

# SOME NOTES ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD **altai / altay**

## *Altai/Altay Kelimesinin Etimolojisi Üzerine Notlar*

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**Öz:** Günümüzde Altay Dağları'nı adlandırmada kullanılan *altay* kelimesine tarihî Türk lehçelerinde bu fonetik biçimiyle rastlanmamaktadır. Bize göre *altay* kelimesinin *altun* kelimesiyle doğrudan ilgisi vardır. Ancak bunu daha net bir şekilde görebilmek için şu iki soruyu cevaplandırmak gerekir: i) *altun* kelimesi, Altay dağları için kullanılan adlandırmalarda yer almakta mıdır? ii) İkinci hecedeki /u/ ~ /a/ ve /n/ ~ /y/ denklikleri fonetik olarak açıklanabilir mi? Bu makalede *altay* kelimesinin etimolojisi fonetik (/n/ ~ /y/ ve /a/ ~ /u/), semantik (*altun yış, chin-shan, altun owla...*) ve leksik (*Altun Çöl, Altan Hısu Owla...*) yönlerden tartışılacaktır. Bize göre hem Eski Türkçe *altay* kelimesinin tarihinden hem de 'Altay Dağları' için kullanılan kelimelerden hareketle, kelimenin en eski şekli *\*paltuñ* şeklinde tasarlanabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türk yazı dilleri, Eski Türkçe, etimoloji, *altay* kelimesi, yer adları, Altay Dağları

**Abstract:** The word *altay* is an oronym referring to Altai Mountains, but it, in this phonological form, is not attested to have existed in early Turkic works. We consider that the word *altay* is directly related with the word *altun*. However, to see this clearer we must answer following two questions: i) Is the word *altun* used for any denominating system of the Altay Mountains? and ii) Could the equivalencies between /u/ ~ /a/ and between /n/ ~ /y/ phonemes on the second syllable be explained phonologically?

This article aims to discuss the etymology of the word *altai* in following respects: phonologically (/n/ ~ /y/ and /a/ ~ /u/), semantically (*altun yış, chin-shan, altun owla...*) and lexically (*Altun Çöl, Altan Hısu Owla...*). When we take into consideration both the history of the Old Turkic word *altun* and related words adopted for 'Altai Mountains,' *\*paltuñ* may be reconstructed as the oldest form.

**Keywords:** Turkic languages, Old Turkic, etymology, the word *altai*, toponym, Altai Mountains

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## 1. Introduction

The word *altay* is an oronym referring to Altai Mountains, but it, in this phonological form, is not attested to have existed in Old Turkic<sup>1</sup>.

Peter Golden associates the word *altay* with hypothetical form *\*altañ*<sup>2</sup>.

We also think that the word *altay* is directly related with the word *altun*. But to see this clearer we must answer following two questions:

- i) Is the word *altun* used for any denominating system of the Altai Mountains?
- ii) Could the equivalencies of /u/ ~ /a/ and /n/ ~ /y/ phonemes on the second syllable be explained phonologically?

## 2. Nominals referring to Altai Mountains

Following nominals are used to refer to the Altai Mountains: a) *altay*, b) *altun yış*, c) *chin-shan*, d) *altan owla*

### 2.1. Turkic *altay*, Turkic *altun yış*, Chinese *chin-shan* (*jīn-shān*) and Mongolian *altan owla* ~ *altı ul*<sup>a</sup>

In modern languages we see the word “Altay” with the /altai/ pronunciation: (According to the widespread scripts): Latin *altai*, *altaj*, *altay*, Cyrillic *алтай*, *алмай*, Arabic *آلتاي*...

The word is written as *алмай*, *алтайн* [*altay*, *altayn*] in Mongolian, *アルタイ* [*arutai*] in Japanese and *알타이* [*altai*] in Korean, and we assume that these languages exist in the same language family (Altaic Languages) with the Turkic languages<sup>3</sup>.

Altaic Languages	‘Altai Mountains’	
<i>Turkish</i>	<i>altay</i> [ <i>altay</i> ]	wk.tr
<i>Mongolian</i>	алтайн, алтай [ <i>altayn</i> , <i>altay</i> ]	wk.mn.
<i>Japanese</i>	アルタイ [ <i>arutai</i> ]	wk.ja.
<i>Korean</i>	알타이 [ <i>altai</i> ]	wk.ko.

1 The word *altay* is not attested in these works: a) Etymological dictionaries: VEWT, EDPT, ESTY, TDES, KBS and ÇTES; b) Old Turkic dictionaries: DTS, EUTS, ETS, UW and KarTS; c) other books: KY, ETY, OrTG, ETG, EUTG, GOT, OTWF and ETYA.

2 Chin-shan ‘Golden Mountain’ = the Altay < \**altañ*?, Tkc. *altun* > Mo. *altan* cf. Altaic *n̄* > *n/y*, e.g. Tkc. *qoñ/qoy*, Mo. *qoni*, Tkc. *Qitañ/Qıtay*, Mo. *Qitan* (Golden 1992: 118).

3 In the environmental languages of Altaic languages mentioned above, the word “altay” is written as 阿爾泰 in Chinese, আলতাই [*ālatā*’i] in Bengali and อัสไต [*xal tī ~ an-dtai*] in Thai language:

**Thai** เข็มขัดเอวอัสไต ‘Altai Mountains’ (wk.th.); เข็มขัดเอวอัสไต [*the̞x̚k̚k̚h̚e̞a̞ x̚al t̚i*], เข็มขัดเอวอัสไต ‘belt, valley, mountain’; เขา [*k̚h̚e̞a̞*] ‘mountain, hill’; อัสไต [*x̚al t̚i*] ‘Altai’ (gt.); เข็มขัดเอวอัสไต [*t̚e̞uak-k̚āo-an-dtai*], เข็มขัด [*t̚e̞uak*] ‘range (of mountains)’; เขา [*k̚āo*] ‘hill; mountain’; อัสไต [*an-dtai*] ‘Altai’ (t2c.); เข็มขัดเอว ‘mountain, range’ (etd.).  
**Bengali** আলতাইপর্বতমালা ‘Altai Mountains’ (wk.bn.); আলতাইপর্বতমালা [*ālatā*’i *parbatamālā*]; আলতাই [*ālatā*’i] ‘Altai’; পর্বতমালা [*parbatamālā*] ‘mountain chain, mountains’ (gt.)

The nominal *altun yış* attested eight times in Old Turkic runic inscriptions<sup>4</sup> is used for ‘Altai Mountains’<sup>5</sup>.

In old Chinese chronicles, the word *Chin-Shan* [*Jīn-Shān*] 金山 (ETYA 36) is used to refer to ‘Altai Mountains’. The former (*Jīn* 金<sup>6</sup>) means ‘gold (*altun* in Turkic)’, while the latter (*Shān* 山<sup>7</sup>) means ‘mountain’ (cf. *Tiān-Shān* ‘Empyrean God / Heavenly Mountains’: *Tiān* ‘God’<sup>8</sup>):

Classical Chinese	金山 [ <i>chin-shan</i> / <i>jīn-shān</i> ]	‘Golden Mountain’; ‘Altai Mountains’
Modern Chinese	阿尔泰山, 阿爾泰 [ <i>ā'ěr tài</i> ]	‘Gold, Golden’; ‘Altai Mountains’

Another important data concerning the Altai Mountains can also be found in the *Ch'in-Ting Hsi-Yü T'ung-Wen-Chih*, a work which dates back to 1763. Many toponyms can be found in this work with their correspondences in Uighur and Tibetan as well as the phrase *altan owla*, which is used for naming Altai Mountains<sup>9</sup>: Uig. التان اولا [*altan owla*]; Chin. 阿勒坦鄂拉 [*a-le-t'an-e-la*]; Mo. *altan ayula*<sup>10</sup>.

