



EARLY CONTACTS OF TURKS AND PROBLEMS OF PROTO-TURKIC RECONSTRUCTION

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The article presents the results of our studies of loanwords in the Turkic languages and borrowings from the Turkic languages that can be classified as borrowed in Proto-Turkic and Common Turkic times. The classification is based on the availability of these words in different groups of the Turkic languages and in Ancient Turkic texts. The classification is based on the presence of these words in different groups of the Turkic languages and ancient Turkic texts. The data collected can testify both in favor and against the decisions taken during the development Proto-Turkic reconstruction.

Key words: Proto-Turkic period, Common Turkic period, reconstruction, borrowings.

Below, we present the results of our studies of Turks' early language contacts conducted within the frame of the Proto-Turkic reconstruction, appeared in [1, 2], and other works of the Moscow

Comparative-Historical School. The genealogical classification of the Turkic languages, accepted in these works, is used in the research.

The Genealogical Tree of the Turkic Languages

Proto-Turkic						
Proto-Bulgarian		Common Turkic				
Danube Bulgarian	Volgaic Bulgarian	Yakut-Dolgan	Sayan	"Kyrgyz"	Kypchak-Karluk	Oghuz
	Chuvash	Yakut, Dolgan	Tuvinian, Tofa,...	Khakas, Shor, Saryg Yuygu, ...	Tatar, Kumuk, Karaim, Balkar, Kazakh, Uzbek, New Uygur,...	Turkish, Azeri, Turkmen, Salar,...

1.0. The contacts of Proto-Turkic with Late Old Chinese

The dating of the first Proto-Turkic disintegration, achieved by means of glottochronology, is about the first century B.C. [2].

A new (after Pulliblack) reconstruction of the phonetic history of Chinese which we are guided by in our conclusions can be seen in: [3, 4, 5].

The processes in Old Chinese that enable to date the time of OCh borrowings in PT are as follows:

Laterals > fricatives, *Lh* > *zh* before short vowels: Eastern Han (0-3 cent. A.D.)

T > *ć* before short vowels: Eastern Han (0-3 cent. A.D.)

L > *D* in initials: Early Postclassical Chinese (3 cent. A.D.)

r, rh > *l, lh*: Early Postclassical Chinese (3 cent. A.D.)

pr- > *p-*: Early Postclassical Chinese (3 cent. A.D.)

Tr- > retroflex stops: Western Han (3 cent. B.C.-0 cent.)

-r > *-n*: Classical Old Chinese (7 cent. B.C.-3 cent. B.C.)

No processes later than Early Postclassical Chinese can be observed in this lexis.

Thus, the dating of these language contacts can be defined as the third century B.C. and the third century A.D.

The words showing the phonetic peculiarities of the Proto-Turkic language can be divided into three groups.

a) Late Old Chinese borrowings in Proto-Turkic

1. **(a)lačü-k* ‘cottage, small yurt’: LOCh. *la-lia?* 廬舍 ‘cottage’

2. (?) **altun*, Chuv. *iltän* ‘gold’: LOCh. *dōη* 銅 ‘copper, bronze’

3. **gümül* ‘silver’: LOCh. **kəm-liw* 金鏐, ‘bright silver’

4. **Tēmür* ‘iron’: LOCh **tiēt-mhwit* (= *mwut*) ‘iron thing’, dial. *Tiēr-mwur* 鐵物

5. **kōnüg* *suw* ‘quicksilver’: LOCh **kōuη* 汞 ‘quicksilver’

6. **bək* ‘a nobility rank’: LOCh *pək* 伯 ‘to be elder’

7. **čerig* ‘army’, originally ‘army formation’: LOCh *cjāt*, dial. *cjār* 節 ‘knee; detachment’

8. **sü* ‘army’: LOCh **śwò* 戍 ‘frontier guards’

9. **biti-* ‘write’: LOCh *pit*: 筆 ‘writing brush’

10. **kujn* ‘scroll, book’: LOCh *kwén* 卷 ‘reel, coil, volume’

11. **bengü* ‘eternal’: LOCh *mwān* ‘be ten-thousand, myriad’ 萬 + LOCh 古 *kó* ‘to be ancient’

12. **čin* ‘verity’: LOCh 真 *t’ej* ‘to test, try out, correct’

13. **deng* ‘equal’: LOCh 等 *tāη?* ‘equal’

14. **dōn* ‘clothes’: LOCh *tōn* ‘black straight robe’

15. **kög* ‘tune’: LOCh 曲 *khok* ‘melody’

16. **sür* ‘color, dye, lacque’: LOCh 漆 *shjit* ‘lacquer tree, lacquer (*Rhus vernicuflua*)’

17. **jinčü* ‘pearls’: LOCh 真 *ćin* ‘true’ + 珠 *ćwo* ‘pearls’

18. **čavli* ‘a species of falcon’: LOCh 鷓 *zawh* ‘sparrow hawk (*Accipiter nisus*)’

19. **Turma* ‘radish, horseradish’: LOCh 土卵 *thārhwān* ‘yam’ (lit. ‘earthen egg’)

b) Proto-Turkic exotisms in Chinese Han transcriptions (Shi zi, Han shu)¹

撐黎 **thāη-rāj* ‘sky’ < **tanri*

灌 **roη* ‘headquarters’ < **orun*

徑路 **kēηh-rāh* ‘sword’ < **Kiηrak*

廓洛 **k(h)wā(k)-r(h)āk* ‘belt’ < **Kur-γak*

服匿 **bwək-ηək* ‘a k. of vessel’ < **bö-k-lüg* ‘having a cork’

馱騾 **kwjāt-d(h)ē* ‘a k. of horse’ < **Kätür* ‘mule’

