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İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ YAYINLARI
PUBLICATIONS OF THE FACULTY OF LETTERS, ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

1.1 AGUSTOS 1988

İSLÂM TETKİKLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ DERGİSİ

(REVIEW OF THE INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES)

— ZEKİ VELİDİ TOGAN'IN HATIRASINA ARMAĞAN —

Müdür—Editor
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CİLD—V
CÜZ—1.4
1973

5-6

EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ MATBAASI
İstanbul - 1973

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 **Kutaḡu: 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-Kāṣṡari'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) (**ārtfānā**). The Khot. **h** with two dots over it, here transcribed **h:**, 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 **sapēgākē**; but erratic vocalizations like **i** for (a) in (tamğa:k) and (yaṅa:k), **a** for (ı) in (sṃarsuk), **e** for (ü) in (tügek) and (türge: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 **ttūpī** (tüpi:), 'its bottom' ED 434 (tü:b); **hūlah:ä hīvī bāna hame**, 'it is the bottom of the quiver(?)'.
kūrñālūkā 'bow-case', see note; **byiha dūnai hame**, 'it is the cover of a bow'.
yasikā (yasik), 'bow-case' ED 974; **nveysdyä hame** 'it is...'.
 167 **kapāh:akā** (kapgā:k), 'a leather stopper covering a quiver' ED 584; **hūlah:ä hīvī tturakā hame** 'it is the cover of the quiver(?)'.
 168 **yih:ārāh:ākā** (*yigürgük), see note; **hūlah:ä mūnūkā hame**, 'it is the ... of the quiver'.
kyešä yūki (ké:š) (yūki:), 'the strap(?) of the quiver' ED 910 (yük); **paraışkhārā bamda hame**, 'it is the fastening of the receptacle'.
 169 **bah:arai** (bağrı:) 'its hand-grip' ED 317 (bağır); **dunā hīvī thanā hame**, 'it is the ... of the bow'.
sađī 'the flat parts of a bow between the hand-grip and the tips', see note; **brāmna hame** 'it is...'.
ttuttasī, see note.
 170 **yūgunā** (yügin), 'bridle' ED 913.
ttīnā (ti:n) 'halter or leading rein' ED 512.
ttīysginā (tizgin) 'reins' ED 574.
yaih:ä (yé:g), 'horse's bit' ED 910.
ah:äysi (ağzı:), 'his mouth' ED 98 (ağız).
sakalā (saka:l), 'beard' ED 808; **drūkā** (cognate to words meaning 'hair').
 171 **īđaih:ä** (yilik), 'marrow' ED 927.
adrrāmā (edrem), 'saddle-pad' ED 66.
yapī (yapı:) 'horse-blanket' ED 873 (yapığ).
emäysiḥ:ä (emzig) 'nipple', see note.
kāmülā (köñül) ED 731, see note; **drüysi** (unknown).
 172 **kālünā** (kolan), 'girth' ED 622; **ttākā** (unknown).
ttīđī tılı: 'its tongue' ED 489 (tıl).
üttuh:ä (ütüg) ('flat iron') ED 51.
kiraih:ä ? 'scraper', see note.

