

## Additional Iranian Loan-words in Early Turkic Languages

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Since the end of the nineteenth century Turkologists and Iranists studying old and middle Turkic texts have found them to contain many words from the Iranian languages. Most of the words stem from the religious sphere, but there are also cultural words such as *kägdä* “paper”, *üjek ~ üjik* “letter (of alphabet)” etc. Some Turkology reference books contain useful lists of such Iranian elements but there has not as yet been an extensive monograph dealing with this subject. Particularly Iranian loan-words from the Karakhanid have not been adequately studied. In Sir Gerard Clauson's important etymological dictionary we find many entries preceded by the abbreviation “?F”<sup>1</sup> and the comment “probably Iranian loan-word” without an exact identification. A comprehensive study on this subject is a desideratum.

I believe that I have been able to identify additional old and middle Turkic words as Iranian loan-words and in the following I will present a few examples.

*artut* “gift”

This word occurs twice in an Old Uighurian Christian text<sup>2</sup> which was

<sup>1</sup> G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972 (= *EDPT*), p. XII, 18.(3): “Words which are believed to be loan-words are preceded by ?F if definite proof is lacking”.

<sup>2</sup> F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica* [I], *APAW* 1908 (= *Opuscula*, vol. III 1, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfanforschung*, Leipzig 1972) “Die Anbetung der Magier”, p. 6: *öz yük-lärin açtı-lar artuđın açu-ğın ötündi-lär kim kälürmiş*

probably translated from a Sogdian text. It is also listed by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī who writes “a gift (*hadiyya*) such as a horse, or the like, offered in the presence of emirs, or others; then every gift came to be called *artut*”.<sup>3</sup> In the *Dīvān luġāt at-Turk* there are two further instances<sup>4</sup> and *artut qil-* “to make a gift” also appears once in the *Qutaḡyu Bilig*<sup>5</sup> and in ‘*Atabatu’l-ḥaqā’iq*’.<sup>6</sup>

There have been two attempts to explain the Turkic derivation of this word, Clauson, who because of the incomplete spelling read the word as: *ertüt*, traced it from the verb *ert-* “to pass”.<sup>7</sup> Röhrborn considered as a derivation from *art-* “to load”.<sup>8</sup> Neither of these explanations is convincing.

I suggest that *artut* be explained as a loan-word from the Sogdian. In Sogdian *r’t* means “gift” and it is clearly an Iranian word; the Old Indian equivalent is *rātīḥ*. In Avestan there is the verb *rā-* “to grant, allow”<sup>9</sup> of which the Indogermanic root is \**rē-*.<sup>10</sup> *r’tt* is the Sogdian plural form of *r’t*.

There are other Sogdian words which begin with *r* and have acquired a vowel prothesis in Turkic, for example Sogd. *rz’y*, Old Uigur. *arži* “saint, hermit”, or the Sogd. *rttny* Old Uigur *ārdini* “jewel”, or the *r-* initial sound of Sogdian is avoided by a metathesis, for example *rzy*, “a sort of linen or wool” Old Uigur *qars* “idem”. We have a similar case with *artut*. The only difficulty is with the rounded vowel of the second syllable. I would like to explain the rounding of the vowel with the labializing influence of the *r*. This sporadically appearing phenomenon can be found in various Turkic languages, for example Old Uigur, Karakhanid *erkeç*, Azerbaijani *öyəc*, Anatolian dialects *ögäç* “he-goat” or Old Uigurian *ür*, Oguz *er* “early” etc.

*ärdilär*; p. 7: *üç törlüg küzünčin artuḡın yumqı alı y(a)rıḡadı*.

3 Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, edited and translated by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly, Harvard 1982-85, part I, p. 138; Dankoff reads *ärtüt*.

4 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, p. 141 and p. 186.

5 R.R. Arat, *Kutaḡyu Bilig I, Metin*, Istanbul 1947; distich 1769: *qamuḡ işçi barça köründi kälip \*tapuy tozyu birlä näng artut qılıp*.

6 R.R. Arat, *Edib Ahmed b. Maḥmūd Yükneki: Atebetü’l-ḥakayık*, İstanbul 1951, p. 44, distich 42.

7 *EDPT* p. 204 *ertüt*.

8 K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*, Lieferung 3, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 216.

9 C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* 3, Berlin 1904/1906, p. 1519 (aw. *rātī*).

10 M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 3, Heidelberg 1976, p. 52 f. (*rātī*).

I would like to mention in this context that in old Turkic written languages there are other interesting words for the concept “gift”. And some of them are probably also loan-words. For example in Karakhanid *siñüt* “a gift which is not matched by a return gift and for which there is no offset”.<sup>11</sup> An etymology for this word, which also occurs in the Choresmian-Turkic text *Nahcu’l-farādīs*,<sup>12</sup> has not yet been established. It is striking that as in *artut*, the word ending is *üt*.

