

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* < **balmal* < **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/Tabyač (S), Qitai (or Qitai, 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*, Ürimĵi, 1982; Enggebatu: *Dayur kelen-ü üges*, Huhe-hot, 1984; Namzarai Keserteni: *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 *aĵırγan*, etc. Q and D, on the other hand, frequently show forms without -n, e.g., Q *šauā* 'bird', *ĵau* '100' (D *šowō*, *ĵau*) = Y *šibaγun*, *ĵaγun*. T shows some traces of the "additional -n": *qalqan* 'shield' (Y *qalqa*), *taiγan* 'greyhound' (Y *taiγa*). We have also to consider the many T titles in -n, such as *qaγan*, *qatun*, *tarxan*, *tegin*, *erkin*, *tudun*, *saγun*, etc., all of them presumably borrowed from S, cf. *qaγan*, *qatun*, *degin*, and furthermore such words as *toγan*, *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: *šilu* 'high', whereas Y *šili* < *šilui*, just as *toli* 'mirror' < *tolui*.) Cf. Q *nōγə* 'dog' M *xılga* 'thief' = D *xualxa*, M *arfa* 'barley' = Y *noqaj*, *qulaγaj*, *arbaj*. However, we find in the Mo. languages two situations: (1) words containing *-j* also in S/D, e.g., S *qitγaičın* 'executioner' (= *qitγaj* 'dagger, sword' with a suffix *-čın*, in Y **qitγaičı* would correspond), D *dalaj* '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

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: *anjasun*, (*h*)*utasun*, (*h*)*oyimasun*; D *anju* 'plow', *gata* 'stake' = Y *γadasun* (Buriat *gatahan*, Barguzin Evenki *gatahun*). In T *-sUn* never appears, cf. *yēz* 'esparto grass' = Y *dere-sün*, *ojma* 'felt for boots' = Y *hoyimasun*, *balıq* 'town' = Y *balayasun*. M shows, along with the forms mentioned above, such examples as *deresu*, which are loan-

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

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 *giamčın* 'chief of a post-office' (Y *ǰamčı*), borrowed ← Chinese *giam*. Cf. as non-Chinese term: Q *gjalə* '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-Jürčən) have preserved Mo. (and Tungus) **p-*, e.g., S *pörtögčın* 'post-office clerk' (Y *örtögeči*), Q *po* 'time' (Y *on* 'year'), M *ferge* 'thumb' (Y *erekej*); 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*, *herekej*, 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 *fakūri* ~ *eǰǰı* 'brick' ← Chinese *pějz* (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 *päymå*); T *arq*, Khalaj *harq* = Y *harǰal* = M *faǰan* < **pargan*.

Conclusion: all "Altai" languages had **p-* which parathetically became *h-*

on *xāč*) = T *qapāč*. In D -g-/g- has vanished, just as in the other modern dialects: *xā-* 'to close', *xālgā* '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., *qulaγai* 'thief' (modern Khalkha *xulγai*). The situation in D is sophisticated; we find, e.g., *xualg* ~ *xualag* ~ *xualəγə* ~ *xualaγa* ~ *xualxa*, etc. We may explain these variants a) as partly influenced by Western Mo. dialects (*xualxa* > *xualaγa*) or b) as secondary vowel dropping (*xualaγa* > *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 **qulaγa(i)*, and that means: proto-Mo. **qulaγa(i)* > D **qulγa* > *xualxa* ~ *xualaga*. M shows dropping: *xūlxa* 'thief', *ferge* 'thumb', *argān* 'canine tooth', *dabsun* 'salt', *gurgu* '(wild) animal', *čurxū* 'pike', etc. = Y *qulaγai*, (*h*)*erekei*, *araγan*, *dabusun*, *göröge*, *čuraqalčuruqai*. Vowel dropping (or reduction) is found in both older Mo. languages: S *kelmörčün* 'interpreter', *pörtögčün* 'post-office clerk', *qitγajčün* 'executioner', *sagdagčün* 'quiver-bearer', etc. (8 examples) = Y *kelemerči*, *örtögeči*, **qitγajči*, *saγdagči*. For Q cf. *tauwasa* 'dust' (Sien-*ni tauwčün*, Y *tauwusun*, T *tauw*) also A. 1? (*daysu* <

internal T development: T and Q may have dropped auslaut vowels independently from each other (cf. author in Türk Dili Annotasyonlar Yuluğu, Bellator

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/?3/9/10), 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.