- kūdāsāh:ānā** (kuḍurḡu:n) 'crupper strap' ED 606.
tterkākā (tūrge: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.
ttāḍai see note; **chaskām** (unknown).
ttomau (töpü:) 'the top of the head' ED 436; **ttāra**, 'brow'.
aḍinā (aln), 'forehead' ED 147; **hamdrrāngā**, '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 **kašī** (kašı:) 'his eyebrows' ED 669 (ka:š); **brraukalā** (unknown).
kapakā (kapak), 'eye-lid' ED 582; **tcimūla** 'eye-ball(?)'
kirāpikā (kirpik), 'eye-lash' ED 737; **hāne** (unknown).
yitī karakā (yiti:) (karak), 'a sharp eye' ED 889 (yitig), 652; **jaštā**, 'eyes' (?translating only karak).
yürümā karakā (ürüḡ karak), 'the white (of the) eye' ED 233, 652; **šiyi tcem** 'white eye'.
iḡā (yiḡ), '(nasal) mucus' ED 941; **halašā** (unknown).
- 175 **yūḡakā** 'a small amount of wool' (?), see note; **vateä** 'hair', in various contexts.
ttisāttah:a (tiš ta:ḡ) 'molar tooth' (literally 'tooth mountain') ED 557, 465; **ysimā** 'tooth'.
aysaiḡ:ä (aziḡ), 'large (canine) tooth' ED 283; **haskā**, '(elephant's) tusk'.
yīḡakā (yaḡak), 'cheek-bone' ED 948.
kasaiḡ:ä (kašig), 'the inside of the cheeks' ED 666.
eh:inā (egin), 'shoulder' ED 109.
- 176 **auvūārüh:ä** (ovruḡ) 'neck vertebra' ED 90 (oḡruḡ).
saḡāraikā 'cranium'(?); see note.
cattakirā see note.
yīḍadī (ıldrı:), 'he descended' ED 125 (ıl-); **vahaiysā** 'descent'.
cattā see note; **šakye** (unknown).
ūvunā (ün), 'rise!' ED 169; **sarbā**, 'rise!'.
- 177 **ärttā āyai** (art oyı:), 'the hollow in the nape of the neck' ED 200, 265 (o:y); **namūsthām** (unknown).
eḡā (eḡ) 'cheek' ED 166; **phatanai** 'cheek'.
ttimāh:akā (tamḡa:k) 'throat' ED 505.
çikīnā (çigin), 'the upper part of the shoulder' ED 415 (çigin/çikin).
yarinā (yarın), 'shoulder-blade' ED 970.
ešunā (öšün), '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 (bökeg), 'the upper part of the chest' ED 539.
kākuysā (kögiiz), 'chest' ED 714.
- 179 **saḡārāsah:ā** (sıḡarsuk), '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.
ttiysā (ti:z), 'knee' ED 570.
bauh:ünā (boḡun), '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 (baḡır), 'liver' ED 317.
tīḍakā (tilak), 'clitoris' ED 495.
- 181 **auttā** (öt:t), 'gall-bladder' ED 35.
sūvacā see note.
karnai (karnı:), 'his belly' ED 661 (karn).
bīdī (bėti:), 'his face' ED 296 (bét).
bauh:anā (boḡun), 'knuckle' ED 316.
yūmūrā (yumur), 'bowels' ED 937.
karāh:ākā (kerḡük), '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 (baḡırsuk) '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 (?(orḡa:k), 'sickle' ED 216.
- 183 **īdapacākā** (*yélpicük), ('winnowing) fan', see (yélpı:-) ED 920.
āñacā (öñüç), 'larynx, wind-pipe' ED 172.
bauh:ürā (böḡür) 'kidney' ED 328.
yanāttai (?ya:n eti:) 'flesh on the flank' ED 940, 33.
kausarai (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 (kollğ) 'belonging to the upper arm'; why it should have been borrowed for 'quiver' is obscure.
- 166 **kūrḡälukä**, in the light of the Khot. translation, must be (kuruğluk), translated by Kāşgarī 'bow-case' with the same word as that used to translate (yasık). For another apparent case of (ḡ) used to represent (ğ) see (sağra: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. **Sađi**, (sal), with the meaning given is not noted in early Turkish, but survived in Osmanli (see Redhouse's dictionary). **Ttutasä** 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 (köḡül) 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 specialised meaning of 'a horse's chest' may be intended here. (Ütüğ) 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 specialised meaning of 'a hot iron for singeing horses'. **Kiraih:ä** could hardly

- represent anything except **(kirig)*, 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 (kudurğu:n) (or -ğō: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 **(türgiik)*, which would have the same meaning) and (tügek), meaning a package fastened on a horse's back and the means of fastening it.
- Ttāđai**, 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 (tol:) 'hair' 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. **Ttomau**, 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 **Yūṇakā** must represent **yuṇak*, a diminutive of (yuṇ) '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 **saṇāraikā** seems to be (sağra:k) ED 815, properly 'cup, goblet', and metaphorically 'cranium, the top of the skull'. For another example of (ṇ) representing (ğ) see 1.166. There is no good explanation of either **cattākīrā** or **cattā**; as (-kīr/-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. (Çatı) which in Osmanli meant properly 'a frame-work' and was also used for 'skeleton' goes back to **(çatığ)*, which would in this text be spelt **cattaiḥ:ā** and can hardly be connected with **cattā** (?çato:).
- 180 **Eh:aucakā** 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 **sūvacā**; 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 **Yūrāgakā** and **īđapacākā** can be taken together. The latter represents

fan (*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 (orğak): '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 (yır) 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. The inclusion of (sapğak) in the list is important, because the only other occurrence is in Kāşgarī's **Dīwān**, in the manuscript of which it is misspelt **başğak**. This mistake was corrected for the first time in ED 786.

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