駒駱 **Lhōw-Lhā* ‘a small horse’ < **ilala* ‘a bad horse’

驪騶 **d(h)ān-gēh/ kēh* ‘wild horse’ < **Takī*

蛩蛩 **g(h)oη-g(h)oη* ‘a k. of horse’ < **Koηur* ‘brown’

橐駝 **thāk-lhāj* ‘camel’ < **taj-lag* ‘young camel’

毘脫 **γwá-lwāt* ‘nomad settlements’ < **Kol-ut*

隔昆 **krēk-kwān* ‘Kirgiz’ < **Kirkir*

匈奴 **ηōη-nhā* ‘Hsiung-nu’ < **hunga*

屠耆 *dā-grjaj* ‘right’ < **dogro* ‘right’

谷蠡 **kōk-r(h)ə* ‘patrimony’ < **Kor(i)γi*

且居 **chiá-ka* a title < **čika-n*

稽粥 **kjāj-təuk* N. pr. < **Kätik* ‘hard’

呼廚泉 **wā-čwa-zjwan* N.pr. < **otočī-n* ‘healer’

c) Postclassic Chinese transcriptions (310 A.D. from Zin shu, Wei shu)

秀支 **śaw-kje* ‘army’ < **sü-ge*

替戾岡 **thiēj-liet-kāη* ‘go out’ < **tałi-t-kan* ‘withdrawn’

僕谷 **bwōk-kwōk* a title < **bökö-g* ‘hero – Acc’

劬秃當 **g(h)wo- thwōk-tāη* ‘seize’ < **götök-tā-η* ‘you will seize’

跋 **bāt* ‘self, master’ < **bod*

鐵伐 **thiēt-b(h)wāt* ‘iron’ < **Tēmür*

迦沙 **kā-sā* ‘jade’ (?) < **Kāl*

逗落 **d(h)ōw-lāk* ‘mound’ < **durak*

¹ Here and below the Old Chinese hieroglyphic transcriptions of foreign words are taken from [6; 7; 8]; the full analysis see in [2].

- 昆子 **kwān-cji* ‘beaver’ < **Kuntřz*
 夾兜 **kiēp-tōw* ‘churn’ < **küp-i-*
 屈子 **khwit-kwət* ‘low’ < **Kodku-t*
 托 **thāk* ‘earth’ < **Tog*
 赫連 **hēk-len* ‘red’ < **jegren*
 丁菱 **tiēṅ-līṅ* an ethnonym < **Teleṅ-*

In the same groups of Chinese sources we find the lexemes among “Hsiung-nu” words that can be traced as Iranian ones, borrowed from one of the Eastern Middle Iranian languages which was similar to a kind of archaic Khotanese Saka².

d) Iranian exotisms among “Hsiung-nu” Chinese transcriptions (only from Shi zi and Han shu), dairy husbandry words and titles.

1. 酪 **rāk* ‘koumiss’ – PIran. **ranka-* (+ *-aka*), Kh. Saka *ragai* ‘fermented liquor’; Osset. *rong* ‘fermented honey liquor’.

2. 湏 **toṅh* ‘milk, koumiss’ (Han epoch, about a liquor from whipped horse milk) – PIran. **dauṅ-na* (from **duž-* ‘to milk’) > Osset. *donq/dony* ‘yield of milk’, Wakhi *dingi* ‘milk products’

3. 酥酪 **sā rāk* ‘cream, butter’ – MIran. ***sara-ka* < PIran. ***sarah-*, OInd. *śaras-* ‘milk skin, cream’.

4. 醍醐 **tē-g(h)ā* ‘light koumiss or clarified oil’ – MIran. **doga-(ya)*: PIran. **dauga-* > Cl.Pers. *dōḡ* ‘buttermilk’, Pers. *duḡ*, Kurd. *dō* ‘buttermilk’, Pashto *hway* ‘yield of milk’, Shugn. *dūḡ*, Yazg. *dəḡ*, Wakhi *di* ‘buttermilk’.

5. 單于 **tān-wa* ‘Shan-yu (title)’. Pulleyblank: = Turk. **darxan*, cf. **kraś-pin* ‘Kashmir’. Cf. a commentary in Han Shu: “this title means “vast” and demonstrates that this person is as vast as the sky”. Cf. OUIg. *tarqan-* ‘to spread’, Caus. *tarqar-*.

6. 闕氏 **ḡāt-tāj* ‘Shan-yu spouse (title)’: cf. Sogd. *xuten* < **xwatāyn*, < **hva-tāvyaini* (f. from **hva-tāvyā-*) ‘lady’; > Early Saka **hvatun* > Hsiung-nu **ḡāt-tāj* > Sogd. *xātūn* [x’twn] ‘lady’ > OTurk. *qatun*.

7. 攀鞞 **r(h)wan dē* ‘royal clan of Hsiung-nu’ – Cf. Kh.Saka *runde* ‘kings’ (NPl of *rre* ‘king’ < **rwant-*).

8. 自次 **z(h)jās shjās* ‘second title after Shan-yu’ – Chinese compound ‘self’+‘following’, can be a loan-translation of a well-known Middle Iranian title – MPers. *pasāgrīv*, Parf. **pašāgrīv*, Sogd. *pš’ḡryw*, *pas/š-* ‘after’ и *grīv* ‘body, self’.

9. 日逐 **njət Lhəuk* a title of a *left-hand dajiang* who, against the old custom could not be an

heir and thus, was given this title. Cf. Av. negation *noit*, + Iran. *(v)*rau-ka-* – ‘not-ruling’.

10. 居次 **ka shjās* ‘princess’ – MIran. **kan-č-ača* (Sogd. *knčy*, *knčyg*, Pehl. *kaničag*, Munji *kinčākā* ‘girl’ < PIran. **kan-* ‘little, young’.

