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SOME REMARKS ON TURKIC ELEMENTS OF MONGOLIC ORIGIN IN YENISEIAN*

Abstract. The paper presents some phonetic, morphological and semantic considerations, which characterize the Turkic elements of Mongolic origin in the Yeniseian languages. There are some criteria, which help to distinguish direct and indirect Mongolic loanwords.

Keywords: etymology, borrowing, Turkic, Mongolic, Yeniseian

The Yeniseian languages belong in the Paleo-Siberian language group, which also includes the Yukaghiric, Kamchukotic, Amuric and Ainuic languages. This term is conventionally used in linguistics to classify a group of languages spoken in different parts of north-eastern Siberia and some parts of the Russian Far East. The languages of this group are not known to have any genetic linguistic relationship to each other. There have been attempts to connect the Yeniseian languages with the Sino-Tibetan, Karasuk and Caucasian language families¹. The earliest sources of Yeniseian languages are quite late². The lack of early written sources of Yeniseian is the reason why such an important role must be played by the different loanwords from Altaic, Russian or Uralic in the reconstruction of the earlier stages of the history of the Yeniseian languages.

The topic of my current research is the Altaic elements in the Yeniseian languages. My etymological observations on the Yeniseian lexicon revealed several

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¹ In 2010, Vajda presented hypothesis that the Yeniseian languages display genealogical connections with the Na-Dené languages of North America (Vajda 2010). His results are still debated by several linguists, and this question remains open.

² The first short lists of Yeniseian words and phrases were compiled at the end of the 17th and in the 18th century by European travelers such as Witsen (1692), Messerschmidt (1720–1727) and Strahlenberg (1730) (for details, see: Werner 2005: 6–13).

words of Mongolic origin, but which also show peculiarities of Siberian Turkic. The paper will discuss the criteria which help to distinguish direct and indirect Mongolic elements in Yeniseian.

Research on the different loanwords in Yeniseian is very sparse, and the topic has not been investigated adequately³. Even fewer works are available that deal with Altaic elements in Yeniseian. Turkic elements were examined in the papers by Timonina (1986; 2004) and Stachowski (1996; 1997)⁴. Mongolic and Tungusic loanwords were never discussed. The existence of Altaic loanwords in Yeniseian can be explained by geographical, historical and cultural factors. The territory along the Yenisei that was inhabited by Yeniseian people was bordered in the east by the lands of the Tungusic Evenki people and in the west by those of the Samoyedic and Turkic peoples.

The main source of my research was the Comparative Dictionary of Yeniseian languages by Werner (2002), which contains all of the lexical material published on the Yeniseian languages to date. Another source was the Yeniseian Etymological Dictionary by Vajda and Werner, which is in a preparatory stage (Vajda & Werner: in preparation)⁵.

Mongolic loanwords in Yeniseian

Mongolic loanwords in Yeniseian comprise three groups. Two of the groups contain loanwords mediated by Turkic and Tungusic languages. The third group is the smallest and most uncertain group: there are insufficient criteria to allow an assumption of a direct influence on Yeniseian of Mongolic.

Turkic elements of Mongolic origin in Yeniseian

Of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. It seems that two layers may be distinguished: Yenisey Turkic⁶ and

³ This might be explained by the highly complicated grammatical features in Yeniseian, which are absent in Altaic and Uralic languages (Georg 2008). For example, there is a class division between masculine animate, feminine animate, and inanimate or neuter. There is a highly elaborated verbal morphology (e.g. see: Vajda & Zinn 2004; Georg 2007). One of the important distinguishing features is the existence of four monosyllabic tones (Vajda 2000) and the absence of vowel harmony.

⁴ The Turkic loanwords of Persian (2006a) and Arabic (2006b) origin were also discussed by Stachowski.

⁵ Some data were also checked in another monograph by Werner (2005) and a paper by Helimski (1986).

⁶ Yenisey Turkic includes the Khakas language with its dialects Sagai, Koibal, Kachin, Kyzyl and Shor.

Altay Turkic⁷. Rare similarities may be observed with Sayan Turkic, Chulym and Yakut languages.

There are Mongolic loanwords in Yeniseian, which exhibit linguistic criteria peculiar to loanwords borrowed via Turkic and not directly from Mongolic languages. They display characteristics of Turkic, and are typical only of the Siberian Turkic languages.

Phonetic considerations

1. Kott *baktîr*- ‘to praise’ (Werner 1: 99) ← Turkic⁸ **paktîr*- < *pakta-Xr*- {Turkic VV Causat.}: YeniseyT: Khakas *maxta*- ‘xvalit’, *poščrjat’ kogo-libo*’ (KhR); Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *maqta*- ‘loben, preisen’ (R); Kyzyl *maxta*- ‘loben, preisen, rühnen’ (Joki); Shor *paqta*- ~ *maqta*- ‘preisen, loben’ (R); AltayT: Altay *makta*- ‘xvalit’, *slavit*, *proslavljat’*” (OirR); Qumanda *makta*- ~ *pakta*- ‘kričat’, *xvalit*, *slavit*” (B.); Quu *makta*- ‘xvalit’” (B.); Teleut *maqta*- ‘loben, preisen’ (R); SayanT: Tuvan *makta*- ‘xvalit’, *odobrjat’*”; Tofan *maqta*- ‘xvalit’, *odobrjat’*”; ChulymT *maqta*- ‘loben, preisen’ (R); Yakut *maxtay*-⁹ ‘*slavit*, *proslavljat*’, *vozdavat’ počtenie, xvalit*” (Pek.) ← Mongolic **mayta*-: Precl. Mo. *mayta*-; Muq.; HY *maqta*-; LM *mayta*- ‘to praise, eulogize, laud, extol, glorify’ (L); Khalkha; Buryat *magta*-; Oirat *maktä*-;

From a phonetic aspect, the Kott verb *baktîr*- ‘to praise’ is a loanword from the Kumandy dialect of the Altay Turkic group or the Shor variety of Yenisey Turkic, where the original Mongolic initial *m*- changed to *p*-. As an example, Mongolic *mayta*- changed to *paqta*-. Moreover, in Kott it was voiced to *bakta*-. Further evidence of Turkic borrowing is the Turkic causative suffix *-Xr*-.

