

Research article

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Western Mongolian (Oirat-Kalmyk) loanwords in Kyrgyz

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Abstract: The Kyrgyz are one of the Turkic peoples that have had extensive contact with Mongolian tribes throughout history, and their language has one of the largest numbers of loanwords of Mongolian origin. Careful analysis shows that these words were borrowed from several historical Mongolian idioms at various times. Western Mongolian loanwords make up the most recent stratum in terms of chronology. They were acquired in the 16th–18th centuries from Western Mongolian idioms, whose living successors are Oirat and Kalmyk. This article is the first attempt to deal specifically with loanwords from Western Mongolian languages to a particular Turkic language.

The author of the paper offers numerous, especially phonological, criteria, for identifying Western Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz, and provides examples that meet these criteria.

The fact that Mongolian loanwords from the late period are more prevalent than those from earlier layers, and that they also include examples related to Lamaism, Mongolian culture and ethnography, suggests that the Oirat-Kalmyk and Kyrgyz tribes had more intensive interaction than is often recognized.

Keywords: Kyrgyz, Turkic, Mongolian, language contact, loanword

1 Background to the question

Despite the uncertainty about their genetic kinship, Turkic and Mongolic languages share a large number of lexical, morphological and syntactic similarities. According to previous studies, the bulk of these similarities can be attributed to mutual influences. Speakers of the Turkic and Mongolian languages have been in close contact for a very long time. These contacts are generally thought to have begun with the emergence of the rival ethnopolitical entities of the Xiongnu and Xianbei, followed by early Turkic and Mongolic (and Para-Mongolic) tribes, and to have led to the mutual penetration of lexical and grammatical (including morphological and syntactic) elements between the language groups. According to several historical and linguistic sources, the Sayan-Altai and Tien-Shan regions were the centres of the most frequent and prolonged contacts between the speakers of these two language groups, and the Turkic languages spoken in these contact zones, particularly Tuvan, Yakut, Kyrgyz and Kazakh, were strongly influenced by Mongolian languages (for more details see Ščerbak, 1997, Schönig, 2003, Rassadin, 2007, 2008, etc.).

The presence of a large number of Mongolian elements mainly of Khalkha-Buryat origin in the Tuvan language, which chronologically can be attributed to the late layer, is due to several factors, such as living in a contact sub-area, subordination to state formations controlled by the Mongols, acceptance of the Tibeto-Mongolian form of Buddhism, use of Mongolian as a written language and, as a result, asymmetric Tuvan-Mongolian bilingualism in favour of the latter (see Tatarintsev 1976: 3–15; Khabtagaeva 2009: 21–25).

On the other hand, an examination of the loanwords of Mongolian origin in Yakut shows that they were adopted at different times from different historical Mongolian languages. The Yakuts are

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considered to have had more intensive contact with the Khitans in the 11th–12th centuries and with the Mongols during the empire of Genghis Khan and his successors (13th–14th centuries), as well as during the reign of the Northern Yuan (15th–16th centuries), when the ancestors of the modern Yakuts were socially and politically subordinated to Mongols (Kałuziński 1962: 119–128; Nadeljajev 1981: 15; Nadeljajev 1986: 14).

From the perspective of Turkic-Mongolian language contact, Kyrgyz, and to a lesser extent Kazakh,¹ are also unique in that they display not only simple vocabulary transfers represented by loanwords, which can also to varying degrees be seen in other Turkic languages, but also linguistic items that can be described as consequences of the influence of the Mongolian superstrate, which is rarely the case for other Turkic languages². These elements should have penetrated these languages only during the periods of long-term bilingualism within the same Turko-Mongolian *sprachbund* (Ščerbak 1986: 49; Rassadin 1987: 127–134).

It is well known that a language reflects the life of its speakers, so even a quick glance at the history of the Kyrgyz can be enough to understand how closely their past is intertwined with that of Mongolian-speaking peoples. Here it would be enough to mention that the (Yenisei) Kyrgyz were in contact with the Khitans in the 10th–12th centuries, were part of the early alliance of the “four Oirat” tribes (*Dörben Oirad*), and along with mainly Mongolic-speaking “forest tribes” (*Oin Irgen*) were subjugated to Genghis Khan’s Empire in the 13th century. The final stages of the ethnogenesis of the Kyrgyz people took place during the 14th–17th centuries in the state of Mughalistan, also known as the Eastern Chagatai Khanate. There, the Kyrgyz tribes united with the *Mughal*, who gradually underwent Turkification through a linguistic shift and eventually formed a single ethnicity with them. Nevertheless, it can be said with confidence that the closest and most direct contacts of the Kyrgyz (and Kazakhs, at the same time) were with the Jungars, who were speakers of Western Mongolian languages, both in economic and military terms. This can be gleaned from the records and reports of the first Russian delegations to the Jungars, and can also be traced in the collective memory of the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs, where the Jungars are clearly reflected in the folklore of these peoples. The Kyrgyz and Kazakh tribes and the Jungar Khanate had long-standing political and military conflicts, which were occasionally supplanted by alliances or the total dependency of the Turkic tribes on the Jungars (Petrov 1961: 175–207; Petrov 1963: 130–145; Judin 1965: 68–69; Abramzon 1971: 58–64; Mo-keev 2010: 71–92, 205–228).

As a result of centuries of close contact, the modern Kyrgyz ethnicity includes many splinter tribes of the Western, Central and Northern Mongols, such as *Alakčın*, *Naiman*, *Merkit*, *Baarin*, *Kereit*, *Jalair*, *Qatakin* and *Dughlat*, etc. (see Karatayev 2003). A large separate group lives in the northeast of Kyrgyzstan under the common name *Moŋoldor* (lit. the Mongols), which directly indicates that many Mongolian tribes played a significant role in the ethno-genesis of the Kyrgyz. In the east of the Issyk-Kul region of modern Kyrgyzstan live the Sart-Kalmaks, once part of the Oirats, who eventually became a separate ethnic group but are now in the final stage of incorporation into the Kyrgyz ethnic-

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- 1 In terms of Mongolian influence, Kyrgyz, and its closest sister language, Kazakh, should be discussed together, despite the fact that the latter lacks the Mongolian loanwords common to South Siberian Turkic languages and Kyrgyz, which may have been borrowed during the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) when the main Kyrgyz tribes were still residing in the Altai Mountains, which were a part of this state (see Junusaliev 1971: 218, Schöniß 2000: 245).
 - 2 It should also be noted that in Kyrgyz, along with the explicit examples of both borrowing and substrate interference, there are many cases where it is difficult to determine whether a particular linguistic phenomenon should be attributed to contact borrowing or to substrate influence. The Turkic-Mongolian language contact lasted for centuries, during which contact occurred at continually varying levels of intensity. Linguistic dominance also shifted back and forth between Mongolic languages and Kyrgyz. Thus, substrate-related influences are intermingled with layers of borrowing. Hence, it seems more reliable not to make a sharp distinction between interference via shift and borrowing, but rather to view the two as lying on a continuum.

ity. This ethnic intermingling over the centuries caused the appearance of heterogeneous lexical borrowings of Mongolian origin in the Kyrgyz language.

A detailed examination of Mongolic loanwords in Kyrgyz, which, according to our preliminary study, number more than three thousand, suggests a chronological classification into two groups, each with two subgroups:

- I. Early (Middle Mongolian) loanwords
 - a) Yuan period early loanwords
 - b) Common Middle Mongolian loanwords
- II. Later period loanwords
 - a) Northern Mongolic (Buryat-type) loanwords
 - b) Western Mongolic (Oirat-Kalmyk) loanwords

The first subgroup of early (Middle Mongolian) loanwords consists of loanwords common only to Siberian Turkic and Kyrgyz. The main criterion for the recognition of this layer is the exclusion criterion; in other words, whether or not Kazakh exhibits Mongolisms shared by the above-mentioned languages. Although nearly all the chronological layers of Mongolian loanwords appear to be shared by Kyrgyz and Kazakh, it is striking that there are some loanwords that are either absent from Kazakh or, if they do appear in Kazakh or its dialects, have a primary meaning different from that in Kyrgyz and the South Siberian Turkic languages. Junusaliev (1971: 218) was the first to draw attention to this fact, and according to Schönig (2000: 245) these loanwords entered Kyrgyz and north-eastern (South Siberian) Turkic languages when their speakers shared the same geographical domain during the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). Examples of loanwords from this group include: Kyrg. *ayıl* “village, a group of yurts”, *arbin* “a lot, much, many”, *belen* “prepared; ready; in readiness”, *bülö* “family, family members”, *büylö* ‘gum (of mouth)’, *dülöy* “deaf”, *ider*, *iderlüü jigit* “vigorous young man”, *qaalya* “(yurt) door, wicket, gate”, *qayyuul* “mounted patrol unit; scouting, reconnaissance”, *qooz* “beautiful; charming, elegant”, *mooqum*, *mooq* “desire, pleasure”, *sonun* ~ *solun* “good, wonderful; interesting”, *tatay* ~ *itatay* “interjection of disgust, faugh”, *tayī-* “to sacrifice, make an offering, worship (to the spirits of the ancestors, the protectors of a place or body of water”, *unaa* “draft horse; riding animal, cart”, etc.

The second subgroup consists of the Middle Mongolian layer of loanwords, which is shared by various Turkic languages spoken from Siberia to Crimea and Anatolia. The subject is well covered in the publications by S. Kałuziński (1962) for Mongolian loan words (MLW) in Yakut; by B. I. Tatarintsev (1976), M. Ölmez (2007), and B. Khabtagaeva (2009) for MLW in Tuvan; by V. Rassadin (1980) for MLW in South Siberian Turkic; by B. Bazyłhan (1967) and Š. Sarybaev (1971) for MLW in Kazakh; by E. F. Išberdin (1979) and A. Vahitova (2010) for MLW in Bashkir; by É. Csáki (2006) for MLW in Volga Kipchak languages; by Sujunčev (1977) for MLW in Karachai-Balkar; by Sydykov (1966) for MLW in Kyrgyz; by É. Kincses-Nagy (2018) for MLW in Chagatai; by V. Rybatzki (2013, 2015, 2017) for MLW in Uzbek; and by C. Schönig (2000) for MLW in West Oguz languages.