4 **BK D 27** *ol yilka türğ(i)ş t(a)pa (a)ltun yış(i)g [(a)ş]a (ä)rt(i)ş ög(ü)z(ü)g k(ä)çä yor[(t)dm* [KY 144, 147]; *ol y<sup>2</sup>ılka türğeş tapa altun y<sup>2</sup>ışığ [aş]a ertiş ügüzüg keçe yor[ıdm* ‘O yıl Türğeslere doğru Altay (ormanlı) Dağları’ni aşarak İrtiş Irmağı’ni geçerek ilerledim. Türğeş halkını uykuda (iken) baskına uğrattım [ETYA 35]. ‘In that year, I marched against the Türgis, climbing over the Altai mountains and crossing over the Irtysh river, and fell upon (the Türgis people while they were asleep)’ [AOT 276]; **KT D 36-37** *ol yilka türğ(i)ş [(t)a)pa (a)ltun yış(i)g] toga (ä)rt(i)ş ög(ü)z(ü)g k(ä)çä yorid(t)m(i)z* ‘O yıl, Türğiş(ler) doğru Altay dağlarını aşarak, İrtiş Irmağını geçerek ordu sevk ettik’ [KY 120, 121, 144, 147]. ‘In that year we marched (against the Türgis) climbing over (the Altai mountains) and crossing over the Irtysh river’ [AOT 269]; **T 20** *ol üç k(a)g(a)n ögl(ä)ş(i)p (a)ltun yış üzä k(a)b(i)ş(a)l(t)m t(e)m(i)ş* [KY 147]; *ol üç kağan ögleşip altun yış üzä kavış'alım temiş* ‘O üç kağan anlaşıp Altay (ormanlı) Dağları’nda birleşelim demiş’ [AOT 285]; **T 31** *(a)ltun yışda ol(ur)uñ t(e)di* ‘AltunYış’da mevzilenin, dedi.’ [KY82, 147]; *altun yışda oloruñ tedi* ‘Altay Dağları’nda oturun, dedi.’ [ETYA 36]; **T 32** *(a)ltun yışda ol(ur)t(um)uz* [KY 147]; *altun yışda olortumuz* ‘Altay (ormanlı) Dağları’na yerleştik.’ [ETYA 36]; ‘Thus we stayed at the Altai Mountains’ [AOT 287]; **T 35** *(a)ltun yış(i)g yols(i)z(t)n (a)şd(i)m<ız>* [KY 147]; *altun yışığ yols'ızım' aşdım<ız> ertiş ügüzüg keçdimiz* ‘Altay (ormanlı) Dağları’nın yolu olmayan yerlerini aştuk, İrtiş Irmağı’nın geçilemeyecek yerlerini geçtik.’ [ETYA 36]. ‘We climbed over the Altai mountains without any roads, and we crossed over the Irtysh river without any fords’ [AOT 288]; **T 37** *(a)ltun yış(i)g (a)şa k(ä)lt(i)m(i)z* [KY 147]; *altun yışığ aşa keltimiz...* ‘Altay (ormanlı) Dağları’ni aşip geldik...’ [ETYA 36]. ‘We have come (this far) by climbing over the Altai mountains...’ [AOT 288]; **Ta B 5** [*kaga]ngı bërigerü uçı altun yış kedin uçı kögmen ili gerü uçı költi[ı]* ‘düşman halkın kağanı(ninki) güney ucu Altay Dağları, batı ucu Kögmen, doğu ucu Költi(?)dir.’ [ETYA 36]. ‘... belonging to the hostile tribes and (hostile) kafan; its southern end is *Altun yiş* (i.e. Altay mountains) its eastern end is Költi (?)’ [TI 51].

5 ‘Altay dağları’ (Th2002: 183), ‘Büyük Altay Dağı’ (Th2002: 228 not 44), ‘yer adı (Altay dağları) (O41: 151), ‘Золотая черн (Алтай)’ (M59: 90), ‘La Montagne d’Or boisée’ (G61: 138), ‘the Great Altai Mountain’ (T68: 301), ‘Altay dağları’ (T94: 53), ‘Grosse Altai Gebirge’ (Ry97: 53, 103), ‘Altay Dağları’ (Me2009: 180, 183), ‘Altay Dağları’ (Ay2011: 51-52) BK Şıy NOTL | T SIY NOTL | Ta siy NOV [ETYA 36]; *Altun jyş* ‘Altun dağlar’, Büyük Altay dağları olmalıdır (krş. s. 61); Çinceşi *Kin-chan* [OYA 229, not 45; For detailed information see Esin 1980 I *jyş* → OYA 206, note 5 and Sertkaya 2003].

6 *jīn* 金 ‘metals’ [DCC 64]

7 *shān* 山 ‘mountain’ [DCC 103]

8 *tiān* 天 ‘heaven; sky’ [DCC 118]

9 There are four more toponyms for the word *altun* ~ *altan* in DTYA: 422. Uig.: *Altun Ğol* ; Chin.: *A-le-t'un-kuo-le* 阿勒屯鄂勒; Mo.: *Altun Tool* [DTYA 81]; 468. Uig.: *Altan Husu Owla* ; Chin.: *A-le-t'an-hu-su-e-la* 阿勒坦呼蘇鄂拉; Mo.: *Altan Qusu Ayula* [DTYA 88]; 507. Uig. *Altan Tebşi Owla* ; Chin.: *A-le-t'an-t'e-pu-shih-e-la* 阿勒坦特布什鄂拉; Mo.: *Altan Tebši Ayula* [DTYA 94]; 515. Uig. *Altan Amal Owla* ; Chin.: *A-le-t'an-e-mo-le-e-la* 阿勒坦額墨勒鄂拉; Mo.: *Altan Emegel Ayula* [DTYA 95]

10 480. U(ighur) *altan owla* التان اولا; C(hinese) *a-le-t'an-e-la* 阿勒坦鄂拉; M(ongolian) *altan ayula*: Cungarcadır. “a-le-t’an” (altan), “altun” demektir. Eskiden bu dağdan altun çıkarılırdı. Bu yüzden bu adı almıştır. Önceleri buraya A-erh-t'ai 阿爾泰 (Altay) denirdi. Eski kaynaklarda zikredilen Chin 金Dağı’dır // It belongs to Jungar language. “a-le-t’an” (altan)

Similar information can be found in KW as well<sup>11</sup>: Kalm. *altā*, *altū ul<sup>o</sup>*, *altā xaŋgā*.

### 3. The relation between the words *altay* and *altun*

#### 3.1. The word *altun*

There are several arguments on the etymology of the word *altun*, which is attributed to the Old Turkic period. Clauson, Sevortyan and Tietze only show the adoptions of the word in ancient scripts<sup>12</sup>.

