

ARTICLE

The Middle Mongol zodiac in Georgian transcription

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Abstract

This paper presents linguistic and philological analyses of glossed medieval Georgian transcriptions of the Middle Mongol zodiac terms in the fourteenth-century anonymous ასწლოვანი მატიანე Asc'lovani Mat'iane (Chronicle of One Hundred Years), revealing unique details on Middle Mongol as attested in medieval Georgia. This is the first instalment of the authors' joint research on this vastly important, largely untapped contemporaneous Georgian source on medieval Mongol language, culture and history.

Keywords: Middle Mongol language; Mongol Empire; Mongol invasion of Georgia; Medieval Georgian transcriptions of foreign languages; Historical-comparative linguistics; Žamtaaγmc'ereli; *Chronicle of One Hundred Years*

Introduction

As a result of the Mongol conquests, the kingdom of Georgia was under heavy Mongol influence from the 1230s until the reign of George V the Magnificent (r. 1314–46) (Nark'vevebi 1979: 623–9), who liberated Georgia from Mongol rule and created a very strong state. The most important source on this period of Georgian history is the anonymous fourteenth-century ასწლოვანი მატიანე Asc'lovani Mat'iane (Chronicle of One Hundred Years),² which, as a legacy of the Mongol domination, attests numerous Old Georgian transcriptions of Middle Mongol in its extant manuscripts. Some of these transcriptions were studied in 1917 by Boris Jakovlevič Vladimircov (1884–1931), but these transcriptions, and Vladimircov's pioneering work on them, have been nearly completely forgotten by Mongolistic scholarship. A new, modern study of this important data needs to be undertaken on the



¹ A preliminary version of this paper, based only on Vladimircov's 1917 Cyrillic transcriptions, was presented by Andrew Shimunek at the symposium La Kartvelologia presso "L'Orientale": Giornata di studi dedicata a Shalva Beridze (1892-1970), organized by Gaga Shurgaia, on 4 December 2019, at the University of Naples L'Orientale. That paper has been fundamentally revised and improved based on Gaga Shurgaia's examination of the most recent critical edition of the Chronicle and its earliest manuscripts. We wish to thank 斎藤純男 Yoshio Saitô, András Róna-Tas and Éva Csáki for kindly providing copies of their publications and Michele Bernardini for advice on Arabic transliteration. Any errors in our paper are solely our responsibility. For the transliteration of Georgian, we follow the Trubeckoj-Vogt system (Vogt 1971), adopted by the Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes (see RÉGC 1, 1985, 3-4). The same system is applied to the surnames of Georgian scholars in bibliographic references, while in the main text they are transcribed according to the system codified in 2002 by the State Department of Geodesy and Cartography of Georgia. For the transliteration of Russian, we employ the scientific transliteration of Cyrillic. Kitan text is given in Andrew West's freeware Babelstone fonts.

² On the historical and philological issues of this work, see Šavaxišvili 1977: 246-66; AM.Ž, 10-34.

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surviving manuscripts as Vladimircov dealt with only a small fraction of the Mongol data contained therein.

It is with this goal in mind that we began collaborating on a joint study examining the Georgian transcriptions of Middle Mongol contained in this important text and on the historical and cultural value of this source.³ In this paper we present a small selection of our joint work – a preliminary analysis of the Georgian transcriptions of the Middle Mongol zodiac animal names from the point of view of Mongolian and Georgian philology and historical linguistics.

I. The data

The glossed Georgian transcriptions of the 12 animals of the Middle Mongol zodiac occur in a complete list in the following passage:

Georgian original

და ეგრეთვე ესე თორმეტ წლად გააწევს, რომელსა უწოდენ სახელად ესრეთ: ყალღუნჯილ, უქურჯილ, ფარსინჯილ, თავლაინჯილ, ლუილჯილ, მოღილჯილ, მორინჯილ, ყონიჯილ, მეჩინჯილ, თაღანჯილ, ნოხინჯილ, ყაყაინჯილ. ესე არს სახელი ათორმეტთა ცხოველთა, რომელთა მისცეს მთავრობა თჳთოსა წლისა თჳთოსა პირუტყუსა, რომლისა პირველად თავ ყვეს ყალღუნ, რომელ არს თაგუ, მერმე ზროხა, ავაზა, კურდღელი, ვეშაპი, გუელი, ცხენი, ცხოვარი, ყაპუზუნა, ქათამი, ძაღლი, ღორი. ესენი აქუნდეს წელიწადის სათუალავად, ვითა ჩუენ ქართველთა ქორონიკონი. AM,Ž 45

Our English translation

So too do these twelve years finish.

They call them in the following way: q'alyunǯil, ukurǯil, parsinǯil, tavlainǯil, luilǯil, moyilǯil, morinǯil, q'oniǯil, mečinǯil, tayanǯil, noxinǯil [and] q'aq'ainǯil.

These are the names of the twelve animals, to each of which the government of each year have been given.

As the first at the beginning of these, they established q'alyun, which is a mouse, then a bovine, a cheetah, a rabbit, a dragon, a snake, a horse, a sheep, a monkey, a chicken, a dog [and] a pig.

They have them to count the years, as we Georgians [have] the koronik'oni.⁴

1.1. The Middle Mongol names of the zodiac animals in Georgian transcription

In this section we shall deal with phonological, phonetic and morphological issues of how the author of the fourteenth-century anonymous *Chronicle* rendered Middle Mongol words and expressions into Georgian, and how to reconstruct the original Mongol forms.

1.1.1. Morphological structure of the animal years

The Georgian transcriptions of the Middle Mongol animal years of the zodiac are attested in the following two morphosyntactic constructions:

³ Our joint study of the historical background of this fundamental Georgian source on the Mongols, its glossed Georgian transcriptions of Middle Mongol and their value for the study of Mongolian philology, linguistics, and history is currently in progress. Moreover, Gaga Shurgaia is preparing a new edition of the *Asc'lovani Mat'iane*, with translation into English, philological and historical commentary for *Patrologia Orientalis* (Brepols).

⁴ Georgian ქორონიკონი koronik'oni, derived from the Greek word χρονικόν, is a cycle in the traditional Georgian calendar consisting of 532 years. See K'ek'elize 1945: 327–35; Grumel 1958: 151–3.