Some Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz demonstrate phonological developments typical of Buryat or Northern Mongolic languages, which occurred in a relatively recent developmental period of Mongolic languages, e.g. č- > s-: Kyrg. *saza*, *sazay* “punishment; reprisal” ← M, cf. LM *čayaza* “prohibition; law, esp. criminal law punishment, esp. capital punishment” (← Ar. *جاء*), Khal. *tsaaz*, Kalm. *tsaaĵ*, Oir. *tsaaĵi*, but Bur. *saaza*, *saazalga* “id.”; Kyrg. *čočoy-*, *čočoy-* “to stick out, protrude” as well as its later forms as *joĵjoy-*, *šoĵšoy-*, and *soqsoy-* ← Mong. cf. LM. *čoyčuyi-* (< čoyča-yi), Khal. *tsogtsoi-*, Kalm. *tsokči-*, but Bur. *sogsoy-*; Kyrg. *saamay*³ “temple” ← Mong. cf. LM **čimarqai*, Khal. *čamarhay*,

3 Although Kyrg. *saamay* seems phonetically close to Kalm. *šaŋχ* “herabhängende haare an den schläfen (der mädchen, der pferde), die haare zu beiden seiten des scheitels” Ram349a and Kalm. *šaŋna* “чёлка на голове лошади;

Kalm. *tsamrhaa*, but Bur. *sabirgay*, č- > š-: Kyrg. *šoolyo* “ice hole, hole, opening” ← Mong. *čoyulya* “hole, opening; opening cut in the ice (as for fishing or watering cattle); a thawed patch on a snowy or icy surface” L195b, Khal. *tsoolgo* “пролубь, дыра, отверстие”, Oir. *tsoorog* Tod430, but Bur. *šoloohoy* “щель, дыра, дырка” BRS II/616b, and -s > -d: Kyrg. *ulut* “nation; people” ← M, LM *ulus*, Khal *uls*, Kalm. *uls*, but Bur. *ulad*.

The last consonant development can also be seen in the idiom of the Jalait-Dürbet in Inner Mongolia (Svantesson et al. 2005: 204; Todayeva 1981: 214). However, the number of loanwords of this type is very limited, and it could be considered a relic of contact between speakers of an unrecorded historical Mongolic idiom of the Buryat type and either the ancestors of the modern Kazakhs and Kyrgyz or historically northern Mongolian tribes such as the Jalair, who were later Turkified and incorporated into the Kyrgyz and Kazakh peoples.

Nevertheless, our preliminary study shows that the last group of Mongolian borrowings is the largest in terms of quantity and the most recent in terms of chronology. This group consists of loanwords borrowed from Western Mongolian (WM) languages including Early Oirat documented in Written Oirat (WO) among the historical written Mongolian languages, and Oirat and Kalmyk among the modern ones along with their dialects, spoken in the provinces of Xinjiang, Qinghai, and Chinese Inner Mongolia, as well as Kalmykia and adjoining regions of the Russian Federation (for more details, see Birtalan 2020: 350–369, Bläsing 2003: 229–248).

2 Previous studies of Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz and theoretical framework

Despite the importance of Kyrgyz for Turkic-Mongolian linguistic contacts and the valuable data it provides for recognizing both borrowings and back-borrowings, and despite the fact that it sheds light on and provides insights into the history of Turkic-Mongolian relations and their intensity, the topic of borrowings and/or Mongolian-based contact-induced changes in Kyrgyz has not been studied in detail, except for in the works of Sydykov (1966, 1967, 1983), who traces the genealogical relationships of the Altaic languages and analyses the common vocabulary of the Kyrgyz and Mongolian languages not from the perspective of borrowings, but as common Turkic and Mongolian lexical parallels. Despite being among the first publications on the subject, however, these works do not provide an answer to the fundamental question: Which Kyrgyz words can be considered borrowings from the Mongolian languages, and what are the criteria for identifying borrowings of Mongolian origin in Kyrgyz.

The very first work dealing with the Mongolian borrowings in Kyrgyz was by A. Bulakaeva-Barannikova (1958: 113–143). This was followed by the works of S. Kudaibergenov (1964: 41–46; 1965: 39–49) and K. Dyjkanov (1980: 71–77), in which the question is again discussed from the perspective of genetically common lexical parallels, which does not allow for clarification of the key issues mentioned above. Recent studies of the subject are by G. Uzun (2011: 1835–1848; 2012: 305–310), S. Džumaliev (2000: 128–132) and K. Kalieva (2021: 21–42); however, they too fail to provide a clear answer to the question at hand. One of my recent works is devoted to answering the question of which Kyrgyz words are of Mongolian origin and what are the criteria for their identification (Alimov 2022: 283–306). Nevertheless, a general study has not yet been conducted on the issue of borrowings from Western Mongolian languages into Turkic languages as a group, let alone into a specific Turkic language. The present article focuses on this issue and is based on the question of what principles should be applied to categorize Mongolian borrowings as pertaining to a later period or being of

(пер.) лоб” Mun441b, Bur. *hambay*, (dial.) *hamnay* “чёлка, чуб” BRS II/545a and BRS II/545b respectively, its meaning still suggests that it is related to the first, although the phonetic appearance of the word in Kyrgyz requires further clarification.

Western Mongolian origin. I limit myself to noting the criteria for recognizing this layer of borrowings in Kyrgyz and to mentioning representative examples, as listing all the borrowings and their classifications would be beyond the scope of this article.

The identification of Mongolian loanwords in Turkic languages in general and in specific modern Turkic languages in particular has already been discussed and, as a result, certain criteria have been developed in the works on Turkic-Mongolic language contact by such authors as Gy. Németh (1912a: 549–576; 1912b: 401–412; 1914: 126–142), G. Clauson (1960: 301–316), N. Poppe (1969: 207–214), A. Róna-Tas (1974: 31–45), L. G. Gerzenberg (1974: 46–55), G. Doerfer (1963–1975), N. A. Syromjatnikov (1975: 50–61), N. D. Andreev & O. P. Sunik (1982: 26–29), A. M. Ščerbak (1996: 199–203), V. Rassadin (1988: 103–107; 2007; 208; 2014), É. Csáki (2006), B. Khaptagaeva (2009), É. Kincses-Nagy (2018) and others.

Many of these criteria are also applicable to identifying common Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz. However, as mentioned above, there are many late-period “*Mongolicisms*” in Kyrgyz, which means that they were most likely adopted from Western Mongolian languages between the 16th and 18th centuries. This makes the established criteria inadequate and necessitates a search for new ones.

The majority of Turkic and Mongolian languages have extensive written records and are well documented. Large portions of the vocabularies of these languages have been treated in numerous lexicographic works. The dictionary by K. Judahin is a prime example of a study of the Kyrgyz lexicon. J. Mukambayev’s study, published in a single volume in 2009, contains important data on the dialectological lexicon, including good examples of late-period Mongolian borrowings in Kyrgyz. The primary lexicographic works of the Mongolian languages used in this study are the Mongolian-English Dictionary for Literary Mongolian edited by F. Lessing, the Written Oirat-Russian Dictionary in three volumes by J. Krueger (1978–1984), and all sources related to the vocabulary of Middle Mongolian, such as works by N. Poppe (1938), E. Haenisch (1939), and M. Lewicki (1959), etc. The lexicon of modern Mongolian languages is well documented in comprehensive works such as the Mongolian-Russian Dictionary under the editorship of A. Luvsandendev (2001), the Buryat-Russian Dictionary by K. Cheremisov (1951), and the Spoken Oirat-Russian Dictionary by B. Todayeva (2001), as well as in the works of G. J. Ramstedt (1935) and B. Muniev (1977) on the Kalmyk language.

Thus, among the criteria for identifying loanwords from Western Mongolian languages in Kyrgyz, the following can be mentioned.

3 Criteria for identifying later (Western Mongolian) loanwords

3.1 The full-compliance criterion

If the Mongolian lexical borrowings in Kyrgyz fully correspond to the secondary forms of the same lexemes attested in Western Mongolic, both phonetically and semantically, then Western Mongolic should be considered as the source of the borrowing. Additionally, Kyrgyz lexemes that have undergone a phonetic alteration, but whose most recent forms can still be found in Western Mongolian idioms, can also be mentioned here.

Kyrg. *banek*, *panek*, *maanek* “shelter, hut” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM –, WO *banag* “house, hut” (← Tib. *sbra-nag*) K322b; Khal. *banag* “запасная юрта (где хранятся вещи, продукты питания и т.д.)” Lu357a, Kalm. *banäg* “(*dial.* Ölöt) schwarze Tangutische filzzelte” (← Chin. Tang. *panaka*) Ram33a.

Kyrg. *betege* “fescue” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM –, WO *betege* “feathergrass” K338; Khal. *beteg* “ковыль” Lu461a, Bur. –, Oir. *betege* Tod65, Kalm. *bet’ga*, *betka* “pfriemengras” Ram43b.

Kyrg. *kökšün* “old man, old woman” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *kögsin* “old (of men and animals) old man; old woman” L481a, WO *köqšin* “old” K743; Khal. *xögšin* Lu1358a, Bur. *hügše(n)* Cher602a, Oir. *kögšin* Tod204, Kalm. *kökšn* Ram237ab.

Kyrg. *me*, (dial.) *mā* “here, take it, take this” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *ma*, *mai* “exclam. Here, take it!” L522a, WO *mē* “Here you are! Take this, please!” K594; Khal. *may* Lu4657b, Bur. *maa* Cher305b, Oir. *māā* Tod229, Kalm. *mā* Ram258b.

Kyrg. *munju* “cripple (missing one or both arms, missing one or both legs); handicapped, disabled” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *nunji* “unwegerbar, feststehend” H120, LM *nunji* “old person with poor eyesight and hearing; slow, tardy; weak” L596a, WO *munji* “to be weak, feeble, outmoded” K610b; Khal. *nunj* Lu599a, Kalm. *mondži* Ram264a.

Kyrg. *nimtir* “weak, thin, barely moving” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM –, WO –; Khal. –, Bur. –, Oir. *nimter* “rare, sparse” Tod249, Kalm. *Nimtr* (< *nim-tür, cf. *nimngen* “dünn”) “sehr kurzgewachsen, zwergartig (pflanzen, gras), dünn, nicht dick” Ram277a.

Kyrg. *nimšira* “to languor, languish (of satiety); to be confused, to be unable think clearly” ← WM, cf. LM *nigsi* “to become spoiled or rancid (of food)” L582b), WO. *nimšire* “to become stupefied; to go insane, lose one’s mind” K218ab, Khal. *nigšre*-, *nivšre*- Lu571b, Oir. –, Kalm. *nimšr*- “betäubt werden, verworren oder bewusstlos werden” Ram276b-277a. Kyrg. also has cognates as *niqsira*-, *iqsira*-, which probably belong to an earlier layer due to preservation of *s* before *i*.