While Räsänen gives an etymology of the word *altun* as \**al* ‘rot’ + Chin. *ton*<sup>13</sup>; Gülensoy<sup>14</sup> and Eren mention previous etymologies of the word, although they themselves do not state an opinion. According to the information given by Eren and Golden, the views on the word could be summarized as shown below (TDES 9-10):

means the golden. Formerly, gold extracted from this mountain. That's why it was so called. At first it was called here A-erh-t'ai 阿爾泰 (Altai). The mountain that mentioned in ancient sources is Chin 金山 Mountains. [DTYA 90]

11 Kalm. *altā* die Altai-Berge; die Altai-Gegend; auch *altū ul<sup>o</sup>* genannt | *altā xaŋgā* Altai und Changai; hohe waldbewachsene Berge. [*altai*, vgl. *altan* ‘gold’] [KW 8]

12 **altu:n** ‘gold’. A very early l.-w. in Mong. as *altan* (*Haenisch* 6, *Kow* 85). S.i.a.m.l.g., usually as **altun**. Exceptionally in Yakut **altan** means ‘copper’ *Pek* 82. (See Doerfer II 529) **Türkü** viii **altu:n kümüş** ‘gold and silver’ *IS* 5, *II N* 12; *ISW*; *II S* 11; **sarığ altu:n ürüg kümüş** ‘yellow gold and white silver’ *T* 48; **altu:n yış** ‘the Altay mountain forest’ occurs several times in *I*, *II*, and *T*; also a component in Proper Names; viii ff. **altu:n örgi:n üze**: ‘on a golden throne’ *Irkb* 1; o.o. do. 3, 5 (**adğırılık**), etc.; yüz altu:n ‘100 gold coins’ *Toyok IVr.* 3-4 (*ETY II* 180); **Altu:n Tay Saqu:n** P.N. *Tun. IV* 5-6 (do. II 96): **Uyğ.** viii ff. Man.-A **altun Aruğu** (*sic*) **uluş** ‘the golden country of Arğu’ *M I* 26, 29; **altun Arğu** (*sic*) [?] **Talas** **uluş** do. 27, 5; Chr. **altun** ‘gold! (and frank incense and myrrh)’ *U I* 6, 14; Bud. Sanskrit *suvarṇavarṇo* ‘gold coloured’ **altun öglög** *TT VIII G* 64; **sarığ altun yıp** ‘yellow gold thread’ *PP* 43, 2; **bés yüz altun yartmak** (for **yarmak**) ‘500 gold coins’ *U III* 68, 12; and many o.o.: Civ. *TTI* 70 (**adğırta:-**) xiv *Chin.-Uyğ. Dict.* chin ‘gold’ (*Giles* 2,032) **altun R I** 411; *Ligeti* 129; **O. Kir.** ix ff. **altu:n** occurs several times; **altu:n kümüşig** *Mal.* 11,9; **altu:n kéc:** ‘golden quiver’ do. 25, 3; **Xak.** xi **altu:n al-ğahab** ‘gold’ *Kağ.* *I* 120; and 16 o.o.: *KB* (wisdom is) **altun taş** ‘the gold ore’ (in the brown earth) 213; o.o. 188, 946, etc.: xiii (?) *Tef.* **altun kümüş**; **altun** ‘a gold coin’ 50: xiv *Muh. al-ğahab altu:n* *Mel.* 18, 15; 75, 6; *Rif.* 98, 178; **Çağ.** xv ff. **altun tilā** ‘gold’, in *Ar. ğahab* in *Pe. zar San.* 50r. 4 (quotn. and three phr.): **Xwar.** xiii (?) **altun kümüş** *Oğ.* 181 a.o.o.: xiv **altun** ‘gold’ *Qutb* 8; **Kom.** xiv ‘gold’ **altun CCI, CCG**; *Gr.*: **Kıp.** xiv-al-ğahab **altu:n** *Hou.* 31, 12; *dīnār* ‘gold coin’ **altu:n** do. 55, 11; xiv *al-ğahab alfun* *Bul.* 4, 8; xv *dīnār altun Kav.* 56, 21; *ğahab altun Tuh.* 16a. 13. [EDPT 131].

АЛТЫН/ALTIN турк., тур., ктат., кар., кум., кбал., кир., каз., ног., ккал., тат., баш., сюг., алт., хак. Ettuhfet.<sup>139</sup> **алтун**/altun кум. диал. Шахманова Казанич.<sup>265</sup> уйг., лоб., Малов<sup>357</sup>, Малов ПМК<sup>390</sup>, Gabain<sup>293</sup>, Brockelmann<sup>3</sup>, Kaşğ.D.<sup>222</sup>, Analyt.In.<sup>464</sup>, T VIII<sup>85</sup>, T X<sup>40</sup>, USP<sup>261</sup>, KW<sup>36</sup>, Houtsma<sup>33</sup>, Zajaczkowski Bulgat. I<sub>7</sub>, Deny Arm.C.<sup>447</sup>, AF<sup>071</sup>, Ibnü M.<sup>10</sup>, Qutb<sub>8</sub>, Pav.C.<sup>31</sup>; **алтин**/ältin уз.; **алдин**/aldin тув.; **алтан**/altan як.; **ылтән**/ıldän чув.; **ältun** тур. диал. Korkmaz GB<sup>103</sup>; **ältun** брахмий Gabain<sup>293</sup>.  $\diamond$  1. золото, золотой - воевсехисторичниках, кроме як.; 2. уст. золотая монета - уз., чув.; уст. лира (турецкая) - тур.; 3. перен. золотой (= ‘оченьхороший’) - турк., уз.; 4. медь - як. (Пекарский I<sub>82</sub>) [ESTY 142-143].

**altun** /BSTT. **altun** b.m. (bir cins metal) < OT *altun* a.m. Clauson 1972 s. 131. Bu husustaki diğer gelişmeler için b. H. Eren 1999 s. 9-10 [TETL 84].

13 uig. mtü. kom. çag. tar. otü. kkm. **altun** ‘Gold’, Radl. “alle Dialekte ausser çag. und tar.” *altyn* (> kam. Joki 64-5 *altyn*; russ. *алтын*), çuv. *ilttän, iłDän* ‘Gold’, (Aşm. 3: 50) *ıvDän* (3: 52), *ıldDän* = mo. (KWB. 8) *altan* ‘Gold’ (> jak. *altan* ‘медь’) < \**al* ‘rot’ + chin. *ton* (> \**toñ* 488a) [VEWT 18].

14 **altun** ‘Altın madeni; bu madenden yapılmış’ = ET. **altun** (*Tuny.* 48), OT. **altun** (DLT) <**altun** <**al+tun** (T. Tekin, *Mal.I.* 362) [< \***äl** ‘kızıl’ + Çin. **ton**] (Räsänen, *V* 18) ~ altun (Çağ., Trkm., TatK., Nog., KKlp., Kırg.) altun (Tar.), aldin (Tuva), altan ‘bakır’ (Yak.) (< Mo.) ilttän (Çuv.), iłDän (Çuv.), ıvDän (Çuv.) (Räsänen, *V*) ~ Mo. **altan** (*KWb.* 8) > Yak. *altan* • Tk. > Ar. (Mis., Sur) *altün*; *alti:n-ci:* ‘altun+cı’ (ALTK, 32); **Zaza.** *altun* ‘altun’, *altunên* ‘altundân yapılmış olan’ ~ *altunin* (*ZTS*, 19); **Kamasin.** *altun* (*Joki*, 64); **Rus.** *altun* (*V*, 18b) bk. Eren, *TDES*, s. 9-10. [KBS 67].

Here we think attributer Gülensoy made a mistake by referring to T. Tekin. T. Tekin’s explanation is for the word “alt” which means ‘under (*alt+m*)’ not for the word *altun* ‘gold’ [see *altun* ‘alt’ DLT 549].