2. Kott *kolá* ‘copper, brass’ (Werner 1: 438): ← Turkic **kola*: cf. YeniseyT: Khakas *xola* ‘bronza, želtaja med’” (KhR); Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *qola* ‘das Messing’ (R); AltayT: Altay *kolo* ‘bronza, olovo’ (OirR); Qumanda *kola* ‘med’ želtaja’ (B.); Quu *koli* ‘želtaja med’” (B.); Teleut *qūli* ‘das Messing’ (R); SayanT: Tuvan *xola* ‘med’, želtaja med’, *latun*”; Tofan *qūl’i* ‘*latun*”; ChulymT

⁷ The Altay Turkic group divides into the northern and southern subgroups. The Qumanda, Quu and Tuba kiži dialects belong in the northern subgroup, while Literary Altay or Oyrot belongs in the southern subgroup.

⁸ Turkic → Samoyedic: cf. Kamas *makta*- ‘sich rühnen, prahlen, grosssprechen, flunkern’ (Joki LS 223).

⁹ < **mağta-y*- [additional final sound in Yakut verbs], cf. Old Turkic *ačī*- ‘to be bitter’ ~ Yakut *ahiy*-, Old Turkic *isi*- ‘to be hot’ ~ Yakut *itiy*-, Old Turkic *udī*- ‘to sleep’ ~ Yakut *utuy*-.

gola ‘das Messing’ (R); Yakut – ← Mongolic¹⁰ **gūli*: cf. LM *γauli* ~ *γuuli* ‘brass, copper’ (L); Buryat *gūli(n)* ‘bronza, latun’, želtaja med’; Khalkha *gūl* ‘brass’; Kalmuck *gūlʹ* ‘eine kleine Kasserolle, ein kleiner Kessel (gew. von Kupfer od. Messing)’;

The second example is the Kott word *kolá* ‘copper, brass’, also borrowed from Turkic languages, but the phonetic shapes of the Yenisey and Altay Turkic data do not facilitate identification of the exact source of borrowing. Borrowing from Turkic and not directly from Mongolic languages is indicated by the initial voiceless consonant *k-* in the form *kola* instead of the Mongolic *gūli*.

3. Kott *šašin* ‘paper’ (Werner 2: 437): ← Turkic¹¹ **sazīn*: YeniseyT: Khakas *čazīn* ~ *čajīn* ‘bumaga; bumažnyj’ (KhR), cf. *sazīn* (But.); Sagai, Koibal *sazīn*; Sagai, Beltir *čāčīn* ‘das Papier’ (R); AltayT: Altay *čazīn* ‘bumaga, žensk. den’gi’ (OirR); Qumanda *čazīn* ‘bumaga, kreditnyj bilet’ (B.); Quu *čazīn* ‘bumaga’ (B); SayanT: Tuvan *sāzīn* ‘bumaga’; Tofan *sāzīn* ‘bumaga, dokument; spisok; pis’mo’; ChulyumT –; Yakut *jārsīn* ~ *nārsīn* ‘tonkij, nežnyj, a potomu prozračnyj, prosvečivajuščij (cf. *jārsīn kumāgi* ‘voobšče nežnaja bumaga v rode papirosnoj’); kniga’ (Pek.) ← Mongolic **čāsun* < **čayarsun*¹² < **ča*¹³ ‘white’+*GAn+r-sUn* {Mongolic NN, NV, VN, see Khabtagaeva 2001: 115}; cf. Precl.Mo. *čayasun*; MNT; HY *ča’alsun*; Muq. *čālsun*; LM *čayasu(n)* ~ *čayalsu(n)* ~ *čayarsu(n)* ‘paper’ (L); Buryat *sārha(n)* ‘bumaga; pis’mennyj dokument; denežnyj znak; bumažnyj; *peren.* kanceljarskij; *peren.* nereal’nyj’; Khalkha *cās(an)* ‘bumaga; *razg. peren.* bumažnye den’gi; bumažnyj’; Kalmuck *tsāsn* ‘Papier’;

The Kott word *šašin* ‘paper’ originates from the Mongolic *čayasu(n)*, but shows a Turkic mediation. The Turkic borrowing is proved by the shortness of the Mongolic long vowel *ā* and the intervocalic consonant *VjV*, which changed to *VšV* in the Kott form. Here again the exact Turkic source is not known, because the Yenisey and Altay Turkic groups have similar forms *čazīn* ~ *čazīn*.

4. Kott *arai* ‘hardly, with’ (Werner 1: 57): ← Turkic **aray*¹⁴: YeniseyT: Khakas *aray* ‘medlenno, tixo; s trudom, jedva’; Sagai, Koibal *aray* ‘langsam, bedächtigt,

¹⁰ Mongolic → Tungusic: Evenki dial. *gōli* ‘med’ želtaja, latun’ (SSTMJa 1: 159b).