Another word with the variants *yarmayān* and *armayān* “gift” more specifically “a gift which a traveller who has prospered brings back from his journey for his neighbours”<sup>13</sup> also seems to be a loan-word, but the origin is still unknown.

On the other hand, I consider, (in opposition to the opinion of G. Doerfer<sup>14</sup>) *tozγu*, “a gift of food given to a traveller”, which is recorded by Maḥmūd al Kāšgārī, as a loan-word from Mongolian, because the verb from which this word is derived exists only in Mongolian. It is Mongolian *tos-* “to receive, to encounter, go to meet someone who is coming”.

The widespread *savγat*, meaning “gift which one brings back from a trip or a military expedition” has penetrated as far as the Romance languages. The origin of *savγat* is disputed. The most likely explanation is a Mongolian origin.<sup>15</sup>

There is another word for gift, *beläk ~ bäläk* which has been preserved in almost all Turkic languages.<sup>16</sup> But even for this word there is no plausible etymology, although it is probably a genuine Turkic word.

#### *täv* “trick, device”

This word appears always in the synonym compound *täv kör*.<sup>17</sup> The second word has been mistakenly read as *kür*. It is found frequently in Old Uigurian

<sup>11</sup> EDPT p. 836 *siñüt*.

<sup>12</sup> *Nehcü’l-ferādīs* II, *Metin*. Transcription: J. Eckmann; edited by S. Tezcan - H. Zülfi-kar, Ankara [1984], p. 165 (239/6): *süñgütlik bolsun aňgar uçtmah*.

<sup>13</sup> EDPT p. 232 *armağa:n/yarmağa:n*; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (= *TMEN*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-1975) II, nr. 465.

<sup>14</sup> *TMEN* II, nr. 900.

<sup>15</sup> *TMEN* I, nr. 222.

<sup>16</sup> EDPT 338 *béleg*; *TMEN* I, nr. 833.

<sup>17</sup> EDPT p. 434 *tev*.

and Karakhanid. The derivation *tävlig* appears as early as Orkhon-Turkic.<sup>18</sup> *täv* has been assumed to be a Turkic word.

In (East) Middle Persian exist *db* “deceit, trick”<sup>19</sup> and it is clearly an Iranian word. Pahlavi *dawāl* “deceit, trickery”.<sup>20</sup>

The second element, of the synonym compound *täv kör* is also a loanword. It goes back to the Mongolian *gör/görä*, meaning “false accusation, slander”<sup>21</sup> and must have been *kör* in Turkic. In modern Mongolian languages the word has survived, for example Khalkha *gördex* “to slander” *görç* “slander”,<sup>22</sup> Kalmuck *görö* “slander, bad reputation, trick, defamation”,<sup>23</sup> Buriat *gür* “trap, trick”, *gürdelge* “slander”.<sup>24</sup> Oirat *gör* “slander”<sup>25</sup> It has not been preserved in any Turkic language.

*bayraq / batraq* “flag”

This word exists today in the following Turkic languages: In Osmanli and Republican Turkish, Azerbaijani, Crimean Tatar, Kumuk, Balkar, Kazak dialects, Nogay, Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkir, Uzbek dialects and Uygur as *bayraq*, in Uygur dialects as *bayaq*. In Karakhanid found as *baytaq* and *bayraq*, and in Çagatay found as *bayraq* and *baydaq*.

From Turkic *bayraq* has entered many languages (Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Causasian and Balkan languages).<sup>26</sup>

As *bayraq / baydaq / batraq* “flag” exists only in the Turkic languages which are spoken in the neighborhood of Iranian languages, it seems plausible to assume an Iranian origin. In Sogdian we find *pr'* and the extended form *pr'(kh)* “banner” (The Sanskrit equivalent of the Iranian word is *paṭākā*. The Prakrit equivalent is *paḍāā*.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>18</sup> EDPT p. 439 *tevlig*.

<sup>19</sup> W. Sundermann, *Middle Persian and Partian cosmogenic and parable texts of the Manicheans*, Berliner Turfantexte IV, p. 121).

<sup>20</sup> D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1971, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> F.D. Lessing (ed.), *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Corrected Reprinting, Bloomington 1982, p. 387.

<sup>22</sup> H.-P. Vietze, *Wörterbuch Mongolisch-Deutsch*, Leipzig 1988, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> G.J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*,<sup>2</sup>Helsinki 1976, p. 138.

<sup>24</sup> K.M. Çeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1973, p. 166.

<sup>25</sup> J.R. Krueger, *Materials for an Oirat-Mongolian to English Citation Dictionary*, Bloomington 1984, p. 774.

<sup>26</sup> EDPT p. 307 *batrak*, TMEN II, nr. 824.

