

# Tuva Arařtırmaları

Tuvaca Varyantların Belgelenmesi ve Tanımlanması

## Tuvan Studies

Documentation and Description of Tuvan Varieties



### **Editörler**

**İbrahim Ahmet Aydemir**  
**Mevlüt Erdem**

Ankara 2017

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## İçindekiler / Contents

Ön Söz .....	v
<i>Lars Johanson</i> Introduction .....	1
<i>R. Ebrar Akıncı</i> Tsengel Tuvalarının Dünya Görüşünde Gelenek, Uyum ve Süreklilik .....	5
<i>İbrahim Ahmet Aydemir</i> Tsengel Tuvaları Arasında Bir Alan Araştırması: MOTUV-DER Projesi ve İlk Dilbilimsel Sonuçları .....	19
<i>Nurettin Demir</i> Dilbilimsel Alan Araştırmalarının Galsan Tschinag'ın Eserlerindeki Kültürel Öğelerin Anlaşılmasına Katkısı .....	33
<i>Mevlüt Erdem</i> Tsengel Tuvaları: Toplumdilbilimsel Bir Değerlendirme .....	49
<i>Иргум Гагаа оглу Золбаяр</i> Сенгел Тываларының Малдың Ими Болгаш Таңмазы .....	61
<i>Bayarma Khabtagaeva &amp; Elisabetta Ragagnin</i> Mongolic Elements in Taiga Sayan Turkic: The Development of Mongolic <i>j</i> - .....	75
<i>Vildan Koçoğlu Gündoğdu</i> Sınırdaki Kalanlar: Usinsk Tuvaları (Sosyolinguistik Durum) .....	99
<i>Talant Mawkanuli</i> Jungar Tuvan Revitalization: Text Corpus Building .....	109
<i>Anett C. Oelschlaegel</i> Çoklu Dünya Yorumları: Güney Sibirya Tuvaları Örneği .....	137
<i>İlker Tosun</i> Tuvacada Ölümle İlgili Örtmeceler .....	165

# Mongolic Elements in Taiga Sayan Turkic: The Development of Mongolic *ǰ*-

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## Introduction

This paper focuses on the development of Mongolic initial affricate *ǰ*- occurring in Taiga Sayan Turkic varieties' Mongolic loanwords. The change, preservation or adaptation according to Turkic rules clearly shows whether the Mongolic loanword was borrowed in an early or later period, providing thus valuable information for the periodization of borrowed Mongolic elements and, furthermore, for the development of Taiga Sayan Turkic languages.

## Taiga Sayan Turkic

Taiga Sayan Turkic is a branch of Sayan Turkic including varieties spoken by people whose lifestyle is, or was until not too long ago, characterized by reindeer breeding<sup>1</sup> and hunting. These varieties are: Soyot, Tofan, the Toju variety of Tuvan and some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area, as well as Dukhan. Since reindeer breeding<sup>2</sup> is not a typical kind of animal husbandry among Turkic peoples, it is generally assumed that many, if not all, groups forming Taiga Sayan Turkic might represent clans of Samoyed origin that shifted to Turkic. The self-designations of Taiga Sayan Turkic speakers go back to *tuba* and *tuqa*, documented among the “Forest Peoples” in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§239); see Ragagnin (2011: 20, 58).

The Soyot people, numbering approximately 2,000 persons, reside in the Oka County of the southeastern part of the Buryat Republic, bordering to the South with the Khövsgöl region of Mongolia, to the

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<sup>1</sup> On the Sayan-type of reindeer herding, characterized by small-size herds of reindeer used as pack and riding animal and as a source of milk products, see Vainshtein (1980). Besides, for more recent views of Taiga Sayan economies, see Donahoe & Plumley (2003).

<sup>2</sup> On Taiga Sayan Turkic reindeer terminology, see Ragagnin (2016).

North with the Irkutsk Oblast and to the East with the Tunka County. In the past centuries, Soyots used to nomadize at the upper reaches of the Oka River. Their lifestyle was characterized by reindeer and yak breeding, and hunting. However, by the end of the 19th century, the Soyot language had been replaced by Buryat and low land cattle breeding gradually replaced reindeer herding; see Pavlinskaya (2003). Since 2000, when the Soyot people were recognized as one of the Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North in Russia, initiatives for the revitalization of their language and culture have been launched; see Žukovskaya & Oreškina & Rassadin (2002). The primary sources on the Soyot variety are the works of Rassadin (a.o. 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b).

Tofans (self-designation *toʔfa* ~ *tuʔfa* ~ *tiʔfa* ~ *toʔpa*), also known in the Turcological literature as Karagas, are located along the higher reaches of the rivers Uda and Birusa, in a mountainous area situated in the eastern Sayan region of the south of the Irkutsk Oblast. This area is geographically separated from the Tuvan Republic by the eastern Sayan range. A political separation between the Tofan and the Tuvan people has existed already since the 17th century. Thus, the Tofans were part of the Russian sphere of influence, which isolated them from the very closely related Toju group of Tuvans, who belonged to the Manchu-Mongol orbit until the 20th century. The Tofan people traditionally lived as reindeer breeders and hunters, but nowadays the majority of them have settled down in the villages of Alygdzer, Nerkha and Gutara. The present number of Tofan speakers has dramatically sunk; see Harrison (2003) and Harrison & Anderson (2008: 243). In 1989, efforts were made to turn Tofan into a written language; see Schönig (1993). The primary linguistic sources for the knowledge of Tofan are the works of Rassadin (a.o., 1971, 1978, 1995, 1997 and 2014).

