

ROLE OF RELIGIONS IN THE TURKIC CULTURE

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## Contents

Preface .....	9
DEWEESE, DEVIN: The Disciples of Aḥmad Yasavī among the Turks of Central Asia: Early Views, Conflicting Evidence, and the Emergence of the Yasavī Silsila .....	11
TURGUT, HALIL: The Role of Islam in Scientific Research: the Case of Turkish .....	27
DEMIRICIOĞLU, AYTEKIN: Causality Criticism of Turkish Islamic Philosopher Zamakhshari .....	39
WILHELMI, BARBARA: The Nestorians as Medical Scientists: Nestorian Christology and the Idea of Human Being (between 5th to 9th Century CE) in West Asia .....	49
RENTZSCH, JULIAN: Oghuz Versions of the Lord's Prayer .....	57
KOVÁCS, SZILVIA: A Franciscan Letter from the Crimea (1323) .....	85
ÜRKMEZ, ERTAN: The Formation of Mi'raj Narratives in Turkey .....	93
BALKANLIOĞLU, MEHMET ALI: Marriage, Family and Islam in Contemporary Turkey: What Do Indicators Tell Us? .....	109
CHILMON, WŁADYSŁAW: Religion and Authority – Authority of Religion: the Case of Turkey .....	115
RÖMER, CLAUDIA: Comets as Bringers of Evil in 17th-Century Ottoman Belief .....	123
CsÁKI, ÉVA: Sufism in Alevi and Bektashi Culture in Turkey .....	141
GODZIŃSKA, MARZENA: Defining Cem Evi of Turkish Alevis – Place of Prayings, Place of Sacrum, Place of Gatherings, Place of Pleasures .....	149
EÖRDÖGH, BALÁZS: “Since the Sky and the Earth Mingled...” – A reconsideration of Tengrism .....	161

SOMFAI KARA, DÁVID: The Concept of 'Happiness' and the Ancient Turkic Notion of 'Soul' .....	171	GREZSA, BENEC: Notes on the Kazakh Religious Terminology .....	387
GÖNCÖL, CSABA: 'Abdu'l-Ġaffār Qırımī on the Religion of the Kalmucks .....	185	JUMAKUNOVA, GÜLZURA: Traces of Old Kyrgyz Beliefs in the Epic of Manas .....	401
SKRYNNIKOVA, TATIANA: Rethinking the Meaning of the Theonim Umai .....	195	LUNCZNER-SZABÓ, ÁGNES: Trepanations in the 10–11th Centuries in the Carpathian Basin and Its Magical Reason .....	409
NEVSKAYA, IRINA: Ayna and Aza in South Siberian Languages .....	211	CSIKY, GERGELY: Rites Related to Weapons in Avar-age Burials .....	415
OLACH, ZSUZSANNA: Karaim Translations of the Song of Moses as Sources of Karaite Religious Concepts .....	227	PELER, GÖKÇE YÜKSELEN: Islamic Balbals of Ayyios Andronikos: Ethno-linguistic Notes on Some Tombstones Found in the Carpass Peninsula .....	423
SIPOS, JÁNOS: A Special Melody of the Bektashis in Thrace .....	243	KRASON, FERUZA – VOINOV, VITALY: Bible Translation into Turkic Languages in Post-Soviet Countries .....	441
MUKUSHEVA, RAUSHANGUL: The Shaman Archetype and the Features of a Mythological Mindset in the Works of Contemporary Kazakh Poet T. Abdikakimuly.....	251		
ZULPYKHAROVA, ELMIRA: Funeral Customs of Contemporary Kazakhs .....	265		
ÖZERTURAL, ZEKINE: Stand und Aufgaben der Erforschung des türkischen Manichäismus .....	273		
VÉR, MÁRTON: Religious Communities and the Postal System of the Mongol Empire ....	291		
DANKA, BALÁZS: About the Historical and Religious Context of the "Pre-Islamic" <i>Oγuz-nāmā</i> .....	307		
NAZARI, ABDOLLAH – ROUTAMAA, JUDY: The Impact of Islam on the Language and Culture of the Turkmen People of Iran: A Sociolinguistic Perspective .....	321		
SIBGATULLINA, GULNAZ: Found To Be on the Fault Line: Discursive Identity Construction of the Kriashens .....	333		
CARLSON, CHARLES F. – DERBISHEVA, ZAMIRA K.: The Role of Kyrgyz Traditional Beliefs .....	345		
KHABTAGAEVA, BAYARMA: Remarks on the Buddhist Terminology in Tuvan .....	359		
TAZHIBAYEVA, SAULE: Kazakh Rites Connected with the Birth of a Child and their Reflection in the Language .....	375		

## Remarks on the Buddhist Terminology in Tuvan

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### Abstract

*The paper presents a special category of Mongolic loanwords - the Buddhist and Shamanistic terminology. There are different semantic groups including the names of religious abstractions (as sin, paradise, soul, hell, etc.), the names of religious ceremonies, names of deities, designations of Buddhist ranks, terms designating the buildings of Buddhist monasteries, accessories used during the ceremonies and the terms pertaining to mythology and folk religion (as demon, evil spirit). A special category includes the original Mongolic shamanistic words using in Tuvan Buddhist terminology. From etymological point of view, the Mongolic loanwords are of Mongolic, Tibetan, Turkic and Sanskrit origin. Accordig to phonetic features it is possible to determine the period (early or later) of borrowing.*

Key words: Tuvan, Mongolic influence, loanwords, layers

The spread of the Indian Buddhism has several directions. There are traces of the language data from India through Central Asia to Iranian Indoeuropeans and to China, to the Tibetan, to the Turkic and the Mongolic people.

