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— ZEKİ VELİDİ TOGAN'IN HATIRASINA ARMAĞAN —

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The Turkish-Khotanese Vocabulary Re-edited

Gerard CLAUSON
(London)

My old friend Professor Dr. Zeki Velidi Togan will always be remembered primarily as an eminent historian, but he was also interested in the earlier stages of the Turkish language. Nearly sixty years ago as a very young man he was the first scholar to see the Namangan or Fergana manuscript of the **Kutaḍḡu: Bilig**. He immediately recognised its importance and published a note on it in a Russian orientalist journal. It is, therefore, perhaps not inappropriate that I should dedicate to his memory this new edition of the oldest substantial vocabulary of Turkish with some words translated into another language. There are in Chinese histories of an earlier date a few short lists of Turkish words in Chinese transcription, mainly official titles, with translations in Chinese, but they are of very little importance for studying the history of the language. The present vocabulary dates from the ninth or tenth century A.D. and contains 97 words, some translated into Khotanese Saka (in future abbreviated to Khot.). It is not, of course, comparable in importance with Maḥmūd al-Kāṣḡari's great **Dīwān luḡati'l-turk**, but it is probably more than a hundred years older and is written in an alphabet which, though not very precise in some respects, is quite different from all the other alphabets in which Turkish has at one time or another been written.

The text is written at the end of a roll, the rest of which is occupied by a Khot. translation of an excerpt from the **Siddhasāra**, a Sanskrit medical work, and must, as Sir Harold Bailey has pointed out, have been compiled by a Khotanese who was collecting notes on the Turkish language. It therefore represents the way in which a Khotanese who did not know much Turkish thought that the language was pronounced. There are in it what appear to be several spelling mistakes which a man writing his own language would not have made.

The selection of words is rather surprising. The text opens with a group of technical terms connected with archery, but oddly enough no words for 'bow' or 'arrow'. One or two words belonging to this group also occur later in the text. There are also scattered through the text technical terms relating to

harness and the use and care of horses and two words for parts of the body used only of horses. The remaining words are nearly all names of parts of the body.

The text was first published with a translation and commentary by Professor Sir Harold Bailey in 1954 in the **Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies XI** pp. 290ff. He published a revised edition of the text, without translation or commentary, in Vol. III of his collection of **Khotanese Texts**. The whole of the Turkish material in this and other Khot. texts has recently been discussed in detail by Dr. Even Hovdhaugen in 'Turkish words in Khotanese texts, a linguistic analysis', **Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap**, XXIV, Oslo, 1971, pp. 163-209.

The text is written in a Central Asiatic variety of the Indian Brāhmī alphabet. This alphabet is one of a series of alphabets the first of which was invented to write Sanskrit. By the middle of the first millennium. A.D. when it was carried by Indian Buddhist missionaries to Central Asia, the phonetic value of some letters had changed, and when the alphabet was adopted for writing Khot. and other Central Asiatic languages, the letters in question were used with their new phonetic values, and new letters or combinations of letters were invented to represent sounds like (z) which did not exist in Sanskrit. Hovdhaugen has discussed all these points in detail in his paper and his conclusions need not be repeated here. The points which are at first sight most puzzling are that Turkish (t) is represented by **tt**, (l) usually by the cerebral dental **ḍ**, (z) by **ys** and (o/ö) usually by **ā**, sometimes by **au**. It will be noticed that this **ā** (representing (o/ö) often appears in positions where (u) would be expected. This probably represents the actual sound then used, for example (ortun) was probably at this date actually pronounced (orton) (**ārtānā**). The Khot. **h** with two dots over it, here transcribed **h̄**, represented a voiced guttural fricative (ğ/g). In late Khot. no word could end in a consonant and there could not be two consecutive consonants of some kinds within a word, the compiler therefore consistently added or inserted a short indeterminate vowel in Turkish words in these positions. When the compiler wrote **sapāh:akā** for (sapğa:k) this may well mean that he himself pronounced it **sapĕgākĕ**; but erratic vocalizations like **i** for (a) in (tamğa:k) and (yaḡa:k), **a** for (ı) in (sıḡarsuk), **e** for (ü) in (tügek) and (tüрге:k) and **η** for (ğ) in (kuruḡluk) and probably (saḡrak) seem to be simple mistakes, probably due to a failure to catch the exact pronunciation of the words.