The Toju or Eastern Tuvans inhabit the homonymous mountainous region of the Tuvan republic. They used to be semi-nomadic hunters and horse-breeders or reindeer nomadic pastoralists in the taiga. Nowadays, however, most of them have settled down to villages and neighboring lower areas. Some households, however, still live in the taiga and breed reindeer.

Besides *tiʔva*, Toju people use the variants *tuʔga* and *tuʔxa* as a self-designation. On Toju-Tuvan linguistic features, see Čadamba (1974) and Bičeldey & Nasilov (2002). According to the classification of Tuvan dialects proposed by Sat (1987: 23–26), Toju is the Tuvan dia-

lect that is most different from standard Tuvan, sharing a number of isoglosses with Tofan. Besides, Sat distinguished several mixed subdialects in the Tere-Khöl basin and in the Kaa-Khem area within the north-eastern zone of Tuva, where features of Toju and surrounding subdialects co-occur (1987: 63, 68). On Tere-Khöl-Tuvan linguistic features, see Seren (2006).

The Dukhan people inhabit the northernmost regions of Mongolia's Khövsgöl region. This area borders on the northeast with Buryatia and on the west with the Tuvan Republic. Nowadays ethnic Dukhans number approximately 500 people and are divided into two main groups: those of the "West Taiga" (*bariün dayga*) originate from Tere-Khöl, whereas those of the "East Taiga" (*jüün dayga*) came from Toju. Presently, around 32 Dukhan families are reindeer herders<sup>3</sup> in the surrounding taiga areas, on the south slopes of the Sayan Mountains. The rest of the Dukhan families have settled down in the village of Tsagaan Nuur and in neighbouring river areas, abandoning reindeer breeding. Some families, however, regularly rejoin the taiga in the summer months and tend to reindeer. Although Dukhans identify themselves and their (unwritten) languages as *dukha* (*tuhha*), in Mongolia Dukhans are generally called *Tsaatan*, a rather derogatory term meaning 'those who have reindeer'. Recently the more neutral Mongolian term *tsaačün* 'reindeer herders' has been introduced.<sup>4</sup> Nowadays, Dukhan is actively spoken by the older generation, that is by speakers older than 40. Younger Dukhans communicate in Darkhat-Mongolian,<sup>5</sup> although they possess passive knowledge of Dukhan.

<sup>3</sup> Hunting and fishing, two important activities of the Sayan style of reindeer breeding, are, however, not practised anymore, since the Mongolian government has recently issued hunting and fishing prescriptions. In order to balance the impact of these proscriptions, the Mongolian government has granted Dukhan families dwelling in the taiga and tending to reindeer a state pension calculated on the base of family numbers.

<sup>4</sup> In the available published materials, Dukhans have been designated by several other names such as "Urianxay", "Taiga Urianxay", "Taigün Irged" 'peoples of the taiga', "Oin Irged" 'peoples of the forest' and "Soiot" (Badamxatan 1962: 3). Dukhans do not call themselves Uyghur, as claimed in some publications (Ragagnin 2011: 20-21).

<sup>5</sup> Darkhat people are supposed to be of Turkic origin. Their language and customs seem to have become Mongol in the past few centuries. On Darkhat, see, a.o., Sanžeev (1931), and Gáspár (2006). On Darkhat Mongolian's substrate Turkic features, see Ragagnin (2012).

The primary sources on the Dukhan variety are the works of Ragagnin (a.o., 2011 and 2016).

Finally, opposed to Taiga Sayan Turkic is Steppe Sayan Turkic. The varieties belonging to Steppe Sayan Turkic are: standard Tuvan and its dialects (with the exception of the Toju dialect and some varieties of the Tere-Khöl area) as well as Altay-Sayan varieties in China and Mongolia, and Uyghur-Uriankhay (Tuhan) of East Khövsgöl.<sup>6</sup>

### Mongolic *ǰ*-

Mongolic affricate *ǰ*- in medial position developed from the palatalized syllable *\*di*. This development is clearly visible in Turkic loanwords:

Mongolic *\*adirga* > *ajirga*: cf. Literary Mongolian *ajirya* ‘stallion; ungelded male animal’ ← Turkic *\*adigir*, cf. Old Turkic *ađgür* ‘stallion’;

Mongolic *\*edin* > *\*ejin*: cf. Literary Mongolian *ejen* ‘owner’ ← Turkic *\*edi*, cf. Old Turkic *iđi* ‘master, owner’;

Mongolic *\*gedige* > *gejige* < *gede* + *GAn* {Mongolic NN: Khabtagaeva 2009: 280}: cf. Literary Mongolian *gejige* ‘nape of the neck; plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general’ < *gede* ‘nape or back of the neck; occiput’ ← Turkic *\*gedi* < *\*kedi*: cf. Old Turkic *kēdin* ‘behind, afterwards’ < *\*kē*<sup>7</sup> ‘back, behind; afterwards’, etc.

Word initial *ǰ*-, occurring in Mongolic loanwords of ultimate Turkic origin, goes back to the palatal consonant *y*- (a). In this respect, note that Hungarian loanwords of Turkic origin display the palatalized consonant *gy*- [dʲ] (b), e.g.

<sup>6</sup> On standard Tuvan, see, a.o. Isxakov & Palm’bax (1961) and Anderson & Harrison (1998); on Tuvan dialects, see Sat (1987), on Altai Tuvan, see, a.o., Taube (2008) and Monguš (1983) on Jungar Tuvan, see Mawkanuli (1999 and 2005) and Rind-Pawłowski (2014), and on Uyghur-Uriankhay, see Bold (1968, 1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1982), Ragagnin (2009, 2010, 2013 and 2013a) and Eriksonas (2013).