The present paper deals with some Buddhist terms in Tuvan. Tuvan is one of the most archaic Turkic languages, but at the same time, which has the most Mongolic loanwords. Through the Buddhist terminology may see the colorful etymological background of Tuvan.

### THE RESEARCHES ON TUVAN BUDDHISM

Today, only three Turkic nations are Tibetan Buddhist: Tuvan, Tofan and Yellow Uighur people. While the Buddhism of the Yellow Uighurs originates directly from Tibet, the Buddhism of the Tuvan and Tofan people came from Mongolia. According to historians, to the Tuvan people the Buddhism came in several waves since the 13th century (Monguš 2001, 179).

The original religion of the Tuvan people is Shamanism, which was not quite as overshadowed by Buddhism as it was in Mongolia. Therefore, the two religious systems exist side by side in Tuva and are in constant interaction (e.g. see Kenin-Lopsan 1997). This is also evident in the religious terminology. Despite the fact that Tuvan lamas went to Tibet to study Buddhism, and that ceremonies are carried out in the Tibetan languages in Tuvan monasteries, such as those in Buryatia and Mongolia, the religious terms appear to be borrowed from Mongolic languages. The Buddhist terms in Tuvan are of Mongolic, Old Uyghur, Tibetan or Sanskrit origin. Probably the Tibetan and Sanskrit words were borrowed through Mongolic.

The literature on Tuvan Buddhism is quite scarce. There are some sparse data, and short descriptions in various writings on the Tuvans, as in ethnographic surveys by Potapov (1969) and Vajnštejn (1961). The short monograph by D'jakonova (1975) should be mentioned, in which she examined the presence of Buddhism in the burial customs of the Tuvans. In a scholarly publication in 2001, Monguš collected written and oral sources on Tuvan Buddhism and described how Buddhism spread and developed among the Tuvans. The base of my current research was the mentioned ethnographic monographies and my PhD dissertation, which was published in 2009 (Khabtagaeva 2009).

Buddhism has been present in the Tuvan territory since the 10th century. Jochi conquered the area in the 13th century, which might possibly have been the time when Buddhism was introduced to the ruling class. However, no linguistic influence connected to Buddhism is evident in this period. The period of the 14th to 16th centuries is the time of Oyrat supremacy. The Mongol-Oyrat code of laws from 1640 contains orders on the prohibition of Shamanism and urges the spread of Buddhism in the territory of the Junghar Khanate. The intensive expansion of Buddhism began in 1757 with the collapse of the Oyrat Khanate and the fall of the territory under Manchu supremacy, or essentially Mongol authority. This is when the first monasteries were built. Until 1921, there were thirty-one Buddhist monasteries in Tuvan lands. In spite of the great number of monasteries, the Buddhist institution in Tuva was not independent but remained under the control of the Mongolian Bogdo-Gegen (For details on history of spread Buddhism in Tuva see Monguš 2001, 36–95).

In the monasteries, which were the centres of culture at that time, young people, irrespective of their social status, could learn the Mongolian and Tibetan languages, and also medicine, philosophy, mathematics and astrology. Children from wealthier families could conduct their studies in Mongolian and Tibetan (Monguš 2001, 63–64).

Buddhism was forced into the background from the 1930s onward. Today, there appears to be a renewal of Buddhism in Tuva.

## THE BUDDHIST TERMINOLOGY IN TUVAN SHAMANIC TERMS

The Tuvan community preserved a lot of from the Old Turkic religions: the Shamanism and Tengrism.

There are two synonyms for designation 'shaman' in Tuvan, one of them goes back to the Old Turkic word and other is the Mongolic loanword:

1. Tuvan *xam* 'shaman' ~ Old Turkic *qām* 'sorcerer soothsayer, magician': In Tuvan the word uses with positive and negative lexical meanings:

*xam iyaš* 'saint tree' < *xam* + *iyaš* 'tree';

*xam kalčā* 'stupid and thoughtless person (*lit.* mad, impudent, insolent as shaman)' < *xam* + *kalčā* (← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *γалжаγу* 'rabid, insane');

2. Tuvan *bō* 'shaman' ← Mongolic *bō* < *böge* 'shaman' ← Turkic: cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT, HY *bö'e*; Literary Mongolian *böge*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha, Oyrat, Buryat *bō* ← Turkic: Old Turkic *bögü* 'sage, wizard'.

The Tuvan word is the Mongolic loanword, but ultimately of Turkic origin. The secondary long vowel in the Tuvan form proves the borrowing from one Modern Mongolic languages.

For the designation 'spirit-lord, spirit-owner of the saint places' the Tuvan people use the Mongolic word *ejen* 'lord, owner', which is also of Turkic origin:

3. Tuvan *ežen* 'spirit-lord, god, the Most High' ← Mongolic *ejen* < *ejin* < *\*edin* 'lord, master, ruler, owner' ← Turkic:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo.; MNT; HY *ejen*; Ibn-Muh. *ejin*; Literary Mongolian *ejen*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *edzen*; Buryat *eze(n)*; Oyrat *edzin* ~ *ezēn* ← Turkic *\*edi*: cf. Old Turkic *äyā* ~ *iyā* ~ *idi* 'master, owner, the Lord' ~ Tuvan *ē* 'owner'.