The linguistic situation that led to such borrowings was probably caused by close contacts of Proto-Turks with early Saka, a number of Iranian borrowings in Proto-Turkic being the evidence for the fact.

e) Early East Iranian borrowings in Proto-Turkic (pre-Khotanese Saka; Kh.Saka was registered in the 7th-10th centuries A.D. but the separation of the Saka-Wakhi Iranian branch would be dated not later than the 5th century B.C.)

1. **ečkū* ‘tame goat’: Iran. **až-ya-k-ā*, from **aža-*

2. **dāna* ‘heifer’: Iran. **dainu-kā*, Kh.Saka *dīnū* ‘cow’

3. **dorak* ‘cheese’: MIran. **tura-ka*, Kh.Saka *tūra* ‘cheese’

4. **kumlak* ‘hop’: Iran. **hauma-aryaka* “Aryan *haoma*”, Osset. *x^oymællæg* ‘hop’ (**hauma* ‘ephedra’)

5. **bütnik* ‘mint’: MIran. **bodina-ka* (Osset. *bit’na* / *bet’ina* ‘mint’, Shugn., Bartang *wiḡn*, Rushan *wuḡn*, Wakhi *wadn*, Munji *wālən*, Pashto *welāna*)

6. **arpa* ‘barley’: (?) Iran. **arba-* ‘barley’, East Iran. **arbasyā-* (or **arpasyā*): Ishk. *úrnyš*, Sangl. *vərvəs*, Yidgha *yaršō*, Pashto *orbə’si*, *urbə’si*

7. (?) **dura* ‘tower, fortification’: cf. Kh.Saka *ttaura* ‘wall’, Osset. *tyrg* ‘courtyard’

8. **ḡel* ‘house, home, family’: Iran. **ḡrda-* ‘house’, MPers. *gilstak* [glsty, glystk] ‘Dev house’, Zor. Pehl. **gil-šāh* ‘house host’, Kh.Saka *ggalū* ‘family’ [13].

9. **dām* ‘wall of a stationary building’: Iran. **dam-* ‘house’ (Av. *dam*, Sogd. *-dam* ‘world’, Yazg. *-dom* in toponyms, cf. also Kh.Saka *damānu* ‘house’) [13].

10. **darkan* ‘title or post; in names’: PIE **tlk-*, Iran. *tark-* ‘to decide, to judge’, Sogd. *try’n*, *trχ’n* [*tarxān*] ‘title’, Kh.Saka *ttarkana-* ‘title’, Osset. *tærxon* ‘justice’

11. **qayan*: ‘head of tribal confederation’, ‘lord’: MIran. **hva-kama-* ‘autokrator’ (*hva-* ‘self’ and *kam-* ‘to wish’), cf. Sogd. *xutkame* [xwt-k’m-k’] [11] in the same meaning, Avestan *hvata-data-* and *hva-data*.

1.1. Phonetic peculiarities of Chinese-Turkic adaptation

1.1.1. Consonants

² The Khotanese Saka data see in [9], Ossetic in [10], Sogdian in [11], Avestan in [12].

Chinese non-aspirate stops > PT voiced (weak) stops;

Chinese aspirate stops > PT voiceless (aspirate) stops;

PT and Iranian **d-* > OChinese *t-*;

PT and Iranian **t-* > OChinese *th-*;

Multiple OChinese affricates > PT **č* and PT **j-*, so PT **j-* should be phonetically close to affricates

Och laterals > PT **l* before back vowels and PT **ʎ* before front vowels

PT **l, *ʎ* > Och *l, lh* in early transcriptions;? **ʎ* > Och *l* and *ʃ* in late transcriptions

1.1.2. Vowels

Postclassical Old Chinese *iē, ē* > PT **e*

Postclassical Old Chinese *ə, əi* > PT **ä*

2.0. The "Tocharian loans" in Proto-Turkic and the problem of rhotacism /lambdaism

A. Róna-Tas [14] suggests that the words below are Tocharian loanwords in Proto-Turkic and that their phonetics proves the "rhotacist" model for Proto-Turkic; i.e., that the Common Turkic **š*, Chuvash *l* are the reflexes of PT **š* and not of a lateral phoneme. This view is contrary to our view supported by the phonetic appearance of Chinese-Proto-Turkic contact words seen above. But all these supposed Tocharisms are unreliable.

PT **Koł* 'cottage' (< PA **kuV* 'enclosure', PTM **kuli-* 'to fence') — Toch.B *košktye* 'hut' ([15: №1101] — from Mİr., cf. Pahlavi *kwšk* 'a part of a building', Modern Persian *kōšk*); where is *-k-* in PT form? (The Turkic etymology is severely criticized by J. Reinhart [16]). The Mİr. etymology for Toch. B is preferable. Probably, Toch. B *kwašo* 'country' [15: №1217] could be a loan from OT **koš* (<PT **Koł*), see [13: 224].

PT **bilči-* > **biši-* 'to churn' (Tat. *peš-* 'to churn', Bashk. *beše-* 'to whip; beat', Kaz. *pis-* 'to churn', Kkalp. *pis-*; Kirg. *biš-/ biš-*; Chuv. *pəzer-* 'to beat', Yak. *bis-* 'to smear' (PA **bilč'i-* 'to mix, to knead', PMong. **bilča-* 'to smear', MKor. *pìč-* 'to mix'); — Toch.B *peške* 'clarified butter, ghee' (Adams №2180, no IE etymology). Rather OT > Toch. B, see [17].