Uig. *al* ‘the bottom, the lower part’, *ältin* ‘below, beneath, lower’ <*al+tin*, Tk., etc. *alt* ‘the bottom, lower part’ < *ältin* (with metanalysis)... [Tekin 2003: 362]

Németh	Tkc. <i>altun</i> ~ Mo. <i>altan</i>
Ramstedt	Tkc. <i>altun</i> ~ Ar. <i>lāṭūn</i>
Ramstedt, Şçerbak, Räsänen, Baskakov	Tkc. <i>al</i> 'red' + Chin. <i>ton</i> (cf. Kor. <i>ton</i> 'precious metal')
Poppe	Mo. <i>altan</i> , Kalm. <i>altū</i> <sup>15</sup> , Mogr. <i>xardam</i> <sup>16</sup> , <i>xardan</i> < * <i>haltan</i> < * <i>haltun</i> < * <i>paltun</i>
Räsänen, Rassadin	Yak. <i>altan</i> < Mo. <i>Altan</i>
Clauson	Mo. <i>altan</i> < Tkc.
Doerfer	<i>reject to</i> → [Tkc. <i>al</i> 'kızıl' + Chin. <i>ton</i> ] ve [Yak. <i>altan</i> < Mo. <i>altan</i> ]
Golden	Mo. <i>altan</i> < Tkc. <i>altun</i> < Proto-Altai * <i>altañ</i>

In old<sup>17</sup> and modern<sup>18</sup> Turkic languages, the word *altun*, in Mongolian the word *altan*<sup>19</sup> and in Manchu the word *ajšin*<sup>20</sup> are used in the sense of 'gold, golden'.

The Turkic word of *altun* is borrowed by other languages too<sup>21</sup>.

### 3.2. The Old Turkic /ń/ phoneme and its development

First of all, /ń/(= ny) phoneme is seen in Old Turkic runic scripts, and it is represented by the letter "F". From the Old Uighur period on, it is one of the criterion

- 15 Kalm. *altū* gold| golden | *altū* möngñ gold und silber; *tsayān altū* platina; *altū* örgē chanshof, der goldene hof; *altār kesp* aus gold gemacht; *altōtē* vergoldet; *altū* gasp polastern; a. *ǰalwōyā* turmfalke; a. *narŋ* die goldene sonne; a. *delkē* die sonnige erde. [altan, vgl. atū. altun (? Von al 'rot')] [KW 8]
- 16 Mogr. *xardam* 'or' Cf. mo. altan, ord. alt'a, širongol (S. t.) *xaldan*, san *tch'ouan artan*, *santa ant'a id.*; *xardam mānt'a* "creuser la terre pour trouver de l'or"; *xardam sdādze* "fil d'or"; *xardam sēr* "monnaie d'or". Cf. le mot suivant. [DM 160-161] Mogr. *xardan* "Voir le mot precedent", *xardants'I* "orfèvre, chercheur d'or". Cf. mo. *altači* "orfèvre" [DM 161].
- 17 **Old Turkic ALTUNI** 1. золото, 2. золотой (*monema*), 3. золотой  $\phi$  *altun jultuz*, *altun kümüs*, *altun qazuq* • **ALTUN** *Haltun arǰu uluš*, *altun jiš*, *altun qaγan*, *altun qan* (~ *γan*), *altun qara*, *altun taj saγun*, *altun tamγan tarqan* [DTS 40] | **Old Uighur altun** /<sup>LTWN</sup><Kombination von al „hellrot“ und \**tuŋ*, *toŋ* „Kupfer“ (Sevortjan I 142; vgl. dagegen TMEN II 114). Var.: *a luŋ* (br) TT VIII G 64. <sup>LTN</sup>(m) M III 14 u. 8. <sup>LTWN</sup>(m) ManTürkGed 19. <sup>LTWN</sup>HtPek 85 b 3. -<sup>LTWN</sup> (kursiv) Ramstedt 7<sub>14</sub>. <sup>LTWN</sup> BT III 249. <sup>LDWN</sup> BT VII F 3; Suv 71<sub>14</sub>, 92<sub>6</sub>, 314<sub>21</sub>, 645<sub>14</sub>, 658<sub>22</sub>; TT VII 6 m., 11 o. 45, u. 73, u. 80, 28 o. 3. Ideogramm: 金 Shō 12a 11. | Nom.: A) Adv./Präd.: a) "Gold" (als Schatz, Wertgegenstand), b) "Goldschmuck, Goldfarbe", c) "Goldstück, Goldplättchen, Goldriegel", d) "Metall"; B) Adnom.: a) "golden, aus Gold, Gold-", b) "goldgeschmückt, goldfarben", c) "Metall-, zum Element Metallgehörig", d) übertr.: "unzerstörbar, unvergänglich, kaiserlich"; C) Imännl. Eigennamen; D) OhneKont. [UW 112-115] | **Karakhanid altun** 'altun, dinar' DLT 549; **altun** (2) 'altun' KB 1043, TIEM 73 361v/4, RKT 29/25b2 [KarTS 37] | **Kharezm-Altunorda altun** 'altun' NF, KE, ME, MM, HKT, HŞ, MN, İML [HATS 42] | **Middle Kiptchak altun** 'altun' DM, TZ; **altun** 'altun' DM, TA; **altun** 'altun' BM, CC, DM, Gİ, GT, İM, KF, KFT, MG, TA; **altun** 'altun' KK, TA [KpTS 8]; **altın**, **altın** 1. золото; золотой; 2. слиток, кусок золота; золотая монета, золотой (флорин), злотый (монета); **altun** золото; золотой [GKS 85-86] | **Chaghathay altun** 'altun' [ÇEK 264]; **altun** (1) 'altun' bkz. *zeheb*, *zer*, *tala* (2), *tela* (1), *tilā* 'ŞSL, BV, BD, SD, GT, NH, HBD, LD, ÇFK, TMA, TEH, MÜN, Sİ, FK, ŞT, ŞHD, MK, LM, GN [ÇagTS 38] | **Volga Bulgarian** [A]LT[U]N 'Gold; Teil eines Namens' [DWI 146] | **Old Oghuz altun** (Mo.) *altun* [EATS 37] | **Ottoman altun baş** 'eskiden kadınların başlarına giydikleri altın dizili veya altın işlemeli taç' [TarS I 114]
- 18 Ttü. *altun*, Az. *gızıl*, *altun*, Bşk. *altın*, Kzk. *altın*, Krg. *altun*, *zer*, Özb. *altin*, Tat. *altın*, Trkm. *altın*, *gızıl*, YUyg. *altun* şeklindedir [KTLS 18-19]
- 19 *altan* 'gold' [ICM 62]; *alta(n)* / *am(am)* 'Gold, Golden' [MED 33]; 'altun, altından yapılmış' [MTS 53]; AJT(ан) 'золото' [MPC 32]; \**alt'a/n* 'gold' Uigur Mongolian Feldeaal<sup>dan</sup>, Sino-Mongolian 阿勒壇 *althan*, Arabic Mongolian 𐰽𐰺𐰍 *altan*, 'Phags-pa Mongolian 𐰽𐰺𐰍 *alt'an* [PM 128]; *altan* 'золото', др.-тюрк., уйғ. *altun*, ср.-тюрк. (At-tuhfa 15b 13), алт., кар., тур. *altın*, башк., тат. *altın*, тув. *aldın*, долг., як. *altan* 'медь'; ср.-монг., м. *altan*, даг. *alta*, дунс. *antan*, калм. *altn*, мнгр. *xaldan* 'золото' (Шçербак, 2005: 21).
- 20 Mançusa *ajšin* 'gold' [MSM 128]
- 21 Çin. *ā'ěrtài* 'altun', Far. *altun* 'altun', Ar. *altūn* 'altun', Rus. *altın* 'altun', Mac. *altimczele*, *altimczek*, *altinczek* 'altun işlemeli kumaş', Fin. *alttina* 'eskiden kullanılmış üç kopik değerindeki bakır veya bronz para', Rom. *altângic*, *altîngic*, *altîngea*, *altanic*, *altîngea*, *altâgic* 'bir tür dereotu; krizantem çiçeği; lale', Bul. *altin* 'altun', Srp. *altun*, *altin* 'altun', Arn. *altun* 'altun', Mak. *altan*, *atlan*, *altançe*, *altun*, *altin* 'altun', Yun. *altin* 'altun', İng. *altin*, *altinick*, *altun* 'eski bir Rus parası' (TVS 28).

used to recognize sub-dialects, in the form of two different phonemes as /n/ and /y/. According to this consideration, while most of the Manichaean texts and some others written in Orkhon script adopt /n/ phoneme, the vast majority of the Buddhist texts written in Uighur and Brahmi scripts adopt the phoneme /y/. Being characterized by this ramification, the mentioned dialects are also called /n/ *dialect* and /y/ *dialect*.