If Tuvan *ežen* uses especially as the shamanic term, the word *ē* uses for designation of ordinary people.

The Common Mongolic word *obō* 'heap of stones, built as a landmark where special religious ceremonies are performed in honor of *ejen* – the spirit owner of the place' originally as Tuvan word belongs to shamanic terminology. As at Mongols, in Tuva this is a sacred offertory cairn, place to leave offerings, perform religious rites for the spirits of the local area, often at mountain peaks and passes or springs:

4. Tuvan *ovā* 'cairn' ← Mongolic *ovā* < *oboyan* < \**obo*<sup>1</sup> + *GAn* {Mongolic NN, which forms nouns or adjectives from 'dead' base, see Khabtagaeva 2009, 280};  
cf. Middle Mongolic: HY *obo'o*; Literary Mongolian *oboy-a(n)*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *owō*; Buryat *obō(n)*; Oyrat *owā*.

From phonetic side, the Tuvan word clearly was borrowed in the later period from one Western Mongolic dialect. It proves the secondary long vowel *ā*, which developed according to the Oyrat phonetic rules, and the spirantization of intervocalic *VbV*.

There are some synonyms of Mongolic and Turkic origin for the same designation. E.g. the 'soul' in Tuvan is *kut* and *sünezin*. The first one is of Turkic origin, while the second one is of Mongolic origin:

5. Tuvan *kut* 'soul, life-giving power, energy' ~ Old Turkic *qut* 'the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness'  
Cf. Tuvan *kudu* 'the soul, which has left a baby' < *kut* + *X* {Turkic Poss.sg.3};
6. Tuvan *sünezin* 'soul, spirit' ← Mongolic *sünesün* 'the animating principle; roughly corresponding to soul or spirit' < \**süne* + *sUn* {Mongolic NN suffix, which forms nouns the meaning of which is usually the same as that of the primary word, see Poppe GWM §137};  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *sünesün*; Literary Mongolian *sünesü(n)*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *süns*; Buryat *hünehe(n)*; Kalmuck *sümsn* ~ *sünsn*.

The presence of two different words explains by the use in religious systems. The Turkic word *kut* has used in Shamanism and the Mongolic loanword *sünezin* in Buddhism. It is remarkable the Tuvan form *kudu*, which has a special lexical meaning 'the soul, which has left a baby'.

## THE NAMES OF THE EVIL SPIRITS

The interesting picture shows the names of the evil spirits in Tuvan. There are six different names, only one of them is of Turkic origin, but most of them borrowed from Mongolic.

<sup>1</sup> The 'dead' base of the Mongolic word is \**obo*, cf. Literary Mongolian *oboyi-* (< \**obo+yi-*) 'to form a conical or conoidal pile or bump'; Literary Mongolian *oboyar* (< \**obo+GAr*) 'bulging, convex; similar to a heap or bump'; Literary Mongolian *obolġa-* (< \**obo+lġA-*) 'to move up and down (of cone-shaped objects)', etc.

## Of Turkic origin:

7. Old Turkic *aða* 'danger' ~ Tuvan *aza* 'demon', cf. Tofan *aza* 'devil':  
< Altay Turkic: Altay *aza*; Qumanda *aze*; Quu *aza* ~ *aze*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin, Shor -.

The Tuvan form has phonetic problems. Probably it was borrowed from one Altay Turkic variety. But the change of the historical intervocalic *VδV* to *VzV* shows irregular phonetic change in Tuvan and Altay also. Usually the original Turkic *VδV* preserved in Tuvan as *VdV* and changed to *VyV* in Altay, in Khakas it regularly changed to *VzV*, e.g.

- Old Turkic *qadīn* 'birch' ~ Tuvan *xadīn*; Altay *qayīn*; Khakas *xazīn*;  
Old Turkic *qadīr* 'grim' ~ Tuvan *kadīr*; Altay *qayīr*; Khakas *xazīr*;  
Old Turkic *bādūk* 'big' ~ Tuvan *bedik*; Altay *biyik* (cf. Khakas *pedek* 'thick, fat' ← ? Sayan Turkic).

The Tuvan form *aza* 'demon' with intervocalic consonant *VzV* supposes the Yenisey Turkic influence. The linguistic contacts between Yenisey and Sayan Turkic varieties show the Khakas word *pedek* 'thick, fat', which is probably goes back to Old Turkic *bādūk* 'big' and borrowed from Sayan Turkic. Also see the similar example, where Tuvan *ezer* 'saddle' goes back to Old Turkic *ädär* and presents in Khakas in the *izer* form:

- Old Turkic *ädär* 'saddle' ~ Tuvan *ezer* (? ← Yenisey Turkic), cf. Khakas *izer*, Altay *ēr* (< \**eyer*).