Kyrg. *öödö*, *öydö* “upwards” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *o’ede* “entgegen, gegen den Strom, aufwärts” H121; LM *ögede* “upwards, uphill, upstream; towards; against” L630a, WO *öödö*, *ödö* K138; Khal. *ööd* Lu731a, Bur. *ööde* Cher381a. Oir. *ööde* Tod273, Kalm. *ööd*, *öödän* Mun419ab. Among the Turkic languages of the same contact zone, this word is only present in Kyrgyz, which suggests that it is a recent borrowing from a Western Mongolic idiom.

Among the Southern Siberian Turkic languages, it can be found in Khak. as *ööde* “вверх” But74a and *oyda* “вверх” But74a and “навзничь, на спину” BasInk124a, which also has a verbalized form as *ödele*- “подниматься вверх; двигаться вверх; набирать высоту; расти” BasInk133b, which can also be seen in Tuv. as *öödele*- “улучшаться; исправляться; поправляться” Ten337a. The phonetic development of the Khakass and Tuvan forms suggests that they are late borrowings. However, they are based on a different source than the Kyrgyz form.

3.2 The areal distribution criterion

If secondary phonetic forms of given Mongolian lexemes specific to Western Mongolian languages are only present in Turkic languages spoken in the immediate contact zone, they were most likely borrowed into the latter languages at a later time.

Kyrg. *böjök* “leveret, young of rabbit or hare” ← WM, cf. MM (MA) *böjen* P357a; LM *böjin* “young of rabbit or hare” L128b, WO *böjinkey* Tod75; Khal. *böjin* Lu421a, Bur. –, Oir. *böjinkää* Tod75, Kalm. *bödžer* Rams54b. Among the languages of the same contact zone, only Uig. has *böjän* “the young of an animal; leveret” Naj207b ← Western Mongolic. Kaz. *köžek* “leveret, young of rabbit or hare” Žan319a, which must be related to OldT. *köšek* “a young animal” C753b, while Old Uigur diminutive *bözänäkkiyā* “Hasenjungen || tavšan yavrusu” Wil193b, recorded in the Brahmi script, is borrowed from Mongolian. The shift *j* > *z* indicates its late copying (13th–14th centuries), which corresponds to the date of the Old Uigur manuscripts written in Brahmi script. On the other hand, the Kyrg. and Uig. forms were most likely copied from a Western Mongolian idiom where such a shift did not occur.

Kyrg. *mara*- “(about large predators like tigers, leopards, lions, but not wolves) to watch the victim closely, to creep up on sb.”, *marala*- “to spy on” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *mariya*- H108; LM *miraya*-, *marija*-, *mirija*- “to approach furtively, creep up stealthily, crawl; to stalk game” L529b, L540a, WO –; Khal. *myaraa*- Lu544a, Bur. *maryaa*- Cher311a, Oir. –, Kalm. *merā*- Ram261b. Among the Turkic languages in the same contact zone only Uigur has the same word as *mara*-, *mari*- “подсматривать, выслеживать; подкарауливать, подстергать, поджидать” Naj695c. In the southeastern subdialect of Kazakh, this word can be found in the phrase *marqaw ket*- “stand back, back off”, but the meaning is not clear (see Sar477b).

Kyrg. *qulja* “male wild mountain sheep, argali” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *uyulja* H160; LM *uyalja*, *uyulja* “male wild mountain sheep, argali” L863b, L864a, WO Khal. *ugalz* Lu1045, Bur. *ugalza* “pattern (in the form of a horn of an argali)” (see *ugalzatuulxa* Cher473. Oir. *hulza* Tod107, Kalm. (*dial.* Torgut) *ug^ulzā*, *gulzā* Ram447a. *Qulja* with the same meaning can be seen only in Kazakh and Uigur in the forms *qulza* Bek298c and *yulja* Naj566a respectively.

3.3 Cultural, ethnographic and religious loanwords

Only the Tarbagatai Kyrgyz, an ethnographic subgroup of the Kyrgyz, practise Buddhism, although they are geographically isolated from the majority of Kyrgyz and moreover speak Kazakh as a result of a language shift. Although the exact date of their conversion to Buddhism is unknown, it was likely a result of the Oirats living nearby.

There are loanwords from Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) in Kyrgyz, especially in the north-eastern dialects, which most likely originated from Western Mongolian idioms or came about as a result of a Mongolian substrate.

Kyrg. *albin*⁴ “demon; a spell used to ward off she-evils, demonesses” ← WM, cf. LM *albin* “demon, devil, evil spirit; sprite”, *albin eme* “she-devil, demoness” L28b; WO *albin* “evil spirit, demon; frisky” K28b; Khal. *albin* Lu205a, Bur. *alban* “smallpox, variola” Cher43a, Oir. *al^lvan* “mischievous, naughty, disobedient” Tod29, Kalm. *alwn*, *al^luun*, *älwn* “scherzhaft” Ram9.

Kyrg. *biši* “an exclamation when mimicking, sarcastic mockery; How else! Surely, certainly!” Muk239b ← WM, cf. *bisi-ü* “serves to intensify a preceding statement, sometimes giving it a shade of warning; How else! Surely, certainly” L107a, WO *biši* K343; Khal. *biš* Lu401a, Bur. –, Oir. *biši* Tod68, Kalm. *biš* Mun102a.

Kyrg. *bool* ~ *bol* “a male name suffix” that corresponds to Turkic *qul* “slave”, e.g. *Dosbool*, *Baybool*, *Nurbool*, *Ešbool* etc. (see Muk. 244b) ← WM, cf. LM *boyul* “slave, serf, bondsman; slavery, servitude, serfdom; knave (playing card)”, WO *bool* “slave” K351, Khal. *bool* Lu413a, Bur. *bogool* Cher104a, Oir. *bool* Tod71, Kalm. *bögl* Mun112b.

Kyrg. *boortqo* “the bandages for tying the child’s arms and legs in the cradle; loop” ← WM, cf. LM *boyudasun* “band, strip, ribbon; bundle, bunch, package; wrapping; scarf for the head, kerchief, puttees” L111b, WO *boodoya* “bandage” K350b; Khal. *boodol* Lu413a, Bur. *boodolgo* Cher113b, Oir. *boodxaa* “bandage, strap” Tod71, Kalm. *boodxa* Mun109a. Kyrgyz dialects also have phonetic variants such as *boortqoq*, *boortoq*, *boorton*, *boorutqa*, *bowurtqa* Muk245, which suggests that epenthesis of /r/ is a secondary development after the borrowing of the word⁵.

Kyrg. *dambir* “a spell cast by women at the first spring thunder in order to elicit an abundance of herbs and milk” ← WM, cf. LM *dambaru*, *damaru* “small hand drum made of two skull crowns fastened back to back, covered with parchment, bladder or (rarely) human skin; it is beaten with two large seeds, cowries, or pellets of suitable material attached to two short cords, with rapid turns of the wrist, and held between thumb and index finger; used in Tantric and shamanistic rites. Peddler’s hand drum; child’s toy drum” L228a, WO *damara* “lama’s drum” K540; Khal. *damar* Lu692b, Bur.

4 Suffocation was the primary symptom of altitude sickness (*tütök*), which frequently happened at high altitudes. In accordance with Kyrgyz beliefs, demon girls were to blame, and to save a person, the surrounding people cast a spell containing the word “albin”.

5 Khakass has *marxa* “button” (BasInk 103b). Its older form, with the same meaning, was recorded earlier by Radloff in Küerik (modern Chulym?) in the form of *mayyrtka* (see Radloff 1911: 2002). M. Pomorska, following Stachowski, cites their development as follows < **bogyrtqa* (? ~ **bohyrtka*) < **bogyrt* < **bog*- * “binden, suzchnüren” (see Pomorska 1996: 68).

These words and Kyrgyz *boortqo* are most likely interrelated, and the emergence of the Southern Siberian forms can also be explained on the basis of Mongolian. The similarity in the semantics of the Kyrgyz and Western Mongolian forms suggests that the Kyrgyz form is still a borrowing from Mongolian.

damaari Cher202b, Kalm. *damr* (*dial.* Dörböt), *dambr* (*dial.* Ölöt) “eine kleine Handtrommel mit daran befestigten Bällen, die aufschlagen wenn man die Trommel dreht” (← Tib. *damaru*) Ram76a.

Kyrg. *seter* “an animal dedicated to a deity (may not be slaughtered or sheared)” ← WM, cf. LM *seter* “a bunch of narrow ribbons of five colours tied to the neck of an animal which is consecrated to a deity and may not be killed or used” L692a, WO *seter* “a sacred or dedicated (horse or animal)” K399b; Khal. *seter* Lu886a, Bur. *heter* “ленты привешиваемые к скоту, посвящённому духам” BRS II/588a, Oir. *seter* “an animal that is sacred or dedicated to a deity” Tod295, Kalm. *setr* (← Tib. *seter*) Ram327a. Among the Turkic languages *seter* is also recorded in the language of Western Yugurs, or Yellow Ugurs (see Räsänen 413a), but the source for the latter were the Mongolic-speaking Eastern Yugurs (Nugteren 1996: 72).

3.4 The semantic criterion

It is possible to identify some loanwords as being late due to the correspondence of their meanings in both Kyrgyz and Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *darxan*, *darqan* “blacksmith, gunsmith; honourable, respected” ← M, cf. MM (SH) *darhan* “frei, unabhängig” H32, LM. *darqan* “artisan, craftsman; person free from taxes and official duties; area or place set aside for religious reasons and therefore inviolable; sacred; great, celebrated” L236a, *darxan* “artisan; one exempt from taxes” K546b; Khal. *darxan* “кузнец, умелец, мастер; священный, неприкосновенный, заповедный (о местности); сводное от податей, повинностей и не подлежащее телесным наказаниям лицо, тархан” Lu705a, Bur. *darxa(n)* Ch206b, Oir. *darxan* “кузнец, мастер по ручной ковке; умелец” Tod117, Kalm. *darxn* “мастер, кузнец, столяр” Mn185b (← OldT. *tarqan* “a high administrative title” C539b, see also Doerfer II §879).

Kyrg. *lapsi-* “to blabber, to speak indecently” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *labsi-* “to eat greedily; to champ” L513b; Khal. *lavši-* “есть жадно, чавкать; болтать, болтать все, что не придет в голову” Lu450b, Bur. –, Oir. –, Kalm. *lawši-* “plaudern, allerlei dummheiten” Ram251b.