Morphological structure

Animal years

1. {[ANIMAL]-NOMINATIVE + [YEAR]}
2. {[ANIMAL]-GENITIVE + [YEAR]}

mouse, ox, horse, sheep, monkey cheetah, rabbit, dragon, snake, chicken, dog, pig

The {[ANIMAL]-NOMINATIVE+[YEAR]} construction is attested throughout Middle Mongol records and in modern Mongolian. As we shall demonstrate below, the {[ANIMAL]-GENITIVE + [YEAR]} construction reflects non-native morphosyntactic order, undoubtedly influenced by Georgian syntax.

The Mongol word for "year" is consistently phonetically transcribed in Georgian script in these zodiac constructions as χ ocm $\check{\it z}il$ "year". It is cognate to eastern MMgl 真動 $\sim 只動$ $\check{\it jil}$ [ʧil] "year (年)" (SHM §141, §153, etc.), which is a loan from Turkic. Mongol $\check{\it j}$ represents voiceless unaspirated [ʧ] or voiced [ʤ] depending on the dialect. In Georgian, the grapheme $\chi \check{\it j}$ indicates a voiced post-alveolar affricate phoneme /ʤ/. The voicing of this initial consonant is interesting to note, since in most eastern varieties of Middle Mongol the corresponding consonant is transcribed in Chinese with a voiceless unaspirated consonant. In Persian and Arabic transcriptions of this segment, it is written with the Arabic letter $\check{\it c}$ $\check{\it j}$, e.g. western MMgl $\check{\it jil}$ "year" (Leid. 71a-03-6), a consonant which in Arabic transcriptions of Mongol can render both Mongol $\check{\it j}$ and $\check{\it c}$." Because of the rich consonant inventory of the Georgian language, which distinguishes three obstruent series, i.e. voiced, voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated ejective, the Georgian evidence confirms that western Middle Mongol was characterized by voiced consonants.

1.1.2. Transcriptions of the animal names

The Middle Mongol animal zodiac as attested in Georgian transcription follows the traditional order still employed in Mongolia today, i.e. Mouse, ox, Tiger or CHEETAH, HARE OR RABBIT, DRAGON, SNAKE, HORSE, SHEEP, MONKEY, CHICKEN, DOG and PIG (quoted here not in their Chinese, but Mongolian values). We follow this order in presenting the transcriptions of zodiac animals below. Headwords below are cited below first in romanization (in bold) of the Georgian transcription, followed by the Georgian script original, an English translation and original Old Georgian form of its accompanying semantic gloss, and attested page(s) in AM.Ž, followed by our discussion and reconstructions.

The Mouse. **q'alyun** ყടლღუნ "mouse (തടുന്ന)", attested in the word ყടლღუნჯილ q'alyunžil "Year of the Mouse" (AM.Ž 45).

Some manuscripts have ყურყუნ q'urq'un "mouse (თაგუ)" in the words ყურყუნიჯელ q'urq'unižel and ყურყუნიჯლ q'urq'unižl. Given these variants and the transcriptions of

⁵ Vladimircov treats this as "ψiπ" (BYV 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492).

⁶ Cf. Middle Turkic yil "year" (Kara 2009: 134) and fourteenth-century Volga Bulgar Turkic المجارة 'year' (Róna-Tas 1976).

⁷ On the consonantal phonology of western Middle Mongol in Arabic and Persian sources, see Saitô 2011: 60–61 and Saitô 2003.

⁸ The latter are known as "voiceless abruptive" or "voiceless glottalized" in Georgian philological terminology (see Axvlediani 1956: 74–5).

 $^{^9}$ For the post-alveolar place of articulation, of relevance to the transcription of the word for "year" (see discussion of $\sharp il$ "year" in section 1.1.1 above), Georgian has three affricates: voiced χ /d χ /, voiceless aspirated B/ tl^n / and voiceless unaspirated ejective ("voiceless abruptive" or "voiceless glottalized") $\frac{1}{2}$ / tl^n /. The voiced $\frac{1}{2}$ /d $\frac{1}{2}$ / in MMgl $\frac{1}{2}$ 000 $\frac{1}{2}$ il "year" thus clearly transcribes a voiced affricate in that western variety of Middle Mongol.

¹⁰ The Mongolian values of the zodiac animals are notably different from the Chinese ones. For example, in this calendrical context, Chinese 虎 "tiger" corresponds to eastern Middle Mongol "tiger" but western Middle Mongol "cheetah" or "tiger", and Chinese 羊 "sheep, goat" and 鼠 "rat, mouse" correspond unambiguously to Mongol "sheep" and "mouse", respectively.

Middle Mongol attested in other sources, the original Georgian transcription was undoubtedly *ყულღუნ *q'ulγun "mouse" 11 + ჯილ ǯil "year (წელი)", cognate to eastern MMgl [†] 忽鼬 [†] 合納 ~ [†] 忽魯 [†] 合納 quluqana [qoloqana], glossed as "mouse, rat (鼠)" (SHM §111 etc.; HYYY §1.06a7). In other sources on western Middle Mongol, the word appears as المنافقة qulquna [qolqona] "mouse" (Leid. §66b-09-5) and in the Muqaddimat al-Adab by Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamaḫšarī (1074-1144) as ولنونه والإسامة "mouse" (MAA: Poppe 1938: 309). The Middle Mongol word is also attested as a loanword in New Persian in the form والإسامة والإسامة "Maus" and as a loanword in certain Ewenki and Turkic dialects (TMEN I: 440 §308).

Unlike the ambiguous Chinese gloss "mouse, rat (鼠)" in the Chinese sources on Middle Mongol, the unambiguous translation of Mongol qulquna into Georgian as თაგუ tagu, which only means "mouse" and not "rat", makes it very clear that this Middle Mongol word – like its modern Khalkha Mongolian reflex хулгана [ˈҳʊlҡuðn ~ ˈhuҡuðn] – denotes a "mouse" and not a "rat". Thus, in the Mongolian zodiac, in both medieval and modern times, this is the "Year of the Mouse".