There are few distinctive studies on the /ń/ phoneme<sup>22</sup> in which the phoneme is shown in most references by writing /n/ and /y/ letters side-by-side and putting a wave over them (nẏ). In addition, roughly the same information is given about the phoneme in the grammar books about Orkhon Turkic.

When we consider that the Old Turkic phoneme /ń/ is also used in modern Turkic languages such as Tofa, Khalaj, Dolgan and Yakut (Gül 2011: 25), the situation of the phrase ‘gold, golden’ in these dialects is as shown below:

Tofa	<i>alđan</i> ‘golden’ <sup>23</sup>
Khalaj	Ø <sup>24</sup>
Dolgan	<i>altan</i> ‘copper’ <sup>25</sup>
Yakut	<i>altan</i> ‘copper’, <i>kıhıl kömüs</i> ‘golden’ <sup>26</sup>

In brief we can discuss three basic findings demonstrated about the phoneme /ń/ in general Turcology literature:

1. In Old Uighur, it develops to /n/ and /y/ and became a sub-dialect determinant (In Manichaean texts /n/, in Buddhist texts /y/).
2. Among the previous periods it is attested to exist only in the period of Orkhon Turkic.
3. It is also seen in some of the Modern Turkic languages such as Khalaj, Tofa, Yakut and Dolgan.

When we view the words that have the /ń/ (F) phoneme in Old Turkic runic scripts, we can come up with the table below.

22 For further readings see Çağırın 2012, Karadoğan 2002, Sertkaya 2012 and Tuna 1994.

23 *alđan* ‘золото; золотой’ < монг., ср. староп.- монг. *altan*, ойр. *altan*, совр. монг. *алт(ан)*, бур. *алта(н)*, калм. *алтн* ‘золото; золотой’, як. *алтан* ‘медь’, но алт. *алтын*, тув. *алдын*, хак. *алтын* ‘золото; золотой’ и *алтын* в стальных тюркских языках восходят к др.тюрк. *altun* ‘золото’ [FLTY 153]

24 There is no word such “altun” in Khalaj referring “gold, golden”. Instead of “altun” we see these words: *äsräfi* ~ *äsräfi* (33) ‚Eschrafi (iranische Goldmünze)‘. ← P. *äsräfi* [WC 83]; *käkul-zärī* (33) ‚mit goldenen Haaren‘. ← P. *käkul* + *zar* [WC 145]; \**nim-kuläh* (? ‚nym-kl‘h, K 1118) ‚Stock mit Hakenende‘ (P. *kazak*). Nicht *källäk!* Nach Arabgol 1977 = *kajak* : Die alten Frauen haben früher aus wertvollen Stoffen ein Kopfband gemacht, wie einen Reifen und auf den vorderen Teil Juwelen, Gold- und Silbermünzen genäht, um das Haar ordentlich zusammenzuhalten. Wurde über die Stirn gebunden, heute z. B. noch in Sonqor üblich [WC 166]; *tälä* (33) ‚Gold‘, *tälä vä äsräfilär* ‚(Dukaten-) Gold und Eschrafi‘. ← P. *talä* (SK 30 *tilä*); *täläjät* (5) ‚Schmucksachen, Kleinode‘. Zu P. *tilä* ‚Gold‘ ? [WC 200]

25 *altan* ‘1. Kupfer (Ub. 25); 2. kupfern, Kupfer- (Ub. 161; DO 42) – Etym.: = jak. *altan* id. = osm. *altyn* ‘Gold’ [DW 32]

26 *altan* ‘bakır’ [STS 6], *kıhıl kömüs* ‘altın’ [STS 74]; *altun* ‘kıhıl kömüs / кыһыл көмүс’ [TSS 10]; А.ИТАН. аар. Кыһыллыны өңнөөх титталымтыга металл [СТБКТ 18]; DLT *altun* ‘altın’ ~ ST *altan* ‘bakır’ [Pekacar 2012: 21, 62]; *altun* altın: Ø [Yıldız 2007: 21], *kümüş* gümüş: *Yak. kömüs* ‘gümüş, altın’ (LPOYY 52; YRS 178), *kömüs* ‘gümüş’ (GJV 132) = *ürüñ kömüs* (RYS 573; TSS 103), *Dolg. kömüs* ‘gümüş; gümüş(ten); altın’ (SDR-RD 36; DW 156 1, 2, 3), = *ürüñ kömüs* (SDR-RD 36; DW 156 2) [Yıldız 2007: 47].

<b>añg</b>	‘bad, evil’	<i>anıg</i>	<i>ayıg</i>
<b>çıgañ</b>	‘poor, needy, destitute’	<i>çığan</i>	<i>çigay</i>
<b>kañu</b>	‘which’	<i>kani, hani</i>	<i>kayu</i>
<b>kitañ</b>	‘Hitay’ (ethnonym; a place name)	<i>Kitan, Kitan</i>	<i>Kıtay, Kıtai, Kara Khitay</i> <sup>27</sup> , <i>Katay</i>
<b>koñ</b>	‘sheep’ (→ <i>koyın, koyun</i> )	<i>kon, ğonin, konin</i>	<i>koy</i>
<b>toñukuk</b>	‘Tonyukuk’ (a high tittle; a personel name)	–	–
<b>turña</b>	‘crane’	<i>turna</i>	<i>turñya</i>
<b>yañ-</b>	‘to spread, scatter’	<i>yan-</i>	<i>yay-, yayık</i>
<b>azkıña</b>	‘few, very few’	<i>azkınya</i>	<i>azkına</i>

In addition to this, there is also data reconstructed by researchers in hypothetical form with /ñ/:

<b>*bãñi</b>	‘brain’ (→ <i>beyin</i> )	<i>*beni</i>	<i>beyin</i>
<b>*bogañ</b>	‘low’	<i>*bogan</i>	<i>bogay</i>
<b>*boñ-</b>	‘to confuse’	<i>*bon-</i>	<i>moyum</i> ‘confused’ (→ <i>moymal, boymaş-</i> )
<b>*bulgañok</b>	‘confused’	<i>bulgan-</i> ‘to be stirred up, agitated; to be contaminated with something’	<i>bulgayok</i> ‘confused’
<b>*buñuz</b>	‘horn’ (→ <i>boynuz</i> )	<i>*bonuz</i> (→ <i>muñuz, münjüz</i> )	<i>muyuz</i>
<b>*kañ-</b>	(→ <i>kayın-</i> )	<i>kanak</i>	<i>kayak</i> (→ <i>kaymak</i> )
<b>*kõñ-</b>	‘to catch fire, to burn’ (→ <i>göyün-</i> )	<i>kõn-</i>	<i>kõy-</i>
<b>*küñeş</b>	‘a sunnyplace’	<i>küneş, güneş</i>	<i>kuyaş</i>
<b>*yuñ</b>	‘wool’	<i>yun</i>	<i>yuy</i>

### 3.3. Mongolian /a/ ~ Turkic /u/

The data shown in 3.2 concerning the Old Turkic phoneme /ñ/ makes us think that the word *altay* is related with the hypothetic form *\*altuñ*. Another data point supporting the existence of this formation is the word *altan* in Mongolian.