In preparing this new edition I have had one great advantage over Sir Harold and Dr. Hovdhaugen. My **Etymological Dictionary of pre-13th century Turkish** (in future cited as ED), recently published by the Oxford University Press, has brought together a great deal of material not readily accessible to them, and this has enabled me to identify a number of words which they could

not recognise. There are now only four words which seem to present insoluble problems.

The text is presented as follows: the Khot. spelling of the Turkish word, the word and meaning listed in ED with a page reference, the Khot. translation of the word, if there is one, with an English translation when possible. I am greatly indebted to Sir Harold for giving me these. This is followed by notes on those words which present difficulties. The numbers in the margin are of the lines in the manuscript.

- 165 **kyešä** (ké:š), 'quiver' ED 752; **hūlah:ä hame**, 'it is quiver(?)'.
- 166 **ttūpi** (tüpi:), 'its bottom' ED 434 (tü:b); **hūlah:ä hīvi bāna hame**, 'it is the bottom of the quiver(?)'.
kūrṇālūkä 'bow-case', see note; **byiha dūnai hame**, 'it is the cover of a bow'.
- yasikä** (yasık), 'bow-case' ED 974; **nveysdyä hame** 'it is...'
- 167 **kapäh:akä** (kapğa:k), 'a leather stopper covering a quiver' ED 584; **hūlah:ä hīvi tturakä hame** 'it is the cover of the quiver(?)'.
- 168 **yih:äräh:akä** (*yigirgük), see note; **hūlah:ä münükä hame**, 'it is the ... of the quiver'.
- kyešä yūki** (ké:š) (yüki:), 'the strap(?) of the quiver' ED 910 (yük); **paraışkhärä bamda hame**, 'it is the fastening of the receptacle'.
- 169 **baharai** (bağrı:) 'its hand-grip' ED 317 (bağır); **dunä hīvi thanä hame**, 'it is the ... of the bow'.
- sađi** 'the flat parts of a bow between the hand-grip and the tips', see note; **brāmna hame** 'it is ...'
- ttuttasī**, see note.
- 170 **yūgunä** (yügün), 'bridle' ED 913.
- ttinä** (ti:n) 'halter or leading rein' ED 512.
- ttüysgīnä** (tizgin) 'reins' ED 574.
- yaih:ä** (yé:g), 'horse's bit' ED 910.
- ah:äysi** (ağzı), 'his mouth' ED 98 (ağız).
- sakalä** (saka:l), 'beard' ED 808; **drürkä** (cognate to words meaning 'hair').
- 171 **īdaih:ä** (yilik), 'marrow' ED 927.
- adrrämä** (edrem), 'saddle-pad' ED 66.
- yapī** (yapı:) 'horse-blanket' ED 873 (yapıg).
- emäysi:h:ä** (emzig) 'nipple', see note.
- kāmülä** (köñül) ED 731, see note; **drrüysi** (unknown).
- 172 **kälünä** (kolan), 'girth' ED 622; **ttākä** (unknown).
- ttīđi tlı:** 'its tongue' ED 489 (tl).
- üttuh:ä** (ütüg) ('flat iron') ED 51.
- kiraih:ä** ? 'scraper', see note.