The Ox. **ukur** უქურ "bovine (ზროხა)", attested in the word უქურჯილ ukurǯil "Year of the Bovine" (AM.Ž 45),¹² parsable as უქურ ukur "bovine (ზროხა)" + ჯილ ǯil "year (წელი)".¹³

This word is cognate to eastern MMgl 忽客^舌児 hüker [hukʰər] ~ 忽格児 hüger [hugər] "ox (牛)" (SHM §121 etc.; HYYY §1.05b1). In the Muqaddimat al-Adab, a western Middle Mongol form 与 üker is given (MAA 377). Other attested western varieties of Middle Mongol exhibit a phonological form similar to the eastern dialects, e.g. hüker [hukər] "cow (戊)" (Leid. §66b-03-1). The Georgian transcription is remarkable in its deletion of the initial laryngeal fricative /h/ in this word. As Georgian always maintains initial /h/ in native and loaned words, this transcription may indicate a dialectal Mongol form. Examination of the other Mongol words in AM.Ž will help to determine whether this western Mongol dialect lost /h/. Another possibility is that the author was influenced by Literary Mongol orthography, as he was clearly both fluent and literate in Mongol (q.v. AM.Ž 44–5). In spoken Middle Mongol, this word has an initial /h/, but in Literary Mongol it is written üker as Literary Mongol is a borrowed script which offers no grapheme for the Mongol phoneme /h/. In the Mugaddimat al-Adab, a western Middle Mongol is a borrowed script which offers no grapheme for the Mongol phoneme /h/. In the Muqaddimat al-Adab, a western Middle Mongol is a borrowed script which offers no grapheme for the Mongol phoneme /h/. In the Muqaddimat al-Adab, a western Middle Mongol is a borrowed script which offers no grapheme for the Mongol phoneme /h/. In the Muqaddimat al-Adab, a western Middle Mongol is a borrowed script which offers no grapheme for the Mongol phoneme /h/.

The Middle Mongol word is also attested as a loanword in New Persian هو کار $h\bar{u}k\ddot{a}r \sim h\bar{u}k\ddot{a}r \sim h\bar{u}k\ddot{a}r \sim h\bar{u}ker$ "Rind, Stier" (TMEN II: 538 §397) and as a loanword in Turkic and other languages (TMEN II: 539–40).

This word is widely attested in Mongolic daughter languages. In modern Literary Oirat, there are two reflexes of this word, *üker* and, with progressive rounding assimilation, *ükür* "ox" (IDWO 483). Note also Daur xukur, Shira Yoghor hogor, Mongghul fuguor and Hungarian

¹¹ Vladimircov (1917: 1488) is essentially correct in reconstructing the word as "*кулҕун".

¹² The name of the year in some manuscripts is corrupted to უქრჯალ ukržal and უქრიჯალ ukržal.

 $^{^{13}}$ Vladimircov (1917: 1488) transcribes the word as "ykyp".

 $^{^{14}}$ In philological transcriptions of Middle Mongol, \ddot{o} denotes IPA /o \sim e/, \ddot{u} denotes IPA /u/, o is IPA /o/, and u is IPA /v/ (LASM xliv).

¹⁵ We are grateful to an anonymous peer reviewer, who suggests that "the Mongolian dialect underlying this document in Georgian script was in the process of losing the initial h- and had lost it only in special phonological positions. This is the case for the language of the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, where initial h- is lost mainly (although not exclusively) before velars -k-, $-\gamma$ - and spirant -s- (see Gruntov 2005)".

¹⁶ On the Literary Mongol script and its divergence from spoken Middle Mongol, see Kara 2005: 25-32 et passim.

ökör "id." (Kara 2009: 315), the latter of which is widely believed to be a loanword from an early variety of western Old Turkic, perhaps ultimately from Indo-European.¹⁷

The Tiger/Cheetah. pars 93666 "cheetah, Acinonyx jubatus (33565)", attested in the word 936665χος parsinžil "Year of the Cheetah" (AM.Ž 45).

The transcription of \mathfrak{G} p /ph/ instead of the expected b (which would be easily represented in Georgian with the letter \mathfrak{d} b) is worth discussion. Comparison with Ottoman Turkish pars "leopard, panther", which is historically related to, although semantically and phonologically distinct from, the eastern Middle Mongol word bars "tiger", suggests that the Georgian transcription of the western Middle Mongol dialect word pars "cheetah" is phonetically influenced by western Turkic pars or New Persian "leopard, panther". Western Middle Mongol \mathfrak{GSO} pars "cheetah (\mathfrak{SSO})" can thus be seen as a thenrecent Turkism (or less likely, a Persianism) in the Georgian transcriptions of Middle Mongol. 22

It is well known that the Mongol Empire and its successor states were characterized by widespread bilingualism in Mongol and Turkic. In the western regions of the empire Turkic was even more actively used. This can be observed in the numerous Turkisms among the Mongol lexical data in the *Jāmi*^c al-tawārīḫ (Compendium of Chronicles) by Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (1247–c. 1318) and in languages resulting from intense Mongol-Turkic language contact, such as Chaghatai Turkic and the Kipchak (Qïpčaq) languages.²³

¹⁷ On the Turkic etymology of Hungarian ökör, see Róna-Tas and Berta 2011. Róna-Tas (1974) compares the Turkic and Mongol words to Tokharian B (Kuchean) okso "ox", from Proto-Indo-European.

¹⁸ This is a Mongol phrase transcribed in Georgian as if it were a single word, i.e. as a single orthographic sequence in Georgian.

¹⁹ Vladimircov (1917: 1488–9) proposes the same morphological analysis but makes no comment on the non-nativeness of the expression. Vladimircov does not recognize this as a Turkism.

²⁰ Compare modern Georgian 3ງໆປຽດປ ເກຼາຕາ *vepxvis c'eli* "Year of the Tiger", derived from *vepxv-* "tiger" (root form) + -is "genitive case suffix" + c'eli "year" (nominative case form).

²¹ Cited here from Clauson (1972: 368), who considers Ottoman Turkish *pars* "leopard" to be a "recent borrowing" from Persian. The earliest Turkic variant is *bars*, occurring in personal names in the Old Turkic inscriptions of Mongolia, where it undoubtedly is the zoonym "tiger" and *bars* with the meaning "tiger" occurs in other early Turkic texts (q.v. *DTS* 84). Clauson (1972: 368) considers Mongol *bars* "tiger" to be a borrowing from early Turkic *bars* "tiger", itself a borrowing from an early Iranic language.

