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## Mongolian Loanwords in Chagatay

The rise of the Mongol Empire in the 13th century represents a turning point in the history of Mongolian linguistic elements in the Turkic languages, as a huge lexical stock penetrates into the Middle Turkic languages and dialects of this time. Studies have dealt with the Mongolian influence on Middle Kipchak (the Coman language<sup>1</sup>), on Osmanli<sup>2</sup> and on the modern Turkic languages.<sup>3</sup> The number and importance of Mongolian elements in Chagatay is much greater than in any other Turkic language; nonetheless, only minor researches have been published in this field.<sup>4</sup> Although Clauson provides a list of the Mongolian words in his edition of *Sanglax*<sup>5</sup>, and we can find Chagatay and other Turkic data in a great study by Doerfer<sup>6</sup>, a thorough investigation into this area has yet to be undertaken.

In my research I aim to compile a potentially complete lexicon of Mongolian loanwords in Chagatay. This will facilitate a series of conclusions about the history of the Turkic and Mongolian languages, respectively. First, I have examined the Chagatay dictionaries and glossaries, such as the

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- 1 Poppe, N. 1962. Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen: *Németh Armağanı*. Ankara. 331-340.
  - 2 Tuna, O. N. 1972., 1976. Osmanlıcada moğolca ödünç kelimeler: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XVII. 209-250.; XVIII. (1973-1975):281-314.
  - 3 Zajaczkowski, W. 1960. Die mongolischen Elemente in der karaimischen Sprache: *Folia Orientalia II*. 296-302.; Kałużyński, St. 1961. *Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*. Warszawa.; Išberdin, E.F. 1979. Mongol'skie zaimstrovaniya v baskirskom jazyke: *ST*. 20-29.; Róna-Tas, A. 1982. Loan-words of Ultimate Middle Mongolian Origin in Chuvash: *Studies in Chuvash Etymology*. ed. Róna-Tas, A. *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 17. Szeged. 66-134.; Csáki, É. 1989. *Middle-Mongolian Loan-words in Volga-Kipchak Languages*. Szeged (manuscript); Poppe, N. 1991. Mongolian Loan Words in Kazak: *Varia Eurasistica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas*. Szeged. 149-152.
  - 4 Sertkaya, O. F. 1992. Mongolian Words and Forms in Chagatay Turkish (Eastern Turki) and Turkey Turkish (Western Turki): *TDAYB* (1987):265-280.
  - 5 Clauson, G. 1960. *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān*. London. (S)
  - 6 Doerfer, G. 1963. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Band I. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden. (TMEN)

*Abuška*<sup>7</sup>, the *Bada'i' al-Luġat*<sup>8</sup>, the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*<sup>9</sup>, the *Sanlax* and the *Behġet ül-Luġat*<sup>10</sup>, and from the later works I have sifted through the dictionaries by *Pavet de Courteille*<sup>11</sup> and *Zenker*<sup>12</sup>, as well as some texts (e.g. *Gadā'i*<sup>13</sup>, and *Abu'l Ġāzi*<sup>14</sup>). The texts will be major sources for this study, but only of the Chagatay in the strict sense: I am not interested in the New Turkic material of Central Asia from the turn of the century often called Chagatay.

As to the source language, in my investigations I have primarily examined Middle Mongolian materials, which are quite scarce, so I have also included various Mongolian dictionaries in the research. I believe these findings will be important for Mongolian Studies: it will broaden our knowledge of Middle Mongolian lexicology as well as of morphology and phonetics.

This linguistic approach will definitely enrich the results of researches in history, too, which, at the same time, will enable us to draw new conclusions about the Turkic-Mongol civilizations of the time – for the loanwords truly reflect the *type* of contacts and reveal the fields of the most intensive Mongolian influence.