<sup>27</sup> R.L. Turner, *A comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1966:

In Old Uigurian in addition to the Sogdian loan-word *pra* another word with the same meaning is found: *batruq*. This is quite similar to the Karakhanid variant *batraq*. This may be a case of contamination, as with the Turkic verb *batur-* “to stick, to pierce” or with *qazyuq* “pole” because the flagpole is stuck into the earth like a pole. Of course the Old Uigur word *batruq* may be a completely different word.

Previous scholars who were not familiar with Sogd. *pr'* and *pr'kh* assumed that *bayraq* had a Turkish origin. Only Clauson raised the question of whether it might be a loan-word.

*böd* “throne”

This word is found only in Orkhon-Turkic. There are very few examples of this word. But at least one instance is so clear that there is no doubt as to the existence and meaning of this word.<sup>28</sup> However it can also be read as *vöd* because there is no special sign for *v* in the Turkic runic alphabet. No similar word has been found in any of the Turkic languages.

The similarity of the word with the Sogdian *w'δ* “seat, throne, pulpit, (bishop's) seat” is apparent, although the vowel of the Turkic word is palatal. If there is a connection, the palatalisation remains unexplained. On the other hand, the rounding of the unrounded vowel in the vicinity of the labial consonants is not unusual for Orkhon-Turkic.

*käp* “mould, model” and *gibi* ~ *bigi* (postposition) “like”

*kep* is recorded as early as Old Uigurian. A.v. Gabain translates it with “example, pattern”.<sup>29</sup> In Karakhanid it means “mould”. The word was often mistakenly read with *i* or *ī* as, *kip* or *kīb*, also by Clauson. He writes the following about this word: “*ki:b* (g-) originally ‘mould, model’ in a concrete sense, in Oğuz it early acquired the metaph. meaning ‘likeness, resemblance’, and with the Poss. Suff. *-i: kibi: (gibi:)* came to be used as a Postposition meaning ‘like’. As a noun noted only as below, but the

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<sup>28</sup> “*patākā-* ‘flag’ [Prob. ← a non Aryan word containing *p(h)at* aryanized with *t*]”.

<sup>28</sup> Kül Tegin Inscription, S. 11 *bödkä körügmä bäglär ...*; see EDPT p. 298 *böd* “a royal throne”.

<sup>29</sup> A.v. Gabain, “Briefe der Uigurischen Hüen-tsang-Biographie”, SPAW 1938 (= *Opuscula* III 1) p. 386, 2111.

Postposition survives in SW Az. *kimi* Osm. *gibi* and in some other languages in altered forms like NW Kaz. *kebek-kük* (? for *kibi ök*)...<sup>30</sup>

In reality the word is much more widespread. Räsänen has listed the following words in his etymological dictionary,<sup>31</sup> which I quote have to substantiate my claim: Turkmen *gāp*, Karakalpak *kep* “decoy” (stuffed skin of an animal); Oyrot, Teleut, Lebed, Shor *kāp* “model, last, scheme”; Abū Ḥayyān *kāp* “last”; [? Kazak *kep* “sense, meaning”]; kumuk *kep* “form by casting”; sojon. *xep*, *xevi*, “form”, Yakut *kiāp*, çuv. *kap* “appearance, figure, form”; Old Bulgarian > ung. *kép* “picture”<sup>32</sup>; Old Slavic *kapъ* “picture, portrait, idol”; Shor *kābār* “depiction, illustration, pattern”; Mong. *keb* “form, model, pattern, last, sample”.

I would like to add: In Old Osmanli texts there are clear references to *kāp* “last” (with open *ä*)<sup>33</sup> and in Anatolian dialects in addition to *kip* “fitting exactly” there is the variant *kirp*.<sup>34</sup>

The vowel of the word is then in some languages a long or short open *ä*, in some a closed *e* and in others an *i*. Moreover forms which contain an *r* appear in Shor, in Soyon and Anatolian dialects. I think the variability of the vowel is typical of loan-words.

It seems to me very probable that this word is also of Iranian origin (possibly East Middle Persian). In Turkic an *r*-drop occurred. The *r* has even been preserved in some languages. However, the variants with *r* may be of secondary origin.

To be the origin of Turkic *kāp* I consider the Middle Persian *karp* “body”, [Pahlavi *kirb*] “body, form”.<sup>35</sup>

The explanation of the postposition *kibi* ~ *gibi* (and its metathetic variant *bigi*) as an extended form of the third person with possessive suffix has been generally recognized and is in my opinion correct. Both variants of the word have an *i* in the first syllable because of the regressive assimilation.

<sup>30</sup> EDPT p. 686 *ki:b*.

<sup>31</sup> M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkisprachen*. Helsinki 1969, p. 253.

