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**Uyghurism in 'Phags-pa Documents
(According to Tumurtogoo)**

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Abstract

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Turkic – Mongolian mutual borrowings have two main periods: Before 1206 and after 1206. After the Great Mongolian Quriltai, Mongolian borrowed many Turkic words (also some foreign words like Sanskrit etc.) from Old Uighur. There are excellent studies about this topic by Poppe (1955a), Clauson (1962), Kara (1981, 2001), Shogaito (1991) and other scholars. I will show some samples from estimated baxši Tumurtogoo's publication on 'Phags-pa script. Here are some examples: *abala-* ‘to hunt’, *al* ‘red, scarlet’, *arči-* ‘to clean, make clean; wipe off’ (deriv. *arilqa-* ‘to take out, remove, eliminate’?; *ariu'i* ‘clean, pure, immaculate’; *ari'u'l* ‘holy, sacred’), *[ar]slan* ‘lion’, *asara-* ‘to take care, nurse’ (deriv. *asara'u'l* ‘to let care’), *ayaqa tegimlig* ‘monk’, *ayu:-* ‘to be afraid’ (~ *ayi-:*); there are Sanskrit words such as *adišdid* and some Indo-European words like *alima* ‘apple’; words like *altan* ‘gold, golden’, **an* ‘p.pron.’, and *teyri* go back to common vocabulary in both language families. About 110 words are briefly examined in terms of Turkic-Mongolian lexical contact in this paper.

Keywords : Old Turkic, Old Uyghur, Mongolian, 'Phags-pa documents, Turkic-Mongolian contact, borrowings

Turkic-Mongolian relations go back to the time before the first monuments of these two language families. Till now we knew that the oldest Mongolian monuments go back to the first part of the 13th century. Turkic monuments go back to the first quarter of the 8th century. But

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through Khüis Tolgoi I and Bugut inscriptions, it was revealed that the Mongolian language was documented at the last quarter of 6th century (Bugut inscription, Brähmī side) and at the first quarter of the 7th century (Khüis Tolgoi I), for details s. Maue 2018, (2019), Vovin 2018, (2019), Ölmez 2018, (2019) and de la Vaissière 2018. Uyghur–Turkic words borrowed after the 13th century are easy to distinguish. But the earlier contacts between these two language families are always discussable.

The following wordlist doesn't include detailed investigation. It includes just brief explanations. For detailed studies s. G. Doerfer, TMEN I-IV; Sir G. Clauson 1962.

There is an opposite direction too: Mongolian words in Turkic. In this connection, there are excellent studies about different historical periods or modern Turkic languages, like Kałużyński (1962), Khabtagaeva (2009), Tuna (1972, 1976), etc.

Some words are common in both language families. It is difficult to decide exactly which language is the source language for them. Of course there are some opinions like Xianbei or Tuoba languages: *altan* ‘gold, golden’, *qan* ‘khan, king’, *qa'a:n* ‘emperor, king’, *teyri* ‘Heaven, divinity’ (and *teyriner* ‘gods’), *tümen* ‘ten thousand’ (*tümed* ‘(pl.) a military unit of ten thousand men’).

There are earlier borrowings from Turkic (cf. specially Sir G. Clauson 1962): *an* ‘p.pron.’ (Turkic *an+); *bi* pron. ‘I’ cf. Tunyukuk *bini* (acc. form for *bin*); *či* cf. Tunyukuk *sini* (acc. form for *sin); *čilau:n* ‘stone’ (CT *taš*); *de'e:dü* ‘sublime, high’, deriv. *de'e:gši* ‘upward, up’, *de'e:re* adv. ‘above, high’ (~ CT *yeg*); *düli* ‘middle, half’ cf. Uyg. *tiš*; *düri* ‘appearance, form’ in *öyre düri* ‘form, appearance’ (< CT *yüz* ‘face’); *hüker ~ üker* ‘cow’ cf. CT *ökiž*; *inu* refl. ‘it’s, their, his, her’ (cf. Old Turkic – Old Uygur *m+din*, *m+ča*, *m+garu*; *neme-* ‘to add, increase’ cf. CT *yämä*; *qonin* ‘sheep’ cf. CT *koñ*; *sere-* ‘to be careful about’, *seregde-* ‘to beware’ cf. CT *sez-*; *tawlayi* ‘hare’ CT *tavišgan*; *tülitü* ‘middle’ cf. Uyg. *tiš*: *tiš üdi* ‘midday’.

The following words could be borrowed from Turkic: •čačartan ‘having a tent’ → TMEN IV § 1042 (p. 18-22) and Nachträge § 1042 (< Turkic? < Ir.; čar ‘illness, ailments’ cf. Uyg. *yar* ‘spittle, saliva’, Russ. *яп*; ğar ‘declaration, proclamation’ cf. CT *yarlig*.

Mong. *erke'ü:n* ‘Chirstian’, deriv. *erke'ü:d* ‘(pl.) Christians’ could be compared with Uyghur *ärkägün* ‘id.’ s. UW NB II.2 p. 260 (cf. Kara 2001: 92).

Mong. *ile:-* ‘to send, dispatch’ is interesting, because its meaning is very close to CT *elt-* ‘id.’. *bolor* ‘cyrystal’ isn’t attested in Uyg., but attested at Ligeti’s list (s. Kara 2001: 86).