¹¹ Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *sāzīn* ~ *sāzen* ~ *sazīn* ‘Papier, Rubel’ (Joki LS 262).

¹² The reconstruction is of Poppe (1954: 241).

¹³ The ‘dead’ base of the Mongolic word is the form **ča*, cf. LM *čayi-* (< **ča+yi-*) ‘to be[come] white, turn pale; to turn grey (*of hair*); to dawn, grow light’; LM *časun* (< **ča+sUn*) ‘snow’; LM *čayan* (< **ča+GAn*) ‘white’ (Khabtagaeva 2001: 130).

¹⁴ Turkic → Samoyedic: Selkup *arej* ‘jele-jele, jedva’ (Filipova 1994: 46).

sanft, mit Mühe, kaum' (R); Kyzyl *ārīy* 'kaum, mit Mühe' (Joki); AltayT: Altay *aray* 'jele-jele, jedva; tixij, medlennyj; tixo, medlenno, ostorožno, postepenno' (OirR); Tuba *aray* 'jele-jele; tixon'ko' (B.); Qumanda *aray* 'nemnogo, tixo, jedva' (B.); Quu *ariy* 'tixo, medlenno, tixon'ko, s trudom, jedva' (B); Teleut *aray* 'langsam, bedächtig, sanft, mit Mühe, kaum' (R); SayanT: Tuvan *aray* 'slegka, čut'-čut', nemnožko'; Tofan *aray* 'jedva, jele-jele, koe-kak'; Yakut *ari:y* 'jedva, čut'; Dolgan *aray* 'nur, lediglich'; Siberian Tatar *aray* 'langsam, bedächtig, sanft, mit Mühe, kaum' (R) ← Mongolic **arai*¹⁵: cf. LM *arai* 'just a little too...; not quite...; hardly, scarcely, barely, with difficulty' (L); Buryat *arai* 'jedva, jele, s trudom, koe-kak, počti, čut', neskol'ko, nemnogo, požaluj, razve čto'; Khalkha *arai* 'rather, somewhat, a bit'; Oyrat dial. *ārā* 'jedva, jele, koe-kak, čut', počti, nemnogo' ← Turkic **ār+Ai* {Mongolic NN, see Ramstedt 1957: 182–183}; cf. Old Turkic *āz* 'few, scanty, a little' (Cl. 277a); YeniseyT: Khakas *as* 'malo, nemnogo, nebol'soe količestvo' (KhR); AltayT: Altay *as* 'malo'; SayanT: Tuvan *as* 'nemnogo, čut'-čut';

The Mongolic word *arai* is present in all Siberian Turkic languages. The word belongs in the group of Turkic reborrowings, for etymologically the Mongolic word is of Turkic origin. The Old Turkic form is *āz*, with an original long vowel, and in Mongolic it shows a rotacized form. The Kott form is obviously a Turkic loanword.

5. Kott *bača* 'brother-in-law (*sister's husband*)', cf. Arin *bi-b'ača* {Yeniseian Poss. *bi-* 'my'} 'my brother-in-law' (Werner 1: 97): ← Turkic **baja*: YeniseyT: Khakas *paža* 'svojak' (KhR); Kyzyl *paža* 'der Mann der Schwester' (R); AltayT: Altay *bad'a* 'svojak, muž sestry ženy; ženy brat'jev; snošennicy' (OirR); SayanT: Tuvan *baža* 'svojak (*muž sestry ženy*)'; Tofan *baža* 'svojak'; ChulymT –; Yakut *bad'a* '*ust. žena mladšego deverja; žena plemjannika muža*'; Siberian Tatar *pača* ~ *paca* 'svojak, brat ženy' (R, Tum.); ← Mongolic¹⁶: cf. LM *baja* 'husbands of sisters; term used by husbands of sisters in referring to each other' (L); Buryat *baza* 'svojak'; Khalkha *badz* 'brothers-in-law, husbands of sisters'; Kalmuck *baz^a* 'Schwager';

The Kott word *bača* 'sister's husband' was probably borrowed from the Yenisey Turkic, which presumes the early Khakas reconstructed form **baja*. The Arin form *bi-b'ača* noted in Yeniseian sources has a Yeniseian possessive prefix.

¹⁵ Mongolic → Tungusic: Evenki *arai* 'jedva, čut'; kak tol'ko, vdrug; medlenno, postepenno, nemnogo' (see: SSTMJ 1: 48a).

¹⁶ Mongolic → Tungusic: Evenki dial. *baža* 'svojak; zjat' (*muž mladšej sestry*)' (SSTMJ 1: 63).

6. Kott *d'ida* 'spear' (Werner 1: 222) ← Turkic **ǰida*: YeniseyT: Khakas *čida* 'štyk; kop'je' (KhR); Koibal, Kachin *ǰida* 'die Lanze, der Speer' (R); Shor, Sagai *čida* 'der Speer, die Lanze', cf. Shor 'der Stachel' (R); AltayT: Altay *d'ida* 'kop'je' (OirR); Tuba *d'ida* 'kop'je, štyk, pika' (B.); Quu *d'ida* 'kop'je' (B); Teleut *ǰida* 'die Lanze, der Speer' (R); SayanT: Tuvan *čida* 'štyk; kop'je'; Tofan *čida* 'kop'je, pika; štyk, rogatina'; ChulymT –; Yakut – ← Mongolic **ǰida*: LM *ǰida* 'spear, javelin, bayonet' (L); Buryat *žada* 'kop'je, pika, štyk; ust. rogatina'; Khalkha *ǰad* 'spear, lance, bayonet; javelin (*sport*)'; Oyrat dial. *džidü* 'kop'je, pika; štyk';

The Kott word *d'ida* is clearly a borrowing from Altay Turkic. In turn, the source of the Turkic word was a Mongolic form, where the regressive assimilation called "the breaking of *i*" has not occurred.