 $^{^{22}}$ Other Turkisms exist in this text, as we shall demonstrate in a separate paper as mentioned in footnote 3.

²³ For a bibliographic listing of Middle Mongol loanwords in Turkic languages, see Csáki 2006.

Such Turkisms are also commonly found in the medieval Latin accounts of William of Rubruck, John of Plano Carpini, and Marco Polo.²⁴

The semantic value is also significant: in most Middle Mongol sources the word *bars* is glossed as "tiger", but the Georgian transcription is glossed in Georgian as 535% *avaza* "cheetah". Although the cheetah is now restricted to a small and dwindling population in Africa, in earlier times it had a vastly wider geographic distribution, including Georgia.²⁵

The geographic distribution of the "cheetah"/"tiger" vs. "tiger" glosses suggests a partial semantic isogloss: in the eastern Middle Mongol dialects, bars denoted only "tiger", whereas in the western dialects, bars ~ pars indicated "cheetah" as well as "tiger" (in the variety documented by *IM*) as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Partial isogloss of "cheetah"/"tiger" and "tiger" in Middle Mongol dialects

Western Middle Mongol "cheetah"/"tiger"	Eastern Middle Mongol "tiger"
pars ფარს "cheetah (ავაზა)" (AM.Ž)	
bars نَوْس (Leid. 66b-07-3) ²⁷	
bars بَرس "tiger" (IM)	bars 巴児思 "tiger (虎)" (SHM §78) ²⁶

The Georgian gloss of this Middle Mongol word as 535% "cheetah", together with the phonological arguments discussed above, demonstrates that the anonymous Georgian author of the *Chronicle* had access specifically to a western dialect of Middle Mongol.

Doerfer identifies New Persian بارس bārs "Gepard, Cynailurus jubatus L." as a borrowing from Turkic bars "Panther, Felis panthera, später auch 'Gepard'" (TMEN II: 235). Note also Russian **барс** (bars) "leopard", borrowed from a Turkic language. 28

The Hare/Rabbit. **tavlai** თავლაი "rabbit (კურდღელი)", attested in the word თავლაინჯილ tavlainǯil "Year of the Rabbit" (AM.Ž 45).

The name of this year in some manuscripts is altered to თავლაინჯალ tavlainžal, თვლა ინჯლ tvla inžl, or თვალინჯალ tvalinžal,²⁹ but the corruption of the Mongol

²⁴ See Sinor 1970, Clark 1973 and Pelliot 1959 for Turkic elements in the accounts of Carpini, Rubruck and Marco Polo. For notes on the rich admixture of Turkic and Mongol elements in the New Persian text of the Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, see Thackston 2012, passim. The lexicon of Chaghatai Turkic is another product of the convergence of Mongol, Turkic and New Persian in the successor states of the Mongol Empire; see Clauson 1972 passim and MAA.

 $^{^{25}}$ Due to its docile character and speed, it was the favourite hunting animal at the royal court and that of the great feudal lords in medieval Georgia (Gegechkori 2010: 70–75). The Old Georgian translation of the anonymous *Physiologus* (CPG 3766), attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus (c. 310–403), handed down from a manuscript from the end of the tenth century, contains a detailed description of the cheetah ($\S at$ 'berdis k'rebuli 1979: 183–4).

²⁶ On the medieval Turkic origin of this Middle Mongol word, see Kara 2001: 83 and TMEN II: 236-7.

²⁷ The kasrah, i.e. short i, in the Leiden Manuscript transcription بنوس barsi is probably superfluous, perhaps as a result of a non-native scribe analysing the genitive form برسون barsin (Leid. 74b-13-2-1) as **X** barsi + **X**-n when compiling the text. The correct analysis should be bars "tiger" + -un "genitive suffix" or *-in "spoken genitive suffix".

²⁸ The variation in New Persian between the forms پارس pārs and پارس bārs "leopard, panther" at first seems of relevance here, but the fact that Middle Mongol does not have the phoneme /p/ except in contemporaneous loanwords indicates that the Middle Mongol dialect form pars "cheetah" transcribed in Georgian is a contemporaneous borrowing from Turkish. Note that Common Serbi-Mongolic and Proto-Mongolic */p/ (i.e., *[ph]) regularly lenited to Middle Mongol h (q.v. LASM 290, 361–3).

²⁹ Vladimircov (1917: 1489) gives the variant "ѓавлін џіл", which we have been unable to confirm in the manuscripts used in the critical editions of the *Chronicle* and in the manuscripts available to us at the time of writing. Moreover, it is not plausible to hypothesize that Vladimircov, who did not know Georgian, had access to

word taulai could be considered as a kind of lectio facilior: it seems that the copyists did not understand the word თვლა tavlai and replaced it in the second case with the Georgian verbal noun³⁰ თვლა tvla "to count" and in the third with the Georgian noun თვალი tvali "eye". Moreover, in the expression თავლაინჯილ tavlainǯil we can observe the same type of error as in the case of pars ფარს "leopard" (see the entry for "The Tiger/Cheetah" above), in which the first noun of the compound word is declined in genitive case. The sequence av ავ in the Georgian transcription renders Middle Mongol au. Thus, the transcription indicates Middle Mongol taulai in Georgian phonetic transcription as თავლაი tavlai "rabbit (კურდღელი)".

This word is cognate to eastern MMgl 討來 taulai [tʰaʊlai] ~ 塔兀來 ta'ulai [tʰaɦʊlai] "rabbit, hare (兔, 兔児)" (SHM §257, §272, §239; HYYY §1.06a2). Note also western MMgl غُرِلاً 'tūlai [tʊːlai] (Ligeti 1962: 68, 70) and in Armenian transcription as เอกเบเบ t'ulay (phonetically [tʰulay]) "id." (Ligeti 1965: 283.28).