PT **kīl* 'sable' (< PA, see below) — unattested PToch. **kiš* < PIE **kek'-*, **k'ek'-* 'weasel, polecat', Sanskr. *kása-* m. 'a sp. of rodent animal', *kaśikā* f. 'weasel', Balt. **čeč-k-a-* or Sanskr. *śaśám* m. 'hare', Greek Cret. *kekēn* 'hare'. But Tocharian reflex of both PIE stems must be PToch. **śiś*.

3.0. The contacts of Proto-Turkic with Proto-Samodic (disintegration of PSam: ~ 300 B.C.) [18].

a) Turkic loanwords in Proto-Samodic³

1. CT **Kapuy* 'bumblebee' < PAlt. **k'ap'u* 'stinging insect'. Probably > PSam. **kepu* 'Wespe' (without Uralic etymology).

2. PT **bālik* 'fish' < PAlt. **pāli* 'k. of fish'. Probably > PSam. **pājkz* 'dried fish' (without Uralic etymology).

3. PT **bEkre* 'k. of sturgeon' < PA **bek'u* 'k. of fish'. Probably > PSam. **wekānā* / **wekzrz* 'sturgeon'.

4. PT **kīl* 'sable'. Probably > PSam. **ki, *kilz* 'sable' (without Uralic etymology).

5. CT **junt* 'horse, mare'. Probably > PSam. **juntz* 'horse'.

6. (?) CT **dal* 'branch, willow' < PAlt. **čālū* 'k. of leaf-bearing tree'. Probably > PSam. **ta(ə)j* 'branch, ast' (without Uralic etymology).

7. PT **bat-* 'sink, drown, set (about sun)'. Probably > PSam. **pāt-* id. (without Uralic etymology).

8. PT **Kīl* 'winter'. Probably > PSSam. **ke* 'winter'.

9. PT **ūr* 'fat'. Probably > PSam. **jür* id.

10. CT **jama-* 'patch, darn' < PA **nēmē* 'patch, darn' Probably > PSam. **jemā-* 'patch' (without Uralic etymology).

11. CT **balmak* 'k. of shoes'. Probably > PSam. **pājma* 'shoes' (without Uralic etymology).

12. CT **(h)ējke-* 'sow, sharpen' Probably > PSam. **jikā-* 'sow, sharpen';

13. CT **kīn* 'sheath'. Probably > PSam. **ken* id.

14. CT **jasa-* 'build' < PA **dasa-* 'rule'. Probably > PSam. **jesaj-* 'to build a chum' (without Uralic etymology).

15. PT **Kamīč* 'scoop' = Pİran. **kapiči-*, **kapič-aka* 'ladle, scoop'. Probably > PSam. **kāps/šā* 'Zauberlöffel' (for libations).

16. PT **kān* 'lord'. Probably > PSam. **kāj* id. (without Uralic etymology).

17. PT **(h)ejkiř* 'twins'. Probably > PSam. **jekā* 'twin'.

18. PT **jōk* 'no', **jōk-a-l-* (Pass. of denom. verb) 'to be lost, to disappear'. Probably > PSam. **jokā-* (? **jok-*) 'sich verirren' (without Uralic etymology).

19. PT **dört* 'four'. Probably > PSam. **tettā* 'four' (without Uralic etymology).

20. PT **jūr* 'hundred'. Probably > PSam. **jür* 'hundred'.

21. CT **Kīr* 'grey, grey-haired'. Probably > PSam. **kīr* 'grey, light, white'

³ The Proto-Samodic reconstructions are mainly taken from [18; 19; 20]. The full analysis see in [2].

b) Probable Samodic loans in Proto-Turkic

1. PSam. **kāsa* ‘bark’ > CT **kās* ‘bark’ (OUig. *qas, qasuq*, Krh.-Uig. *qas, qasuq* (MK), Halaj *qās*). The Samodic word has a standard Uralic etymology (PFU **ko(ñ)ékz* ‘bark’).

2. (?) PSam. **kaätjə* ‘fir tree’ > PT **Kadi* ‘pine tree’

3. (?) PSam. **titej* ‘Siberian cedar’ > CT **Tit* ‘larch’,

4. PSam. **koəjə* ‘mountain, watershed’ > CT **K(i)aja* ‘rock, mountain’. PSam < PUr **ka δ’a* > Hung. *hegy* ‘top, mountain’, CT has no good Alt. etymology.

5. PSam. **wəñz* ‘meat or fish soup, broth’ > (?) CT **bün* (**bünj*?) ‘meat soup, broth’

3.1. Phonetic peculiarities of Samodic-Turk, Turk-Samodic adaptation

3.1.1. Consonants

PT **r*, **λ* > PS **r*, **l* (PS **l* gave **j* in the syllable end automatically).

PT **j*- > PS **j*-.

PT **h*- > PT **θ*-

Samodic has no Anlaut laryngeal oppositions on stops.

3.1.2. Vowels

PT **a* > PS **e*, **ε* in open syllables and **a*, before **j* — **ä*, **ê* in closed syllables

4.0. The contacts of Proto-Turkic with Proto-Yeniseian⁴ (disintegration into Ketish and Kottish groups ~ the turn of the Christian Era)

a) Proto-Turkic loans in Proto-Yeniseian

1. PYen. **χətyr* ‘felt, cloth’ < PT **kidiř* ‘felt’ > CT **kidiz*.

2. PYen. **ʔiʔn* ‘needle’ < PT > CT *(*j*)*igne, jigne*.

3. PYen. **ʔVʔr₁* ‘song’ < PT > CT **ir*.

4. ? PYen. **dam-* in **dam-χux* ‘window’ (-*χux* ‘hole’) < PT > CT **dām* ‘wall’.