7. Assan *šar* 'bull' (Werner 2: 437) ← Turkic **šar*: YeniseyT: Shor, Kachin *šar* 'der Ochs' (R); Kyzyl *šar* 'Ochs' (Joki); AltayT: Altay *čar* 'byk, vol rabočij; žensk. korova' (OirR); Tuba *čar* 'byk' (B.); Qumanda *čar* 'byk kladennyj, rabočij' (B.); Quu *čar* 'byk kladennyj, rabočij' (B); Teleut *čar* 'ein Ochs, ein Arbeitsochs' (R); SayanT: Tuvan *šari* 'vol'; Tofan *čari* 'jezdovoj ili v'jučnyj olen'; vol'; ChulymT –; Yakut –; Siberian Tatar *car* 'byk' (Tum.) ← Mongolic **šar*: LM *šar* ~ *čar* 'ox' (L); Buryat *sar* 'vol, kastrirovannyj byk'; Sayan Buryat: Tunka *šara*; Oka; Zakamna *šar* 'vol'; Khalkha *šar* 'ox'; Kalmuck *tsar* 'Ochs (*Verschnittener*), Jochtier';

The Assan word reflects the Yenisey Turkic form, which borrowed one of the Mongolic forms.

The next two Kott loanwords date from the early period of borrowing, because they changed in accordance with the Yeniseian phonetic rules. The original Yeniseian consonant *s* changed to *š* in Kott, e.g.

PY **saʔq* 'squirrel' > Kott *šagá* (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

PY **suj* 'mosquito' > Kott *šui* 'midge' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

PY **pʰugajsi* (< **pʰugad* 'tail' + **si* {nmlz}) 'sable = tailed one (taboo)' > Kott *fugaʔiše* ~ *fukajaše* (Vajda & Werner: in preparation), etc.

Accordingly, the Mongolic words *soqor* 'blind' and *kersegüü* 'wise, careful', first borrowed by Siberian Turkic languages, came to the Kott language with these phonetic changes:

8. Kott *šugur* ‘one-eyed’ (Werner 2: 442) ← Turkic¹⁷ **sogur*: YeniseyT: Shor *sog̃ir* ‘blind’ (R); Kyzyl *sōger* ‘blind; schiefäugig’ (Joki); AltayT: Altay *sokor* ‘slepoj’ (OirR); Tuba *sokor* (B.); Qumanda *sokor* ~ *sog̃ir* (B.); Quu *sog̃ir* (B); Teleut *sog̃ir* ~ *soqqor* (R); SayanT: Tuvan *sogur*; Tofan *sogur*; ChulyumT –; Yakut *soxxor* ‘krivoj, odnoglazjy, slepoj’; Siberian Tatar *sog̃ir* (R) ← Mongolic **soqor*: Precl.Mo. *soqar*; MNT *soqor* ‘blind’; Leiden *soqar*; Ibn-Muh. *soğur*; Muq. *soqar*; Ist. *soqar* ‘aveugle’; ZY *suqur* ‘blind’; LM *soqor* ‘blind’ (L); Buryat *hoxor* ‘slepoj, s očen’ ploxim zreniem; *peren. upotr. kak usilit. slovo xot* ‘kakoj-nibud’; West Buryat ‘krivoj, kosoj, odnoglazjy’; Khalkha *soxor* ‘blind’; Oyrat dial. *soxār* ‘slepoj’.
9. Kott *keršo* ‘clever’ (Werner 1: 422) ← Turkic¹⁸ **kärsä*: YeniseyT: Khakas *kirsē* ‘odarennyj, soobrazitel’nyj, talantlivyj’ (But.), cf. *kirse* ‘sposobnyj, odarennyj; umnyj’ (KhR); Sagai, Koibal *kersä* ‘weise, klug, witzig, beredt’ (R); AltayT: Altay *kersü* ‘umnyj, mudryj’ (OirR); Qumanda *kersig* ~ *kirsig* ~ *kersü* ‘umnyj, mudryj, ostryj’ (B.); Quu *kersig* ‘mudryj, ostryj’ (B); Teleut *kärsü* ‘klug, witzig, listig, verschmitzt; der Weise, Wissende’ (R); SayanT: –; Yakut *körsüö* ‘skromnyj, smirnyj; dial. umnyj, blagorazumnyj’; Dolgan *körsüö* ‘bescheiden, vernünftig, ruhig, artig’ ← Mongolic **kersegü*: cf. LM *kersegüü* ‘wise, circumspect, prudent; careful, circumspect, astute’ (L); Khalkha *xersü* ‘circumspect, cautious, careful, wide-awake’; Kalmuck *kersü* ‘flink, witzig, klug, klügelnd’.

Morphological considerations

From a morphological aspect, I would like to present four examples:

10. Kott *alpaka* ~ *alpuga* ~ *alpuka* ‘flying squirrel’ (Werner 1: 27) ← Turkic **albaga* < **alba(n)+GAn* {Turkic NN forms nouns that designate names of animals and plants¹⁹}; YeniseyT: Khakas *albīga* ‘sobol’²⁰ (KhR); Shor, Koibal *albaga* ‘der Zobel’ (R); AltayT: Altay *albuga* ‘*usl. oxot. sobol*’ (OirR); Teleut *albağa* ‘Beute, Jagdbeute’ (R); Quu *albaga* ‘dobyča, dobyča oxotnika;

¹⁷ Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *šiyir* ‘einäugig; schief, krumm’ (Joki LS 269).