<sup>7</sup> The ‘dead’ base of the Turkic lexeme is the form *\*kē*, cf. Old Turkic *kēn* (< *\*kē+n*) ‘behind (of place), after (of time)’; *kērü* (< *\*kē-rX*) ‘backwards, behind’. According to Clauson (1972: 736b) and Sevortjan (3: 28), the Turkic word *kērü* was borrowed into Mongolic; cf. MNT *gerü* ‘Rückseite, Schat-ten(seite)’; LM *kerü* ‘forest on the north slope of a mountain’.

- (a) Mongolic *\*jal* +*A-* {Mongolic NV: Khabtagaeva 2009: 288} -*GU*n {Mongolic VN/Adj.: Poppe 1964: §154}: cf. Literary Mongolian *jalayu* ‘young’ ← Turkic *\*jāl*: cf. Old Turkic *yāš* ‘fresh’, Tuvan *čas* ‘young, youthful’;  
 Mongolic *\*jaka*: cf. Literary Mongolian *jaqa* ‘edge, collar’ ← Turkic *\*jaka*: cf. Old Turkic *yaqa* ‘edge, border, collar’;  
 Mongolic *\*jalbari-*: cf. Literary Mongolian *jalbari-* ‘to beg, request; to pray’ ← Turkic *\*jalbar-*: cf. Old Turkic *yalvar-* ‘to beg, beseech, pray’; etc.
- (b) Mongolic *\*jimes*: cf. Literary Mongolian *jimes* ‘fruit’ ← Turkic *\*jemiš*: cf. Old Turkic *yemiš* → Hungarian *gyümölcs* [dʲymøltʃ];  
 Mongolic *\*jige* +*sUn* {Mongolic NN: Poppe 1964: §137}: cf. Literary Mongolian *jigesün* ~ *jegesün* ‘reed, rush, cane’ ← Turkic *\*jigen*: cf. Old Turkic *yigen* ‘rush’ → Hungarian *gyékény* [dʲe:ke:ɲ] ‘bul-rush’;  
 Mongolic *\*jiura-*: cf. Literary Mongolian *jiyura-* ‘to knead, mix’ ← Turkic *\*jogurā-*: cf. Old Turkic *yoğur-* ‘to knead’ → Hungarian *gyúr* [dʲu:r] ‘to knead, pug’; etc.

In Middle Mongolic sources, original palatal *y-* alternates with *ǰ-*, e.g.

Mongolic *\*yaara-* ‘to be in a hurry’: cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *ya’ara-*; HY *yāra-*; Muq. *jāra-*; Literary Mongolian *yayara-*;

Mongolic *\*yara* ‘ulcer, sore; syphilis’: cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *yara*, Muq. *yara* ~ *jāra*; Literary Mongolian *yara*;

At the same time, original *ǰ-* may alternate with *č-*,<sup>8</sup> e.g.

Mongolic *\*čagaan* ‘white’: cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *čaqa’an*; HY *čaqān*; ZY *čaqān* ~ *jaqān*; YY *čayān*; Muq. *čayān* ~ *čaqān* ~ *čiyān* ~ *čiqān*; Leiden *čaqān*; Ist. *čayān*; ‘Phags-pa *čhaqa’an*; Literary Mongolian *čayan*;

Mongolic *\*čīnana* ‘beyond, yonder’ < *\*čīna* +*nA* {Mongolic NN/Adv.: Poppe 1964: §213}: cf. Middle

<sup>8</sup> For more details, see Rykin (2014: 428-429).



Mongolic: MNT *činana*; ZY *jinana*; Literary Mongolian *činadu* ‘in that direction, beyond, behind, on the other side’ < \**čina* +*dU* {Mongolic NN/Locative-adj.: Poppe 1964: §183};

Mongolic *Čingis*<sup>9</sup> ‘title; personal name’: cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT, HY *Čingis*; ‘Phags-pa *Čingis* ~ *Ĵingis*; Literary Mongolian *Čingis*; etc.

### The development of Mongolic *ĵ*- in Modern non-archaic Mongolic languages

It is important to distinguish between Mongolic *ĵ*- occurring before the vowel *i* from Mongolic *ĵ*- preceding other vowels, since these syllables have undergone diverging developments in Mongolic languages. For more details on these developments in Modern non-archaic Mongolic languages, see, a.o., Vladimircov (1929: 396-400), Poppe (1955: 114-119), Darbeeva (1996: 80-82) and Rassadin (1982: 76-77; 125-126).

- (1) Preceding *-i-*, initial *ĵ*- is preserved in Khalkha and Kalmyk, whereas it has changed to *dž*- and *ž*- in Oyrat and Buryat, respectively, e.g.

Mongolic \**ĵida* ‘spear, lance’: Literary Mongolian *ĵida* > Khalkha *ĵad*; Kalmyk *ĵid*; Oyrat *džidī*; Buryat *žada*;

Mongolic \**ĵirgal* ‘happiness’: Literary Mongolian *ĵiryal* > Khalkha *ĵargal*; Kalmyk *ĵiryl*; Oyrat *džirgāl*; Buryat *žargal*;

Mongolic \**ĵiran* ‘sixty’: Literary Mongolian *ĵiran* > Khalkha *ĵar(an)*; Kalmyk *ĵirn*; Oyrat *džirīn*; Buryat *žara(n)*;

Mongolic \**ĵil* ‘calendar year’: Literary Mongolian *ĵil* > Khalkha, Kalmyk *ĵil*; Buryat *žel*;

<sup>9</sup> The ultimate origin of the title *Čingis* is still debated. On a possible origin from Turkic *teŋgiz* ‘large body of water’ (Clauson 1972: 527) see, a.o., Pelliot (1959: 301), whereas cf. de Rachewiltz (1989: 288) and Doerfer (1963: 315) for an etymological relation with *čijiz* ‘fierce, tough’, documented in the Old Turkic Alp Urungu Yenisey Inscription as well as in Turkish dialects and Yakut.