## The Mongolic loanwords:

8. Tuvan *albīs* 'she-devil' ← Mongolic *albīs* < *albin* 'demon, evil spirit' + *s* {Mongolic plural, see Poppe GWM §264};  
cf. Middle Mongolic: -; Literary Mongolian *albin* 'demon, devil, evil spirit, sprite'; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *albin* 'evil, spirit'; Buryat *al'ba(n)* 'magician, wizard, witch, demon, an evil spirit; playful, smart, flirtatious (*girl*)';
9. Tuvan *buk* 'an evil spirit, demon' ← Mongolic *bug* 'an evil spirit, demon, vampire':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: -; Literary Mongolian *buy*; Khalkha; Buryat; Kalmuck *bug*;
10. Tuvan *četker* 'devil, demon' ← Mongolic *čidkür* 'devil, demon, fiend; ghost':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *čidkür*; Ibn-Muh. *čitkür*; Literary Mongolian *čidkür*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *čötgör*; Buryat *šüdxer*; Lower Uda Buryat *šüdkür*; Oyrat *tšüdkür* ~ *tšötkör*;

11. Tuvan *dīreŋ* ‘demon, evil spirit’ ← Mongolic *tīreŋ* < *teyireng* ‘demon of riches (one-armed, one-legged, with female breasts)’ ← Tibetan: cf. Middle Mongolic: - ; Literary Mongolian *teyireng*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *tīreŋ* ‘demon’; Buryat - ; Oyrat *tīrīn* ‘demon, evil spirit’ ← Tibetan *the’u-rang*;
12. Tuvan *šulbus* ‘demon, evil’ ← Mongolic *šilmus* ‘demon, evil spirit’ < \**silmu* +s {Mongolic plural, see Poppe GWM §264} ← Turkic ← Sogdian: cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *šimnu*(s); Literary Mongolian *silmus* ~ *simnus*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *šulmas*; Buryat *šolmo*(s); Kalmuck *šulm* ~ *šulmn* ← Turkic \**šimnu*: cf. Old Uyghur *šimnu* ~ *šmnu* ‘demon, devil, Satan’ (DTS) ← Sogdian *šmnw* ‘the name of evil spirit Ahriman’.

All these terms are used in mythology and in both religious systems Shamanism and Buddhism. The majority of Mongolic words in this lexical category show a big Mongolic influence.

### THE DESIGNATIONS FOR ‘RELIGION’

The official religion of the Tuvan people is Buddhism. It is called by the Tuvan *sariġ šažin* ‘yellow religion’ as by Mongolian people *šira šašin*. It comes from the colour of the lamas’ headgear of Gelugpa – Tibetan Buddhism variety. The colour names occur in other Mongolic religious systems: *qara šašin* ‘Shamanism, lit. black religion’ and *čayan šašin* ‘Christianity, lit. white religion’. This fact strengthens the Mongolic influence. The ‘Christianity’ in Tuvan is *xristian šažin*, while the ‘Shamanism’ is *xam ka<sup>c</sup>t*, which literally means the ‘shaman’s layer’.

From the etymological side, the Tuvan word *šažin* is clearly the Mongolic loanword, but finally of Sanskrit origin, which came to Mongolic via Old Uyghur. The Mongolic borrowing proves the lexical meaning; in Old Uyghur firstly it means ‘admonition, precept, dogma’. Originally in Sanskrit it signifies ‘punishing; teaching, instructing; a royal edict’ and finally ‘religion’. The Tuvan word belongs to the early layer of borrowing due to phonetic change

*VjV* > *VžV<sup>2</sup>*, while in the Mongolic loanwords of later period the change *VjV* > *VzV<sup>3</sup>* occurred in Tuvan (For details see Khabtagaeva 2009, 119, 123):

13. Tuvan *šažin* ‘religion’ ← Mongolic *šajin* ‘religion, teaching, faith, doctrine, precept’ ← Turkic ← Sanskrit: cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *sasin* ~ *šasin*; Phags-pa *šačin* ~ *šasin*; Literary Mongolian *šajin*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *šajin*; Buryat *šažan*; Oyrat *šadžin* ← Turkic: cf. Old Uyghur *šažin* ~ *šasin* ~ *šasani* ‘admonition, precept, dogma’ ← Indian: Sanskrit *śāsana* ‘punishing; teaching, instructing; a royal edict; religion’.

The synonyms for Tuvan *šažin* ‘religion’ are *čüdülge* and *süzük*, both of them have the additional meaning as ‘belief and faith’, and both of them borrowed from Mongolic:

14. Tuvan *čüdülge* ‘faith, belief; religion’ < *čüdü-* ‘to believe in; to trust’ ← Mongolic *šitülge* ‘faith, belief; object of worship’ < *šitü-* ‘to worship; to believe in; to trust; to rely on’ -*lGA* {Mongolic VN, which forms nouns that designate process, see Poppe GWM §161}: cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *šitü-*; MNT *šitü’en* ~ *šitüyen*; Phags-pa *šidü’en<sup>4</sup>*; Muq. *sitü-* ~ *šitü-*; Literary Mongolian *sitülge*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *šütleg*; Buryat *šütelge*; Kalmuck *šütlgēn*.

From the semantic view, Tuvan attained the additional meaning ‘religion’. Phonetically, the Tuvan word belongs to the early layer of borrowing. Unusually the Mongolic initial consonant *ši-* changed to *čX-* in Tuvan. The Mongolic intervocalic consonant *VtV* changed according to the Tuvan regular phonetic rules<sup>5</sup>, which points to the early period of borrowing.