Middle Mongol *taulai* was borrowed in New Persian, attested as *taulai* "Hase", and as a loanword in Tibetan, Russian dialects and in certain Tungusic languages.³¹

The 3 v in the Georgian transcription deserves discussion. In late Middle Mongol, including other western sources contemporaneous to the Georgian transcriptions, the first syllable in the Mongol word was a diphthong [av] or vowel+glide sequence [aw]. Accordingly, the Georgian transcription of Mongol au as s_3 av assumes an intermediate step s_3 av. The now-obsolete Georgian letter s_3 was created to render Greek s_3 s_4 s_5 s_5

The earliest attested Serbi-Mongolic cognate of this word is Middle Kitan *tawlya "rabbit, hare". ³³ Old Turkic *tabišγan* "rabbit, hare" is widely believed to be related, although by convergence (*LASM* 5–6).

The Dragon. **lu** ഈ "dragon (ვემაპი)", attested in the phrase ഈറസ്ക്രാസ് luilžil "Year of the Dragon" (AM.Ž 45).

The word has no variants in the manuscripts. This is clearly a copyist's error for *ლეინჯილ *luinǯil,³⁴ undoubtedly another non-native attempt to write the year name

manuscripts of the *Chronicle* other than those employed in the critical editions by Simon Q'auxčišvili (1959) and Revaz K'ik'naze (1987).

³⁰ In Georgian grammatical terminology it is called *sac'q'isi*, but sometimes also *maṣdar*, which denotes a verbal noun in the Arabic grammatical tradition.

³¹ TMEN I: 276-7 §144.

³² In earlier thirteenth-century eastern Middle Mongol there are two forms: one with a diphthong [ao], *taulai*, and another with a VCV sequence [ano], conventionally written *ta'ulai* in Mongolistic philological tradition. The latter is probably the primary form, historically going back to Common Serbi-Mongolic *thayolya "hare, rabbit" (corr. *LASM* 373). In later Middle Mongol and modern Mongol this sequence is realized as a monophthong [v:].

³³ KAS 乏负为 ‹tau.li.a›, KLS 五小 ‹tau.lia› ~ 吞 ‹taulia› (KLS orthographic forms from Liu Fengzhu 1998 and Kane 2009; phonetic readings from *LASM* 373).

³⁴ Vladimircov (1917: 1490) proposes a similar analysis but does not make note of the non-native morphosyntax of this reconstructed form.

as [ANIMAL] + *-(y)in "spoken genitive case suffix" + jil "year", i.e. ლუ lu "dragon" + *-oō *-(y)in "spoken genitive case suffix" + χοლ jil "year" (see entries for "The Tiger/Cheetah" and "The Hare/Rabbit" above for discussion of a similar error). This year name is attested in other Middle Mongol sources as 禄 「真 lu jil "dragon year (龍年)" (e.g. HYYY 3.04b3) and in spoken modern Khalkha as луу жил [为ʊ: ʧiḥ] "dragon year", i.e. "dragon" + "year".

Western Middle Mongol ლე lu "dragon" is cognate to eastern MMgl 禄 lu [lv] "dragon (龍)" (HYYY §1.05a3) and western MMgl ↓ lu "dragon" (Golden 2000: 199c.12). It is ultimately a loanword into Old Turkic lu ~ ulu ~ lü ~ lüi "dragon" and Mongolic from a Middle Chinese dialect form of 龍 "dragon" (Kara 2009: 170). The word is attested in Serbi-Mongolic as early as Middle Kitan *lu "dragon" (LASM 86, 433).

The Snake. **moyi** მന്റര "snake (ഉന്നാന്നര)", attested in the word მന്റരാസ്ക്കാന് moyilžil "Year of the Snake (AM.Ž 45).³⁶

In some manuscripts, the phrase is given as მოდიჯილ ოთუižil, which has been interpreted by the editors of the *Chronicle*³⁷ as a corruption, but from the Mongolistic point of view, this is clearly the correct form, as the usual form of this year name in other Middle Mongol sources is 抹^中孩 「真 moqai jil "Year of the Snake (蛇児年)" (literally: "snake year", e.g. HYYY 3.14a5). As Georgian phonotactics do not usually allow diphthongs, Middle Mongol ai is reduced to Georgian o i in this Georgian transcription.

Alternatively, based on the pattern above, we may hypothesize that the *Chronicle* recorded the expression with the structure {[animal]-genitive + [year]}. In this case, as with *ლეინჯილ *luinžil "year of the dragon" (see entry for "The Dragon" above), the expression *θოლინჯილ *moγinžil (rendering spoken MMgl dial. *moγ(a)i-n žil "snake-GEN year") would have been altered by the copyists to θαροσχος moγilžil.

This Middle Mongol *moy(a)i* "snake" is cognate to eastern MMgl 抹孩 *moqai* [mɔqai] "snake (蛇)" (HYYY §1.06b4, §3.14a5), western late Middle Mongol بوغاي *mosay* "snake" and to Middle Kitan *mɔsə "snake",³⁸ all ultimately from Common Serbi-Mongolic *mɔga ~ *mɔgɔ "snake" (LASM 353 and n. 307).

The Mongol word was borrowed into New Persian as موغا $\sim m\bar{o}\gamma\bar{a}i\sim m\bar{o}\gamma\bar{a}$ "Schlange" and was also borrowed into certain Turkic languages and Russian dialects. ³⁹

The Horse. **morin** მორინ "horse (ცხენი)", attested in the word მორინჯილ morinǯil "Year of the Horse" (AM.Ž 45).⁴⁰

This word is cognate to eastern MMgl 秣^舌麟 morin [morin] "horse (馬)" (e.g. SHM §31) and western MMgl مُورِي "mori (Leid. 66a-13-1) مُورِي morin "horse" (Leid. 75a-10-3-1, 75a-12-1-1), also attested in Armenian phonetic transcription as մoրի mori "horse"

³⁵ KAS 友 du, KLS 安 du (KLS orthographic forms from Liu Fengzhu 1998 and Kane 2009; phonetic readings from LASM 86, 433).

³⁶ Vladimircov (1917: 1490) recognizes the "π" in "μοτίπ" (i.e. moγil θωροφ) as an error for "π". This indicates that he assumes that the transcription should be emended to *θωροδχοφ *moγinǯil, implying moγi "snake" + -n "genitive" or "attributive" + ǯil "year". This analysis is undoubtedly correct in terms of reconstructing the Chronicle's archetype, but this is non-native style (see discussion in the entries for "The Tiger/Cheetah", "The Hare/Rabbit" and "The Dragon" above).