I would like to illustrate the method I have used and the future researches I plan for this work.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Vámbéry, Á. 1862. *Abuska. Csagatajtörök szógyűjtemény. [Abuška. Collection of Chagatay-Turkic Words]* Pest. (VAb)

<sup>8</sup> Borovkov, A. K. 1961. “*Badā'i' al-Luġat*”. *Slovar' Tāli' Īmāni Geratskogo k sočinenijam Ališera Navoi*. Moskva. (TIH)

<sup>9</sup> Poppe, N. N. 1938. *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab I-II*. Moskva-Leningrad. (MA)

<sup>10</sup> Thúry, J. 1903. A “*Behdset-ül-Luġat*” című csagatáj szótár. [*The Behġet ül-Luġat Dictionary of Chagatay*] Budapest. (BL)

<sup>11</sup> Courteille, P. de. 1870. *Dictionnaire turk-oriental. Destiné principalement a faciliter la lecture des ouvrages de Bâber, d'Aboul-Gâzi et de Mir-Ali-Chir-Nevâi*. Paris. (PC)

<sup>12</sup> Zenker, J. Th. 1866-76. *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*. Leipzig. (Z)

<sup>13</sup> Eckmann, J. 1971. *The Divân of Gadā'i*. Bloomington-The Hague.

<sup>14</sup> Desmaisons, P.I. 1871-74. (ed.) *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khan*. St.-Petersbourg. (AG); Kononov, A. N. 1958. (ed.) *Rodoslovnaja Turkmen. Sočinenie Abu-l-Gazi hana hivinskogo*. Moskva-Leningrad. (Ag)

<sup>15</sup> As for the Mongolian equivalents I quote only the written Mongolian (Mo.) data from Lessing, F. (gen. ed.) 1960. *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Berkeley-Los Angeles (L) and in some cases the Kalmyk from Ramstedt, G.J. 1935. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. Helsinki (KWb.) and for lack of space I quote only some of the Chagatay data.

There are three aspects to the loanwords I would like to mention in this paper: the *semantic*, the *historical* – that is, the chronological and the geographical – and the *etymological* aspects.

### 1. *The semantic aspect*

For the moment, I do not seek to establish an overly detailed semantic classification of the material. I have established altogether 13 semantic groups for the Mongolian loanwords in Chagatay:

1. *Society and politics*: e.g. *albutu* 'taxpayer, subject' (S) ~ Mo. *albatu* 'id' (L); *daruğa* 'chief, superior, commander' (S, MA, AG) ~ Mo. *daruğa* (L); *salğa-* 'envoyer, députer' (PC, VAb) ~ Mo. *salğa-* 'to separate, divide; to take apart; to remove'.

2. *Warfare*: *jebe* 'armes surtout défensives, armes, cuirasse, cotte de maille' (PC, S) ~ Mo. *jebe* 'arrowhead, spearhead'; *sadaq/sağadaq* (S, PC) 'quiver, arrow-case' ~ Mo. *sağadağ* 'id.'; *mañlay/manqlay* 'front, vanguard; forehead' (S, MA, AG) ~ Mo. *manglai* 'id' (L).

3. *Hunting*: *širalğa* 'a piece of meat of the prey' (S, PC (Bab.)) ~ kalm. *šarlγe* 'das Braten, ein Fleischstück vom Braten' (Kwb.); *qabu* 'place en face; but; occasion; portée' (PC (Bab.), S) ~ Mo. *qabu/qaba* 'skill in hunting, handling a bow; good quality; energy, spirit' (L).

4. *Horse breeding*: *adūn* 'herds of horses' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *adūgu(n)* 'id.'; *čilbur/čulbur* 'bridle', 'chaine d'argent qu'on attache au-dessus du nez du cheval comme ornement' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *čilbuγu/čulbuγur* 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle; tether'.

5. *Family*: *emegen* 'woman' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *emegen* 'old woman, old wife'; *abağa* 'paternal uncle' (S, MA) ~ Mo. *abağa* 'id'.

6. *Plants*: *örgesün* 'thorn' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *örgesü(n)/örgüsü(n)/örgegü-sü(n)* 'id.' (L); *qarağay* 'bois, foret' (PC) ~ Mo. *qarğai* 'larch tree' (L).

7. *Animals*: *bödene* 'quail' (S, VAb) ~ Mo. *büdüne* 'id.'; *itawun* 'partridge' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *itağu* 'id.'.