N. Poppe (1941) and D. Tumurtogoo (2010) have already mentioned Uyghur elements in their publications. I compile here their list from Uyghuristic side, mainly the following list based on D. Tumurtogoo's *Mongolian Monuments in 'Phags-pa Script* (Taipei 2010):

abala- ‘to hunt’ < Uyg. *avla-* < *av* ‘jagd / hunt’ +*la-* UW NB I. 1 105, Clauson 1972: 10b, OTWF 432.

adišdid ‘blessing’ < Uyg. *adıştit* ‘magische Kraft / Kontrolle (über das eigene Karma oder das Karma von anderen Personen)’ < toch. A/B *adhiṣṭhit* < hybr. skr. *adhiṣṭita-* (Edg. 12–13) UW NB II.I, p. 36; Kara 2001: 78; Tömörtogoo 2018: 13.

al ‘red, scarlet’ < Uyg. *al* UW NB II. 1 84 (*al* I ’rot, rubinrot’), Clauson 1972: 120b-122a; Poppe 1955a: 38; Kara 2001: 79; Tömörtogoo 2018: 16 **al** (1), according to TMEN II § 517, specially p. 95, it goes back to Persian, s. also Tömörtogoo 2018: 16.

alima ‘apple’ cf. Uyg. *alimla* ‘Apfel / apple’: *änätkäk alimlası* ‘der Indische Apfel’, *alimla söküň* ‘Apfelbaum / apple tree’, s. UW NB II.1, p. 90, Clauson 1972: 146b; because of the *alima* form, Mongolian word can be borrowed after the Uyghur period, like Kharazmian or Kipchak Turkic *alma*, Mongolian form more closer to Kipchak word; furthermore s. M. Erdal 1993a, specially p. 31; Tömörtogoo 2018: 19.

arči- ‘to clean, make clean; wipe off’ < Uyg., cf. Uyg. *arit-* ‘reinigen, säubern / to clean’ UW NB I.1, p. 71-74, Clauson 1972: 207b, < *ari-t-* < *ari-* ‘sauber sein, sauber werden / to be, or to become, clean, pure’ UW NB I. 1, p. 67, Clauson 1972: 198a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 31.

arilqa- ‘to take out, remove, eliminate’; it must be derived from Uyg. *ari-* ‘sauber sein, sauber werden / to be, or to become, clean, pure’ (s. *arči-*) + Mong. *-lqa-*, cf. Grønbech & Krueger § 41 *-lya-* ‘causative voice’, PoppeComp p. 76, Tömörtogoo 2014: 22, *ari-lya-*; Tömörtogoo 2018: 30, *apułqa-*.

ariu:i ‘clean, pure, immaculate’ and **ari'u:l** ‘holy, sacred’ derived from Uyg. *arig* ‘rein, sauber, ohne Schmutz; klar / clean, pure’ UW NB II.1 232-242, Clauson 1972: 213b (1); Poppe 1955a: 38; Kara 2001: 80.

[ar]slan ‘lion’ < Uyg. *arslan* ‘Löwe / lion’ UW NB I.1 p. 261-263, Clauson 1972: 238a-b, OTWF 92, specially footnote 124; Kara 2001: 80; Tömörtogoo 2018: 30.

asara- ‘to take care, nurse’ < Uyg. < *aš* ‘Speise, Nahrung / food’ UW NB II. 1 p. 1, Clauson 1972: 253b (1); for *asara-* s. UW NB I.1 *asura-* p. 88-89; Old Uyghur *asira-* is a reborrowing from Mongolian, s. Ölmez 2007; s. deriv. **asara'u:l** ‘to let care’.

ayiqa ‘cup’ < Uyg. *ayak* ‘Schale, Trinkschale; Maßschale; Bettelschale’ UW NB II.2 p. 75-76;

Clauson 1972: 270a ‘a vessel’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 35.

ayaqa tegimlig ‘monk’ < Uyg. *ayagka tägimlig* < *ayag* (I) ‘Huldigung’ and *tägimlig* ‘würdig’, ‘Ehrwürdiger, Verehrungswürdiger; ehrwürdig, verehrungswürdig (für Buddhas, Bodhisattvas oder Śrāvakas; skr. *arhat*)’ / ‘worthy of respect’, a stock epithet for Bodhisattvas, monks, etc. UW NB II.1, p. 69-71, Clauson 1972: 270a; P. Aalto, “Ayayqa tegimlig”, *Studia Altaica, Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe*, Wiesbaden 1951, p. 17 (1-14); *ayag* ‘Huldigung, Verehrung; Ehre, Würde / profound respect’ UW NB II.1, p. 69-71, Clauson 1972: 270a, OTWF 179 (*aya-* ‘huldigen / to respect’ + *-(X)g*, *aya-g*); *tägimlig* / *tägimlig* < *tägim* ‘worthy, deserving’ Clauson 1972: 482-483; Kara 2001: 81; Tömörtogoo 2018: 35.

ayu:- ‘to be afraid’ ~ **ayi-** cf. Old Turkic (Runic) *añig* ‘evil(ly); extreme(ly)’ (< **añ-(i)g*), cf. M. Ölmez, “Moğolların Gizli Tarihi ve Sözvarlığı Üzerine”, *Bengü Belük. Ahmet Bican Ercilasun Armağanı*, ed. Büлent Гюл, Ankara 2013: 377-384. cf. Old Turkic (Runic) *añit-* < **añ-(i)t-*, cf. Ölmez 2013: 309; Tömörtogoo 2018: 14-15.

balaqad ‘towns, cities’, **balaqasun** ‘town, city’ [~ *balya(sun)*] (< OldT, Uyg. *baliq* and Mong. *+sun*, s. Clauson 1972: 335b (2); Tömörtogoo 2018: 40).

baq ‘garden’ < Uyg. *bay* < Per. *bāy* ‘Weingarten, Obstgarten’ BT IX; Clauson 1972: 311b: *bay borluq* ‘vineyard’; Poppe 1955a: 38; Kara 2001: 82; Tömörtogoo 2018: 37 (1).

baqši ‘tutor, teacher’ < Uyg. *baqši* ~ *bahši* < Chin. 博士 *boshi*, 博 *bo* K 771a *pák*; Pull. 41 L. *pak*, E. *pak* and 士 *shi* K 559a *śi:*; Pull. 284 L. *śhr*, E. *śi* (s. Ölmez 1994); Kara 2001: 82; Tömörtogoo 2018: 37.