Kyrg. *qimīran* “kumiss made of cow’s milk; kumiss diluted with water” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *ki-ram*, *kirm-a* “boiled milk diluted with water” L470b, WO *kimir*, *kimer*, *kimra* “a kumiss-type drink of milk or cottage-cheese and water” K729; Khal. *x'aram* “кипячёная вода с молоком” Lu1486a, Bur. –, Oir. *kimer* Tod199, Kalm. *kimr* “kumys mit wasser (als trunk)”, *kimrān* “gekochte kuhmilch mit wasser gemischt” Ram231b.

Kyrg. *qaday-* “stick out one’s chest and hold one’s head up high” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *gadai-* “to bend, fold, be crooked, grow crooked; to be a sway-back (of a horse); to become askew, curved” L342b, WO *xadai-* Tod97; Bur. *gaday-* “to stick out one’s chest; to put on airs; to boast” 152b, Oir. *xadaa-* “stick out one’s chest, hold one’s head up high” Tod97, Kalm. *gadaa-* “schwankrückig sein, den kopf zu hoch (und den rücken eingedrückt” Ram141a.

Kyrg. *šiluun* “prompt, fast, quick; slick, trickster” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *šili'un* H140; LM *siluyun* “straight, plain; simple; pure; straightforward, frank; honest” L708a, WO *šiluun* “prompt, swift; honest, straight” K446; Khal. *šuluun* “прямой, прямолинейный; ровный; честный, правдивый, честосердечный, откровенный, искренний, непосредственный; простой, гладкий, одноцветный; прямо” Lu1655b, Bur. *šuluun* “быстрый, проворный, энергичный; прямой” BRS II/622b, Oir. *šu-luun* “быстрый, скорый, спешный; быстро, спешно” Tod462, Kalm. *šuluun*, *šoluun* “rasch, eilig, flink; geradenwegs, gerade” Ram368a.

3.5 Phonological criteria

Although phonological criteria provide the best evidence for the identification of loanwords and the direction of borrowing, exceptions are quite common. This is mainly due to the fact that the ethno-genesis of the speakers of various languages has never developed in isolation, and this also holds true for the Turkic and Mongolian languages. In light of the historical advancements in the phonology of

Mongolian languages, we have made an effort to concentrate primarily on solid and reliable phonological criteria for later Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz.

3.5.1 Deaffrication of *ǰ* in Western Mongolic

The Middle Mongolian affricate *ǰ* becomes alveolar spirant (fricative) *z* before vowels other than *i* in Mongolic languages. This phenomenon is present in most dialects on the Oirat-Kalmyk dialect continuum (Rybatzki 2003: 373; Birtalan 2003: 210–228, 2020: 355). This consonant change is observed in Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz in both initial and intervocalic positions. In some instances, the onset *z*- becomes voiceless. The same phenomenon is characteristic of the later layer of Mongolian borrowings in Tuvan (see Khabtagaeva 2009: 71).

Onset *ǰ*- > *z*-

Kyrg. *zalun* “young, lad” ← WM, cf. MM (MA) *ǰala’uu*, *ǰaluu* P200a; LM. *ǰalayu* “young, youthful; youth, youthfulness” L1029b, WO *zalou*, *zalu* “youth, lad, young” K659a, K659b; Khal. *zalu* Lu343a, Bur. *zalu* Cher263a, Oir. *zalu* Tod151, Kalm. *zalu* Mun238b.

The presence of the same Mongolic lexeme in different forms in Kyrgyz clearly illustrates the different diachronic stages of borrowing, which can be identified as follows: *sal* “youth, young man” (← Western Mongolic **zalu(n)*) and *ǰaloon* “brave young man” (← Middle Mongolic **ǰalayu(n)*).

Kyrg. *zan* “custom, tradition; law” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *ǰang* “character, nature, disposition, temperament; custom, habit conduct” L1034ab, WO *zang* K655; Khal. *zan(g)* Lu347a, Bur. *zan(g)* Cher264b, Oir. *zan* Tod152, Kalm. *zan* “character, behaviour; habit; custom, tradition” Mun240b–241a.

Kyrg. *zangel*, *zanyar*, *zalqar* “huge, enormous; big man; giant; outstanding, prominent”, cf. Kaz. *zanyar* Žan268a ← WM, cf. **ǰangqayar* “large-headed” ESMJa II:62, **ǰaylayar* ESMJa II:56, WO *zangyal* “epic adjective” K655a, *zanǰhal tologoi* “big head” K655b; Khal. *zantgar*, *zanxgar*, *zanxalzuur* “large-headed” Lu350a, Bur. *zantaggar*, *zanxagar* “large-headed; huge, enormous” Cher265b, Cher266a, Oir. *zantahar* “large-headed” Tod152, Kalm. *zanxhr* “huge, enormous” Mun241b; *zanxpl* “gross” (< *ǰanqal*), *zanǰpl* “gross (?)”, *fürchterlich (?)*” Ram467a.

Kyrg. *zanqay*- “to overtop, be superior to” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM –, WO –; Khal. *zanxay*- “to be large-headed; to bloat out of proportion” Lu350a, Bur. *zanxay*- Cher266a, Kalm. *zanxa*- “to bloat out of proportion, to become large in an ugly way” Mun241b.

Kyrg. *zeki*- “to swear, scold; frighten, intimidate”, WM, cf. MM –; LM *jüke*-, *jükü*- “to curse, swear, scold” L1084b, WO –; Khal. *züxe*- Lu397a, Bur. *züxe*- Cher286a, Oir. –, Kalm. *zeki*-, *zeki*- “genau beobachten; angaffen, glotzüngig sein” Ram472a and *zök*- “verwünschen, schimpfen und drohen” Ram477b. Kyrg. also has *jeki*- “id.” which belongs to an earlier layer. Kyrg. *zobolo*, *sobolo* “reputation, image (gained through hardship)” ← WM, cf. MM *ǰobola* “souffrance, misère, peine, difficulté” Lew31, LM *ǰobalang* “suffering, torment, torture, anxiety, sadness, melancholy; unhappiness, hardship” L1065, WO *zobolong* “suffering, distress, torment” K671a; Khal. *zovlon(g)* Lu360a, Bur. *zobolon(g)* Cher270a, Oir. *zovlang* Tod159, Kalm. *zowlŋ* Ram476b. Kyrg. has two more cognates of the same word as *ǰobolon* “panic, turmoil, bustle” from MM and *topolon* “id.” which chronologically seems to belong to an even earlier layer of Mongolian borrowings.

Kyrg. *zoo* “rock, cliff; mountain ridge” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *ǰo(n)* “base of spine, sacral region; vertebrae, spine; sciatic nerve; fur along spine, back” L1065a, WO *zoo* “spine, back; vertebrae” K669a; Khal. *zoo* I “mountain ridge” Lu364a, Bur. *zoo* “sciatic nerve” Cher271b, Oir. *zoo* I “vertebrae, spine”, *zoo* II “mountain ridge”, Kalm. *zo* “mountain ridge” Mun249b. In Kyrgyz, there is also *jon*, an etymological doublet of *zoo* that was borrowed from Middle Mongolic.

Kyrg. *zooq*, *zooqa* “amusement, entertainment, enjoyment” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *ǰogug*, *ǰog* “food, meal (hon.); pleasure, enjoyment; walk” L1067b and *ǰug-a*, *ǰugag-a* “amusement, entertainment, diversion; pastime; recreation, stroll, walk” L1077b, WO *zog* “delight, diversion” K673a; Khal. *zooq* Lu364ab

and *zuuga* Lu376b, Bur. *zoog* “кушание, яства; трапеза” Cher271b and *zugaa* “беседа, разговор; пир, увеселение, веселье, гуляние; песня” Cher276a, Oir. *zoog* I “amusement, joke, entertainment; ridicule”, *zoog* II “food, meal, goodies (*arch.*)” Tod161, Kalm. *zōg*, *zōyv* “speise, mittagessen; belustigung, ergötzlichkeit, spass” Ram477a. Mongolic *jogug* and *jugaga* are actually two different words, but in Kyrgyz and in the Western Mongolian languages from which it was borrowed, the reflexes of the two words have become intertwined in both sound and semantics.

Kyrg. *zöörük*, *zöökür* “stubborn, opposing; indocile” ← WM, cf. MM (HY) *jöriü* “oblique, incliné, de travers” Lew69; LM *jörigüü* “not straight, awry, askew; transverse, across, inclined, stubborn, opposing; oblique(ly); obstinate(ly); difference” L1076b, WO *zöriü* “wild, obstinate” K679; Khal. *zöriü*, *zöriüüd* Lu375b, Bur. –, Oir. *zörüü*, *zörüüd* Tod163, Kalm. *zörüü* “zuwider, entgegen, entgegengesetzt”, *zöriüüd* (< *jöri-güd*) (*kün*) “nicht fügsam, sich in die quere stellend (mensch)” Ram478b. *Zöökür* is a later form caused by metathesis of *zöörük*, while the latter must have been copied from the unattested Western Mongolian **zörüüg*, as its final *-k* cannot be explained on the basis of Kyrgyz.

Kyrg. *söksööl*, *soqsool*, *saqsool* (dial.) “saxaul, haloxyton” ← WM, cf. LM *jay* “haloxyton ammon-dendron (a low bush which makes excellent fuel even though green)” L1022a, WO *zag* K663; Khal. *zag* Lu333a, Bur. –, Oir. *zag* Tod148, Kalm. *zag*, *zayzaaml*, *seksüül*⁶ Ram463a, 463b.

Intervocalic -j- > -z-

Kyrg. *arsay-* (< *arjay-*) “to be uneven (of teeth)” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *arjai-* “to show one’s teeth, grin; to stand on end (of hair); to stand out (of a number of objects); to be rough or uneven” L55a; WO *arjayi-* “to bare teeth” K56; Khal. *arjay-* Lu287a, Bur. *arjay-* Cher64a, Oir. *arzaa-* Tod37, Kalm. *arzaa-* Ram16a. Kyrgyz also has its cognates *arjay-* and *irjay-*, which can also be found in other Turkic languages (see Ram16a), but the meaning and form of *arsay-* in Kyrgyz suggests it is a later borrowing from a Western Mongolic idiom.

Kyrg. (dial.) *baysa-* “to talk a lot asking many questions” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *baičağa-* “to investigate, inspect, inquire into, check, examine” L73a, WO –; Khal. *baytsaa-* Lu374b, Bur. *baysaa-* Cher86a, Oir. –, Kalm. –. Among the Turkic languages, the same word is found in Tuvan in the form of *bayisa-* “допрашивать, вести дознание” (see Ten87a). Although the source form for Kyrgyz is not recorded in Western Mongolian languages due to the *č* > *s* change, it can be attributed to a later layer of Mongolian borrowings along with the Tuvan form.