5. PYen. **KVlpV* ‘ladle’ < PT ***kaλbuk* > PT **kaλuk* > CT **kašuk*.

6. PYen. **dəli* ‘willow’ < PT > CT **dal*.

7. PYen. **χəpVr* ‘foam’ < PT **köp-* > PT **köpük* ‘foam’, CT **köpür-* ‘to foam’.

8. ? PYen. **bət* ‘*Salmo lenoc*’ < CT **biñit*.

b) Words borrowed not later than in the 12th cent. A.D. (Only Ket-Yug sub-branch):

1. Ket-Yug **pałgV* ‘ruff’ < PT **bālik* ‘fish’.

2. Ket-Yug **ʔiGV-* ‘to sharpen’ < PT **hējke-*.

3. Ket-Yug **ʔuʔž-* ‘waist’ < PT **ūča*.

4. Ket-Yug **siʔ id* ‘strap’ < PT **sid-* ‘lace’.

5. Ket-Yug **soʔ/G/χom* ‘an arrow with a blunt arrowhead’ < CT **sokom/n* ‘a whistling arrow-head’

6. Ket-Yug **doʔs* ‘idol; spirit’ < PT **Töř* ‘root; origin, ancestors’.

c) Probable borrowings from PYen to PT:

1. PT **gejik* ‘wild, game’ (no Altaic etymology) < PYen. **gəʔj* ‘hunt; wild animal’.

4.1. Phonetic peculiarities of Proto-Turk – Proto-Yeniseian adaptation: only consonants

PT **r*, **λ* > PYen **r*, **l*,

CT **z* > PKott *s*

PT **d-* > PYen **d-*

5.0. The contacts of Proto-Turkic with Proto-Ob’-Ugrian⁵

a) Loans from Proto-Ob’-Ugrian to the Proto-Turkic:

1. PT **kundur* ‘beaver’ < POU **kuntz-l* < PUg **kuntz* ‘beaver’.

2. PT **Kutan* ‘heron, pelican’ < POU **kotij* < PUg **kottVηV* ‘swan’.

3. PT **ijir* ‘pack saddle’ < **ingri* < ΠΟΥ **näyrä* < ΠΥΓ. **närkV* ‘saddle’.

b) Loans from Proto-Turkic to the Proto-Ob’-Ugrian:

1. POU **ūrj* ‘suitable, skill’ < PT (CT) **ūr* ‘master’.

2. POU **tarma* ‘god’ < PT **Taṅri* ‘god’?

3. POU **wūjma* ‘skein of wool’ < PT **ojma* ‘felt’

4. POU **perγa* ‘pipe, piped stem’ < PT **burgu* ‘pipe, hunter’s call; piped stem’.

5. (?) POU **pehta* ‘dung, excrements’ < PT **bok* ‘dirt, dung’.

6. (?) POU **qer-sj* ‘without snow (about autumn)’ < PT **Kiār-siř* ‘without snow’.

6.0. Proto-Turkic-Mongolic contacts

a) The reconstructed PMo state (the state of Mongolic system in the time of the first disintegration of Mongol family) is dated, by means of glottochronology, after the 6th cent. A.D.; the Common Mongolic Chinese borrowings cannot be dated earlier than Middle Chinese, e.g. the 6th -7th cent. A.D.

b) The reconstructed PT state (in the time of disintegration of Common Turkic and Bulgar): ~ 1th cent. B.C. glottochronologically; PT Chinese borrowings show that it is Western and Eastern Han (3th cent. B.C.-3th cent. A.D.)

c) Turkic loans, that can be reconstructed for Proto-Mongolic, are well-known and numerous, among them many Chinese loans in Proto-Turkic are found.

⁴ The Proto-Yeniseian reconstructions are taken from [21]

⁵ The Proto-Ob’-Ugrian reconstructions see in [22, 23].

Chinese loans in Proto-Turkic are dated before the third century A.D.; that is terminus post quem.

Terminus propter quem for the Proto-Mongolic state is the sixth and seventh century A.D.

d) Borrowings from Old Turkic in Proto-Mongolic:

T. **altun* ‘gold’ (< OCh.) > PMo **altan*,

T. **Teṃür* ‘iron’ (< OCh.) > PMo **temür*,

T. *(*a*)*laču-k* ‘cottage, small yurt’ (< OCh.) > PMo **alačuḡ*,

T. **Turma* ‘radish’ (< OCh.) > PMo **turma*

T. **biti*- ‘write’ (< OCh.) > PMo **biči*-

T. **Kojn* ‘sheep’ > PMo *qoni(n)*, PT < PA **giabo(nV)* ‘ungulate female’ (PMo **gewü-n* ‘mare’, PTM **gibu*- ‘roe’)

T. **ornu* (3 P. from **orun* ‘place, residence’, Cf. in Hsiung-nu language 龍 WH *roŋ*) with “Kyrkyz” cluster development (*rn* > *rd*) > PMo **ordo(n)* (MMo *ordo* ‘palace’, *ordos* ‘Khan residence’ SH, Kitan 鞞魯朵 *wò-lu-duo* ‘palace wards’, MChin reading *ḡwât-lo-twâ*).

e) Exemples of possible loans from Proto-Turkic in Early Proto-Mongolic (before the 3th cent. A.D.)

PT **ařig* ‘fang’ > PMo *ariya* ‘fang’ by PMo *aral* ‘fang’, *ara-tai* ‘predator’ < PA **aři*;

PT **bōř* ‘grey’ > PMo **boro* ‘grey’ by PMo **buḡurul* ‘grey-haired’ < PA **baguř*-.

f) Turkic loans in Tabgach (the 4th -5th A.D.)⁶

比德填 *pjij tāk cín* ‘scribe’ < PT **bitig* ‘letter’

樸大填 *bōk dhāj cín* ‘cloakroom servant’ < PT

(?) **bog-taj* ‘bag with clothes’

可薄填 *khā bāk cín* ‘warden’ < PT **kapog* ‘door’

咸填 *giām cín* ‘post station employee’ < PT

***jam* ‘post station’

g) A Mongolic loan in Hsiung-nu language?