¹⁸ Turkic → Samoyedic: cf. Kamas *kērzü* ‘verständlich, klug’ (Joki LS 179).

¹⁹ For details see Erdal 1991: 85–89.

²⁰ Cf. the forms of Khakas *tabirğan*, Sagai *pabirğan* and Altay *babirgan* ‘flying squirrel’. Inversely in Kott the ‘sable’ is *fukajaše* (Werner 1990: 250).

sobol’²¹ (B) ← Mongolic: cf. LM *alban* ‘compulsion, coercion; official obligation or service; tax, impost, tribute; corvée; public use’ (L); Buryat *alba(n)* ‘služba; služba (*otrasl’ proizvodstva, učreždenie*); *ist. povinnost’ (natural’naja ili deneznaja)*; Khalkha *alban* ‘official’; Kalmuck *alwa ~ alwn* ‘Zwang, Verpflichtung, Tribut, Abgabe in Natura od. Arbeit’;

The Kott word *alpaka ~ alpuga ~ alpuka*, meaning ‘flying squirrel’, which is the Turkic loanword *albīga ~ albuğa ~ albağa* ‘sable’, is present in both Yenisey Turkic and Altay Turkic. The Turkic word originates from the Mongolic word *alban* ‘official obligation; tax, impost, tribute’ and the Turkic NN suffix +*GAn*, which forms nouns that designate the names of animals. The sable, of course, was the animal paid as tribute and tax to the Russians by Turkic and other other native Siberian people.

11. Kott *kaltar* ‘brown horse with white mouth’ (Werner 1: 406) ← Turkic **qaltar*: YeniseyT: Khakas *xaltar* ‘muhortyj (*mast’ lošadi*)’; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *qaltar*, Shor *qaltir* ‘braun, mit weissem Maule (*Pferdefarbe*)’ (R); Kyzyl *χalttar [at]* ‘braunes Pferd mit weissem Maul’ (Joki); AltayT: Altay *kaltar* ‘muxortyj (*mast’ lošadi*); černo-buraja lisica’ (OirR); Tuba *kaltar* ‘muxortyj’ (B.); Quu *kaldar ~ kaltar* ‘muxortyj; svetlo-koričnevyy, karij’ (B); Teleut *qaltar* ‘braun, mit weissem Maule (*Pferdefarbe*)’ (R); SayanT: Tuvan *kaldar* ‘muxortyj (*o masti lošadi*); temnyj s podpalinami (*o masti domašnix životnyx*)’; ChulymT –; Yakut – ← Mongolic **qaltar* < *qara +ltAr* {Mongolic NN/Adj., see Khabtagaeva 2001: 146–147}; cf. Precl. Mo. *qaltar*; LM *qaltar* ‘variegated, spotted, blemished; have a white muzzle’ < *qar-a* ‘black, dark, obscure’ (L); Buryat *xaltar* ‘svetlo-gnedoj (*o masti lošadi*); s ryžimi polosami na nogax i morde (*o sobake*)’; Khalkha *xaltar* ‘dirty, soiled, stained, spotted; brown with lighter markings (*horse, dog*)’; Kalmuck *xaltr* ‘braun mithellem Maul od. weisser Mähne’ ← Turkic **qara*: cf. Old Turkic *qara* ‘black’;

The Mongolic word *kaltar* is used to denote a colour of horses, meaning ‘variegated, spotted, blemished; having a white muzzle’. It is borrowed from the Turkic *qara* ‘black’ with Mongolic NN +*ltUr/+btUr*. It is a reborrowing in Siberian Turkic languages. The evidence of Turkic borrowing in Kott is furnished not only by the phonetic form, but also by the semantic meaning. In Kott, as in Yenisey Turkic and Altay Turkic, the meaning is a ‘brown horse with a white mouth’.

²¹ According to Radloff (R 1: 432), Teleut word *albağa* ‘mining, hunter’s mining’ is from the verb *al-* ‘to take’.

12. Yugh *súl'gej* 'left' (Werner 2: 172): ← Turkic²² **sologay*: YeniseyT: Khakas *solagay* 'levša' (KhR); AltayT: Altay *sologoy* 'levša' (OirR); Teleut *sologoy* 'levša' (TR); SayanT: Tuvan *solagay* 'levyj; levša'; ChulymT –; Yakut dial. *sologoy* 'grubyj, topornyj; neobstožatel'nyj čelovek, šalopaj' ← Mongolic **soloyai* < **sol+GAi* {Mongolic NN/Adj., see Poppe GWM §123}: cf. LM *soloyai* 'left side or hand; left-handed; awkward; wrong, faulty' (L); Buryat *halgai* 'levaja ruka', cf. West Buryat *holgoi* 'zevaka'; Khalkha *solgoi* 'left, left-hand; left-handed, left-handedness; not normal, not right'; Oyrat dial. *solgā* 'levyj (*o ruke*)' ← Turkic *sōlō*: cf. Old Turkic *sōl* 'left'; YeniseyT: Khakas *sol* 'levyj' (KhR); Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *sol* 'link, links' (R); Kyzyl *sōl* ~ *soj* 'link; links' (Joki); AltayT: Altay *sol* 'levyj; leveo krylo, levyj flang' (OirR); Tuba *sol* 'levyj' (B.); Qumanda *sol* 'levyj' (B.); Quu *sol* 'levyj; sleva' (B); Teleut *sol* 'link, links' (R); SayanT: Tuvan *sol* 'levyj, levša'; ChulymT *sol* 'link, links' (R); Yakut –;

In this case the Mongolic NN suffix +*GAi* demonstrates the Mongolic source of the Yeniseian form. The Yugh *súl'gej* 'left' was borrowed from Altay or Yenisey Turkic. In turn, the Mongolic word *soloyai* 'left-handed' was borrowed from Turkic *sōl* 'left'.