- kūdāsāh:ānā** (kuḍurḡu:n) 'crupper strap' ED 606.
tterkākā (tüрге:k) 'package' ED 544.
- 173 **tteh:akā** (tügek) 'a wooden ring on the end of a cord with which loads are fastened' ED 480.
ülünā (ulun) 'arrow shaft' ED 147; **gahe**, see BSOAS XXI, 528.
keysä (kez), 'arrow notch' ED 756.
ttāḡai see note; **chaskām** (unknown).
ttomau (töpü:) 'the top of the head' ED 436; **ttāra**, 'brow'.
aḡinā (aln), 'forehead' ED 147; **hamdrrāmgā**, 'forehead'.
ttulünā (tuluḡ/tulun), 'the temples, a lock of hair (on the temples)' ED 501; **gīsana**, cognate to Iranian words meaning 'rope' and 'a lock of hair'.
- 174 **kaśi** (kaşı:) 'his eyebrows' ED 669 (ka:ş); **brraukalā** (unknown).
kapakā (kapak), 'eye-lid' ED 582; **tcimūla** 'eye-ball(?)'
kīrāpikā (kirpik), 'eye-lash' ED 737; **hāne** (unknown).
yītti karakā (yiti:) (karak), 'a sharp eye' ED 889 (yitig), 652; **jaśtā**, 'eyes' (?translating only karak).
yürümā karakā (ürüḡ karak), 'the white (of the) eye' ED 233, 652; **śiyi tsem** 'white eye'.
iḡā (yiḡ), '(nasal) mucus' ED 941; **halaśā** (unknown).
- 175 **yūnakā** 'a small amount of wool' (?), see note; **vacā** 'hair', in various contexts.
ttisāttah:a (tiş ta:ḡ) 'molar tooth' (literally 'tooth mountain') ED 557, 465; **ysimā** 'tooth'.
aysai:h:ä (aziḡ), 'large (canine) tooth' ED 283; **haskā**, '(elephant's) tusk'.
yīḡakā (yaḡak), 'cheek-bone' ED 948.
kasai:h:ä (kasiḡ), 'the inside of the cheeks' ED 666.
eh:inā (egin), 'shoulder' ED 109.
- 176 **auvüärüh:ä** (ovruḡ) 'neck vertebra' ED 90 (oḡruḡ).
saḡāraikā 'cranium'(?); see note.
cattakirā see note.
yīḡadi (ildi:), 'he descended' ED 125 (il-); **vahaiysā** 'descent'.
cattā see note; **şakye** (unknown).
ūvunā (ün), 'rise!' ED 169; **sarbā**, 'rise!'.
- 177 **ärttä āyai** (art oyr:), 'the hollow in the nape of the neck' ED 200, 265 (o:y); **namūsthām** (unknown).
eḡā (eḡ) 'cheek' ED 166; **phatanai** 'cheek'.
ttimäh:akā (tamḡa:k) 'throat' ED 505.
cikīnā (çigin), 'the upper part of the shoulder' ED 415 (çigin/çikin).
yarinā (yarm), 'shoulder-blade' ED 970.
eşünā (öşün), 'the point of the shoulder' ED 263.