犀毗 *slāj b(h)jāj* ‘buckle’ = монг. **silbi* ‘buttonhole’

h) Examples of borrowing from Early Mongol in Common Turkic

CT **ordo* ‘khan residence; army’ < NMo **ordo(n)*

CT **talpi*- ‘to dangle, swing’: < PMo **dalba*- ‘to shake’;

CT **dōrug* ‘bay (horse coat)’ ? < PMo **dorugun* ‘badger’, Cf. Tu *bulan* ‘dun’ < “elk”, *jigren* ‘chestnut’ < “gazelle”, Mo *xal'uun* ‘dun with black mane’ < “otter”;

CT *aksum* ‘fury, tumult’ < PMo **agsum* ‘tumult’, < Mong **agsa*- ‘to writhe in convulsions; brawl’

CT **tōr* ‘net’ < PMo **towr* (cf. PT **duřak* ‘net’, TM **turku*- ‘to be entrapped’).

7.0. The resulting table of Proto-Turkic language contacts.

Contact language	to Proto-Turkic	from Proto-Turkic
Late Old Chinese	16-19 borrowings from “cultural” areas. T > *D, Th > *T, TS > *j- L > *l/_A, *λ_E <i>iē, ē</i> > * <i>e</i> <i>ə, āi</i> > * <i>ä</i>	18 borrowings in Han epoch, 14 borrowings later, generally exotisms (but “pony” and “camel” are found in Modern Chinese) *D > T, *T > Th *l, *λ > l, lh (earlier) ? *λ > l/š (later)
An East Middle Iranian language (early Saka? Proto-Saka-Wakhi?)	11 borrowings from “cultural” areas; Cf. considerable number of Iranian words among “Hsiung-nu” lexemes. No good points for PT reconstruction (but cf.: Iranian * <i>d</i> - > OChinese <i>t</i> -; Iranian * <i>t</i> - > OChinese <i>th</i> -)	Not clear (in general, the Saka-Wakhi cognates are now not collected). Cf. a number of later Turkic words in Khotanese Saka
Proto-Tocharian	6 (unreliable); 2 probable Tocharian loans in Hsiung-nu language	5 (unreliable); Cf. a number of later Turkic loans in Tocharian B)
Proto-Samodic	5 (?)	15–21, generally “cultural” *ř, *λ > *r, *l, later *ř > s PT *j- > PS *j- PT *h- > PT *θ-
Proto-Yenisean	1?	8–15, “cultural” *ř, *λ > *r, *l, Later *ř > s *d- > *d-
Proto-Ob-Ugrian	3 (“trade”)	6 (“cultural”) ~ *ř > *r
Proto-Nivkh	?	4 (“trade”?)
Tabgach (Mongolic)	Not clear	4 (one remains in Modern Mongolic languages)

⁶ See [24]; [2].

8.0. Borrowings from Proto-Bulgar and the early Bulgar languages in Hungarian and Slavic: the case of Proto-Turkic vowel system.

8.1. Bulgar loanwords in Hungarian can be divided into two groups:

a) In the first group the assumed appearance of the Turkic prototypes is very close to the Proto-Turkic stage (excluding the "Bulgar palatalization": the change *s- > š- before *i, *i, *iV). The primary vowel length is preserved; the "Chuvash" shifts are not observed. This group should be considered among "the Pre-Conquest Layer" ([25: 752]) – these were the loans on the territory of the Volga-Kama (or, as A.Róna-Tas now prefers to believe [26: 436-438], the Don-Kuban) area (the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.);

b) In the second group the prototypes appear to be extremely similar to the prototypes of Danube Bulgar loanwords in the South Slavic languages. This group are, apparently, the loans from the Danube Bulgar, which were acquired on the territory near present-day Hungary; the adaptation rules for their phonetics in Hungarian are almost identical to the adaptation rules of early Slavic loans, which appeared in Hungarian in the time period "chronologically close to the Hungarian conquest of the Lower Danube region (895-900 A.D.)" – see [27: 422].

8.2. Also two categories of Bulgar loanwords in Slavic can be distinguished: a) Words borrowed from the language of Danube Bulgars into the South Slavic languages (not to the Proto-Slavic, as it was considered earlier: it is chronologically impossible). These words incorporated into the Old Church Slavonic language spread into East Slavic and partly also into West Slavic languages with the literary language of the Slavic world. On historical grounds these loans should be dated as early the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. b) Words borrowed from the language of Volga Bulgars into the East Slavic languages (on the Volga trade route) and partly spread on to the West Slavic languages, mostly to Polish. These borrowings should, apparently, be dated later, after the rise of the Volga Bulgar state.