Mongolic \**jirim* ‘bellyband on the left side of the saddle’: Literary Mongolian *jirim* > Khalkha *jirem*; Kalmyk *jirm*; Buryat *žerem*;

The following separate group includes words where the regressive assimilation or “breaking” of *i* has taken place. Thus, Mongolic *jī*- has changed into *dz*- in Khalkha and Oyrat, whereas in Buryat and its dialects, as well as Kalmuck it developed into *z*-, e.g.

Mongolic \**jirguan* ‘six’: Literary Mongolian *jirywya(n)* > Khalkha *dzurgā(n)*; Kalmyk *zuryan*; Oyrat *dzurgān* ~ *zurgān*; Buryat *zurgān*;

Mongolic \**jirüken* ‘heart’: Literary Mongolian *jirüken* > Khalkha *dzürx(en)*; Kalmyk *zürkn*; Oyrat *dzürkĕn* ~ *zürkĭn* ~ *dzürkĕn* ~ *dzürkĕn*; Buryat *zürxe(n)*;

Mongolic \**jisü-* ‘to scut, slice, split’: Literary Mongolian *jisü-* > Khalkha *dzüs-*; Kalmyk *züs-*; Oyrat *dzüsĕ-* ~ *züsĕ-*; Buryat *zūhe-*;

Mongolic \**jisün* ‘colour of the hair of an animal’: Literary Mongolian *jisün* > Khalkha *züs(en)*; Kalmyk *züns*; Oyrat *dzüsĕm* ~ *züsĕm*; Buryat *zūhe(n)*;

- (2) Preceding vowels other than *i*, initial *j*- regularly changed into *dz*- in Khalkha and Oyrat, whereas it developed into *z*- in Buryat and Kalmuck, e.g.

Mongolic \**jau-* ‘to bite; to sting’: Literary Mongolian *jaɣu-* > Khalkha *dzū-*; Kalmyk *zū-*; Oyrat *dzū-*; Buryat *zū-*;

Mongolic \**jeiin* ‘needle’: Literary Mongolian *jegüü* ~ *jegün* ~ *jeü* > Khalkha *dzü(n)*; Kalmyk *zün*; Oyrat *dzü(n)* ~ *zü(n)*; Buryat *zū(n)*;

Mongolic \**jolga-* ‘to meet, to visit’: Literary Mongolian *jolya-* > Khalkha *dzolgo-*; Kalmyk *zoly-*; Buryat *zolgo-*;

Mongolic \**jöb* ‘right, correct, proper’: Literary Mongolian *jöb* > Khalkha *dzöw*; Kalmyk *zöv*; Oyrat *dzöw* ~ *zöw*; Buryat *züb*;

Mongolic \**jün* ‘summer’: Literary Mongolian *jün* > Khalkha *dzun*; Kalmyk *zun*; Oyrat *dzun* ~ *zun*; Buryat *zun*;

Mongolic \**jüg* ‘direction, side’: Literary Mongolian *jüg* > Khalkha *dzüg*; Kalmyk *züg*; Oyrat *dzüg* ~ *züg*; Buryat *züg*; etc.

### Mongolic *ǰ*- in Taiga Sayan Turkic loanwords of Mongolic origin

According to our analysis, Mongolic loanwords occurring in Taiga Sayan Turkic belong to two different layers, namely to an early and to a later layer.

#### The early layer

- (1) The preservation of initial Mongolic *ǰ*- indicates that the word was borrowed early, possibly in the Middle Mongolic period, e.g.

#### Soyot

In most of the analyzed cases (16 examples) Mongolic *ǰ*- is preserved in Soyot. The Cyrillic letter ч, representing a lenis consonant, is used therefore, e.g.

Soyot *ǰalā* ‘thick silk threads (on a cap)’ ← Mongolic \**ǰalā* < *ǰalaya* ‘tassel; crest (of a bird); thick silk thread’ < \**ǰala* +*GAN* {Mongolic NN: Khabtagaeva 2009: 280};

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰalay-a*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzalā*; Buryat *zalā*; Oyrat *zalā* ~ *dzalā*

← Turkic \**ǰalā*: cf. Old Turkic *yāl* ‘a horse’s mane’; Soyot *čel* ~ *jel*;

Soyot *ǰalī* ‘young, youthful’ ← Mongolic \**ǰalū* < *ǰalayu* ‘young, youthful; youth, youthfulness’ < \**ǰal* +*A*- {Mongolic NV: Khabtagaeva 2009: 288} -*GU(n)* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §154};

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰalayu*; MNT *ǰala’ui*; Leiden *ǰalawu*; Ibn-Muh. *ǰala’ū*; Muq. *ǰala’ū* ~ *ǰalū*; Ist. *ǰalau*; Literary Mongolian *ǰalayu*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzalū*; Buryat, Kalmuck *zalū*

← Turkic \**ǰāl*: cf. Old Turkic *yāš* ‘fresh’ ~ Soyot *čaš* ~ *ǰas* ‘newborn’;

Soyot *ǰovalanǰ* ‘suffering, torment, torture’ ← Mongolic \**ǰobalanǰ* ‘suffering, torment, torture, anxiety, sadness, melancholy; unhappiness; hardship’ < *ǰoba-* ‘to suffer, worry, grieve; to be tortured, tormented; to be in trouble’ -*lAng* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §160};