<sup>32</sup> For the Hungarian word see: *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, vol. 2, Budapest 1970, p. 447 f.

<sup>33</sup> For example *Marzubān-nāme*, Berlin ms. 35v9.

<sup>34</sup> *Türkiye’de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü VIII*, TDK, Ankara 1975, p. 2873.

<sup>35</sup> D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, p. 51.

### Choresmian loan-words in Turkic

For Choresmian-Turkic we have texts from the 14 century and a fairly complete copy of the famous Arabic dictionary by al-Zamaxşarî. In Choresmian-Turkic we find in addition to an abundance of Arabic and Newpersian loan-words, a few loan-words from the Iranian Choresmian language. Nuri Yüce identified the following words of *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* as Choresmian loans: *bāmān* “hopeless”, *onxar* “rumination”, *şamuşa* “fittings, decoration”, *ustax* “impudent, audacious, unblushing”.<sup>36</sup> The last example however is also listed with the same sound in Persian dictionaries and cannot therefore be designated specifically as a Choresmian word.

Johannes Benzing in his Choresmian word index showed that Turkmen *yap* and Uzbek *yâb* “irrigation canal” are loan-words from the extinct Choresmian, *y'b*.<sup>37</sup> I would like to add: The oldest record for this is found in *Nahcu'l-farādīs*, a work of the 14th century.<sup>38</sup>

The Choresmian *t'b* “point, iota, vowel sign”<sup>39</sup> entered Choresmian-Turkic and is found as *tap* in the meaning “spot, dot”.<sup>40</sup>

Another word which has not previously been identified is *indist* “bread soup” which appears in the *Muqaddimatu'l-adab*.<sup>41</sup> In Iranian Choresmian it is recorded as *'ndst* “crumbled (and soaked) bread and *'njst* “bread crumbled in broth”.<sup>42</sup>

Although a similar, comparable word is lacking in Choresmian language material, I suspect that Choresmian-Turkic *qaçu/qaçur* “dyke” is a loan-word from Choresmian. It occurs in *Qişāşu'l-anbiyā* by Rabgūzī<sup>43</sup> and in *Nahcu'l-farādīs*.<sup>44</sup> Today this word is found only in two Turkic languages which are spoken in the former area of Choresmian and Choresmian-Turkic:

36 N. Yüce, *Mukaddimetü'l-edeb, Hıvārizm Türkçesi ile Tercümeli Şuŝter Nüŝhası*, Ankara 1988, p. 25.

37 J. Benzing, *Chwarezmischer Wortindex. Mit einer Einleitung von Helmut Humbach, herausgegeben von Zahra Taraf*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 696.

38 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs II, Metin*, p. 49 (66/11).

39 *Chwarezmischer Wortindex*, p. 606.

40 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs II, Metin*, p. 237 (341/1).

41 *Mukaddimetü'l-edeb* p. 26, 130.

42 *Chwarezmischer Wortindex*, p. 69.

43 Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets*, vol. I. Critically ed. by. H.E., Boeschoten, M. Vandamme and S. Tezcan, Leiden 1995, p. 712.

44 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs II, Metin*, p. 60 (82/5).

Turkmen *yaçı* and Karakalpak *qaşı*.

In closing I would like to direct the attention to two words which occur only in Oguz and in several Kıpçak languages. To this day they have not been satisfactorily explained. I would like to pose the question, whether they might be connected to Choresmian.

*us* “reason” al-Kāşğarī designates this word as Oguz. Today it exists only in Karaim, Azerbaijani and Osmanli/Republican Turkish. I am considering a comparison with Choresmian *’ws* “understanding, consciousness”. The Avestian equivalent is *uši* and the Persian equivalent is *hūš ~ hoş*.

*pāy* “share”. This word too is recorded only for the Oguz and Kıpçak languages. Beyond that, it has entered Russian and Kalmuck. I do not share the opinion that this word, which has been found neither in other eastern Turkic languages nor in Old Turkic, is Chinese. Perhaps we can compare it with Choresmian *pdj’b* which is translated as “part” [Teil] in *Chwaresmischer Wortindex* of Benzing, but which is often used as “share” (as a pendant Arabic, Persian *naşīb*) and has been translated as such by Benzing (for example Zamaşarī 88/7: “Er sonderte ihm seinen Anteil ab” [“He detached his portion”]). Perhaps *pd* (*pad*) is concealed in the first part of this word?

As another possibility we should perhaps consider that it is related to *p’θ* “arrow” in some way? (Could it be a case of contamination?) Let us compare Arabic *sahm* with both meanings. 1. “arrow” and 2. “share, portion, lot”. It is interesting in this context what al-Kāşğarī writes to *oq* “lot used in dividing up lands or shares of property”<sup>45</sup> and “share of an inheritance”.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, p. 89.

<sup>46</sup> *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, p. 96.