The third word for religion in Tuvan is *süzük*. The word has further lexical meanings as ‘religious worship, faith, and belief’. The Tuvan word clearly was borrowed from Mongolic. Despite of existence the Old Turkic form *süzük*, which is closer phonetically than Mongolic form, the semantic meaning

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Tuvan *buzar* ‘dirty, impure’ ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *bujar*; cf. Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *budzar*; Buryat *buzar*; Kalmuck *buzr*; Tuvan *kežege* ‘plait or braid of hair’ ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *gejige*; cf. Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *gedzeg*; Buryat *gezege*; Oyrat *gidžig* ~ *gidžgē* ← Turkic; Tuvan *xažagay* ‘crooked; cruel’ ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *qajayai*; cf. Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *xadzgai*; Buryat *xazagai*; Oyrat *xazgā*; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Tuvan *izigūr* ‘origin; genesis’ ← Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *yadzgūr*; Buryat *izagūr*; Oirat *izgūr*; cf. Literary Mongolian *iḡayur*; Tuvan *üzel* ‘view, conception, concept, idea, opinion’ ← Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *üdzēl*; Buryat *üzel*; Kalmuck *üzl*; cf. Literary Mongolian *üjel*; etc.

<sup>4</sup> The Middle Mongolic forms *šitü’en*, *šitüyen* and *šidü’en* derived from the verb *sitü-* ‘to believe’ and Mongolic productive VN suffix -*GAn* (see Poppe GWM §149; Khabtagaeva 2009, 285).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *ata* ‘father’ ~ Tuvan *ada*; Old Turkic *ätük* ‘skirt’ ~ Tuvan *edek*; Old Turkic *yetti* ‘seven’ ~ Tuvan *čedi*; Old Turkic *yota* ‘the thigh’ ~ Tuvan *čoda* ‘leg’; etc.

proves the borrowing from Mongolic. The original meaning of Turkic word is 'pure, transparent', which was borrowed to Mongolic with figurative meaning 'religious worship, belief, piety; reverence':

15. Tuvan *süzük* 'religion, religious worship, faith, belief' ← Mongolic *süsüg* 'religious worship, faith, belief, piety; reverence':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *süsüg*; Literary Mongolian *süsüg* ~ *süjüg*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *süseḡ*; Buryat *hüzeg*; Oyrat *südžük* ← Turkic *süzük* < *süzök* < *süz-* 'to clean, to filter' -(O)K {Turkic VN, for derivation of word see Erdal 1991, 243–244}: cf. Old Turkic *süzük* 'pure, transparent'.

The Tuvan word shows the early period of Mongolic borrowing, where the intervocalic sibilant *VsV* voiced, as in original Turkic words<sup>6</sup>. This is one of the examples, where the semantic criteria of re-borrowings are evincible (For other criteria see Khabtagaeva 2009, 267–272).

## THE BUDDHIST TERMS

Reviewing the Buddhist terminology in the Tuvan language, the words can be found ultimately of Mongolic, Turkic, Tibetan and Sanskrit origin. One group of Sanskrit words came to Mongolic through Old Uyghur, while the other group via Tibetan and finally borrowed to Tuvan from Mongolic.

The Buddhist terminology can be divided to six lexical groups: the names of religious ceremonies, the names of religious abstractions, the names of deities, designations of buddhist ranks, terms designating the buildings of buddhist monasteries and accessories used during the ceremonies. Approximately 70 Buddhist terms were examined in my work (Khabtagaeva 2009, 182–190).

### *The Mongolic loanwords of Turkic origin*

There are some Mongolic loanwords of Turkic origin, where the Mongolic source proves the lexical meaning and morphological structure, e.g.

16. Tuvan *sagïizin* 'amulet' ← Mongolic \**sakūsun* < *sakiyulsun* 'guardian, defender, protector; guardian spirit or deity, angel; amulet, charm' < *saki-* 'to protect, preserve, guard, safeguard, watch' -*GUL* {Mongolic VN, which

<sup>6</sup> Old Turkic *qīsīr* 'sterile, barren (of a woman or animal)' ~ Tuvan *kizir*; Old Turkic *īsīr-* 'to bite' ~ Tuvan *izir-*; Old Turkic *isig* 'hot, heat' ~ Tuvan *izig*; etc.

forms nouns that designate names of occupations, see Poppe GWM §153} +*sUn* {Mongolic NN suffix, which forms nouns the meaning of which is usually the same as that of the primary word, see Poppe GWM §137}: cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *saqiyulsun*; MNT; HY *saki-*; 'Phags-pa; Muq. *saqi-*; Literary Mongolian *sakiyusun* ~ *sakiyulsun*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *saxius*; Buryat *haxyūha(n)*; Oyrat *sakūsün* ← Turkic *saqi-* < *saq* 'awake, alert' +*I-* {Turkic NV, see Erdal 1991, 479}: cf. Old Turkic *saqi-* 'to wait for, watch'.

The Tuvan word goes back to Mongolic word with different lexical meanings 'guardian, defender, protector, guardian spirit or deity, angel; amulet'. The Tuvan secondary long vowel developed from Mongolic sequence *-iyu-* according to the first vowel as in native Tuvan words, which puts Mongolic loanword to the early period of borrowing. Further, the Mongolic intervocalic *VkV* voiced in Tuvan, which also is typical for the early Mongolic loanwords and native Turkic words (For details on development of secondary vowels and voicing *VkV* in Tuvan loanwords see Khabtagaeva 2009, 115, 119). The Tuvan word belongs to the category of "re-borrowings", since the Mongolic word originates from Turkic verb *saqi-* 'to wait for, watch'. Originally the Turkic verb was not related to Buddhism.