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰobalang* ~ *ǰobolang*; MNT, HY *ǰobolang*; Ibn-Muh. *ǰoba-*; Muq. *ǰobalan* ~ *ǰobalang*; Lit-

erary Mongolian *jobalang*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzowloŋ*; Buryat *zoboloŋ*; Lower Uda Buryat *zobolon*; Oyrat *dzowlän ~ zowlün*;

Soyot *joġāl* ‘literature’ ← Mongolic *\*jokāl* < *jokiyal* ‘construction; creation; composition, literary work’ < *jokiya-* ‘to make, create, construct, organize; to compile, compose, write (as an author)’ < *joki-* ‘to agree, suit, fit, be appropriate or becoming’, -GA- {Mongolic VV: Poppe 1964: §224}, -l {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §159}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *jokiya-* ~ *joqiya-*; ‘Phags-pa *joqiya-*; Muq. *joqi’ā-*; HY *jokiya-*; Literary Mongolian *jokiyal*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzoxiol*; Buryat *zoxyōl*; Oyrat *zokāl*;

Soyot *jöp* ‘correct, true, right’ ← Mongolic *\*jōb* ‘correct, true, right; the right or correct side’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, Ibn-Muh. *jōb*; Literary Mongolian *jōb*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzōw*; Buryat *zūb*; Lower Uda Buryat *zeb*; Oyrat *zōw*;

Preservation of original Mongolic *\*jI-*:

In the two instances below, Soyot exhibits both preservation of Mongolic *\*jI-* and alternation with *čI-*. Possibly these lexemes were borrowed when Mongolic *\*j-* was in the process of being adapted, e.g.

Soyot *jirā* ~ *čirā* ‘ambler (horse)’ ← Mongolic *\*jirā* < *jiroγa* ‘ambling, fast amble; ambler’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Ist. *joria*; Literary Mongolian *jiroγ-a*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *jorō*; Buryat *žorō*; Oyrat *džorā* ← Turkic *\*joriġa*: cf. Old Turkic *yoriġa* ‘(a horse) that ambles or goes at a jog trot’ < *yori-* ‘to walk, march’;

Soyot *jibar* ~ *čibar* ‘cold wind’ ← Mongolic *\*jibar* < *jibar* ‘cold air’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *jibar*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *jawar*; Buryat *žabar*; Oyrat *džiwir*;

Mongolic *\*ji-* → Soyot *jV-*:

In some Soyot cases, the breaking of *\*i* has occurred, which points to the transitional (neither early nor later) period of borrowing:

Soyot *ǰargal* ‘happiness, pleasure’ ← Mongolic *\*jiryal* ‘pleasure, happiness, bliss; contentment, enjoyment, joy’ < *jirγa-* ‘to be joyful, rejoice, enjoy, be happy; to be prosperous’ -l {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §159}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰirya-*; MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa *ǰirqa-*; Literary Mongolian *ǰiryal*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ǰargal*; Buryat *ǰargal*; Oyrat *dǰirgal*;

Soyot *ǰuriq* ‘painting, picture’ ← Mongolic \**ǰurag* < *ǰirug* ‘drawing, painting, illustration, picture; sketch; photograph’ < *ǰiru-* ‘to draw; to scratch; to strike of a match’ -*G* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §146}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰiruγ*; Muq. *ǰiru-*; Literary Mongolian *ǰiruγ*; Khalkha *dzurag*; Buryat *zurag*; Kalmuck *zurug*;

### Dukhan

In Dukhan, Mongolic *ǰ-* is mostly preserved (15 examples), e.g.

Dukhan *ǰayan* ‘destiny, fate, luck’ ← Mongolic \**ǰayān* < *ǰayayan* ‘fate, destiny, predestination (often understood as the result of a person’s good and evil deeds in previous incarnations); luck, fortune, merits accumulated in a former life’ < *ǰayaya-* ‘to grant, bless, ordain (by God or heaven); to predestine’ -*n* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §175}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰayayan*; MNT *ǰaya’an*; ‘Phags-pa *ǰayān*; Muq. *ǰayā-*; HY *ǰaya’an* ~ *ǰayān*; Literary Mongolian *ǰayaya(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzayā(n)*; Buryat, Kalmuck *zayā(n)*;

Dukhan *ǰerlək* ‘wild’ ← Mongolic \**ǰerlig* ‘wild, living or growing in a state of nature; savage; stray’ < \**ǰer* + *liG* {Mongolic NN: Poppe 1964: §127}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: - ; Literary Mongolian *ǰerlig*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzerleg*; Buryat, Kalmuck *zerlig*

←? Turkic \**ǰer*: cf. Old Turkic *yēr* ‘ground; land, soil, place’; Dukhan *ǰöp* ‘correct, true’ ← Mongolic \**ǰöb* ‘correct, true, right; the right or correct side’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, Ibn-Muh. *ǰöb*; Literary Mongolian *ǰöb*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzöw*; Buryat *züb*; Lower Uda Buryat *zeb*; Oyrat *zöw*;

Dukhan *ǰugā* ‘talk’ ← Mongolic \**ǰugā* < *ǰuyaya* ‘amusement, entertainment, diversion; pastime; recreation, stroll, walk’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰuya* ~ *ǰuyay-a*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzugā*; Buryat *zugā*; Lower Uda Buryat *zugā* ‘talk’; Kalmuck *zuγā*;

### Preservation of Mongolic \**j*l-:

Dukhan *jirgal* ‘happiness, pleasure’ ← Mongolic \**jiryal* ‘pleasure, happiness, bliss; contentment, enjoyment, joy’ < *jirya-* ‘to be joyful, rejoice, enjoy, be happy; to be prosperous’ -*l* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §159}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *jirya-*; MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa *jirqa-*; Literary Mongolian *jiryal*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ǰargal*; Buryat *žargal*; Oyrat *džirgal*;

### Soyot

Interestingly enough, Soyot displays an equal number of Mongolic loanwords where Mongolic *j*- is preserved (16 examples) and the alternation *j*- ~ *č*- occurs (15 examples). This feature may point to the development stage of *j*- in Soyot, e.g.