bars ‘tiger’ < Uyg. *bars* < Ir. → Clauson 1972: 368a-b: “a very early Iranian l.-w., but from which Iranian language it was taken is uncertain”, Doerfer: “Gepard; Panther, Felis panthera” TMEN II § 685; Poppe 1955a: 38; Kara 2001: 83; Tömörtogoo 2018: 43.

basa ‘also, too, again’ < Uyg. *basa* ‘dann, darauf, danach / and, after, more’ BT I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X, Clauson 1972: 370b < *bas-a* < *bas-* ‘to press, to crush, oppress’ (Clauson 1972: 370a) and *-a* (gerundium suffix), s. Li 2004: 129-131; Kara 2001: 83.

bayaji'u:l- ‘to enrich, make rich’ < Mong. **bayan** + Mong. + **ji'u:l-** cf. Uyg. *bay* ‘reich; Reicher / rich’ BT II, III, V, IX, XIII; Clauson 1972: 384a-b.

bečin ‘monkey, ape’ < Uyg. *bečin* ‘Affe / ape, monkey’ < Ir. BT VII, XIII, XXXVII, SUK, Clauson 1972: 295b-296a; Kara 2001: 83; Tömörtogoo 2018: 48.

belge ‘sign, mark’ < Uyg. *bälgö* ~ *bälgü* ‘Zeichen, Merkmal (= skr. *lakṣaṇa*) BT I, V, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, X; ‘sign, mark’ Clauson 1972: 340a; Kara 2001: 83; Tömörtogoo 2018: 65.

berke ‘difficult, hard’ < Uyg. *bärk* ‘fest, stark’ BT III, VII, VIII, IX, Tot., HT IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X; ‘firm, stable, solid’ Clauson 1972: 361b; Tömörtogoo 2018: 66.

biči- ‘script, letter, writ’ < Uyg. *biti-* ‘schreiben; tätowieren / to write’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, 29, Tot., HT V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X; Clauson 1972: 299b-300a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 48-48.

bičig < Uyg. *bitig* ~ OldT *bitig* ‘Schrift, Schreiben; Brief; Buch / inscription, book, letter’ BT I, II, III, V, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X < *biti-* ‘schreiben / to write’ + (X)g Clauson 1972: 303a-b; OTWF 184); deriv. **bičigten** ‘those having a writ’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 49.

bičin → **bečin**

bilik ‘wisdom, intellect, gift, talent’, < OldT, Uyg. *bilik* ‘Wissen, Weisheit, Bewußtsein / to know’ < *bil-* ‘to know’ + -(I)g BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X; Clauson 1972: 339a-b; deriv. **biligtən** ‘those having a gift’, **biligtü** ‘gifted, talented’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 46.

bodhisivid ‘Bodhisattva, Buddha’ < Uyg. *bodisvt*, *bodistv* << Tokh. ~ Sogd. < Skr. *bodhisattva* BT I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, HT III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X; deriv. **bodisi'ud**; Kara 2001: 86; Tömörtogoo 2018: 50.

bodo ‘substance’ < Uyg. *bod* ‘Körper, Gestalt’ BT VII, XIII, Tot., HT IV, VI; ‘stature; a clan’ Clauson 1972: 296b-297a.

bol- ‘to be, become’ < Uyg. *bol-*, OldT *bol-* ‘sein, werden, entstehen’ BT I, II, III etc.; ‘to become’ Clauson 1972: 331a-b.

bulaq ‘spring’ < Uyg. *bulak* ‘Quelle’ BT XXXVII; Clauson 1972: 336a (1); Tömörtogoo 2018: 57.

burqan ‘Buddha’ < Uyg. *burhan* ~ *burqan* < Chin. 佛 *fo* + Uyg. *han* ‘ruler, khan, khaghan’ (K 500 1 *b'juət*; Pull. 100 L. *ffjyt/fhut*, E. *but*) BT I, II, III etc., HT III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, X; deriv. **burqannu'ud**; Kara 2001: 87; Tömörtogoo 2018: 59.

buyan ‘virtue, charity’ < Uyg. *buyan* ‘merit; meritiorious deeds’ < Tokh. ~ Skr. *puṇya* ‘Verdienst’ BT I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII etc., Clauson 1972: 386a-b; deriv. **buyannu'ud**, **buyantan**, **buyantu**; Kara 2001: 87-88; Tömörtogoo 2018: 61.

büttü- ‘to be fulfilled’ < Uyg. *büt-* ‘vollenden, gehingen, erfüllt werden, enden/ to become complete’ BT I, II, III, V etc., Clauson 1972: 298b; Tömörtogoo 2018: 64.

bütün ‘whole, entire, complete’ < Uyg. *bütün* ‘alle, völlig, ganz, volkommen / complete, entire’ < *büt-* ‘to become complete’ +(X)n BT III, V, VII, Tot., HT III, IV, V, VI; Clauson 1972: 306b; OTWF 301, 303; deriv. **bütü'e** ‘to complete, create’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 64.

čerig ‘soldier, troops, army’ < Uyg., OldT *čärig* ‘Heer, Truppe / troops, army’ BT VIII, XIII, BUİ II, InsIduq, HT IV, V, Sitata; Clauson 1972: 428b-429a: *süŋüş bolsar čärig etär ärti* ‘when there was a battle he arranged the troops in battle order’ Küli Čor; s. more about TMEN III § 1079; deriv. *čeri'ü:d*; Tömörtogoo 2018: 339.