Semantic considerations

The Mongolic origin of some words is proved by the lexical meaning.

13. Kott *komtú* 'grave' (Werner 1: 439): ← Turkic²³ **komta* < **komda*: YeniseyT: Khakas *xomdi* 'grob' (KhR); Koibal *kom* ~ *komda* 'der Sarg, das Grab' (R); Kyzyl *χomdi* 'Kasten, Schachtel' (Joki); AltayT: Quu *komda* 'jaščik' (B); SayanT: Tuvan *xomdu* 'prodolgovatyj jaščik; grob'; Tofan –; ChulymT –; Yakut –; Siberian Tatar *qumta* 'korobka, sumka' (Tum.) ← Mongolic²⁴: cf. LM *qobdu* 'case; long and narrow box, quiver' (L); Buryat *xobto* 'jaščik, sunduk'; Khalkha *xowd* 'a long container'; Oyrat dial. *xobdā* 'jaščik, korobka, sundučok, larec';

The Turkic loanword in Kott *komtú* has the meaning 'grave', which exists only in the Khakas and Altay languages. In Mongolic languages, it originally means 'case; long and narrow box, quiver'.

²² Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *solai* ~ *sologoi* 'link, links' (Joki LS 272).

²³ Turkic → Samoyedic: cf. Kamas *komdu* ~ *kom* 'Grab' (Joki LS 189–190).

²⁴ Mongolic → Tungusic: Evenki dial. *kobdu* 'kolčan'; Negidal *koptin* 'futljar; pokryška; navoločka; kožura, skorlupa, šeluxa; veko'; Ulcha *koptun* 'futljar, čexol; nožny'; Orok *kuptun* 'futljar, nožny'; Nanai *kopto(n)* 'futljar, čexol; nožny'; Manchu *qobdon* 'jaščik dlja xranenija strel i inogo oružija' (SSTMJa 1: 402a).

14. Yugh *sáŋa-* ‘(inf.) feel, guess, imagine, understand, remember, keep in mind, find out, test, examine’ (Werner 2: 158) ← Turkic **sana-*: YeniseyT: Shor *sana-* ‘ehren, Zuneigung haben, lieben’ (R); AltayT: Altay *sana*²⁵ ‘dumat’, pomyšljat’, želat’, namerevat’sja; zabotit’sja; skučat’, toskovat’ (OirR); Tuba *sana-* ‘dumat’, želat’, mečtat’ (B.); Qumanda *sana-* ‘dumat’, rešat’, xotet’ (B.); Quu *sana-* ‘dumat’, rešit’, imet’ namerenie’ (B); Teleut *sana-* ‘denken, gedenken, sich erinnern, beabsichtigen’ (R); SayanT: Tuvan *sanal*²⁶ ‘predloženie; vystuplenie, reč; reč’; ChulymT –; Yakut *sanā-* ‘dumat’, podumat’, zadumat’, želat’, poželat’; Dolgan *hanā-* ‘denken; sich vornehmen, planen, vorhaben; hochschätzen, ehren; feiern’ (St.) ← Mongolic **sana-*: cf. Precl.Mo.; HY *sana-*; LM *sana-* ‘to think, reflect, ponder; to hold an opinion; to intend, plan; to remember, keep in mind; to recall; to long for’ (L); Buryat *hana-* ‘dumat’, polagat’, schitat’; pomnit’, vspominat’, pripominat’; Khalkha *sana-* ‘to think, to think of; to miss; to remember’; Kalmuck *san^a-* ‘meinen, denken, beabsichtigen, gedenken, sich erinnern, nachdenken, grübeln’ ← Turkic **sana-* < *sā-n+A-* {Turkic VN, NV, see Erdal 1991: 308}: cf. Old Turkic *sana-* ‘to count’ < *sān* ‘number’ < *sā-* ‘to count’; YeniseyT: Khakas *sana-* ‘soscitat’ *čto-libo, v razn. znač. sčitat’ kogo-čto-libo* (KhR) < *san* ‘sčet, zadača; otvet pastuxa na pogolov’je otary; stuka, jedinica sčeta melkogo skota; učet, sčitalka, cifra’ (But.); Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *san* ‘die Zahl, die Rechnung’ (R); Kyzyl *sāna-* ‘lesen’ (Joki); AltayT –; SayanT: Tuvan *sana-* ‘sčitat’; rascenivat’; proizvodit’ učet’; Tofan *sana-* ‘sčitat’, podščityvat’; čitat’, zanimat’sja čteniem (*pro sebja, myslenno*); ChulymT *san* ‘die Zahl, die Rechnung’ (R); Yakut –;

From a semantic aspect, the Yugh verb *sáŋa-*, with the meaning ‘to feel, imagine, understand, keep in mind, examine’, must be a Mongolic loanword. In Mongolic we find the verb *sana-* with the same meanings. In turn, the Mongolic word is of Turkic origin, with the meaning ‘to count’.