Soyot *ǰol* ~ *čol* ‘good luck, fortune’ ← Mongolic \**ǰol* ‘good luck, fortune, good result, success’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰol*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzol*; Buryat; Kalmuck *zol*;

Soyot *ǰük* ~ *čük* ‘direction’ (cf. Standard Tuvan *čük*) ← Mongolic \**ǰüg* ‘direction, cardinal point; course; in the direction of; towards’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT, HY, Muq. *ǰük*; ‘Phags-pa *ǰüg*; Literary Mongolian *ǰüg*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzüg*; Buryat *züg*; Oyrat *dzüg*;

Soyot *ǰeme* ~ *čeme* ‘reproach, reproof’ (cf. Standard Tuvan *čeme*) ← Mongolic \**ǰeme* ‘conduct, manner of behavior, procedure; blame, reprimand; fault’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰeme* ~ *ǰime*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzem*; Buryat *zeme*; Kalmuck *zemä*;

### Tofan

In Tofan, the Mongolic affricate \**j*- regularly changed to *č*- as in Standard Tuvan (Khabtagaeva 2009: 68). This initial sound, represented by the Cyrillic letter ч, represents a lenis consonant, ranging thus from voiceless to devoiced and voiced. For details on fortis vs. lenis consonants in Sayan Turkic, see Ragagnin (2011: 45-46, 82-84). Both Tofan and Tuvan writing systems do not display the sign ч.

Tofan *čašhi-* ‘to order’ ← Mongolic \**ǰaqi-* < *ǰaki-* ‘to give instructions; to entrust; to give an order for; to ask to run an errand’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰaki*-; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzaxi*-; Buryat *zaxi*-; Oyrat *dzaka*- ~ *zaka*-;

Accordingly, Mongolic *ǰi*- is represented by *či*- in Tofan:

Tofan *čida* ‘spear, lance’ ← Mongolic *\*ǰida* < *ǰida* ‘spear, lance’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *ǰida*; HY *ǰida*; Muq. *ǰida*; Ist. *ǰida*; Literary Mongolian *ǰida*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ǰad*; Buryat *žada*; Kalmyk *ǰid*;

Tofan *čirā* ‘ambler (horse)’ ← Mongolic *\*ǰirā* < *ǰiroγa* ‘ambling, fast amble; ambler’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Ist. *ǰoria*; Literary Mongolian *ǰiroγ-a*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ǰorō*; Buryat *žorō*; Oyrat *džorā* ← Turkic *\*ǰoriǰa*: cf. Old Turkic *yorǰa* ‘(a horse) that ambles or goes at a jog trot’ < *yorī*- ‘to walk, march’;

Tofan *čibar* ‘cold wind’ ← Mongolic *\*ǰibar* < *ǰibar* ‘cold air’:  
cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰibar*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ǰawar*; Buryat *žabar*; Oyrat *džiwir*;

In just one instance, the regressive assimilation of Mongolic *i* happened. This fact points to the transitional layer of borrowing:

Tofan *čüfsün* ‘colour; colour of animal’s fur; kind’ ← Mongolic *\*ǰisün* ‘colour (of animals or human beings); appearance, feature, complexion’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *ǰisün*; Literary Mongolian *ǰisü(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzüs*; Buryat *zühe(n)*; Oyrat *dzüsēm* ~ *züsüm*;

## Toju

In Toju, as in Standard Tuvan and Tofan, Mongolic initial *ǰ*- regularly developed into *č*-, e.g.

Toju *čaǰsar* ~ *čaǰspar* ‘interruption; break, intermission’ ← Mongolic *\*ǰabsar* ‘gap, interstice, slit; crevasse, fissure; hiatus; interval, time between, pause, intermission, break’ < *ǰab* ‘free time, leisure; occasion’ + *sAr* {Mongolic NN: Khabtagaeva 2009: 283}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo., Muq., HY *ǰabsar*; Literary Mongolian *ǰabsar*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzawsar*; Buryat *zabhar*; Kalmyk *zawsr*;

Toju *čugā* ‘talk, conversation’ ← Mongolic \**jugā* < *juγaya* ‘amusement, entertainment, diversion; pastime; recreation, stroll, walk’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *juγa* ~ *juγay-a*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzugā*; Buryat *zugā*; Kalmyk *zuyā*;

Toju *čüxēr* ‘so, so; satisfactorily’ ← Mongolic \**jügiyer* ‘does not matter, all right, don’t bother: so, so; in vain, to no purpose; gratis, free of charge’ < *jüg* ‘direction, cardinal point; course; in the direction of, towards’ +*yAr* {Mongolic NN: Poppe 1964: §210}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT, HY, Muq. *jük*; Literary Mongolian *jüger*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzügēr*; Buryat *zügör*; Kalmyk *zügēr*;

In one case, the regressive assimilation of Mongolic \**i* occurred:

Toju *čurum* ‘discipline’ ← Mongolic \**jirum* ‘line; established order, system, regime; code of laws; ideology; line of action; norm’ < *jiru-* ‘to draw; to scratch; to strike of a match’ -*m* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §164}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: - ; Literary Mongolian *jirum*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *juram*; Buryat *žuram*; Kalmuck *zurm*;

Besides, in one instance, initial Mongolic *jī-* further changed into *šī-*, after passing through the stage \**čī*<sup>10</sup> (Čadamba 1974: 48). This change clearly assigns this Mongolic loanword to the early layer of borrowing:

Toju *šilapča* ‘cast-iron kettle’ (cf. Standard Tuvan *čilapča*) ← Mongolic \**jilabči* ‘small kettle; bowl’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Leiden *jalabči*; Literary Mongolian *jilabči*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *jalawč*; Buryat *žalabša*; Oyrat *džiliptši*.