	Old Turkic	Classical Mongolian	Modern Mongolian
‘gold’	<i>altun</i>	<i>alta(n)</i>	<i>alt(an)</i>

There are also other words given as examples for the equivalency of high rounded vowels (*u, ü*) in the last syllables of Old Turkic words to the low unrounded vowels (*a, e*) in Mongolian:

27 For further readings see Sinor 1998: 227-242.

	Old Turkic	Classical Mongolian	Modern Mongolian
	/u/	/a/ ~ /u/	/a/
‘gold’	<i>altun</i>	<i>alta(n)</i>	<i>alt(an)</i>
‘quiet’	<i>amul</i>	<i>amur</i>	<i>amar</i>
‘step’	<i>atun</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>adam</i>
‘a male deer’	<i>bugu</i>	<i>bugu</i>	<i>buga</i>
‘corner’	<i>buluŋ</i>	<i>bulung</i>	<i>bulan(g)</i>
‘Morning star, Venus’	<i>çolpan</i>	<i>çolmun</i>	<i>tsolmon</i>
‘relation by marriage’	<i>kađın</i>	<i>hadum</i>	<i>hadam</i>
‘all’	<i>kamug, kamag</i>	<i>hamug</i>	<i>hamag</i>
‘princess’	<i>katun</i>	<i>hatun</i>	<i>hatan</i>
‘foal’	<i>kulun, kulan</i>	<i>hulan</i>	<i>hulan</i>
‘soap’	<i>sabun</i>	<i>sabung</i>	<i>savan</i>
‘ocean, sea, great lake; much, many, in great number or quantity, universal, great’	<i>talay, taluy</i>	<i>dalay</i>	<i>dalay</i>
‘spinal cord’	<i>yulun</i>	<i>culay</i>	<i>zulay</i>
	/ü/ (~ /e/)	/e/ ~ /ü/	/e/
‘wrap or veil oneself’	<i>bürün-</i>	<i>büri-</i>	<i>büre-</i>
‘trustworthy, sound’	<i>bütün</i>	<i>bütün</i>	<i>büten</i>
‘type of rat’	<i>küzün, küzen</i>	<i>küren-e</i>	<i>hürne</i>

### 3.4. Proto-Altaic /\*p-/ phoneme

According to proponents of Altaic language family, there is a *p-* > *f-* > *x-* > *ø-* development of some of the words in Proto-Altaic<sup>28</sup> (EDAL 25-28):<sup>29,30,31,32</sup>

PA	Tkc.	Mo.	Tng.-Mnch.	Kor.	Jpn.
*p’-	*0-, *j-	*x-, *j-	*p-	*p-	*p
*p’ <i>ágdı</i>	* <i>adak</i> <sup>29</sup>	* <i>(h)adag</i> <sup>30</sup>	* <i>pagdi(-kī)</i> <sup>31</sup>		* <i>pi(n)túmai (~ -ia)</i> <sup>32</sup>

28 For further readings see Aalto 1955, Barutçu 1989.

29 *adaq* (Orkh., OUyg., Tuva, Tofa), *adaq* (MK), *adaq* (Oyr.), *aja(:)χ* (Sal.), *ajaG* (Az., Tkmn), *ayak, ajak* (Ttu., Gag., Blk., Bshk., Kklpk., Kzk., Krg., Kmk., MTkc., Nog., Tat., NUig.), *ajax* (Kar), *atak* (Dolg. Yak.), *azaq* (SUig., Shor), *azax* (Khak.), *зјақ* (Uzb.), *hada:q, hadaq* (Hlj.), *ora* (Chuv.) → VEWT 5, EDT 45, ЭСТЯ 1, 103-105, Лексика 288, Федотов 2, 283, Stachowski 38 [EDAL 1118-1119]

30 *aday* (WMong.), *adag* (Khalk., Bur.), *adæg* (Kalm.), *adaq* (Ord.) → KW 1 [EDAL 1118]

31 *hagdikī* (Even.), *xakkī* (Neg.), *paGže* (Orok), *çagdikī* (Nan.dial.), *xagdi* (Oroch), *xagdiyī* (Udigh) → TMC 2, 308 [EDAL 1118]

32 *fitume* (Mjap.), *hizume, hizume* (Tokyo), *hizumé* (Kyoto), *hizumé* (Kagoshima) → JLTT 413 [EDAL 1119]



**3.5. Examples with the phonemes /r/ and /n/: *xarDam, xarDan, xaldan, artan, ant'a***

In one of the Mongolian dialects, Monguor, the words *xaldan xardam, xardan*<sup>33</sup> are used for *altun*. The initial phoneme /x-/ is important by means of supporting the development idea as displayed in 3.4. In addition, there are adoptions which make us think that there is a *l ~ n ~ r* alteration on this word:

	‘golden’		‘Altai Mountains’	
/l/	Turkic	<i>altun, altın</i>	Turkic	<i>altay</i> (and <i>altun yış</i> ‘golden mountains’)
	Mongolian	<i>altan</i>	Mongolian	<i>altayn, altay</i> (and <i>altan owla ~ altıŋ ul</i> ‘golden mountains’)
	Mongour	<i>xaldan</i>	Kalmyk	<i>altā</i> ‘Altai-berge’
			Thai	<i>xəl tī</i>
		Bengali	<i>Alatai</i>	
/n/	Santa	<i>ant'a</i>	Thai	<i>an-dtai</i>
/r/	Chinese	<i>ā'ěr tài</i>	Chinese	<i>ā'ěr tài</i> (and <i>chin-shan</i> ‘golden mountain’)
	Mongour	<i>xarDam, xarDan</i>	Japanese	<i>arutai</i>
	San Tch'ouan	<i>artan</i>		

**4. Conclusion**

1. The word *altun*, which is used in Turkic languages from the Old Turkic period, has common phonological, semantical, and lexical features with the word *altay*, and we must consider them together with the same etymology.

2. We can say that there are two changes that associate the phonological connection between the words *altun* and *altay*:

- a. The development of the phoneme /ń/ into /n/ and /y/,
- b. Turkic /u/ ~ Mongolian /a/ equivalency in last syllables

3. Lexically, the adoption of the word *altun* for the toponyms is another important issue.

4. Semantically, the words referring “Altai Mountains” and have the meaning of “gold, golden”, support this etymology.

5. The words with the /x-/ phoneme in Monguor and Thai languages make us think that the word is related with the /\*p-/ phoneme in Proto-Altaiic.

6. Considering the information mentioned above, in order to decide the oldest form of the word, we can say that it is necessary to combine the references from Poppe and Golden,

7. We look at the history of the Old Turkic word *altun* and related namings adopted for ‘Altai Mountains’ in this table.

33 Mogr. *xarđam* ‘or’ Cf. mo. *altan*, ord. *alt'a*, širongol (S. t.) *xaldan*, san tch'ouan *artan*, santa *ant'a* id.; *xarđam mänt'a* “creuser la terre pour trouver de l’or”; *xarđam sdādze* “fil d’or”; *xarđam sēr* “monnaie d’or”. Cf. le mot suivant. [DM 160-161] Mogr. *xarđan* “Voir le mot precedent”, *xarđants' l* “orfèvre, chercheur d’or”. Cf. mo. *altači* “orfèvre” [DM 161].