Kyrg. *qozu-* “to get excited; to have an erection, rise, stick up” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *gojui-* “(to be tall and thin, long and tight, close-fitting (of clothes); to be erect, rise, stick up”, *qojoy-* “harden strongly, harden; become sharp-cornered” L363a; WO *gozayi-*, *gozoyi-* “to stand up, erect, to have an erection”, *gozo-* “to project, stick out” K315b; Khal. *gozoy-* Lu577a, Bur. *gozoy-* Cher169b, Oir. –, Kalm. *xoza-* “to stand upright, stick up” Mun165a.

Kyrg. *üzür*⁷ “(pleasant) result of smth., outcome” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *üjüyür* “tip, point, summit, end; top” L1017a, WO *üzüür* “end, point, tip, extremity, conclusion” K196a, *üzöür* “end, peak” K196b, *üzür* “end, top” K197a; Khal. *üzüür* Lu1155ab-1156a, Bur. *üzüür* Cher502a, Oir. *üzüür* Tod365, Kalm. *üzüür* Ram460b.

3.5.2 Western Mongolic m- > b-

Word-initial or post-consonantal syllable-initial *m-* occasionally varies with *b-* in Western Mongolian languages (see Ramstedt 1935: 50b, 264a etc.). Thus, loanwords of Mongolian origin in Kyrgyz that exhibit such a development should be considered as coming from Western Mongolic.

⁶ In his dictionary, Ramstedt refers to *seksüül* as a lemma, but does not give any information.

⁷ Kyrgyz has two more homonyms of this word: (a) *üzür* “enjoyment; serenity” ← Arabic *ḥudūr*, (b) *üzür* “apology, one’s regret” ← Arabic *ṣudr*.

Kyrg. *büčür* “bud, burgeon; leaves” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *möčir* “twig, small branch or limb of a tree; dry branch” L545a, WO *büčir, büčür* “branch, limb (tree)” K376a; Khal. *möčir* Lu515ab, Bur. *müšer* “brushwood; dry branch” Cher326b, but Oir. *büčir* “bough, twig, leaves, branch (tree)” Tod89, Kalm. *büčir* Mun132b.

Kyrg. *qalpı- ~ qalbı-* “to remove any floating substance from the surface of a liquid; to skim” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *qalma-* “to remove any floating substance from the surface of a liquid; to skim” L921a; WO *xalba-* “to scoop, ladle” K249b, *xalbu-* Tod380; Khal. *xalma-* Lu1238a, Bur. *xalma-* Cher541a, Oir. *xalma-* Tod380, Kalm. *xalv-* Mun569b.

3.5.3 The preservation of Mongolic unstable -n in word-final position

Nouns ending in -n usually retain it in the nominative case in Western Mongolic languages; in others, it is typically lost and sometimes appears in their declension. Therefore, this phenomenon is also labelled as unstable or “hidden” -n (Sanžeev 1953: 141; Rassadin 1980: 33; Poppe 1987: 166; Birtalan 2020: 356). Accordingly, Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz that have retained the word-final -n should be classified as Western Mongolic. This also applies to other Turkic languages of the Turkic-Western Mongolian contact zone, especially the Kazakh, Altai, and Uigur languages.

Kyrg. *araan* “no definite meaning, a mouth-related word, e.g. *araanı açıq* “insatiable, greedy” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *ara’a* H8, LM *araya* (< **ariya*) “molar; canine tooth; tusk”, WO *araa* K48a, Khal. *araa(n)* Lu259a, Bur. *araa(n)* Ch59b, Oir. *araan* Tod34, Kalm. *araan* Mun46b.

Kyrg. *baraan* “object visible in the distance; view, outline, silhouette” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *baray-a(n)* “object visible in the distance; view, outline, silhouette, form, appearance” L83a, WO *baran* “an object seen” K334; Khal. *baraa* Lu381a, Bur. *baraa(n)* Cher91a, Oir. *baraan* Tod56, Kalm. *baraan, baraa* Ram33b.

Kyrg. *čeen, ičeen* (dial.) “lair; hibernation” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *ičege(n)* “hollow (in a tree), den, haunt, lair (such as may be used by animals for hibernation); hibernation” L397a; WO *ičeen* Tod177, Khal. *ičee(n)* Lu442a, Bur. *ešee(n)* Cher742b, Ori. *ičään* Tod177, Kalm. *ičään* Mun275a.

Kyrg. *daban, dabaan* “mountain pass” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *daba-* H30; LM *dabay-a(n)* “mountain pass; mountain range; difficulty, obstacle, victory in a contest” L211b, WO *dabaa* “mountain, pass, defile”, *dabaan* “mountain peak, mound” K353ab; Khal. *davaa(n)* Lu667a, Bur. *dabaa(n)* Cher196a, Oir. *davaan* Tod110, Kalm. *dawaan* Ram80a.

Kyrg. *qaraan* “silhouette, barely visible object” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *qara-* H60; LM *qaray-a(n)* “vision; sight of a firearm” L932b, WO *xarayan* “sight, view” K261a, *xaraan* “view, distance, seen” K261b; Khal. *xaraa(n)* “зрение, взгляд, взор; поле зрения, видимое пространство, точка зрения; внимание, перспектива” Lu1260a, Bur. *xaraa* “view, outline, contour(s), silhouette” Cher550b, Oir. *xaraa* “вид, очертания, контуры, силуэт” Tod387, Kalm. *χaraan* II Ram168b. Western Mongolic → Alt. *qaraan* Chum284a.

Kyrg. *oyron*⁸ “someone close, dear, intimate (usually said during mourning)” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *oira* H130; LM *oira* “near, close, around; close by, in the neighbourhood of; recent, last” L605a, WO *oyirxan* (< *oyir* + *han dim.*) “near, close,” K118b, *oiro* Tod274; Khal. *oir* Lu645a, Bur. *oiro, oyrin, oyrohon* Cher365ab, Oir. *ööre, öörehen* Tod274.

3.5.4 The preservation of word initial d- in Mongolian loanwords

Kyrgyz does not normally have voiced *d-* in initial position; so early Mongolian loanwords with word-initial *d-* were usually replaced by their voiceless pair, e.g. Kyrg. *tabarsıq* “(urinary) bladder” ← M, cf. MM (MA) *dabasun* P137a, LM. *dabusay, dabusang, dabisag* “bladder; lower part of the abdomen; the pubic region (colloq.) L213b”, WO *dabasaq* K535; Khal. *davsag* Lu670b; Kalm. *davsg* Mun174a;

8 Kyrgyz has another *oyron* with the meaning “destroyed, ruined, devastated” ← Pers. *virān*.

Kyrg. *telegey* “universe” ← M, cf. LM. *delekei* “Earth, world, universe, cosmos; surface of the earth” L248b, WO *delekei* K551, Khal. *delhiy* Lu784a, Kalm. *delkää* Mun197b; Kyrg. *tuulya* “helmet” ← M, cf. MM (MA) *da’ulya* P403, LM. *duyulya* “helmet” L271b, etc. Almost all early Mongolian loanwords in both historical and modern Kipchak languages from the Codex Cumanicus onwards demonstrate the same phonetic adaptation, while Karluk, Oguz languages and Tuvan have either preserved *d-* or have both voiced and voiceless variants of the initial consonants (for examples, see Kincses-Nagy 2018: 88–102). On the other hand, in later layers of Mongolian borrowing in Kyrgyz the word-initial *d-* retains its state.

Kyrg. *daq* “stain, speck of dust or dirt” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *dag* “mark, sign, omen; speck of dust or dirt” L215b, WO *dag* Tod111; Khal. *dag* Lu676a, Bur. *dag* Cher197b, Oir. *dag* Tod111, Kalm. *dag* “schmutz, schmutzflecken” Ram72a.

Kyrg. *daroo*, *darow* “quickly, immediately, at once” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *darui* “immediately, at once, there and then; soon, as soon as; decidedly, indeed” L234b, WO *dariui*, *daruu* “thereupon, at once; constantly”, *daroun* (< *darui+inu*) “thereupon” K545a; Khal. *daruy* Lu704a, Bur. *dari* Cher206b, Oir. *daruu* Tod117, Kalm. *daruu*⁹ Mun184b.

Kyrg. *degee* “hook” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *degege* “hook; hook-shaped” L242a, WO *dege* “hook” K554; Khal. *degee* Lu778b, Bur. *degee* Cher232a, Oir. *degää* Tod121, Kalm. *degee* “krummeisen, haken” Ram85a.

Kyrg. *delden* “floppy eared, loose, dangly” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *deldeng* “(protruding) of ears” L248a, WO *deldeng* “floppy eared, loose, dangly” K551; Khal. *delden(g)* Lu783b, Bur. *derdi-* “to be protruding (about ears)” Cher235b, Oir. *delden* “floppy eared” Tod125, Kalm. *deldn* “floppy eared” Mun197a.

Kyrg. *demilge* “impulse; diligence, effort; initiative” ← WM (< **demne-lge*) cf. MM –; LM *demne-* “to aid, help, assist, support”, *demnel* “the act of demne-” L251a, WO *demne-*, *demnöül* K552; Khal. *demnel* 786b, Bur. *demnel*, *demnelge* “support, help, assistance” Cher234b, Oir. –¹⁰, Kalm. *demne-*, *demnl* “materiale unterstützung” Ram87b.

Kyrg. *dükön* in *angeme-dükön* “chat, chatter, talk” where *angeme* ← Per *hengāme* “crowd, gathering, noise, tumult” and *dükön* ← WM (**dürke-gen*) cf. MM –; LM –, but *dürge*, *dürgi* “to make noise, be tumultuous; to raise a hubbub” L282a, WO *dürgi-* “to resound, reverberate” K580a; Khal. *dürgeen* “грохот, шум” Lu763a, Bur. –, Oir. *dürgään* “шум, топот; гул от множества голосов” Tod137, Kalm. *dürgān* “болтовня, болтливость; гомон, гам, шум-гам” Mun219b.

Kyrg. *dönöjün* “four-year-old cow” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *döneji(n)* “four-year-old female animal (cow, camel, elephant); four-year-old girl (obs.)” L267b, WO *dönjin* K567; Khal. *dönj(in)* Lu931a, Bur. *dünžen* Cher225b, Oir. *dönjin* Tod131, Kalm. *döndžn* Ram98b.

3.5.5 Mongolic (si- >) ši- > šV

Two further types of assimilation are associated with the vowel **i*, apart from the so-called “*i* breaking”; the vowel **i* of the second syllable is assimilated to the vowel of either (a) the first or (b) the third originally accented syllable (Poppe 1963:215).