Change of the original word class

There are a few loanwords in Yeniseian where the original word class changed. This feature is peculiar to Yeniseian languages.

15. Kott *kalakai* ~ *kalakei* ‘to stutter (verb), stuttering (adj.)’ (Werner 1: 405) ← Turkic **kälägäy*: YeniseyT: Khakas *kilegey* ‘zaika’ (KhR); Sagai, Koibal

²⁵ *sanā* < **sanā* < *sana-GAn* {Mongolic VN, see Poppe GWM §149}. ‘soznanie, mysl’, duma, razmyšlenie; pečal’, zabota; dux, nastroenie’.

²⁶ < *sana-l* {Mongolic VN, see Poppe GWM §159}.

kälägäi ‘der Stotterer’ (R); AltayT: Altay *kelegey* ‘zaika’ (OirR); Teleut *käläyäi* ‘der Stotterer’ (R); SayanT: –; ChulymT –; Yakut *kelegei* ‘zaika (v *sil’noj stepeni*)’ ← Mongolic²⁷ **kelegei* < *kelen* + *ügei* {Mongolic Negative, see Poppe GWM §632}; cf. LM *kelegei* ‘dumb, mute; stammering, stuttering, tonguetied’ < *kelen ügei* ‘without tongue’ < *kelen* ‘tongue; language’ < *kele-* ‘to utter words, express in words; to speak, say, tell, narrate’ (L); Buryat *xelexei* ‘kosnojazyčnyj; zaika’; Khalkha *xelgüi* ‘dumb’; Oyrat dial. *kelkã* ‘zaika’;

The Kott verb *kalakai* ~ *kalakei* ‘to stutter’²⁸ was borrowed from the Turkic form *kälägäi* ‘stutterer’. The Yeniseian word occurs as an adjective too. The Mongolic origin can be explained morphologically, since it is compiled from the Mongolic noun *kelen* ‘tongue; language’ and the Mongolic negative word *ügei*, literally ‘without a tongue, without language’.

Loanwords with Yeniseian features

In some cases it is very difficult to recognize the source of borrowing. Certain Yeniseian words sporadically exhibit metathetical forms, which is a distinctive feature of Yeniseian languages, cf.

Arin *teminkur* ‘ore’ ← Turkic **temirqan* < *temir* ‘iron’ + *qãn* ‘blood’;

Pumpokol *kómulsi* ‘green’ < Yeniseian **qəl* ‘bile’ + **wes* ‘like’ + **əŋ* {adj. suff.} + **si* {nmlz} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Ket *kusam* ‘animal-skin coat with the fur turned in toward the body’ < Yeniseian **suk* ‘back, reverse’ + **ām* ‘fur coat, outer clothing’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation), etc.

16. Arin *qonda* ~ *xonta* ‘bridle, rein’ (Werner 2: 103) ← Turkic **nokta*: YeniseyT: Khakas *noxta* ‘nedouzdok’ (KhR), cf. ‘nedouzdok; *peren*. bakenbardy, baki; kreplenie dlja nog na lyžah’ (But.); Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *noqta* ‘die Halfter’, cf. Kachin *nuqta* ‘die Halfter’ (R); AltayT: Altay *noqto* ‘nedouzdok’ (OirR); Quu *notko* ‘nedouzdok’ (B); Teleut *noqto* ‘nedouzdok’ (TR); SayanT: Tofan *noqta* ‘nedouzdok’; ChulymT –; Yakut – ← Mongolic **noyto*: cf. LM *noqto* ‘halter’ (L); Buryat *noqto*; Khalkha *noqt*; Oyrat dial. *noqtã* ~ *noktã* ~ *noqt* ~ *noxt* ~ *nokt*.

²⁷ Mongolic → Tungusic: Evenki *kelegei* ‘zaika’; cf. Yakut → Lamut *kelegei* ‘zaika’ (SSTMJa 1: 447).

²⁸ Cf. Kott *kalakaj-â-kŋ* {-â- Present Tense, -kŋ- Sg.1, see Werner 1990: 156–160} ‘I am stuttering’; *kalakaj-âlčëk* {-âlčëk Imperative form, see Werner 1990: 193} ‘Stutter!’.

The Arin word seems to be borrowed from Siberian Turkic languages in the form **nokta*, which is originally the Mongolic word *noqto* ‘halter’. This may be compared with another Turkic loanword in the Arin *teminkur* ‘ore’, showing a metathetical form, borrowed from the Turkic compound *temir* ‘iron’ and *qān* ‘blood’.

The next two examined Mongolic loanwords were used in the Kott language with their productive suffixes.