³⁷ Both Q'auxčišvili (1959: 159) and K'ik'naze (AM.Ž 45) considered moyil

jil as a genuine variant and moyi

jil as a corruption.

³⁸ KAS 仕圠及 <m.oγ.o>, KLS 早 <moγo> (KLS orthographic forms from Liu Fengzhu 1998 and Kane 2009; phonetic readings from LASM 353, 357n.343, 421).

³⁹ Doerfer (TMEN I: 508-9 §375).

⁴⁰ A similar analysis is offered by Vladimircov (1917: 1490), who gives "морін μίπ", noting that in some manuscripts, the corrupted variant "моріл" occurs (1917: 1490 n. 6), which would be ∂ριδος moril in Georgian transcription. We have been unable to verify this latter form in the manuscripts used in the critical editions of the *Chronicle* and in the manuscripts available to us at the time of writing.

(Ligeti 1965: 281.21). The Mongol forms are cognate to Middle Kitan *mir "horse", 41 from Common Serbi-Mongolic *morr "horse" (*LASM* 352–3), itself a culture word with comparanda in Old Chinese, Koreanic, Tungusic, Japanese-Koguryoic, Old Tibetan, Nivkh, and other languages. 42

The Sheep. **q'oni** ყონი "sheep (ცხოვარი)", attested in the word ყონიჯილ *q'onižil* "Year of the Sheep" (ΑΜ.Ž 45).⁴³

In the Letter of Il-Khan Abaga (1271), this calendrical formula is attested as *qonin jil* "Year of the Sheep", with the expected attributive suffix -n. The lack of this suffix in the Georgian transcription is noteworthy.⁴⁴

This word is cognate to western MMgl and "sheep" (Leid. 66b-03-3) and eastern MMgl 部刻 qonin [qonin] "sheep (羊)" (SHM §19 etc.; HYYY §1.05b1), i.e. qoni-n at the morphological level. The Mongol forms are cognate to Late Kitan 昏 (probably rendering *qoñ) "sheep", all ultimately from Common Serbi-Mongolic *khoni "sheep" (LASM 365), undoubtedly related to Old Turkic qoñ "sheep" via a loanword relationship (LASM 365 n. 425).

The Monkey. **mečin** მეჩინ "monkey, ape (ყაპუზუნა)", attested in the word მეჩინჯილ mečinžil "Year of the Monkey" (AM.Ž 45). 48

This word is cognate to MMgl *meči-n "monkey, ape", attested not on its own, but as a component morpheme of western MMgl $\stackrel{}{\sim}$ sormeči "monkey, ape" in the glossary of Ibn Muhannā (Poppe 1938: 446), a blend of *sor, from Late Old Chinese $\stackrel{}{\sim}$ *zuar "monkey, ape" and *meči-n "monkey, ape", the latter ultimately a loanword from Old Turkic bičin "monkey, ape" (the alternation between $m \sim b$ in early Turkic-Mongolic loanwords is well known). The Old Turkic word in turn is likely to be a borrowing from Iranic, perhaps

 $^{^{41}}$ KAS 又化 41 KAS 又化 41 KAS 以 41 KAS

^{**}LASM 353 n. 305; see also Beckwith 2009: 402 n. 45. As shown by Doerfer, the Middle Mongol word was borrowed into New Persian, attested as 如 mōrīn and as 如 mori "Pferd", and it was also borrowed into certain Tungusic languages, Turkic languages and Russian dialects (TMEN I: 507-8). Doerfer treats Korean 말 mal "horse" as a loanword from Mongolian (TMEN I: 508), but this is unlikely. The Korean word is indeed ultimately related to similar words in Serbi-Mongolic, Japanese-Koguryoic, Old Tibetan, Chinese and other neighbouring languages, but as a widespread culture word and not as a direct loan from Middle Mongol (LASM 353 n. 305). This is easily demonstrated, as the Korean word is attested in Early Middle Korean as 末 *mʌr "horse (馬)" in the twelfth-century 鷄林類事 Jilin Leishi (Kyerim Yusa), around a century before the Mongols entered the Korean Peninsula in the early thirteenth century.

⁴³ Vladimircov cites a variant "κοίн" (1917: 1491), which would hypothetically be *gmo6 *q'oin*. We have been unable to confirm this form in the critical edition nor in the manuscripts.

⁴⁴ We are grateful to an anonymous peer reviewer for pointing this out and for the reference to Tumurtogoo 2006.

 $^{^{45}}$ The word is glossed in New Persian as کوسفند kusfand (Leid. 66b-03-3), which is clearly an error for gusfand. On instances of ω k for expected ω g in the New Persian glosses in the Leiden Manuscript, see also footnote 56 below in the entry for ნოხი noxi "dog".

 $^{^{46}}$ The Middle Mongol word is also attested as a loanword in New Persian وَوَنِي $q\bar{o}n\bar{n}$ حَوْنِي $q\bar{o}n\bar{n}$ "Schaf" (TMEN I: 442 §312).

^{**}In the Kitan zodiac, the corresponding year is literally the "Goat Year", represented by the zoonym **ema "goat", written KAS 党为 〈êm.a〉 and KLS 寻 〈êma〉, cognate to MMgl *ima'a-n* "goat", from Common Serbi-Mongolic *ima "goat" (*LASM* 339); for the KLS form, see Liu Fengzhu 1998 and Kane 2009.

⁴⁸ Vladimircov (1917: 1491): "мечін ціл".

⁴⁹ For the etymology of the Old Turkic *bičin* "monkey" see *LASM* (400–402). Late Old Chinese form cited from Kiyose and Beckwith 2008: 11–12. See Kara 2001: 83 for the Turkic etymology of Middle Mongol and Preclassical Literary Mongol *bečin* ~ *bičin* ~ *mečin* "ape, monkey". Wilkens (2021: 161a) also compares the Old Uighur and Mongol forms.

related to New Persian بوزیه būzīna "monkey, ape" (EDT 295b). The modern Khalkha reflex of this Middle Mongol word is **мич** [mitʃʰ] "monkey, ape" (almost exclusively in its calendrical usage), sometimes also **бич** [pitʃʰ] "id."⁵⁰

The Middle Mongol phrase is also attested in Preclassical Literary Mongol in the form bičin jil "year of the monkey" in the Fragments of a Letter of Abū Sa'īd (1320).⁵¹

The Turkic form was borrowed into New Persian (see TMEN II: 382-3 §821).