In the case of Kyrgyz, the assimilation of the vowel **i* of all types in combination with **ši-* serves as a marker of the periodization of loanwords. The words mentioned below are evidence of further types of assimilation of **i* in Mongolic; accordingly, they should be classified as later loanwords from Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *qašaŋ* II “leather bits and pieces, leftovers; residues from sieving” ← WM, cf. LM **qasing*, WO *xašin* “yeast, leaven” K240b, Khal. *xašin* “worn out, old (clothes); tea sediment, residue” Lu1294a, Bur. –, Oir. –, Kalm. *xašŋ* “hefe” Ram172a.

⁹ Long vowels of non-first syllables are not indicated in the orthography of the modern Kalmyk language.

¹⁰ Oirat has the cognates *demjig*, *demjilge* “id.” Tod125.

Kyrg. *šaabay* “ardour, fervour, eagerness”, *šaabayi suu-* “to lose one’s eagerness” (calque of Kyrg. *qanī suu-* “id.” (lit. to cool the blood)) ← WM, cf. LM *sibai* “quick, alert, agile; light advance troops” L 694a, WO *šabaa* Tod446; Khal. *šavay* (*šavay xana-*) Lu1595, Bur. *šabay* “чистая (без сгустков) кровь коня; варёная кровь коня” Cher683a, Oir. *šavaa* “сгусток запекшейся крови” Tod446, Kalm. *šavā* “сгусток крови” Mun658b.

Kyrg. *šamda-*, *čamda-* (< *šamda-*) “to rush, hurry; make an effort, exert oneself” ← WM, cf. LM *simda-* “to hasten, rush, hurry, speed; to endeavour, make every effort” L709a; WO *šamuda-* “to hasten” K436; Khal. *šamda-* “быть прилежным, усердствовать; стараться, стремиться; делать прилежно, со вниманием, с усердием; торопиться, спешить” Lu1608b, Bur. *šamda-* “торопиться, спешить” 603b, Oir. *šamda-* Tod449, Kalm. *šamda-* “sich beeilen, eile haben” Ram347b.

Kyrg. (dial.) *šumqu-*, *šunyu-* “to dive, plunge; sink into; immerse oneself in something, become wholly absorbed in” Muk1136ab ← WM, cf. LM *singgu-*, *šunggu-* “to dive, plunge; to wade in water” L711b, WO *šungya-* “to plunge, sink, dive” K458b; Khal. *šunga-* “нырять, погружаться в воду” Lu1657b, Bur. *šunga-* BRS623a, Oir. *šumba-* Tod462, Kalm. *šung-* “tauchen” Ram368a.

Kyrg. *šüüşün* “the juice from meat” ← WM, cf. LM *sigüsü(n)* “sap, juice; food (usually meat) for offerings; food for travelling officials; whole sheep cooked and served to honoured guests” L704a, WO *šüüşü*, *šüüşün*, *šüüşen* “juice, liquid, sap; food provisions” K461; Khal. *šüüs(en)* Lu1668b, Bur. *šüühe(n)* Cher709a, Oir. *šüüşen* Tod466, Kalm. *šüüşn* “saft; lauge, suppe mit salz” Ram373b.

Kyrg. *tamšan-* (< *tamša-n-*) “to champ; to click the tongue in surprise, to admire” ← WM, cf. LM *tamsi-*, *tangsi-* “to champ; to click the tongue in surprise, disgust, or admiration” L778a, *tamsija-* “to champ; to click the tongue; to taste food; to strum a stringed instrument; to pluck a bow string when trying out the bow” L775a, WO *tamša-* “to champ, smack the lips (as in calling a horse)” K477; Khal. *tanši-* Lu916b, *tamšaa-* Lu911b, Bur. *tamšaa-* Cher426b, Oir. *tamšaa-* Tod312, Kalm. *tamšaa-* Mun475b.

3.5.6 Monophthongization of VgV > V

The VGV sequence typically results in secondary vowel length or has retained its state in early Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz, e.g. Kyrg. *buurul* ← M, cf. LM *buyural* “grey, grey haired; greyish” L131b, Kyrg. *čaali-* ← M, cf. LM *čayali-* “to faint; to be overcome by heat; to have a sunstroke; to be exhausted from physical exertion” L158a; Kyrg. *bosogo* ← M, cf. LM *bosuy-a* “doorsill, threshold” L122b, Kyrg. *soloyoy* ← M, cf. LM *soluyai* “left side or hand; left-handed; awkward; wrong, faulty” L726a. However, some other words with the VgV sequence appear with short vowels in Kyrgyz. While the intervocalic consonant is preserved in WM in some cases, this indicates that they were borrowed from Western Mongolic where the vowel contraction had already taken place or was at least partially effectuated.

Kyrg. *bulyun* “sable” ← WM, cf. LM. *bulay-a(n)* “sable” L133a, WO *bulyan* “sable” K367a; Khal. *bulgan* Lu432a, Bur. *bulga(n)* Cher122a, Oir. *bulhan* Tod79, Kalm. *bulhn* Mun118a.

Kyrg. *bürül* “dusk, twilight” ← WM, cf. LM *bürüi* “twilight, dusk; obscure, dark, hazy, dusky, murky” L150b, WO *bürüül* “dark, somber” K378; Khal. *bürüy* Lu451a, Bur. *bürüül*, *bürüür* Cher137b, Oir. *bürüüle* Tod87, Kalm. *bürüül* (< *bürügüli* < **bürü-güri*) Ram69b.

Kyrg. *čiqta* “to moisten, wet” ← WM, cf. LM *čigigle-* “to moisten, make damp; to rain, snow” L179a, WO *čiq*, *čiiq* (< *čigig*) “moisture, rain” K636a; Khal. *čiygte-* 1576b, Bur. *šiigte-* Cher695b, Oir. *čiigte-* Tod438, Kalm. *čiigte-* Mun648b.

Kyrg. *dolboor*, *dolbor* “calculation; planning, design” ← WM, cf. LM *togalaburi* “counting, enumeration” L814a, WO –, but *tōlobur ügei* “uncontrolled” K504b, Khal. *tooluur* “счётчик, измерительный прибор” Lu958a, Bur. *tooluur* счёты, счётчик; деньги Cher442a, Oir. *toolvar* “размышление, соображение” Tod332, Kalm. *tōlwr* “das rechnen, berechnen; grübele, nachdenken” 404b.

Kyrg. (dial.) *qaraljī* M455b “watchman, guard; protector” ← WM, cf. LM *qarağulji(n)* “watchman, guard” L933b, WO *xaruulcin* “guard, patrol” K265a; Khal. *xaruulč* Lu1278b, Bur. *xaruulša(n)* Cher558a,

Oir. *xaruulči* Tod391, Kalm. *xarulč* Mun581a. Kyrg. also has *qaroolču* “id.”, which belongs to the earlier layer of Mongolian borrowings.

Kyrg. *oro-* “wrap, wrap around, bandage” ← WM, cf. LM *orija-*, *oruya-* “to tie around, entwine, coil; to wrap, bandage; to wind, reel, roll (around); to tangle, confuse” L618a, WO *oraa* K120a, Khal. *oroo-* Lu680b-681a, Bur. *oryoo-* “soar, rise, spurt” BRS II/39a, Oir. *oraa-* Tod263, Kalm. *oraa-* Ram288a.

Kyrg. *tuura-* “to imitate, replicate, mimic; to take as a model” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *dayuriya-* “to imitate, emulate, take as a model, follow an example; to resound” L219b, WO *doura-* “to resound” K558a, Khal. *duuria-* Lu751b, Bur. *duur¹aa-* Cher223b, Oir. *duraa-* Tod134, Kalm. *duraa-* Ram102b.

3.5.7 The long labial vowels in closed syllables

Long labial vowels in the sequences of A–UU or A–OO occur in Kyrgyz in open syllables in the final position, but not in closed syllables of native lexemes. However, they can be seen in the adapted forms of loanwords, e.g. *samoor* < Ru. *samovar*. The fact that they have not yet undergone vowel assimilation suggests that the following words were borrowed from Mongolian languages at a comparatively later date, most likely from Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *aruun*, *aruu* “pure, clear, clean; holy, sacred; beautiful” ← WM, cf. *ariyun* “cleanliness, purity, chastity; clean, pure, clear; chaste; sinless, holy, sacred” L53b, WO *ariun* “pure, clean; holy, sacred” K50a; Khal. *ariun* Lu295ab, Bur. *ar¹uun* Cher68ab, Oir. *ärüün* Tod49, Kalm. *ärüün* Ram24a.

Kyrg. *baqaloor* “gills, throat” ← WM, cf. LM *bayaljayur* “throat, gullet, trachea; windpipe; part of a knife close to the handle” L68a, WO *bahalzuur*, *bahaluur*, *bahalour* “throat, gullet, gills” K323; Khal. *bahluur* Lu391a, Bur. *bahalzuur*, *bahaluur* Cher98b, Oir. *bahluur* Tod58, Kalm. *bahluur* Mun85b.

Kyrg. *čapčuur* “an iron hook for turning meat in a cauldron” ← WM, cf. LM *čabčiyur* (< čabči-yur) “any instrument or tool for chopping, cleaver, hatchet, etc.” L154b; WO *čabčuur* “a peak, cleaver” K615; Khal. *tsavčuur* Lu1493a, Bur. *sabšuur* Cher394b, Oir. *čavčuur* Tod436, Kalm. *čavčuur* Mun644a.

Kyrg. *melüün*, “lukewarm, moderate” ← WM, cf. LM *bülijen*, *büligen* “warm, lukewarm (of liquids); fever (of a child)” L146, WO *büleen*, *bülegen* “tepid, warm” K375; Khal. *büleen* Lu450a, Bur. *büle’en* Cher135a, Oir. *bülään* Tod85, Kalm. *melüün*, *möleen*, *büleen* “warm, lukewarm” Ram261a.

Kyrg. *serüün* “chill, cool, breezy” ← WM, cf. LM *seriyün*, *seregün* “cool, fresh” L691a, WO *seriün*, *serüün* “cool, refreshing” K404a; Khal. *serüün* Lu881b, Bur. *heryüün* Cher679b, Oir. *serüün* Tod285, Kalm. *serüün* Mun451a.

Kyrg. *tañuula*¹¹ “persuade, impose; to make recognize” ← WM, cf. LM *taniyul-* (< caus. of *tani-*) “to make known; to point the way; to introduce” L778b, WO *taniul-* “to record, inform, make known” K465a, *tanuul-* “to recognize, make to know” K466b; Khal. *taniula-* Lu914b, Bur. *taniyul-* Cher427b, Oir. *tanil¹tsuul-* Tod312, Kalm. *tanil¹tsul-* Mun476b.