### **Mongolic borrowings belonging to the the later layer**

In some Mongolic loanwords, initial Mongolic *j-* mirrors the developments of *ǰ-* in Modern Mongolic languages. These are clear instances of later borrowings, e.g.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Standard Tuvan *čodurā* ‘bird-cherry’ ~ Toju *šodurā*; Standard Tuvan *čamdik* ‘some’ ~ Toju *šamdik*;



## Soyot

There are two examples displaying initial *dz-*, which apparently indicate either Khalkha or Oyrat borrowing:

Soyot *dzambā* ‘thick porridge made from tea with milk and flour’ ← Mongolic \**dzambā* < *ǰamba* ‘parched barley flour’  
← Tibetan:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰamba*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzambā*; Buryat *zambā*; Kalmyk *zambv*;

Soyot *dzambi-tip* ‘continent’ ← Mongolic \**dzambi tib* < *ǰambu-tib* ‘the central continent, the Jambudvipa’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰambu tib*; Literary Mongolian *ǰambutib*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzambatiw*; Buryat *zambi tübi*; Kalmuck *zamba-tib*

← Turkic \**čambudvip*: cf. Old Uighur *čambudvib* ~ *čmbudvip* ~ *čmbudivp* ‘the Jambu continent’ (DTS) ← Sanskrit *jambudvīpa* ‘the central one of the 7 continents surrounding the mountain Meru’;

Since voiced initial *z-* does not occur in Soyot,<sup>11</sup> Mongolic loanwords belonging to the Buryat layer with initial *z-*, regularly display in Soyot an initial devoiced *s-*. The development process occurred according to the following trajectory: \**ǰ-* > \**z-* > *s-*, e.g.

Soyot *sāzūr* ‘cleaver’ ← Mongolic \**zāzūr* < *ǰayaǰuur* ‘cleaver, trimming cutter’ < \**ǰāǰi-GUr* {Mongolic VN suffix, which forms nouns that designate names of tools: Poppe 1964: §155}:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰayaǰuur*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzādzūr*; Buryat *zāzūr*; Sayan Buryat *zāzūr*

← Chinese: cf. Modern Chinese *dāozi* ‘small knife; pocket-knife’;

Soyot *sabān* ‘insipid, tasteless’ ← Mongolic \**zabān* < *ǰabayan* ‘rank odor, halitosis; tastelessness; meaninglessness; clumsiness in speech’:

<sup>11</sup> In the Soyot Dictionary (Rassadin 2010: 105) there are only five words displaying initial *z-*. They all represent Russian loanwords which were clearly borrowed in recent times: Soyot *zavod* ← Russian *завод* ‘factory’, Soyot *zavhoz* ← Russian *завхоз* [= *заведующий хозяйством*] ‘head of the household’, Soyot *zal* ← Russian *зал* ‘hall’, Soyot *zastava* ← Russian *застава* ‘outpost’, Soyot *zveno* ← Russian *звено* ‘link, element’.

cf. Literary Mongolian *jabayan*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzawā*; Buryat *zabān*; Kalmyk *zava*

← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yavġan* ‘plain, dry food without fat or oil’;

Soyot *sōkey* ‘a food prepared from clotted cream’ ← Mongolic *\*zōkei* < *jōgekei* ‘cream’ < *\*jōge*<sup>12</sup> + *KAi* {Mongolic NN/Diminutive: Poppe 1964: §123};

cf. Literary Mongolian *jōgekei*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzōxī*; Buryat *zōxei*; Lower Uda Buryat *zōkē*;

Soyot *sufturān* ‘gruel’ ← Mongolic *\*zutarān* < *jutarang* ‘broth, gruel’ < *juta-* ‘to suffer hunger or poverty; to grow thin’ -*rA-* ‘to be poverty-stricken’ {Mongolic VV/Verba media: Poppe 1964: §237} -*ng* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §176};

cf. Literary Mongolian *jutang*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzutanġ*; Buryat *zutarān*; Lower Uda Buryat *zutrān*; Kalmuck *zutġ*;

## Dukhan

There is one case in Dukhan displaying initial *z*- that goes back to Mongolic *j*-:

Dukhan *zahxə* ‘market’ ← Mongolic *\*zaxă* < *jaqa* ‘brim, rim, border, frontier; side, flank; collar; bazaar, market’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *jaqa*; HY *jaqa*; Muq. *jaqa*; Ist. *jiqa*; Literary Mongolian *jaq-a*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzax*; Buryat *zaxa*; Kalmyk *zax*

← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yaqa* ‘the edge, or border’;

This lexeme clearly represents an ad-hoc recent borrowing from Khalkha Mongolian. Furthermore, the lexeme *zahxə* often occurs together with *zeel* (cf. Literary Mongolian *jegeli* ‘1. debt, loan, 2. street, market, commercial district’ and Khalkha *zeel* ‘id.’) in the compound *zahxə-zeel* ‘market’ cf. Khalkha Mongolian *zax zeel* ‘market’.