čime- ‘to decorate, adorn’ < Uyg. *timä-*), Clauson 1972: 503b, *et- timä-* ‘to prepare’; Kara ø; Clauson has just three entries from the verb stem *timä-* and its derivations: *timä-*, *timäg*, *timän-*. Today we have more examples from *timä-* and its derivations in Old Uyghur; in Old Uyghur Xuanzang Biographie we have *timä-*, in other works there is *tümä-* (rounding through -m-); Mongolian forms go to *timä-* and *timäg*: *timä-* HT V 76, 295, 212, 657, 1965, HT VII 1097; *timän-* HT V 1104; *tümä-* vorbereiten AYS VI 321, Ern. 1; *tümän-* Suv 312.24, 409.4 / AYS IV 2750, AYS VI 113-114; *tümänmäßig* Suv 208.23 / AYS IV 190 (for *et-in- timä-n-* ‘to prepare oneself’ s. OTWF 600, 620);

čimeg ‘decoration, adornment’ < Uyg. *timäg* < *timä-g* -g is a very familiar Turkic deverbal nomen suffix s. OTWF 172 ff., for *timäg* ~ *tümäg* s. OTWF 211 ‘preparation’); Clauson 1972: 506a *timäg¹⁾*; according to Clauson, it is an Hapax legomenia from Uigurica II 40, but now it is no more a Hapax legomenia according to the following examples from different new publications on Uyghur works: *tümäg* ‘Schmuck, Ausstattung’ BT III, VII, Suv 312.23 / AYS IV 2750; *tümäglig* geschmückt BT VII, XIII, HamiZus; in DTS it occurs only under *etig*: *etig tümäg парн.* ‘поледки, украшения’ Suv 312.23 (DTS 187 a-b); about hendiadyoins derived from *et- timä-* in Old Uyghur s. Ölmez 2017: 266²⁾:

etig tümeg “hazırlık, hazırlama, düzenleme” (AbiTK)

etig yaratıq “süs; donanım” (BT IX 31 r 1/2, Schilling)

etiglig tümeglig “hazırlanmış, hazır hale getirilmiş” (AbiTK)

etiglig yaratıqlıq “düzenlenmiş, süslenmiş // 莊嚴 zhuangyan” (ShoRoshia)

etàl- yaratıl- “donatılmak” (AbiTK)

etàt- tümen- “düzenlemek, hazırlanmak” (AYS VI 0113)

In Mongian there are more derivations from *čimeg*: *čimegde-* pass. of *čime-*, *čimegči* ‘decorator’, *čimegle-* ‘to decorate’, *čimegel* ‘decoration’, *čimegtei* ~ *čimegtii*, *čimegiil-*, *čimelge* Lessing 185a-b; Tömörtogoo 2018: 345 чимег.

1) Erdal corrects Clauson’s *timäg* from U II 40 as *tümäg*, indeed it is with *w*, not with *y*; and it is a text from Berlin Turfan collections: Uğur Uzunkaya, (forthcoming), *Eski Uygurca Ārya-arva-durgati-pariśodhana-uṣṇīṣavijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (Metin-Çeviri-Açıklamalar-Dizin).

2) It corresponds in Uyghur texts mostly to Chinese 莊嚴 *zhuangyan*, s. Wogihara 109 b *abhi-vicitrita* (for Saddh-p.); for other terms like *vyūha*, *alaṃkṛta*, *bhūṣita*, *alaṃkāra*, *alaṃkāroti* s. Nakamura vol. I, 717d-718a, Hirakawa 1015b.

dalayi ‘sea; great, great multitude of’ < Uyg./OldT *taloy* < ? ‘Meer, Ozean’ BT I, III, etc.; ‘the sea’ Clauson 1972: 502a; Kara 2001: 91.

dharničid ‘exorcists, magicians’ (*dharni+či+d*) cf. Uyg. *darni* << Skr. *dhāraṇī*; Kara 2001: 113 (*tarni*).

divib ‘continent’ < Uyg. *divip* << Skr. *dvīpa* ‘Kontinent’ BT III, Tot.; Kara 2001: 91.

doyid ‘Buddhist clergy’ < Uyg. *toyn* + Mong. Pl. suffix + *t*; → *toyn*.

ed ‘goods, property’, < Uyg. *äd* ‘Materie, Güter; Substanz, Ware, Habe’ BT II, V, XIII etc.; ‘a manufactured article’ Clauson 1972: 33a; deriv. *edtii* ‘wealthy, rich’; Poppe 1955a: 39; Kara 2001: 91-92; Tömörtogoo 2018: 363.

egil ‘common, ordinary’ < Uyg. *ägil* ‘gewöhnlich, weltlich, Laien, Laie die außerhalb des Klosters seienden’ BT IX, HT V, VII, VIII, IX, X etc.; ‘common, ordinary, lower class (person)’ Clauson 1972: 106a; Kara 2001: 92; Tömörtogoo 2018: 363.

ejen ‘lord, master, ruler’ cf. Uyg./OldT. *idi* ‘Herr’ BT III, V, XIII, HamTouen; ‘master, owner’ Clauson 1972: 41a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 364.

elčin ‘messengers, envoys’ Uyg. *elči* ‘Gesandter, Botschafter’ HamiZus, AYS VII etc.; ‘ambassador, representative of government in foreign countries’ Clauson 1972: 129a; Erdal 1993b; Tömörtogoo 2018: 365.

em ‘medicine’ < Uyg. *äm* ‘Heilmittel’ BT II, IX, XIII, HT X, VII, IX, IV, XIX etc.; ‘remedy’ Clauson 1972: 155a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 366 (1).

erdem ‘learning, knowledge, virtue’, Uyg. *ärdäm* ‘Tugend, Vortrefflichkeit, Verdiens’ BT II, III, V, VIII, IX, Tot. etc.; ‘goodness, virtue, good qualities’ Clauson 1972: 206b < *är+däm* OTWF 68; deriv. *erdemtii* ‘learned, educated’; Kara 2001: 92; Tömörtogoo 2018: 368.

erdini ‘jewel’ < Uyg. *ärtini* << Skr. *ratna* ‘Kostbarkeit, Juwel, Kleinod’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot. etc.; ‘jewel, precious (object)’ Clauson 1972: 212a; Poppe 1955a: 39; Kara 2001: 92; Tömörtogoo 2018: 368.