8. *Topography and weather*: *toqay/toğay*, 'coude qui se trouve dans le cours d'un fleuve' (PC) ~ Mo. *toqail/toqui* 'elbow, bend of a river' (L); *mör* 'way, path' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *mör* 'id.' (L); *borağan/borān* 'tempete de neige et de vent' (PC, S) ~ Mo. *boruğa(n)* 'rein' (L).

9. *Human activities*: *yada-* 'devenir faible, sans force' (PC) ~ Mo. *yada-* 'to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be unable' (L); *asra-* 'to take care' (MA, S) ~ Mo. *asara-* 'to be compassionate; to take care, nourish' (L).

10. *Features and qualities*: *qalǰau* 'facetieux' (PC) ~ Mo. *ǰalǰau/ǰalǰıǰu* 'rabid, insane; possessed by a demon, violent' (L); *antutay* 'sweet' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *amtatai* 'having a certain taste, tasty; sweet' (L).

11. *Parts of the body*: *dalu* 'omoplate' (PC, S) ~ Mo. *dalu* 'id.' (L); *geǰige* 'nape of the neck' (MA) ~ Mo. *geǰige* 'id.' (L).

12. *Household*: *tülen* (S) ~ Mo. *tülegen, tüligen, tüliye(n)* 'firewood' (L); *tegläidegläidegeläidegeläy* 'overcoat (kaftan) with short sleeves' (VAb, TIH) ~ Mo. *degelei* 'jacket, camisole, short fur garment'.

13. *Music*: *ayalǰu* 'pleasant voice, voice of the nightingale', (VAb, PC) ~ Mo. *ayalǰu* 'melody, tune; tone, intonation'; *šidurǰu/šudurǰu* 'lute' (S) ~ Mo. *šudurǰu* 'three-stringed musical instrument of the guitar kind' (L).

No doubt these categories are flexible: some words might have different meanings which will obviously force them to appear under different semantic classes. For example, the Middle Mongolian word *manglai* primarily designates a part of the body, the 'forehead', but, at the same time, it may rightly be classified among the terminology of warfare, as it means 'avantgard' in the Mongolian and Turkic languages examined.

This semantic research will provide us with the answer to questions about the *type* of linguistic contacts and also reveal the different levels of social contacts. It is worth mentioning that at this stage of the research the first four categories have proved to contain the greatest number of loanwords, that is, words concerning society or politics, warfare, hunting and horse breeding.

## 2. *The historical aspect*

This aspect of the study regards chronological and geographical problems. I have thoroughly examined if a given loanword appears in the Turkic languages before the 12th century, or only in the Middle Turkic Chagatay, and I have also examined how these words spread in the Modern Turkic languages.

Accordingly, I have established the following categories. In the Turkic languages I have separated the lexemes dating from *before* the Mongol epoch and those appearing in the Middle Turkic languages *later*. E.g. Mo. *ǰegeren*

'antelope' (L) ~ OT *yegren*<sup>16</sup> 'chestnut' and *jerän* 'gazelle' later in Chagatay (S, PC). Mo. *yosun* 'traditional custom, mode, manner, method' (L), which was also *yosun* in Old Turkic and Chagatay with similar meanings (S, PC).

The next grouping consist of Mongolian loanwords found *only* in Chagatay and in no other Turkic languages. E.g. Mo. *kegüken*, *keüken* 'child, infant or virgin girl' (L) ~ *küken* 'child, younger daughter, young girl' (S, BL); Mo. *jögelen* 'soft or softly' (L), ~ *zölen* 'soft' (PC).

Then we find examples of Mongolian loanwords in a series of Middle Turkic languages, not only in Chagatay. E.g. Mo. *olja* 'finding, find; acquisition, earning; booty; prisoner(s) of war' ~ *olja*, *olča* 'plennik, dobyča' in Middle Turkic (CC, MA, TIH); Mo. *nökür* 'friend, comrade, companion' (L) ~ MT *nöker/nöger* 'id' (ON, CC<sup>17</sup>, AG).