17. Tuvan *xūrak* 'religious novice' ← Mongolic *kubarag* 'the clergy; priest, monk, religious novice' ← Turkic:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *quvrag*; Literary Mongolian *qubaray* ~ *quvaray*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *xuwrāḡ*; Buryat *xubarag*; Kalmuck *xuwrāḡ* ← Turkic *quvrag* < *quvra-* 'to come together, assemble' -(X)G {Turkic VN, on derivation of word see Erdal 1991, 196}: cf. Old Turkic *quvrag* 'crowd, gathering'.

The Tuvan word clearly was borrowed from Mongolic form *kubaray* with the same lexical meaning. In turn, the Mongolic word is of Turkic origin, where the original meaning was 'crowd, gathering'. In Old Uyghur Buddhist texts the word usually refers to a monastic community (Clauson 1972, 585; Erdal 1991, 196).

The Mongolic borrowing proves not only the semantic meaning, but also the development of secondary long vowel in Tuvan form. The Tuvan long vowel *ū* was developed from the pattern *vocal – consonant b – vocal*, which is a typical way for some early Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan<sup>7</sup> (for details see Khabtagaeva 2009, 45, 116).

<sup>7</sup> Tuvan *xū* 'part, percentage' ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *qubi*; Tuvan *xūḡ* 'bucket' ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *qubing* (← Chinese), Tuvan *sūrga* 'stupa, pagoda, tomb' ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *suburḡan* ← Turkic ← Sogdian, etc.



*The designations for the verbs "to pray"*

18. Tuvan *čalbar-* 'to pray' ~ Old Turkic *yalvar-* 'to beg, beseech, pray':  
cf. Mongolic *jalbari-* 'to pray; to join the pals of one's hands in praying': Middle Mongolic: Precl. Mo.; MNT; Muq.; Phags-pa *jalbari-*;  
Literary Mongolian *jalbari-*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *dzalbira-* ~  
*dzalbari-*; Buryat *zal'bar-*; Kalmuck *zal'vr-* ← Turkic.

The absence of the final vowel in the Tuvan form proves the relation to Turkic form *yalvar-* and not to Mongolic form *jalbari-*.

19. Tuvan *daği-* 'to pray, sacrifice, make an offering' ← Mongolic *taki-* 'to sacrifice, make an offering; to revere, worship':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl. Mo. *taki-* ~ *taqi-*; HY *taki-*; Literary Mongolian *taki-*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha; Buryat *taxi-*; Oyrat *takā-*.

The Tuvan verb is of Mongolic origin. The phonetic changes – the voicing of Mongolic initial *t-* > *d*<sup>8</sup> and Mongolic intervocalic *VkV* > *VgV*<sup>9</sup> as in native Tuvan words indicates the early period of borrowing (for details see Khabtagaeva 2009, 116, 119).

20. Tuvan *mörgü-* 'to pray' ← Mongolic *mörgü-* 'to hit, knock one's forehead against something; to pray; to bow':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl. Mo. *mörgü-*; Muq. *mörgü-*; Phags-pa; HY *mürgü-*; Literary Mongolian *mörgü-*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *mörgö-*; Buryat *mürge-*; Kalmuck *mörg-*.

The Tuvan verb is remarkable from the lexical point of view. The original meaning in Mongolic was 'to hit, to knock one's forehead against something; to bow' and finally it changed to 'to pray', the semantic broadening occurred. In Tuvan the word appears only as religious term.

21. Tuvan *deyle-* 'to pray' < *dey* 'the top of a head or a mountain' + *lA-* {Turkic NV, see Ishakov & Pal'mbah 1961, 257–261}  
Probably the Tuvan word belongs to the same category as above-mentioned Tuvan *mörgü-*. It derived from the noun *dey* 'the top of a head'. Possibly similar semantic broadening happened: 'to incline a head' → 'to pray'. From etymological point of view, the Tuvan verb is of unknown origin.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *tāğ* 'mountain' ~ Tuvan *dağ*; Old Turkic *tāš* 'stone' ~ Tuvan *daš*; Old Turkic *tāmir* 'iron' ~ Tuvan *demir*; etc. (For more examples see Khabtagaeva 2009, 57–58).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Old Turkic *baqa* 'frog' ~ Tuvan *paga*; Old Turkic *buqa* 'bull' ~ Tuvan *buga*; Old Turkic *yaqa* 'edge' ~ Tuvan *čaga*; etc.

22. Tuvan *örgü-* 'to sacrifice, to pray' ← Mongolic *örgö-* < *ergü-* 'to offer, present; to offer as a sacrifice':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl. Mo. *ergü-*; Leiden *ergü-* ~ *örge-*; Literary Mongolian *ergü-*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *örgö-*; Buryat *ürge-*; Kalmuck *örg-*.