esen ‘safely, healthy’ < Uyg. *äsän* ‘gesund, friedlich, wohlbehalten, ruhig’ BT III, V, IX, XIII, XXXVII etc.; ‘in good health, sound, safe’ Clauson 1972: 248a; Kara 2001: 92; Tömörtogoo 2018: 370.

galb ‘age, mythological period’ cf. Uyg. *k(a)lp* << Skr. *kalpa* ‘Weltalter, Weltzeitaltern, Zeitalter’ BT I, II, III, IX, XIII, HamTouen (*kelp*); deriv. *galbud* ‘era, epoch’; Kara 2001: 93; Tömörtogoo 2018: 71.

garudi ‘Garuda, the king of birds’ < Uyg. *garudi* << Skr. *garuḍa* ‘ein mythischer Vogel’ BT III, Hami XIV, AYS V; Kara 2001: 94; Tömörtogoo 2018: 72.

jalbari- ‘to pray’ < Uyg. *yalbar-* / *yalvar-* ‘flehen, anflehen’ BT VII, VIII, IX, XIII; ‘to beg,

beseech, pray' Clauson 1972: 920b; Kara 2001: 95; Tömörtogoo 2018: 172.

jarlıq 'edict' < Uyg. *yarlıq* 'Befehl, Ausspruch, Wort, Predigt, Lehre' BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; 'a command from a superior to an inferior' Clauson 1972: 966b; deriv. *jarliqtan* '(pl.) those possessing an edict', *jarliqtu* 'having an edict', *jarli'u:d* '(pl.) edicts'; Poppe 1955a: 39; Tömörtogoo 2018: 125-126.

jarqu 'lawsuit' < Uyg. *yargu* 'richterliche Entscheidung' SUK (cf. *yarguči* 'juge, bourgmestre' InsIduq); 'a legal tribunal' Clauson 1972: 963b.

ja'a:n 'elephant' < Uyg. *yanya / yanşa / yay* 'Elefant' << cf. Chin. 象 *xiang* BT V, VII, IX, XIII, XXIII, Tot., AYS V; 'elephant' Clauson 1972: 943b; Kara 2001: 95.

jemиш 'fruit' < Uyg. *yemis* 'Speise, Obst, Frucht' BT V, IX, XIII, HamTouen; 'fruit' Clauson 1972: 938b; Kara 2001: 96; Tömörtogoo 2018: 116.

jil 'year' < Uyg. *yil* 'Jahr' BT II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; 'year' Clauson 1972: 917a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 115.

jori- 'to strive', **joriq** 'striving, endeavor' < cf. Uyg. *yorik* < *yori-k* 'movement, conduct, behaviour' Clauson 1972: 963a-b; OTWF 173, 257 < *yori-* 'to walk, to march', Uyg. *yori-* 'gehen, wandeln, herrschen, schreiten, herumlaufen, hinfahren, leben; modales Hilfsverb' BT II, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; 'to walk, march, to go' Clauson 1972: 957a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 128.

žula 'lamp' < Uyg. *yula* 'Fackel, Licht, Lampe, Öllampe, Öllicht' BT I, II, VII, IX, XIII, XXIII, Tot., HT X, Ern. 2, AYS IV; 'torch, lamp' Clauson 1972: 919a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 131.

kebid 'shops' < Uyg. *kebit* '店 *dian*' ShogaitoAbhidharma: *kedin käbitlig vastu* 店事 *dianshi* line 4252, p. 448-449; it was attested in DLT, KB and Khwarezmian Turkic: *kebit* 'a shop (*al-hāmūt*)', for details s. Clauson 1972: 688a; Poppe 1955a: 39; Kara 2001: 97; Tömörtogoo 2018: 148.

kereg 'affair, act, deed' < Uyg. *kärgäk*, *k(ä)rg(ä)k* 'notwendig, nötig' BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; 'necessity, necessary' Clauson 1972: 742a; deriv. **keregle-** 'to need', 'those in need', **keregü:d** '(pl.) deeds, affairs'; 'to need' Clauson 1972: 744b; Kara 2001: 97; Tömörtogoo 2018: 327.

ki- 'to do, make' cf. CT *kil-* 'to do, to make'; OldT. *kil-*, Uyg. *kil-* Clauson 1972: 616a.

kölgen 'vehicle' < Uyg. *köl-iik* 'vehicle' (< 'something harnessed; a baggage animal') Clauson 1972: 717b, OTWF 238-239 < *köl-* 'to harness' Clauson 1972: 715b; Mongolian form must be from Uyg. *kölök* ~ *kölük* and Mong. +*e(n)*; cf. Uyg. *kölüngü* 'Fahrzeug (乘 = Skr. *yāna*); Reittier', *ulug kölöök taišeŋ* 大乘 = *mahāyāna* BT I, II, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., AYS IV; *kölüngü* 'something harnessed; vehicle' Clauson 1972: 719b; Tömörtogoo

2018: 306.

körg ‘image’ < Uyg. *körk* ‘Gestalt, Aussehen, Äußeres, Gestalt’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; ‘something visible, shape, form; something worth seeing, beauty’ Clauson 1972: 741a; deriv. **körgü:d** ‘(pl.) images’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 308.

küčü see *küčün*, *küčüde-* ‘to act by force’, *küčün* ‘force, power, strength’ < Uyg. *küč* ‘Geschäft; Kraft, Macht; Gewalt; Arbeit, Auftrag; Beschäftigung’ BT II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc.; ‘strength’ Clauson 1972: 693a; Kara 2001: 99; Tömörtogoo 2018: 323.

küse- ‘to wish, desire’ < Uyg. *küsä-* ‘wünschen’ BT I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, HT X; ‘to wish, desire, long for’ Clauson 1972: 749a; deriv. *küsegčin* ‘those desiring’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 321-322.