- 178 **kāḍai** (kolı:), 'his upper arm' ED 614 (ko:l).
bīḍakā (bilek), 'wrist' ED 338.
āya (aya:), 'the palm of the hand' ED 267.
yūysi (yüzi:), 'his face' ED 983 (yü:z).
buh:āsakā (böksesg), 'the upper part of the chest' ED 539.
kākuysā (kögüz), 'chest' ED 714.
- 179 **saṅrārah:ā** (sṅarsuk), 'the hindquarters of a horse, where a second rider sits' ED 841.
yanā (ya:n), 'side, flank' ED 940.
ārtānā yuysā (orton yü:z), 'the middle part of the face' ED 203 (ortu:), 983.
ttıysā (ti:z), 'knee' ED 570.
bauh:ünā (boğun), 'knuckle' ED 316.
yāda (yota:), 'thigh' ED 886.
- 180 **bakañākā** (baka:ñak), 'the frog in a horse's hoof' ED 316.
eh:aucakā 'lock of hair' (?); see note.
aupāka (öpke:), 'lung' ED 9.
yūrakā (yürek), 'heart' ED 965.
bah:airā (bağır), 'liver' ED 317.
tīḍakā (tilak), 'clitoris' ED 495.
- 181 **auttā** (ö:t), 'gall-bladder' ED 35.
sūvacā see note.
karnai (karnı:), 'his belly' ED 661 (karn).
bīdī (bėti:), 'his face' ED 296 (bét).
bauh:anā (boğun), 'knuckle' ED 316.
yūmūrā (yumur), 'bowels' ED 937.
karāh:ākā (kerğük), 'a thing like a paunch, and next to it, in the belly of a sheep' ED 742.
- 182 **sarkāñākā** (sarkıñuk), 'paunch' ED 849.
bah:ārāsāha (bağırsuk) 'entrails' ED 320.
auysā etti (ö:z) (or üz) (eti:), 'internal (or fat) flesh' ED 278, 33:(et).
auysanā (özen), 'the centre, or interior (of something)' ED 289.
yārāgakā (?orğak), 'sickle' ED 216.
- 183 **īdapacākā** (*yélpiçük), ('winnowing) fan', see (yélpi:-) ED 920.
āñacā (öñüç), 'larynx, wind-pipe' ED 172.
bauh:ürā (böğür) 'kidney' ED 328.
yanāttai (?ya:n-eti:) 'flesh on the flank' ED 940, 33.
kausārai (küstri:) 'the side of the chest', ED 751.
eyā ('rib?'), see note.
- 184 **baikinā** (bıkın) 'hip, or flank' ED 316.

ttausä (tö:ş) 'chest' ED 558.

sapäh:akä (sapğa:k) 'waist' ED 786.

NOTES

- 165 The Khot. word **hūlah:ä** occurs only in this text and must be a Turkish loan-word, presumably (kollığ) 'belonging to the upper arm'; why it should have been borrowed for 'quiver' is obscure.
- 166 **kūrñalukä**, in the light of the Khot. translation, must be (kuruğluk), translated by Kāşgari 'bow-case' with the same word as that used to translate (yasık). For another apparent case of (ñ) used to represent (ğ) see (sägra:k).
- 168 *(yığırğuk) is a possible, but unrecorded, deverbal noun from (yığır-) (see yığırıl- ED 906) meaning 'something which draws together', perhaps a narrowing part of the quiver designed to hold the arrows together. (Ké:ş yüki:), (yük) properly means 'a load, burden', but in the light of the Khot. translation it must here be taken to mean the strap which fastens (loads) the quiver onto the belt.
- 169 **Bah:arai** (ya: bağrı:) is a standard phrase for the central hand-grip of a bow. **Sadı**, (sal), with the meaning given is not noted in early Turkish, but survived in Osmanli (see Redhouse's dictionary). **Tütası** is obviously derived from (tut-) 'to grasp' ED 450; it can hardly refer to the archer's grasp on the bow, for which the word used is (bağrı:), but may mean the ends of the bow where notches grasp the bow-string. I do not know of any Turkish word with this meaning, but some derivative of (tut-) might have it; (-si:) is probably the possessive suffix like the (-ı:) in (bağrı:).
- 171-3 The words from (eđrim) to (tügek) inclusive, most of which have given trouble to the previous editors, seem to have to do with horses, except (emzig), a deverbal noun from (emüz-) ED 165, noted in Osmanli but not elsewhere in early Turkish, unless it here has the specialised meaning 'mare's udder' (emig, ED 158, in early Turkish). (Kömül) as a secondary form of (köñül) is not an early word, but 'the breast strap of a saddle' was (kömüldürük) ED 722 as early as the eleventh century, and (kömül) in the specialized meaning of 'a horse's chest' may be intended here. (Ütüg) normally means 'flat-iron' and was borrowed by Russian in this sense as **utyug**, but it is derived from (üt-) 'to singe' and may here have the specialized meaning of 'a hot iron for singeing horses'. **Kirah:ä** could hardly