The Chicken. taya osos "chicken (3sos3o)", attested in the word osos5xoc tayanil "Year of the Chicken" (AM.Ž 45). 52

This word is cognate to eastern MMgl 塔乞牙 takiya [thakhija] "chicken (雞児)" (SHM §141, §264) ~ 塔乞牙 "chicken (雞)" (HYYY §1.07a7) and western MMgl كل taqi'a [taqija] "chicken" (MAA 341). The Georgian transcription perfectly matches western MMgl taya "chicken" in Persian and Arabic phonetic transcription, attested in the plural form taya-wut "hens" ~ "roosters" (Leid. 68b-12-5, 68b-13-2-2). Also note the Armenian phonetic transcription paululuu t'axea (phonetically [thaxea]) "chicken" (Ligeti 1965: 285.29).

The Mongol forms are cognate to Middle Kitan *taqa "chicken, hen"⁵³ (*LASM* 372). These forms are related to Middle Turkic *takagu* "hen", undoubtedly as a loanword, the directionality of which remains to be determined (*LASM* 372 n. 472). Certain neighbouring languages, such as Korean, Hungarian, and Jurchen-Manchu, exhibit phonetically similar words for "chicken" (see *LASM* 372 n. 472; Ligeti 1986: 43; Kara 2005: 13–14; Kane 2009: 88; Aisin Gioro 2004: 96 §50).

The Dog. **noxi** ნოხი "dog (ძაღლი)" attested in the word ნოხინჯილ noxinžil "Year of the Dog" (AM.Ž 45),⁵⁴ rendering spoken MMgl dial. *nox(a)i-n žil "dog-GEN year".⁵⁵

This word is cognate to eastern MMgl 那辛孩 noqai [noqai] "dog (狗)" (SHM §78 etc.) and western MMgl ຜູ້ຍັງ noqai "dog" (Leid. 66b-09-3). In Armenian script, this Mongol word is phonetically transcribed ໂຄກ ໂຄກ (Leid. 66b-09-3). In Armenian script, this Mongol dialect form "[noҳa] "dog". Other Armenian sources give the transcription ໂιοիμιμη noҳay "dog" (Ligeti 1965: 282.24), i.e. MMgl [noҳai] "dog". The Middle Mongol word was borrowed into New Persian as ຜູ້ຢູ່ nōqāi ~ ຜູ້ຢູ່ nōqā "Hund" (TMEN II: 520 §386) and was also borrowed into Turkic and possibly Samoyedic (TMEN II: 520–21 §386). The Mongol forms are cognate to Middle Kitan *ñaq "dog" dog" (LASM 356).

⁵⁰ The generic word for "monkey, ape" in modern Khalkha is **сармагчин** [ˈsarmǎxtʃʰīŋ], a reflex of Middle Mongol *sormeči-n* "monkey, ape" resulting from analogical change whereby the final element was reanalysed as *-qčin* "zoonym suffix" (*LASM* 400–402).

⁵¹ Tumurtogoo 2006. We are grateful to an anonymous peer reviewer for pointing out this attestation.

⁵² Vladimircov (1917: 1491): "татан џіл".

⁵⁴ Vladimircov (1917: 1491): "нохін ціл".

⁵⁵ We are grateful to an anonymous peer reviewer, who points out: "perhaps it is worth underlining that [the Georgian transcription of MMgl "dog"] is an early example of the process of spirantization of intervocalic -q-which is normally absent in Middle Mongolian but attested in all Modern North Mongolic languages (see Rybatzki 2003: 373)".

The New Persian gloss is sak (Leid. 66b-09-3), which is a scribal error or dialectal variant for sag "dog". As demonstrated by Yoshio Saitô (2006: v-viii), the New Persian and Arabic data in the Leiden Manuscript are characterized by numerous scribal errors and dialectal forms. Note also sag in the manuscript's New Persian gloss for "sheep" (q.v. the entry for sag of "sheep" above).

⁵⁷ KAS 伏为 <n.aq, KLS 光 <naq, KLS orthographic forms from Liu Fengzhu 1998 and Kane 2009; phonetic readings from LASM 356).

The Pig. q'aq'ai ყაყაο "pig (ღორი)", attested in the word ყაყაοნχοლ q'aq'ainžil "Year of the Pig" (AM.Ž 45).58

This word is cognate to eastern MMgl ^中合^中孩 qaqai [qaqai] "pig (豬児)" (SHM §166, \$268) and western MMgl غَاقَايُ yagai "pig (خبو ک)" (Leid. 66b-07-5) and غاقاي yagai "id." (MAA: Poppe 1938: 175).

The Middle Mongol form was also borrowed in New Persian, attested as $q\bar{q}q\bar{q}$ "Schwein", and in certain Turkic languages (TMEN I: 382 §259).

1.2. Reconstructed Middle Mongol genitive case morphemes in Georgian transcription

The animal zodiac constructions above provide evidence of two allomorphs of the Middle Mongol genitive case suffix:

*-in -o6 (Geo -in)⁵⁹ \sim *-n -6 (Geo -n)⁶⁰ "genitive case suffix allomorph", cognate to eastern Middle Mongol -yin "id.".