<i>*paltuñ</i>	<i>*haltuñ</i>	<i>*haltun</i>	<i>*hantun</i>	Altaic languages > Thai <i>an-dtai</i> ‘Altai Mountains’			
				Santa <i>ant</i> ’a			
				Duns. <i>antan</i>			
			<i>*hartun</i>	San Teh’ouan <i>artan</i>			
				Chinese <i>ā’ěr tòi</i>	Japanese <i>arutai</i>		
				<i>*hardun</i>	Mongour <i>xar Dan</i>	Mongour <i>xar Dam</i>	
			<i>*haltun</i>	Old Turkic <i>altun</i>	Modern Turkic <i>altın</i>	Tuvan <i>aldin</i>	
					Persian <i>altun</i> , Arabic <i>āltūn</i> Albanian <i>altun</i> , Serbian <i>áltun</i> , English <i>altun</i>		
					Russian <i>altin</i> , Bulgarian <i>altin</i> , Serbian <i>áltin</i> , Greek <i>altin</i> , English <i>altin</i> , <i>altinick</i> , Macedonian <i>altun</i> , <i>altin</i> , Hungarian <i>altinczek</i> , Rumanian <i>altîngic</i> , <i>altîngea</i> , Finnish <i>alttina</i>		
					Macedonian <i>altan</i> , <i>atlan</i> , <i>altançe</i> , Rumanian <i>altângic</i> , <i>altanic</i> , <i>altângea</i> , <i>altâgic</i>		
					Hungarian <i>altmiczele</i> , <i>altimczek</i>		
			<i>*haltan</i>	Mongour <i>xaldan</i>	Mongolian <i>alta(n)</i>	Kalmuck <i>altŋ</i>	
					Dagur <i>alta</i>		
			<i>*haltuy</i>	<i>*haltay</i>	Turkic <i>altay</i>		
					Mongolian <i>altay</i>	Kalmuck <i>altã</i>	
Altaic languages > Bengali <i>ālatã</i> ’i							
Altaic languages > Thai <i>xal tì</i>							

### Notes

1) *Open syllables* → Bengali আলাতাই (*ālatã*’i) < Common Turkic *altay*, Japanese アルタイ (*arutai*) < Chinese 阿尔泰山 / 阿爾泰 (*ā’ěr tòi*).

2) *l, n, r alternation* → Common Turkic *altay* ~ Thai อีลไต (*an-dtai*) ~ Modern Chinese 阿尔泰山 / 阿爾泰 (*ā’ěr tòi*), Japanese アルタイ (*arutai*); Mongour *xaldan* ~ *xardan*.

3) *\*p-* > *h-* → *\*paltuñ* > Mgr. *xaldan* and *\*paltuñ* > (?) Thai อีลไต (*xal tì*)

## 5. Appendix: Words with the /ń/ phoneme in Old Turkic

<b>ań-</b>	<i>anȳ-</i> ‘ölmek; öldürmek’ (YYSert 70)
<b>ańıg</b>	<i>anyıg, ańıg, ayıg</i> ‘kötü, fena’ (ETG 39); <i>ańıg</i> ‘kötü, fena’ (OrTG 68); <i>ańıg</i> ‘bad’ (GOT 71); <i>anȳıg</i> (YYSert 69); <i>anȳıg</i> ‘fena, kötü’ (EUTG 70); <i>anyıg</i> ‘çok, aşırı derecede; kötü’ KT G 3, 5; BK K 2, 4; Kara Balgasun G 3 (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>ańıg</i> ‘extreme(ly), excessive(ly)’ (EDPT 182); <i>ańıg</i> ‘bad, excessive(ly)’ (TMS 91)
<b>bakańak</b>	<i>bakanȳak</i> (YYSert 69); <i>baka:ńak</i> ‘Den. N. fr. <i>baka:</i> ; ‘the frog’ in a horse’s hoof (the metaphor is the same as in English)’ (EDPT 316)
<b>bań-</b>	<i>banȳ-</i> (YYSert 70); <i>bań-</i> ‘See <i>mayıl, mayıl-, mayıs-</i> and <i>*bańak</i> ’ (EDPT 348); <i>baynak</i> ‘dung’ (GOT 72), <i>mayak</i> ‘dung’ (GOT 74)
<b>bāńi</b>	<i>beyin</i> ‘brain’ < <i>*bāńi</i> (GOT 73); <i>*beni</i> (TMS 91)
<b>bogań</b>	<i>boganȳ</i> (YYSert 70); <i>bogań</i> ‘See <i>boğay</i> ’ (EDPT 316); <i>boğay</i> ‘low’ (EDPT 322)
<b>boń</b>	<i>moyum</i> ‘confused’ < <i>*moy-</i> , <i>*boń-</i> , <i>moymal-</i> , <i>boymas-</i> (EDPT 773), <i>moyum</i> ‘confused’ (GOT 74)
<b>buńuz</b>	<i>boynuz</i> ‘horn’ (GOT 72), <i>muğuz, müñüz, muyuz</i> ‘horn’ (GOT 74)
<b>bulgańok</b>	<i>bulgayok</i> ‘confused’ < <i>bulgan-</i> (GOT 74)
<b>çıgań</b>	<i>çıgany, çıgay</i> ‘fakir’ (ETG 39); <i>çıgań</i> ‘yoksul’ (OrTG 68); <i>çıgań</i> ‘destitute’ (GOT 71); <i>çıganȳ</i> (YYSert 70); <i>çıga:ń</i> ‘poor, destitute’ (EDPT 408); <i>çıgany</i> ‘fakir’ KT; BK (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>çıgań</i> ‘destitute’ (TMS 91)
<b>kań-</b>	<i>kanȳ-</i> (YYSert 70); <i>kań-</i> ‘See <i>kayın-</i> , <i>*kańak</i> (EDPT 408); DLT <i>kayak</i> , Argu <i>kanak</i> , Middle and Modern Turkic <i>kaymak</i> , Khaladj <i>kanak</i> (GOT 74); <i>kanȳak</i> (YYSert 69); <i>*kańak</i> ‘Dev. N. fr. <i>*kań-</i> ; ‘the skin on milk, clotted cream’ an the like’ (EDPT 636)
<b>kańu</b>	<i>kanyu, kayu</i> ‘kim, hangi’ (ETG 39); <i>kańu</i> ‘hangi’ (OrTG 68); <i>kańu</i> ‘which’, <i>kanyu</i> (GOT 71); <i>kanȳu</i> (YYSert 69); <i>kanyu</i> ‘hangisi’ (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>ka:ńu</i> ‘(1) Interrog. ‘which?, what?’; (2) Indefinite ‘some’ and the like; with other Interrog. Functions in oblique cases’ (EDPT 632); <i>kańu:</i> ‘which?’ (TMS 91)
<b>keń</b>	<i>mungkeye</i> ‘sıkıntı, keder, tasa’ < <i>mung keye</i> (Ağca 2006: 172) <sup>34</sup>
<b>kıń</b>	<i>kınȳ</i> (YYSert 70); <i>ki:n</i> ( <i>kı:ń</i> ) ‘punishment, torture’ and the like’ (EDPT 631)
<b>kıtań</b>	<i>kıtany, kıtay</i> ‘Hitay’ (ETG 39); <i>kıtań</i> ‘Hitay’ (OrTG 68); <i>Kıtań</i> (GOT 71); <i>kıtanȳ</i> (YYSert 70); <i>kıtany</i> ‘Hitay’ (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>Kıtań</i> (TMS 91)
<b>koń-</b>	<i>konȳ-</i> (YYSert 70)
<b>koń</b>	<i>kony, kon,</i> <i>*koy</i> > küçültme <i>koyn</i> ‘koyun’ (ETG 39); <i>koń</i> ‘koyun’, <i>końçı</i> ‘çoban’ (OrTG 68); <i>koń</i> ‘sheep’, <i>końçı</i> (GOT 71); <i>konȳ</i> (YYSert 70); <i>kony</i> ‘koyun’ KT D 12; BK D 11; IrkBit 27 (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>konȳ</i> ‘koyun’ (EUTG 70); <i>ko:ń</i> ‘generically ‘sheep’ and specifically ‘evve’ (EDPT 631); <i>koń</i> ‘sheep’ (TMS 91); <i>końçı:</i> ‘shepherd’ (TMS 91); <i>końlıg</i> ‘owning sheep’ (TMS 91); ‘sheep’ <i>gönin</i> (Muqaddimat <i>konin</i> ) (ko:ń) (TMS 235)
<b>köń-</b>	<i>kön-, köy-</i> ‘yanmak’ (ETG 39); <i>göyün-</i> < <i>köń-</i> ‘to burn (intr.)’ (GOT 72); <i>könȳ-</i> ~ <i>künȳ-</i> ~ <i>günȳ-</i> (YYSert 70); <i>kün-</i> ( <i>g-</i> ) ‘to catch fire, to burn (Intrans.)’ (EDPT 726)