represent anything except *(kirġ), a deverbal noun from (kir-) 'to scrape'. It could mean a curry-comb or other implement used for grooming horses. **Kūdāsāh:ānā**, apart from the s which must be due to an error of hearing or memory, exactly represents (kuḍurġu:n) (or -ġo:n?) a word obviously appropriate to the context. For the next two words there are no possible alternatives to (türge:k) (though the spelling suggests rather (*türġük,) which would have the same meaning) and (tügek), meaning a package fastened on a horse's back and the means of fastening it.

Ttādai, translated by an unknown Khot. word, lies between two archery terms and a long list of parts of the body, but does not fit well into either category. It obviously does not represent (tolı:) 'hail' ED 491. One possibility, but not at all a convincing one, is that it is (töl-i:). (Töl) properly means 'progeny, descendants' but (döl) in Osmanli could mean 'foetus', and 'its foetus' might be regarded as a part of the body. **Tfomau**, Sir Harold tells me that in this manuscript, unlike some other Khot. manuscripts, p and m are easily distinguished; nevertheless, considering the Khot. translation, this can hardly be anything except a mis-spelling of (töpü:).

175 **Yūḡakä** must represent *yuḡak, a diminutive of (yuḡ) 'wool, (camel or goat's) hair' ED 941; the connection is confirmed by the Khot. translation, but the exact meaning, 'short wool' or 'a small tuft of wool' is uncertain.

176 The only feasible transcription of saḡāraikä seems to be (saġra:k) ED 815, properly 'cup, goblet', and metaphorically 'cranium, the top of the skull'. For another example of (ḡ) representing (ġ) see 1.166. There is no good explanation of either **cattäkirä** or **cattä**; as: (-kir/-kir) is not a Turkish suffix (Sir Harold's quotation from Deny's grammar relates to a Mongolian suffix which was not borrowed until the fourteenth century) the two words can hardly be connected. (Çati) which in Osmanli meant properly 'a frame-work' and was also used for 'skeleton' goes back to (*çatiġ), which would in this text be spelt **cattaih:ä** and can hardly be connected with **cattä** (?çato:).

180 **Eh:aucakä** as such, does not look like any known Turkish word; it could hardly be (*ege;çek) which could be taken as a deverbal noun from (ege:-) ED 101 meaning 'a file'. Perhaps the best explanation is that it is a muddle of (küjek), 'a lock of hair' ED 696.

181 There is no satisfactory explanation of **sūvacä**; a connection with (su:v) 'water' might be suspected, and, in this context a meaning like 'bladder'; but there is no word connected with (su:v) which is anything like this and has such a meaning; the standard word for 'bladder' was (kavuk) ED 583.

182-3 **Yürägakä** and **idapacäkä** can be taken together. The latter represents

form (*yélpıçük) a deverbal noun from (yélpı:-), ED 920, parallel to, and no doubt synonymous with, the mediaeval word (yélpigüç) 'a winnowing fan'. If the two words are connected then the obvious transcription of **yürägakä** (and indeed there is no other) is (orğa:k) 'sickle' ED 216. The **y-** is at first sight embarrassing, but not unique in this text; (ürüñ) is spelt with an initial **y-**, while on the other hand (*yélpıçük), (yılık) and (yın) are spelt without one.

Eyä, as such, is not a possible Turkish word; but if it is, not unreasonably, assumed that the compiler accidentally omitted **gü** it would become the quite appropriate word (eye:gü) 'rib' ED 272.

184. The inclusion of (sapğa:k) in the list is important, because the only other occurrence is in Kāşgari's **Dīwān**, in the manuscript of which it is misspelt **başğa:k**. This mistake was corrected for the first time in ED 786.

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