## Tofan

In Tofan, as in Soyot, Mongolic loanwords displaying initial *s*- (< *j*-) were borrowed from Mongolic varieties where Mongolic *j*- developed into *z*-. As a matter of fact, initial *z*- does not belong to the inventory

<sup>12</sup> The ‘dead’ base of the Mongolic word is the noun *\*jōge*, cf. Literary Mongolian *jōgelen* (< *\*jōge+IA-n*) ‘soft, tender; weak, vapid, feeble’; Literary Mongolian *jōgeled-* (< *\*jōge+IA-d*) ‘to be too soft’.

of Tofan onset sounds. Mongolic borrowings displaying *s-* belong to the Buryat or later layer, e.g.

Tofan *sāzūr* ‘a hook with a spatula handle for grasping a hot frying pan (Russian сковородник)’ ← Mongolic \**zāzūr* < *ǰaǰajuur* ‘cleaver, trimming cutter’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰaǰajuur*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzādzūr*; Buryat *zāzūr*; Sayan Buryat *zāzūr*;

← Chinese;

Tofan *sōkey* ‘flour porridge with sour cream’ ← Mongolic \**zōkei* < *ǰögekei* ‘cream’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰögekei*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzōxī*; Buryat *zōxei*; Lower Uda Buryat *zōkē*;

Tofan *sula* ‘candle, icon-lamp’ ← Mongolic \**zula* < *ǰula* ‘lamp, candle, light’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: HY *ǰula*; Muq *ǰula*; Ist. *ǰula*; ‘Phags-pa *ǰula*; Literary Mongolian *ǰula* ~ *ǰulaǰa*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzul*; Buryat *zula*; Oyrat *dzulǎ*

← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yula* ‘torch, lamp’;

## Toju

In Toju, as in the rest of Taiga Sayan Turkic, Mongolic initial *ǰ*-changed into *s-* (*s-* < \**z-* < \**ǰ-*), which points to the later layer of borrowing:

Toju *sāzūr* ‘a wooden tool for removing the bowl from the fire’ (cf. Tuvan *sāzīr* ‘cleaver’) ← Mongolic \**zāzūr* < *ǰaǰajuur* ‘cleaver, trimming cutter’:

cf. Literary Mongolian *ǰaǰajuur*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzādzūr*; Buryat *zāzūr*; Sayan Buryat *zāzūr*

← Chinese;

Finally, in one instance, Toju displays *s-* in place of Standard Tuvan *č-* (Čadamba 1974: 48), showing, thus, an “independent” development from Standard Tuvan:

Toju *sīksāl* ‘parade, demonstration’ (cf. Standard Tuvan *čīksāl*) ← Mongolic \**ǰigsāl* < *ǰiysaǰal* ‘battle array, formation; procession, parade, demonstration; rank, file’ < *ǰiysa-* ‘to line up, stand in line, fall into line or formation; to participate in a procession or parade’ -*GA-* ‘to line up, arrange information; to enumerate’ {Mongolic VV/Causative: Poppe 1964: §224} -*l* {Mongolic VN: Poppe 1964: §159}:

cf. Literary Mongolian *j̄iysayal*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ǰagsāl*; Buryat *žagsāl*.

**Conclusion**

The development of Mongolic \**j*- in Taiga Sayan Turkic loanwords clearly shows different periods of borrowing. Both the preservation of Mongolic \**j*- and its systematic adaptation according to Sayan Turkic phonotactic rules point to an early period of borrowing. However, the change of \**j*- into *dz-* ~ *z-* and its subsequent devoicing into *s-* point to a later period of borrowing, notably to either Khalkha-Oyrat or Buryat layers.

The results of our investigation are summarized in table below:

Mongolic	the early layer		the later layer	
	* <i>j</i> V-	* <i>ji</i> -	* <i>j</i> V-	* <i>ji</i> -
Soyot	(1) <i>j̄</i> - (2) <i>j̄</i> - ~ <i>č̄</i> -	(3) <i>j̄i</i> - ~ <i>č̄i</i> - (4) <i>j̄</i> V-	(5) <i>dz-</i> (Khalkha-Oyrat) (6) <i>s-</i> (Buryat)	-
Dukhan	(1) <i>j̄</i> -	(2) <i>j̄i</i> -	(3) <i>z-</i> (Khalkha-Oyrat)	-
Tofan	(1) <i>č̄</i> -	(2) <i>č̄i</i> -	(3) <i>s-</i> (Buryat)	-
Toju	(1) <i>č̄</i> -	(2) <i>č̄</i> V- (3) <i>š̄i</i> - < * <i>č̄i</i> -	(4) <i>s-</i> (Buryat)	(5) <i>si</i> -
Standard Tuvan (Khabtagaeva 2009: 96)	(1) <i>č̄</i> -	(2) <i>č̄</i> I- (3) <i>č̄</i> V-	(4) <i>s-</i>	-

**Notes on transcription**

The transcription of Mongolic elements employed here follows general Mongolistic principles (Poppe 1964). Soyot, Tofan, Toju and Tuvan lexemes are transliterated from the respective Cyrillic scripts into Latin, according to common Turcological practise. Dukhan lexemes are transcribed according to general Turcological principles with the following additions: schwa [ə], representing centralized vowels occurring beyond first-syllables, and the apex [ʰ] to denote preaspiration of fortis consonants. Finally, Hungarian lexemes are quoted in the standard Hungarian script and, in square brackets, in IPA notation.

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