3.5.8 Contraction of the deverbal noun suffix -GVr > -r

In Kyrgyz, more than a hundred loanwords of Mongolian origin contain the deverbal noun suffixes *-yar/-ger*, *-yur/-gir*. The fact that some of them have both their original and contracted forms suggests that the former were borrowed earlier and the latter were borrowed later, most likely from Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *bükür*, *bükürü* “hunchbacked, bent” ← WM, cf. LM *böküger* “bent, inclined forward” L127a, WO *bököji-*, *böküi-* “to bend, bow” K359; Khal. *böhgör* Lu425b, Bur. *büheger* Cher140b, Oir. *bögdeger* Tod74, Kalm. *bök⁶gr* “vorwärtsgebogen, krumrück, sich bückend” Ram55a. Kyrg.

¹¹ The meaning of *tañuula-* as “to bind” given by Judahin (1985: 204a) is incorrect. E. Abduldajev and D. Isajev’s monolingual Kyrgyz dictionary gives only one meaning of the word, “to persuade, to impose; to make recognize”, which is correct (see Abduldajev & Isajev 1969: 576b).

Kyrg. *qiljıyır, qiljıyır* “crooked, twisted”, *qiljır* “person with a crooked neck” ← WM, cf. LM *giljigir* “bent, twisted, crooked; person with a bent or twisted neck” L384a, WO *giljir* (< *gilji-gir*) “crooked” K773a; Khal. *giljger, giljgiy, giljir* Lu559b-560a; Bur. *geljeger, geljer* Cher186b, Oir. *giljin* (< *gilji-n*) Tod94, Kalm. *giljigr, giljr* Mun.144ab. The last variants in each of the languages are the more recent ones, and have undergone contraction. The Kyrgyz form was probably borrowed from Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *buljur* “curly, frizzly (of hair)”, but also *buljuur, buljuuy, biıyır* “id.” ← WM, cf. LM *buıgir* “curly, frizzly (of hair), fleecy, woolly; hairy, shaggy” L143b, *burjigir* “curly, frizzly” L140a, WO *buıhar* Tod77; Khal. *buıgir* Lu429a, *burıgar* Lu436a, Bur. *burıagar* Cher425a, Oir. *buıhar* Tod77, Kalm. *budııvr* Ram57b-58a, *burjhr* Mun120a. The first phonetic variant was probably borrowed from WM, while the others are from an earlier period but different sources.

Kyrg. *qiliy, qilir* “squint, swivel-eyed” ← WM, cf. LM *kilayar, kilar* “cross-eyed, squint-eyed; askew, slanting” L465b; WO *kilyar* “askew, awry” K729; Khal. *ıalgar* Lu1482b, Bur. *xilar* Cher568a, Kalm. *ıalır* Ram163b. Kyrgyz also has an earlier form of the word, *qilayar* “cross-eyed, squint-eyed”.

Kyrg. *öjör* “stubborn, obstinate” ← (< *öji-gür) WM, cf. LM *öji* “to be lewd, to be troublesome, irksome; to be rude; to gloat over the misfortune of others” L647b, WO Khal. *özi* Lu711a, *özüürheg* “stubborn, obstinate” Lu711b, Kalm. *öji* “to debauch, to lead a dissolute life” Mun413b.

3.5.9 Loss of the final vowel

In early Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz, the final vowel is preserved, as in, e.g., Kyrg. *bükülü* ← M, cf. MM (L) *bükü* P1265; LM *büküli* “whole, entire, complete” L145b, WO *büküli, büküle, bükül* K377, but Khal. *bühel* Lu456b, Bur. *büheli* Cher140b, Oir. *bükel* Tod84, Kalm. *bükl* Mun126a. However, in some cases it is dropped, as in the Western Mongolic languages. In this case, the instances with loss of the final vowel should be considered later loanwords.

Kyrg. *bul-* “pull out, snatch; tear up, rip” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *buli-* H22; LM *buuli-* “to seize or attack (of birds of prey)” L142b, WO *buli-* “to take by force” K366; Khal. *buuli-* Lu441b, Bur. –, Oir. *bu-laa-* “pull out, snatch: take by force”, Kalm. *bul-* Ram65a.

Kyrg. *kemeec* “nose lead for a cow or ox; muzzle” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *qamayçı* “a halter passed through the nasal septum of a cow or ox; muzzle” L923b, WO –; Khal. *ıamagı* “кляп, поводок продаваемый верблюду в ноздри; намордник” Lu1244a, Bur. *ıamagııa* BRS II/390, Oir. –, Kalm. –. Although this word is not attested in Western Mongolian languages, the Kyrg. form suggests that it should be considered as belonging to the late layer of Mongolian borrowings.

Kyrg. *nuq* “streambed” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *nuyu* “meadow in the winding of a river” L594b, WO –; Khal. *nuga* “луг (в излучине реки), займище, заливной луг, луговая низина” Lu595b, Bur. *nuga* Cher349b, Oir. –, Kalm. *nuı* “wiese an einer flussbiegung” Ram280b.

Kyrg. *qoromsoq, qolomsoq* “quiver” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *qorumsay-a* “quiver” L969a, WO –; Khal. *xoromsogo* Lu1341a, Bur. *xormogo, xormongo* Cher583a, Oir. –, Kalm. *ıormıııı* Ram188b, *xormııı* ES-Mııı III:58.

Kyrg. *maymaq* “strong bond of mutual obligations, mutual assistance” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *maimay-a, maima, naima* (← Chin. *mai-mai*) “trade, commerce, business” L522b, WO *mayima, mayiman, nayiman* “trade, commerce” K, 593, K210; Khal. *naymaa(n)* Lu553b, Bur. *naymaa(n)* Cher335, Oir. *määmaa* Tod229, Kalm. *määmaa* Ram259a.

Kyrg. *töböl*¹² “star (marking), white spot on the forehead of an animal; noble, elite”; ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *tögli* “spot on the forehead of an animal; the skin on the forehead of a cooked sheep to be offered by the guests to the deities” L832a, WO *tööl* “a blaze, star (marking)” K512b, *töölö* “a blaze, mark” K510a; Khal. *tööliy* “spot on the forehead of an animal” Lu978b, *tööley* “cooked sheep head” 979a, Bur. *töön* “белое пятно; тавро, клеймо (на коже животного)” Cher445b, Oir. *tööle* “spot on the forehead of an animal” Tod337, Kalm. *tööl* “stern an der stirn” Ram408b.

3.5.10 Monophthongization of diphthongoid sequences of the *V(y)i type

In Western Mongolic the diphthongoid sequences of the *V(y)i type were preserved in the early period (documented in Written Oirat), but developed into monophthongs later (Birtalan 2003: 213). Thus, the Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz that reflect this phonetic change should be treated as belonging to a later period.

Kyrg. *ilberin̄ki* “obedient (to parents, parents-in-law or elders); complaisant” ← WM, cf. LM *elberinḡgüi* “dutiful or loyal to parents” L207a; *ilbergi*, *ilberikei* “smooth, even; agreeable, pleasant, flattering” L402b (< *elberi*- “to respect or honour parents or elders” L307a), WO *ilbi*- “to smooth, caress” K97; Khal. *elberinḡyü* Lu1687a, Bur. *elbe*- “to caress” Cher279b, Oir. –, Kalm. *elwer*- “(den eltern und verwandten) gehorchen” Ram121a.

Kyrg. *keleke* “ridicule, mockery” ← WM, cf. LM. *kelegei*, *kelekei* (< *kele-ügei*) “dumb, mute; stammering, stuttering, tongue-tied” L447b, WO *kelegei* “stutterer; dumb, mute” K719; Khal. *xelgiy* 1455a, Bur. *xelxey* Cher626b, Oir. *kelkää* Tod191, Kalm. *kelkää* “stotternd, nicht deutlich redend; stumm” Ram223b. The word was borrowed twice in Kyrgyz; the other case, *kelekey* “stutterer, stammerer”, is from the earlier layer, as it demonstrates the early Mongolic form; *keleke* not only reflects the later phonetic shape of the Mongolic diphthongoid in the final position, but also has a new meaning, which was probably acquired during the borrowing process.

Kyrg. (dial.) *šibee*, *šivee* “poles for securing the trap” Muk. 1124b ← WM, cf. LM *sibei*, *sibegen* “tall fence, paling, or enclosure of sticks or poles; palisade; barricade; mountains with sharp ragged summits; long pole for pushing a boat” L694b, WO *šibee* “fortress, rampart, embankment, wall, barricade” K443a; Khal. *šivee(n)* Lu1621b, Bur. –, Oir. *šivää* Tod452, Kalm. *šiwee* “erdwall, befestigung, schanze” Ram362a.

3.5.11 Regressive rounding of first-syllable *e-

Early Mongolic first-syllable *e has developed into *ö when it is followed by *ü, and especially by the syllables *bū or *mü, in modern Western, Central and Northern Mongolic languages (Poppe 1987: 47). Consequently, all Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz that show this type of rounding should be attributed to the later layer.

Kyrg. *öpčö*- “to do something promptly; to rush forward falling and rising” ← WM, cf. LM *ebči*- “to do something quickly or promptly; to ride or walk quickly” L284b, WO –; Khal. –, Bur. –, Oir. –, Kalm. –. Kyrg. has also *epčil* “dexterous, quick, prompt” ← M **ebčil* (< *ebči-l*) which can be classified as belonging to the earlier layer due to lack of rounding.

Kyrg. *örkön*, *ölkön*, *örkün*, *örköö* “offspring, family (used mainly in phraseological expressions)” ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *eruge* H46, *oruge* H128; LM *erüke* “smoke hole in the roof of the yurt (which is covered with a square felt flap in bad weather), flap covering a smoke hole; household; family” L332b, WO *örkö*, *örkü* “smokehole, tent opening, ceiling; household, family” K152; Khal. *örh(ön)* Lu746b-747a,

12 In Kyrgyz orthography, the letter *b* (б) in inter-vocalic position stands for the diphthong /w/, as in *аба* /awa/ “air” (← Ar. *hawa*), *саса* /sawa-/ “to beat” etc. Here the actual pronunciation of the word is *töwöl* or *tööl*, and not *töböl*. Remarkably, the second meaning of the word, “noble, elite”, appears to be a calque from the semantic extension of the Old Turkic word *qašqa*, which means “white, pure; animal with a white mark on the forehead”, Clauson671b, in Kyrgyz, with the meaning of “head of a tribe; leader”. See also Brophy, David 2010: 59.