8.3. Reflexes of Bulgar vowels in loanwords⁷

PT	Early Bulgar loans in Hungarian	Late Bulgar (Danube) loans in Hungarian	Late Bulgar (Danube) loans in South Slavic	Late Bulgar (Volgaic) loans in East Slavic	Chuvash
*a	a (â)	a (â)?	o	o	o
*ā	á	á?	a, (?) ālC > ъlC		o
*ä	é, ε	a	o	o	a
*ā̄	ē/ē̄	?	a		a
*o	*u > o	a (â)	o	(oγC > voC)	vъ-, -u-
*ō	*ū > u	vá-, -á-	va	va	va-, -u-
*ö	*ü > ö	e (ê), ö	u	u	vъ-, -ü-
*ō̄	*ū > ü	vé-, -é-	ve, õrC > ъrC	(P)i	va-, -ъva-
*u	*u > o	va-(r)	a, uRC > ъRC	ъ	ъ, vъ-(r)
*ū	*ū > u	?			ъ
*ü	*ü > ö	ö, e (ê)	ъ, (K)ъ	(K)u, (P)i	ə
*ū̄	*ū > ü	ve-			ə
*ī, ī̄	a, (á >) é	a?	a; ilC > ъlC		ə/ъ
*i	*i > e (ë)	i?	e, ilC > ъlC	ъ	ə/ъ
*ī̄	*ī > i	?			ə/ъ
*ā̄	*ī > i	a?	ъ, (K)ъ		ī
*ē	é, ε	é, ε?	i		i/ə
*ē̄	ē̄	ē̄?	i		a
*ej	*ī > i	?			jə-, ja-, -i-
*āj	*i > e (ë)	?		i	jə-, ja-, -i-

⁷ See the full analysis in [28; 29].

Bulgar languages: the vowels of 1st syllable

Chuvash	Bulgar loans in EastSlavic	Bulgar loans in SouthSlavic	Bulgar loans in Hungarian – B	Bulgar loans in Hungarian – A	Proto-Turkic
о sot- 'to sell' < PT *sat-	Хопужьское море 'Black Sea': PT *kapug	ковъчегъ: PT *Kapurčak тоягъ, тояга: PT *dajak 'staff'	koporsó 'coffin': PT *Kapurčak	karó 'nail': PT*Kař- guk gyapjú 'wool': PT *japagu	*a
о solъ 'raft', poržin 'silc brocade'		санъ 'rank': PT *sān самъчии 'steward': PBulg. *sām 'counting' брачина 'silc brocade': PT *bārčun	bársony 'brocade': PT *bārčun szám 'numeral': PT *sām < *sā(j)- 'to count'	sátor 'tent': PT *čatur szál 'raft': PT *sāl	ā
въ-, -о- рогъ 'badger', въгъ 'thief'	воръ: PT *ogry тволага 'heifer': PT *dog-lak	хоржгы 'banner': PT *hogu-gu сокачи 'butcher': PT *sok- 'slaughter' + -*či	apró 'small, fine': PT *opra-k	kos: PT *Koč 'ram' borz: PT *bors-uk 'badger' or, orv: PT *ogry 'thief'	*o
ва-, -о-, -ъва- toga, тъвага 'cheese' valak 'желоб' < PT *ōlak	ватага 'tent': PT *ōtag	кваръ 'harm': PT *Kōr 'harm, damage' тварогъ 'cheese': PT *tōrak	váj- 'to row': PT *ōj- kár 'harm': PT *Kōr 'harm, damage'	turó 'cheese': PT *tōrak	*ō
въ-, -у-/ü- püre 'kidneys' въгыгъ 'bull, ox'		боубрегъ: PT *bögrek > *bövrek 'kidneys' коурълькъ 'form, ap- pearance': PT *kōrūglük 'appearance'	csepű (ö, ë) 'oacum': PT *čöp-ik	ökör 'bull': PT *höküř seprő (ö, ë) 'yeast, sediment': PT *čöpre-g	*ö
ва, -ъва- къвак 'blue', вагъ 'clearing, glade' < PT *ōk.	бирюкъ 'lone wolf': PT *bōrū-k	верига 'fetters': PT *ōr- ·k	ver- 'plait': PT *ōr- lék, dial. vék 'ice- hole': PT *ōk. kék (ë) 'blue': PT *gōk	szún-ik- 'to faint': PT *sōn- 'disappear, fade'	*ō
ъ хъгъм 'soot' въгъ 'polyure'	трунове "nobles of Volga Bulgars", *търунъ: OT tudun, МК tudun	сасыгъ 'crucible': PT *sus- 'to scoop', МК susiq 'bucket' тльпыгъ 'waterskin': PT *tulup: кърчии "smith": PT *kurč "steel"+ -čī	var 'scab, furuncle': PT *ur 'wart, tu- mour'	korom 'soot': PT *Kurum bodor 'curly': PT *budra	*u
ръс 'fog' ə pədər- 'twist'	коуригъ 'best man': PT *güdegü пирогъ 'cake': PT *būrāk	кънига 'book': PT *kün- ig къркыга 'litter': PT *kürk 'fur, cover' тъма '10000': PT *tümen	dél (ë) 'South, noon': PT *dül ?	búsz 'fog': PT *būs	*ū
ə/i šilə 'be angry'				gyúl-öl 'be angry': PT *jül-	*ū
ə/ъ xərxī 'kite'		шаръ "dye": ПТ*sīr крагуи: PT *kīrguj 'kite' (īl: тълмачъ 'interpreter': PT *tīlmač)	karvaly 'kestrel': PT *kīrguj 'kite, fal- con'	gyalu 'plane': PT *jīlku	*ī
ə/ъ čəg-pušši 'knie'				(térđ 'knie': Bulg. (?) *dī-ř ~ *dījr < PT *dūjř (?))	*ī
ə/ъ šərga 'nit' šəbby 'broom'	жънчугъ "pearl"s: PT *jinčü-k	бълъчугъ 'fetters': PT *bile-čuk терегъ 'litter': PT *ditek	(kis 'little, small': PT *kičü-g bilincs 'fetters':	serke: PT *sirke 'nit' seper, söpör 'broom': PT *sipür- 'sweep'	*ī