I have independently examined words appearing in the Modern Turkic languages, not only in Chagatay, e.g. MMo. *huja'ur* and *uja'ur* 'origin, root' (SH, VI)<sup>18</sup> ~ Chag. *uja'ur* 'id.' (MA) ~ jak. *ujuor* 'rod, potómok'; Mo. *mönggün* 'silver' can be found in Yakut and most of the Siberian Turkic languages as well as Chagatay.

This classification clarifies the use and existence of these Mongolian elements throughout the Turkic languages as well as the chronology of the borrowings. Nevertheless, in my opinion, we must work carefully with this classification, especially with the Turkic data in the last category. Clearly, some Modern Turkic words are considered old borrowings either from Middle Mongolian, Chagatay or other Middle Turkic languages. At the same time, other Modern Turkic data can be considered more recent borrowings for phonetic or, sometimes, morphological reasons.

Here I would like to point out one methodological problem which should always be kept in mind: Chagatay is a *literary* language, and not a spoken one, and as a consequence its borrowings do not automatically coincide with those of the local dialects.

<sup>16</sup> I quote the Old Turkic (OT) forms from Clauson, G. 1972. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford.

<sup>17</sup> Bang, W.-Rachmati, G.R. 1932. *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan*. /SPAW XXV./ Berlin (ON); Grönbech, K. 1942. *Komanisches Wörterbuch*. Köbenhavn. 1942. (CC)

<sup>18</sup> Haenisch, E. 1962. *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi)*. *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Wiesbaden (SH); Ligeti, L. 1962. *Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanbul: AOH XIV. 3-99*. (VI)

Let me mention one more problem with the chronological aspect. The Chagatay material seems to consist of different chronological layers. Disyllables might be a good example here, as they are represented both with two syllables and in contracted forms as well, e.g. *borāgan* and *borān*, meaning 'storm'. But words with two syllables are not necessarily older borrowings than those with the contracted forms, because they may also reflect dialectal characteristics or they may also be *archaisms* in the *literary* language. And lest we forget, at the same time this literary language contains elements closer to the spoken language, for instance, the Abu'l Ġāzi texts. When pondering chronological questions we should ignore the idea of a uniform Chagatay language and consider the written source of a given lexeme together with the ever present problems of text filiation because this may explain the seemingly irregular forms in the texts.

### 3. *The etymological aspect*

The Middle Mongolian elements of Chagatay may be placed into three large etymological categories. The first and less problematic group contains words with a Mongolian etymology; for instance, Chag. *ĵirġalang* 'pleasure, enjoyment' (S, PC) is a borrowing of the Mo. *ĵirġalan* 'id.'. This derives from the Mo. verb *ĵirġa-* 'to be joyful, enjoy and be happy' (L); Chag. *baraŋar/baraŋar* 'right flank of an army' (PC, MA) ~ Mo. *baraġun ġar* 'right hand, right flank of an army' (L).

The second group of Mongolian loans in Chagatay contains words of Turkic origin. The Chagatay words are either borrowed from Middle Mongolian, having derived from a Turkic language, or they may be considered Altaic – pending an investigation into whether the Mongolian words of Turkic origin are in fact Turkic loanwords or remnants of the Altaic protolanguage. E.g. Chag. *arūn* 'clean, pure' (PC) ~ Mo. *ariġun*, see OT *ari-* 'to be or become clean or pure' (CI); Chag. *qorya* (Borovkov: *qurya*) 'prostoĵ, nezamy-slovatyĵ dom iz trostnika' (TIH, PC) ~ Mo. *qoriya(n)* 'camp, barracks; courtyard, enclosure' (L), see OT *qori-* 'to fence in, or protect (a piece of land)'.

The third etymological group contains Chagatay words of Mongolian origin which derive from a known or unknown, non-Turkic language. E.g. Chag. *tayši* 'scribe, expert, master-craftsman' (S, AG) ~ Mo. *taisi* 'grand

master, imperial teacher' which goes back to the Chinese *t'ai shih* 'chief historiographer' (CI).

Among the loanwords of this group we also have reason to suspect the existence of indirect borrowings from Middle Mongolian through a third language: Persian may be such a mediator.