The Tuvan verb belongs to the later period of borrowing. The source was the Mongolic form \**örgö-*, where the change of initial vowel *e* > *ö* appeared. This change called as 'e-breaking' in Mongolic Studies is peculiar for Khalkha and Oyrat languages (for details on change see Poppe 1955, 47–48). Besides of lexical meaning 'to sacrifice', in Tuvan it earned the additional meaning 'to pray'. In Mongolic languages the word belongs to the shamanic terminology, originally it means 'to offer a sacrifice in the shamanic ritual'.

*The terms designating the buildings of Buddhist monasteries*

The most Buddhist terms in Tuvan are Mongolic loanwords of Tibetan origin. They include different semantic groups as designations of Buddhist ranks, accessories used during the ceremonies and the terms designating the buildings of Buddhist monasteries. E.g.

23. Tuvan *dugan* 'temple' ← Mongolic *dugan* 'main assembly hall in a temple' ← Tibetan:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: -; Literary Mongolian *duyang*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha; Buryat *dugan*; Kalmuck *duyun* ~ *duyη* ~ *duyηη* ← Tibetan *du-khang* 'properly the hall of congregation for members in a monastery, but is a term often loosely assigned and is applied even to the ordinary antechamber of a temple';
24. Tuvan *daspīη* 'small monastery' ← Mongolic *dačan* 'various faculties, such as ritual, scholastics, medicine, and divination in Buddhist monasteries' ← Tibetan:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: -; Literary Mongolian *dačang*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *dacan*; Buryat *dasan* ← Tibetan *grva-tshang* 'school where monks are instructed in sacred literature; a section in a great monastery, where the monks belonging to one particular school of studies live together';

The Tuvan word is problematic from phonetic side. Instead of intervocalic Mongolic *VčV* the cluster *-sp-* occurred in the Tuvan form. Possibly it can explain by another Tuvan word homonym with the same phonetic form *daspīη*, but with different lexical meaning 'the small table, where lamas put figures during the religious ceremonies' (Tatarincev 2/2002, 106). The

mentioned Tuvan word is also the Mongolic loanword, where the initial consonant voiced and the metathesis *-sp-* < *-bs-* happened:

Tuvan *daspin* 'the small table, where lamas put figures during the religious ceremonies' ← Mongolic \**tabsan* < *tabčan* 'plateau, platform, dais; throne; table top' ← Turkic ← Chinese:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *tabčan*; Literary Mongolian *tabčang*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *dawcaŋ* ~ *tawcaŋ*; Buryat *tabsa(n)*; Kalmuck *taptsŋ* ~ *daptsŋ* ← Turkic: Old Turkic *tapčān* ~ *tapčan* 'a thing in the shape of a tray with three legs' ← Chinese.

The next two Tuvan words *xürē* and *xīt* designate the kinds of monasteries. Both of them were borrowed from Modern Mongolic languages in the later period. It proves the phonetic and semantic criteria. In both Tuvan forms the spirantization of initial *k-* and the development of secondary long vowels happened as in Modern Mongolic languages. From semantic point of view, the first word *xürē* means 'large monastery', while the second word *xīt* means 'a small monastery':

25. Tuvan *xürē* 'monastery' ← Mongolic \**xürē* < *küriye* 'anything girding, encircling, or enclosed: fence; enclosure, yard; camp; monastery; border, edging; metal edges of a cup, mounting of a cup; precinct, bound; sphere of influence' < \**küri-GAn* {Mongolic VN, see Poppe GWM §149}:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: MNT *güre'e(n)* ~ *güreyen*; HY *güri'en*; Literary Mongolian *küriy-e(n)*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *xürē*; Buryat *xüryē(n)*; Oyrat *kürā*.

Originally in Mongolic the word *xürē* means 'anything girding, encircling, or enclosed', it was the earlier name of Ulan Bator. In Tuvan the word has meaning only as 'monastery'.

26. Tuvan *xīt* 'a small monastery' ← Mongolic *xīd* < *keyid* 'convent, monastery, temple':  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *keyid*; Literary Mongolian *keyid*;  
Modern Mongolic: Khalkha, Buryat, Kalmuck *xīd*.

#### *Mongolic loanwords of Sanskrit origin*

The last category of Tuvan Buddhist terms contains words of Sanskrit origin. The Sanskrit words came to Mongolic via Tibetan or Old Uyghur and then from Mongolic to Tuvan. The long way of transmission has different phonetic and semantic criteria.

The Tuvan word *divāžan* more or less corresponds to the Christian 'paradise' and stands in contrast to *tami* 'hell', which was also borrowed from Mongolic. Another Tuvan word *šambila* 'paradise' primarily refers to a mystical country:

27. Tuvan *divāžan* 'paradise' ← Mongolic *divāžan* < *divajin* 'the Buddhist paradise supposed to be situated in the West' ← Tibetan ← Sanskrit:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: - ; Literary Mongolian *divajing*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *divajin*; Buryat *divāžan* ← Tibetan *bde-ba-can* 'the paradise of the Northern Buddhists which is said to be situated in the west and presided over by Buddha Amitābha' ← Sanskrit;
28. Tuvan *šambila* 'paradise' ← Mongolic *šambala* 'fabulous country described in late Buddhist writings; 'paradise', utopia' ← Tibetan ← Sanskrit:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: - ; Literary Mongolian *šambala*; Modern Mongolic: Khalkha; Buryat *šambala*; Kalmuck *šambl* ← Tibetan *šam-bha-la* 'name of the Buddhist Utopia, in Tibetan is often spoken of as a country in the north-west of Tibet, fancied to be a kind of paradise' ← Sanskrit;
29. Tuvan *tami* 'hell' ← Mongolic *tamu* 'deep abyss or pit, chasm; hell, Hades; tortures suffered in hell, torments' ← Turkic ← Sanskrit:  
cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *tamu*; Literary Mongolian *tamu*;  
Modern Mongolic: Khalkha *tam*; Buryat *tama*; Kalmuck *tama* ← Turkic:  
cf. Old Uighur *tamu* 'hell' (DTS) ← Sanskrit *tāmas* 'darkness, gloom; the darkness of hell, hell or a particular division of hell'.