Chuvash	Bulgar loans in EastSlavic	Bulgar loans in SouthSlavic	Bulgar loans in Hungarian – B	Bulgar loans in Hungarian – A	Proto-Turkic
		(il: бльхъчии 'smith, joiner': PT *bilgüci)	ПТ*bilen-čüg?)	bölcs 'wise' <*belücs: PT *bilgüci	
ə/ъ šɯl 'tooth'				süllő 'zander': PT *sɯl-leg	*ɯ
ī tīla 'brake', sīsna 'pig', īrri 'buttermilk', tīr 'grain'	(юрара: PT *aḡur-ak 'buttermilk')	чъпагъ 'bag': PT *čar-gu 'pocket, lap' дъхътъръ 'pillow': PT *jat-ku-r	dara 'grain': PT *dari-	disznó 'pig': PT *jas-na-tiló 'brake': PT *talku 'brake' író 'buttermilk': PT *aḡur-ak	*a
a saḡ 'seat' < PT *sākū šaḡ 'army': PT *čarig	ковъръ: PT *Kābir 'carpet'	ковригъ 'loaf of bread': PT *gābrek огаръ 'trackhound': PT *aker	csavar- 'to wind': PT *čābir- aḡar 'trackhound': PT *aker	gyermek (ε) 'jung': PT *jārmik bélyeg (ē) 'sign, brand': PT *bāl-gō	*ā
a kap 'form, image'		капъ 'idol': PT *gāp		kép 'appearance, portrait': ПТ*gāp 'form, exemple, image'	*ā
i(=e)/ə šil 'wind': PT *je-l təḡer 'зеркало'		тикъръ 'mirror': PT *teḡor 'disc' чиготъ 'noble': PT *jegit	szél (ε) 'ветер': PT *je-l szer (ē) 'место': PT *jer (tükör 'mirror': ПТ*teḡor)	teker- (ē) 'to wind': PT *teḡor-e-gyenge (ē) 'слабый': PT *jeḡ-gül	*e
a kaś 'evening': PT *gē-č-paru 'gift': PT *bē-r-		биръ 'tax': PT *bēr-	bér (ē) 'fee': PT *bēr-	késik (é) 'be late': PT *gēč-	*ē
i sik- 'jump'	сигать 'jump'?			szök-ik- (ē) 'run': PT *sājik- 'jump'	*āj
i jəGər 'tweens'				iker 'tweens': PT *ejkiř, gyümölcs, OHung gemils- (ē): PT *jē-jmilč	*ej

8.4. The phonetic peculiarities of Proto-Bulgar / Early Bulgar > Hungarian and Early Bulgar > Slavic adaptation: vowels.

Proto-Turkic vowel length was relevant in Proto-Bulgar and Danube Bulgar;

The Proto-Turkic diphthongue *ia has specific reflexes in Proto-Bulgar, Danube Bulgar, Volga Bulgar inscriptions and Chuvash;

The reflexes of *a and *e can be distinguished from reflexes of *a and *ā in ProtoBulgar, Danube Bulgar and Chuvash.

[Slavic adapted Danube Bulgar a (< *a, ā) > o, ā (< *ā, ā) > a,

Old Hungarian adapted Slavic *a [ā] > ā, *o [ō] > ā

Old Hungarian adapted Danube Bulgar *ō > ā

Thus, during the period under study, Slavic did not lose the difference in quantity of *a [ā] < PIE *ā, *ō and *o [ō] < PIE *ā, *ō].

Consequently, all early contact data reaffirm the "Altaic-oriented" reconstruction of Proto-Turkic.

Abbreviations

CT – Common Turkic
 LOCh – Late Old Chinese
 MChin – Middle Chinese
 Miran. =Mir. – Middle Iranian
 MMo – Middle Mongolian
 NMo – Northern Mongolian
 OCh – Old Chinese
 OInd. – Old Indian
 OT – Old Turkic
 OUig. – Old Uigur
 PA – Proto-Altaic

PIE – Proto-Indo-European
 PIran. – Proto-Iranian
 PMong = PMo – Proto-Mongolian
 POU – Proto-Ob-Ugric
 PSam. – Proto-Samodic
 PSSam. – Proto-South-Samodic
 PT – Proto-Turkic
 PYen. – Proto-Yenissean

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БОРЫНГЫ ТӨРКИ КОНТАКТЛАР ҺӘМ БАБАТӨРКИ ЧОРНЫ РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯЛӘУ МӘСЪӘЛӘЛӘРЕ

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Мәкаләдә бабатөрки һәм гомумтөрки чорларда төрки телләргә һәм төрки телләрдән башка телләргә кәргән алынмаларны өйрәнү нәтижәләребез китерелә. Алынмаларны төркемләүдә аларның төрки телләрнең төрле этник төркемнәрендә кулланылуы һәм борынгы истәлекләрдә теркәлүе нигез итеп алына. Мондый төр тикшеренүләр бабатөрки реконструкцияләрне торгызуга кагылышлы мәсәләләргә өстәмәләр, төзәтмәләр кертәргә мөмкинлек бирә.

Төп төшенчәләр: бабатөрки чор, гомумтөрки чор, реконструкцияләү, алынмалар.

РАННИЕ КОНТАКТЫ ТЮРКОВ И ПРОБЛЕМЫ ПРАТЮРКСКОЙ РЕКОНСТРУКЦИИ

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В статье представлены результаты наших исследований по тем заимствованиям в тюркские языки и из тюркских языков, которые могут считаться заимствованными в течение пратюркского и общетюркского периодов. Классификация заимствований основана на встречаемости этих слов в различных группах тюркских языков и в древнетюркских текстах. Оказывается, что эти данные имеют значение для принятия или отклонения ряда решений разрабатываемой пратюркской реконструкции.

Ключевые слова: пратюркский период, общетюркский период, реконструкция, заимствования.