34 BT XIII 12’de Zieme’nin mungkey-e (i 131) ‘sıkıntı, keder, tasa’ şeklinde okuduğu kelime, mung-key-e olarak da okunabilir. Zieme bu ibareyi, aynı anlama gelen Tü. mung ile Mo. keye kelimelerinin eş anlamlı kullanımı olarak ele almıştır. key, bugün Teleüt, Şor, Altay, Sagay Hakas Türkçelerinde kene, kine, kenen şekilleriyle yaşamaktadır. Mo. genü biçimi var. Belki bu lehçelerdeki biçim Mo. olabilir ama Etü.’deki /y/’li biçim dikkate alındığında \*keny biçimi tasarlayıp >key değişimini çıkarabiliriz (Ağca 2006: 172, dipnot 64).

<b>könäk</b>	<i>könyäk, könäk</i> ‘kova’ (krş. Kzk. <i>küyök</i> ‘keçe torba’) (ETG 39); <i>kön̄yek</i> (YYSert 69)
<b>küneş</b>	<i>küñäš</i> ‘a sunnyplace’ (GOT 72); <i>kun̄yaš ~ küñyeš ~ kuyaš ~ küneš</i> (YYSert 69); <i>küneš</i> ‘sunshine’ (EDPT 734); <i>kuya:š</i> ‘originally ‘the blazing heat of the (midday) son’ (EDPT 679)
<b>ñaz</b>	<i>nyár</i> ‘summer’ < *ña:z > <i>ya:z</i> (TMS 128)
<b>ñü:z-</b>	<i>nyüz-</i> ‘to skin’ ~ <i>yüz-</i> ( <i>yü:z-</i> ) ‘to skin’ (TMS 128)
<b>ñüz</b>	‘face’ <i>ni’ur</i> (*ñü:z > <i>yü:z</i> ) (TMS 228)
<b>ñudruk</b>	‘fist’ <i>nudurğa</i> (*ñudruk > <i>yudruk</i> ) (TMS 228)
<b>ñar-</b>	<i>nyír-</i> ‘to shave, shear’ ~ <i>yar-</i> (? <i>ya:r-</i> ) ‘to split, cleave’ (TMS 128)
<b>osañuk</b>	<i>osayok</i> < <i>osan-</i> (GOT 74); <i>osan̄yuk</i> (YYSert 69); <i>osa:ñuk</i> ‘careless, listless’ (EDPT 249)
<b>ögräñök</b>	<i>ögräyök</i> < <i>ögrän-</i> (GOT 74)
<b>sañ-</b>	<i>san̄y-</i> (YYSert 70)
<b>sarkñök</b>	<i>sarkiyok</i> < <i>sarkin-</i> (GOT 74)
<b>tañ-</b>	<i>tan̄y-</i> (YYSert 70)
<b>tañ</b>	<i>tañ+larım</i> ‘mycolts’, <i>tay, tiy</i> (GOT 74); <i>taygunuñuz</i> ‘taylarınız, tay gibi olan oğullarınız’ sözcüğündeki <i>tay ~ tañ-larım</i> (OrTG 71); <i>tan̄y ~ ta:y</i> ‘evlât, oğul’ (YYSert 71)
<b>toñak</b>	<i>doynak</i> ‘horse’shoof’ < *toñok (GOT 72); <i>ton̄yak ~ tun̄ya:ğ</i> (YYSert 69); * <i>tuñna:ğ</i> ‘hoof’ (EDPT 519)
<b>tuñukuk</b>	<i>tuñukuk</i> ‘Tunyukuk’ (genellikle) ~ <i>tunyukuk</i> (OrTG 68); <i>Tuñukok</i> (GOT 71); <i>Tunyukuk</i> (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>Toñukuk</i> (TMS 91)
<b>turna</b>	<i>turna</i> ‘turna’ (OrTG 68); <i>turna</i> ‘crane’ (GOT 71); <i>turn̄ya ~ turn̄ȳya</i> (YYSert 69); <i>turnya</i> ‘turna’ IrkBit (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>turna: (?d-)</i> ‘crane’ (EDPT 551); <i>turn̄ya: ‘a crane’</i> (TMS 91)
<b>yañ-</b>	<i>yany-, yay-, sallamak, sarsmak</i> (ETG 39); <i>yañ-</i> ‘yaymak, dağıtmak’ (OrTG 68) ~ <i>yay-</i> ‘dağıtmak, hezimete uğratmak’ (OrTG 71); <i>yañdok</i> ‘dağıtılmış olanlar’ (OrTG 68); <i>yañ-</i> ‘to disperse’ (GOT 72); <i>yan̄y-</i> (YYSert 70); <i>yany-</i> ‘yaymak, dağıtmak’ (Ağca 2006: 159); <i>yañ-</i> ‘to rout’ (EDPT 942); <i>yañ-</i> ‘to disperse’ (TMS 91); * <i>dayık</i> > <i>yayık ~ ya:ñ-, da:ñ-</i> (TMS 91)
<b>yuñ</b>	* <i>yuñ</i> ‘peacock’, <i>yuy, yun</i> (GOT 73); <i>yon̄y ~ yun̄y</i> (YYSert 70); <i>yuy (ñ)</i> ‘properly ‘wool’ (EDPT 941)
<b>+klñA</b>	+ <i>kñya, +kñna, +kña</i> ve + <i>kñya</i> ‘küçültme eki’ (ETG 39, 195); + <i>klñA</i> (OrTG 83); + <i>klñA</i> (GOT 73); - <i>kñȳa / -kñȳe</i> (YYSert 69); + <i>klñyA</i> küçültme eki (Ağca 2006: 159) EUTG <i>adakkñaya, ançaqña, antaqña, birkie, çatıqñyan, kiçikkiye</i> (98). ETG <i>ançaqña, azkña ~ azkñya, azrakçaqña, birkinyä ~ birkia, çatıqñyan, kiçigkiä, künkiä, ödünkiä, özkia, unakaya, yagukñya, yalañuzkña</i> (195). OrTG <i>azkña</i> ‘çok az, azıcık’ (68), ‘azıcık, (nüfusu) pek az’ (83). GOT <i>bir+kñnyä</i> ‘single’ (71), <i>azkña</i> ‘quitelittle’, <i>azrakkiña, közkiyä, sözkiyä, tuzkiya</i> (73)   <i>krş. OTWF 47-56 [2.13 +klñA]</i> .

## 6. References and Abbreviations

- Ar. = Arabian, Chin. = Chinese, Jap. = Japanese, Khj. = Khalaj, Kor. = Korean, Mo. = Mongolian, Mogr. = Mongour, PA = Proto-Altaiic, Tkc. = Turkic, Tng.-Mnch. = Tunghus-Manchu, Tuv. = Tuvan, Uig. = Uighur, Yak. = Yakut
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