## CONCLUSIONS

According to ethnographic works, Buddhism could not totally efface the Shamanism; furthermore the two systems coexist and influence each other.

If we finally turn round the material and outline the different ways of transmission, we see a mixed picture of Tuvan Buddhist terminology:

1. Common Turkic ~ Tuvan:  
*aža* 'demon';  
*čalbar-* 'to pray';  
*kut* 'soul';

2. Mongolic → Tuvan:  
*albis* 'she-devil';  
*buk* 'an evil spirit, demon';  
*četker* 'devil, demon';  
*čüdülge* 'faith, belief; religion';

*daġi-* 'to pray, sacrifice, make an offering';  
*mörgü-* 'to pray';  
*ovā* 'cairn of stones';  
*örgü-* 'to sacrifice, to pray';  
*sünezin* 'soul, spirit';  
*xīt* 'a small monastery';  
*xürē* 'monastery';

### 3. Common Turkic → Mongolic → Tuvan:

*ežen* 'spirit-lord, god, the Most High';  
*sagüzin* 'amulet',  
*süzük* 'religion, religious worship, faith, belief'  
 Old Uyghur → Mongolic → Tuvan:  
*xūrak* 'religious novice';

### 4. Sogdian → Old Uyghur → Mongolic → Tuvan:

*šulbus* 'demon',

### 5. Indian → Sogdian → Old Uyghur → Mongolic → Tuvan:

*šažin* 'religion';  
*šulbus* 'demon, evil';  
*tami* 'hell';

### 6. Tibetan → Mongolic → Tuvan:

*daspiŋ* 'small monastery';  
*dīreŋ* 'demon, evil spirit';  
*dugan* 'monastery';

### 7. Indian → Tibetan → Mongolic → Tuvan:

*divāžar* 'paradise';  
*šambila* 'paradise';

### 8. The word of unknown origin:

*deyle-* 'to pray'.

Despite the fact that the Tuvan lamas learned in Tibet and the Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies carried in the Tibetan language, most of the Buddhist terms are Mongolic loanwords. In most cases the phonetic and the semantic criteria indicate the early period of borrowing. From the Modern Mongolic languages Khalkha and Oyrat are the most likely to have been transmitter. A special group includes the Turkic re-borrowings as Tuvan *süzük* 'religion', which is ultimately of Turkic origin and originally has meaning 'pure, transparent'. The Mongolic people got most of their Indian words from the

Uyghurs as Tuvan *šažin* 'religion', but few also through Tibetan mediation as Tuvan *šambila* 'paradise'.

The vivid map of spread of Indian Buddhism can draw through the Tuvan Buddhist terminology, its different ways of transmission and linguistic traces.

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## Kazakh Rites Connected with the Birth of a Child and their Reflection in the Language

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### Abstract

*Kazakh rites are partially connected with various pre-Islamic traditions: Tengrian, Zoroastrian, Shamanistic.*

*Specific rites are performed in different celebration ceremonies connected with a birth of a child and accompanied by pre-Islamic rituals interfaced with Islamic ones: Žaris Qasan, Besikke Salw, Šildekhana, Tusaw kesw and other. Every celebration is connected with religious ceremony and it is reflected in the language with proverbs or sayings.*

*All traditions are very interesting and they are still celebrated today. Šildekhana is a very specific one. It is the second celebration of a new life, where pre-Islamic (pagan) and Islamic rituals intervene. The birth of a child is very important for Kazakhs. Children have always been highly appreciated by them. There is a proverb, which proves it: Balaly üy bazar, balasız üy mazar - 'The house with a child is the home of happiness, without him it is a grave'.*

*Kazakh rites are popular in contemporary life. They are modernized in some cases and transmitted from generation to generation, keeping their religious and language peculiarities.*

Key words: traditions, pre-Islamic traditions, Islamic traditions, rites, Kazakh language.

### INTRODUCTION

Kazakh rites are partially connected with various pre-Islamic traditions: Tengrian, Zoroastrian, Shamanistic (Sagalayev – Octyabrskaya 1990; Valikhanov 1961; 1986) and Islamic ones (Basilov 1970; Mwstafina 1992).

The Kazakhs are Sunni Muslims. Islam began to appear in the southern area of Kazakhstan, after the Arab conquest of Central Asia (Mwstafina 1992). Islam became the predominant religion among the Kazakh people after the foundation of the Kazakh khanate in the fifteenth century. Its influence was especially strengthened after the Russian colonization of the Kazakhs in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, because the czarist government attempted to strengthen its position in Kazakhstan through Islam (Edelbay 2012). During this period many mosques were constructed and *madrasahs* (Islamic secondary