58.

[16] A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950, S. 343.

[17] Aulis Joki, 'Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen,' *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, CIII (1952), p. 339–340.

*uluγ tayγ* a place name SH 183 < Turk.: AT, MT *uluγ* "big, great" and *tayγ* "mountain".

*uruγ* "relatives" SH 167, cf. P 158 *uruqut* "seeds", Mu. 248 *uruq* "in-laws", Mo. *uruγ*, Kh. *urag*, Kalm. *ur"g* "relatives" < Turk.: AT *uruγ* "relatives, seeds".

*uruγ tariγ* "relatives" H 56 < Turk.: MT *uruγ tarïγ* id.

*yalavači* a personal name SH 184 < Turk.: AT *yalabač* "messenger", MT *yalavač* "messenger, prophet".

# SOGDIANA AND THE HSIUNG-NU

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## I

The relationship between the Huns and the Hsiung-nu has been a subject of serious discussion among scholars interested in ancient Eurasian history ever since the middle of the seventeenth century, when Deguignes published the 'Mémoire sur l'origine des Huns et des Turcs' and the 'Histoire des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux'.[1] Some of these scholars insist on the identity of these two peoples on account of the similarity of their names, as well as of their manners and customs, while others maintain their difference because of the dissimilarity of their languages. Thanks to the development of archaeological research in Mongolia, southern Russia and their adjacent territories, it has recently become clear that the Huns and the Hsiung-nu used weapons, ornamental objects and other household utensils of a quite similar type, and some scholars look upon their identity as beyond dispute.[2] However, we must not forget that the Huns and the Hsiung-nu were the nomads who lived respectively in the western and the eastern parts of the same Eurasian steppe and that the Huns appeared about two centuries after the disappearance of the Hsiung-nu. It is quite natural that both of them should have used weapons and other utensils of a similar

[1] For the history of studies on the relationship between the Huns and the Hsiung-nu, see K. Inostrantsev, *Khunnu i Gunny*, 2nd ed., Leningrad 1926; N. Egami, 'Kyôdo Fun Dôzokuron (The identity of the Huns and the Hsiung-nu)', in *Yûrasia Kodai Hoppôbunka*, Tokyo 1948, pp. 319 ff.; G. Uchida, 'Konseiki ni okeru Fun Mondai kenkyû no kaiko to myônichi e no kadai (Retrospect of studies concerning the Huns in this century and problems to be studied in the future)', *Minzokugaku Kenkyû*, XIV, 1950, pp. 219–227; F. Tsunoda, 'Fun-zoku to Kyôdo (The Huns and the Hsiung-nu)', in *Kodai Hoppôbunka no Kenkyû*, Kyoto 1954, pp. 191–209. The views of Japanese scholars are introduced and reviewed in these publications.

[2] The best example is F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen*, Baden-Baden 1951. H. Homeyer, *Attila, der Hunnenkönig*, Berlin 1951, p. 20, is much more cautious on this point.