Bur. –, Oir. –, Kalm. *örk* ‘rauchfang; rauchloch des zeltens, der filz über dem rauchfang; haus, familie (als offizielle einheit bei der volkszählung)’ Ram299b.

Kyrg. *örgü-* ‘rise, leap up’ ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *ergu-* H45, LM *ergü-*, *örgü-* ‘to raise, lift up; to offer, present; to offer as a sacrifice; to adopt a child; to nurse’ L325b, WO *örgö-* ‘to honour, respect; offer, proffer; to raise, elevate, present’ K152; Khal. *örgö-* Lu740b, Bur. *ürge-* I Cher515b, Oir. *örge-* Tod276, Kalm. *örgö-* Ram299a.

Kyrg. *öngül*, *öngül döngül* ‘hummocky, lumpy, bumpy’ ← WM, cf. LM *engkül*, WO –; Khal. *enhel*, *enhel donhol* ‘lumpy, bumpy’ Lu1704a, Bur. –, Oir. –, Kalm. *öngör* ‘vertiefung, grube, tal’ and *üngr* ‘id.’ Ram297b, Ram459a.

Kyrg. *ök* ‘(the leather from) the abdominal part of an animal (mainly of a horse, which is thick and fatty)’ ← WM, cf. MM (SH) *e’ukun* H47, *o’ukun* H129; LM *ögekü(n)* ‘fat, lard, grease’ L631a, WO *öökün* K145; Khal. *ööh(ön)* Lu736, Bur. *ööhe(n)* Cher382, Oir. *ööken* Tod273, Kalm. *öökn* Ram304a.

3.5.12 Advanced labial harmony

Apart from the low unrounded vowels *a*, *e*, labial harmony of the low rounded vowels *o*, *ö* occasionally affects the high rounded vowels *u*, *ü* of non-initial syllables in many Mongolic languages. This was also the case for Western Mongolic lexemes that are recorded in Written Oirat, while it has almost disappeared in modern Oirat and Kalmyk (Birtalan 2003: 213; 2020: 357). In modern Kalmyk this occurs because non-first-syllable vowels are reduced. However, labial harmony is still present in some Torgut dialects (Pjurbejev 1997: 77).

Early Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz do not reflect this situation as in, e.g., Kyrg. *toqum* ← Mongolic, cf. MM (L) *toyum* P1270, LM *toqum* L830a, WO *tohom* K500; Khal. *tohom* Lu968a; Kyrg. *öndür* ‘whole, entirely; height’ ← Mongolic, cf. MM (MA) *öndür* P276b; LM *öndür* ‘high, tall; height’ L637a, WO *önder* K219; Khal. *öndör* Lu727a etc. Therefore, the Mongolian loanwords containing low rounded vowels in non-initial syllables should be viewed as borrowed from Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *boom* ‘narrow mountain pass, gorge’ ← M, cf. MM (HY) *bo’om*, *bo’am* ‘passe, gorge’ Lew21; LM *boyum* ‘high and steep promontory, narrow mountain pass or valley’, WO *boyomta* ‘defile, barrier’ K349; Khal. *boom* Lu413a, Bur. *boomo* Ch114a, Oir. *boodag* Tod71, Kalm. *boom* ‘narrow mountain pass’ Mn109b. Kyrg. *boom* is a back-borrowing; the source of the Mongolian word was OldT *boyim*, *boyum* ‘joint, or articulation; knot (in a stalk, etc.)’ C315b. Intra-Kyrgyz development of the OldT form results in *buum* ‘joint, bunch’, since the OldT sequence *-oyu* regularly develops into *-uu* in Kyrgyz.

Kyrg. *bökön* ‘saiga antelope’ ← WM, cf. LM *böküng* ‘saiga antelope, gazelle’ L127a, WO –, but homonymous *bökün*, *bökön* ‘camel hump’ K359b; Khal. *böxön(g)* Lu426a, Bur. –, but homonymous *büxen* ‘camel hump’ Cher141a, Oir. –, but homonymous *böken* ‘camel hump’, Kalm. –, but homonymous *bökn* ‘buckelig, buckel; höcker (des kamels); knollen (an den bäumen), kurzer baumstumpf’ Ram55a.

Kyrg. *bödönö* ‘quail’ ← WM, cf. LM *büdüne* ‘quail’ L144b, WO. *bödönö* ‘grouse, quail’ K357b, *bödne* ‘quail, hen’ K357a; Khal. *bödnö* Lu421a, Bur. *büdene* Cher134b, Oir. *bödne* Tod74, Kalm. *bödnö* Ram54a.

Kyrg. *böktör-* ‘to fasten or tie to a saddle’ ← WM, cf. LM *böktüre-* ‘to throw or fling over’ L126a, WO *böktör-* ‘to load onto’ K360a, WO *böktörö-* ‘to fasten or tie to a saddle’ K360b; Khal. *bögtrö-* Lu420b, Bur. *bügter-* Cher133a, Oir. *bögter-* Tod74, Kalm. *böktör-* ‘etwas hinter sich auf den sattel legen, sodass es auf beiden seiten überliegt’ Ram55b. Alt. *böktör-* Chum128a is also from WM, while the phonetic features of Khak. *pükter-* Bas1nk 168 and Jak. *böktürgä* ‘game straps (on the back of a saddle for tying game)’ Pek519 suggest that they were borrowed from different sources.

Kyrg. *qoromju* “expense, loss” ← WM, cf. LM *xorumji* “diminution, loss, detriment” L969b, WO *xoromji* “loss, expense” K284; Khal. *xoromž* Lu1341a, Bur. –, Oir. –, Kalm. *χormdži* “knapp, wenig; knappheit, vermindering” Ram188a.

Kyrg. *ötögön* (*dial.*) “bear” Muk717a also serves as a euphemism for Kyrg. *ayuu* (< OldT. *adiγ*) “bear” ← WM, cf. LM *ötege* “bear”, WO *ötögö*, *ötögü* “bear” K138; Khal. *ötög* Lu750b, Bur. –, Oir. *öteg* Tod278, Kalm. *ötög*, *ötkö* “alter mann, greis, bär” Ram302a.

3.5.13 Palatal umlaut

Umlaut or palatalization of the first-syllable vowel by a following **i* occurs in Western Mongolic (Oirat and Kalmyk) and parts of Khalha Mongolian, e.g. MM (MA) *morin* “horse” P238b > Oir. *mörin* Tod238, Kalm. *mörn* Mun360a, MM (MA) *qonin* “sheep” P302a > Kalm. *xöön* Tod408a, Kalm. *xön* Mun603a etc. (see Poppe 1987: 48–49, Birtalan 2003: 212, Indjieva 2009: 20, Nugteren 2020: 96). Thus, Mongolic loanwords that reflect this phonetic development should be treated as belonging to the later layer and originating from Western Mongolic.

Kyrg. *mörün* (usually seen in folklore texts) “horse” ← WM, cf. MM (MA) *morin* “horse” P238b; LM *mori(n)* “horse, equine; (chiefly in names of plants and animals) great, big, large (cf. *üker*); knight (in chess)” L543b, WO *morin* “horse, steed” K604, Khal. *mor* Lu499b-501a, Bur. *mori(n)* Cher300a, Oir. *mörin* Tod238, Kalm. *mörn* Mun360a.

Kyrg. *tökör* “lame, crippled” ← WM, cf. MM –; LM *tokir* “crippled, bent; stiff (of arms, legs, etc.)” L820b, WO –; Khal. *tohir* Lu966b, Bur. *tohir* Cher444b, Oir. –, Kalm. –. Although the word is not recorded in lexicographical works on Oirat and Kalmyk, the source of the Kyrgyz lexeme should be the form **tökir* with umlaut.

4 Conclusion

This article proposes a number of criteria for identifying late (Western) Mongolian loanwords. These include full compliance, areal distribution, semantics, and phonological criteria. The latter are some of the most important and reliable principles for identifying borrowings. Strong phonetic evidence is provided to demonstrate that Kyrgyz has a significant layer of loanwords from the Western Mongolian languages. Deaffrication of *ǰ* in onset and intervocalic positions, preservation of unstable word-final *-n*, monophthongization of the sequence *VgV* > *V*, and loss of the final vowel are among the distinctive phonetic features of Western Mongolian that, along with their earlier forms, can also be found in Mongolian loanwords in Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz inventory of loanwords suggests that Kyrgyz adopted many Mongolian lexemes from different Mongolian languages during various historical periods. Numerous religious, cultural, and ethnographic borrowings indicate that, contrary to the image of the Oirats and Kalmyks as “enemies” in the collective memory of the Kyrgyz (and Kazakhs), the Western Mongolian tribes were in very close and intensive contact with the Kyrgyz, and it is highly probable that some parts of the Western Mongolian tribes joined the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs through language shift with the dissolution of the Jungar Khanate.

Kyrgyz in general and its north-eastern dialects in particular exhibit some phonetic peculiarities that have parallels in Western Mongolian languages. This suggests that there may have been a local Turko-Mongolian *sprachbund* during the 16th–18th centuries in the Tien-Shan, as briefly mentioned by Rassadin.

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Abbreviations

←	borrowed from
→	borrowed as
<	developed from
>	developed into
Alt.	Altai
BasInk	Baskakov & Inkizhekova-Grekul
Bask.	Baskakov
Bek.	Bektayev
BRS I	Burjatsko-russkij slovar’ I
BRS II	Burjatsko-russkij slovar’ II
Bur.	Buryat
But.	Butanayev
C.	Clauson
Cher.	Čeremisov
ETMJJa	Etimologičeskij slovar mongol’skix jazykov I-III
H	Haenisch
HY	Houa-yi yi-yu
IM	Ibn Muhanna
K	Krueger
Kalm.	Kalmyk
Kar.	Karynijazov
Kaz.	Kazakh
Khak.	Khakass
Khal.	Khalkha Mongolian
Kyrg.	Kyrgyz
L	Lessing
Lew	Lewicki
LM	Literary Mongolian
Lu	Luvsandendev
M	Mongolic
MA	Muqaddimat al-Adab
MM	Middle Mongolian
Muk	Mukambayev
Mun	Muniev
Naj	Najib
Oir.	Oirat
OldT	Old Turkic
P	Poppe 1938
Pek	Pekarsky
Ram	Ramstedt
SH	Secret History

T	Turkic
Ten.	Tenishev
Tod	Todajeva
Tuv.	Tuva
Wil.	Wilkins
Ž	Žanuzakov

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