lenqua ‘lotus’ < Uyg. *lenhua* < Chin. 莲花 *lian hua* ‘Lotos, Lotosblume’ (K 213d *liän*; Pull. 190 L. *lian*, E. *lən*; K 44a *ywa*; Pull. 128 L. *xhwa'*, E. *ywai/Ywε'*) BT I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc; Kara 2001: 100; Tömörtogoo 2018: 151.

lu ‘dragon’ < Uyg. *luo* < Chin. 龍 *long* ‘Drache, Schlange’ (K 1193a *liung* / *liwong*; Pull. 198 L. *lywŋ*, E. *luawŋ*) BT II, III, IX, XIII, HT X, etc.; ‘dragon’ Clauson 1972: 763a; Kara 2001: 100; Tömörtogoo 2018: 152.

mandalnu'u:d ‘(pl.) circular metallic representation of the universe as conceived in Buddhist cosmography’ < Uyg. *mandal* + Mong. *+nu'u:d*, cf. Uyg. *mandal* << Skr. *māṇḍala* ‘Kreis, Zaubergehege, Rad’ BT III, VII, VIII, XIII, XX, XXIII, Tot., AYS IV, V; Kara 2001: 100; cf. Tömörtogoo 2018: 157 (*мандал*).

maqarajanu'u:d < **maqaraja+nu'u:d** for **maqaraja** cf. Uyg. *maharač*, *maharaac* << Skr. *mahārāja*; Kara 2001: 101; Tömörtogoo 2018: 160.

minqan ‘thousand’ < Uyg. *miŋ* ‘tausend’ BT I, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc.; *biŋ* ‘a thousand’ Clauson 1972: 346b; deriv. **minqad** ‘(pl.) thousands’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 162.

mona ‘this, the same one’ Cf. Uyg. *muna* ‘nun sieh!, siehe, da’ BT IX, XIII, BUi II.

mönke ‘Eternal’ < Uyg. *mäŋgiü* / *mäŋyü* ~ OldT. *bäŋgiü* ‘Ewig; Ewigkeit / eternal, everlasting’ BT I, IX, HT X, AYS X; Clauson 1972: 350a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 165-166.

munqa'u:d ‘(pl.) stupid men’ < Uyg. *muŋ* ‘Not, Kummer’ BT V, IX, XIII, HamKP, InsIduq; *buŋ* ‘grief, sorrow, melancholy’ Clauson 1972: 347a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 167 (*мұнхаң*).

nirvan ‘nirvana, the final goal of Buddha’ < Uyg. *nirvan* ~ Sogd. << Skr. *nirvāṇa* ‘Zustand des Ausgelöschtseins’ BT I, II, III, VII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc; Kara 2001: 103; Tömörtogoo 2018: 179.

nom ‘creed, doctrine’ < Uyg. *nom* < Sogd. *nom* ‘Gesetz, Lehre, Sūtra, Buch, etc.’ BT I, II,

III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc.; ‘law, doctrine’ Clauson 1972: 777a; Mong. *nom-un beye* ‘dharmakaya’, *nomla-* ‘to preach’, cf. Uyg. *nomla-* ‘id.’; Kara 2001: 103-104; Tömörtogoo 2018: 181.

ono- ‘to be right, comprehend’ cf. Uyg. *una-* ‘agréer, troubler bon’ InsIduq; ‘to be pleased, satisfied; to agree to do something’ Clauson 1972: 171b.

oran ‘place’ ~ **orон** < Uyg. *orun* ‘Ort, Sitz, Platz’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., etc.; *orun (orон)* ‘place; high place, throne’ Clauson 1972: 233a.

osolda- ‘to be negligent, have an accident’ < Uyg. *osol* and Mong. +*da-* < Uyg. *osol* ~ *osal* ‘nachlässig, unvorsichtig’ BT III, XIII; *osal* ‘negligent, idle; negligence, idleness’ Clauson 1972: 247a; about +*da-* s. Grønbech & Kruger § 53; Tömörtogoo 2018: 197, cf. also p. 196 *осол*.

önge düri ‘form, appearance’, for *öŋ* cf. Uyg. *öŋ* ‘colour; (Skr. *rūpa*) material form *öŋ körk*’ Clauson 1972: 167b-168a; cf. Uyg. *öŋ kirtiš* (*kirtiš* ‘the surface’) Clauson 1972: 649a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 203-204 (θηρε).

öngele- ‘to polish, paint, colour’ < Uyg. *öŋlä-* ‘färben’ BT XIII; *öŋ* ‘colour’ Clauson 1972: 167b; *öŋlän-* ‘to be coloured, to recover one’s colour’ Clauson 1972: 186a.

qamuq ‘all, whole, entire’ cf. Uyg. *kamag (kamig)* ‘alles, gesamt’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; *kamag* ‘all’ Clauson 1972: 627a; *kamug* (DLT, KB); Tömörtogoo 2018: 288.

quriya:- ‘to collect, gather, assemble’ < Uyg. *kuvra-* ‘zusammenkommen, sich versammeln’ BT IX, HamiZus; ‘to come together, assemble’ Clauson 1972: 586a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 314 (*xypaa-*).

qutuq ‘happiness’ < OldT, Uyg. *kut* ‘Geist; Wunsch, Gelübde; Segen; Würde, Majestät; Glück, etc.’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc.; *kutlug* ‘gesegnet, würdig, glücklich; majestatisch; Glücklicher’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc.; *kut* ‘the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness’ Clauson 1972: 594a; deriv. *qutuqtan* ‘saints, holy ones’, *qutuqtayi* ‘saint, holy, sacred’, *qutuqtu* ‘saint, holy’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 316.

sang ‘treasure’ cf. Uyg. *tsaŋ, saŋ* < Chin. 藏 *zang* (K 727 g' dz'āŋ; Pull. 392 L. *tsʃaŋ*), E. *dzanjh*; Pull. 45 *cáng* L. *tsʃaŋ*, E. *dzaŋ* or 倉 *cang*) ‘Speicher’ Ern. 1-2; ‘granary, treasury’ Clauson 1972: 555b; Kara 2001: 106-107; Tömörtogoo 2018: 221 (*caŋ* II).

sansar ‘cosmos, outer space’ cf. Uyg. *sansar* << Skr. *samsāra* ‘Kreislauf der Existenzien, Daseinskreislauf’ BT I, II, III, VII, IX, XIII, Tot., etc; Kara 2001: 107; Tömörtogoo 2018: 222.

suburgan ‘stupa’ < Uyg. *suburgan* < Sogd. *zmry-an* < Arm. *gerezman* (all are according to §.