2. Reconstructed western Middle Mongol words in Georgian transcription

The tentative reconstructions of western Middle Mongol forms discussed above are presented in alphabetical order below:

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*අත් \chi ගල (Geo \xi il)<sup>61</sup> "year (წელი)".
*lʊ ლუ (Geo lu)<sup>62</sup> "dragon (ვეშაპი)".
*mətfin მეჩინ (Geo mečin)<sup>63</sup> "monkey (ყაპუზუნა)".
*mɔʁ(a)i მოღი (Geo moyi)<sup>64</sup> "snake (გუელი)".
*morin მორინ (Geo morin)<sup>65</sup> "horse (ცხენი)".
*nox(a)i ნოხი (Geo noxi)<sup>66</sup> "dog (მაღლი)".
*pars ໘ຘრს (Geo pars)<sup>67</sup> "cheetah, Acinonyx jubatus (১35°65)".
*qaqai ყაყაი (Geo q'aq'ai) "pig (ღორი)".68
*qəni ყონი (Geo q'oni) "sheep (ცხოვარი)".69
*qulkun *မှုက္ခဏ္ဍက္ခြ (Geo *q'ulγun)<sup>70</sup> "mouse (თაგუ)".
*taʁa თაღა (Geo taɣa)<sup>71</sup> "chicken (ქათამი)".
*taulai თავლაი (Geo tavlai) "rabbit (კურდღელი)".<sup>72</sup>
*ukur უქურ (Geo ukur) "bovine (ზროხა)".<sup>7</sup>
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⁵⁸ Vladimircov (1917: 1492): "какаін" and "какан џіл". In the text variants available to us at the time of writing, we have been unable to confirm Vladimircov's variant "κακαμ μίπ", which would be *ყაყანχοლ *q'aq'anǯil. ⁵⁹ Cf. "-iн" (BYV 1488, 1501).

⁶⁰ Сf. "-н" (BYV 1489, 1491, 1492).

⁶¹ Cf. "џіл" (ВҮV 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492).

⁶² Cf. "лу" (ВҮV 1490, 1500).

⁶³ Cf. "мечин" (BYV 1491, 1500).

⁶⁴ Cf. "мо́гі" (ВҮV 1490, 1500).

⁶⁵ Cf. "морін" (ВҮV 1490, 1500).

⁶⁶ Vladimircov gives "нохі" (ВҮV 1491) and "нохаі" (ВҮV 1500).

⁶⁷ Cf. "ἡapc" (BYV 1488).

⁶⁸ Vladimircov gives "какаі" (ВҮV 1492, 1500) and "кака" (ВҮV 1492, 1500).

⁶⁹ Vladimircov gives "коні" (ВҮV 1491, 1500) and "коін" (ВҮV 1491, 1500).

⁷⁰ Сf. "кургун" (ВҮV 1488, 1500).

⁷¹ Cf. "tara" (BYV 1491, 1501).

⁷² Vladimircov gives "тавлаі" (ВҮV 1489, 1501) and "тавлі" (ВҮV 1489).

⁷³ Cf. "ykyp" (BYV 1501).

Concluding remarks

As our analyses above indicate, the fourteenth-century anonymous Georgian author, conventionally known as Žamtaaγmc'ereli, demonstrates surprising accuracy in the phonetic transcription of Mongol phonemes. This Georgian source proves very important for the history of the Mongolian language, because a careful examination of the Georgian transcriptions of medieval Mongol zodiac calendrical terms in it allows us to:

- 1) identify the specific Mongol dialect of the transcriptions as a western dialect of Middle Mongol exhibiting certain phonetic similarities to other varieties of Middle Mongol in Persian, Arabic and Armenian phonetic transcription;
- 2) reconstruct Middle Mongol dialect forms which are phonetically distinctive from other sources (e.g. western Middle Mongol *taʁa "chicken" and *qulʁun "mouse");
- 3) clarify the precise semantic values of certain Middle Mongol words which are ambiguously glossed in Chinese (e.g. *qvlkun, glossed as "mouse" in Georgian, but ambiguously glossed in Chinese as "rat, mouse");
- 4) uncover an informative semantic gloss providing insight on cheetahs in Georgia at the time of Mongol domination and thereby also identify a partial semantic isogloss between eastern and western Middle Mongol dialects (i.e. western Middle Mongol pars ~ bars "cheetah, tiger" vs. eastern Middle Mongol bars "tiger"); and
- 5) attest an early example of the spirantization of the intervocalic plosive $q > \chi$ (e.g. earlier eastern MMgl noqai "dog" corresponds to noxi "dog" in Georgian transcription).

The *Chronicle* offers a wealth of data on other aspects of medieval Mongol language, culture and history which we plan to address in future studies.

Abbreviations and sigla

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AM.Ž
         Žamtaaymc'ereli, Asc'lovani mat'iane (1987, edited by R. K'ik'naze)
BYV
         Vladimircov (1917)
         correction of
corr.
CPG
         Clavis Patrum Graecorum, 1-5, cura et studio M. Geerard. (Corpus Christianorum). Turnhout: Brepols,
         1974-87; Supplementum, cura et studio M. Geerard and J. Noret. (Corpus Christianorum). Turnhout:
         Clauson, Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish (1972)
EDT
Geo
         Georgian
HNA
         Blake et al., History of the Nation of the Archers (1954)
HYYY
         Hua-Yi Yiyu (Kuribayashi 2003)
         Integrated Dictionary of Written Oirat (Kuribayashi 2017)
IDWO
KAS
         Kitan Assembled Script<sup>74</sup>
         Kitan Linear Script<sup>75</sup>
KIS
IM
         Ibn Muhannā (Poppe 1938, Gül 2016)
LASM
         Shimunek (2017)
         The Leiden Manuscript, i.e. Kitâb Majmû' Turjumân Turkî wa-'ajamî wa-Muğalî (Saitô 2006, Poppe 1928)
Leid.
         Muqaddimat al-Adab [by Abū 'l-Qāsim Mahmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamahšarī] (Poppe 1938)
MAA
MMgl
         Middle Mongol
ms.
         manuscript
mss.
         manuscripts
RÉGC
         Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes
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^{74 &}quot;Kitan Assembled Script" or "Composite Script" denotes the putative 小字 "Small Script" (Kara 1987, 2005;

^{75 &}quot;Kitan Linear Script" denotes the putative 大字 "Large Script" (Kara 1987, 2005). KLS orthographic forms are cited from Kane (2009). The phonetic values are cited from LASM.

SHM Mongqol-un Niuča To[b]ča'an (Secret History of the Mongols, quoted from Kuribayashi 2009)
TMEN Doerfer, G. 1963; 1965; 1967. Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen.

Symbols

- * Scientific reconstruction based on mainstream historical-comparative linguistic methods
- **X** Erroneous form or scribal error
- // Phonemes
- [] Phonetic transcription (in IPA or other writing systems)
- Morpheme boundary
- Linguistic variation between two or more forms (free or conditioned)

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