17. Kott *d'ónaš* ‘in a crowd’ (Werner 1: 224) < **d'ón* ‘people’ + *aš* {Kott Comitative, see Werner 1990: 61, 63} ← Turkic **d'on*: YeniseyT: Khakas *čon* ‘narod, publika, naselenie goroda; narodnyj’ (KhR); Shor, Sagai *čon* ‘das Volk’ (R); AltayT: Altay *d'on* ‘narod; obščestvo’ (OirR); Tuba *d'on* ‘naselenie, narod, ljudi’ (B.); Qumanda *d'on* ~ *ňon* ‘narod’ (B.); Teleut *yon* ‘das Volk, die Leute’ (R); SayanT: Tuvan *čon* ‘narod, naselenie’; ChulymT *yon* ‘das Volk, die Leute’ (R); Yakut *d'on* ‘ljudi, narod; žiteli, naselenie; rodnja, rodnye, rodstvenniki; svoi’; Dolgan *jon* ~ *jōn* ‘Volk’ (St.) ← Mongolic²⁹ **jon*: cf. LM *jon* ‘people’ (L); Buryat *zo(n)* ‘narod, ljudi, naselenie’.
18. Kott *turkatu* ‘quick, rapid’³⁰ (Werner 2: 290) < **turkan* ‘quick’ + *tu* {Yeniseian 3sg.masc. pred. suff., see Werner 2: 290} ← Turkic **türgen*: YeniseyT: Khakas *türgün* ‘bystryj, spešnyj’ (But.); AltayT: Altay *türgen* ‘spešnyj, eksternnyj, bystryj, skoryj; spešno, bystro, skoro’ (OirR); Tuba *türgen* ‘spešnyj, bystryj; spešno, bystro’ (B.); Qumanda *türgen* ‘bystryj, toroplivyj, pospešnyj’ (B.); Teleut *türgän* ‘eilig, flink, schnell laufend, reissend (*von einem Flusse*)’ (R); SayanT: Tuvan *dürgen* ‘bystryj, skoryj; bystro, skoro; bystrota, skorost’; *peren*. vspyl’čivyj, gorjačij’; Tofan *türgen* ‘bystryj, skoryj’; ChulymT –; Yakut *türgän* ‘skorost’, bystrota; skoryj, bystryj’; Dolgan *türgän* ‘schnell’ (St.) ← Mongolic **türgen*: MNT *türgen* ~ *türgün*; Muq. *türgen*; HY *türgen*; LM *türgen* ‘quick, swift, rapid, speedy; hurried; soon’; Buryat; Khalkha *türgen*; Kalmuck *türgn*.

Direct Mongolic loanwords?

In some cases, it is difficult to decide whether the Mongolic words borrowed by Yeniseian (in the present case Arin), came directly from Mongolic or via Turkic mediation.

²⁹ Mongolic → Tungusic: Evenki *jon* ‘narod’ (SSTMJa 1: 264a).

³⁰ cf. Kott *bonturkantu* ‘shy’ < *bon* ‘not’ + *turkatu*.

19. Arin *menunajči* < **menu* + *najči* 'friend' (Werner 2: 24) ← Mongolic **minu nayiji*: cf. LM *minu nayiji* 'my friend' < *nayiji* 'friend' (L); Buryat *naiža* 'ust. lama-opekun rebenka'; cf. Western Buryat *menī naidži*, Khalkha *naiz*; Oyrat dial. *nādz* ~ *nāž*; Kalmuck *nādzī*;

cf. Mongolic → Modern Turkic³¹ **nayji*: YeniseyT: Khakas *nayji* 'drug, prijatel'' (But.), cf. *nanči* (KhakR); Shor, Sagai *nanji*; Koibal, Kachin *nanji* 'der Freund' (R); AltayT: Altay *nad'i* 'drug, prijatel'' (OirR); Tuba *n'andži* 'drug' (B.); Qumanda *nad'i* 'drug' (B.); Quu *nayidži* 'drug' (B); Teleut *naji* 'der Freund (*wird hauptsächlich als Anrede an nähere Bekannte angewandt*)' (R); SayanT –; ChulymT –; Yakut *nād'i* 'kum, kuma';

From a morphological aspect, the Arin word *meninajči* 'friend' consists of the Mongolic possessive pronoun *minu* 'my' and the Mongolic word *nayiji* 'friend'. Despite the existence of Turkic forms, the Arin word was probably borrowed directly from West Buryat.

20. Arin *oo* 'woods' (Werner 2: 44) ← Mongolic: cf. LM *oi* 'woods, forest, grove' (L); Buryat *oi* 'les, bor, rošča'; Khalkha *oi* 'forest, wood'; Oyrat dial. *ō* 'les, bor, rošča';

cf. Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *ōy* 'hole, cavity; valley'; YeniseyT: Khakas *oy* 'nizina, dolina; vpadina, kotlovina; uglublenie' (KhR), 'dolina' (But.); Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *oy* 'das Loch, die Grube, die Niederung, das Thal, die Vertiefung' (R); AltayT: Altay *oy* 'nizina, vpadina, kotlovina' (OirR); Tuba *oyduk*³² 'jama' (B.); Qumanda *oydik* 'uglublenie, jama, kotlovina' (B.); Teleut *oydik* 'dyra, jama, kotlovina; prorub'' (R); SayanT: Tuvan *oy* 'nizina, loščina'; Tofan *oy* 'ručej, ključ'; ChulymT –; Yakut *oy* 'lesok v otkrytom pole; otdel'no stojaščij les, les-kolok'³³ (Pek.);

The Arin word *oi* 'forest' can be explained semantically. The Yeniseian word must have been borrowed directly from Mongolic, because the Turkic languages possess the same phonetic form, though with a different meaning.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented some linguistic criteria which characterize the Turkic elements of Mongolic origin in the Yeniseian languages. There are

³¹ Turkic → Samoyedic: cf. Kamas *naije* 'Freund' (Joki LS 237).

³² < **oy* + *IXG* {Turkic NN}.

³³ Yakut ← Mongolic.

around 50 Mongolic loanwords in Kott, Assan, Yugh and Arin. As most of them are borrowed via Yenisey Turkic and Altay Turkic, they date from the later period of borrowing. The loanwords are easily recognized, but there are examples where the form of the Yeniseian word changed significantly to satisfy the rules of the language.

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