Tekin BT IX-1, p. 37,5. II) ‘Hölle, Friedhof’ BT IX, HamiZus., TT VI; deriv. *suburgad* ‘(pl.) stupas’; Kara 2001: 107; Tömörtogoo 2018: 230.

sudur ‘sūtra’ < Uyg. *sudur* << Skr. *sūtra* ‘Lehrschrift, kanonische Lehrschrift etc.’ BT I, II, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., etc.; deriv. *sudurnu'u:d* ‘(pl.) sūtras’; Kara 2001: 107; Tömörtogoo 2018: 231.

śakemuni ‘the name of the Buddha’ < Uyg. *śakimuni* << Skr. *śākyamuni* ‘Familienname des historischen Buddha’ BT II, III, VIII, IX, AYS V; Tömörtogoo 2018: 349.

śasin ‘religion’ < Uyg. *śazin*, *śazan*, *śazaan* << Skr. *śāsana* ‘Diziplin, Lehre’ BT III, VII, IX, XIII, etc; Kara 2001: 110; Tömörtogoo 2018: 352.

śarir ‘relics’ < Uyg. *ś(a)rīr*, *śirir* << Skr. *śarīra* ‘Reliquie’ BT IX, HamiZus; deriv. *śarirnu'u:d* ‘(pl.) relics’.

śastir ‘tracts’ < Uyg. *śastar*, *śastir*, *śasatar* << Skr. *śāstra* ‘Kommentartext, Traktat, dogmatischer Text’ BT II, VIII, IX, XIII, etc; Kara 2001: 110; Tömörtogoo 2018: 351.

śilta- ‘to employ subterfuge’ < late Uyghur *tilda-* ~ *tilta-* ‘to make excuses, to seek pretexts’ Clauson 1972: 494b (cf. Uyg. *tiltag* ‘Ursache, Grund / cause, reason’ BT I, II, III, VIII, IX, XIII, Clauson 1972: 494a).

śinqor ‘falcon’ < Uyg. *siŋqur* Falke Lob, HamTouen; *siŋkur* ‘the gerfalcon’ Clauson 1972: 383a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 357.

śirge ‘vinegar made from wine’ < Uyg. *sirkä* ‘Essig’ BT V; ‘vinegar’ Clauson 1972: 850b; Poppe 1955a: 41; Kara 2001: 111; Tömörtogoo 2018: 356.

tabar ‘goods’ < OldT., Uyg. *tavar* ‘Habe, Besitztum, Besitz, Ware Hab und Gut etc.’ BT I, II, III, V, VIII, IX, XIII, etc.; *tavar* ‘livestock’, *äd tavar* ‘movable property and livestock’ Clauson 1972: 33a-b; Kara 2001: 91-92 (under *ed*); Tömörtogoo 2018: 241-242.

takiya: ‘hen, chicken’ < OldT., Uyg. *takigu* ‘Huhn’ BT VII, IX; *takigu* ‘a domestic fowl’ Clauson 1972: 468b; Tömörtogoo 2018: 248.

talayi → *dalayi*

tamga ‘commercial tax’ < Uyg. *tamga* ‘Siegel, Mudrā’ BT IX, XIII, XX, etc.; *tamǵa* ‘brand’ Clauson 1972: 504b; deriv. *tamgatan* ‘one who having a seal’; Kara 2001: 112; Tömörtogoo 2018: 245.

tajsuq ‘marvellous’ < Uyg. *tajsuk* ‘wunderbar’ BT XIII, BUi II; *tajsuk* ‘wonderful, marvellous, precious, rare’ Clauson 1972: 525b-526a; Kara 2001: 113; Tömörtogoo 2018: 246.

tariya:n tosun ‘crops’ < Uyg. *tarig* ‘Gewächs, Getreide, Saat, Rispenhirse’ BT VIII, IX, XIII, Ern 2; ‘cultivated land; the produce of cultivated land’ Clauson 1972: 537b-538a;

Tömörtogoo 2018: 246.

tegimlig → *ayaqa tegimlig* < Uyg. *tägimlig* ‘würdig, wert’ BT I, II, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, HT X; *tägimlig* ‘worthy, deserving; worthy of respect’ Clauson 1972: 482b, 483a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 260.

tegirmed ‘(pl.) mills’ cf. Uyg. *tägirmän* ‘Mühle’ BT IX, Ern. 1-2; ‘a rotary mill’ Clauson 1972: 486b-487a; Poppe 1955a: 41; Kara 2001: 113; Tömörtogoo 2018: 264.

tered ‘(pl.) carriages, vehicles’ cf. Uyg. *tilgän* ‘Rad, Kreis, Scheibe’ BT II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; *tilgän* ‘wheel, disc’ Clauson 1972: 499a; Tömörtogoo 2018: 263 (*тәрәз*).

tidem ‘title; crown, diadem’ < Uyg. *didim* ‘Diadem, Krone’ << Sogd. *δυδυμ* << Gr. *διάδημα* BT VII, IX, XIII, Tot., etc.; ‘crown’ Clauson 1972: 456b; Kara 2001: 114; Tömörtogoo 2018: 250 (*mumum*).

toyin see *doyin*, **toyid** → *doyid* < Uyg. *toym* ‘Mönch’ < Chin. 道人 *daoren* (道 K 1048a *d’āu*:; Pull. 73 L. *thaw*, E. *daw*/*dawh*; 人 K 388a *nžiěn*; Pull. 266 L. *rin*, E. *rin*) BT II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X, etc.; ‘(Buddhist) monk’ Clauson 1972: 569a-b; Poppe 1955a: 41; Kara 2001: 114; Tömörtogoo 2018: 251.

töböd ‘Tibet’ cf. OldT. *töpüt* ‘Tibet’ Kül Tegin (South 3, East 4, North 12), Bilge Kagan (North 3, East 5); Uyg. *töpüt tili* / *töpütčä* ‘Tibetisch’ BT XXVI; Tömörtogoo 2018: 253.

törö- ‘come to be’ < OldT, Uyg. *törö-* ‘entstehen’ BT I, II, VIII, XIII, Tot; ‘to come into existence, to be created’ Clauson 1972: 533a; deriv. *töröl* ‘rebirth’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 254-255.

tusa ‘profit, benefit, favour, assistance’ < Uyg. *tuso* ‘Nutzen, Vorteil, Hilfe’ BT I, II, III, V, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot; ‘benefit, advantage’ Clauson 1972: 554 b-555 a (used mainly together *asig* as binomen: *asig tuso*).

ulus ‘state, dynasty, government; people’ < OldT, Uyg. *uluš* ‘Reich, Land, Bereich, Stadt, Haupstadt’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., etc.; ‘country’ Clauson 1972: 152b-153a; Kara 2001: 116; Tömörtogoo 2018: 269.

uqa- ‘to dig, understand, learn of’ < Uyg. *uk-* ‘verstehen, begreifen, erkennen; einsehen’ BT I, II, III, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., HT X; ‘to understand sth.; to find out; to hear’ Clauson 1972: 77b-78a; deriv. *uqa’uł-* ‘to explain, make under stand, agitate’, *uqa’a:tan* ‘learned people, a man of great intellect’; Tömörtogoo 2018: 273.

uruq ‘relative; pedigree, lineage, descent’ < Uyg. *urug* ‘Samen, Same, Saat, Nachkommen’ BT VII, IX, XIII, Ern. 2, etc.; ‘progeny, descendants; clan’ Clauson 1972: 214b-215a; deriv. *uruqu:d* ‘(pl.) seeds’; Poppe 1955a: 42; Tömörtogoo 2018: 271.

vačirabani ‘the name of the yakṣa’ <. Uyg. *vacirapani* << Skr. *vajrapāṇi* ‘einen Vajra in der Hand habend’ BT VIII, XIII, XXVIII, Tot., KuP.

viyangirid ‘prophecy’ < Uyg. *viyakrit*, *viraykit* ‘Prophezeiung’ BT 3, 8, 9, Lob, HamiZus, ShogaitoAbhidharma, Suv 394.1; cf. Uyg. *viyakrit* in *viyakritlig* TorSt. (Multi language Inscription from Beijing Chinese, Mongolian, Uyghur); Kara 2001: 118.

yirtinčü ‘universe, world’ < Uyg. *yirtinčü* / *yertinčü* ‘Welt, Erde’ BT I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, Tot., etc.; ‘the world’ Clauson 1972: 961b; Poppe 1955a: 39 (under *ertijčü*); Kara 2001: 118; Tömörtogoo 2018: 110.

yoŋqor ‘falcon’ → *šinqor* ?

yorči- ‘to go to and fro, travel’ cf. Uyg. *yori-* ‘gehen, wandeln’ BT II, V, VII, VIII, IX, etc.; ‘to walk, march’ Clauson 1972: 957 a and *yorit-* ‘to make march, to make walk’ Clauson 1972: 960b-961a; Kara 2001: 118; Tömörtogoo 2018: 129.

Abbreviations and Literature

AYS IV → Tokyürek 2018

AYS VI → Ayazlı 2012

AYS VII → Çetin 2012

AYS X → Gulcalı (forthcoming 2019)

BT I → Hazai & Zieme 1971

BT II → Röhrborn 1971

BT III → Tezcan 1974

BT V → Zieme 1975a

BT VII → Kara und Zieme 1976

BT VIII → Kara und Zieme 1977

BT XIII → Zieme 1985

BT IX → Tekin 1980a

BT XXVI → Kasai 2008

BT XXXVII → Wilkens 2016

BUi II → Tekin 1980b

CT: Common Turkic

DLT: Dīwān lugāt at-Turk (→ Clauson 1972:)

DTS → Nadelyayev, V. M. et alii

Ern. 1 → Zieme 1975b

Ern. 2 → Molnár & Zieme

Hami XIV → Geng & Klimkeit & Laut
HamiZus → Geng & Klimkeit 1988
HamKP → Hamilton 1971
HamTouen → Hamilton 1986
HT III → Ölmez & Röhrborn
HT IV → Toalster 1977
HT V → Dietz 2015
HT IX → Aydemir
HT VII → Röhrborn 1991
HT X → Mirsultan
InsIduq → Geng & Hamilton
Ir.: Iranian
K → Karlgren
KB Kutadgu Bilig
KuP → Devrez (forthcoming)
OldT: Old Turkic
OTWF → Erdal 1991
Per.: Persian
PoppeComp → Poppe 1955b
Pull. → Pulleyblank
ShogaitoAbhidharma → Shogaito 2008
Sitata → Röhrborn & Róna-Tas 2005
Skr.: Sanskrit
SUK → Yamada 1993
Suv → Kaya 1994
TMEN I-IV → Doerfer 1963~1975
Tot. → Zieme & Kara

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